Guide to the FH9 Fang File

[The Fang file consists of eight sources, seven of which are translations from the French and the German. The major sources in the file are 1: Tessmann, 2: Tessmann, 6: Alexandre and Binet, and 7: Trilles. 1: Tessmann and 2: Tessmann are the first and second volumes of a two-part monograph by a German ethnologist, who covers the material culture very thoroughly. 3: Trézenem is a summary article on a group of aberrant Fang "tribes" by a French ethnologist. 4: Dugast is a demographic survey of the Fang groups by a French social scientist. 5: Balandier is a discussion of contemporary Fang sociology by a French social anthropologist. 6: Alexandre and Binet is an ethnographic survey by two French government officials. 7: Trilles is a descriptive and theoretical study of Fang totemism and its functioning, while 8: Bennett is a descriptive study of various aspects of Fang culture by a British doctor.

In general this is a well-rounded file with good material on all major aspects of the culture. It is particularly strong in the ethnosciences, material culture, and current sociology. Its weakest area is in the domain of religion. There were no special marking decisions made for this file. --Analyst]

Processed in 1960.

/51/ Section 4

Village and Household

000 Place names (their derivation and explanation). -- Names of fields. -- Plan of the villages. -- Settlement; development of a settlement into a village; village; significance of the name; growth of the village. -- Provisional meeting houses: plan, form -- Permanent meeting houses: scaffolding; roofing (procedure, material used for rafters and covering); side walls (material, erection, appearance); veranda. -- Interior of the meeting houses: posts; benches; fireplaces; furnishings (gun racks, trophies, and the like). -- Life in the meeting house. -- Dwellings: forms; appearance; door part; door; condition. -- Interior of the dwellings: sleeping benches; lofts and larder; frames with drying boards and baskets; hooks; stools; brooms. -- Raffia palm: kinds; names; uses. -- Storage houses; guest houses; field huts; houses for the sick. -- Houses on piles. -- Illumination: hearth fire; torches; lamp; mushroom torches; fire making. -- Village square (appearance, cleanliness). -- Toilet. -- Ornamental plants. -- Trade routes. -- Trade by water. -- Bridges.

● 101 361 In the large, jungle-covered Pangwe region /Ed., the author uses Pangwe /Fang/ as the name for a group of tribes in which the Fang are one tribe; the others are the Eton, Mwele /Mvele/, Jaunde /Yaunde/, Bene /Bane/, Bulu, Ntum, Mwai /Mvae/, and Mokuk (Oschüeba)/ the settled areas are scattered like oases in the desert. They are unevenly distributed, and their greatest concentration is along the line of the main trade routes which cross the region for the most part in an east-west direction. [487]

133 full of fish, hold water during the worst of the dry season.

137 In going up the Ogooué one meets, a little before the island of Talagouga, the first spurs of the north-south oriented African plateau, still low (N'Djolé has an altitude of 63 meters), the élevation of which increases rapidly as one goes towards the interior. Upstream from N'Djolé, the Ogooué ceases to be navigable. Broken by rapids, it is no longer passable except for specially equipped dugout canoes. About a dozen kilometers beyond the influx of the Okano, the aspect of the country changes: the large forest gives way to great stretches of prairie dotted with wooded groves, on the hillsides formations of quartz blocks are seen and oil palms, which were not present downstream, begin to appear. Mt. Otoumbi dominates the landscape from its 700 meters, and the rounded hillsides of the ranges bordering the river recall some features of the Vosges.

133 In the N'Djolé region, the Ogooué receives as its chief tributaries: to the right, the Bingola, Okano, and Abanga; to the left, shorter rivers of less volume, the Leledi, Lebe, and Mbumi. Only Abanga is navigable, and this for only about 70 kilometers.

132 The climate is hot and humid, with alternating dry and rainy seasons: from October to January, the rainy season; from January to March, a
133 very hot, dry season, the ripening time of almost all the forest fruits; from March to June, again violent rains, great tornadoes, and severe heat; and from June to October, a comparatively cool, dry season, with cessation of growth for some varieties of forest vegetation. At this time the waters are very low; sand banks can be seen everywhere in the Ogooué some of whose tributaries, like the Misanga, have only a trickle of water. The seasons are obviously not as strictly demarcated as this, and one season often encroaches on the other.

101 Today this whole region is almost entirely inhabited by the Fan who, since their arrival, probably at the beginning of the nineteenth century,
563 have either driven out or decimated the [other] inhabitants, the Okata and Bapinji [Bapindji] up the N'Djolé (of the Okata there is now only one village left, and the Bapinji have completely disappeared) and the Bakele [Bakale, Bakelle (?)] downstream. The latter still have some villages in the interior on the left bank, but only one on the edge of the river.

101 Fan is the name they give themselves. Pahouin [Pahuin] is the one by which they are commonly known and which, according to Haug (1)

1. Ernest Haug, "Notice géographique et ethnographique sur le Bas-Ogooué"

101 [Geographic and Ethnographic Comment on the Lower Ogooué], Ann. de Géogr., No. 62, March 15, 1903.

" is a [67] corruption of the word mpanwe by which the tribes of the coast refer to the Fan." Among them are found the tribes of three great parent branches, the Betsi and the Nzaman of the Madzouna dialect, and the Make of the Maekina dialect. Their number has a [161] strong tendency to decrease due to continuous migration towards the sea, and above all due to lack of births and to stillbirths. There are 361 actually no villages except on the banks of the Ogooué and the Abanga, and in the valley of the Okano along the route that joins the river at Oyem; and a few hamlets of the Make in the interior near small Bakele settlements on the left bank. The whole region of the right bank is depopulated, and one finds no more than frequent patches of short, thick brush without trees, except for some banana trees which are traces of vanished former villages.

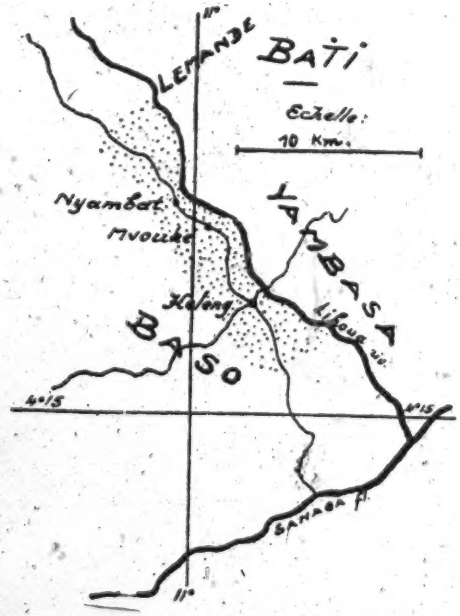
Beliefs

173 I. Concerning the origin of man, the elements. Whenever a [867] Pahouin recites his genealogy (every child is used to this from his early years, a survival of the need while traveling to make oneself known as a member of a tribe), he ends the list of his ancestors with: "X... son of Nzame," and adds a formula meaning "and the rooster crowed and I was not there." All the Pahouin now living thus claim a common ancestor, Nzame, to whom they attribute supernatural powers but whom they do not worship. This Nzame himself has four known ancestors: Meboere, Nkwa, Sokuma, and Mba Angwe. We have not been able to obtain any information about these, nor about the formula in which the rooster is mentioned [sic]. It seems that this is due to the ignorance of the natives rather than their ill will (many traditions were lost through contact with peoples met in the westward migration and especially through contact with Europeans), since the natives questioned quite voluntarily gave accounts of the life of Nzame as their fathers had described it to them.

4:Dugast--1a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Beti

101
131

[Map 1]



101 This group of Beti, or Bati, north of the Sanaga, whom the Germans—being good linguists—recognized easily by their language, were
131 all those whom the French administration later called by the general name "Sanaga." They included the Tsinga, the Mvele /Mvelle/ (contrary to Nekes' opinion), the Bavek, the Mangisa, the Ngoro, and the Kombe.

114 What is the origin of these Bati? G. Tessmann thinks that they may
174 be related to the peoples he has named "Mittelkamerun Bantu /Middle Cameroons Bantu/" (Bafia, Banen /Banend/, Yambasa, etc.). But he does not confuse the two groups. He believes that the Bati came from the north, where they first lived on the left bank of the M'Bam. Then, pushed by the Babute, some of them moved to the right bank. He notes that from that point on two tendencies are apparent: Some of the Bati were attracted by the civilization of the northeast (Babute), others by that of the southeast (Pahouin). Thus the Bavek and the Yangafuk (the Fök and the Fuk) migrated and scattered in a direction that differed from the one taken by groups such as the Betsinga and the Mangisa, who were moving toward the Pahouin. The latter two let themselves be assimilated quite rapidly.

According to G. Tessmann, the Bati are not Pahouin but rather a population encountered by the latter in their migrations. These people were attracted or influenced by the Pahouin and, in turn, influenced the invaders, just as they influenced, or were influenced by, the central Bantu. In the course of influences and counter influences, the intermingling of Pahouin and Bati, as much in culture as in language, has been so great that it is now difficult to untangle the threads of their various ramifications. Some threads have been lost, others broken, and those that remain have taken on a variety of hues.

Lang

113 Language. See:

Johnston, H. H. A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Language (Oxford University Press, Vol. 1, 1919, Vol. 2, 1922), Vocabulary No. 216, and his reference to the study by Carl Meinhof, "Die Sprachverhältnisse in Kamerun /Linguistic Relationships in the Cameroons/," Zeitschrift für afrikanische und oceanische Sprachen (Berlin, 1895).

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe /The Fang/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes, Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und Früherer

113 Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe/, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (2 vols.) (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), p. 34 (a short vocabulary).

-----. "Die Volker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of the Cameroons/," Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen, 1932, pp. 185-86.

197 We wonder whether G. Tessmann knew the following three lines written by von Stein zu Lausnitz: "The Bati languages show certain resemblances to those of the Baya and the Bangandu of the eastern end of the colony." (1)

113 1. von Stein zu Lausnitz, "Eine Erkundungs-Expedition zwischen Wuri und Sanaga /An Exploratory Expedition between the Wuri and the Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1908, p. 523.

Bibliography

von Stein zu Lausnitz. Op. Cit., pp. 522, 523, 527.

Thorbecke, (Mrs.). Auf der Savanne /On the Savanna/, (1913), pp. 200-1 206-18.

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe, I Op. Cit., historical portions.

-----. "Die Bafia und die Kultur der Mittelkamerun-Bantu /The Bafia and the Culture of the Middle-Cameroons Bantu/," Ergebnisse der 1913 v. Reichs-Kolonialamt ausges andte Forschungsreise nach Kamerun /Results of the 1913 Research Expedition to the Cameroons Sponsored by the Colonial Office/ (Stuttgart: Strecker and Schröder, 1914), historical portions.

Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Bati."

Bulletin de la Societe d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 25-26 and No. 10 (June 1946).

Moisel map, G2, Jaunde, April, 1913. /59/

THE PAHOUIN

101 It has seemed necessary to us to employ the term "Pahouin," 131 generally used by the French to designate a group of peoples who,

101 barely a century and a half ago, invaded and took over more than
131 176, 000 square kilometers of land in the western part of Equatorial Africa. For a century these peoples have occupied the huge forest area which stretches from 1° south of the equator to 4° 30 in the north, and from 9° 30 to 14° meridian in longitude.

101 Poutrin uses the term "Fan" to designate these peoples. Tessmann
114 uses the term "Pangwe /Mpangwe/."

We have rejected Poutrin's term "Fan" for the same reason that Tessmann did. There exists in the Cameroons a subgroup of Pahouin known as Fang, and it seems to us that using the same term to designate two different entities—on the one hand, a large group occupying a vast territory, and on the other, a very small unit comprising 12, 583 persons within this group—could lead to confusion and misunderstanding.

114 The penetration of the area by the Germans, which brought them into contact with the Pahouin of the southern part of the territory, had to be carried out slowly. The first expeditions started from Grand-Batanga near Kribi. It was possible to explore quite rapidly the lower part of the Sanaga River as far as Edea Falls. At that time the river was called "Grand (Big) Nyong," and the present-day Nyong was "Petit (Little) Nyong." The natives on the coast said at that time that in the interior there flowed a great river whose waters moved from west to east. This detail posed a great problem for the Germans: Did the separation of the waters reaching the Congo and Grand-Nyong basins occur so near the coast? The first expedition was led by Lieutenant R. Kund, who was accompanied by Lieutenant Tappenbeck, the zoologist Weissenborn, and the botanist Braun. On October 15, 1887, they left Grand-Batanga, traveled through the Ngumba country and the valley of the Nyong, and, going northeast, reached the Sanaga on January 19, 1888. According to the reports they were "at least 300 kilometers from the coast," but it is not possible to locate the exact spot.

Within a few years from that date nearly the whole forest region had been explored, opened up to commerce, and studied both from ethnographic and economic viewpoints.

114 The first observations were based on linguistic notations, and the
174 extension of the Pahouin invasion above the second parallel was easily perceived when it was investigated also from the south through Gabon.

Pahouin

114 The great explorer Schweinfurth was the first to present the theory
174 that the invasion must have begun far to the east among the Azande, south of Bahr el Ghazal (approximately 23° long., and 5° north lat.). Dr. Poutrin, R. P. Trilles, Largeau, and Avelot accepted his conclusions, but Baumann and Westermann rejected them as greatly exaggerated. According to them, the Pahouin came only from the high Sanaga and had reached the western part of Equatorial Africa through a series of successive westward migrations, avoiding the great equatorial forest by going around it in the north and going through the valleys of the Lom and the Adamawa. "The advance of the subgroups," write Baumann and Westermann, "was made in successive leaps, as each group pushed the other ahead or passed them by. The migration was made by kin groups, about thirty to a tribe, which constituted the only political and social unit. These kin groups (agon) moved continuously westward, often passing one another; the last comers settled beyond their predecessors for a generation or two and then departed again."

The last push was made quite recently, /60/ in the southern part of the plateau of the Adamawa, by the Mbum and the Baya, who subsequently had to yield to the Fulbe /Fulani/. This last move from the right bank of the Sanaga to the forest dates back no more than about a hundred years. When the Europeans came, they in turn stabilized the positions of all these peoples.

114 In spite of the linguistic investigations quickly undertaken by the Germans, whose great specialist was Father Nekes, and the study of
●101 oral traditions carried out to a greater extent by the French, the con-
197 clusions arrived at concerning the distribution of the Pahouin in the Cameroons are not entirely in agreement with one another. They are as follows:

Father Nekes is the authority on the subject, but his classification is chiefly linguistic. According to him there are two major groups, the Beti and the Mvele. In the first he includes the Ewondo, the Bane /Bene?/, the Yetenga, the Yetudi, the Eton, and the Betsenga; in the second, the Mvele, the Yebekolo, the Yebekanga, the Bulu, the Ntumu /Ntum?/, the Okak, the Omvang, and the Fang. Tessmann connects the Yesum with the Bulu.

According to Dr. Schnee, the "Fang" are divided into two large
114 groups, the Betschi /Betsi/ (established in the northwest) and the
101 Makei /Mekei/ (settled in the southwest). His division is based on whether they pronounce the phrase, "I say that," as Mekima or Matsina. The groups are divided into an infinite number of tribes,

114 with names beginning either with Eb (Makei) or with Es (Betschi).

101 The Governor General, Cournarie, after carefully surveying the peoples in the vicinity of Yaoundé, where he was administrator, prepared the following table:

- NANGA ....
  - Beti ....
    - Kolo ....
      - Ewondo
      - Bane
      - Mangisa
      - Kombe
      - Tsinga
      - Etudi
      - Emfek
    - Eton
    - Mvele
    - Badzu
    - Omvang
    - Ntumu
  - Yesum

And he concluded: "It appears that among the Beti one can also include the Badjia, the Bavek, the Bamvele, the Djanti, the Ngoro, and the Yangafuk."

It is impossible to say whether or not this problem will ever be solved, for it becomes more and more complex from decade to decade because of the changes which are taking place, with perhaps increasing speed. We would like future researchers to be aware of its complexity; they should not believe that we have thought to present solutions here.

Bibliography

113 "Bericht über den äusseren Verlauf der Batanga-Expedition (Ende Oktober 1887 bis März 1888)" /Progress Report of the Batanga Expedition (End of October, 1887 to March, 1888)/ Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1888, pp. 6-30, 112-21.

Pakouin
Bundju
Kombe

113 Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Fang."
Cournarie, P. Essai sur les coutumes des populations de la Circonscription de Yaoundé /Essay Concerning the Customs of the Peoples of the Yaoundé District/ (1933) (unpublished).
Bruel, G. La France équatoriale africaine /French Equatorial Africa/ (Paris: Larose, 1935).
Bulletin de la Société d'Études Camerounaises, No. 3, (July 3, 1943).
de Pedrals, H. "Contribution à l'établissement d'un inventaire ethnique du Cameroun /A Contribution toward Setting up an Inventory of the Peoples of Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept-Dec. 1945), pp. 7-15.
Baumann, H. and Westermann, D. Des peuples et les civilisations de l'Afrique, suivi de: Les langues et l'éducation /Peoples and Cultures of Africa, followed by: Languages and Education/. (Translated by L. Homburger) (Paris: Payot, 1948), pp. 199-201.

THE BUNDJU AND THE KOMBE

131 Location: 11°25 to 11°50 long.
101 4°30 to 4°35 north lat.

We cannot silently skip over these minute groups whose names are known only to administrators working in the region of M'Bam, east of Bafia. As a matter of fact, they are essentially a part of the Beti group.

Physical and Human Geography

161 Population: Bundju—about 550 inhabitants
Kombe—about 1, 126 inhabitants

361 The Kombe are settled in three villages in the valley of the
131 M'Bam, on the right bank of that river and on the highway from Bafia to Yaoundé, from the 16th kilometer to the 22nd kilometer southeast of Bafia. /Map 2/

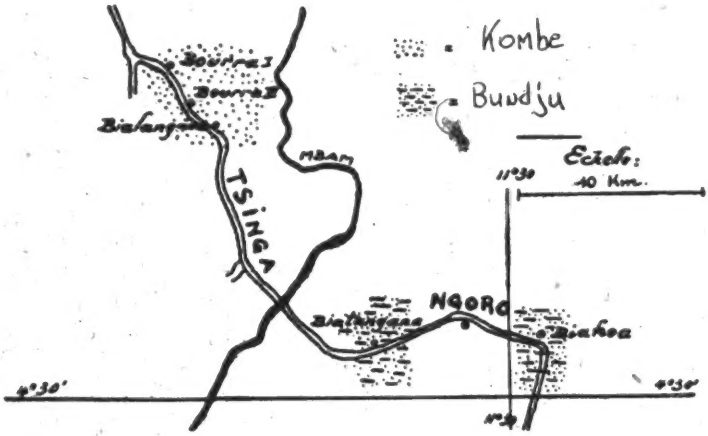
The Bundju occupy two villages, also on the vehicular road, southeast of the Kombe but between the M'Bam and the Sanaga rivers. The two villages are separated by a Ngoro village which is wedged in between them. /62/

131 According to the Moisel map of April, 1913 (G2, Jaunde), these
101 two peoples occupied far greater territories at that time. The Kombe (then known as the Nkombe) were found all the way to the borders of

4:Dugast--8a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Bundju
Kombe

101
131

[Map 2]



Bundju
Kombe
Ngoro

101 present-day Bafia, in numerous villages all along the right bank of
131 the M'Bam, meeting the Tsinga at the Owama or Afama River and reaching as far as the vicinity of the Yambasa. Others, known as Kombe, were located much farther east on the Maloko River and are probably under the jurisdiction of the Kombe villages, now claimed to be Mvele and Bavek villages (on the vehicular road in the north).

On this Moisel map, the Bundju occupied the whole vast territory, triangular in shape, which lies between the M'Bam and the Sanaga rivers.

173 According to the reports of the administrator Cournarie, resumed by the administrator Relly, these peoples lost all cohesion after the Babute invasion in the middle of the last century. According to their traditions, the Kombe were enslaved and consequently dispersed. The Bundju, said to be related to the Mangisa, first crossed the Sanaga. Later, when the Germans pushed the Babute back towards the north, the Bundju, greatly reduced in numbers, recrossed the Sanaga and returned to their former lands.

000 It would be interesting to investigate these former Beti from the linguistic viewpoint and to find out how much of their former language remains with them. The study should not be made on the basis of entire zones; rather it should be carried out almost village by village throughout a whole area where these peoples may be found juxtaposed and overlapping one another all along a vehicular road. No doubt the study will /sic/ shed but little light on the problem of origins, but it will clearly show what G. Tessmann calls the "Bati-Mbam" languages.

THE NGORO

131 Location: 11°15 to 11°30 long.
101 4°30 to 4°55 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography. The Ngoro are widely dispersed on the left bank of the M'Bam, in the valley of its tributary, the
133 Ngoro. This little river has a minimal water supply during the dry season, but during the rainy months, on the contrary, it swells beyond the river bed and floods the banks, sometimes for a considerable distance. This is a prairie region adorned with thin shrubs. Near branches of the river, a few clumps of raffia palms can be seen.

Ngoro
Bafok-Yangafuk

361 The several Ngoro villages are stretched over 70 kilometers of trails. A single one may be found on the right bank of the M'Bam, in the immediate vicinity of Bafia, on the vehicular road. Another is located about 30 kilometers to the southeast, also on the vehicular road but on the left bank of the M'Bam; it is Goura, inhabited by the Ngoro who moved down toward fertile land.

173 The Ngoro say that they descended from the Mangisa a long time ago—perhaps during the time when the latter still lived north of the Sanaga. The traditions of the Ngoro also say that their original ancestor was the same as that of the Betsinga, the Kombe, and the Bundju. Is this myth or history? This extended kinship brings together all the Beti.

The folk history of the Ngoro begins only with the war against the Babute in the last century. At that time they were dispersed, and most of them clustered around the Ngoro River. When attacked by the Babute, those nearest the M'Bam crossed the river and settled among the Bafia, whom they pushed back. /63/ Others, the Yasakunu, were driven all the way back to the Yambasa. The people of the village of Ngoro submitted and were enslaved. They were deported north to Linte and Tibati and south to Goura. /Map 3/

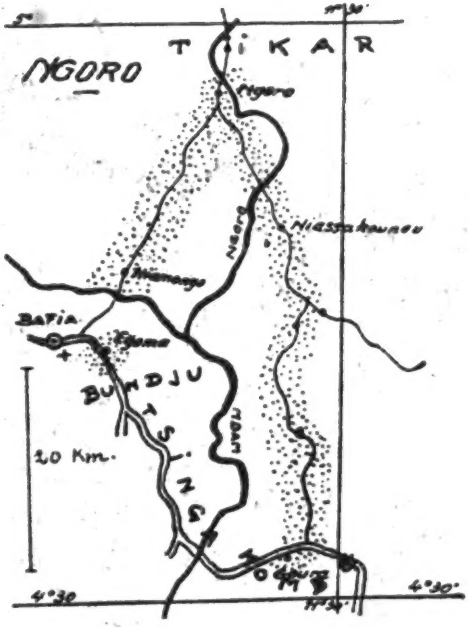
175 At Goura the young slave Ndenge was born of a Ngoro father and a
167 Djanti mother, both deported there. As an adult, Ndenge enlisted in the native army of the Germans and attracted the attention of his superiors by his intelligence and zeal. They assigned him the task of reuniting all the exiles, and little by little turned over to him all those who were freed through their wars—first the exiles found among the Yambasa, then those among the Bafia. These migrations are the explanation for the wide scattering of Ngoro villages and for the frequent moves. Fortunately, the appearance of the cacao tree has begun to stabilize a number of these settlements.

THE BAFÖK-YANGAFUK

●101 Location: widely scattered, to be found in
131 several settlements sometimes
361 very far from each other
Between 11°15 and 12°30 long.
and 4°30 and 5°50 north lat.

4:Dugast--10a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Ngoro

101
131



[MAP 3]

Bafök-Yangafuk

101 The peoples who are the subject of this chapter have been given several names spelled in a variety of ways by Europeans. On German maps they appear as "Fuk," "Fök," or "Fu." In French reports and maps they are called "Baveuk," "Bafeuk," or "Yangafouk." All these words seem to resemble each other, and, in reality, they are identical.

[161] Physical and Human Geography. Total population: 5, 352 inhabitants.

361 Three little enclaves of these people a few kilometers long may be
461 found on the Yoko road east of Bafia. They are settled in eight villages all told and inhabit an area of very fertile soil and forest. Cacao, palmettoes, or food crops could bring them prosperity, were it not for
[161] their laziness. (The people of these villages number 1, 556.)

173 The five southernmost villages of the eight say that their members
361 come from the southeast, from the plain of the Sanaga, or from the east, from the plain of Djerem.

The two neighboring villages to the northeast are called Yalongo (see the chapter on the Yekaba and the Bamvele). It is thought that the Yalongo conquered the Bafök and /64/ adopted their language. Finally, the eighth village is said to be related to the first five and to have come also from Djerem.

To the southeast of Yoko is an enclave whose two villages, in the
[161] middle of the prairie (445 inhabitants), claim to be related both to the Yalongo and the southern Bafök.

About 50 kilometers north of Yoko, in the Babute country, is the
[161] enclave of Lena consisting of 260 inhabitants. It is said that they came from the south and reached their present habitat by traveling an arc of 250 kilometers via Tibati. /Map 4/

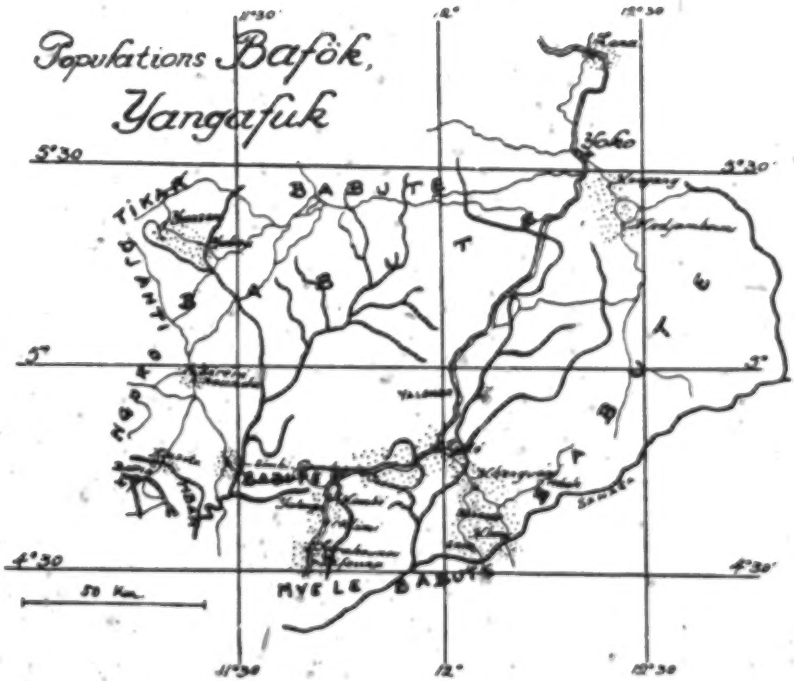
[161] The 360 inhabitants of the enclave of Yassem, in the midst of the Tikar country, 120 kilometers west of Yoko, say that they sprang from the Bamvele. We would be more inclined to say that they share a common origin with the latter. The wars among the tribes brought them to the Tikar country where they isolated themselves on their mountain. They differ from other Bafök in that they have adopted the
[797] Islamic religion of the Tikar and that they recognize no kinship with the southern Bafök.

361 A single village may be found on the banks of the M'Bam, a few
161 kilometers from the town of Bafia. (It has 313 inhabitants.)

And lastly, on the right bank of the Sanaga, there are several Yangafuk villages (containing 2, 418 inhabitants) which are related to those found in the south on the Yoko road but separated from them by a thick forest. /65/

4:Dugast--11a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Bafök, Yangafuk

101
131



[Map 4]

BAFÖK-Yangafuk
Tsinga - Betsinga

174 The recognized kinship among the various groups clearly permits us to assert that their extraordinary dispersion is quite recent, going back no further than to the historical period when the Tikar and the Babute made their last advances and were driven back by the advancing Fulbe. Before that time these peoples probably inhabited the entire plain south of the Ndomé. Ndoumba was their most important center.

197 Language. The linguistic unity among the various groups of Bafök and Yangafuk confirms our impression. Dialect differences among them are minimal; they all understand each other.

G. Tessmann classifies their language as falling between that of the Bamvele and the group of Pahouin languages. As we have already mentioned, a passing observer at Lena, the Reverend Good of the American Mission, noticed a very great similarity between the language spoken there and that of the Bulu in the south.

Bibliography

113

Thorbecke, Mrs. Auf der Savane /On the Savanna/, (1913), p. 152.

Thorbecke, Fr. Im Hochland von Mittelkamerun /In the Highlands of the Middle Cameroons/, Abhandlungen der Hamburgischen Kolonial-Institut 1919-1924 (L. Friedrichsen & Co.), Vol. 1, p. 43, Vol. 2, p. 20.

Bulletin de la Société d'Études Camerounaises, No. 3, (July 1943).

Unpublished reports by administrators Delteil and Coquereaux.

TSINGA - BETSINGA

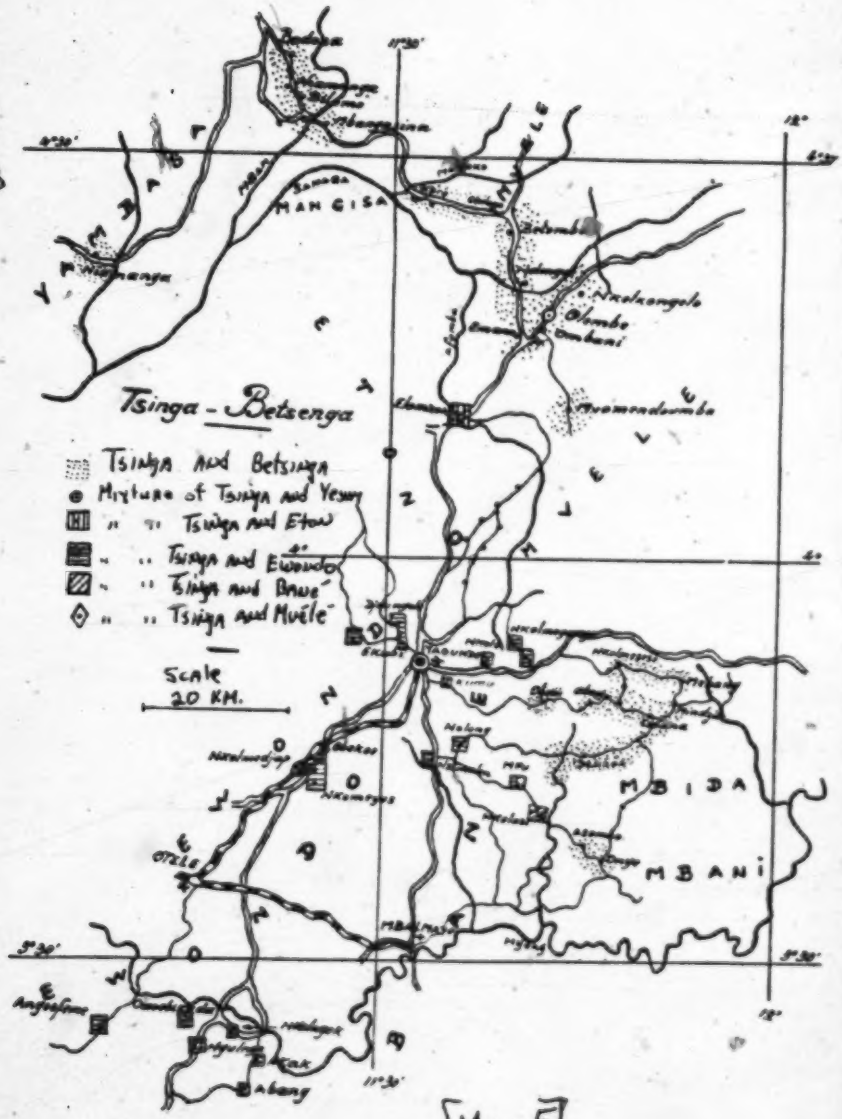
131 Widely scattered habitat: 11°20 to 11°50 long. and from south to north: 3°35 to 3°50 north lat. near Yaoundé, 4°15 to 4°40 north lat. on the two banks of the Sanaga.

101 Physical and Human Geography. Like the administrator Cournarie in the past, we have grouped together under one term the peoples generally designated as Tsinga, Betsinga, Betchenga, or Batchenga. One name is probably a transformation of another. Since the traditions of the various groups are the same, it seems inappropriate to draw distinctions among them.

361 The Tsinga are so widely dispersed that their territory does not form a unit. They are located on both banks of the Sanaga (there known as

4:Dugast--13a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Tsinga-Betsinga

101
131
563

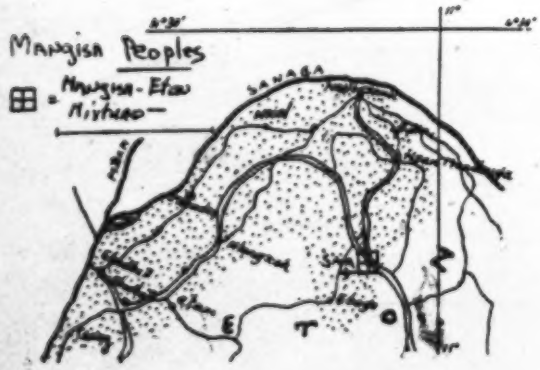


[MAP 5]

4:Dugast--14a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Mangisa

101
131
863

[MAP 6]

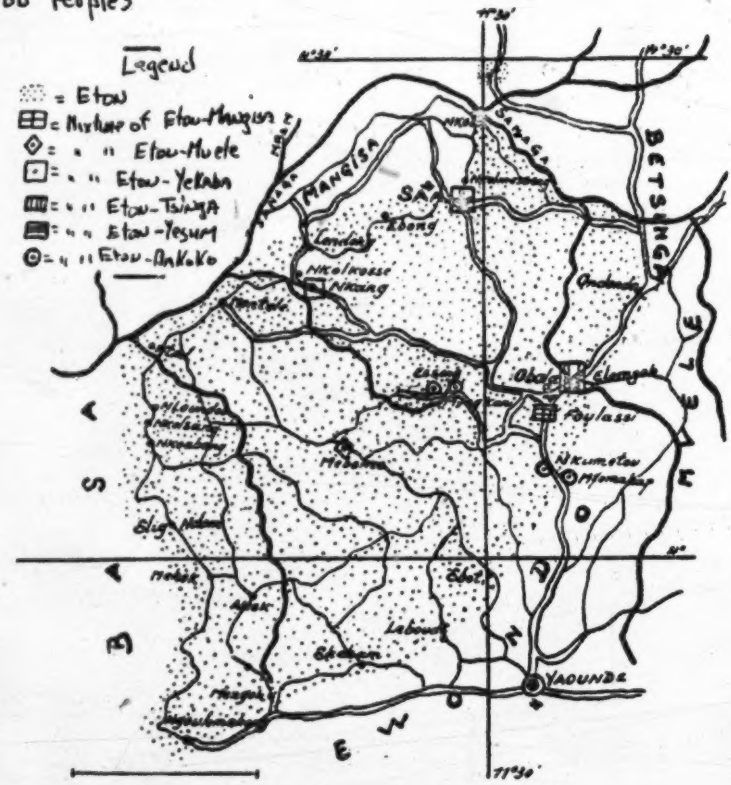


4:Dugast--16a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Eton

[MAP 7]

101
131
563

Etou Peoples



113 worth on the subject of the "Rite SSO" as it is practiced among the Eton and the Mangisa. The film was made in an Eton village in 1955.

THE EWONDO

● 101 These people are called Yaoundé (1) by the Europeans, but they

1. The etymology of this name is given nowhere. According to tradition, the name Ewundu is that of the original ancestor of the people; the prefixes ya, ye, and e occur frequently in Pahouin languages.

According to Nekes, the name means "peanut"; it would therefore be a nickname, because, they say, "They are as numerous as peanuts."

call themselves Ewondo.

131 Location: 10°40 to 11°40 long.
3°10 to 4°05 north lat.
The Evuzok branch: on a north-south trail at 10°05 long.
on an east-west trail 10°25 to 10°40 long.
3°10 to 3°25 north lat.

Physical Geography. Area: approximately 4, 320 square km.

133 The territory occupied by the Ewondo is a high plateau broken by
137 little valleys. In its northern section may be found several high hills which divide the waters of the Sanaga Basin from those of the Nyong. The entire territory is within the great forest zone, but much of the land has been cleared because of the density of the population. /71/ The dividing line between forest and prairie runs east to west about 10 kilometers north of Yaoundé.

133 The river Nyong, at 3°30 north latitude, first borders the Ewondo country north to south and then crosses it from east to west before flowing into the territory of the neighboring Basa. Much further downstream it flows north to south by the settlement of the Evuzok before reaching its mouth at the ocean.

133 The southeastern part of Ewondo territory is also watered by the high stream of the little river Lokoundje.

The whole country is very fertile, rich with food crops and beautiful groves of cacao trees.

Human Geography

161 Population: Ewondo (in the Yaounde subdivision)—70, 994 in 1946
" " " M'Balmayo ")—15, 359
" " " Lolodorf ")— 6, 674 in 1947
93, 027

Evuzok: 4, 273 inhabitants

The population density varies greatly in the different zones: the region north of the Nyong is most densely populated, 49. 3 persons per square kilometer; south of the Nyong there are 13. 1 persons per square kilometer; in Evuzok, 5 persons per square kilometer.

173 History. The Ewondo settled in their present habitat quite recently —one hundred and fifty years ago at most. According to their traditions, they began the last stage of their migrations somewhere on the right bank of the Sanaga near its junction with the M'Bam. They crossed the Sanaga about five generations ago, at the time when all the peoples north of the Sanaga suffered the consequences of pressure by the Fulbe. They spread southward, and some of them even crossed the Nyong and traveled in the "low" direction (west) toward the commercial roads.

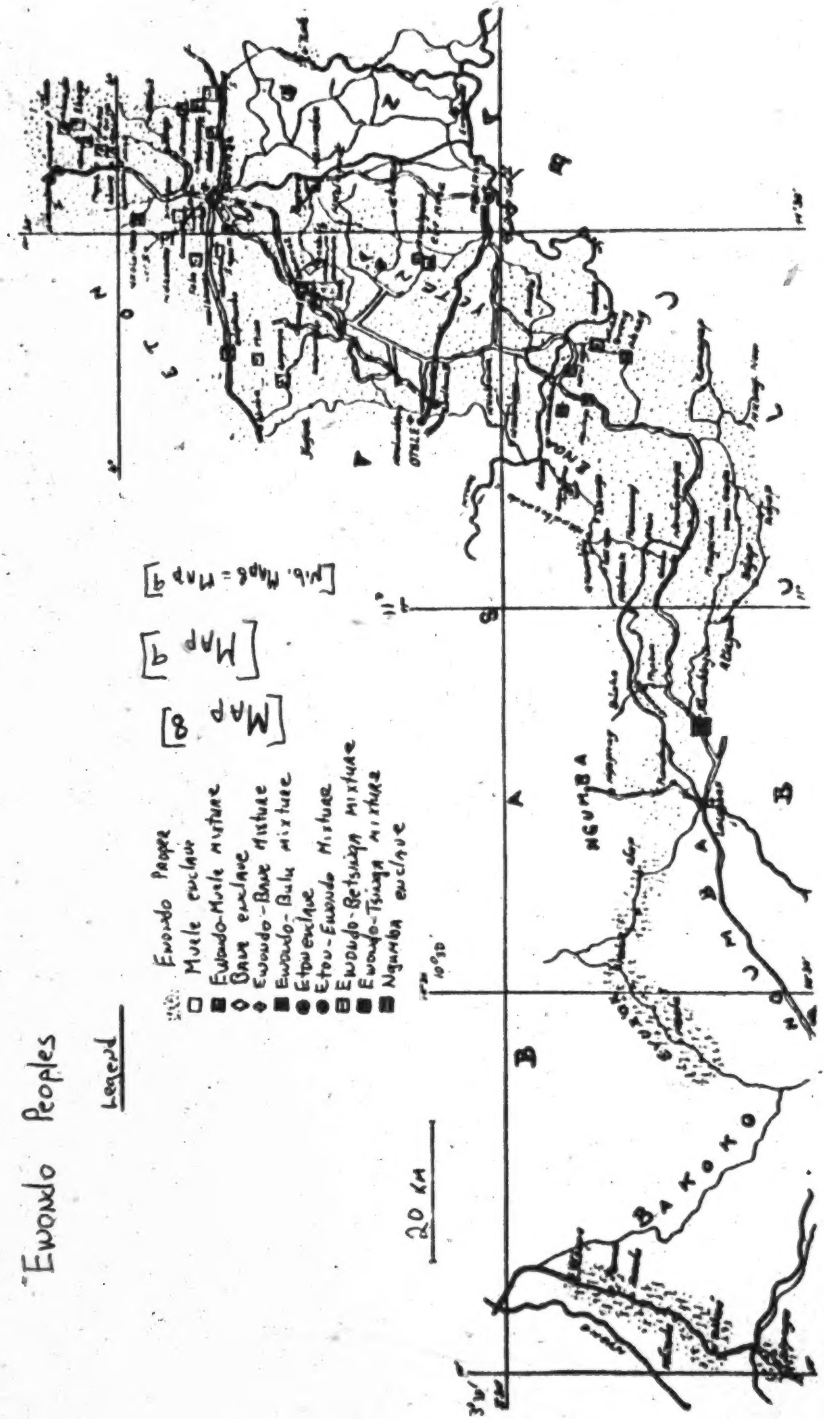
It is believed that German expeditions first reached the Ewondo in about the year 1887 (during the exploration by Kund, Tappenbeck, and Weissenborr). The administrative "station" of Yaoundé was created in 1889, and its direction was placed in the hands of G. Zenker, a man of science whose name is not likely to be forgotten in the Cameroons.

According to most of the traditions, the Evuzok (1) were the last

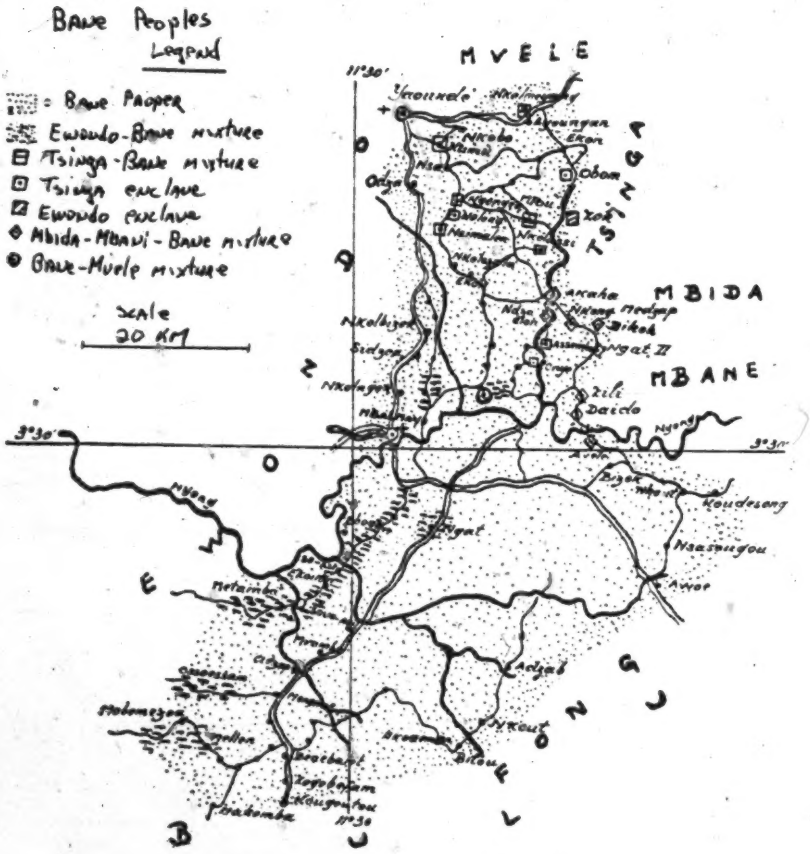
[101] 1. Their name is said to be nothing but a nickname meaning "elephant's stomach," which was given them by the other Ewondo after a hunt which was followed by an unforgettable feast.

of the Ewondo to arrive during the last migration, and they were

901
131
563


Ewondo Peoples
Legend
Ewondo Proper
Mvele enclave
Ewondo-Mvele mixture
Bane enclave
Ewondo-Bane mixture
Ewondo-Bulu mixture
Etu enclave
Etu-Ewondo mixture
Ewondo-Betsimja mixture
Ewondo-Tsinga mixture
Ngumba enclave
20 KM
BAKOKO
NGUMBA
[Map 8]
[Map 9]
[Mib. Map = Map 9]

901
131
563



[MAP 10]

113 The oldest sketch map on which the Bane are shown is a map without scale, but where the distances are calculated in terms of "hours on foot"; it appears in Von Stein's report entitled "Ueber die geographische Verhältnisse des Bezirkes Lolodorf (Sudkamerun Gebiet), speziell die dort wohnenden Volkstämme /The Geographic Relationships of the Lolodorf District (South Cameroons), especially the Resident Tribes/, " in Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutgebeiten, 1899, pp. 120-41. This report also contains an extensive geneological table which includes the Bane; ethnographic details on pp. 135-38 should be especially noted.

Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Bane."

Moisel maps, G2, Jaunde, and H 1-2, Kribi.

Bearth. "Le Nsig N'to, ancienne coutume Bane /The Nsig N'to, an Ancient Bane Custom/, " Togo-Cameroun, January 1930, pp. 19-22.

Important unpublished documents exist on the subject of customs, shelter, and subsistence among the Bane.

THE FONG

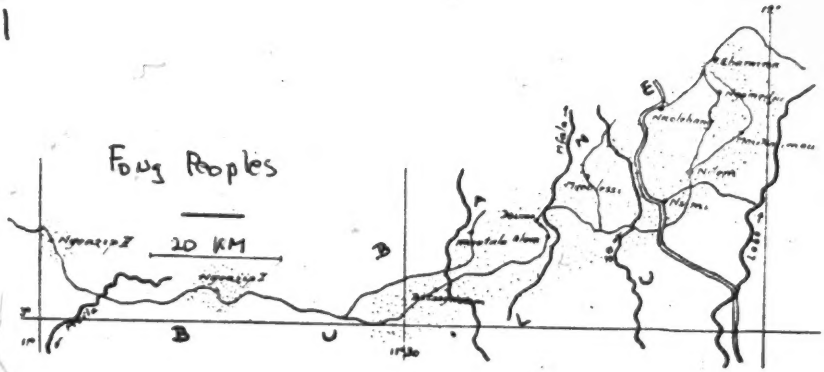
131 Location: 11° and 11°15 long.
3°15 north lat.
and 11°30 to 12° long.

● 101 Physical and Human Geography. The Fong /Fang/ are not all settled in a single area. They constitute a very small population divided into three separate clusters, lined up from west to east; the total area of the different small zones occupied by these settlements is about 1, 152 square kilometers, and in the largest and most easterly, the enclaves of Bulu villages are to be found.

101 Bertaut has written: "The territory is occupied by Bane and Fong
563 without any geographical unity. Fong, Bulu, and Bane are intermingled, and one passes from a Bane area /76/ to a Fong area without noticing. This situation is the result of a mingling of tribes which must have occurred when the Bane and the Fong, who came from the north, encountered the Fang and the Bulu, who were also not yet permanently settled." (Report of May, 1932)

113 The Fong may be considered the southernmost participants in the recent invasion which brought the Ewondo and the Bane to the south

101
131



[Map 11]

101
131

Mvae Branch: 9°45 to 10°45 and 11°20 to 11°40 long.
2°15 (at the frontier of the South Cameroons) to 2°55 north lat. and a few islands at 3° north lat.

Ntumu branch: 10°25 to 11°35 long.
2°15 (on the frontier of the South Cameroons) to 2°35 north lat. /77/

Physical and Human Geography

131 Total area: about 11, 500 square km.

161 Population and density of each group:

Fang: 12, 583 inhabitants; 2 persons per square km.
Mvae: 5, 287 inhabitants; 5.8 persons per square km.
Ntumu: 16, 236 inhabitants; 9.8 persons per square km.

137 The whole territory of the Fang is within the great equatorial forest, in the basin of the N'Tem and those of its tributaries that flow to the right of it. /Map 12/

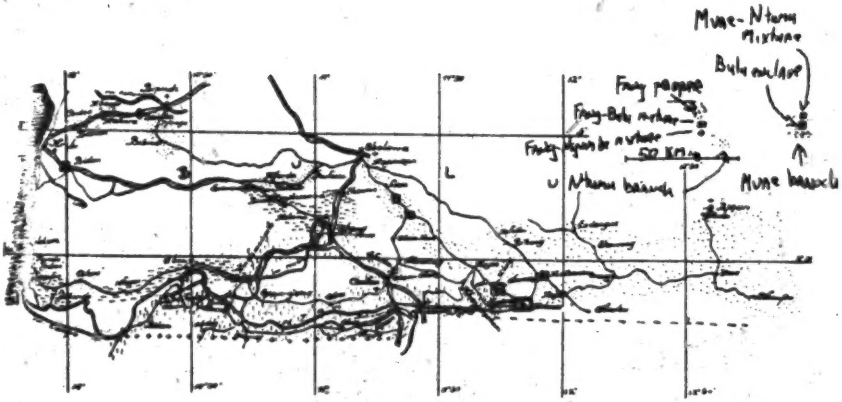
361 563 The Fang villages which are to be found furthest west in the direction of the ocean are situated near Bipindi and on the road from Bipindi to Kribi. Some of them alternate with Bulu villages, others are composed of mixed populations consisting, for example, of Fang and Bulu, Fang and Ngumba, or Mvae and Ntumu /Ntum?/. Nor are the villages and trails south of Ebolowa in the great forest inhabited by homogeneous populations. Enclaves from one group are settled with another, and intermingle with each other. The transition from the somewhat educated Bulu to the primitive inhabitants of the great forest occurs imperceptibly. Because of the inhospitable territory which they occupy, the Fang are dispersed in the enormous forest all the way to the ocean and are to be found here and there among the Mvae. They 313 lead the unstable existence of lumbermen in order to force from the land the bare means of subsistence.

The settlements of the Mvae are scattered. Some are located on the periphery of Ambam to the east and north, others are south-southeast of Ebolowa, and still others are to be found on the lower part of the N'Tem, from a point east of Nyabessan as far as the ocean.

4: Dugast--28a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9 Fang

101
131
563

FANG Peoples



[Map 12]

113 Frazer, James George. "The Native Races of Africa and Madagascar," Anthologia Anthropologica (London: Percy Lund Humphries and Co., 1938), pp. 165-66.

Numerous unpublished reports by Bertaut, André Raynaud, E. André, and H. Richard, members of the administration, are to be found in the archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs (Bureau des Affaires Politiques) and among the documents of the S.E.C. /Société d' Etudes Camerounaises/.

Moisel Map, H 1 and 2, Kribi.

THE BULU

131 The actual Bulu inhabit an area which stretches from east to west
● 101 in a thin band from 10° to 13°10 longitude and extends from 2°35
to 3°15 north latitude toward the east. Toward the west their villages
[36] only extend along two parallel trails, then go in a single line within 30 kilometers of the ocean.

North of this horizontal band, in an area which extends from 12° to 12°35 longitude and from 3°35 to 4°30 north latitude, are to be found the Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda. We are including these groups among the Bulu on the authority of their traditions.

133 Physical Geography. The Bulu territory is a huge, very monotonous plateau covered with forest. It is situated at an altitude of 600 to 650 meters on the average, with a few hills rising 150 to 200 meters at most above the rest. The hills are round or conical in shape and generally wooded.

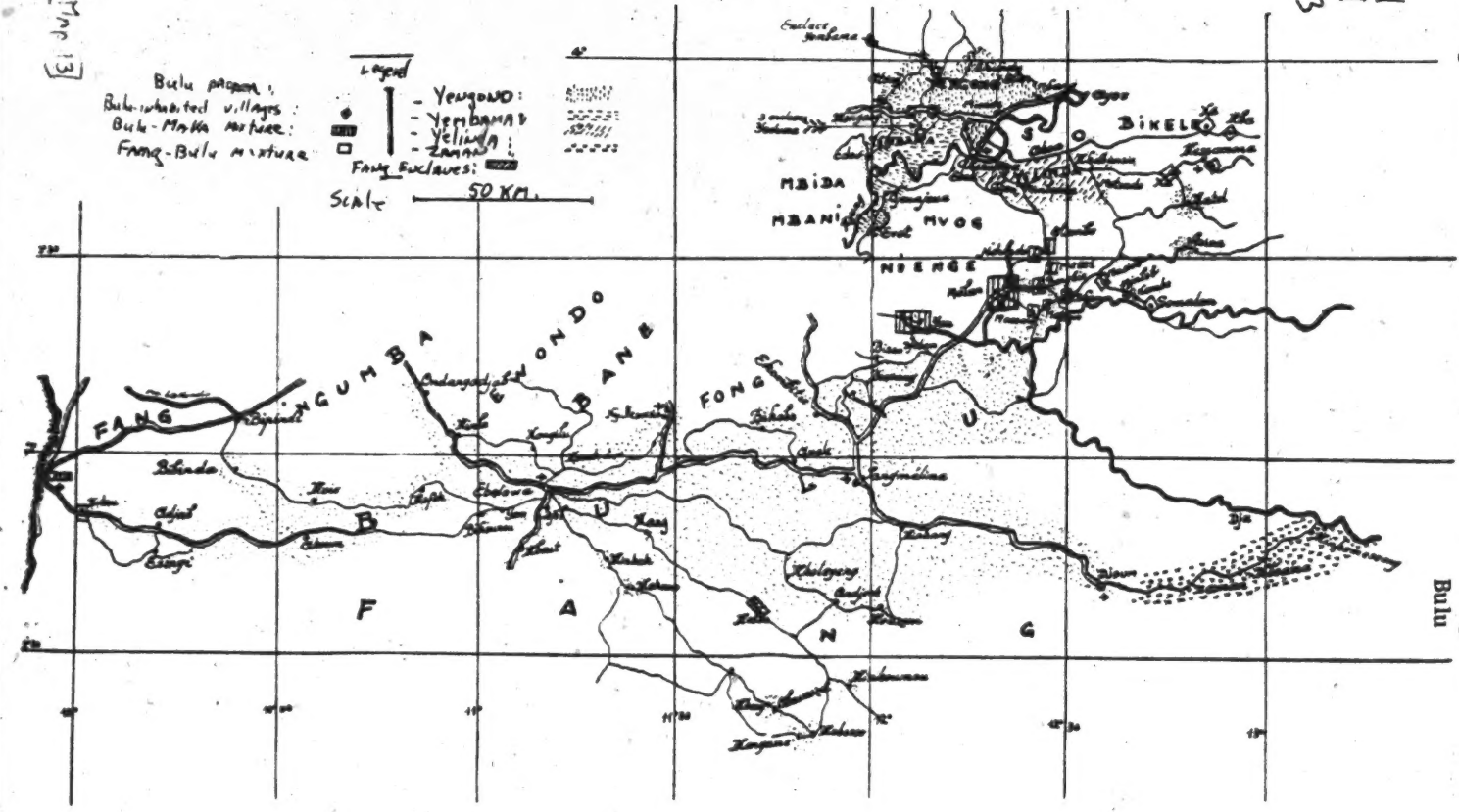
The actual Bulu country (an area of about 9,936 square km.) is watered, on the one hand, by little tributaries which flow from the left bank of the Nyong and form valleys going from southeast to northwest. In the east the branch called the Zaman flows for 60 kilometers, touches the only trail in the thickness of the forest at a distant spot, and meets the Dja River, a tributary of the Sanga /sic/, beyond 13° longitude.

361 The Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda are settled on a
133 strip of land going from north to south in an area which is part prairie and part forest. From the plain of the Sanaga the country rises gradually, and in the northern part of the Yengono country a chain of hills separates the waters of the Sanaga and the Nyong basins. The three peoples are settled south of this line in the Nyong Basin

101
131
563

Bulu Peoples

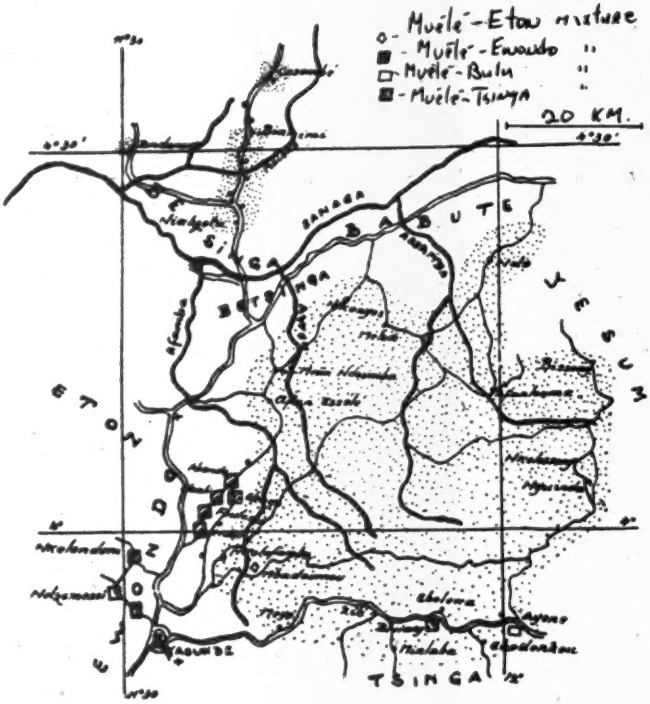
[Map 13]



4: Dugast--37a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Mvele

101
131
563

Muélé Peoples

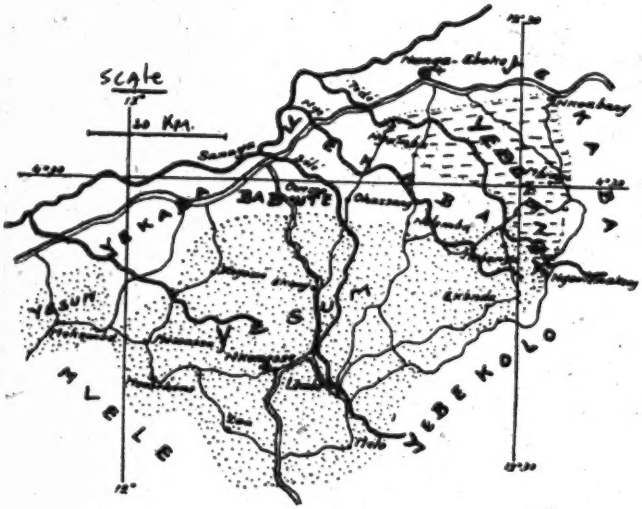


[MAP 14]

4:Dugast--40a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Yesum
Yebekanga

101
131

Yesum and Yebekanga



[MAP 15]

Yesum
Yebekanga
Yekaba

174

1. Bertaut, Le droit coutumier des Boulous. Monographie d'une tribu du Sud-Cameroun (The Customary Law of the Bulu. A Monograph Concerning a South Cameroon Tribe)," (Paris, 1935), p. 45.

As for the Yebekanga, the administrator Chauleur says that "it is impossible to show a common origin for the Yebekanga and the Yesum. It seems likely, however, that this tribe climbed from the shores of the Nyong at a fairly recent time." (2)

2. Unpublished report on February 28, 1933. /86/

Here we have grouped the Yesum and the Yebekanga together despite contradictions in our sources. We have done so simply because of the possibility that they migrated in the same direction. According to their accounts, it would seem that their migration took place quite recently, just a few years before the coming of the Europeans. In the course of it they clashed with peoples of the same Pahouin origin who had come from the north about a hundred years ago, and pushed them back toward their present habitats.

161 Demography. The population of the Yesum is decreasing in spite of apparently good conditions. At present the ratio of births to deaths is -2.6 percent.

163 The sterility rate rises as high as 25.53 percent, and the fertility rate is 3.4 pregnancies per woman.

Bibliography

113 Thierry. "Dienstreise nach Esum-Sannaga /Official Trip to Esum-Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1903, pp. 521-23.

THE YEKABA

● 101 Location: 12° to 12°50 long.
5°20 to 5°45 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: about 1, 602 square km.

161 Population: 14, 500 inhabitants

Density: 9.2 persons per square km.

133 All of the Yekaba country is located on the prairie which extends through the plain on the right bank of the Sanaga River. The country has few valleys; it is watered by tributaries of the Sanaga, the Tédé and the Nyé, which are bordered by forest.

101 The information provided by various observers (the administrators Chauleur, Cournarie, and Boudineau) gives no clear indications as to the general grouping in which we should place this group of peoples settled on the right bank of the Sanaga. All French maps give the general name of Badjia, and under it are classed several groups not all of whom are known to have a common origin. The name "Badjia" may be but a nickname (according to Boudineau). German maps use only the name "Yekaba, " concerning which Chauleur also says: "Among these tribes (of the Badjia group), the most important is the Yekaba, and it gives it's name to the region. " (1)

1. Unpublished report of February 28, 1933.

114 According to Cournarie, the Yekaba and several kindred groups originate among the Yalongo who live on the northern bank of the Sanaga, directly north of their present habitat. Under pressure from the Babute, who were themselves pushed back by the Fulbe, these peoples fled south and crossed the Sanaga River. It is possible that at first they occupied all of the territory north of the Nyong, together with their neighbors the Bamvele. Later they were pushed back toward the Sanaga by the migration of the Yesum-Yebekanga coming from the south. (2) These two waves moving in opposite directions clashed and interpenetrated, producing the present confusion. The Yekaba found themselves split in two by the Yebekanga, who formed /87/ an enclave in their midst. The peoples of the left bank of the Sanaga (in the administrative subdivision of Nanga-Eboko) are thus composed of two different elements: the somewhat older inhabitants who came originally from the north, went south, and were pushed back, and the more recent arrivals who came from the south and pushed back the former.

These two groups, one coming from the north, the other from the south, and arriving at different times, are probably both part of the

Yekaba
Bamvele, Bobili

174 long migration of the Pahouin—although the name "Yalongo" spoken of in their geneologies is reminiscent of the Beti. Once again we are aware of the complexity of the Beti-Pahouin intermixture.

361 The villages and huts spread through the bush give an impression
491 of poverty, although in 1903 the Germans noted that the great trade route from Bertoua to Yoko passed through Yekaba territory. /Map 16/ At the present time the whole length of the territory is serviced by the great eastern highway (Yaoundé—Nanga-Eboko—Bertoua).

197 Language. The fact that the Yekaba form part of the Pahouin migration is apparent from G. Tessmann's tribal map, where they are shown in the large Pahouin blot—under the general heading of "Mvele." We will return to this subject later in the chapter on the Bamvele.

161 Demography. The Yekaba are definitely decreasing in number.

165 The infant mortality rate among them is 34.3 percent. The sterility
163 rate is 33.93 percent; the fertility rate is 4.3 pregnancies per woman, but with about 10 percent stillbirths.

161 The population balance shows a ratio of -4.4 percent births to deaths.

Bibliography

113 Thierry. "Dienstreise nach Esum-Sannaga /Official Trip to Esum-Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1903, p. 522.

Sieber, J. "Die Wute /The Wute/," Lebenshaltung, Kultur und religiöse Weltanschauung eines Afrikanischen Volkstammes /Attitude toward Life, Cultural and Religious Attitudes of an African Tribe/ (Berlin: Reimer, Vohsen, 1925), pp. 112-13.

Unpublished reports of the administrators Cournarie, Chauleur, Gatau, and Boudineau.

Moisel map, G3, Dume. /88/

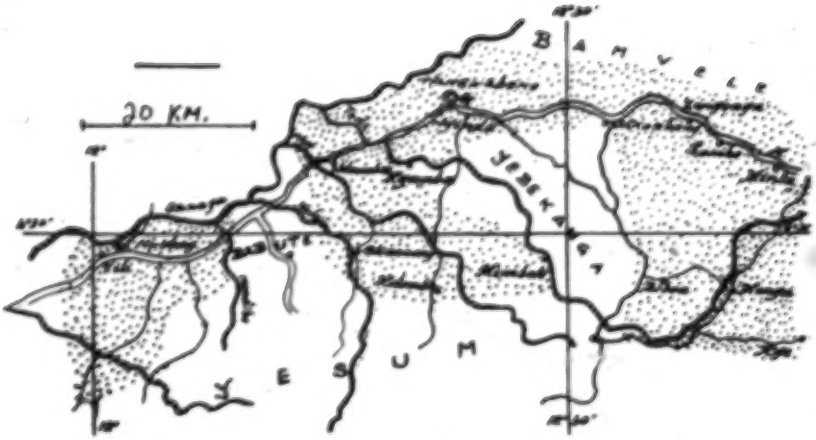
THE BAMVELE AND THE BOBILI

131 Location: 12°30 to 13°30 long.
4°35 to 4°50 north lat.

● 101 On all German maps the people we call Bamvele are designated by the name of Bele (see the Moisel map and Tessmann's tribal map).

4:Dugast--43a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Yekaba

●101
131 YeKaba Peoples



[Map 16]

101 We connect the Bobili with the Bamvele because, on the one hand, they do not appear separately from the Bele on the Moisel map (Dume, G3), and, on the other, the traditions pertaining to their origins are not precise enough to permit us to draw a conclusion differing from that of the Germans.

Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: 2, 472 square km.

161 Population: Bamvele—18, 452 inhabitants
Bobili—6, 247 inhabitants

Density: 10 persons per square km.

133 The Bamvele are close neighbors of the Yekaba and the Yebekolo in the north; they occupy a large homogeneous territory on the border between forest and prairie. The country is almost flat, extending into the Sanaga plain and borders the river for about 30 kilometers. The territory is watered by several broad tributaries of the Sanaga. In the east, one of these tributaries, the Long, serves as a frontier between the Bamvele and the Babute, who surround them everywhere except in the south. A few Bamvele villages have been established [361] on the right bank of the Long, and they border the Bertoua road for a few kilometers.

174 Like their neighbors, the Yekaba, the Bamvele in their traditions tell that their origins are to be sought among the Yalongo north of the Sanaga. They too were pushed by the Babute who were under pressure from the Fulbe; they fled south and crossed the Sanaga a little more than a hundred years ago. Their history is identical with that of their neighbors, the Yekaba. /Map 17/ /89/

173 The Bobili believe that they are native to the territory, but they say that in former times their country extended west, beyond the Long. Therefore, the impact upon them of the Babute and Fulbe movements would have been very slight. (1)

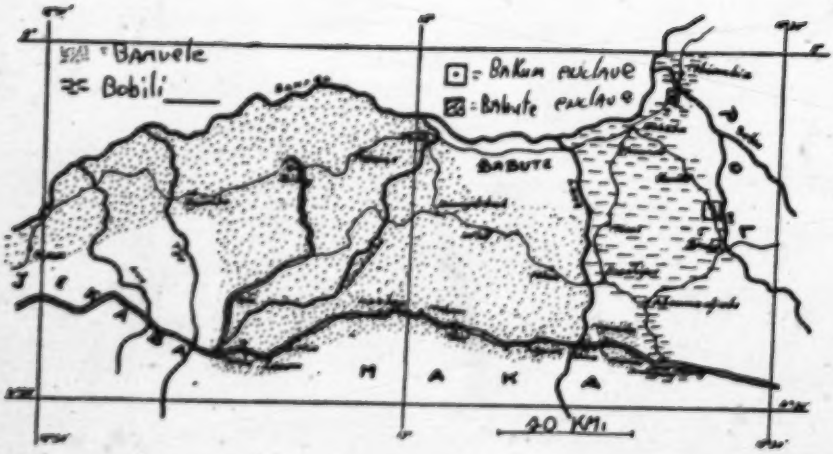
1. Unpublished report of Mr. Brothier-Oubre for May, 1945.

114 The administrator Chauleur carried out prolonged research in an attempt to untangle the network of peoples on the banks of the Sanaga. He does not feel that he can make a statement about the remote origins of the Yalongo, but he poses the following problem: "Could they be related to the Ba-yoka of the Congo who emigrated south

4:Dugast--44a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Bamvele
Bobili

101
131
563

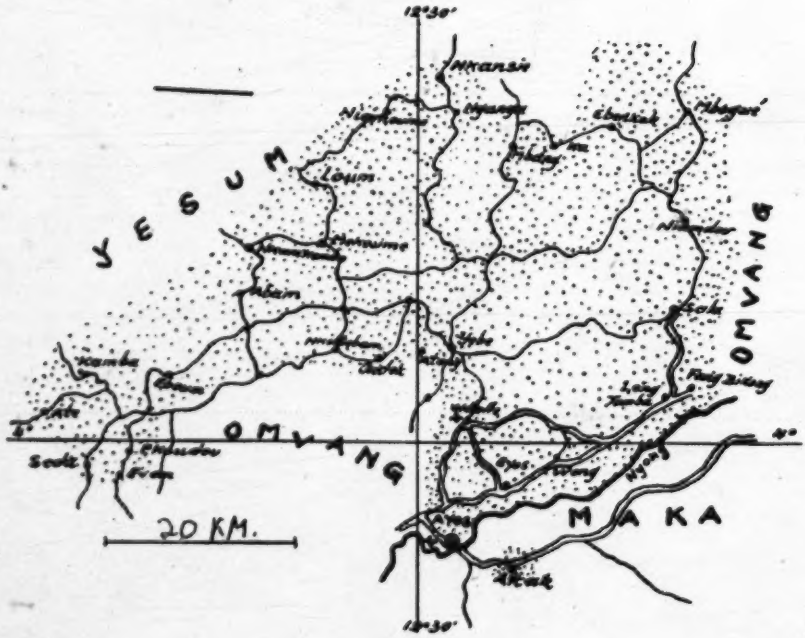
[Map 17]



4:Dugast--46a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Yebekolo

●101
131

Yebekolo Peoples

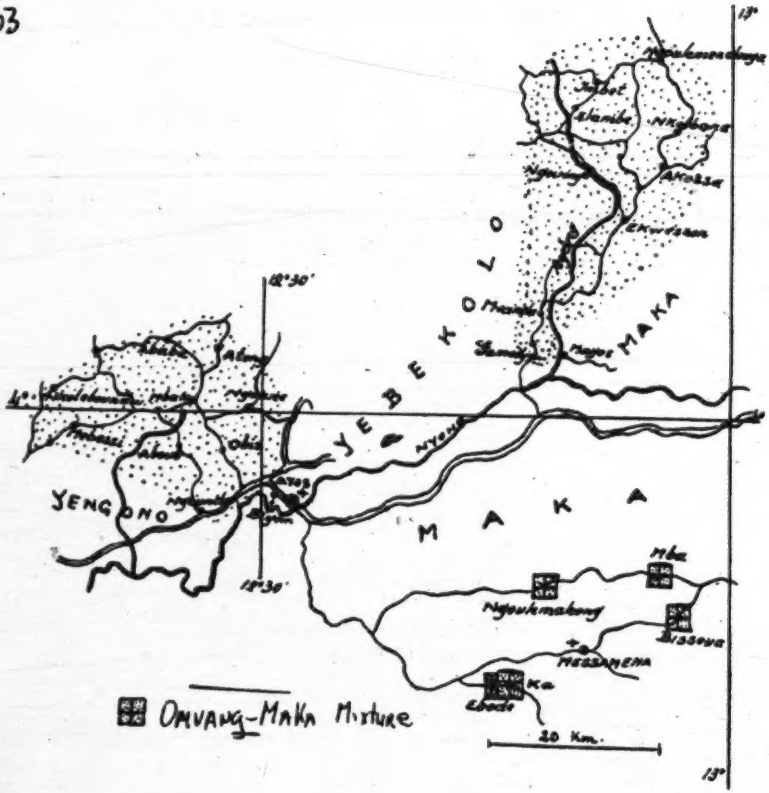


[Map 18]

4: Dugast--49a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Omvang

101
131
563

Omvang Peoples



[Map 19]

THE MBIDA-MBANE AND THE MVOGO-NIENGE

131 Location: Mbida-Mbane—11°40 to 12°15 long.
4°20 to 4°50 north lat.
Mvogo-Nienge—12° to 12°28 long.
4°20 to 4°45 north lat.

Physical Geography. Areas: Mbida-Mbane—1, 548 square km.
Mvogo-Nienge—710 square km.

101 The origins of the Mbida-Mbane and the Mvogo-Nienge seem to be similar enough for us to discuss them together here.

Geographically they are neighbors. The Mbida-Mbane are located on both sides of the Nyong River, in two sections of about equal size in the north and in the south.

The Mvogo-Nienge are their neighbors to the east, south of the Nyong.

133 Both peoples occupy fertile forest regions. The river Nyong flows northeast to southwest through the middle of Mbida-Mbane country. The Mvogo-Nienge inhabit its banks for only a few kilometers, upstream from Akonolinga.

Human Geography

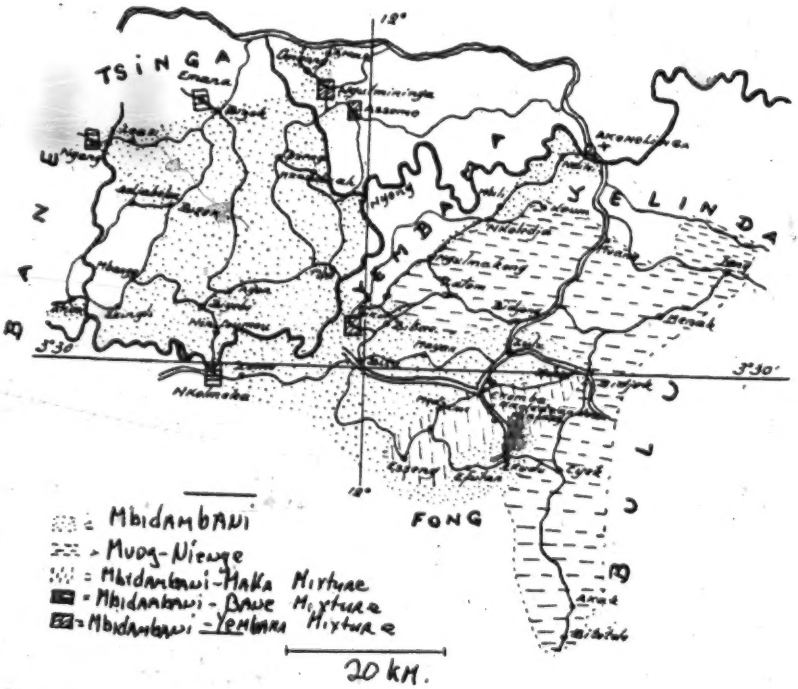
161 Population: Mbida-Mbane—19, 707 inhabitants
Mvogo-Nienge—7, 291 inhabitants
Densities: Mbida-Mbane—12.8 persons per square km.
Mvogo-Nienge—10.26 per square km.

174 History. The traditions of the Mbida-Mbane as well as those of the Mvogo-Nienge tell of ancestors living on the right bank of the Sanaga, as do those of the Yeduma, the Yengono, and the Yembama (the last two groups have been classified by Tessmann among the Bulu). It is said that three slaves of the same master, whose lives were in danger as a consequence of a great palaver, escaped and crossed the Sanaga. Since they were slaves, naturally no mention is made of their ethnic family. Their descendants comprise a number of the peoples who live in the environs of the Nyong at the present time.

241 Both groups live in a fertile country where the cultivation of food crops may be found adjacent to prosperous cacao and coffee plantations. The inhabitants on the banks of the Nyong supplement their diets with fish.

4: Dugast--51a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Mbida-Mbane
Mvogo-Nienge

● 101 Mbidambani and
131 Mvog-Nienge Peoples
563



[Map 20]

114 their own penetrating movement, and in a way coming to meet them.

●101 [74] The Fang -- or Pahouin [Pahuin] -- occupy in an oblique direction, northeast to southwest, the upper part of Gabon, with the line of the Ogooué roughly forming their southern frontier. [161] They represent 127,000 inhabitants out of the 415,000 living in this territory. They are separated by the Cameroons frontier from a collection of related and particularly active peoples numbering more than 550,000 individuals. (1) They are divided by the

1. Cf. I. Dugast, Inventaire ethnique du Sud-Cameroun [Ethnical Inventory of the South Cameroons], I.F.A.N., Douala, 1949; or "Esquisse ethnologique pour servir à l'étude des principales tribus du Cameroun français... [Ethnological Sketch to Serve for the Study of the Principal Tribes of the French Cameroons]," Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Camérounaises, pp. 21-22, 1948.

frontiers of Spanish Guinea which, with an essentially Fang population (of nearly 100,000 individuals), isolates closely related groups. The hazards of colonial expansion have led to this partition into three "blocs" which were subject to different policies and condemned for a long time to ignorance of each other.

174 As to the arrival of the Fang in Gabon, we possess a few guide marks. According to our investigations in Woleu-N'Tem, the settlement goes back in this region eight or nine generations, which corresponds to the second half of the eighteenth century. According to E. Trezenem the Fang reached the Middle Ogooué at the beginning of the nineteenth century, (2) and their arrival at the estuary

2. E. Trezenem, "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan du Moyen-Ogooué [Ethnographic Notes on the Fang Tribes of the Middle Ogooué]," Journal de la Société des Africanistes, Vol. 6, f. I, 1936.

174 forest region was symbolized by the legend told of the adzap (ažambura) hole, referring to the obligation of all migrating groups [75] to pass through a hole dug in the adžap tree. Some of the educated Fang of the present day lay stress on the origins as reported by tradition, stressing the linguistic kinship between the Fang and Zandé dialects, (1) thus linking them to the civilizations of the

1. Kinship recognized by L. Homburger, Les Langues negro-africaines [Negro-African Languages], Paris, 1941, p. 35.

Upper Nile (and from there perhaps to Egypt), recalling the period when their ancestors were dressed "exactly like the Haoussa." (2)

2. In the modern version of the legend relating to the Ndong tribe (dispersed in Woleu-N'Tem).

This more or less explicit desire to give themselves "noble" origins corresponds to the more or less conscious desire of the Fang to force themselves on the forest populations of Gabon.

174 It is necessary to examine precisely the distribution of the
●101 Fang throughout Gabon, and to recall their relations with the neighboring territories of the Cameroons and Spanish Guinea. The first classification attempted by early authors (3) was a division into

3. Captain Maignan, "Etudes sur le pays Pahouin [Studies on the Pahouin Country]", (dating from 1912), Bulletin de la Société des Recherches Congolaises, No. 14, 1931; and L. Mba, "Essai de droit coutumier pahouin [Essay on Pahouin Common Law]," Bulletin de la Société des Recherches Congolaises, June 25, 1938.

"lands": Betsi land (region north-northwest of the Estuary, overlapping Spanish Guinea); Maké land (region southwest of the

174 Estuary and Ogooué-Ivindo), Ntoum land (region north of Woleu-
101 N'Tem, overlapping the Cameroons). This simplified division does not take into account all the groups existing in Gabon, and does not indicate the overlappings between tribes which occur in each of the "lands" where there is constant migratory movement. Moreover, these names have barely survived. (4) They have been

4. Maignan, nearly fifty years ago, considered such a division fictitious.

obliterated by the general designation of "Fang" and by specific names (of tribe or clan, especially of family lines) representing local reality. One might think from certain statements of G. Tessmann and I. Dugast (5) that these names have mostly denoted

5. G. Tessmann, Die Pangwe [The Pangwe], 2 vols., Berlin, 1913; I. Dugast, Inventaire ethnique [Ethnical Inventory], chapter devoted to the Pahuin.

migratory groups that have dominated and assimilated various foreign groups and have thus acquired certain distinctive cultural characteristics.

Father Trilles asserts in a study published in 1912 that similar distinctions can be explained "from the point of view of dialects [78] and not from that of the customs or habits (which) are exactly the same." (1) But the dialectal variants themselves which appear

1. Father H. Trilles, Le Totémisme chez les Fan [Totemism among the Fang], Bibliothèque Anthropos, Vol. 1, fasc. 4, 1912, p. 12.

notably at the level of the names of clans (beginning with Esa, Esé, Esi, ... in the case of the Betsi; with Eba, Ebi ... in the case of the Maké) have become blurred. At the time of the migrations several groups changed their clan name, having become

174 contaminated, so that the linguistic map is no longer indicative
101 of these ancient distributions.

From these facts two conclusions can definitely be drawn. The Fang population is not represented in Gabon by large homogeneous zones as in the Cameroons (where the Evondo country, the Boulou country, etc., can be clearly distinguished). The diverse Fang groups have become interdispersed and in the course of their almost incessant migrations since the second half of the eighteenth century have "digested" the foreign traits peculiar to the peoples they have met. And it is in the Lower Gabon, at the end of their journeyings that the Fang groups present a state of maximum confusion.

162 Administrative documents permit one to get a present-day
178 picture of the distribution of the Fang, a precise picture — at least so it seems. The weakening (indeed the near disappearance) of distinctions between tribes and clans, the breaking up, the scattering, and half autonomy of the various groups, have led to the confusion of these two types of grouping and to placing them on the same plane. The administration cannot be blamed for this, for these two notions are no longer always precise in the minds of the present-day Fang. Let us discuss, first of all, the two zones by which this people reached Gabon, Woleu-N'Tem, and Ogooué-Ivindo. (2)

2. Cf. G. Balandier, Rapport préliminaire de la Mission d'information scientifique en Pays Fang [Preliminary Report of the Mission of Scientific Information on Fang Country], Brazzaville, 1949, étude mimiographiée [mimeographed study], pp. 5-10.

162 Region of the Woleu-N'Tem
361

This region presents a certain physical unity and a true ethnic unity. It is inhabited exclusively by Fang, a relatively preferable demographic situation. In 1949 there were over 71,000 inhabitants. It is surrounded only by either identical or related Fang groups; it

List of Tribal Names Occurring in Alexandre and Binet,
Le Groupe Dit Pahouin (1)

● 101 Akélé /Kalai (Akelle)?/
Asembé /Simba (Asimba)/
Ati
Babinga /Binga/
Babonté /Wute (Bafute)/
Babouté (Wutéré)
Badjué
Bafia /Fia/
Bajieli /Jelli (Badiele)/ /Pygmy, see Beye'ele/
Bajoué /Badjue/
Bakoko •
Bakota /Kota/
Bakwele /Kwele/
Balengi /Lengi (Balenge)?/
Bamiléke •
Bamoum /Mum/
Bamum /Mum/
Bamvele
Bané •
Bantu-Myéné
Bapounou /Puno (Bapuno)?/
Basa /Bassa/
Basa-Bakoko /Bassa-Bakoko/
Batchanga /Betchenga/ (Tsinga)
Batenga /Batanga?; hence Tanga?/
Bati •
Baya •
Bedzi (Betschi)
Bekôé
Bele
Benga •
Béti
Betsi •
Beye'ele /Jelli (Bayele)/ /Pygmy, see Bajieli/
Bibaya
Bikélé •

6:Alexandre and Binet--v G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

101 "Boulé" (Boulou)
Boulou /Bulu/
Bundju
Duala * (Dawala /Diwala/)
Dzimou /Nzimu/
Dzimu /Nzimu/
Esel *
Eton *
Evuzok
Ewôndo
Fang * or Fan *
Fong
Fulbé /Fulani/
Galoa *
Jem /Dzem/
Kaka *
Kombe *
Konabembé /Konambembe/
Kozimé
Kozimé-Njem (or Jem) /Dzem/
Kumbe *
Mabea /Bea/
Maka * (Mekaé)
Maké
Mangisa
Mazouna
Mbida-Mbané
Medzimé /Ndsime (Medjimi, Mendsime)?/
Meka
Mekaé
Méké
Mekei (Makei)
Mekina
Mekuk
Mvog-Nyenge
Mvaé *
"Mvègne" (Mvae?)
Mvélé *
Myéné

101 Ngoumba /Ngumba/
Ngumba *
Nkomi *
Ntoumou /Ntum/
Okak
Okande /Kanda/
Omvang
b-Osyéba /Osieba/
Ouroungou /Rungu (Orungu)/
Pahouin *
Pongoué /Mpongwe/
Pongwé /Mpongwe/
Séké *
Sonanke
Vili-Kongo /Vili/ /Kongo/
Wutéré (sing. Wuté) /Wute/
Yambasa /Yambassa/
Yanda
Yasum
Yebekanga
Yekaba
Yebekolo
Yelinda
Yembama
Yengono
Yesum
Yetudi
Zaman
Zimu /Nzimu/

1. Names in brackets / / are the equivalents used in Murdock's tribal list /George P. Murdock, Africa: Its Peoples and their Culture History, New York, 1959, pp. 425-456/. Those names asterisked are the same as those in Murdock's list, op. cit. This list was compiled by Mary Rouse, editor of the English translation.

131 (1) Names of stations.
132 (2) Geographical co-ordinates of the stations.
(3) T: mean monthly temperature in degrees (general mean for the last 10 years). R: mean monthly rainfall in millimeters (general mean for the last 10 years).
(4) Total annual rainfall in millimeters, 1946-1955.
(5) Temperature extremes: maxima and minima during the year (mean for the last 10 years, months and degrees) (Oyem and N'Djolé, have only pluviometric posts).

/4/

Chapter 2

Ethnological and Historical Position

1. Nomenclature

101 The term "Pahouin" is undoubtedly incorrect, but it is convenient. There exists in fact no African designation applicable to the whole of the group of peoples studied here. Some writers (Martrou, Trilles...) prefer to speak of the Fang or Fan group, which has the drawback of creating a confusion with the tribes properly called Fang, which constitute but a fraction of this group. That is why, along with Largeau, Tessmann, Madame Dugast, and others, I prefer to speak of the Pahouin.

It should be observed that this term, long taken amiss by the Africans, in recent years tends to be adopted by them in connection with the political regrouping of tribes, for the very reason that it
101 does not give prominence to any one of them. Thus the Mitzic
614 Conference in 1947, bringing together the Fang, Boulou /Bulu/, Ntoumou /Ntum/, Mvaé, and Fong, took the name Pahouin Conference, Ntoumou, Boulou, Mvaé, and Fong declining to be lumped together under the designation "Fang."

101 Even the origin of the word "Pahouin" is debatable. The most plausible hypothesis is that of Father Trilles, who derives it from m-fañ (radical fañ plus the singular classifier m/be) by way of Pongoué /Mpongwe/, which changes the F to P and is averse to ending

101 a word with a consonant. One would thus have *Mpa'ngwen, from which Europeans have made mpawen, then Pahouin.

About the term "Fang" itself it should be remarked that the regular form m-fañ (Class I or personal, m/be) is in actual fact hardly ever used by the Pahouin themselves, who prefer their usual ethnical constructions, that is, the radical preceded by mon (son, descendant). Thus one says mone fañ, bo' be fañ, like mon éwôndô, mone bulu (1), etc. The meaning of the word is obscure. It does not mean "man"

[104]

1. I usually employ current Boulou orthography, except for words that have an official spelling in general use, like the names of places (Ebolowa, Ambam, not ébolewo'o, mbam) and certain Gallicized names of tribes (the Boulou, the Ntoumou, but Bulu /adjectival use/ Ntum /adjectival use/; the Fang, but the Fañ group). /The last phrase is meaningless for English, because there is no English equivalent for the distinction between capitalized French nouns of "nationality" and the corresponding noncapitalized substantive adjectives. Hence, in the English translation this distinction will be ignored, the official spelling being used for tribal names whether used as noun or adjective. —Ed./

It should be observed, by the way, that bulu and éwôndo are plurals of which the singular (*mulu, *ôwôndo) is not used.

(vir), which is fam, a mistake rightly /5/ noticed by Father Trilles, who nevertheless connects it with a root FA connoting the idea of virility, of violence (fa = machete, fañe = to do on purpose, intentionally, etc).

2. Various Groups and Territorial Distribution

174 It is not easy to define the exact boundaries of the Pahouin group.
583 The lists given by different authors include up to ten tribes, one way or another—thousands of individuals. At the end of the nineteenth century, penetration in extended order* prevented ascertaining

174
53

/* Ordre disperse (Military conception) = extended order. —Ed./

definite relationships. Later, on the other hand, the Pahouinization of neighboring tribes, subjugated or merely influenced, brought about assimilations that were often misleading.

Broadly speaking, we may say that a large body of invaders, rather recently come from the northeast—the Pahouin properly so called—assimilated through contacts on the one hand, some of the inhabitants of the invaded area, on the other hand, likewise assimilated other invaders who followed in their wake. What is certain is that this assimilation or Pahouinization of foreign tribes is going on at the present day, partly due to the mere fact of colonization.

We shall distinguish in this study between the invaders—Fang, Boulou, Beti—on the one hand, and, on the other, the neighboring populations that have been or are being Pahouinized.

A. The Invaders or True Pahouin

● 101 Theories as to their boundaries are too many and contradictory for all me to expatiate on here.

In Father Trilles' view they are divided into two branches: b-Osyéba /Osieba/ in the east, Fang in the west. The Mekuk are connected with the first, the Méké, Betsi, "Mvègne" (Mvaé?), and "Boulé" (Boulou) with the second. Largeau like Schnee bases his division between Bedzi (betschi) and Mekei (makei) on linguistic considerations; the first, in the west, tend to begin their remarks with the formula ma zô na, the second, in the east, with me ki na. Here there appears to be a partial confusion between the Pahouin properly speaking, and the Pahouinized Maka (Mekaé) (1). Madame Dugast

[197]

1. There are indeed two Fang dialects, corresponding to the zô/ki (or jô/ki) criterion, but the people who speak them, all call themselves Fang. Besides, there is a Maka or Mekaé tribe whose language is close to eastern Fang, which it has perhaps influenced.

[197]

101 very rightly points out that the problem is visibly complicated by the existence of reciprocal influences. I therefore suggest, with many reservations, an empirical classification based on the geographical position of the various tribes, the dialectical differences, and the reconcilable portions of traditions and genealogies, all together.

Thus there may be distinguished:

in the south: a Fang group, in the rather broad sense
in the north: a Beti group, perhaps more Pahounized than Pahouin
between the two: a Boulou group /6/

a) The Fang group in the south would include:
the Fang, properly so called, of the Ogooué Valley in the southern Cameroons
the Ntoumou (or Ntum) in northern Gabon (Woleu-N'Tem), Spanish Guinea and the southern Cameroons (Ambam subdivision)
the Mvaé, split into two blocks, to the east and west of the Ntoumou
perhaps the Osyéba of the Ogooué-Ivindo region, nowadays merged with the eastern Fang

b) The Boulou group would include:
the Boulou of the Sangmélima, Kribi, and Ebolowa (Cameroons) regions
no doubt the Zaman of the valley of the Dja
probably the Yengono, Yembama, and Yelinda of the Nyong Valley and the Okak of Spanish Guinea
perhaps the Yesum, Yebekanga, Yebekolo /misprinted in text as Yekebolo/, and Mvélé (1)

1. The last, in spite of the similarity of name, are to be distinguished from the Bamvele or Bele and are to be connected with the Beti.

[104] The situation of the Beti is more obscure. They may perhaps have had a different origin from the true Pahouin, whom they would have followed in their migration toward the southwest. A striking cultural and linguistic likeness to the Fang is observed among certain tribes who are nevertheless separated from them geographically by the Boulou. This likeness disappears progressively as one moves northward. It might therefore be a question of some sort of intermediary

101 grouping between the Bantu of the central Cameroons and the Pahouin.

However that may be, certain tribes cannot be studied except in connection with the true Pahouin:

the Ewôndo of the Nyong-and-Sanaga region
the Bané of Nyong-and-Sanaga, N'Tem, and Dja-and-Lobo
the Fong of the Dja-and-Lobo and N'Tem (the last, moreover, influenced by the Boulou)
the Mbida-Mbané and Mvog-Nyenge, east of Yaoundé, who are probably descendants of prisoners-of-war of the preceding

The Eton of Saa and Obala may also be associated, but already with more difficulty, with the Ewôndo, for instance. On the other hand, the other Beti tribes ought rather to be classed with the Pahouinized peoples discussed below.

B. Assimilated or Pahouinized Tribes

101 Among these we must distinguish those who were in the country at
174 the arrival of the Pahouin from those that followed.
563 a) Tribes that followed the Pahouin invasion. These are fundamentally, as pointed out above, the Beti. According to Nekes, some
[197] of the tribes already mentioned still spoke an ati dialect at the time of the German conquest. At the present time one can point out as in the process of "Pahouinization" (Ewôndo dialect):

The Mangisa, Yekaba, Bamvele, Evuzok, Batchanga /Betchenga/ (Tsinga), /7/ Omvang, and Yetudi of the Sanaga. On the other hand, the Beti of the right bank (Bati, Kombe, Bundju, etc.), also few in number, are more drawn toward the Babouté /Wute/, Bafia /Fia/, etc.

b) Aboriginal tribes or tribes established before the Pahouin invasion. There is reason to treat separately the Pygmy groups (Bibaya, Babinga, Beye'ele) and mixed populations (Bekoé) who live symbiotically with the Pahouin without by this fact being really absorbed.

The Pahouin invasion seems to have come on a country occupied by two Bantu groups come from the east several centuries before, which it drove back either toward the sea or toward the present eastern boundary of the Cameroons.

The first of these would have been the Maka and Ngoumba /Ngumba/ group, which was cut in half by the invasion, Maka on the

101
174
563

east, Ngoumba and Mabéa /Bea/ on the west. The Maka (more correctly Mekaé) have been to a large extent absorbed by the invaders, to the point of being confused with them by several authors.

The second group would have been the Kozimé-Njem (or Jem) /Dzem/, Dzimou /Nzimu/, Bajoué /Badjue/ of nearby origin and likewise absorbed to the point of being confused with the true Pahouin group.

3. Neighboring Populations

As I have already pointed out in connection with the Pahouinized peoples, the Pahouin are literally submerged in a Bantu mass.

Their neighbors to the north, on the right bank of the Sanaga, are those whom Madame Dugast calls the Bantu of the central Cameroons. This represents an extremely heterogeneous group, including tribes that claim to be aboriginal along with others that say they are immigrants, with a linguistic, anthropological, and cultural network that effectively prevents any exact classification. The two main tribes contiguous with the Beti-Pahouin are the Bafia and Yambasa /Yambassa/.

Immediately to the east of the above tribes, still in the Sanaga Valley, are the Wutéré (sing. Wuté) /Wute/ known to the colonial administration by their Bantu name of "Bafouté /Bafute/." They are Sudanese, and it seems likely that it was on account of direct pressure from them that the Pahouin crossed the Sanaga.

To the west of the Yambasa-Bafia, the Sanaga Valley is occupied by the Basa-Bakoko group on both banks. These tribes are difficult to classify. They must certainly be Bantu. Some writers group them under the name Baso; others connect the Basa /Bassa/ with the central Cameroons, Bantu and the Bakoko with the Beti, even with the Pahouin, to whom they in fact show some cultural resemblances.

Along the coast there are Bantu groups: on the coastal range the Ngumba and Mabéa related to the Mekaé mentioned above; on the coastal plain the Duala group, with the Duala (Dawala /Diwala/), properly speaking, the Batenga, and the Kumbé. The Balengi /Lengi (Balenge) ?/ in Spanish Guinea are probably related either to the Mabéa or to the /8/ Duala. In Gabon the Pongoué (Mpongwé) are a residual Bantu-Myéné group, entirely isolated in the midst of the Fang.

To the east of the Cameroons Pahouin, on the left bank of the Dja, the Mekaé, Badjué, Dzimu /Nzimu/, and Jem are, I repeat,

●101 FM 83

Pahouinized to the point of finding themselves mixed with the Pahouin of the Middle Congo. This mingling is still going on at the present time among the other tribes of the Kozimé group and specifically among the Konabembé /Konambembe/, Esel (1), and Medzimé

[197]

1. The Esel require two comments: first, they appear to speak a language very close to Duala; second, they have the same name as one of the principal Pahouin clans.

/Ndsime (Medjimi, Mendsime)?/. All these tribes, coming from the northeast (Mekaé) or southeast (Kozimé), and Bantu-speakers, formerly had a much more extensive habitat to the west and north, whence they were driven back toward the south by the Baya and Kaka, and toward the east by the Pahouin.

The Bakwelé /Kwele/ of the Middle Congo apparently may also be connected with the Kozimé and, like them, may be considered Pahouinized. They were pushed back onto the left bank of the Ivindo at a comparatively recent date, like their neighbors to the south, the Bakota /Kota/ and the Okandé /Kanda/. The Séké and Akélé /Kalai (Akalle)?/ of the lower Ogooué are probably related to them.

Finally, the Pongwé /Mpongwe/—already mentioned—the Ouroungou /Rungu (rungu)/, Bapounou /Puno (Bapuno)?/, Galoa, and Nkomi of the lower Ogooué probably belong to an intermediary group between the Bantu of the northwest (Duala and coastal group) and the Vili-Kongo in the south (Baumann), the Myéné group. These tribes not long ago occupied most of the territory of the true Fang, whence they have been forced back for a century by the Pahouin invasion, which did not reach the sea until 1890-1900. The Benga (coastal Bantu) and Pongwé of Libreville, isolated in the midst of the Fang, the Ouroungou, Séké, Asembé, Galoa, and Bapounou of Port Gentil and Lambaréné are the last non-Pahouin peoples in existence on the right bank of the Ogooué. The Fang have, it must be added, a solid bridgehead on the left bank in N'Djolé District.

We must remember that throughout Pahouin country there are groups of Pygmies, whose status will be discussed further on.

6: Alexandre and Binet
101, 131, 563, 619

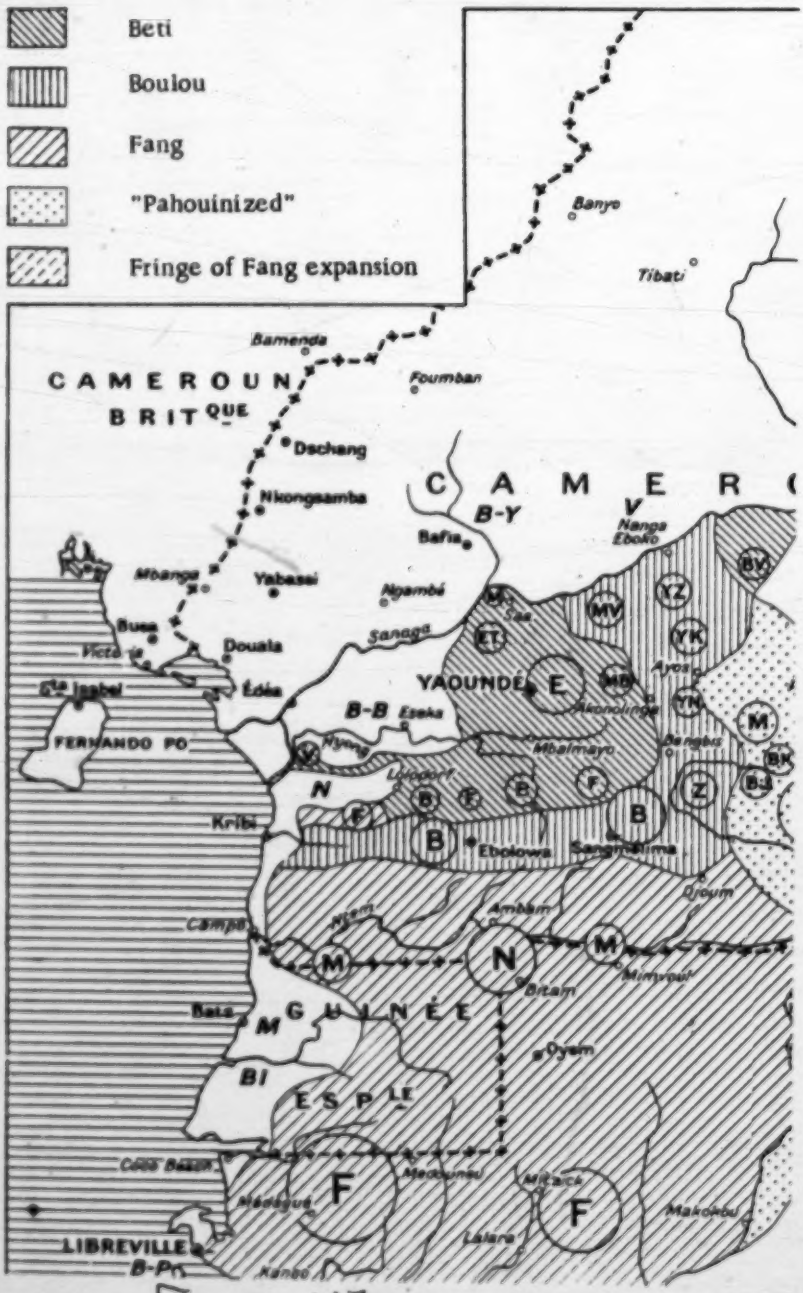
Fang FH9

[Chart for sections of end map.]

A	B
C	D

101
131
563
619

The Pahouin Group

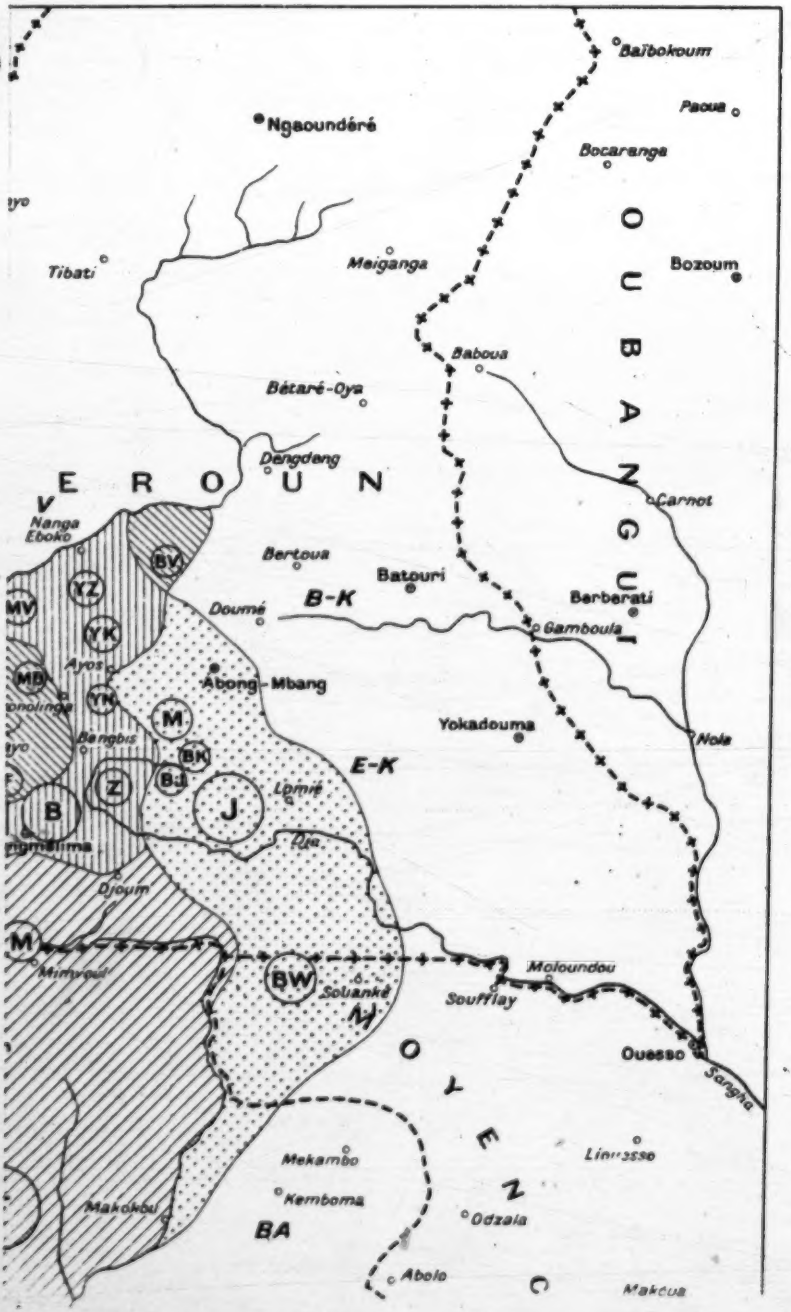


[End Map (A)]

6: Alexandre and Binet-- 183 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

The Pahouin Group

901
131
563
619



[End Map (B)]

6: Alexandre and Binet--184 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

101
131
563
49

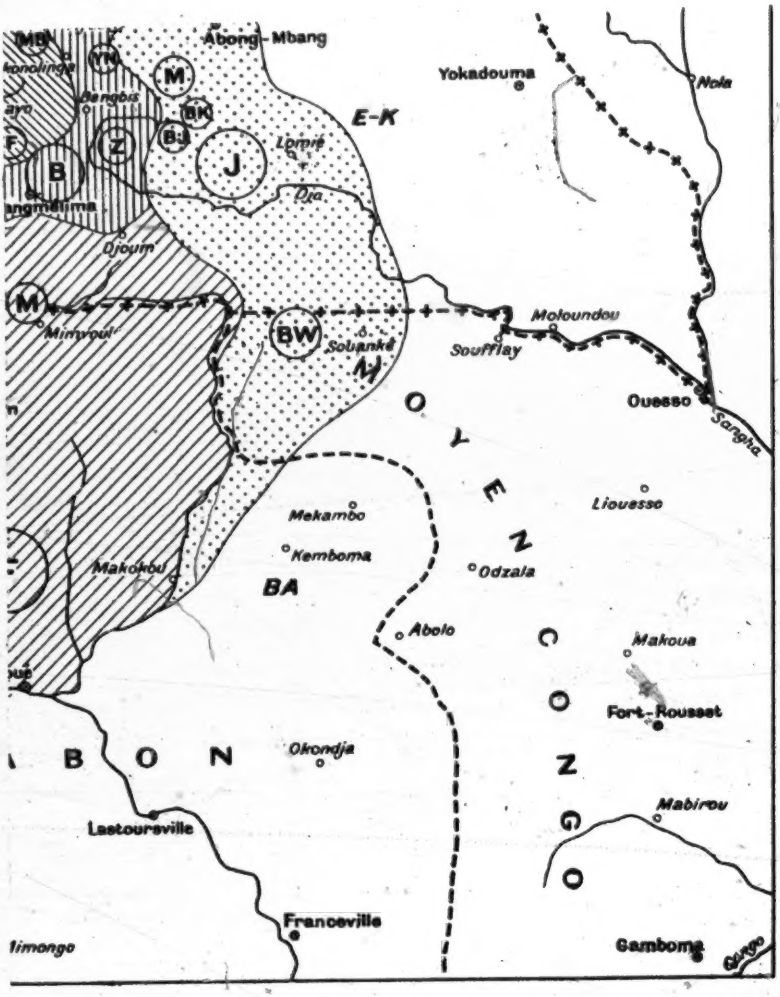
Neighboring Peoples

B-B : Bassa-Bakoko, **B-Y** : Bafia-Yambasa, **V** : Babouté (Vutéré), **B-K**
M-O : Mitshogo-Okandé; **BU** : Bapounou, **NK** : Nkomi, **B-P** : Benga-Pongwé

[End Map (C)]

6: Alexandre and Binet--185 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

101
131
563
619



MB MBIDA-MBANE | B BANE | BV BAMVELE | BI BOULOU | Z ZAMAN | YK YEBEKOLO

N NTOUMOU | M MEKAE | BJ BADJOUE | BW BAKWELE | BK BIKELE | J DZIMOU-JEM

outé (Vutéré), B-K : Baya-Kaka, E-K : Essel-Konabembé, BA : Bakota
B-P : Benga-Pongwé, BI : Balengi; M : Mabéa; BT : Batenga; N : Ngoumba

[End Map (D)]

[11] Chapter I

The Fan Tribe

000 1. Divisions of the Fan Nation. "Fan" and "Pahouin" are two words not only synonymous but identical. The four Fan groups. Tribe, clan, and family (elementary cell).

2. Allied Tribes. Likenesses and differences between the Fan and related and so-called related tribes.

3. Size of Population. Errors in official statistics.

1. Divisions of the Fan Nation

101 Before beginning this study, a word ought first to be said about the Fan [Fang] nation and its divisions into groups, tribes, and clans. [Footnote omitted. --Translator]

The Fan or Pahouin [Pahuin] or Mpawin [Mpangwe] (2) --

101 197

2. The word "Fân" is the truly native word to designate this tribe. Strange as it may seem at first glance and in spite of the great change, "Pahouin" is another form of the same word. The first tribes on the coast with whom we were in contact called the Fân "Mpân," or mu-pân (pân, man), abbreviated to mpân by a process common among these African languages. Thus mpira, powder, in Mpongwé becomes efira in Fan; mpilato, tray, becomes filato; epélé plate, from Spanish "plata," becomes mfil by way of plata, epilata, épila, épèle, efèl, mfèle, mfil, etc. Out of "Mpân," a word which only the tribes

101
197

of the Nsex branch pronounce this way, the northern tribes -- Kombé, Banoko, and others belonging to the Mpongwé branch -- have made "Mpangwé, as none of the languages of the Gabon or Mpongwé group let a word end with a consonant but always require a vowel. "Mpangwé" became "Mpangwen" for the French and soon thereafter "Mpangwin"; it has now turned into "Mpawin," "Pawin," and finally "Pahouin," in which form it is indeed difficult to recognize the original.

101 because these three words [12] refer to the same people -- are the most important tribe of the French Congo and the German [now French] Cameroons.

101 The Fan proper are divided into four distinct families
197 with respect to dialects: Bétsi [Betsi], Méké [Mekei], Fôn, and Bulé [Boale] (in manners and customs they are all absolutely alike). These four groups do not speak such different dialects that they cannot understand one another unless at first meeting; they certainly do so after several days of association.

[Five paragraphs in pp. 12-13 deleted here. --Translator]

101 [13][Of the four groups] the first two are by far the best known, having made the first migrations or at least having been the first in contact with the white man. Everything that has been written about the Fan relates to these [two], particularly to the Bétsi.

The Bulé group is often considered to be connected with either the Fan or the Yaundé, through whom it would form the intermediary link with the Méké. The Fôn (1), or people of the

1. Fôn, bamboo pith, dark depths of the forest.

interior, as the etymology of their name indicates, have remained up to the present time altogether inland beyond the Bétsi and
[197 Méké. Their dialect relates them to the Bétsi, differing in being
194] more guttural. The tribes live closely intertwined in the same

101 territory, though each keeps its own autonomy without intermingling.

101 Each of the four Fan groups are divided into tribes, each
619 with its own chief, territory, and autonomy; none is subordinate
727 to another, all the more so because slaves are not taken in war,
266 for unredeemed captives are promptly eaten.

619 The tribes vary in importance according to the level of
614 development, the kind of chiefs they have had, and the size of
174 their territory. Thus, the Yenkwax possess no more than three sparsely populated villages, and at the most they can muster 300 warriors; the Yengon, [14] though a long-established tribe, have only one village and a few warriors; while the Yemvi, on the contrary, inhabit several hundred villages and number thousands of warriors. But about this term "tribe," let me here mention a very important point: at present, and since a migration which, according to my own research, should be dated 32 or 33 generations back, no more tribes are being formed, only clans. Existing tribes (and we shall see in a moment how they may be distinguished from clans) may be said to have been established about ten centuries ago in our reckoning, which clearly does not mean that they did not exist before that time. Their origin must certainly go back much earlier.

619 A tribe rarely remains homogeneous for long. Many factors
614 contribute to its splitting up, such as a series of migrations, family disputes, and the activities of heads of families who are ambitious or eager to throw off excessive authority. The steady growth of a tribe at the same time leads to the overpopulation of villages and the necessity of looking elsewhere for new hunting and agricultural lands; hence, after an indefinite period, a tribe splits into clans composed of an unspecified and highly variable number of families. Some clans are very large, such as the Esingi, and make up hundreds of villages, while others, either because they are very recent or because of the same disintegrating forces as exist for the tribes, number only a few families.

Clans in turn, as a result of the same circumstances that made tribes split into clans, split into subclans, also of varying importance.

From what I have just said, a fact may be immediately deduced which runs counter to the usual generalizations accepted by Europeans and superficial observers. In the view of the latter the

2. Allied Tribes

101 619 Not only do these four large divisions -- Bétsi, Méké, Bulé, and Fòñ -- make up the Fan nation proper, but a certain number of other tribes revolve within their circle and are connected to the same branch. I say "a certain number" because the interior of the German Cameroons and the hinterland lying between the Woleu, N'tem, and upper Sanga rivers has been little explored. Before our arrival the existence of the Dzèm [Njem] was barely known; the Dzandzama had never been mentioned. These tribes form the intermediary link connecting the Fan to the Batéké branch and through this to the Kanioka and other central Congo tribes, [16] whose folklore has analogies with that of the Fan as I recently pointed out. (1)

1. See Anthropos, Vol. 4, pp. 945-971; Vol. 5, pp. 163-180.

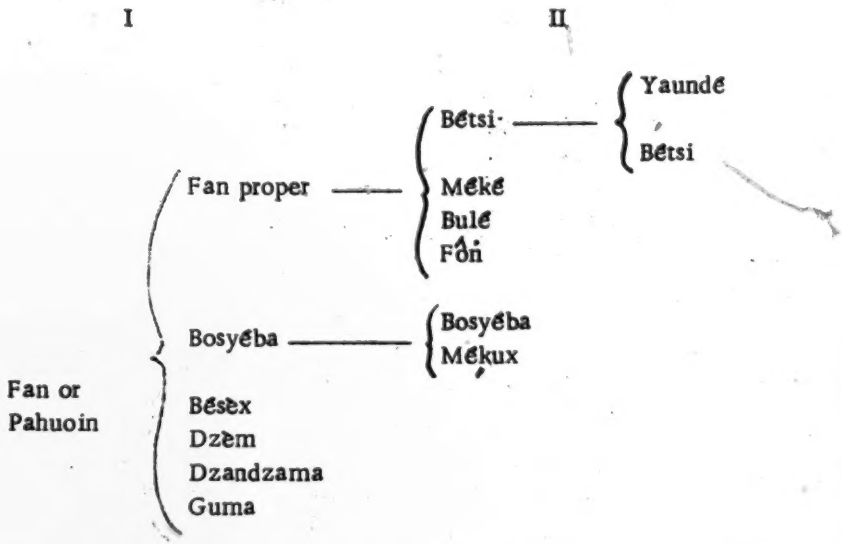
A Yaundé grammar was published not long ago in Anthropos; (2) these people are without doubt an offshoot of the

2. See Anthropos, Vol. 4, pp. 684-701, 919-930.

Bétsi branch. The Bosyéba dialect is somewhat different and is nearer that of the Bubi of Fernando Po; the group also belongs to the Fan nation. Finally, deviating from the primitive stock in progressive order, there are the Dzèm, Dzimu [Ndsime], and Dzandzama, nowadays scarcely leaving the jungle and the country of the Nyamnyam [Niam-Niam, Azande]. In spite of what has 197 been said of them in the past, their language is only distantly related to that of the last tribe. (3)

3. Since certain observers and explorers -- such, for instance, as Allegret, a former Protestant missionary in Gabon, who connects them with the Nyamnyam, Fulah,

101 619 To sum up, the Fan may be divided as follows:



197 The Fan, Bosyéba, Bésèx, Dzèm, Dzandzama, and Guma tribes may be assumed to speak separate languages not dialects of one. These languages are, however, closely related; they have very nearly the same principles and are cognates.

Bétsi, Méké, etc., merely represent dialects.

[One paragraph deleted, repititive. --Translator]

101 619 161 The Dzèm, whose hitherto unpublished language I hope to make known soon, are grouped in the upper N'tem region; their population should not be more than 100,000.

The Dzandzama border them on the southeast and provide a linguistic link to the Batéké, southern neighbors; their population is about that of the Dzèm.

The Bésèx, or Bulu, who occupy a large part of the region to the north of the Ogooue, are a widely dispersed tribe, formerly very powerful, now almost extinct through poison, practitioners [feticheurs], and pressure from the Pahuoin. Their population is not likely to be greater than a few thousand. [18]

101 The Bosyéba ... are no more numerous than the Bésex.
619 They have been classed perhaps wrongly as a separate people
161 and in my opinion are basically only tribes long detached from the Méké branch, whose distinctive tattooing and little altered language they have preserved. In 1889 when Fourneau reached
[114] the Bosyéba country to the north of the Campo, he saw his porters, recruited in Méké country on the banks of the Ogooué, immediately fraternizing with the Bosyéba and delighted to discover their own tongue after crossing through Bétsi territory. (1)

1. Cf. A. Fourneau, "De l'Ogooué au Campo" [From the Ogooué to the Campo], Bull. Ste. Geogr. Vol. 12 (1891), pp. 190-215.

[One paragraph deleted about an etymology which author considers "incorrect."--Translator]

The Guma, nowadays very few in number, have been driven back towards the Cameroons; they also are related to the Méké branch. Europeans often refer to the people of this whole group by the term "Makina" from ma ki na, "I say that..."; they have, in fact, a habit of starting all their remarks with these words. The Bétsi are called "Mazuna" for the same reason.

3. Size of the Fan Population

161 The Fan are by far the most important branch. It is extremely difficult to estimate their number. Officially they are only a few hundred thousand. But the official figure is far from accurate, for government statistics only count the man who pays taxes. Furthermore, more than half of the French Congo is unexplored except by a few, infrequent

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

114 and like a resistless army they are steadily approaching the coast, building towns
167 and displacing weaker tribes. That fine race of people, the Mpôngwes, often spoken of as the "aristocratic tribe," and ranking first in the scale of civilisation above all other tribes in the French Congo, is rapidly dying out, and they are already being supplanted even at Gaboon by the migratory Fang.

The Bulu people inhabiting a portion of the German sphere of influence in
114 West Africa are without doubt very closely related to, if not a direct offshoot from,
197 the Fang; their customs are identical and their language so markedly similar that a person who is able to speak Bulu is readily understood by the Fang. The first
173 day of my arrival among the Fang, after residing in Bululand, I was able to make known the reason for my coming and to ask and answer ordinary questions. While visiting on a small island called Nenge-nenge in the Nkomo River, a very old Fang man told me as follows: When a lad his grandfather had told him that, a long time ago, many of his tribe "changed their towns." These people first travelled far in canoes, and then after journeying for very many days through the forest, they "stopped walking and made new towns," and they did not return. My informant's father had told him later more about these people; they had been heard from, and their long absence from the original tribe had so changed them that "they spoke new words" (a new language).

Examples could be given almost without limit of the great similarity in the
197 language as spoken by the Bulu and Fang. A few will suffice; and I will select
539 from the proverbs of the people which are also identical. Tell a Bulu man to hurry with his work, he will often reply, "*Alu da dayi bol' nzok?*" (Will one day rot an elephant?). The Fang speak the same proverb thus: "*Alu avoti bol' nzok?*" Again, the Bulu use the words *Melu myus* (the days that are past), *Melu osu* (the days that are to come), *Melu mesese* (all the days). These sayings and numerous similar ones are in daily use among the Fang, the words used and the idiom being almost identically the same as in Bulu. I have wondered if the account given me by the old Fang man at Nenge-nenge about the people who years ago "changed their towns," might not be of more than passing interest as touching the genesis of the Bulu.

The Fang people are spread over an immense area of country, and when
101 questioned regarding their numbers they usually reply, "There are Fang and Fang; if you walk and sleep in towns and towns for many *moons* (months) you will find Fang." In the future it will be found that in the ethnography of equatorial Africa the Fang will hold a very important place. As before stated they are unquestionably closely related to the Bulu, and Compiègne recognised a marked similarity between them and the Osyeba, Monbutta and Nyamnyam people. There are
563 several scattered tribes of dwarfs among the Fang. Five of these pigmies live within two miles of my station, and they tell me that more of their people will soon "move their towns" and come to live on the banks of the Nkomo river. The Fang people look on the pigmies as a very clever and superior people, and not without good reason. An old headman told me that the *mon ngui* (dwarfs) first

●103 The place names are usually connected with either prominent landmarks of the natural environment, objects, events, experiences, or characteristics of the inhabitants. Thus, we have the following names.

(a) From palm trees.

103 824 1. Niescham from a nī = lay, žǎm = swamp, raffia palm, that is to say, the village is located where there are raffia palms, the most important plant for house construction.

2. Mabäscham from a bē = follow, žǎm = swamp, raffia palm.

3. Makoda from akōda (plural, makōda) = swamp palm, Sclerosperma mannii, Mann et Wendl., used like raffia for house construction.

4. Nkan from nkǎn(e) = Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc., climbing palm, used for plaiting.

5. Mekan, the same, plural.

6. Nsamenkan from žǎm (nžǎm) = swamp, swamp of the climbing palm Ancistrophyllum.

7. Alen from alēn = oil palm.

8. Malen, the same, plural

(b) From cultivated plants.

9. Matumabai from atū (plural, matū) = taro, Colocasia antiquorum (L.) Schott, and mabai = two; thus, two taros. /52/

10. Bekaba from ekǎba (plural, bekǎba) = Xanthosoma violaceum Schott.

11. Emäangon from a mē ngōn = scatter ngon /a squashlike ground fruit/, that is, for drying in the village square.

(c) From edible wild fruit or fruit trees.

12. Essun from esǔn = fruit of the cardamom, Aframomum alboviolaceum K. Sch.

13. Madschab from madžǎb - oil from Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl.

14. Fan from fǎ'ne = fruit of the Anacardiacea Sorindeia rubriflora Engl. (afǎ'ne).

15. Abe from abě = kola nut and tree, Cola acuminata (P. Beauv.).

103 824

16. Andok from andǒ̄k = Irvingia barteri Hook. f., Simarubaceae. Mandok.
17. Nkoandok from nkǒk = fallen tree trunk, that is, of the Irvingia.
18. Ngong from ngǒ̄n IV = fruit of the Trichoscypha sp. (engǒ̄n).
19. Alöb from alǒ̄b = Desbordesia glaucescens Engl. (Simarubaceae).
20. Mangame from mangǒ̄me III = Myrianthus arboreus P.B. (Moraceae), perhaps also the symbol of agreement, taken from syncarp.

(d) Derived from other trees.

21. Akak from akǒk = Leptonychia tessmannii Engl., Sterculiacea, the tree of peace, the peace linden.
22. Makak, the same, plural.
23. Nkomakak or Nkolemakak from nkō[l] = hill, that is, hill of Leptonychia trees (makak).
24. Abang (Abanga) from abǒ̄n = species of Ficus, particularly used in the manufacture of bark cloth.
25. Mabang (Mabanga), the same, plural.
26. Akam from akǒ̄m = several species of large Ficus, for instance, F. preussii Warb. and laurentii Warb., striking trees used for the manufacture of cloth.
27. Àjo, Jusch (Ajusch) from ayǒ̄s = Triplochiton tessmannii, used especially for the manufacture of house coverings.
28. Majo (Majusch), the same, plural.
29. Nkolemajo = Nkolajo, from nko[l] = hill of Triplochiton.
30. Owöng from ovǒ̄n = Copaifera tessmannii Harms, famous spirit tree, largest tree of the Fang region.
31. Awöngabai, two Copaifera (abai = two).

31a. Ndschiowöng from ndzéi = bridge, bridge of Copaifera.

32. Elun from elǒ̄n = Erythrophloeum guineense Don. (Leguminosae), striking because of its red bark, a poisonous tree.
33. Belun, plural.
34. Ejen (Elibengang) from ejǒ̄n, elǒ̄bengǒ̄n = Distemonanthus benthamianus Baill., striking because of its beautiful violet-red bark; a medicine tree.

103 824 35. Andung from andŭ̄n = Croton welwitschianus Muell. Arg. (Euphorbiac.), beautiful by virtue of its shining silvery leaves.

36. Akom from akŏ̄m = Terminalia superba Engl. and Diels. /53/

37. Makom (Makomo), the same, plural.

38. Nkoakom from nkok = fallen tree trunk, that is, of the Terminalia.

39. Engo from engṓ, an unidentified tree.

40. Akoga from akō̄ga = Lophira alata Banks, with beautiful, fragrant blossoms.

41. Makoga, the same, plural.

42. Assam from asǎ̄m = Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg., with a rich, fragrant cover of blossoms.

43. Massam (Massama), the same, plural.

44. Angok from angŏ̄k = Albizzia brownei Oliv., a beautiful tree.

45. Dum from dum = Ceiba pentandra (L.) Gärtn.

46. Medschimitum from mdezī = roots, and tŭm = Piptadenia africana Hook. f.

47. Asseng or Assöng from asŏ̄ń = umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br.

48. Massöng, the same, plural.

49. Nkoassöng from nkok = fallen trunk of the umbrella tree.

(e) From characteristics of the landscape.

103 823 50. Ngbai from ngbǎ̄ī = leafless living tree (its winter condition).

51. Mekumu from nkūm I = standing dead tree trunk without a crown.

52. Ndangöng from ndǎngŏ̄n = clearing.

53. Ewüöle from eyüŏ̄le = clearing.

54. Nko from nkō = hill.

55. Anko = at the hill.

56. Akok from akō̄k = stone, rock.

57. Makok, the same, plural.

58. Maschok from mažōk = rapids, falls.

103 825 (f) Derived from animals or parts of animals.

59. Schok from žōk = elephant.

103 825 60. Mbang, and 61, Mbangschok from mbǎ,n = ivory, and zǒk from elephant.

62. Mboleschok from ebō[l] = spoiled, that is, spoiled elephant.

63. Akuleschok from aku[l] = feet of animals, feet of the elephant.

64. Nnoschok = Nloschok from nlǒ', nnǒ' = head, head of the elephant.

65. Abumeschok from abǔm = belly, belly of the elephant, because they had eaten up the village plantation.

66. Bindeme from indēm V = fruit bat.

67. Böngomo from ongǒmo III = chimpanzee.

68. Akulangomo from akū[l] = feet, claws of the chimpanzee.

69. Ebóloua (1) from ebō[l]-o-wǫā = spoiled matter of the chimpanzee, spoiled chimpanzee.

1. The official spelling is Ebolowa. For the sake of consistency I write Ebóloua, since by 'w' in German spelling I denote only labial sounds.

70. Akuasö from akū'a = animals' lair, zö = leopard.

71. Olamesö from olǎm = trap or snare, zö = leopard.

72. Ewes from evés = bone. /54/

73. Bojabúnkulu from boyā = little wives (plural), bo = of, (n)kū[l]u = turtles; thus, the little wives of turtles.

74. Bebass from ebǎ,s = scale; the inhabitants of this place probably eat a lot of fish.

(g) From objects.

103 75. Ntum from ntúm = walking stick.

76. Ebai from ebai = strands taken from the stalk of a raffia leaf, used for house construction.

77. Bebai, the same, plural.

78. Ngam from ngǎm = barbed hook on a spear.

79. Bebada from ebā'da = carrying baskets used by men.

103

(h) Derived from experiences or characteristics of the inhabitants.

80. Bissis from isi.s V = he who represents the shadow in the moon cult.

81. Elanga from elǎ́ń actually = the anus or, metaphorically, bad people.

82. Ekekö from a ke ekekǒ = stay away completely, because strangers were seized and killed and they did not come back.

83. Esamedulu from a zǎmǎdǔlú = to carry on shamefully, that is, to have sexual relations with a woman of the same family.

84. Nssälang from nsɛ̌n = village square, and elǎ́n (see under 81); the people committed immoral acts, acts of hostility, whenever a stranger passed through.

85. Bilnemajong from a bɛ̂ne, biɛne = not to be afraid of someone, that is, to have no respect, and mayon = families; the people have no respect for the members of other families.

86. Ajaofun from a ńǎ or nǰǎ = to feed oneself, and fūń = maize.

87. Akinebetom from a kīne = to converge (by running) upon one place, and etǒm = quarrel; the people come running to one place in order to start a quarrel.

88. Olunemang from olūń = annoyance or anger, and mǎń = coast; the people had been annoyed about the inhabitants of the coast - perhaps Whites; or it was on account of the distance.

89. Ngba from ngbǎ′ = quiet, peaceful people (in contrast to 82).

90. Massambe from a sǎmǎ tǎń = to fish with a net.

91. Nschugebot from nzuge = to talk all at the same time, and bot = people; there are many people who talk there.

92. Euuma from a wū′mǎń = to have a relapse in an illness.

93. Awomo from a yǒ′mǒ = to faint; this name, like the previous one, alludes to the entanglements of these frontier villages between Ntum and Bulu.

94. Nnoajong from nnǒ′ = the head, and ayǒń = family; thus, the "chief representative" of the kin group.

95. Ajene from a yɛ̌n = to see, referring to the mountains that are visible from the village, "Montevideo."

103 96. Ntedenga from ntĕt = hundred, and ngā = rifle; a hundred, thus, an infinite number, of rifles. /55/

97. Makunanam or Makonanam from akŭn = post, pillar, and nnăm = the locality; that is, a locality which stands as firm as a post.

98. Ndschiabot from ndzĕi = bridge, and bōt = people; that is, a bridge for people.

99. Ejamang from a yăk = to stay the night, and a măn = on the way to the coast; thus, one of the few villages favorable to travel and progress.

100. Ajaamentangan from a yăk = to rest, and mentangan = Whites.

101. Akunekiä from akŭn = post, pillar, stake, and ekiĕi, of iron (compare 98).

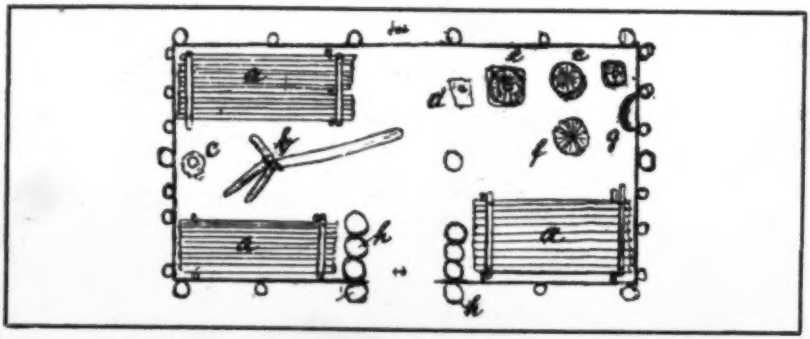
102. Ebualebambe from a bŭele = to be broken in pieces, and mbāmā III = large village; the houses were extremely dilapidated.

103. Niemajong from a nĭĕ = to put inside, and mayŏn = family unit; that is, the village had been established between villages of other kin groups.

104. Ndschobangon from dzōb = sky, and ngŏn = moon; thus, moonlit sky.

105. Olŏadzob from olŏĭ = hole, and dzōb = sky; a hole in the sky (probably between the clouds).
/Fig. 16 appears here in the original text./

Aside from place names, the Pangwe also have names for fields. For instance, in the environs of the settlement Alén (Essauong) there are the following: enumepfidi = powder path; nsa[k]-abea = abea swamp forest. There are only a few special names for mountains, for instance, Nemembŏng = good heart (see the map); usually the names of mountains and mountain ranges are borrowed from those of the neighboring settlements. According to the statements of the present inhabitants, the names of rivers for the most part can no longer be explained, because, as the inhabitants claim, these names were taken over from the former inhabitants of the region. The same would seem to apply in part also to the place names.



342
353
354

Fig. 37. Ground Plan of a Pangwe Dwelling.
a, sleeping benches; b, fireplace (kitchen); c, pot with water; d, grindstone; e, baskets; f, bundle of maize cobs; g, hens' nest; h, door posts.

like the toys of a gigantic child that have just been finished by a giant toy dealer and are placed on the clean earth as though on a gigantic table. There are others in which one actually finds not a single house which does not let in the rain in torrents, not a single house whose walls are still standing straight and which does not provide entry for nocturnal reptiles between its walls and the ground. The reader should consider the significance of the name of the village of Ebualebambe ("tumble-down village") which, indeed, as I [103] saw, did full justice to its name. 342

Whether the houses are carefully built or not, they always look depressed because they are too low in relation to their length, which seems even greater /73/ /Fig. 37 appears here in the original text/ than it actually is because of the way the houses are arranged in rows. One gets the same impression when one goes inside; on the average it is so low that one can stand in it only in a bent position for fear of coming into painful contact with the roof or the household utensils hanging from it. It is rare indeed that one can stand upright on one of the low sleeping benches without bumping his head.

As in the case of the meeting house, the interior of the dwelling (Fig. 37) has a single room which the Pangwe divides into atüm a nkiai and atüm akui, that is to say, into a western "room" (on a lower level) and an eastern "room" (on a higher level) which are to the left and right of the door. Figure 38 gives a view of the interior of a Fang hut. In this illustration one side wall and the right

173
[533
538]

superhuman heroes, who include not only their ancestors but also the earliest well-known Europeans: Ngôtô Zambe (Rev. Good), Mendômô (Hauptmann von Hagen), Akôk (Marius Pascalet), etc., thus are found to be naturalized as it were and incorporated into tradition.

Driven out of this country by red giants (or by a red giant), the ancestors, fleeing to save their lives, were brought to a standstill at the Sanaga, incapable of crossing it until the intervention of the guardian of the waters, a python according to Beti and Boulou, a crocodile according to /16/ the Fang (1). By stretching himself across

1. Bertaut gives the names as mot yom and nga medja or ngan meja. Discounting a mistake in transcription, these expressions could mean "a being to be supplicated," "crocodile to be supplicated," from môt (Fang, môt, mur) = person; ngan = crocodile; ja'é (Boulou) dzak, dzaghé (Ewondo, Fang) = to ask, to supplicate; yom = to beg, to implore.

the river this animal formed a bridge which the ancestors crossed family by family, in order of primogeniture, until the moment when a child (or woman) wounded the animal's back by letting fall a weapon (or a torch). The animal dived below, abandoning on the right bank the Beti group that is still there today.

[103] Osoe Nnanga, whence Europeans have derived "Sanaga," means
[822] "white river" or "river of the albino." White is the color of death;
[124] ghosts (bekôn) are white; albinos are thought to be offspring of incubi.
[775] Lastly, the land of the dead has always been situated in the west, toward the sea (mañ), even though the Pahouin could not have known the sea except by hearsay. Considered in connection with some of the legends collected by Trilles, these facts may lead us to think that the Pahouin in crossing the Sanaga were entering, at least symbolically, the land of the dead.

When they had reached the left bank, they found their road blocked by an impenetrable forest, with the single path obstructed by an

such a case we gather that each principal town of a subdivision is a genuine center of attraction. Although new these towns are not artificial. There is another piece of evidence for this, the social-occupational distribution of the urban population is almost constant from one town to another, a proof that it corresponds to needs that are also constant.

Out of 100 inhabitants one generally finds: laborers 16.5, employees 12, traders 8.3, chauffeurs 6.9 (and "motor boys" 4.3), public service employees 6.7, domestic servants 5.8, carpenters 4.9, masons 4, farmers 3.5, tailors 3.2, mechanics 2.9, photographers 0.8, herders 0.5, catechists 0.1, without occupation 9, etc.

This in general outline is the present-day distribution. Let it simply be kept in mind that, with the diffusion of a new culture, the whole society becomes modified. The techniques and tools in use have been increased and diversified at the same time as social conditions.

Chapter 5

Social Organization

1. Forms of Settlement, Habitat

The basic social group is the patriarchal family (nda bot = lit., house of the people), to which corresponds the hamlet or elementary village, the jal (Boulou, pl. mal; Fang, Ewondo, dzal), generally called by the name of the patriarch (ésa = father; nnôl = eldest, senior), but sometimes, when isolated, carrying a special toponym (éyôlé = proper name, designation; a person's name is rather ŋôé; Fang, édzoé). These mal are usually arranged into multifamily, sometimes multi-clan, villages, minlam (sing. nlam), the latter term designating both the group of dwellings and the soil appertaining to them. The nlam always has a place name of its own, which may refer to its geographical situation: nkôlayôp = on the hill; to a topographical or botanical peculiarity: ako'abete = dressed stone, ajap = the name of a tree, ma'an = crossroads; or to an incident connected with the founding: éholewo'o (Eholowa) = decayed chimpanzee, because the village was

103 set up at a spot where the body of a chimpanzee had been found; menjikɔ̂m = from me nji kɔ̂mbo, I did not want to, the founding family not having wanted to go any further. /Or the nlam may take its place name/ from a nickname or whimsical name: mafi = sea, the site being considered "as beautiful as the sea"; kameiɔ̂n = Kamerun, "because a white man told us that the country would be called thus henceforward; évuzok = elephant's stomach, because of the appetite of its inhabitants, etc. It may also happen that a village name repeats that of its founder's native village, sometimes coupled with an indication like baa = second, mfefé = new, or with the name of its founder or chief, Méyo me Nkulu, the Méyo of Nkulu.

166 The leapfrog advance of small Pahouin groups at the time of the
621 invasion has already been described. Each of these groups generally
TR corresponded to a hamlet—jal—or to a village—nlam—or, rather, to the corresponding family units, nda bɔ̂t or mvɔ̂k. The migrating group retained rights to the abandoned site (bilik). Today the migration of whole villages is much less common. Rather, we are witnessing either a "swarming off" of villages that are overpopulated in relation to the amount of land available for plantations (in particular land near a vehicular road, especially in Cameroons), or a kind of explosion or social disintegration, /41/ the latter phenomenon being particularly noticeable among the Fang, where it has been well described by Balandier. Administrative action has often been a prime mover in the latest migrations: in Gabon, for instance, there has been an attempt to move whole villages for administrative, economic, or hygienic reasons, but in doing so collective groups have been broken up that had already been weakened by the disappearance of ancient defense needs and by the economic changes resulting from colonization. The new villages, often reconstituted without taking into account previous clan or family structures, no longer had any cohesion and split up into small rootless hamlets, poorly populated, continually moving their sites in disorderly fashion and usually seeking to escape contact with the administration. Since 1946, especially at the instance of the deputy, Aubame, himself a Fang, there has come into existence in Gabon a movement to regroup villages by clans, the results of which do not seem to have corresponded to the hopes of its promoters.

166 The situation is perceptibly different in the Cameroons, where the
621 early introduction of the cultivation of cacao (before 1914 in Ewɔ̂ndo

101 a word with a consonant. One would thus have *Mpa'ngwen, from which Europeans have made mpawen, then Pahouin.

About the term "Fang" itself it should be remarked that the regular form m-fañ (Class I or personal, m/be) is in actual fact hardly ever used by the Pahouin themselves, who prefer their usual ethnical constructions, that is, the radical preceded by mon (son, descendant). Thus one says mone fañ, bo' be fañ, like mon éwôndô, mone bulu (1), etc. The meaning of the word is obscure. It does not mean "man"

[104] 1. I usually employ current Boulou orthography, except for words that have an official spelling in general use, like the names of places (Ebolowa, Ambam, not ébolewo'o, mbam) and certain Gallicized names of tribes (the Boulou, the Ntoumou, but Bulu /adjectival use/ Ntum /adjectival use/; the Fang, but the Fañ group). /The last phrase is meaningless for English, because there is no English equivalent for the distinction between capitalized French nouns of "nationality" and the corresponding noncapitalized substantive adjectives. Hence, in the English translation this distinction will be ignored, the official spelling being used for tribal names whether used as noun or adjective. —Ed./

It should be observed, by the way, that bulu and éwôndo are plurals of which the singular (*mulu, *ôwôndo) is not used.

(vir), which is fam, a mistake rightly /5/ noticed by Father Trilles, who nevertheless connects it with a root FA connoting the idea of virility, of violence (fa = machete, fañe = to do on purpose, intentionally, etc).

2. Various Groups and Territorial Distribution

174 It is not easy to define the exact boundaries of the Pahouin group.
563 The lists given by different authors include up to ten tribes, one way or another—thousands of individuals. At the end of the nineteenth century, penetration in extended order* prevented ascertaining

105

Identification

The Fang (Fan, Fanwe, Mfang, Mpangoue, Pahouin, Pangwe) are a Bantu people. Dugast (1949) reports nearly 600,000 in Cameroon, and other sources report about 125,000 in Gabon. They are relatively recent immigrants from the upper Sanga in the NE, whence they were pushed by the Mbum and Baya. They did not reach the equator until about 1837. Among them live numerous scattered Pygmies of the Ajongo, Beku, and Jelli (Bagielli) groups. Of the numerous subtribes, the following are among the most important:

Bene (Bane), numbering about 60,000.
Betsi (Batchenga, Betchenga, Betsinga, Tsinga), numbering about 16,000.
Bobili, with the Bamvele, numbering about 25,000.
Bulu (Boulou), with the Tembama, Yelinda, Yengono, and Zaman, numbering about 110,000.
Eton (Etun, Toni), numbering about 112,000.
Ewondo, with the Evuzok, numbering about 100,000.
Fang proper, with the Mvae (Mwai, Mwei) and Ntum (Ntumu).
Mvele (Mwelle), numbering about 37,000.
Syeba (Osheba, Osieba).
Yaunde (Jaunde, Yaounde).
Yebekolo, numbering about 23,000.
Yekaba, numbering about 15,000.

Basic Economy

Primarily agricultural, with fishing of considerable subsidiary importance, followed by hunting and animal husbandry. The staple crops, in order of importance, are manioc, bananas, groundnuts, ngon (Cucumeropsis edulis), maize, taro, and yams, but makabo (Xanthosoma violaceum), sweet potatoes, squash (Cucurbita maxima), and peppers are also raised. Goats, sheep, dogs (eaten and used for hunting), and chickens are kept; ducks, pigs, and cats are recent introductions. Trade is of considerable importance. Cattle are not kept. There are markets.

Sex Division of Labor

Men hunt, fish (but women engage in fish drives), tend livestock, and clear land, but women do all other agricultural work except the planting of ngon.

Property

Iron bars and spearheads are used as currency; other valuables include livestock and land. Women own no property except chickens. Movables are privately owned, but land is owned by the village headman, who receives a share of all game caught. Individual men have usufruct rights to land under cultivation.

Inheritance is patrilineal--by sons, by Br in default of sons. The ElSo (or another son designated by Fa) inherits half of all movable property, the remainder being divided among the younger sons.

Social Stratification

The Fang do not keep slaves.

Marriage

There are three prevailing modes of marriage:

a. By payment of a substantial bride-price--the equivalent of 200-750 German marks (1912) in spearhead money, weapons, sheep, and cloth.
b. By exchange, in which a man gives his Si or Da in exchange for a wife.
c. By gift of a daughter from a chief to a man of another sib to whom the chief has previously "lent" one of his wives, in return for faithful service.

Polygyny is general and preferred. The first wife is chief wife. Each wife has her own hut, and the husband sleeps with each for three nights in rotation. Secondary marriages are preferential with FaWi.

Family

The residential unit is a patrilocal extended family, which includes the families of brothers and sons and also of dependents.

105

Residence

The patrilocal rule prevails, at least for marriages of the first two types.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Local exogamy is usual.

There is some suggestion of bilateral kindreds; relatives on both the father's and mother's sides are called "my relations," and certain obligations of hospitality and sanctuary are involved. Marriage and sex relations are forbidden by maximally extended bilateral incest taboos.

There are exogamous unnamed patri-sibs and localized patrilineages bearing ancestral names.

Kinship Terminology [from Johnston; K from Koch]

Fa--tata, tara, esa, tate (K). Mo--nya, nyie, nanne (K). Ch--mone, mon. Br--ndoma. Si--kal. Hu--fam. Wi--ngal, minningga (K).

GrFa, GrMo--nvamba.

Settlement Pattern

Settlements are compact villages of 2-50 huts arranged in two parallel rows, with one or more men's houses. The huts are rectangular with gable roofs.

Community Organization

The village is normally a patrilocal clan-community, consisting of one patrilocal extended family or of several headed by men of the same patrilineage. Boys are circumcised at about the age of puberty.

Local Government

Each village has a headman, who is normally succeeded by his ElSo.

105

State

In general, there is no political integration above the local level. However, in the north, especially among the Mwele, chiefs commonly have authority over several villages.

Warfare

Intervillage warfare is common--caused usually by revenge for murder or by failure to return a bride-price or substitute another daughter when a bride dies. Cannibalism is practiced on slain enemies.

Bibliography

Abel, J. Sitten und Gebräuche der Pangwe im deutschen Munigebiet. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten, Ergänzungsband 9a, pp. 31-41. 1914. (Has little not available in other sources).

Balandier, G. Les villages gabonois. Mémoires de l'Institut d'Etudes Camerounaises, V. 1-86. 1952. Nn97.F7. ƒ952B. (Not used).

_____. Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire. Paris, 1955. Nkd83. 955B. (Not used, but reviews have been favorable).

Bennett, A.L. Ethnographical Notes on the Fang. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, XXIX, 66-98. 1899. Nk10. ƒR81. v. 29. (Contains little not available elsewhere).

Bertaut, M. Le droit coutumier des Boulous. Paris, 1935. Nkd85. B85. 935b. (Good).

Bruel, G. L'Afrique Equatoriale Française. Paris, 1918. Bk17. 035. (A few items).

Deboudaud, J., and H. Chombart de Lauwe. Carte schématique des populations du Cameroun. Journal de la Société des Africanistes, IX, 197-203. 1939. Nkd74. ƒSo13e. v. 9. (Has a useful tribal map).

Dugast, I. Inventaire ethnique du Sud-Cameroun. Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, Centre du Cameroun, Série Populations, I, 1-159. 1949. Harvard Peabody Museum Library. (Contains population data).

105

Egerton, F.C.C. African Majesty. New York, 1939. Nkd83.B23.939e. (A few items on the Bulu).

Heepe, M. Jaunde-Texte von Karl Atangana und Paul Messi. Hamburg, 1919. (Valuable on social and community organization).

Johnston, H.H. A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, Vol. I. Oxford, 1919. Fyq2.J64.v.1. (A few Bulu, Pangwe, and Yaunde kin terms).

Koch, C.W.H. Die Stämme des Bezirks Molundu. Baessler-Archiv, III, 257-312. 1913. Nk10.+B14.v.3. (A few Bulu and Yaunde kin terms).

Mathieu, C. Le regime des successions en pays Boulou. Renseignements Coloniaux et Documents publiés par le Comité de l'Afrique Française et le Comité du Maroc, 1920, 233-234. (Succinct data on inheritance).

Mba, L. Essai de droit coutumier Pahouin. Bulletin de la Société des Recherches Congolaises, XXV, 5-52. Brazzaville, 1938. (Not in Yale and not used).

Tessmann, G. Die Pangwe. Berlin, 1913. Nkd83.F2.+913t. (A general monograph, deficient on social organization).

Trézenem, E. Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan. Journal de la Société des Africanistes, VI, 65-93. 1936. Nkd74.+So13e. v.6. (A modest amount of data).

Trilles, H. Le totemism chez les Fan. Münster, 1912. (Some good data buried in much theory).

1: Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe, Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes [The Fang Peoples, an Ethnographic Monograph on a West African Negro Group]. Vol. I. Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth A.-G., 1913.

Pp. xxi, 276; 18 colored plates, 227 figures.

[HRAF manuscript, pp. xiv, 344]

Yale: Nkd83 F2 + 913t v.1

[Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Richard Neuse.]

[Only sections IV-IX (pp. 51-276) of the original have been processed for the FH9 Fang file.]

/This is the first volume of a two-volume work encompassing the results of the Lubeck Pangwe Expedition of 1907-1909, as well as the results of earlier researches by Tessmann during 1904-1907. The first three sections (not translated) include a

1: Tessmann, Günter.

general survey of the land and the people, the language, and the history of settlement. The introduction (not translated) is mainly a review of the previous literature on the Fang. The sections translated describe the village and household, economic activities, food, dress and ornaments, craftsmanship and tools, and fine arts. Ethnobotanical details are given in relation to all of these activities. The volume is well illustrated. --Analyst/

Field date: 1904-1909
Analyst: Timonthy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1960

2: Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe: Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes [The Fang Peoples: an Ethnographic Monograph on a West African Negro Group]. Vol. 2. Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth A.-G., 1913.

Pp. iv, 402; 10 plates, 137 text illustrations.

[HRAF MS. Pp. iv, 200]

Yale: Nkd83 F2 + 913t v.2.

[Translated from the German by Richard Neuse for the Human Relations Area Files]

[Only sections XIII-XIV (pp. 143-206), XVII-XIX (pp. 243-319) have been translated for the files]

/This source is a continuation of 1:Tessmann, this file. Sections X on world-view, XI on religion, XII on magical beliefs, XV on society, transportation and trade, XVI on law, XX on music, XXI on advice, tales and proverbs, XXII on funerals and

2: Tessmann, Günter.

mourning, and XXIII, the conclusion, have not been translated for the FH9 Fang file. It contains material on medicine, soothsaying and science, weapons and warfare, sexual life, and childhood and games. The two volumes together give a well-rounded picture of Fang material culture, as well as a good sampling of the non-material culture. --Analyst/

Field date: 1904-1909
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1960

3: Trézenem, Édouard. Notes Ethnographiques sur les Tribus Fan du Moyen Ogooué (Gabon). [Ethnographic Notes on the Fan Tribes of the Middle Ogooué (Gabon)] Journal de la Société des Africanistes, Vol. 6, pp. 65-93. Paris: Au Siège de la Société, 1936.

Yale: Nkd 74 + Sol3e v. 5-6

[HRAF manuscript pp. i, 1-33]

[Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Anne R. Coleman.]

/This source is a summary article on some aspects of the life of a group of Fang "tribes" (which apparently are sibs) whose culture is different from most other Fang groups described in the literature. This difference is mainly due to acculturative influences. Trézenem describes their belief in spirits, ghosts, the afterworld; funerals, creation and other myths, fetishes, magic, the buiti (a secret society), the family and collective life, and the life cycle. The author was at one

3: Trézenem, Édouard.

time Director of the Institut d'Études Centrafricaines. --Analyst/

Field date: ca. 1934
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1959

4: Dugast, Idelette. Inventaire Ethnique du Sud-Cameroun [An Inventory of the People of the South Cameroons]. Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, Centre du Cameroun, Série: Populations, No. 1, pp. 57-94. Dakar: 1949.

Yale: Nkd82 In7M 1

[HRAF manuscript pp. i-ii, 1-51; 19 maps.]

[Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Monika B. Vizedom.]

[Only section 6, (pp. 57-94) has been translated for the files.]

[The section of this volume which has been processed for the Files contains information on the Beti and the Pahouin, i.e., the Fang peoples in general. The section is broken down into 20 subsections conforming in general to the tribal distribution. Each subsection contains information on a tribe in general to the tribal distribution. Each subsection contains information on a tribe or group of closely related tribes, including data on history,

4: Dugast, Idelette.

location, physical and human geography, language, physical anthropology, and other areas of culture. There is generally a bibliography appended to each subsection, as well as maps illustrating the areal spread and intermixture of the tribes under discussion. The data were collected mainly from archives and from ethnographic and other reports. --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1947 Evaluation: Social Scientist-4
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary Processed in 1959

5: Balandier, Georges. Sociologie Actuelle de l'Afrique Noire: Changements Sociaux au Gabon et au Congo [Contemporary Sociology of Black Africa: Social Changes in Gabon and the Congo.] Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955.

Pp. xii, 510; 2 maps; bibliography.

[HRAF Ms: pp. 1-113]

Yale: Nkd83F2 955B

[Only pp. 71-281 have been translated and processed for the Files.]

[Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Dorothy Crawford.]

/Balandier, trained as a French social anthropologist, prepared this work as a doctoral thesis at the University of Paris. The first part of the source deals primarily with general and regional demographic information; i.e. population movement, density, and regional tribal distribution. General information on various population centers is also included. The last half is a discussion of tribal and

5: Balandier, Georges

kinship structure, marriage customs, social organizations, religious cults, and the status of women. Social changes brought about by European contacts are given particular attention throughout the text. --Analyst/

Field date: 1946-1951
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1959

6: Alexandre, Pierre and Jacques Binet. The Groupe Dit Pahouin (Fang-Boulou-Beti) [The Group Called Pahouin (Fang-Bulu-Beti)]. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France (under the Patronage of the International African Institute), 1958.

Pp. viii, 152; (end map).

[HRAF manuscript pp. viii, 185.]

Yale: Nkd83 F2 958A

[Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Isabella Athey.]

[Both the authors of this work made field trips in the Pahouin country while serving in administrative positions in the French Cameroons. The monograph covers most aspects of Fang culture. Especially noteworthy is the frequent discussion of recent changes in both material and social culture. Because such discussion is found throughout the work, categories relating to culture change have not been used extensively; the researcher will find such information

6: Alexandre, Pierre and Jacques Binet.

incidental to almost every section of the book. This material is filed with the data on the particular aspect of the culture being treated. The phonetic note has not been processed because its significance is lost in translation; it will be found in the foreign text in category 116, page viii. Only that part of the extensive bibliography which has comments by the authors has been translated. The full bibliography will be found in the foreign text, category 116.--Analyst]

Field date: 1946-1954
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Government Officials-5
Processed in 1960

7: Trilles, R. P. H. Le Totémisme chez les Fân [Totemism Among the Fang]. Bibliothèque-Anthropos, Vol. 1. Münster i. W: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1912.

Pp. xvi, 653; illustrations

HRAF manuscript pp. i, 1-122.

[Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Isabella Athey.]

[Only pp. 11-19, 398-407, 415-417, 420-21, 424, 434-38, 451-53, 463, 466-67, 469-73, 481-89, 491-534, 537-577, and the bibliography have been translated for this file.]

[This is a long descriptive and theoretical study of Fang totemism and its functioning in the life of the tribe. In general, the speculative sections on the origin and meaning of totemism and the application of these theories to the Fang have not been processed. Included in the translation are data on the numbers and division of the Fang nation, the actual function of totemism, the work of practitioners and sorcerers, the relation of the latter to the secret

7: Trilles, R. P. H.

societies, and the general and particular rites of totemism in Fang society. The author was a Roman Catholic missionary who spent many years in the Fang territory. The entire foreign text has been processed. --Analyst]

Field date: 1893-1912
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed in 1959

8:Bennett, Albert L. Ethnographic Notes on the Fang. Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 29 (New Series, Vol. 2), pp. 66-98. London, 1899.

4 plates

Yale: Nk10 + R31 v.29

/This source contains a series of scattered notes on various aspects of Fang culture, which the author, a medical doctor, gathered in the course of his work in the Fang country. There is information on physical characteristics, clothing, habitations, navigations, fishing, ornamentation, food, cannibalism, religion, witchcraft, war, burials, physical abnormalities, and a small number of Fang proverbs. --Analyst/

Field date: ca. 1898
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Medical Doctor - 5
Processed in 1960

Binet, Jacques. Budgets Familieux des Planteurs de Cacao au Cameroun. Office de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique Outre Mer. L'Homme d'Outre-Mer, Vol. 3. Paris, 1956.

Pp. 154; ill.

[This source gives an up to date picture of the economics of Fang (Bulu) households in the Cameroons area. Some ethnographic detail is also included. --Analyst]

Heepe, M. Jaunde-Texte von Karl Atangana und Paul Messi, nebst Experimentalphonetischen Untersuchungen über die Tonhöhen im Jaunde und einer Einführung in die Jaunde-Sprache. Abhandlungen des Hamburgischen Kolonialinstituts, Reihe B: Völkerkund, Kultergeschichte, und Sprachen, Band 14. Hamburg: L. Friederecksen & Co., 1919.

Pp. xvi, 325

Yale: Fys J327 +H36

[This source consists mainly of texts obtained from Yaunde Fang participating in a seminar on colonial speech - principally from Karl Atangana, a high chief, and from Paul Messi. Included are investigations of Fang tonal levels, an introduction to Yaunde grammar, and the various texts. --Analyst]

Largeau, V. Encyclopédie Pahouine [Pahouin Encyclopedia] Paris: E. Leroux, 1901.

Pp. 697

[The definitions in this dictionary are often lengthy and filled with information on specific elements of native beliefs, customs, folklore, and material culture. However, most of the elements of Pahouin (Fang) culture covered by Largeau have been described by later workers. The source has not therefore been processed for the Fang file.--Analyst]

Panyella, Augusto and Jorge Sabater. Los Cuatros Grados de la Familia on los Fang de la Guinea Española, Camerones y Gabon [The Four Social Groupings of the Fang of Spanish Guinea, Cameroons and Gabon]. Archivos del Instituto des Estudios Africanos, Vol. 9, No. 40, pp. 7-18. Madrid, 1957.

[The following is taken from Vol. 9, Abstract 65, of African Abstracts, January 1958. The four social groupings below the clan (ayong) are, in decreasing order, the maximal lineage (etunga-bot), the lineage (ayom-bot), the extended family (nvogo-bot) and the family (nda-bot). Baumann's statement, that the only political and social unit among the Fang is the agon (ayong, clan) composed of family units or groups, must be refuted. The Fang clan and family is exogamous and patrilineal. Each of the social groupings is given the name of a person who is regarded as its founder. The family has little judicial authority. The extended family occupies its own section of the village, with its chief and meeting-house. The lineage is made up of a number of extended families, socially and territorially unified. The maximal lineage is the highest social grouping, consisting of all those lineages which acknowledge descent from a common ancestor, who is the eponymous ancestor of the whole group. The Fang village consists of exogamous patrilineal clans and polygynous families. -- Analyst]

Trujeda, Luis. La Superación de los Círculos de Consanguinidad [The Extension of the Circles of Consanguinity]. Africa, Vol. 3, No. 29, pp. 55-57. Madrid, 1944.

[The following is an abstract by J. Cola Alberich, taken from African Abstracts, Vol. 9, Abstract 558.

"Fang society is crossed by a network of associations which links its members independently of the natural blood tie, forming an extension of this. Its characteristics are: the attainment of a desired end; the widening of the ambit of the natural circles of social life, embracing members of the etunga and adyon, including enemies; the importance of secrecy and the existence of a mysterious power linked to the association. This power can be the personification of some natural phenomenon, the spirit of a dead person, or an anthropomorphically conceived being. The secret association forms a closed circle and is a true hierarchy, consisting of graduated stages of initiation. Elevation to a grade requires the undergoing of certain ritual ordeals."--Analyst]

Trujeda, Luis. Sociologia Pamue: La Norma Consuetudinaria [Fang Social Organization: The Customary Pattern]. Africa, Vol. 3, Nos. 31/32, pp. 115-117. Madrid, 1944.

[The following is an abstract by J. Cola Alberich, taken from African Abstrcts, Vol. 9, Abstract 559.

"The Negro does not feel himself to be fundamentally independent. Law is established by custom, whether for members of the etunga, adyon, secret association, or groups linked by a pact. The pattern is shown in a negative aspect in the form of prohibitions (eki), some applying to all members of the group, others to certain persons only. This pattern is often confused, the existence of contradictory authorities being common."--Analyst]

The Groundnut, Arachis hypogaea L.

(Plate 6)

244 The groundnut (owǐnó, derived from the stem a wǐno = to set, to plant) occupies the third – with the Jaunde the second – rank in the order of the most important food plants. In the Fang region five different varieties are distinguished, of which one, mǒne owǐnó, has again been given up because of its small fruit. Of the remaining four, the following are found together in one and the same field with equal frequency: the upright, more hairy asǐmena, which according to Sadebeck (1) is Arachis

[113]

1. R. Sadebeck, Die Kulturgewächse der deutschen Kolonien und ihre Erzeugnisse /The Cultivated Plants of the German Colonies and their Products/ (Jena, 1899), p. 230.

asiatica Lour. (it is illustrated by Plate 6), and the low-growing Arachis africana Lour. or var. glabrata D.C. (ebǎn, Nzum; ekǎ'b or engǎ, Fang. The variety eyǒ'lo (Fang) or evǒ'le (Nzum), distinguished by fruit that is thicker and not quite so long, and the variety eǎ'na are likewise sometimes found in the same field.

244 311 Anyone who travels in the land of the Pangwe will immediately recognize how important a role the groundnut has in the agricultural economy of the natives. The only farm that may delight the eye of a European are the groundnut farms. Walking through the camava and sugar cane plantations, one is afforded no unobstructed over-all view of them, and on the open farms one constantly has to climb over tree trunks that have been left lying around. After passing through these or even through a stretch of dense forest or bush and then coming upon a groundnut plantation, one draws a breath of relief. The wanderer will see the plantation lying before him, framed by the darkness of the forest interspersed with the brighter green of the young maize which is usually planted, along with the groundnut, as a border

285 The second class of baskets displays a variety of braiding elements: one that is flexible and active (braiding strips) (2), forms

[13] 2. See the discussion in J. Lehmann, Systematik und geographische Verbreitung der Geflechtsarten /System and Geographic Distribution of Types of Braiding/, Leipzig, 1907.

the bottom of the basket, and, ascending upward, is tied around the second, stiffer, passive one (braiding strand). /215/ Placed in the form of a spiral, this second element forms the wall of the basket. The sources of the braiding elements are as follows.

285 824 The active elements are taken from Sarcophrynium stalk strips, Pandanus leaves, or -- this is the predominant source -- the outermost wood layer of the rattan palms. The term for these current today is the collective name nlɔ̄ŋ I, a word derived from the root a lɔ̄n "to braid, to twine" (compare a lɔ̄n ndɨ, "to weave a house together, to build"; a lɔ̄n nkɔ̄ɔ̄, "to weave baskets"), and used at the same time for the "bush rope" obtained from the rattan palms. Formerly, nlɔ̄ŋ designated only the Eremospatha macrocarpa M. et W., which occurs only in the coastal strip west of 11 degrees longitude and in the north or northeast of the Pangwe region. Later, when the Pangwe came south, the term was transferred to the two rattan palms occurring there which are used for the same purpose, namely, Eremospatha tessmanni Becc. (ongɨm) and especially Oncocalamus mannii Wendl. (ebɔ̄ŋ Fang, ebɔ̄ŋ Ntum; young, ebɔ̄ŋ). Plate 16, Drawing 1, which is important there (1).

342 824 1. The rattan palms mentioned, aside from being used in weaving, are also used in the following ways.
1. In house construction: as rough bands, to tie together the framework of the house; as finer bands, to tie together the lathes of the side walls and the raffia leaflets of which the sleeping

325

trellis is constructed over the smelting box. Smelting requires a number of hours. The very soft iron obtained is pounded to pieces and then forged."

[113] (From Mitteilungen von Forschungreisenden und Gelehrten aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten /Reports by Explorers and Scholars from the German Protectorates/ by Friedrich von Danckelman, 1890, page 63.

/230/ /Fig. 182 appears here in the original text./

/231/ Now the bellows workers (ndɔ́, -ndɔ́m) put their two tools, which they have brought with them, into position, and in the manner already indicated stick the blast pipe into the furnace in place of the guide rod, so that the funnel-shaped end juts outward about ten to twelve centimeters. Then they arrange the bellows (Drawing 1, g) in such a way that its mouth is from two to three centimeters from the blast pipe and clamp it between two pairs of sticks, called mvɛ̂k (see Fig. 183), which are planted in the ground. This simple arrangement has given rise to the following

[539] proverb:

bɔ́kɔ́ bɔ vɔ̂de akɔ́ɔ́ o mvɛ̂k .

The Pygmies, they despaired of smelting because (of the) the holding sticks (which they did not know how to attach).
This proverb is said whenever some great enterprise fails because of a trifle.

325 461 791 Now everybody sits down on tree trunks around the furnace. A piece of red-hot charcoal is introduced into the furnace through one of the blast pipes, and then the working of the bellows begins (Fig. 184). This is done in the following manner. First one and then the other hide are alternately pulled up and down by hand, or, if one wants to work at high pressure, both hides are pulled together. This is a strenuous and monotonous job which the natives try to alleviate as much as possible by singing, which is led by the medicine man (in Plate 17, the gentleman to the right with folded arms), by shouting, laughing, talking, and telling stories. Above all, the

551 (something small, delicate on something gigantic, strong) -- file
539 (something that destroys something else) -- man in salt water (unclear, perhaps corresponding to our "cart that is stuck in the mud"). -- One chops off the young leaf tips of the fern (since this is the food of women, it is unsuitable for a man). -- The Solanum puts forth fruit, and the harvester stands ready (sense clear). -- The caterpillars that sit on the trees are ripe for eating, and the mother has a climber who gets them down (this refers to Amwôn himself). -- The Musanga has no guy ropes (lianas, and so forth), the Macrolobium no buttress roots. -- Son of one born an Eja.

As one can see, the jocular names, like the drum names
551 (chiefly in the south), are largely taken from a kind of proverbial speech /285/ that alludes to a peculiarity of the bearer; the peculiarity was no longer known in the foregoing case.

Of course, the Whites also have their nicknames; indeed, they are known almost exclusively by these since the natives usually do not know the European names or cannot pronounce them.

To the name given by the father, the father's own name is added. If, for instance, the father is called Esun and the son is called Boka, the complete name of Boka is Boka-Esun, that is, Boka, son of Esun, or -- with a genitive particle -- Boka Bosun(e): if Boka's son is called Ayong, his complete name is Ayong-Boka, etc. (1).

[113]

1. Von Stein (Mitteilungen aus den Schutzgebieten /Reports from the German Protectorates/, Vol. 12, p. 137) says of the Bane (= Bene): "Almost all names are double names, and in sharp contrast to the custom of the Bakoko /Koko/ (should probably read: Basâ), the name occupying the second place almost always signifies the mother's name. Only in very exceptional cases does the Bane, if he has an especially famous father, add the baptismal name, if I may use the term, of his father's name. Balingekore thus

means: Balinge, son of Ekore."

551 [113] The custom of the Bane of adding the mother's name to one's own, as reported here, is found also among the Jaunde according to Zenker (Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, Vol. 8, p. 50).

Family names in our sense are unknown to the Pangwe. Towards strangers they use the name of the kin group, which is after all to be understood as a "family" in the Pangwe sense; to this, at the same time, is added the name of the mother's familial group. My faithful factotum, Ayong, who has already been presented to the reader in the picture on Plate 3 /Ed., Vol. 1/, would, for instance, introduce himself as follows:

[539] ma ne ayŏn-bokǎ, mǫ̃ne eszǎwǔ̃n,
I am Ajong-Boka, child (of the family) Essauong,

mone ngǔ̃n esatǫ̃p.
child (of a) girl (of the) Essatop.

To learn this complete name by heart is the child's first task. 551 867 Once the child can recite it without a mistake, the father, proud of the cleverness of his offspring, proceeds to the further task of acquainting the little one with the names of his grandfather and great-grandfather (naturally on the father's side). Let us again take an example.

The child is called Ndungo, his father Essun, from the Abai family, in other words: ndǔ̃ngo-esǔ̃n, mǫ̃ne abai, etc., Ndungo of Essun from the Abai family. -- "But from whom am I, Essun, descended?" asks the father. "esǔ̃n-nzǎma, that is, Essun from Nsema," is the answer. "And from whom is Nsema descended = nzǎma nza?" "nzǎma-ngǔ̃." -- The child learns it all very [116] quickly, because as regards its ability to grasp things /286/, the Negro child is far superior to white children. -- The Pangwe, however, does not stop with the grandfather. Each of these black gentlemen has all his ancestors in his head, just like our feudal lords. To be sure, none of them knows more about them than

578 publicly, as in the case of the paternal curse, or in the field
595 when the women are among themselves. /293/

A droll effect is created when the souls are cursed by their
769 descendants. The curse is pronounced at the ancestral feast if it
578 is believed that the souls of the ancestors no longer care about the living, and the curse is also revoked on the same occasion. Although, as ancestors, the souls were more elevated persons who actually cannot be cursed, here is another instance where might comes before right, for after death the souls are powerless on earth, as we know.

Finally, there is a belief in secret curses, and thus, if people
578 are constantly unlucky in life, they are sometimes afraid that they are being cursed by this or that person.

The most terrible curse is that which was pronounced by Nzambe (God) upon human beings when they commited the first major offense against his paternal will. As described in Volume II, page 59 /Ed., not translated/, the curse is symbolically erased during the cult celebration.

3. Children's Games (1)

524
[113]

1. See G. Tessmann, "Die Kinderspiele der Pangwe" /The Children's Games of the Pangwe/, in the Baessler-Archiv, Vol. 2, No. 5-6, p. 250. The children's games are discussed there in detail.

I divide children's games into two major clases: the generally imitative games, and the independent games. Of the former I distinguish three groups: first, gymnastic games which imitate the movements of adults (running, sport, and dancing); second, war and hunting games which imitate the main occupations, not to say professions, of adults; and third, all the rest of the imitative games. The independent games, which are on a higher level, I divide again into three groups: first, toy games, that is, games that are played with objects and do not imitate any

2: Tessmann--200 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F919 Fang F919

524
113

In Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten /Reports from the German Protectorates/, Berlin, 1895, Zenker mentions wrestling matches between female women and girls. I myself have never heard of these.

[81] This group of Beti, or Beti, north of the Sanaga, whom the Ger-
[83] mans—being good linguists—recognized easily by their language, were all those whom the French administration later called by the general name "Sanaga." They included the Tsinga, the Mvele /Mvelle/ (contrary to Nelson' opinion), the Bevek, the Mangisa, the Ngoro, and the Komba.

[84] What is the origin of these Beti? G. Tessmann thinks that they may
[79] be related to the peoples he has named "Mittelkamerun Bantu /Middle Cameroons Bantu/" (Bafia, Bassa /Basaa/, Tembosa, etc.). But he does not confuse the two groups. He believes that the Beti came from the north, where they first lived on the left bank of the M'Bam. Then, pushed by the Bakoua, some of them moved to the right bank. He notes that from that point on two tendencies are apparent: Some of the Beti were attracted by the civilization of the northeast (Bakoua), others by that of the southeast (Pahouin). Thus the Bevek and the Tangabak (the Pik and the Fak) migrated and scattered in a direction that differed from the one taken by groups such as the Bessings and the Mangisa, who were moving toward the Pahouin. The latter two let themselves be assimilated quite rapidly.

According to G. Tessmann, the Beti are not Pahouin but rather a population encountered by the latter in their migrations. These people were attracted or influenced by the Pahouin and, in turn, influenced the invaders, just as they influenced, or were influenced by, the central Bantu. In the course of influences and counter influences, the intermingling of Pahouin and Beti, as much in culture as in language, has been so great that it is now difficult to untangle the threads of their various ramifications. Some threads have been lost, others broken, and those that remain have taken on a variety of hues.

Ling

●[13] Language. See:

Johnston, H.H. A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Language (Oxford University Press, Vol. I, 1919, Vol. 2, 1922), Vocabulary No. 216, and his reference to the study by Carl Meinhof, "Die Sprachverhältnisse in Kamerun /Linguistic Relationships in the Cameroons/," Zeitschrift für afrikanische und oceanische Sprachen (Berlin, 1895).

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe /The Fang/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes, Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und Früherer

[5] Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe; Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (2 vols.) (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), p. 34 (a short vocabulary).

-----, "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of the Cameroons/," Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen, 1930, pp. 180-88.

[6] We wonder whether G. Tessmann knew the following three lines written by von Stein zu Lausnitz: "The Beti language show certain resemblances to those of the Beya and the Bangando of the eastern end of the colony." (1)

[8] 1. von Stein zu Lausnitz, "Eine Erkundungs-Expedition zwischen Wuri und Sanaga /An Exploratory Expedition between the Wuri and the Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1908, p. 323.

Bibliography

von Stein zu Lausnitz. Op. Cit., pp. 322, 323, 327.

Thorbecki, (Mrs.). Auf der Sevanne /On the Sevanna/, (1912), pp. 2[illegible]-[illegible], 206-18.

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe, I Op. Cit., historical portions.

-----, "Die Bafia und die Kultur der Mittelkamerun-Bantu /The Bafia and the Culture of the Middle-Cameroons Bantu/," Ergebnisse der 1913 v. Reichs-Kolonialamt ausgesandten Forschungsreise nach Kamerun /Results of the 1913 Research Expedition to the Cameroons Sponsored by the Colonial Office/ (Stuttgart: Strecker and Schröder, 1914), historical portions.

Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Beti."

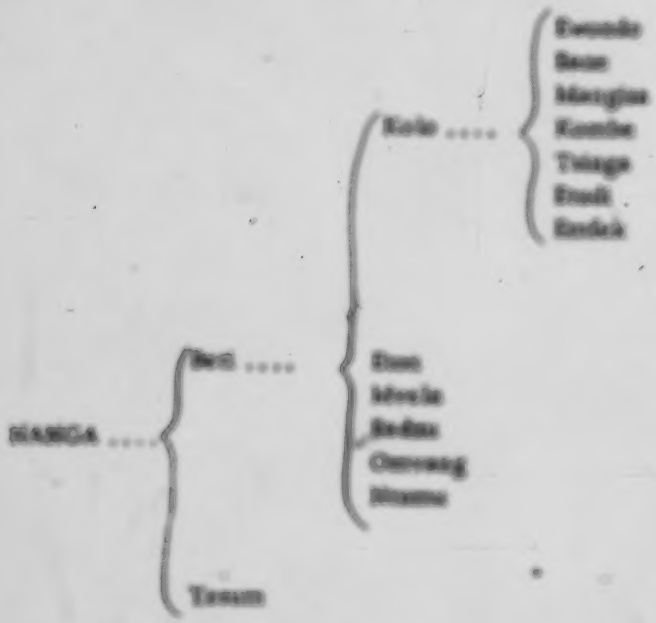
Bulletin de la Societe d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 25-28 and No. 10 (June 1946).

Moisel map, GS, Jaunde, April, 1913. /59/

THE PAHOUIN

[10] It has seemed necessary to us to employ the term "Pahouin,"
[9] generally used by the French to designate a group of peoples who,

[34] with names beginning either with Eb (Makaci) or with Ib (Bewaiti).
[0] The Governor General, Courmeric, after carefully surveying the peoples in the vicinity of Tonundé, where he was administrator, prepared the following table:



And he concluded: "It appears that among the Beti one can also include the Bedjia, the Bevek, the Bemvele, the Djemi, the Ngum, and the Tsogefub."

It is impossible to say whether or not this problem will ever be solved, for it becomes more and more complex from decade to decade because of the changes which are taking place, with perhaps increasing speed. We would like future researchers to be aware of its complexity; they should not believe that we have thought to present solutions here.

Bibliography

[13] "Bericht über den Bisherigen Verlauf der Betonga-Expedition (Ende October 1887 bis März 1888)" /Progress Report of the Betonga Expedition (End of October, 1887 to March, 1888)/ Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1888, pp. 6-31, 112-21.

Avelot, R. "Recherches sur l'histoire des migrations dans le bassin de l'Ogooué et la région littorale adjacente /Researches into the history of migrations in the Ogooue Basin and the Adjacent Coastal Region/," Bulletin de Géographie Historique et Descriptive, Vol. 20 (1905), pp. 397-412. (five maps.)

Cornet, A. La mission Cornet au Sud-Cameroun (1905-1908). Exposé des résultats scientifiques, d'après les travaux des divers membres de la section française de la Commission de délimitation entre le Congo français et le Cameroun (frontière méridionale) et les documents étudiés au Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. /The Cornet Mission to South Cameroons, 1905-1908. A Presentation of the Scientific Results of the Mission Based on the Work of Various Members of the French Section of the Commission to Set the Boundaries Between the French Congo and the Southern Frontier of the Cameroons, and on Documents Examined at the Museum of Natural History./ (Paris: Leroux, 1911).

Gerwik, B. "Die Sprachverhältnisse im 'Moyen Congo' /Linguistic Relationships in the 'Middle Congo'/," Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, pp. 204-25.

Helms, H. "Jaunde und seine Bewohner (Südkamerun) /Yaunde and its Inhabitants (South Cameroons)/," Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, pp. 468-74.

Tessmann, Günter. "Gabun /Gabon/," Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, pp. 325-37.

------, Die Pangwe /The Fang/, Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes, Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913). /61/

------, "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of the Cameroons/," Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen, 1932, pp. 113-20 and 186-90.

Poutrin, Dr. Esquisse ethnologique des principales populations de l'Afrique Equatoriale Française /An Ethnographic Sketch of the Major Peoples of French Equatorial Africa/ (Paris: Masson, 1914), pp. 26-31.

Abel, J. "Sitten und Gebräuche der Pangwe im deutschen Muni-Gebiet /Customs and Habits of the Fang in the German Muni Territory/," Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, Ergänzungsheft no 9a, Landeskundlicher Teil, 1914, pp. 31-41.

Bakoko
Bundju
Kombe

●13 Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Fang."

Courmarie, P. Essai sur les coutumes des populations de la Circonscription de Yaoundé /Essay Concerning the Customs of the Peoples of the Yaoundé District/ (1932) (unpublished).

Brunl, G. La France équatoriale africaine /French Equatorial Africa/ (Paris: Larose, 1935).

Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 3, (July 3, 1943).

de Pedrels, H. "Contribution à l'établissement d'un inventaire ethnique du Cameroun /A Contribution toward Setting up an Inventory of the Peoples of Cameroun/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept-Dec. 1945), pp. 7-15.

Baumann, H. and Westermann, D. Des peuples et les civilisations de l'Afrique, suivi de: Les langues et l'éducation /Peoples and Cultures of Africa, followed by: Languages and Education/. (Translated by L. Homburger) (Paris: Payot, 1948), pp. 199-201.

THE BUNDJU AND THE KOMBE

[3] Location: 11°25 to 11°50 long.
[0] 4°30 to 4°35 north lat.

We cannot silently slip over these minor groups whose names are known only to administrators working in the region of M'Bam, east of Bafia. As a matter of fact, they are essentially a part of the Beti group.

Physical and Human Geography

[4] Population: Bundju—about 550 inhabitants
Kombe—about 1,126 inhabitants

[3] The Kombe are settled in three villages in the valley of the
[3] M'Bam, on the right bank of that river and on the highway from Bafia to Yaoundé, from the 16th kilometer to the 22nd kilometer southeast of Bafia. /Map 2/

The Bundju occupy two villages, also on the vehicular road, southeast of the Kombe but between the M'Bam and the Sanaga rivers. The two villages are separated by a Ngoso village which is wedged in between them. /02/

[3] According to the Moisel map of April, 1913 (G2, Jaunde), these
[0] two peoples occupied far greater territories at that time. The Kombe (then known as the Nkombe) were found all the way to the borders of

Bafik - Tangafok
Tsinga - Betsinga

174 The recognized kinship among the various groups clearly permits us to assert that their extraordinary dispersion is quite recent, going back no further than to the historical period when the Tikar and the Bakoko made their last advances and were driven back by the advancing Fulbe. Before that time these peoples probably inhabited the entire plain south of the Nkam. Ndcumba was their most important center.

197 Language. The linguistic unity among the various groups of Bafik and Tangafok confirms our impression. Dialect differences among them are minimal; they all understand each other.

G. Tessmann classifies their language as falling between that of the Bamvele and the group of Pahouin languages. As we have already mentioned, a passing observer at Lana, the Reverend Good of the American Mission, noticed a very great similarity between the language spoken there and that of the Bulu in the south.

Bibliography

183 Thorbecke, Mrs. Auf der Savanne /On the Savanna/, (1912), p. 152.
Thorbecke, Fr. Im Hochland von Mittelkamerun /In the Highlands of the Middle Cameroons/, Abhandlungen der Hamburgischen Kolonial-Institut 1919-1924 (L. Friedrichsen & Co.), Vol. I, p. 43, Vol. II, p. 20.
Bulletin de la Société d'Études Camerounaises, No. 3, (July 1947).
Unpublished reports by administrators Delneil and Coquereaux.

TSINGA - BETSINGA

131 Widely scattered habitat: 11°20 to 11°30 long. and from south to north: 3°35 to 3°50 north lat. near Tsoundé 4°15 to 4°40 north lat. on the two banks of the Sanaga.

101 Physical and Human Geography. Like the administrator Courtaric in the past, we have grouped together under one term the peoples generally designated as Tsinga, Betsinga, Betchenga, or Batchenga. One name is probably a transformation of another. Since the traditions of the various groups are the same, it seems inappropriate to draw distinctions among them.

361 The Tsinga are so widely dispersed that their territory does not form a unit. They are located on both banks of the Sanaga (there known as

361 the Betsinga) as far north as its tributary the Makiko and, toward the south, for about a dozen kilometers inland. Another Tsinga zone exists in the northwest on both sides of the M'Bam. Another fairly homogeneous center may be found much farther south, east of Yaoundé. Finally, there are several Tsinga villages just south of the Nyong in the vicinity of the southern road.

It is impossible to calculate the area of their ~~various~~ habitat concept near the M'Bam (75 square km.), among the Betsinga of the Sanaga (180 square km.), and for the few purely Tsinga villages east of Yaoundé (180 square km.). Elsewhere these people appear only together with other populations.

[61] The total population comes to 15,002 persons.

361 Near the M'Bam, as well as on the Sanaga and its little tributaries, the Tsinga are settled in a land of small hills and valleys, on a prairie 173 broken by groves and by clumps of forest. According to their traditions they originally lived north of the Sanaga, but the Bakoko advanced upon them. Many of them crossed the river. It appears that as soon as the Germans came and /67/ mapped the Bakoko, some of the Tsinga returned to the north of the Sanaga. /Map 5 covers p. 66./

197 Some say that the Tsinga are related to the Eno, and this statement 173 seems to be confirmed by the similarity between the two languages (See Nekes) /"Jaunde und seine Bewohner (Sudkamerun)"/Yaoundé and its inhabitants (South Cameroons/, " Koloniale Rundschau, 1912/. See a few words of vocabulary in G. Tessmann's Die Pangwe /The Fang/, Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1912), p. 34, under the name "Beti (Betjenge)," as well as H. H. Johnston, A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages (Oxford University Press, Vol. I, 1919, Vol. 2, 1922), Vocabulary No. 216, under "Beti (Bezenge)."

161 Demography. Their population balance is favorable; the ratio of births to deaths is ~~+~~ 1.14 percent.

Bibliography

173 Dominik. "Bericht über eine Strafexpedition gegen des Betschengenstamm /Report on a Punitive Expedition Against the Betsinga Tribe/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1899, pp. 14-15.

Tsinga-Bikaya
Mangisa

113 Von Stein zu Lausnitz. "Eine Erkundungs-Expedition zwischen Wuri und Sanaga /An Exploratory Expedition Between the Wuri and the Sanaga/." Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1908, pp. 522-23.

MANGISA

[3] Location: 11°15 to 11°30 long.
4°15 to 4°30 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

[3] Area: about 316 square km.
[4] Population: 14,589 inhabitants
Density: 46.3 per square km.

[3] The Mangisa occupy the right bank at the bend of the Sanaga, a land of wooded hills.

173 They were probably among the peoples who crossed the Sanaga rather early, for their traditions say that, in later times, when the Etoo also crossed the river, they found the Mangisa occupying the territory. /Map 6/ Fairly intensive struggles followed; then the two peoples formed an alliance which enabled them to live in peace side by side.

56 Like the Etoo, the agricultural Mangisa live in large villages. Be-
311 cause of the density of the population, the entire /68/ woodland has to a large extent been cleared for their plantations, and palm trees have been planted.

197 But what is the exact origin of the Mangisa?
174 Language. The question has been raised in linguistics.

G. Tessmann has written: "In the classification of the Pahouin tribes of the north, the situation is not yet clear. One thing is certain: all the tribes—at least all those of the northeast—contain a more or less pronounced component derived from the Beti-Mbam. Thus, a few decades ago, the Etoo and the Mangisa spoke a pure Beti; they have therefore become Pahouinized only in recent times, at least as regards language (1)."

1. Günter Tessmann, "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	76.2	76.4
Facial	85.1	84.2
Nasal	83.8	81.6
Cranique	50.8	51.0
Bonergue/T	104.4	102.3

The birth rate is gradually dropping.

Bibliography of Physical Anthropology

Olivier, G. "Etude anthropologique comparée des principales tribus de la région de Yaoundé /A Comparative Study of the Physical Anthropology of the Principal Tribes in the Yaoundé Region/." Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 10 (June 1945), pp. 55-76.

Olivier, G. and Aujoulat, L. "L'obstétrique en pays Yaoundé. Etude ethnologique medicale et anthropologie somatique. /Obstetrics in Yaoundé Country. A Study in Medical Ethnology and Physical Anthropology/." Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 13 (Dec. 1945), pp. 7-71.

Olivier, G., in collaboration with Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chaguoux, André David, and Geisser. "Documents anthropométriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations de Sud-Cameroun /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/." Bulletin de la Société d'études Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Dec. 1946), p. 45.

General Bibliography

On the subject of the settlement, subsistence, and customs of the Fang, only unpublished sources are available.

We also want to mention an important demographic report by Dr. Aujoulat of the "Ad Iucem" Foundation at Efok (Subdivision of Sac). The work was carried out in 1944 (Archives du Service de Santé).

Finally, we must not neglect to mention that at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris there is a film of great ethnographic and artistic

(13 worth on the subject of the "Bite SSO" as it is practiced among the Eton and the Mengisa. The film was made in an Eton village in 1955.

THE EWONDO

(8) These people are called Yaoundé (1) by the Europeans, but they call themselves Ewondo.

1. The etymology of this name is given nowhere. According to tradition, the name Ewondo is that of the original ancestor of the people; the prefixes ya, ye, and e occur frequently in Palatian languages.

According to Nekes, the name means "peanut"; it would therefore be a nickname, because, they say, "They are as numerous as peanuts."

(3) Location: 10°40 to 11°40 long.
3°10 to 4°55 north lat.

The Ewondo branch on a north-south trail at 10°05 long.
on an east-west trail 10°25 to 10°40 long.
3°10 to 3°25 north lat.

Physical Geography. Area: approximately 4,200 square km.

(33) (37) The territory occupied by the Ewondo is a high plateau broken by little valleys. In its northern section may be found several high hills which divide the waters of the Sanaga Basin from those of the Nyong. The entire territory is within the great forest zone, but much of the land has been cleared because of the density of the population. /71/ The dividing line between forest and prairie runs east to west about 10 kilometers north of Yaoundé.

(33) The river Nyong, at 3°30 north latitude, first borders the Ewondo country north to south and then crosses it from east to west before flowing into the territory of the neighboring Basa. Much further downstream it flows north to south by the settlement of the Evuzok before reaching its mouth at the ocean.

197 Language. Father Nekes, who is an authority on the subject, was the first to show the very close relationship which exists between the Ewondo language and the languages spoken by the Pahouin of Gabon and of Spanish Guinea, despite the wide Bulu zone that separates them. The people of Gabon and the Ewondo readily understand each other.

Nevertheless, in the same year R. Strack and Nekes pointed out that in the past the Ewondo and the Bane spoke "Ati," and that they only recently adopted the Pahouin language (See Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, p. 220 and H. Nekes, "Jaunde und seine Bewohner (Südkamerun) /Yaoundé and its inhabitants (South Cameroons)/, "Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, p. 469). In 1913, when Father Nekes published his book, Die Sprache der Jaunde in Kamerun /The Language of the Yaunde in the Cameroons/, he actually wrote in his introduction: "The old Ewondo today still speak 'Ati'."

Although the evolution of the language was probably completed under the eyes of Nekes a few years before World War I, at the present time the new language has been adopted entirely.

On this subject see also Gunter Tessmann, Die Pangwe. /The Fang/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und frühere Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/, (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), pp. 30-31.

Bibliography on Linguistics

(13) Meinhof, C. "Die Sprachverhältnisse in Kamerun /Linguistic Relationships in the Cameroons/, " Zeitschrift für afrikanische und ozeanische Sprachen, (Berlin, 1891), pp. 138-62.

Hoarpainter, M. "Grammatik der Yaoundesprache /Yaunde Grammar/, " Anthropos, 1909, pp. 684-701 and 919-30.

Nekes, H. Die Sprache der Jaunde in Kamerun /The Language of the Yaunde in the Cameroons/, (Berlin, 1913).

Roussel. Eléments de grammaire ewondo /Elements of Ewondo Grammar/ (1918).

M. von Hoepe. Jaunde-Wörterbuch /Yaunde Dictionary/.

Johnston, H.H. A Comparative Study of Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, (Oxford University Press, 1922), Vocabulary No. 217.

Graffin, R. and Pichon, P. Grammaire ewondo /Ewondo Grammar/ (Paris, 1930), 215 pages.

(1) (2) Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Ewondo are people of above average height (men 168.4 cm; women 158.6 cm.), fairly slender, mesocephalic, barely platyrhinian.

(3) Their blood-group ratio is that of typical Negroes:
O: 55.5 percent; A: 16.1 percent; B: 17.4 percent; AB: 11.0 percent; —index $\left[\frac{AB \times AB}{B \times B}\right]$: .885.

(4)

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.0	77.6
Facial	85.7	85.6
Nasal	82.3	78.2
Cormique	50.5	50.4
Sawyer/T	105.3	104.0 /72/

/Map 3, Ewondo Peoples, facing p. 72./

(5) The population balance is fair, the differential index (ratio of births to deaths) is + 0.2 percent.

(6) A slight increase in the birth rate has been noted; at the same time infant mortality is very low: 3 percent.
The fertility rate is 3.06 pregnancies per woman.

Bibliography of Physical Anthropology

(1) Virchow. "6 Schädel von Yaunde aus Kamerun /Six Skulls of Yaunde from the Cameroons/." Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1897.

Olivier, G. "Etude anthropologique comparée des principales tribus de la region de Yaoundé /A Comparative Study of the Physical Anthropology of the Major Tribes of the Yaoundé Region/." Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 10, pp. 55-76.

Olivier, G. and Aujoulat, L. "L'obstétrique en pays Yaoundé. Etude ethnologique medicale et d'anthropologie somatique. /Obstetrics in Yaoundé Country. A Study in Medical Ethnology and Physical Anthropology/." Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 12 (Dec. 1945), pp. 9-72.

Olivier, G. with the collaboration of the Drs. Ajoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Grenier. "Documents anthropométriques pour servir a'letude des principales populations du Sud-

13. Cameroun /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Dec. 1948), pp. 46 and 63, with bibliography.

General Bibliography

"Bericht über den Bisherigen Verlauf der Benuë-Expedition (Ende Oktober 1887 bis März 1888 /Progress Report of the Benuë Expedition (End of October, 1887, to March, 1888)/," Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1888, Vol. I, pp. 6-22.

"Bericht über den Verlauf der Kund'schen Benuëexpedition während der Zeit vom November 1887 bis Januar 1888 /Report on the Progress of the Exploratory Benuë Expedition from November, 1887 to January, 1888/," Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1888, Vol. 3, pp. 112-21.

Zenker, G. "Das Yaunde-Land /Land of the Yaunde/," Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1891, pp. 138-44.

-----, "Yaunde," Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1891, pp. 36-70.

Dominik, Hans. Vom Atlantic zum Tschadsee, Kriegs-und Forschungsfahrten in Kamerun /From the Atlantic to Chad Lake, Military and Research Trips in the Cameroons/ (Berlin: Mittler, 1908).

Zimmermann, O. Durch Busch und Steppe /Through Bush and Steppe/ (Berlin: 1909), pp. 60-75.

Nekes, H. "Jaunde und seine Bewohner (Südkamerun) /Yaoundé and its Inhabitants (South Cameroons)/," Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, pp. 468-84.

-----, "Yaoundische mazistische Anschauungen der Jaunde in ihren Kultfeiern und Geheimbünden /Yaoundéic Mazistic Views of the Yaunde as seen in their Rituals and Secret Leagues/," Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, pp. 134-53.

Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Jaunde."

Bearth. "L'essani et le tso, anciennes coutumes Yaoundé de la region sud du Nyong /The Essani and the Tso, Ancient Customs of the Yaoundé in the Region South of the Nyong/," Togo-Cameroun, June-July-August 1929, pp. 223-26.

Courtois, P. "Notes sommaires sur les pratique divinatoires des populations de la Circonference de Yaoundé /Brief Notes on the

[13] Dictionary Practices of the Peoples in the District of Yaoundé/," Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 1936, No. 1, pp. 35-39.
Fraser, James George. "The Native Races of Africa and Madagascar," Anthropologia Anthropologica (London: Percy Lund Humphries and Co., 1938), pp. 173-78.
Numerous unpublished studies on customs (by Courserie, Joubert, and others), reports to the Bureau des Affaires Politiques (Bureau of Political Affairs) and among the documents of the S.E.C. /Société d'Etudes Communautaires/, unpublished investigations on the subjects of shelter and subsistence.
Mental map, GE, Ewondo.

THE BANE

[3] Location: 11°15 to 11°30 long.
3°45 to 3°30 north lat.

Physical Geography. Area: about 1,736 square km.

The territory of the Bane borders on the Western side of the Ewondo country and stretches north to south from the vicinity of Yaoundé to 25 kilometers northwest of Ebolowa and northwest of Sangmélima.

[D7] The country is located entirely within the forest zone, which is quite thinned out because of the density of population.

[33] At 3°30 north latitude the river Nyong crosses the country from east to west. At that point it is a navigable canal. Further down, the river turns south and marks the boundary between the territories of the Bane and the Ewondo.

[61] Human Geography. Total population: 18,309 inhabitants.

More than half of the total number of inhabitants in Bane territory live in the small area located north of the Nyong, where the population density is 40.1 per square kilometer. South of the Nyong, the density is 14.1 persons per square kilometer. /74/

[74] History. Like their neighbors of the same Fabouin family, the Bane lived north of the Sanaga in the past before the last invasion. Their southward migration occurred at about the same time as that of the Ewondo, and was brought about by the same cause. The Bane crossed the Sanaga rather late, and found the Ewondo already settled on the other side. Therefore, they infiltrated little by little from north to south among the people who preceded them /Map 10/ They were not completely pacified until 1897.

At that time they were already situated along one of the principal commercial routes of the south, used to ship from the east many sought-after products, especially ivory.

The Bane are settled in large villages and hamlets. The population in these settlements is no more homogeneous /75/ than the Ewondo's. The major intermixtures are shown on our map.

The road from Yaoundé to Ebolowa now crosses the Bane country from north to south. Another road, south of the Nyong, is the terminal point of the trade routes coming from the southeast. Because of these roads and the connection with the railroads at M'Balmayo, all the wealth of this country of great food crops, rich farmlands (cacao and coffee), and forests is easily brought to market.

Language. The subject is discussed in the paragraph on the linguistics of the Ewondo.

Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Bane are of above-average height, fairly slender, mesocephalic, and only slightly platyrhinian.

Their blood-type ratios are as follows:
O: 49 percent; A: 18 percent; B: 14 percent; AB: 19 percent—index $\frac{[A+AB]}{[B+AB]}$: 1.121.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.3	77.0
Facial	81.8	80.8
Nasal	85.2	86.0
Cormique	50.9	51.8
Envergure/T	104.9	103.9

The population balance is stable: the ratio of births to deaths is +0.2. The fertility rate is 4.7 pregnancies per woman. See the studies in physical anthropology in Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, Nos. 10, 12, 15-16.

Bibliography

Von Stein. "Bericht ü ber die Bane-Buli-Expedition /Report on the Bane-Buli Expedition/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1898, pp. 173-75.

113 The oldest sketch map on which the Bane are shown is a map without scale, but where the distances are calculated in terms of "hours on foot"; it appears in Von Stein's report entitled "Ueber die geographische Verhältnisse des Bezirkes Lolodorf (Südkamerun Gebiet), speziell die dort wohnenden Volkstämme /The Geographic Relationships of the Lolodorf District (South Cameroons), especially the Resident Tribes/," in Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1898, pp. 120-41. This report also contains an extensive genealogical table which includes the Bane; ethnographic details on pp. 135-38 should be especially noted.

Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Bane."

Moisel maps, G2, Jaunde, and H 1-2, Kribi.

Search. "Le Noig N'tu, ancienne coutume Bane /The Noig N'tu, an Ancient Bane Custom/." Togo-Cameroun, January 1930, pp. 19-22.

Important unpublished documents exist on the subject of customs, dwelling, and subsistence among the Bane.

THE FONG

131 Location: 11° and 11°15 long.
3°15 north lat.
and 11°30 to 12° long.

101 Physical and Human Geography. The Fong /Fang/ are not all settled in a single area. They constitute a very small population divided into three separate clusters, lined up from west to east; the total area of the different small zones occupied by these settlements is about 1,152 square kilometers, and in the largest and most easterly, the enclaves of Bulu villages are to be found.

101 563 Bertaut has written: "The territory is occupied by Bane and Fong without any geographical unity. Fong, Bulu, and Bane are intermingled, and one passes from a Bane area /76/ to a Fong area without noticing. This situation is the result of a mingling of tribes which must have occurred when the Bane and the Fong, who came from the north, encountered the Fang and the Bulu, who were also not yet permanently settled." (Report of May, 1932)

113 The Fong may be considered the southernmost participants in the recent invasion which brought the Ewondo and the Bane to the south

173 of the Nyong. According to their traditions they come from an area north of the Sanaga, as do the other groups which preceded them. They settled in the forest, where there are at present 12,783 of them (a density of 6.9 persons per square km.).

231 242 The Fong are an agricultural people. They seem to have little inclination to hunt so that their diet consists chiefly of vegetables, although they have a fairly large number of domesticated animals. /Map 11/

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. Average height: men 169.7 cm.; women 162 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	80.8	81.5
Nasal	95.21	84.01

141 143 The population balance is slightly positive, the ratio of birth to deaths being +0.77. The rate of sterility is high, 25.6 percent, but is fortunately compensated for by the fertility rate, 5.3 pregnancies per woman.

Bibliography

113 Cottes, A. La mission Cottès au Sud-Cameroun (1905-1908). Exposé des résultats scientifiques, d'après les travaux des divers membres de la section française de la Commission de delimitation entre le Congo français et le Cameroun (frontière méridionale) et les documents étudiés au Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. (The Cottes Mission to South Cameroun 1905-1908. A Presentation of the Scientific Results of the Mission Based on the Work of Various Members of the French Section of the Commission to Set the Boundaries Between the French Congo and the Southern Frontier of the Cameroons, and on Documents Examined at the Museum of Natural History) (Paris: Leroux, 1911), pp. 125-31.

THE FANG, THE MVAE, THE NTUMU

131 Location: 10°45 to 12°45 long. and a few islands between 10° and 10°30 long.

See:

113 Tessmann, Gunter. Die Pangwe /The Fang/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), pp. 30-31, (short Ntum and Fang vocabularies), and pp. 45-48.

Johnston, H. H. A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, (Oxford University Press, 1922), Vocabulary 218: Pangwe; (The Ntum vocabulary is included in Vocabulary 219: Bulo).

Tessmann, Günter. "Sprichwörter der Pangwe, Westafrica-/Fang Proverbs/," Anthropos, Vol. 8, (1913), pp. 402-26.

-----, "Rätsel der Pangwe (West Zentralafrika) /Riddles of the Fang (West Central Africa)/," Anthropos, Vol. 10-11 (1915-1916), pp. 675-725.

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Fang are barely above average in height, platyrrhinian, and mesocephalic.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.0	76.6
Facial	83.2	87.0
Nasal	91.3	88.7
Cormique	51.2	50.9
Envergure/T	105.3	103.4

161 Their population balance is hardly favorable. The ratio of births over deaths is +.03 percent.

163 The population is therefore stationary: the rate of sterility is 7 percent; the fertility rate is 3.8 pregnancies per woman.

141 The Mvae are tall and mesocephalic.

Indexes	Men	(measurements of women were not made)
Cephalic	78.8	
Nasal	104.6	
Cormique	50.4	
Envergure/T	103.9	

161 There is a slight rise in population: ratio of births over deaths is + .69 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 15.2 percent; the fertility rate, 4.3 pregnancies per woman.

141 The Ntumu are above average in height, mesocephalic, and platyrrhinian.

Indexes	Men	(measurements of women were not made)
Cephalic	77.4	
Nasal	102.3	
Cormique	50.6	
Envergure/T	101.6	

161 The population balance remains favorable in spite of an extremely
165 high rate of infant mortality, reaching 58.91 percent of children born alive. The ratio of births over deaths is + 1.53 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 12 percent; the fertility rate, 4.6 pregnancies per woman.

113 See G. Olivier, with the collaboration of Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Grenier, "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du Sud-Cameroun /Anthropometric Documents for a study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept-Dec. 1946), pp. 48-49 and 62.

General Bibliography

Foerster. "Bericht über eine Erkundung des mittleren Kampoflusses /Report on an Exploration of the Middle Campo River/," (with a Moisel map), Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1902, pp. 123-28.

"Expedition des Stabsarztes Hoesemann längs der Südgrenze von Kamerun /Expedition of the Staff Physician Hoesemann along the Southern Border of the Cameroons/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1902, pp. 291-93 and 313-15.

Zimmerman, O. "Das Gebiet der Ntum und Mwei /The Ntum and Mwei Region/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1910, pp. 459-65.

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe, Op. Cit., pp. 7, 40, 43, 49.

113 Frazer, James George. "The Native Races of Africa and Madagascar," Anthologia Anthropologica (London: Percy Lund Humphries and Co., 1938), pp. 165-66.

Numerous unpublished reports by Bertaut, André Raynaud, E. André, and H. Richard, members of the administration, are to be found in the archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs (Bureau des Affaires Politiques) and among the documents of the S.E.C. /Société d' Etudes Camerounaises/.

Moisel Map, H 1 and 2, Kribi.

THE BULU

131 The actual Bulu inhabit an area which stretches from east to west
101 in a thin band from 10° to 13°10 longitude and extends from 2°35
to 3°15 north latitude toward the east. Toward the west their villages
[36] only extend along two parallel trails, then go in a single line to within 30 kilometers of the ocean.

North of this horizontal band, in an area which extends from 12° to 12°35 longitude and from 3°35 to 4°30 north latitude, are to be found the Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda. We are including these groups among the Bulu on the authority of their traditions.

133 Physical Geography. The Bulu territory is a huge, very monotonous plateau covered with forest. It is situated at an altitude of 600 to 650 meters on the average, with a few hills rising 150 to 200 meters at most above the rest. The hills are round or conical in shape and generally wooded.

The actual Bulu country (an area of about 9, 936 square km.) is watered, on the one hand, by little tributaries which flow from the left bank of the Nyong and form valleys going from southeast to northwest. In the east the branch called the Zaman flows for 60 kilometers, touches the only trail in the thickness of the forest at a distant spot, and meets the Dja River, a tributary of the Sanga /sic/, beyond 13° longitude.

361 The Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda are settled on a
133 strip of land going from north to south in an area which is part prairie and part forest. From the plain of the Sanaga the country rises gradually, and in the northern part of the Yengono country a chain of hills separates thewaters of the Sanaga and the Nyong basins. The three peoples are settled south of this line in the Nyong Basin

361 The settlements of these peoples vary in appearance. The villages and hamlets of the Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda are located in relatively open country and they stretch out along numerous trails. The Bulu in the south, situated in a land of parallel valleys through which flow the tributaries of the Nyong and by thick forest, can only build their villages along the valleys. This whole area, es-
241 pecially in the Nyong Basin, is very fertile. The natives have fine fields of food crops and many palm trees. Many prosperous enterprises, lumber yards, and fine groves of cacao trees can also be found. /81/[Map 13]

489 All the products are transported to the railroad at M'Balmayo along a large network of roads and the navigable parts of the Nyong.

181 The Bulu are intelligent and hard working, and are capable of becoming excellent craftsmen.

197 Language. We have seen that Father Nekes and G. Tessmann see a very close relationship between the language of the Bulu and that of the Mvele. The Bulu language includes a number of dialects with only slight variants, and falls between the speech of the Ewondo and that of the Gabon Pahouin, which are almost identical.

Linguistic Bibliography

•113 von Hagen, Gunther Tronje. Lehrbuch der Bulu Sprache /Handbook of the Bulu Language/ (Berlin: Radetzki: 1914), Vol. 7, 402 pages.

Johnston, H. H. A Comparative Study of Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, (Oxford University Press, 1922), Vocabulary No. 219.

Bates, George L. Handbook of Bulu (Revised Edition; with the vocabulary revised and much enlarged by the author and Silas F. Johnson) (Ebolowa: The Halsey Memorial Press, 1926).

Good, A. I. Bulu Handbook Supplement. Supplementary Facts in Bulu Grammar. Appendix to Vocabulary in Bulu. Vocabulary of Exclamatory Words. (Ebolowa: The Halsey Memorial Press, 1934).

English-Bulu Vocabulary (Ebolowa, undated).

Physical Anthropology and Demography

141 Bulu: average height, men 165.4 cm.; women 157.6 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.8	79.2

141

Facial	86.5	85.1
Nasal	85.7	82.0
Cormique	51.2	52.2
Envergure/T	103.7	102.9

161 The population is barely increasing: the ratio of births over deaths is + 0.30 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 7 percent; the fertility rate is 4.12 pregnancies per woman.

164 Yengono. Sleeping sickness has been rampant in this area in the past but now seems to have been conquered.

143 Their blood group ratios are as follows:
O: 50.1 percent; A: 15.7 percent; B: 29.5 percent; AB: 4.7 percent; —index $\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}$: 0.59.

161 The population balance is slightly favorable; the excess of births over deaths is .63 percent.

163 Sterility rate 9 percent; fertility rate, 3.47 pregnancies per woman.

161 Yelinda. The population balance is not being maintained; the index of births over deaths is -0.1 percent.

163 Sterility rate 18 percent; fertility rate, 3.30 pregnancies per woman.

164 Yembama. Sleeping sickness has been very prevalent among these people, but it is continually decreasing.

161 The population balance is favorable: the excess of births over death is .72 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 16 percent; the fertility rate, 3.97 pregnancies per woman. /82/

Bibliography of Physical Anthropology

113 Virchow. "Rothgefarbter Schädel eines Bulu Negers von Kamerun /Painted Red Skull of a Bulu Negro in the Cameroons/," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1900.

Poutrin. "Contribution a l'Etude des Pygmées d'Afrique /A Contribution to the Study of the Pygmies of Africa/," L'Anthropologie, 1910, pp. 443-46 and 500 (the Bulu group).

Olivier, G., with the collaboration of Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Grenier. "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du

4: Dugast--36 S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Bulu
Mvele

113 Sud-Cameroun /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/, " Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept.-Dec. 1946), pp. 40-41.

General Bibliography

Von Kamptz. "Ueber den nach Jaunde ausgeführten Zug /The Expedition to Yaounde/, " Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1904, pp. 288-91.

Zimmermann, Haupt. "Reisebericht des Chefs des Verwaltungsbezirkes Ebolowa /Travel Report of the Regional Head of the Ebolowa District/, " Deutsches Kolonialblatt, pp. 232-34.

Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Bule."

The annual report of the French government concerning the administration of the mandated territories of the South Cameroons, for the year 1923, pp. 72-76.

Bertaut, M. Le droit coutumier des Boulous. Monographie d'une tribu du Sud-Cameroun /The Customary Law of the Bulu. Monograph on a South Cameroons Tribe/, " (Paris: 1935).

"Esquisse othnologique pour servir a l'étude des principales tribus des Territoires du Cameroun sous mandat français, d'après les documents allemands, les études du Dr. Poutrin en A.E.F., et les archives du Bureau des Affaires Politiques (1935-1937). " /An Ethnographic Sketch for the Study of the Principal Tribes of the Cameroons Territories under French Mandate, Based on German Documents, the Studies of Dr. Poutrin in A.E.F. (French Equatorial Africa) and the Archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs for 1935-37/., Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 28-29.

THE MVELE

131 Location: 11°40 to 12°10 long.
3°45 to 4°20 north lat. south of the Sanaga River
Also from south to north at 4°20 to 4°35 north lat. and 11°40 long.

133 Physical Geography. Area: 2, 304 square kilometers south of the

113 Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 10 (June 1945), pp. 55-76.

Olivier, G., with the collaboration of the Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Grenier. "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du Sud-Cameroun /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Populations of the South Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept.-Dec. 1946), pp. 59-60.

Bibliography

Engelhardt, Hauptmanns. "Bericht über seine Reise von Bertua nach Yaunde /Report on a Trip from Bertua to Yaoundé/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1903, pp. 389-91 and 419-21.

Von Oertzen. "Die Oeffnung des direkten Weges Nanga-Eboko-Dengdeng /Opening of a Direct Route to Nanga-Eboko-Dengdeng/," Deutschès Kolonialblatt, 1907, pp. 625-27.

"Esquisse ethnologique pour servir à l'étude des principales tribus des Territoires du Cameroun sous mandat français d'après les documents allemands, les études du Dr. Poutrin en A.E.F. et les archives du Bureau des Affaires Politiques (1935-1937) /An Ethnographic Sketch for the Study of the Major Tribes of the Cameroons Territories under French Mandate, on the Basis of German Documents, the Studies of Dr. Poutrin in A.E.F. (Fr. Equat. Africa) and the Archives in the Bureau of Political Affairs for 1935-37/," Bulletin de la Societe d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 9-66.

Important unpublished reports of the administrators Cournarie and Chauleur.

THE YESUM AND THE YEBEKANGA

131 Location: 11°55 to 12°30 long.
5°05 to 5°35 north lat.

Physical Geography. Area: Yesum: about 1,296 square km.
Yebekanga: about 315 square km.

133 The country of the Yesum appears on a map as an irregular four-sided figure. The territory stretches through the plain of the Sanaga

Yesum
Yebekanga
Yekaba

174 1. Bertaut, Le droit coutumier des Boulous. Monographie d'une tribu du Sud-Cameroun (The Customary Law of the Bulu. A Monograph Concerning a South Cameroon Tribe)," (Paris, 1935), p. 45.

As for the Yebekanga, the administrator Chauleur says that "it is impossible to show a common origin for the Yebekanga and the Yesum. It seems likely, however, that this tribe climbed from the shores of the Nyong at a fairly recent time." (2)

2. Unpublished report on February 28, 1933. /86/

Here we have grouped the Yesum and the Yebekanga together despite contradictions in our sources. We have done so simply because of the possibility that they migrated in the same direction. According to their accounts, it would seem that their migration took place quite recently, just a few years before the coming of the Europeans. In the course of it they clashed with peoples of the same Pahouin origin who had come from the north about a hundred years ago, and pushed them back toward their present habitats.

161 Demography. The population of the Yesum is decreasing in spite of apparently good conditions. At present the ratio of births to deaths is -2.6 percent.

163 The sterility rate rises as high as 25.53 percent, and the fertility rate is 3.4 pregnancies per woman.

Bibliography

● 113 Thierry. "Dienstreise nach Esum-Sannaga /Official Trip to Esum-Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1903, pp. 521-23.

THE YEKABA

101 Location: 12° to 12°50 long.
5°20 to 5°45 north lat.

Yekaba
Bamvele, Bobili

174 long migration of the Pahouin—although the name "Yalongo" spoken of in their geneologies is reminiscent of the Beti. Once again we are aware of the complexity of the Beti-Pahouin intermixture.

361 The villages and huts spread through the bush give an impression
491 of poverty, although in 1903 the Germans noted that the great trade route from Bertoua to Yoko passed through Yekaba territory. /Map 16/ At the present time the whole length of the territory is serviced by the great eastern highway (Yaoundé—Nanga-Eboko—Bertoua).

197 Language. The fact that the Yekaba form part of the Pahouin migration is apparent from G. Tessmann's tribal map, where they are shown in the large Pahouin blot—under the general heading of "Mvele." We will return to this subject later in the chapter on the Bamvele.

161 Demography. The Yekaba are definitely decreasing in number.

165 The infant mortality rate among them is 34.3 percent. The sterility
163 rate is 33.93 percent; the fertility rate is 4.3 pregnancies per woman, but with about 10 percent stillbirths.

161 The population balance shows a ratio of -4.4 percent births to deaths.

Bibliography

● 113 Thierry. "Dienstreise nach Esum-Sannaga /Official Trip to Esum-Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1903, p. 522.

Sieber, J. "Die Wute /The Wute/," Lebenshaltung, Kultur und religiöse Weltanschauung eines Afrikanischen Volkstammes /Attitude toward Life, Cultural and Religious Attitudes of an African Tribe/ (Berlin: Reimer, Vohsen, 1925), pp. 112-13.

Unpublished reports of the administrators Cournarie, Chauleur, Gatau, and Boudineau.

Moisel map, G3, Dume. /88/

THE BAMVELE AND THE BOBILI

131 Location: 12°30 to 13°30 long.
4°35 to 4°50 north lat.

101 On all German maps the people we call Bamvele are designated by the name of Bele (see the Moisel map and Tessmann's tribal map).

197 Language. The linguistic map of G. Tessmann shows without comment, the Yebekolo, under the category of "Mvele."

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The average height of the Yebekolo is 165.5; the average cephalic index is 78.8.

143 Their blood-group ratios are as follows:
O: 69.3 percent; A: 13.1 percent; B: 12.1 percent; AB: 5.35 percent; —index $\frac{A+AB}{A+AB}$: 1.197.

165 The extremely high rate of infant mortality (58.64 percent) is due
164 to malaria. The disease is fostered by the marshiness of the region, which is likely to remain a source of sleeping sickness as well.

161 The population balance is stationary; the ratio of births to deaths is + 0.09 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 5 percent; the fertility rate is 3.98 pregnancies per woman.

See:

113 Olivier, G., with the collaboration of Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Greiner, "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du Sud-Cameroun, /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/, " Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept.-Dec. 1946), p. 65.

Brygoo. "Le nouveau-né et la femme enceinte aux environs d'Ayos /The Newborn Child and the Pregnant Woman in the Vicinity of Ayos/, " Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 21-22 (1948), pp. 49-68.

Bibliography

Scheunemann. "Die Unruhen in Südbezirk von Kamerun 1904 bis 1906 /Unrest in the Southern Area of the Cameroons/, " Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1907, pp. 349-51, and 396.

Tremesaygues. Unpublished report on the geneologies and the origins of the peoples in the subdivision of Akonolinga (1930).

Numerous reports in the Archives du Service de Santé /Archives of the Health Service/ from the medical station at Ayos.

Moisel map, G3, Dume

241 fields of peanuts and maintain beautiful palm groves and coffee and cacao plantations.

197 Language. G. Tessmann is no more definite as regards the language of the Omvang than other authors concerning their folk history. His tribal map shows the two Omvang sections stand out clearly on the large Pahouin area /Map 19/ His only comment on the subject is the following: "Probably they should be grouped with the Neo-Bantu, perhaps with the Pahouin, " ("Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of the Cameroons/, " Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen, 1932, p. 190).

164 Demography. The western Omvang have one of the highest incidences of sleeping sickness.

161 Nevertheless, their population balance is slightly favorable; the ratio of births to deaths is + 0.83 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 8 percent; the fertility rate is 3.57 pregnancies per woman.

164 The eastern Omvang also have suffered greatly from sleeping sickness. /93/

161 Their population balance also shows a slight increase; the ratio of births to deaths is 0.92 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 9 percent; the infant mortality rate is very low.

Bibliography

●113 "Esquisse ethnologique pour servir a l'étude des principales tribus des Territoires du Cameroun sous mandat francais, d'après les documents allemands, les études de Dr. Poutrin en A.E.F. et les archives du Bureau des Affaires Politiques (1935-1937) (An Ethnographic Sketch for a Study of the Major Tribes in the Cameroons Territories under French Mandate, on the basis of German Documents, the Studies by Dr. Poutrin in French Equatorial Africa, and the Archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs for 1935-1937), " "Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 18-19.

Unpublished reports of the administrators Bertaut and de Villedeuil in the Archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs /Archives du Bureau des Affaires Politiques/ and in the documents of the S.E.C. /Société d'Etudes Camerounaises/.

Moisel map, G3, Dume.

463 The role of the towns in the external trade of the region is evident, but their role in regional economy is no less essential. In fact, formerly the population had hardly any specialization, because of limited needs: each group was self-sufficient. No division of labor was prescribed aside from the allotment of tasks to men and women. Only smiths possessed a special technique which allowed them to ply a
326 trade. Yet they were not a caste; a smith could ally himself by marriage with any family whatsoever, and a farmer's son might become a smith.

Everyone could extract iron ore, but only a skilled man who had acquired knowledge and magical power could work metal. Professional differentiation is /sic/ obviously still rudimentary. Perhaps it corresponds to a mediocre technological level: the stock of tools is limited—a stone used as an anvil, an iron bar as a hammer, and a bellows as a forge. The smith does not seem to have been the mysterious and awesome figure found in other societies. At most we may believe that there were sexual prohibitions connected with certain phases of his work, which allows us to assume a magical or religious aspect (1).

1. Miss /Mary/ Kingsley, Travels in West Africa, London, 1897; we should note however "an important pottery art, ironwork that deserves particular mention owing to its excellence, a technique for treating latex, an art of plaiting clothes" (in Balandier, "Village fang /Fang Village/, " Études centrafricaines, 1951).

[113]

463 The small number of objects in use did not require a real division of labor. A piece of grooved ivory was used for beating bark to soften it for the making of clothes. This technique has evidently disappeared. There /were/ a few potteries; the wooden bowls are now replaced by imported ware. One still fairly often finds calling drums, wooden ladles or spoons carved by artisans, and mortars. Spearheads are currently sold in the markets. Crossbows are less and less used, and hunters make their own nets.

Needs which are now more varied have given rise to /36/ many professional specializations. A few are represented in rural districts,

6: Alexandre and Binet--173 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

113 114 In addition to the works indicated below, the following periodicals, among others, should be referred to:

. . . . . .

Bulletin de la Société d'Études camerounaises, at present the Cameroons section of the I. F. A. N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noir/. (B. S. E. C.)

. . . . . .

And from the local press, among others:

Radio-Presse du Cameroun: has published stories and, in 1949-50, an open debate upon marriage problems.

. . . . . .

For the Cameroons, the Annual Reports to the League of Nations, then to the United Nations, contain a great deal of material, especially on social, political, and economic development; see also the publications of the O. M. S. /?/

Many of the works mentioned contain bibliographies, in part included below; see particularly Trilles (no. 166), Dugast (no. 133), Balandier (no. 175), Baumann and Westermann (no. 5), Leroi-Gourhan and Poirier (no. 25), Encyclopedie de l'Union française (nos. 37 and 38).

The archives of the colonial government, in the /local/ posts as well as in the political offices of /district/ headquarters, constitute a very rich source, partly exploited for Gabon by Balandier, for the Cameroons by Binet, Madame Dugast, and Sister Marie-André of the Sacred Heart. Further, J. P. Nicolas has microfilmed for the I. F. A. N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noir/ certain material preserved at Yaoundé. /138/

5. Baumann, H., and Westermann, D. Les peuples et civilisations de l'Afrique /The Peoples and Civilizations of Africa/. Paris, Payot, 1948. 605 pp., ill.

In Baumann's view the "Fan" are a people of Sudanese origin who came from the Upper Sangha and mingled with the Bantu inhabitants of the invaded region; linguistically Bantu; culturally placed in the group of "North Congo peoples."

113 114

13. Compiègne, Marquis de. L'Afrique équatoriale. I. Gabonais, Pahouins, Gallois; II. Okenda, Bangouens, Osyéba. Paris, Plon, 1875. 2 vols. of 360 pp., ill.

Monsieur de Compiègne is ironical about "Duchaillu," the particle of whose name induces in him suspicion of his sincerity. He is mistaken.

17. Du Chaillu. P. Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa. London, John Murray, 1861.

Alongside exaggerations which sometimes come near to being jokes, the book contains very exact and very valuable observations of the Fang invasion.

21. Horn, A. Trader Horn. La Côte-d'Ivoire (sic) aux temps héroïques /The Ivory Coast—sic—in the Heroic Period/. Paris, Stock, 1932. 303 pp.

Old Horn was a much more daring liar than Du Chaillu; nevertheless, his memoirs are interesting just because they are those of a "trader." /139/

25. Leroi-Gourhan, A., and Poirier, J. Ethnologie de l'Union française /Ethnology of the French Union/. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1953.

This has the Fang coming from Bahr-el-Ghazal (following Bowditch, Gautier, and Vallois).

30. Richard-Molard, J. "Groupements ethniques et civilisations nègres d'Afrique /Ethnic Groupings and Negro civilizations of Africa/," Cahiers d'Outre-mer, 1952, no. 17.

A brief and very good analysis of the results of the "ayoñ regrouping" movement.

41. Cottes, A. La mission Cottes au Sud-Cameroun (1905-1908). Paris, Leroux, 1911. 254 pp., ill.

Anthropological information and photographs. /140/

46. Grebert, F. Au Gabon /In Gabon/. Paris, Société des Missions évangéliques, 1948. (3rd ed.), 237 pp., ill.

This deals primarily with the Fang of the Ogooué; good illustrations.

48. Largeau, V. Encyclopédie pahouine /Pahouin Encyclopedia/. Paris, E. Leroux, 1911. 700 pp.

In spite of the criticisms of Father Trilles, who accuses Largeau of not knowing the Fang language and of having an uninitiated "boy," the Encyclopédie is still a mine of invaluable information, often more accurate than that of Trilles.

6:Alexandre and Binet--175 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

113
114

51. Pedrals, D. P. de. "L'origine des Fang /The Origin of the Fang/, " Tropiques, 1952, vol. 50, no. 348.

A version of traditional history collected from prominent persons in the southern Cameroons, some of whom were our own informants. Hard to use because of faulty transcription of certain names.

54. Tessmann, G., and Wasmuth, E. Die Pangwé, Volkerskundische Monographie eines westafrikanisches Negerstammes /The Pangwe, An Ethnological Monograph on a West African Negro People/. Berlin, Hansa verlag für mod. Literatur, 1913. 2 vols., 275 and 402 pp., ill.

The summa on the group as a whole, including "Pahouinized" neighbors. It would be worth translating, even after a half century.

55. Trezenem, Edouard. "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan du Moyen Ogooué /Ethnographic Notes on the Fang Tribes of the Middle Ogooué/, " Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 1936, vol. VI.

One of the best recent works on the Fang of Gabon; unfortunately the transcription of certain words makes them unrecognizable. /141/

68. Good, A. I. Bulu Handbook Supplement. Elat, Halsey Memorial Press, 1934. 131 pp.

The only work to give a glossary of exclamatives, descriptives with ne, which play an important role in the oral literature.

70. Greenberg, J. "Etude sur la classification des langues africaines /A Study of the Classification of African Languages/, " B. I. F. A. N. P., vol. XVI, nos. 1-2 (Jan.-April, 1954), pp. 83-142; vol. XVII, nos. 1-2 (Jan.-April, 1955), pp. 59-108. Ill.

There is no specific reference to the Pahouin group, which appears to be included in the Nigero-Congo /language/ family.

71. Guillemin, L. "Le tambour d'appel des Ewondo /The calling drum of the Ewôndo/, " B. S. E. C., 1948, nos. 21-22, pp. 69-84.

Indispensable to a study of the nkul; it contains many mindan (indicative) notations, words, and music.

913
114

72. Guthrie, Malcolm. The Classification of Bantu Languages. London, Oxford University Press, 1948.

This classes the Pahouin language in Zone A, Group 60 of Bantu. It ascribes as characteristics the absence of size-gender (inaccurate, for there is Class ô/a for small objects, Class a/me for collectives and for large objects) and the absence of the correlation of gender with idea (inaccurate).

77. Homburger, Lysias. Le langage et les langues /Speech and Language/. Paris, Payot, 1951. 256 pp.

This describes the "leapfrog" advance of the Pahouin. It places their languages in a separate family, close to, but different from, that of the coastal Bantu languages of northern Congo.

78. Homburger, Lysias. Les langues négro-africaines et les peuples qui les parlent /Negro-African Languages and the Peoples Who Speak Them/. Paris, Payot, 1941. 350 pp.

Classes the Pahouin languages in a group intermediate between the Sudanese and Bantu.

79. Lejeune, R.P. /Rev. Father?/. Dictionnaire français-fang, précédé de quelques principes grammaticaux sur cette même langue. Paris, Faivre & Teillard, 1892. 347 pp.

Like nearly all such works of the period this follows too closely the grammar and syntax of French and Latin. /142/

81. Martrou, L. Lexique fân-francais. Paris, Procure générale, n.d.

A "Catholic Fang" transcription which cannot be reproduced on the universal keyboard; it does not give tone levels; has about 3,500 words.

84. Stoll, A. La tonétique des langues bantu et semi-bantu du Cameroun /The Tone System of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages of the Southern Cameroons/. Paris, n.d. Memorandum No. IV of the I.F.A.N. Center, Cameroon, 1955. 172 pp., 2 tabls.

In addition to a new theory of tone levels, this has interesting suggestions about the so and melan rites, with an account of the theory of double symmetry, which is supposed to underlie Pahouin cosmogony.

93. Binet, J. Budgets familiaux des planteurs de cacao au Cameroun /Family Budgets among the Cacao Planters of the Cameroons/.

•113
114

Paris, C.S.R.S.O.M., "L'Homme d'outre-mer" series, no. 3, 1956. 154 pp., ill.

Research done in the southern Cameroons in 1955-56. This is comparable with the work of Sautter and Balandier in northern Gabon.

98. Grebert, F. Monographie ethnographique des tribus Fang, Bantous de la forêt du Gabon /Ethnographic Monograph on the Fang Tribes, Bantus of the Gabon Forest/. Geneva. Manuscript, 36 pls., 719 drawings.

This unfortunately unpublished work constitutes the best pictorial representation of the Pahouin peoples. One of the six copies can be consulted in France, at the library of the Evangelical Missions. /143/

109. Bearth. "Le nsig-n'to, ancienne coutume Bane /Nsig-n'to, An Old Bane Custom/, " Togo-Cameroun, January, 1930, pp. 313-332, ill.

The high judge nsig-nto was perhaps a high-ranking ngil dignitary.

110. Bertaut, M. Le droit coutumier des Boulou /Customary Law of the Bulu/. Paris, Domat-Montchrestient, 1935. 308 pp.

In spite of the title this book deals not only with the Bulu but also with their northern neighbors, including the Ewôndo; there is a detailed description of the sô ceremony, a good study of juridical customs and also of living habits.

119. Koch, H. "Le petit bétail chez les Badjoué et Bikélé de Messaména /Small livestock among the Badjue and Bikele of Messamena/, " Bulletin de la Société d'Études camerounaises,

This gives concrete examples of the progressive "Pahouinization" of the border tribes (here under Bulu influence). /144/

120. Mba, L. "Essai de droit coutumier pahouin /Essay on Pahouin Customary Law/, " Bulletin de la Société de Recherches congolaises, 1938, no. 25, 46 pp.

An interesting essay by one of the Fang political leaders in Gabon.

122. Panyella, A., and Sabater, J. "Esquema de la antroponimia Fang de la Guinea española desde el punto de vista etnologico /Outline of Fang Nomenclature (?) in Spanish Guinea from the Ethnological Point of View/, " A.I.E.A., 1955, VIII, no. 34.

113
114

The most recent study of the anthroponymy /nomenclature?/ and rules for name giving; interesting observations on the designation of segments and lineages by the name of a female ancestor.

125. Zoll'Owambe, Ch. "Visage africain d'une coutume indienne et mélanésienne /An African Aspect of a (North American) Indian and Melanesian Custom/," Bulletin de la Société d'Études camerounaises, 1947, nos. 19-20, pp. 55-60.

A description of the bilaba potlatch, somewhat marred by confusions in the translation of salient points.

126. X.... "Tenue de palabre /Discussion Session/," B.S.E.C., 1947, nos. 19-20, pp. 141-146.

An extract from the archives of the Ambam subdivision; observations by Ntumu and Mvae men of standing on marriage customs and their evolution.

133. Dugast, I. "Inventaire ethnique du Sud-Cameroun /Ethnic Inventory of the Southern Cameroons/," Mémoires of the I.F.A.N. (Cameroons Center), "Populations" Series, no. 1, 159 pp., ill.

The most recent synthesis of the subject. It is to be regretted that the same work could not have been done for Gabon and Guinea. /145/

147. Allegret, E. "Les idées religieuses des Fang /The Religious Ideas of the Fang/," Revue d'histoire des Religions, vol. 50, 1904, pp. 214-233.

An interesting note on the religious "defeatism" which the Fang seem to have experienced especially after contact with Europeans.

151. Garnier, C., and Fralon, N. Le fétichisme en Afrique noire /Fetishism in Black Africa/. Paris, Payot, 1951.

Some notes on the rites of the Cameroons Pahouin.

152. Guillemin, R.P. Le rite "ésye." B.S.E.C., 1948, nos. 23-24, p. 71.

An excellent description of a purification rite among the northern tribes. Interesting notes on practices of divination.

153. Jemba Medu. Nnanga Kon. Elat, Halsey Memorial Press, n.d.

This novel, which is unfortunately out of print, is a mine of ethnological and linguistic information. Written in rather archaic and learned language, it is quite difficult to read

113
114

nowadays. It is to be hoped that it will be translated by a Bulu of today.

155. Lavignotte, H. L'évur, croyance des Pahouins du Gabon /The Evur, A Belief of the Pahouin of Gabon/. Paris, Société des Missions évangéliques, 1936. 118 pp.

A very full commentary on ngbwel sorcery and methods of protection against it. /146/

156. Leroux, L. G. "Etude sur le ngil, confrérie fan /A Study of ngil, a Fang confraternity/, " Bulletin de la Société de Recherches congolaises, 1925, no. 6.

The author, although thoroughly understanding the judicial and warlike functions of ngil, is in favor of its suppression in the interests of public order.

158. Martrou, L. "L'âme fang après la mort /The Fang Soul after Death/, " Anthropos, VI, 1911.

This bears comparison with the traditions collected by Largeau; Martrou knew the country and the language better, but, like Trilles, his interpretation seems at times to be influenced by his preoccupations as a priest.

159. -----. "Les éki des Fang /Fang éki/." Münster. Anthropos, I, 1906.

A good study of prohibitions, though far from exhausting the subject.

161. Nassau. Fetishism in West Africa. New York, Young Peoples' Missionary Movement, 1904.

Little information relative to the Fang; the author knew primarily the coastal populations.

165. Trilles, H. "Proverbes, légendes et contes fang /Fang Proverbs, Legends, and Tales/, " Neufchâtel. Bulletin de la Société neufchâteloise de géographie, Vol. XVI, 1905. 247 pp.

Phonetic transcriptions and translations "omitting what is smutty" (sic). In spite of the cuts this is the most complete collection.

166. -----. Le totémisme chez les Fân /Totemism among the Fang/. Münster i. W., Bibliothèque Anthropos, 1912, 653 pp.

This is Father Trilles' magnum opus. As in all his works, there are, along with subtle and accurate observations, somewhat risky generalizations and surprising lacunae, which may come from a certain professional slant. In spite of these, Father Trilles remains the great authority on the Fang.

113 114 171. Aubame, J. Renaissance gabonaise /Renaissance in Gabon/. Brazzaville, 1947.

A program for clan regrouping of Fang villages put forward by the deputy of the second constituency. /147/

175. Balandier, G. Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire, dynamique des changements sociaux en Afrique centrale /The Contemporary Sociology of Black Africa, The Dynamics of Social Change in Central Africa/. Presses Universitaires de France, 1955, 510 pp.

The first part of this work, which is devoted to the Fang of Gabon, contributes a new explanation of the social malaise afflicting the Fang and of the attempts at social reconstruction based on tribal regrouping and syncretist cults. It is the best book on the Fang since Trilles, Largeau, and Tessmann.

180. Celine, L. F. Voyage au bout de la nuit /Journey to Night's End/. Paris, Denoël, 1932.

The same kind of thing as no. 187 and no. 195.

182. Eza Boto. Ville cruelle /Cruel City/. Paris, Editions africaines, n.d., 219 pp.

A good study of the present younger generation, of the attraction of towns and the fear they inspire, and the conflict between generations.

183. Faure, F. Le diable dans la brousse /The Devil in the Bush/. Paris, Société des Missions évangéliques, "Je sers," 1953. 165 pp.

These edifying tales contain a good deal of information about the social and family organization of the Fang of Gabon.

187. Marie-André du Sacré-Coeur, Sister. La condition humaine en Afrique noire /Man's Fate in Black Africa/, Paris, Grasset, 1953. 260 pp., ill.

Notes on marriage in the southern Cameroons, sometimes a bit farfetched. /148/

191. Mongo Beti. Le pauvre Christ de Bomba /The Poor Christ of Bomba/. Paris, R. Laffont, 1956. 370 pp.

A novel concerned with the consequences of Roman Catholic mission activity; often unjust, but indispensable for an understanding of the most recent developments.

113 114 193. Oyono, F. Le vieux nègre et la médaille /The Old Negro and the Medal/. Paris, Julliard, 1957. 209 pp.

Oyono belongs to the tradition of the mvet players, satirical story-tellers, always harsh and often unjust.

195. Schweitzer, A. A l'orée de la forêt vierge /On the Edge of the Virgin Forest/. Paris, Payot, 1929. 231 pp.

Interesting though rather abbreviated comments on the social disorganization of the Pahouin of the Ogooué and of their reactions to culture contact.

196. X....Ekomi, histoire d'un petit Pahouin racontée par lui-même aux enfants d'Europe /Ekomi, The Tale of a Little Pahouin boy, Told by Himself to European Children/. Paris, Société des Missions évangéliques, 1921.

Conveys a moral.

7:Trilles--120 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9

Fang Bibliography

A. French Authors

113 Rev. ALLÉGRET, La Religion des Fân. Revue des Religions 1906.

ALEXIS, Le Congo français. Tours 1899. Chez MAME et CHALLAMEL.

ALIS (H.), Vers le Tchad. Paris 1898.

Mgr. AUGOUARD, 28 Années au Congo. Paris 1905.

AVELOT (lieutenant). Dans la Boucle de l'Ogowé. Bull. Sté de Gie Commer. Paris 1901.

— Recherches sur les migrations de la Gabonie. 1905.

Dr. BARET, L'Afrique occidentale. Sénégambie et Guinée. La région gabonaise. Paris 1889. CHALLAMEL.

BARRAT, Bulletin Sté de Gie. Paris 1896.

BERTON, De Lastourville à Samba. Paris 1899.

— Les races du Gabon. Bull. Sté Anthr. de Paris. T. XVI. 1895.

R. P. BICHET, Miss. Cathol. 1884.

BOSIA, Nègres du Gabon. Bull. Sté Anthr. de Paris. T. IV. 1863.

BOURDARIE, Le Congo français. Paris 1901.

— A la côte du Congo français. 1897.

BRAOUEZEC, Bulletin Sté de Gie. Paris 1861.

DE BRAZZA, Tour du Monde. 1887. 1890. 1893.

— Bulletin Sté de Gie. XVIII. Paris 1879.

BRUEL, Les populations de la Moyenne-Sangha. Revue d'ethnologie et de sociologie 1910.

R. P. BULÉON, Ann. Prop. Foi. 1888.

Bulletin de la Société des Missions Evangéliques protestantes 1905, 1906, 1908.

DU CHAILLU, L'Afrique équatoriale. Paris 1865.

CHEVALIER (A.), L'Afrique centrale française. Paris 1904. CHALLAMEL.

COMPIÈGNE, L'Afrique équatoriale. Paris 1875.

COTTES, La Mission Cottes au Sud-Cameroun. Paris 1910.

— Pahouins et Pygmées. La Géogie, Juillet 1909.

CUNY, Bulletin Sté de Gie. Paris 1896.

DECAZES, Bulletin Sté Normande. Rouen 1888.

DUTREUIL DE RHINS, Le Congo français. Paris 1885.

DUVAL, Les Nègres du Gabon. Bull. Sté Anthr. de Paris. 1963.

DYBOWSKI, La Route du Tchad. Paris 1906.

7:Trilles--121 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9

●113 FLEURIOT DE LANGLE, Le Tour du Monde. Paris 1877. Croisières sur les côtes de l'Atlantique.

FORET, Le Fernan-Vaz. Bulletin Sté de Gie. Paris 1898.

FOURNEAU, Bulletin Sté de Gie. De l'Ogowé au Campo. XVI. Paris 1891.

FRASS, La Côte ouest du Gabon. Paris 1908.

FROMENT, Bulletin Sté de Gie. X. Lille 1889.

GACON, Exercices de lecture français-fang.

GUILLEMIN, Le Congo français. Paris 1889.

GUILLEMOT, Notice sur le Congo français. Paris 1901.

GUIRAL, Le Congo français. Paris 1889.

HALLEZ D'ARROS, Colonisation du Congo français. Paris 1899. CHALLAMEL.

HAUG, Le Bas Ogowé. Ann. de Géogr. 1903.

HEDDE, Bulletin Sté de Gie. Paris 1868—69.

— Notes sur les populations du Gabon. La Géogie 1874.

JARDIN, Bulletin Sté de Gie. Rochefort 1883—84.

JEANNET, Quatre années au Congo. 1883.

R. P. LEJEUNE, Miss. Cathol. 1895.

— Au Congo, la Femme et la Famille. DESCLÉE. Lille 1900.

— Dictionnaire Français-Fang. Paris 1892.

LALOY, Anthropologie S. 13. Paris 1910. CHALLAMEL.

MARCHE, Journal L'Explorateur. 1876.

R. P. MARTROU, Les Eki des Fân. Anthropos I (1906).

MIZON, Voyage de Crampel. Bulletin Sté de Gie. Paris 1890.

R. P. NEU, Lettres sur Lambaréné. Annales de la Prop. de la Foi. 1883.

PAYEUR-DIDELOT, Bull. Sté de Gie de Nancy. Trente mois au Contin. mystérieux. 1895.

A. PITTARD, Notes sur quelques crânes fân. Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Neufchâtel 1898. (Supplément.) — Nouvelles Notes, même Bulletin 1910.

PONEL, La Hte Sangha. Bulletin Sté de Gie. Paris 1896 et 1899.

DU QUÉLIO, Voyage dans l'Ogowé. Rev. Marit. et Col. 1874.

RECLUS, Géogr. Universelle. — L'Afrique.

REGISMANSET, Revue Coloniale. 1900.

H. RILLOT, J. de Brazza au Congo. Gazette Géogr. 1877.

RICARD, Notes sur le Gabon. Rev. Col. 1855.

ROCHE, Au pays des Pahouins. Paris 1904.

ROUGET, L'Expansion coloniale au Congo français. 1889.

Mgr. LE ROY, La Religion des Primitifs. Paris 1909, p. 77, 113, 149, 198, 316 et passim.

[p. 121]

7:Trilles--122 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9

R. P. Trilles, Dans les Rivières de la Mondah. Miss. Cathol. 1894 — Desclée 1910. 113
— Au pays Fâñ. Société de Géogr. de Lille 1902.
— Carte du Pays Fâñ, déposée au Ministère des Colonies.
— Contes et Légendes fâñ. Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Neufchâtel 1896.
— Exercices de lecture et écriture fang-français. Libreville 1902.
— Les Fâñ, où ils vont, d'où ils viennent. Miss. Cathol. 1898.
— Les Fâñ. Société de Géogr. de Bordeaux 1901.
— Mille Lieues dans l'Inconnu — Au pays des Fâñ. Miss. Cathol. 1901.
— Quinze années au pays fâñ. Desclée 1912.
Trivier, Bulletin Sté de Gie. Rochefort 1885—86.
Voulgre (Dr.), Le Congo français. Paris 1897.

Plus un certain nombre d'articles dans:
La Dépêche Coloniale — Revue indigène — Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique — Le Tour du Monde — Annales maritimes et coloniales — Questions diplomatiques — Annales apostoliques des Pères du St Esprit.

B. German Authors

Dr. Güssfeldt, Zeitschr. der Ges. für Erdkunde zu Berlin X. 1875.
Hartmann, Zeitschr. der Ges. für Erdkunde zu Berlin. 1902. (Les cris fatidiques chez les Fangs.)
Dr. Lenz, Geogr. Blätter I. 1877, p. 74.
— Der Ogo-wai, Peterm. Mitt. 1863.
— Zeitschr. d. Ges. für Erdkunde zu Berlin. 1875.

C. English Authors

Bennett, Journ. Anthr. Inst. London 1899.
Burton, A day among the Fans. Anthr. Review. I.
Miss Mary Kingsley, Travels in West Africa. Scott. Geogr. Mag. London 1898.
Marling, Dictionn. Fang-français. New-York 1872.
Nassau, Journ. Afric. Societ. 1903—04.
R. B. N. Walker, Proceed. of the Roy. G. Sty XVII. 1873.

D. Spanish Authors

Bulletin de la Sté Royale de Madrid. 1904. Le Muny espagnol.

539 514 "to look for firewood"; ma ke ofē ī, "I am going into the bush," and so forth. Even today I have to smile when I think of an incident that happened at the beginning of my stay in Alén. One of my Fang boys, who accompanied me on the hunt and was near a thick, half-rotted tree stump, suddenly said, "ma ke tsǎ ndžā,ǎ (I am going to get some firewood)." Under the impression that he really wanted to cut off some firewood from the tree stump, I countered this, to me unintelligible, notion, half amazed, half mockingly, with the words, "ye oa bělе ovŭ́n (but do you have an axe)?" It was only after a while that I understood why I was struck by such an annihilating look of moral disapproval. After this faux pas, I became more cautious and was soon sufficiently polished to be a highly civilized person in the Pangwe sense, who in strange villages no longer spoke of the eduk (toilet), but instead, as a well brought-up "Pange," merely asked:

114 514

nge ba tší'dǎn ma, ma yā'le
If one drives (urges) me, I duck (hide)
[539] vě'?
where?
or: zě'n e medžā e ne vě'?
Where is the way to the host (actually: head of the village)?

539 757 514 Further demonstrations of the Pangwe's feeling of shame with respect to natural requirements are the use of an enema syringe (which is directly connected with

101 This group of Beti, or Bati, north of the Sanaga, whom the Ger-
131 mans—being good linguists—recognized easily by their language, were all those whom the French administration later called by the general name "Sanaga." They included the Tsinga, the Mvele /Mvelle/ (contrary to Nekes' opinion), the Bavek, the Mangisa, the Ngoro, and the Kombe.

● 114 What is the origin of these Bati? G. Tessmann thinks that they may
174 be related to the peoples he has named "Mittelkamerun Bantu /Middle Cameroons Bantu/" (Bafia, Banen /Banend/, Yambasa, etc.). But he does not confuse the two groups. He believes that the Bati came from the north, where they first lived on the left bank of the M'Bam. Then, pushed by the Babute, some of them moved to the right bank. He notes that from that point on two tendencies are apparent: Some of the Bati were attracted by the civilization of the northeast (Babute), others by that of the southeast (Pahouin). Thus the Bavek and the Yangafuk (the Fök and the Fuk) migrated and scattered in a direction that differed from the one taken by groups such as the Betsinga and the Mangisa, who were moving toward the Pahouin. The latter two let themselves be assimilated quite rapidly.

According to G. Tessmann, the Bati are not Pahouin but rather a population encountered by the latter in their migrations. These people were attracted or influenced by the Pahouin and, in turn, influenced the invaders, just as they influenced, or were influenced by, the central Bantu. In the course of influences and counter influences, the intermingling of Pahouin and Bati, as much in culture as in language, has been so great that it is now difficult to untangle the threads of their various ramifications. Some threads have been lost, others broken, and those that remain have taken on a variety of hues.

Lang

113 Language. See:

Johnston, H. H. A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Language (Oxford University Press, Vol. 1, 1919, Vol. 2, 1922), Vocabulary No. 216, and his reference to the study by Carl Meinhof, "Die Sprachverhältnisse in Kamerun /Linguistic Relationships in the Cameroons/," Zeitschrift für afrikanische und oceanische Sprachen (Berlin, 1895).

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe /The Fang/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes, Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und Früherer

101 barely a century and a half ago, invaded and took over more than
131 176, 000 square kilometers of land in the western part of Equatorial Africa. For a century these peoples have occupied the huge forest area which stretches from 1° south of the equator to 4° 30 in the north, and from 9° 30 to 14° meridian in longitude.

101 Poutrin uses the term "Fan" to designate these peoples. Tessmann
114 uses the term "Pangwe /Mpangwe/."

We have rejected Poutrin's term "Fan" for the same reason that Tessmann did. There exists in the Cameroons a subgroup of Pahouin known as Fang, and it seems to us that using the same term to designate two different entities—on the one hand, a large group occupying a vast territory, and on the other, a very small unit comprising 12, 583 persons within this group—could lead to confusion and misunderstanding.

114 The penetration of the area by the Germans, which brought them into contact with the Pahouin of the southern part of the territory, had to be carried out slowly. The first expeditions started from Grand-Batanga near Kribi. It was possible to explore quite rapidly the lower part of the Sanaga River as far as Edea Falls. At that time the river was called "Grand (Big) Nyong," and the present-day Nyong was "Petit (Little) Nyong." The natives on the coast said at that time that in the interior there flowed a great river whose waters moved from west to east. This detail posed a great problem for the Germans: Did the separation of the waters reaching the Congo and Grand-Nyong basins occur so near the coast? The first expedition was led by Lieutenant R. Kund, who was accompanied by Lieutenant Tappenbeck, the zoologist Weissenborn, and the botanist Braun. On October 15, 1887, they left Grand-Batanga, traveled through the Ngumba country and the valley of the Nyong, and, going northeast, reached the Sanaga on January 19, 1888. According to the reports they were "at least 300 kilometers from the coast," but it is not possible to locate the exact spot.

Within a few years from that date nearly the whole forest region had been explored, opened up to commerce, and studied both from ethnographic and economic viewpoints.

114 The first observations were based on linguistic notations, and the
174 extension of the Pahouin invasion above the second parallel was easily perceived when it was investigated also from the south through Gabon.

Pahouin

114 The great explorer Schweinfurth was the first to present the theory
174 that the invasion must have begun far to the east among the Azande, south of Bahr el Ghazal (approximately 23° long., and 5° north lat.). Dr. Poutrin, R. P. Trilles, Largeau, and Avelot accepted his conclusions, but Baumann and Westermann rejected them as greatly exaggerated. According to them, the Pahouin came only from the high Sanaga and had reached the western part of Equatorial Africa through a series of successive westward migrations, avoiding the great equatorial forest by going around it in the north and going through the valleys of the Lom and the Adamawa. "The advance of the subgroups," write Baumann and Westermann, "was made in successive leaps, as each group pushed the other ahead or passed them by. The migration was made by kin groups, about thirty to a tribe, which constituted the only political and social unit. These kin groups (agon) moved continuously westward, often passing one another; the last comers settled beyond their predecessors for a generation or two and then departed again."

The last push was made quite recently, /60/ in the southern part of the plateau of the Adamawa, by the Mbum and the Baya, who subsequently had to yield to the Fulbe /Fulani/. This last move from the right bank of the Sanaga to the forest dates back no more than about a hundred years. When the Europeans came, they in turn stabilized the positions of all these peoples.

114 In spite of the linguistic investigations quickly undertaken by the
101 Germans, whose great specialist was Father Nekes, and the study of oral traditions carried out to a greater extent by the French, the con-
197 clusions arrived at concerning the distribution of the Pahouin in the Cameroons are not entirely in agreement with one another. They are as follows:

Father Nekes is the authority on the subject, but his classification is chiefly linguistic. According to him there are two major groups, the Beti and the Mvele. In the first he includes the Ewondo, the Bane /Bene?/, the Yetenga, the Yetudi, the Eton, and the Betsenga; in the second, the Mvele, the Yebekolo, the Yebekanga, the Bulu, the Ntumu /Ntum?/, the Okak, the Omvang, and the Fang. Tessmann connects the Yesum with the Bulu.

114 According to Dr. Schnee, the "Fang" are divided into two large
101 groups, the Betschi /Betsi/ (established in the northwest) and the Makei /Mekei/ (settled in the southwest). His division is based on whether they pronounce the phrase, "I say that," as Mekima or Matsina. The groups are divided into an infinite number of tribes,

114 with names beginning either with Eb (Makei) or with Es (Betschi).
101 The Governor General, Cournarie, after carefully surveying the peoples in the vicinity of Yaoundé, where he was administrator, prepared the following table:

- NANGA ....
  - Beti ....
    - Kolo ....
      - Ewondo
      - Bane
      - Mangisa
      - Kombe
      - Tsinga
      - Etudi
      - Emfek
    - Eton
    - Mvele
    - Badzu
    - Omvang
    - Ntumu
  - Yesum

And he concluded: "It appears that among the Beti one can also include the Badjia, the Bavek, the Bamvele, the Djanti, the Ngoro, and the Yangafuk."

It is impossible to say whether or not this problem will ever be solved, for it becomes more and more complex from decade to decade because of the changes which are taking place, with perhaps increasing speed. We would like future researchers to be aware of its complexity; they should not believe that we have thought to present solutions here.

Bibliography

113 "Bericht über den äusseren Verlauf der Batanga-Expedition (Ende Oktober 1887 bis März 1888)" /Progress Report of the Batanga Expedition (End of October, 1887 to March, 1888)/ Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1888, pp. 6-30, 112-21.

173 therefore forced to settle in the most westerly area. (See the unpublished report of Father Sohler.) Others say (according to the report of X. Béliard) that they are only brothers of the Ewondo, who crossed the Sanaga, entered the southern forest as far as the present-day region of Ebolowa, stayed there a few years, and, step by step, took the northwest route, crossing the Lokoundje River. Then they infiltrated among the Basa tribes and settled in their present habitat. What we know for certain is that not until 1910 did they occupy the three villages on the road between Kribi and Edéa, and that their migration was still in full swing when the German occupation forced them to settle in one spot.

184 The population in the vast territory occupied by the Ewondo is not
563 culturally homogeneous. In many villages and even in the hamlets, the Ewondo live side by side with members of neighboring groups. On our map we have indicated the most important enclaves and mixed settlements /Map 8, facing p. 72/, namely those where the strangers are as numerous as the Ewondo or even more so. /72/ The actual situation is more complex than this, but on a map of this scale it has not been possible to show the minorities. (1)

[114]

1. A remarkable large-scale diagrammatic map of the administrative subdivision of Yaoundé should be mentioned here. It was set up in 1944 by the administrator J. Christol and shows even the smallest intermixtures, with proportional strengths, for every village and hamlet.

361 The Ewondo live in sizable villages which stretch along the many
511 roads in the area. The villages are well maintained and show evidence of a comfortable standard of living which is largely the result of the prosperity of their cacao trees and their trade.

181 The Ewondo are robust and muscular, skillful and intelligent. They emigrate readily, and their workers are valued in all enterprises.

497 The shipment of their products is facilitated by a major branch of the railway which crosses their territory between Yaoundé and Otélé, and transportation on their roads plays an important role in getting the various foodstuffs and the cacao from the great markets in the bush to the railroad.

101 We connect the Bobili with the Bamvele because, on the one hand, they do not appear separately from the Bele on the Moisel map (Dume, G3), and, on the other, the traditions pertaining to their origins are not precise enough to permit us to draw a conclusion differing from that of the Germans.

Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: 2, 472 square km.

161 Population: Bamvele—18, 452 inhabitants
Bobili—6, 247 inhabitants

Density: 10 persons per square km.

133 The Bamvele are close neighbors of the Yekaba and the Yebekolo in the north; they occupy a large homogeneous territory on the border between forest and prairie. The country is almost flat, extending into the Sanaga plain and borders the river for about 30 kilometers. The territory is watered by several broad tributaries of the Sanaga. In the east, one of these tributaries, the Long, serves as a frontier between the Bamvele and the Babute, who surround them everywhere except in the south. A few Bamvele villages have been established [361] on the right bank of the Long, and they border the Bertoua road for a few kilometers.

174 Like their neighbors, the Yekaba, the Bamvele in their traditions tell that their origins are to be sought among the Yalongo north of the Sanaga. They too were pushed by the Babute who were under pressure from the Fulbe; they fled south and crossed the Sanaga a little more than a hundred years ago. Their history is identical with that of their neighbors, the Yekaba. /Map 17/ /89/

173 The Bobili believe that they are native to the territory, but they say that in former times their country extended west, beyond the Long. Therefore, the impact upon them of the Babute and Fulbe movements would have been very slight. (1)

1. Unpublished report of Mr. Brothier-Oubre for May, 1945.

● 114 The administrator Chauleur carried out prolonged research in an attempt to untangle the network of peoples on the banks of the Sanaga. He does not feel that he can make a statement about the remote origins of the Yalongo, but he poses the following problem: "Could they be related to the Ba-yoka of the Congo who emigrated south

114 from the Masai territory during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? The presence of Ba-yoka in the midst of the tribe is, of course, insufficient evidence. In order to give a satisfactory answer to this question we would have to be able to make a comparison between the languages."

245 The country of the Bamvele and the Bobili is enriched by the presence of beautiful palm trees which are the sole source of prosperity for these peoples.

491 The country is serviced in the south by the eastern highway and also by a central road which runs from the Yekaba frontier to the north of their district.

197 Language. Although the traditions of the Yekaba and the Bamvele state that the ancestors of both peoples fled from among the Yalongo north of the Sanaga, the linguistic map of G. Tessmann clearly distinguishes between the two.

As we have seen, he says that the Yekaba speak a Pahouin tongue. The Bamvele (Bele in the German terminology) are said to have brought from their land of origin a language which is different from, although related to, the Pahouin languages, but mixed with that of the Beti. This observation is interesting and plausible. The Yekaba of the same origin as the Bamvele may thus have borrowed their language.

See Günter Tessmann, "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /People and Languages of the Cameroons/," Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen (Gotha, 1932), pp. 117 and 184.

141 Physical Anthropology. The people are almost all tall and strong, with flat noses and a marked prognathism. The trunk of the body is proportionately long.

Average height: men 169.7 cm.; women 158.9 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	79.3	78.7
Facial	84.7	84.9
Nasal	87.0	81.8
Cormique	51.5	52.5
Envergure/T	104.5	104.2

[73] Part II. Chapter I

Fang Society

I. The Fang Country

●114 Fang migrations toward the Gabon coast continued until the beginning of the twentieth century. This thrust continues, and the terror it inspired among the populations which were driven back soon attracted the attention of the first explorers and colonists. As early as 1856, Du Chaillu succumbed to the attraction of the Fang country, conjuring up this "apparently restless and enterprising race" which strives to "take possession of the whole coastline." He knew that the key trading positions of the interior were to be found there. In 1884, A. Fourneau, then making his first expedition, was astonished by the conquering vitality of the Fang. He describes them as "intelligent, with very well-developed commercial instincts, not yet having the vices of the coastal tribes; there is no doubt that before long they will cause all the aborigines to disappear by absorbing them." (1) During the entire period of

1. A. Fourneau, Au Vieux Congo, Notes de route [In Old Congo, Travel Notes], Editions du Comité de l'Afrique Française, 1932, pp. 41-42.

penetration, there was a kind of Fang mirage which tended to overestimate the importance of the group: according to the Marquis de Compiegne (about 1875), "an extreme density of population extending over a length of more than 400 kilometers"; according to Lesieur-Trilles (1900), a population "that must number several million"; and following his mission (1905-08), Captain Cottes, more precisely and affirmatively, puts the figure at "two or three million subjects " Actually, Europeans discovering the "interior" during the second half of the nineteenth century were surprised at a large migration toward the coast taking place under their eyes, along the Ogooué River in the opposite direction from

●114 their own penetrating movement, and in a way coming to meet them.

101 [74] The Fang -- or Pahouin [Pahuin] -- occupy in an oblique direction, northeast to southwest, the upper part of Gabon, with the line of the Ogooué roughly forming their southern frontier. [161] They represent 127,000 inhabitants out of the 415,000 living in this territory. They are separated by the Cameroons frontier from a collection of related and particularly active peoples numbering more than 550,000 individuals. (1) They are divided by the

1. Cf. I. Dugast, Inventaire ethnique du Sud-Cameroun [Ethnical Inventory of the South Cameroons], I.F.A.N., Douala, 1949; or "Esquisse ethnologique pour servir à l'étude des principales tribus du Cameroun français... [Ethnological Sketch to Serve for the Study of the Principal Tribes of the French Cameroons]," Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Camérounaises, pp. 21-22, 1948.

frontiers of Spanish Guinea which, with an essentially Fang population (of nearly 100,000 individuals), isolates closely related groups. The hazards of colonial expansion have led to this partition into three "blocs" which were subject to different policies and condemned for a long time to ignorance of each other.

174 As to the arrival of the Fang in Gabon, we possess a few guide marks. According to our investigations in Woleu-N'Tem, the settlement goes back in this region eight or nine generations, which corresponds to the second half of the eighteenth century. According to E. Trezenem the Fang reached the Middle Ogooué at the beginning of the nineteenth century, (2) and their arrival at the estuary

2. E. Trezenem, "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan du Moyen-Ogooué [Ethnographic Notes on the Fang Tribes of the Middle Ogooué]," Journal de la Société des Africanistes, Vol. 6, f. I, 1936.

114 Pierre Alexandre made several field trips to Gabon and Spanish Guinea while carrying out official duties in the southern Cameroons from 1946 to 1951. Since 1955 he has been connected with the University of Paris as executive secretary of the Centre de Hautes Études d'Administration musulmane, (C. H. E. A. M.) /Center for Advanced Study in the Department of Moslem Affairs/.

Jacques Binet has also held an administrative post in the /French/ Cameroons, and since 1954 has been on the staff of the Office de la Recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer, (O. R. S. T. O. M.) /Bureau for Oversea Scientific and Technical Research/. He has carried out several missions in Pahouin country for the Conseil supérieur de la Recherche sociologique outre-mer /Higher Council for Oversea Sociological Research/, during the course of which he did research in juridical and economic sociology.

The authors wish here to express their thanks to the authorities of French Equatorial Africa whose kind assistance made this book possible.

4. Survey of Demography

914
127
161

In addition to the usual reasons for lack of precision in demographic data, common to all the African territories (absence or inadequacy of a registery office, weak administrative structure, especially in the medical branch), there is in relation to the Pahouin group the fact of their belonging politically to four territories, of which one is not French.

For the southern Cameroons we have at our disposal good census returns and competent, up-to-date medical information issued periodically as a result of the obligation to furnish reports at regular intervals to the League of Nations and then to the United Nations. The heads of mobile teams of the S. H. M. P. /?/, which have been especially well staffed since Dr. Jamot's campaigns, collect during each tour anthropological information /9/ as satisfactory as their multiple duties and the intellectual and social level of the surveyed areas allow. The military personnel provided in varying proportions by the territorial administration permitted many colonial officials, particularly before and during the last war, to make individual studies, often detailed, such as those of E. André on the demographic development of the Ntoumou of Ambam.

The situation is less satisfactory in French Equatorial Africa. First of all the Federation government has never, like that of the Cameroons, had to arrange for regular reports to be submitted to international agencies. Furthermore—and especially—meager budgets have often forced the administration to assign territorial commands—whose headquarters and location have many times been changed—to junior officers or to subordinate civil servants lacking the necessary training for profitable work in this field and hampered, moreover, by the very size of the thinly populated districts. For a long time only approximate estimates were available for Gabon and the Middle Congo, erring mostly on the side of administrative optimism, in no way motivated by scientific considerations. The situation has greatly improved since 1946, but the imaginary character or inadequacy of earlier data may well falsify the conclusions to a considerable extent (1).

1. Cf. Sautter, L'utilisation des documents administratifs pour l'etude de la population du Moyen-Congo et du Gabon /Utilization of

114
127
161

administrative documents for population study in the Middle Congo and Gabon/, Bulletin de l'Institut d'Études centrafricaines, 1954, Nos. 7-8; Ziegle, Afrique équatoriale française /French Equatorial Africa/, Berger-Levrault, Paris, 1952, p. x; Christol, Un essai de fichier demographique au Cameroun /An Attempt at Demographic Classification in the Cameroons/, Bulletin mensuel de statistique d'Outre-mer, 1951, No. 20.

Finally, for Spanish Guinea the sources are rather inaccessible and of very uneven value. The best are probably the reports submitted by the scientific expedition of 1948 organized by the /Spanish/ Department for Morocco and the Colonies, of which the Anthropological Commission apparently made a study of demographic development in collaboration with the colony's health service: these reports I have not been able to obtain. The fiscal census carried out by Civil Guard officers in command of the "Demarcaciones /Demarcations/" seems to be considered a state secret; the census returns prepared by the Roman Catholic missions appear unreliable. If one accepts the total population figure given by official statistics, supposedly 172, 000 persons, it would be necessary to put the number of "Pamue" (the Spanish form of mpangwé) at about 50 percent of that total. Estimates made during the recent war by civil administrators and frontier officers of Gabon and the Cameroons are much lower, giving a total of about 130, 000 inhabitants, 50, 000 to 60, 000 of whom were Pahouin. Likewise, Spanish medical reports seem to be colored with a possible excessive optimism, attributing specially to biological causes a rise in population that results mainly from immigration.

In conclusion, the lack of agreement about even the composition of the Pahouin group makes the figures vary greatly, whether round estimates /10, table on pp. 12a-12e/ or genuine demographic indices. Thus we meet with totals that vary from 650, 000 to 1, 500, 000 Pahouin, with the differential index clearly positive or clearly negative according to the writer.

161
163

My own estimate of about 820, 000 takes account of Pahouin only in the strict sense and leaves out the tribes whose affiliation is debatable (1). This group as a whole is growing slightly (the differential

193 pl. bisa) it means "extended family." The two words (which have different tones) come from sak, to ejaculate, to f.... /sic: probably foutre/ which would have led to *nsak, besak = genitor, father.

The pronominal classifiers have an important and typical role, that of connecting a noun and its complement or a noun-subject and its verb. Nevertheless, this rule does not seem to be absolute, and Boulou especially is quite ready to omit the connective in the genitive, particularly in the singular:

jôm é ntañgan or jôm ntañgan, biôm bi ntañgan or biôm ntañgan = thing or things of whiteness;

mon a fañ, bo' be fañ = a or some Fang;

alu e ne dibi, melu me ne dibi = the night (s) is (are) dark;

mvu j'adi, bemvu b'adi = the dog (s) eats (eat).

Fundamentally, verbs are divided into verbs of state or position and verbs of action, which are not conjugated the same way. One type is derived from another by affixation to the radical, which makes it possible to complete the defective conjugation of verbs of state by recourse to their active derivatives. Tense, mood, voice, and aspect are indicated either by affixation or inflection, or by using auxiliary verbs, some of which have a meaning by themselves, while others may only be used with another verb (the last are perhaps simple affixes).

Pronouns and pronoun-adjectives are well represented, while qualifying adjectives are rare, especially in Boulou, and are most frequently replaced by nouns of quality or state that do not agree. The same is to be observed concerning tool-words /mots-outils/: aside from a few adverbs, the invariable conjunction and preposition, nouns are mainly used:

éyoñ = time, circumstance = when; mfa'a = direction, orientation = toward; ajô te = this matter = thus, therefore, consequently, etc.

194 From the phonetic point of view the outstanding trait of the group is undoubtedly the use of tones, which is the basis of telephony by drum (nkul), bell (nkeñ), or modulated cry (ékiga). Bates and Johnson recognize five tones, plus the glissando of the negative. Bertaut, following the German scholars, distinguishes two fundamental tones, high and low; two derived ones, ascending and descending;

and a middle tone. Father Stoll, raising the problem again in a recent work, turns it upside down by describing two fundamental tones, symmetrically contrasted, two dominant tones, and eight compound /composés/ or gliding ones, all of them together classed as eight principal (four simple and four gliding) and four secondary ones. He connects this symmetrical system with the cosmogony, proving his point with an illustration from the sô rite. The battle among specialists is too violent for me to express an opinion. I shall restrict myself /25/ to pointing out that the nkul and the nkeñ only give two tones, and that in sending a message by one of these methods rhythm plays as important a part as do the tones (1).

1. But the balafo, mejeñ, consist of five xylophones of different tonality, each having six notes.

In the spoken language, and especially in formal speech, rhythm is just as important, and even those missionaries who possess a fine enough ear to avoid involuntary puns through tone usually do not succeed in mastering rhythm as can the last of the poet-storytellers. Current transcriptions do not, moreover, take rhythm or tone into account, the meaning of homographs emerging from their context. I think I observed here as elsewhere that the younger generation is inclined to forget the fine points of the language and no longer distinguish more than two tones, high and low, while the use of the nkul is daily losing ground.

A final important element in the language, especially in the oral literature, is represented by exclamative-descriptives, a series of locutions based on onomatopoeias or derived from verbs or modified nouns, reduplicated and often introduced by an exclamative particle or a click (2). Some of them are sufficiently accepted to be used in

2. Bertaut is one of the rare authors, if not the only one, to point out these clicks. I know of three in general use: one of approval, one of denial, one of warning. Others exist, used in hunting and still little known, which were perhaps borrowed from the Pygmies.

194 written texts, but the majority remain current only in the spoken language, the speaker moreover not hesitating to invent as need arises.

4. Classification

197 Most writers, from Meinhof to Guthrie, class the languages of the
114 Pahouin group with the Bantu. In his general classification of Bantu languages (1948), Guthrie puts them in his area A, under the decimal number 60, including Ewondo, Bulu /Boulou/, Ntum /Ntoumou/, Mekaé, Zimu, Fañ /Fang/ (the so-called Betsi or Mazouna dialect, although he does not specify this) and Maké (doubtless eastern Fang, the dialect called Makina). Stoll includes Ewondo in his work on the Bantu and semi-Bantu languages of the Cameroons, without specifying whether he classes it with one or the other (3).

3. In its reports to the United Nations, the Cameroons government qualifies the Pahouin of the southern Cameroons as "neo-Bantu."

197 Yet it seems certain that, if these languages are really to be included in the Bantu family, they form a special category, which cannot be likened purely and simply to the unquestionably Bantu languages of adjacent populations. Besides, there is discussion as to whether the Pahouin invaders brought their language with them or have adopted and changed that of the peoples established before them on the Cameroons-Gabon plateau. There has also been some hesitation about classing the languages /26/ of the border tribes, notably Mekaé and Kozimé, either with the Pahouin group or with the adjacent Bantu groups. For instance, while it is agreed to put Ngumba beside the Bantu languages of the coast, Mekaé, which is certainly related to it, is classed sometimes with the Pahouin tongues, sometimes with those of the Bantu of the eastern Cameroons.

197 The existence of a nominal gender (Bates' Class III) lacking a
114 classifier prevents our putting the group among "agglutinating languages with a perfect class system having a special pronoun for each class," where Delafosse places Bantu. Mademoiselle Homburger (Le langage et les langues /Speech and Language/, p. 69) makes of it a separate family, close both to coastal Bantu and to semi-Bantu. In the chapter she devotes to Bantu in Les langues du monde /Languages of the World/

197 she connects it with Delafosse's West African group, harking back to
114 its non-Bantu character in Les langues africaines et les peuples qui les parlent /African Languages and the Peoples Who Speak Them/.

Father Trilles and Abbé Walker believe that they have found Semitic and Hamitic influences in Fang. A borrowing from Sudanese appears more likely. Westermann classes "Bati" in the semi-Bantu group, pointing out that the term "Sudanese languages possessing classes" seems to him more appropriate. Now, we know that Beti (Ati), which is losing ground today to Ewondo, is itself very close to Fang (Betsi-Mazouna) and recently reached to the northern limits of Boulou, which it has influenced.

We may therefore come to the conclusion that the Pahouin linguistic group, at present very close to Bantu, ought probably to be considered intermediate between the true Bantu tongues and the semi-Bantu or Sudanese class languages, historical circumstances and contact with neighboring peoples having accentuated the Bantu traits in such a way that it is proper, from the methodological point of view especially, to classify it as a special family of the Bantu group (1).

1. In the absence of specific mention, it seems that Greenberg (no. 70) would classify it in his Nigero-Congo group. [i.e., Niger-Congo.-Analyst]

Chapter 4

Economic Life

1. Subsistence

222 The diet of the Pahouin peoples would be enough to prove that
262 their attachment to the land is quite recent. In fact the importance of collected produce is striking. According to a study carried out in Eton country (region of Yaoundé) by Dr. Masseyeff, the consumption of mushrooms amounts on Eton average to 4.1 grams per day per person (1). Snails, termites, caterpillars, palm larvae, and crickets

1. R. Masseyeff, A. Cambon, Enquête sur l'alimentation au Cameroon, Rapport à l'Office

shed with a roof low enough to /43/ give good protection from the sun. Some villages are placed at right angles to the road; others follow an L or Y plan, with several minseñ. Family "allotments" are separated by hedges of euphorbia, castor-oil plant, hibiscus, and bougainvillea. Sometimes one comes across sheepfolds, although in old-style (and most contemporary) villages small livestock roam at will. A village often includes a guesthouse (ayak).

In building operations the man generally takes charge of the framework and the laths, leaving to the women the preparation and application of the banco /clay daub?/. But European-style huts with their elaborate door frames and often cement floors are more and more the work of specialized artisans, who are paid to supervise the family labor provided by the owner. These men have nevertheless preserved, along with the English term "mason," the old name nloñ nda, literally, hut-weaver, which goes back to the time when huts were made of sewn bark (1).

1. The dwelling continues to evolve: framed doors, windows, and shutters are in general use today. The dimensions of the buildings lead to the construction of a real frame. Finally, to possess a sheet-iron roof is a sign of wealth. In recent years there has arisen a real passion for the improvement of dwelling: in the Cameroons we may estimate that 10 percent of the dwellings now built in the bush are the most modern type. (J.B.)

2. Groupings and Relationships

The main divisions of Pahouin society are both exactly defined in the minds of its members themselves and at the same time uncertain for the European observer, who is constantly tempted to state them clearly in organic forms accessible to his "logic" and who is hindered by the variations or the dialectal confusions of Pahouin terminology. Father Trilles, basing his observations on the Fang of Gabon alone, reached a sort of palaeontological reconstruction of the "Fang nation," extremely theoretical, yet not without basis

however, since traces of it can be recognized in the contemporary movement for Pahouin Regrouping represented in the Cameroons by the U. T. N. K. party (N'Tem Kribi Tribal Union). Such /theoretical/ constructs are still rather risky in our present state of knowledge, and it is better to limit ourselves to a pure and simple description, resorting as little as possible to interpretation, which in any case should be done with hesitancy.

I shall therefore limit muself here to the attempt to perceive Pahouin society on three essential structural levels, while emphasizing again the necessarily arbitrary and incomplete nature of such a proceeding.

These three levels are the most easily perceptible to the European observer and at the same time the most significant, apparently, in the eyes of the Pahouin themselves. These are, what I shall call, for lack of anything better and because they are the terms particularly retained by the administration, the tribe, the clan, and the extended family or village family. Something will also have to be said about intermediate structures such as lineages, segments /fractions/, and village groups, and a little more on the subject of the household or limited family, whose importance is increasing. /44/

a. The Tribe

I designate as "tribe" what Trilles calls "group," while he keeps the term "tribe"—as do many observers in Gabon—for what I call "clan." This is because in southern Gabon there is only one "tribe" in the sense I understand, that of the true Fang, or Fang-Fang as Spanish writers call them.

I know of no Pahouin word specifically denoting tribe, Trilles uses the expression mfulane meyoñ, that is, "all of the clans together." In fact, and this is no doubt significant, the term most commonly used is ayoñ, which also denotes what I call clan. Mfulane meyoñ is used particularly when there is occasion to specify that one is referring to a higher structural level, sometimes also referred to as ngum ayoñ, "the clan as a whole," or meyoñ mese, "all the clans." (1) Nevertheless, the tribe is indeed a reality, in spite of this

1. American translators of the Bible have used ayoñ for "people" as well as for "tribe" and "realm."

181 opinion is quite widely shared by foreign observers. "Much more intelligent and... more active and harder working than the average Negro... they also have more forethought... they compare with other Negroes as do Aryans with Semites and the red men /Rouges/ ... capable of acquiring a certain amount of intellectual cultivation and of performing all sorts of industries," wrote Largeau in 1900. Before him, Du Chaillu /had written/: "Proud and fierce warriors... clever and industrious... that will supersede... the degenerate tribes (of the Ogooué)," while Horn, who did not like the French at all, thought the "Mpangwe" of 1875 to be the "Prussians of Africa," which, considering his attitude and the period, was a compliment. Later, Trilles favorably compares their moral standards with those of Europeans; his Protestant colleague Grebert speaks of their "individualism," their "fierce love of liberty." The portrait admits, it is true, of some reservations: "brusqueness," "brutal frankness," along with "unreliability," "malice," and "greed for gain" for Largeau, "pride," "tendency to hoard," "stubbornness," for Grebert, "cruelty," "avarice" for Du Chaillu, "superstition" for Horn, while Compiègne thinks they "disappointed Admiral de Langle's hopes (for their ability to become assimilated)." It is a remarkable fact that these "defects" may just as well appear aspects of their "good qualities," just like the strictures on "anarchy" and "rebelliousness" that often turn up in the official reports.

All these evaluations still hold good, clearly subjective and /89/ nonscientific as they are, just as are those I have been able to make myself and which lead me to say that I have actually met among the Pahouin I associated with a large proportion of intelligent, energetic, high-spirited /fiers/ people, endowed with a sarcastic humor well illustrated in many recent novels and also in the giving of nicknames, especially to government officials, and in the celebrated caricatures of Monewoso among the Boulou.

●114 153 The only scholarly work on this subject that I know is some research done in the Cameroons by Stoerkel, head of the Service de Psychotechnie et d'Orientation professional /Psychotechnical and Vocational Guidance Service/, which does not seem to have been published. This research was done in 1949-50 at the beginning of the construction of the Edéa dam. The studies revealed, among the Pahouin of the southern Cameroons, motor adaptability, concentration, and capacity for integration superior on the whole to those of other

114 ethnic groups in the same region, the Boulou subjects being classed
153 first on these points among the Pahouin tribes. Intelligence tests and mental-age evaluations made among school children and lycée students gave similar results in comparison with Africans of the same age. On the other hand, a comparison with European children living in the Cameroons showed a certain inferiority, from which it is still impossible to draw definitive conclusions because of the scarcity of "culture-free tests" used at the time. Projective tests administered
114 under the same conditions revealed schizoid tendencies with rather
157 marked aggression and a fairly high frequency of the Oedipus fixation with some transference /assimilation/ from father to white man. The difference in level from neighboring tribes was less clear among the lycée students than among school children, and less clear among the latter than among the laborers at Edéa. It must be emphasized
[125] that these tests, especially the projective ones, involved a limited number of persons in particular situations outside the village milieu, that remains the background of the majority of their fellow tribesmen. I am not acquainted with the results of later research.

156 With regard to social psychology, we are also largely restricted to subjective evaluations in the same class as those mentioned at the beginning of this section. Allégret a half century ago remarked upon a defeatism more bitter since the Fang had come in contact with Europeans, and certain legends reported by Trilles and Largeau on the Jacob and Esau theme, with the white man in the role of the usurping younger brother, go some way to confirming this. Balandier has given a good description of contemporary expressions of this feeling of collective frustration, both in his Sociologie actuelle and in various articles, one of them with the significant title, "Les Fang, conquérants en disponibilité" /The Fang, Unattached Conquerors/, (nos. 175 and 173).

One striking trait, also emphasized by Balandier, is that of collective mistrust of successful persons. This may appear to contradict the previous statement about Pahouin individualism, but in fact it is precisely /90/ this individualism that produces a good share of the suspicion of the other individual (cf. in Ezo Boto, Ville cruelle, no. 182, the reactions of the hero Banda vis-à-vis the rebel Koumé).

656 We must also point out the psychological and social importance
156 of akum, wealth, and of biôm, possessions, especially imported possessions. Combined with the as yet little-studied concept of the

882 is not yet admitted to the essential functions of full manhood: ritual, warfare, and marriage. Formerly, he was not until after the great 881 tribal initiation, sô. Sô is the name of a large red antelope, Cephalophus castoneus, found in great quantity in the forest and in [825] the galleries of the park-savanna. The meat is taboo, étyi, to the [262] uninitiated (bibis) and, a fortiori, to women. It may seem strange that Trilles does not mention it in Le totemisme chez les Fang, although the sô seems to be one of the most important tribal totems. [171] It should be observed in this connection that the sô rite, widespread among the Cameroons Pahouin, including the Beti, and among those of the Woleu-N'Tem, seems to vanish somewhere between Mitzic and N'Djolé, while some of its features are to be found in the initiation to the biéri, which is basically merely an adjunct. It would therefore appear to have gone to pieces at the same time as the structure of the meyoñ, to be revived in the extreme south by the bwiti, reported by Trilles, which is at present moving northward. Nevertheless, I must point out that what Trilles describes under the name of bawu may well be sô.

Initiation ceremonies were filmed among the Eton of Saa in 1935; [114] the film is kept at the Musée de l'Homme. Bertaut (no. 110) gives a very full description of the outward forms of the initiation, Stoll (no. 84) an interpretation of its symbolism.

Initiation took place about every three years (every seven mimbu?); Bertaut states that a ceremony might be arranged after some serious happening in a village. It lasted three months (one year, according to Stoll, who counts in the preliminary ceremonies for the initiation proper and the period following) and entailed great expense for sacrifices on the part of the parents of initiates and especially the initiation leader, the nkpwé sô (judge of the sô; lit., butcher of the sô), a senior chosen from the most wealthy and respected. From this point [181] of view, one may believe that the rite coincided with the desire for levelling of wealth which appears to have been so constant in Pahouin society. The nkpwé sô did not himself lead the ceremony; he was the instigator and the person responsible, but the celebrant was a diviner, a mfek sô, "sô wise man" or "sô measurer" or "sô pouch," if the tone is changed (vek = to take aim, to compute, to divine, to measure).

The main theme of the rite, of which the following description is quite incomplete, was the death of the sô, awu sô, afterwards eaten

88| community. After another sacrifice, the bevôn were again confined inside the ésam sô, where initiates had dug a narrow passage and covered it with wattling and earth, the bottom strewn with thorns, crushed pimento, and warrior ants. The bevôn would receive final instructions, then, after taking mud baths, grunting like hogs, they had to crawl through the passage previously filled with smoke, while the minkpwangôs struck and pricked them with assagais through the cover; a mvôn who rose up or tried to escape was immediately killed by prisoners stationed outside the enclosure. This was the third stage, the true "death of the sô," awu sô.

After leaving the esam, the bevôn were supposed to be aggressive, teasing, to worry the other villagers, steal food, fowls, etc., tear down barriers, and in general behave like wild beasts. This period lasted for several days, preceding the sortie of the sô, akui sô, a parade of the group in war dress, carrying spears engraved with the distinctive clan mark, ndem, which had been consecrated during the initiation. A feast followed. For six months (mbu) afterward, the new initiates were still subject to certain sexual and food prohibitions, from which they were freed if they killed a man during the period. At the end /100/ of this waiting time, they went away, painted white, into seclusion for a night and came back painted red, making the rounds of the village nine times in procession. Then they bathed in a stream where fishing was afterward forbidden until the initiation of the next group, apparently.

A young man thus initiated became a mone wôsô, child of the death of the sô (wu = to die; wôé = to kill), thereafter ready for marriage, which would make him a complete man, nya môtô. His [76] father might instruct him in the family cult, which till then he knew only in its externals; he was taught to identify the ancestral skulls kept in the biéti basket and to enter into communication with them [276] by means of the narcotic herb alan. Sometimes the instruction was given collectively in the melan rite, which, according to Stoll, complemented sô, the latter being androgynous, while the former was gynandrous. Sô was to give creative power, melan fecundity and wealth. Melan has a medical aspect lacking in sô; the participation of women is greater. Some elements seem to have survived until the present day, whereas the last sô ceremonies must have occurred about 1940. Stoll gives a pretty full description in La tonétique des langues [114] bantu... du Cameroun /The Tonal System of the Bantu Languages ... of the Cameroons/ (no. 84).

771 The first observers described the Pahouin, especially the Fang,
781 as "less superstitious," "less given to fetishism" than neighboring
114 populations. Trilles and Martrou emphasized their profound religious sentiment, while Allégret (no. 147) gives very interesting information about the feeling of religious destitution they experienced, particularly after contact with Europeans. Often observed also has been the ease with which they would adopt new beliefs and ceremonies, and this refers not only to Christian sects but to cults like bwiti and ngôl and even, before the last war, to freemasonry in the vicinity of Libreville.

All these influences are so intermingled that we must resort to a kind of conjectural palaeontology in order to reconstruct their original beliefs. Without casting any reflection upon the intellectual integrity of observers like Trilles and Martrou, we must recognize—and regret—that a certain professional slant from time to time affected their conclusions, to a point that induces us to turn instead to laymen much less well qualified linguistically, like Largeau, of whom Trilles has shown himself perhaps a little too critical.

a. Concept of God, Creation

776 The Pahouin believe (or used to believe, see later on) in a creator god Mebe'e (Fang, Mebere, Mebeghe), eternal, formerly immanent, becoming infinitely transcendant after the first nsem.

The word Mebe'e seems to be related to the verb be'e, to carry, which has the agent-noun, mbe'e. Mbe'e is a plural form, corresponding to nouns of action and also to the collective plural forms of names of liquids (mendim = water, metyi = blood, meyôm = sperm, etc.). It is usually accompanied by triple apposition: "Mebe'e, Mebe'e menkpwa, sokuma, mbongbwe" (or, according to Trezenem, mba angwe). The meaning of these three qualifiers is as uncertain as that of Mebe'e; menkpwa should probably be connected with kpwaé = to strike down, to judge, to condemn; sokuma with kôm (kum) = to arrange, to direct, sô conveying the idea of generosity, rectitude, balance (Boulou, soso, zoso); mbongbwé would then, according to Grebert, mean "creator of generations" (bo = to make; ngbwé = maternal kinship), but could also be /108/ connected with ngbwa = love, friendship, alliance, with the sense of "he who makes an alliance" or "he who loves."

769 The figure was placed on the new group's first family altar, and so afterwards were the skulls of the founder and of the benya bôtô of succeeding generations. A full biéri basket was the sign of a group's [554] antiquity, which doubtless implied prestige more than genuine authority, yet nevertheless represented the nearest approach to political authority that existed in the Fang group, particularly if one takes into account the fact that officials of interclan associations were chosen from among the owners of many skulls, whence prestige extended to a large number of mvôk or meyom. The prestige of the living was exerted through the authority of the dead.

[826] Skulls were, indeed, the seat or receptacle of the individual's capacity for action (we must remember that bo = to make, boo = brain), and the use of skulls in the practice of magic was not confined to ancestral skulls only: the skulls of enemies killed in battle or sacrificed in anthropophagous ceremonies before or afterward were preserved, and so were those stolen from neighbors. In the same way the skulls of the kinds of animals desired were used for hunting rites. However, it seems that a distinction was made between family skulls and outsiders' skulls, only the first having a place in the éwolé biéti and [782] appearing in family rites. The power of the skulls was increased by sprinkling them with sacrificial blood.

769 When a youth reached nya môtô age he had to learn to recognize 869 his ancestors so as to be able to ask for their help when the occasion 881 arose. Their skulls were shown to him until he could identify them individually and put them in the correct genealogical order. When he was able to do this, he was given a brew of the narcotic herb alan, [276] then spent a night in the biéti hut, facing the skulls, which had been removed from the éwolé and placed on the altar on which strongly scented plants were burned. During the night the ancestors appeared and gave him a cognomen and imposed one or more new taboos (at the same time he was relieved of certain prohibitions connected with age). Apparently it was during this initiation that his individual totem was revealed (if it was indeed a totem).

769 This question of the totem is very poorly elucidated, in spite of 614 some 600 pages devoted to the subject by Father Trilles. He dis- 114 tinguishes between clan, segment, individual, family, and society totems, etc. He also distinguishes a tutelary being, mvame, from the "effect of a tutelary being"; akam, an animal totem, from a dedicated animal or an incarnation of a man in an animal, etc. He

769 also discriminates between the ésayoñ, ancestor cult /112/, and the
614 mvamayoñ, totemic cult. It must be admitted that there is now no
chance of obtaining a cross-checking of his theories except on points
114 of detail, although that is no formal condemnation of his theories;
it is the consequence of a shortage of researchers, lack of respect on
the part of the researchers, or loss of traditions of initiation. The
following points may be considered as established:

mvam (émvam) connotes ideas of a forefather, dead or alive, lineal and protective.

[784] akam, protection, is sometimes used in speaking of animals, to indicate the reason for a prohibition; the verb kam having a defending-protecting meaning as well as that of forbidding-prohibiting.

All prohibitions are not tied up with these notions, but some are and they may well be individual prohibitions as well as hereditary collective ones, not necessarily involving animals.

Clan markings, mindem, and tattoo marks, mindan, are often connected with a prohibition.

825 There is a whole system of animal symbolism, evident particularly
[787] in tales and augury ("zoomancy," divination by spiders).

Certain animals are connected with initiation cults: very definitely the sô and snakes (dendraspis and python); probably the porcupine and tortoise (with feminine rites); perhaps the gorilla (njil; ngil, Johnson's tone 4, the ngil rite having tone 5).

[551] There does not appear to be any connection between an animal name borne by a person (Mvômô = Python, Zo'o = Elephant, Ze = Panther, etc.) and the prohibitions he is subject to.

Moreover, the following, it seems pretty certain, are not specifi-
614 cally related to totemism:

825 Alliance, élat or ngbwa, between a person and a particular animal.

A sorcerer's employing an animal, nkuk (observe that nkuk also means "mask") to carry out his sorcery at a distance.

[775] The incarnation of a sorcerer in the body of an animal, élañela (Trilles applies this name to the nkuk).

The temporary incarnation of a dead man in an animal's body.

The first three phenomena often seem to be confused in the minds of present-day Pahouin, and the fourth may be the consequence of this.

773 It is curious that the legend recounted by Trilles about the crocodile, which he considers to be the "national totem," represents

772 the two opposite angles and would represent the axis of migration,
823 mfa'a mañ, "toward the sea." The masculine direction seems to have been the place of origin of the ye (feminine?) clans, the feminine direction, that of the ésa clans. Trilles places with the latter the ébi clans, which are, geographically, from eastern clans; I wonder if they ought not rather to be connected with the ye clans since ébi means "hole," "chasm" (yee = valley, ravine). In the bilaba, masculine commodities come from the female sector, and vice versa.

772 These apparent contradictions would be resolved by applying the principle of double symmetry, or of sexual complementarity, similar to that which makes paternal, nonuterine half brothers called bobenyañ, [601] "my mother's sons." This principle might be expressed somewhat as follows: every being capable of life must, in order to exist and be complete, include the opposite sex. In other words, bisexuality, a universal vital principle, should be found in every part of the universe /création/. Stoll finds proof of this in the language, where the tone [194] levels in his view constitute genuine differentiation by grammatical sex genders, and especially in the rites whose purpose appears to be not to make men entirely masculine or women entirely feminine, but rather to give to each sex the necessary complement of the opposite sex.

Whatever may be thought of this theory, it is a fact that, because [114] of the apparent or real absence of grammatical sex gender in the language, the majority of the early writers, even Trilles, did not attach enough importance to real gender, to the sex actually attributed to objects, particularly to magical and ritual materials. We know that spear, akoñ, saber, fa, and probably the large drum, mbaé, are male; calabashes and cooking pots, rattles (mengoñ), the double bell (nkeñ) are female; the drum-telephone, nkul, is androgynous; horns for medicaments, minlak, are male at the pointed end, female at 801 the hollow end, and the same with the rifle. As to numbers, my conclusions are diametrically opposed to those of Stoll, who believes even numbers to be male, and odd, female, though admittedly he advances as proof the large part played by odd numbers in feminine rites, which runs directly counter to his theory of double symmetry.

The numerical system is in any event only imperfectly known. [802] Counting is based on 10, with traces of an 8:10, (awôm), basis /116/ and of 8, mwom, /having?/ perhaps the same root as different classifiers. The so number is 9. Nyin, 4, seems related to a YI

/137/ Concise Analytical Bibliography

113 In addition to the works indicated below, the following periodicals,
114 among others, should be referred to:

. . . . . .

Bulletin de la Société d'Études camerounaises, at present the Cameroons section of the I. F. A. N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noir/. (B. S. E. C.)

. . . . . .

And from the local press, among others:

Radio-Presse du Cameroun: has published stories and, in 1949-50, an open debate upon marriage problems.

. . . . . .

For the Cameroons, the Annual Reports to the League of Nations, then to the United Nations, contain a great deal of material, especially on social, political, and economic development; see also the publications of the O. M. S. /?/

Many of the works mentioned contain bibliographies, in part included below; see particularly Trilles (no. 166), Dugast (no. 133), Balandier (no. 175), Baumann and Westermann (no. 5), Leroi-Gourhan and Poirier (no. 25), Encyclopedie de l'Union française (nos. 37 and 38).

The archives of the colonial government, in the /local/ posts as well as in the political offices of /district/ headquarters, constitute a very rich source, partly exploited for Gabon by Balandier, for the Cameroons by Binet, Madame Dugast, and Sister Marie-André of the Sacred Heart. Further, J. P. Nicolas has microfilmed for the I. F. A. N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noir/ certain material preserved at Yaoundé. /138/

5. Baumann, H., and Westermann, D. Les peuples et civilisations de l'Afrique /The Peoples and Civilizations of Africa/. Paris, Payot, 1948. 605 pp., ill.

In Baumann's view the "Fan" are a people of Sudanese origin who came from the Upper Sangha and mingled with the Bantu inhabitants of the invaded region; linguistically Bantu; culturally placed in the group of "North Congo peoples."

113 114

13. Compiègne, Marquis de. L'Afrique équatoriale. I. Gabonais, Pahouins, Gallois; II. Okenda, Bangouens, Osyéba. Paris, Plon, 1875. 2 vols. of 360 pp., ill.

Monsieur de Compiègne is ironical about "Duchaillu," the particle of whose name induces in him suspicion of his sincerity. He is mistaken.

17. Du Chaillu, P. Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa. London, John Murray, 1861.

Alongside exaggerations which sometimes come near to being jokes, the book contains very exact and very valuable observations of the Fang invasion.

21. Horn, A. Trader Horn. La Côte-d'Ivoire (sic) aux temps héroïques /The Ivory Coast—sic—in the Heroic Period/. Paris, Stock, 1932. 303 pp.

Old Horn was a much more daring liar than Du Chaillu; nevertheless, his memoirs are interesting just because they are those of a "trader." /139/

25. Leroi-Gourhan, A., and Poirier, J. Ethnologie de l'Union française /Ethnology of the French Union/. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1953.

This has the Fang coming from Bahr-el-Ghazal (following Bowditch, Gautier, and Vallois).

30. Richard-Molard, J. "Groupements ethniques et civilisations nègres d'Afrique /Ethnic Groupings and Negro civilizations of Africa/," Cahiers d'Outre-mer, 1952, no. 17.

A brief and very good analysis of the results of the "ayoñ regrouping" movement.

41. Cottes, A. La mission Cottes au Sud-Cameroun (1905-1908). Paris, Leroux, 1911. 254 pp., ill.

Anthropological information and photographs. /140/

46. Grebert, F. Au Gabon /In Gabon/. Paris, Société des Missions évangéliques, 1948. (3rd ed.), 237 pp., ill.

This deals primarily with the Fang of the Ogooué; good illustrations.

48. Largeau, V. Encyclopédie pahouine /Pahouin Encyclopedia/. Paris, E. Leroux, 1911. 700 pp.

In spite of the criticisms of Father Trilles, who accuses Largeau of not knowing the Fang language and of having an uninitiated "boy," the Encyclopédie is still a mine of invaluable information, often more accurate than that of Trilles.

113
114

51. Pedrals, D. P. de. "L'origine des Fang /The Origin of the Fang/, " Tropiques, 1952, vol. 50, no. 348.

A version of traditional history collected from prominent persons in the southern Cameroons, some of whom were our own informants. Hard to use because of faulty transcription of certain names.

54. Tessmann, G., and Wasmuth, E. Die Pangwé, Volkerskundische Monographie eines westafrikanisches Negerstammes /The Pangwe, An Ethnological Monograph on a West African Negro People/. Berlin, Hansa verlag für mod. Literatur, 1913. 2 vols., 275 and 402 pp., ill.

The summa on the group as a whole, including "Pahouinized" neighbors. It would be worth translating, even after a half century.

55. Trezenem, Edouard. "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan du Moyen Ogooué /Ethnographic Notes on the Fang Tribes of the Middle Ogooué/, " Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 1936, vol. VI.

One of the best recent works on the Fang of Gabon; unfortunately the transcription of certain words makes them unrecognizable. /141/

68. Good, A. I. Bulu Handbook Supplement. Elat, Halsey Memorial Press, 1934. 131 pp.

The only work to give a glossary of exclamatives, descriptives with ne, which play an important role in the oral literature.

70. Greenberg, J. "Etude sur la classification des langues africaines /A Study of the Classification of African Languages/, " B. I. F. A. N. P., vol. XVI, nos. 1-2 (Jan.-April, 1954), pp. 83-142; vol. XVII, nos. 1-2 (Jan.-April, 1955), pp. 59-108. Ill.

There is no specific reference to the Pahouin group, which appears to be included in the Nigero-Congo /language/ family.

71. Guillemin, L. "Le tambour d'appel des Ewondo /The calling drum of the Ewôndo/, " B. S. E. C., 1948, nos. 21-22, pp. 69-84.

Indispensable to a study of the nkul; it contains many mindan (indicative) notations, words, and music.

113 114

72. Guthrie, Malcolm. The Classification of Bantu Languages. London, Oxford University Press, 1948.

This classes the Pahouin language in Zone A, Group 60 of Bantu. It ascribes as characteristics the absence of size-gender (inaccurate, for there is Class ô/a for small objects, Class a/me for collectives and for large objects) and the absence of the correlation of gender with idea (inaccurate).

77. Homburger, Lysias. Le langage et les langues /Speech and Language/. Paris, Payot, 1951. 256 pp.

This describes the "leapfrog" advance of the Pahouin. It places their languages in a separate family, close to, but different from, that of the coastal Bantu languages of northern Congo.

78. Homburger, Lysias. Les langues négro-africaines et les peuples qui les parlent /Negro-African Languages and the Peoples Who Speak Them/. Paris, Payot, 1941. 350 pp.

Classes the Pahouin languages in a group intermediate between the Sudanese and Bantu.

79. Lejeune, R.P. /Rev. Father?/. Dictionnaire français-fang, précédé de quelques principes grammaticaux sur cette même langue. Paris, Faivre & Teillard, 1892. 347 pp.

Like nearly all such works of the period this follows too closely the grammar and syntax of French and Latin. /142/

81. Martrou, L. Lexique fân-francais. Paris, Procure générale, n.d.

A "Catholic Fang" transcription which cannot be reproduced on the universal keyboard; it does not give tone levels; has about 3,500 words.

84. Stoll, A. La tonétique des langues bantu et semi-bantu du Cameroun /The Tone System of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages of the Southern Cameroons/. Paris, n.d. Memorandum No. IV of the I.F.A.N. Center, Cameroon, 1955. 172 pp., 2 tabls.

In addition to a new theory of tone levels, this has interesting suggestions about the so and melan rites, with an account of the theory of double symmetry, which is supposed to underlie Pahouin cosmogony.

93. Binet, J. Budgets familiaux des planteurs de cacao au Cameroun /Family Budgets among the Cacao Planters of the Cameroons/.

113
114

Paris, C.S.R.S.O.M., "L'Homme d'outre-mer" series, no. 3, 1956. 154 pp., ill.

Research done in the southern Cameroons in 1955-56. This is comparable with the work of Sautter and Balandier in northern Gabon.

98. Grebert, F. Monographie ethnographique des tribus Fang, Bantous de la forêt du Gabon /Ethnographic Monograph on the Fang Tribes, Bantus of the Gabon Forest/. Geneva. Manuscript, 36 pls., 719 drawings.

This unfortunately unpublished work constitutes the best pictorial representation of the Pahouin peoples. One of the six copies can be consulted in France, at the library of the Evangelical Missions. /143/

109. Bearth. "Le nsig-n'to, ancienne coutume Bane /Nsig-n'to, An Old Bane Custom/," Togo-Cameroun, January, 1930, pp. 313-332, ill.

The high judge nsig-nto was perhaps a high-ranking ngil dignitary.

110. Bertaut, M. Le droit coutumier des Boulou /Customary Law of the Bulu/. Paris, Domat-Montchrestient, 1935. 308 pp.

In spite of the title this book deals not only with the Bulu but also with their northern neighbors, including the Ewôndo; there is a detailed description of the sô ceremony, a good study of juridical customs and also of living habits.

119. Koch, H. "Le petit bétail chez les Badjoué et Bikélé de Messamena /Small livestock among the Badjue and Bikele of Messamena/," Bulletin de la Société d'Études camerounaises,

This gives concrete examples of the progressive "Pahouinization" of the border tribes (here under Bulu influence). /144/

120. Mba, L. "Essai de droit coutumier pahouin /Essay on Pahouin Customary Law/," Bulletin de la Société de Recherches congolaises, 1938, no. 25, 46 pp.

An interesting essay by one of the Fang political leaders in Gabon.

122. Panyella, A., and Sabater, J. "Esquema de la antroponimia Fang de la Guinea española desde el punto de vista etnologico /Outline of Fang Nomenclature (?) in Spanish Guinea from the Ethnological Point of View/," A.I.E.A., 1955, VIII, no. 34.

113
114

The most recent study of the anthroponymy /nomenclature?/ and rules for name giving; interesting observations on the designation of segments and lineages by the name of a female ancestor.

125. Zoll'Owambe, Ch. "Visage africain d'une coutume indienne et mélanésienne /An African Aspect of a (North American) Indian and Melanesian Custom/," Bulletin de la Société d'Études camerounaises, 1947, nos. 19-20, pp. 55-60.

A description of the bilaba potlatch, somewhat marred by confusions in the translation of salient points.

126. X.... "Tenue de palabre /Discussion Session/," B.S.E.C., 1947, nos. 19-20, pp. 141-146.

An extract from the archives of the Ambam subdivision; observations by Ntumu and Mvae men of standing on marriage customs and their evolution.

133. Dugast, I. "Inventaire ethnique du Sud-Cameroun /Ethnic Inventory of the Southern Cameroons/," Mémoires of the I.F.A.N. (Cameroons Center), "Populations" Series, no. 1, 159 pp., ill.

The most recent synthesis of the subject. It is to be regretted that the same work could not have been done for Gabon and Guinea. /145/

147. Allegret, E. "Les idées religieuses des Fang /The Religious Ideas of the Fang/," Revue d'histoire des Religions, vol. 50, 1904, pp. 214-233.

An interesting note on the religious "defeatism" which the Fang seem to have experienced especially after contact with Europeans.

151. Garnier, C., and Fralon, N. Le fétichisme en Afrique noire /Fetishism in Black Africa/. Paris, Payot, 1951.

Some notes on the rites of the Cameroons Pahouin.

152. Guillemin, R.P. Le rite "ésye." B.S.E.C., 1948, nos. 23-24, p. 71.

An excellent description of a purification rite among the northern tribes. Interesting notes on practices of divination.

153. Jemba Medu. Nnanga Kon. Elat, Halsey Memorial Press, n.d.

This novel, which is unfortunately out of print, is a mine of ethnological and linguistic information. Written in rather archaic and learned language, it is quite difficult to read

113
114

nowadays. It is to be hoped that it will be translated by a Bulu of today.

155. Lavignotte, H. L'évur, croyance des Pahouins du Gabon /The Evur, A Belief of the Pahouin of Gabon/. Paris, Société des Missions évangéliques, 1936. 118 pp.

A very full commentary on ngbwel sorcery and methods of protection against it. /146/

156. Leroux, L. G. "Etude sur le ngil, confrérie fan /A Study of ngil, a Fang confraternity/, " Bulletin de la Société de Recherches congolaises, 1925, no. 6.

The author, although thoroughly understanding the judicial and warlike functions of ngil, is in favor of its suppression in the interests of public order.

158. Martrou, L. "L'âme fang après la mort /The Fang Soul after Death/, " Anthropos, VI, 1911.

This bears comparison with the traditions collected by Largeau; Martrou knew the country and the language better, but, like Trilles, his interpretation seems at times to be influenced by his preoccupations as a priest.

159. -----. "Les éki des Fang /Fang éki/. " Münster. Anthropos, I, 1906.

A good study of prohibitions, though far from exhausting the subject.

161. Nassau. Fetishism in West Africa. New York, Young Peoples' Missionary Movement, 1904.

Little information relative to the Fang; the author knew primarily the coastal populations.

165. Trilles, H. "Proverbes, légendes et contes fang /Fang Proverbs, Legends, and Tales/. " Neufchâtel. Bulletin de la Société neufchâtelloise de géographie, Vol. XVI, 1905. 247 pp.

Phonetic transcriptions and translations "omitting what is smutty" (sic). In spite of the cuts this is the most complete collection.

166. -----. Le totémisme chez les Fân /Totemism among the Fang/. Münster i. W., Bibliothèque Anthropos, 1912, 653 pp.

This is Father Trilles' magnum opus. As in all his works, there are, along with subtle and accurate observations, somewhat risky generalizations and surprising lacunae, which may come from a certain professional slant. In spite of these, Father Trilles remains the great authority on the Fang.

113 114 171. Aubame, J. Renaissance gabonaise /Renaissance in Gabon/. Brazzaville, 1947.

A program for clan regrouping of Fang villages put forward by the deputy of the second constituency. /147/

175. Balandier, G. Sociologie actualle de l'Afrique noire, dynamique des changements sociaux en Afrique centrale /The Contemporary Sociology of Black Africa, The Dynamics of Social Change in Central Africa/. Presses Universitaires de France, 1955, 510 pp.

The first part of this work, which is devoted to the Fang of Gabon, contributes a new explanation of the social malaise afflicting the Fang and of the attempts at social reconstruction based on tribal regrouping and syncretist cults. It is the best book on the Fang since Trilles, Largeau, and Tessmann.

180. Celine, L. F. Voyage au bout de la nuit /Journey to Night's End/. Paris, Denoël, 1932.

The same kind of thing as no. 187 and no. 195.

182. Eza Boto. Ville cruelle /Cruel City/. Paris, Editions africaines, n.d., 219 pp.

A good study of the present younger generation, of the attraction of towns and the fear they inspire, and the conflict between generations.

183. Faure, F. Le diable dans la brousse /The Devil in the Bush/. Paris, Société des Missions évangéliques, "Je sers," 1953. 165 pp.

These edifying tales contain a good deal of information about the social and family organization of the Fang of Gabon.

187. Marie-André du Sacré-Coeur, Sister. La condition humaine en Afrique noire /Man's Fate in Black Africa/, Paris, Grasset, 1953. 260 pp., ill.

Notes on marriage in the southern Cameroons, sometimes a bit farfetched. /148/

191. Mongo Beti. Le pauvre Christ de Bomba /The Poor Christ of Bomba/. Paris, R. Laffont, 1956. 370 pp.

A novel concerned with the consequences of Roman Catholic mission activity; often unjust, but indispensable for an understanding of the most recent developments.

113 114 193. Oyono, F. Le vieux nègre et la médaille /The Old Negro and the Medal/. Paris, Julliard, 1957. 209 pp.

Oyono belongs to the tradition of the mvet players, satirical story-tellers, always harsh and often unjust.

195. Schweitzer, A. A l'orée de la forêt vierge /On the Edge of the Virgin Forest/. Paris, Payot, 1929. 231 pp.

Interesting though rather abbreviated comments on the social disorganization of the Pahouin of the Ogooué and of their reactions to culture contact.

196. X....Ekomi, histoire d'un petit Pahouin racontée par lui-même aux enfants d'Europe /Ekomi, The Tale of a Little Pahouin boy, Told by Himself to European Children/. Paris, Société des Missions évangéliques, 1921.

Conveys a moral.

101 The Bosyéba ... are no more numerous than the Bésex.
619 They have been classed perhaps wrongly as a separate people
161 and in my opinion are basically only tribes long detached from the Méké branch, whose distinctive tattooing and little altered language they have preserved. In 1889 when Fourneau reached
[114] the Bosyéba country to the north of the Campo, he saw his porters, recruited in Méké country on the banks of the Ogooué, immediately fraternizing with the Bosyéba and delighted to discover their own tongue after crossing through Bétsi territory. (1)

1. Cf. A. Fourneau, "De l'Ogooué au Campo" [From the Ogooué to the Campo], Bull. Ste. Geogr. Vol. 12 (1891), pp. 190-215.

[One paragraph deleted about an etymology which author considers "incorrect."--Translator]

The Guma, nowadays very few in number, have been driven back towards the Cameroons; they also are related to the Méké branch. Europeans often refer to the people of this whole group by the term "Makina" from ma ki na, "I say that..."; they have, in fact, a habit of starting all their remarks with these words. The Bétsi are called "Mazuna" for the same reason.

3. Size of the Fan Population

161 The Fan are by far the most important branch. It is extremely difficult to estimate their number. Officially they are only a few hundred thousand. But the official figure is far from accurate, for government statistics only count the man who pays taxes. Furthermore, more than half of the French Congo is unexplored except by a few, infrequent

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

ETHNOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE FANG.

By Albert L. Bennett, M.D., F.E.S.

[WITH PLATES XIV. TO XVII.]

CONTENTS.

000
I. Introduction.
II. Physical and Moral Characteristics.
III. Clothing, Ornaments, Painting and Tattooing.
IV. Habitations.
V. Navigation, Hooks, Nets, Fishing, Traps.
VI. Metallurgy, Fire, Machinery.
VII. Customs.
VIII. Inventions, Natural Forms, Conservations.
IX. Ornamentation.
X. Food, Cooking.
XI. Anthropophagy.
XII. Religion, Fetish or Biang (medicine).
XIII. Witchcraft, Cursing Dead Relations.
XIV. The Ngi (a Fang Secret Society).
XV. War, Hostages.
XVI. Hunting Traps.
XVII. Burials.
XVIII. Akôm.
XIX. Abnormalities (Natural Deformities), Albinism, Erythrism, Hermaphrodites, Deformations (Artificial Deformities), A. Facial; B. Dental.
XX. Fang Proverbs and Sayings.

I have the honour to come before you this evening, for the purpose of making known to you the result of my observations while dwelling and labouring among that great and powerful tribe of the Bantu family, known as Fang. In presenting this paper, I do so fully aware of its deficiency; but the information obtained from natives was never accepted nor recorded as authentic, until it had been frequently confirmed by others. I also desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Council of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, for sending me a copy of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, a book which ever proved an invaluable guide and help to me while living among the Fang, and studying their customs.

I.—*Introduction.*

114 The large tribe of people known as Fang inhabiting a considerable portion of the French Congo was first described by Du Chaillu.

167 Records show that in 1867 the French naval officer Admiral Fleuriot de Langle placed the number of Fang within French territory at nearly sixty thousand. Since that time this powerful tribe has rapidly increased in numbers. Between the Ogowe River and the Gaboon, the Fang may be counted by thousands,

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

114 and like a resistless army they are steadily approaching the coast, building towns
167 and displacing weaker tribes. That fine race of people, the Mpôngwes, often spoken of as the "aristocratic tribe," and ranking first in the scale of civilisation above all other tribes in the French Congo, is rapidly dying out, and they are already being supplanted even at Gaboon by the migratory Fang.

The Bulu people inhabiting a portion of the German sphere of influence in
114 West Africa are without doubt very closely related to, if not a direct offshoot from,
197 the Fang; their customs are identical and their language so markedly similar that a person who is able to speak Bulu is readily understood by the Fang. The first
173 day of my arrival among the Fang, after residing in Bululand, I was able to make known the reason for my coming and to ask and answer ordinary questions. While visiting on a small island called Nenge-nenge in the Nkomo River, a very old Fang man told me as follows: When a lad his grandfather had told him that, a long time ago, many of his tribe "changed their towns." These people first travelled far in canoes, and then after journeying for very many days through the forest, they "stopped walking and made new towns," and they did not return. My informant's father had told him later more about these people; they had been heard from, and their long absence from the original tribe had so changed them that "they spoke new words" (a new language).

Examples could be given almost without limit of the great similarity in the
197 language as spoken by the Bulu and Fang. A few will suffice; and I will select
539 from the proverbs of the people which are also identical. Tell a Bulu man to hurry with his work, he will often reply, "*Alu da dayi bel' nnok?*" (Will one day rot an elephant?). The Fang speak the same proverb thus: "*Alu ovoti bel' nnok?*" Again, the Bulu use the words *Melu nyus* (the days that are past), *Melu ozu* (the days that are to come), *Melu messe* (all the days). These sayings and numerous similar ones are in daily use among the Fang, the words used and the idiom being almost identically the same as in Bulu. I have wondered if the account given me by the old Fang man at Nenge-nenge about the people who years ago "changed their towns," might not be of more than passing interest as touching the genesis of the Bulu.

The Fang people are spread over an immense area of country, and when
101 questioned regarding their numbers they usually reply, "There are Fang and Fang; if you walk and sleep in towns and towns for many *moons* (months) you will find Fang." In the future it will be found that in the ethnography of equatorial Africa the Fang will hold a very important place. As before stated they are unquestionably closely related to the Bulu, and Compiègne recognised a marked similarity between them and the Osyeba, Monbutta and Nyamnyam people. There are
563 several scattered tribes of dwarfs among the Fang. Five of these pigmies live within two miles of my station, and they tell me that more of their people will soon "move their towns" and come to live on the banks of the Nkomo river. The Fang people look on the pigmies as a very clever and superior people, and not without good reason. An old headman told me that the *mon ngui* (dwarfs) first

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

Translation.

They put cassava to soak in the river, in a place where there is (plenty of) mud. When it has lain there three days, they go and rub off the rind. They bring it (to the house). They take a trough, and put the cassava in it. They take the mashing stick. They mash the cassava. They wrap it up (in leaves). When they have finished that, they put it in the pot. Then they light the fire. They put the pot of iguma (on the fire). Then the iguma is *boiled.* 252 539

Aso Mfini: (Plantation).

Betata basa leua be dia infini (our fathers did not make plantain villages), *n'afun eto bè* (because their land was near at hand, *i.e.*, near the regular village). *Faň b'anyege infini ne be bidji binne* (Faň likes plantain village to make good food, *i.e.*, because thus they get good food). *Bikoa e djal ine, betok* (Plantains in town have (one) small). *Infini O ne djal mee afun bibè* (Plantain village is a good town (because) land (*i.e.*, good land) near). *Nem ane afan betata benge to bibè* (Like the land where the fathers were near). *B'angège infini, ne dzi bidji binné. Mo'mbok a gouevi betyit: bevok benge ebm* (They like the plantain village (because) there they eat good food. One person kills game (meat) others buy). *Menda infini me vie be ebé* (Houses of plantain villages soon spoil).[1] *Faň, Ba'dji anee mbéa bidiane* (Faň they eat a meal of cassava in the morning). 539 262 311 361

Regarding the *Eki* tabooing certain foods or performance of certain actions as in vogue among the Fang, I learned from a friend and *confrère*, Rev. R. H. Nassau, D.D., M.D., of Gaboon, that the *Eki* of the Fang is precisely similar to the *Orunda* of the Mpongwe. Dr. Nassau is a veteran missionary of thirty-seven years' African experience, and he is always ready to help others who are sufficiently interested in the natives to inquire about them. I know of no one on the West Coast more willing or eminently able than he for imparting information regarding the people among whom he has laboured. 262 114 171

XI.—*Anthropophagy.*

Cannibalism prevails among the Fang beyond question, and only fear of the law keeps him somewhat in check. I am able to speak of the Fang as anthropophagi; not alone from information gathered, but from having once had the opportunity of visiting a town two days after a victim had been killed and eaten. 266 114

This town, named Olunda, is on the right bank of the N'komo river, about 60 miles from the seat of government in the Congo Française. Whilst visiting the town Nenge-nenge (the island of islands) in the autumn of 1898, a native trader named Arkendengi, employed by a British trading house at Gaboon, informed me

[1] It is very true that houses having plantains growing near, soon rot; this is due to the dampness caused by loss of sunlight and heat.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

266 that a man had been killed and eaten only two days before at the town of Olunda
● 114 two miles below Nenge-nenge. Old king Kelun at Nenge-nenge confirmed the report, and in compliance with my request, loaned me an interpreter to accompany me to the place.

The tide being favourable, I decided to start without telling my boat boys the reason for my hasty departure. Olunda is quite close to the river bank, but upon our arrival the water had fallen so low that the only way to reach the town was by wading knee deep in mud up the bank. The people eyed our boat and myself in particular with marked suspicion, and much talking was indulged in during our landing. The headman was the most villainous looking specimen of a Fang I have ever met; he was well built and very muscular, but his face was extremely ugly and brute-like: he had only one eye, and an evil-looking one it was. He wore on his head an old red worsted trade cap, and smoked a dirty native clay pipe.

The object of my visit was well hidden, and we chatted on various matters in the palaver house. When I expressed a desire to walk through the town and treat any of his sick people, the headman said, "No sick here, people all away, let us talk in the *abeg*" (palaver house). However, without giving him any notice I presently left the palaver house and walked out into the main road, and the crowd followed. The headman repeatedly assured me that the town was not worth seeing; but I strolled leisurely along. Half-way through the town I noticed a quantity of intestines strung out to dry on sticks, and to the great annoyance of the headman and people, I made an examination of them which convinced me that they had been removed quite recently from a human body. I was assured that thay were *entrails from a deer* and were being dried for the purpose of covering gourds to hold gunpowder. I then told the people the reports I had heard, also that I knew the intestines then drying were human, and accused them of cannibalism. They were very indignant, and declared, as all Fangs do, that their tribe never eat men. "Oh no, people in the far bush did, only bad Fang did so." A few moments later I picked up a human clavicle in the palaver house and took it away with me, threatening to report the matter to the Government.

In the palaver house of this same town was a boy of about sixteen years, in
[727] chains, held as a hostage. I arranged to return in a few days and try to bring the lad to our mission station, but upon my return I again stopped at Nengi-Nengi, and then heard that the boy had been killed and eaten shortly after my departure.

I am inclined to believe that the reason for eating human flesh by the Fang
266 is the result of a craving for animal food. The victims are generally males captured either in war, or members of other tribes waylaid and killed while journeying in the bush.

A Fang man told me that once he ate "some man" because he was persuaded to, and that it "passed goat far" (much superior to goat). He added, "I never do

1: Tessmann E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

The Fang Peoples, an Ethnographic Monograph on a West African Negro Group
[Die Pangwe, Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes]

By Günter Tessmann

Berlin: 1913
Ernst Wasmuth A.-G.
Volume One

Translated from the German by Richard Neuse

Human Relations Area Files

1959

[Title page]

1: Tessmann--i E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Table of Contents

		Page
Section 4.	Village and Household	1
Section 5.	Economic Activities	47
Section 6.	Food and Indulgents	126
Section 7.	Dress and Ornaments	166
Section 8.	Craftsmanship and Tools	211
Section 9.	Fine Arts	269

1: Tessmann--ii E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

List of Illustrations

/Figs. 1-15 from untranslated section precede the plates at the end of the work/

		Page
Map 1.	. . . . .	xiii
Map 2.	. . . . .	xiv

Fig.

1.	In the Forest near Makonanám, Spanish Guinea	
2.	Fang Youths (Essáuong and Omwang Families), Spanish Guinea.	
3.	Ntum from Akonangi (Essándun Family), South Cameroons.	
4.	Ntum from Bébai (Esseng Family).	
5.	Essun (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.	
6.	Ondo from Angónneuai (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.	
7.	Ntum (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.	
8.	Ndong-Alogo (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.	
9.	Essún-Meko from Alén (Essáuong Family), Spanish Guinea.	
10.	Otschâa-Kénsoo (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.	
11.	Fang (Essátop Family), Spanish Guinea.	
12.	Medicine Man from Ebáangon (Esseng Family), Southern Cameroons.	
13.	Ajíngon, a Fang Girl from Alén (Essáuong Family).	
14.	Fang Woman from Alén (Essáuong Family).	
15.	View of the Settlement of Afáetom (Okõng Family), Spanish Guinea.	
16.	Plan of a Village of the Settlement Nssálang (Essáuong Family), Fang	8
17.	Pangwe Village, Spanish Guinea	11

1: Tessmann--iii E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

List of Illustrations (cont'd)

Fig.		Page
18.	Development of a Village from Individual Establishments	12
19.	Post from a Meeting House in Malén (Essáuong Family), Fang	13
20.	Meeting House in Olanga (Essángbuak Family)	15
21.	Meeting House of a Ntum Village in New Cameroons	16
22.	Piece of Roofing Mat	18
23.	Small Village in the Settlement of Nssálang (Essáuong Family), Spanish Guinea	18
24.	Frame of a House	19
25.	Frame of a Fang Meeting House from the region of Komo (Village of Omvan, French Congo)	20
26.	Cross-section of the Ridge of a House	20
27a.	Ground Plan and Side View of a Meeting House in Majo (Schumu Family)	22
27b.	Ground Plan and Side View of a Meeting House in Mbä (Essákunan Family)	22
28.	Side of a Bench	23
29.	Painted Socle of a Bench in a Meeting House, Fang Region	25
30.	Rifle Rack. Engugumo, Fang	25
31.	Rifle Stands. Owöng (Essandöng Family), Fang	26
32.	Fan for the Fire	26
33.	Meeting House in Nschúggebot (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea, with Decorative Bark Plates	27
34.	Dwelling in Makonanám (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea	28

1: Tessmann--iv E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

List of Illustrations (cont'd)

Fig.		Page
35.	The Door Part of a Dwelling in Olanga (Essángbuak Family), Southern Cameroons	30
36.	Door of a Dwelling in Alén (Essáuong Family)	31
37.	Ground Plan of a Pangwe Dwelling	32
38.	Fang Dwelling	33
39.	Cross-section of a Dwelling from Door to Door	35
40.	Fang Stool	36
41.	Sweepers	38
42.	Dirt Shovel for Cleaning the Meeting House, Ntum	41
43.	Fang Resin Lamp	41
44.	Village of Olanga (Essángbuak Family) Southern Cameroons	43
45.	Canoes on the Nfë (Tributary of the Campo River), New Cameroons	44
46.	Bridge over the Abéa near Makonám, Dry Season	45
47.	Bridge over the Bimfflle, Rainy Season	46
48.	Hoe	50
49.	Ax	50
50.	Bush Knife	50
51.	Fang Women bringing Firewood from the Plantations	51
52.	Plantation of Groundnuts and Miaze near Bébai (Esseng Family), Southern Cameroons	58
53.	Woman from Bébai cracking Ngon in a Cassava Field	62

1: Tessmann--v E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

000

List of Illustrations (cont'd)

Fig.		Page
54.	Cassava Shoot	67
55.	Sugarcane Shoot	69
56.	Plantains (Negro Bananas) and Bananas near Nssälang (Essäuong Family)	72
57.	Sheep, Village of Makonanäm (Ojek Family)	76
58.	Pen for Sheep and Goats in Massóm (Ndong Family), Southern Cameroons	77
59.	Fishing Line	83
60.	Diagram of a Fish Weir in the Abea	85
61.	Short Fish Basket	87
62.	Long Fish Basket for Basket Weirs	87
63.	Diagram of a Basket Weir	87
64.	Basket Trap for Fish	89
65.	Catch Basket for Fish	89
66.	Diagram of a Fish Ditch	92
67.	Framework of a Net Trap for Fish	94
68 and 69.	Fishing with a Net attached to a Scaffolding	95
70.	Spring Traps	98
71.	Rat Trap	100
72.	Ground Noose	103
73.	Antelope Trap	104
74.	Antelope Trap	104
75.	Antelope Trap	106
76.	Potamogale Trap	106
77.	Draw Trap for Antelope	107
78.	Genet Trap	107
79.	Gressor Trap	108
80.	Bird Draw Trap	109
81.	Lemur Trap	111
82.	Lemur Trap	112

1: Tessmann--vi E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

List of Illustrations (cont'd)

Fig.		Page
83.	Francolin Trap	114
84.	Bow Traps	117
85.	Elephant Spear	119
86.	Basket Traps	120
87.	Dog Bell	122
88.	Lure Pipes for Monkeys and Birds	123
89.	Crossbow	125
90.	Hunter with Crossbow	126
91.	Spearhead Knife for cutting up a Slain Person	128
92.	The Cuts of Meat in a Slaughtered Animal	130
92a.	Clay Water Flasks	138
93.	Wooden Plate for pulverizing Irvingia Kernels	138
94.	Shoulder Blade of a Monkey and a Tree Mushroom for cleaning the Grindstone	138
95.	Troughs with Pestles	140
96.	Wooden Trough with Pestle	140
97.	Plantain Peelers	141
98.	Stirring Spoons	143
99.	Calabash Spoons	144
100.	Ornamental Calabash Spoons	144
101.	Snail Spoon	144
102.	Cassava Roll	146
103.	Leaf bent like a Stirrup	146
104.	Ntum Woman pounding Cassava Leaves	149
105.	Men's Ladling Spoons	154
106.	Ntum Man scraping Sugarcane	157
107.	Wooden Tobacco Pipes	162
108.	Bowls for Tobacco Pipes	164
109.	Clay Tobacco Pipes	164
110.	Tobacco planted in a Village Square	165

1: Tessmann--vii E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

600

List of Illustrations (cont'd)

Fig.		Page
111.	Men from Angónneuai (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea	167
112.	Fiber Belts	169
113.	Braided Belt	169
114.	Fang Woman's Back Apron of Bark Cloth	170
115.	Ntum Woman's Back Apron of Raffia Fiber	170
116.	Hair Styles	171
117.	Assoko from Alén (Essâuong Family), Spanish Guinea	173
118.	Ntum making Ornamental Helmet Crests	173
119.	Helmet Caps	174
120.	Hair Ornaments	178
121.	Nose Ornaments	178
122.	Beaded Forehead Bands	180
123.	Necklace of the Fruit of Coix lacryma (Job's-tears)	180
124.	Ntum Woman from Alén (Essandun Family)	180
125.	Necklace of Teeth from Dogs and Monkeys	182
126.	Necklace of Simulated Teeth	182
127.	Pendant of Neck Ornament	182
128.	Pendant of Ebony and Brass Wire	182
129.	Necklace with Eagle's Talon	182
130.	Necklace with Fruit of Chrysophyllum tessmanni Engl.	184
131.	Neck Ornaments	184
132.	Fang (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea	185
133.	Ntum Woman from Akonangí (Essandun Family)	186

1: Tessmann--viii E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

List of Illustrations (cont'd)

Fig.		Page
134.	Arm Band of Palm Strips	187
135.	Braided Arm Band	187
136.	Brass Bracelets	187
137.	Finger Rings	187
138.	Ntum Woman from the Campo Region	189
139.	Combs of Raffia Bast and Wood	191
140.	Razors	191
141.	Two-edged Fang Knives with Sheaths	192
142.	Single-edged Fang Knives	192
143.	Toothbrush	193
144.	Oil Press	193
145.	Extraction of Oil from Fruits of the Oil Palm	196
146.	Cracking Oil Palm Nuts for Oil	198
147.	Scraper for Red Wood	200
148.	Vessels for Red Wood	200
149.	Knife for making Decorative Scars	203
150.	Making the Incision for a Decorative Scar	203
151.	Decorative Scar Artist at Work, Bébai, Spanish Guinea	204
152.	Tattoo Artist at Work, Nikolentángan, Spanish Guinea	207
153 and 154.	Knives for Tattooing	207
155.	Knife for Tattooing	210
156.	Mutilation of a Front Tooth	210
157.	Chisel used on Front Teeth	210
157a.	Removal of Bark from Tree	215
158.	Beaters for Bark Cloth	218
159.	Making Bark Cloth from Bast Layer of Fig Tree	219
160.	Bobbin with String	220
161.	Preparation of Bast from Raffia Palm Leaf	221

1: Tessmann--ix E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

060

List of Illustrations (cont'd)

Fig.		Page
162.	Making String from Gaertnera paniculata	222
163.	Pangwe Knots	223
164.	Mwele Device for hanging Cooking Pots	225
165.	Storage Basket for Groundnuts	225
166.	Women's Hanging Baskets	227
167.	Knife Sheath	231
168.	Small Carrying Baskets	231
169.	Men's Small Carrying Basket with Hide and Bead Decoration	232
170.	Basketwork Bowls of the Mwele	234
171.	Basketwork Plates	234
172.	Stages of a Stool	238
173.	Adz	238
174.	Chisel, Saw, and Awl	241
175.	Making a Ladling Spoon	241
176.	Stages of a Ladling Spoon	241
177.	Spoon Scrapers	242
178.	Making a Powder Flask of Wood	242
179.	Drawknife for Spear Handles	244
180.	Drawknife (and Scraper) for Spear Handles	244
181.	Smelting Hut in Bébai (Schumu Family), Spanish Guinea	248
182.	Sketch of a Smelting Works in Bébai	250
183.	Bellows Workers and Assistant of the Medicine Man, Bébai, Spanish Guinea	256
184.	Smelting Furnace in Bébai (Schumu Family), Spanish Guinea	257
185.	Extracted Iron, Bébai (Schumu Family)	258
186.	Groundplan of a Smithy, Village of Okö, Ntum Region	260
187.	Hammer and Tapping Iron	264
188.	Chisel for Ironworking	264

1: Tessmann--x E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

List of Illustrations (cont'd)

Fig.		Page
189.	Smith's Squirter and Tongs	264
190.	Clay Vessel for Brass Founding	266
191.	Form for a Brass Neck Ring	266
192.	Chisels for the Patterns on Brass Neck Rings	266
193.	Smith decorating a Neck Ring, Akonangi, Southern Cameroons	267
194.	Potter at Work, Bébai (Esseng Family) Southern Cameroons	268
195.	Stamp for a Pattern on Pottery	268
196.	Basic Patterns for Decorative Bark	271
197.	Monitor Lizard Pattern on Decorative Bark Plates	273
198.	Leaf of the Swamp Palm, Sclerosperma mannii	274
199.	Box Pattern on a Decorative Bark Plate	274
200.	Developmental Series of Modified Patterns on Decorative Bark.	277
201.	Leopard and Chameleon Patterns on Decorative Bark Plates	278
202.	Composite Patterns of Bark Decoration	279
203.	Decorative Barks	281
204.	Decorative Barks in the form of Masks	282
205.	Carved Patterns on Stools	282
206.	Checkerboard Pattern	282
207.	Small Storage Basket of Jaunde Women	282
208.	Pieces of Sugarcane Stalk	282
209.	Patterns on Stools	284
210.	Strings of Cowrie Shells	284
211.	Developmental Series of Modified Patterns in Carving	285
212.	Stool Patterns	288
213.	Patterns from Hide Drums	289
214.	Mwai Drum from Malén (Sebo Family), New Cameroons	290

1: Tessmann--xi E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

List of Illustrations (cont'd)

Fig.		Page
215.	Decorative Scars	291
216.	Basic Tattooing Patterns	293
217.	Developmental Series of Modified Patterns of Tattooing	295
218.	Tattoos	299
219.	Tattoos	300
220.	Composite Tattooing Patterns	301
221.	Incised Patterns	302
222a.	Decorations on Brass Neck Rings	303
222b.	Decorations on Foot Covers	304
223.	Decorations on Swords and Battle Axes	305
224.	Pottery Patterns of the Ntum, Fang, and Mwai	306
225.	Drawings on House Walls and Bark Plates	307
226.	Drawings by a Servant of the Author	309
227.	End of a Chief's Stick with a Human Figure	310

1: Tessmann--xii E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

List of Plates

Plate	Page
1. A Fang Youth from Owõng	326
2. Entering the Forest near Makonanám, Spanish Guinea	327
3. Ajóng Boka (Essauong Family), Fang	328
4. Village of Makonanám (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea	329
5. Interior of the Meeting House of Olanga (Essángbuak Family), Ntum Region	330
6. Groundnut, Arachis hypogaea	331
7. Groundnut Plantation with Maize in the background, Ntum Region	332
8. Ngon, Cucumeropsis edulis Cogn.	333
9. Fish from the Campo and Uelle Rivers	334
10. Plants providing Salt	335
11. Sarcophrynium velutinum (Bak.) K. Schum.	336
12. Dwelling in Bebai (Esseng Family) Ntum Region	337
13. Man from Angónneuai (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea	338
14. Fang (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea	339
15. Woman from Bebai (Esseng Family), Ntum Region	340
16. Rattan Palms providing Braiding Material	341
17. Iron Smelting in Bebai (Schumu Family), Spanish Guinea	342
18. Smiths in Bebai (Esseng Family), Ntum Region	344

1: Tessmann--xiii E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

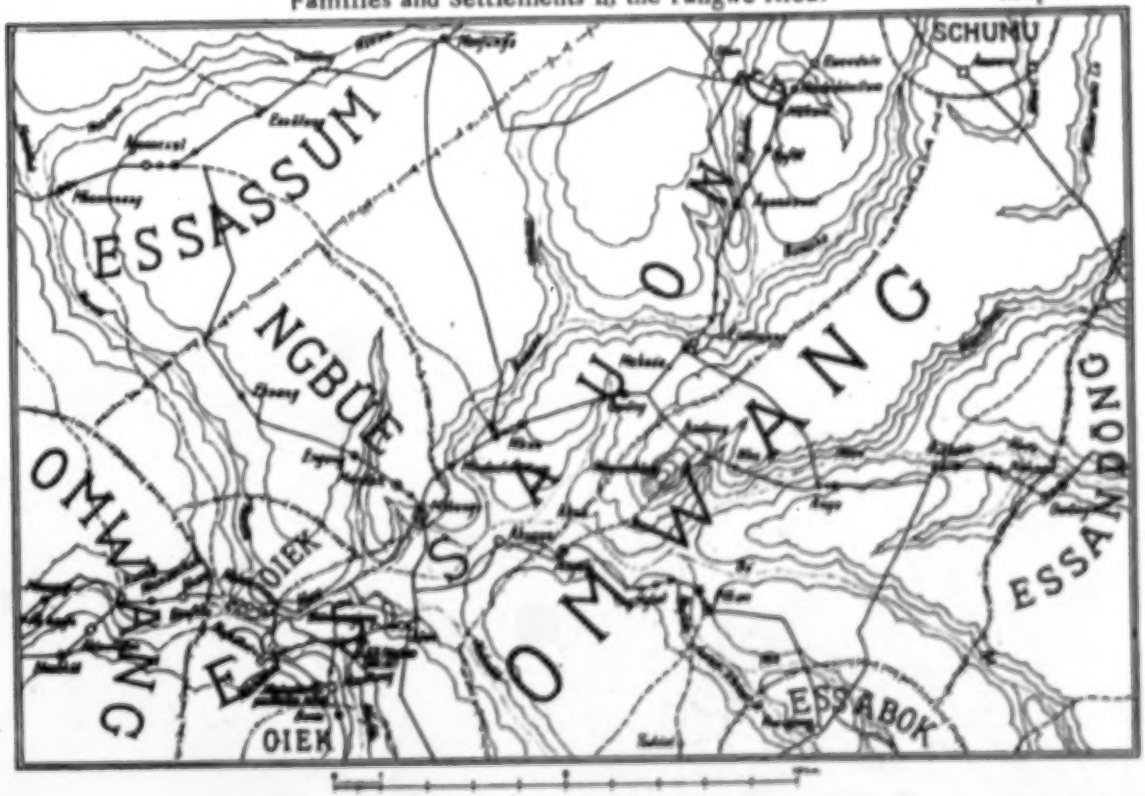
The Pangwe Region

131
496

Map 1.

Map 2

Families and Settlements in the Pangwe Area.



1: Tessmann--xiv E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/51/ Section 4

Village and Household

000 Place names (their derivation and explanation). -- Names of fields. -- Plan of the villages. -- Settlement; development of a settlement into a village; village; significance of the name; growth of the village. -- Provisional meeting houses: plan, form -- Permanent meeting houses: scaffolding; roofing (procedure, material used for rafters and covering); side walls (material, erection, appearance); veranda. -- Interior of the meeting houses: posts; benches; fireplaces; furnishings (gun racks, trophies, and the like). -- Life in the meeting house. -- Dwellings: forms; appearance; door part; door; condition. -- Interior of the dwellings: sleeping benches; lofts and larder; frames with drying boards and baskets; hooks; stools; brooms. -- Raffia palm: kinds; names; uses. -- Storage houses; guest houses; field huts; houses for the sick. -- Houses on piles. -- Illumination: hearth fire; torches; lamp; mushroom torches; fire making. -- Village square (appearance, cleanliness). -- Toilet. -- Ornamental plants. -- Trade routes. -- Trade by water. -- Bridges.

101 In the large, jungle-covered Pangwe region /Ed., the author
361 uses Pangwe /Fang/ as the name for a group of tribes in which the Fang are one tribe; the others are the Eton, Mwele /Mvele/, Jaunde /Yaunde/, Bene /Bane/, Bulu, Ntum, Mwai /Mvae/, and Mokuk (Oschfieba)/ the settled areas are scattered like oases in the desert. They are unevenly distributed, and their greatest concen-
[48] tration is along the line of the main trade routes which cross the region for the most part in an east-west direction.

103 The place names are usually connected with either prominent landmarks of the natural environment, objects, events, experiences, or characteristics of the inhabitants. Thus, we have the following names.

(a) From palm trees.

103 824 1. Niescham from a nī = lay, žǎm = swamp, raffia palm, that is to say, the village is located where there are raffia palms, the most important plant for house construction.

2. Mabäscham from a bē = follow, žǎm = swamp, raffia palm.

3. Makoda from akōda (plural, makōda) = swamp palm, Sclerosperma mannii, Mann et Wendl., used like raffia for house construction.

4. Nkan from nkǎn(e) = Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc., climbing palm, used for plaiting.

5. Mekan, the same, plural.

6. Nsamenkan from žǎm (nžǎm) = swamp, swamp of the climbing palm Ancistrophyllum.

7. Alen from alǎn = oil palm.

8. Malen, the same, plural

(b) From cultivated plants.

9. Matumabai from atū (plural, matū) = taro, Colocasia antiquorum (L.) Schott, and mabai = two; thus, two taros. /52/

10. Bekaba from ekǎba (plural, bekǎba) = Xanthosoma violaceum Schott.

11. Emäangon from a mē ngǒn = scatter ngon /a squashlike ground fruit/, that is, for drying in the village square.

(c) From edible wild fruit or fruit trees.

12. Essun from esǔn = fruit of the cardamom, Aframomum alboviolaceum K. Sch.

13. Madschab from madžǎb - oil from Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl.

14. Fan from fǎ'ne = fruit of the Anacardiacea Sorindeia rubriflora Engl. (afǎ'ne).

15. Abe from abē = kola nut and tree, Cola acuminata (P. Beauv.).

103 824

16. Andok from andǒk = Irvingia barteri Hook. f., Simarubaceae. Mandok.
17. Nkoandok from nkǒk = fallen tree trunk, that is, of the Irvingia.
18. Ngong from ngǒ̄ḿ IV = fruit of the Trichoscypha sp. (engǒ̄d).
19. Alöb from alǒ̄b = Desbordesia glaucescens Engl. (Simarubaceae).
20. Mangame from mangǒ̄me III = Myrianthus arboreus P.B. (Moraceae), perhaps also the symbol of agreement, taken from syncarp.

(d) Derived from other trees.

21. Akak from akǎk = Leptonychia tessmannii Engl., Sterculiacea, the tree of peace, the peace linden.
22. Makak, the same, plural.
23. Nkomakak or Nkolemakak from nkō[l] = hill, that is, hill of Leptonychia trees (makak).
24. Abang (Abanga) from abǎ̄ḿ = species of Ficus, particularly used in the manufacture of bark cloth.
25. Mabang (Mabanga), the same, plural.
26. Akam from akǎm = several species of large Ficus, for instance, F. preussii Warb. and laurentii Warb., striking trees used for the manufacture of cloth.
27. Ajo, Jusch (Ajusch) from ayǎ̄J = Triplochiton tessmannii, used especially for the manufacture of house coverings.
28. Majo (Majusch), the same, plural.
29. Nkolemajo = Nkolajo, from nko[l] = hill of Triplochiton.
30. Owöng from ovǒ̄n = Copaifera tessmannii Harms, famous spirit tree, largest tree of the Fang region.
31. Awöngabai, two Copaifera (abai = two).
31a. Ndschiowöng from ndzǎ̄l = bridge, bridge of Copaifera.
32. Elun from elǔn = Erythrophloeum guineense Don. (Leguminosae), striking because of its red bark, a poisonous tree.
33. Belun, plural.
34. Ejen (Elibengang) from eǰen, elī behgǎh = Distemonanthus benthamianus Baill., striking because of its beautiful violet-red bark; a medicine tree.

103 824 35. Andung from andŭh = Croton welwitschianus Muell. Arg. (Euphorbiac.), beautiful by virtue of its shining silvery leaves.

36. Akom from akǒm = Terminalia superba Engl. and Diels. /53/

37. Makom (Makomo), the same, plural.

38. Nkoakom from nkok = fallen tree trunk, that is, of the Terminalia.

39. Engo from engō', an unidentified tree.

40. Akoga from akǒga = Lophira alata Banks, with beautiful, fragrant blossoms.

41. Makoga, the same, plural.

42. Assam from asǒm = Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg., with a rich, fragrant cover of blossoms.

43. Massam (Massama), the same, plural.

44. Angok from angǒk = Albizzia brownei Oliv., a beautiful tree.

45. Dum from dum = Ceiba pentandra (L.) Gärtn.

46. Medschimitum from mdezī = roots, and tǔm = Piptadenia africana Hook. f.

47. Asseng or Assöng from asǒń = umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br.

48. Massöng, the same, plural.

49. Nkoassöng from nkok = fallen trunk of the umbrella tree.

(e) From characteristics of the landscape.

103 823 50. Ngbai from ngbǎī = leafless living tree (its winter condition).

51. Mekumu from nkūm I = standing dead tree trunk without a crown.

52. Ndangöng from ndǎngǒń = clearing.

53. Ewöle from eyǒle = clearing.

54. Nko from nkō = hill.

55. Anko = at the hill.

56. Akok from akōk = stone, rock.

57. Makok, the same, plural.

58. Maschok from maǰǒk = rapids, falls.

103 825 (f) Derived from animals or parts of animals.

59. Schok from ǰǒk = elephant.

103 825 60. Mbang, and 61, Mbangschok from mbǎ̰n = ivory, and zǒk from elephant.

62. Mboleschok from ebɔ̄[l] = spoiled, that is, spoiled elephant.

63. Akuleschok from aku[l] = feet of animals, feet of the elephant.

64. Nnoschok = Nloschok from nlɔ̄′, nnɔ̄′ = head, head of the elephant.

65. Abumeschok from abǔm = belly, belly of the elephant, because they had eaten up the village plantation.

66. Bindeme from indɛ̄m V = fruit bat.

67. Böngomo from ongɔ̄mo III = chimpanzee.

68. Akulangomo from akū[l] = feet, claws of the chimpanzee.

69. Ebóloua (1) from ebɔ̄[l] -o-wǭ = spoiled matter of the chimpanzee, spoiled chimpanzee.

1. The official spelling is Ebolowa. For the sake of consistency I write Ebóloua, since by 'w' in German spelling I denote only labial sounds.

70. Akuasö from akū′a = animals' lair, zɔ̄ = leopard.

71. Olamesö from olǎm = trap or snare, zɔ̄ = leopard.

72. Ewes from eyɛ̄s = bone. /54/

73. Bojabúnkulu from boyá = little wives (plural), bo = of, (n)kū[l]u = turtles; thus, the little wives of turtles.

74. Bebass from ebǎ̰s = scale; the inhabitants of this place probably eat a lot of fish.

(g) From objects.

103 75. Ntum from ntǔm = walking stick.

76. Ebai from ebai = strands taken from the stalk of a raffia leaf, used for house construction.

77. Bebai, the same, plural.

78. Ngam from ngǎm = barbed hook on a spear.

79. Bebada from ebǎ̄da = carrying baskets used by men.

(h) Derived from experiences or characteristics of the inhabitants.

80. Bissis from isīs V = he who represents the shadow in the moon cult.

81. Elanga from elǎ'ń actually = the anus or, metaphorically, bad people.

82. Ekekō from a ke ekekǒ = stay away completely, because strangers were seized and killed and they did not come back.

83. Esamedulu from a zǎmǎdǔlú = to carry on shamefully, that is, to have sexual relations with a woman of the same family.

84. Nssälang from nsɛ̄n = village square, and elǎ'n (see under 81); the people committed immoral acts, acts of hostility, whenever a stranger passed through.

85. Bilänemajong from a bɛ̂ne, bigne = not to be afraid of someone, that is, to have no respect, and mayon = families; the people have no respect for the members of other families.

86. Ajaofun from a ńǎ or nja = to feed oneself, and fūn = maize.

87. Akinebetom from a kīne = to converge (by running) upon one place, and etǒm = quarrel; the people come running to one place in order to start a quarrel.

88. Olunemang from olūn = annoyance or anger, and mǎn = coast; the people had been annoyed about the inhabitants of the coast - perhaps Whites; or it was on account of the distance.

89. Ngba from ngbǎ' = quiet, peaceful people (in contrast to 82).

90. Massambe from a sǎ mǎ tǎn = to fish with a net.

91. Nschugebot from nzuge = to talk all at the same time, and ɔ̄t = people; there are many people who talk there.

92. Euuma from a wū'mǎn = to have a relapse in an illness.

93. Awomo from a yǒ'mǒ = to faint; this name, like the previous one, alludes to the entanglements of these frontier villages between Ntum and Bulu.

94. Nnoajong from nnǒ' = the head, and ayǒn = family; thus, the "chief representative" of the kin group.

95. Ajene from a yɛ̄n = to see, referring to the mountains that are visible from the village, "Montevideo."

103 96. Ntedenga from ntĕt = hundred, and ngä = rifle; a hundred, thus, an infinite number, of rifles. /55/

97. Makunanam or Makonanam from akŭn = post, pillar, and nnăm = the locality; that is, a locality which stands as firm as a post.

98. Ndschiabot from ndzĕi = bridge, and bōt = people; that is, a bridge for people.

99. Ejamang from a yăk = to stay the night, and a măn = on the way to the coast; thus, one of the few villages favorable to travel and progress.

100. Ajaamentangan from a yăk = to rest, and mentangan = Whites.

101. Akunekiä from akŭn = post, pillar, stake, and ekiĕi, of iron (compare 98).

102. Ebualebambe from a bŭele = to be broken in pieces, and mbămă III = large village; the houses were extremely dilapidated.

103. Niemajong from a nĭĕ = to put inside, and mayŏn = family unit; that is, the village had been established between villages of other kin groups.

104. Ndschobangon from dzŏb = sky, and ngŏn = moon; thus, moonlit sky.

105. Olŏadzob from olŏi = hole, and dzŏb = sky; a hole in the sky (probably between the clouds).
/Fig. 16. appears here in the original text. /

Aside from place names, the Pangwe also have names for fields. For instance, in the environs of the settlement Alén (Essauong) there are the following: enumepfidi = powder path; nsa[k]-abea = abea swamp forest. There are only a few special names for mountains, for instance, Nemembŏng = good heart (see the map); usually the names of mountains and mountain ranges are borrowed from those of the neighboring settlements. According to the statements of the present inhabitants, the names of rivers for the most part can no longer be explained, because, as the inhabitants claim, these names were taken over from the former inhabitants of the region. The same would seem to apply in part also to the place names.

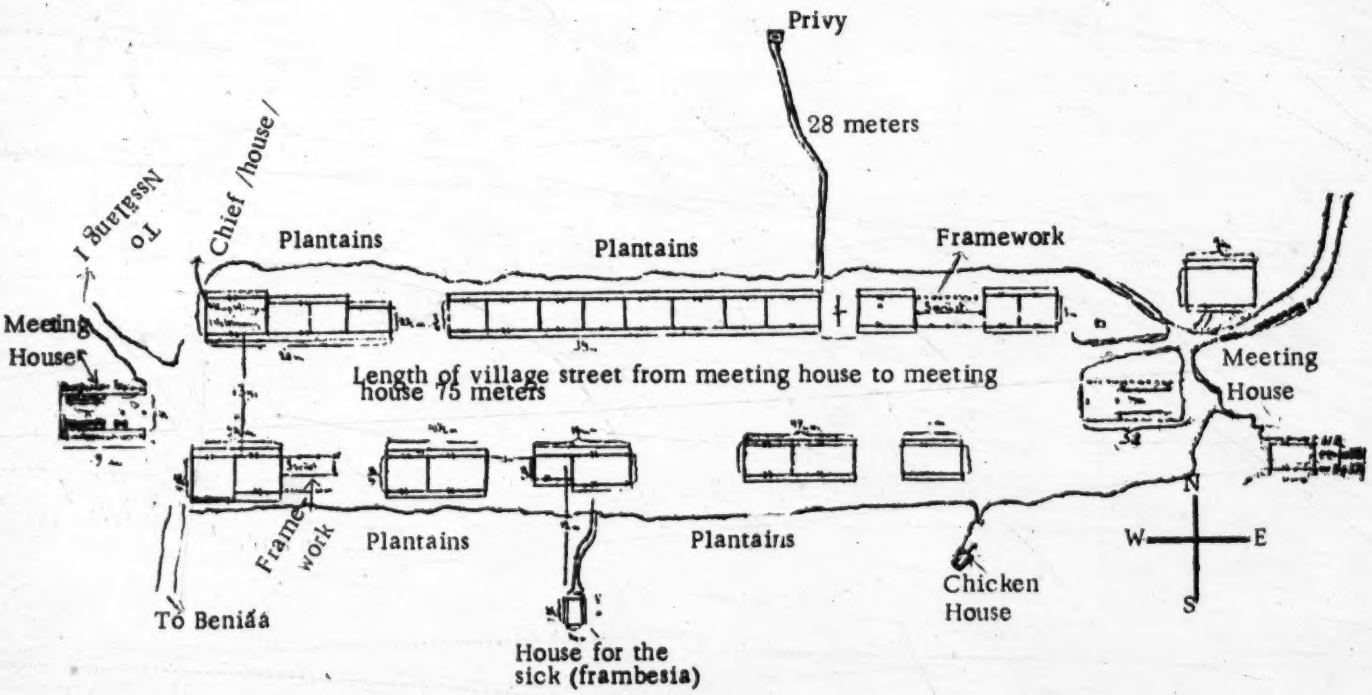


Fig. 16. Plan of a Village of the Settlement Nssälang (Essauong Family) Fang. Made in 1908.

361 As was mentioned in the previous section /not translated/, the
823 villages are laid out along the roads and always in an east-west direction (cf. Fig. 16). /56/ Curiously enough, the people gave as the reason for this arrangement the fact that the land slopes down to the west (toward the ocean) and that the rain water can run off in this direction. It is true, of course, that this point is an important consideration inasmuch as they are careful to lay out the village in such a way that the rain water will not flood one of the rows of huts. Nevertheless, this cannot be the sole reason for the east-west arrangement. I have observed that even on completely level ground -- which, in other words, does not favor the drainage of water in the direction intended -- the east-west plan was the
[487] preferred one. When, for instance, a route goes south, it will make a turn before reaching the village, cross the latter in an east-west direction, and at the other end will resume its southerly direction (cf. Fig. 16, the Nssälang I-Beniaa route). It is obvious that in this arrangement reasons other than the one mentioned play a part, such as the general trek to the west of which mention has already been made in the previous section (1).

[764] 1. Compare also the predominantly east-west direction of the graves.

361 A Pangwe village consists mostly of two rows of houses running parallel to each other with the road between them (Plate 4 and Fig. 16). More rarely, a village consists of a single row of houses along the road. Furthermore, villages come into being through the combination of two or more individual establishments, and as a result different villages display different stages of development, observable everywhere side by side in the region.

If the father of a family wants to found an establishment, he
361 builds two houses, a dwelling and a meeting house /men's house/.
572 The dwelling is the real domain of the wife, where she works and
61 lives with her children and where the man for the most part stays only at night, very rarely in the daytime. The meeting house, on the other hand, is the usual haunt of the man, where he busies himself during the day, performs his incidental tasks, and receives visitors and where the wife comes only now and then. As the

361 children grow up, their father builds each one a house of his own
572 next to the original dwelling. In the same way, each of his addi-
621 tional wives receives her own house from him. His first wife, how-
ever, remains his favorite wife, and consequently it is her house --
in other words, the one that he built first and which is adjacent to
the meeting house -- which remains his home. He keeps it even
after the death of the wife.

The next step in the development toward a village takes place when, for some reason or other, a second head of a family joins his establishment to that of the first. This happens, for instance, when a member of the same or of another family unit moves in, or when after the death of the father the eldest son inherits his meeting house, dwellings, and wives, and the younger son is unwilling to submit to his older brother who is now also his chief. He or the new arrival, as the case may be, builds the necessary number of houses for himself and his family along the same row. Sometimes he may even build his houses directly /57/ /Fig. 17/ adjacent to the existing houses, and he will likewise finish off his settlement with a meeting house protruding from the line. If the meeting house is a temporary one, it is placed lengthwise in the square (see Fig. 16); if it is a permanent one, it is placed transversely (see Plate 4).

In this way, a "village" arises from the original individual establishment, and because, like a pair of eyes (dźīs; plural, mīs), it consists of two halves (Fig. 18), the village is called dźā, plural mā (see what has been said about the meaning of prefixes /not translated/. There are, thus, two family heads in each village; their rows of houses join somewhere in the middle, with a boundary line which is recognizable, of course, only to the initiated. Everyone, however, can see the two meeting houses (belonging to the two heads of family) located on opposite sides of the village square.

The two family heads are legally equals. Certain conditions, however, which we shall discuss more fully in a later section, give one of the heads a position of slight superiority. Sometimes a third establishment is added to the two individual establishments constituting the village, and it also has adjoining rows of houses as well as a meeting house (see Fig. 18).

361 As has been said, the meeting house is the principal haunt of
621 the chief; in the same way it serves all his sons, male relatives,
344

361
342

Fig. 17. Pangwe Village, Spanish Guinea.

361 and followers who help him with its construction and have a perma-
621 nent right to its use; /58/ /Fig. 18/ hence, the relational prefix
344 a in abā, "meeting house"; hence probably also the Janus head which I saw on the post of a meeting house (cf. Fig. 19). The stem of the word a-bā I derive from ba, "to divide, to share" (1), and I

1. The same stem exists in the numeral two (bai), which is clearly the result of the division of one object.

believe that it was originally intended to designate the place where the game that had been killed was divided. The meeting house is now the place for all public transactions, from the dividing of meat to judicial proceedings, public deliberations, and the reception of strangers.

621 Sometimes the meeting house constructed when the establish-
622 ment was founded remains permanently in a temporary state; it
344 remains unfinished because the people are too lazy -- each one thinks the other should start first -- and the chief lacks the power

/58/

361

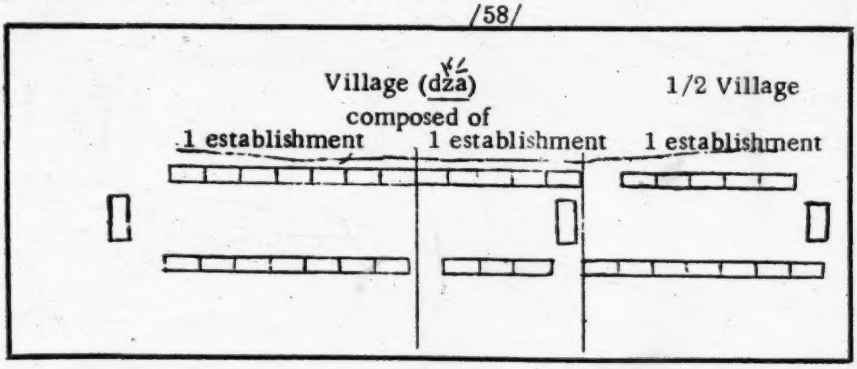


Fig. 18. Development of a Village from Individual Establishments.

621 to force his people to complete it. At one time, for instance, the chief
622 of the village Nssälang (Fig. 23 shows one of the temporary meeting
344 houses of that village) made the proposal to me -- a proposal which I, of course, gratefully declined -- that I should either force his people, or make my people available, to build a new meeting house for him. Then, as he put it, everybody would say: "This chief of the Whites is quite a fellow; you can tell that a White lives near his village." At best, the chief's people bring him some roofing mats for the construction and in this way believe they have fulfilled their duty toward the community project. The actual work is always up to the chief. Even so,
[623] the house does not thereby become his property; rather, in each case it is the common property of the men. When the chief says, "It is my meeting house," they are not affected by his statement. The Pangwe
461 avoids anything and everything that might disturb him in his customary
339 peace and comfort; he shies away from work and lets things run their course:

ź̄ǫ[k] e tsídan ebēí-asḗi, a ve oa
Elephant, he frightened away (from) pit-iron-stone, he gave you

até́i, a nī oa adźīt
poverty, he took (from) you heaviness. /59/

That means: The elephant that frightened you away from an iron-stone pit, made you poor, it is true, but at the same time he relieved you of a burden (namely, that of preparing the iron).

344 In some cases, difficulties (such as tree stumps, roots, and
461 the like) were encountered in preparing the building site at the customary place. As a result, the meeting house would be constructed to one side within the row of houses, though in a transverse position (see Fig. 44). Later, "they" frequently did

[532]

Fig. 19. Post from a Meeting House in Malén (Essauong Family), Fang.

not get around to replacing this building by a new one in the right location, however fervently the chief might desire it on behalf of the people. When they did get around to building a new meeting house, the old one was frequently not torn down right away but continued to be used along with the new one.

344 In form, the meeting house (Fig. 20 and 21) has a gabled roof and a square or rectangular ground plan. I have already mentioned the custom of the Pangwe, when they start a new settlement, to content themselves with hastily constructed temporary meeting houses (ongǒ̀n e ngī). Only later, when

344 the economic life of the settlement has attained a certain stability, are the temporary meeting houses replaced by permanent ones (tsĕhană' III) -- although, as we have seen, in some cases they are not replaced. It is this process of gradual settlement which is responsible for certain variations in the forms of the meeting houses, variations which at the same time afford a picture of their development. The simplest houses (see Fig. 110) are basically mere sheltering roofs: a ridgepole is placed on top of two, sometimes three, posts forked at the top (akŭn) and about two meters high. These posts are planted deep in the ground which has first been cleared and then made level and smooth. Raffia stalks, bent in the middle, are placed on top of the ridgepole at varying intervals. These serve as rafters (see Fig. 24 f.), the lower ends of the stalks resting directly on the ground, that is, without any support. The rafters are covered with matting made of raffia pinnae. These mats, eše i (Fig. 22), are made in the following manner. Several sticks are planted in the ground; to these are attached diagonally two long rods of raffia stalk (a), and over these rods is placed a pinna broken in the middle (b). This pinna is clamped together just below the diagonal rods by means of pieces of bark taken from raffia leafstalks. A second pinna (c) is placed alongside the midrib of the first pinna and attached to the latter in the same fashion. Then follows the third pinna, and so forth, until the desired length of several meters has been attained. The mats are attached to the rafters by being placed on top of each other, like tiles on a roof. /60/

A second form of the meeting house (Fig. 23) arose in the following manner from the one described. Because of the rotting of the rafter ends on the moist ground, as well as frequent visits by all kinds of disagreeable reptiles, it was found necessary to raise the rafters somewhat by placing beams under them. These beams are either unhewn trunks and logs or timbers that have been split lengthwise. The latter are usually placed with their cut side turned outward and piled on top of each other between several pairs of vertical posts planted in the ground. The roof lies loosely on the topmost of these timbers. This provides the start for a house wall. In addition to the motives already mentioned, another

344

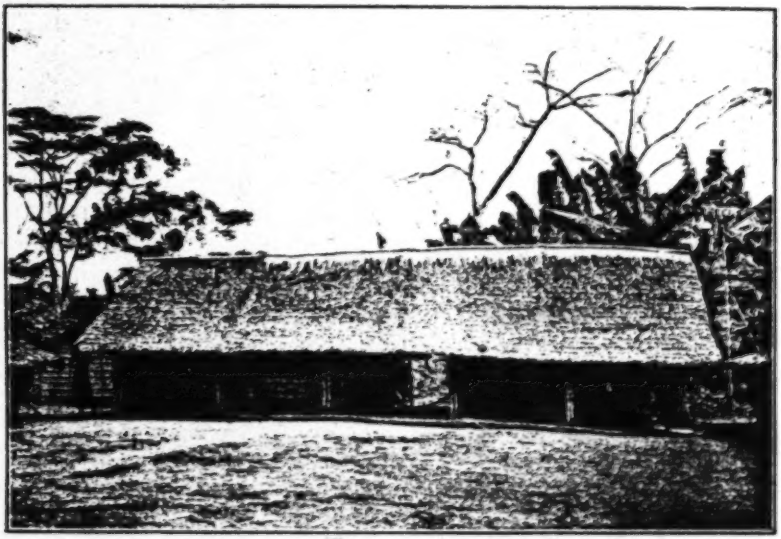


Fig. 20. Meeting House in Olanga (Essángbuak Family).

consideration plays a role, namely, in case of a sudden enemy attack the walls afford better protection against hostile spears than the simple slanting roofs.

In the case of the better permanent meeting houses, wall and roof are more carefully constructed. The main difference, however, is that these houses never face the village square with the gabled end, but with the long side. It is, accordingly, through this side that one enters the house.

As is the universal practice, they first erect the frame, a task which is accomplished in a comparatively short period of time. This frame corresponds in all its parts to that of the temporary meeting house, except that it is taller and wider (Fig. 24). The ridgepole (mbǔn I) b rests on the main posts (abǔm) a placed along the long axis -- of /61/ which there are from two to five depending on the size of the meeting house. The skeleton of the front and back walls consists of a row of wall posts (mvi IV) c that are sharpened to a point at the top. As a molding (mfǎs I) e, a raffia stalk split down the middle is placed on top of the pointed posts and pressed down on them by hammering or pulling. Then the rafters f, as previously described, are placed over the ridgepole and made to project a certain distance beyond the moldings.

/61/

344

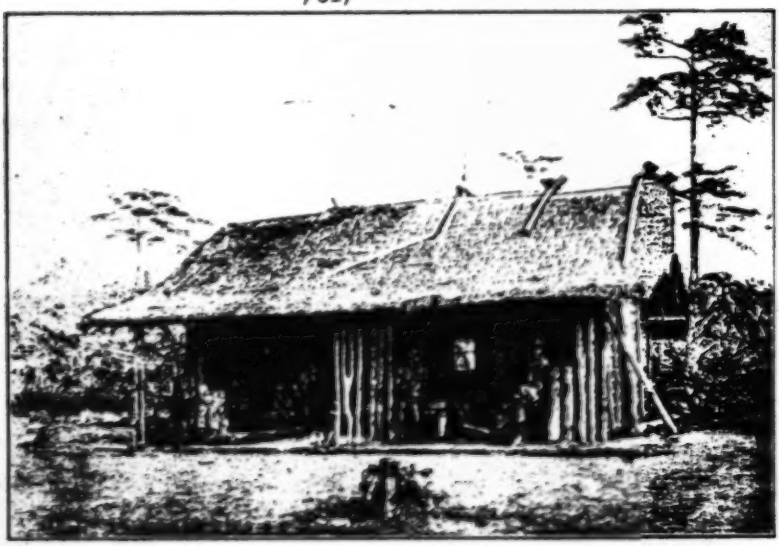


Fig. 21. Meeting House of a Ntum Village in New Cameroons.

The two outermost rafters rest on the posts that form the frame of the side wall (mvi, esu) d. Then the roof is covered (Fig. 26), a project which requires more labor than the frame and is carried out with much greater care than in the case of the temporary meeting houses. First, the rafters (ntu ɛ n I) f are clamped down by means of a bracket made of raffia (obibi) g, the bracket being placed on top of the rafters parallel to the ridgepole and tied to the roof beams. In a similar fashion, displacement of the rafters at the lower ends is prevented by means of two brackets running along their top and under sides. I observed a variant mode of construction of meeting houses by the Fang in the region of the Komo (Fig. 25). There the ridgepole was not supported at its free ends, but had been anchored in the ground by means of liana ropes and had been bent downward by tightening the strings.

At this point the mats are placed on top of each other like tiles. This is done from the top, and the process begins slightly below the ridgepole with mat k /62/ (see Fig. 26) and goes downward or, as the case may be, from below upward. The mats are tied either to every second rafter or to their own supporting ropes (mbɛyá-eɛ i) which run from the ridgepole to the raffia strip

344 that holds together the rafter ends. A less common procedure is to place brackets diagonally on top of the rafters and fasten the mats to them. Finally the ridgepoles itself is covered. For this purpose two roofing mats (obū't, elā̄t-ēsē i) h are sewed together at their upper edges and are placed as the topmost layer /Fig. 22 appears here in the original text/ over the ridgepole. For protection, a special ridgepole mat (ngŭ'm IV) i is placed on top of the other mats; it consists of a mat bent in the middle which is clamped to the double mat by means of pegs made of the bark of raffia stalks l.

In those areas where there is no raffia, rafters are made from the leafstalks of oil palms (as in Yaoundé /Ger., Jaunde/) or from little tree trunks. /Fig. 23 appears here in original text/ /63/ In [B24] place of mats, the leaves of Sarcophrynium velutinum (Bak.) K. Schum. (okĭāikūi) -- see Plate 11 -- and of the swamp palm, Sclerosperma mannii Mann et Wendl. (akō'da), are used, as well as banana leaves to cover the gaps. This substitute for mats is not very durable and is laborious to manufacture since roof laths are continually needed to fasten down the leaves and it is necessary to place Aframomum stalks very closely together from the ridgepole to the edge of the roof; otherwise, the leaves either stretch or are blown off. The durability of a roof covered with swamp palm leaves is so limited that it stays in good condition for only a year, as the people told me, whereas a mat roof holds out for five years before repairs become necessary. /Fig. 24 appears here in the original text. / A roof covered with Sarcophrynium leaves, moreover, looks quite unattractive, especially from the inside where the leaf stems which are cut off near the blade extend into the house.

Once the roof is completed, work on the side walls begins. The material for these is the bark of certain trees whose names are mentioned in the discussion of bark crafts (Section 8, page 213), the leaves of swamp palms and Sarcophrynium, both of which are used more often for the gable walls, and finally strips of raffia pith and mats. The latter, however, are used only sparingly here because of their many small spikes.

/62/

342
344

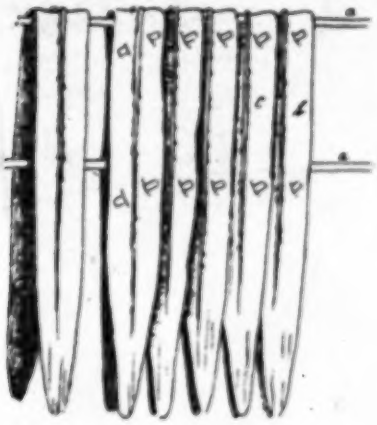


Fig. 22. Piece of a Roofing Mat at the Beginning of its Construction.

361
342
344

Fig. 23. Small Village in the Settlement of Nsälang (Essäung Family), Spanish Guinea.

342
344

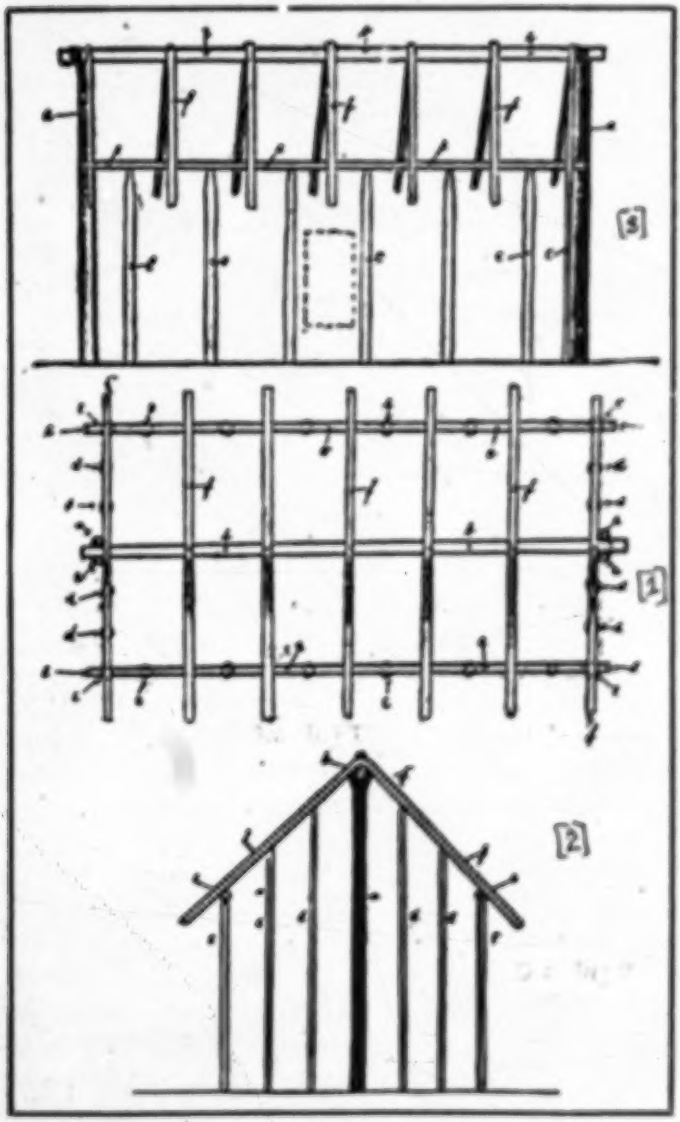


Fig. 24. Frame of a House.
Drawing 1, from above; drawing 2, from the front; drawing 3, from the side.

374 The pieces of bark, one to two meters long and approximately a half meter wide, are attached to the frame in the following manner. To the inner side of the wall posts longitudinal

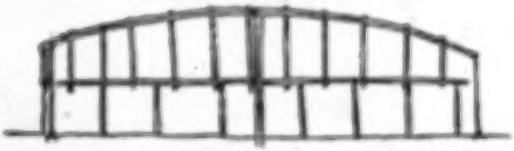


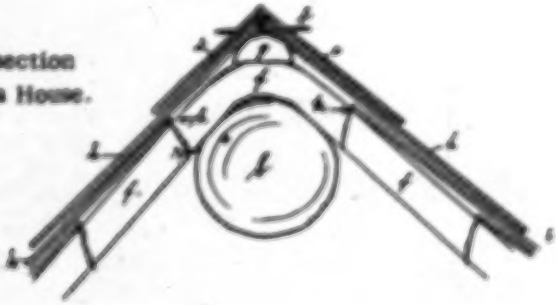
Fig. 25. Frame of a Meeting House of the Fang from the Region of Komo (Village of Omvan, French Congo). Cross-Section Lengthwise.

strips of raffia leaf stems (ebat) are /64/ attached by means of boards at certain distances from each other, and to these the bark pieces are fastened by means of raffia strips which run exactly parallel to the boards. The posts, therefore, usually stand outside the house, very rarely within it. The bark pieces
584 and raffia strips are held together by bands of Oncocalamus (nloh I = 824 Oncocalamus and band) (1) -- see Plate 16 -- and they are

[738] 1. The Jaunde buy this "bush rope" from Elandi, the only place in the Jaunde region where bush rope is still available; otherwise they use Dipteropeltis poranoides Hallier f. (atu k)e ndik).

finished by two people working together in the following manner. One of them crouches inside the house, the other outside, and

Fig. 26. Cross-section of the Ridge of a House.



344 [412] they pass the band back and forth through the wall. For drilling holes into the bark pieces, they use an awl (nsoń I). Just as we hammer nails in a straight line, the Pangwe also must fasten the various longitudinal strips in precise lines (see Fig. 35). In the case of raffia mats, because of the little spikes that have been mentioned (the same, incidentally, also frequently applies to the bark pieces), the laths are usually placed so closely one on top of the other that very little or nothing of the mats remains visible (as in Fig. 33). In the same manner as the bark, the pieces of raffia pith are held fast between the boards; strips of pith are placed next to each other from top to bottom, and at longer intervals they are tied to the boards.

The treatment of the walls varies greatly, except that the gable walls are always completely closed. The rear wall, which is never absent, usually has a few window openings, one in the middle in the form of a square or a rectangle and one on each side in the form of a horizontal, longitudinal slit. /Fig. 26 appears here in the original text. / /65/ The central opening is commonly used as both window and door, but it is so small that it requires some skill to squeeze through it. At the same place, however, there may be doors in our sense of the term, which extend to the ground and may or may not have a threshold.

The front wall may be identical with the back wall /Fig. 27 appears here in the original text/ (in other words, it is closed except for window openings on either side and in the middle); it may be only half as high; it may be no more than a parapet or a trellis made of raffia stalks; or, finally, it may be lacking on one side or be completely absent.

The roof is frequently made to project in front to such an extent that /Fig. 27b appears here in the original text/ /66/ a covered veranda is formed, held up by a few posts (omyimyi,); sometimes the front area is closed off in front or at the sides by a parapet or trellis. A wooden beam which serves as a threshold prevents the rain that drips off the roof from running into the house (1).

1. When the house has been completed, the soil inside is usually moistened, and for a few days banana leaves are placed on it so the ground may become "strong," as they say.

Drawing 1 /65/

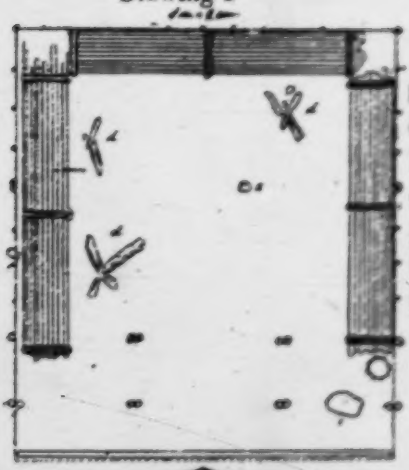


Fig. 27a. Drawing 1. Ground Plan of a Meeting House in Majo (Schumu Family): a, main post; b, skin drum; c, whetstone; d, fireplaces.

Drawing 2. Side view.

Drawing 2

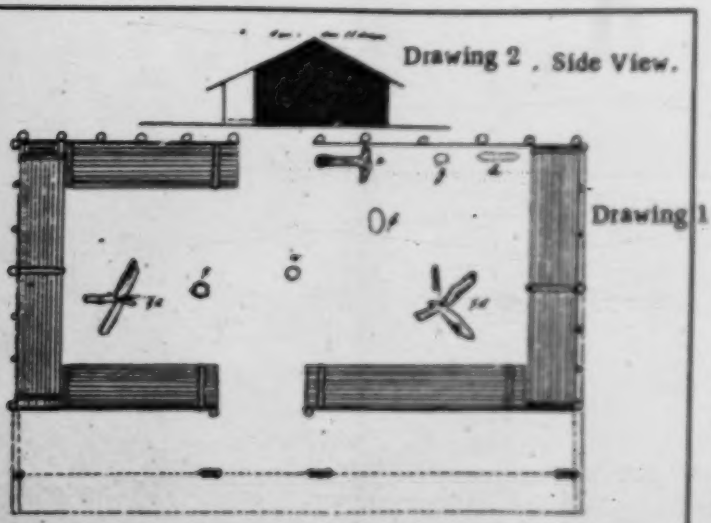


Fig. 27b. Drawing 1. Ground Plan of a Meeting House in Mbā (Essikunan Family): a, main post; b, forge; c, bellows; d, nets for wild game (c and d are hanging); e, anvil (stone); f, fireplaces; g, seat (tree stump); h, wooden drum.

344 532 The interior of the house (Plate 5, Fig. 27a and 27b) consists of a single empty room, broken only by the isolated posts (the central supports of the ridgepole). In some cases I observed that these posts were handsomely carved, but only in houses with one central post. The carvings showed stylized or modified human figures (Fig. 19) and quite faithful representations of animals. I recall, for instance, a very beautiful post on which was pictured a pig biting the tail of a leopard, which I saw in the village of Bingomo (Abâi family).

344 352 [344] Along the walls there are low benches of which I have seen two different types. The simplest benches, hence the ones designed more often for temporary meeting houses, consist of the trunks of umbrella trees (Musanga) which have been split lengthwise down the middle or of raffia stalks which have simply been placed across two shelves of the same wood (kū'dū III). The same kind of bench is always found in places where there is no raffia and also in huts that serve as lodgings for guests. The second type of bench (see Fig. 28 and 29) is a rectangular frame of raffia stalks (enǒn) split lengthwise down the middle; its narrow side consists in each case of two legs (a = akōkǒ'nǒk) with pointed pins (c = mbǒn -ak. I Fang, ǒn Jaunde) which pierce and hold together four layers, placed on top of each other: the lowest, a wooden ledge, and then three raffia stalks. The wooden ledge (b = ǒmé'ja-enǒn) has a central section cut out for the support of nine or more stalks (e) wedged into it, which constitute the seat of the bench; the three raffia stalks (d = kū'dū -enǒn III) serve to hold down the latter and also as a head and foot rest. Sometimes there is also a back rest (f = ǒ'gebé -enǒn), consisting of a raffia stalk split lengthwise down the middle and simply placed on top of

Fig. 28. Side of a Bench.

344 the lengthened pin of the back legs.
353 In some meeting houses the front legs project to form a semicircle which covers up the narrow sides of the head rests. The
[531] outer surface of these semicircles is either carved to look like a face or else incised and provided with decorative surfaces which are painted red and white (Fig. 29). /Fig. 28 appears here in the original text./ /67/

344 Next to the benches, the most important part of the furnishings
354 of the meeting house consists of a number of logs which are placed together to form a fireplace (see Fig. 27). During the day the fire burns constantly, and during the night the logs are placed together so skillfully that the fire often keeps going until the next morning. /Fig. 29 appears here in the original text./ The importance of the cheering fire in the tropics is greater than one might believe; not only does it serve as a protection against the frequently severe morning chill and warm the room on days when the weather is rainy and cold, but it is also the only means of protection against
[137] the exceedingly annoying sand flies, Culicoides (afi,ge), tiny, scarcely visible insects whose sting causes an unpleasant itch like that of stinging nettles.

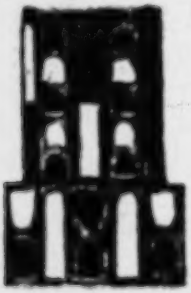
344 For the rest, the furnishings of the meeting house consist only
263 of such items as drums (wooden and skin drums), a whetstone, and,
355 suspended from the roof, the large hunting net which the inhabitants use communally on drives. In some cases I also found gun racks (ekob e nga), Figure 30, which are attached to the wall in the same way as we attach clothes hooks. Guns are placed on these racks so they are handy in case of a sudden attack. Another form of this rack (Fig. 31), likewise not common, consists of a board which is pointed at the bottom and provided with a hole at the top. This gun rack (efa[k] -e-nga) is planted in the ground in front of the meeting house. The butt end of the rifle is placed on the ground and the barrel is put in the hole in the board.

344 The skulls of hunted animals are frequently kept in the meeting
353 house as hunting trophies. Either they are held under the roof mats by means of poles, or they can be seen lying around on the roof; only large skulls, like those of elephants, are sometimes placed in front of the house. /Fig. 30 appears here in the original text./

344
352

[531]

Drawing 1



Drawing 2

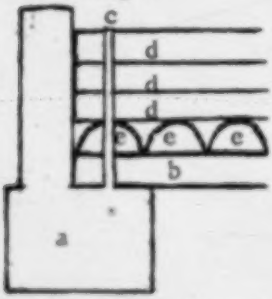


Fig. 29. Painted Socle of a Bench in a Meeting House, Fang Region.
Drawing 1, front view;
Drawing 2, side view.

353
344
325

In many meeting houses, furthermore, one sees /68/ a forge (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 b) and the tools used by a smith, namely, a bellows suspended from the roof (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 c) and a smith's stone (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 e) which at the same time is used as a whetstone and also as a fan for the fire (eyuh e nduan), Figure 32. Finally we must also mention the famous tobacco pipe made from the stem of a banana leaf, which is placed across two hooks in the wall.

[F76]

It goes without saying that in addition to the above-mentioned furnishings there are all kinds of rubbish lying around in the house, such as half-finished baskets, fishing nets, tools, leftover food, and so forth, scarcely designed to give the whole a more attractive appearance. /Fig. 31 appears here in the original text./

344
356

[362]
531]

The meeting houses are very seldom embellished with decorative bark, either on the outside (Fig. 33) or on the inside. More frequently, however, we find the bark walls, especially on the gabled sides,

344
353
591

Fig. 30. Rifle Rack, Engugumo, Fang.

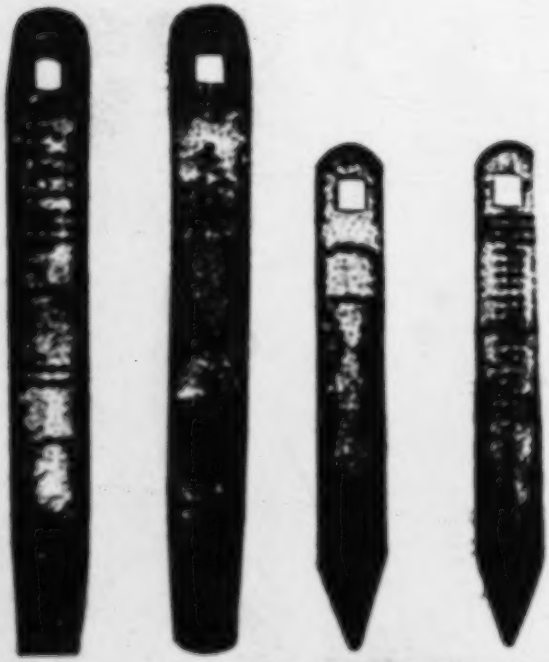


Fig. 31. Rifle Stands. Owöng (Ewandöng Family), Fang.

Fig. 32. Fan for the Fire.

344
531

Fig. 33. Meeting House in Nschûggebot (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea, with Decorative Boards of Bark.

covered with charcoal drawings on the inside between the raffia boards. At this point, however, I cannot go into this art work in any greater detail (see Section 9, "Fine Arts"). 344 353 531

If it were not for the people who enliven the house with their handicrafts and activities, /Fig. 32 appears here in the original text/ if the flaring fire did not lend the large, dark rooms a special, almost mysterious quality -- it would be too dreary. It is precisely here that one notices how everywhere only pulsating life, man in his sad and in his happy hours, not the material environment, is capable of attracting us. The same room which we disposed of just now with a disparaging glance is capable of creating a totally different impression in the evenings when the men and young /69/ /Fig. 33 appears here in the original text/ people gradually congregate in the meeting house in order to listen to the old, hunchbacked Njema-Ndongo tell of the mysterious and uncanny creatures of the fabulous world. Indefatigably they listen, however long he may spin out his yarn, motionless they look at him as he restlessly rubs his hands over the fire, wags his finger threateningly, separates or pushes aside the logs when the 344 517 344 517 538 [732]

342

[516]

Fig. 34. Dwelling in Makonanám (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

344 fire gets too hot for him, and wards off the smoke from his face
517 like a person gently but firmly sending a little child away! He
538 looks as though he is talking to the fire and delivering a speech to the logs. Everybody listens in silence, everybody hangs on his words. And then follows a deliberate pause, after which he begins anew with impressive intonation; and at familiar places all the listeners enter into the narrative with a brief choral song in response to the solo part of the old man. Or there may be a
344 bit of gossip to relate, with a hubbub of biting words, an oc-
517 casion for spontaneous gaiety to prevail. On yet another oc-
521 casion a performance by a famous xylophone artist will draw
533 the population to the meeting house. The entire village, women and children included, takes part in these recitals; the children beat out the rhythm with small pieces of wood, while the women, with great dignity, beat together groundnuts and ngon, which represent the "fee" and, softly humming a refrain, cast a meaningful glance in the direction of the tireless player.

342 The dwelling (ndǎ; plural, mandǎ), Figure 34, like the meeting house, /70/ /Fig. 34 appears here in the original text/ has a gabled roof and a rectangular ground plan. Like meeting houses, dwellings have both temporary and permanent forms.

342 Temporary dwellings are situated in the row of houses with their gables facing the village square, while the permanent ones have their long side turned toward it. A further difference between the two lies in the fact that in the temporary dwellings the door is placed on the gabled side and the walls on the two long sides are built up to a height of only about half a meter in order to save time; the roofs correspondingly extend farther down so that they almost touch the ground. The resultant greater steepness of the roof enables the rain water to drain off more rapidly, and thus makes it possible to save building material since it is not necessary to place the mats so closely on top of one another.

The permanent dwellings always have four complete walls and lack windows. A door, whose threshold is half a meter above the ground, thus giving the impression of a window, is made in the middle of the long wall. Most houses, in fact, have a door which is frequently not much wider than our casements in both the front wall and the opposite back wall. By and large, the construction of the dwelling is like that of the meeting house, except that the number of posts for the front wall is often reduced to four. For this reason, these posts are thicker and conspicuous for their careful workmanship. For the side walls in both the dwelling and the meeting house, not tree bark but swamp palms are used -- more rarely Sarcophrynium leaves or strips of raffia pith -- /71/ /Fig. 35 appears here in the original text/ whenever there is a concern for a more tasteful exterior. Sometimes a covered anteroom is formed in front of the house by propping up the overarching roof with posts along its free edge, as is done in the case of the meeting house.

The section of the front wall between the two central posts, where the door opening has been cut out, is frequently worked with great care; at least a number of short longitudinal strips of raffia will be inserted, especially between the ground and the threshold (Fig. 35). The threshold (mpfá dega I) (1), as well as

1. Stem pfa (fa), "to compress, to wedge."

the lintel in many cases, consists of a raffia stalk split lengthwise down the middle and cut out at both ends in the form of a swallow

342
854
291
301
576

Fig. 35. The Door Part of a Dwelling in Olanga (Essángbuak Family), Southern Cameroons.

tail. This is wedged into the door opening in such a fashion that the walls fit into the notches. Sometimes it is given an attractive form by being flattened near the end and having bands of palm plaited around it. Along the sides, on the other hand, the people content themselves with single strips of raffia stalk as door lining. 342

In the interior a thick post or a number of thinner posts (andẽ'i) stands at both sides of the door opening (mbẽi I) (see Figs. 37 b, 38). Between these posts are wedged one or two diagonally placed poles, by means of which the piece of bark that serves as a door (evǐ'n e nda, evǐ'n e mbẽi = house bark or door bark) is held fast. Sliding doors are more rarely encountered. These run between /72/ the wall and a lath at the top and bottom of the door opening; in the daytime they are pushed to the side and at night pulled in front of the opening. We find door posts even where there are sliding doors, since they primarily serve the purpose of preventing strangers from looking into the hut during the daytime. Most doors made of bark close poorly because they warp. Frequently the "door" consists of nothing /Fig. 36 appears here in the original text/ more than a number of narrow bark pieces that are loosely

342

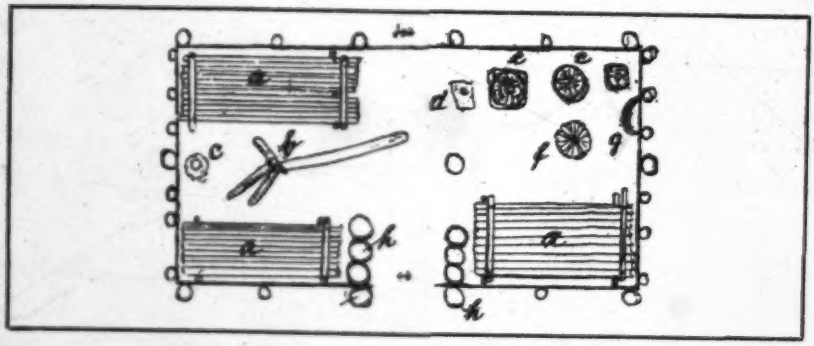
[531]

Fig. 36. Door of a Dwelling in Alén (Essáuong Family). Carved out of wood and painted a light gray with clay.

placed next to each other against the opening from the inside, and naturally there are large cracks between them. It goes without saying that any sudden gust of wind will blow them down and that they also fall down by themselves. I myself have often enough been awakened by this unfamiliar clatter, or the cool night air and the stings of the Anopheles mosquitoes swarming in have given me an unpleasant awakening.

[531] Doors made of wood (Fig. 36) are to be found here and there and are sometimes decorated with simple carved patterns. They are placed or wedged against the door opening from the inside. Frame doors imported by foreign traders and [139] set on hinges made of bands of palm are not very popular, generally speaking.

Exactly as in the case of the meeting houses, the construction and condition of the dwellings vary greatly. Some [356] houses are so clean and attractively built that they look like a doll's house just unpacked; others, however, look dilapidated, unclean, and unattractive, and they make such a revolting impression that -- as I often told my Pangwe -- not even a white man's dog would feel at home in it. The majority of the dwellings, of course, are between these two extremes, that is to say, if one takes the average of several villages -- for the houses of a single village are often of just about the same quality, a fact which doubtless stems from their being equally old. There are villages which appear



342
353
354

Fig. 37. Ground Plan of a Pangwe Dwelling.
a, sleeping benches; b, fireplace (kitchen); c, pot with water; d, grindstone; e, baskets; f, bundle of maize cobs; g, hens' nest; h, door posts.

like the toys of a gigantic child that have just been finished by a giant toy dealer and are placed on the clean earth as though on a gigantic table. There are others in which one actually finds not a single house which does not let in the rain in torrents, not a single house whose walls are still standing straight and which does not provide entry for nocturnal reptiles between its walls and the ground. The reader should consider the significance of the name of the village of Ebualebambe ("tumble-down village") which, indeed, as I saw, did full justice to its name. 342 [103]

Whether the houses are carefully built or not, they always look depressed because they are too low in relation to their length, which seems even greater /73/ /Fig. 37 appears here in the original text/ than it actually is because of the way the houses are arranged in rows. One gets the same impression when one goes inside; on the average it is so low that one can stand in it only in a bent position for fear of coming into painful contact with the roof or the household utensils hanging from it. It is rare indeed that one can stand upright on one of the low sleeping benches without bumping his head.

As in the case of the meeting house, the interior of the dwelling (Fig. 37) has a single room which the Pangwe divides into atüm a nkiai and atüm akui, that is to say, into a western "room" (on a lower level) and an eastern "room" (on a higher level) which are to the left and right of the door. Figure 38 gives a view of the interior of a Fang hut. In this illustration one side wall and the right

342
352
353
354

Fig. 38. A Dwelling of the Fang.
The right half of the front wall and one side wall have been removed for a view of the interior.

342 half of the front wall have been removed in order to provide a full view.

The four corners or at least three of them are occupied by 342 sleeping benches (Fig. 37 a) which are constructed exactly like 352 the benches of the meeting houses. The distance between the 353 head and foot rest, however, is only about three quarters body length, so it is necessary to lie on them with one's legs drawn up. The sleeping benches extend to the door posts and thus take up most of the room in the house. On one of the narrow sides and [354] between two sleeping benches is the fireplace (Figure 37 b), that is, a few logs placed together and serving both as a hearth and a stove. Over the fireplace is attached a device for drying and storing food and dishes which is put together in the following manner (Fig. 39). A frame covered with plaited raffia strips is laid over the door posts (a) and two forked sticks driven into the corners. This is the "pot loft," akǎ́n e mvé (c); one can usually see a number of pots and a clay water bottle on it. Other things, which even for the Negro cannot be designated as "valuable possessions," /74/ /Fig. 38 appears here in the original text/ are also found there, such as banana bowls, maize spindles, to whose use I shall return later, and so forth. Under the pot loft hangs the drying loft or "groundnut loft," akǎ́n owǔnǒ (d). As the name indicates, this loft

342 serves only for the storage of groundnuts and is likewise usually
352 made of plaited raffia strips. Then there is the most important
353 household item for the housewife, the pantry, in the form of a storage box, bū bū, or bū u (e), intended primarily for meat and other delicacies. This box is often very nicely made with raffia pith. In front it usually has a small protruding ledge on which salt, pepper, and spoons may be placed, and thus it serves as a kind of "dumb-waiter"; at the side it has an opening that is closed by means of a sliding door made of pith. The box fills the space between the beds so that it is barely possible to stand there. One or two drying or roasting boards, etǎn (f and g), hang under the box, just above the fire. These boards are used for roasting groundnuts and for drying things.

On the opposite wall at the same level a similar frame is put up, over which drying boards can be placed and from whose front edge the women's long baskets (nkūn I) are hung. There is floor space under this frame, a sleeping bench may be placed there, covered with baskets, grindstones, and other tools, or with the assorted possessions of the head of the household. A person who enters the house for the first time finds himself in the middle of the passage between front and back door, not knowing which way to turn. To make room at all it would be necessary to clear everything out; otherwise a European would find the house uninhabitable. In the north, /75/ especially among the Bulu and in part also among the Ntum, the huts are somewhat more spacious and habitable.

For hanging up baskets, calabashes, satchels, and other objects on the wall, the Pangwe makes use of a natural hook (ekǒb), that is, a piece of a tree trunk which is cut out just above and below a branch. The branch is cut off, the remaining stump is cut more or less to a point, and then the whole piece is inserted, in the same position as it was on the tree, between the longitudinal raffia strips on the inner side of the wall. Objects are very readily attached to the wall by means of raffia stalks stuck between the mats, from whose free ends they are suspended.

An important piece of furniture is the round, three-legged stool
53 (kpā III), Figure 40, carved out of wood and decorated all around its edge with ornamental chip carving.

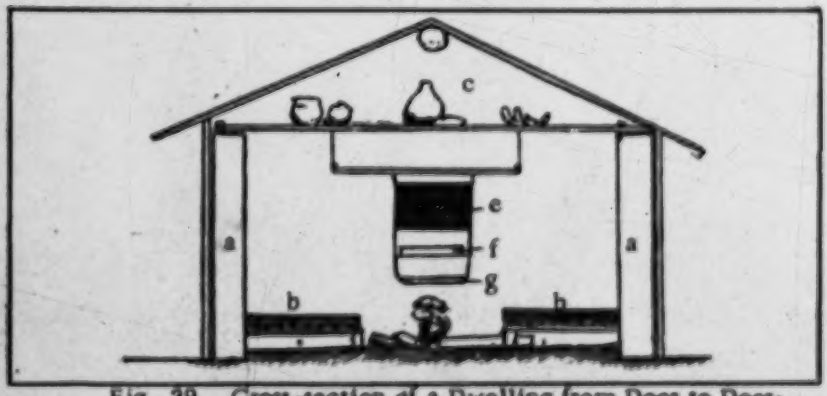
342 352 353

its edge with ornamental chip carving. It is placed on the ground, often in the vicinity of the door posts, and is considered, so to speak, as a place of honor -- for strangers and the paterfamilias -- like our sofa.

As a final household implement the sweeper should be mentioned. 412 356
It appears in various forms, depending on whether it is used in the dwelling, for the benches of the meeting house, for the meeting house floor, or for the village square.

For the house a broom evū̄ǎ[k], Figure 41 a, is used, made of raffia leaves tied together in the shape of a fan. "More elegant" brooms are used by the Jaunde for the benches of the meeting houses. These are made of pieces of liana stalks, Ertela scandens Benth., [824] Leguminosae, called ntū́ (b), or of the flowers of the oil palm (c). The pieces of liana stalk are slit so that they form something like a brush; these brooms therefore correspond more or less to our dusters. A third form of broom (Fig. 42) consists of two little wooden boards tied with strips to a handle. /Fig. 39 appears here in the original text./ /76/ It resembles our snow shovels, but it is by no means to be found in every village, and even where it is found it is infrequently used.

In the preceding descriptions the reader will have been struck 137 by the frequency with which the raffia palm is mentioned as construction material. 824 It is indeed true that this palm, called "bamboo" in Negro English, is by far the most important and most valuable plant



[342 353]

Fig. 39. Cross-section of a Dwelling from Door to Door: a, door posts; b, sleeping benches; c, pot loft; d, loft for drying groundnuts; e, pantry; f and g, roasting boards.

137
824 for the Pangwe. Where it is scarce, as in Yaoundé /Ger., Jaunde/ it is imported from great distances whenever necessary.

In the Campo-Uelle region there are four species of raffia. Of these, Raffia hookeri M. (esa) is to be found only along the banks of the larger rivers; Raffia regalis M. et Wendl. (andžim), on the other hand, grows only on hilly terrain and even there very sparsely. The following appears in swamps (1) and may

1. Hence, zǎm = swamp and raffia palm (collective name).

[352
531]

Fig. 40. Fang Stool.

be designated as the true raffia palm: Raffia vinifera P.B. (nia dǎǎn = true, authentic raffia), the common species. Finally, there is a species (akō'dō), recognizable by the fact that its leafstalks are tinged with blue, which is frequently found scattered among the above species. The general name for raffia, dǎǎ-h, indicates its importance; it means "the mother of the village," /Fig. 40 appears here in the original text/ dǎa (n, see "Suffixes" /not translated/), because the whole village is made of raffia, and indeed no name would be more fitting considering all that is produced and constructed
824 from it. The following list will give an idea of its multiple uses.

I. Foodstuffs

1. Palm cabbage.
2. Pulp.

824

II. Spices

3. Salt (from the leaves and stalks, together with other plants; see Section 6, p. 133).

III. Oils

4. Hair oil (from the pulp; see Section 7, page 193).

IV. Building Materials

A. Leaf pinnae.

5. Mats (eɛ̄ɛ̄ I) for the roof.

B. Whole leaves.

6. Plaited fences around the cult sites.

C. Whole leafstalks.

7. Molding beams (mfǎ.s I).
8. Rafters (ntū.g'n I).

D. Halved leafstalks.

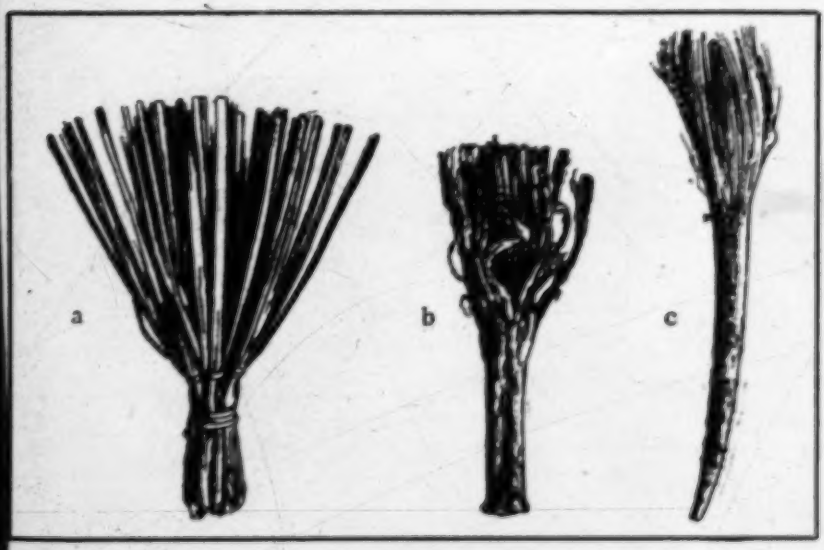
9. Sleeping and sitting benches (kū'dū III and enǒh).
10. Longitudinal strips for house walls (ebǎɛ̄ Nt., ebǎǎk F.)

E. Pith.

11. House walls. /77/ /Fig. 41 appears here in the original text./

V. Household Implements

12. Groundnuts baskets (angū.n), made of pith.
13. Drying boards (etǎn), made of the bark of leafstalks; the frame, of pith.
14. Drying lofts (akǎn).
15. Bowls for red wood.
16. Combs (made of pieces of stalk bark).
17. Brooms (made of leaves).
18. Corks for powder flasks and for bamboo drinking reeds (pith).
19. Nails, for joining together the pith.
20. Plantain peelers (piece of bark).
21. Ropes for basketwork plates (medullary rays).
22. Needles for taking out sand fleas (bark).
23. Sticks for incising the surface of pottery jugs; furthermore, awls for piercing the nose (bark).



824

[412]

Fig. 41. Sweepers:
a, brooms for dwellings; b and c, dusters for meeting houses.

24. Knife sheathes (pith).
25. Sticks for preparing the clay blast pipe (stalks).
26. Casting molds for founding brass rings (halved stems).
27. Kindling, ekǎ'ba (stalk strips).
28. Ropes (bast).
29. Pipe bowls (made of the fruit kernels); see Section 6, page 164.
30. Needles, sewing needles (pith).
31. Fire fans (pith).

VI. Trapping Implements, Weapons

32. Fish baskets, ayǎ', ngǒ,dĕgo, nsǒ n.
33. Fish weirs, olǎ'm.
34. Noose for spring traps (fiber).
35. Bow trap of the Jaunde for rats (ebǎ'dĕ).
36. "Spears" against sorcery.

VII. Musical Instruments

37. Raffia instrument, myǒt (made of the stalks).
38. Guitar, nǒǒnga (made of the pith, the bridge of stalk strips).

824 39. Plectrum for the musical bow, elém (stalk strips).
40. Strings for the harp (fiber).
41. Sticks for the war drum, ngómo (made of pith).
42. Sticks for the signaling drum, nkú (stalk pieces). /78/
43. Children's zither (halved stalks; plectrum; stalk pieces).

VIII. Toys

44. Children's rattle stick (pith, stalk pieces).
45. Bow and arrows (stalks).
46. Rifle made of pith, newer model (pith).
47. Trigger and upper part of rifles, old model (stalk strips).
48. Pickaxes, knives, tools (pith).
49. Trap for gadflies (pith, stalk pieces).
50. Food stealer (piece of stalk).
51. Memory game, nkúk endélé (pith).
52. Stone game, akúh (stalk pieces).

IX. Clothing, Ornaments

53. Straw hats (pith).
54. Chenille for decorative caps, edóbán (pith).
55. Women's tailpieces (bast).
56. Strips of bast for sewing materials (bast).
57. Head adornment, akút (bast).
58. Arm adornment (bast).
59. Neck adornment (bast).
60. Belts (bast).
61. Ropes for stringing heavy beads (fiber).
62. Walking sticks, better ones made of Raphia hookeri M. (esa).

343 In addition to the meeting and dwelling houses already described, the Pangwe build a number of other huts designed for special purposes, namely, storage houses, houses for strangers, field huts, and houses for the sick.

The storage houses have a variety of forms. Some are merely dwellings from which the furniture has been removed; others are similar to these but have a wooden door, often copied [177] from the European models; still others, like the temporary

343 dwellings, stand with the gabled side facing the village square and look just like them except that they are firm and durable. 536 Storage houses are to be found only in the villages of wealthier chiefs.

344 The houses for strangers (esá'bád) are built following exactly the same pattern and ground plan as the ordinary dwelling, but they are very hastily constructed: the walls are usually only plaited palm leaves; the door extends to the ground with no threshold; and the sleeping benches are those of the simple kind (kū'dū III), often made only of umbrella tree trunks split lengthwise down the middle and placed on top of two casters of the same wood. They are constructed especially on the occasion of the festival for departed souls when greater numbers of strangers are expected; at the conclusion of the festive period they are pulled down.

342 In the forests or on very isolated plantations, refuge huts are frequently built. These are often no more than mere protective roofs (myō e ngī III = gorilla home), while others resemble the simplest temporary meeting houses, that is, huts in which the gabled sides are open and the long walls are either absent or consist only of a few tree trunks (angō'h e ngī = gorilla crown, that is, the strip which juts out like a comb on the top of the gorilla's skull). /79/

314 Special houses are built next to or behind the dwellings or just outside the village for persons with contagious diseases 744 (frambesia, leprosy) (see Fig. 16). Because they are designed for only one person, they are usually smaller than the dwellings; they have the same shape but are carelessly constructed and soon deteriorate because nobody takes the trouble to repair them.

343 Here and there I found stables; in the next section I shall come back to these. /Fig. 42 appears here in the original text./

Finally, it should be mentioned that in some villages 342 especially those close to the coast, there are houses on piles. 177 These are copied from the European settlements and are almost completely useless for the natives since their construction requires greater care and trouble than that of ordinary houses. Consequently, the houses on piles built by the Pangwe are veritable caricatures of human dwellings.

412

354

Fig. 43. Resin Lamp, Fang.

Fig. 42. Dirt Shovel for Cleaning the Meeting House, Ntum.

A few words should be said about lighting. In the houses, which, as we have seen, are windowless and hence quite dark, the hearth fire /Fig. 43 appears here in the original text/ is at the same time a much needed source of light. As the Pangwe relate in their legends, it was Mode-Sama, one of the first human beings, who fetched fire (ndũ̄ǎn) from God (Sama); according to other versions, the fire was given to him by God, and since Mode's time the fire has not been extinguished. This useful element is carried from one house to another and, when worst comes to worst, from one village to another. The Pangwe does not need to rekindle his fire, since it burns all day in the meeting house where it serves as a protection against cold, moisture, and sand flies, while in the dwellings it is kept going day and night for cooking and heating purposes. When the women go to the plantations, the logs are so carefully arranged (for this action alone, there are four different expressions!) that they continue to glow; or the youngest daughter may be given the task of guarding the vestal altar. In case the fire should actually go out in one house, fire is obtained from a neighboring house, and it is only in exceptional cases that a smaller village has no fire. In such an emergency fire is sent for from the nearest settlement.

Better lighting than the hearth fire is provided by the torch light with which /80/ /Fig. 44 appears here in the original text/ the village square is illuminated at night when, for instance, dances are held. The flickering of the torches causes the strange and wild movements of the dancers to appear even more fantastic than they really are. The torches are composed of dried stalks of the cardamom Aframomum alboviolaceum K. Sch. (adźǒm; stalk, ǎb'mõ IV Fang, ǎbǔ'me IV Ntum), Plate 21 in Section 11 /Vol. 2/, or finely spliced raffia stalk strips (ekǎ'ba), which — when they are well dried — burn very brightly but, on the other hand, are rather rapidly consumed.

The finest but an infrequently used source of light at festivities or other events in the village square is the resin lamp (otu = resin), Figure 43, a little tub of bark containing the fragrant resin of the Anacardiacea Canarium schweinfurthii Engl. (1) (abe Ntum, ǎbe Fang; resin = otu).

1. According to the communication of Doctor Mildbraed who has likewise collected this tree.

362

Fig. 44. Olanga Village (Essángbuak Family), South Cameroons. In the village square there is a "memorial," a peculiarly shaped tree root in which the natives see the figure of a horse.

373 obê Fang: resin = otü).

On longer trips, for instance, if an acquaintance is to be visited or medicinal plants are sought in the forest at night in case of sudden sickness, a piece of wood, waved to and fro, is used instead of the torch which would burn down too quickly. When a strong light is not necessary, the people content themselves with little branches that have been covered with the gleaming white mycelium of a mushroom, thereby providing a bright glow in the dark. /81/ /Fig. 45 appears here in the original text/

For more extensive hunting or rubber expeditions in a larger forest area, occasions when nights are spent in wild country, a burning log is taken along. In former times "kindling wood" was also taken along in case the log should go out. Nowadays the Pangwe are no longer able to produce fire in the old manner by twirling. To be sure, an older chief once showed me how fire was formerly "made"; but although he took endless trouble and two men twirled their arms lame, they were unable to produce a single spark. "Theoretically," however, my good chief

501

Fig. 45. Canoes on the Nié (Tributary of the Campo), New Cameroons.

312 knew exactly how to produce sparks. "One" takes two sticks of
124 wood from one of the three Tiliaceae, Triumfettia cordifolia Gullet (okiin) (1). Leptonychia tessmannii Engl. (akăk), or

1. According to one legend, fire is also supposed to have been brought from the heavens in a Triumfettia stick.

Desplatsia dewevrei Burs. (afonŏk), and they are dried over the fire for at least a day. One of the sticks is notched in the middle, placed on the ground, and held down with one's feet; the other stick is placed vertically into the notch and twirled. The spark which is "supposed" to be produced is caught with oakum made of the picked fibers of the Dioclea reflexa Hook. f. (bŏndŏ' III) placed around the notch. Thus instructed, after this one failure I requested elsewhere that this theory be put into practice, but most of the natives assumed a stupid expression or laughed outright at my request. /82/ /Fig. 46 appears here in the original text./

1: Tessmann--45 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

491

Fig. 46. Bridge over the Abéa (Tributary of the Bimfilic) near Makonfim (Ojek Family) During the Dry Season, Spanish Guinea.

000 original text. /

361 Usually the village square remains completely bare. Very rarely a tree is left standing or is planted there, and when that is done, it is because the tree is considered to have medicinal value. More frequently one sees scaffoldings on which the raffia palm oil is prepared (see Plate 4). In one case I encountered a memorial which was supposed to represent a horse (Fig. 44); this was a tree root which had been left standing when the area was being cleared because of its curious resemblance to the animal.

364 The cleanliness of village squares varies greatly. There are very dirty ones, littered with sheep and goat manure, remnants of sugar cane, chewed cane, building materials, and so forth in great quantities. Indeed, in some of these village squares the grass has not even been weeded out. On the other hand, there are very neat squares where the villagers sweep all the rubble and refuse behind the houses. The men who look after the meeting house are especially negligent; they frequently let the rubbish heaps (akôn) accumulate until they clutter up the entrance.

1: Tessmann--46 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9 /

Fig. 47. Bridge over the Bimfilie near Ebifomajong (Eufmong Family) During the Rainy Season.

The privy (*ndik*), as Figure 16 shows, is in the plantain grove not very far from the houses. Frequently it is so close that the stench, especially when the wind is unfavorable, may become unbearable. The privy consists of a fairly deep pit with one or two pairs of forked sticks planted in the center; on top of these is placed a layer of tree trunks in such a manner that the middle ones extend from the edge of the pit only as far as the sticks and lie with their free ends in the forks. Thus, a rectangular opening is left uncovered, and /53/ loam is thrown around this over the whole thing. Sometimes the loam covering is not put over it. Instead of toilet paper, dried corn husks are used.

It is worthy of note that the Fangwe also cultivate ornamental plants. These are placed in the village square, along the paths behind or to the side of the houses, or, in case the village consists of only a single row of houses, they are planted where the opposite row of houses would ordinarily stand. Generally the ornamental plants are the following: an attractive Amaranthaceae, *Gomphrena globosa* B. (*ngôñ* IV), which also grows in America and may have been imported from there; and the so-called fever

1: Tessmann--47 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

351 grass, Andropogon schoenanthus L. (olimentŕngan a olím
247 [Ocimum] of the Whites), a plant which has likewise been imported.

487 The roads are often scarcely visible paths which are first trodden by hunters and used by elephants and later become wider through increased traffic. Naturally, however, one must always proceed along them in single file. Wherever small brooks happen to flow in the direction of travel, they are used as trails.

491 For the crossing of larger bodies of water, a few stems of the
499 umbrella tree are tied together to form a raft or dugout (bɛ́, plural, mɛ́; Fig. 45), otherwise employed for fishing purposes, are used. Bridges (ndɔ́ŋ I) are built only in rare cases, primarily in situations where the plantations and the village are situated on opposite banks of a river, thus necessitating regular and rapid passage between them. These bridges consist /94/ (Fig. 46 and 47) of several piers, each made up of two tree trunks planted into the ground in the form of a St. Andrew's cross and firmly tied together. One or more transverse beams are then placed over these piers. To serve as a railing, either ropes are tied to the upper ends of the piers, or sticks split lengthwise down the middle are fastened to them. When a bridge beam decays, a new one is placed on top of it, but no one thinks of restoring the framework which cannot support the greater weight, and for this reason the bridge soon collapses as it gets older.

[777] More recently bridges have been built according to the European model (bɔ́ŋ II), consisting of two rows of supporting piles and transverse beams over which logs are placed very close together, like our corduroy roads. These bridges are even more dangerous to life and limb than the older form, since supporting posts often collapse, the bridge frequently lies to one side, and it is possible to have a bad fall on the slippery log ends. /95/

Section 5

000 Economic Activities

First Part. Agriculture. General matters: tools, preparation of the soil, division of labor. The

000 most important food plants and their significance. The groundnut (varieties, cultivation, pests, medicines, uses), maize. Ngon (description, varieties, importance, origin of the name, cultivation, harvest, drying, pests, medicines, uses). Yams, cassava, sugar cane, taro, and macabo (description, varieties, cultivation, uses). Plantain and banana. Additional cultivated plants.

Second Part. Livestock. Dogs, appearance, importance for the Pangwe, their names; goat and sheep, castration of the goats (manner of castration, purpose); the hen and its importance; the duck; other tame domestic animals.

Third Part. Fishing. Abundance of fish, survey of the fish world of the Pangwe region, the catching of fish (general matters, chief seasons), method: driving the fish, angling, fish poison, scaffolding weir, basket weirs, basket trap, catch baskets, fish channels, fishing nets.

Fourth Part. Trapping. Pitfalls, spring traps, spring plates, spear trap, mares, draw traps, francolin trap, bow traps, alarm trap.

Fifth Part. Hunting. General matters, drives with baskets and nets, division of the meat, accidents, individual hunting expeditions with rifle and crossbow. Crossbow (origin, description, arrows).

I. Agriculture

453 The economic activities of the Pangwe are agriculture, catching fish, and trapping; in comparison with these, hunting and stock keeping play a subordinate role.

195 The curious locutions of the Pangwe language, such as a bə̄ 241 bidzǐ = to plant "food," that is, to plant, and a nyǒn bidzǐ = to take "food," that is, to harvest, seem to indicate that the cultural level of the farmer followed that of the primitive collector. That is to say, the expression suggests that the conscious cultivation of plants developed from the observation and exploitation of edible leaves, fruit, and the like found wild in nature. The Pangwe have wholly risen above the latter stage, and they revert to it only occasionally in periods of distress.

241 Their agriculture is hoe culture, that is, the soil is loosened by means of the hoe and digging stick. The hoe (ebə̄k, Ntum; ebə̄k, Fang), Figure 48, consists of a piece of iron tied to a wooden handle bent in the form of a hook; the digging stick (evīēn Ntum, Fang; tōō, Jaunde) is a wooden stick with the end shaped like an incisor. The hoe is used by the women, the digging stick by the men /86/. Other agricultural implements are the ax (oyū'n), Figure 49, and the bush knife (fā-tī IV), Fig. 50. The latter, which today has been almost completely replaced [111] by the European cutlass, nkpwēdī' I, is used to dig tubers, such as yams, and to level the soil. For the latter purpose I also observed the use of wooden spades attached to a handle.

Tillage begins with the clearing of the ground (a lī tsī). First, the lianas, undergrowth, and thinner trees are cut down with the cutlass. In this way some elbow room is created, and the larger trees can be felled with an ax. /Fig. 48 appears here in the original text. / Ordinarily a whole group of trees is tackled at one time in the following manner. The lianas are severed first so that they can no longer hold up the trees. The majority of the thinner tree trunks are merely notched, and then only one fairly massive tree is cut down. This tree when it falls brings down virtually the entire group of trees, together with its network of lianas. As a result, very little remains to be done. The very large trees are usually left standing to provide shade. They are removed, by setting fire to the roots, only if it is absolutely necessary to do so. Without the help of fire, it would require a number of days to cut down such a giant tree, and the Pangwe rarely have time for this in the brief dry

241
412

Fig. 48. Hoe.

Fig. 49. Ax.

Fig. 50. Bush Knife.

/87/

482
291
301

Fig. 51. Fang Women Bringing Firewood from the Plantations.

season. /Fig. 49 appears here in the original text./ Once the bush is entirely cleared (with the exception of the shade trees), a few days are allowed to elapse until the sun has dried the wood. Then fire is set to it, and the farm is "burned," a dége ti. At the end of the dry season one can see columns of rising smoke throughout the land, and on walking expeditions one often has the dubious pleasure of having to pass such a burning farm. A great number of birds of prey, especially the parasite kite, circle around the new farm, heedless of the heat, in order to catch every crawling thing that flees from the fire. As soon as the rainy season comes, the clearing of the farm comes to an end, and now "the food is laid." The men move the charred and unburned remains of the trees /Fig. 50 appears here in the original text/ /87/ to one side or heap them up on the farm itself as boundary markers (see Plate 7). The women remove the smaller branches, and it is the women who from this time on dominate the picture, sowing or planting the vegetables, pulling out the weeds which during the rainy season soon become rank, and taking in the harvest. All these, incidentally, are lighter

241
241
442

tasks, and from this division of labor it is apparent – this will be pursued further later on – that the work which requires the greater effort is allotted to the men, while the easier work is left to the women. Since by the very nature of the matter the harder work lasts for a shorter period of time, the impression easily arises that the women have to perform considerably more work than the men, but this is not the case, and it is probable that the distribution of work is not much different from that in Germany, say. It is just that the type of work is different. To be sure, upon seeing the large, fully packed baskets which the women bring in daily from the fields (Fig. 51), the uninitiated observer might easily get such an erroneous impression, but the carrying of such disproportionately heavy burdens, which makes the women's bodies so deformed, is partly their own fault. One is reminded of the Low German proverb: "De Fule drägt sich dodt un de Flitige löpt sich dodt /the lazy one carries himself to death, and the industrious one runs himself to death/. The woman likes to rest in the afternoon, and many of them even have quite an aversion for work. Incidentally, this is a further reason for the frequent periods of food shortage (mentioned in the third section /not translated/), which at times develop into real famines. /88/

The most important staple food plants of the Pangwe are the following seven:

Southern Region (Fang)	Northern Region (Jaunde)
1. Camava (manioc)	1. Camava (manioc)
2. Plantain	2. Groundnut
3. Groundnut	3. Plantain
4. Ngon	4. Maize
5. Maize	5. Ngon
6. Taro	6. Taro
7. Yams	7. Yams

It should be understood that the plants are listed here in the order of their importance as food plants, in other words, as "food" in the household, and not according to the extent of field work involved in their cultivation which would completely reverse the

241 order. Sugar cane, important only as a luxury or refreshment item and not as a staple food, would be added to such a list, while the plantain would be withdrawn completely because it thrives without any care and does not require intensive cultivation. Similarly, the cassava would not occupy a significant place in such a list since, even though it requires a certain amount of cultivation, it nevertheless continues to spread as a durable shrub and is not bound to definite seasons with respect to its growth and conditions for cultivation. The groundnut and ngon would now be most important plants. If one distinguishes field agriculture and gardening as different types of cultivation and uses area of cultivation as a yardstick for each of them, one gets the following order of plants.

Field Agriculture

1. Groundnut	Secondary plant, maize
2. Ngon	Secondary plant, yams
3. Cassava	Secondary plant, sugar cane as a luxury item.

Gardening

4. Taro	Secondary plant, macabo
5. Plantain	Secondary plant, banana as fruit

By this list I do not mean to imply that ngon must always be planted with yams, or cassava with sugar cane. There are farms which grow yams exclusively, and others which grow sugar cane exclusively. The list is merely intended to indicate that frequently the cultivation of these secondary plants is linked with that of the most important principal plants, and that above all the conditions of cultivation of he two are the same or at least similar. Thus, I can confine myself, for more precise description, to the cultivation of the five chief plants of the above list. /89/

The Groundnut, Arachis hypogaea L.

(Plate 6)

244 The groundnut (owúnŏ, derived from the stem a wŭno = to set, to plant) occupies the third – with the Jaunde the second – rank in the order of the most important food plants. In the Fang region five different varieties are distinguished, of which one, mŏne owŭnŏ, has again been given up because of its small fruit. Of the remaining four, the following are found together in one and the same field with equal frequency: the upright, more hairy asŏ́mena, which according to Sadebeck (1) is Arachis

[113]

1. R. Sadebeck, Die Kulturgewächse der deutschen Kolonien und ihre Erzeugnisse /The Cultivated Plants of the German Colonies and their Products/ (Jena, 1899), p. 230.

asiatica Lour. (it is illustrated by Plate 6), and the low-growing Arachis africana Lour. or var. glabrata D.C. (ebăn, Ntum; ekắb or engŭs, Fang. The variety eyŏ́lo (Fang) or evŭŏ́le (Ntum), distinguished by fruit that is thicker and not quite so long, and the variety ezŏ́na are likewise sometimes found in the same field.

244 311 Anyone who travels in the land of the Pangwe will immediately recognize how important a role the groundnut has in the agricultural economy of the natives. The only farms that may delight the eye of a European are the groundnut farms. Walking through the cassava and sugar cane plantations, one is afforded no unobstructed over-all view of them, and on the ngon farms one constantly has to climb over tree trunks that have been left lying around. After passing through these or even through a stretch of dense forest or bush and then coming upon a groundnut plantation, one draws a breath of relief. The wanderer will see the plantation lying before him, framed by the darkness of the forest interspersed with the brighter green of the young maize which is usually planted, along with the groundnut, as a border

244 311 against the forest and in the middle along the boundaries of the individual plots (Plate 7). The groundnut plantation with its cleanness and unobstructed view will vividly remind the visitor of European vegetable fields; one groundnut plant next to the other shoots forth its many quadripartite leaves, irrigated by the ample moisture of the tropical rain, and here and there one can see the yellow blossoms shining through the leaves.

244 The planting and harvesting seasons of the groundnut are as follows.

First sowing: planted in September and the beginning of October; harvested towards the end of December.

Second sowing: planted in March and April; harvested in July and August.

The groundnut is thus planted before the rainy season and harvested during the following dry seasons.

244 476 The clearing and burning of farms, accordingly, is undertaken jointly by the men of the village in February, March, and again in July and August. /90/ The field is divided among the men, and they proceed to clear the larger tree trunks and branches out of the way, while the women clean up the farm and then place in the ground the seeds or the nuts which have already sprouted. They do this by digging a small hole with a hoe, throwing the seeds or, as the case may be, the nuts into it, and then pressing the soil down with their feet. The harvest begins when the leaves, with the exception of the topmost ones, are fairly well dried. The soil is loosened, and the women pick out the nuts and put them in plate-shaped baskets (dzap).

244 Three years must elapse before groundnuts can again be grown in the same soil. The women have also noticed that the groundnut — which requires a certain amount of calcium in the soil — does not thrive everywhere, and hence they are in the habit of saying: "Let us not plant groundnuts again in this vicinity, for they do not thrive here." Like the majority of cultivated plants in the tropics, groundnuts draw practically no pests. They are harmed most of all by the following animals which eat their leaves: by the guib, Tragelaphus knutsoni Lemberg (nkɔ̌k); and the dwarf goat, Neotragus batesi Winton (odzap). Furthermore,

244 there is the striped mouse, Mus pulchellus Gray (zǒfǒ III), which gnaws the nuts. A kind of black rot affects the nuts here and there during certain years. A number of caterpillar species which consume the leaves can scarcely be designated as actual pests. It
244 is probable that the black rot has led the women to the belief that
789 other women are capable of making their groundnuts sick and of ruining them by means of "medicine." They try to counter this trick with a medicine consisting of the bones of the turtle, the elephant, the pig, and the guib, which are burned to ashes and then crushed; it is scattered on the seeds before planting. Of the remaining medicines that are supposed to influence favorably the growth of groundnuts, the most important one consists of rubbing
[386 the groundnuts with a specially prepared coloring made from red
824] wood, ba-ayǎ'; accordingly, this medicine is called ba-ayǎ'. This red coloring (see Section 18, "Sexual Life") produces the
[123] desired results and fends off hostile intentions. Red is everywhere the color of joy, growth, and reproduction. On the day the woman plants the groundnuts, she paints a line between her index finger and thumb with the "medicinal red" which will give her a lucky hand; or she draws a similar line on the upper surface of a tree stump and covers the stump with leaves, like a cap. This is to say: "May you groundnuts blossom, grow, and thrive (the red color is for this) under such a protection (referring to the leaves); nobody will be able to do you any harm (referring to the
[833 medicine)." Furthermore, on the eve of sowing, the man usually sets a good example for the groundnuts "assembled" in the basket /91/ by performing coitus for their benefit. With this example he sends them on their way: "Multiply! (1)" Another

[194
834] 1. This is done even when the woman is menstruating, whereas sexual intercourse is otherwise avoided during this period. In this case, as a medicinal act, sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman is supposed to be particularly good for the groundnuts, on condition that the woman "brings good luck (ayǒe)" (see Section 18, "Sexual Life").

Another
244 fertility medicine consists of the following mixture: 1) bark
719 of the Simarubaceae Irvingia barteri Hook. f. (andŏ̂k; 2) bark
[204] bark of the Anacardiaceae Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl.
(ofŏ̂): 3) elephant manure; 4) sand from the Campo or the
Uelle; 5) salt. On the eve of sowing this mixture is added to the
nuts. This, too, must be understood as a direct transfer of power:
the groundnuts are to be as numerous as the fruits of the two
plants named; they are to become as enormous as the pile of
elephant manure; as numerous as sand in the Campo — we would
say, as the sands of the ocean; and as innumerable as the grains
[204] of salt. Finally, certain Liliaceae (ayŏ̂) are planted between
the groundnuts so that their leaves may become as green as the
lilies in the field. As can be seen, there is no lack of friendly
encouragement and good examples.

The fruit, illustrated in cross-section by Plate 6, Draw-
244 ings a and b, usually has two seeds, more rarely three, and still
more rarely one. Something reminiscent of our love feast occurs
when a boy at work finds a fruit with three seeds in his mother's
basket or in the field, calls his friends, and shares the seeds with
[115] them. This is called euphemistically: bi ki̇ kibŏ̂d, "we dissect a
goat." Thus, we have here the doctrine: Do not forget to do good
and to share with your fellow man when you are living in abun-
dance! It is probably more by way of a game that the Fangwe,
especially the children, sometimes eat the nuts raw. Otherwise
[53] raw nuts are prepared principally for soup or compote. It is also
customary to boil the whole fruit and then eat the seeds. The
[267] nuts are stored in large, tall baskets of raffia pith, which are hung
under the roof or placed on a bed, or the nuts may be placed
loose on the groundnut loft, akŏ̂n owŏ̂nd.

As a result of their laziness and indifference, the Fangwe
433 seldom have enough groundnuts, so there is always a period of
435 time when they have to do without them until the next harvest has
244 been brought in and is sufficiently dried. This is the reason that
in the Nsum and Fang regions at these times the price for a "plate"
(2)

[Fn] 2. The flat plate-shaped baskets called bush plates are a unit of measurement.

Fig. 52. Plantation of Groundnuts and Maize near Bibai (Ewong Family), Southern Cameroons.

of groundnuts rises to ten spears (equal to 70 pfennigs) while at other times only five spears (equal to 35 pfennigs) are given for it. In the Jaunde region, it is true, a plate always costs 70 pfennigs (equal to 100 Jaunde spears). The groundnut is eaten simply as soup or compote. /92/ /Fig. 52 appears here in the original text. / The oil content of the nuts is not utilised to any great extent, but the oil released by cooking is rubbed on the skin in order not to waste it. Finally we might mention the riddle:

ongîn	o	nge	bôl	a ŭ		o
(A) bird,	it	lives	give birth to	behind the house		of the
bomîg:	akî	avûm	a	bôlôm	bôn	avûm
mothers:	egg	one;	there	creep out	young ones	ten.

Answer: owûmo a groundnut.

Maize, Zea mays L. (ŭ IV), as we have said, is almost always grown with the groundnut (Fig. 52), usually as a means of marking off the individual plots and as a border against the bush all around the plantation. Farms that grow maize

243 exclusively are comparatively rare. Just like the groundnut, maize is planted in the beginning of October and matures in December. Then it is again planted in March and matures between the middle of May and July. Guess a riddle! = kǐndǐh.

524 I guess = kandǐh.

ma yǐn bǒnēnga, bō mbe ekō-ne, bǒnēnga bete:
I see women, they were on a journey, women meant:

mabum a mabum
bellies – bellies.

I see women who came on a journey (that is, who formerly were not here), and they are all pregnant (the ears in the husks).

Answer: fǐ́h = maize. /93/

244 The Ngon, Cucumeropsis edulis Cogn. (ngǒn IV, Jaunde; ngǒn IV Fang)

(Plate 8)

The ngon is one of the cucurbitaceous plants and has pentagonal leaves (more rarely the leaves have five lobules) with finely serrated edges. The leaves are attached to the nearly round stalk at intervals where, in addition to an occasional offshoot, usually another shoot, one or two male peticles, and occasionally a single female blossom are found. A piece of such a stalk is illustrated by Plate 8. The blossoms, jokingly called adǐne kǐ, "turtle's feet," by the Fang, are not very large and have lemon yellow petals which are turned back. The female blossoms (a-c) are somewhat variable in size and bear a hypogeous ovary; their margin and pistil are green. As for the male blossoms (b-c), on the other hand, the stamens are yellow on top. The fruit is large, longish, and egg-shaped.

In the Fang region three varieties of ngon are distinguished. These varieties are recognizable, however, only by their fruits

284 (Drawings f-h). The variety oal'bome (f) has the largest fruit; it is about 15 centimeters long, a bright yellowish-green with vague, speckled markings, and slightly narrowed toward the middle. In the case of the second variety (g), nia ngon (the real ngon) or nkiline (the dark ngon), the fruit, in contrast to that of the first kind, is usually oviform, twelve centimeters long, and dark green with streaks or strips of a light green color; sometimes the fruit is spotted. This variety appears to be the most common. Finally, mone ngon, the small ngon (h), is considerably smaller, measuring only nine to ten centimeters, rarely more, and it is brighter. Here the speckled marking, which we have already observed in oal'bome, is so blurred that one can speak of bright green specks on a somewhat darker background. As regards the seeds, I counted 190-200 in the case of oal'bome, 224 in the case of nkiline, and only 80 in the case of mone ngon. The seeds are pear-shaped (e) and white, and only the inside is eaten. Frequent crossings appear among the fruit although on one and the same plant fruit of the same variety is usually found, and hence it is possible to speak of genuine species, just as in the case of apples and pears.

284 Among the seven chief food plants, ngon occupies fourth
262 place. Only among the Jaunde does it take fifth place, while maize has moved to fourth. I cannot determine whether it was only the drier climate of Jaunde country that caused maize which thrives in a dry climate to be preferred to ngon which grows more successfully in the rainy southern and western Pangwe region. In any case, ngon is of such importance for the huge Pangwe region and far beyond it that one would think considerable space would be devoted to it in technical books about tropical cultivated plants /94/. As it happens, however, the plant is not mentioned by Sadebeck, Fesca, or anywhere else.

284 Concerning the origin of the name, the Fang tell the fol-
TD lowing little story. At first the name ngon was quite unknown; the plant was simply called by the general name ekiluga (from a kiir, "to crack," because the seeds are opened by being cracked, and this is a general expression for all fruits that are opened by cracking and have an edible interior, for instance, andok = irvingia, etc.). Furthermore, ngon was not yet cultivated as it

244 773 is today; instead, women gathered its fruit in the bush. Once upon a time, there was a man who had no sister he could sell to obtain a wife for himself, nor did he have any other person who could help him to get married. He hit upon the idea of starting a huge ngon farm, and when the ngon was ripe many people came and bought the kernels. In this way he finally earned so much money that he had the purchase price for a girl. When other people, who likewise had no wives, heard about this, they began to imitate him and also married through the aid of the plant. Hence, it is said: "Oh, I see this plant like a girl (ngɔ́'n), and therefore it shall be called ngɔ́n also, for if the man had had no ngon (ngɔ́n), he would not have been able to marry a girl [194] (ngɔ́'n)." It should be noted that the two words differ in pitch; the word for the plant has falling pitch in Fang (ngɔ̂n), rising pitch in Jaunde (ngɔ̌n), whereas the word for girl has only high pitch (ngɔ́'n). A narrative in the creation story is very similar.

244 Ngon is planted only once a year since its cultivation requires the period from April to December. In April, frequently long before, the bush is cut and burned. The ground, however, is not cleared, and everything is left lying just as it fell; at most the largest brushwood is removed from the connecting paths. Walking through a farm, especially along the plantation paths, is therefore quite a gymnastic feat. A ngon farm is often cleared [476 communally by the inhabitants of two neighboring villages who 602] belong to the same kin group. To the uninitiated, however, the boundaries are not discernible. They are indicated by trees that have been left standing or have fallen over and more rarely by lianas tied to the branches of tree trunks lying on the ground. It is astonishing that no boundary disputes arise.

244 462 In April, once the farm area has been burned over, the women go into the fields, and with their universal tool, the hoe, they plant the ngon seeds in the ground. The seeds must first have been soaked in water for a day, and two or three of them are planted in the same hole. Because of the tree trunks and the brush lying about, planting is hard work, and for this reason the men usually assist at the task, at least on the first day, equipped with /95/ /Fig. 53 appears here in the original text/ hoes and digging

1: Tessmann--62 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

244
262
301

Fig. 53. Women from Bébai (Eweng Family) Cracking Ngon in a Cassava Field.

244
[262]

sticks. During the planting of groundnuts, on the other hand, "no handsome young man, in fact, no one who by virtue of strength, beauty, and influence is of any account," helps, the only assistance given is provided now and then by a man, ugly or old, who wants to make himself popular with his wife, "so she will not eventually run away and live with somebody else." Once planting is finished, ngon is left to itself and proceeds to climb up the tree trunks and branches. By the middle of May it is already knee high. In June or July the field is weeded once, and later the ngon itself, rising above all else, chokes out the weeds; only some of the larger plants shoot up in spite of it and are occasionally pulled out. In September we already find some of the fruit fully ripened, and at the start of the dry season, in November and December, harvesting can be started. By that time, the leaves and stalks are almost completely dry, and the fruit hangs from the dry stalks in the branches of the trees which served the plant as a prop and are now leafless.

At harvest time an area in the plantation is cleared and carefully covered with leaves. Then the fruit is picked — a job

which is completed in three days in the case of medium-sized plantations -- and heaped up in this area around which a fence of oil palm leaves has been constructed. The fruit is beaten with a stick to open it (Fig. 53), the contents are left in, and for /96/ protection against field mice and rain, it is covered with cardamom leaves. This job is completed in one day. Then the fruit must lie for four days. After this period the seeds are taken out of the fruit, placed in ordinary baskets lined with banana leaves, and left standing in the house for a day. Then they are washed in a river in order to remove the fruit slime clinging to them which has begun to ferment. This somewhat complicated preparation is concluded by the drying process. To this end the seeds, with loam added, are thoroughly kneaded by hand and then spread out in the village square. The reason for kneading them in loam is not clear. Some say -- and this seems to be the most probable explanation -- that the ngon becomes "stronger" by this process, since of course the dark color of the loam causes the sun to have a stronger effect on the seed. Others, especially Jaunde women, give the explanation that otherwise, that is, if the seeds were not mixed with loam, coma or dizziness comes through the eyes when the seeds are cracked open. I am unable to determine whether this is merely a superstition or is based on correct observation. At any rate, the seeds must dry in the sun on the village square for two days or, when bad weather intervenes, for a correspondingly longer period of time. A traveler walking through the villages after the ngon harvest will find quantities of white seeds covered with loam spread out in front of many houses. Children and women guard the treasure from meddlesome dogs and hens and make indignant threats at any trespasser on their harvest. Especially energetic women bombard the intruding animals with stones, small pieces of wood, or other missiles, until finally the anxious husband emerges from the meeting house and by means of a stick or a fly swatter drives away the disturbers of the peace to a respectful distance, where they come to the realization that there are other and better places and pounce upon the nearest, less carefully guarded pile. In my travels I have always enjoyed this time of year especially, since at these times there was at least some life in the village square which is otherwise so quiet. Furthermore, when a black rain cloud indicates the approach of a tornado, the whole community comes to life.

252 Everybody rushes to gather up the seeds; even hobbling old men and little naked children eagerly take part. Great care is taken, however, to get none of the dust which covers the village square in great quantities, no matter how much sweeping is done. Ordinarily, however, the seeds are gathered very quietly and slowly in the late afternoon, all the more slowly since the loam of which I have already spoken is carefully removed from the seeds. The fear of surprise downpours, incidentally, has produced all kinds of preventive medicines which I shall describe in another place (Section 14). /97/

244 136 Ngon suffer from pests more than the groundnut. Among these are beetles and caterpillars, but above all a species of bug which feeds on the leaves and a number of mammals which feed on the fruit. Among these mammals should be mentioned especially the red-tailed monkey, Cercopithecus buccalis Leconte (ołǒk), and, wherever it occurs, the baboon, Maimon planirostris Elliot (esǐge); furthermore, from the family of squirrels there are Sciurus eborivorus Du Chaillu (mvǒk) and Sciurus lemniscatus Leconte (osǒ'n); among the mice, the worst pest is Dendromys messorius Thomas (njaa); and there are also other species, such as Mus pusillulus Ptrs. (okǒb). In places elephants and buffaloes, which likewise eat the fruit, create a great deal of destruction. The guib (nkǒ'k) eats the leaves. Fruit 244 719 rot (ntǔǐ' ngǒn, that is "diarrhea of the ngon"), the result of an overabundant rainfall, likewise reduces the harvest, at times to a considerable extent. Against all these enemies there is not much to be done since they do not pay much attention to preventive medicines; nonetheless, Pangwe women believe that they can influence the seeds and the young plants by all kinds of means, as in the case of the groundnut. One such means, ba-aya, has already been described in connection with the groundnut. A second method consists of sprinkling the seeds themselves in the bush plate where they are kept for sowing with red wood that has been ground to a powder (red wood as a symbol of growth, joy, and reproduction). Another pro- 244 719 824 cedure to encourage the growth of the ngon plants and to make them produce an abundance of fruit is called emǐě ndǒb, that is, squirting of (the medicine in the) banana leaf vessel. For this purpose a vessel made of banana leaves is buried in the middle of the farm or set up there, and the following things are put into it.

1: Tessmann--65 E-5 (1904-1909)1913 F119 Fang F119

244 799 834

1. Fruit of Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. (abui), because of the quantity of its fruit; hence also its name abui from abui, "much" (compare a bue, "break into pieces," for then there are many pieces!).

2. Herb of the Amaranthaceae Aerua lanata (L.) Juss. (angŏ'nzogŏ'ne III, angŏ'ngŏ'ne = assimilated, angŏ'ngŏno), because of its abundant inflorescence.

3. Fruit of the Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofge), because of its many fruits (cf. groundnut medicines).

4. Fruit of the Euphorbiacea Staphysora duseni Pax. (owŭwŭmu II and III), because of its many flowers; hence the name is derived from a wŭmu, "to put forth," the name being formed by reduplication.

5. Pulverized leaves of the melegueta pepper, Aframomum melegueta K. Schum. (andŏn), likewise because of the luxuriant growth of the plant. /98/

All these items are stirred together in water inside the vessel and are then squirted onto the young ngon plants by means of a piece of stalk of the Cissus (pŭŭŭk IV), so that the ngon may "grow as luxuriantly as the Cissus shoot."

Depending upon the region, the various elements and admixtures of the medicine differ; frequently some of them are used by themselves. For instance, Staphysora mixed with charcoal is scattered on the plants. All the components of the medicine listed above, however, are chosen because they can transfer their power to the ngon plants.

244 834

The economic importance of ngon is indicated by the fact that among the Ntum and Fang the women who planted the ngon are forbidden to have sexual intercourse for three months. The significance of this disproportionately long period of fast, if I may call it such, may be measured by the fact that in the important women's cult Mekang, for instance, the initiates are forced to practice only ten days' sexual abstinence, and in the most important men's cult, the

So of the Jaunde, sexual abstinence effectively lasts only three months. The Fang say that the ngon would not grow if the prohibition were broken, and since with them the belly counts for more than love, this prohibition is generally observed.

Only the softer interior of the ngon kernel can be eaten. The kernels must therefore be cracked open, and this is done by means of a little stick from the tree Microdesmis puberula Hook. f., Euphorbiaceae (ohimyōlō), with which they lightly strike the seed after placing it on end. Old and young, men and women, participate in this task which is carried out inside and in front of the dwelling house, as well as in the meeting house. It is an activity characterised by a peculiar clicking noise not easily forgotten once one has heard it. In spite of its importance in the household, the ngon is not prepared in a great variety of ways; like the groundnut, it is eaten only in the form of a soup or it is pulverized and boiled in a leaf bundle.

In conclusion, patient reader, kīndīō (guess a riddle!); kīndīō (I guess):

akīō	afē,	e	mane	akōlua	ngwī,
spear	one,	he	makes ready	herd-swine.	

Answer:

okīō	ofē,	e	mane	dīīd	e	ngon
beater	one,	he	makes ready	bush plate	(with)	ngon.

Yams, as a secondary crop with ngon, are of two principal kinds: the three-leaved yams, Dioscorea dumetorum (Kunth) Pax (andēā); and the common yams, Dioscorea minutiflora Engl. (emvūā). /99/ Each has four species. In addition, the Pangwe differentiate two more kinds which, however, perhaps belong to Dioscorea minutiflora or are close to it: kōō III Nium, dūō (plural, bōō) Fang; and ebōōōō. In the Jaunde region there is furthermore the Jaunde yam with large tubers, ekōda Jaunde. Finally, the air tuber yam, Dioscorea sativa L. (alōō), is also cultivated, but only in very small quantities. As we said above, the conditions for the growth of the yam resemble those of the ngon; it also climbs up the brush and trees left lying about,

244 and for that reason yams, especially the air tuber yam, are frequently planted with ngon. In general, the only edible part of the yam is the rhizome, and in the case of the air tuber yams, only the air tubers which all fall off at the same time when they are ripe. This has given rise to a symbolic custom practiced when the children eat yams.
[177] For instance, when the three sons of one mother eat yams, the first nudges the second, and the latter nudges the third, as a sign that they wish to die after one another, as is natural, and not all on the same day, like the air tubers.

Considerably less can be said of the third group than of the first and second groups. The chief plant belonging to it is cassava or manioc, Manihot utilissima Pohl (mbiin I). The times for /Fig. 54 appears here in the original text/ the cultivation of cassava are as follows:

Fig. 54. Cassava Shoot.

[178] ŋŋ̄ŋ ésób - long dry season (December to February), felling the trees on the farm;
ŋ̄gō ésób - short rainy season (March to May), planting the shoots;
ońn - the rainy half of the year.

In the following ésób, in other words, from January of the following year on, that is, seven months after transplanting, harvesting may begin, and it may extend over an arbitrary period of time since the plant is a perennial.

[179] There are no medicines for the growth of cassava as there are for the groundnut and ngon. The prayer of the Pangwe -- an ancient one in new guise -- would be: "Dear God, let the groundnut and ngon flourish, cassava grows by itself!" Cassava has comparatively few enemies; only goats and sheep like to eat the leaves. There is a species of grasshopper (mbāsáŋ III) which descends in

244 great numbers on the leaves of all cultivated plants, especially cassava and sugar cane. There are seven varieties of cassava, but it would take us too far afield to enumerate them here. As Figure 54 indicates, cassava is planted by heaping a little soil over the shoot. /100/

249 Similarly, sugar cane, Saccharum officinarum L. (ndó'k I), is "planted" during the rainy season. Its shoots are taken from the upper part of the stalk, called the "arrow" (Fangwe: ngó'k), but it requires a longer period of time to ripen for it is not harvested until after the second subsequent rainy season, in other words, after thirteen months. Cassava and sugar cane are frequently found together in a planted area, often with cultivated plantains also interspersed among them.

Riddles:

524

1. ollé e ne m' ebo, ke a wólé
(A) water, it is to me there, not (to) flow.
--The sap in the sugar cane.

2. bengé-ndá (1) be ne m' ebo, vé mendíbe
wives-father's they are to me there, merely (with) dancing caps.

1. Archaic form; nowadays the usual form is beyé.

mendíbe
dancing caps.
--mekín me ndó'k = blossoms of the sugar cane.

3. me vídin ndó'-a ngó'k, o ke ñíme
I throw-to a little more from the nubbin, it goes hitting
nga ndíó-bíngó ndíó
woman, Ndongkodo, (at the) knee.

The solution to this last riddle will be apparent from the following drawing (Fig. 55). Ndongkodo is a jocular name for sugar cane and alludes to the curvature of its stem; ndíó, ndíóó originally meant

1: Tessmann--69 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

"sun," "sun," and was later carried over for people and used as a /Fig. 55 appears here in the original text/ personal name, and bôt - lord; we would perhaps say: "Your Excellency Von Sun."

I now turn to the second part of the cultivated plants, those that are cultivated in gardens, that is, in small operations and for the most part behind or close to the dwelling. To be sure, the difference between field and garden cultivation is not everywhere sharply defined. For instance, the garden plant taro is often planted at a distance from the village in fields, and plantains are frequently grown on cassava farms and other farms.

Taro, Colocasia antiquorum Schott (atú), and Macabo, Xanthosoma violaceum Schott (ekábe)

The taro or Colocasia is -- as the Latin name indicates -- a cultivated plant of some antiquity even for the Pangwe, hence they have no ready explanation for the name atú. The macabo, on the other hand, which stems from /101/ America, has only recently been introduced and, according to the natives, was

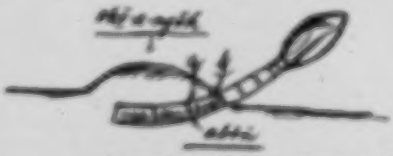


Fig. 55. Sugar Cane Shoot.

taken over by the coastal peoples about thirty years ago (1);

> 1. As soon as one has become familiar with the Negroes' ability to estimate time, one becomes very cautious with respect to the preciseness of historical dates.

hence its name ekábe from a ikób-an, "to hand over, to divide, to take possession of." Both plants belong to the Araceae family. Taro is distinguished from macabo by the fact that its leaves are

only slightly indented near the bottom and the stalk of the leaf is articulated down by the flat part, while the macabo has true arrow-shaped leaves so that the indentation extends down to the stalk. Furthermore, macabo leaves have a slight sheen on the surface, while taro leaves are dull and their veins have an almost bluish tinge. Taro has yellow blossoms; macabo has white, green, and rose tinted ones; both blossom in the rainy season.

Strangely enough, Europeans in the Cameroons tend to prefer macabo to taro; the former is their substitute for the potato in Africa, although the latter, if merely steamed, doubtless has the better taste. At the same time the Pangwe have little love for macabo and have retained taro, their traditional cultivated plant. The explanation for this may be the fact that the Europeans first employed cooks from among the Batanga /Tanga/, one of the coastal peoples. Macabo is more important to them than taro, and their word akabe (plural, makabe) became macabo among the Europeans. Generally speaking, there is little to say about macabo cultivation among the Pangwe. They simply let it grow in the old places between the plantains around the village, just as it was left by departing predecessors. There it stands today -- reverting to the wild state -- and anyone can take as much as he likes. When the Pangwe settle a new region, however, they too plant macabo in the village and occasionally cultivate it. Two species of macabo are distinguished: the green mfü'm ekábe (mfü'm, "white, bright"), whose tubers are white; and a second, mfǔ ekábe (mfǔ, "dark"), whose leafstalks are a dark reddish color and whose tubers are likewise reddish. The white species is indisputably the better one. The dark species is not suited for the preparation of the macabo biscuits that are popular among the Europeans.

Taro, on the other hand, is cultivated, and since, as is well known, it thrives on moist soil, it is planted in the vicinity of swamps or in places with an abundance of water, more rarely near houses, and usually together with macabo. Taro farms are generally not large. There are three species of taro:

1. mfü'm atí: leafstalks green, underside of the leaf smooth;
2. atíde III (from a dzá, "to fill": this species bears so many little tubers that they fill a whole plate): leafstalks bluish, underside of the leaf smooth; /102/

244 3. uwŭnŏŏle III: leafstalk blotch, underside of leaf along each side of the ribs has dark green lichenous excrescences.

Taro is planted twice, in the long and short rainy seasons, and it is harvested twice, in the following long and short dry seasons. All the tubers are removed from the soil, and the farm is thus harvested completely. If any tubers are forgotten, they are picked up during the next dry season, but that is the end; there are never more than two harvests from the same sowing. A piece of land once used for taro is never cultivated a second time since enough swampy soil
[79] is available. There are no medicines to promote the growth of taro.

The tubers and young leaves are eaten as vegetables. Furthermore, the Pangwe are familiar with the fact that insufficiently boiled tubers cause "mefŭl," that is, itching in the neck, and so forth.
[257 278] The tubers are also used as medicine for blood tumors (mvim); the resin-like secretion of the Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl., Burseraceae (asŭ), is placed on the swelling, and over this is smeared a salve made from the parings of raw taro tubers. This is supposed to make the diseased areas become "ŭŭfgan," that is, weak or soft.

Plantain

245 The shoots of the plantain, as well as of the banana which is cultivated alongside it, are planted around the village or on farms. They thrive without care and ripen during each season of the year. The plantain (1) or Negro banana, Musa paradisiaca L. (ekŏn).

> 1. The /German/ word Plane is derived from "plantain" which in turn comes from the Spanish platano, "banana." Since the plantain is very different from the true banana, I consider the retention of the word "plantain" useful. The French call it banane-cochon.

Figure 56, which in the Pangwe region has 25 different varieties, does not, to be sure, attain the luxuriance of the banana which grows like a weed. Nevertheless, it is very productive, just the plant for a Negro.

1: Tessmann--72 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

285

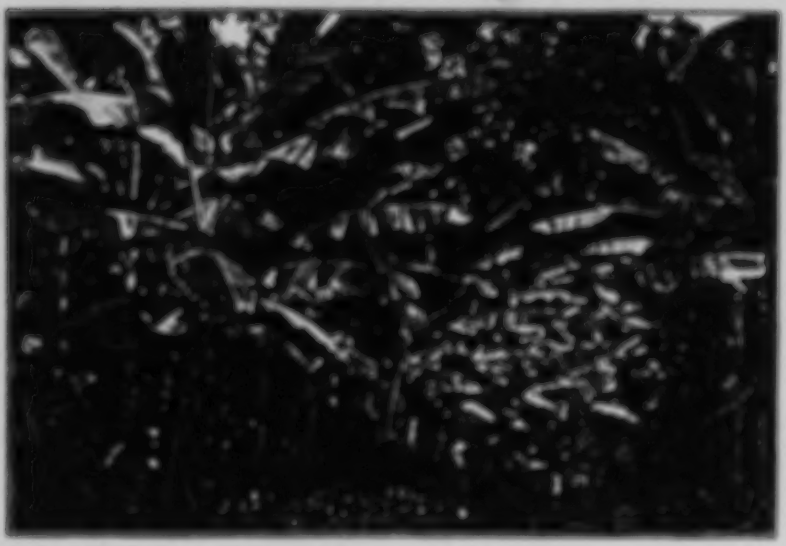


Fig. 56. Plantains (Negro Bananas) and Bananas near Nkâlong (Eséwong Family)

[G4] Riddle: mɔ̄ɔ̄ŋgə e ne m' ɔ́ɔ́, ə wə̄'lə
woman she is to me there, the many

ə̄ə̄' bə̄ə̄n, bəə nɔ̄m
gives birth to children, no (without) man.

Answer: ɛkə̄'n = plantain.

That is precisely the ideal: reward without labor, fruit without effort, food which without the work of hands grows into one's mouth. In this sense the plantain, like its sister, the banana, is really the most deserving of all the cultivated plants of the name "paradisiaca." Of the banana, Musa paradisiaca var. sapientum L., there are two species: the bush banana (adzə̄ə̄, adzə̄ə̄-ɛkə̄'n); and the noble banana (etə̄t, etə̄t-ɛkə̄'n). As is apparent from /103/ /Fig. 56 appears here in the original text/ the name, even among the Pangwe the banana is regarded as a variety of plantain. The noble banana, the one we know, was introduced from the coast, according to the Pangwe. At first it was called madzə̄ə̄

245
177

[177] mentlîgen, "banana of the Whites." Later it was given the name etît, from the stem a tît, "to moan." "One" ate too much of it; "one" could not digest so much; "one" became weak; "one" could not catch anything during the hunt, which among the Fangwe is always the chief source of worry, and so forth.

I can only give a brief account at this point of the less important vegetables. The sweet potato, Ipomoea batatas L. (dîgî III), is not cultivated; it thrives like a weed in the vicinity of the villages and chokes out every other weed, so that one can speak of miniature potato fields. It is not a very popular food. Other vegetables are sown and planted either in the vicinity of the houses or on the farm. Of these vegetables we should name first Cucurbita maxima Duch. (ebîb), which belongs to the Cucurbitaceae family and of which there are four varieties. The flesh of the fruit is eaten, as is the interior of the seeds, and small unripe fruit is also added whole to the groundnut bundle. Its young leaves are cut into small pieces and eaten as vegetables. The skin of the fruit cannot be removed, otherwise one would be wounded in battle. The men must avoid the [131] seeds if they do not want to lose their virility the /104/ following night; hence it is regarded as taciturn if the women serve the fruit with the seeds to the men at mealtime.

Of the Malvaceae and the Tiliaceae, Hibiscus and Corchorus (tîgî III - fruit, estîtîm) are planted. The name is derived from a tîk, "weak," for the leaves are cooked in a short time on the fire; the fruit is called estîtam from a tîbî etîm, "to stand alone," for they stand alone at the tip of the stalk when the leaves are withered or have been picked off. Both fruit and leaves are eaten. The following varieties are distinguished: Hibiscus moschatus Roxb. (nia tîge - true hibiscus); and the Tiliaceae Corchorus olitorius L. (ngîbelîmo IV). The name esîb includes three plants of different families, namely, Hibiscus sabdariffa L. (engîm-esîb), the Polygonaceae Rumex abessynicus Jacq. (ebîbî-dî-es), and the Melastomataceae Dîmorfa decumbens (P. B.) Triaq. (esîbî-bongîn-b'oyek).

All these plants are sown, and their leaves are eaten.

Other cultivated plants are the following.

244 From the family of the Solanaceae there are: Solanum melongena L. var. inermе Hiern. (ə̌ə̌ʼn); Solanum dinklagei U.D. (ɔ̌ɔ̌ʼla); Solanum lycopersicum L. (ə̌ə̌ʼnə̌ʼngan = ə̌ə̌ʼn, that is, Solanum melongena, of the Whites). The fruit of these three varieties of Solanum is eaten. Furthermore, there is Solanum aethiopicum L. (ə̌ʼm IV, ə̌ə̌ʼm) with three varieties: nil ə̌ʼm = true ə̌ʼm, ntəma I, and nləə̌ʼ -ə̌ʼm, as well as Solanum macrocarpum L. var. thonningii (ə̌ə̌ʼ -ə̌ʼm from ə̌ə̌ʼ - Solanum duplosinuatum U.D., because of the similarity of the fruit). The leaves of the latter two species are eaten. From the family of the Amaranthaceae there are: Celosia argentea L. (ə̌ʼm e mə̌ə̌ʼ, that is, ə̌ʼm of the Mwele); Celosia laxa Schum. et Thonn. (ə̌ə̌ʼm [?], əbə̌ʼnə̌ʼgə̌n); Amaranthus paniculatus L. (ə̌ə̌ʼm IV, ə̌ʼm IV). From the family of the Labiatae there are: Ocimum basilicum L. (əə̌ʼm); Ocimum gratissimum L. (ə̌ə̌ʼn); Plectranthus spec. (ə̌ə̌ʼ), afən; and Aeolanthus edlingeri Gürke (əə̌ʼlə̌ʼnge, Nsom; əə̌ʼngəə̌ʼnge, Fang).

II. Livestock

231 For reasons which I shall mention in a moment, the Pangwe keep domestic animals, but this is not the kind of economic activity that could be called stock farming. The four-footed domestic animals include dogs, goats, and sheep; as for fowl, there are hens and, recently introduced, ducks.

[262] The dog (mgə̌ IV) is kept basically for hunting. It is also eaten, a practice which is especially popular among the Jaunde. In the eyes /105/ of the European this dog is no more than a caricature, a repulsive travesty of a real dog. A glance into their false eyes suffices to make one hate the animals. Usually they are covered with sores; they are thieving and treacherous, disobedient, cowardly, and at the same time quarrelsome. In these characteristics they frequently strike the observer as comparable to their masters. I was struck by their not very highly developed sexual urge, in contrast to European dogs. The Pangwe values his dog all the more highly because of its great usefulness on the hunting drive. Good hunting dogs are very difficult to obtain from their owners and are worth as much

231/435

231 [435] as medium-sized female goats and sheep (14 marks or 200 spears).
231 552 Just as among us, the dogs have their own names which are taken from the list of human names or else allude in jocular fashion to the characteristics of the animals. Frequently, indeed, these swine-snouted curs are given a first name and a patronymic, just like people, or since for obvious reasons it is at times difficult to establish the paternity of the dog, it is given a first name and its mother's name, thus, akut-e-mban.

Among human names applied to dogs I was able to discover the following: ndŏŏo (a very ancient man's name; see pages 68 and 69); asŏn (umbrella tree, man's name); mvŏŏŋ (Satan's ape, Colobus anthracinus Lecomte); ondŏ' (?, man's name); mŏŏe-ahŏ (single otter, woman's name); mfu'me'ŏk (the white of the elephant, that is ivory; woman's name); mbŏ'ŏ (ivory, woman's name).

Other dogs' names are: obŏ'nŏ (from obŏn = bead, one adorned with beads, perhaps also a woman's name); ollŏ'n (the tree Rinorea dentata [P. Beauv.] O. Ktze.); ebŏ'menŏŏ (one who always lies on the bed); ajŏ'ŏk (a ŏ' = to yearn, ŏk = elephant; in other words the one who yearns for elephant meat); anŏ'n (dog's bell); odzŏ'm (dwarf lemur, Hemigalago, because the dog bounds through the bushes like the dwarf lemurs in the trees); akŏ' (the stupid one).

231 Goats and sheep, which the Fang put together under the name
556 kabad, are kept as an investment, as pets, and only in third place as livestock for slaughter. While the economic life is otherwise considered from the viewpoint of "food," this strikingly recedes completely into the background concerning domestic animals where the main point is the joy of possession. We thus have real "savings," the purpose of which is to store up bride money. This has its familiar consequences: thriftiness carried to the point of avarice; a piece of [442] meat allowed only on very rare occasions; and no distaste for the enjoyment of animals that have died.

231 The goats (ekŏ'le) are just as unpleasant as the dogs because of their annoying habit of making a hullabaloo at night and because of other indecent and repulsive characteristics. The only domestic animal that we find congenial is the sheep (nŏma I), Figure 57, but here, too, the bad example of the goats frequently spoils good manners. They "specialize" in producing, especially at night, /106/ /Fig. 57

231

Fig. 57. Sheep, Village of Makonanfam (Ojek Family).

appear here in the original text/ a moan similar to that made by a human being. This moaning is so nerve-racking that it may bring tears to one's eyes. In regions where there are leopards, [417] pens (Fig. 58) are built of logs, and the goats and sheep are driven into them at night.

232 In the Pangwe region castration is practiced only on goats, not sheep; a tŭ̂b miak – to hollow out (the scrotum) (in order) to geld. Goats are castrated "so that they will become enormous and put on much fat." The procedure is very crude. The ex- [304] pert, who frequently circumcises the children at the same time, opens the young animals' scrotum by means of two lateral cuts with a razor blade (okóógŏn) and takes out the testicles. The scrotum is then washed out with warm water several times a day for four days. The water is mixed with a medicine, the sap of [278] the Guttifera Haronga paniculata Pers. (Loid.) (atŭ̂ih), pre- [124] sumably to glue the scrotum together (the tree sweats a sticky yellow sap under the bark, and this is extracted by putting pieces of bark in water).

Fig. 58. Pen for Sheep and Goats in Mendim (Nkong Family). South Cameroons.

This favorable influence on the physical development of the animal increases its value from about 14 marks to 35 marks (500 spean), a capital increase which is certainly desirable to the Fang-e. Even greater, however, is his joy at the beautiful appearance of the castrated animals. /107/ /Fig. 58 appears here in the original text./ The effect of castration is the basis for the comparison between symbolically, not physically, castrated people (see Section 18, "Sexual Life") and the castrated goats and also for designation by the same name; these people -- up to a certain point in time, at least -- are supposed to undergo conspicuous mental development. The fact that the flesh of animals also improves as food through castration plays only a secondary role.

Magnificent old specimens, including uncastrated goats and sheep, sometimes receive a human name, and their owner would never sell such an animal; indeed, he would not even give it away as a marriage portion.

Of other domestic animals there is only the cat (pfd's IV Fang, esf'nÄ), very recently introduced from the coast.

235 As regards poultry, only the hen (bub IV) is native. Only its
242 meat, not the eggs, is used for food, and even that rarely and on special occasions. At the proper place I shall return to the significance of the hen in the religious conceptions of the natives.

235 For the hens, small pens of logs are constructed behind the
417 house. In addition, baskets are hung for them on the outside and inside walls of the house where they can brood. Finally, the brood hen is /108/ not refused a resting place in the house on some unused bed if she should consider it the safest and most suitable place for herself and her chicks. A hole at the bottom of the wall serves as an exit for the hen's family.

235 During the 1880's and 1890's ducks with a red band around
177 the eyes were introduced. Around 1890 they arrived in the Fang region and were called ełŋ (wild duck = ełŋ'); later they were called ełŋ' III.

231 Like other primitive peoples, the Pangwe cannot be called animal lovers. Except for parrots, one sees practically no tamed forest animals, not even monkeys. The Pangwe "tire" (a ŷŋ) of looking after and feeding them, and under such circumstances one cannot blame the freedom-loving quadrupeds and birds for seeking to escape or lying down to die. Gray parrots, which immediately introduce themselves to every stranger by their name, for instance, as eskʌ'skʌ' = kite, are quite common. They usually find their food on the garbage heaps or among the leftovers in the house. Now and then one sees wild boars that were caught when young. Once I was brought a young leopard which a woman had tried to keep alive by feeding it from her breast; the animal badly scratched the helpful woman, and she quickly abandoned her voluntary maternal role.

231 The bee, Apis mellifica L. var. adansoni (myúfůh IV, bʌ̄ʌ' IV
222 Fang), is not kept, but wild honey (wʌ̄ʌ' : plural, mʌ̄ʌ'), which for the most part is to be found in tree trunks, is gathered and consumed raw.

III. Fishing

226 West Africa is one of the areas of the world richest in fish.
136 Hence, the numerous rivers and streams of the Pangwe region possess great quantities of different kinds of fish. Some of the most

1: Tessmann--79 E-S (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang FH9

256 outstanding and most typical representatives of the fish world of
136 the Campo-Uelle region are shown on Plate 9. Here the family of the sheatfish (Siluridae) is especially abundantly represented. Of these fish we should mention: Eutropius longuelensis Blgr. (ohi̇da Fang, hi̇da IV Ntum; young = ami̇b); the spiny-finned sheatfish, Auchenoglanis balayi (Sauv.) var. gravoti Pellegr., that is the catfish of the Pangwe, mi̇ I (I); Clarias submarginatus Pzn.

> 1. mi̇ I, the civet cat Genetta, because the fish is spotted in exactly the same way.

(mvá' IV Fang, mvá' IV Ntum); and Clarias walkeri Gthr. (mó' IV), as well as a new Synodontis species, Synodontis tessmanni Papph. (ohi̇'), and a new Clariallabes species, Clariallabes longicaudatus Papph. (ndi̇ge I, ndi̇ge III). Furthermore, species were gathered from the genera Doumea, Parauchenoglanis, and Atopochilus. Of the Mormyridae the following should be mentioned: Gnathonemus moorii (Gthr.), ani̇'n, which is to be found everywhere and is notable because of its peculiar /109/ tail fin equipped with an electrically charged organ; and, secondly, Marcusenius sphekodes (Sauv.), ondi̇'m I. Both of these are smaller species and of no importance for the Pangwe. Of the family of the Characinidae, the following are especially noteworthy: Sarcodaces odoë (Bl.), mó I); Distichodus hypostomatus Pellegr., mbi̇ I; and the newly discovered Alestes tessmanni Papph. (ohi̇da Fang, hi̇da IV Ntum). From the family of the Cyprinidae there are species of Barbus, such as Barbus guirali Thomin (mvá III, endzi̇'ma mvá), and the new Barbus malacanthus Papph., as well as several species of the genus Barilius. In addition, I have collected species from the families Cyprinodontidae, Anabantidae, Cichlidae, and Mastacembelidae, which I shall not describe in detail here.

22/ 50/ The wealth of fish in the larger streams is exploited to a relatively minor degree because the Pangwe feel themselves too unsafe with their ill-made rafts on the many rapids. Moreover, the small number of dugouts, which must also handle the traffic at river crossings, is insufficient for a satisfactory exploitation of the abundance of fish, as well as totally unsuited for a regular fishing industry

226 industry. To these considerations should be added the seclusion of the villages and poor communication facilities. The hydrographic conditions in themselves bring about considerable differentiation even in a fairly small area. In Yaoundé /Ger., Jaunde/, for instance, fishing does not play the large role that it does in the south; the Bawa (a group of the Jaunde), for example, are familiar with only four methods of catching fish aside from fish driving, namely, with basket weirs, using long baskets (mɔ̌ʋ I) and ordinary baskets (nkɔ̌ʋ̌ I), poisoning fish (ngʌ̌m IV), and angling.

To describe the various forms that the fishing industry takes in the different regions would lead me too far afield. Hence, in order to give a general picture of the fishing industry, I shall discuss only the various procedures with which I became acquainted among the central Pangwe in the river region of the Campo with its left tributaries, the Uelle in its central nose, and above all its tributaries, the Bimfille, Abea, etc. The best months for catching fish in these regions are September to February, when the water level in the rivers begins to go down; during the remaining period there is only angling or here and there a basket is set.

[462] Fishing is men's work, with the sole exception of fish driving which is a task for women. The methods are as follows.

1. Fish driving, a ʌ̌ʌ̌k (verb)

In shallow brooks or streams the water is driven downstream by means of flat baskets, the so-called bush plates (dʌ̌ʌ̌ʋ), /110/ after transverse dams of stones or twigs have first been set up at some distance. These prevent the fish from escaping. Then the women fish from the pools that remain with a small-meshed, shallow net [463] tied to a stalk from the plant Scitaminea Trachyphrynium violaceum Radl. (nkɔ̌monkɔ̌mo) that has been bent double. Like the bush plate, this net is actually a piece of kitchen equipment, used to wash cassava.

The catch consists of only little fish, a few fingers or at most a few spans long, a variety of snails, some species of shrimp (1),

1. In the main, species of Palaemon

226 macrobrachyum Herklots (nwǒ i) and
Caridina togoensis Hilgd. (nlǒ IV).

the larvae of dragon flies, and other kinds of lower animals. The total catch, however, is pretty large. Everything is eaten, and fishing is one of the women's chief enjoyments. Accordingly, time and time again one will see all the women of a village, from the oldest grandmother down to the smallest girl, wandering into the forest where they know of a suitable stream, and there they will splash around to their heart's content until late into the night. Frequently the entire company will not return to the village until the first owl causes the silent forest to resound with its eerie call. Then they come tramping home with their rich booty which can scarcely be contained in the women's long baskets (nkun). At a fish drive the women build fiɩ (Fang, pfiɩ (Ntum), or ebǐ̄ɩa, that is, piles of stones, little pieces of branches, or the like thrown into the water close to the bank, under which the fish gather. At the next fish drive they dam off the brook above and below this place and then catch the fish with no trouble at all after the water has run off.

226 476 The Jaunde use this method also in large streams and rivers that are not too deep. They do not construct any dams, however; instead, the fish are driven into shallow inlets or onto flooded forest ground. Of course it must be remembered that such fish drives can be carried out only by the concerted efforts of a number of people. Hence, the chief calls together the women from the neighborhood, goes with them to the place where they want to fish, and stations them in their places. In exchange, he receives a certain share; each woman must give him half of her catch, and an uneven number is rounded off upwards.

2. Fish driving (abǔɩǎ)

226

This corresponds to the procedure of the Jaunde just described, but it takes place only at night and without damming the water in larger rivers.

226
157

3. Children's angling (ngɛ̄k IV)

Ntum and Fang boys catch small fish with tackle made of porcupine quills. The quills are broken off near the top and are held together in the form of a hook by means /111/ of the firm root fibers of the Araceæ Rhectophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (ndɛ̄ IV, kɛ̄s IV).

227

4. Fishing tackle (nlɔ̄b I)

The Jaunde know tackle similar to ours, consisting of a line, pole, hook, and floater, and according to information provided by my Jaunde, it was in use even before the Whites arrived. The tackle of the Fang and Ntum (Fig. 59) is considerably different; the hook is held down on the river bottom by means of a stone fastened to the line. In former times they also had a floater but more recently this has for the most part been given up as useless. With the line in his hand, the angler crouches on a raft or canoe that lies hidden in the bushes by the bank. Worms are used everywhere for bait.

5. Rope tackle or hanging tackle (ekɛ̄le nlɔ̄b, elɩ̄h nlɔ̄b

This differs from the tackle just mentioned only in that the line is attached to a liana rope stretched across the river. It hangs in the water, held in place by the stone which acts as a sinker.

226

6. Spearing and shooting

The Pangwe spears larger fish from the river bank or from a tree trunk lying in the water, or he shoots them with a gun or a crossbow. By the way of a postscript I shall also mention the fact that in shallow water fish are killed with the cutlass.

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

7. Fish poison (ngŭm IV)

276 278 Catching fish by poisoning the water is a practice that is universal throughout the Pangwe region, but it is not done frequently because suitable places are not found everywhere. Such places are basins or inlets closed off by rocks, where the stream flows slowly. The Distichodus hypostomatus Pellegr. /Fig. 59 appears here in the original text/ (mbŭń), Plate 9, finds a habitat especially to its liking between the rocks in these basins and inlets, and it is caught there chiefly by poisoning. The name is derived from an herb (ngŭm) which is supposed to occur in the Jaunde region and is used there for killing fish. Subsequently, the name became a general word for all fish poisons. In the south the following plants are used as poisons.

1. Husks of the Leguminosae Pachyelasma tessmannii Harms (makō'ō III which gives off a terrible stench like that of waste water. /112/
2. Fruit of a Rubiacea (oyŏ'), commonly used with 1 above.
3. Leaves and stalks of the Passifloraceae Ophiocaulon cissampeloides Hook. f. and Adenia lobata (Jacq.) Engl. (their name in common, undŭndŭ or ŭndŏndŏle a ndžik).
4. Leaves of Duvernonia extensa (T. And.) Lieb., Acanthacea (ngŭnekiă,ī'-nya-zăm IV) (1)

[227]

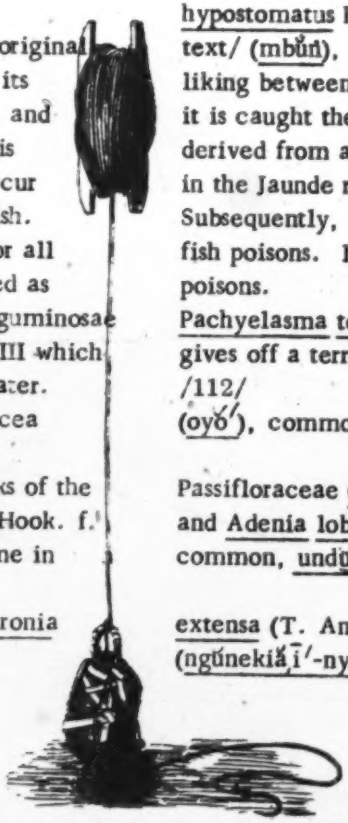


Fig. 59. Fishing Line.

1. The Acanthacea Lankesteria elegans (P.B.) T. And. (ngŭnekiă,ī' IV) also seems to be poisonous for fish. According to information given by the Negroes,

226
278

the leaves are rubbed to a power on rocks lying in the water; the fish (probably stupefied) then come to the surface and are killed with the cutlass.

rubbed into small pieces until foam forms; ordinarily used with 3 above.

5. Pieces of bark of the Piptadenia africana Hook. f., Leguminosae (tŭm IV).
6. Pieces of bark of the Rinorea dentata (P. B.) O. Ktze., Violaceae (olŭ̀h), commonly used with 5 above.
7. Husks of the Leguminosae Tetrapleura thonningii Hook. f. (agbwā′ III, esisē′i) (2), rubbed to a powder.

2. Incidentally, these give off a lovely scent, like that of hot rolls, and in this respect they are just the opposite of Pachyelasma.

8. Leaves of the Leguminosae Tephrosia vogelii Hook. f. (ndăwōlō III) (3), rubbed to a powder.

3. From the stem a wŏlŏ, "to murder"; compare wŏle (Uelle), "the murderer."

7. Fish weir (olă′m)

227

The greatest and most productive installation for catching fish, also the most complicated, is the fish weir (Fig. 60). It blocks the river crosswise and consists of three parts: the main weir (a), and two lateral weirs (b). These are walls made of logs or sticks placed close together, between which leaves or sheets of bark (main weir) are fastened. /Fig. 60 appears here in the original text./ Holes are cut out along the bottom of the lateral weirs, and baskets are placed in them. Just below the surface of the water the main weir extends into from one to four triangular screens (c) which are placed toward the current, slanting from the bottom

227 upwards in such a fashion that their tips just protrude above the water.

It goes without saying that such weirs can be built only when the water level is lowest. As soon as the water in the river rises, it carries many fish with it and /113/ drives those which are not caught in the baskets of the lateral weirs onto the screens where they often remain in large numbers and are simply picked up by the Negroes. They are reached by a special bridge built out from the bank or by climbing along the edge of the lateral weir.

227 423 This kind of fish weir occurs everywhere except in the north. Usually the chief induces a number of people to construct such a weir; these people then have the sole right of ownership to the fish weir and the fish. They do give their relatives and acquaintances, probably for nothing, a part of their catch, either from a sense of solidarity or because they expect that in similar circumstances they will be provided for in the same way. On the other hand they [425] demand payment from strangers, the amount depending on the size

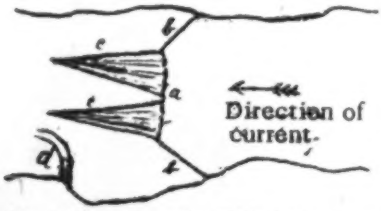


Fig. 60. Diagram of a Fish Weir in the Abea: (a) main weir, (b) lateral weirs, (c) screens of the main weir, (d) a tree growing on the bank and bent over the water.

of the fish, one or two spears (seven or 14 pfennigs) apiece. The major part of the catch is consumed immediately; the rest is dried. Since fish spoil quickly in the tropics, only a very few leave [251 435] the place where they are caught; another reason for this is that the uncertain conditions in the Fang area prevent regular trade (1).

1. There are no markets at all.

227 285 In addition to the contrivance just described, consisting of main and lateral weirs, one also encounters lateral weirs used by themselves

227 285 as independent "basket weirs." They provide a less abundant catch, but on the other hand they are not restricted to a certain water level and for that reason give a regular supply. Three different kinds of basket are used in this kind of weir:

8. nkǒ,ḗ I = ordinary baskets,

9. ayǎ′ = short fish baskets (Fig. 61),

10. nsǒ,ń I = long fish baskets (Fig. 62),

and usually two such kinds are used together.

227 226 In smaller rivers or streams, such as the Miemie, a tributary of the Kje, nsǒ,ń and ayǎ′ are laid, and in large rivers, a larger form of the ayǎ′ and nkǒ,ḗ. These two types of baskets are always used in one weir since experience has shown that one species of fish is more readily caught in one type of basket, while another species is more readily caught in the other. Only rarely is just one type of basket, such as the nsǒ,ń, used exclusively. These long baskets, nsǒ,ṅ, which may have a diameter up to 30 centimeters, are used with special frequency among the Jaunde, but also occur in the south. Usually from three to four baskets are placed in one weir, say, two ayǎ′ and two nsǒ,ń (Fig. 63). At the same time it should be noted that the long baskets, nsǒ,ṅ, lie with the opening towards the source, while the ayǎ′ (like the nkǒ,ḗ) are placed with the opening facing the river mouth, so the fish that are swimming upstream will also be caught. The weir that consists of ayǎ′ and nsǒ,ń is designed for the following /114/ /Figs. 61 and 62 appear here in the original text/ creatures: spiny-finned sheatfish (collective name, kõ′mĕšúm IV) (1); Clarias walkeri (ngõ′); Synodontis

1. kõ(s)-a-mašúm, that is, fish with spines on its back.

tessmanni Papph. (ngõ′ṅ, nwõ′ṅ I); furthermore, Marcusenius sphekodes (Saus.) (ntõtõ′m); Gnathonemus moorii (Gthr.) (anĕ′n); crawfish; common crabs; Palaemon shrimps (nwõs); etc. Finally, Clariallabes longicaudatus Papph. (ndõna I) are also caught in it.

227
285

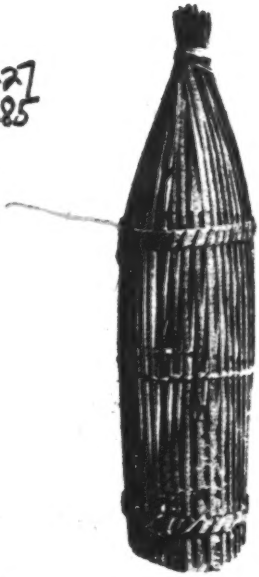


Fig. 61. Short Fish Basket.

Fig. 62. Long fish Basket Weirs.

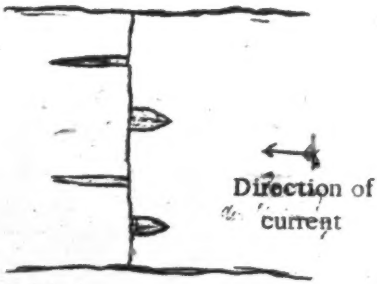


Fig. 63. Diagram of a Basket Weir.

227 The baskets, nkǒ.ḗ, are the same size as the baskets of the
226 same name used by the women in field work. They have a funnel through which the fish passes into the interior without being able to turn back. In these baskets mainly the following creatures are caught: Sarcodaces odoe (nsó I), Plate 9; Clarias walkeri, spiny-finned sheatfish; Xenocharax spilurus Gthr. (mfí'gǎ, mfí'nga I); Anabas pleurostigma Blgr. (awǔn); Parauchenoglanis guttatus (Lönnbg.) (ebū', evū̃s); Eutropius banguelensis Blgr. (nkǎ'de III; younger specimens = okiḗ III); and common crabs. On the other hand, they do not catch Barbus guirali Thomin. (mvǎǎ III).

11. Basket trap (ngūǎ IV)

The basket trap (Fig. 64) is a longish basket with a lid in front of the opening. The lid is pulled over the opening by means of a device set up on the river bank, following the pattern of spring traps, when a fish releases the lever system attached at the farther end of the basket. A snail is placed as bait inside the basket which is anchored to the bottom of the stream in water not too deep. This trap is principally designed to catch Clarias walkeri (ngǒ') and common crabs (kā'da).

12. Catch basket (ngǔ.děgō III)

/Fig. 63 appears here in the original text./ This is a small basket with a funnel over the opening (Fig. 65), designed for the Clarias walkeri. It is placed in a river, baited with pieces of an ant nest (called dzā'k, ndzāk IV), /115/ together with ants of the species Cremastogaster striatula Em. (esǒn, osǒn), or with pieces of tree termite nests (likewise called dzā'k).

The fish baskets, ayǎ', are placed individually in the river in the same way. These are baited with cassava (1) or with twigs (without

1. Whole roots of dried cassava (ndžāǎ mbǔn), boiled (agbwǎ.ma mbǔn) and cut into small pieces.

227
285

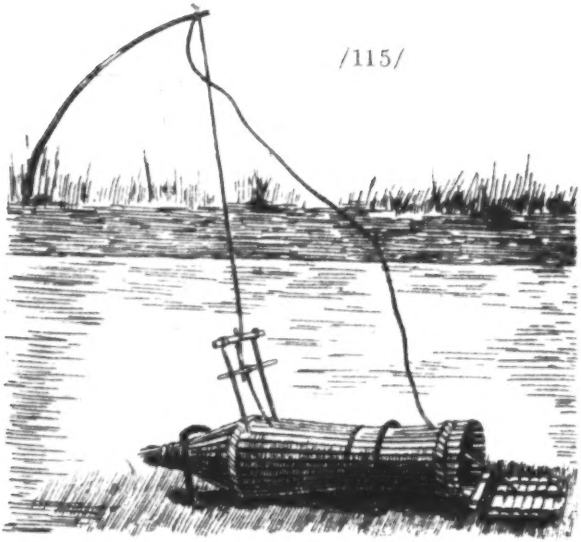


Fig. 64. Basket Trap for Fish.

Fig. 65. Catch Basket for Fish.

227
226 leaves) of the Oxystigma buchholzii Harms, Leguminosae (pfū̱n IV). In this case the baskets are called ewū̱a-aya' (from a wū̱a, "to throw out"). /Fig. 64 appears here in the original text./

13. Giant fish baskets (edū̱gǎ, adū̱ǎ)

Baskets from three to four meters long and from one to two meters wide, in other words, so large that they would hold from four to five people, are lowered into deep water where they are left for four days the first time and afterwards three days in each case. The entire basket is loosely filled with twigs of the Leguminosae Millettia thonningii Bak. (onĕmežok), the Impatiens dichroa Hook. f. (eję̂s), and especially the Euphorbiacea Cleistanthus angolensis M. Arg. (ngbǎ́de I); all are plants whose slime or leaves are eaten by the fish. Further, the baskets are filled with the leafy stalks of the cardamom, Aframomum albo-violaceum K. Sch. (adžŏm), or of the related Scitaminea Renealmia albo-rosea K. Sch. (adžŏm-mekūm), whose smell the fish love. Finally, also, they put into the baskets roots of the cassava and of the Euphorbiacea Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg. (asǎ́m), around which the fish like to swim. The basket is open in front and is pulled out of the water open side first, so that the fish -- already hampered and confused by the tangle of roots and twigs -- cannot escape so readily. /Fig. 65 appears here in the original text./

14. Giant fish boxes (esĭ̱ē, bū̱u III)

Boxes are sometimes used instead of the giant baskets. These are constructed of bark and are from three to four meters long, a meter and a half tall. Aside from their shape, they are distinguished from the baskets by a lid which is open in the water and is pulled shut when the box is drawn out of the water.

The giant fish boxes and baskets are not easy to construct or to manipulate, and for this reason they are not often seen.

226
227

15. Fish ditches (mvēǐ IV., mvě)

Perpendicular to the direction of the river, a ditch (Fig. 66) is dug out and closed off from the river by a wall of bark (a) with a trap door in the middle. The ditch is furnished with bait, nests of the above-mentioned species of ants (c). Across the ditch a foot bridge is constructed (b). After the door has been left open for a number of days, it is closed one night from the foot bridge, and the fish are then taken from the ditch with a net. Again, the fish are chiefly Clarias walkeri and secondarily Marcusenius (ntotom). This method of catching fish is practiced only in the southern region.

Round fishing nets that are thrown and spread out like parachutes as they sink into the water, such as are used everywhere along the coast, are unknown to the Pangwe. The small round net which the women use for washing the cassava as well as for catching fish has already been mentioned. There remains to be discussed only one more fishing device.

16. Net trap (olǎń)

This is a combination of a net with a scaffolding. The scaffolding is shown from the rear in Figure 67. It consists of three individual parts: the front gallows (a) with two cross beams (d); the back gallows (b) with the supporting lath (c); and the center piece. The latter is composed of the net hoop (f), the net attached to it (in the illustration it has not yet been fastened on), and three long raffia stalks fastened at (x): one free (g); and two others (e) which are tied to the net hoop at y and z and rest on top of the crossbeam (c). A person sitting on the front gallows can manipulate the net with the stick (g); by this means he can lower the net (Fig. 68) or, if it is not needed, he can raise it, push it between the poles (d), and then place it (g) back on c (Fig. 69). The scaffolding is erected in a stream in such fashion that the net will lie on the bottom. The stream itself is dammed off on both sides so the fish are driven into the net by the current. They are unable to escape from the net's sharply pointed bag /117/ (see Fig. 69). The net is called etǐtǎne. For obvious reasons, only smaller fish are caught in the net trap which, if only because of its shape, cannot be called exceedingly practical.

226
227

/Fig. 66 appears here in the original text. /

Fig. 66. Diagram of a Fish Ditch: (a) bark wall with door, (b) bridge, (c) bait.

IV. Trapping

224
[462]

After agriculture and fishing, the third most important economic activity is trapping which is exclusively carried out by the male part of the population. The various traps constructed by the Pangwe can be classified as follows:

A. Traps into which the prey falls
   1. Pitfalls (ebēi, ndǎn I)

B. Traps which work by dropping a beam, a plate, or a piece of iron
   2. Spring traps (ekūidí)
   3. Spring plates (akui)
   4. Spear trap (elǔn)

C. Traps that consist of a draw noose
   5. Simple noose (asǐma, etc.)
   6. Draw traps (olǎ'm)
      (a) Ground draw traps (olǎ'm) (1)

      1. Not to be confused with the alǎ'm (fish weir).

      (b) Tree draw trap (nkpwǎs I)
      (c) Lemur trap (mbǔn I)
   7. Francolin trap (ndǒn IV)
   8. Bow traps (ekīe'le)

D. Traps that sound an alarm
   9. Civet cat trap (nlǐn I)

224

1. Pitfalls (ebēi, ndǎn I)

The simplest kind of trap, the pit, is to be found throughout the entire region. Everywhere along the paths through the forest there are narrow, rectangular pits, many of which are three meters deep. They are so close to the path that at times they can be a source of danger -- carefully covered as they are -- to pedestrians who are not paying close attention. Near the bottom they become so narrow that a person falling into them remains hanging wedged between the walls halfway /118/ /Fig. 67 appears here in the original text/ and cannot get out again by himself. Pits having pointed [726] posts at the bottom are not for wild animals; they are used only in war. The pits are usually constructed by two people, the owners, of whom one digs while the other carries away the dirt. The person [834 who has done the digging may not have any sexual intercourse for 831] five days after this work, for the pit is a hole like the female sex organ; thus, if he were to defile himself through sexual intercourse with a woman, he would not catch anything in the pit.

2. Spring traps (ekūidí)

The Pangwe distinguish seven types of spring traps, that is to say, traps in which the animal is killed either by a tree trunk suspended over a passage and released by means of a trigger device or by a freely balanced, weighted plate, raised above the ground.

A. True spring traps for wild animals
   1. ekūidi-osǎb or osǎb
   2. ekūidi-esōdō
   3. ekūidi-nkɔ̄k
   4. alǔna-ekūidi
B. Rat spring traps
   5. ekūidi-o-si
   6. ekūidi-o-job
C. Spring plates
   7. akūi

/119/ /Figs. 68 and 69 appear here in the original text./

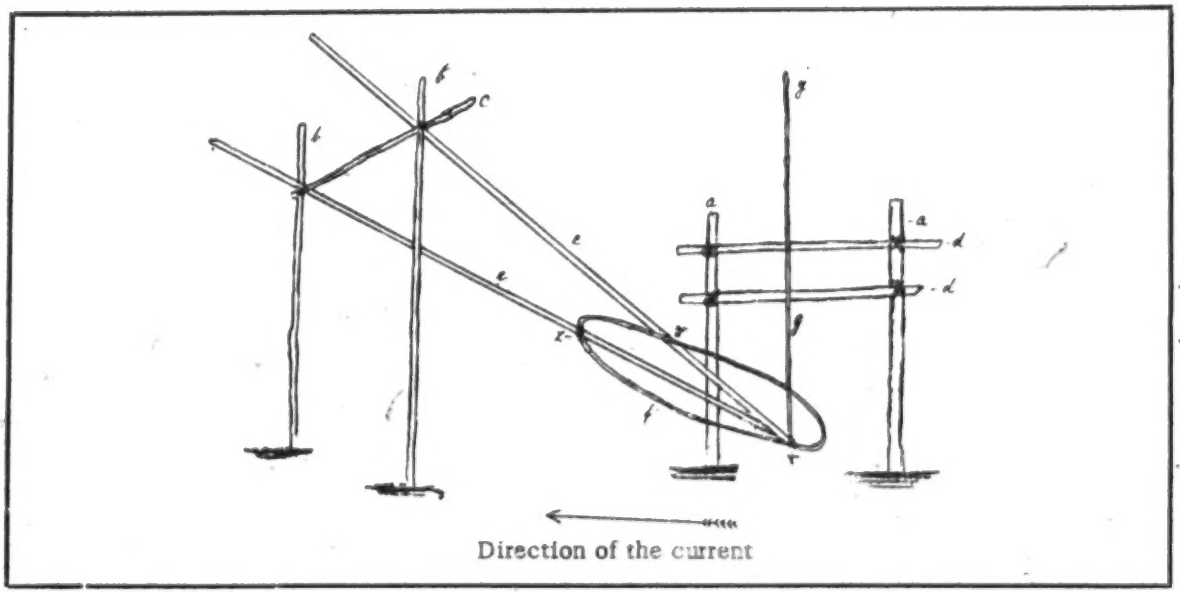
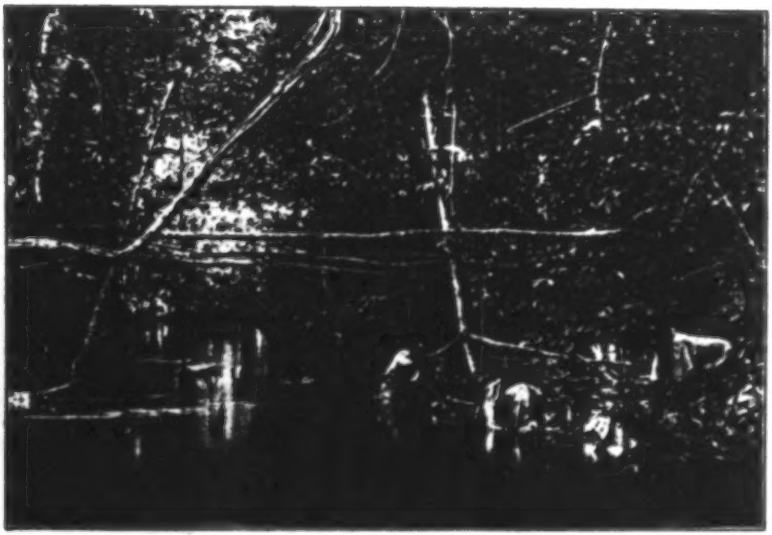
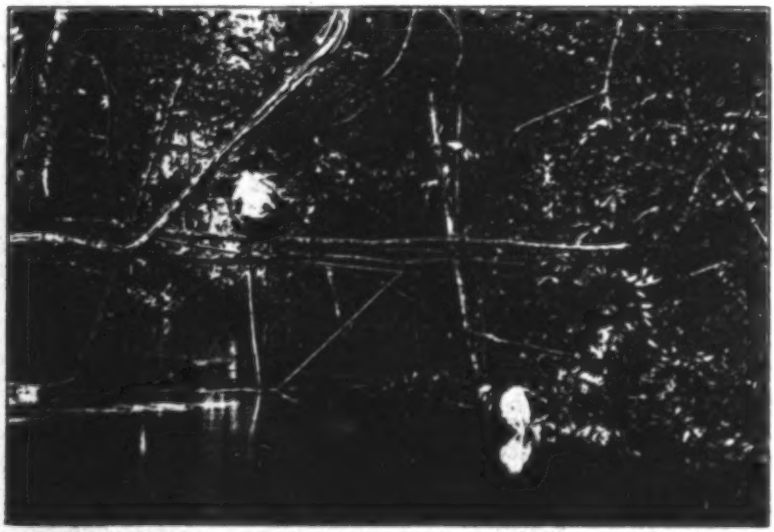


Fig. 67. Framework of a Net Trap for Fish.





Figs. 68 and 69. Fishing with a Net attached to Scaffolding.

224 The most profitable and hence most frequently used spring trap for wild animals is the osab, which is set up in conjunction with a game fence. It is illustrated in Figure 70, Drawings 1 and 2. The fence frequently extends through the whole wooded area, usually along the paths. It has various openings and consists of sticks driven into the ground side by side. The sticks are either placed very close together or at longer intervals, and then they 224 are intertwined with leaves of Sarcophrynium velutinum (okiaikui), raffia palm, or swamp palm. As a result, the majority of smaller animals have to run along the fence and can find no way out other than through these openings. At these points the actual traps are constructed. A corridor is erected at right angles to the fence by driving into the ground two rows of sticks (i) closely adjoining each other. The end one or one of the end ones (in the illustration the one on the left-hand side) is forked at the top. Inside the corridor a tree trunk (g) is placed in such a way that one end lies on the ground and the other end -- weighted by other trunks (h) -- is held suspended by a lever (e) resting on the forked stick (k). In turn, the lever (e) is held by a trigger device which is a uniform feature of all trap and draw springs and hence will be described here once and for all. The device consists of a trap spring (a) planted in the ground at either end and a vice (b) which is pressed against the trap spring by means of a small piece of wood (c), the clamp. This releasing device is connected with the lever by means of a string (d) tied to the clamp. The string is fastened to the free (left-hand) arm of the lever and thus holds up the tree trunk, which is tied to the other arm of the lever. The vice (b) extends through the fence poles into the corridor where it is covered by leaves placed over sticks that have been bent in the shape of a gable.

Now, when an animal enters the corridor and steps on the vice, the latter is pressed down and thereby the clamp is released, so that the left arm of the lever flies up and the tree trunk falls down.

In spite of the great amount of work involved in constructing the long fence, this spring trap is usually not made jointly by all inhabitants of a village, but -- like the fish weir -- by two men.

224 The trap catches the following animals in particular: the hamster rat, Cricetomys dissimilis Rochebrune (kui); the porcupine, Atherura africana Gray (ngúm); squirrels; the duikerbok, Cephalophus melanorheus (ogbwŭ,n); in the vicinity of water, the dwarf musk deer, Hyemoschus aquaticus Ogilby. (viŏn; plural, lŏn); a number of bird species that live on the ground, such as doves, guinea fowl, francolins (Francolinus squamatus Cass.; ogbwǎ'), thrushes (Turdus saturatus Cab.; etĭtŏ'), and night rails, Himantornis /121/ /Fig. 70 appears here in the original text/ haematopus (Tem.) Hartl. (nkū'lungū'), whose striking call is associated with the spring trap (1). Finally, monitor lizards are also trapped in these divices now and again.

1. The rail calls:

ma kbwŏl' ekūi,d'
I fall (in the) spring trap,

o sī, – kū,
right in, it falls shut (imitation of sound.).

or:
ma kbwŏl' ekūidi ma kūi.
I fall in the trap -- I escape.

The ekŭidi-esō'dō differs from the osă,b only in that there is no fence, and hence it is necessary to attach bait. In it are placed /122/ bananas for lemurs and spotted palm civets, dead rats for the genet, fruit of the Tiliacea Desplatsia dewevrei Burset (fruit = ngŏk IV) for hamster rats and porcupines, and cassava for the latter as well as for squirrels and field mice.

A similar trap is constructed next to fallen tree trunks (nkō̱k) where game trails run beside them. Such a trap is then called ekūidi-nkō̱k. Here of course there is no bait.

The aluna-ekūidi (Fig. 70, Drawing 3) is a combination of two spring traps. A small quadrangular area is fenced in, with the exception of two openings, where the traps are placed in such a manner that one trap opens at the front and the other one at the back.

224

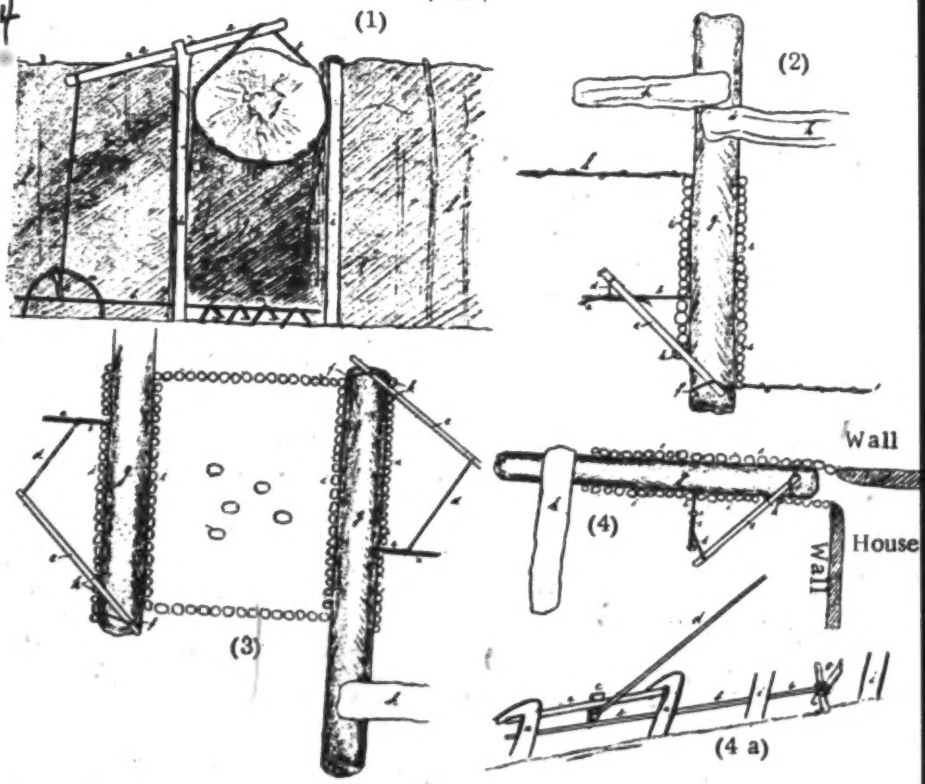


Fig. 70. Spring Traps

Drawings 1 and 2. Spring trap for game, osab, front view and groundplan. Drawing 3. Double spring trap, aluṅa-ekūidi, groundplan. Drawing 4. Rat spring trap, ekūidi-o-si, groundplan. Drawing 4a. Releasing device.

224 In the center of this area fruit of the Guttifera, nsǎ'ngǒmǒ III, is placed as bait. The animals, hamster rats, porcupines, striped squirrels, and mice, see the fruit through the fencing, look for an entrance, and land in the traps.

The rat trap, ekǖidi-o-si (o si, "below"), is also a spring trap, like the osą̌b, and is constructed from the outside against the rat holes at the corners of houses (Fig. 70, Drawings 4 and 4a). Bait is tied to the tip of the vice which extends into the corridor, as Drawing 4a indicates; when the rat gnaws on the bait, the vice is pushed out from under the clamp, and the trap closes.

While the spring traps that we have discussed so far are all very similar, we now come to a trap, the ekǖidi-o-jō'b (o jō'b, "above"), which from the outside looks quite different although it belongs to the same type. For we have here -- see Figure 71, Drawings 1 and 2 -- a combination of two lever systems which together support a spring beam and which are set up some distance above the ground. A raffia stalk, split in two lengthwise with the flat side (x) upward, is tied to the house wall either horizontally or vertically and fastened to it so that it extends into the room. Along its upper edge are placed two rows of raffia leafstalk strips (i), which represent the fence of the other spring traps, flanked by two forked props (k) on the side toward the interior of the house. The levers (e) rest on these forked props. Only one lever is held by the clamp whose releasing device is attached on the side to the raffia stick (see Drawing 2). The free end of the other lever is placed under the first. Both levers support a spring beam (g) which, therefore, in contrast to the other spring traps, is balanced over the corridor in such a way that the rat has access from both sides. This spring beam is pulled down by a beam (h) which is attached to it on either side by strings and suspended below the raffia stalk; this happens when the clamp device is released. Bait is attached to the device as in the case of the ekǖidi-o-si. Usually /123/ /Fig. 71 appears here in the original text/ the trap is left standing awhile before the trigger device is installed, and cassava is sprinkled along the corridor so the rats will become accustomed to running over the trap. For the same reason it is not used for a time after it has caught a number of rats (1). /124/

1. The technical expressions of the

224

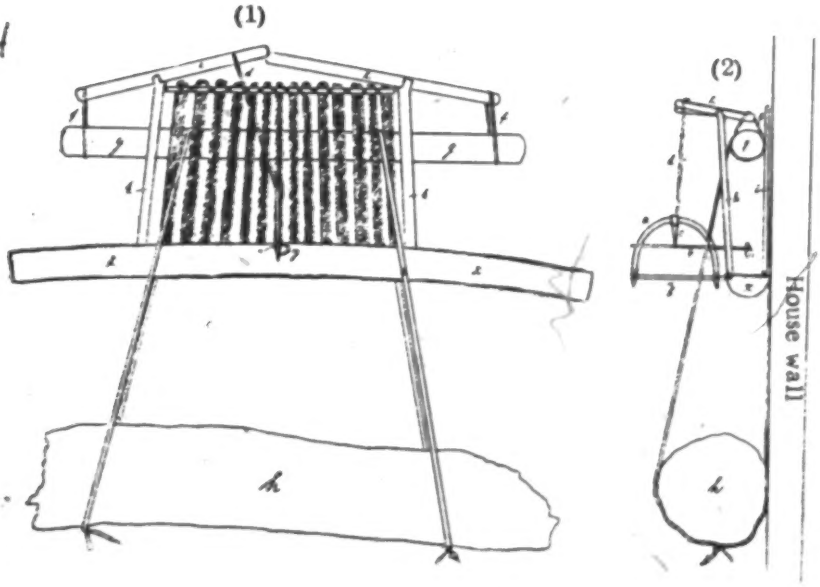


Fig. 71. Rat Trap, ekŭidi-o-job.
Drawing 1. Side view. Drawing 2. Front view.

Pangwe for the various parts of the spring traps are:

(a) trap spring = ekŭ'leyǎ Ntum, ekuluga Fang, from a kulu = to bend;

(b) vice = mvō'negan Fang, from mvō'negan = the younger, that is, the trap spring is the older because it is the first that one has to plant in the ground and only then comes the vice;

(c) clamp = asŭń, from asŭń = the tooth;

(d) clamp string = nkō-asŭń, from nkō = string, asŭń = tooth, clamp;

(e) lever = mbī'meyǎ I Fang, from a bīme = to strike, to close, also called mbō'n I;

(f) spring beam string = nkō-ekŭidi, from nkō = string, ekŭidi = spring trap;

(g) spring beam = mvō'k IV;

(h) weight beam = etsī'dega Fang, tsī'deja IV Ntum, from a tsīde = press down, weight down;

224

(i) spring beam fence = nzǎbega
Fang, sǎbejǎ IV Ntum, from
a sǎb = to string together;
(k) lever prop = ata[k]-ekūidi, from
atak = forked stick;
(l) trap fence = ndsibega-osǎb, from
a dsīb = to shut, osǎb = fence
spring trap;
(m) bridge in the corridor = akǎn, from
akǎn = floor;
(n) corridor = abōk, from abōk = lair.

3. Spring plates

The spring plate, akui, is a very simple trap. Instead of the corridor and the spring beams, it has only a raised plate (nka-akui) weighted down with lumps of lime or stones. The plate is made of rattan palm, Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum (nhāne), and falls down on the animals (smaller rodents) when they touch the vice which extends under the plate and is baited (cassava).

4. Spear trap (elǔn)

The spear trap is constructed for elephants in those places where the elephant spoor runs between two suitable trees. The trap consists of a heavy iron spear connected directly with the clamp by means of a rope and hanging over a branch in such a way that it strikes the elephant in the back of the neck when the latter touches the rope which is stretched out as an extension of the vice. Usually, the spear does not wound the elephant mortally; then the animal runs and frequently evades the trapper.

5. Simple noose snares

The following noose snares are distinguished.

1. Free noose
   (a) Ground noose (ašīmǎ-o-sī)
   (b) Tree noose (ašīmǎ-o-jo'b)

223 2. Hand noose or draw noose (nsŭm)

The ground noose, (ašima-o-si) (o-si = below), Figure 72, is set especially on the trails of the dwarf buck, Neotragus batesi Winton (odžŭle). It is fastened to a cross beam (a) resting on two well-concealed forked props (b). Other victims of the ground noose are gallinaceous birds (guinea fowl, francolins) and the night rail (Himantornis).

With great skill a whole number of noose snares are set in trees whose fruit is a popular food of birds, especially the Afzelia africana Smith (ovŏn). Such snares are called ašima-o-jō'b (o jō'b = above) and draw tight by themselves. Hornbills and the blue touraco, Corythaeola cristata Vieill. (kŭ'nŭk IV) are the main victims of this trap. Now and then a long-tailed monkey is also caught in it. /125/

The hand noose for parrots (nsŭm I), which is made of rattan string, is quite different from the previous two snares. It consists of a loop around a branch to which one end is tied while the other end extends down to the ground where a man holds on to it and pulls as soon as an animal sticks its head through the loop. The parrot is pressed against the branch and /Fig. 72 appears here in the original text/ can be seized. This parrot noose is especially used in the dense foliage of the Myrianthus trees (mangă'me III Fang, engŭkō'm Ntum, Jaunde), which are perfectly suited for hiding and whose fruit is favored by parrots. Catching parrots is mainly [85] an occupation for boys, but adults also amuse themselves at it.

6. Draw traps

(a) Ground draw traps

224

The Pangwe distinguish no less than nine types of these, namely, the following.

I. Traps constructed over a pit

1. ešima
2. nsō bō I Ntum, nsō k Fang, nsō bogō Fang
3. ngă'[k] -olăm

224

II. Traps without pits

4. ndǎkiē, III
5. olǎme-zē̂
6. viē̃n Fang
7. olame-nsǐ ń
8. efūga, apfū,ǎ
9. ewuǎ,s

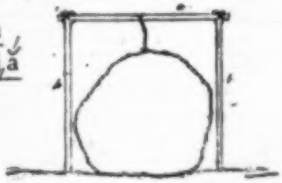


Fig. 72. Ground Noose, asima-o-si.

All these ground draw traps, just like the tree draw trap and the lemur trap, are distinguished by the fact that a short elastic stalk planted in the ground, the draw stick (miāge Fang), is held fast by the clamp, and as soon as it is released, it draws the noose tight as it springs up. The ground draw traps are, generally speaking, designed for larger game, like antelope, and differ from one another by slight variations in form and construction, by the presence or absence of a covered pit, which makes it more difficult for the animal to free itself, and so forth. The first three forms, eśūma, nsṓbo, and ngǎ́[k] -olǎm, are closely related; each of them has a pit. /126/ /Fig. 74 appears here in the original, also Fig. 73/. As an example, we shall describe here in greater detail the eśūma (Fig. 73). It consists of a strong, elastic stalk (f), to the top of which are attached a clamp (c) -- by means of a rope (d) -- and a noose (g), which in the case of these large traps is made of twisted raffia piassava. The clamp holds fast the draw stick, which is bent down when the trap is set up, by means of the releasing device already familiar from the spring traps (in the illustration it is attached on the side). The noose is set in front of the pit between the props (k) and is connected by a rope (h) to the trap spring which in many cases is double. Then sticks are laid across the pit onto the vice. The entire apparatus, especially the pit with the sticks and the part of the noose which is lying on the ground, is carefully covered up with dry leaves, etc. Furthermore,

224

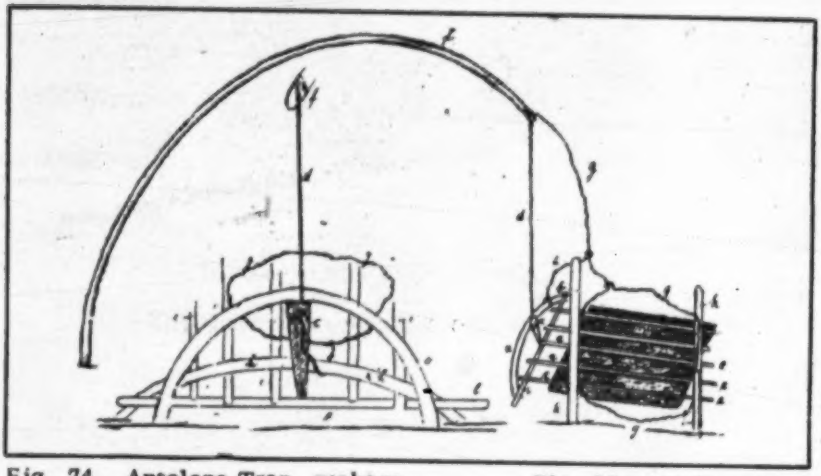


Fig. 74. Antelope Trap, nsobogo.

Fig. 73. Antelope Trap, esuma.

a special dry leaf is tied over the end of the draw stick at the point where the clamp rope and noose are attached to it. In short, the entire trap is skillfully made as invisible as possible to the game. Now, if an animal steps on the leaves, the sticks (e) press down the vice (b), the clamp (c) snaps up, and the draw stick with the noose, which tightens, springs up as far as the rope (h) permits. The trapped animal is thereby pressed against the trap stick and asphyxiated, especially since it is left hanging halfway down in the pit. Depending on its strength, the trap is suited for antelopes, boars, small leopards (Felis servalina Puch., ebǐó), civet cats, and genets.

The nsǒ'bogō (Fig. 74) differs from the above-mentioned trap only in that the noose is tied to the clamp rope near the clamp and is made to run under /127/ a prop (h), but moreover it is placed directly on the ground. For this reason, the animal is usually caught by its front legs in this kind of a trap.

The ngǎ'[k] -olam is -- so one might say -- a small nsǒ'bogo designed only for porcupines, and it is set by boys when they want to obtain quills for their little fishing hooks (ngǎ'k);

224 hence, its name. In it, however, duikerbok and guinea fowl are also caught.

We encounter another method of releasing the spring in the draw traps called ndakiē (Fig. 75) and the potamogale trap, olame-zē (Fig. 76). In these traps, the animal -- as in the spear trap for elephants -- pushes against a string which constitutes an extension of the vice (ndakiē), or it pushes against the vice itself (olǎme zê). In place of the trap string, a gallows is frequently erected, as in Figure 75. The name ndakiē' signifies an iron house, i.e., a very firm house (ndǎ = house, ekiēi = iron); at the same time, the use of the name varies, and in some regions it is extended to similar traps, such as the viē'n, for example. The olǎme zê is designed solely for the peculiar potamogale (zê) Potamogale velox Du Chaillu. From the drawing (Fig. 76) the mode of construction will doubtless be apparent even without a description. /Figs. 75, 76 and 77 appear here in the original text./ A noteworthy feature, however, is the use made of the potamogale's characteristic habit of leaving its droppings at quite specific points along the river bank. These areas are surrounded by a semicircular fence (e), while the noose and the extension of the vice behind it close off the open side.

The trap viē'n (Fig. 77) is distinguished from the previous ones by the fact that the animal has to walk under the releasing device which is set up in the form of a tall gallows. As it walks through, it touches the string which is stretched from the /128/ /Fig. 78 appears here in the original text/ middle of the vice (at the top) to a post stuck in the ground (e) and in so doing releases the clamp device. In the case of this trap the ropes (h) again prevent the noose from springing all the way back. As regards the animals to be trapped, the viē'n is exactly like the eǎuma, the nsōbogo, and the ndakie; this doubtless explains why the name ndakie can be extended to these "antelope traps."

The olame-nsǐ'n (Fig. 78) is constructed on the model of the viē'n, except that it is always set up on a small rise of ground which is hollowed out under it. On the floor of the little hollow a rat is placed as bait. The noose is lowered into the hollow through a hole in the top, along with the rope attached to the vice and tied around the rat.

224

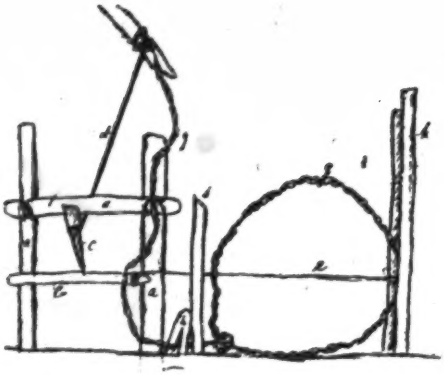


Fig. 75. Antelope Trap, ndakie.

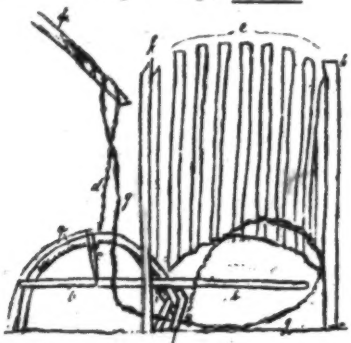


Fig. 76. Potamogale Trap, olam e ze.

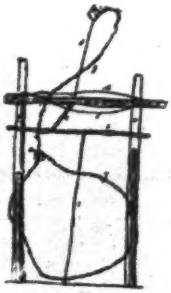
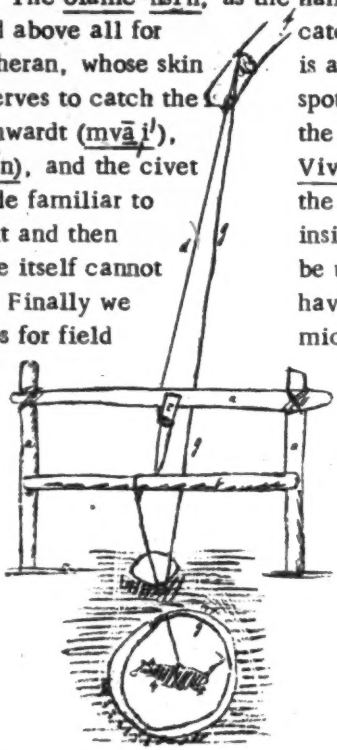


Fig. 77. Draw Trap for Antelopes, vien.

224 The olame-nsǐ'n, as the name indicates (nsǐ'n = genet), is used above all for catching the genet, Genetta aubryana Pucheran, whose skin is a popular ornament. In addition, it serves to catch the spotted palm civet Nandinia binotata Reinwardt (mvā i'), the linsang Poiana poensis Waterhouse (ojǎn), and the civet Viverra civetta (žöę'). The place is made familiar to the animal by putting rats first in front and then inside the hollow, if the animal's cave itself cannot be used.

Finally we have to mention two smaller draw traps for field mice and birds, respectively. These are the efǔga and ewuǎs, where the noose is placed around the trap spring (a) with the help of a stick (i), so that the animal is jammed against the trap spring (see Fig. 79. The efǔga is designed for mice and other small rodents and, like the potamogale trap is set up in front of a fenced-in area with bait (cassava) inside. Furthermore, this trap is used to get rid of the troublesome Dryotriorchis batesi Sharpe (ngbǎwuǎ III Ntum) which steals chickens. "When the bird has caught a chicken and then drops it again as people rush toward it, the trap is quickly set up and the hen placed inside it; then the robber frequently comes back to get the hen and in the process gets caught in the trap." /129/



223 Fig. 78. Genet Trap, olam e nsin.

The bird trap ewuǎs (wuǎs = an imitation of the sound of the noose snapping shut), Figure 79, is constructed in exactly the same way, except that it lacks a fence and is designed for doves, guinea fowl, francolins, and night rails. /Fig. 79 appears here in the original text. /

223

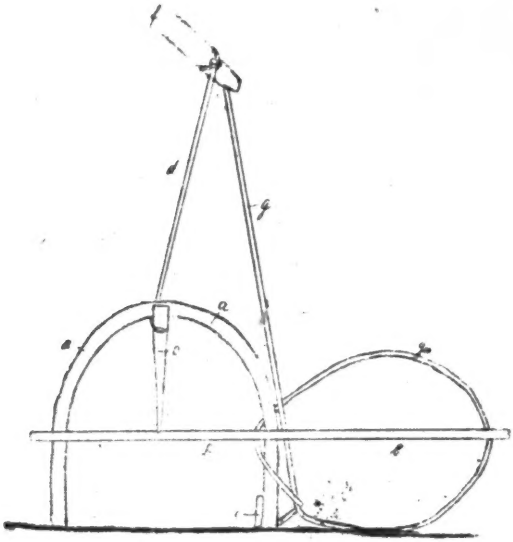


Fig. 79. Gressor Trap, ẽwuas.

(b) Tree draw trap

The most frequently used trap for smaller birds is the tree draw trap, nkpwą̌s (nkpwą̌s = an imitation of the sound of a trap slamming shut or of the hand seizing the prey); Figure 80. It is set up in trees, and hence the trap spring (a) is tied to a twig (x). A novelty here is the fact that what is usually the free end of the vice, the extension (as we have called it), is clamped inside the fork of a holding pin (i) (ntẽbe-oš̄ū III, from a tebe = to stand, oš̄ū = before; thus, projection). Another innovation is the arrangement of the noose which is made [283 824] from two ropes of the stalks of the Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch. (okiaikui; stalk = ndẽnan). The two ropes are tied together at one end and fastened to a twig which takes the place of the draw stick (f); then a string (h) is slung around the branch (x) and tied loosely to the noose (g) (in y) so that it can be moved along it. The ends of the sling are now laid around the extension of the vice; the bait is tied on it at z, and the trap is ready. The bird that sits down on the vice at z

223

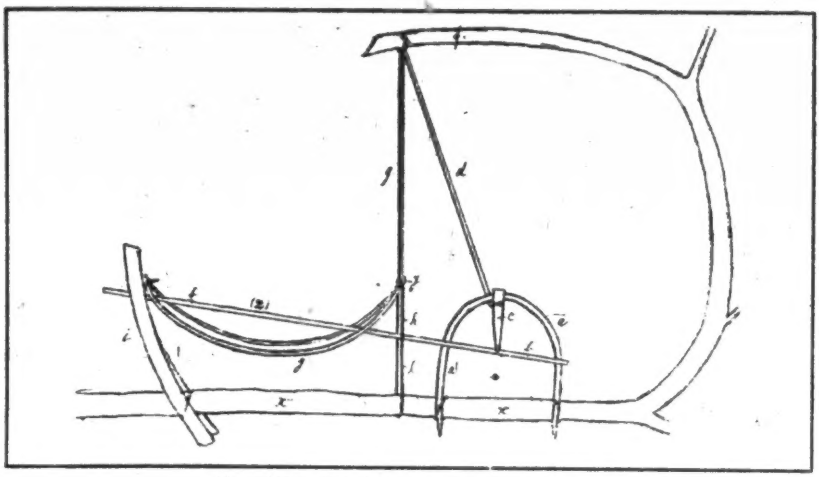


Fig. 80. Bird Draw Trap, nkpwas.

pushes it out from under the clamp; then the noose tightens, and the bird is held fast with its feet at y. Thus, it is usually caught alive.

[857] This bird trap is set up mainly by boys, since it brings in only smaller birds. As bait for honey suckers (Nectariniidae), they use, in addition to the blossoms of the Canna bidentata Bertol. (ekonežok), those of the Aframomum hanburyi K. Sch. (obǎ'[s]-adžom; blossoms = atsǎ[k]) and also of other Scitamineae. For weaver birds, Ploceus cucullatus (St. Müll.) (ngā'á), Spermospiza guttata Vieill. (kū-o-si), Spermestes poensis Fras., and Estrilda varieties (edžǒ'le), they use grasses like Panicum sulcatum Aubl. (ekǫk) and /130/ /Fig. 80 appears here in the original text/ Panicum ovalifolium Poir. (obūtebedzǒ'le); for species of Andropadus (otǭk) and other Haarvögel /Ger., ?/, like Phyllastrephus leucopleurus Cass. (ngǭ'medźā') and the bulbul Pycnonotus gabonensis Sharpe (nkō'gělū'n), they use pepper Capsicum (okǎlǎn) and Heckeria subpeltata (Wild.) Kunth. (abǭ'medzǎ'n). Among other birds caught in the tree draw traps we should mention: barbets (Capitonidae), for example, Gymnobucco bonapartei Verr. Hartl. (ovǭ Ntum), Buccanodon duchaillui Cass. (eji'le), Barbatula species (omvǭg), and Trachylaemus purpuratus Verr. (ekū'kū'). Furthermore, in addition to the above-mentioned

223 Haarvögel /Ger.,?/, there are the Ixonotus guttatus Verr. (esǎ́sa, Fang, edžǎndžǎ Ntum); the doves, Chalcopelia afra L. (odū́) and Turtur semitorquatus Rüpp. (žūm); glossy starlings, species of Lamprocolius (kpǎ́ū); and hornbills, Lophocerus fasciatus Shaw. (okǒgbwā́i) and camurus Cass. (nkūkūe I, Ntum). The bait for all these birds is the fruit of the Euphorbiacea Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. (abúi Ntum, abuí Fang), the Guttifera Haronga paniculata (Pers.) Lodd. (atüí), the Euphorbiaceae Antidesma laciniatum Muell. Arg. (okǒbezǒ) and Hasskarlia didymostemon Baill. (efüö́le), the Ficus preussii Warb. and laurentii Warb., and other types of Ficus (etōb-o-jōb Fang, ejḗi, Ntum). One can see traps set up everywhere in the Alchornea bushes or in clearings where the above-mentioned trees grow. If a boy takes a lot of trouble and watches over his trap, he can catch up to ten birds a day in one trap. He takes the prey home to his mother who keeps the larger birds, such as the doves, and lets the children have the smaller ones. /131/ /Fig. 81 appears here in the original text./

(c) Lemur trap

224 A very ingenious and well-contrived trap is the lemur trap, mbū́n I, ebǎ́s I (from bū = to lie, mbuh = cross beam, that is, a beam that lies on top of another), so named because the trap is set up against a trunk laid over a clearing (Fig. 81). It (Fig. 82) is a genuine draw trap, with the draw stick (f), the clamp (c) and the clamp rope (d), and two nooses (g) attached to the draw stick. The device attached to the horizontal trunk (x), however, requires explanation. It consists of a piece of raffia leafstalk, one end of which is planted in the ground and the other end split and pushed under the branch in such a manner that the latter rests in the crack. As Drawing 2 shows, both halves are later tied together (y). Above the stem each of the two forked ends is cut in such a way as to form five prongs (Fig. 82, 1-5) of which the middle one (3) is left considerably longer than the others. Both center prongs (see Drawing 2) are connected with each other by a stick and thus form the gallows

224

[291]

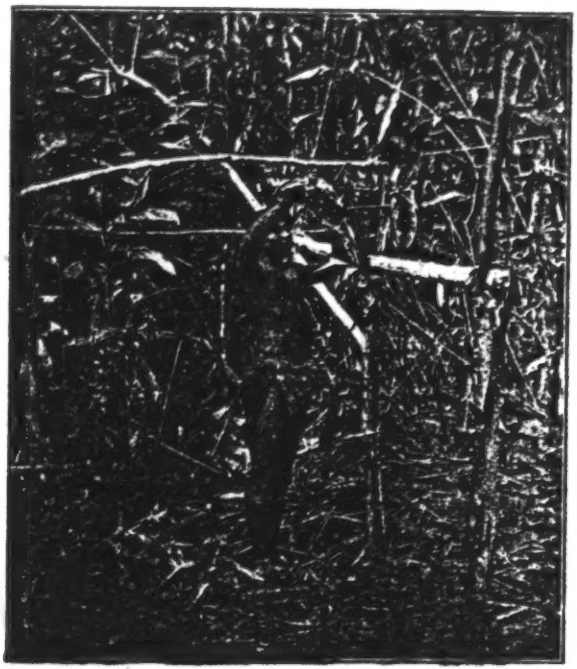


Fig. 81. Lemur Trap.

for the clamping device. Transverse sticks (n) are squeezed between the upper ends of the prongs and firmly tied down. The releasing device (Drawing 2, z) is then tied to the rope (y); this device is a network connecting (y) with the vice (b). The arrangement of the trap can be seen in Drawing 2. The clamp (c) goes around behind the gallows (a) and clamps in front between (a) and the vice; then a noose in each case passes in front between the cross sticks n 1 and n 2 and in the back between n 3 and n 4 (see Drawing 1) and is placed in the opening. A considerable amount of dry leaves covers up the trap. The animal climbs over the branch /132/ /Fig. 82 appears here in the original text/ in order to get from one side of the clearing to the other and lands in the trap which often works so well that the animal is seized by both nooses at once and pressed with great force against the little sticks.

This trap is set up primarily for nocturnal lemurs (1) and for

1. Potto, Perodicticus batesi

224

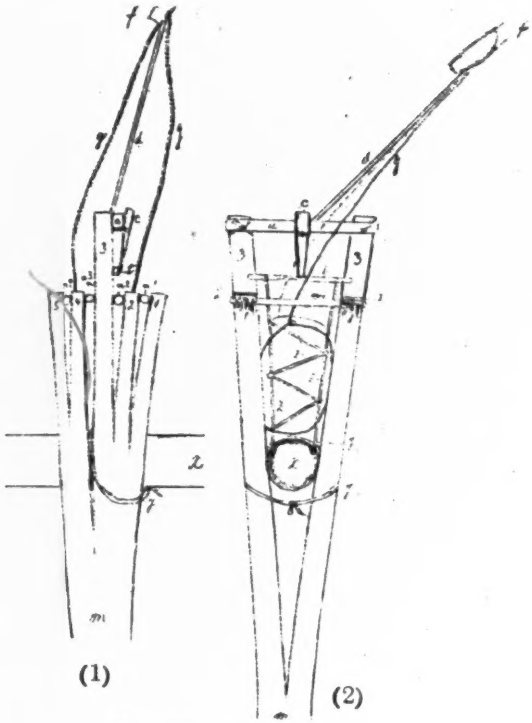


Fig. 82. Lemur Trap.
Drawing 1: Side view. Drawing 2. Front view.

Winton (awu'n); Arctocebus aureus Winton (masatši'di I and III); Spitznagelmaki /Ed., sharp-clawed lemur?/ Euoticus elegantulus Leconte (nsē'i, I); Stumpfnagelmaki /Ed., blunt-clawed lemur?/ Sciurucheirus gabonensis Gray (emǎm); and dwarf lemur Hemigalago demidoffi Fischer (ozǎm, odžǎm).

the spotted palm civet, Nandinia binotata Reinw. (mvā'l' Fang, mvē'i' Ntum) in a somewhat open area, for instance, a strip of

224 bushes along the trail where the animals go through them. A breach is made in the strip of brush and over it is placed the branch needed for the construction of the trap. Usually from three to seven traps are set up next to each other.

In addition, large traps of the same kind are used for long-tailed monkeys, and these are likewise set up in the forest only over paths or clearings.

7. Francolin trap

223 The francolin trap, ndǒn (Fig. 83), like the traps of the previous class, includes a draw stick, but the clamping device is a completely different type. The part of the trap on the ground is nothing more than a round, not very deep hole; in the wall of the hole and over against each other are stuck two horizontal raffia sticks (a) under which is pushed the clamp (c) with the noose rope (2)

2. In this case the same rope that is tied around the clamp is again used.

directly attached to it, like the trap nsǭbogō. The noose is laid around the hole. A few kernels of maize /133/ or groundnuts are scattered as bait around and in the hole. The francolin sticks its head into the hole and in so doing touches the clamp which flies up and at the same time draws the noose over the bird's head. Aside from the field francolin, Francolinus squamatus Cass. (ogbwǎ'), doves also are caught in this trap which is as simple as it is effective. /Fig. 83 appears here in the original text./

In passing I may mention that chickens, if they cannot be seized, are also caught by means of such a trap, erected ad hoc, or by a leaf bag in which a kernel of maize is placed. To get at the maize, the chicken puts its head inside the bag and is caught before it can free itself (1).

223 224 1. Aside from those mentioned in connection with the spring trap, the technical expressions for the parts of the

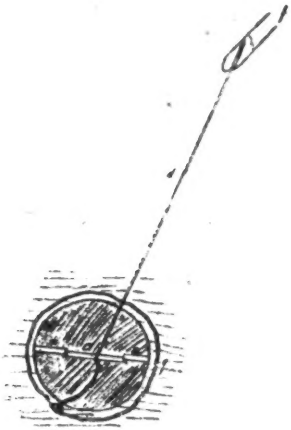


Fig. 83. Francolin Trap, ndon.

223
224

draw traps are as follows:
(a) Trap spring = trap gallows (see under spring traps);
(b) Vice (see under spring traps);
(c) Clamp (see under spring traps);
(d) Clamp rope (see under spring traps);
(e) Clamp-stick poles or clamp-stick rope = ndā'nejǎ IV, ndē'mejǎ' IV;
(f) Draw stick = miâge Fang, mēē,jǎ III Ntum;
(g) Noose = ekǒ'ē, Ntum, ekbwē, Fang, nkīb I;
(h) Noose holder = mbē'le-ekbwē, Fang;
(i) Noose prop = sū'ǎ-ekǒ'e, Ntum;
(k) Peg = engǒn;
(l) Fenced-in area (with efuga, and so forth) = ndzī,b I, from a dzī,b = to close.

For the lemur trap:
224
(m) Trap stick = atǎk;
(n) Cross sticks = olī Ntum, evê Fang;

224

(o) Bait.

For the tree draw trap:
Branch on which the trap is built = obǒmega;
(b) Clamp stick with its extension = otɛ̌mejá;
(i) Clamp-stick holder = ntɛ̌be-osū III;
(d) and (c) Clamp rope with clamp = okōlejǎ.

8. Bow traps

They have a form of the bow which draws a noose tight as it springs back. There are three kinds of such traps: /134/

1. ekiɛ̄́le;
2. bǒgǒ III;
3. bow trap of the Jaunde, ebāʉē.

The ekiɛ̄́le is the most widely known of these traps (Fig. 84, Drawing 1). The bow (b) is tied to a horizontal piece of liana or to a branch (a); two ropes are fastened to the lower end of the bow at (c), the clamp rope (d) with the clamp (e) and the noose rope which is tied in a slip knot to the other arm of the bow at (h). The clamp (e) presses a short vice (f) against the upper end of the bow and the clamp rope, and thus the bow is held up. On the lower end of the bow cassava is placed as bait, and a leaf bag is put over the whole thing. Additional cassava placed upon the liana is designed to familiarize the animal with the path leading up to the trap. If then an animal runs from there through the loop, it will touch the vice, the bow will be released, and this loop will be pulled tight. The trap is set up mainly in the forest for mice and other small rodents, and otherwise it is used in the house to catch rats.

The second bow trap of the Fang, bǒgǒ, is used for the same animals (Fig. 84, Drawing 2, a-c). It is even simpler than the ekiɛ̄́le. A leaf bag (b) is attached to one end of the bow; the ropes (c) and (d), which are tied to the other end of the bow, are run through this bag at various points. The foremost rope (b) is

224 placed as a noose around the opening of the bag; the back rope (c), which is supposed to bend the bow, is run through the hole drilled in the end of the bow for this purpose and is secured in back by means of a knot. Behind this rope -- if one looks from the front into the bag -- there is a piece of cassava (e) attached to a little stick. The animal gnaws through the rope in order to get at the bait; the bow springs back, and the noose is drawn tight so that the rat is pressed against the upper part of the solid leaf bag and strangled.

A very attractive and skillful invention is the bow trap of the Jaunde, ebǎ́dě (Fig. 84, Drawing 3). It is basically different from the previous traps mentioned. Here we see the clamp rope (b) attached to a bent strip of raffia (a) like a bowstring. As in the case of the francolin trap, the clamp rope is fastened with a knot in the middle of the clamp (c) and then extends beyond that into the noose. The latter ends in a knot to which is tied, in turn, the holding rope (e), which is slung around the bow. When the trap is set up, the tip of the clamp is pushed under the knot, while on the other side it is prevented from slipping back by means of a second holding rope (f) and by the pressure on the inside of the bow. As soon as a rat runs through the noose, the latter is pulled down slightly, the tip of the clamp slides out from under the /135/ /Fig. 84 appears here in the original text/ knot as well as from under the holding rope (f), and the noose draws tight around the rat.

The trap is set up in the house behind the beds or in other places where the rats like to run.

9. Civet trap (nlíne-žǒ́ǝ́)

The traveler in the Pangwe region will frequently encounter in the villages a rope stretched across the square. From the middle of this rope hangs a wooden dog bell or a bundle of empty snail shells. This is not, as one might think, a charm against evil spirits or a signaling device, but an alarm trap for civets, Viverra civetta poortmannii Pucher. (žǒ́ǝ́ IV). At one end the rope is tied to an isolated pole; at the other it is fastened to a tree stump behind the owner's house. Suspended from it just a little above the ground is

224

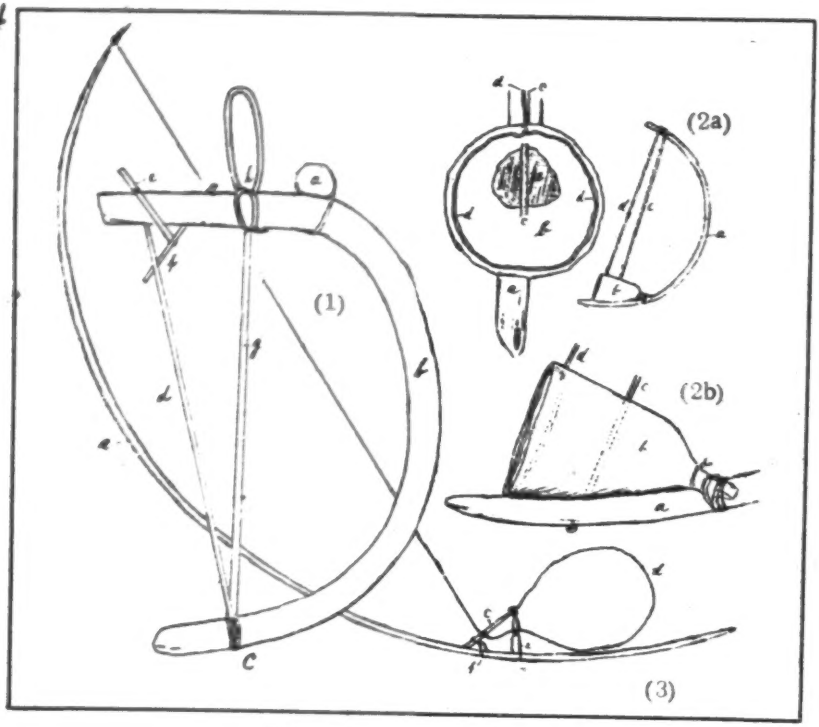


Fig. 84. Bow Traps

Drawing 1. ekiele. Drawing 2. bogo (a, the entire trap; b, side view of the lower part; c, the same from the front). Drawing 3. Bow trap, ebade.

/136/ a number of dead rats. When at night the civet snatches at a rat and in so doing pulls at the rope, the bell rings or the snail shells rattle and awakens the master of the house.

V. Hunting

Skillful as the Pangwe are as trappers they cut a poor figure when it comes to skill as hunters. They can never be called a hunting people; indeed, compared with the coastal peoples or even with the Pygmies, they are like pitiful Sunday hunters.

224 Only where there is great profit to be had, namely, in the hunting of elephants, do they take more trouble and hence achieve results
[411] that are notable in view of the simplicity of their hunting weapons (flintlock with pieces of iron or a spear, Figure 85, as ammunition). For the rest, the Pangwe do not accomplish much even with better hunting rifles. For example, of the many Fang hunters equipped with modern rifles whom I had in my service in the course of three years, only one ever shot an antelope. Later, on the other hand, a Pygmy shot five antelopes in one week, and on one occasion two were shot in one day. The beautiful crown eagle, Lophoaetus
[136] occipitalis Daud. (abǎ'jěk), and many other animals which because of their shy nature require a real huntsman were never laid low by my gentlemen hunters. Usually too easygoing to go into the forest alone, they love to carry on a loud, uninhibited conversation and laugh gaily on a hunting expedition, which of course soon gives them away to the game. Not just once, but many times it happened that my hunting companions, at the sight of the game that I was plainly observing, shouted with a voice that could be heard far and wide: "e ne nie!" = "he be him!" there he is!). Even today I still recall with amusement how my faithful Ajong Boka roused an unsuspecting long-tailed monkey -- I was just waiting for it to move into a position where I could get a better shot at it -- with a shout: "Massa, osok, osok!" (osok = red-tailed monkey), and how the frightened animal raced off in mad leaps.

Completely unaffected as the Pangwe are by principles of sportsmanship, their lack of success in hunting is of course the fault of the rifle or -- the woman (see Section 18, "Sexual Life"). Innumerable hunting and rifle medicines, to which I shall return in Section 13, force themselves upon us in confusing abundance. In addition to the major medicines (malǎn, aṅguṅgu) /Fig. 85 appears here in the original text/ associated with cult activities and carried out by the entire village, /137/ I have recorded about 100 minor medicines intended to put the individual man back on his "hunter's feet."

Among the various forms of the hunt to be discussed here, the lowest, the hunting drive, which after all entails nothing more than chasing the prey into traps, is the most highly developed. We must distinguish:

224 1. Drive of lower animals into baskets;

2. Drive of big game into nets.

In the drive for lower game living in caves, especially porcu-
285 pines (ngǔm), elongated baskets (nkǒ,e'-ngǔm) made of the stalks
824] of the Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch. (okiaikui) are used (Fig. 86, Drawing 1). The baskets are placed at the various exits of the cave; at one of them the hunter stations himself and either sends a dog into the passage or beats the ground with a stick. The frightened animal flees to one of the remaining exits and lands in the basket where it gets stuck and, because of its quills, is unable to retreat rapidly. A man then rushes to the spot and kills the animal with his spear.

A second kind of basket, but correspondingly narrower (Fig. 86, Drawing 2), is placed outside ratholes. The animals are chased into the basket in a regular drive in which the entire youth of the village takes part, and there they are killed. These baskets are called nsǎn.

These rat drives, carried out with a great hullabaloo, are for the young what the drive of wild animals (nšǔ,m I, abim) is for the adults. Game nets, frequently 16 meters long, are attached to one another and set up at suitable places in the bush to form what are often very extensive snares. The beaters chase the animals into these nets with the help of dogs that
[534] carry wooden bells (nkōle-mvū I, mvū,ṅo IV, angǔ,ṅ e mvū, edū,ṅ e mvū, ongō,lǎ'-mvū, ekbwēle), Figure 87, around their necks. The animals get tangled up in the meshes and are shot by the hunters stationed there. It should be added that this drive is a great undertaking and a general popular festivity, the details of which, however, I must forbear to describe. I shall only observe that in this manner a considerable number of antelopes and other game are caught, and
[441] the Pangwe deserve commendation for carrying out this undertaking with splendid success, since it is indeed not an easy job in the rough and impassable forest region. Even the driving of elephants into large

Fig. 85. Elephant Spear (fired from a rifle).

224
285

Fig. 86. Basket Traps.

224 fenced-in areas is not unknown to the Fang and is supposed to have been practiced more frequently in former times when the region was more abundant in these pachyderms.

The distribution of meat from the animals caught on the drives is regulated. If a huntsman, for instance, kills a wild animal in such a way that it dies on the spot, /138/ /Fig. 86 appears here in the original text/ he must give the meat of one forefoot to the first of his companions who appears on the scene. On the other hand, if the animal runs on, the first comer can lay claim to the entire forefoot, the second to the shoulder pieces (abá') (1) of one

1. From the stem bǎ, "to divide"; these pieces are usually divided first because the animal falls down to the ground (which, after all, is also common property) with its shoulders first.

side, the third to the outside of the shank (ebú'n). Finally, the one who carries off the animal can claim the neck bones with some flesh (ebǒǒ) (2).

[482]

2. For he also carries the animal around his neck (placed over his shoulders); abǒ(g)e, bǒǒ = to carry.

224 In view of the excitable and stormy character of the Pangwe,
672 it is no wonder that many of them on such a hunting expedition,
682 where the coveted, delectable tit (tit, "flesh" and "game") jumps

224 out from the bushes everywhere, completely lose their heads and
672 start shooting blindly at anything that moves. On such occasions
682 it very frequently happens that a wild Nimrod shoots a hunting companion or a beater. Hunting accidents are the order of the day and make the unfortunate huntsman responsible to the family of the person killed. In order to mitigate the situation, one excuses himself by hiding behind the belief that some "evil" people or sorcerers can transform themselves into antelopes and, weary of living, let themselves be shot in this way in order, even at the end, to place their enemy in an embarrassing position. The hunter declares that this was actually the case at the moment of shooting, that he saw an antelope, fired at it, and that then a person was lying there; he therefore is not guilty. This excuse is of little help to him in the matter since the victim's way of acting by no means releases the unlucky person from the obligation of paying blood money in the amount required for the person he has killed or wounded. Nonetheless, it does reduce his guilt.

224 Individual animals are also driven into the nets when the dog finds their fresh trail. The animal's location is determined by closing in on it in a circle (a kiñ e tit), and with the help of the remaining villagers it is chased into the net. /139/

On a solitary hunting expedition (elõ ñá), the Pangwe -- as was mentioned in the beginning -- more or less break down. There is no special word for "hunter"; nyũ a ngá III "he who fires a flintlock," has to substitute for it. On the other hand, nsũ me III is one who "catches" animals and fish. Only a negligible number of the enormous quantity of animals to be hunted in this forested land is killed without the help of traps, nets, and beaters. Of larger animals killed without such help -- aside from elephants -- the most common are boars and leopards (1) because of their value. In former

[435]

1. Formerly a leopard was worth as much as a woman.

times buffaloes, found only along the large rivers (the Campo, etc.), were also hunted, and the hide was used for the well-known shields. Since the latter have become worthless with the introduction of the

224

flintlock, this motive for hunting buffaloes has disappeared, and the chase is too dangerous to hunt them only for the meat. The hunting of gorillas and chimpanzees is just as unprofitable, and with very few exceptions the people are unacquainted with hunting as pure sport. The Pangwe find it too difficult and onerous to stalk antelopes without fixed nets. Long-tailed monkeys, squirrels, and smaller birds are shot with the crossbow. Hunting long-tailed monkeys is an undertaking filled with variety, not too difficult -- even though many of the monkeys have very sharp eyes and ears -- and profitable (2).

Fig. 87. Dog Bell.

2. The monkeys are lured by blowing on a perforated fruit, the monkey lure (elǒ́ń, elǒ́ɛ̃), Figure 88, b; birds are lured with an instrument like a reed pipe, Figure 88, a, called zǒle IV, zǒ.

I consider it a mistake to assume that the crossbow is an imitation of European models. How would a Negro hit upon the idea of transforming the model to such an extent and furthermore, as is done by the Bassá along the Sanaga, of continuing the front end into a shaft-like extension and at times putting on it a genuine spear head with a socket? I incline to the notion that the natives combined spear and bow and in this way independently created a new weapon. Finally, it is impossible to prove, except for the last decades of the nineteenth century, that any European influence 411 177

411
177 at all penetrated as far as the Pangwe from the west coast of Africa. /140/

411
824

[224
534] Fig. 88. Lure Pipes: (a) for monkeys (instrument like a reed pipe); (b) for birds (drilled seed)

The crossbow (mbǎn I), Figure 89, consists of two parts, the shaft (ngpwǎ(s)-mbǎn) (1) and the bow (endźiá-mbǎn) (2)

1. For the shaft the wood of the following three Anonaceae are preferred: Mesocarpidium lepidotum Engl. and Diels (amvǐm); Xylopia striata Engl. (mvǔ'ma IV); and Hexalobus salicifolius Engl. (mepfǎ'ne III).

2. For the bow, because of their strong wood, the following are used: (1) Olax tessmannii Engl., Icacinaceae (elǒ'm); (2) Sapindaceae, Pancovia pedicellaris Radlk. and Gilg and Placodiscus opacus Radlk. (zǒk); (3) Violaceae Rinorea longisepala Engl. (zǒk-o-si) and R. welwitschii (Oliv.) O. Kze. (enǒ'ezǒk); (4) Rubiaceae Randia acuminata Bth. and micrantha K. Sch. (ají'ɛ); (5) Anacardiacea Trichoscypha spec. (źǒk e mekum); (6) Rubiacea Gardenia lateriflora K. Sch. (ebǎm) does not seem to be as suitable; (7) Polygalacea Carpolobia alba Don. (onǒn); (9) a Rubiacea (oyǒ'). /(8) is omitted by the author. /

411 with the bowstring. The shaft is a piece of wood between one and one and a half meters long, ovoid in cross-section. At the

411 upper end it thickens out into the shape of a duck's head and is provided with a square hole all the way through the wood for the bow. The remaining part of the shaft is divided into two leaves by a longitudinal cut down the side; of these leaves, the upper one, about a hand's breadth below the thicker end of the shaft, has a cruciform incision such that the transverse arm of the cross goes through only half the thickness of the wood and thus forms a notch, while the vertical arm of the cross goes through the entire thickness of the wood and thus forms a hole. A peg of the lower leaf, shaped to match, is fitted into this hole. The notch is designed for the bowstring. In front of it, a longitudinal groove from six to eight centimeters long is cut into the shaft; this is filled with beeswax and is where the arrow rests.

In order to draw the crossbow, one takes the shaft under his right arm, plants the knee firmly against the bow, grasps the bowstring with his hand, and draws it into the notch. In so doing, the peg, and with it the entire lower leaf, is pressed slightly downwards.

In the shooting position (Fig. 90) one raises the crossbow to shoulder level, supports it approximately in the middle with the left hand, and with the right hand presses the two shaft leaves together in the back. In this way, the peg moves into the hole and forces the bowstring out, propelling the missile with great force. /141/

/Fig. 89 appears here in the original text./

411 824 The short arrows (ebeí), Figure 89 g, which are carried in attractive quivers (kū,lǎ IV) made of animal hide (Figure 89 f) or in little bark boxes, are made of the bark of raffia leafstalks and split just before the lower end, so that /142/ /Fig. 90 appears here in the original text/ a triangular piece of leaf (ndū-mbǎn IV) from the Menispermacea Penianthus longifolius Miers. (ndū-mbǎn), more rarely from the Flacourtiacea Lindackeria dentata (Oliv.) Gilg (nǔm e ndū) (1) and, in case of extreme need, from the Sarcophrynium,

1. nǔm = man, that is, male ndū (mban).

[278] can be pushed into it to give it balance in flight. The tip is poisoned with a salve made of pulverized Strophanthus seeds (2).

2. Probably Strophanthus kombe Oliv. (enpe).

411
531

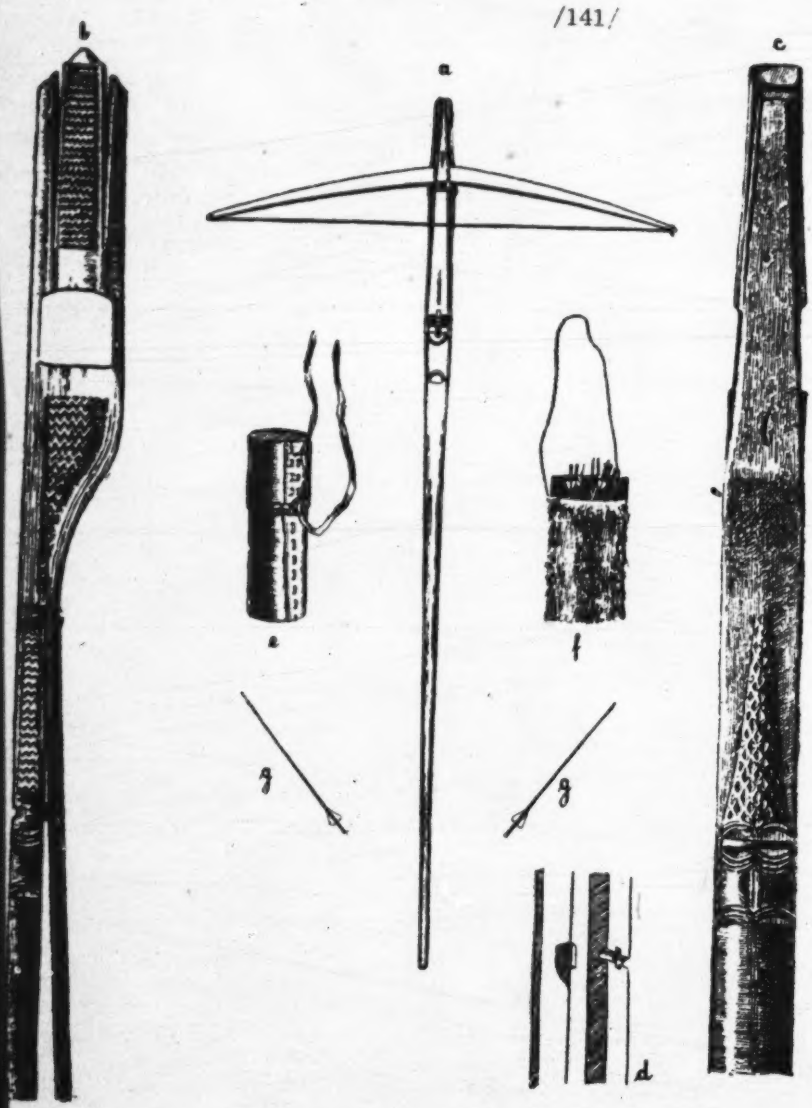


Fig. 89. Crossbow

a, seen from the top; b, upper part of the shaft, side view; c, the same from below; d, releasing device; e, bark box for arrows; f, quiver; g, arrows.

411
291

Fig. 90. Hunter with a Crossbow.

411 Although this weapon is much more dangerous in the hands of the natives than a muzzle loader, it is nonetheless never used in war, and even before the introduction of the rifle is not supposed to have been a military weapon. /143/

Section 6

000

Staple Foods and Indulgents

1. Staple foods. Raw materials: meat diet (human flesh, edible higher and lower animals); plant diet (wild plants with edible leaves, fruit); spices (pepper, salt and methods of obtaining it); oil;

000 arrangement of the kitchen. Kitchen and cooking implements (grindstone, grinding board, plantain peeler, basket-work plate, stirring spoons and other spoons used by the women, cooking pots). Preparation: 1) cassava (cassava rolls, cassava cutlets, boiled cassava roots, pulverized cassava boiled in a leaf bent in the shape of a stirrup, steamed cassava); 2) plantain; 3) groundnut (groundnut sauce, groundnut bundle, groundnut mush, groundnut soup); 4) ngon; 5) maize (corn on the cob, maize soup, maize bread, maize mush). Other vegetables and meat. Meals. Eating. Tableware, eating spoon and its forms.

2. Beverages and indulgents. Beverages: water, drinking vessels, water liana. Indulgents: sugarcane juice, banana wine, palm wine (distribution of the palms used for making palm wine, quality of palm wine, appearance and taste, methods of obtaining it and keeping its quality). Indulgence. Tobacco (varieties of the tobacco plant, smoking, tobacco pipes, care of the tobacco plant, treatment of the leaves).

262 One of the greatest physical pleasures for the Pangwe is to eat meat (tit; "boiled meat," nniǎ man e tit, from a niǎm, "to boil"). From man down to the smallest termite, scarcely anything seems inedible to him.

266 184 It is considered a fact that the southern Pangwe occasionally eat human flesh (Fig. 91). The Pangwe as a whole, however, cannot be called anthropophagous. Among the northern subgroups there is nowhere any report of cannibalism, and the natives maintain that even in former times cannibalism was unknown among them. Among the central Fang in Spanish Guinea and in the French region, on

266
184

[673]

the other hand, fallen enemies are consumed by some of them on exceptional occasions. The accounts have it that this form of cannibalism does not by any means for religious reasons, but rather represents an act of revenge carried to its extreme; the enemy is degraded to the level of an animal and is consumed like an animal. I have never heard it said that relatives or members of the same kin group are killed and eaten; indeed, in the eyes of the Fang this would constitute an incredible crime. Far to the south, especially toward the southeast where the Pangwe have been fundamentally modified through mixture with neighboring tribes, anthropophagy may be somewhat more

[412] Fig. 91. Spearhead Knife for cutting up a Slain Person.

[177] frequent. It is most likely, in any case, that the practice /144/ /Fig. 91 appears here in the original text/ was taken over in the first place from the eastern border tribes, especially the Njem who are notorious in this respect.

262 Thus, meat is principally supplied by animals, and here the Pangwe does not even stop at the thick skin of the elephant; he finds almost everything edible. Among mammals, only the shrew, house rat, and the dwarf squirrel Sciurus pumilio Leconte (mvūkesŏn) are not eaten. Also, the following are not eaten: among reptiles, the chameleon, the lizard Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (ebŭmekūkūī), and the Agama colonorum Daud. (ngŏdŏ III); similarly, among amphibians, the toads Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (mvŭn IV) and Bufo latifrons Blgr. (dzŭn; plural, biŭn, mŭn), as well as the frog Rana mascareniensis D. and B. (nkŏ'n I). The reasons why these animals are never eaten I shall discuss in conjunction with the general food prohibitions in Section 13 /Ed., Vol. II/.

262 The names for the various parts of the slaughtered animal (goat) can be seen in Figure 92.

Among invertebrate animals, the following are eaten: the larvae (fǒs IV) of the palm weevil Rhynchophorus phoenicis Fabr. and of the rhinoceros beetle Angosoma centaurus F. Pl. (larva = akū̂m); even the large elephant dung beetle Copris (ejā̂'ẓok, Jaunde) by the Jaunde; 21 different kinds of caterpillars, mostly Saturnidae (nkū̂ṅ I = edible caterpillar); dragonfly larvae and termites (sū̂me IV Ntum, kǎp Jaunde); common crabs and shrimp; snails, with the exception of Limacidae; and a river mussel.

Of the lower animals mentioned, the rhinoceros beetle larvae, which live in the leafstalks of the raffia palm, deserve to be noticed by Europeans. They taste very good fried and may indeed almost be regarded as a delicacy (one recalls the cossus /Ed., a kind of larvae under the bark of trees/ of the Romans!). Even the termites might be a tasty dish if the unpleasant long wings could be removed. In the Mwele region near Simekoa I saw termite nests of the variety called kǎp carefully fenced inside the plantations. As they fly out in great numbers, they are caught in baskets; some of them are eaten alive with the wings, and some of them are prepared by the women. They taste like raw eggs, and if they were baked into some kind of bread, they would not be at all bad, if it were not for the fact, as I mentioned earlier, that the wings are an undesirable accompaniment.

If the Pangwe were not so deficient in hunting skill, if they did not have a genuine horror of slaughtering their domestic animals, and if they were to set traps somewhat more industriously and regularly, /145/ they would not suffer any dearth of fresh meat in view of the abundance of game in their land, but as it is, plants chiefly make up their diet.

222 262 The cultivated vegetables have already been mentioned in the previous section. /Fig. 92 appears here in the original text./ Under ordinary circumstances wild vegetables are only a part of the regular fare, but during periods of famine or on other occasions when food has become scarce, these plants frequently serve as staples for the Pangwe.

192
262

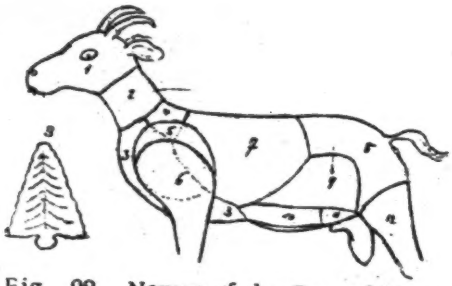


Fig. 92. Names of the Cuts of Meat in a Slaughtered Animal:
(1) head = nlo; (2) neck = kiñ; (3) breast = ekokob; (4) lower neck = engut; (5) joint = aba; (6) blade and front leg = enam; (7) back piece = epfa-ebok; (8) rump = oduk; (9) flank = mvõbe; (10) belly = abum; (11) pieces above the genitals = ekila; (12) shank and hind leg = abo.

272 Among palms, we should mention especially the oil palm, the raffia palm, and above all Ancistrophyllum, whose innermost leaves (palm cabbage) are eaten; of Begoniaceae we should mention Begonia poggei Wrbg. (esǎn e kõ̧ě Ntum) and Begonia ciliobracteata Wrbg. (esǎ́ń e kā́ʼja); of Amaranthaceae Celosia argentea L. (num engǒ́n, num afụ́n), Celosia laxa Schum., etc. (num e fõʼlõʼm), and Pupalia lappacea L. (num e kõlõʼt); of Acanthaceae Justicia insularis T. And. (fȩ̃i), Endosiphon obliquus Clke. (num ndzȩ̃i, masǎmengǔmo III), and Pseuderanthemum nigritianum (T. And.) Radlk. (ndzȩ̃i I); of Urticaceae Urera laurentii de Willd. (mfõs I) and Fleurya aestuans (L.) Gand. (ngǔkǔ́n IV); of Euphorbiaceae Micrococca mercurialis (L.) Benth. (otȩ̌k); of Tiliaceae Corchorus olitorius L. (ngbǎbe-lõʼmo IV); of Melastomataceae Dinophora spenneroides Bth. (esǎn-eli) and Dissotis decumbens (P.B.) Tr. (osisǎn-bongõʼn-bʼojȩ̌k); of Moraceae Myrianthus arboreus P.B. (mangǎʼme III Fang, engukõʼm Ntum, Jaunde); of Araceae Rhektophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (ndȩ̌ʼs IV, klẽs IV); of Dioscoreaceae Dioscorea prehensilis Bth. (esǎʼn); and finally, of ferns (zõʼn IV), in particular Dryopteris

222 tomentella C. Chr., Dryopteris megaphylla (Met.) C. Chr. (mejā
262 m'abǒk), Dryopteris parasitica (L.) O. Ktz. (undūndu akō), Dryopteris gongylodes (Kuhn) O. Ktz. (engǎs), Stenochlaena guineensis (Kuhn) (nkǎdenā' III), Alsophila camerunensis Diels (ezīzō'n-ošū,e), and Diplazium silvaticum (Borg.) Sw. (esē't).

245 Fruits are cultivated very little. In this category the
262 banana is the only native of any antiquity. The following have been recently introduced: the pineapple (nkōkajǎ'ń I Fang, ekańemvē'lē Ntum) (1), which is scattered over the entire territory

1. nkōk = sugar, ajǎń = Liliaceae, Cyperaceae; ekǎń sedge (from the Mwele), because of the leaves which are similar to those of the Cyperaceae.

although planted only in small numbers; the papaya Carica papaya (pō'pō' Jaunde, adžǎbentǎńgan Ntum, Fang) (2), which has scarcely

2. adžǎb – Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl.; e ntǎńgǎn = of the Whites.

passed beyond a narrow coastal strip and whose little trees can be counted; small, bitter lemons, Citrus /146/ limonum Risso (olōs Fang, alōs Ntum, ngǒambǎ'ń IV); and oranges that are almost inedible for Europeans.

Coconut palms (mbǎń I, njǒ,mō I, Ntum, Fang; myū'ndē' IV Jaunde) are to be found only along the coast and even there only in small numbers.

The native "bush plum," Pachylobus edulis E. Don., var. mubafo Engl., Burseracea (asǎ' Ntum, ošū,ńǎ Fang), which is found only in or near villages, may be cultivated. The attractive lilac-
[252] blue or beautiful rose-colored fruits are roasted on the fire, and the yellow, quite tasty meat of the fruit is eaten warm.

222 All the other fruits eaten by the Pangwe grow wild. Related
262 to the bush plum in shape and in the taste of its fruit is Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl. (asē,ǎ; fruit, sēǎ IV); the fruit is prepared in the

222 same manner. The fruit of the Sapotacea Mimusops djave (Lan.)
262 Engl. (adžǎ'b; fruit, ebǒn), which contains oil, is very important. It resembles a large apple; the jelly in which the two to four seeds are imbedded is very sticky, but quite tasty. The seeds are used in the preparation of oil. Next to these, Irvingia barteri Hook. f., Simarubacea (andǒ'k; fruit, ndǒ'k IV) is of great importance. Strangely enough, the Pangwe do not value the juice of the fruit's yellow meat, which is extraordinarily fragrant and refreshing, on the condition, to be sure, that the fruit is just at the right state of ripeness. Indeed, in contrast to the coastal tribes, they attach little importance to many forest fruits (for instance, the fruit of the cardamom, of the palm Podococcus barteri, and others) and do not know how to make use of them. The nourishing contents of the
[252] kernel of the Irvingia barteri are eaten after being dried or worked into a kind of mush. The Pangwe are incapable of preparing as tasty a sauce from the fruit as that made by the Bassá; the nut bread of the Mpongwe is also unknown to them. Other important edible nuts are Coula edulis Baill., Olacinacea (ewūǒ'mō, Fang; ewūē'me, Ntum; fruit, kō'mō or kūē'me); Panda oleosa Pierre (afǎ'ne[k] ;fruit,fǎne[k] and a variety unknown to me (andō' ; fruit, ndō' IV). Very tasty and refreshing fruit is supplied by the following trees: Burseracea Pachylobus macrophyllus (Oliv.) (andŏtǒ'm Ntum, atǒ'm Fang; fruit, ndŏtǒ'm IV Ntum, tǒ'm IV Fang); Anacardiaceae Trichoscypha spec. (amyūt, fruit myūt IV; and engǫ̌ń, fruit ngǫ̌ń); the pulp of various Landolphia varieties, namely, Landolphia ochracea K. Sch. (ayǔ'm), Landolphia piriformis Stapf (dzǎ III), and two other varieties (efōfǒ'do Fang and kǒ'mo III), in which the seeds are imbedded, is somewhat sour but quite refreshing. All the remaining fruits -- insofar as I have tasted them -- have scarcely any special charm for the European; indeed some, like Laccodiscus and Pseudospondias, have a downright horrible taste and are -- as they say in West Africa -- "good for blackmen, no good for whitemen." Their names are: Parinarium tessmannii Engl., Rosaceae (efō't); Chrysophyllum tessmannii Engl., Sapotaceae (mbǎ'm I); Pachylobus tessmannii Engl., Burseraceae (nga-angǫ̌lǒngǒ'); Laccodiscus spinulosus dentatus Radlk., Sapindaceae (atū'lǔń); Pseudospondias microcarpa

222 (Rich.) Engl., Anacardiaceae (ofǒs); Pseudospondias tessmannii
262 Engl., likewise (angǒkǒn); /147/ Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth., Leguminosae (ebǎ'i); Cola acuminata (P.B.) R. Br., Sterculiaceae (abē); Carpolobia alba Don., Polygalaceae (onǒn, tōmok); Ricinodendron africanum Muell. Arg., Euphorbiaceae (ezisǎ'n); Myrianthus arboreus P.B., Moraceae (mangǎ'me III Fang, engǔkǒ'm Ntum, Jaunde); Desbordesia glaucescens Engl., Simarubaceae (alǒ'b); Duboscia macrocarpa (?) Bocq., Tiliaceae (akǎk e sǎ'n); Oncinotis glandulosa Stapf, Apocynaceae, and Tylostemon minutiflorus Stapf, Lauraceae (dzǎ-odzǐ dzǐk or bodzǎbodzǐ dzǐk); Tristemma hirtum Vent., Melastomataceae (abē-osū); Cnestis aurantiaca Gilg, Connaraceae (abǐn e ndzǐk); Vitex bipindensis Gürke, Verbenaceae (apfǒ'n); Anonidium mannii Oliv., Anonaceae (ebǒm eli); Sarcocephalus sambucinus K. Sch. (alū'mǎ, alū'ma, and akūndū m); the palm Podococcus barteri M. and W. (niamvine); as well as various varieties of Aframomum, such as the Aframomum alboviolaceum K. Sch. (adzǒm; fruit, esū n) illustrated in Volume II.

Finally, mushrooms, of which the Fang distinguish twenty edible varieties, play an important role in the household. With the exception of a foul-smelling morel which is covered with a kind of veil, poisonous ground mushrooms do not seem to occur.

263 Of spices, pepper and salt are known, and both are found in-
249 dispensable by the Pangwe for the preparation of meals. Three varieties and many subvarieties of pepper, Capsicum (okǎlǎn IV, undǔndū III), are sown behind the houses or close to the village, and it is to be found growing wild everywhere in the vicinity of human settlements, where its green fruit -- red when ripe -- is picked whenever it is needed; it is added to the food either whole or pulverized on a stone.

263 Salt is more difficult to obtain. Although salt imported from
436 Europe now floods almost the entire region and, in conjunction with
258 tobacco, constitutes a regular standard of value, in remote areas of the interior the laborious extraction of salt from swamp plants is still carried out in the old manner.

258 The two chief salt-producing plants are those illustrated by
824 Plate 10: Halopegia acurea K. Sch., Marantaceae (nkǒn I) and

258 Cyrtosperma senegalense (Schott) Engl., Araceae (ebǎngabǎnga).
824 Furthermore, the fronds of the raffia palm are used to a lesser extent. In the Fang region Halopegia and Cyrtosperma are always used together, never one exclusively; in other areas, for instance in the Ntum region, the following swamp plants are also used: the Loganiacea Anthocleista zenkeri Gilg (ají́nebe-nzǎ́m III); the Zingiberacea Renealmia alborosea K. Sch. (adžǔmmekūm); the Urticacea Boehmeria platyphylla D. Don. (sǎ́[s]-džǎ́m); the Acanthacea Brillantaisia vogeliana Bth. (ebūgebǫ́n); the Aracea Anubias heterophylla Engl. (andǎ́k); a Composita (elō[k]-ošūe); the Commelinaceae Palisota schweinfurthii C.B. Cl. (epfūpfū́i-zǎ́m) and Pollia condensata C.B.Cl. (ajǎ́n-ošūe); and in addition, where swamp plants are absent, the Marantacea Phrynium confertum (Benth.) K. Sch. (nkǒn afǎ́n I) and the climbing Aracea Rhektophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (ndé́s). /148/

258 To get salt the men go into the swamp (zǎ́m), cut down the
462 salt-producing plants, and let them lie in the sun for a month to dry. Then they are brought under a shelter erected in the vicinity; the leaves and leafstalks are burned in an open fire. The plant ashes, dirtied with the remains of the logs, are carried into the village and kept on the loft above the fireplace in the house for three weeks to dry. The men's last job here is the making of a large
[285] funnel which they crudely plait (ngǎ́n nkū́ IV) from the stalks of the Marantacea Trachyphrynium violaceum Radlk. (nkǭmokǫ́mo I). All further work is done by the women. The latter set up the funnel, which they prop up with poles inside or outside the house, and line it with leaves of Sarcophrynium in such a way that the lowest leaf -- folded together in the form of a funnel -- fits just into the tip and the other leaves cover the funnel wall like roof tiles. The funnel is
[824] closed off below by a filter consisting of a ball of grass, Paspalum (obū́t), or leaves of the Phytolacca dodecandra C. Her. (atǒt) (1);

1. From the stem tǒ, "run through, drip through," because the brine has to drip through the herbs.

then the ashes are put inside the filter, water is poured on them, and

258 this drips fairly rapidly through the filter into a vessel placed under it. The whole thing is left standing one night; in the morning a little fresh water is added in order to draw out the last of the salt, and then the yellowish-brown brine so obtained is dried until all the salt (nkū I) is out (2). /149/

263
146

2. An examination of the salt, on which Mr. W. Lenz of the Pharmaceutical Institute of the University of Berlin gives us a report, yielded the following results: "The bush salt itself had a brown color and a moist, granular appearance. It had a strong salty taste; its solution reacted strongly alkaline. The chemical analysis carried out by Mr. Regenstein yielded the following composition:

43.33% KC1 (potassium chloride)
27.50% K_2 SO_4 (potassium sulphate)
16.26% K_2 CO_3 (potassium carbonate)
0.85% NaC1 (sodium chloride)
8.72% H_2 O (evaporation at 180° Centigrade)
3.34% insoluble (difference)
100.00%

The potassium was separated from the sodium as potassium platinic chloride. In the insoluble residue the following were detected: calcium, magnesium, iron, aluminum, manganese, phosphates, silicates, and carbonates, and 0.7% of the salt SiO_2 (silicon dioxide) was determined.

The high content of chlorides and sulphates in the bush salt is striking, as well as the use of the salt mixture consisting predominately of potassium salts, for spicing the food, in other words, its use in place of cooking salt."

262 In addition to the spices, the Pangwe use oil as an additive for their food. The oil is obtained from the oil palm Elaeis guineensis L. (alěn) and the Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (adźăb), but it is extracted so rarely that its use in the kitchen is far secondary to its use for the care of the skin. For this reason I shall discuss the extraction of oil when I come to speak of skin care.

354 The kitchen of the Pangwe woman is located, as we have already seen, in the house under the suspension loft. There is no actual hearth in it; among the Mwai this is represented by three rocks, but for the rest the pot which is always without legs is placed on a potsherd or on the skillfully arranged logs of the fire. If at any time there is more than usual to be cooked, for instance, after a successful elephant hunt, the daily fireplace is too small, and a second one is built behind the house.

313 For cooking -- as every little Pangwe girl knows -- three things are necessary: wood, water, and fire. There is never any shortage of wood; every day the housewife brings the necessary logs from the plantation (Fig. 51). Water is likewise available in great quantities; 312 it merely has to be taken from the river in calabashes (ndŏk IV) or -- 415 among the Ntum and Okak -- in earthenware water flasks (Fig. 92a), Pangwe esŭ,gă (hence the name sŭ,k, an imitation of the gurgling sound made by the water as it is poured in; hence also a-šōk "waterfall"). We discussed the fire in the previous section.

412 The kitchen utensils of the woman are very simple. The grindstone (akŏk) and the little round rubbing stone (ngŏk IV) that goes 252 with it are found everywhere. The grindstone is irregularly flat, scoured smooth by the rubbing done on it, and it usually lies on the ground on which the woman kneels in front of the stone she works. Among the Mwai, who are somewhat more advanced in the art of cooking anyway, the stone is placed on four small posts like a table, a fact which considerably "raises" it in appearance. Groundnuts, ngon, and so forth are rubbed to a powder by rolling the rubbing stone back and forth on the grindstone. The same purpose is served by an almost round wooden plate which has the shape of a stemmed leaf with raised edges (evin-ndŏk, efeĭ-ndŏk); it is used for the kernels of the Irvingia barteri Hook. f. (andŏ'k; fruit, ndŏ'k IV), Figure 93; the grinder used with this plate is a hard fruit (ašŏ'k), round as a ball.

415 The Pangwe woman very tidily removes the remains of the
252 pulverized nuts or kernels from the grindstone by means of half the shoulder blade bone of some animal, such as a monkey (Fig. 94 a), a piece of raffia stalk, or a tree mushroom (Fig. 94b). Only rarely does she do this by hand.

412 For pounding cassava leaves and other vegetables, as well as
252 for removing the meat from the fruit of the oil palm, a pestle is used in a wooden trough. The pestle (ntú'm e mbǒk) has a knobby enlargement either at both ends or at only one end /150/, and the trough (mbǒk I) usually has the shape of a canoe with one or, more rarely, two handles (Fig. 95). In the Mwai and southern Fang region one can find larger wooden troughs of a quadrangular shape and small wooden troughs with or without /Fig. 92 a appears here in the original text/ handles (Fig. 96), endǒn.

Plantains are peeled with a plantain peeler (mbǒb I), Figure 97, with which the skin is chipped into pieces and scraped off. The peeler consists of a narrow piece of raffia leafstalk, and it is often attractively decorated with carved patterns.

415 The shallow basketwork plate (džǎd; plural, biǎd) -- see Section 8 -- which we have already discussed among the agricultural and fishing tools, also plays an important role in the house and kitchen, where it serves simultaneously as bowl, dish, plate, and so forth. The women have a large selection of the bigger plates (džǎd) and smaller plates (ovǒk) of this kind on hand. Sometimes one also sees wooden plates or, more accurately, wooden bowls of the same shape as the basket plates (1).

[824] 1. Made from the wood of the Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekūk), Apocynacea, or of the Ceiba pentandra (L.) Gärtn. (dum).

The kitchen spoon or stirring spoon (mbǒb I, ebǒm), which must be strictly differentiated from the eating spoon, /Figs. 93 and 94 appear here in the original text/ is carved out of wood (Fig. 98) and is used for stirring food, mixing vegetables, and dividing the mush.

/150/

415

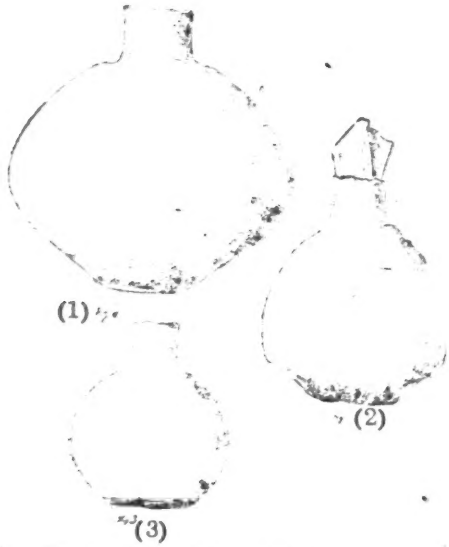


Fig. 92 a. Clay Water Flasks.

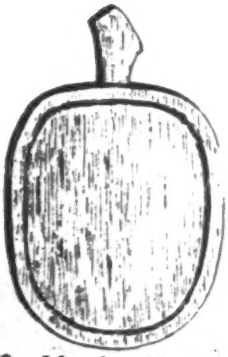


Fig. 93. Wooden Plate for Pulverizing Irvingia Kernels.

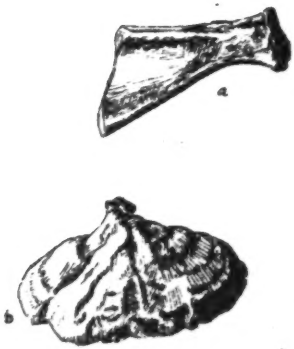


Fig. 94. Shoulder Blade of a Monkey. (a) and a Tree Mushroom (b) for Cleaning the Grindstone.

415 The eating or serving spoons, with which the woman tastes the food during cooking and ladles it out of the pot at mealtime, are kept above the fireplace. /151/ /Fig. 95 appears here in the original text./ Such spoons have various shapes; the simplest is a Sarcophrynium leaf folded in the form of a spoon and used only once. This leaf spoon is called ntǒ́ńo I. The calabash spoon (egbwǎ́s) represents a higher stage of spoon, as does the snail spoon (ebǒ́ńa, ekǒkǒ́e), Figure 101. The calabash spoon is made from a small fruit of the calabash gourd (Fig. 99 and 100) which has been cut in half through the middle; the snail spoon is made from the [321] large Achatina marginata Sw. (kōĩ́) by cutting out a piece of its shell. These are the women's spoons for everyday use, and as such they correspond to the men's wooden eating spoon (tōk). Women never use ladling spoons made of wood.

The most important kitchen utensil is the cooking pot (mye̋ I, yĩǒk; plural, lōk) made of clay (yĩǒk), of which each woman keeps a number of larger ones (mye̋, yĩǒk) and smaller ones (obǎ́bḗ) on the pot loft (akǎ́n e mye̋). Through the trading companies, iron pots [177] with three feet (mēkǒ́ne III) have already spread throughout the land. /Fig. 96 appears here in the original text./

262 After these general preliminary /152/ observations, I shall go on to a description of the methods of preparing /Fig. 97 appears here in the original text/ the principal food plants. Those of greatest importance as staple foods will once more be listed here in order: cassava, plantain, groundnut, ngon, maize, taro, yams (1) (Fang region).

1. Smaller repetitions cannot be entirely avoided for the sake of clarity in the individual sections. The reader will be so kind as to excuse them.

1. Cassava

252 Aside from insignificant variations, the cassava root is prepared in five different ways. Two of these are chiefly women's food: pulverized cassava, cooked in a leaf roll bent into the shape of a stirrup

/153/

4/2

Fig. 95. Wooden Troughs with Pestles.

Fig. 96. Wooden Trough with Pestle.

412
531

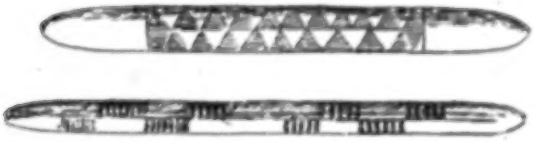


Fig. 97. Plantain Peelers.

252 (nkŭ́ha-mbŭ̀n), and steamed cassava (amā́ ńā-mbŭ́ń), neither of them very tasty or very carefully prepared. The three remaining ways of preparing cassava are in the main designed for men, namely: cassava rolls, the so-called "kanks" (2) (ebɔbǭ), the

2. The origin of this word is not clear to me; I do not know whether it was taken from Negro languages or whether it is a European word corrupted in coastal English.

exclusive food on journeys because of their handy shape; cassava cutlets (osā-mbŭ́ń); and finally, boiled cassava roots (agbwā́ ma-mbŭ́ń). In the entire region there is uniformity in the matter of cassava dishes, with the sole exception that the stirrup-shaped leaf rolls are also now and then eaten by men among the Ntum and Fang.

Because of its strong smell, cassava -- which could perhaps replace our potato -- has no great appeal to European taste, especially in the forms in which the Negroes prepare it. The sausage-shaped cassava rolls in the north, where the roots are first placed in clean, running water, most readily please our palates, in spite of their pasty odor. To make them tasty, one has to cut them into slices in the European fashion or pulverize them, mix with an egg, and fry them in butter. The kanks in the south are very bad, because there the roots are placed in the swamp for a while prior to preparation and hence take on a quite repulsive muddy odor.

252 (a) Cassava rolls or cassava loaves (mbǒm I-mbǒm, ebǒbǒ).

These require more time to prepare, from four to five days. The roots are placed in water holes just as they come from the plantation, that is, with the rind and without being cut into pieces (with the exception of very large roots which are cut in two). /Fig. 98 appears here in the original text./ /154/ /Figs. 99, 100, and 101 appear here in the original text./ This is done in order to draw the poison out of them. Ntum and Fang women attach no importance to the kind of water in which they place the roots; indeed, they seem to prefer swampy areas, such as raffia swamps. In those places one often sees the remains of the cassava on the thoroughly muddy water and along the edge of the puddle; over [156] the remains an enormous number of butterflies floats like a cloud, especially blue and white Pieridae, varieties of Papilio, among them the large blue Zalmoxis. These holes, which have a strong odor of both mud and cassava, are valuable places of discovery for the collector. In the northern region, on the other hand, among the Jaunde, Bene, and many Bulu, cassava is not placed in the swamp but on the sandy bottom of clear, flowing streams, near the bank where the water flows more slowly. Also they take the trouble to block off a stream so that only a little water can run through. Then the roots are placed on the bottom downstream from the dam. Perhaps the reason for placing the cassava roots in clear, running [33] water in the northern region is that there are few raffia swamps in that area. The cassava has to lie in the still or very gently flowing water for a period of from three to four days, three days in the case of younger roots and four days in the case of older, strong roots. After this period the woman takes the roots out and by hand pulls off the bark together with the firmer fibrous layer underneath. This job presents no difficulties. Then she lightly washes the roots on the spot and pulls out the center rib. With both hands she presses the cassava into a ball in the water -- during this process it exudes a whitish sap -- and places the balls in a basket lined with leaves. 253 Further preparation is done in the house; there the cassava is pul- 254 verized on the grindstone, and the powder is poured on leaves which the woman picked on her return from the swamp. In the south these

415
531

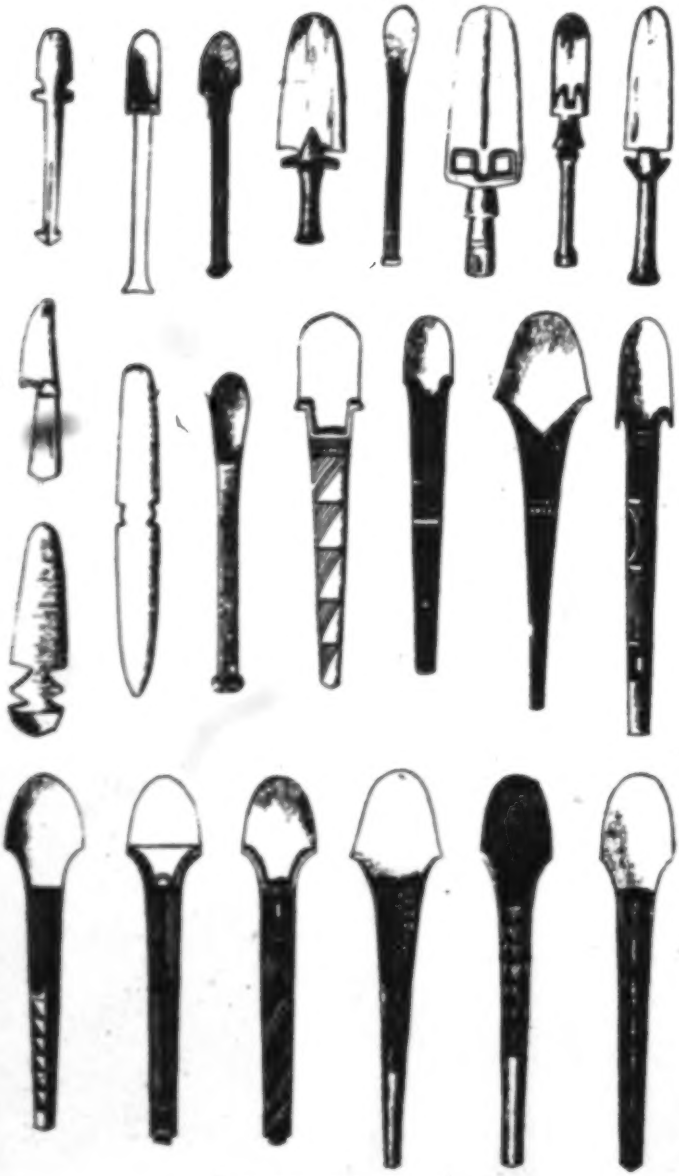


Fig. 98. Stirring Spoons.

252
824

[415
531]

Fig. 99. Calabash Spoon.

Fig. 100. Ornamental Calabash Spoons.

[521]

Fig. 101. Snail Spoon.

are the leaves of the previously often mentioned Marantacea Sarcophrynium velutinum (Baks) K. Sch. (okiǎǐkuī, okiǎǐ) (1), Plate 11, with the species glabrius Laes. /155/ (andū́ma); in the north (Jaunde), the leaves of the Clinogyne schweinfurthiana K. Sch. (embūǒ) are used. Every day the women bring large bundles of such leaves from the field since they use them not only for wrapping cassava and maize loaves, but also as trays and plates.

1. okiǎǐ = leaf; a kūī = to envelop; stem kū. Compare kū[1], the turtle, because of its armor, and a kū-t = to knock, to open by knocking, that is, to cause something to uncover itself.

252 The mass of cassava is gently kneaded in these leaves into the shape of a sausage; then a leaf is wrapped around it and folded over at the ends like a parcel; finally, there is tied around it a string made from the stalks of the same plant which supplied the leaf cover (the stalks of the plant are called ndǎn IV, ndǎnan IV). These rolls are boiled with some water for an hour in a covered pot, and they are then put to one side to cool off. Only in rare cases are they eaten warm immediately after being cooked (Fig. 102). They keep for three days this way. Usually they are 35 centimeters long, somewhat longer in the Jaunde region, and five centimeters thick; they are in all somewhat larger in the Bulu region.

252 435 484 Throughout the region such a "kank"[1] is equal in value to a tobacco leaf (commercial tobacco) or a spoonful of salt. This is equal to a piece of spear money or seven pfennigs. They are generally used as provisions for bearers and employees of the Whites because of their convenience and availability, their unlimited supply, and their popularity with the natives.

Dried cassava rolls (engū'nǎ-mbǒm).

252 484 257 As was mentioned before, the ordinary rolls do not keep longer than three days. Hence a special procedure is used in their preparation for longer journeys or for situations when one cannot or does not want to make the rolls again and again. In this procedure, the cassava balls are placed on the drying loft for a month after they have been washed; only then are they processed, that is, pulverized on stones, wrapped in leaves, and boiled. Sometimes the balls themselves are carried along on the journey. They are softened in water when they are wanted, boiled, and consumed cold. Both kinds of cassava rolls are called engū'nǎ-mbǒń.

(b) Cassava cutlets (osā, -mbǒń, ngǒ-mbǒń IV).

252 A very bitter and at the same time poisonous species of cassava is made into cassava cutlets. For this purpose, the pieces of root are peeled with a cutlass, halved lengthwise or quartered, and boiled with one and a half liters of water for an hour in a pot lined with plantain leaves. Then the roots are taken out, cut like a loaf into slices, and hung for a day in running water inside a basket lined with leaves. After that, they are thoroughly washed on the net described under "Fishing" on page 80, and they are then eaten cold. /156/

Dried cassava cutlets (dʒǎ[s] -mbǒń).

[252] 484 These are dried after the boiling and before being hung in the water, in the same way as engū'na-mbǒń. They are used in the same situations.

[1] [i.e. cassava roll. — Analyst.]

252 (c) Boiled cassava roots (agbwǎ ma-mbǔń).

A species of our plant, one which has comparatively little poison and which for that reason does not require a long period of leaching in water, is cut to size like the above and boiled for an hour. Its very insipid and fibrous root is eaten hot.

(d) Ground cassava boiled in a leaf bent into a stirrup shape (nkǔ́nă-mbǔń I).

A strip of bark is split off from the root with the cutlass, and the interior is scraped out with a rough piece of stalk taken from [124] the trunk of the rattan palms Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc.

Fig. 102. Cassava Roll.

(nkǎne) or Calamus deerratus M. et W. (edžǐn). The slivers fall onto a leaf placed underneath and are then ground on the grindstone. The pulp is then thoroughly kneaded with a stirring spoon

Fig. 103. Leaf Bent into the Shape of a Stirrup.

in a basketwork plate or wooden plate lined with a leaf. Water, which first runs over a charred piece of plantain bark in a leaf funnel, is added to it as it is kneaded. In this way, the water and thus also the cassava pulp acquire a blackish tinge, supposedly because the women do not like the white color of the cassava. The pulp /Figs. 102 and 103 appear here in the original text/ is then placed inside a rolled leaf bent into the shape of a stirrup (Fig. 103); like the cassava rolls it is set on the fire with very little water and boiled for an hour.

This dish is glutinously tough and blackish; it has an ugly appearance and a rather unpleasant taste.

(e) Steamed cassava (amā'hǎ-mbǔn).

252 Ground pulp, such as is used for cassava rolls, or boiled roots are placed between two leaves which have been tied above a pot. Macabo leaves are boiled in the pot itself, and the cassava is steamed at the same time (for an hour).

In addition to the roots, the leaves of the cassava plant (mandžāā, plural) are frequently eaten, mainly by women. The leaves are pounded thoroughly in a wooden trough (Fig. 104), placed with some water in an open pot /157/ on the fire, and left to boil for not less than three and a half hours, more water being added during the boiling. Then they are stirred while salt or pepper is added, and they are served. In this form the vegetable is called mbǎb I. Although it does not taste bad, it is nonetheless regarded as inferior food and is eaten by the men only when nothing else is available.

2. Plantain

The plantain is eaten in five different forms; for three of these forms, unripe fruit is used, and for the remaining two, ripe fruit.

(a) Plantains roasted in ashes (ngpó-ekō'n I).

An unripe, peeled plantain is wrapped in a leaf and placed next to the fire in ashes which are lightly piled on top of it. After half an hour it is ready. On the outside the plantain is a whitish yellow; inside, a dark yellow. It has a rather dry taste.

(b) Boiled plantains (mbē,ē ekō'n I).

The unripe plantains are peeled, the ribs and small particles of skin are cleaned off, and the plantains are then boiled in water for 20 minutes.

(c) Pounded plantains (ntsǐmǎ ekō'n I).

These are prepared like the previous ones, but they are eaten after being pounded to a mash.

(d) Boiled ripe plantains (mfõ,k-ekõ'n I, mfõ,-nšã I).

The skins of ripe plantains are removed with the plantain peeler and placed in a pot. On top of these is placed the fruit, whole or cut into pieces; on top of the fruit in turn are placed more skins. Then water is added to cover everything and boiled for half an hour. The plantains are eaten either whole or ground to a mash with cold water.

(e) Raw ripe plantains (nšã III).

The ripe fruit is eaten raw or roasted in ashes.

3. Groundnut

Sometimes the groundnut is eaten roasted whole (kõk IV-ewu,no, etõle-ewu,no). Otherwise it is prepared in four different ways, in part as mush. In all these forms of preparation it is first necessary to break open the groundnuts by hand (Plate 12), a task in which the entire family takes part; then the woman lightly roasts the nuts for a few minutes over the fire on the groundnut roasting board and grinds them twice on the grindstone. After the second grinding the mass is called ebǎ,[s] -ewu,no (bǎ, "to divide," hence e-bǎ -b "that which has separated off," for instance, /158/ /Fig. 104 appears here in the original text/ small pieces of bark that stand out from the tree, and e-bǎ,-s, "the scale"), because the ground material tends to stick together and falls like scales from the stone. The following dishes are prepared from this base.

(a) Groundnut sauce (esǎ,ngǎne).

Water is heated in a pot, and the hot water, except for a small amount, is poured off into a little shell. Then the pot is taken off the fire, and the groundnut substance is poured into it. The whole is thoroughly stirred with a kitchen spoon while hot water is added

252
415
516
342

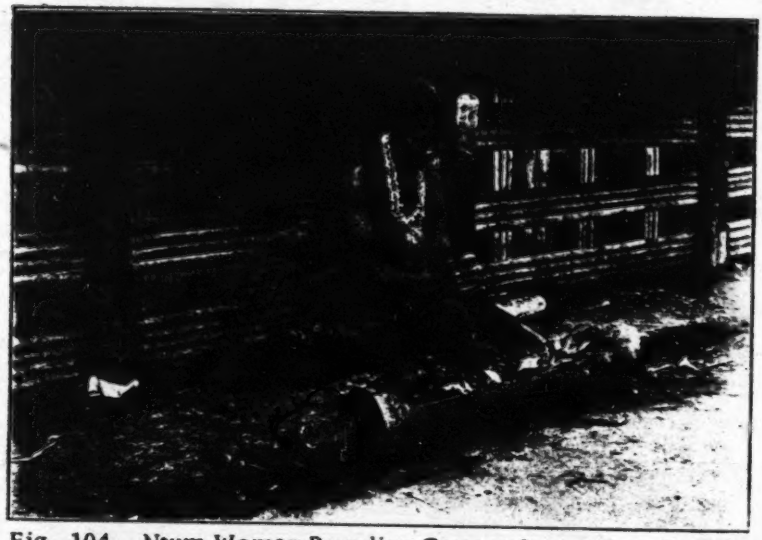


Fig. 104. Ntum Woman Pounding Cassava Leaves in a Trough for Spinach.

252 three or four times, and salt is added. Everything is given another good stirring, and the dish is ready. Sometimes the material is also boiled with a little water in the pot itself.

(b) Groundnut bundle (nnǎm-ewu,no I).

As in the case of (a), water is put on the fire in a pot. After the pot has been taken off the fire, the groundnut material is poured into it and stirred up as water is added. Then the mush is put inside a plantain leaf that has been drawn through the fire to make it flexible; the leaf is tied together into a bundle and placed on the fire in a pot of cold water. The pot must be closed at the top with leaves. If the groundnuts are not stirred up with hot water, but, as in this case, are placed on the fire cold, they always have to boil from half an hour to an hour. /159/

(c) Groundnut mush (atõ,o).

The mass of groundnuts -- prepared as indicated above -- is poured into a pot of boiling water and stirred around. Then it is

252 placed on the fire for a brief period -- two minutes -- and salt is added to it.

(d) Groundnut soup (mpfiǎ̌n I-ewu no).

This differs from the foregoing only by the addition of a larger amount of water so that it becomes a soup. It is served as a gravy for meat, etc., and is never eaten by itself.

4. Ngon

Ngon is prepared in only two forms, as a bundle (nuǎ̌m ngôn) and as a soup (nšǎ̌-ngôn I). These two forms correspond to those described in connection with the groundnut.

5. Maize

Maize is eaten in four different forms. Either the entire ear is roasted (nkpǒ-fun I), or it is consumed as maize soup (nšǎ̌-fun I), as maize mush (ngbwět), and as maize bread (bǔmō III).

(a) The entire ear.

Like plantains, fresh ears are roasted in ashes.

(b) Maize soup (nšǎ̌-fun I).

The kernels are broken out of the spindles of old ears and boiled until they are soft (half an hour) in a pot half full of water. Then they are ground up and boiled for an hour with minced leaves of the cassava and the Amaranthus (endǒn-abǒ'k). When they are done, cold water is added, the whole mixture is stirred, and the soup is served.

(c) Maize bread (bǔmō III).

The kernels are removed from old ears of maize and poured into a pot of water so they will swell slightly. Then the woman spoons them out a few at a time, places them on the grindstone, and,

252 frequently pouring on water, grinds them to flour (half a basket of ears produces a heaping basketwork plate of flour from which three loaves are made). The flour in a basketwork plate lined with leaves is stirred with water to form a batter; salt, pepper, and frequently [262] also shrimp and dragonfly larvae are added. This batter, as in the case of the women's cassava nkǔ'na mbǔn, is placed in a Sarcophrynium leaf folded in the shape of a stirrup, and it is boiled for an hour in a pot with a little water. The end result is a dish which, while it is rather heavy, tastes quite good. /160/

(d) Maize mush (ngbwět).

Maize mush is made of fresh maize flour which, when boiled, makes a white pulpy soup. Since I have not closely observed its preparation, I am unable to give any details.

The remaining plants, such as taro, macabo, yams, and so forth, are not sufficiently important to be discussed in relation to the various ways of preparing them. The reader will, I think, from the information given so far, derive a clear enough picture of the multiple uses made by the Pangwe of their vegetable foodstuffs.

Meat is boiled in pots by itself -- just like fish, which, as among us, are dressed and scaled -- or it is boiled in a leaf bundle with groundnuts and ngon. As for other ways of preparation, the [267] Pangwe are familiar with roasting, but they use this method only in order to make the food keep and to preserve it.

264 Meals are quite irregular and poorly distributed:

"kikitase afǒk anū, hamoš ebań e nkǒk,
[539] In the morning a little bit for the mouth, (mid) day a loan for the jaw,

alu bepfǔm"
at night, quite full.

In the morning, soon after getting up, they usually eat a small amount of a cold cassava dish or something similar, which the women have cooked the night before since they usually have to go to the plantations early. In the course of the forenoon they content themselves with a little snack of cassava bread, bananas, and the like.

264 Then follows the warm midday meal which takes place between twelve and five o'clock, depending on when the woman returns from the plantation. The main meal, which is fairly substantial, occurs in the evening. This is not just one meal, however; the women have to cook two or three times and, indeed, even in the middle of the night in order to appease the hungry stomachs. They frequently deviate from this "rule," to be sure. If the store of provisions is ample and there is little work to do, they eat the whole day long; on the other hand, if anything comes up, they just as readily omit meals or fast an entire day.

In the main, meals consist of cassava and plantains. In addition to these, any of the other foods mentioned may be eaten, whatever is on hand.

Men and women usually eat separately. The woman takes care of herself as she is cooking and helps herself even to the men's food which is not meant for her, or she eats with her daughters and younger sons after she has sent the midday meal to her husband in the meeting house where the older boys also gather for food. /161/ On the other hand, the husband habitually goes home to take the late evening meal in the family circle, since by then it has become too cold or lonesome in the meeting house.

At all times, the Pangwe man eats quietly and with dignity, not without appreciative smacking of the lips and constant talking, however. Greedy eating (a šu̍ban a dži) seems ridiculous and un-
[577] becoming to the Pangwe and is interpreted by him as a sign of bad rearing. Many of the precepts which the father gives his son make
[867 this point, and in proverbs and fairy tales (for instance, in the nice
538] fairy tale of Bömme's gluttony, in the story of the greedy pig, and so forth) the same idea recurs.

264 Tableware is very sparse, as one would expect. In the case of
415 liquid dishes, the cooking pot, if it is small, is placed in the midst of the company straight from the fire; if it is large, its contents are poured into a smaller pot. Everyone takes his spoon and eats from the common vessel. In the evening when the man eats at home, he usually has a pot of his own placed before him. Solid foods, for instance, plantains and cassava cutlets, are served on a banana leaf, and everyone takes them by hand. It is considered more refined to

264
415 put the leaf on a basketwork plate or to serve the food on such a plate with nothing under it.

The men's spoon is made of wood (tǭk; plural, IV or, irregular, matǭk), Figure 105, and occurs in four different forms, each with two subvarieties. The first form resembles our salad spoons; it has either a circular or broad egg-shaped bowl and a flat handle which begins just below its outer surface (a-c). This first form
[177] has come from the north, perhaps from the Jaunde and Bene, among whom it is very widespread and popular, and perhaps from tribes located even farther north; in the south it is to be seen quite frequently among the Bulu, quite a lot among the Ntum, and rather more rarely among the Fang. The spoon may have (d) a pear-shaped bowl and a wider handle which starts farther down (I have seen this only among the Fang).

The second form (e-f) consists of a more or less circular, deep bowl and a broad handle attached to the edge of the bowl and bent in the shape of a gable. The handle usually broadens out at the end and is decorated with carved patterns or covered with stamped brass plate. The latter is to be found only among the Fang and, because of the circular shape of the bowl, is called dū ma-gǭdǭvǭ'dō, "nest of the bulbuls (Pycnonotus)."

A form representing a transition between the first and second forms is exemplified by g where the narrow, unadorned handle of the first form is bent in the form of a gable like the second form. This is found only among the Jaunde. /162/

/Fig. 105 appears here in the original text./ The third form (h-k) has a narrow, oval, shallow bowl which more or less gradually extends into the short, usually flat, more rarely round handle; this form is to be found only among the Fang.

A fourth form (l-n) really consists only of a trough-shaped bowl on which the handle is indicated merely by a gradual depression (accordingly, the form is called kiāi-adžăb = leaf of the Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl.); it is found only among the Fang.

The women's spoons, that is, leaf spoons, calabash spoons, and snail spoons, have been mentioned above. It may be added at this point that the man also uses these spoons on occasion, especially when he has no wooden spoon at hand or when he is on a journey.

415
531

Fig. 105. Men's Ladling Spoons.

264 As a rule, to be sure, every man carries one or two of these useful
415 utensils in his shoulder bag made of pineapple fibers (mfǒk). /163/

Beverages and Indulgents

271 The usual beverage of the Pangwe is water. He drinks it from
415 little bowls, into which the water is poured from a clay water flask,
or from calabashes (ndǒk IV) which, in addition to the clay water
484 flasks, are also used for fetching water. He also drinks water from
special drinking calabashes cut in half through the middle (Mwele)
or provided with a hole (Jaunde). On a journey, he uses one or

271 more leaves folded together in the form of a bag, like the leaf
415 spoon, or his right hand with which he scoops up the water and
484 throws it into his mouth with rapid swinging motions.

In dense forest where no stream is known to be nearby -- this,
271 to be sure, is a rare occurrence, for instance, when they have lost
137 the way or if suddenly somebody falls ill from thirst, or the like --
824 one can, at times, open a hidden source of water in the water liana Dichapetalum holosericeum Engl. (angũngũ'ĩ-ndžĩk III Ntum, ngũ'ĩ-ndžĩk III Fang). Unfortunately, however, this plant does not occur everywhere; it grows straight up from the ground to the highest tree tops and can attain the thickness of the upper thigh, but usually it measures only 40 centimeters in circumference. In order to get water, one only needs to cut off the liana as high as one can reach, something that can be done with one blow, and then cut off a piece from the lower half. This is held vertically so that the water cannot run out, and it is then gradually inclined over a drinking vessel, for instance, leaves folded together in the form of a bag. The water, which -- as the Negroes assert -- is supposed to be good for the stomach, now flows out of the stem in a strong stream, hissing all the while. It is quite astonishing what quantities of water the liana contains. A piece as long as one's arm suffices to quench the most violent thirst and, according to my estimates contains one and a half liters. If one needs more, he simply cuts off additional pieces, and since the water cannot flow out of the cut liana because of the air pressure, one always has enough, even for large caravans.

272 As regards indulgents, the Pangwe have sugarcane sap, banana
273 wine, palm wine, and tobacco. In their use of these they are, on the whole, quite moderate. In this respect, the importation of rum would certainly have created a change for the worse if in 1906 the prohibition against the sale of intoxicating liquors had not intervened.

1. Sugarcane sap.

272 The sap contained in sugarcane is extracted in the following manner. The bark of the sugarcane is splintered off with a knife, and its meat is sucked out, or one presses out the sap and then drinks it as "sugar wine (mayǒ[k] me nkõ'k)." The latter method of

272 extraction occurs only in the southern Pangwe region and /164/ in two forms. The first is as follows. The cane is cut into pieces from six to eight centimeters long; the meat of the cane is removed by sticking the spiked stalk of Trachyphrynium danckelmanianum Braun et K. Schn. (nsō' I) through it and scraping back and forth for a while (Fig. 104). A leaf is placed underneath to catch the scrapings, and later they are put in a basketwork plate and pressed out by hand. A second, more refined procedure consists of removing the bark from the cane with a knife and pounding it in a wooden trough. The pulp thus obtained is put in a sugar press (ojám), a crude piece of basketwork in rectangular form, made of Ancistrophyllum (nkāne), whose narrow sides end in loops through which two sticks are pushed. One of these is stuck through two poles planted in the ground, each with a hole drilled through the middle; the other stick is placed on top of the two poles. When the press is to be used, /Fig. 106 appears here in the original text/ a vessel (pot) is placed under it, the upper stick is taken off, the sugarcane pulp is placed in the plaited container, the stick is turned with both hands, and in this way the [888 757] press is wrung dry. The sap, which can be drunk right away, is made primarily for elderly people who are no longer able to chew sugarcane meat; it is also made for medicinal purposes. /165/

2. Banana wine.

273 This wine is obtained from ripe bananas or plantains. They are peeled, cut in half, and then placed in a pot filled with water. The pot is covered with a perforated leaf and set in the sun for a day. The fluid is then carefully poured off, put in a calabash, and again set in the sun for a brief period of time. This banana wine or plantain wine (the latter is supposed to taste even better) is known only in the northern Pangwe region. Among the Jaunde it is valued very highly, as much as palm wine, which is attested to, among other things, by its special popularity with the older chiefs who are known as connoisseurs. This beverage, indeed, is not at all bad, and it is, incidentally, also popular with the Whites.

273

3. Palm wine.

The Pangwe make palm wine primarily from the oil palm Elaeis guineensis L. (alɛ́n). In very rare cases they make it from the raffia palm, while in the extreme north it is also made from

[272 342]

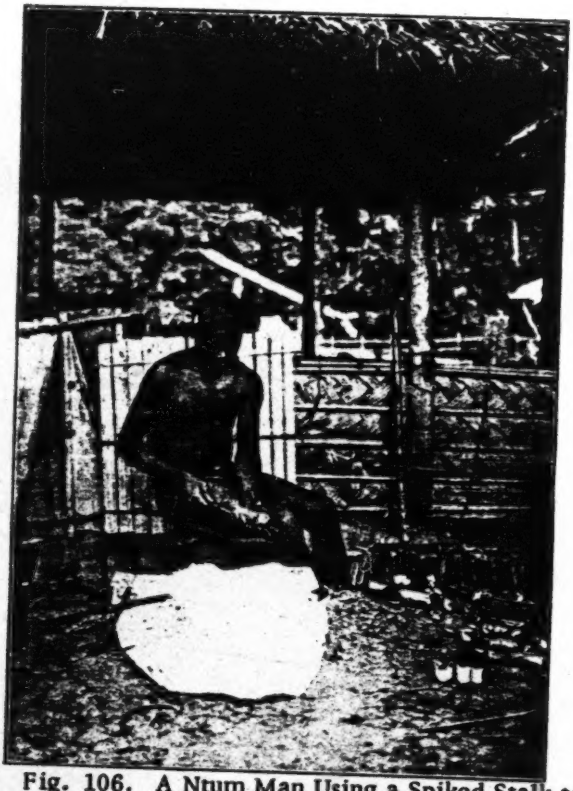


Fig. 106. A Ntum Man Using a Spiked Stalk to Scrape Sections of Sugarcane in Order to Press Sugar Wine out of it.

the Deleb palm. As a result, its abundance and quality depend upon the range of the oil palm, that is to say, actually only the northern Pangwe region, especially the Mwele, Jaunde, and Bene areas and to a lesser extent the Bulu area, come into consideration here. In the south, on the other hand, the making of palm wine is practically unknown; there oil palms are so sparse that they give their name to nearby localities (Alén, Malén) because they

273 are regarded as a curiosity. Wine made from the raffia palm, supposed to have a bitter and not very pleasant taste, is known by hearsay to the southern Pangwe. It may even be that they produce it in isolated places, but I never saw or drank it. On the other hand, the [137] wine made from the Deleb palm, Borassus flabellifer var. aethiopum Mart. (Mwele, awui), which in very isolated patches extends into the northernmost part of the Pangwe region (I have observed it myself between Elandi and Abandakudi) has a superb taste and is justifiably valued very highly even though it does not possess the characteristic bouquet of oil palm wine. On my journey through Mwele territory I was told that the palm tree dies if one cuts off its blossoms to make wine, and indeed I saw a whole number of gigantic trunks reaching into the sky, leafless as masts. At the same time I must confess that when I was able to refresh my thirsty throat with this beverage in Simekoa, I hardly considered the price -- the dead palm tree -- too high.

For the Pangwe Yaoundé /Ger., Jaunde/ is the classical land of palm wine or mimbu, as it is called in pidgin English. If one travels through the Jaunde region at the right time of year, he will find a number of calabashes hanging from almost every oil palm, which indicates: "There is palm wine here." /166/

The quality of the wine depends on various circumstances. One very rarely finds the really first-rate wine, which can well stand comparison with inferior champagnes.

Aside from the method of obtaining the wine, the age of the tree plays a certain role. One cannot get good wine from the flowers of young palms. Similarly, only old calabashes, in which palm wine has often been kept, may be used to catch the wine. I am unable to say what other factors determine the superior or inferior taste of their wine. It is certain that, as in the case of our wines, soil and climate are important. My Jaunde in the south, for instance, took all kinds of trouble to serve me with good "stuff," but it was all -- as they themselves admitted -- a beverage of which one could but say: "It looks like wine, but it isn't; it doesn't make you sing, it doesn't make you happy." In any case a person who, after the first trial of a perhaps only moderately successful wine, condemns palm juice in general does it an injustice. One must first get used

273 to its peculiar taste, and anyone who, like myself, has drunk his way from Duala through Bakoko /Koko/ and Bassá country, through the Jaunde and Mwele areas up to the northeastern boundary of the Pangwe region to Kombokotto, knows that one only has to look for a really good drop to find it, and that this is one of the best things available in the Pangwe territory in the way of culinary pleasures.

Usually palm wine is yellowish-white, either dry or more or less sweet, the best being almost transparent in the glass, bubbling like sparkling wine, slightly sweet, and extremely intoxicating. Inferior wine is more opaque, while a very indifferent variety, obtained -- as will be described below -- from the trunk, is not transparent and is covered with foam like soapy water, which it resembles somewhat in taste. All of them, however, have a characteristic and fine bouquet to which, as I have said, one must first become accustomed, but which afterwards he never forgets. When I read through the pages of my diary telling of the days of travel in Yaoundé, the wine bouquet seems to stream forth from them and to embody everything beautiful and characteristic that tropical West Africa offers to the memory.

There are three methods of obtaining the wine. The first two involve cutting down a palm tree about five years old, and for that reason such methods are not very common in the Pangwe region (1).

1. These methods are more frequently used in the Bassá area where the palm trees are so numerous that they can be wasted in this manner.

The first method, which produces the best wine and which in Jaunde is called mayǒ̄t k] me mbŭm, is carried out in the following manner. The leaves of the palm tree that has been cut down, the upper leaves in particular, are cut off, and the calabash is put over the cut at the heart of the palm.

In the second method -- mayǒ̄t k] me nkǒ̄k, "palm wine from the felled trunk" -- a rectangular hole is cut in the middle of the trunk /167/ down to the pith, about 15 centimeters deep. This is not done, however, until the trunk has lain for a day and has been

273 covered with old leaf sheath which look like bark and are in turn weighted down with leafstalk ends and the like as a protection against insects. The palm wine gathers in this hole and is scooped out daily. This process lasts from four to five days and produces in all five or more bottles of inferior wine.

Most common is the third method of obtaining wine, namely, from the male or female inflorescences of fully grown trees, that is, ten years old or older (simply: mayǒ[k] m'alěn, "wine from the oil palm"). This procedure, to be sure, is not nearly as simple [481] as the two previous ones since the man must climb up the palm tree and work for quite a long time hanging in a supporting rope, in particular lopping off the leaves. It frequently happens that in his eagerness the man cuts through the supporting rope and falls to the ground; to do this he does not even need to have looked too deeply into a calabash filled with palm wine.

At least two, usually three or four, and more rarely up to six inflorescences on a palm are tapped at the same time since some produce more juice, others less or no juice at all. With four inflorescences, for instance, only two produce juice; with six, only four.

The next step is to remove from below all the leaves of the crown with the exception of the leaf in whose axil the inflorescence is inserted. This is now partly removed, but its lower edge and the part of the lower end of the stalk which is turned away from the inflorescence are left on; otherwise the inflorescence would break off and fall down. A stick is clamped between the inflorescence on the one hand and the leaf that was left standing and the neighboring leaf on the other to prop up the inflorescence which has been deprived of its support. Not until the next day is the work continued. With a two-edged knife a rectangular cutout about six centimeters above the base is excised (in a downward direction) from the husk. The stalk of the inflorescence is cut through here and is taken out, so that on all sides only the husks are left standing. Now the stick can be removed since a prop is no longer needed. After two days the palm wine can be collected. For this purpose, a thin layer of the remaining stalk of the inflorescence is cut off, and the empty husks are stopped up at the tip with old dry husks that have been

273 crumpled up. Then a long-stemmed, fife-like bag is made of five leaf pinnae of the oil palm; this bag is placed at the lower part of the cutout with its "head" down and the tip outward. The bag is pressed to the cutout by means of a little stick made from the bark of an oil palm leafstalk and stuck through the husk on either side /168/. The entire arrangement is designed to prevent insects, such as giant beetles, palm weevils, rose beetles, bees, flies, etc., from penetrating the husk. Furthermore, in order to prevent the wine from running past the bag, the slits at those points where the bag rests against the husks are closed off with the down of oil palm leaf sheaths. On the little stick which holds the bag, a calabash, on which a small leaf funnel is placed, is suspended in such a way that the lower end of the bag extends into the funnel so that here, too, the way will be blocked to uninvited guests from the insect world.

It is necessary to remove the palm wine from the calabash morning, noon, and night, since otherwise it would spoil. Each time, also, a thin layer of the stalk of the inflorescence must again be cut off, and a new bag, as well as a new funnel, must be made. /Fig. 107 appears here in the original text./ In each case, the tapping of a tree lasts for three days and, if there are four tapping places, for instance, yields from six to eight bottles of wine. After this period, the tree is left alone for at least half a year so that it can recuperate; indeed, it is left to itself even longer if enough other palm trees are available.

To improve the wine -- according to the Jaunde -- to make it worse in my opinion -- the Jaunde frequently put the bark of a tree called eyū'ma (Jaunde) in the calabashes. Fortunately, this tree grows only in the Mwele region, and the Jaunde get it from there. This bark /Fig. 108 appears here in the original text/ makes the palm wine "strong," as they say; that is, it gives the wine intoxicating qualities. Possibly a very small amount of the bark is a beneficial addition, but the excessive amount that the Jaunde add
273 to it harms the pleasant taste of the palm wine. I remember par-
522 ticularly a trick played on me by my boys who had poured together the wine from a number of calabashes, each about a quarter full, for my meal. In each calabash the wine had already been four

/168/

276

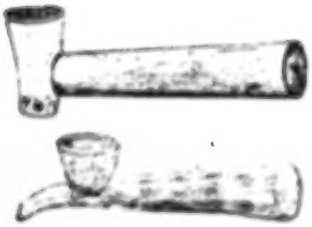


Fig. 107. Wooden Tobacco Pipes.

[53]

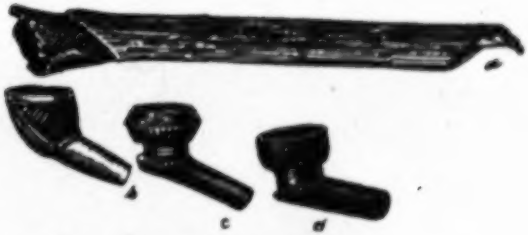


Fig. 108. Bowls for Tobacco Pipe of Banana Leafstalks.
(a) Brass plate with a piece of banana leaf stalk; (b-d) clay.

273 times as powerful as usual, and the entire mixture was so strong
522 that it caused violent dizziness and headache.

273 The palm wine which is obtained from the pith of a tree trunk that is cut down /169/ (mayõ[k] -nkõk) keeps for 24 hours in the house. On the other hand, the wine made from the inflorescences keeps at most half a day, and in great heat it spoils very rapidly, as I observed; it does the same if one takes it along on a trip. For this reason I followed the rule in the palm wine region of always finishing a good wine immediately or at least as soon as possible.

As I have said, the Pangwe are, generally speaking, moderate drinkers, but among them there are also heavy drinkers who regu-
[164] larly get drunk on palm wine. I shall leave undecided the question as to whether the widespread epilepsy (okũ bũk) in the northern Pangwe region is a *phenomenon resulting from excessive indulgence* in palm wine on the part of the parents.

4. Tobacco.

276 Four varieties of tobacco, Nicotiana tabaccum L. (tãã III) (1)
249

1. The native term may have arisen from tabaco.

are found in the Pangwe region. Formerly there was a fifth variety, but its cultivation has been given up. /Fig. 109 appears here in the original text./ With the exception of two that are very similar, the tobacco varieties are easily distinguished by their leaves. The key for determining each is as follows.

A. Leaves are not alated, and the leafstalk is long and clearly defined: esõ̃h (esã̃h because of the similarity of the leaves to those of the Hibiscus sabdariffa L.)

B. Leaves are alated

(a) Leaves are narrow, lanceolated: sõmõ IV

(b) Leaves are broad, ovate

1. Blossoms are a bright pink, almost whitish, the leaves being comparatively wider than in the case of the following: nsõdebõno I

2. Blossoms are dark pink to red, and the plants grow closer to the ground: mbɔ̄ʼmekūnă I 276 249

Originally, the Pangwe were not passionate smokers, as a rule, although in every village one encounters old people who cannot live without their pipes. Over the whole region, especially in the north where the influence of the Whites is more predominant (for instance, among the Jaunde), the use of tobacco is rapidly increasing. The quality of imported tobacco and the great variety of pleasing shapes of the pipes for sale in the trading posts may be strong /170/ /Fig. 110 appears here in the original text/ contributing factors. 276 [77]

Fig. 109. Clay Tobacco Pipes.

Next to salt, "trade tobacco" is one of the principal trade articles. [439]

Tobacco is exclusively smoked in pipes; chewing or taking snuff is unknown. The Pangwe distinguish three forms of pipes. First there are short wooden pipes carved out of one piece (only among the Fang), ekūk-myiðk (Fig. 107), and secondly, banana leafstalk types (ntón I; bowl, obă'k). The latter consist of a piece of banana leafstalk or leaf ribbing, more than a meter long, and a bowl stuck on top of it which is made of the kernel of the raffia fruit, brass plate, or clay (Fig. 108). The stalk needs to be replaced from time to time. In almost every meeting house this form of pipe can be seen on the wall resting on two hooks, and it frequently goes the rounds among the men, on which occasion the chief is the first to draw from one to three deep puffs and then passes it on to his neighbor. The last man puts the pipe back on its rack. The third type of pipe

1: Tessmann--165 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

249
361
342

Fig. 110. Tobacco Planted in a Village Square.

276 (myō-taa) consists of a clay bowl and a wooden stem about 30 centimeters long, part of which has brass wire neatly wound around it (Fig. 109). Formerly, this pipe is supposed to have been as long as an arm among the Jaunde.

249 Proportionate to the indifferent habit of smoking is the indifferent care and affection with which the tobacco plant and its leaves are treated. Wherever a great deal of tobacco is imported by the trading houses, tobacco cultivation is completely neglected. /171/

Tobacco seeds are sown in whatever planting area happens to be convenient at the same time as the principal crop of the field is planted. Accordingly, the tobacco may be sown, for instance, with groundnuts twice a year. Frequently a small tobacco bed is laid out close to the village, or the seeds are planted next to the houses and sometimes on the village square (Fig. 110).

As soon as the plants attain a certain height, all the leaves except those on top are picked off. The top leaves are left so that the plant can continue to grow and bring forth blossoms and fruit. Then the leaves are harvested for the second time, and the fruit

1: Tessmann--166 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

249 intended for the next sowing are taken off. Since the principal crop of the field has meanwhile been harvested and the field therefore has been abandoned, the young tobacco plants which have developed from prematurely ripened seeds are taken home and planted in the vicinity of the house.

Further treatment of the leaves consists simply of drying them in the house, either on the drying lofts (one or two days) or under the roof, underneath the mats into which the stalks are pushed so that the leaves hang down freely (depending on the distance from the fire, three to five days). Naturally, the Pangwe know nothing about the fermentation process; it may once in a while take place accidentally when the leaves are kept tied together in a basket. Usually, however, so many brothers, friends, and members of the kin group appear on the scene that the entire harvest is distributed. [422] Tobacco is regarded as communal property, so to speak; just as the pipe in the meeting house is used by everyone in common, so are the tobacco leaves considered common property, and it is the custom to share them with the members of the village at each harvest.

In spite of the crude treatment of the tobacco leaf, native tobacco is supposed to be not at all bad, as I was assured by smokers. /172/ /Fig. 111 appears here in the original text./

Section 7

000

Dress and Ornaments

1. Dress. Men's dress (loin cloths, belts). -- Women's dress (front apron, back apron, working dress). -- Children's dress. -- Hair style for children; for adults (helmet crests, helmet caps, occurrence, kinds, production). -- Hair style of the older people. -- Headdress. -- Beards.
2. Ornaments. Hair ornaments. -- Piercing the nasal septum. -- Nose ornaments. -- Forehead ornaments. -- Neck ornaments (necklaces and neck bands, neck rings made

1: Tessmann--167 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
291
481

Fig. 111. Men from Angónneuai (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.

000

of metal). -- Breast ornaments. -- Arm ornaments. -- Finger ornaments. -- Leg ornaments. -- Toe ornaments. -- Profusion of ornaments.

3. Care of the body. -- Cleanliness. -- Parasites and their removal. -- Care of head hair. -- Underarm and pubic hair. -- Care of the teeth. -- Salves with oil: reasons, oil plants, oil from the raffia palm, oil from the oil palm (distribution, varieties, production of pressed, boiled, and washed oil, and of palm seed oil). -- Smearing with dyes: occasions, red dye (preparation, vessels for storing it), white and black dye.
4. Adornment of the body. Origin. -- Kinds. -- Scars by burning. --

000 Ornamental scars. -- Painting. -- Tattooing /Ed., in the German, Tätowierung/ (1): origin; purpose;

1. The Lübeck Museum for Anthropology writes Tatanierung.

parts of the body tattooed; execution; varieties; payment of the tattoo artist. -- Mutilation of the teeth: reason; execution.

1. Dress.

291 The native dress of the men is a strip of material drawn between the legs and folded in the back and the front over a belt. The strip is about 90 centimeters long, 70 centimeters wide, and made of the bark of various fig /173/ trees (Fig. 111). The bark cloth is left either in its natural color and in that case shows all gradations from almost pure white to a dark reddish brown, or it [386] is dyed a resplendent red by means of red wood and is often so magnificently prepared that one can distinguish it from European cloth only by looking at it closely.

291 177 Nowadays European cloth is to be found everywhere as a result of trade, and it is supplanting the original dress which is so becoming. European cloth is sometimes worn just like the bark cloth, but usually it is wrapped smoothly around the loins with or without a belt (see Fig. 111).

291 281 Only once did I see in place of the bark cloth a narrow loin apron made of monkey skin, which at the upper end was drawn over the hip string and the rest fell down in long strips (etõ'b-mabǎ,s).

291 The belt (kǎ'na IV) consists of fiber strings with or without beads, a braided palm band (Fig. 112), or hide. The simple strings are to be seen only on boys or people who pay little attention to their appearance; the beaded belts, in contrast to those of the /Figs. 112 and 113 appear here in the original text/ women,

are single strings. The braided belts, Figure 113 (bǎ'b IV, Fang), apparently occur only in the south. The hide belts are either narrow bands, usually made of monkey hide, or broad bands of antelope hide whose hairy side is first shaved smooth and then incised with all kinds of patterns. Belts made of the stalks of the bindweed (abōdembē, that is, "those who dress poorly," from bōt, "to dress," and mbē, "the poor, the bad") are regarded as the most inferior. They are worn only by people who are very negligent about their appearance.

Fig. 112. Fiber Belts.
(b) Decorated with cowrie shells.

Both in form and material, the women's dress is fundamentally different from that of the men. It consists of two pieces, the front apron and the back apron, both being held against the body by a hip band made of hide strips, fiber, bead strings, or European material. The front apron in its simplest form (which is found among the northern Pangwe) consists of a long, narrow, dry banana leaf which covers the pudendum and the perineum between the legs and is folded in front to form a triangular flap which is wrapped over the hip string. Otherwise, it is made either of bark cloth or a piece of hide. The back apron among the Fang is a small, modest piece of bark cloth which occurs in two forms. The first type is a band three and a half meters long and 23 centimeters wide sewed together out of many (eight to nine) pieces, /174/ which by means of pleating is shortened to a small apron 24 centimeters long and 13 to 27 centimeters wide. A string drawn through the upper edge gathers it in, like a fan. The second form consists of from two to eight small, quadrangular pieces of bark which are gathered

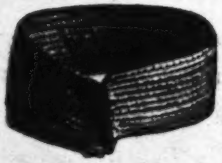


Fig. 113. Braided Belt.

291 in at the top, like a fan, and stuck one after another into a clamp (abǎs) (Fig. 114). This clamp consists of from five to eight short sticks of wood which are wrapped with brass wire or brass plate at one end, are placed next to each other like a grating, and are then tied together with a strip of palm.

Fig. 114. Fang Woman's Back Apron of Bark Cloth.

Among the other Pangwe, the back apron is made of raffia fiber and hangs down like a horse's docked tail (Fig. 115). It is called mfǒk I, mfǒɔ̄-zǎm (zǎm, "raffia palm"), etǔ,ǎ, azǒ,m, azǒn, ebū'ī, ekǔ'm.

When at work in the fields, fishing, and so forth, the women take off their raffia tailpieces and bark aprons in order to spare

Fig. 115. Ntum Woman's Back Apron of Raffia Fiber.

them and as a substitute put an herb with soft leaves, if possible the Brillantaisia (ebūgebǒ'n), or ferns under their belts. One also often sees them in this working dress on the way home to the village while their raffia tailpiece or bark apron splendidly adorns the top of the basket filled with fruits of the field or firewood. Men never wear leaves, not even while they are fishing.

302

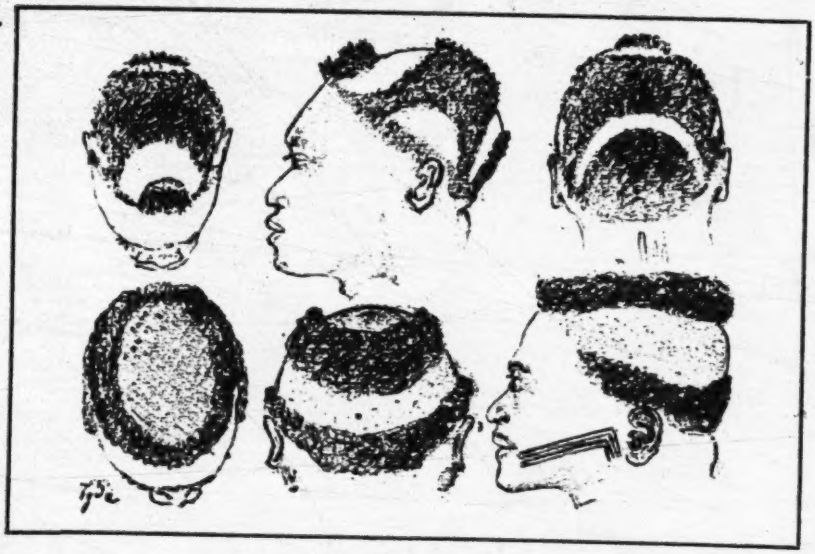


Fig. 116. Hair Styles.

291 During the first years of their lives, small children usually go around naked, girls up to the age of five, boys up to their seventh [304] year. The boys' circumcision does not mark a definite limit in this matter since one sees uncircumcised boys clothed and circumcised boys naked, /Fig. 115 appears here in the original text/ but they do not like to wait long after this occasion. Children, especially girls, may also be clad in a piece of cloth as soon as they start to walk.

302 Nowadays, the Pangwe do not have a uniform hair style. We find an abundance of different forms among them -- even within the same village -- which shows that, like all Negroes, the Pangwe loves to give rein to his mode in dressing his hair for ornamental purposes.

Children usually have their heads shaved at an early age, either completely smooth or /175/ /Fig. 116 appears here in the original text/ retaining a tuft of hair either in the back or the front or a fringe. Half-grown boys wear their hair long or shaved in patterns.

Among adults the hair is either quite long and neglected (Plate 13) or it is shaved quite smooth. In other cases, it is cut

302 to half length and carefully dressed, or it is cut short, either uniformly (see Fig. 6) or in such a way that a tuft, asik, in front, or a fringe, ongón, over the crown remains standing. Still others cut their hair short and shave it in all kinds of patterns (see Fig. 3), called pfēē, III (a tūb bopfēē, "to shave in ornamental patterns"). These would fill an entire book if one were to note them all down. I have illustrated a small number of them in Figure 116.

The hair style in the shape of a helmet, richly adorned with beads, cowrie shells, buttons, and brass nails, constitutes the ne plus ultra of all these types of hair styles. It is this hair style which distinguishes the Pangwe from all other peoples of tropical West Africa (Fig. 117). In the north where this fashion never reached the same perfection it had in the south, it has been given up as a result of European influence. Among the Ntum and Fang, on the other hand, the art of fashioning the helmet hair style blooms luxuriantly (Fig. 118). In this process the hair is made to stand on end by placing under it props made of raffia pith or palm strips; the curls are transformed into pigtails by means of bark strips plaited in with them. The pigtails in turn are braided together to form a pad of uniform thickness. Since the creation of such a hairdo requires ample time, a month and longer, the natives walk about for a long time with /176/ /Figs. 117 and 118/ /177/ /Fig. 119 appears here in the original text/ hairdos that have just been begun or that are more or less unfinished, so that one has the impression at first that he is observing many different kinds of hair styles. Figures 8 and 13, for example, show two different stages in the development of one and the same hairdo.

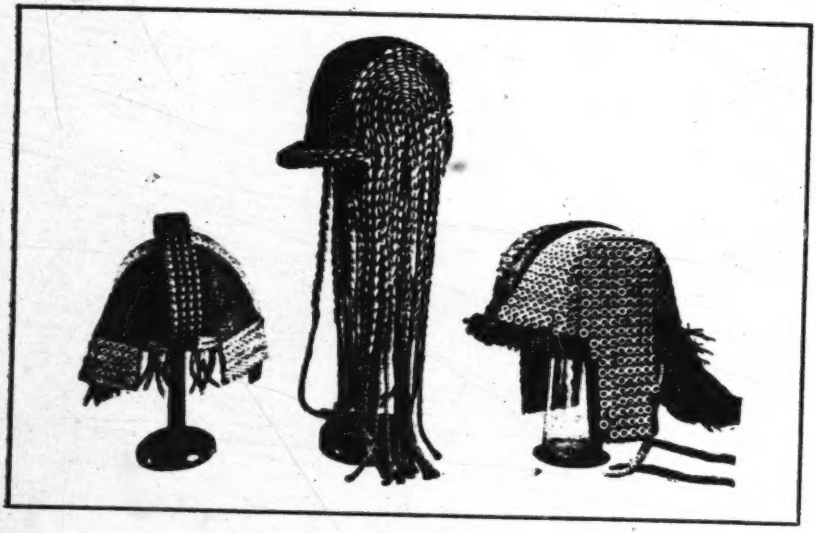
292 302 In addition to these styles contrived with the hair of the head, there are removable caps. These are made in precisely the same way and in precisely the same shapes (Fig. 119) as the hair styles just described, so that only upon close inspection can one decide whether the hair has been dressed or has been covered with a cap. These caps, however, are not common and are made only by the Ntum and by a few Fang (Okak). Dressing the hair itself decidedly predominates, a fact which we should mention since from the evidence of the museum material one might arrive at a different conclusion. The illustrations given here all show hairdos.

292
142

Fig. 117. Assoko from Alén (Essáuong Family), Spanish Guinea.

294
352
516

Fig. 118. Ntum Preparing Ornamental Helmet Crests, Akonangí, South Cameroons.



292

Fig. 119. Helmet Caps.

Of 25 different forms, which are given individual names, about half are worn by both sexes indiscriminately; the rest are worn only by men or only by women. Among the Fang the men's ornaments are more frequently the same as those of the women than is the case among the Ntum, and for this reason they are more frequently the butt of ridicule. 302 301

Helmet crests and ornamental caps are worn constantly; only as a sign of mourning are both taken off -- the former is sometimes also taken off before a hunting expedition. /178/ 292 765

To make his ornamental caps (edõ'ban, etũ,e'), the Ntum takes a hide from a long-tailed monkey, dwarf antelope, young goat, or sheep. The hide is cleaned of its fat, turned inside out, and drawn over the arch of a plantain rootstock that has been cut to a semi-spherical shape. It is tied with a string at the base, and along the edge it is fastened by pegs to the ground. Stretched in this way, the hide must be dried in the sun and later over the fire. 294 281

Furthermore, blackened bast strips of the Triumfetta are needed. These are colored in the following manner: the bark of certain 294 386 824

294
386 plants (1) is cut up into small pieces and placed in a cooking pot
824

1. Combretacea Terminalia superba Engl. et Diels (akŏ'm), Euphorbiaceae Bridelia zenkeri Pax. (ewō'lŏ'k), Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. (abŭī, Ntum), Megabarea trillesii Pierre (abŭī-žăm), Leguminosa Mucuna flagellipes Vogel (kŏndō'o'-žăm), Borraginacea Cordia odorata Gürke (ébē, Fang, ebăī, Ntum), Anacardiacea Pseudospondias tessmannii Engl. (angŏkŏń), Flacourtiacea Petersia minor Niedenzu (abiń).

in such a way that at the bottom there is a layer of bark, then the bast strips, and on top of these bark pieces again. The whole is boiled for an hour in order to draw certain materials out of the bark; then the pot is carried to the river, and the bast strips are kneaded alternately in the loam of the bank and in the bark extract from five to seven times, one after another. The strips now have a blackish color which during the drying in the house darkens to the deepest black.

294 Proceeding to the actual making of the cap, the dried hide is taken off the block and propped up on the inner surface by three stirrups underneath placed crosswise. The stirrups consist of eight palm strips laid lengthwise next to each other and braided together with Triumfetta fiber. To wear the sharp-edged stirrups and the heavy gear can scarcely be pleasant, but the Negro's thick woolly skull probably does not feel it.

On the outer surface, on both sides of the crest line, 14 holes are drilled into the hide in two parallel longitudinal rows for the seven pineapple strings, half a meter long, which are drawn through two holes apiece. These strings are braided with the pigtails, each of which was made from three of the black bast strips mentioned above. They start from the middle, run in the sagittal direction to the front and back edge, extend somewhat beyond them, and

294 end in a knot (2). Twelve such longitudinal braids are placed

2. In braiding, one frequently greases
his fingers and twists the strips slightly.

close to one another. The space between these and the edge of the cap is filled by pigtails made in the same way but running at right angles to the others; at the edge they are covered by three rows of pigtails all the way around and are sewed to the hide. /179/ For this one requires a needle made of bark, whose tip has been hardened in the fire and whose other end has a slit for the fiber thread. The pigtails jutting out over the edge are cut off. A fringe (mbǭm), made of a piece of raffia pith, is put over the crown of the cap. The piece of pith is cut into on both its narrow sides so that it will bend more readily, and over it is sewn a piece of material on which is set a stirrup of the same width, made of palm strips and studded with brass nails -- these stirrups have been described above in connection with the inner surface of the cap. On either side of the fringe there are a few longitudinal rows of red beads strung on raffia fiber. Another decoration on the caps consists of pieces of leather sewn on at the sides, which have cowrie shells or white buttons stitched on them and from which are hung tassels of pineapple strings strung with beads (see Fig. 118, foreground).

The ornamental caps of the Fang are not made of hides but of palm strips, parallel to each other, which are braided with blackened Triumfetta fiber in such a way that one strip is always skipped, and thus a chessboard pattern is created.

302 Older people for the most part do not wear bead ornaments in their hair -- insofar as they still have any -- but on the contrary wear simpler hair arrangements which, incidentally, are supposed to have been more fashionable at one time.

291 Among head coverings we need only mention caps made from the hide of monkeys, civet cats, or of the ichneumon, Bdeogale [294] nigripes Puch., as well as imported red caps which are worn by chiefs 291 and other elderly "notables." Hats made from leaves of grass 177 (Paspalum) sewn together resemble our ordinary straw hats in shape

291 177 and, according to one informant, are supposed to be imitations of European models.

302 Dressing the beard is rare among the Pangwe, since most of them -- like many other Negroes -- pluck out such hair. In isolated instances there are men with beautiful full beards (Fig. 11) or with pointed beards whose tip has been twisted into a little pigtail and covered with cowrie shells or beads. Still others make two or quite a number of pigtails from their beards (Fig. 12); mustaches are rarely to be seen and are quite insignificant.

2. Ornaments.

301 Among the Pangwe the urge to beautify oneself dominates man and woman equally to a considerable degree. All kinds of ornamental pendants are attached to every possible part of the body. In their hair (Fig. 120) they stick a feather which is often cut out in patterns (a, b), a porcupine's tail (c), a wooden arrow, bones /180/ /Fig. 120 appears here in the original text/ (d), brass coiled in a spiral (e), a comb (see Fig. 139), and also, in rare cases -- usually on the occasion of a dance -- flowers, for instance, those of Costus (miĕn), and attractive or fragrant leaves, such as those of the Leguminosa Cryptosepalum aff. staudtii Harms (andūṇ) and of the herb called afuṅ. The latter two are worn only by women and usually in two bundles behind the ear. The ear lobe is pierced and provided with an ornament only among a few Mwai. [304]

301 304 Nose ornaments (Fig. 121), on the other hand, enjoy great popularity; they are attached in a hole pierced through the septum and not to the side of the nose. The requisite operation is carried out on children between six and eight years of age. /Fig. 121 appears here in the original text. / First the person concerned presses the leaves of the Aframomum (adžǫm), which have been warmed in the fire, to the septum in order to make it softer. Then the medicine man takes a stick of raffia stalk, a quill from the porcupine, or any other pointed tool and drills a hole through the septum with it after he has picked out the right place with the index finger of his other hand. He now pushes a small piece of stalk [304]

301
[531]

/180/

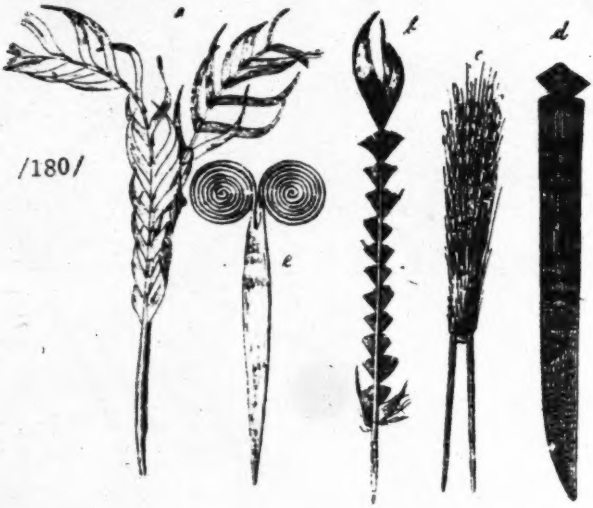


Fig. 120. Hair Ornaments

Fig. 121. Nose Ornaments.

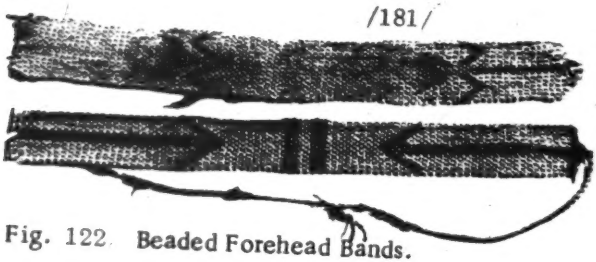
301 of the Trachyphrynium violaceum (stalk, nkómkǒ'mo I; leaves,
304 dzĕdekiai IV Ntum) onto the tip of the quill and pulls both back together until the stalk comes to rest in the septum. The stalk is supposed to keep the hole open for the later ornaments. The subsequent treatment serves the same purpose; every two days the wound is washed out and the stalk is renewed. /181/ After ten days the stalk is finally removed and replaced by the permanent
301 ornaments. The objects used for ornaments can scarcely all be enumerated: /Figs. 122 and 123 appear here in the original text/ stalks, leaves, blossoms of the Gomphrena globosa L. (ngǒ'n), with which we are already familiar as an ornamental plant, feathers (1),

1. The red tail feathers of the gray parrot and the crescent feathers of the cock are especially popular; both animals play an important role in the religion.

paper rolls, wooden rods strung with beads, raffia rods, rods or bones wrapped with brass wire, brass rings with a large bead that hangs down as far as the upper lip (see Fig. 132), and especially strings of beads, the ends of which are tied to the hairdo behind the ears, thus forming a cheek ornament at the same time. /Fig. 124 appears here in the original text./

Forehead ornaments are to be found in the following forms: strings of beads; bands of beads, which in the southern part of the Fang region often have very attractice patterns (Fig. 122); strips of black sheepskin (tū̧t IV); and sometimes among women nicely braided bast bands with tassels.

The neck, which one rarely sees without some kind of band or string, is amply provided with ornaments. In former times the fruit of the grass Coix lacryma L. (mvǎ̧andú III), the well-known Job's-tears (Fig. 123), used as a decoration in so many parts of the world, /182/ /Figs. 125 and 126 appear here in the original text/ was very popular, as were strung stalk pieces of the fern Lygodium smithianum Presl. (ozǒ̧k), whose name ozǒ̧k was subsequently



301
531

Fig. 122 Beaded Forehead Bands.

Fig. 123. Necklace of the Fruit of Coix lacryma (Job's-tears).

142
291
301
516

Fig. 124. Ntum Woman from Alén (Essandun Family).

301 transferred to the oblong red beads. Nowadays, however, since the introduction of glass beads which now predominate, they have long been out of favor as not elegant enough. Among other neck [84] ornaments we find among the women the fruit of the Mucuna flagellipes Vogel (kǒndǒ/ɔ'-zǎm III); they are a symbol of faithfulness, although they are probably worn without the definite intention of winning faithfulness or keeping it (1). Other neck

1. This liana is the symbol of faithfulness because it twines around a single tree and does not, like the majority of tropical lianas and climbing plants, overrun all the trees and shrubs within its reach.

ornaments are: the strung incisors of long-tailed monkeys and dogs (Fig. 124 and 125); also used as pendants, the strung incisors of leopards and the tusks of boars (Fig. 127); simulated teeth made of the white, slightly pointed seeds of the palm Podococcus barteri Mann et Wendl. (niamvǐne), Figure 126, or from pieces of bone, as pendants; simulated horn made of /Fig. 127 appears here in the original text/ appropriately carved pieces of ebony (Diospyros varieties) and wound with brass wire, Figure 128; and finally a talon of the large fighting eagle Spizaetus (ndü ī' IV), Figure 129 (2). Neck bands, as attractive as they are simple to produce,

[77] 2. European trinkets are also to be found as pendants among the Pangwe. These include cartridges, keys, and padlocks.

are made from strips of Oncocalamus mannii Wendl. (nlon) or Trachyphrynium violaceum (nkǒmokǒ/mo), held together by a graceful braid of Rhectophyllum threads. /Figs. 128 and 129 appear here in the original text./ There is a noteworthy neck ornament made of the fragrant roots of the Urticacea Trymatococcus africanus H. Baillon (ngǒ/na IV), which among the Ntum is worn

301

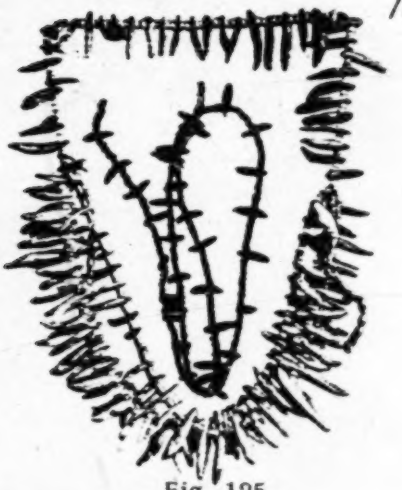


Fig. 125
Necklace of Teeth from Dogs and Long-tailed Monkeys.
Fig. 126. Necklace of Simulated Teeth made from the Seeds of the Podococcus barteri.

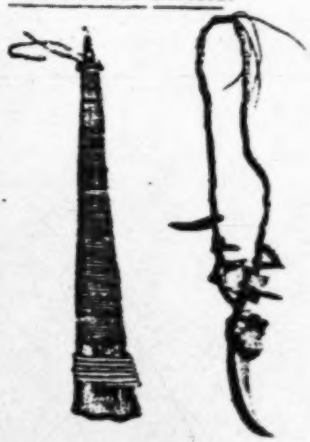


Fig. 128. Pendant of Ebony, Wound with Brass Wire. Simulated Horn.

Fig. 129. Necklace with the Talon of a Fighting Eagle.

Fig. 127. Pendant of a Neck Ornament (Tusk of a Wild Boar).

301 only by women but among the Fang by members of either sex. It is called /183/ egbwē̌ī, ngṓna IV Fang, or azǭm-e-sī, Ntum (see Plate 12). Halved lengthwise and dried, the roots are bound by a double string to form a neckband (Fig. 131, a) or are twined together to form a tassel-shaped pendant (Figure 131, b), the whole being dyed usually with red wood. A neck ruff made of bast and worn by members of either sex is not very common. Because of its appearance, the ruff is called etū́ga-nnǫ́ma, "sheep's mane" (Fig. 131, c). Similarly, a bast neck ornament for little girls (ngōne) is rarely worn. /Figs. 130 and 131 appear here in the original text. /

301 326 Iron neck rings are very rare nowadays; correspondingly, neck rings made of brass (mvǭt I) are all the more frequent. These are cast in heavy and light varieties. The former, that is, the heavy brass rings, have two different forms. The first has edges that project like a cornice and no ornamentation (Fig. 132). The other one is triangular in cross-section and in the middle of the two front surfaces, as well as frequently along the upper edge, is provided with engraved patterns (mvǭte zǎh; see Fig. 14). The manufacture of these rings will be described in connection with brass founding. It is not easy to wear such a ring, which weighs up to three pounds, nor is it easy to put it on, for it is softened anew in the fire and bent apart so that its lucky owner can force his neck into it, and then it is tapped together again on the anvil. It is even harder to take the ring off. To do this, the person concerned lies down on his back; one end of the ring is secured to a tree stump while the other end is connected to a lever by means of a liana, and the ring is forced off with the lever. Prior to this, one must not forget to rub the neck thoroughly with oil or with sap from the leaves of the Clerodendron /184/ /Fig. 132 appears here in the original text/ bǖttmeri Gürke (mayǖlu-ndźīk III). By way of a popular, quick, and cheap substitute, servants of Europeans use tin cans which they transform into a neck ring by taking off the lid and the bottom. Similarly, European collars are to them an extremely welcome cultural acquisition which they make their own, frequently before they acquire trousers and shirts.

301

Fig. 130. Necklace with the Fruit of Chrysophyllum tessmannii Engl. (mbam).

Fig. 131. Neck Ornaments.

301
142
291

Fig. 132. Fang (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.

301 Breast ornaments are to be found chiefly among women in the form of strings of beads and rough brass chains that hang very low. As one might imagine, these can be recommended only for older ladies.

Especially among women, the arms and legs are just as profusely covered with ornaments. The upper and lower arm or both are adorned with spirals of imported brass wire or with hoops from imported brass tubing (Fig. 133). For the upper arm, the spirals are shorter, while for the lower arm they are usually so long that they completely cover it. The less common upper arm rings made of strips of Laccosperma or Trachyphrynium are placed close together and joined by a pretty braid of Rhectophyllum (Fig. 134). Only men wear strips of black sheepskin on their upper arms; these match the forehead bands of the same material. Rings or bands around the /185/ wrist are among the most popular ornaments. Even children put the stalks of the Rubiacea Megalopus mannii K. Sch. (ngône III) in spirals around their arms. Adults -- men and women -- wear rings made from liana stalks, braided palm bands (Fig. 135), the hairs of an elephant's tail, cast brass or brass wire whose

Fig. 136. Bloom Woman from Akonangf
Akonangf (Ennandum Family).

ends are entwined like two tendrils (nkī̃b I, Fig. 136, a), or fine brass wire wound around itself (Fig. 136, b). They also wear bands braided from Oncocalamus and thick rings made of ivory or elephant bones (ekū̃m e ḿ̃ŋ) or an imitation made from the wood of the Alstonia (ekūk) called ŋ̃[k] ekūk, "elephant" (that is, ivory from the Alstonia). All three varieties are expecially worn by chiefs. Among the Jaunde there are attractively worked, thin arm hoops made of ivory.

Finger rings (Fig. 137) are made of ivory (a), horn(1) (b) blackened in saffia palm oil, and brass. Of the latter there are spirals (c-d), simple thin rings whose ends are slightly entwined (e), bands, and thicker, often slightly ornamented hoops (f).

1. Of the black-rumped duikerbok, Cephalophus callipygus Pirs. (mvin IV).

By and large, leg ornaments are similar to those for the arm; here too, shorter brass spirals worn above the knee are the most frequent. Women also wear them just below the knee and, again, they alone wear longer ones which extend from the middle of the calf down to the ankle. In addition, both sexes wear massive or hollow brass rings as well as the peculiar, finely decorated brass foot covers (ebat, ngō̃b IV). /186/

301

Fig. 134. Arm Band of Palm Strips.

Fig. 135. Braided Arm Band.

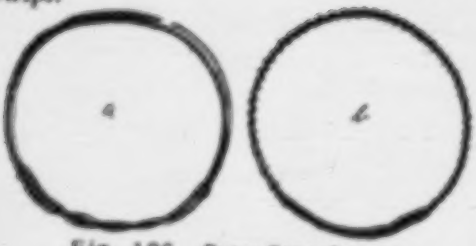


Fig. 136. Brass Bracelets.

Fig. 137. Finger Rings.

Rings are put on the toes, frequently on all five of them, just as they are worn on the fingers.

[48] Because of all these adornments the women look overburdened and unattractive (Fig. 138, see also Fig. 133), especially since the ornaments give them a walk even more ungainly and heavy than they already have. As a consequence of the heavy burdens that they must carry, they have a waddling walk which announces itself from afar by a rhythmic clatter. In short, the native beauties would not be exactly pleasing to the divine Muse, Terpsichore. In addition, the ornaments are troublesome beyond just their weight; the ankle rings, for instance, rub the skin until it is raw and are then tied with a string to the rings worn above the calves.

3. Care of the body.

515 539 By and large, the Pangwe may be called a very clean people, cleaner than many European peoples. The majority wash and bathe very frequently, and the following proverb shows how a person who does not wash is judged:

otũ[k] -mfõõ	a	dzõõnã:	kã	mvõõn
Old pocket (1)	she	said thus:	if now there is	rain

[M5] 1. A common term of abuse for men, similar to our "old hag" for women.

a	bõ'de	ma,	ngbãna	a	wõ'ban	e	madzi'm	a
it	wets	me,	time	to	wash	in the	water,	it

bõ	ma	anã
was	for me	just!

That is: "The rain came just in time, it was high time for a bath."

164 515 The many skin diseases, from which younger people suffer with special frequency, seem to have causes other than uncleanliness, /187/ although it must be admitted that among many Negroes there is an incredible indifference with respect to the care of the body, treatment of wounds, and parasites. In general, however, one can only praise the Pangwe for their cleanliness.

515 319 324 Formerly, even soap, made from a Rubiacea (ogbwã'm Fang, ogbwõ'mõ Ntum), was customarily used for washing bark cloth.

515 278 324 There are no fleas, but on the other hand there are vast numbers of lice which are picked off and killed by biting them -- the women swallow them at the same time. They are also killed by special medicines. These medicines are made with raffia palm oil which is rubbed on the skin and which the lice do not like to begin with. To the oil is added charred and ground plantain skins or the ground and subsequently dried roots of the Apocynacea Dogcanga diplochlamys K. Sch. (oõ metõõ Ntum), ground leaves and blossoms of the Simarubacea Quassia africana Baill. (tõõ-eõ'), and ground leaves of the Malpigiacea Heteropteris africana A. Juss.

515 (mfím-e-ndzík IV) and the Simarubacea Odyendea gabunensis
278 (Pierre) Engl. (ozǒk). Furthermore, the Leguminosa Tephrosia
824 vogelii H. f. (ndǎwólō III) and the Ochnacea Lophira alata Banks (akō'ga) are put on the hair. /Fig. 138 appears here in the original text. /

In the helmet hairdo, under whose thick pads the lice cannot be reached by hand, they are killed by a special procedure. "Lice caps" made of plantain leaves and tightly fitted are placed

[301
291]

Fig. 138. Ntum Woman from the Campo Region.

on the head after the bark of the Flacourtiacea Caloncoba welwitschii (Oliv.) Gilg (mié megūmo III) has been put in it, the bark having first been scraped off and moistened.

302 The hairdos are always greased with oil; also short hair is
824 tended very carefully, moistened with oil and combed out. There are two /188/ kinds of comb (mvǎs IV), those carved entirely out

302 824 of wood (Fig. 139, b-d) and those put together from short sticks of raffia leafstalk bark (Fig. 139, a). Frequently a fragrant hair powder (akūt), used by members of either sex but made only by women, is added to the oil. In preparing it, the roots of the following four plants are mixed together:

1. Cyperacea Cyperus articulatus L. (andǎk);
2. Moracea Dorstenia scabra (Bureau) Engl. (azǒ'm Fang);
3. Urticacea Trymatococcus africanus H. Baillon (ngō'nǎ III);
4. An undetermined grass called niasǎda.

/Figs. 139 and 140 appear here in the original text./ /189/ /Fig. 141 appears here in the original text./ In any case, they mix two or three of these roots if they cannot get all four of them. The roots have to dry for two months in the hut and are then completely ground to a powder -- in the case of the Trymatococcus this is done only with the bark -- and they are then sifted through a basketwork plate by tapping it with a knife (a kūt, "to tap"). The roots produce an agreeably scented yellowish powder.

302 827 The Pangwe dislike hair on the rest of the body as much as they dislike it on the face. Underarm hair is shaved off with a razor (Fig. 140) "because of the bad smell"; pubic hair is shaved off -- again by both sexes -- because it is believed to cause itching. /Fig. 142 appears here in the original text./ There are, of course, always people, like good old Otu-Mfǒǒ, who will not bother with this kind of attention to the body.

412 Just as we use pocket knives, the native uses /190/ one-edged or two-edged knives (okǒń), Figures 141 and 142, which he forges himself and carries in sheaths made of brass, leather, hide, etc. at his belt.

515 164 The farther north one goes in the region, the more industriously do the Pangwe brush their teeth. This is done with a stick spliced at the top (Fig. 143) which at times is attractively wound with brass and wire and often serves as a walking stick. Nevertheless the Pangwe do not have nearly such good teeth as one might imagine. Among the Fang at least I never once saw an immaculate set of teeth among adults. The molars are often astonishingly poor, but the front teeth, on the other hand, which are commonly chipped to a point, are better preserved, perhaps because they alone are properly brushed.

515
302

The most important toilet article of both sexes is unquestionably the small oil pot. As often as possible, the Pangwe rub themselves with oil from head to toe, but above all they take care of their hair or, as the case may be, their hairdo. One reason for this, as they say, is that they find the smell of the oil pleasant; a second is that the skin becomes more supple and resistant, in other words, it is a hygienic reason. Add to this the fact -- as was mentioned above --

412

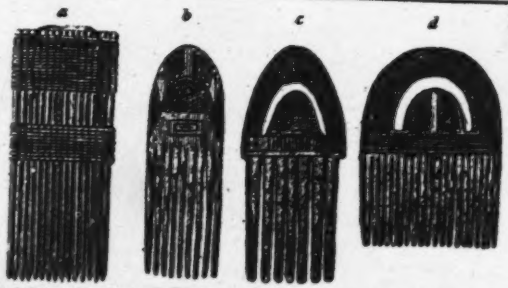


Fig. 139. Combs: (a) made of raffia leafstalk, (b-d) made of wood.

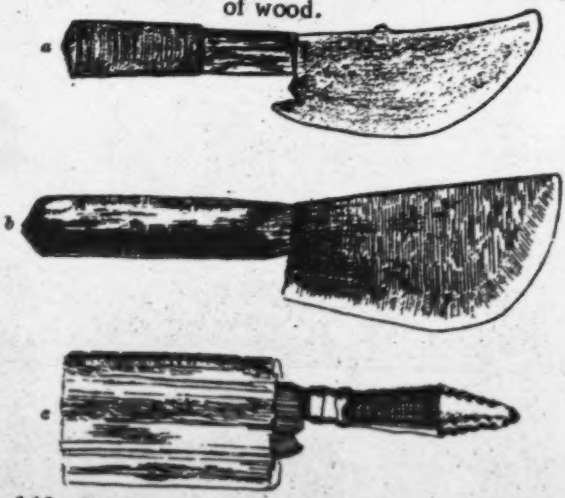


Fig. 140. Razors, (c) with a sheath made of raffia pith.

1: Tessmann--192 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/189/

412
531

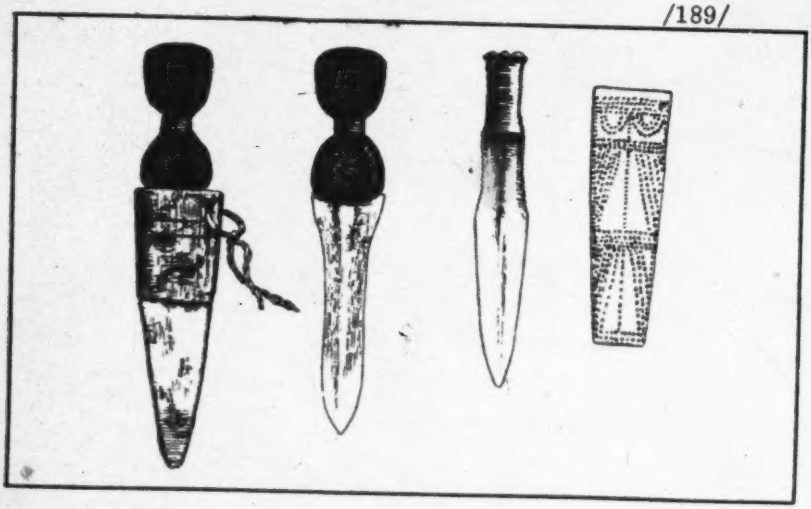


Fig. 141. Two-edged Fang Knives with Sheaths.

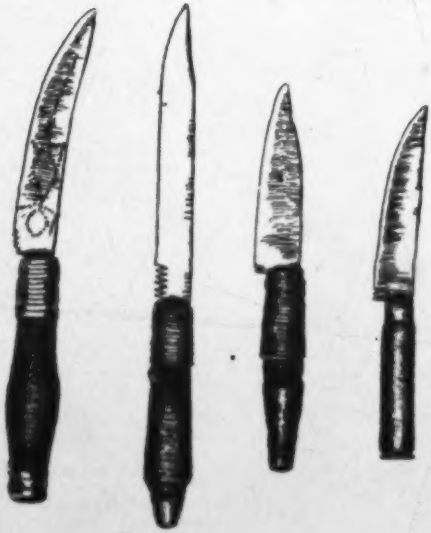


Fig. 142. Single-edged Fang Knives.

515
302 that raffia palm oil is evidently offensive to lice /Fig. 143 appears here in the original text/ and prevents them from becoming too intimate with their "host." In the case of skin diseases
757 (Krokro /Ed.,?/ and scabies) and of sand flea wounds, it is even used as a remedy.

Oil (mbǒn) is obtained mainly from palms: in the north, only from the oil palm; in the south, rarely from this tree and mainly from the raffia palm. At times it is also produced from the kernels of Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (adžǎ'b; fruit, ebǒn; kernels, ngǒ'n IV-ebǒn), from the kernels of the Carapa procera D. C. (engǎ'n), and only very rarely from groundnuts (see page 58).

The oil of the raffia palm is used exclusively for the care of the skin, while that of the oil palm is used for the same purpose

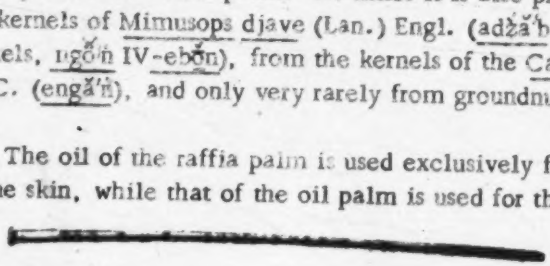


Fig. 143. Toothbrush.

for the greater part, only from one-sixth to one-fifth being consumed as food.

(a) Raffia palm oil.

249 The fruit (ažũ,i'), not yet fully ripe, is carried in baskets from
303 the swamp to the village where they are kept for six days under banana leaves and pieces of banana stalks. Then the scaly shell, insofar as it has not fallen in of its own accord, is removed, and the layer rich in oil, which is located between the armor and the seed, is peeled off by hand or with the help of a scale from the shell. The following riddle refers to the latter procedure. /191/
249 /Fig. 144 appears here in the original text./
524
303

ma	vũi		mot	oko,		okǒn,	o	mbe	a
I	killed	(a)	person	there,	(the)	knife,	it	was	to him

nie	abum	a	si,	o	wo	ma	ba	nie
(at the)	belly	below,		with	which	I	divide	him

a	oa
for	you!

249
303

Fig. 144. Oil Press for Raffia Palm Oil.
To the left the pulp containing oil is being heated over the fire.

303
249
524

"With the knife that he had below at his belly, I shall divide him for you."

249
303

A little water is added to the pulp which contains the oil; it is stirred and then placed on a piece of bark to lie in the sun for a few days. It is then put on a frame (Fig. 144, left) and, by means of a fire laid under it, is thoroughly heated for half an hour to an hour. Afterwards it is placed in a little basket, [445] specifically made for this purpose (ekūt ažū,ī) from the Ancistrophyllum (nkāne), which is squeezed out on the oil press (ekǎ'le-mažū,ī, efǎ'ī-ažū,ī). Although this press is made *by one man alone, it may be used by all the villagers.* In most villages it is set up near the meeting house and consists of a frame -- two posts planted in the ground at some distance from each other with two cross-sticks tied to them -- and of a board cut to a point near the bottom and attached sideways to the frame, that is to say, it is simply tied to the upper cross-stick (as seen in Fig. 144), or it may be held by means of a pole set at an angle in the ground and passing through a hole drilled in the board at the upper end. In order to hold it tight,

249 303 the board is tied to the /192/ lower cross-stick. Sometimes in place of the board one sees sticks oriented in the same direction and placed close to each other, which are then, of course, tied to the frame at the top and at the bottom.

The pressing itself (a kīle mažūī) is shown in Figure 144. The little basket with the pulp is hung either over the stick that is set at an angle or over the upper end of the board (Fig. 144), so that it rests in front of the board. Then it is squeezed out with sticks. In squeezing, one stick after another is placed diagonally over the basket (in a top to bottom direction); one end of the stick is placed behind the corresponding frame post while the other end is drawn up to the other post and fastened to it with string. In this way the basket is squeezed, and the contents are pressed downwards.

Prior to this, a vessel has been placed under the board down which the oil runs during the pressing. A leaf filter or an old basket over the vessel strains out the larger impurities. During the rainy season the fruit yields a more watery oil, while during the dry season it yields an oil that becomes solid very soon after being pressed out.

(b) Oil palm oil.

249 252 Corresponding to the more infrequent occurrence of the oil palm from north to south, oil from the oil palm is of much greater importance in the north than in the south. In the former region it is better prepared -- if at this point I may speak of it as a food -- even if it is not prepared as well as among the coastal tribes -- while in the lower region it is less well prepared. Furthermore, while in the south there are only three methods of obtaining the oil, in the north there are four and an equal number of varieties of oil corresponding to the methods of extraction. These are as follows: /193/ /Fig. 145 appears here in the original text/

1. Pressed palm oil (mowǔ, plural), for rubbing on the skin and food;
2. Boiled palm oil (nnyǎman e mbǒn), only for rubbing on the skin;
3. Washed palm oil (ǎoh), Jaunde and Mwele, used for rubbing on the skin and for food;

249
252

4. Palm seed oil (mbǒn e mbań, maniańga Jaunde), used only for the skin.

In the order given, from 1) to 4), the frequency of production decreases. In other words, pressed oil is made most frequently, palm seed oil is made most rarely. The order is the same for the southern Pangwe, except that washed oil is completely absent.

1) Pressed oil.

The stalks bearing the ripe fruit are taken off the tree, cut apart by means of axe and cutlass, and left to lie for a couple of days under a blanket of banana leaves. Then the fruit itself is taken off and boiled with a little water for about half an hour in a pot covered with leaves. Afterwards, it is pounded in a trough with a wooden pestle, and the seeds are picked out (Fig. 145). The pulp is then pressed out on the oil press. The oil has the familiar yellowish-red color, and among Europeans it appears on the dinner table as "palm oil chop" with meat and the tubers of macabo or taro; however, only a small proportion of the natives eat it (one-quarter, in the south even less).

[262]

249
252
415
301

Fig. 145. Extraction of Oil from the Fruit of the Oil Palm.

2) Boiled oil.

249 The pressed oil is boiled until it becomes quite clear, a
252 stage which can best be recognized by letting a few drops of oil
824 fall onto a piece of raffia pith. During the boiling, a number of leaves of the feverweed Andropogon schoenanthus (ǒsim e ntangan), which has a peculiar smell, tied in a bundle and dipped into the pot for about a minute. When the oil has boiled long enough, the pot is taken from the fire, leaves and pieces of bark of the bush plum Pachylobus edulis E. Don. (asǎ' Ntum, ǒsǔ'nga Fang) are put in it for about three minutes -- supposedly because they have a pleasant smell -- and then the translucent, dirty-white oil is poured off.

3) Washed oil.

249 The oil is first treated like the pressed oil. After the pound-
252 ing, water is poured into the trough, and the meat of the fruit is thoroughly kneaded, the kernels being removed at the same time. The water is then carefully poured off. This process of kneading the meat in the water is repeated two more times; then the meat is removed, and the oil floating on the water in the trough is ladled off. The oil has the same characteristics as the pressed oil; it is also yellowish-red and is used in the same manner. This oil may likewise be boiled, and when this is done, it is identical with the boiled pressed oil. /194/

4) Palm seed oil.

The palm nuts are broken open on a stone (Fig. 146), and the seeds are heated over a fire in a pot without water. Then the seeds are set on fire, which forces out the oil that they contain. The seeds with the oil are then poured onto a potsherd with two holes in it, and the oil drips into a vessel placed underneath. Palm seed oil is quite dark and opaque.

Finally, we might mention that children -- adults only if
302 there happens to be no oil available -- sometimes simply place the palm fruit between the logs of the fire and then rub the warm fruit back and forth in their hands. The oil which is forced out in this way is then immediately rubbed onto the skin.

302 822 Aside from rubbing his skin with oil, the Pangwe likes to smear his body with dyes on certain occasions. For this purpose he uses red chiefly, more rarely white, and only exceptionally black. There are no other colors. Red is the color for joy,

[415 249 252 516]

Fig. 146. Nuts of the oil palm are cracked open to extract the oil.

and white is the color for death and evil. From this, the occasions on which the colors are used will be apparent. On festive occasions, that is, dances, weddings, and birth celebrations, red is used, a color which sometimes (for instance, in the love dance) is enlivened by white suns and circles, which seldom

302 822 appear in black. The natives also put lozenge-shaped /195/ spots (bendö[k] be ba, "lozenges from the redwood") on the skin, or they leave lozenge-shaped areas uncolored when they paint themselves red, in both cases with the help of a stencil, that is, a /Fig. 147 appears here in the original text/ leaf from which a lozenge-shaped piece has been cut out. On occasions of mourning and cult activities dedicated to the "Evil One," on the other hand, they wear white.

386 Red dye (bā III, esī) is obtained from the heart of the redwood tree Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub. (mvō' IV Fang, mvē IV Ntum), a Leguminosa. They prefer old trees that have fallen down and are already rotten on the outside. A piece of convenient size is knocked off, and using it as a scraper (niāk-esī IV) they rub it on the rubbing block (niē-esī), which is the trunk, going back and forth and sprinkling fine sand on it from time to time. Once I saw the husk of the Leguminosa Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth. (ebāi), Figure 147, used as a scraper. When the nearest redwood tree is at so great a distance that it is impracticable to run to it whenever dye is needed, a small log and a scraper is taken to the hut in order to be able to produce the favored red dye at all times without any trouble. Very charming little vessels in [415] the form of pots, troughs, plates, or stools are used as containers for the dye (Fig. 148). /Fig. 148 appears here in the original text./

White dye(vūok IV) is obtained from the white clay of the same name, a kind of pottery clay which usually is darker. It is applied after being mixed with water. Black dye is prepared from crushed charcoal to which water is added (dye and charcoal, pfī'di III).

4. Decoration of the body.

302 304 We recognized the adornment of the body with different objects as the expression of a purely esthetic urge; we recognized the desire to express personal moods as the motive for painting the body. /196/ On the other hand, religious reasons doubtless originally played a role in the constant alterations made on the body. This seems clear, for instance, with respect to the custom of making the teeth pointed and incising the body. These very

386
412

Fig. 147. Scraper for Red Wood (Husk of the Pentaclethra).

386
415

Fig. 148. Vessels for Red Wood.

302
304

ancient notions have of course been forgotten today, and the idea of decoration for the most part has completely overshadowed the religious background.

In the Pangwe region four kinds of actual body decoration are to be encountered. These are burned scars, decorative scars, painting, and tattooing. This sequence is also to be understood in a temporal sense, from the point of view of their historical development. I consider the burned scars to be of the greatest antiquity. We may presume that they first came about accidentally as a result of the use of fire; then, at a later date, they were produced intentionally through dabbing with red-hot coals. These burned scars were later replaced by "cut" scars, that is, by decorative scars produced with a knife, since the knife allowed a finer and more artistic tracing of the line. It may be that at this point younger people, out of fear of the pain, simulated the burned scars by drawing corresponding points or lines on their body with coals that had cooled off. In this way the painting of the body may have started, and this was then further developed with other and better materials. A link between the decorative scars and painting is provided by tattooing; in this process the wounds are rubbed with charred resin.

In my opinion, accordingly, all the varieties of body decoration derive from a common root, fire. In this connection a brief linguistic consideration may be of value. As I already indicated on page 8 /not translated/, kǎ is the original stem used to designate hostile motion to and fro, pain and danger, cold and heat (for the effect of both is the same), and consequently also fire whenever its effect is to be emphasized. Thus, for example, we have n-kǎ-bǎ = the flame; e-kǎ'ha = what is needed for a flame, a torch; a kǎ'-d-an = to set fire with a red-hot coal (an); -k-ad? = red-hot charcoal (see Meinhof, Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen /Outline of a Phonology of the Bantu Languages/, page 160, not known to me in Pangwe); me-kǎ ellǎ = the name of a tree which supplies charcoal, literally: "charcoal tree"; a kǎ-ń = to draw with charcoal, to draw, to write, to brand, to paint (with black); e-kǎ'-ń = tattooing; n-kǎ'-ń = the one who has been drawn, the guinea hen (also sacred, Class I of prefixes; see the Mekang cult).

304 Nowadays only children and half-grown boys or girls make simple burned scars (ndǔtǒ'lǒ III) arranged in rows on their lower arm, more rarely on other parts of the body. A small, slightly charred splinter of bark from a raffia leafstalk is pressed with its tip against the skin /197/ and set on fire at the top; it then slowly burns a hole into the hand, which leaves behind it a slightly raised, roundish scar smooth at the top.

Decorative scars among the Fang, where they are found most frequently and in the most artistic forms, seem to be of great antiquity. At the same time, they do not seem to have spread [184] very far north. They are still found quite frequently among the Ntum, but only rarely among the Bulu, among the Bene only on some older people, and not at all among the Jaunde. More [177] recently, they have also begun to disappear in the southern Pangwe region since people prefer to undergo the recently introduced and far less painful tattooing process. The decorative scars are called /Fig. 149 appears here in the original text/ mvǎn̂ (plural) by the Ntum, endǒ'n̂ by the Fang, and they occur on members of either sex. To make them, a small iron hook (tsǎǎ̂ III Ntum, endǒ'n̂ Fang) is needed; with it the skin is pulled slightly upwards, and then the raised fold of skin is incised with a knife, Figure 149 (okǒn̂ e mvǎn̂), held at right angles to the hook (Fig. 150 and 151). The wound is left to heal without anything being rubbed into it or any bandage being placed on it. These decorative scars are to be found only on the body and on the upper arm, rarely on the face and then only on the forehead.

305 306 [184] Body painting is confined to the Ntum and Fang region and is completely absent in the Jaunde region, supposedly because the tree from which the dye is obtained does not occur there. This tree is the Randia malleifera (Hook) Benth. which among the Fang is called obǒ'ndǒ'm (1) or f'na IV (2), as well as mf'na; among

1. Derived from abǒ, Cola acuminata P.B., and ndǒm, "long, swaying," because of the slenderness of the tree.

2. From the stem yǐn, "dark, black"; e-yǐn-di mǒt, "Black (man), Negro."

386 302 the Ntum it is called abĕndĕm or kūdemǎ'n IV.

The names fĭna (mfĭ'na) and kūdemǎ'n also designate the painting of the body itself. /Fig. 150 appears here in the original text./

The Randia is a slender tree belonging to the Rubiaceae and grows especially in the vicinity of rivers. Its large whitish blossoms hang from the ends of the twigs or from the forks in the

[412 304]

Fig. 149. Knife for Making Decorative Scars.

branches; its fruit is a berry covered with a number of protuberances running from top to bottom. To obtain the dye a short stick of bark from a raffia leafstalk is drilled into the base of the fruit and stirred about in the contents of the fruit. When the stick is pulled out, a whitish, fairly thick juice sticks to its tip, and with the same stick this is painted directly onto the body in the desired patterns; /198/ after a brief period of time the dye

[304]

Fig. 150. Making the Incision for a Decorative Scar.

takes on a deep blue-black coloring. The paint stays on the skin from three to four days; in cases of more frequent washing, only two. Afterwards it simply disappears.

302 178 Nowadays only small or half-grown boys paint themselves for sport. In former times, however, young people of both sexes did it in order to be conspicuous and in this way to make an impression upon the opposite sex. In those days, therefore, great care was taken with the patterns. Today, only smeared patterns result from the children's lack of skill. /Fig. 151 appears here in the original text./

304 Tattooing, which was introduced about 20 years ago, replaced body painting; from it tattooing derived its names, fĭ'na and kūdemăn, and among the Fang it also received the name for decorative scars, myăh. Among the Ntum, furthermore, it is called ekă'n (see above), and among the Jaunde,

Fig. 151. Decorative Scar Artist at Work, Bébai, Spanish Guinea.

ofŭ (from ofŭ, "resin," which is rubbed into the wounds and brings out the permanent pattern). According to the Fang, 304 tattooing came to them from the north between the early and 177 middle 1890's. Among the Bene, who probably acquired tattooing from the east, only younger people are tattooed. It follows from this that the art must have spread throughout the

304 177 entire Pangwe region with extraordinary rapidity. In part, this spread may have been facilitated by the influence of military events. It is related that the /199/ Ntum, in their battles with the Bulu, saw tattooing on the corpses of dead enemies and made their prisoners show them the art.

304 852 Tattooing occurs among members of both sexes, but especially among males. It serves very much the same purposes that were formerly served by body painting. The young people adorn themselves with it in order to outstrip others in courtship. Ornaments and courtship are one, "one and the same" (a ne dzém eda eda), as the Pangwe says. It is certainly true that attractive patterns can charm the eyes so much that one involuntarily comes to find its (male or female) owner more attractive than would have been the case without such an influence upon the sense of beauty.

304 Even small boys have themselves tattooed. Usually a half-moon pattern is made on their foreheads, but for the most part it is only faintly scratched in and therefore fades again so that scarcely anything remains visible under the patterns later applied. From the period of puberty on, the Pangwe have themselves tattooed more frequently, and at the age of 25 years, by which time this decoration has just about reached its climax, the number of patterns is quite considerable. Normally, face, shoulder, chest, and the belly down to the navel are tattooed. Frequently, tattoos are also applied to the back -- usually only on the upper half -- and to the arm down to below the elbow joint, rarely to the hands and lower arm or to the belly below the navel (1).

1. On the neck only among the Jaunde and infrequently among them.

304 577 For reasons of modesty, the seat and upper thigh remain free of tattooed adornment, since it would, after all, be too indecent to draw attention by means of the patterns to these parts of the body which, with the original mode of dress, "unfortunately" often remain uncovered. Only in exceptional cases does one see women among the Jaunde, Bulu, and coastal Mwai who have tattooed

1: Tessmann--206 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

304 upper thighs, a custom which was imported by the morally
577 loose Jaunde. The people generally regard the custom as shameful, and they excuse it by saying: "After all they are only women; men would be ashamed to go around this way" (similarly, as among us, only women go around "décolleté").

304 Among the Pangwe the division of labor and specialization in all areas of artistic and intellectual endeavor are extreme, and this also appears in the art of tattooing which is mastered by perhaps only one in a hundred. The operation, which, incidentally, is quite unpleasant although not nearly as painful as the decorative scars, is performed in the meeting house without any kind of formalities. The "patient" sits or lies down during the process (Fig. 152). First of all, soot is made by burning some resin (otu), see page 42, and letting the smoke deposit the soot on a potsherd. The artist first traces the pattern on the body by /200/ /Fig. 152 appears here in the original text/ impressing the curved lines with a flexible, moist leaf of grass that has first been placed in ashes and the straight lines with a similarly treated raffia stick. The lines that project too far are carefully wiped away with a wet finger. For the "cobweb pattern" the artist makes use of a pistil of the hand-shaped leaf of the umbella tree (Musanga), whose ribs are broken off one centimeter above the base after the removal of the leafy part. On the lines he has drawn, he uses his knife to make little diagonal incisions very close to one another, wipes away the blood that seeps out if it is in the way, and rubs the wounds with the resin soot, carefully pressing it in with his thumb or index finger. In other cases, the resin itself, after it has been rubbed to a powder, is put into the wounds, but in that case only resin from the Anonacea Xylopia aethiopica (Dun.) V. Rich. (ojiin). The surface of the tattooed part of the body is now /Figs. 153, 154, and 155 appear here in the original text/ washed to get rid of the blood and soot. Later, rubbing with resin is repeated once more. It sometimes happens that /201/ small swellings form on the wounds which diminish the beauty of the pattern; usually, however, the wounds heal smoothly in a very short period of time.

304 Two types of tattooing are distinguished. There is the wide-
413 spread ekut, and secondly there is the endzig, the customary one

1: Tessmann--207 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

304
561
352

Fig. 152. Tattoo Artist at Work, Nikolentángan, Spanish Guinea.

304
413

Figs. 153 and 154. Knives without Handles for Tattooing (ekut).

Fig. 155. Knife for Tattooing (bendolo).

304 413 among the Fang. The first type is performed with a narrow knife with no handle (mɔ̃ɔ́-bekɔ̃ʔt I). Figure 153, and, depending upon the depth of the parallel incisions, shows lines composed of clearly raised cuts or, less distinctly, uniformly dark lines. For endʒio tattooing, an ordinary razor (okɔ̃ŋgɔ̃ʔ), see Figure 140, or a special scalpel-like knife (ɔ̃kɔ̃ŋ e mɔ̃ʔ), Figure 155, is used. Its patterns are characterized by the crisscrossing of its cuts; in later years, however, they can scarcely be distinguished from the bekɔ̃ʔt, especially since both pale with age.

304 465 Tattoo artists are usually not paid when members of their own kin group are concerned, but from strangers they frequently demand shamelessly high prices. Thus, the man represented in Figure 218, Drawing (c), was thoroughly swindled, as will be apparent from the figures given here in the footnote (1). At the

1. Tattooing of Mangame-Sili, Fang from Ebiñoemajong (Esasuong family); see Figure 218, Drawing c.

	Marks
(a) Made by Meka-Mendongo (Esasuong) for three pieces of rubber	.75
(b, c, d) Made by Akoa-Mbelewe (Jesiñing) for two cutlasses	1.00
(e) Made by Mba-Efanga (Esasuong) for five strings of beads	.50
(g, h) Made by Endongo (Esasuong) for one ell of cloth	.75
(i, k) Made by Ndong-Efa (Jemwam) for three cutlasses	1.50
(f, l, m) Made by Ndong-Mbutum (Ozowang) for three cutlasses	1.50
(n, o) Made by Meko-Mefanga (Esasuong) for three pieces of rubber	.75
Decorative scars, made by Meka-Mendongo (Jiñkon) for one hen	1.00

304 same time, it should be noted that because of his tattooing
#65 mania some people considered him "as not quite normal." In true Negro fashion, the absence of a charge for tattooing is explained by saying that the tattooed person does not feel the pain so strongly if he does not have to pay. These conditions, however, vary greatly from place to place. Among the Jaunde payment is customary, and often it is comparatively steep.

304 Mutilation of the teeth occurs everywhere among members
#65 of both sexes. It is done mainly to the four upper incisors. Aside from decorative considerations, this mutilation doubtless also has a deeper religious basis which is very ancient and still alive in the Negroes. They -- as I was once told -- do not want their teeth to look like animal teeth (2). Since it is indeed a fact that

[71] 2. See also the same attitude among the Malays and the Negroes of the Sudan (according to Frobenius).

no /202/ large mammals have pointed front teeth (for it is with these that we are concerned)(1), this reason seems credible even

[72] 1. See the expressions for tooth chipping below, in which the expression for tooth is always ɛ́ɛ́ɔ́ "front tooth." There is no word for teeth in general; on the other hand there are terms for canines, incisors of animals (ɛ̀ɛ̀ ɔ̀ɔ̀), and molars (ɛ́kɔ́ɔ́).

though to us pointed teeth look precisely like animal teeth since when we think of the gaping jaw of an animal, the prominent incisors are the dominant feature. The Pangwe thinks first of the animal's front teeth, and, especially in the case of horned animals, he finds a surprising similarity to his own. In making this comparison, he is not disturbed by the fact that the similarity extends only to the front teeth of the lower jaw, which resemble the front teeth of his lower jaw, since ruminants usually have no

304 925 teeth in their upper jaw. A glance at the animal caricatures in our own comic papers shows how human, almost too human even, the front teeth of our cattle, for instance, appear to us. It 304 should be remembered that horned animals, tame (goats and 925 sheep) as well as wild (antelopes), play an important role in the 194 religion of the Fangwe since they are linked with the moon because of their horns. The cult of the moon, however, is the cult /Figs. 156 and 157 appear here in the original text/ of the Evil One. Accordingly, mutilation of the teeth is a symbol of turning

Fig. 156.
Mutilation of a Front Tooth.
The shaded part is chipped off.

Fig. 157
Chisel used on Front Teeth.

away from the Evil One, of destroying any similarity to him. On the other hand, it simultaneously points to an increased similarity to the Good, that is, the sun (or God [e-sɔ̄-mbe], who manifests himself in the sun), and the teeth are shaped to be like its rays. The deformation of teeth, therefore, is not to form a real "point," which to the contrary, would be something unpleasant and bad (the root sɔ̄ is in n-sɔ̄-ŋ I, "point?). (It may be that this is the reason some people knock out all or some of their front teeth.) Rather, the deformation only narrows the teeth and gives them the shape illustrated in Figure 156. The teeth are, so to speak, "stretched" and made to resemble a sun beam; from this comes the expression a sɔ̄-m-ʒo mesɔ̄ from a sɔ̄-m, "to stretch" (n-sɔ̄'-m-ha, "the row, the line," actually, "ray"). The widely current expression "to shape the teeth to a point" is accurate only if one does not take it too literally: the cutting edge is merely narrowed, not brought to a point. The expression "filing the 304 teeth," which one also encounters frequently, is inaccurate since

304 the teeth are splintered off and not filed. In Pangwe another expression, aside from a sîman /203/ masǫ́, is a sɨ̂-ń masǫ́, which is derived from a sɨ̂-ń, "to carve, to chip, to adorn"; sɨ̂-ń IV means "carving, carving patterns," from the root sɨ (1).

1. On the other hand, to put a point on a stick (as an example, etc. is a sɨ̂ŋo (Fang) and a sɨ̂ŋe, a sɨ̂ŋe (Ntum): the root is sɨ!

The operation is performed in the following manner. The "patient" lies down on his back and bites firmly into a wooden roll with his front teeth. The artix places a small iron chisel (sɨ̂ń e masǫ́ IV, Fig. 157) on the tooth, takes a piece of wood for a hammer, and splinters off the edges in small pieces. The pain of this operation is not inconsiderable, and for that reason the old custom is being abandoned here and there. This is a development which is speeding up under European influence. /204/

[111]

Section 8

Craftmanship and Tools

General observations.

First Part. Bark work. (a) Raw bark. Utilization: bark for house construction, decorative barks, bark containers (their production, significance of names), coffin. (b) Bark cloth. Beaters -- Types of trees supplying bark for cloth. -- Manufacture.

Second Part. (a) Thread and sewing. Fibers of the Sacchophyllum, of the pineapple. (b) Ropes and knotting. Ropes made from pineapple and banana fibers, raffia fiber and its

1: Tessmann--212 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

manufacture, raffia fiber ropes, Gärtnera fiber ropes, Triumfetta fiber ropes. -- Knots. (c) Bands and braiding. General observations. 1) Pigtails made of fiber. 2) Carrying straps and plaited mats. 3) Drying boards and boxes. 4) Storage baskets. 5) Baskets (types, material, rattan palms and their importance). 6) Basketwork bowls of the Mwele. 7) Basketwork plates. 8) Belts. Baskets (materials, types of baskets, prices), knife sheaths.

Third Part. Woodworking. General observations. -- Products of woodcarving. -- Manufacture of cutlass sheaths, stools, stirring spoons, eating spoons, powder flasks. -- Other kinds of woodworking.

Fourth Part. Metalworking. (a) Iron extraction. Areas with iron, frequency. -- Smelting medicine. -- Abstention rule and medicines. -- Ironstone. -- Foundry. -- Smelting: preparation, workers and their tools, erection of the furnace, preparation of the furnace, working the bellows and the work of the medicine man. -- Pulling down the furnace. -- Distribution of pig iron. -- Yields. (b) Processing the iron. Location of the smith and the smithy and the arrangement of the workshop, medicine, tools, charcoal, the smith's work. (c) Brass founding. Source of the brass, smelting, founding and manufacture of neck rings.

000 Fifth Part. Pottery. General observations, products, price and manufacture of the pots. Decoration. Manufacture of blast pipes.

463 Crafts in our sense are nonexistent among the Pangwe. All the manual skills are only practiced on the side and are strictly secondary to the economic activities of agriculture, catching fish, and trapping. The very simple skills are familiar to and practiced by everyone. Beyond that, specialization begins, and among the Pangwe it is developed to the utmost. Indeed, this specialization goes so far that, for example, not even the carrying straps for children -- which only consist of two leather strips sewn together -- can be made by all household heads; furthermore, a person who manufactures eating spoons cannot make any other wood product, not even a stirring spoon. A stool maker knows only how to make stools, a crossbow carver can only make crossbows, one who makes men's carrying baskets (ebɔ̄de) can only make men's carrying baskets. Since in one village there are often no more than one or two people who know a craft, the inhabitants of the village have to purchase the objects not manufactured by these craftsmen from all corners of the compass. It may happen that they have to go some distance or even make a journey to obtain a stool, a crossbow, or the like /205/

1. Bark work.

B4 3/4 Tree bark is used in many ways in the Pangwe household, either in raw form or made into cloth.

(a) Raw bark.

It is used for the following purposes.

1. To cover the house wall and as a door (1).

1. For house construction use is made of the bark of about 15 trees whose scientific names, insofar as I could

314

determine them, are enumerated here:
Flacourtiaceae Homalium buchholzii Warb. (ovǒn-e-sǎ'k); Sterculiaceae Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edzǒ'le); Borraginaceae Cordia odorata Gürke (ebǒ, Fang, ebǒl, Ntum);
Bignoniaceae Markhamia tomentosa K. Sch. (edzǒdzǒh);
Rhamnaceae Maesopsis tessmannii Engl. (nkǎhǒ' I);
Bombacaceae Ceiba pentandra (L) Gärtn. (dǔm IV);
Anonaceae Xylopia aethiopica (Dun.) A. Rich. (ojǒ);
Anonaceae Cleistopholis staudtii Engl. et Diels (avǒn, yǒmǒ III);
Anonaceae Isoloma spec. (ovǒ'k);
Sterculiaceae Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edzǒb, edzǒ);
Triplochitonaceae Triplochiton tessmannii (ajǒ).

2. Decorative barks.
3. Containers.
4. The coffin or as a lining for the body in the grave.
5. To string the sounding board of the harp (see "Musical Instruments," Section 20 /Ed., this section of Vol. II is not translated/.

314 The required pieces of bark /Fig. 157a appears here in the original text/ are obtained in the following manner. The tree is girdled at the top and bottom, and in between a zigzag line is cut with criscross blows of the cutlass. Starting with this zigzag line, the bark mantle is easily lifted off and removed (Fig. 157a). The criscross cuts often accidentally cross in such a way that lozenges are formed. These lozenges subsequently serve as an important ornament, to which I shall return later.

3/4 For the house walls the bark plates that have been removed
3/2 are in part used without further ado. That is, they are used either completely raw or after the outermost layer has been peeled off -- the practice of the Jaunde, but the Ntum and Fang do this best with the Xylopia aethiopica (ojɛ̄h). /206/ Otherwise, the Ntum and Fang prefer to dry the bark pieces for five or more days over the fire in the meeting house or in the sun, for otherwise they quickly warp or develop cracks and holes.

Ornamental barks are treated in the same way and dried especially well because, unlike the house walls, they are not held by boards on both sides. To obtain ornamental bark, all the trees

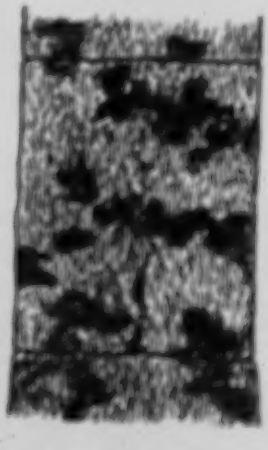


Fig. 157a. Removal of Tree Bark for House Construction.

mentioned in the footnote on page 214 can be used, but Cordia odorata Gürke (ebɔ̄, Fang) and Triplochiton tessmannii (abɔ̄) are especially suitable since various layers can be drawn off from their bark after drying, each one of which can be used by itself. This means a saving of labor which is as valuable to the Negro as it is to us. The bark is made into rectangular plates painted
3/4 with figures and scenic representations or patterned in colorful
3/2 rectangular, triangular, or arc-shaped fields. The frames of
401 the rectangular fields consist mostly of raffia leaflstalk strips running diagonally; those of the arc-shaped fields consist of

314 strips of rattan palm. Both frames are drawn through holes made
342 with an awl (nsɔ̄ñ), Figure 174, c; they are sewn on with fine
91 palm bands. In the next section I shall speak of the patterns.

To obtain bark for houses and decoration a whole number of
314 trees are available, as we have seen. On the other hand, containers
415 -- at least in the southern region -- are made from the bark of
322 only a single tree, a Tiliacea (ekɔ̄ñ). They are carefully worked, and when new they look very nice because of their even yellow-gray color which later, as a result of the smoke in the hut and through age, becomes dark brown to black. They are manufactured in the following manner. The requisite piece of bark is cut off to the desired size, and its outermost layer is scorched over the fire so that it can be scraped off with a knife. It is then bent into the shape of a cylinder so that the edges lie over one another in a narrow strip. The edges are clamped between the halves of a stick that has been split down the middle, the halves being pressed together again at the top and bottom by means of a string. At this point the edges are sewn one on top of the other with two seams. The stitching is done with palm bands, for which holes are made with an awl. The projecting edge is cut off. The lid consists of a hoop similarly constructed from the same bark and a plate made of the wood of the umbrella tree, which is also used for the bottom of the vessel.

415 Bark containers of all sizes are manufactured, from the most
761 charming little boxes to the gigantic barrel. In one respect, however, they are identical, that is, only important things are kept in them, such as the poisoned arrows for the crossbow, skulls of ancestors, and, above all, medicines, in short, all things /201/ connected with death; hence they are called nɔ̄k I (1), since

1. In addition, we find nɔ̄k I from which is derived the name of the tree, ekɔ̄ñ.

ə-sɔ̄-k -- derived from ə-sə-sk -- contains the root sɔ̄ which designates death in the religious sense. Thus, one puts something associated with death (sɔ̄) in the bark container (action is involved

since they first sought a container, e.g., for the skull of the dead, in order to preserve it; hence, the suffix aka). A bark vessel is also, as it were, the grave (n-so-n), for the body of the dead person lies in it in a trough made of bark, which sometimes is closed off with a lid of the same material (passive, since first the place where the body happened to be lying, whether in the house or out in the open, n sɔ́d, was named; hence, the passive suffix ń).

(b) Bark cloth.

Bark is made into cloth by pounding it with a beater (Fig. 159) made from the end of an elephant's tooth (d), half an elephant's rib (b, c), the horn of a white-backed duikerbok Cephalophus longiceps Gray (mvū IV), or the wood of the Leguminosa Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms (andzīts) (a). For this purpose, they do not take the wood of a freshly cut trunk, but rather the harder red wood /Fig. 158 appears here in the original text/ of old trees that have been felled a long time ago. The wooden beater has about the same shape as the mallets used by our carpenters and consists of a straight handle with a roller-shaped head which is grooved around half or all of its circumference.

The only suitable bark for bark cloth is that of fig trees (ɛ́ɛ́b = fig tree [Ficus] and cloth, clothing) (2). /208/

2. The following varieties are used in the Pangwe region:
Ficus globicarpa Warb. var. (ɛmbɔ́ɔ́b);
Ficus cfr. wildemaniana Warb. (adɛ́ɛb-ɛɛ́b);
Ficus bubu Warb. (akū-ɛɛ́b);
Ficus stellulata Warb. (ɛɛ́ɛ́, root ɛɛb) reduplicated);
Ficus preussii Warb. and laurentii Warb. (ɛɛ́b, ɛɛ́b-o-ɛɛb, ɛɛ́ɛ́, akɛm);
Ficus barteri Sprague (asɛ́mɛ́ɛ́mo Fang, asɛ́mɛ́ɛ́mo Nsum);

287
B4
314

and furthermore the varieties the Pangwe call abǎ́ń, andǔ́m, undǔ́m, and ngus.

/Fig. 159 appears here in the original text./ The most widespread varieties are Ficus globicarpa, stellulata, preussii and laurentii, barteri, abǎ́ń, and andǔ́m. The best cloth -- it is almost pure white -- is provided by Ficus globicarpa Warb. [345] (embiǒ́n) which in former times was planted near the villages. This tree is preferred by the women, who "attach more importance to clothing" than men.

287
314

Whenever possible, smooth young tree trunks, no more than eight to ten centimeters thick, are chosen. A piece is cut out

[412]

Fig. 158. Beaters for Bark Cloth.
(a) of wood, (b) and (c) of elephant's rib,
(d) from an elephant's tooth.

of the trunk and left lying in the open for half a day or a whole day. Then it is scorched evenly over a small fire, whereupon the outer bark is removed by scraping until the bast layer is completely exposed. Then this layer is cut up lengthwise, loosened by tapping it with the beater, and taken off with the fingers or by means of a stick pushed under it. The bast layer thus taken off is then pounded on some kind of support, for instance, on a tree trunk or a wooden drum. The pounding is

287
314
516

Fig. 159. Manufacture of Bark Cloth by Beating the Bast Layer of a Ficus Trunk, Uelleburg, Spanish Guinea.

287
314

done along the entire length from left to right, and the beater must not be turned (that is, the direction of the grooves) Figure 159. Then the material is folded, beaten on the opposite side, folded once more and tapped, and finally, folded diagonally, it is worked in the same manner. Through this treatment, the piece has been made about twice as long, while in breadth it has remained unchanged. At this point it is unfolded, drawn through water a few times, and then pressed out. /209/ Materials prepared from the varieties Ficus bubu, andum, and undum need not be washed.

The individual pieces of material manufactured in the manner described are narrow. Hence, several of them must be sewn together along their long edges if one wants to make a loincloth, for instance. For men this requires six pieces; for boys four.

2. Fiber work.

462
463

With few exceptions, fiber work is one of the occupations carried out by men. Indeed, it is one of their most frequent and

462 favorite activities. This explains their skill in sewing, patching,
463 and so forth, which the European discovers to his joy in his Black servants.

(a) Thread and sewing.

283 The simplest material for fiber work is thread (kiʃ IV, ndɛ̄'s,
284 IV) from the climbing Aracea Rhectophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (kiʃ IV, ndɛ̄'s IV). The threads are obtained by cutting off the aerial roots and drawing out the fiber bundles which are extremely durable and frequently quite long. /Fig. 160 appears here in the original text./ They are used for sewing, for children's fishing rods (ngɔ̄k), and, secondarily, as binding material for combs made of strips of raffia leafstalks and neck bands made of bands of rattan palm (or Marantacea strips).

Fig. 160. Bobbin with String.

The raw leaf fibers of the pineapple are also used to sew pieces of bark cloth together, etc.

(b) Ropes and knotting.

283 Plant fibers are used more frequently in the form of strings (Fig. 160) than as thread. Just like the shoemaker's thread in Europe, the strings are twisted together by rolling them with the flat of the hand on the upper thigh. The plants used for this purpose are pineapple, plantain, raffia, Gnetnesa, and Triumfetta.

From the pineapple, the fiber bundles of the leaves are used; its strings are quite durable -- but not in water, and therefore fishing lines cannot be made from them -- and fairly fine, so they are especially suitable as strings for beads. A charming effect is created by the shoulder bags tied with them (nɔ̄ʃ̄ I), into which are put all kinds of little personal belongings, medicines, and so forth. These bags are taken along on journeys, chiefly by men.

1: Tessmann--221 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

2/3

Fig. 161. Preparation of Bast from a Young Raffia Palm Leaf, Nkolentogen, Spanish Guinea.

Very attractive white fibers (mbil[i] -ekʼh) are obtained from plantain trees by cutting down the trunk, removing the leaves and outer sheaths, and /210/ /Fig. 161 appears here in the original text/ drawing the fiber bundles out of the inner leaf sheaths. The fibers are braided into strings which are thin but not very durable and hence little used.

The bast of the leaves from the raffia palm is worked into ropes (Fig. 161). A very young, still closed leaf (because of its pointed shape, the natives use ngin, "horn," in its name, ngil ni ndengi, that is, a young, horn-like raffia leaf) is cut off and thrown on the ground so that the pinnae are loosened and can easily be torn off. The folded laminae of the pinnae are yellowish, with green only at the bent edges which in the case of a closed leaf are the only part visible from the outside. The latter are not used and are torn off. Then a lamina is pulled off from the top to just above the bottom; at this point it is bent towards, turned up, and while the fold is held in place, it is torn away underneath. Now its lower end is folded against the vein of the leaf so that the bast layer -- which is the only usable part and which grows

Fig. 162. Manufacture of Strings from Gaertnera paniculata.

together with the epidermis -- of the upper surface is loosened from the mesophyll, then the lamina is pulled off. The bast is left to dry, and after it has been hastily twisted or turned into regular strings, it is used for various purposes (for sewing bark cloth, stringing pearls, and so forth).

The most durable ropes (Fig. 162) are made from the bast of the Rubiaceae Gaertnera paniculata Benth. (ngɔ̄ma Fang, ngɔ̄ŋme Ntum, ngɔ̄n Ntum, Bulu). The shoots /211/ (Fig. 162 appears here in the original text/ of this tree are cut off, and their bark is shaved off by means of a strip of raffia math (ngɔ̄ŋ). Then a section at one end is quartered lengthwise, and the shoots are dried for a day. The upper four tips are then bent, which releases the bast layer from the wood, and it is now pulled off in four strips. The layer consists of a fine soft web of fibers which can be processed without further ado. The product is a brownish-colored rope which because of its strength is used for angling lines, game and fish nets, crossbow strings, and stringing decorative cowrie shells.

Triumfetta cordifolia Guill. et Perr. (var. tomentosa.), ɔkɔ́ɔ́, is a shrub-like growth which sometimes grows taller than a man. It is readily recognizable by its dark-green leaves, which have a shimmering silvery-white and softly haired underside, and its yellowish blossom panicles. Although not exactly common everywhere, it occurs in open

284

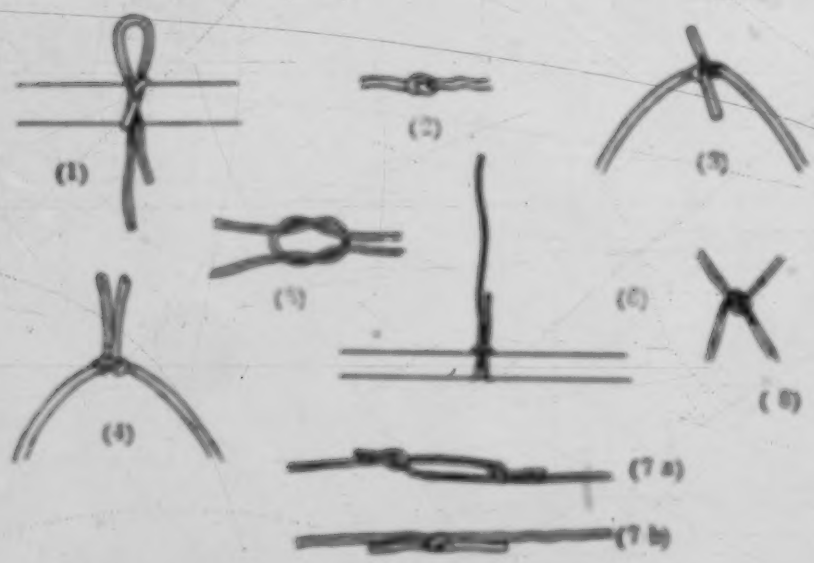


Fig. 163. Pangwe Knots.

287 places in the vicinity of villages and in areas where formerly there were villages. The ready accessibility of this plant has the consequence that its bast is used more frequently for ropes than that of other plants. In order to obtain the bast, the stalk is cut off at the height of one meter, and four incisions are made in it at the upper end. The outer layers are pulled off the wood, and only then is the bark separated from the bast layer. Finally, the bast layer is relieved of its cells by being pulled under the edge of a knife firmly pressed against it (in so doing the Negro sits on the ground and uses one heel as a support). The bast obtained in this way is dried and worked into ropes which are used in the same manner as the Geerrnera ropes. /212/

288 /Fig. 163 appears here in the original text./ As a note in conjunction with Figure 163, we shall list the names and uses of the knots found in the Pangwe region.

Drawing 1: <u>solufumo</u>, "contracted"; <u>solumo</u> from a <u>lulla</u> = to dissolve, <u>fim</u> = into nothing. Since pulling at the long end the knot is immediately untied, it is used in the

284

house to hang up things that one frequently needs, as well as for neck bands.

Drawing 2: [illegible] e [illegible] from [illegible] = knot, [illegible] = firm, strong. The knot is attached -- as among us -- to the end of a thread to prevent it from pulling out (as, for example, in baskets) or to prevent beads from sliding off a string.

Drawing 3: [illegible] e [illegible] from [illegible] = holding rope, used for climbing trees, for tying together two ropes, especially for the holding ropes.

Drawing 4: [illegible] e [illegible] ([illegible] = firm, strong?), used in the same way as the previous one, as well as for neck and forehead bands that are to be used for a longer period of time.

Drawing 5: [illegible] -[illegible]; [illegible] = eye, [illegible] = fixed net. These knots are used for fixed nets and hammocks. Drawing 5 shows the knot loosely tied.

Drawing 6: [illegible] e [illegible] ([illegible] = tree draw trap for birds), used for bird traps, fish weirs, and probably also for other purposes.

Drawing 7: [illegible] [illegible] = correct, true knot. Drawing 7a, loosely tied; Drawing 7b, drawn tight.

Drawing 8: [illegible] ([illegible] = back, [illegible] = turtle; thus, turtle's back), used only to tie net meshes. /213/

(c) Bands and braids.

283 In contrast to ropemaking which combines twined plant fibers into strings, braiding combines strips of fibers lying next to each other, which I call bands. They come arranged this way in nature, in leaves, bark, bast, or wood, which are cut into strips. /Fig. 164 appears here in the original text. /

(1) Pigtails of bast.

One takes two bast strips, folds one double and places the second between the folds so that the upper half remains outside and can later serve as a fastening. This provides three braiding

1: Tessmann--225 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

/213/

284
415

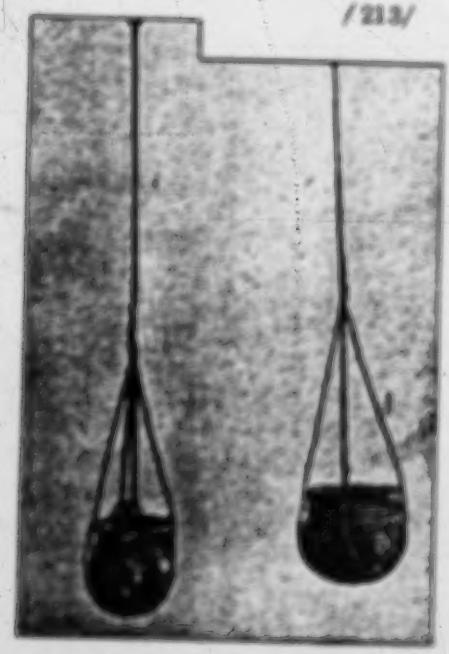


Fig. 164. Mwele Device for Hanging Cooking Pots.

285
415
251

Fig. 165. Storage for Groundnuts.

283 elements of the same kind, and these are braided together into a pigtail (helmet cape and helmet hairdo; see also device of the Mwele for hanging pots, Fig. 164). /Fig. 165 appears here in the original text./

(2) Carrying bands and braided mats.

[282] The carrying bands are braided from Triumfetta bast strips (two under, two over). The braided mats are made from leaf strips of the screw pine Pandanus (awŭ'be, kŭbuga; contracted form, abŭ̃) which intertwine like a chessboard. Mats are found only in the [285 497] southern border region and are probably imported. There is a boat-like satchel for the novices of the Jaunde moon cult (see Section 11 /Ed., this section in Vol. II is not translated/), which is braided like the mats and made of the same material.

(3) Drying boards and boxes.

283 The floors of the drying boards are made by braiding raffia 285 stalk strips (four under, three over). The bottoms and parts of the 416 side walls of the boxes are made from braided palm bands (three under, three over). /214/

(4) Storage baskets.

285 The storage basket (angŭn Jaunde, angunda Mwele) is a 251 transitional form between the box and the basket insofar as its 415 basic material is raffia pith boards (Fig. 165) placed next to each other and held together by stalk strips of Sarcophrynium tied around them. The storage baskets are used in the house for storing foodstuffs, such as groundnuts, ears of corn, and so forth.

(5) Baskets.

285 Basketwork is done either with one material or with a combina- 415 tion of two different materials. The former is the case with the following.

1. Women's hanging baskets (nkún I). Unlike most other baskets, these are also manufactured by women. They are made from strips of the stalk bark of Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch. (stalk, ndɛ́c, ndɛ́nǎn IV). They display considerable variation, both in size and pattern (Fig. 166). /Fig. 166 appears here in the original text. /

2. Carrying baskets (nkɔ́ɔ́' I), which are used only once, are woven in wide meshes from stalks of the Sarcophrynium by men and women whenever their regular baskets are not available or not available in sufficient numbers, or if they want to spare the baskets. Thus, they would use the carrying baskets, for instance, in

Fig. 166. Women's Hanging Baskets.

order to transport the bloody flesh of a freshly killed elephant into the village and for similar purposes.

3. Baskets for the oil press and for carrying earth (ekút, ekút-akɔ́ɔ́' = oil press baskets, ekút-ebɛ̂ = earth baskets). The first is used to squeeze out oil from the pulp of the fruit (akɔ́ɔ́') of the oil palm or raffia palm; the second, to remove the earth that is dug out when pits (ebɛ̂) are made. Both baskets are braided from Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc. (nkɪ̂ne) (1).

1. I once saw a knife sheath woven entirely from bush rope (Oncocalamus). Figure 167.

285 The second class of baskets displays a variety of braiding elements: one that is flexible and active (braiding strips) (2), forms

[113]

2. See the discussion in J. Lehmann, Systematik und geographische Verbreitung der Geflechtsarten /System and Geographic Distribution of Types of Braiding/, Leipzig, 1907.

the bottom of the basket, and, ascending upward, is tied around the second, stiffer, passive one (braiding strand). /215/ Placed in the form of a spiral, this second element forms the wall of the basket. The sources of the braiding elements are as follows.

285 824 The active elements are taken from Sarcophrynium stalk strips, Pandanus leaves, or -- this is the predominant source -- the outermost wood layer of the rattan palms. The term for these current today is the collective name nlɔ́ñ I, a word derived from the root a lɔ́n "to braid, to twine" (compare a lɔ́n ndɪ̄, "to weave a house together, to build"; a lɔ́n nlɔ̄ɛ̄', "to weave baskets"), and used at the same time for the "bush rope" obtained from the rattan palms. Formerly, nlɔ́ñ designated only the Eremospatha macrocarpa M. et W., which occurs only in the coastal strip west of 11 degrees longitude and in the north or northeast of the Pangwe region. Later, when the Pangwe came south, the term was transferred to the two rattan palms occurring there which are used for the same purpose, namely, Eremospatha tessmannii Becc. (ongɪ́m) and especially Oncocalamus mannii Wendl. (ebɔ̄'/'ɛ̄gɔ̄ Fang, ebɔ̄'dɔ̄k Ntum; young, akɔ̄'lɔ̄ɣ), Plate 16, Drawing 1, which is important there (1).

342 824

1. The rattan palms mentioned, aside from being used in weaving, are also used in the following ways.

1. In house construction: as rough bands, to tie together the framework of the house; as finer bands, to tie together the lathes of the side walls and the raffia leafstalks of which the sleeping

1: Tessmann--229 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

372
824

benches are made; and -- in the form of very fine bands -- to tie roof mats together.

824

2. In bridge construction, as railing ropes.

3. To wind around worn or bad wooden handles (cutlass and knives) and handles of fly swatters and brooms.

4. As a band, for example, to hold together damaged rifle butts and wooden plates, to tie down the bark stretched over the sounding board of the harp, and so forth.

5. As the main strand for the woman's back apron made of bast; the bast bundles are fastened to it.

6. As string for the musical bow (eŋ̄m).

7. As bird snares.

8. In making bark containers (see above).

9. As decorative strips for arm and neck bands (ekǎr).

10. As a stamp to make a pattern on pottery.

285
824

The passive element mainly comes from the rattan palm Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc. (ukǒne, more rarely ekǒ). Plate 16, Drawing 2, which differs from the Oncocalamus mannii in having large spikes on the upper side of the main leaf vein and finer spikes on the center vein and along the sides of the pinnae, a terminal inflorescence, and differently colored fruit (2). As

2. Aside from weaving, this is used in the following ways.

1. Decorative strips for arm and neck bands (ekǎr).

2. Walking sticks.

3. Sugar press.

4. Tension ropes for drumheads.

5. Bands, a substitute for bush rope.
6. Scraping sticks for cassava.

The related Ancistrophyllum opacum M. et W. (ngbwɛ̃) supplies tension ropes for drumheads, net hoops, and snares.

/216/ a substitute, Calamus deerratus Mann et Wendl. (ndɛ̃ʔ) (1).

1. This is also used for flutes (ndɛ̃ʔ I) and sticks for scraping cassava (ekɔ̃-ndɛ̃ʔ).

is used for some kinds of baskets (women's large carrying baskets and men's small carrying baskets).

The following kinds of baskets are made with various types of weaving.

1. Covered basket of the Jaunde (ɛ̃ʔ) made chiefly by women. Braiding strand of palm bend, braiding strips of Pandanus leaf strips, braided like a checkerboard (one over, one under).

2. Large carrying baskets for permanent use (ɔkɔ̃ʔ I, ɔkɔ̃ʔ I Fang), in which the women /Fig. 167 appears here in the original text/ carry home wood and produce. Braiding strand of Ancistrophyllum (ɔkɔ̃ɔ), more rarely of Calamus deerratus, braiding strips of Oncocalamus (ɔlɔ̃ɔ).

3. Small carrying baskets (ɔkɔ̃kɔ̃ʔ, "small carrying basket," and engɔ̃ʔɔ). Figure 168, made of the same material as the previous ones, only smaller, frequently with a more finely braided edge whose active part may consist not only of bands but also of strings. Usually, moreover, the main braiding strand is replaced for a short distance in the middle of the basket by a blackened one, called ekɔ̃ɔ nɔ̃ʔ (b). These baskets are considered especially elegant; the women takes them with her on journeys and packs food in them. In the house, raffia aprons and other objects are kept in them, and in the fields they are used to hold groundnuts and other things. /Fig. 168 appears here in the original text. /

4. Men's carrying baskets (ebɔ̃ʔdɔ). Figure 169. In the case of these baskets, the braiding strand is made either of Calamus or

1: Tennessee--231 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 F'ang F119

285
412

/216/

Fig. 167. Knife Sheath.

285
415

Fig. 168. Small Carrying Beakers.

Fig. 169. Men's Small Basket with Decorations of Hide and Strings of Beads.

Anciomphalum. In the latter case, I found them strengthened from the outside by little sticks of the same material braided in diagonally.

5. Bamba baskets (ngili). /217/ These appear in two forms: the first and larger one consists of the same material as the carrying basket, the second and smaller one has the same reinforcing sticks in its wall as the previous baskets and a piece of calabash shell for the bottom (concerning their use, see Section 20 /Ed., this section in Vol. II is not translated/ and the illustration there).

(8) Basketwork bowls of the Mwele (ekiti).

For these (Fig. 170), there are likewise active braiding strips and one passive /Fig. 169 appears here in the original text/ braiding strand wound in a spiral, as in the true baskets of the second series. In contrast to the latter, however, the spiral begins in the middle of the bottom and thus forms the bottom and the wall, and it is held together by braiding strips woven in at right angles. These bowls, which perhaps are the result of northern influence (Itsumá /Itsuma/?), are used by the Mwele to store maize meal and as plates for finer foods.

1: Tessmann--233 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

285
45
B4

(7) Basketwork plates (dĩã.d; plural bĩã.ɔ).

Here (Fig. 171) we have, in place of a braiding strand that runs in a spiral, numerous braiding strands made of strips of the Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc. (nkãne) or of the Marantaceae Trachypharynium violaceum Redlk. (nkãmonkãmo Fang), which form the quadrangular bottom surface and the basic material of the edge (or, as one might prefer to say, of the wall). In order to make the edge tight and to hold it together, a braiding strip is woven into it, this being a band from the stalks of the Oncocalamus mannii Wendl. (nkĩ̃ã), the Orchidaceae Mymacidium productum Kranzl. (nkã̃-o-ɔ̃ɔ̃ (1), anĩ̃ãma), the Apocynaceae Motandra spec. (nkã̃-e-ni) (1), or from a raffia pith strip (nkã̃-ekõõ). The position

> 1. nkã̃ from the root kã̃ = band, rope; o ɔ̃ɔ̃ = above, because the orchid is a parasitic plant growing on trees; o ni, = below, because the Apocynaceae grow on the ground.

of the braiding elements with respect to each other is thus precisely the reverse of that in the true baskets of the second series. /218/

/Fig. 170 appears here in the original text./

285
445

They are manufactured in the following manner. Four strips are placed close to each other lengthwise on the ground and held down with one foot; at some distance from these and parallel to them four more strips are laid down, and so on ten times, so that in all there are forty strips. These are diagonally interwoven with 36 strips likewise arranged in fours, so that each of these diagonal strips always runs alternately over and under three of the longitudinal strips, but so that there are different longitudinal strips at each diagonal plait, for instance:

Diagonal strip 1 lies under longitudinal strips 2-4, over 5-7, under 8-10, and so forth;

Diagonal strip 2 lies under longitudinal strips 3-5, over 6-8, under 9-11, and so forth.

I: Tessmann--234 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F319 Fang F319

285
445

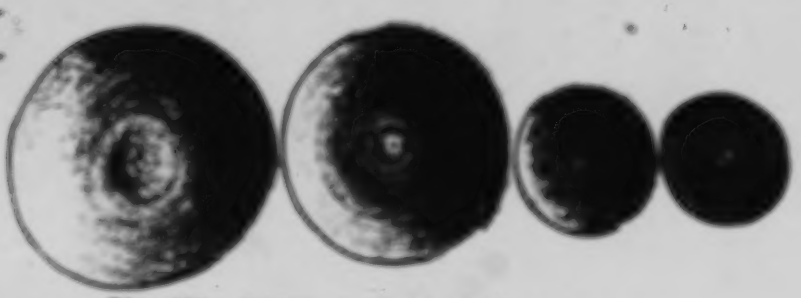


Fig. 170. Basketwork Bowls of the Mwele.

When all the strips have been woven, they are pushed tightly against each other. In this way, a firm quadrangular surface is created, which is held together by one or two bands tied over it in a cross, and the ends of the strips that have not yet been woven protrude from the sides of this surface. These become the braiding strands of the edge of the plate by being bent upward to a greater or lesser degree -- depending on whether the plate is to be deep or shallow -- and interwoven in a spiral form with a braiding strip that always skips one to three of them. /Fig. 171 appears here in the original text. / /219/ In the process, patterns are created through variations in the weaving. Finally, the braiding strip is pulled tight. Gaps at the corners are filled in with independent, short braiding strands that have been bent double. The edge is closed off at the top with a hoop of Ancistrophyllum (nkâw). The braiding

Fig. 171. Basketwork Plates.

1: Tessmann--235 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F109 Fang F109

287 strands are placed like hoops around its outside edge, and they are
415 fastened to it with Triumfetta bast or a string.

Depending on their size, the basketwork plates have various names. The small ones are called ñ̄ ñ̄ Fang (a, b), the somewhat larger ones ŋ̄ŋ̄, the ordinary large ones dīkā, and dīkā - real, true basketwork plates (c).

Concerning their use, see page 127.

(f) Belts (bab IV).

283 These are braided from a number of superimposed strips of Ancistrophyllum (nkāne) interwoven with bush rope Oncocalamus (see "Dress and Ornaments," page 166).

3. Woodworking.

222 Despite the considerable importance accorded to it in the
517 Fangwe household, wood carving has remained on a comparatively
532 low level of development and bears no comparison with the achievements of other primitive peoples, such as the Melanesians. Its forms display a certain sober utilitarianism, a stiffness and uniformity from which all movement and playfulness are excluded. Only rarely does it rise to the level of representational sculpture. Representations of whole human beings are to be found primarily in the ancestral figures, rarely on chiefs' sticks; heads, moreover, are to be seen only on the posts of meeting houses (seen only in one case), on bench posts in the meeting house, in the memory game, and in the masks used for the moon cult (Sao).

322 The number of objects made of wood is very large, as will be apparent from the list that follows:

1. Digging sticks
2. Shovels
3. Hoe and axe handles
4. Posts for the meeting house
5. Bench posts for the meeting house

322 6. House doors
7. Dugouts
8. Oar blade
9. Troughs
10. Pestles
11. Rubbing board for Irvingia kernels
12. Stirring spoons
13. Eating spoons
14. Wooden pieces
15. Pots for oil
16. Flasks for powder
17. Bowls for red wood
18. Chiefs' sticks
19. Walking sticks
20. Rifle stands
21. Bark tapper /220/
22. Pipes
23. Cutlass sheaths (antiquated)
24. Bellows
25. Dog bells
26. Stools
27. Crossbows
28. Spear handles
29. Shields
30. Talking drums
31. Hide drums
32. Harps
33. Wooden musical pipes
34. Wooden flutes
35. Xylophone keys
36. Whistles
37. Jaunde playing counters
38. Wooden Phallii
39. Stilts
40. Memory games
41. Arm rings
42. Ancestral figures
43. Masks for the moon cult

To describe in detail the manner in which all these objects are manufactured is impossible within the scope of this account. Hence, as examples, I shall merely touch on the making of cutlass sheaths, stools, and stirring and eating spoons.

322 412 The now obsolete cutlass sheaths -- called such by the natives; in reality, they do not encase the cutter but only form a pouch in which it is carried -- are rectangular in shape, with concave longitudinal sides. They are made in the following manner. A longish board about one centimeter thick is cut from the wood of the umbrella tree; this board is cut up into two equal rectangles. With a red-hot cutlass the narrow sides are made smooth and the long sides are rounded inward and also made smooth. On one surface the boards are hollowed out in the form of a rectangle, and at the corners holes are drilled through them with a red-hot gun rod. Then the two boards are placed one on top of the other, with the hollowed surfaces facing each other, and tied together with bush rope. The outer surfaces frequently are decorated with simple patterns burned into them. Finally, the sheath is provided with a carrying strap of animal hide.

The stool is a valuable piece of household furniture, a luxury object, for which the natives are willing to spend some money. For this reason its manufacture is an important branch of wood carving, and the makers of well-finished, artistically decorated stools are famous persons, much in demand. If they wanted to, they could make a considerable amount of money with their art, and they also could elevate the art itself, but with their congenital laziness, a special inducement is always required before they will take the trouble to start a new project. For example, a guest in the house of such an artist sees a beautifully carved stool there and says: "Oh, what a beautiful stool; you could make me one like that." Perhaps others have uttered the same wish, and so the artist finally pulls himself together, goes into the jungle, and cuts down a trunk of the Apocynaceae Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekôk), the only tree suitable for the manufacture of stools. He must choose a trunk which -- after the bark has been pulled off -- has the same diameter as the proposed stool /221/ (Fig. 172). He takes the trunk with him to the village and cuts it into about five to seven disks as thick as the stool is intended to be tall. Then with his cutlass he draws a line around approximately the middle, and this line indicates the lower edge of the seat. From there he cuts three radial grooves downward, deepens them with an ada (ngbwâk IV), Figure 173, and in this way forms three legs. Then the seat is made smooth and held over the fire until it becomes nice and brown. The edge is rubbed clean with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata Vahl (ekôk' Fang, ekô Nsum) (1). The edge and the

1. Root kô, "to rub"; compare a-kô-k, "grindstone."

legs are colored with redwood and dried for an hour in the sun; finally they are decorated with carved patterns, an artistic addition which is not everywhere uniformly successful. /Fig. 172 appears here in the original text./

Ordinarily a stool maker finishes from two to three pieces in one day. The price is so low (two spean, the equivalent of 14 pfennigs, apiece) that it is difficult to conceive how the man can work for it.

1: Tsunoda--238 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

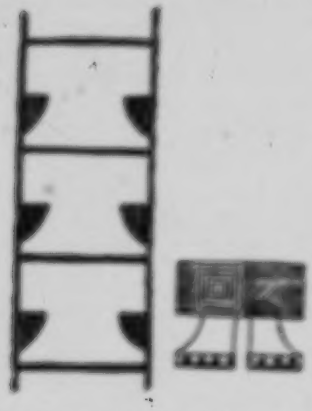


Fig. 172. Stages in Making a Stool.

The explanation lies in a kind of principle of reciprocity, a principle clearly stated in the educational precepts to be discussed in a later section /Ed., Vol II/, that is, the seller counts upon the fact that later he will need his client who is in turn a specialist in the manufacture of some kind of article (basketwork plates, for instance), and he then expects to be treated in the same lenient manner. As a result of the excessive division of labor, everyone is dependent upon everyone else, and this dependence keeps the prices down. Wherever this dependence is absent, the prices go up. Europeans, for instance, with whom such a silent agreement does not exist, pay considerably more, ten or twenty times more, and at the same time they have to put up with inferior work as well.

Moreover, the sale of objects manufactured for household use is not regarded as an enterprise for profit. When I asked a stool maker whom I befriended what his business brought in, he first

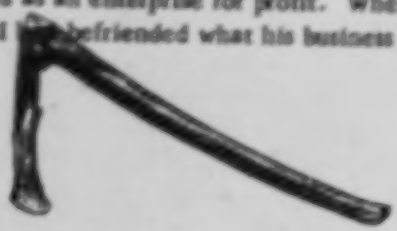


Fig. 173. Adz.

had to ponder for a long time and finally said that every month he made about ten stools for two spears (14 pfennigs) apiece, and that he therefore earned 20 spears (1.40 marks); with this income, he said, he had /Fig. 173 appears here in the original text/ bought brass ornaments for himself, and the rest he had put aside as marriage money, but that did not bother him since he considered his art a matter of humor. /222/

The manufacture of stirring spoons (mbēlē) is, like their form, fairly simple. From a tree trunk (1) a flat piece of wood is cut out

1. The following three trees are used: Alchornea calomeura Pax (ndimabā, III); Hanhartia didymostemon Baill. (ebēlē Ntum, dē III, eyēlē III); and Kickxia elastica Preuss (emvila).

and crudely cut to shape with a bush knife. Then the spoon is hollowed out in the following manner. A chisel (ojōn), Figure 174, and a simple heavy piece of wood for a hammer are used to make a transverse groove between bowl and handle, and the wood is removed piece by piece by blows aimed at it. The more delicate work is done by shaving with a chisel or knife. The finished spoon is usually rubbed with redwood. The people themselves do not know why this is done. In answer to my question, my friend Ntoldangs offered the following remark by way of an answer: "Look here, I am a Black myself, but the Blacks have no sense. I have long asked myself why the stirring spoons are rubbed with redwood because that way dirt (that is, the redwood) gets into the food!" The various forms of the stirring spoon are shown in Figure 98.

Somewhat more effort is required to make the ladling spoons (ndik), Figure 175. They are made primarily from the wood of the Carpodinus tessmannii Gilg (ebēlēn), more rarely from the Kickxia elastica Preuss (emvila). A block of wood in the shape of a cylinder halved lengthwise is taken from the timber and cut into the shape of the spoon by means of careful, layer by layer removal of the wood (see Fig. 176), first with the cutlass (a), then with the adz (b). The bowl is then further hollowed out with the spoon scraper (ēnege-ndik), Figure 177.

302 415 Figure 177. Finally, the bowl and the handle are rubbed smooth with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata.

The powder flasks (ndik e pfidi) are very laboriously manufactured from the wood of the Alstonia congensis (ekik) and the Kickxia elastica, Figure 178. First a massive flask is shaped and nicely smoothed on the outside; this shape is then split into two halves by a longitudinal cut. Each half is hollowed out on the inside with the adz, and the neck is cut off at the desired length. Finally, both halves are fitted together again and are held together by means of an animal's skin, usually of the monitor lizard, sewn over it.

Plates from the wood of the Alstonia congensis or Ceiba pentandra are also very difficult to make because even during the work the edges tend to split rather easily. When they do, the plates are nevertheless finished and repaired afterwards with bush rope.

Dog bells are made from Alstonia congensis, Alchornea coloneura, and Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub (mgb' IV Nsum); bellows are manufactured from the Alstonia congensis and Musanga smithii R. Br. (ekik); dugouts from Musanga, Ceiba pentandra (dum), and the Combretacea /223/ /Fig. 174 appears here in the original text/ Terminalia superba Engl. et Diels (akim); talking drums from Cordia odorata Gürke (ebil) and Rinorea dentata; hide drums from Alstonia, Cordia, Rinorea, and Musanga.

Spear handles are made from the easily split stems of an Annonacea (?), otunge, and of a Flacourtiacea, ekijbij (1). The

1. ki = to split, bij = fingernails; tree which can be split with the fingernails.

wood is split /Fig. 175 appears here in the original text/ into as many parts as one wants to make spear handles. First the edges created by the splitting are roughly taken off with the cutlass, and then each individual part is worked with the drawknife until a round stick the thickness of the spear handle remains. The drawknife (awin), Figures 179 and 180, consists of a piece of wood (branch fork) bent in the form of a hook, whose sides have a short slit cut

I: Tonnaan--241 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 P109 Feng P109
/223/

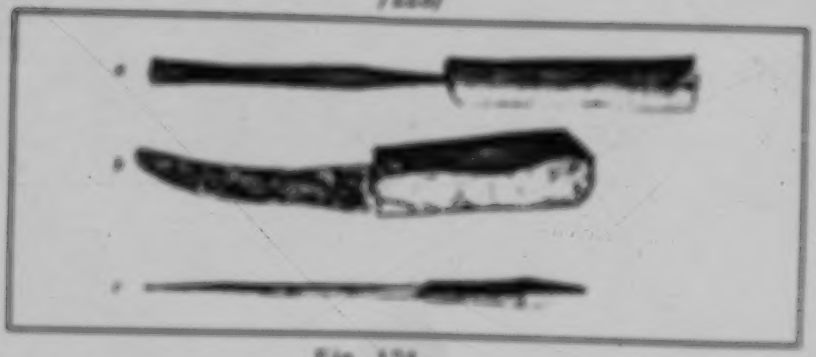


Fig. 174.
(a) Chisel, (b) Saw, and (c) Awl.

Fig. 175. Making a Ladling Spoon.

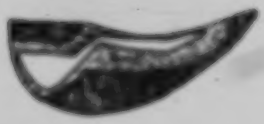


Fig. 176. Stages in Making a Ladling Spoon.
Longitudinal Section.

1: Tammsaare--Q42 E-6 (1904-1940) 1919 F109 F.eng F109

322
412
531

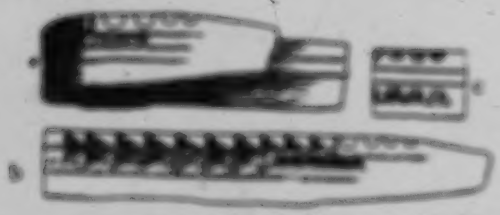


Fig. 177. Spear Scrapers.
(a) Complete; (b) pattern of the outer side unrolled; (c) part of the pattern of the inner side.

322
415

Fig. 178. Making a Powder Flask from Wood.

322
411

one of them in the middle. Into these slits is much either an ordinary knife (see Fig. 179) or -- and this is more frequently the case -- a special blade /Fig. 176 appears here in the original text/ with two cutting edges of which one is like that of a knife and the other like that of a saw (Fig. 180). This very practical combination permits /724/ the craftsman to dig the longitudinal furrows in the shaft of the spear with the same tool. The blade is simply /Fig. 177 appears here in the original text/ taken out and reversed, that is, is is set in again with the toothed edge downward.

1: Tessmann--343 E-6 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

4. Metalworking.

(a) Iron extraction.

325 The extraction of iron, surely one of the most admirable achievements of the Negro, is carried on in the Pangwe region only south of the Campo by the Fang and a small number of Ntum kin groups. Traces of old smelting works, on the other hand, indicate that in former times iron extraction extended farther northward. /Fig. 178 appears here in the original text/. Nowadays the Bulu buy iron from the Ntum in the south, and the Jaunde and Bene buy it from the Eton. The principal places where iron is extracted are located in the Wodda and Kje regions, as well as along the upper Dsele, but compared with the places where ironstone is found, they are few in number. Although for the most part people are familiar with the technique of iron extraction, only a few really engage in it. In part the reason for this may be the laboriousness of the enterprise, but in the main it must be sought in the superstitious notions connected with the preparation of iron. These notions require the cooperation of the medicine man, the purchase of expensive medicines, and the strict observance of the rules of abstinence. The rare and difficult art of extracting it from the rocks and then forging it into tools and weapons has given iron a special importance, perhaps also because both techniques require fire, the sacred element which /125/ /Figs. 179 and 180 appear here in the original text/ the Pangwe worship in the Ngi cult. The smelting of ironstone is therefore carried out under the guidance and supervision of the medicine man. Exactly as in the case of the cults, it is he alone who, by means of his medicine, can transfer to others the influence over the process with which he is endowed, or, more accurately, the others can obtain from the medicine man the ability to smelt iron only by purchasing a medicine from him. This smelting medicine (bĕ̄ĕ̄ akŭ̄, abŭ̄b-akŭ̄) (1) costs five sheep.

325
329
325

1. bĕ̄ĕ̄ = medicine, akŭ̄ = iron smelting, abŭ̄b = spider, which plays a role in the acquisition medicines and is usually -- not always -- present in the smelting medicine.

I: Tessmann--244 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

Fig. 179. Drawknife for Spear Handles.

Fig. 180. Drawknife (also Scraper) for Spear Handles.

322
413

five hens, and five pieces of brass wire, which altogether correspond approximately to a value of 120 marks in our money. The medicine is kept in a small wooden or clay pot lined with the soft leaves of the Triumfetta (okpit) or in a little basket. It consists of a bundle of leaves with the brain matter of an ancestor, a few pieces of skull from the ancestors placed around it, and pieces of the shaved bark of the Leguminosa Macrolobium straussianum Harms (abǒm, bǒme IV) or of the fern Marattia fraxinea Sm. (ex[illegible]), and poison (ndi). The skull and the brain as the seat of knowledge are supposed to make the smelting process successful; the Macrolobium is supposed to cause the lump iron to lie as firmly and solidly in the smelting pit (ehisi a bǒme o si, = the iron is firm [as though stamped down] under there) as this tree stands without buttress roots (hence the name abǒm from a bǒm, "to stamp in firmly, to pound in, and to be firmly stamped in"); the fern is supposed to cause the iron to agglomerate as beautifully as the young fern leaves.

325
789
[425]
[824]
[826]

Unfortunately, it is impossible to make iron with this medicine alone. For better or for worse, actual work will have to be done, and for this workers are needed. These are not so difficult to obtain since they get a share of the profit, but the abstinence rules which we have already mentioned, especially those of a sexual nature, deter many of them. These rules enjoin abstinence for two months before and during the period of work, and if they are violated, the iron will

325
834

325 not be good. This extremely unpleasant prescription, in conjunc-
329 tion with the expensive medicine, stands in the way of a greater distribution of smelting enterprises. Even in places where a hut for iron smelting is already in existence, people prefer to buy iron from others if their own has been a failure several times, for this misfortune is attributed to the failure of the fire as a result of the sexual /226/ impurity of one or a number of the participants. The
[239] importation of European iron in recent years is dealing a death blow to the native industry. The fear of bringing anything impure
326 (and all sexual matters are pre-eminently regarded as such) into
783 contact with pure fire goes so far that a medicine is made by those
841 participants whose wives menstruate during the smelting. This consists of a diamond-shape piece cut out of the bark on the supporting beam of the smelting hut on the side facing the furnace, and it is supposed to represent the female sex organ. The symbol is rubbed with redwood which has been pulverized by the woman concerned and represents her blood flow; it is covered with a leaf of the
[204] Myrianthus arboreus P.B. (mangĕme III Fang) to indicate that one wants everything impure to be hidden and therefore harmless. At the same time the plant is supposed to cause the iron to coalesce to the same degree as the individual fruits are united in a syncarp. In Plate 17 one can see a piece of the leaf on the supporting post (top left), as well as (somewhat lower down) a bark container which holds fragments of ancestors' skulls, a number of antelopes' horns, and a great variety of other medicines that are used later. That the
325 people concerned with the ancestor cult are regarded as particular-
769 ly suited to bring the work to a successful conclusion is apparent from the fact that they alone may tend the fire (see Fig. 183).

The smelting of iron is thus above all under the aegis of the fire cult, but it is also closely linked with the worship of the ancestors who contribute to the success of the enterprise insofar as it lies in their power to do so.

316 Iron crops out in the form of brown iron ore (sɛ̄ IV) (1) and is
325

1. The analysis carried out by Mr. Du Bois at the suggestion of Professor Pufahl (Königliche Bergakademie in Berlin)

316
325

> showed that the ore "exhibits a not inconsiderable titanium content, some sulphur, traces of phosphoric acid, a small calcium content, as well as a small magnesium content, in addition to the usual components, such as silicic acid, iron oxide, aluminum oxide, water, and small quantities of manganese."

simply collected and carried off. The iron ore pits (ebê-asêi from
[423] asêi, "rock containing iron") have no special significance for the Pangwe; they are common or rather ownerless property that could be claimed by anyone. The smelting of the iron ore, on the other
325 hand, takes place in special smelting huts which are usually the
423 common property of several fellow villagers; they alone may produce the iron from the ironstone which they themselves have extracted from the pits. The other people in the village may not use the smelting hut and must buy iron from them. Because of the difficulties involved in the enterprise, smelting is done only at /227/ widely separated intervals of time. On each occasion the furnace is loaded rapidly as many times in succession as there are hut owners on hand. Each owner, therefore, has a claim to the iron obtained from one loading of the furnace.

325 The smelting hut (ndǎ-akūǎ, ndžī-akūǎ), Figures 181 and 182,
343 is a simple lean-to, three to four meters high, whose ridge pole is supported by two beams. A pit (Fig. 182, Drawing 5, c), 78 centimeters deep and 1.86 meters in diameter, is dug into the ground in the center of the hut and the furnace is built over it. Another shaft (Drawing 5, b), about 60 centimeters deep, goes down from the floor of the pit, and it is on the bottom of this shaft that the above-mentioned pot with the smelting medicine is placed (Drawing 5, a). The medicine is covered with rotten leaf sheaths from the plantain so that the skulls will stay nice and cool, and then the entire shaft is filled with leaves.

325 If smelting is contemplated, all the participants, that is, the
372 medicine man, the hut owner or owners, and the hired workers, must, as was mentioned, abstain for two months from sexual

325 intercourse. During this period, the ore is carried to the hut in
372 baskets and piled up there, and charcoal (miē, mēi) is obtained. The charcoal must be especially "strong," and for that reason it is obtained only from the following five trees: 1) Pentaclethra
[824] macrophylla Benth., Leguminosae (ebā'ī); 2) Erythrophloeum guineense Don., Leguminosae (elǔn); 3) Cylicodiscus gabunensis Harms, Leguminosae (edūm); 4) Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms, Leguminosae (andzītsiń); 5) Irvingia grandifolia Engl., Simarubaceae (ngǘn IV). The wood is heaped up in small piles near the village, set on fire, and, when it is charred, extinguished while still glowing. The water with which it is extinguished is skillfully squirted out of the mouth like a shower.

325 In Bebai, among the Schumu family (Woddo region) where I
343 saw the smelting, a smaller hut stood next to the smelting hut
834 (Fig. 182, Drawing 2); this hut contained nothing but a sleeping bench (p), a poker hook (q), and a number of spare blast pipes (r) for the furnace. The hut owner for whom the smelting was to be done the next day spent the last night in it in order not to succumb to the temptation of violating the above-mentioned rule at the last moment. This precautionary measure shows how steadfastly the Pangwe actually observe the many commandments.

325 In the morning the workers appear with their tools, the blast pipes (žǒ,ń IV), and bellows.

The bellows without valve -- but in contrast, it does not have wooden sticks used as handles. It is made of soft wood (see page 240); from its two bowl-shaped enlargements (Pangwe: alǒ-nkǔ,m, "bellows ears") separate shafts lead /228/ /Fig. 181 appears here in the original text/ into the tip (Pangwe: ndžū i'-nkǔ,m, "bellows nose"). The bowls are covered with animal hide with the hairy side
[281] inward, or (only among the Jaunde) with leaf sheaths of the banana tied together in a tuft. Since the hides are moved directly by hand and not by means of sticks, only soft hides can be used, such as those of the long-tailed monkeys, the potto, the civet cat, and the African dwarf buck Neotragus batesi Winton.

The pit in the smelting hut is stuffed full to the rim with leaves of the umbrella tree, so that after the completion of the smelting process it can be cleaned of the charcoal remains without any

325
343

Fig. 181. Smelting Hut in Bébai (Schumu Family), Spanish Guinea.

325 difficulty and so that the medicine lying below will not be dirtied. Then plantain or banana stems (d) as tall as a man are planted close to each other in a circle around the pit; by means of transverse pegs made of raffia leafstalk bark they are joined to each other and with ropes and stakes are fastened to thick posts driven into the ground outside. The whole arrangement is held together above and below with ropes of Cissus runners, called ntū, and carefully plugged with smaller plantain stems (Drawing 4, f) or pieces of the same. By notching two neighboring plantain stems, holes are cut a little above the ground -- in Bebai there were 17 such holes -- for the blast pipes. Provisionally, the holes are filled up with a guide rod 1.25 meters long and corresponding in thickness to the blast pipe /229/ (ntú'm e zōṅ, really blast-pipe

325 stick), Drawing 4, h; at the bottom this guide rod is propped up by a piece of plantain stem (Drawing 4, g), and at the top it is covered by a piece of plantain leaf sheath, called ngób "shoe" (Drawing 4, i). Later one merely needs to take out the stick and push in the blast pipe in its place. When the furnace has been prepared this far, it is loaded. A man climbs into it from the top, has charcoal handed to him, and piles a layer of it over the pit in such a way that the center remains clear. He must fill the space between the floor and the guide rods; he arranges the latter so that they radiate around a common center (Drawing 1, k), and then he adds more charcoal, at the same time covering the inner wall with leaf sheaths of the plantain so that the fire will not penetrate too rapidly to the stems and through the cracks outward (Drawing 3). The leaf sheaths lie in two layers: vertically in the outer layer (ngoo, "lattice wall," Drawing 3, l); horizontally in the inner layer (mvom, "giant snake"), Drawing 3, m. The charcoal is piled up to a height from 60 to 70 centimeters; on top of this is placed the iron ore which meanwhile had been cut up by other people and calcined for four hours on a strong fire (1). Furthermore,

1. "It yielded the following values:

Humidity (at 100 degrees centigrade)	0.51 per cent
Heat loss	2.36 per cent
Silicic acid	8.21 per cent
Titanic acid	6.97 per cent
Iron oxide	67.98 per cent
Aluminum oxide	11.82 per cent
Manganese protoxide	1.03 per cent
Calcium	traces
Magnesium	0.17 per cent
Phosphoric acid	0.05 per cent
Sulphur	0.19 per cent
Alkalies	Rest

The quite considerable titanic acid content is striking here. The smelting process is unpleasantly influenced by it, since a slag is produced that is hardly fusible. (According to Du Bois.)

1: Tessmann--250 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

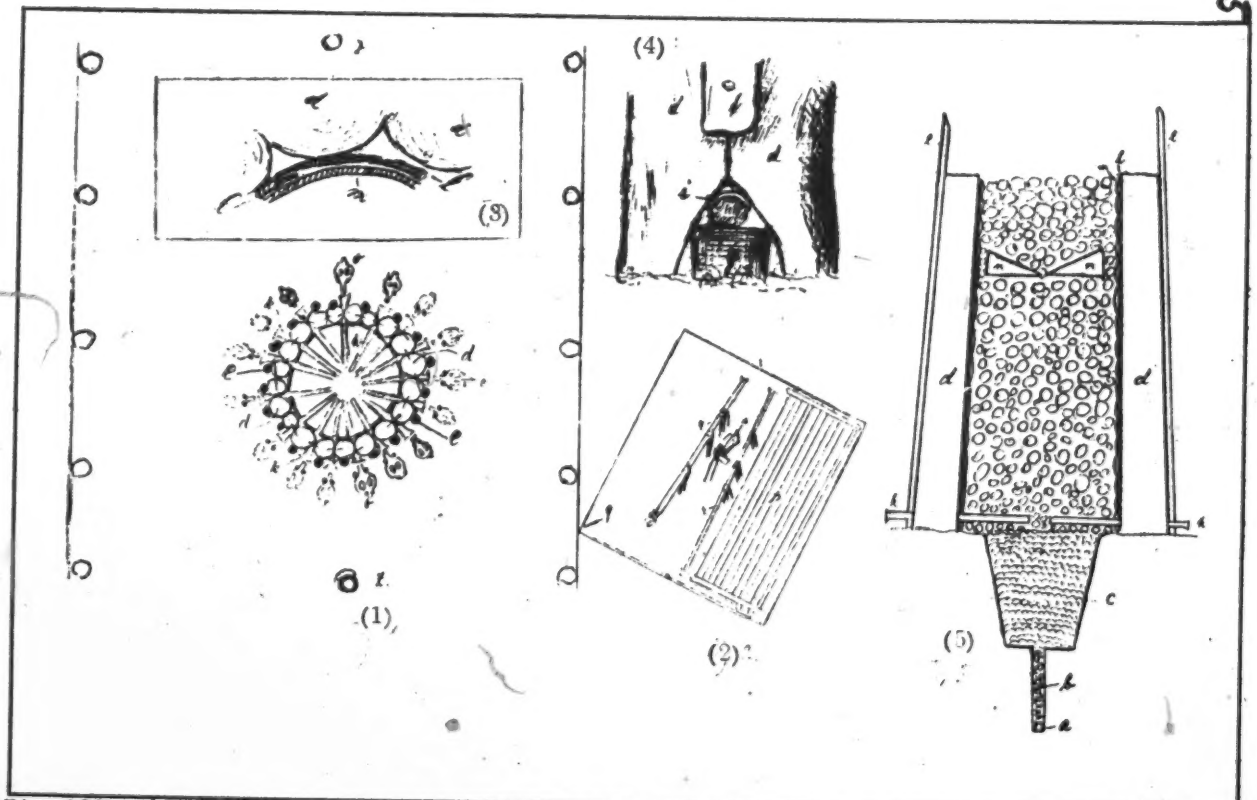


Fig. 182. Sketch of a Smelting Works in Bebai. Drawing 1. Smelting hut and adjacent blast pipe hut (Drawing 2). Drawing 3. Cross-section of part of the wall of the furnace. Drawing 4. A section of the wall where the blast-pipe stick is introduced. Drawing 5. Longitudinal cross-section of the smelting furnace.

325 the larger pieces of the iron ore are once more pounded to fragments before they are put in the furnace. The ore is piled up in such a way that, as Drawing 5 n shows, a funnel remains clear in the middle and also it does not touch the plantains but remains separated from them by a gap that is filled with charcoal. Finally, the iron ore is covered to the rim of the furnace with charcoal (2).

2. O. Zenker describes a very different smelting furnace among the Jaunde. "The smelting huts," he says, "in which the iron is also directly forged, are conspicuous by their tall pointed roofs and wooden planking, as well as by the ironstone and slag lying in front of them. In the center of these large huts are the smelting furnace and four large wooden columns. The smelting furnace is quadrangular and is constructed anew for each smelting. Its outer walls consist of pieces of plantain trunks. The furnace is about one meter high and covers a floor area of approximately one and a half square meters. On the floor, in the center, there is a hollow smeared with clay, in which the liquid iron gathers during the smelting. The entire enclosure is filled with charcoal, but the center is filled with a mixture of ironstone and charcoal. Prior to its being loaded, a funnel-shaped clay pipe is stuck into it on each side; these are used to blow air into it by means of a hand bellows of the shape that is also current in other parts of western Africa. Those who perform this work, usually half-grown persons, are seated on the columns already mentioned which are wooden and about two meters high. To protect the roof a strong wooden

325

trellis is constructed over the smelting box. Smelting requires a number of hours. The very soft iron obtained is pounded to pieces and then forged."

[113]

(From Mitteilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten /Reports by Explorers and Scholars from the German Protectorates/ by Friedrich von Danckelman, 1895, page 63.

/230/ /Fig. 182 appears here in the original text./

/231/ Now the bellows workers (nšūĕ,-nkŭm) put their two tools, which they have brought with them, into position, and in the manner already indicated stick the blast pipe into the furnace in place of the guide rod, so that the funnel-shaped end juts outward about ten to twelve centimeters. Then they arrange the bellows (Drawing 1, o) in such a way that its mouth is from two to three centimeters from the blast pipe and clamp it between two pairs of sticks, called mvāk (see Fig. 183), which are planted in the ground. This simple arrangement has given rise to the following proverb:

[539]

bokui bo vōde akūā o mvāk =

The Pygmies, they despaired of smelting because (of the) the holding sticks (which they did not know how to attach).
This proverb is said whenever some great enterprise fails because of a trifle.

325 461 791

Now everybody sits down on tree trunks around the furnace. A piece of red-hot charcoal is introduced into the furnace through one of the blast pipes, and then the working of the bellows begins (Fig. 184). This is done in the following manner. First one and then the other hide are alternately pulled up and down by hand, or, if one wants to work at high pressure, both hides are pulled together. This is a strenuous and monotonous job which the natives try to alleviate as much as possible by singing, which is led by the medicine man (in Plate 17, the gentleman to the right with folded arms), by shouting, laughing, talking, and telling stories. Above all, the

325 461 791 natives like to hiss rhythmically during the work; this gives them greater strength, as they say. Regular whistling, however, is strictly forbidden, for in the opinion of the natives it is something evil (see prefixes, page 28 /Ed., not translated/). In all this noise the medicine man takes a prominent part; every other moment he rings an iron bell, blows on an antelope horn, /232/ sings, shouts, and dashes about frantically. In short, he makes every possible effort to spur on the people, and perhaps he also means to fend off evil beings of one kind or another by his activities. Now and then he strikes between the bellows with a bundle [824] of the Violacea Rinorea gracilipes Engl. or the Leguminosa Bandeiraea tenuiflora Benth. (both ovṍn e ndžīk) (1) in order to

1. Called ovṍn e ndžīk (ndžīk, "liana") because of the similarity of the leaves with those of the Copaifera tessmannii Harms. (ovṍn), [775] the tree in which the souls live in the intermediate realm; used when there is a shortage of Copaifera.

eliminate all noxious influences through the power of the ancestors. If the zeal of the workers nevertheless flags, there follows a redoubled clamor, and after a short period of time the crew recuperates and pushes the hides with renewed vigor and almost convulsive rapidity amidst violent hissing and rhythmic rocking up and down of the upper part of the body. In the evening when they are tired, hide drums and wooden drums are called in to encourage them with a regular concert; songs are sung in which the medicine man strikes the keynote. At the end of the work, which in Bebai, for instance, lasted from one o'clock in the afternoon to 9:30 in the evening, the medicine man steps up to the furnace and by each bellows worker he makes a movement as though placing something up into the furnace and down into the funnel; his assistant walks behind him, carrying a closed medicine horn provided with a porcupine's tail. Its purpose is unknown.

325 791 [411] The next day the furnace, which has burned out down to the pit, is torn down, and the iron slag (eśum), which lies on the top and has not burned out, is gathered together; broken into pieces, it serves as rifle ammunition (2). Then the medicine man calls

2. According to Du Bois it is "a poorly molten, porous slag with a high iron and titanium content and also includes charcoal fragments."

the bellows workers to the pit, and with his forging iron he knocks off the pieces of iron (obā'-ekiēi) (3) that are loosely attached to the

3. bā = to divide, e-bā'-s = scale, ekiēi - iron.

ore bloom. The larger pieces he takes for himself, the smaller ones he divides among the men so that each receives a small powder keg of them, which is his reward for the work. The medicine man, on the other hand, keeps almost twice as much for himself. On the floor of the pit is the ore bloom, a large, firm, round to oblong iron lump (mpafǎn-ekiēi I) (4); it belongs to the hut owner for whom 325 791 422

4. From the root pfa Ntum (fa Fang), "to narrow inward and to be narrowed in," here, "to be contracted, to be agglomerated." Compare pfa-n, "narrow strait"; a pfa-n, "to narrow"; pfa-k (active), "narrowed path or place," in particular between the house and plantains in the village; a pfa-ń, "to wrap around, to put a string around." The ore bloom is, according to Du Bois, "to be regarded as a malleable wrought iron heavily mixed with charcoal fragments and with a low carbon content, which can be transformed into a usable

325 material only through forging."

791

422 the /233/ smelting has taken place, with the exception of a piece about the size of a head, which he must give to the medicine man. The ore bloom is pounded into little bits by the workmen right on the spot (Fig. 185). The workmen have the right to take home the splinters that fall off, and the owner does nothing further with it.

438 These pieces (epfus-ekiē) (1) are the end result of the iron smelting

1. pfū-ī, "to knock off (piecemeal)."

and constitute a regular article of trade wherever European trade is not yet too highly developed. /Fig. 183 appears here in the original text./

325 A few more figures about the expenses and the net profit. In
435 giving these -- as for Bebai -- I assume a smelting period consisting
434 of five smeltings with five owners of the smelting hut. The workers can buy the bellows for ten spears (= 70 pfennigs) from the bellows maker, or they can get them for nothing if they bring the necessary block of wood to the man's house. So far as I know, they must obtain the hide for themselves in each case. The clay blast pipe likewise costs ten spears (= 70 pfennigs), so each bellows worker has 20 spears (= 1.40 marks) in expenses. The owner or owners of the smelting huts have a single expenditure of about 120 marks for the medicine, not including the labor for the construction of the hut and the transportation of the ore. From the iron left to him as wages, each bellows worker earns at one smelting only 15 to 20 spears (= 1.05 to 1.40 marks); hence, from five smeltings he makes a profit of from five to seven marks from which the single expenditure /234/ /Fig. 184 appears here in the original text/ of 1.40 marks should be subtracted. The medicine man does better. From his share of loose iron he can earn 30 spears (= 2.10 marks) and from his share of core iron 50 spears (= 3.50 marks), so altogether he can earn 5.60 marks. From the five smeltings, therefore, he can earn a total of 28 marks. As regards the owner, the ore bloom for him amounts to 500 spears (= 35 marks). Altogether, the yield of one smelting period would amount to: (17 X 17 spears + 80 spears + 500 spears) X 5, 17 workers at 17 spears + medicine man + owner in five

325

Fig. 183. Bellows workers and the medicine man's assistant who stirs the fire. Iron smelting in Bébai (Schumu Family), Spanish Guinea.

325 smeltings; or in German currency, which of course cannot repro-
435 duce exactly the value of the spears for the natives: (20.23
434 marks + 5.60 marks) 5 = 304.15 marks.

These figures fluctuate in the various regions. Nonetheless they do convey an idea of the size and distribution of the profit.

(b) Ironworking.

326 From the tales of the creation story it is evident that the Pangwe, as descendants of Mode-Sama, have known how to forge iron since ancient times, even if they were surpassed in the art by other Negro peoples, the descendants of Ngomwenio (perhaps the progenitor of the Okande?), the second son of Sama. /235/

325

Fig. 184. Extracted iron (bloom) after the smelting furnace has been torn down, Bébai (Schumu Family).

326 554 The Pangwe do not accord the smith an exceptional social position. He is neither despised, as he is by many tribes, nor does he enjoy any kind of privileges or respect beyond the regard for his abilities. His skill (akǒ"n) is recognized and placed above that of other artisans, but nothing more than that. The smith, like the wood carvers, works only now and then at his trade, and only when there is a need for him to do so; he never works to build up a stock. In other words, he does not carry on a regular trade; instead, he works by commission and is paid for the work performed, not for the finished product (everybody must bring the smith the iron needed for the desired objects). At the time I was in the country, the smith received, for example, for the manufacture of spear money, ten per cent of its value.

325

Fig. 185. Extracted iron (bloom) after the smelting furnace has been torn down, Bébai (Schumu Family).

326 348 The smith (nlū̄ī III from a lū̄ī' "to forge") most often has his workshop in the meeting house, the scene of most of the enterprises of the men. In this case a T-shaped pit is dug into the ground in the meeting house (see Fig. 27b, b) at the place where there would ordinarily be a sleeping bench. The bellows hangs above the pit and sometimes also its blast pipe; only occasionally is it hung in special huts (abā-lū̄ī'). The latter are either simple lean-tos open all around or provided with sidewalls made of logs, like the temporary meeting houses. A smith's hut of the first form is depicted in Plate 18; the groundplan of a hut of the second /236/ kind -- from the Ntum village Okō (south of the Campo) -- is shown in Figure 186. The latter contains a tree trunk (m) and a wooden drum (k) placed along the walls and intended to serve as seats for the spectators; also it contains a stone anvil (b), and in a T-shaped pit (ejě, lū̄ī') the smithy fire with the bellows (e-g). The smith (a) is always seated to the right of the fire and just in front of the bellows worker (d), so that he can conveniently reach the red-hot iron with his left hand, take it out of the pit, and work it on the anvil (b) before him.

325 789 824 Even the job of forging cannot be performed without medicines. Just as a medicine is buried under the furnace in the smelting hut, one is also buried under the anvil when the smithy is constructed, although this is not always the case. The medicine consists of cock's feathers, blossom panicles of the Labiata Plectranthus (kōlṓt IV Fang, kǒt IV Ntum), and leaves and stalks of the Commelinacea Aneilema aequinoctiale Kth. (nlǎt I) (1). The

> a lǎ-t, "unite," hence nlǎt, the Aneilema (compare also a-lǎ-t, "the duck," because ducks live in pairs).

two plants are burdocks and are meant to symbolize the fact that the iron particles are to be joined together as firmly in the forging as the fruit of the Plectranthus and the stalks or leaves of the Aneilema cling together -- frequently one also sees the smith throwing a few Plectranthus fruits into the blast pipe while forging. The cock belongs to the cult of the Good, or the fire, and for that reason its feathers are the most important component of the medicine. To heighten its effectiveness, the cock is also killed, and its flesh boiled together with the leaves of the Acanthacea Asystasia macrophylla (T. And.) (elǒbokūi), the Connaracea Manotes zenkeri Gilg (nkǎ-ndžīk I), the Ebenacea Diospyros fragrans Gürke (myīfī'n IV Fang, myīpfī'm IV Ntum), and the Tiliacea Desplatsia dewevrei Burset (afǒnǒk). This concoction is eaten by the smith. The plants mentioned have strong and flexible stalks or twigs (nkīb, "rod, whip"), and the implied wish is that the iron, in particular the spear money, will be just as strong and flexible.

325 435 Lastly it should be mentioned that in a newly constructed smithy hut the first thing to be melted down must not be crude iron but only worked iron.

The smith's tools include:

325 1. Large forging iron (ngǒ p[d]ǒ III) of the form shown in Figure 187, Drawing 1; for cruder work it is used as a hammer, for finer work as an anvil, in which case it is pushed into the ground with its pointed end. It is worth 1,000 spears or 70 marks.

435

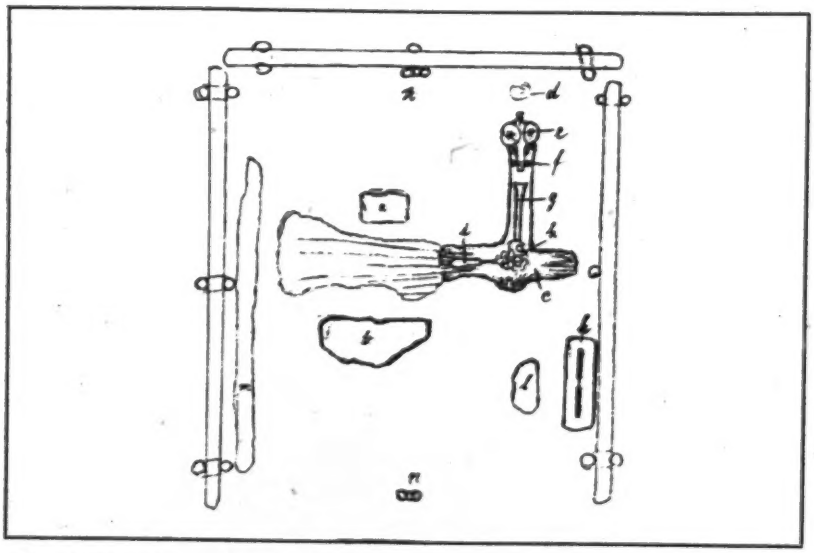


Fig. 186. Groundplan of a Smithy in the Village Okö, Ntum Region.

(a) Smith's seat; (b) smithy stone, anvil; (c) smithy pit; (d) bellows worker's seat; (e) bellows; (f) sticks to hold the bellows; (g) blast pipe; (h) charcoal; (i) handle; (k) talking drum used as seat; (l) stone, mainly for whetting the cutlass; (m) trunk, seat for spectators; (n) ridgepole.

325 2. Small forging iron (edū), Figure 187, Drawing 2, used for spear blades, and so forth. (Value, 50 spears or 3.50 marks.)

3. Handle (abí from bí, "to grasp"), a simple iron rod widened toward the end to a slightly spatulate form, attached to a wooden grip. It is held against the iron glowing in the fire and welded with it so that both /237/ /Fig. 186 appears here in the original text/ can be taken out together. While the iron is being worked, the end of this handle merges with the forged object and must therefore be made anew each time after it is used, that is, it must be widened by pounding it at the end.

325 4. Chisel (zǎńe), Figure 188, which is stuck into a slit cardamom stalk and driven in with a hammer in order to burst thin connections, to chisel off superfluous edges, to make grooves, and so forth.

5. File (ewǎ́s), used for smoothing.

6. Tongs (abǎs), Figure 189, Drawing 2, made from a cardamom stalk split at the end.

7. Squirter (amǒ́m, amě́m), Figure 189, Drawing 1, made from a cardamom stalk (1) split at the end, and used -- as among

1. Cardamom (Aframomum) as torch, see page 42, as sacred plant of fire, see Section 11 /Ed., this section of Vol. II is not translated/.

us -- to moisten the coal from time to time.

325 372 313 If anything is to be forged, the blast pipe of the bellows is placed in the center of the smithy pit, charcoal is heaped over it -- the charcoal is produced in the way described on page 247 (2) --

2. From the following trees:
Leguminosae Dialium guineense Willd. (ogbǔ́ń-elǐ); Leguminosae Platysepalum tessmannii Harms (ogbǔ́ń-elǐ);
Olacaceae Aptandra zenkeri Engl. (ogbǔ́ń-elǐ);
Ochnaceae Ouratea tessmannii Gilg (osǒ);
Euphorbiaceae Sapium oblongifolium Muell. Arg. (osǒ);
Ochnaceae Ouratea brachybotrys Gilg (osǒ, kǔń-osǒ, okǐě);
Euphorbiaceae Plagiostyles klainei Pierre (esǔlǎ');
Guttiferae Garcinia punctata Oliv. (nsā-elǐ III);

325
372
313

Euphorbiaceae Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg. (asǎ'm);
Simarubaceae Irvingia grandifolia Engl. (ngǔn IV);
Sapotaceae Mimusops djave (Lan.) (adžǎ'b);
Leguminosae Distemonanthus benthamianus Baill. (ejěn, eli'běngǎń);
Burseraceae Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl. (ase̅ǎ');
Burseraceae Pachylobus macrophyllus (Oliv.) (atǒ'm Fang, andǒtǒ'm Ntum);
Flacourtiaceae Petersia minor Niedenzu (abiń).

and on the charcoal, the iron pieces to be forged. Then /238/ the charcoal is set on fire with a red-hot coal thrown into the blast pipe. Thereupon the assistant sets the bellows going (see page 252). If the charcoal catches fire, the smith places the handle (Figure 186, i) into the side arm of the pit, heaps the charcoal (h) over the iron pieces, waits until the iron is red-hot, takes it out with the handle, and forges it on the anvil. Once the iron is ready in its crude form, it is knocked free from the handle with the chisel, seized with the tongs, and subjected to further working.

(c) Brass founding.

325 Brass (ngǔs IV, mvǒt IV) has been coming into the Pangwe region from the coast in the form of tubes and wire for a long time. Because of its softness and its brilliant color, it has almost completely replaced iron insofar as it was used for ornaments. The tubes are not altered; the wire, on the other hand, is worked into neck, arm, and finger rings, into foot covers and leg rings.

The wire is cut into small pieces about three centimeters long and placed in a potsherd or in a clay vessel specially prepared for the purpose (Fig. 190). Then it is placed on the smithy fire and

325 entirely covered with charcoal and melted with the help of the bellows. As soon as the blue flames appear, the smith removes the coals from the top of the pot, seizes the latter with his tongs, and pours the liquid metal into molds. These are halved raffia leafstalks in whose pith a suitable negative form is cut (Fig. 191). Then he cleans out the coal fragments that might have fallen into it and pours on water. After it has cooled, the brass is taken out of the mold and, heated, it is again worked, that is to say, the coarser roughness is beaten down with the large forging iron. In the case of the engraved neck rings (see Fig. 14), the two ends are now /239/ /Fig. 187 appears here in the original text/ beaten out with the tapper and rolled with light blows over the surface which is then carefully smoothed with the tapper. This is a rather laborious job, since the rod must time and time again be placed in the fire for a time. Now the ring is bent by skillfully hammering the inner surface on the edge of the anvil, and it is hammered completely together on the large forging iron placed over two props. Finally it is filed smooth, whereby the brilliant yellow brass color appears in place of the hitherto black color; then various patterns are engraved on it with the help of three different strong chisels (Fig. 192) and other tools (Fig. 193).

5. Pottery.

323 [462] Unlike the crafts mentioned so far, pottery is in the hands of the women. Only tobacco pipes and blast pipes are made by men. Pottery is not very highly developed; its forms are poor and decoration is rare. /Fig. 188 appears here in the original text./ The main products of pottery are assembled in Figure 194.

1. Water flasks (eŝũgǎ);
2. Large and small cooking pots (mvé IV and obébé);
3. Smithy funnels (žǒ̀ IV);

in addition, the following are also made,

4. Tobacco pipes, and
5. Brass smelting pots.

This is the extent of the use of clay objects. /Fig. 189 appears here in the original text./ /240/

1: Tessmann--264 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

325

(1)

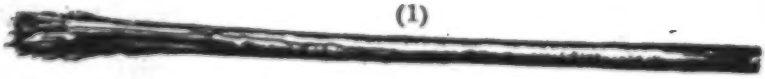
(2)

/239/

Fig. 187. Hammer and Tapping Iron.

Fig. 188. Chisel for Ironworking.

(1)



(2)

Fig. 189. Smith's Squirter and Tongs.

323 The women, of whom about a fourth (among the Jaunde about a half) understands the art of pottery, carry on their craft mostly as housework. They make the flasks and pots for their own household or for those of acquaintances and relatives who from indolence or lack of skill have not taken up pottery. In addition, they sell their products to other women who cannot or do not want to make pottery. The prices for pots fluctuate, de-
323 435 pending on the size, between two and four spears (14-28 pfennigs), among the Jaunde between five and thirty Jaunde spears (5 to 30 pfennigs); /Fig. 190 appears here in the original text/ very large Jaunde pots, unknown among the Fang, cost 40 Jaunde spears (= 40 pfennigs). The clay bottles which are limited to the Fang and are scarcely found north of the Campo cost ten spears (= 70 pfennigs). By and large, the Jaunde women are better and more industrious potters; they produce more, which, to be sure, causes the price to go down, and they make more attractive pots than the
[531] Ntum and Fang women who decorate perhaps only a third to a fourth of all their cooking pots. Water bottles are decorated only in exceptional cases. /Fig. 191 appears here in the original text./

323 The manufacture of pots proceeds as follows. White pottery clay (ekǒn, vū-ǒk; plural lǒ'k), either dry or mixed with water if necessary, is pounded for awhile on a piece of bark with a pestle (ntum e vū-ǒk). Then the potter rolls the clay into sausages and places two or three of them together in her hand in snake-like coils. These form the bottom of the future pot. Then she places the whole thing /Fig. 192 appears here in the original text/ in a plate, either of basketwork or wood. Now she builds up the wall of the pot by joining the remaining sausages in a spiral fashion as she turns the plate which serves as a potter's wheel. She makes it smooth with a moist raffia stick, indents it by applying light pressure just below the edge, and smooths the indentation itself (mbě I) with a fine leaf of grass, rubs it off with a wet leaf, and takes it off with the little stick. The finished pots have to dry for five days on the pottery loft (akǎn e mvě) and are then fired. The firing is done in the village square. /241/ /Fig. 193 appears here in the original text./ Under and around the pot firewood or twigs are simply heaped up and set on fire.

/240/

325

Fig. 190. Clay Vessel for Brass Founding.

Fig. 191. Form for a Brass Neck Ring in a Halved Raffia Leafstalk.

Fig. 192. Chisels for the Patterns on Brass Neck Rings.

325

Fig. 193. Brass Smith Decorating a Brass Neck Ring, Akonangi, South Cameroons.

While the pots are drying, the decorations are put on. The 323
pots are slightly moistened with water, and then the pattern is scratched on with a pointed raffia leafstalk splinter. A certain pattern, obügeli, is obtained by rolling a carefully braided four- [531]
edged stamp up and down (Fig. 195).

The clay blast pipe of the bellows is manufactured by the [462]
men in the following manner. The bark of a raffia leafstalk is removed in strips down to just short of one end; the strips are then tied together again in their natural position at the other end, so it looks as though the bark had burst apart in the middle into so many strips. Then the leafstalk is stuck vertically into the ground on the end from which the strips had been completely removed and tied together again. The clay is placed around the stick in the form of a funnel, the upper edge being bent outward, and so the whole thing is left to dry in the sun for three days. Then the strings are untied, the bark strips are completely removed, being pulled off one by one, and the blast pipe is taken down to dry for a little while longer in the house. The blast pipes are never decorated; only once when I /242/ /Fig. 194 appears here in the original text/ witnessed the making of a blast pipe in Bebai, the

1: Tessmann--268 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

323
415

Fig. 194. Potter at Work. Left, the potter's products. Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

323 artistically inclined creator could not refrain from providing his handiwork with a few incised patterns, perhaps in my honor because he assumed that I could not possibly have come on account of so "simple" a matter, but must be expecting special artistic achievements from him, so he now had to add something extra.

[531]

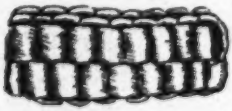


Fig. 195. Stamp for a Pattern on Pottery.

1: Tessmann--269 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/243/ Section 9

Fine Arts

000 A. Ornamentation. Origin of the patterns. -- Basic patterns, modified patterns, composite patterns. 1. Bark patterns. General observations. -- Basic patterns: rectangle; diamond; monitor lizard; triangle; parallel lines; snake-like line; arcs; fishbone. -- Their frequency. -- Modified patterns. -- Composite patterns. -- Decorative barks in the form of masks. 2. Carving patterns. General observations. Stools: manner of decoration. -- Recurrent basic patterns. -- New basic patterns: checkerboard pattern; spear with barbs; ellipses. -- Modified patterns. -- Composite patterns. -- Drums. 3. Incised patterns. (a) Decorative scars. Basic patterns. -- Recurrent and new modified patterns. -- Composite patterns. -- (b) Tattooing. Recurrent basic patterns. -- Recurrent and new modified patterns. -- Composite patterns. -- (c) Decoration of raffia leafstalks. Execution. -- Recurrent patterns: basic patterns; modified patterns; composite patterns. -- Recent patterns. 4. Chased patterns. General observations. -- Neck rings. -- Foot covers. -- Swords. -- Battle axes. -- Note: Brass sheaths. -- Pot patterns.

B. Drawing and painting. Artists. -- Motifs: alien culture (horses and so forth). -- Other motifs. -- Obscene pictures. -- Sketches by my servant.

C. Plastic art. General observations. Wood carvings. -- Clay figures.

A. Ornamentation

531 All creations of ornamental art that we encounter among the Pangwe can be reduced to a small number of formal configurations. Directly connected with technical processes, these have arisen from them and even now yield to the same ineluctable necessity day by day. At one time or another, an esthetic impression was created by these configurations; they were grasped as independent forms and in that very moment became models which -- freed from their original, basically practical significance -- were imitated intentionally, at first in a playful manner and subsequently recreated in order to employ them as ornamental accessories. They became artistic motifs. So long as the models were taken over unchanged into the system of ornamentation, patterns arose that betrayed their origin at all times and at a glance. These I shall therefore designate as basic patterns. They have names which, with one single exception (Varanus /monitor lizard/), the people are unable to explain or to explain with certainty, that is, insofar as they do not simply designate the material. Gradually, under the influence of frequent repetitions and changing materials, the distinctness of these simple basic patterns was obscured; the elements split up, became shifted in relation to each other, were grouped into double arrangements or into new combinations. In this way, modified patterns arose. /244/ /Fig. 196 appears here in the original text./ The Pangwe later read into the patterns concrete things of his environment, and he named them after these things. This process seems to have occurred with the change of material, with the sole exception of the animal figures which had already been read into the pattern of the original material, that is, the material on to which the model was transferred for the first time. In this way they became permanent patterns of ornamentation. I distinguish among them two forms, homologous and nonhomologous, depending on whether they constitute a modification of the same pattern or arose from a combination of different patterns. Combinations of patterns, on the other hand, whose parts have preserved the names and meanings originally attached to them, I shall call composite patterns.

531

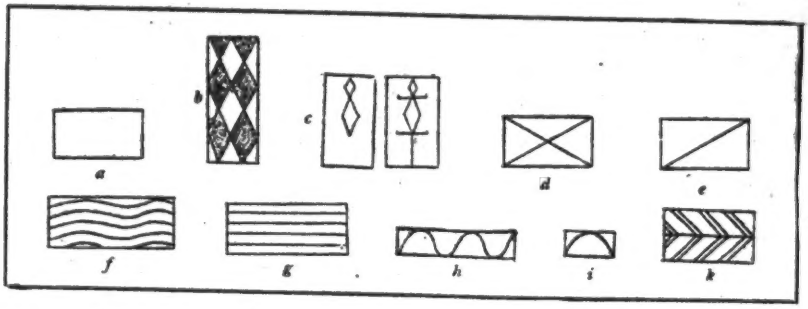


Fig. 196. Basic Patterns of the Art of Decorating Bark.

The type and development of the patterns vary with the material, which may be bark, wood, raffia stalk, clay, metal, and human skin. At the same time there seems to be a certain connection between bark and wood on the one hand and between metal and human skin (decorative scars) on the other -- a connection which finds expression in similar patterns. The detailed description of the patterns will, therefore, proceed from the point of view of the material.

1. Bark patterns.

In the Pangwe region there are peculiar bark plates with painted areas framed by raffia leafstalk strips or palm bands. The plates are attached to the outer or inner walls of meeting houses and more rarely to the outer wall of dwellings. These decorative bark pieces are widespread, but they do not occur frequently and by no means in every village for even the artistic sense for bark ornamentation is a specialty, and the artists concerned are thinly distributed over the land. Concerning the manufacture of these plates, I have already said everything necessary on page 215, and I shall only reiterate here that everywhere among the Pangwe the colors used (see pages 198-199) are red, white, and black. Only in one single case did I [386] observe a bright blue-gray, which was derived from an argillaceous earth of that color. /245/

The division into areas /Ed., in German, Felderung/ displays a series of patterns that correspond to the material used in house construction. They are:

531 Quadrangle = bark,
Triangle = raffia leafstalk strips,
Line = palm band,
Fish bone = palm leaves.

The quadrangle is to be found in three forms: as a rectangle; as a diamond; and as a monitor lizard.

The rectangle results automatically from the natural shape of the bark mantle (Figure 196, a).

The diamond arose, and it still arises daily, in the process of removing the bark from the tree, as has already been discussed in connection with bark work (page 213). I here remind the reader of the fact that in this process the tree trunk is girdled at the top and the bottom and the bark is cut through in a zigzag line which, as observation taught, facilitates the removal of the bark. From the crisscross blows of the cutlass there arises the figure of the diamond when the cuts meet, as Figure 157a shows. If they cut across each other once, this produces the beginnings of new diamonds, and these are drawn out in a playful manner. In this way groups /Fig. 197 appears here in the original text/ of diamonds placed across and next to each other are created. Later such diamonds were cut into the bark in intentional playfulness which is still very popular today, and the individual diamond areas were emphasized by removing the bark down to the wood in checkerboard fashion.

From here it was no great step to the transference of the pattern to bark plates (Fig. 196, b).

The monitor lizard motif (nkaak III) comes into being when two large diamonds are accidentally formed one on top of the other in the process of removing bark; in these one sees the head and body of the monitor lizard, Varanus niloticus. Just like the diamond, the lizard is playfully cut into the bark of trees, and then by means of simple strokes legs and a tail are added. At a later time the lizard motif was transferred to the independent decorative barks (Figs. 196 c, 197).

531 925 The similarity to this animal was noted because the monitor lizard was seen daily crawling across the bark of the trees; in doing so it displayed -- like many lizards -- approximately angular outlines.

Above all, however, the origin of the lizard pattern is to be sought, I suspect, in the fact that at one time the Varanus played as important a role in the religion of the Pangwe as it did among the ancient Egyptians who worshipped it because it ate crocodile eggs. The crocodile in turn, it appears, was regarded as a representative of the principle of evil -- since it lived in swamps or in water /246/ (see Section 11 /Ed., not translated/) and was dangerous to man. /Fig. 198 appears here in the original text. / As a

Fig. 197. Lizard Pattern on Decorative Bark Plates.

result, the destroyer of crocodiles, the monitor lizard -- which lived in the air, that is, on trees -- was probably regarded as a representative of the good. It is probably also for this reason that among the Pangwe the monitor lizard was promoted to the class of human beings, just like the Sciurus wilsoni (küe III) which likewise devours the eggs of animals living in swamps. A contrast to these two animals is the ichneumon, which consumes hen's eggs, and since the hen is a sacred animal because it symbolizes the principle of good (compare Section 11, /Ed., not translated/), it is flatly called a "criminal," nsǒm I.

The triangle is to be found in two forms, as isosceles triangles and as right-angled triangles. The former are the most frequent, occur everywhere on bark plates, and come

531

Fig. 198. Leaf of the Swamp Palm, Sclerosperma mannii.

about when, during house construction, two diagonally-crossed raffia leafstalk strips are stuck into the ground or under the boards in order to clamp down the bark pieces serving as the door or to stop up holes, a kind of fastening which was probably more frequent in former times and applied to the house walls themselves (Figure 196, d). As in the case of the diamond, here too the transition from the technical configurations to the permanent ornament can still be observed. Frequently, as ornamentation, crosses made of short stalk strips are placed singly or in a larger number next to each other under the slats of the house walls.

Whenever only one diagonal strip, instead of the two crossed ones, was laid over the bark plate, the right-angled triangle was formed (Figure 196, e).

The line occurs in the form of parallel lines, as snake-like lines, and as an arc.

Parallel lines are derived from the palm stems Oncocalamus (nlɔ́'n I) which are carried in bundles from the forest to the site of house construction; when the bundles are loosened on the site, the smooth and elastic stems sometimes come to lie in more or less wavy lines parallel to each other (Figure 196, f). The same kind of arrangement arises with the bands from the palm stems, except that these are less elastic and hence form straight lines

Fig. 199.
Box Pattern on a Decorative Bark Plate.

531 (Figure 196, g). /Fig. 199 appears here in the original text./ Both kinds of parallel lines, the wavy as well as the straight, were transferred from here to the decorative barks. /247/

I imagine that the snake-like lines resulted from observing the seam where the slats and bark plates of the house walls are sewn together when these slats lie on top of each other. (See Fig. 35.) In this case, the rope is drawn around the slats in such a way that it forms a single, coherent line which, seen from the side, is quite wavy because of the natural rounding of the raffia leaf stalks halved lengthwise down the middle (Figure 196, h).

The arc appears as a part of the snake-like line formed by the string tied around the individual boards, especially at those points where these are not attached closely on top of each other (as in the previous case) but at wide intervals (Plate 12). The arc also appears as a segment of the snake-like line which has already been transferred as an ornament to the decorative bark (Figure 196, i).

The fishbone motif (Fig. 196, k) is reproduced by the attractive leaves, symmetrical both in structure and form, of the swamp palm Sclerosperma mannii M. et Wendl. (akō'da), Figure 198, which, braided like mats, are used instead of bark pieces for house walls, etc. (see Fig. 106, Plate 24 /Ed., this plate is in Vol. II/).

The basic patterns mentioned do not occur with the same frequency on the present-day decorative bark pieces. The rectangle by itself does not occur at all, the right-angled triangle and fishbone only once, and the snake-like line rarely. Also, the basic patterns do not occur throughout with the same distinctness any more. Instead, they have been changed in part, that is, they are homologous modified patterns.

I saw the rectangle modified only once, and in that case several rectangles of different size had been placed inside each other (Fig. 200, Series a; Fig. 199). It was called a box pattern (ezima, "box"). It was observed only once, and in conjunction with the imperfect execution this proves to me that the development arose, not with the decorative barks, but with wood carving, and later it was experimentally, as it were, transferred to the former.

531 With the isosceles triangles it may happen that the point of intersection is omitted or is, as it were, drawn apart into two points; perhaps for lack of material each diagonal was composed of two pieces (Fig. 200, Series b). From this comes a pattern whose name was given to me as the cutlass sheath pattern (abǎ'm nkpwē,da) in the case of stool ornamentation, where it also occurs. Indeed, the pattern does resemble a cutlass sheath (see Section 17 /Ed., Vol. II/), but it occurs only rarely.

The simple acute-angled triangle occurs first due to the division of the isosceles triangles at the point of intersection (Fig. 200, Series c), secondly through the juxtaposition of two diagonally divided rectangles (Fig. 200, Series d) from which the common longitudinal side has been left out. /248/

/Fig. 200 appears here in the original text./

All triangles, both isosceles triangles and the simple acute-angled triangle, as well as the right-angled triangle, are usually designated as etǔn akǒn, "half a spear," that is, spear head.

Parallel lines are modified in the following manner. In fastening the palm bands to the bark, sharp nicks arise whereby the wavy lines become broken lines (Figure 200, e). In some cases they are then designated as angular braiding patterns, in Pangwe benīge be nkū́n or mabū́ge me nkū́n, that is, angles (nicks) of the women's storage basket, by which is meant the similar braiding pattern (see Fig. 166).

The snake-like line is transformed into a modified pattern by reduplication, in which case the two lines intersect (Fig. 200,f), and also into the stylized image of a leopard (zō), Figure 200 g, in which case the psychological process corresponds to that described in connection with the lizard pattern (Fig. 201). The peculiar, otherwise unintelligible drawing next to the tail /249/ in Figure 201, left, permits one to recognize the development. This is the starting point for a series of other animal motifs in Pangwe ornamentation, such as Figure 201, bottom, which probably represents a chameleon (dǐīngbwǒ').

The arc likewise appears in a doubled form, either with the curves placed against each other (epfoa = mask used in the Sso cult), Figure 200, Series h, or lying against the base line. In that case a

531

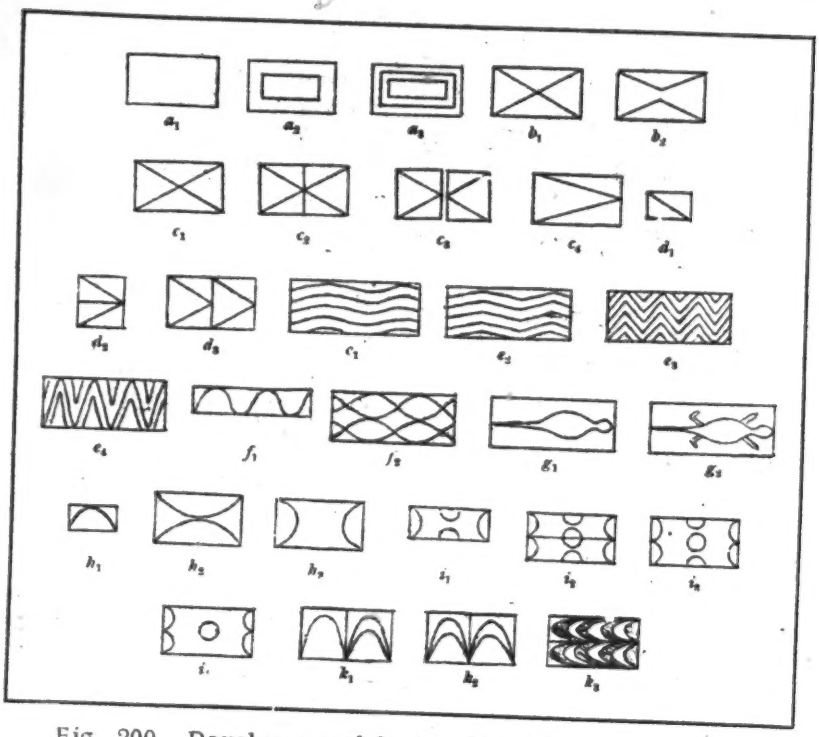


Fig. 200. Developmental Series of Modified Patterns on Decorative Bark.

circle is formed by the disappearance of the common base line (Fig. 200, Series i). Finally, we may get two arcs erected on the same base /Fig. 201 appears here in the original text/, so that between them there is a half-moon area (epfa ngomendan, "half-moon"), Figure 200, Series k. Several of such half-moons are placed on top of each other and painted alternately red and white; combined into rows of two or more placed next to each other, these produce a popular and attractive pattern.

The composite patterns -- as we have already said -- result from the combination of basic patterns or modified patterns. For the forms actually produced, I refer the reader to Figure 202 and shall merely remark that the most frequent combination is that of the isosceles triangle with the arc, which usually stands on the base of the acute-angled triangle and more rarely on that of the obtuse-angled triangle.

531

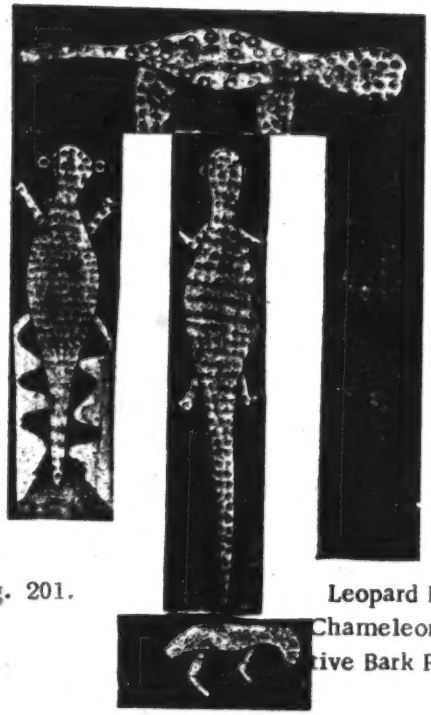


Fig. 201. Leopard Pattern (below Chameleon Pattern) on Decorative Bark Plates.

The pattern consisting of a head with two horns, Figure 204, has remained an isolated phenomenon on the decorative barks. It is a stylized reproduction of the mask (epfoa) used in the moon cult, whose details are indicated by arc-like or snake-like windings of palm bands. /250/

/Fig. 202 appears here in the original text. /

2. Carving patterns.

The stools, the containers for red wood worked like stools, the handles of many stirring spoons and some ladling spoons, and, finally, the hide drums are decorated with carving.

The patterns on the stools are probably the oldest. They are applied all around the edge of the stool in such a way that it is surrounded by a band of from eight to twelve rectangular or square areas placed next to each other. Each of these areas

531

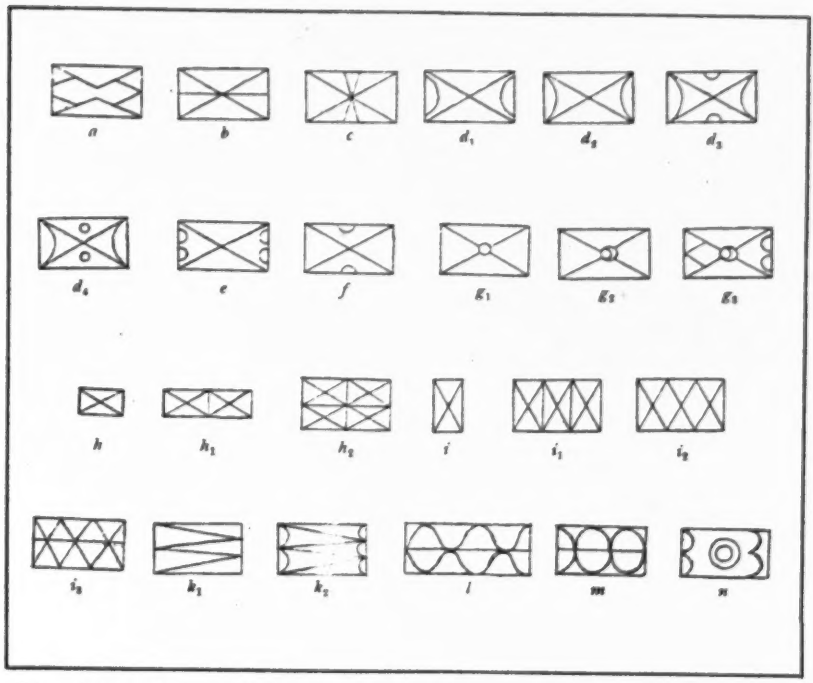


Fig. 202. Composite Patterns of Bark Decoration and their Origin.

a - Combined with Fig. 200, b_2
b, c, d_1, e, f, and g_1 (each) Combined with Fig. 200, b_1
h and i - Basic pattern
k_1, - Combined with Fig. 200, c_4
l - Combined with Fig. 200, f_1
m - Combined with Fig. 200, h_1
n - Combined with Fig. 200, i_4

531 constitutes a pattern of its own, sharply separated from the neighboring one. As we saw in our discussion of manufacturing techniques, the edge of the stool corresponds to the round tree trunk from which it was made; similarly, the decoration that was originally applied to the bark was later transferred to the wood, and in this case, as in the case of bark, we encounter the same basic patterns, namely, the rectangle, the diamond, the lizard, the isosceles triangle, the scalene triangle, the parallel lines -- with the reservation that the pattern of parallel lines does not occur in the wavy form but only in the straight form, although as such, in a number of variations (Fig. 205) -- the arc, and the fishbone. /251/ /Fig. 203 appears here in the original text./ The snake-like line has been given up, but in its place new forms appear: the checkerboard, the spear with barbs, and finally an ellipsis pattern that cannot be designated more precisely.

In the checkerboard pattern (abǒ'n nkoo, "segments of a sugar cane stalk") we encounter the first basic pattern which was not invented in connection with house construction but with braiding (Fig. 206). Both activities, however, are closely related and in a certain sense are two different forms of one technique, namely, of braiding in the extended sense: house "braiding," a lǒń ndǎ, is the older and simpler; basket (or mat) braiding, a lǒn nkǒǵ, the more recent, more /252/ advanced. The same material is generally used for both, namely, palm bands (nlǒ'n). The simplest type of braiding consists of running the braiding strips of one direction first under and then over those of the other direction (the two exactly at right angles to each other), alternating from row to row. /Fig. 204 appears here in the original text./ In this way a cube pattern is created which, if only one kind of material is used, is all of one color (mats, Sso baskets). If dissimilar materials are used, the pattern is varicolored, like our checkerboards (storage baskets of the Jaunde women, Figure 207, frames for helmet caps). The alternating sequence of darker and brighter squares in the individual rows is compared with the sugarcane stalk whose segments tend to be brighter in the upper half than in the lower half (Fig. 208). /Figs. 205 and 206 appears here in the original text./

1: Tessmann--281 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/251/

531

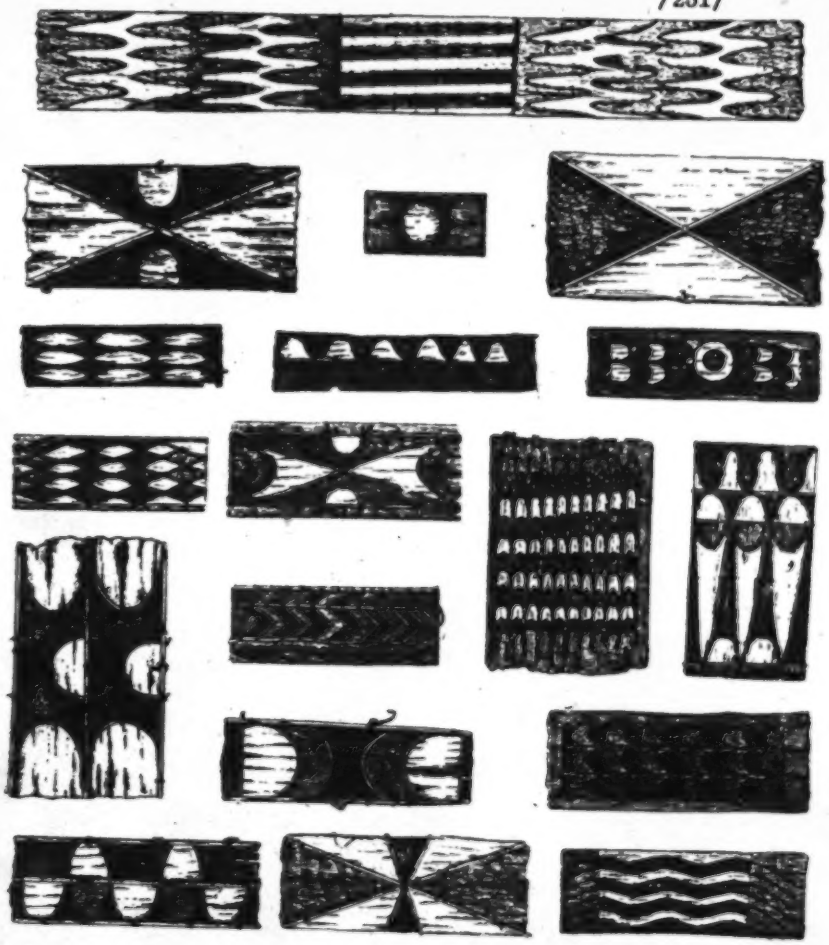


Fig. 203. Decorative Barks.

531

/252/

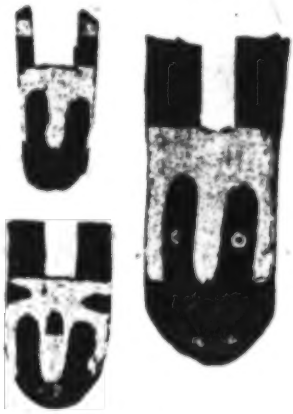


Fig. 204. Decorative Barks in the form of "Masks."

Fig. 205. Carved Patterns on Stools.

531
285
415

Fig. 207. Small Storage Basket of Jaunde Women, made of Pandanus Leaf Strips.

Fig. 206.

Checkerboard Pattern.

Fig. 208. Pieces of Sugarcane Stalk.

531 In contrast to the previous patterns, the spear with barbs (ngam akǒń) cannot be explained in terms of technology, nor do I believe for a moment that it was originally a carved pattern, especially since it rarely occurs on the stools (Fig. 40). /Fig. 207 appears here in the original text./ Instead, I suspect that this pattern first made its appearance with the decorative scar incising, and that later it gained a place also among the carved patterns because of its pleasing shape. /Fig. 208 appears here in the original text./

A single pattern consisting of ellipses could not be explained by any stool carver. I was told that only the specialist who knew how to prepare the patterns would know. I did not meet this person, however, and therefore must leave it to later research to provide enlightenment in this respect (Fig. 212, Drawing 27). /253/

Even among the stool patterns there is a discernible development of the basic patterns into modified patterns. /Fig. 209 appears here in the original text./ To some extent the development remained at the level of the decorative barks and displays exactly the same forms as they do, but for the greater part it progressed considerably and produced a rich abundance of new forms.

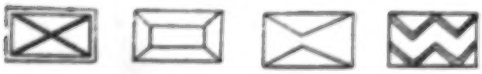
The following motifs recur: the box pattern (eǰima) -- plain or in variations (Fig. 209, a) -- the checkerboard surface (ndǒk) composed of juxtaposed diamonds, the cutlass sheath pattern (abá'm nkpwē da) -- plain and in a variation (Fig. 209, b) -- the acute-angled triangle, spearhead patterns (etǔn akǒń), the angular braiding patterns (benīge be nkǔn), Fig. 209, c, and the mask pattern (epfoa).

Concerning homologous modified patterns, there are the following new ones.

1) The file pattern (zaṅe wǫ̂s, from zaṅe = engraving, wǫ̂s = file) consists of juxtaposed small diamonds that are not emphasized (Fig. 211, a). The artist does not see the background, but the outlines and therefore compares these with the engraved lines of the roughened file which intersect regularly.

531 831 2) The strand of cowrie shells pattern (nlǒń e mvama): every second row of the diamonds, placed one above the other, is halved on the surface of the diamonds by a longitudinal stripe, originally

531



a_1 a_2 b c

Fig. 209. Patterns on Stools.

a combination of the patterns of a diamond and a parallel 531
line (Fig. 211, b), and this suggested a string of cowrie 831
shells. The similarity of the two is shown by Figure 210. It seems possible to me that in this case a further relationship between the cowrie shell and the diamond pattern plays a role. The Togo Negroes, for instance (according [171]
to an oral communication from the missionary, C. Spiess), recognize in the cowrie shell an image of the vulva; since ancient times the diamond pattern has been viewed in the same way by the Pangwe. After the introduction of the cowrie shell, the Pangwe immediately recognized its similarity to the diamond and transferred to the former the symbolism of the latter. As in Togo, the cowrie shell [171]
is regarded among the Pangwe as a symbol that brings good fortune, and, as such, it is applied to medicine horns or hung on anchored nets as a hunting medicine. Another symbol that likewise /Fig. 210 appears here in the original text/ brings good luck is the diamond which they paint onto their skins with redwood (a color that brings luck!) or tattoo onto their skins as a permanent pattern. We find

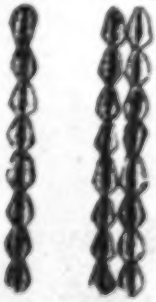


Fig. 210. Strings of Cowrie Shells.

here a remarkable contradiction in their conceptions. As we have seen, the sexual act was performed in connection

531

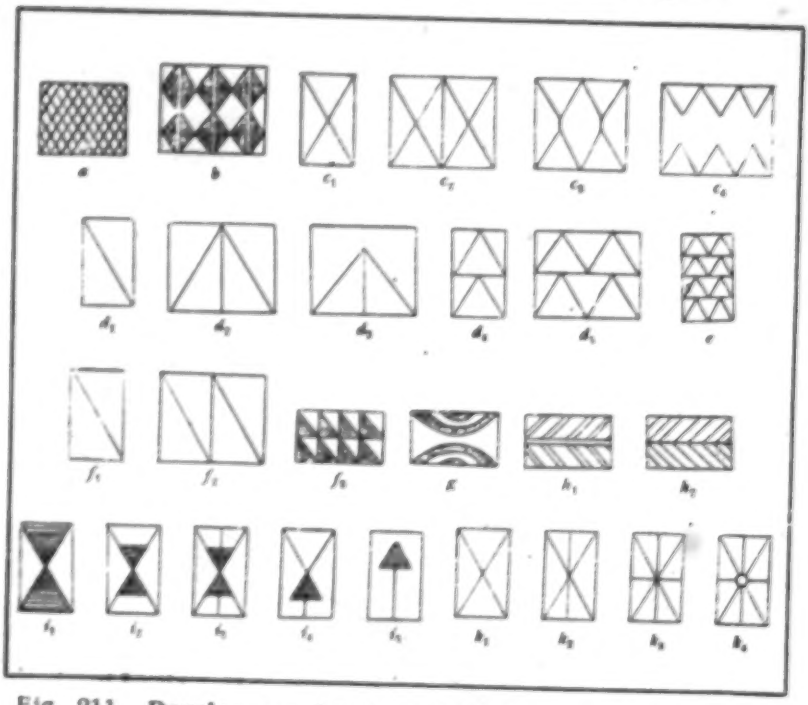


Fig. 211. Developmental Series of Modified Patterns of the Art of Carving.

531 with the sowing of ngon as a process furthering fertility; /254/ /Fig.
831 211 appears here in the original text/ in the case of iron smelting, on the other hand, the sexual act is strictly prohibited as something disturbing. The significance of everything sexual as bringing misfortune predominates throughout, and I therefore believe that we are dealing here with two temporally different conceptions: one, now recognizable only in remnants, which is older and concerns the influence and the influencing of fertility; another which arose later or was added later and concerns the sinfulness of sexual intercourse.

531 3) The arrow-leaf pattern (esõgele ndu = leaf on crossbow arrows to balance the flight).

4) The spike pattern (mesõ'n = spike, or mesõ'n m'egbwẽle = spikes of the iron money).

Both consist of a number of triangles which have come about either as final members of the development of Series c (Fig. 211).

531 starting from the isosceles triangles, or of Series d, starting from the right-angled triangle. If the triangles have a broad base and are either empty or filled with triangles placed inside each other and erected on the same base, they are called "arrow /255/ leaves"; if they have a narrow base, they are called "spikes." The latter form especially is also designated as "spearheads" (etŭn akŏń) when the triangles are large and as a result are placed next to each other and not in rows over each other.

5) The scaly anteater tail pattern (ngĕ'm e kă') developed from the broad-based, acute-angled triangle through placing several parallel rows of smaller triangles over each other (Fig. 211, e).

6) The carving pattern (zǎń e myŏt, from zań = carving, notch, and myŏt = raffia instrument whose cross piece is notched) develops from the diagonally divided rectangle through the juxtaposition of several rows of such rectangles with similarly directed diagonals, in which the removal of one half emphasizes the corresponding triangles (Fig. 211, f).

7) The rainbow pattern (metū'tŭ'm, "rainbows"). Two rainbows are placed with their arches against each other; in each one additional arcs are inserted concentrically, and the interstices are usually accentuated alternately (Fig. 211, g).

8) The fishbone pattern (okǎń eŏ ks) arises from the leaf pattern of the swamp palm through simplification of the bands to lines (Fig. 211, h).

Among the nonhomologous modified patterns there are: the triangle spear (mbǎ[s] -akŏń), a composite of isosceles triangles and lines, as the result of a development illustrated in Figure 211, Series i; and the spider web pattern (ndǎnebŭbo), a composite of the isosceles triangle and a circle (see Figure 211, Series k).

As on the decorative barks, patterns are also combined into composite patterns in carving, but much more frequently so. Either two are juxtaposed (for instance, rainbow and fishbone patterns, Fig. 212, Drawing 9, and swamp palm leaf and diamond patterns, Fig. 212, Drawing 26), or they are placed inside each other. Thus, Figure 212, Drawing 16, shows the box pattern and in it a composite tattoo pattern (isosceles triangles and a line); Drawing 8 shows the same with an animal in it which was usually explained to me as a cat; Drawing 40, the same with a triangle spear in it. The

531 combination of triangle and arc occurs very frequently and in such a way that the arc is placed inside the triangle and on its base line (the triangle usually is long and drawn out with acute angles), Figure 212, Drawings 3 and 45; or it is the other way around, the triangle being placed inside the arc so that its tip falls in the middle of the arc base and its base is on the arc line (Fig. 212, Drawing 45).

The natives like to fill a triangle or a shallow arc with the fishbone pattern (Fig. 212, Drawings 11, 13) or to combine two of the latter with each other. A popular practice also is to divide a pattern into two halves and to push a second / 256 and 257/ /Figs. 212 and 213 appear here in the original text/ /258/ in between, as in Figure 212, Drawing 44, where the pattern of a string of cowrie shells is pushed into another, and Drawing 43, where a swamp palm leaf pattern is pushed into a checkerboard pattern. Especially in the last example one can clearly recognize that the one pattern was actually inserted and that it is not a matter, say, of two other patterns being joined at the top and the bottom of the first.

All the patterns mentioned, aside from their use on stools, are also applied to the handles of the stirring spoons -- except that in the adaptation to the available space they are smaller and less neatly executed -- but they are very rarely applied to the ladling spoons. On the other hand, many hide drums are decorated in a 531 superbly artistic fashion; one might say that the first area of Draw- 534 ing 1, Figure 213, represents a triumph of carving. As with this one, all the large hide drums of the Pangwe have carving patterns applied on triangular areas in relief between the upper and lower drum ring (which frequently is decorated in the same fashion). Among the Ntum and Fang these areas extend over the entire mantle of the drum cylinder so that their base lies at the top and their tip at the bottom. Among the Mwai the mantle surface is divided by a ring into two halves which are filled in with triangles pointed towards the center (Fig. 214). The decoration itself is much simpler among them.

531 Furthermore, among the Mwai I saw a house post which was carved with similar patterns in the same arrangement as the drums.

531
352

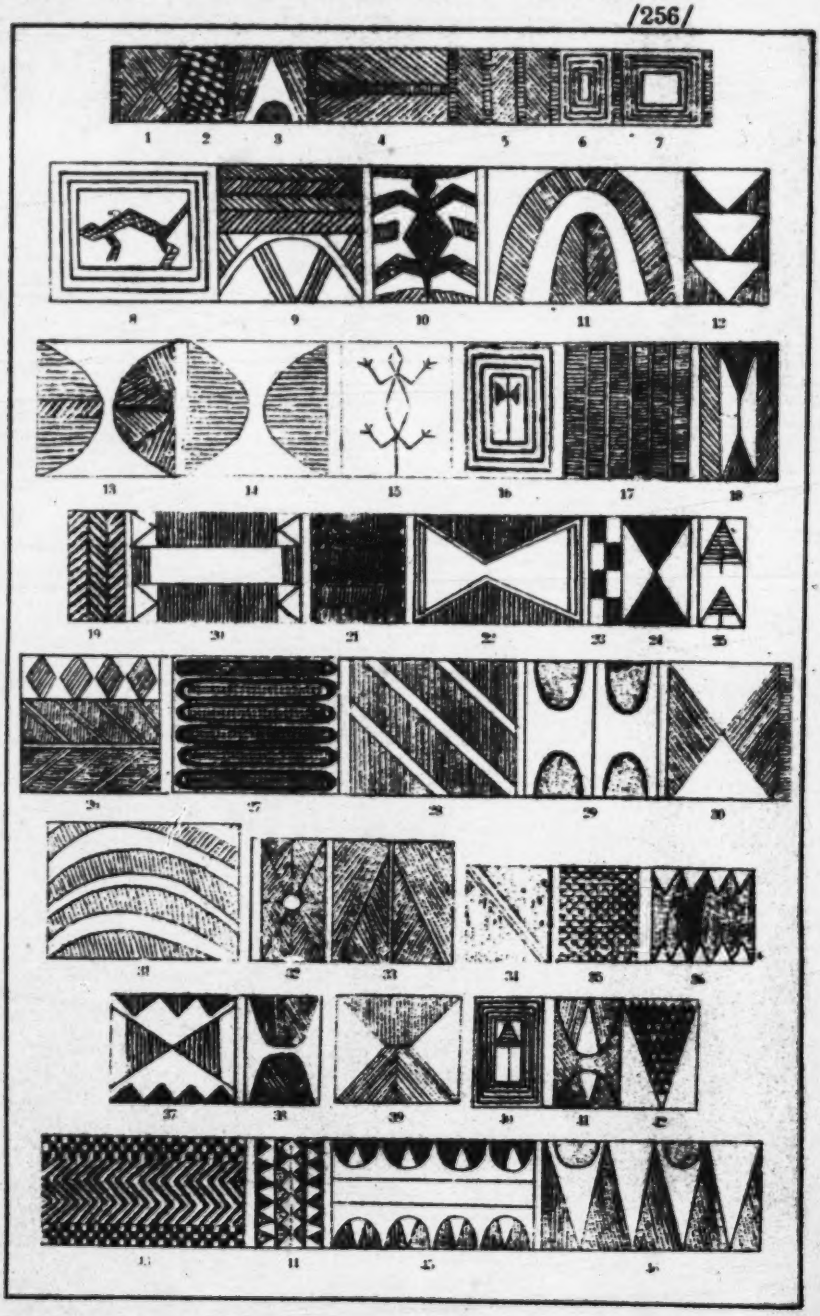
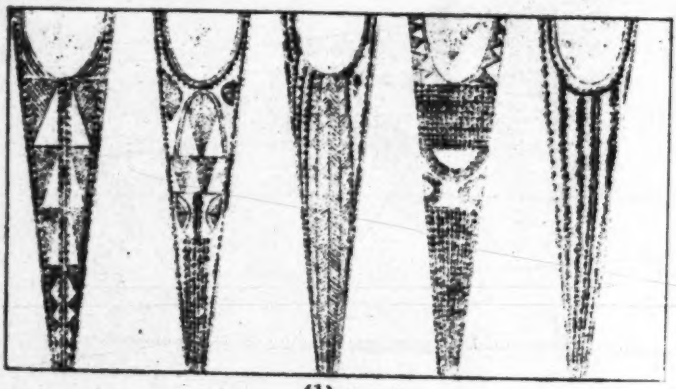


Fig. 212. Stool Patterns.

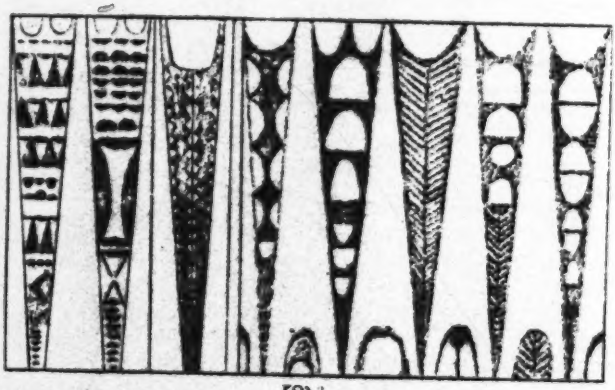
1: Tessmann--289 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/257/

531
534



(1)



(2)

(3) (4)

Fig. 213. Patterns from Hide Drums (rolled out).

3. Incised patterns.

(a) Decorative scars.

531
304 /Fig. 214 appears here in the original text. /

The patterns of the decorative scars made by incision are not very numerous. There are only about a dozen of them. They constantly recur in the same form, and there is no inclination toward any essential modification.

Of the original basic patterns, the following have been transferred for the decorative scars: the triangle with a diagonal drawn through it (called in this case esa[s]-myǎh, "half-pattern"), Figure 215, Drawing 9; the straight parallel lines (in this case called mekön, "guide rods"), Figure 215, Drawing 10, frequently simplified to a simple line, 1; and the arc a (in this case called makǒs, "arcs").

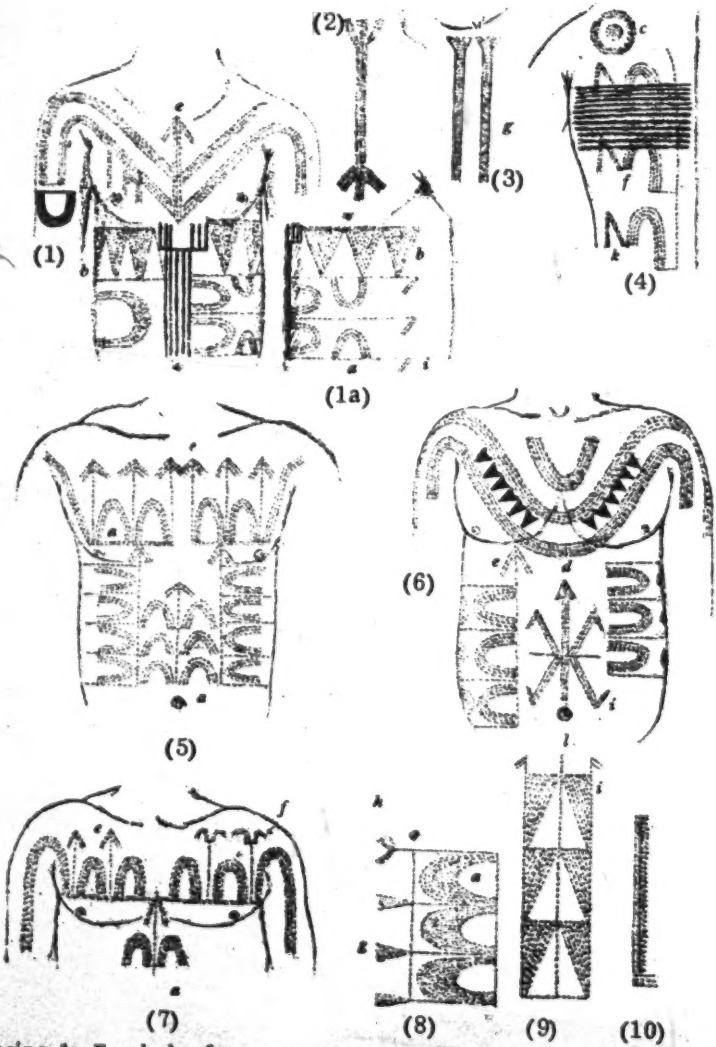
[534]

Fig. 214. Mwai Drum from Malén (Sebō Family), New Cameroons.

Of the homologous modified patterns there are the acute-angled triangle b (ndŭ-mbǎn, "arrow leaf") and the circle c (in this case called atōk, "whirlpool"). Of the non-homologous modified patterns there is the triangle spear d (mbǎ[s]-akǒń). We are also familiar with the barbed spear e (ngam-akǒń), of which I have already said that it originated with decorative scars, in all probability from a /259/ /Fig. 215 appears here in the original text/ /260/ combination of the line (of the modified straight parallel line) with the figure of the arc set inside a triangle (see Figure 212, Drawing 3), the base of which is lacking.

Fig. 215. Decorative Scars. /259/

531
304



Drawing 1. Essabok, front. Drawing 1a. Same, stomach from the right side. Drawing 2. Jaunde, neck and back. Drawing 3. Essauong, below chest. Drawing 4. Schumu, left half of back. Drawing 5. Schumu, front. Drawing 6. Okông, front. Drawing 7. Okông, chest. Drawing 8. Schumu. Drawing 9. Esseng. Drawing 10. Jemandschim. -- Drawings 1, 4, and 6 are in part tattooed.

531
304

The following are new:

among the homologous modified patterns, the incomplete arc f (evū'da, "bending");

among the nonhomologous modified patterns, the blast pipe g = zǒṅ (triangle with a line), the ray h = nsǎm (angle made by the barbed spear by omitting the handle, with a line attached at the top), and the hook i = kǒb (half an angle with a line).

The five patterns -- sticks, blast pipe, hook, ray, and whirlpool -- have a close relationship, as their names show, to iron technology and to fire. The line was imagined to be the guide rod which during the setting up of the smelting furnace keeps the openings free for the blast pipes. In the triangle with line -- accidentally juxtaposed in a corresponding arrangement -- they thought they recognized the blast pipe. The same process is repeated with the hook (kǒb), by which is meant the poker hook (okǒb) used in iron smelting; and it is again repeated with the whirlpool (atōk), which was observed when the hot metal was dipped in water to cool off: the water would bubble up (a tōk, "to bubble") and hiss and flow outward in rings. Finally, this process took place with the ray (nsǎm), the most obvious manifestation of the life of fire as well as of the sun, which is represented as an arm, exactly as among the ancient Egyptians, because the arm is the symbol of the manifestation of life (see Fig. 215, Drawing 8 h, and also Adolf Erman, Die ägyptische Religion /Egyptian Religion/, image of the sun god, p. 78).

A pattern described to me as that of a tobacco pipe (myō-taa), a pattern which probably developed just like the blast pipe pattern from triangle and line, remained an isolated instance.

A pattern that was not explained to me was one representing an angle (k); it is connected with the triangle.

The decorative scar patterns seldom occur singly, say, in such a way that one adorns the upper arm, a second the chest, and the like. Instead, they usually occur in extensive combinations in which, however, the individual parts are always seen as independent units and keep their original name. Only twice did I encounter a special term for such a combination of patterns, but even this designation was not connected with the content of what

531
304

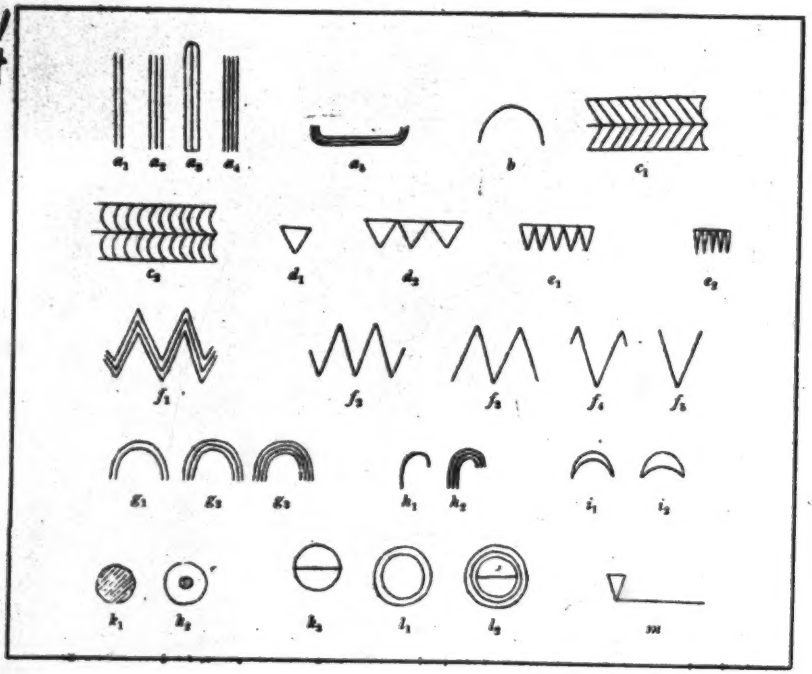


Fig. 216. Basic Patterns of Tattooing.

was represented, but with the place on the body to which the pattern was applied. One was called navel division (osa-dǫ̆b) (1)

1. a sa, "to split, to divide";
dǫ̆b, "navel."

and was applied above the navel (see Fig. 215, Drawing 6). It consisted of a cross-stick which had attached to it, at the top and the bottom, hooks, triangle spears, sticks, and arcs -- in former times it had evidently been located lower down around the navel in such a way that the cross-stick passed through the navel and /261/ /Fig. 216 appears here in the original text/ "divided it." The other combination (zǎ̀ne abǎ̀m) consisted mainly of half-patterns (diagonally divided rectangles) and bore its name only for the reason that it is preferred for the sheaths of swords and two-edged knives (Fig. 215, Drawing 9).

531
304

The Fang consider the decorative scars an elegant adornment. Indeed, even considered with the eyes of a European, they may be called attractive and dignified, especially when they are arranged with such extraordinary regularity as is shown in Figure 215, Drawing 5.

(b) Tattooing.

The development of ornamentation advanced further in tattooing in that the basic patterns become rarer, whereas the modified patterns become more frequent and more diverse.

By way of basic patterns (Fig. 216) we again find the following: the diamond (here as a single diamond, bendŏ be bā, "diamond made with redwood," compare Fig. 218, c); the monitor lizard (nkaak); straight parallel lines (here likewise called melŏ́ń, "palm bands," or mekŏn, "sticks," /262/ /Fig. 217 appears here in the original text/ and also mekŏn akŏń, "spear handles," or mekŏn e mvǎń, "sticks of the decorative scars"), a; bows /Ed., or "arcs"/ (here called ēkŭluga-nkpwǎ́s, "trap bow of the bird trap"), b; fishbone (okǎń e kŏs, "fishbone," here in part with a bow-shaped formation of the branches, c. Among the homologous modified patterns there are: the box pattern (ežima); the arrow-leaf pattern (esŏgele ndu), d; the spike pattern (mesŏń), e; basket-edge pattern (mebŭge me nkŭn, "basket edges," or melŏń, "palm /263/ bands"), with retrogressive metamorphosis to the angle, f; parallel bows (here likewise called ekŭluga nkpwǎ́s, "trap bows," or melŏ́ń, "palm bands," or bewŏ[k] be nkŏ́ǎ'), g; incomplete parallel bows (eyū'da), h; half-moons (efangŏmendǎn, compare bark patterns), i; circle (here called ndži,ge ngŏmendǎn, "full moon"), k; and whirlpool (atōk), l. Among the nonhomologous modified patterns, the barbed spear (ngam akŏń) and pipe (mvō taa), m.

New patterns that appear are (Fig. 217) the following.

1) The bird tail in three varieties: the kite tail (ngǎb-obǎ'm), a, 1-3; the drongo tail (ngǎb obǎ'mŏke) (1), b, 1 and 2; and the

1. Dircanurus coracinus Verr.

531
304

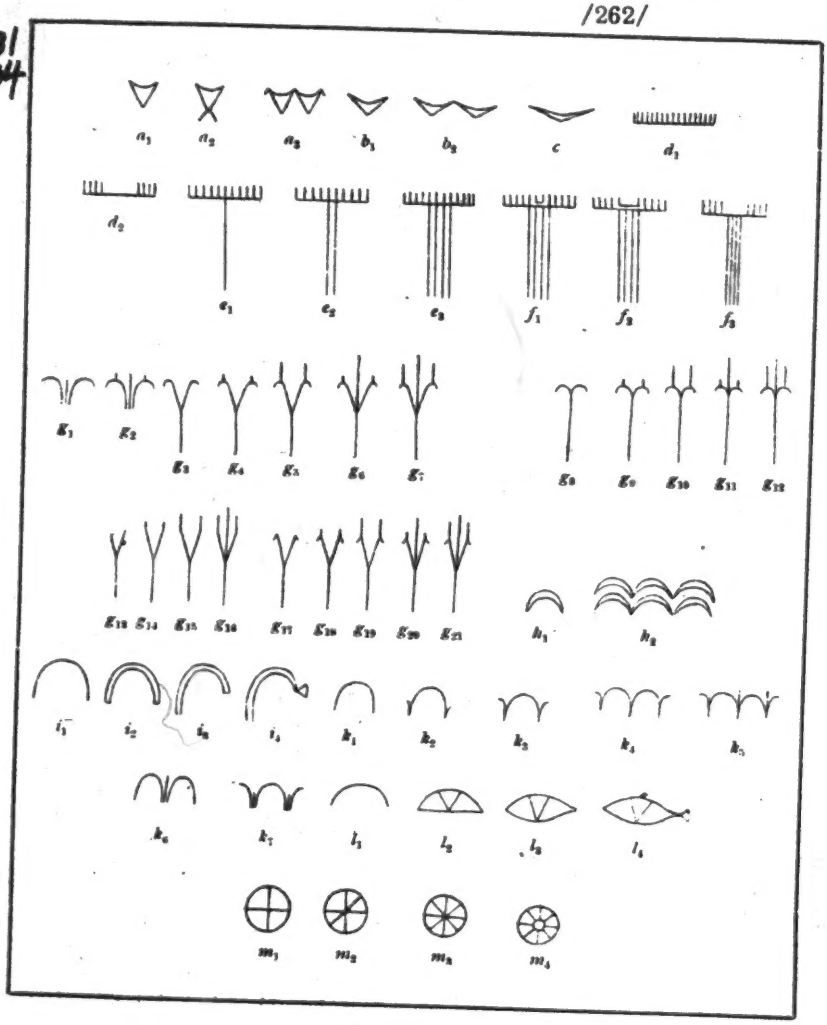


Fig. 217. Developmental Series of Modified Patterns of Tatooing.

531/304 swallow tail (ebō'no e kŭlejē'me) (2), c, which has arisen from

2. Psalidoprocne tessmannii Rchw.

the arc without a base set inside a triangle. We have already encountered this figure with the base as a composite pattern in connection with carving, and with the base omitted it is connected with a line as a barbed spear among the nonhomologous modified patterns of the decorative scars.

2) Tears of a beautiful woman (mīlĭge me mbŏń), a single line or parallel lines with short strokes attached at right angles to one side, d. This pattern is preferably applied to the cheeks.

3) Fork (ebāi), developed from the previous one by adding one or more sticks, e, 1-3.

4) Scorpion (kā'dĕlĕne), like the previous one, with a gap in the middle of the "row of tears," f, 1-3.

5) Monkey tail (ngĕ'm avŏ'm) (3), consisting of a stick con-

3. avŏ'm = Cercopithecus laglaizei Pocock, white-nosed long-tailed monkey.

nected with an arc or angle, g, 1-21. This example in particular clearly shows how the Negro's eye seizes just the essential part of the animal, here the tail and hindparts, for, indeed, when the long-tailed monkeys are at rest one sees only their tails hanging from the branches. This fact supplies the clue to the following [524] riddle:

esŭ'ma gbwé e bĕle ma mată'[k] m'ovŏ'n.
Yellow-bellied long-tailed monkey (4), it is sitting in the

4. esŭ'ma = Cercopithecus grayi Fraser.

branches of the Copaifera.

Answer: nkō-etōb = rope (aerial roots) of the fig tree (Ficus).

531
304 The situation was exactly the same with the swallow whose characteristic forked tail gave rise to the pattern, and we shall observe the same with the leopard whose spots have given the pattern its name, as well as with the hornbill whose beak did the same. /264/

6) Leopard spots (zö), Fang, or parrot claws (biẽ'ĩ, be kŭs), Ntum, a number of half-moons placed over and next to each other, h, 1-2.

7) Hornbill beak (ngŭ̃ń, "hornbill," Ceratogymna atrata Temm.), a curve (incomplete arc) with a triangle attached to it, i, 1-4.

8) Frog's legs (enăm edžǫ́) (1), a series of juxtaposed arcs

1. edžǫ́ - Rana zenkeri Ndn.

with vertical lines between them, k, 1-7.

9) Fish, Barbus guirali Thomin (mvǎ), developed from arc and triangle, as row 1, 1-4, shows, but observed only once in its perfect form.

10. Spider (abŭb), originated from isosceles triangles set inside a circle. As in the case of the corresponding stool patterns, the triangles are in part halved lengthwise, m, 1-4.

Among patterns which I only observed once each we should mention the following.

The double iron bell (nkŏn) consists of an arc with two triangles attached to it (Fig. 219, a). I saw this pattern on a coastal Mwai, [177] and it is probably a borrowed one, since a double bell does not occur among the Pangwe.

The knife (okŏń) probably originated from the rectangle (box pattern), perhaps together with the triangle. It is possible that the pattern is intentionally made to resemble a European knife (Fig. 218, b).

The sea fish (kŏ[s] a măń) originated from a circle and lines. It is probably meant to portray a sea fish, a sea turtle, or the like. The artist here has placed it inside a whirlpool consisting of concentric circles (Fig. 219, c).

531 304 It seems significant that these three last designs deal with objects that are foreign to the land or to the culture of the Pangwe. Indeed, I believe that, besides the play on familiar patterns, the conscious intention of capturing a remembered image is added here. In other words, we have, as it were, a transition from conventional patterns to purely free hand drawing.

A similar process perhaps underlies the "chameleon" (dǰīngbwō'), which I saw twice. In the first case, it was quite obvious that it had arisen from the rectangle attached to a half-moon, because the arch of the half-moon was on the wrong side (Fig. 218, d). In the second case, the animal had been captured in good realistic detail as regards its body and head (Fig. 218, e).

The composite patterns, which -- as I have mentioned -- are extraordinarily frequent in tattooing, are so diverse that they cannot all be mentioned here. We frequently find the half-moon combined with a line and tears, triangles and sticks, and so forth (Fig. 220). /265 and 266/ /Figs. 218 and 219 appear here in the original text. / /267/ /Fig. 220 appears here in the original text. /

(c) Decoration of raffia stalks, etc.

531 I myself have not seen the technique of decorating raffia stalks, since I did not succeed in meeting anyone who was a master at it. It is supposed to be carried out with a tool which, by drilling or scraping, takes off the upper layer of the raffia bark.

In this branch of ornamentation, we again encounter types of all the patterns developed in the various crafts and specialized arts (Fig. 221). The following occur.

Among basic patterns: rectangle (engraving pattern); single diamond (smearing of the body); monitor lizard (bark pattern), Drawing 5; isosceles triangles, in this case not quite completed (bark or carving patterns); parallel lines; straight or wavy (bark patterns); arc (bark, carving, or tattooing pattern).

Among homologous modified patterns: box (carving pattern); arrow leaf (carving or tattooing pattern); scaly anteater tail, in this case not completed (carving pattern); spearhead (bark

531
304

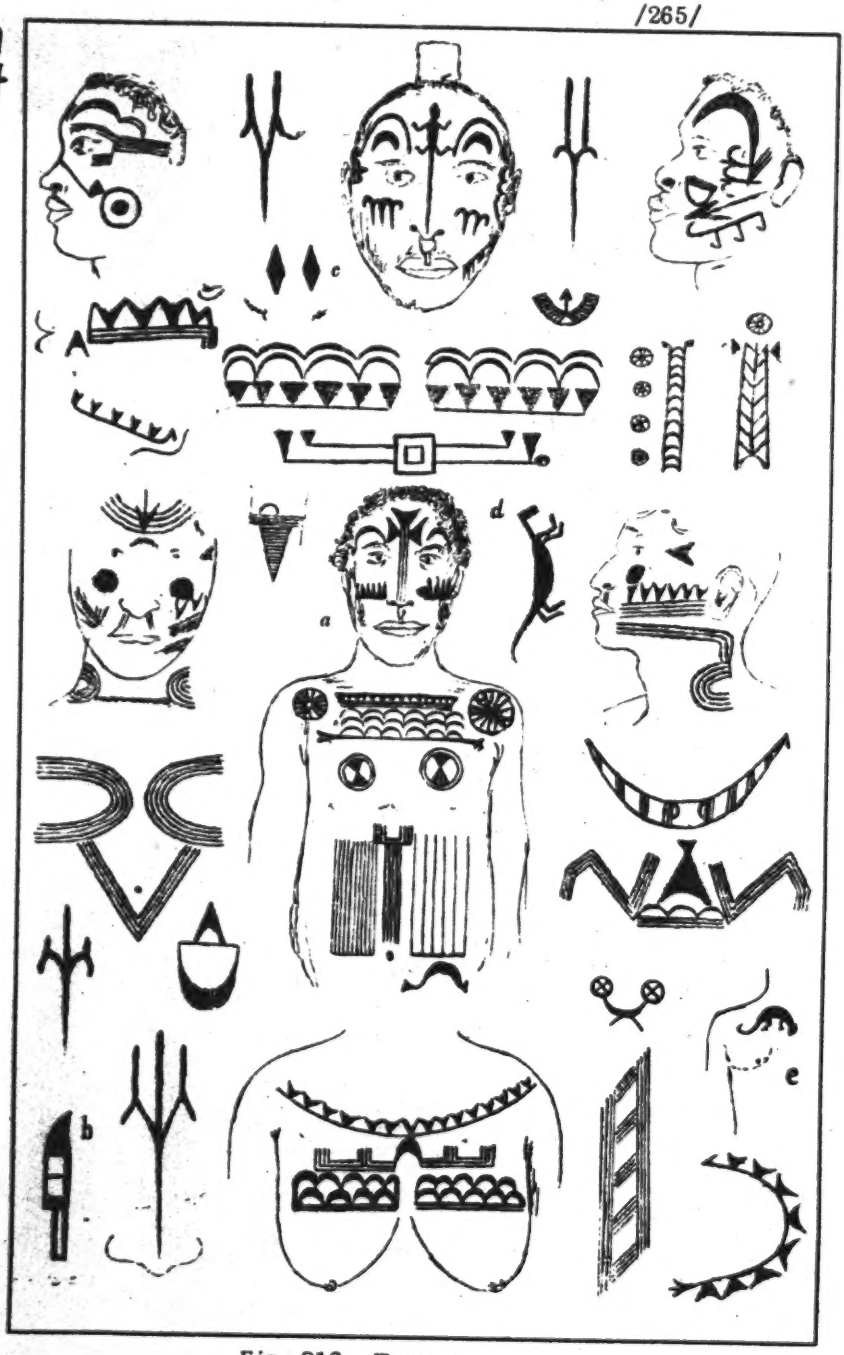


Fig. 218. Tattoos.

531
304

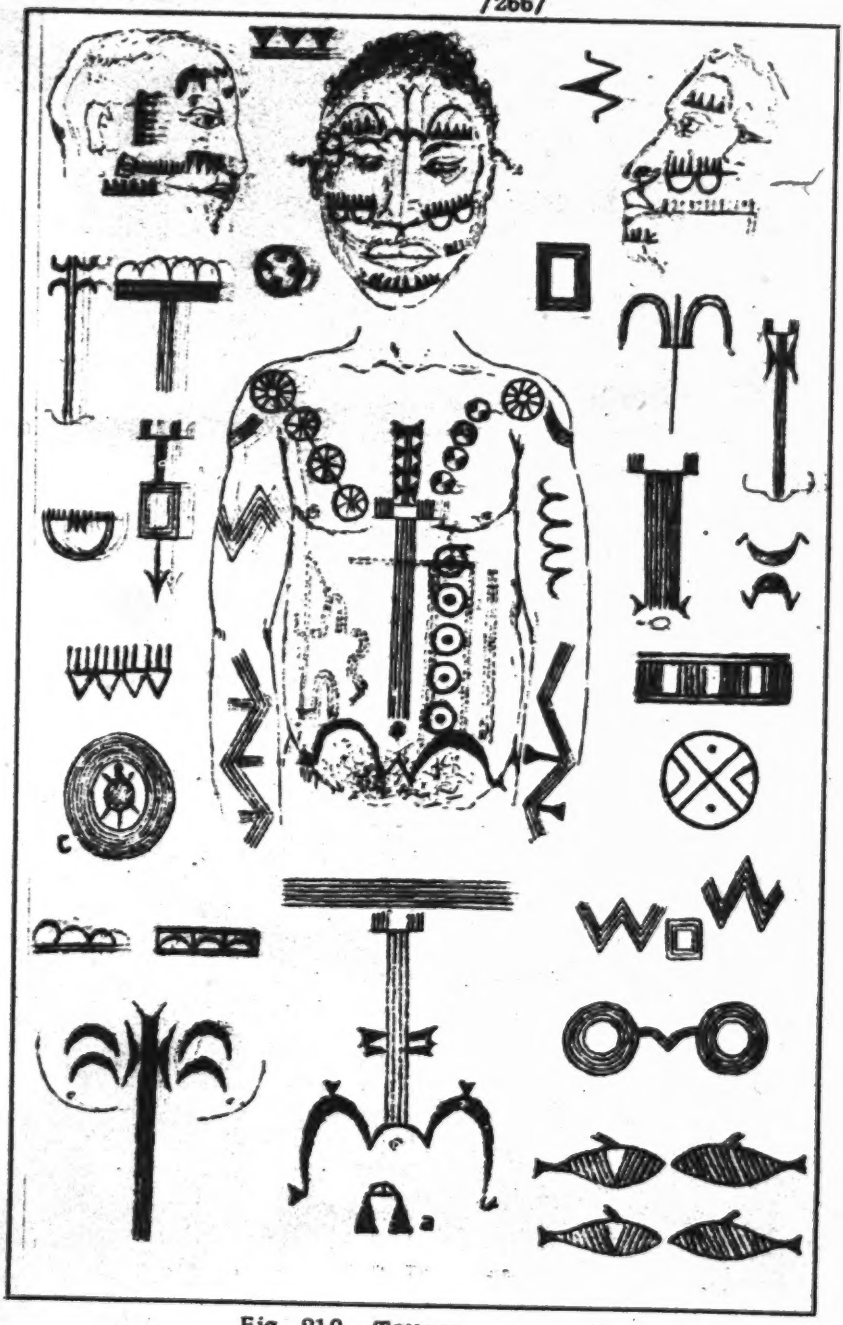
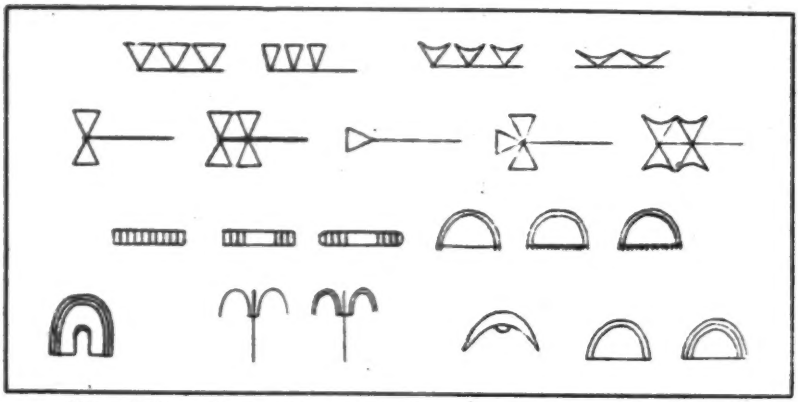


Fig. 219. Tattoos.



531
304

Fig. 220. Composite Tattooing Patterns.

or carving pattern); moon (tattooing pattern); parallel arcs (tattooing pattern). 531

Among nonhomologous modified patterns: kite tail (tattooing pattern); barbed spear (decorative scars or tattooing pattern); sun (painting); chameleon (bark or tattooing patterns), Drawing 4 b, Drawing 2a.

Among composite patterns: two lines with triangles (tattooing pattern); tears and arc (tattooing pattern); double barbed spear (tattooing pattern); line with two arcs (decorative scar pattern); three-fold parallel arcs (tattooing pattern).

New patterns that appear are: a composite of squares into which a bow is set on opposite sides, Drawing 2 a (single square with bows; carving or engraving pattern); a figure eight with circles (bands) drawn inside it, Drawing 4 a. Furthermore, there are a number of figures which were probably taken over from painting, /268/ /Fig. 221 appears here in the original text / /269/ namely, a man (quadrangle, lines, an arc), Drawing b; a fish (triangles, lines), Drawing 2a, c; a rifle (triangles, lines), Drawing 3 a; a monkey (moon, circle, hook, line), Drawing 3 b; a cat (bow, circle, lines), Drawing 2a, d.

4. Engraving patterns.

Neck rings, foot covers (more rarely, foot and finger rings), sword blades, and battle axes are decorated with engraved patterns.

Among the neck rings only the three-edged ones are decorated and then in the middle of the front surfaces in three square or

531/
415

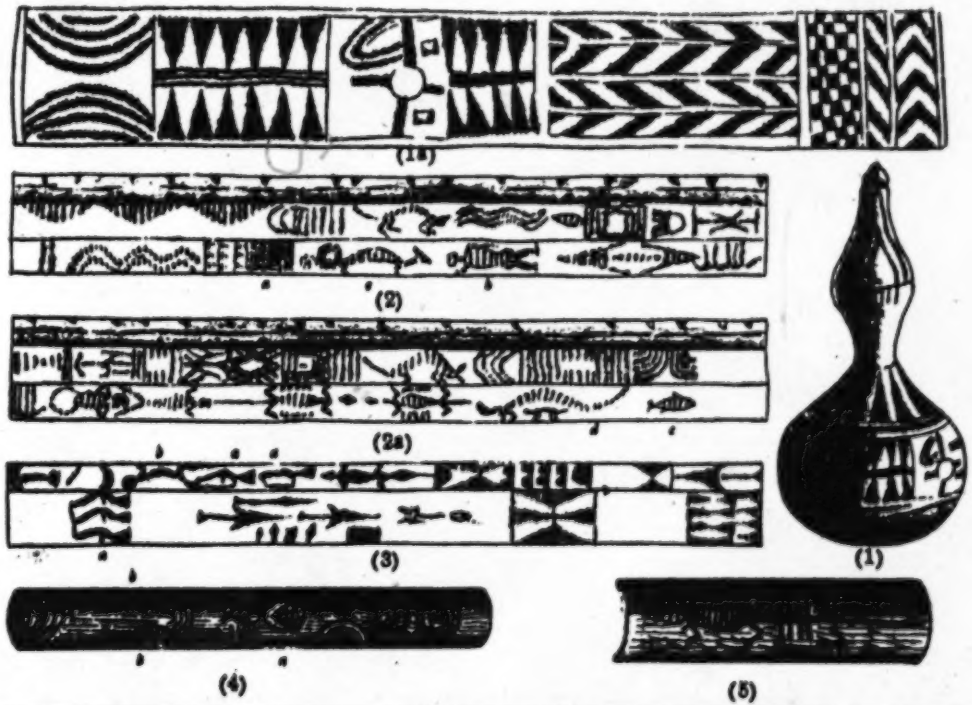


Fig. 221. Incised Patterns.

Drawing 1. Ornamental calabash. Drawing 1a. Patterns on this calabash, spread out. Drawings 2 and 2a. Patterns on a walking stick made from a stalk of Raphia vinifera (spread out). Drawing 3. Pattern on a walking stick made from a stalk of the Raphia Hookeri. Drawing 4 and 5. Patterns of raffia sticks on a bench in a meeting house.

rectangular areas next to each other (Fig. 222a, Drawings 1-10). 53/
The two center areas display throughout four arcs, one placed at each border, which in part are chiseled into the surface in deep notches. An arc worked in the same manner is set on each of the outer edges of the lateral areas. The lateral areas themselves are engraved with different patterns, that is, almost exclusively in "basic patterns," namely, the rectangle (Drawing 10), the diamond (Drawing 6, Drawing 10), the rectangle bisected by a diagonal (Drawing 9), the double parallel lines (Drawing 1), the arc (Drawings 1-10), and the fishbone (Drawing 2). Among homologous modified patterns only the circle occurs (Drawing 8). /Fig. 222a appears here in the original text./ /270/

The decorations on the foot cover are related to those of the neck rings as the carved patterns are to the bark patterns, that is to say, they display more highly developed forms (Figure 222b, Drawings 11-13). Basic patterns also occur, but only in combinations, such as the arc (here called nkǒdo, "bending") with the

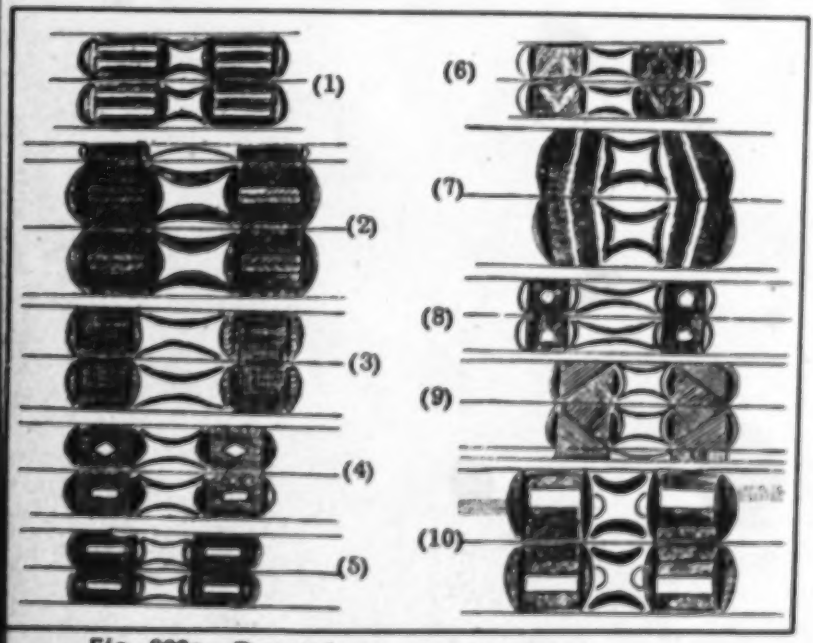


Fig. 222a. Decorations on Brass Neck Rings.

531 triangle (Drawing 11, 2), the arc with the fishbone (Drawing 11, 1), the arc and parallel lines (Drawing 11, 4 and 5), the fishbone and fishbone (Drawing 11, 3), spikes with parallel lines (Drawing 13, 2), and the triangle with the rectangle.

As a new pattern the male centipede (nǔm e ngū̄ẓ'n) appears (Drawing 13, 1), a double loop formed by parallel lines, which further develops into the patterns shown in Drawing 11, 6, and Drawing 12, b and d, but keeps the same name.

531 411 In the case of the swords (Fig. 223, Drawings 1-12), the patterns are applied only to the lower end of the blade and cover a more or less square field which directly adjoins the handle. Concerning the arrangement of patterns in this area, the Pangwe distinguish two kinds. In one, the area is patterned regularly over the

531

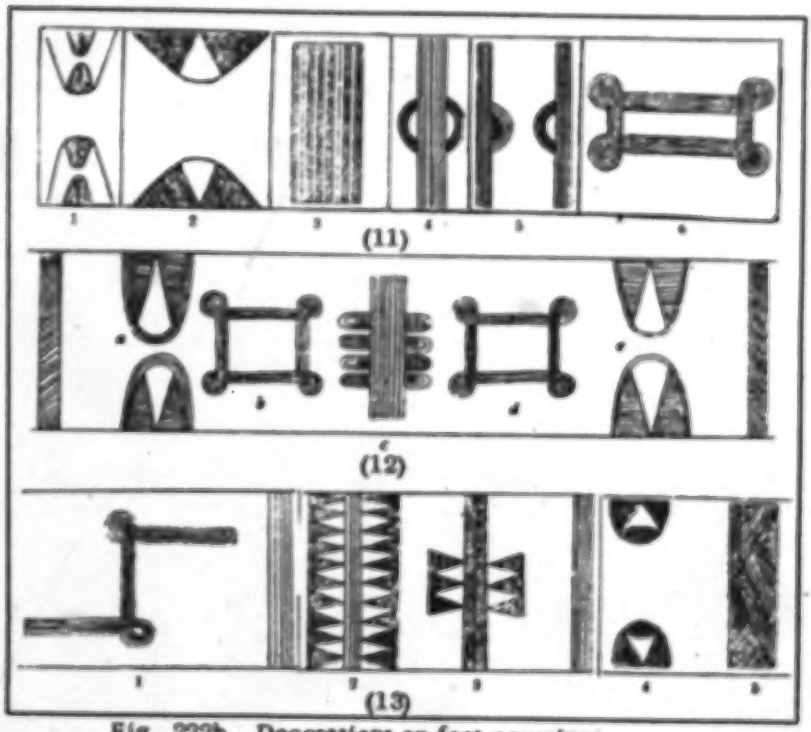


Fig. 222b. Decorations on foot coverings.

531
411

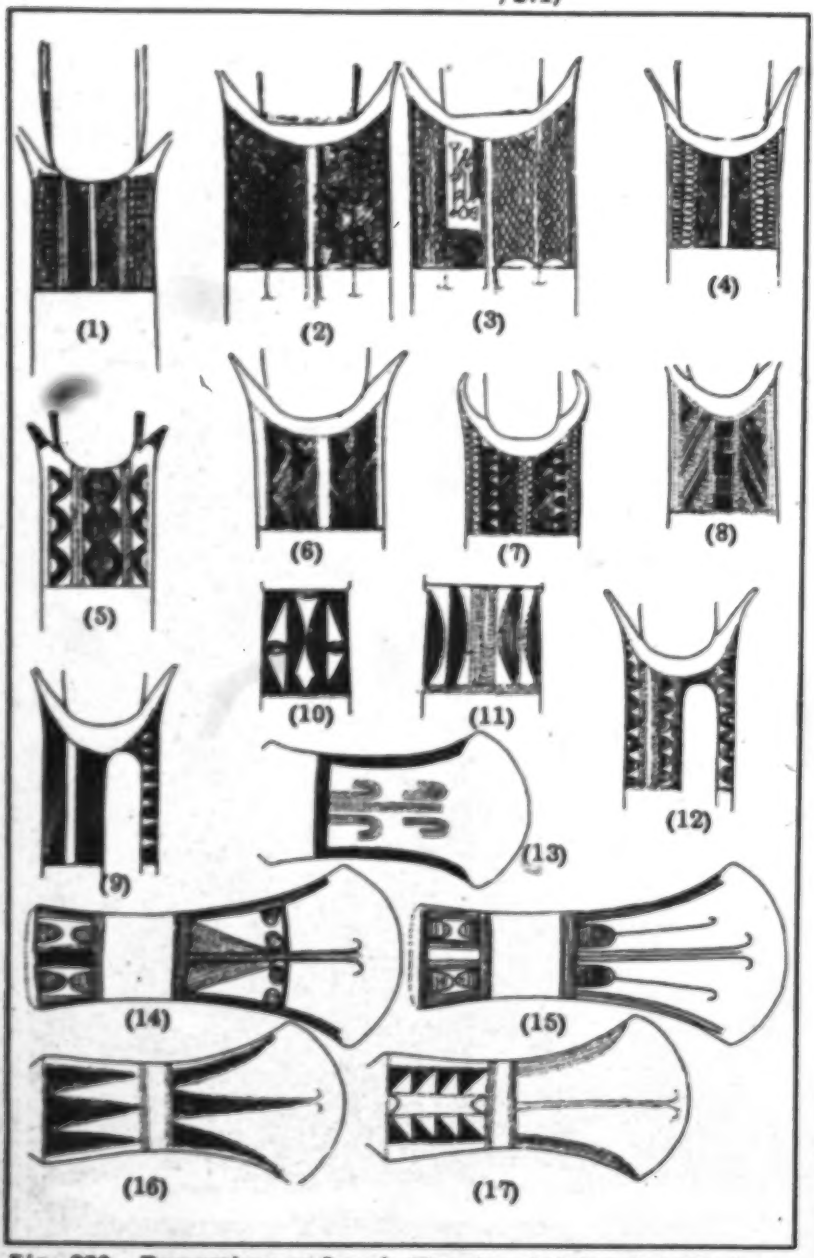


Fig. 223. Decorations on Swords (Drawings 1-12) and Battle Axes (Drawings 13-17).

531
323

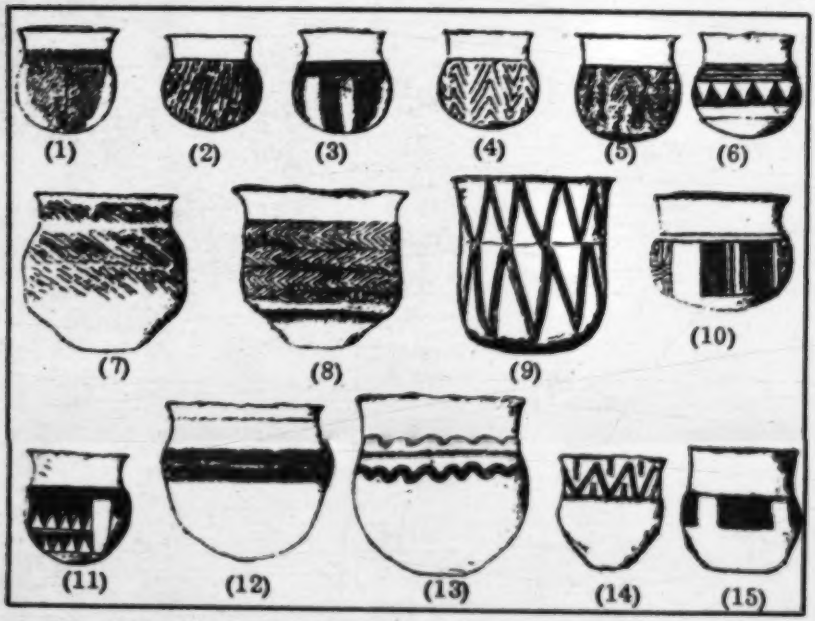


Fig. 224. Pottery Patterns of the Ntum, Fang, and Mwai.

531 entire surface; in the /Fig. 22b appears here in the original text/
411 /271/ /Fig. 223 appears here in the original text/ /272/ /Fig. 224 appears here in the original text/ second, a longish segment remains free (Drawings 9 and 12), by virtue of the fact that the narrow blood groove (which is usually present) is widened towards one side.

The patterns themselves are almost exclusively basic patterns in all kinds of combinations.

A selection of patterns on battle ax blades is illustrated in Figure 223, Drawings 13-17.

As a note we must mention the decoration of the brass sheaths for swords and two-edged knives. The lines of these decorations are composed of a great number of little bosses punched out to the outside with a piece of iron (see Fig. 141). Almost always the patterning consists of half-patterns (rectangles divided by a diagonal) strung together in a series, which is familiar to us from the decorative scars.

531 A conception of the development of the pottery patterns is conveyed by Figure 224.

/273/

532
353

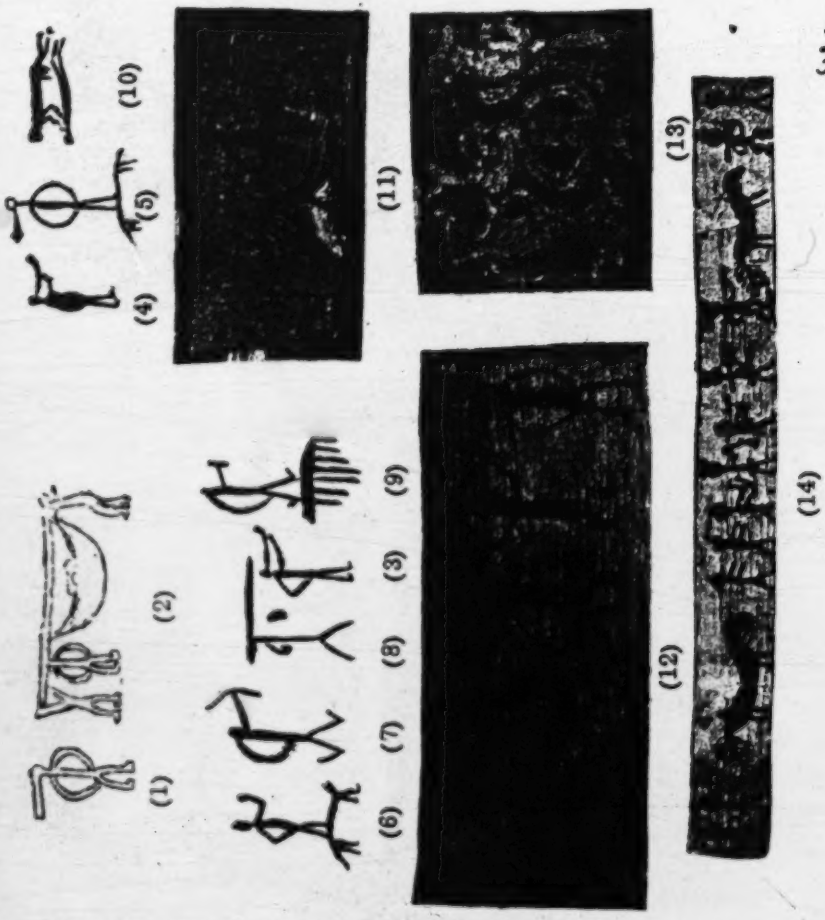


Fig. 225. Drawings on House Walls (Drawings 1-10) and on Bark Plates (Drawings 11-14). Drawings 1, 3, 4, and 8. Man with a tobacco pipe. Drawing 2. A European carried in a hammock. Drawings 5 and 11. Man with tobacco pipe on horseback. Drawings 6 and 9. Man on horseback. Drawing 7. Man with a dog whip. Drawing 10. Coitus. Drawing 12. Three people and an animal (chameleon?). Drawing 13. People. Drawing 14. Caravan of two Whites on horseback, accompanied by soldiers.

B. Drawing and Painting.

532 353 Drawings are scribbled on the exterior bark walls of the houses especially by children or adolescents. More rarely drawings are made on special bark strips that are attached to the inside walls of the meeting houses.

532 177 The drawing motifs are taken from secular life and frequently from a foreign culture (Fig. 225). Most frequently, tobacco pipes, /273/ /Fig. 225 appears here in the original text/ smoking men, and riders on horseback are represented in the drawings. The riders are regularly placed with both feet on their horses in the manner of Buffalo Bill. The horses themselves are always badly drawn; they might as well belong to the family of lizards (Drawing 6), or for that matter they might be identified as cats or centipedes (Drawing 9). At best they are equipped with a long, fishbone-shaped tail (Drawings 11 and 14), so that one immediately suspects that the artist has never seen a horse. This suspicion is strengthened when one observes a preponderant number of drawings of horses even in the remotest villages where it is certain that none of the inhabitants has as yet been to the coast. /274/ /Fig. 226 appears here in the original text. / It is therefore probable that the an-
[174] cestors of the present-day draftsmen saw horses among the equestrian peoples of Adamawa or other African peoples in an earlier era before the Pangwe moved to their present location. The knowledge of this animal would then have been transmitted to their descendants by means of pictures that were copied again and again.

In villages affected by European culture -- primarily those along the caravan routes -- we frequently find drawings of Europeans. Often, to correspond with their skin color, these are painted white; some drawings show them by themselves, others have them being carried in a hammock and accompanied by servants; others again show them on horseback riding ahead of the soldiers who are accentuated by red caps. The rider's legs are drawn behind the animal (Drawing 14), just as in the drawings of our children.

531 Otherwise we find people frequently represented with spears or rifles, but that is about the extent of artistic ideas. Drawings of

532

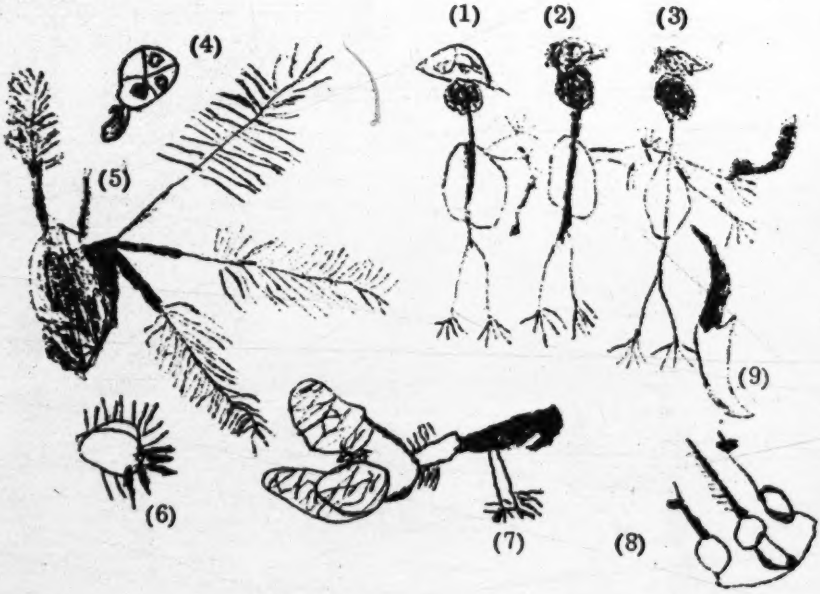


Fig. 226. Drawings by a Servant of the Author. Drawings 1-3. The author. Left, with a whip; right, with a walking stick. Drawing 4. Pocket watch belonging to the author. Drawing 5. Raffia palm. Drawing 6. Porcupine. Drawing 7. Man on a bicycle. Drawing 8. The author's key chain. Drawing 9. European pincers.

domestic or wild animals are very rare, there are none of plants, and as to tools, only the most striking ones (for instance, the large forging iron). Besides, most of the drawings are only scribbling anyway, in which only the author -- and perhaps not always even he -- had any idea of what he was doing. Obscene pictures, such as the one shown [831] in Drawing 10, Figure 225, are a great /275/ rarity; in the majority of drawings representing persons the sex organs are completely omitted. The sheet of pictures which my black boy gave to me as a farewell present, which he also adorned with my picture (Fig. 226), is of significance only for the "modern trend in art" and perhaps also for the

general conceptual ability of the natives; 532
for the rest, however, it has no ethnographic
value since such a creation would never have come
about without external influence.

C. Plastic arts.

The plastic arts are still wholly 537
rooted in religion and hence derive their motifs from 769
the conceptual realm of ancestor worship and of the
great cults.

The ancestral figures are heads carved out of wood
or full figures in the African style, that is, with
a recurrent lack of expression which, despite all the
superficiality of the given forms, nonetheless seems
to me to reflect a certain amiable naiveté and a quiet

Fig. 227
Top of a Chief's Stick with a Human Figure.

humor. To be sure, this effect hardly makes itself felt in the cold museum cases, but it does so in the native environment, especially when the natives carry the figures about at their cult festivals and make them dance. At any rate, the figures never bear the distorted, animalistic traits that distinguish Papuan art.

The large figures associated with celebrations for the ancestors are striking exceptions among the ordinary ancestral figures which are carved out of a single piece of wood. These large figures have attached arms which are slightly movable, legs, and sex organs.

In the same category as the ancestral figures we should place 532
the following which probably have a primarily religious significance: human figures at the ends of a number of chief's sticks (Fig. 227); furthermore, human heads on the center pillars and on the posts of the benches in the meeting houses, on the harps, and on the box musical pipe. On the other hand, the carving on the memory game is probably purely secular; at one end this carving forms a head. The same applies perhaps to the animal

532 representations on the posts of the meeting house (for instance, the leopard biting a pig's tail).

532 704 The masks used for the moon cult have a purely religious significance, as do the clay figures of the various cults. Indeed, especially in the latter the plastic art of the native rises to achievements of significant, one might even say monumental, proportions, both in the actual physical sense of the word (I saw figures eight meters long) and in the sense that they represented the idea symbolically expressed in a striking manner.

1: Tessmann--312 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

491
137

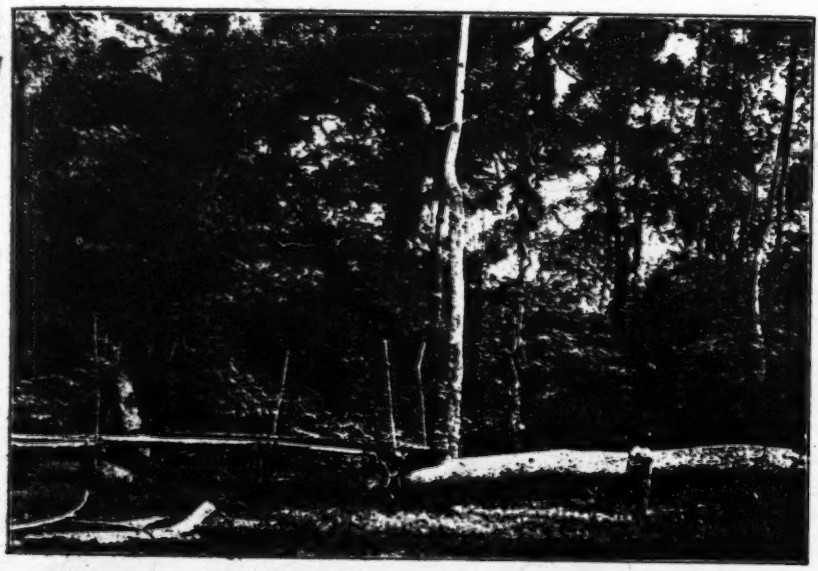


Fig. 1. In the Forest near Makonanám, Spanish Guinea.
In the foreground, a tree trunk and bridge (left) over a swampy place.

1: Tessmann--313 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

291
301

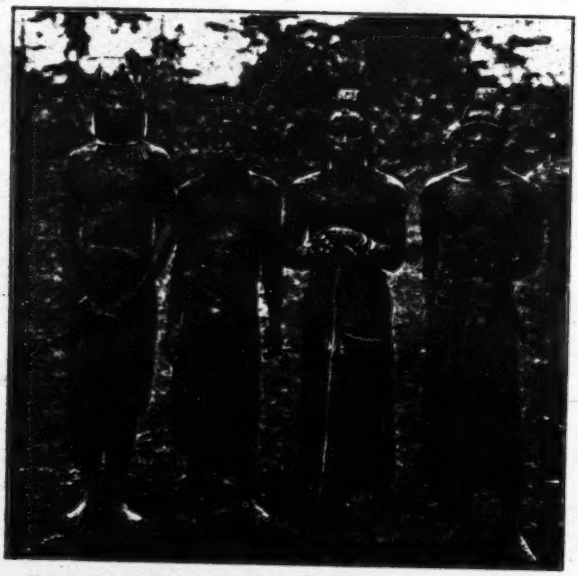


Fig. 2. Fang Youths (Essáuong and Omwang Families), Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--314 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
302

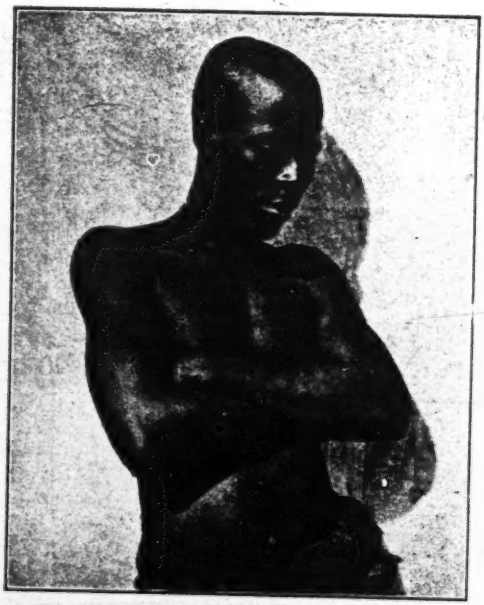


Fig. 3. Ntum from Akonang: (Essándun Family), South Cameroons.

1: Tessmann--315 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
291

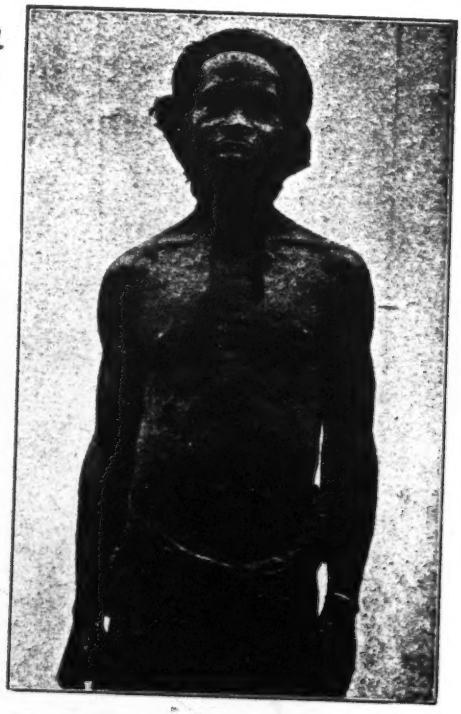


Fig. 4. Ntum from Bébai (Esseng Family).

1: Tessmann--316 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142

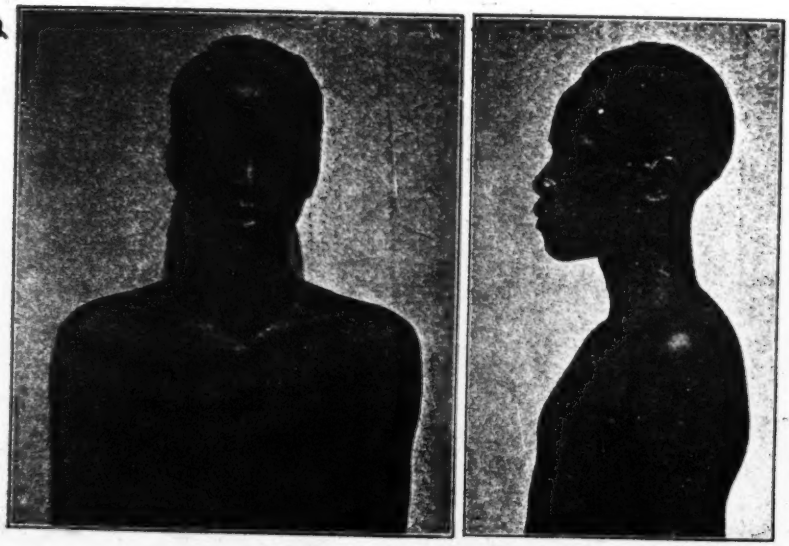


Fig. 5. Essun (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--317 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
301

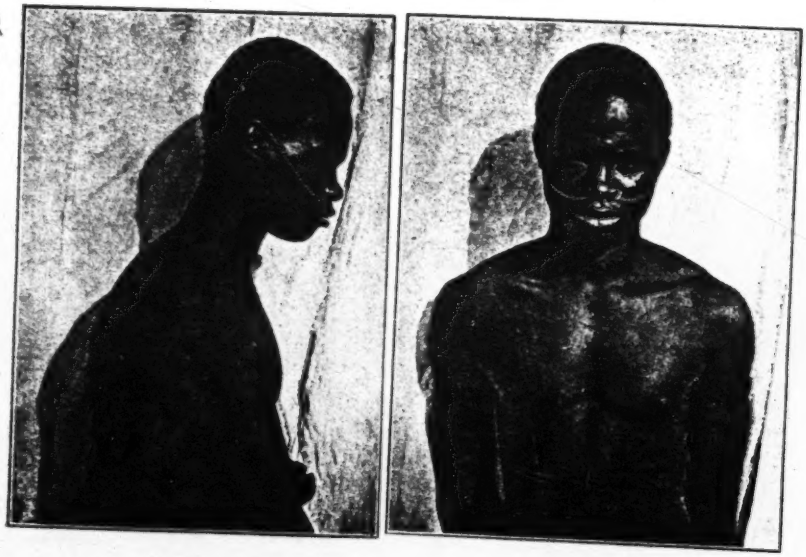


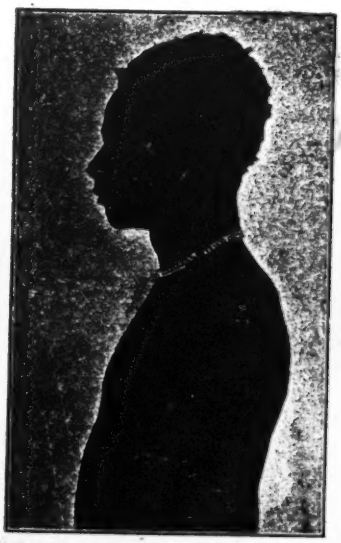
Fig. 6. Ondo from Angónneuai (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--318 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
302

Fig. 7. Ntum (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--319 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9



142
301

Fig. 8. Ndong-Alogo (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--320 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
292

Fig. 9. Essún-Meko from Alén (Essáuong Family), Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--321 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
292

Fig. 10. Otschâa-Kénsoo (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--322 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

14a
301

Fig. 11. Fang (Essátop Family), Spanish Guinea.

Fig. 12. Medicine Man from Ebáangon (Esseng Family), Southern Cameroons.

1: Tessmann--323 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
301
302

Fig. 13. Ajíngon, a Fang Girl from Alén (Essáuong Family).

1: Tessmann--324 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
292
301

Fig. 14. Fang Woman from Alén (Essâuong Family).

1: Tessmann--325 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

000

Fig. 15. View of the Settlement of Afáetom (Okóng Family), Spanish Guinea.

Only the meeting houses are visible; the dwellings are hidden by plantains.

1: Tessmann--326 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate I

142
242
411
301

A Fang Youth from Owöng.

1: Tessmann--327 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

137

Plate II

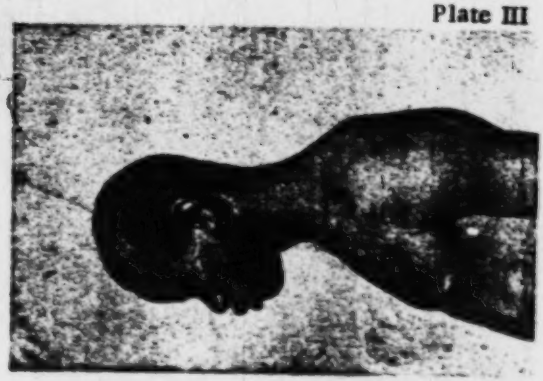
Entering the Forest near Makonanim,
Spanish Guinea.

In the foreground, an umbrella tree, Musanga; in the middle under a banana tree, a Fang youth.

1: Tessmann--32B E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
302

Plate III



A Jóng Boka (Essuong Family), Fang.

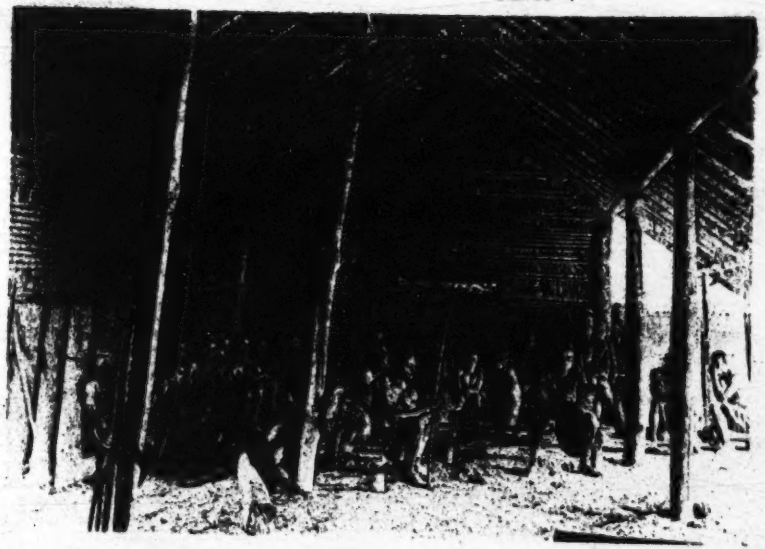
1: Tessmann--329 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate IV

Village of Makonanǎm (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--330 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate V



Interior of the Meeting House of Olanga (Essángbuak Family), Ntum Region.

1: Tessmann--331 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate VI

Groundnut, Arachis hypogaea.

a. Section of a shoot
b. Male blossom
c. Same in cross-section
d. Female blossom
e. Same in cross-section
f-h. Fruit
i. Transverse cross-section
k. Kernel

1: Tessmann--332 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

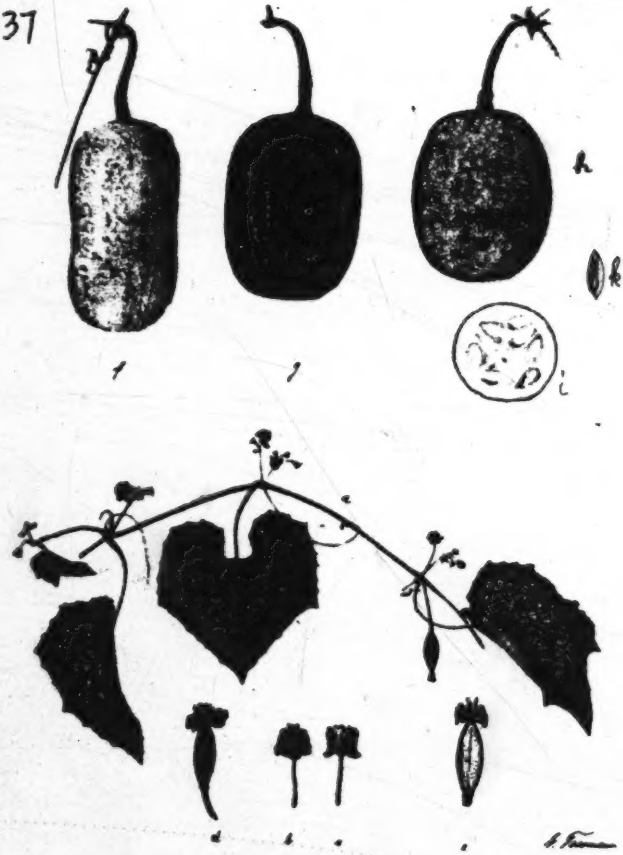
Plate VII

Groundnut Plantation with Maize in the background, Ntum Region.

1: Tessmann--333 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate VIII

137

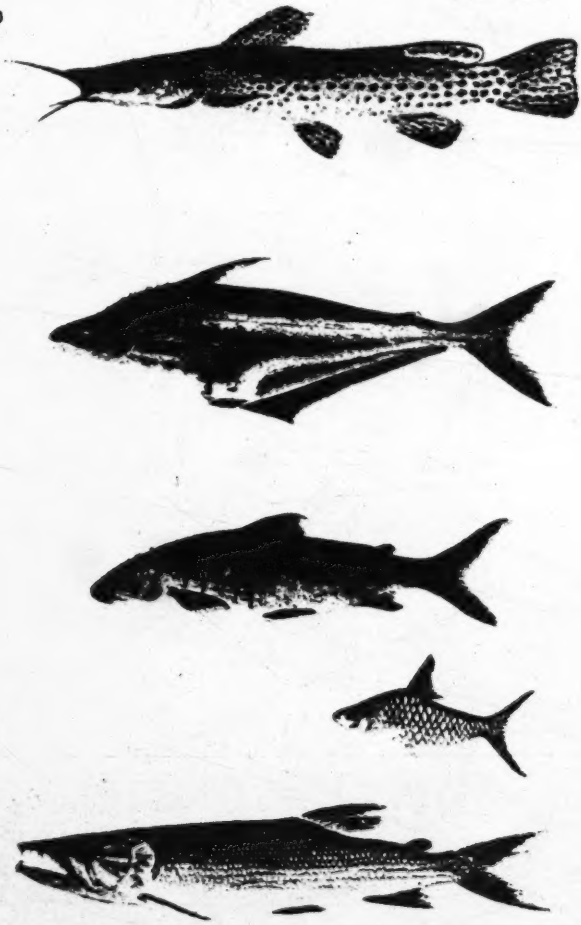


Ngon, Cucumeropsis edulis Cogn.

1: Tessmann--334 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

136

Plate IX



Fish from the Campo and Uelle Rivers.

a. Auchenoglanis balayi (Sauv.) var. gravoti Pellegr. (Fam. Siluridae).

b. Eutropius banguelensis Blgr. (Fam. Siluridae).

c. Distichodus hypostomatus Pellegr. (Fam. Siluridae).

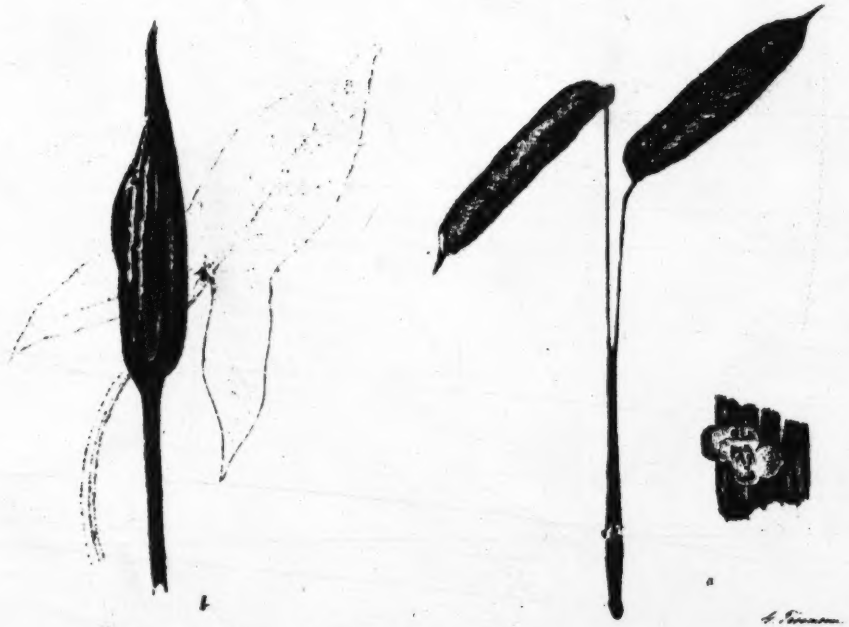
d. Barbus guirali Thomin. (Fam. Cyprinidae).

e. Sarcodaces odoë (Bl.) (Fam. Characinidae).

1: Tessmann--335 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

137
258

Plate X



Plants providing Salt.

a. Halopegia acurea K. Sch., Fam. Zingiberaceae.

b. Cyrtosperma senegalense (Schott) Engl., Fam. Araceae.

1: Tessmann--336 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate XI

137

Sarcophrynium velutinum (Bak.) K. Schum.,
Fam. Marantaceae.

1: Tessmann--337 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

342

Plate XII

Dwelling in Bebai (Esseng Family) Ntum Region.

1: Tessmann--338 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

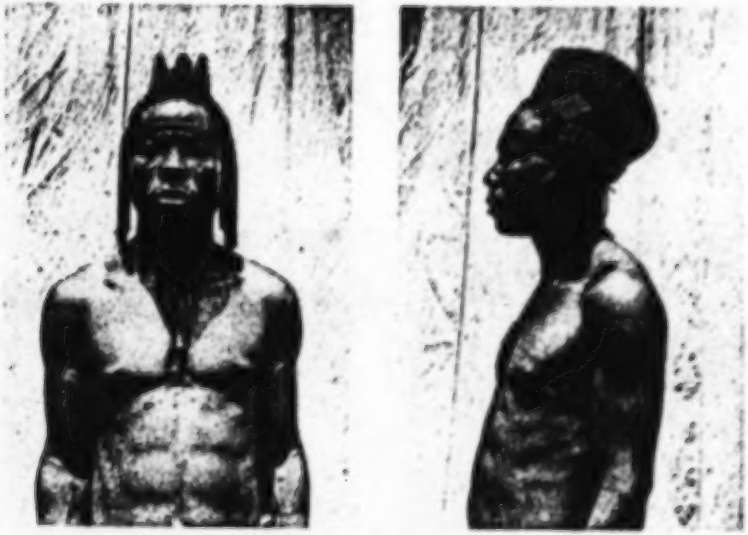
142
302

Plate XIII

Man from Angónneuai (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--339 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate XIV



Fang (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--340 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate XV

142
29
30
415

Woman from Bebai (Esseng Family), Ntum Region.

1: Tessmann--341 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate XVI

137

Rattan Palms providing Braiding Material.
Drawing 1. a-q. Oncocalamus Mannii Wendl.

a. Piece of stem with leaf and fruit cluster.
b. Cross-section of the leaf vein at the base of a pinna.
c. Upper part of the flagellum of an older leaf.
d. Inflorescence.
e. Upper part of a blossom spray, from the side.
f. Part of a blossom spray, from above.
g. Small blossoms.
h. The same after removal of a corner of the husk.
i. The same in cross-section.
k. Large blossom.
l. The same in cross-section
m. Upper part of a fruit spray.
n. Fruit.

(continued)

1: Tessmann--342 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

137 Caption for Plate XVI (continued)

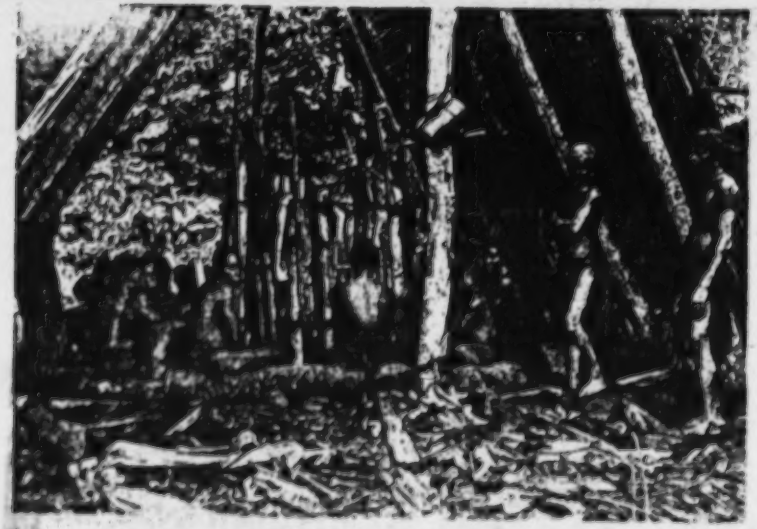
o. Fruit, cross-section.
p. Three scales from the shell of the fruit.
q. Cross-section of a pinna.

Drawing 2. r-w. Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc.

r. Upper part of the palm with leaf and terminal fruit cluster (greatly reduced in size).
s. Fruit (actual size).
t. Fruit, cross-section.
u. Piece from the leaf vein with apophyses of two pairs of pinnae (from above).
v. Cross-section of the leaf vein.
w. Cross-section of a pinna.

1: Tessmann--343 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

32
343



Iron Smelting in Bebai (Schumu Family), Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--344 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate XVIII

Smiths in Bebai (Esseng Family) Nrum Region.

1: Tessmann FH9 Fang

Günter Tessmann

Die Pangwe

[p. i]

TAFEL I

FANGJUNGLING AUS OWONG

Gustav Tressmann, die Pangwe Verlage bei Reimer Wasmuth A.-G., Berlin

[p. ii]

1: Tessmann FH9 Fang

Die Pangwe

Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes

Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907–1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904–1907

Von

Günter Tessmann

Erster Band

Mit 227 Abbildungen, 18 Tafeln in Farben- und Lichtdrucken und zwei Karten

Verlegt bei Ernst Wasmuth A.-G., Berlin 1913

[p. iii]

Alle Rechte vorbehalten.

[p. iv]

Geleitwort.

Wenn ein Völkerkunde-Museum, das über ein im Vergleich zu anderen Sammlungen fast verschwindend kleines Budget von einigen hundert Mark verfügt, seine nächstliegende Aufgabe, die geographische und ethnographische Lehranstalt seiner Stadt zu sein, erfüllen will, so muß es alle seine Kräfte zusammennehmen und wird es nur bei größter Anspannung erreichen, daß von der richtig ausgebauten, praktisch angeordneten, anschaulich aufgestellten, durch Wort und Bild belebten Sammlung der nötige Einfluß ausgeht. Ein Einfluß, der sich nicht auf allgemeine Unterhaltung, Anregung und Belehrung beschränken soll, sondern heute mehr denn je und bei uns in Deutschland mehr denn anderswo auf die Vermittlung praktisch verwendbarer Kenntnisse und vorurteilsfreier Begriffe hinzuarbeiten hat.

Will ein solches Museum mehr, will es sich an der wissenschaftlichen Völkerkunde beteiligen, so muß seine Entwicklung, der Erwerb seines Materials schon unter besonders glücklichem Stern gestanden haben. Will es gar bei der Außenarbeit mittun, bei der Forschung am lebenden Objekt der Naturvölker, so kann sich die Möglichkeit sowohl wie die Berechtigung dazu nur bei einem Zusammentreffen besonders günstiger Umstände ergeben.

Ein solcher Fall schien mir für Lübeck gekommen, als der hier gebürtige Herr Günter Tessmann aus Kamerun zurückkehrte; er hatte während seines dreijährigen Aufenthaltes in der Kolonie deren Süden und einen Teil des angrenzenden Spanisch-Guinea durchzogen und, von jeher zu naturwissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen begabt, dabei botanische, zoologische, ethnographische Sammlungen angelegt sowie eine gute Kenntnis der Pangwe-Sprache erworben. Namentlich Letzteres bewog mich, dem Gedanken Raum zu geben, ob es nicht möglich sei, diese Gelegenheit zum Ausbau unseres Museums für Völkerkunde und zur Förderung der ethnographischen Wissenschaft zu ergreifen. Derselbe Beobachter auf denselben Fleck, unter dieselben ihm vertrauten Leute gestellt, deren Sprache er beherrschte, mußte bei einem neuen längeren Aufenthalte auf einer und derselben Station tiefer in das Volksleben eindringen können, als manche noch so große Expedition mit einem „Stab von Gelehrten".

Andererseits lag in der Kleinarbeit, in der Lebensdarstellung einer engumrissenen ethnischen Provinz für die Völkerkunde die Forderung der

[p. v]

Zeit, und ſie war nirgends dringlicher als in Kamerun. Klagte doch noch 1905 Hutter in ſeinen „Völkerbildern aus Kamerun" (Globus, Bd. 87, S. 237): „Die Frage nach dem damit ſpeziell ſich dokumentierenden geiſtigen Leben eines Volkes, nach ſeinen religiöſen Vorſtellungen, wäre zweifellos eins der anziehendſten Kapitel in der Ethnographie und würde bei der Beurteilung ſeiner Kulturverhältniſſe nicht minder wie bei ethnographiſchen Gegenüberſtellungen von ausſchlaggebender Bedeutung ſein; aber es iſt außerordentlich ſchwer, hierüber beſtimmte, zuſammenhängende Angaben zu ſammeln . . . ." Mit anderen Worten, eine intenſive ethnographiſche Forſchung lag in Kamerun damals noch kaum vor. Dieſe überall empfundene und beklagte Lücke um ein Weniges zu verkleinern, ſchien aus jenen angeführten Gründen im Rahmen unſerer ſehr begrenzten Lübecker Mittel recht wohl möglich. Ich griff alſo zu und hatte die Freude, das Intereſſe für eine „Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition" erwecken und die Pläne für ſie verwirklichen zu können. Als Arbeitsfeld wurde das ſüdlich des Kampo-Grenzfluſſes liegende Gebiet des Pangwe-Landes gewählt, weil es Tessmann am beſten bekannt war, und weil hier im ſpaniſchen Territorium die relativ größte Unberührtheit hinſichtlich europäiſchen Einfluſſes beſtand.

Die Expedition hat hier vom Herbſt 1907 bis zum Herbſt 1909 gearbeitet. Ihre Ergebniſſe beſtehen in der im Lübecker Muſeum für Völkerkunde befindlichen ethnographiſchen Sammlung und in dem Beobachtungsmaterial, das Herr Tessmann in der Monographie über die Pangwe, deren erſter Band heute vorliegt und deren zweiter Band im Herbſt 1913 erſcheinen wird, niedergelegt hat. Bei der kolonialen Entwicklung Kameruns, die jetzt mit dem Erwerb neuen Pangwelandes raſcher abzulaufen verſpricht und zweifellos auch Spaniſch-Guinea nicht unbeeinflußt laſſen kann, werden die Beobachtungen zur Zeit der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition eine erhöhte und eine dauernde Bedeutung beanſpruchen dürfen. Ich bin daher ſicher, daß die Völkerkunde ſie als eine wichtige Bereicherung des ihr ſo ſehr nötigen Materials begrüßen wird, und ich wünſche aufrichtig, daß ſie von ihm einen reichen und weſentlichen Nutzen für ihre Arbeiten gewinnen möchte. Zweck und Ziel unſerer Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition hätte ſich uns dann erfüllt.

Lübeck.

Dr. Richard Karutz,
Muſeum für Völkerkunde in Lübeck.

Vorwort.

Die Drucklegung des vorliegenden Werkes wurde in der Hauptsache ermöglicht durch die Bemühungen des Herrn Dr. R. Karuß, des Konservators des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Lübeck, das mich mit der Leitung der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition betraut hatte. Herr Dr. Karuß hat den größten Teil der als Beitrag zu den Druckkosten geforderten Mittel zusammengebracht, und ich spreche ihm daher an erster Stelle meinen Dank aus.

Für die gütige Bereitstellung dieser Mittel bin ich Sr. Exzellenz, dem Herrn Staatssekretär des Reichskolonialamts Dr. Solf, der Kgl. Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, der Rudolf-Virchow-Stiftung, einem hohen Senate der freien und Hansestadt Lübeck und einer Reihe Lübecker Herren, vor allem Herrn Senator Emil Possehl zu großem Danke verpflichtet.

Herrn Senator Dr. Neumann habe ich meinen Dank für seine liebenswürdige und tatkräftige Unterstützung in der Führung so mannigfaltiger und schwieriger Verhandlungen auszusprechen.

Das von mir größtenteils in Orotava (Kanarische Inseln) fertiggestellte Manuskript wurde in Gemeinschaft mit Herrn Dr. R. Karuß durchgearbeitet, wobei außer redaktionellen Änderungen verschiedene Vorschläge betreffs Ausarbeitung und Abfassung berücksichtigt wurden. Den gemeinsamen Besprechungen habe ich wertvolle Anregung zu verdanken, im besonderen ergab sich daraus die genauere Umgrenzung des Begriffes Medizin und *einer den Pangwe zufolge der gesamten Materie innewohnenden Kraft*, die von mir Organisationskraft genannt wird.

Herr Dr. Erich M. von Hornbostel hatte die Freundlichkeit, den Abschnitt XX (Musik) zu bearbeiten. Er stützte sich dabei auf die phonographischen Aufnahmen, die ich gemacht hatte, und auf meine Beobachtungen und Angaben, die wir in gemeinschaftlichen Sitzungen durchgesprochen haben. Für seine Mitarbeit, für die ich wohl kaum einen Berufeneren hätte finden können, sei ihm mein wärmster Dank gesagt.

Das Titelbild (Fangneger) hat die Lübecker Malerin Fräulein Anna Petersen liebenswürdigerweise nach einer Photographie gemalt. Die übrigen sieben Buntdrucktafeln, welche Fische und wichtige Nutzpflanzen darstellen, wurden von mir in Afrika gemalt. Von den dort aufgenommenen Photographien stammen einige wenige von dem früh verstorbenen Zeichner der Expedition,

Herrn Hans Jobelmann, weitaus die meiften von mir, diejenigen der Mufeumsgegenftände hat in gütigem Entgegenkommen Herr Karl Diederichs in Eutin angefertigt.

Die Zeichnungen der völkerkundlichen Gegenftände des Mufeums, zum größten Teil von Fräulein M. Aereboe ausgeführt, ftellte Herr Dr. Karuß zur Verfügung. Von den in Afrika hergeftellten Zeichnungen und Plänen wurden einige wenige von Herrn H. Jobelmann hergeftellt, die übrigen von mir.

Herr Friedrich Jürgens-Lübeck ftiftete eine Tafel (Zeichnung der Copaifera tessmannii), wofür ich ihm auch an dieter Stelle meinen Dank ausfpreche.

Die im Text angeführten wiftenfchaftlichen Beftimmungen von Tieren ftammen vom Königl. Zoologifchen Mufeum in Berlin, deften Direktor, Herrn Prof. Dr. A. Brauer, ich für vieffach bewiefenes Entgegenkommen zu Dank verpftichtet bin. Die Namen der Pftanzen wurden mir vom Königl. Botanifchen Mufeum in Dahlem bei Berlin geliefert, das im Beftß meiner Sammlung gepreßter Pftanzen des Pangwegebietes ift. Bedauerficherweife ift es nicht möglich gewefen, atte von mir ats völkerkundtich wichtig bezeichneten Pftanzen zu beftimmen. Infotgedeften fah ich mich außerftande, für eine Reihe wichtiger Arten mehr ats den einheimifchen Namen anzugeben, für manche ift aber wenigftens der Gattungsname vorhanden (z. B. bei Trichofcypha-Arten).

Für die Durchficht der Korrekturbogen bin ich Herrn Dr. R. Karuß, Herrn Dr. L. Lindinger-Hamburg und Herrn J. Stuhr dankbar.

Mit einem nochmaligen herzlichen Dank an atte, die an dem Werke der Pangwe-Expedition und dem Zuftandekommen diefer Monographie mitgearbeitet haben, übergebe ich die Ergebniffe einer achtjährigen Arbeit der Offentlichkeit.

Lübeck, November 1912.

Günter Tessmann.

I: Tessmann FH9 Fang

Inhaltsverzeichnis zu Band I.

	Seite
Geleitwort	V
Vorwort	VII
Einführung	XI
Abschnitt I. Land und Leute	1
Abschnitt II. Sprache	10
Abschnitt III. Siedelungsgeschichte	35
Abschnitt IV. Dorf und Haus	51
Abschnitt V. Wirtschaftsformen 1. Ackerbau. 2. Viehhaltung. 3. Fischerei. 4. Fallenstellerei. 5. Jagd.	85
Abschnitt VI. Nahrungs- und Genußmittel 1. Nahrungsmittel. 2. Getränke und Genußmittel.	143
Abschnitt VII. Tracht und Schmuck 1. Tracht. 2. Schmuck. 3. Körperpflege. 4. Körperverzierung.	172
Abschnitt VIII. Handfertigkeit und Werkzeug 1. Rindenarbeiten. 2. Faserarbeiten. 3. Holzarbeiten. 4. Metallarbeiten. 5. Töpferei.	204
Abschnitt IX. Bildende Kunst A. Ornamentik. 1. Rindenmuster. 2. Kerbschnittmuster. 3. Ritzmuster. 4. Zeichenmuster. — B. Zeichnen und Malen. — C. Plastik.	243

Abkürzungen.

Unter Zeichnungen: H. J. — Hans Johannsen, M. A. — Mathilde Aerzbor, O. T. — Verfasser.
Im Text: N. — Nordpangwe, S. — Südpangwe, J. — Jaunde, Be. — Bene, Bu. — Bulu, Nl. — Nlum, F. — Fang.

[p. IX]

Einführung.

Der Name der Pangwe wird zum ersten Male 1819 von T. E. Bowdich in „Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee" Appendice, — London — jedoch nur vom Hörensagen erwähnt. Der erste Weiße, der sie wirklich zu Gesicht bekommen hat, ist der berühmt-berüchtigte Reisende und Abenteurer Paul B. du Chaillu, der 1861 in seinem Buche „Explorations and adventures in Equatorial Africa" — London —, die erste „wissenschaftliche" Beschreibung von den Pangwe, die er im jetzigen spanischen Gebiet, wenige Tagereisen von der Küste entfernt, kennen gelernt hatte, gibt. Es soll nicht verkannt werden, daß Du Chaillu — allerdings hauptsächlich auf dem Gebiete der Zoologie — allerlei geleistet hat, und diese Leistungen erscheinen uns in besonders hellem Lichte, wenn man die Gefahren der Westküste zu jener Zeit berücksichtigt, aber ebensowenig kann verschwiegen werden, daß seine Berichte vielfach in der Verallgemeinerung unrichtig und maßlos übertrieben sind. Über das Jägerlatein, das er seinen leichtgläubigen Lesern auftischt, kann jeder, der selbst in den Urwäldern Afrikas gejagt hat, nur lachen, z. B. wenn er S. 77 gleich vier Elefanten auf einmal von den Eingeborenen mit Speeren (!) so lange bewerfen läßt, „till the poor wounded beast looks like a huge porcupine" — dazu ein Bild, das diese Theaterszene veranschaulicht — die schließlich natürlich den Jägern als Beute anheimfallen. Die Berichte aber, die er von der furchtbaren Menschenfresserei der Fang gibt, müssen von der Völkerkunde ausdrücklich verurteilt werden. Da hören wir von Frauen, welche dampfendes Menschenfleisch über den Dorfplatz tragen, von halbabgenagten Menschenknochen, die bei den Häusern herumliegen (S. 74), von Schwertscheiden, die diese „unmistakeable cannibals" mit Menschenhaut überzogen hatten[1]), da wird berichtet, daß die Pangwe Tote anderer Stämme kauften, um sie zu verzehren, ebenso Tote anderer Familien des eigenen Stammes. Außer diesen auf ihre Wirkung berechneten Schilderungen von den Menschenfresserorgien, der Blutgier und Gefährlichkeit der Fang macht du Chaillu einige wenige Angaben über das Äußere der Leute, über ihre Gebrauchsgegenstände und Waffen, aber auch sie sind leider wenig brauchbar, da hier, wie so oft, Kulturen verschiedener Volksstämme vermengt sind, so z. B. kennen die

[1]) In Wirklichkeit Varanhaut.

[p. xi] [p. x is blank]

Pangwe kein Wurfmesser, das wir (S. 79) unter den Waffen der Fang abgebildet finden[1]), ferner ist die Armbrust keine Kriegswaffe, wie Du Chaillu anzunehmen scheint.

Die Berichtigung der Du Chaillu'schen Angaben erfolgte alsbald und zwar durch den als wissenschaftliche Größe anerkannten englischen Afrikareisenden R. F. Burton, der nur zwei Jahre später und an ziemlich derselben Stelle — etwas südlicher, beim Gabunbecken — in das Gebiet der Pangwe eindrang und ebenfalls wie Du Chaillu nur bis in das erste Dorf (Magyan) der Fang kam. Den Bericht darüber veröffentlichte Burton in „The Anthropological Review" London, Vol. I unter dem anspruchslosen Titel: „A day amongst the Fans" anscheinend ohne Du Chaillus Berichte gekannt zu haben[2]). Wenn auch seine Angaben von Irrtümern nicht frei sind, so zeugen sie doch von ehrlichem Wollen und verhalten sich zu den Du Chailluschen Erzählungen wie der Tag zur Nacht. Im vollkommenen Gegensatz zu diesen stehen seine Angaben über die Menschenfresserei der Pangwe, und sie gelten heute noch, nämlich: „The cannibalism of the Fans is by no means remarkable, limited, as it is, to the consumption of slain enemies", und weiter: „Still no trace of the practice was seen at Magyan; this, however, is not caused by civilisation. The Rev. W. M. Walker and other excellent authorities agree, that it is a rare incident even in the wildest parts, but it is rendered unusual only by want of opportunity[3]). The corpse, when brought in, is carried to a hut in the outskirts and is secretly eaten by the men only, the cooking pots being finally broken. No joint of man is ever seen in the settlements. The people shouted with laughter when a certain question was asked. The sick are not devoured, the dead are decently interred." Und weiter: „During my peregrinations I never saw even a skull. Mr. Tippet, who had lived three years with this people, only knew three cases of anthropophagy." Wie bei der Kürze seines Aufenthalts erklärlich, teilt Burton natürlich nur Äußerlichkeiten mit, so z. B. beschreibt er die auffallenden und verschiedenartigen Frisuren der Eingeborenen, sagt, daß Pfeil und Bogen unbekannt sind und gibt seine Meinung über den Ursprung der Armbrust dahin ab: „The . . . cross-bow peculiar to this people, who seems to have invented, not to have borrowed it, as might be supposed, from Europe."

---

[1]) O. Lenz sagt in seiner „Reise auf dem Okande", daß die „Mbangwe", die zu den Akelle gehören, „eigentümlich geformte kleine Wurfmesser" verfertigen.

[2]) In seinem Buch „Two trips to Gorilla Land" usw. London 1876 heißt sein Abschnitt IX allerdings „A specimen day with the Fàn cannibals".

[3]) Letzteres ist allerdings eine willkürliche und nicht bewiesene Annahme.

Du Chaillus Geist war aber nicht so leicht zu vertreiben, die schaurigen Bilder, die seine Phantasie den entsetzten Europäern vorspiegelte, galten lange Zeit, ja, bis in die jüngste Gegenwart hinein, als die Wahrheit über die Wildesten aller Wilden, und durch ihn erst wurden die Fang zu dem schrecklichen und gefährlichen Menschenfresservolk der Westküste. Die geradezu lächerlichen Abbildungen seines Buches gingen in alle Naturgeschichts- und Reisewerke über, und ganz deutlich erinnere ich mich aus einem Buche „für die reifere Jugend" des Bildes, auf dem dargestellt wird, wie ein riesenhafter Elefant hochaufgerichtet und mit einem Neger auf den Zähnen wütend vor den mit Speeren und zwei zu einem Zopf verflochtenen Kinnbärten ausgerüsteten Eingeborenen steht, in der Tat einem „huge porcupine" vergleichbar — poor wounded beast!

Auch in den Köpfen der Forschungsreisenden, die das Pangwegebiet leidlich kannten, sonst ganz vernünftigen Leuten, spukt der Du Chaillusche Geist und richtet allerlei Unheil an, er verführt sie zu möglichst menschenfresserischen Überschriften und zwingt sie hinsichtlich des Kannibalismus und der Blutgier der Pangwe in seine Gedankenrichtung. So schreibt 1875 der Marquis de Compiègne im „Chapitre IV, Les Pahouins Cannibales" seines Buches „L'Afrique équatoriale" Paris, S. 155 folgendes: „car ils mangent non seulement leurs ennemis pris ou tués dans le combat, mais encore leurs morts à eux, qu'ils aient succombé à la guerre ou aux atteintes de la maladie peu importante", scheint aber aus eigener Anschauung nichts über Menschenschlächtereien wie Du Chaillu berichten zu können, was er aber nur darauf schiebt, daß die Pangwe, sobald sie in Berührung mit Weißen kommen, weniger häufig und auch mehr im Verborgenen dieser Unsitte huldigen. Freilich sieht der Du Chaillu in ihm noch einmal (S. 56) Leute, „qui remplaçaient les dents de tigre par des ossements provenant de doigts humains, enfilés au chapelet" [1]), sonst aber malt er ein im großen und ganzen zutreffendes Bild von den Pangwe, beispielsweise gibt er, wie schon Burton, eine wenig vorteilhafte Beschreibung von den Frauen, die ihm an sich schon häßlich genug erscheinen, sich aber durch Beschmieren mit Farbe noch häßlicher machen, ferner — und auch darin steht er hoch über Du Chaillu — schildert er (S. 169—171) eine Elefantenjagd, wie sie sich in Wahrheit abspielt, d. h. wie man die Dickhäuter einkreist und durch einen Zaun auf einen kleinen Platz zusammenpfercht, wo man sie halb verdursten läßt, ihnen dann vergiftetes Wasser hinstellt, von dem sie krank werden, und sie schließlich, wenn sie bereits vollkommen erschöpft sind, niederknallt. Sehr richtig weist derselbe Verfasser die gerade damals bei seinen Landsleuten herrschende übertrieben hohe Einschätzung der Pangwe zurück und sagt: „et

[1]) Wahrscheinlich Schwanzknochen des Leoparden, die als Medizin (vergl. Abschn. XIII) gelten.

XIV

l'on ne sait pas jusqu'où ira le mal que fera à notre colonie l'invasion de ces sauvages, que l'on considérait comme ses futurs régénérateurs."

Im Jahre 1898 tritt der deutsche Forscher Dr. O. Lenz mit seinen „Skizzen aus Westafrika" auf den Plan. Auch er hat die Pangwe nur im Süden des Gebietes in dem Unterstamm der Fang kennen gelernt, und auch über ihn hat noch der böse Geist Du Chaillus etwas Gewalt, denn sonst hätte er wohl nicht seinen Abschnitt V überschrieben: „Die Fan, ein Anthropophagenvolk", wo er S. 88 selbst zugibt, daß es nicht die Regel ist, „der Unsitte des Cannibalismus" zu huldigen, sondern daß es nur bei besonderen Feierlichkeiten, z. B. Siegesfesten, geschieht, daß diese „Orgien" auch nicht öffentlich als etwas Alltägliches stattfinden, daß keine Fremden dazugelassen werden, ja, daß die Fang fühlen, daß das Verzehren von Menschenfleisch sie in den Augen der anderen herabsetzt, und daß es deshalb eben im Verborgenen geschieht. Alles Beweise, daß die Pangwe eben nicht den Namen eines „Anthropophagenvolks" verdienen. Im übrigen kommen wir durch Lenz nicht viel weiter, er bewegt sich nur in allgemeinen Phrasen über den Charakter der Pangwe, die er grausam und unbarmherzig, aber nicht so feig und leichtsinnig als Okande und Akele nennt, meint, daß sie ein ernstes, fast finsteres Benehmen hätten, einen starren und stieren Blick, daß man ihren Versprechungen im allgemeinen mehr Glauben schenken könne als denjenigen anderer Neger. Weiter gibt er nur Äußerlichkeiten über ihre Sprache, die einsilbige Wörter hätte, die rauh und kurz hervorgestoßen würden, sagt, daß, wenn sich zwei die unschuldigsten Sachen erzählen, es in einem Tone geschähe, daß der Fremde glaube, es müsse im nächsten Augenblick ein Handgemenge vor sich gehen, bringt Allgemeinheiten über den Eindruck, den ihre Dörfer machen, über Kleidung und Schmuck, redet von Feuerwaffen, die Bogen und Pfeile verdrängt hätten, wo es doch vielleicht nie solche gegeben hat, usw. Religiöse Anschauung wäre nur in untergeordnetem Maße zu finden (!!).

Damit ist der erste Zeitraum der Pangweforschung abgeschlossen. Ihre Vorkämpfer hatten das Land im Süden erschlossen und der Einzelforschung den Weg geebnet. Es dauerte fast 20 Jahre, ehe sie kam. Inzwischen versuchten einzelne unerschrockene Männer in das Herz des Pangwelandes vorzudringen, unter unsäglichen Mühen durch die feindlichen Bewohner sich einen Weg zu bahnen und das Geheimnis, das diese Länder umschlang, in großen Zügen aufzudecken. Obgleich für die Völkerkunde ziemlich wenig dabei abfiel, verdienen doch die Namen der von der französischen Regierung ausgeschickten Expeditionsführer genannt zu werden, allen voran P. Crampel, der Ende der achtziger Jahre das Pangweland an der Ostgrenze (im Feindesgebiet) durchzog, dann A. Fourneau (1891), und C. Cuny (1896). Be-

sonders schlecht ist Fourneau auf die Pangwe zu sprechen, der auch kein gutes Haar an ihnen läßt — Tugenden besitzen sie für ihn überhaupt nicht — und S. 198 von ihnen nicht ganz unberechtigterweise sagt: „J'ai oui dire chez eux qu'il n'était pas d'affaire qui ne tournât en rapts des femmes, coups du fusil et empoisonnements." Teils Kopfschütteln, teils Heiterkeit muß folgender Passus erregen: „Ces Fans Betchis sont fort peu intéressants au point de vue ethnographique. Ils n'ont aucune religion, si ce n'est quelques practiques répugnantes de fétichisme." — Was man also nicht gesehen hat, nicht ad acta genommen hat, das gibt es überhaupt nicht! Aber: est solamen miseris, socios habuisse malorum! So auch für Fourneau: In demselben Jahre beschreibt nämlich gerade Heinrich Hartert im Globus 1891 Bd. IX einen „Besuch bei den M'pangwes am Muni" und sagt S. 211: „Daß bei einem Volke, welches, wie ich gezeigt, noch auf einer außerordentlich niedrigen Stufe steht, von einer Religion in unserem Sinne nicht die Rede sein kann, wird jedermann einsehen, und so sind denn auch die Anzeichen, welche vielleicht für das Vorhandensein einer solchen bei den M'pangwes sprechen könnten, außerordentlich geringe." —

Auch im Norden, im deutschen Gebiet, regte es sich seit den neunziger Jahren. Kund und Tappenbeck machten 1888 einen Vorstoß ins Innere, gelangten in das Gebiet der Jaunde und gründeten die Jaundestation, auf der schließlich G. Zenker als Stationsleiter zurückblieb. Von ihm stammen die ersten eingehenderen Nachrichten über die Jaunde, veröffentlicht in „Mitteilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten", herausgegeben von Dr. Freiherr von Danckelman, von denen die Arbeit „Yaunde" 1895 besonders wichtig ist. Zenker hat erkannt, daß die Yaunde „zu den Pangvölkern" gehören, d. h. also ein Unterstamm der Pangwe sind, und sagt S. 61 sehr richtig: „Die Jaunde lieben die Jagd, doch sind sie keine großen Jäger", sowie S. 2: „im Kampfe zeichnen sie sich nicht durch Tapferkeit aus", S. 43 fügt er eine ganz gute Zeichnung eines tätowierten Jaunde bei. Neben vielem Richtigen finden sich auch große Unrichtigkeiten, z. B. sagt er S. 36: „Die Familienhäupter kennen kaum die Namen ihrer direktesten (!) Vorfahren", was durchaus falsch ist, ferner: „Zusammenhängende Dörfer gibt es im Innenlande nicht, bloß Gehöfte oder besser Weiler." S. 62 sagt er: „Bastzeuge" würden mit Mustern „bedruckt", Körbe aus den „Blattstielen der Weinpalme hergestellt" — ersteres ist nie der Fall, letzteres ein Ding der Unmöglichkeit —, S. 66: Die Eingeborenen sollten über keine Heilmittel gegen die „Erdbeerkrankheit (mabatta)", soll heißen mabada, verfügen, was ebenfalls nicht richtig ist, usw. Ganz schlimm steht es mit dem, was Zenker von den geistigen Vorstellungen der Leute, besonders von der Religion zu erzählen weiß; da wird

mit den Ausdrücken „Glaube" und „Aberglaube" gearbeitet, Wesentliches aber nicht gebracht, der wichtige Seo-kult gar S. 52 unter „Festen" behandelt. Mitgemacht hat Zenker die Seo-Feier freilich nicht, er gibt vielmehr nur die Antworten, die er auf seine Fragen von den Eingeborenen bekommen hat, wieder und hat daher den Zweck der Feier vollständig verkannt, ja, er glaubt, daß es sich dabei bloß um das Erlegen einer Seo-Antilope handelt, während diese in Wirklichkeit ein Symbol des Bösen ist; die Markung der Neulinge hält er für ein Stammeszeichen (S. 43. 44), offenbar weil die meisten Männer sie tragen. Vieles von dem, was er sagt, ist überhaupt unverständlich. Immerhin hat Zenker versucht, durch Eingeborenenbezeichnungen die Sache klarer zu machen, aber der Versuch ist mißlungen. Abgesehen davon, daß man die Jaundworte erst aus dem Sächsischen ins Deutsche übersetzen muß (ngu statt nku, infoua statt mvun), sind sie oft so falsch, daß man nicht einmal erraten kann, was gemeint ist, auch Mabeaworte bringt er hinein, z. B. S. 46 imboballa (Medizinmann) von maballa (Medizin) statt ngengang von biang usw.

Danach wird es still und stiller im Norden. Nur wenig über das Volk selbst bringen noch v. Stein, der in seinem Aufsatz: „Über die geographischen Verhältnisse des Bezirkes Lolodorf usw." (Mitteil. aus d. deutschen Schutzgebieten, XII. Bd., 3. Heft) einige ziemlich oberflächliche, nur auf dem Gebiet der Statistik genaue und wertvolle Beobachtungen über Bene und Bulu gibt, und Hauptmann Ph. Kugelhardt in „Eine Reise durch das Land der Mwele und Esum, Kamerun", erschienen im „Globus" 1904, Bd. 85, S. 1 ff.

Ende der neunziger Jahre setzt dann die Einzelforschung im Süden ein, und zwar mit den Veröffentlichungen des bei weitem fruchtbarsten, aber auch langweiligsten Fangwerkschriftstellers Les Missionar H. Trilles, der Jahre hindurch besonders die Zeitschrift „Les Missions catholiques" mit seinen Aufsätzen überschwemmt hat. Du Chaillu, dem es darum zu tun war, mit seinen Schilderungen Aufsehen zu erregen — verführt durch das Sensationsbedürfnis seiner Zeitgenossen, die hinter den damals kaum flüchtig bekannten Küstenstrichen des dunklen Erdteils unerhörte Geheimnisse vermuteten, und deren übersättigte Nerven wirklich nur durch äußerst grell beleuchtete Reiseberichte angeregt werden konnten —, Du Chaillu, dem Pionier einer alten, glänzenden Zeit, in der der Begriff „Völkerkunde" mit Wissenschaft nichts zu tun zu haben schien, mag für sein bißchen Afrikalatein allerlei zugute gehalten werden. Trilles, den der Hauch einer neueren Zeit umweht, kann für seine vielen Aufbauschungen und seine — durch Voreingenommenheit zu erklärende — vollkommen schiefe Darstellung der Fangkultur[1], keine solchen Milderungsgründe in Anspruch nehmen. Mag er z. T. auch, wie man zu seiner Ehre annehmen muß, durch die Erzählungen seiner

[1] „Chez les Fang" in „Les Missions Catholiques, Lyon, 1898".

Missionszöglinge getäuscht worden sein, so ist doch die Tonart des Ganzen meiner Meinung nach durchaus zu verwerfen. Der Zweck der Übung ist auch nur, zu zeigen, wie scheußlich, verderbt, verachtungswürdig das Leben und Treiben, insbesondere die Religion der „armen" Schwarzen ist. Die Aufsätze von Trilles sind daher auch nicht als wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen zu betrachten, das zeigen auch Ergüsse wie S. 268: „Et puis, oh! je vous prie, après cette lecture (nämlich der Kultfeierlichkeiten. Anmerk. d. Verf.), que de votre coeur jaillisse un hymne de reconnaissance et d'amour envers le Christ qui vous fit naître catholiques, une prière aussi, prière de foi, prière ardente pour nos pauvres sauvages qui vivent au milieu des abominations proscrites par le culte satanique."

Trilles kennt auch den Kult des Ngi (Ngil), weiß sogar, daß es Kultfiguren gibt: S. 268 „Devant la case qu'au fond de la forêt, ils se construisent en quelque coin, deux statues, grossièrement ébauchées en terre glaise, représentant un homme et une femme, et chacun de ceux qui viennent les consulter doit se livrer à une cérémonie horrible . . ." (Hier verwechselt er wahrscheinlich die Elong- und Bokungfigur mit dem Ngi), er betrachtet es aber als seine Aufgabe, nicht etwa die Kulte wahrheitsgetreu zu beschreiben oder den in ihnen liegenden Sinn zu erforschen, sondern sie — natürlich — mit allen möglichen Mitteln zu bekämpfen und zu zerstören: „Il faut lutter, nous autres catholiques, lutter jusqu'à la fin et, par tous les moyens possibles, travailler jusqu'à la mort, à étendre en ce pays désolé le royaume du Christ." Einen dieser Mittel ist die für die Neger höchst ungünstige Schilderung ihrer Kultur, insbesondere hier der Kultfeiern, die Trilles anscheinend nicht mitgemacht hat, sondern nur aus Erzählungen seiner Schwarzen kennt. Wie er mehrfach durchblicken läßt, ist der Ngikult ein Werk des leibhaftigen Satans, die Eingeweihten und die Kultleiter, die er unterschiedslos „Ngi(l)" nennt, sind seine Kinder, die Neulinge „ayant continuellement de mauvais exemples sous les yeux, vivant au sein de la plus hideuse corruption, sont bientôt gangrenés jusqu'à la moelle des os. Ayant tout vu faire, n'ignorant aucun des abîmes où descend la perversité humaine, ils sont prêts à tous les crimes, à toutes les abominations." (S. 268.) Daß diese Behauptungen völlig aus der Luft gegriffen sind, mag hier gleich festgestellt sein; im übrigen verweise ich auf Abschnitt XI meines Buches.

Offenbar hält auch Trilles, wie übrich, das Treiben der — nur in der Einbildung bestehenden — Zauberwesen für Wirklichkeit und bringt ihre — nur erlauschten — Blattaten als Tatsachen unter den Ngifeierlichkeiten. Anders wenigstens kann ich die wunderliche Geschichte von dem Abzapfen des Blutes und der Erzeugung eines Angehörigen des Neulings — „c'est un jeune frère,

une jeune sœur, parfois sa propre mère," S. 269 — nicht deuten (vergleiche dazu Abschnitt XII: Zauberglauben).

Sehr hübsch und belehrend ist, was Trilles von der Entstehung des Fetischismus[1]), S. 297, sagt. Man höre:

„Satan, a-t-on dit bien des fois déjà, n'est que le singe de Dieu, et son rêve est de se faire adorer par l'homme.

Tout le fétichisme est là, avec son origine, ses causes, sa force. Son origine, elle remonte à la chute de l'Ange; ses causes, on les trouve dans la double haine de l'Archange maudit, haine contre Dieu, haine contre la créature; ses forces, c'est toute la puissance dont Satan dispose. Qui, résumé en quelques mots, voilà tout le fétichisme, avec ses merveilles, ses pseudo-miracles, sa lutte acharnée contre le bien, les prestiges de ses magiciens, les abominations de son culte." Und S. 298: „Qu'est-ce donc en somme que le fétiche: simplement la ficelle par laquelle Satan s'attache l'individu. Reste à trouver qui il attache? c'est le fétiheur. Et la manière dont il l'attache? c'est le culte. Tout se réduit là. Satan, l'homme, une ficelle, et un intermédiaire pour relier le tout, voilà!" Dann wird anschließend eine Reichtum(Mekuk)-medizin beschrieben, die aber mit der Ahnenverehrung in einen Topf geworfen ist. Von der Ahnenfigur, die dabei aufgestellt ist, heißt es S. 298: „Souvent, affirment les vieux fétichesses, au cours des initiations, on voit soudain la statue s'animer, et de ses lèvres s'échapper des sons, des paroles . . . Prestiges, illusions, réalité? qui sait?" S. 435 ff. ist der Ahnenkult besprochen. Die Ahnenfigur wird dabei als „Dieu national" hingestellt, vergl. S. 436: „Cela, à proprement parler, c'est Bidzi, le Dieu national, le fétiche universellement redouté des non-initiés, la statue, représentation du Dieu invisible du mal" usw.

An diesem Beispiel möchte ich zeigen, daß ein Fremder doch ein ganz falsches Bild von der geistigen Kultur der Pangwe gewinnt, wenn er, wie z. B. bei Trilles, liest, daß die Eingeborenen in dem „Bidzi" einen Gott, einen Nationalgott sehen. In Abschnitt XI habe ich ausgeführt, daß diese Figur nichts weiter ist, als ein Abbild von Ahnen, eine Ahnenfigur, die noch so nach übereinstimmenden Angaben der Eingeborenen dazu gemacht ist, um Eingeweihte über die wahren Gegenstände der Verehrung, nämlich die Schädel der Ahnen, hinwegzutäuschen. Diese Schädel befinden sich nämlich in einer Truhe, auf der die Figur steckt. Daher verkaufen die Pangwe die Figur stets, wenn auch nach einigen Zögern, die Truhe mit den Schädeln

[1]) Trilles versteht darunter den Glauben an die Kraftübertragung von einer Materie auf die andere, den ich im Abschnitt X geschildert und dort „Medizinglaube" genannt habe; er hält aber auch die Kulte nur für „Fetischismus", was durchaus einseitig ist und zu großen Verwechselungen führt.

nie. Einen „Nationalgott" würde man wohl nicht einfach an die Weißen verkaufen.

Nach diesen Proben wird man wohl genug haben, es würde zu weit führen, auch nur die größten Unrichtigkeiten und schlimmsten Mißverständnisse zu berichtigen.

Die dem Trilleschen Aufsatz: „Chez les Fang" beigefügten Abbildungen sind schlecht und unrichtig — S. 450 gar ein „Village Fang" mit Kegeldachhütten! — z. T. zeigen sie, daß auch hier wieder einmal Kulturen anderer Stämme mit der Fangwekultur verwechselt sind.

1899 veröffentlichte Albert L. Bennet M.D. in „The Journal of the Anthropological Institute", London, einige „Ethnographical Notes on the Fang". Er kennt drei Unterstämme, Bulu, Ntum und Fang, und macht recht wertvolle Angaben über ihr Äußeres, ihre Sitten und Gebräuche, auch hören wir von ihm allerlei über Mediäen und über Kulte, die er — was verzeihlich ist — Geheimbünde nennt und auch nur vom Hörensagen kennt — daher weiß er nichts von heiligen Plätzen, von Kultfiguren und den Feierlichkeiten selber. Wenn auch nicht ohne Irrtümer, ist diese kurze Arbeit doch klar und bestimmt abgefaßt und verdient deshalb, wie jede ehrliche Forscherarbeit, Anerkennung.

1901 gibt V. Largeau eine — nicht gerade praktische — mit Grammatik und Wörterbuch verbundene zusammenfassende Arbeit heraus, die den prophetischen Titel: „Encyclopédie Pahouine" führt, aber mehr ein Sammelsurium von im einzelnen nicht übles Schilderungen der Sitten verschiedener Volksstämme ist; so rechnet Largeau, wie die Franzosen bis in die neueste Zeit leider alle tun, die Njem mit zu den Pangwe, außerdem hat er in sein Buch alles aufgenommen, was seine Berichterstatter ihm erzählten, auch was er nicht erlebt hatte und nachprüfen konnte. Infolgedessen sind das beste und wichtigste die Sagen und Märchen, die so wiedergegeben werden, wie sie die Neger erzählen; als verhältnismäßig gut können noch bezeichnet werden die Angaben über materielle Kultur, soweit Largeau sie auf seinen Reisen selbst beobachten konnte, bei der geistigen Kultur liegt indessen alles auf.

Was Largeau in seiner Einführung: „Notice sur les Fan' ou Pahouins" sagt, ist das Wiederaufflackern des Du Chaillueschen Geistes in abgeschwächter Form, und als unangebracht ist es zu bezeichnen, wenn sich Largeau S. 23 über die „hommes gens, qui se figurent naïvement que l'anthropophagie n'existait plus sur la terre" aufhält, nur weil sie die Frage wagen „Les Pahouins sont-ils anthropophages?" Allerdings gibt er zu, daß die Pangwe „si l'on veut, anthropophages modérés" sind, aber es liegt ihm nun mal daran, die Menschenfresserei an die große Glocke zu hängen. Er beruft sich dann auf

den Marquis de Compiègne, dem Du Chaillu nicht nur vorgeschwebt, sondern wahrscheinlich auch vorgelegen hat, auf die Antwort, die er von einem Mekel auf seine Suggestivfrage, welches die größten Menschenfresser wären, erhielt, nämlich „die Fang", auf die gar nicht mehr aufrecht zu erhaltende Annahme, daß die Bekai ihren Namen von a dai = essen hätten (vergl. S. 37, Anm. 1) und auf einen einzigen beglaubigten Fall, der aber, wie das wenige, was sonst über die heimliche Menschenfresserei tatsächlich bekannt geworden ist, die Pangwe noch lange nicht zu einem „Anthropophagenvolk" macht. Über Leichenraub macht Largeau einige Bemerkungen (S. 15), die ganz deutlich zeigen, daß er die Anschauungen von dem mystisch gedachten Treiben der Zauberwesen (vergl. Abschnitt XII) für Tatsachen hält und mit Menschenfresserei verwechselt. Im übrigen sind seine Beobachtungen für den Kern des Volkes nicht maßgebend, ja, nicht einmal für den Hauptteil der Fang, weil sie an der östlichsten Grenze des Pangwegebietes, wo schon viel fremde Kultur zu den Pangwe eingedrungen ist, aufgenommen sind und sich anderenteils größtenteils nur auf Mitteilungen von Eingeborenen gründen. Man sieht hier, daß die wissenschaftliche Erforschung eines Volkes durch Abfragen mit Hilfe eines Dolmetschers zu verwerfen ist und zu keinem brauchbaren Ergebnis führt.

1903 erschienen dann eine gute und bedeutende Arbeit Trilles „Proverbes, légendes et contes Fang", veröffentlicht im „Bulletin de la société Neuchâteloise de géographie", die Ergebnisse der Forschungen R. Avelot's im „Bulletin de la société d'anthropologie de Paris" unter dem Titel: „Recherches sur l'histoire des migrations dans le bassin de l'Ogôwé et la région littorale adjacente" und eine Studie über „La musique chez les Pahouins", beides Arbeiten, auf die an den geeigneten Stellen unseres Buches eingegangen wird.

So war im Jahre 1907 der Stand der Pangweforschung. In zwei ganz getrennten Gebieten war gearbeitet worden, im Norden, im Jaundeland, von den Deutschen, im Süden, besonders am Ogowe, hauptsächlich von den Franzosen. Zwischen beiden gähnte eine Kluft, denn die Deutschen kannten nicht den Süden, die Franzosen nicht den Norden; außerdem waren erklärlicherweise die bisherigen Forschungen im einzelnen äußerst lückenhaft und oberflächlich geblieben. Was als eigentliche Pangwesart, als eigener Kulturbesitz der Pangwe anzusehen war, wußte man nicht, und über ihre geistige Kultur, besonders über ihre Religion war außer Sagen und Märchen wenig Zuverlässiges bekannt, von der Bedeutung des ganzen großen Betriebes der Kulte hatte man kaum eine Ahnung. Diese Lücken auszufüllen, war Aufgabe des Verfassers, der auf Vorschlag und Antrag des Herrn Dr. R. Karutz, des Kustos des Museums, für Völkerkunde in Lübeck, von der Gesellschaft zur Beförderung gemeinnütziger Tätigkeit zu Lübeck in das Pangwegebiet geschickt

Druckfehlerberichtigung.

Seite 26 im Mäller Satt o-kuigrkuige — o-kuigrkuige: bo-kuiekuie — o-kuiekuie.
" 52 Zeile 8 von oben statt Annonaceae Sarlodula reteriflora Engl.: Pandaceae Panda oleosa Pierre.
" 52 unter 24. Statt Flemmel: Chirophora ovaina (Welw.) Benth. et Hook.
" 215 Zeile 15 von oben statt Tafel XIV: Tafel XVI.
" 215 " 17 " " " " XIV: " XVI.
" 226 " 14 " " " " XV: " XVII.
" 231 " 18 " " " " XV: " XVII.
" 235 letzte Zeile von unten " " XVI: " XVIII.

[Facing p.xx]

wurde, wo er schon einige Jahre vorher auf Reisen und Stationen wissenschaftlichen Forschungen und Sammlungen obgelegen hatte. So war er 1905 von Edea durch das Bassagebiet nach Jaunde und weiter über Simekon (Sembe) nach Kombokotto im Mwelegebiet vorgedrungen und dann auf anderem Wege nach Jaunde zurück und von da an die Küste nach Kribi gereist. Später (1906) führte ihn sein Weg von Kribi über Nkomakak im Bululand nach Südosten ins Kampo- und Uellegebiet, wo er die Stationen Makomo, später im Herzen von Span.-Guinea Aléu und Uelleburg am Uelle (1907) gründete. Von hier mußte er aus gesundheitlichen Gründen nach Deutschland zurückkehren. Auf der Lübecker Paingwe-Expedition 1907—1909 gelang es, von den Stationen Nkulentangan (bei Aléu), Uelleburg (1908) und Behai in der Nähe der Span.-Guinea-Kameruner Grenze (1908—1909) sowie auf kürzeren und längeren Zügen in das bisher noch unbekannte Spanisch-Guinea-Hinterland und in das jetzt von Frankreich an Deutschland abgetretene Gebiet der Kolonie Gabun die Aufgaben, von denen oben die Rede war, unter schwierigen Umständen und unter mannigfaltigen Gefahren, die von dem schlechten Klima des Innern und den noch nicht von einer Regierung „beruhigten" Eingeborenen drohten, zu einem glücklichen Ende zu führen. Der Rückmarsch wurde über die französischen Militärstationen Ojem, Nzork, Oyvan angetreten und endete am 6. Juni 1909 in Libreville. Den Abschluß bildete ein kurzer Ausflug nach Kap Lopez und auf einem Raddampfer den Ogowe hinauf nach Ndjole.

1: Tessmann FH9 Fang

Abschnitt I.

Land und Leute.

Pangwegebiet: Lage, Größe, Oberflächengestaltung, Klima. — Tier- und Pflanzenwelt. — Bevölkerung. — Name „Pangwe". — Körperliche Beschaffenheit der Pangwe.

Das Land der Pangwe liegt an der Westküste Afrikas zwischen dem 1° südlicher und dem 5° nördlicher Breite sowie dem 9° und 14° östlicher Länge und umfaßt etwa 176 600 qkm d. h. einen Raum, der einem Drittel des Deutschen Reiches entspricht. Kolonialpolitisch gehört es in seinem nördlichen Teil zum deutschen Schutzgebiet Kamerun, in seinem südlichen zur Kolonie Gabun (Französisch-Äquatorialafrika, früher: Französisch-Kongo). Ein Ausschnitt im südlichen Teil des deutschen Gebietes, von der Küste bis zum 11°, steht unter spanischer Oberhoheit und führt den Namen Spanisch-Guinea. Der auf Kamerun entfallende Teil des Pangwegebietes ist 94 000 qkm groß[1]).

Dieses gewaltige, vom Ogowe bis zum Sanaga, vom Ivindo (Ajene) bis an die Küste des Atlantischen Ozeans reichende Gebiet ist ein im Durchschnitt 600—800 m über dem Meeresspiegel liegendes Hochland, das, zum größeren Teile eben, zum kleineren von Hügeln, Bergkuppen und Gebirgsketten überhöht wird. Die höchsten Erhebungen messen selten mehr als 1500 m über dem Meeresspiegel, so daß bei der durchschnittlichen relativen Höhe von 700 m der Hochgebirgscharakter fehlt. Das gesamte Gebiet ist bis auf den äußersten Norden mit dichtem Urwald bedeckt und wird von vielen an Stromschnellen reichen, zum Teil recht breiten und tiefen Strömen durchzogen, so vor allem von dem Nyong in seinem Mittellauf, von dem Kampo (Nteni), dem Uelle (Benito), den Zuflüssen des Muni- und Gabunbeckens, dem Abanga und Kon (zum Ogowe), dem Mwung nebst weniger bedeutenden rechten Nebenflüssen des Ivindo, sowie endlich vom Ivindo selbst. Der Dscha, der für eine Strecke unterhalb des Kaim bei Kam eben die Grenze des Pangwegebiets überschreitet, ist der einzige Fluß, der zum Wassernetz des Kongo gehört. Seen oder sonstige stehende Gewässer fehlen ganz, dagegen sind Sümpfe in Menge vorhanden.

---

[1]) Nach dem Kongoabkommen von 1911.

DAS PANGWE-GEBIET.
BATÍ
WUTE
MAKA
KAME-
RUN
SPAN. GUINEA
FRANZ. ÄQUATORIAL AFRIKA
BAKELE

[facing p. 1]

2

Der aus rotem und gelbem Lehm bestehende Boden ist äußerst fruchtbar infolge der großen Luftfeuchtigkeit und der reichlichen Niederschläge, die sich auf zwei Jahreszeiten verteilen und eine jährliche Regenmenge von 1500 bis 2000 mm bringen. Der Ablauf dieser Jahreszeiten ist an verschiedenen Punkten des Pangwegebiets verschieden, im mittleren Teil etwa folgendermaßen:

Dezember bis Februar . = große Trockenzeit,
März bis Mai . . . . . = kleine Regenzeit,
Juni bis August . . . . = kleine Trockenzeit,
September bis November = große Regenzeit.

Die gesundheitlichen Verhältnisse sind, wie im übrigen tropischen Westafrika, schlecht. Malaria in allen Formen, Dysenterie und Hautkrankheiten sind endemisch, gefährden in erster Linie die Europäer, verschonen aber auch die Eingeborenen nicht, namentlich rafft die Malaria, gegen die die Erwachsenen eine gewisse Seuchenfestigkeit erwerben, kleine Kinder in Menge weg.

Die Tier- und Pflanzenwelt zeigt die für das südliche Waldgebiet bezeichnenden Formen und wird als Kamerun-Gebirgsfauna und -flora bezeichnet; nur im äußersten Norden bringt das stellenweise auftretende Grasland einen fremden Zug in das sonst einheitliche Bild. Von größeren Säugetieren finden sich Gorilla und Schimpanse, Elefant und Büffel — dieser nur in der Nähe größerer Flüsse —, Leopard, verschiedene Antilopenarten und, sehr selten, das Flußpferd. Von Vögeln erwähne ich als auffallend und typisch nur Perlhuhn und Frankolin, Schmarotzerweihen und Graupapagei, die verschiedenen Finsterfresser (Turaco) und Nashornvögel u. d — als seltensten und schönsten — den großen Kampfadler, Spinaetus. Lebensgefährliche Reptilien wie Krokodile und stark giftige Schlangen sind im allgemeinen nicht häufig. Die Fischfauna ist außerordentlich reich, besonders an Welsarten. Aus der Kerfwelt nimmt einige Plagegeister an den Pranger gestellt werden, es sind: Tsetsefliegen, die Menschenfresser Chrysops dimidiata Wolp (F.: ewoni), Sandflöhe, Culicoides-Arten (F.: ofige) und Sandfliege. Gegen Tsetsefliegen hilft ein Feuerbrand, gegen Bremsen die Fliegenklatsche, gegen Sandflöhe Rauch und gegen Sandfliege nur das Abmachen der Zehen, zwischen denen sie sich mit Vorliebe festsetzen. Die Honigbiene kommt vor, wird aber nicht gezüchtet.

Die Pflanzenwelt verfügt über einen ungeheuren Reichtum an Arten, deren Verteilung und Verbreitung noch wenig erforscht sind. Die Hauptcharakterpflanze des auf verlassenen Feldern entstehenden Buschwaldes ist der Schirmbaum, Musanga Smithii R. Br. (F.: ensing) Tafel 11. Auffallende große Bäume des Urwaldes (Abb. 1) sind der Bonnewollbaum, Ceiba pentandra

Tafel II

EINGANG IN DEN URWALD BEI MAKONANÁM, SPAN. GUINEA.
Der Vorbeigang [illegible] (Mesangu), in der Nähe unter der Bauern des Fangdorfes.

[illegible] Tessmann, Die Fang-[illegible]

Verlag und gedruckt bei Ernst Wasmuth A.-G., Berlin.

[facing p.2]

Abb. 1. Im Urwald bei Bikomadzap, Spec. Gottsau.
Im Vordergrunde über einer sumpfigen Serie die Baumstämme und eine Brücke (Dicke: Die Folgeseite.

(L.) Gärtn. (P.: dum), die Leguminosen **Piptadenia africana** Hook. f. (P.: tum), **Pentaclethra macrophylla** Benth. (P.: ebai), **Erythrophleum guineense** Don. (P.: elun), sowie die schlanke Combretacee **Terminalia superba** Engl. et Diels (P.: akom). Der dickste und gewaltigste Baum des Gebietes ist die ungemeinwohnende **Ceiba pentandra** Hgrms., der Geisterbaum der Pangwe. Palmen sind in ungefähr 15 Arten vertreten, die wichtigsten im Haushalt der Eingeborenen sind die Raphiapalme und der kletternde **Oncosperma** nebst Verwandten. Die Ölpalme kommt nur im Norden in größerer Anzahl vor. Von niederen Pflanzen sind die Scitamineen, besonders **Afromomum**-Arten, wichtig, die geradezu bestandbildend auftreten können.

Die Bevölkerung gehört bis auf unbedeutende Spuren einer älteren Rasse, auf die ich noch zu sprechen komme, zu den Pangwe, einem von Nordosten eingewanderten Negerstamm mit einheitlicher Sprache und Kultur. Diese Einheitlichkeit ist freilich nicht im Sinne einer unbedingten Stammeseinheit aufzufassen. Eine solche gibt es in Afrika nicht, wo zahlreiche, im einzelnen meist nicht nachzuspürende Mischungen die Rassen und Stämme durcheinandergewürfelt haben. Aber die Lebenskraft der Pangwe erwies sich bei der Berührung mit anderen Stämmen als kräftig genug, um denen Bestandteile aufzunehmen und trotz Aufnahme fremder Sprach- und Kulturteile ihre Eigenart zu bewahren.

Im Norden haben auf diese Weise die Eton, in weniger starkem Maße die Jaunde und Bene von den Bati, im Nordosten die Mwele von den Wute, im Osten die Bulu von den Njem und im äußersten Südosten die Mokuk von ihren Nachbarn fremden Volkstum angenommen. An gewissen Stellen der Grenzgebiete haben die Vermischungen zur Bildung neuer Stämme geführt, z. B. der Makei — zwischen Pangwe und Bakelle im Süden — und der Mumwkji — zwischen Pangwe und Benga am unteren Kampo.

Über die Art und Weise, wie die Vermischung stattgefunden hat, sind wir im einzelnen nicht überall genau unterrichtet. Man wird aber nicht fehlgehen, wenn man annimmt, daß sie meistenteils durch die Macht der überlegenen Pangwe erzwungen war. Durch den ungeheuren Druck, mit dem dieses Volk auf die westlichen und südlichen Völker drängte, durch Kriegszüge oder durch mehr oder minder gewaltsamen Kauf brachte es die Frauen der feindlichen Stämme in seinen Besitz, nahm auch wohl kriegsgefangene oder wenigstens abhängig gemachte Männer in seine Sippenverbände auf. Anders liegt die Sache im Norden. Hier war das Übergewicht der Pangwe an Zahl und Kraft nicht so groß, denn die Richtung des Vorrückens der Pangwe geht nach Südwest, dafür war der Ruf und das Ansehen, in dem dieses einzigartige Volk stand, derartig groß, daß die umgebenden Völker auch ohne direkten Zwang die Pangwesprache und -kultur annahmen. Hierher gehören die ursprünglich fremden und aus Norden eingewanderten oder nachgedrungenen Bati, und noch heute läßt sich der geschilderte Vorgang, der an den der „Mamaiflen" Ostafrikas erinnert, bei den Batjenga, einem Zweig der Bati südlich des Sanaga, beobachten. Diese Leute sprechen ihre eigene Sprache nur noch wenig, bedienen sich vielmehr fast ausschließlich des Pangwe und werden in wenigen Jahren ganz pangwisiert sein. Es ist hierbei zu einer dreifachen Verwechslung gekommen, insofern die Jaunde, also die südlichen Pangwe, ihre eigene Sprache, die Jaundemundart des Pangwesches, als Sabe fast, als Batisprache bezeichnen.

Außer den genannten Stämmen haben noch weitere Nachbarn in einem mehr oder weniger geringen Umfang Volksteile an die Pangwe abgegeben, so im Osten die **M o k o**, die noch wenig bekannt, aber wohl den Küstenstämmen zuzuzählen sind, im Nordwesten die **B a s s á**, ein Bruderstamm der Pangwe, der sich in alter Zeit mit ihnen von dem gemeinsamen Hauptstamm abgezweigt und seinen eigenen Weg verfolgt hat, längs der Küste und am Ogowe eine Reihe verschiedener Stämme, die infolge der kriegerischen Vorgänge im Innern in diesem Rückzugsgebiet verdrängt, durcheinandergemischt und daher kaum mehr voneinander zu scheiden sind. Am einfachsten und klarsten liegen die Verhältnisse im Norden, wo am weitesten im Innern die **N g o m b a**, dieser

Abb. 1. Fangfrauen (Frau, Bandung und Gewrung). Spon. Gabun.

als verhältnismäßig geschlossene Masse die Mabea und endlich auf einem schmalen Küstenstreif die Benga (Batanga, Nkowe usw.) wohnen. Die letzteren sind wirtschaftlich eigentlich schon aufs Meer gedrängt oder, wie im Süden beim Muni, auf die vorgelagerten Inseln, z. B. Koriako, zurückgewichen, wo sie sich noch am reinsten erhalten konnten. Am besten faßt man — bei der Unmöglichkeit, heute die einzelnen Stämme zu scheiden —, die gesamten westlichen und südlichen Nachbarstämme, mit Ausnahme der Okandegruppe, nach dem Muster Avelot's[7]; unter dem Namen Benga-Bakele zusammen. Von den nördlichen Stämmen der Benga-Bakele-Gruppe, die vom Nyong bis zum Muni reichen, haben sich schon früher die südlichen — die Bakele — infolge des Vordringens des Pangwe abgetrennt, werden aber mit unglaublicher Schnelligkeit von den Fang aufgesogen. Genau so wie den Stämmen der Benga-Bakele ergeht es den Stämmen der Okandegruppe, als deren wichtigster die Mpongwe zu nennen sind, die zum Teil am Gabunbecken, zum Teil südlich der Ogowemündung wohnen. Beide Gebiete, besonders das südliche am Gabun, werden von Jahr zu Jahr kleiner. Das Gleiche gilt von den übrigen Okande am unteren Ogowe, deren Hauptstamm die Galoa bilden. Als letzte Gruppe der Nachbarvölker bleibt die der Balinte (Fiotte) zu erwähnen, *dieser* denen als nächste Nachbarn im Osten besonders die Bakota- und im Süden, jenseits des Ogowe, die westlichen Bafiotestämme in Betracht kommen. Aber auch

[7] Vgl. M. R. Avelot, Recherches sur l'histoire des migrations dans le Bassin de l'Ogôwé, S. 31.

sie werden wohl mit der Zeit von den Pangwe noch zermalmt und im Meer gedrängt werden, denn schon heute stehen die Vorposten dieses unverwüstlichen Volkes, das wie ein Keil die morschen Stämme zersplittert und unerbittlich der Zerstörung übergibt, vor den Toren von Vernand Vaz.

Die Nachbarn der Pangwe sind es auch gewesen, die ihnen den Namen gegeben haben. Sie selbst kennen eine die Gesamtheit umfassende Stammesbezeichnung nicht, wenig wie das bei anderen in Gemeindeverbänden lebenden, politisch nicht geeinten Naturvölkern der Fall ist. Die Küstenneger hörten von ihre unmittelbaren Nachbarn sich „fang" nennen, faßten das Wort als „pang" auf und nannten ihrerseits in entwickelbarer Verallgemeinerung alle Stämme des Innern ebenso; sie konnten natürlich nicht wissen, daß sie es nur mit einem von mehreren verschiedenen benannten Unterstämmen zu tun hatten. Weiterhin änderte sich der Name dadurch, daß jene Küstenvölker den Wort „pang" für einen einzelnen Vertreter der Inlandstämme gebrauchten, für die Gesamtheit aber durch Anhängen eines we das Wort „pangwe" bildeten (vgl. Abschnitt II, S. 33). Die Erklärung dieses Vorganges und dieser eingeklemmten Silbe ist nur zu vermuten. Ein Mosekji erzählte mir, die Benga hätten beschlossen, als sie zum erstenmal mit den Fang in Berührung kamen, aus Abneigung gegen den bösen „häßlichen" Namen pang diesen Volk Pangwe zu taufen. Dann bliebe noch zu erklären, wie die Leute dazu gekommen wären, gerade we anzuhängen. Vielleicht ist die Vermutung erlaubt, die freilich nur von den Mpongwe geäußert wurde, daß dieser Stamm den Namen der gefürchteten Fang ihrem eigenen Stammesnamen, dessen Entstehung ganz anderer Art sein mag, bewußt angeglichen hat, womit der Zweck erreicht wurde, noch heute noch werden Pangwe und Mpongwe meist verwechselt.

Von den Küstenegern übernahmen die Europäer die Bezeichnung Pangwe für die Inlandstämme und wandten sie natürlich ebenso wie jene auf deren Gesamtheit an, ein Vorgang, der entsprechend etwa in den Beziehungen zwischen Franzosen und Deutschen stattgefunden hat. Einzelne übertrugen den Namen „Alemannen" von dem ihnen bekanntesten Unterstamm der Alemannen später einfach auf alle von ihrem Standpunkt aus den Alemannen verwandten und benachbarten Völker, also auf alle Deutschen.

Die Franzosen nennen die Pangwe, deren Namen sie sich mundgerecht gemacht haben, „Fahouins", fassen den Sammelbegriff aber so weit, daß sie die Bakoko (soll wohl heißen Bassa) und sogar die Njem (Ndemo) ?) dazu rechnen. Das ist nicht angängig. Will man die Bassa, die entschieden sehr nahe mit den Pangwe verwandt sind, einschließen, so muß man einen noch allgemeineren Sammelnamen, wie etwa „Pangweähnliche Völker" erfinden. Aber das ist fürs erste nicht nötig, jedenfalls haben wir es bei den Pangwe mit

?) Die Njem weichen in jeder Beziehung von den Pangwe ab und sind wohl bloß unter die „Fahouins" gerathen, weil man sie zu wenig kannte.

einem einheitlichen, abgeschlossenen, insbesondere durch die Sprache eng verbundenen Stamme zu tun.

Ich schlage die Bezeichnung „Pangwe" für die Gesamtheit der Völkerschaften vor, die von den Fang — dessen Name den Anstoß gebildet hat — nur mundartlich, nicht sprachlich verschieden und deshalb mit ihnen zusammen als Unterstämme eines großen gemeinsamen Stammes, eben des Pangwe-Stammes aufzufassen sind, das sind die Eton, Mvele, Jaunde, Beme, Bulu, Ntum, Mwai, Fang und Mokuk (Ochiöba).

Abb. 3
Frau mit Kleinkind (Prov. Kamerun) nach Kamerun.

Den Namen Fang auf die ganze Völkergruppe auszudehnen — wie es wohl geschieht —, würde sich deshalb nicht empfehlen, weil sehr leicht Verwechslungen mit dem Unterstamm Fang vorkommen würden, ferner weil jeder Unterstamm gewisse kulturelle Eigenheiten aufweist und daher nicht einer für alle stehen darf, endlich weil ein von den Jagern längst selbst gebildeter, eindeutiger Name vorliegt. Die Schreibart Spangwe ist aus einer Verwechslung mit dem Namen Mpongwe entstanden. Wenn man schließlich an Stelle von Fang auch Fan schreibt, so ist das ganz zu verwerfen, da diese Bezeichnung den Wortklang des Wortes fan (so deutsch geschrieben) durchaus unvollkommen wiedergibt. Bei den französischen Schriftstellern, von denen diese Schreibweise wohl übernommen ist, erklärt sie sich leicht, aber auch sie schreiben eigentlich Fang, weil die französische nasale Aussprache von fan der Aussprache der Eingeborenen wohl kommt, den scharfen Kehlverschluß am Ende aber nicht trifft. Ebenso steht es mit Fan-Fan, was nichts weiter bedeuten soll, als richtige, einheimische Fang (Verstärkung wird in der Pangwesprache durch Verdoppelung des Stammes ausgedrückt).

Wir haben gesehen, daß die Pangwe sich mit den fremden Negerstämmen, mit denen sie auf ihren Wanderungen in Berührung kamen, vermischten; sie haben es gewiß auch mit den Resten Bewohnern, den Landes, den Pygmäen,

getan, die früher vermutlich in größerer Zahl die westafrikanischen Wälder durchzogen, heute innerhalb des Pangwe-Gebietes nur mehr in wenigen verstreuten Horden vorkommen. Wie weit diese Mischung gegangen, in welchem Umfange sie nicht nur eine anthropologische, sondern auch eine ethnographische war, läßt sich bei unserer im Grunde vollständig behandelt werden. Ich habe mich jedoch bemüht, eine möglichst große Anzahl von Kopf- und Gesichtstypen nach anthropologischen Grundsätzen aufzunehmen, und glaube, daß die hier gegebenen Abbildungen nicht bloß dem Laien, sondern auch dem Fachmanne ein genügend klares Bild von der körperlichen Erscheinung des Pangwe sowie dessen Stellung zu den übrigen Negern vermitteln.

Abb. 4. Dieser aus Bitsel (Fran. Kongo).

digen Unkenntnis der Zwergvölker nicht sagen. Ich selbst habe nur einen einzigen Pygmäen gesehen bzw. für meine Untersuchungen verwerten können und werde an den geeigneten Stellen darauf zurückkommen.

Anthropologische Messungen gehörten nicht zu den Zwecken und Aufgaben der Expedition, und so werden die körperlichen Verhältnisse der Pangwe von mir nicht

Ich spreche schon von den sprachlichen und kulturellen Mischungen in unserem Gebiete. Ihnen schließen sich diejenigen der Rassenelemente an, und zwar lassen sich in der Hauptsache zwei Typen unterscheiden, ein größerer negerartiger und ein feinerer nördlicher (hamitischer). Jener zeigt einen breiteren Schädel, kürzeres und breiteres Gesicht, flachere Nase mit eingedrückter Wurzel, wulstig aufgeworfene Lippen, vorgeschobene Kiefer, gedrungenen Körper und entwickeltere Muskulatur mit Neigung zu Fettansatz (Taf. III); der zweite schmälere höheren Schädel, längeres Gesicht, hohen Nasenrücken, Orthognathie mit europäerähnlicher Kiefer- und Lippenbildung, längeren Körper, zierlicheren Knochenbau und schwächere Muskulatur (Abb. 5). An Zahl

AJÓNG BOKA (FAM. ESSAUDONGO, FANG).

[facing p. 8]

Abb. 5. Bassa (Fang, Gewehr), Spec. Gabun.

überwiegt der erste Typ, dessen dunkle schokoladenbraune Hautfärbung häufig auch dort noch bemerkt, wo Körperbau und Kopfbildung dem zweiten, feineren angehören. Also nicht immer, aber doch häufig gehört zu dem letzteren eine hellere, fast rötliche Hautfarbe, die den Fangwo auffallend von den Nachbarvölkern unterscheidet. Im übrigen gehen beide stark durcheinander und vereinigen sich zu zahllosen Übergangsformen.

Abschnitt II.

Sprache.

Ihre Wichtigkeit. — Laute: Vokale, Konsonanten, Veränderungen, Lautangleichung und Lautabstoßung, Einschiebung von Vokalen. — Musikalische Töne: Tonhöhen, einfache Töne, zusammengesetzte Töne, Beispiele. — Dynamischer Ton: Beispiele, Schnelligkeit und Schwierigkeit der Sprache. Tonverschiebungen. — Wortbildung: Stamm- und Nachsilbe und ihre Entstehung, Bedeutung der Nachsilben, Beispiele, Vorsilben und ihre Bedeutung, Beispiele. — Satzbau: Kurzer Überblick und Beispiele. Vergleichende Zusammenstellung der Pangwemundarten, vergleichende Sprachproben der Nachbarvölker.

Es bedarf keiner Erläuterung, daß es zu einem erfolgreichen Studium des Negers und zu einem innigeren geistigen Verkehr mit ihm erforderlich ist, seine Sprache zu beherrschen. Aber noch mehr, diese Sprache selbst, in ihrem Aufbau und in ihren ethymologischen Beziehungen, offenbart uns erst die Kreise seiner Vorstellungen wie die Richtungslinien seines Denkens, sie ist der wahre Schlüssel zum Verständnis seines Lebens. Ein Überblick über sie darf hier daher nicht fehlen.

Zum Verständnis der Sprache ist es nötig — da ich nach Möglichkeit die einheimischen Ausdrücke angeführt habe —, einen Blick auf die phonetische Schreibweise der Wörter zu werfen, um auch dem Leser, der sich nicht mit Bantusprachen beschäftigt hat, einen genauen Begriff von den für das Pangwe wichtigen Lauten und ihrer Aussprache zu vermitteln. In folgendem habe ich mich bei allen in den deutschen Text aufgenommenen Pangwewörtern und -namen nach der deutschen Rechtschreibung gerichtet [1]), also danach, wie wir die Laute in deutscher Aussprache am ähnlichsten wiederzugeben gewohnt sind; dagegen ist alles *kursiv* gedruckte nach den phonetischen Regeln auszusprechen. Die hier angewandte phonetische Schreibweise beruht auf den Vorschlägen von Prof. C. Meinhof.

Bei Vokalen haben wir zu unterscheiden: lange und kurze (Quantität), geschlossene und offene (Qualität). Bei jedem Vokal kommt es nicht nur auf die Quantität, sondern auch auf die Qualität an, doch gibt es nur beim e und o lange geschlossene und kurze geschlossene, lange offene und kurze offene Vokale, beim i und u fallen die langen offenen weg, so daß wir nur drei verschiedene i und u haben. Beim a und ô dagegen ist es bei den kurz gesprochenen sprach-

[1]) Auch auf den Karten ist die deutsche, nicht die phonetische Rechtschreibung bevorzugt.

[p. 10]

Abb. 6. Onde aus Angbanzani (Fam. Gamwang). Span. Guinea.

lich nicht von Wichtigkeit, ob sie offen oder geschlossen sind, oft ist es nicht einmal zu unterscheiden. Wir haben also folgende Vokale:

		geschl.	offen
a kurz	ȧ		
a lang		ȧ	ȧ
ö[1]) kurz	ö		
ö lang	ö	ö	ö
i kurz		ɨ	ɨ
i lang		ɨ	
e kurz		ẻ	ẻ
e lang		ẻ	ẻ
u kurz		ȕ	ȕ
u lang		ȕ	
o kurz		ȯ	ȯ
o lang		ȯ	ȯ

Die Kürze oder Länge (Quantität) ist hier also durch einen Bogen (kurz) oder Strich (lang) über dem Buchstaben, die Qualität, und zwar nur bei den

[1]) Ich kann mich nicht dazu entschließen, hier ö zu schreiben, wie Pater Nekes nach dem von P. W. Schmidt im „Anthropos" Bd. II, 1907 veröffentlichten phonetischen System will, denn der Laut — mag er auch aus e entstanden sein — entspricht unserm ö. Wenn zugegeben wird, daß dieser Laut eben heute

Abb. 7. [illegible]

offenen, durch einen Strich u n t e r dem Buchstaben kenntlich gemacht; wo die Qualität unbezeichnet ist, ist sie geschlossen oder wie in *a* und *ó* beliebig.

Wichtig ist nun im Fangwe, daß das offene kurze *i (ɪ)* in ein kurzes geschlossenes *e (e)* übergeht, daher die Schwankungen in der Rechtschreibung, z. B. bei „Baum" *ɛ́ʃ* oder *éʃ*. Ebenso steht es beim *ɛ* und *ɔ*, man kann schreiben *mɔkɔ́* oder *mɔkɔ́* (Pfeiler, Pflock). Bei den Mundarten des Südens treten vielfach die offenen langen *ɛ* und *ɔ* an Stelle von *á* und *ó*; auch *ɣ* und hauptsächlich *ɣi* ist ein Kennzeichen mundartlicher Verschiedenheit, besonders bezeichnend ist das für die Ntum: *oɣɣi* (Tuch), *aɣɣɣi* (Eisvogel). *ɣ* und *ɣ* vertreten sich dabei, so *mɣɣi* (Unterstamm) bei den Fang, *mɣɣi* bei den Ntum; *ɣbɣi* (Sippe der Fang) F. und *ɣbɣi* Nt.

Von Konsonanten haben wir:

1. Aspirata, *h* (nur in den nördlichen Mundarten für *v*),
2. Gutturales *k, g, ŋ*,
3. Dentales *t, ts, tʃ, d, dz, dʃ, s, z, n, l*,
4. Dentilabiales *f, v*,

---

nicht mehr *e*, sondern ein eigener dumpfer Vokal ist (wie das französische *e* muillet), wir also ein besonderes Zeichen für den Laut wählen müssen, warum dann fremden Völkern zuliebe *e* und nicht, was uns Deutschen doch näher liegt, *ə*? Denn international ist diese phonetische Schreibweise leider nicht.

Abb. 6. Bibengi-Kinder (Fang, Djoki). Spem. Gabun.

5. Lateralen *pf, v, b, m,*
6. Palatalen *ń (ng),*
7. endanische Lautverbindungen *pb (pbw), kp (kpw),*
8. Halbvokale *w, y.*

Fremdartig für uns ist das gutturale *ń*, das im Worte *ńże* (Unterstamm der P.), in deutscher Schreibung Fang, vorkommt. Dem langen, silbisch auftretenden *ń*, *n* und *m* sind Laien stets geneigt, beim Niederschreiben ein *e* vorzusetzen und z. B. *enbu* statt *mbu* (Pinangfresser, Tarsius-Arten) zu schreiben. Das deutsche *w* in „Wasser" ist phonetisch *v*, außerdem gibt es noch *w* als bilabiales *v*; der phonetische Buchstabe *w* ist wie im Englischen „water" zu sprechen, in einfachem Druck muß er durch *u* oder *o* ersetzt werden, z. B. Ramsong, phon.: *ramwń* (Sippe der Fang). Das *y* neigt oft zu dem Reibelaute *j*; da dies indessen ganz wechselnd ist, so kann man z. B. ebensogut *ajua* wie *ayua* (Name) schreiben. Ebenso ist es mit *t, ts* und *tš* (in deutscher Schreibung tsch), die einander in den verschiedenen Mundarten ersetzen, so *tšl* (Fleisch) oder *tsil* oder *til*. Die Dentalen *t, ts* und *tš*, *d, dz* und *dž*, ferner *s* und *z* sind fast immer palatalisiert; man merkt es daran, daß die Pangwe unser deutsches *s* und *sch* nie richtig aussprechen, sondern stets dabei einen Reibelaut hervorbringen. Diese Palatalisation, die ich — weil durchgängig — nicht bezeichnet habe, ist meiner Meinung nach zum Teil auf Rechnung der künstlichen Ver-

Abb. 9 [illegible]

stimmung des Zahnspitzens zu setzen, und sie hat sich so verwirrt, daß harte auch Laute mit unverwandtem Gebiß immer palatalisieren, dagegen wechselt die Aussprache *ti*, *tsi* und *tsir* nach dem Untersinnen, genau wie *d*, *dz* und *dz'* z. B. in *dzo* (Auge), *dzo* und *dzio*. Besonders wichtig ist es, zwischen schnellem und weichem *o* (phon. schnell: *o* und weich: *ö*) zu unterscheiden. Im einfachen Druck spreche man ein einfaches *o* stets weich aus, z. B. in *lö (ö)* — Leopard wie in Sonne; die Schärfe habe ich durch Verdoppelung angezeigt, wie in *lso (so)* — Mondkult. Das wäre das einzige, was man bei der deutschen Schreibweise zu beachten hätte. Damit ist uns nicht gesagt, daß harte und weiche Laute, wie *s* und *z*, durchaus unverwechselbar wären, vielmehr ersetzen sie sich oftmals; so wird *pf* (im Nasal) zu *f*, *t* zu *d*, *s* zu *z*, letzteres tritt stets in der gesamten Sprache der Regel nach ein, man vergleiche *zambe* und *zambe* — *zamba* (Gott), *a sipe* — sich erschrecken und *sipe* — der Schreck. — Hier muß ferner die ungemeine Flüchtigkeit und leichte Veränderlichkeit von Lauten erwähnt werden. Lautangleichung (Alliteration) und Lautabstoßung (Elision) werden in einem Umfange geübt, der fast aus Straffaire grenzt, Konsonanten in einer Weise zurückgemattet, die ihnen unser Mitleid sichert, Vokale derart angerichtet, daß es oft nicht möglich ist, ihre „Identität" festzustellen. Hier die corpora delicti:

ndiio statt *ndiibego* (Schlüssel), *afjio* statt *afjogolo* (Hut), *ewut* statt *ewunde* (Kinte), *ei* statt *sipe* (Treibersmann), *fse* statt *fsie* (legen, setzen, stellen), *ajo* statt *sono* (Tante, Schwester des Vaters), *mina* statt *minogo* (Frau).

Abb. 63. [illegible] (Frau, Gabun). Spam. Gabun

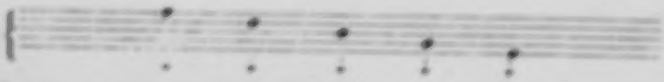
Dieses fallen viele Konsonanten vor nachfolgenden Vokalen aus, so: *ndzó* (Zucker), aber *ndzo a ntangan* = der Zucker des Weißen, europäischer Zucker, *a bwi* = klopfen, aber *a bo a ndo* = ein Haus klopfen, *bin* = Papagei, aber *bwa-ni* = Papagei der Erde = [illegible]-Arten (Webervögel), wegen *mêm na mam* = mein Gatte statt *mame mam*. In den meisten dieser Fälle habe ich den Einfluß in eckigen Klammern beibehalten, damit das Grundwort erkennbar ist, der eingeklammerte Buchstabe ist aber nicht mitzusprechen. Dafür wird dann, wenn Konsonanten auf Konsonanten stoßen, ein euphonisches *e* und sogar ein *l* eingeschoben, letzteres aber nur, wenn es ursprünglich im Stamme enthalten war, wie in *ko* (Schildkröte): Wasserschildkröte = *kulekó*, oder im Beginn des Märchens: Die Schildkröte und der Leopard = *kule ko ná*. Anderswo z. B. in Zusammensetzungen, werden harte Laute, die am Ende des Wortes stehen, wie *mystê* = Heim, in weiche verwandelt, also *mystê-gi* (Name einer Sippe der Jaunde) statt *mystê-gi*. Daß hörtere Laute auch am Anfang keine besonderen Aussichten auf Fortkommen haben, ist gelegentlich der Verwandlung von *s* in *z* wohl bemerkt worden, ebenso ist es z. B. bei Wörtern wie *(n)ním* = Weg, *(n)ná* = Leopard, von denen ist oft nur ein Hauch geblieben, während sie bei den südlichen Fang und in Zusammensetzungen wie einiger wieder auftreten. Doch damit wollen wir das Stiefkindregister schließen.

Zugleich kann ich damit meine Vorbemerkungen über die Schreibweise der Fangwörter beendigen, die Erörterung dieses an sich trockenen Stoffes

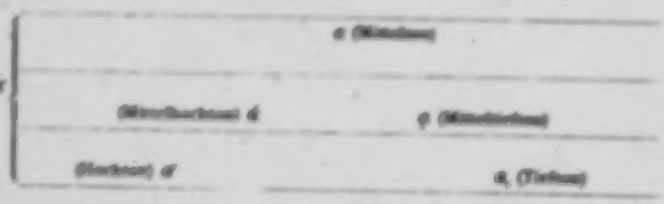
erschien mir aber für die, welche sich mit den Pangwe im allgemeinen und dem Studium dieses Buches im besonderen beschäftigen, unumgänglich nötig.

Was die Pangwesprache vor vielen, selbst Bantu-Sprachen auszeichnet, ist die Wichtigkeit des musikalischen Tones. Wir werden in späteren Abschnitten auf Schritt und Tritt uns vor die Notwendigkeit gestellt sehen, auf die Tonhöhe genau zu achten, z. B. bei Namen, gar nicht einmal zu reden von der Trommelsprache, die ja auf den musikalischen Regeln der Sprache beruht. Die musikalische Höhe der Sprachtone wechselt bekanntlich in Form einer Kurve, deren Durchschnitt man als seine mittlere Höhe bezeichnet. Für den praktischen Gebrauch ist es nötig, aus der Menge der Töne gewisse wiederkehrende Gruppen zusammenzufassen, und man kommt da, je nach der musikalischen Begabung des Beobachters, zu vielen oder aber nur zu zwei Tönen, eben einem höheren und einem tieferen. Bei den meisten Bantu-Sprachen genügt die Unterscheidung von drei Tönen, im Pangwe läßt sich leider damit nicht auskommen, sondern man muß fünf einfache Töne unterscheiden, die ich als Hochton, Mittelhochton, Mittelton, Mitteltiefton und Tiefton bezeichne. Das Schwierige ist nun, daß sich die von dem Mittelton entsprechend weit nach oben oder nach unten entfernten Töne —, also Mittelhochton und Mitteltiefton, Hochton und Tiefton —, oft ersetzen können, und zwar je näher dem Mittelton, desto leichter. Die Töne bezeichnet man einfach durch einen Strich beim Vokal der Tonsilbe, sei es seitlich oben, über, unter oder seitlich unten beim Buchstaben. Am besten mag die Verhältnisse das folgende Schema verdeutlichen:

Notenschrift[1]:



In phonetischer Schrift:



Diese Tonhöhen sind zum Verständnis der Sprache nicht zu entbehren, das beweist als eines der auffallendsten Beispiele das Wort *mbas* in seinen vier verschiedenen Bedeutungen als

Flasche: *mbɔ́s* (F.), Kugel: *mbǫ́s*,
Kokosnuß: *mbás* (J.), Elfenbein: *mbǫ́s*.

An diesem Beispiel sieht man auch, daß fünf Tonhöhen nötig sind, der Mittelton kann, weil zu nahe dem Mittelhochton und Mitteltiefton, in

[1]) Die Notenschrift ist nur schematisch gedacht, es stimmen natürlich die Tonhöhen der Pangwetöne nicht mit den Tönen unseres Notensystems überein.

d i e o e u Fälle als Unterschied nicht in Betracht kommen, obwohl er natürlich vorhanden ist. Der Mittelton ist unbezeichnet geblieben, da er als mittlerer Sprachton gilt und unterschiedlich nicht sehr hervortritt. Sehr verwickelt wird die Sache durch das Auftreten von zusammengesetzten Tönen. Man könnte sagen: es gibt also *e* mit *á*, *á* mit *a*, *a* mit *à* und *a* mit *e* verbunden. Da aber hinzukommt, daß jeder dieser beiden verbundenen Töne von derselben oder von verschiedener Länge sein kann, so ergibt sich eine Fülle, die unserer Auffassung, unserer Schreib- und Sprechweise verderblich werden müßte, wenn man nicht vereinfachte, und man kann das sehr gut tun, indem man bei zusammengesetzten Tönen nur unterscheidet, ob sie hochtief oder tiefhoch sind. Nun fragt sich: sind sie beide gleichlang, oder welcher ist länger? Das gibt eine Gruppe von sechs zusammengesetzten Tönen, die in folgendem Schema zusammengestellt sind. Die gegenüberstehenden können sich wieder, je näher sie sich im Schema stehen, desto leichter ersetzen.

	Hochtiefton	Tiefhochton	
gleichlang	*á*	*à*	gleichlang
kurzlang	*ǎ*	*ȁ*	kurzlang
langkurz	*à*	*ȁ*	langkurz

Glücklicherweise ist hier wenigstens *d a s* Gute, daß bei den beiden letzten Tönen meist ein *i* für den nachschleifenden Ton eintritt, so daß man die Zeichen für diese Töne vermeidet. Beispielsweise schreibe ich *ciri*, (Heimchen, Zikade), nicht, was vielleicht auch berechtigt wäre, *cǐǐ*. Es nimmt eben durch den nachklappenden kurzen Ton — sei er fallend oder steigend — der Laut eine andere Klangfarbe, meist die des *i*, an. Wer sich das klarmacht und vor allem bedenkt, daß sich *á* und *à*, weil nahestehend, ersetzen können, wird bei Streitfragen, die einen solchen Fall betreffen, seine Ruhe bewahren können. Wir haben also im ganzen fünf einfache und vier zusammengesetzte Töne in der Pangwe-Sprache zu beachten.

Mancher könnte nun meinen, die vielen Töne, die nur einem eingefleischten Phonetiker eine angenehme Musik sein würden, wären praktisch nicht von Bedeutung, und das angeführte Beispiel sei nur eine Ausnahme. Ein Blick in ein Wörterbuch der Pangwe-Sprache wird das Gegenteil erweisen; es seien aber auch hier einige Beispiele von Tonhöhen angeführt, die im Verein mit den Vokalunterschieden einen Begriff von der Schwierigkeit der Pangwe-Sprache geben. Von den vielen Wortspielen zwischen *ngɔn* = Mädchen, Mond und

ngán (ngán) = Ngon, ein Kiténgwéché Gummiaxpe oder Cogn. und zwischen *ngá* = Gewehr und *ngá* = Frau will ich schweigen, aber nun höre nur folgende kleine Zusammenstellung:

mvin = Frucht der Elpalme, *mvin* F. *mvin* Bl. = Schwarzstück-Schopfantilope, Cephalophus ruficrypta Peters, *bvin* = Schmerz.

ngi = Feuerkalt, *ngi* = Gorilla.

mbin = Kult, *mbin* = Verbrechen und Wiedergutmachung, Herpestes mulemuna Gray.

ndzi = Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth. (Leguminosae), *ndzi* = Gadia adamia Gerke (Boraginac.).

ngwi = Schwein, *ngwi* = Stachelschweinähnlichkeiten, Anomalurus-Arten;

ndzi = Schirmantilope Tragelaphus kasiani Lemberg, *ndzi* = umgefallener niederliegender Baum;

a bi = zuklappen, zuschlagen intrans., *mbi* = weg, fort, *a bi* = fangen und sich fangen, *bi* = fange, Imperativ;

a bidi o jib = erhöht sitzen, z. B. *mun a bidi mitu* = der Vogel sitzt oben auf einem Ast, *a bidi o jib* = aufhängen (etwas), *a bit* = hinaufgehen;

ngyi = Manniophytum abyssinum Muell. Arg. (Euphorbiaceae), *ngyi* = eine Ficusart; *ngyi* = Kautschukliane Carpodinus mannii K. Sch. (Apocynaceae) und Eingeweihter in Kulte, *ngyi* = Messing;

mbyi = Mannik, Kamore, *mbiá* = Nachtiertalle, *mbyi* = Fiesthalken im Hause;

ndzi = weibliche Scham, *ndzi* = Frucht von Mimusops djave, *ndzu* = Schamgegend, *ndzu* = Brust, Geliebte;

ndzi = Penis, *ndzi* = Zuckerrohrhütten, *ndzi* = Aufbewahrungskörbe der Frauen, *ndzi* = Seele.

bdi = Meerkatze, *bdi* = Schnecke;

fi = schwarze, auf der Erde kriechende Schlangen verschiedener Gattungen, *fi* = kleinere Nager, Nagetier, *fi* = Pulverläschchen, *fi* = Erkenntn, *fi* = eitriges Geschwür, Hautgeschwür, *mfi* = eine Baumart, wahrscheinlich Bussia thiersatha (Anonaceae).

Neben dem musikalischen Ton hat der dynamische, durch einen Akzent bezeichnete, eine nicht unwesentliche, wenn auch geringere Bedeutung. Man vergleiche: *ndzin* = Anopyxis klaineana Pierre (Rhizophoraceae), *dzin* = Raubvögel, insbesondere Schmarotzermilane, Plural: *dzin* = Sippe, Familienverband, *dzin* = Name und *ndzin* = stehen, *ndzin* = Hitze; *a ndi* = im Nachteil sein, *d ndi* = wohnen, sich niederlassen; *d dzin* = abpflücken, abtreiben, *a dzin* = tanzen, *d bzi* = in ein Lager bringen, austreten (mit den Füßen), *ndzi* = Tanz, Fest, *ndzi* = Rotnasenaffe Nas hypoxanthus Pucheran

Abb. II u. III. Leute Fang (Fang, Bassonga, Fang, Gabon), rechts Mädchenkopf aus Ottobongo (Fang, Bassonga) Süd-Kamerun.

T o n; *á ŭlne* — anbinden, *a ŭ́jne* — her- oder hinschieben; *á bjm* — anhaken, *a bj́m* — spielen, schlagen (ein Musikinstrument), *dbém* — Stützpfahl eines Hauses, *abj́m* — Bauch, Unterleib; *ddeŭ* — Betrug, Lüge, *adáŭ* — Kreuz, Wirbelkreuze, Floral.

Diese Beispiele, die sich ins Ungemessene vermehren ließen, sollen nur dartun, daß die Beobachtung von Quantität wie Qualität der Vokale, von musikalischem wie dynamischem Ton zur Vermeidung von Mißverständnissen unerläßlich ist. Man wird durch sie einen Begriff bekommen, mit welchen Schwierigkeiten die Erlernung der Pangwe-Sprache verbunden ist, und warum fast alle, die versucht haben, sich in Afrika mit den Bantu-Sprachen praktisch zu beschäftigen, sich darin einig sind, daß wenigstens in Westafrika das Pangwe am schwierigsten zu erlernen ist.

Weiter wird das Verständnis dadurch erschwert, daß die Pangwe die Silben mit einer unglaublichen Schnelligkeit — besonders in Augenblicken der Erregung — hervorstoßen, wofür der Pangwe selbst den treffenden Ausdruck *a tjé* — brodeln, vom kochenden Wasser, erfunden hat[1]).

Wie bei Lauten Lautverschiebungen, so kommen bei den Tönen Tonverschiebungen vor, auch ist keineswegs immer der musikalische Ton in Einzahl und Mehrzahl gleich, vergleiche: *sípa* — Hirschferkel, Hyemoschus aquaticus

[1]) Von den Bene ist es bekannt, daß sie etwas langsamer als die Jaunde sprechen.

Ogilby: Mehrzahl: ala. Daß auch der dynamische Ton in bestimmter Rede sich unwillkürlich ändert, versteht sich wohl von selbst.

Die Verschiedenheit der Laute und die feine Unterscheidung von Tonhöhen in ihrer Sprache läßt von vornherein bei den Pangwe neben einer großen musikalischen Begabung ein ausgeprägtes Gehör für den Wert einer Sache vermuten, und das führt auch auf die Betrachtung der Wortformen, auf die Theorie der Wortbildung, für deren Erkenntnis das Studium des Pangwe von größter Bedeutung zu werden verspricht. Nehmen wir einmal das Hauptwort. Mit drei geschickten Hieben kann man es fast immer, falls es nicht zusammengesetzt ist, in seine drei Bestandteile zerlegen, vorn fällt die Vorsilbe (Präfix) ab, hinten die Nachsilbe (Suffix), in der Mitte bleibt der einsilbige Stamm zurück. Die Nachsilben, die sich übrigens auch bei Zeitwörtern finden, sind freilich mit dem Stamm enger verbunden als die Vorsilbe.

Soweit sich bei den spärlichen bisher vorliegenden Untersuchungen über Wortbildung sagen läßt, ist die Nachsilbe in der Pangwe-Sprache eine freilich weiter entwickelte Wiederholung des Stammes. Der Stamm der heutigen einsilbigen Wörter besteht aus Konsonant + Vokal. Die Nachsilbe hat wahrscheinlich aus Vokal + Konsonant + Vokal bestanden, ist indessen heute ganz abgeschliffen. Der Anfangsvokal der Nachsilbe ist mit dem Endvokal des Stammes verschmolzen und hat ihm eine andere Klangfarbe gegeben oder auf seine Tonhöhe verändernd eingewirkt, der Schlußvokal ist größtenteils heute schon abgefallen, tritt aber bei nachfolgendem Konsonanten in der Form des besprochenen euphonischen *e* wieder auf. Werfen wir also zuerst einen Blick auf den Stamm. Wir haben da drei Urkonsonanten: Kehllaut *(k)*, Gaumenlaut *(t)*, Lippenlaut *(b)*, und drei Urvokale, die in der Bedeutung den Urkonsonanten entsprechen, nämlich *a*, *i (e)* und *o (u)*. Die Bedeutung liegt ursprünglich

1. bei k — a in der Bewertung des vom Wort ausgedrückten Begriffes,
2. bei t — i (e) in dessen Eigenschaft,
3. bei b — o (u) in dessen Beziehung.

Warnung vor Gefahr z. B. ist eine Bewertung, daher die Kehllaute der warnenden Affen, die in dem bewundernden oder warnenden Ausruf *ké* der Pangwe noch ganz ursprünglich wiederklingen. Der Wunsch, etwas zu besitzen, ist Beziehung, und wir finden ihn bei Menschenaffen im Spitzen der Lippen, bei den Pangwe ebenfalls so, wenn man auf etwas zeigt, um es zu haben — das Zeigen mit dem Finger deutet keine Beziehung an, sondern eine Bewertung im feindlichen Sinne oder aber eine Eigenschaft und gilt deshalb im Verkehr als unanständig.

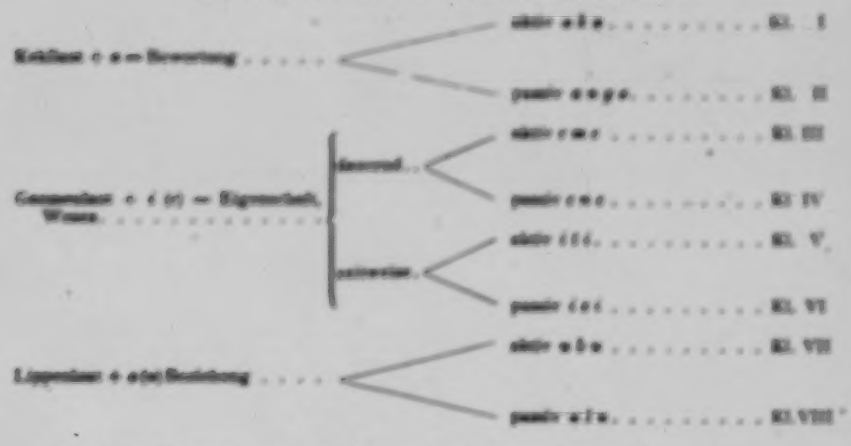
Abb. 15. Afjangen, Fangmädchen aus Alen (Fran. Guinea)

Natürlich sind die Stämme in dieser ursprünglichen Form nicht mehr vorhanden, sondern sie haben sich weiter entwickelt, und zwar in der Richtung der Nachsilben. Da eine Grenze anzugeben, ist heute nicht mehr möglich, man kann nur sagen, die Nachsilbe ist eine entwickeltere Form des Stammes, die dem mehr oder weniger entwickelten Stamm später angehängt wurde, und ein neues Wort war damit geprägt. Da diesem Wort eben etwas anderes bezeichnet als der Stamm, so ist er klar, daß die Nachsilbe auch einer ganz anderen Gedanken- und damit Lautgruppe entnommen ist als jener. Die ursprünglichen Verbindungen zwischen Gedanken und Laut mögen folgende gewesen sein:

1. Bewertung: etwas, was nicht aus meinem Willen heraus entsprungen ist, noch von mir mit meinen Anschauungen in Einklang gebracht werden kann; etwas, was mir feindlich gegenübersteht, oder dem ich feindlich gegenüberstehe, (göttliche) Bestimmung, Vergangenheit.
2. Eigenschaft: etwas, dem ich im Augenblicke weder feindlich noch freundlich gegenüberstehe, Gegenwart.
3. Beziehung: etwas, was ich wünsche, oder was sich mit meinem Streben, meiner Willensrichtung, meinem Begriffsvermögen deckt, was mir freundlich gegenübersteht, oder dem ich freundlich gegenüberstehe, Richtung, Zukunft.

Wie sich aus diesen drei Grundklassen die übrigen entwickeln, ist aus der folgenden Aufstellung zu sehen. Im Laufe der Zeit fing man an zu unterscheiden, ob sie in der Gegenwart vorhandene Eigenschaft eine dauernde oder nur eine zeitweilige ist — Pronomen I und II — und kam so auf vier Zeitformen. Bei jeder unterschied man dann, ob Absicht oder Nichtabsicht vorliegt, ob aktive oder passive Richtung in Betracht kommt. So entstanden acht Klassen, die wir bei den Nachsilben noch deutlich unterscheiden können. Im Gegensatz zu den Vorsilben hat bei den Nachsilben jedes Wort in der Mehrzahl dieselbe Nachsilbe wie in der Einzahl.

Muster für Nachsilbenklassen.



Bei Zeitwörtern hat die Nachsilbe k eine transitive Bedeutung.

Beispiele:

Stamm *ape* = Etwas, das nach zwei Seiten geht oder geführt wird.

Kl. I: *apé-k* = Stachel des Quastenstachlers, **Atherura africana** Gray. Stamm *ape*, weil der Stachel niedergriegt und aufgerichtet wird. Bewertung, weil er in feindlichem Sinne, gegen mich, Anwendung findet, wenn ich das Tier anfassen will. Aktiv, weil er in der Absicht gebraucht wird, den Feind abzuwehren.

Kl. II: *a-apé-a* = Fangnetz, ursprünglich wohl zum Fische fangen, übertragen Schmetterlingsnetz. Stamm *ape*, weil es beim Gebrauch nach zwei Seiten geführt wird (wie jeder weiß, der einmal damit gefischt hat). Bewertung, weil es von anderen Stämmen eingeführt ist, daher als etwas „Heiliges" betrachtet wurde, dem man, wie allem Unbekannten,

Freunden, meist in feindlicher Weise gegenüberstand. Passiv, weil es nicht aus meiner Überlegung heraus nach zwei Seiten geführt wird, sondern weil diese Handhabung einfach übernommen, „Vorschrift", göttliche Bestimmung war.

Kl. III: *ŋpá-m* = Freundschaft, besonders im Sinne der Sippenfreundschaft (angedeutet durch Ineinanderhaken der Zeigefinger der rechten und linken Hand). Stamm *ŋpa*, weil sie nach zwei Richtungen wirkt, von mir zum andern Manne (bezw. zur anderen Sippe), von ihm (bezw. ihr) zu mir. Diese Eigentümlichkeit ist ihr dauerndes Wesen. Aktiv, weil sie in bestimmter Absicht, meist zur Erlangung persönlicher Vorteile geschlossen wird (daher heißt unbeabsichtigt durch Zuneigung entstandene Freundschaft *ə-ŋyéi/l/* und ist passiv).

Kl. IV: *ŋpá-n* = Krokodil, langschnauziges, **Mesistops ziziphrastus** Cuv. Stamm *ŋpa*, weil das Krokodil nach zwei Richtungen läuft, d. h. einen Zickzackkurs macht (vergl. auch den Lauf unserer Eidechse). Diese Eigentümlichkeit ist sein dauerndes Wesen. Passiv, weil es nicht in bestimmter Absicht geschieht, sondern in der Natur des Krokodils liegt.

Kl. V: *ŋpá-t* = **Kickxia elastica** Preuss, Kautschukbaum, Stamm *ŋpa*, weil der Baum durch Kreuz- und Querhiebe des Hammeners eingeschnitten wird. Diese eigentümliche Behandlung ist zeitweiliges Wesen, weil es nur dann geschieht, wenn man den Kautschuksaft gewinnen will. Aktiv, weil es in der Absicht geschieht, ihn technisch zu verwerten.

Kl. VI: *ŋpá-a* = (ursprünglich) Greifzehe der Vögel, dann — übertragen — kleiner Finger, kleine Zehe, Nebenhuf, Afterklaue und Ranke. Stamm *ŋpa*, weil sich die Wendezehe (Papagei!), wie ihr deutscher Name sagt, nach zwei Richtungen stellen läßt, nach vorne und hinten. Zeitweiliges Wesen, weil die Greifzehe ihrer Natur nach bei den Vögeln, die nicht Wendezeher sind, nach vorne, und nur zeitweise und ausnahmsweise nach hinten steht. Passiv, weil es in der Natur der betreffenden Vögel liegt, nicht aber in bestimmter Überlegung von ihnen ausgeführt wird. *ə-ŋpá-a* = Farnkraut, **Pteris aquilina** Willd. und **Bryopteris gueylindes** (Kuhn) O. Ktze. Von vorigem abgeleitet. Die eingerollten Fiedern (vergleiche ein jüngeres, noch nicht ganz entfaltetes Blatt), die sich gegenüberstehen, werden mit Greifzehen verglichen. Eigentlich: die (Pflanze) mit Greifzehen, daher Vorsilbenklasse *ə*, Werkzeugklasse.

Kl. VII: *ŋpá-b* = Schwanzflosse der Fische, Schwanz der Raubvögel, insbesondere des Milans, eigentlich: Steuer. Stamm *ŋpa*, weil Schwanzflosse wie

Rückstoßschwere als Stamm nach zwei verschiedenen Richtungen geführt wird. Beziehung, weil es mit dem Träger verbunden ist, zu ihm gehört und ohne ihn nicht denkbar ist. Aktiv, weil das Stamm mit der Absicht in Anwendung gebracht wird, den Körper in eine bestimmte Richtung zu bringen.

Kl. VIII: ngá/// — Gewehr. Stamm ngu, weil es nach zwei Seiten geht (Schuß und Rückstoß). Beziehung, weil es ein Teil vom Menschen ist, denn ohne ihn ist seine Wirkung nicht denkbar. Passiv, weil die Gegenwirkung, der Rückstoß nicht berücksichtigt ist[7]).

Bei den Vorsilben liegt die Sache weit einfacher. Es sind da schon längst allgemeine Gesichtspunkte aufgestellt, nach denen die Einordnung von Wörtern in Vorsilbenklassen nach bestimmten Grundanschauungen stattfindet[8]). Diese Bantuvorsilben sind freilich in der Fangwe-Sprache mehr äußerlich beschränkt, wie denn überhaupt diese Sprache zur Einsilbigkeit neigt.

Der Gedanke, den man wohl aussprechen hört, daß der Mensch die Umwelt zuerst in Belebtes und Unbelebtes eingeteilt hätte, ist natürlich vollkommen falsch, denn für einen Naturmenschen ist alles belebt; fremde Menschen, Tiere oder auch Pflanzen und Naturkräfte unterscheiden sich für ihn durch nichts, wenn sie in gleicher Weise, sei es freundlich oder feindlich, auftreten. Vielmehr geht die Einteilung in Vorsilbenklassen nach genau denselben Grundsätzen vor sich wie die der Nachsilben und der Stämme. Bewertung, Wesen, Beziehung sind die drei Gesichtspunkte, aus denen die Beantwortung der Frage nach dem Namen eines Dinges sich ergibt. Es ist ja auch nur natürlich, daß der naive Mensch von einem Ding entweder eine Eigenschaft nennt, eine Aussage macht oder zweitens die Beziehung dieses Dinges zu anderen oder zu sich darlegt, also vergleicht, oder aber drittens den besonders hohen oder besonders geringen Wert des Dinges angibt, also einschätzt, bewertet. Um sich über die Eigenschaft des Wesens klar zu werden, war man bestrebt — eine spätere Folge —, hervorzuheben, entweder: es sei ein Mensch, oder zweitens: es sei nicht mehr ein Mensch, sondern ein Tier oder eine Pflanze oder eine Naturerscheinung (der Übergang ist noch heute zu erkennen), oder drittens: es sei ein Werkzeug, ein Gebrauchsgegenstand, dem die Wesenheit des Menschen anhaftet, z. B. to(b)o — sitzen, etɣ — das zum Sitzen — Sitzplatz, Schemel. Bei der Beziehung kam in Be-

---

[7]) Die Angst vor dem Rückstoß hat die Pangwe auch dazu veranlaßt, das Gewehr mit gestreckten Armen abzuschießen.

[8]) Carl Meinhof, Grundzüge einer vergleichenden Grammatik der Bantusprachen. Berlin 1906.

Abb. 18. Fangfrau aus Alén (Foto. Tessmann)

trachtet: entweder sind es zwei Stücke, die einen bilden wie das Auge „paar" oder aber es ist ein Stück, das in zwei Hälften zerfällt. Beim Wort teilt man danach ein, ob er sehr groß oder sehr klein ist, ursprünglich deckt er sich mit der körperlichen Größe, ein kleines Tier wie ein Vogel ist wenig wert, weil man nicht satt davon wird, ein größeres natürlich entsprechend mehr. Später hängt die „besondere Schätzung", die irgendeinem Tiere oder Dinge zukommt, mehr von seinen Beziehungen zu gewissen, insbesondere religiösen Anschauungen ab. Die Sachlage ändert sich durch Betrachtung mehrerer Stücke derselben Art, der Gedankengang springt in eine andere Reihe hinüber, z. B. steigen Tiere, man denke an Haustiere, im Range, wenn man nicht mehr die Tierart im allgemeinen, sondern eine bestimmte Menge ins Auge faßt — sie werden nun zu *Persönlichkeiten* und bekommen die Menschenvorsilbe *be*: *bebad* — Ziege, *be-bebad bôlo* Nt. — die drei „Herren" Ziegen, aber die Ziegen im allgemeinen *bebad*; andere Tiere, Pflanzen und Dinge tragen die „Menschen"vorsilbe ständig. So sind in der folgenden Aufstellung die zwar öfter wiederkehrenden, aber nicht nach den gleichen Grundgedanken verbundenen Wortformen durch eine gestrichelte Linie angedeutet, sie stellen also Abweichungen vor, bei denen die Einzahl zu einer anderen Klasse gehört als die Mehrzahl. Trotzdem halte ich es für den praktischen Gebrauch nicht für angebracht, Einzahlvorsilben und Mehrzahlvorsilben überhaupt in verschiedenen Klassen unterzubringen, sondern erwähne die betreffenden Wörter als abweichend bei einer ihrer Vorsilbenklassen.

28.

Muster der Vorsilbenklassen.

Die römische Zahl hinter den Hauptwörtern, die im Text genannt sind, bezeichnet also die Vorsilbenklasse, bei den Ausnahmen die der Mehrzahl. Um die Gründe kennen zu lernen, die zur Benennung der Dinge nach den angeführten Gesichtspunkten geführt haben, betrachte man vor allem die höheren Tiere, weil von deren Wesenheit wir sowohl wie die Eingeborenen am besten unterrichtet sind. Bei Gegenstände, dagegen, auch schon bei Pflanzen, läßt

sich viel schwerer erkennen, was für den Pangwe das Wichtige und Bestimmende gewesen ist. In folgendem führe ich die hauptsächlichsten Säugetiere und die Vögel mit Bezug auf den Grund ihrer Namensbezeichnung an. Von den Säugetieren gehören zur

I. Klasse

1. Die Ginsterkatze **Genetta ashrynna** Fuch., *ashrá*, als angebliche Stammmutter der Hauskatze (vgl. Abschnitt XI, Religion).
2. Nächtliche oder nächtlich rufende Tiere:
   mmatíldi, siehe Kl. III, 4; *nagŷ* — Spitznasenbunzki, **Rostrum elongatulum** Leconte; *ngŷm* — Zwergflughund, **Scotonycteris ansheni** Matschie; *ndá* — Baumnasen **Dendromys mesomelas** Thomas; besonders auffällig rufend: *nkŷŷ* — Schirrantilope **Tragelaphus kostensi** Lemberg.
3. Tiere, die besonders viel Höhlenreier fressen und so als „Verbrecher" gelten: *nsŷm* — Wiesenmangusta **Herpestes melanurus** Gray und *nsŷm* — Weibchen des Ölpalmenwichtelchens **Selerus chevirarus** Du Chaillu (vgl. Religion).

II. Klasse

die kleinen Tiere, das heißt soweit sich die Kleinheit aus dem Vergleich mit verwandten Arten ergibt, so: *ashm* — Zwergmoorkatze, **Miopithecus talapoin** Erxl; *ngŷm* — Zwergnaki, **Nemigalago demidoffi** Fischer; *ndŷŷ* — Fledermaus; *ssŷn* — Streifenwichtelchen, **Selerus lemniscatus** Leconte und **sharpei** Gray; *ndá* Nl. *ndá* F. — Zwergmaus, **Mus pusillulus** Peters; *ndŷŷ* — Zwergböckchen, **Neotragus batesi** Winton und *ngbwŷ* — Zwergantilope **Cephalophus nehanehanus** Gray und wenige mehr.

III. Klasse

1. Tiere mit menschlichen Eigenschaften: *mjá*, Pl. *bo-má* — Schimpanse, ebenso *ongŷmo* — Schimpanse (vgl. Abschnitt XI, 4, Religion, Kulte).
2. Eierfresser *bag* NT. *gbá* F. Sumpfeichhörnchen — **Sciurus wilsoni** (vgl. Abschnitt XI, 4, Religion, Kulte).
3. Haustiere, denn sie sind uns Menschen ans Herz gewachsen, auch mögen alte Anschauungen vom Aufenthalt der Seelen in solchen Tieren mitspielen: *tôlí* und *ndŷŷngo* — Hausratte, **Mus rattus** L.
4. Tiere mit menschlichen Scherz- und Spottnamen, denn sie werden damit behandelt wie Menschen:

   ongŷndungo — Schimpanse (von *ongŷn* Scheitel, *ndŷngo* menschlicher Name, also Scheitel des „Fritz" — daher auch Vorsilbe *o* — etwa Scheitelfritze); *mmatíldi* — Avantibo-Halbaffe, **Arctocebus aureus** Winton (von *a sa lôl* — es ist kein Tier wegen seines außergewöhnlichen Aussehens), geht auch nach Kl. I.; *sô-jŷ* — Streifenmaus **Mus pulchellus** Gray (*sô* Name, eigentlich Leopard, wegen der Schönheit dieses Tieres, *jŷ* Nager); *ekŷghoŷ* — Rohrratte **Thryonomys** (*aff.*) **swindernianus** Temm. (Name nicht zu erklären); *ekŷngŷlŷngo*, *lŷngo* (von *lôk* blasen — flöten) und *mekŷmo*, Scherznamen für den Baumschlieifer **Dendrokyrax tessmanni** A. Br.

IV. Klasse

die ja die Tierklasse ist, die nicht erwähnten Tiere.

V. Klasse

alle Tiere, von denen eine Tätigkeit ausgesagt ist, und zwar lautnachahmend insofern der Ruf, so z. B.:

ntrme Gelbhauchmeerkatze, **Cercopithecus** grayi Fraser (lautnachahmend *ŋrm*); *ondm* = Stumpfnagelmoki **Sciurocebus** gabonensis Gray[7]); *ondŋm* = Fledermaus; *ada* = Meerschweinchen (von *a da* weinen, piepsen), ribemm von demselben Stamme *ebjn* Rotschenkelwichtelchen **Scierus** rubripus Du Chaillu; *ngbwjm* J. der Löwe (für kurze scharfe Ruf des Löwen lautnachgeahmt: *ngbwjm*); *ongnda* = Baumschlieder (von *ngu* stark, *da* weinen wegen des Rufes, vergleiche das Märchen: Der Ruf des Baumschliefers[8]).

Nach der VI. und VII. Klasse gehen keine Säugetiere.

VIII. Klasse

1. Tiere, die im Gesicht auffällig zweifarbig sind:
   ngbm = Weißnasenmeerkatze **Cercopithecus** lhoesti Pocock; *ebjñ* = Rotnasenratte **Mus** hypoxanthus Pucheran.
2. Tiere, die stets zu zweien anzutreffen sind:
   bwem = Perlhuhn, **Peradicticus** bateni Winton; *dbjn* = Fischotter, **Lutra** materkini Cabrera.

Bei den Vögeln ist es ähnlich, ich will aber keine Namen mehr nennen, sondern nur die allgemeinen Gedanken für die Klassen I, III, V, VIII angeben.

Zur I. Klasse gehören

a) metallisch glänzende Vögel;
b) nächtlich rufende Vögel, wie Waldralle und Uhu;
c) flötende Vögel, wie Haarvögel;
d) wegen der Zeichnung und des seltenen, aber auffallenden Rufes das Perlhuhn (vgl. Abschnitt XI, 4, Religion, Kulte).

Zur III. Klasse gehören

a) (schreiende) Sumpfvögel wie Ibis, Reiher;
b) Hühnertöter, Eierfresser oder Eierverschlepper: Habicht, Würger, Kuckucke[9]), Drongo;
c) Hausvögel: Schwalben, Webervögel;
d) wegen menschlicher Eigenschaften: Honiganzeiger;
e) Vögel mit menschlichen Namen, Scherz- und Spottnamen, wie Bachstelze („Wippstert"), graue Nigritaäften („Aschenbrödel"). Bei den

---

[7]) Vgl. einen Scherzvers, in welchem dem Maki die Worte unterlegt werden: *mâ, mâ, mâmên, mâ mâ lude ya* = ich, ich, ich selbst, ich ich ging hier vorbei.

[8]) Günter Tessmann: „Das Verhältnis der Fangneger zur umgebenden Tierwelt" in „Zeitschrift für Ethnologie" Heft 4 u. 5, 1907, S. 760.

[9]) Die Eingeborenen sagen, die Kuckucke holten Eier anderer Vögel fort und legten sie in ihr eigenes Nest.

zur V. Klasse
gehörenden Vögeln ist der Ruf meist lautnachahmend wiedergegeben, wie *ekúkū* (entspricht unserem Kuckuck) = **Trachylaemus purpuratus** Verr.

Zur VIII. Klasse gehören
Vögel mit zwei verschiedenen Rufen, wie Eule und Timalie, **Alethe castanea** Cass, *akáḷát* F. (vgl. Erzählung von der Armbrust und der Timalie, Abschnitt XXI, ferner Abschnitt XI, Religion), Vögel, die ausgesprochen paarweise leben, wie Wildente und Taube, zur VII. Klasse als Vogel mit auffallender Erscheinung der Doppelfärbung der Geieradler, **Gypohierax angolensis** Gm., der in der Jugend und im Alter ganz verschieden gefärbt, doch ein und dasselbe ist, daher *dɛ́ǎn* (vgl. Märchen: Der Geieradler und das Mädchen, Abschnitt XXI).

Ich bin auf diese Verhältnisse so genau eingegangen, weil ich glaube, daß die Denkweise eines Naturvolkes gut verständlich wird aus der Art und Weise, wie es das Wesentliche bei den ihm nahestehenden Tieren auffaßt und benennt. Ich werde bei der Besprechung der Religion und der Kultformen auf die mitgeteilten Anschauungen zurückkommen.

Wichtig in der Pangwe-Sprache ist, daß von der Vorsilbenklasse, zu der das Hauptwort gehört, die Form aller übrigen auf dieses Hauptwort bezüglichen Satzteile abhängig ist, und zwar tritt dieser Fall ein bei der Genetivsilbe, den auf das Hauptwort hinweisenden, den besitzanzeigenden und den fragenden Fürwörtern, den Eigenschaftswörtern, den Zahlwörtern von 1 bis 6 und dem fragenden Zahlwort: wieviel.

Beispiel:

bǒŋgo büe bɛ̀sɛ̀ bö mane vǒt
Jungen + deine + alle + sie sind längst müde;
melū me ɛ́ǒk mɛ̀bui me ǎke mɛ̀ dɛ́a
Köpfe + von Elefanten + zwei + sie nicht gehen (in) Topf + einen.

Zwei Elefantenköpfe gehen nicht in einen Topf (Sprichwort). —

Verstärkung, aber auch Abschwächung wird durch Verdoppelung des Stammes ausgedrückt: *ma nga yɛ̀ne yɛ̀n*
ich habe (es) nur gesehen

und *pfi'di* = Kohle, *e-pfi(d)i-pfidi-eli* = der kohlrabenschwarze Baum = Ebenholz (**Diospyros**).

Da ich hier keine Grammatik geben, sondern nur auf die Grundgesetze der Sprache, besonders soweit sie für das Verständnis und die Beurteilung der im Texte angeführten Pangweausdrücke, Rätsel und Sprichwörter in Betracht kommen, aufmerksam machen wollte, so muß ich mir weitere Einzelheiten versagen. Doch möchte ich hier einige Proben aller von mir aufgenommenen Pangwemundarten anführen, damit man sieht, wie einheitlich die ganze Sprache ist, und zum Vergleich einige Wörter von Nachbarsprachen darstellen.

Vergleichende Sprachtabelle der Pangwe-Mundarten.

	Mwele (Fam. Eduma)	Jaunde (Fam. Jenõ)	Bene (F. Mwoge-Manga)	Bulu (Fam. Jejeme)	Ntum (F. Essámongun)	Fang (Fam. Essissung)
eins	*ʃǫk*	—	—	—	*pʃǫk*	*ʃõ*
zwei	*bɛ̨*	*bɛ̨ʃ*	*bõ,ʃ*	—	*bɛ̃*	*bɛ̨*
drei	*lõ*	—	—	—	—	—
vier	*ńl,*	—	—	—	*ńl,*	—
fünf	*tõn*	—	—	—	—	—
sechs	*sąmẽn*	—	—	—	*siɛ̨,mɛ*	*sõ,mą*
sieben	*zaŋ̀gbõ'*	—	*zaŋ̀gbwõ'*	*zaŋ̀gbwõ'*	—	—
acht	*muǫm*	—	—	*muǫ̃m*	—	*mũǫ̃m*
neun	*ebõ'*	—	—	—	—	*ebą*
zehn	*awõ,m*	*awõ,m*	*awõõ,m*	*awõ,m*	—	*awõ,m*
Mond	*ngõn IV*	—	—	—	—	—
Mann	*mǫl III*	—	—	—	—	*mǫl*
Gatte	*ʃõm III*	—	*pʃõm*	*pʃõ'm*	—	*ʃõm*
Frau	*miningõ III*	—	—	—	—	*mɛ̃nìŋ̀gõ*
Kopf	*nlõ I*	—	—	—	—	*nnõ*
Auge	*dõ,s, mi,s*	*di,s, mi,s*	—	—	*dɛ̃,s, mi,s*	*dõ,s, mʃs*
Nase	*dõǫ́, mǫ́*	—	*dõõ,ɛ́*	*dõõ,ɛ́, mõ,ɛ́*	*dõõ,ʃ́, mõ,ʃ́*	—
Zahn	*asõn*	—	—	—	—	—
Hand	*wõ', mõ'*	—	*wõ', mõ'*	*wõ', mõ'*	*wõ', mõ'*	—
Finger	*oŋ́ŋ́*	—	—	—	*onõ*	*onõ*
Haus	*ndõ'*	—	—	—	—	—
Wasser	*mandʒm* Pl.	*mandʒb* Pl.	—	*mandʒm*	*mandʒb*	*madõʒm*
Feuer	*ndǫ̃ãn*	—	—	—	—	*ndõ,ã'*
Stein	*akõk*	—	*akǫk*	—	—	—
Elefant	*zǫk IV*	—	—	*ʒǫ(k)*	—	*ʒõǫk*
Antilope [1])	*sõ IV*	—	—	—	—	—
Krokodil [2])	*ngõn IV*	—	*ngǫn*	—	—	—

[1]) Cephalophus callipygus Peters.
[2]) Langschnauziges Kr. Mecistops cataphractus Cuv.

Hund	*mɛɣ̈ IV*	—	*mɛá*	—	—	*mɛɣ̈*
Ziege	*kə̈bád IV*	—	*kə̈bad IV, ekɛle*	*kə̈bádɛIV,ekɛle-kab.*	*kə̈bád IV, ekɛlɛ*	*kə̈bá*
Schaf	*nɩŋ̈mbá I*	—	,, *nɩŋ̈mbá*	*nɩŋ̈má*	,, *nɩŋ̈má*	*nɩü,má*
Huhn	*kɔb IV*	—	—	—	—	*kɔ̈*
Baum	*elɛ*	—	—	—	—	—
gut	*m,bɔ̈n*	—	—	—	*mbɔ̈n*	—
schlecht	*abɩ*	—	—	—	—	—
weiß	*mɩɣ̈m*	*mɩŋ̈m*	*mpɩŋ̈m*	*mpɩɣ̈m*	—	*mɩŋ̈m*
rot	*evɛ̈lɛ*	—	—	—	—	—
schwarz	*ehɛ̈ndɩ*	*evɩndɩ*	—	—	*evɩndi, náá,ɩ*	*náa,ɩ*
Name des Unterstammes	*mɛɛ̈lɛ* [1])	*ɛɛ̈ndə*	*bɩnɩ*	*bɔ̈lə*	*nlə̈,mə̈*	*ɩə̈,ə*

[1]) aber *mɛɛ̈lɛ* = Bassá.

Vergleichende Sprachtabelle der Nachbarvölker.

	Benga (Banoko)	Benga (Ndowe) (Fam. Ewuni)	Basiki	Mabea	Ngumba	Bassá
eins	*jə̈,kə́*	*ewə̈,kə*	*pɔ̈k*	*ɛə,de*	*ɛə̈,de*	*pə̈,k*
zwei	*bébá*	*bébá*	*bébá*	*bébá*	*bebɛ̈*	*bɔ̈*
drei	*belɛ̈lə*	*belɛ̈lə*	*be,á*	*belálɛ*	*belɛ̈le*	*aɛ̈*
vier	*benáɩ*	*benɛ̈ɩ*	*bɩna*	*béna*	*bɛ̈ná*	*end*
fünf	*belɛ́no*	*belɛ̈,nə*	*bɩlɛ̈n*	*belɛ̈n*	*belɛ̈n*	*ɛɩá,n*
sechs	*nlɔ̈bɛ̈*	*mulɔ́ba*	*bisɛ̈men*	*nta,ó*	*nlɔ́ɛ̈*	*ɛɛá,ma*
sieben	*embwɛ,dɩ*	*mulɔ̈banabɔ̈kə*	*zambɔ̈d*	*embwɛ,dɩ*	*embɔ́ɛ,dɩ*	*sambɔ́k*
acht	*lə̈,mbɛ*	*ebɔ̈wɔ̈*	*mɔ́ám*	*lə̈mbɛ*	*lə̈mbɛ*	*gə̈ɛ,m*
neun	*dibɔ́wɔ́*	*ebwɔ̈nabɔ̈kə*	*eba*	*dibɔ́ɔ́a*	*dɔ̈bɛ́ɔ́ɛ*	*bɔ̈*
zehn	*djə,m*	*djə,m*	*da,m*	*wɛ̈m*	*wɛ̈m*	*djə̈,m*
Mond	*ngə̈,nde, ng.*	*ngə̈,nde, ng.*	*ngɔ̈n, ng.*	*ngɔ̈ndɛ, bong.*	*ngɔ̈ndɛ, bong.*	*sə̈,ə*
Mann	*mɔ́lə, bɔ́lə*	*mɔ́lə, bɔ́lə*	*mɔ́,ɩ, bɔ́l*	*mɔ́ɔ̈, bɔ́ɔ̈*	*mɔ́,ɩ, bɔ́d*	*mɔ,ɩ, bɔ,ɩ*
Gatte	*mɔ̈mə, bɔ̈mə*	*mɔ̈mə, bɔ̈mə*	*pə,m, pə,m*	*munɩɛ̈,ə, bɔn.*	*mə̈,nɩə̈ə, bɔn.*	*mundɛ̈m, bolɛ̈m*
Frau	*ndɩlə, bɩlə*	*muɔ́do, buɔ́do*	*mundɔ̈, bundɔ̈*	*mɛɛda, bɛɛda*	*mɛɛda, bɛɛda*	*molɛa,, bolɛa,*
Kopf	*mɔ́lə, mɛə,lə*	*mɔ́,lə, melə*	*mɔ́, memɔ́*	*nlɛ, menl.*	*nlɛ, menl.*	*ɔ̈, mɔ̈*

	Benga (Banoko)	Benga (Ndowe) (Fam. Ewuni)	Basiki	Mabea	Ngumba	Bassá
Auge	*dɪ,gō, mɪ,gō*	*dɪsō, mɪsō*	*dɪ,s, mɪ,s*	*dɛ́ɪ,, mɪ,*	*dɛ́ɪ,, mɪ,*	*dɛ́ɪ,s, mɪ,s*
Nase	*mpɛmba, mep.*	*ndjn,r, mn,r*	*dyn,°mn*	*dulu, molu*	*dū,r, mūr*	*dɛ́ūl, mūl*
Zahn	*mawōngd, maw.*	*ijūngd, mūngd*	*esū,n, mas.*	*gjɛ́, magjɛ́*	*gjɛ́,, mag.*	*asōn, mas.*
Hand	*dian,n, mānn*	*ebū,, mabū*	*lō, mō*	*mbō, mabō*	*mbō, mamb.*	*wō, mō*
Finger	*ipɛ̄ndn, op.*	*mōnō, mɪ,nō*	*nū, anū*	*ɛ́ɪ,nd, bed.*	*ɛ́ɪ,na, bed.*	*nɛ̄nō, mo*

	Bati (Batjenga)	Wute	Maká	Ndzem	Okande (Galoa)	Bafioti (Mayumba)
eins	*omōsɛ́r*	*mar,*	*wod*		*mōrj*	*mōs*
zwei	*bābā*	*bā,m*	*bibe*		*mbānɛ*	*mālɪ*
drei	*bārānd*	*lānde*	*bilal*		*nlānō*	*elālō*
vier	*bānne*	*nazɛb*	*bine*		*nāi*	*iyēne*
fünf	*balānō*	*ngē*	*bilan*		*olānē*	*elāne*
sechs	*balānō*	*lɪ,ōmē*	*lob*		*orō,bā*	*esū,mēn*
sieben	*balānō-omōsɛ*	*lebānō*	*lebel*		*oronāgēnō*	*sāmbuālī*
acht	*bē'lēmān*	*sēri*	*miem*		*enānāi*	*nānē*
neun	*bē'lēmān-omōsi'*	*bwédza*	*bié*		*enāgōmɪ*	*eyānā*
zehn	*babānī*	*tsōn*	*dom*		*ixō,mɪ*	*kōmi*
Mond	*ohé, ehé*	*yō,de, —*	*ñgonde*		*oxnēlɪ, ax.*	*ngāndē, ng.*
Mann	*mafō, bafō*	*nungānd, —*	*mot, bot*		*onānxā, an.*	*mō,tō, bā,tō*
Gatte	*afa,, mānfa,*	—	*modom*		*onāmi, an.*	*nānɪ, ban.?*
Frau	*okōto, bak.*	*logā,r*	*moda*		*mānā,ntō, antō*	*nkɪē,ntō, bok.*
Kopf	*ogbwé, egbwé*	*ngōē*	*nno, milo*		*wōndzō, ant.*	*ntē, metē*
Auge	*angɪsō, ang.*	*r, —*	*dis, mis*		*intsō, ant.*	*dɪē,sō, mēso*
Nase	*ohānbā, eh.*	*nār, —*	*do, mōe*		*ompōmbō, imp.*	*ligēlō, may.*
Zahn	*angɪ,nō, ang.*	*nrn, —*	*jie, mejie*		*inō, anō*	*lɪē,nō, mēnō*
Hand	*ombā, emb.*	*lō, —*	*mbo, mebo (?)*		*uxō, ax.*	*likāndā, mak.*
Finger	*enōenō, mon.*	*mbēdē, —*	*·sina, ben.*		*omēnō, im.*	*lalēmbō, (me) l.*

	Benga (Banoko)	Benga (Ndowe) Fam. Ewuni	Basiki	Mabea	Ngumba	Basaá
Haus	*ndàbǫ*	*mbǭ,dɪ, —*	*ndǫ́b, mand.*	*ndǫ́, mand.*	*ndǭʊ̄, mand.*	*ndɑ,b, mand.*
Wasser	*maǭìba* Pl.	*mɛ̂bǭ* Pl.	*mandɪb* Pl.	*madɛ̄ɔ̄* Pl.	*madɛ̄ǭ* Pl.	*ʃɪ,b*
Feuer	*wɛ̄ yǭ, —*	*wɛ,ǫ́, lɛ,ǫ́*	*nɛ́ɑ,ǫ́n, —*	*ɛ́ɛ,ǫ́, —*	*ɛ́i,ǭ, —*	*yjɛ,, —*
Stein	*elǭle, malǭle*	*ilǭlɪ, mal.*	*eǭʊ̄, mag.*	*kʊ,ǫ́, mak.*	*kō,ǭ, mak.*	*lɑ́, mɑ́*
Elefant	*ndɛ́ǭɔ́, —*	*ɾō,kɑ, —*	*nɛ́ǭk, —*	*dɛ́ɑ,ɾ, bod.*	*nɛ́ɑ,ǭ, bons.*	*ndɛ́ō,k, —*
Antilope [1])	*ìyrbō, bìy.*	*eyɛ,bō, bɔ̂bō*	*sʊ̄, —*	*kɪ,nǫ́, mak.*	*kɪ,nǫ́, mak.*	*sʊ̄, —*
Krokodil [2])	*ngǫndɔ, —*	*ngɑ,ndɔ, —*	*ngǫ́n, —*	*ngǫ́ndɛ, bong.*	*ngɑ,ndɛ, bong.*	*ngɑ́n, —*
Hund	*mbǭ, —*	*mbōǭ, —*	*mbɑ́, —*	*mbɪ, bomb.*	*mbɪ, bomb.*	*ngwō,, —*
Ziege	*tɑ̂bǭ, —*	*tɑ̂bǭ, —*	*kǭmǭd, —*	*kʃɛ,le, bekj.*	*kʃɛ,le, bekj.*	*kɛ́mbʊ̄, —*
Schaf	*ndǭmbɛ, med.*	*modǭmbe, med.*	*ngǭngō, megong.*	*ndǭmbɛ, mend.*	*ndǭmbɛ, bend.*	*nīʊ̄mbǭ, —*
Huhn	*kǫbǭ, —*	*kǫbǭ, k.*	*pʃō, bopʃ.*	*pʃō, bopʃ.*	*pʃō,ɑ, bopʃ. (kʃō,ɑ)*	*kǫp, —*
Baum	*yɛ̄lɪɾ, bɛ̄lɪɾ*	*eba,ngɑ, beb.*	*elɪɾ, belɪɾ*	*lɪɾ, bel.*	*lɪɾ, bel.*	*bʊ̄. —*
gut	*bwɑ,mbɛ*	*ǫndɪ mwɑ,ǫ́*	*mbǭʊ̄*	*mbwǫ́*	*mbwǫ́,*	*lō,m*
schlecht	*bɔ̂bɛ*	*ebɔ̂bǭ*	*abɛ*	*abōō*	*bɪʊ̄*	*ajímbɛ,*
weiß	*rɛ̄lɛ̄lɛ̄lɛ̄*	*rɛ̄lɛ̄lɛ,lɛ*	*rɛ̄lɛ̄lɛ̄lɛ*	*nabǭ'mbala*	*nabǭ'mbala*	*pǭba*
rot	*bɛbɛ*	*elɛ̄ yǭ*	*eve,*	*nʊ̄'bɪ,*	*nʊ̄'bɪ,*	*kojō,b*
schwarz	*wɛ̄wyō*	*evɪ,ndǭ*	*elǫ́ngō*	*nasō,ō*	*nasōō*	*nlawǫ́ʊ̄*
Name des Volksstammes	*banō,ǫ́*	*ewûne*	*basɪk*	*mabɪ,*	*mvō,mbǭ, —*	*mbɛ̄le, —*
Pangwe	*pā,ń, pā,ńwɛ̄*	*pā,ńwɛ* Sing. et Pl.	*pō,ń (pā,ńwe)*	*pō,ń, —*	*pō,ń, —*	*bayɪmbɪ*

[1]) Cephalophus callipygus Peters.
[2]) Langschnauziges Kr. Mecistops cataphractus Cuv.

Tessmann, Die Pangwe.

Vergleichende Sprachtabelle der Nachbarvölker.

	Bati (Batjenga)	Wute	Maká	Ndzem	Okande (Galoa)	Bafioti (Mayumba)
Haus	*gɐandzɐ, bey.*	*dɐ̈ge, —*	*njab*		*nd̄xɔ, —*	*ndźɔ̄, —*
Wasser	*matɐ,d́* Pl.	*mvū,m, —*	*mejiba*		*anîngō, —*	*mâśi*
Feuer	*idźɐ,d, modź.*	*iyd'ṅ, —*	*koda*		*oxônɪ, ix.*	*bâsṍ*
Stein	*eld'ne, al.*	*bí, —*	*kogo*		*idō,, ad.*	*limáṅɪ, mam.*
Elefant	*ndźō,, —*	*ndźa,, kāne*			*ndôxa, —*	*ndźdā, —*
Antilope [1])	*llıbɐ̄, —*	*mbūnda, —*			*mbîndɐ̄, —*	*fônō, —*
Krokodil [2])	*mbądɐ̄, —*	*bō, —*			*ṅāndō, —*	*ngāndō, —*
Hund	*mbō,d, —*	*lî (lüɪ,), —*			*mbódą, —*	*mbūd́, —*
Ziege	*mbɐ̄nɪ, —,*	*dźɐ̄r, —*			*mbônɪ, —*	*kộmbō, —*
Schaf	*gehū,mbd́, bitūm.*	*sd'mā, —*			*idộmbɐ̄, ad.*	*lindūmbd́, mand.*
Huhn	*ngōd́, —*	*tśōne, —*			*ndūxọ́ni, —*	*śąśy, —*
Baum	*bōṣtɐ́, mɐ̄rt.*	*ūgū, —*			*rêrɪ*	*nɪ̄ṣ, melṣ*
gut	*nobō'ld*	*nūḡṅ*			*ombíą*	*mbộtɪ*
schlecht	*tɪ,mɪ*	*bd'ṅhɐ̄*			*ombɐ̄*	*mbɐ̄*
weiß	*apfumámá*	*ra,gelṣ*			*pápąpá*	*likênda*
rot	*eld'má*	*dźd'ntɪ*			*tɐ́ndtɐ́nd*	*karnêdɪ*
schwarz	*ogɪ, lāma*	*nōyūle*			*byóbyọbyó*	*libândɪ*
Name des Volksstammes	*boisẹngá*	*nevọtɐ́, nevọtáb*			*xálōd*	*mayūmbɐ̄*
Pangwe	*einz. Unterstämme*	*einz. Unterstämme*			*pâṅwẹ*	*bapâmō*

[1]) Cephalophus collipygus Peters.
[2]) Langschnauziges Kr. Mecistops cataphractus Cuv.

Abb. 15. Blick auf die Ortschaft Afaetom (Fam. Okông), Span. Guinea.
Nur die Versammlungshäuser sind sichtbar; die Wohnhäuser sind von den Plantenpflanzungen verdeckt.

Abschnitt III.

Siedelungsgeschichte.

Wanderungsüberlieferungen, Wanderungsverlauf, Anlage von Siedelungen, Art und Weise der Wanderungen, Grundlage der politischen Ordnung. — Familienverbände, ihre Namen und deren Erklärung. — Verbreitung der Familienverbände. — Gruppierung der Ansiedelungen, Anzahl der Seelen für das Quadratkilometer, Hüttenzahl der Dörfer, Anzahl der Seelen für eine Hütte. — Einwohnerzahl des Pangwegebietes.

„Die Pangwe kommen" war ein Ruf, der in früheren Zeiten unter den Küstennegern wie unter den Europäern ein ähnliches Entsetzen hervorrief, wie im alten Rom der Ruf: „Hannibal ante portas". Daß die Pangwe nicht so ganz diese Furcht verdienten, gilt heute wohl als ausgemacht, immerhin sind sie auch jetzt noch durch ihre Masse und ihre Stoßkraft sowie durch ihre noch verhältnismäßig unverdorbene Kultur selbst für den Weißen beachtenswert, ja sie könnten — einsichtsvoll geleitet und zu einem festen politischen Verbande zusammengefügt — zu einer Macht werden, die den europäischen Kolonialbesitz zu gefährden oder wenigstens dessen Entwicklung auf längere Zeit zu hemmen imstande wäre. Freilich werden viele ihrer guten Charaktereigenschaften unter der Berührung mit den

[p. 35]

Europäern sich rasch verändern, d. h. natürlich verschlechtern, aber die ungeheure, in der Masse schlummernde Lebenskraft wird noch lange wirksam bleiben, eine Kraft, die dieses Volk in unverwüstlicher Urtümlichkeit weit aus dem Osten des innersten Afrikas bis an die Westküste geführt hat. Getrieben wurden die Pangwe, die die ganze westafrikanische Völkermasse ins Wogen und Wanken und Wandern gebracht haben, teils von dem Druck äußerer Verhältnisse, teils von der Sehnsucht nach dem Gottesreich, das im Westen liegen mußte, dort, wo allabendlich das leuchtende Tagesgestirn versank[1]). Daß wirklich das Streben nach einem besseren Lande, nach einem „Gottesreich", ein Beweggrund gerade der westlichen Zugrichtung gewesen ist, zeigen die Worte Gottes, die er dem ersten Menschen (d. h. Pangwe) zurief, als er sie wegen ihrer Sünden verließ: „Dir sage ich, damit du allein es wissen sollst, ich bleibe nicht hier, und wenn du mich vergeblich suchst, so wisse, ich bin über das Meer gegangen, und auch dort suche mich nicht, denn ich bin auf zum Himmel gegangen." Gott nahm also an, daß die Menschen (Pangwe) ihn suchen würden, nachdem er sich von ihnen zurückgezogen hatte, und sein Abraten hat sie denn auch nicht davon zurückgehalten, ihm nachzugehen. Als dann später, zuerst durch Nachrichten, dann durch greifbare Beweise die Anwesenheit über das Meer gekommener weißer Menschen an der Küste bekannt wurde, da erschien dies wie eine Bestätigung der alten Überlieferung vom Gottesreich mit seinen geistigen wie sinnlichen Glücksgütern. Und als die damals in der Nähe der Küste wohnenden Stämme durch den Handel mit den Weißen und den Zwischenhandel mit dem Hinterland Reichtum und — was für den Neger dasselbe ist — Glück erwarben, da hieß es von ihnen, sie seien die von Gott bzw. seinen weißen Abgesandten Bevorzugten. In einer Sage z. B. sagt der älteste Sohn Nsambes (Gottes), der Stammvater der Pangwe: „Ich will meinem jüngeren Bruder folgen, der nach Westen gegangen ist"[2]). So setzte die vielleicht schon zum Stillstand gekommene Bewegung mit erneuter Kraft wieder ein, und noch heute sehen wir den alten Drang nach Westen im Volke lebendig.

Obgleich ich es für sehr gewagt halte, auf die Übereinstimmung von Namen in den Wanderungssagen allzu großen Wert zu legen und schon jetzt danach den zurückgelegten Weg genau bestimmen zu wollen, scheint mir doch eine Geschichtsforschung bei den Pangwe von größtem Werte, zumal für das Sammeln der Überlieferungen, trotz der Abgeschlossenheit des Gebietes, schon die elfte Stunde geschlagen hat. Besonders Avelot hat in seiner bereits erwähnten vorzüglichen Arbeit alles Wichtige über die Wanderungsgeschichte der Völker des Ogowebeckens, zu denen ja auch die Südpangwe gehören, zusammengestellt. Als Ursprungsland wurde Largeau Mvoketanga angegeben, mir auch

[1]) Der Stamm des Namens „Nsambe" = Gott ist von der Sonne hergeleitet, vgl. Abschnitt XI, Religion, Gott.

[2]) V. Largeau, Encyclopédie Pahouine, Paris 1901, S. 27.

Mvokeji [1]). Genaueres über die Wanderungen konnte ich nicht erfahren, und deshalb mag hier der Bericht folgen, den nach Avelot Missionar Trilles [2]) von den „Bedzi [3]) de la Mondah" erhielt, sowie die Bemerkungen, die Avelot daran knüpft:

„Es ist sehr lange her, daß wir fruchtbare Täler bewohnten, welche angefüllt waren mit Planten, aber wo der Maniok und der Mais fehlten; wir hatten weder Pulver noch Flinten, sondern Bogen [4]) und Waffen, die wir uns selbst schmiedeten. Da wir angegriffen wurden von einem sehr bösartigen Volk von Menschenfressern, die stärker waren als wir, sind wir fortgezogen, wir sind ohne Unterlaß 13 Monate gegangen, haben sehr hohe Berge überschritten, wo das Wasser hart wird wie Stein; wir sind hinabgestiegen in die tiefen Täler, wo die Büffel in großen Herden lebten; da sind wir lange geblieben, und mein Großvater ist da gestorben. Das schnelle Anwachsen der Bevölkerung und der Nachschub unserer Brüder, welche uns folgten, zwang uns wieder, fortzugehen; ich war damals ein Kind; wir gingen während einer langen Zeit den großen Fluß Bah, welcher zu unserer Rechten floß, hinunter, und mit ihm gingen wir nach und nach wieder gegen Norden; wir wurden oft durch große Zuflüsse aufgehalten, die von Süden kamen, denn es gibt im Lande unserer Väter weder große Flüsse noch Kanus; wir hatten auch zahllose Kämpfe zu bestehen, besonders mit den Pygmäen „Be-kü". Nach elf Monaten haben wir aufs neue

---

[1]) Auch Mvoketanga wurde mir genannt; da ich aber die Unvorsichtigkeit begangen hatte, den Namen schon vorher auszusprechen, so wird es — wie üblich — möglicherweise mir zuliebe geschehen sein.

[2]) R. P. Trilles, Chez les Fangs. (Miss cath. XXX 1898, p. 81—82 und 92—94.)

[3]) *ti* Pl. *bōti* oder *tśi*, *bōtśi* Verräter ist ein Name, der von den Fang den Ntum gegeben ist und, wie es scheint, auch anderswo als Bezeichnung der „Anderen" üblich ist. Trilles Erklärung von *a dśi* essen erscheint mir zweifelhaft, zumal das Wort bei den Okak *tśi* heißt, und die Südfang die Neigung haben, die harten Laute in weiche zu verwandeln; vergleiche: *fōlefōs* (Höhenblitz) Nt. und *vōrōs* F., *apfə'n* (Urwald) Nt. und *afə'n* F., *ntutüm* (Regenbogen) Nt. und *ndutüm* F. Dann aber ist die Erklärung Trilles', daß die betr. Leute besonders gern Menschen verzehrt hätten, durchaus unpassend. Dieser Vorwurf würde für die Ntum noch weniger zutreffen als für die Fang, bei denen mir die Menschenfresserei, die überhaupt außerordentlich selten ist, nicht im Volke ursprünglich gewesen zu sein scheint. Bedenkt man nun noch, daß sich die Nordpangwe auch *bōti (bati)* nennen, daß es außerdem noch die Bati als fremdes Volk in der Nähe gibt, so dürfte man besser tun, den Namen zu vermeiden, da er überall zu Mißverständnissen führt.

[4]) Wahrscheinlich sind Armbrüste, nicht Bogen gemeint.

Halt gemacht in einem Lande von Ebenen und Sümpfen, durch das ein nach Norden fließender sehr großer Fluß lief, und diesen Ort haben wir Teuj genannt.

An einem unglücklichen Tage wurden wir von Leuten angegriffen, die eiserne Kleider und lange Lanzen hatten, und die fremdartige, vierfüßige Tiere bestiegen hatten; da die Unserigen nur ihre Schilde von Elefantenhaut, ihre Messer und ihre Wurfspieße hatten, mußten wir das Feld räumen; dann gingen wir beständig gegen Süden, zur Rechten ließen wir hohe Berge; oft beschloß man zu verweilen, um ein neues Dorf zu bauen, aber hinter uns kamen fortwährend andere Volksstämme, und aus Furcht, vor Hunger zu sterben, mußten wir unseren Vormarsch sehr schnell wieder aufnehmen. Alle Fang vereinigten sich endlich in einem Orte, genannt Ekoumaza, am Zusammenfluß von zwei großen Flüssen, und da trennten wir uns; die Fang zogen zur Rechten den Fluß Dzong entlang, die Meke verfolgten ihren Weg weiter nach Süden, den Fluß Dzoh entlang, und wir, die Bedzi, nahmen die Mitte ein, indem wir nach Westen hinabgingen. Nachdem wir den Berg Ekoumanzork (Elefantenvater) überschritten hatten, teilten wir uns noch einmal, die einen sind den Womm hinuntergegangen, die anderen den Komm und wir den Ntem, hierauf den Noya, dann den Ebé und endlich den Tsini, wo wir nun sind."

Hierzu bemerkt Avelot: „R. P. Trilles, der diese Erzählung zu erklären suchte, verlegte den Ursprungsort der Pangwe auf die Hochebene, die im Westen das Becken des Bahr-el-Gazal begrenzt; die Vermutung ist berechtigt: der Name Bemvou, den Eindringlingen gegeben, läßt an die Momvou des oberen Arouhimi (Momvou, Plur. Bemvou) denken; überdies sind die Pangwe mit den Mombuttu vom anthropologischen Standpunkte aus durch enge Bande der Verwandtschaft verbunden[1]). Aber was den nachher gegebenen Reiseweg betrifft, so wäre es mindestens verfrüht, ihn wiedererkennen zu wollen. Die Pangwe haben aber doch auf ihrem Wege Inseln als Zeugen hinterlassen, die Bendzi (die welche essen) am Uelle und die Dualla am oberen Sanga; diese letzteren haben wahrscheinlich einige Beziehung zu dem Lande der Ndoua, von dem der Admiral Fleuriot de Langle spricht[2]). Der Platz Ekoumaza,

[1]) Was ich mangels jeglichen Beweises bezweifeln möchte. Übrigens hat Avelot neuerdings in den „Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris", Ve Série, Paris 1909, eine Arbeit über das Ursprungsland der Pangwe und Bakele veröffentlicht. Er führt darin aus, daß die „Bemvou" nicht mit den „Momvou" gleichbedeutend sind, wie er irrtümlich angenommen hatte, sondern daß die Bemvou den Ababua im Gebiet zwischen dem Likati, Rubi, Bomokandi und dem Uelle entsprechen.

[2]) Fleuriot de Langle, Croisières à la côte d'Afrique. Tour du monde 1er sem. 1876, p. 268.

wo die große Trennung stattgefunden hat, ist bekannt: er liegt nahe dem Zusammenfluß des Kadéï und des Batouri (oberer Sangha) unweit des Gebietes der Fan-Dzem, Dzima oder Dziman (daß diese gar keine Pangwe sind, sagte ich schon früher. Anmerkung des Verfassers), der Mvôgh-Etangha des M. Largeau, im Winkel des Fächers, welcher durch folgende drei auseinanderlaufende Wasserstraßen gebildet wird:

Rechts der Dzong oder Nyong, welcher die Kolonie Kamerun von Osten nach Westen durchfließt;

links der Dzoh oder Dzah, ein Nebenfluß (Zufluß) des Sangha, des Dzam-a-nên des M. Largeau;

in der Mitte der Womm (Benito), der Komm und der Ntem (Quellflüsse des Kampo), der Noya (Muni) und der Ebé (Zufluß des Monda).

Was nun den Ekoumanzork betrifft, so ist er von Crampel nahe am Dzah wieder aufgefunden und zuletzt vom Pater Trilles wiedergesehen worden." —

Ich habe diesen Bericht ohne Erläuterungen wiedergegeben, da ich glaube, daß, wenn überhaupt der Wanderungszug der Pangwe wissenschaftlich festgelegt werden kann, dies nur mit Hinzuziehung und Vergleichung der gesamten mittelafrikanischen Völkerstämme und deren Kulturen geschehen kann, daß aber hierzu noch nicht die Zeit gekommen ist. Zweitens sind die geschichtlichen Überlieferungen der Pangwe selbst noch eingehender zu erforschen, und erst wenn größere Reihen von solchen Berichten vorliegen, kann man urteilen. Das hat auch Avelot ganz richtig gefühlt. Damit will ich nichts gegen die Theorie an sich sagen. Es ist ja möglich, daß das Ursprungsland der Pangwe das Bahr-el-Gazal-Gebiet ist, oder besser gesagt, daß sich in diesem Lande ein für das Leben des Volkes wichtiger Abschnitt abgespielt hat, und, wenn man das annehmen will, so ergibt sich eigentlich der Reiseweg nach Westen von selbst. Denn noch heute wandern die Pangwe mit den Strömen[1]), sei es stromauf oder stromab, hauptsächlich ist natürlich letzteres der Fall. So mußten sie das Bahr-el-Gazal-System aufwärts ziehend zum Mbomu und Ubangi kommen. Diesen Flüssen folgten sie bis dorthin, wo der Ubangi sich nach Süden wendet. Vielleicht vermuteten sie, daß diese Südrichtung sie zu weit abführen würde, verließen deshalb den Ubangi an seinem Knie, zogen an den kleinen Zuflüssen dort in nordwestlicher Richtung aufwärts und gelangten in das Stromgebiet des

---

[1]) Vgl. die Stelle aus einem Seelenfestgesang: *mvida ya mayon nte mbök*, d. h. Mwila (Nebenfluß des Kampo) und die Sippen eine Richtung, die Sippen der Pangwe sind in derselben Richtung wie der Fluß, also nach Südwest gewandert.

Schari. Diesem wären sie vermutlich gefolgt, wenn sie nicht bald auf die Reitervölker des Scharibeckens gestoßen wären, vor deren überlegener Macht sie zur Umkehr genötigt und in die Südwestrichtung abgedrängt wurden, die sie noch heute einhalten. Über den allerletzten Abschnitt der Wanderung habe ich folgendes gehört: Die Ntum und Fang trafen nach ihrer Angabe im Ober- und Mittellaufe des Kampo keine Bevölkerung. Ihre zuerst dort eingetroffenen Stammesgenossen, die Mwai und Mokuk, waren von den dann folgenden Bulu durchbrochen und zersprengt worden, so daß man sie heute in der Nähe der Küste ebensogut wie an der Ostgrenze des Gebietes findet. Man kann also von westlichen und östlichen Mwai und Mokuk reden. Auf die Bulu stießen die Ntum, wurden aber von jenem kräftigen und zahlreichen Stamm (daher der Name *a bülü*, viel, in Menge da sein) nach Süden abgedrängt. Dasselbe Schicksal hatten die Fang, die in zwei Haufen ankamen, von denen der eine weiter südlich längs des Benito, der andere, die Okak, nördlich des Kampo in den Fußstapfen der Ntum nach Westen zog. Sie nennen die Ntum deshalb *ntümü* von *a tübü zen*, eigentlich den Weg aushöhlen, Wegfinder sein, weil sie ihnen bei der Wanderung vorausgegangen sind. Auf die Kämpfe zwischen den Bulu einerseits und den Ntum und Okak andererseits, auf den großen „Krieg" *(oban)*, so könnte man beinahe übersetzen, beziehen sich viele Seelenfestgesänge oder Stellen aus ihnen. Die Bulu blieben im ganzen Sieger und wahrten ihre Einheitlichkeit, kamen aber unter dem Druck der ganzen Bewegung wieder in Fluß und schoben sich hinter den Ntum und Okak in westöstlicher Richtung bis an den Dscha.

Wir haben so innerhalb der einzelnen Unterstämme der Pangwe dasselbe, was wir bei den Küstenvölkern gesehen haben: Vorwärtsdrängen nach Westen [1]) und Vorwärtsstoßen oder Zerspalten und Zersplittern der schwächeren Volksteile. Aber die Wanderungen gehen nicht bloß in dieser großzügigen, gewaltsamen Weise vor sich, sondern verlaufen auch in einem beständigen, friedlichen Fluß sich vorwärtsschiebender und die Vordermänner überspringender kleiner Verbände. Man kann sich das etwa so vorstellen, daß innerhalb nicht allzuweiter Grenzen die Letzten sich an die vorderste Stelle schieben, indem sie über die dazwischen liegenden Massen hinausziehen; dann folgen die nunmehr Letzten

---

[1]) v. Stein erwähnt übrigens eine nord-nordwestliche Wanderungsrichtung der Pangwe in Kamerun, und seine Meinung ist als angeblich feststehende Tatsache in das Sammelwerk von Meyer: „Das deutsche Kolonialreich", 1907, S. 460, übergegangen. Die Ansicht besteht meiner Meinung nach nicht zu Recht und gründet sich, soweit das Innere Kameruns in Betracht kommt, wahrscheinlich auf örtliche Verschiebungen, soweit die Ostgrenze in Betracht kommt, auf eine unrichtige Zuweisung fremder Stämme, z. B. der Njem, zu den Pangwe.

bei ihrem Umzug den früher hinter ihnen sitzenden Familien und siedeln sich in deren Nähe oder gar noch weiter nach vorn an. So findet eine stetig wechselnde Abwanderung im Osten und Zuwanderung im Westen statt, die oft ein fast fluchtähnliches Gepräge aufweist, oft von Zeiten der Ruhe unterbrochen wird. Daher gibt es an gewissen Stellen Dörfer, deren Lebensdauer fünf Jahre nicht überschreitet, während anderswo, z. B. am Oberlauf des Kje, überhaupt im mittleren Fanggebiet, die Dörfer so lange stehen, wie sich die ältesten Leute erinnern können, oder gar schon die zweite Generation beherbergen sollen. Man sieht, die Verhältnisse sind äußerst verschiedenartig und schwer zu übersehen, so daß hier nur im großen und ganzen die wirksamen Kräfte genannt, nicht die Wanderungen im einzelnen beschrieben werden können. Dies für jedes einzelne Gebiet festzustellen, bleibt einer späteren Zeit vorbehalten. Wie die Wanderungen im kleinen vor sich gehen, beschreibt auch Largeau in seiner Enzyklopädie ganz richtig. Die hinten (das ist immer im Osten), sei es aus Furcht vor feindlichen Überfällen, sei es weil zu viele Todesfälle in dem Dorfe vorkamen oder aus anderen Gründen, Fortziehenden überschlagen in der geschilderten Weise eine ganze Reihe vor ihnen liegender Landschaften und siedeln sich oft viele Meilen entfernt an der Spitze des Zuges wieder an. Die notwendigsten Habseligkeiten, Körbe, in die das bewegliche Gut verpackt wird, und Mahlsteine *(ngŏk)* nehmen die Leute mit; das Haus mit den Trockenbrettern und Fleischaufbewahrungskisten *(bŭbŭ)*, das sie zurücklassen, ist ja jederzeit leicht aus der Raphiapalme (drüben Bambu, engl. Bamboo = Bambus, genannt) wieder hergestellt. So ein leeres Dorf gibt einen trostlosen Anblick, der erst freundlicher wird, wenn der früher abgeschlagene Busch wieder die alte Scholle erobert, wenn sich Gras und Kraut liebevoll an die kahlen Wände schmiegen, und Lianen und blütenbedeckte Winden eifern, das Haus einem Dornröschenschloß gleich zu überwuchern und zu umspinnen. Aber auch dann noch kommt es uns nirgends so einsam, so weltvergessen vor wie in solchen verlassenen Dörfern. Um so regeres Leben herrscht vorn in der neuen Siedelung, Hütten werden gebaut, nachdem ein geeigneter Platz gerodet und zurechtgemacht ist, und Pflanzungen werden angelegt. Solange diese keine Erträgnisse liefern, vielleicht für ein paar Monate, wird das Essen *(bedŭ)* von benachbarten und befreundeten Sippen gekauft, oder man sieht sich, wo geeignete Beziehungen nicht vorhanden oder wegen der Entfernung der fremden Dörfer nicht anzuknüpfen waren, in der Weise vor, daß man einen Teil der Männer vom alten Platze aus vorausschickt, um den Wald zu roden, für sich und die Nachfolgenden kleine, vorläufige Hütten zu bauen, die später allmählich durch bessere, dauernde ersetzt werden, und den Boden um diese Häuser für den nunmehr in gleicher Weise

vorausgeschickten Weibertrupp vorzubereiten, der die Kulturgewächse pflanzen soll. Unterdessen schaffen die Männer weiteren Platz für den Anbau der größeren Pflanzungen. Wenn die ersten Feldfrüchte der Reife entgegengehen, folgt der Hauptteil der Familie mit Kind und Kegel nach und erntet die ihnen vor und hinter der Tür angebauten Kassave, Erdnüsse usw. sofort ein. Das bedeutet natürlich eine große Zeitersparnis. In diesen landwirtschaftlichen Maßnahmen ist ein gut Teil praktischen Sinns, überlegter Berechnung und planvollen Handelns enthalten; um so mehr muß es verwundern, daß die Pangwe durchaus kein Verständnis für die Berechnung der Pflanzungs- und Erntezeiten haben und jede dahin gehende Frage — wie bei Besprechung der Kulturpflanzen angeführt werden wird — geradezu als kleinlich und albern empfinden. Wenn das noch bei den Männern allein der Fall wäre, so könnte man es verzeihen, aber ich weiß auch von einer ganzen Reihe von Weibern, daß sie sich erst mit Mühe erinnerten, wie lange Zeit die Erdnuß vom Tage des Anpflanzens bis zur Ernte braucht. Was Wunder, wenn bei solcher Gleichgültigkeit Hungersnöte auftreten, wie sie uns in den Märchen vielfach erzählt werden. Aber nie würde der Pangwe auf den Gedanken kommen, sich selbst wegen seiner Denkfaulheit einen Vorwurf zu machen; ergeben trägt er vielmehr sein Schicksal, nimmt indes mit Waldfrüchten vorlieb, besonders den nahrhaften Nüssen von **Coula edulis** Baill. (Olacac.) *ewuəmo* F., Nuß selbst *kəmo*, **Irvingia barteri** Hook. f. (Simarubac.) *andək*, Nuß *ndək*, **Chonopetalum stenodictyum** Radlk. (Sapindinac.) *nùm angəlongə*, **Pachylobus tessmannii** Engl. (Burserac.) *nga angəlongə*, ferner mit Baumpilzen und sogar Blättern, besonders von **Pseuderanthemum nigritianum** (T. And.) Radlk. (Acanthac.) *ndzəɣ*, der **Justicia insularis** T. And. (Acanthac.) *num e fəi*, der Urticacee **Fleurya aestuans** L. Gaudich *ngəkən*, von Farnkraut und vielen anderen, und hilft sich so über die magere Zeit hinweg.

Daß nun eine derartige, in steter schwingender Bewegung befindliche Masse, in der die kleinsten Gruppen sich gewissermaßen anziehen und wieder abstoßen, keine umfassende politische Gestaltung gewinnen konnte, ist klar. Das äußere Leben des Pangwevolkes können wir uns — wie wir gesehen haben — als das langsame Fluten einer Wassermasse vorstellen, aber dieses gleicht nicht dem ebenmäßigen Dahinfließen eines Stromes in seinem Bett, sondern dem unmerklichen Vorrücken der Flut am Meeresstrande. In Bewegung, in Aufruhr sehen wir nur kleine und kleinste Teile, die als Wellen sich gegenseitig überstürzen, erdrücken, sich gegeneinander aufbäumen, gegeneinander anprallen, wenn sie auf ein Hindernis stoßen. In der Pangwe-Flut sind die einzelnen Wellen, die den Blick hauptsächlich fesseln, die Sippen oder Familienverbände, die sich wie die Wogen teilen und in immer kleinere Bestand-

teile auflösen, so daß es einem, wenn man sie greifen, wenn man sie fassen will, erscheint, als bliebe in der Hand nur ein einziger Tropfen, der einzelne Mensch. Aber das gehört in einen anderen Abschnitt.

Jedenfalls bleibt die größte politische Einheit der Familienverband, er gilt dem Pangwe als „Vaterland", nicht etwa ein Unterstamm, wie die Fang, oder gar die gesamten Pangwe, von deren Zusammenhang er nun schon gar nichts weiß. Mancher Fang wird freilich dem Europäer zuliebe sagen: ich bin ein Fang oder, wenn ihm unglücklicherweise dies Buch zu Gesicht und Verständnis gelangen sollte: ich bin ein Pangwe, aber der unberührte Fang sagt nie anders wie: „*ma ne mǒne esdwǒn*" = ich bin ein Essauong, oder wie der Familienverband sonst heißen mag. Fragen wir einen solchen Essauong, ob er ein Ntum oder Fang sei, so pflegt er uns oft recht dumm anzusehen, gerade wie vor nicht allzu langer Zeit ein deutscher Bauer, der sich als „Meckelnbörger" oder „Bayer" vorgestellt hat, geglotzt hätte, wollte man von ihm hören, ob er ein Deutscher sei.

Also der Familienverband ist für den Pangwe die höchste politische Verfassung, d i e soziale und sittliche Ordnung. Nur innerhalb des Familienverbandes gelten seine Rechtsgrundsätze, und wer nicht mit ihm auf diesem Boden steht, ist fremd, rechtlos, sein Feind. Ein Haupt hat diese Verfassung nicht, sie verkörpert sich nicht in einem einzelnen Menschen, sondern in der Gesamtheit aller älteren Familienmitglieder, und der jeweilige Familienvater hat sie nur nach außen hin zu vertreten. Ein Herrschaftsverhältnis in unserem Sinne wird dadurch verhindert, daß die ursprünglichen, kleinen Familienverbände sich nur vergrößern, um sich sofort wieder, wie ich im Vergleich schon andeutete, in kleine Einzelteile aufzulösen. Diese werden ganz selbständig und behalten entweder den alten Namen bei oder legen sich einen eigenen zu, zumal, wenn sie anfangen, sich zu vergrößern, wie man noch heute beobachten kann. Sie übernehmen die Sippenordnung der früheren Gemeinschaft. Die wechselnden Erscheinungen auf diesem Gebiete fallen in die gesellschaftliche Ordnung im engeren Sinne und werden später besprochen werden. Es bleibt hier nur festzustellen, daß der Pangwe den Schritt von einer gesellschaftlichen Ordnung zu einer staatlichen Ordnung nicht hat machen können. Wie er nicht gerade feige ist, aber auch nicht mutig, so ist er andererseits nicht gerade schwächlich, aber auch nicht willensstark, durchgreifend, keine rücksichtslose Herrennatur. Er gehört zu den „Halben", und solche Leute taugen nicht zur Herrschaft. Allerdings ist im Norden, besonders bei den Mwele, der Häuptling eine Persönlichkeit mit fast politischer Macht (Mwelehäuptlinge Simekoa und Kombokoto)[1]), aber auch da erstreckt sich diese nicht einmal immer über eine ganze Sippe, wenigstens seit der europäischen Machtentfaltung nicht mehr;

[1]) Wegen der Kriegslust dieser Leute; der Name *mvélɛ̄* kommt von *a vele*: bekriegen, die Jaunde nennen außerdem die Bassá *mvele*, ein Wort, das nur durch die Tonhöhen von dem Namen des Unterstammes unterschieden ist.

andererseits haben wir wohl in der strafferen, machtvolleren Organisation der Nordpangwe den Einfluß der Grasland- und Gebirgsvölker des Nordens (siehe Abschnitt I) vor uns. Mag nun ein Häuptling größere oder geringere Macht haben, jedenfalls dreht sich für den Pangwe alles um den Familienverband, nicht um Person oder Volk. Und daher ist der Familienverband so ungeheuer wichtig. Von den kleineren Eton abgesehen, kann man vielleicht im Mittel für jeden der übrigen acht Unterstämme 30 — vielleicht noch mehr — Familienverbände, bei den Mwele, Jaunde und Bene *ndä* = Haus, bei den anderen Pangwe von den Bulu an *ayön* = Familie genannt, rechnen, so daß ihre Gesamtzahl für die Pangwe wohl 240—300 betragen dürfte. Bei den verschiedenen Unterstämmen sind mir folgende bekannt:

Yimisgmö, Menkgm, Embäni (Yembäni), Yenkgndä, Yeźüm, Bökőä, Yibikglö, Yembädäk, Yemrelo, Yengänö (Engänö), Yembämo, Mbidambäne, Edäma, Ndöń, Mrog-Eyä, Mroge-Näna, Mrog-Ebela, Mroge-Eźümbä.

Jaunde

(*Yegndö* J. B. auch *Yehgndö* und *Yewgnö* Nt. F.).

Evgndö (Ehgndö), Bäva (Bäbä), Yehändä (Yegndä), Yeläńga (Eläńga), Yemvöń (Emröń), Etädi, Jenö, Edzö, Embümbün, Ngoe, Elega, Evunzok, Betseńga[1]*), Mrog-Adä, Mroge-Fäda, Mrog-Esümendänä, Mrog-Ebända, Mroge-Betsi, Mroge-Bölö, Mroge-Tsuńgobäla, Mrog-Anlańganabäla, Eländi.*

Bene.

Mroge-Bölińga, Mrog-Ehgndu, Mroge-Bala, Mroge-Balabesglo, Mrog-Amak, Mrog-Amugetsögo, Mroge-Žäńga, Mroge-Mäńga, Mroge-Nsök, Mroge-Manezö, Mrog-Eyeńge, Amugobane, Emgmbö, Tsińga, Abi.

Nach v. Stein[2]) noch: *Mroge-Ndi, Mroge-Nomo, Mrog-Aka, Mroge-Sambo, Mvoge-Nkû, Mroge-Bobjäla, Mroge-Matsä, Mroge-Yömo, Mroge-Tèla, Mroge-Memrunu (Mroge-Ngandzoke), Mroge-Menkulu, Mroge-Sa, Mroge-Mayé, Mroge-Ngele, Mroge-Ndzek, Mroge-Ngame, Mroge-Sisema, Ntulu.* Die von ihm angeführten *Erundo, Mrog-Ada* (Mvogeda) und *Mrog-Ebanda* (Mvogebande) gehören nach meinen Erkundigungen zu den Jaunde, oder sie zählen sich teils zu den Jaunde, teils zu den Bene.

Bulu.

1. *Yemrak* von *mvak* = Ichneumon, **Herpestes galera** Erxl. und **almodovari** Cabrera, weil die Ersten diese Tiere besonders viel erlegt haben sollen.

---

[1]) Die letzteren sechs nach Angabe des Herrn P. H. Nekes.

[2]) v. Stein, Über die geographischen Verhältnisse des Bezirkes Lolodorf usw. in „Mitteilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten" von Dr. Freiherr v. Danckelman, XII. Bd. 3. Heft, Berlin 1899.

2. *Pfǘn (Fǘn)* von *apfǘn (afǘn)* = ein wohlriechendes, zur Suppe benutztes Kraut. Dies soll diese Familie zuerst „gehabt" haben.
3. *Yembǘn* von *mbǘn* = Tragbalken. Diese Leute sollen jede Kleinigkeit, z. B. eine erlegte Meerkatze, an einem Tragbalken zu zweien getragen haben.
4. *Yempfǘk* von *mpfǘk* = Umhängetasche aus Ananasfasern. Die Leute sollen immer derartige Taschen, nie Felltaschen, getragen haben.
5. *Yegème* von *a gém mǫm* = Sachen kennen, etwas wissen; sie sollen alles gewußt haben. Dieser Stamm sitzt heute am weitesten westlich zwischen Kribi und Nkomakak.
6. *Esakǫk* von *a kǫ́k mǎm (a lène mǎm)* = in Sachen schwankend, wetterwendisch sein. Eigenschaft des oder der Ersten dieser Familie. (In folgendem ist diese Beziehung als selbstverständlich nicht mehr erwähnt.)
7. *Esampfǫ́n* von *a pfǫ́ne bǫt* = Leute verleumden, fälschlich beschuldigen.
8. *Yesa'mǎn* von *a sǎmǫ mot* = jemand in seiner Nacktheit sehen bzw. dahin wirken. Es geht die Sage, daß die Weiber mit ihren Schwiegersöhnen „gespielt", d. h. ihnen das Zeug hochgehoben und sie so in ihrer Blöße gesehen hätten (gerade für den Pangwe etwas Unerhörtes).
9. *Yekǫmbǭ.* 10. *Yeisǫ́n.* 11. *Yekǫ́ǫ.*

Die Namen konnten nicht erklärt werden.

Die Familienverbände der Bulu sind mit vorstehend aufgeführten noch lange nicht erschöpft.

Ntum.

1. *Esamɛin* von *mɛin* = Schwarzsteiß-Schopfantilope, **Cephalophus callipygus** Peters.
2. *Esamɛ̄i* von *mɛ̄i (mɛ̄i)* = Fleckenroller, **Nandinia binotata** Reinwardt.
3. *Nkǫodǘǭ* von *nkǫ* = Hügel, Berg und *odǘǭ* = Zwergböckchen, **Neotragus batesi** Winton, auf einem Hügel, wo Farmen gemacht wurden, töteten die Leute stets Zwergböckchen.
4. *Obǎkǫ́i* von *a ba* = teilen, zerlegen und *kǫ́i* = Hamsterratte, **Cricetomys (aff.) dissimilis** Rochebrune, die Leute sollten immer Fallen für Hamsterratten, die sie dann unter sich teilten, aufgestellt haben.
5. *Esǫ́n* von *asǫ́n* = Schirmbaum, **Musanga smithii** R. Br. (Moraceae).
6. *Ndǫ́n* oder *Ndǫ́nobokoe* von *ndonǫ* = Kreisel bzw. Schneckenkreisel, weil der Erste immer damit gespielt haben soll.
7. *Esangbuǫk* von *ngbuǫk* = Deissel, weil der Erste stets einen Deissel genommen haben soll.
8. *Esabɛ̄i* von *ebɛ̄i* = Raphiablattstielstreifen, die zum Hausbau verwendet werden, denn die soll der Erste gemacht haben.
9. *Esamǫngǎn* von *a ngǎnǫ o jǒb* = überragen, z. B. *eli a ngǎnǫ o jǒb* = der Baum ragt über, weil diese Familie (auch noch heute) alle andern an Stärke überragt.
10. *Yegǫbǫ* von *a gǫbǒ bǒt* = Leute niederwerfen beim Ringkampf, das haben diese immer getan.

11. *Esakängn* von *a käne mebim* = die Töten (eigentlich Leichen) rächen (Blutrache nehmen).
12. *Esatäk* von *etäk* = Topfscherbe, die als Unterlage für den Kochtopf dient. Der Erste soll immer im Hause der Mutter geblieben sein, wie die Scherbe, die im Gegensatz zum Topf immer an derselben Stelle bleibt.
13. *Esatgb* von *a tgbö* = bleiben, sitzen bleiben. Wenn von dieser Familie Leute als Gastfreunde kamen, so „saßen sie fest" und zeigten nicht sobald Lust, nach Hause zu gehen.
14. *Epfärk* von *a pfä[k] aśgj* = Eisenstein ausgraben. Diese Familie soll sich noch heute am meisten mit Eisenschmelzerei abgeben.
15. *Esabümän (Mebüman)* von *a bümän a nzen* = (jem.) unterwegs treffen, sich begegnen. Als Nsambe (Gott) seine „Kinder" besuchen wollte, soll er diese unterwegs getroffen haben (vgl. Essapfuman bei den Fang).
16. *Aśok* von *a śok* (Hauptwort *nśok*) = durcheinanderreden, weil sie bei Verhandlung von Prozessen alle durcheinander geredet haben.
17. *Esabäng* von *a bäno möt* = jemand verfluchen, sie sollen stets den Fluch ausgesprochen haben.
18. *Esandgn* von *a ndgnebö* = gebückt gehen, weil der erste im Kriege durch ein feindliches Dorf — anstatt zu schleichen — gebückt ging.
19. *Zgmä* von *a śgmä mäm* = Streitsachen ruhig entgegensehen; sich nicht fürchten, Streitsachen zu bekommen.
20. *Esaśgm* von *a śume mvuän* = Tiere treiben, Treibjagd abhalten, weil die Familie darin groß gewesen ist.
21. *Esambé* von *mbé* = Schlechtigkeit; die Familie ist streitsüchtig, roh, die Leute sollen ihre eigenen Weiber töten und, wenn diese ein Kind von einem andern bekommen, es wegwerfen, indem sie sagen: Nicht ich war es, der dieses Kind gezeugt hat.
22. *Mabäan* von *a bäne eläń* = den Hintern hervorstrecken (zeigen), vgl. Abschnitt XI, 6, Seelenfest.
23. *Esambidä* von *a bidän bim* = Sachen verderben.
24. *Obäk* von *a bäge mäm* = falsche Dinge erzählen, verleumden.
25. *Odźärb* von *a dźärb ebon* = eine Frau beschlafen, wenn sie schwanger ist oder ein Kind hat, das noch nicht geht (ist *eki* = verboten).
26. *Esaküdän* nicht zu erklären.

Mwai.

1. *Esabäm* von *obäm* = Raubvogel, insbesondere Schmarotzermilan; die Familie pflegte diese Vögel zu erlegen.
2. *Esabedäńga* von *a däń* = übertreffen, weil sie alle andern übertrafen, vgl. Essamongun (Ntum).
3. *Ekäńa* von *a käńa bot* = allen Leuten gehorchen, jedem gehorchen, der einem Anweisung gibt (ohne Überlegung).
4. *Esaekigi* von *ekigi* = Eisen, sie pflegten viel Eisen zu machen oder zu haben.
5. *Esasgn* von *sgn* = altes, bereits bitteres und schlecht schmeckendes Bündel mit Essen, dieses pflegten die Leute zu essen.

6. *Esamedźáń* von *adźáń* = Tod, weil viele starben.
7. *Esamabǒńa* von *a bǒńe* = verscheuchen, wegjagen, sie pflegten die Ziegen, die ihre Vorräte plünderten, wegzujagen.
8. *Yebǭ,* von *ebǭ,* = verdorben, weil sie verdorbenes Fleisch (!?) essen.
9. *Esałǖń* von *a łǖńe* = folgen, weil sie Nsambe (Gott) immer folgten.
10. *Esamenü,ń* von *anü,ń* = Abfall von Speisen usw., die Leute ließen das Essen verkommen.
11. *Esabɪ* von *a bɪ* = fangen, diese Leute fingen die Fremden stets weg.
12. *Esakǖm* von *akǖm* = Holzmirliton, das bei den Liebesgesängen und -tänzen gebraucht wird, sie pflegten solche Vorführungen zu machen.
13. *Yemfǒk* Name nicht zu erklären.

Fang.

In dem Namen *Fáń* steckt der Stamm *fá(fe)* Busch, Wildnis, die Nachsilbe *ń* ist angehängt, und da sie — wie in Abschnitt II erwähnt — eine Ableitung bedeutet, würde Fang also heißen „der vom Busch stammt", also Buschmann, daher auch die leichte Verallgemeinerung in Pangwe. *Okák* soll von *akák* = Geiz, geizig kommen, ein Name, mit dem die Ntum sich für das *Bǒłśi* (siehe S. 37 Anmerkung 3) „revanchiert" haben.

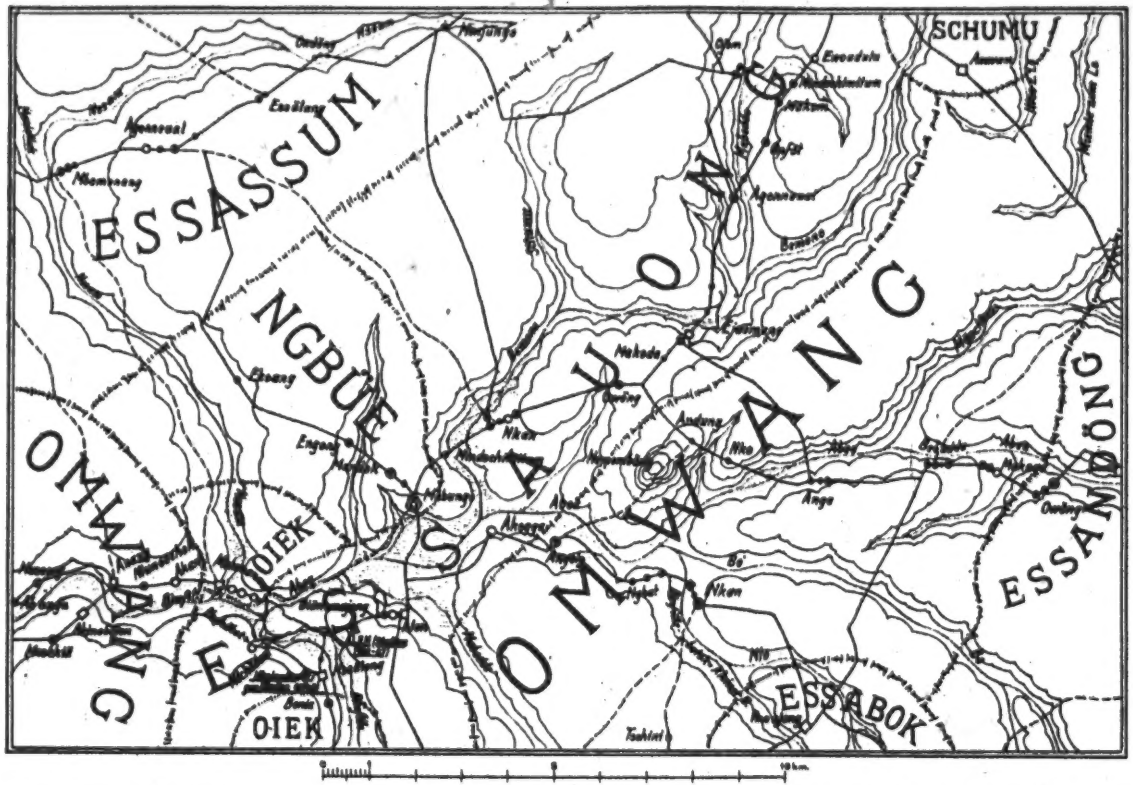
1. *Ngu,ɛ̄, Ngbwɛ,* von *ngu,* = Schwein.
2. *Esengí* von *ngí* = Gorilla, sie sollen viele Gorillas getötet haben.
3. *Bokǖɛ,* von *kǖ,ɛ̄* = Schnecke, die Leute sollen Schnecken gegessen haben (heute für alle Weiber und für Männer, deren Frauen schwanger sind, verboten).
4. *Evǖnźǒk* von *evǖ* = Sitz der Zauberkraft, *źǒk* = Elefant, weil die Leute die Ewu des Elefanten aßen.
5. *Pfǖń* siehe S. 45 (unter Bulufamilien).
6. *Esabǭk* von *abǭk* = eßbares Kürbisgewächs, **Cucurbita maxima** Duch., weil die Leute dies viel essen.
7. *Yebekǫn* von *ekǫn* = Plante, diese Familie liebt noch heute die Planten sehr.
8. *Esesɪ,ɛ* von *ésɪ,ɛ (ìsɪ,ɛ)* = Schattendarsteller beim Mondkult *(so)*.
9. *Omɣáń* von *mɣáń* = Ziernarbe, sie sind noch heute besonders mit Ziernarben geschmückt.
10. *Yemandźɨm* von *mandźɨm* = Wasser, weil die Familie so zahlreich ist wie Wasser.
11. *Okǒń* von *akǒń* = Geschicklichkeit, geschickt, in praktischer Arbeit erfahren.
12. *Abɛ,ɛ̄* von *a bɛ,ɛ̄* = gebären, die Frauen sollen schon früh geboren haben.
13. *Esapfǒ,ɛ* von *a pfǒ,ɛ bim* = Sachen hinstellen und dann vergessen.
14. *Yenǫń* von *nǫńe mot* = Mann mit gelblicher Hautfärbung.
15. *Esabáń* von *a báńe bɨm* = Sachen beginnen, bevor die alten fertig sind, immer etwas Neues anfangen.
16. *Esazɨń* von *a sɨń* (Hauptwort *zɨn*) = nicht gern sehen, nicht lieben, hassen.
17. *Esapfamán* von *a pfáman* = verfehlen, weil Nsambe, als er ausging, seine Kinder zu besuchen, die Leute dieser Familie nicht antraf.

18. *Asõbo (Aśõbõ)* von *a śõgebõ* = sich zusammenziehen, sich ziehen, z. B. Rinde der Bäume, dann der Schultermuskel; bei allen Leuten ist nämlich dieser Muskel stark ausgebildet.
19. *Okgs* von *a kg[s] bim* = Sachen auffangen, die Leute pflegten die Sachen, die sie sich zuwarfen, aufzufangen.
20. *Esawõń* von *a wõn* = sich fürchten, feige sein.
21. *Oyěk* von *a yěk* = ausweichen, ebenso.
22. *Esandõń* von *a ndõńe mam* = von jemand Sachen, die man nicht genau weiß, erzählen, andere in schlechten Ruf bringen (vgl. *Esapfan* unter Bulu).
23. *Ngämä*. 24. *Yemyäm*. 25. *Esametśuä*. 26. *Olä*. Namen nicht zu erklären.

Im einzelnen weichen die Erklärungen etwas voneinander ab, aber die angegebenen mögen als Anhalt dienen. Die vorausgesetzte Silbe *ye* oder *esa* (von *tä*, *sä* = Stamm für Vater) bedeutet wohl soviel wie Sippe, ihr entspricht bei den Jaunde und Bene *myök* (eigentlich Heimat, Stammesplatz), nur scheinen alle mit *myök* zusammengesetzten Familienverbände spätere kleine Abzweigungen von Sippschaften zu sein, wenn sie heute auch vollkommen den Rang einer solchen haben.

Auffallen muß es, daß in den Namen Wörter vorkommen, die heute nicht mehr oder selten gebraucht werden, so *adźań* = Tod; ferner, daß vielfach eine Verschiedenheit der Tonhöhen vorhanden ist, so in *Ngu,é* und *ngui*, und in *Bokõe*, und *kõ,e*; letzteres Wort ist außerdem dadurch wichtig, daß es bei den Familiennamen *(Ndońobokoe* und *Bokoe)* nach der Menschenklasse geht, *kõ,e*, Plural *bokõ,e*, während es heute nur nach der IV. Klasse (Tierklasse) geht.

Eine Karte des Pangwegebietes, mit farbiger Eintragung der Familienverbände, würde, selbst in großem Maßstabe gezeichnet, bunter aussehen als eine Karte der deutschen Fürstentümer im Mittelalter. Eine Vorstellung von dem Durcheinander kann man sich nach der beigegebenen, im Maßstab 1 : 100 000 gehaltenen Karte machen (zwischen S. 48 u. 49), auf der sämtliche Dorfschaften in einem Gebiet von 600 qkm verzeichnet sind. Das Stück ist auf der Hauptkarte rot umgrenzt. Man sieht als größte Sippschaft die Essauong *(Esawońń)*, die 18 Ortschaften (zwei liegen außerhalb des Rahmens der Karte) einnehmen. Wie man nach dem, was über die Wanderung gesagt ist, nicht anders erwarten wird, ist dies natürlich nur ein Teil, wenn auch der Hauptteil der Essauong; andere Trupps wohnen viele Meilen entfernt am oberen Bimfille und am Ober- und Unterlauf des Uelle. Ebenso steht es mit den übrigen Familienverbänden. Schlimmer als diese Zersplitterung ist für die ethnologische Betrachtung die Tatsache, daß Ntum und Fang durcheinander wohnen. So ist die Familie der Omwang die nämliche wie die Familie der Essandun, also ursprünglich eine Ntumfamilie; da sie sich aber früh abgetrennt


SCHUMU
ESSASSUM
NGBUE
OMWANG
OMWANG
OMWANG
ESSANDONG
ESSABOK
OIEK
OIEK
Nkoa
Nkoa
Nko
Nko
Nko

hat, und einzelne Trupps bei der Wanderung zwischen die Fang-Okak geraten sind, so rechnen sie sich eben unter dem Namen Omwang heute zu den Fang. Andererseits ist zwischen beiden eine tatsächliche Verschmelzung eingetreten, weil die Angehörigen einer Sippe nur die Frauen einer anderen heiraten dürfen, die Omwang also meistens Fangfrauen genommen haben, und wir verstehen, daß die Frage, ob Ntum, ob Fang, den Eingeborenen tatsächlich oft in Verlegenheit bringen kann. Man darf bei vergleichender Betrachtung der Pangwe-Kultur also nicht zu fest an den Unterstämmen kleben, sondern in Betracht ziehen, daß überall Mischungen stattgefunden haben.

Die Karte zeigt weiter die Verteilung von Ortschaften und Dörfern in dem dargestellten Gebiet und deren Bevölkerungsmenge. Ortschaften (Abb. 15) nenne ich Gruppen von Dörfern, die mit einem Namen bezeichnet werden. Der Pangwe nennt sie: *nnam I.* Die Dörfer einer Ortschaft gehören natürlich meist zu einem Familienverband, doch können sich auch zwei Familienverbände einigen und eine Ansiedlung gemeinsam begründen. Zum größten Teile folgen die Dörfer einer solchen Ortschaft hintereinander wie die Perlen an der Schnur und sind höchstens ein oder zwei Minuten Wegs voneinander entfernt. Dörfer, die weiter als ¼ Stunde auseinanderliegen, gehören selten zu einer Ortschaft, und wenn, so hat sich meist ein Teil der Einwohner des alten Dorfes wegen Streitigkeiten oder aus anderen Gründen abgetrennt und sich ein paar Kilometer weiterhin angesiedelt, der Name der neuen Ortschaft ist aber noch nicht gefunden. Wie ein Blick auf die Karte lehrt — man nehme z. B. die östlichen Ortschaften Owöng, Makoga und Bebadda —, sind meist 3—4, auch 5 Dörfer zu einer Ortschaft vereinigt, 6—8 gehören schon zu den Seltenheiten, doch kommt es auch vor, daß man eine ganze Stunde braucht, um eine Ortschaft zu durchschreiten, aber das sind Ausnahmen. Ein derartiges Beispiel ist die Schumuortschaft Melé mit 17 Dörfern. Im Nordpangwegebiet, wo die gesellschaftliche Ordnung fester ist, werden im allgemeinen größere Dörfer gebaut als im Süden.

Um zu einer ungefähren Schätzung der Einwohnerzahl zu kommen, muß man auf die Hütte zurückgehen. Die Anzahl der Hütten eines Dorfes, die ebenfalls (auf ein Mittel gebracht) aus der Karte zu ersehen ist, schwankt zwischen 2 und 50, sie ist im mittleren Fanggebiet selten höher. Eine Ausnahme ist das Dorf Mabungo mit 75 Häusern. Dagegen findet man im Norden bei den Jaunde, Mwele und Bene, wie gesagt, größere, dafür aber weniger zahlreiche Dörfer. Nach meiner Erfahrung darf man für jede Hütte nur 1½ bis 2 Seelen im Durchschnitt rechnen und auf ein Gebiet von 2000 qkm ungefähr 2770 Hütten, auf 90 Ortschaften verteilt, annehmen. Danach kämen auf das Quadratkilometer 2—3 Seelen. Da aber das der Berechnung zugrunde

gelegte Stück[1]) relativ dicht bevölkert ist im Gegensatz zu weiten im Südosten und Süden gelegenen Gebieten, in denen man z. B. in der Nähe des Jwindo 7—8 Stunden von einem Dorf zum andern gehen muß, so glaube ich für das gesamte Pangwegebiet nicht mehr als 2 Seelen für das Quadratkilometer annehmen zu dürfen. Das wäre also im ganzen eine Pangwebevölkerung von ungefähr 300 000 bis 400 000 Seelen [2]).

---

[1]) Ein Viereck von der deutschen Grenze südlich bis an den Bimfille und die Abea.

[2]) Im Heft 5/6 des vierten Bandes des „Anthropos" veröffentlicht P. H. Trilles eine Studie unter der Überschrift „Les Légendes des Bena Kanioka et le Folk-lore Bantou", in der er S. 947 in der Anmerkung 2 sagt: „L'ensemble des clans fang dépasse dix millions d'individus". Diese ungeheuerliche Übertreibung brauchte eigentlich kaum zurückgewiesen zu werden, nachdem bekannt ist, daß ganz Kamerun, dem der französische Kongo an Größe nahesteht, überhaupt nur 3 500 000 Einwohner hat. Die Familienverbände der Fang schätzt Trilles an derselben Stelle auf 400, was selbst für die gesamten Pangwe zu hoch sein dürfte.

Abschnitt IV.

Dorf und Haus.

Namen für Ortschaften (Herleitung und Erklärung). — Flurnamen. — Anlage der Dörfer. — Siedelung; Entwicklung einer Siedelung zu einem Dorf; Dorf; Bedeutung des Namens; Vergrößerung des Dorfes. — Vorläufige Versammlungshäuser: Anlage, Form. — Endgültige Versammlungshäuser: Gerüst; Dachdeckung (Verfahren, Material zu Sparren und Belag); Seitenwände (Material, Ausführung, Aussehen); Veranda. — Inneres der Versammlungshäuser: Pfeiler; Ruhebänke; Feuerstellen; Gerät (Gewehrhalter, Trophäen u. a.). — Leben im Versammlungshause. — Wohnhäuser: Formen; Aussehen; Türstück; Tür; Zustand. — Inneres der Wohnhäuser: Schlafbänke; Hängeböden und Speisekammer; Rahmen mit Trockenbrettern und Körben; Haken; Schemel; Feger. — Raphiapalme: Arten; Namen; Ausnutzung. — Vorratshäuser; Fremdenhäuser; Feldhütten; Krankenhäuser. — Pfahlhäuser. — Beleuchtung: Herdfeuer; Fackeln; Lampe; Pilzfackeln; Feuerbereitung. — Dorfplatz (Aussehen, Reinlichkeit). — Abort. — Zierpflanzen. — Verkehrswege. — Verkehr zu Wasser. — Brücken.

In dem großen, mit Urwald bedeckten Pangwegebiete liegen die Ortschaften zerstreut wie Oasen in der Wüste und ungleichmäßig verteilt derart, daß sie in der Richtung der Hauptverkehrswege, die das Land in der überwiegenden Mehrzahl von Ost nach West durchziehen, gehäuft auftreten.

Die Ortsnamen knüpfen sich meist an hervorstechende Merkmale der umgebenden Natur, an Gegenstände, Erlebnisse oder Eigenschaften der betreffenden Einwohner. So sind benannt

a) nach Palmen.

1. Niescham von *a nɨ* = legen, *ɛ́ạm* = Sumpf, Raphia, d. h. das Dorf ist dahin gelegt, wo es Raphia, die wichtigste Pflanze für den Hausbau, gibt.
2. Mabäscham von *a bē* = folgen, *ɛ́ạm* = Sumpf, Raphia.
3. Makoda von *akōda*, Mehrzahl *makōda* = Sumpfpalme, **Sclerosperma mannii**, Mann et Wendl., zum Hausbau benutzt wie Raphia.
4. Nkan von *nkạ̄n(e)* = **Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum** Becc., Kletterpalme, zur Flechterei benutzt.
5. Mekan, ebenso, Mehrzahl.
6. Nsamenkan von *ɛ́ạm (nɛ́ạm)* = Sumpf, Sumpf von der Kletterpalme **Ancistrophyllum.**
7. Alen von *alẹ̄n* = Ölpalme.
8. Malen, ebenso, Mehrzahl.

b) nach Kulturpflanzen.

9. Matumabai von *atú*, Mehrzahl *matú* = Taro, **Colocasia antiquorum** (L.) Schott, *mabai* = zwei, also zwei Taro.

[p. 51]

10. Bekaba von *ekábа*, Mehrzahl *bekábа* = **Xanthosoma violaceum** Schott.
11. Emäangon von *a mê ngôn* = Ngon ausstreuen, d. h. zum Trocknen auf dem Dorfplatz.

c) nach eßbaren wilden Früchten oder Fruchtbäumen.

12. Essun von *esŭ̧n* = Frucht des Kardamom, **Aframomum alboviolaceum** K. Sch.
13. Madschab von *madzə̆'b* = Öl von **Mimusops djave** (Lan.) Engl.
14. Fan von *fə̆'nę* = Frucht der Anacardiacee **Sorindeia rubriflora** Engl. *(afə̆'nę)*.
15. Abe von *abē* = Kolanuß und -baum, **Cola acuminata** (P. Beauv.).
16. Andok von *andŏ̧k* = **Irvingia barteri** Hook. f., Simarubaceae. Mandok.
17. Nkoandok von *nkŏ̧k* = niedergefallener Baumstamm, d. h. der **Irvingia.**
18. Ngong von *ngŏ̧ṅ IV* = Früchte der **Trichoscypha** sp. *(engŏ̧ṅ)*.
19. Alöb von *alə̆'b* = **Desbordesia glaucescens** Engl. (Simarubaceae).
20. Mangame von *mangə̆'me III* = **Myrianthus arboreus** P. B. (Moraceae), vielleicht auch das Sinnbild der Vereinigung, der Sammelfrucht entnommen.

d) nach sonstigen Bäumen.

21. Akak von *akăk* = **Leptonychia tessmannii** Engl., Sterculiacee, der Friedensbaum, die Friedenslinde.
22. Makak ebenso, Mehrzahl.
23. Nkomakak oder Nkolemakak von *nkō[l]* = Hügel, d. h. Hügel von **Leptonychia**-Bäumen *(makak)*.
24. Abang (Abanga) von *abă̧ṅ* = **Ficus**art, zur Rindenzeugherstellung beliebt.
25. Mabang (Mabanga), ebenso, Mehrzahl.
26. Akam von *akăm* = große **Ficus**arten, z. B. **F. preussii** Warb. und **laurentii** Warb., auffallende Bäume und zur Zeugherstellung benutzt.
27. Ajo, Jusch (Ajusch) von *ayŭ̧ś* = **Triplochiton tessmannii,** zur Herstellung von Hausrinde beliebt.
28. Majo (Majusch), ebenso, Mehrzahl.
29. Nkolemajo = Nkolajo von *nko[l]* = Hügel von **Triplochiton.**
30. Owöng von *ovŏ̧ṅ* = **Copaifera tessmannii** Harms, berühmter Geisterbaum, größter Baum des Fanggebietes.
31. Awöngabai, zwei **Copaifera** (*abai* = zwei).
31a. Ndschiowöng von *ndzę̆ṅ* = Brücke, Brücke von **Copaifera.**
32. Elun von *elŭ̧n* = **Erythrophloeum guineense** Don. (Leguminosae). Auffallend durch seine rote Rinde, Giftbaum.
33. Belun, Mehrzahl.
34. Ejen (Elibengang) von *eję̆n, elə̆bengăṅ* = **Distemonanthus benthamianus** Baill., auffallend durch schöne, lilarote Rinde, Medizinbaum.
35. Andung von *andŭ̧ṅ* = **Croton welwitschianus** Muell. Arg. (Euphorbiac.), schön wegen der silberglänzenden Blätter.
36. Akom von *akŏ̧m* = **Terminalia superba** Engl. u. Diels.

37. Makom (Makomo), ebenso, Mehrzahl.
38. Nkoakom von *nkok* = niedergefallener Stamm, d. h. der **Terminalia.**
39. Engo von *engō̆*, nicht bestimmbarer Baum.
40. Akoga von *akūga* = **Lophira alata** Banks, schöne, duftende Blüten.
41. Makoga, ebenso, Mehrzahl.
42. Assam von *asū̆m* = **Uapaca guineensis** Muell. Arg., reicher, duftender Blütenschmuck.
43. Massam (Massama), ebenso, Mehrzahl.
44. Angok von *angō̆k* = **Albizzia brownei** Oliv., schöner Baum.
45. Dum von *du,m* = **Ceiba pentandra** (L.) Gärtn.
46. Medschimitum von *medźī* = Wurzeln, *tūm* = **Piptadenia africana** Hook. f.
47. Asseng oder Assöng von *asō̆ṅ* = Schirmbaum, **Musanga smithii** R. Br.
48. Massöng, ebenso, Mehrzahl.
49. Nkoassöng von *nkok* = niedergefallener Stamm vom Schirmbaum.

e) nach landschaftlichen Merkmalen.

50. Ngbai von *ngbā,ī* = entblätterter lebender Baum (Winterzustand).
51. Mekumu von *nkū,m I* trockener, aufrechtstehender Baumstamm ohne Krone.
52. Ndangöng von *ndängō̆ṅ* = Lichtung.
53. Ewüöle von *eṛūō̆le* = Lichtung.
54. Nko von *nkō* = Hügel.
55. Anko = am Hügel.
56. Akok von *akūk* = Stein, Fels.
57. Makok, ebenso, Mehrzahl.
58. Maschok von *maśōk* = Wasserschnellen, Fälle.

f) nach Tieren bzw. Teilen von ihnen.

59. Schok von *źō̆k* = Elefant.
60. Mbang und 61. Mbangschok von *mbā,ṅ* = Elfenbein, *źō̆k* vom Elefanten.
62. Mboleschok von *ebō[l]* verdorben, d. i. verdorbener Elefant.
63. Akuleschok von *aku[l]* = Füße von Tieren, Füße des Elefanten.
64. Nnoschok = Nloschok von *niō̆, nnō̆* = Kopf, Kopf des Elefanten.
65. Abumeschok von *abū̆m* = Bauch, Bauch des Elefanten, weil sie die Pflanzungen des Dorfes aufgefressen hatten.
66. Bindeme von *indē̆m V* = fliegender Hund.
67. Böngomo von *ongō̆mo III* = Schimpanse.
68. Akulangomo von *akū[l]* = Füße, Klauen des Schimpansen.
69. Ebóloua [1]) von *ebō[l]-o-wōá* = Verdorbenes vom Schimpansen, verdorbener Schimpanse.
70. Akuasö von *akūa* = Lager von Tieren, *zō̆* = Leopard,
71. Olamesö von *olām* = Falle, Zugfalle, *zō̆* Leopard.
72. Ewes von *eṛē̆s* = Knochen.

---

[1]) Die amtliche Schreibweise ist Ebolowa. Um indessen folgerichtig zu bleiben, schreibe ich Ebóloua, da ich durch w in deutscher Schreibung nur Lippenlaute wiedergebe.

73. Bojabúnkulu von *boyá* = Weibchen, Mehrzahl, *bo* = von, *(n)kü[l]ü* = Schildkröten, also Schildkrötenweibchen.
74. Bebass von *ebä,s* = Schuppe, die Leute essen wohl viele Fische.

g) nach Gegenständen.

75. Ntum von *ntúm* = Spazierstock.
76. Ebai von *ebai* = Raphiablattstielstreifen, zum Hausbau benutzt.
77. Bebai, ebenso, Mehrzahl.
78. Ngam von *ngäm* = Widerhaken am Speer.
79. Bebada von *ebä'da* = Tragkörbchen der Männer.

h) nach Erlebnissen oder Eigenschaften der Ortsbewohner.

80. Bissis von *isī,s V* = Schattendarsteller im Mondkult.
81. Elanga von *elä'ń* eigentlich = After, übertragen = schlechte Leute.
82. Ekekö von *a ke ekękö,* = gänzlich ausbleiben, weil die Fremden abgefangen und getötet wurden, so daß sie nicht wieder zurückkamen.
83. Esamedulu von *a zámädüḷü* = Schande treiben, d. h. mit einer Frau aus derselben Familie geschlechtlich verkehren.
84. Nssälang von *nsę́ń* = Dorfplatz, *elä'ń* (siehe unter 81), die Leute trieben auf dem Dorfplatze Schlechtigkeiten, Feindseligkeiten, wenn ein Fremder durchkam.
85. Biänemajong von *a bę̄ne, bię̄,ne* = sich nicht vor jemand fürchten, d. h. keine Rücksicht üben, *mayöń* = Familien, die Leute üben gegen Angehörige anderer Familien keine Rücksicht.
86. Ajaofun von *a ńá* oder *njá* = sich nähren, *fä'n* = Mais.
87. Akinebetom von *a kine* = zusammenlaufen, herbeilaufen, *etöm* = Streit, die Leute laufen zusammen, um Streit zu machen.
88. Olunemang von *olä'n* = Unwille, Ärger, *mąń* = Küste, die Leute waren über die Bewohner der Küste — vielleicht Weiße — unwillig gewesen, oder aber auch wegen der Entfernung.
89. Ngba von *ngbä'* = ruhige, friedliche Leute (Gegensatz zu 82).
90. Massambe von *a sä,mä tä'n* = mit dem Netz fischen.
91. Nschugebot von *nźuge* = viel durcheinanderreden, *böl* = Leute, es sind viele Leute, die dort reden.
92. Euuma von *a wä'mąn* = einen Rückfall in einer Krankheit haben.
93. Awomo von *a ṷö'mö* = in Ohnmacht fallen, dieser Name spielt wie der vorige auf die Verwicklungen dieser Grenzdörfer zwischen Ntum und Bulu an.
94. Nnoajong von *nnö'* = das Haupt, *ayöń* = Familie, also die „Hauptvertreter" der Sippe.
95. Ajene von *a yę̄n* = sehen, auf die Berge, die vom Dorf aus sichtbar sind, bezogen: „Montevideo".
96. Ntedenga von *ntěl* = hundert, *ngá* = Gewehr; hundert, also unendlich viele Gewehre.

97. Makunanam oder Makonanam von *akün* = Pfahl, Pfeiler, *nnäm* = die Ortschaft, d. h. eine Ortschaft, die so fest steht, wie ein Pfeiler.
98. Ndschiabot von *ndźǵi,* = Brücke, *böl* = Leute, d. h. Brücke für Menschen.
99. Ejamang von *a yäk* = über Nacht bleiben, *a mạń* = auf dem Wege zur Küste, also eins der wenigen verkehrs- und fortschrittsfreundlichen Dörfer, sogar:
100. Ajaamentangan von *a yäk* = rasten, *mentaṅgan* = Weiße.
101. Akunekiä von *akü,n* = Pfahl, Pfeiler, Pflock, *ekiǵi* von Eisen (vgl. 98).
102. Ebualebambe von *a büeḷe* = zerbrochen sein, *mbä,mạ̄ III* = großes Dorf, die Häuser waren äußerst baufällig.
103. Niemajong von *a nɪ,ḗ* = hineinlegen, *mayöń* = Familienverband, d. h. das Dorf war zwischen Dörfern anderer Sippen angelegt.
104. Ndschobangon von *dźọb* = Himmel, *ngạ̄n* = Mond, also Mondhimmel.
105. Olöadzob von *olȫɪ,* = Loch, *dźọb* = Himmel, Loch am Himmel (wohl zwischen den Wolken).

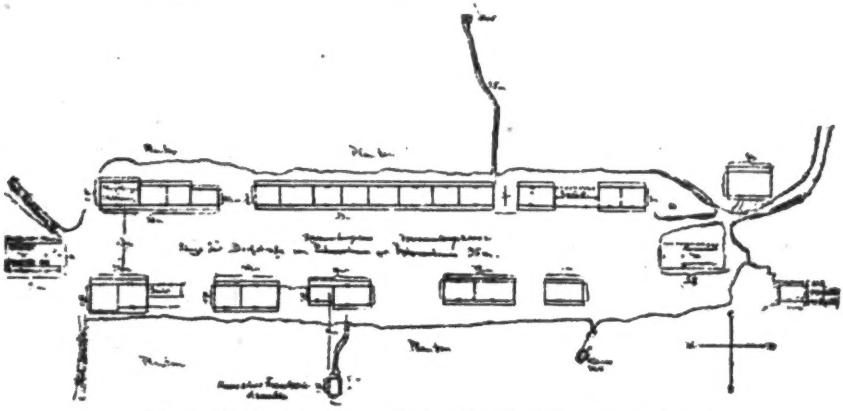


Abb. 16. Plan eines Dorfes der Ortschaft Nsälang (Fam. Essauong) Fang. Aufgenommen 1908.

Außer den Ortsnamen kennt der Pangwe noch Flurnamen, so z. B. in der Umgebung der Ortschaft Alén (Essauong) folgende: *enumepfidi* = Pulverpfad, *nsa[k]-abea* = Abeasumpfwald. Eigene Bezeichnungen für Berge gibt es nur wenige, z. B. Nememböng = gutes Herz (siehe Karte); meist ist der Name von Bergen und Gebirgen dem der umliegenden Ortschaften entlehnt. Flußnamen lassen sich nach Angabe der heutigen Einwohner zum größten Teil nicht mehr erklären, weil sie, wie zum Teil auch die Ortsnamen, von den früheren Bewohnern des Landes übernommen seien.

Wie im vorigen Abschnitt erwähnt, werden die Dörfer längs der Wege angelegt, und zwar immer in der Richtung von Ost nach West (vgl. Abb. 16).

Merkwürdigerweise gaben die Leute als Grund hierfür an, daß das Land nach Westen (zum Meere hin) abfiele, und das Regenwasser dahin ablaufen könne. Natürlich spielt dieser Punkt insofern eine große Rolle, als man sich hütet, das Dorf derart anzulegen, daß das Regenwasser eine der Hüttenreihen überschwemmt, indessen kann das nicht der einzige Grund sein; ich habe auch auf vollkommen ebenem Boden, der einen Wasserablauf in gedachter Richtung nicht begünstigt, die Ost-Westrichtung als die bevorzugte festgestellt. Wenn z. B. ein Weg nach Süden führt, so biegt er vor dem Dorfe um, läuft in ihm von Ost nach West und nimmt am anderen Ende die alte Südrichtung wieder auf (vgl. Abb. 16, Weg Nssälang I-Beniaa). Offenbar spielen hier noch andere Gründe mit, so der allgemeine Zug nach Westen, von dem schon im vorigen Abschnitt die Rede war[1]).

Das Pangwedorf besteht meist aus zwei gleichlaufenden Häuserreihen, die den Weg zwischen sich lassen (Tafel IV und Abb. 16), selten aus einer einzigen an der Straße liegenden Reihe, ist aus dem Zusammenschluß zweier oder mehrerer Einzelansiedlungen entstanden und zeigt hiernach verschiedene Entwicklungszustände, die wir überall im Gebiete nebeneinander beobachten können.

Will ein Familienvater eine Ansiedlung gründen, so baut er zwei Häuser, ein Wohnhaus und ein Versammlungshaus. Das Wohnhaus ist das eigentliche Reich der Frau, in dem sie mit ihren Kindern lebt und schafft, und in dem sich der Mann eigentlich nur nachts, am Tage nur gelegentlich aufhält. Das Versammlungshaus ist umgekehrt der gewöhnliche Aufenthaltsort des Mannes, in dem er sich tagsüber beschäftigt, seine Nebenarbeiten verrichtet, Besuche empfängt, und in das die Frau nur hin und wieder kommt. Werden die Kinder größer, so baut der Vater jedem ein eigenes Haus anschließend an das ursprüngliche erste Wohnhaus, ebenso bekommt jede seiner weiteren Frauen ihr eigenes Haus. Die erste Frau bleibt jedoch seine Lieblingsfrau, und infolgedessen ihr Haus, das ist das erste, das er gebaut, und das neben dem Versammlungshause liegt, sein Heim, das er auch nach dem Tode der Frau behält.

Der nächste Schritt der Entwicklung zum Dorfe wird dadurch getan, daß aus irgendwelchen Gründen ein zweiter Familienvater seine Siedlung an die des ersten anschließt. Das geschieht z. B., wenn ein Angehöriger des gleichen oder eines anderen Familienverbandes zuwandert, oder wenn nach dem Tode des Vaters der älteste Sohn dessen Versammlungshaus, Wohnhäuser und Frauen erbt, der jüngere Sohn sich aber nicht seinem älteren Bruder und nunmehrigen Häuptlinge unterordnen will. Er bzw. der neue Ankömmling baut sich für seine Familie in derselben Flucht die nötige Anzahl Häuser, zum Teil sogar in un-

---

[1]) Vgl. auch die meist ostwestliche Richtung der Gräber.

1: Tessmann FH9 Fang

[facing p. 56]

DORF MAKONANÁM (FAM. OJEK), SPAN GUINEA

Verlegt und gedruckt bei Ernst Wasmuth A.-G., Berlin.

Abb. 17. Pangwedorf, Span. Guinea.

mittelbarem Anschluß an die bestehenden, und schließt seine Siedlung ebenfalls durch ein am Ende aus der Reihe herausgerücktes Versammlungshaus ab, das, wenn es ein vorläufiges ist, längs (vgl. Abb. 16), wenn es ein dauerndes ist, quer gestellt wird (vgl. Tafel IV).

Dadurch ist aus der bisherigen Einzelsiedlung ein „Dorf" geworden, das deshalb, weil es wie das Augenpaar *(dʌ́ʒ̣*, Mehrzahl *mʒ̣)* aus zwei Hälften besteht (Abb. 18), „*dʌ́ʌ́*, Mehrzahl *mʌ́*" heißt (vgl. das über die Bedeutung der Vorsilben Gesagte). Es gibt also zwei Familienväter in jedem Dorfe, deren Häuserreihen in der Mitte irgendwo zusammenstoßen, eine Grenzlinie, die natürlich nur Eingeweihten erkennbar ist. Was aber jeder sieht, sind die zwei in der Flucht des Dorfplatzes jederseits liegenden Versammlungshäuser, die eben den beiden Familienvätern gehören.

Diese beiden stehen sich rechtlich gleich, nur verleihen dem einen bestimmte Verhältnisse, auf die in einem späteren Abschnitte zurückzukommen sein wird, ein gewisses Übergewicht. Unter Umständen tritt zu den zwei das Dorf bildenden Einzelsiedlungen noch eine dritte mit ebenso anschließenden Häuserreihen und ebenfalls einem Versammlungshause (vgl. Abb. 18).

Das Versammlungshaus ist, wie gesagt, der Hauptaufenthalt des Häuptlings, aber auch aller seiner Söhne, männlichen Verwandten und Anhänger, die ihm beim Bau helfen und ein dauerndes Benutzungsrecht darauf haben.

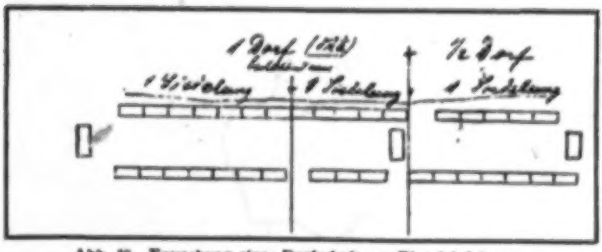


Abb. 18. Entstehung einer Dorfschaft aus Einzelsiedelungen.

Daher die Beziehungsvorsilbe *a* in *abǫ* = Versammlungshaus, daher wahrscheinlich auch der Januskopf, den ich an dem Pfeiler eines Versammlungshauses sah (vgl. Abb. 19). Den Stamm des Wortes *a-bǫ* führe ich zurück auf *ba* = teilen, verteilen[1]) und glaube, daß es ursprünglich den Platz bezeichnen soll, auf dem das erlegte Wild verteilt wurde. Das Versammlungshaus ist jetzt der Ort, an dem sich alle öffentlichen Vorgänge, vom Verteilen von Fleisch an bis zu Gerichtsverhandlungen, gemeinsamen Beratungen und Fremdenempfängen abspielen.

Das bei der Siedlungsgründung errichtete Versammlungshaus behält zuweilen dauernd den Charakter des vorläufigen, es bleibt unvollendet, weil die Leute zu faul sind — jeder meint, der andere solle zuerst anfangen —, und der Häuptling keine Macht hat, seine Leute dazu zu zwingen. So stellte einmal der Häuptling des Dorfes Nssälang, von dessen vorläufigen Versammlungshäusern Abb. 23 eines zeigt, an mich das Ansinnen — das ich natürlich dankend abgelehnt habe —, ich sollte seine Leute zwangsweise dazu bringen bzw. ihm meine Leute zur Verfügung stellen, ihm ein neues Versammlungshaus zu bauen, denn dann würden alle Leute sagen: „Ja, dieser Häuptling des Weißen ist ein ganzer Kerl, man sieht doch gleich, daß hier ein Weißer bei seinem Dorfe wohnt." Wenn es hoch kommt, bringen die Leute ihm einige Dachmatten zu dem Bau und glauben so ihre Pflichten gegen das gemeinschaftliche Werk erfüllt zu haben, die eigentliche Arbeit bleibt immer auf dem Häuptling sitzen. Sein Eigen wird das Haus aber dadurch nicht, es ist vielmehr in jedem Falle der gemeinsame Besitz der Männer, und wenn jener sagt: „Es ist m e i n Versammlungshaus", so tut ihnen das nicht weh. Der Pangwe meidet alles, was ihn in seiner gewohnten Ruhe und Bequemlichkeit stören könnte, scheut die Arbeit und läßt den Dingen ihren Lauf:

ǫ́ǫ́[k] e tśrdan ebɛ́ɛ,-asgi, a ɣe oa aiɛ́i, a ni
Elefant, er fortscheuchte (von) Grube-Eisenstein, er gab dir Armut, er nahm

oa adśɛ,i
dir Schwere,

[1]) Derselbe Stamm in dem Zahlwort zwei *(bai)*, das ja gefunden ist durch Teilen e i n e s Gegenstandes.

Das heißt: Der Elefant, welcher dich von einer Eisensteingrube fortscheuchte, machte dich zwar arm, aber er nahm dir eine Last ab (nämlich das Eisen zuzubereiten).

In einigen Fällen hatte man bei der Herrichtung des Baugrundes an der üblichen Stelle Schwierigkeiten (Baumstümpfe, Wurzeln und dergl.) und legte das Versammlungshaus seitlich in die Reihe der Häuser, freilich in der Querstellung (vgl. Abb. 44). „Man" kam dann öfter nicht dazu, dieses später durch ein neues an der richtigen Stelle zu ersetzen, mochte der Häuptling es wegen der Leute auch noch so sehr wünschen. Wo es doch geschah, pflegte man das alte nicht gleich abzubrechen, sondern mit dem neuen zusammen noch weiter zu benutzen.

Abb. 19. Pfeiler aus einem Versammlungshaus in Malés (Fam. Essamong) Fang.

Das Versammlungshaus (Abb. 20, 21) ist seiner Form nach ein Giebeldachhaus mit quadratischem oder rechteckigem Grundriß. Der erwähnte Brauch, sich bei neuen Siedlungen mit flüchtigen, vorläufigen Versammlungshäusern *(ongôn e ngɨ)* zu begnügen, denen erst später, wenn das wirtschaftliche Leben einen gewissen Beharrungszustand erreicht hat, die endgültigen *(tsɨnand III)* folgen — oder auch nicht folgen, bedingt im übrigen Formenverschiedenheiten, die zugleich ein Bild ihrer Entwicklung geben. Die einfachsten Häuser (vgl. Abb. 110) sind im Grunde nur Schutzdächer: ein Firstbalken ist über zwei, zuweilen drei oben gabelig auslaufende Pfeiler *(akûn)* von etwa 2 m Höhe gelegt, die tief in den durch Roden zubereiteten, dann geebneten und geglätteten Boden gestoßen werden. Über den Firstbalken sind in kürzeren oder längeren Abständen als Dachsparren in der Mitte geknickte Raphiastengel gelegt (vgl. Abb. 24 f.). Sie liegen mit dem unteren Ende direkt — ohne Unterlage — dem Boden auf. Das Sparrenwerk wird mit Matten aus Raphiablattfiedern gedeckt. Diese Matten *(ɛ́ɛ́gi)*, (Abb. 22), werden derart zubereitet, daß mehrere Stöcke in den Boden gesteckt, an ihnen zwei lange Raphiastengelstäbe *(a)* quer angebunden werden, und hierüber eine in der Mitte umgebrochene Fieder gelegt wird *(b)*, die man unterhalb der Querstäbe durch je ein Stück Raphiablattstielrinde zusammenheftet. Eine zweite Fieder *(c)* wird bis an die Mittelrippe über die erste gelegt und nun in derselben Weise an diese geheftet. Darauf folgt die dritte und so fort, bis die gewünschte Länge von mehreren Metern erreicht ist. Die Matten werden dachziegelartig übereinander an den Sparren befestigt.

Abb. 23. Versammlungshaus in Olonga (Fam Ewodengbuak).

Eine zweite Form des Versammlungshauses (Abb. 23) ist aus der beschriebenen dadurch entstanden, daß das Verfaulen der Sparrenenden auf dem feuchten Boden sowie häufige Besuche von allerlei unliebsamen Kriechtieren es notwendig machten, die Sparren durch Unterschieben von Balken zu lüften. Diese Balken sind entweder unbehauene Stämme und Knüppel oder längshalbierte Hölzer, die dann mit ihrer Schnittfläche meist nach außen gekehrt liegen und zwischen mehreren Paaren von senkrecht in den Boden gesteckten Pfosten übereinandergeschichtet werden. Dem obersten liegt das Dach lose auf. Damit ist der erste Ansatz zu einer Hauswand gegeben. Außer den genannten Beweggründen war noch der Gedanke bestimmend, bei einem plötzlichen Angriffe hinter den Schutzwänden vor feindlichen Speerwürfen besser gesichert zu sein, als unter den einfachen Schrägdächern.

Bei den endgültigen besseren Versammlungshäusern erfahren Wand und Dach eine sorgfältigere Ausbildung. Der Hauptunterschied ist jedoch der, daß sie niemals mit dem Giebel auf den Dorfplatz schauen wie jene, sondern mit der Langseite, entsprechend tritt man durch diese ins Haus.

Zuerst wird, wie überall, das Gerüst aufgestellt, eine Arbeit, die in verhältnismäßig kurzer Zeit geschehen ist. Es entspricht in allen seinen Teilen dem des vorläufigen Versammlungshauses, nur ist es größer und weitläufiger (Abb. 24). Auf den in die Längsachse gestellten Hauptpfeilern *(dbém)* a, von

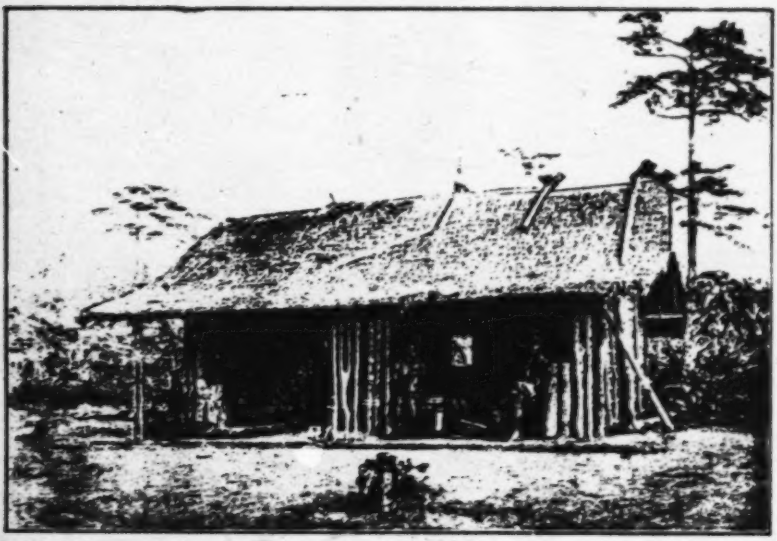


Abb. 21. Versammlungshaus eines Ntumdorfes in Neu-Kamerun.

denen je nach der Größe des Versammlungshauses zwei bis fünf vorhanden sind, ruht der Firstbalken *(mbǔn I)* b. Das Gerippe der Vorder- und Rückwand besteht aus einer Reihe von Wandpfosten *(mɛ̄, IV)* c, die oben zugespitzt werden. Über die Spitzen wird als Gesimsbalken *(mʃǒ, I)* e ein längshalbierter Raphiastengel gelegt und durch Schlag oder Zug festgedrückt. Über den First kommen dann die Dachsparren f, wie vorher beschrieben, wobei man sie ein Stück über den Gesimsbalken vorstehen läßt. Die beiden äußersten Sparren ruhen auf den Pfosten, die das Gerüst der Seitenwand bilden *(mɛ̄, esá)* d. Darauf beginnt man mit dem Eindecken (Abb. 26), das mehr Mühe erfordert als das Gerüst und weit sorgsamer ausgeführt ist als bei den vorläufigen Versammlungshäusern. Zuerst werden die Dachsparren *(ntǔgn I)* f durch eine in der Firstlinie quer über sie hinweggelegte und mit dem Dachbalken verschnürte Leiste aus Raphia *(obʃbʃ)* g festgeklemmt. Ähnlich wird ein Verschieben der Sparren an den unteren Enden durch zwei auf der Ober- und Unterseite über sie hinweglaufende Leisten verhindert. Eine abweichende Bauart sah ich bei Versammlungshäusern der Fang im Gebiete des Komo (Abb. 25). Hier war der Firstbalken an den freien Enden nicht gestützt, sondern mit Lianenstricken im Boden verankert und durch scharfes Anziehen der Stricke heruntergebogen.

Die Matten werden nun von oben, wo etwas unter dem First mit Matte k

(vgl. Abb. 26), begonnen wird, nach unten oder umgekehrt, von unten nach oben, dachziegelartig übereinandergelegt und entweder an jedem zweiten Dachsparren oder an eigenen Halttauen *(mbēgd-eźę,ı)* festgebunden, die vom First zu dem die Sparrenenden zwischen sich fassenden Raphiastreifen laufen; seltener legt man über die Sparren in der Längsrichtung Leisten und befestigt an ihnen die Matten. Zuletzt wird die Eindeckung des Firstes selbst vorgenommen. Dazu werden zwei Dachmatten *(obıt, elät-eźę,j)* h mit den oberen Kanten aneinandergenäht und als oberste Schicht über den First gelegt. Zum Schutz kommt darüber noch die eigentliche Firstmatte *(ngüm IV)* i, eine in der Mitte gebogene Matte, die mit Stiften aus Raphiastengelrinde l an die Doppelmatte geheftet wird.

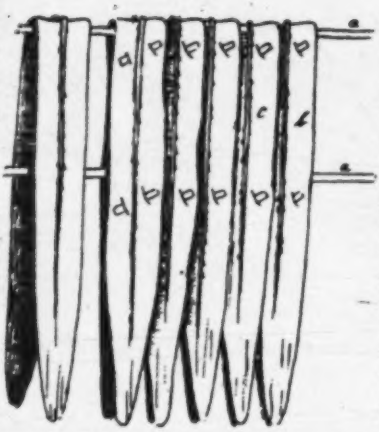


Abb. 22. Stück einer Dachmatte, mit deren Herstellung eben begonnen worden ist.

Da, wo es Raphia nicht gibt, werden an Stelle der Sparren aus Raphia- solche aus Ölpalmblattstielen (so in Jaunde) oder aus Stämmchen,

Abb. 23. Kleines Dorf der Ortschaft Nsallang (Fam. Baduong) Spm. Gabun.

an Stelle von Matten die Blätter von **Sarcophrynium velutinum** (Bak.) K. Schum. *(okudikui)*, vgl. Tafel XI, und der Sumpfpalme, **Selerosperma mannii** Mann et Wendl. *(akōda)* verwendet, zum Verdecken von Lücken auch Bananenblätter. Dieser Mattenersatz ist wenig haltbar und mühevoll herzustellen, da man stets Dachlatten braucht, um die Blätter zu befestigen, und vom First zum Dachrand dicht an dicht Aframomumstengel legen muß, da die Blätter sich sonst ziehen oder abgeweht werden. Die Haltbarkeit eines mit Sumpfpalmenblättern gedeckten Daches ist so mäßig, daß es — wie die Leute angaben — nur ein Jahr tadellos bleibt, während sich ein Mattendach fünf Jahre hält, ehe Ausbesserungen nötig werden. Ein mit Sarcophryniumblättern belegtes Dach sieht außerdem sehr unschön aus, besonders von innen, wo die in der Nähe der Spreite abgeschnittenen Blattstiele ins Haus hineinragen.

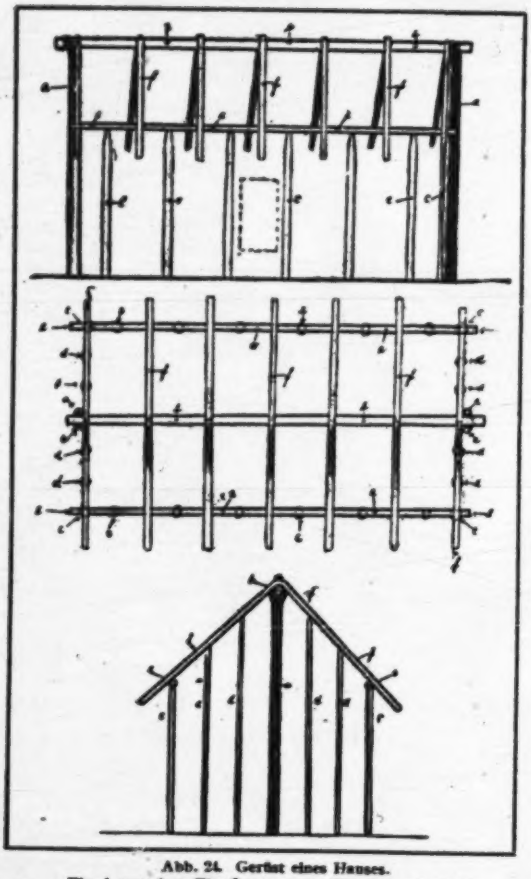


Abb. 24. Gerüst eines Hauses.
Fig. 1 von oben, Fig. 2 von vorne, Fig. 3 von der Seite.

Ist das Haus unter Dach gebracht, so geht es an die Seitenwände. Als Material nimmt man die Rinden bestimmter Bäume, deren Namen bei den Rindenarbeiten (Abschnitt VIII S. 205) aufgeführt sind, Sumpfpalmen- und Sarcophryniumblätter, beide mehr für die Giebelwände, sowie schließlich Raphiamarkstreifen und Matten, diese aber wegen ihrer vielen kleinen Stacheln nur ungern.

Die 1—2 m langen, ungefähr ½ m breiten Rindenstücke werden in folgender Weise am Gerüst angebracht: Auf der Innenseite der Wandpfosten werden

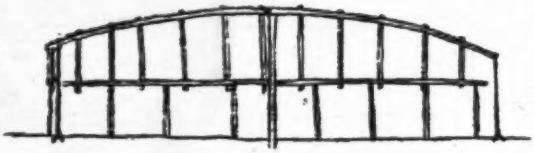


Abb. 25. Gerüst eines Versammlungshauses der Fang aus dem Gebiete des Komo (Dorf Omvan, Fr. Kongo). Längsdurchschnitt.

in gewissen Abständen Längsstreifen aus Raphiablattstielen *(ebai)* als Latten befestigt, und an sie die Rindenstücke mittelst Raphiastreifen festgedrückt, die genau den Latten entsprechend verlaufen. Die Pfosten stehen also meistens außerhalb des Hauses, nur sehr selten auch innen. Zusammengehalten werden Rindenstücke und Raphiastreifen durch Bänder aus **Oncocalamus** *(nlon̄ I* = Oncocalamus und Band)[1]), vgl. Tafel XVI, und von zwei Leuten gleichzeitig in der Weise verfertigt, daß der eine drinnen, der andere draußen hockt, und nun dieser das von jenem durchgesteckte Band wieder nach innen zurückführt usw. Zum Durchbohren der Rindenstücke bedient man sich eines Pfriemens *(nson̄ I)*. Wie bei uns die Nägel in einer Linie untereinander eingeschlagen werden, so müssen auch bei den Pangwe die Heftstellen der verschiedenen Längsstreifen genau in einer Linie liegen (vgl. Abb. 35). Bei Raphiamatten pflegt man wegen der erwähnten kleinen Stacheln — übrigens oft auch bei Rindenstücken — die Latten so dicht übereinander zu legen, daß von den Matten nur wenig oder gar nichts zu sehen bleibt (wie in Abb. 33). In gleicher Weise wie die Rinden werden die Raphiamarkstücke zwischen Latten festgehalten, indem man von oben nach unten Markstreifen nebeneinander stellt und nur in größeren Abständen mit den Latten verschnürt.

Die Behandlung der Wände ist mit Ausnahme der stets ganz geschlossenen Giebelwände eine sehr verschiedene; die nie fehlende Rückwand ist meist mit einigen Fensteröffnungen versehen, einer mittleren, in Form eines Quadrates oder Rechtecks, und je einer seitlichen, in Form einer horizontalen Längs-

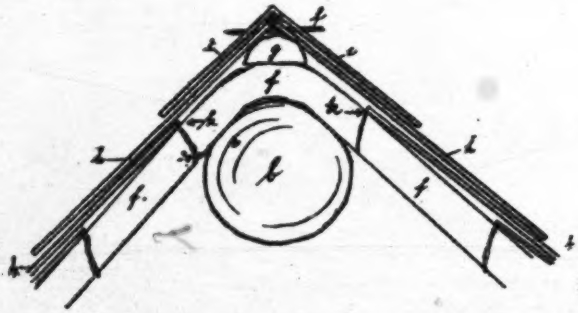


Abb. 26. Querschnitt durch den First eines Hauses.

[1]) Die Jaunde kaufen dieses „Buschtau" von Elandi, wo es für das Jaundegebiet allein noch Buschtau gibt, sonst verwenden sie statt dessen **Dipteropeltis poranoides** Hallier f. *(atŭ[k]e ndźik)*.

spalte. Die mittlere Öffnung wird meist zugleich als Fenster und Tür benutzt, ist aber so klein, daß man sich nur mit einiger Geschicklichkeit hindurchzwängen kann. Es gibt an dieser Stelle jedoch auch Türen in unserem Sinne, die bis zur Erde reichen, und zwar mit oder ohne Schwellen.

Die Vorderwand gleicht entweder genau der Hinterwand, ist also bis auf seitliche und mittlere Fensteröffnungen geschlossen, oder sie ist nur bis zur halben Höhe aufgeführt oder ist nichts anderes als eine Brüstung bzw. ein Geländer aus Raphiastengeln, oder sie fehlt auf der einen Seite oder schließlich ganz.

Das Dach läßt man vorn gern so weit vorspringen, daß eine

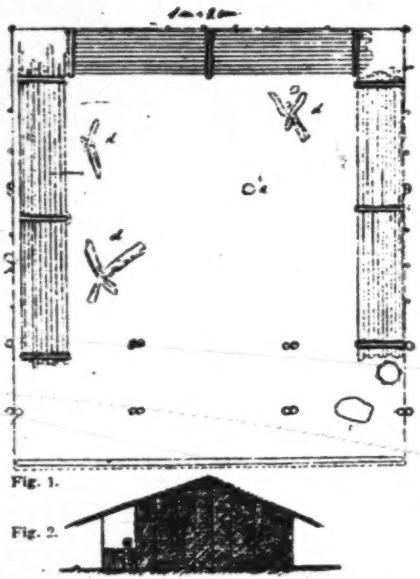


Abb. 27a. Fig. 1. Grundriß eines Versammlungshauses in Majo (Fam. Schumu).
a Hauptpfeiler, *b* Feiltrommel, *c* Schleifstein, *d* Feuerstellen.
Fig. 2. Seitenansicht.

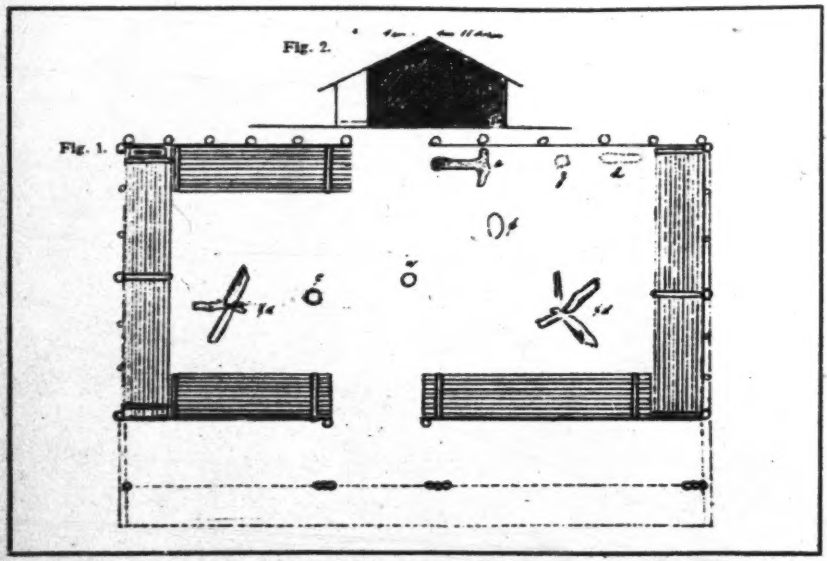


Abb. 27b. Fig. 1. Grundriß eines Versammlungshauses in Mbá (Fam. Essákunan).
a Hauptpfeiler, *b* Schmiedegrube, *c* Blasebalg, *d* Steilnetz für Wild (*c* und *d* hängend), *e* Amboß (Stein), *f* Feuerstellen, *g* Sitz (Baumstumpf), *h* Holztrommel. — Fig. 2. Seitenansicht.

gedeckte Veranda entsteht, und stützt es durch einige Pfeiler *(omṝmṝ,)*; vorn oder an den Seiten schließt man den Vorraum mitunter durch eine Brüstung oder ein Geländer ab. Ein Holzbalken als Schwelle hindert den vom Dach abtropfenden Regen daran, ins Haus einzudringen [1]).

Das Innere (Tafel V, Abb. 27 a und 27 b) bildet einen einzigen leeren Raum, der nur von den freistehenden Pfeilern (mittleren Trägern des Firstbalkens) unterbrochen wird. Vereinzelt sah ich diese schön geschnitzt, aber nur dann, wenn das Haus bloß einen Mittelpfeiler besaß. Die Schnitzerei zeigte stilisierte oder abgewandelte menschliche Figuren (Abb. 19) und recht naturgetreue Darstellungen von Tieren; so erinnere ich mich eines sehr schönen Pfeilers mit einem Schwein, das einen Leoparden in den Schwanz beißt, aus dem Dorfe Bingomo (Fam. Abái).

An den Wänden stehen niedere Ruhebänke, von denen ich zwei Formen gesehen habe. Die einfachsten und deshalb mehr für vorläufige Versammlungshäuser berechneten bestehen aus längshalbierten Stämmchen des Schirmbaumes (**Musanga**) oder Raphiastengeln, die einfach über zwei Querrollen aus demselben Holz gelegt sind *(kŭdŭ III)*. Sie finden sich dauernd auch dort, wo man keine Raphia hat, und ferner in Unterkunftshütten für Gäste. Die zweite Form (vgl. Abb. 28—29) ist ein rechteckiges Gestell aus längshalbierten Raphiastengeln *(enöṅ)*; die Schmalseite besteht aus je zwei Füßen *(a = akökŋ̄ök)* mit spitzen Zapfen *(c = mbĕn -ak. I* F. *ojĕn* J.*)*, auf die zu unterst eine Holzleiste, dann drei Raphiastengel übereinander gesteckt sind. Die Holzleiste (b = *ojĕmĕja-enöṅ)* ist bis auf die Enden zur Aufnahme von neun oder mehr hineingeschobenen Stengeln e ausgeschnitten, die den Boden des Gestelles zusammensetzen; die drei Raphiastengel (d = *kŭdŭ -enöṅ III)* dienen zum Festhalten der letzteren und als Nacken- und Fußstütze. Mitunter kommt auch eine Rückenlehne (f = *ajĕgebĕ -enöṅ)* vor, ein Raphiastengel, längshalbiert, der einfach auf die verlängerten Zapfen der hinteren Füße aufgesetzt wird.

In einigen Versammlungshäusern laufen die vorderen Füße nach oben in einen halbrunden Fortsatz aus, der die Schmalseiten der Nackenstützen verdeckt und auf der Außenfläche entweder zu einem Gesicht ausgeschnitzt oder zu rot und weiß bemalten Zierflächen eingeschnitten ist (Abb. 29).

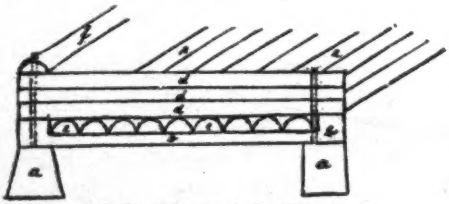


Abb. 28. Seitenwand einer Ruhebank.

[1]) Nach Fertigstellung des Hauses pflegt man im Innern die Erde feucht zu machen und dann einige Tage Bananenblätter darauf zu legen, damit, wie man sagt, die Erde „stark" würde.

1: Tessmann

FH9 Fang

INNERES DES VERSAMMLUNGSHAUSES VON OLANGA
(FAM. ESSÁNGBUAK), NTUMGEBIET.

[facing p. 66]

Verlegt und gedruckt bei Ernst Wasmuth A.-G., Berlin.

Nächst den Ruhebänken sind das wichtigste Ausstattungsstück des Versammlungshauses einige Holzscheite, die zu einer Feuerstelle zusammengelegt werden (vgl. Abb. 27). Tagsüber brennt das Feuer stets, und während der Nacht werden die Scheite kunstgerecht so zusammengelegt, daß es sich oft bis zum anderen Morgen hält. Die Bedeutung des belebenden Feuers in den Tropen ist wichtiger, als man glauben sollte, denn es schützt nicht nur vor der oft empfindlichen Morgenkühle und erwärmt den Raum bei regnerischem kalten Wetter, sondern ist auch das einzige Schutzmittel gegen die überaus lästigen Sandfliegen, Culicoides *(afige)*, ganz kleine, kaum erkennbare Insekten, deren Stich ein unangenehmes Jucken, wie etwa von Brennesseln, verursacht.

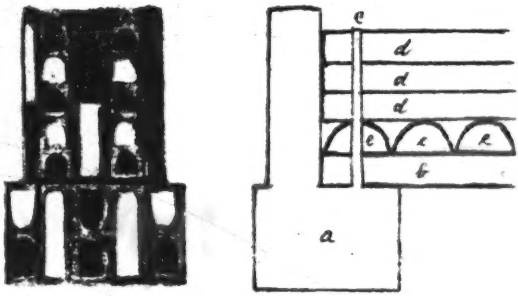


Fig. 1. Fig. 2.
Abb. 29. Bemalter Sockel einer Ruhebank in einem Versammlungshaus. Fanggebiet.
Fig. 1. von vorne, Fig. 2 von der Seite.

Dem Sachenbestande des Versammlungshauses kann man sonst nur noch Trommeln (Holz- und Felltrommeln), einen Schleifstein und — am Dache aufgehängt — das große Tiernetz zurechnen, das die Einwohnerschaft gemeinsam auf Treibjagden benutzt; in einigen Fällen fand ich Gewehrhalter *(ekob e nga)*, Abb. 30, die in derselben Weise wie bei uns Kleiderhaken an der Wand angebracht werden. Man legt die Gewehre darauf, um sie bei einem plötzlichen Angriff bei der Hand zu haben. Eine zweite gleichfalls nicht häufige Form (Abb. 31) besteht aus einem unten zugespitzten, oben mit einem Ausschnitt versehenen Brett. Dieser Gewehrhalter *(e[a[k]-e-nga)*. wird vor dem Versammlungshause in die Erde gesteckt Man stellt die Flinte mit dem Kolben auf den Boden und steckt den Lauf in den Ausschnitt des Brettes.

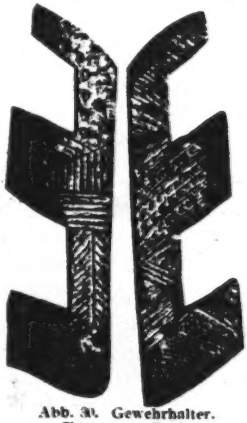


Abb. 30. Gewehrhalter. Engugumo, Fang.

Häufig sieht man Schädel von erlegten Tieren als Jagdtrophäen beim Versammlungshause aufbewahrt; entweder sind sie mit Stäben unter die Dachmatten gesteckt oder sie liegen auf dem Dache umher; nur große Schädel, z. B. von Elefanten, werden auch vor dem Hause aufgestellt.

In vielen Versammlungshäusern sieht man ferner

eine Schmiedegrube (Abb. 27 b, Fig. 1 b) und Gebrauchsgegenstände des Schmiedes, nämlich einen am Dach aufgehängten Blasebalg (Abb. 27 b, Fig. 1 c) und den Schmiedestein (Abb. 27 b, Fig. 1 e), der zugleich als Schleifstein benutzt wird, zuweilen wohl auch einen Feuerfächer *(erum e nduan)*, Abb. 32. Zuletzt ist auch die berühmte Tabakpfeife aus Bananenblattstiel zu nennen, die über zwei in die Wand gesteckte Haken gelegt wird.

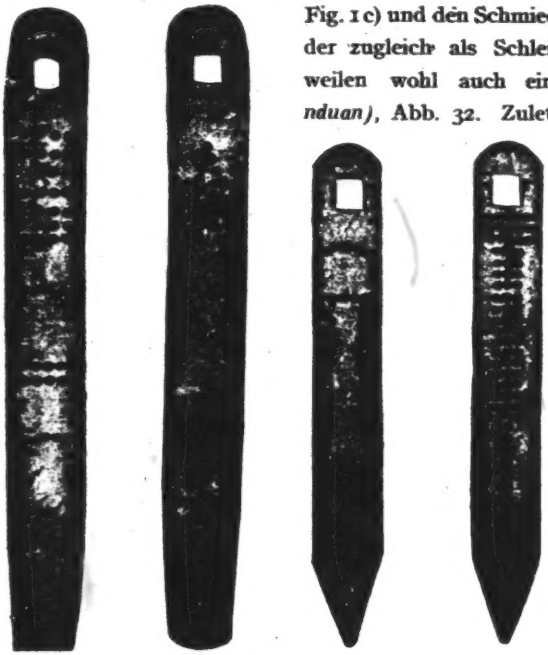


Abb. 31. Gewehrständer. Owöng (Fam. Essandöng) Fang.

Selbstverständlich liegt auch noch allerhand Gerümpel im Hause umher, halbfertige Körbe, Fischreusen, Werkzeuge, Abfall vom Essen usw., kaum geeignet, das Bild freundlicher zu gestalten.

Sehr selten sind die Versammlungshäuser mit einigen Zierrinden außen (Abb. 33) oder innen geschmückt; häufiger dagegen sind die Rindenwände, besonders der Giebelseiten, innen zwischen den Raphialatten mit Kohlezeichnungen bedeckt, doch kann ich hier nicht genauer auf diese Kunstleistungen eingehen (vgl. Abschnitt IX: Bildende Kunst).

Abb. 32. Feuerfächer.

Wären nicht die Menschen da, die mit ihren Handwerken und Tätigkeiten das Haus belebten, gäbe nicht das auf- und niederflackernde Feuer den großen, halbdunklen Räumen eine besondere, fast geheimnisvolle Eigenart — es wäre zu trostlos; gerade hier merkt man, daß überall nur das pulsierende Leben, der Mensch in traurigen und in fröhlichen Stunden uns anziehen kann, nicht das Material. Wie anders wirkt derselbe Raum, den wir eben noch mit einem abfälligen Blick abgetan haben, wenn des Abends sich die Männer und jungen

Abb. 33. Versammlungshaus in Nschüggebot (Fam. Ojek), Span. Guinea, mit Zierplatten aus Rinde.

Leute einer nach dem andern einfinden, um zu hören, was der alte, buckelige Njema-Ndongo von den unheimlich-anheimelnden Gestalten der Märchenwelt erzählt; unermüdlich lauschen sie, mag er noch so lange sein Garn spinnen, regungslos blicken sie auf ihn, wie er rastlos sich über dem Feuer die Hände reibt, den Finger drohend hin und her bewegt, die Holzscheite auseinanderlegt oder beiseite stößt, wenn es ihm zu heiß wird, und den Rauch von seinem Gesicht abwehrt, wie man ein kleines Kind sanft, aber entschieden von sich fortschickt! Es sieht aus, als spräche er mit dem Feuer und hielte den Holzscheiten eine Rede. Alles lauscht still, alles hängt an seinem Munde. Und nun eine Kunstpause: Dann hebt er mit eindrucksvoller Tonmalerei von neuem an, und bei bekannten Stellen fallen alle Zuhörer mit einem kurzen Chorgesang ein, der auf das Solo des Alten antwortet. Oder es gibt eine Klatschgeschichte zu erzählen, und hinüber und herüber fallen scharfe Worte, wobei ungezwungene Heiterkeit herrscht. Ein andermal lockt ein Vortrag des berühmten Xylophonkünstlers, an dessen Vorführungen das ganze Dorf, Weiber und Kinder eingeschlossen, teilnimmt. Die letzteren klappen den Takt auf Holzstückchen mit, die ersteren klopfen würdevoll Erdnüsse und Ngon auf, die das „Honorar" darstellen, leise einen Kehrreim mitsummend und ab und zu einen vielsagenden Blick dem unermüdlichen Spieler zuwerfend.

Das Wohnhaus *(ndö*, Mehrzahl *mandö)*, Abb. 34, ist gleich dem Versammlungs-

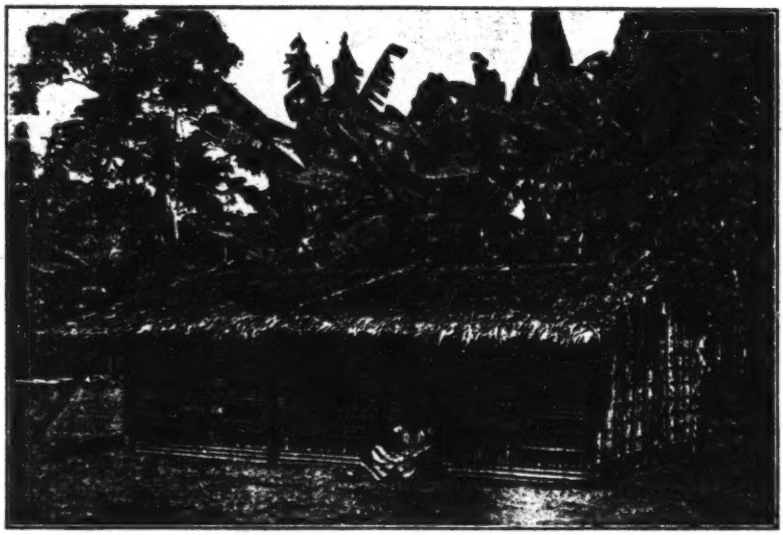


Abb. 31. Wohnhaus in Makonanám (Fam. Ojek), Span. Guinea.

hause ein Giebeldachhaus mit rechteckigem Grundriß und tritt uns wie dieses in vorläufigen und endgültigen Formen entgegen. Erstere stehen innerhalb der Häuserreihe mit dem Giebel zum Dorfplatz, während die endgültigen ihm ihre Langseite zukehren. Ein weiterer Unterschied ist der, daß bei den vorläufigen Wohnhäusern die Tür in der Giebelseite liegt und die Längswände der Zeitersparnis halber nur etwa ½ m hoch aufgeführt, die Dächer dementsprechend weiter heruntergezogen werden und fast bis auf den Boden reichen. Die dadurch bedingte größere Steilheit des Daches ermöglicht ein rascheres Abfließen des Regenwassers und so eine Ersparnis an Material, da man die Matten nicht so dicht übereinander zu legen braucht.

Bei den endgültigen Wohnhäusern sind stets alle vier Wände durchgeführt, Fenster fehlen. Eine Tür, deren Schwelle ½ m über dem Boden bleibt, und die darum wie ein Fenster wirkt, ist in der Mitte der Längswand angebracht, und zwar haben die meisten Häuser eine Tür sowohl in der Vorderwand als auch gegenüber in der Hinterwand, oft nicht breiter als unsere Fensterflügel. Die Konstruktion entspricht im großen und ganzen derjenigen des Versammlungshauses, nur beschränkt man oft die Zahl der Pfosten der Vorderwand auf vier, die dafür um so dicker genommen werden und durch ihre sorgfältige Bearbeitung auffallen. Hier wie dort nimmt man zu den Seitenwänden nicht Baumrinde, sondern Sumpfpalmen — seltener Sarcophryniumblätter oder Raphiamark-

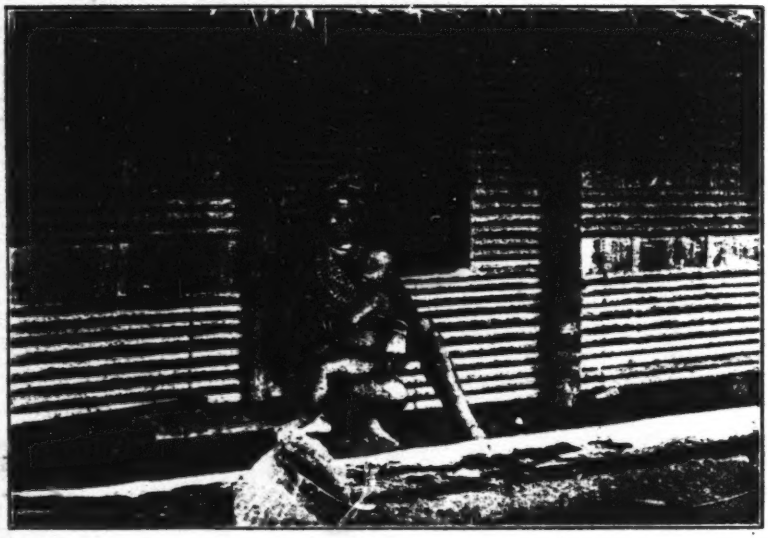


Abb. 35. Türstück eines Wohnhauses in Olanga (Fam. Essángbuak), Süd-Kamerun.

streifen —, wenn man etwas auf geschmackvolles Äußeres gibt. Vor dem Hause schafft man mitunter einen gedeckten Vorraum, indem man das überstehende Dach an seinem freien Rande durch Pfeiler — wie beim Versammlungshause — stützt.

Das Stück der Vorderwand zwischen den mittleren beiden Pfosten, in dem die Türöffnung ausgeschnitten ist, wird vielfach recht sorgsam ausgearbeitet, mindestens sind einige kurze Raphialängsstreifen, zumal zwischen Erde und Türschwelle, eingeschoben (Abb. 35). Die Türschwelle *(mpfä,dega I)*[1]) besteht, wie auch oft der Türsturz, aus einem längshalbierten Raphiastengel, der an beiden Enden schwalbenschwanzförmig ausgeschnitten ist und so in die Türöffnung eingeklemmt wird, daß die Wände in den Ausschnitten zu liegen kommen. Ihm wird mitunter eine gefällige Form dadurch gegeben, daß man ihn gegen das Ende zu abflacht und recht hübsch mit Palmband umflicht. An den Seiten dagegen begnügt man sich mit einfachen Raphiastengelstreifen als Türfüllung.

Zu beiden Seiten der Türöffnung *(mbẹi I)* stehen innen je ein dicker oder einige dünnere Pfosten *(andẹi)* (vgl. Abb. 37 h, 38). Zwischen sie klemmt man einen oder auch zwei diagonal gestellte Stäbe, mit denen das als Tür dienende Stück Rinde *(eɣrn e nda, eɣrn e mbẹi* = Hausrinde oder Türrinde) festgehalten wird. Seltener sind Schiebetüren, die zwischen

[1]) Stamm *pfa (fa)* einengen, einklemmen.

Wand und je einer Latte oberhalb und unterhalb der Türöffnung laufen und tagsüber zur Seite, nachts vor die Öffnung geschoben werden. Die Türpfosten fehlen auch hier nicht, da sie hauptsächlich bezwecken, am Tage bei offener Tür dem Fremden das Hineinblicken in die Hütte zu verwehren. Die meisten Rindentüren schließen nur mangelhaft, da sie sich ziehen, oft besteht die „Tür" in nichts weiter als in einigen schmalen Rindenstücken, die von innen lose nebeneinander gegen die Öffnung gestellt werden und natürlich große Spalten zwischen sich lassen. Es liegt auf der Hand, daß sie von jedem plötzlichen Windstoß niedergeworfen werden, wohl auch von selbst umfallen, und ich bin dann oft über dieses ungewohnte klappende Geräusch aufgewacht oder von der kühlen Nachtluft und den Stichen der hineinschwärmenden Anophelesmücken unliebsam geweckt worden.

Abb. 36. Tür eines Wohnhauses in Alén (Fam. Essäuong). Aus Holz geschnitzt, mit Tonerde hellgrau gefärbt.

Türen aus Holz (Abb. 36) kommen hier und da vor und sind manchmal mit einfachen Schnitzmustern verziert; sie werden von innen gegen die Türöffnung gestellt oder festgeklemmt. Von den Faktoristen eingeführte, mittels Angeln aus Palmbändern eingehängte Brettertüren haben im allgemeinen erst wenig Anklang gefunden.

Ausführung und Zustand sind — genau wie bei den Versammlungshäusern — sehr verschieden. Manche Häuser sind so sauber und hübsch gebaut, daß sie wie aus einer Puppenschachtel frisch aufgestellt erscheinen, andere wieder arg verfallen, unsauber und unschön, von so abschreckender Wirkung, daß — wie ich oft meinen Pangwe gesagt habe — sich nicht einmal ein Hund der Weißen darin wohlfühlen würde. Die meisten stehen natürlich zwischen diesen beiden Gegensätzen, d. h. wenn man den Durchschnitt aus mehreren Dörfern nimmt — die Häuser e i n e s Dorfes sind vielfach an Güte ziemlich gleichwertig, was gewiß mit von ihrem gleichem Alter herrührt. Es gibt da Dörfer, die, wie das Spielzeug eines Riesenkindes, eben vom Riesenspielzeughändler gedrechselt und auf die saubere Erde wie auf einen Riesentisch aufgestellt erscheinen, andere, in denen man wahrhaftig nicht e i n Haus findet, das den Regen nicht in Strömen durchließe, nicht e i n e s, dessen Wände noch gerade stünden, das zwischen Wand und Erde nicht einen Durchschlupf den nächtlichen Kriechtieren böte! Man denke an die Bedeutung des Dorfes Ebualebambe (= eingefallenes Dorf), das allerdings, wie ich sah, seinem Namen alle Ehre machte.

Mögen die Häuser sorgfältig gebaut sein oder nicht, stets sehen sie gedrückt aus, weil sie zu niedrig sind im Verhältnis zur Länge, die noch größer

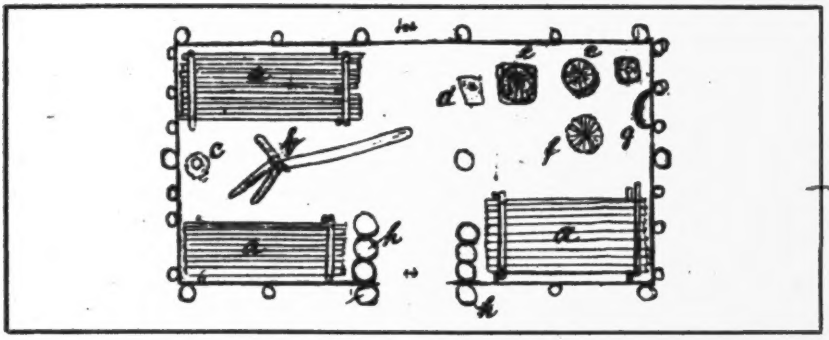


Abb. 37. Grundriß eines Wohnhauses der Pangwe.
a Schlafbänke, *b* Feuerplatz (Küche), *c* Topf mit Wasser, *d* Mahlstein, *e* Körbe, *f* Maiskolbenbündel, *g* Hühnernest, *h* Türpfosten.

zu sein scheint durch die Reihenanordnung der Häuser. Denselben Eindruck bekommen wir, wenn wir ins Haus eintreten; im Durchschnitt ist es so niedrig, daß man nur gebückt in ihm stehen kann, falls man nicht mit dem Dach oder dem daran hängenden Hausrat in unangenehme Berührung kommen will; es ist eine Seltenheit, wenn man auf einer der niedrigen Schlafbänke aufrecht stehen kann, ohne mit dem Kopf anzustoßen.

Das Innere des Hauses (Abb. 37) stellt, ebenso wie das Versammlungshaus, einen einzigen Raum dar, den der Pangwe in *atúm a nkiai* und *atúm akui*, d. h. in ein westliches (niedriger gelegenes) und ein östliches (höher gelegenes) „Zimmer" links und rechts der Tür teilt. Einen Einblick in eine Fanghütte bietet Abb. 38, wobei die eine Seitenwand und die rechte Hälfte der Vorderwand der Übersicht halber herausgenommen ist.

Die vier Ecken, mindestens drei von ihnen, sind von den Schlafbänken (Abb. 37 a) eingenommen, die ebenso gebaut sind wie die Ruhebänke der Versammlungshäuser. Die Entfernung zwischen Nacken- und Fußstütze beträgt indessen nur etwa ¾ der Körperlänge, so daß man mit hochgezogenen Beinen liegen muß. Die Schlafbänke reichen bis an die Türpfosten und nehmen so den meisten Platz im Hause ein. An der einen Schmalseite liegt zwischen zwei Schlafbänken der Feuerplatz (Abb. 37 b), d. h. ein paar zusammengelegte Scheite, Herd und Ofen zugleich. Darüber ist eine Vorrichtung zum Trocknen und Aufbewahren von Eßwaren und Geschirr angebracht, die folgendermaßen zusammengesetzt ist (Abb. 39): Über die Türpfosten (a) und zwei in den Ecken eingerammte Gabelstöcke ist ein mit Raphialeisten überflochtenes Gestell gelegt, der Topfboden = *akdn̄ e mvé* (c), auf dem man gewöhnlich einige Töpfe und eine Tonwasserflasche aufgestellt sieht. Auch andere, selbst nicht für den Neger als „Wertsachen" zu bezeichnende

Abb. 38. Wohnhaus der Fang.
Die rechte Hälfte der Vorderwand und eine Seitenwand sind fortgenommen, um einen Einblick ins Innere zu gestatten.

Stücke finden sich darauf, z. B. Bananenschalen, Maisspindeln, auf deren Verwendung ich noch zurückkomme, usw. Darunter hängt der Trockenboden oder „Erdnußboden", *akán owǫ̃nõ* (d); er dient, wie der Name sagt, nur zur Aufbewahrung von Erdnüssen und ist meist ebenfalls aus Raphiastreifen geflochten. Dann folgt das für die Hausfrau wichtigste Hausgerät, die Speisekammer in Form einer Aufbewahrungskiste, *bu,bu*, oder *bu,u* (e), hauptsächlich für Fleisch und andere Delikatessen bestimmt. Diese Kiste ist oft sehr hübsch aus Raphiamark hergestellt, trägt vorn meist einen kleinen Vorsprung zum Abstellen von Salz, Löffeln, Pfeffer, also eine Art „Stummer Diener", und hat an der Seite eine Öffnung, die mit einer Schiebetür aus Mark geschlossen wird. Die Kiste füllt den Raum zwischen den Betten aus, so daß man da knapp stehen kann. Unter der Kiste hängen ein oder zwei Trocken- oder Röstbretter, *etǫ́n* (f und g), das letzte dicht über dem Feuer. Sie dienen zum Rösten der Erdnüsse oder zum Trocknen von Sachen.

Auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite ist in gleicher Höhe und Art ein Rahmen gespannt, über den Trockenbretter gelegt werden können, und an dessen vorderem Rande die langen Körbchen der Frauen *(nkán I)* hängen. Darunter ist der Fußboden oder, wenn hier eine Schlafbank steht, diese vollgestellt mit Körben, Mahlsteinen und anderem Gerät oder mit Vaters Siebensachen, und ratlos steht man zunächst in der Mitte des Ganges zwischen Vorder- und Hintertür. Platz schaffen bedeutet hier gänzliche Ausräumung, ohne sie ist daher ein Haus für einen Europäer unbewohnbar. Im Norden,

besonders bei den Bulu und teilweise auch den Ntum, sind die Hütten etwas größer und wohnlicher.

Zum Aufhängen von Körben, Kalebassen, Taschen und anderen Gegenständen an der Wand bedient sich der Pangwe eines natürlichen Hakens *(ekgb)*, das ist ein Stück eines Baumstämmchens, das etwas oberhalb und unterhalb eines Zweigabganges herausgeschlagen wird. Der Nebenzweig wird abgeschnitten, der stehenbleibende Rest etwas angespitzt und das Stück nun in derselben Lage, wie es sich am Baume befand, zwischen die Raphialängsstreifen der Wandinnenseite geschoben. Am Dach befestigt man Gegenstände sehr leicht dadurch, daß man zwischen die Matten Raphiastäbchen steckt, über deren freies Ende die betreffenden Sachen gehängt werden können.

Ein wichtiges Gerät ist der Schemel *(kpa III)*, Abb. 40, ein aus Holz geschnitzter dreifüßiger runder Hocker, der rings um den Rand mit Kerbschnitzmustern verziert wird. Er steht auf der Erde, vielfach in der Nähe der Türpfosten herum und gilt sozusagen als Ehrenplatz — für Fremde und den Familienvater —, in der Art wie unser Sofa.

Als letztes Hausgerät ist der Feger zu erwähnen, der in verschiedenen Formen auftritt, je nachdem er im Wohnhause, für die Ruhebänke des Versammlungshauses oder für dessen Fußboden bzw. den Dorfplatz gebraucht wird.

Für das Haus ist ein Besen *(evüd[k])*, Abb. 41 a, bestimmt, der aus fächerartig zusammengebundenen Raphiablättern besteht. In Jaunde gibt es für die Ruhebänke der Versammlungshäuser „vornehmere" Besen aus pinselartig auseinandergeschlissenen Stengelstücken der Liane **Ertela scandens** Benth., Leguminosae, *nlü* genannt (b), oder aus dem Blütenstand der Ölpalme (c), die also unseren Staubwischern entsprächen. Eine dritte Form (Abb. 42) ist aus zwei Holzbrettchen, die mit Bändern an einen Stiel gebunden werden, ge-

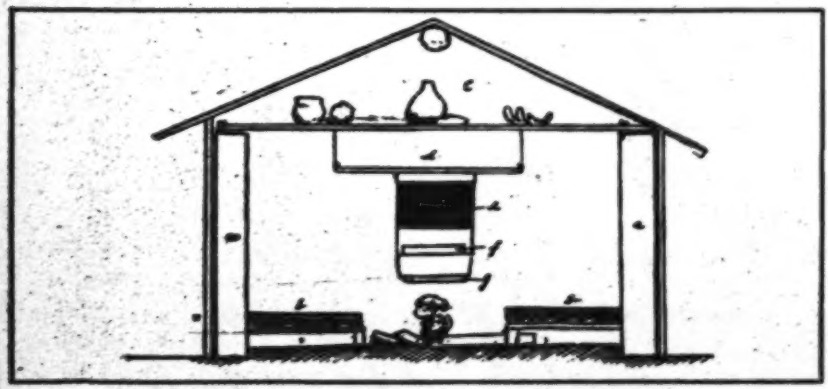


Abb. 39. Querschnitt durch ein Wohnhaus von Tür zu Tür.
a Türpfosten, *b* Schlafbänke, *c* Topfboden, *d* Erdmaßstreckenboden, *e* Speisekammer, *f* und *g* Rituelbrenner.

fertigt und gleicht unseren Schneeschippen; sie ist keineswegs in jedem Dorfe vorhanden und wird auch dort, wo sie zur Verfügung steht, nicht häufig gebraucht.

Bei den voraufgehenden Beschreibungen wird es aufgefallen sein, wie häufig die Raphia als Material erwähnt ist, und in der Tat ist diese im Negerenglisch „Bamboo" genannte Palme die weitaus wichtigste und wertvollste Pflanze für die Pangwe. Dort, wo sie selten ist, wie in Jaunde, beschafft man sie sich, wenn nötig, von weit her.

Im Kampo-Uellegebiete gibt es vier Arten der Raphia. Von ihnen kommt **Raphia hookeri** M. *(esa)* nur an den Ufern der größeren Flüsse, **R. regalis** M. et Wendl. *(andǎṭm)* nur in hügeligem Gelände und sehr zerstreut vor. Sumpfbildend treten auf[1]) und ließen sich als eigentliche Raphiapalmen bezeichnen: **R. vinifera** P. B. *(nia dǎṭń* = richtige, echte R.), das ist die gewöhnliche, und eine letzte Art *(akgdǎṭ)*, die an den blau bereiften Blattstielen erkennbar und oft unter den Beständen der ersteren eingesprengt ist. Der allgemeine Name für Raphia *dǎṭ-ń*, weist auf ihre Bedeutung hin, denn sie ist „die Mutter des Dorfes", *dǎa (ń* vgl. Nachsilben), weil das ganze Dorf aus Raphia gemacht ist, und in der Tat würde kein Name zutreffender sein, denn was wird nicht alles aus ihr hergerichtet und hergestellt! Folgende Liste gibt einen Begriff von der Vielseitigkeit ihrer Verwendung.

Abb. 40. Schemel, Fang.

I. Nahrungsmittel.

1. Palmkohl.
2. Fruchtfleisch.

II. Gewürze.

3. Salz (aus den Blättern und Stengeln zusammen mit anderen Pflanzen, siehe Abschnitt VI S. 147).

III. Öle.

4. Haaröl (aus dem Fruchtfleisch, siehe Abschnitt VII S. 190).

IV. Baumaterial.

a) Blattfiedern.

5. Matten *(eǎg,i)* fürs Dach.

b) Ganze Blätter.

6. Geflochtene Einfriedigungen um die Kultplätze.

c) Ganze Blattstiele.

7. Gesimsbalken *(mfǎ,s I)*.
8. Dachsparren *(ntǎgn I)*.

d) Halbe Blattstiele.

9. Schlaf- und Ruhebänke *(kwda III* und *endń)*.
10. Längsstreifen der Hauswände *(ebǎṭd* Nt., *ebadk* F.).

e) Mark.

11. Hauswände.

[1]) Daher *zǎm* = Sumpf- und Raphiapalme (Sammelname).

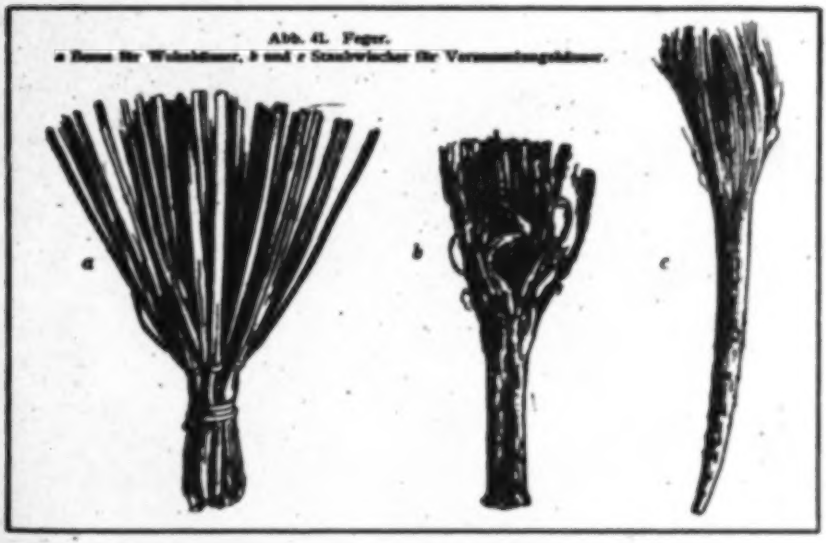


Abb. 41. Feger.
a Besen für Wohnhäuser, b und c Staubwischer für Versammlungshäuser.

V. Hausgeräte.

12. Erdnußkörbe *(angaʌn)* aus Mark.
13. Trockenbretter *(elǫá)* aus Blattstengelrinde, Rahmen aus Mark.
14. Trockenböden *(akdá)*.
15. Näpfe für Rotholz.
16. Kämme (aus Stengelrindenstücken).
17. Besen (aus Blättern).
18. Korken für Pulverfläschchen, für Bambustrinkrohre (Mark).
19. Nägel, z. B. zum Zusammenfügen des Markes.
20. Plantenschäler (Rindenstück).
21. Tone zu Korbtellern (Markstrahlen).
22. Nadeln, um Sandflöhe herauszunehmen (Rinde).
23. Stöcke zum Beritzen der Tontöpfe, ferner Pfriemen, um die Nase zu durchbohren (Rinde).
24. Meisserscheiden (Mark).
25. Stöcke zum Bereiten der Tondüse (Stengel).
26. Gußformen, um die Messingringe zu gießen (halbe Stiele).
27. Feuermaterial, *ekóba* (Stengelstreifen).
28. Taue (Bast).
29. Pfeifenköpfe (aus den Fruchtkernen) vgl. Abschnitt VI S. 170.
30. Nadeln, Nähnadeln (Mark).
31. Feuerfächer (Mark).

VI. Fanggeräte, Waffen.

32. Fischkörbe, *agǎ*, *ngǒ,dège*, *nsǒ,a*.
33. Fischwehre, *oldm*.
34. Schlingen für Zugfallen (Piassave).
35. Bogenfalle der Jaunde für Ratten *(ebgdę)*.
36. „Speere" gegen Zauberwesen.

VII. Musikinstrumente.

37. Raphiainstrument, *mǫ̀l* (aus den Stengeln).
37. Guitarre, *ndβnga* (aus dem Mark, Saitenträger aus den Stengelstreifen.
39. Klopfer zum Musikbogen, *elǐm* (Stengelstreifen).
40. Sehnen für die Harfe (Piassave).
41. Schlägel für die Kriegstrommel, *ngǫ́mo* (aus Mark).
42. Schlägel für die Sprechtrommel, *nká* (Stengelstücke).

43. Kinderzither (halbe Stengel, Klopfer: Stengelstücke).

VIII. Spielzeug.

44. Kinderrasselstab (Mark, Stengelstücke).
45. Bogen und Pfeile (Stengel).
46. Gewehr aus Mark, neuere Form (Mark).
47. Hahn und oberer Teil bei Gewehren, alte Form (Stengelstreifen).
48. Hauer, Messer, Werkzeuge (Mark).
49. Falle für Bremsen (Mark, Stengelstücke).
50. Essenstehler (Stengelstück).
51. Gedächtnisspiel, *nkọk endẹlẹ* (Mark).
52. Steinspiel, *akụ́ụ́* (Stengelstücke).

IX. Kleidung, Schmuck.

53. Strohhüte (Mark).
54. Raupe für Schmuckmützen, *odụ́bdu* (Mark).
55. Weiberschwänze (Bast).
56. Baststreifen zum Nähen von Zeugen (Bast).
57. Kopfschmuck, *akọt* (Bast).
58. Armschmuck (Bast).
59. Halsschmuck (Bast).
60. Gürtel (Bast).
61. Taue, um starke Perlen aufzureihen Piassave).
62. Spazierstöcke, feinere aus **Raphia hookeri** M. *(esa)*.

Außer den beschriebenen Versammlungs- und Wohnhäusern bauen die Pangwe noch eine Reihe anderer Hütten zu besonderen Zwecken, nämlich Vorratshäuser, Fremdenhäuser, Feldhütten, Krankenhäuser.

Die Vorratshäuser sehen verschieden aus. Die einen sind nur ausgeräumte Wohnhäuser, die anderen gleichen ihnen, haben aber eine oft den europäischen Vorbildern nachgeahmte Holztür, noch andere stehen wie die vorläufigen Wohnhäuser mit der Giebelseite zum Dorfplatz, sehen auch ebenso aus, nur sind sie fest und dauerhaft gearbeitet. Vorratshäuser sind nur in Dörfern reicherer Häuptlinge anzutreffen.

Die Fremdenhäuser *(esờbdd)* sind genau nach Muster und Anlage des gewöhnlichen Wohnhauses, jedoch ganz flüchtig aufgeführt: die Wände sind meist nur verflochtene Palmblätter, die Tür reicht ohne Schwelle bis auf den Boden, die Schlafbänke sind diejenigen der einfachen Art *(kwda III)*, oft nur aus längshalbierten Schirmbaumstämmen, die über zwei Rollen aus gleichem Holz gelegt sind. Sie werden besonders beim Seelenfest, wenn Fremde in größerer Anzahl zu erwarten sind, aufgeführt und nach Schluß der Festzeit wieder abgebrochen.

Im Urwald oder auf weit entfernten Pflanzungen werden Unterkunftshütten gebaut, die oft nichts anderes sind als einfache Schutzdächer *(mpờ e ngỵ III* = Gorillaheim), oder die den einfachsten vorläufigen Versammlungshäusern gleichen, d. h. Hütten, deren Giebelseiten offen sind, und deren Längswände entweder fehlen oder nur aus einem oder einigen Stämmen bestehen *(angụ́ụ́ e ngỵ* = Gorillascheitel, d. h. die auf dem Gorillaschädel kammartig vorspringende Scheitelleiste).

Für Kranke mit ansteckenden Leiden (Frambösie, Aussatz) baut man neben oder hinter den Wohnhäusern oder dicht vorm Dorfe eigene Häuser (vgl. Abb. 16), die, weil nur für einen berechnet, meist kleiner als die Wohnhäuser, von derselben Form, aber unordentlich aufgeführt sind und bald verfallen, weil keiner etwas daran ausbessert.

Hier und da fand ich Ställe; ich komme im nächsten Abschnitt darauf zurück.

Schließlich sei angeführt, daß es in manchen, besonders küstennahen Dörfern Pfahlhäuser gibt, die den europäischen Faktoreien nachgeäfft sind und sich für die Eingeborenen durchaus nicht bewähren, weil ihr Bau größere Sorgfalt und Mühe erfordert als der von gewöhnlichen Häusern, und die bei den Pangwe wahre Zerrbilder von menschlichen Wohnstätten darstellen.

Abb. 41. Herzlampe, Fang.

Einige Worte über die Beleuchtung. In den Häusern, die — wie wir gehört haben — fensterlos und deshalb recht dunkel sind, ist das Herdfeuer zugleich die sehr notwendige Lichtquelle. Das Feuer *(ndüdn)* ist, wie die Pangwe in ihren Sagen erzählen, durch Mode-Sama, den ersten Menschen, von Gott (Sama) geholt bzw. ihm von Gott übergeben worden und seit Modes Zeiten auch noch nicht erloschen. Das nützliche Element wird von einem Hause zum anderen, schlimmstenfalls von einem Dorf zum andern getragen. Neu herzustellen braucht der Pangwe es nicht, das Feuer brennt den ganzen Tag über im Versammlungshause zum Schutz gegen Kälte, Feuchtigkeit und Sandfliegen, in den Wohnhäusern Tag und Nacht zu Koch- und Heizzwecken; gehen die Frauen in die Pflanzungen, so werden die Scheite so sorgsam zurechtgelegt (für das Zusammenlegen allein gibt es vier verschiedene Ausdrücke!), daß sie glimmend bleiben, oder das jüngste Töchterlein wird damit beauftragt, den Altar der Vesta zu hüten. Sollte das Feuer wirklich in einem Hause ausgehen, so wird aus dem Nachbarhause neues geholt, und nur in Ausnahmefällen ist einmal ein kleineres Dorf ohne Feuer; in solchem Falle schickt man dann nach der nächsten Ortschaft.

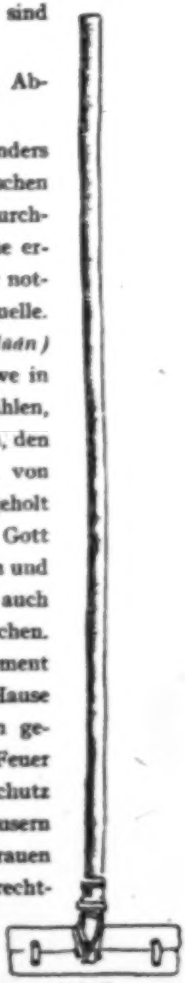


Abb. 42 Schmutzschippe zum Reinigen des Versammlungshauses. Ntum.

Eine bessere Beleuchtung als das Herdfeuer gibt das Fackellicht, mit dem

Abb. 44 Dorf Olanga (Fgm. Essängbuak), Süd-Kamerun.
Auf dem Dorfplatz ein „Denkmal": eine eigentümlich gebildete Baumwurzel, in der die Eingeborenen ein Pferd sehen.

z. B. bei Tänzen der nächtliche Dorfplatz erhellt wird, und das die merkwürdigen wilden Bewegungen der Tänzer durch sein Flackern noch phantastischer erscheinen läßt, als sie es an sich schon sind. Als Fackel dienen getrocknete Stengel des Kardamom **Aframomum alboviolaceum** K. Sch. *(adiŋm*, Stengel: *kymö IV* F., *küme IV* Nt.), Tafel in Abschn. XI, oder fein geschlissene Raphiastengelstreifen *(ekärba)*, die — gut getrocknet — recht hell brennen, allerdings auch recht schnell aufgebraucht sind.

Die feinste, aber eine nicht gerade häufige Lichtquelle bei Festlichkeiten oder sonstigen Vorgängen auf dem Dorfplatze ist die Harzlampe (*otü* = Harz), Abb. 43, ein Rindentönnchen, welches das wohlriechende Harz der Anacardiacee **Canarium schweinfurthii** Engl.[1]) *(abé* Nt., *obé* F., Harz = *otü)* enthält.

Auf längeren Wegen, wenn man z. B. einen Bekannten besuchen oder bei plötzlichen Krankheitsfällen des Nachts heilkräftige Pflanzen im Walde suchen will, bedient man sich statt der Fackel, die zu schnell abbrennen würde, eines Feuerscheites, das hin und her geschwenkt wird. Braucht man kein starkes Licht, so begnügt man sich wohl auch mit Zweigstücken, die mit dem glänzendweißen Myzel eines Pilzes überzogen sind und dadurch in der Dunkelheit hell scheinen.

---

[1]) Nach der Mitteilung des Herrn Dr. Mildbraed, der diesen Baum ebenfalls gesammelt hat.

Abb. 45. Kanus auf der Nit (Nebenfluß des Kampo). Neu-Kamerun.

Zu weiteren Jagdausflügen oder Kautschuk„expeditionen" in ein größeres Urwaldgebiet, wo in der Wildnis genächtigt werden muß, wird ein brennendes Scheit Holz mitgenommen, früher außerdem noch „Feuerhölzer" für den Fall, daß das Holzscheit erlöschen sollte. Heute haben die Pangwe ganz verlernt, nach alter Weise durch Quirlen Feuer herzustellen. Ein älterer Häuptling hat mir zwar einmal gezeigt, wie früher Feuer „gemacht" wurde, aber obgleich er sich unendliche Mühe gab, und obgleich zwei Mann sich die Arme lahm quirlten, haben sie nicht einen Funken herausbekommen. „Theoretisch" jedoch wußte mein guter Häuptling ganz genau über die Funkenherstellung Bescheid: „Man" nimmt zwei Holzstöcke von einer der drei Tiliaceen **Triumfetta cordifolia** Guillet *(okọn)*[1]), **Leptonychia tessmannii** Engl. *(akạk)* oder **Desplatzia dewevrei** Burs. *(afọnọk)* und läßt sie mindestens einen Tag über Feuer trocknen. Der eine wird in der Mitte eingekerbt, auf die Erde gelegt und mit den Füßen festgehalten, der andere senkrecht in die Kerbe gestellt und darin gequirlt. Der Funke, der dann entstehen „soll", wird mit Werg aus zerzupften Fasern der **Dioclea reflexa** Hook. f. *(kọndọg III)*, das um die Kerbe gelegt wird, aufgefangen. So unterrichtet, verlangte ich nach dem einen Mißerfolge anderswo die Umsetzung dieser Theorie in die Praxis, aber die meisten Eingeborenen machten ein sehr dummes Gesicht dazu oder lachten mich gar aus.

[1]) In einem **Triumfetta**-Stock soll auch nach einer Sage das Feuer vom Himmel gebracht sein.

Abb. 43. Brücke über die Abéa (Nebenfluß des Bimfille) bei Makonám (Fern. Ojek) während der Trockenzeit. Span. Guinea.

Der Dorfplatz bleibt meist ganz frei, nur sehr selten hat man einmal einen Baum stehen gelassen oder gepflanzt, dem eine medizinische Bedeutung zukommt; häufiger sieht man Gerüste, auf denen das Raphiapalmöl bereitet wird (vgl. Tafel IV). In einem Falle traf ich ein Denkmal, das ein Pferd vorstellen sollte (Abb. 44): eine Baumwurzel, die man der merkwürdigen Tierähnlichkeit halber beim Roden hatte stehen lassen.

Die Reinlichkeit der Dorfplätze ist eine sehr verschiedene. Es gibt sehr schmutzige, auf dem Schaf- und Ziegenkot, Reste von Zuckerrohr, zerkautes Rohr, Hausbaumaterial usw. in Menge herumliegt, ja, wo nicht einmal das Gras ausgejätet ist, andererseits sehr reinliche, wo aller Unrat hinter den Häusern zusammengekehrt wird. Recht nachlässig hierbei sind die Männer, die für das Versammlungshaus zu sorgen haben und ihren Kehrichthaufen *(akan)* fast bis in die Tür hineinwachsen lassen.

Der Abort *(ełák)* liegt, wie Abb. 16 zeigt, nicht sehr weit von den Häusern entfernt im Plantenhain, oft so nahe, daß der Gestank, zumal bei ungünstigem Winde, unerträglich werden kann. Die Anlage besteht aus einer ziemlich tiefen Grube, in deren Mitte ein oder zwei Paar Gabelstöcke eingerammt sind, und über die eine Lage Baumstämme so gelegt ist, daß die mittelsten vom Rande der Grube nur bis zu den Stöcken reichen und mit ihrem freien Ende in der Gabel liegen. So bleibt eine viereckige Öffnung frei, um die herum das

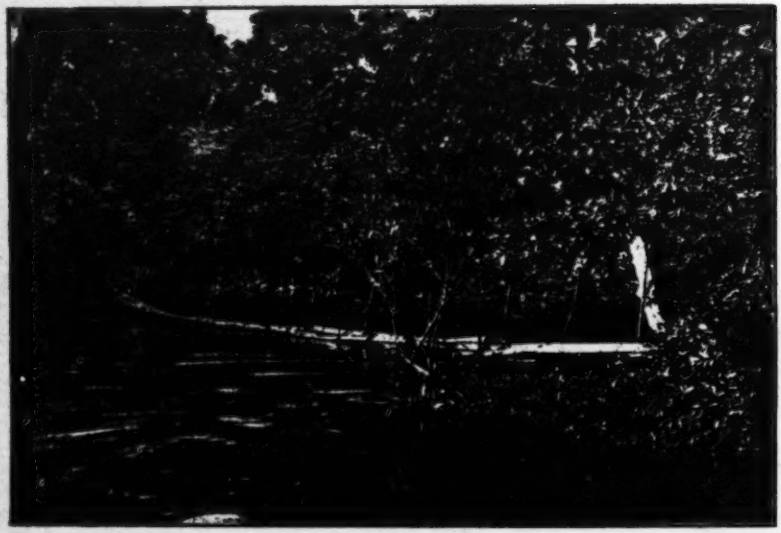


Abb. 47. Brücke über den Bimfüle bei Ebiánemajong (Fam. Essúuong) während der Regenzeit.

Ganze meist mit Lehm beschüttet wird. Manchmal spart man sich auch die Lehmdecke. An Stelle von Klosettpapier benutzt man trockene Maisspindeln.

Beachtenswert ist, daß sich die Pangwe auch Zierpflanzen halten, die auf dem Dorfplatz, an den zuführenden Wegen, hinter oder seitlich der Häuser oder, falls nur eine Reihe Häuser vorhanden, an Stelle der gegenüberliegenden stehen. Im wesentlichen sind es eine hübsche Amarantacee **Gomphrena globosa** B. *(ngŏ̂ IV)*, die auch in Amerika vorkommt und vielleicht von dorther eingeführt ist, und das sogenannte Fiebergras, **Andropogon schoenanthus** L. *(ŏ̄ímenlá̄ngan = ŏ̄ím* [**Ocimum**] der Weißen), ein ebenfalls eingeführtes Gewächs.

Die Wege sind oft kaum sichtbare Pfade, die zuerst durch Jäger ausgetreten, zum Teil mit Benutzung von Elefantenwechseln, später durch den größeren Verkehr von selbst breiter werden, wenn sie auch natürlich immer nur im Gänsemarsch zu begehen sind. Wo kleine Bäche vorhanden, die in der Marschrichtung fließen, benutzt man sie als Weg.

Um über größere Gewässer zu setzen, bindet man ein paar Stämmchen des Schirmbaumes zu einem Floß zusammen, oder man nimmt Einbäume *bīd*, Mehrzahl: *mā*, Abb. 45, die sonst für Fischereizwecke gebraucht werden. Nur in seltenen Fällen schwingt man sich zu Brücken *(ndáę I)* auf, am ersten da, wo Pflanzungen und Dorf auf verschiedenen Ufern eines Flusses liegen, und eine regelmäßige und rasche Verbindung erforderlich ist. Sie bestehen

(Abb. 46 u. 47) aus mehreren Pfeilern von je zwei in Form eines Schräg-(Andreas-)kreuzes in den Boden gesteckten und miteinander verschnürten Stämmen und aus einem oder mehreren darübergelegten Längsbalken. An die oberen Enden der Pfeiler knotet man Haltetaue oder befestigt längshalbierte Stöcke als Geländer. Wird ein Brückenbalken morsch, so legt man einen neuen darüber, aber man denkt nicht daran, das Gerüst, das die stärkere Last nicht tragen kann, zu erneuern, und deshalb stürzt die Brücke, wenn sie älter wird, bald zusammen.

Neuerdings gibt es Brücken nach Art der europäischen *(kāża III)* aus zwei Reihen Stützpfähle und Längsbalken, über die dicht an dicht Knüppel, wie bei unseren Knüppeldämmen, gelegt werden. Sie sind noch lebensgefährlicher als die der älteren Form, da öfters Stützpfeiler zusammenbrechen, die Brücke sich einseitig senkt und man auf den glatten Knüppelenden böse zu Fall kommen kann.

Abschnitt V.

Wirtschaftsformen.

Erster Teil: Ackerbau. Allgemeines: Geräteschaften, Vorbereitung des Bodens, Arbeitsverteilung. Die wichtigsten Nahrungspflanzen und ihre Bedeutung. Erdnuß (Abarten, Kultur, Schädlinge, Medizinen, Verwertung). Mais. Ngon (Beschreibung, Abarten, Bedeutung, Entstehung des Namens, Kultur, Ernte, Trocknung, Schädlinge, Medizinen, Verwertung). Yams, Kassave, Zuckerrohr, Taro und Makabo (Beschreibung, Abarten, Kultur, Verwertung). Plante und Banane. Weitere angebaute Nutzpflanzen.

Zweiter Teil: Viehhaltung. Hunde, Aussehen, Bedeutung für die Pangwe, Rufnamen: Ziege und Schaf, Kastrieren der Ziegen (Ausführungsweise, Zweck); Huhn und seine Bedeutung; Ente; andere gezähmte Haustiere.

Dritter Teil: Fischerei. Fischreichtum, Übersicht über die Fischwelt des Pangwegebiets. Fischfang (Allgemeines, Hauptzeiten), Arten: Fischtreiben, Angeln, Fischgifte, Gerätswehr, Korbwehre, Fischreusen, Fischfangkörbe, Fischgräben, Fischnetze.

Vierter Teil: Fallenstellerei. Fallgruben, Schlagfallen, Schlagteller, Speerfalle, Schlingen, Zugfallen, Frankolinfalle, Bogenfallen, Alarmfalle.

Fünfter Teil: Jagd. Allgemeines, Treibjagden mit Körben und Netzen, Fleischverteilung, Unglücksfälle, Einzeljagd mit Gewehr und Armbrust. Armbrust (Herkunft, Beschreibung, Pfeile).

---

1. Ackerbau.

Die Wirtschaftsformen der Pangwe sind Ackerbau, Fischfang und Fallenstellerei; im Vergleich hierzu spielen Jagd und Viehhaltung nur die Rolle einer nebensächlichen Beschäftigung.

Die eigentümlichen Bezeichnungen der Pangwesprache: *a bḗ bidḗị* = „Essen"pflanzen, d. h. pflanzen und *a nyǒṅ bidḗị* = „Essen" nehmen, d. h. ernten, scheinen noch darauf hinzudeuten, daß die Kulturstufe des Ackerbauers aus derjenigen des primitiven Sammlers, d. h. der bewußte Anbau der Pflanzen aus der Beobachtung und Nutzung wild in der Natur vorkommender eßbarer Blätter, Früchte usw. hervorgegangen ist. Letztere Stufe haben die Pangwe durchweg überwunden, und sie fallen nur gelegentlich in der Not in sie zurück.

Der Ackerbau ist Hackbau, d. h. der Boden wird mit Hacke und Grabstock aufgelockert. Die Hacke (*ebǵk* Nt., *ebǵk* F.), Abb. 48, besteht aus einem Eisen, das an einen hakenförmig gekrümmten Holzstiel geschnürt wird, der Grabstock (*eṛẹ̄n* Nt., F., *tǒṅ* J.) ist ein an einem Ende schneidezahnförmig zugestutzter Holzstab. Jene ist für die Frauen, dieser für die Männer

[p. 85]

bestimmt. Weitere landwirtschaftliche Geräte sind Axt *(orɛ̃n)*, Abb. 49, und Buschmesser *(fa̤,-tši IV)*, Abb. 50. Letzteres heute durch die europäischen Hauer (Cutlass), *nkpwɛ,da̤ I*, fast ganz verdrängt, ist dazu bestimmt, Knollen, wie Yams, aus der Erde zu heben und den Boden zu ebnen. Für letzteren Zweck sah ich auch Holzspaten, die an einem Stiel befestigt waren, in Benutzung. — Die Bodenbestellung beginnt mitdem Roden *(a li tši)*. Zuerst werden die Lianen, das Unterholz und dünnere Bäume mit dem Hauer abgeschlagen; ist auf diese Weise etwas Luft geschafft, so geht man an das Fällen der dickeren Bäume mit der Axt. Gewöhnlich wird eine Gruppe von Bäumen zusammen vorgenommen, und zwar in der Weise, daß man die Lianen durchschlägt, damit sie die Bäume nicht mehr halten können, die meisten dünneren Stämme anhaut und nur einen etwas massigeren fällt. Letzterer reißt dann im Falle ziemlich die ganze Baumgruppe samt dem Lianenwerk mit, so daß nur wenig zu tun übrigbleibt. Die ganz großen Bäume werden meist als Schattenbäume stehen gelassen und nur, wenn unbedingt nötig, mit Zuhilfenahme von Feuer, das an die Wurzeln gelegt wird, beseitigt; ohne dieses Mittel würde es einige Tage erfordern, einen solchen Baumriesen umzuschlagen, und dazu haben die Pangwe in der kurzen Trockenperiode selten Zeit. Ist der gesamte Busch bis auf die Schattenbäume umgeschlagen, so wartet man einige Tage, bis die Sonne das Holz getrocknet hat, und legt dann Feuer hinein, man „brennt" die Farm, *a da̤,ge tši*. Am Ende der Trockenzeiten sieht man überall im Lande Rauchsäulen aufsteigen und hat auf Märschen oft das zweifelhafte Vergnügen, eine solche brennende Farm passieren zu müssen. Eine Menge von Raubvögeln, besonders die nie fehlenden Schmarotzermilane, umkreisen da ungeachtet der Hitze die Neufarm, um alles Kriechende, was dem Feuer entflieht, abzufangen. Kommt die Regenzeit, so ist es mit dem Farmschlagen vorbei, nun „legt man das Essen". Die Männer räumen die verkohlten und unverbrannten Reste der Bäume

Abb. 48. Hacke.

Abb. 49. Axt.

Abb. 50. Buschmesser.

Abb. 51. Fangfrauen, die mit Feuerholz von den Pflanzungen zurückkehren.

auf die Seite oder häufen sie als Grenzmarken in der Farm selbst auf (vgl. Tafel II), die Frauen schaffen das kleinere Reisig weg. Sie beherrschen von nun an das Bild, säen oder pflanzen die Nutzgewächse, jäten das Unkraut, das in der Regenzeit bald genug üppig zu treiben beginnt, und besorgen die Ernte, alles übrigens leichtere Arbeiten. Aus dieser Verteilung der Arbeit geht hervor — und das wird sich später im einzelnen weiter verfolgen lassen —, daß die schwerere, stärkere Anspannung der Kräfte erheischende Arbeit den Männern zufällt, die leichtere dagegen den Frauen überlassen bleibt; da nun der Natur der Sache nach die erstere kürzere Zeit dauert, so entsteht der Eindruck, als ob die Frauen bedeutend mehr Arbeit zu leisten hätten als die Männer, aber das ist nicht der Fall, es wird nicht anders sein als in Deutschland auch, nur ist die Art der Arbeit eben eine andere. Wenn man freilich die großen, vollbepackten Körbe sieht, die die Frauen täglich vom Felde bringen (Abb. 51), so möchte ein Uneingeweihter wieder irre werden, jedoch ist das Tragen von ganz unverhältnismäßig schweren Lasten, das den weiblichen Körper so sehr verunstaltet, teilweise der Frauen eigene Schuld; man wird da an das niederdeutsche Sprichwort erinnert: „De Fule drägt sich doht un de Flitige löpt sich doht." Die Frau möchte sich nämlich am Nachmittag ausruhen, und manche besitzt sogar eine ganz erkleckliche Portion Arbeitsscheu, übrigens ein weiterer Grund für die im dritten Abschnitt erwähnten häufigen Zeiten des Nahrungsmangels, die zuweilen in richtige Hungersnöte ausarten.

Die wichtigsten Hauptnahrungspflanzen der Pangwe sind folgende sieben:

Südliches Gebiet (Fang):	Nördliches Gebiet (Jaunde):
1. Kassave (Maniok)	1. Kassave (Maniok)
2. Plante	2. Erdnuß
3. Erdnuß	3. Plante
4. Ngon	4. Mais
5. Mais	5. Ngon
6. Taro	6. Taro
7. Yams	7. Yams

Wohlverstanden sind hier die Gewächse nach ihrer Wichtigkeit als Nahrungspflanzen, also im Haushalt, als „Essen" zusammengestellt, nicht nach dem Umfang des feldmäßigen Anbaues; da ändert sich die Reihenfolge vielmehr vollständig. Das Zuckerrohr, das nur als Genuß- oder Erfrischungsmittel, nicht als Volksnahrung Wert hat, kommt hinzu, die Plante tritt ganz zurück, denn sie gedeiht auch ohne Pflege und bedarf keines sorgfältigen Anbaues; ähnlich die Kassave, die zwar eine gewisse Kultur erfordert, aber als dauernde Staude sich weiterentwickelt und mit ihren Wachstums- und Anbaubedingungen nicht an bestimmte Zeitabschnitte gebunden ist; Erdnuß und Ngon spielen nunmehr die führende Rolle. Wenn man nach der Form der Kultur Feldbau und Gartenbau unterscheidet und für jeden von ihnen die Anbaufläche als Maßstab nimmt, so erhält man folgende Reihe der Gewächse:

I. Feldmäßiger Anbau:

1. Erdnuß	Nebengewächs	Mais
2. Ngon	„	Yams
3. Kassave	„	Zuckerrohr als Genußmittel

II. Gartenmäßiger Anbau:

4. Taro	Nebengewächs	Makabo
5. Plante	„	Banane als Frucht

Damit ist nicht gesagt, daß stets Ngon zusammen mit Yams, oder Kassave mit Zuckerrohr angepflanzt sein muß, es gibt reine Yamsfarmen und reine Zuckerrohrfarmen genug; es soll nur angedeutet werden, daß vielfach der Anbau dieser Nebengewächse mit dem des wichtigsten Hauptgewächses verbunden ist, und daß vor allem die Anbaubedingungen beider sich gleichen oder doch ähneln. So kann ich mich für die genauere Schilderung auf die Kultur der fünf Hauptpflanzen obiger Aufstellung beschränken.

Tafel V

ERDNUSS, ARACHIS HYPOGAEA.

a Ganze Pflanze.
b und *c* Längsschnitte durch Schoten (¹/₁ nat. Gr.).
d Korn (Erdnuss), (²/₁ nat. Gr.).
e Längsschnitt durch den Keim (etwas vergr.).

Günter Tessmann, del. Pangwe Verlegt und gedruckt bei Reimer Wasmuth A.-G., Berlin.

[facing p. 88]

Die Erdnuß, **Arachis hypogaea** L.
(Tafel VI.)

Die Erdnuß (*owänö*, hergeleitet vom Stamme *a wäno* = legen, pflanzen) nimmt die dritte, bei den Jaunde sogar die zweite Stelle ein in der Reihenfolge der wichtigsten Nahrungspflanzen. Man unterscheidet im Fanggebiet fünf verschiedene Abarten, von denen allerdings eine — *möne ow.* — wegen der kleinen Früchte wieder aufgegeben ist. Von den übrigen vier sind die aufrechte, mehr behaarte, *asümena*, die nach Sadebeck[1]) **A. asiatica** Lour. heißt (sie ist auf Tafel VI abgebildet), und die niederliegende **A. africana** Lour. oder **var. glabrata** D. C. *ebdö* Nt., *ekäb* oder *engüs* F. gleichmäßig häufig miteinander auf einem Felde anzutreffen, auch die Abart *evölo* F., *evüöle* Nt., die sich durch dickere und nicht so lange Früchte auszeichnet, und die Abart *ezöna* findet man mitunter auf demselben Feld.

Welch große Rolle die Erdnuß in der Landwirtschaft der Eingeborenen spielt, wird jeder, der das Pangweland bereist, sofort erkennen —, die einzigen Farmen, die das Auge eines Europäers erfreuen können, sind die Erdnußfarmen. Wenn man nach Durchschreiten der keinen freien Überblick gewährenden Kassave- und Zuckerrohrpflanzungen, der Ngonfarmen, in denen man fortwährend über die liegengebliebenen Baumstämme klettern muß, oder gar des dichten Busches oder Urwaldes auf eine Erdnußpflanzung hinaustritt, dann atmet man ordentlich auf, so frei liegt vor dem Wanderer die vom Dunkel des Urwaldes umrahmte Pflanzung, durchsetzt von dem helleren Grün des jungen Maises, der meistens zugleich mit der Erdnuß als Abschluß nach dem Urwald zu und in der Mitte an den Grenzen der einzelnen Feldstücke angebaut zu werden pflegt (Tafel VII), so sehr erinnert sie mit ihrer Sauberkeit und Übersichtlichkeit an europäische Gemüsefelder: ein Erdnußpflänzchen neben dem anderen treibt seine vielen vierteiligen Blätter hervor, gedüngt von dem reichlichen Naß des tropischen Regens, und hier und da sieht man die gelben Blüten aus dem Kraut herausleuchten.

Die Pflanzungs- und Erntezeiten der Erdnuß stellen sich so:

Erste Aussaat: gepflanzt im September und Anfang Oktober,
geerntet Ende Dezember;

Zweite Aussaat: gepflanzt im März und April,
geerntet im Juli und August.

Die Erdnuß wird also vor den Regenzeiten gepflanzt und am Ende der darauf folgenden Trockenzeiten geerntet.

Das Farmschlagen und -brennen wird demgemäß im Februar, März und wieder im Juli, August von den Männern des Dorfes gemeinsam betrieben.

---

[1]) R. Sadebeck, Die Kulturgewächse der deutschen Kolonien und ihre Erzeugnisse. Jena 1899. S. 230.

Das Feld wird unter sie aufgeteilt, und nun gehen sie daran, die größeren Baumstämme und Äste beiseite zu räumen, während die Weiber die Farm reinigen und dann die Samen oder die bereits gekeimten Nüsse legen, indem sie mit der Hacke ein kleines Loch scharren, die Samen bzw. die Nüsse hineinwerfen und mit dem Fuße die Erde wieder daraufdrücken. Bei der Ernte, die dann beginnt, wenn das Kraut, mit Ausnahme der obersten Blätter, ziemlich vertrocknet ist, wird der Boden aufgelockert, die Nüsse werden von den Weibern ausgelesen und in die Korbteller *(dźä,d)* getan.

Erst nach drei Jahren kann man auf demselben Boden wieder Erdnüsse bauen; auch ist den Weibern aufgefallen, daß die Erdnuß — sie ist an einen gewissen Kalkgehalt des Bodens gebunden — nicht überall gedeiht, und so pflegen sie zu sagen: „Laßt uns hier in der Nähe nicht wieder Erdnüsse pflanzen, denn sie gedeihen hier nicht." Wie die meisten tropischen Nutzpflanzen haben die Erdnüsse so gut wie gar keine Schädlinge. Am meisten schaden noch durch Abfressen der Blätter die Schirrantilope, **Tragelaphus knutsoni** Lemberg *(nkǔk)*, und das Zwergböckchen, **Neotragus batesi** Winton *(odźŏ,ĕ)*, sowie durch Zernagen der Nüsse die Streifenmaus, **Mus pulchellus** Gray *(zŏ[ŏ III)*; indessen pflegt sich in manchen Jahren stellenweise eine Art Schwarzfäule der Nüsse zu zeigen; einige Raupenarten, welche die Blätter fressen, sind kaum als wirkliche Schädlinge zu bezeichnen. Wahrscheinlich hat das Auftreten der Schwarzfäule den Weibern Anlaß zu dem Glauben gegeben, daß andere Frauen imstande wären, ihre Erdnüsse durch „Medizin" krank zu machen und zu verderben; diesem Streiche suchen sie durch eine Medizin zu begegnen, die aus zu Kohle verbrannten und dann zerstampften Knochen der Schildkröte, des Elefanten, des Schweines und der Schirrantilope besteht und vor dem Pflanzen auf die Samen gestreut wird. Von den sonstigen Medizinen, die das Gedeihen der Erdnüsse günstig beeinflussen sollen, besteht die wichtigste im Einreiben der Erdnüsse mit einer besonders zugerichteten Farbe aus Rotholz, *ba-ayǝ̄*, nach der diese Medizin *ba-ayǝ̄* heißt. Diese rote Farbe (vgl. Abschnitt XVIII, Geschlechtsleben) hat die Wirkung, daß Gewolltes gelingt und Feindliches abgewehrt wird; Rot ist überall die Farbe der Freude, des Gedeihens, der Zeugung. An dem Tage, an welchem die Frau die Erdnüsse pflanzt, zieht sie sich nun mit dem „Medizinrot" einen Strich zwischen Zeigefinger und Daumen, das gibt eine glückliche Hand; oder sie zieht einen solchen auf der oberen Fläche eines Baumstumpfes und umhüllt den Stumpf mit Blättern gleichwie mit einer Mütze. Das heißt: „Möget ihr Erdnüsse unter einem solchen Schutze (das sollen die Blätter andeuten) blühen, wachsen und gedeihen (hierfür das Rot), niemand wird euch etwas anhaben können (hierfür die Medizin)." Ferner pflegt der Mann am Vorabend der Aussaat den im Korbe „versammelten"

Tafel VII.

ERDNUSSPFLANZUNG, IM HINTERGRUNDE MAIS, NTUMGEBIET.

Günter Tessmann, die Pangwe Verlegt und gedruckt bei Ernst Wasmuth A.-G., Berlin

[facing p. 90]

Erdnüssen durch einen im Hinblick auf sie verübten Koitus ein gutes Beispiel mit auf den Weg zu geben: „Mehret euch!"[1]) Eine weitere Fruchtbarkeitsmedizin besteht aus folgendem Gemisch: 1. Rinde der Simarubacee **Irvingia barteri** Hook. f. *(andŏk)*, 2. Rinde der Anacardiacee **Pseudospondias microcarpa** (Rich.) Engl. *(ofŏs)*, 3. Elefantenmist, 4. Sand vom Kampo oder Uelle, 5. Salz, und wird am Abend vor der Aussaat den Nüssen beigemengt. Auch sie ist als unmittelbare Kraftübertragung zu verstehen: der Erdnüsse sollen so viele werden wie die Früchte der beiden genannten Pflanzen, sie sollen so außerordentlich groß werden wie der Elefantenmisthaufen außerordentlich groß ist, so zahlreich, wie Sand im Kampo — wir würden sagen wie Sand am Meer — und so unendlich viele wie die Salzkörnchen. Schließlich pflanzt man bestimmte Liliaceen *(aydn)* zwischen die Erdnüsse, damit ihre Blätter so grün werden wie die der Lilien auf dem Felde. Man sieht, an freundlicher Belehrung und gutem Beispiel fehlt es nicht.

Die Früchte, die Tafel VI Fig. *a* u. *b* im Durchschnitt zeigen, haben meistens zwei, seltener drei, noch seltener einen Samen. An unser Vielliebchenessen erinnert es in etwas, wenn ein Junge, der eine solche dreisamige Frucht im Korbe seiner Mutter oder auf dem Felde während der Arbeit gefunden hat, seine Kameraden herbeiruft, mit denen er sich in die Samen teilt. Es heißt dann euphemistisch: *bi ki kăbăd* = wir zerlegen eine Ziege; also auch hier die Lehre: Wohlzutun und mitzuteilen vergesset nicht, wenn ihr im Überfluß lebt! Mehr aus Spielerei essen die Pangwe, besonders die Kinder, wohl auch die rohen Nüsse, sonst werden diese hauptsächlich als Suppe oder Mus bereitet; auch kocht man die ganzen Früchte im Topf mit Wasser und ißt nachher die Samen. Aufbewahrt werden die Nüsse in großen hohen Körben aus Raphiamark, die unter dem Dache hängen bzw. auf einem Bette stehen, oder lose auf dem Erdnußboden, *akdn owŭnŏ*.

Infolge ihrer Faulheit und Gleichgültigkeit kommen die Pangwe selten mit den Erdnüssen aus, sie müssen sich immer eine Zeit ohne sie behelfen, bis die neue Ernte eingeheimst und ausreichend getrocknet ist. Daher steigt im Ntum- und Fanggebiet zu dieser Zeit der Preis für den „Teller"[2]) Erdnüsse auf 10 Speer (= 70 ₰), während sonst nur 5 Speer (= 35 ₰) dafür gegeben werden. Im Jaundegebiet kostet der Teller freilich immer 70 ₰ (= 100 Jaundespeere). Die Erdnuß wird einfach als Suppe oder Mus gegessen.

---

[1]) Das wird sogar gemacht, wenn die Frau menstruiert, während man sonst in der Periode den Geschlechtsverkehr vermeidet. Hier, als medizinische Handlung, soll der Geschlechtsverkehr mit einem menstruierenden Weib für die Erdnüsse besonders günstig sein, vorausgesetzt, daß die Frau „glückbringend *(ayüe)*" ist (vgl. Abschnitt XVIII, Geschlechtsleben).

[2]) Die flachen Korbteller, Buschteller genannt, sind Maßeinheit.

Abb. 52. Erdnuß-Maispflanzung bei Bébai (Fam. Esseng), Süd-Kamerun.

Der Ölgehalt der Nüsse wird in größerem Maßstabe nicht verwertet, das beim Kochen freiwerdende Öl wird aber auf die Haut gerieben, um es nicht umkommen zu lassen. Zum Schluß sei das Rätsel erwähnt:

ongn o nga bvi a fä e bonvę:

(Ein) Vogel, er lebt gebären hinter dem Hause der Mütter:

akv avǫk a kŏke bǫn avämm

Ei eines; es kriechen aus Junge zehn.

Antwort: *owǫno* = Erdnuß.

Der Mais, **Zea mays** L. *(fän IV)* wird, wie gesagt, fast immer mit der Erdnuß zusammen angebaut (Abb. 52) und zwar meistens als Begrenzung der einzelnen Feldstücke und als Saum gegen den Busch rings um die Pflanzung. Reine Maisfarmen sind verhältnismäßig selten. Ebenso wie die Erdnuß wird der Mais Anfang Oktober gepflanzt und reift Dezember, dann wieder im März angepflanzt und reift Mitte Mai bis Juli. *kándǿn* = rate ein Rätsel! *kandǿn* = ich rate.

ma yęn bönènga, bö mbe ekö-ne, bönènga bete:

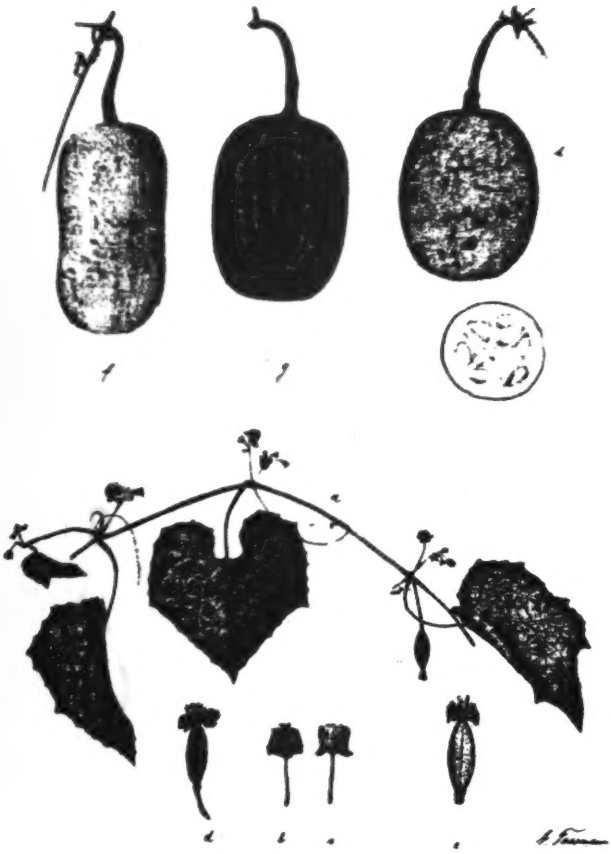
Ich sehe Frauen, sie waren auf Wanderschaft, Frauen besagte:

mabǫm a mabǫm

Bäuche — Bäuche.

Ich sehe Frauen, die von der Wanderschaft kamen (d. h. hier früher nicht waren), und alle sind schwanger (die Kolben in den Scheiden).

Antwort: *fän* = Mais.



NGON, CUCUMEROPSIS EDULIS COGN.

a Stück einer Ranke.
b Männliche Blüte.
c Dieselbe im Durchschnitt.
d Weibliche Blüte.
e Dieselbe im Durchschnitt.
f—*h* Früchte.
i Querschnitt durch eine Frucht.
k Korn.

[facing p. 92]

Der Ngon, **Cucumeropsis edulis** Cogn. *ngǭn IV* J. *ngǭn IV* F.
(Tafel VIII.)

ist eine zu den Kürbisgewächsen gehörige Pflanze mit fünfeckigen, seltener fünflappigen Blättern, die am Rande fein gezähnt sind. An dem fast runden Stengel stehen die Blätter in Abständen, und diesen sind außer einem gelegentlichen Nebenzweig gewöhnlich noch eine Ranke, eine oder zwei männliche Blütenrispen und stellenweise eine einzige weibliche Blüte eingefügt. Ein Stück eines solchen Stengels zeigt die Abbildung. Die Blüten, von den Fang scherzhaft *atśṛne kó* = Schildkrötenfüße genannt, sind nicht sehr groß, mit zurückgeschlagenen, zitronengelben Blütenblättern, die in der Größe etwas veränderlichen weiblichen Blüten (*d—e*) tragen einen unterständigen Fruchtknoten, der Rand und die Griffel sind grün, bei den männlichen Blüten (*b—c*) dagegen sind die Staubgefäße oben gelb. Früchte groß, länglich eirund.

Im Fanggebiet werden drei Abarten des Ngon unterschieden, die indessen nur an den Früchten kenntlich sind (Fig. *f—h*). Die größten Früchte hat die Abart *osə́bǭme (f)*, sie sind ca. 15 cm lang, hellgelbgrün mit verwaschener, sprenkelartiger Zeichnung und in der Mitte schwach eingezogen. Bei der zweiten Abart *nia ngǭn*, d. h. richtiger Ngon, oder *nśnśnte*, d. h. dunkler Ngon *(g)*, sind die Früchte im Gegensatz zu voriger meist eiförmig, 12 cm lang und dunkelgrün mit Striemen oder Flatschen von hellgrüner Farbe; auch gibt es gefleckte. Diese Abart scheint die gewöhnlichste zu sein; *mǭne ngǭn* = kleiner Ngon *(h)* schließlich ist bedeutend kleiner, mißt nur 9—10 cm, selten mehr, und ist heller. Hier ist die sprenkelartige Zeichnung, die wir schon bei *osə́bǭme* sahen, so zusammengelaufen, daß man von hellgrünen Flecken auf etwas dunklerem Grunde sprechen kann. Was die Kerne anbetrifft, so zählte ich bei *osə́bǭme* 190—200, bei *nśnśnte* 224 und bei *mǭne ngǭn* nur 80, sie sind birnförmig (*e*) und weiß; nur ihr Inneres wird gegessen. Unter den Früchten kommen vielfache Übergänge vor, an einer und derselben Pflanze finden sich jedoch meist gleichartige, und man kann deshalb ebensogut wie bei Äpfeln und Birnen von richtigen Sorten sprechen.

Unter den sieben Hauptnahrungspflanzen nimmt der Ngon die vierte Stelle ein, nur bei den Jaunde ist er an die fünfte Stelle getreten und dafür der Mais an die vierte gerückt. Ob es allein die Rücksicht auf das trockenere Klima des Jaundelandes gewesen ist, die dem Trockenheit liebenden Mais vor dem im regenreichen Süd- und Westpangwegebiete besser gedeihenden Ngon den Vorzug gegeben hat, vermag ich nicht zu entscheiden, jedenfalls ist der Ngon für das riesige Pangwegebiet und weit darüber hinaus so wichtig, daß man glauben sollte, es wäre ihm in Fachbüchern über tropische Nutzpflanzen

ein breiter Raum gewidmet, indessen findet man weder bei Sadebeck noch bei Fesca oder anderswo die Pflanze auch nur erwähnt.

Über die Entstehung des Namens hören wir den Fang folgendes Geschichtchen zum Besten geben: Zuerst kannte man den Namen *ngǒn* gar nicht, man nannte die Pflanze nur allgemein *ekǎluga* (von *a kat* = klopfen, weil die Kerne aufgeklopft werden, allgemeiner Ausdruck für alle Früchte, die aufgeklopft werden, und deren Inneres eßbar ist, z. B. *andǒk* = **Irvingia** usw.), auch war sie noch nicht angepflanzt wie heute, die Weiber suchten sich vielmehr die Früchte im Busch zusammen. Nun war einmal ein Mann, der hatte keine Schwester, durch deren Verkauf er sich eine Frau hätte verschaffen können, noch hatte er sonst einen Menschen, der ihm helfen konnte, zu heiraten; da kam er nun auf den Gedanken, eine riesige Ngonfarm zu machen, und als der Ngon reif war, kamen viele Leute und kauften die Kerne. So hatte er schließlich so viel Geld verdient, daß er den Kaufpreis für ein Mädchen beisammen hatte. Als das andere Leute, die auch keine Weiber hatten, erfuhren, begannen sie, es ihm nachzumachen und heirateten auch mit Hilfe der Pflanze. Daher sagt man: „Oh, ich sehe dieses Gewächs wie ein Mädchen *(ngǒn)*, und darum soll es auch *ngǒn* heißen, denn hätte der Mann keinen Ngon *(ngǒn)* gehabt, so hätte er auch kein Mädchen *(ngǒn)* heiraten können. Man beachte, daß die beiden Worte durch die Töne verschieden sind, die Pflanze hat Hochtiefton im Fang *(ngǒn)*, Tiefhochton im Jaunde *(ngǒn)*, das Mädchen nur Hochton *(ngǒn)*. Ähnlich ist eine Erzählung in der Schöpfungsgeschichte.

Der Ngon wird bloß einmal im Jahre gepflanzt, da seine Kultur die Zeit vom April bis Dezember erfordert. Im April, oft schon sehr lange vorher, wird der Busch geschlagen und gebrannt, der Boden jedoch nicht gereinigt, sondern alles liegen gelassen, wie es fällt, höchstens einmal auf den Verbindungswegen das gröbste Reisig beiseite geräumt. Eine Durchwanderung der Farm, zumal auf Pflanzungswegen, kommt daher einer turnerischen Leistung gleich. Oft wird eine Ngonfarm von den Einwohnern zweier benachbarter Dörfer derselben Sippe gemeinschaftlich geschlagen, jedoch sind die Grenzen, die durch stehengelassene oder gefallene Bäume, seltener durch Lianen angezeigt werden, die man an das Gezweige der liegenden Baumstämme geknüpft hat, dem Uneingeweihten nicht erkennbar, und man muß sich wundern, daß keine Grenzstreitigkeiten vorkommen.

Ist im April die Farm gebrannt, so ziehen die Weiber aus und pflanzen mit ihrem Universalwerkzeug, der Hacke, die Ngonkerne, die vorher einen Tag im Wasser gelegen haben müssen, in die Erde, und zwar zwei bis drei zugleich; da dies aber wegen der herumliegenden Stämme und des Gestrüpps eine böse Arbeit ist, so pflegen wenigstens am ersten Tage die Männer mit

Abb. 53. Frau aus Bibai (Fam. Esong) beim Aufklopfen der Ngonfrüchte in einer Kassavepflanzung.

Hauer und mit dem Grabstock beim Pflanzen zu helfen, während beim Erdnußpflanzen „kein hübscher, junger Mann, überhaupt keiner, der durch Kraft, Schönheit und Einfluß irgend etwas bedeutet", hilft, nur hier und da ein häßlicher oder alter Mann, der sich bei seiner Frau recht beliebt machen will, „damit sie ihm nicht am Ende einmal ausrückt und zu einem anderen geht". Ist die Pflanzarbeit zu Ende, so wird der Ngon sich selbst überlassen und rankt nun an den Baumstämmen und -zweigen hoch; Mitte Mai ist er schon kniehoch, im Juni, Juli wird einmal gejätet, später unterdrückt der Ngon selbst, alles überrankend, das Unkraut, nur einige größere Pflanzen schießen trotzdem in die Höhe und werden bei Gelegenheit ausgerissen. Im September finden wir schon einzelne Früchte ausgereift, und mit Anfang der Trockenzeit, im November und Dezember, kann zur Ernte geschritten werden. Laub und Stengel sind dann fast ganz vertrocknet, und die Früchte hängen an den trocknen Stengeln in dem nunmehr wieder kahl gewordenen Geäst der Bäume, die der Pflanze als Stütze gedient hatten.

Zur Zeit der Ernte wird ein Platz in der Pflanzung gereinigt und mit Blättern sauber belegt. Nun werden die Früchte abgepflückt, was bei mittleren Pflanzungen in drei Tagen beendet ist, und auf dem Platz aufgehäuft, um den ein Gitter von Ölpalmenblättern hergerichtet ist, dann werden die Früchte mit einem Stock aufgeschlagen (Abb. 53) — der Inhalt wird darin gelassen — und zum

Schutz gegen Feldmäuse und Regen mit Kardamomblättern bedeckt. Diese Arbeit ist in einem Tage erledigt. So müssen die Früchte vier Tage liegen. Nach dieser Zeit werden die Kerne aus den Früchten herausgenommen und in gewöhnlichen mit Bananenblättern ausgelegten Körben einen Tag im Hause stehen gelassen, dann werden sie am Flusse gewaschen, um den umgebenden, in Gärung übergegangenen Fruchtschleim zu beseitigen. Den Schluß dieser ziemlich umständlichen Zubereitung bildet das Trocknen. Zu diesem Zweck werden die Kerne zusammen mit Lehm in der Hand durchgeknetet und dann auf dem Dorfplatze ausgebreitet. Warum dies Durchkneten in Lehm geschieht, ist unsicher. Einige sagen — was das Wahrscheinlichere ist —, daß der Ngon dadurch „stärker" würde, da natürlich die dunkle Lehmfarbe die Sonne stärker auf den Kern wirken läßt; von anderen, besonders Jaundefrauen, stammt die Angabe, daß andernfalls, wenn nämlich die Kerne nicht mit Lehm vermischt werden, beim Aufklopfen Schlafsucht oder Schwindel in den Augen eintritt. Ob dies nur ein Aberglaube ist oder auf richtiger Beobachtung beruht, kann ich nicht entscheiden. Jedenfalls müssen die Kerne zwei Tage oder, falls schlechtes Wetter dazwischen kommt, entsprechend länger an der Sonne auf dem Dorfplatz trocknen. Wandert man nach der Ngonernte durch die Dörfer, so findet man vor vielen Häusern die Mengen der weißen, mit Lehm überzogenen Kerne ausgebreitet, Kinder oder Weiber bewachen den Schatz vor vorwitzigen Hunden und Hühnern, beantworten jedes unbefugte Betreten ihrer Ernte mit entrüsteten Drohrufen — besonders eifrige Frauen bewerfen das zudringliche Vieherug mit Steinen, Holzstückchen oder anderen Wurfgeschossen, bis endlich der besorgte Gatte aus dem Versammlungshause hervorkommt und mittels Stock oder Fliegenklatsche die Störenfriede in respektvollere Entfernung vertreibt, wo sie die Einsicht gewinnen, daß es noch andere, bessere Plätze gibt, und sich auf den nächsten, weniger scharf bewachten Haufen stürzen. Diese Zeit habe ich immer besonders gerne auf Reisen gehabt, da sich dann wenigstens etwas Leben auf dem sonst so stillen Dorfplatz zeigte. Und vollends, wenn eine schwarze Wetterwolke das Nahen eines Tornados anzeigt, kommt Leben in die Gesellschaft; alles eilt, die Kerne einzusammeln, selbst stämperige Greise und die kleinen, nackten Kinder beteiligen sich eifrig, aber doch mit großer Vorsicht, um nicht den Staub mitzunehmen, der trotz alles Kehrens mit dem Besen den Dorfplatz in Masse bedeckt. Für gewöhnlich geschieht das Einsammeln dagegen am Spätnachmittag mit großer Ruhe und Langsamkeit, zumal der anhaftende Lehm, von dem ich vorhin sprach, sorgfältig von den Kernen entfernt wird. Die Angst vor überraschenden Regengüssen hat übrigens allerlei Schutzmedizinen erzeugt, die ich an anderer Stelle (Abschnitt XIV) beschreibe.

Von Schädlingen hat der Ngon mehr als die Erdnuß zu leiden, so sind kleine Käfer und Raupen, besonders aber eine Wanzenart auf die Blätter, einige Säugetiere auf die Früchte erpicht, unter diesen besonders die rotschwänzige Meerkatze, **Cercopithecus kuscalis** Leconte *(ośók)*, und, wo er vorkommt, der Pavian, **Maimon planirostris** Elliot *(esŭrge)*, ferner aus der Familie der Eichhörnchen **Sciurus ebariverus** Du Chaillu *(mvǫk)* und **Sc. lemniscatus** Leconte *(oszǫn)*, von den Mäusen tritt am schlimmsten auf **Dendromys messorius** Thomas *(njoa)*, nebenbei noch andere Arten wie **Mus pusillulus** Ptrs. *(okǫb)*; stellenweise richten Elefant und Büffel, die ebenfalls die Früchte fressen, große Verwüstungen an, die Schirrantilope *(nkǫk)* frißt die Blätter. Auch die Fruchtfäule *(ntŭr ngǫn*, d. h. Durchfall des Ngon), eine Folge zu reichlicher Regenfälle, vermindert die Ernte mitunter um ein Beträchtliches. Gegen alle jene Feinde ist ja nun nicht viel zu machen, da sie sich zu wenig um Schutzmedizinen kümmern, jedoch glauben die Pangwefrauen die Kerne und die jungen Pflanzen durch allerhand Mittel, ähnlich wie bei der Erdnuß, günstig beeinflussen zu können. Ein solches, *ba-ape*, ist schon bei Besprechung der Erdnuß beschrieben worden, ein zweites ist das Bestreuen der im Buschteller zur Aussaat aufbewahrten Kerne selbst mit zerriebenem Rotholz (Rotholz als Zeichen des Wachstums, der Freude und der Zeugung). Ein anderes Verfahren, die Ngonpflanzen in der Farm im Wachstum zu stärken und zu reichem Fruchtansatz zu veranlassen, heißt *emiŕ ndób*, d. h. Ausspritzen von (der Medizin im) Bananenblattgefäß. Dazu wird ein Gefäß aus Bananenblättern in der Mitte der Farm eingegraben bzw. aufgestellt und folgende Sachen hineingetan:

1. Früchte von **Alchornea cordifolia** Muell. Arg. *(abut)*, wegen der Menge der Früchte, daher auch der Name *abut* von *abut* = viel (vgl. *a bus* = zerbrechen, denn dann gibt es viele Stücke!);
2. Kraut der Amarantacee **Aerva lanata** (L.) Juss. *(anggnenggne III anggnggne* = angeglichen, *anggnggnǫ)*, wegen des reichlichen Blütenstandes;
3. Früchte der **Pseudospondias microcarpa** (Rich.) Engl. *(ofǫs)*, wegen der vielen Früchte (vgl. Erdnußmedizinen);
4. Früchte der Euphorbiacee **Staphysora dusenii** Pax. *(owŭwŭmu II* und *III)* wegen der vielen Blüten, daher ist der Name von *a wŭmu* = ausetzen durch Verdoppelung gebildet;
5. Laub des Meleguetapfeffers **Aframomum melegueta** K. Schum. *(andǫs)* zerrieben, ebenfalls wegen der Üppigkeit der Pflanze.

Alles dies wird im Gefäß mit Wasser zerrührt und nun mit einem Stengelstück des Cissus *(pfádók IV)* auf die jungen Ngonpflanzen gespritzt, damit der Ngon „so üppig wachere wie die Cissusranke".

Je nach der Gegend wechseln die verschiedenen Teile und Zusätze der Medizin, oft werden einige von ihnen allein benutzt, z. B. **Staphysera** mit Holzkohle vermischt in die Pflanzung gestreut, alle sind sie aber gewählt unter dem Gesichtspunkte, daß sie ihre Kraft auf die Ngonpflanzen übertragen können.

Auf die Wichtigkeit des Ngon im Wirtschaftsleben wirft das Ngonverbot bei den Ntum und Fang ein Licht, das denjenigen Weibern, die gepflanzt haben, für drei Monate geschlechtlich zu verkehren verbietet. Was diese unverhältnismäßig lange Fastenzeit, wenn ich so sagen darf, heißen will, ermißt man daran, daß z. B. bei dem wichtigen Weiberkult Mekang die Neulinge nur zehn Tage geschlechtliche Enthaltung zu üben brauchen, und daß sie bei dem allerwichtigsten Männerkult, dem Sso der Jaunde, faktisch nur drei Monate dauert. Die Fang sagen: Der Ngon würde nicht wachsen, wenn das Verbot gebrochen würde, und der Magen geht ihnen denn auch zu sehr über die Liebe, als daß nicht im allgemeinen dieses Verbot innegehalten würde.

Als Nahrung verwertbar ist nur der weichere Inhalt der Ngonkerne. Man muß sie also aufschlagen, und zwar geschieht das mittels eines kleinen Stockes aus dem Baum **Microdesmis puberula** Hook. f., Euphorbiaceae *(obimrɔ̀n)*, mit dem man leicht auf den hochkant gestellten Kern schlägt. Alt und jung, Mann und Weib beteiligt sich an dieser Arbeit, die in und vor dem Wohnhause wie im Versammlungshause ausgeführt wird und sich durch jenes eigenartige knackende Geräusch verrät, das man nicht leicht vergißt, wenn man es einmal gehört hat. Trotz seiner Wichtigkeit im Haushalt wird der Ngon nicht sehr vielseitig bereitet; er wird, wie die Erdnuß, nur als Suppe und zerrieben, in einem Blattbündel gekocht, gegessen.

Und zum Schluß, geduldiger Leser: *kɔ́ndɔ́ɔ́* (rate ein Rätsel!): *kɔ́ndɔ́ɔ́* (ich rate):

akɔ́ɔ́ afə̀, e mane nkɔ̀rna ngɔ̀ɔ,
Speer einer, er macht fertig Herde-Schweine.

Antwort:

okɔ̀k ofə̀, e mane dɔ́ɔ́d e ngɔ́n
Klopfer einer, er macht fertig Buschteller (mit) Ngon.

Yams, als Nebengewächs des Ngon, wird hauptsächlich in zwei Arten angebaut, diese sind der dreiblättrige Yams **Dioscorea dumetorum** (Kunth) Pax *(andɔ́ɔ́)* und der gewöhnliche, **Dioscorea minutiflora** Engl. *(emɔ́ɔ́)*

mit je vier Abarten; daneben unterscheiden die Pangwe noch zwei als Arten, die aber vielleicht zu **D. minutiflora** gehören oder ihr nahestehen: *ígŋ̀ III* Nt., *dzŋ́*, Mehrzahl *bíŋ́* F. und *ebŋ́ŋ́*. In Jaunde gibt es noch den Jaundeyams mit großen Knollen: *ekŋda* J. Schließlich baut man auch den Luftknollenyams **D. sativa** L. *(alók)* an, aber nur sehr wenig. Wie oben gesagt, gleichen die Wachstumsbedingungen des Yams denen des Ngon, auch er rankt an dem liegengelassenen Strauch- und Baumwerk hoch und wird deshalb oft, zumal der Luftknollenyams, zusammen mit dem Ngon angepflanzt. Eßbar am Yams sind im allgemeinen nur die Wurzelstöcke, beim Luftknollenyams nur die Luftknollen, die, wenn sie reif sind, alle zugleich abfallen. Das hat zu einem symbolischen Brauche beim Yamsessen der Kinder Anlaß gegeben. Wenn z. B. drei Söhne einer Mutter Yams essen, so stößt der erste den zweiten an und dieser den dritten, zum Zeichen, daß sie nacheinander, wie es das natürliche ist, sterben wollen und nicht an einem Tage, wie die Luftknollen.

Abb. 54. Kassavesteckling.

Bedeutend weniger als von der ersten und zweiten Gruppe ist von der dritten zu sagen, deren Hauptgewächs Kassave oder Maniok, **Manihot utilissima** Pohl *(mbŋ̀n I)*, ist. Die Zeiten für die Kassave liegen folgendermaßen:

ŋŋgn esób = große Trockenzeit (Dezember bis Februar), Farm geschlagen;
ósgó, esób = kleine Regenzeit (März bis Mai), Pflanzen gesteckt;
ofŋ̀n = Regenhalbjahr verstreicht.

Im folgenden *esób*, also vom Januar des nächsten Jahres an, das sind sieben Monate nach dem Auspflanzen, kann die Ernte beginnen und sich über beliebige Zeit hinaus erstrecken, da die Pflanze eine ausdauernde ist.

Medizinen zum Gedeihen der Kassave, wie bei Erdnuß und Ngon, gibt es nicht. Das Gebet der Pangwe — Altbekanntes in neuem Gewande — würde sein: „Lieber Gott, laß Erdnuß und Ngon recht gedeihen, die Kassave wächst von selber!" Feinde hat sie nämlich verhältnismäßig wenig, nur Ziegen und Schafe, die die Blätter gern verzehren, und eine Heuschreckenart *(mbadadn III)*, die sich massenhaft auf den Blättern sämtlicher Kulturpflanzen, insonderheit von Kassave und Zuckerrohr einfindet. Varietäten der Kassave gibt es sieben, indessen würde es zu weit führen, sie hier aufzuzählen. Die Kassave wird wie Abb. 54 zeigt, gesteckt, indem man die Erde etwas über dem Steckling anhäufelt.

Ähnlich verhält sich das Zuckerrohr, **Saccharum officinarum** L. *(nkɔ̈k I)*; es wird ebenfalls in den Regenzeiten „gesteckt", und zwar werden die Stecklinge vom oberen Teil des Stengels genommen, den man „Pfeil" (P.: *esɔ̈k*) nennt, bedarf aber längerer Zeit zur Reife, denn es wird in der zweitfolgenden Regenzeit, also nach 13 Monaten, geerntet. Kassave und Zuckerrohr findet man häufig auf einer Pflanzung, oft noch mit Plantenkulturen dazwischen.

Rätsel:

1. *ofüe e ne m' oko, ke a wụlụ*
(Ein) Wasser, es ist mir dort, nicht (zu) fließen.
— Der Saft im Zuckerrohr.

2. *bangá-tsida*[1]) *be ne m' oko, vö medźọke medźọk*
Weiber-Vaters sie sind mir dort, bloß (mit) Tanzhauben, Tanzhauben
— *masạm me nkɔ̈k* = Blüten des Zuckerrohrs.

3. *ma vuán okö-a ngɔ̈k, o ke lạme nga*
Ich werfe-zu Steinchen vom Geröll, es geht treffen Frau:
ndɔ̈n-kọ́dọ́ abɔ̈n
Ndongkodo (am) Knie.

Die Auflösung ergibt sich aus folgender Zeichnung (Abb. 55). Ndongkodo ist ein Scherzname für das Zuckerrohr und spielt auf die Biegung seines Schaftes an; *ndɔ́n*, *ndɔ́no* bedeutet ursprünglich Gestirn, Sonne, ist später auf Menschen übertragen und als Personenname gebraucht, *kọ́l* = krumm, wir würden etwa sagen: Ihre Exzellenz von Krumm.

Abb. 55. Zuckerrohrsteckling.

Ich wende mich zu dem zweiten Teil der Nutzgewächse, nämlich den gartenmäßig, d. h. in kleinen Betrieben und im wesentlichen hinter dem Wohnhause oder dicht dabei angebauten zu. Freilich ist der Unterschied zwischen Feld- und Gartenwirtschaft nicht überall scharf, z. B. das Gartengewächs Taro pflanzt man oft fern von dem Dorfe in Feldern an, und Planten zieht man vielfach auf Kassave- und anderen Farmen.

Taro, Colocasia antiquorum Schott *(atá)*, und **Makabo, Xanthosoma violaceum** Schott *(ekábe)*.

Der Taro oder die Kolokasie ist — wie schon der lateinische Name sagt — ein altes Kulturgewächs, auch für die Pangwe, daher ist ihnen die Erklärung des Namen *atá* nicht geläufig; im Gegensatz dazu ist der Makabo, der aus

[1]) Altertümliche Form, heute meistens *boyá*.

Amerika stammt, erst kürzlich eingeführt und nach Angabe der Eingeborenen von den Küstenvölkern vor vielleicht 30 Jahren[1]) übernommen, daher der Name *ekábe* von *a kab-an*, abgeben, teilen, Besitz ergreifen. Beide Pflanzen gehören zur Familie der Araceen; der Taro ist vom Makabo dadurch zu unterscheiden, daß die Blätter am Grunde nur leicht eingebuchtet sind, und der Blattstiel unten in der Spreite eingelenkt ist, während der Makabo richtig pfeilförmige Blätter hat, also der Einschnitt bis auf den Blattstiel hinabreicht Ferner sind die Makaboblätter auf der Oberfläche schwach glänzend, während die Taroblätter matt, um die Adern fast bläulich bereift sind. Der Taro hat gelbe, der Makabo weiße, grün und rosa angehauchte Blüten; beide blühen in den Regenzeiten.

Merkwürdigerweise pflegen die Europäer in Kamerun den Makabo, der für sie die Kartoffel in Afrika vertritt, dem Taro vorzuziehen, obwohl dieser, rein gedämpft, zweifellos wohlschmeckender ist, während die Pangwe den Makabo wenig lieben und den Taro, ihr altes Kulturgewächs, beibehalten haben. Vielleicht kommt das daher, daß sich die Europäer zuerst der Batanga-Köche, die zu den Küstenvölkern gehören, bedienten; ihnen ist der Makabo wichtiger als der Taro, und ihre Bezeichnung *akabe*, Mehrzahl *makabe*, ist bei den Europäern zu Makabo geworden. Von einer Kultur des Makabo seitens der Pangwe kann im allgemeinen kaum die Rede sein, an den alten Stellen zwischen den Planten am Dorf hat man ihn stehen lassen, so wie er von den abziehenden Vorgängern verlassen wurde; da steht er auch heute noch — halb verwildert — und jeder kann sich davon nehmen, soviel er will. Bei Besiedlung eines neuen Gebietes pflanzen dann freilich auch die Pangwe ihn beim Dorfe an und bringen es dann stellenweise zu einer regelrechten Kultur. Man unterscheidet zwei Abarten, die grüne *mfəm ekábe* (*mfəm* = weiß, hell), deren Wurzelknollen weiß sind, und eine zweite *nsət ekábe* (*nsət* = dunkel), bei der die Blattstiele dunkelrötlich und die Knollen ebenfalls rötlich sind. Die weiße Abart ist unstreitig die bessere, die dunkle ist zur Herstellung der bei den Europäern beliebten Makabokeks nicht geeignet.

Der Taro wird dagegen angebaut, und zwar, da er bekanntermaßen feuchten Boden liebt, in der Nähe von Sümpfen oder an wasserreichen Stellen seltener in der Nähe der Häuser, meist zusammen mit Makabo. Die Farmen sind im allgemeinen nicht groß. Vom Taro gibt es drei Abarten:

1. *mfəm atá*: Blattstiele grün, Blattunterseite glatt;
2. *atáále III* (von *a dáá* = anfüllen, die Abart trägt so viele kleine Knöllchen, daß sie einen ganzen Teller füllen): Blattstiele bläulich, Blattunterseite glatt;

---

[1]) Gegen genaue Angaben von geschichtlichen Daten wird man sehr zurückhaltend, wenn man mit dem Schätzungsvermögen der Neger Bekanntschaft gemacht hat.

3. *undondóle III*: Blattstiele bläulich, Blattunterseite an den Blattrippen jederseits mit dunkelgrünen, flechtenähnlichen Auswüchsen.

Der Taro wird zweimal gepflanzt, in der großen und kleinen Regenzeit, und zweimal geerntet, in den darauffolgenden großen und kleinen Trockenzeiten, dabei werden alle Knollen aus dem Boden entfernt, die Farm also ganz abgeerntet; sollte einiges vergessen sein, so liest man in der nächsten Trockenzeit nochmals nach, aber damit ist es zu Ende, mehr als zwei Ernten von derselben Aussaat werden niemals gehalten. Das Stück Land, auf dem Taro gestanden hat, bepflanzt man nie zum zweiten Male, da man an sumpfigem Land genug zur Verfügung hat. Wachstumsmedizinen gibt es für Taro nicht.

Die Knollen und jungen Blätter werden als Gemüse gegessen. Übrigens ist es den Pangwe bekannt, daß nicht genügend gar gekochte Knollen „*melsáw*", das ist Jucken im Halse usw., verursachen; sie benutzen sie ferner als Medizin bei Blutgeschwüren (*mɛ̨l'm*), indem sie die harzartige Ausscheidung des **Pachylobus fraxinifolius** Engl., Burseraceae (*asɛ̨ń*), auf die Geschwulst bringen und darüber ein Geschabsel von rohen Taroknollen schmieren, durch dieses Mittel sollen die kranken Stellen, „*ntégan*", das ist schwach, weich werden.

Plante.

Die Schößlinge der Plante sowie ihres Nebengewächses, der Banane, werden ums Dorf herum oder in Farmen angepflanzt, gedeihen ohne Pflege und reifen zu jeder Jahreszeit. Die Plante[1]) oder Negerbanane **Musa paradisiaca** L. (*ekgn*) (Abb. 56), die im Pangwegebiet in 25 Abarten vorkommt, erreicht freilich nicht die Üppigkeit der Banane, die geradezu wuchert, aber sie ist doch auch sehr fruchtbar, so recht eine Pflanze für den Neger.

Rätsel: *mónénga e ne m' okö, a wgle bɛ̄ bɔ̄n, kaa nüm*
Frau sie ist mir dort, sie viel gebärt Kinder, kein (ohne) Mann.
Antwort: *ekgn* = Plante.

Das ist so das Ideale: Lohn ohne Arbeit, Früchte ohne Anstrengung, Essen, das einem ohne der Hände Werk in den Mund wächst, und in diesem Sinne verdient die Plante wie ihre Schwester, die Banane, den Namen paradisiaca wirklich am meisten von allen Kulturgewächsen. Von der Banane, **Musa paradisiaca var. sapientum** L., gibt es zwei Arten, die Buschbanane (*adźńí, adź.-ekgn*) und die Edelbanane (*elɛ̨l, el.-ekgn*). Man ersieht aus

[1]) Das Wort Plante ist aus dem englischen plantain übernommen und dieses wieder aus dem spanischen plátano, das Banane heißt. Da die Plante sehr von der echten Banane zu unterscheiden ist, so halte ich die Beibehaltung des Wortes Plante für zweckmäßig. Die Franzosen nennen sie banane-cochon.

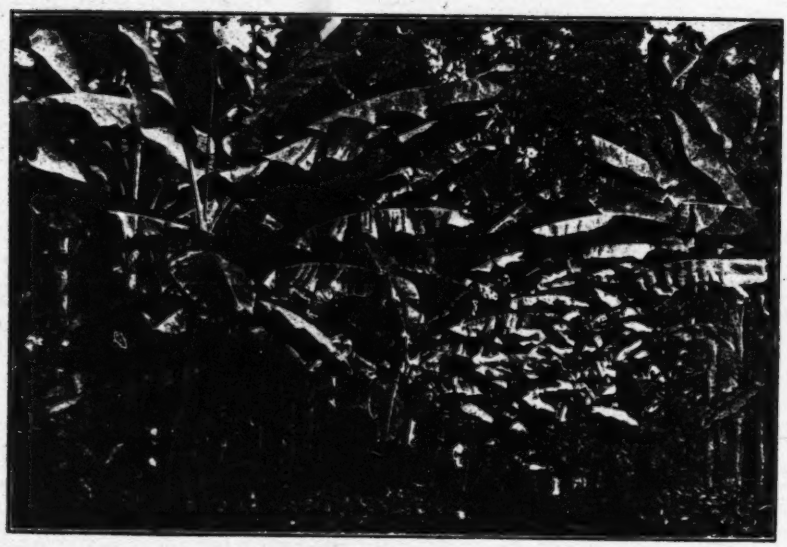


Abb. 36. Planten (Negerbananen) und Bananen bei Nsaälang (Fam. Easäuong).

dem Namen, daß auch bei den Pangwe die Bananen als eine Form der Planten gelten. Die Edelbanane, die wir kennen, ist, so sagen die Pangwe, von der Küste her eingeführt, man nannte sie zuerst *madźñi mentaŋgan*, d. h. Bananen der Weißen, später gab man ihnen den Namen *etał* vom Stamme *a tał* = stöhnen. „Man" aß nämlich zu viel davon, das konnte „man" nicht vertragen, „man" wurde schlapp, und „man" erlegte nichts mehr auf der Jagd usw., bei den Pangwe immer der Hauptkummer.

Auf die weniger wichtigen Gemüsepflanzen kann ich an dieser Stelle nur kurz eingehen; die Süßkartoffel, **Ipomoea batatas** L. *(dəgŋ̄ III)*, wird nicht kultiviert, sie wuchert in der Nähe der Dörfer und erstickt jedes andere Unkraut, so daß man von Batatenwiesen „en miniature" sprechen kann. Sie ist als Nahrung nicht sehr beliebt. Von weiteren Gemüsepflanzen, die teils in der Nähe der Häuser, teils auf den Farmen mit ausgesät und angepflanzt werden, ist in erster Linie zu nennen die zur Familie der Cucurbitaceen gehörige **Cucurbita maxima** Duch. *(abŋk)*, von der es vier Sorten gibt. Das Fruchtfleisch wird gegessen, ebenso das Innere der Samen, kleine unreife Früchte kommen auch ganz als Zutat ins Erdnußbündel. Die jungen Blätter werden zerschnitten und als Gemüse gegessen, doch soll man die Fruchthaut nicht entfernen, sonst würde man im Kampfe verwundet. Die Kerne müssen von den Männern vermieden werden, wollen sie nicht ihre Manneskraft in der

folgenden Nacht einbüßen, daher verstößt es gegen den Takt, wenn die Frauen die Früchte mit den Kernen den Männern zum Essen auftischen.

Von den Malvaceen und Tiliaceen werden gepflanzt: **Hibiscus** und **Corchorus** *(tège III* = Früchte, *etɛ̈tám)*. Der Name kommt von *a tɛ̈k* = schwach, denn die Blätter werden in kurzer Zeit auf Feuer gar, die Früchte heißen *etɛ̈tam* von *a tɛ̈bɛ̈ etám* = alleinstehen, denn sie stehen allein an der Spitze des Stengels, wenn das Laub verwelkt oder abgepflückt ist. Früchte wie Blätter werden gegessen. Man unterscheidet als Abarten **Hibiscus moschatus** Roxb. *(nia tège* = richtiger Hibiscus) und die Tiliacee **Corchorus olitorius** L. *(ngbábelɑ̃mo IV)*. Unter dem Namen *esáṅ* faßt man drei Pflanzen verschiedener Familien zusammen, nämlich die Malvacee **Hibiscus sabdariffa** L. *(engɑ̃ne-esáṅ)*, die Polygonacee **Rumex abessynicus** Jacq. *(ebábɑ̃dɑ̃-es.)* und die Melastomatacee **Dissotis decumbens** (P. B.) Trian. *(esɪsáṅ-bongɑ̃n-b'oyek)*.

Alle diese Pflanzen werden ausgesät und ihre Blätter gegessen.

Weitere Nutzpflanzen sind:

Aus der Familie der Solanaceen: **Solanum melongena** L. var. **inerme** Hiern. *(azɑ̃n)*, **Solanum dinklagei** U. D. *(ogɑ̃la)*, **Solanum lycopersicum** L. *(azɑ̃ṅ nlɑ̃ṅgan = azɑ̃ṅ* [S. melongena] der Weißen — von diesen drei Solanumarten werden die Früchte gegessen —, ferner **Solanum aethiopicum** L. *(ẓɑ̃m IV, enɛ̃m)* mit drei Abarten: *niá ẓɑ̃m* = eigentlicher *zɑ̃m*, *nlɑ̃ma I* und *ndzɛ̃ẓɑ̃m* sowie **Solanum macrocarpum** L. var. **thonningii** *(etür-zɑ̃m* von *etür* = **S. duplosinuatum** U. D., wegen der Ähnlichkeit der Früchte) — von letzteren beiden Arten werden die Blätter gegessen. Aus der Familie der Amarantaceen: **Celosia argentea** L. *(ẓɑ̃m e mvɛ̃lɛ̃*, d. h. *ẓɑ̃m* der Mwele), **Celosia laxa** Schum. et Thom. *(ḟɑ̃lɑ̃m [?], ebɑ̃nègán)*, **Amarantus paniculatus** L. *(ḟɑ̃lɑ̃m IV, ḟóm IV)*. Aus der Familie der Labiaten: **Ocimum basilicum** L. *(osɪm)*, **O. gratissimum** L. *(asɑ̃b)*, **Plectranthus** spec. *(avá)*, *afɑ̃ṅ* und **Aeolanthus edlingeri** Gürke *(elɛ̃lɑ̃ṅge* NT., *elɑ̃ṅgelɑ̃ṅge* F.).

II. Viehhaltung.

Die Pangwe halten sich aus gleich zu erwähnenden Gründen Haustiere, doch kommt es dabei nicht zu einer ausgesprochenen Wirtschaftsform, die man als Viehzucht bezeichnen könnte. Von den vierfüßigen Haustieren kommen vor: Hund, Ziege und Schaf, von Geflügel das Huhn und neuerdings eingeführt die Ente.

Der Hund *(mɛ̃ɑ́ IV)* wird im wesentlichen der Jagd wegen gehalten, er wird aber auch gegessen, mit besonderer Vorliebe von den Jaunde. In den Augen

des Europäers ist er nichts weiter als eine Karikatur, ein abstoßendes Zerrbild; ein Blick in ihre falschen Augen genügt, um die Tiere zu hassen; gewöhnlich von Geschwüren bedeckt, von diebischem und verlogenem Wesen, unfolgsam, feig und streitsüchtig zugleich, drängen sie dem Beobachter oft einen Vergleich mit ihren Herren auf; auffällig erschien mir, im Gegensatz zu europäischen Hunden, ihr nicht so stark ausgeprägter Geschlechtstrieb. Um so höher schätzt sie der Pangwe, eben wegen ihrer guten Verwendbarkeit auf der Treibjagd. Gute Jagdhunde sind sehr schwer von ihren Besitzern zu haben und gelten so viel wie mittelgroße weibliche Ziegen und Schafe (14 Mk. oder 200 Speer). Hunde haben ebensogut wie bei uns ihre Namen, die aus der Liste der menschlichen Rufnamen genommen sind oder auf Eigenschaften der Tiere in scherzhafter Weise Bezug nehmen. Öfters hat man sogar diese schweinsschnauzigen Köter ganz wie Menschen mit Vor- und Vaternamen versehen oder, da die Feststellung der Vaterschaft erklärlicherweise mitunter auf Schwierigkeiten stößt, mit Vor- und Mutternamen, so: *ăkut-e-mbaṅ*.

Von menschlichen Rufnamen, die auf Hunde übertragen werden, stellte ich fest: *ndǫ̆no* (sehr alter Männername, siehe S. 100), *asŏṅ* (Schirmbaum, Männername), *mrǫ̆nǫ̆* (Satansaffe, **Colobus anthracinus** Lecontе), *ondǫ̆* (?, Männername), *ntǫ̆de-abǫ̆ṅ* (einzelner Fischotter, Frauenname), *mfŭ̈meṡǫ̆k* (das Weiße des Elefanten d. h. Elfenbein, Frauenname), *mbă,ṅ* (Elfenbein, Frauenname).

Sonstige Hundenamen: *obǫ̆nǫ̆* (von *obǫ̆n* = Perle, Perlengeschmückte, vielleicht auch Weibername), *olŭ,ṅ* (Baum **Rinorea dentata** [P. Beauv.] O. Ktze.), *ebŏ̈nenǫ̆ṅ* (der immer auf dem Bette liegt), *ajrṡǫ̆k* (*a jr* = sich sehnen, *ṡǫ̆k* = Elefant, also der sich nach Elefantenfleisch sehnt), *angŭ,ṅ* (Hundeglocke), *odzä'm* (Zwergmaki, **Hemigalago**, weil der Hund so durchs Gebüsch springt, wie die Zwergmakis auf den Bäumen), *akŭ,t* (der Dumme).

Ziege und Schaf, von den Fang als „*kǫ̆băd*" zusammengefaßt, werden als Großkapital, aus Liebhaberei und erst in dritter Linie als Schlachtvieh gehalten. Während sonst das Wirtschaftsleben unter dem Gesichtspunkt „Essen" betrachtet wird, tritt dieser auffälligerweise bei den Haustieren ganz in den Hintergrund gegen denjenigen der Freude am Besitz. Wir haben also eine richtige „Thesaurierung", deren Zweck die Aufspeicherung von Brautgeld ist, mit ihren bekannten Folgen, einer bis zum Geiz gesteigerten Sparsamkeit, die sich nur bei ganz seltenen Gelegenheiten ein Stück Fleisch gestattet und vor dem Genuß gefallener Tiere nicht zurückschreckt.

Die Ziegen *(ekŏle)* sind ebenso unangenehm wie die Hunde wegen ihres geradezu niederträchtigen nächtlichen Radaus und sonstiger unanständigen und respektwidrigen Eigenschaften. Das einzige uns sympathische Haustier ist das Schaf *(ntǫ̆ma I)*, Abb. 57, aber auch hier verdirbt das böse Beispiel der Ziegen oft gute Sitte. Ihre „Spezialität" ist es, besonders nachts ein

Abb. 57. Schafe, Dorf Makonanám (Fam. Ojek.)

menschenähnliches Stöhnen hervorzubringen, das in seinem erschütternden Ausdruck einem die Tränen ins Auge zu treiben geeignet ist. Für Ziegen und Schafe baut man in Gegenden, wo es Leoparden gibt, Ställe (Abb. 58) aus Knüppeln, in die sie des Nachts getrieben werden.

Kastrieren ist im Pangwegebiete nur bei Ziegen üblich, nicht bei Schafen (*a tə̄b miǵk* = [den Hodensack] aushöhlen [zu] Verschnittenen) und wird ausgeführt, „damit die Ziegen mächtig groß werden und viel Fett ansetzen". Das Verfahren ist sehr roh; der Fachmann, der übrigens vielfach zugleich das Beschneiden der Kinder ausübt, öffnet mit dem Rasiermesser (*okŏngŏn*) den Hodensack der jungen Tiere durch zwei seitliche Schnitte und nimmt den Hoden heraus, dann wird der Sack vier Tage lang mehrmals täglich mit warmem Wasser ausgewaschen. Dem Wasser ist eine Medizin beigemischt, nämlich der Saft der Guttifere **Haronga paniculata** Pers. (Loid.) (*atū,rn*), angeblich, um den Sack zusammenzukleben (der Baum schwitzt unter der Rinde einen klebrigen gelben Saft aus, den man auszieht, indem man Rindenstücke in Wasser legt.)

Der günstige Einfluß auf die körperliche Entwicklung des Tieres bringt eine Wertsteigerung von nebenbei 14 Mk. auf 35 Mk. (500 Speer), also eine Kapitalvergrößerung mit sich, die dem Pangwe gewiß erwünscht ist, größer aber ist noch seine Freude an dem schönen Aussehen der kastrierten Tiere.

Abb. 38. Schaf- und Ziegenstall in Massóm (Fam. Ndong), Süd-Kamerun.

Auf der Wirkung der Kastration beruht der Vergleich der symbolisch, nicht körperlich kastrierten Menschen (vgl. Abschnitt XVIII, Geschlechtsleben), die sich nun auch — bis zu einem gewissen Zeitpunkt wenigstens — geistig hervorragend entwickeln sollen, mit den kastrierten Ziegen und die Benennung jener mit demselben Namen. Daß das Fleisch solcher Tiere auch als Nahrungsmittel genommen, durch die Kastration besser wird, spielt nur eine nebensächliche Rolle.

Prächtige alte Stücke, auch nicht kastrierter Ziegen und Schafe, werden mitunter mit einem menschlichen Namen belegt, und der Besitzer würde ein derartiges Tier niemals verkaufen, nicht einmal als Heiratsgut fortgeben.

Von sonstigen Haustieren kommt nur die Katze *(pfëʼs IV F., esiʼŋa)* vor, die erst ganz neuerdings von der Küste mitgebracht ist.

Von Geflügel ist einheimisch nur das Huhn *(kub IV)*, von dem man nicht die Eier, sondern nur das Fleisch als Nahrungsmittel benutzt und auch das nur selten und bei besonderen Gelegenheiten. Auf seine Bedeutung in der religiösen Anschauung der Eingeborenen komme ich an geeigneter Stelle zurück.

Für die Hühner werden kleine Ställe aus Knüppeln hinter dem Hause gebaut, ferner werden ihnen Körbe an der Außen- und Innenwand des Hauses hingehängt, in denen sie ihr Brutgeschäft abmachen können, auch wird ihnen

im Hause auf einem unbenutzten Bett ein Ruheplatz nicht verweigert, falls die Glucke ihn für sich und ihre Küchlein der Sicherheit wegen für den geeignetsten hält; durch ein Loch unten in der Wand findet die Hühnerfamilie einen Ausschlupf.

Enten mit einem roten Kragen um das Auge sind in den achtziger und neunziger Jahren eingeführt; sie gelangten etwa 1890 in das Fanggebiet nnd hießen *elõ̃* (Wildente = *elõ̃l*), später wurden sie *sõ,ũ̃ III* benannt.

Tierfreunde, wie andere Naturvölker, können die Pangwe nicht genannt werden. Gezähmte Tiere des Waldes sieht man außer Papageien so gut wie gar nicht, selbst nicht Affen. Die Pangwe „ermüden" = *a ɾõ̃l*, sie zu pflegen und zu füttern, und man kann es den freiheitlich gesinnten Vierfüßlern und Vögeln dann nicht verdenken, wenn sie das Weite suchen oder sich zum Sterben legen. Graupapageien, die sich gleich mit ihren Rufnamen, z. B. als *esõ̃sõ̃* = Milan, jedem Fremdling vorzustellen pflegen, gibt es recht häufig; sie finden ihre Nahrung meist auf den Abfallhaufen oder unter den Speiseresten im Hause. Hin und wieder kommen jung eingefangene Wildschweine vor, einmal wurde mir ein junger Leopard gebracht, den eine Frau versucht hatte, durch Anlegen an die Brust am Leben zu erhalten, das Tier hatte aber die hilfsbereite Frau arg zerkratzt, und sie war gar bald von der freiwillig übernommenen Mutterpflicht zurückgetreten.

Die Biene, **Apis mellifica** L. var. **adansoni** *(mɾũfũ,ñ IV, ñũ,ĩ IV* F.*)*, wird nicht gezüchtet, wohl aber wird der wilde Honig *(wũ,ɾ*, Mehrzahl *mũ,ɾ)*, der meist in Baumstämmen zu finden ist, eingesammelt und roh verzehrt.

III. Fischerei.

Wie Westafrika überhaupt eines der reichsten Fischgebiete der Erde ist, so weisen auch die zahlreichen Flüsse und Ströme des Pangwelandes eine große Masse verschiedener Fischarten auf. Einige der hervorragendsten und typischsten Vertreter der Fischwelt des Kampo-Uellegebietes zeigt Tafel IX. Besonders reich vertreten ist hier die Familie der Welse (Siluridae). Von ihnen sind zu nennen: **Eutropius banguelensis** Blgr. *(ekɪ,da* F., *kɪ,da IV* Nt., jung = *esõb)* der Stachelwels **Auchenoglanis balayi** (Sauv.) var. **gravoti** Pellegr., das ist der Katzenfisch der Pangwe: *nsɪ̃ñ I*[1]), **Clarias submarginatus** Ptrs. *mɾõ̃ IV* F., *mɾõ̃ IV* Nt.) und **Clarias walkeri** Gthr. *(ngõ̃ IV)* sowie eine neue **Synodontis**-Art, **S. tessmanni** Papph., *(ebõ)* und eine neue **Clariallabes**-Art, **Cl. longicaudatus** Papph. *(ndõ̃ñga I, odõge III)*. Ferner wurden Arten aus den Gattungen **Doumea, Parauchenoglanis** und **Atopochilus** gesammelt. Von den Mormyriden sind zu nennen: der überall vorkommende, wegen seines merk-

[1]) *nsɪ̃ñ I*, die Ginsterkatze, **Genetta**, weil der Fisch ebenso gefleckt ist.

TAFEL IX

FISCHE AUS DEM KAMPO UND UELLE

a Auchenoglanis balayi (Sauv.) var. gravoti Pellegr. (Fam. Siluridae).
b Eutropius bangueleensis Bgr. (Fam. Siluridae).
c Distichodus hypostomatus Pellegr. (Fam. Siluridae).
d Barbus guirali Thomas. (Fam. Cyprinidae).
e Sarcodaces odoi (Bl.) (Fam. Characinidae).

Verlegt bei Ernst Wasmuth A.-G., Berlin

[facing p. 108]

würdigen, mit einem elektrischen Organ ausgestatteten Schwanzes beachtenswerte **Gnathonemus moorii** (Gthr.) *(anẽn)*, ferner **Marcusenius sphekodes** (Sauv.) *(ntŏtŭm I)*, beides kleinere, für die Pangwe unwichtigere Arten. Aus der Familie der Characiniden ist besonders erwähnenswert: **Sarcodaces odoë** (Bl.) *(nsŏ̃ I)*, **Distichodus hypostomatus** Pellegr. *(mbŭ̃n I)*, als neu **Alestes tessmanni** Papph. *(ekɨ̨da* F. *kɨ̨da IV* Nt.); aus der Familie der Cypriniden **Barbus**-Arten, so **B. guirali** Thomin *(mɨ̨ŭ̃ III endzɨrma mɨ̨ŭ̃)* und der neue **B. malacanthus** Papph. sowie mehrere Arten der Gattung **Barilius.** Weiter habe ich Arten aus den Familien Cyprinodontidae, Anabantidae, Cichlidae und Mastacembelidae gesammelt, auf die ich hier indessen nicht näher eingehen kann.

Die Ausnutzung des Fischreichtums der größeren Ströme ist eine verhältnismäßig geringe, weil die Pangwe sich mit ihren schlechten Flößen auf den meist reißenden Gewässern zu unsicher fühlen, und die wenigen vorhandenen Einbäume, die außerdem den Verkehr an den Übergangsstellen bewältigen sollen, zu einer genügenden Ausbeutung des Fischreichtums nicht ausreichen und für einen Fischereibetrieb überhaupt nicht geeignet sind, dazu kommen die Abgeschlossenheit der Dörfer und die schlechten Verkehrsverhältnisse. Im einzelnen schaffen die hydrographischen Verhältnisse schon auf ziemlich kleinem Gebiet große Verschiedenheiten, so spielt z. B. in Jaunde die Fischerei nicht die große Rolle wie im Süden, die Bawa (Unterstamm der Jaunde) kennen beispielsweise außer dem Fischtreiben nur vier Fangmethoden, nämlich den Korbwehrfang mit langen Körben *(nsŏ̃n I)* und den mit gewöhnlichen Körben *(nkŏ̃ɨ̨ĕ I)*, das Vergiften der Fische *(ngŭ̃m IV)* und das Angeln.

Um ein allgemeines Bild von dem Fischereibetriebe zu geben, dessen wechselnde Formen in den verschiedenen Gegenden zu schildern zu weit führen würde, bespreche ich nur die verschiedenen Verfahren, die ich bei den mittleren Pangwe im Flußgebiet des Kampo mit seinen linken Nebenflüssen, des Uelle in seinem Mittellauf und vor allem seiner Nebenflüsse Bimfille, Abea usw. kennen gelernt habe. Die besten Monate für den Fischfang sind dort September bis Februar, wenn die Flüsse nach ihrem höchsten Stand anfangen zu sinken; während der übrigen Zeit wird nur geangelt oder hier und da ein Korb gelegt.

Die Fischerei ist Männerarbeit mit alleiniger Ausnahme des Fischtreibens, das Sache der Weiber ist. Die Methoden sind folgende:

1. Fischtreiben, *a lŭ̃k* (Zeitwort).

Es besteht darin, daß in seichten Bächen oder Quelläufen das Wasser mit flachen Körben, sogenannten Buschtellern *(dzĕ̃d)*, stromabwärts getrieben

wird, nachdem zuvor in einigem Abstande Querdämme aus Steinen oder Zweigstücken aufgeworfen sind. Diese verhindern die Fische zu entkommen. Dann fischen die Frauen mit einem engmaschigen, flachen Netze, das an einen zusammengebogenen Stengel aus der biegsamen Scitaminee **Trachyphrynium violaceum** Radl. *(nkǔmonkǔmo)* gebunden ist und wie der Buschteller eigentlich zur Kücheneinrichtung gehört (zum Kassavewaschen verwendet), die stehengebliebenen Lachen durch.

Die Ausbeute besteht nur in finger-, höchstens spannenlangen Fischchen, verschiedenen Schnecken, Garneelenarten[1]), Libellenlarven und sonstigem niederen Getier, aber die Gesamtmenge ist ziemlich groß, alles wird gegessen, und das Fischen macht den Frauen einen Hauptspaß, denn alle naselang sieht man die gesamten Weiber eines Dorfes vom ältesten Mütterchen bis zu dem kleinsten Mädchen nach dem Urwald auswandern, wo sie einen geeigneten Bach wissen, und dort nach Herzenslust bis in die späte Nacht im Wasser herumpatschen. Oft erst, wenn der erste Uhu seinen schaurigen Ruf durch den stillen Wald ertönen läßt, kehrt die Gesellschaft mit reicher Beute, die kaum in den langen Frauenkörben *(nkán)* zu bergen ist, ins Dorf zurück. Bei Gelegenheit des Treibens bauen die Weiber *ʃɩ,s* F., *pʃɩ,s* Nt. oder *ebǝ'da*, das sind Haufen dicht am Ufer ins Wasser geworfener Steine, Aststückchen usw., unter denen sich die Fische sammeln. Beim nächsten Fischtreiben dämmen sie ober- und unterhalb dieser Stelle den Bach ab und fangen nun leicht die Fische nach Ablaufen des Wassers.

Die Jaunde wenden diese Methode auch in größeren Bächen und nicht zu tiefen Flüßchen an, wo allerdings keine Dämme gezogen, sondern die Fische in seichte Buchten oder auf den überschwemmten Waldboden getrieben werden. Natürlich kann ein solches Treiben nur von einer größeren Anzahl Menschen zugleich ausgeführt werden, und deshalb ruft der Häuptling die Weiber aus der Umgegend zusammen, geht mit ihnen an die Stelle, wo sie fischen wollen, und stellt sie an ihre Plätze. Von der Beute erhält er dafür eine bestimmte Abgabe, und zwar muß ihm jedes Weib die Hälfte ihres Fangs — bei ungerader Zahl rundet man nach oben ab — ausliefern.

2. Fischtreiben *(abǔ,lǎ)*.

Es entspricht dem eben von den Jaunde beschriebenen Verfahren, findet aber nur nachts und ohne Absperrung des Wassers in größeren Flüssen statt.

3. Kinderangeln *(ngǎ,k IV)*.

Die Ntum- und Fangjungen fangen sich kleine Fische mit Angeln aus den Stacheln des Quastenstachlers, die vor der Spitze umgeknickt und vermittels

---

[1]) In der Hauptsache von **Palaemon marcrobrachyum** Herklots *(nwǒs I)* und **Caridina togoensis** Hlgd. *(sɩ,ǔ IV)*.

der sehr festen Wurzelfäden der Aracee **Rhektophyllum mirabile** N. E. Brown *(ndes IV, kles IV)* in Hakenform zusammengehalten werden.

4. Die Angel *(nlöb I)*.

In Jaunde kennt man eine Angel ähnlich der unsrigen aus Schnur, Rute, Haken und Schwimmer, die nach Angabe meiner Jaunde schon vor Ankunft der Weißen in Gebrauch gewesen ist. Die Angeln der Fang und Ntum (Abb. 59) sind wesentlich anders; ihr Haken wird durch einen an der Schnur befestigten Stein auf dem Grund festgehalten; früher hatten sie auch einen Schwimmer, er ist indes später meist als zwecklos aufgegeben worden. Der Angler hockt mit der Schnur in der Hand auf einem Floß oder Kanu, das im Ufergestrüpp verborgen liegt. Als Köder dienen überall Würmer.

5. Tauangel oder Hängeangel *(ekele nlöb, elüm nl.)*.

Sie unterscheidet sich von der eben genannten nur dadurch, daß die Schnur an einem über den Fluß gespannten Lianentau befestigt ist, ins Wasser hineinhängt und durch den als Senker wirkenden Stein in der Lage gehalten wird.

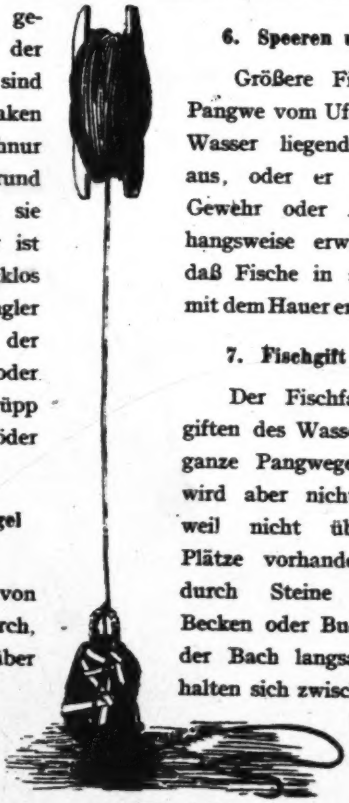


Abb. 59. Angel.

6. Speeren und Schießen.

Größere Fische speert der Pangwe vom Ufer oder einem im Wasser liegenden Baumstamm aus, oder er schießt sie mit Gewehr oder Armbrust. Anhangsweise erwähne ich auch, daß Fische in seichtem Wasser mit dem Hauer erschlagen werden.

7. Fischgift *(ngüm IV)*.

Der Fischfang durch Vergiften des Wassers ist über das ganze Pangwegebiet verbreitet, wird aber nicht häufig geübt, weil nicht überall geeignete Plätze vorhanden sind, d. h. durch Steine abgeschlossene Becken oder Buchten, in denen der Bach langsam fließt; hier halten sich zwischen den Steinen besonders gern **Distichodus hypostomatus** Pellegr. *(mbüm)*, Tafel IX, auf, und ihn fängt man hauptsächlich auf diese Weise. Der Name stammt von einem Kraut *(ngüm)*, das im Jaundegebiet vorkommen soll und dort zum Fischtöten benutzt wird; dann wurde der Name als Sammelname auf alle anderen Fischgifte übertragen. Im Süden werden folgende Pflanzen dazu verwendet:

1. Schoten der furchtbar (nach Abwasser) stinkenden Leguminose **Pachyelasma tessmannii** Harms *(makop III)*;

2. Früchte einer Rubiacee *(oyö)*; meist mit 1 zusammen;
3. Blätter und Stengel der Passifloraceen **Ophiocaulon cissampeloides** Hook. f. und der **Adenia lobata** (Jacq.) Engl. (gemeinschaftlicher Name *undündä* oder *ündöndöle a ndzɪk*);
4. Blätter von **Duverronia extensa** (T. And.) Lieb., Acanthacee *(ngünekiä,r-nya-zäm IV)*[1]), zerrieben, bis es schäumt; meist mit 3 zusammen;
5. Rindenstücke der **Piptadenia africana** Hook. f., Leguminosae *(tüm IV)*;
6. Rindenstücke der **Rinorea dentata** (P. B.) O. Ktze., Violaceae *(olü,n)* meist mit 5 zusammen;
7. Schoten der Leguminose **Tetrapleura thonningii** Hook. f. *(agbwö' III, eslsɛɪ,)*[2]), zerrieben;
8. Blätter der Leguminose **Tephrosia vogelii** Hook. f. *(ndäwölö III)*[3]), zerrieben.

7. Fischwehr *(oläm)*.

Die großartigste und ergiebigste, freilich auch umständlichste Vorrichtung für Fischfang ist das Fischwehr (Abb. 60). Es schließt den Fluß quer ab und besteht aus drei Teilen, dem Hauptwehr (a) und zwei Seitenwehren (b), das sind Wände aus dicht gestellten Knüppeln oder aus Stöcken, zwischen denen Blätter oder Rindenplatten (Hauptwehr) befestigt sind. In den Seitenwehren werden unten am Grunde Ausschnitte angebracht und in sie Körbe eingelegt. Das Hauptwehr setzt sich dicht unter dem Wasserspiegel in ein bis vier dreieckige Roste (c) fort, die in der Stromrichtung schräg von unten nach oben so eingestellt sind, daß ihre Spitzen etwas aus dem Wasser herausragen.

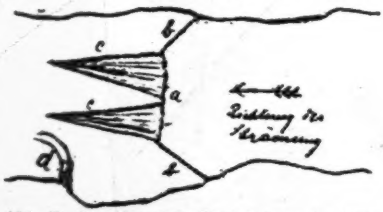


Abb. 60. Lageplan einer Fischwehr in der Abea. *a* Hauptwehr, *b* Seitenwehren, *c* Roste der Hauptwehr, *d* am Ufer wachsender, über das Wasser geneigter Baum.

Selbstverständlich können solche Wehre nur zur Zeit des tiefsten Wasserstandes gebaut werden; steigt der Fluß, so führt er viele Fische mit sich und

---

[1]) Auch die Acanthacee **Lankesteria elegans** (P. B.) T. And. *(ngünekiä,r IV)* scheint für Fische giftig zu sein. Nach Angabe der Neger zerreibt man die Blätter auf Steinen, d[illegible] im Wasser liegen; dann kommen die Fische (wohl betäubt) an die Oberfläc[illegible] und werden mit dem Hauer erschlagen.

[2]) Sie duften übrigens sehr schön nach Heißwecken, darin gerade das Gegenteil von **Pachyelasma**.

[3]) Vom Stamme *a wölö* morden; vergl. *wöle* (Uelle) = der Mordende.

treibt diejenigen, welche nicht in die Körbe der Seitenwehre geraten, auf die Roste, auf denen sie oft in großen Mengen liegen bleiben und von den Negern einfach abgenommen werden. Man gelangt dahin, indem man vom Ufer aus eine eigene Brücke baut oder auf dem Rand der Seitenwehre entlang klettert.

Diese Art Fischwehr ist überall mit Ausnahme des Nordens verbreitet. Meist regt der Häuptling einige Leute zu dem Bau an, diese haben dann das alleinige Besitzrecht auf Fischwehr und Fische, geben ihren Verwandten und Bekannten wohl unentgeltlich von dem Fang ab, sei es aus Gemeinsamkeitsgefühl, sei es aus der Berechnung, bei ähnlicher Gelegenheit von ihnen ebenso bedacht zu werden, lassen sich von Fremden aber bezahlen, und zwar je nach Größe 1 oder 2 Speer (7 bzw. 14 ₰) für das einzelne Stück. Der größte Teil der Ausbeute wird sofort verzehrt, der Rest wird getrocknet. Bei dem schnellen Verfaulen der Fische in den Tropen kommen nur wenige über ihren Fangort hinaus, zumal die unsicheren Verhältnisse im Fanggebiete einen regelrechten Tauschhandel verhindern [1]).

Neben der eben genannten aus Haupt- und Seitenwehren bestehenden Vorrichtung kommen auch die Seitenwehre allein als selbständige „Korbwehre" vor. Sie sind weniger ergiebig, dafür aber nicht an einen bestimmten Wasserstand gebunden und liefern deshalb einen gleichmäßigen Ertrag. Man verwendet für sie drei verschiedene Korbarten:

8. *nkö,é I* = gewöhnliche Körbe,
9. *ayä* = kurze Fischkörbe (Abb. 61),
10. *nsö,ń I* = lange Fischkörbe (Abb. 62),

und zwar meist je zwei zugleich.

In kleineren Flüssen oder Bächen, z. B. dem Miemie, Nebenfluß des Kje, werden *nsö,ń* und *ayä* gelegt, in großen Flüssen eine größere Form der *ayä* und *nkö,é*, und zwar immer die zwei Arten Körbe in einem Wehr, da man die Erfahrung gemacht hat, daß die eine Fischart sich leichter in der einen Sorte von Körben fängt, eine andere wieder leichter in einer anderen. Nur selten war eine Korbart, z. B. *nsö,ń*, ausschließlich verwandt. Diese langen Körbe *nsö,ń*, die bis zu 30 cm Durchmesser haben können, sind besonders in Jaunde üblich, kommen aber auch im Süden vor. In ein Wehr werden gewöhnlich drei bis vier Körbe gelegt, etwa zwei *ayä* und zwei *nsö,ń* (Abb. 63). Zu beachten ist dabei, daß die langen Körbe *nsö,ń* mit der Öffnung nach der Quelle zu liegen, dagegen die *ayä* (wie übrigens auch die *nkö,é*) mit der Öffnung nach der Flußmündung zu, so daß auch die flußauf wandernden Fische gefangen werden. Das aus *ayä* und *nsö,ń* bestehende Wehr gilt folgenden

[1]) Märkte gibt es überhaupt nicht.

Abb. 61
Kurzer Fischkorb.

Tieren: Stachelwelsen (Sammelname *kgmésgm IV*[1]), **Clarias walkeri** *(ngg)*, **Synodontis tessmanni** Papph. *(ngg, nwgg I)*, ferner **Mareusenius sphekodes** (Sauv.) *(ntógm)*, **Gnathonemus moorii** (Gthr.) *(angn)*, Krebsen, Taschenkrebsen, **Palaemon**-Garneelen *(nwás)* usw., auch werden **Clariallabes longicaudatus** Papph. *(ndóna I)* darin gefangen.

Die Körbe *nkóp* sind ebensogroß wie die gleichnamigen von den Frauen bei der Feldarbeit benutzten und haben einen Trichter, durch den die Fische ins Innere, aber nicht wieder zurück gelangen; in ihnen werden hauptsächlich gefangen: **Sarcodaces odoe** *(nsó I)*, Tafel VIII, **Clarias walkeri**, Stachelwelse, **Xenocharax spilurus** Gthr. *(mfrga, mfrnga I)*, **Anabas pleurostigma** Blgr. *(awgn)*, **Parauchenoglanis guttatus** (Lönnbg.) *(ebw, evás)*, **Eutropius bangnelensis** Blgr. *(nkrde III*, jüngere Stücke = *okig III)* und Taschenkrebse; dagegen wird nicht erbeutet **Barbus guirali** Thomin. *(mrgá III)*.

Abb. 62.
Langer Fischkorb für Korbwehre.

11. Korbfalle *(ngnp IV)*.

Die Korbfalle (Abb. 64) ist ein länglicher, mit einer Klappe vor der Öffnung versehener Korb. Die Klappe wird nach Muster der Zugfallen durch eine am Ufer aufgestellte Vorrichtung zugezogen, wenn ein Fisch das im hinteren Ende des Korbes angebrachte Hebelsystem auslöst. In den Korb, der in nicht allzu tiefen Gewässern am Grunde fest verankert wird, legt man eine Schnecke als Köder. Diese Falle ist hauptsächlich für den Fang von **Clarias walkeri** *(ngg)* und von Taschenkrebsen *(kgdá)* berechnet.

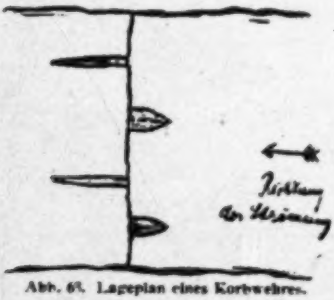


Abb. 63. Lageplan eines Korbwehres.

12. Fangkorb *(ngndgó III)*,

ist ein kleiner, mit einem Trichter vor der Öffnung versehener Korb (Abb. 65), der für den **Clarias walkeri** bestimmt und, mit einem Köder versehen, in einem Flusse ausgelegt wird. Der Köder besteht aus Stücken eines Ameisennestes (dies *dzgk*, *ndzgk IV*

[1]) *kg(s)-a-masgm*, d. h. Fisch mit Rückenstacheln.

genannt) mitsamt den Ameisen von der Art **Cremastogaster striatula** Em. *(esʃn, osʃn)* oder aus Stücken von Baumtermitennestern (gleichfalls *dzgk*).

In derselben Weise werden die Fischkörbe *agä*, mit Kassaveköder[1]) oder auch mit Zweigen (ohne Blätter) der **Oxystigma buchholzii** Harms, Leguminose *(pfaʌ IV)*, versehen, einzeln ausgelegt. In diesem Falle heißen sie *awa-agä* (von *a wa* = auswerfen).

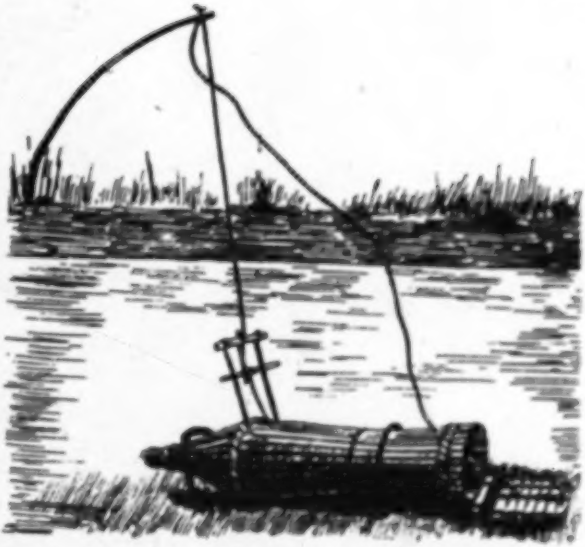


Abb. 64. Korbfalle für Fische.

13. Riesenfischkörbe *(edagä, adad)*.

3—4 m lange, 1—2 m breite Körbe, so groß also, daß 4—5 Leute in ihnen Platz hätten, werden in tiefe Gewässer versenkt, wo sie das erste Mal vier, später jedesmal drei Tage liegen bleiben. Der ganze Korb wird lose angefüllt mit Zweigen der Leguminose **Millettia thonningii** Bak. *(onçmezok)*, der **Impatiens dichroa** Hook. f. *(eʃès)* und besonders der Euphorbiacee **Cleistanthus angolensis** M. Arg. *(ngbgde I)*, alles Pflanzen, deren Schleim oder Blätter die Fische fressen, ferner mit den beblätterten Stengeln des Kardamoms, **Aframomum albo-violaceum** K. Sch. *(adzöm)*, oder der verwandten Scitaminee **Renealmia albo-rosea** K. Sch. *(adzöm-mekam)*, deren Geruch die Fische lieben, sowie schließlich mit den Wurzeln der Kassave und der Euphorbiacee **Uapaca guineensis** Muell. Arg. *(asem)*, zwischen denen sich die Fische gern aufhalten. Der Korb ist an der Vorderseite offen und wird mit dieser offenen Seite zuerst aus dem Wasser gezogen, so daß die Fische — außerdem durch das Wurzel- und Zweigwerk behindert und verwirrt — nicht so schnell entweichen können.

Abb. 65. Fangkorb für Fische.

[1]) Ganze Wurzeln gekocht *(agbawa ma mbgä)* und kleingeschnittene, getrocknete Kassave *(ndzgä mb.)*.

14. Riesenfischkasten *(ɛtβ, baβ III)*.

Statt der Riesenkörbe werden auch Kästen verwandt, die aus Rinde hergestellt, bei einer Länge von 3—4 m 1,5 m hoch sind. Von den Körben unterscheiden sie sich außer in ihrer Form durch einen Deckel, der im Wasser offen steht und sich zuzieht, wenn der Kasten hochgezogen wird.

Die Riesenfischkasten und -körbe sind nicht leicht herzustellen und zu handhaben, und man sieht sie deswegen nicht häufig.

15. Fischgraben *(moŋ) IV., moβ)*.

Ein Graben (Abb. 66) wird senkrecht zur Richtung des Flusses ausgehoben, gegen diesen durch eine in der Mitte mit einer Falltür versehene Rindenwand *(a)* abgeschlossen und mit Köder aus Nestern der oben erwähnten Ameisenart *(c)* versehen. Quer über den Graben baut man einen Steg *(b)*. Nachdem man die Tür einige Tage hat offen stehen lassen, schließt man sie eines Nachts vom Steg aus und fängt die Fische, hauptsächlich wieder **Clarias walkeri** und nebenbei noch **Marcusenius** *(ntotom)*, mit einem Netz heraus. Nur im südlichen Gebiete üblich.

Runde Fischnetze, die ausgeworfen werden und sich im Sinken fallschirmartig ausbreiten — wie sie an der Küste überall gebräuchlich sind —, kennen die Pangwe nicht. Das kleine, runde Netz, das die Weiber zum Kassavewaschen wie auch als Fischkätscher gebrauchen, ist bereits erwähnt. Es bleibt nur noch ein Fischfanggerät zu besprechen, die

16. Netzfalle *(ɔlφɔ)*.

Sie besteht aus der Verbindung eines Netzes mit einem Gerüst. Das Gerüst zeigt Abb. 67 von hinten gesehen; es sind drei Einzelteile vorhanden: Der vordere Galgen *a* mit zwei Querhölzern *d*, der hintere Galgen *b* mit der Tragleiste *c* und der Mittelteil. Letzterer ist zusammengesetzt aus dem Netzreifen *f*, dem daran gehängten Netz (das in der Abbildung noch nicht aufgesteckt ist) und drei langen in *x* befestigten Raphiastengeln, einem freien *(g)* und zwei anderen *(e)*, die noch in *y* und *z* an den Netzreifen festgebunden sind und dem Querholz *c* aufliegen. Eine Person, die auf dem vorderen Galgen sitzt, kann mit dem Stock *g* das Netz handhaben; sie kann es damit herunterlassen (Abb. 68) oder, wenn es nicht gebraucht wird, heraufheben, zwischen die Stangen *d* schieben und nun *g* auf *c* zurücklegen (Abb. 69). Das Gerüst wird so, daß das Netz auf den Grund zu liegen kommt, in einem Bach aufgestellt und dieser an beiden Seiten eingedämmt, so daß die Fische von der Strömung in das Netz getrieben werden, aus dessen spitz zulaufendem Beutel sie nicht

entfliehen können (vergl. Abb. 69). Das Netz wird *ottáne* genannt. Erklärlicherweise werden in der Netzfalle, die schon wegen ihrer Form nicht übermäßig praktisch genannt werden kann, nur kleinere Fische gefangen.

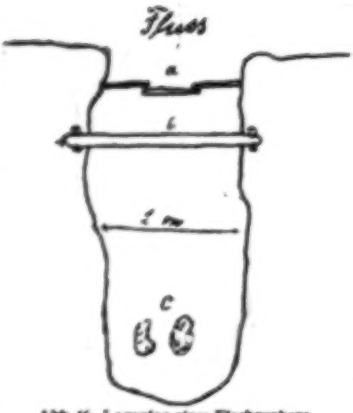


Abb. 66. Lageplan eines Fischgrabens. *a* Rindenwand mit Tür, *b* Steg, *c* Köder.

IV. Fallenstellerei.

Die — nach Ackerbau und Fischfang — drittwichtigste Wirtschaftsform ist die ausschließlich in den Händen der männlichen Bevölkerung liegende Fallenstellerei. Die verschiedenen Fallen, die der Pangwe baut, lassen sich folgendermaßen einteilen:

A. Fallen, in die das Wild hineinstürzt:
   1. Grubenfallen *(ebéj, ndáa I)*.

B. Fallen, die durch Niederstürzen eines Balkens, Tellers oder Eisens wirken.
   2. Schlagfallen *(ekúsdí)*,
   3. Schlagteller *(akui)*,
   4. Speerfalle *(eláa)*.

C. Fallen, die aus einer Zugschlinge bestehen:
   5. Einfache Schlingen *(afma* usw.*)*,
   6. Zugfallen *(oldm)*:
      a) Bodenzugfallen *(oldm)*[1]),
      b) Baumzugfalle *(nkpmdá I)*,
      c) Halbaffenfalle *(mbáa I)*,
   7. Frankolinfalle *(ndáa IV)*,
   8. Bogenfallen *(ekuele)*.

D. Fallen, die Lärm schlagen:
   9. Zibethkatzenfalle *(nlía I)*.

1. Grubenfallen *(ebéj, ndáa I)*.

Die einfachste Form der Falle, die Grube, ist über das ganze Gebiet verbreitet. Überall an Wegen durch den Urwald befinden sich schmale, rechteckige Gruben von oft 3 m Tiefe so dicht am Wege, daß sie — sorgfältig bedeckt wie sie sind — mitunter Fußgängern, die nicht genau achtgeben, gefährlich werden können. Sie gehen nach unten so schmal zu, daß ein Mensch, der hineingestürzt ist, in halber Höhe zwischen den Wänden eingeklemmt hängen

[1]) Nicht zu verwechseln mit dem *old'm* (Fischwehr).

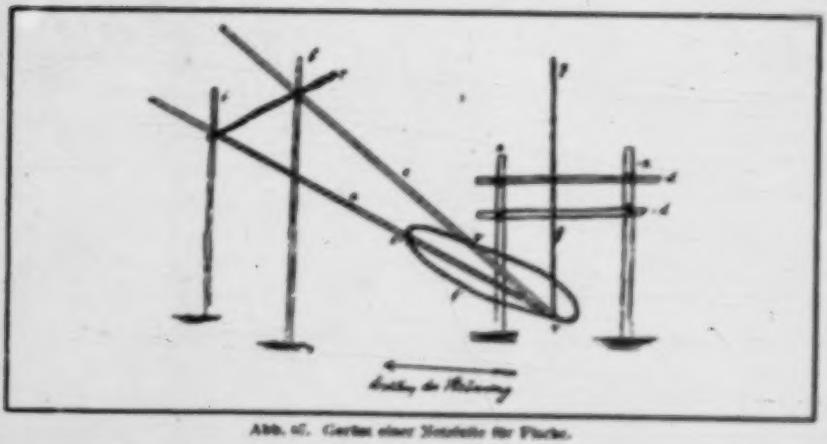


Abb. 67. Gerüst einer Stellfalle für Fische.

bleibt und allein nicht wieder heraus kann. Gruben mit spitzen Pfählchen auf dem Grunde sind nicht für Wild, sondern nur im Kriege in Gebrauch. Die Gruben werden gewöhnlich von zwei Leuten, den Eigentümern, angelegt, von denen der eine gräbt, der andere die Erde wegträgt. Der erstere darf nach dieser Arbeit fünf Tage lang geschlechtlich nicht verkehren. Die Grube ist nämlich ein Loch, wie das weibliche Geschlechtsorgan; würde er sich also durch den geschlechtlichen Verkehr mit der Frau beflecken, so würde er auch in der Grube nichts fangen.

2. Schlagfallen *(eküidi)*.

Von Schlagfallen, d. h. Fallen, in denen das Tier durch einen über einem Gange liegenden und durch eine Schnappvorrichtung ausgelösten Rammstamm oder durch einen frei aufgestellten und hochgerichteten, beschwerten Teller erschlagen wird, unterscheiden die Pangwe sieben Abarten, und zwar:

A. Eigentliche Schlagfallen für Wild:

1. *eküidi-asaḃ* oder *asaḃ*,
2. *eküidi-esçdo*,
3. *eküidi-nkok*,
4. *alaṣa-eküidi*.

B. Rattenschlagfallen:

5. *eküidi-o-si*,
6. *eküidi-o-jeb*.

C. Schlagteller:

7. *akui*.

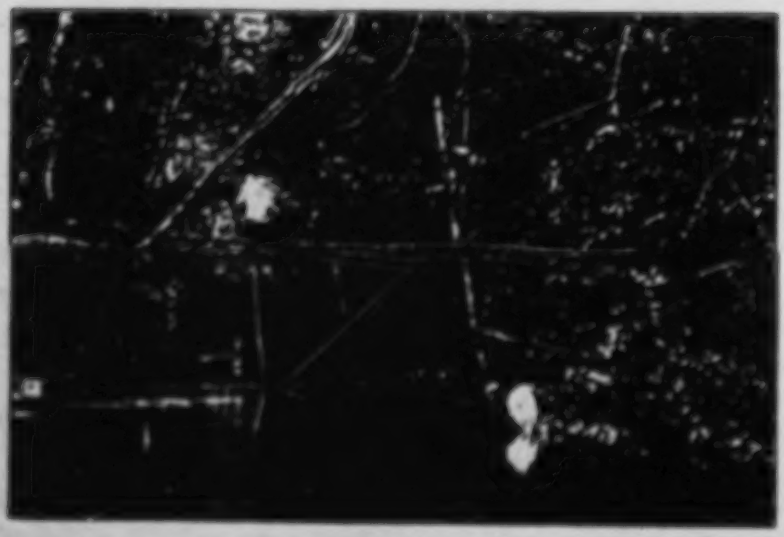


Abb. 6f und 6h.
Flachbau mit einem Sitz, der in Verbindung mit einem Gerüst steht.

Die einträglichste und deshalb häufigste Schlagfalle für Wild ist die in Verbindung mit einem Wildgatter aufgestellte *oadjb*. Sie ist in Abb. 70 Fig. 1 und 2 abgebildet. Das Gatter zieht sich mit verschiedenen Durchlässen oft durch den ganzen Wald, zumeist an den Wegen entlang, und besteht aus nebeneinander eingeschlagenen Stöcken, die entweder dicht aneinander stehen oder in größeren Zwischenräumen und dann mit Blättern von **Sarcophrynium velutinum** *(ekiaikui)*, der Raphiapalme oder der Sumpfpalme verflochten werden, so daß die meist kleineren Tiere an dem Gitter entlang laufen und keinen anderen Ausweg finden als jene Durchlässe. Hier werden die eigentlichen Fallen eingebaut: man zieht quer zum Gitter einen Gang aus zwei Reihen dicht nebeneinander eingeschlagener Stöcke *(i)*, von denen der vordere oder einer der vorderen (in der Abbildung der linken Seite), *k*, oben eine Gabel trägt. In den Gang wird ein Baumstamm *g* so eingespannt, daß er mit seinem hinteren Ende dem Boden aufliegt und durch andere Stämme *(h)* beschwert, mit dem vorderen Ende dagegen an einem Hebel *(e)*, der in dem Gabelstock *k* einen Stützpunkt findet, aufgehängt und in der Schwebe gehalten wird. Der Hebelstock *e* wird seinerseits von einer Schnappvorrichtung gehalten, die bei allen Schlag- und Zugfallen in gleicher Weise wiederkehrt und hier deshalb ein für allemal beschrieben werden soll. Die Vorrichtung besteht aus einem Fallenbogen *a*, der beiderseits in den Boden gesteckt wird, und einem Klemmstock *b*, der durch ein Holzstückchen *c*, den Klemmer, an den Fallenbogen gedrückt wird. Die Verbindung dieser Auslösevorrichtung mit dem Hebel geschieht durch ein an den Klemmer geknüpftes Tau *d*, das an dem freien (linken) Hebelarm festgebunden ist und so den an dem anderen Hebelarm aufgehängten Baumstamm hochhält. Der Klemmstock *b* reicht durch die Gitterstäbe frei in den Gang und wird hier durch Laubwerk, das über giebelförmig geknickte Stäbe *m* gelegt ist, verdeckt.

Tritt nun ein Tier in den Gang und auf den Klemmstock, so wird dieser niedergedrückt und dadurch der Klemmer ausgelöst, der Hebel fliegt mit seinem linken Arme hoch, und der Baumstamm fällt herunter.

Diese Schlagfalle wird trotz der großen Arbeit, die das lange Gitter erfordert, meist nicht von allen Dorfbewohnern gemeinschaftlich, sondern — wie das Fischwehr — von zwei Männern hergestellt. Sie fängt besonders folgende Tiere: Hamsterratte **Cricetomys dissimilis** Rochebrune *(bdi)*, Quastenstachler **Atherura africana** Gray *(ngim)*, Eichhörnchen, die Zwergeselhörnchen **Cephalophus maximorbus** *(ngbwaja)*, in der Nähe von Gewässern das Hirschferkel **Hyemoschus aquaticus** Ogilby. *(ngbe*, Mehrzahl *bla)*, von Vögeln einige am Boden lebende Arten, wie Tauben, Perlhühner, Francolins **Francolinus squamatus** Cass. *(ngbwa)*, Drossel **Turdus saturatus** Cab. *(ngep)* und Hochtrolle **Elanoides**

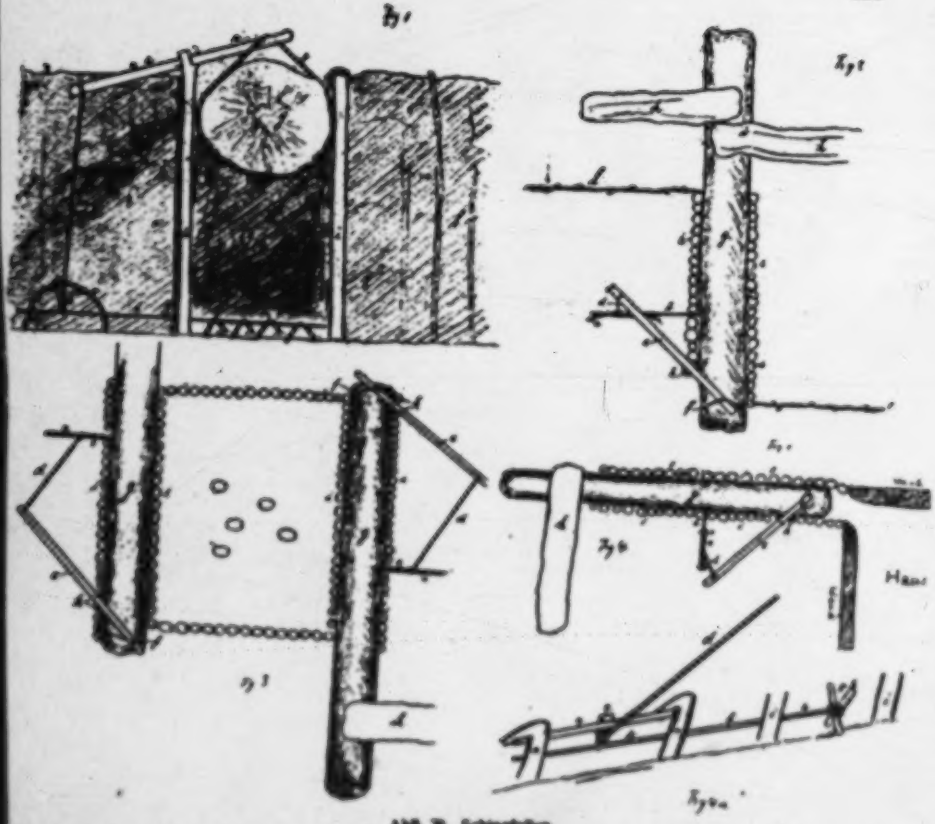


Abb. 30. Schlagfallen.
Fig. 1 und 2. Schlagfalle für Wild: *onak*, von vorne und Lagepläne. Fig. 3. Doppelschlagfalle *ohoko-ohidi*, Lagepläne. Fig. 4. Baumschlagfalle *ohidi-o-ai*, Lagepläne. Fig. 4a. Ansicht verrichtung.

kaemaepus (Tem.) Hartl. *(nkwlangw)*, deren auffälliger Ruf auch mit der Schlagfalle in Verbindung gebracht wird[1]). Schließlich geraten auch hin und wieder Nilvaranar hinein.

Von der *oaj* unterscheidet sich die *ohidi-oapij* nur durch das Fehlen des Gatters und die dadurch nötig werdende Beigabe von Köder. Man legt

---

[1]) Die Falle ruft:

ma hawlí' ohiíjí o ei, — ha,
ich falle (in die) Schlagfalle hinein, fällt an (lautnachahm.),

oder:

ma hawlí' ohiidi — ma hai.
ich fall' in die Falle — ich entwiche.

Bananen für Halbaffen und Fleckenroller, tote Ratten für die Ginsterkatze, Früchte der Tiliacee **Desplatsia dewevrei** B u r s e t (Früchte = *ngôk IV*) für Hamsterratten und Quastenstachler, Kassave für dieselben, für Eichhörnchen und Feldmäuse.

Eine gleiche Falle wird neben niedergestürzten Baumstämmen *(nkǫk)*, an denen sich Wildfährten entlang ziehen, gebaut und heißt dann *eküidi-nkǫk*. Natürlicherweise fällt hier wieder die Köderung weg.

Die *aluna-eküidi* (Abb. 70 Fig. 3) ist eine Zusammensetzung zweier Schlagfallen. An einen kleinen viereckigen, bis auf zwei Durchlässe eingezäunten Platz, in dessen Mitte die Früchte der Guttifere *nsərngǫmǫ III* als Köder gelegt werden, sind die beiden Fallen so angebracht, daß sich die eine nach vorn, die andere nach hinten öffnet. Die Tiere, Hamsterratten, Quastenstachler, Streifeneichhörnchen und Mäuse, sehen die Früchte durch die Einzäunung hindurch, suchen nach einem Eingang und geraten in die Fallen.

Die Rattenfalle *eküidi-o-si*, (*o si* = unten) ist ebenfalls eine Schlagfalle, wie die *osab*, und wird von außen gegen die Rattenlöcher an den Hausecken angebaut (Abb. 70 Fig. 4 und 4*a*); an die Spitze des in den Gang eingeführten Klemmstockes wird, wie Fig. 4*a* zeigt, ein Köder angebunden; nagt die Ratte daran, so wird der Klemmstock unter dem Klemmer herausgeschoben, und die Falle schlägt zu.

Waren sich die bisher aufgeführten Schlagfallen alle sehr ähnlich, so kommen wir jetzt bei der *eküidi-o-jab* (*o jab* = oben) zu einer Falle, die äußerlich ganz anders aussieht, obgleich sie zu derselben Gattung gehört. Wir haben hier nämlich — vgl. Abb. 71 Fig. 1 und 2 — eine Vereinigung von zwei Hebelsystemen, die zusammen einen Schlagbalken tragen und in einiger Höhe über dem Boden angebracht sind. Ein halber Raphiastengel wird mit der Schnittfläche *(x)* nach oben wagerecht auf die Hauswand gebunden oder senkrecht zu ihr und frei *in den Raum hineinragend auf ihr befestigt. Auf ihn werden oben zwei Reihen* Raphiablattstielstreifen gesteckt, die das Gatter der anderen Schlagfallen vertreten *(i)* und auf der dem Hauminnern zugewandten Seite von zwei Gabelstützen *k* flankiert werden, denen die Hebel *e* aufliegen. Nur der e i n e Hebel wird von dem Klemmer, dessen Auslösevorrichtung seitlich am Raphiastock (vgl. Fig. 2) angebracht ist, gehalten, der andere wird mit dem freien Ende unter den ersten gesteckt. Beide Hebel halten einen Schlagbalken *g*, der also, im Gegensatz zu den anderen Schlagfallen, frei über dem Gange schwebt, so daß die Ratte von beiden Seiten Zutritt hat. Dieser Schlagbalken wird nun von einem jederseits durch Taue an ihm befestigten, unterhalb des Raphiastengels hängenden Balken *h* herabgezogen, wenn die Klemmvorrichtung ausgelöst wird, an der, wie bei der *eküidi-o-si*, ein Köder angebracht ist; meist

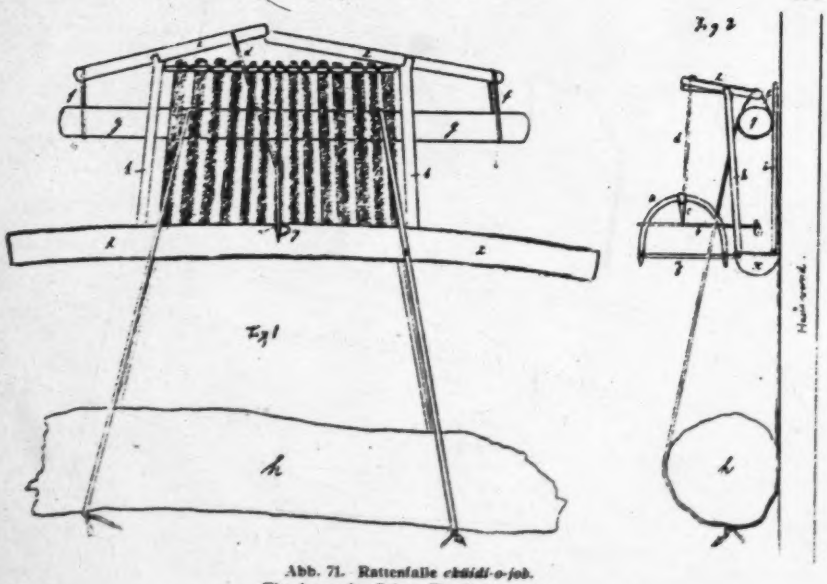


Abb. 71. Rattenfalle *ekūidi-o-job.*
Fig. 1 von der Seite. Fig. 2 von vorne.

läßt man die Falle einige Zeit stehen, bevor man die Schnappvorrichtung einstellt, und streut Kassave auf den Gang, damit die Ratten sich daran gewöhnen, ihren Weg über die Falle zu nehmen; zu demselben Zweck setzt man sie eine Zeitlang außer Betrieb, wenn sie eine Anzahl Ratten gefangen hat[1]).

[1]) Die Fachausdrücke der Pangwe für die verschiedenen Teile der Schlagfallen sind:

a) Fallenbogen = *ekǭleyá* Nt., *ekuluga* F. von *a kulu* = umbiegen;
b) Klemmstock = *mɽǭnegan* F. von *mɽǭnegan* = der Jüngere, der Fallenbogen ist der Ältere, weil man ihn zuerst in den Boden stecken muß, dann erst kommt der Klemmstock;
c) Klemmer = *asụ̄ń* von *asụ̄ń* = der Zahn;
d) Klemmertau = *nkǭ-asụ̄ń* von *nkǭ* = Tau, *asụ̄ń* = Zahn, Klemmer;
e) Hebel = *mbɽmeyá I* F. von *a bime* = schlagen, zuschlagen, auch *mbǭń I* genannt;
f) Schlagbalkentau = *nkǭ-ekūidi* von *nkǭ* = Tau, *ekūidi* = Schlagfalle;
g) Schlagbalken = *mɽǭk IV*;
h) Druckbalken = *eisi,deja* F. *isi,deja IV* Nt. von *a iside* = aufdrücken, beschweren;
i) Schlagbalkengitter = *nzábega* F., *sá,bejá IV* Nt. von *a sáb* = aneinanderreihen;
k) Hebelstütze = *ata[k]-ekūidi* von *atak* = Gabelstock; (vgl. S. 124)

[Fortsetzung der Anmerkung S. 124.]

3. Schlagteller.

Der Schlagteller *akui* ist eine ganz einfache Falle, die statt des Ganges und der Schlagbalken nur einen hochgestellten, mit Lehmklößen oder Steinen beschwerten Teller *(nka-akui)*, aus der Schlingpalme **Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum** *(nhane)*, zeigt, der auf die Tiere (kleinere Nager) herabfällt, falls sie den bis unter den Teller reichenden und mit Köder (Kassave) versehenen Klemmstock berühren.

4. Speerfalle *(elüṇ)*.

Sie wird für Elefanten angelegt, und zwar dort, wo deren Wechsel zwischen zwei geeigneten Bäumen hindurchführt; sie besteht aus einem schweren, eisernen Speer, den man durch ein Tau unmittelbar mit dem Klemmer verbindet und derart über einen Ast hängt, daß er den Elefanten in den Nacken trifft, wenn dieser die Schnur, die als Verlängerung des Klemmstockes ausgespannt ist, berührt. Meist trifft der Speer den Elefanten nicht tödlich, das Tier läuft dann weiter und entgeht oft dem Fallensteller.

5. Einfache Schlingen.

Man unterscheidet

1. Freischlingen:
   a) Bodenschlinge *(aśṭmá-o-si,)*,
   b) Baumschlinge *(aśṭmá-o-jɔb)*;
2. Handschlinge oder Zugschlinge *(nsṇm)*.

Die Bodenschlinge *aśṭma-o-si*, (*o-si*, = unten) (Abb. 72), wird besonders auf den Wechseln des Zwergböckchens **Neotragus batesi** Winton *(odźüe)* befestigt und zwar an einem Querholz *a*, das auf zwei gut verdeckten Gabelstützen *b* liegt. Erbeutet werden in den Bodenschlingen auch noch Hühnervögel (Perlhuhn, Frankoline) und die Nachtralle (**Himanternis**).

Auf Bäumen, deren Früchte gern von Vögeln gefressen werden, insonderheit der **Afzelia africana** Smith *(orɔ̀n)*, stellt man mit großem Geschick eine ganze Anzahl Schlingen auf, die *aśṭma-o-jɔb* (*o jɔb* = oben) heißen und sich von selbst zuziehen. Besonders werden Nashornvögel und der blaue Haubenturako **Corythaeola cristata** Vieill. *(kunük IV)* darin gefangen. Hin und wieder gerät auch einmal eine Meerkatze hinein.

---

l) Fallengatter = *ndźṭbega-osáḃ* von *a dźṭḃ* = schließen, *osáḃ* = Gitterschlagfalle;

m) Brücke im Gang = *akán* von *akán* = Boden;

n) Gang = *abɔ́k* von *abɔ́k* = Lager.

Anders als die beiden vorigen Schlingen ist die aus Buschtau hergestellte Handschlinge für Papageien *(nsụm I)*. Sie besteht aus einer Schleife, die um einen Ast herumgelegt und mit dem einen Ende hier festgeknotet ist, mit dem anderen bis auf die Erde reicht, wo ein Mann sie in der Hand hält und anzieht, sobald ein Tier den Kopf durchsteckt. Der Papagei wird an den Ast gedrückt und kann gegriffen werden. Diese Papageischlinge wird besonders in den dicht belaubten **Myrianthus**-Bäumen (*mangə̄me III* F., *engükə̄m* Nt., J.) aufgestellt, deren Früchte die Papageien lieben, und die trefflich geeignet sind, um sich unter ihnen zu verstecken. Die Ausübung des Papageienfanges ist hauptsächlich Sache der Knaben, doch vergnügen sich auch Erwachsene damit.

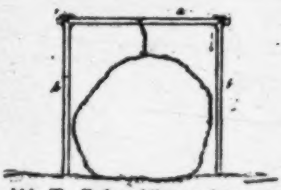


Abb. 72. Bodenschlinge *asima-o-si.*

6. Zugfallen.

a) Bodenzugfallen.

Von ihnen unterscheiden die Pangwe nicht weniger als neun Arten und zwar

I. Fallen, die über einer Grube errichtet sind:
   1. *eisụma,*
   2. *nsọ̄ḅə̄ I* Nt., *nsọ̄ḅk* F., *nsọ̄ḅogə̄* F.,
   3. *ngə̄[k]-olàm;*

II. Fallen ohne Gruben:
   4. *ndàkie, III,*
   5. *olàme-zé,*
   6. *ṣign* F.,
   7. *olame-nsṛṇ.*
   8. *ejàga, apfàḍ,*
   9. *ewudṣ.*

Alle diese Bodenzugfallen, ebenso wie die Baumzugfalle und die Halbaffenfalle, zeichnen sich dadurch aus, daß ein elastisches, in den Boden gestecktes Stämmchen, der Zugstock (*mìgge* F.), durch den Klemmer festgehalten wird und, befreit, die Schlinge im Aufschnellen zuzieht. Die Bodenzugfallen sind im allgemeinen für größeres Wild, wie Antilopen, berechnet und unterscheiden sich untereinander durch kleinere Verschiedenheiten in Form und Aufstellung, durch Vorhandensein oder Fehlen einer verdeckten Grube, die es dem Tier erschwert, sich zu befreien, usw. Nahe verwandt sind die ersten drei Formen, *eisụma, nsọ̄ḅə̄* und *ngə̄[k]-olàm*, die alle eine Grube zeigen. Als

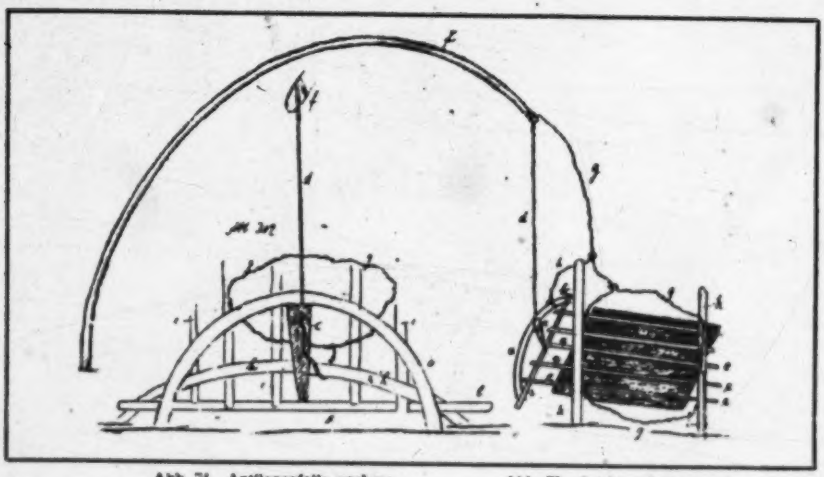


Abb. 74. Antilopenfalle *nsobogo*. Abb. 73. Antilopenfalle *esuma*.

Beispiel sei die *esuma* hier genauer beschrieben (Abb. 73). Sie besteht aus einem starken, elastischen Stämmchen *f*, an dem oben durch ein Tau *d* der Klemmer *c* und die bei diesen großen Fallen aus Raphiapiassave gedrehte Schlinge *g* angebracht werden. Der Klemmer hält den Zugstock, der beim Aufstellen der Falle heruntergebogen wird, durch die schon von den Schlagfallen her bekannte Auslösevorrichtung (in der Abbildung seitlich angebracht) fest. Die Schlinge, die vor der Grube zwischen den Haltestöcken *k* aufgestellt wird, ist außerdem durch ein Tau *h* mit dem oft doppelten Fallenbogen verbunden. Über die Grube werden nun Stöcke auf den Klemmstock gelegt. Das Ganze, vor allem die Grube mit den Stöcken und der am Boden liegende Teil der Schlinge, wird sorgfältig mit trockenem Laub usw. bedeckt, über das Ende des Zugstockes, dort, wo Klemmtau und Schlinge befestigt sind, wird noch besonders ein trockenes Blatt gebunden, darzum, in zunutzgerechter Weise die ganze Falle den Augen des Wildes möglichst entzogen. Tritt nun ein Tier auf die Blätter, so drücken die Stöcke *e* den Klemmstock *b* nieder, der Klemmer *c* fliegt hoch und der Zugstock mit der Schlinge, die sich zuzieht, schnellt in die Höhe, jedoch nur soweit, als es das Tau *h* gestattet. Dadurch wird das gefangene Tier an den Fallenstock gedrückt und so erstickt, zumal es noch halb in der Grube hängt. Je nach der Stärke ist die Falle geeignet für Antilopen, Wildschweine, den kleinen Leoparden **Felis servallus** Puch. *(ebrú)*, Zibeth- und Ginsterkatzen.

Von voriger Falle unterscheidet sich die *nsobogo* (Abb. 74) nur dadurch, daß die Schlinge bei dem Klemmer an das Klemmertau geknüpft und unter

einem Haltestock *h* durchgeführt, außerdem aber direkt auf die Erde gelegt wird. Deshalb wird das Tier hier meist an den Vorderbeinen gefangen.

Die *ngä[k]-olam* ist — könnte man sagen — eine kleine *nsõbogo*, nur für Quastenstachler berechnet und wird von Jungen gestellt, wenn sie sich die Stacheln für ihre kleinen Angelhaken *(ngäk)* verschaffen wollen, daher der Name; es fangen sich aber auch Zwergantilopen und Perlhühner darin.

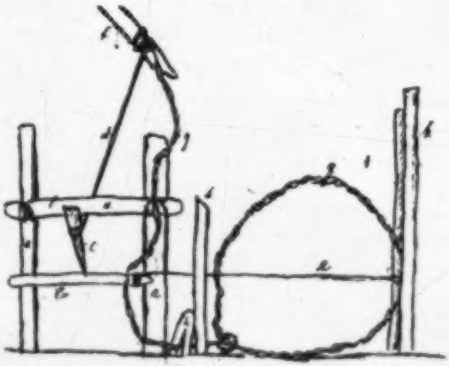


Abb. 75. Antilopenfalle *ndakie*.

Eine andere Art der Auslösung lernen wir bei den Zugfallen *ndakie*, (Abb. 75) und der Spitzotterfalle *olame-zè* (Abb. 76) kennen. Hier stößt das Tier — ähnlich wie bei der Elefantenspeerfalle — gegen eine Schnur, die die Verlängerung des Klemmerstockes bildet *(ndakie)*, oder gegen diesen selbst *(oläme zè)*. Statt des Fallenbogens wird oft — wie in der Abb. 75 — ein Galgen angebracht. Der Name *ndakie* bedeutet eisernes, d. h. ganz festes Haus (*ndä* = Haus, *ekiei* = Eisen), sein Gebrauch schwankt indes und wird in einigen Gegenden auf ähnliche Fallen, wie z. B. die *ziegn*, übertragen. Für den merkwürdigen Spitzotter *(zè)* **Potamogale velox** Du Chaillu allein berechnet ist die *olame zè*. Aus der Zeichnung (Abb. 76) wird wohl auch ohne Beschreibung die Bauart klar. Merkwürdig ist dabei die Ausnutzung der Eigentümlichkeit des Spitzotters, seine Losung immer an ganz bestimmten Stellen am Ufer abzusetzen; diese werden nun im Halbkreis mit einem Zaun *(e)* umgeben, während die Schlinge und dahinter die Verlängerung des Klemmstockes die freie Seite abschließt.

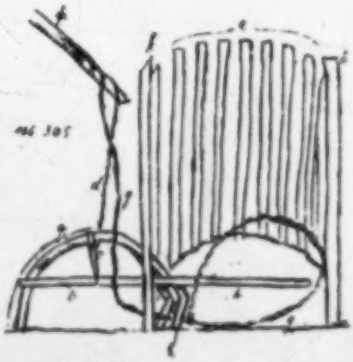


Abb. 76. Spitzotterfalle *olame-zè*.

Die Falle *zègn* (Abb. 77) unterscheidet sich von den vorigen dadurch, daß das Tier unter der in Form eines hohen Galgens errichteten Auslösevorrichtung durchzuschlüpfen hat, hierbei die Schnur berührt, die von der

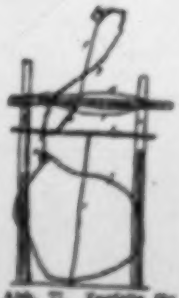


Abb. 77. Zugfalle für Antilopen *zègn*.

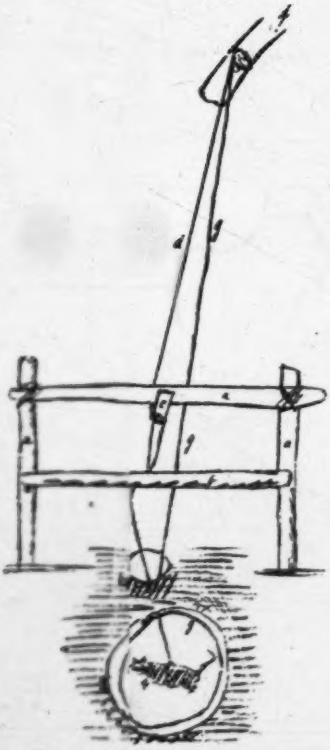


Abb. 78. Ginsterkatzenfalle *olame e nsin.*

Mitte des Klemmerstockes (oben) nach einem in den Boden gesteckten Pflock gespannt ist *(e)*, und die Klemmvorrichtung auslöst. Auch bei dieser Falle wird das gänzliche Zurückschnellen der Schlinge durch die Haltetaue *h* verhindert. Die *vien* schließt sich — was die zu fangenden Tiere anbetrifft — der *esuma*, der *nsobogo* und der *ndakie* an, daher auch wohl die Übertragbarkeit des Namens *ndakie* auf diese „Antilopenfallen".

Nach Muster der *vien* ist die *olame-nsin* gebaut (Abb. 78), nur wird sie immer an einer kleinen Bodenerhebung errichtet, und diese unter ihr ausgehöhlt. Auf den Boden der kleinen Höhle legt man eine Ratte als Köder, durch ein Loch in der Decke führt man die Schlinge und das am Klemmstock angebrachte Tau, das um die Ratte gebunden ist, ein.

Die *olame-nsin* wird, wie der Name sagt (*nsin* = Ginsterkatze), vor allem zum Fang der Ginsterkatze **Genetta aubryana** Pucheran, deren Felle beliebte Schmuckstücke sind, verwendet, daneben ergibt sie oft eine Ausbeute von Fleckenrollern **Nandinia binotata** Reinwardt *(mvgi)*, Zierrollern **Poiana poensis** Waterhouse *(ojan)* und Zibethkatzen **Viverra civetta** *(zoe)*. Auch hier gewöhnt man das Wild durch Auslegen von Ratten erst vor, dann in der Höhlung an die Stelle, wenn man nicht die Höhle der Tiere selbst benutzen kann.

Schließlich sind noch zwei kleinere Zugfallen für Feldmäuse bzw. für Vögel zu erwähnen, nämlich die *efuga* und *ewuas*, bei denen die Schlinge mit Hilfe eines Stockes *i* um den Fallenbogen *a* gelegt wird, so daß das Tier an diesen geklemmt wird (vgl. Abb. 79); die *efuga* ist für Mäuse und andere kleine Nager bestimmt und in der Art der Spitzotterfalle vor einem umfriedigten und mit einem Köder (Kassave) belegten Platz errichtet. Ferner sucht man sich mit dieser Falle des lästigen Hühnerräubers **Dryotriorchis batesi** Sharpe *(ngbawga III* Nt.*)* zu entledigen. „Wenn der Vogel ein Huhn gefangen hat und es nun beim Hinzueilen der Leute wieder fallen läßt, so macht man schnell die Falle und legt das Huhn hinein; dann kommt vielfach der Räuber zurück, um das Huhn zu holen, und fängt sich dabei in der Falle."

Die Vogelfalle *ewuä,s* (*wuä,s* = lautnachahmend für das Zuziehen der Schlinge), Abb. 79, ist genau ebenso gebaut, nur daß die Umzäunung fehlt, und für Tauben, Perlhühner, Frankoline und Nachtrallen bestimmt.

b) Baumzugfalle.

Die häufigste Falle für kleinere Vögel ist die Baumzugfalle *nkpwä,s* (*nkpwä,s* = lautnachahmend für das Zuschlagen der Falle oder der Hand zum Fang), Abb. 80. Sie wird auf Bäumen angebracht, und daher ist der Fallenbogen *a* an einen Zweig *x* angebunden. Neu ist hier, daß der Klemmstock an seinem sonst freien Ende, die Verlängerung — wie wir es genannt haben — in der Gabelung eines Halters *i* (*nṭębe-oṡą̀ III* von *a tebe* = stehen, *oṡą̀* = vor, also Vorsteher) festgeklemmt wird, ferner die Einrichtung der Schlinge, die aus zwei Tauen aus den Stengeln des **Sarcophrynium velutinum** K. Sch. (*okiaikui*, Stengel = *ndenan*) hergestellt wird. Die beiden Taue werden am Ende zusammengeknotet und an einen Zweig, der den Zugstock vertritt (*l*), angebunden, dann schlingt man einen Bindfaden *h* um den Ast *x* und knotet ihn lose an die Schlinge *g* (in *y*), so daß er auf ihr verschiebbar ist. Die Enden der Schlinge werden nun um die Verlängerung des Klemmstockes gelegt, darauf wird in *z* der Köder angebunden, und die Falle ist fertig. Der Vogel, der sich auf den Klemmstock in *z* setzt, drückt diesen unter dem Klemmer heraus, die Schlinge zieht sich zu, der Vogel wird mit den Füßen in *y* festgehalten und so meist lebendig gefangen.

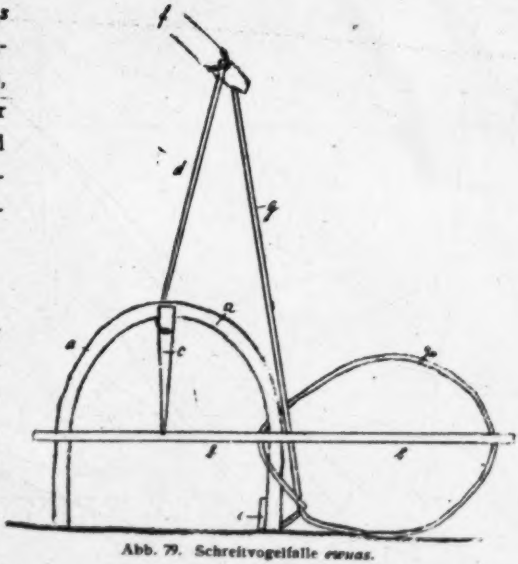


Abb. 79. Schreitvogelfalle *ewuas*.

Diese Vogelfalle wird hauptsächlich von Jungen aufgestellt, denn sie bringt ja nur kleinere Vögel. Als Lockspeise dienen für Honigsauger (Nectariniidae) neben Blüten der **Canna bidentata** Bertol (*ekonefok*) die des **Aframomum hanburyi** K. Sch. (*obä[a]-adśom*, Blüten = *atsą[k]*), aber auch anderer Scitamineen; für Webervögel, **Ploceus cucullatus** (St. Müll.) (*npä*), **Spermospiza guttata** Vieill. (*ka-o-śi,*), **Spermestes poensis** Fras. und **Estrilda**-Arten (*edśble*), Gräser, wie **Panicum sulcatum** Aubl. (*ekpk*) und

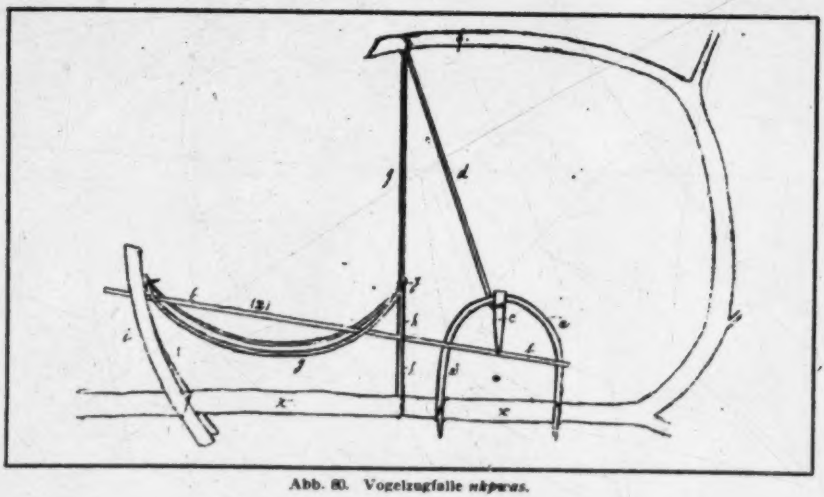


Abb. 80. Vogelzugfalle *nkpwas.*

Panicum ovalifolium Poir. *(obůlebedzŏle)*; für **Andropadus**-Arten *(olŭ,k)* und andere Haarvögel, wie **Phyllastrephus leucopleurus** Cass. *(ngŏmedźŏ)* und den Bülbül **Pycnonotus gabonensis** Sharpe *(nkŏgĕlŭŏ)* Pfeffer **Capsicum** *(okálŏŏ)* und **Heckeria subpeltata** (Wild.) Kunth. *(abŏmedzŭŏ).* Von sonstigen Vögeln, die in den Baumzugfallen gefangen werden, sind zu nennen: Bartvögel (Capitonidae), z. B. **Gymnobucco bonapartei** Verr. Hartl. (*orŏ* Nt.), **Buccanodon duchaillui** Cass. *(ejŏle)*, **Barbatula**-Arten *(omvŏg)* und **Trachylaemus purpuratus** Verr. *(ekŏkŏ)*, ferner außer den oben genannten Haarvögeln noch **Ixonotus guttatus** Verr. (*esă,sa*, F., *edźăndźă* Nt.), Tauben **Chalcopelia afra** L. *(odŏ)* und **Turtur semitorquatus** Rüpp. *(źu,m)*, Glanzstare **Lamprocolius**-Arten *(kpŏŏ)*, Nashornvögel **Lophoceros fasciatus** Shaw. *(okŏgbwŭ,)* und **camurus** Cass. (*nkukue I* Nt.). Für sie alle dienen als Lockspeise die Früchte der Euphorbiacee **Alchornea cordifolia** Muell. Arg. (*abŭi* Nt., *abuĭ* F.), der Guttifere **Harongа paniculata** (Pers.) Lodd. *(atŭ,r)*, der Euphorbiaceen **Antidesma laciniatum** Muell. Arg. *(okŏbezŏ)* und **Hasskarlia didymostemon** Baill. *(efŭŏle)*, des **Ficus preussii** Warb. und **laurentii** Warb. und anderer **Ficus**-Arten *etob-o-job* F., *ejŏ,* Nt.). Überall sieht man die Fallen in dem **Alchornea**-Gebüsch oder auf lichten Plätzen, wo die eben genannten Bäume wachsen, aufgestellt; wenn sich ein Junge Mühe gibt und bei der Falle aufpaßt, so kann er bis zu zehn Vögeln an einem Tage in einer Falle fangen. Die Beute bringt er seiner Mutter, die die größeren Vögel, z. B. die Tauben, für sich behält und die kleineren den Kindern läßt.

c) Halbaffenfalle.

Eine sehr kunstreiche und fein ausgedachte Falle ist die Halbaffenfalle *mbúń I*, *ebǵs I*, von *bń* = liegen, *mbuń* = Querbalken, d. h. ein Balken, der auf anderen liegt, so genannt, weil die Falle an einen Stamm, welcher über eine Lichtung gelegt ist, angebaut wird (Abb. 81). Sie (Abb. 82) ist eine echte Zugfalle mit dem Zugstock *f*, dem Klemmer *c* am Klemmertau *d* und zwei am Zugstock befestigten Schlingen *g*. Die an dem liegenden Stamm *τ* angebrachte Vorrichtung bedarf dagegen der Erläuterung. Sie besteht aus einem Raphiablattstielstück, das mit dem einen Ende in die Erde gesteckt, am anderen gespalten und so unter den Ast geschoben ist, daß dieser in den Spalt zu liegen kommt, beide Hälften werden, wie Fig. 2 zeigt, später miteinander verschnürt *(y)*. Oberhalb des Stammes wird jede der beiden Gabelenden zu fünf Zinken eingeschnitten (Abb. 82, 1—5), von denen die mittelste (3) ein ganzes Stück länger gelassen ist als die übrigen. Beide Mittelzinken (vgl. Fig. 2) sind durch einen Stock miteinander verbunden und bilden so den Galgen für die Klemmvorrichtung. Zwischen die oberen Enden der Zinken werden Querstöcke *(n)* geklemmt und fest verschnürt. An das Tau *y* wird dann die Auslösevorrichtung (Fig. 2 *z*) angeknüpft, ein Maschenwerk, das *y* mit dem Klemmstock *b* verbindet. Die Einstellung der Falle ist aus der Fig. 2 zu ersehen. Der Klemmer *c* wird hinter dem Galgen *a* herumgeführt, vorn zwischen *a* und Klemmstock festgeklemmt, dann je eine Schlinge vorn zwischen den Querstäben *n* 1 und *n* 2 und hinten zwischen *n* 3 und *n* 4 hindurchgeführt (vgl. Fig. 1) und in die Öffnung gelegt. Reichliches trockenes Laub verdeckt die Falle. Das Tier klettert über den Ast,

Abb. 81. Halbaffenfalle (*mbuń*).

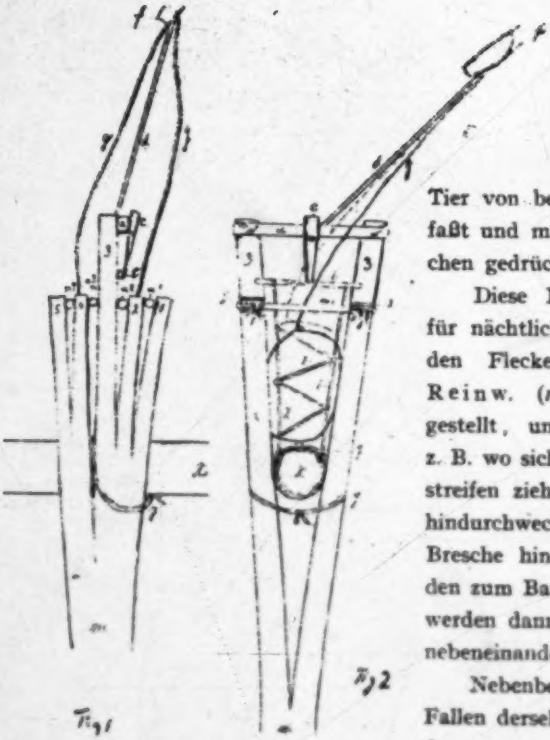


Abb. 82. Halbaffenfalle.
Fig. 1 von der Seite. Fig. 2 von vorne.

um von der einen Seite der Lichtung zu der anderen zu gelangen und gerät in die Falle, die oft so vorzüglich arbeitet, daß das Tier von beiden Schlingen zugleich erfaßt und mit großer Kraft an die Stäbchen gedrückt wird.

Diese Falle wird in erster Linie für nächtlich lebende Halbaffen[1]) und den Fleckenroller, **Nandinia binotata** Reinw. (*mvə̱,v* F., *mvɛ̱,v* Nt.), aufgestellt, und zwar in lichter Gegend, z. B. wo sich längs des Weges ein Buschstreifen zieht, durch welchen die Tiere hindurchwechseln. Man schlägt eine Bresche hinein und legt quer über sie den zum Bau der Falle nötigen Ast. Es werden dann meist drei bis sieben Fallen nebeneinander aufgestellt.

Nebenbei verwendet man große Fallen derselben Art für Meerkatzen und dann nur im Urwalde über Wegen oder Lichtungen.

7. Frankolinfalle.

Bei der Frankolinfalle *(ndə̱,ń)* (Abb. 83) ist, wie bei den Fallen der vorigen Klasse, ein Zugstock vorhanden, indessen ist die Art der Klemmvorrichtung völlig verschieden. Der bodenständige Teil der Falle ist nichts weiter als ein rundes, nicht sehr tiefes Loch in der Erde; in der Wand stecken sich gegenüber zwei horizontale Raphiastäbchen *a*, unter die der Klemmer *c* mit dem — wie bei der Falle *nsə̱,bogə̱* — unmittelbar daran befestigten Schlingentau[2]) geschoben ist; die Schlinge wird um das Loch herum gelegt. Ein paar Maiskörner

[1]) Potto, **Perodicticus katesi** Winton *(awrn)*; **Arctocebus aureus** Winton *(mazirdi I u. III)*; Spitznagelmaki **Euotlemur elegantulus** Leconte *(nagi, I)*; Stumpfnagelmaki **Sciurocheirus gabonensis** Gray *(omdm)* und Zwergmaki **Hemigalago demidoffi** Fischer *(ozəm, oddəm)*.

[2]) In diesem Falle wird auch ein- und dasselbe Tau, das um den Klemmer geknotet ist, benutzt.

oder Erdnüsse sind als Köder um und in das Loch gestreut; der Frankolin steckt seinen Kopf hinein, berührt dabei den Klemmer, der hochfliegt und zugleich dem Vogel die Schlinge über den Kopf zieht. Außer dem Feldfrankolin, **Francolinus squamatus** Cass. *(ogbwə̄)*, geraten noch Tauben in diese ebenso einfache wie ergiebige Falle.

Dabei mag nebenbei erwähnt sein, daß man auch Hühner, wenn sie sich nicht greifen lassen, durch eine solche ad hoc errichtete Falle einfängt oder aber durch eine Blatttüte, in die ein Maiskorn hineingelegt wird. Das Huhn stülpt sich dabei die Tüte über den Kopf und wird dann, bevor es sich freimachen kann, eingefangen[1]).

Abb. 88. Frankolinfalle *ndon.*

8. Bogenfallen.

Sie haben die Form eines Bogens, der beim Zurückschnellen eine Schlinge zuzieht. Solcher Fallen gibt es drei Arten:

---

[1]) Die technischen Ausdrücke für die Teile der Zugfallen sind außer den bei den Schlagfallen erwähnten:

a) Fallenbogen = Fallengalgen (siehe unter Schlagfallen);
b) Klemmstock (siehe unter Schlagfallen).;
c) Klemmer (siehe unter Schlagfallen);
d) Klemmertau (siehe unter Schlagfallen);
e) Klemmerstockstäbe oder Klemmerstocktau = *ndgneja IV, ndgmejə IV*;
f) Zugstock = *mídge* F., *mgejá III* Nt.;
g) Schlinge = *ekə̄ə*, Nt., *ekwə*, F., *nkib I*;
h) Schlingenhalter = *mkgio-ekwə*, F.;
i) Schlingenstütze = *sadá-ekə̄ə* Nt.;
k) Pflock = *engbá*;
l) Einfriedigung (bei *ofogo* usw.) = *ndáib I* von *a dáib* = schließen.

Bei der Halbfallenfalle:

m) Fallenstock = *ofgá*;
n) Querstäbchen = *ofj* Nt., *ofé* F.;
o) Köder.

Bei der Baumzugfalle:

Ast, auf dem die Falle errichtet = *obímega*;
b) Klemmerstock mit der Fortsetzung = *ofgmejá*;
c) Klemmerstockhalter = *ofíbe-ofə III*;
d und e) Klemmertau mit Klemmer = *okgleja*.

1. *ekígle*,
2. *bögö III*,
3. Bogenfalle der Jaunde: *ebǝ́de*.

Die *ekígle* ist am weitesten verbreitet (Abb. 84 Fig. 1). An ein wagerecht verlaufendes Lianenstück oder einen Ast *a* wird der Bogen *b* angebunden, an dessen unterem Ende in *c* zwei Taue befestigt werden, das Klemmertau *d* mit dem Klemmer *e* und das Schlingentau *g*, das auf dem anderen Bogenarm in *h* in einer Durchziehschleife angeknotet wird. Der Bogen wird dadurch gehalten, daß der Klemmer *e* einen kurzen Klemmstock *f* an das obere Bogenende und das Klemmertau festdrückt. Unten auf den Bogen wird als Köder Kassave gelegt und über das Ganze eine Blatttüte gestülpt. Weitere auf die Liane *a* gelegte Kassave dient dazu, das Tier an den Weg nach der Falle zu gewöhnen. Wenn nun ein Tier von hier aus durch die Schleife läuft, berührt es den Klemmstock, die Auslösung erfolgt, und die Schleife zieht sich zu. Die Falle wird hauptsächlich im Urwald für Mäuse und andere kleine Nager aufgestellt, nebenbei auch im Hause zum Fang von Ratten.

Für die gleichen Tiere wird die zweite Bogenfalle der Fang, *bögö*, verwendet (Abb. 84 Fig. 2 *a-c*). Sie ist fast noch einfacher als die *ekígle*; an dem einen Bogenende wird eine Blatttüte angebracht *(b)*, durch welche die am anderen Ende angeknüpften Taue *c* und *d* an verschiedenen Stellen durchgeführt werden. Das vordere Tau *(d)* legt man als Schlinge um die Öffnung der Tüte; das hintere *(c)*, das den Bogen spannen soll, zieht man durch das hierfür durchbohrte Bogenende und sichert es dahinter durch einen Knoten. Hinter diesem Haltetau — wenn man von vorn in die Tüte sieht — befindet sich an einem Stöckchen ein Stück Kassave *(e)*. Das Tier nagt, um zum Köder zu kommen, das Haltetau durch, der Bogen schnellt zurück, und die Schlinge zieht sich zu, so daß die Ratte an den oberen Teil der recht festen Blatttüte gedrückt und erdrosselt wird.

Eine sehr hübsche und geschickte Erfindung ist die Bogenfalle der Jaunde *ebǝ́de* (Abb. 84 Fig. 3). Sie unterscheidet sich wesentlich von den vorigen; wir sehen hier an einem gebogenen Raphiastreifen *a*, wie eine Sehne angebracht, das Klemmertau *b*, das — wie bei der Frankolinfalle — in der Mitte des Klemmers *c* mit einem Knoten befestigt ist und dann weiter in die Schlinge *d* ausläuft. Diese Schlinge endet in einen Knoten, an dem wieder das Haltetau *e*, das den Bogen umschlingt, angeknotet ist. Wird die Falle aufgestellt, so schiebt man den Klemmer mit der Spitze unter den Knoten, während er andererseits durch ein zweites Haltetau *f* und durch den Druck auf die Innenseite des Bogens vor dem Zurückgleiten bewahrt wird; sobald aber eine Ratte durch die Schlinge läuft, zieht sich diese etwas herunter, die Klemmerspitze gleitet unter dem

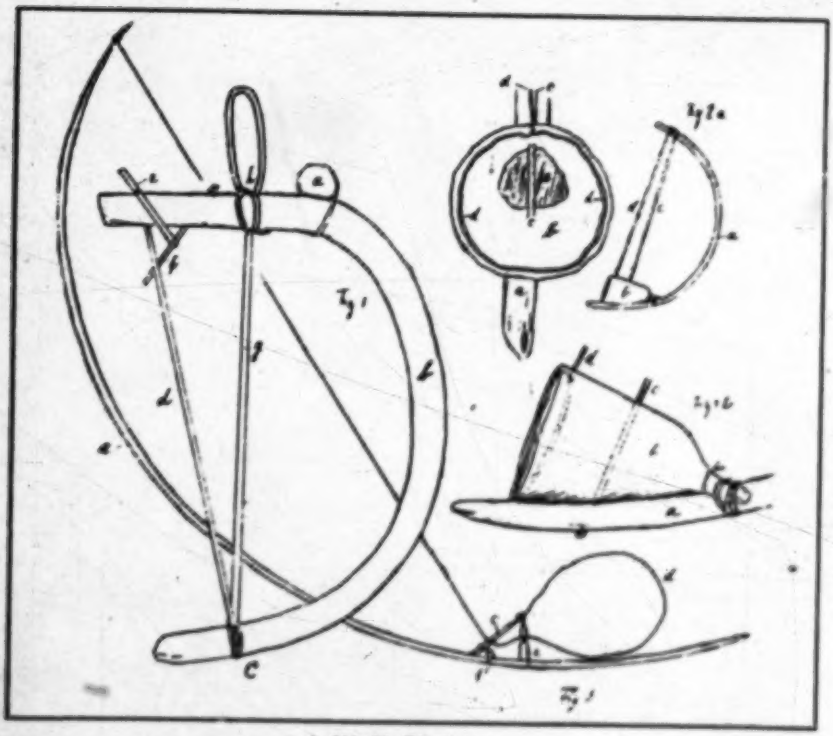


Abb. 64. Bogenfallen.
Fig. 1 *ebiede*. Fig. 2 bogo in ganz, b unterer Teil von der Seite, c derselbe von vorne.
Fig. 3 Bogenfalle *ebude*.

Knoten heraus, ebenso unter dem Haltetau *f*, und die Schlinge zieht sich um die Ratte zu.

Die Falle wird im Hause hinter den Betten oder wo sonst die Ratten gern herumlaufen, aufgestellt.

8. Zibetkatzenfalle *(nline-ñ)ñ)*.

Wer im Pangwegebiet reist, wird häufig in Dörfern quer über den Platz eine Schnur ausgespannt sehen, an deren Mitte eine hölzerne Hundeglocke oder ein Bündel leerer Schneckengehäuse hängt. Das ist nicht etwa, wie man denken könnte, eine Medizin gegen böse Geister oder eine Signalvorrichtung, sondern eine Alarmfalle für Zibetkatzen, Viverra civetta peertmannii Pucher. *(ñ)ñ IV)*. Während die Schnur an dem einen Ende an eine freistehende Stange geknüpft ist, ist sie an dem anderen hinter dem Hause des Besitzers an einen Baumstumpf gebunden und etwas über der Erde mit

einigen toten Ratten behängt. Schnappt die Zibetkatze des Nachts eine Ratte weg und reißt dabei an der Schnur, so ertönt die Glocke, oder es klirren die Schneckenschalen und wecken den Hausherrn.

V. Jagd.

So geschickt die Pangwe als Fallensteller sind, so schlecht schneiden sie ab, wenn es auf die weidgerechte Ausübung der Jagd ankommt. Den Namen eines Jägervolkes können sie nimmer in Anspruch nehmen, ja mit den Küstenvölkern oder gar den Pygmäen verglichen, erscheinen sie als klägliche Sonntagsjäger. Nur da, wo sie ein großer Gewinn lockt, nämlich bei der Jagd auf Elefanten, geben sie sich mehr Mühe und erzielen deshalb einen Erfolg, der bei der Einfachheit ihrer Jagdwaffe (Steinschloßgewehr mit Eisenstückchen oder Speer (Abb. 85) als Geschoß) beachtenswert ist. Sonst leisten die Pangwe auch mit besseren Jagdgewehren nicht viel, z. B. erlegte von den vielen mit modernen Gewehren ausgerüsteten Fangjägern, die ich im Laufe von drei Jahren in meinem Dienst hatte, nur einer einmal eine Antilope, während ein Pygmäe später in einer Woche fünf Antilopen, einmal sogar zwei an einem Tage, geschossen hat; die schönen Schopfadler, **Lophaetus occipitalis** Daud. *(ebéjek)*, und viele andere Tiere, die ihres scheuen Wesens wegen einen guten Jägersmann erfordern, erlegten meine Herren Jäger niemals. Meist zu bequem, um allein in den Wald zu gehen, lieben sie laute, ungezwungene Unterhaltung und fröhliches Lachen auf dem Jagdzuge, das sie natürlich bald dem Wilde verrät; nicht vereinzelt, sondern viele Male ist es mir vorgekommen, daß meine Jagdbegleiter vor dem Wild, das ich gerade beobachtete, mit weit vernehmbarer Stimme riefen: *e ne nie!* — he be him! (da ist er!), und noch heute erinnere ich mich mit Vergnügen daran, wie mein getreuer Ajong Boka eine ahnungslose Meerkatze, auf deren günstigere Schußstellung ich wartete, mit dem Rufe anbrüllte: „Mama, *ofák, ofák!*" (*ofák* = rotschwänzige Meerkatze), und wie das erschreckte Tier in wahnsinnigen Sprüngen davonstürzte.

Abb. 85. Steinschloßgewehr (rechts) und [illegible] Gewehr ab[illegible] [illegible] nat. Größe.

Bei der von weidmännischen Grundsätzen nicht angekränkelten Natur der Pangwe ist natürlich an ihren jeglichen Mißerfolgen das Gewehr oder — das Weib (siehe Abschnitt XVIII, Geschlechtsleben) schuld, und unzählige Jagd- und Gewehrmedizinen, auf die ich in Abschnitt XIII zurückkomme, sehen wir in verwirrender Fülle auf uns eindringen. Neben den großen, an die Kulthandlungen anschließenden, von der gesamten Dorf-

einwohnerschaft ausgeführten Medizinen *(malón, ongusgu)* habe ich an hundert kleinere Medizinen, die den einzelnen Mann wieder auf die „Jägerbeine" bringen sollen, aufgezeichnet.

Unter den verschiedenen hier zu besprechenden Formen der Jagd ist die niedrigste, die Treibjagd, die ja nichts weiter ist als ein Hineinjagen der Beute in Fallen, am meisten ausgebildet. Wir haben da zu unterscheiden:

1. Treibjagd auf niedere Tiere in Körbe,
2. Treibjagd auf Hochwild in Netze.

Bei der Treibjagd auf niederes, in Höhlen lebendes Wild, insbesondere auf Quastenstachler *(ngém)*, werden längliche Körbe *(nkiṛ-ngém)* aus den Stengeln des **Sarcophrynium velutinum** K. Sch. *(okiélkui)* (Abb. 86, Fig. 1) verwendet, die man an die verschiedenen Ausgänge der Höhle legt. An einem stellt sich der Jäger selbst auf und läßt einen Hund in den Gang oder klopft mit einem Stocke auf den Boden. Das geängstigte Tier flüchtet einem der übrigen Ausgänge zu und gerät in den Korb, wo es sich festklemmt und wegen seiner Stacheln nicht so schnell zurückkann. Ein flugs herbeieilender Mann tötet das Tier mit dem Speer.

Eine zweite Art von Körben, nur entsprechend dünner (Abb. 86, Fig. 2), wird an Rattenlöcher gelegt. Die Tiere werden in einem förmlichen Treiben, an dem sich die ganze Jugend des Dorfes beteiligt, in den Korb gejagt und getötet. Diese Körbe werden *nain* genannt.

Was diese mit großem Hallo betriebenen Rattentreibjagden für die Jungen sind, das ist dem Erwachsenen die Treibjagd auf Wild *(nigm I, ekim)*. Aneinandergereihte Tiernetze *(ngi)* von oft 16 m Länge werden an geeigneten Stellen im Busch, oft in weit sich hinziehenden Schneisen, aufgestellt; gegen diese scheuchen die Treiber, unterstützt von Hunden, die hölzerne Glocken *(nkpo-myé I, mygao IV, ongin e myé, ekin e myé, ongiṛ-myé, ekwgie)*, Abb. 87, um den Hals tragen, die Tiere, die sich in den Maschen verwickeln und von den dort aufgestellten Jägern geschossen werden. Übrigens ist diese Treibjagd ein großes Unternehmen und allgemeines Volksfest. Ausführlicher zu beschreiben ich mir allerdings versagen muß. Bemerken will ich nur, daß auf diese Weise oft eine erkleckliche Anzahl von Antilopen und anderem Wild gefangen wird, und es verdient immerhin Anerkennung, daß die Fangwe dieses Unterfangen, das in dem schlechten und unwegsamen Urwaldgebiet in der Tat nicht einfach ist, mit Glanz zu Ende führen; sogar das Treiben von Elefanten in große umzäunte Plätze ist den Fang nicht unbekannt und soll früher, als das Gebiet noch reicher an diesen Dickhäutern war, häufiger ausgeübt worden sein.

Die Verteilung des Fleisches der auf Treibjagden erbeuteten Tiere ist geregelt; erlegt z. B. ein Jäger ein Stück Wild so, daß es auf der Stelle verendet,

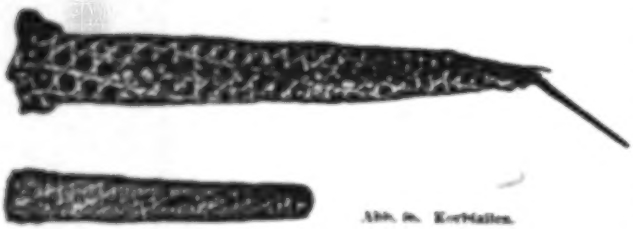


Abb. 8. Korbfallen.

so muß er dem ersten Jagdgenossen, der hinzukommt, Fleisch von einem Vorderfuß abgeben, läuft dagegen das Wild noch weiter, so hat er Anspruch auf den ganzen Vorderfuß, der zweite auf die Schulterstücke *(abar)*[1]) der einen Seite, der dritte auf die Außenseite der Schenkel *(ebarn)*; derjenige endlich, welcher das Tier fortträgt, kann die Halsknochen mit etwas Fleisch *(ebö,ŏ)*[2]) beanspruchen.

Bei dem leicht erregbaren und stürmischen Charakter der Pangwe ist es kein Wunder, daß manche bei dieser Jagd, wo überall aus den Büschen das begehrte leckere *fil* (*fil* = Fleisch und Wild) hervorspringt, den Kopf vollständig verlieren und blindlings auf alles, was sich bewegt, losschießen. Dabei kommt es denn sehr häufig vor, daß so ein wilder Nimrod einen Jagdgenossen oder einen Treiber über den Haufen schießt. Jagdunfälle sind an der Tagesordnung und machen den unglücklichen Jäger der Familie des Getöteten gegenüber haftpflichtig. Um sich in diesem Rechtsstreit mildernde Umstände zu sichern, versteckt man sich zur Entschuldigung hinter den Glauben, daß einige „böse" Menschen oder Zauberer sich in Antilopen verwandeln können und sich in solcher Form schießen lassen, um — des Lebens müde — noch zuletzt ihrem Feinde Ungelegenheiten zu bereiten. Der Jäger erklärt, das wäre auch im Augenblick des Schusses der Fall gewesen; er hätte eine Antilope gesehen, auf sie geschossen, und nun läge ein Mensch da, er sei also ohne Schuld. Diese Ausrede hilft ihm in der Sache wenig, da die gemeine Handlungsweise des Opfers den Pechvogel keineswegs der Verpflichtung, ein ausreichendes Sühnegeld für den Getöteten oder Verwundeten zu bezahlen, enthebt, aber sie verkleinert doch seine Schuld.

Übrigens werden auch einzelne Tiere, deren frische Spuren der Hund aufgefunden hat, in Netze getrieben. Man stellt dabei durch Einkreisen *(a kiŏ e fil)* den Aufenthaltsort der Tiere fest und jagt sie mit Hilfe der übrigen Dorfbewohner in das Netz.

---

[1]) Vom Stamme *bi* teilen; diese Stücke werden meist zuerst verteilt, weil das Tier mit den Schultern zuerst auf die Erde (die ja auch gemeinsames Gut ist) fällt.

[2]) Denn er trägt das Tier auch am Halse (über die Schultern gelegt): *a bŏŋ je bŏŏ* — tragen.

Abb. 87. Blasebälgchen.

Auf der Einzeljagd *(ełłpał)* versagen die Pangwe — wie im Anfang angeführt — mehr oder weniger. Ein eigenes Wort für Jäger gibt es nicht, *npał a npá III* heißt: „der mit der Flinte schießt", und muß das Wort Jäger ersetzen, dagegen ist *nłłpmr III* einer, der Tiere und Fische „fängt". Von der gewaltigen Menge der jagdbaren Tiere des waldbedeckten Landes werden nur die wenigsten ohne Hilfe von Fallen, Netzen und Treibern erlegt, von größeren am meisten noch — außer Elefanten — wegen ihres Wertes Schweine und Leoparden[5]). Früher jagte man auch Büffel, die es allerdings nur an den großen Flüssen (Kampo usw.) gibt, und deren Haut man zu den bekannten Schilden gebrauchte; seit die letzteren mit Einführung des Steinschloßgewehres wertlos geworden sind, scheidet dieser Beweggrund aus, allein des Fleisches wegen sie zu jagen, dazu ist die Jagd zu gefährlich; ebenso wenig lohnend ist die auf Gorilla und Schimpanse, und einen reinen Jagdsport kennen die Leute, mit verschwindenden Ausnahmen, nicht. Die Birsch auf Antilopen ist den Pangwe ohne Stellnetze zu schwierig und mühsam. Meerkatzen, deren Jagd abwechslungsreich, nicht allzu schwierig — obgleich manche Affen recht-scharfe Augen und Ohren haben — und lohnend ist[6]). Eichhörnchen und kleinere Vögel werden mit der Armbrust geschossen.

Daß die Armbrust europäischen Vorbildern nachgeahmt sei, halte ich selbst für eine verfehlte Annahme; wie sollte denn wohl ein Neger darauf kommen, das Vorbild so umzumodeln und gar noch — wie es die Bassi am Sanaga tun — das Vorderende zu einem schaftartigen Fortsatz zu verlängern und ihm zuweilen eine echte Speerklinge mit Tülle aufzusetzen. Mir liegt der Gedanke, daß man Speer und Bogen vereinigt und so selbständig eine neue Waffe geschaffen hat, näher. Schließlich ist nicht-nachweisbar, daß von der Westküste

---

[5]) Ein Leopard war früher so viel wert wie eine Frau.

[6]) Die Affen werden durch Blasen auf einer durchlöcherten Frucht, dem Affenlocker *(ełpa, ełpj)*, Abb. 88b, die Vögel mit einem, *złje IV, zł* genannten, mörserartigen Instrument, Abb. 88a, angelockt.

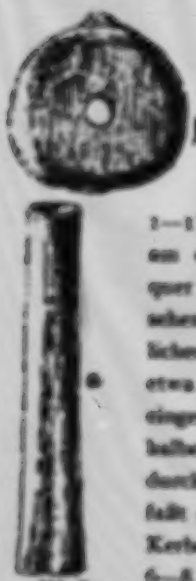


Abb. 91. Leopardenfalle a der Affen, b der Vögel

Afrikas aus, mit Ausnahme der letzten Jahrzehnte des 19. Jahrhunderts, überhaupt europäischer Einfluß bis zu den Pangwe gedrungen ist.

Die Armbrust (*mkpa II*), Abb. 89, besteht aus zwei Teilen, dem Schaft (*ngwa[a]-mb.*)[7] und dem Bogen (*ndi[i]-mb.*)[8] mit der Sehne. Der Schaft ist ein 1—1½ m langes, im Querschnitt plattelliptisches Holz, das sich am oberen Ende eisenkopfförmig verdickt und hier mit einem quer durchgehenden quadratischen Ausschnitt für den Bogen versehen ist. Der ganze andere Teil des Schaftes ist durch einen mittleren Längsschnitt in zwei Blätter geteilt, von denen das obere etwa handbreit unterhalb des verdickten Schaftendes kreuzförmig eingeschnitten ist, so daß der Querarm des Kreuzes nur durch die halbe Dicke des Holzes geht, also eine Kerbe bildet, der Längsarm durch die ganze Dicke geht, also einen Ausschnitt bildet; in diesen faßt ein entsprechend geformter Zapfen des unteren Blattes. Die Kerbe ist für die Sehne des Bogens bestimmt. Vor ihr ist eine 6—8 cm lange Längsrinne in den Schaft eingeschnitten, die mit Bienenwachs ausgefüllt wird und das Lager für den Pfeil bildet.

Zum Spannen der Armbrust nimmt man den Schaft unter den rechten Arm, stemmt das eine Knie gegen den Bogen, faßt die Sehne mit den Händen und zieht sie in die Kerbe, wobei der Zapfen und mit ihm das ganze untere Blatt etwas nach unten gedrückt wird.

Bei der Schußabgabe (Abb. 90) hebt man die Armbrust bis zur Schulterhöhe, stützt sie etwa in der Mitte mit der linken Hand und drückt mit der rechten die beiden Schaftblätter hinten zusammen. Dadurch schnellt sich der Zapfen in den Ausschnitt und drückt die Sehne hervor, die das Geschoß mit großer Kraft fortschleudert.

[7] Für den Schaft werden die Hölzer folgender drei Ammacrem bevorzugt: **Neoscyphidium lepidotum** Engl. et Diels (*ewjem*), **Xylopia aliaria** Engl. (*mefuna IV*) und **Brachylaena ankolibiba** Engl. (*mepfere III*).

[8] Für den Bogen werden wegen ihres starken Holzes genommen: 1. **Olea gramandii** Engl., Ioeinaceae, (*ellem*); 2. Sapindaceae: **Pancovia pedicellata** Radlk. et Gilg und **Placodiscus sparsus** Radlk. (*ipik*); 3. Violaceen **Rinorea longipyala** Engl. (*ipikwel*) und **R. welwitschii** (Oliv.) O. Ktze. (*mepelik*); 4. Rubiaceen **Rondia acuminata** Bth. und **microcalyx** K. Sch. (*ejiri*); 5. Annonaceen **Trichoscypha** spec. (*ipik e mekum*); 6. Rubiaceen **Gardenia latifolium** K. Sch. (*ebelem*), scheint nicht so sehr geeignet zu sein; 7. Polygalaceen **Carpolobia alba** Don. (*ensik*); 9. eine Rubiacee (*ngi*).

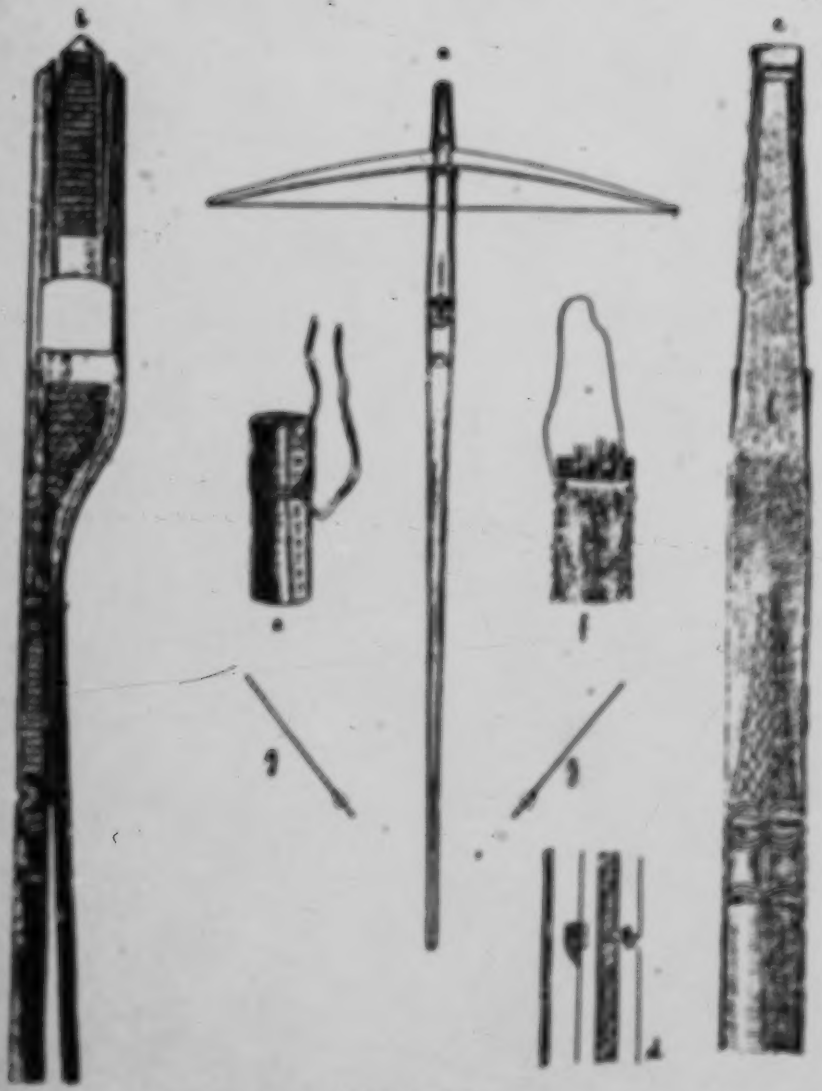


Abb. 80. Armbrüste.
a von oben, b oberer Teil des Schaftes von der Seite, c Bogenteile von unten, d Kugelgewichtchen, e Kinderarmbrust mit Zahnrädern der Pfeile, f Köcher, g Pfeile.

Die kurzen Pfeile *(ebej)* (Abb. 8y g), die in kölnischen Köchern *(kojo IV)* aus Tierfell (Abb. 8y f) oder in Rindenschächtelchen mitgeführt wurden, sind aus Kaphickhartriebstücke und kurz vor dem unteren Ende gespalten, so daß

Abb. 96. Jäger mit einer Armbrust.

ein dreieckiges Blattstück *(ndé-ndjo IV)* aus dem Blatte der Monopetanoe Preussiana langfiniae Mieve. *(ndé-ndjo)*, seltener der Phacostiaceae, Lindackeria dentata (Olive.) Gilg *(ngim e ndé)*[9]), im äußersten Notfalle auch des Sarcophyrium als Flugsicherung eingeschoben werden kann. Die Spitze ist mit einer Salbe aus zerriebenen Strophanthus-Samen[9]) vergiftet.

Obwohl diese Waffe in den Händen der Eingeborenen viel gefährlicher ist als ein Vorderlader, so wird sie doch im Kriege nie benutzt, weil auch vor Einführung des Gewehrs keine Kriegswaffe gewesen sein.

---

[9]) *ngim* = Mann, d. i. männliche *ndé (ndum)*.
[9]) Wohl Strophanthus kombé Olive. *(ngm,)*.

Abschnitt VI.

Nahrungs- und Genußmittel.

1. **Nahrungsmittel.** Rohmaterialien: Fleischkost (Menschenfleisch, erlegtes Wildtier und anderes Tier); — Pflanzenkost (wilde Pflanzen mit eßbaren Blättern, Früchten); — Gewürze (Pfeffer, Salz und seine Gewinnung); — Öl; — Küchenzubereitung. — Küchen- und Kochgeräte (Mahlsteine, Mahlbretter, Pfannenbäcker, Kochtöpfe, Bratpfannen und andere Löffel der Frau, Kochtöpfe). — Zubereitung: 1. Kaumus (Kaumusvorräte; Kaumusarbeitsplatz; gekochte Kaumusvorräte; menstruierte, in ausgiebigstübung gebrauchte Blätter gekochte Kaumus, geklingelte Kaumus). 2. Pfeifen. 3. Erbsen (Erbsenbaum, Erbsenbrücke), Erbsenbrei, Erbsenkuppel). 4. Spiele. 5. Mais (Maisbaum, Maisuppe, Maisbrei, Maisbrei). Andere Getränke und Fleisch. — Mahlzeiten. — Essen. — Tischgeräte, Eßlöffel und seine Formen.

2. **Getränke und Genußmittel.** Getränke: Wasser, Trinkgefäße, Wasserkam. — Genußmittel: Zerkauvorrath, Bananenwein, Palmwein (Vorkommen der palmweinliefernden Palmen, Gifte des Palmweins, Ausgaben und Gewinnung, Gewinnungsmethoden, Haltbarkeit) — Tabakmöglichkeit. — Tabak (Ahnen der Tabakpflanzen, Rauchen, Tabakpfeifen, Pflege der Tabakpflanzen, Behandlung der Blätter).

Einer der höchsten bildlichen Genüsse ist dem Pangwe das Fleisch (*ntí*, gekochtes Fleisch: *ntindjwan* = *ti* von *a nidin* = kochen). Vom Menschen an bis herab zur kleinsten Termite erscheint ihm kaum etwas ungenießbar.

Es gilt als erwiesen, daß die Südpangwe bei Gelegenheit Menschenfleisch essen (Abb. 91), die Pangwe in der Gesamtheit kann man indes nicht als Menschenfresservolk bezeichnen. Bei den nördlichen Unterstämmen wird eingeräumt von Kannibalismus berichtet, und die Eingeborenen behaupten, daß er auch früher nicht bei ihnen bekannt gewesen sei. Bei den mittleren Fang in Spanisch-Guinea und im französischen Gebiet dagegen werden anscheinbarweise von einigen die gefallenen Feinde verspeist; das geschieht angeblich keineswegs aus religiösen Gründen, sondern stellt einen bis zum äußersten durchgeführten Rachakt dar, durch den der Feind an einem Tier herabgewürdigt und wie ein solches verspeist wird. Daß Verwandte oder Angehörige derselben Sippe geschlachtet und verzehrt würden, habe ich nie gehört und wäre auch in den Augen der Fang ein unglaubliches Verbrechen. Gegen im Süden, besonders nach Südostens zu, wo die Pangwe durch Mischung mit ihren Nachbarstämmen im Wesen verändert sind, mag die Menschenfresserei etwas häufiger sein; wahrscheinlich ist sie überhaupt

[p. 143]

Abb. 91. Messer aus einer Speerklinge zum Zerlegen eines geschossenen Bovariers.

von den in dieser Beziehung berüchtigten östlichen Grenzstämmen, insonderheit den Njem, übernommen.

Den Hauptfleischbedarf decken also die Tiere, und hier macht der Pangwe nicht einmal vor der dicken Haut des Elefanten halt; fast alles ist ihm genießbar. Nicht gegessen werden von Säugetieren nur Spitzmaus, Hausratte und das Zwergeichhörnchen **Sciurus pamilio** Leconte *(mɔnɔ-ɛdɔ)*, von Reptilien Chamäleon, die Eidechse **Lygosoma fernandi** Burt. *(ebɔmɔkɔkɔ)* und die **Agama colonorum** Daud. *(ngɔdɔ III)*, von Amphibien die Kröten: **Bufo superciliaris** Blgr. *(mɔgɔ IV)* und **Bufo latifrons** Blgr. *(dɔgɔ*, Mehrz: *bɔgɔ, mɔgɔ)* sowie der Frosch **Rana macrovinensis** D. et B. *(nkɔgɔ I)*. Die Gründe, weshalb diese Tiere niemals gegessen werden, werde ich zusammen mit den Speiseverboten in Abschnitt XIII besprechen.

Die Bezeichnung für die einzelnen Teile des geschlachteten Tieres (Ziege) sind aus Abb. 92 ersichtlich.

Von wirbellosen Tieren werden gegessen: die Larven *(ɛjɔ IV)* des Palmenrüsslers **Rhynchophorus phoeniciis** Fabr. und des Nashornkäfers **Augosoma centaurus** F. Pl. (Larve = *ɔkɔm)*; von den Jaunde die großen Elefantenmistkäfer, **Copris** (*ɔjɔdɔk* J.), selbst; 21 verschiedene Raupenarten, meist **Saturniden** (*nkɔn I* = eßbare Raupe); Libellenlarven und Termiten (*ɛkɔm IV* Nt., *kɔp* J.); Taschenkrebse und Garnelen, Schnecken, mit Ausnahme der Nacktschnecken, und eine Flußmuschel.

Von den genannten niederen Tieren verdienen die in den Blattstielen der Raphiapalme lebenden Nashornkäferlarven auch die Beachtung der Europäer, da sie gebraten recht wohlschmeckend sind, ja fast als Leckerbissen gelten können (man denke an den Genuß der Römer!); auch den Termiten könnte man Geschmack abgewinnen, wenn sich durch irgendein Verfahren die unangenehmen langen Flügel beseitigen ließen. Im Mwelegebiet bei Simekna sah ich die in den Pflanzungen stehenden Termitenhaufen der *kɔp* genannten Art sorgfältig umbogt; die in Massen ausfliegenden Tiere wurden in Körben gefangen und zum Teil lebendig, mitsamt den Flügeln, gegessen, zum Teil von den Frauen zubereitet. Die Tierchen schmecken nach rohem Eiern und würden zu einer Art Brot verbacken gar nicht übel sein, wenn nicht, wie gesagt, die Flügel eine unerwünschte Zugabe wären.

Wenn sich die Pangwe nicht in der Ausübung des Weidwerks so stümperhaft zeigten, wenn sie nicht einen wahren Horror vor dem Schlachten der Haustiere hätten, und wenn sie die Fallenstellerei etwas eifriger und geregelter be-

treiben wollten, so würden sie bei dem Wildreichtum ihres Landes an frischem Fleisch keinen Mangel leiden. So aber bildet die Pflanzenkost ihre Hauptnahrung.

Abb. 92.
Namen der Fleischteile eines Schlachtschweines.
1. Kopf = [illegible].
2. Hals = [illegible].
3. Vorder = [illegible].
4. Lende = [illegible].
5. Bug = [illegible].
6. Hinter und Vorderbeine = [illegible].
7. Bibbenstück = [illegible].
8. Kronenstück = [illegible].
9. Schwanzstück = [illegible].
10. Speck = [illegible].
11. Schicke über den Geschlechtsteilen = [illegible].
12. Kinnbacken und Hinterbeine = [illegible].

Die Genußpflanzen sind, soweit sie angebaut werden, bereits im vorigen Abschnitt erwähnt; die wildwachsenden kommen unter gewöhnlichen Verhältnissen nur zum Teil ständig auf den Tisch, in Hungerzeiten aber, oder wenn sonst einmal das Essen knapp geworden ist, dienen sie dem Pangwe häufig als Nahrung.

Zu nennen sind da von Palmen die Ölpalme, die Raphiapalme und besonders **Ancistrophyllum**, dessen jüngste Blätter (Palmkohl) gegessen werden; von Begoniaceen **Begonia poggei** Wrbg. *(mfo e kij* Nt.) und **B. silhetensis** Wrbg. *(ewu e kijio)*; von Amaranthaceen **Celosia argentea** L. *(nsum ompha, nsum ojjo)*, **C. lanata** Schum. usw. *(nsum e jjijim)* und **Pupalia lappacea** L. *(nsum e kijit)*; von Acanthaceen **Justicia insularis** T. And. *(jiji)*, **Endosiphon oblongus** Clke. *(nsum ndzij, mantmongimo III)* und **Pseuderanthemum nigrillanum** (T. And.) Radlk. *(ndzij I)*; von Urticaceen **Urera laevenii** de Willd. *(mjio I)* und **Fleurya aestuans** (L.) Gaud. *(ngaigu IV)*; von Euphorbiaceen **Micrococca mercurialis** (L.) Benth. *(ojji)*; von Tiliaceen **Corchorus olitorius** L. *(ngbiki-ligmo IV)*; von Melastomataceen **Dissophora spennerodim** Bth. *(mfo-oli)* und **Dissotis decumbens** (P. B.) Tr. *(ojjolo-bongpo-k'ojjo)*; von Moraceen **Myrianthus arborens** P. B. *(mangimo III F., ongnkipo* Nt., J.); von Araceen **Rhektophyllum mirabile** N. E. Brown *(ndio IV, kiju IV)*; von Dioscoreaceen **Dioscorea prehensilis** Bth. *(mfo)*; von Farnkräutern *(ofu IV)* endlich besonders **Dryopteris tamentella** C. Chr., **Dr. megaphylla** (Mett.) C. Chr. *(mojji m'ohjji)*, **Dr. parasitica** (L.) O. Ktze. *(ondinda ohj)*, **Dr. gongylodes** (Kuhn) O. Ktze. *(mpio)*, **Nephrolepis gaiacensis** (Kuhn) *(ohindmo III)*, **Aleuphila cumorensis** Diels *(ntufu-ojiji)* und **Diplazium silvaticum** (Borg.) Sw. *(mfi)*.

Früchte werden sehr wenig kultiviert. Von ihnen ist die Banane die einzige altsudanische, während neuerdings eingeführt sind die Ananas *(ekokojiro I F., ekomonji* Nt. ¶), die über das ganze Gebiet verstreut, wenn auch nur in spärlicher Anzahl angepflanzt wird, die über einen schmalen Küstenstreifen kaum hinausgekommene **Papaya Carica papaya** *(pipiji* J., *ekikkontiogan* Nt., F.) ¶, deren Bäumchen sich zählen lassen, Ananas, kleine Zitronen, Citrus

¶ *ekoi* Zucker, *ojiio* Liliaceen, Cyperaceen; *ekoi* Cyperus (von den Mwele), wegen der den Cyperaceen ähnlichen Blätter.

¶ *ekiki* = **Mimusops djave** (Lam.) Engl. *e ntongio* des Weißen.

Bassam Risso *(ofjs F., ofjo Nt., ofjambés IV)* und für Europäer fast ungenießbare Apfelsinen.

Kokospalmen (*mbéa I, ofjmo I*, Nt., *F., ovgondp IV* J.) gibt es nur am Meeresstrande und auch dort nur in geringer Anzahl.

Vielleicht angepflanzt wird die einheimische „Buschpflaume" **Pachylobus edulis** E. Don., **var. mubafo** Engl., Burseracee (*ozd* Nt., *ofjgod F.*), die man nur in oder bei Dörfern antrifft. Die wundervoll lilablau oder leuchtend rosa gefärbten Früchte werden auf dem Feuer geröstet, das gelbe, ganz wohlschmeckende Fruchtfleisch wird warm gegessen.

Alle anderen Früchte, die von den Pangwe gegessen werden, wachsen wild. Der Buschpflaume in Gestalt und Geschmack der Früchte verwandt ist **Pachylobus trazielleliss** Engl. *(ozzf, Früchte ozf IV)*, die auch ebenso zubereitet wird. Sehr wichtig sind die ölhaltigen Früchte der Sapotacee, **Mimusops djave** (Lam.) Engl. *(ddzob, Früchte ebje)*. Sie gleichen einem großen Apfel; das Fruchtmus, in dem die zwei bis vier Samen eingebettet sind, ist sehr klebrig, aber recht wohlschmeckend; die Samen werden zur Ölbereitung benutzt. Nächst diesen besitzt eine große Bedeutung die **Irvingia barteri** Hook. f., Simarubacee *(andjt, Früchte ndjt IV)*. Merkwürdigerweise wissen die Pangwe den Saft des gelben Fruchtfleisches, der außerordentlich duftig und erfrischend ist — vorausgesetzt allerdings, daß die Früchte gerade im richtigen Reifezustand sind — nicht zu schätzen, wie sie überhaupt, im Gegensatz zu den Küstenstämmen, vielen Waldfrüchten (z. B. den Früchten des Kardamoms, der Palme **Podococcus barteri** u. a.) wenig Bedeutung beimessen oder sie nicht zu nutzen verstehen. Der nahrhafte Inhalt des Kernes wird getrocknet gegessen oder zu einer Art Brei verarbeitet. Eine so schmackhafte Tunke aus den Früchten zuzubereiten wie die Bassi, verstehen die Pangwe nicht; auch ist das Nußbrot der Mpongwe ihnen unbekannt. Weitere wichtige eßbare Nüsse sind **Cola edulis** Baill., Olacinacee *(ewogmo F., ondgmo Nt., Früchte kromb* bzw. *bógmo)*, **Panda oleosa** Pierre *(ofjmo[k], Früchte jómo[k])* und eine mir unbekannt gebliebene Art *(andp, Früchte ndp IV)*. Sehr schmackhaftes und erfrischendes Fruchtfleisch liefern folgende Bäume: Burseracee **Pachylobus macrophyllus** (Oliv.) *(dodzipm Nt., ofjpm F., Früchte ndzipm IV Nt., ifjm IV F.)*, Annonaceen **Trichoscypha** spec. *(omydi, Früchte mydi IV)* und *(ongjn, Früchte ngjn)*; etwas säuerlich, aber recht erfrischend ist das Mus (Pulpe), in dem die Kerne verschiedener **Landolphia**-Arten eingebettet sind, und zwar von **L. owaricae** K. Sch. *(ovjm)*, **L. pierrei** Stapf *(dzó III)* und zwei anderen Arten *(ofjpdo F.* und *kpmo III)*. Alles übrigen Früchten — soweit ich sie gekostet habe — kann der Europäer kaum besonderen Reiz abgewinnen, ja, einige, wie **Lecoudieria** und **Pseudospondias**, sind von geradezu scheußlichem Geschmack und — wie man in Westafrika sagt — good for blackmen, no good for whitemen. Ihre Namen sind: **Parinarium immaculatum** Engl., Rosaceae *(ofjet)*, **Chrysophyllum lacourtianum** Engl., Sapotaceae *(ndzm I)*, **Pachylobus lacourtianum** Engl., Burseraceae *(ngo-ongjiingd)*, **Lecoudieria spinosissima denticulata** Radlk., Sapindaceae *(ntetjo)*, **Pseudospondias microcarpa** (Rich.) Engl., Anacardiaceae *(ofjo)*, **Pseudospondias lacourtianum** Engl., ebenso *(ongjiigo)*.

Sub Scientia Phoenix

1. MALOPEGIA ACUMINATA R. BR. FAM. ZINGIBERACEAE.
2. CYRTOSPERMA SENEGALENSE (SCHOTT) ENGL. FAM. ARACEAE.

[facing p. 116]

Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth., Leguminosae *(ebǝ̂)*, **Cola acuminata** (P. B.) R. Br., Sterculiaceae *(abí)*, **Carpolobia alba** Don., Polygalaceae *(ongǝ̂, ŋgonk)*, **Rhododendron africanum** Muell. Arg., Euphorbiaceae *(ezǝŋʌ́ŋ)*, **Myrianthus arboreus** P. B., Moraceae *(mangǝ́ne III F., engǝ̂kǝm* Nt., J.), **Desbordesia glaucescens** Engl., Simarubaceae *(alǝ̂)*, **Dubosia macrocarpa** (?) Bocq., Tiliaceae *(ahǝk e sʌ́n)*, **Ongokea gladulosa** Stapf, Apocynaceae und **Tylostemon mimiflorus** Stapf, Lauraceae *(dǝ̂-odí,dǝ́ik* bzw. *bodǝ́ibodí,dǝ́ik)*, **Tristemma hirtum** Vent., Melastomataceae *(abé-ofǝ́,e)*, **Cassia sarcoliana** Gilg, Connaraceae *(ebǝ́n e ndǝ́ik)*, **Vitex bipindensis** Gürke, Verbenaceae *(ayǝ́bn)*, **Anonidium mannii** Oliv., Anonaceae *(ebǝ́m ebí)*, **Sarcocephalus cambucinus** (K. Sch.) *(alǝ́ma, alǝ́ma* und *akǝ́ndǝ́,m)*, die Palme **Podococcus barteri** M. et W. *(mimaŋine)* sowie verschiedene **Aframomum**-Arten, z. B. die in Band II abgebildete **Afr. alboviolaceum** K. Sch. *(edǝ́ǝm*, Früchte *eǝ́,n)*.

Schließlich spielen Pilze, von denen die Fang zwanzig eßbare Arten unterscheiden, im Haushalt eine wichtige Rolle; giftige Bodenpilze scheinen, mit Ausnahme einer übelriechenden, mit einer Art Schleier überdeckten Morchel, nicht vorzukommen.

Von Gewürzen sind Pfeffer und Salz bekannt, beide den Pangwe zur Zubereitung der Speisen unentbehrlich. Pfeffer, **Capsicum** *(ekǝ́lǝ́n IV, endǝ́ndǝ́ III)*, wird in drei Arten und vielen Abarten hinter den Häusern oder dicht beim Dorfe angebaut und findet sich verwildert überall in der Nähe menschlicher Ansiedlungen, wo seine grünen, in der Reife roten Früchte jedesmal frisch abgepflückt werden, wenn man sie braucht; sie werden ganz oder auf einem Stein zerrieben an die Speisen getan.

Sehr Umstände macht das Salz. Wenngleich heute das von Europa eingeführte schon fast das ganze Gebiet überschwemmt und, mit dem Tabak zusammen, geradezu einen Wertmesser bildet, so wird an entlegenen Stellen im Innern vielfach noch die schwierige Herstellung aus Sumpfpflanzen nach alter Weise geübt.

Die beiden Hauptsalzpflanzen sind die auf Tafel X abgebildeten **Halopegia azurea** K. Sch., Marantaceae *(nǝ́bn I)* und **Cyrtosperma senegalense** (Schott) Engl., Araceae *(ebǝ́ŋǝ́bǝ́ŋǝ)*; außerdem werden in kleineren Mengen die Wedel der Raphiapalme hinzugetan. Im Fanggebiete werden **Halopegia** und **Cyrtosperma** stets zusammen verwendet, nie eine ausschließlich; an anderen Stellen, z. B. im Ntumgebiet, nimmt man noch folgende Sumpfpflanzen dazu: die Loganiacee **Anthocleista zenkeri** Gilg *(ejǝ́ndǝ́ǝ́n III)*, die Zingiberacee **Renealmia alboroseu** K. Sch. *(edǝ́ǝ́ǝ́ǝ́mǝ́ǝ́m)*, die Urticacee **Boehmeria platyphylla** D. Don. *(ǝ́f[e]-dǝ́ǝ́m)*, die Acanthacee **Brillantaisia vogeliana** Bth. *(ebǝ́ǝ́ǝ́ǝ́n)*, die Araceae **Anchomanes heterophyllus** Engl. *(ǝ́ndǝ́)*, eine Composite *(ǝ́ǝ́f[i]-ǝ́ǝ́n)*, die Commelinaceen **Palisota schweinfurthii** C. B. Cl. *(ǝ́ǝ́ǝ́ǝ́ǝ́ǝ́-ǝ́ǝ́n)* und **Pellia condensata** C. B. Cl. *(ǝ́ǝ́-ǝ́ǝ́,e)*, außerdem da, wo Sumpfpflanzen fehlen, die Marantacee **Phrynium confertum** (Benth.) K. Sch. *(nǝ́bn ǝ́ǝ́n I)* und die schlingende Araceae **Rhektophyllum mirabile** N. E. Brown *(ndǝ́n)*.

Zur Salzgewinnung gehen die Männer in den Sumpf *(ɛpm)*, schlagen die salzliefernden Pflanzen ab und lassen sie zum Trocknen einen Monat an der Sonne liegen. Dann bringt man sie unter ein in der Nähe errichtetes Schutzdach und verbrennt die Blätter und Blattstiele auf offenem Feuer. Die Pflanzenasche, verunreinigt durch die Reste der Feuerscheite, wird ins Dorf gebracht und auf dem Hängeboden über der Feuerstelle im Hause drei Wochen lang zum Trocknen aufbewahrt. Die letzte Arbeit der Männer hierbei ist die Anfertigung eines großen Trichters, den sie aus den Stengeln der Marantacee **Trachyphrynium violaceum** Radlk. *(nkɔmokɔ́mo I)* ziemlich roh zusammenflechten *(ŋpɛ́ɔ́n nkɔ́ IV)*; das weitere übernehmen die Weiber. Sie stellen den Trichter, den sie mit Stangen stützen, innen- oder außerhalb des Hauses auf und legen ihn derart mit Blättern von **Sarcophrynium** aus, daß das unterste Blatt — trichterförmig zusammengefaltet — gerade in die Spitze paßt und die anderen Blätter dachziegelartig die Wand bedecken. Unten schließt man den Trichter durch ein Knäuel aus Gras, **Paspalum** *(ɔbɔ́)*, oder Blättern der **Phyteleaea dodecandra** C. Her. *(ɔlɔ́)*[1] zu einem Filter ab, tut die Asche hinein und gießt Wasser darauf, das ziemlich rasch durch den Filter in ein darunter gestelltes Gefäß sickert. So läßt man das Ganze eine Nacht stehen, gießt am Morgen etwas frisches Wasser nach, um das letzte Salz auszuziehen, und trocknet nun die erhaltene gelbbraune Sole so lange, bis alles Salz *(nkɔ́ I)* ausgefallen ist[2].

[1] Vom Stamm *ɔl* — durchsinken, durchtröpfeln, weil die Sole durch das Kraut hindurchtröpfeln muß.

[2] Die Untersuchung des Salzes, über die Herr W. Lenz vom Pharmazeutischen Institut der Universität Berlin berichtet, ergab folgendes: „Das Buschsalz selbst besaß braune Färbung und ein feuchtkrümeliges Aussehen. Es schmeckte scharf salzig, seine Lösung reagierte stark alkalisch. Die von Herrn Regenstein ausgeführte chemische Untersuchung ergab folgende Zusammensetzung:

43,33 %	KCl (Kaliumchlorid)
27,50 %	K_2SO_4 (Kaliumsulfat)
16,46 %	K_2CO_3 (Kaliumkarbonat)
0,85 %	NaCl (Natriumchlorid)
8,72 %	H_2O (Trockenverlust bei 180°)
3,34 %	Unlösliches (Differenz)
100,00 %	

Das Kalium wurde als Kaliumplatinchlorid vom Natrium getrennt. In dem Unlöslichen wurden Kalzium, Magnesium, Eisen, Aluminium, Mangan, Phosphate, Silikate, Karbonate nachgewiesen und 0,7 % des Salzes SiO_2 (Siliziumdioxyd) bestimmt.

Auffällig ist der hohe Gehalt des Buschsalzes an Chloriden und Sulfaten sowie die Verwendung des überwiegend aus Kaliumsalzen bestehenden Salzgemisches zum Würzen der Speisen, also an Stelle von Kochsalz."

Neben den Gewürzen brauchen die Pangwe als Zutat zu Speisen Öl, das sie aus der Ölpalme, **Elaeis guineensis** L. *(elin)* und der **Mimusops djave** (Lam.) Engl. *(ndidi)* gewinnen, aber so selten, daß seine Verwendung in der Küche gegen diejenige in der Hautpflege ganz zurücktritt. Die Ölgewinnung bespreche ich deshalb bei der letzteren.

Die Küche der Pangwefrau befindet sich, wie beschrieben, im Hause unter den Hängeböden. Einen eigentlichen Herd gibt es nicht; bei den Mwai vertreten ihn drei Steine, sonst aber wird der stets fußlose Topf auf eine Topfscherbe oder unmittelbar auf die geschickt zurechtgelegten Feuerscheite gestellt. Wenn einmal mehr zu kochen ist, z. B. nach einer erfolgreichen Elefantenjagd, so wird der tägliche Feuerplatz zu klein, und man richtet einen zweiten hinter dem Hause her.

Zum Kochen tun — wie jedes kleine Pangwemädchen schon weiß — drei Dinge not: Holz, Wasser und Feuer. An Holz mangelt es nicht; jeden Tag bringt die Hausfrau die nötigen Scheite aus der Pflanzung (Abb. 51) mit. Wasser ist ebenfalls in Menge vorhanden; es braucht nur am Fluß in Kaletassen *(ndjè IV)* oder — bei den Ntum und Okak — in tönernen Wasserflaschen (Abb. 92), P.: *ekapf*, geschöpft zu werden (daher der Name *ekè*, lautnachahmend für das unter Glucksen eindringende Wasser, so auch *e-kèk* = Wasserfall); von dem Feuer haben wir schon in vorigem Abschnitt gesprochen.

Das Küchengerät der Frau ist sehr einfach. Überall vorhanden ist der Mahlstein *(ekpè)* mit dem dazugehörigen kleinen runden Reibstein *(epyè IV)*; jener ist unregelmäßig flach, durch das Reiben glatt gescheuert und liegt meist auf der Erde, wo die Frau bei der Arbeit davorkniet. Bei den Mwai, die in der Kochkunst überhaupt etwas weiter vorgeschritten sind, steht der Stein auf vier kleinen Pflöcken, gleich einem Tischchen, was ihn im Ansehen bedeutend „hebt". Auf dem Mahlstein werden Erdnüsse, Ngon usw. durch Hin- und Herrollen des Reibsteines zerrieben. Demselben Zweck dient ein fast runder Holzteller von der Form eines gestielten Blattes mit erhöhtem Rand *(ezjo-ndjè, ejyè-nd.)* für die Kerne der Irvingia barteri Hook. f. *(andjè, Früchte ndjè IV)*, Abb. 93 sowie als Reiber dazu eine kugelrunde, harte Frucht *(ekrè)*.

In sehr sauberer Weise entfernt die Pangwefrau mit dem halben Schulterblattknochen eines Tieres, z. B. eines Affen (Abb. 94a), mit einem Stück Raphiaeisengel oder einem Bambusspan (Abb. 94b) die Reste der zerriebenen Nüsse oder Kerne vom Mahlstein. Nur selten geschieht dies mit der Hand.

Zum Zerstampfen von Kassavablättern und anderem Gemüse wie zum Entfleischen der Ölpalmenfrüchte dient ein an beiden oder nur an einem Ende

kolbig verdickter Stößel *(ntʌm e mbʌ̄k)* in einer Mulde *(mbʌ̄k I)*, die meist die Gestalt eines Einbaumes (Kanus) mit einem oder seltener zwei Griffen (Abb. 95) hat. Im Mwai- und südlichen Fang gibt es nicht mangelnde Mulden von viereckiger Gestalt und kleine Holztröge mit oder ohne Griff (Abb. 96), *ondin*.

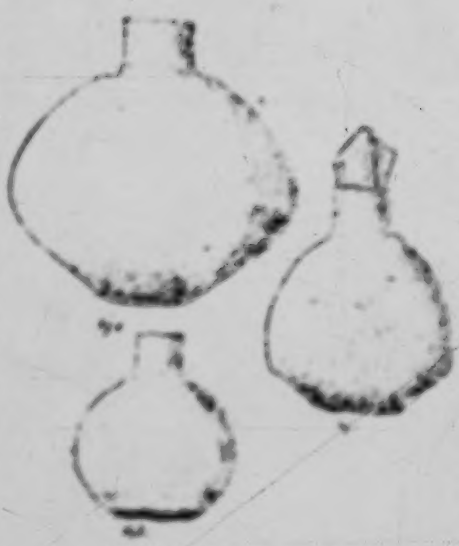


Abb. 95. Tessmann Wassergefäßen.

Die Planten werden mit einem Plantenschäler *(mbʌ̄l)*, Abb. 97, geschält, indem man die Schale stückweise abspringt und abstößt. Er besteht aus einem schmalen Stück Raphiabastrippe und ist öfter mit Rittmustern bläuch verziert.

Der flache Korbteller *(dʌ̄pd*, Mehrzahl *ntpd)*, vgl. Abschnitt VIII, den wir bereits unter den Ackerbau- und Fischfanggeräten kennen gelernt haben, spielt auch in Haus und Küche eine große Rolle, wo er gleichzeitig als Schüssel, Schale, Teller usw. dient. Die Frauen haben eine ganze Auswahl von größeren *(dʌ̄pd)* und kleineren *(ovʌ̄k)* solcher Teller zur Hand. Bisweilen sieht man auch Holzteller oder, besser gesagt, Holzmöpfe von der gleichen Form wie die Korbteller[1].

Der Küchen- oder Rührlöffel *(mbʌ̄ I, ebʌ̄m)*, der streng vom Eßlöffel unterschieden werden muß, ist aus Holz flachgeschnitten (Abb. 98) und dient zum Umrühren von Speisen, Verreiben von Gewürzen und Zerteilen von Brei.

Abb. 98. Holzlöffel zum Umrühren der Speise von Bringa.

Abb. 99. Schnitzereien eines Löffels [illegible] Bemalung ist vom Kunstmaler des Kunstkabinett von Bringa.

Über dem Feuerplatz hat die Frau ihre Eß- oder Schöpflöffel, mit denen sie die Speisen beim Kochen schmeckt und beim Essen aus dem

[1] Aus dem Holz der *Alstonia congensis* Engl. *(ebʌ̄)*, Apocynaceae, oder der Ceiba pentandra (L.) Gärtn. *(dom)*.

Topf herausschlägt. Es gibt verschiedene Formen, von denen die einfachste ein Sarcophryniumblatt ist, das in Lederform zusammengefaltet und nur einmal gebraucht wird. Dieser Blattlöffel heißt *mpwa I*. Eine höhere Stufe stellen der Kalebassenlöffel *(ngwete)*, verfertigt aus einer halb durchschnittenen kleinen Frucht

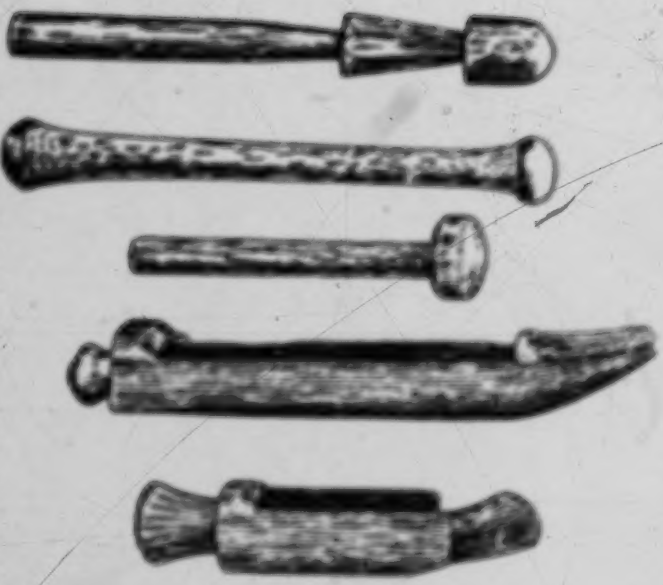


Abb. 78. Löffel aus Holz.

den Kalebassenkürbis (Abb. 99 und 100), und der Schneckenlöffel *(ekiwa, ekikiwa)*, Abb. 101 dar, der aus der großen Achatina marginata Sw. *(kuf)* hergestellt wird, indem man ein Stück aus der Schale herausschneidet. Sie sind die eigentlichen Gebrauchslöffel der Frau und entsprechen als solche dem hölzernen Eßlöffel *(ngo)* des Mannes. Die Frau gebraucht niemals Schöpflöffel aus Holz.

Das wichtigste Küchengerät ist der Kochtopf *(mvet I, 11/8, Mekwaki 11/5)* aus Ton *(11/8)*, von dem jede Frau eine Reihe größerer *(mvet, 11/8)* und kleinerer *(ekiki)* und dem Topfboden *(ekala o mvet)* besitzt. Durch den Fabrikmißbrauch sind bereits einzelne, mit drei Füßen versehene Töpfe *(mekiwa III)* überaus verbreitet.

Abb. 79. Stampfer aus Holz.

Durch diesen allgemeinen Ver-

bemerkungen gebe ich der Beschreibung der Zubereitungsweisen der hauptsächlichsten Küchengewächse über. Die für die Erzählung wichtigsten seien noch einmal der Reihe nach aufgeführt: Kassave, Plantie, Erdnuß, Ngon, Mais, Taro, Yams[1]) (Fanggebiet).

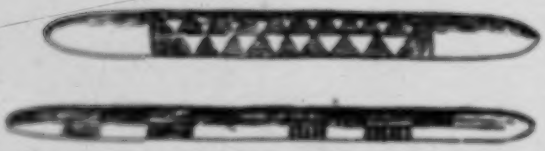


Abb. 91. Pfeilmesserhälfte.

1. Kassave.

Die Wurzel wird auf fünferlei verschiedene Weisen, wenn ich von unbedeutenden Unterschieden absehe, zubereitet. Zwei von ihnen, nämlich zerstiebene, in einer steighügelförmig gebogenen Blattrolle gekochte Kassave *(nkpwo-mkpe)* und geknüpfte Kassave *(ananaa-mkpe)* — wenig schmackhaft und wenig sorgfältig zubereitet — sind in der Hauptsache Fruerspeise. Die drei übrigen sind im wesentlichen für Männer bestimmt, nämlich Kassaverollen, sogenannte Kanke[2]) *(ebibi)*, ihrer handlichen Form wegen auf Reisen die ausschließliche Nahrung. Kassaverschnitzel *(ssa,-mkpe)* und endlich gekochte Kassaveworzeln *(ngbwo,wo-mkpe)*. Im ganzen Gebiete herrscht in puncto Kassavespeisen Übereinstimmung, mit der alleinigen Ausnahme, daß jene steighügelförmigen Blattrollen bei den Nzua und Fang auch einmal hier und da von Männern gegessen werden.

Dem europäischen Geschmack sagt die Kassave, die vielleicht unsere Kartoffel ersetzen könnte, wegen ihres scharfen Geruches wenig zu, zumal in den Formen, wie die Neger sie bereiten. Am ehesten können uns noch — trotz des kleisterartigen Geruches — die wurstförmigen Kassaverollen im Norden, wo die Wurzeln vorher in reinem, fließendem Wasser gelegt werden, behagen, wenn man sie nach europäischer Weise in Scheiben schneidet oder zerstiebene mit einem Ei vermischt und in Butter brät. Ganz schlimm sind die Kanke im Süden, weil dort die Wurzeln vor der Zubereitung eine Zeitlang in den Sumpf gemischt werden und dadurch einen ganz widerwärtigen Modergeruch annehmen.

α) Kassaverollen oder Kassavebrote *(mkpe l-mk., ebibi)*.

Sie erfordern zur Zubereitung längere Zeit, nämlich 4—5 Tage. Die Wurzeln werden so, wie sie aus der Pflanzung kommen, also mit der Rinde und unzerkleinert (mit Ausnahme von ganz großen Wurzeln, die durchgeschnitten

[1]) Kleinere Wiederholungen sind in den einzelnen Abschnitten der Deutlichkeit halber nicht ganz zu vermeiden. Der Leser möge sie gütigst entschuldigen.

[2]) Die Herkunft dieses Wortes ist mir nicht klar geworden; ich weiß nicht, ob es ein aus anderen Negersprachen übernommenes oder im Kletzenzeglich verdorbenes europäisches Wort ist.

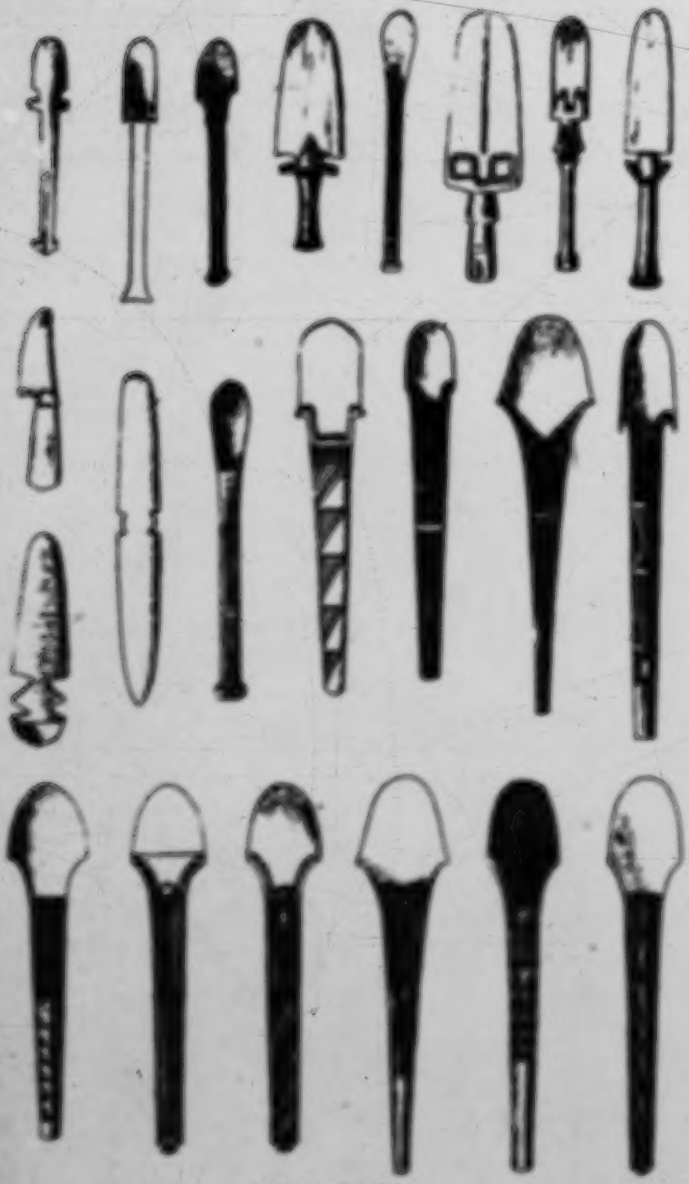


Abb. 90. [illegible]

Abb. 91. [illegible]

Abb. 92. [illegible]

werden), in Wassertöcher gelegt, um ihre giftigen Stoffe auszuziehen. Auf die Beschaffenheit des Wassers legen die Frauen der Ntum und Fang keinen Wert, ja sie scheinen mit Vorliebe gerade sumpfige Stellen, z. B. Raphiasümpfe, auszuwählen. Man sieht da häufig auf dem vollständig trüben Wasser und am Rande der Pfützen die Reste der Kassave, über der eine Unzahl von Schmetterlingen, insbesondere von Blaulingen, Weißlingen, Papilio-Arten, darunter der große blaue Zebraweis, einer Wolke gleich, schweben. Diese gleich stark nach Moddo und Kassave riechenden Löcher sind für den Sammler wertvolle Fundplätze. Im nördlichen Gebiet, bei den Jaunde, Bene und vielen Bule, pflegt man dagegen die Kassave nicht in die Moddo, sondern auf den Sandgrund kleiner Bäche zu legen, und zwar nahe am Ufer, wo das Wasser langsamer fließt; auch macht man sich die Mühe, einen Bach so weit abzudämmen, daß nur wenig Wasser durchsickern kann, und steckt die Wurzeln unterhalb des Dammes in den Grund. Vielleicht kommt das von der Seltenheit der Raphiasümpfe im nördlichen Gebiet; jedenfalls muß die Kassave in stehendem oder nur ganz schwach fließendem Wasser 3—4 Tage liegen, 3 Tage bei jüngeren, 4 Tage bei älteren, starken Wurzeln. Nach Ablauf dieser Zeit nimmt die Frau die Wurzeln heraus und zieht mit der Hand die Rinde nebst der darunterliegenden festeren Faserschicht ab, was keine Schwierigkeiten bietet; dann wäscht sie die Wurzeln an Ort und Stelle leicht ab, zieht die Mittelrippe heraus, drückt die Kassave im Wasser mit beiden Händen zu einem Ball, wobei ein weißlicher Saft ausfließt, und tut die Bälle in einen mit Blättern ausgelegten Korb. Die weitere Zubereitung geht im Hause vor sich; dort wird die Kassave auf dem Mahlstein zerrieben und das Gemahlene auf Blätter geschüttet, welche die Frau auf der Rückseite vom Stampf gepflückt hatte. Im Süden sind es die Blätter der bereits mehrfach erwähnten Marantaceen Sarcophrynium valvatum (Baker) K. Sch. (*ekiéj*[1]*kɔ*, *ekiéj*[1]), Tafel XI, mit der Absicht gleichzeitig I. e o o.

[1] *ekiéj* = Blatt, *e kɔ* = umhüllen, Stamm *kɔ*, vgl.: *kɔ́ʃʃ*, die Schildkröte wegen des Panzers, *e kɔ-i* = klopfen, aufklopfen, d. h. verursachen, daß sich etwas entfaltet.

SARCOPHRYNIUM VELUTINUM (MIQ.) K. SCHUM., FAM. MARANTACEAE.

Maria Thomson, del. Pinxit

Printed and published by Dean Thomson & Co., Suva.

[facing p. 154]

(andrma), im Norden (Jaunde) die der (Stengyne ochwinfurtkiana K. Sch. *(ombji)*. Jeden Tag bringen die Frauen große Bündel solcher Blätter vom Felde mit, da sie sich ihrer nicht nur zur Umhüllung von Kassave- und Maisbroten, sondern auch als Unterlagen und Teller bedienen.

In diesen Blättern wird die Kassavemasse durch leichtes Kneten zu einer Wurst geformt, darauf das Blatt gerollt, an dyo Enden, wie bei einem Paket, umgeschlagen und mit einem Teil aus den Stengeln derselben Pflanze umwickelt, welche die Blattbälle geliefert hat (die Stengel der Pflanze heißen *ndjo IV ndjoan IV*). Diese Rollen werden in einem verschlossenen Topf mit etwas Wasser eine Stunde lang gekocht und dann zum Kaltwerden beiseitegestellt, nur in seltenen Fällen sofort warm gegessen (Abb. 102). Sie halten sich so 3 Tage. Gewöhnlich sind sie 35 cm lang, etwas länger in Jaunde, und 5 cm dick, im ganzen etwas größer im Bulugbiete.

Ein solcher „Kank" gilt überall im Gebiete ein Blatt Tabak (Handelstabak) oder einen Löffel Salz, was einem Stück Spiegeln oder 7 Pfennigen entspricht, und ist als Verpflegung für Träger und Angestellte der Weißen wegen der Handlichkeit, der sich stets gleichbleibenden Menge und der Beliebtheit bei den Eingeborenen allgemein üblich.

Getrocknete Kassaverollen *(ongwut-nd.)*.

Da sich die gewöhnlichen Rollen nicht länger als 3 Tage halten, so wendet man für längere Reisen oder für Fälle, wo man die Rollen nicht immer wieder neu herstellen kann oder will, ein besonderes Verfahren bei der Zubereitung an. Dabei werden die Kassavebälle, nachdem sie umgewaschen sind, ungefähr für einen Monat auf den Trockenboden gelegt und dann erst verarbeitet d. h. auf Steinen zerrieben, in Blätter gewickelt und gekocht. Mitunter werden auch die Bälle selbst mit auf die Reise genommen und dann, wenn man sie benutzen will, in Wasser aufgeweicht, gekocht und kalt verzehrt. Beide Arten bezeichnet man als *ongwut-ndjo*.

b) Kassaveschnitzel *(ont-nd., ngl-nd. IV)*.

Eine sehr bittere und zugleich giftigere Abart der Kassave wird zu Kassaveschnitzeln verarbeitet. Die Wurzelstücke werden dann mit einem Messer abgeschält, der Länge nach halbiert oder geviertelt und in einem mit Pflanzenblättern ausgelegten Topf mit 1½ l Wasser eine Stunde lang gekocht. Nun werden die Wurzeln herausgenommen, wie ein Brot in Scheiben geschnitten, in einem mit Blättern ausgelegten Korb einen Tag lang in fließendem Wasser gehängt, dann noch auf dem unter Fischfang, S. 110, beschriebenen Netz tüchtig am Fluß ausgewaschen und so kalt gegessen.

Getrocknete Kassaveschnitzel *(ddd[a]-mb.)*.

Sie werden nach dem Kochen, bevor man sie im Wasser hängt, in der Art wie *engena-mb.* getrocknet und in gleichen Fällen verwandt.

c) Gekochte Kassavewurzeln *(ogbud,mo-mb.)*.

Eine verhältnismäßig wenig giftige Abart unserer Pflanze, die deshalb einer langen Auslaugung im Wasser nicht bedarf, wird ebenso wie die vorige zurechtgeschnitten, eine Stunde gekocht, und die sehr fade und faserige Wurzel heiß gegessen.

d) Zerriebene, in steigbügelförmig gebogenem Blatt gekochte Kassave *(nkgné-mb. I)*.

Von der Wurzel wird mit dem Hauer ein Streifen Rinde abgesplissen und von hier aus das Innere mit einem rauhen Stengelstück aus den Stämmchen der Schlingpalmen **Acrostrophyllum acutiflorum** Becc. *(nkgne)* oder **Calamus deerratus** M. et W. *(ndi,a)* herausgerieben. Die Spänchen fallen auf ein untergelegtes Blatt und werden dann auf dem Mahlstein zerrieben. Die Masse wird jetzt in einem mit einem Blatt ausgelegten Korb- oder Holzteller mit dem Rührlöffel tüchtig durchgeknetet, unter Zusatz von Wasser, das man über ein in einem Blatttrichter befindliches verkohltes Stück Plantenschale laufen läßt, wodurch das Wasser und damit die Kassavemasse schwärzlich gefärbt wird, angeblich, weil die weiße Farbe den Weibern nicht gefällt. Die Masse wird nun in ein steigbügelförmig gebogenes, gerolltes Blatt (Abb. 103) gefüllt, wie die Kassaverollen mit wenig Wasser aufgesetzt und eine Stunde lang gekocht.

Abb. 102. Kassaverolle.

Abb. 103. Steigbügelförmig gebogenes Blatt.

Die Speise ist leimartig zäh und schwärzlich, von häßlichem Aussehen und wenig angenehmem Geschmack.

e) Gedämpfte Kassave *(amdné-mb.)*.

Zerriebene Masse, wie sie zu den Kassaverollen benutzt wird, oder auch gekochte Wurzeln werden zwischen zwei Blätter, die über einen Topf gebunden sind, gelegt. In dem Topf selbst werden Makabohblätter gekocht, und so zugleich die Kassave gedämpft (eine Stunde lang).

Neben den Wurzeln werden die Blätter der Kassave *(mandépé*, Mehrzahl) häufig gegessen, und zwar hauptsächlich von Weibern. Man zerstampft die Blätter gehörig in einer Holzmulde (Abb. 104), setzt sie in einem offenen Topf mit etwas

WOHNHAUS IN BERAI (FAM. ASSAMOU, NYUNGABIET).

Adolf Tennmann, die Fangen

Vorlage und gedruckt bei Emil Wunsch A.-G., Berlin.

[Facing p. 156]

Wasser auf, gießt später Wasser durch und läßt sie nicht weniger als 3½ Stunden kochen; dann werden sie mit Pfeffer oder Salz verrührt und aufgetischt. In dieser Form heißt das Gemüse *mbób I*, schmeckt zwar nicht schlecht, gilt aber als minderwertig und wird von den Männern nur genommen, wenn nichts anderes da ist.

8. Planie.

Sie wird in Bisé verschiedenen Zubereitungsformen genommen, und zwar nimmt man zu denen von ihnen unreife, zu den übrigen reife Früchte.

a) In Asche geröstete Planten *(ngpó-ekpu I)*.

Eine unreife geschälte Plante wird in ein Blatt eingewickelt und neben das Feuer in die Asche gelegt, die etwas durchgeglüht wird. Nach einer halben Stunde ist das Gericht fertig. Die Plante ist außen weißlichgelb, innen dunkelgelb und schmeckt recht trocken.

b) Gekochte Planten *(nkéy ekpu I)*.

Die unreifen Planten werden geschält, von den Rippen und anhaftenden Schalenteilchen gereinigt und 20 Minuten in Wasser gekocht.

c) Zerstampfte Planten *(ntíyme ekpu I)*.

Ebenso wie vorige zubereitet, aber zerstampft als Brei genommen.

d) Gekochte reife Planten *(mfejó-ekpu I, mfej-mis I)*.

Die Schale von reifen Planten wird mit dem Plantenschäler geölet und in einen Topf gelegt. Darauf kommen ganz oder zerstückelt die Früchte, darüber wieder Schale, dann gießt man Wasser zu, bis das Ganze bedeckt ist, und kocht es ½ Stunde lang; man ißt die Planten ganz oder mit kaltem Wasser zu Brei verrieben.

e) Roke reife Planten *(mét III)*.

Die reifen Früchte werden roh oder in Asche geröstet gegessen.

9. Erdnuß.

Sie wird mitunter als ganze Nuß *(kób IV-ewupe, ollie -ew.)* geröstet gegessen, sonst auf viererlei Art, teils als Suppe, teils als Mus zubereitet. Für alle heißt es zuerst die Erdnüsse mit der Hand aufbrechen (Tafel XII), wobei oft die ganze Familie mithilft; dann werden die Nüsse von der Frau auf dem Erdnußröstbett einige Minuten über Feuer schwach geröstet und auf dem Mahlstein zweimal durchgerieben. Nach dem zweiten Durchreiben heißt die Masse *ebé(e)-ew.* (*be* = teilen, davon *e-bé-b* = das Abgeteilte, z. B.

Fig. 66. Eingeborene [illegible] Kanu-[illegible] in einer Bucht an Upolu.

Rindenstückchen, die vom Baum abstehen, und *ebeje* – die Schuppen, weil das Zerriebene etwas auseinanderfällt und wie Schuppen vom Stein fällt. Aus ihr bereitet man zum folgende Speisen.

a) Erdnußmus *(vuiyaloa)*.

In einem Topf wird Wasser erhitzt und das heiße Wasser bis auf einen kleinen Rest in ein Schüsselchen abgegossen. Nun nimmt man den Topf vom Feuer, schüttet die Erdnußmasse hinein, rührt mit einem Küchenlöffel unter 3—4maligem Zugießen von heißem Wasser tüchtig um, streut Salz hinein, rührt noch einmal gut um, und das Gericht ist fertig. Auch kocht man wohl die Masse mit wenig Wasser im Topf selbst.

b) Erdnußbündel *(vuiyaloa. I)*.

Wie bei a) wird Wasser in einem Topf aufgesetzt; nachdem der Topf vom Feuer genommen ist, wird Erdnußmasse hineingeschüttet und unter Zugießen von etwas Wasser verrührt. Dann wird der Brei in ein Pflanzenblatt gefüllt, das man durch Feuer gezogen hat, um es geschmeidig zu machen, das Blatt zu einem Bündel zusammengebunden und mit kaltem Wasser im Topf aufgesetzt. Der Topf muß oben mit Blättern angebunden werden. Wenn die Erdnüsse nicht mit heißem Wasser angerührt, sondern, wie in diesem Falle, kalt auf Feuer gesetzt werden, müssen sie stets ½—1 Stunde lang kochen.

c) Erdnußbrei (*ndyɔ*).

Erdnußmus — wie oben vorbereitet — wird in einem Topf mit kochendem Wasser geschüttet und durchgerührt, dann kurze Zeit — 2 Minuten — auf Feuer gesetzt und mit Salz verrührt.

d) Erdnußsuppe (*ngɔ́ŋɔ́ ɔ́-ma*).

Sie unterscheidet sich von dem vorigen nur durch Zugabe einer größeren Menge Wasser, so daß eine Suppe daraus wird. Sie wird als Beigabe zu Fleisch verzehrt, nicht allein genommen.

4. Ngon.

Der Ngon wird nur in zwei Formen, als Brändel (*ɔmɔ́ɔn ngɔ́n*) und als Suppe (*ɔmɔ́-ngɔ́n I*), zubereitet, die den bei der Erdnuß aufgeführten entsprechen.

5. Mais.

Er wird in viererlei Gestalt gegessen, nämlich die grünen Kolben geröstet (*ndɔ́p-ɔ́ɔn I*), als Maissuppe (*ɔmɔ́-ɔ́ɔn I*), als Maisbrei (*ngɔ́ɔn*) und als Maisbrot (*bɔ́ɔnɔ́ III*).

a) Die grünen Kolben.

Wie die Pflanzen frisch in Asche geröstet.

b) Maissuppe (*ɔmɔ́-ɔ́ɔn I*).

Die Körner werden aus den Spindeln alter Kolben herausgebrochen und in einem halbvollen Topf mit Wasser weich gekocht (½ Stunde lang), dann zerrieben und mit zerschnittenen Blättern der Kanave und des Amarantus (*ɔndɔ́n-ɔkɔ́*) 1 Stunde gekocht. Wenn sie gar sind, wird kaltes Wasser zugegossen, durchgerührt und die Suppe angerichtet.

c) Maisbrot (*bɔ́ɔnɔ́ III*).

Man entkörnt alte Maiskolben und schüttet die Körner in einen Topf mit Wasser, damit sie etwas quellen, dann schöpft die Frau jedesmal einige mit dem Löffel heraus, legt sie auf den Mahlstein und zerreibt sie unter öfteren Zugießen vom Wasser zu Mehl (ein halber Korb Maiskolben ergibt einen gehäuften Korbteller voll Mehl, woraus drei Brote gemacht werden). Das Mehl wird in einem mit Blättern ausgelegten Korbteller mit Wasser zu Brei verrührt, dem Salz, Pfeffer, oft auch noch Garnelen und Libellenlarven beigefügt werden. Dieser Brei kommt, wie bei der Fruchtkanave *ndɔ́ɔn ndɔ́n*, in ein steighöhenförmig gebogenes Sarcophrynumblatt, wird so in einem Topf mit wenig Wasser 1 Stunde lang gekocht und ergibt eine zwar schwere, aber ganz wohlschmeckende Speise.

d) Maisbrei *(ngbwēt)*.

Er wird aus frischem Maismehl hergestellt, das gekocht eine weiße, breiige Suppe darstellt. Da ich jedoch die Herstellung nicht genauer beobachtet habe, kann ich die Einzelheiten nicht angeben.

Die übrigen Nutzpflanzen, wie Taro, Makabo, Yams usw. sind nicht wichtig genug, um in bezug auf verschiedene Arten der Zubereitung hier erörtert zu werden. Wie ich glaube, wird der Leser sich aus den bisherigen Angaben ein Bild von der vielseitigen Verwertung der pflanzlichen Nahrungsstoffe durch die Pangwe machen können.

Fleisch wird in Töpfen für sich gekocht — ebenso Fische, die man, wie wir, ausnimmt und schuppt — oder im Blattbündel mit Erdnuß und Ngon zusammen. Von anderen Zubereitungsweisen kennen die Pangwe das Rösten, wenden es aber nur an, um die Speise haltbar zu machen und aufbewahren zu können.

Die Mahlzeiten sind recht ungeregelt und schlecht verteilt:

„Ikiitimo ajiii ang, kumul ebem e ekjii,
Morgens ein Häckchen für den Mund, (mit)tags ein Darlehn für den Kinnbacken,
ebi kepfan"
nachts ganz voll.

Morgens nimmt man gleich nach dem Aufstehen meist etwas kalte Kassavespeise oder ähnliches, was die Frauen den Abend vorher gekocht hatten, da sie meist früh in die Pflanzungen müssen. Im Laufe des Vormittags begnügt man sich mit einem kleinen Imbiß von Kassavekost, Bananen und dergl. Dann folgt das warme Mittagessen, das, je nach der Rückkehr der Frau aus der Pflanzung, zwischen 12 und 5 Uhr stattfindet. Die Hauptmahlzeit, die ziemlich reichhaltig ist, fällt auf den Abend; es bleibt aber nicht bei einer, sondern die Frauen müssen zwei- und mehrmals, ja sogar noch mitten in der Nacht, frisch kochen, um die hungrigen Magen zu befriedigen. Von dieser „Regel" weicht man freilich häufig ab; gibt es viel Vorrat und wenig Arbeit, so wird den ganzen Tag gegessen, andererseits läßt man ebensogut Mahlzeiten aus oder fastet einen ganzen Tag, wenn irgend etwas dazwischenkommt.

Die Mahlzeiten bestehen im wesentlichen aus Kassave und Plante; daneben ißt man von den anderen erwähnten Speisen, was man gerade hat.

Männer und Weiber essen gewöhnlich getrennt; die Frau versorgt sich schon während des Kochens, auch mit der Männerspeise, die nicht für sie bestimmt ist, oder *sie* ißt mit ihren Töchtern und kleineren Söhnen, nachdem *sie* das Mittagessen ihrem Manne ins Versammlungshaus, wo sich auch die reiferen Knaben einfinden, geschickt hat. Die späten Abendmahl-

seiten pflegt dagegen der Gemahl zu Hause im Familienkreise einzunehmen, da er dann schon zu halt oder einmal im Versammlungshause geworden ist.

Durchweg läßt der männliche Pangwe ruhig und würdig, wenngleich unter behaglichem Schmatzen und Schwatzen. Gieriges Essen *(o ŋkhan a dzi)* erscheint dem Pangwe lächerlich und unsinnlich und ist ihm ein Zeichen schlechter Erziehung. Viele der guten Lehren, die der Vater seinem Sohne gibt, bewegen sich in dieser Richtung, und in Sprichwörtern und Märchen (z. B. in den netten Märchen von Bismann Fredgier, in der Geschichte vom Fechmeck usw.) kehrt dieselbe Auffassung wieder.

Das Tischgerät ist sehr dürftig, wie man nicht anders erwarten wird. Bei flüssigen Speisen wird der Kochtopf, falls er klein ist, gleich vom Feuer in die Mitte der Gesellschaft gestellt, falls er groß ist, sein Inhalt in einen kleineren umgegossen; jeder nimmt seinen Löffel und schöpft sich aus dem gemeinsamen Gefäß. Speist der Mann abends im Hause, so wird für ihn meist ein eigener Topf hingestellt. Feste Speisen, z. B. Plantes und Kassavekuchenteil, werden auf einem Bananenblatt aufgetragen, und jeder nimmt sich davon mit der Hand. Als feiner gilt es, das Blatt auf einen Korbteller zu legen oder das Essen ohne Unterlage auf dem Korbteller zu reichen.

Der Löffel der Männer ist aus Holz *(ŋsi*, Mehrzahl *IV* oder unregelmäßig *mesiŋ)*, Abb. 105, und kommt in vier verschiedenen Formen mit je zwei Abarten vor. Die erste Form ähnelt unseren Salatlöffeln; sie hat entweder *(a—c)* eine kreisrunde bzw. breit-ellipsige Muschel und einen platten Stiel, der etwas unterhalb ihrer Außenfläche ansetzt — diese Form ist von Norden gekommen, vielleicht von den Jaunde und Bene, bei denen sie sehr verbreitet und beliebt ist, vielleicht von noch weiter nördlich sitzenden Stämmen, und wird im Süden bei den Bulu noch häufig, bei den Ntum ziemlich viel, bei den Fang nur mehr selten gesehen — oder *(d)* sie hat eine birnenförmige Muschel, und einen breiteren, tiefer ansetzenden Stiel (mir nur von den Fang bekannt).

Die zweite Form *(e—f)* besteht aus einer ziemlich kreisrunden, tiefen Muschel und einem an ihrem Rande ansetzenden breiten, über die Fläche giebelig geknickten Stiel, der sich meist gegen das Ende verbreitert und mit Kerbschnittmustern verziert oder mit gepunztem Messingblech beschlagen ist — so nur bei den Fang, und wegen der runden Form der Muschel *ɛsɔmo-gɔdɔŋɔdɔ* — Nest des Bülbüls (Pycnonotus) genannt.

Einen Übergang zwischen der ersten und zweiten Form zeigt *g*, bei der der schmale, unverzierte Stiel der ersten Form in der Weise der zweiten Form giebelig geknickt ist — so nur in Jaunde.

Abb. 30. Schöpflöffel der Männer.

Die dritte Form *(h—k)* hat eine schmal-ovale, flache Muschel, die mehr oder weniger allmählich in den kurzen, meist platten, seltener runden Stiel übergeht — so nur bei den Fang.

Eine vierte Form *(l—n)* besteht eigentlich nur aus einer muldenförmigen Muschel, an der der Griff nur durch eine stufenartige Absetzung angedeutet ist [der Form nach daher *bôi-ndzób* — Blatt der Bimanepe djave (Lan.) Engl. genannt], nur bei den Fang.

Die Löffel der Frau, Blattlöffel, Kalebassenlöffel und Schneckenlöffel, sind oben erwähnt; es mag hier hinzugefügt werden, daß auch der Mann, besonders wenn er keinen Holzlöffel bei der Hand hat oder auf Reisen, diese Löffel gelegentlich benutzt. Meist führt freilich jeder ein oder zwei Stück des nützlichen Gerätes in seiner Umhängetasche aus Ananasfasern *(mjôk)* mit sich.

Getränke und Genußmittel.

Das gewöhnliche Getränk des Pangwe ist Wasser; er trinkt es aus kleinen Töpfen, in die es aus der Tonwasserflasche gegossen wird, oder aus den Kalebassen *(mbjè IV)*, die neben den Tonwasserflaschen auch zum Wasserholen benutzt werden, oder aus eigenen, halb durchgeschnittenen (Mwele) bzw. mit einem Ausschnitt versehenen (Jaundé) Trinkkalebassen. Unterwegs benutzt er ein oder mehrere in der Art des Blattütteln trichterförmig zusammengelegte Blätter oder die rechte Hand, mit der er das Wasser aufschlürft und sich in raschen Schleuderbewegungen in den Mund wirft.

In dichten Urwäldern, wo man keinen Bach in der Nähe weiß — allerdings ein seltener Fall, z. B., wenn man sich verirrt hat oder wenn plötzliche Erkrankung mit Durst eintritt oder dergleichen —, kann man sich mitunter einen verborgenen Quell in der Wasserliane, **Dickapetalum** **kalmeriorum** Engl. *(engl.-prantl-ndch. III 70., eg.-ndl. III F.)*, erschließen, die aber leider nicht überall vorkommt. Sie zieht sich unmittelbar von der Erde bis zu den höchsten Wipfeln der Bäume, kann die Dicke eines Oberschenkels erreichen, mißt aber meistens nur 40 cm im Umfang. Um Wasser zu bekommen, braucht man nur die Liane so hoch, wie man eben reichen kann, durchzuhauen, was mit einem Hieb geschehen ist, und von der unteren Hälfte ein Stück abzuhauen. Dieses wird senkrecht gehalten, damit das Wasser nicht ausfließen kann, und über ein Trinkgefäß, z. B. trichterförmig zusammengelegte Blätter, langsam gewiegt. Das Wasser, das — wie die Neger versichern — gut für den Magen sein soll, fließt nun unter Zischen in dickem Strahle aus. Es ist ganz erstaunlich, welche Mengen die Liane enthält; ein armlanges Stück genügt, um den heftigsten Durst zu stillen, und faßt nach meiner Schätzung 1½ l. Braucht man mehr, so schneidet man sich weitere Stücke ab, und da das Wasser wegen des Luftdruckes aus der durchschnittenen Liane nicht ausfließen kann, so hat man immer genug, selbst für große Karawanen.

Von Genußmitteln kennen die Pangwe Zuckerrohrsaft, Bananenwein, Palmwein und Tabak, sie sind aber in ihrem Gebrauch im allgemeinen durchaus mäßig. Hierin hätte die Einführung von Rum sicher einen Wandel zum Schlechteren geschaffen, wenn nicht 1906 das Verbot des Spirituosenhandels dazwischen getreten wäre.

1. Zuckerrohrsaft.

Der Saft, den das Zuckerrohr in sich birgt, wird dadurch gewonnen, daß man die Rinde mit einem Messer abspättert und das Fleisch ausmagt, oder daß man den Saft auspreßt und ihn dann als „Zuckerwein *(map/[k] me ukrè)*" trinkt. Letztere Art der Gewinnung kommt nur im Südpangwegebiete vor.

und zwei in zwei Formen. Die erste ist so: Man zerschneidet das Rohr in 6—8 cm lange Stücke und entfernt das Fleisch dadurch, daß man den stachelligen Stengel von **Trachypyrium desertimaianum** Brongn. et K. Schm. (vgl. 1) hindurchzieht und eine Zeitlang hin und her reibt (Abb. 108). Um den Gerstbast wegzulassen, legt man ein Blatt unten, später tut man es in einen Korbteller und preßt es mit bloßen Händen aus. Ein zweites, feineres Verfahren besteht darin, daß man das Rohr mit dem Messer entrindet und in einer Mühle zerstampft; die so erhaltene Masse tut man in eine Zuckerpresse (*ayeyo*), die aus **Arundinaria** (*ekpoe*) hergestellten groben Flechtwerk von rechteckiger Form, das an den Schmalseiten in Schlaufen ausläuft, durch die zwei Stücke geschoben werden. Der eine von diesen wird durch zwei in den Boden gerammte, in der Mitte durchlochte Pfähle gesteckt, der andere oben auf die beiden Pfähle gelegt. Soll die Presse gebraucht werden, so stellt man ein Gefäß (Topf) darunter, nimmt den oberen Stock ab, legt die Zuckerrohrmasse in das Flechtwerk, dreht den Stock mit beiden Händen um, und wringt so die Presse aus. Der Saft, der gleich getrunken werden kann, wird meist nur für ältere Leute, die das Zuckerrohrfleisch nicht mehr recht zerkauen können, bereitet, sondern noch für medizinische Zwecke.

Abb. 108.
Ein Tessmann reibt mit einem stachligen Gerstbast den Fleisch von dem Stockholze des Zuckerrohrs herunter, um daraus Zuckerwasser zu gewinnen.

1. Bananenwein.

Er wird aus reifen Bananen oder Plantains gewonnen, die abgeschält und halb durchgeschnitten in einen mit Wasser gefüllten Topf getan werden. Den Topf bindet man mit einem durchlöcherten Blatt zu und setzt ihn einen Tag lang der Sonne aus. Dann wird die Flüssigkeit vorsichtig abgegossen, in eine Kalebasse gefüllt und wieder für kurze Zeit in die Sonne gestellt. In Jaunde wird dieser nur im Nordpangwegebiete bekannte Bananen- oder Plantainwein (letzterer soll noch besser sein) sehr geschätzt und dem Palmenwein gleichgestellt, was unter anderem daraus hervorgeht, daß die als Feinschmecker bekannten ältesten Häuptlinge ihn besonders gern trinken. Das Getränk ist in der Tat gar nicht übel und übrigens auch bei Weißen beliebt.

2. Palmwein.

Der Palmwein wird von den Pangwe hauptsächlich aus der Ölpalme, *Elaeis guineensis* L. *(ndzu)*, in ganz seltenen Fällen aus der Raphiapalme, im äußersten Norden auch aus der Dattelpalme bereitet, infolgedessen entspricht seine Häufigkeit und Güte der größeren oder geringeren Verbreitung der Ölpalme, d. h. es kommt eigentlich nur das südliche Pangwehinterland, hauptsächlich das Mwete-, Jaunde- und Bengebiet in Betracht, in ganz geringem Maße auch das Bulugebiet. Im Süden dagegen ist die Palmweinbereitung daheim unbekannt, hier stehen die Ölpalmen so vereinzelt, daß sie als besondere Merkwürdigkeit den nahen Ortschaften ihren Namen gegeben haben (Kilu, Kalin). Wein aus Raphiapalme, der bitter und wenig angenehm schmecken soll, ist nach Hörensagen den Südpangwe bekannt, mag auch vereinzelt hergestellt werden, ich sah und trank ihn aber nie, dagegen ist der Wein aus der Dattelpalme, **Borassus flabellifer** var. **aethiopum** Mart. *(Mw.: ewui)*, die in ganz vereinzelten Stücken in den nördlichsten Teil des Pangwegebietes hineinreicht (von mir zwischen Elandi und Abandakudi bemerkt) ganz vorzüglich und mit Recht hochgeschätzt, wenn er auch nicht die eigenartige Blume des Ölpalmenweines hat. Ich habe mir auf meiner Reise durch das Mweteland erzählen lassen, daß die Palme abstirbt, wenn man den Blütenstand zur Weinbereitung abschneidet, und sah auch eine ganze Reihe der riesenhohen Stämme gleich Masten kahl zum Himmel ragen; ich fand aber, muß ich gestehen, als ich in Simekou die dortige Kehle mit diesem Getränk erquicken konnte, den Preis — die Palmenleiche — fast nicht zu hoch dafür.

Für die Pangwe ist Jaunde das klassische Land des Palmenweines oder Minlu, wie er auf Pidgeonenglisch heißt. Durchzieht man das Jaundegebiet in der richtigen Jahreszeit, so sieht man fast an jeder Ölpalme einige Kalebassen hängen, die anzeigen: „Hier gibt es Palmwein."

Die Güte des Weins hängt von verschiedenen Umständen ab, wirklich vorzüglichen, der sehr wohl einen Vergleich mit den weniger guten Sektsorten aushält, bekommt man nur höchst selten zu trinken.

Abgesehen von der Gewinnungsart, spielt das Alter des Baumes eine Rolle, man kann aus den Blütenstielen junger Palmen keinen guten Wein gewinnen, auch dürfen zum Auffangen des Weines nur alte Kalebassen, in denen schon öfters Palmwein aufbewahrt war, verwandt werden. Wovon aber sonst der bessere oder schlechtere Geschmack abhängt, vermag ich nicht zu sagen; gewiß ist, wie bei unserem Weinen, Boden und Klima von Wichtigkeit, so haben sich meine Jaunde im Süden die erdenklichste Mühe gegeben, mir einen guten „Stoff" vorzusetzen, aber es war allemal — wie sie selbst zugaben — ein Getränk, von dem man nur sagen konnte: „'s sieht aus wie Wein, ist's aber nicht, man kann dabei nicht singen, dabei nicht fröhlich sein." Jedenfalls tut ihm der unrecht, welcher nach der ersten Probe einen vielleicht nur mäßig geratenen Weines den Palmweinbest überhaupt verurteilt — man muß sich erst an seine Eigenart gewöhnen —, und jeder, der sich, wie ich, von Doala durch das Bakoko- und Bamiland, durch Jaunde und Mvele bis zu der Nordostgrenze des Pangwegebietes nach Kombokoeto hindurchgetrunken hat, weiß, daß man einen wirklich guten Tropfen nur zu suchen braucht, um ihn auch zu finden, und daß zu einer dazu zum Besten gehört, was es im Pangwelande an kulinarischen Genüssen gibt.

Gewöhnlich ist der Palmwein gelblichweiß, herbe oder mehr oder weniger süß, der beste fast durchsichtig im Glas, perlend wie Schaumwein, schwachsüß und sehr stark berauschend, weniger guter ist trüber, eine recht mäßige Sorte, die — wie später beschrieben — aus dem Stamm gewonnen wird, ist undurchsichtig, mit Schaum bedeckt wie Seifenwasser, so das es auch im Geschmack etwas erinnert, alle aber haben eine eigenartige und feine Blume, an die man sich, wie gesagt, zuerst gewöhnen muß, die man aber dann nie vergißt. Wenn ich die Blätter meines Tagebuches durchlese, die von den Reisetagen in Jaunde erzählen, so scheint sie mir daraus hervorzuströmen und alles in sich zu schließen, was das tropische Westafrika in der Erinnerung Schönes und Eigenartiges birgt.

Es gibt drei Arten der Gewinnung, von denen die zwei ersten das Fällen einer etwa fünfjährigen Palme verlangen und deshalb im Pangwegebiete nicht sehr gebräuchlich sind[1]).

Die erste, die den besten Wein liefert und in Jaunde *mapə/k] me mbgo* heißt, wird so ausgeführt, daß man die Blätter der niedergelegten Palme, zumal die oberen, abhaut und die Kalebasse oben an das Herz der Palme legt.

Bei der zweiten Art — *mapə/k] me nkpt* — Palmwein aus dem niedergelegten Stamm — wird in der Mitte des Stammes ein viereckiges Loch

[1]) Im Bamilande, wo die Palmen so zahlreich sind, daß sie in dieser Weise verschwendet werden können, sind sie häufiger.

bis in das Mark, etwa 15 cm tief, eingeschnitten, jedoch erst, nachdem der Stamm einen Tag lang gelegen hat, und zum Schutz gegen Insekten mit den alten, wie Rinde aussehenden Blattscheiden bedeckt, die wieder mit Blattstielenden u. a. beschwert werden. In diesem Loche sammelt sich der Palmwein an und wird täglich einmal eingeschöpft. Dies dauert 4—5 Tage und ergibt im ganzen fünf oder mehr Flaschen eines nicht sehr guten Weins.

Am häufigsten ist die dritte Art der Weingewinnung, nämlich die aus den männlichen oder weiblichen Blütenständen erwachsener, also mehrjähriger oder älterer Bäume (einfach: *mapɔ́ʃɔ́ m'ɛ́ɛn* — Wein aus der Ölpalme genannt), ein Verfahren, das freilich lange nicht so einfach ist wie die beiden vorigen, da der Mann auf die Palme hinaufklettern und, im Halteseil pendelnd, längere Zeit arbeiten, insbesondere die Blätter abhauen muß; es kommt dabei häufig vor, daß er im Eifer das Halteseil durchhaut und zu Boden stürzt, dann braucht er noch gar nicht einmal so tief in eine palmweingefüllte Kalebasse gesehen zu haben.

Auf einer Palme werden wenigstens zwei, meist drei oder vier, seltener bis zu sechs Blütenständen gleichzeitig angezapft, da einige Stände mehr, andere weniger oder gar keinen Saft liefern, so z. B. sind bei vier Ständen nur zwei, bei sechs nur vier ergiebig.

Man geht nun so vor, daß man von unten her die Blätter der Krone ringsherum entfernt bis zu dem Blatt, in dessen Achse der Blütenstand eingefügt ist. Dieses wird nur zum Teil entfernt, sein unterer Rand und die dem Blütenstand abgewandte Hälfte des unteren Stielendes bleiben stehen, weil sonst der Blütenstand abbrechen und herunterfallen würde. Zwischen den Blütenstand einerseits und das stehengebliebene Stück des Blattes und das Nachbarblatt andererseits wird ein Stab geklemmt, der den des Halses beraubten Blütenstand stützt. Erst am nächsten Tage arbeitet man weiter, schneidet mit einem zweischneidigen Messer aus der Hülle von oben nach unten einen rechteckigen Ausschnitt bis etwa 6 cm über dem Ansatz heraus, trennt hier den Stiel des Blütenstandes durch und nimmt letzteren heraus, so daß jederseits nur noch die Blütenstandhüllen stehen. Jetzt kann man den Stab entfernen, da eine Stütze nicht mehr nötig ist. Nach zwei Tagen kann man den Palmwein auffangen. Dazu wird eine dünne Schicht von dem stehengebliebenen Blütenstandstiel abgeschnitten und die leeren Hüllen an der Spitze mit zerknüllten alten trockenen Hüllen verstopft; dann macht man aus fünf Blattfiedern der Ölpalme eine langgestielte, pfeifenähnliche Tüte, die man mit dem „Kopf" nach unten und der Spitze nach außen an den unteren Teil des Ausschnitts legt, an den sie durch ein Stäbchen aus Rinde des Ölpalmblattstieles, das jederseits durch die Blütenstandhülle gesteckt ist, festgedrückt

wird. Die ganze Vorrichtung bezweckt, Insekten, wie Gelbfieberfänger, Palmenläufer, Rosenkäfer, Bienen, Fliegen usw., von dem Eindringen in die Blütenstandhüllen abzuhalten. Um ferner zu verhindern, daß der Wein an der Tüte vorbeiläuft, verstopft man da, wo sie dem Stäbchen aufliegt, die Ritzen mit der Wolle von Ölpalmblattscheiden. An dem Stäbchen, welches den Tütenteil fesselstützt, wird eine Kalebasse, der ein kleiner Blattrichter aufgesetzt ist, so aufgehängt, daß das untere Ende der Tüte in den Trichter reicht, damit auch hier kein Weg für ungebetene Gäste aus dem Insektenreich bleibt.

Abb. 97. Tütenpflücker aus Holz.

Man muß nun eine neue Stabtüte und einen neuen Trichter machen. Der jedesmalige Anzapfung eines Baumes währt drei Tage und ergibt z. B. bei vier Zapfstellen 6—8 Flaschen Wein. Nach dieser Zeit wird der Baum mindestens ein halbes Jahr in Ruhe gelassen, damit er sich erholen kann, je nach längere, wenn man genügend andere Palmen zur Verfügung hat.

Zur Verbesserung — den Jaunde erdige —, zur Verschönerung — wie ich meine — legen die Jaunde vielfach die Rinde einer glücklicherweise nur im Westgebiet wachsenden Baumart, nannen ere'ma J., die sie sich von dort holen, in die Kalebassen. Diese Rinde macht den Palmwein „stark", wie sie sagen, d. h. gibt ihm berauschende Eigenschaften; wenn ihm auch möglicherweise eine ganz geringe Menge der Rinde zuträglich sein mag, so schadet doch das Zuviel der Jaunde dem schönen Palmweingeschmack. Besonders erinnere ich mich an einen Streich meiner Jungen, die mir zum Essen einige viertelvolle Kalebassen zusammengegossen hatten. Der Wein war schon in jeder einzelnen viermal so kräftig wie gewöhnlich und das ganze Gemisch so stark, daß es heftigen Schwindel und Kopfschmerz verursachte.

Abb. 98. Pfeifenköpfe für die Tabakpfeife aus Baumwollstengeln. a von Mbongpfeifen mit einem Gebiß Elfenbeinbeschlag, b—d aus Ton.

Der Palmwein, der aus dem Mark des niedergelegten Stammes gewonnen

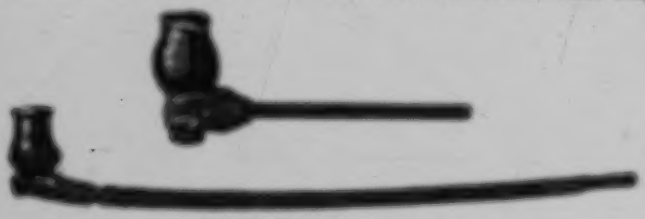
[illegible]

wird *(mapfi)-okok*), hält sich im Hause 14 Stunden lang, der aus dem Blütenstängel herausfließende dagegen höchstens einen halben Tag, bei großer Hitze verdirbt er — wie ich beobachtete — sehr schnell, ebenso wenn man ihn unterwegs mitnimmt. Ich habe deshalb im Palmweingebiet die Regel befolgt, guten Wein immer gleich oder möglichst bald auszutrinken.

Wie gesagt, sind die Pangwe im allgemeinen mäßig, es gibt aber auch tüchtige Zecher, die sich im Palmwein regelrecht betrinken. Ob die im Nordpangwegebiete verbreitete Fallsucht *(ekejel)* eine Folgeerscheinung übermäßigen Palmweingenusses unter der Hitze ist, muß dahingestellt bleiben.

6. Tabak.

Der Tabak, **Nicotiana tabacum** L. *(ipe IIII)*[1], findet sich im Pangwegebiet in vier Abarten; früher gab es auch eine Sorte, die Asbau ist aber aufgegeben



[illegible] Tabakpfeifen aus Eisen.

worden. Die Abarten sind, mit Ausnahme zweier sich sehr ähnlicher, leicht an den Blättern zu unterscheiden. Der Schlüssel für die Bestimmung lautet:

A. Blätter nicht gefiedert, Blattstiel lang, deutlich: *ewo ewo* wegen der Ähnlichkeit der Blätter mit **Ficinus ceboderifis** L.

B. Blätter gefiedert,

a) Blätter schmal, lanzettlich: *ejoep IV*,

b) Blätter breit, ellipsig,

1. Blüten hellrosa, fast weißlich, Blätter im Verhältnis breiter, als bei der folgenden: *ewjebewo I*.

2. Blüten dunkelrosa bis rot, Wuchs gedrungener: *ekkwetebo I*.

Ursprünglich ist der Pangwe im allgemeinen kein leidenschaftlicher Raucher, wenn man auch in jedem Dorf alte Leute trifft, die ohne ihr Pfeifchen nicht leben können. Im ganzen Gebiete, namentlich im Norden, wo der Einfluß der Weißen schon mehr vorherrscht (z. B. in Jaunde), nimmt der Tabakgenuß sehr schnell zu, viel mögen dazu die Güte des eingeführten Tabaks und die mannigfaltigen gefälligen Formen der in den Faktoreien eingelegten Pfeifen

[1]) Vielleicht entstanden aus tabaco.

Abb. 270. Tabakpflanzung auf einem Dorfplatz.

beitragen. Neben dem Salz ist der „Trafetabak" einer der Hauptimportartikel.

Der Tabak wird nur aus Pfeifen geraucht, Kauen oder Schnupfen kennt man nicht. Die Fangwo unterscheiden drei Formen von Pfeifen, nämlich kurze, aus einem Stück geschnitzte Holzpfeifen (nur bei den Fang), *ekak-mvíák* (Abb. 107), zweitens Bananenblattstielpfeifen *(nsés I, Kopf: ebét)*, die aus einem über meterlangen Stück Blattstiel oder -rippe der Banane und einem durchgebohrten Kopf aus dem Kern der Raphiafrucht, aus Messingblech oder Ton besteht (Abb. 108). Der Stiel bedarf von Zeit zu Zeit der Erneuerung. Diese Pfeife liegt fast in jedem Versammlungshause an der Wand über zwei Haken und kreist häufig unter den Männern, wobei der Häuptling als erster einen bis drei tiefe Züge tut und sie dann an den Nächsten weitergibt. Der Letzte legt die Pfeife wieder an ihren Platz zurück. Die dritte Form *(mvó-ise)* setzt sich aus einem Tonkopf und einem etwa 30 cm langen Holzstiel zusammen, der zum Teil mit Messingdraht sauber umsponnen ist (Abb. 109). Sie soll früher in Jaunde die Länge eines Armes gehabt haben.

Der geringen Verbreitung des Rauchens entspricht die geringe Sorgfalt und Liebe, mit der die Tabakpflanze und ihre Blätter behandelt werden. Wo viel Tabak durch die Handelshäuser eingeführt wird, vernachlässigt man den Anbau ganz.

Die Tabaksamen werden in irgendeiner beliebigen Pflanzung zu derselben Zeit mit ausgesät, wenn die Hauptfrucht des Feldes geplanzt wird, also z. B. mit Kolbenhirse zusammen zweimal im Jahr. Oft wird dicht am Dorf ein kleines Tabakbeet angelegt, oder die Samen werden bei den Häusern, mitunter auf dem Dorfplatz, ausgesäet (Abb. 110).

Haben die Pflanzen eine gewisse Höhe erreicht, so pflückt man die Blätter bis auf die obersten ab, die man stehen läßt, damit die Pflanze weiter treiben und Blüten und Früchte hervorbringen kann. Dann erntet man zum zweitenmal die Blätter und die zur nächsten Aussaat bestimmten Früchte ab, sammelt zugleich — da die Hauptfeldfrucht inzwischen abgeerntet ist und das Feld darum aufgegeben wird — die jungen Tabakpflanzen, die sich aus früh gereiften Samen entwickelt haben, mit nach Hause und pflanzt sie in der Nähe der Häuser an.

Die weitere Behandlung der Blätter besteht einfach darin, daß sie im Hause getrocknet werden, und zwar entweder auf den Trockenböden (1 oder 2 Tage) oder unter dem Dach, unter denen Matten sie mit dem Stiel gesteckt werden, so daß sie frei herabhängen (je nach dem Abstande vom Feuer 3—5 Tage). Von einer Fermentation haben die Pangwe natürlich keine Ahnung, vielleicht mag sie einmal zufällig eintreten, wenn die Blätter zusammengebunden in einem Korb aufbewahrt werden. Gewöhnlich finden sich aber soviel Brüder, Freunde und Sippengenossen ein, daß die ganze Ernte aufgeteilt wird. Der Tabak gilt nämlich sozusagen als gemeinschaftliches Eigentum; wie die Pfeife im Versammlungshause von allen gemeinsam benutzt wird, so gelten auch die Tabakblätter als Gemeingut, und es ist Sitte, bei jeder Ernte den Dorfgenossen abzugeben.

Trotz der rohen Behandlung des Tabakblattes soll der einheimische Tabak, wie ich mir von Rauchern habe versichern lassen, gar nicht so ganz schlecht sein.

Abb. 111. Leute von Angumaesset (Fan. Ogowegl), Span. Guinea.

Abschnitt VII.

Tracht und Schmuck.

1. Tracht. Männertracht (Lendenstücke, Gürtel). — Frauentracht (Vorderschurz, Hinterschurz, Arbeitskittel). — Kindertracht. — Haartracht der Kinder, der Erwachsenen: Kahlscheren, Stutzenfrisen, Verkämmen, Arten, Herstellung). — Haartracht der Ältern. — Kopfbedeckung. — Barttracht.
2. Schmuck. Haarschmuck. — Durchbohrung der Nasenscheidewand. — Nasenschmuck. — Ohrenschmuck. — Halsschmuck (Halskette und -band, Halsringe aus Metall). — Brustschmuck. — Armschmuck. — Fingerschmuck. — Beinschmuck. — Zehenschmuck. — Überladung mit Schmuck.
3. Körperpflege. Reinlichkeit. — Schmutzwasser und ihre Verwendung. — Pflege des Hauptes. — Puder. — Achsel- und Schamhaare. — Zahnpflege. — Salben mit Öl: Gründe, Ölgewächse, Kaphispadatöl, Ölpalmöl (Verbreitung, Sorten, Herstellung des gepreßten, gekochten, gewaschenen Öles und des Palmkernöles). — Bemalungen mit Farbe: Gelegenheiten, rote Farbe (Herstellung, Gefäße zum Aufbewahren), weiße und schwarze Farbe.
4. Körperverzierung. Bemalung. — Arten. — Brandmarken. — Zierarben. — Bemalung. — Tätowierung [3]: Herkunft; Zweck; Körperteile, die tätowiert werden; Ausführung; Sorten; Bemalung des Tätowierinstrumentes. — Zahnverstümmelung: Grund; Ausführung.

---

1. Tracht.

Die einheimische Tracht der Männer ist der zwischen den Beinen durchgezogene und vorn und hinten über einen Gürtel geschlagene Zeugstreifen von ungefähr 90 cm Länge und 70 cm Breite aus der Rinde verschiedener Feigen-

[3]) Das Lübecker Museum für Völkerkunde schreibt Tatauierung.

[p. 172].

Abb. 111. Leute aus Angónneuai (Fam. Omwang), Span.-Guinea.

Abschnitt VII.

Tracht und Schmuck.

1. **Tracht.** Männertracht (Lendentücher, Gürtel). — Frauentracht (Vorderschurz, Hinterschurz, Arbeitskleid). — Kindertracht. — Haartracht der Kinder, der Erwachsenen: Helmfrisuren, Helmmützen, Vorkommen, Arten, Herstellung). — Haartracht der Älteren. — Kopfbedeckung. — Barttracht.
2. **Schmuck.** Haarschmuck. — Durchbohrung der Nasenscheidewand. — Nasenschmuck. — Stirnschmuck. — Halsschmuck (Halsketten und -bänder, Halsringe aus Metall). — Brustschmuck. — Armschmuck. — Fingerschmuck. — Beinschmuck. — Zehenschmuck. — Überladung mit Schmuck.
3. **Körperpflege.** Reinlichkeit. — Schmarotzer und ihre Vertreibung. — Pflege des Haupthaares. — Puder. — Achsel- und Schamhaare. — Zahnpflege. — Salben mit Öl: Gründe, Ölgewächse, Raphiapalmöl, Ölpalmöl (Verbreitung, Sorten, Herstellung des gepreßten, gekochten, gewaschenen Öles und des Palmkernöles). — Beschmieren mit Farbe: Gelegenheiten, rote Farbe (Bereitung, Gefäße zum Aufbewahren), weiße und schwarze Farbe.
4. **Körperverzierung.** Entstehung. — Arten. — Brandnarben. — Ziernarben. — Bemalung. — Tätowierung [1]): Herkunft; Zweck; Körperteile, die tätowiert werden; Ausführung; Sorten; Bezahlung des Tätowierkünstlers. — Zahnverstümmelung: Grund; Ausführung.

---

1. Tracht.

Die einheimische Tracht der Männer ist der zwischen den Beinen durchgezogene und vorn und hinten über einen Gürtel geschlagene Zeugstreifen von ungefähr 90 cm Länge und 70 cm Breite aus der Rinde verschiedener Feigen-

[1]) Das Lübecker Museum für Völkerkunde schreibt Tatanierung.

[p. 172]

bäume (Abb. 111). Das Rindenzeug wird entweder naturfarben gelassen und zeigt dabei alle Abstufungen vom fast reinen Weiß bis zum dunklen Rotbraun, oder mit Rotholz leuchtend rot gefärbt und ist oft trefflich bereitet, so daß man es nur bei genauerem Hinsehen von europäischem Stoff unterscheiden kann.

Heute sind durch den Handel die europäischen Tuche überall verbreitet und verdrängen die ursprüngliche, so kleidsame Tracht. Sie werden mitunter ebenso wie das Rindenzeug getragen, meist aber mit oder ohne Gürtel glatt um die Lenden gelegt (vgl. Abb. 111).

Nur einmal sah ich an Stelle des Rindentuches einen schmalen Schamschurz aus Affenfell, der mit seinem oberen Ende auf die Hüftschnur gezogen war und im übrigen in langen Streifen herunterfiel *(etöb-mabäs)*.

Abb. 112. Bastgürtel. b mit Kaurischnecken verziert.

Der Gürtel *(kärnä IV)* besteht aus Faserschnüren mit und ohne Perlen, geflochtenem Palmband (Abb. 112) oder Fell. Die einfachen Schnüre sieht man nur bei Jungen oder Leuten, die wenig auf sich geben; die Perlengürtel sind, im Gegensatz zu denen der Frauen, Einzelschnüre, die geflochtenen Gürtel (Abb. 113) *(bärb IV F.)* scheinen nur im Süden vorzukommen, die Fellgürtel sind entweder schmale Bänder, meistens aus Affenfell, oder breite Antilopenfellgurte, deren Haarseite zuerst gleichmäßig kurz geschoren, dann zu allerlei Mustern verschnitten wird. Als minderwertigste Gürtel, die nur von ganz nachlässigen Leuten getragen werden, dürfen solche aus Stengeln der Winde (*abödembé*, d. h. die Schlechtkleidende, *böl* = kleiden, *mbé* = das Schlechte) gelten.

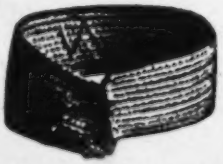


Abb. 113. Geflochtener Gürtel.

Die Kleidung der Frauen ist nach Form und Material wesentlich anders als die der Männer. Sie besteht aus zwei Stücken, dem Vorderschurz und dem Hinterschurz, die beide durch das Hüftband aus Fellstreifen, Bast, Perlenschnüren oder europäischem Zeug an den Leib gedrückt werden. Der Vorderschurz besteht in seiner einfachsten Gestalt, die bei den Nordpangwe vorkommt, aus einem langen, schmalen, trockenen Bananenblatt, das zwischen den Beinen auf Scham und Damm liegt und vorn zu einem dreieckigen Zipfel gefaltet ist, der über die Hüftschnur geschlagen wird. Sonst besteht er entweder aus Rindenzeug oder einem Fellstück. Der Hinterschurz ist bei den Fang ein kleines, bescheidenes Rindenstoffkleidchen, das in zwei Formen vorkommt, einmal als 3½ m langes, 23 cm breites, aus vielen (8—9) Stücken zusammengenähtes

Band, das durch Fältelung auf eine kleine Schürze von 24 cm Länge, 13—27 cm Breite verkürzt und durch eine längs der oberen Kante durchgezogene Schnur fächerförmig gerafft ist, zweitens aus 2—8 kleinen viereckigen Rindenzeugstückchen zusammengesetzt, die oben fächerförmig zusammengerafft hintereinander in einen Klemmer *(abás)* gesteckt sind (Abb. 114); dieser besteht aus 5—8 Holzstäbchen, die an dem Ende mit Messingdraht oder -blech umwickelt, wie ein Rost nebeneinandergelegt und mit Palmband zusammengebunden sind.

Abb. 114. Hinterschurz der Fang-Frauen aus Rindenzeug.

Bei den übrigen Pangwe ist der Hinterschurz aus Raphiabast verfertigt und hängt wie ein richtiger, abgestutzter Pferdeschwanz herunter (Abb. 115). Name: *mſö,kI*, *mſö,ö-zäm* (*zäm* = Raphiapalme), *elä,ĩ*, *azö,m*, *azöṅ*, *ebä'ı*, *ekö'm*.

Während der Arbeit in den Pflanzungen, beim Fischen usw. legen die Frauen die Raphiaschwänze und Rindenschürzen ab, um sie zu schonen, und stecken dafür ein weichblättriges Kraut, wenn möglich die **Brillantaisia** *(ebägebö'ṅ)* oder Farnkraut unter den Gürtel. Mit diesem Arbeitskleid sieht man sie oft auch noch auf dem Heimweg zum Dorf, und Raphiaschwanz oder Rindenschürze prangen oben auf dem mit Feldfrüchten oder Feuerholz gefüllten Korb. Männer tragen niemals, auch nicht bei der Fischerarbeit Blätter.

Kleine Kinder gehen in den ersten Lebensjahren meist nackt, und zwar Mädchen bis zum fünften, Knaben bis zum siebenten Jahre; die Beschneidung der Knaben bildet hierbei keine bestimmte Grenze, insofern man unbeschnittene bekleidet und beschnittene nackt sehen kann; lange über diesen Zeitpunkt hinaus wartet man aber nicht gern. Es kommt auch vor, daß die Kinder, besonders Mädchen, schon wenn sie anfangen zu laufen, mit einem Zeuglappen bekleidet werden.

Abb. 115. Hinterschurz der Ntum-Frauen aus Raphiabast.

Eine einheitliche Haartracht der Pangwe gibt es heute nicht; wir begegnen bei ihnen einer Fülle verschiedener Formen — selbst innerhalb desselben Dorfes —, die zeigen, daß der Pangwe es, wie alle Neger, liebt, in der Behandlung seines Haupthaares zu Schmuckzwecken seiner Laune die Zügel schießen zu lassen.

Kindern wird meist schon früh der Kopf rasiert, entweder ganz glatt oder

Tafel XIII.

MANN AUS ANGÓNNEUAI (FAM. OMWANG), SPAN. GUINEA.

Günther Tessmann, die Fangvölker

Verlegt und gedruckt bei Ernst Wasmuth A.-G., Berlin.

[Facing p. 174]

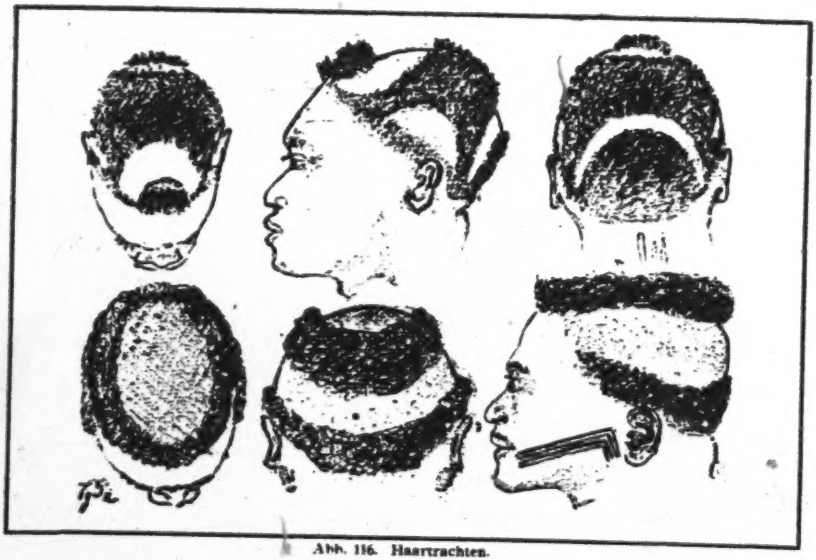


Abb. 116. Haartrachten.

mit Stehenlassen eines Schopfes vorn oder hinten oder einer Raupe. Halbwüchsige Jungen tragen das Haar lang oder in Mustern ausrasiert.

Bei Erwachsenen ist es entweder ganz lang und ungepflegt (Tafel XIII) oder ganz glatt wegrasiert oder halblang abgeschnitten und sorgfältig gepflegt oder kurz geschnitten, und zwar entweder gleichmäßig kurz (vgl. Abb. 6) oder so, daß ein Schopf, *akik*, vorn oder eine Raupe, *ongöm*, über dem Scheitel stehen bleibt, oder das Haar wird kurz geschnitten und in allerhand Mustern ausrasiert (vgl. Abb. 3), die *pfee, III* (*a tab bopfee*, = in Schmuckformen rasieren) heißen und ein ganzes Buch füllen würden, wenn man sie alle aufzeichnen wollte. Einige wenige habe ich in Abb. 116 gebracht.

Das Non-plus-ultra aller dieser Haartrachten bildet die mit Perlen, Kauri, Knöpfen und Messingnägeln reichverzierte Haarfrisur von der Form eines Helmes, die den Pangwe vor allen anderen Völkern des tropischen Westafrika auszeichnet (Abb. 117). Im Norden, wo diese Mode nie die Vervollkommnung wie im Süden erreicht hatte, ist sie infolge europäischen Einflusses wieder aufgegeben, bei den Ntum und Fang dagegen blüht die Kunst der Helmfrisurenherstellung üppig (Abb. 118); es werden hierbei die Haare durch untergelegte Stützen aus Raphiamark oder Palmstreifen hochfrisiert, und die Locken durch eingeflochtene Baststreifen zu Zöpfen umgebildet, die wieder untereinander verflochten ein gleichmäßig dickes Polster bilden. Da die Herstellung geraume Zeit erfordert, einen Monat und länger, laufen die Eingeborenen lange mit

Abb. 117. Assoko aus Alén (Fam. Essúuong). Span. Guinea.

Abb. 118. Nium beim Zaberelten von Schmuckbeimfrisuren. Akonangi, Süd-Kamerun.

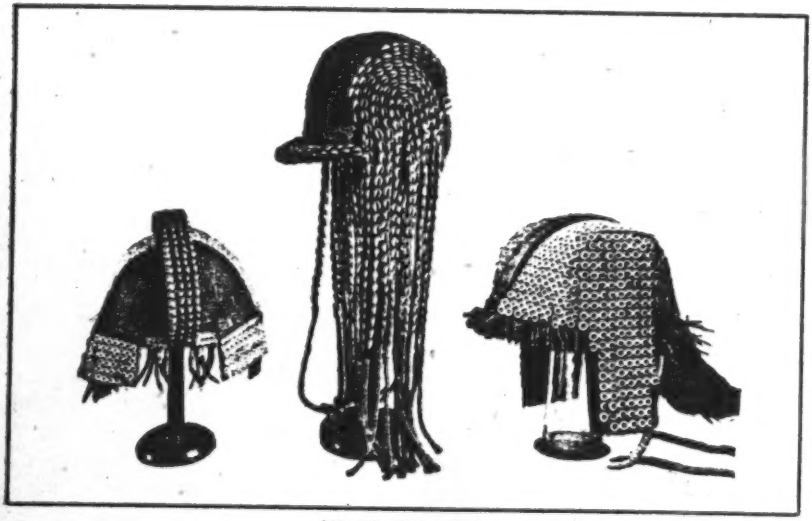


Abb. 119. Helmmützen.

eben angefangenen oder mehr oder weniger unfertigen Frisuren umher, so daß man zunächst glaubt, lauter verschiedene Haartrachten vor sich zu haben, so sind Abb. 8 u. 13 nur zwei verschiedene Entwicklungsstufen ein und derselben Frisur.

Neben diesen aus dem Kopfhaar geformten Frisuren gibt es abnehmbare Mützen, die in genau derselben Weise und genau denselben Formen (Abb. 119) verfertigt werden wie jene, so daß man nur bei eingehender Untersuchung entscheiden kann, ob es sich um eine Frisur oder um eine Kopfbedeckung handelt. Sie sind aber nicht häufig und werden nur von den Ntum und wenigen Fang (Okak) hergestellt; die festen Frisuren überwiegen durchaus, was erwähnt sein möge, da man nach dem Museumsmaterial zu einem anderen Schluß kommen könnte. Die hier gegebenen Abbildungen zeigen sämtlich Frisuren.

Von 25 verschiedenen, mit eigenen Namen belegten Formen wird etwa die Hälfte von beiden Geschlechtern unterschiedslos, die übrigen entweder nur von Männern oder nur von Weibern getragen. Bei den Fang gleicht sich Männer- und Frauenschmuck häufiger als bei den Ntum, und sie werden deswegen öfter die Zielscheibe des Spottes.

Helmfrisuren und Schmuckmützen werden dauernd getragen, nur als Zeichen der Trauer werden beide — die ersteren manchmal auch vor einem Jagdzuge — abgelegt.

Zur Herstellung seiner Schmuckmützen *(edʊ̄ban, elũ̄ʒ)* nimmt der Ntum ein Fell von Meerkatzen, Zwergantilopen, jungen Ziegen oder Schafen. Das Fell wird vom Fett gereinigt, mit der Innenseite nach außen über die Rundung eines halbkugelig behauenen Plahtenwurzelstocks gezogen, an seiner Grundfläche mit einer Schnur festgebunden und am Rande auf dem Boden festgepflockt. So gespannt, muß das Fell an der Sonne und später noch über Feuer austrocknen.

Ferner hat man geschwärzte Baststreifen der **Triumfetta** nötig, die folgendermaßen gefärbt werden: Stücke von der Rinde gewisser Pflanzen [1]) werden zerkleinert, in einen Kochtopf gelegt und zwar derart, daß zu unterst eine Schicht Rinde kommt, dann die Baststreifen und darüber wieder Rindenstücke folgen. Nun wird eine Stunde lang gekocht, um bestimmte Stoffe aus der Rinde auszuziehen, dann trägt man den Topf zum Fluß und knetet die Baststreifen abwechselnd im Lehm des Ufers und in dem Rindenauszug durch, und zwar fünf- bis siebenmal hintereinander. Die Streifen haben nun eine schwärzliche Farbe, die im Hause beim Trocknen bis zur tiefsten Schwärze nachdunkelt.

Nun zur eigentlichen Mützenanfertigung: Das getrocknete Fell wird vom Block heruntergenommen und auf der Innenfläche durch drei kreuzweis untergelegte Bügel gestützt, die aus acht der Länge nach aneinandergelegten und mit Triumfettabast verflochtenen Palmstreifen bestehen. Angenehm können die kantigen Bügel und das schwere Gestell beim Tragen kaum sein, doch der dicke Wollschädel des Negers merkt davon wohl nichts.

Auf der Außenfläche wird zu beiden Seiten der Scheitellinie in zwei parallelen Längsreihen das Fell je vierzehnmal durchbohrt für sieben doppelt durchgezogene Ananasschnüre von ½ m Länge. Mit diesen werden aus je drei von den oben erwähnten schwarzgefärbten Bastbändern hergestellte Zöpfe verflochten, die von der Mitte angefangen, in der Sagittalrichtung zum vorderen und zum hinteren Rande verlaufen, etwas darüber hinausragen und in einem Knoten enden [2]). Solcher Längsflechten werden zwölf dicht nebeneinander gelegt. Den Raum zwischen diesen und dem Rand der Mütze füllen ebenso hergestellte, aber senkrecht zu jenen verlaufende Flechten aus, die am Rande durch drei bis vier Reihen ringsherum verlaufender Flechten überlagert und mit dem Fell vernäht werden.

---

[1]) Combretacee **Terminalia superba** Engl. et Diels *(akʊ̄m)*, Euphorbiaceen **Bridelia zenkeri** Pax. *(ewʊ̄lʊ̄k)*, **Alchornea cordifolia** Muell. Arg. *(abáı* Nt.), **Megabarea trillesii** Pierre *(abáı-ʒám)*, Leguminose **Mucuna flagellipes** Vogel *(kʊ̄ndʊ̄ʊ̄-ʒám)*, Borraginacee **Cordia odorata** Gürke *(ébe*, F., *ebáı*, Nt.), Anacardiacee **Pseudospondias tessmannii** Engl. *(angʊ̄kʊ̄n)*, Flacourtiacee **Petersia minor** Niedenzu *(abʃn)*.

[2]) Beim Flechten fettet man die Finger häufig ein und dreht die Bänder etwas.

FANG (FAM. OMWANG). SPAN. GUINEA.

Verlag und gedruckt bei Ernst Wasmuth A.-G., Berlin.

1: Tessmann

FH9 Fang

[facing p. 178]

Dazu braucht man eine Nadel aus Rinde, deren Spitze im Feuer gehärtet, und deren anderes Ende für den Faden aus Bast geschlitzt wird. Die am Rande überstehenden Flechten werden abgeschnitten. Über den Scheitel der Kappe legt man eine Raupe *(mbǫm)* aus einem Stück Raphiamark, das von den beiden Schmalseiten her eingeschnitten wird, damit es sich besser biegt, darüber näht man einen Zeuglappen, auf den ein gleichbreiter, mit Messingnägeln beschlagener Bügel aus Palmstreifen — wie sie oben von der Innenfläche der Mütze beschrieben sind — aufgesetzt wird. Zu beiden Seiten der Raupe verlaufen einige Längsreihen roter auf Raphiapiassave gereihter Perlen. Ein weiterer Schmuck der Mützen besteht in seitlich angenähten, mit Kauri oder weißen Knöpfen benähten Lederstücken, an denen Fransen aus Ananasschnüren mit aufgereihten Perlen hängen (vgl. Abb. 118 im Vordergrund).

Die Schmuckmützen der Fang sind nicht aus Fell, sondern aus gleichlaufenden Palmstreifen hergestellt, die mit geschwärztem Triumfettabast so zusammengeflochten werden, daß immer ein Streifen überschlagen wird und so ein Schachbrettmuster entsteht.

Die älteren Leute tragen meist keinen Perlenschmuck im Haar — wofern noch von einem solchen bei ihnen die Rede ist —, sondern einfachere Frisuren, die übrigens früher mehr Mode gewesen sein sollen.

Von Kopfbedeckungen sind nur Kappen aus dem Fell von Affen, Zibethkatzen oder des Ichneumons, **Bdeogale nigripes** Puch., sowie eingeführte rote Kappen, die von Häuptlingen und sonstigen älteren „Respektspersonen" getragen werden, zu erwähnen. Hüte, aus Grashalmen **(Paspalum)** zusammengenäht, gleichen in der Form unseren gewöhnlichen Strohhüten und sollen nach einer Angabe europäischen Vorbildern nachgeahmt sein.

Eine Barttracht ist bei den Pangwe selten, da die meisten sich die Haare — gleich vielen anderen Negern — ausreißen; vereinzelt gibt es Männer mit schönen Vollbärten (Abb. 11) oder mit Spitzbärten, deren Ende in ein kleines Zöpfchen gedreht und mit Kauris oder Perlen besetzt wird, andere machen zwei, noch andere eine ganze Anzahl Zöpfe aus ihrem Bart (Abb. 12); Schnurrbärte sieht man selten und auch dann nur ganz unbedeutende.

2. Schmuck.

Der Verschönerungstrieb beherrscht bei den Pangwe Mann und Frau in gleichem und erheblichem Maße, Schmuckbehang der verschiedensten Art wird von ihnen an allen möglichen Stellen des Körpers angebracht. In die Haare (Abb. 120) steckt man eine Feder, die oft in Mustern ausgeschnitten ist *(a, b)*, einen Quastenstachlerschwanz *(c)*, einen Pfeil aus Holz, Knochen

Abb. 120. Haarschmuck.

(d) oder spiralig gewundenem Messing *(e)*, einen Steckkamm (vgl. Abb. 139) sowie in seltenen Fällen — meist zum Tanzvergnügen — auch Blumen, so z. B. von **Costus** *(miẽn)*, und hübsche oder wohlriechende Blätter, so von der Leguminose **Cryptosepalum** aff. **staudtii** Harms *(andũ)* und des Krautes *(afun)*, letztere zwei nur von Weibern getragen, und zwar meist in zwei Büscheln hinter dem Ohr, dessen Läppchen nur bei einigen Mwai durchbohrt und mit Schmuck versehen ist.

Nasenschmuck (Abb. 121) erfreut sich dagegen einer großen Beliebtheit, und zwar wird er in einer Durchbohrung der Scheidewand, nicht an den Nasenflügeln, angebracht. Die dazu nötige Operation wird bei Kindern von 6—8 Jahren vollzogen. Vorher drückt sich der Betreffende die Blätter des **Afrамomum** *(adẽõm)*, die im Feuer erwärmt sind, an die Nasenscheidewand, um sie weicher zu machen. Dann nimmt der Medizinmann einen Raphiastengelstab, einen Stachel vom Quastenstachler oder ein anderes spitzes Werkzeug und durchbohrt damit die Wand, nachdem er mit dem Zeigefinger der anderen Hand die richtige Stelle ausgesucht hat. Auf die Spitze des Stachels schiebt er nun ein kleines Stengelstück des **Trachyphrynium violaceum** (Stengel: *nkömokõmo I*, Blätter: *dzẽdekiai IV* Nt.) und zieht beide zusammen zurück, bis der Stengel in der Scheidewand liegt. Er soll das Loch für den späteren Schmuck offen halten. Die weitere Behandlung ist ganz sachgemäß: alle zwei Tage wird die Wunde ausgewaschen und der Stengel erneuert.

Abb. 121. Nasenschmuck.

Nach zehn Tagen wird er endgültig entfernt und durch die bleibenden Schmuckstücke ersetzt. Die Gegenstände, die man dazu nimmt, sind kaum alle aufzuführen: Stengel, Blätter, Blüten von **Gomphrena globosa** L. *(ngŏn)*, die wir schon als Zierpflanze kennen gelernt hatten, Federn[1]), Papierrollen, mit Perlen bereihte Holzstäbe, Raphiastäbe, mit Messingdraht umwundene Stäbe oder Knochen, Messingringe mit einer großen Perle, die gerade auf die Oberlippe zu hängen kommt (vgl. Abb. 132) und vor allem Perlenschnüre, deren Enden hinter den Ohren an der Frisur festgeknüpft werden, und die so zugleich einen Wangenschmuck bilden.

Abb. 122. Stirnbänder aus Perlen.

Abb. 123. Halskette aus Früchten von Coix lacryma (Hiobstränen).

Stirnschmuck findet sich als Perlenschnüre, Perlenbänder, die im Süden des Fanggebietes oft sehr hübsch gemustert sind (Abb. 122), als Streifen aus schwarzem Schaffell *(tuʌ IV)*, und bei Frauen zuweilen als nett geflochtene und mit Büscheln versehene Bastbänder.

Abb. 124. Nymphen aus Aléa (Fam. Essandum).

Reichlich ist der Hals, den man selten ohne irgendein Bändchen oder eine Schnur läßt, mit Schmuck bedacht. Früher waren die Früchte des Grases **Coix lacryma** L. *(mrʌ̀andá III)*, die bekannten, an so vielen Stellen der Erde als Schmuck verwen-

[1]) Besonders sind die roten Schwanzfedern des Graupapageien und Sichelfedern des Hahnes beliebt, beide Tiere spielen in der Religion eine große Rolle.

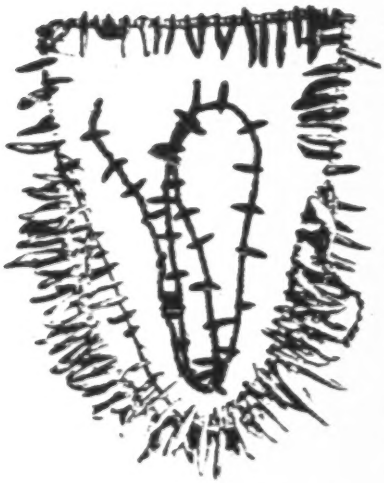


Abb. 123.
Halskette aus Hunde- und Meerkatzenzähne.
Abb. 124. Halskette mit nachgemachten Zähnen aus den Samen der *Podococcus Barteri*.

deten Hiobsträne (Abb. 123) und aufgereihte Stengelstücke des Farnes **Lygodium smithianum** Presl. *(ozǭk)* beliebt, deren Name *ozǭk* sich dann auf die länglichen, roten Perlen übertragen hat, sind heute aber, nach Einführung der Glasperlen, die jetzt das Bild beherrschen, längst nicht mehr fein genug. Daneben finden wir bei Frauen die Früchte der **Mucuna flagellipes** Vogel *(kondǭǭ-zam III)*, da sie ein Symbol der Treue sind, freilich wohl ohne die bestimmte Absicht, sich Treue zu gewinnen oder zu erhalten [1]). Weiterer Halsschmuck sind aufgereihte Reißzähne von Meerkatzen und Hunden (Abb. 124/125), als Anhänger auch solche von Leoparden und Hauer von Wildschweinen (Abb. 127), nachgemachte aus den weißen, etwas zugespitzten Samen der Palme **Podococcus barteri** Mann et Wendl. *(niamvine)* (Abb. 126) oder aus Knochenstücken als Anhänger, nachgemachtes Horn aus entsprechend geschnitzten und mit Messingdraht umwundenen Ebenholzstückchen (**Diospyros**-Arten), Abb. 128, endlich eine Kralle des großen Kampfadlers, **Spizaetus** *(ndǭǭ IV)* (Abb. 129) [2]). Ebenso hübsche, wie einfach herzustellende Halsbänder werden aus Streifen von **Oncocalamus mannii** Wendl. *(nlon)* oder **Trachyphrynium violaceum** *(nkomokomo)* gemacht, die durch ein zierliches Geflecht aus **Rhektophyllum**fäden zusammen gehalten werden. Bemerkenswert ist ein Halsschmuck aus den wohlriechenden Wurzeln der Urticacee **Trymatococcus africanus** H. Baillon *(ngǭna IV)*, der bei den Ntum nur von Frauen, bei den Fang von beiden Geschlechtern getragen wird, namens

Abb. 127.
Anhänger an den Halsschmuck.
(Hauer eines Wildschweines.)

Abb. 128. Anhänger aus Ebenholz, das mit Messingdraht umwunden ist. Nachgemachtes Horn.

Abb. 129.
Halskette mit der Kralle eines Kampfadlers.

[1]) Das Symbol der Treue ist diese Liane deshalb, weil sie sich nur um einen Baum schlingt, nicht, wie die meisten tropischen Lianen und Schlinggewächse, alle erreichbaren Bäume und Sträucher überwuchert.

[2]) Auch europäischen Tand, z. B. Patronenhülsen, Schlüssel und Vorhängeschlösser sieht man bei den Pangwe als Anhänger.

egbwɛ̄r, ngɔ̄na IV F., oder *azɔ̄m-e-si*, Nt. (vgl. Saf. XII). Die Wurzeln werden, längshalbiert und getrocknet, in eine doppelte Schnur eingeknotet als Halsband (Abb. 131 *a*) oder schneckenartig zusammengerollt als büschelförmiger Anhänger (Abb. 131 *b*) getragen, meist noch mit Rotholz gefärbt. Nicht sehr häufig ist eine von beiden Geschlechtern getragene Halskrause aus Bast, ihres Aussehens halber *etɔ̄ganiɔ̄ma* = Schafmähne genannt (Abb. 131 *c*), ebensowenig ein Basthalsschmuck für kleine Mädchen (*ngɔ̄ne*).

Abb. 130. Halskette mit den Früchten von Chrysophyllum tessmannii Engl (*mbam*).

Eiserne Halsringe sind heute recht selten, um so häufiger solche aus Messing (*mrɔ̄l I*), die in schweren und leichten Arten mit eingravierten Mustern versehen (*mrɔ̄le zɔ̄si*, vgl. Abb. 14). Die Herstellung wird beim Messinggu ß beschrieben werden. Es ist nicht leicht, einen solchen bis drei Pfund schweren Ring zu tragen, ebensowenig, ihn umzulegen; er wird nämlich von neuem im Feuer weich gemacht und ausgegossen werden. Erstere zeigen zweierlei Formen. Die einen haben gesimsartig vorspringende Kanten und keine Verzierung (Abb. 132), die anderen sind im Querschnitt dreieckig und in der Mitte der beiden Vorderflächen, oft auch noch auf dem oberen Rand einandergebogen, damit sich sein glücklicher Besitzer mit dem Hals hineinzwängen kann, und dann auf dem Schmiedestein wieder zusammengeklopft. Noch schwieriger ist es, ihn abzunehmen. Dazu legt sich der Betreffende auf den Rücken, das eine Ende des Ringes wird fest an einen Baumstumpf geknüpft, das andere mittels einer Schlinge mit einem Hebel verbunden und durch diesen abgebogen; vorher ist nicht zu vergessen, den Hals tüchtig mit Öl oder mit dem Saft aus den Blättern des Clerodendron

Abb. 131. Halsschmuck.

Abb. 132. Fang (Fam. Omwang), Span. Guinea.

büttneri G ü r k e *(marúlu-ndźik III)* einzureiben. Als einen beliebten raschen und billigen Ersatz benutzen die Diener der Europäer Konservenbüchsen, die sie durch Abnehmen von Deckel und Boden in einen Halsring verwandeln. Ebenso sind ihnen europäische Kragen eine äußerst sympathische Kulturerrungenschaft, die sie sich zu eigen machen, oft schon, bevor sie sich Hosen und Hemden anschaffen.

Brustschmuck kommt hauptsächlich bei Frauen vor, und zwar in Form von lang herunterhängenden Perlen- und groben Messingketten, die — wie sich denken läßt — nur für ältere Damen zu empfehlen sind.

Nicht weniger reichlich werden, besonders von Frauen, die Arme und Beine mit Schmuck behängt. Ober- oder Unterarm oder beide sieht man mit Spiralen aus eingeführtem Messingdraht oder mit Reifen aus eingeführten Messingröhren geschmückt (Abb. 133). Für den Oberarm sind die Spiralen kürzer, für den Unterarm meist so lang, daß sie ihn ganz einhüllen. Seltener sind Oberarmringe aus dicht aneinandergelegten **Laccosperma**- oder **Trachyphrynium**streifen, die durch ein zierliches Geflecht aus **Rhektophyllum** verbunden sind (Abb. 134); nur bei Männern finden sich am Oberarm Streifen aus schwarzem Schaffell, die den Stirnbändern aus demselben Material entsprechen. Ringe oder Bänder um das

Handgelenk gehören mit zu dem beliebtesten Schmuck. Schon Kinder legen sich die Stengel der Rubiacee **Megalopus mannii** K. Sch. *(ngóne III)* spiralig um den Arm, Erwachsene — Männer und Frauen — tragen Ringe aus den Stengeln einer Liane, aus geflochtenem Palmband (Abb. 135) aus Elefantenschwanzhaaren, aus gegossenem Messing oder Messingdraht, dessen Enden sich wie zwei Ranken umeinander schlingen *(nkrb I*, Abb. 136a), oder feinem, um sich selbst gewundenen Messingdraht (Abb. 136 b), Bänder aus **Oncocalamus** geflochten und dicke Ringe aus Elfenbein bzw. Elefantenknochen *(ekǒm e ńǫk)* oder eine Nachahmung aus Holz der **Alstonia** *(ekǎk)* namens *ńǫ[k] ekǎk* = Elefant (d. h. Elfenbein) aus Alstonia. Alle drei Sorten werden besonders von Häuptlingen getragen. In Jaunde gibt es hübsch gearbeitete, dünne Armreifen aus Elfenbein.

Abb. 135. Nismfrau aus Akoasangi (Fam. Essandum).

Fingerringe (Abb. 137), sind aus Elfenbein *(a)*, in Raphiapalmöl geschwärztem Horn[1]) *(b)* und Messing gearbeitet, von letzteren gibt es Spiralen *(c—d)*, einfache dünne Ringe, die mit den Enden etwas übereinandergreifen *(e)*, Bänder und dickere oft etwas verzierte Reifen *(f)*.

Der Beinschmuck entspricht im großen und ganzen dem der Arme, auch hier sind kürzere Messingspiralen über dem Knie, bei Frauen auch dicht unter dem Knie und, gleichfalls nur bei ihnen, längere, die von der Mitte der Wade bis aufs Fußgelenk hinunterreichen, am häufigsten. Außerdem tragen beide Geschlechter massive oder hohle Messingringe sowie an den Knöcheln die eigenartigen, feinverzierten Messingfußstulpe *(ebǫt, ngǒb IV)*.

---

[1]) Der Schwarzsteiß-Schopfantilope, **Cephalophus callipygus** Ptrs. *(mǫ́n IV)*.

Abb. 134.
Armband aus Palmenstreifen.

An den Zehen, vielfach an allen fünfen, stecken Ringe, wie sie an den Fingern getragen werden.

Durch all diesen Zierat wirken besonders die Frauen überladen und unschön (Abb. 138, vgl. auch Abb. 133), zumal er ihren infolge des Tragens schwerer Lasten watschelnden Gang, den schon von weitem ein taktmäßiges Klirren ankündigt, noch ungeschickter und plumper macht — der göttlichen Muse Terpsichore müßten diese Schönen samt und sonders ein Greuel sein —, außerdem ist er ihnen selbst wegen seiner Schwere mehr als lästig, z. B. scheuern die Knöchelringe die Haut wund und werden dann mit einem eigenen Band an die über den Waden getragenen angebunden.

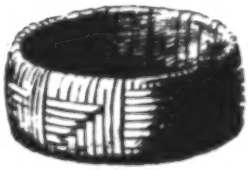


Abb. 135.
Geflochtenes Armband.

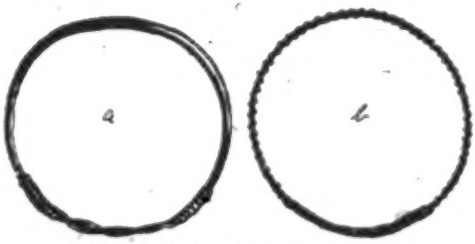


Abb. 136. Handgelenkringe aus Messing.

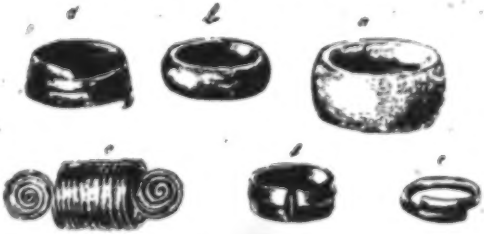


Abb. 137. Fingerringe.

3. Körperpflege.

Man kann die Pangwe im großen und ganzen als ein sehr reinliches Volk bezeichnen, reinlicher als manches europäische. Die Mehrzahl wäscht und badet sich häufig, und wie man einen Schmutzfinken beurteilt, zeigt das Sprichwort:

otə[k]-mʃóò a dʒ́ònə: kə́ mə́ò̀ a bʃ́de ma,
Alte-Tasche[1]) sie sagte so: wenn nun schon Regen er benetzt mich,
ngbə́nə a wʃ́ban e mədʒ́ʃ́m a bè ma anə́
Zeit zu waschen im Wasser, es war mir gerade!

d. h.: „Da kam der Regen gerade recht, es war auch die höchste Zeit zu baden."

Die vielen Hautkrankheiten, von denen besonders häufig jüngere Personen befallen werden, scheinen andere Ursachen zu haben als Unreinlichkeit, wenn

[1]) Häufiger Schimpfname für Männer, ähnlich wie bei uns: alte Schachtel für Frauen.

Tafel XV.

FRAU AUS BERAI (FAM. ESSENG), NTUMGEBIET.

Günter Tessmann, die Pangwe Verlegt und gedruckt bei Bruno Wasmuth A.-G., Berlin.

[facing p. 186]

auch zugegeben werden muß, daß bei vielen Negern eine unglaubliche Gleichgültigkeit in bezug auf Körperpflege, Wundbehandlung und Schmarotzer besteht. Im allgemeinen aber kann man den Pangwe wegen ihrer Sauberkeit nur Lob zollen.

Für das Waschen von Rindenzeug war früher sogar Seife aus einer Rubiacee (*ogbwərm* F., *ogbwɛ̃me* Nt.) üblich.

Menschenflöhe gibt es nicht, dagegen massenhaft Läuse, die man absucht und zerbeißt — die Frauen schlucken sie dabei auch hinunter —, außerdem durch besondere Medizinen tötet. Dazu setzt man dem Raphiapalmöl, mit dem man sich die Haut einschmiert, und das die Läuse sowieso nicht lieben, verkohlte und zerriebene Plantenschale oder zerriebene und dann getrocknete Wurzeln der Apocynacee **Dogcanga diplochlamys** K. Sch. (*ojɛ̃metõõ* Nt.), zerriebene Blätter und Blüten der Simarubacee **Quassia africana** Baill. (*iõõŋ-elɛ*), zerriebene Blätter der Malpigiacee **Heteropteris africana** A. Juss. *mfõm-endɛ̃k IV*) und der Simarubacee **Odyendea gabunensis** (Pierre) Engl. (*ozõk*) zu, ferner tut man die Leguminose **Tephrosia vogelii** H. f. (*ndõwõlõ III*) und die Ochnacee **Lophira alata** Banks (*akɛ̃ga*), auf die Frisur.

Abb. 138. Nimfrau aus dem Kampogebiet.

In den Helmfrisuren, unter deren dickem Polster man den Läusen nicht beikommen kann, tötet man sie durch ein besonderes Verfahren: Man stülpt aus Plantenblättern gefertigte dichtschließende „Laushauben" über den Kopf, nachdem man abgeschabte und feucht gemachte Rinde der Flacourtiacee **Caloncoba welwitschii** (Oliv.) Gilg (*mɛ̃gmegõmo III*) hineingetan hat.

Die Frisuren werden stets mit Öl eingefettet, ebenso wird das kurz getragene Haar sehr sorgfältig gepflegt, mit Öl benetzt und ausgekämmt. Es gibt zwei

Sorten Kämme *(mṛ́ds IV)*, ganz aus Holz geschnitzte (Abb. 139*b–d*) und aus Stäbchen von Raphiablattstielrinde zusammengesetzte (Abb. 139*a*). Dem Öl wird vielfach ein wohlriechendes Haarpulver *(akụ́l)* zugesetzt, das von beiden Geschlechtern benutzt, aber nur von Frauen hergestellt wird. Sie mischen dazu die Wurzeln folgender vier Pflanzen:

1. Cyperacee **Cyperus articulatus** L. *(anddk)*,
2. Moracee **Dorstenia scabra** (Bureau) Engl. (*azbm* F.),
3. Urticacee **Trymatococcus africanus** H. Baillon *(ngǫnd III)*,
4. eines unbestimmten Grases namens *niasdda*

Abb. 139. Kämme, *a* aus Raphiablattstiel, *b–d* aus Holz.

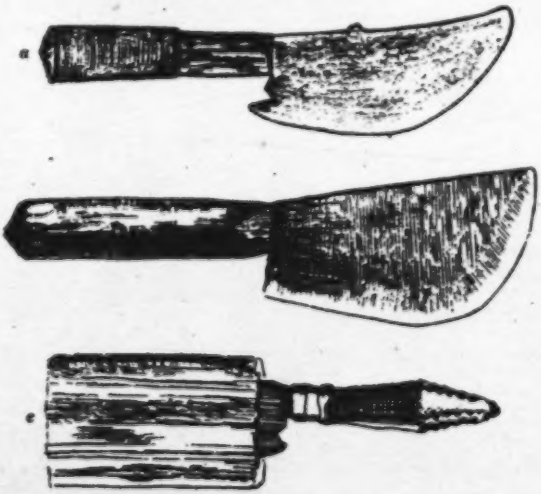


Abb. 140. Rasiermesser, *c* mit Scheide aus Raphiamark.

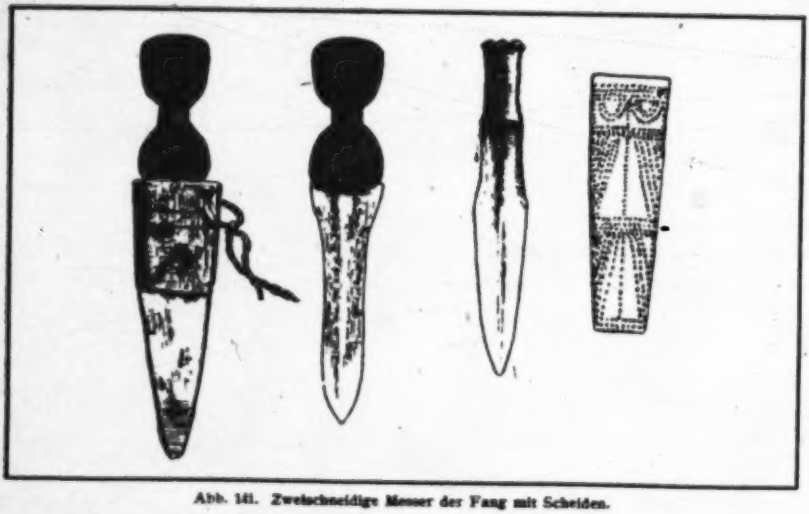


Abb. 141. Zweischneidige Messer der Fang mit Scheiden.

oder wenigstens zwei bis drei von ihnen, wenn nicht alle vier zu bekommen sind. Die Wurzeln müssen zwei Monate lang in der Hütte trocknen, werden dann ganz — bei **Trymatococcus** nur die Rinde — zerrieben und durch einen Korbteller mittels Klopfen mit einem Messer (*a kal* = klopfen) durchgesiebt; sie ergeben ein angenehm duftendes, gelbliches Pulver.

Ebenso ungern wie im Gesicht sieht der Pangwe die Haare am übrigen Körper. Die Achselhaare werden „wegen des üblen Geruches", die Schamhaare, weil sie angeblich leicht Jucken erzeugen, von beiden Geschlechtern mit einem Rasiermesser (Abb. 140) wegrasiert. Natürlich gibt es immer genug Menschen, die, wie der gute Otu-Mföö, auch für diese Art der Körperpflege nichts übrig haben.

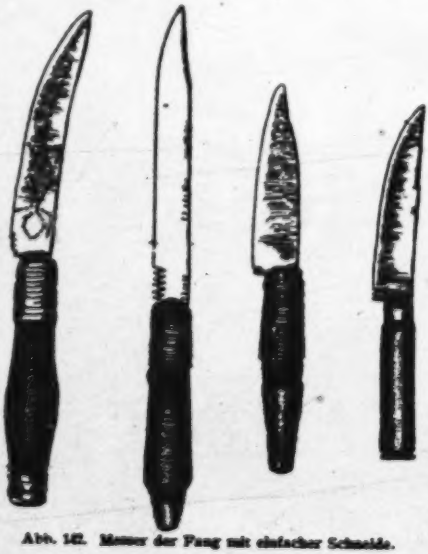


Abb. 142. Messer der Fang mit einfacher Schneide.

In derselben Weise, wie bei uns Taschenmesser gebraucht werden, benutzt der Eingeborene

selbstgeschmiedete ein- oder zweischneidige Messer *(okón)* (Abb. 141 u. 142), die er in Scheiden aus Messing, Leder, Fell usw. am Gürtel trägt.

Je weiter nach Norden im Gebiete, desto eifriger putzt der Pangwe seine Zähne, und zwar mit Hilfe eines oben zersplissenen Stockes (Abb. 143), der mitunter mit Messingdraht hübsch umflochten ist und oft zugleich als Spazierstock dient. Trotzdem haben die Pangwe lange nicht so gute Zähne als man glauben sollte, unter den Fang wenigstens sah ich ein tadelloses Gebiß bei Erwachsenen noch nie, die Backenzähne sind oft erstaunlich schlecht, die doch vielfach zugespitzten vorderen Zähne dagegen, vielleicht weil sie allein ordentlich geputzt werden, besser erhalten.

Das wichtigste Toilettengerät beider Geschlechter ist unbestritten das Öltöpfchen. So oft es geht, salben sich die Pangwe vom Kopf bis zum Fuß mit Öl, hauptsächlich aber bedenken sie das Haar bzw. die Frisur. Ein Grund dafür ist — wie sie sagen — der, daß ihnen der Geruch des Öles angenehm ist, ein zweiter, daß die Haut geschmeidiger und widerstandsfähiger wird, also hygienischer Natur. Hierzu kommt, daß — wie oben erwähnt — das Raphiapalmöl den Läusen offenbar unangenehm ist und sie davon zurückhält, mit ihrem „Wirt" allzu intim zu werden, bei Hautkrankheiten (Krokro und Krätze) und Sandflohwunden wird es sogar als Heilmittel verwendet.

Abb. 143. Zahnbürste.

Das Öl *(mbǫ́n)* wird hauptsächlich aus Palmen, im Norden nur aus der Ölpalme, im Süden selten aus ihr, hauptsächlich aus der Raphiapalme, gewonnen; mitunter stellt man es auch aus den Kernen der **Mimusops djave** (Lan.) Engl. *(ádźáb*, Früchte: *ebǫ́n*, Kerne: *ngón IV-ebǫ́n)*, denen der **Carapa procera** D. C. *(engáń)* und nur ganz nebenbei aus Erdnüssen (vgl. S. 92) her.

Das Öl der Raphiapalme wird ausschließlich, das der Ölpalme zum größten Teil zur Hautpflege, nur zu $^1/_6$—$^1/_5$ als Speiseöl benutzt.

a) Raphiapalmöl.

Die noch nicht ganz reifen Früchte *(aźṹź)* werden in Körben an dem Sumpf ins Dorf gebracht und dort sechs Tage lang unter Bananenblättern und -stammstücken aufbewahrt, dann wird der Schuppenpanzer, soweit er nicht schon von selbst heruntergefallen, abgelöst und die ölreiche Schicht, welche sich zwischen dem Panzer und Samen befindet, mit dem Finger oder mit Hilfe einer Schuppe des Panzers abgeschält. Auf letzteres Verfahren bezieht sich das Rätsel:

Abb. 144. Ölpresse, auf der Raphiapalmöl ausgepreßt wird. Links wird das ölhaltige Fruchtfleisch über Feuer erhitzt.

ma vüi mot oko, okǒn, o mbe a nie abum
Ich tötete (einen) Menschen dort, (das) Messer, es war ihm (am) Bauch
a si, o wo ma ba nie a oa
unten, mit dem ich zerteile ihn für dich!

Mit dem Messer, welches er unten am Bauche hatte, zerteile ich ihn für dich.

Dieser ölhaltigen Masse setzt man etwas Wasser zu, rührt sie um und legt sie auf einem Rindenstück einige Tage lang an die Sonne. Dann kommt sie auf ein Gestell (Abb. 144, links) und wird durch ein darunter angezündetes Feuer ½—1 Stunde lang tüchtig erhitzt. Hierauf füllt man sie in ein eigens zu diesem Zwecke gemachtes Körbchen *(ekůt aźñ,ĩ)* aus **Aneistrophyllum** *(nkgne)*, das nun auf der Ölpresse *(ekvle-maźñ,ĩ, eſdĩ-aſ.)* ausgepreßt wird. Diese Presse, die zwar von einem Manne allein gemacht ist, aber von allen Dorfbewohnern frei benutzt werden darf, findet sich in den meisten Dörfern beim Versammlungshause aufgestellt und besteht aus einem Rahmen — zwei in einigem Abstand in den Boden gesteckten Pfählen mit zwei daran festgeschnürten Querstöcken — und einem nach unten zugespitzten Brett, das seitlich an dem Rahmen befestigt ist, und zwar so, daß es einfach an den oberen Querstock angebunden (so in Abb. 144) oder durch einen schräg auf die Erde gestellten Stab gehalten wird, der durch eine Durchbohrung am oberen Ende hindurchgeht; zur Sicherung ist das Brett mit dem

unteren Querstock verschnürt. Mitunter sieht man statt des Brettes gleichlaufend dicht nebeneinander gelegte Stöcke, die dann natürlich oben und unten an den Rahmen geschnürt sind.

Das Pressen selbst *(a krle mazü,r)* zeigt Abb. 144. Das Körbchen mit der Fruchtmasse wird entweder über den schrägen Stock oder über das obere Ende des Brettes (Abb. 144) gehängt, so daß es vor dieses zu liegen kommt, und nun mit Hilfe von Stöcken ausgepreßt. Das geschieht so ,daß man von oben nach unten einen Stock nach dem andern quer über das Körbchen legt und an dem einen Ende hinter den entsprechenden Rahmenpfosten steckt, an dem anderen vor ihm entlang führt und an ihm festbindet, Dadurch wird das Körbchen gedrückt und der Inhalt nach unten gepreßt.

Vorher hat man unter das Brett, an dem das Öl beim Pressen herabrinnt, ein Gefäß gestellt mit einem Blattfilter oder einem alten Korb darüber, der die größeren Unreinlichkeiten zurückhält. Während der Regenzeit ergeben die Früchte mehr wässeriges Öl, während der Trockenzeit ein Öl, das sehr bald nach dem Auspressen fest wird.

b) Ölpalmöl.

Entsprechend der von Norden nach Süden abnehmenden Verbreitung der Ölpalme hat das Ölpalmöl dort weit größere Bedeutung als hier, dort wird es — wenn ich an dieser Stelle von ihm als Nahrungsmittel reden darf — besser, wenn auch nicht so gut wie bei den Küstenstämmen, hier schlechter zubereitet, auch gibt es dort vier, hier nur drei Arten der Gewinnung und dementsprechende Ölsorten. Es sind dies

Abb. 145. Palmölgewinnung aus den Früchten der Ölpalme.

1. Gepreßtes Palmöl (*mowá* Pl.), zum Salben und Essen,
2. Gekochtes Palmöl (*nnyáman e mbǒn*), nur zum Salben,
3. Gewaschenes Palmöl (*šoń*), Jaunde und Mwele, zum Salben und Essen,
4. Palmkernöl (*mbǒn e mbań, maniaṅga* J.), nur zum Salben.

In der angeführten Reihenfolge von 1—4 nimmt die Häufigkeit der Herstellung ab, das gepreßte Öl wird also am häufigsten, das Palmkernöl am seltensten hergestellt, für die Südpangwe ist die Reihenfolge ebenso, nur fehlt bei ihnen das gewaschene Öl überhaupt.

1. Gepreßtes Öl.

Die reifen Fruchtstände werden vom Baum abgenommen, mittels Axt und Hauer auseinandergeschlagen und unter einer Decke von Bananenblättern zwei Tage liegen gelassen. Dann löst man die Früchte selbst los, kocht sie in einem mit Blättern zugebundenen Topf mit wenig Wasser ungefähr eine Stunde lang, zerstampft sie in einer Mulde mit einem Holzstößel und liest die Nüsse heraus (Abb. 145). Das Fruchtmus wird nun auf der Ölpresse ausgepreßt. Das Öl hat die bekannte gelbrote Farbe und kommt bei Europäern mit Fleisch, Makabo- oder Taroknollen zusammen als „Palmoilchop" auf den Tisch, wird aber von den Eingeborenen nur zum geringen Teile (1/4, im Süden noch weniger) gegessen.

2. Gekochtes Öl.

Das gepreßte Öl kocht man so lange, bis es ganz hell wird, ein Grad, der am besten zu erkennen ist, wenn man einige Tropfen Öl auf ein Stück Raphiamark fallen läßt. Während des Kochens taucht man etwa eine Minute lang einige zusammengebundene Blätter des Fiebergrases, **Andropogon schoenanthus** (*ośim e nlaṅgan*), das einen eigenartigen Geruch hat, hinein. Hat das Öl lange genug gekocht, so nimmt man den Topf vom Feuer, tut Blätter und Rindenstücke der Buschpflaume, **Pachylobus edulis** E. Don. (*asá* Nt., *ośǝ̄nga* F.), auf etwa drei Minuten hinein — angeblich, weil sie einen angenehmen Geruch haben — und gießt dann das durchscheinende, schmutzig-weiße Öl ab.

3. Gewaschenes Öl.

Man behandelt das Öl zuerst wie das gepreßte. Nach dem Stampfen wird Wasser in die Mulde gefüllt und das Fruchtfleisch tüchtig durchgeknetet, wobei zugleich die Nüsse entfernt werden, dann wird das Wasser vorsichtig abgefüllt. Dieses Durchkneten des Fruchtfleisches im Wasser wiederholt man noch zweimal, dann wird das Fleisch entfernt und das auf dem Wasser in der Mulde schwimmende Öl abgeschöpft. Es ist von derselben Beschaffenheit wie das gepreßte, auch gelbrot, und wird ebenso benutzt. Auch dieses Öl kann gekocht werden und entspricht dann genau dem gekochten Preßöl.

4. Palmkernöl.

Die Palmnüsse werden auf einem Stein aufgebrochen (Abb. 146), und die Kerne in einem Topf ohne Wasser über Feuer erhitzt. Dann zündet man die Kerne an, treibt dadurch das in ihnen enthaltene Öl heraus, schüttet dann die Kerne nebst Öl auf eine doppelt durchlöcherte Scherbe und läßt das Öl in ein darunter gestelltes Gefäß sickern. Das Palmkernöl ist ganz dunkel und undurchsichtig.

Abb. 146. Ölpalmnüsse werden zur Ölgewinnung aufgeklopft.

Schließlich mag erwähnt sein, daß Kinder — Erwachsene nur, wenn gerade kein Öl vorrätig ist — mitunter die Palmfrüchte einfach zwischen die Feuerscheite legen und dann die warmen Früchte in der Hand hin und herreiben. Das austretende Öl reiben sie sich sodann auf die Haut.

Außer dem Einsalben mit Öl ist bei den Pangwe für bestimmte Gelegenheiten das Beschmieren des Körpers mit Farbe beliebt, und zwar wird hauptsächlich rot, seltener weiß, nur ausnahmsweise schwarz verwandt, weitere Farben gibt es überhaupt nicht. Rot ist die Farbe der Freude, weiß die des Todes, des Bösen. Daraus ergeben sich die Fälle, bei denen die betreffenden Farben verwandt werden. Bei festlichen Gelegenheiten, Tänzen, Hochzeits- und Geburtsfeiern nimmt man rot, das mitunter (z. B. beim Liebestanz) durch weiße, selten schwarze Sonnen und Kreise belebt wird; auch bringt man rauten-

förmige Flecke (*bendö[k] be ba* = Rauten aus Rotholz) auf die Haut oder läßt auf der roten Bemalung rautenförmige Flecke frei, beides mit Hilfe einer Schablone, das ist eines Blattes, aus dem ein rautenförmiges Stück herausgeschnitten ist. Bei Trauerfällen und bei den Kulten, die dem „Bösen" gelten, wird dagegen weiß getragen.

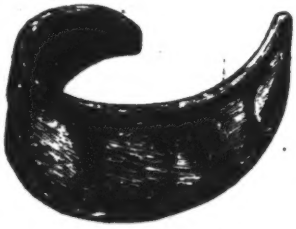


Abb. 147. Reiber für Rotholz (Schote der Pentaclethra).

Die rote Farbe (*bǫ III, esi,*) wird aus dem Kernholz des Rotholzbaumes, **Pterocarpus soyauxii** Taub. (*mrö' IV* F., *mrē IV* Nt.), einer Leguminose, gewonnen. Mit Vorliebe sucht man sich alte, gestürzte, außen schon verrottete Bäume, schlägt ein handliches Stück ab und reibt mit ihm als Reiber (*nıd,k-esi, IV*) auf dem Reibblock (*nɛ̄,-esi,*), dem Stamme, hin und her, indem man von Zeit zu Zeit feinen Sand dazwischen streut; einmal sah ich die Schote der Leguminose **Pentaclethra macrophylla** Benth. (*ebgi,*) (Abb. 147) als Reiber gebraucht. Wo der nächste Rotholzbaum zu weit entfernt liegt, als daß man immer dorthin laufen könnte, nimmt man sich einen kleinen Block samt einem Reiber mit in die Hütte, um die beliebte rote Farbe immer leicht herstellen zu können. Zum Aufbewahren hat man sehr niedliche kleine Gefäße in Form von Töpfchen, Mulden, Tellern oder Schemeln (Abb. 148).

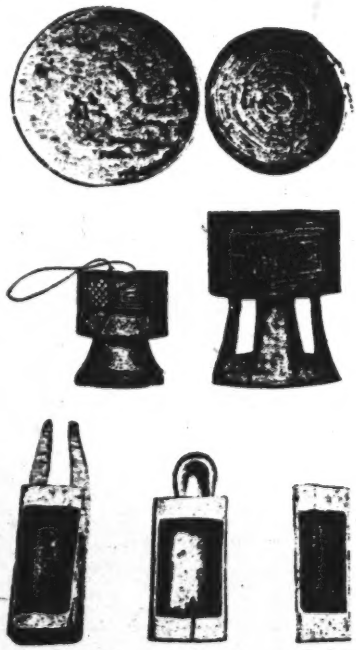


Abb. 148. Gefäße zum Aufbewahren von Rotholz.

Weiße Farbe (*rū,ok IV*) wird aus dem gleichnamigen weißen Ton, einer Abart des gewöhnlich dunkleren Töpfertones, gewonnen. Er wird mit Wasser verrührt aufgestrichen. Schwarze Farbe wird aus gestampfter Holzkohle unter Zusatz von Wasser bereitet (Farbe und Kohle = *pfi'di III*).

4. Körperverzierung.

Während wir bei dem Behängen des Körpers mit Gegenständen das reine Schmuckbedürfnis, beim Beschmieren mit Farbe den Wunsch, persönliche Stimmungen zum Ausdruck zu bringen, als Triebfeder

erkannten, spielen bei der dauernden Veränderung des Körpers ursprünglich wohl religiöse Gründe mit, so beim Zahnanspitzen und bei der Beritzung des Körpers. Natürlich sind diese uralten Anschauungen heute vergessen, der Schmuckgedanke hat den religiösen Hintergrund meist vollständig überwuchert.

Im Pangwegebiete kommen vier Arten der eigentlichen Körperverzierung vor, Brandnarben, Ziernarben, Bemalung und Tätowierung. Diese Reihenfolge möchte ich auch zeitlich, entwicklungsgeschichtlich verstanden wissen. Ich halte die Brandnarben für die ältesten, zuerst unabsichtlich entstanden infolge des Umgangs mit dem Feuer, dann absichtlich hervorgerufen durch Betupfen mit glühender Kohle. Diese Brandnarben hat man später durch „Schnitt"-narben, d. h. mit dem Messer hervorgebrachte Ziernarben ersetzt, da das Messer eine feinere und kunstvollere Linienführung gestattete. Vielleicht täuschten nun jüngere Leute aus Furcht vor dem Schmerz die Brandnarben dadurch vor, daß sie entsprechende Punkte oder Striche auf dem Körper mit erkalteter Kohle zogen. Damit war der Anfang der Bemalung gefunden, die später dann mit anderem, besserem Material weiter entwickelt wurde. Eine Verbindung von Ziernarben und Bemalung ist die Tätowierung, bei der die Wunden mit verkohltem Harz eingerieben werden.

Alle genannten Arten der Körperverzierung haben also meines Erachtens eine gemeinsame Wurzel, nämlich das Feuer; in dieser Beziehung ist eine kurze sprachliche Betrachtung von Wert: *kä* ist, wie ich bereits S. 8 angedeutet habe, der Urstamm zur Bezeichnung der feindlichen Hin- und Herbewegung, für Schmerz und Gefahr, für Kälte und Hitze (denn beide wirken gleich), infolgedessen auch für das Feuer, wo seine Wirkung betont werden soll, so *n-kä-bä* = die Flamme; *e-kä'ba* = was man zur Flamme braucht, Fackel; *a kä-d-an* = Feuer mit einer glühenden Kohle anlegen *(an)*; *-ka-d?* = glühende Holzkohle (vgl. Meinhof, Grundriß einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen S. 160, im Pangwe mir nicht bekannt); *me-kä eli* = Name eines Baumes, der Holzkohle liefert, wörtlich: Kohlenbaum; *a kä-ń* = kohlenzeichnen, zeichnen, schreiben, brandmalen, malen (mit schwarz); *e-kä'-ń* = Tätowierung; *n-kä'-ń* = die Gezeichnete, das Perlhuhn (auch heilig, I. Vorsilbenklasse, siehe Kult Mekang).

Ob in allem Anfang das Feuer in seiner profanen Wirkung als Herdfeuer den Anstoß gab zu der besprochenen Entwicklung oder das Feuer in seiner religiösen Bedeutung als heiliges, göttlich verehrtes Element, wie ich glaube, kann ich hier nicht entscheiden.

Einfache Brandnarben *(ndätölö III)*, reihenweise angeordnet, machen sich heute nur Kinder und halbwüchsige Jungen oder Mädchen auf den Unterarm, seltener an andere Körperstellen. Ein kleiner, bereits flüchtig verkohlter Splitter aus Raphiablattstielrinde wird mit der Spitze auf die Haut

gedrückt und oben angezündet; er brennt dann langsam ein Loch in die Hand, das eine etwas erhöhte, oben glatte, rundliche Narbe hinterläßt.

Die Ziernarben scheinen bei den Fang, bei denen man sie am häufigsten und kunstvollsten findet, alteinheimisch zu sein, sich aber nicht sehr weit nach Norden verbreitet zu haben; sieht man sie bei den Ntum noch häufiger, so findet man sie bei den Bulu nur mehr selten, bei den Bene nur an einigen älteren Leuten und bei den Jaunde überhaupt nicht. Neuerdings fangen sie auch im Südpangwegebiete an zu schwinden, da man sich lieber der kürzlich eingeführten, bei weitem weniger schmerzhaften Tätowierung unterzieht. Die Ziernarben werden von den Ntum *mrə́n* (Mehrzahl), von den Fang *endə̄n* genannt und kommen bei beiden Geschlechtern vor. Man braucht dazu einen kleinen, eisernen Haken, (*tsə̄ə́ III* Nt., *endə̄n* F.), mit dem die Haut etwas hochgezogen wird, und ein Messer, Abb. 149 *(okə̄n e mrə́n)*, mit dem senkrecht auf den Haken die hochgehobene Falte eingeschnitten wird (Abb. 150 u. 151). Die Wunde läßt man heilen, ohne daß irgend etwas eingerieben oder ein Verband daraufgelegt wird. Diese Ziernarben finden sich nur auf dem Körper und dem Oberarm, selten im Gesicht und dann nur auf der Stirn.

Abb. 149.
Messer zur Herstellung von Ziernarben.

Die Bemalung ist auf das Ntum- und Fanggebiet beschränkt und fehlt im Jaundegebiet, angeblich, weil dort der Baum, aus dem der Farbstoff gewonnen wird, nämlich die **Randia malleifera** (Hook). Benth., die bei den Fang *obə̄ndə̄m*[1]) oder *ɟrna IV*[2]), auch *mɟrna*, bei den Ntum *abə̄ndə̄m* oder *kə̄demə̄n IV* heißt, nicht vorkommt.

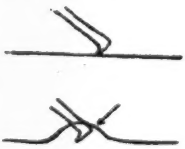


Abb. 150. Führung der Ziernarbenschnitte.

Mit dem Namen *ɟrna (mɟrna)* und *kə̄demə̄n* wird auch die Bemalung selbst bezeichnet.

Die **Randia** ist ein zur Familie der Rubiaceen gehöriger dünner Baum, der besonders in der Nähe von Flüssen wächst. Die großen weißlichen Blüten hängen von den Enden der Zweige oder von den Astgabelungen herab; die Frucht ist eine Beere und mit einer Anzahl von oben nach unten verlaufender Wülste besetzt. Zur Gewinnung des Farbstoffes wird ein Stäbchen aus Raphiablattstielrinde in die Ansatzstelle der Frucht gebohrt und der Inhalt umgerührt. Zieht man das Stäbchen heraus, so klebt an der Spitze ein weißlicher, etwas dicklicher Saft, der gleich mit demselben Stäbchen in den gewünschten Mustern auf

---

[1]) Entstanden aus *abə̄*, **Cola acuminata** P. B., und *ndə̄m* = lang, schwankend, wegen der Schlankheit des Baumes.

[2]) Vom Stamme *rɟn* = dunkel, schwarz; *e-rɟn-di mət* = Schwarzer (Mann), Neger.

den Körper aufgestrichen wird und nach kurzer Zeit tief blauschwarze Farbe annimmt. Die Zeichnung hält sich drei bis vier Tage auf der Haut, bei öfterem Waschen nur zwei, nachher verschwindet sie von selbst.

Heutzutage bemalen sich nur kleine oder halbwüchsige Jungen aus Spielerei; früher aber taten es die jungen Leute beiderlei Geschlechts, um aufzufallen und dadurch eine Wirkung auf das andere Geschlecht zu erzielen. Damals verwandte man infolgedessen große Sorgfalt auf die Muster, heute kommen bei der kindlichen Ungeschicklichkeit nur verschmierte heraus.

Abb. 131. Ziernarbenkünstler bei der Arbeit. Bébai, Span.-Guinea.

Das Erbe der Bemalung hat die vor rund 20 Jahren eingeführte Tätowierung angetreten, die von jener den Namen *fjne* und *kudemän*, bei den Fang auch den Namen für Ziernarben, *mrän*, bekommen hat, bei den Ntum außerdem noch *ekän* (siehe oben), bei den Jaunde *otü* heißt (von *otü* = Harz, das in die Wunden gerieben wird und das bleibende Muster hervorbringt). Da die Tätowierung, nach Angabe der Fang, Anfang bis Mitte der neunziger Jahre von Norden her zu ihnen gekommen ist, und da man bei den Bene, die sie zuerst wahrscheinlich von Osten her erhalten haben, auch nur jüngere Leute tätowiert sieht, so folgt, daß sich die Kunst im ganzen Pangwegebiete mit außerordentlicher Schnelligkeit ausgebreitet haben muß, zum Teil vielleicht unter dem Einfluß kriegerischer Ereignisse; so wird erzählt, daß die

Ntum in den Kämpfen mit den Bulu die Tätowierung an den Leibern der Erschlagenen gesehen und sich von den Gefangenen die Kunst hätten zeigen lassen.

Wie früher die Bemalung dient heute die bei beiden Geschlechtern, besonders aber dem männlichen, vorkommende Tätowierung den jungen Leuten dazu, sich zu schmücken, um dadurch bei der Liebeswerbung anderen den Rang abzulaufen. Schmuck und Liebeswerben ist eine Sache, ein- und dasselbe *(a ne dzám eda eda)*, wie der Pangwe sagt, und sicher können hübsche Muster so in die Augen stechen, daß man unwillkürlich ein größeres Gefallen an dem Besitzer oder der Besitzerin findet, als es ohne eine solche Beeinflussung des Schönheitsgefühles der Fall gewesen wäre.

Schon die kleinen Jungen lassen sich tätowieren, und zwar meist ein halbmondförmiges Muster auf die Stirn, aber es pflegt nur schwach eingeritzt zu sein und daher wieder zu verbleichen, so daß von ihm unter den später darüber aufgetragenen Mustern kaum etwas sichtbar bleibt. Von der Zeit der Geschlechtsreife an läßt man sich eifriger tätowieren, und mit 25 Jahren, wo die Ausschmückung etwa ihren Höhepunkt erreicht hat, ist die Anzahl der Muster schon eine recht erhebliche. Tätowiert wird durchweg Gesicht, Schulter, Brust und Bauch bis zum Nabel, häufig der Rücken — dieser dann meist nur in der oberen Hälfte — und der Arm bis unter das Ellbogengelenk, selten Hände und Unterarm und der Bauch vom Nabel abwärts[1]). Aus Gründen der Schamhaftigkeit bleibt Gesäß und Oberschenkel von jedem Ritzschmuck verschont, da es ja zu unanständig wäre, durch die Muster den Blick auf diese bei der ursprünglichen Tracht „leider" vielfach unbedeckten Körperteile zu lenken; nur ausnahmsweise sieht man bei einzelnen Weibern der Jaunde, Bulu und Küstenmwai auch die Oberschenkel tätowiert, ein Brauch, der, von den lockeren Jaunde mitgebracht, vom Volksbewußtsein allgemein als schamlos empfunden und damit entschuldigt wird, daß „es ja dafür nur Weiber seien, und Männer sich schämen müßten, in dieser Weise herumzugehen" (ähnlich, wie sich bei uns auch nur Frauen „dekolletieren").

Die bei den Pangwe bis ins äußerste entwickelte Arbeitsteilung und Spezialisierung aller Gebiete künstlerischen und geistigen Könnens tritt auch bei der Tätowierkunst, die vielleicht nur einer von hundert versteht, in die Erscheinung. Die Operation, die übrigens recht unangenehm, wenn auch lange nicht so schmerzhaft ist wie bei den Ziernarben, wird im Versammlungshause ohne irgendwelche Förmlichkeiten vorgenommen, der „Patient" sitzt oder liegt dabei (Abb. 152). Zunächst stellt man sich Ruß her, indem man Harz *(oto)*, vgl. S. 80, verbrennt und den Qualm sich auf einer Topfscherbe niederschlagen läßt. Dann zeichnet der Künstler das Muster auf dem Körper vor, indem er

[1]) Hals nur in Jaunde und selten.

Abb. 152. Tätowierkünstler bei der Arbeit. Nikolentángan, Span.-Guinea.

die krummen Linien mit einem biegsamen, feucht in Asche gelegten Grashälmchen, die geraden mit einem ebenso behandelten Raphiastäbchen abklatscht; überstehende Linien werden mit dem nassen Finger sorgsam fortgewischt. Für das „Spinnenwebemuster" bedient er sich eines Stempels aus dem handförmigen Blatt des Schirmbaumes (Musanga), dessen Rippen nach der Entfernung der Spreiten 1 cm vom Stielansatz abgebrochen werden. Auf den vorgezeichneten Linien macht er mit dem Messer dicht an dicht kleine, schräge Einschnitte, wischt das langsam herausquellende Blut, wenn es stört, fort und reibt die Wunden mit dem Harzruß ein, den er mit dem Daumen oder Zeigefinger gut hineinwischt. In anderen Fällen wird das zerriebene Harz selbst, dann nur das von der Anonacee Xylopia aethiopica (Dun.) V. Rich. *(ojaŋ)* in die Wunden gebracht. Der tätowierte Körperteil wird jetzt oberflächlich gewaschen, um Blut und Ruß abzuspülen; später wird das Einreiben mit Harz noch einmal wiederholt. Mitunter kommt es vor, daß sich

Abb. 153 u. 154. Griffloses Messer zur Tätowierung (ekut).

Abb. 155. Messer zur Tätowierung (fendolo).

an den Wunden kleine Fleischwucherungen bilden, die die Schönheit des Musters beeinträchtigen; meist aber heilen die Wunden in kürzester Zeit glatt aus.

Man unterscheidet zwei Arten von Tätowierungen, die allgemein verbreitete, *ekụt*, und die außerdem bei den Fang gebräuchliche, *endǫlǫ*. Die erste wird mit einem schmalen, grifflosen Messer *(nsǭṇ-bekụt I)*, Abb. 153, ausgeführt und zeigt, je nach der Tiefe der parallelen Einschnitte, die Linien aus deutlich hervortretenden Schnitten zusammengesetzt oder mehr verwaschen, gleichmäßig dunkel. Zur *endǫlo*-Tätowierung nimmt man ein gewöhnliches Rasiermesser *(okǭṇngǭṇ)*, vgl. Abb. 140, bzw. ein eigenes, skalpellartiges Messer *(ǭkǭṇ e mṛdṇ)*, Abb. 155. Ihre Muster sind durch Kreuz- und Querführung der Schnitte gekennzeichnet lassen sich indes in späteren Jahren von den *bekụt* kaum mehr unterscheiden, zumal beide mit dem Alter verbleichen.

Die Tätowierkünstler werden, wenn es sich um die eigenen Sippenmitglieder handelt, gewöhnlich nicht bezahlt; von Fremden verlangen sie aber oft unverschämt hohe Preise. So wurde der in Abb. 218 Fig. c dargestellte Mann, wie aus den in Anmerkung [1]) erwähnten Zahlen hervorgeht, tüchtig hochgenommen, wobei allerdings bemerkt werden muß, daß er wegen seiner Tätowiermanie von einigen „für nicht ganz normal" gehalten wurde. Echt negerhaft wird die Kostenfreiheit damit begründet, daß der Tätowierte seinen Schmerz nicht so fühlt, als wenn er obendrein noch bezahlen müßte. Jedoch sind diese Verhältnisse örtlich sehr verschieden; in Jaunde ist allgemein Bezahlung üblich, oft sogar eine verhältnismäßig hohe.

Zahnverstümmelung kommt überall bei beiden Geschlechtern vor, und zwar an den oberen vier Schneidezähnen. Das hat neben dem Schmuckgedanken wohl noch einen tieferen religiösen Grund, der jedenfalls uralt ist und noch in den Negern lebt, die — wie mir einmal gesagt wurde — ihre Zähne nicht wie Tierzähne erscheinen lassen wollen [2]). Da nun tatsächlich bei keinem

---

[1]) Tätowierungen des Fang Mangame-Ssii aus Ebianemajong (Fam. Essauong) vergl. Abb. 218 Fig. c.

a	hergestellt von	Meka-Mendongo (Essauong)	für	3 Stück Kautschuk	ℳ —.75
b, c, d	„ „	Akoa-Mbelewe (Jenköng)	„	2 Hauer	„ 1.—
e	„ „	Mba-Efanga (Essauong)	„	5 Reihen Perlen . .	„ —.50
g, h	„ „	Endongo (Essauong)	„	1 Faden Zeug . . .	„ —.75
i, k	„ „	Ndong-Efa (Jemwam)	„	3 Hauer	„ 1.50
f, l, m	„ „	Ndong-Ntutum (Omwang)	„	3 „	„ 1.50
n, o	„ „	Meko-Mefanga (Essauong)	„	3 Stück Kautschuk	„ —.75
Ziernarben	„ „	Meba-Mendongo (Jibikon)	„	1 Huhn	„ 1.—

[2]) Siehe auch die gleiche Ansicht bei den Malaien und den Sudannegern (nach Frobenius).

großen Säugetier die Vorderzähne (denn um diese handelt es sich)[1]) spitz sind, so erscheint dieser Grund glaubhaft, obgleich für uns gerade die zugespitzten Zähne einen tierischen Eindruck machen, weil wir an das von den vorspringenden Reißzähnen beherrschte Bild des aufgesperrten Rachens denken. Der Pangwe sieht in erster Reihe die Vorderzähne und findet namentlich bei den Horntieren eine überraschende Ähnlichkeit mit seinen eigenen heraus. In dieser vergleichenden Betrachtung stört es ihn auch nicht, daß es sich bei jenen nur um die Vorderzähne des Unterkiefers — im Oberkiefer haben die Wiederkäuer meist keine — handelt, denen die Vorderzähne seines Oberkiefers ähneln. Wie menschlich, fast allzu menschlich selbst für uns die Vorderzähne z. B. unseres Rindviehes erscheinen, das lehrt uns ein Blick auf die Tierkarikaturen unserer Witzblätter. Nun spielt das Horntier, zahmes (Ziege und Schaf) wie wildes (Antilope), eine große Rolle in der Religion der Pangwe, insofern es wegen seiner Hörner mit dem Monde in Verbindung gebracht wird. Der Kult des Mondes aber ist der Kult des Bösen, und so ist die Zahnverstümmelung ein Symbol der Abwendung, Entähnlichung vom Bösen; andererseits deutet sie zugleich positiv auf eine Anähnelung an das Gute; denn das ist die Sonne (bzw. Gott *[e-sá-mbe]*, der sich in der Sonne zeigt), und deren Strahlen sollen die Zähne ähnlich gemacht werden. Die Zahnverbildung besteht darum nicht im Herstellen einer regelrechten „Spitze", die im Gegenteil etwas Unangenehmes und Schlechtes (in *n-sǫ́-ń I* = Spitze steht der Stamm *sǫ́*) sein würde — es mag sein, daß etliche Völker deshalb ihre Vorderzähne alle oder zum Teil ausschlagen —, sondern darin, daß die Zähne nur verschmälert und in eine Form gebracht werden, wie sie Abb. 156 zeigt; sie werden gewissermaßen „gestreckt", einem Strahl geähnelt, daher der Ausdruck *a sá-m-ān masǖń* von *a sá-m* = ausstrecken (*n-sá-m-ba* = die Reihe, Linie, eigentlich Strahl). Der vielfach übliche Ausdruck „Zahnspitzen" trifft nur das Richtige, wenn man ihn nicht zu wörtlich nimmt: die Schneide wird nur verschmälert, nicht zugespitzt; der Ausdruck „Zahnfeilen", dem man gleichfalls öfter begegnet, ist nicht angängig, da die Zähne abgesplittert, nicht gefeilt werden. Im Pangwe sagt man außer *a sáman*

Abb. 156. Verstümmelung eines Vorderzahnes. Das Schraffierte wird abgeschlagen.

Abb. 157. Meißel zum Abstemmen der Vorderzähne.

---

[1]) Siehe die Ausdrücke für Zahnbehauen weiter unten, in denen für Zahn stets *asǖń* = Vorderzahn steht; ein Wort für Zahn im allgemeinen gibt es nicht, dagegen für Eckzahn, Reißzahn bei Tieren *(ſǫ́ III)* und Backenzahn *(ekǒ̈k)*.

masǔn noch *a sá-n masǔn* von *a sá-n* = schnitzen, behauen, verzieren; *zá-n IV* = Schnitzerei, Schnitzmuster, Stamm *sa*[1]).

Die Operation wird so ausgeführt, daß sich der „Patient" lang auf den Rücken legt und fest mit den Vorderzähnen auf eine Holzrolle beißt. Der Zahnkünstler setzt einen kleinen Eisenmeißel *(zán e masǔn IV)*, Abb. 157, auf den Zahn, nimmt ein Stück Holz als Hammer und splittert die Kanten in kleinen Stückchen ab. Die Schmerzen dabei sind nicht gering, und man kommt deshalb hier und da von der alten Sitte zurück, ein Entwicklungsgang, der unter europäischem Einfluß beschleunigt wird.

---

[1]) Dagegen z. B. Anspitzen von Stöcken usw.: *a sǒno* F., *a sǔǒne, a sǔǒne* Nt. (Stamm *so*!).

Abschnitt VIII.

Handfertigkeit und Werkzeug.

Allgemeines.
Erster Teil. Rindenarbeiten. a) Rohrinde. Verwertung: Rinde für den Hausbau, Schmuckrinden, Rindengefäße (ihre Herstellung, Bedeutung des Namens), Sarg. b) Rindenstoff. Klopfer. — Rindenstofflieferende Baumarten. — Herstellung.
Zweiter Teil. a) Fäden und Nähen. Fasern des Rekthophyllum, der Ananas. b) Seile und Knüpfen. Seile aus Ananas und Banane, Raphiabast und seine Herstellung, Raphiabastseile, Gärtnerabastseile, Triumfettabastseile. — Knoten. c) Bänder und Flechten. Allgemeines. I. Zöpfe aus Bast. II. Tragbänder und Mattengeflechte. III. Trockenbretter und Kästen. IV. Vorratskörbe. V. Körbe (Arten, Material, Schlingpalmen und ihre Bedeutung). VI. Korbnäpfe der Mwele. VII. Korbteller. VIII. Gürtel. Körbe (Stoffe, Korbarten, Preise), Messerscheiden.
Dritter Teil. Holzarbeiten. Allgemeines. — Erzeugnisse der Holzschnitzerei. — Herstellung von Hauerscheiden, Schemeln, Rührlöffeln, Eßlöffeln, Pulverfläschchen. — Andere Holzarbeiten.
Vierter Teil. Metallarbeiten. a) Eisengewinnung. Gebiete der Gewinnung, Häufigkeit. — Schmelzmedizin. — Enthaltsamkeitsgebot und Medizinen. — Eisenstein. — Schmelzhütte. — Schmelzarbeit: Vorbereitung, Arbeiter und ihr Handwerkszeug, Errichtung des Ofens, Beschickung, Arbeit der Blasebalgzieher und des Medizinmannes. — Abreißen des Ofens. — Verteilung des Roheisens. — Erträge. b) Eisenverarbeitung. Stellung des Schmiedes, Schmiedehütte und Einrichtung der Werkstätte, Medizinen, Handwerkszeug, Holzkohle, Schmiedearbeit. c) Messinggießerei. Herkunft des Messings, Schmelzen, Guß und Zubereitung der Halsringe.
Fünfter Teil. Töpferei. Allgemeines, Erzeugnisse. Preis und Herstellung der Töpfe. Verzierung. Herstellung der Düsen.

Handwerke in unserem Sinne gibt es bei den Pangwe nicht; alle Handfertigkeiten werden nur beiläufig neben den wirtschaftlichen Arbeiten Ackerbau, Fischfang, Fallenstellerei, ausgeübt. Die ganz einfachen sind jedem bekannt und geläufig; darüber hinaus fängt die in allem Können der Pangwe zu verfolgende Spezialisierung an, und die geht so weit, daß z. B. nicht einmal die Tragbänder für Kinder, die nur aus zwei zusammengenähten Lederstreifen bestehen, von allen Familienvätern gemacht werden können, und daß einer, der Eßlöffel herstellt, keine anderen Holzarbeiten, nicht einmal einen Rührlöffel, machen kann. Ein Schemelmacher versteht nur Schemel zu machen, ein Armbrustschnitzer nur Armbrüste, einer, der Männertragkörbchen *(ebg'de)* macht, nur Männertragkörbchen usw. Da es in einem Dorfe oft nur einen oder zwei Leute gibt, die ein Handwerk verstehen, so müssen die Einwohner dieses Dorfes die nicht bei ihnen herstellbaren Gebrauchsgegenstände aus allen Himmelsrichtungen zusammenkaufen, und es kann vorkommen, daß weite Wege, ja Reisen gemacht werden müssen, um sich einen Schemel, eine Armbrust und dergl. zu besorgen.

[p. 204]

1. Rindenarbeiten.

Baumrinde findet im Haushalt der Pangwe vielseitige Verwertung, und zwar in zwei Formen, roh und zu Stoffen verarbeitet.

a) Rohrinde.

Sie wird zu folgenden Zwecken benutzt:

1. zur Hauswandbekleidung und als Tür [1]),
2. zu Schmuckrinden,
3. zu Schachteln,
4. zum Sarg bzw. zur Unterlage des Toten im Grabe,
5. zum Bespannen des Resonanzbodens der Harfe (siehe Musikinstrumente, Abschnitt XX).

Die nötigen Stücke werden so gewonnen, daß der Baum oben und unten geringelt und dazwischen mit Kreuz- und Querhieben des Hauers eine Zickzacklinie eingeschlagen wird, von der aus der Rindenmantel leicht abgehoben und losgelöst werden kann (Abb. 158); dabei durchkreuzen sich oft zufällig die schrägen Schnitte, so daß Rauten entstehen. Diese Rauten haben dann ein wichtiges Ornament abgegeben, worauf ich später noch zurückkomme.

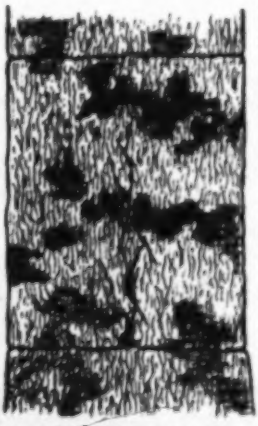


Abb. 157. Abtösung der Baumrinde zum Hausbau.

Für die Hauswände werden die abgelösten Rindenplatten zum Teil ohne weiteres verwendet, und zwar entweder ganz roh oder nach Abschälen der äußersten Schicht — so machen es die Jaunde —; die Ntum und Fang aber tun das höchstens bei **Xylopia aethiopica** *(ojaŋ)*;

[1]) Zum Hausbau wird die Rinde von etwa 15 Bäumen benutzt, deren wissenschaftliche Namen, soweit feststellbar, aufgezählt seien:

Flacourtiaceae Homalium buchholzii Warb. *(oṛŏŏ-e-sŭk)*,
Sterculiaceae Stercula tragacantha Lindl. *(edzŭle)*,
Borraginaceae Cordia odorata Gürke (*ebę*, F., *ebḑi*, Nt.),
Bignoniaceae Markhamia tomentosa K. Sch. *(edzidzŏŏ)*,
Rhamnaceae Maesopsis tessmannii Engl. *(nkáŋ I)*,
Bombaceae Ceiba pentandra (L.) Gärtn. *(dŭm IV)*,
Anonaceae Xylopia aethiopica (Dun.) A. Rich. *(ojaŋ)*,
„ **Cleistopholis staudtii** Engl. et Diels *(oṛŭm, ṛŏmŏ III)*,
„ **Isoloma** spec. *(ovŭk)*,
Sterculiaceae Stercula tragacantha Lindl. *(edziḭḅ, edziḭḅk)*.
Triplochitonaceae Triplochiton tessmannii *(ojŏŋ)*.

im übrigen trocknen sie lieber die Stücke fünf oder mehr Tage über Feuer im Versammlungshause oder an der Sonne, da sie sonst leicht ziehen oder Risse und Löcher bekommen.

Die Schmuckrinden werden ebenso behandelt und ganz besonders gut getrocknet, da sie nicht, wie die Hauswände, durch beiderseitige Latten gehalten werden. Man kann zur Gewinnung von Schmuckrinden alle in der Anmerkung S. 78 genannten Bäume benutzen; besonders geeignet aber ist **Cordia odorata** Gürke (*ebę* F.) und **Triplochiton tessmannii** (*ajéń*), da man von ihrer Rinde nach dem Trocknen verschiedene Schichten abziehen und jede für sich benutzen kann. Das bedeutet eine Arbeitsersparnis, die dem Neger ebenso wertvoll erscheint wie uns. Es sind rechteckige Platten, mit Figuren und szenischen Darstellungen bemalt oder in farbigen, rechteckigen, dreieckigen und bogenförmigen Feldern gemustert. Die Einfassungen der eckigen Felder bestehen aus meist diagonal verlaufenden Raphiablattstielstreifen, die der bogenförmigen aus Streifen von Schlingpalmen; beide sind durch Bohrlöcher gezogen, die mit einem Pfriemen (*nsuv*), Abb. 174 c, gestochen werden, und mit feinen Palmenbändern aufgenäht. Auf die Muster komme ich im nächsten Abschnitt zu sprechen.

Während man für Haus- und Schmuckrinden eine ganze Anzahl Bäume zur Auswahl hat, werden die Rindenschachteln — wenigstens im Südgebiet — nur aus der Rinde eines einzigen Baumes, einer Tiliacee (*ekób*) hergestellt. Sie sind sauber gearbeitet und sehen neu wegen ihrer gleichmäßig gelbgrauen Farbe, die später infolge des Rauches in der Hütte und des Alters eine dunkelbraune bis schwarze wird, sehr gut aus. Die Herstellung ist folgende: Das nötige Stück Rinde wird in der gewünschten Größe abgeschnitten und die äußerste Schicht über Feuer angesengt, so daß sie sich mit dem Messer abschaben läßt. Nun wird es zu einem Zylinder so weit zusammengebogen, bis die Ränder in schmalem Streifen übereinanderliegen, und zwischen die Hälften eines bis zur Mitte längsgespaltenen Stockes geklemmt, die ober- und unterhalb durch eine Verschnürung wieder aneinandergepreßt werden. Die Ränder werden nunmehr in zwei Nähten durch Spleißen der Stiche mit Palmband aufeinandergenäht, für das mit einem Pfriemen Löcher gebohrt werden; der überstehende Rand wird abgeschnitten. Der Deckel besteht aus einem ebenso hergestellten Reifen aus derselben Rinde und einer tellerförmigen Platte aus Schirmbaumholz, wie sie auch als Boden im Gefäß eingesetzt wird.

Man stellt Schachteln in allen Größen her, von den niedlichsten Schächtelchen bis zur riesigen Tonne; in einem sind sie aber alle gleich, nämlich darin, daß nur Wichtiges darin aufbewahrt wird, z. B. die vergifteten Pfeilchen für die Armbrust, die Schädel der Vorfahren, vor allem Medizinen, alles Dinge,

die mit dem Tode in Verbindung stehen; daher heißen sie auch *nsʊ̀k I* [1]), denn in *n-sʊ́-k*, entstanden aus *n-so-ak*, steckt der Stamm *sʊ́*, der den Tod in religiöser Beziehung bezeichnet; in das Rindengefäß tut man eben etwas, was mit dem Tod *(sʊ́)* zusammenhängt (aktive Handlung, da man zuerst nach einem Behälter z. B. für die Schädel der Toten gesucht hat, um sie darin unterzubringen, daher Nachsilbe *aka*). Ein Rindengefäß ist gleichsam auch das Grab *(n-so-ā)*, denn in ihm liegt der Tote in einer Mulde aus Rinde, die manchmal mit einem gleichen Deckel verschlossen ist (passiv, da zuerst einfach die Stelle, wo der Tote geradelag, sei es im Hause, sei es im Freien, *n sʊ́ʊ́* genannt wurde, daher passive Nachsilbe *ā*).

b) Rindenstoff.

Die Verarbeitung der Rinde zu Stoff geschieht durch Klopfen mit einem Schlägel (Abb. 159) aus dem Ende eines Elefantenzahnes *(d)*, einer halben Elefantenrippe *(b, c)*, dem Horn einer Weißrückenschopfantilope, **Cephalophus longiceps** Gray *(mvẹ IV)*, oder dem Holz der Leguminose **Eurypetalum tessmannii** Harms *(andzṭtsjʊ́)* *(a)*. Es wird dazu nicht das Holz eines frisch gefällten Stammes, sondern das härtere rote von alten, längst gestürzten genommen. Der Holzschlägel hat etwa die Form des Holzhammers unserer Zimmerleute und besteht aus einem geraden Stiel und einem walzenförmigen Schlagteil, der in seinem ganzen oder halben Umfang geriffelt ist.

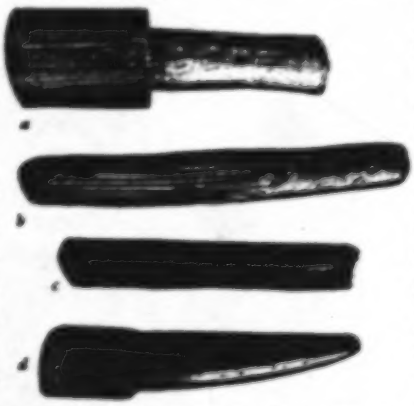


Abb. 159. Schlägel, bei der Rindenbereitung gebraucht. *a* aus Holz, *b* und *c* aus Elefantenrippe *d* aus einem Elefantenzahn.

Zu Rindenstoffen eignet sich nur die Rinde von Feigenbäumen (*etʊ́b* = Feigenbaum [**Ficus**] und Stoff, Kleidung) [2]).

[1]) Daneben kommt *nkʊ̀b I* vor, daher der Name des Baumes: *ekʊ̀b*.

[2]) Folgende Arten kommen im Pangwegebiete dafür in Betracht:

Ficus globicarpa Warb. var. *(embʊ̀ʊ́)*,
„ cfr. **wildemaniana** Warb. *(adʊ́ab-etʊ́b)*,
„ **bubu** Warb. *(akʊ-etʊ́b)*,
„ **stellulata** Warb. *(etṭṭʊ́, Stamm lo(b)* verdoppelt),
„ **preussii** Warb. u. **laurentii** Warb. *(etʊ́b, etʊ́b-o-jab, ejg', akam)*,
„ **barteri** Sprague *(andmentʊ̀mo F., andmentʊ̀ʊ́me Nt.)*,

ferner die von den Pangwe *abʊ́ʊ́, andʊ̀m, undʊ̀m* und *ngus* genannte Arten.

Abb. 159. Herstellung von Rindenstoff durch Klopfen der Bastschicht eines Ficusstammes. Uelleburg, Span. Guinea.

Die verbreitetsten Arten sind **Ficus globicarpa, stellulata, preussii** und **laurentii, barteri,** *abäṇ* sowie *andüm*. Den besten Stoff — er ist fast reinweiß — liefert **F. globicarpa** Warb. *(embiöṇ)*, der früher bei Dörfern angepflanzt wurde; ihn bevorzugen besonders die Frauen, die „mehr auf Kleidung geben" als die Männer.

Es werden möglichst glatte junge Baumstämme, nicht dicker als 8 bis 10 cm, ausgewählt, man schlägt ein Stück aus dem Stamm heraus, läßt es einen halben oder einen ganzen Tag im Freien liegen, sengt es dann über einem schwachen Feuer gleichmäßig an und befreit es durch Schaben von der Borke, bis die Bastschicht blosliegt. Dann schneidet man diese der Länge nach auf, lockert sie durch Klopfen mit dem Schlägel und zieht sie mit den Fingern oder einem untergeschobenen Holz ab. Die abgezogene Bastschicht wird nun auf irgendeiner Unterlage, z. B. auf einem Baumstamm oder einer Holztrommel, in der ganzen Länge von links nach rechts weitergehend, geklopft, ohne daß der Schlägel seine Stellung (d. h. die Richtung der Rillen) verändern darf (Abb. 159), zusammengefaltet, auf der Rückseite geschlagen, nochmals gefaltet und geklopft und schließlich quergefaltet ebenso bearbeitet. Durch diese Behandlung hat sich das Stück ungefähr um das Doppelte seiner Länge ausgedehnt, dagegen in der Breite nicht verändert, es wird nunmehr auseinandergefaltet, einige Male durch Wasser gezogen und dann ausgedrückt.

Aus den Arten **F. bubu**, *andum* und *undum* bereitete Stoffe brauchen nicht gewaschen zu werden.

Die einzelnen in der beschriebenen Art und Weise hergestellten Stoffstücke sind nur schmal; es müssen daher mehrere mit den Längsseiten aneinandergenäht werden, z. B. wenn man einen Lendenschurz machen will, für Männer sechs, für Knaben vier.

2. Faserarbeiten.

Sie gehören mit wenigen Ausnahmen zu den Beschäftigungen der Männer, und zwar zu ihren häufigsten und liebsten. Hieraus erklärt sich die Geschicklichkeit im Nähen, Flicken usw., die der Europäer zu seiner Freude bei den schwarzen Dienern entdeckt.

a) Fäden und Nähen.

Das einfachste Material für Faserarbeiten sind Fäden *(klẹ̈s IV, ndẹ̈s, IV)*, die aus der schlingenden Aracee **Rhektophyllum mirabile** N. E. Brown *(klẹ̈s IV, ndẹ̈s IV)* gewonnen werden, und zwar so, daß die Luftwurzeln abgeschlagen und die Leitbündel herausgezogen werden, die äußerst haltbar und oft recht lang sind und als Nähmaterial, für Kinderangeln *(ngä,k)*, nebenbei als Bindematerial für Kämme aus Raphiablattstielstreifen und Halsbänder aus Schlingpalmenband (bzw. Marantaceenstreifen) benutzt werden.

Abb. 160. Schnurwickler mit Schnur.

Auch die Blattfasern der Ananas werden roh verwendet, um Rindenstoffe zusammenzunähen usw.

b) Seile und Knüpfen.

Häufiger als zu Fäden werden die Pflanzenfasern in Form von Schnüren (Abb. 160) verwendet, die genau wie bei uns der Pechfaden des Schusters, durch Rollen mit der flachen Hand auf dem Oberschenkel zusammengedreht werden. Die hierzu benutzten Pflanzen sind Ananas, Plante, Raphia, Gaertnera und Triumfetta.

Von der Ananas werden die Leitbündel der Blätter benutzt; ihre Schnüre sind recht haltbar — nur im Wasser nicht, so daß keine Angelschnüre aus ihnen gemacht werden — und ziemlich fein, so daß sie sich besonders als Perlenschnüre eignen. Niedlich gemacht sind aus ihnen geknüpfte Umhängetaschen *(mſõk I)*, in denen allerlei kleine Habseligkeiten, Medizinen usw. Platz finden, und die hauptsächlich von den Männern auf Reisen mitgenommen werden.

Aus der Plante werden sehr schöne weiße Fasern *(ndẹ̈[s]-ekgn)* gewonnen, indem der Stamm abgeschlagen, Blätter und äußere Blattscheiden entfernt und

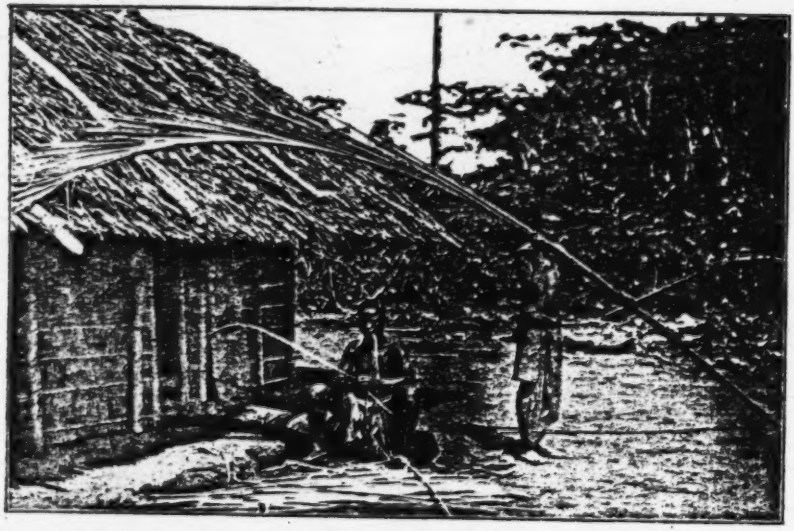


Abb. 161. Zubereitung von Bast aus einem jungen Raphiapalmblatt. Nkolentängan, Span. Guinea.

die Leitbündelfasern aus den inneren Blattscheiden herausgezogen werden; man verflicht sie zu dünnen, aber nicht sehr haltbaren und deshalb wenig benutzten Schnüren.

Von der Raphiapalme ist es der Bast der Blätter, der zu Seilen verarbeitet wird (Abb. 161). Ein ganz junges, noch geschlossenes Blatt (die Eingeborenen gebrauchen wegen der spitzen Form dafür die Bezeichnung *ntǫ̀n* = Horn, *ntǫ[ṅ] ndzǎga*, d. h. ein junges (hornartiges) Raphiablatt) wird abgeschlagen und auf die Erde geworfen, damit die Fiedern sich lockern und leicht abgerissen werden können. Die zusammengefalteten Spreiten der Fiedern sind gelblich, nur an den umgebogenen Rändern, die bei geschlossenem Blatte allein von außen sichtbar sind, grün. Letztere werden nicht verwendet, sondern abgerissen. Dann zieht man eine Spreite von der Spitze her bis kurz vor den Grund ab, knickt sie hier ein, legt sie nach oben um und reißt sie unter Festhalten des Falzes darunter weg. Nun schlägt man ihr unteres Ende gegen die Blattrippe, damit sich die allein verwendbare mit der Epidermis eng verwachsene Bastschicht der Oberseite vom Mesophyll lockert, und zieht sie ab. Den Bast läßt man trocknen und benutzt ihn dann flüchtig gezwirbelt oder zu richtigen Schnüren verarbeitet, für verschiedene Zwecke (Nähen von Rindenstoff, Aufreihen von Perlen usw.).

Die haltbarsten Seile (Abb. 162) liefert der Bast der Rubiacee **Gaertnera paniculata** Benth. (*esǔ̄mǭ* F., *eśǔ̄me* Nt., *ngǫ́n* Nt., Bu.). Die Schößlinge

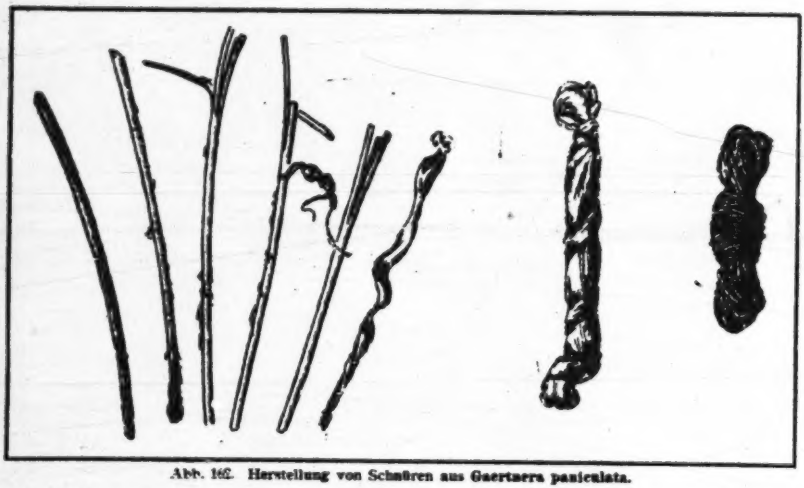


Abb. 162. Herstellung von Schnüren aus Gaertnera paniculata.

dieses Baumes werden abgehauen und ihre Rinde mittels eines Raphiastengelstreifens *(ngaʼ)* abgeschabt. Dann werden sie an dem einen Ende ein Stück weit längsgevierteilt und einen Tag lang getrocknet, darauf die oberen vier Zipfel eingeknickt, wobei sich die Bastschicht vom Holz löst, die nun in vier Streifen abgezogen wird. Die Schicht besteht aus einem feinen, weichen Fadengewebe, das ohne weiteres verarbeitet werden kann und bräunlich gefärbte Seile ergibt, die wegen ihrer Stärke zu Angelschnüren, Wild- und Fischnetzen, Armbrustsehnen und zum Aufreihen der Schmuckkauri benutzt werden.

Die **Triumfetta cordifolia** Guill. et Perr. (var. **tomentosa.**), *okuu* ist ein strauchartiges Gewächs, das übermannshoch werden kann, an den dunkelgrünen, unten silberweiß schimmernden, weichbehaarten Blättern und den gelblichen Blütenrispen leicht kenntlich ist und, wenn auch nicht überall gleich häufig, an lichten Plätzen in der Nähe von Dörfern und an Stellen, wo früher Dörfer gestanden haben, vorkommt. Diese leichte Erreichbarkeit der Pflanze hat zur Folge, daß ihr Bast häufiger zu Seilen verwendet wird als der anderer Pflanzen. Um den Bast zu gewinnen, schlägt man den Stengel in 1 m Höhe ab und schneidet ihn am oberen Ende viermal ein; dann werden die äußeren Schichten vom Holz abgezogen und nun erst die Rinde von der Bastschicht getrennt. Diese wird zuletzt noch von ihren Zellen befreit, indem man sie unter der Schneide eines fest aufgedrückten Messers hindurchzieht (der Neger sitzt dabei auf der Erde und benutzt die eine Ferse als Unterlage). Der so gewonnene Bast wird getrocknet und zu Seilen verarbeitet, die in gleicher Weise wie die Gaertnera-Seile verwendet werden.

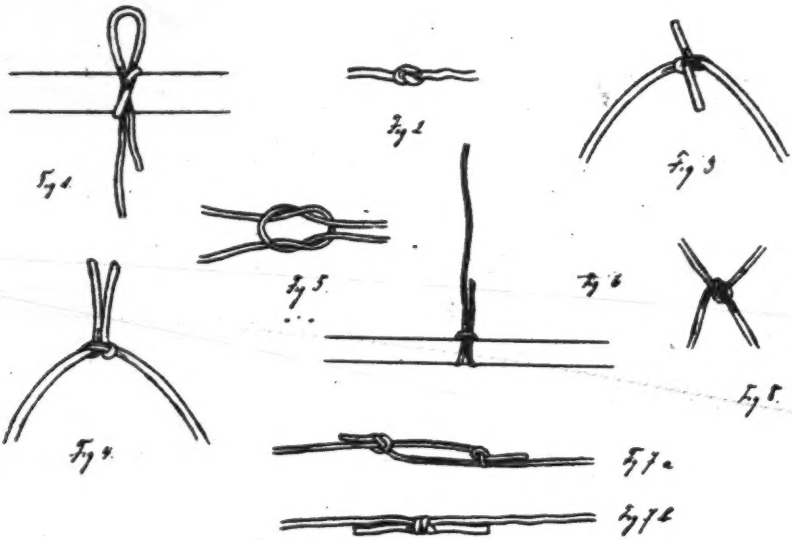


Abb. 163. Knoten der Pangwe.

Anhangsweise seien nach der beigegebenen Abbildung 163 die Namen und Erklärungen der im Pangwegebiete üblichen Knoten angeführt:

Fig. 1: *solufumo*, zusammengezogen: *sofumo* von *a šulân* = sich auflösen, *fum* = in nichts. Da sich durch Ziehen an dem langen Ende der Knoten sofort auflöst, so benutzt man ihn, um Sachen, die man öfters zu gebrauchen pflegt, im Hause aufzuhängen, und für Halsbänder.

Fig. 2: *atšiṅ e lödölŋ* von *atšiṅ* = Knoten, *lödölŋ* = fest, stark. Der Knoten wird — wie bei uns — am Ende eines Fadens angebracht, um zu verhindern, daß dieser sich zurückzieht (z. B. bei Körben), oder daß aufgereihte Perlen abfallen.

Fig. 3: *atšiṅ e mbiân* von *mbiân* = Haltetau, mit dem man die Bäume erklettert, zum Zusammenknoten zweier Taue, besonders für die Haltetaue.

Fig. 4: *atšiṅ e zöṅ* (*zöṅ* = fest, stark?). Ebenso wie der vorige benutzt, ferner auch für Hals- und Stirnbänder, die man längere Zeit benutzen will.

Fig. 5: *dši/s]-aŋŋl, dši s* = Auge, *aŋŋl* = Stellnetz. Knoten für Stellnetz und Hängematte. Fig. 5 zeigt den Knoten offen.

Fig. 6: *atšiṅ e nkpwâ,s* (*nkpwâ,s* = Baumzugfalle für Vögel), bei Vogelfallen, Fischwehren, auch wohl sonst verwendet.

Fig. 7: *nia atšiṅ* = richtiger, eigentlicher Knoten. Fig. 7 a offen, Fig. 7 b zugezogen.

Fig. 8: *mŋakulu* (*mŋus* = Rücken, *kulu* = Schildkröte, also Schildkrötenrücken), nur zur Verknotung der Netzmaschen.

e) Bänder und Flechten.

Im Gegensatz zur Seilerei, die zu Schnüren gedrehte Pflanzenfasern verknüpft, vereinigt die Flechterei Streifen nebeneinanderliegender Fasern, die ich Bänder nenne. So angeordnet kommen sie in der Natur vor in Blättern, Rinde, Bast oder Holz, die man zu Streifen schneidet.

Hergestellt werden

I. Zöpfe aus Bast.

Man nimmt zwei Baststreifen, legt einen doppelt und den zweiten dazwischen, so daß die obere Hälfte außerhalb bleibt und später zur Befestigung dienen kann; es entstehen also drei gleichartige Flechtelemente, die zu einem Zopf miteinander verflochten werden (Helmmützen und -frisuren, vgl. auch Topfaufhängevorrichtung der Mwele Abb. 164).

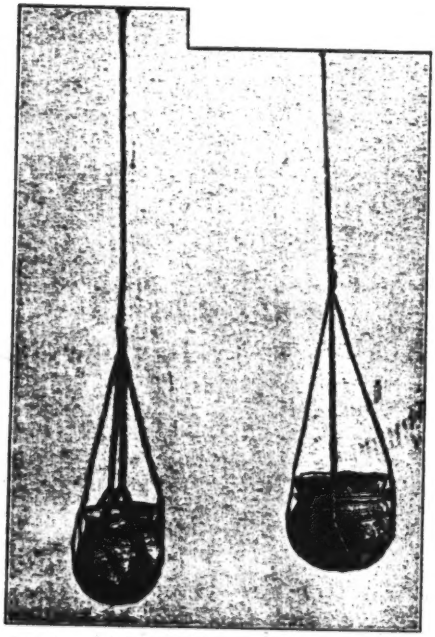


Abb. 164. Aufhängevorrichtung für Kochtöpfe. Mwele.

II. Tragbänder und Mattengeflechte.

Erstere sind aus **Triumfetta**-Baststreifen geflochten (2 unter, 2 über), letztere aus Blattstreifen vom Schraubenbaum, **Pandanus** (*awürba, kübuga*, zusammengez.: *akü,ä*), die sich schachbrettartig umschlingen; Matten kommen nur im südlichen Grenzgebiet vor und sind wohl eingeführt. Aus gleichem Geflecht wie die Matten und aus demselben Stoff besteht ein kahnartiges Täschchen für die Neulinge des Jaunde-Mondkults (vgl. Abschnitt XI).

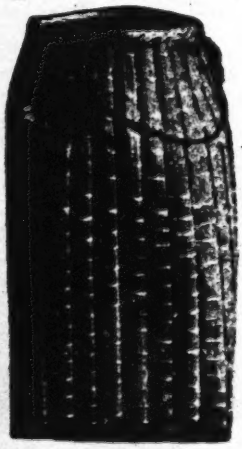


Abb. 165. Vorratskorb für Erdnüsse.

III. Trockenbretter und Kasten.

Bei jenen werden die Böden durch ein Geflecht von Raphiastengelstreifen (4 unter, 3 über), bei diesen Boden und Teile der Seitenwände aus einem Palmbändergeflecht (3 unter, 3 über) hergestellt.

IV. Vorratskörbe.

Der Vorratskorb (*angǎ,n* J., *angunda* Mw.) bildet insofern eine Übergangsform vom Kasten zum Korb, als das Grundmaterial aus nebeneinandergestellten Brettchen von Raphiamark (Abb. 165) gebildet wird, die durch umgeschlungene Stengelstreifen von **Sarcophrynium** aneinandergehalten werden. Die Vorratskörbe dienen zum Aufbewahren von Lebensmitteln, z. B. Erdnüssen, Maiskolben usw., im Hause.

V. Körbe.

Ihr Geflecht besteht entweder aus ein und demselben Material oder einer Verbindung zweier verschiedener. Das erstere ist der Fall bei den

1. Hängekörben der Frauen (*nkǎn I*), die im Gegensatz zu den meisten anderen auch von Frauen hergestellt werden, und zwar aus Streifen der Stengelrinde von **Sarcophrynium velutinum** K. Sch. (Stengel *ndẹ̀n, ndẹ̀nàn IV*). Sie zeigen in Größe und Muster reiche Abwechslung (Abb. 166).

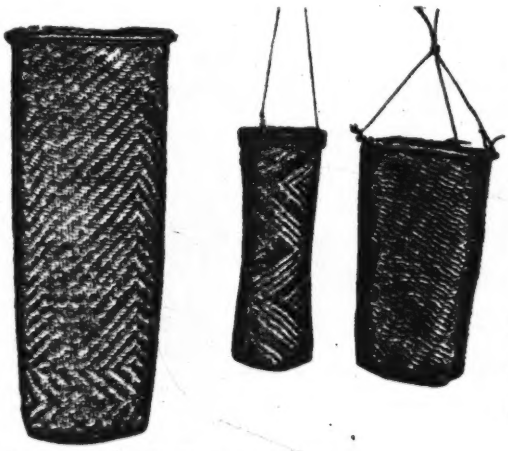


Abb. 166. Hängekörbchen der Frauen.

2. Tragkörbe (*nkö,ẹ̀ I*) für einmaligen Gebrauch werden aus Stengeln von **Sarcophrynium** weitmaschig von Männern und Frauen geflochten, wenn sie ihre eigentlichen Tragkörbe nicht oder nicht in genügender Anzahl zur Hand haben oder schonen wollen, z. B. um das blutige Fleisch eines eben erlegten Elefanten ins Dorf zu tragen, und dergl.

3. Ölpreß- und Erdkörbe (*ekǎt, ekǎt-aẹ̀ñ,ẹ̀* = Ölpreßkörbe, *ekǎt-ebê* = Erdkörbe). Erstere dienen dazu, die ölhaltige Masse der Öl- oder Raphiapalmfrüchte (*aẹ̀ñ,ẹ̀*) auszupressen, letztere, die bei der Herstellung von Gruben (*ebẹ̀*) ausgehobene Erde beiseitezuschaffen; beide sind aus **Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum** Becc. (*nkǎne*) geflochten.[1])

Die zweite Klasse der Körbe zeigt Verschiedenartigkeit der Flechtelemente: ein biegsameres aktives (Geflechtstreifen)[2]), das den Boden des Korbes bildet und von hier aus aufsteigend um das zweite, steifere passive (Geflechtstrang),

[1]) Einmal sah ich eine Messerscheide ganz aus Buschtau (**Oncocalamus**) geflochten (Abb. 167). [2]) Im Anschluß an J. Lehmann: Systematik und geographische Verbreitung der Geflechtsarten. Leipzig 1907.

Flechtmattetal liefernde Schlingpalmen.

Fig. 1. a–q. **ONCOCALAMUS MANNII WENDL.**

a Bruchstück mit Blatt und Fruchtstande.
b Querschnitt durch die Blattrippe am Ansatz eines Fiederblattes.
c Oberes Stück der Fiederbe eines ältern Blattes.
d Blütenstand.
e Oberes Stück eines Blütenzweiges, von der Seite gesehen.
f Stück eines Blütenzweiges, von oben gesehen.
g Kleine Blüten.
h Dieselbe nach Entfernung eines Zipfels der Hülle.
i Dieselbe im Durchschnitt.
k Grosse Blüte.
l Dieselbe im Durchschnitt.
m Oberes Stück eines Fruchtzweiges.
n Frucht.
o Frucht, Durchschnitt.
p Drei Schuppen vom Panzer der Frucht.
q Querschnitt durch ein Fiederblatt.

Fig. 2. r–w. **ANCISTROPHYLLUM ACUTIFLORUM BECC.**

r Oberes Stück der Palme mit Blatt und unbeholfiger Fruchtwurfe (stark verkl.).
s Frucht (nat. Grösse).
t Frucht, Durchschnitt.
u Stück aus der Blattrippe mit Ansätzen von zwei Paar Fiederblättern (von oben gesehen).
v Querschnitt durch die Blattrippe.
w " " durch ein Fiederblatt.

Verlegt und gedruckt bei Ernst Wasmuth A.-G., Berlin.

[facing p. 214]

das, spiralig gelegt, die Wand bildet, geschlungen wird. Ihrer Herkunft nach verhalten sie sich folgendermaßen:

Die aktiven entstammen entweder den **Sarcophrynium**-Stengelstreifen, den **Pandanus**-Blättern oder — und das ist das Vorwiegende — der äußeren Holzschicht der Schlingpalmen. Für sie ist heute der Sammelname *nlöṅ l* üblich, ein Wort, das vom Stamme *a lóṅ* = flechten, schlingen (vgl. *a lóṅ ndä* = ein Haus zusammenflechten, bauen, *a lóṅ nkögʼ* = Körbe flechten) kommt und zugleich für das aus ihnen gewonnene „Buschtau" gebraucht wird. Früher bezeichnete *nlöṅ* allein die **Eremospatha macrocarpa** M. et W., die außer im Küstenstrich westlich vom 11° nur im Norden bzw. Nordosten des Pangwegebietes vorkommt, und wurde später, als die Pangwe nach Süden kamen, auf die beiden hier vorkommenden, zu demselben Zweck benutzten Schlingpalmen, nämlich **Eremospatha tessmannii** Becc. *(ongám)* und besonders die hier wichtige **Oncocalamus mannii** Wendl. *(ebögdögö* F., *ebögdök* Nt., jung *aköʼlöl)*, Taf. XIV, Fig. 1, übertragen[1]).

Der passive entstammt namentlich der Schlingpalme **Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum** Becc. *(nkane*, seltener *eka)*, Taf. XIV, Fig. 2, die sich von **Oncocalamus mannii** durch große Stacheln auf der Oberseite der Hauptblattrippe, feinere auf der Mittelrippe und an den Seiten der Fiederblätter, durch endständigen Blütenstand und durch abweichend gefärbte Früchte unterscheidet[2]). Als

---

[1]) Genannte Schlingpalmen finden außer in der Flechterei Verwendung:
1. im Hausbau als grobe Bänder zum Zusammenbinden des Gerüstes, als feinere Bänder zum Zusammenbinden der Latten der Seitenwände, der Raphiablattstiele, aus denen die Schlafbänke bestehen, und — ganz feine — zum Zusammenbinden der Dachmatten;
2. im Brückenbau als Geländertaue;
3. als Umwicklung an abgenutzten oder schlechten Holzgriffen (Hauer und Messer) und Griffen von Fliegenklatschen und Besen;
4. als Band, z. B. um beschädigte Gewehrschäfte und Holzteller zusammenzuhalten, um die über den Resonanzboden der Harfe gespannte Rinde aufzubinden, usw.;
5. für Frauenhinterschurze aus Bast als Hauptstrang, an dem die Bastbüschel befestigt werden;
6. als Sehne zum Musikbogen *(elém)*;
7. als Vogelschlingen;
8. bei Herstellung der Rindenschachteln (siehe oben);
9. als Schmuckstreifen für Arm- und Halsbänder *(ekät)*;
10. als Formenstempel, um ein Muster auf Töpfen herzustellen.

[2]) Außer für Flechterei verwendet
1. zu Schmuckstreifen für Arm- und Halsbänder *(ekät)*;
2. zu Spazierstöcken;

Ersatz nimmt man für einige Korbsorten (große Tragkörbe der Frauen und Tragkörbchen für Männer) **Calamus deerratus** Mann et Wendl. *(edźi,ń)*[1]).

Hergestellt werden nun folgende Arten von Körben mit verschiedenartigem Geflecht:

1. Deckelkorb der Jaunde *(afǫn)*, hauptsächlich von Frauen hergestellt. Geflechtstrang aus Palmenband, Geflechtstreifen aus Pandanusblattstreifen, schachbrettartig (1 über, 1 unter) geflochten.

2. Große Tragkörbe zur dauernden Benutzung *(nlʼö,ḡ I, nkbʼ I* F.), in denen die Frauen nimmt sie auf Reisen mit, um Lebensmittel darin zu verpacken. Im Hause werden Raphiaschurze und andere Gegenstände darin aufbewahrt, in der Pflanzung verwendet man sie, um Erdnüsse und anderes hineinzutun.

Abb. 167. Messerscheide.

5. Tragkörbchen der Männer *(ebḡʼda)* (Abb. 169). Bei ihnen ist der Geflechtstrang entweder aus **Calamus** Holz und Feldfrüchte heimtragen. Geflechtstrang aus **Ancistrophyllum** *(nkāne)*, seltener aus **Calamus deerratus**, Geflechtstreifen aus **Oncocalamus** *(nlöń)*.

3. Kleine Tragkörbe *(okökö,ḡ* = kleiner Tragkorb und *engāʼne)* (Abb. 168) aus demselben Material wie vorige, nur kleiner, oft mit einem feiner geflochtenen Rand, dessen aktiver Teil neben Bändern auch aus Schnüren bestehen kann; meist ist außerdem der Hauptgeflechtstrang in der Mitte, ein kleines Stück weit, durch einen geschwärzten ersetzt, der *ekáńa nśāt* heißt (*b*). Diese Körbe gelten als besonders fein; die Frau

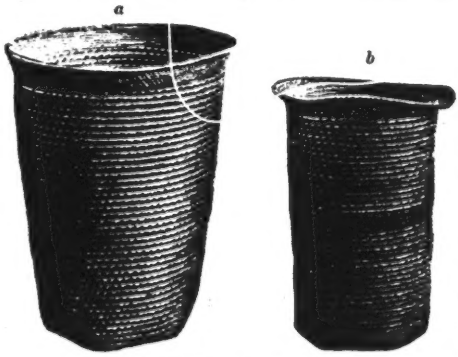


Abb. 168. Kleine Tragkörbe.

oder aus **Ancistrophyllum.** In letzterem Falle fand ich sie außen verstärkt durch schräg eingeflochtene Stäbchen aus demselben Material.

6. Rasselkörbe *(ngōt)*.

---

3. zur Zuckerpresse;
4. als Spanntaue für Trommelfelle;
5. als Band, Ersatz für Buschtau;
6. Kassave-Reibstöcke.

Die verwandte **Ancistrophyllum opacum** M. et W. *(egbwḡʼs)* liefert Trommelfellspanntaue, Netzreifen und Schlingen.

[1]) Außerdem noch benutzt für Flöten *(ndźi,ń I)* und Kassave-Reibstöcke *(akö-edźʼ,ń)*.

Sie kommen in zwei Formen vor: die erste, größere, besteht aus demselben Material wie die Tragkörbe, die zweite, kleinere, hat in der Wand dieselben Verstärkungsstäbe wie die vorigen, als Boden ein Stück Kalebassenschale (über Gebrauch siehe Abschn. XX, dort auch Abbildung).

Abb. 169. Tragkörbchen der Männer mit Fell- und Perlkettenschmuck.

VI. Korbnäpfe der Mwele *(ekätä)*.

Bei ihnen (Abb. 170) gibt es ebenfalls aktive Geflechtstreifen und einen passiven, spiralig gewundenen Geflechtstrang wie bei den echten Körben der zweiten Reihe, aber im Gegensatz zu ihnen fängt die Spirale in der Mitte des Bodens an, bildet also Boden und Wand und wird durch rechtwinklig eingeflochtene Geflechtstreifen zusammengehalten. Diese Näpfe, die vielleicht infolge nördlichen Einflusses (Haussa?) entstanden sind, dienen den Mwele zum Aufbewahren von Maismehl und als Teller für feinere Speisen.

VII. Korbteller *(dźäd* Mz. *biäd)*.

Hier treten (Abb. 171) an die Stelle eines spiralig verlaufenden Geflechtstranges zahlreiche Geflechtstränge aus Streifen des **Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum** Becc. *(nkäne)* oder der Marantacee **Trachyphrynium violaceum** Radlk. *(nkömonkömo* F.*)*, welche die viereckige Bodenfläche und das Grundmaterial des Randes (oder, wenn man will: der Wand) bilden. Um den Rand zu dichten und zusammenzuhalten, wird ein Geflechtstreifen — Band aus den Stengeln des **Oncocalamus mannii** Wendl. *(nlüń)*, der Orchidacee **Myrsacidium productum** Kranzl. *(okö-o-jöb*[1]*), anźüma)*, der Apocynacee **Motandra** spec. *(okö-e-si,)*[1]) oder aus einem Raphiamarkstreifen *(nkö-eśüśü)* — eingeflochten. Die Lage der Geflechtselemente zueinander verhält sich also gerade umgekehrt wie bei den echten Körben der zweiten Reihe.

---

[1]) *okö* vom Stamme *kö* = Band, Tau, *o jöb* = oben, weil die Orchidee eine auf Bäumen wachsende Schmarotzerpflanze ist, *o si,* = unten, weil die Apocynacee in der Erde wächst.

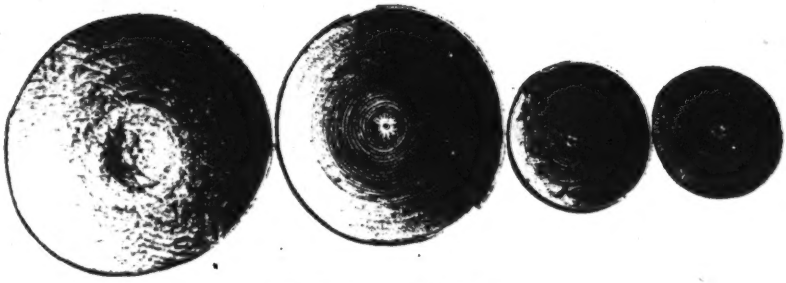


Abb. 170. Korbnäpfe der Mwele.

Die Herstellung ist folgende: Man legt vier Streifen der Länge nach dicht nebeneinander auf die Erde und hält sie mit dem Fuße fest, in einiger Entfernung davon und parallel zu ihnen wieder vier Streifen und so zehnmal, im ganzen 40 Streifen. In diese werden ebenso zu vieren angeordnet 36 Streifen quer eingeflochten, so daß jeder dieser Querstreifen immer abwechselnd über und unter dreien der Längsstreifen verläuft, aber diese Längsstreifen bei jedem Quereinschlag andere sind, z. B.:

Querstreifen 1 liegt unter Längsstreifen 2—4, über 5—7 unter 8—10 usw.,
Querstreifen 2 liegt unter Längsstreifen 3—5, über 6—8, unter 9—11 usw.

Sind alle Streifen verflochten, so schiebt man sie stramm aneinander und hat nun eine feste viereckige Fläche, die durch ein oder zwei kreuzweis darüber geschnürte Bänder zusammengehalten wird, und von der seitlich die noch nicht durchflochtenen Enden der Streifen abstehen. Diese werden zu den Geflechtsträngen des Tellerrandes, indem sie mehr oder weniger — je nachdem der Teller tiefer oder flacher werden soll — aufgebogen und spiralig von einem Geflechtstreifen durchflochten werden, der immer 1—3 von jenen überspringt,

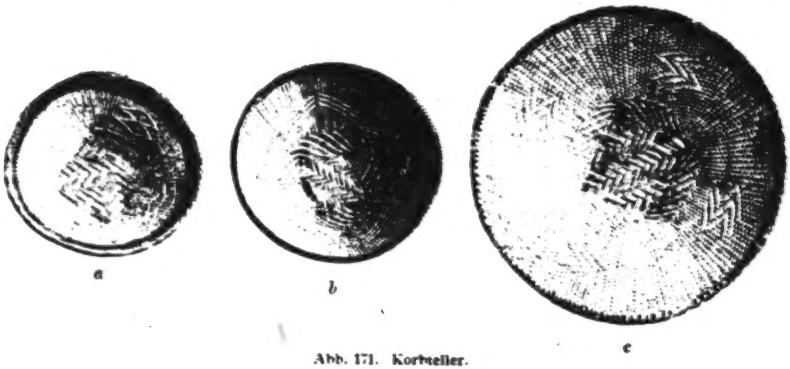


Abb. 171. Korbteller.

wobei durch Abwechseln gewisse Musterungen entstehen können, und fest angezogen wird. An den Ecken entstehende Lücken werden durch Einsetzen selbständiger, kurzer, doppelt gebogener Geflechtstränge ausgefüllt. Der Rand wird oben abgeschlossen durch einen Reif aus **Aneistrophyllum** *(nkąne)*, an dem die Geflechtstränge von außen hakenartig herumgelegt und mit Triumfetta-Bast oder einer Schnur festgebunden werden.

Die Korbteller führen je nach der Größe verschiedene Namen, die kleinen heißen *fá III* F. *(a, b)*, die etwas größeren *orọ̄k*, die gewöhnlichen großen *dźā,d*, *niā dźā,d* = richtige, eigentliche Korbteller *(c)*.

Über ihre Verwendung siehe S. 150.

VIII. Gürtel *(bab IV)*.

Bei ihnen besteht das Geflecht aus einer Anzahl übereinandergelegter Streifen aus **Aneistrophyllum** *(nkąne)*, die mit Buschtau, **Oncocalamus**, durchflochten werden (vgl. Tracht und Schmuck S. 67).

3. Holzarbeiten.

Die Holzschnitzerei ist bei aller Wichtigkeit, die sie im Haushalt der Pangwe besitzt, auf einer verhältnismäßig niedrigen Stufe stehengeblieben und kann keinen Vergleich mit den Leistungen anderer Naturvölker, z. B. der Melanesier, aushalten. Ihre Formen zeigen eine gewisse nüchterne Zweckdienlichkeit, eine Starrheit und Gleichförmigkeit, der alles Bewegte und Spielerische fremd ist. Zur figürlichen Plastik erhebt sie sich nur selten. Darstellungen ganzer Menschen finden sich hauptsächlich in den Ahnenfiguren, selten an Häuptlingsstöcken, Köpfe außerdem nur an Versammlungshauspfählen (nur in einem Falle gesehen), an Ruhebankpfosten im Versammlungshause, am Gedächtnisspiel und in der Maske zum Mondkult (Sso).

Die Zahl der aus Holz gefertigten Gegenstände ist sehr groß, wie aus folgender Liste hervorgeht:

1. Grabstöcke.
2. Schaufeln.
3. Hacken- und Axtstiele.
4. Pfähle fürs Versammlungshaus.
5. Ruhebankpfosten fürs Versammlungshaus.
6. Haustüren.
7. Einbäume.
8. Ruderblatt.
9. Mulden.
10. Stampfer.
11. Reibbrett für Irvingiakerne.
12. Rührlöffel.
13. Eßlöffel.
14. Holzteller.
15. Töpfe für Öl.
16. Fläschchen für Pulver.
17. Schalen für Rotholz.
18. Häuptlingsstöcke.
19. Spazierstöcke.
20. Gewehrständer.
21. Rindenklopfer.

22. Pfeifen.
23. Hauerscheiden (veraltet).
24. Blasebälge.
25. Hundeglocken.
26. Schemel.
27. Armbrüste.
28. Speerstiele.
29. Schilde.
30. Sprechtrommeln.
31. Felltrommeln.
32. Harfen.
33. Holzmirlitons.
34. Holzflöten.
35. Xylophontasten.
36. Schwirrhölzer.
37. Jaundespielmarken.
38. Holzpenisse.
39. Stelzen.
40. Gedächtnisspiele.
41. Armringe.
42. Ahnenfiguren.
43. Masken für den Mondkult.

Die Herstellungsweise für alle diese Gegenstände im einzelnen zu besprechen, ist innerhalb des gegebenen Rahmens nicht möglich. Ich greife als Beispiele die Hauerscheiden, Schemel, Rühr- und Eßlöffel heraus.

Die jetzt abgekommenen Hauerscheiden — so nennt sie der Eingeborene, im Grunde decken sie den Hauer nicht, sondern sie sind nur ein Lager, in dem er getragen wird — haben die Form eines Rechtecks mit konkaven Längsseiten und werden folgendermaßen hergestellt: Man schlägt aus Schirmbaumholz ein längeres, ungefähr 1 cm dickes Brett, das in zwei gleiche Rechtecke zerlegt wird. Dann werden mit einem glühend gemachten Hauer die Schmalseiten glatt geschnitten, die Längsseiten eingebuchtet und ebenfalls geglättet. Die Brettchen werden auf der einen Fläche rechteckig ausgehöhlt, an den Ecken mit einem glühenden Gewehrladestock durchbohrt, mit den beiden ausgehöhlten Flächen aufeinandergelegt und mit Buschtau zusammengebunden. Die Außenfläche wird oft noch mit einfachen, eingebrannten Mustern verziert. Zuletzt wird die Scheide mit einem Trageband aus Tierfell versehen.

Der Schemel ist ein wertvolles Stück im Hausrat, ein Luxusgegenstand, für den etwas ausgegeben wird. Deshalb ist auch seine Herstellung ein wichtiger Zweig der Holzschnitzerei, und die Verfertiger gut gearbeiteter, künstlerisch verzierter Schemel sind berühmte und gesuchte Leute, die, wenn sie wollten, ebensowohl erhebliches Geld mit ihrer Kunst machen, wie diese selbst höherbringen könnten. Bei ihrer angeborenen Faulheit gehört aber immer ein besonderer Anlaß dazu, bis sie sich zu einer neuen Arbeit bequemen. Jemand ist z. B. als Gast im Hause eines solchen Künstlers, sieht dort einen schöngeschnitzten Schemel und sagt: „Oh, welch' ein schöner Schemel, so einen könntest du mir auch machen." Vielleicht haben andere denselben Wunsch geäußert, und so rafft sich denn endlich mal der Künstler auf, geht in den Busch und fällt einen Stamm der Apocynacee **Alstonia congensis** Engl. *(ekak)*, des einzigen Baumes, der sich für Schemelherstellung eignet; es muß ein Stamm gewählt werden, der — nach Abzug der Rinde — denselben Durchmesser hat wie der zukünftige Schemel

(Abb. 172). Den Stamm nimmt er mit ins Dorf und zerteilt ihn hier quer in etwa 5—7 Scheiben, die so dick sind, wie der Schemel hoch werden soll. Dann zieht er mit dem Hauer, etwa in der Mitte, ringsherum eine Linie, die den unteren Rand der Sitzfläche angibt, und haut von hier aus nach unten drei radial verlaufende Furchen, vertieft sie mit dem Deissel *(ngbwák IV)*, Abb. 173, und bildet so drei Füße. Dann wird die Sitzfläche geglättet und über Feuer gehalten, bis sie schön braun wird, und der Rand mit den rauhen Blättern des **Ficus exasperata** Vahl (*ekōkū* F., *akō* Nt.)[1]) sauber abgerieben. Rand und Füße werden mit Rotholz gefärbt und eine Stunde lang an der Sonne getrocknet, endlich mit eingeschnittenen Mustern verziert, eine künstlerische Zutat, die nicht überall gleich gut ausfällt.

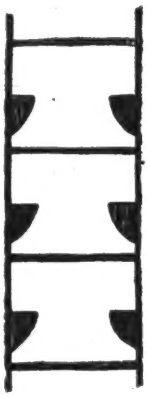
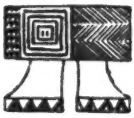


Abb. 172.
Zur Herstellung des Schemels.



Gewöhnlich stellt ein Schemelmacher 2—3 Stücke an einem Tage fertig; der Preis ist so niedrig (je 2 Speer = 14 ₰), daß man nicht begreift, wie überhaupt der Mann dafür arbeiten kann. Der Grund liegt, wie in den in einem späteren Abschnitt mitgeteilten Erziehungsgrundsätzen offen ausgesprochen wird, in einer Art Gegenseitigkeitsprinzip, d. h. der Verkäufer rechnet damit, daß er seinen Käufer, der selbst wieder Spezialist für irgendeinen anderen Artikel (Korbteller z. B.) ist, später nötig hat und dann erwartet, ebenso glimpflich behandelt zu werden. Jeder ist infolge der übertriebenen Arbeitsteilung auf den anderen angewiesen, und diese Abhängigkeit hält die Preise niedrig. Wo sie fehlt, gehen die Preise in die Höhe, Europäer z. B., mit denen ein derartiges stillschweigendes Übereinkommen nicht besteht, zahlen ganz bedeutend mehr, das Zehn- oder Zwanzigfache, und müssen sich dabei noch schlechtere Arbeit gefallen lassen.

Im Grunde sieht man im Verkauf der als Hauswerk hergestellten Sachen auch gar keinen Erwerb, denn als ich einen befreundeten Schemelmacher fragte, was nun bei seinem Geschäft herauskäme, mußte er erst lange nachdenken und sagte schließlich, er mache monatlich etwa 10 Schemel zu 2 Speeren = 14 ₰, und verdiene also 20 Speere = 1,40 ℳ; davon habe er sich Messingschmuck gekauft und das übrige als Heiratsgeld beiseite gelegt, aber das sei ihm ganz gleich, seine Kunst sei Ehrensache.

Abb. 173. Deissel.

[1]) Stamm *kū* = reiben, vgl. *a-kū-k* = Mahlstein.

Die Herstellung der Rührlöffel *(mbŏb)* ist, ihrer Form entsprechend, ziemlich einfach. Man schlägt aus einem Baumstamm[1]) ein flaches Scheit heraus und haut es mit dem Buschmesser roh zurecht. Dann wird der Löffel ausgehöhlt, indem mit einem Meißel *(ojen)*, Abb. 174, und einem einfachen schweren Holzstück als Hammer zwischen Mulde und Stiel eine Querrinne eingestemmt und das Holz durch gegen sie gerichtete Schläge stückweise abgenommen wird. Die feinere Bearbeitung geschieht durch Schaben mit Meißel oder Messer. Der fertige Löffel pflegt mit Rotholz eingerieben zu werden. Warum, wissen die Leute selbst nicht. Mein Freund Nto-Ndanga gab als Antwort folgende Bemerkung zum besten: „Sieh mal, ich bin selbst ein Schwarzer, aber Schwarze haben keinen Verstand. Ich habe mich selbst schon lange gefragt, warum die Rührlöffel mit Rotholz eingerieben werden, dadurch kommt doch Schmutz (d. h. das Rotholz) ins Essen!" Die verschiedenen Formen der Rührlöffel sind in Abb. 98 dargestellt.

Etwas mehr Mühe erfordert die Herstellung der Schöpflöffel *(tŏk)* (Abb. 175). Sie werden hauptsächlich aus dem Holz des **Carpodinus tessmannii** Gilg *(ebärm)*, seltener aus der **Kiekxia elastica** Preuss *(emṛila)* gefertigt. Aus dem Baumstamm wird ein Klotz von der Form eines längshalbierten Zylinders herausgeschlagen und durch vorsichtiges, schichtenweises Abtragen des Holzes (siehe Abb. 176) zuerst mit dem Hauer *(a)*, dann mit dem Deissel *(b)* zu der Form des Löffels zurechtgeschnitten, darauf wird die Mulde mit dem Löffelschaber *(fŏnege-tŏk)* (Abb. 177) weiter vertieft, zuletzt samt dem Stiel mit den rauhen Blättern von **Ficus exasperata** glattgerieben.

Die Pulverfläschchen *(ndŏk e pfidi)* werden in sehr mühsamer Arbeit aus dem Holz des **Alstonia congensis** *(ekŭk)* und der **Kiekxia elastica** hergestellt (Abb. 178), indem man zuerst eine massive Flasche formt und ringsherum schön glättet, sie dann durch einen Längsschnitt in zwei Hälften spaltet, jede einzelne Hälfte innen mit dem Deissel aushöhlt und den Hals in der gewünschten Länge abhaut. Zuletzt werden die beiden Hälften wieder aufeinandergepaßt und durch eine darübergenähte Tierhaut, meist vom Nilvaran, in ihrer Lage zusammengehalten.

Recht schwierig herzustellen sind auch die Teller aus dem Holz der **Alstonia congensis** oder **Ceiba pentandra**, weil sie schon während der Arbeit am Rande leicht spalten. Man macht sie in solchem Falle trotzdem fertig und flickt sie dann mit Buschtau.

Hundeglocken werden aus **Alstonia congensis**, aus der **Alchornea caloneura** und aus **Pterocarpus soyauxii** Taub (*mṛĕ IV* Nt.), Blasebälge aus **Alstonia congensis** und **Musanga smithii** R. Br. *(asŏn)* hergestellt, Einbäume aus **Musanga**, aus **Ceiba pentandra** *(dum)* und aus der Combretacee

[1]) Folgender drei Pflanzen: **Alchornea caloneura** Pax *(ndămabā, III)*, **Hasskarlia didymostemon** Baill. *(efŭŏle* Nt., *dẓ̄ III, nyŭle III)* oder **Kiekxia elastica** Preuss *(emṛila)*.

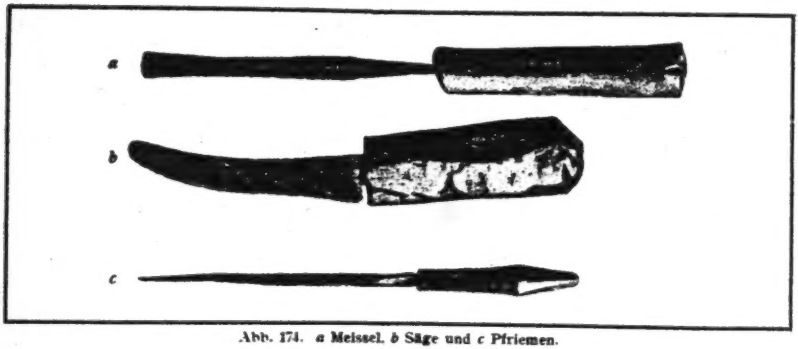


Abb. 174. *a* Meissel. *b* Säge und *c* Pfriemen.

Terminalia superba Engl. et Diels *(akǫ̃m)*, Sprechtrommeln aus **Cordia odorata** Gürke *(ebǫ̃ĩ)* und **Rinorea dentata**, Felltrommeln aus **Alstonia, Cordia, Rinorea** und **Musanga.**

Speerstiele werden aus den leicht spaltbaren Stämmen einer Anonacee (?) *(otunga)* und einer Flacourtiacee *(osǫ̃,bẽ,ỹ)*[1]) hergestellt. Man spaltet das

Abb. 175. Herstellung des Schöpflöffels.

Holz in ebenso viele Teile, wie man Speerstiele machen will, nimmt zuerst die durch das Spalten geschaffenen Kanten mit dem Hauer grob herunter und bearbeitet dann jeden einzelnen Teil mit dem Zugmesser solange, bis ein runder Stock von der Dicke des Speerstieles übrig bleibt. Das Zugmesser *(awǫ̃ṅ)*, Abb. 179 und 180, besteht aus einem winkelig gebogenen Stück Holz (Astgabel), dessen Schenkel in der Mitte zu einem kurzen Schlitz ausgeschnitten sind. Hier hinein steckt man entweder ein gewöhnliches Messer (vgl. Abb. 179) oder — und das ist meist der Fall — eine besondere Klinge mit zwei Schneiden, von denen die eine messerartig, die andere sägeartig ist (Abb. 180). Diese sehr praktische Zusammensetzung erlaubt

Abb. 176. Zur Herstellung eines Schöpflöffels. Längsdurchschnitt.

[1]) *sõ*-spalten, *bẽ,ỹ*-Fingernägel; Baum, der mit den Nägeln gespalten werden kann.

es, mit demselben Werkzeug die Längsrillen in den Speerschaft zu graben: es wird einfach die Klinge herausgenommen und umgekehrt, d. h. mit der ausgezähnten Schneide nach unten, wieder eingesetzt.

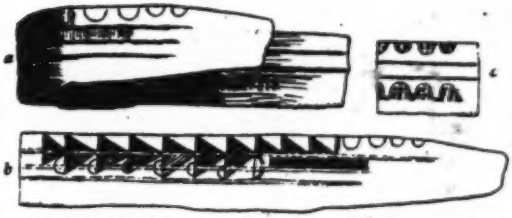


Abb. 177. Löffelschaber. *a* ganz. *b* Muster der Außenseite abgerollt. *c* Teil des Musters der Innenseite.

4. Metallarbeiten.

a) Eisengewinnung.

Die Gewinnung des Eisens, sicher eine der bewundernswertesten Errungenschaften der Neger, wird im Pangwegebiete nur noch südlich des Kampo von den Fang und einigen wenigen Ntumsippschaften betrieben, während Spuren alter Schmelzen beweisen, daß sie in früherer Zeit weiter nach Norden verbreitet

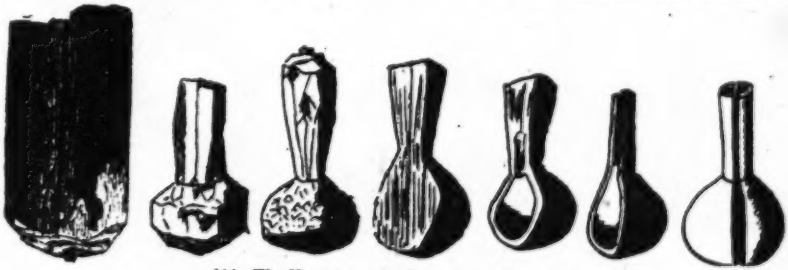


Abb 178. Herstellung der Pulverflasche aus Holz.

war. Heute kaufen die Bulu das Eisen von den Ntum im Süden, die Jaunde und Bene von den Etun. Die Hauptplätze der Eisengewinnung liegen im Woddo- und Kjegebiete sowie am oberen Uelle, doch sind sie im Verhältnis zu den Fundstellen des Eisensteines selten. Die Leute verstehen sich zwar meistens auf die Technik, aber nur wenige geben sich wirklich mit ihr ab. Der Grund mag zum Teil in der Mühseligkeit des Betriebs liegen, in der Hauptsache aber muß er in den abergläubischen Anschauungen gesucht werden, die sich an die Eisenbereitung knüpfen, und die eine Mitwirkung des Medizinmannes, den Ankauf kostspieliger Medizinen und strenge Befolgung von Enthaltsamkeitsgeboten erheischen. Das Eisen hat durch die seltene und schwierige Kunst, es aus dem Gestein herzustellen und dann in die Form von Werkzeugen und Waffen zu schmieden, eine besondere Bedeutung gewonnen, vielleicht auch, weil es zu beidem des Feuers bedarf, des heiligen Elementes, das

Abb. 179. Zugmesser für Speerstiele.

die Pangwe im Ngikult verehren. Die Verhüttung des Eisensteins erfolgt daher unter Leitung und Aufsicht des Medizinmannes, er allein kann, genau wie bei den Kulten, mittels seiner Medizin den ihm zustehenden Einfluß auf den Vorgang anderen übertragen oder, besser gesagt, diese anderen können sich erst durch Ankauf einer Medizin die Fähigkeit, das Eisen zu schmelzen, vom Medizinmann erwerben. Diese Schmelzmedizin *(bíáń akúǵ, abǭb-akúǵ)*[1]) kostet fünf Schafe, fünf Hühner und fünf Stück Messingdraht, was zusammen ungefähr einem Werte von 120 Mark in unserem Gelde entspricht; sie wird in einem kleinen, mit den weichen Blättern der **Triumfetta** *(okǫń)* ausgelegten Töpfchen aus Holz oder Ton oder einem Körbchen aufbewahrt und besteht aus einem Blattbündel mit Gehirnmasse von einem Vorfahren, einigen darumgelegten Ahnenschädelstückchen, Stückchen abgeschabter Rinde der Leguminose **Macrolobium straussianum** Harms *(abǒm, bǒme IV)* oder des Farns **Marattia fraxinea** Sm. *(ezɪzǒń)* und Gift *(nśǭ)*. Die Schädel und das Gehirn als Sitz des Wissens sollen darauf passen, daß der Schmelzprozeß gelingt, das **Macrolobium** soll bewirken, daß die Luppe so voll und fest in der Schmelzgrube liegt (*ekiai a bǒme o si*, = das Eisen ist fest [wie eingestampft] unten drin), wie dieser Baum ohne Brettwurzeln dasteht (daher der Name *abǒm* von *a bǒm* = fest einstampfen, einrammen und fest eingestampft sein); der Farn soll machen, daß das Eisen so schön zusammengeballt ist, wie die jungen Farnblätter.

Abb. 180. Zugmesser (zugleich Reiber) für Speerstiele.

Mit dieser Medizin kann man nun leider noch kein Eisen machen, man muß selbst wohl oder übel wirkliche Arbeit leisten und braucht dazu Arbeitsleute. Diese sind an und für sich nicht so schwer zu bekommen, da sie am Gewinn beteiligt werden, aber die erwähnten Enthaltsamkeitsgebote, namentlich geschlechtlicher Art, die letzten zwei Monate vor und die Zeit während der Arbeit — im Übertretungsfalle würde das Eisen mißraten — halten viele zurück. Diese hochpeinliche Vorschrift im Verein mit der teueren Medizin steht einer größeren Verbreitung des Schmelzbetriebes recht im Wege, und man zieht es selbst an Plätzen, wo bereits eine Eisenschmelzhütte besteht, vor, das Eisen von anderen zu kaufen, wenn das eigene mehrfach mißraten ist, denn man führt dies Mißgeschick auf Versagen des Feuers infolge der geschlechtlichen

[1]) *bíáń* = Medizin, *akúǵ* = Eisenschmelze, *abǭb* = Spinne, die eine Rolle in den Erwerbsmedizinen spielt und meist — nicht immer — in der Schmelzmedizin vorhanden ist.

Unreinheit eines oder einiger der Beteiligten zurück. In neuerer Zeit gibt die Einfuhr europäischen Eisens der einheimischen Industrie den Todesstoß. Die Furcht, etwas Unreines, als welches in erster Linie alles Geschlechtliche gilt, in Berührung mit dem reinen Feuer zu bringen, geht soweit, daß diejenigen Mitwirkenden, deren Frauen während der Schmelzarbeit menstruieren, eine Medizin machen. Diese besteht in einer Rautenfigur, die an den Stützbalken der Schmelzhütte auf der dem Ofen zugewandten Seite aus der Rinde herausgeschnitten ist und das weibliche Geschlechtsorgan vorstellen soll; das Zeichen wird mit Rotholz, das von dem betreffenden Weibe zerrieben ist und ihren Blutfluß darstellt, eingerieben und mit einem Blatte von **Myrianthus arboreus** P. B. (*mangame III F.*) bedeckt, um anzuzeigen, daß man alles Unreine verborgen und dadurch unschädlich gemacht wissen will; zugleich soll die Pflanze bewirken, daß das Eisen so gut zusammenwächst, wie die einzelnen Früchte zu einer Sammelfrucht vereinigt sind. Auf Tafel XV sieht man ein Stück des Blattes am vorderen Stützpfahl links oben, außerdem (etwas tiefer)-eine Rindenschachtel, die Ahnenschädelstücke enthält, einige Antilopenhörner und etliche andere Medizinen, die später gebraucht werden. Daß man die Leute, welche sich mit dem Ahnenkult abgeben, für besonders geeignet hält, dem Werke einen glücklichen Ausgang zu geben, geht auch daraus hervor, daß nur sie allein berechtigt sind, das Feuer zu schüren (vgl. Abb. 183).

Die Verhüttung des Eisens steht also vor allem im Zeichen des Feuerkults, sie ist aber auch eng mit der Verehrung der Ahnen verbunden, die für das gute Gelingen, soweit es in ihren Kräften steht, eintreten.

Das Eisen liegt in Form von Brauneisenstein *(sfi IV)*[1]) zu Tage und wird einfach gesammelt und weggetragen. Die Eisenerzgruben (*ebê-asfi* von *asfi* = eisenhaltiges Gestein) haben für die Pangwe an sich keine besondere Bedeutung, sind allgemeines oder vielmehr herrenloses Gut, das von jedermann in Anspruch genommen werden könnte. Dagegen findet die Erzverhüttung in besonderen Schmelzhütten statt, die meist im gemeinsamen Besitze mehrerer Dorfbewohner sind; sie allein können das Eisen herstellen, und zwar aus dem Eisenstein, den sie sich selbst aus den Gruben geholt haben. Die anderen Leute im Dorfe dürfen die Schmelzhütte nicht benutzen und müssen das Eisen von ihnen kaufen. Wegen der Schwierigkeiten des Betriebes finden die Schmelzungen nur in

---

[1]) Die auf Veranlassung von Herrn Professor Dr. Pufahl (Kgl. Bergakademie in Berlin) von Herrn du Bois ausgeführte Untersuchung ergab, daß das Erz „außer den üblichen Bestandteilen wie Kieselsäure, Eisenoxyd, Tonerde, Wasser und geringen Mengen von Mangan, einen nicht unbeträchtlichen Titangehalt, etwas Schwefel, Spuren von Phosphorsäure, geringen Kalkgehalt und auch geringen Magnesiagehalt aufweist."

EISENSCHMELZE IN BEBAI (FAM. SCHUMU), SPAN. GUINEA.

1: Tessmann

FH9 Fang

[facing p226]

weit auseinanderliegenden Zeiträumen statt, in jedem wird rasch hintereinander der Ofen so oft beschickt, als Hüttenbesitzer vorhanden sind. Jeder Besitzer hat also das Anrecht auf das bei einer Ofenbeschickung gewonnene Eisen.

Die Schmelzhütte *(ndä-akúạ, ndäi,-akúạ)*, Abb. 181 u. 182, ist ein einfaches, 3—4 m hohes Schutzdach, dessen First von zwei Stützbalken getragen wird. In ihrer Mitte ist eine Grube (Abb. 182, Fig. 5 c) von 78 cm Tiefe und 1,86 m Durchmesser in den Boden gegraben und darüber der Ofen aufgebaut. Von der Sohle der Grube geht noch ein ca. 60 cm tiefer Schacht (Fig. 5 b) nach unten, auf dessen Grund der erwähnte Topf mit der Schmelzmedizin gestellt ist (Fig. 5 a). Über die Medizin werden verfaulte Plantenblattscheiden gedeckt, damit die Schädel hübsch kühl bleiben, und dann wird der ganze Schacht mit Blättern ausgefüllt.

Wird eine neue Schmelzung beabsichtigt, so müssen sich, wie erwähnt, alle Beteiligten, d. h. der Medizinmann, der oder die Hüttenbesitzer und die gemieteten Arbeiter, zwei Monate lang des Geschlechtsverkehrs enthalten. Man schleppt während dieser Zeit das Erz in Körben herbei, häuft es in der Schmelzhütte auf und besorgt sich Holzkohle *(miẽ, mẽi)*. Sie muß besonders „stark" sein und wird deshalb nur aus folgenden fünf Bäumen gewonnen: 1. **Pentaclethra macrophylla** Benth., Leguminosae *(ebạ̃ị)*, 2. **Erythrophloeum guineense** Don., Legum. *(eṭũn)*, 3. **Cylicodiscus gabunensis** Harms, Legum. *(edạm)*, 4. **Eurypetalum tessmannii** Harms, Legum. *(andzịtsịń)*, 5. **Irvingia grandifolia** Engl., Simarubaceae *(ngũn IV)*. Das Holz wird in kleinen Stößen beim Dorf aufgeschichtet, dann angezündet und, wenn verkohlt, noch glühend mit Wasser gelöscht, das in den Mund genommen und geschickt wie eine Brause ausgespritzt wird.

In Bebai, Fam. Schumu (Woddogebiet), wo ich die Verhüttung gesehen habe, stand neben der Schmelzhütte noch eine kleinere (Abb. 182 Fig. 2), die nichts enthielt als eine Schlafbank *(p)*, einen Schürhaken *(q)* und einige Ersatzdüsen *(r)* für den Ofen; in ihr hielt sich der betreffende Hüttenbesitzer, für den am nächsten Tage geschmolzen werden sollte, die letzte Nacht auf, um nicht noch zu guter Letzt in Versuchung zu geraten, das erwähnte Gebot zu übertreten. Diese Vorsichtsmaßregel zeigt, wie standhaft sich der Pangwe gegen die vielen Gebote in Wirklichkeit verhält.

Am Morgen erscheinen die Arbeiter mit ihrem Handwerkszeug, den Düsen *(ńõń IV)* und Blasebälgen.

Der Blasebalg *(nkũm I)* hat die bekannte Kameruner Form — Gefäßblasebalg ohne Ventil —, aber, im Gegensatz zu ihr, keine Holzstäbe als Handgriffe. Er ist aus weichem Holz (vgl. S. 222) hergestellt, von den beiden schalenförmigen Verbreiterungen (P.: *alõ,-nkũm* = Blasebalgohren) führen getrennte

Abb. 181. Schmelzhütte in Bébai (Fam. Schumu, Span. Guinea).

Gänge in die Spitze (P.: *ndźŭ,r-nkŭ,m* = Blasebalgnase). Die Schalen sind mit Tierfell, das mit der Haarseite nach Innen gelegt ist, oder — nur in Jaunde — mit Blattscheiden von der Banane, die zu einem Schopf aufgebunden sind, bedeckt. Da die Felle direkt mit den Händen, nicht durch Stäbe bewegt werden, so kann man nur weiche Felle gebrauchen und nimmt deshalb die der Meerkatzen, des Potto, der Zibethkatze und des Zwergböckchens **Neotragus batesi** Winton.

Die Grube in der Schmelzhütte wird nun mit Blättern des Schirmbaumes bis an den Rand fest vollgestopft, damit nach Beendigung des Schmelzprozesses die Grube leicht wieder von Holzkohlenresten gereinigt werden kann und die unten liegende Medizin nicht beschmutzt wird, dann werden im Kreise um die Grube herum mannshohe Planten- oder Bananenstämme *(d)* dicht nebeneinander aufgestellt, durch Querstifte aus Raphiablattstielrinde untereinander verbunden und mit Tauen und Pflöcken an dicke, außerhalb eingerammte Stöcke befestigt. Das Ganze wird mit Tauen aus der Cissusranke, *nla* genannt, oben und unten zusammengehalten und mit kleineren Plantenstämmchen (Fig. 4 *f*) oder Stücken von solchen sorgsam gedichtet. Durch Auskerben je zweier benachbarter Plantenstämme schneidet man dicht über dem Boden Löcher — in Bebai waren es 17 — für die Düsen ein. Die Löcher werden vorläufig durch einen der Düsendicke entsprechenden 1,25 m langen Führungsstock

(*ntɨ̂m e zɔ̂ɔ̂* eigentlich Düsenstock) (Fig. 4 *h*) ausgefüllt, den man unten durch ein Stück Plantenstamm (Fig. 4 *g*) stützt, oben durch ein Stück Plantenblattscheide, *ngɔ̂ɔ̂* = Schuh genannt (Fig. 4 *i*), abdeckt. Später braucht man dann bloß den Stock herauszunehmen und an seiner Stelle die Düse hineinzuschieben. Ist der Ofen soweit hergerichtet, so wird er beschickt. Ein Mann steigt von oben hinein, läßt sich Holzkohle reichen und schüttet davon eine Lage, doch so, daß die Mitte freibleibt, über die Grube, um den Raum zwischen Boden und Führungsstöcken auszufüllen, ordnet diese strahlenförmig, gegen die Mitte zu gerichtet, an (Fig. 1 *k*) und füllt weitere Holzkohle nach, wobei er gleichzeitig die Innenwand mit Blattscheiden der Plante bedeckt, damit das Feuer nicht gar zu schnell an die Stämme und durch die Ritzen nach außen dringt (Fig. 3). Die Blattscheiden liegen in zwei Schichten, in der äußeren senkrecht (*ngoo* = Gitterwand, Fig. 3 *l*), in der inneren wagerecht (*mvom* = Riesenschlange) (Fig. 3 *m*) angeordnet. Die Kohle wird bis zu einer Höhe von 60—70 cm aufgeschichtet, dann kommt Eisenerz darauf, das inzwischen von anderen Leuten zerkleinert und vier Stunden auf einem tüchtigen Feuer geröstet war [1]), und dessen größere Stücke nochmals zerschlagen werden, bevor sie in den Ofen wandern. Das Erz wird so aufgeschichtet, daß, wie Fig. 5 *n* zeigt, ein Trichter in der Mitte leer bleibt, und so, daß es die Planten nicht berührt, sondern von ihnen durch einen Zwischenraum getrennt bleibt, der mit Holzkohle ausgefüllt wird. Zuletzt wird das Eisenerz bis an den Rand des Ofens mit Kohle bedeckt [2]).

[1]) „Es ergab folgende Werte:

Feuchtigkeit (bei 100° C)	0,51	v. H.
Glühverlust	2,36	„ „
Kieselsäure	8,21	„ „
Titansäure	6,97	„ „
Eisenoxyd	67,98	„ „
Tonerde	11,82	„ „
Manganoxydoxydul	1,03	„ „
Kalk	Spuren	
Magnesia	0.17	„ „
Phosphorsäure	0,05	„ „
Schwefel	0,19	„ „
Alkalien	Rest.	

Auffallend ist hier der recht erhebliche Gehalt an Titansäure, wodurch der Schmelzprozeß unangenehm beeinflußt wird, da eine schwerschmelzige Schlacke entsteht." Nach du Bois.

[2]) O. Zenker beschreibt einen ganz anderen Schmelzofen aus Jaunde. „Die Schmelzhütten," sagt er, „in denen das Eisen auch gleich geschmiedet wird, fallen durch ihre hohen spitzen Dächer und Holzverschalung und an den vor ihnen liegenden Eisensteinen und Schlacken auf. In der Mitte dieser großen

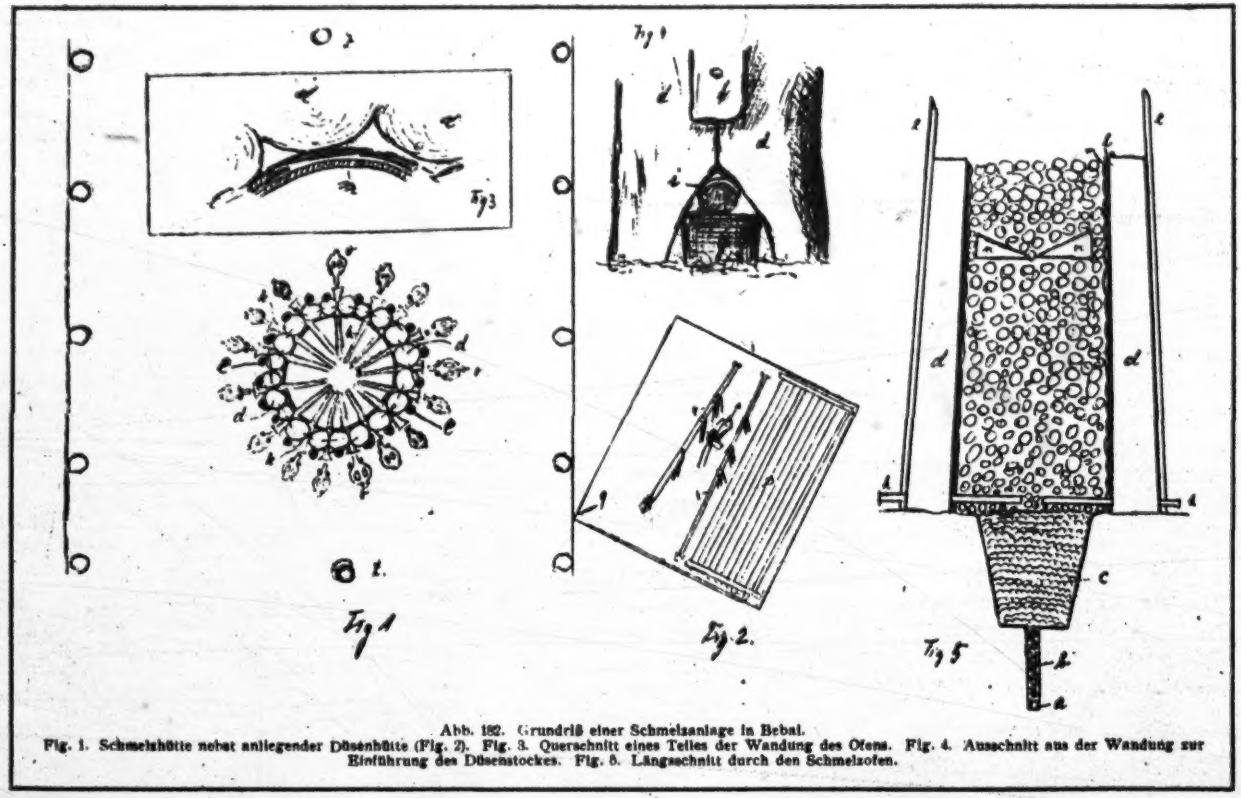


Abb. 182. Grundriß einer Schmelzanlage in Bebai.
Fig. 1. Schmelzhütte nebst anliegender Düsenhütte (Fig. 2). Fig. 3. Querschnitt eines Teiles der Wandung des Ofens. Fig. 4. Ausschnitt aus der Wandung zur Einführung des Düsenstockes. Fig. 5. Längsschnitt durch den Schmelzofen.

Nun setzen die Blasebalgzieher *(nsüe-nkü,m)* ihre beiden mitgebrachten Geräte an, stecken in der bereits angedeuteten Weise die Düse an Stelle des Führungsstockes in den Ofen, so daß das trichterförmige Ende außen etwa 10—12 cm hervorragt, legen den Blasebalg (Fig. 1 *o*) so an, daß seine Mündung 2—3 cm von der Düse entfernt bleibt, und klemmen ihn zwischen zwei Paare in den Boden gesteckter Stöcke, *mrdk* genannt (vgl. Abb. 183). Diese einfache Vorrichtung hat den Anstoß zu folgendem Sprichwort gegeben:

bokui bo rode akad o mrdk =

Die Pygmäen, sie verzweifelten am Schmelzen wegen (der) Haltestöcke (die sie nicht anzubringen wußten),

das gebraucht wird, wenn irgendeine große Sache an einer Kleinigkeit scheitert.

Nun setzen sich alle auf Baumstämme rings um den Ofen, ein glühendes Kohlenstückchen wird durch eine der Düsen in ihn eingeführt, und das Blasebalgziehen beginnt (Abb. 184). Es geschieht so, daß man mit den Händen abwechselnd das eine und das andere Fell oder, wenn man mit Hochdruck arbeiten will, beide Felle zugleich auf und nieder zieht, eine anstrengende und eintönige Arbeit, die man sich nach Möglichkeit durch Gesang, den der Medizinmann (auf Tafel XV der Herr rechts mit verschränkten Armen) einleitet, mit Juchzen, Lachen, Plaudern und Geschichtenerzählen verkürzt, vor allem pflegen dabei die Eingeborenen im Takte zu zischen, was ihnen größere Stärke verleiht, wie sie sagen. Richtiges Pfeifen ist aber streng verboten, denn es ist nach Meinung der Eingeborenen etwas Böses (vgl. Vorsilben S. 28). An dem ganzen Lärm nimmt der Medizinmann hervorragenden Anteil, er läutet alle Augenblicke mit einer eisernen Schelle, bläst auf einem Antilopenhorn,

---

Hütten steht der Schmelzofen und vier große Holzsäulen. Der Schmelzofen ist viereckig und wird bei jeder Schmelze neu errichtet. Seine Außenwände bestehen aus Pisang-(das sind Planten. D. Verf.)stammstücken, er ist etwa 1 m hoch und umfaßt ungefähr 1½ qm Bodenfläche. Am Boden in der Mitte befindet sich eine mit Ton ausgeschmierte Höhlung, in der sich beim Schmelzen das flüssige Eisen sammelt. Der ganze Kasten ist mit Holzkohle, die Mitte jedoch mit einem Gemisch von Eisenstein und Holzkohle gefüllt. Vor der Füllung wird an jeder Seite eine trichterförmige Tonröhre hineingesteckt, welche dazu dienen, mittels eines Handblasebalges, von der auch in anderen Teilen des westlichen Afrika gebräuchlichen Form, Luft hineinzublasen. Die diese Arbeit verrichtenden, meist halberwachsenen Personen sitzen auf den schon erwähnten, etwa 2 m hohen Holzsäulen. Zum Schutze des Daches ist über dem Schmelzkasten ein starkes Holzgitter angebracht. Die Arbeit des Schmelzens nimmt einige Stunden in Anspruch. Das gewonnene, sehr weiche Eisen wird zerklopft und dann geschmiedet." Aus „Mitteilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten" von Fr. v. Danckelman. Jahrg. 1895, S. 63.

singt, schreit und tobt, kurz, gibt sich alle erdenkliche Mühe, die Leute anzufeuern, vielleicht will er damit auch irgendwelche böse Wesen abwehren. Dann und wann schlägt er mit einem Strauß der Violacee **Rinorea gracilipes** Engl. oder der Leguminose **Bandeiraea tenuiflora** Benth. (beide *orǒn̂ e ndźik*)[1]) zwischen die Blasebälge, um alle schädlichen Einflüsse durch die Macht der Ahnen auszuschalten. Erlahmt trotzdem der Eifer bei der Arbeit, so folgt verdoppelter Radau, und nach kurzer Zeit erholt sich die Mannschaft und stößt die Felle mit erneuter Kraft mit fast krampfhafter Schnelligkeit unter heftigem Zischen und taktmäßigem Wiegen des Oberkörpers auf und nieder. Am Abend, wenn die Leute müde werden, nimmt man, um sie durch ein regelrechtes Konzert anzufeuern, Fell- und Holztrommeln zu Hilfe und singt Lieder, bei denen der Medizinmann den Ton angibt. Am Ende der Arbeit, die z. B. in Bebai von 1 Uhr mittags bis ½10 Uhr abends gedauert hatte, tritt der Medizinmann an den Ofen und macht bei jedem Blasebalgzieher eine Bewegung, als ob er etwas oben in den Ofen und unten in den Trichter legt, hinter ihm geht sein Gehilfe, der ein mit einem Quasterstachlerschwanz versehenes geschlossenes Medizinhorn trägt. Welchen Sinn dies hatte, war nicht zu erfahren.

Am nächsten Tage reißt man den bis auf die Grube ausgebrannten Ofen ab und sammelt die zuoberst liegenden, nicht ausgebrannten Eisenschlacken *(eśǫm)* ein, die zerkleinert als Gewehrladung dienen[2]). Dann ruft der Medizinmann die Blasebalgzieher an die Grube und schlägt mit seinem Schmiedeeisen die der Luppe locker aufsitzenden Eisenstücke *(obǫ'-ekiǫi)*[3]) los. Die größeren Stücke nimmt er sich selbst, die kleineren verteilt er an die Leute, so daß jeder ein kleines Pulverfaß voll bekommt und damit für seine Arbeit abgefunden ist. Der Medizinmann behält dagegen fast doppelt soviel für sich. Auf dem Boden der Grube findet sich die Luppe, ein großer, fester, runder bis länglicher Eisenklumpen *(mpfạn-ekiǫi I)*[4]); sie gehört demjenigen Hüttenbesitzer, für den die

---

[1]) Wegen der Ähnlichkeit der Blätter mit denen der **Copaifera tessmannii** Harms *(orǒn̂)*, des Baumes, in dem die Seelen im Zwischenreich wohnen, *orǒn̂ e ndźik* (*ndźik* = Liane) genannt. In Ermangelung der **Copaifera** gebraucht.

[2]) Es ist nach du Bois „eine schlecht geflossene, stark eisen- und titanhaltige, poröse Schlacke, die noch Holzkohlenstücke einschließt".

[3]) *bǫ* = teilen, *e-bǫ'-s* = Schuppe, *ekiǫi* = Eisen.

[4]) Vom Stamme *pfa* Nt. (*fa* F.) = einengen und eingeengt sein, hier zusammengezogen, zusammengeballt sein. Vgl. *pfa-n* = Engpaß; *a pfa-n* = einengen; *pfa-k(akl.)* = eingeengter Weg oder Platz, im besonderen zwischen Haus und Plantenpflanzung im Dorf; *a pfa-n̂* = umwickeln, umschnüren. Die Luppe ist nach du Bois „als ein schmiedbares, stark mit Holzkohlenstücken durchsetztes Schweißeisen mit niedrigem Kohlenstoffgehalt anzusprechen, das erst durch Schmieden in brauchbares Material umgewandelt werden kann".

Schmelzung stattgefunden hatte, mit Ausnahme eines etwa kopfgroßen Stückes, das er an den Medizinmann abzugeben hat. Die Luppe wird an Ort und Stelle von den Leuten in kleine Stücke geschlagen (Abb. 185), wobei sie das Recht haben, sich die dabei abfallenden Splitter mitzunehmen; der Besitzer selbst kümmert sich nicht weiter darum. Jene Stücke *(epfụs-ekiẹi)*[1]) sind das Endergebnis der Eisenschmelzerei und bilden dort einen richtigen Handelsartikel, wo der europäische Tauschhandel noch nicht allzu stark entwickelt ist.

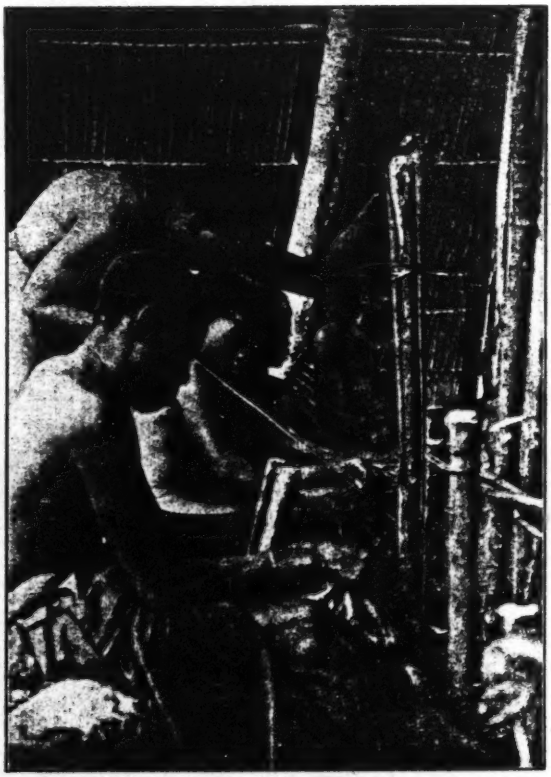


Abb. 188. Blasebalgzieher und Gehilfe des Medizinmannes, der das Feuer schürt. Eisenschmelzerei in Bétai (Fam. Schumu), Span. Guinea.

Noch einige Ziffern über die Unkosten und den Reingewinn. Ich nehme dabei — wie in Bebai — eine Schmelzperiode von fünf Schmelzungen bei fünf Besitzern der Schmelzhütte an. Die Arbeiter können die Blasebälge für 10 Speere (= 70 ₰) von dem Blasebalgmacher kaufen oder sie umsonst geliefert bekommen, falls sie dem Mann den nötigen Holzblock vor die Tür bringen. Das Fell müssen sie sich, soviel ich weiß, in jedem Falle selbst besorgen. Die Tondüse kostet ebenfalls 10 Speere (= 70 ₰), so daß jeder Blasebalgzieher Auslagen von 20 Speeren (= 1,40 ℳ) hat. Der bzw. die Besitzer der Schmelzhütte haben für die Medizin eine einmalige Auslage von ca. 120 ℳ, abgesehen von der Arbeit des Hüttenbaues und des Herbeischaffens des Erzes. Aus dem ihm als Lohn überlassenen Eisen gewinnt jeder Blasebalgzieher bei einer Schmelzung nur 15—20 Speere (= 1,05—1,40 ℳ), bei fünfmaligem Schmelzen ergibt sich also für ihn der Gewinn von 5—7 ℳ, wovon die einmalige Ausgabe

[1]) *pfü-i* = abschlagen (stückweise).

Abb. 184. Schmelzofen in Bétsi (Fam. Schumu), Span. Guinea.

von 1,40 ℳ abzurechnen wäre. Besser steht sich der Medizinmann, denn er kann aus seinem Anteil von lockerem Eisen 30 Speere (= 2,10 ℳ), an Kerneisen 50 Speere (= 3,50 ℳ), zusammen also 5,60 ℳ gewinnen, im ganzen nach den fünf Schmelzungen also 28 ℳ verdient haben. Was den Besitzer anbelangt, so stellt sich für ihn die Luppe auf 500 Speere (= 35 ℳ). Insgesamt beliefe sich der Ertrag einer Schmelzperiode auf:

(17 × 17 Sp. + 80 Sp. + 500 Sp.) × 5

17 Arbeiter zu 17 Sp. + Medizinmann + Besitzer in 5 Schmelzungen, oder (nach deutscher Währung, die natürlich nicht genau den Wert der Speere für die Eingeborenen wiedergeben kann):

(20,23 ℳ + 5,60 ℳ + 35 ℳ) × 5 = 304,15 ℳ.

Diese Zahlen schwanken in den verschiedenen Gegenden, sie geben aber doch ungefähr einen Begriff von der Größe und Verteilung des Gewinnes.

b) Eisenverarbeitung.

Aus den Sagen der Schöpfungsgeschichte geht hervor, daß die Pangwe als Nachkommen Mode-Sama's seit uralter Zeit das Schmieden verstehen, wenn sie auch in der Kunst von anderen Negervölkern, den Nachkommen Ngomwenio's (vielleicht Stammvater der Okande?), des zweiten Sohnes Sama's, übertroffen wurden.

1: Tessmann

FH9 Fang

SCHMIEDE IN BEBAI (FAM. ESSENG), NTUMGEBIET.

Verlegt und gedruckt bei Ernst Wasmuth A.-G., Berlin.

[facing p. 234]

Abb. 186. Gewonnenes Eisen (Luppe) nach Abbruch des Schmelzofens. Bébal (Fam. Schumu).

Eine soziale Ausnahmestellung des Schmieds gibt es bei den Pangwe nicht, er wird weder gering geschätzt, wie bei manchen Völkern, noch genießt er irgendwelche Vorrechte oder ein Ansehen, das über die Wertschätzung seines Könnens hinausgeht. Seine Geschicklichkeit *(akö'n)* wird anerkannt und über diejenige anderer Handwerker gestellt, aber weiter nichts. Der Schmied arbeitet, wie der Holzschnitzer, nur nebenbei und auch nur, wenn Bedarf vorliegt, nie auf Vorrat. Er treibt also keinen Handel, sondern arbeitet auf Bestellung und wird für die Arbeit bezahlt, nicht für die fertige Ware (jeder muß dem Schmied das Eisen bringen, das zu den gewünschten Gegenständen nötig ist). Er bekam zu meiner Zeit z. B. für die Herstellung von Speergeld 10 % von dessen Wert.

Der Schmied (*nlü,ı III* von *a lü,r* = schmieden) hat seine Werkstätte meist im Versammlungshause, dem Schauplatz der meisten männlichen Arbeiten, wo dann (s. Abb. 27,b, b) an Stelle einer Schlafbank eine T-förmige Grube in den Boden gegraben ist, über der der Blasebalg und mitunter auch dessen Düse hängt, seltener in besonderen Hütten *(abφ-lü,r)*. Diese sind entweder einfache Schutzdächer und ringsum offen oder mit Seitenwänden aus Knüppeln versehen, nach Art der vorläufigen Versammlungshäuser. Eine Schmiedehütte der ersteren Form zeigt Tafel XVI, den Grundriß einer solchen der zweiten

aus dem Ntumdorfe Okö (südlich des Kampo) Abb. 186. Sie enthält einen Baumstamm *(m)* und eine Holztrommel *(k)*, die an den Wänden liegen und als Sitz für die Zuschauer dienen, einen Steinamboß *(b)*, in einer T-förmigen Grube *(eje̱, lü,ɪ)* das Schmiedefeuer mit dem Gebläse *(e–g)*. Der Schmied *(a)* sitzt stets rechts von dem Feuer und etwas vor dem Blasebalgzieher *(d)*, damit er mit der linken Hand bequem das glühende Eisen erreichen, aus der Grube nehmen und auf dem vor ihm liegenden Amboß *(b)* bearbeiten kann.

Auch beim Schmieden geht es nicht ohne Medizinen ab. Ähnlich wie in der Schmelzhütte unter dem Ofen, wird hier beim Herrichten der Schmiede, wenn auch nicht immer, eine Medizin unter dem Amboß vergraben, die in Hahnenfedern, Blütenrispen der Labiate **Plectranthus** (*kólgt IV* F., *kǫ̀t IV* Nt.) und Blättern und Stengeln der Commelinacee **Aneilema aequinoctiale** Kth. *(nlàt I)*[1]) besteht. Die beiden genannten Pflanzen sind Kletten und drücken aus, daß die Eisenteilchen beim Schmieden so fest zusammengefügt werden sollen, wie sich die Früchte des **Plectranthus** und die Stengel bzw. Blätter der **Aneilema** aneinanderkletten — häufig sieht man auch, daß der Schmied beim Schmieden ein paar **Plectranthus**früchte in die Düse wirft. — Der Hahn gehört zum Kult des Guten bzw. des Feuers, und seine Federn sind deshalb der wichtigste Bestandteil der Medizin. Zur Erhöhung der Wirksamkeit wird er außerdem geschlachtet, sein Fleisch zusammen mit den Blättern der Acanthacee **Asystasia macrophylla** (T. And.) *(elǫ̀bokǭī)*, der Connaracee **Manotes zenkeri** Gilg *(nkd-ndzīk I)*, der Ebenacee **Diospyros fragrans** Gürke bzw. **staudtii** Gürke (*mrīfɪn IV* F., *mrīpfɪm IV* Nt.) und der Tiliacee **Desplatsia dewevrei** Burset *(afǭnǭk)* gekocht und vom Schmied gegessen. Die erwähnten Pflanzen haben starke und biegsame Stengel bzw. Zweige (*nkīb* = Rute, Peitsche), und man wünscht, daß das Eisen, insonderheit das Speergeld, ebenso fest und biegsam sei.

Schließlich sei erwähnt, daß in einer neu eingerichteten Schmiedehütte kein Roheisen, sondern nur bearbeitetes Eisen als Erstes eingeschmolzen werden darf.

Handwerkszeug ist:

1. Großes Schmiedeeisen *(ngǭ,n[d]ǭ III)* von der Form wie Abb. 187, Fig. 1, das für gröbere Arbeiten als Hammer, für feinere als Amboß dient und dann mit dem spitzen Ende in die Erde gestoßen wird. Sein Wert ist 1000 Speere oder 70 ℳ.
2. Kleines Schmiedeeisen *(edǭ)*, Abb. 187, Fig. 2 zum Ausklopfen von Speerblättern usw. (Wert 50 Speere oder 3,50 ℳ.)
3. Aufasser (*abī* von *bī* = fassen), ein einfacher, gegen das Ende etwas spatelförmig verbreiterter Eisenstab, an einem Holzgriff, der an das im Feuer glühende Eisen gehalten und mit ihm verschweißt wird, so daß man beide

[1]) *a lǭ,-t* = zusammenfügen, daher *nlàt* = **Aneilema** (vgl. auch *a-lǭ-t* = die Ente, weil sie paarweise lebt).

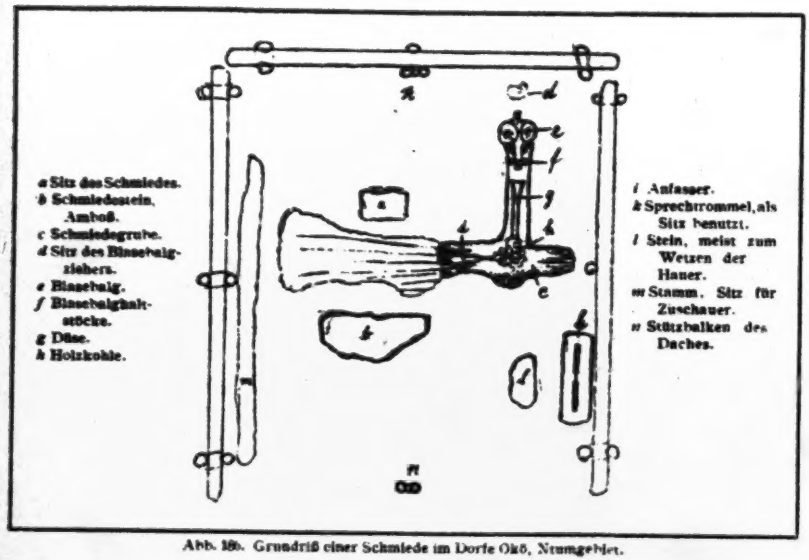


Abb. 186. Grundriß einer Schmiede im Dorfe Okö, Ntumgebiet.

zusammen herausholen kann. Bei der Bearbeitung geht das Ende dieses Anfassers in dem geschmiedeten Gegenstand auf und muß deshalb bei jedesmaligem Gebrauch von neuem hergerichtet, d. h. am Ende breitgeklopft werden.

4. Meißel *(zàne)*, Abb. 188, der in einen geschlitzten Kardamomstengel gesteckt und mit dem Hammer eingetrieben wird, um dünne Verbindungen zu sprengen, überflüssige Ränder abzustemmen, Rillen zu ziehen usw.
5. Feile *(ewǔ,ŋ)* zum Glätten.
6. Zange *(abǎs)*, Abb. 189, Fig. 2, aus einem am Ende gespaltenen Kardamomstengel.
7. Spritzer *(amǒ,m, amè,m)*, Abb. 189, Fig. 1, aus einem Kardamomstengel [1], der am Ende gesplissen ist, und mit dem die Kohle von Zeit zu Zeit — wie bei uns — angefeuchtet wird.

Soll geschmiedet werden, so legt man die Düse des Gebläses in die Mitte der Schmiedegrube, häuft darüber Holzkohle, die ebenso hergestellt wird, wie S. 127 beschrieben [2], auf diese die einzuschmiedenden Eisenstückchen und

[1] Kardamom (Aframomum) als Fackel vgl. S. 80, als heilige Pflanze des Feuers vgl. Abschnitt XI.

[2] Und zwar von folgenden Bäumen:
Leguminosae **Dialium guineense** Willd. *(ogbǔ,ŋ-elī)*,
„ **Platysepalum tessmannii** Harms *(ogbǔ,ŋ-elī)* (vgl. S. 238),

entzündet sie durch eine glühende Kohle, die man in die Düse hineinwirft. Dann setzt der Gehilfe den Blasebalg in Tätigkeit (vgl. S. 231). Brennt die Kohle, so legt der Schmied den Anfasser (Abb. 186 *i*) in den Seitenarm der Grube, häufelt die Kohlen *(h)* über den Eisenstückchen an, wartet, bis das Eisen glühend ist, holt es mit dem Anfasser heraus und schmiedet es auf dem Amboß. Ist das Eisen in der Rohform fertig, so wird es mit dem Meißel vom Anfasser losgeschlagen, mit der Zange gefaßt und der weiteren Bearbeitung unterzogen.

c) Messinggießerei.

Das Messing *(ngŭs IV, mŭt IV)* kommt als Röhren oder Draht von der Küste her seit langem ins Pangwegebiet und hat wegen seiner Weichheit und seiner glänzenden Farbe das Eisen, soweit es als Schmuck gebraucht wurde, fast vollständig verdrängt. Die Röhren werden nicht weiter verändert, der Draht wird dagegen zu Hals-, Arm- und Fingerringen, zu Fußstulpen und Beinringen verarbeitet.

Der Draht wird in kleine, ca. 3 cm lange Stückchen geschlagen und so in einer Topfscherbe oder in einem eigens dazu angefertigten Tongefäß, Abb. 190, das man auf das Schmiedefeuer stellt und ganz mit Kohlen bedeckt, mit Hilfe des Gebläses geschmolzen. Sobald die blauen Flammen herausschlagen, entfernt der Schmied die Kohlen über dem Topf, faßt diesen mit der Zange und gießt das flüssige Metall in Formen, das sind halbierte Raphiablattstiele, in deren Mark das entsprechende Negativ eingeschnitten ist (Abb. 191). Dann reinigt er es von Kohlenstückchen, die etwa mit hineingefallen waren, und gießt Wasser darauf. Nach dem Erkalten wird das Messing aus der Form herausgenommen und unter Erhitzen weiter bearbeitet, d. h. die gröberen Unebenheiten werden zuerst mit dem großen Schmiedeeisen heruntergeschlagen. Bei den gravierten Halsringen (vgl. Abb. 14) werden nun die beiden Enden

---

Olacaceae **Aptandra zenkeri** Engl. *(ogbŭ,n-elī)*,
Ochnaceae **Ouratea tessmannii** Gilg *(osŏ)*,
Euphorbiaceae **Sapium oblongifolium** Muell. Arg. *(osŏ)*,
Ochnaceae **Ouratea brachybotrys** Gilg *(osŏ, kŭn-osŏ, okīg)*,
Euphorbiaceae **Plagiostyles klainei** Pierre *(esŭlə̄)*,
Guttiferae **Garcinia punctata** Oliv. *(nŭa-elī III)*,
Euphorbiaceae **Uapaca guineensis** Muell. Arg. *(asə̄m)*,
Simarubaceae **Irvingia grandifolia** Engl. *(ngŭn IV)*,
Sapotaceae **Mimusops djave** (Lan.) Engl. *(adzə̄b)*,
Leguminosae **Distemonanthus benthamianus** Baill. *(ejĕn, elrbengăn)*,
Burseraceae **Pachylobus fraxinifolius** Engl. *(asə̄)*,
„ **Pachylobus macrophyllus** (Oliv.) *(atə̄m* F., *andŏlgm* Nt.),
Flacourtiaceae **Petersia minor** Niedenzu *(abĭn)*.

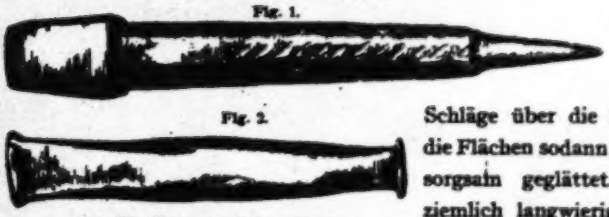


Abb. 187. Hammer und Stampfeisen.

mit dem Stampfer ausgeklopft und durch leichte Schläge über die Fläche umgerollt, die Flächen sodann mit dem Stampfer sorgsam geglättet. Das ist eine ziemlich langwierige Arbeit, da die Stange immer wieder für einige Zeit ins Feuer gelegt werden muß. Jetzt wird durch geschicktes Aufschlagen der Innenfläche auf die Kante des Schmiedesteines der Ring gebogen, auf dem über zwei Stützen gelegten großen Schmiedeeisen völlig zusammengehämmert, endlich mit einer Feile glatt gefeilt, wodurch an Stelle der bisherigen schwarzen die glänzende gelbe Messingfarbe zum Vorschein kommt, und mit Hilfe dreier verschieden starker Meißel (Abb. 192) und anderer Werkzeuge in Mustern graviert (Abb. 193).

5. Töpferei.

Im Gegensatz zu den bisher erwähnten Fertigkeiten liegt die Töpferei in den Händen der Frauen, nur Tabakspfeifen und Düsen werden von Männern hergestellt. Sie ist recht wenig entwickelt, die Formen sind dürftig, Verzierungen selten. Die Haupterzeugnisse der Töpferei sind auf Abb. 194 vereinigt:

Abb. 188. Meißel zu Eisenarbeiten.

1. Wasserflaschen *(eśugä)*,
2. große und kleine Kochtöpfe *(mvi IV* und *obébe)*,
3. Schmiedetrichter *(śóṣ IV)*,

außerdem werden noch

4. Tabakspfeifen und
5. Messingschmelztöpfe

hergestellt. Damit ist die Reihe der Gebrauchsgegenstände aus Ton erschöpft.

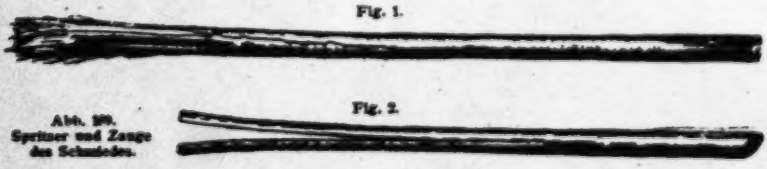


Abb. 189. Spritzer und Zange des Schmiedes.

Die Frauen, von denen etwa der vierte Teil (bei den Jaunde etwa die Hälfte), die Töpferei versteht, treiben ihre Kunst zumeist als Hauswerk und machen die Flaschen und Töpfe für ihren eigenen Haushalt oder für den von Bekannten und Verwandten, die sich aus Bequemlichkeit oder Ungeschicklichkeit nicht damit befassen, außerdem verkaufen sie ihre Erzeugnisse an fremde Frauen, die nicht töpfern können oder wollen. Die Preise für Töpfe schwanken, je nach der Größe, zwischen 2 und 4 Speeren (14—28 ℳ), in Jaunde zwischen 5 bis 30 Jaundespeergeld (5 bis 30 ℳ); ganz große Jaundetöpfe, wie sie die Fang nicht kennen, kosten 40 Jaundespeere (= 40 ℳ). Die tönernen Flaschen, die nur den Fang eigentümlich sind und den Kampo kaum nach Norden überschreiten, kosten 10 Speere (= 70 ℳ). Im großen und ganzen sind die Jaundefrauen bessere und betriebsamere Töpferinnen; sie stellen mehr Ware her, wodurch der Preis freilich sinkt, und bringen hübschere zustande als die Ntum- und Fangfrauen, die vielleicht nur ein Drittel bis ein Viertel aller Kochtöpfe verzieren. Wasserflaschen werden nur ausnahmsweise verziert.

Abb. 190. Tongefäß für Messinggeld.

Abb. 191. Form eines Messinghalsringes in einem halbfertigen Raphiastäbchenbündel.

Die Herstellung ist folgende: Der weiße Töpferton *(ekǒn, vǔ,ǒk*, Mehrzahl *lǒk)* wird auf einem Stück Rinde trocken oder, wenn nötig, mit Wasser versetzt mit einem Stößel *(ntum e vǔ,ǒk)* eine Zeitlang gestampft. Dann rollt die Töpferin den Ton zu Würsten aus, legt zwei oder drei davon in der Hand in schneckenförmige Windungen zusammen, die den Boden des zukünftigen Topfes bilden, und tut das Ganze in einen Korb- oder Holzteller. Nun baut sie die Wandung des Topfes auf, indem sie die übrigen Würste unter Drehen des Tellers, der als Töpferscheibe dient, schneckenartig aneinanderlegt. Dann glättet sie ihn mit einem feuchten Raphiastäbchen, buchtet ihn durch leichten Druck dicht unter dem Rande ein, schneidet diesen selbst *(mbɛ 1)* mit einem feinen Grashalm glatt, reibt ihn mit einem nassen Blatt ab und zieht ihn mit dem Stäbchen aus. Die fertigen Töpfe müssen auf dem Topfboden *(akɔ́ɔ e mɛ́)* fünf Tage trocknen und werden dann gebrannt, was auf dem Dorfplatze geschieht,

Abb. 192. Model zur Herstellung der Mustor auf Messinghalsringen.

Abb. 435. Gallerbambus vorne: einen Blasebalgbehälter.
Abwangi, Süd-Kamerun.

indem man einfach unter und rings um den Topf Feuerholz oder Reisig anhäuft und in Brand steckt.

In der Zeit des Trocknens werden die Verzierungen angebracht, die Töpfe werden etwas mit Wasser befeuchtet und dann die Muster mit einem spitzen Raphiahlattstielsplitter eingeritzt. Ein gewisses Muster, obügéli genannt, erzielt man so, daß man einen sorgsam geflochtenen vierkantigen Formenstempel (Abb. 436) von oben nach unten abrollt.

Die Tondüse des Gebläses stellen die Männer folgendermaßen her: Man löst die Rinde eines Raphiahlattstiels bis kurz vor das eine Ende in Streifen ab und bindet diese am anderen Ende in ihrer natürlichen Lage wieder zusammen, so daß es den Eindruck macht, als sei die Rinde in der Mitte von innen her in lauter Streifen aufgeplatzt. Dann steckt man den Blattstiel mit dem Ende, an dem man die Streifen ganz abgelöst und wieder zusammengebunden hatte, senkrecht in den Boden und legt den Ton in Form eines Trichters darum, biegt den oberen Rand nach außen um und läßt das Ganze drei Tage an der Sonne trocknen. Nun löst man die Umschnürung, trennt die Streifen vollständig ab, zieht sie einzeln heraus, nimmt die Düse herunter und trocknet sie noch eine Zeitlang im Hause. Die Düsen werden nie verziert; nur als ich

Abb. 191 Töpferin bei der Herstellung eines Topfes. Links die Erzeugnisse der Töpferei. Bebai (Pam. Rivers) Südkamerun.

einmal in Bebai der Herstellung einer solchen beiwohnte, konnte es sich der kunstsinnige Schöpfer nicht verkneifen, sein Machwerk mit einigen Ritzmustern zu versehen, vielleicht mir zu Ehren, weil er annahm, ich könne unmöglich einer „so einfachen" Sache wegen gekommen sein, sondern erwarte von ihm besondere Kunstleistungen, und er müsse nun ein übriges tun.

Abb. 192. Stempel zu einem Töpferwerkzeug.

Abschnitt IX.

Bildende Kunst.

A. Ornamentik. Entstehung der Muster. — Grundmuster, abgewandelte Muster, zusammengesetzte Muster. 1. Rindenmuster. Allgemeines. — Grundmuster: Rechteck; Raute; Varan; Dreieck; Parallellinien; Schlangenlinie; Bogen; Gräte. — Ihre Häufigkeit. — Abgewandelte Muster. — Zusammengesetzte Muster. — Zierrinden in der Form von Masken. 2. Kerbschnittmuster. Allgemeines. Schemel: Art der Verzierung. — Wiederkehrende Grundmuster. — Neue Grundmuster: Schachbrettmuster; Speer mit Widerhaken; Ellipsenmuster. — Abgewandelte Muster. — Zusammengesetzte Muster. — Trommeln. 3. Ritzmuster. a) Ziernarben. Grundmuster. — Wiederkehrende und neue abgewandelte Muster. — Zusammengesetzte Muster. — b) Tätowierung. Wiederkehrende Grundmuster. — Wiederkehrende und neue abgewandelte Muster. — Zusammengesetzte Muster. — c) Verzierung von Raphiablattstielen. Ausführung. — Wiederkehrende Muster: Grundmuster; abgewandelte Muster; zusammengesetzte Muster. — Neu auftretende Muster. 4. Ziseliermuster. Allgemeines. — Halsringe. — Fußstulpe. — Schwerter. — Streitäxte. — Anhang: Messingscheiben. — Topfmuster.
B. Zeichnen und Malen. Künstler. — Motive: Fremde Kultur (Pferde usw.) — Sonstige Motive. — Obszöne Bilder. — Bilderbogen meines Dieners.
C. Plastik. Allgemeines. Holzschnitzereien. — Lehmfiguren.

A. Ornamentik.

Alle Schöpfungen der ornamentalen Kunst, die wir bei den Pangwe treffen, lassen sich auf einige wenige Formengebilde zurückführen, die mit technischen Vorgängen unmittelbar verbunden, aus ihnen entstanden sind und sich noch heute dabei täglich mit derselben Naturnotwendigkeit ergeben. Von ihnen ist zu irgendeiner Zeit ein ästhetischer Eindruck ausgegangen; sie wurden als selbständige Form erfaßt und mit diesem Augenblicke zu Vorbildern, die man absichtlich — losgelöst von ihrer ursprünglichen, im wesentlichen praktischen Bedeutung — zuerst in spielerischer Weise nachahmte und darauf nachschuf, um sie als ornamentales Beiwerk zu verwerten, sie wurden zu künstlerischen Motiven. Solange die Vorbilder unverändert in die Ornamentik übernommen wurden, entstanden Muster, die ihren Ursprung jederzeit und ohne weiteres wiedererkennen ließen, und die ich daher als Grundmuster bezeichnen möchte. Sie führen zum Teil Namen, die, mit einer einzigen Ausnahme (Varan), von den Leuten nicht oder nicht sicher erklärt werden konnten, wenn sie nicht einfach das Material bezeichneten. Allmählich trübte sich unter dem Einfluß häufiger Wiederholungen und wechselnder Materialien die Reinheit dieser einfachen Grundmusterformen; ihre Elemente teilten sich, verschoben sich gegeneinander oder gruppierten sich zu doppelten Anordnungen oder neuen Verbindungen. So entstanden abgewandelte Muster.

[p. 243]

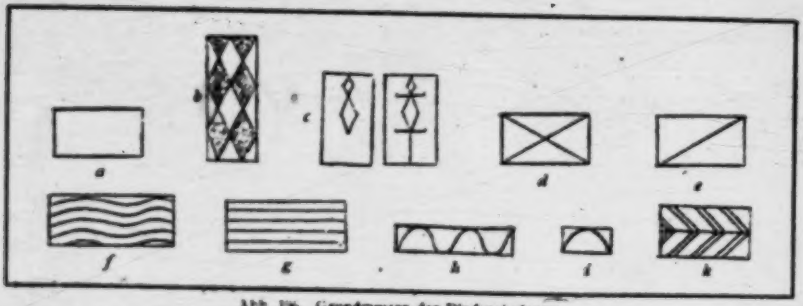


Abb. 136. Grundmuster der Rindenzierkunst.

In die Muster hat der Pangwe später konkrete Dinge der Umwelt hineingesehen und sie nach ihnen benannt. Es scheint dieser Vorgang eingetreten zu sein mit der Änderung des Materials, mit alleiniger Ausnahme der Tierfiguren, die schon in das Muster des ursprünglichen Materials, d. h. desjenigen Materials, auf das das Vorbild erstmalig übertragen wurde, hineingesehen worden sind. Hiermit sind es stehende Muster der Ornamentik geworden. Ich unterscheide von ihnen zwei Formen: gleichartige und ungleichartige, je nachdem sie eine Abwandlung desselben Musters bilden oder aus einer Verbindung verschiedener Muster entstanden sind. Verbindungen von ihnen dagegen, deren Teile den ihnen beigelegten Namen und Sinn behalten, nenne ich zusammengesetzte Muster.

Art und Entwicklung der Muster wechseln mit dem Material, als welches Rinde, Holz, Raphiastengel, Ton, Metall und die menschliche Haut in Betracht kommen; doch scheint zwischen Rinde und Holz einerseits, zwischen Metall und der menschlichen Haut (Ziernarben) andererseits eine gewisse Beziehung zu bestehen, die in verwandten Musterungen zum Ausdruck kommt. Die eingehende Beschreibung der Muster soll daher unter dem Gesichtspunkte des Materials erfolgen.

1. Rindenmuster.

Im Pangwegebiet gibt es eigentümliche Rindenplatten, die von Raphiablattstielstreifen bzw. Palmbändern eingefaßte bemalte Felder zeigen und die an der Außen- oder Innenwand der Versammlungshäuser, seltener an der Außenwand der Wohnhäuser angebracht sind. Diese Schmuckrinden sind weit verbreitet, aber nicht häufig und lange nicht in jedem Dorf anzutreffen, denn auch der Kunstsinn für Rindenornamentik ist eine Spezialität, und die betreffenden Künstler sind dünn gesät. Über die Herstellung dieser Platten habe ich bereits S. 205 das Nötige gesagt und hole nur nach, daß als Farben (s. S. 194 u. 195) rot, weiß und schwarz, wie überall bei den Pangwe, genommen werden. Nur in einem einzigen Falle beobachtete ich ein helles Blaugrau, das von einer so gefärbten Tonerde stammte.

Die Felderung zeigt eine Reihe von Mustern, die dem beim Hausbau verwendeten Material entsprechen, es sind

Viereck = Rinde, Linie = Palmband,
Dreieck = Raphiablattstielstreifen, Gräte = Palmblättern.

Das Viereck kommt in drei Formen vor, als Rechteck, als Raute und als Varan.

Das Rechteck ergibt sich von selbst aus der natürlichen Gestalt des Rindenmantels (Abb. 196 a).

Die Raute entstand und entsteht noch täglich bei der Ablösung von Baumrinde, wie schon bei den Rindenarbeiten (S. 205) auseinandergesetzt wurde. Ich erinnere daran, daß dabei der Baumstamm oben und unten geringelt und die Rinde in einer Zickzacklinie durchtrennt wird, die, wie die Beobachtung lehrte, das Ablösen erleichtert. Bei den Kreuz- und Querhieben des Hauers entsteht, wenn sich die Schnitte treffen, wie Abb. 158 zeigt, das Bild der Raute. Überschneiden sie sich einmal, so sind die Ansätze zu neuen Rauten gegeben, und diese werden in spielerischer Weise ausgezogen und so Gruppen über- und nebeneinanderliegender Rauten geschaffen. Später schnitt man solche in beabsichtigter, heute noch viel beliebter Spielerei in die Rinde ein und betonte dann schachbrettartig die einzelnen Rautenfelder, indem man die Rinde bis auf das Holz aushob.

Abb. 197. Varanmuster auf Zierrindenplatten.

Von hier aus war es kein weiter Schritt bis zur Übertragung des Musters auf Rindenplatten (Abb. 196 b).

Der Varan *(nkaak III)* entsteht, wenn sich beim Rindenablösen zufällig zwei verschieden große Rauten übereinander bilden, in die man Kopf und Leib des Nilvarans, **Varanus niloticus**, hineinsieht. Ebenso wie die Raute wird der Varan als Spielerei in die Rinde von Bäumen eingeschnitten, wobei dann durch einfache Striche Beine und Schwanz angefügt sind, und später von hier aus auf die selbständigen Schmuckrinden übertragen (Abb. 196 c, 197).

Auf die Ähnlichkeit mit diesem Tier kam man, weil man es täglich über die Rinde der Bäume kriechen sah, weil es dann — wie viele Eidechsen — annähernd eckige Umrisse zeigte und vor allem, weil es — wie ich vermute — früher einmal eine ebensolche Rolle in der Religion der Pangwe gespielt hat wie bei den alten Ägyptern, die den Varan deshalb verehrten, weil er Krokodileier fraß. Das Krokodil aber galt offenbar — da es im Sumpf bzw. Wasser

lebte (vgl. Abschnitt XI) und außerdem den Menschen gefährlich wurde — als Vertreter des bösen Prinzips, infolgedessen der krokodilvernichtende Varan — der in der Luft, d. h. auf Bäumen lebte — wahrscheinlich als Vertreter des guten. Deshalb ist wohl auch der Varan bei den Pangwe in die Menschenklasse befördert worden, ebenso wie das **Sciurus wilsoni** *(küe III)*, das gleichfalls Eier von Tieren, die im Sumpfe leben, frißt. Ein Gegenstück zu diesen beiden ist das Ichneumon, das Hühnereier verzehrt und, da das Huhn ein heiliges Tier ist, weil es das gute Prinzip versinnlicht (vgl. Abschnitt XI, 4), geradezu „Verbrecher" = *nsǫm I* genannt wird.

Abb. 198. Blatt der Sumpfpalme, **Sclerosperma manii.**

Das Dreieck haben wir in zwei Formen, als Scheiteldreiecke und als rechtwinkliges Dreieck. Erstere sind die häufigsten, kommen überall auf Rindenplatten vor und entstehen, wenn beim Hausbau zwei diagonal gekreuzte Raphiablattstielstreifen in die Erde oder unter die Latten gesteckt werden, um die als Tür dienenden bzw. zum Verstopfen von Löchern vorgelegten Rindenstücke festzuklemmen, eine Befestigungsart, die in früheren Zeiten wahrscheinlich häufiger und bei den Hauswänden selbst angewendet wurde (Abb. 196 d). Wie bei der Raute ist auch hier der Übergang von den technischen Formgebilden zum stehenden Ornament noch zu beobachten: man steckt vielfach zum Schmuck Kreuze aus kurzen Stengelstreifen einzeln oder in größerer Zahl nebeneinander unter die Latten der Hauswände.

Wurde statt der zwei gekreuzten nur ein Diagonalstreifen über die Rindenplatte gelegt, so war das rechtwinklige Dreieck da (Abb. 196 e).

Die Linie kommt vor als Parallellinien, als Schlangenlinie und als Bogen.

Die Parallellinien ergeben sich aus den bündelweise aus dem Wald auf den Hausbauplatz geschafften Palmenstämmchen, **Oncocalamus** *(nlǫn I)*, wenn die Bündel hier gelöst werden, und die glatten und elastischen Stämmchen mehr oder weniger stark wellenförmig gekrümmt parallel zu liegen kommen (Abb. 196 f). Die gleiche Lagerung kommt bei den aus den Palmenstämmchen hergerichteten Bändern zustande, nur daß diese weniger elastisch sind und daher gerade Linien bilden (Abb. 196 g). Beide Arten der Parallellinien, sowohl die wellenförmigen wie die geraden, sind von hier aus auf die Schmuckrinden übertragen.

Abb. 199. Kistenmuster auf einer Zierrindenplatte.

Die Schlangenlinie denke ich mir herausgesehen aus der Nahtlinie, in der Latten und Rindenplatten der Hauswände miteinander vernäht sind, und zwar dann, wenn diese Latten dicht an dicht übereinander liegen. (vgl. Abb. 35). Das Tau wird hierbei gleichlaufend so um die Latten geführt, daß es eine einzige, zusammenhängende und, von der Seite gesehen, wegen der natürlichen Rundung des längs halbierten Raphiablattstiels stark wellenförmige Linie bildet (Abb. 196 h).

Der Bogen erscheint als ein Teil der Schlangenlinie, gebildet von der Umschnürung der einzelnen Latten, zumal da, wo sie nicht dicht übereinander, wie im vorigen Falle, sondern in weiten Zwischenräumen angebracht werden (Taf. XII) oder als ein Abschnitt der schon auf die Schmuckrinde als Ornament übertragenen Schlangenlinie (Abb. 196 i).

Die Gräte gibt die hübschen, in Bau und Form völlig symmetrischen Blätter der Sumpfpalme, **Selerosperma mannii** M. et Wendl. *(akōda)*, Abb. 198, wieder, die mattenartig verflochten an Stelle von Rinden zu Hauswänden usw. (vgl. Abb. 106, Taf. 24) benutzt werden (Abb. 196 k).

Die genannten Grundmuster kommen nun auf den heutigen Schmuckrinden nicht in gleicher Häufigkeit (Rechteck allein gar nicht, rechtwinkliges Dreieck und Gräte nur einmal, Schlangenlinie selten) und nicht mehr überall in derselben Reinheit vor, sondern sind zum Teil verändert, d. h. zu gleichartig abgewandelten Mustern geworden.

Das Rechteck habe ich nur einmal abgewandelt gesehen, und zwar so, daß mehrere verschieden große Rechtecke ineinandergelegt waren (Abb. 200 Reihe *a*, 199). Man nannte es Kistenmuster (*ezima* = Kiste). Es wurde nur ein einziges Mal beobachtet, und das beweist mir mit der Unvollkommenheit der Ausführung, daß die Entwicklung nicht bei den Schmuckrinden, sondern bei der Holzschnitzerei entstanden und später gleichsam versuchsweise auf jene übertragen worden ist.

Bei den Scheiteldreiecken kann es vorkommen, daß der Schnittpunkt wegfällt oder gewissermaßen in zwei Punkte auseinandergezogen wird, vielleicht, weil bei Mangel an Material jede Diagonale aus zwei Stücken zusammengesetzt wurde (Abb. 200 Reihe *b*). Dadurch entsteht ein Muster, als dessen Name mir bei den Schemelverzierungen, wo es auch vorkommt, Hauerscheidenmuster *(abōm nkpwēda)* angegeben wurde, und das in der Tat einer Hauerscheide (vgl. Abschnitt XVII) ähnlich sieht, es ist jedoch nur selten.

Das einfache spitzwinklige Dreieck entsteht einmal durch Trennung der Scheiteldreiecke im Schnittpunkt (Abb. 200 Reihe *c*), das andere Mal beim Aneinanderlegen zweier diagonal geteilter Rechtecke (Abb. 200 Reihe *d*) durch Weglassen der gemeinsamen Längskante.

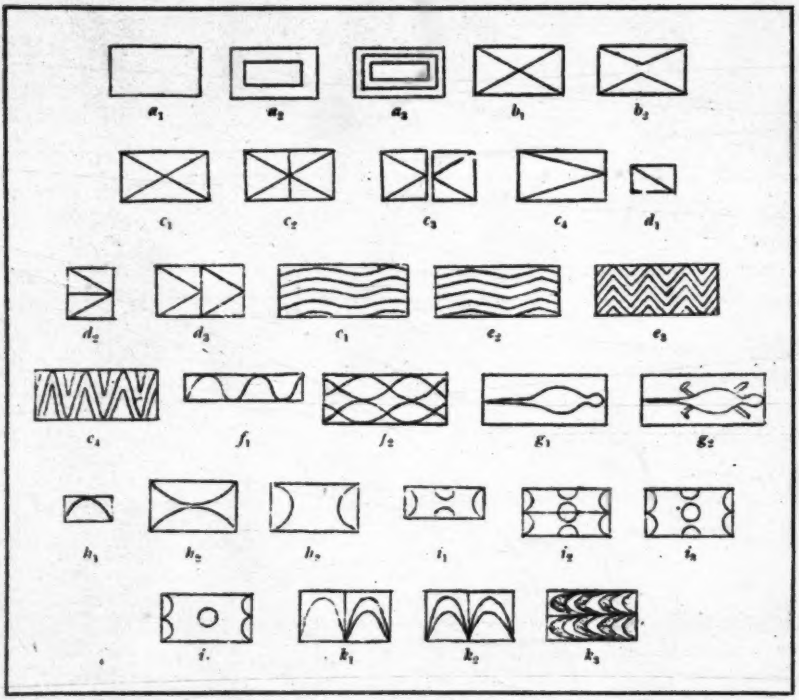


Abb. 200. Entwicklungsreihe der abgewandelten Muster der Rindenzierkunst.

Sämtliche Dreiecke, sowohl die Scheiteldreiecke und das einfache spitzwinklige Dreieck, als auch das rechtwinklige, werden meist als *elòn akòò* = halber Speer, d. h. Speerklinge, bezeichnet.

Die Parallellinien wandeln sich so ab, daß bei der Befestigung der Palmbänder auf den Rinden scharfe Knickungen entstehen, und die Wellenlinien dadurch zu gebrochenen Linien werden (Abb. 200 e). Sie wurden mir dann in manchen Fällen als Winkelflechtmuster bezeichnet; auf Pangwe: *benige be nkòn* oder *mabòge me nkòn*, d. h. Winkel (Knicke) des Aufbewahrungskörbchens für Frauen, womit das ähnliche Flechtmuster gemeint ist (vgl. Abb. 166).

Die Schlangenlinie bildet sich zum abgewandelten Muster um durch Verdoppelung, wobei die beiden Linien sich überschneiden (Abb. 200 f), und weiterhin zu dem stilisierten Bilde eines Leoparden *(zō)*, Abb. 200 g, wobei der psychologische Vorgang dem bei dem Varanmuster beschriebenen entspricht (Abb. 201). Die eigentümliche, sonst nicht verständliche Zeichnung neben dem Schwanze

in Abb. 201, links, läßt die Entwicklung noch erkennen. Hier liegt der Ausgangspunkt für eine Reihe weiterer Tiermotive der Pangwe-Ornamentik, z. B. Abb. 201 unten, die wahrscheinlich ein Chamäleon *(dzingbwö)* darstellt.

Der Bogen kommt gleichfalls doppelt vor, und zwar entweder mit den Wölbungen einander gegenübergestellt (*epfoa* = Maske beim Ssokult), Abb. 200 Reihe *h*, oder mit der Grundlinie aneinandergelegt, dann entsteht durch Fortfall der gemeinsamen Basis der Kreis (Abb. 200 Reihe *i*), oder endlich zu zweien übereinander auf derselben Basis errichtet, so daß dazwischen ein halbmondförmiges Feld entsteht (*epfá ngomendan* = Halbmond), Abb. 200 Reihe *k*). Mehrere solcher Halbmonde werden übereinander gestellt und abwechselnd rot und weiß bemalt, zu Reihen vereinigt, von denen zwei oder mehrere nebeneinandergestellt ein beliebtes und hübsches Muster ergeben.

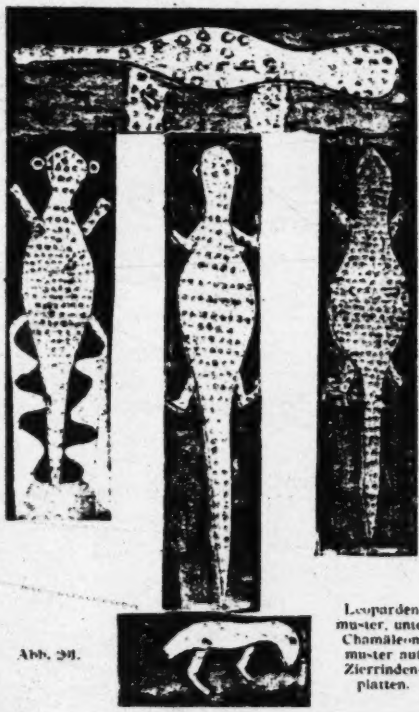


Abb. 98. Leopardenmuster, unten Chamäleonmuster auf Zierrindenplatten.

Aus der Verbindung von Grundmustern oder abgewandelten Mustern ergeben sich — wie schon gesagt — die zusammengesetzten. Für die vorkommenden Formen verweise ich auf die Abb. 202 und bemerke nur, daß die häufigste Verbindung das Scheiteldreieck mit dem Bogen ist, der meist auf der Grundfläche des spitzwinkligen, seltener auf derjenigen des stumpfwinkligen steht.

Eine vereinzelte Erscheinung unter den Schmuckrinden ist die zu einem Kopf mit zwei Hörnern zurechtgeschnittene der Abb. 204 geblieben, eine stilisierte Wiedergabe der beim Mondkult gebrauchten Maske *(epfoa)*, deren Einzelheiten durch bogen- bzw. schlangenförmige Windungen von Palmbändern angedeutet sind.

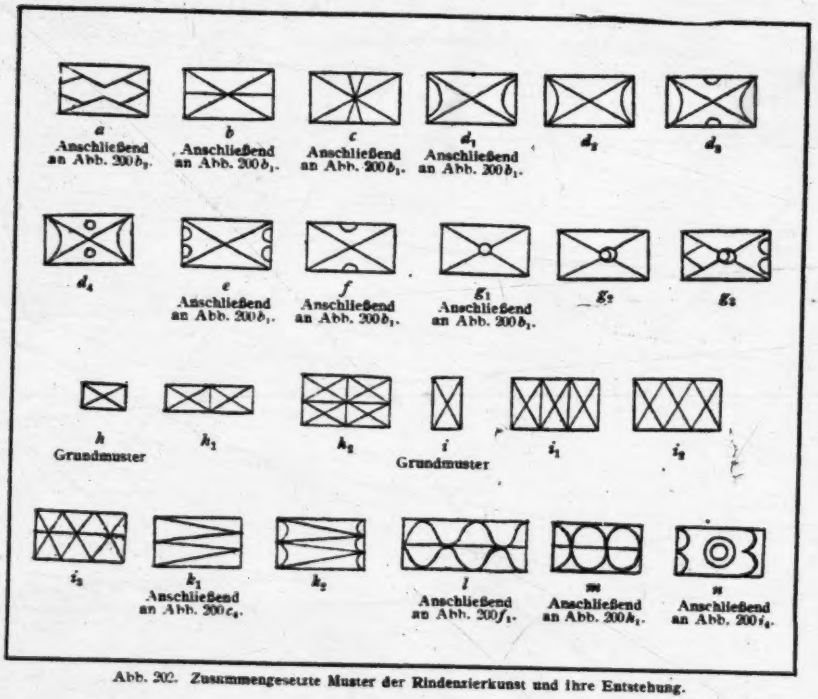


Abb. 202. Zusammengesetzte Muster der Rindenzierkunst und ihre Entstehung.

2. Kerbschnittmuster.

Mit Kerbschnitt sind die Schemel, die in Schemelform gearbeiteten Rotholzbehälter, die Stiele vieler Rühr- und mancher Schöpflöffel und schließlich die Felltrommeln verziert.

Die Schemelmuster sind wahrscheinlich die ältesten; sie werden rings um den Rand des Schemels so angebracht, daß ihn ein Band von acht bis zwölf rechteckigen oder quadratischen nebeneinandergestellten Feldern umzieht, deren jedes ein Muster für sich bildet, das von dem benachbarten scharf getrennt ist. Der Schemelrand entspricht, wie wir bei der Technik sahen, dem Rund des Baumstammes, aus dem er gemacht wird, so ist auch die Verzierung, die ursprünglich auf der Rinde angebracht wurde, später auf das Holz übertragen worden, und wir begegnen hier denselben Grundmustern wie dort, nämlich dem Rechteck, der Raute, dem Varan, den Scheiteldreiecken, dem ungleichseitigen Dreieck, den Parallellinien — mit der Einschränkung, daß die Parallellinie nicht als gewellte, sondern nur als gerade vorkommt, als solche aber in verschiedenen Abarten (Abb. 205) —, dem Bogen und der Gräte. Die Schlangen-

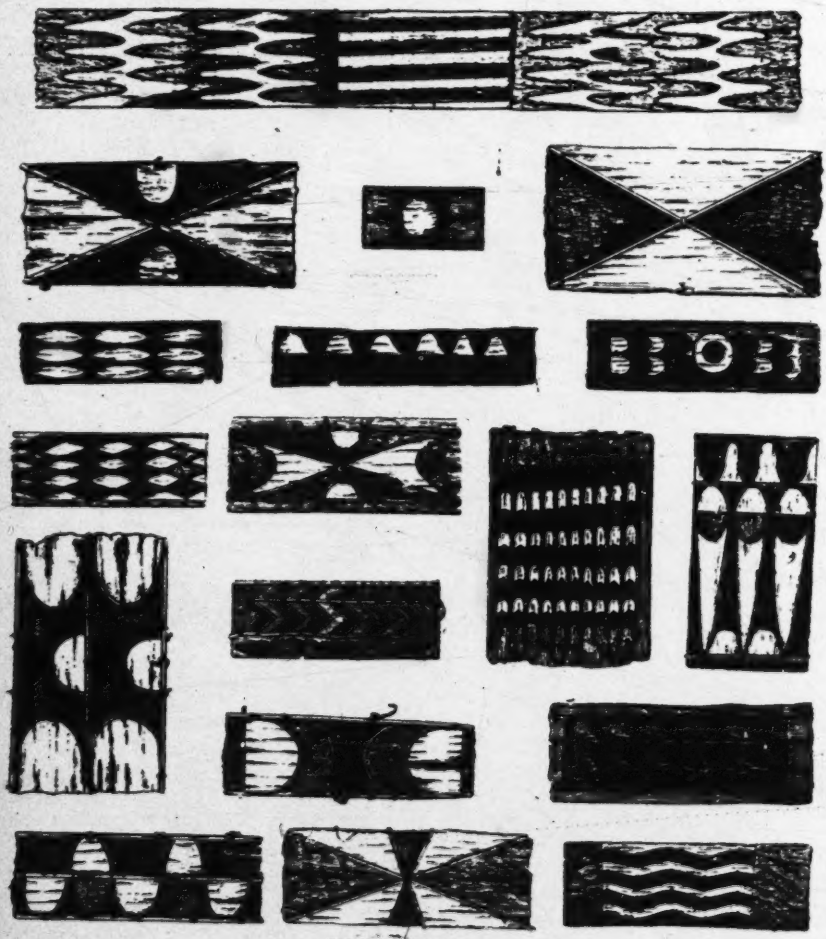


Abb. 208. Zierfaden.

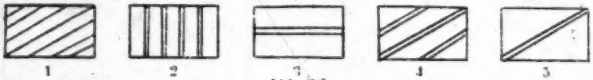
linie ist aufgegeben, dagegen tritt neu auf das Schachbrett, der Speer mit Widerhaken und schließlich noch ein nicht genauer bestimmbares Ellipsenmuster.

In dem Schachbrettmuster (*abön nkoo* = Zuckerrohrstengelglieder genannt) begegnen wir dem ersten Grundmuster, das nicht bei der Arbeit des Hausbauens, sondern bei der Flechterei erfunden ist (Abb. 206). Beide Tätigkeiten sind aber eng verwandt, gewissermaßen zwei verschiedene Formen einer Technik, nämlich des Flechtens im weiteren Sinne, das Haus„flechten" = *a lön ndä* ist die ältere, einfachere, das Körbe- (bzw. Matten-)flechten = *a lön nkö,g* die jüngere, fort-

geschrittenere, zu beiden wird in der Hauptsache das gleiche Material: Palmbänder *(nlów)* benutzt. Die einfachste Art der Geflechte ist die, daß die Geflechtstreifen einer Richtung, reihenweise abwechselnd, einmal unter und einmal über die der anderen Richtung, die genau rechtwinklig zu jener verläuft, geführt werden.

Abb. 34. Zierrinden in Form von „Masken".

Dadurch entsteht ein Würfelmuster, das bei gleichartigem Material einfarbig (Matten, Ssokörbchen), bei ungleichartigem wie unsere Schachbretter verschiedenfarbig ist (Aufbewahrungskörbchen der Jaundefrauen, Abb. 207, Gestell für Helmmützen). Man vergleicht die abwechselnde Folge dunkler und heller Quadrate in den einzelnen Reihen mit dem Zuckerrohrstengel, dessen Glieder in der oberen Hälfte heller zu sein pflegen als in der unteren (Abb. 208).



1 2 3 4 5

Abb. 36.

Der Speer mit Widerhaken *(ngam akoń)* kann, im Gegensatz zu den vorigen Mustern nicht aus der Technik abgeleitet werden, ich glaube auch gar nicht, daß er ursprünglich ein Schnitzmuster ist, zumal er auf den Schemeln selten vorkommt (Abb. 40), sondern ich vermute, daß er bei der Ziernarbenritzung zuerst auftauchte und sich später wegen seiner gefälligen Form auch einen Platz unter den Schnitzmustern eroberte.

Abb. 37. Aufbewahrungskörbchen der Jaundefrauen aus Blattstreifen des Schraubenbaumes.

Abb. 206.

Ein einziges Muster, aus Ellipsen bestehend, konnte von keinem Schemelschnitzer erklärt werden; man sagte, nur der Spezialist, der das Muster anzufertigen verstehe, könne es wissen. Diesen aber habe ich nicht getroffen, und so muß ich es späterer Forschung überlassen, hier Aufklärung zu schaffen (Abb. 212, Fig. 27).

Abb. 208. Stücke des Zuckerrohrstengels.

Abb. 209.

Auch bei den Schemelmustern findet sich eine Entwicklung der Grundmuster und zwar ist sie zum kleineren Teil auf der Stufe der Schmuckrinden stehen geblieben und zeigt genau dieselben Bilder wie dort, zum größeren Teil ist sie erheblich weiter gediehen und hat eine reiche Fülle von neuen Bildern hervorgebracht. zu abgewandelten Mustern,

Es kehren wieder das Kistenmuster *(eźima)* — rein oder in verschiedenen Abarten (Abb. 209 a) —, die aus aneinandergesetzten Rauten bestehende Schachbrettfläche *(ndōk)*, das Hauerscheidenmuster *(abə́m nkpwē,da)* — rein und in einer Abart (Abb. 209 b) —, das spitzwinklige Dreieck, Speerklingenmuster *(etǎn akǎn)*, das Winkelflechtmuster *(benige be nkǎn)*, Abb. 209 c, und das Maskenmuster *(epfoa)*.

Von gleichartig abgewandelten Mustern treten neu auf:

Das Feilenmuster (*zane wís* von *zane* = Eingravierung, *wís* = Feile) aus aneinandergesetzten kleinen Rauten, die nicht betont sind (Abb. 211 a). Der Künstler sieht nicht das Feld, sondern die Umrisse und vergleicht diese deshalb mit den eingravierten, sich regelmäßig schneidenden Linien der gerauhten Feile.

Das Kauristrangmuster *(nlǎn e mvama)*. Auf der Fläche der Rauten wird jede zweite Reihe der übereinanderstehenden Rauten durch einen Längsstreifen halbiert, ursprünglich eine Vereinigung von Raute und Parallellinie (Abb. 211 b), in die man aufgereihte Kauris hineingesehen hat. Die Ähnlichkeit beider zeigt Abb. 210. Es erscheint mir möglich, daß hierbei noch eine andere Beziehung der Kauri zur Raute mitspricht. Die Togoneger z. B. (nach mündlicher Mitteilung des Herrn Missionars C. Spieß) erkennen in der Kauri das Bild der Vulva wieder, den Pangwe war als solches von jeher die Raute vertraut, sie erkannten deshalb nach Einführung der Kauri sofort die Ähnlichkeit mit der Raute und übertrugen auf jene die Symbolik der letzteren. Wie in Togo gilt sie bei den Pangwe als glückbringendes Zeichen und wird als solches auf Medizinhörnchen angebracht oder an Stellnetzen als Jagdmedizin aufgehängt. Ein ebenso glückbringendes Zeichen ist ihnen die Raute, die sie sich mit Rotholz (glückbringende Farbe!) auf die Haut malen oder als bleibendes Muster tätowieren. Wir haben hier einen bemerkenswerten Widerspruch der Anschauung. Der Geschlechtsakt wurde, wie wir gesehen haben, bei der Ngonaussaat als ein Fruchtbarkeit fördernder Vorgang ausgeübt,

Abb. 210.
Kauristränge.

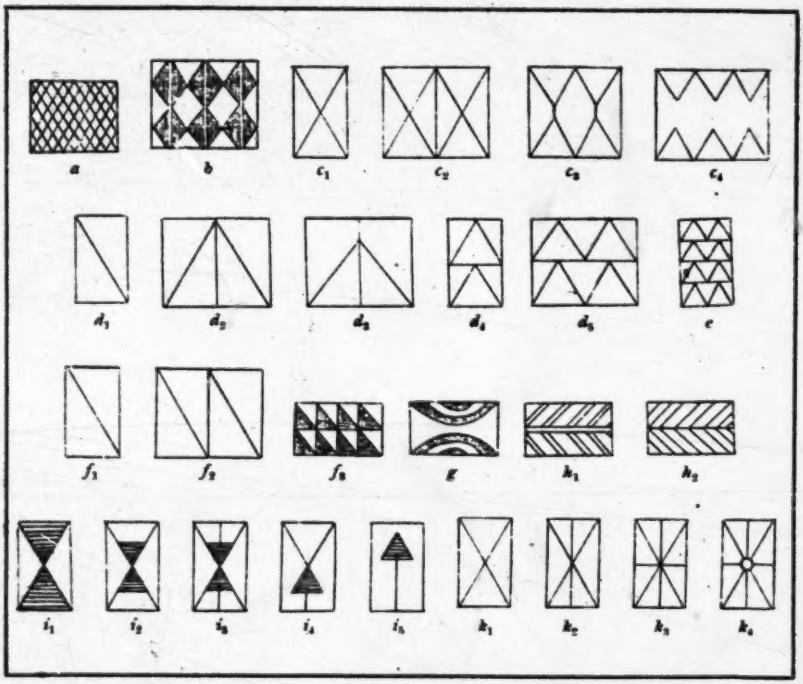


Abb. 211. Entwicklungsreihen der abgewandelten Muster der Kerbschnittkunst.

bei der Eisenverhüttung im Gegenteil als ein störender streng verboten. Die unglückbringende Bedeutung alles Geschlechtlichen überwiegt durchaus, und ich glaube daher, daß wir es hier mit zwei zeitlich verschiedenen Anschauungen zu tun haben, einer, die nur noch in Resten erkennbar ist, älteren vom Einfluß und von der Beeinflussung der Fruchtbarkeit und einer später entstandenen oder hinzugekommenen von der Sündhaftigkeit des Geschlechtsverkehrs.

Das Pfeilblattmuster (*esigele ndu* = Blatt der Flugsicherung an den Armbrustpfeilen).

Das Spitzenmuster (*mesön* = Spitzen oder *mesön m'egbwe̱le* = Spitzen des Eisengeldes).

Beide bestehen aus einer Anzahl von Dreiecken, entstanden entweder als Endglieder der Entwicklungsreihe *c* (Abb. 211), ausgehend von den Scheiteldreiecken, oder der Reihe *d*, ausgehend von dem rechtwinkligen Dreieck. Sind die Dreiecke breitbasig, und zwar entweder leer oder mit ineinandergestellten, auf derselben Grundfläche errichteten Dreiecken ausgefüllt, so heißen sie „Pfeil-

blätter", sind sie schmalbasig, „Spitzen"; auch findet man besonders für letztere Form, wenn die Dreiecke groß sind und infolgedessen nebeneinander, nicht reihenweise übereinander stehen, die Bezeichnung „Speerklingen" *(elan akon)*.

Das Schuppentierschwanzmuster *(ngem e ka')* entwickelt sich aus dem breitbasigen, spitzwinkligen Dreieck durch Übereinanderstellen mehrerer paralleler Reihen kleinerer Dreiecke (Abb. 211 e).

Das Kerbmuster *(zan e mrot* von *zan* = Schnitzerei, Kerbschnitt, und *mrot* = Raphiainstrument, dessen Steg gekerbt ist) entwickelt sich aus dem diagonal geteilten Rechteck durch Aneinandersetzen mehrerer Reihen von solchen mit gleichgerichteten Diagonalen, in denen durch Ausheben der einen Hälfte die entsprechenden Dreiecke betont sind (Abb. 211 f).

Das Regenbogenmuster (*metartem* = Regenbögen). Zwei Bögen werden mit der Wölbung einander gegenübergestellt, in jeder werden weitere Bogenlinien konzentrisch eingefügt und die Zwischenräume meist abwechselnd betont (Abb. 211 g).

Das Fischgrätenmuster *(okan e ks)* entsteht aus dem Sumpfpalmenblattmuster durch Vereinfachung der Bänder zu Linien (Abb. 211 h).

Von ungleichartig abgewandelten Mustern treten auf:

Der Dreieckspeer *(mba[s]-akon)*, eine Zusammensetzung von Scheiteldreiecken und Linie, als Ergebnis einer Entwicklung, die Abb. 211, Reihe *i* zeigt.

Das Spinnennetzmuster *(ndanebobo)*, eine Zusammensetzung von Scheiteldreiecken und Kreis (vgl. Abb. 210 Reihe *k*).

Wie auf den Schmuckrinden werden auch im Kerbschnitt, nur viel häufiger, die Muster zu zusammengesetzten vereinigt, sei es, daß man zwei aneinandersetzt (z. B. Bogen- und Fischgrätenmuster, Abb. 212 Fig. 9, und Sumpfpalmenblatt- und Rautenmuster, Abb. 212 Fig. 26) oder ineinandersetzt, so zeigen Abb. 212 Fig. 16 das Kistenmuster, darin ein zusammengesetztes Tätowiermuster (Scheiteldreiecke und Linie), Fig. 8 dasselbe, darin ein Tier, das meistens als Katze erklärt wurde, Fig. 40 dasselbe, darin ein Dreieckspeer. Sehr häufig ist die Verbindung von Dreieck und Bogen, und zwar wird entweder der Bogen auf die Grundlinie des meist langausgezogenen spitzwinkligen Dreiecks, in dieses hineingestellt (Abb. 212 Fig. 3 u. 45), oder umgekehrt das Dreieck wird in den Bogen gesetzt, so daß seine Spitze in die Mitte der Bogenbasis und die Dreiecksbasis in die Bogenlinie fällt (Abb. 212 Fig. 45).

Gern füllt man ein Dreieck oder einen abgeflachten Bogen mit dem Fischgrätenmuster (Abb. 212 Fig. 11, 13) aus oder vereinigt zwei der letzteren miteinander, oder man teilt ein Muster in zwei Hälften und schiebt ein zweites

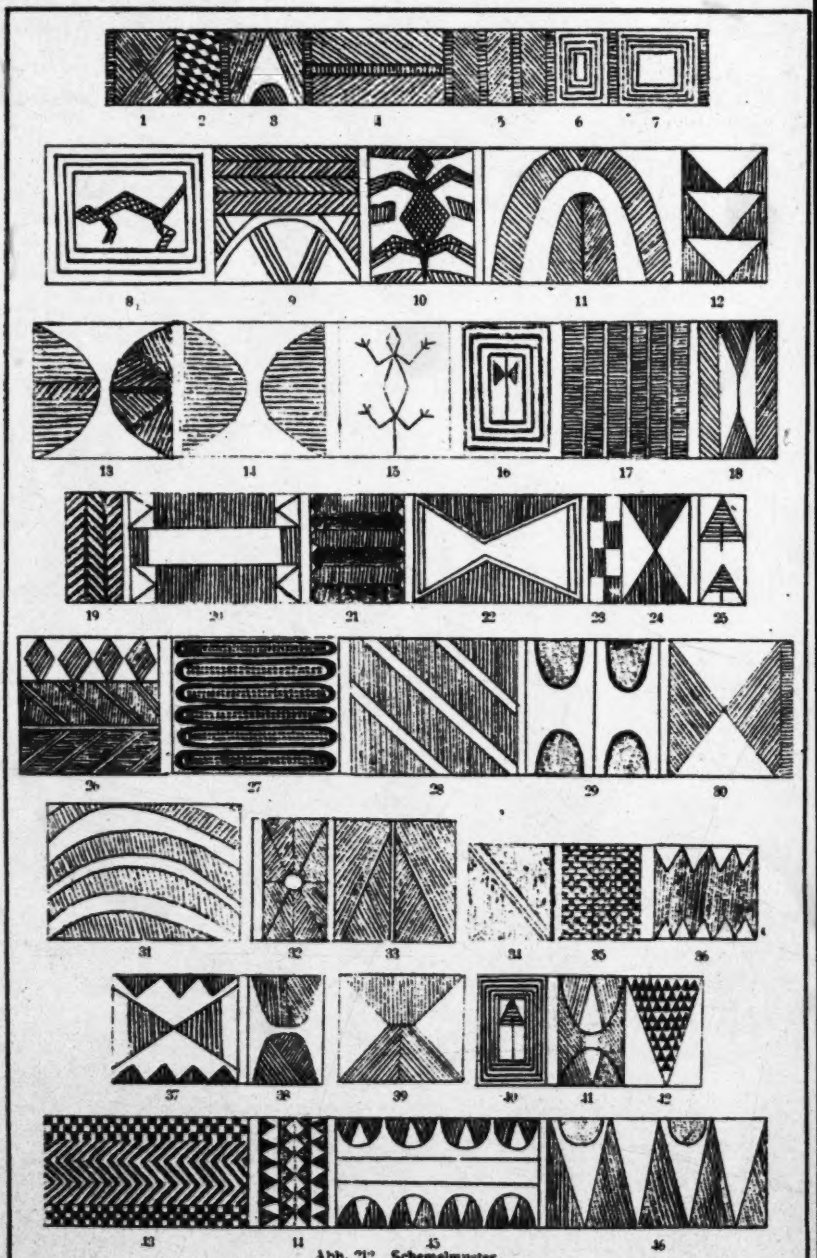


Abb. 212. Schemelmuster.

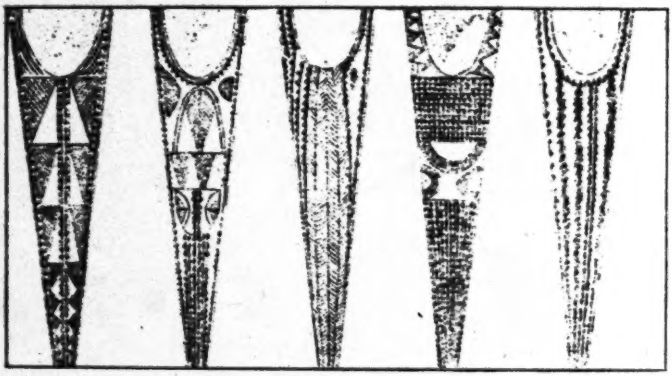


Fig. 1.

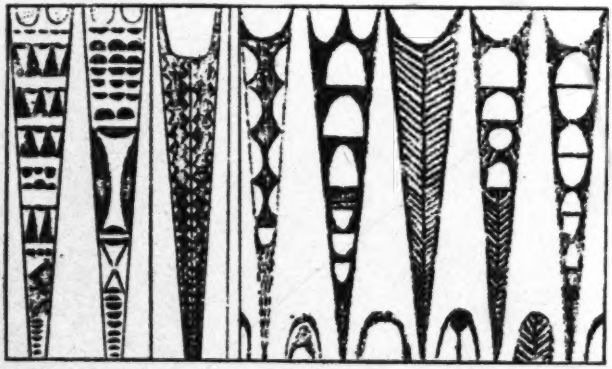


Fig. 2.

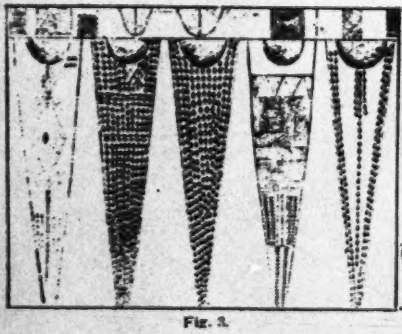


Fig. 3.

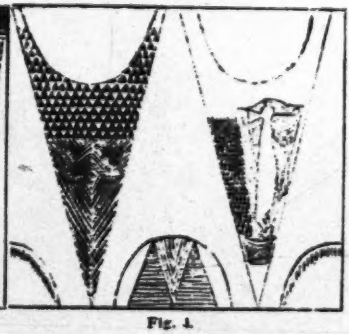


Fig. 4.

Abb. [illegible] Muster von Feltrommeln (abgerollt).

dazwischen, wie in Abb. 212 Fig. 44, wo ein Kauristrangmuster in ein anderes, und Fig. 43, wo ein Sumpfpalmenblattmuster in ein Schachbrettmuster eingeschoben ist. Besonders an letzterem Beispiel ist sehr gut zu erkennen, daß das eine Muster tatsächlich eingeschoben ist, und nicht etwa oben und unten zwei andere Muster an das erste gesetzt sind.

Alle genannten Muster sind, außer auf den Schemeln, auf den Stielen der Rührlöffel — nur in Anpassung an den Raum kleiner und weniger sauber ausgeführt —, sehr selten an denen der Schöpflöffel angebracht. Dagegen sind manche Felltrommeln in hervorragend künstlerischer Weise verziert, vielleicht darf man sagen, daß das erste Feld von Fig. 1 Abb. 213 einen Triumph der Kerbschnitzerei darstellt. So wie bei dieser sind bei allen großen Felltrommeln der Pangwe die Schnitzmuster auf erhabenen Dreiecksfeldern zwischen oberem und unterem Trommelring (der oft in gleicher Weise verziert ist) angebracht. Diese Felder reichen bei den Ntum und Fang über den ganzen Mantel des Trommelzylinders, so daß ihre Basis oben, ihre Spitze unten liegt; bei den Mwai wird die Mantelfläche durch einen Ring in zwei Hälften geteilt, die mit nach der Mitte gerichteten Dreiecken ausgefüllt sind (Abb. 214). Die Verzierung selbst ist bei ihnen viel einfacher.

Bei den Mwai sah ich übrigens einen Hauspfahl, der mit ähnlichen Mustern in gleicher Anordnung wie die Trommeln beschnitzt war.

Abb. 214. Trommel der Mwai aus Makên (Fam. Sebö), Neu-Kamerun.

3. Ritzmuster.

a) Ziernarben.

Die Muster der durch Schnitt entstandenen Ziernarben sind nicht reichhaltig, es gibt nur etwa ein Dutzend. Sie kehren ständig in derselben Form wieder und zeigen keine Neigung zu wesentlicher Abwandlung.

Von den ursprünglichen Grundmustern sind auf sie übernommen worden das von einer Diagonale durchzogene Rechteck (hier *esń[s]-mrńń* = Halbmuster genannt), Abb. 215 Fig. 9, die geraden Parallellinien (hier *mekön* = Führungsstöcke genannt), Abb. 214 Fig. 10, oft vereinfacht zur einfachen Linie *l*, und der Bogen *a* (hier *makṣ* = Bögen genannt); von gleichartig abgewandelten Mustern das spitzwinklige Dreieck *b* (*ndü-mbön* = Pfeilblatt) und der Kreis *c* (hier *alṇk* = Strudel genannt); von ungleichartig abgewandelten Mustern der Dreieckspeer *d* (*mbṇ[s]-akönń*). Bekannt ist uns auch der Widerhakenspeer *e* (*ngam-akönń*), von dem ich bereits gesagt habe, daß er bei den Ziernarben entstanden ist, und zwar wahrscheinlich aus einer

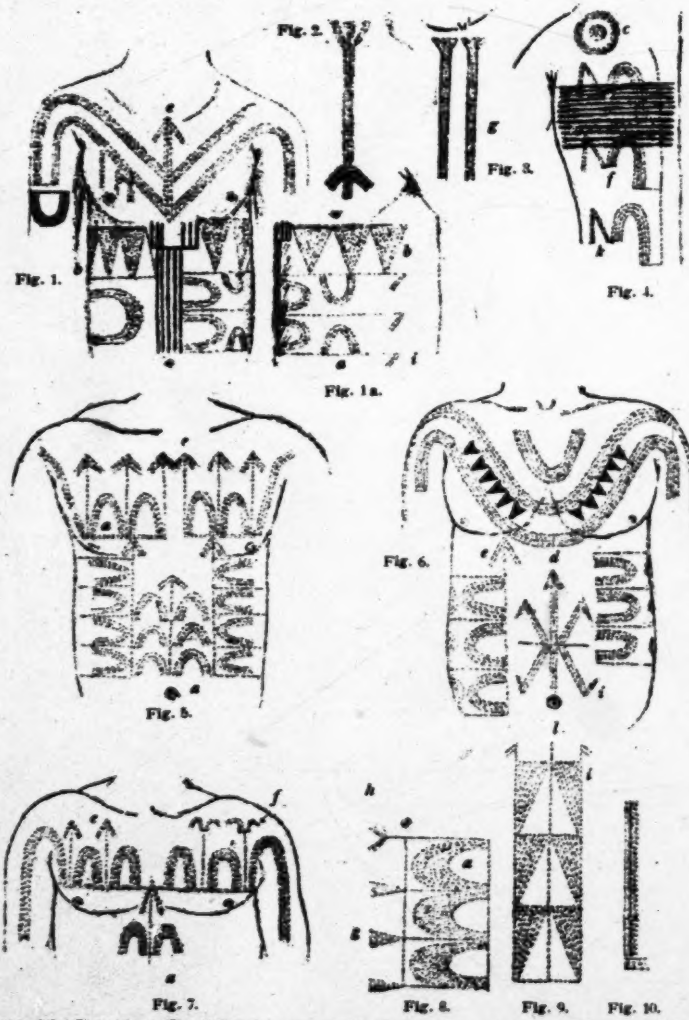


ABB. 215. Ziernarben. Fig. 1 Essabok, von vorne. Fig. 1a ders., Bauch von der rechten Seite. Fig. 2 Jaunde, Nacken und Rücken. Fig. 3 Essanong unter der Brust. Fig. 4 Schumu, linke Rückenhälfte. Fig. 5 Schumu von vorne. Fig. 6 Okông von vorne. Fig. 7 Okông, Brust. Fig. 8 Schumu. Fig. 9 Essong. Fig. 10 Jemandschim. — Fig. 1, Fig. 4 und Fig. 6 sind z. T. tätowiert.

Verbindung der Linie (der abgewandelten geraden Parallellinie) mit der Figur des in ein Dreieck gesetzten Bogens (vgl. Abb. 212 Fig. 3), dessen Basis wegfällt. Neu sind:

von gleichartig abgewandelten Mustern: der unvollendete Bogen *f* (*erwda* = Biegung);

von ungleichartig abgewandelten Mustern: die Düse *g* = *żöp* (Dreieck mit Linie), der Strahl *h* = *nsäm* (Winkel, entstanden aus dem Hakenspeer durch Fortlassen des Stiels, mit oben angesetzter Linie) und der Haken *i* = *köb* (halber Winkel mit Linie).

Die fünf Muster: Stöcke, Düse, Haken, Strahl und Strudel stehen, wie ihre Namen beweisen, in enger Beziehung zur Eisentechnik und zum Feuer. In die Linie hat man den Führungsstock hineingesehen, der bei der Anlage des Schmelzofens die Öffnungen für die Düsen des Gebläses freihält, im Dreieck mit Linie, die in entsprechender Anordnung zufällig aneinandergesetzt waren, die Düse wiedererkannt. Derselbe Vorgang wiederholt sich bei dem Haken *(köb)*, mit dem der bei der Eisenverhüttung gebrauchte Schürhaken *(oköb)* gemeint ist, und beim Strudel *(atök)*, den man beobachtete, wenn man das heiße Metall zum Abkühlen in Wasser tauchte, und dieses zischend aufbrodelte (*a tök* = brodeln) und in Ringen auseinanderfloß, und endlich beim Strahl *(nsäm)*, der die offensichtlichste Lebensäußerung des Feuers wie der Sonne ist, und den man deshalb, weil der Arm das Sinnbild der Lebensäußerung ist, genau wie die alten Ägypter als Arm darstellt (vgl. Abb. 215 Fig. 8 *h* und Adolf Erman: „Die ägyptische Religion", Bild des Sonnengottes S. 78).

Ein mir als Tabakspfeife *(mrö-taa)* bezeichnetes Muster, das sich wohl ebenso wie das Düsenmuster aus Dreieck und Linie entwickelt hat, blieb ein vereinzelter Fall.

Nicht erklärt bekam ich ein Muster, das einen Winkel darstellt *(k)* und in Zusammenhang mit dem Dreieck steht.

Die Ziernarbenmuster kommen selten einzeln vor, in der Weise etwa, daß eins den Oberarm schmückt, ein zweites die Brust u. dgl., sondern meist in umfangreichen Zusammensetzungen, in denen die einzelnen Teile aber stets selbständig gesehen werden und ihren ursprünglichen Namen behalten, nur zweimal begegnete ich einer eigenen Bezeichnung für eine derartige Musterverbindung, aber auch sie schloß sich nicht an den Inhalt des Dargestellten an, sondern an den Ort, an dem das Muster angebracht war; das eine hieß Nabelteilung *(osa-döb)* [1]), war über dem Nabel angebracht (vgl. Abb. 215 Fig. 6) und bestand aus einem Querstock mit oben und unten angesetzten Haken, Dreieckspeeren, Stöcken und Bögen — offenbar hatte es früher tiefer, um den Nabel herum gelegen, so daß der Querstock durch den Nabel ging und ihn

[1]) *a sa* = spalten, teilen; *döb* = Nabel.

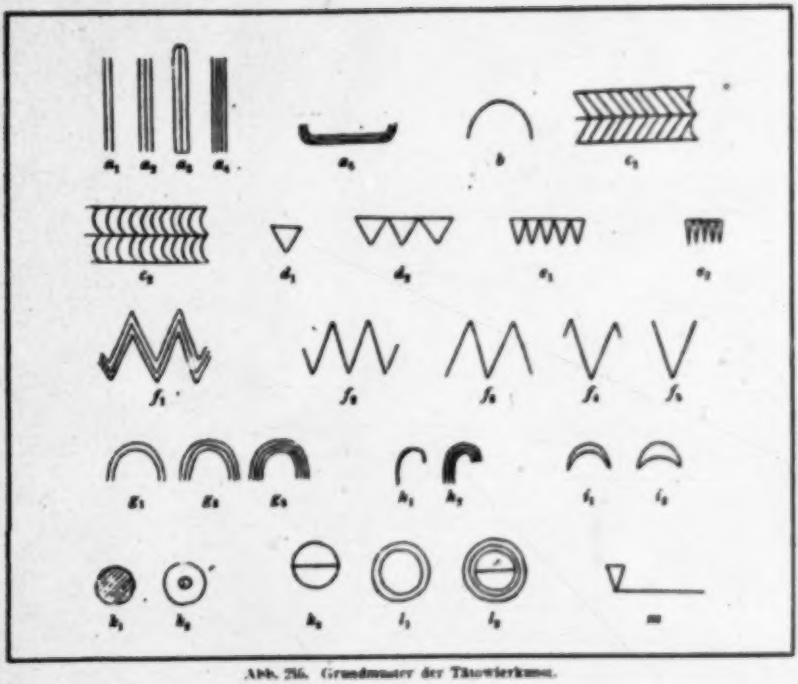


Abb. 216. Grundmuster der Tätowierung.

„teilte" —, das andere *(zāṣe abēm)* bestand in der Hauptsache aus Halbmustern (diagonalgeteilten Rechtecken) und trug seinen Namen nur deshalb, weil es für die Scheiden der Schwerter und zweischneidigen Messer bevorzugt wird (Abb. 215 Fig. 9).

Die Ziernarben bedeuten dem Fang einen vornehmen Schmuck, und können in der Tat, selbst mit den Augen eines Europäers betrachtet, schön und würdig genannt werden, besonders wenn sie in so außerordentlicher Regelmäßigkeit angeordnet sind, wie in Abb. 215 Fig. 5.

b) Tätowierung.

Die Entwicklung der Ornamentik ist in der Tätowierung weitergediehen, insofern die Grundmuster seltener, die abgewandelten häufiger und mannigfaltiger werden.

An Grundmustern (Abb. 216) kehren wieder Raute (hier als Einzelraute, *bendō be bą* = Raute aus Rotholz, vgl. Abb. 218, *c*, genannt), Varan *(nkook)*, gerade Parallellinien (hier ebenfalls *melōn* = Palmbänder oder *mekōn* = Stöcke,

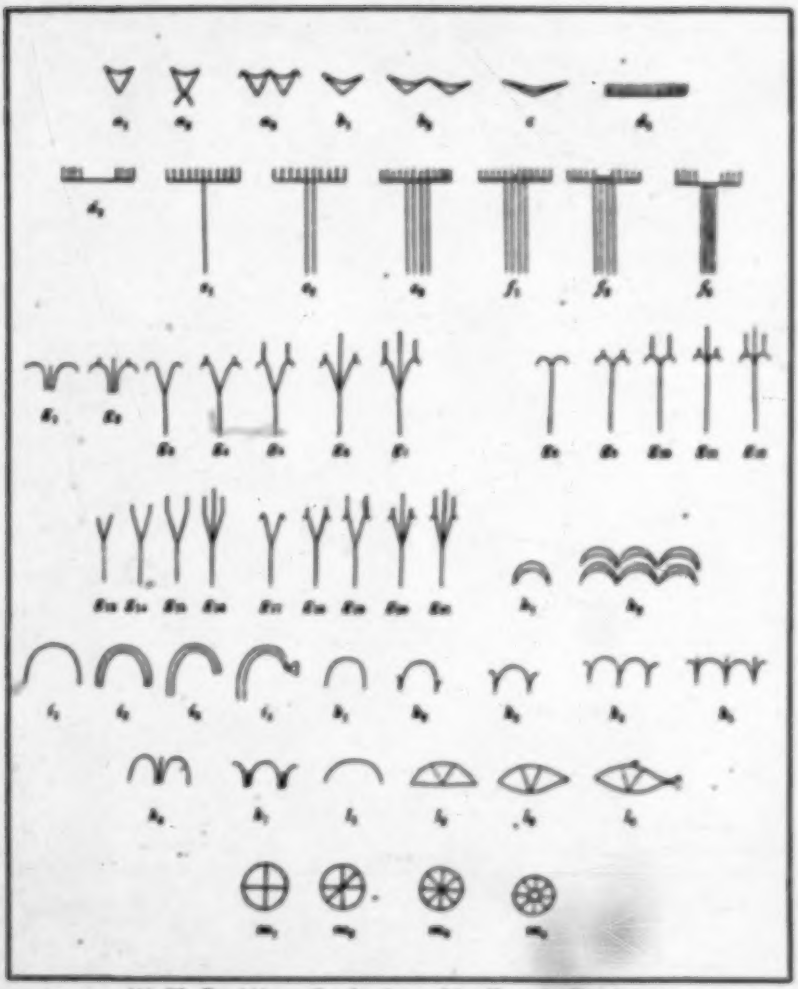


Abb. 25. Entwicklungsreihen der styro-radialen Muster der Tikuarbauen.

auch *mekón akoo* = Speerstiele oder *mekón e mosó* = Stöcke der Ziernarben genannt), *a*, Bogen (hier *ekólupo-ekputs* = Fallenbogen der Vogelfalle), *b*, und Gräte (*akoo e kjo* = Fischgeräte), hier zum Teil mit bogenförmigem Verlauf der Ästelungen, *c*; von gleichartig abgewandelten Mustern das Kistenmuster *(efima)*, das Pfeilblattmuster *(eníjele ndu)*, *d*, das Spitzenmuster *(mosió)*, *e*, das Korbeckenmuster *(mebége me nkón* = Korbecken oder *mekó* = Palm-

bänder), mit Rückbildung bis zum Winkel, *f*, parallele Bögen (hier ebenfalls *ekɔ̀ŋga nkpaɛ́ɔ* = Fallenbogen oder *melɔ́n* = Palmbänder oder *bemɔ́[k] be nkɔ̀ŋ* genannt), *g*, unvollendete parallele Bögen *(eɛ́ŋda)*, *h*, Halbmonde *(efɔ-ŋpimendin* = vgl. Rindenmuster), *i*, Kreis (hier *ndɔ́ŋge, ŋpimendin* = Vollmond genannt), *k*, und Strudel *(ɔ́ŋk)*, *l*; von ungleichartig abgewandelten Mustern Widerhakenspeer *(ŋpam ekɔ̀n)* und Pfeife *(mɛ́ɔ́ ton)*, *m*.

Neu treten auf (Abb. 217):

Der Vogelschwanz in drei Abarten, dem Milanschwanz *(ŋpɔ̀b-ɔ̀kɔ̀m)*, *a* 1—3, dem Drongoschwanz *(ŋpɔ̀b ɔ̀kɔ̀mɔ̀ke)* [1]), *b* 1. u. 2, und dem Schwalbenschwanz *(ɔ̀kɔ̀no e kàlɛŋmɔ)* [2]), *c*, entstanden aus dem ins Dreieck gesetzten Bogen ohne Basis. Diese Figur haben wir mit der Basis als zusammengesetztes Muster bei der Kerbschnitzerei und mit weggelassener Basis verbunden mit einem Strich als Widerhakenspeer unter den ungleichartig abgewandelten Mustern der Zierarben kennen gelernt.

Tränen einer Schönen *(mɛ́ɔ́ŋe me mbɔ̀n)*, eine einzelne Linie oder Parallellinien mit kursen auf der einen Seite rechtwinklig angesetzten Strichen, mit Vorliebe auf den Wangen angebracht, *d*.

Gabel *(ɔ̀kɔ́ɔ́)*, aus dem vorigen entwickelt durch Ansetzen von ein oder mehreren Stöcken, *e* 1—3.

Skorpion *(kɔ̀ɔ́ŋne)*, gleich dem vorigen mit einer Lücke in der Mitte der „Tränenzeile", *f* 1—3.

Affenschwanz *(ŋɔ̀m ɔ̀ɛ̀m)* [3]), aus Stock, in Verbindung mit Bogen oder Winkel, *g* 1—21. An diesem Beispiel sieht man besonders gut, wie das Auge des Negers von dem Tier gerade das Wesentliche erfaßt, hier den Schwanz und Hinterleib, denn tatsächlich sieht man von den Meerkatzen, wenn sie in der Ruhe sind, nur die von den Ästen herabhängenden Schwänze, was die Pointe folgenden Rätsels abgibt:

ɔ̀ɛ̀mɔ̀ ghɔ̀ɔ́ e bɔ̀le ma mɔ́ɔ́[k] m'ɔ̀ɛ̀ɔ́n.

Gelbbauch-meerkatze [4]), sie sitzt mir in der Verzweigung der Copaifera.

Antwort: *ɔ̀kɔ́-ɔ̀ɔ́* = Tau (Luftwurzeln) des Feigenbaums (Ficus).

Genau so war es bei der Schwalbe, wo der typische gabelförmige Schwanz den Anstoß zum Muster gab, und dasselbe werden wir beim Leoparden sehen, dessen Flecke, beim Nashornvogel, dessen Schnabel dem Muster den Namen gegeben haben.

---

[1]) Dicrurus coerulens Verr.
[2]) Psalidoprocne tessmanni Rchw.
[3]) *ŋɔ̀m* = Cercopithecus lhoesti Pocock, Weißnasenmeerkatze.
[4]) *ɔ̀ɛ̀mɔ̀* = Cercopithecus grayi Fraser.

Leopardenflecken *(zŏ)* F. oder Papageikrallen *(bigi, be kŏs)* Nt., eine Anzahl über- und nebeneinandergestellter Halbmonde, *h* 1—2.

Nashornvogelschnabel *(ngŏŏ* = Nashornvogel, **Ceratogymna atrata** Temm.), eine Biegung (unvollendeter Bogen) mit einem angesetzten Dreieck, *i* 1—4.

Froschbeine *(endm edźŋ)*[1]), eine Reihe nebeneinandergestellter Bogen mit senkrechten Linien zwischen ihnen, *k* 1—7.

Fisch **Barbus guirali** Thomin *(mŋŏ)*, aus Bogen und Dreieck entwickelt, wie Reihe *l* 1—4 zeigt, in der Vollendung aber nur einmal beobachtet.

Spinne *(abŋb)*, entstanden aus den in den Kreis gesetzten Scheitel-dreiecken, die, wie bei dem entsprechenden Schemelmuster, zum Teil längshalbiert sind, *m* 1—4.

An je einmal beobachteten Mustern seien erwähnt:

Eiserne Doppelschelle *(nkŏn)*, aus einem Bogen mit zwei angesetzten Dreiecken (Abb. 219 a), die ich an einem Küstenmwai sah, und die wohl entlehnt ist, da eine Doppelschelle bei den Pangwe nicht vorkommt.

Messer *(okŏŏ)*, das wohl in Anlehnung an das Rechteck (Kistenmuster) entstanden ist, vielleicht in Verbindung mit dem Dreieck, und das möglicherweise absichtlich einem europäischen Messer angeähnelt ist (Abb. 218 b).

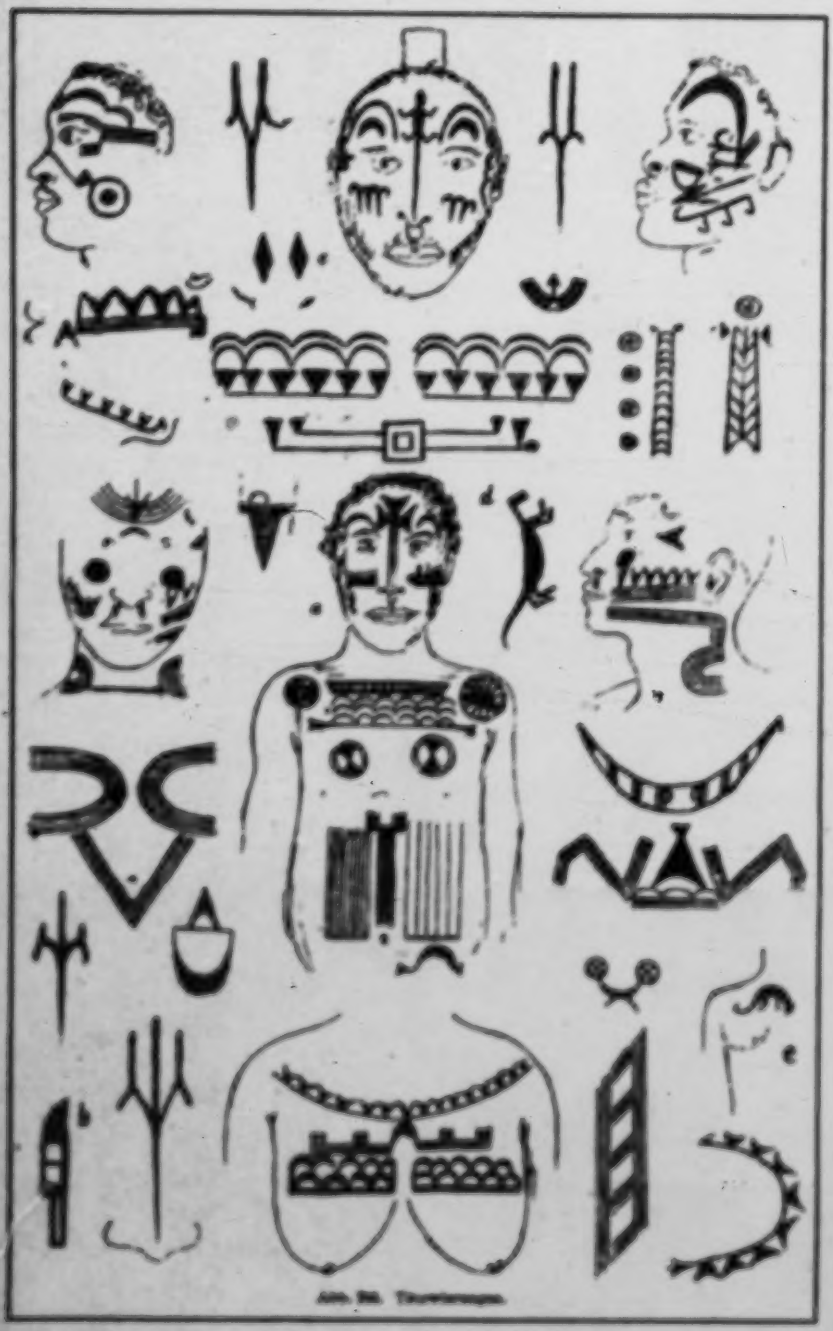
Seefisch *(kŏfs a mŏŏ)*, aus Kreis und Linien entstanden, die vermutlich eine Erinnerung an einen Seefisch, Seeschildkröte oder ähnliches ist, und die der Künstler hier in einen aus konzentrischen Kreisen gebildeten Strudel gesetzt hat (Abb. 219 c).

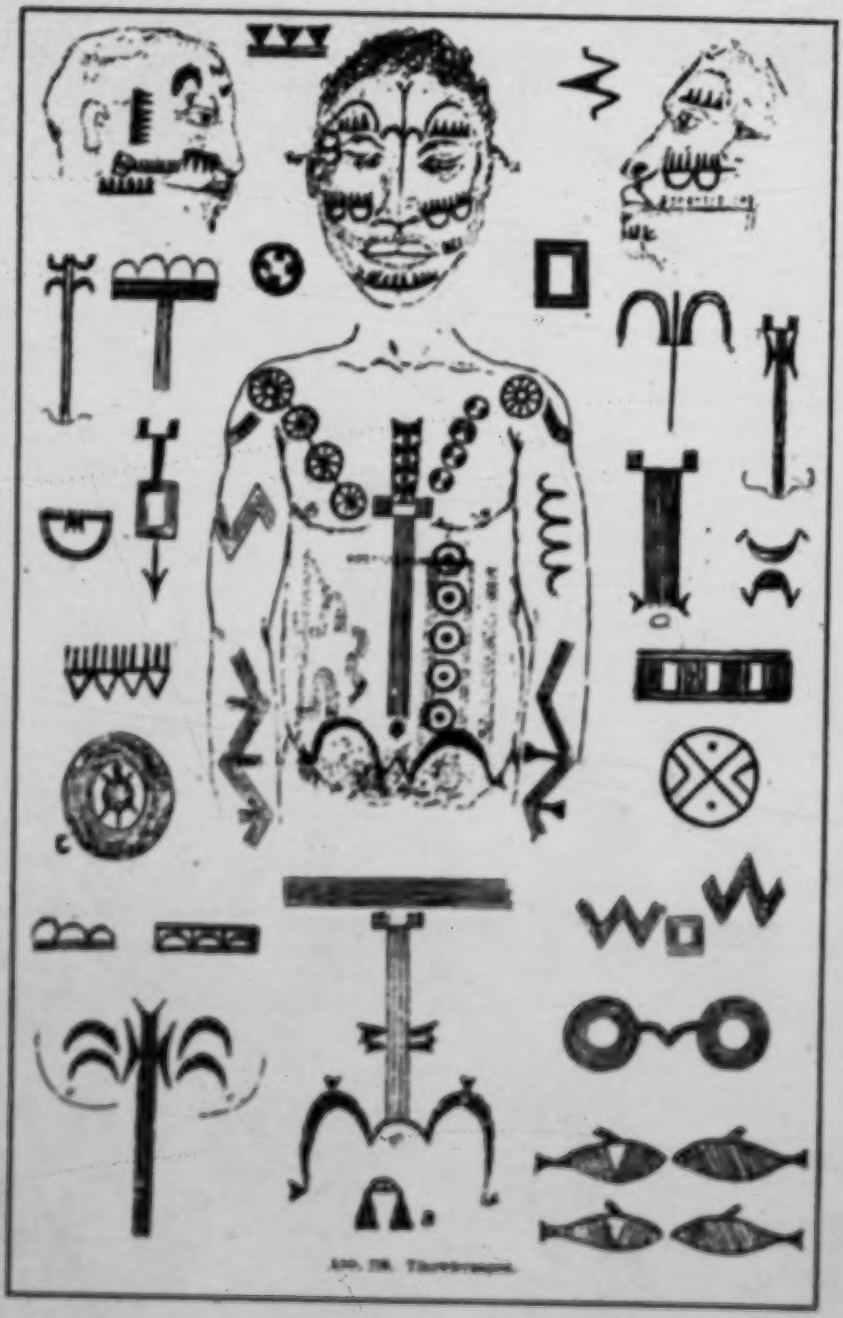
Es erscheint bedeutsam, daß diese drei letzten Vorwürfe Dinge betreffen, die dem Lande bzw. der Kultur der Pangwe fremd sind, und ich glaube, daß sich hier zu dem Spiel mit den bekannten Mustern die bewußte Absicht gesellt hat, ein Erinnerungsbild festzuhalten, also gleichsam ein Übergang vorliegt zum reinen Zeichnen.

Ein ähnlicher Vorgang liegt vielleicht dem „Chamäleon *(dzŋŋbŋŋ)*" zugrunde, das ich zweimal sah, das erstemal war die Entstehung aus dem an einen Halbmond angesetzten Rechteck vollkommen deutlich, so daß sogar die Wölbung des Halbmondes auf der verkehrten Seite saß (Abb. 218 d), das andere Mal war das Tier in Körper und Kopf realistisch gut getroffen (Abb. 218 e).

Die zusammengesetzten Muster, die — wie ich erwähnt habe — in der Tätowierung sich außerordentlich häufen, sind so mannigfaltig, daß sie hier nicht alle erwähnt werden können; wir finden vielfach Halbmond mit Linie und Tränen vereinigt, Dreiecke und Stäcke usw. (Abb. 220).

[1]) *edźŋ* = **Rana senkeri** Ndn.





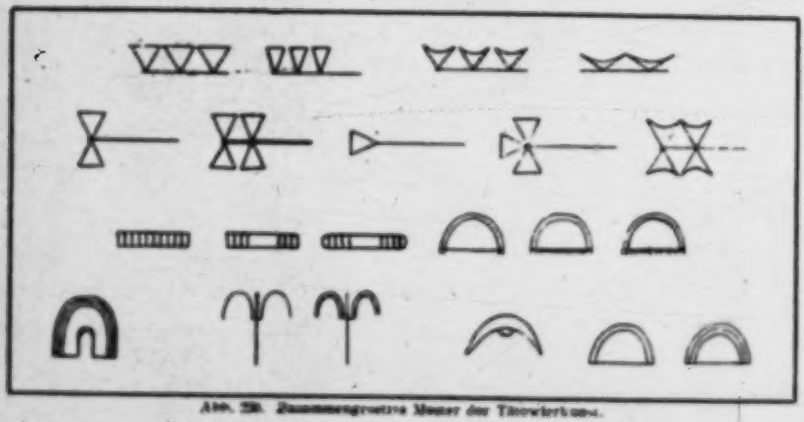


Abb. 221. Zusammengesetzte Muster der Tätowierkunst.

c) Verzierung von Raphiastengeln usw.

Die Technik, die ich selbst nicht gesehen habe, da es mir nicht gelang, einen ihrer Meister zu treffen, soll mit einem Werkzeug ausgeführt werden, das bohrend oder schabend die Oberschicht der Raphiarinde herausdrückt.

In ihrer Ornamentik kehren Typen aller in den verschiedenen Handfertigkeiten und Kunstzweigen gewonnenen Muster wieder (Abb 221). Es kommen vor:

von Grundmustern: Rechteck (Ziseliermuster), Einzelraute (Beschmieren des Körpers), Varan (Rindenmuster), Fig. 5, Scheiteldreiecke, hier nicht ganz ausgeführt (Rinden- bzw. Kerbschnittmuster), Parallellinien, gerade oder gewellt (Rindenmuster), Bogen (Rinden-, Kerbschnitt- oder Tätowiermuster);

von gleichartig abgewandelten Mustern: Kisten- (Kerbschnittmuster), Pfeilblatt (Kerbschnitt- bzw Tätowiermuster), Schuppentierschwanz, hier nicht vollendet (Kerbschnittmuster), Speerklinge (Rinden- oder Kerbschnittmuster), Mond (Tätowiermuster), Parallelbogen (Tätowiermuster);

von ungleichartig abgewandelten Mustern: Milanschwanz (Tätowiermuster), Widerhakenspeer (Ziernarben- bzw. Tätowiermuster), Sonne (Malen), Chamäleon (Rinden- bzw. Tätowiermuster), Fig. 4 *b*, Fig. 2 *e*;

von zusammengesetzten Mustern: zwei Striche mit Dreiecken (Tätowiermuster), Tränen und Bogen (Tätowiermuster), doppelter Widerhakenspeer (Tätowiermuster), Strich mit zwei Bögen (Ziernarbenmuster), dreifache Parallelbögen (Tätowiermuster).

Neu treten auf eine Zusammensetzung von Quadraten, in die auf jeder Seite ein Bogen hineingesetzt, Fig. 2 *a* (einzelnes Quadrat mit Bögen: Kerbschnitt- bzw. Ziseliermuster), eine S-artige Zeichnung mit eingezeichneten Kreisen (Bänder), Fig. 4 *a*, ferner eine Anzahl Figuren, die wahrscheinlich von der Malerei

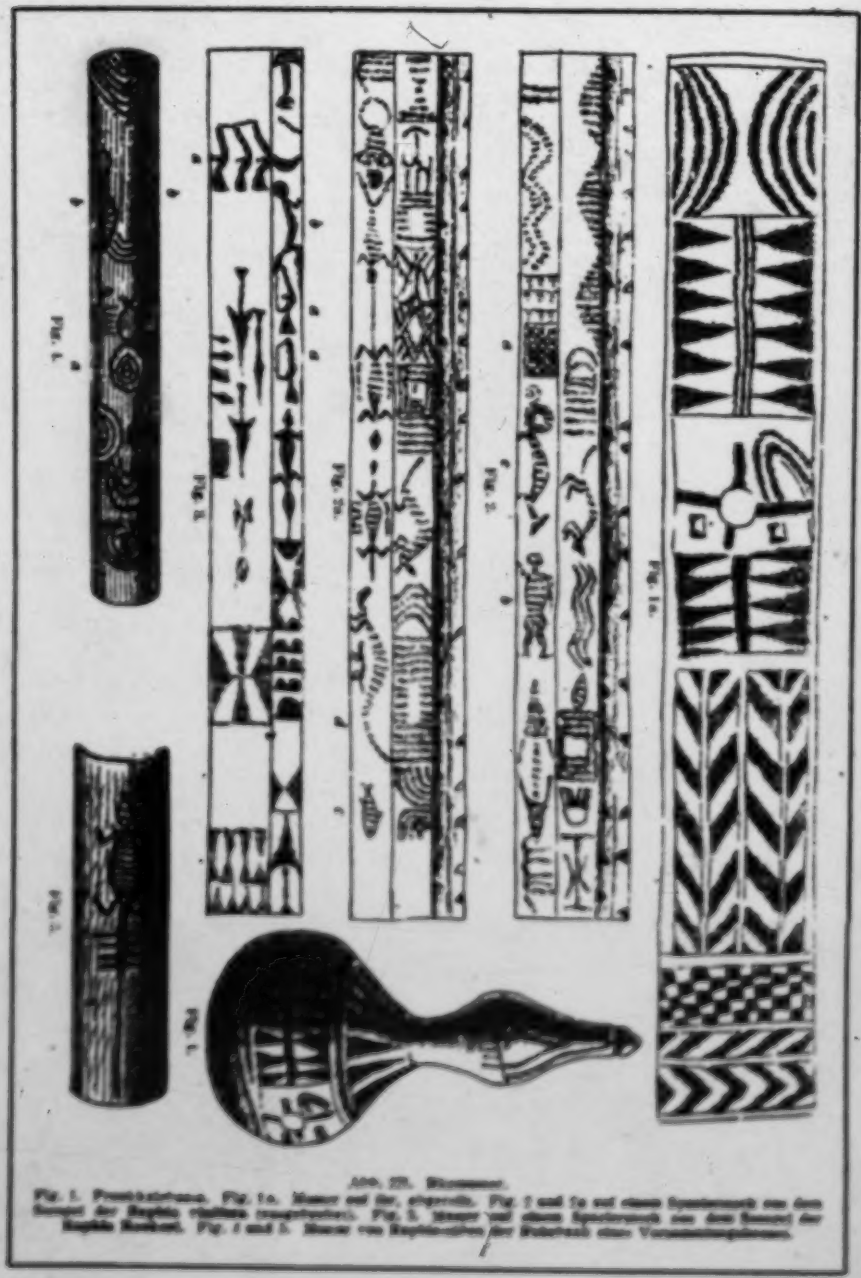


Abb. 22. Blasinstrumente.

Fig. 1. Frontansicht. Fig. 1a. Muster auf der abgerollten. Fig. 2 und 2a auf einem Spatelmesser aus dem Gebiet der Bapahin (Kaplinie Imperialgebiet). Fig. 3. Muster auf einem Spatelmesser aus dem Gebiet der Bapahin Bamkum. Fig. 4 und 4. Muster von Bapahin-Pfeifen der Bakwiri einer Vorzeichnungsgebiet.

übernommen sind, nämlich Mann (Viereck, Striche, Bogen), Fig. 2 *b*, Fisch (Dreiecke, Striche), Fig. 2 a, *c*, Gewehr (Dreiecke, Striche), Fig. 3 *a*, Affe (Mond, Kreis, Haken, Strich), Fig. 3 *b*, Katze (Bogen, Kreis, Striche), Fig. 2 a, *d*.

4. Ziseliermuster.

Halsringe, Fußstulpe (seltener Fuß- und Fingerringe), Schwertklingen und Streitäxte werden mit Ziseliermustern verziert.

Von den Halsringen sind nur die dreikantigen verziert, und zwar in der Mitte der vorderen Flächen in je drei quadratischen oder rechteckigen Feldern nebeneinander (Abb. 222a Fig. 1—10). Die beiden Mittelfelder zeigen durchweg je vier den Kanten aufgesetzte Bögen, die zum Teil samt der Fläche zu tiefen Kerben ausgemeißelt sind. Den Außenkanten der Seitenfelder ist je ein ebenso gearbeiteter Bogen aufgesetzt. Die Seitenfelder selbst sind nun verschieden gemustert, und zwar fast nur in „Grundmustern", nämlich dem Rechteck (Fig. 10), der Raute (Fig. 6, Fig. 10), dem von einer Diagonale durchzogenen Rechteck (Fig. 9), den doppelten Parallellinien (Fig. 1), dem Bogen (Fig. 1—10) und der Gräte (Fig. 2); von gleichartig abgewandelten kommt nur der Kreis vor (Fig. 8).

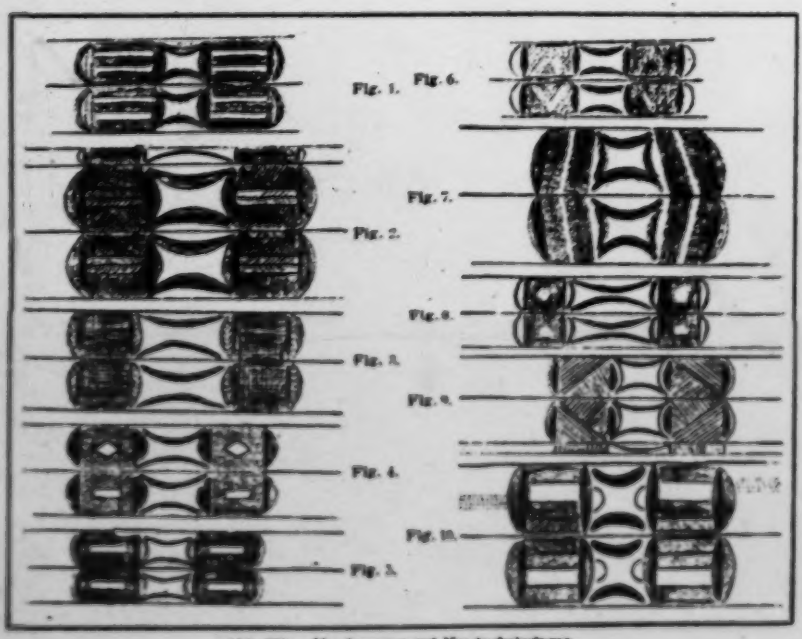


Abb. 222a. Verzierungen auf Messinghalsringen.

Die Ornamente der Fußstulpe verhalten sich zu denen der Halsringe wie die Kerbschnitte zu den Rinden, das will sagen, sie zeigen entwickeltere Formen (Abb. 222 b Fig. 11—13). Auch Grundmuster kommen vor, aber nur in Zusammensetzung, so Bogen (hier *nkõdo* = Biegung genannt) mit dem Dreieck (Fig. 11, 2), Bogen mit Gräte (Fig. 11, 1), Bogen und Parallellinien (Fig. 11, 4 u. 5), Gräte und Gräte (Fig. 11, 3), Spitzen mit Parallellinien (Fig. 13, 2), Dreieck und Rechteck.

Als neues Muster tritt auf der männliche Tausendfuß *(nõm e ngugn)*, Fig. 13, 1, eine von Parallellinien gebildete doppelte Schleife, die sich zu der Fig. 11, 6, Fig. 12, *b* u. *d* weiterentwickelt, aber denselben Namen behält.

Bei den Schwertern (Abb. 223 Fig. 1—12) sind die Muster nur auf dem unteren Ende der Klinge angebracht und bedecken ein mehr oder weniger quadratisches Feld, das unmittelbar an den Griff anschließt. Nach der Anordnung der Muster in diesem Felde unterscheiden die Pangwe zwei Arten, bei der einen ist das Feld gleichmäßig über die ganze Fläche gemustert, bei der

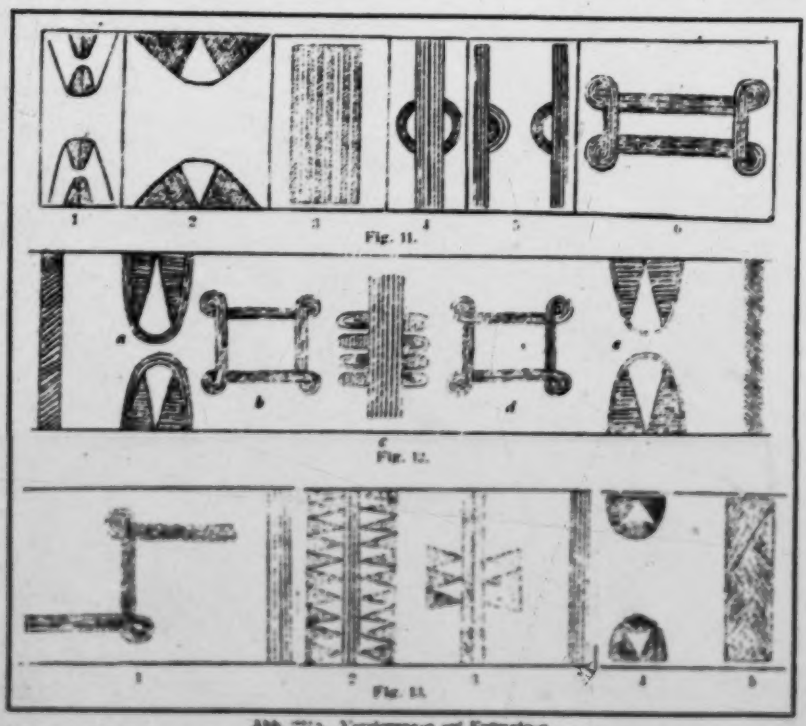


Abb. 222 b. Verzierungen auf Fußstulpen.

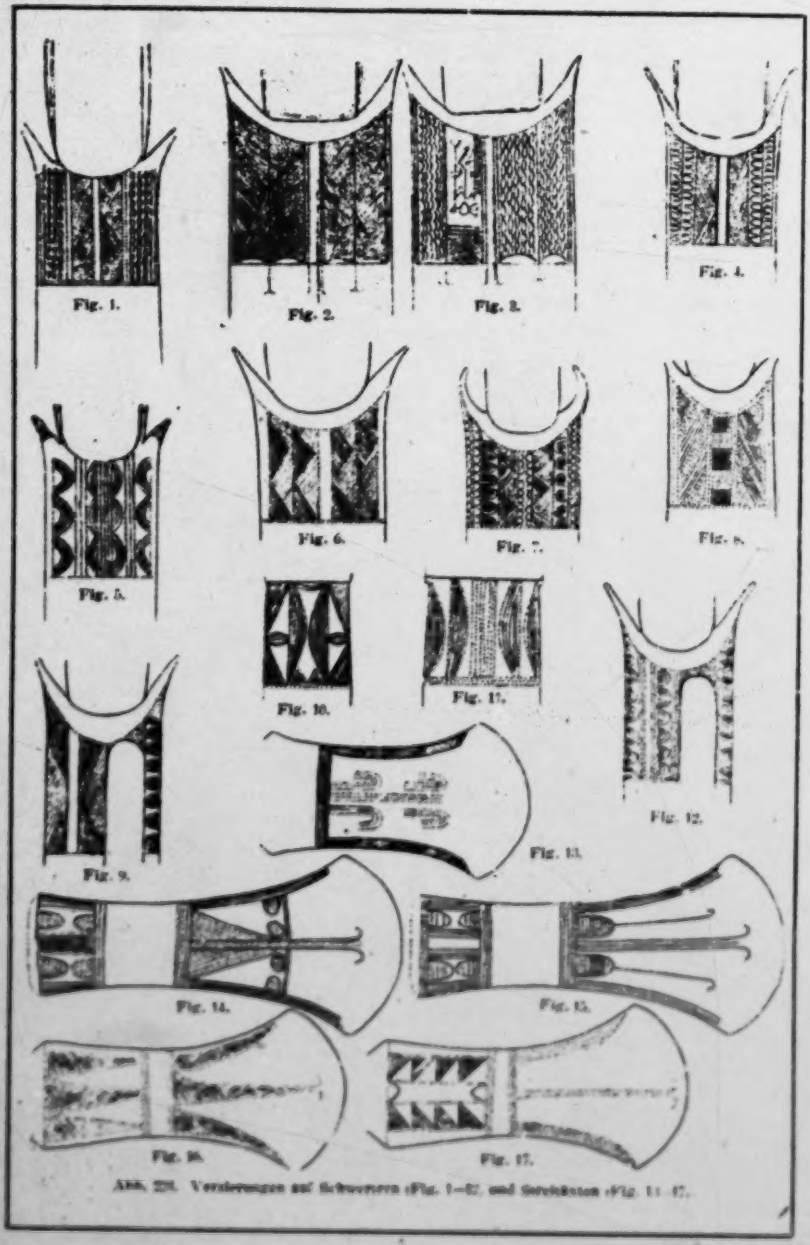


Abb. 231. Verzierungen auf Schwertern (Fig. 1—6), und Gewändern (Fig. 11—17).

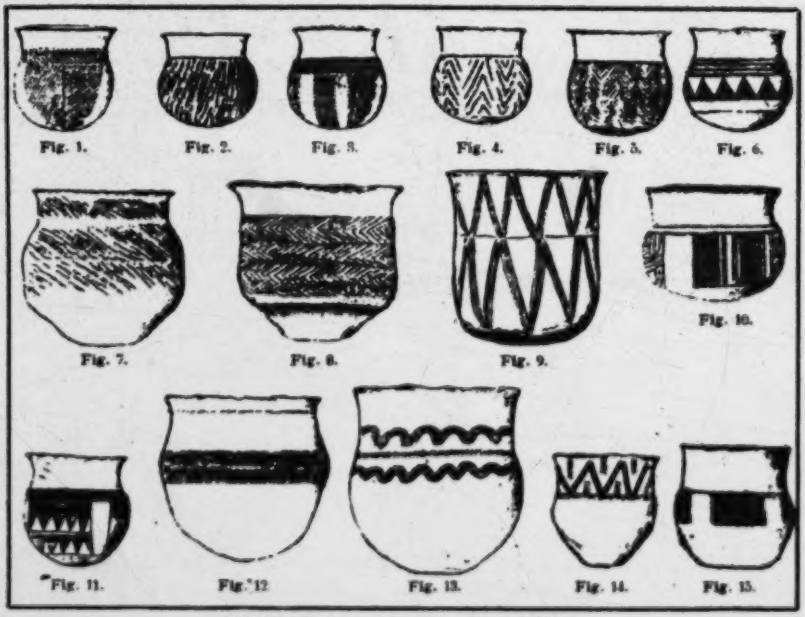


Abb. 224. Topfmuster der Ntum, Fang und Mwai.

zweiten bleibt ein länglicher Ausschnitt davon frei (Fig. 9 u. 12), und zwar dadurch, daß die gewöhnlich vorhandene schmale Blutrinne nach einer Seite hin verbreitert ist.

Die Muster selbst sind fast nur Grundmuster in allerlei Zusammensetzungen. Eine Auswahl von Mustern auf Streitaxtklingen zeigt Abb. 223 Fig. 13—17.

Anhangsweise ist die Verzierung der Messingscheiden für Schwerter und zweischneidige Messer zu erwähnen, deren Linien sich aus lauter kleinen Punzen zusammensetzen, die mit einem Eisen nach außen herausgetrieben sind (vgl. Abb. 141). Die Musterung besteht fast immer aus aneinandergereihten Halbmustern (in einer Diagonale geteilte Rechtecke), die wir von den Ziernarben her kennen.

Einen Begriff von der Ausbildung der Topfmuster gibt Abb. 224.

B. Zeichnen und Malen.

Die Zeichnungen werden besonders von Kindern oder halbwüchsigen Leuten außen an die Rindenwände der Häuser gekritzelt, seltener auf eigene Rindenstreifen, die an den Innenwänden der Versammlungshäuser angebracht werden.

Ihre Motive sind dem profanen Leben entnommen, und zwar vielfach einer fremden Kultur (Abb. 225). Am häufigsten sind Tabakspfeifen,

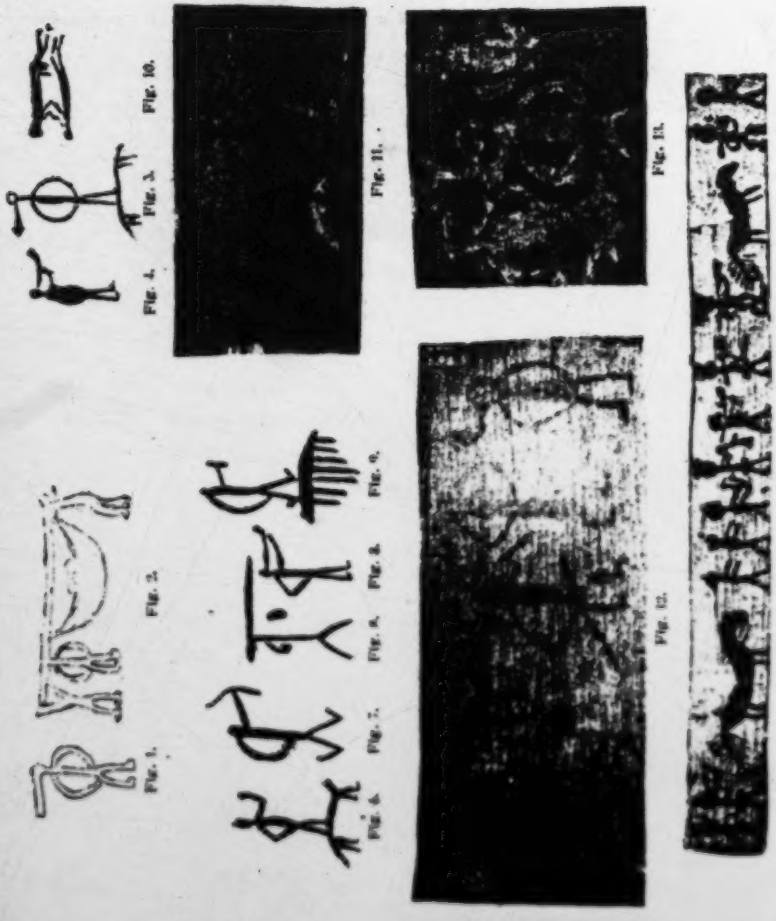


Abb. 25. Zeichnungen an Hauswänden (Fig. 1—10) und auf Rindenplatten (Fig. 11—14). Fig. 1, 3, 4 und 8. Mann mit Tabakspfeife. Fig. 2. Tänzer wird in vier Hängematte getragen. Fig. 5 und 11. Mann mit Tabakspfeife zu Pferd. Fig. 6 und 9. Mann zu Pferd. Fig. 7. Mann mit einer Hundepeitsche. Fig. 10. Coitus. Fig. 12. Drei Leute und ein Tier (Kamaeleon?). Fig. 13. Leiter. Fig. 14. Zug zweier Weiber zu Pferde, die von Soldaten begleitet werden.

rauchende Männer und Reiter vertreten. Letztere sind regelmäßig mit beiden Füßen à la Buffalo Bill auf die Pferde gestellt, diese selbst sind durchweg verzeichnet; sie könnten bald ebensogut zur Familie der Eidechsen gehören (Fig. 6), bald als Katze oder Tausendfuß (Fig. 9) bestimmt werden und sind, wenn es hoch kommt, mit einem langen, fischgrätenförmigen Schwanz (Fig. 11 u. 14) ausgerüstet, so daß man sofort auf die Vermutung kommt, der Künstler habe überhaupt noch nie ein Pferd gesehen. Bestärkt wird man darin, wenn man auch in den entlegensten Dörfern, von denen Einwohnern gewiß noch keiner an der Küste gewesen war, Pferdezeichnungen in überwiegender Menge be-

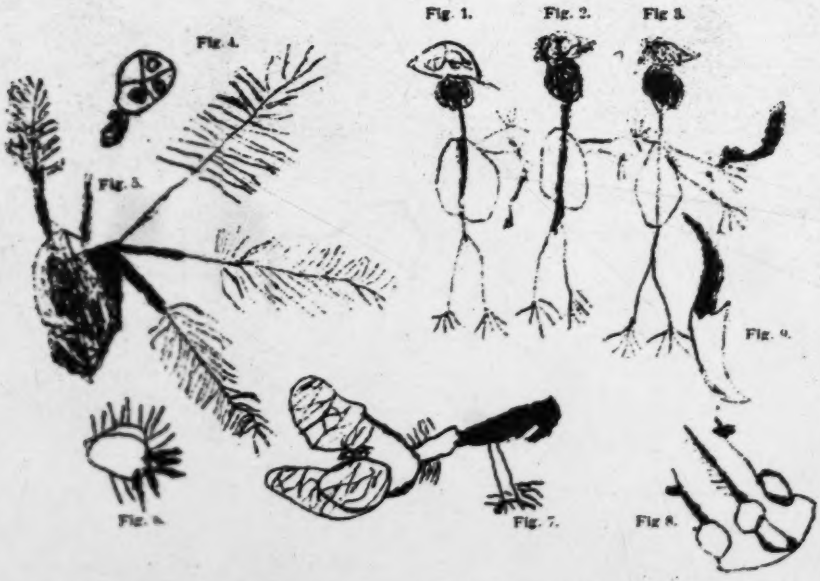


Abb. 228. Zeichnungen eines Dieners des Verfassers. Fig. 1–3 Verfasser, links mit Peitsche, rechts mit Speerstock. Fig. 4 Taschenuhr des Verfassers. Fig. 5 Raphiapalme. Fig. 6 Quastenstachler. Fig. 7 Mann auf einem Zweirad. Fig. 8 Schlüsselbund des Verfassers. Fig. 9 Europäische Kneifzange.

obachtet. Es ist daher wahrscheinlich, daß die Vorfahren der heutigen Zeichner in früheren Zeiten, als die Pangwe noch nicht ihre heutigen Wohnsitze eingenommen hatten, bei den Reitervölkern Adamauas oder anderen afrikanischen Völkern Pferde gesehen und die Kenntnis dieses Tieres durch Bilder, die immer wieder nachgezeichnet wurden, ihren Nachkommen überliefert haben.

In Dörfern, die von der europäischen Kultur beleckt wurden, hauptsächlich in solchen, die an Karawanenstraßen liegen, finden wir häufig Europäer — oft entsprechend ihrer Körperfarbe weiß gemalt — dargestellt, teils allein, teils in einer Hängematte getragen und von Dienern begleitet, teils auf einem Pferde, den Soldaten, die durch rote Kappen hervorgehoben sind, voranreitend. Dabei sind die Beine des Reiters, ähnlich wie auf Zeichnungen unserer Kinder hinter dem Tiere gemalt (Fig. 14).

Sonst sind noch Leute mit Speeren oder Gewehren häufig dargestellt, aber damit sind die künstlerischen Gedanken ziemlich erschöpft; Haustiere oder wilde Tiere sieht man sehr selten, Pflanzen gar nicht, von Geräten nur sehr auffallende (z. B. das große Schmiedeeisen) gezeichnet, und das Meiste ist überhaupt Gekritzel, bei dem sich wohl nur der Urheber, und vielleicht auch der nicht immer, etwas gedacht hat. Obszöne Bilder, wie Fig. 10 Abb. 225, sind eine große

Seltenheit, bei den meisten dargestellten Personen sind sogar die Geschlechtsteile ganz weggelassen. Der Bilderbogen, den mir mein schwarzer Junge zum Abschied überreichte, und den er auch mit meinem Bildnis geschmückt hat (Abb. 226), ist nur für die „moderne Kunstrichtung" und vielleicht noch für die allgemeine Auffassungsgabe der Eingeborenen bezeichnend, hat sonst aber keinen ethnographischen Wert, da eine solche Schöpfung unbeeinflußt nie entstanden wäre.

C. Plastik.

Die Plastik wurzelt noch fast ganz in der Religion und erhält ihre Motive daher aus dem Vorstellungskreise der Ahnenverehrung und der großen Kulte.

Abb. 227. Ende eines Häuptlingsstockes mit menschlicher Figur.

Die Ahnenfiguren sind aus Holz geschnitzte Köpfe oder Vollfiguren im afrikanischen Stil, d. h. mit einer stets wiederkehrenden Ausdruckslosigkeit, die mir bei aller Oberflächlichkeit der Formengebung doch eine gewisse liebenswürdige Naivität und einen stillen Humor widerzuspiegeln scheint. Das kommt in den kalten Museumsschränken freilich kaum zur Geltung, wohl aber in ihrer heimischen Umgebung, zumal wenn die Eingeborenen sie bei den Kultfesten herumtragen und tanzen lassen. Jedenfalls tragen sie nie die verzerrten tierischen Züge, die die papuanische Kunst auszeichnen.

Eine auffallende Ausnahme von den aus einem Stück geschnitzten gewöhnlichen Ahnenfiguren bilden die großen Figuren für Ahnenverehrungsfeste mit angesetzten Armen, die etwas beweglich sind, Beinen und Geschlechtsteilen.

Den Ahnenfiguren schließen sich mit wahrscheinlich ursprünglich religiöser Bedeutung an: menschliche Figuren auf den Enden mancher Häuptlingsstöcke (Abb. 227), dann menschliche Köpfe an dem Mittelpfeiler und an den Ruhebankpfosten der Versammlungshäuser, an den Harfen und am Kastenmirliton, rein profan ist dagegen wohl die Schnitzerei am Gedächtnisspiel, das an einem Ende in einen Kopf ausläuft, ebenso vielleicht die Tierdarstellungen an den Versammlungshauspfosten (z. B. Leopard, der ein Schwein in den Schwanz beißt).

Rein religiöser Bedeutung sind die Masken für den Mondkult und die Lehmfiguren der Kulte, und namentlich in den letzteren erhebt sich die Plastik zu Leistungen bedeutender, man könnte sagen, monumentaler Größe, einer Größe im eigentlichen materiellen Sinne des Wortes (ich sah Figuren von 8 m Länge) sowohl wie in der packenden Wiedergabe des in ihnen symbolisch zum Ausdruck kommenden Gedankens.

116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page *order, as a means of establishing* the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

2: Tessmann E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

The Fang Peoples, an Ethnographic Monograph on a West African Negro Group
[Die Pangwe, Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes]

by Günter Tessmann

Berlin: 1913
Ernst Wasmuth A.-G.

Volume Two

Translated from the German by Richard Neuse

Human Relations Area Files

1960

[Title page]

2: Tessmann--i E 5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

000

Table of Contents

Page

[Sections 10, 11, and 12 not translated.]

Section 13. Medicine 1

Section 14. Soothsaying and Science 72

[Sections 15 and 16 not translated.]

Section 17. Weapons and Warfare 90

Section 18. Sexual Life 102

Section 19. Childhood and Games 138

2: Tessmann--ii E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

List of Illustrations

Fig.		Page
50.	Shirt for Mixers of Poisons	8
51.	Brass Container for Poison, Manlúmu (Ojek Family)	8
52.	Magic Medicine of a Sō Thrower, i.e., a Sorcerer or Poisoner	10
53.	Underground Chamber of a Mekuk Sorcerer	14
54.	Medicine for Wealth	15
55.	Love Medicine, Engongeschok	26
56.	Love Medicine Festival in Ebläigon (Esseng Family)	26
57.	Washing the Forehead at the Love Medicine Festival	27
58.	Love Medicine Festival in Ebläigon (Esseng Family)	29
59.	Love Medicine of the Wood of Nonodora temuifolia	30
60.	Love Medicine of Lianas	32
61.	Love Medicine, Horn of the Dwarf Antelope	33
62.	Fang Medicines	33
63.	Leper in front of his Hut, Bébai (Esseng Family), Southern Cameroons	43
64.	Medicine on Trees, Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons	87
[Figs. 65-76 are in sections not translated.]		
77.	Containers for Rifle Charges or Powder	93
78.	Shoulder Bag made of Pineapple Fibers	94
79.	Spears	96
80.	Swords and Sheath of Brass	97
81 and 82.	Fang Chopper Sheath and Battle-ax.	98
83.	Shield of Buffalo Hide	99
84.	Wooden Shield	101
85.	Medicines for Virility	123

2: Tessmann--iii E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

List of Illustrations (cont'd)

Fig.		Page
86.	Whizzers	157
87.	Boy about Seven Carrying a Child	160
88.	Little Boy Five to Seven Years Old Essauong Family), Spanish Guinea	161
89.	Stilt-walker in Alén (Epfak Family), Spanish Guinea	167
90.	Child's War Rifle of Plantain Leafstalk	168
91.	Child's Sword of Raffia Pith, in Bark Sheath	168
92.	Child's Hunting Rifle made of Wood	168
93.	Child's Crossbow (Drawn)	168
94.	Toy Bow and Arrow	169
95.	Draw Trap for Horseflies (Toy)	169
96.	Toy Hide Drum	169
97.	Device of Raffia Pith for Detonating Powder (Toy)	169
98.	Doll of Plantain Pith	173
99.	Children's Slingshot	173
100.	Puppet Game	173
101.	Device for Communicating at a Distance (Children's Game)	173
102.	Tops made of Snail Shells	173
103.	Tops made of the Fruit of Sarcophrynium velutinum	173
104.	Skittles with Spinning Tops made of Snail Shell	175
105.	Figure Made by Children from a Leaf	180
106.	Figure Braided from a Sarcophrynium Stalk	180
107.	Birds Made by Children from Raffia Pith	180
108.	Patience Game with Bow and Two Strings	180
109.	Solution of the Patience Game with Two-stringed Bow	180

2: Tessmann--iv E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Fig. Page

110. Patience Game using Monitor Lizard Skin and a String with Oil Palm Nuts 181
111. Patience Game using Pentaclethra Seed . . . 181
112. Stick with Pieces of Raffia used in Memory Game of the Dwarf Antelope . . . 185
113. Memory Game, Nkuk-Ondüle, made of Wood, Southern Ntum Region 186
114. Two Sections of the Memory Game, Nkuk-Ondüle 186
115. Stone Game, made with Raffia Stalks and Wooden Legs, Jaunde 190
116. Stone Game, made of Wood, Southern Pangwe Region 190
117. Playing Disk and Counters for the Game of Chance 196
118. Fang People at a Wrestling Match in Alén (Essauong Family) 199

List of Plates

Plate opposite page

25. Fang with a "Cover" on his Toe 59
26. Chief of Nschüggebot (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea 91
27. Woman from Alén (Essauong Family) with a Child 162
28. Children Playing Skittles with Spinning Tops, Ntum Region 178

/143/ Section 13

Medicine

000

General observations; concept of medicine. -- Medicine men. -- Specialists. -- Remuneration of medicine men. -- Social status of medicine men.

1. Medicines used in sorcery. Sorcery and poisoning. The principal medicine nschu, its composition (white, red, black nschu), preparation, properties, use. -- Frequency of deaths by poison. -- Effects of nschu. -- Preventives and antidotes. -- Sõ-throwing, preventives for sõ-throwing.
2. Medicine to bring luck and ward off misfortune. General observations. -- Medicines for acquiring wealth. -- Mekuk medicines (how obtained, use of the medicines of sorcery, danger, preservation of the skulls, their care, stories of the mekuk). -- Other medicines for wealth. -- Ceremony under the Copaifera, reference to a tale. Homosexual intercourse as a medicine for wealth. -- Medicines for influence. -- Love medicines, great love medicine engongeschok (preparation, elephant tusk medicine, frame; 1) first festive day, dance and purification of the forehead, grove of love, tree of love, fumigation, punishment of the skulls; 2) second festive day, ablution, civet skin dance, final celebration). -- Minor love potions (their explanation), shot medicines, the war medicine angungu, other medicines for good luck, medicines to ward off misfortune.

3. Medicines for cult sicknesses. -- General observations about cult sicknesses. -- Treatment of a Bokung patient, treatment of a Ngi patient.

4. Knowledge of healing. Unrecognized ailments. -- Recognized external ailments, recognized internal ailments, parasites. -- Origin of illness through sorcery, cult powers (invocation of these), and contagion. -- Leprosy, elephantiasis of the testicles, a serious form of diarrhea, frambesia, elephantiasis of the legs, running sores, blood tumors, gonorrhea, swelling of the inguinal gland, eczema, scabies, ringworm, herpes, foot eruptions, epilepsy. -- Medicines for other diseases (backache, heart diseases, etc.), eye inflammations, eye worms, sand fleas. -- Remedies for vomiting and diarrhea, laxatives. -- Poisoning from scorpions, spiny-finned sheatfish, wasps. -- Treatment of external wounds (bullet wounds, stab wounds, burns). -- Sprains and fractures, growths. -- Bandages.

5. Food taboos. Various types. -- List of all animals with indication as to which are never eaten, which are taboo, and which are not taboo. -- A. Mammals. B. Birds. C. Reptiles. D. Amphibians. E. Fish. F. Lower Animals. -- Forbidden plant foods. Reasons for prohibitions are of a religious nature, based on the fear of transference of the food's characteristics to the eater or based on dietary experiences with the particular food. Breaches of the taboos and medicines for them. -- Reasons why certain animals are never eaten or are forbidden to all. -- Reasons for temporary dietary taboos.

129 I am using the concept "medicine" in the sense used by the Pangwe /Ed., the author uses Pangwe [Fang] as the name for a group of tribes in which the Fang are one tribe; the others are the Eton, Mwele [Mvele], Jaunde [Yaunde], Bene [Bane], Bulu, Ntum, Mwai [Mvae], and Mokuk (Oschileba)/, who have a much broader conception of it than we do and unite under the term bika, "medicine," various things which we are accustomed to separate, namely, charms, means for bringing luck and avoiding misfortune, remedies for cult sicknesses, and healing remedies in our sense of the term. In addition, I shall include the food taboos (eki).

The knowledge of medicines is fairly widespread among the 159 Pangwe. Each Pangwe man -- and /144/ even each Pangwe woman -- is familiar with half a dozen or at least a few. However, only a person who is an extraordinarily good observer, who does not stay at home as does the average Pangwe, and who has gained experience and knowledge is designated as a medicine man, ngŋ̄ŋgā̄n I. As was observed in an earlier section /Ed., Vol. I, Section 8/, extreme specialization of all knowledge and skills is found among the Pangwe. This is no less the case with medicines. One man may be familiar with cult medicines, another with ewu medicines; others specialize in the opening of corpses for the detection of ewu, still others specialize in skin diseases, etc. Within these areas specialization goes still farther. Individual medicine men may be specialists for a particular disease (e.g., leprosy) or for a particular method of treating this disease. Such a specialist is called ngŋ̄ŋgā̄n. He is frequently sought from a great distance by patients who do not have a specialist for their case or one of sufficient repute in their own villages.

Medical knowledge is not guarded as a legacy in certain 424 families, but is the property of individuals and is imparted to 159 others by the expert in return for cash payment. This is a business 161 deal of such great importance that a father seldom or never instructs his own son in medical knowledge, as he could not accept much payment from him -- particularly since it is in a sense a matter of his own money -- and he would not do it for nothing

424 759 461 because, in spite of the great love for children, in spite of the intimate relationship between father and son, the Negro is simply not able to endure the effort of working unless the prospect of payment is constantly before his eyes. The price for strangers, [435] to be paid in advance, is 100 spears or a small sheep, in return for which the medicine man will teach his pupil all the cures that he knows.

759 554 754 The medicine men do not have any special social status, authority, or influence. In general, they are regarded only as experienced and skillful persons (akón, i.e., "skillful"). Only those among them who know the medicines of sorcery and give this knowledge to others (including the cult leaders who, by means of a magic medicine, give the cult figures the power to practice sorcery) are feared, and rightly so, because one suspects that with the help of these "medicines" they may practice sorcery, i.e., kill other people, at any time.

1. Medicines for Sorcery

754 [753] We have seen in the previous chapter /Ed., not translated/ that the sources of belief in sorcery are to be sought in the need to assign causes for unrecognized internal ailments, particularly malaria and poisoning. Because of the similarity of their symptoms, these two cannot be distinguished by European outriders,/145/ and even the native inhabitants for the most part find it impossible. At the moment, therefore, it is not possible to obtain a clear picture of these things. It is certain that the Negroes know how to get someone out of the way with poison and that they mix poison with the conscious intention of killing, but it is uncertain to what extent they are conscious of the physiological effects of poison in our sense. As far as I could observe, a generally mystical view of these matters still prevails. All poisoning, just like all internal illness, is sorcery, and all sorcery is the mystical operation of the physical being, detached from the body, that finds its strength in its ewu which has been developed through medicine (see Section 12)/Ed., not translated/. If someone wishes to kill a person

754 or to make him ill, he prepares a medicine which serves to strengthen his ewu and, at the same time to stimulate it anew and in a particular way for the occasion to point out the direction of the victim and to provide the power for the sorcery. In this way also, the cult figures were transformed by a medicine into active magical beings. From the sequence of medicine, ewu, object of the sorcery, the ewu was later omitted, so only the direct effect of the medicine on the object remains. Thus, instead of killing through sorcery, we have direct poisoning. Among the Pangwe these things are as yet still confused. Only among the Jaunde does there appear to be the beginning of a separation between the two, inasmuch as they do not unquestioningly surrender to their fate, but instead attempt to investigate the poisoning and to find and punish the murderer. In so doing, however, barely escaping this Charybdis, they are caught on the Scylla of legal murder; in view of the difficulty of finding the culprit, they proceed in a
[442] very summary manner. If, for example, a chief dies, presumably poisoned by one of his wives, all of them or at least very many of them will be punished by death.

754 The most common sorcerous medicine used for poisoning is
278 nkɔ̃, with which we are already acquainted as a medicine for giving power to the cult figures. It is prepared in three different ways, as white, red and black nkɔ̃. As a rule, all three contain toad poison. In addition, the white one usually contains:

1. fine, sharp-edged splinters of grated cowry shells, mica (ebɔ̃b e dɔ̃ɔ̃b, "scales of heaven"), or glass;

2. skull bones of a man who has been dead for a month and who must have died on the same day that he was taken ill;

[825] 3. toad, Bufo superciliaris Bigr. (mvɔ̃ɔ̃) dried and grated;

4. lizard, Lygosoma fernandi Bart. (ebɔ̃makɔ̃kɔ̃), prepared in the same way (see "Religion" /Ed., not translated/): /146/

5. the poisonous roots of the Dioscorea macroura Harms (dɔ̃ɔ̃k IV), dried over a fire and grated;

6. poisonous hairs of the Leguminosa Mucuna pruriens D.C. (akɔ̃n' ellɔ̃ɔ̃', that is, leaves from the Sea, e.g., leaves of death); at times also

7. scraped and charred rind of the Leguminosa Detarium macrocarpum Harms (emɔ̃k), with whose symbolic significance

[259] [278] we are already familiar.

Another mixture consisted of ground mica, a toad, and ground male fangs.

The red nlɛ̄ usually contains:

1. Lygosoma fernandi Bart. (see above);
2. a red crab from the forest (nkɔ̄ɔ̄lɛ̄ lɛ̄'dɛ̄) (1):

[125]

1. The animal is supposed to make a sound that is reproduced by ɛ̄ɛ̄, ɛ̄ɛ̄.

3. a kind of scorpion (mɛ̄nɛ̄), ground;
4. a chameleon, ground;
5. Mucuna pruriens D.C. (see above).

The black nlɛ̄ contains:

1. ngɔ̄-alɔ'k or ebɔ̄l-alɔ'k, fungus soil dried and ground;
2. alɛ̄n, a fungus growth that lives under water, which is supposed to be very poisonous;

[82] 3. ɛlɔ̄ko ngɔ̄lɛ̄n, a centipede which is greatly feared because of its poison.

The preparation of nlɛ̄ is carried out in the most ingenious manner by expert medicine men. For this purpose, the men sew [287] for themselves a special suit made of the bark of the ondɛ̄m tree [292] (Fig. 50). This suit resembles a long shirt and leaves only the head and hands exposed; these parts of the body are then rubbed [92] with an extract of Heckeria subpeltata (Wild.) Kunth (abɛ̄mɔ̄dɛ̄ɛ̄l), [79] principally in order to protect them against the very poisonous hairs of the Mucuna that fly about. With this preparation, the poison mixers proceed to pound the dried components in a pot and and to mix them by stirring. For this purpose they use a long stick so that they can stay as far away as possible from the poisonous mixture. Indeed, they go even further and call upon old leprous [73] persons to collect and pour the poison into little horns or bags [159] (Fig. 51), since in their case it would not matter if in the process they were to become sick or even die.

754 278 The finished mixture is a bone-dry and extremely fine powder. It is not immediately put to use, but first tried out on dogs. By leaving out certain ingredients, such as the Mucuna hairs, or by means of other combinations, the poison mixers -- so various informants emphatically affirm -- are able to shorten or lengthen the victim's period of suffering at will or to produce only illness without fatal results. /147/

The medicine sold by the medicine men (because of its tendency to decompose rather rapidly, it does not keep very long) is used in the following ways. Either it is mixed with the food or sprinkled on the head of the bed or the floor -- merely inhaling the stuff, it is said, produces severe illness. Otherwise it is buried near the surface where the victim usually sits. The Ntum, furthermore, mix the poison with the pulverized resin of Albizzia [p.4] [711] facrigiata Oliv. (ekiyime) and then place in it for five days the pieces of iron with which they load their rifles.

754 679 Concerning the frequency of secret murder by "sorcery" or murder by poisoning, Europeans certainly have no accurate /Fig. 50 appears here in the original text/ conception, since without further ado we tend to ascribe deaths in the unhealthy regions of tropical Africa to malaria. At the same time, the importance, even for us, of investigating this matter precisely is demonstrated by the following fact. In the small Campo region (disregarding the coastal strip), which has been visited by Whites only in the last few years, no less than six merchants have been poisoned within this short period of time, attempts were made to poison two others.

The effects of the medicine of sorcery, whenever it is a question of poisoning in our /Fig. 51 appears here in the original text/ sense of the term, for instance, poisoning food, depend on its composition. According to descriptions, it produces either terrible pains in the abdomen, as though "fire were penetrating the bowels," or the symptoms are those of blackwater fever, among others, dark urine, or it produces paralysis; thus, there is a great variety of effects so that correct diagnosis is extraordinarily difficult.

278 757 If someone believes he has been poisoned or exposed to poisoning, he employs special antidotes concerning whose value

[Text continues on page 9]

2: Tessmann--8 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

292
287
359

/147/

Fig. 50. Skirt for Mimes of Poison, Abomangi (Ewendun Family). Nsum.

415
278

Fig. 51. Beer Container for Poison, Mendimu (Ojek Family).

I am, of course, unable to judge. /148/

In the class of preventives are the leaves of Phyllanthus gracilipes Pax (esǎ̄n elǐ), which are eaten whole or ground. As an antidote for poison in food, the Jaunde use the Corymanthe pachyceras K. Sch. (eyē) and the Sida acuta L. var. carpinifolia K. Schum. (sīxǐm IV), the leaves being ground and eaten. In the Fang region a medicine contisting of the following ingredients is used:

1. Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth (abǐ'mědzǎ'n), the leaves or stalks ground;
2. ripe bananas (adǐ̄fie) cut in pieces;
3. Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edzō'le), bark scraped off;
4. Pachylobus macrophyllus Oliv. (andōlō'm), bark scraped off;
5. Abrus pulchellus Wall. (ozǐ̄zōge III, eloenǐ̄, "herb to counteract nǐ̄"), leaves ground;
6. Desplatsia dewevrei De Wild et Burs. (afǐ̄nōk), bark scraped off.

These six ingredients are placed in water, and then the extract is drunk. As an antidote for poisoned bullets, the first three of the above are mixed together, and the mixture is eaten dry.

A further use of nǐ̄ is called zō̄, from zō, "leopard," because the whiskers of the leopard are used for it. Just as the leopard tracks its victim /Fig. 52 appears here in the original text/ by means of its whiskers and then treacherously pounces on it, the zō̄ thrower wants the same effect. A piece of such a whisker about half a centimeter long is drawn through a fruit of the umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br. (aōǐ), Figure 52, to form a small missile which is dipped in the magic medicine and then hurled at the opponent. If it hits the opponent's skin, he is supposed to get sick and die within three to six days. I myself once had an experiment performed with this "poisoning" -- something I felt justified in doing in view of the natives' conviction concerning its purely mystical effectiveness. Naturally the experiment was unsuccessful. Meanwhile, this did not disconcert my informant; he thought that perhaps the medicine he had been given was not the right one. Aside from being put on whiskers, nǐ̄ is also sprinkled on darts which are shot from ambush when the

754 enemy happens to be dancing with other people at some festivity
679 and in the general excitement does not notice when the missile hits him.

As a preventive against zõ, a medicine is recommended
754 which consists of:
751
278
1. Albizzia fastigiata (E. Mey.) Oliv. (sõ'ne), ground resin;
2. Musanga smithii R. Br., ground involucral leaf (it is slippery): /149/
3. Pouzolzia guineensis Benth, Urticacea (mbõanẽ III), its leaves ground;

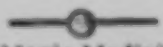


Fig. 52. Magic Medicine of a Sõ Thrower, i.e., a Sorcerer or Poisoner.

4. Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth. (abõmẽdzẽ'u), stalk scraped off;
5. Corynaothe pachyceras K. Sch. (eyõ), its leaves ground;
6. an unidentifiable Euphorbiacea (ayõ), its leaves ground.

This medicine is added to the red wood which is smeared on
[302] the body as a festive decoration.

2. Medicines for Acquiring Luck and Warding Off Misfortune

777
751

I combine these apparently different medicines because there is a number of them that serve both purposes, the acquisition of good fortune and protection against misfortune. Medicines for warfare, for instance, give one unerring aim as well as protection against bullets. The majority, to be sure, are specific means for obtaining luck or warding off misfortune. The Pangwe designate them as bikõ because they are intended to guard against an illness, for he conceives misfortune or the endangering of his good fortune as an illness. We shall do best to take over this conception and to call these devices "medicines." The medicines for good luck are supposed to bring, above all, wealth and good fortune in love, shooting, setting traps, catching fish, and wrestling. The medicines for wealth (bikõ alõ'ma) are based in part on the

777 conceptions developed in connection with the veneration of
751 ancestors, concerning the influence of the ancestors, who live where Nsambe does, on the terrestrial well-being of their
754 descendants. The most important of the medicines for wealth,
777 atum or aseb, that is, the Mekuk medicine, is based on the ideas of sorcery which I discussed in the previous section /Ed., not translated/. The skulls needed for the ancestor cult are not in
[149] this case those from relatives who died a natural death, but from those who were murdered secretly by sorcery (poisoning). Each biA akü'ma, therefore, is a mɔ̄m, a sin. The murder victims,
[826] or rather their souls, are called mekik (1). A person who keeps

1. Etymologically related to nkik, "upper part of the body." Perhaps we have here an intentional circumlocution, because the Pangwe like to avoid the real designation for their mɔ̄m (sin).

the skulls in order to acquire wealth is called e mɔ̄de a bIIE mekik (= e mɔ̄de a n'a mekik), that is, the man who has the Mekuk. I have known a Mekuk man who had no less than ten skulls of his murdered relatives in his house. In addition, the Mekuk man possesses magical devices which he sells on request together with the skulls in exchange for an excessive payment from people who themselves want to become Mekuk men. The latter are of course only sorcerers, that is, people who -- as was said in Section 12 /Ed., not translated/ -- receive the power to practice sorcery in their youth through a medicine, but who perhaps until then had not yet used their power and now want to train themselves in the specialized field of Mekuk medicine. For this purpose, their teacher demands that they murder a close relative, usually a father or mother, and bring him the skull. He himself will give them in exchange an older /150/ skull from his own collection and in addition frequently the back bones. The first
[608] skull of a Mekuk collection is therefore one of a stranger and has already been effective as a medicine. It is not an actual ancestral

754
777
[608]

skull, but may be regarded as such because all the Mekuk people enter into a kind of kinship relation with one another and the skull medicine that has been effective for one will likewise be successful for the others. In this way the new Mekuk man is able to go on murdering and chooses his victims from among his closest relatives, older brothers, sisters, brothers-in-law, uncles, etc., in order to become rich through the mediation of the souls of his victims who do not suspect that the sorcery (or poison) of their dear relative made possible their sudden reunion with Nsambe. Wealth acquired in this way naturally also includes the inheritance which is thereby more speedily obtained. The effect of the magical medicine is described in the following manner. The Mekuk man places the medicine in a cloth and offers this to his brother, for instance. If the brother has "sense," he may say: "Oh, formerly you used to buy many pieces of cloth and gave none of them to me! What's the idea of this piece of cloth now? I don't want it!" Then the Mekuk man himself becomes ill. The Mekuk man may offer his hand to his brother when he returns from a journey, having first sprinkled a medicine into it. Most frequently, however, the medicine is given to a cock which, according to one informant, has its tail feathers plucked out; the cock is then given as a present to a relative home from a journey. If the relative eats the animal, he is supposed to die, but if he refuses it or secretly throws the animal away, the Mekuk man will become ill and die. In still other cases, the medicine is poured into a tobacco pipe, bush salt, or food. Whether any of this has a physiological effect or not must remain undecided, as I have already said on pages 3 and 4.

Even the Mekuk sorcerer believes that a failure of his attempt would result in his death, as we saw in Section 12 /Ed., not translated/ in the case of the wicked sorcerers. It is evidently assumed that if the person attacked notices that he is an intended victim, he himself goes over to the attack and on his part tries to get rid of the enemy. That is to say, according to the Pangwe conception, he sends his sorcery against that of the attacker. It is certain that this belief considerably limits the number of relatives murdered.

757 It is not the bark container known to us from Malan that is
777 used to keep the Mekuk skulls, but rather a chamber dug under the floor of the house (Fig. 53). I saw a bark box used only once, placed on tall props reaching almost to the roof. The chest is divided into two sections by means of a dip in the bottom, and it is carefully leveled and smeared with red wood (hence, the name atum from atóm, "section, /151/ /Fig. 53 appears here in the original text/ room," which refers to the entire medicine). It is covered up by a piece of bark and a thin layer of dirt and thus remains hidden from strangers' eyes. Frequently a chest is placed over it also, or the little underground chamber is located under a bed. On the step-like raised part the medicines (b) are kept inside a circle made of plantain pieces (a). these medicines include nkí, above all, and furthermore bark scraped off the Passifloraceae
[278] Ophiocaulon cissampeloides Hook f. and Adenia lobata (Jacq.) Engl. (undhudóle a ndzik) (1), leaves of evéème or ayóle-beyo,

1. Also used as fish poison (see Vol. I, p. 83).

important because of the nodules in the leaves which make them look perforated like the ewu of a dead magician, and other things. Below the step the skulls (c) are set up in a semicircle so that they face the medicine.

[76-9] The skulls are cared for in a manner similar to the customary manner of treating the Malan skulls. Unlike the latter, they are not served food every day, but nevertheless frequently; sometimes chickens are slaughtered for them, and they are bedbed in chicken blood and have chicken meat set before them.

[80] This medicine, which is unknown in the northern region (Jaunde), is quite widespread among the Fang and is the subject of many tales and stories which make all light men /Ed., men with light skin color?/ break out in a cold sweat. My boys were so excited by the
[82] stories that they maintained they could not sleep if they kept thinking of these hideous Mekuk. Thus it is told, among other things, that the Mekuk walk up and down in their little room at night and make a hullabaloo or even come out of their room and throw

754
777
[164]

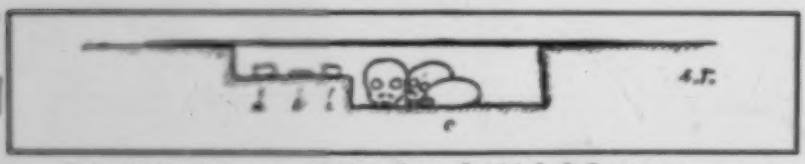


Fig. 53. Underground Chamber of a Mekuk Sorcerer, Cross-section.

(a) Circle made of plantain pieces, (b) magic medicines, (c) skulls of murdered relatives.

the Mekuk man's house companions in their sleep, so that they wake up the next day completely beaten up. They are also supposed to steal money and goods in order to take them to the Mekuk man. In short, the Mekuk stories remind one of the experiences of the man who wanted to learn to be afraid /Ed., in one of Grimm's fairy tales/.

T.7 Other medicines for wealth that utilize the power of the souls are more innocent; they do not require the murder of relatives nor care of the skulls. Instead, their powers are derived from the [§29] habitation of the souls, the Copaifera tessmannii Harms (oyom). The Mekuk skulls must be included only in the event the medicine man already possesses some. The procedure as a rule is as follows. The father of the person concerned goes with a medicine man, /152/ and both clear an area under a large Copaifera. Then a leaf vessel filled with water is set up, and into this some of the bark of the [§30] Copaifera is scraped nine times (three times three); furthermore a stone from the stomach of the crocodile is placed in it if one is available. A peculiar test of the worthiness of the young man is now given. Various objects are placed together in three piles: on the first are placed steamed cassava (women's food) and a basket [§31] [§32] (ebɔ̂ɔ̂) carried only by old women because it has a small capacity; on the second, a rifle, a bundle of vegetables (ngon) with fish, brass ornaments, cowrie shells, and a piece of cloth, all of which are things that delight young people; on the third pile is placed [§33] a fly swatter (implement of the chiefs), a foot ring made of ivory, [§34] and a boiled chicken, in other words, such things as are allotted to chiefs. Now the young man is brought to the piles. "If he has sense," he will go to the last pile and consume the chicken. In this

777 case he has successfully passed the test, is washed with the water from the leaf vessel, and receives the crocodile's stone (Fig. 54) which will help him in the future to become a great chief and very wealthy. If he goes to the pile on which the things for young people are heaped, he will become a philanderer, and as such he will waste his money and come to nought. If he should go to the first pile, he is sure to become insane.

777 Many tales portray the effects of medicines for wealth which
538 Essamniamabōge makes for one of his sons, usually Ekute E., who has sought him out in the land of the spirits. Here, too, a place is always cleared under a Copaifera, and Essamniamabōge then has an entire miniature village [illegible] up, with many huts or other

Fig. 54
Medicine for Wealth (stone from a crocodile's stomach, tied between little sticks so as not to be lost).

things to symbolize the treasures that can be expected. In addition, Essamniamabōge gives his son boxes which contain helpful souls who later will obtain wealth for the person, just like the little men of our fairy tales. Also, as frequently happens in our tales, the conclusion is always that all treasures, especially the houses and wives, disappear at one stroke, usually through the fault of the person concerned, and the man who was wealthy a moment ago is again as poor and miserable as before. Such a tale is reproduced here.

Ekute Essamniamabōge among the Souls

539 Ekute once said to himself, "Oh, I would like to go to the
777 place where my mother was born!" Ekute had only his mother

539
777

and three brothers in the village; otherwise he possessed absolutely nothing, not even a wife, nor did his /153/ brothers have anything. For this reason he set out to visit his relatives on his mother's side, that is, the souls. He soon came to a large forest full of animal trails, and it was not long before he met a porcupine that had hung a bell around his hunting dog's neck so it would track down other porcupines, "for," said the porcupine to Ekute, "the others have eaten my mother's cassava." Thereupon Ekute said, "Why is it that you kill other porcupines; are you not one yourself?" Then the porcupine answered, "That is an affair (1) caused by the souls. Turn around and don't go to them."

1. dzǎm, coastal English, "palaver."

Ekute, however, went on. He soon met a bird that was setting up a trap to catch birds. Then Ekute asked again, "Why do you want to kill other birds; are you not a bird yourself?" The bird answered, "Oh, that is because of the affair with the souls. Turn around and don't go into their land!" Ekute went on, however, and met two pigs that were setting up a pitfall to kill other pigs. In answer to Ekute's question, one pig said that they were doing it because other pigs were in the habit of eating their mother's cassava. Then Ekute asked once more, "Why do you want to kill other pigs when you yourselves belong to the family of pigs?" To this the pigs answered, "That is because of the souls; turn around and go back to the land of men!" Ekute did not want to take their advice, whereupon the pig said, "Ah, Ekute, I thought that by now you had finally developed some sense, but I see that you are just as stupid as before. Go your way to wherever you please!" Then Ekute encountered an antelope that had set up a fixed net. He asked the antelope, "Oh, what are you doing here with the fixed net?" Thereupon the antelope said in reply, "How can you ask such stupid questions, Ekute; I am here to catch the other antelopes." At that Ekute was very surprised, but the antelope asked, "Where do you want to go?" Ekute said, "I want to visit the relatives of my mother." The animal replied, "In that case just go along the path that I have

777
539

taken, and keep going straight until you arrive at a deserted clearing; there you will be close to the village." Then Ekute went on and passed many other animals, elephants, kudu, and so forth, all of which were engaged in a hunting drive. He went on for a long time, for three days, until he finally came to a village where a man was sitting, and the man said, "Now then, where do you want to go?" Ekute answered, "Oh, I want to find the sons of my mother; am I not on the right track here?" To this the man replied, "Yes, indeed, just go into the next village, there you will see them all." So Ekute went on and came to a large village that was full of animals. They were all there, the antelope, the pig, the eagle, the dog, the leopard, the elephant; /154/ oh my! Then said Ekute: "Am I not in the village of my grandfather here?" The animals confirmed this. Then Ekute went into the meeting house and wanted to sit down, whereupon many voices called out about him, "Oh, oh, what do you think you're doing, sitting down on us?" Then he sat down elsewhere, but as he did so a voice said, "Oh, Ekute, look out for my feet; why do you have to sit down just here?" Ekute, however, saw none of the souls, because human beings cannot see souls. Thereupon he said to the invisible beings, "Oh, I just wanted to visit my grandfather and his relatives; if you don't like me, I shall go back again. Whenever I sit down somewhere, I am told, 'Not here,' but I don't see anybody, so what shall I do?" His grandfather finally came shortly thereafter; he took a leaf bag and put medicine into Ekute's ears. The latter immediately fell down dead and awoke as a soul. Then he saw all the people, many, many, and only then did he see properly the large village in which he found himself. All the houses were covered, whereas previously he had seen them with only rafters. Then Ekute spoke, "Oh, Grandfather, I have nothing, no chickens, no sheep, absolutely nothing, and at the same time I have three brothers, who also have nothing, and my old mother. Now I wanted to ask you, if you had a chicken or a sheep, whether you would give it to me (1), for I don't have

1. Of course as marriage money for a wife.

717
539

a wife either." Thereupon the grandfather laughed and said, "Oh, that doesn't matter, it will all turn out all right; first have a proper meal." Thereupon he caught a big pig, killed it, and ate it with his grandson. The next day they slaughtered a sheep, and so they lived happily in great style. After some time, the grandfather said to Ekute, "Come, we shall go into the jungle on that side, and there I shall show you everything; you will become a great chief, and everyone will marvel at you." So they went into the jungle until they came to a large Copaifera (2). There the grandfather said, "Clear everything

2. Copaifera tessmannii Harms.

away carefully around this tree, down to there." The grandfather then went down and asked, "Do you see me?" Ekute said, "No." Then his grandfather said, "Clear that side too!" Ekute did as he was told. "Now you must make little houses, forty on this side and forty on that side!" That, too, Ekute did. Then the grandfather knocked on the Copaifera and behold, it immediately shrank and became so small that they could knock off firewood from its branches. With this they made a large fire on which they boiled the medicine. The grandfather went to a small river and brought with him two bark boxes that could run by themselves. When he called to them, "Come, come," they came by themselves. Now the grandfather spoke, "Dear Ekute, all the things that I am able to give you are here. Take these boxes, they are enchanted boxes, and do not hide them in your village, but underneath /155/ the brook in the vicinity of your village, and in such a way that no one can find them, for if someone should, all is lost. Now when you return, you merely need to utter a wish and it will be fulfilled; the boxes will help you." Thereupon Ekute replied, "Ah, Grandfather, I don't think what you are telling me is quite right." But the grandfather retorted, "Oh yes it is, just go there. Your village will grow and become large, and you will build eighty huts, for you will marry eighty wives, just as you have built eighty houses

717
539

here, and call on the boxes." Ekute did this and called, "Come, come." They did come, and Ekute was very happy and said, "Yes, now I see that you have shown me everything." After the grandfather had once more knocked on the tree to make it regain its original size, the two went back into the village. There, as a pretense in front of the people, the grandfather said that he did not have much to give away and that Ekute was to go home again, but that he would accompany him to the next village. This is what he did, and on the way the grandfather once more instructed him not to display the boxes, but to bury them under the designated brook. Thereupon the grandfather again gave Ekute the medicine that he had dropped in his ears, and Ekute was again a human being and went with his boxes through the forest to his village. When he came to the brook just outside his village, which his grandfather had told him about, he dug another bed for the brook, made a hole in the old bed, and placed the boxes inside it. Then he threw dirt over them and redirected the course of the brook (1). He then went into his village. The

1. This idea is not new and reminds one of the burial of a dead body in a river bed. Thus, Mgr. Le Roy reports on the Okoa, a Pygmy people on the Gabon, in the following manner. "In the middle of the forest the course of a brook is redirected and the corpse, which is wrapped in mats and pieces of bark, is lowered into the pit dug into the bed of the brook. This is done around midnight, and the women and children are kept away. A large stone is placed on the head of the corpse, and it is surrounded completely with loam to prevent the water from getting to it." See also "Das Grab im Bueno /The Grave in the Bueno/." /Ed.., a poem by Von Platen, a German poet of the nineteenth century/.

people there were of course greatly surprised, and one of his

777 brothers said, "Oh, Ekute, we thought that you had died long
599 ago since you were gone for such a long time. What have you been doing?" Ekute answered, "Ah, I have been running around in the forest and was close to starvation, but I saw no one." Then the brother said, "Oh, Ekute, you are stupid; why do you go so far away? In the meantime we were close to dying of starvation." Then Ekute went into the village where his three houses stood, and seeing that everything was grown over, he said, "Oh, I see that my village has been in ruins for a long time." /156/ Thereupon he cleaned up the area near his house so that it was nice and tidy. Overnight, however, as though by magic hands, the entire village was made so clean and the houses so pretty that one seldom sees the like. All the people who passed by marveled and said, "Oh, what a charming little village; we shall rest here a while." People brought him all kinds of trinkets and gave them to him as a present. At this point, he heard that there was a girl in a village to the east, and he decided to go there immediately. But his brother said, "What, you just came back from a journey, and nothing is in order in your house; you have nothing beautiful on your body, and you are not even oiled." Ekute asked his brother to arrange his headgear nicely. He then tied a brass collar around his neck, put brass rings on his feet and arms, and so went into the village where the girl lived. When he came to the girl's father and spoke to him about his daughter, the father said, "Ah, Ekute, you have absolutely nothing for marriage, but if you want to become friends with my daughter, that's all right too." Then Ekute went to the girl, and when he saw that she liked him, he asked her whether she would not like to go with him to his village later. The girl replied, "Oh, Ekute, you're beating about the bush; I'm ready to go with you any time." Then Ekute said, "Let us depart at once." But the girl replied, "Ah, no, at the moment the food is on the fire." When the food was ready, she offered it to Ekute who, however, said, "Please, let's go; I am not hungry at the moment." Then the girl put the food in a bundle and went with Ekute -- it had meanwhile become night -- to his village. The next morning Ekute asked himself in despair where he was to get the money;

177 he now had a wife, but no money to pay for her. Soon, indeed,
539 the girl's father appeared and reproached Ekute for his thoughtlessness, saying, "Give me back the girl since you cannot pay." Then the man turned around, and when Ekute went into his house, lo and behold! -- there stood five large chests full of spear money and a chest with cloth, as well as a great many other things. Thereupon he called his brother, and with him took all the things to his father-in-law's village. The latter was greatly astonished and thought to himself, "How did this Ekute, who just a little while ago didn't have anything, get all these things?" To Ekute himself, however, he said, "My dear son, you are heartily welcome; I see that you have an enormous amount of money and that you will indeed become a great chief." At this Ekute was, of course, very happy, and he said to himself, "Indeed, now I have a wife, but no plantation from which to make a living." Then he remembered his grandfather's words and went into the forest to pick out a place for the plantation. During the night, chop, chop, the invisible souls cleared the site of the plantation by cutting down the trees and burning it over. When Ekute arrived /157/ the next morning, he found the plantation cleared and burned. Then he said, "Now the tree trunks still have to be removed, and we still need boundaries for the plots for two women, that is, for my mother and for my wife." The next day this also had been done, and Ekute said happily to his mother and wife, "Now plant ngon in the ground; it's time for you to get to work." Then his mother asked him, "What, have you prepared everything and put in the boundary lines already?" "Certainly," said Ekute. Then the two women went to the plantation and planted ngon. Also the souls helped him build a house for his wife. Ekute then went to find another wife, and since he always had bride money in the house, it was only a short time before he had seventy-nine wives. All the plantations and all the houses were prepared for him by the souls. Then, one day, he heard that not far away there lived a very beautiful girl by the name of Odengemaking (1). He wanted to ask for her

1. That is, "she who surpasses all in cleverness."

777
539

hand as well, but his brother warned him, "Oh, when you hear that something is called Odangemaldng, it's very bad; you had better not marry this girl." But Ekute answered, "Come now, why shouldn't I marry her?" Indeed, the girl immediately fell in love with him, and he took her back to his village as his wife. In the evening, however, the girl said, "Please sleep with one of your other wives tonight; I don't feel like it!" Accordingly, Ekute did so, and when he had gone to sleep, Odangemaldng made a fire by lighting a piece of wood and then asked, "All these many things that Ekute has, where do they come from? From this direction?" -- The fire kept burning. -- "From that direction?" -- The fire kept burning. -- "From that direction?" And she pointed in the direction of the path leading to the brook, whereupon the fire went out. Then she went along the path, and when she came to the brook, she again made a fire for the medicine and said, "Where is this affair that has produced all these things? Here?" And the fire kept burning. "And here ? and here?" -- and as she asked, she pointed in all directions, but the fire kept burning. Then she pointed down to where the was standing, and the fire immediately went out. She thereupon began to divert the brook's water and dug and dug until she finally found the two little boxes. Then she said, "So that's the affair," and opened the lids, whereupon, whoops, all the helpful souls contained in them escaped from both boxes and returned to the land of the souls. The wife herself went back to the village and very quickly packed all her things. During the night, however, Ekute came out of the house and said, "Ah, I don't know what has got into my head; I can't sleep at all tonight, so I want to sleep with you." But Odangemaldng called out, "Don't come, don't come into my house!" Then Ekute returned to his house and lay down. Odangemaldng took all her things and returned to her father, to whom she said, "When this man sees that all is spoiled and finds me tomorrow, he will /158/ kill me." The next day Ekute woke up and could not believe his eyes, because everything, the entire village, was gone, and only the three old houses remained as they had been at first; all the women, everything

777 was gone. Then his brother said, "You see what I told you?
539 If you had not married this woman, everything would have been as it was yesterday, but as it is you have nothing left." Emam mese mandmabo ava. (Customary conclusion of tales.)

It is noteworthy that homosexual intercourse is included
777 among the medicines for wealth because it is believed that
838 through the intimate contact the medicine of one will be transferred to the other. In a case known to me in Ebakingon, the passive party possessed the medicine and the active party wanted to acquire it. Another case is related in the tale that I reproduce in Section 18. In actual fact it might turn out that the effect of the medicine consists in the mutual support the two "friends" render each other, based chiefly on the consciousness of common guilt and the endeavor not to let this guilt be known. This medicine is not without danger, for in the case just mentioned it was related that one of the men became blind and the other leprous, and in the tale both parties become leprous or suffer from frambesia.

A variant of the medicines for wealth consists of those
777 which especially help one to marry or abduct women (bikâ e bêm); another variant consists of the means to acquire influence and respect (bikâ e bame, bikâ a vîge), such as the great Annonaceae
[illegible] Pachypodanthium confine Pierre, Engl. et D. (ovôm I) and the Melastomaceae Memecylon teuscheri Gilg (ovôm IV) which, in addition, is also regarded as an authentic medicine for wealth.

In addition to the medicines for acquiring wealth, the most
332 important and the most common are the love medicines (bikâ anfumas). No less than about 100 different plants are placed in the service of Venus.

If the inhabitants of a village have the idea that the love affairs of the young people need revitalizing, a general love medicine festival (engôbôbô) is arranged, which is celebrated under the supervision and with the cooperation of the ancestral skulls worshipped in the Melan. Consequently, only the initiates of the Melan may take part. The course of the festivities together with the period of preparation corresponds to that described in the section on cult festivals /Ed., not translated/: two feast

[832] days and the establishment of a sacred place, on which the Fang even set up a female figure of clay. During the seven days of preparation, the necessary medicines are obtained.

[824] These are bark, scraped off the Annacea Monodora tenuifolia Bth. (ŋ̄ŋ IV) and the Olacacea avɔ̄m, and a small elephant's
[825] tooth, into which are put the following /150/ things.

1. The most important is the larynx (engɔ̄ŋ) of a famous
[826] singer, especially of one who was versed in love songs, or the larynx of a woman who before the payment of the bride price allowed herself to be abducted by her lover. The aim is to obtain the power of the singer, who was loved on account of his voice (famous tenors even in other countries are, after all, not only popular but also loved), and to be loved as he was, or one desires to have the woman consent (with her larynx = voice) to follow the call of love as quickly as did the woman whose larynx has been placed inside the elephant's tooth. The name engɔ̄ŋbɔ̄k was chosen because of the desire to pretend that only the throat of an elephant (bɔ̄k) was involved and to avoid naming the real contents, the human throat. As a name for the whole thing, engɔ̄ŋgɔ̄chok is intended to veil the meaning of the feast just as the animal names conceal the purpose of the cults. In other words, whatever you do, don't call a spade a spade.

2. Sex organs of a mother-in-law, the one who has given birth to the daughter and loved one.

3. The bones of an albino (mɔ̄ŋ-mɔ̄ŋ), preferred by women
[827] because of the skin color (1).

[114] 1. Opinions concerning an albino vary a great deal; in other areas an albino is less highly regarded (Jaunde).

4. The bones of twins, because of the desire to be united with the loved one just as twins are united in the mother's womb.

5. Fulgurites (abɔ̄ŋ-aPiki), so the love will be as powerful
[821] as the lightning that throws down the tallest trees.

6. mɔ̄ŋ, so that the sorcerous beings (= evil persons) will not

[or possibly "risk"; see figure 55, page 26.-Analyst]

832 destroy the medicine.

7. The tooth of a chief, to make one capable of talking as well as a chief, who obviously wins his wives by his words.

824 8. Monodora tenuifolia Bth. (fob IV).

832 9. Ocimum basilicum L. (osim), the "forget-me-not of the Pangwe (a siman, "to remember, not to forget"); the woman will not forget her lover.

10. Aeolanthus edlingeri Gürke, labiates (elihgelihge Fang) with which the women like to adorn themselves since they smell pleasant and have a soporific effect.

11. Abutilon indicum Sw., Malvacea (abofu' III), since the plant has a white sheen, and the woman must see the lover as "pure" as the plant. The tooth is closed off with wax, and a parrot feather, which must have been found in the woods, is stuck on it (Fig. 55).

This medicine brings good luck otherwise than just during
832 the festive period; one could say that it performs miracles. Placed under the threshold in the house of the beloved, in such a way that the girl does not see it, it makes her "consent" immediately when the lover wants to abduct her; if before this, she did not love the suitor, she will now prefer him to all others. In short, she will henceforth "only say yes," and all this has been brought about by the engongeschc with its throat (= voice).

Monodora and avom in a leaf bag are placed in a pot of water, and this is suspended from flexible rod in the center of the festive area in front of the meeting house (Fig. 56, a). The /160/ festive area is customarily closed off by a curtain of raffia leaves; within it /Fig. 55 appears here in the original text/ a peculiar frame (Fig. 56 b) is set up, which, the natives say, is meant to represent traps. In addition, a cult place is cleared at the side of the house, where actual traps are set up. I shall return to these in a moment. A civet's skin with two tail pieces, into which is sewn a love medicine, is hung from the frame.

When all this is ready, the festive goat is fetched, and the ancestral skulls are told that everything is in readiness. Now the actual festival, which lasts two days, can begin.

2: Tessmann--26 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

832
[825]
[415]

Fig. 55. Love Medicine, engongeschok (elephant's tusk with love medicine in it).

In the love festival that I witnessed in Ebiangon, the procedure was as follows. On the first day a dance to the accompaniment of drums took place in the festive area. At the dance, the leading singer swung the civet skin around and made a clatter with the inevitable cymbals. The chief and medicine man (they are not always one and the same person) thereupon

[417]

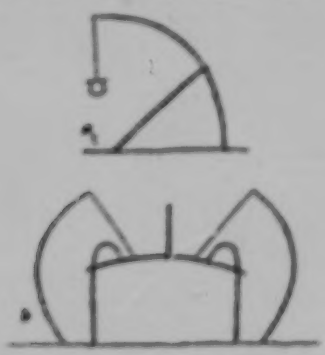


Fig. 56. Love Medicine Festival engongeschok in Ebiangon (Eseng Family).
(a) Pot with love medicine suspended from a rod; (b) frame to deceive the uninitiated as to the purpose of the celebration.

went to the pot, took the bag out, called the participants individually from the circle, asked them to sit down (see Fig. 57), and sprinkled the medicine /Fig. 56 appears here in the original text/ water on their foreheads in such a way that it ran down the bridge of the nose to the tip. If this did not succeed immediately, the procedure was repeated two to three

Fig. 57. Washing the Forehead at the Love Medicine Festival.

times, and in the case of very recalcitrant drops, the medicine was wiped down the bridge of the nose with a bundle of Abutilon leaves. The festive company then moved to the cult place, in this case called a love grove (elik andʒmin). Just as the cult figures are usually set up on the trees (because of the sorcerous beings, trees with spikes are chosen) and just as the medicines for wealth are made up under the soul tree, the Copaifera, in the same way the love tree belongs to the love grove, namely the Leguminosa Amphimas tessmannii Harms (edʒi) (1). In Ebäangon the tree was only a small one, but

1. a dʒi-á, "to love."

often they are huge specimens. In the background a kind of bench of rods was erected, and under it were heaped a great many twigs of various trees regarded as love medicine. Then the ancestral skulls were set up behind the bench, and the twigs ignited. Those persons who needed an improvement in their love affairs, /161/ /Fig. 57 appears here in the original text/ lay down on the bench and allowed themselves to be thoroughly

832 fumigated (Fig. 56), while the skulls with cold severity surveyed the situation, until they themselves had justice done to them, for they were carried in a dance around the love tree. Meanwhile, a member of the participants took red dye and with it drew a line on the bark of the love tree, observing that they themselves would like to look like this in the eyes of their beloved. Another one took black dye in addition to the red and first made a red line, saying, "In the eyes of the girl to which I shall go (he probably was not allowed to pronounce her name) I want to appear like this (red)"; then he drew a black line and added, "On the other hand, the girl shall see all others like this (black line)." We already know that red is the color of life,
[822] of joy, and of light. Black here signifies its opposite, the unpleasant and ugly.

Finally, a small punishment was meted out to the ancestral
832 skulls by sticking them in the above-mentioned draw traps set
769 up around the tree and leaving them there until the next day. Such a punishment of the ancestors is very rare, and it is significant that it does not occur at the Malan but in connection with the love medicine, which is to be regarded as a degenerate form of the Malan. Then around the tree a great variety of other medicines were distributed, such as red dye and a piece from the loincloth of a mother-in-law. Among the Fang the genitals
[826] themselves are supposed to be taken, these having been cut from the deceased mother-in-law. /162/ /Fig. 58 appears here in the original text/

832 On the forenoon of the second day of the festival about 25
763 banana leaf vessels were set up in a row in the festive area and
[845] filled with freshly fetched water. Into the first vessel the medicine man put a whole pile of bark pieces and leaves, all of them love medicines. The other vessels were treated in a more perfunctory fashion: only a few pieces of bark were placed in the second vessel, and in each of the following, only one; the last vessels did not get anything. The medicine man then sat down at the first vessel, blew into it with a pipe, whereupon a thick,
[988] soap-like foam arose, which supposedly comes from the bark of
[824] the Cylicodiscus gabunensis (Taub) Harms (edfim), and then washed his face, first in this vessel and then in all the following

B: Tessmann--29 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F109 Fang F109

832.
763
[167]

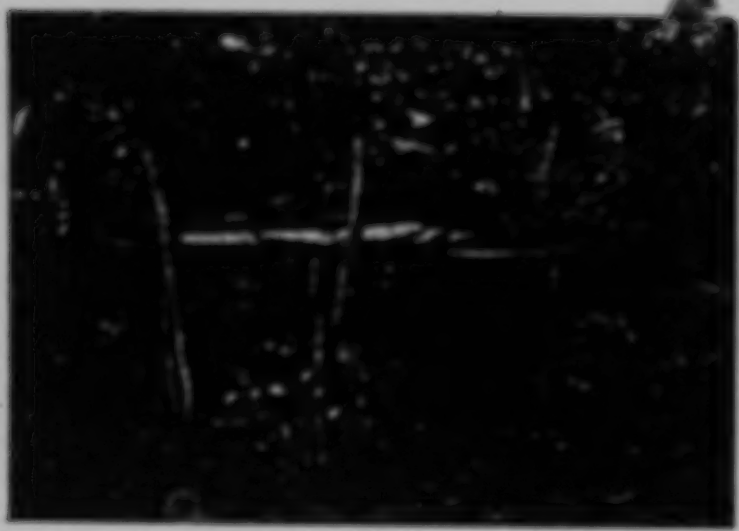


Fig. 68. Love Medicine Feast, engongechok.
A number of young men have themselves fumigated over a fire in which love medicines are burned. Ancestral skulls are in the background. Ebkangem (Esseng family).

ones as rapidly as possible. The aim is to purify oneself and through the external purification to bring about an inner one so that the beloved girl will see her entire pure, white as the leaves of Abutilon, and then love him. Whether the desired effect is achieved, I must confess I do not know; externally, at any rate, the favorable effect of the water cannot be denied. The foam is intended to cause the girl's heart to "open up" in the same way. This ablution may also be undertaken at times other than at the love festival, for instance, when a person has his eye on a certain girl, but in that case, the nails, head hair, pubic hair, and underarm hair of this girl must also be put in the vessel. /163/

[326]

While the ablution was still going on, two people ran down the village square and threw the civet skin back and forth to each other, crossing each other's paths as they ran. People amused themselves with a similar ball game, whose significance I was unable to discover during the subsequent dance.

832
526

832 I was unable to discover during the subsequent dance.

The concluding celebration took place in the love grove. A man seized the tree with one hand and swayed about, while the others took the skulls from the traps, danced with them in the opposite direction around the tree, and were embraced by him every time they passed him. Then the festive goat was [832] brought and slaughtered, its blood was poured over the skulls and medicines, and a speech of conciliation was addressed to

Fig. 59.

[824] Love Medicine of the Wood of Monodora tenuifolia.

the skulls. This speech culminated with the request that they should not be angry for having lain outside without food; a goat had now been brought to them, and they were from now on expected to make every effort to assist their descendants in matters of the heart. So the festival ended to the satisfaction of both the skulls and the young men.

It would be impossible here to cite by name all the plants 832 used for love medicines; all we can do is to mention the 824 criteria that were paramount in choosing them, as well as a number of examples. In each case, some quality that is to be transferred to the person is involved, for example, the following.

1. Abundance of blossoms, fruit, and shoots, especially when the blossoms or shoots are beautiful; the desire is to appear likewise in the eyes of the beloved. Monodora tenuifolia Bth. (fõb IV), (Fig. 59), because of its luxuriant shoots with magnificent leaves; furthermore, the Simarubacea Desbordesia glaucescens Engl. (aiõ̂b), with its resplendent red to blue shoots.

2. Beauty of the blossoms. Examples: many orchids (ajã̂ - oõb) and Scitaminea, like Aframomum hanburyi K. Sch. obõ[s] -adzõm, blossoms atsõ[k] adzõm) and Canna bidentata Bertol (ekõn e zõk); furthermore, Mussaenda species, which have colorful top leaves.

832
824

3. Beauty of the leaves. Example: Phyllanthus cappillaris Schum. et Thom. (mɛ̃ʼbɛ̃ III), with its delicate leaves, and the cordate Geophila speciosa K. Sch. (ɛsɛ̃k-ɔbɔ̃ɔ).

4. Beauty of the stems. Examples: Distemonanthus benthamianus Baill. (ɛ́ɔ̃n); Triplochiton tessmannii (ɛ́ɔ̃ɔ); and, above all, Amphimas tessmannii Harms (ɛdɛ̃ɔ) already mentioned.

5. The white color of the stems and leaves: Voacanga obtusa K. Schum. (ɛdɛ̃mvɔ̃n a zɛ́n); Polygonum lanigerum R. Br. (ɛlɔ̃ɔmɛ̃ɔ); and Abutilon indicum Sw. (ɛbɔfɔ̃ʼ) already mentioned. /164/

6. The fact that the trees are isolated (certain trees are supposed to keep down smaller ones through the development of their crowns; in the same way, one wants to keep rivals at a distance), such as ɛngɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ́m and Memecylon tessmannii Gilg (mɛ̃ʼmɛ̃ IV).

7. Beautiful fragrance, such as afɔ̃n and Plectranthus (avɔ̃).

8. Tendency of the plants to wind around others; one wants to be united with the woman in just the same way. Examples: the parts of two lianas that have grown together (Fig. 60) and roots which wind around each other, like those of the Dracaena viridiflora Engl. and Kr. (alɔ̃ʼn-ɔgbɔ̃ʼ III); furthermore, the tendency of plants to wind around other growths, in particular the Rubiacea Sabicea calycina Benth. (ɔkɔ̃ʼdɛ̃n) (1), the Asclepiadacea

1. a kɔ̃ʼ-dɛ̃n, "to wind around, to wind around each other."

Secamone myrtifolia Bth. (ɔkɔ̃ʼamalɔ̃ʼn), and others.

9. Formation of burrs; the desire is to stick to the woman like a burr. Examples: Desmodium species (ɔbɔ̃ʼbomzɛ̃n), (burr fruits); the Cyperacea Scleria barteri Bckl. (pfɛ̃ʼfɔʼlɔ̃ III Ntum), whose leaves and stalks are sticky; and especially the grass Streptogyne crinita R. Beauv. (nkɛ̃m I, nkɛ̃mesɔ̃ʼɔ̃ I), whose panicles stick together with extraordinary firmness. /Fig. 60 appears here in the original text. /

10. Popularity among women. Examples: Kolobopetalum auriculatum Engl. (andɛ̃ʼme III), popular among women as a belt;

832 829 Lycodium smithianum Pr. (onǒk), used by women for ornaments.

I was unable to obtain any satisfactory explanation as to why a number of Ficus species, certain Amaryllidaceae, and gall nuts of the Microglossa volubilis (Wall) D.C. (myǒyǒ) are used as love medicines.

832 835 Aside from plant ingredients, which are used in preponderant number for love medicines, antelope horns (Fig. 61) are especially popular. These are worn as forehead or neck ornaments, and when they are supposed to be effective, they are blown like a whistle. Just as an antelope never has a single horn, but always a pair, so a person should not be alone, but with another.

777 824 229 The no less abundant shot medicines make up a third group of medicines for good luck. Of the 109 plants used for these, 67 are rifle medicines (biǎ̱ ngǒ), that is, medicines that guarantee

[832]

Fig. 60. Love Medicine: a piece formed by two lianas so grown together that they appear as one.

a good shot with the rifle; two war medicines (biǎ̱ betǎ), 18 hunting medicines (biǎ̱ tǐ), four crossbow medicines (bia n mbǎn), two medicines for hunting drives (biǎ̱ a ldǎ tǐ), two medicines /165/ for a lucky eye in hunting, and 14 medicines that raise the hunting efficiency of the dogs (biǎ̱ myǒ) (Fig. 62).

The ingredients of the shot medicines are chosen according to various criteria. First the intention is to lure the game. Hence one takes parts of trees "loved" by the animal (that is, the animal likes to visit them, and hence will visit /Fig. 61 appears here in the original text/ the hunter who has them, even in the form of medicine). In other cases, parts that resemble animals are taken from trees, for example, the tendrils of the Oncinotis tessmannii Gilg (nǐm oǒk, "tail of the red-tailed monkey"), which resemble

[Text continues on page 34]

2: Tessmann--33 8-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Feng F119

832
925
301

Fig. 61. Love Medicine, Horn of the Dwarf Antelope, usually Worn on Forehead and Hung from the Helmet Hairdo.

789

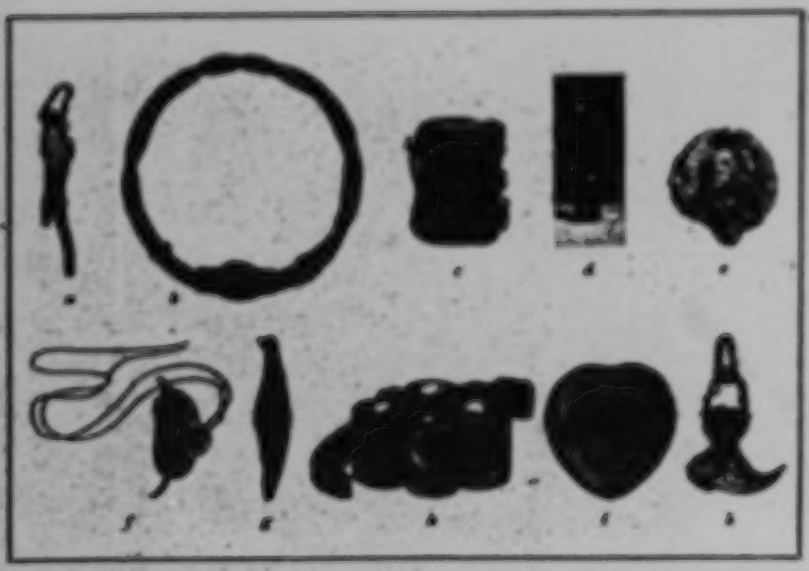


Fig. 62
(Caption on following page.)

777 a monkey's tail. The hunter thus becomes similar to the animal,
224 as it were, and the animal loses its shyness of him. In still other
224 cases, the game is to be made "weak" while the hunter and his hunting dog are to be made "strong," and for this purpose parts are taken from corresponding plants, or they are taken from trees that bear much fruit in order to have similarly rich results. Finally, plants are chosen which are intended to remove the noxious impurity of the body. /Fig. 62. Medicines of the Fang. (a) medi-
789 cine for wealth, the root of a tree (Homalium africanum) decorated with brass wire and a brass ring; (b)-(d) medicine against enemy weapons; (e) medicine against enemy surprise attacks, fruit of the Tiliaceae Duboscia macrocarpa (okak), to make enemies calm, peaceful (Duboscia and Leptonychia = peace linden); (f) medicine for successful travels; (g) medicine for speaking and singing well, contains the tooth of a tree conny (which is continually "singing"); (h) medicine for the Duhama dance; (i) medicine against palpitations and nervousness, the heart-shaped fruit of the Ertela scandens, worn around the neck (makes the heart strong). about 1/4 actual size; (k) war medicine, leopard claw, 1/2 actual size./ /166/ The manner of use varies; sometimes it is
777 internal, the leaves being cut up into small pieces and eaten with
224 the meat of the animal one has most recently sometimes killed;
789 it is external, in the form of injections of a bark infusion, which have the double effect of removing the impurity from the body and imparting to it the essence of the plant; or a piece of wood is charred and then used to draw a line across the forehead, so that one "looks" just like the plant concerned. Most frequently, the impurity is removed by ablutions; either individual parts, face, hands, and frequently also elbows and the knee, as well as the rifle, are washed in medicine water; or the entire body is washed in a stream, on which occasion a little dam blocks off the water which, after the completion of the ablution, is again allowed to run its course so that it will carry the dirt far away downstream (ôlle nkial). In order to guarantee the lasting efficiency of the
777 medicines, people generally wear pieces of wood and bark as
224 pendants on neck chains, hunting pouches, satchels, belts, and so forth.

The veneration of skulls likewise occurs in the case of the
769 hunting medicines. The skull of a man killed by violent means,
224 whose corpse remained on the spot (if the man belongs to the same
824 kindship group), is kept in a bark box and taken care of as in an-
cestor worship. When a huntsman kills a wild animal, for exam-
ple, he takes the first piece that falls to him in the distribution of
the meat to the skull as a thanks offering. This piece consists of
the sex organs and the flesh around them (ekī)ā', see Fig. 92 in
Vol. I). After he has taken it to the skull, he carries it off again
[762] to eat it himself. On the other hand, if there has been no luck
on the hunt, a chicken is killed for the "man" in the box so he
will see to it that a wild animal soon appears in front of his
prodigal's rifle and will be hit as effectively as he was in his time.

In addition, the Fang have a great war medicine, a celebra-
721 tion which is called afgōgu and is a companion festivity to the
789 engongechub. On this occasion, a sacred place is set up, a sub-
terranean corridor similar to that described in the case of the Ngi
/Id., not translated/ is dug, and a dwarf antelope, Cephalophus
[825] melanorheus Gray (ngbwō), which must have been caught alive,
is brought to the place. Then the medicine man stations himself
at one end of the corridor, and all the other men, armed with rifles,
[824] hang a seed of the Sarcodeia rubriflora Engl. (afāna(k)) as medi-
cine around their necks, and crawl -- the first with the antelope
in his arms -- through the corridor. At the exit, the medicine man
gives all of them, including the antelope, a medicine. The
antelope is thereupon released, and it is believed that when a sur-
prise attack is planned and the enemy has got wind of it, the ani-
mal will appear and thereby warn the attackers. By way of medi-
cines to secure the /167/ necessary courage for such an attack, five
different ones are available.

The medicines for trapping and fishing are rarer than the shot
777 medicines, a sign that these occupations are more in the Pangwe's
226 blood than open hunting. I have taken down only eight plants for
229 fish medicines and twelve for trap medicines.

Other medicines for good luck are used for successful buying
777 (two), speaking and singing well (about a dozen), faultless drumming (two), wrestling (29), the Jaunde game of chance (eight), and to make edible plants flourish (nine, see Section 5 /Ed., Vol. I/).

The second class of medicines discussed in this part consists of those used to ward off misfortune. In this category the most important are the medicines against theft (approximately 30), against adultery committed by the women (two), against the shrewishness of wives (one), against rivals among women (three), against forgetfulness and stage fright (three), against rain (only a few, see Section 14), against enemy weapons, against the consequences of cohabiting during the day (seven), of sleeping with pregnant women (for the last two cases there are even prophylactic medicines), and finally, against consequences that occur if one eats unclean animals (seven).

3. Medicines against Cult Maladies

In the description of the cults /Ed., not translated/ it was
764 shown that transgressions of mores resulted in punishments in the form of illness. These cult maladies are real illnesses of the body, but they can be cured only by the power whose anger has caused them. For that reason, they could also have been mentioned in the description of the cults. Every cult power is able to impose a malady, so someone can be Sso sick (Sidong-mba sick), Bokung (Elong sick), Schok sick and Ngi sick; we have already become acquainted with Malan sufferers. Since in the south Ngi is the most common and most feared cult power, the most frequent and most serious cult malady there comes from him.

I saw two cult maladies treated. One case involved a boy who
765 pretended to have Bokung sickness because he did not want to work any more; the second case involved a man who had been shot in the chest during the war and claimed that he had been punished this way by Ngi.

Bokung sickness is supposed to be recognizable by the trembling

755 of the head and hands. In the case in question the good Schona, the name of the boy, feigned these symptoms very well. The Bokung man was summoned, and /168/ drums were set up in front of the sick man's house; the Bokung man disappeared for a moment in the bushes and then reappeared as a chimpanzee (see the Bokung cult, page 65 /Ed., not translated/), amidst the screaming of reed pipes, and performed the ape dance while his assistant prepared the medicines that the sick person was to drink. Then the patient had placed around his neck a raffia pith rope that had been dipped in medicinal red wood (so he would feel as light as raffia pith is light). A line was drawn around about his body with the same color, and the medicine man then uttered the following incantation through the reed pipe:

755 a ŋŏna, a ŋŏna, a ɓŭaŋ a bŭenga
559 O Schona, O Schona, he together (ate) with women

kŭbŭ́ a ke adŭ́n kŭ́ ofŭ́ŋ, a bŭ́ŋ
goat, he goes to step over turtle over, he is possessed

ete, bokŭ́n a bŭ́ŋ nie,
by it, Bokung he has him (made possessed)

nkaku maŋŭ́ a nim ebŭ́
? oil palms?, make straight (like) stick (of the)

dzŭ́ŋ, myŭ́ yŭ, ma nyŭ́ nkŭ́ ŋ,
raffia, dog he dies, I take dorsal vertebra,

a kŭb, a nim, ofŭ́ nkŭ́ ŋ'
take away, make straight, (into the) water down

wŭ, nyŭ́ ɔ́ŋ́n, nyŭ a yŭ́ŋ.
(onomatopoetic) skin unsurpassable, skin it easily.

This song -- like many purification songs -- is evidently very ancient and in part no longer understood. Through its agency the

755 sickness is supposed to be taken away. By way of explaining the
539 verse it may be observed that the initiates of the Bokung and Elong cult are forbidden to eat goats or sheep with women and are forbidden to eat turtles or to step over them. It is assumed that the sick person may have transgressed one of these prohibitions. The phrase "making straight" refers to the sick person, since he is supposed to become as straight as a raffia stick; the dog represents the scapegoat that is killed and whose dorsal vertebra (the stuff causing the sickness is in the spinal marrow) is thrown into the water instead of the patient's in order to indicate that together with its habitation the sickness itself is to be washed away, taken away. Then the sick man will feel light. Of course, the presence of women is strictly prohibited.

755 Of a Ngi sufferer it is said: ngi a bîlê nif, that is, Ngi has
§24 him, has made him possessed. The treatment is carried out by the Ngi man who appears in the sick man's village amidst roaring and clanging of cymbals; with the Ngi bones in his hand he then dances about to the accompaniment of drum music. In the case that I witnessed, /169/ the barks of various plants were then dissolved in water; among them were especially the following: Lasa guineensis Don (afôwelê), Musanga smithii R. Br. (asôlê), Trema guineense (Schum.) Engl., Vernonia conferta Bth., Costus, Emilia, Uapaca, Antidesma, and Hecheria.

755 The actual "cure" was performed as follows. The Ngi man
beat the patient's head alternately with bundles of the Macaranga and Trema; then he washed the bullet wound with the medicine water and gave the patient a drink of the same water. Thereupon he mixed together red wood, bark shavings, and chicken's blood obtained by forcibly pulling the chicken's beak open; with this paste he drew a line around the sick man's chest, smeared his neck, and painted the bed posts. The next day the Ngi representative appeared once more with bones and sacred thorns, performed all kinds of dances, such as I have described in connection with the Ngi cult /Ed., not translated/, and in a singsong made a kind of exorcism speech similar to that of the Bokung man. In case a single attempt to cure is of no avail, it is repeated; in one village I heard the Ngi man roaring night after night in order to free a seriously ill person of his sufferings.

4. Medical Knowledge.

157 All internal afflictions which the Pangwe do not recognize -- 169 especially malaria, as has been mentioned, as well as migraine (eyŋ̄-nlɔ̄, that is, ewu in the head), and sudden, quickly passing cramps (elīfmu) -- are conceived by them as ewu. That is to say, he thinks of them as illnesses caused by sorcery and fights them with all kinds of mystical remedies that for lack of space I cannot discuss in detail here.

The Pangwe have, however, more or less correctly identified and named a large number of illnesses, especially such as have externally visible symptoms. He names them in the order of their ravingness as follows:

1. ɔ̄ŋm IV = leprosy;
2. ɔ̄ŋ̄ = elephantiasis of the scrotum;
3. ɔ̄ŋ IV (1) = serious form of dysentery, distinguished

1. But ɔ̄ŋ IV = meat, animal.

by a swollen belly (nkɔ̄ŋ I);

4. kɔ̄ŋ̄ III kɔ̄ŋ̄ III = syphilis, only among the Jaunde (2);

2. As recently as 1891 Zenker was unable to observe any syphilis.

5. mabā́da I = frambesia (3);

3. The pockmarks are designated by the Pangwe as mbā́da-mɔ̄ŋ̄ (plural).

6. bendɔ̄mejɔ̄n (plural = elephantiasis of the legs;
7. ɔ̄, pfɔ̄ I = festering boils;
8. ekɔ̄, ekɔ̄, mvɔ̄m IV = furuncles;
9. nkɔ̄k I, edɔ̄, okɔ̄n mabɔ̄ŋ̄k = gonorrhea; /170/
10. nkɔ̄la = swelling of the inguinal glands, bubo;

759
759

11. [illegible] I = eczema, Kraken /E4., 7/;
12. [illegible] = scabies;
13. [illegible] = herpes on the head;
14. [illegible] IV = herpes on the skin.

Towards less serious internal ailments, such as intestinal disturbances, stomach pains, toothaches, and so forth, the Pangwe behave with comparative equanimity. Although they have come to realize that some of these are caused by immoderate eating, spoiled food, and so forth, they do not give up their accustomed way of life. Instead of following a sensible diet, they try to cure themselves by medicines.

Of internal illnesses the Pangwe have terms for the following: [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] = epilepsy; [illegible] = back pains (of a nervous origin); [illegible] = heart disease actually, then mental illnesses because it is believed that nervous ailments proceed from the heart; [illegible] = headaches; [illegible] = lung ailments (consumption?); [illegible], [illegible] I = common cold; [illegible] = neck pains; [illegible] I, usually used in the plural = stomach aches, intestinal pains (when shooting pains are felt); [illegible], [illegible] = toothache; [illegible] I = rheumatic and nervous ailments; [illegible] = stomach-aches (when twitching pains are felt); [illegible] = rump pains; [illegible] = arm pains; [illegible] = hemorrhoids; [illegible] = eye diseases; [illegible] I, [illegible] = inflammation of the eye; [illegible] VII = [illegible] in the eye.

The principal parasites are: [illegible] = eye worms; [illegible] = sand fleas; and [illegible] IV = lice.

759
759

As regards the origin of these afflictions, elephantiasis of the scrotum and the legs is attributed to sorcery; all other serious illnesses are attributed to the cult powers which impose them as a penalty for sins committed. At the head of this list is leprosy, whose name [illegible] should therefore be derived from the root [illegible] (see page 13 /E4., not translated/), "to extend one's hands to punish, to punish." After that come frambesia and incurable festering boils. The cult powers cause these afflictions either independently and on their own initiative, or the cult powers are utilized in the performance of certain symbolic ceremonies with objects connected with their cult. If the Ngi is invoked, for

759 example, in the case of the theft of some food, a bit of the remains of the food, such as chewed sugarcane, is put in a rifle and fired off, or the chewed sugarcane is put in the smithy pit in place of iron and belabored with the bellows. In still other cases, this same sugarcane is placed with a pepper twig in the burrow of
[825] a Lygosoma fernandi Bert. (the scincoid lizard), and a fire is lighted under them. In all /171/ these cases the fire is a symbol of the Ngi (fire cult). Another time the Seo is called upon. If, for example, someone has stolen a wild animal from a trap, the hairs still sticking to the trap are placed in a halved Negro banana (the plant sacred to the Seo) or on a halved piece of the
[824] Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becco. nkine I (likewise a cult plant, but its significance is unknown to me), and the thief will then contract leprosy. Furthermore, the remnants of the stolen goods merely need to be placed on the path to a frambesia patient's toilet in order to cause the thief to contract frambesia. Such a manner of wishing an illness upon someone is called a pfu'di, from a pfude, "to do, to lay, to do something to someone, to impose (lay) something on someone, to throw upon."

753 As the third cause of illness, the natives are familiar with the simple communication of diseases, infection (substantive, nkŭ̄hŭn I; verb, a kŭ̄hŭn), and the Pangwe know very well that frambesia is more contagious, whereas leprosy is less so.

In the case of less serious illnesses, some people may get the idea that the illness was involved in some way by offended or harmed companions. In general, however, people do not think about causes; the illness simply comes by itself.

Among the Jaunde the a pfŭ̄'ŭi is unknown because the cults
[149] are not so highly developed as they are among the southern Pangwe.
[759] The Jaunde often blame sorcerous beings.

The fee for treatment of disease is variously handled. In the
759 case of leprosy the medicine man receives 110 spears (seven marks) or a small goat, if his art has been of some help -- otherwise he receives nothing. In the case of frambesia and illnesses of the ewu he receives in advance a chicken, as well as the head and heart of the goat that is slaughtered so that the patient may drink the blood. If the cure was successful, he is paid 50 spears. In the case of less

759 serious illness, an advance payment is not customary; only now and then the medicine man receives a small present, especially since he knows an almost inexhaustible number of remedies. If every remedy is of no avail or should the sick man die, the medicine man will not demand a fee simply from a sense of tact and compassion -- "so that the hearts of the relatives will not be afflicted even more." On the other hand, if there is an improvement, he receives five spears if he lives in the same village and ten spears if he has been called in from outside.

I have nothing to report concerning any ceremonies held during the cure.

Leprosy (nǎm). Figure 63

767 The spots of leprosy -- which appear yellow on the black skin
768 of the natives -- are rubbed with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata Vahl (ekǒŋ' Fang) or the stalks of the Manniophyton africanum Muell. Arg. (ŋgǒ Ntum) until /172/ /Fig. 63 appears here in the original text/ blood appears. The following medicines are then dried and ground: Microglossa afzelii O. Hoffmann (ojǎ e ndǎk); plantain peel (oyǒna ekǒn); and Diospyros ampullacea Gürke (efifi'ni), leaves or bark. These are rubbed on the body with resin of Xylopia aethiopica A. Rich. (ojǎ) and oil from the seeds of Mimusops djave (mbǒn adǎ). When the cure begins, a tree fungus is added. A second medicine is the following. After the same preparatory treatment, a tree fungus and bark from Pachyelasma tessmannii Harms (makǒ III) and from an undetermined Rubiacea (oyǒ') are burned together to an ash and rubbed on the body with shea butter oil or raffia palm oil or oil from Carapa procera D.C. (ebǒ). A third recipe recommends leaves of Microglossa afzelii and Phaulopsis longifolius Smis. (ǒǒ-eǒk III) to be placed on the leprous spots. The leaves of the last-named plant are also taken as a preventive after being ground and boiled in the food with an egg (bundle form). In some regions the spots are burned out with a glowing iron, and then the ground leaves of the Apocynacea Psychotria coffeosperma K. Sch. (odimaǒ e' III), together with oil, are put on the spots; or the burned spots are washed with a hot extract of the bark of Eurypetalum tessmannii

2: Tessmann--43 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

.757
278
[342]

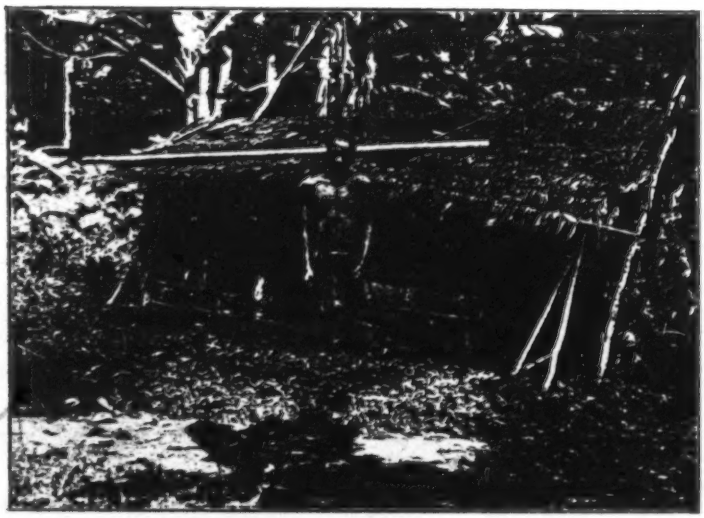


Fig. 63.- Leper in front of his Hut, Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

Harms (andzĭtsĭn), whole leaves of the Phaulopsis or ground leaves of cassava (Manihot utilissima) and Emilia sagittata L. (alōmvū III) are pressed on the spots, and over them is sprinkled a powder made of the dried and charred roots and stems of the Asystasia macrophylla T. And. /173/ (elŏbokūi). Shortly before the complete healing of the spots, the fruit of Solanum aethiopicum L. var. (ndzē̱i-ʒŭ̱m) is pressed on them so they will become as black as the fruit.

For the later stage of the illness, in which the festering boils form, the following prescription is used: leaves of the Bidens bipinnatus L. (aniŏ́ń), leaves of the Brillantaisia vogeliana Bth. ebūgebŏ́ń), and pieces of bark of Ficus exasperata are boiled together in water; the water is then poured into a leaf vessel and left to stand until it is lukewarm; then the leprosy spots are washed with it. Thereupon, whole leaves of the Fleurya aestuans (L) Gandich (ngūkŭ́n IV) are placed on the boils as a compress. After two days, the leaf is taken off, the washing is repeated, and the young, still folded leaves of the Loganiacea Mostuea buchholzii Engl. (ofū̱mū) are ground and put on the wounds.

757 Whether these medicines really are effective will have to be
278 investigated by doctors. The Pangwe themselves, at any rate,
164 assert that they can cure leprosy in its early stages, and I was shown cases with healed areas that had left lighter spots from which all symptoms of inflammation had disappeared. Frequent repetition of the treatment is presupposed. Leprosy is one of the most terrible and common diseases of the southern Pangwe region. At a Sso festival in Akonangi, for example, I counted seven lepers among approximately 30 men present. With the primitive living conditions and the carelessness of the Negroes, the disease is all too readily communicated. It is true that prophylactic methods
[714] are used; indeed, lepers are even segregated, but only in the advanced stages of the disease and then very incompletely since, for example, they are admitted to all the dance festivals. The
[837] women even seek out lepers by preference for extramarital sexual intercourse. In the north leprosy does not occur so severely; according to the statement of one Jaunde, this is because they use medicines as soon as the illness appears.

757 The explanation of the effect of the medicine, if one is given at all, is always a mystical one, although it should by no means be concluded from this that the plants concerned would not be worth scientific investigation. In the case of leprosy, for instance, the blackish color or the blackening property of the plants is usually declared to be the cause of their effectiveness. The skin is supposed to become black, and therefore the medicine is usually made at night when everything is black: hence, the choice of ojǎ̰n e
[824] ndžīk (Microglossa afzelii) and of ojǎ̰h (Xylopia aethiopica), from a jǎ̰n, "to roast, to blacken"; hence, efifi'di (Diospyros), from fi'di, "coal," because the tree is black as coal; hence, ovīna ekōn (black plantains), from a yīn, "to become black"; hence, osṵ̆ŭ elōk (Phaulopsis) from nsūt, "black." /174/

Elephantiasis of the scrotum (ojūn, mbǎ̰n).

Elephantiasis of the scrotum is not too frequent among the Pangwe, but it is greatly feared by them, probably only because

757 in its later stages it makes sexual intercourse impossible. In the Pangwe region I never encountered the gigantic scrotums that one finds in the Northern Cameroons, for instance. The natives be-
[753] lieve that the disease is caused by worms that ordinarily live in the stomach and are the cause of stomach pains. From the stomach they are supposed to migrate into the scrotum and cause it to swell. Allegedly from the example of the Whites (perhaps
[177] from Nkomakak?), people in a few places have hit upon the idea
[152] of opening the scrotum and cutting out the swellings. The original treatment, which is still practiced today, is to use the medicines for stomach worms. Recipes for these medicines are as follows.

757 1. beyūĕ a ndžīk III, scraped bark boiled with raffia palm
278 resin, the water being in part carefully poured off, the rest injected as an enema. At the same time, pieces of bark of Cylicodiscus gabonensis Harms (edūm) and Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekūk) are placed in a leaf vessel with water; then somebody blows into it with a reed until foam rises. The patient must sit down in the vessel. Both plants contain an acrid sap supposed to drive away the "worms."

2. Illigera pentaphylla Welw. (matū,lū mesiń III), ground leaves eaten with salt and pepper.

3. Citrus limonum Risso (alō's), "because it is bitter and evil-smelling, and so drives away the worms," together with Plagiostyles klainei Pierre (ešŭlă', from a šŭlăn, "to loosen" knots), "so that the disease will likewise be loosened," Oncinotis tessmannii Gilg (njĕm osō'k IV), "because the worms fear the hairs (= the itching)," Brillantaisia lamium Bth. (dźibe elō'k III), "because the plant is bitter," and Stenochlaena guineensis (Kuhn) Unt. (nkădena' III), all boiled together in a pot with water and then used as an enema. In addition, pieces of bark of Mesocarpidium lepidotum Engl. et Diels (amvim) slightly boiled and pressed on the stomach.

4. Dioscorea preussii Pax (abă'n), Xylopia zenkeri Engl. et Diels (odžūę), and an herb osă; leaves or pieces of bark ground together, then boiled a little, and the water used as an enema.

When the healing starts, Maesobotrya (mbă'n-afă'n I) dried, ground, and eaten.

751 278 Furthermore, the following are supposed to be able to cure the disease as well: the Meliacea Trichilia prieuriana Juss (eyǒ), the Rubiacea (oyǒ'), the Rhamnacea Maesopsis tessmannii Engl. (nkǎ́ńgǎ' I), and especially the Leguminosa Millettia tessmannii Harms (niḗ'kemakjī' I). /175/

Serious form of dysentery (tīɩ).

Aside from the symptoms of ordinary dysentery, this disease is distinguished by an unsightly swollen belly, and it frequently leads to death.

As a remedy, Trichilia prieuriana Juss (eyǒ) is used. Pieces of bark are placed in a leaf vessel, hot water is poured over them, and the water is then used as an enema. Hot pieces of the bark are also pressed on the body. Furthermore, the bark of the Leguminosa Amphimas tessmannii Harms (edžī) is scraped off, mixed with red wood, heated on a potsherd over a fire, and then pressed to the belly. The following is also recommended: pieces of bark of Leptonychia tessmannii Engl. Stercubiacea (akǎk), boiled and pressed while hot on the stomach; in addition pieces of bark of a species of Parkia (esḗ,ń) and ground leaves of Cassia occidentalis L. (ebḗī-sī) and Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (ayǎ, e sī), from which an extract is made in cold water and consumed, these last two plants being used because of their smell. Finally, pieces of the bark Pseudospondias tessmannii Engl. (angǒkǒń) are boiled, and the lukewarm water used as an enema, or extracts are made with cold water from the bark of Anonidium mannii Oliv. (ebǒm) or from the leaves of Dichapetalum patentihirsutum Engl. (étǎ') and used as an enema (1).

1. For syphilis, only Trichilia tessmannii Harms (atǔm) is used. Pieces of the bark are boiled and placed with water in a leaf vessel, and the patient is made to crouch in it for a long time, or ashes of the bark are sprinkled on the area primarily affected.

Frambesia (mabā'da).

757 278 [164] Next to leprosy, frambesia is the most widespread of the dangerous diseases of the Pangwe region. As various infected Europeans assert, the natives' manner of treatment was markedly successful with them.

The most usual medicine is the following. The diseased areas are cleansed with a decoction, as hot as possible, made from the bark of Heisteria parvifolia Smith (žōebê III) and leaves of Claoxylon africanum Muell. Arg., Euphorbiacea (bešobešōo III), Costus littoralis K. Sch. (2) (zĕlănă' mĭĕm), "so the illness will go

2. Or Costus aff. ligulatus Gagnep.

around one like the leaves around the plant," and a species of Aneilema, "because the leaves are cold and supposed to lessen the heat of the pain." Then the contents of the red fruit (esŭn) of the Cardamom are heated on a potsherd and pressed on the areas. If blood spurts forth, it is washed off with the hot water. Then /176/ the dried roots of a species of Dioscorea (minutiflora Engl.?), awū'nūk, are charred, and the affected areas are sprinkled with the ashes. Finally, the principal medicine is sprinkled on the ashes; this is the milky sap of the nyă,mă ndžīk, two Apocynaceae, Olafia multiflora Stpf. and Oncinotis glandulosa Stpf. Instead of the Dioscorea ashes, fine bark scraped off the Apocynaceae mentioned may also be used. The milky sap is often mixed with ground leaves of the Ochnacea Ouratea nigro-violacea Gilg (okū,m-afă'n), and the bark of Ouratea spinuloso-serrata Gilg (abŏnežŏk Ntum) is often added to the water.

Elephantiasis of the legs (bendūmejăń).

[164] This disease is quite frequent in the Pangwe area and is supposed to be prevalent chiefly among women. It is curable only in the initial stages, when only the foot is swollen. If the swelling has spread to the shank, all efforts are in vain. The treatment that the afflicted person must submit to is a regular horse cure.

757 278 First the feet are beaten with the spiked Acanthus montanus T. Andl. (ndū́ī IV) until the blood pours from them; better still, the upper part of the foot is lacerated with a knife. Then both feet are covered with sand that is heated by several fires. If the pains become unendurable, the patient is allowed to cool his feet in cold water to which are added leaves of Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. (abūī Ntum) and bark of Macaranga heudelotii Baill. (asǎs). The Alchornea is supposed to be "cold" and to have a cooling effect; the Macaranga is supposed to remove the sickness (a sǎ[s] okōn, "to shake off a sickness"). Then the feet are again put into the hot sand bath, and this procedure is carried out three times in succession. The treatment is repeated every other day until there is a cure.

Festering boils (fṓ, pfṓ).

The treatment resembles that for frambesia. Frequently the affected spots are washed with hot or at least warm water and afterwards with the milky sap of the Apocynaceae Olafia and Oncinotis. A few other medicines may be mentioned here.

1. Cissus smithiana (Bak.) Pl. (njǎ'mandūmǎnǎ III): the bark is scraped off just above the ground, placed in water, and then applied to the wound.

2. Costus (miēn IV): after removal of the bark, the stalk is ground, then boiled, and pressed on the wound while still hot. After this, ground leaves of Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. are placed on the wound.

3. After the same preparatory treatment with Costus, leaves of the Asclepiadacea Periploca nigrescens Afz. (abǎń e ndzīk) are placed on the wound. /177/

4. Pieces of the bark of Erythrophloeum guineense (elūn) and Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms (andzītsīń) are boiled, and the water is pressed on the spots; then the leaves of Ampelocissus cinnamochroa Pl. (nsī'sā III) are ground and laid on the wounds.

5. Trichoscypha (eńgǒń): a number of pieces of bark are boiled, and the wounds are washed with the hot water. Then pieces

of the bark are charred and sprinkled on the affected areas.

6. Trichoscypha (amvût): just like 5; in the beginning, after the washing, bark of Conopharyngia brachyantha Stapf, Apocynacea (etū,ě), is scraped off and sprinkled on the spots.

7. Dissotis decumbens (P.B.) Tr. (mabǒmogbwā III): leaves are ground, then boiled, and the wounds are washed with the hot water; then leaves of Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (avá,e sī) are placed on the wounds.

8. Solenostemon leaves are ground and pressed out over the wound, together with the sap from the tuber of the Aframomum.

Furuncles (ekiě, ekō, mvǐm IV).

A few medicines will be mentioned here.

1. Commelinacea Palisota preussiana K. Sch. (epfūpfū'i): stalks are scraped off after the removal of the outer layer, and the shavings are tied on the boils.

2. Colocasia antiquorum (atū): the tuber is hollowed out by twirling a knife, and the contents are placed on the affected areas with the resin of Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl. (ašē,ǎ).

3. A whole leaf of the Euphorbiaceae Maesobotrya (mbǎ'ń-afǎ'n I) is placed on the spot with the resin of Pachylobus, "so it will become small," because the Euphorbiaceae mentioned have small leaves in comparison to Tricalysia macrophylla K. Sch. (mbǎ'ń).

4. A whole leaf of Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (avǎ,e sī, edǒdǒelǒ), together with resin, is placed on the spot, "because of the odor."

5. Ancistrocarpus densispinosus Oliv. (akǎ[k] a ndžīk): the bark is scraped off and placed on the spots together with red wood; "akǎ[k] a ndžīk is quiet (compare akǎk, "peace linden") and has odor (?).

6. Gall fruit (plural, bebūma, "fruits") of the Microglossa volubilis D.C. (mvūvū' I) are charred and smeared on the wounds together with oil.

7. Cassava roots are scraped and tied to the affected area.

8. Cucurbitacea Lepistemon owariensis (Spreng.) Hallierf.
757 (nkōmbwǒ̰le III): leaves ground together with red wood and some
278 water and smeared on the affected places /178/; "a bwö̰le (buḛ̄le), break open, the fruit breaks open of its own accord, and in the same way the boil is supposed to break open."

9. Ophiocaulon gracile Harms, Passifloracea (ejǒk): the leaves are heated over the fire and then pressed on the affected places. The fruit of Ophiocaulon are hollow and burst easily, making a slight noise. "In the same way the boils are supposed to burst open."

10. Conopharyngia brachyantha Stpf. (etṵ̄ě): the sap of the plant is sprinkled on the boils, "so they run like the milky sap from the Conopharyngia."

11. Desplatsia subericarpa Bocq. (ukū'kūt a mfǒ'hǒk III): the contents of the fruit are smeared on with red wood, so the swelling will become as small as the fruit of the Desplatsia subericarpa in comparison to the Desplatsia dewevrei (mfǒ'hǒk I).

12. Euphorbiacea Tragia cordifolia Benth (otṵ̄m): the leaves are pressed on with resin. The leaves burn, and it is hoped thereby to dispel the swelling.

Finally, attempts are also made to remove the swellings by
[752] means of external treatments. Thus, the boils are beaten, for example, with the sharp-spiked Acanthus montanus until the blood pours out, and then the wound is covered with the leaves of Dioscorea dumetorum (Kunth) Pax (andéă), or the boils may be cut open with a knife.

Gonorrhea (nkǒk I).

Gonorrhea is supposed to be indigenous to the Pangwe region,
[177] but it is quite infrequent in the untouched interior. In Yaoundé /Ed., in German, Jaunde/, on the other hand, and in the vicinity of the coast, under the influence of "civilization," it is very widespread. The cure of gonorrhea is attempted mainly by internal medicines. For instance, a watery solution of the Conopharyngia (etṵ̄ě) is drunk so the gonorrhea will "flow out," or one may drink a bark extract from Heisteria parvifolia Sm., Flacourtiacea

757 (yiŏ́s IV), from Rinorea dentata (P. Beauv.) O. Ktze., Violacea
278 (olŭ́ń), from Mesocarpidium lepidotum Engl. et Diels, Anonacea (amyim), or from Berlinia acuminata Sol., Leguminosa (epfɔ́bǎ). Instead of pure water, they frequently take sugar water, which first has been placed in the sun, with, for example, a root extract of Triumfettia cordifolia Guillet, Sterculiacea (okūń), or with the Araliacea Schefflera tessmannii Harms (abēokū́ī), with Garcinia purulata Oliv. (mekǎ eli), or with Canarium schweinfurthii Engl. (abē Ntum). Furthermore, leaves for example, from Polycephalium poggei Engl. (okǒngūs), are cut up and eaten with spices (salt, pepper, melegueta) (1) in a ngon bundle, often together with the

1. Melegueta pepper always should be taken to mean Aframomum melegueta K. Sch. (andǔń).

flesh of the spiny-finned sheatfish. The sharp or spiked things used are supposed to drive out the illness, hence, okǒngūs, from okǒń, "knife." More rarely, they use /179/ enemas, with preparations such as an extract from the head of a blossom from the Costus (explanation: "So that the 'body sap' -- this is how the discharge is conceived in this case -- will stick together in the body as do the blossoms of the Costus"), from Rinorea, or Maesopsis tessmannii Engl. (nkǎ́ńgǎ́ I). Furthermore, the skin over the pubes, where the seed arises, according to Pangwe opinion, is lacerated, and ashes of Cnestis ferruginea D.C., Connaracea (ntěbe sī I), are rubbed into the wounds, so that the discharge will "sit down" like the herb (a těbě o sī, "to sit down").

Swelling in the groin (nkǎ́ǎ́).

A procedure aimed at removing the malady entails making an incision in one toe on the side of the body affected and rubbing pepper and salt into the wound. Another prescription goes: leaves of Tricalysia macrophylla K. Sch., Rubiacea (mbǎ́ń I) and Selaginella scandens (B.B.) Sprg. (zělǎnǎ́), charred and then

757 placed on the areas together with oil. The affliction is supposed
278 to miss (a sèlǎn) the person just as the leaves of the Selaginella "miss" their counterparts (the leaves, in other words, are alternate); mbǎ'n from a bǎ̀n, "to evade," that is, the disease is supposed to evade the person just as the tree has an evasive quality (meaning unclear). Furthermore, the disease is driven out by blows with the nettle-like inflorescences of the Urticaceae Boehmeria platyphylla D. Don (sǎ'[s] -dǐǎm IV) or Fleurya podocarpa Wedd (sǎ's IV). Finally, they also grind blossoms of Hippocratea myriantha Oliv. (mesī, ndǐk I) and apply them with oil to the swelling.

Eczema, Krokro (ntǐǎn I).

Prescriptions. 1. Hosluntia verticillata Vahl (osaavō', asǒbenkūm): dip the shoots in hot water and rub them on the affected areas; then apply the ground leaves of the Cyathula achyranthoides (Kth.) Mog. (num e kǒlō't III) with oil. 2. Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (ayǎ, e sī): wash the areas with a decoction; then apply the ground leaves of the Apocynaceae Doacanga or Rauwolfia with oil.

Furthermore, parts of the following plants are rubbed onto the areas together with oil: Phyllanthus cappillaris Schum. et Thom (elǒametšǎn IV) (ground leaves), Rumex abessinicus Jacq (esǎn) (heated leaves), Fleurya aestuans (ngūkǔ'n IV) (heated leaves), Palisota thyrsiflora Bth., Commelinacea (ekǒkā̀delǎ'n) (charred leaves), Millettia drastica Welw. (onǔmežǒk) (scraped-off bark), Gouania longipetala Hemsley, Rhamnacea (ngǒnǒ' a ndǐk III) (scraped-off bark).

For scabies the natives frequently use raffia palm oil by itself or with the leaves of Hosluntia or of the Vitacea Ampelocissus cavicaulis /180/ (Bak.) Pl. (pfǎ'ǐǎǒk IV) or Aerua lanata (L.) Juss., Amarantacea (angō'ngō'nǒ III). Also, hoops of Cissus or Lepistemon stalks are slung around the foot.

For herpetic eruptions on the head (akǒ), which for the most part, it is true, are ignored and occur with special frequency among children, tobacco leaves are rubbed on the shaved head, on the head

757 is powdered by making the sole of one's foot quite dusty and then
274 pressing it on the head of the patient.

More widespread is a herpetic eruption of the skin (tōn, matōn) with bright spots that must not be confused with leprosy. As remedies the following plants are known to me: Capsicum leaves are ground and placed on the areas affected; the leaves of Brillantaisia lamium Bth. (dźibě elōk III) are heated and placed on the areas, and a leaf extract is used as an enema (the plant is dark, and the skin is supposed to become dark again); Asclepiadacea Marsdenia ladifolia (Bth.) Schltr. (abodeambě III), the leaves ground and put on the areas together with oil (the plants "blacken"); Clerodendron buettneri Gürke (mavūlū elōk III), because of its hairs.

A less important skin disease, a kind of Krokro which especially attacks the feet and is called aśū,lūk, appears chiefly during the rainy season. Heated shoots of Hibiscus sabdariffa L. (esǎń) and Rumex abessynicus Jacq. (ebūdo esǎń), which are pressed on the diseased areas, are used for it, or leaves of Aneilema aequinoctiale Kth. (nnǎt I) are added to a foot bath.

Epilepsy (okū,bū́k).

According to one view, epilepsy is caused by the fact that along with his food a person has accidentally got a cicada (ngǎmtětě'a IV) into his stomach. According to the dominant opinion, however, it is caused by the fact that one has looked too long into the sun. Medicines for it are the Apocynaceae Rauwolfia and Doacanga, whose leaves are ground and boiled, and used as an enema when they have cooled; furthermore, from Cola ricinifolia Engl. et Krause (alǒn), one root is stuck into the hair, another is scraped and steeped in water, the water then being drunk, and the other roots are put under the bed. The Cola is supposed to be "cold." During an attack, ground leaves of Cissus aralioides (Welw.) Pl. (aṅgǒ'ṅengí) are put in water, and this is poured over the afflicted person. The Cissus causes itching and brings the patient back to consciousness.

757 For back aches Erythrophloeum guineense (elǔn) and the
278 Rubiacea Gaertnera paniculata (esǒ̄ mǒ̄ Fang) are used. The bark of the Erythrophloeum is heated and laid on a bed on which the patient lies down. The bark of the Gaertnera is cut up into small pieces and is put into a larger piece of bark of the same plant; the patient must lie down with his back on it. For organic /181/ heart disease (nnǎ nnēm "pains in the heart"), an extract of the
[826] bark of Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edžō'le) is drunk; for mental
[828] disorders, which are also supposed to come from the heart (okǒn nnēm), 10 different medicines have been mentioned to me. By acquiring the particular property of the plant, the heart is supposed to be put to sleep and made dark and small. I have further collected: 21 medicines for headache; four for lung disease (sǒ); nine for the cold; 56 for stomach and intestinal disorders; 54 for toothaches; 47 for rheumatic pains (nnǎ and nnǎ-nkūk); 23 for stomach-aches when twitching pains occur (nnǎ-abǔm); and five for hemorrhoids, among them especially the Cucurbitacea Cephalonema polyandrum K. Sch. (ejažǔ'm).

For eye inflammations, ground leaves of the Rubiacea Chasalia macrodiscus K. Sch. (dži a ndžīk III) or bark scraped off the Euphorbiacea Hasskarlia didymostemon Baill. (efüō'le, dži III) are put in a leaf bag, a little water is added, and the extract flowing out at the bottom is dropped into the eye. The same process is carried out with ground leaves of Ampelocissus cinnamochroa (nsī's ǎ III) as a remedy for sties.

To get rid of eye worms (evǎ'), the sap of the following plants is used: Dipteropeltis poranoides Hallier f., Convolvulacea (atū'k e ndžīk); Diodia breviseta Benth, Rubiacea (dēmezǒ III); Gabunia brachypoda Stpf., Apocynacea (etūe' ndžīk); Phaseolus lunatus L. (okǒkūnǒ III).

The Negro's indifference toward sand lice, Sarcopsylla penetrans (ašǒ), is well known; the Pangwe, too, neglect sand lice wounds and do not use medicine until half the toe is festered. Then ground leaves of Phytolacca abyssinica Hoffmann (atǒt e nkǒ), ground leaves of Ocimum gratissimum L. (asō'b) mixed with oil, or bark shavings of the Euphorbiacea Neoboutonia africana Muell. Arg. (okǒ'jōm) mixed with oil are placed on the wounds, and after a few days the

757 resin of Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl. (ašē, ǎ), which kills the
278 parasites that might have stayed in the flesh, is smeared on them.

The medicines for lice (nǐn) were given in Volume I, page 188.

An effective emetic, which, however, is rarely used, is supplied by Microglossa volubilis D.C. (myūvū' I). The leaves are ground and steeped in water, and the water is then drunk.

An infusion of the bark of the Olacacea Stromboisopsis congolensis de Wildem. (edžīb, from dzīb, "to close") is supposed to have a constipating effect; it is used cold as an enema. An infusion of avǒm is supposed to have the same effect.

As a laxative Cassia occidentalis L. (ebē'ī sī) is used, the leaves being ground and put in cold water, and this is drunk; furthermore, young shoots from the Rubiacea Urophyllum /182/ callicarpoides H. (mbóšō' III) are ground in water, and this liquid is used as an enema; finally the root of Physedra longipes Hook f. (ebŭ'i) is steeped in cold water, and the liquid used as an enema.

One rarely hears anything about snake bites in the Pangwe
752 region. Despite the fairly large number of species of these reptiles,
136 there are only a few whose bite is almost always deadly. These include Bitis nasicornis Shaw (fē'ī' IV Ntum) and Naja melanoleuca Hall. (eyǐndi nyǒ', "black snake"). Those whose bite frequently leads to death include Naja guentheri Blgr. (okŭm), Atheris squamiger Hall. (yiǒt IV), and two Thrasops species, Thrasops flavigularis Hall. (nkō'dō-nšūt III) and Thrasops aethiops Günth. (nkō'dō-fǎm III). All other species, even if some of them are poisonous, are little if at all feared since their poison is not fatal and can be made ineffectual by medicines. The varying effect of snake bites has given rise to the belief that those who die from them had been engaged in sorcery the night before (nwūǎn I, that is, one who must die), whereas the others did not (nniǎn I, that is, one who shall live).

In the treatment of snake bites the principal role is played by a
752 stone concerning which I was unable to discover any further details.
278 In addition, the leaves of the Urticacea Pouzolzia guineensis Benth (mbǒanĕ' III) or of Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (avǎ, e sī) are ground in water, and with this the wounds are washed; or the sap of the Guttifera Haronga paniculata (Pers.) Lodd. (atūī') -- which is also used when goats are castrated -- is dripped into the wounds.

751 A preventive device consists of a brass ring worn on the left thumb, the ring having first been given curative powers by the medicine man through certain ceremonies, for instance, by boiling it in medicines.

752 278 If someone is stung by a scorpion, his urine is applied to the spot, something that the Pangwe ordinarily do not do with wounds. Later, they attempt to dispel the morbid matter by evil smells; [826] for instance, a leaf with vaginal slime is placed on the wound. The explanation by the informant ran as follows in the best coastal English (1):

[124]

> 1. In order to avoid misunderstandings it should be emphasized that my Pangwe people gave their reports in their own language, but that their statements were checked with the help of an English-speaking interpreter.

Bumbo	be	bad	ting,		dem	smell,	he
Vagina	is	bad	thing,	(namely,)	the	smell,	it

come de!
comes out.

An injured foot is put in water in which stalks of Palisota preussiana (epfúpfū'ŋ) have been pounded to bits, or heated leaves of the calabash (ndǭk IV), together with oil, are rubbed on the injury, "because the calabash has a bad smell."

The very painful puncture made by the spiny-finned sheatfish (kō'mesǔm IV), for instance, Auchenoglanis balayi (Sauv.) (nsǐn̄ I) pictured on Plate 9 of Volume I, for whose dorsal /183/ spikes the fisherman has great respect, is made harmless by tying a rope tightly around the arm and then holding the spot over the fire.

The Pangwe combat wasp and bee stings with Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth (abǒ'medzǎ'n).

Bullets, that is, the pieces of iron with which the rifle is loaded and which, due to the aimless firing practiced by the Pangwe

752 find their way into the bodies of fighting companions, are removed
278 by incision. The sap of Landolphia ochracea K. Sch. (avŭ'm) is then trickled over the wounds, and they are rubbed with oil containing leaves of Chasalia afzelii (Hi.) K. Sch., Rubiaceae (dzî a ndzīk III), or they are washed out with water containing ground leaves of Sarcocephalus sambucinus (K. Sch.) C.W. (alū'mă).

[579] In the case of cut wounds, which occur quite often either during the frequent scuffles with bush knives or as a result of carelessness while clearing the jungle, the wound is covered with the leaves of Cissus vogelii Hook f. (mbómōnezăm I) mixed with snake water, or the sap from the twigs of Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub (mvō' IV Fang) is dripped into the wounds, or they are covered with bark scraped from Amphimas tessmannii Harms (edzī) or the rind of the roots of the Menispermacea Jatrorrhiza strigosa Miers (ndzī'kengū,i I, IV). In the treatment of wounds the following are also used: a Sterculiacea (okū,n e zŏ,k) (leaves ground in water); Combretum mucronatum Thom. et Schum. (otūgĕlĕ III) (leaves ground in the same manner); Coinochlamys schweinfurthii Gilg., Loganiacea (otūgĕlĕ-etŏ,k); and Adenia staudtii Harms (edŏdō ndzīk III); furthermore, Phaseolus lunatus L. (okŏ'kŭno III), the ground leaves put in a leaf bag, and the latter pressed out over the wound; finally, Trichoscypha (olĕ'ne amyūt), pieces of whose bark are boiled and then decanted lukewarm onto the wound; likewise Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms (andzītsin).

In the case of burns, ground leaves of Combretum lawsonianum Engl. et D. (tŏńtŏńebŏ III) and Combretum latialatum Engl. (nsŏsŏ'k I) are applied to the wounds with some water.

About a dozen medicines are known for sprains (mbū'ge) and fractures. In the case of the former, the treatment consists of heating a bundle of the medicinal plant over the fire and then pressing it to the painful areas. Fractures are put into splints with
[283] firmly tied raffia leafstalk strips.

For tumors (etūt) the bark of the Euphorbiacea Cyclostemon tessmannianus Pax (betūte elĭ' III) is used. The tree itself has excrescences on its bark; the latter is removed from the tree, dried, and charred. Then incisions are made into the tumor, and the ashes

752 are rubbed into them. In this case it is clear that the view the
278 natives have of powers of healing is not free of contradiction and confusion. The excrescence on the tree is /184/ natural, that on the person unnatural. By incorporating the tree's natural excrescence in the form of ashes, they hope to induce the human growth to return to its natural shape, that is, to become smooth, while in actual fact one would expect the person to get a swelling from this.

752 For bandages the Pangwe usually use strips of dried banana leaf sheaths. In the case of finger and toe injuries, a small halved calabash, fastened with a string around the joint, is slipped on as a cover (Plate 25).

000 Medicines for impotence, sexual stimulants, devices to influence the woman's sexual life (menstruation, pregnancy, birth) will be treated later (Section 18).

5. Food Prohibitions

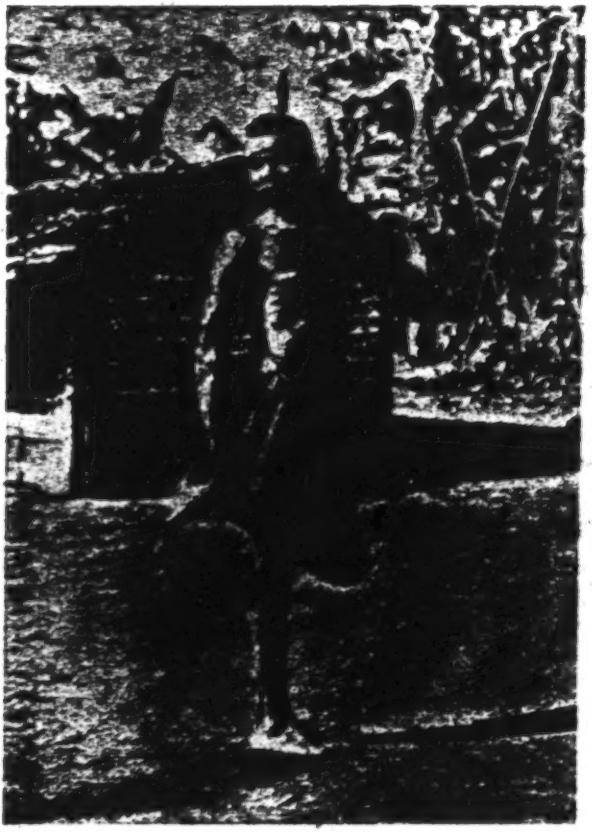
262 Pangwe life is dominated by a number of rules which they call
784 bekī (from ekī). These, in the main, prescribe that certain actions shall not be performed at certain times and that certain foodstuffs are to be avoided either at all times or only at certain times. The most important rules are the latter, the food prohibitions. The following are distinguished: 1) ekī bebin = taboo for those not initiated into cults, or ekī bonenga = taboo for women, who are uninitiated as regards the men's cults; 2) eki bongus = taboo for the initiated of the cults, in practice usually of the women's cults; 3) ekī-bondŭ'mǎn = taboo for young, vigorous persons, and the forbidden animals are called dūm; 4) ekī abŭm =
262 taboo for the belly, that is, the prohibition of certain animals at
784 the time of pregnancy, or ekī mǒn = taboo because of the child,
843 that is, food taboos for the duration of the pregnancy and nursing the child, a period during which the taboo applies both to the mother and the father, a consequence of the opinion held by the Pangwe that the woman --as it is always put -- has the lover or husband "in her belly," that is, that the developing fruit is actually

[Text continues on page 60]

2: Tessmann--59 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/Facing 184/ Plate XXV

341
752
291
142



Fang with a "cover" on his Toe.

262 784 [843] nothing else but the man who with the help of the female body is newly formed, nourished, and born; 5) ekī, bongō'n = taboo for young girls.

The following list will show which animals are never eaten, which are subject to an ekī, and which are not forbidden.

A. Mammals

1. Never eaten.

262 [784] Crocidura species (mbāšū,m I); Mus rattus L. (tōlō III); Sciurus pumilio Leconte (mvūk esōn); and the inside of the elephant's tusks (ngō e zōk I), which it is likewise forbidden to step over, "because flaccid and bitter." /185/

2. ekī, bebin or ekī, bonenga.

Sheep and goats (kabād IV) among the Fang; Simia satyrus L. (woā III) among the Fang; Gorilla gorilla L. (ngī IV); Potamochoerus albifrons Du Chaillu (ngūī, Fang) among the Fang; Cephalophus dorsalis Gray (sō' IV); Neotragus batesi Winton (odžūē') among the Fang; the last two are also taboo for the uninitiated of the Sso cult.

3. ekī, bandúman.

Bats (otā,n), which also may not be touched by adults (ekī, a bi,); fruit bats (indē'm) and Scotonycterus zenkeri Matschie (ngōm I); Dendrohyerax tessmannii A. Br. (nīū'k IV); Perodicticus batesi Winton (awū'n); Arctocebus aureus Winton (māsātšīdi I and III); Sciurucheirus gabonensis Gray (emām IV) which also may not be touched; Anomalurus species (ngui IV); Mus species (edū,); Viverra civetta poortmannii Pucher. (zōē IV); Bdeogale and Herpestes species (mvāk); elephant's trunk "because the limb becomes weak"; elephant's limb; Phatages giganteus Illiger (pfīma IV) and Manis species (kā' IV); Sciurus wilsoni (kūē' III).

4. eki-abum or eki-mon.

262
843

Sheep and goats (kăbăd IV), the large male animals because of their heavy breathing, and the child would have the same heavy breathing; Cercopithecus brazziformis Pocock (fũ̱h IV) and Miopithecus talapoin Erxl. (ozö'm), usually not eaten at all by women capable of bearing children; Cercopithecus buccalis Leconte (ošōk); C. laglaizei Pocock (avö'm) and Colebus anthracinus Leconte (mvõn IV), eaten by some when the child is born and by others during pregnancy, but iff that case they prepare a medicine which eliminates the bad effect; Thryonomys swinderenianus Temm. (mvĭ'b IV) until the birth (if eaten during pregnancy, an antidote is necessary since otherwise the child would get festering skin ulcers, pfõ IV, on the leg; Sciurus rufobrachiatus aubryi A.M.E. (ovē'i) and Sciurus eborivorus Du Chaillu, egg-devouring female (nsõm I); Sciurus rubripes Du Chaillu (edũn) until the birth; Sciurus eborivorus Du Chaillu (mvok) until the birth if the animal was caught in a tree hollow (tree hollow = female sex organ; the child would remain stuck in the same manner in the mother's belly," as the squirrel in the hollow) (1); Cricetomys

1. In what follows I have omitted as obvious the fear of the Pangwe that the child might acquire the same characteristics or properties as those possessed by the animal.

dissimilis Rochebrune (kũi IV) until the birth if the animal is sighted near its burrow and killed during its flight; Atherura africana Gray (ngũm IV) if it is killed by means of baskets at its burrow, /186/ only the skin is taboo if the animal was killed in flight; Mus hypoxanthus Pucheran (abŏk), but because of its small size it is eaten only by young and old people; Mus species (ekŏn), eaten only by young and old people because the animal trembles and because of its small size; Mus species (ndũ̱n I) because of its long feet; Myoxus angolensis Winton (osĭm Ntum) because it lives in burrows; Elephas africanus Blumenb., the head taboo until the birth because it is feared that the child would have an equally big head, the feet until

262 the birth because it is feared that the child would have club feet;
843 Potamochoerus albifrons Du Chaillu (ngūī, IV Fang), head and belly until the birth, the head because of its ugly appearance, the belly because of its warts; Bubalus (niǎ't IV), male animals because they make a rattling noise; Hyemoschus aquaticus Gilg (viǒn, plural lǒn) until the birth; Tragelaphus knutsoni Lemberg (nkǒ'k I) and Cephalophus longiceps Gray (mvū IV), male animals; Cephalophus nigrifrons Gray (žūm IV) until the birth; Cephalophus leucogaster Gray (miē IV Fang), the animal is supposed "to die of its own accord."

5. Taboo for young girls.

262 Mus univittatus Pet. (mvǒ'n IV) because of the shamelessness
[825] of the mouse which in the presence of people steals the Kassada /Trans., cassava?/ as it is being washed; the young girls, therefore are afraid, if they eat the mouse, that a man would steal them just as quickly.

6. Not taboo.

Dog (mvū IV); Maimon planirostris Elliot (esōge); Hemigalago demidoffi Fischer (ozǎm), but eaten only by young people because of its small size; Euoticus elegantulus Leconte (nsēi, I); Sciurus lemniscatus Leconte and sharpei Gray (osōn) among the Ntum and Sciurus subviridescens Leconte (sib IV); Cricetomys dissimilis Rochebrune (kūī IV) if it is caught in a spring trap and is carrying fruit in its cheeks, but in this case the fruit must be kept in the dining area (būū) and burned to cinders after the birth of the baby; Cricetomys dissimilis and Atherura africana Gray if caught under circumstances other than those so far described; Mus longipes A.M.E. (kǒm IV); Mus pusillulus Peters (okib), Mus pulchellus Gray (zǒfǒ III), Mus sebastianus Winton (ekū,ī), Mus species (ayūlū ekū,ī), Mus tullbergii Thomas (ndǎ,n IV), but not eaten by adults because the animal is too small and because it lives in the vicinity of houses; Felis leopardus Schreb. (zǒ IV), Felis servalina Puch. (ebǐ'ǒ); Genetta aubryana Puch. (nsī'ń I); Nandinia binotata

262 Reinw. (mvā,i' IV Fang); Poiana poensis Waterh. (ojǎn); Lutra matschieei Cabr. (abǎn) and Herpestes melanurus Gray (nsōm I); Elephas africanus Bl. (zǒk IV); Potamochoerus albifrons /187/ Du Chaillu (nguï IV); Bubalus (niǎ't IV); Tragelaphus knutsoni Lemberg (nkǒ'k I); Cephalophus longiceps Gray; sheep and goats with exception of the above-mentioned animals; Limnotragus gratus Scl. (žīb IV); Cephalophus callipygus Peters (mvǐn IV) and Cephalophus melanorheus Gray (ogbǔ,n).

B. Birds

1. Taboo for the initiated of the Mekang cult (women).

[794] Guttera plumifera (Cass.) (nkǎ'n I) among the Fang.

2. ekī,-bondǔ'mǎn.

Himantornis haematopus (Tem.) Hartl. (nkū'lūngū' I); Milvus aegypticus (Gm.) (esǐ'sǎ'); Strigidae, especially Bubo species (ndžū,k I) and Syrnium nuchale Sharpe (akūn); Centropus monachus Rüpp. (dūgū' III) and Passer griseus (Vieill.) (mvǎekū,m IV).

3. ekī,-abǔm or ekī,-mǒn.

262
843 (a) Because the bird lives in caves or hatches its eggs in secluded nests: Vinago calva (Tem.) (obǒn) and Columba unicincta Cass. (apfǒ'b) until the birth if caught in the next; likewise Calopelia puella (Schl.) (edūgebǒ'm); Capitonidae, for example, Gymnobucco (ovǒ Ntum), Buccanodon (eji'le), and Barbatula species (omvǒk); Indicatoridae (mā' III) and Picidae (ngǔ'megǒ IV); Bucerotidae, for example, Ceratogymna (ngǔn I), Bycanistes (miǒm IV), Lophocerus fasciatus (Shaw) (okogbwai), and Ortholophus species until the birth in case they are caught walled up in their tree hollow; Nicator species (ekǒ') until the birth if found in the nest; Sturnidae, for example, Lamprocolius species (kbǎ'n IV) and Pocoptera (mesōō'lǒn IV) until the birth.

262 §43 (b) Because the bird has ugly or unnatural visible characteristics: Pteronetta cyanoptera (Tem) Hartl. (alǎt Ntum) until the birth because of its ugly feet; Canirallus oculeus (Tem.) Hartl. (mvūlūbengǎ'ś IV) until the birth because of its long legs and also because of its screeching; Ardeidae (esī'sǒ'-osū,ě Ntum) until the birth because of their long feet and long necks; Lophoaetus occipitalis (Daud) (abǎ'jě'k) because of the long neck feathers; Buccanodon duchaillui Cass. (eji'le) because of its fat belly; Bias musicus (Vieill.) (abǎ'jě'[k] etǒ,k) because of its neck feathers; Diaphorophyia castanea (Fras.) (mekō'boga III) because of the flaps of skin below the eye; Motacilla vidua Sund (mangǒpmentě'me III) because of the bobbing tail; Camaroptera griseoviridis (v. Müll.) (dindī' III) because of the long feet.

(c) Because the bird calls or screeches in a startling and ugly manner: Theristicus hagedash (Lath.) (ngǎmō'mō' I); Turtur semitorquatus /188/ (Rüpp.) (žū'm IV) and Chalcopelia afra (L.) (odū') until the birth; Francolinus lathami Cass. (obǒm) until the birth; Psittacus erithacus L. (kūs IV) until the birth; Musophagidae, such as Corythaeola cristata (Vieill) (kū'nūk IV) and Turacus species (mbǎ' III) until the birth; Eurystomus species (kǎ'mǎ'k IV); Smithornis zenkeri Rchw. (nǔmekūpafǎ'n); Sigmodus rufiventris Bp. (angbūū'ngbūǒ) until the birth; Laniarius leucorhynchus (Hartl.) (nžūěbekō,t IV); Lanius mackinnoni Sharpe (avěwě'abǒbe III); Dicrurus coracinus Verr. (obǎ'mǒke III).

(d) For other reasons: Polyboroides typicus A. Sm. (ehgbǎ,n) because of the way it squirts out its excrement and because of its screeching; Gypohierax angolensis (Gm.) until the birth if shot in the nest, since the bird badly befouls its nest; Alcedinidae, for example Halcyon species (akū'i); Ispidina species (okūdebakū'i) until the birth because of the peculiar way the birds duck down when they are on the lookout; many Muscicapidae, for example, Alseonax and Pedilorhynchus species (okǔ,dūgu) because the bird always settles down on the same spot; Ploceus species (ngā'ǎ III) because of the way they vibrate their wings; Spermestes and Estrilda species (edžō'le) because of the way they keep seeds in their crops, "cheek pouches."

4. Not taboo.

262 Domestic hen; Guttera plumifera (Cass.) (nkǎ'ń I) among the Ntum; Francolinus squamatus Cass. (ogbwǎ); Agapornis pullarius (L.) (kǔ' o kiǎ'i IV); Dryotriorchis batesi Sharpe (gbǎwǔǎ III); Urotriorchis, Baza among others; Falconidae (obǎmedžū,i Fang); Ceutmochares and Clamator (nsǒ'mentǔ't I); Cuculus species (owū'a III) and Chrysococcyx (avē̄vē̄'abǒ̄be III); Lophocerus camurus (Cass.) (nkūkū'e I Ntum); Meropidae (otsidambū,i'), and Hirundinidae, such as Hirundo (mvā,i' IV) and Psalidoprocne species (kǔlejē̄'be III), but not eaten because of their small size; Tschitrea species (abǒbǒge III, mekō'dǒgō III); Campephaga (mbūī'jǒm I); Malaconotus gabonensis Shell. (ekō); Dryoscopus senegalensis (Hartl.) (evǔ'gǔ); Oriolus species (mvū,i'n); Malimbus species (ngǎ e nkǎn IV); Spermospiza guttata (Vieill.) (kǔ o sī IV); Quelea erythrops (Hartl.) (sělěkō'ō III Ntum), but not eaten because of their small size; Nigrita species (makūmašū,bo III), likewise; all Pycnonotidae and Nectariniidae (esǐ'sǒ' Ntum); Cisticola (ekūī'ni-otō,k) and Turdus pelios saturatus Cab. (etī'tǒ').

C. Reptiles

1. Never eaten.

Chamaeleon cristatus Stutsch (dźingbwō' Fang); Lygosoma reichenowi Ptrs. (nšūē' III) and Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (ebǒ'makūkūī'); Agama colonorum Daud. (ngǒdǒ III) (1). /189/

[184] 1. Eaten only among the Jaunde by boys.

2. ekī, bondúman.

Varanus niloticus L. (nkǎā'k III); Cinixys erosa Schw. (kǔ IV); Mecistops cataphractus Cuv. (ngǎn IV) and Crocodilus niloticus

262 (Laur.) (nkŭ̱m I); the majority of snakes, with the exception of those species mentioned below.

3. ekī-abŭ̱m or ekī-mŏ̱n.

[843] Phython sebae Gmel. (mvŏ̱'m IV), until the birth (1); Grayia

[794] [184] 1. Among the Jaunde taboo for all those not initiated into the Sso cult.

smythii Leach (nsŏ̱k I), likewise.

4. No taboo.

Tree snakes (ajǎ'ń).

D. Amphibia

1. Never eaten.

Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (mvŭ̱ń IV); Bufo latifrons Blgr. (dzŭ̱n VII); Rana mascareniensis D. and B. (nkŏ'ń I).

2. ekī bonduman.

Rana zenkeri Ndn. (edzŏ̱); Hylambates species (akǎbě III Ntum).

3. Not taboo, but eaten only by women.

Rappia species (obǎ't); Xenopus calcaratus Bchh. and Ptrs. (mīe̱'nezŏ̱k IV).

E. Fish

1. ekī bonenga.

Large specimens of Clarias walkeri Gthr., since the women

262 would otherwise become Ngi sick.

2. ekī, abǔm until the birth.

262
843 Eutropius banguelensis Blgr. (ekī,da Fang) because of its tendency to spoil rapidly; Eutropius banguelensis? (nkǎ'de-ošōb III) because of its large belly; Distichodus hypostomatus Pellegr. (mbǔń I) because the fish "is supposed to die of its own accord"; Distichodus notospilus Gthr. (akǒ'lo III) because of its large gills; Auchenoglanis balayi (Sauv.), var. gravoti Pellegr. (nsǐn I; small specimens, ndǎngō'na III), because of the large head (see Volume I, Plate 11, Drawing a); Clarias walkeri Gthr. (ngǒ' IV), smaller specimens because of their large head; Parauchenoglanis guttatus (Lönnbg.) (ebū') because of the fat belly; Alestes kingsleyae Gthr. (mbǎk I) because of "the snout."

The other fish are not taboo. /190/

F. Lower Animals

1. ekī, bonduman.

262

Larvae of the beetle Angosoma centaurus F. Pl. (akū,m); the snail Pseudachatina downesii (Gray) (nšō'ǎboń I Ntum); Pseudoglessula retifera v. Mart. (tǎń IV) and another snail (ebǔs).

2. ekī, bonenga, for men ekī, abǔm.

Achatina species, especially marginata Sw. (kō,ī' IV) (1).

1. In case of transgression, the offenders become Ngi sick.

262 3. ekī, abǔm, until the birth.

[843] Edible caterpillars (nkŭn I) and larvae of the Rhynchophorus phoenicis Fabr. (fǒs IV) if found in the cocoon; edible termites (sūē me IV Ntum) because of the large belly.

4. Not taboo.

Edible caterpillars and larvae of Rhynchophorus when they are found in the open; dragonfly larvae (esēī,-bāk), although then the child will urinate a lot, like the dragonfly larvae; common crabs and shrimp; the mussel Lanistes libycus var. bernhardianus (morelet) (alǔn).

All other lower animals are inedible.

Of plant foods only the following are taboo (with the exception [794] of those sacred to the cults, such as the Negro banana used at the Sso and Mawungu): the fruit of the atūlǔm plant, which tastes horrible, and young mushrooms. These are eki mon since it is feared that children might develop spots on their skin like those on young mushrooms.

825 If we examine the deeper reasons why certain animals are never 784 eaten or are "taboo," we find that there is a religious element involved, as well as a fear of the animals' way of life and their appearance, perhaps combined with dietary experiences.

784 Animals that are taboo for religious reasons may not as a rule 825 be eaten by women and persons who have not been initiated into 794 the particular cult, but where the cult is absent, there is no taboo. Thus, horned animals, which play a role in the cults of the Evil One with their conceptual connection between moon and horns, are taboo; among the Fang this applies to sheep and goats, and throughout the entire region to Cephalophus dorsalis (sǒ). In the domain of the Ngi cult the gorilla (ngī) is taboo; the same applies, among the Fang, to the chimpanzee (worshipped in the cult of the Evil Ones, Bokung), the pig (an important animal in the Sso cult), and Neotragus batesi (odzūē) which is worshipped in a manner

825 corresponding to Cephalophus dorsalis in the Odschüle cult. The
784 python /191/ (mvǒ'm IV) is also taboo. We have learned of its
794 relation to the phallus in the Sso cult among the Jaunde, who, as is mentioned in Volume II, page 45 /Ed., not translated/ have preserved in purest form the most ancient views concerning the Sso cult. Large specimens of the fish Clarias walkeri (ngǒ' IV) and Achatina snails are taboo since they evidently have some connection with the Ngi cult, although I am unable to explain in what sense. Finally, among the Fang, the meat of the guinea fowl is taboo for the initiated of the women's cult Nkang. This fact is especially noteworthy since in the men's cults it is usually just the other way around: the initiated are allowed to eat the particular cult animal, while the uninitiated are not.

In surveying the cults, the only animal we find omitted in the taboos is the elephant, which is worshipped in the Schok cult. This can only be explained by the fact that, because of the large quantities of meat it supplies, an exception is made, either voluntarily from the outset or, as seems more probable, through necessity, because it was impossible to guard the huge quantities of meat. For this reason, the women doubtless partook of it and soon noticed that its enjoyment involved no evil consequences of any kind.

The taboo against Sciurus wilsoni (kuē' I Ntum) also seems to have a remote connection with the cults. In contrast to other squirrels, it lives in the swamp and on the ground, and its call is therefore interpreted: sǒ' abǔm, bokūn abǔm, sǒ' abǔm, bokūn abǔm, that is to say, Sso in the belly, Bokung in the belly, or, since both are mesǒ'm, "sins," simply: sinner and double sinner.

825 A number of other animals that are taboo are only indirectly
784 connected with the cults; the taboo stems from older religious conceptions. Chameleons and lizards, especially Lygosoma fernandi, are never eaten because they are linked with death (see Vol. II, p. 30 ff. /Ed., not translated/). For young people, furthermore, the flesh of monitor lizards and crocodiles is taboo, in my opinion because both animals formerly played a more significant role in the religion of the Pangwe. The crocodile probably derived its significance from its habitat in the water, and the monitor lizard, its counterpart, from its habitat in trees and above

825 all from its characteristic of devouring crocodile's eggs (see Volume
784 I, page 273). Finally, turtles and poisonous snakes are taboo. We have encountered the turtle repeatedly in our description of the cults (see the Schok cult, Vol. II, p. 77 /Ed., not translated/, and the Bokung cult, Vol. II, p. 72 /Ed., not translated/) without being able to explain its appearance properly (1). The poisonous

[794]

1. In this connection it is particularly noteworthy that the turtle is the only animal which is prohibited for the initiated of a men's cult.

snakes with their sharply defined head (vipers!) have given rise to the comparison, penis = snake (see Vol. II, p. 32 /Ed., not translated/).

For other taboos it seems to be decisive that the animals lead a nocturnal life and that they have attracted the attention of human beings by their powerful, peculiar screech /192/ (see the prefix classes, Vol. I, pp. 27 and 28 /Ed., not translated/, the nocturnal animal, Vol. II, p. 36 /Ed., not translated/). Included in this category are alipeds, certain lemurs, the tree cony, the flying squirrel; among birds, the night rail Himantornis, the owls, and the West African blue-headed coucal.

Still further taboos seem to stem from the fact that the animals live in the house or near human dwellings and therefore belong, as it were, to the family. In this category we find the domestic rat and its sister, the African rat (edu) which is almost extinct in the Pangwe region, the parasite kite, and the sparrow, the agama, and perhaps also domestic lizards (Lygosoma reichenowi). For the rest of the prohibited animals, their repulsive smell or their ugly and peculiar shape enters in as a consideration. In this connection we should mention: the civet cat and the Herpestes species, with the exception of Herpestes melanurus, the shrews, all of them having a repulsive smell, the shrew otter (Potamogale) because of its peculiar appearance (half mammal, half fish), the scaly anteaters because of their armor, Sciurus pumilio, toads, and frogs. There
[831] is a quite remarkable, real fear of the inside of the elephant's tusks,

825 which one is not even allowed to step over since one's penis would
784 become as flaccid as the elephant's gums. The latter do indeed
[831] look rather uninviting with their bluish-red coloration and flabby consistency. It goes without saying that a woman likewise is prohibited from eating the meat since she could transmit a debilitating influence to the man during intercourse.

In the case of temporary food taboos that are enforced for the
843 duration of pregnancy and nursing, the decisive element -- as I have
825 said -- is the fear that the animals' characteristics might be trans-
784 mitted to the child. For example, there is a taboo against the
262 hawk-eagle, Lophoaetus occipitalis (abǎ'jɛ̄'k), an animal which the Pangwe themselves greatly admire for its beauty, and whose crown the boys try to imitate by sticking long feathers in their hair or behind their ears. In the case of pregnant women, however, the situation is different. They reason as follows: if the child, by acquiring the bird's characteristics with its food, were also to develop an excrescence, how unnatural and ugly that would be! For the rest, the natives fear above all large heads and fat bellies -- two characteristics which frequently strike us unpleasantly in Negro boys -- as well as long legs. In this connection, one readily perceives the accuracy of the Negroes' powers of observation and the precision with which they recognize the slightest differences among various species of a genus. Birds with an ugly screech are completely taboo, since the child might screech in just the same way, something which would be extremely disagreeable, as any father of a family would understand. Of further significance is the exclusion of trembling or wobbling animals, through which the child might even become epileptic. /193/

The most terrible danger threatening pregnant women, however, is from animals which live in any kind of hollow (holes in the ground, in trees) or are caught there. One can speak of a downright horror vacui. If such an animal were to be eaten, the child might also wish to stay in its hollow, "in the belly," and a difficult birth could be expected. Similarly, during this time the parents may not remove any bird nests built in holes in trees, and one of my employees who had made a woman pregnant resolutely refused to make a model of a cassava loaf for me, because it was supposed to be hollow inside.

843
262 supposed to be hollow inside. I knew a Jaunde man who refused to
784 eat anything when two pots were set next to each other on his
[845] hearth fire. He was afraid this would cause his wife to have twins
(mvé, "pot," and mvŏ, "vagina").

In view of the many hairsplitting distinctions among the food
262 taboos, it is hardly surprising that they are frequently violated by accident. They are also transgressed knowingly, however, if the desire for meat is greater than the fear of the evil consequences of its enjoyment. In these cases, it is again medicines (biǎ,ñ ekī) which help and which are often even taken beforehand or simul-
[177] taneously by way of prophylaxis. It is probably scarcely necessary for me to mention that food taboos are the first to be relinquished under the influence of a foreign civilization, not all at once, but nonetheless gradually and totally. The religious taboos are clung to most tenaciously of all. Nor need I emphasize that the Pangwe, even at the age of 20, still like to count themselves among the boys if there is a delectable piece of meat to be had. Accordingly, I saw my "boys," who were from ten to 20 years old, consuming without pangs of conscience the parasite kites I had shot. /194/

Section 14

Soothsaying and Science

000

1. Soothsaying. Extent and area of practice. -- The soothsayer's tool. -- Master and pupil. -- Fee. -- Distrust of soothsayers. -- Soothsaying in times of war.
2. Meteorology. Rain, lightning, and thunder. -- Appearance and effect of lightning. -- Rain medicines at the time of drying ngon, at cult festivals, at the time of harvest, and on journeys; their evaluation. -- Rainbows: their origin, tale concerning their origin. -- Storms: their origin, counter-medicines.
3. Astronomy. General observations. -- View of the earth as a heavenly body. -- The vault of heaven:

000 its height, clouds. -- Moon and sun and their course. -- The moon as "presider" over fertility and the seasons. -- First day of the new moon as Sunday. -- Significance of the days around the full moon; taboos and means of circumventing them. -- Stars and their nature. -- Comets. -- Size of the heavenly bodies and their color.

4. Time reckoning. Contempt for time. -- Half years of the Pangwe. -- The seasons and explanation of their names. -- Division of the month. -- Day and night.

1. Soothsaying

791 Today the soothsayer is to be found only in the heart of the Pangwe region, in the Uelle area, and even here he is in the process of becoming extinct. The reason for this is that his art relates mainly to events and accidents of wartime, and as the result of European influence wars are becoming more and more infrequent. In times of peace the soothsayer deals only with the apprehension of a thief and with the questions as to whether a woman is fertile or infertile and whether the physical malformation of a child is to be explained by the fact that another person gave the child the medicine for sorcery, in other words, for an ewu.

The medicines for soothsaying, like all those cited earlier, are in the possession of certain persons, but for a price (a sheep) they can at any time be acquired by anyone. The principal medicine is enclosed in a horn of the white-rumped duikerbok, Cephalophus longiceps Gray (mvŭ IV). The soothsayer takes the horn in his hand and shakes it (a pfōge) -- hence the name mpfōge-mvŭ, "one who shakes the antelope horn," for soothsayer. The contents of the horn are acquired in the following manner. The soothsayer's novice with his master must participate in a war and find the body of a person slain in battle, cut off the head, take out the teeth and one eye, and finally slit open the belly, into which is placed, for one day, the antelope's horn intended for the novice.

791 The teeth, the eye, and a piece of an evū'-besī (see Vol. II, p. 128 /Ed., not translated/) are placed in the /195/ horn, which is sealed with monitor lizard skin. Once the principal medicine has been secretly acquired in this gruesome manner, the ordination of the novice into the office of soothsayer takes place in public on the village square. The medicine man boils a chicken together with leaves of various medicine plants, especially of the [824] "medicine tree," Distemonanthus benthamianus Baill. (elī'bengǎń, ejěn), and he gives the novice some of this concoction to eat ten times (1). Then the old man leaps about the village square shaking

[801] 1. Ten is the number of wisdom, seven the lucky number, and three or nine the sacred number of the Pangwe.

the soothsayer's horn, chars a piece of the most gigantic liana of [824] the Pangwe region, Entada scandens Benth., Leguminosa (ntū' I), after he has touched it several times with his foot as he was leaping about, makes an incision in one of the novice's toes, and rubs the ashes into the wound. As he does so, he says: "If you go to war and you knock your toe against the ground so that the wound opens, the prospects for your side will be bad; otherwise they will be good" (for the liana strives upwards). The ashes of the liana, therefore, are supposed to communicate to the toe the plant's property of striving upwards and thereby help the soothsayer to rise above his fellow human beings just as the liana in its striving for light rises above the other trees. This concludes the initiation, and the novice is now a full-fledged soothsayer.

As a fee for divination, usually from one to five spears (seven to 35 pfennigs) are paid, but in times of war, when excitement, tension, and fear fill everyone with uncertainty, considerably more is paid. At such times the distrust towards soothsayers, which today is already almost universal, gives way to a willing credulity. During peaceful times the situation is pretty much as it is with us; very stupid and superstitious people, for the most part women, go to the wise man, but the great majority no longer believe in his hocus-pocus. "There are a lot of lies in it," I was told, "but once

791 in a while there is some truth to it." Or, like our countrymen who in other respects consider themselves enlightened, they will adopt the standpoint: "After all, you never can tell . . ."

791 The unsuccessful soothsayer does not have to look far for ridi-
558 cule. In Bebai I heard a poem ridiculing a man from the Ntum region who had been deliberately taken in. One man hid his chopping knife in his house in the presence of witnesses and then went to the soothsayer to ask him quite innocently to tell him where the knife was that he had lost. After all kinds of mystification and tomfoolery the soothsayer answered that the knife had been stolen in the field during the clearing of the farm. Amidst the hilarity of all those present, the "victim of the theft" produced the knife from where it was hidden, and the soothsayer departed, shamed.

721 In times of war, however, the soothsayer's reputation is re-
787 established. Before setting out against the enemy village, the entire company of young men stand around him in a circle, the soothsayer leaps about with the horn in his hand, shaking it according to all the rules of his art, and then suddenly points it /196/ to one of those standing around him, saying: "You will be killed, or (pointing to another) you will be wounded if you go into battle." Or the wise man says: "You can go confidently into battle for nothing will happen to you," but he will say this -- if we may trust his shrewdness -- only to those who in any case tend to stay in the rear. The person who has received a bad "prognosis" stays safely at home, and in this way the soothsayer is seldom found out.

787 In Volume II, page 108 ("Religion") /Ed., not translated/ we saw that the Pangwe believes he can read the future from dreams through appropriating the power of the soul by holding his head in the resin fire kindled on the grave: In so doing he learns to distinguish true dreams from false ones, and consequently comes to recognize what the future will bring.

I am not acquainted with animal oracles in the south, but among the Jaunde there is a spider oracle. Zenker (1) writes about

1. G. Zenker, "Yaunde," in Milleilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus

787 den deutschen Schutzgebieten /Reports by Explorers and Scholars from the German Protectorates/, edited by Dr. Baron Von Danckelmann.

this spider oracle: "In each hamlet or along the way one finds a quadrangle surrounded by the trunks of plantain trees, in the center of which there is a hole with little bamboo sticks (2) set around

2. This should read: raffia!

it. In this hole lives the field spider. Now, if the owner of the hamlet or one of his relatives wishes to undertake a journey, the hole is covered with plantain leaves during the night. If the little sticks remain undisturbed, everything will go well; on the other hand, if a little stick has been moved out of place, a misfortune threatens, and the people concerned stay at home."

2. Meteorology

821 The rain is up in the sky in a large vessel which holds the rain just as a piece of fruit holds its juice. When it is completely full, the vessel bursts, and the water gradually flows off and falls to earth. When the vessel is completely empty, the people say: "The rainy season is over." During the subsequent dry season, the vessel gradually fills up again, with perhaps some water seeping through once in a while, but the greater part stays in. Then the vessel bursts again when the new rainy season begins.

When the vessel bursts and the water streams out, there is a tumult and a roar as of a waterfall or the surf. It can be heard in the distant rumble of thunder during a storm, which in the tropics coincides with rain more frequently than among us. Hence the Pangwe call this rumbling of the thunder ndʉ̃ae̋ mmvǒ̋n I, "the rushing (noise) of the rain" (3). Rain is a creation of the primeval

3. mvǒ̋n a dʉ̃m means: it is thundering,

821 there is a thunderstorm; actually,
"the rain is roaring."

mother, and, as a sign of a certain season, it is dependent upon the moon which, like all other celestial bodies, was assigned its course by the same primeval force. /197/

As we saw in the creation stories /Ed., not translated/,
821 lightning also existed from the beginning (in the egg!). Later,
775 however, the souls subdued lightning, and they now use it for two different purposes. The first is to warn their descendants on earth of a threatening storm, that is, sheet lightning and atmospheric lightning (yǒ'yǒs IV Fang or fǒ'leyǒs IV Ntum). "There is lightning" is then expressed by fǒ'leyǒs a yǒ's or fǒ'leyǒs a lǔd, "the atmospheric lightning lights up," or "it passes by"; the root yǒs means "to open suddenly with a bang, to light up, to appear suddenly and disappear again." Secondly, the souls use lightning to strike down large trees that bar their view of the earth and the activities of human beings -- that is, lightning that strikes, zǎ'n IV Ntum, zǎ'lǎn IV Fang, or zē'yǎn IV. The fǒlevǒs is thought of as like the igniting of powder when it lights up briefly and suddenly; the zǎ'n is like the firing of a rifle, and just as in the case of the latter, one says: ngǎ a kǒbo, "the rifle is talking," so in the case of the former, one says: zē'yǎn a kǒbo, "the lightning rifle is speaking," that is, "it is thundering" (the cracking thunder accompanying lightning, in contrast to the distant rolling thunder of which we spoke above).

[195] Lightning that strikes is conceived as a black bullet that strikes the trees and splinters them. The "turd of the lightning" (abī'
[278] zē'yǎn) -- this presumably refers to molten and conglomerated masses of resin -- is believed by the natives to have curative powers, as does the bark of trees struck by lightning.

Although the "lightning cartridge" is intended solely for purposes of blasting, it can also be dangerous for human beings if they happen to be in the neighborhood of the trees affected, and it is believed that death is caused by the tremendous roar. Hence it is advisable to withdraw into the house during thunder storms, because, by strict command of the souls, lightning is not allowed

821 to penetrate into houses. To be sure, this lightning is a disobedi-
775 ent fellow who has already caused his primeval mother Alonkok a great many difficulties, and he does not always heed the command of the souls. If it should happen at any time that in his willfulness he strikes the houses -- incidentally, I never heard of such a thing happening -- the natives do not assume that there was malice on the part of the souls. Possibly, as is only human, they aimed wrong. For this reason the Pangwe, who like all primitive people are quite apprehensive in other respects, are not afraid of thunder
[152] storms. A momentary fright, however, caused by the brightness of the lightning and the violence of the thunder, can very often be observed in the case of nervous temperaments.

There is only one more question: "Why is it that the souls make use of their 'lightning rifles' only when it rains; they could surely strike down the trees just as well without it?" To this my Pangwe has a ready answer: "It doesn't work so well, because rain and storms make a passage through the air for the lightning bolt, and then the souls have an easier time of it." /198/

Rain medicines are infrequent in the Pangwe region; rain does
789 not need to be summoned for there is enough of it -- God knows --
821 in tropical West Africa. They would sooner fend it off, for instance, during the drying of ngon, at cult festivals, sometimes during the harvest, and on journeys. For this reason, unnecessary beating of drums is avoided because it invites rain, in accordance with the view, which, incidentally, also prevails outside the Pangwe region, that (rumbling) thunder is produced by rain.

During the drying of ngon, women sometimes place an inverted pot covered with leaves on the village square. Next to it they plant a little stick with a plantain dyed red speared on it,
[824] and they perhaps plant a twig of Petersia minor Niedenzu (abiń) near it. The pot is supposed to represent the vessel in the sky in which the rain is enclosed (mvé, "pot," mvǒ-ṅ, "rain"). Covering the pot indicates that they wish to have the heavenly pot closed in the same manner. The plantain is a plant of the moon which determines the seasons and thus also the rain, and the red coloration is, as it were, a courtesy paid to the moon. I was unable to discover the relationship of the Petersia to rain, but in the

789 opinion of one Fang, the word a biňǎn, which is contained in the
821 name abiň, has the sense of "moving about and rumbling," and they want the stormy weather just to move about and rumble.

The help of the ancestors is employed in another method of
769 combatting Jupiter Pluvius, one that is used chiefly for cult festivi-
789 ties. The ancestral figures, festively smeared with oil and red
821 wood, are placed in front of the house where they would be drenched "to the skin" if they did not see to it that no rain fell on this particular day. At the same time the ancestral skulls are frequently painted with a salve made of red wood and ground bark of
[824] Pentaclethra macrophylla, whose pods, when they are ripe, burst open with a pop and fling the fruit a great distance; in this way the natives indicate that the rain should be flung to one side in the same fashion.

789 When women are in the fields harvesting -- especially at the harvest of ngon -- and rain threatens, they put a little water and a
821 stone in a leaf bundle and hang this up in the field. In the same manner the rain is supposed to remain suspended in the sky, be as heavy as the stone, and stay in its place just like a Negro whose "heart is heavy" and who shows no inclination for any kind of undertaking.

Medicines with a similar effect are used on journeys. A leaf
484 of Trachyphrynium violaceum Radl. (tsědĕkiǎ̄i, IV Fang) is twisted
789 into a bag, filled with a little water, and then fastened to one
824 finger. By doing this, the rain is held fast. Another medicine consists of hanging up old pieces of wood saturated with water, so that the rain will likewise be absorbed up in the sky. Furthermore, a person will take a Petersia twig or a fern leaf dipped in water in his hand, /199/ so that the rain will be broken up into as many little parts as the small pinnules of the fern. Finally, there is the familiar Selaginella, the herb of "missing" (zĕlǎnǎ̄, from á sĕlǎn, "to miss"), that is to say, the rain is supposed to miss man.

789 It should be emphasized that the Pangwe no longer regard
178 these medicines seriously and even ridicule them as "superstitition"; they have long since noticed that none of them helps. Hence, medicines against rain are no longer used today, except as a joke. A possible exception may be the cooking pot medicine of the women,

789 but even that seems to be dying out for its meaning is frequently
178 no longer understood. Thus I once (on an earlier occasion) found an open cooking pot set up as rain medicine; I simply could not understand this until I saw the authentic medicine and was informed that in the first case a mistake had been made.

821 According to one conception, the rainbow is the handiwork of a great sorcerer who wanted to show the others what he was capable of performing. Other natives think the rainbow is water vapor or smoke, and when it appears in the east, late in the afternoon, people say jokingly that one end is standing in the Campo and the other end in the Uelle. A third notion concerning the rainbow -- and this one is probably based on its iridescent colors -- is that it represents a water snake. The word for rainbow is, accordingly, nyū,-ñ III, from nyŏ', "water snake." In addition, there is ntūtǎ'm I, derived from the onomatopoetic expression tŭmetŭmetŭm, a designation for a flickering in front of the eyes.

The Tale concerning the Origin of the Rainbow

821 Once upon a time the grandmother of Ekute Essamniāmabōge
539 said to her grandson: "Go and show me the place where your mother
773 always catches fish." Thereupon Ekute went along with her and showed her a good place along the river, but his grandmother said: "No, this was not the place." Then her grandson showed her another place, but here, too, the grandmother said: "This is not the place where I am going to fish." They went together this way to four other places, but at none did the grandmother want to fish. Finally, the grandson said: "There are no more places for fishing; after this there is only the large river left." The grandmother replied: "All right, that is where we shall go." But her grandson said: "Oh, the places where everybody fishes are here, but in the big river the fishing is poor." However, the grandmother answered: "But I want to take a look at the place; come along, we shall leave right away." Thereupon the grandson went along with her, and when they came to the spot where the river widened, the grandmother said: "Here is where I want to fish." The grandson

821 again advised her against this, but the grandmother refused to give
773 in, went into the water, and tried to drive the water away (1),
539
[226]

1. In smaller watercourses the water is removed by splashing it away; in larger rivers this is, of course impossible.

but in doing so she got in deeper and /200/ deeper until she was up to her neck in the water. Then she said to Ekute: "Bring me two sticks and lay them in the water so that I can stand on them." This Ekute did, and the grandmother removed the water and fished, and lo and behold, she soon had ten baskets full of fish. Then her grandson said: "Come, we have enough now, let's go home." But the grandmother said: "No, first I want to get all the fish out of the water; then I will surpass all people in fishing." Thus, she went on fishing, but then, all of a sudden, the water rose up to her neck and over her mouth, and finally she disappeared under the water. At that moment there arose out of the water a great snake (1), and when Ekute saw it, he seized his

1. In other words, the grandmother was a sorceress.

spear to kill it. Then the snake said: "Wait! I have something to say to you." Ekute, however, ran away into the village and called all the people, above all his father whom he already met on the way; the latter took spears and went with him to the river. When he saw the snake, he wanted to kill it with his spear. But the snake said: "Wait a moment, I have something to say." Then the snake commanded the people to make a basket and to carry it /the snake/ into the village. This was done, and when the snake had been brought into the village and had been assigned a house to sleep in, it said: "No, I want to sleep in the first house next to the meeting house." The people complied with this wish. Soon the rumor spread everywhere that a great snake was to be seen in the village, and many, many people came to see it. Everybody had to pay a lot of money for this, about as much as ten marks.

821 Thus Essamniamaböge became very wealthy, and from this money
773 alone he was able to purchase two wives.
539 Now it happened that he and all the people were gone one day, and only his son, Ekute, stayed behind. Then several people from a distant village appeared, but they had brought with them only two choppers (2), and in exchange for these they demanded

2. Bush knives valued at two marks.

to see the snake. Ekute, however, did not want to show it to them. The people argued with him and threatened, and they demanded to see the snake. Then Ekute, who was very imprudent, angrily took a chopper and knocked in the top of the house wall instead of carefully opening the door somewhat and letting the people look in. Thereupon the snake came out, went to the village square, and cried "See, now I am leaving." But the people and Ekute had run off. Thereupon the snake raised its head and body and swung itself into the air. At this very moment Ekute's father came back and was just able to cut off the lower end of the snake; the other part of the snake was already high up in the air and still stands in the sky today as the rainbow. The tail, however, turned into the python, and from the eggs there crept forth all the other little snakes. /201/,

821 The storm is likewise represented as the handiwork of an evil
789 sorcerer. Whenever a great sorcerer is dying, he unleashes a storm,
[754] lays low the plantain fields of those people toward whom he feels ill will, destroys their houses, and indeed, he goes so far as to knock down their children in order to injure them. Anyone who has experienced a tropical tornado will understand the notion of the Pangwe that sorcerous beings are at work. The natives also have medicines against storms; the storm is gradually weakened if
[824] one places young macabo leaves (these are weak to begin with) on the fire (whereby they become still weaker) and then grinds them to a powder on the ground in front of the house (this makes them weakest of all). Conversely, the storm is "made heavy" and thereby held back in the sky by placing a stone on Paspalum grass (obūt), which, because of its toughness and strength, is supposed

789 to represent the storm. Thus the storm is pressed onto the ground,
821 as it were. If the storm is already approaching, they beat a plantain stalk to tatters on the ground of the village square, and as they do so, they exclaim:

[539] okǔ[s] a lǔde ma a lǔd: Okǎ[k] nkǐa
Storm, it pass by me, by (pass), (to) Okak in the west.

3. Astronomy

821 Even for a primitive people the astronomical knowledge of
772 the Pangwe is very limited. This fact can be excused only in part by the unfavorable conditions of their country (rainy forest region).

The Pangwe have the same conception of the earth as that of the "ancients," that is to say, they think of it as flat like a plate and surrounded on all sides by the ocean. Over the earth and the ocean arches the sky which, as is stated in the creation story, originated as a part of the earth that was blasted off and raised up on high. In other words, the sky is thought of as firm and finitely bounded, just as is the earth. One should, accordingly, imagine a large bell jar placed over a gigantic plate in the center of which the earth floats in water, and this gives one the conception held by the Pangwe. As regards the earth, they naturally think only of Africa, that is, they conceive of it as one single continuous land mass.

The sky is infinitely high; the tallest mountains known to the Pangwe do not extend into it. One would have to set about 200 or more silk-cotton trees (Ceiba, on the average 70 meters tall) end on end in order to touch the sky.

821 The material of the sky is similar to that of the earth, and,
[823] like it, it is harder and firmer on the inside and softer, more fluid on the outside -- a train of thought engendered by the swamps and the softened loam soil. Just as the crust of the earth forms clods, so the outer surface of the sky forms "scales" (ebǔ[s] e dzǒb "scales of the sky," that is to say, clouds). The clouds, however, are

821 subject to constant alteration, and this is explained /202/ in the following way. The masses of the sky's crust move against each other in a manner similar to iron or brass that has been liquified in forging and moves more or less viscously as it cools down, so that in the case of the first metal that flows out, its more rapid cooling impedes the movement, while the subsequent metal, flowing over the first, moves more quickly the nearer to the surface it is. This is why the clouds move at different speeds and in various layers relative to each other.

The moon and the sun pass across the vault of the sky exactly as the primeval force has ordained in eternal laws. During the day the sun moves under the vault from east to west, and during the night it moves back the same way over the vault where it is, of course, invisible. At night, the moon follows the course of the sun under the vault, and during the day it returns over the vault, but closer to the ceiling, so that during the day one can frequently see it shimmering through. The Pangwe very easily account for the phases of the moon. They assume that in its various phases the moon moves in one of the inner layers whose clods have already become more rigid and that it remains covered by one of these clods.

In our account of the religion of the Pangwe /Ed., not trans-
821 lated/, we have already discussed the significance of the moon
805 in the cults. Here we need to consider only the practical side of its relation to human activities. The moon is the lord of fertility and of the seasons; the days and months are reckoned by it. The first day (according to other informants, the first two days) when the new moon appears is called avǒ̄ ngō̄n, that is, cold moon. From this day on all impulses toward propagation are "put in cold storage" for seven days, all development and all fertility are interrupted, the women have their menstrual flow, and the men abstain from sexual intercourse. For this reason, nothing else is undertaken, not because a taboo exists, but because one would not have any luck. The man does not go out to clear his farm because he would cut his finger; the woman does not go out to plant because the plants would not flourish. Even hunting and fishing are not attempted. It is important to note that this day is by no means designated as "bad," but as a day of rest which might correspond to

821 our Sunday, as if all nature had to take a rest.

805 By way of contrast, the days around the full moon are no good for hunting, probably because the moon when it is full is especially "evil" and hateful to all those who are sinless -- as are animals, for instance. Even the festivals of the moon cult (Sso) are never celebrated at the full moon, but always towards the time of the new moon in order not to display evil in its most glaring form. The natives count nine "days of the full moon," the sacred number which we have already encountered in the cults /203/, and during this time the Pangwe speaks of the ndžībe ngōn, that is, the closed (full) moon, or ndžīge ngōn or abŭm e ngōn, that is, the used moon. On these days the people do work, but fishing, trapping, and hunting drives are not practiced. Among the Fang, a direct taboo (ekī) exists for these three activities, though it is true that they like to circumvent this taboo -- like many others -- with the help of medicines.

Rules are made to be circumvented, the Ntum in Bebai thought, [789] and during the days of the full moon they very gaily held great hunting drives. They also made a medicine by cutting a circle -- the full moon -- into the bark of a tree and within the circle removing half of the bark. In this way it became a half moon (Fig. 64). This medicine is delightfully naïve and beautifully indicates how the Negro knows how to help himself in all situations.

821 Concerning the nature of the stars the "Pangwe scholars" are not yet quite agreed. Some believe the stars are simply holes in the vault of the sky through which the sun can be seen at night as it moves over the arch. Others say that they are little fires which during the day are simply outshone by the brightness of the sun. Still others -- and these are probably in the majority -- assume that the stars are little celestial bodies like the sun and the moon, but that they are afraid of the sun, so during the day they withdraw into the interior of the vault, and during the night, fleeing from the sun as it moves across the top of the arch, they come out and then become visible, hence their name o-tǐ'-tē-ī, from the root a tē = to move from one's place (1). If one of the stars has ventured too

1. oa tē odĕn = when did you leave (travel from) home?

82] far from its hole, it naturally falls down. We call that a shooting star; the Negro says: "otǐ'tēi, a ke a bǒm (the star goes forth to get a bride)."

It is a cause for some surprise that many, even older people have not yet noticed that the stars apparently move from east to west. When I made such a statement, it was steadfastly contested, and when I offered proof, the phenomenon was new and striking to all.

Constellations or names of stars, it seems, are totally unknown to the Pangwe; if there have been reports about these from the [181] Jaunde, they are borrowed plumage with which the easygoing little Jaunde people have once more adorned themselves. The Pangwe calls comets botū,le from tū,lo III, and he sees monitor lizards in them. A quite subordinate group of stars in the vicinity of Orion was pointed out to me several times and designated as tū,lo, but I consider this a mistake, since in 1902 a comet disappeared in the vicinity of this area.

Extremely eager students may like to know the Pangwe's idea of the size of the heavenly bodies. Well, I hope their expectations are not too great! -- "Sun and moon," said my Pangwe, whom I /204/ /Fig. 64 appears here in the original text/ asked in the presence of his comrades, "are of the same size, and about -- let us say -- as large as one of the large tin plates sold on the coast." At this answer by the aspiring scholar, there was, however, a general shaking of heads, and in reply to my objection that even people in the distance look as small as ants and that the sky is so infinitely much farther away, the native questioned had to admit that he had underestimated. They finally agreed that the sun is as large as the area in front of my station (about ten meters wide). With that I had to content myself. In the case of the stars they obliged me from the outset, after this experience, by stating that they are as large as the space enclosed by the extended thumbs and index fingers of both hands, but the narrator evidently felt the need to justify his exaggeration to himself, and went on to remark: "They seem smaller, because they are far away!" /205/

As regards the color of the stars, the sun according to my Pangwe is red and hot like fire, the moon and the stars are white

821
[789]
[224]

Fig. 64. Medicine on trees, so that a hunting drive may be undertaken during the full moon, something which is actually prohibited. Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

and cold. "If the moon is cold and has no light of its own, how is it that you can see it? After all, you cannot see people dressed in white either when everything is dark!" This objection the Pangwe counter with the reply: "On earth it is dark, but in the sky it is bright, that is, nothing obscures the view there!"

4. Time Reckoning

805 The Negro is happy-go-lucky and does not bother about "time." Time plays no role at all in Africa; indeed, the Negro regards it almost as an insult when a White hurries him because "he has no time." After all, there is lots of time. It is due to this contempt, also, that the Negroes never know how old they are, or rather, that they never find it necessary to remember. The same fact serves to explain their inability to combine numbers into conceptions and logical conclusions, even though they have a good [802] grasp of numbers up to 10,000, and beyond that with some difficulty.

The Pangwe possess no designation for the time segment corresponding to our solar year. Instead, they reckon according to membū. Each mbū (which should be translated roughly as a half year) comprises two of the four seasons that are established for the Pangwe region (see Section 1, p. 2 /Ed., this section of Vol. I is not translated/). To one of our years, therefore, there are two Pangwe "years," or, as the natives who have come in contact with Europeans express it, membū mensūte mebōt, "years of the Blacks."

One mbū includes the great dry season and the brief rainy season and is called esěb, from a zěb (okōṅ), "to sharpen (a knife)," because knives are sharpened at this time to clear the farms; in other words, it might be called the farming season or sowing season. The second mbū includes the short dry season and the great rainy season and is called ojǔn, from a jǔn, "to mourn, to wail," in other words, the fasting season; it corresponds very well to our winter, which is likewise a time during which nature sleeps and people starve. The Pangwe explain the name by saying that at the beginning of the rainy season all "food" is planted, and therefore food becomes scarce, but perhaps the expression arose in former habitations when the rainy season brought with it special misfortune, such as floods.

The correspondence of the seasons of the year among the Pangwe to the divisions of our solar year is, accordingly, as follows.

First half year (mbū́)

805 esěb = farming season (summer), from December to May, consisting of:

1. vūē'n esěb = great dry season (December to February);
2. šōgō, esěb = short rainy season (March to May). /206/

Second half year (mbū́)

ojǔn = rainy season (winter) from June to November, consisting of:

1. vūē'n ojǔn = short dry season (June to August);
2. šōgō, ojǔn = great rainy season (September to November).

A division of the half years into months is unknown to the Pangwe; he only knows the time span of the individual month (ngō'n, "moon"), and he has great difficulty in understanding that about six to seven of his months correspond to the Whites' half year and about 12 to 13 of his months correspond to the Whites' year.

To divide the month into weeks is something that the Pangwe [177] has learned from the Whites and has wholeheartedly adopted on account of the four Sundays (sǒ'nǒ III). He himself has marked off the first one to two days after the new moon as days of leisure, as has already been mentioned. He also observes the first seven [841] days of the month as something special, since the menstrual flow of the women supposedly lasts for seven days, but these days do not constitute a special segment of the month designated by a name of its own (1). Nor is there any such time segment in the rest of

[539] 1. It is merely said, for instance:
avǒi' ngō'n a sǒ malū' malǎ or zǎngbǎ'
Cold moon, it came days three or seven.

the month.

We have the same picture with the day as we do with the month. Here, too, only the beginning is sharply defined, while

805 the remainder follows as a matter of course. A day of 24 hours is called alū' mbok (Ntum), "day one," and it falls into day = mŏ's IV, and night = alū'. The day begins with the morning, kī'dī IV or kī'kī'dī, lasting from six o'clock (sunrise) until seven o'clock, in other words, one hour, and it continues until ngū̃ɛ IV, ngūngū̃ɛ IV, "evening," that is, until the time around sundown (six o'clock). In between, the Pangwe have as the designation of an hour only "time when the first women come from the plantations," that is, at 11 o'clock. The night is not divided up into definite segments. If they want to specify an hour of the night, for instance, for marching upon an enemy village, they make shift with the expression: "with the first call of the coucal," Centropus monachus Rüpp. (dūgū' III), that is, at 11 o'clock,
[825] just as we might say, "with the first cock crow." This same time is also called zǎ'ɩ alū', "midnight." In case of a departure before sunrise, the natives may speak of a "time when the first ogbwǎ' (Francolinus squamatus Cass.) calls," that is, around five o'clock in the morning. Time designations by indicating the position of the sun with the hand -- which in regions where the sun rises and sets at approximately the same time throughout the entire year would be both easy and convenient -- are not known, and indeed, they are not even understood. /Plate 26 faces p. 206./

/243/ Section 17

000

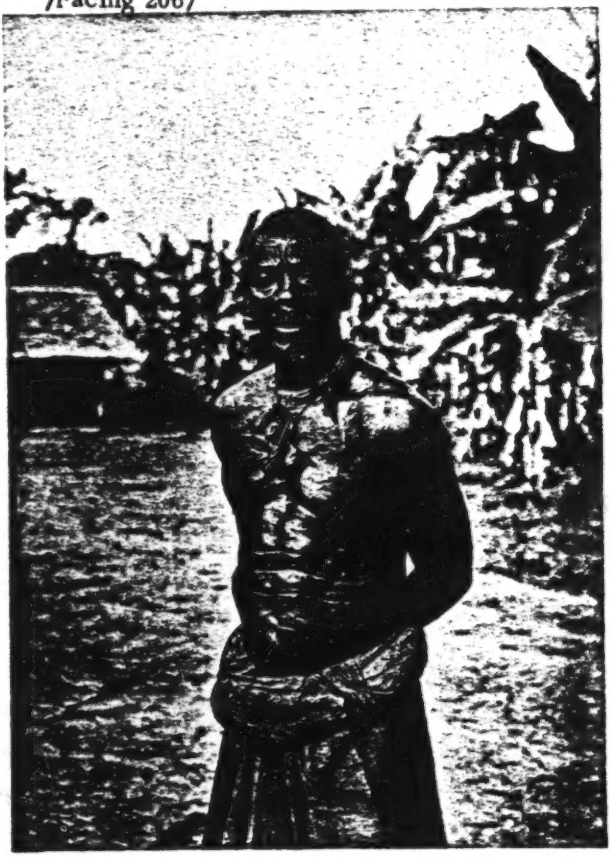
Weapons and Warfare

Flintlock musket. -- Containers for the charge and powder. -- Spears. -- Sword and battle-ax. -- Shields. -- Love of war. -- Night attacks, chevaux-de-frise, pitfalls, spiked branches. -- Women and children in war. -- Fortifications. -- Manner of conducting war (example). -- Prisoners of war.

2: Tessmann--91 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/Facing 206/ Plate XXVI

142
291
301



Chief of Nschúggebot (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

The chief weapon of the Pangwe today is the flintlock musket.
411 Until the middle of the previous century it was found in our region
439 only in quite isolated instances. Imported since the 1860's and 1870's in ever-increasing numbers by the many newly-founded coastal trading posts, the flintlock musket was a marketable and profitable commercial commodity which since then has so flooded the land that for each Pangwe, at least for each Ntum and Fang, one can reckon three, four, or even five rifles, of which, however, a fraction is unusable. Since 1906 the German government and since 1909 also the French and Spanish governments have prohibited the import of powder, and as a result there has been a noticeable scarcity, especially in the north. Among other things, it has had the effect of putting an end to the great amount of superfluous shooting during festivities, etc., in the Cameroons and adjoining Spanish territory. The small amount of powder which still finds its way from south to north by way of barter is kept in hiding for later occasions.

The charge of the rifle consists of small pieces of iron which --
411 like the powder -- are usually carried around in small containers
[482] fastened to the belt or the shoulder bag (mfǒk) (Fig. 78). Frequently, the latter itself serves to hold the ammunition, that is, the pieces of iron which the Pangwe calls by the same name as the
[415] spears, akǒń. The containers (Fig. 77) are little pouches made of hide (a), flasks (only for ammunition) attractively decorated with brass (b) and (c), little flasks covered with monitor lizard skin (d-g), calabashes (h), the round fruit of a tree (ašo, ašun) (i, k), raffia fruit (l), a cacao fruit (m), or other fruit (n-p).

With the importation of powder cut off, the rifles are useless, and it may be that in this way the throwing spear, which formerly was the true long-range weapon of the Pangwe, /Fig. 77 appears on p. 244/ /245/ will again occupy a place of honor, especially since it has never been entirely out of use. To be sure, the spears manufactured today are not as large as those of olden times. They
[481] are used more as walking sticks of superior quality or as an ornamental weapon taken along on a journey -- usually people carry two or three with them -- and the natives scarcely know how to use them for actual battle. Only the Jaunde through continued

[Text continues on page 94]

2: Tessmann--93 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9
/244/

415
411
531

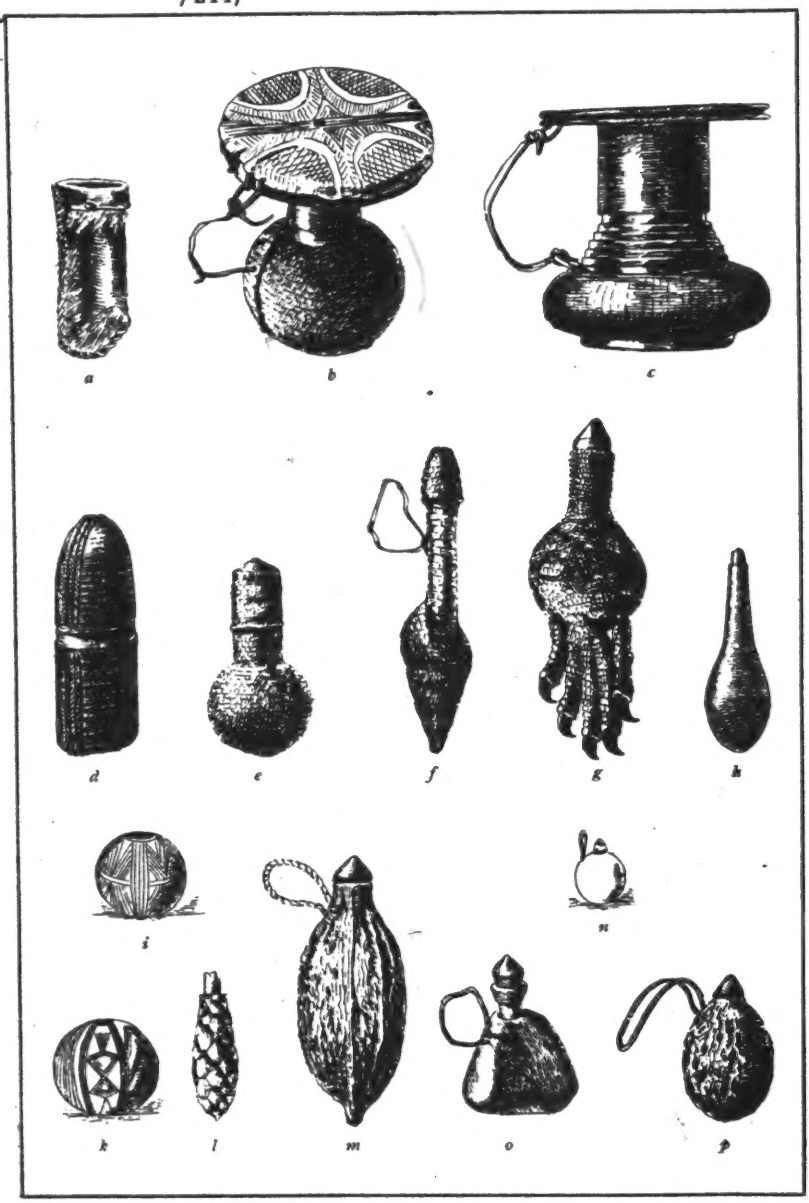


Fig. 77. Containers for Rifle Charges or Powder.

411
[415]
[285]

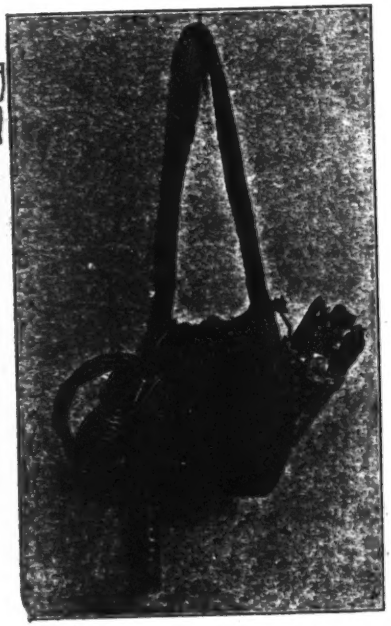


Fig. 78. Shoulder bag of pineapple fibers, used for storing things and for rifle charges in wartime. To the right, a little basket with "chevaux-de-frise"; to the left, shot medicines and an iron war pipe.

practice have maintained some skill in spear throwing. On the whole, the Jaunde did not go over so exclusively to the use of firearms as did the Fang, for instance, who are quite unable to part from their flintlocks. They even give them human names and love to let them "speak."

The spears (Fig. 79) consist of a shaft and tip. The former is made of wood and is artfully grooved lengthwise, as has been described in the section on woodworking /Ed., Vol. I/. The tip is attached with a socket and forged from iron; in very recent times one could frequently see Ntum chiefs carrying ornamental spears with carefully worked brass tips. The cutting edge has the shape of a more or less oblong leaf, and this distinguishes the different types of spears. The older types among the Fang are gbŭn-akŏn (akŏn = spear) (a), akŏn-okăk (okăk = Okak, Fang people) (a), tō mō-akŏn (e), and mbă[s]-akŏn (b); of more recent origin, supposedly is the barbed spear, ngā'm[k]-akŏn (c), and etŏ'hŏk.

The crossbow is only a hunting weapon; the bow and arrow, as well as the slingshot, occur only as children's toys.

The weapons for short-range fighting are the sword and the battle-ax.

The sword (pfă IV Ntum, fă IV Fang) (Fig. 80) has two cutting edges which sometimes end in barbed hooks at the base

411 and a wooden handle well-shaped for the hand. The handle is partly bound with an iron band or brass wire. The sword is placed inside a wooden sheath, consisting of two halves and frequently covered with monitor lizard skin, or in a brass sheath which has two brass eyelets for the hide strip worn over the shoulder from which the weapon hangs /246/ /Fig. 79 appears here in the original text/ (see Fig. 80). After the appearance of the chopping knives or choppers imported from Europe, the latter displaced the sword for a while and were then carried about in sheaths (Fig. 81); however, these are no longer in use today.

The battle-ax, called ovunebokui, "axe of the Pygmies" [184] (Fig. 82), is of lesser importance and is to be found only among the Fang, especially the southern ones, but even among them only in small numbers. It can be used only for short-range fighting. Its wedge-shaped blade with a convex cutting edge and /247/ corners curved inward, is fitted into the handle, the short lower half of which is round while the upper half is flattened out.

As a protective weapon, three kinds of shields are in use: the wooden shield, the shield made of buffalo hide (Fig. 83), and the shield made of an elephant's ear. The latter two are supposed to protect an individual man. They have lost their importance since the appearance of the firearm, and today they have /Fig. 80 appears here in the original text/ become quite rare. The wooden shield (stationary shield, Fig. 84), on the other hand, protects the entire troop of warriors and is, as it were, a portable rampart carried ahead by one man, while the others hide behind it. When the enemies clash, they shoot from behind the wooden guard, and in case it becomes necessary to flee, the shield is simply abandoned. It is made from a slab of wood from the umbrella tree and is approximately 145 centimeters long and 37 centi- [531] meters wide. The outer surface is covered with patterns carved in relief, such as we have seen in Section 9 /Ed., Vol. I/.

726 The battles of the Pangwe are usually only to settle hostilities between neighboring villages and hence are limited to small-scale warfare, that is, to a series of surprise attacks in which the attacker naturally has the advantage and thus "wins." Such encounters, however, give the tribe their warlike reputation; the

[Text continues on page 97]

411

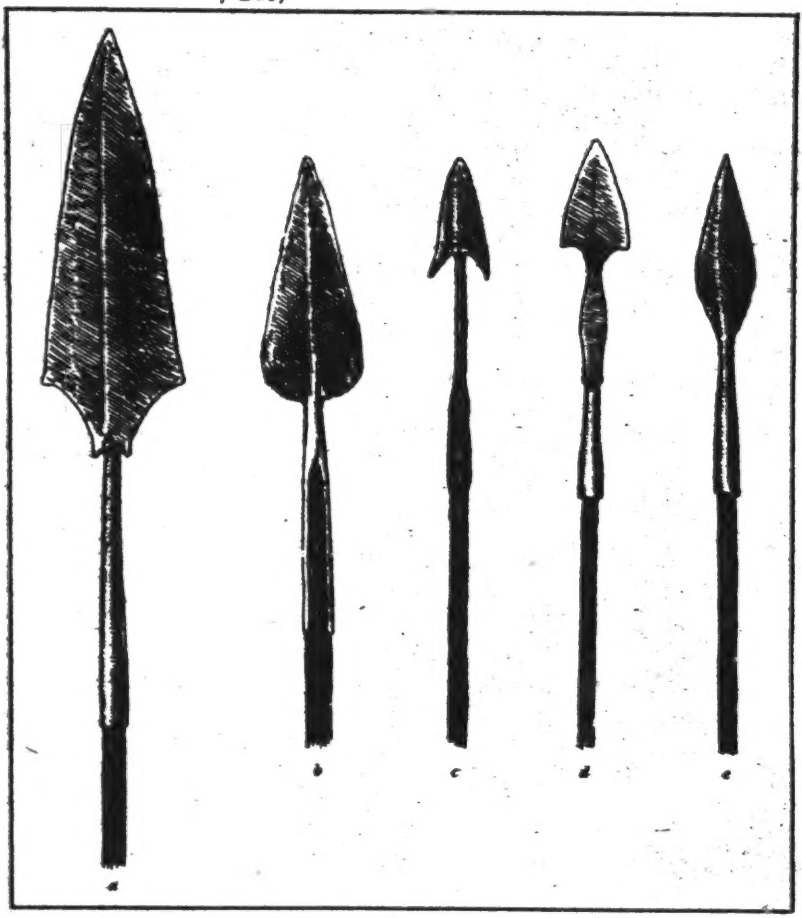


Fig. 79. Spears. One-third actual size.

411

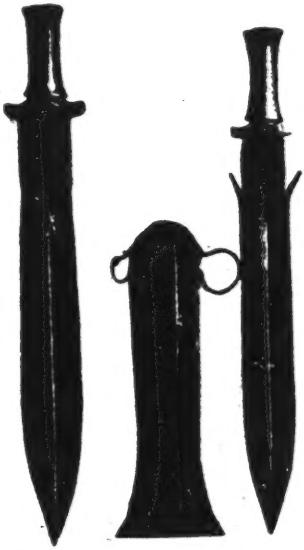


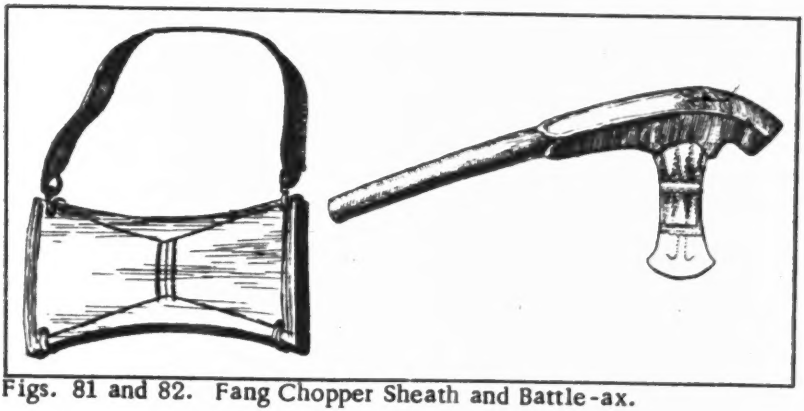
Fig. 80. Swords and Sheath made of Brass. One-fifth actual size.

726 Fang especially are extremely warlike and quarrelsome and not at all disinclined to military expeditions that promise to yield booty. At the same time, they know how to take full advantage of their forested land. They surprise the enemy at impassable [184] places, lie in ambush in the dense bush, and sometimes carry out night raids when the occasion is favorable, whereas generally the Pangwe is loath to undertake nocturnal expeditions. Furthermore, they impede the advance of the enemy through "chevaux-de-frise," that is, pointed sticks made of the bark of raffia leafstalks and planted in the ground, as well as through pitfalls which are well covered like the traps for game, but wider and [725] deeper, and similarly spiked on the floor. In hand-to-hand combat they throw the spiked stems of Macaranga ledermanniana Pax [824] (as?) between the legs of their enemies. /248/

/Figs. 81 and 82 appear here in the original text. /

In unsettled times, women, children, and -- insofar as this 722 is possible -- movable property are taken to safety, that is, to 712 hiding places in the forest or to friendly villages. Fortifications

411



Figs. 81 and 82. Fang Chopper Sheath and Battle-ax.

712 exist, but only to a limited extent. As has already been mentioned
722 in the account of house construction /Ed., Vol. I/, the walls of the meeting house are built of halved trunks of the umbrella tree placed in layers over each other for the purpose of fortification. In addition, the village entrances are blocked off when danger threatens by means of fences or barricades made of sticks. The southern Fang especially can easily do this since they design their villages more compactly so that the meeting houses themselves almost block off the road. Only once did I see an entire village surrounded with a protective fence, a fairly strong paling consisting of vertical posts and laths connecting them. In front of the fence the terrain had been cleared by cutting down the bush, so that the approach of enemies could be easily discovered and prevented.

The following example will give a good idea of how feuds arise
579 and take their course.

On both sides of the Lo, a small tributary of the Campo, there
[361] are two communities of the Esseng kin group about 12 minutes apart, namely, Bebai and Ebäangon. The inhabitants of the three Bebai villages closest to Ebäangon are related to the Ebäangon people; the others of Bebai did not move into the territory until later and are unrelated to the inhabitants of Ebäangon. The most influential chief of the Bebai people, who are outsiders, is called Makina. For a long time he had been "talking impudently" to Schüe, chief of Ebäangon. One day, on the occasion of a festival for the souls which

411
281

Fig. 83. Shield of Buffalo Hide.

579 Schüe gave for one of his deceased wives, strife broke out. In the course of the festival Schüe wanted to start counting up the people who had done some injury to the deceased. And since -- as /249/ usual -- there was a great deal of shooting at the festival, he ordered that there be quiet in front of the meeting house, saying that whoever wanted to shoot had better go into the next village. Thereupon Bekongo, the son of Makina, stood up and said, "I don't care, I'm not going to listen to that stupid talk," and fired off his rifle near the meeting house. Naturally, the Ebäangon people would not stand for this, and Schüe's sons said to Bekongo, "Hey! our father just forbade anyone to shoot here; do you think that Schüe is a slave here in his village?" In this way a verbal battle developed between the two parties, and soon the brawl with bush knives was in full swing with blood flowing on both sides. The Bebai people related to the Ebäangon people tried to bring about a reconciliation or they sided with Schüe. Finally the Bebai people moved off, pursued by the Ebäangon people armed with choppers, who called after them, "Wait, we'll get even with you yet!" The last of the Bebai people was Ejamatua, a man from Makina's village. He was either annoyed by the shout or he was particularly harassed by the pursuers; in short, for whatever

579 reason, he suddenly took his rifle and shot down the foremost of these. As soon as the Ebäangon people saw that one of their men, a son of their chief to boot, was killed, they quickly ran back to get their rifles. The Bebai people who sided with them waited for them,and all together they moved against the hostile Bebai villages, where they had a shooting bout with Makina's men, without, however, any blood being spilled. The Ebäangon people spent the night in the houses of the friendly Bebai people. The next day they resumed the fighting, and again nobody was killed; however, the Ebäangon people succeeded in burning down Makina's village. Thereupon the "victors" returned to Ebäangon. After two days they renewed their attack, but achieved nothing.

579 628 At this point Makina wanted to have the whole affair over and done with, so he sent two women as payment to Schüe. The latter kept the women, but was by no means inclined to make peace. On the contrary, his people again raided Makina's villages. Then Makina's patience came to an end. He went to the chief of Messelle, a large village on the right side of the Campo, and requested him to settle the argument. When Schüe heard this, he sent the two women back to Makina's village and dispatched four of his sons as representatives to the negotiations at /250/ Messelle. The decision ran thus: Makina was in the wrong because "it was he who in the first place talked insolently against Schüe, it was his son, Bekongo, who started the entire fight at the festival for the souls, and he is therefore responsible for the death of Schüe's son." Thereupon the chief of Messelle immediately seized Makina and demanded his court fee -- five sheep -- from Schüe's party, at the same time promising Schüe in exchange the extradition of Makina. After the payment was made and Makina had been extradited, Schüe's sons demanded that Makina summon his guilty son. Makina declared himself unable to do so and was beaten down with cudgels -- on the Mburru -- and his corpse was thrown in the river. /Fig. 84 appears here in the original text./ At the news of these events, brought to Ebäangon by Schüe's sons, Makina's people seized their rifles and in turn moved against Ebäangon, burning half of Schüe's village to the ground. With this, the need for revenge of both parties

579 had been satis- fied, because on either side
628 the loss was exactly the same: each had
a village burned and a man killed.
[411] The matter would have gone on, because
the Bebai people were still dissatis-
[531] fied since they regarded their loss as
greater; their casualty had been a great
chief, while the other had been only a
young man. However, by this time the
influence of the Whites had penetrated
to Bebai and thus an end was put to the
fighting.

From this example it can be seen that
628 the Pangwe act according to the princi-
682 ple of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a
tooth, and that blood revenge can cease
only when the losses on both sides are
equal. In a "war" between Schumu and
Esseng people, eight Schumu peo-
ple had been killed, and peace could not
be concluded until eight Esseng men had

Fig. 84. Wooden Shield.

likewise been killed. Furthermore, it can be seen that village feuds fraught with consequences often arise from quite trivial causes.

Prisoners are usually killed and then often eaten, as has been
72 mentioned earlier. Only children are raised as "slaves" in the
[266] village. Captured women are usually taken by the victors as
[567] wives, but sometimes they are also killed in order to even out the number of killed on both sides and thus to make peace possible. /251/

2: Tessmann--102 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Section 18

Sexual Life

000 1. Sexual life until maturity. Three stages of development of the person (child, man, old man). -- Children as good people (bebin), as "innocents." -- Sexual advances in play. -- Homosexual intercourse between boys.

2. Sexual life between maturity and marriage. Young men and girls. -- Free love. -- Virginity. -- Desirability of the women (dance songs). -- Girls who are available to anybody, nžila. -- The young man's tact in his social relations with the girl and her family. -- The sense of shame toward the girl's parents. -- Relations with the girl. -- Lasting love unions. -- Love tests (narrative). -- Illegitimate children.

3. Marriage. Prohibition against sexual intercourse with related kin groups; sexual intercourse within one's own kin group, incest. -- Abduction of the girl, suing for the girl's hand with the father. -- Price of the wife and manner of payment (example). -- Relations of the future bridegroom with his parents-in-law, mother-in-law and their veneration, extreme shame. -- Wedding (festivities). -- Honeymoon. -- Polygyny. -- Number of wives of chiefs. -- Marital fidelity. -- Lending wives. -- Secret lovers. -- Return of wives, reasons for doing so. -- Repayment of the bride price.

4. Medicines, influence of sexual intercourse. Origin of the seed. -- Cause of menstruation

000 (staunching of the blood). -- Medicines for strengthening virility. -- Impotence among men; origin, medicines for impotence. -- Venereal diseases; payment in case of contagion. -- Influence of sexual intercourse. -- Women who bring good luck and those who bring misfortune. -- Imitation of castration (miāk): motive and purpose, distribution, course of the initiation ceremony, abstinence of the initiated, desecration.

5. Deviant forms of sexual intercourse. Twirling of the members to relieve itching. -- Masturbation among men and among women. -- Homosexual intercourse among men. -- Homosexual intercourse a medicine for wealth; tale. -- Punishment of homosexuals by cult spirits.

6. Pregnancy, birth. Establishing the beginning of pregnancy. -- Cessation of sexual intercourse. -- Abortion: reasons for it, medicines. -- Place of delivery. -- Midwives. -- Delivery. -- Treatment of the child; squeezing off the umbilical cord. -- Treatment of the afterbirth. -- Medicine for the mother. -- Announcement of the birth. -- Feeding of the child by the mother, absence of milk. -- Later conduct of the mother, prohibition against sexual intercourse, period of nursing the infant.

1. Sexual Life before Maturity

561 Like Europeans, the Pangwe divide the individual's life into
856 three sections, the period of childhood, that of adulthood, and that of old age. The last period, however, concerns the Negro much less than the first two periods of life, because on the average death occurs at an early age. Sexual maturity represents the boundary line between childhood and adulthood, and the Pangwe emphasizes it very much because sexuality is at the center of his religious conceptions and /252/ finds external expression through the initiation into the cults. This initiation corresponds to our confirmation. The Pangwe acts as though a person before sexual maturity -- for the sake of brevity I shall call this person a child (mǭŋgo III) -- represents a stage antecedent to actual manhood, mot III, just as, say, the caterpillar is the stage prior to the butterfly.

If we think back on what was said concerning the soul in the
774 discussion of religion /Ed., not translated/, we remember that
836 the Pangwe distinguish two kinds of people according to the kind
864 of soul they possess: bebǐn (uninitiated, good), and bongǔs
882 (initiated, evil). Children (bǭŋgo) are bebǐn, uninitiated, good, because they do not know sexual intercourse and, if they have become acquainted with it prematurely, do not know that they are committing a sin; indeed, they could not know since, after all, they are not initiated into the profound connections between sexual intercourse, life, and death.

In reality the situation is such that the Pangwe young people
882 are perfectly well informed, but officially each one must empha-
884 size that he is a child, mǭŋgo, that is, good, unknowing, uninitiated as to sexual intercourse, even when he has long outgrown not only the actually innocent childhood (in the narrower sense), but also the period of sexual maturity. This point can be tested on any Negro between the age of ten and 20 years by asking him whether he already practices sexual intercourse. The answer will always be the same, be he a Fang from the bush or a Jaunde long since glossed over by a bit of civilization: "ma ne mǭŋgo (I am
[672] a child, that is, innocent, I know nothing about sexual intercourse)."

882
864 By this answer, he secures for himself the mild judgment with
[672] which we dispose of "silly boys' pranks."

For children, bǭŋgo, therefore, quite a different yardstick is applied; what they do, especially in respect to sexual matters, is not taken seriously.

bǭŋgo bǎ bǭlě oson = children have no sense of shame, and
834 the other way around, adults do not display much towards chil-
155 dren (see homosexual life, Vol. II, page 131), since, after all,
864 children simply do not know what evil (sǒ) is or what shame (o-so-n) means. If the otherwise, at least externally, very modest Negroes say this themselves, we should not hope to find many of the characteristics of a true, innocent ebīn among the children. As a matter of fact their first playful imitations of
836 sexual intercourse as they observe older people performing it
838 begin at five or six years of age; between the age of eight and nine "playing parents" is nothing but perfectly conscious sexual intercourse, though it is generally regarded as a game and was cited to me in the category of "children's games" under the name ebōbǎne-bǭŋgo (Ntum) or ebǎnebǎne bǭŋgo (Fang). It is usually done in the forenoon /253/ in the dwellings when the parents are in the fields or absent elsewhere. The partners are not only boys and girls, but also boys among each other. Later, at the age of eight to 10 years and frequently somewhat beyond, many boys manifest a similar inclination towards members of their own sex, along with a sexual urge for girls of the same age. In view of the emphasis on maintaining, as long as possible, the outward appearance of modesty, the Pangwe boys make use of a device whereby they come to an understanding "metaphorically." A boy
[201] rakes some earth and sweepings onto a leaf, ties this hastily together like a food bundle, and gives it to the other. If the latter is ready to respond to the proffered affection, he will open the bundle and pretend to eat of it, saying finally, "ma mane a dzǐ," that is, "I have eaten." If he is not inclined to respond, he will throw away the bundle, of whose contents he has full knowledge.

Concerning masturbation, see below, page 130.

2. Sexual Life between Maturity and Marriage

After reaching maturity, the girl is called ngōn III, and the
836 young man nkǒ̄ I; for both there is also the term bandǔ̄man,
[884] plural of ndǔ̄man = young man or girl at the age of being in love.
Thus the name itself shows under what sign the subsequent period of life is lived. Free love in the boldest sense of the word prevails. The girl may give away her favors without inhibition to whom and whenever she desires to do so, and she need only ob-
[833] serve the religious rule that prohibits sexual intercourse during the
[885] day and the social rule that prohibits intercourse between blood relatives. Otherwise there is no barrier; members of the same age group come together and make thorough use of their freedom. In the initial period after maturity, to be sure, sexual desire is dampened by the moral admonitions of the cults with their proclamation of the sinfulness of sexual intercourse. This sinfulness, combined with physical satiety and psychic revulsion, produces a "moral hangover"; however, such considerations and feelings are soon overcome. As in eating, so in their love life, the Pangwe know no moderation. They empty the cup of joy to the lees. Later on, especially when the Pangwe has acquired several wives, he tends to develop a more business-like attitude towards sexual love, in place of the youthful amours which alternate unsteadily between ungoverned passion and its aftereffects, psychic unease.

In view of this extensive free love, it goes without saying
[585] that the virginity of his future wife plays no role in the man's choice. Indeed, the presence of a hymen (ajādebǎ) is usually scarcely noticed and /254/ to some is totally unknown. Around the age of 15 years it is supposed to be destroyed by boys of the same age.

As for their libidinal drive, the girls are generally not in-
833 ferior to the boys. However, we may say that for the girls potency
936 alone is as a rule the deciding factor in the choice of a friend.
[572] This fact is well expressed in the various dance songs at the Mbale (which, incidentally, were brought to the Fang and Ntum by the
[181] sexually loose Jaunde) as, for example, in the following complaint.

Leader of the chorus:

539 Mīhǐnga ya mot ebō'n, edǒ a va
133 (A) woman and (a) man love affair (1), thereupon he had
836

1. ebō'n, "public region," hence, by extension, "love affair, relationship."

kě, a kě a bǔmo ba mī'nǐnga
gone (to her), he goes to sleep with (the) woman (on)

enǒn, a sā a nie kaa ngū edǒ
bed, he cohabits with her, no virility, thereupon (a)

mót a va ke, a nga jiē'
man (that is, another) he had gone, he lived to sing (the)

dżá: mīhǐnga niěne: o kīnī
song (2): (The) woman she (speaks) thus (to me): you go

2. Poetic license, because the manner of recital is song; ordinarily it would be: Thereupon a man said the following.

a kāda nā: kaa bědě a sǒ', kaa
to say this (to the lover): Not again (to) come, not

bede a ǔū, a sǎ dżā mebǔ'n, aīū'
again (to) come, one not complete sex act, night

a ngěn ojǎ'b --ma nga tame
it was still long (lasting) (3) -- I live must (to)

3. That is, the lover would have had enough time to cohabit several times.

539 tǒbǒ nale, adzǒ a n'abě
833 remain thus, affair it is bad.
836 Chorus:

A ta ma vū or a na ma
Oh, my father, I am dying, Oh, my mother, I

vū.
am dying (4).

[195] 4. The Negro dies on every occasion when something unpleasant happens to him; the chorus thus speaks from the point of view of the woman who is in such despair concerning this "bad affair" that she would almost like to die.

836 Although there are no actual prostitutes, a number of the
548 women enjoy the free life of a girl and up to the age of 30 or 35 years remain ngǒ'n, "girls." This kind of "girl," to whom every man, boy or adult, whatever his name, whether he is handsome or not, is equally /255/ welcome, is called a ñzīla. The fact that people have no better opinion of her than we have of a loose woman is shown by a song sung at a festival for the
[533] souls. In its own way this song represents a delightful satire and, for the Pangwe, an extraordinarily witty, poetic achievement. I have reproduced it in Section 20 ("Music") /Ed., not translated/.

In spite of the great sensuality, relations between the sexes
831 do have finer traits; tactful behavior, precise observation of prescribed forms, and profound spiritual sensibility are not absent. The ingenuous conduct of the young man toward the girl's parents and the naturalness with which the young people enjoy their love, without obligations, without social prejudices, have something almost ideal about them.

584 If the young man has noticed a girl or has already come to an understanding with her, he goes to her parents, introduces himself first to the father, who usually shows his most amiable side and recommends the young man to his daughter. Even though the lover did not obtain the girl's agreement beforehand -- something which can be accomplished with a few words in a brief encounter -- he will nonetheless find little opposition. The relations with the "father-in-law" and above all with the "mother-in-law" are as cordial and tender as can be. The young man brings his "mother-in-law" a little present, European salt or other things that women [431] love, and he also endears himself to the father through little attentions or presents, while the parents or the girl herself entertain the guest to the best of their ability. A natural tact causes the Pangwe to avoid mentioning anything that touches upon his relations to the girl in his contact with her family. Indeed, his delicacy with respect to the "parents-in-law" grows into a false sense of shame:

wō'-oson a vū mabā'de
[539] (The) feeling -- shame, it dies (from) frambesia

menkiē'.
(of the) parents-in-law (relatives by marriage).

The sense of shame has caused a person to die from frambesia transmitted by the parents-in-law, that is, a suitor was afraid, from a sense of shame, to turn down the food offered him by the girl's father who was suffering from frambesia. He ate with the man from one bowl, caught the disease, and died.

To the girl herself the lover usually brings half a piece of 584 material -- valued at one mark -- (among the Jaunde he brings 836 a whole piece). In his courtship, the lover does not usually arrive at the desired goal right away, for it is customary for the girl, even if she grants the young man her affection and /256/ sleeps in the same bed with him, to refuse sexual intercourse with him during the first night. (See the tale on p. 132).

The reason for this custom lies in oson, the feeling of shame toward the talk of other people. The two parties know each other perfectly well as regards their lechery, but they pretend to be quite

584 innocent and anxiously avoid anything that might give rise to
836 gossip. Thus, if we speak with the Pangwe about sexual matters, we constantly hear the word oson, "shame," oson this and oson that. Admittedly, wherever European influence is spreading, the
[177] use of oson decreases, for together with this influence the religious conceptions upon which shame is based are disappearing (as we saw in the case of sin, nsöm); at the same time, moral sensibilities are becoming laxer, and there are no longer any self-imposed restraints.

With free love universally prevalent, it naturally happens
836 also that several lovers find their way to the same girl in one night, especially when she is no longer a beginner, and she takes "pity" -- as the Pangwe themselves say mockingly -- on them all (1). With such nžila, especially the older ones, the

[802]
[211]

1. Even to keep track of their number is too difficult a task for her memory; for that reason the Jaunde girls count the number of their friends on little sticks of raffia (see Zenker).

men also permit themselves the use of offensive expressions and crude jokes, such as would be unheard of and strictly prohibited with a young girl -- especially the future wife. As an example,
[831] phalli are sometimes made of wood and then displayed wrapped in a leaf.

As has already been indicated, liaisons of the heart based on
831 genuine love are by no means uncommon. Nobody, on the other hand, will be surprised to learn that for the most part they are of limited duration and are incapable of bearing the burden which we expect of them. Thus I did not learn of a single case of a person
[762] committing suicide because of unrequited love or a spurned courtship, even though women hang themselves because somebody stole a few of their miserable hens, and men shoot themselves because their father sold a daughter in order to buy a wife, instead of leaving her to the son, the girl's brother. Generally speaking, the power of Negro love is not as great as that of the love of the Whites.

831 If the latter resembles a rushing stream which tears away everything in its path, the love of the Blacks is like a still, deep lake, and it is certain that even in Africa the magic power of love often intimately joins two hearts and that there is genuine love which in every respect is comparable to the European conception. This point is well demonstrated by the "love tests" which the men sometimes apply in order to convince themselves of the love of a future wife, quite according to the pattern: "Drum prüfe, wer sich ewig bindet, ob sich das Herz zum Herzen findet" /Trans., "Therefore assay, before you bind yourself never to part, whether there's harmony 'twixt heart and heart," from Schiller, "Das Lied von der Glocke"/.

539 514 836 An example is presented by the following tale.

One day a young man went to see the girl that he loved and wanted to marry. At night, while he was sleeping in her house, he had /257/ to urinate, but since he did not know where the toilet was and since there was no man there whom he could ask, he said to himself: "Oh, what shall I do in my need? -- -- But let me see whether the girl really loves me!" He took a small cooking pot (obə̌bə̄') and used it so that it was filled to the brim (lǫ̌'dǒtǫ̌); then he covered it with leaves and placed it behind a bed. The next morning he set out on the way home, and the girl accompanied him until they were outside the village. On the way he said: "I am going now to my village, and I shall see

ng(e) oa dzǐn ma: obə̌́bə̄', ng(e) oa bə̌'ne
if you love me: (the) little pot, if you hate (do not

ma: obə̌́bə̄'."
love) me: (the) little pot,

that is, the little pot will show whether you love me or not! The girl did not understand what he meant by this and asked him to explain. But he simply answered:

ǒ', kaa dzǎm mfə̌,
Oh, no matter other (than that):

ng(e) oa dzǐ'n ma: obə̌́bə̄', ng(e) oa bə̌ne ma, obə̌́bə̄'.

539 514 836 When the girl went home she thought to herself: "I wonder what that means: ng(e) oa dzǐn ma: oběbe, ng(e) oa bə̌ne ma: oběbe!?" When she was in the house, she was still thinking about it; then she suddenly smelled the odor and found the little pot behind the bed. She took it, poured its contents into the plantain grove behind the house, and cleaned it thoroughly with water. Meanwhile her lover had secretly come back to the village and observed from a hiding place how the affair was developing, whether the girl would call other people and publicly expose him (1). But nothing /258/ of the kind happened. He then saw

539 514 836 558

1. In that case the lover would not have been able to hide from the mockery of his companions and would have become completely unacceptable in the village of his beloved. It should not be forgotten how terribly disgraceful a Negro finds such an occurrence, indeed, the very thought of a natural need to relieve himself. A person who has had, as we would say, an accident, as in the above case, will be socially unacceptable for a long time if the incident becomes known, while we "barbarians" with our trifling amount of oson look upon such an occurrence as a painful accident for the moment, but do not carry it any further and, moreover, regard the physiological evacuation of the body as something "natural." Unfortunate uncivilized civilized people! The savages are better people after all! They have a countless number of circumlocutions for the terrible deed: ma ke a npə̌[n̄] biǎn, "I am going to fetch a medicine"; a bə̌be ekūidi, "to inspect the spring trap"; a bə̌be ebə̄i, "to inspect the pitfall"; a tsǎ ndzǎǎ,

514 539

539 514 "to look for firewood"; ma ke ofe̱ī, "I am going into the bush," and so forth. Even today I have to smile when I think of an incident that happened at the beginning of my stay in Alén. One of my Fang boys, who accompanied me on the hunt and was near a thick, half-rotted tree stump, suddenly said, "ma ke tsǎ ndžā,ǎ (I am going to get some firewood)." Under the impression that he really wanted to cut off some firewood from the tree stump, I countered this, to me unintelligible, notion, half amazed, half mockingly, with the words, "ye oa bě̱le ovǔ̄n (but do you have an axe)?" It was only after a while that I understood why I was struck by such an annihilating look of moral disapproval. After this faux pas, I became more cautious and was soon sufficiently polished to be a highly civilized person in the Pangwe sense, who in strange villages no longer spoke of the eduk (toilet), but instead, as a well brought-up "Pange," merely asked:

114 514

nge ba tší'dǎn ma, ma yā̱'le
If one drives (urges) me, I duck (hide)
[539] vě'?
where?
or: zě'n e medžā e ne vě'?
Where is the way to the host (actually: head of the village)?

539 757 514 Further demonstrations of the Pangwe's feeling of shame with respect to natural requirements are the use of an enema syringe (which is directly connected with

514 [757] 539

the feces or anus) as a deterrent medicine for thefts from the field and the significant tale of the turtle and the woman. A turtle wants to force a girl against her will to become his wife, and after all kinds of vain attempts finally succeeds only by smearing the girl's bed and clothes one night with his own feces. Having done so, he lies down to sleep, and the next morning when the girl sees the mess, he threatens to tell in the village and all the world that she had befouled her bed. The turtle thus put the girl completely in his power and forced her to agree to the marriage.

539 836 514 the girl going into her mother's house, quickly stole after her through the plantain grove, and listened behind the house to what the girl might say; not by a single word did she mention the incident. He then went back with a joyful heart, and said to himself: "This girl truly loves me." After two days he returned, asked for her hand in marriage, and took her back to his village as his wife.

This tale gave rise to the popular saying: ng(e) oa dži̱n ma, oběbē', ng(e) oa bǭne ma: oběbē'.

832 The great number of love medicines (bia̱n andu'man), which very graphically symbolize the fusion and embracing of the sexes (in a spiritual as well as a physical sense), has already been discussed in Volume II, page 30 .

848 836 Illegitimate children are quite rare. The child's father -- even when he is known -- has no claim upon the child, just as the girl has no claim upon the father. The child belongs to the girl's father and is regarded as a not altogether unwelcome addition, since when the girl marries, it considerably raises her purchase price. As long as the mother remains unmarried, her child stays in the house of her parents. When she marries, the child becomes /259/ a part of the marriage bargain, as it were, and is considered

836 entirely as the husband's own. If the mother runs away with a
848 man -- which sometimes happens -- without taking the child along, it is fed by the grandmother whose name it also usually bears if it is a girl. It is by no means a disgrace for the girl if her sexual relations with young men have consequences.

3. Marriage

We have already seen that sexual intercourse within blood
835 relationship is taboo (ekī).
184 Such relationship includes:

1. one's own familial group;
2. the mother's familial group;
3. the familial group of the father's mother.

Formerly this taboo was observed by all Pangwe with uniform strictness, but today it is frequently circumvented. The Jaunde do not always observe it, and the Fang -- of all people, the Fang with their constantly emphasized oson -- have dropped it for the own familial group, but retain it for the other familial groups. To the Ntum and all the other Pangwe this shocking occurrence has been a great irritant, and they never let an opportunity pass of making fun of the immorality of the Fang who "cohabit with their own sisters" or of speaking indignantly about it, without failing at the same time to stress their own great respect for morality and decency. This is done despite the fact that the Ntum themselves have at least in part been corrupted by the bad example of the Fang, and in other respects, too, transgressions against the taboo are not infrequent. The custom of having sexual relations with women of one's own kin group (sisters in the Pangwe sense) is called zǎmadulu III or simply zǎma III, the verb being a dulu zǎma. As can be seen by the prefix class, the name has been derived entirely unchanged from the name for God (zǎma) and signifies "to act like Sama," because, as can be seen from the creation story (Vol. II, p. 16 ff. /Ed., not translated/), Sama (Nsambe) had sexual intercourse with his own sister.

835 Where zǎmadulu is still taboo, a payment must be made to
684 the girl's father in case of a violation. The payment varies depending upon the gravity of the offense: a number of goats

835 (formerly it was commonly five goats), as well as a dog which
684 serves as scapegoat, that is, the dog is supposed to take upon itself the disease with which the sinner is threatened by the cult spirit. If disease nonetheless occurs, medicines which are connected with the cults are prepared (see medicines for cult sicknesses, Vol. II, p. 36).

The modern, freer conception or -- among the Fang -- the
855 denial of the taboo against intercourse with blood relatives (in
582 the Pangwe sense) disappears as soon as there is a question of marriage. Then the taboo is in force everywhere and without qualifications. /260/

Free intercourse between the young man and the girl is, in
836 many cases, only a shorter or longer testing period which, if the
583 result of the "test" -- in this case a physical one, as contrasted to the spiritual one of which we spoke above -- is favorable, leads to marriage. If the girl is very much in love with her friend, to use a Pangwe expression, he can readily persuade her to follow him immediately to his village. Such an "abduction" is considered -- partly, at least -- to be sanctified by custom, even if the bride's family is usually not overjoyed at the practice. In such a case, the girl's father will set out the next day to demand the purchase price from his son-in-law. If the latter is able to pay him a part, say, half of this price, the matter is settled, and the balance is usually put on a buy-now-pay-later basis. If it turns out, however, that the "abducter" is a poor beggar or that his father does not want to produce the money, the bride is mercilessly taken away from him again even if she pours out streams of tears. You simply cannot get something for nothing. In the majority of cases, however, the girl will not agree to run away with her lover; instead she will demand that her suitor ask her father for her hand in marriage and first make a payment.

Every woman, young or old, has the same value. Nonethe-
583 less, the amount of the purchase price fluctuates greatly in accordance with general economic conditions. A woman is cheapest among the Jaunde and she is most expensive in the heart of Pangwe country. The price fluctuates between 200 and 750 marks in our money. On the average, one can assume a price of

583 between 500 and 600 marks in the south. Devaluation of the money, which has also taken place in Africa, has considerably raised the price in comparison to what it was formerly.

The purchase price cannot be paid in money (spear money)
583 alone, in cattle alone, or in any specific type of goods alone;
426 instead, all the objects of exchange which are in circulation
435 must be represented. Thus, in 1906, for instance, the following things were paid for a woman in the Fang region:

6,000 spears	420. -- marks
12 rifles	120. -- marks
2 vats of powder . . .	4. -- marks
70 choppers	70. -- marks
2 sheep	50. -- marks
2 iron pots	8. -- marks
10 pieces of cloth . . .	40. -- marks
5 hats	10. -- marks
13 kettles of salt @ 2. -- marks	26. -- marks
2 knives	2. -- marks
2 packages of beads . .	2. -- marks
2 tobacco pipes . . .	---. 50 mark
2 packages of flints . .	--. 50 mark
1 hatful of buttons . .	--. 50 mark
	753. 50 marks /261/

Any existing illegitimate children go along with the marriage
[848] bargain. In fact, the bridegroom has to pay 500 spears for a boy and 1,000 spears for a girl; incidentally, he is only too glad to do so, because each child means an addition to his wealth.

I shall not go into a discussion of the endless number of quar-
578 rels that arise on the occasion of a marriage, especially when
583 the entire purchase price is not paid at once. Nor shall I speak of the fact that the girl's father likes to steer his daughter, even if she is in love with another, into the hands of the man who can pay the most or the most readily. All this would lead too far afield.

606 If the girl stays in her parents house and if the payment of
583 the purchase price extends over weeks and months, the suitor has
584

583 sufficient time to get to know his future wife and her family.
584 He treats them with the greatest consideration, and for the mother-
606 in-law (nie-ngon III, that is, the girl's mother) especially he has an enormous amount of respect. He is courtesy itself, bringing her presents, large and small, and from time to time killing a chicken or a sheep for her. In short, one could in all seriousness speak of a mother-in-law cult (see the love feast, Vol. II, p. 24). And above all: oson, oson, oson: shame, shame, and more shame. The son-in-law is unspeakably ashamed before the mother-in-law, and vice versa, she before him. This is especially true after the wedding when the good mother-in-law extends her modesty also to the members of the son-in-law's kin group. Like a thief she steals behind the dwellings into her daughter's house in order not to be seen, and -- who knows? -- perhaps in order not to give rise to mother-in-law jokes.

Riddle:

[539] nzǎ'n e bönsüe, e ne kaangǎ
[524] Way of the lizards, it is (in the) reeds (Cyperus)

Solution:

nzǎ'n e bonǐ́ěngō'n, e n' a
Way of the mother-in-law, it is on (the) stretch

fā́
behind the houses.

585 On the day when a man takes his young wife home, the village
535 celebrates with a sizable dance, for which all adorn themselves to
[302] the best of their ability and which the young wife, red from red wood dye, attends as guest of honor seated on a stool. On this occasion, the popping of blunderbusses may not be omitted, because it belongs to the festive music like our flourish of trumpets. The dancing and shooting last several days when a wealthy chief has acquired a new wife or if it is the first wife of a fellow villager. There is nothing strikingly special about any of this; the festivity simply involves a series of different /262/ dances (among which the dschama is particularly popular which are also customary on other occasions.

585 After the wedding, the young bride is allowed a certain period
595 of rest (up to one month), during which she does not need to work. Every day, newly painted with red wood, she struts around the village. After this honeymoon she then proceeds to the diurnal work in the field, while the man may possibly already be on the lookout for a second wife. Incidentally, there are not many who can afford the luxury of several wives; usually these are only the chief, his brothers, and a number of other people. The great majority must content themselves with a single wife. In former
[589] times there were even people who, for lack of money, were condemned to permanent bachelorhood because the opportunities for earning money were not as favorable as they are today with European commerce. In the account of the belief in souls (Vol. II, p. 102 /Ed., not translated/), we mentioned how a loving father procures a wife for his son by transforming himself into a leopard.

The number of wives that the individual chief calls his own
622 decreases from north to south, precisely in the same proportion
595 as his power as a ruler decreases towards the south. The most
184 respected and greatest chiefs of the Mwele and Jaunde sometimes possess up to 100 wives; similarly, Bulu chiefs with 50 wives are not a rarity. Among the Fang, on the other hand, the chiefs have only from 16 to 20 wives, at most 30, while in smaller villages they may have as few as five or even fewer, since, as we have seen /Ed., not translated/, anybody can become a chief (nkūkūma) by founding a new village because in this village he will be the "wealthiest."

The statement sounds harsh, but it must be made: the
837 woman's sexual life is basically a continuation of that of the girl, perhaps in even more artful forms, in other words, a higher form of prostitution. Marital fidelity is a great rarity, even though my Blacks steadfastly maintained that this is not so. I myself was only once shown a woman, as a "curiosity," who did not permit herself to be seduced by other men, and this was not even in the Pangwe region, but on my travels in Bassá country. I do not wish to deny that even among the Pangwe there are women who remain faithful to their husbands without being compelled

837 to do so, but, as I said -- white crows! Actually, it would be asking rather a lot to expect this as the order of the day, in view of the prevailing polygyny. All jealousy and all supervision are of no avail; the women simply acquire behind the man's back what he cannot or will not grant them.

[622] Generally, the chief keeps only a small number of his wives, [595] perhaps from three to five, for himself. The others he divides among his /263/ adherents and friends or hires them out to acquaintances for one or more nights in exchange for cash payment. In addition, as is apparent from the reckonings at the feast for the souls, the women keep a whole series of admirers who -- if there is no other way -- satisfy them during the day in the fields, in spite of Ngi and all the cult spirits. Even lepers and cripples are not spurned if they are capable sexually. If the [684] husband learns the name of a wife's lover, the latter must pay him about 300 spears. The price fluctuates somewhat, and in case the parties do not come to an agreement, it is determined by legal proceedings. If the husband catches a rival in flagrante delicto, he sometimes has no scruples about shooting him down on the spot.

587 If a woman dies soon after marriage, the widower obtains the sister of the deceased as a wife, either for nothing or for a small additional payment, because it is believed that the woman carried an ewu inside her, in other words, that she was a sorceress and was therefore responsible for her own death, thus wronging her husband.

If for some reason or other a man does not like his wife, he 586 can give her back without great difficulty, since, after all, she retains her value and finally always "gets her man." In the case of young people, who frequently marry the first person that happens to be available and only later realize what they have actually acquired, wives may be taken back purely if they have a poor appearance, diseased teeth, an evil smell, and so forth, in other words, if they are generally "unpleasant."

Otherwise, the chief grounds for divorce are: 1) spitefulness and disobedience towards the spouse; 2) malicious, extended desertion of the husband (but not simple running away) and

586 insurmountable aversion to him; 3) repeated theft; 4) sorcery by which the woman kills (poisons) the children of other women, and the man is afraid that sooner or later he will likewise become her victim; 5) the slow development of the woman who was a child when married, in other words, the man had overestimated her age (this case is as characteristic of the Negroes as the reason given for it: "So that his money will not be spent for nothing"); 6) such diseases as leprosy, elephantiasis of the feet, and a form of dysentery (tiɣ), if they appear soon after marriage.

In certain cases it may also happen that continued adultery and sterility of the wife lead to divorce.

If the reason for the return of the wife is well founded, which in most cases it doubtless is because a Negro will not give away his wife for nothing, the purchase price is returned, or in case the father-in-law has more daughters, a sister of the ex-wife is given in exchange for the unsuitable one. /264/

[691] Naturally, quarrels arise in great abundance on such occasions, and legal proceedings stemming from the refusal to return the purchase price of a wife constitute, next to cases of adultery, the majority of all litigations.

4. Medicines, Influence of Sexual Intercourse

842 In the opinion of the Pangwe, the seed is formed in the
827 nipple. This idea was probably arrived at through the fact that at the time of sexual maturity the breasts swell and at times even attain the size of the breasts of girls of the same age. From the nipple the seed flows into the pubic region to the mons pubis (edǎ'k) and is deposited there to flow out during coitus (see medicine for gonorrhea, Vol. II, p. 50). There would be too much [302] if the pubic hairs were shaved off. Hence they are merely cut short as a hygienic measure dictated by the hot climate, the secretion of sweat, and itching skin rashes. Concerning the significance of the testicles, the Pangwe are in complete ignorance; they believe that they merely serve to erect the penis.

841 Menstruation is the sign of the ability to bear children and is looked upon as an effect of the moon (ngō'n = girl and moon).

841 Hence, according to rule, menstruation should start in the first few days after the new moon, but unfortunately the white-haired old fellow seems to take his task rather lightly and is rarely dependable. In order to hasten the appearance of menstruation and thereby to make the girl capable of bearing children or, better yet, to make her accessible to men, a medicine is used. Sexual intercourse during menstruation is not exactly prohibited, but it [834] is nonetheless regarded as unaesthetic and is usually avoided. In [824] order to staunch the blood (a dzib makji), the women stuff dry plantain tow into the vagina, a process which they repeat from time to time. They also have medicines designed to hasten the end of the flow of blood.

In view of the lack of moderation with which the Pangwe from 832 early youth indulge their sexual desires, the young man at an early 824 age feels the need to fortify his sexual powers. For this reason, they take medicines, bläʌ nkŭn, medicines for the penis, whose effects are thought of as a transference of characteristics, in accordance with the conceptions described earlier concerning the power of organization /Ed., not translated/. I shall mention the following.

1. Hardwoods, to transfer their hardness to the penis: Albizzia brownei Oliv., Leguminosae (angŏk); Baccaurea bipindensis Pax., Euphorbiacea (mbǎ'n-afǎ'n I), leaves ground in ngon and eaten; Carpolabia alba Don., Polygalaceae (onŏn, tōmo[k] IV Fang, tŭē'me Ntum), a remedy frequently used, /265/ /Fig. 85 appears here in the original text/ the leaves eaten with an egg and a piece of the stem is tied around the body so that it lies over the seat (Fig. 85, a); Cyclostemon gilgianus Pax., Euphorbiacea (onŏn nsǎk, t.-nsǎk), root scraped into an egg, stem piece worn as in the previous case; Tricalysia tessmannii Krause, Rubiaceae (tŭē'me-afǎ'n IV Ntum), likewise; Cola pachycarpa R. Schum., Sterculiaceae (ekŏ'm), fruit kernels eaten; Clerodendron bipindense Gürke, Verbenaceae (ndžike fǎm = men's liana), leaves ground with true Cola and eaten.

2. Thorns whose stiffness is supposed to be transferred to the penis: Lonchocarpus barteri Benth., Leguminosae (ejō' a fǎm a

892
824
[825]

Fig. 85. Medicines to reinforce virility, worn at the belt, usually over the seat.
(a) Wood of Carpolabia alba, (b) tibia bone of a cock, (c) caudal vertebrae of the leopard.

nsŏsɔ̄'k I), and perhaps also Combretum tessmannii Gilb. (anduń a ndžik). In the case of the first two, the thorns are boiled in a bundle together with various spices and the leaves of other fortifying plants (so that the strength of the thorn goes into the food and thus enters the body); then the thorn is taken out and worn on the forehead or over the seat. The leaves of Combretum tessmannii are cut up and eaten with an egg. Also Macaranga ledermanniana Pax., Euphorbiacea (kɔ̄ǐa III, asǎs), is used; pieces of the bark (with the thorns) are boiled and strained, and the liquid is drunk hot.

3. Sharp leaves and stalks: Scleria barteri Bckl., Cyperaceae (pfǎfɔ̄'lɔ̄ III Ntum, from pfǎ = sword, bushknife, and -- perhaps -- afɔ́lɔ̄, afǒlǔń = hat, because the climbing reeds threaten to cut up the hat? It is called "bushknife" in coastal English. The young leaves are eaten.

4. Bitter and sharp substances: salt; black pepper (Capsicum); melegueta pepper, that is, seeds of Aframomum melegueta (Rool) K. Sch. (andǔń = seed; ndǔń) (1); Andropogon schoenanthus

1. Root tu, ndu = warm, hot; compare nduǎn = fire; o-tu = bush hair, torch; o-tu-m = Urticacea Tragia cordifolia

832 824 Pax, burns; a-ndu-ń a ndźik = Combretum tessmannii Gilg (see above).

L. (designation questionable) (ołźm e ntǎńgǎn), root eaten; Cola acuminata (P. Beauv.), Sterculiacea (abǒ).

5. Substances that cause itching: Tragia cordifolia Pax (otńm), leaves ground and eaten with an egg; likewise Urera dinklagei Engl., Urticaceae (sǎ[s] ndźik).

6. Heating substances (designation of the natives): Derris glabrata Welw. (eǒn e ndźik), root and leaves ground, boiled with spices, strained, and the liquid drunk. /266/

7. Explanation unknown: Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg., Euphorbiacea (asǒm) (perhaps because of strong wood?); Coinochlamys schweinfurthii Gilg., Loganiaceae (oli fǒm = men's little tree), little pieces of the stem stuck in the hair (hardwood?); Geophila herbacea L., Rubiaceae (eiǒ[k] a tǒn), leaves ground with Cola and chewed (leaves are durable, "strong," perhaps for that reason?).

832 825 Of animals, the meat of the spiny-finned sheatfish, which is very fat, is considered a stimulant of the first rank; furthermore, the tibia bone of a cock (Fig. 85, b) is worn on the body because of the spur, as are caudal vertebrae of the leopard (Fig. 85, c) because of the strength of the tail.

833 278 The medicines for impotence (biǎń a ǒ or biǎń e ǒ) should be distinguished from the stimulants (aphrodisiacs). There are thought to be two forms of impotence: one dating from earliest youth, and one acquired later in life. The former, it is said, came about because the persons concerned had urinated in their food as very small children while they were being fed pap by their mothers. Another version is lined with the belief in magic: a boy is thought capable of giving away his sexual power (see belief in magic, Vol. II, p. 134 /Ed., not translated/) in exchange for the power of sorcery, that is, power over other people. Perhaps this conception stems from the fear that impotent persons try to avenge themselves on their fellow human beings for their misfortune. The medicines for impotence are not numerous, but they actually seem

833 to be, in part at least, effective. Thus, the most common of
278 these, derived from the Rubiacea Corynanthe yohimbe K. Sch.,
[824] has recently been incorporated in our medications under the name "yohimbin." -The natives produce an extract from the bark and wood of the tree and drink this. They conceive the manner of its effect as similar to the one mentioned above, and they reason as follows: the wood of the tree is especially hard in relation to that of other trees, say, like the penis of a pig in relation to that of
[825] other animals (something which one notices if one boils it and tries to eat it), and I shall acquire this characteristic of the wood if I partake of some of the wood. Hence the tree also bears the name nkŭn e ngŭi, "pig's penis."

Aside from the Corynanthe yohimbe, we should mention here
824 two other trees which possibly also give physiological effects:
833 Leguminosa Baphia buettneri Harms (mfǎ I, mfǎn I), and the
278 Flaccourtiacea Homalium africanum Bth. (ejŭm, supposedly from a jŭme nkŭn, "to erect the penis," an expression that I never again encountered. In my opinion, the root contained in ejŭm is the same as in nnŭm, plural bojŭm = masculine gender; thus, the tree would be called ejŭm for (e) the man; majŭm, plural = seed). /267/ The leaves of the Baphia buettneri are gathered, ground on stones, and placed in the sun in sugar wine. The mixture is drunk while it is warm. From the Homalium, on the other hand, the bark is scraped off and ground; then it is boiled with spices and the liquid drunk while it is hot.

Finally, three more plants were mentioned to me as belonging in the category of bǐǎn eē, among these, the Solanum duplosinuatum U.D. (etŭi'n) because of its spikes.

Venereal diseases (see Section 13) are prevalent only in those
164 areas where European influence has existed for some time, especially
684 in Yaoundé and Gabon, from where syphilis has been spread. The
[177] Negroes seem to consider frambesia a kind of sexual disease, for the man who has communicated this disease to a girl or a wife must pay her or her father the same penalty (500 to 1,000 spears) he would pay if he had infected her with syphilis. If, on the other hand, the lover becomes infected through the woman, he can claim no damages.

In the case of gonorrhea, the infected woman can demand
164 damages only if she notices the misfortune before she has been
684 paid for the favor rendered. The damages amount to 400 spears if the disease came from a person of the same kin group, and 1000 spears if it came from a person of another kin group. With the payment the "temporary marriage contract" is terminated, and thereby any claim for damages is nullified. In other words, it is always a good idea to pay one's debts as soon as possible:

[539] a bɛ̌le, a bɛ̌le, a kɔ̌n abɛ̌ mayɔ̌k.
Keeping, keeping, it strikes (a) poor bargain.

The person who always keeps his money to himself runs into an unfavorable price situation.

Their unrestrained sexual intercourse has a highly deleterious
831 effect upon the Negroes; it weakens and stupefies them. Smaller
461 boys are often quite useful as servants, but once they reach sexual maturity and become acquainted with women, they can simply no longer be used. The Pangwe recognize this bad influence, and intelligent ones among them did not hesitate to confess frankly to me that their sexual practices corrupted them and made them incapable of strenuous physical or intellectual work. We do not need the testimony of individuals, however -- popular customs demonstrate this insight sufficiently. I believe that, aside from
[834] being based upon the original religious conception concerning the sinfulness of sexual intercourse and its incarnation in the woman, the abstinence rules for war and hunting expeditions and for iron smelting are based on the experience that sexual intercourse weakens the man's physical and intellectual capacities. Naturally, the man is inclined to heap the blame on women /268/
[196] and bebɔ̌n, "vaginas," as he contemptuously calls them (1).

171 1. "Terms which originally only signified 'vulva' or 'cunnus' but were then generalized into the concept 'wenches,'" exist everywhere in Europe, too; see Anthropophyteia, Jahrbücher für folkloristische Erhebungen und Forschungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der geschlechtlichen

171 Moral /Anthropophyteia, Yearbooks for Folkloristic Inquiries and Explorations into the Historical Development of Sexual Morality/, edited by Dr. Friedrich S. Krauss (1912), Vol. 9, p. 31.

833 Over against the great mass of women, the bebŏbăñ, who
777 through sexual intercourse bring the man misfortune, there is the exceptional phenomenon of the woman who among the Ntum is called ayūē' III and among the Fang ayā̆. Union with her brings both parties, the woman as well as the man, good fortune. At the same time her influence is more important for the man, for instance, during military and hunting expeditions. If, for instance, the man goes hunting on the day after having had intercourse with such a woman, he is bound to see a wild animal soon and to kill it. If he goes to war, "his rifle will hit its mark," whereas the enemy's will not. For this eventuality, moreover, he has the woman give him a medicine, namely red wood that she has ground in a certain way (bā-ayā̆, mfumu-bā). The woman, too, is lucky on this day if she goes "hunting" for fish, that is, if she goes on a fish drive (a lŭk), or works on the farm (see Vol. I, p. 56).

But -- as was said -- such women who bring good fortune are a rarity; the majority of women bring misfortune. If a man goes hunting on the day after coition, all the animals evade him in a wide arc (a bă̆ñ), hence the name ebŏbăñ.

[833] In the peculiar custom of the miāk consecration I see proof of
785 the fact that the Pangwe know the harmful effect of excessive sexual
554 intercourse. The word miāk actually means the castrated animal,
831 in particular the buck goat (see Vol. I, p. 76), and here it is applied symbolically to a person who through a public and solemn declaration is for a time excluded from sexual intercourse. After a successfully concluded war, more rarely upon some other occasion, somebody (usually the chief) decides to consecrate his son or his daughter to purity. Naturally, neither of the latter may as yet be acquainted with sexual matters, in other words, they will only be

785 from four to six years old. They are thus consecrated so that
554 one day they will surpass all others in insight and understanding;
831 then, through their spiritual superiority, they will acquire influence, power (knowledge is power!), and especially wealth. In the case of the son, this will be to his own advantage; in the case of the daughter, it will benefit the father who can get a higher purchase price for her than for a girl with the usual loose way of life. In other words, the "savages" know well the value of moral purity. /269/

831 The custom of mǐǎk consecration was formerly practiced
785 throughout the Pangwe region. Nowadays, however, since warlike
[184] times have ceased, it is to be encountered only among the Fang of the central Uelle region. I should like to compare the custom
[171] to the practice found among us during the Middle Ages, whereby the heads of important families (especially princes), after some lucky success (for instance, in war), destined one child for the clergy and consecrated it to the pure life dedicated to God, frequently not without calculating the advantages that could accrue to them from such an action.

785 The procedure of the consecration feast is as follows. The
789 child, clothed in a small loincloth, is led to the medicine man
556 and is washed by him with a medicine water. The medicines used
831 for this are barks of various trees that bear ample fruit, such as
[824] the Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofǒs), so that the child's understanding may bear fruit as abundantly as these trees or, in other words, so that wealth may fall to its lot in the same abundance as the fruit of these trees falls to the ground beneath them. The various barks are placed in a container made of banana leaves, and hot water is poured over them. After the ablution, the child must swallow the principal medicine, a bundle of ngon
[824] with the chopped leaves of certain "weak" plants, such as Hibiscus moschatus (Roxb.) (tège III, from a tĕk, "weak," because the fruit is cooked in a short time), in order to make the child
[833] equally weak, that is, sexually incapable. Furthermore, the ngon
[825] is mixed with chicken meat -- the chicken is the bird of day, of the good and the pure, and at the same time it is supposed to point symbolically to the wealth that is desired for the child (the chief, the "Very Rich One," is regarded as the privileged son of the

831
785 sun) -- or with elephant's meat, in which case the child is sup-
556 posed to become spiritually great and important, just as the ele-
[825] phant surpasses the other animals physically, or, finally, with the meat of the hedgehog -- the child is to get as many things as the hedgehog has quills (1).

[539] 1. A well-known proverb, to be intelligible, would have to be translated into Pangwe something like this: He is as full of stupidities as the hedgehog is full of quills.

Thus, the child becomes miǎk. Its loincloth is taken off
785 and from now on -- be it male or female -- it must go about
831 completely naked. Here is another significant fact regarding
[834] the moral-religious view of the Pangwe: clothing, that is, the
[291] covering of the sex organs, arose because the sense of shame (o-so-n) which started with the first sin (n-sö-m, root so), that is, sexual intercourse, demanded it. If the innocent state (ignorance of sexual matters) is artificially restored, clothing becomes unnecessary.

The miǎk are generally respected. People are careful not to speak to them about sexual matters or to seduce the girls, especially since /270/ the protection which they are accorded by cus-
[684] tom is effectively strengthened through the right of the father or the relatives to shoot down the seducer without further ado wherever they find him. Nowadays, however, the old customs have been somewhat relaxed; the miǎk are not always what they ought to be.

Annulment of the chastity obligation takes place in the same solemn manner when the consecrated person is fully grown, in other words, not before the age of 20 years. In the case of the man, it is required that he prove himself the bravest in war or at least that he has shot an enemy (1). In the case of the girl, it is

[177] 1. Today, in the regions influenced by the Whites, this decree has had to be moderated.

[583] required of the suitor that, contrary to the usual custom, he pay

785 the already higher marriage price in advance, down to the last
85 little string of beads.
[583]

The ceremony itself proceeds as follows. A goat is killed, and its blood is mixed with medicines by the medicine man and rubbed onto the body of the miǎk. The medicines are made from shavings of bark from various trees and are supposed to cause sexual incapacity to be "stripped off"; the goat is chosen because, [825] in contrast to the chicken, it is the animal of evil, of the sexual drive. Finally, the medicine man solemnly declares that the person concerned has ceased to be a miǎk and is thus relieved of the obligation to abstain. Henceforth the erstwhile miǎk again wears a loincloth.

5. Deviant Forms of Sexual Intercourse

The Negro's strong sweat secretions, but chiefly a skin 839 disease -- Krokro /Ed., ?/ (metšǎn) -- appearing on the sex organs and between the buttocks, cause an itching irritation which among the Pangwe has led to the bad habit of constantly scratching the penis whenever time and opportunity are favorable, even when there is no itching as well as to relieving an itch. They do this by twirling the penis in a manner similar to that used in making fire with sticks. This is a sport practiced by boys and adults alike and is called a kīk e metšǎn or a wōʼo (= wōk) metšǎn, which simply means "to relieve the itching by scratching" (metšǎn means itching of any kind, Krokro being simply the most unpleasant form of itch). On this occasion, erection naturally takes place as a rule, although no orgasm follows, just as there was no intention of relieving sexual desire. Indirectly, on the other hand, this action passes into a form of real masturbation, likewise through twirling the penis (a sīk nkǔn) from which, however, orgasm does not always follow either. In certain regions among the Okak this nsīɛ n-nkǔn (the noun) is prohibited (ekī); it is said that otherwise the person concerned will no longer be able to cohabit with women successfully. /271/

839 In the case of members of the female sex, masturbation by
[824] means of a plantain fruit is widespread, something which is to be foreseen in view of the bad situations arising from polygyny. A proverb states:

[539] o kūe ma zā (sā[k]) ebôn onū,
you find me satisfying vagina (with the) finger (1)

1. Probably a circumlocution since one did not want to mention the real object. Moreover, in coastal English the clusters of fruit growing alternately in a "plantain bunch," are called a
[196] "plantain hand," and the individual fruits making up the hand are called "fingers."

oa bĕle nkŭn,
you have (the) penis,

and this is used whenever someone does not part with something of which he has a superabundance, even when he sees that another person is short of it and makes shift with a poor substitute.

We have spoken above of homosexual relations among "chil-
838 dren." In adults such conduct is regarded as something immoral and unnatural, simply as unheard of. In reality, however, it is frequently "heard of" that young people carry on homosexual relations with each other and even of older people who take boys -- who, as is well known, "have neither understanding nor shame" -- and readily console them by saying: "bia bŏ pfiăⁿga (we are having fun, playing a game, joking)." The children are excused with the well-known assertion, which in its deeper sense can rarely be defended: bŏ ne bŏⁿgo = they are ignorant, that is, they know not what they do. Adults are excused with the corresponding assertion: a bĕle nnēm e bŏⁿgo = he has (the) heart (that is, the aspirations) of boys, which is, of course, by no means flattering to them.

Publicly, of course, homosexuals are treated with the greatest contempt, and they were therefore forced, as a matter of course,

838 to cast about for a protective covering to shield themselves from the attacks of those who are different, just as the hedgehog is protected by its covering of quills -- a covering on which the attackers would cut their mouths and their caustic tongues. Such a covering was supplied by medicine -- it is said that homosexual intercourse is a "wealth medicine" (biǎ,n nkū'ma); see Volume II, page 23. This is the name applied to it in the following tale which was told to me.

There once was a man called bongo-be-ntuu-dumo (= boys -- 838 which?) who had a daughter called akukebedanga who was very 539 beautiful (the name allegedly came from akúk = Achatina marginata [551] Sw. var. nigrofasciata Thiele, which is very beautiful, and from [825] adǎn = to surpass, because she was as unsurpassably beautiful as the Achatina snail; thus, if I understand it correctly, the name means "Achatina snail of unsurpassable beauty"). /272/

Now it happened one day that four young people met on the way to the village of Bongo (I shall thus abbreviate his name). They were all on their way to see the girl. They asked each other: "Whom are you going to see?" and each of them said: "Akukebedanga!" Then they conferred and agreed that they would go into the village together and wait to see whom the girl would love the most. The young people, who came from various families, were called (I place the abbreviation first):

Schok I, or by his full name he was called ǯ[k] bǒ ǯūa (explanation?);

Schok II, called ǯ [k] bǒ ngōne makę̌ makǒ,(ekę̌kǒ), that is, Schok, bōngōne (unknown) I am going away to come back later (= I shall be gone for some time);

Schok III, z [k], bǒ kǎ ję̌m bǒdǯǒ melǎn (1),
Schok -- of not knowing speeches bad,

1. Instead of: belǎn.

that is, the Schok who speaks no evil, and

Schok IV, ǯ [k] bǒ nǔ'm e kūb b'ogbwā'le ba
Schok of: cock and francolin they
jǒm e ki'ḍi ma lę̌ne.
know the mornings they begin.

838
539 The four suitors, then, came into the village where they introduced themselves to the girl's father, Bongo. The latter said: "Oh, why is it that four men are coming all at once -- there is after all only one girl! But let's see what we can do!" Then he led them into the house where they found the girl's mother. The latter likewise said: "Oh, -- four men! I know that hitherto this or that suitor has come, and if the girl loved him she slept with him, and if she did not love him he went back home! But now -- four men all at once!?" Thereupon the young men said: "Let us see whom the girl loves." Now the girl loved Schok IV, but the mother loved Schok III, while the girl's brother loved Schok II, and the father loved Schok I. When night fell, the strangers were led into the girl's house. She slept with Schok IV, and the others slept on the other beds. Now when Schok IV wanted to embrace the girl, one of the others shouted: "Oh, how lecherous this girl is; the very first night she gives herself to her lover!" Then the girl said to Schok IV: "Oh, how this person talks, desist, let's wait for another night!" When the others were sleeping, Schok IV asked the girl very softly: "Don't you want to marry me?" The girl consented to marry him, and they decided that they would both flee the next day (that is, in Pangwe, that the lover was to "kidnap" the girl); if someone /273/ were to see them, they would say they were going to bathe. Thus the next day Schok IV pretended to go bathing, and the girl followed him unnoticed. Both then went to the village of Schok IV.

When on the afternoon of the same day, both of them had not returned and it was evident that Schok IV had kidnapped the girl, Schok III went to the mother, who, as we saw, was fond of him, and reproached her most violently for the fact that the girl had fled. The mother replied: "Well, why am I to blame; I'm not in the girl's skin." Thereupon Schok III became furious, took a bush knife, struck at the woman, and killed her on the spot. Then he went home.

Schok I, who loved the father, turned to the latter, likewise reproached him strongly, and asked him how the girl had come to run away. In answer to this, the father said: "Oh, how am I to blame; if I were the girl I would not have acted so (Bongo's

838 feminine role seems to be hinted at with these words), but I am
539 not in the girl's skin either, after all!" However, Schok I was not satisfied with this explanation. Thereupon the father went to the village of Schok IV, who had abducted his daughter, and demanded bride price from him. Schok IV accordingly paid this price. Bongo went back home with it and said to Schok I: "Here is all the money for the girl; I am paying you with it!" But Schok I said to him: "No, I don't want the money!" Thereupon the father took one of his wives and the money and wanted to offer all this to Schok I as compensation. But still Schok would have none of it. He said: "No, I don't want it -- rather (and this will be the compensation) we shall both always be together; when you urinate, I shall also urinate; when you defecate, I shall also defecate, when you sleep, I shall also sleep with you on the same bed (1)!"

1. The great declaration of love of the Pangwe corresponding to our: "Wherever you go, there I will go too!"

So, in fact, it turned out, and the two slept together. Finally, however, both contracted frambesia and died of it.

The last Schok, Schok II, who loved the brother, did the same thing with the latter as Schok I did with Bongo. As a substitute for the girl, he stayed with the brother, and the two slept together. But they, too, became sick, of leprosy, and died.

In this tale it is particularly striking that the sexually normal and abnormal have different fates. The normal Schok III gets away unpunished, even though he kills the wife of his host, who was to become his mother-in-law. The homosexuals Schok I and II receive a terrible punishment in the form of leprosy and frambesia for their intercourse.

838 As we already know and as we have seen again here, the
[684] punishment for homosexual intercourse is usually leprosy, meted out by Ngi (or /274/ other cult spirits) as the guardian of purity. This is also the punishment for other immoral crimes, such as sexual intercourse during the day, and so forth.

838 Concerning homosexual intercourse among women, I was unable to discover any facts.

839 So far as I know, bestiality does not occur.

6. Pregnancy, Birth

843 The Pangwe recognize the beginning of a pregnancy by the nonappearance of menstruation; they are also familiar with the fact that a slight indisposition and headaches about a month after cohabitation may cause one to suspect pregnancy. Once pregnancy [833] is established, the man continues to have intercourse with a woman for about two more months, but then relations with her must be broken off, since it is feared that the fetus would be destroyed or at least harmed by the seed that it must "drink," It must also be emphasized that this prohibition is not always observed; indeed, [755] there is a medicine, sand in water, which a woman is supposed to drink if the man has intercourse with her shortly before the confinement. The sand is supposed to scour the seed from the body of the fetus.

[843] Usually the beginning of a pregnancy is greeted by the woman as a joyous event. There are also cases, however, when it is not 847 welcomed, for instance, when prohibited intercourse with men of 278 related kin groups has consequences, when a woman is pregnant by an "unloved man," or generally if she does not want to assume the burden of rearing the child or wants to evade the command of sexual abstinence. In such cases -- and they are by no means rare -- the fetus is aborted (a gbwē abǔm, a kū'e abǔm, "to drop the belly (fruit)"). The medicines, for the greater part poisonous substances with which we have already become acquainted as fish poisons, are: 1) Piptadenia africana Hook. f., Leguminosa (tǔm IV), bark loosened in pieces, pared and boiled, and the extract, when cooled, used as an enema; 2) Cylicodiscus gabunensis Harms, Leguminosa (edūm), used in the same way; 3) kernel of the fruit of Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (tree = adźą̌b, kernel = ngǫ̈n-ebǒn IV), ground in water; 4) Rubiacea

847 oyǒ', fruit chopped up, and Cognauxia, Cucurbitacea
278 (mbǔmyɛ̄i I), roots ground, both boiled together, strained, and after cooling, used as an enema; 5) Maesopsis tessmannii Engl. Rhamnaceae (nkǎngǎ' I), bark boiled, strained, and used cold as an enema. In this last case, its inclusion among abortives was probably determined by the fact that the wood of the tree is stronger in the upper part of the trunk, while below it is weaker.

When the confinement is near, the woman usually goes to her
844 parents if her native village is not too far away and if conditions permit her to do so. /275/ Otherwise, she stays at home as do all older women who have borne three or four children.

Before the confinement the woman stays quietly in the house from two to three days, more rarely four days. Cases are not infrequent, however, when the birth pangs take the woman by surprise during her work in the fields, and she has to bring the child into the world without help, although when this happens she will try to attract the attention of passers-by or women in the vicinity by screaming and shouting, and the latter will assist her and take her and the child into the village.

It is strictly prohibited for male relatives or strange men to witness the birth (osōn, "shame"; some even said nsǒ'n, "crime"). Even the woman's own husband is present (osōn applies to him also) only when there are no female helpers, on which occasion he must take their place. This is, however, a rare and exceptional case; ordinarily there are helpful and experienced women aplenty, who flock to the woman in childbed to encourage her and to assist at the birth by clasping her body from behind and thus supporting it.

Without medicine, of course, a birth cannot take place. The
[278] sap of Cephalonema polyandrum K. Sch., Cucurbitaceae (ejǎzǔ'm), and Fleurya aestuans (L.) Gandich, Urticaceae (ngūkū'n IV), is allowed to trickle into the vagina. The sap is slippery, "smooth," and will thus effect a smooth birth.

The actual birth takes place without any kind of assistance if the child has what the Pangwe also regard as the normal head
845 position. In case of the feet-first position or other irregularities, the child is forcibly pulled out and is then -- so it was said -- always dead. Difficult births seem to be quite rare since my various

845 informants had never heard of such a thing. Similarly, it very rarely happens that women die immediately after delivery from the consequences (bleeding, a weak heart) -- death by puerperal
[164] fever, on the other hand, is more frequent. In cases of such a death, the Pangwe speak of a kiɛ̃'ɛ̃, which is as much as to say that a strange woman brought about the death through sorcery.

Once the child (in the case of a normal birth) has passed out
844 of the birth canal, it is received by one of the women assisting and the umbilical cord (ngǒ'b IV, not to be confused with ngõb IV, "caul, sheath") is squeezed off with a raffia splinter at a distance of from eight to ten centimeters from the little one's body. The rest of the umbilical cord drops off of its own accord after five to six days and is then casually thrown away; by then the navel (dǒb, plural mǒb) is healed. In other cases, the umbilical cord is cut off one centimeter from the belly, thereby causing an umbilical rupture (edǒdǒb = navel par excellence) which is regarded as particularly beautiful. Now the child is washed and placed on a layer of leaves on the bed next to the mother. /276/

The afterbirth (akǒ'nan) soon follows of its own accord. It is usually placed in a leaf bundle and hidden in the refuse pile or buried in a pit in the plantain grove behind the house. If this precautionary measure is not observed, the child will die or the mother will no longer be able to bear children.

Finally a medicine is made for the mother: the herb Ocimum
[278] gratissimum L. (asǒ'b) is dipped in hot water and pressed on the genitals.

During the delivery, the husband waits in the meeting house.
851 Once the child is born, he is told the news by one of the women assisting. Formerly, shots were fired as an expression of joy, but now the custom is no longer practiced, especially in the north, for lack of powder.

On the very first day, the mother gives her breast to the child.
853 If no milk flows, it is assumed that the mother has had lovers who are still in her "belly" and exercise an impeding influence. Therefore, out with them! Argument is of no avail; one after another, all the lovers must be named before those present, in
000 other words, the women, if the milk is to flow. On the second

On the second
846 day after the delivery the mother may go outside to relieve herself, but otherwise she stays in the house for eight or ten days. Then she rubs herself and the child daily with red wood, for a month if she is in the village of her parents or for two months if she is in her husband's house. Only after this period has elapsed does she again take up her customary work.

The woman has to observe a special diet before and after
834 the confinement only with respect to the food taboos discussed
846 previously. On the other hand, she must abstain from sexual intercourse until the child can walk (two years), for if she does not, the worst, even death, is to be feared for the little one. Of course, especially towards the end of this period, a great many infringements of this taboo occur; in such a case one speaks of a tsǎbe bǒ'ngo (literally: to cast the children away, to thrust them away from oneself).

The child is nursed for a like period since the milk is sup-
853 posed to diminish and dry up only after resumption of regular sexual
862 intercourse. However, the flow of milk resumes in case of renewed pregnancy, so in that case the child can again be nursed. Even later, often until the seventh year, the sturdy urchin now and then still enjoys the sweet draught. If the mother is tired of giving the breast, she simply rubs her nipples with pepper (Capsicum).

/277/ Section 19

Childhood and Games

000 1. Names and name-giving. Time at which the name is given, announcement of the name. -- Names given by the mother. -- Variation of names among the subtribes. -- Classification of names. -- Names with explanation: A. Boys' names and their classification; B. Girls' names. -- Nicknames, jocular verse with nicknames. -- Full name (father's name, kin group, name of the mother's kin group), example. -- Series of

000

ancestors, jocular verse. -- It is an insult to ask the name of the ancestors.

2. Rearing the child. Means of rearing: influencing the sense of honor. -- Means of frightening small children (scare sticks, wooden whizzer). -- Rearing by teaching; precepts (examples). -- Rearing supervised by the father. -- Obstinacy of the son. -- Curse: reason, proclamation, effect, removal (formula, symbolic action). -- Cursing of the man by the chief wife. -- Cursing the souls. -- Secret curses. -- The curse of Nsambe.
3. Children's games. Classification. -- Gymnastic games and walking on stilts. -- Spear throwing. -- War and hunting games (play weapons and instruments of warfare, nooses to catch human beings, hunting rifle, crossbow, bow and arrow). -- Imitation of fishing and trapping. -- Other kinds of imitative games (exploding powder, cult games, imitation of family life). -- Toy games (slingshot, etc., tops). - Group games (game with palm nuts, skittles with tops, bowling, memory game with leaf and vegetables). -- Skilled games (technical feats, rope games, patience games, magic tricks).
4. Games of adults. Memory game of the dwarf antelope. -- Memory game of Momendöge. -- Stone game: origin and distribution, playing board and names, rules, outcome; master players, jocular songs and their explanation. -- Game of chance: origin and distribution, playing disks and counters, rules of the game, procedure and outcome, stakes, medicines.
5. Wrestling. General observations, procedure, technical terms.

2: Tessmann--140 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

1. Names and Name-giving

553 Immediately following the birth, but not before the detach-
851 ment of the afterbirth, the child receives its name from the father who has already thought it up before the delivery but has kept it secret until then. The name is publicly announced, accepted without objection or formalities, and is considered to be the permanent principal name. The child receives a second name from his mother; many Pangwe designated this name as "big," that is, important -- probably because they had heard it exclusively from their mother in early childhood. Later, however, in giving their names, they usually mention the name given by the father, unless that name sounds unpleasant to the person concerned or if he wants to hide his identity with the intention of deceiving -- especially the Whites. In that case he prefers to use the name given by his mother. /278/

It is in any case a fact that the name given by the mother is close to its bearer's heart, and for this reason friends often use it as a pet name.

I shall herewith give a number of names that I learned, to-
551 gether with their explanations. As can be seen from the abbreviations of subtribes or tribal groups (N = northern Pangwe, S = southern Pangwe) placed after them, only a small number of the names is distributed over the entire Pangwe region; the majority do not extend beyond a few subtribes, so that a thoroughly experienced investigator can frequently tell by the name alone what a given native's place of origin is.

According to their basic significance, we can divide the names into the following groups:

I. Names of religious origin (only in the case of boys' names);
II. Names that allude to an attractive skin color;
III. Names that designate the desirable characteristics which one wishes for the child;
IV. Names that are supposed to bring good luck;
V. Names intended to indicate that the man will become the terror of his enemies;
VI. Names that express a bad characteristic, with the idea of thereby causing the bearer, on the contrary, to develop good characteristics;

551 VII. Names that report an event before or during the time of the child's birth.

A. Boys' names

I. Names of religious origin.

1. nsǒm, from nsǒ́m = cult, sacred act, Ntum (Fang);
[825] 2. ngī = gorilla, as the animal of purity, symbol of the Ngi cult; the name Ngi, freely translated, means "the pure one" (S.);
3. esū́n = fruit of the Cardamom, chief food of the lemurs, used in the Ngi cult in like manner (1). /279/

192 551 824 1. At least that is what I suspect, even though it is not quite certain, because it may be that Cardamom fruit is chosen because of its shiny red appearance, and in that case it would belong in the next section. On the whole I do not believe that in the case of names an immediate origin from religious institutions or conceptions is to be assumed. In this instance I simply followed the natives who told me that nsǒm came from nsǒ́m, "cult." Now it is true that the Pangwe themselves are frequently mistaken in their explanation of words, but in the second place the name (nsǒm) was given to me with a mediate high pitch, with the name for cult I hear a high pitch, while ichneumon (nsǒm) has a mediate low pitch. But since the mediants are readily substituted (see Vol. I, p. 16 /Ed., not translated/), I assume that here the ichneumon and not the cult served as the root from which the name was derived. This assumption fits perfectly with the fact that the ichneumon,

192 551 825

192
551
825

Herpestes melanurus Gray, which is called nsǒm, has a gray color which may well have given rise to the designation of a person by the name nsǒm. The name ngī, "gorilla," may also be meant as a symbol of strength, or, perhaps like esǔ'n, it may have been chosen because of the red color.

551 II. Names which allude to an attractive skin color and are for the most part derived from fauna or flora that the Pangwe finds especially beautiful.

According to the color, the following were mentioned to me.

(a) Red.

4. mbǎ' = Turacus, actually the shiny red one;
[292] 5. ndūno, from andūn = dancing cap made of touraco feathers (S.);
6. mvē' = redwood tree, Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub., because it is red.

(b) White.

7. mfūmū, from mfūm = white (S.);
8. asǒn = umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br., because of its white trunk (S.);
9. akǒ'm = bracelet made of ivory (Fang).

(c) Gray.

10. edǔ = African rat (in the Pangwe region displaced by the domestic rat) (S.);
11. tǔlo = domestic rat, Mus rattus L.;

551 12. ndǎ'ńga = domestic rat, Mus rattus L.;
13. okū,du, from okǔ,dūgu = flycatcher, mainly Alseonax and Pedilorhynchus species because of their attractive mouse-gray color;
14. ngǒ[ń] mvǎk = Bdeogale nigripes Pucheran.

(d) Black.

15. myǒno, from mvǒn IV - Satan's monkey, Colobus anthracinus Leconte.

(e) Light and dark, variegated.

16. zǒ = leopard, light and dark spots (S.);
17. žǒé = civet cat, Viverra civetta, likewise (S.);
18. mangǒ, from mangǒmentě'me = pied wagtail, colored black and white (S.);
19. ndū,tǔmo, from ndū,tǔm = rainbow, variegated (S.).

III. Names that indicate the good qualities desired for the child.

20. ayǒń, from ayǒń = kinship group, familial group; he is to become an able representative of his kin group and show himself worthy of the good name which the kin group has in the tribe (S.);
21. mayǒń, plural same (Ntum); /280/
22. ejǎ,ǎma, from a jǎ,[k] mǎm = to pay in case of controversies - thus, he is good-natured (S.);
23. owǔno = groundnut that tastes good; the bearer of the name is, therefore, just as "enjoyable" (Fang, Jaunde);
24. olō'(g)o, from alǒk = air-tuber yams, Dioscorea sativa L., the same explanation as for the preceding (S.);

551

25. ogbwɛ̃, from a gbwɛ̃ madzõ = to repeat things, something like chatterbox, by which the man makes himself popular because people like to hear it;

26. ekõ = Lannea longifoliolata Engl., Anacardiacea, so he will be just as popular, as the tree is to the touraco which settle in its crown and eat its fruit (S.).

IV. Names that are supposed to bring luck.

551
777

27. obũ'du, from obũ't = the grass Paspalum, so he will get things in great quantities, just as the grass exists in great quantities (S.);

28. ekõ'mo, from a kõ'mo bĭm = to acquire things, that is, he will acquire things himself since he has no sisters, etc., through whom he gets money, in other words, he is a self-made man (Jaunde);

29. atɛ̃'nã, from a tɛ̃'na kũ'm = to become suddenly rich, to come up in the world, a parvenu in the good sense (S.);

30. atãndãnã', likewise (Jaunde);

31. esĭ or besĭ, from evũ' besĭ = the capacity to acquire things, that is, he will acquire something for himself (S.);

32. olũ, from a lũ' bĭm = to forge things, that is, he will earn money through working as a smith (the only handicraft in our sense).

551 V. Names intended to indicate that the man will be the terror of his enemies.

33. obã'm = bird of prey, chicken thief, a name which could also be included in the previous section if it is intended that the bearer will receive the things (onomatopoetic, bãb; hence o-bãm),

551

otherwise it is terrifying since it designates robbery (S.);

34. olǎ'me, from olǎm = draw trap, that is, he will be to his enemies as the trap is for animals (S., Mwal);
35. oyǔ'no, from oyǔ'n = ax, that is, he will be to his enemies as the axe is to trees (S.);
36. ewǔ'dǔ, from a wǔ'ǔ, a wǔ'dǔ = to murder, the murderer of men (Fang, Ntum);
37. avǒdo, from a vǒk = to be tired, the people will become tired of molesting him since he is a very angry man and destroys his opponents;
38. mvǒ, from a bǒ mvǒ'la = to urge, to admonish, his father sends him out to admonish his debtors, perhaps the father is old so that the son will now collect the debts;
39. zǒk = elephant, he will be feared as much as an elephant;
40. nkizǒ = elephants' spoor, he will make his way through people like the elephant through the jungle, in other words, he will destroy everything that stands in his way. /281/

VI. Names that express a bad characteristic, with the idea of thereby causing the bearer, on the contrary, to develop good characteristics.

41. nǽ'ma, from nǽ'm = tail, as the essence of animal characteristics (S.);
42. ntǔk = spoiled (S.);
43. nkǒabǔ'nu, from nkǒk = tree trunk that has fallen down, bǒnu = a thorny tree whose scientific name I am unable to give; also occurs as a nickname and is supposed to mean worthless and bad (Ntum);
44. mapfǒ = I am a talebearer, likewise used as a nickname (Jaunde, Fang, Ntum);
45. bekǒnǒ, from a kǒ'n = to snore, a jocular name (Ntum).

551 VII. Names that report an event before or at the time of the child's birth.

46. bokǎ = sisters, he has only sisters and hence is the only son (S.);

47. epfū'man, from a pfū'man = to miss, when the bearer of the name was born his father had already sold all his sisters, so the son "missed" the advantages that the sale of the sisters would have brought him;

48. engūno, from engū'na mbūn = dried cassava rolls for the period of famine, supposed to indicate that his mother bore him during a famine;

49. maʒʷbe = I am yearning for something, that is, the father had yearned for a son (S.);

50. mabǎ' = neck pieces of game, the father loved these pieces (Fang);

51. abō'sō, from a bō sō = he was the spirit of contradiction, that is to say, the father; to judge by the past tense, he seems to be tame at present, however;

52. mesǎ'ǎ, masǎ'ǎ, from a sǎ'na ayǔk = to settle an imbroglio; the father is supposed to have done this, but it might possibly refer to the son himself, and in that case it would belong to Division III;

53. nkǔ,lǔ, from a wū,lū a kǔ,lū kǔ,lū (onomatopoetic) = to go softly, thus the father went to the wife;

54. abū'du, from a bū'du mōt = to cover someone, to protect, thus the mother protected her child from her brother;

55. ʒō,gō, from aʒō,k = a familial group of the Fang; the mother was born an Aschok; today this is a generalized name.

551

VIII. Explanation unknown.

56. engūńa, from engūń = Deinbollia reticulata Gilg, Sapindinaceae; interpretation unknown;
57. osǎ'le = a tree unknown to me;
58. nsō' = the fish, Sarcodaces odoe (Bl.), perhaps because of its dangerousness to other fish (like our pike), in which case it would be a name designed to inspire terror; perhaps because of its silver-gray color. /282/

B. Girls' names

I. Names which refer to a beautiful skin color and are for the most part taken from fauna and flora that the Pangwe finds particularly beautiful.

According to the color, the following were mentioned to me.

(a) Red.

1. ndžǎ̄o, from ndžǎk = dancing cap made of touraco feathers;
2. ngūi = pig, evidently because the pig has a reddish color;
3. ngūi dǎńa, from ngūi = pig, and adǎń = to surpass, hence a female who surpasses a pig.

(b) White.

4. mfūmū = the white one, also a man's name;
5. nsōfūmū = nsō = smooth, shiny, the shimmering white one;
6. mbǎ̄ń = ivory;
7. mbǎ'žǎo, from mbǎ̄ń = ivory, žǎk = elephant;
8. mfūmezǎk = the white (the tusk) of the elephant;
9. mǎnembǎ̄ń = little ivory;

551 10. akī'ngǎna = akī, = egg, ngǎn = crocodile, crocodile's egg because of its whiteness.

(c) Gray.

11. abǒǒ, from abǒ'k = Mus hypoxanthus Puch. (this may also belong to (e).

(d) Black.

12. nǎū,ǒū, from nǎūt = black, the black one;
13. mesī[s] me ǒk = tail hairs of the elephant, which are shiny black.

(e) Light and dark, variegated.

14. ojǎ'ne, from ojǎn = Poiana poensis Waterh., civet;
15. ezǒ'na, probably Tragelaphus albovirgatus;
16. myǒdo, from myǒt = brass, with brilliant variegated colors; perhaps also because of the yellow (red) coloration, in which case it belongs with (a).

II. Names that designate good qualities desired for the bearer.

17. mǎ'ǒ from a ǎ'ǒ = admire, because everybody admires the girl's beauty;
18. nkǒ'ne, from nkǒn = stalk, because the girl is as slender as a stalk;
19. nkǒ'ngǒ'no = nkǒn = stalk, ngǒn = girl, same as above;
20. kǒmabǒ'ne, from kaa mabǒ'n = not vain;
21. ayǒ'mǒ, from ayǒm = Landolphia ochracea K. Sch., because of its delicious fruit, that is, the girl will be just as delicious;

551 22. akūlabǎ́ń, from akū l] = paws, claws, abǎ́ń = otter, i.e., the girl steals about as softly as an otter;

23. mōdē-abǎ́ń = single otter, as above;

24. mōneabǎ́ń = small otter;

25. abǎ́ne-mǔ́ń, from abǎ́ń = otter, mǔ́gebǔ́ = to adorn oneself, to go about adorned. /283/

III. Names that are supposed to bring luck.

551
777

26. aję̄kǎ́be, from a ję̄ = difficult, a kǎ́be = to buy, to exchange; may also be included in the previous group since the girl has such good qualities that the price cannot readily be realized;

27. majī́ę́, from a jī́ę́ = to wake up quickly, the girl is supposed to wake up quickly so that she will soon bear fruit (that is, bring in the purchase price); see divorce (Vol. II, pages 120 and 121);

28. angṓho or angṓnemǎ́ne, from ngṓn = girl, a mǎ́ne = to be ready, that is, the stage of girlhood is supposed to be over soon;

29. ajǎ́ńekǔs, from ajǎ́ń-nkǔs = Liliacea, purchasable medicine (nkǔs); the girl is supposed to bring in as much as she would if her father had this medicine;

30. medzǎ́, a dzǎ́ a tǒbǔ́ a dǎ́ = she has fulfilled the time for staying in (her) village, that is, she will marry at the proper time;

31. metǔ́, from a tǒbǔ́ = to sit, I am sitting, that is, she should not be forced to work too much (by her future husband, of course), but instead she should remain seated in the village.

551 IV. Names intended to frighten away, in this case presumptuous suitors or secret lovers.

32. atsǎ́ma, from a tsǎ́ma = to break down (a village), "because the father would destroy the village out of grief

551 and anger if the girl were to be abducted; in case the lover hears that such have been the consequences, he may bring the girl back again";

33. aŝŭbanneme, a ŝŭb = to be enraged, a nnĕm = at heart, perhaps in reference to the father, perhaps to the husband (so it was asserted, anyway) who will become very angry in case of adultery.

V. Names that report an event before or at the time of birth.

34. ajĩ'ngõ'n, from a jĩ = to wish for, ngõ'n = girl, because the mother had only boys and now wished for a girl;
35. menkõ̃ = young men, since the mother already has many boys;
36. asãngõ'no, from a sa a ngõ'n = he (or she) has no girl, that is, had no girl hitherto, and this one is the first;
37. adã', from a dã'n = to surpass, to be very many, because the mother has borne many children, and this is the last one; thus it was explained to me, although doubtless other explanations are possible;
38. ntõ'ngõ'no, from ntõ' = eldest, ngõ'n = girl;
39. mapfũmana, from a pfũmãn = to miss, since she saw neither father nor mother;
40. bejẽ, from a ntõ bejẽ a nnĕm = he is already sad at heart, referring to the father because "he does not know whether his daughter will stay alive";
41. okõ'mo, from okõ'm = Micania rusticana Klatt., Compositae, popular among the women, especially the mother. /284/

VI. Explanation unknown.

42. belõ̃, from belõ'k = herb;
43. abõ'(g)e, from abõ'k = Gynura repidioides Bth., eaten by women.

551 There are very few names that are used for boys as well as for girls. I am acquainted only with Mfumu and Mangöö, both of which, incidentally, were used more often for girls than for boys.

Nicknames are common. The Negroes, who are always in-
[522] clined to jokes and teasing, delight in making fun of the weaknesses of their fellows and constantly heckling them. A peculiar characteristic or a comical incident produces the nickname, and the latter is retained without anyone later ever knowing its original meaning. "Famous" people frequently have a whole
551 series of nicknames, like the chief's son Amwön-Ekang, whose
539 names are immortalized in the following jocular song:

amvǒn-ekǎn -- anduman ekǎn ana -- sösǒ'
Amwön-Ekang -- son (of) Ekang now -- sapsucker (on)

nkū̱m --ewǎ̱s nǔm e kǔ̱n -- a kike
tree stump -- file -- man (in) salt water -- chop off

melǒ'' me zǒn -- ažǒ'n a wū̱mūk, ndzǒm a
(the) heads of the fern -- Solanum (1) it forms, pluck he

1. Solanum esculentum Don.

tělěk -- mekū(n) medžǎ, nnī̱ē a mbě't
stands (ready) -- caterpillars to eat, mother has climbers

asǒn kǎ bekǎ̱l, abǒ'm kǎ medǎ̱l,
-- Musanga no guy ropes, Macrolobium (2) no buttress roots

2. Macrolobium straussianum Harms.

-- mone ngǒ'n eja (bondǎnga madžǎ).
-- son (of a) girl of Eja (Bondanga Madscha = chief of the Eja).

Amwön-Ekang, the son of Ekang, as everybody knows, --
(the following are jocular names) sapsucker on a tree stump

551 (something small, delicate on something gigantic, strong) -- file
539 (something that destroys something else) -- man in salt water (unclear, perhaps corresponding to our "cart that is stuck in the mud"). -- One chops off the young leaf tips of the fern (since this is the food of women, it is unsuitable for a man). -- The Solanum puts forth fruit, and the harvester stands ready (sense clear). -- The caterpillars that sit on the trees are ripe for eating, and the mother has a climber who gets them down (this refers to Amwön himself). -- The Musanga has no guy ropes (lianas, and so forth), the Macrolobium no buttress roots. -- Son of one born an Eja.

As one can see, the jocular names, like the drum names
551 (chiefly in the south), are largely taken from a kind of proverbial speech /285/ that alludes to a peculiarity of the bearer; the peculiarity was no longer known in the foregoing case.

Of course, the Whites also have their nicknames; indeed, they are known almost exclusively by these since the natives usually do not know the European names or cannot pronounce them.

To the name given by the father, the father's own name is added. If, for instance, the father is called Essun and the son is called Boka, the complete name of Boka is Boka-Essun, that is, Boka, son of Essun, or -- with a genitive particle -- Boka Bossun(e); if Boka's son is called Ayong, his complete name is Ayong-Boka, etc. (1).

[113]

1. Von Stein (Mitteilungen aus den Schutzgebieten /Reports from the German Protectorates/, Vol. 12, p. 137) says of the Bane (= Bene): "Almost all names are double names, and in sharp contrast to the custom of the Bakoko /Koko/ (should probably read: Bassá), the name occupying the second place almost always signifies the mother's name. Only in very exceptional cases does the Bane, if he has an especially famous father, add the baptismal name, if I may use the term, of his father's name. Balingekorre thus

means: Balinge, son of Ekore."

551 [113] The custom of the Bane of adding the mother's name to one's own, as reported here, is found also among the Jaunde according to Zenker (Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, Vol. 8, p. 50).

Family names in our sense are unknown to the Pangwe. Towards strangers they use the name of the kin group, which is after all to be understood as a "family" in the Pangwe sense; to this, at the same time, is added the name of the mother's familial group. My faithful factotum, Ayong, who has already been presented to the reader in the picture on Plate 3 /Ed., Vol. I/, would, for instance, introduce himself as follows:

[539] ma ne ayǒn-bokǎ, mǒne esǎwǒ'n,
I am Ajong-Boka, child (of the family) Essauong,

mone ngǒ'n esatǒp.
child (of a) girl (of the) Essatop.

551 867 To learn this complete name by heart is the child's first task. Once the child can recite it without a mistake, the father, proud of the cleverness of his offspring, proceeds to the further task of acquainting the little one with the names of his grandfather and great-grandfather (naturally on the father's side). Let us again take an example.

The child is called Ndungo, his father Essun, from the Abai family, in other words: ndŭ̃ngo-esū'n, mǒne abai, etc., Ndungo of Essun from the Abai family. -- "But from whom am I, Essun, descended?" asks the father. "esū'n-nzěma, that is, Essun from Nsema," is the answer. "And from whom is Nsema descended = nzěma nza?" "nzěma-ngěě." -- The child learns it all very [181] quickly, because as regards its ability to grasp things /286/, the Negro child is far superior to white children. -- The Pangwe, however, does not stop with the grandfather. Each of these black gentlemen has all his ancestors in his head, just like our feudal lords. To be sure, none of them knows more about them than

551 their names. Our Ndungo was able to enumerate eleven ancestors,
867 his father Essun, then Nsema, Ngää, Massoo, Obute, Akiege, Asangui, Awodo, Tulo, Nssim, Okudu.

Generally speaking, the Pangwe probably know on the average eight or ten ancestors by name; not infrequently one even hears 10, or 12, and 14 represented the maximum.

Frequently a lengthy cognomen is added to the last ancestor, which gives the whole a magnificent final effect, somewhat in the way that among us the descendants of a famous man trace their genealogical tree back to him: "I am descended from that person, and his father was called so-and-so, and his father in turn was so-and-so, the famous general who in such-and-such a war won such-and-such a victory." Thus the ancestral table of an Esseng man by the name of Aböschoo went as follows: Ogbue, Ngumbaschoo, Edu, Ngumu, Bokoo, Motoo, Ossele, Akuschoo Bebe -- ayěm esěb ya andǔm = the Akuschoo Bebe, who knew when the dry season comes and when it rains (explanation of the latter part uncertain).

551 A jocular poem in which a boy poses questions while another
539 answers enumerates no fewer than 21 ancestors:
211

"o mbe lǔk e vě?" -- "a jǒkm." "oa
You were driving fish where? -- In the Sannaga. You

vüi dzě?" -- "nwǒs."
killed what? -- (A) shrimp.

"za a dzǐ?"
Who it eat? (Who will eat it?) -- "Abele."

"Abele sa?" (= from whom is Abele descended). "Abele-Boka" (Abele is the son of Boka). "Boka bo sa?" "Boka bo Ssissi." "Ssissi sa?" "Ssissi Mening." "Mening sa?" "Mening me Koebe." "Koebe sa?" "Koebe Kum." "Kum sa?" "Kum Otsaa." "Otsaa sa?" "Otsaa Maniodo." "Maniodo sa?" "Maniodo Ssamwinne." "Ssamwinne sa?" "Ssamwinne a Ssongo." "Ssongo sa?" "Ssongo Abui." "Abui sa?" "Abui

551 Nkumu." "Nkumu sa?" Nkumu Bawu." Bawu sa?" "Bawu Otoo."
539 "Otoo sa?" "Otoo Kuboo." "Kuboo sa?" "Kuboo Emwi."
211 "Emwi sa?" "Emwi Abungo." "Abungo sa?" "Abungo a Schiele."
"Schiele sa?" "Schiele Maa." "Maa sa?" "Maa Makama."
"Makama sa?" Makama

me	nga	būge	nana	abō:
who	lived	to break (of the)	mother	the leg,

tsǎ,s
tsass (onomatopoetic).

A remnant of the old aversion of all primitive peoples to
551 mention names, because thereby some kind of mischief might re-
578 sult, can still be observed among the Pangwe. /287/ They do not like to utter their names before strangers, and they find a question about their full names (in other words, including that of the father) tactless, indeed, almost insulting, as I frequently noticed among the Fang who had not had any contact with outsiders. It is also an insult in every respect to remind someone of his ancestors. This need not even be done by name -- since, after all, they do not always know the names -- but can be done with just the words: I shall "show" you your ancestors. This is taken as a threat of sorcery, that is, secret murder, and as though one were telling his enemy in advance that he would kill him and transport him to his ancestors. Such an insult is often avenged with the sword.

2. Child Rearing

The child is reared by means of precept and example, rarely
861 by threats, and almost never -- at least only in case of major of-
fenses against morality, such as theft, for instance -- by means of corporal punishment. The result must be termed an extremely good one; Pangwe children behave more tactfully and better than our children of the same age.

We are informed by some "experts on the Negro's soul" that
867 the Blacks have no sense of honor. A glance at their family life,
861 however, teaches us the opposite. In rearing the child, the

867 development of a sense of honor -- in the Pangwe sense, of
861 course -- may be called one of the primary rules. The child must learn to fear being shamed as much as our boys fear the rod.

The threats for smaller children up to six or seven years old
861 are limited to simple devices for frightening them known by the
534 name kŏkŏ'-bŏ'ngo III (Jaunde) or bim a si,ze bŏ'ngo (southern Pangwe) "things to scare children." The procedure is as follows. In the evening or at night a relative makes some kind of noise in front of the house. The child that is naughty or crying is then warned of the bad man outside. The simplest implement for making a noise is a small tree trunk that is placed on the floor and then alternately and rhythmically stamped and beaten with a mallet. In addition, the person may murmur in a deep voice: "kŏkŏ' nie a žū nie (the bad man (kŏkŏ'), he has come)." The implement itself is called -- onomatopoetically -- kăkăkū,mo III (kă kă = the beating of the mallet, kū,m = the stamping of the stick on the ground, and at the same time, ekū,m = tree stump, upright piece of trunk). An even more effective means of scaring children is the uncanny sound of the wooden whizzer (edžibŏ'ngo, "child eater," Fig. 86), often used by men and older boys to frighten the younger ones. Aside from contrivances for making noise, there are /288/ various other means of frightening them, such as the belŏnežŏk or wandering elephant, which, however, I cannot describe in greater detail at this point.

A much more important means of education is oral instruc-
861 tion and teaching, imparted in ample measure to the little fellow
867 by both father and mother. The mother tells stories /Fig. 86 appears here in the original text/ of which a number, like the story of the Edschibongo (child eater), are designed to keep the child in fear and at the same time to teach. In the next section I shall devote some attention to these stories; at this point I want to discuss in greater detail the purely educational precepts that are for the most part imparted by the father. These precepts or, as we might say, principles are called malĕbega. They are affirmed daily on every suitable occasion and constantly repeated, so that they become firmly implanted in a boy's head. A number of such principles, which unfold before our mind's eye an unfalsified image

861

[534]

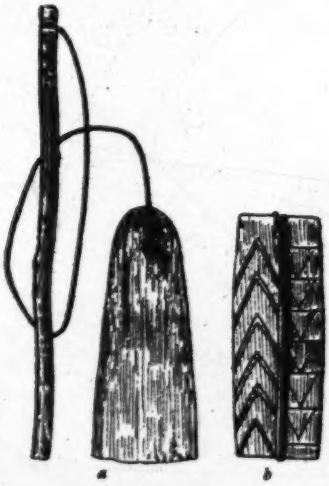


Fig. 86. Whizzers.
(a) With stick; (b) without stick, a string being slung around the wood.

861 of the naives' family life and reveal to us the view of the Pangwe
867 with respect to what he calls morality and order, will be reproduced hee in the actual order in which the boys told them to me.

My father told me:

1. When I go on a journey, look after the chickens, dogs, and women for me, so that everything will be in good order when I return; then my heart will rejoice.

2. You should not tell others all the things that were confided to you, otherwise the man who has said them to you will be angry.

3. You shall listen to your father's words, because when you later marry a girl, your father will pay for her.

4. When I have visitors in my house and tell you to bring firewood, do it quickly; when I tell you to bring food for the guests, do it, or else your father will say of you, "You are like a chicken, a goat, or a dog -- I did not beget you!"

5. When you go to wrestle, you should muster your strength so that you will be the victor, for if others throw you, I shall be sad and will have to be ashamed.

6. If you have a sweetheart and she brings you food (Author's note: When the young man visits her), you must not eat up

861 everything right away, but /289/ modestly take two or three
867 spoonfuls, for otherwise the girl will think that you are a real pig, and she will no longer love you.

7. If your father has many wives, industriously help him to clear large areas of the forest and prepare them for planting. Afterwards, the wives will then be able to plant a lot of food (bedzi). When my fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law (!) come for a visit, they must have ample food to eat. If they go to bed hungry, they will have a poor idea of our village and call it a miserable nest.

8. When strangers (guests) come and do not find me at home, entertain them just as if I were there and be in every way helpful; otherwise they will say that you have no breeding (plural, o seke mɔ́ɪ = you are no person = man).

9. If you are able to forge and if one of my brothers (that is, members of the kin group) comes and wants to have something made, make everything for him just as he desires it, and if a man from another family comes, do likewise, because you can never tell whether some day you might not marry a girl from that particular family. If you have done as I have advised you and you desire the daughter of the man or of one of his kin group for a wife, he will immediately and gladly have you since you have done him a good turn.

10. If you have seduced the wife of another man and the husband comes into my village and brings with him the medicine over which you must step (as a proof of truthfulness, see legal concepts), you will die. My son, this is a very bad matter! Remember that! It is better to admit the affair right away; I myself shall pay for you, that is nothing to you! I am not saying that you should seduce the wives of others, and so forth.

11. You must not be greedy for food (plural, akũɪ = avaricious with respect to food). If you are, everybody will laugh at you, and if you go to another place, you yourself will not get anything to eat.

12. If I have many daughters, you must learn to make their coiffures (ornamental coiffures), so that the girls will not go elsewhere to find a man who dresses hair, because girls as a rule do not like to go great distances.

861 13. Treat your (real) sister well! If she scolds you, leave
867 her alone (that is, do not scold her in return); it is nothing to you! Do not beat her, either, because, after all, for the money that is paid for the marriage of your sister, you will in turn buy a wife for yourself. If you beat your sister, she may possibly die through sorcery (this means that in her anger over the maltreat-
[762] ment she might take her life, something which does indeed happen), and you will have no money and no wife, and people will not respect you, and so forth. /290/

14. If you are the older of two brothers and you are married and have a daughter, then do not marry another woman with the marriage portion that you get for the daughter; instead, leave the daughter (or the money) to your younger brother. If, as the eldest, you have acted in such a way, you will enjoy the same honor and respect among your brothers as your father does.

15. Your father tells you all these good /Fig. 87 appears here in the original text/ principles and bits of advice not in order to make you, his son, bad (that is, through lack of trust or lack of respect for him), nor does he do so in order to limit your freedom, but because he desires that you will not bring any unpleasantness (quarrels) into the house, which will harm him and you. For when I have paid two or three times, I will be tired of (disgusted with) these things, and it may not be long before I have no wife left in the village (that is, he would be a poor man, because wives mean money, and he would have spent all his money *for the fines of his son*).

861 The attentive reader, in looking through the earlier sections
593 of this book, will not have failed to note the strict patriarchal tendency of the Pangwe. It is clear, therefore, that the father supervises the education of the child and especially of the adolescent boy. He does this in an ideal manner -- even among us it would be regarded as ideal -- by becoming his son's best friend and by supporting and advising him in all the important problems of life.

Of course, the mother is dear to the Negroes and cherished by them as she is everywhere else in the world, but natural respect and shame in her presence prohibit the son from telling her

[857]
[854]
[291]
[142]

Fig. 87. Boy about Seven Carrying a Child, Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

861 everything that is on his mind. Also, any kind of influence in
593 the family unit is wielded only by the chief wife and /291/ even by her only to a limited extent. In all problems of life the father, as head of the family, remains the real friend and counselor of his son, as does the mother for her daughter.

861 In this way the love of the parents gently leads the child
593 through the realm of youth. However, once the boy has matured
578 into a young man, the obstinacy with which nature has to a spe-
626 cial degree endowed the Pangwe, sometimes asserts itself even in the face /Fig. 88 appears here in the original text/ of paternal authority. In such a case, it is sometimes only the most effective and most feared means of education that helps to lead the

[Text continues on page 168]

2: Tessmann--161 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
411

Fig. 88. Little Boy Five to Seven Years Old, Nssälang (Essauong Family), Spanish Guinea.

2: Tessmann--162 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/Facing 290/ Plate XXVII

854
301
142
291

Woman from Alen (Esauong Family) with a Child.

861 593 578 626 rebellious son back to gentler modes of behavior, namely, the public curse. The curse (ebǔn[o]; verb, a bǔno) may be pronounced by the father or the mother upon the son, as well as by the eldest son as the father's representative, especially after the father's death, upon a younger brother. In the majority of cases, however, it is the father who pronounces the curse upon his son. The cause for such a pronouncement is continual disobedience, for instance, if the son, despite repeated warnings, takes advantage of the father's wives. The father then stands in the middle of the village square in order to be heard by the people, usually in the morning when they are all at home, or he summons them all to the meeting house and speaks to them somewhat as follows: "This person, my son, continually acts counter to my commands, etc.; therefore from this time on he shall be successful in nothing, he shall acquire no more things (through purchase and trade of gifts), he shall have no success in hunting; when he goes to a girl she shall 'look upon him as dirt' and grant him no love. For he shall be cursed." A definite formula is not prescribed in most regions; only in the north of the Pangwe region they say: "ma yǒk(e) oa" (Jaunde), that is, "I curse you." /292/

In most cases, the curse actually is followed by the consequences threatened by the father, at least insofar as they concern the son's social position. News of the curse spreads everywhere, and nobody wants to have anything more to do with the cursed one; wherever he goes he is looked at askance or even heaped with abuse and ridicule. In his father's village he will be completely unacceptable. As a result, the son is soon tired of this unbearable state of affairs and now tries to induce his father to remove the curse. He requests him through friends or relatives to remove the curse from him, or he approaches his father through his mother, but then by way of her brother, since "she is afraid of her husband."

If, in response to these requests and the son's promise that he will improve, the father is prepared to nullify the curse, the son must first of all -- if he is an adult -- pay him a goat or -- if he is not an adult -- a chicken. Contrary to the usual custom of adding every piece of livestock to the marriage portion for more wives, the animal paid as compensation by the son is consumed by

861 the parents and relatives. Thereafter, the son is summoned to
593 appear in the village the next day. The father again assembles
626 all the people in the meeting house and makes a long speech in
578 which he rehearses the entire affair from his point of view down to the smallest details. Finally, at the conclusion of his speech, he touches upon the actual purpose of the gathering and proceeds to remove the curse. The formula with which he does so is approximately as follows:

ma tɛ̃'i matɛ'iₚ ma kǎbe ma,
[539] I have imposed curse (1) (?), I disengage myself (from

1. matɛ̃'iₚ = the imposed curse, a va matɛ̃'i = to remove the (imposed) curse; the root a tɛ̃'i = to tear oneself away from, to depart from home, otitɛ̃i = star (see Vol. II, pages 85 and 86).

ma nīme ma, -- ɔ̃ũₚ
it), I make straight myself -- (into the) water

nkũ̃ₚi; Chorus: mãn.
down. Chorus: Ready, past.

The texts of the formulas, which are frequently extended through the introduction of comparisons and which do not, of course, correspond word for word, are evidently all very old since they are very hard to understand and sometimes not intelligible at all.

At the same time the father spits into his son's hand to indi-
[201] cate that what he took away from him by means of his words (symbolized by the spittle) he is putting back in his power (hand), or the father bites off -- this is the procedure among the Jaunde --
[324] a piece of the stalk of a Costus (Zingiberaceae) and spits it out. In so doing he casts out all the bitterness from his heart (Costus stalk is bitter).

Furthermore, a curse may be pronounced by the first wife
519 against her husband, in case he treats her badly and always
595 neglects her in favor of others. The curse is either pronounced

578 publicly, as in the case of the paternal curse, or in the field
595 when the women are among themselves. /293/

A droll effect is created when the souls are cursed by their
769 descendants. The curse is pronounced at the ancestral feast if it
578 is believed that the souls of the ancestors no longer care about the living, and the curse is also revoked on the same occasion. Although, as ancestors, the souls were more elevated persons who actually cannot be cursed, here is another instance where might comes before right, for after death the souls are powerless on earth, as we know.

Finally, there is a belief in secret curses, and thus, if people
578 are constantly unlucky in life, they are sometimes afraid that they are being cursed by this or that person.

The most terrible curse is that which was pronounced by Nsambe (God) upon human beings when they committed the first major offense against his paternal will. As described in Volume II, page 59 /Ed., not translated/, the curse is symbolically erased during the cult celebration.

3. Children's Games (1)

524
[113]

1. See G. Tessmann, "Die Kinderspiele der Pangwe" /The Children's Games of the Pangwe/, in the Baessler-Archiv, Vol. 2, No. 5-6, p. 250. The children's games are discussed there in detail.

I divide children's games into two major classes: the generally imitative games, and the independent games. Of the former I distinguish three groups: first, gymnastic games which imitate the movements of adults (running, sport, and dancing); second, war and hunting games which imitate the main occupations, not to say professions, of adults; and third, all the rest of the imitative games. The independent games, which are on a higher level, I divide again into three groups: first, toy games, that is, games that are played with objects and do not imitate any

524 adult activity, second, group games, and third, games of skill. The last group includes the games that have reached the highest stage of development since they are no longer amusements in which all those present participate, but rather are performances by talented individuals. In the performance of magical tricks, the games of skill and acting generally attain their highest degree of perfection. Thus they touch upon the area of the representational arts and might be regarded as a pre-stage of the latter.

So much for the classification of games. I hardly need to point out that the various groups cannot always be sharply separated since the boundary lines between them are blurred by a great deal of overlapping.

I shall mention here only the names of the most common
526 gymnastic games: the foot race, mbi'; a combination of our
957 hopscotch and catch, called ngá-ngûl; furthermore, rope pulling, edudan, played only by bigger boys and corresponding to our tug of war; chain pulling, ogbûn; "treading," played among the Jaunde especially by almost fully grown /294/ /Fig. 89 appears here in the original text/ boys and called eŋ̄ma koŋ (Fang, etŋ' (Jaunde), in which two players, facing each other, tread rapidly on one spot and at the end must try to set down the opposite foot simultaneously; and, finally, the dancing game, ekûkû.

[958] Walking on stilts (Fig. 89) may probably also be designated as
[959] a sport. The stilts are carved out of the umbrella tree, Musanga smithii.

The transition from gymnastic to war games is represented by throwing spears at a disk, a game that is widespread and popular throughout the Pangwe region. It is called ngok, after the fre-
[960] quently mentioned Desplatsia dewevrei Burret (angok), from whose large fruit the disk is cut. The shoots or little trunks of young trees are used for spears.

War and hunting games are probably the most popular and the most frequently played of all the games. In the small-scale war of the older boys (eight to 15 years of age) -- which sometimes /295/ /Figs. 90-93 appear here in the original text/ degenerates into bad fights -- the weapon is, as in the case of adults, the rifle, copied in various forms with leafstalks (Fig. 90), raffia pith, or

[Text continues on page 170]

2: Tessmann--167 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

481
857

/294/

Fig. 89. Stilt-walker in Alén (Epfak Family).
Spanish Guinea.

2: Tessmann--168 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/295/

524
322
857
526

Fig. 90. Child's War Rifle of Plantain Leafstalk.
Fig. 91. Child's Sword of Raffia Pith, in a Bark Sheath.
Fig. 92. Child's Hunting Rifle of Wood.
Fig. 93. Child's Crossbow (Drawn).

2: Tessmann--169 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/296/

957
524
526
922
[224]

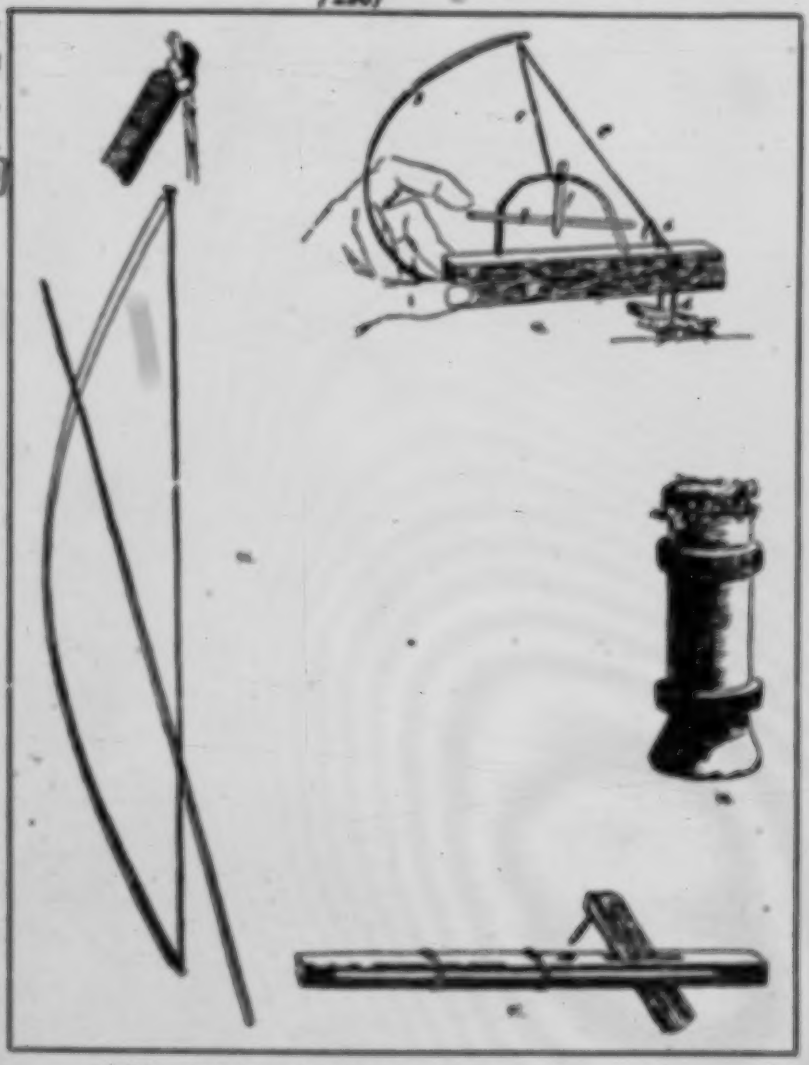


Fig. 94. Bow and Arrow (Toy).
Fig. 95. Draw Trap for Horseflies (Toy).
Fig. 96. Hide Drum (Toy).
Fig. 97. Device of Raffia Pith to Detonate Powder (Toy).

526 other materials. Even the "shining sword," made of raffia pith,
857 is not lacking (Fig. 91); it has the advantage, without being too dangerous, /296/ /Figs. 94-97 appear here in the original text/ of making a fairly loud clattering noise when struck on the enemy's body, and it causes a momentary, violent pain.

It is really unpleasant to be pelted with corn cobs which have previously been placed in a basket in the river and have become saturated with water /297/; still more disagreeable is a hollow piece of wood from the umbrella tree, which is filled with earth, closed off by means of a bung made of leaves, and then emptied at the enemy at the closest possible range.

A very dangerous "game" is man-catching. For this a number of boys take a piece of a strip of Oncocalamus (bush rope) and tie it into a noose. They hide the latter along the way leading out of the village, concealing it carefully among the grass and leaves, while the free end is tied to a tree stump. The naughty boys then hide behind trees and shrubs and with mischievous looks await the outcome. If a passerby gets a foot in the noose, he naturally comes crashing down, while the boys run away as fast as they can. They are wise to do so, because if the victim succeeds in catching one of the offenders, the latter must be prepared for a good thrashing or a complaint lodged with his father.

In the lower form of hunting, for soft-bellied insects, spiders,
526 etc., they use a rifle made of wood, into which they put some
857 powder (Fig. 92). The delicate hexapods or octopods are stupi-
868 fied by the smoke and fall to the ground helpless. A crossbow
524 made of raffia pith is likewise successfully used for hunting spiders (Fig. 93). For the "higher form of hunting," that is, for killing lizards and mice, a bow and arrows (Fig. 94) are employed. A method of hunting used by adults, namely, the encirclement of a wild animal, is imitated by having a little boy hide somewhere. The fish weirs find their counterpart in small imitations of them. They are set in the channels stirred up by the rain and block the way of little pieces of wood and leaves that are washed along. Even very clever miniature draw traps are made by skillful boys for the purpose of catching the annoying horseflies, which can be outwitted while they suck blood (Fig. 96).

Otherwise, children imitate in play almost everything that
968 is strikingly done or made by adults. For instance, they make
857 useful objects, such as knives and boxes of raffia pith and ex-
924 tremely charming little hide drums of wood or banana pith (Fig. 96). For the latter, a piece of rat's skin serves as the hide. The little Fang boy augments the popular banging noise at festivities with a device made of raffia pith for detonating powder (Fig. 97). Above all, we may not leave unmentioned the fact
857 that even children imitate a cult and, significantly enough, the
924 cult of ancestor worship which we mentioned above as being of
857 special importance. The ancestral figure is carved out of plantain pith by the children, and it wears a cap made of canna blossoms that are strung on little sticks. Only once did I see a figure made of wood. The ancestral skulls are replaced by -- monkeys' skulls. What a delightful spectacle such an innocent children's game would provide for the /298/ "initiated" European if he could observe it unseen.

We have already spoken in Volume II, page 105, of the imitation of family life in which small girls participate. In the main, the game corresponds to our "playing house." The boys endeavor by means of much screaming and activity to imitate the domineering father and try to drag the already quite rebellious "wives" around everywhere, to bow and bully them to their heart's content. The "child," a doll (mǒn-ekǒ'n = child made of plantain), Figure 98, the most important thing for the smaller girls, and it is always dragged along by the anxious mother and guarded and fed with great love. The doll is a simple roll of plantain pith set in a carrying band made of dry leaf sheaths of the plantain.

The slingshot, among other things, belongs to the fourth
857 group, the games with toys (nǒ'go ye dǒ'me), Figure 99. It
924 consists of a stick to which a raffia pith rope is tied. At its free end the easily torn rope forms a noose in which a nut of the oil palm is placed. The slingshot is never used with hostile intent, say, in war games, but belongs solely to the group of games with toys, that is, they amuse themselves with this toy because of its peculiar effect. In using it, the stick is taken in hand, and the rock

257 is flung forward. The pull of the rock tears the delicate rope
524 without too greatly diminishing the force of the throw. I also include in this category the rattle stick, the spinning top, the puppet game (Fig. 100), and the device for communicating over a distance (Fig. 101). For spinning tops, snail shells (Fig. 102) [124] are used or a fruit of Sarcophrynium velutinum (Bak.) K. Sch. [125] (see Vol. I, Plate 11) which, like the top itself, is called mbôb. A little stick of raffia bark is put through it (Fig. 103), and the top is ready; it is made to dance by twirling the little stick, while the Achatina top is made to spin with the fingers in the manner familiar to us.

Even among the group games of the Pangwe, many correspond precisely to ours. There is, for instance, the hiding of an object among the players, while another player, who had previously gone outside, has to find the object. The palm nut game and the game of skittles with spinning tops are very popular.

The palm nut game is called nigh. The player takes a handful of a large number of nuts lying on the ground, tosses them into the air and then catches them on the back of his hand. The nuts that remain on the back of the hand (between one and five, rarely more) are throwing stones, that is, the player is allowed to throw each of these stones up in the air by itself. While it is in the air, he must pick up with the /299/ /Fig. 98. Doll of Plantain Pith. Fig. 99. Children's Slingshot. Fig. 100. Puppet Game, (a) and (b) Puppets enlarged. Fig. 101. Device for Communicating at a Distance, Children's Game, (b) Cross-section of the Signal Drum. Fig. 102. Tops made of Snail Shells, (a) of Pseudachatina Durnesii, (b) of Achatina. Fig. 103. Tops made of the Fruit of Sarcophrynium velutinum. / /300/ same hand (the throwing hand) as many as possible of the other nuts lying on the ground, and with the same hand again catch the nut thrown into the air. However, the player is allowed to arrange the nuts on the ground beforehand, for instance, three next to each other. If the thrower catches the stone thrown into the air, all the stones in his hand are his property; if not, they are again common property. Then he goes on to try it with the other throwing stones. Once these are played, it is the next player's turn. At the conclusion of the game, that is,

[Text continues on page 179]

524
857

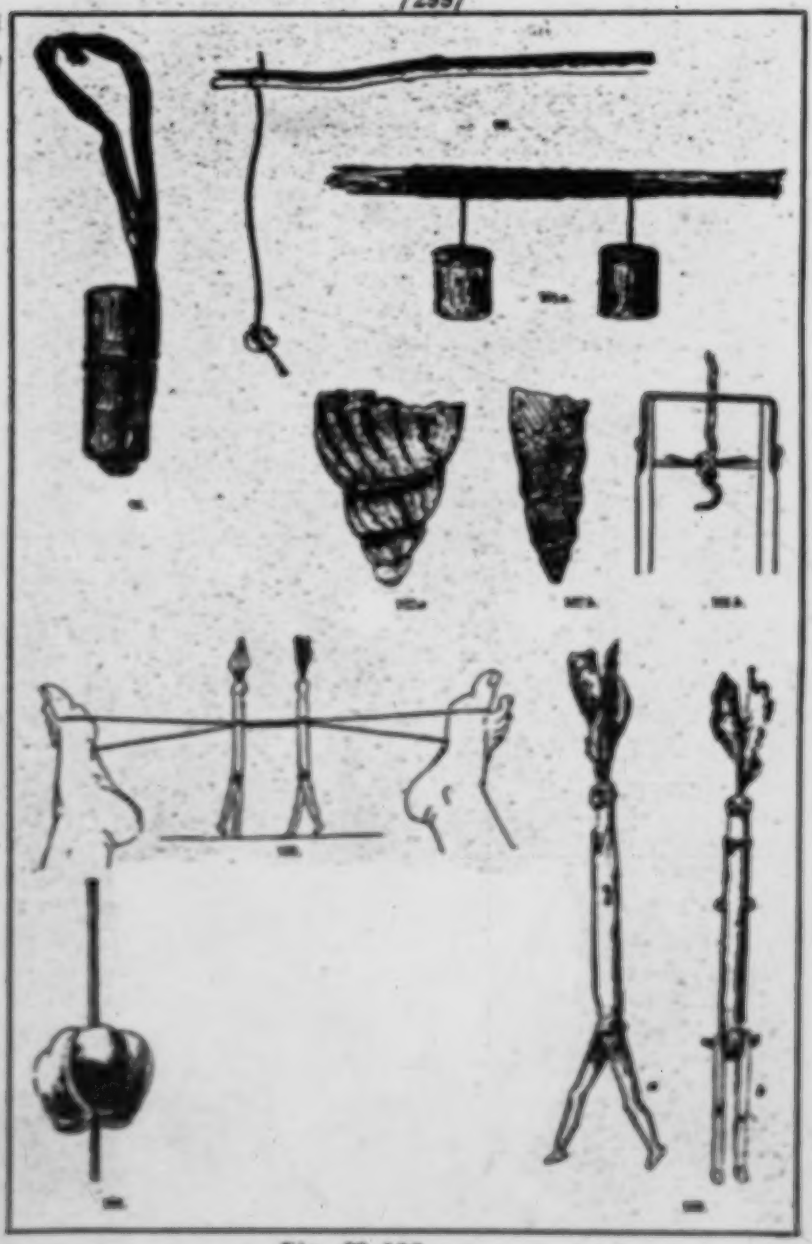


Fig. 98-103.
(Caption on p. 172.)

524 857 when all the nuts are in the possession of players, those boys who have caught some stones place together in the center the same minimum number of their nuts. The boy who then has the greatest number of nuts wins. The nuts which have been won are jocularly called "wives" by the boys.

The best known and most popular game of the Pangwe is the game of skittles with spinning tops of snail shells (a lō ndōʼho). Spinning-top skittles, as we may perhaps call it, is played chiefly by boys five to seven years old and sometimes also by older ones. They usually play it late in the afternoon or towards evening when the sun no longer scorches the village square. Our Figure 104 shows the arrangement of the two teams and of the skittles, which are set up near the team to which they belong (in Fig. 104, the team on the left). One of the players on the opposing team (the attacking team) has a throwing top which is played in between the skittles, and as it spins, it touches one or a number of them. The skittles that have been touched (nkǎ̄ǎn-ndōʼho) and the throwing top (nwōʼan-ndōʼho) are returned to the attacking team. The latter then throws the top again. If a throwing top does not make contact (a ke ōlī nkiai = it goes down the water, westward), it belongs to the defending team which keeps it as a prisoner. If none of the throwing tops has made contact -- something which occurs very rarely since the tops are thrown with great skill -- the attacking team sets up the skittles that previously belonged to the opposing team on its own side, and the team formerly defending now becomes the attacker. The team that throws out the tops, once it has a number of them, plays with them until all the skittles of the opposing team have been hit and now belong to the attacking team, so that the next time around the roles are reversed.

The southern Pangwe know no winner or loser in the game; they "enjoy the game for its own sake," as they say. On the other hand, unlike the Jaunde, they practice giving advances to a considerable degree, a custom which, like the system of advances in the caoutchouc trade of the adults, must lead to an unhealthy state of affairs; indeed, it opens the door to cheating. /301 /Fig. 104 appears here in the original text/ In case the throwing team has lost a considerable number of tops, the defending team, in

524
857
[5.6]
[361]

Fig. 104. Skittles with Spinning Tops made of Snail Shell.

order to prolong the game, may lend it a number of tops, but only from those that were lost by the opposing team, in other words, those that were "captured," and not more than eight. For example: the throwing team has lost six tops and has only one top left; in that case the defending team can lend these six, as well as two more lost later in the course of the game. If all eight of the borrowed tops should again be lost, the teams change roles, but the team now attacking (previously defending) does not begin with one throwing top as usual, but with all of the tops taken from the opposing team, in other words, at least eight; moreover, in the course of the game the previously borrowed eight tops must be returned to the opposing team from the eight tops played out. So the game goes on and may be broken off whenever a team so desires. Frequently, however, the boys first get into a quarrel over the loaned tops, and a general brawl is the conclusion of the game which appears so peaceful. On other occasions, too, the little ones try to "rabble" at spinning-top skittles. Thus, a player of the defending team may snatch a top before it has danced its curving path to an end, even though there might still have been a chance that it would touch a skittle.

524 857 The stone game of the children is a simpler form of the same game played by adults. It is called sɔ́ho and consists of a halved raffia leafstalk whose pith is hollowed out into 12 compartments, arranged in two rows. To the right and left of the ends there is a compartment, twice as big as the others, for captured stones. /302/

The procedure of the game corresponds precisely to that of the adults and is differentiated from the latter only by the fact that in each compartment there are four canna seeds as playing stones, instead of five palm nuts or other large fruit seeds.

524 857 159 (174) The bowling game, mbɛ̂h (mbɛ̂h = bowling ball), in which the extraordinarily well-developed observational powers of the Negroes are triumphantly displayed, is quite noteworthy. The average European would probably cut a poor figure in this "child's play"; I at least declined to engage in it. For the bowling game one must have about 30 of the pill-shaped Canna indica seeds. The game leader, A, takes these seeds in his hand; previously, he has already agreed upon a number, let us say 18, with a fellow player, B. This number must now be discovered by the players, or, as the Negro says, it must be "shown." A throws the balls out rapidly and gives each of them, by way of a name, as it were, the numbers from one to 30 as he throws them. Once all thirty balls are at rest -- having of course rolled every which way, in no particular order -- A points to the aforesaid eighteenth ball while B shuts his eyes as he does so, in order to point to the ball himself afterwards. Thereby A is prevented from cheating or -- as happens more frequently -- from making a mistake. In other words, it is a counter-test. In the subsequent throws, in which the same number counts, the players must indicate the aforesaid ball. This often happens with the second or third throw. The one who recognizes the ball first becomes the leader in the next game, in which another number is chosen.

As the final group game, we shall mention a memory game which is popular with boys six to seven years old. It is called bolɛ̂mo, a name which is also applied to the main player and memory artist who must go to one side or outside the door and then answer. The questioner, seated in the circle of players, has ten

524 peppers, likewise called bolɔ̃mo (from olɔ̃mo = vegetable), in
857 front of him and a banana leaf (okiɛ̃ɛ) is inserted between each
153 fruit. The questioning each time comes to an end at one of the bolɔ̃mo which is then taken away, and the questioning begins all over again, until all the bolɔ̃mo have been removed by this process of question and answer. The questions are as follows:

(a) a bolɔ̃mo? = Oh Bolomo? (b) ɛ̃ or assimilated ã = Yes! (c) ifiɛ a dɔ̃ o yɛ̃? = Your father, he said something to you? (d) ta(d)a (a) dɔ̃ ma na: kaa ɔ̃, ndɔ̃ngo (or dɔ̃am) = My father, he said to me thus: not to fail in skittles (or affairs), that is, you are not to have any failures (in play or in seriousness). (e) dzidzi? = What is that? (f) bolɔ̃mo = vegetable.

Now the questioner takes away the bolomo (the vegetable) and again asks: (a)-(d), then (e) dzidzi? (f) (o)kiɛ̃ɛ = Leaf! (g) dzidzi? (h) bolɔ̃mo. In the next round of questions the answers are: Leaf, leaf, vegetable, then leaf, leaf, leaf, vegetable, and so forth. /203/

All ten questions are uttered in very rapid tempo, usually to the accompaniment of rhythmical handclapping by the fellow players, in order to confuse the one answering as much as possible.

524 The simplest games of skill consist of fashioning droll figures
857 out of a leaf (bɔ̃ɔ). Figure 105; braiding together strips of stalk of the Sarcophrynium in a special form (ɔɔ̃ɔ). Figure 106; and carving birds and other figures from raffia pith (ɔɔɔn-ɔɔɔɔ). Figure 107.

Another group of skilled games includes the universally known rope games, which undoubtedly had their origin in the making of rope. Altogether, I am familiar with no less than 40 different figures among the Fang, of which different ones are developed from each other in series.

The highly developed, ingenious "patience games" probably had their origin in the rope games. The aim here is either to separate two objects that are joined (or to put together two separate objects), or to take apart apparently indivisibly conjoined parts.

A widespread game illustrated in Figure 108 is included in the first group. It could be called the two-string bow patience game (ɔɔɔɔ ɔbɔ). It consists of a stick of the bark of a raffia stalk with

[Text continues on page 179]

2: Tessmann--178 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 Fil9 Feng Fil2

361
516
857
524

/Between 302 and 303/

Plate XXVIII

Children Playing Skittles with Spinning Tops, Ntum Region.

524 a hole drilled in the middle. A string is fastened at both ends
857 and drawn in a double loop (Fig. 109, a) through the hole in the middle. In this way we get two strands, as it were, and on one of these are strung two beads, pieces of a corncob, or the like, although the hole in the middle must always be smaller than the objects used. One bead, if I may choose this object as an example, must now be brought over onto the other strand. The solution of this task will be most clearly seen from Figure 109, Drawings b-f.

Two different patience games belong to the second group. The first (Fig. 110) consists chiefly of a piece of monitor lizard
[825] skin cut into the shape of a fish (ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ ekob e tit), into which a hole is cut at the thick end (head), while in the narrow part (body) parallel longitudinal slits are made. The second part of the device is a string, to each of whose ends a piece of the kernel of an oil palm nut is tied. The pieces of kernel, however, are larger than the hole. The middle part of the string is looped (seen from the front) over the strip between the slits and thence runs from behind out through the hole (see Fig. 110). In order to separate the two parts from each other, the strip must be bent through the hole and the string taken out.

The second game of this group consists of two seeds of the
[826] Pentaclethra /304/ /Figs. 105-109 appear first in the original text/ macrophylla Benth. (ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ ebɔ̄ɔ̄), each of which is provided with three holes. A double string is put through the holes in the manner indicated in Figure 111, and this is looped around the seed. A second kernel is attached in the same fashion at the other end of the double string, and a knot is made at its center. How the problem is to be solved, namely, to remove the seeds from /305/ /Figs. 110 & 112 appear here in the original text / the string, I do not know myself. Perhaps a patient reader will try his hand at it.

The final group of skilled games consists of the performance of magic tricks (makɔ́ɔ́ me bɔ̄ɔ̄ = dexterity of children) whose effect is based upon the fact that the spectator is influenced by the performer and is mistaken in his observation of the basic causes of the phenomena produced, thus permitting himself to be deceived. He does so all the more readily since he is not given any time for quiet reflection on account of the rapidity of execution.

[Text continues on page 181]

/304/

524
857

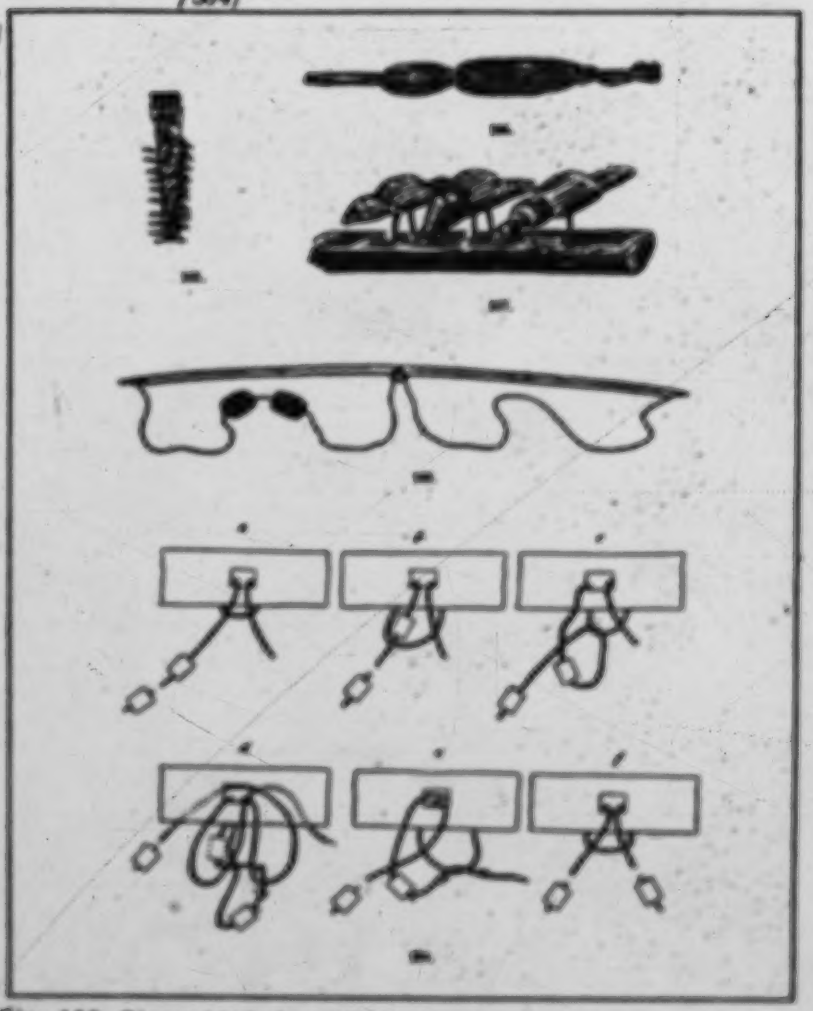
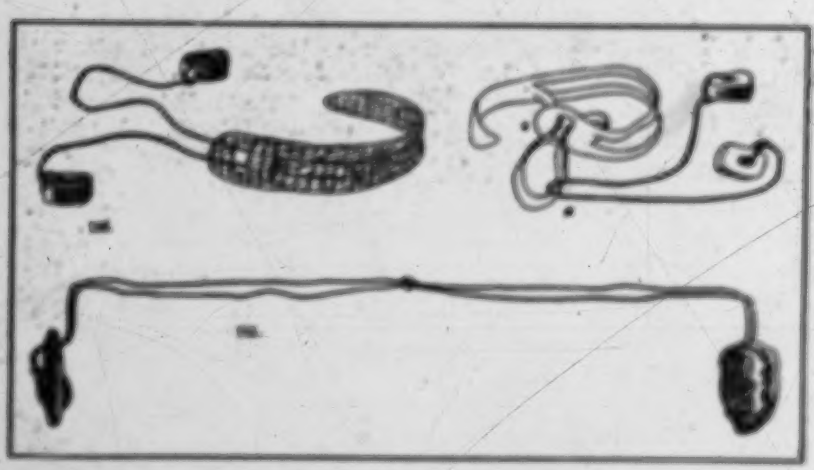


Fig. 105. Figure Made by Children from a Leaf.
Fig. 106. Figure Braided from a Sarcophrynium Stalk.
Fig. 107. Birds Made by Children from Raffia Pith.
Fig. 108. Patience Game with Bow and Two Strings.
Fig. 109. Solution of the Patience Game with Two-stringed Bow.



524
857

Fig. 110. Patience Game with a Monitor Lizard Skin and a String with Oil Palm Nuts, (a) Solution of the Problem.
Fig. 111. Patience Game using Pentaclethra Seed.

The trick of making a ball appear in the hand of a spectator (efŭ', from the root fa = confined, enclosed, transitive and intransitive) is a simple one. It is reminiscent of our trick of counting three coins while picking them up and putting them down. For the efŭ' game an arbitrary number, but not too small, of balls (for instance, canna seeds) or short raffia sticks are laid in a row in pairs. The number of pairs must always be uneven. In addition, an extra ball, called efŭ', that is, the enclosed one, is put down by itself to finish off the row. Now the chief player, A, and one of the spectators, B, take one ball each from the pairs, and B gets the extra one. In order to influence his fellow player, A, shaking his head back and forth, calls out after the extra ball "enclosed" by B: "efŭ', efŭ', efŭ', efŭ', efŭ', efŭ', nafŭ, efŭ' nafŭ, efŭ' nafŭ, efŭ' nafŭ, efŭ', efŭ', efŭ', efŭ' = enclosed one, enclosed one, come, enclosed one!" Now B is asked to place two balls together. Then A places two together, then B again, and so forth, until all the balls are lying in pairs. To the amusement /306/ of those poor at figuring, A actually places the "enclosed one" as the last one at the end of the row. Thus efŭ' really did come to A.

Conjuring away the middle one of three leaves lying on top of each other is really astonishing. For this purpose, three leaves of [324] —

Panicum sulcatum Aubl. (ekɔ̄ɔ̄) are placed on top of each other; the apex half of two of the leaves, the upper and lower, is removed. Then the little magician places the leaves with their underside on the ground and starts to roll them together from the lower end to the tip. A conjuring verse which the artist now sings induces the leaf to wander off: "kɔ̄ɔ̄ ekɔ̄ɔ̄, kɔ̄ɔ̄ a ɛ̄ɔ̄, o ke o mvɔ̄ - remove yourself, grass (1), remove yourself from

1. Collective term; specifically, Eleusine indica (L.) Gärtn.

the middle and go to the back!" Finally he hands the leaves over to a spectator to unroll, and it now turns out that the two shorter leaves are lying on top of each other and that the large leaf is at the bottom. This little conjuring trick, by the way, can also be performed with paper strips, one of which is a little longer than the others.

The ne plus ultra of what skilled Pangwe boys are able to offer consists of conjuring tricks in which speed constitutes the magic. I shall give a few samples of these tricks.

For example, a boy has a streak of ashes put on his forehead and his hands tied behind his back. One of the tricks is to run behind the house and to reappear with his hands tied behind his back but without the streak of ashes on his forehead. Of course the dexterous boy has put his tied hands through his legs from behind, wiped off the streak, and placed his hands behind his back again. The main thing in this case is the speed, which is indeed astonishing.

A second little trick is that of tying the hands together. The boy has somebody give him a rope, runs with it behind the house, and returns immediately -- with his hands tied behind his back. He had made two loops at the ends, stuck a hand in each, and then by skillfully turning both hands in opposite directions had twisted the rope in such a way as to make one believe that he had really been tied up by somebody else.

A favorite act of our conjurers has its counterpart among the Pangwe in their trick of spiriting away a ring from a hollowed

524 plantain leafstalk whose hollow, in addition, was plugged with
857 "medicine," that is, pulverized leaves. The stalk with the ring lies on the ground, and the conjurer binds across his hand a piece of plantain leaf in which he has previously placed an identical leafstalk plugged with leaves, but without a ring. He then playfully strikes the ground with the leaf-covered hand and in so doing exchanges with lightning speed the two plantain leafstalks /307/. Then he invites the spectators to convince themselves that the ring has now been conjured out of it. While the spectators comply with this suggestion, the artist quickly puts the ring on his finger and also removes the plantain stalk.

4. Games of Adults

The Memory Game of the Dwarf Antelope

524 To my knowledge, this game occurs only in the southern
153 Pangwe region. Like the memory game of the children, it con-
[184] sists of reciting sentences which in this case, however, are not elicited by questions but are uttered by a single player. The sentences are particularly difficult, because they contain many words with guttural sounds whose pitch varies extraordinarily so that even the Pangwe easily makes a slip of the tongue.

To aid their memory, my boys made use of a long raffia stick
[211] on which were strung a whole series of little transverse sticks carved out of raffia pith in such a way that first three pieces, each singly, then two, three, four transverse pieces, and so on, were ranged in groups, in a manner similar to balls on an abacus (Fig. 112).

In reciting each sentence -- there are 12 in all -- the previous sentences must be repeated backwards, and together they form a group which in each instance is introduced by the following verse:

ndʼ gbwɛ̄ . mvɔ̄ʌ̄ kīʌ̄ = Sao antelope's horn: "gbuā" (onomatopoetic, in German, tū); rain: "king" (that is, distant thunder, onomatopoetic, in German, bum). The horn of the Sao antelope whistles: "tū," and behold, the rain answers with thunder: "bum."

As we know, the Sso antelope is the animal of the moon, while the moon is mistress of the seasons and thus of rain; if one blows on the horn, the rain, which according to the Pangwe produces thunder, will answer.

Once the twelfth group of sentences is finished, all previously recited groups of sentences must be recited backwards.

Sentence 1: [illegible] okbṍã́ a ke a
Man of the dwarf antelope, he goes to

dĩ̃ã́gan a akõ̃ã́ kj etõ̃
fall in love in the lying trunk inside,

b(a) asõ̃ãgõ̃h-ogbwõ̃ã.
with Asangon-Ogbwo.

The dwarf antelope man goes inside the prone tree trunk (which is hollow, so that the little antelope can use it as a hiding place) to fall in love with Asangon-Ogbuo, literally, the eldest daughter of the magician.

Sentence 2:

ngbõ̃ã̃ne ogbõ̃ã́ a ke a
Offspring of dwarf antelope, it goes to

bõ̃ã̃ [illegible] okbõ̃ã́.
follow man antelope. /308/

Sentence 3:

ngõ̃-ogbõ̃ã́ a ke a
Wife of dwarf antelope, she goes to

be ngbõ̃ã̃ne ogbõ̃ã́.
follow (the) little antelope.

Sentence 4: agbõ̃ã́ abai (two antelopes) d'a ke a be nga agbõ̃ã́.

Sentence 5: agbõ̃ã́ ala (three antelopes) d'a ke a bõ̃ã̃ agbõ̃ã́ abai (two).

Sentence 6: agbõ̃ã́ ani (four antelopes) d'a ke a bõ̃ã̃ agbõ̃ã́ ala (three).

Sentence 7: agbõ̃ã́ atan (five antelopes) d'a ke a bõ̃ã̃ agbõ̃ã́ ani (four).

Sentence 8: agbõ̃ã́ asõ̃ãman (six antelopes) d'a ke a bõ̃ã̃ agbõ̃ã́ atan (five).

524
153
539

Sentence 9: agbɛ́ʌ́ ɔ̄ŋgbwɔ̄' (seven antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbɛ́ʌ́ asɔ̄'ɔ̄ŋ (six).

Sentence 10: agbɛ́ʌ́ mɔ́ɔ́m (eight antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbɛ́ʌ́ ɔ̄ŋgbwɔ̄' (seven).

Sentence 11. agbɛ́ʌ́ ebɔ̄ (nine antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbɛ́ʌ́ mɔ́ɔ́m (eight).

Sentence 12. agbɛ́ʌ́ avɔ́m (ten antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbɛ́ʌ́ ebɔ̄ (nine).

[832]

Young lovers like to play the game with their girls, as may be surmised from the somewhat romantic text. Jokingly, the girl says that she will give herself only to the one who can go through the entire game without making a mistake.

The Memory Game (ndɔ́ʌ́ ondɔ̄ʌ́ or endɔ̄ʌ́)

153
524
211

This game is known only among the Fang and a number of adjoining Ntum kin groups, and it is supposedly indigenous. A flat staff with short, paired transverse extensions and vertically inserted knobs is used in the game. The end of the staff usually has a head carved on it (Fig. 113). Each pair of transverse extensions, along with the knob and the adjacent lower part of the staff, forms a segment on which eleven different points are designated for the answers (see Fig. 114).

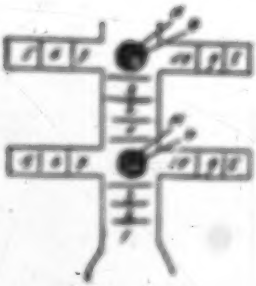
The game may have developed from an older, simpler one in which the individual parts of the human body were enumerated. This notion is suggested by the designation of the staff as the body, of the carved end -- even when it is not a regular head -- as neck and head, by the tripartite arrangement of the transverse extensions -- absent in Figure 113 -- (corresponding to the upper arm, the

[822]
[831]

Fig. 112. Stick with Pieces of Raffia used as Mnemonic Device in the Memory Game of the Dwarf Antelope. About one-fourth actual size.

Memory Game, nkuk-ondile, made of Wood, Southern Ntum Region. A little over one-fifth actual size.

Fig. 113



524
153
211

Fig. 114
Two Sections of the Memory Game nkuk-ondile.

lower arm, and the hand), and finally by the upright knob, called ukigenWége (the red one; red as the color of reproduction, of life), by which originally the male sex organ was doubtless understood. The implement is thus unquestionably supposed to represent a human body whose members are multiplied. [822] [831]

The game is played by two people, one questioning, the other answering. The former, seated in the circle of listeners, holds the implement in his hand and indicates the various points that /309/ must be answered. At each one he calls out: "af af? a-What is that?" (phonetically assimilated and corrupted from dak dak). The principal player sits farther away and answers the questions in rhythmic song while the others stamp their feet or clap their hands in time. He is, of course, not allowed to make any marks to aid his memory, such as dividing a little stick into the corresponding number of sections. This is brainwork. 524 153 [833]

The 11 questions, which are the same for each segment, go as follows: 153

1, 2, 3. (see the corresponding numbers in Fig. 114) 524
nkuk ondile wîle. 539
Body (of the) ondile here. That is the body of the ondile.

153
524
539

4. tsingetsinge nie a tele ni(i) i, a mõmendõge.
Red one, he, he stands here, o Momendõge!
There stands the red one, oh Momendõge (inventor of the game)!

5. mekie me nim e nieli.
Breaking of the twig, it (is) here

6. mejidan me nim e nieli.
Sawing off of the twig, it (is) here.

7. bi a ke a buman (or a sigen) a
We, we go to meet each other at the
mbuman a nazin, a tade mõmendõge.
meeting point of the road, oh father Momendõge
(that is, perhaps, joint of the femur).

8. kizi a bima.
Go away to Buma (supposedly an Esamongun village).

9. ye ma ke a bima.
(Interrogative:) I go to Buma? = Am I going to Buma by any chance?

10. = 7.
11. = 4.

When all the segments -- usually from eight to 10 -- have been answered from bottom to top, the questioner points to the neck piece:

zi zi = What is that? /310/

Answer: kiti ondile e nieli
Neck (of the) ondile it here,

and then he points to the head piece:

zi zi = What is that?
Answer: mi ondile a wile.
Head (of the) ondile it here.

The main thing for the player, therefore, is always to remember how many segments he has answered, so that at the end he does not make a mistake and, instead of answering the two questions concerning neck and head, begins a new segment.

The Stone Game

524 Of all adult games, the most popular is the stone game which
[171] is spread over almost the entire world. It involves placing stones in a number of adjoining concavities, and then distributing these stones among the concavities according to definite rules.

In more recent times, according to informants, the stone game has come to the Jaunde and Bulu from the Bene (who in turn became acquainted with it through eastern tribes), and from the
[177] former it was introduced into the Ntum and Fang region around the years 1895-98. These statements appear to be confirmed by the fact that the most skillfully fashioned playing boards, provided with legs (as in Fig. 115), are to be found among the Jaunde and Bene. They have one of these in each meeting house and eagerly and frequently play with it. It is played more rarely by the Ntum
[164] and only very rarely by the Fang, who in any case have too many other, less harmless things in their heads to be able to devote themselves to the game with any kind of passion.

The playing board (Fig. 115) consists of two halved raffia leaf-stalks tied to each other. By cutting out the pith, each of the leaf-stalks is divided into seven compartments (ndɨ = house; plural, mandɨ). Only in the southern part of the Fang region (and among the
[184] Basɨ) did I see such a board made of wood, which then, in most cases, had one additional compartment for the "prisoners" (Fig. 116) at each end. The playing stones (ngɔ̃k IV) are put into the compartments, five in each one. Originally, and sometimes even today, actual pebbles were used, from which the game was named sɔ̃ngo (alleged: small pebble). This name, however, is current only among the Jaunde and Bene; in the south it designates the corresponding children's game, while that of the adults is called akɨ̃n because of the large black beads (akɨ̃n) that were at one time used as playing stones but today have gone completely out of fashion.
[824] Instead of these beads, the natives like to take the kernels of the
[194] oil palm or of Rhicinodendron /311/ africanum; in the north and in various other places they like to take the pebble-like kernels of a species of tree unknown to me and, more rarely, stones.

524 The procedure in the game itself is the same throughout the entire Pangwe region. Deviations from the ordinary playing rules are to be found only in quite isolated instances.

In playing, the two players (A and B) sit across from each other and place the board between them. Compartments 1-7 belong to A, and those from I VII belong to B. Now each player by turns takes the stones out of one of his compartments and, proceeding clockwise, places a stone into each succeeding compartment, be it his own or that of his opponent. If, therefore, in the beginning player A, for example, takes the five stones out of compartment 5, he must distribute them in compartments 6, 7, I, II, and III; and if his opponent B then picks up the six stones that are now in compartment III, /Fig. 115 appears here in the original text/ he must place them in compartments IV, V, VI, VII, 1, and 2, and so forth. Now, if there are so many stones in one compartment, let us assume it is A's, that in distributing them they go beyond the opponent's row, they are again placed back in A's own compartments, starting with 1, but only up to the compartment from which they were taken, no more being put in the latter. Instead, if there are 14 or more stones, A must place the fourteenth in compartment I of his opponent and then, if there are more stones, continue to the right, up to compartment VII. If by then A still has stones to divide, in other words, if he took up 21 or more, he may not put them back into his own compartments but has to place the twenty-first in compartment I and proceed to distribute them after that in the usual manner.

The goal of each player is to draw out as many prisoners as possible from his opponent's compartments, and the player who has taken the most /Fig. 116 appears here in the original text/ /312/ prisoners has won. The decision comes when a player has no more stones lying in his compartments. In this case the player who still has stones in his compartments adds these to the prisoners, and the highest number of stones determines the victory.

The player can take prisoner all the stones in an enemy compartment if the number of stones does not exceed three: To this end, he must proceed in such a way that the last of his stones to be distributed strikes a compartment in which it is the second, third, or

2: Tessmann--190 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F169 Fang F169

fourth stone. These two, three, or four stones then count as prisoners. Since, therefore, only "houses" with a few stones or, as the Negro says, "people," fall victim to the enemy, we shall call such a compartment a weak compartment while every other compartment, that is, a compartment in which there is no stone or in which there are four or more stones, shall be called a strong compartment.

Now a player, if his last stone strikes a weak compartment, may plunder not only this but also all immediately preceding weak compartments. An example will clarify this. Suppose on B's side there are -- something which he should, of course, have prevented -- one stone in compartment I, four in compartment II,

[322]

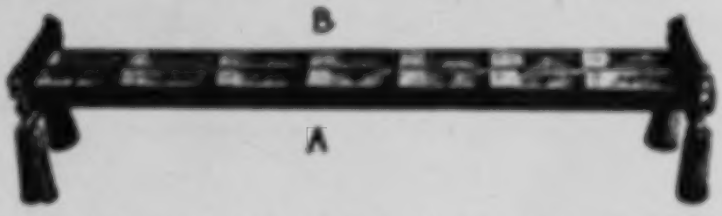


Fig. 115. Stone Game, made of Raffia Stalks and Wooden Legs, Jaunde. One-sixth actual size.

two in compartment III, three in compartment IV, two in compartment V, nine in compartment VI, and five in compartment VII; further, suppose A has seven stones in compartment 5. In that case A will place these stones in compartments 6, 7, I, II, III, IV, and V, and he will take prisoner the two stones lying in compartment V, as well as his own stone that he has added to them; in addition, he will take prisoner the three lying in compartment IV with his striking stone, and the two lying in compartment III with his striking stone, so that altogether he will have ten prisoners.

[322]

Fig. 116. Stone Game, made of Wood, Southern Pangwe Region. One-fifth actual size.

524 Thus, each player must take care that his opponent does not get into a weak compartment with his last stone or, in cases not to be avoided, that the preceding compartment is strong.

On the average, the Pangwe do not play the stone game per-
524 ticularly well, but there are individuals -- even women -- who
539 have developed their playing skill to a veritable mastery. In par-
578 ticular, a number of Bulu are famous as eminent adepts in this field in the Ntum territory, and a number of jocular stories that are as widespread as their fame have been coined about them. The majority of these stories are attributed to the "champion" of the Pangwe players, Bekona a Mpfa, the son of Mpfa Mangôô. Sometimes these stories are recited during the game by the more skilled player in an extraordinarily rapid, even tone, perhaps with the intention of distracting and confusing the less assured opponent. As regards their content, these stories pour the most vitriolic scorn upon less skilled players.

Satiric Song of the Ntum

ma	ma	nga kǒ	bekǒ'na,	bekǒ'na	a	mpfǒ,	nǒ̄man		
I,	I	played (with)	Bekǒna,	Bekǒna	of	Mpfa,	son		
a	mpfǒ-mangôô.	/313/	nǒm	kaa	mangô	niene:	ma		
of	Mpfa-Mangôô.		Man	without	teeth,	he says:	I		
ke	ma	dzi	bekôb	be	nǒk:	mi'nǒnga	kaa		
go	to	eat	hides	of	elephants;	woman	without		
makǒ'n	niene:	ma	tǒbǒ	o	kpǒ;	ukǒkute			
behind,	she says:	I	sit down	on	stool;	crazy			
dǒ̄m	a	nga	wǒǒ	sǒ'	a	bim,			
thing,	it	lets	pass (a)	Seo	antelope	on	hunting drive,		
a	lige	isia	a kǒn	bekǒ'na	a	mpfǒ,	nǒ̄man		
it	leaves	his father	sick	Bekǒna	of	Mpfa,	son		

a mpfɔ̃, ndʒ'mɔn a mpfɔ̃ mangɔ̃, nɛɛm: ɔ̃,
of Mpfa, son of Mpfa-Mangɔ̃, he says: Come now,

bɔ̃m, mi ndɔ̃ a bʒ̃'bɔ (or a ngʒ̃ngʒ̃):
people, you surpass to speak

yɛ tadɔ a ngɔ bʒ̃ bekʒ̃'ɔa, nɛɛm:
Interrogative: father, he is sick (of) Bekʒ̃ɔa, he thus:

a dʒ̃ dʒ̃ bʒ̃ ma ngɔ vui tadɔ
to eat Sao antelope?; but I killed (for the) father (x)

ngʒ̃ʒ̃ a bim o ngʒ̃ʒ̃, tadɔ a
dwarf antelope on hunting drive yesterday, father he

tame dʒ̃ ngʒ̃ʒ̃.
must eat dwarf antelope.

Freely translated: I was once playing the stone game with Bekʒ̃ɔa, the well-known Bekʒ̃ɔa-Mpfa who is the son of Mpfa-Mangɔ̃. He said: "You really resemble an old man who has no teeth and wants to eat elephant's hide (1), or a woman who has no

[242]

1. The notoriously thick and tough elephant's hide is actually eaten by some people (with teeth!), after being well boiled.

backside and sits down on the hard wooden stool, and thirdly you resemble the stupid noodle who on the hunting drive lets a Sao antelope (2) pass by and knows his father to be sick at home, infirm

[825]

2. The black-rumped duikerbok, Cephalophus dorsalis Gray.

from the disease that came from Bekʒ̃ɔa-Mpfa, the son of Mpfa-Mangɔ̃." Well, in that case one simply says: "Come now, you people, you're talking altogether too much poppycock! Even if

529 my father is suffering from the Bekōna disease, does he absolutely
539 have to eat Seo antelope meat? After all, yesterday on the hunting
578 drive I shot a dwarf antelope for my father; let my father first eat the dwarf antelope!"

Satiric song of the Fang (beginning as above)

...mī'nīnga kaa maikā'n, niene: ma bōde
...Woman no backside, she says: I wear

azōō ukūkute dīnum, oa lige isōa akōe e
raffia apron; crazy thing, you leave your father sick with

bekō; wōna: oa ie a wōa ngō' akōō.
boils; you say: you go to place stones in the game.

...You resemble a woman who has no backside and wants to wear a raffia apron (the large horsetail-like raffia apron is not suitable for /314/ such a woman). And in addition, you stupid fool, your father is lying at home sick with boils!" In that case one would say (1): "Just place your stones, we shall see!"

1. The translation of wōna by "one" is justified because wōna is in a sense directed at the listener.

Satiric Song of the Ntum

o lō za? o lō fē za?
You play (with) whom? You play more (with) whom?

bō lō, bō lō! ngē nzō'la: mī'nīnga
People play, people play! Madame Nōla (said): Woman

kaa mebī'n niene: o vō ma mvōk anē
without calves, she says: you put me brass wire (about) as

bo nga vō ntsāma-obiāń.
they put (about) Ntsama-Obiang.

Freely translated: With whom are you playing? With whom are you actually playing now? -- Yes, indeed, people are not equal; some play well, others badly, and Madame Nsöla says: "This is queer, a woman who has no calves and wants to have brass rings put around (her calves), just like the beautiful Ntsama-Obiang! (who of course has calves)."

The first story requires some explanation, since it is, as one of my people expressed very nicely in pidgin English, dear for saby (expensive to know, understand) = hard to understand. First of all, we must observe that the master player Beköne is what is known as eki, akiɛ, that is (according to the standards set by abstinence rules, beki). It is not good for the ordinary mortal to play with Beköna, since in case of defeat, a kin beköna = one becomes Beköna-sick, just as in the case of an offense against the cult laws, one contracts a cult sickness.

The beginning is readily intelligible. A good average player (who can perhaps defeat moderately good players, but not Beköna) comes to the master who compares him with the old man without teeth and the woman without a backside, both of whom want to undertake something of which they are not capable, just like the player who wants to compete with Beköna. But finally Beköna compares him with an imprudent hunter who lets a Sso antelope (which is of medium size) pass by in the hope of killing something better (that is, a larger wild animal), even though his father is lying sick (of Beköna) at home and therefore would like something to eat, special namely, meat.

Applied to the player, this means: You want to compete with me, Beköna, and do not let players not as good, whom you could defeat, play with you (in the comparison, the Sso antelope which the hunter lets pass by) in the vain hope of defeating me, Beköna (in the comparison, the larger game), even though your father has already been defeated by me -- for only in this way can /315/ he become Beköna-sick -- and would gladly see his son avenge him by defeating another player.

The other one replies: Even if my father has been defeated by the master player (= is Beköna-sick), must he therefore see that I

524 defeat an average player (in the comparison, the Sao antelope)?
539 After all, just yesterday I defeated a totally inferior player (in the
578 comparison, the dwarf antelope)! That has given my father sufficient revenge for the time being (in the comparison, enough to eat).

We see a cornucopia of ridicule poured forth here. Magnificent comparisons! Pithy expressions! Negro poetry with an elemental force!

Game of Chance (abĩa, Jaunde, Bulu)

525 Like the stone game, the game of chance was not an indigenous
177 cultural possession of the Pangwe. From the Maka (Makie in
184 Jaunde) in the east through the mediation of the Mwogeniangа kin group (probably Bene) on the upper Nyong it came to the core of the Bene, who transmitted it to the Jaunde and Bulu. In only the most recent times, the Ntum have become acquainted with it through Jaunde and Bene traders who came to them in the service of the Whites. Nonetheless, I myself have seen people engaged in this game only once, in 1907 in the vicinity of the northern Ntum region. Among the Fang the game is unknown.

The game of chance is played with small circular playing
525 disks (sĩ; plural, besĩ, derived from esĩ "goods," because, according to the Pangwe, they decide whether the players are winning or losing and hence, as it were, bring in the money in the form of goods, trade items) which are simply cut out of calabash rinds (Fig. 117, a). Furthermore, the game requires counters (mvi ɔ̃ I), [531] of which each player must bring his own. They are produced from [824] the hard rinds of the fruit from a tree called abĩm by the Jaunde, and on their smooth upper surface (outerside of the fruit) they bear attractive patterns of various kinds, animal forms, or human figures, which, like the edge, are carved in relief (Fig. 117, b-d). /Fig. 117 appears here in the original text. / /316/

The number of players that can participate is unlimited, but there must be at least four.

To play (a dɔ̃ abĩa), a basketry plate is also needed, into which are placed once and for all seven playing disks (seven again as a

2: Tessmann--196 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 P169 Fang P169

525 lucky number). At the start of the game each of the players puts his counter in the basket with the disks. The leader of the game, who does not play himself, tosses the counters and disks into the air with the plate, catches them again, quickly turns the plate over and covers them up. If counters fall to the side, these must simply be pushed toward the edge of the basket -- they are valid. On the other hand, the throw does not count in case a counter is standing on edge, squeezed between others, when the basket is raised.

The question now is whether the counters are lying face up (carved side) or face down.

Then depending on whether the playing disks are lying face up (with the shiny side up) or face down, either face up or face down counters win.

The decision concerning winning or losing can be seen from the following combinations.

If all the counters are lying face up or all of them face down, the throw does not count and must be repeated. On the other hand, if all the counters do not have the same side up, then the winner or winners are:

with four players

if all the disks are lying face down or up to three disks inclusive are lying face up and

1 counter lies face up, the one counter lying face up,
2 counters lie face up, the two counters lying face up,
3 counters lie face up, the one counter lying face down;

if 4-7 disks lie face up and

1 counter lies face up, the one counter lying face up,
2 counters lie face up, the 2 counters lying face down,

[531]

Fig. 117. (a) Playing Disk. (b)-(c) Counters for the Game of Chance. Jaunde. Actual size.

3 counters lie face up, the one counter lying face down;

525

with five players

if all the disks lie face down or up to three disks inclusive lie face up and

1 counter lies face up, the one counter lying face up,
2 counters lie face up, the two counters lying face up,
3 counters lie face up, the three counters lying face up,
4 counters lie face up, the one counter lying face down; /317/

if four to seven disks lie face up and

1 counter lies face up, the one counter lying face up,
2 counters lie face up, the three counters lying face down,
3 counters lie face up, the two counters lying face down,
4 counters lie face up, the one counter lying face down.

Put in words, the matter may be expressed as follows.

1. In case all the disks are lying face down or up to three disks inclusive are lying face up, the team on the right loses only if the counters of all players less one (total minus one) are lying face up.

2. In case four to seven disks are lying face up, the team to the right always loses if more than one chip is lying face up.

Now it may also happen that four players cannot be assembled. In that case, three players help themselves out by putting down a blind counter for the missing fourth. If this counter alone comes out the winner, the throw naturally does not count; on the other hand, if it is the second winner, the share of the dummy falls to the co-winner.

The stakes must be fixed before the basketry place is raised. Each player must place a certain fairly high value (for instance, 2, 5, or 10 marks), usually in the form of goods, on a pile, which the winners share equally. If there is only one winner, he gets the whole pile. The losses suffered by a Negro in the game are considerable. If he has no more money with him, he has his luckier [426] friends give him an advance in the hope of winning at a later throw and paying back the loan. In this process some of them go so deeply [516] in debt that in the end they must leave their wives with the creditor, and sometimes they come to blows, even to homicide; blood revenge

525 and wars have frequently been the consequences of the gambling
528 mania. Ahough in more recent times the game of chance has been prohibited in the area controlled by the German government, nontheless considerable homage is paid the gambling demon in secret.

In order to insure luck at the game, a whole series of medi-
525 cines is made, which, according to the view already familiar
111 to us, transfer the properties of plants to the counters; for instance, plants which make them burning hot (Boehmeria, Urticaceae) sharp, peppery (Spilanthes, Compositae), and strong (Carolabia, Polygalaceae). Others are intended to preserve for the owner the objects that he has put down as his stake in the game. In this category we find burs (Desmodium)
524 and winding Araceae. /318/ /Fig. 118 appears here in the original text./

5. Wrestling

526 Wrestling matches are very frequent, especially in the southern Fang region, both to settle personal quarrels -- in this case the defeated wrestler was formerly sometimes squeezed half to death and cases of death have even occurred -- as well as a sport. In the latter case one might actually speak of a sports festival to which the drum summons young and old, man and woman, from afar. I shall dispense with a detailed description however,

In wrestling, certain rules of the game are observed, for instance, that both wrestlers must be as nearly matched as possible, and this determines whether they turn down the challenge (a kə̄ nsū̄ʒ) or take it up (a mə̄m nsū̄ʒ).

Our picture (Fig. 118) represents a snapshot of such wrestlers (mə̄n I, from a sīn = to wrestle). To the left one can see a group of young men waiting (a jīʌ̄n) to be challenged (a lōʒ = to challenge). Before the match the wrestler rubs dust onto the palms of his hands and his arms (a dūk mbū lūk enīm = to rub dust [on the] arm) to make them less slippery.

526
[291]

Fig. 118. Fang People at a Wrestling Match in Aldn (Essuong Family). Left, before the selection; right, wrestling.

To the right one can see two combatants wrestling. Each grip, even hooking one's foot behind that of the opponent, and every feint designed to bring down the opponent by any possible method of surprise is considered wholly admissible. /319/

The victory is determined when one of the opponents touches the ground with both shoulders. If he merely falls on one side and the other combatant does not immediately succeed in pressing his shoulders to the ground, the round is regarded as undecided (verb, a kánán). In doubtful cases the judges, who, armed with sticks, circle around the pair during the match, determine the victor.

The victor (ngbō, III, from a gbō, = to throw) is hoisted onto the [#82] shoulders of members of his kin group (a bō(g)e mastétá) and carried off amidst singing and hooting. Usually members of different kin groups or at least of different villages fight one another, doubtless a relic from former times when wrestling was a more serious means of combat.

2: Tessmann--200 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

526
113

In Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten /Reports from the German Protectorates/, Berlin, 1895, Zenker mentions wrestling matches between Jaunde women and girls. I myself have never heard of these.

G. Tessmann 7319 Fang

Günter Tessmann

Die Pangwe

G. Tessmann F319 Fang

Die Pangwe

Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes

Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907–1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904–1907

Von

Günter Tessmann

Zweiter Band

Mit 137 Abbildungen und 10 Tafeln in Farben- und Lichtdrucken

Verlegt bei Ernst Wasmuth A.-G., Berlin 1913

2: Tessmann F319 Fang

Alle Rechte vorbehalten

Altenburg
Pierersche Hofbuchdruckerei
Stephan Geibel & Co.

Abschnitt X.

Grundlagen der Weltanschauung.

Allgemeine Bemerkungen: Bisherige Fehler von Grundlagen für die Weltanschauung der Neger. — Auffassung der Neger vielfach nicht richtig erkannt. — Unentbehrlichkeit des Ursprünglichen, auch bei den Pangwe. — Mensch besseel; alles andere unbeseelt. — Unorganisierte Welt: Umwelt, Grundstoffe. — Organisierte Welt: Organisationskraft; Beispiele, ihre Übertragung; Verhältnis der Pangwe zu ihr; praktische Anwendung und Beispiele davon. — Mensch: Körper und Körperteile; dessen Äußerung (relative guter und schlechter Körperteile); Beispiele. — Körperteile bei Tieren. — Seele mit drei Dimensionen; Seelenteile. — Seele im Jenseits.

Die Völkerkunde begnügt sich bekanntlich nicht mehr mit dem Einsammeln und Untersuchen der materiellen Erzeugnisse fremder Völker, sondern hat längst erkannt, wie wichtig es ist, das Innenleben der mit ungeheurer Schnelligkeit aussterbenden oder sich unter dem Drucke europäischer Kultur verändernden Naturvölker zu erforschen. Daher ist es die vornehmste Aufgabe jedes Forschers, so tief wie möglich in die Weltanschauung des Volkes, mit dem er sich beschäftigt, einzudringen. Den Schleier, der über diesen Geheimnissen gebreitet ist, hat man in Afrika nur an wenigen Stellen etwas zu lüften vermocht, was begreiflich erscheint, da die Völkerkunde eine verhältnismäßig junge Wissenschaft ist und jeder Versuch, in ihr dunkelstes Gebiet, die Weltanschauung des Negers, zu dringen, auf viele und große Schwierigkeiten stößt, zumal wenn — wie bisher — fast alle Forschungsreisenden nur kürzere Zeit in ihrem Forschungsgebiete bleiben und deshalb die Eingeborenensprachen nicht beherrschen, während doch die Kenntnis der Sprache eine Vorbedingung für das völlige Verständnis der Vorstellungen des Negers ist. Eine Folge davon ist die, daß wir für die Erforschung primitiver Weltanschauungen noch kaum eine sichere wissenschaftliche Grundlage haben. Am ehesten haben die Missionare Gelegenheit, uns in der Kenntnis der Eingeborenen in dieser Richtung weiterzubringen, indessen können sie sich von einer gewissen, vielleicht unbewußten Befangenheit selten freimachen; der tatsächlich oft vorhandene Mangel an Vorurteilslosigkeit und rein wissenschaftlicher, nicht tendenziös gefärbter Darstellungsweise beeinträchtigt den Wert ihrer Arbeiten und gibt den Kritikern vorzügliche Angriffspunkte. Wenn man nun noch obendrein in Betracht zieht, wie außerordentlich empfindlich und anderseits wie anpassungsfähig der Neger in diesem Punkte ist, wie sehr er es sich angelegen sein läßt,

den Missionaren als Lehrern der neuen Religion und Sittenlehre eine möglichst beschönigte bzw. eine je nach ihrem Bekenntnis anders gefärbte Darstellung seines eigenen Glaubens zu geben, wird man gegenüber den Berichten der Missionare, wenn sie sich auf Mitteilungen von Eingeborenen stützen, stets einige Zurückhaltung für angebracht halten. Was sonst von Forschern über die Religion der Afrikaner, zumal der Bantu, geschrieben wurde, ist verhältnismäßig wenig und meist so voller Mißverständnisse, daß man daran verzweifeln muß, Klarheit zu erlangen.

So gibt es denn heute leider noch keine systematische Grundlage der Religionsforschung in Afrika, es fehlen richtige Bezeichnungen für die verschiedenartigen Erscheinungen auf geistigem Gebiet oder vielmehr es fehlen die richtigen Begriffe und leider,

wo Begriffe fehlen,
da stellt ein Wort zur rechten Zeit sich ein.

Von allen Bantu-Forschern ist der Missionar Gutmann [1]) meines Wissens derjenige, welcher zum erstenmal nachdrücklich darauf hingewiesen hat, daß die Vorstellungen von Zauberei und deren Trägern, die ich Zauberwesen nenne, gar nichts mit dem Seelenglauben zu tun haben, während bisher jedermann die zeitweise unsichtbaren Zauberwesen Seelen nannte, wodurch eine heillose Verwirrung und vor allem die fälschliche Meinung hervorgerufen wurde, daß die Seelen der Abgeschiedenen die Plagegeister der Menschheit wären. In Wirklichkeit sind bei fast allen Bantu die Seelen, selbst wenn sie einmal Schaden anrichten, niemals von der ungeheuren Bedeutung, die den bösen Zauberwesen beigemessen wird [2]). Sogar Pechuël-Loesche [3]), der sich allerdings des Unterschiedes dieser beiden Begriffe bewußt ist, hat den irreführenden und unpassenden Ausdruck „Seelen" für Zauberwesen beibehalten. Ich halte dafür, daß man den Zauberglauben, wie in der neueren Literatur schon mehrfach geschieht, überhaupt von der Religion abtrennen muß, da er nichts mit ihr zu schaffen hat, ja im ausgesprochenen Gegensatz zu ihr steht und geradezu von ihr bekämpft wird. Noch heute finden sich seine Überreste in allen Kulturländern. Vor allem ist festzuhalten, daß das Zauberwesen ein Teil des Körpers ist und mit dem Tode zugrunde geht [4]), daß also der Körper des Menschen aus zwei Teilen besteht.

---

[1]) Gutmann, Dichten und Denken der Dschagganeger.

[2]) Vgl. Bd. II, Abschn. XII.

[3]) Pechuël-Loesche, Volkskunde von Loango.

[4]) Der Begriff des Zauberwesens entspricht — wie mir scheint — dem von Wundt in seiner „Völkerpsychologie" Bd. II, Teil 2, S. 167 aufgestellten Begriff der Körperseele; s. u. S. 7 ff.

Undeutlich erkannt ist auch die wohl bei den meisten Religionen, sogar noch bei der katholischen Auffassung der christlichen Religion, vorhandene Dreiteilung des Daseins — in Diesseits, Zwischenaufenthalt (= Fegefeuer der katholischen Lehre) und Jenseits —, ferner hat man nicht genügend beachtet, daß dem Begräbnis, als Abschluß des diesseitigen Lebens, eine religiöse Handlung bzw. Feier als Abschluß des Zwischenaufenthalts entspricht, und daß selbst das Jenseits noch einen Abschluß in der völligen Auflösung des Menschen findet.

Was aber überhaupt noch gar nicht in seiner Bedeutung gewürdigt worden ist, das ist die Tatsache, daß der dualistischen Auffassung des körperlichen Teils des Menschen, aus der der erwähnte Zauberglauben hervorgegangen ist, eine Zweiheit des geistigen Teils, der Seele, entspricht, eine Anschauung, auf der überhaupt erst die bei fast allen Naturvölkern vorhandenen Kulte fußen. Schurtz und Frobenius, die beide nicht den tiefen Sinn dieser eigentümlichen religiösen Einrichtungen erkannt haben, sehen in allem nur einen Geheimbund, während ein solcher in Wirklichkeit nur eine Entartung des Kultwesens darstellt, bei ihrem Zerfall entsteht und keineswegs eine religiöse, sondern — was schon im Namen liegt — eine soziale Einrichtung ist, wenn er sich auch religiöse Anschauungen dienstbar macht.

Bei genauerer systematischer Erforschung der Weltanschauungen der Naturvölker wird man wohl allgemein zu der Ansicht gelangen, daß bei ihnen der Monotheismus und nichts anderes an der Schwelle der gesamten Weltanschauung steht, denn nach dem Glauben der Eingeborenen wäre ohne den Schöpfergeist Gottes weder Mensch, noch Tier, noch Pflanze da, sondern ein Chaos, wie es im Anfang bestand. Bei den Pangwe ist Gott zwar als Persönlichkeit nicht von Anfang an dagewesen, er hat auch nicht Erde, Sonne und Mond gemacht, wohl aber die unorganisierte Materie organisiert, d. h. Lebewesen erschaffen und so das Weltall ausgebaut, eine Tat, nach der er selbst sich in den Himmel zurückgezogen hat.

Der „Herr auf Erden" ist natürlich der Mensch, er ist die Hauptfigur, zu der alles andere eigentlich nur die Staffage bildet. Er unterscheidet sich von allen Lebewesen durch den Besitz einer Seele, d. h. er besteht aus zwei Teilen, einem sichtbaren vergänglichen Teil und einem unsichtbaren, den Tod überdauernden Teil, den man allein Seele nennen kann. Eine Seele hat, wie nochmals betont werden mag, nur der Mensch. Dinge, Pflanzen und Tiere haben keine Seele, geschweige denn ist die Natur beseelt, wie man es oft hinzustellen pflegt.

Aus dem Besitz einer Seele ergeben sich für den Menschen dreierlei Daseinsformen: erstens der lebende Mensch, zweitens die Seele im Zwischenreich, drittens die reine Seele im Jenseits.

Der Pangwe unterscheidet — wie wir — eine organische und eine anorganische Welt oder, wie es besser heißen sollte, eine organisierte und eine unorganisierte Welt [1]). Im Anfang gab es nur einen unorganisierten Stoff, den Urstoff (vgl. Schöpfungssage S. 15 ff.), aus dem nach Pangweglauben alles entstanden ist und zu dem einstmals alles wieder werden wird. Später hat sich dieser Urstoff in drei verschiedenen Richtungen entwickelt: zur Erde, mit den Grundstoffen Erde (Lehm) und Wasser — eine Mischung von beiden ist Sumpf *(zam)* —, zweitens zum Monde, dessen Grundstoff dem der Erde ähnlich zu sein scheint, und drittens zur Sonne mit dem Grundstoff Feuer, das später vom Himmel zu uns herabgekommen ist. Die ursprüngliche Zusammengehörigkeit dieser drei Gestirne zeigt sich auch in der Ähnlichkeit der drei Wortstämme: *sa, si, so*; *sa* = Sonne, *si* = Erde, *so* = Mond. Freilich ist *sa*, später auch *so*. durch andere Stämme ersetzt worden, aber es ist heute noch nachweisbar, daß sie die älteren sind.

Obgleich nun diese verschiedenen Formen der unorganisierten Materie, nämlich Erde (in weiterem Sinne jedes Gestein), Wasser, Mond, Sonne und Feuer tot, ohne organisches Leben sind, so geht doch von ihnen eine fühl- und sichtbare Wirkung aus, so von der Sonne die Strahlen (= Wärme), vom Monde der Schein, vom Feuer die Flamme, vom Zusammenwirken von Wasser (Regen) und Erde die Fruchtbarkeit, d. h. die Fähigkeit, Pflanzen zu ernähren. Wie ist das möglich? Nur dadurch, sagt der Pangwe, daß in ihnen eine Kraft steckt, die von Gott ausgeht, der sich in ihnen täglich und jeden Augenblick von neuem äußert. So kommt es, daß der Pangwe, da nach seinem Glauben Gott in Person menschlichen Bitten und Wünschen unerreichbar ist, ihn dafür in diesen Elementen, nämlich Erde, Sonne, Mond, Wasser, Feuer, verehrt.

Alles übrige in der Welt, Pflanzen, Tiere und Mensch — hier spreche ich nur von seinem körperlichen Teil — ist organisiert, d. h. der ursprünglichen Materie wurde vom Schöpfer im Anfang eine besondere Kraft gegeben, die jeder einzelnen Pflanzen- oder Tierart eigentümliche Form und die ihr eigentümlichen Eigenschaften genau so auf alle ihre Nachkommen, sei es direkt oder durch Vermittlung besonderer abgespaltener Teile (Samen der Pflanzen, Eier der Vögel) oder auf dem Umwege über selbständige Zwischenstufen (Entwicklungsstufen der Insekten) zu übertragen, so daß Gott nicht jedesmal einzugreifen braucht. Diese mit der Materie verbundene Kraft ist die Organisationskraft. Daß z. B. eine Erdnußpflanze immer vierteilige Blätter hervorbringt, daß auch aus den Nüssen wieder genau dieselben Pflanzen mit vierteiligen Blättern entstehen, also — wie wir sagen — die Artenkonstanz erklärt sich daraus, daß der Materie, die zur ersten Erdnuß werden sollte, vom Schöpfer gesagt ist: Du sollst die Vorliebe für vierteilige Blätter haben und sollst diese Vorliebe weiter fortpflanzen.

---

[1]) Vgl. Erich Wasmann S. J., Die moderne Biologie und die Entwicklungstheorie (Freiburg im Breisgau 1906) S. 198.

Diesen uns geläufigen naturwissenschaftlichen Begriff der Organisationskraft haben die Pangwe etwas erweitert insofern, als sie die Kraft auch bei ausschließlich geschlechtlich sich vermehrenden Lebewesen nicht beschränken auf die Keimzlelen, aus denen der neue Organismus herauswächst, sondern nach dem Muster der ungeschlechtlichen Fortpflanzung von Pflanzen und niederen Tieren auf alle Teile eines jeden Lebewesens ausdehnen. Sie beobachteten, daß ein einziger Erdnußsame, der doch nur ein kleiner Teil der Erdnußpflanze ist, wieder ein ganzes Erdnußpflänzchen mit vierteiligen Blättern hervorbringt, oder daß aus irgendeinem kleinen Stück des Kassavestammes eine neue Kassavepflanze, die genau der alten gleicht, hervorschießt, daß ferner das Ei, das doch nur ein Teil des Vogels ist, wiederum einen ganzen Vogel von derselben Form und Größe ergibt, und schlossen so, daß mehr oder weniger in jedem Teil der Materie des Lebewesens die Organisationskraft in mehr oder weniger starkem Maße steckt, und zweitens, daß sie auch dann noch darin steckt, wenn sich dieser vom mütterlichen Organismus abgelöst hat. Das will heißen: die Organisationskraft ist an die organisierte Materie, nicht an das betreffende Lebewesen gebunden und bleibt infolgedessen erhalten, solange als die Organisation der Materie besteht. Sie überdauert daher den Tod des Individuums, aber nur solange, als dessen einzelne Teile die ihnen von der Organisationskraft mitgeteilte Form bewahren. Sie steckt also im toten Leoparden, sogar in Teilen des toten Leoparden, in der menschlichen Leiche. Am längsten hält sie sich in den widerstandsfähigen Knochen. Sind aber auch die verwest, d. h. haben sie ihre Form eingebüßt, so ist damit auch die Kraft dahin, die Materie wird zur unorganisierten Erde.

Die Organisationskraft wird nun für so gewaltig gehalten, daß sie, ähnlich wie das Radium, auf ihre nächste Umgebung ausstrahlen, sie also organisieren kann, ohne selbst merklich an Eigenkraft zu verlieren. Sie ist imstande, wie ich es ausdrücken möchte, auf ihre Umgebung abzufärben. Diese Wirkung kommt zustande entweder durch mehr oder weniger direkte Berührung oder durch völlige Einverleibung der sie enthaltenden Materie.

Hiernach richten sich die Pangwe, indem sie da, wo die Kraft schädlich werden könnte, sie zu vermeiden suchen, da, wo sie Nutzen schaffen könnte, sie sich aneignen. Ersterem Zwecke dienen die Enthaltsamkeitsvorschriften *(ekɪ,)*, die in der Hauptsache Speiseverbote sind, dem zweiten die unzähligen Medizinen *(bläʌ)*. Endlich benutzt man die schädliche Eigenschaft, um sie auf andere Menschen zu übertragen und diese dadurch zu treffen. Überhaupt richtet sich die praktische Anwendung dieser Krafttheorie ganz nach den jeweiligen Bedürfnissen, und man glaubt, imstande zu sein, ihr die Richtung zu bestimmen, so wie man es wünscht, sei es in feindlicher Absicht gegen Fremde,

[p. 5]

sei es zu eigenem Nutzen für sich. Z. B. wendet man einmal verschlungene Lianen als Liebesmedizin an, in der Absicht, die Liebesgemeinschaft so eng zu gestalten, wie die Lianen sich umschlingen, ein andermal in feindlicher Absicht, damit die Gedärme des Feindes sich zu einem Knoten verschlingen wie die Liane und den Menschen natürlich dadurch krank machen oder töten.

Einige Beispiele für die drei Fälle mögen hier aufgeführt werden.

Der Schopfadler, **Lophoaetus occipitalis** Daud. *(abajek)*, darf von Frauen, wenn sie schwanger sind oder nähren, sowie vom Erzeuger des Kindes — der nicht der offizielle Familienvater zu sein braucht — während derselben Zeit nicht gegessen werden, da der Schopfadler die Kraft hat, den „Schopf" zu organisieren, und man fürchtet, daß beim Genuß des Fleisches mit der Materie auch die Organisationskraft in den Körper der Frau und von da in den des Kindes übergehen und bei ihm dahin wirken könnte, daß es auch einen Schopf oder einen Auswuchs am Hinterkopf bekommt.

Die Schwalbe *(kulejeme)* ist eine Medizin gegen den feindlichen Schuß. Sie hat nämlich die Organisationskraft des Ausweichens vor ihren Feinden, so daß ihr z. B. Raubvögel nicht beikommen können. Tötet man eine Schwalbe und bewahrt sie, in ein Bündel gewickelt, am Körper auf, so kann die Organisationskraft, die in der Materie enthalten ist, auf den Menschen „abfärben" und diesen befähigen, ebenso wie die Schwalbe feindlichen Schüssen auszuweichen.

Die Tiliacee **Duboscia macrocarpa** Bocq *(akak-enen)* ist eine Medizin, die friedfertig macht. Dieses Lindengewächs hat die Organisationskraft eines Blätterdaches, das seinerseits kühlend, beruhigend und lindernd wirkt. Trinkt man nun einen Auszug aus den Blättern, so nimmt man dadurch die Organisationskraft des Gewächses in sich auf und wird selbst ruhig und friedfertig.

Menschenknochen und -schädel sind Medizinen für Kultfiguren. Der Mensch hat die Organisationskraft, seine Feinde zu verfolgen und zu vernichten. Diese menschliche Organisationskraft wird nun durch die Knochen, in denen die Kraft steckt, auf die tote Lehmfigur abfärben und dadurch bewirken, daß diese selbst einem lebenden Menschen gleich wird und Menschen verfolgen und vernichten kann.

Auch kann die Organisationskraft des lebenden Menschen auf andere Materie, auf unorganisierte (z. B. Steine) und sogar auf organisierte (z. B. Holz), übergehen, solange er diese Dinge zu einem bestimmten Zwecke benutzt, also als Werkzeug gebraucht. Daher unterscheidet sich die Werkzeugklasse, die V. Vorsilbenklasse, von der Menschenklasse (vgl. Abschnitt II, S. 26) nur dadurch, daß ihr Wesen, ihre Eigenschaft zeitweise, die der Menschenklasse dagegen dauernd ist. Beispiel: *kŏb IV* = der natür-

liche Haken, von *a kǭb* = anhaken; *e-kǭb* = der natürliche Haken, auf den die Organisationskraft des menschlichen Fingers, etwas festzuhalten, vor dem Herunterfallen zu bewahren, zeitweilig übertragen ist, d. h. solange der Mensch es wünscht. Späterhin wurde aus dem zeitweilig vermenschlichten „natürlichen" Haken, ein dauernd menschlicher Haken, ein Kleiderhaken.

Von der übrigen organisierten Materie unterscheidet sich der Mensch — ich spreche immer noch von seiner körperlichen Hälfte —, ausnahmsweise auch einige Tiere (worüber später), dadurch, daß er außer dem Körper (der Materie) und seiner mit ihm verbundenen Organisationskraft noch eine eigene Kraft besitzt; diese ist aber im Gegensatz zu jener nicht an den Körper (die Materie) gebunden, kann sich von ihm entfernen, also selbständig handeln, und wird daher persönlich gedacht. Sie geht mit dem Tode des Menschen zugrunde. Ich nenne diese von Wundt [1]) „Körperseele" genannte Kraft „Körperwesen", weil es sich dabei nicht um einen Teil der nach dem Tode weiterlebenden Hälfte, die man allein „Seele" nennen kann, handelt, sondern um einen Teil der sterblichen Hälfte (Körper), also um eine Kraft, auf die nicht die Bezeichnung „Seele" angewandt werden darf. Das Wort „Wesen" habe ich deshalb gewählt, weil der Pangwe sich unter dieser Kraft die Summe aller Eigenschaften, Fähigkeiten und Triebe des Menschen, soweit diese sich aus dem Verhältnis zu anderen Menschen ergeben, vorstellt, und weil es deshalb ungefähr dem entspricht, was wir „Wesen" nennen: der und der hat ein gutes oder ein schlechtes Wesen.

Das Körperwesen ist bei jedem Menschen vorhanden, nur äußert es sich bei manchem nicht und zählt dann sozusagen nicht mit (gute Körperwesen). Äußert es sich aber, so gilt es immer als mehr oder weniger schlecht, da sich der einzelne durch den Erfolg anderer geschädigt fühlt, auch wenn gar keine böse Absicht gegen ihn vorgelegen hatte, und andererseits die eigenen Mißerfolge auf böswillige Einflüsse anderer schiebt.

Wie der Pangwe sich die Äußerung des Körperwesens denkt, möge hier nur an ein paar Beispielen erläutert werden. Erstens: Ein todwunder Elefant ist, wie man hört, einem Jäger verloren gegangen und muß irgendwo im Walde bei einem bestimmten Dorfe verendet sein. Zwei Leute aus diesem Dorfe machen sich den andern Morgen auf die Suche, um den „Finderlohn", einen Elefantenzahn und die Hälfte des Fleisches, einzuheimsen. Der eine geht den Weg *a*, der andere den parallelen Weg *b*. Letzterer findet den toten Elefanten. Wie kommt das? — Bei uns würde man sagen: Zufall, Glück oder auch eine Fügung Gottes. — Der Pangwe kennt einen Zufall nicht, alles hat seinen Grund; eine Fügung Gottes läßt er auch nicht gelten, da Gott weit, weit entfernt im Himmel thront und viel zu hoch steht, als daß er sich um menschliche Kleinig-

---

[1]) Wundt, Völkerpsychologie Bd. II, Teil 2, S. 167.

keiten kümmern sollte. Nein, sagt der Pangwe, es muß so sein, daß der glückliche Finder selbst gewußt hat, wo der Elefant lag. Da er aber in Person tagsüber im Dorfe war und auch nachts dort geschlafen hat, so kann man nur so vermuten: Nachts, während sein Körper anscheinend ruhig schlief, hat sich sein Körperwesen, das — wie gesagt — als eigene, dem Körper innewohnende Persönlichkeit gedacht wird, vom Körper getrennt, hat auf irgendeine übernatürliche Weise — das ist durch Zauber — den Elefanten ausgekundschaftet und hat sich in derselben Nacht noch wieder mit dem Körper vereinigt. Daher wußte der Mann, daß der Elefant gerade auf dem Wege *b* zu finden war.

Zweitens: Mehrere junge kräftige Männer gehen auf Jagd, werden hin und wieder durstig, trinken aus Bächen und Flüssen, der eine hier, der andere da. Einer, ein Häuptling, hatte infiziertes Wasser getrunken, die anderen nicht — natürlich alle, ohne es zu wissen. Am anderen Tage kehren sie zurück, der Häuptling wird krank und stirbt. — Wie kommt das? — Einige von uns würden sagen: Zufall, unglücklicher Zufall! Der Pangwe sagt: Nein, das gibt es nicht, alles hat seinen Grund. Andere von uns würden sagen: Gott hat ihn abberufen. Der Pangwe sagt wieder: Nein, das ist unmöglich; Gott hat zwar bestimmt, daß alle Menschen sterben sollen, aber zu ihrer Zeit, d. h. wenn sie alt geworden sind, sonst aber greift er nicht in so furchtbarer Weise ins Menschenleben ein; wie würde er — der Gute — wohl einen blühenden Jüngling vernichten wollen? Nein, vielmehr hat hier irgendein anderer Mensch, ein Feind oder Neider, den Mann „verdorben". Freilich hat niemand gesehen, daß der Häuptling getötet worden ist, aber nachts hat sich das Körperwesen irgendeines überlegenen Feindes vom Körper getrennt und den Häuptling — wieder durch Zauber — ermordet. Wie das alles im einzelnen Falle vor sich geht, weiß man nicht, man weiß nur, daß der feindselige Mensch eine übernatürliche, zauberische Fähigkeit besessen hatte.

Der Begriff des zauberischen Körperwesens dient also — um ein Schlagwort zu geben — zur Erklärung von Glück und Unglück.

Wie schon angedeutet, statten die Pangwe nicht nur den Menschen, sondern auch gewisse höhere Tiere, besonders Haustiere, z. B. Hunde und Schafe, aber auch Elefanten, Antilopen und andere, mit einem Körperwesen aus. Der Eingeborene hält es z. B. für möglich, daß der plötzliche, unerklärbare Tod von Schafen durch zauberische Körperwesen anderer übelwollender Artgenossen zu erklären ist [1]).

Genaueres über das Körperwesen und den mit ihm verbundenen Zauberglauben in Abschnitt XII.

Zu dieser körperlichen, vergänglichen Hälfte des Menschen kommt nun eine nach dem Tode weiterlebende seelische Hälfte. Die Seele ist in drei Daseins-

---

[1]) Das ist ein neuer Beweis dafür, daß das Körperwesen nichts mit der Seele zu tun hat und nicht etwa die Äußerung der Seele im Körper ist, denn Tiere haben keine Seele.

formen vorhanden; erstens im lebenden Menschen als Körperseele — dieser Ausdruck darf nicht im Wundt'schen Sinne verstanden werden als eine Eigenschaft des Körpers, die mit ihm vergeht, sondern will zeitlich verstanden sein: als Seele während der Zeit ihres Aufenthalts im menschlichen Körper —, zweitens als Schattenseele, d. h. während eines längere oder kürzere Zeit dauernden Aufenthaltes in der Nähe des Wohnortes nach dem Tode, im „Zwischenreich", drittens als verklärte Seele im Jenseits.

Genau wie der Körper besteht die Seele aus zwei Teilen, der Materie und einer besonderen Kraft als Summe ihrer Eigenschaften, die sich im Willen äußern, dem Seelenwesen. Um uns in diese schwierigen Verhältnisse leichter hineindenken zu können, dürfen wir die Seele nicht rein geistig fassen, wie wir es gewohnt sind, sondern sie uns als eine unabhängige menschliche Person vorstellen. Der Pangwe sieht also in einem Individuum zwei Personen gleichsam in Personalunion vereinigt, die eine besteht aus dem Körper und einer eigenen Persönlichkeit, dem Körperwesen, die zweite aus der Seele und einer ihr innewohnenden Persönlichkeit, dem Seelenwesen. Wie das Körperwesen sich vom Körper vorübergehend trennen kann (behufs Zauberei und natürlich nur im Diesseits), so kann sich auch das Seelenwesen von der Seele trennen, aber nur nach dem Tode und nur in der als Zwischenreich bezeichneten Zeit.

Beim Abschluß dieses Zwischenaufenthalts geht das Seelenwesen zugrunde, und es bleibt die Seelenmaterie nach, genau wie beim leiblichen Tode als dem Abschluß der ersten Daseinsform, des lebenden Menschen, das Körperwesen zugrunde ging und die mit Organisationskraft ausgestattete Materie nachblieb.

Während das Wesen des Körpers das Verhältnis des einzelnen Menschen zu seinen Nebenmenschen und umgekehrt erklärt, hat die Lehre vom Wesen der Seele das Verhältnis zwischen dem einzelnen Menschen oder der Gesamtheit der Menschen zu Gott bzw. den von ihm geschaffenen Gesetzen zum Gegenstand, sie soll also — um wieder ein Schlagwort zu geben — Schuld (Sünde) und Unschuld erklären. Das Seelenwesen ist, da auch der Pangwe das Gefühl hat, daß alle Menschen Sünder sind, im Grunde schlecht; allerdings gibt es Menschen, die nicht mit Absicht Böses tun, weil sie nicht wissen, was Böse ist, ihr Seelenwesen äußert sich nicht und zählt deshalb sozusagen nicht mit (gute Seelenwesen), alle übrigen aber, bei denen es sich äußert, sind bewußte Sünder und sündigen auch tatsächlich zumeist, mögen sie auch mitunter Gutes vollbringen (böse Seelenwesen).

Von dem Wesen der Seele handelt der größte Teil der Religion, und es ist die Quelle aller Kulte geworden.

Ich werde daher, nachdem im ersten Teil des nächsten Abschnittes die Sagen von der Entstehung der Welt, von Gott und seiner Schöpfertätigkeit

behandelt sind, schildern, wie das Seelenwesen entstanden und beschaffen ist (Teil 2 und 3), wie es sich äußert (Teil 4), zu welchen praktischen Anwendungen es führt (Teil 5), zuletzt wie es, mit dem Tode des Menschen freigeworden, selbständig auftritt und vergeht, wenn die Seele ins Jenseits eingeht (Teil 6).

Im Jenseits, das ist bei Gott, lebt dann die verklärte Seele noch weiter fort, sie hat aber kein Seelenwesen mehr, denn sie ist jenseits von Gut und Böse oder besser, von Schuld und Unschuld. Diese Daseinsform ist die längste und schönste von allen dreien, aber ewig ist sie nicht, denn eine Ewigkeit des Daseins, eine absolute Unsterblichkeit vermag sich der Naturmensch nicht zu denken, ebensowenig wie wir den Begriff der Unendlichkeit fassen können. Die Vermutung, daß auch die Seele nach dem langen, unendlich langen Leben im Jenseits „altern" muß, hat die Pangwe zu dem Schluß geführt, daß die Seelen schließlich wieder vom Himmel herunterfallen und zu Erde werden müssen, wie auch der Körper zu Erde geworden ist.

Wir hätten also als Grundlage der Lehre vom Sein des Menschen:

	Diesseits	Zwischenreich	Jenseits
Vergänglicher, sichtbarer Teil . . .	Körper Körperwesen		
Fortlebender, unsichtbarer Teil . .	Seele . . . . Seelenwesen .	Seele . . . . . Seelenwesen	Seele

Abschnitt XI.

Religion.

1. Entstehung der Welt, Gott und sein Wirken. Gott: Dreiheit Gottes. — Name und seine Erklärung. — Gott im heutigen Glauben der Pangwe. — Sagen über die Entstehung der Welt; Entwicklungsgedanke; Schöpfungsgedanke. — Beginnende Spaltung zwischen den Menschen und Gott; Sagen darüber.
2. Trennung von Gott durch die Sünde. Entstehung des Weibes. — Die ersten Menschen. — Auftreten des Willen beim Menschen. — Geschlechtsverkehr; Die erste Sünde, Sagen über den Sündenfall. — Strafe für die Sünde; Eidechsen und Chamäleon als Boten. — Umschreibung des Geschlechtsverkehrs durch Bilder: Penis = Schlange, weibliches Organ = Frucht. — Grund einer abweichenden Darstellung.
3. Das Seelenwesen. Arten der Sünde. — Sitz des Seelenwesens. — Verkörperung im Schatten und in Schattentieren, im Spiegelbild und in Wassertieren. — Beschaffenheit des Seelenwesens bei den Menschen: Gute und Böse. — Kulte als Sünde. — Etwas über die Lüge. — Entwicklung der Religionsformen.
4. Kulte. Allgemeines: Geschlechtergegensatz in den Kulten, Männer- und Weiberkulte. — Zweck der Kulte: Einspruch gegen den Tod. — Einweihung der Neulinge, Leidenszeit Lehre. — Kultplätze; Leitung der Kulte; Trommelsignale; Vorbereitungszeit; Kultmarken. — Besonderes: Schlechte und gute Grundstoffe in der Natur: Mond und Sonne, Wasser und Feuer; ihre Kulte. — Anzahl der Kulte. — Umschreibung der Kulte durch Tierbilder. — Ältester Kult der Mondkult Seo; Stämme *so* und *si*; Verbreitung des Mondkultes.
   I. Der Ssokult. Allgemeines. a) Sso der Jaunde. Zeit der Feier — Markung —, Phallustanz, — Prüfungen der Neulinge: Ekelhafte Speise, Herumstoßen, Ameisenplage. — Ziegenzerreißen. — „Sterben" der Neulinge; Aufenthalt im Buschhaus, Aufzug bei Festen; Wiedereintritt ins Leben. b) Sso und Ndong-mba der Ntum. Unterschied des Sso der Ntum von dem der Jaunde. — Vorfeier: Geschlechtlicher Tanz, Beschimpfen der Weiber, Schattendarsteller und Maskenmänner (= Issisleute). Herausführen und Erschrecken der Neulinge. — 1. Tag: Ndong-mba: Verrückter. Zeigen der aufgehenden Sonne, Darstellung des Tagewerkes. — Verhüllung des Gerüstes. — 2. Tag: Sso: Phallustanz (Reinigungsgesang). — 3. Tag: Sso: Heiliger Hain mit Figuren, Schweineherde, Ssotanz, Einweihung der Neulinge im Schmutz, Belegen mit Pflanzen. — Erklärung dieser Handlungen. — Andere Ssofeiern.
   II. Bokung und Elong. Bedeutung. — Erklärung der Namen. — Vorfeier. — 1. Tag: Schimpansentanz, Eulenrufe. Elong- (Sonnen-)tanz, Bündnis zwischen Gut und Böse, erneuter Schimpansentanz. — 2. Tag: Heiliger Hain mit Kultfiguren. — Grundmedizinen und Ausstattung der Figuren, Bedeutung der Medizinen. — Einweihung der Neulinge: Töten des Bösen (Bokung); Einweihung ins Böse, Berücherung auf der Elongfigur. — Erklärung der Vorgänge. — Bezahlung des Medizinmannes.
   III. Schok. Bedeutung. — Veranlassung zum Kult. — Heiliger Hain. — 1. Tag: Figuren und Grundmedizin, Lieder, Issisleute, Treiben des Medizinmannes. — 2. Tag: Einweihung, Medizinen, Ziegenschlachten. — Eigenschaft der Schokfigur.
   IV. Ngi. Verbreitung. — Bedeutung des Namens: Gorilla (Eigenschaften des Tieres). — Ngifeier. — Vorbereitung. — 1. Tag: Heiliger Platz, Messertanz des Ngi, Grundsteinlegung der Figur, Medizinen. — 2. Tag: Errichtung der Figur, Knochengreifen der Neulinge. — 3. Tag: Einweihung der Figur, symbolischer Tanz, weitere Medizinen, Knochentanz. — Andere Ngifiguren: Anbringung von Hörnern am Kopfe des Ngi. — Schutzdächer, Tempelanlagen. — Feuer als wirksame Kraft. — Person und Aufgabe des Ngi: Bestrafung der Sünder (Sünde = unerlaubter Geschlechtsverkehr, Diebstahl und Ehebruch, Zauberei). — Ansehen der Ngiperson. — Angriffe von Zauberwesen, ihre Abwehr. — Geständnisse von Sterbenden. — Auffrischung des Ngi. — Krankheiten, die der Ngi als Strafe verhängt.
   V. Schlußbemerkungen über Männerkulte. Odschöe. — Honorar für die Medizinmänner.

Lp 117

VI. Weiberkulte. Schwierigkeiten der Erforschung von Kulten im allgemeinen, von Weiberkulten im besonderen. — Anzahl und Namen. — Mawungu: Feueranzünden, Einführung der Neulinge, Beschimpfen der Männer, Umzug. — Mawungumedizin der Jaunde. — Nkang: Perlhuhndarstellung, Erschrecken der Männer. — Endaluma. — Eindringen der Männer in die Frauenkulte.

VII. Allgemeine Schlußbemerkungen.

5. Praktische Anwendung der Anschauung über die Sünde. Bekleidung der Scham und Beschneidung (Operation, Schmerzensäußerungen, Behandlung der Wunde).

6. Zwischenreich, Seelenfest, Jenseits. Verwandlung der Seele (schlechte und gute Gründe), Seele im Leopard. — Schattenseelen. — Abholen der Sterbenden. — Lila als Farbe der Seelen, lila Blumen, lila Schatten. — Aufenthalt der Seele in Baumstämmen usw. — Eigenschaften der Schattenseelen: Gutartigkeit. — Versorgung der Seelen. — Hunger, Felddiebstahl (Medizinen dagegen). — Träume, Traumdeutung. — Seelenfest: Verbreitung, Zeit der Feier, Trommelsignale, Einladung der Gäste, Aushängen und Verteilen der Sachen, Hauptfesttag (Seelentanz, Fortscheuchen der Seele, öffentliche Feststellung, Palmwedeltanz, andere Tänze, Festessen, Scherzmedizin). — Seele im Jenseits, Vorstellung vom Jenseits. — Trennung der Guten und Schlechten. — Altern der Seele, Entfernung aus dem Himmel. — Termitenhaufen als letzter Rest. — Das große Rätsel der Menschheit.

7. Ahnenverehrung. Zweck. — Pflege der Schädel. — Erklärung des Namens Malan. — Schädeltonnen. — Holzfiguren und ihre Bedeutung (Köpfe, halbe Figuren, ganze Figuren, Niamodo). — Heilige Hütten. — Eindringen der Weiber. — Speisung der Schädel. — Malanfeier: Vorpflege, Einführung der Neulinge. Heiliger Hain. — Ahnenfest. 1. Tag: Tanz der Holzfiguren, Aufstellung der Schädel, Schädeltanz, Einweihung der Neulinge, Frauen, Erscheinen des Niamodo, Medizinen, Schmaus, Umzug. — 2. Tag: Bittgesuch und Geschenke an die Schädel, Schlachten der Ziege. — Nächtlicher Besuch der Neulinge im Hain.

---

1. Entstehung der Welt, Gott und sein Wirken.

Soweit meine Kenntnis von den Pygmäen reicht, fassen sie die menschliche Person auf als eine Zusammensetzung von drei Kräften: Körper, Körperwesen und Seele. Die Pangwe haben — wie wir gesehen — statt dieser Dreiteilung eine Vierteilung, insofern sie der Seele ein Seelenwesen zuteilen. Früher dürften sie auf derselben Stufe der Weltanschauung gestanden haben wie die Pygmäen, denn die eine göttliche Person oder Kraft, welche am Anfang alles Lebens steht, wird bei ihnen aus drei Kräften bestehend gedacht: aus der Materie *(nzämba, nzämbe, nzäme, nzäma, zäma)*[1]), aus dem Körperwesen oder der Lebensäußerung *(nkwä*, in Zusammensetzungen *nya)* und aus der Seele, dem Geist, der ältesten der Drei *(maböge, mebege)*. So heißt denn Gott mit vollständigem Namen: *ɛ-säm(a)-nyá-maböge*, entstanden aus der Zusammensetzung jener drei Stämme. Der Betonung *esäm-nyámaböge* ist schon die Tatsache zu entnehmen, daß in diesem Falle zwischen *zäma* und *maböge* ein neuer Stamm eingeschoben ist, nämlich *nya*, sonst müßte es heißen, und das tut es nebenher auch: *zá'ma-maböge*, oder wenigstens *zá'ma ya maböge* (Sama und Maböge); auf letzteren Fall komme ich noch zurück[2]). Außer-

---

[1]) Stamm *sa*; *s* verändert sich oft in *z* (vgl. I S. 14).

[2]) Den vollständigen Namen *esäme-nya-mebege* führt auch George L. Bates in seinem Handbook of Bulu, London 1904, an. Er weiß aber nicht, daß *nya* ein besonderer Stamm ist, sondern meint nur, daß „nya is a connective unused elsewhere" (!).

dem aber führt Trilles[1]) die Mitteilung eines Fang auf, der sagt: „Dieu était, il était Un et il était Trois. Comment cela peut-il se faire? Je n'en sais rien, mon père ne me l'a pas appris, il l'avait entendu dire ainsi. Ce Dieu Un, nous l'appelons Nzame, et les Trois qui sont Nzame et ne font qu'un seul Nzame, nous les appelons Nzame, Mébère et Nkwa[2]). Diese Dreiteilung entspricht genau der Teilung einer Person in Materie — Kraft (= Lebensäußerung) — Seele, ist also ein uralter Gedanke, der einen Vergleich mit unserer Lehre vom Gott-Vater (Materie), Jesus (Lebensäußerung „Wille" Gottes) und heiligen Geist (Seele) aufdrängen muß.

Betrachten wir den Pangwenamen für Gott genauer, so erkennen wir, daß das Wort *nzä-mbä* = *nzä-mbë* aus zwei Teilen zusammengesetzt ist, aus *nza* und *mba (mbe)*. Der erste Teil *sä* ist ein uralter Stamm, auf den wir verschiedentlich schon hingewiesen haben und der die Sonne bezeichnet[3]). *sä-m* heißt Sonnenstrahl, es ist ja das Wesen der Sonne zu strahlen, und zwar ein dauerndes und aktives (vgl. Nachsilben *[m]*). Das will eben heißen, daß die Strahlen durch eine Person (nämlich Gott) von der Sonne jedesmal zu bestimmten Zwecke (nämlich das Leben zu erhalten) ausgeschickt werden. Daher auch derselbe Stamm (*sa*) und dieselbe Nachsilbe (*m*) in Sumpf (*zäm*). Vergleiche hier die Ansicht über die unorganisierte Materie (Bd. II S. 4). *a sä-m* heißt die Hände ausstrecken und ausstrahlen lassen. Da die Hände nun zu zweierlei Zwecken ausgestreckt werden, erstens um abzuwehren und fortzustoßen, zweitens aber um heranzuholen und zu schützen, so könnte man ebensogut der strafende wie der gute, segnende, barmherzige Gott übersetzen[4]), wenn nicht letzteres die größere Berechtigung hätte, da die Strahlen der Sonne vorwiegend lebenspendend, also wohltätig wirken. Man vergleiche hierzu das Bild des Sonnengottes bei Erman[5]). Der Gott ist dort in Gestalt der Sonne, deren Strahlen in Hände auslaufen, dargestellt.

---

[1]) P. H. Trilles, Proverbes Légendes et Contes Fang im Bulletin de la Société Neuchateloise de Géographie. Tome XVI. Neuchatel 1905.

[2]) Auch A. L. Bennett führt als „Götter" auf: Nzame, Mabeka (Maböge) und Nkwa, außerdem noch Sekôme und Ube, letztere sind aber die ersten Menschen.

[3]) Schon bei den alten Babyloniern hieß der Sonnengott schamasch (sam-as).

[4]) Vgl. V. Largeau, Encyclopédie Pahouine S. 213. Die französische Übersetzung lautet dort (Nsama fragt Mebere): „Père, quel est mon nom? Quel est le tien? — On t'appellera Dieu l'Ordonnateur de toutes choses; moi-même on m'appellera le Miséricordieux avec Dieu." Allerdings ist mir der Sinn des letzten unverständlich, es muß da irgendwo ein Mißverständnis in der Antwort des Negers oder in der Übersetzung vorgekommen sein.

[5]) Adolf Erman, Die Ägyptische Religion. Berlin 1909, S. 78.

Der zweite Teil in Nsambe, *mbā* oder *mbe*, deutet gleichfalls auf die Sonne hin, denn *ba, be (ra, re)*[1]) bedeutet etwas Rotes, Rotglänzendes, *m* ist die Menschenvorsilbe, daher *m̄bā* III. Klasse, eigentlich roter Mann, für den Turako mit seinen rotschimmernden Flügeln, *bą̄ III* = rote Farbe, *mre IV* = Rotholzbaum, **Pterocarpus**, *mré IV* = roter Hahn, *e-ré-le* = rot. Ich glaube sogar, daß früher mit *mbā* die untergehende Sonne bezeichnet wurde, mit *sā* dagegen das aufgehende Tagesgestirn, denn man sagt noch heute für die untergehende Sonne im Fang: *ndźób a rū-be (a rūō-be)*, d. h. die Sonne (Himmel) rötet sich beim Untergang, für das Abendrot: *a-rūō-ngūrge*, für das Morgenrot dagegen: *n-są-o-dźób*. Daß *mbā* wirklich mit der Sonne in Zusammenhang steht, geht auch daraus hervor, daß der Sonnenkult *ndoṅ-mbā*, d. h. etwa „Kult des roten Gestirns", genannt wird, wobei ich bemerke, daß *ndoṅ* selbst ursprünglich die Sonne und allgemein die Gestirne, weiterhin etwas Heiliges, insonderheit Kult bedeutete, z. B. *ndoṅ-źok, ndoṅ-bokuṅ* (nur in altertümlichen Liedern, s. u.).

Nkwa und Maböge sind sprachlich nicht zu erklären, auch die französischen Schriftsteller bringen nichts Sicheres darüber. Jedenfalls ist Maböge älter als Nsambe, und man stellt sich ihn als die erste einigermaßen menschlich gedachte Kraft und als Vater Nsambes vor. Daß in ihm die Seele, der Geist der Schöpferkraft personifiziert wird, ist offenbar (vgl. 1. Buch Mose, 1 Vers 2: „und der Geist Gottes schwebete auf dem Wasser").

Aus den angeführten Wortstämmen entnehme ich, daß der Name Nsambe zu der Sonne in Beziehung steht, die Pangwe selbst freilich zerbrechen sich über Gott und seine Tätigkeit nicht den Kopf. Nsambe ist ihnen zu einer mythologischen Persönlichkeit geworden, die in Sagen und Märchen zwar eine große Rolle als Held spielt, von der jeder weiß, daß sie einmal alle Lebewesen geschaffen hat, die aber als Person dem Volke jetzt fern steht. Freilich hat er das nicht immer getan, wie uns die Schöpfungssagen mitteilen, vielmehr haben sich die Pangwe selbst mit ihm überworfen und glauben nun, daß sie nicht mehr wie einst seine Lieblinge seien. Daher der Drang nach Westen, von dem gleich im Anfang gesprochen wurde, nach dem dort gelegenen Sonnenheim, dem verlorengegangenen Paradiese, das dort wohl vermutet wurde [2]). Solange dieser Gott aber nicht wiedergefunden ist, solange meint man bei den Seelen der Ahnen mehr Gehör für seine Wünsche zu finden und widmet ihnen eine Verehrung, die sie bestimmen soll, in Vertretung Nsambes für das Wohl der Allgemeinheit zu sorgen. Nsambe ist unterdessen ganz in den Hinter-

[1]) *b* wird oft in *r* verwandelt (vgl. *o-be-be* = Töpfchen, *m-ve* = Topf).

[2]) Vgl. II S. 28: ... und wenn du mich vergeblich suchst, so wisse: ich bin über das Meer gegangen (also nach Westen) und auch dort suche mich nicht, denn ... usw.

grund getreten, man läßt ihn wirklich — wie die landläufige Redensart bei uns sagt — einen guten Mann sein. Am treffendsten finde ich immer den Vergleich mit dem „Chef" eines großen Handelshauses, der die persönliche Mitarbeit wegen seines Alters und wegen Verärgerung aufgegeben hat und seinen Vertretern, mit denen das „Publikum" zu tun hat, und denen es seine Wünsche vortragen muß, freie Hand läßt, während sein Name aber noch auf dem Firmenschild steht und sein Geist noch über dem durch ihn geschaffenen Geschäftsbetrieb schwebt.

Wollen wir uns des näheren über ihn unterrichten, so müssen wir auf die Schöpfungssagen zurückgreifen, die dadurch besonders interessant sind, daß sie manche Anklänge an das Alte Testament zeigen.

Nsambe (Gott) hat also alle Lebewesen geschaffen, aber er hat nicht die Welt geschaffen, er steht nicht am Anfang aller Dinge, sondern ist selbst erst das Ergebnis einer Entwicklung. Darüber erhielt ich von meinen Berichterstattern verschiedene Auskünfte.

Nach der einen Lesart ist die ganze Erde mit allem, was darauf und darüber, aus einem großen Baumpilz *(alö[k] a nkǫ́k)* [1]), gleichwie aus einem Ei *(„ane makjɐ ma káb"* = wie Eier vom Huhn), entsprungen, der also die eigentliche Welturmutter ist. Wie eine Eischale oder Fruchtschale bei der Reife platzt, indem die obere Hälfte in die Höhe gehoben wird, ebenso platzte der Baumpilz, und Himmel und Erde, die ursprünglich eine zusammenhängende „Eischale" bildeten, trennten sich voneinander. Die Vorstellung, daß der Himmel etwas der Erde Verwandtes, ihr Gleichartiges ist, spiegelt das Rätsel wider:

Was ist das: *bengabagaba be kiai bebai*
Große Flächen von Blättern, zwei.

Antwort: *sɪ, ya dɛ́ɔ́b*
Erde und Himmel.

Der Inhalt des „Eies", auf das vergleichsweise immer wieder hingewiesen wird, bestand aus allen uns sichtbaren Dingen, die also gleichzeitig geboren sind, aus Sonne und Gestirnen, Bäumen, Bergen, Flüssen, Tieren und der Urmutter Alonkok [2]). Von Tieren sind indessen nur die wilden Tiere gemeint, Haustiere hat es bei der Geburt der Erde noch nicht gegeben. Wichtig ist in diesem Berichte die Erzählung vom Ursprung des Blitzes. Der Blitz ist nämlich auch in dem Ei gewesen, nur in einem besonderen kleineren, das in dem großen Ei eingeschlossen war. Von ihm hat Alonkok das Feuer, das sie dann auf ihre Nachkommen übertrug, und das Nsambe erst den Menschen gegeben hat.

---

[1]) *nkǫ́k* = niederliegender Baumstamm.
[2]) Die vorher doch das Ei selbst sein sollte.

Als nun aber der Blitz sich eines guten Tages seiner Fesseln entledigte und Alonkok gefährlich wurde, verbot sie ihm den Aufenthalt auf der Erde und verwies ihn an den Himmel, was ihr weiter keinen Kummer machte, da sie ja nun die Hauptsache, das Feuer, hatte und des Blitzes nicht mehr bedurfte. Vom Himmel aus fährt er nun heute noch manchmal herunter, die Menschen verstecken sich dann nach dem Befehle der Allmutter in ihren Häusern, wohin er nicht kommt; wenn sie sich aber ins Freie wagen und in die Nähe von Bäumen, dann kehren seine alten Untugenden zuweilen wieder, und er tötet die Menschen. Auch Sonne und Mond haben ihren Lauf von der Urmutter vorgeschrieben bekommen, als alles noch im Ei vereinigt war, nachher hatte Alonkok freilich nicht mehr die Macht, den Gestirnen Vorschriften zu machen. Die Sonne ist dazu gesetzt, damit sie den Menschen zu ihrem Tageswerk leuchte; wenn sie erlischt, müssen alle Menschen sterben. Aber auch untergehen muß die Sonne, damit sich die Menschen während der Nacht ausruhen und schlafen, denn Tag und Nacht sollen sich abwechseln nach ewigem Gesetz. Der Mond ist ein Zeichen für die Frauen, da sie bei seiner Geburt (Neumond) Blutfluß bekommen; eher können sie nämlich nicht gebären. So bewirkt der Mond Befruchtung, Geburt, Wachstum und Werden in der Natur, schafft Regen- und Trockenzeit, also den für die Fruchtbarkeit wichtigen Wechsel der Jahreszeiten.

Alonkok gebar nun Zwillinge (von wem, wird nicht gesagt), den Nkombodo und die Odangemekó [1]). Beide scheinen aber noch nicht menschlich gestaltet gewesen zu sein. Diese beiden gebaren wieder Zwillinge verschiedenen Geschlechts, Maböge und eine ungenannte Schwester, beide zeugten den Nsambe und eine Tochter, deren Namen ebenfalls nicht verraten wird. Diese beiden sind die Erzeuger des Menschengeschlechts.

Alonkok hatte alle Nahrungspflanzen, wie Erdnuß usw., in einem Körbchen dem Nkombodo überliefert, der sie auch aß; einen Namen hatten sie aber noch nicht, man nannte sie einfach *bidzi* = Essen; auch kannte Nkombodo noch nicht die Verwertung der Tiere des Waldes, die alle ebenfalls ohne Namen waren. Durch Nkombodo ist dann alles auf Maböge und Nsambe gekommen, und letzterer hat allen Tieren Namen gegeben. Die Tiere, die vorher beisammen waren wie in einem großen Gefäß, zerstreuten sich und liefen unter Nsambes Regierung in den Busch, und Nsambe mühte sich vergeblich ab, sie wieder einzufangen. Nur zwei bekam er wieder, Ziege und Schaf. Bei seiner Jagd

[1]) Nkombodo zusammengesetzt aus *nkó* = Hügel, *mbodo(k)* = Morast, als Personen aufgefaßt (Nko vom Vater Mbodo) ist *mbodo(k)* = der Ältere, *nkō* = Hügel, der jüngere; Odangemeko von *odóń* = übertreffen, *mekō* = Hügel, etwas, was die Hügel übertrifft, also große Berge.

auf die Tiere beobachtete er, daß ein Tier ihm stets folgte und ihm schließlich ins Dorf und ins Versammlungshaus nachkam; selbst, wenn er es schlug, kam es wieder. Da sagte er: „O, du gehst nicht wieder in den Busch, du bist der Hund!" Es wird angenommen, daß die Haustiere vor dem Einfangen anders aussahen und Wildtieren verwandter Gattungen glichen, so das Huhn dem Frankolin, **Francolinus squamatus** Cass. *(ogbwä')* [1]). Dieses kam eines Tages ins Haus, stieß den Teller mit Ngonkernen um und wollte den Ngon fressen, und wenn die Frau Nsambes es zu verscheuchen suchte, kam es doch wieder. Da nannten sie es Huhn, und seit dieser Zeit ging das Huhn nicht mehr in den Busch und bekam ein anderes Aussehen, gerade so wie es jetzt ist.

Derselbe Entwicklungsgedanke findet sich in einer anderen Sage, deren Anfang ich hier mitteile:

„Ekoko-akok (das ist Pilzerde) gebar Kada (Taschenkrebs), Kada gebar Madschib (Wasser), Madschib gebar Nko (Hügel), Nko gebar Nschúm-ngo-bewine (Name unerklärlich) und dieser gebar Esamanyamaböge."

Das soll heißen: Im Anfang war die Pilzerde, d. h. die organische Erde da, die Masse, welche die am niedrigsten organisierten Pflanzen enthält, mit anderen Worten: In der Erde lag der Keim zu der Entwicklung. Nun wurde zuerst Morast, ausgedrückt durch das Bild des Taschenkrebses *(kada)*, ein Tier, das bekanntlich im Wasser und auf der Erde zugleich lebt. Dann schied sich Wasser *(madźib)* vom festen Lande *(nkö)*. Die erste Lesart (S. 15) sagt dasselbe, wenn auch mit anderen Worten und nicht so deutlich: Zuerst war der Urstoff (Ei), in ihm der Keim (Baumpilz) [2]), aus dem Morast und festes Land (Nkombodo), dazu die Gebirge (Odangemeko), zuletzt, mehr menschlich gedacht, Maböge und Nsambe entstanden, von denen anfangs gesagt wurde, daß Maböge der Ältere (Geist), Nsambe der Jüngere, schon vollkommen menschlich gedachte (Gott) sei, die hier in der zweiten Lesart zu einer einzigen Person — Essamnyamaböge — verschmolzen wird.

Jedenfalls geht aus diesen Sagen hervor, daß Nsambe, wenn auch nicht der Schöpfer der Urmaterie, so doch der Sammler, Entwickler und Erhalter alles dessen ist, was er übernahm. Und seine Erbschaft war ja nur, von dem Widerspruch in der ersten Lesart abgesehen, Erde, Morast und Wasser, vielleicht noch die Anfänge der Entwicklung. Wenn Nsambe also weiter entwickelt und Menschen und Tiere (hauptsächlich sind die höheren und höchsten genannt) „gebiert", so ist er doch im Grunde der Schöpfer aller Dinge, wie wir

[1]) Diese Frankolinart sieht dem Haushuhn tatsächlich recht ähnlich.

[2]) Daher auch zuerst die Angabe, Nkombodo sei das Ei (Urstoff) selbst, später: sie sei in dem Ei.

sie heute sehen, der Beherrscher des Himmels und der Erden. Von seiner Frau ist selten die Rede [1]). Wie wir aus der ersten Sage gesehen haben, soll von der Urmutter her stets ein Sohn und eine Tochter geboren sein, die dann die Nachfolgenden zeugten. Die — als Inzucht — verbotene geschlechtliche Vereinigung von Bruder und Schwester — im Pangwesinne gilt das auch von Sippengenossen — heißt einfach *zāma III* = Nsambe (Gott) oder *zāmadə̄ḷə̄ III*, *a bō zāma* = machen wie Gott, und hört erst mit dem Menschen auf, dem Nsambe eine Frau gibt. In allen von mir gesammelten Sagen gebiert Nsambe den Menschen, der deshalb *mode-zāma* (Mensch = *mōt* von Gott, d. h. Mensch [Sohn] Gottes) heißt, und danach alles andere, vor allem die Pygmäen und andere Negervölker, Menschenaffen, den Gorilla *(ngɟ-zama)*, den Schimpansen *(woá-zama)*, den Elefant *(ɛ́ó[k] a zama)*, die Schlange und wie sie alle heißen mögen.

Largeau führt neben dieser Zeugung des Menschen noch eine Schöpfung an. Es heißt bei ihm (S. 211): Dieu créa l'homme avec de l'argile; il prit de l'argile et créa l'homme avec. — Ce fut l'origine de l'homme; il le commença sous la forme d'un lézard. Ce lézard, il le mit, au bout de cinq jours, dans un bassin d'eau. — Les cinq jours passés, il le porta dans l'eau du bassin, et l'y laissa; il y resta sept jours. Le huitième jour, il l'alla voir, et lui cria: — Sors! Il sortit, il était homme!...

Noch merkwürdiger ist eine Schöpfungssage, die Trilles in der bereits genannten Arbeit [2]) wiedergibt. Nachdem der dreieinige Gott aus dem Nichts Erde und Himmel, Tiere und Pflanzen durch seinen Hauch geschaffen, ruft Nsambe seine beiden Kräfte „Mébère" und „Nkwa":

„et leur montra son œuvre.
— Ce que j'ai fait, est-il bien, leur demanda-t-il?
— Oui, tu as bien fait, telle fut leur réponse.
— Reste-t-il encore quelque autre chose à faire.

Et Mébère et Nkwa lui répondirent:

‚Nous voyons beaucoup d'animaux, mais nous ne voyons pas leur chef; nous voyons beaucoup de plantes, mais nous ne voyons pas leur maître?'

Et pour donner un maître à toutes choses, parmi les créatures, il désignèrent l'éléphant, car il avait la sagesse, le tigre, car il avait la force et la ruse, le singe, car il avait la malice et la souplesse.

---

[1]) Largeau führt als ihren Namen Oyem-Mame an, was auf deutsch heißt: die Erfahrung: *a yem mām* = alle Sachen wissen.

[2]) Bulletin de la Société Neuchateloise de Géographie, Tom XVI 1905, S. 130 ff.

Mais Nzame voulut faire mieux encore, et à eux trois, ils firent une créature presque semblable à eux: l'un lui donna la force, l'autre la puissance, le troisième la beauté.

Puis, eux trois:

‚Prends la terre, lui dirent ils, tu es désormais le maître de tout ce qui existe. Comme nous, tu as la vie, toutes choses te sont soumises, tu es le maître.'

Nzame, Mébère et Nkwa remontèrent en haut dans leur demeure, la nouvelle créature resta seule ici-bas et tout lui obéissit."

Und weiter: „Nzame, Mébère et Nkwa avaient nommé le premier homme Fam, ce qui veut dire la force [1])."

In derselben Sage wird dann weiter berichtet, daß der so geschaffene Fam übermütig wird, Nsambe daraufhin den Blitz ruft und mit ihm die Erde anzündet und verbrennt. Fam, den Nsambe seinem Versprechen gemäß nicht hatte sterben lassen, ist seitdem verschollen. Bei der späteren Neuschöpfung wird alles aus einem Baum entwickelt, dessen Blätter, zur Erde gefallen, ein Säugetier, ins Wasser gefallen, einen Fisch ergeben usw. Dann wird ein neuer Mensch geschaffen, namens „Sékoumé", der sich dann auf Anraten Nsambes eine Frau macht.

Schon bald nach dem Auftreten des Menschen setzt eine Entfremdung zwischen Nsambe und seinen Söhnen ein, indem er sie plötzlich verläßt und „ein Stück weiter" fortzieht, aus Gründen, die niemals näher bezeichnet sind, so daß dieser Schritt fast wie ein Akt reiner Willkür von seiten Nsambes erscheint. So plötzlich und heimlich geschieht dieser Fortzug, daß sich eines schönen Tages seine Söhne ganz verlassen und ohne irgendwelche Nahrungsmittel sehen, so daß der Mensch seine Brüder als Abgesandte zu Nsambe schicken muß, die die fehlenden Dinge, vor allem Essen und Feuer, holen sollen. Anderswo hören wir, daß Nsambe mit den übrigen Söhnen (Tieren) und allen seinen Sachen fortgezogen sei und, als er sich an seine Vater- und Ernährerpflichten erinnert, diese Söhne beauftragt, dem Menschen Nachricht von ihm zu geben und das Feuer usw. zurückzubringen. Beide Fälle kommen insofern auf dasselbe hinaus, als sie die Quelle mehrfachen Ungehorsams und zahlreicher Mißhelligkeiten sind, von denen die schlimmste den völligen Bruch mit Gott herbeiführt.

Doch hören wir den Erzähler, einen Mann aus der Familie Ngbue vom mittleren Woddo, selbst:

„Essamniamaböge hatte nun sieben Söhne, der erste hieß Mode a Sama (*mət* = Mensch), der zweite Küi a Sama (*küi* = Pygmäe), der dritte Ngi Sama (*ngɨ* = Gorilla), der vierte Oaa Sama (*wɔá* = Schimpanse), der fünfte Scho a

[1]) Fam heißt hier natürlich nichts weiter als „Mann" (*fàm*).

Sama (*fǫ̀k* = Elefant), der sechste Ekute oder Akute Sama (*akû!* = dumm) und der siebente Ngomwénio (Name nicht zu erklären) [1]).

Eines Nachts ging Nsambe heimlich an einen anderen Platz und ließ alle seine Söhne ohne irgendwelche Mittel zurück, sie hatten weder Feuer noch Essen, noch Kleidung. Am anderen Morgen herrschte große Trauer, und die Söhne sagten: ‚O, was sollen wir tun, so ganz ohne Feuer, ohne Essen, ohne irgend etwas?' Da sagte Mode a Sama zu Oaa Sama: ‚Folge du unserem Vater und bringe uns sobald als möglich Nachricht!' Da ging Oaa fort, aber kaum war er in den Wald gekommen, da sagte er zu sich: ‚Ach, ich bin so hungrig!', und als er die Kardamomfrüchte [2]) sah, aß er sie auf. Aber bald ging er weiter und weiter, und als von seinem Vater noch immer keine Spur zu sehen war, da wurde er des Gehens müde, er bog seitlich vom Wege ab, kletterte auf einen Schirmbaum, errichtete sich dort ein Lager aus Zweigen und vergaß Vater und Brüder. Am anderen Tage, als der Oaa nicht wiederkam, sagte Mode zum Ngi: „Folge du dem Vater und Oaa, gehe schnell und bringe uns Nachricht!" Ngi machte es aber ebenso, kaum sah er die Kardamomfrüchte, da sagte er: ‚Was, zwei Tage bin ich ohne Essen und *ngbàb*!'" (lautnachahmend), er riß die Frucht ab und verzehrte sie. Als er auf seinem Weitermarsche an ein Wasser kam und auch da seinen Vater nicht sah, ging er in den Busch unter die Zweige und ließ Sama und Brüder Sama und Brüder sein. Den andern Morgen sagte Mode: ‚O, Oaa und Ngi sind fortgegangen und nicht wiedergekommen, Schok, gehe du und folge ihnen!' Da machte Schok sich auf den Weg. Er war aber noch nicht weit über die Stellen, wo Oaa und Ngi den Weg verlassen, hinausgekommen, als ihm die roten Früchte der Ölpalme ins Auge fielen. Natürlich hatte er nichts Eiligeres zu tun, als diese zu pflücken und aufzuessen. Etwas weiter kam er an eine lichte Stelle, wo es viele Cissusranken (*pfoafǫ̀k*) gab, er aß die Blätter und, da sie ihm schmeckten, verließ er den Weg, der zu Nsambe führte, und schlug sich in die Büsche. Am nächsten Tage sagte Mode zum Kûi: ‚O, Schok kommt auch nicht wieder; ich weiß nicht, was das zu bedeuten hat. Ob er den Weg verloren hat oder bloß seinem eigenen Triebe gefolgt ist, ich weiß es nicht! Nun gehe du und rufe Schok und die Brüder zurück mitsamt unserem Vater Nsambe!' Da nahm Kûi Flitzbogen und Gewehr und machte sich auf den Weg. Im Walde sah er die Fährte eines Quastenstachlers — sofort machte er eine Falle und ging dann weiter. Gleich darauf sah er ein Rotbaucheichhörnchen [3]) — *ngbwòm* (lautnachahmend), der Pfeil schwirrte

---

[1]) Akute und Ngomwenio sind wahrscheinlich Stammväter anderer Negervölker (vielleicht der Küstenvölker usw.).

[2]) Früchte des **Aframomum** (Fr.: *esàn*), Hauptnahrung der Menschenaffen.

[3]) **Sciurus rufobrachiatus** Aubryi *ongi*.

von der Armbrust, und das Eichhörnchen stürzte herunter. Dann ging er weiter. Da sah er eine rotschwänzige Meerkatze *(ołók)* und schoß sie. Hocherfreut kehrte er nun mit seiner Beute zu Mode zurück und sagte: ‚Ich habe schon viele schöne Tiere geschossen!' Mode aber erwiderte ärgerlich: ‚O, bist du denn nicht gescheit, du folgst den Tieren und nicht unserem Vater; was soll ich denn mit all den Tieren? Morgen gehst du nochmal und bekümmerst dich nicht um das Wild, sondern suchst den Vater zu finden!' Am anderen Tage brach denn auch Kûi mit den besten Vorsätzen auf, aber nicht lange, so lief eine Antilope über den Weg, die er doch schießen mußte, und dann gab es so viele Eichhörnchen, Meerkatzen und Vögel im Busch, und zuletzt sah er ein großes Schwein. Alles erlegte Kûi. Erst spät in der Nacht kehrte er, unter seiner schweren Beute keuchend, nach Hause zurück. ‚Wie,' fragte ihn Mode, ‚hast du unseren Vater gesehen?' — ‚Nein,' meinte Kûi, ‚aber ich schoß viele Tiere unterwegs, die ich dir hier mitgebracht habe.' Da sagte Mode: ‚O, du bist ganz verlassen, warum bist du nicht weiter gegangen? Dich kann man keinen Mann mehr nennen, du heißt mit Recht Kûi (Stamm *ku* = bedeckt, *akut* = dumm, verrückt; *ekû,r wpó* = alleinstehende (verrückte) Schimpansen). Am anderen Tage sagte Mode zu Ngomwenio: ‚Gehe du meinen Vater suchen, mache es aber nicht so wie Kûi und die anderen, sondern folge nur deinem Vater!' Ngomwenio ging denn mit seinem Gewehr los, aber auch er machte es ebenso wie Kûi, sah er Eichhörnchen, schoß er sie, sah er Meerkatzen, verfolgte er sie und schoß sie, auch die Antilopen jagte er. Dann ging er mit seiner Beute nach Hause zurück und sagte seinem Bruder: ‚O, ich sah so viele Tiere im Busch, es war unmöglich, unter diesen Umständen vorüberzugehen.' Da rief Mode a Sama: ‚Du dummer Mensch, du bleibst nun auch hier, du bist ebenso wenig wert wie dein Bruder!' Darum heißt du nun auch Ngomwenio' — denn Ngomwenio hatte früher den Namen Bebange be Sama und Kûi den Namen Mba a Sama, und nur ihre Torheit hat ihnen die jetzigen Namen verschafft. — Schließlich machte Mode einen letzten Versuch mit Ekute und sagte ihm: ‚Ekute, gehe du nun; wirst du es aber auch nicht ebenso machen wie die anderen?' Ekute versicherte ihm, genau nach Modes Weisung zu handeln und brach auf. Bald kam er denn an das Wasser, da lief er schleunigst hinein und badete sich ordentlich, dann legte er sich an die Sonne, ließ sich von ihr trocknen und sagte: ‚Ach, wie schön ist es hier an der Sonne!', denn er verspürte wenig Lust, ins Ungewisse weiterzugehen. Doch schließlich raffte er sich auf, schritt vorwärts und kam an einen Fruchtbaum, **Trichoscypha** *(andółgm)*. Sofort kletterte er hinauf und aß und aß, bis er nicht mehr konnte. Dann baute er sich schnell Körbe aus Sarcophrynium-Stengelstreifen *(ndenán)* und füllte die Körbe bis an den Rand mit der erfrischenden Speise und packte

sich auf, soviel er eben tragen konnte, sogar Zweige mit Früchten nahm er in die Hand und kam so beladen wieder bei Mode an. Aber nun war Modes Geduld zu Ende, er nahm einen Prügel, verhaute Ekute jämmerlich und sagte: ‚So, morgen gehst du nun nochmals!' Da ging Ekute wieder und kam ziemlich weit, bis er an eine Plantenfarm gelangte. Natürlich hatte er nichts anderes zu tun, als die bereits reifen Planten abzuschlagen, zehn große Fruchttrauben lagen in einer Reihe vor ihm. Die nahm er auf den Rücken, ging zu Mode zurück und sagte: ‚Das Essen, nach dem du mich ausgeschickt hast, es ist hier!' Da rief Mode entrüstet: ‚O, nicht auf Essen schickte ich dich aus, sondern um unseren Vater zu suchen, wir haben hier ja kein Feuer und nichts! Was sollen wir mit dem Essen so anfangen? Sahst du denn den Vater nicht?' Ekute antwortete: ‚Nein, aber morgen werde ich wieder gehen! Vielleicht sehe ich ihn dann!' Am nächsten Morgen brach also Ekute zum dritten Male auf, und Mode sagte ihm noch einmal: ‚Sieh, lieber Bruder, wir sind nun schon acht Tage in so jämmerlicher Lage und heute ist der neunte! Nun mußt du auch rasch zugehen, dich nicht aufhalten und unterwegs nichts anderes treiben.' Ekute versprach auch alles und ging. Er war schon eine tüchtige Strecke gegangen, als ihn ein Baum mit noch viel prächtigeren Früchten als die Trichoscypha vom vorigen Tage ins Auge fiel; es war **Trichoscypha** spec, eine andere Art. Da sagte Ekute: ‚Ja, ihr seid die Richtigen!' Schon ist er oben und pflückt und ißt. Andere Früchte packt er sich auf den Rücken und geht weiter. Da kam er an ein zweites größeres Flüßchen, worin viele, viele Welse schwammen. Sofort sperrte er das Wasser durch ein Wehr ab und scheuchte die Fische in Körbe, die er darin angebracht hatte. Das machte ihm großes Vergnügen, und er fing so eine ganze Menge Fische, aber immer mehr wollte er haben, bis er schließlich merkte, daß die Sonne schon längst gesunken war und die Nacht hereinbrach. Da meinte er: ‚O, was soll ich so in der Nacht noch weitergehen, ich werde umkehren, morgen ist ja auch noch ein Tag!' So nahm er Früchte und Fische und kehrte nach Hause zurück. ‚Bist du geradeaus gegangen, um den Vater zu finden?' fragte ihn Mode. Darauf Ekute: ‚Mein Bruder, so schöne Trichoscypha-Früchte habe ich unterwegs gefunden, man konnte doch unmöglich vorübergehen, und dann im Wasser! Diese Unmenge Fische! Wenn da einige Weiber zum Fischen gehen würden, ich glaube, sie könnten zehn Körbe voll fangen!' Mode aber sagte: ‚Wirklich, es nimmt mich nicht wunder, daß dich dein Vater Ekute genannt hat *(akół* = dumm), dreimal sandte ich dich aus, und immer bist du zurückgekommen ohne unseren Vater! Bleib hier, morgen werde ich selbst gehen.' Am frühen Morgen schon stand Mode auf und sagte zu seinen drei Brüdern: ‚Ihr bleibt hier zu Hause und wartet auf mich!' Dann nahm er selbst Messer und Speer und schritt eilig

voran. Am ersten Wasser trank er nur und ging sofort weiter, am zweiten Wasser nahm er Fischkörbe und fing vier Welse, die er auf ein Tau reihte. Dann ging er weiter. Nach langem Wandern kam er an eine Zuckerrohrfarm, wo er ein Stück Rohr abschlug und aß, dann kam er an Maisfarmen vorbei und nahm sich zwei Maiskolben mit. Nicht viel weiter, da hörte Mode auch schon menschliche Stimmen, und gleich darauf tat sich ihm ein großes, großes Dorf auf, wo er zu seiner Freude im Versammlungshause seinen Vater fand. Nsambe rief erstaunt aus: ‚Wie kommst du denn hierher?' Da erwiderte Mode: ‚Ja, ich habe alle meine Brüder der Reihe nach zu dir ausgeschickt, aber keiner ist hier gewesen. Alle waren zu dumm, und Oaa, Ngi und Schok sind überhaupt nicht wiedergekommen!' Hierauf lobte ihn sein Vater und sprach: ‚Ich merke, daß du der beste meiner Söhne bist, und ich sehe dich groß [1]), weil du meinen Platz gefunden hast!' Da nahm er dem Sohne den Mais ab und gab ihn den Leuten in seinem Dorfe, daß sie ihn für Mode auf dem Feuer rösteten. Der sagte: ‚Sieh, welch ein schönes Essen! Mein Vater, wir zu Hause haben gar nichts, kein Feuer, nichts, gib uns doch Feuer!' Nsambe sagte: ‚Ich werde dir alles geben und dir zeigen, wie du tun sollst.' Da nahm er zuerst das Feuer und gab es Mode, dann rief er ihn in das Haus, wo er seine Vorräte aufbewahrte. Hier nahm er zwei Korbteller, tat Ngon in den einen und Erdnüsse in den anderen."

Und so gibt Nsambe dem Mode alle Nutzpflanzen: Plante, Banane, Kassave, Pfeffer usw. und belehrt ihn über deren Anpflanzung, ferner zeigt Nsambe, wie man die Früchte des Waldes, insbesondere die **Irvingia**, genießt, „Wenn sie auch zuerst verdorben sind, weil ihr sie nicht kanntet, so wisse jetzt, daß du die Schale aufbrechen und den Kern essen mußt." Des weiteren gibt er Mode alle Handwerkszeuge, unterweist ihn in den Handwerken, im Spiel und Ringkampf. Vom Schwert sagt Nsambe: „So ein Schwert, wie ich dir gebe, mußt du dir schmieden, und wenn du zu dem Mädchen gehst, das du liebst, und einer beschimpft dich, so schlage ihn damit. Und wenn ein anderer Mann dir dein Mädchen stiehlt, um es selbst zu heiraten, so folge ihm und töte ihn, es macht nichts, denn du bist im Recht. Das Schwert (d. h. der Streit und Kampf) wird ewig dauern."

Aber nicht alle Gaben Nsambes waren dem Menschen angenehm und nützlich, es gab darunter auch solche von recht zweifelhaftem Wert, Sachen, die man lieber nicht schenken sollte. Von solchen Danaergeschenken war die Laus noch gar nicht einmal das schlimmste. — „Diese Sorte wird nicht alle werden," bemerkte Nsambe ebenso treffend wie humorvoll dabei. Aber was soll man dazu sagen, wenn er Lepra und Framboesie und alle anderen Krankheiten seinem Sohne mitgibt und Unfruchtbarkeit für die Weiber?!

Am Schlusse sagt Nsambe: „Und nun geh! Ngi aber und Oaa und Schok, wenn du sie siehst, kannst du töten, denn sie sind nicht mehr deine Brüder,

[1]) Das heißt: ich sehe, daß du ein großer Mann bist.

sondern fortan vogelfrei. Nkûi, Ekute und Ngomwenio — für die paß du auf, denn wenn sie auch verrückt und keine ordentlichen Männer sind, so sind sie doch Menschen, und du mußt dein Geschlecht in ihnen achten und sie nicht töten. Aber ich rechne sie nicht zu den Meinen; du und sie, ihr seid verschiedener Art; du aber mußt dich vermehren und Kinder zeugen, die von gleichem Verstande sind wie du!"

Ist diese Sage auch voll von vielen feinen Zügen und Gedanken, so stört doch der eine Punkt: Wie kommt Nsambe dazu, seine Kinder ohne Grund zu verlassen und nachher aus Dank für die Anhänglichkeit Modes, die freilich aus der Not heraus geboren ist, ihn mit Krankheiten und Elend zu beladen. Anstatt diese Sachen ruhig hinzunehmen, hätte doch Mode seinem Vater das geflügelte Wort entgegenschleudern können:

y oa bo ma tıl e ŝbe„ avŷn avá, enûm evá
(Fragepart). du machst mich Fleisch d. Zibethkatze, Fett hier, Geruch hier.

Machst du mich wie das Fleisch der Zibethkatze, das zugleich schön fett ist und dabei häßlich riecht?

Die einzige begreifliche Erklärung scheint mir nur die zu sein, daß diese unangenehmen Dinge als Strafe für Zuwiderhandlungen gegen Nsambes Gebot ausgeteilt sind. Die erste Zuwiderhandlung gegen das Gebot Nsambes war die erste Sünde. Von der Sünde und der Strafe für sie wird der nächste Teil handeln.

2. Trennung von Gott durch die Sünde.

Die aufgeführten Sagen sprechen bei der Zeugung oder Schöpfung des Menschen nur vom Manne, nicht von der Frau. Über deren Erschaffung gibt es verschiedene Lesarten. Wie bereits mitgeteilt ist, macht sich nach der von Trilles mitgeteilten Sage der Mensch selbst auf Nsambes Anraten eine Frau — ein recht bequemes Verfahren! Äußerst naiv ist auch die Darstellung — wie ich sie hörte —, daß der Mensch einfach seine Brüder ausschickt, ähnlich wie sie auch Feuer und Essen und alle anderen Dinge bringen sollten, um eine Frau, diesen wichtigsten „Gegenstand", von Nsambe zu „holen". Natürlich geht es auch hier nicht ohne Schwierigkeiten und Unfälle ab. Die Erzählung lautet:

„. . . Darauf begab es sich, daß Nsambe fortzog und Ajenne (von *a jèn* = sehen) [1]) seine Sachen übergab. Später schickte Ajenne dem Nsambe die Brüder nach, damit sie ihm eine Frau holten, die Nsambe zu machen oder dazulassen vergessen hatte. Zuerst ging Awûe-Sama *(a vûe* = lachen, also: der immer lachte), dem gab Nsambe in einer Rindenschachtel *(nsôk)* ein Mädchen mit der Weisung, die Schachtel unterwegs nicht zu öffnen. Awûe hörte indessen nicht, machte auf dem Rückweg die Schachtel auf, und das Mädchen entwischte

[1]) Gemeint ist damit nur der Mensch im allgemeinen, weil er „sehend", d. h. in übertragenem Sinne „verständig" ist (Homo sapiens!).

und lief zu Nsambe zurück. Ebenso machten es die anderen beiden Brüder, die Ajenne dann schickte. Als vierter kam Aböbe *(a böbe* = zusehen). Dem gab Nsambe gleich vier Schachteln auf einmal; in eine tat er ein männliches Schaf, dazu ein weibliches und sagte: ‚Diese haben weder Mutter, noch Brüder, noch Schwestern; sie müssen sich bloß begatten, dann werden sie mehr gebären.' So nahm er auch noch den Hund, 'das Huhn, alle Säugetiere und Vögel und alles Getier — von jedem ein männliches und ein weibliches Stück — und tat sie in die drei Schachteln [1]), in die letzte aber steckte er das Mädchen und sagte: ‚Dieses Mädchen dürft ihr nicht heiraten, sondern an einen anderen Mann geben und gegen Geld eintauschen, für das ihr euch ein fremdes Mädchen kauft [2]).' So ging Aböbe mit den Schachteln zu Ajenne zurück; der tat, wie ihm Nsambe befohlen, und tauschte das Mädchen gegen ein anderes um."

Genaueres über die Art der Schöpfung des Weibes gibt uns wieder Largeau in der Encyclopédie Pahouine [3]). Der Gedanke, der hier entwickelt wird, erinnert stark ans Alte Testament.

„Le père (Maböge) lui (Nsambe) demanda: — Te plaît-il de rester là? Il répondit: — Oui; mais je suis toujours seul. Le Père lui dit: — Attends que le jour soit levé. Puis, le jour étant venu, le Père l'appela et lui demanda: — Que préfères-tu? un homme ou une femme? Il répondit: — Ce qu'il te plaira de me donner. Le Père lui commanda: — Couche-toi. Il lui mit le sommeil dans les yeux; il lui arracha le gros orteil; il le tira, il l'arracha. Ensuite il le réveilla: — Enfant! enfant! enfant! trois fois. L'enfant s'etant éveillé, il lui demanda: — Qu'as-tu vu? Il répondit: — Père, je n'ai rien vu. Le Père lui dit: — Viens ici. Il prit une marmite en terre, prit l'orteil et le mit dedans; il ajouta de l'eau, et dit: — Viens voir. Le fils étant venu voir, regarda dans la marmite et y aperçut son gros orteil qui gisait dans l'eau. Il se mit à pleurer, disant: Père, je me meurs! Le père le rassura, disant: — Sois sans crainte! c'est moi, qui t'ai créé; considère que tout est en moi. Puis il lui dit: — Va au jardin; quand tu reviendras, tu trouveras ici ton frère. Puis, le fils étant allé au jardin, trouva que les arbres avaient fructifié. Après quoi étant retourné

---

[1]) Dies erinnert an die Erzählung von der Arche Noahs.

[2]) Woher diese fremde Frau kommt, ist nicht gesagt. Es ist einfach so, als ob es sich nicht um eine „Genesis" handelte, sondern um ein beliebiges Märchen aus Urväters Zeiten, wo es noch viele „andere" Länder gab, die man nicht kannte, und wo man sich gar nicht zu fragen brauchte, woher diese fremden Menschen kämen und wie sie hießen. Ebenso ist es auch in der Bibel (1. Buch Mose 4, Vers 17): „Und Kain erkannte sein Weib".

[3]) V. Largeau, Encyclop. Pahouine, Paris 1901, S. 215 ff.; Maböge entspricht hier Essamnyamaböge und Nsambe dem Mode-Sama.

chez le Père, il lui dit: — Père, les arbres ont fructifié. Il ajouta: Père, je désire aller demeurer là-bas. Le père répondit: — C'est très bien; je le désire également. Le Père lui dit ensuite: — Ouvre cette maison-là, tu y trouveras soit le bien soit le mal, selon ton jugement. Il observa, disant: — Père, comme je m'en allais par le chemin, j'ai vu mon gros orteil qui était à mon pied. Le père commanda: — Maintenant, ouvre la porte. Ayant ouvert la porte, il aperçut une femme et courut s'embrasser avec elle."

Wir haben hier also eine ähnliche Darstellung wie die biblische von der Erschaffung der Frau aus der Rippe des Mannes — die übrigens nach einer im Archiv für Religionswissenschaft ausgesprochenen Meinung versinnbildlichen soll, daß in der Entwicklung der Lebewesen einer Stufe geschlechtlicher Differenzierung eine ungeschlechtliche Periode vorausgegangen ist, nur mit dem äußerlichen Unterschiede, daß die große Zehe an Stelle der Rippe getreten ist.

Eine kurze Zeit lebten nun Mode und seine Frau glücklich zusammen. Sie „lebten", d. h. sie hatten einen Körper, ein Wesen des Körpers und außerdem noch eine Seele, denn ohne eine solche wären sie keine Menschen. Sie waren also gleich Gott, hatten alles, was sie brauchten, von ihm, infolgedessen keinen Wunsch und waren in völliger Übereinstimmung mit ihm. Beide hatten eine Seele, aber eine Seele ohne Inhalt. Nun tritt der große Riß zwischen Gott und den Menschen ein. Der Mensch handelt gegen das Gebot Gottes, er verkehrt — verführt von der Schlange, die Gott geschickt hatte — mit der Frau, und seine Seele bekommt dadurch eine Eigenart, einen Willen, der sich eben gegen Gott und dessen Gebote richtet, er bekommt ein Wesen. Ich nenne also Seelenwesen des Menschen den gegen Gott gerichteten Willen, der Gottes Gebote nicht befolgt, also Sünde tut. Als Strafe für die Sünde setzt nun Nsambe den Tod. Und diese ungeheure Strafe bringt den Menschen dazu, sich zu entschuldigen und zu sagen: Ich habe nicht die Sünde begangen, für die Gott mich straft, sondern da alles in der Welt von Gott ist, so hat er meiner Seele auch das Wesen, den bösen Willen gegeben, denn er hat die Schlange geschickt, die mich zu der Tat verführt hat. Die Schlange aber ist selbst ein Teil Gottes, denn er hat sie geboren wie alles andere. Auch in der übrigen von Gott geschaffenen Natur sehe ich jetzt tatsächlich Gutes und Böses (Tag und Nacht, Leben und Sterben) [1]). Was Gott uns also als *nsöm*

[1]) Bei den Andamanesen ist nach einer Sage die Nacht und später der Wechsel von Tag und Nacht eine Folge der Sünde des Menschen. P. W. Schmidt sagt darüber in „Die Stellung der Pygmäenvölker in der Entwicklungsgeschichte des Menschen" S. 202: „Nach dieser (d. h. der Mythe, die der Forscher E. H. Man mitteilt, Anmerk. des Verfassers) habe zuerst nur

(Sünde) angerechnet hat, nennen wir Wille Gottes. Wenn wir also Sünde tun, so tun wir den Willen Gottes.

Diese zur Entschuldigung zurechtgemachte Auffassung hält im täglichen Leben nicht stand, denn der Pangwe fühlt sehr wohl, daß Geschlechtsverkehr, heimlicher Mord (= Zauberei) u. a. Sünde gegen Gott ist. Aber da, wo der Mensch ihm in feierlichem Gottesdienst (Kult) gegenübertritt, ihm, von dem die Strafe in Gestalt des Todes gekommen ist und immer wieder kommt, da betont er immer von neuem seine Unschuld und stellt sich als Opfer des Willens Gottes, nicht als Opfer der eigenen Sünde hin.

Das Wort *nsöm* der Pangwe bedeutet im gewöhnlichen Leben „Sünde", d. h. Ungehorsam gegen Gott, in den Kulten Gehorsam gegen Gott.

Die Sagen von der ersten Sünde weichen voneinander ab, die von mir gefundene, die mir die ursprünglichste (ursprünglicher noch als die sonst recht ähnliche Lesart der Bibel) zu sein scheint, ist folgende:

Die Geschichte ist mir von einem Mann aus der Familie Essangbuak erzählt worden; er will sie von seinem Vater haben, der sie wieder von seinem Großvater überliefert bekommen hat. Sie lautet: „Ekoko-Akok (das ist Pilzerde) lebte und gebar Kada (Taschenkrebs), Kada lebte und gebar Mandschib (Wasser), Mandschib lebte und gebar Nko (Hügel), Nko lebte und gebar Nschum-Ngo-Bewine (Name unerklärlich). Dieser lebte und gebar Essamnyamaböge (Gott).

---

beständig die Sonne geschienen. Wegen der Freveltat zweier Frauen ließ Puluga (das ist Gott, Anm. des Verf.) eine Zeitlang die Sonne aufhören zu scheinen, so daß beständig Dunkelheit herrschte. Kolwot, der damalige Häuptling der Menschen, stellte sich so, als mache das für die Menschen gar nichts aus und bringe ihnen keinerlei Schaden, er erfand damals Gesang und Tanz, um sich in der Dunkelheit zu belustigen. Puluga meinte, daß seine Absicht, die Menschen durch den Schaden der Finsternis zu strafen, nicht erfüllt werde; er ließ nun abwechselnd Sonne scheinen und Finsternis herrschen und erschuf später für die letztere auch den Mond", und weiter unten: „E. H. Man fügt seiner Erzählung der oben angeführten ersten Mythe die Bemerkung bei, daß die Andamanesen durch dieselbe die Tatsache erklären, daß das Wort für eine gewisse Raupenart und Nacht das gleiche sei; die Frauen, zu deren Bestrafung Puluga die Nacht schickte, hatten nämlich eine solche Raupe rücksichtslos behandelt." Es ist mir wahrscheinlich, daß unter der „Freveltat" der Frauen, die „eine Raupe rücksichtslos behandelten" (!), der Geschlechtsverkehr zu verstehen ist, denn aus dem Wortspiel zwischen Raupe und Nacht geht schon hervor, daß jene nur als Bild gewählt ist, mit dem man die Freveltat umschreibt. Vielleicht soll es heißen: Die Frauen haben sich mit einer Raupe (d. h. dem männlichen Gliede) abgegeben, also geschlechtlich verkehrt. Die Raupe „gewisser Art" — gewiß eine fußlose Käferlarve oder etwas Ähnliches — entspräche dann der Schlange in den Sagen anderer Völker (vgl. S. 32).

Esamnyamaböge aber hatte vier Söhne, den Mode Sama (Mensch), den Ngi Sama (Gorilla), den Oaa Sama (Schimpanse) und Otöng Sama (Schlange). Eines Tages zog er mit Ngi, Oaa und Otöng und allen seinen Sachen fort und ließ Mode Sama mit einer Frau zurück. Beim Fortgang sagte er zu Mode: ‚Du bleibst hier, ich gehe nicht weit fort und komme wieder. Inzwischen gehab dich wohl, vor allem darfst du aber die eine Frucht nicht essen, die *ebǫ̂n* heißt' (Wortspiel zwischen *ebǫ̂n* = Frucht von **Mimusops djave** (Lan.) Engl. und *ebǫ̂n* = weibliches Organ). Dann zog Sama mit den anderen Söhnen ein ganzes Stück weiter; an seinem neuen Aufenthaltsorte erinnerte er sich, daß er Mode nichts dagelassen hatte, er sagte also Ngi: ‚Nimm diese Feldfrüchte, Mais, Maniok, Erdnüsse und alles andere und vor allem das Feuer und gib es Mode.' Da nahm Ngi die Sachen und ging. Als er in den Busch kam und die Früchte des Kardamoms (Aframomum) sah, legte er die Sachen auf die Erde und begann die Früchte aufzuessen. Schließlich verlosch nun das Feuer und Ngi sagte zu sich: ‚O, was soll ich nun noch nach Mode gehen, ich habe ja längst Essen hier im Busch.' Darauf ist er nicht wiedergekommen. Als Ngi so ausblieb, sagte Sama zu Oaa: ‚Nimm du die Sachen und das Feuer und bringe sie Mode!' Oaa nahm die Sachen auch und versprach alles auszuführen; als er aber an die Stellen im Urwald kam, wo es Früchte gab, machte er es ebenso wie Ngi und kam auch nicht wieder. Da sandte Sama Otöng, die Schlange. Anstatt aber Mode die Sachen zu geben, wie Sama ihr befohlen hatte, sagte sie zu Mode: ‚Du mußt die Frucht essen, die *ebǫ̂n* heißt.' Dann ging die Schlange zurück zu Sama und sagte ihm: ‚Ich habe nun Mode gesagt, er soll die Frucht *ebǫ̂n* essen!' Da rief Sama: ‚Wie, was habe ich dir gesagt?' und stieß die Schlange von sich (*a šogelo* = fortstoßen, wegschubsen), die in den Busch ging, dann machte er sich auf und ging in das Dorf zu Mode. Kaum sahen Mode und das Weib ihn kommen, als sie wegliefen und sich hinter Bananen versteckten, der Mann hier, die Frau auf jener Seite. Da rief Sama: ‚Warum fliehest du vor mir, hast du die Frucht *ebǫ̂n* gegessen, die ich dir verboten hatte?' Da sagte Mode aus dem Versteck heraus: ‚Ich fürchte mich aber zu kommen.' Sama erwiderte: ‚Warum hast du mein Gebot übertreten, ich sagte dir doch, ich selbst würde euch die Zeit geben!' Zum Weibe sagte er aber: ‚Und dir sage ich, du wirst Menschen gebären, aber die eine Hälfte wird sterben und die andere wird leben' (das ist Geburt und Tod). Und zum Mode sagte er: ‚Dir sage ich, damit du allein es wissen sollst, ich bleibe nicht hier, und wenn du mich vergeblich suchst, so wisse: ich bin über das Meer gegangen, und auch dort suche mich nicht, denn ich bin auf zum Himmel gegangen! Deine Kinder aber werden dies nicht wissen.' (Sinn unklar, vielleicht ist gemeint, daß sie Gott nicht kennen werden; *a jèm* = wissen, kennen, lieben.)

Darauf ging Sama fort. Das Weib aber gebar Kinder, und die ersten waren die Esseng (Sippe der Ntum).

Und daher, sagte der Wiedererzähler, ein Esseng, haben wir Schwarzen die Scham!" [1])

Eine zweite Form, die deshalb besonders wichtig ist, weil hier die Vereinigung beider Geschlechter unverblümt beschrieben und dabei ein *nsöm*, eine Sünde, genannt wird, bringt Largeau in der Fortsetzung der Schöpfungsgeschichte:

... Comme la femme créée était dans le village, le serpent boa (mvom) survint et dit à cette femme: — Que fais-tu là! Elle répondit: — J'habite avec mon mari. — Vous restez dans la brousse, pourquoi? la femme répondit: — Le Père de mon mari a ordonné que nous restions ici. — En restant ici que faites-vous? — Je ne sais pas. Il ajouta: — C'est pour cela que tu es malheureuse: tu ne sais pas qu'il vous défend cela, parce que en allant avec lui, dans le même lieu, alors vous connaîtriez toutes choses comme lui.

Le mari, de retour, demande à la femme ce qu'elle avait? Elle répondit: — C'est bon. La nuit étant venue, la femme dit: — Couchons dans le même lit. Se mari répondit: — C'est bien! Au lever du jour l'homme lui demanda: — Tous les jours nous étions ici sans que tu dises: — Couchons dans le même lit; comment se fait-il qu'aujourd'hui cependant nous couchons?

Ensuite, le jour s'étant levé, Nzame se rendit auprès de Mebeghe l'Ordonnateur de toutes choses, et lui dit: — Père, chaque jour ma femme me dit: — Couchons dans le même lit! Le Père lui demanda: — Que réponds-tu? Il dit: je réponds: — C'est bien; c'est pour cela que je suis venu pour te demander ce que je dois faire. Le Père lui dit: — Toute chose, bonne ou mauvaise, est en toi. Le Père continua ainsi: — Si c'est la femme que tu écoutes, alors tu seras éternellement malheureux; si, au contraire, c'est moi que tu écoutes, alors tu seras éternellement heureux. Il lui dit enfin: — Va! as-tu compris? Le

---

[1]) Es ist hier nicht der Platz, eine Ansicht zurückzuweisen, welche verschiedentlich aufgetaucht ist, nämlich die, daß diese Sage erst neueren Ursprungs, etwa von Missionaren eingeführt wäre. Mercker hat in seiner trefflichen und auch für Ethnologen von Fach vorbildlichen Arbeit über die Masai bereits das hohe Alter dieser Sagen bei den Eingeborenen Afrikas nachgewiesen, einen Nachweis, dessen wissenschaftliche Berechtigung ihm auch — wie mir Prof. Dr. K. Th. Preuss liebenswürdigerweise mitteilte — auf dem Religionskongreß in London einstimmig bestätigt ist. Die meisten vergessen immer, daß diese Sagen nicht der ureigene Ausdruck mosaischer Weisheit ist, sondern aus uralten Anschauungen der Menschheit überhaupt hervorgegangen sind.

[2]) V. Largeau, Encyclopédie Pahouine, Paris 1901, S. 174 ff.

fils supplia: — Père, dis-moi une bonne parole. Il répondit: — Je n'ai pas autre chose à te dire.

Ensuite, s'étant acheminé vers l'entrée du village, le fils rencontra la femme qui lui demanda: — Tu viens de chez ton père? Il répondit: — Oui. — Quelles nouvelles de chez ton père? Le mari répondit: — Bonnes.

La nuit étant venue, la femme dit: — Allons nous coucher! Le mari répondit: — C'est bien! Et ils vont se coucher dans le même lit. La femme dit alors: — Approche-toi! Le mari s'approche. Elle dit encore à son mari: — Couchons-nous! Le mari répond: — Mais je vois que nous sommes allongés. La femme réplique: — Ce n'est pas comme ça. Le mari dit: — Alors je ne sais pas. La femme insistant dit: — Lève le pied! Le mari ayant alors levé le pied ... ils commirent le péché ... (ane be nga bo e nsem).

Le jour venu, Nzame ayant regardé son pied, vit que le gros orteil manquait, en outre, tous les animaux étaient partis [1]). Il demanda à la femme: — Où est mon orteil! La femme répondit: — Je ne sais pas. Nzame s'étant rendu chez le Père lui dit: — Père, tous les animaux sont partis; regarde mon pied: le gros orteil manque; je ne sais pas ce qu'il est devenu. Le Père lui répondit: — Je t'avais dit: — C'est moi ou la femme que l'homme écoutera; tu as écouté la femme, alors va! sois errant! ...

Ensuite Nzame s'en retourna vers l'entrée du village. La femme lui demanda: — D'où viens-tu? Comme ils étaient dans leur village, un lézard vint, disant: — Tous les hommes mourront, ils seront malades; et il passa. Deux jours après, un caméléon arriva disant (à son tour): — Tous les hommes seront sauvés; ils seront heureux. Restez ici, travaillez jusqu'à ce que vous retourniez vers Mebeghe (Dieu). Je pars, soyez heureux! ...

Die Geschichte von der Eidechse als Überbringerin der schlechten Nachricht und dem Chamäleon als verspätetem Boten, der die gute Nachricht hatte, hörte ich in noch klarerer Form von einem Manne aus Mabō (Essákunan):

„Nsambe hatte zuerst dem Chamäleon den Auftrag gegeben, den Menschen (d. h. den schwarzen) mitzuteilen, es solle niemand sterben, und es solle keine Armut geben und kein Unglück. Das Chamäleon ging auch mit seiner Botschaft zu den Menschen, aber da es — wie jedermann weiß — so langsam geht, kam die Eidechse ihm zuvor, und diese sagte den Schwarzen: ‚Es sollen Menschen sterben zur Hälfte und zur Hälfte geboren werden (Geburt und Tod) und Armut und Reichtum soll es geben' usw., überhaupt brachte sie nur schlechte Nachrichten. Als dann schließlich das Chamäleon mit seiner guten Botschaft kam, war es schon zu spät. Daher sterben die Schwarzen soviel."

Merkwürdigerweise kann man noch feststellen, daß es sich nicht um irgendeine beliebige Eidechse handelt, sondern um eine besondere Art, die **Lygosoma**

---

[1]) welche zuerst in dem Garten des Vaters friedlich mit den Menschen zusammen hausten.

fernandi Burt. *(ebŏmaküküi)*. Freilich heißt die Eidechse im allgemeinen *nśū,ᵉ III, onsŏ* Bulu, und dieser Name kommt auch in den Erzählungen vor, aber *nśū,ᵉ* ist der Sammelname für Lygosoma-Arten überhaupt und ist dann für die in der Nähe menschlicher Stätten häufige **Lygosoma reichenowi** Ptrs. besonders üblich geworden. Daß aber **L. fernandi**, die bedeutend seltener ist, mit dieser Sage in Verbindung gebracht wird, scheint die wahnsinnige Abscheu, welche die Neger von allen Reptilien nur gegen diese Eidechse und das Chamäleon hegen, zu bestätigen; der Name *ebŏmaküküi* bedeutet das Ding, das mich schaudern, vor Angst erbeben macht *(a bo[ń]* = machen, *ma* = mich, *kukui*, Stamm: *ku* = ein unangenehmes, plötzliches Zusammenschrecken, *a kú-t* = plötzlich erzittern) [1]). Angeblich bedeutet es großes Unglück, z. B. einen Todesfall in der Familie, wenn man eine solche Eidechse (**L. fernandi**) sieht. Auch vor dem Chamäleon fürchten sich die Pangwe sehr. Beide sollen — wie Europäer vielfach berichten — von den Pangwe für giftig gehalten werden [2]). In Wirklichkeit wissen die Pangwe sehr gut, daß diese Tiere an sich dem menschlichen Organismus durchaus ungefährlich sind, sie bringen sie nur mythologisch mit dem Tode in Verbindung.

Es ist kein Zufall, daß diese beiden Tiere heute noch jedem Pangwe die unsympathischsten, ekelerregendsten sind, das Chamäleon, weil es zu langsam ging und so schuld an dem Unglück der Menschen ist, die Eidechse, weil sie die Hiobspost brachte [3]).

Der Hauptpunkt in allen Erzählungen ist der, daß der Geschlechtsverkehr durch den „Willen", den Trieb des Menschen herbeigeführt und deshalb eine Sünde ist, und daß der Tod dafür als Strafe verkündet wird.

Wie wird nun der „Wille", der Trieb des Menschen in diesen Sagen dargestellt?

Alle abstrakten Ausdrücke sind ursprünglich von konkreten abgeleitet und werden durch entsprechende bekannte Bilder ausgedrückt: so stellte der Ägypter die Kraft, Energie, unter dem Bilde der Hand bzw. des Armes dar, denn von

---

[1]) Übrigens steckt auch im Namen *nśūe, onsŏ* der berühmte Stamm *so* für Tod.

[2]) Der Pangwe hat — wie viele Neger — keinen Ausdruck für giftig; man sagt für etwas, was mit dem Tode zusammenhängt, also auch giftige Tiere, *awū* (= Sterben).

[3]) Im einzelnen Falle halten viele, besonders abergläubische Leute einen Haarvogel für den Verkünder des Todes, nämlich die **Alethe castanea** Cass. *(akalat,-ŋiofüo)*. Die merkwürdigen Flötentöne seines Doppelrufes (vgl. Bd. I S. 29) werden gedeutet als *ŋiofüo*, entstanden aus *(a) ŋū ſŋi* = wegsterben. Die Alethe entspricht so unserem Steinkauz (Komm mit! Komm mit!).

ihnen geht ja ursprünglich die sichtbare Kraft aus [1]); so stellt der Pangwe den Verstand dar unter dem Bilde des Schädels, denn im Kopfe ist der Sitz der Klugheit und geistigen Eigenschaften [2]). Und so stellte er die Sünde durch den Körperteil dar, mit dem die erste Sünde — der Geschlechtsverkehr — begangen war, nämlich durch das männliche Glied, das wieder durch eine Schlange ersetzt wurde, denn den richtigen Namen zu nennen verbot die Scham, die bei den Pangwe so ausgeprägt ist (vgl. Abschn. XVIII).

Die Schlange ist einfach die Personifizierung des Penis, was auch aus dem Pangwerätsel erhellt:

ebǔ nkǔk, e mine ʃɛ,r

Verdorbener niedergefallener Baumstamm,

wohinein kriecht (sich schiebt) eine Nashornschlange [3]).

Auflösung: Scheide, in die das männliche Glied eingeführt wird.

Daß Glied und Schlange, Phalluskult und Schlangenkult, ursprünglich dasselbe ist, werden wir nicht nur im Späteren von den Pangwe hören, man hat auch bei anderen Völkern Reste ähnlicher Anschauungen zu verzeichnen [4]).

Wie man darauf kam, zeigt die Ähnlichkeit der Form und Beschaffenheit, namentlich sieht die von der Vorhaut entblößte Glans einem Schlangenkopf auffallend ähnlich, und ich glaube sogar, daß man hier absichtlich durch die Beschneidung einen Dauerzustand geschaffen hat. Doch darauf komme ich bei der Beschneidung zurück.

Gerade wie der männliche Geschlechtsteil durch die Schlange versinnlicht wird, so der weibliche durch die Frucht. Das ist auch ganz natürlich, denn

---

[1]) Daher die Darstellung des Ka der Ägypter durch zwei ausgestreckte Arme. Adolf Erman, Die Ägyptische Religion, Berlin 1909, S. 102; daher die Hand in Nordafrika als Schutzmittel gegen Zauberwesen.

[2]) Vgl. den Schädelkult sowie die Schädel bei den Kultfiguren.

[3]) **Bitis nasicornis** Shaw.

[4]) Um nur zwei Beispiele von ganz verschiedenen Völkern zu bringen: Filippo Salvadore Gilij, Saggio die Storia americana II S. 132 und 133 erzählt von den Stämmen des Orinokogebietes: „Sie glauben auch, daß den Schlangen der jeweilige Zustand der Frau bekannt sei, und um diese, wie sie glauben, von verliebten Angriffen dieser Reptile fernzuhalten, erlauben sie ihnen nicht, zur Zeit der Menstruation im Walde umherzustreifen. Wie ich schon erwähnte, starb zu meiner Zeit die Frau eines gewissen Caucamo an Gelbsucht. Als ich ihm mein Bedauern darüber aussprach, gab er mir zur Antwort: ‚Sie hat ihr Schicksal verdient, da sie, ohne darauf zu achten, daß sie die Reinigung hatte, in den Wald gehen und sich den Liebeswerbungen der Schlangen aussetzen wollte.'" Dr. H. v. Weisocki sagt von den Zigeunern, daß unfruchtbare Frauen nach der Volksmeinung fruchtbar werden, wenn sie auf eine Schlange treten.

erstens schmeckt die Frucht gut, und häufig wird der Gebrauch des Weibes in der gewöhnlichen Rede von den Pangwe mit dem Essen, hauptsächlich mit einer Frucht, verglichen; daher die Redensart:

eli e tele dśi, edso e ne bebumd
Baum, er steht dieser, er ist es, der hat Früchte.
(dieser Baum da, ihm gehören die Früchte),

die als Warnung gebraucht wird, wenn einer des andern Weiber begehrt.

Vergleiche hier ferner das Rätsel:

Aufgabe: *eli da dśi ma a ja*
Baum, ihn essen sie mir hinter dem Hause.
Ein Baum auf dem Platz hinter dem Hause,
dessen Früchte essen sie mir fort.

Lösung: *ngōn ea śok a banduman*
Mädchen es tuschelt mit Liebhabern.
Ein Mädchen, das mit anderen Liebhabern tuschelt.

Zweitens ist aber die Frucht das Zeichen der Fruchtbarkeit, der Vermehrung. Der Zusammenhang zwischen Frucht und Weib wird auch in der von Largeau gebrachten Sage von der Erschaffung des Weibes bestätigt, wo dabei die Bäume plötzlich anfangen, Früchte anzusetzen. Drittens sind auch äußerliche Ähnlichkeiten zwischen manchen durch eine Rinne geteilten Früchten und dem weiblichen Geschlechtsteil vorhanden [1]). In derjenigen Lesart von dem Sündenfall, die der biblischen ähnelt, ist sogar ein Wortspiel zwischen der Frucht von **Mimusops djave** (Lan.) Engl. *(ebōn)* und dem weiblichen Geschlechtsteil *(ebōn)* gebraucht, der deutlich das hohe Alter dieser Sage anzeigt.

---

[1]) Vgl. hier: Anthropophyteia, Jahrbücher für folkloristische Erhebungen und Forschungen zur Entwicklunggeschichte der geschlechtlichen Moral. Herausgegeben von Dr. Friedrich S. Krauß. IX. Bd., 1912, S. 62 Anm. 1: An Vergleichen der vulva (cunnus) mit allerlei Gegenständen ist unsere Vulgärsprache so reich, daß ein vollständiges Verzeichnis derselben hier nicht gegeben werden kann. Jedoch sei bemerkt, daß — wie bei den Tierbezeichnungen dafür die Vogelnamen — hier Benennungen nach gewissen Früchten vorherrschen, so z. B. bes. Pflaume, das (nach Luedecke in Anthrop. V S. 8) auch kundensprachl. sein soll (vgl. dafür ferner Anthrop. II S. 23 u. VI S. 5; mundartl. dafür Plume, Prum, Prune u. ähnl. [s. Anthrop. IV S. 5 u. 13], auch holländ. de pruin [Anthrop. V S. 3]; sachl. übereinstimmend auch im Slovenischen: češbja od. čespa (Anthrop. V S. 10)), weiter auch Feige (Anthrop. IV S. 5: Fig in Solingen), oder Pfirsich (Anthrop. IV S. 5: Peach ebds.); nach Luedecke in Anthrop. V S. 8; Schote (in Berlin = Erbse) u. a. m.

Es ist also:

Trieb des Mannes = Schlange = männliches Glied,
Trieb des Weibes = Frucht = Scheide.

Setzen wir statt der Bilder die dürren Worte, nennen wir das Kind mit dem richtigen Namen, so ist der Sinn der ganzen Sündenfallsgeschichte sofort klar: Die Schlange, die von Gott geschickt ist, hat den Mann dazu verführt, die Frucht zu genießen, das will sagen: Der Naturtrieb des Mannes (männliches Glied), den Gott geschaffen hat, hat den Menschen dazu geführt, mit der Frau geschlechtlich zu verkehren. Die ältere und allein verständliche Lesart ist also die, welche die Pangwesage bringt: „Da sagte sie (die Schlange = Naturtrieb = Glied) zu Mode: ‚Du mußt die Frucht essen, die *ebon* (Frucht von **Mimusops djave** = weiblicher Geschlechtstrieb) heißt.' Fälschlich und unverständlich aber ist die Form, wie sie unsere Bibel enthält, in der die Schlange dem W e i b e und nicht dem Manne den bösen Rat gibt (1. Buch Mose 3, Vers 1): Und die Schlange war listiger, denn alle Tiere auf dem Felde, die Gott der Herr gemacht hatte, und sprach zum Weibe: „Ja, sollte denn Gott gesagt haben: Jhr sollt nicht essen von allerlei Bäumen im Garten" usw.

Derartige Abweichungen, die anfänglich vielleicht unbedeutend, in der Folge sinnentstellend werden, treten bei dem hohen Alter der Schöpfungssagen leicht und überall auf; wie könnte das auch anders sein, wo diese Erzählungen nicht auf dem Papier stehen, sondern von Jahrhundert zu Jahrhundert und über Jahrtausende hinaus von Mund zu Mund, vom Vater auf den Sohn übertragen werden. Hier lag aber außerdem ein tatsächlicher Grund zu dieser „kleinen" Entstellung vor, nämlich der, daß der Mann nach diesem Unglück — wie wir auch späterhin noch sehen werden — nur auf Entschuldigungen und Beschönigungen seiner Schuld sann. Er hat daher auch bei dieser Erzählung die Gelegenheit ergriffen, die Hauptschuld dem Weibe aufzuladen und sie als Verführerin zu bezeichnen. Ein gewisses Recht glaubte er dazu zu haben, weil — wenn das Weib nicht gewesen wäre — die ganze Sache nicht geschehen wäre, weil die Frau diejenige ist, die durch ihre Anwesenheit und vielleicht auch durch ihr nicht ganz ablehnendes Verhalten das Unglück heraufbeschworen hat.

— — — Das war die erste Sünde, für die als Strafe der Tod verkündigt wurde. Gott (Nsambe) aber hat sich mit der Zeit zürnend zurückgezogen und ist nach Meinung der Pangwe weiteren Einwirkungen von der Erde aus unzugänglich. Der letzte ohnmächtige Ausdruck des Wunsches, das verlorene Paradies zu erreichen, lag in dem unbestimmten, unbewußten Drang nach Westen. Aber der führte die Pangwe zu nichts. Sie haben ihren Vater nicht wiedergefunden.

3. Das Seelenwesen.

Wir haben im vorigen Teil die Entstehung des Seelenwesens, das der Pangwe sich — wie oben gesagt — als eine selbständige Persönlichkeit denkt, die der Seele innewohnt, als Folge des bösen Willens, der Sünde der ersten Menschen kennen gelernt. Die erste Sünde, der Geschlechtsverkehr, ist heute indes nicht mehr die einzige, Nsambes Vorschriften — die Naturgesetze — erstrecken sich auf alle Beziehungen des Menschen innerhalb der Familie mit ihrer Erweiterung zur Sippe, zum „Nächsten". Einen fremden Mann niederzuschießen, ist keine Sünde, einen Nächsten zu schädigen, ist Sünde, eine kleinere, wenn es sich um Diebstahl, eine große, wenn es sich um Zauberei (= heimlicher Mord) handelt. Der offene Mord kommt hier nicht in Betracht, weil er ein Verbrechen [1]), keine eigentliche Sünde ist und deshalb auch nicht mit übersinnlichen Mitteln bekämpft wird, wie Zauberei und Diebstahl (solange letzterer nicht erwiesen und gestanden ist).

Das Wesen der Seele (Wille) im lebenden Menschen hat nur seinen Sitz, seinen Ursprung im Kopf bzw. im Gehirn, denn dort hält sich die geistige Kraft, die Willenskraft, auf. In einen Schädel müssen deshalb die Medizinen getan werden, die den Kultfiguren ihre Kraft, ihre Persönlichkeit geben.

Das Wesen der Seele ist nur ein geistiger Begriff, der Pangwe kann es sich aber, ebenso wie die Seele selbst, nur körperlich und mit den Sinnen wahrnehmbar vorstellen, und zwar verkörpert es sich ihm im Schatten des Menschen und in seinem Spiegelbild im Wasser. Das Pangwewort für beide ist *nsisim I*, von *si*, = Erde, weil beide an den Boden (Erde oder Wasserfläche) gebunden sind. Stirbt der Mensch und verschwindet damit der mit ihm verbundene Schatten, so entsteht für den Pangwe die Frage: Wo ist der Schatten geblieben?, um so mehr als er sich in Gedanken mit dem Verstorbenen beschäftigt. Die Antwort kommt ihm aus allem Schattenhaften, was ihn umgibt; im plötzlichen Windstoß, im Rauschen der Blätter, in unerklärlichen Geräuschen und Lauten [2]), im Rascheln, vor allem aber des Nachts in vorüberhuschenden Tieren oder Menschen, kurz allüberall glaubt der Mensch, durch den Todesfall aus dem Gleichgewicht des Alltags gebracht, die Seele dessen zu sehen, der noch eben in menschlicher Gestalt bei ihm weilte. Unbestimmt und flüchtig, wirklich überall und nirgends, ein unbeschreibliches und unheimliches Etwas, irrt

---

[1]) Verbrechen, Vergehen = *a-bö-k* von *a bo-ŋ* = machen, tun (vgl. Abschn. XVI Rechtsanschauungen).

[2]) Besonders Flötentöne deutet der Pangwe in dieser Weise, ob sie nun von Tieren oder vom Menschen ausgehen. Flöten bringt einen Tausendfuß ins Haus. Vgl. Flöten bzw. Pfeifen bei der Eisenverhüttung I S. 231.

das Seelenwesen nach dem Tode des Menschen umher. Vielleicht rühren auch die Schatten der Bäume und Tiere, die ja keine Seelen und Seelenwesen haben, von den vielen menschlichen Seelen her, wer kann das wissen?

Ruhiger und kühler geworden, sah dann der Mensch, daß das, was ihn erschreckt hatte, keine unbestimmten Schatten, sondern wirkliche Dinge waren, z. B. schattengleich vorübereilende Katzen oder sonstige Nachttiere. So sah man denn in diesen die Verkörperung des Seelenwesens. *n-sɨ-ṅ l* = die Ginsterkatze und *n-sɨ-ṅa* = die Katze ist von dem gleichen Stamm wie *n-si-si-m* = Schatten, Spiegelbild abzuleiten, nämlich von *si* = Erde. Vergleiche auch die I. Vorsilbenklasse: Nachttiere. Und zweitens fragte man sich, wenn das Spiegelbild des Menschen im Wasser der Abklatsch der eigenen Seele ist, was muß werden, wenn Körper und Körperwesen stirbt? — Ein Wassertier, ein Fisch, ein Frosch, überhaupt irgendein Amphibium oder ein im Wasser lebendes Reptil. Daher die besondere Stellung dieser Tiere [1]).

Das auf diese Weise von den Pangwe als Schatten- und Spiegelbild verkörperte Seelenwesen ist nicht bei allen Menschen gleich; wohl ist es bei allen böse und so steht der Mensch im Gegensatz zur Natur und zu Gott selbst, aber der Grad dieses Bösen ist nicht bei allen derselbe. Die Erfahrung lehrt, daß es Menschen gibt, die freier von Sünde, von bösem Willen sind als andere. Das heißt in unserem Zusammenhange: ihr Seelenwesen ist nicht so ausgeprägt und sie kommen dem von allem Wesen freien Zustand Nsambes näher, soweit es eben für Menschen möglich ist („Wir sind allzumal Sünder"); zu solchen auserlesenen Menschen gehören Kinder, Geistesgestörte [2]), aber auch noch einzelne Ausnahmenaturen, die bestrebt sind, sich von aller Sünde freizuhalten, und zum mindesten die in der Pflege der Kulte bestehende vermeiden. Solche Menschen heißen *bebɪrn*, von *ebɪrn*, ein Wort, das sich nicht erklären, begrifflich vielleicht am ehesten mit „gute Menschen" wiedergeben läßt. Kinder sind in den ersten Jahren eo ipso „*bebɪrn*", bleiben es aber nicht lange, da sie schon vor der Reife, im Alter von 6—8 Jahren, durch ihre Eltern den Kulten zugeführt werden. Da jedem Pangwe schon als Kind ein ziemlich weitgehendes Selbstbestimmungsrecht zugebilligt wird, so kann dieser oder jener — wenn er will — sich von all dem Teufelskram (die Neger selbst gebrauchen diesen Ausdruck) fernhalten. Von solchen Überzeugungs-*bebɪrn*, die recht dünn gesät sind, hatte ich einen als Diener und Arbeiter in meiner Umgebung, und er ist jedenfalls der Zuverlässigste und — auch menschlich — Beste gewesen, den ich

[1]) Von Fischen führt die Hälfte, nämlich 19, Vorsilben aus den Klassen I und III (Menschenklasse), die andere Hälfte aus den Klassen II und IV—VIII.

[2]) Daher die Ehrfurcht vor den Geistesgestörten, daher die Darstellung der Geistesgestörtheit in den Kulten.

je gehabt habe. Aber damit will ich keinen allgemeingültigen Grundsatz für die Beurteilung aller *bebrn* gegeben haben; der Hinweis möge genügen.

Alle übrigen Menschen heißen *bongụ̈s*, von *ngụ̈s III* — *ngụ̈s* könnte also mit, „Böser, Sünder" übersetzt werden (im Gegensatz zu „Guter") —, sie tun bewußt Unrecht, vor allem begehen sie die gewaltige Sündentat der Kulte, d. h. feierlicher Feste mit geheimnisvollem Zeremoniell, in denen sie sich mit dem großen Lebens- und Todesproblem auseinandersetzen, und die sie direkt als *nsồm*, d. h. gleichsam die Sünde par excellence, bezeichnen. Daher sind weiterhin die *bongụ̈s* nicht bloß allgemein Sünder, sondern im besonderen die Eingeweihten der Kulte, und die *bebrn* nicht bloß im allgemeinen Gute, sondern die den Kulten Fernstehenden, die Uneingeweihten.

Ich führe hier ein Sprichwort als Beweis dafür an, daß man sehr wohl berechtigt ist, die *bebrn* als die „Guten" in einen Gegensatz zu den *bongụ̈s*, den „Bösen", zu bringen, wenn nicht die Bezeichnung *nsồm* = Sünde für alle Kulte, die ja nur von *bongụ̈s* getrieben werden, die Berechtigung schon erwiese. Dies Sprichwort heißt:

ge o ne dʒaňan elɪk e la bebrn, e la bongụ̈s
(Fragewort) du bist Raphia- Wand, zu sehen (die) Guten, zu sehen (die) Bösen.
Bist du die Raphiawand, die zwischen Gut und Böse steht?

Das Sprichwort wendet sich gegen jemanden, der z. B. seinen Bruder mit einer Frau zu verkuppeln sucht. Die Anwendung gerade auf diesen Fall gibt uns einen guten Einblick in die Bedeutung des Verhältnisses zwischen Eingeweihten und Uneingeweihten.

Die Kulte sind eine praktische Folge der Auffassung des Pangwe von dem Seelenwesen als dem bösen Willen des Menschen, der zur Sünde führt und als Strafe für sie den Tod empfängt. In den Kulten will er beweisen, daß alles Wesen sich in der Natur, in erster Linie in Mond und Sonne, verkörpert, er will, mit einem Worte, das Böse und Gute in der Natur darstellen — wie in aller Welt reimt sich denn das mit der Tatsache, daß alles, was nicht Mensch ist, überhaupt kein Seelenwesen hat, da es ja unbeseelt ist?

Wer aufmerksam verfolgt hat, was oben über das Seelenwesen nach dem Tode und vor allem über den Zweck der Verführungsgeschichte durch die Schlange gesagt ist, und dies mit den Lehren, die im 1. Buch Mose enthalten sind, vergleicht, wird nicht in Zweifel sein, wie der scheinbare Widerspruch sich ganz natürlich löst und wer hier die Hand im Spiele hat — die Lüge. Die Lüge, die ja überhaupt die Hüterin des Bösen ist. Wie man schon das ganze Märchen von der Schlange erfunden hat, um nicht zugestehen zu müssen, daß der böse Wille des Menschen selbst die Ursache der Entzweiung mit Gott gewesen ist, so sind die Kulte nur die Fortsetzung dieser Beschönigung und eine

ins Riesengroße übersetzte Lüge, die da vortäuschen will, daß nicht der Wille des Menschen, sondern der Wille Gottes die Ursache des ganzen Unglücks ist, das über die Menschheit gekommen; man stellt das in der Natur vorhandene Böse und Gute dar, legt ihr also ein Seelenwesen unter. Die Kulte sind also eine bewußte große Lüge, da der Mensch weiß, daß die Natur kein Seelenwesen hat. Die Natur aber ist göttlich, denn Gottes Geist hat sie geschaffen oder geboren, und so hat man weiterhin Gott ein Seelenwesen, einen bösen Willen untergeschoben, freilich nur auf dem Umwege über seine Werke, die Natur; damit aber ist gesagt: es ist Gottes Wille gewesen, daß das Böse geschaffen wurde, dasselbe, was beim ersten Sündenfall als Entschuldigung gelten sollte: Gott hat die Schlange geschickt. Und da liegt auch gerade der Kern der Sache: der Person Gottes, Nsambes selbst, hat man nicht gewagt, ein Wesen der Seele beizumessen, wie es die Durchführung dieses Gedankens verlangt hätte. Nsambe ist und bleibt rein, ohne Wesen, wie es später die Seelen der Menschen auch werden. Außerdem ist er schon soweit von den Pangwe entfernt, daß er kaum mehr im Leben für sie in Betracht kommt. An die Stelle, die er einnehmen sollte, treten die in den Kulten dargestellten einzelnen Naturkräfte. Diese Naturkräfte sind anfänglich nur als Versinnbildlichung des eben ausgeführten Gedankens gedacht, daß die Natur und ihr Wesen von Grund aus böse ist. Sie werden deshalb auch nur mimisch, nicht plastisch vorgeführt, dem entspricht es, daß sie nur ganz allein das Böse berücksichtigen. (Der Mond als Anfang aller Kultformen.) Später, je mehr die reine Gestalt Gottes in den Hintergrund tritt, desto mehr werden die Naturkräfte körperlich dargestellt, desto mehr Leben gewinnen sie („Götze"), desto mehr ersetzen und verdrängen sie die Gestalt Gottes, aber desto sichtlicher und besser werden sie auch, denn sie vertreten ja die höchste, sittliche Kraft, Gott (körperhafte Darstellung des reinen Feuers).

Wenn ich eine allgemeine Bemerkung über die Entwicklung der Religion hier anfügen darf, so scheint mir die nächste Stufe religiöser Entwicklung die, daß Gott ganz von den zu Personen gewordenen Naturkräften verdrängt wird (Götter), wenn auch die Erinnerung an ihn in einer Verpersönlichung einer höchsten Naturkraft (meist der Sonne) nie ganz schwindet, und daß jetzt alle Götter mit einem Seelenwesen ausgerüstet werden [1]), dafür aber ihr ursprüngliches geistiges Gepräge (gut und böse) mehr oder weniger verlieren und nun alle als die sittliche Macht für das jedem einzelnen eigentümliche Einflußgebiet gelten (z. B. in Afrika früher ägyptische Religion). Diese Götterwelt kann immer mehr erweitert und dadurch verflacht werden, so daß jeder Beruf seinen eigenen Gott hat, bis zuletzt das ganze Göttergebäude, trotz des äußerlich oft durchaus hohen sittlichen Wertes, vor den Schlägen, die ihm das Christentum

[1]) Daher die öfter wiederkehrende vierfache Darstellung eines Gottes in den ägyptischen Gemälden (vgl. Erman, Die Ägyptische Religion).

versetzt, zusammenstürzt. Und mit dem Christentum in seinem unverfälschten Grundgedanken kehren wir wieder zu der einfachsten und doch höchsten Religion zurück, die allen denen Vergebung verspricht, die ihre eigene Schuld zugeben, ohne sie durch die Lüge zu beschönigen und zu heiligen.

4. Kulte.

Aus der Entwicklungsgeschichte der religiösen Anschauungen, von denen wir hier sprechen, ergibt sich von selbst, daß der Mann die Lüge der Kulte erfunden hat und dauernd vertritt, weil es s e i n e Schuld gewesen ist, die er auf die Natur abwälzen will. Zur Natur rechnet er nun auch das Weib und ihr schiebt er einen Teil der Schuld zu, denn wäre sie nicht dagewesen, so wäre ja die Geschlechtssünde nicht begangen worden. Als Inbegriff des sündhaften Geschlechtsverkehrs ist sie also von den Kulten ausgeschlossen. In einem gewissen Widerspruch damit gelten sie anderseits für besser als die Männer, da sie eben Uneingeweihte, *bebrn*, sind, die zwar als Menschen Sünde tun, ein Seelenwesen haben, aber doch ein besseres, gottähnlicheres als jene, weil sie eben die Lüge, die in den Kulten liegt, nicht mitmachen.

Freilich haben die Weiber ihre eigenen Kulte, aber ich halte sie für einen späteren Abklatsch der männlichen; sie zeigen ebenfalls das Gute und Böse in der Natur und benutzen das ebenfalls als Entschuldigung für ihre Sünde, d. h. den Geschlechtsverkehr, aber die Person wechselt in dem Drama, insofern sich die Frau als den unschuldigen Teil hinstellt, den der „böse" Mann verführt hat.

Dieser religiöse Gegensatz wird später absichtlich benutzt, um gegen das andere Geschlecht ausgespielt zu werden, und man vertieft damit die sozialen Gegensätze, andererseits entstehen letztere innerhalb desselben Geschlechts dadurch, daß die Kulte an Zahl zunehmen und die ursprünglich einheitliche Gemeinschaft der Sippen in viele kleinere Kreise teilen, zwischen denen sich von selbst ein Widerstreit der Interessen herausbildet (Anfänge der Geheimbünde).

Aber soweit ist es bei den Pangwe noch nicht gekommen, es begnügt sich jedes Geschlecht, die Eigenart des andern gehörig zu geißeln und hat damit eine gerade beim Neger äußerst gefährliche Waffe in der Hand. Irgendwelche Vorteile werden aber nicht damit gewonnen, mit Ausnahme dessen, daß die Kulte vom anderen Geschlecht geachtet oder (die Weiberkulte) doch wenigstens geduldet werden.

Von ursprünglich sozialen Zwecken kann man in den Kulten nicht sprechen, vielmehr sind sie aus religiösen Grundanschauungen herausgewachsen.

Als alleinigen Zweck haben die Kulte den Einspruch gegen den Tod (bzw. das Unglück), der eine Strafe für die Sünde ist, und sie werden ursprünglich

(Kult des Bösen) etwa jedes Jahr einmal in der Trockenzeit *(esèb)* gefeiert, sobald eine größere Anzahl von Knaben, die eingeführt werden sollen, vorhanden ist, zuweilen aber auch aus Anlaß eines Todesfalles in der Familie, namentlich bei den Südpangwe, die dabei lebens- oder überlebensgroße Figuren aus Lehm als Verkörperung der Naturkräfte formen und durch Zutat von Medizinen zu selbständig handelnden Personen machen, die sie gegen den Tod durch Zauberei schützen und weiterhin die Vergehen gegen die Sitte rächen und „ihren Kindern", wie der Pangwe sagt, auf deren Bitten sogar Glück und Reichtum verleihen, kurz das Gute schaffen und dem Bösen wehren [1]).

Die Zahl der jedesmaligen Neulinge ist deshalb im Norden größer als im Süden, wo es manchmal nur zwei bis drei sind. Diese Neulinge heißen *bomɛ́ŋ*, von *mɛ́ŋ III* = Neuling, Einzuweihender, und sind meist halbwüchsige Jungen im Alter von 6—10 Jahren; erhebliche Schwankungen kommen aber vor. Es wurde oben gesagt, daß einzelne auf ihren oder ihres Vaters Wunsch *bebɨ́n*, Uneingeweihte, bleiben können, die meisten aber müssen oder pflegen wenigstens e i n e n Kult mitzumachen, sie können auch an mehreren teilnehmen, aber es bedarf dann für jeden einer neuen Einweihung, die freilich wesentlich einfacher ist, und einer Zahlung an den Kultleiter.

Wenn man etwa selbst die „Einweihungsfeier" als Neuling mitzumachen hätte, würde man eher von einer Trauer- und Prüfungszeit sprechen als von einer Feier, wenn auch die Schwere der Lehrzeit sehr verschieden ist. Die Lehre, welche die Neulinge aus den Mysterien ziehen sollen, in die sie eingeweiht werden, ist ja auch keine angenehme und erfreuliche zu nennen. Es ist die Eröffnung der Tatsache, daß die Menschen aus Strafe für ihre Sünde elend und unglücklich sind, und daß sie alle sterben müssen. Zu diesem Zwecke zeigt man den Neulingen Schmerz und Krankheit an ihrem eigenen Leibe (durch Quälereien aller Art) und schließlich müssen sie sogar — im Schauspiel — sterben, denn Nsambe hat den Tod verhängt.

Daher auch der zweite, neben *nsɔ̀m* gebräuchliche Name für alle Kulte: *avɔ́*, von *a vɔ* = sterben, *avɔ* = Tod; von *avɔ́* abgeleitet *wɔ́* = Kultmarke.

---

[1]) Ähnliche Figuren sollen nach M. M e r k e r „die Völker, mit denen die Masai in der Urheimat in Berührung gekommen sind", nach der Überlieferung der Masai gemacht haben. Merker sagt darüber in seinem Werk „Die Masai", Berlin 1904, S. 292, von den 'Lariñai folgendes: „Sie machten sich Gottesbilder aus Lehm, welche die Gestalt einer Giraffe hatten, deren Kopf aber keine Hörner trug", und S. 296: „Die El Merro machten sich aus Erde Figuren in Form von Menschen und Ziegen und bezeichneten sie als Götter," und S. 298 von den El gamassia: „Gott nannten sie Embá und machten sich Standbilder von ihm, welche eine Giraffe darstellten, deren Kopf keine Hörner trug."

Daher auch der Name *m-rú-n* selbst, der also bedeutet: moriturus, der Todgeweihte (siehe unten).

Zweitens werden sie mit der Bedeutung des Geschlechtsverkehrs, als der Sünde, wegen deren Nsambe den Tod verhängt hat, bekannt gemacht, und dieser Geschlechtsverkehr wird ebenfalls im Schauspiel dargestellt, um zu zeigen, daß er ursprünglich von Nsambe kommt. So erwirkt man für sich die Erlaubnis für den Geschlechtsverkehr und die Befreiung vom Tod.

Das Ganze ist also ein riesengroßes Schauspiel, das großartiger ist, als es je auf einer Bühne Europas dargestellt wurde, ein gewaltiges menschliches Ankämpfen gegen Naturgesetze, ein einziger erschütternder Protest gegen das Unglück der Menschheit, ganz naiv gesagt, gegen die Vertreibung aus dem Paradiese. Ich glaube, daß rein soziale Einrichtungen, wie wir sie in den Geheimbünden finden, keinen Vergleich aushalten mit diesem gewaltigen Ringen der Menschheit mit der Natur.

Allen Kulten — mit Ausnahme des Sso der Jaunde — gemeinsam ist die feierliche Herrichtung eines Kultplatzes, der sich dicht am Dorfe befindet, so daß die Frauen sich in ihre Hütten einschließen müssen, um die Feierlichkeiten — durch die Türritzen zu sehen; mitunter werden die Frauen freilich auch in andere Dörfer fortkomplimentiert; ferner meist eine auf dem heiligen Platz errichtete Kultfigur, die stets durch eine Wand aus Raphiablättern oder durch einen zerschlissenen jungen Palmenwedel oder durch beides gegen neugierige Blicke abgeschlossen wird; endlich ein Kultleiter, das ist ein Medizinmann *(ngengan)*, der sich speziell auf die Kultmedizinen versteht und das ganze Zeremoniell angibt und allein angeben darf, ganz wie bei uns der Gottesdienst den dazu Berufenen vorbehalten bleibt. Der Medizinmann bekommt für seine Leistungen ein Honorar, das er klugerweise oft mitten in der Feierlichkeit einfordert.

An bestimmten Tagen vor Beginn der Festlichkeiten werden Trommelsignale abgegeben, die für jeden Kult verschieden sind, ebenso müssen am Tage der Vorfeier die Einwohner der umliegenden Dörfer durch ein eigenes Signal benachrichtigt werden.

Den Kultfeiern geht eine Vorbereitungszeit voraus, in welcher die nötigen Medizinen usw. herbeigeschafft werden, und die meist 3 oder $3 \times 3 = 9$, seltener 7 Tage beträgt. Drei ist auch die Zahl der eigentlichen Festtage, zu denen noch eine Vorfeier am Vorabend des Festes hinzukommt.

Alle Neulinge werden vor oder während der Feier mit einer bei allen Kulten gleichen Narbentätowierung, die aus drei Strichen im Nacken besteht, versehen und durch dieses Zeichen als nunmehr Eingeweihte des betreffenden Kultes gekennzeichnet. Diese Marke heißt *wá III* oder *epíg'ap*, auch *mbá(k) mesôm*; die Ausdrücke werden meist in der Mehrzahl gebraucht, da es ja mehrere Marken sind.

Wir hatten im vorigen Teil gesehen, daß man in den Kulten hervorheben will, wie die Natur an sich schon Böses enthält und nicht erst durch den Menschen bekommen hat. Man verkannte nicht, daß ihr daneben das Gute nicht fehlt, man stellte auch dieses in den Kulten dar, aber erst später. Das erste war, entsprechend der Absicht, die eigene Schlechtigkeit zu entschuldigen, die Darstellung des Bösen. Wo liegt nun dieses Böse in der Natur? Einfach in der natürlichen Gegensätzlichkeit der Nacht zum Tag (Mond zur Sonne), der Erde (Wasser) zum Himmel (Feuer). Erde und Wasser stehen mit dem *nsisim* (d. h. Schatten- und Spiegelbild) in Verbindung (vgl. S. 36) und sind deshalb böse, anderseits ist das blitzgeborene Feuer das Sinnbild der Reinheit und des Guten.

Wir hätten also der Zeitfolge nach: Mond, Sonne, Wasser, Feuer. Diese Grundstoffe werden nun in den Hauptkulten verehrt. Es gibt also einen Mondkult (Kult des Bösen), einen Sonnenkult (Kult des Guten), einen Wasserkult (Kult des Bösen) und einen Feuerkult (Kult des Guten). Die übrigen Kulte sind nur Absplitterungen dieser vier, insonderheit des Mondkultes. Den vier Hauptvertretern der göttlichen Macht sind bestimmte Tiere und Pflanzen zugeordnet, die mit ihnen im Kult verehrt werden.

Die Verbreitung der Kultformen wird noch einmal eine sehr wichtige Handhabe zum Vergleich von afrikanischen Kulturen abgeben, so z. B. hat bei den Pangwe der Kult des Bösen je weiter nach Norden, nach dem Sudan zu, desto uneingeschränktere Verbreitung, und je weiter nach Süden zu, desto mehr gewinnt der Kult des Guten an Bedeutung, genauer gesagt die Mwele und der Hauptteil der Jaunde, die, wie wir wissen, von Norden (Sudan) her beeinflußt sind, kennen nur den Mondkult, während die südlichen Jaunde und teilweise auch die Bene den Kult der Sonne als Anhängsel des Mondkultes und den Feuerkult von den südlichen Pangwe übernommen haben. Nach Süden nimmt überhaupt die Zahl der Kulte zu, die Ntum kennen schon sechs. Bei den Fang hat schließlich das Kultwesen eine Blüte erreicht wie nirgends sonst, wir haben dort nicht weniger als acht bis zehn verschiedene Kultformen.

Nomina sunt odiosa, ganz besonders in heiligen Dingen. Wie man von geschlechtlichen Dingen nur in „Bildern" spricht, so erst recht von heiligen. Aber auch sonst werden wir diesen Zug, alles durch Bilder zu umschreiben, nur nichts mit richtigem Namen zu nennen, überall bei den Pangwe wiedertreffen. So hat man die Grundstoffe: Mond, Sonne, Wasser, Feuer durch eine Umschreibung oder den Namen eines Tieres ersetzt, das in irgendeiner Beziehung zu ihnen steht. Für den Mondkult ist es ein Hörnertier, eine Schopfantilope *(sʊ)*, für das Wasser der Elefant *(ɑ́ɔ́k)*, für das Feuer der Gorilla *(ŋɔ́ɔ)*, aus welchen Gründen, mag später erläutert sein. Wir haben also im Kern des Pangwegebietes folgende Kulte:

böse:	gute:
Sso, Kult des Mondes unter dem Bild der Antilope *sö̃*	Ndong-mba, Kult der Sonne
Bokung, ebenso als Bild die Eule	Elong, ebenso als Bild der Hahn
Schok, Kult des Wassers unter dem Bilde des Elefanten	Ngi, Kult des Feuers unter dem Bilde des Gorillas.

Sso und Ndong-mba werden mitunter, Bokung und Elong meistens zusammengefaßt, um besonders in letzteren den Sieg des Guten über das Schlechte darzustellen. Außer diesen bei weitem häufigsten Kulten haben die Ntum noch den Enikö, worin ein Hund eine Rolle spielen soll, die Fang außerdem noch den Kult Schib (Sumpfbock) und Odschöe (Zwergböckchen), letzterer wahrscheinlich eine Abzweigung des Mondkultes.

Es wurde bereits darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß *so* der alte Stamm für den Mond ist, was daraus hervorgeht, daß die Flecke auf dem Monde mir einmal als *dši[s]-sö-esämbe*, d. h. Auge des Mondes Gottes, bezeichnet wurden, daß der Ring um den Mond *sön-ekum* und bei den verwandten Bassá der Mond selbst noch *šo,n* heißt; *sö* ist weiter der Stamm für alles Böse, für den Tod, d. h. nur in religiöser Beziehung, soweit an die Anschauungen, die wir dargelegt haben, dabei gedacht wird. *sö* ist schließlich die Bezeichnung für das Hörnertier, das mit dem Monde in erster Linie in Beziehung gebracht wird. Daß die Hörner des wachsenden oder schwindenden Mondes auf die Hörnertiere übertragen wurden, ist ganz erklärlich und eine bekannte Tatsache. Eduard Hahn glaubt, und wohl mit Recht, daß die hörnertragenden Haustiere zuerst aus religiösen Gründen besondere Beachtung gefunden haben und dann gezüchtet sind. Aber das ist hier nicht das wichtigste, sondern daß für den Glauben der Pangwe diejenigen Hörnertiere, welche Nachttiere sind, ganz besonders in Betracht kommen, und da ist neben der Ziege, die, wie sie bei anderen Bantu dem Namen nach mit dem Mond in Verbindung gebracht wird [1]), so bei den Pangwe zu den Kulten des Bösen in Beziehung steht, noch ein Tier zu nennen, das den Namen *sö̃* unverändert trägt. Es ist die Schwarzrücken-Schopfantilope **Cephalophus dorsalis** Gray (im Pangwegebiet subspec. **castaneus** Thomas). Dieses Tier, die einzige rein nächtlich lebende Antilope des tropischen Westafrika, hat überall die Maske für den Mondkult abgeben müssen, dessen Name daher bei den Pangwe *sö̃* ist. Die von *so* abgeleiteten Stämme, die für unsere Betrachtungen wichtig sind, seien hier angeführt: *sö̃* = **Cephalophus dorsalis**, *n-sβ-m* = Sünde, *n-sβ-m* = Ichneumon, Wieselmanguste **Herpestes melanurus** Gray, weil das Ichneumon Hühnereier frißt, wo das

[1]) Baluba, nach C. G. Büttner, n'buishe (mu-ishi = Mond), Suaheli: mbuizi (mu-ezi = Mond).

Huhn ein der Sonne heiliges Tier ist, ebenso die eierfressenden Weibchen des **Sciurus eborivorus** Du Chaillu. *n-sʊ̄-ń* = Grab, *n-sʊ̄-k* = Rindenschachtel, Sarg (vgl. I S. 206 ff.). *n-sʊ̄-ń* = die Spitze, die, wie I S. 202 angeführt, böse ist, *n-sʊ̄-t* = unbeschnittener Penis (ist spitz), *e-sʊ̄,-ń* = **Pennisetum purpureum** Schum. et Thorn., weil dies Gras zum Ssokult benutzt wird, daher auch pleonastisch *e-sʊ̄,-ń sʊ̄*. *o-sʊ̄-n* = die Scham, *e-sʊ̄-n* = **Cremastogaster striatula** Em., Ameise, *sʊ̄,-e*, *sʊ̄,-e* = **Ponera sorghi** Rog., Ameise, *odźige-sʊ̄* = **Sima tessmanni** Stitz, Ameise (vgl. S. 46 usw., Ameise im Kult). *o-n-sʊ̄* Bu. = Eidechse.

Vielleicht älter als *so*, jedenfalls verwandt mit ihm, ist der Stamm *si*. Auch die mit *si* verbundene Gedankenreihe muß hier erwähnt werden, da sie mit dem Mondkult eng zusammenhängt. Bei vielen Bantu ist darum auch *si* der Mond, z. B. (nach C. G. Büttner) im Baluba: *mu-ishi*, im Suaheli: *mu-ezi*, im Herero: *omu-ese*.

Hierbei denke man auch an den Namen Isis (Ese der Ägypter) — ursprünglich war ja diese Göttin die Verpersönlichung der nächtlichen Erde, dann zugleich des Mondes — ferner an Sin, den Mondgott im alten Babylon.

Hier ist *si* die nächtliche Erde, das „Schattenreich" und schließlich die Erde überhaupt:

si, = Erde, *n-sí-sɨ-m* = Schatten, Spiegelbild, weil an den Boden gebunden, *n-sɨ-ń* = Ginsterkatze, **Genetta subryana** Pucheran. *e-sɨ-ńd* = Hauskatze, *sɨ-b* = grünes Eichhörnchen, **Sciurus subviridescens** Leconte, weil es auf der Erde lebt, *sɨ-ge* = Treiberameisen, **Anomma nigricans** Stuck, weil sie auf der Erde kriechen, *i-sɨ* = Haare, vielleicht weil sie auf einem Boden wachsen, *o-sɨ,-s* = Haare vom Nabel zur Scham, *a sɨ,-s* = erschrecken, trans., denn die Schatten schrecken, *í-sɨ,-s* = Issisleute beim Mondkult, die erschrecken sollen, *a-sɨ,-m(an)* = nachdenken, sich an etwas erinnern (Bild vom Schatten genommen), *o-sɨ,-m* = „Erinnerungskraut", **Ocimum basilicum** L.

So gilt der Mond als Hauptvertreter und als Erzeuger alles Bösen in der Natur, die Sonne als Vertreterin des Guten. Der Mond ist außerdem vor allem der Hüter des Geschlechtsverkehrs, der als „Sünde" auch heute noch nur des Nachts und möglichst heimlich ausgeübt werden darf.

I. Der Sso-Kult.

Der wichtigste und, wie mir scheint, älteste aller Kulte ist der Ssokult [1]). Er ist über das ganze Pangwegebiet verbreitet, in den Einzelheiten seines Ver-

[1]) Nach J. Büttikofer, Reisebilder aus Liberia II S. 308 heißen die an den Festen der dortigen Eingeborenen mitwirkenden weiblichen Teufel (!) „soh", die männlichen „soh-ba". Diese Angabe zeigt die weite Verbreitung des Stammes *sʊ̄* = böses Prinzip.

laufs jedoch im Norden und im Süden wesentlich verschieden. Dort, bei den Jaunde, hält er sich gleichsam in der geistigen Sphäre der ursprünglichen Idee, bei den Südpangwe nimmt er gröbere Ausdrucksmittel, wie Masken und plastische Figuren, zu Hilfe. Die beiden Arten sind daher getrennt zu behandeln [1]).

a) Sso der Jaunde.

Zu dem Fest, das meist alle Jahre einmal zu Anfang der großen Trockenzeit, also im Oktober, oft aber auch später, von einem angesehenen Häuptling veranstaltet wird, kommen die Neulinge aus weitem Umkreise zusammen. Mitunter sind es 30 und mehr, die auf ihre Einweihung warten; ihr Alter schwankt zwischen 7 und 25 Jahren. Vier Tage vor Beginn der Festlichkeiten werden alle am Nacken mit einem angelhakenähnlichen Werkzeug, „*nǒb*" (*nǒb* = Angelhaken), gemarkt; diese Marke nennt der Jaunde, ebenso wie die Neulinge selbst, *mrǒn* (J.), d. h. die Todesweihung.

Das Fest beginnt mit einem Phallustanz der Neulinge auf einem Gerüst *(ndǐǒm I)*, das aus zwei Gabelstöcken und einem darüber gelegten dicken Baumstamm [2]) besteht und so aufgestellt ist, daß dieser Stamm an ein Haus, eine Palmblätterwand oder den natürlichen Busch anstößt. Der Stamm ist oft so schwer, daß ihn angeblich mitunter an 100 Mann tragen müssen, und in Form von einem oder mehreren Elefanten, von Schweinen (beides Symbole der geschlechtlichen Unreinheit) oder einer Riesenschlange (= Penis) zugehauen, oft auch mit anderen (menschlichen) Figuren geschmückt. Er stellt einen Penis vor, der vom Hause bzw. der Wand oder dem Busch wie von einem Körper abgeht [3]).

Der Tanz selbst stellt den Geschlechtsakt dar.

Nach zwei Tagen folgt die zweite Nummer des Programms: Quälereien und Standhaftigkeitsproben der Neulinge. Jeder von ihnen bekommt einen Führer zugeteilt, natürlich einen Eingeweihten, der ihn schon in der Nacht vorher darauf vorbereitet hat, daß am nächsten Tage das große Fest vor sich gehen und er dann alle Geheimnisse sehen würde.

---

[1]) Ich bemerke, daß ich außer dem Jaunde-Sso, das mir von Jaundes beschrieben ist, alle Kultfeiern, die hier aufgeführt, von Anfang bis zu Ende selbst mitgemacht habe, einzelne, den Sso- und Ngikult, sogar zweimal.

[2]) Aus der Leguminose *atǐrlim*.

[3]) Merker sagt in „Die Masai" S. 271 Anmerkung: „Als Eigenname der Paradiesschlange wird genannt ol arassument, weil sie im Schilf = or rossua wohnte." Daraus sieht man, daß die „Paradiesschlange" eben der Penis ist, der aus dem Schamhaar herauskommt wie eine Schlange aus dem Schilf. Daher auch die eben beschriebene Anlage der Phallusstange, die bei den Südpangwe (vgl. weiter unten) als Schlange gedacht ist.

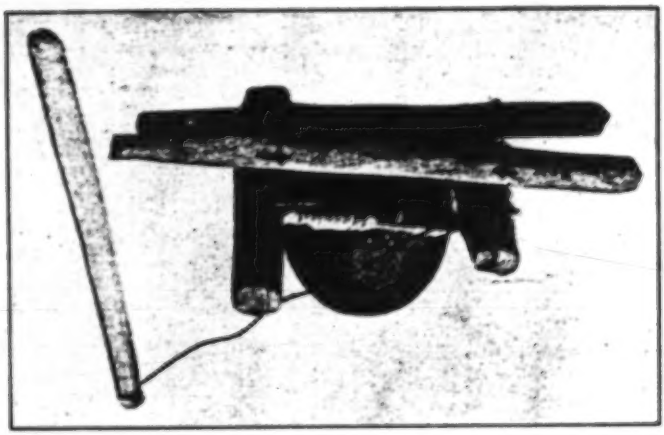


Abb. 1. Xylophon der See-Neulinge. Jaunde.

Nachdem alle Weiber und sonstigen Uneingeweihten das Dorf verlassen haben, begibt sich ein Teil der Eingeweihten in den Busch und sucht Nester von stechenden Ameisenarten, besonders der **Plagiolepis carinata** Em. *(kŏ IV)*, und Zweigstücke des Ameisenbaumes **Epitaberna myrmoecia** K. Sch. *(ngúkŏm)*, in denen die schmerzhaft stechenden **Sima spininoda** Andr. *(engúkŏm)* leben. Die Nester werden in großer Zahl (oft 200 Stück) eingesammelt, vorsichtig an langen Stangen ins Dorf getragen und im Beisein der Einzuweihenden und unter anzüglichen Bemerkungen in eine nahe beim Dorfe zu diesem Zweck gebaute niedrige Hütte, die *„esdm"*, gehängt bzw. gestellt, so daß bald darin alles von Ameisen wimmelt. Nicht genug damit, hängt man auch noch die mit gefährlichen Haaren bedeckten Schoten der **Mucuna pruriens** im Hause auf.

Ist das geschehen, so werden die Neulinge auf dem Dorfplatz aufgestellt und allerhand Quälereien und unangenehmen Zumutungen ausgesetzt. Die erste „Prüfung" besteht in der Einnahme einer ekelhaften „Medizin", die der Festveranstalter zu diesem Zwecke hergestellt hat, und die aus einem Gemisch von abscheulich schmeckenden Pflanzen und ekelerregenden Stoffen, z. B. einem Stück seines Auswurfes — „von dem, was zuletzt kommt" — zusammengesetzt ist. Öl und eine tüchtige Portion Pfeffer darf nicht fehlen. Nachdem jeder Junge ein Stück dieser Teufelsspeise zu sich genommen hat, wird er von seinem Führer ergriffen und im Galopp von Versammlungshaus zu Versammlungshaus über den Dorfplatz geschleppt mit dem Rufe: „Ihr sollt sterben!" und ähnlichen Reden. Fällt einer hin, so wird er wieder aufgerissen und mit Hallo weitergezogen. An diesem Tage hat kein Vater das Recht, irgendeinen Eingeweihten dafür verantwortlich zu machen, wenn sein Sohn ein paar Beulen

Abb. 2. Penisraupe der Sso-Neulinge, Jaunde.

abbekommt oder gar, falls er sich wehrt, verprügelt wird. Jetzt dürfen sich die Neulinge ein wenig ausruhen und dem für sie von den Frauen zurückgelassenen Essen zusprechen. Nunmehr kommt die letzte und unangenehmste Prüfung an die Reihe. Die Eingeweihten stellen sich mit Hauern und Messern beim Ameisenhause auf und empfangen die Neulinge, die zu ihnen geführt werden, mit wildem Geheul und den Rufen: „Wir töten euch!", „Nun werdet ihr sterben!" usw. Daß die armen Jungen dabei eine schreckliche Angst ausstehen, braucht kaum erst gesagt zu werden. Sind sie so genügend verängstigt, so müssen sie der Reihe nach durch das Ameisenhaus kriechen, wo sie natürlich fürchterlich zerstochen werden. Inzwischen ist eine Ziege herbeigeschafft, der man eine Medizin eingegeben hatte, damit sie keinen Ton von sich geben kann, und ihr wird durch einen Hieb mit dem Buschmesser der Kopf abgehauen, wobei es als ungünstiges Zeichen gilt, wenn das Tier noch schreit oder röchelt. Während nun die Neulinge unter Geheul durch das Ameisenhaus kriechen, laufen die Führer außen am Hause entlang und jeder von ihnen reißt sich ein Stück von der toten Ziege ab; auch die Füße müssen ausgerissen werden. Wer nicht über die nötigen Kräfte verfügt, muß sich mit einem Fetzen Fleisch begnügen oder bekommt gar nichts. Gegessen wird dies Fleisch nur von ganz alten Leuten, der Festveranstalter bekommt Kopf und Gedärme.

Offenbar soll dieser eigenartige Vorgang das lautlose Sterben des Mondes, von dem ein Stück nach dem andern vergeht, bis er ganz verschwunden ist, vorstellen. Leider bin ich nicht davon unterrichtet, ob für ihn im Jaunde die Bezeichnung *a vüi sŏ* = den Sso töten, in Gebrauch ist, wie für einen ähnlichen bei den Fang.

Die Neulinge haben nun genügend Schmerzen durchgemacht und sind auf den Tod vorbereitet. Bevor sie jedoch „sterben", können sie sich bei einer Henkersmahlzeit von ihrem Schrecken etwas erholen. Der arg verwüstete

Abb. 3. Sso-Neulinge, Jaunde.

Dorfplatz wird am anderen Morgen durch die Eingeweihten von Speiseresten Blättern usw. gereinigt, das nennt man *a bumo ekobe sö*, d. h. das Fell des Sso ausspannen, angeblich um Uneingeweihte glauben zu machen, es handele sich bei dem ganzen Fest nur um die Schopfantilope *(sö)*.

Nach dem Essen werden die Neulinge nun zum Tode abgeführt, d. h. in der Nähe ihrer Heimatdörfer in Buschhütten untergebracht, wo sie völlig nackt einen Monat lang, fern von allen Menschen, sich aufhalten müssen. Man nimmt dort aber nichts besonderes mit ihnen vor, keine Quälereien, keine Unterweisungen, man bringt ihnen reichlich zu essen, ja sie dürfen sogar im Busch herumgehen und müssen nur vermeiden, daß Weiber sie sehen. Um diese warnen zu können, führen sie eine Art Xylophon, das sie bei ihren Spaziergängen andauernd bearbeiten, und dessen Ton weithin hörbar ist. Das Instrument (Abb. 1) — *nkön e mrǖn* genannt — besteht aus einem mit Handgriff versehenen Rahmen aus Raphiamark, das mit Rindenzeug umkleidet ist. Über

Abb. 4. Sao-Neulinge, Jaunde.

den Rahmen werden die zwei Tasten [1]) gelegt, ein unterhalb befestigter halber Kürbis dient als Resonanzboden, eine daran geknüpfte Schnur hält einen Schlägel, der oft in Form eines männlichen Gliedes geschnitzt ist.

Sogar ins Dorf dürfen sie im Notfall, da die Frauen auf den bekannten Zweiklang hin die Türen schließen oder sich die Augen zuhalten; sie müssen darin vorsichtig sein, denn sonst würden sie sehr krank werden, ein Unglücksfall, der freilich durch Schlachten einer Medizinziege oder — wenn die Krankheit leichter ist — eines Huhnes behoben werden kann.

Ist der erste Monat vorüber, so tritt eine Verbesserung der Lage unserer Neulinge insofern ein, als sie schon von Weibern und Uneingeweihten gesehen werden dürfen, auch in die Dörfer zu Spiel und Tanz gehen können. Zugleich erhalten sie eine besondere, freilich dürftige Tracht, die uns ganz eigenartig anmutet. Der ganze Leib wird mit weißer Farbe (Tonerde) bestrichen, auf dem Kreuz wippt ein kleiner weißer Pferdeschwanz, ähnlich wie er von den

[1]) Aus dem Holze der **Albizzia fastigiata** (E. Mey. Oliv.) *(siehe III).*

Frauen der Nordpangwe getragen wird — nur weit zierlicher — und der Penis ist in einen Stulp (Abb. 2) gezwängt, der mit einer Feder (vielfach vom Papagei oder vom Hahn) oder etwas ähnlichem verziert ist. Abb. 3 und 4 zeigt so ein Paar dieser sonderbaren „Todeskandidaten" [1]).

Das schwanzartige Kleidungsstück *(ebal e mrǎn)* besteht nicht aus Raphiabast, wie das entsprechende Kleidungsstück der Frauen, sondern aus den schneeweißen Fasern der Plante, die in verschiedenen Bündeln durch ein dünnes, viereckiges Brett gezogen werden.

Diejenigen *bomrǎn*, welche ihren Anzug nicht selbst anfertigen können, müssen sie für eine Mark von den Älteren beziehen. Die Penisstulpe *(mſónde* J.) sind Rollen aus Blättern des Schraubenbaums, **Pandanus** *(awä'b)*, und an einem Ende mit einem Raphiamarkstück geschlossen. Die Plante ist eine Pflanze des Mondes, weil sie erstens mondförmige Früchte hat und zweitens auf ihren breiten Blättern das Mondlicht widerspiegelt; wir werden ihr später noch oft im Kult des Bösen begegnen. Der Schraubenbaum hat ebenfalls eine heilige Bedeutung, was schon aus dem Namen *a-wä'-b* = Stamm, *vä* = töten, hervorgeht, warum aber, kann ich nicht sagen. Endlich tragen die Neulinge kleine Körbchen aus Schraubenbaumgeflecht *(ebä'da)*.

Der ganze Aufzug ist in seiner Bedeutung klar: weiß ist die Farbe des Todes, denn der Mond, dessen abnehmende Phase eine Art „Sterben" ist, ist weiß, weiß sind auch die Knochen eines Toten, daher der weiße Anstrich und das weiße Hinterkleidchen. Der weiberähnliche Schurz soll die Neulinge zu Weibern stempeln, die ja für den Kult des Bösen *bebi'n*, d. h. Menschen mit guten Seelenwesen sind, und der Penisstulp soll das Geschlecht verdecken, beides also anzeigen, daß man nach dem Tode wieder geschlechtslos, d. h. rein wie vor der Sünde werden möge [2]).

Also Feste dürfen auch die „Toten" einmal mitmachen, aber dann müssen sie wieder in ihr Totenreich zurück, d. h. sie müssen in den Buschhütten schlafen. Ebenso bleiben zwei Bestimmungen bestehen: erstens dürfen die Weiber nicht sehen, wie die Neulinge essen (natürlich, denn die Toten essen nicht) und zweitens dürfen die Neulinge nicht mit Frauen Umgang haben (Tote sind geschlechtslos),

---

[1]) Diese von einem Eingeborenen aufgenommene Photographie verdankt das Museum für Völkerkunde zu Lübeck Herrn Theodor Schultz in Jaunde.

[2]) Vielleicht haben diese Stulpe Dominik dazu geführt, unter die Abbildung eines Tanzes der Jaundeneulinge in seinem Buche „Vom Atlantik zum Tschadsee" die Bezeichnung „Mannbarkeitsfest" zu setzen. Das ganze Sso hat nichts mit Mannbarkeit zu tun, die meisten Jünglinge sind längst beschnitten und mannbar, andere werden es erst später; der innere Sinn betrifft auch ganz andere Fragen als die der Mannbarkeit.

Verbote, die man selbstverständlich vorher allen denen, die es nicht wissen sollten, mitteilt. Wird gegen letzteres Verbot gehandelt, was wohl nur seltener vorkommen mag, so muß die Frau sterben, wobei der einzige Trost der ist, daß auch dieses traurige Schicksal durch eine geeignete Medizin, die in der Hauptsache wieder aus dem „Sündenbock", der Ziege, besteht, abgewendet werden kann.

Nach drei Monaten Aufenthalt in der Buschhütte zählen die Neulinge nur noch halb zu den Toten, was dadurch zum Ausdruck gebracht wird, daß nur Hände und Füße weiß getüncht werden und ein Stück Rindenzeug um die Hüften gelegt wird. In diesem Aufzuge verläßt die Gesellschaft den Busch und zieht in einer Reihe zum Dorf. Alle Verbote sind jetzt aufgehoben, außer dem einen, geschlechtlich zu verkehren, an das sich freilich niemand mehr hält. Im schlimmsten Falle, falls die Frau erkranken sollte, schlachtet man ein Huhn, und die Sache ist in Ordnung. Früher, als die europäische Kultur noch nicht so tief in Jaunde eingedrungen war, mag das möglicherweise anders gewesen sein; als meine Berichterstatter das Sso mitmachten, hatte schon die neue Zeit, namentlich der Einfluß der Mission, stark entartend auf die religiösen Einrichtungen eingewirkt.

Dieser Zustand dauert nun eine bestimmte Zeit und danach sind die Neulinge Eingeweihte *(bongüs)*; sie haben einen ganz anderen Menschen angezogen, auch äußerlich, indem sie sich mit Rotholz (Zeichen der Freude, des Lebens) einreiben und europäische Stoffe tragen, und können im nächsten Jahre schon die Jüngeren quälen.

b) Sso und Ndong-mba der Ntum.

Das Sso der Südpangwe weicht, wie schon erwähnt, von dem der Jaunde vielfach ab, vor allem unterscheidet es sich von ihm durch seine Verbindung mit dem Kult der Sonne, dem Ndong-mba[1]), und durch eine Vorfeier, *ãtã III (alũk)*, am Vorabend des ersten Festtages.

Zu allererst wird ein Gerüst für den Phallustanz errichtet — wie beim Sso der Jaunde —, dessen Stange aber nicht in Form von ganzen Figuren, sondern nur an dem einen Ende zu einem Schlangenkopf ausgeschnitzt ist und während der ganzen Dauer des Ndong-mba mit Plantenblättern verhüllt bleibt.

Am Abend des Alu versammelt sich die männliche Einwohnerschaft des Dorfes zu einem Tanz, während sich die Neulinge — es sind nur einige wenige im Alter von 5—8 Jahren —, ebenso wie die Weiber, in einem verschlossenen Hause befinden. Was draußen vor sich geht, ist die in Tanz übersetzte Nachahmung des Geschlechtsaktes. Kann man bei einigen Tänzen, z. B. dem Dschama, noch in Ungewißheit sein, woraus er entstanden sein mag, so ist man hier jedes Zweifels überhoben, ja, ich glaube den Eingeborenen nicht Unrecht

zu tun, wenn ich annehme, daß dort, wo keine Europäer zugegen sind, der Tanz recht ausgelassen werden kann und an Deutlichkeit nichts zu wünschen übrig läßt. In Bebai, wo ich die Feierlichkeiten mitmachte, ging die Sache aber nicht weiter, als daß von den eingeweihten Knaben und Jünglingen, die sich in zwei Reihen gegenüberstanden, einige mit größerem oder geringerem Geschick gegeneinander oder hintereinander tanzten, indem sie durch Bauchbewegungen den Coitus nachahmten. Hier zeigten die Neger so recht, was sie an Ausdauer leisten können; einzelne waren unermüdlich, und es wurde bis in die späte Nacht getanzt mit einem Eifer, der einer besseren Sache wert gewesen wäre.

An diesen Tanz schloß sich ein Beschimpfen der Weiber, die zum Teil mit einem besonders eintönigen Gegengesang aus dem Hause heraus antworteten. Unter den ausschließlich obszönen Schimpfnamen waren folgende:

mɣŏ, a ne ebŏ̧no, mvŏ̧; buda makə̈n̄;
Scheide, sie ist (in der) Scham, Scheide; großes Gesäß;

epfuɣīn ebọ̄n; mode ebŏn; enum e ne ebŏn;
haarloser Schamberg; große Scham; Geruch, er ist (in der) Scham;

enum e ne elə̈ṅ; madźīm e ne elə̈ṅ; abī e ne elə̈ṅ;
Geruch, er ist (im) After [1]); Wasser, es ist (im) After; Schmutz; er ist (im) After;

ośńte e ne ebŏ̧n; mbō e ne elə̈ṅ, mbōk;
Kleine Schamlippen, sie sind (in der) Scham; Scheide sie ist (im) After, Scheide;

mebé m' 'ebŏ̧n;
äußere Schamlippen der Scham;

la olə̈l ebŏ̧n; la mbọ̄m akiai;
sieh (die) inneren Schamlippen der Scham; sieh (den) Strauß Blätter [2]);

la bŭṅgo bínśia;
sieh (die) reifen Planten [2]);

la olə̈mmadźīm; la okọangŏ̧n;
sieh (das) du — schöpfst — Wasser [2]); sieh (das) du — zerreibst — Ngon [2]);

la ɣerê.
sieh Geschlechtswerkzeug.

Aber auch persönliche Eigentümlichkeiten und Schwächen wurden ans Licht gezogen — ohne daß man Namen nannte, jedoch so, daß die Dorfbewohner schon wußten, wer gemeint war.

Dabei stürmte die Gesellschaft unter höllischem Geschrei den Dorfplatz hinunter, so daß es schien, als ob die wilde Jagd losginge. Dieser Lärm war wohlberechnet, denn er verhinderte, daß die Gegenpartei die einzelnen Stimmen erkannt und sich für besonders gesalzene und treffende Ausdrücke gerächt hätte.

---

[1]) Der After ist hier ein Ekelname für die Scham.
[2]) Spottname für die weibliche Scham.

Abb. 5. Schattendarsteller (Isisleute) beim Sso-Kult in Bébai (Fam. Essengi). Der mittelste mit der Sso-Maske.

Zum Leidwesen einiger Schreier und Hanswürste, die sich in derben Späßen nicht genug tun konnten, nahm diese Sache ziemlich bald ein Ende und die „Hauptattraktion", nämlich die Darstellung des Sso und seines Anhangs, ging vor sich. Zu dem Zwecke vermummten sich mehrere junge Leute mit Lendentüchern, die sie sich von hinten über den Kopf zogen, und huschten so als sonderbare schattenhafte Gestalten über den Dorfplatz, stießen gegen die Vordersten der Zuschauer, rissen sie um und ließen sich dann auf die Erde nieder, wo sie unter ihrem Tuch ganz merkwürdige Bewegungen ausführten, etwa so, als ob sie auf der Erde entlang kriechen wollten und doch keinen Boden fassen könnten. Mit einemmal sprang dann dieser oder jener auf und huschte in seiner sonderbaren Weise wieder über den Dorfplatz. Alsbald erschien die Hauptperson (zuweilen sind es auch mehrere, zwei bis drei), ein Mann mit einer Hörnermaske *(epʊ́ʊ̄)*, setzte sich in der Mitte des Dorfplatzes hin und fing an, ganz wunderlich den Kopf zu bewegen. Die Vermummten bekamen neues Leben, umgaben ihren Herrn und Meister (Abb. 5), krabbelten wie wild, flatterten davon und kehrten wieder zurück.

Alle diese Leute, auch die Maskenträger, heißen *ísɪ,ɛ*, Mz.: *bísɪ,ɛ*, und sollen, wie aus dem Stamm von *ɑ́ sɪ́s* = schrecken hervorgeht, erschrecken. Aber was für Geschöpfe sollen sie vorstellen? Meines Erachtens nur Katzen, dafür spricht die Art der Bewegung und der Stamm *sí*, *n-sɪ́-ʊ̀* = die Katze! Nur ein

Tier noch könnte in Betracht kommen, die Fledermaus. Aber das Kriechen auf der Erde und die Bedeutung des Wortstamms scheinen sie mir auszuschließen.

Nachdem der Maskenträger eine Zeitlang unter betäubendem Trommellärm und Jauchzen der Teilnehmer seine Künste vorgeführt, trugen Erwachsene die Neulinge, die bis dahin im Hause gewartet hatten, einen nach dem andern auf dem Rücken heraus. Jetzt kam neue Bewegung in die Schattenmänner, sie machten verzweifelte Anstrengungen unter ihren Tüchern, stürzten sich auf die entsetzten Jungen und suchten sie in jeder Weise bange zu machen. Dann setzten die Männer ihre Last ab, und die Schatten scheuchten die Jungen gegen den Maskenträger, bei dessen Anblick die Kleinen heftig erschraken und sich gebärdeten wie junge Pferde, die plötzlich irgendeinen fremden Gegenstand am Wege liegen sehen. Ihr Herz schlug heftig von all den Aufregungen, und immer stürmischer wurden sie von den vermummten Gestalten umflattert, während der Maskenmann sich wegschlich und beim Versammlungshause im Dunkel der Nacht verschwand.

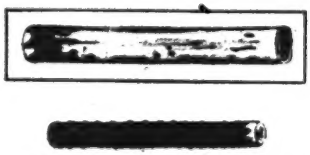


Abb. 6, *a* und *b*. Mirlitons für Kulte. Das Mirliton ist ein Stück eines hohlen Stengels, dessen eine Seite mit dem Schutzhäutchen von Spinneneiern überklebt ist. 1/3 nat. Gr.

Die Mitternacht war schon nahe, als damit die Vorstellung abbrach und sich alles in die Hütten begab.

Es braucht wohl kaum hinzugefügt zu werden, daß der Maskenmann den Sso, d. h. den Mond, und die vermummten Gestalten die (bösen) Seelenwesen, die sich nach dem Tode in den (lebenden) Schatten (vergl. S. 36) verkörpern, anzeigen sollen, es handelt sich hier also um eine Vorstellung des Schattenreichs.

Der nächste Tag, der erste eigentliche Festtag, brachte die Feier des Ndongmba, das Sonnenfest, das also hier in das Sso- oder Mondfest eingeschoben ist und aus einer mit großem dramatischem Geschick durchgeführten Darstellung der Sonne besteht. Die Feier zerfällt in zwei Teile, im ersten wird unter Ausschluß der Neulinge die untergehende Sonne unter dem Bilde eines — Verrückten dargestellt, im zweiten den Neulingen — symbolisch — die aufgehende Sonne gezeigt und von ihnen die mimische Vorführung des Ablaufs eines Sonnentages im täglichen Leben und der belebenden Wirkung der Sonne verlangt.

Es wurde oben ausgeführt, daß die Pangwe einen Geisteskranken mit anderen Augen ansehen wie wir; er ist für sie ein von Gott (der Sonne) gewissermaßen Erleuchteter, der den Höchsten oder das Höchste geschaut hat und deshalb auf die irdischen Dinge in besonderer, uns nur nicht verständlicher Weise reagiert; er ist ein von Gott (Sonne) emporgehobener Mensch, der ihm ähnlich, also ohne Seelenwesen ist. Um für den Gesunden etwas Ähnliches

Abb. 7. Ndong-mba in Bébai (Fam. Esseng). Der Kultleiter führt die Neulinge aus dem Hause und zeigt ihnen symbolisch die Sonne; links das beim Seo benutzte Phallusgerät.

im kleinen zu erreichen, setzte man früher die Neulinge solange an die Sonne, bis sie schwindelig wurden und in Krämpfe verfielen. Jetzt hat man diese Sitte wohl wegen ihrer Gefährlichkeit aufgegeben, aber der Glaube besteht noch, Krämpfe kämen davon, daß man zu lange in die Sonne gesehen hat; der Schwindel heißt *ndŏṅ*, von *ndŏṅ* = Sonne, Gestirn.

Die Geisteskrankheit ist also ein der Gottheit geweihter Zustand, dem die Menschen gern nahekommen möchten, anderseits scheint die Sonne selbst, wenn sie als flimmernder roter Ball untergeht, in Schwindel und Krämpfe zu verfallen.

Während nun die Festteilnehmer sich vor dem Versammlungshause in zwei Reihen aufstellten, spielte der Ndong-mba (der Sonnendarsteller heißt ebenfalls Ndong-mba) seine Rolle als Geisteskranker mit einem Geschick, das wirklich für Simulanten als vorbildlich gelten könnte. Das bei allen Kulten unvermeidliche Mirliton *(elŏṅ)* (Abb. 6) im Munde, hielt er einen eindringlichen Vortrag darüber, daß er gar nicht krank sei. Die Kranken nämlich — so wurde mir gesagt — meinen, sie seien ganz gesund und würden nur von den Leuten für einen Narren gehalten. Um zu beweisen, daß ihm „nichts fehle", wies der Ndong-mba auf seine Füße mit Gebärden, die über seinen Geisteszustand keinerlei Zweifel bestehen ließen, zählte alle Zehen und Finger, faßte sich an den Kopf und den Hinteren, redete auf die einzelnen Zuschauer

ein, kurz suchte auf alle mögliche Weise klarzutun, daß er so gesund wie die anderen sei. Plötzlich setzte er sich nieder, bekam Zuckungen an Händen und Füßen und fiel schließlich in Krämpfe. Wieder zur Besinnung gekommen, stand er wie mit einem plötzlichen Entschluß auf, ging stracks ins Versammlungshaus, nahm ein Feuerscheit wie eine wichtige Sache auf die Schulter, legte es auf den Dorfplatz und forderte nun einen Umstehenden auf, das Scheit wieder ins Haus zu tragen. Dann bekam er wieder seine Anfälle oder blies auf seinem Mirliton. Mit einem Worte, er machte seine Sache ganz vorzüglich, und sein schauspielerisches Talent war über jedes Lob erhaben. Dazu sangen die Umstehenden unter Trommelbegleitung. Der Kehrreim lautete:

ungüngödö á ndön, ane ngön abé.

Etwas Halbkugeliges von Gestirn, wie Kern (der) Kolanuß.

Damit ist natürlich die schon zur Hälfte unter den Horizont gesunkene Sonne gemeint, der Kern der Kolanuß (**Cola acuminata** P. B.) ist zum Vergleich herangezogen, da er auch rot (eigentlich rosa) und halbkugelig ist [1]).

Hierauf folgt der Tanz des Ndong-mba, den ich beim Elong besprechen werde.

Nach Beendigung dieses Tanzes führte man die Neulinge aus dem Hause heraus und zeigte ihnen in folgender Weise die aufgehende Sonne.

Einer der älteren Teilnehmer, meistens der Veranstalter des Festes, begibt sich in das Haus, in dem die Jungen eingeschlossen waren, und bringt sie einzeln oder zu mehreren in langsamem Tanzschritt zum Versammlungshaus, indem er unterwegs mehrmals an den Himmel zeigt, und zwar meistens — wenn auch nicht immer — nach Osten (Abb. 7). Scheinbar befanden sich beide Teile, besonders aber die Neulinge, gänzlich darüber im unklaren, was diese Handlung vorstellen sollte. Sie guckten sich denn auch die in der Nähe befindlichen Bäume mit einem Gesicht an, auf dem deutlich zu lesen stand: „Nanu, ich sehe doch nichts!" Alle die ursprünglichen Anschauungen leben bloß noch unbewußt in den Pangwe, und nur durch Überblicken der gesamten Religion und durch zufällige, unbewußte Äußerungen wird man die Zusammenhänge begreifen. So sagte z. B. einer meiner Jungen auf meine Frage, warum der

---

[1]) Vgl. hier das Sprichwort:

ye ma vu ndřime, abé a mfök.

(Fragep.) ich sterbe Verlorensein, Kolanuß in der Umhängetasche.

Soll ich immerfort im Düstern tappen, wenn ich den Lichtspender, d. h. also Feuerzeug, in der Tasche habe.

„Kolanuß" steht hier also direkt für Lichtspender, S o n n e , das Feuerzeug ist ein Lichtspender, eine Sonne im kleinen.

Mann so in die Luft zeigte, wörtlich: „Er macht Spaß, wie wenn Ndong-mba oben (in der Luft) wäre."

Am Schlusse des Vorgangs erschreckte der Ndong-mba die Jungen noch, indem er, von hinten kommend, ihnen plötzlich mit dem Mirliton in die Ohren blies, während der Betreffende, der Richtung des Fingers folgend, das in der Luft schwebende Etwas zu erspähen suchte.

Jetzt gaben die Neulinge, jeder Trupp für sich, nach Angabe und Vorbild des Ndong-mba, eine kleine, ganz allerliebste und von warmem Humor getragene Darstellung des Sonnenaufgangs, d. h. der von der Sonne wachgeküßten Tiere und Menschenkinder und ihres Tagewerkes zum besten. Um dem Jungen zu zeigen, wie er sich zu verhalten habe, machte zuerst ein Erwachsener mit dem Ndong-mba die Sache vor, dann setzte er sich hinter den Jungen und dieser wiederholte mit seiner Unterstützung dasselbe. Ihnen gegenüber saß der Ndong-mba gab auf dem Mirliton an, was zu tun sei, und machte selbst die Bewegungen vor. Zuerst wird hierbei gezeigt, wie der Mensch langsam aufwacht, während er auf seinem Mirliton stöhnende Laute von sich gibt; wie wenn er aus dem Schlafe aufwacht, reckt der Spielleiter sich und streckt sich und zählt nun alle seine Glieder, indem er jede Fußzehe mit der Hand nimmt — sein Gegenüber natürlich ebenso —, zuerst die kleine Zehe, dann alle übrigen und sie hin und her schüttelt, als ob er sehen wollte, ob sie noch festsitzen, erst an dem einen, dann am anderen Fuß. Dann streicht er mit beiden Händen die Unterschenkel aufwärts, um die Glieder geschmeidig zu machen, dann — immer lebhafter werdend — zerdrückt er sich, indem er vom Unterschenkel auf den Oberschenkel vorrückt, gleichsam die Flöhe, die da herumlaufen. Dann reckt er den Oberkörper, zählt die Finger an der Hand, wie die Zehen, streicht sich die Arme von unten nach oben und ist jetzt ganz munter. Am Schlusse legen beide die Hände so auf den Boden, daß sie sich mit den Fingerspitzen berühren, um anzudeuten, daß der Knabe jetzt ein Jünger der Sonne — dargestellt vom Ndong-mba — geworden ist. Jetzt zeigt der Mann, wie die Graupapageien [1]) auf den Wipfeln der Bäume die Morgensonne begrüßen, indem sie sich recken, ihre Flügel ausbreiten, dann immer höher und höher auf die Zweige klettern, um schließlich fortzufliegen. All dies ahmt der Schauspieler trefflich nach, indem er mit den Händen zuerst unten am Boden, dann immer höher herumfuchtelt, bis zuletzt beide Darsteller die Hände zusammenlegen. Jetzt sagt der Spielleiter: „Krieg kommt." Erst langsam, dann immer schneller ahmt der Mann das Verstecken hinter den Planten des Dorfes, das Vorstürmen und Abschießen der Gewehre nach usw. So kommen oft noch allerlei Vorgänge aus dem Leben zur Vorführung, zuletzt meint der Schauspieler: „Jetzt gehen wir auf Honigsuche." Und nun wird in köstlicher Weise

[1]) Die Papageien sind Tiere der Sonne, wir finden daher ihre roten Schwanzfedern als Schmuck bei Kultfiguren sowohl wie bei Menschen.

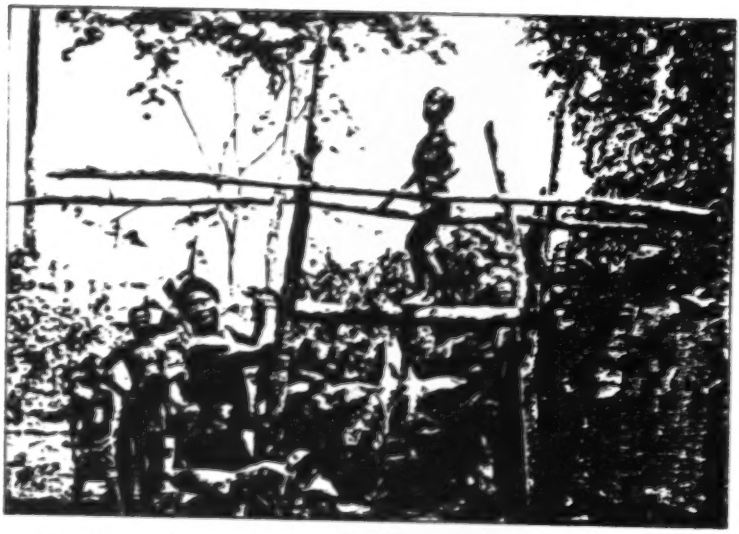


Abb. 8. Tanz eines Neulings auf dem Phallusgerüst, Seo Kult, in Akonangi (Familie Essonduni).

dargestellt, wie die Leute das Bienennest ausnehmen und fortwährend von den ergrimmten Immen gestochen werden, immer mehr Bienen scheinen über die Räuber herzufallen, während sie selbst nur noch eifriger nach dem Honig suchen. Endlich haben sie die süße Speise, und es geht ans Verteilen. Der Ndong-mba nimmt ein Plantenblatt, reißt davon Stücke ab und deutet mit ihnen die Verteilung der Wabenstücke auf dem Boden an. „Dies zuerst für mich," sagt er und legt ein Stück Blatt vor sich, „dann hier für meine Mutter," wieder ein Blatt für sich, „dies für meinen Vater" usw. Zuletzt: „Hier sind die leeren Waben — für dich," sagt er und legt das Blatt dem Jungen hin. Unter großem Jubel der Umstehenden teilt so der Schauspieler den Honig, indem er für seinen Großvater, seine Bröder, sogar seinen Urgroßvater und alle möglichen Tanten und anderen Verwandten Honig beansprucht, während für den Jungen wenig oder nur der schlechte Rest übrig bleibt.

So schloß dieses mit großem Geschick durchgeführte Lustspiel.

Am zweiten Festtage tanzten die Neulinge den Phallustanz, dem auch Uneingeweihte — selbst Weiber — zuschauen durften.

Die Jungen, auf der einen Hälfte des Körpers mit Rotholz gefärbt, waren von hinten auf das Haus, gegen das das Gerüst lehnte, geklettert und hockten auf dem First. Nun wurde ihnen von einem Vortänzer die Sache gezeigt, dann begann der erste auf das Gerüst zu steigen, mußte bis zum Kopfe der Stange

Abb. 9. Seo-Kultplatz in Bébai (Fam. Essengi, Süd-Kamerun. Links ein gedeckter Gang, der das Grab versinnbildlichen soll, in der Mitte ein Schwein, rechts (vor dem Jungen) eine Schlange.

und wieder zurückgehen und wurde von einem Manne folgendermaßen angesungen:

mon a ne bibai, ikra, mon a ne makomo, ikra

Kind es ist (aus) Bebai: sündenlos! [1]) Kind, es ist (aus) Makomo, sündenlos!

mon a ne ebäangón, ikra, mon a ne bemve, ikra! usw.

Kind, es ist (aus) Ebäangon: sündenlos! Kind, es ist (aus) Bemwe, sündenlos! usw.

ikra, ikra, ikra, ikra, ikra, nga ma mane bol.

sündenlos, nicht wahr, ich beendigte Leute (zu zählen).

Unter hellem *hö* des Chores setzten die Trommeln ein und der Junge begann auf der Stange zu tanzen (Abb. 8), vom Dachrand bis an den Kopf und zurück; der Chor sang dann stets *hè, hè he ngungo (ngungo* = Verzeihung). Dieser Gesang ist ein Reinigungsgesang, der den Fluch des Vaters (Gottes) wegen des Geschlechtsverkehrs aufheben soll [2]). Auch A. L. Bennett sagt in seiner in der Einführung genannten Arbeit: „People are c u r s e d of God on account of their sins." Nachdem der erste Junge geendet, kam der

[1]) D. h. von einer Schuld (bzw. Sünde), die jemand begangen hat, freigesprochen.

[2]) Ähnlich ist der Vorgang beim profanen Fluch, den der Vater seinem Sohne wieder abnimmt (vgl. Abschn. XIX, Teil 2).

zweite dran, und alles wurde genau so wiederholt. Machte ein Neuling seinen Tanz besonders gut, so begannen die anwesenden Weiber, vielleicht zum Teil seine Verwandten, sich wie wahnsinnig zu gebärden, herumzutanzen, schrill zu juchzen und vor Freude außer sich zu sein. In der Begeisterung warfen sie ihm von allen Seiten grüne Planten, halbe Kassaverollen und Ngonkerne zu.

Nach Beendigung des Tanzes wurde jeder Junge von einem Manne auf die Schulter genommen und zuletzt alle Neulinge vor dem Versammlungshause gemarkt.

Der dritte Tag stand ganz im Zeichen des Bösen. Am Morgen begann man den Busch dicht hinter dem Versammlungshause zu roden und einen Kultplatz zu schaffen, der etwas vom Wege ablag (Abb. 9 u. 10). Auf ihm wurden zwei Lehmfiguren, ein Schwein *(a)* und eine Riesenschlange *(b)*, die aus einer Baumwurzel hervorkroch und mit Ruß schwarz bestrichen war, geformt, dann hob man daneben einen Graben aus und überdeckte ihn teilweise mit Baumstämmen *(c)*; davor richtete man einen „Sumpf" *(e)* her, indem man zwischen zwei Paar zusammengeflochtener Kardamomstengel Bananenwasser goß. Zwischen Gang und Sumpf legte man quer einen Baumstamm *(d)* auf die Erde. Auf diesen legte der Medizinmann bei Beginn der Kulthandlung, bei der nie das Trommel- und Mirlitonkonzert fehlen darf, einen Hahn und ließ den Kopf von einem Gehilfen halten. Während die Neulinge im Versammlungshause *(f)* in einem durch Palmblätter abgeschlossenen Raum blieben, begannen die jüngeren der Eingeweihten eine Schweineherde in Szene zu setzen, indem sie unter Grunzen und Schreien durch die Planten liefen und schließlich in einer Linie im Hintergrunde des Kultplatzes zum Vorschein kamen. Die beiden vorderen Leute, Jungen von 8—10 Jahren, krochen eilig durch den Gang, der erste schlug mit einem Haner den Hals des Hahnes durch und lief dann vorn hinaus auf den Dorfplatz, gefolgt von den anderen, die (wohl wegen ihrer Größe) nicht durch den Gang, sondern daran vorbeiliefen.

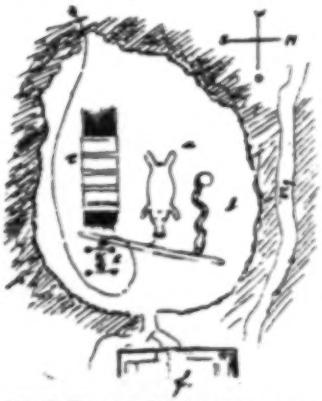


Abb. 10. Plan eines Seo-Kultplatzes bei Bébal (Fam. Essengi), Nsum.

Auf dem Dorfplatze führte dann die ganze Gesellschaft den Ssotanz auf, den ich — wenn er gut gelingt — für den besten und eindrucksvollsten Tanz der Pangwe halte. Jeder hielt ein Bananenblatt in der Hand, einige hatten außerdem noch ein Blatt vorn in den Gürtel gesteckt, das wie ein erigierter Penis vorstand. Dann stellten sich alle an dem einen Ende des Dorfplatzes in der

Mitte so nebeneinander auf, daß sie mit dem Gesicht gegen die Häuser gerichtet waren, und rückten, sich langsam seitwärts bewegend, unter Gesang mit den Füßen im Dreitakt den Boden stampfend und taktmäßig mit den Händen fuchtelnd, auf das Versammlungshaus zu, wo sich die Zuschauer befanden. Zuerst ertönte Gesang und Füßestampfen nur leise, schwollen dann an und wurden immer stärker, bis zuletzt mit solcher Gewalt getanzt wurde, daß der ganze Boden mitdröhnte und die Fetzen von den Blättern flogen. Nach einem Höhepunkt der allgemeinen Kraftentfaltung nahm die Stärke des Gesangs und Tanzes schnell und stetig ab bis fast zur Unhörbarkeit. Vier- oder fünfmal schwoll so die Welle an und flachte wieder ab, indem die Reihe immer näher ans Versammlungshaus rückte. Jede neue Welle übertraf die vorhergehende an Heftigkeit, und wie die letzte eben am Versammlungshause ankam, war die Höhe der Darstellungskunst und natürlichen Wildheit erreicht. Die ganze Linie tanzte mit solcher Erregtheit, daß sie völlig in Staub gehüllt war und der Boden dröhnte, als ob ein Schlachtheer im Ansturm sei; die letzten Fetzen der Bananenblätter wirbelten den Tänzern um den Kopf und bedeckten, als der Tanz plötzlich abbrach, den verwüsteten Dorfplatz. Diese Fetzen durften nun nicht etwa beiseite geworfen werden, sondern sie wurden sorgsam aufgelesen und sämtlich auf die Bananenstaude, von der sie genommen waren, zurückgelegt, die Früchte dieser Banane aber durften nur von alten Weibern oder Uneingeweihten gegessen werden. — Zumal sich hier kein Trommelton — wie sonst immer — in den Tanz hineinmischt, sucht dieses Schauspiel an wilder Schönheit seinesgleichen [1]).

Nach diesem „Ssotanz", der das Böse, insonderheit die Gewalt des Geschlechtstriebes verbildlichen soll, begaben sich alle Teilnehmer auf den heiligen Platz, auf dem der Baumstamm zwischen Grube und Sumpf weggenommen und Asche gegen jedes Kardamomstämmchen gehäuft wurde. Nun nahm man den Neulingen die Lendentücher ab und führte sie einzeln — wie der Verlauf der Pfeillinie in Abb. 10 zeigt — aus dem rückwärtigen Busch heran; ein Erwachsener nahm jeden unter den Arm, faßte ihn um, wobei er auf die Erde wies, führte ihn im Bogen um den Sumpf und setzte ihn unter dem Gerüst ab, wo ein Gehilfe ihn übernahm und auf dem Bauche durch den Schmutz schleifte. Dabei tauchte er ein Stück Bananenstamm in den Schmutz und strich dem Jungen damit vom Gesäß an über den Rücken bis zur Schulter. Dann mußte der Junge, der nun wie ein „Schwein" aussah, was ja auch beabsichtigt war, aufstehen und sich durch das Tor entfernen, während der nächste an die Reihe kam. Dem letzten wurde von jedem der Umstehenden ein Stück **Pennisetum purpureum** *(256,6)* oder in dessen Ermangelung irgendein Blatt oder ein Zweig, der gerade bei der Hand war, aufs

[1]) Kandt erwähnt in seinem Buche „Caput Nili", nebenbei bemerkt vielleicht eins der besten Bücher, das über Afrika überhaupt geschrieben wurde, von den Warundi S. 254 einen ähnlichen Tanz.

Kreuz gelegt, während er noch in der Pfütze steckte.

Damit war die Feier zu Ende und die jungen Eingeweihten kehrten in ihre Dörfer zurück, während die anderen nach einigen Tagen das Fest durch den sogenannten Palmentanz *(ema)*[5]) beschlossen.

Wenn man diese merkwürdigen Vorgänge des letzten Tages überblickt, so sehen wir hier die Wesenheit des Bösen in neuen Formen zum Ausdruck gebracht. Die Schlange und das Schwein sind Verkörperungen der geschlechtlichen „Sünde". Über die Schlange haben wir bereits des längeren

Abb. 11.
Hörnermaske der Schweinekanner beim Sao-Kult der südspangwe (Fam. Eneboge), Fang.

und breiteren gesprochen, das Schwein hat (wie später der Elefant) wegen seines Aufenthaltes im Sumpf, also wegen seiner Unreinheit, die große Bedeutung im Kult des Bösen bekommen, denn äußere Unreinheit gleicht innerer Unreinheit (Geschlechtsverkehr), und der Sumpf ist — kultlich gesprochen — ein Gemisch der unreinen Elemente Erde und Wasser. Neben dem nächtlichen Hörnertier (hier der Antilope *sö*), das ja den Mond vertritt, ist deshalb das Schwein die wichtigste Verkörperung des Bösen geworden, die Hörnermaske (Abb. 11) trägt schweineartige Züge, z. B. manchmal richtige Schweinsohren und die Warzen des afrikanischen Wildschweins; daher auch die häufige Darstellung von Schweinen in den Kulten, daher das Vorführen einer Schweineherde seitens der Eingeweihten des Sao.

Der Gang in der Erde soll ein Grab versinnbildlichen, ist also hier der einzige, freilich ausdruckvollste Rest des Sterbegedankens, der bei den Jaunde so dramatisch durchgeführt war. Der Anfrug am Anfang der Feier soll nun bedeuten, daß die „sündigen" Menschen (Schweineherde) durch den Tod zu gehen haben (Grab), weil sie dem Guten (dem Hahn, als Tier der Sonne, des Guten) den Garaus gemacht haben. Die Darstellung ist hier etwas unklar, aber das ist häufig bei den Kulten und wir werden es auch sonst wiedertreffen. Bei dieser Vorstellung dürfen die noch uneingeweihten Neulinge als „gute Menschen" nicht zugegen sein, ebensowenig bei dem folgenden Saotanz. Nachher erst werden die Neulinge in den Kult des Bösen eingeführt, indem man ihnen zeigt, daß die Erde sie aufnehmen wird (anderswo werden sie durch das Grab selbst geschickt). Das Schleifen durch den Schmutz bringt die Gedanken-

[5]) Beim Seelenfest beschrieben, Abschn. XI, Teil 6.

Abb. 209. SSO-FIGUR IN AKONANGÍ (FAM. ESSANDUN), SÜD-KAMERUN.

[Facing p. 62]

Verlegt und gedruckt bei Ernst Wasmuth A.-G., Berlin.

Abb. 12. Errichtung einer Soo-Figur über einem gedeckten Gange (das Grab darstellend), Akonangi (Fam. Essendum), Süd-Kamerun.

verbindung zwischen Erde, Schmutz und dem Bösen (Geschlechtsverkehr, Tod) zum Ausdruck: sein Rücken wird mit Schmutz bestrichen zum Zeichen, daß er nunmehr dem Bösen, eben dem Geschlechtsverkehr und dem Tode, geweiht ist.

Sehr eigenartig und beachtenswert ist das Auflegen des Todesgrases, **Pennisetum**, *e-si,-e* (bzw. der Blätter). Vielleicht ist es wegen seiner noch im „Tode" unverwüstlichen Lebenskraft (Fähigkeit der abgeschnittenen und scheinbar trockenen Stengelglieder, auszuschlagen) das Zeichen des Lebens im Tode — wir würden sagen: Auferstehung —, und es wird deshalb dem „toten" Neuling aufs Kreuz gelegt. Hierin ist wohl auch der Anfang der Sitte, den Toten Pflanzen mitzugeben, zu suchen (bei den Ägyptern eine mit Samen bestreute Osirisfigur aus Erde, bei uns Totenkränze).

Ein anderes Soo aus Akonangi zeigt, wie vielgestaltig im einzelnen es bei den Südpangwe ist, und weiter, daß aus der plastisch dargestellten Idee eine mit Kräften ausgerüstete Person geworden ist, aus der sich weiterhin dann ein „Götze" entwickelt. Zu dem Zwecke ist die Lehmfigur (Abb. 12 u. 13 u. Taf. XIX) „geweiht", d. h. mit kraftgebender Medizin ausgestattet und sehr folgerichtig über dem Grab, d. h. dem unterirdischen Gang errichtet, der vor und hinter der Figur freiliegt. Außerdem ist dieser Gang mit Ameisennestern [7]) gefüllt. Die Neulinge müssen durch die hintere Öffnung in den Gang

[7]) Diesmal der Art **Crematogaster striatula** Em. *(1150, 0150 ♂)*.

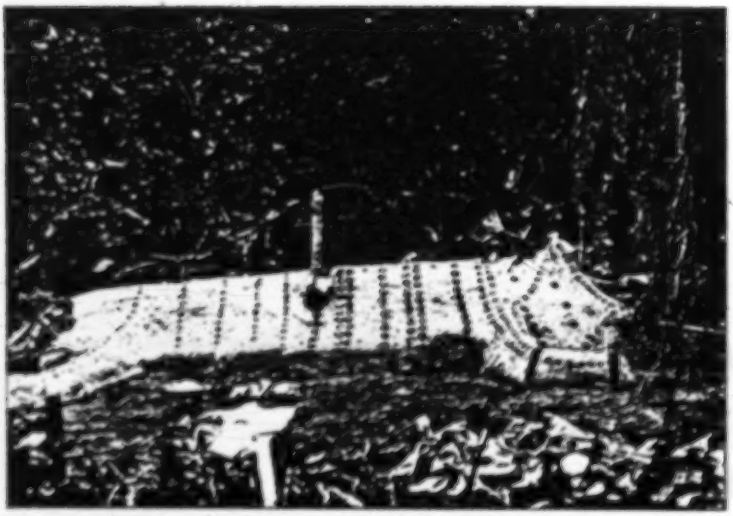


Abb. 13. Soo-Figur in Akonangi vor der Einweihung. Von der Seite.

unter der Figur entlang kriechen und aus der vorderen Öffnung, sozusagen aus dem Rachen des Soogeistes, d. h. des Bösen, des Todes, wieder herauskommen. Die Figur ist mit zwei Hörnern versehen, die den Mond und damit den altbekannten Gedankengang: Geschlechtsverkehr, Sünde, Tod, Mond (**Cephalophus**) andeuten. Der Pfahl, den unsere Abbildung auf dem Rücken der Figur zeigt, dient nur dazu, einen Schacht freizuhalten, in den bei der Weihe die Kraftmedizin versenkt wird. Diese Medizin besteht aus Teilen von 16 verschiedenen Pflanzen und aus 9 anderen Sachen, nämlich aus Schädelstücken, der Ewu, das ist der Sitz der Zauberei, Gift, einem Stück Messing (Messing gehört wegen des Glanzes zum Zauberglauben), einem Stück vom Regenbogen und vom Himmel, das ist Glimmer (Regenbogen ist von großen Zauberern gemacht), einem Spinnennest (Spinne ist eine Zauberin), einer **Lygosoma fernandi** Burt. (Ursprung des Todes!) und einer **Bufo latifrons** Blgr. (bei der Giftmischerei benutzt). Die Figur wird also zu einem Zauberer gemacht, um den Angriffen fremder Zauberwesen gewachsen zu sein. Doch werde ich auf die Zauberei bei den Kulten noch beim Ngi zurückkommen.

II. Bokung und Elong.

Zeigte das Soo der Jaunde ausschließlich die Wirkung des Bösen, trat beim Soo der Ntum schüchtern und als Anhängsel der Gedanke des Guten in der Natur hinzu, so erscheinen beim Bokung-Elong Böse und Gut als ebenbürtige

Mächte auf dem Plan. Innerlich spielt das Böse nach wie vor die Hauptrolle, aber das Gute tritt in den Kampf mit ihm ein und muß mit ihm noch manchen Vergleich schließen, bleibt jedoch schließlich Sieger.

In sehr hübscher Weise zeigen die Namen Bokung und Elong an, um was es sich handelt. In den Kulten werden die Grundbegriffe Gut und Böse bzw. Sonne und Mond nicht direkt genannt, der Mond war im Ssokult unter dem Bilde der Antilope *(sö)* vorgeführt, hier im Bokung wird sowohl das Gute wie das Böse unter dem Symbol von Tieren dargestellt, unter Hahn und Eule, jenes das Tier der Sonne, des Tages, des Guten, dieses das Tier des Mondes, der Nacht, des Bösen. Bokung kommt vom Stamm *a kǫ̀ǫ̀* = stöhnen, klagen und rufen der Eule; *akǫ̀ǫ̀* = Eule, **Syrnium nuchale** Sharpe), *a lóǫ̀* heißt blasen, flöten, krähen *(nǫ̀m e kub a lóǫ̀* = der Hahn kräht). Besser kann der Gegensatz zwischen dem Tag, dem Guten, und der Nacht, dem Schlechten, nicht verdeutlicht werden, als durch das Verhältnis der Eule, die so schaurig durch die Nacht ihren Klageruf ertönen läßt, zum Hahn, der die erwachende Morgensonne mit Jauchzen begrüßt.

Im übrigen zeigen sich uns viele Ähnlichkeiten und Übereinstimmungen mit dem bisher Erwähnten. Unterschiedlich ist vor allem, daß hier der Phallustanz (auf dem Gerüst) fehlt, also nur zwei Festtage vorhanden sind. Am ersten wurde der Reihe nach vorgeführt das Böse, das Gute, Vergleich der beiden; am zweiten Tage die Überwindung des Bösen, das berühmte *a ɣüe sǫ̀* = das Töten des Sso.

Die Vorfeier begann an Stelle des beim Sso beschriebenen Coitustanzes mit einem Schimpansentanz. Während die Zuschauer sich in zwei gleichlaufenden Reihen vor dem Versammlungshause aufstellten, ahmten drei Leute, darunter der „tonangebende" Medizinmann, auf allen Vieren kriechend, den Gang der Affen nach, um dann in wippender Bewegung in der Kniebeuge eine Art Tanz zu vollführen. Dabei brachte der Medizinmann auf einem Mirliton oder gleich auf zweien jammervoll stöhnende Töne hervor. Nach Beendigung des Tanzes, der ziemlich lange dauerte, traten die Schattenmänner, die Issisleute, in Erscheinung, und daran schloß sich wieder das Beschimpfen der Frauen.

Am *ersten Festtage* folgten weitere Vorführungen innerhalb des Versammlungshauses, in welchem durch einen Blätterverschlag ein kleiner Sonderraum *(elik)* abgetrennt war. In ihm, den später die Neulinge bezieben, saß der Kultleiter mit seinen Gehilfen und ließ Klageweisen auf dem Mirliton ertönen, während ein anderer Medizinmann auf demselben Instrument den Eulenruf ziemlich täuschend nachahmte: *huhú, huhuhuhúhu—uhá.* Dazwischen wurde der Affentanz in erneuter und verbesserter Auflage gebracht. Obgleich anscheinend alle Eingeweihten sich als Schimpansen zeigen konnten, so waren

es doch immer nur drei oder vier, die es in dieser Kunst zu etwas gebracht hatten. Allen zuvor tat es ein ganz alter Mann, der sowieso mit seinem fast kahlen Schädel und seinen vielen Falten im Gesicht wie ein Schimpanse aussah; dieser „Künstler" ahmte sein Vorbild so täuschend und komisch nach, daß es mir nicht mehr möglich blieb, den der Feier angemessenen Ernst zu bewahren. Ohne eine Miene zu verziehen, hockte der Alte auf dem Boden, nahm schweigend — als ob er an etwas ganz anderes dächte — irgendwelche Gegenstände vom Boden auf und ließ sie wieder über den Rücken fallen; plötzlich machte er mit den Händen zitternde Bewegungen, wie sie von den Affen in der Erregung ausgeführt werden, und suchte, wie es die Tiere im Spiel tun, ein Stück Holz oder ein Blatt vom Boden aufzunehmen, um dann dicht davor blitzschnell mit der Hand zurückzufahren, gerade wie der Schimpanse, wenn er eine Schlange oder einen Tausendfuß gesehen hat oder zu sehen glaubt. Dann machte er, immer in der Kniebeuge hockend, mit dem Oberkörper wippende Bewegungen, als ob er Gefahr witterte, schlürfte in dem eigentümlichen Affenschritt davon und setzte sich ohne einen Laut von sich zu geben, auf seinen Platz. Ein anderer Schauspieler hatte mehr die Art heraus, wie die Vierhänder laufen, und leistete in diesem Zweige Unübertreffliches.

Der Medizinmann blieb dagegen — wie es die alten Affenmännchen lieben — ruhig in der Mitte seines Trupps hocken und stöhnte und jammerte auf seinem Mirliton. Dann kam wieder der erste Tenor des Stückes, unser alter Herr. Nachdem er sich die im Versammlungshause stehenden Körbe verständnislos nach Art der Affen von allen Seiten genau angesehen hatte, legte er sich auf die Knie, ballte die Hände vor der — Schnauze, hätte ich bald gesagt, und machte zuletzt eine Art Bauchtanz, kurzum, man fühlte sich in eine vermenschlichte Schimpansenherde versetzt. Dazwischen sang ein Kollege mit Hilfe von zwei an den Mund gelegten Mirlitons, ein zweiter ahmte wieder Eulenrufe nach, wobei ihn oft der Beifall einiger Zuschauer, die jedesmal zu einem begeisterten *jò*— hingerissen wurden, belohnte. Es braucht kaum erwähnt zu werden, daß die Trommeln von Zeit zu Zeit den Eifer der Gesellschaft mit Erfolg auffrischten, da ja kaum eine Negerfestlichkeit ohne Trommelbegleitung (Fell- und Holztrommeln) vor sich geht. Nachdem so vom frühen Morgen bis zum Mittag mit kleinen Pausen geschauspielert war, kam der Ndong-mba- oder hier Elongdarsteller, ein jüngerer Mann aus einem benachbarten Dorfe, an die Reihe. Ihm wurde eine Tanzhaube aus rotglänzenden Turakofedern (**Turacus**-Arten), die vielleicht die Sonnenstrahlen andeuten sollen *(andaɲ*[1]), *ndɛ́ɔ̀k* = Tanzhaube, allgemein: *asɛ́ɔ)* (Abb. 14 u. 15), auf den Kopf gesteckt und eine Fliegenklatsche *(agbwạ)* überreicht. Dann stellte er sich eine für ihn sehr wichtige Medizin zurecht, die die Kehle geschmeidig hält, das Herz beruhigt und ihn

[1]) *a* = Teilklasse, *ndòò* = Gestirn, Kultfeier, d. h. „was zur Sonne gehört bzw. was zur Kultfeier gebraucht wird".

seine Rede nicht vergessen läßt (vgl. Abschnitt XIII), machte sich daran, den großen Sonnentanz vorzuführen und nahm eine Reihe verschiedener Mirlitons, mittels derer er kleine Reden hielt und sang; dazwischen, besonders am Ende des Gesanges, ahmte er den Hahnenschrei und auf einem dumpferen Mirliton das Gegacker der Hühner nach — *gölö, gógölö, gógölö, gölö, gölö.* Bei starker Trommelbegleitung tanzte er nun, indem er die Fliegenklatsche schwang, als wollte er ein in der Luft schwebendes Etwas (den Mond!) bedrohen, setzte sich, unter fortwährendem Mirletongesange herumtanzte. Kurz vor Schluß des Tanzes werden zwei Trommeltakte überschlagen in der Weise, daß in demselben Augenblick, wo der Tänzer zweimal z. B. die Hände in die Luft schlägt oder sonst taktgemäße Bewegungen macht, auch der Trommelschläger zweimal ins Leere schlägt. Nach einigen Trommelschlägen bricht dann die ganze Musik auf ein Zeichen des Tänzers mit einem letzten starken Schlag ab. Oft genug mischen auch Xylophon und

Abb. 14. Tanzhaube aus Turakofedern mit einem Büschel Hahnenfedern.

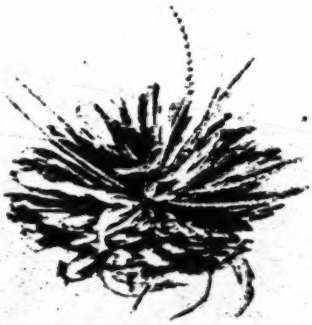


Abb. 15. Tanzhaube aus Papageienfedern, mit Perlenschnüren verziert.

und -gegacker, auf einen Schemel oder kniete und tanzte in dieser Stellung weiter. Jedenfalls schien der Mann, dessen Kraft gar nicht erlahmen wollte, die größte Befriedigung im Zuschauerkreise hervorzurufen. Öfters nickte er mit dem Kopfe ruckweise nach beiden Seiten, wie die Hähne tun, unter Zuspitzen der Lippen, im übrigen war es mehr Tanz als Mimik. Den größten Beifall erntete der Tänzer aber, wenn er auf den Dorfplatz lief und hier unter wilden Körperbewegungen, die Füße abwechselnd auf den Boden stampfend und mit der Fliegenklatsche den Feind in der Luft bedrohend,

Abb. 16. Schimpansentanz beim Bokúng-Kult in Bébai (Fam. Easeng).

Kastanietten ihre Stimmen in Trommel- und Mirlitonkonzert, so daß sich die Musik zu einem betäubenden Lärm steigern kann und man froh ist, wenn man diesem Ohrenschmaus den Rücken gewandt hat. Unsere Pangwe dagegen können sich an diesem Schauspiel gar nicht satt sehen und nicht genug von der „Musik" bekommen, nur mit Überwindung entschließen sie sich endlich zum nächsten Akt.

Der ganze Tanz ist, wie es sich versteht, eine Darstellung der Sonne, die aus ihrem nächtlichen Lager (dem Versammlungshause) herauskommt und die feindlichen Mächte der Nacht und des Bösen verscheucht (Fliegenklatsche).

Jetzt wurden die Neulinge, die bis dahin in einem Hause eingeschlossen waren, herausgeführt, und man zeigte ihnen — wie beim Ndong-mba der Ntum — symbolisch die aufgehende Sonne, woran sich die oben beschriebene Darstellung des Tagewerkes schloß, die diesmal im Versammlungshause stattfand.

Inzwischen hatten sich die Leute in ein naheliegendes Dorf begeben und sich dort „verkleidet", d. h. sich ein kleines Stück Zeug zwischen den Beinen durchgezogen und den ganzen Körper mit Rotholz bzw. mit weißer Farbe eingerieben. Der eine war rot, der zweite halb rot und halb weiß, der dritte ganz weiß, alle mit Kreisen, Punkten oder Sonnen bemalt, die auf der roten Fläche weiß, auf der weißen rot waren (Abb. 16). Während nun der Ndong-mba noch ein wenig tanzte und sang, anscheinend, um über die Pause hinwegzuhelfen, rückten diese drei, unter denen sich auch der Medizinmann befand,

heran; schon von weitem hörte man ihren Gesang, der näher und näher kam. Nun ergriff der Häuptling des Dorfes ein zugespitztes Stöckchen als Speer und ein Bananenblatt als Schild, sprang und tanzte auf dem Dorfplatz herum und machte wilde Gebärden nach der Seite, von der der Gesang näherkam. Als die drei bemalten Leute — jeder unter dem Schutze eines Bananenblattes — langsam in gebückter Haltung herankamen, stürmte er unter furchtbarem Geheul und Lärm der Musikinstrumente vom Versammlungshause her gegen die unheimlichen Besucher an, bedrohte sie mit dem Speer und führte gleichsam einen Kriegstanz gegen sie auf.

In der Mitte des Dorfplatzes traf er mit den Feinden zusammen, aber anstatt sie zu vernichten, wie man es nach seinem Gebahren erwartet hatte, schien er sich mit den Dreien zu einigen, denn diese ließen das Bananenblatt fallen und kamen à la Schimpanse auf allen Vieren und im Zickzackgange auf das Versammlungshaus zu, wo sich die Teilnehmer, wie am Abend vorher, in zwei Reihen aufgestellt hatten; zwischen den Reihen saßen die Neulinge auf dem Schoße älterer Männer und sahen sich von hier aus das Schauspiel mit an. Nun vollführten die sonderbaren Drei den Schimpansentanz in dritter, vollendetster Auflage, und zuletzt mußte sich jeder Neuling gegen den Rücken des Medizinmannes stellen und wurde nun mit der Kultmarke versehen.

In dieser Vorstellung ist ohne Zweifel der Kampf des Guten (Häuptling) gegen das Böse (Schimpansendarsteller) und der Vergleich beider Mächte zu sehen. Man kann eben dem Guten nicht zum vollständigen Siege verhelfen, sondern muß sich mit den finsteren Mächten gut stellen, sobald sie in der Nähe sind. Wenn auch die Sonne vorübergehend über den Mond siegt, es wird doch immer wieder Nacht; wenn auch der Hahn den Morgen jubelnd verkündet, mit der Dämmerung ist doch seine Zeit zu Ende und die Eule mit ihrem Schreckensruf löst ihn ab; wenn auch der Mensch oft glauben mag, er sei die Krone alles Irdischen, immer wieder wird er daran erinnert, daß noch ein halbes Tier in ihm steckt, immer wieder tritt die Sinnlichkeit, die Lächerlichkeit und das Laster, kurz das Viehische, hervor, gerade so, wie es des Menschen Zerrbild, der Schimpanse, zeigt.

Die Eingeweihten haben den Rest des Tages und die Nacht in dem abgesperrten Teil des Versammlungshauses zu verbringen.

Am letzten Festtage wurde wieder, wie beim Sso, der Kultplatz hergerichtet (Abb. 17). Die Figuren — es sind jetzt zwei vollkommen menschliche Gestalten, der Bokung (Abb. 17 *a*) und Elong (Abb. 17 *b*) — wurden unter Ausschluß der Neulinge auf dem Kultplatz, der eine kurze Strecke vom Versammlungshause entfernt im Busch lag, errichtet. Für die Elongfigur (Abb. 18) wird ein Platz durch zwei doppelt geknickte Kardamomstengel (*a*) umrissen,

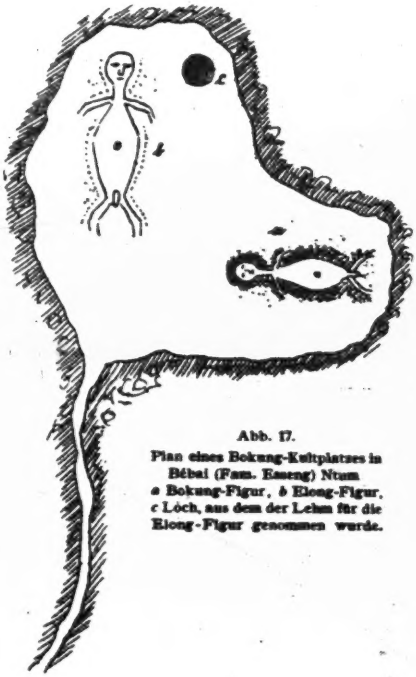


Abb. 17.
Plan eines Bokung-Kultplatzes in Bébai (Fam. Eseng) Ntum
a Bokung-Figur, *b* Elong-Figur, *c* Loch, aus dem der Lehm für die Elong-Figur genommen wurde.

Abb. 18.
Grundriß der Elong-Figur.

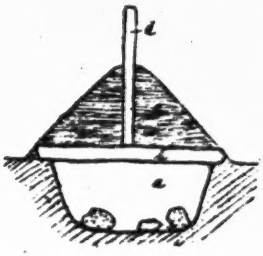


Abb. 19.
Querschnitt durch eine Sao-Figur in Akonangi. *a* Gang, *b* Brettes, *c* Lehm, *d* Pfahl, der bei der Einweihung entfernt wird.

die auf die Erde gelegt und mit Haken festgehalten werden. In der Mittellinie werden vier Löcher *(b)* eingegraben, mit den stacheligen Stengelstücken der **Dalbergia tessmannii** Harms *(makɪ,maböm III)* umgeben und mit folgenden Medizinen ausgefüllt:

1. Rindenstücke der **Copaifera tessmannii** Harms *(oɣǒn)*,
2. Rindenstücke der **Epitaberna myrmecoeia** K. Schum. *(mabǒnmadɪiɪǫk)*,
3. halb durchschnittene Früchte der **Solanum duplosinuatum** U. D. *(etüin)*,
4. eine Luftknolle der **Dioscorea preussii** Pax. *(abɔn)*.

Um das an der Stelle des späteren Bauches der Figur befindliche Loch, das größer ist als die anderen drei, kommen außerdem Rindenstücke der **Copaifera** und **Epitaberna**, unter die Stelle des späteren Kopfes und des Bauches endlich Stücke eines Termitennestes *(c)*. Nun legt der Mann auf alle vier Löcher Harz, zündet es an und läßt es einen Augenblick brennen, darauf wird

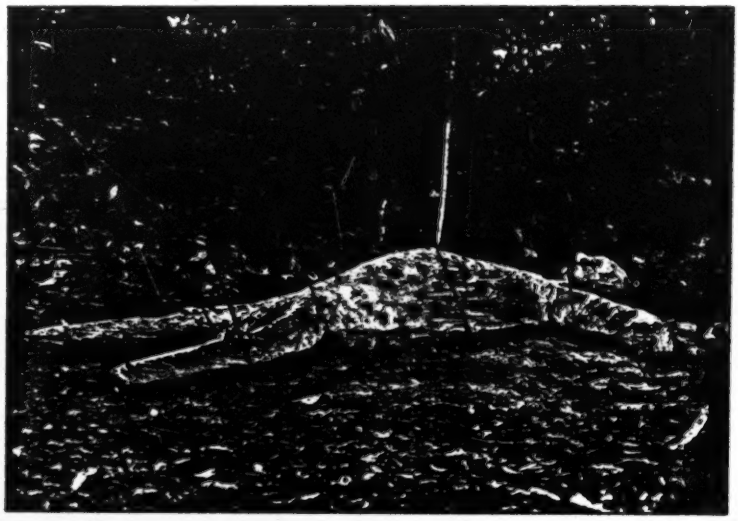


Abb. 20. Elong-Figur beim Bokung-Kult in Bébai (Fam. Eseng).

ein armdicker Pfahl in das Bauchloch gesteckt und hierauf der Lehm für die Figur aufgeworfen. Bei der Bokungfigur machte man sich die Sache weniger umständlich. Es wurde hier nur e i n Loch an der Stelle des Bauches der späteren Figur gegraben, und dann dieselben vier Medizinen darin versenkt. Nachdem die Figuren fertig modelliert waren, wurden sie mit Wasser begossen und mit Bananenstämmen geschlagen, damit der Lehm zusammenhielt. Zuletzt bemalten die Künstler die Figuren mit bunten Sonnen und Kreisen aus roter oder weißer Farbe, umgaben den Geschlechtsteil der weiblichen Elongfigur mit Haaren und formten den Penis der männlichen aus Lehm[1]). Jetzt zog man den Stock aus dem Bauch und schüttete weitere Medizinen in die Höhlung. Die ganzen Figuren wurden noch mit angespitzten Raphiamarkstreifen, die Speere darstellen sollten, umgeben (Abb. 20).

Es ist bezeichnend, daß der Pangwe keiner seiner heiligen Figuren, nicht einmal dem großen Ngi, von vornherein persönliche Eigenschaften und Fähigkeiten zutraut, sondern solche erst durch die Medizinen überträgt. Sie werden so zu Zauberern, deren Aufgabe es ist, die Angriffe der Zauberwesen zu hintertreiben und zuschanden zu machen. In diesem Kampfe sind sie aber auch selbst gefährdet und müssen daher ihrerseits gegen die Angriffe der Feinde, also gegen Zauberei durch Medizinen geschützt werden. Wie diese Wirkung gedacht wird, erhellt aus folgendem: Der Copalferastamm ist der Sitz der ab-

[1]) Auch werden öfter Holzpenisse geschnitzt.

geschiedenen Seelen, vor denen sogar die Zauberwesen Achtung haben. Der Ameisenbaum, **Epitaberna myrmoecia,** soll den Zauberwesen anzeigen, daß sie ebenso zerfressen werden sollen, wie der Baum von Ameisen, die in den Zweigen wohnen, zerfressen wird. Die Früchte der **Solanum duplosinuatum** sind innen vollkommen „mulschig", während sie äußerlich glatt und gesund erscheinen, beim Zerdrücken der dünnen Schale spritzt das Innere heraus, ebenso soll es den Zauberwesen ergehen. Die Luftknollen der **Dioscorea preussii** haben Flecke wie von einer Krankheit, man wünscht den Zauberwesen gleiches. An den Stacheln der **Dalbergia** und vor allem an den Raphiaspeeren sollen sich die Zauberwesen aufspießen, wenn sie sich auf die Figur stürzen wollen. Das Termitennest ist ein drolliges Memento mori für die Zauberwesen, da die Seelen zuletzt, wenn sie lange, lange im Himmel gelebt haben, auf die Erde fallen und von Termiten verzehrt werden.

Die Einweihung der Figuren verlief in meinem Falle folgendermaßen: Die Neulinge wurden an die Figur geführt, die sie voll grausigen Staunens betrachteten. Dann wurden die unvermeidlichen Trommeln gerührt und die Mirlitons geblasen. Der Medizinmann zerbiß drei Tausendfüße (die großen westafrikanischen!) und spuckte sie in das Loch, wobei sich die Umstehenden vor Entsetzen und Ekel schüttelten. Dann bewaffnete der Ndong-mba oder hier Elongdarsteller den Neuling mit einem richtigen Speer, führte ihn langsam um die Bokungfigur und half ihm den Speer tief in deren Seite stoßen, dann schleifte er ihn von hinten mit dem Bauch über sie hinweg und machte ihm mit Lehm vom Kopfe der Figur (Seelenwesen im Kopf) einen Strich auf die Stirn. Der Medizinmann lief zuletzt noch unter Trommelklang um die Figur und sprang mehrmals hinüber, um sich von den Kräften, die sie enthält, etwas anzueignen [1]).

Unterdessen hatte man neben dem Loche auf dem Bauch der Elongfigur Harz angezündet, zwei Männer ergriffen den Jungen an Händen und Füßen, hielten ihn darüber, so daß der Rauch den Leib und zumal die Geschlechtsteile traf. Nachdem er so eine Weile angeräuchert war, wurde ihm erklärt, die Festlichkeit sei zu Ende, und er dürfe von nun an kein Schildkrötenfleisch mehr essen.

Also auch hier wird der Neuling dem Bösen, dem Tode geweiht, was dadurch zum Ausdruck kommt, daß er mit dem Lehm der Figur beschmiert wird, genau wie vorher beim Schmutzbad im Sso, obwohl er dem Guten dadurch zum Siege zu verhelfen suchte, daß er das Böse mit dem Speer tötete. Es ist eben noch zu mächtig, und man kann nur das Böse äußerlich mit einer guten Tünche versehen, indem der eben dem Bösen Geweihte mit dem heiligen Feuer des Guten beräuchert und dadurch gereinigt wird.

---

[1]) Ebenso steigt man über einen Toten hinweg, der größte Schwur auf den Verstorbenen (Abschn. XVI, 5).

Die Tausendfüße, die der Medizinmann zerkaute, sind eine Medizin gegen Zauberwesen, die ebenso langsam kriechen sollen, wenn sie die heiligen Plätze aufsuchen, wie zerbissene Tausendfüße.

Welche weiteren Aufgaben die Figuren erfüllen sollen, wird später beim Ngi gesagt werden, wo sie aktiver, persönlicher gedacht sind.

Der Medizinmann erhielt eine Bezahlung, die vor der Einweihung auf dem heiligen Platze entrichtet wurde und 10 Speergeld (= Mk. —.70) und mehrere Hühner betrug. 10 Speere muß auch der Zuschauer ausgeben, der nicht Eingeweihter des Bokung ist und sich die Feier anzusehen wünscht.

Nach Beendigung der Feier mußten die Neulinge noch zwei Tage in dem Sonderraum des Versammlungshauses zubringen.

III. Schok.

Das Schok ist einer der merkwürdigsten Kulte der Pangwe und wurde mir an Bedeutung gleich hinter dem Sso genannt, freilich hauptsächlich wohl deshalb, weil bei ihm die Herstellung der Kultfiguren mehr Mühe erfordert als bei den anderen Kulten, mit alleiniger Ausnahme des Odschüe der Fang. Das Schok veranschaulicht unter dem Bilde des Elefanten *(zǫk)* [1]) das Wasser, das, wie schon oben erwähnt, zu den schlechten Grundstoffen gehört, so ist denn auch das Schok eine Abart des Kultes des Bösen, und wir finden allerlei Züge, die dem Sso ähneln.

Der äußere Anstoß zu einer Feier des Schok kann zweierlei Art sein, entweder will man mit seiner Hilfe das oder die Zauberwesen, welche einen soeben Verstorbenen getötet haben, vernichten oder man will ohne eine bestimmte Veranlassung überhaupt mal wieder das Treiben der Zauberwesen einschränken.

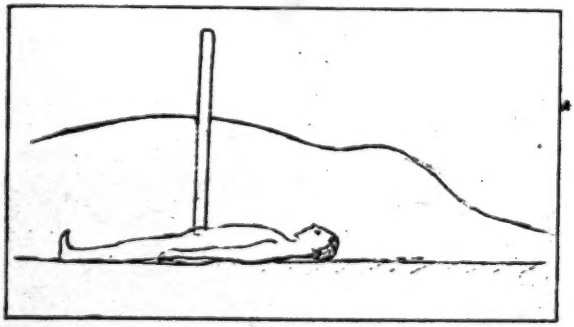


Abb. 21. Längsschnitt durch einen Schok, der über einer Leiche errichtet ist.

[1]) Zur Gedankenverbindung des Elefanten mit dem Wasser vergleiche auch Pechuël-Loesche, Volkskunde von Loango, S. 168.

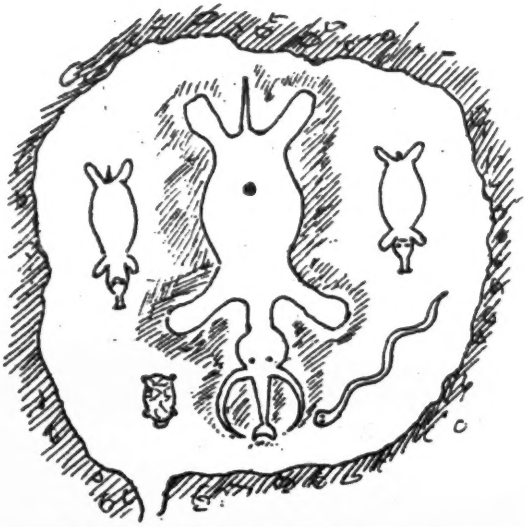


Abb. 22. Plan eines Schok-Kultplatzes in Bedábedan (Fam. Essásum), Span.-Guinea.

Im ersteren Falle wird die Hauptkultfigur, ein Elefant, direkt über dem Toten errichtet. Die Leiche wird einen Tag nach dem Begräbnis wieder ausgegraben, auf den heiligen Platz gebracht und hier mit dem Rücken auf die Erde gelegt. Über ihr wird der Lehm zu der Figur aufgeschüttet, nachdem zum Offenhalten eines Loches in der Figur ein Pfahl in den Bauch der Leiche gestoßen ist (Abb. 21). Nur in diesem Falle findet gleichzeitig auch eine Einweihung von Neulingen statt. Der zweite Fall sei an der Hand einer von mir in Bedábedan (Esseng) mitgemachten Feier beschrieben.

Der Vorabend verlief genau wie beim Sso, am ersten Festtage wurden die heiligen Figuren errichtet, als Hauptsache der Schok, ein riesiger Elefant, neben ihm zwei Schweine und vor ihm eine Riesenschlange und eine Schildkröte (Abb. 22).

Dem Schok gibt man kräfteübertragende Medizinen bei, die in das erwähnte Loch im Bauche der Figur versenkt werden und hauptsächlich aus Stücken Lehm von anderen Kultfiguren, einem Schok, einem Bokung usw., ferner aus Rindenstücken der Leguminose **Detarium macrocarpum** Harms *(enak)*, aus Schädelstücken eines an Framboesie gestorbenen Mannes und vielen anderem mehr bestehen. Abb. 22 zeigt, wie die Figur angelegt, Abb. 23, wie sie modelliert wird. Während und nach der Beendigung der Arbeit sang der Medizinmann auf einem dicken Mirliton, das aus einem Stück Schirmbaumholz bestand (Abb. 24) und dazu dienen sollte, die Stimme der Dickhäuter nachzuahmen, unter Trommel- und Chorbegleitung allerlei altertümliche Lieder, von denen einige auf den geschlechtlichen Hintergrund der Kulte deuten. Neben den Liedern, die als Schoklieder bezeichnet wurden, brachte man noch Bokunglieder, außerdem tanzte ein Mann den Schimpansentanz. Aus den Liedern sei einiges hier angeführt:

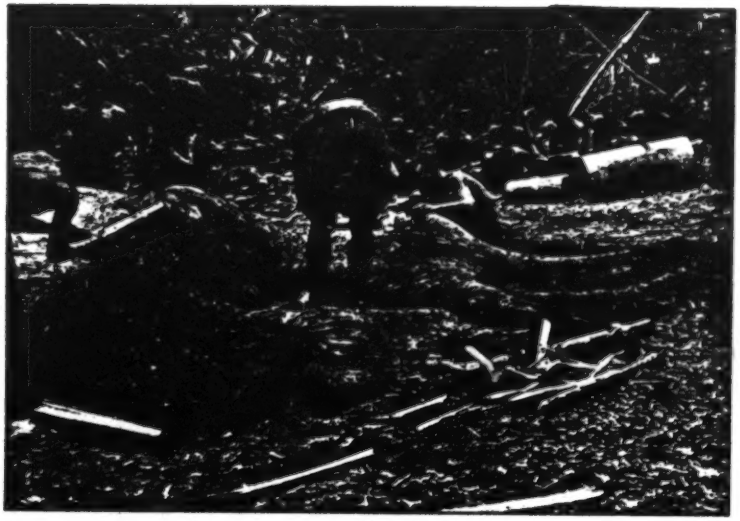


Abb. 23. Herstellung einer Schokfigur in Bédabedan (Fam. Eandoum), Span.-Guinea.

mininga a nga kǎn śǫ̀k, ba dśf nie hamoś,
(Die) Frau, sie lebte krank sein (an) Schok, man kohabitierte (mit) ihr tags,

teage dśam oa bó śǫ̀k. Chor: *teage!*
sag an (die) Sache, du machtest (mit) Schok. Chor: Sag an!

Die Frau, welche schokkrank ist, mit der wurde am Tage kohabitiert. (Zur Frau:) Sag an, was hast du in bezug auf den Schok verbrochen (d. h. was hast du verbrochen, daß der Schok dich so bestraft). Dann folgt die Strafe des Schok:

fǔ mabo an' atitel. Chor: *fǔ*
Geschwüre an den Beinen wie Sterne. Chor: Geschwüre

oder: *ndendem a mane bǒl, a ndoŋ-śǫ̀k!*
Medizinmann (?), er macht fertig Leute, o heiliger Schok!

Angeblich, weil der Medizinmann durch seine Medizin die Zauberwesen (das sind Menschen) tötet.

Abb. 24.
Miriton für den Schok-Kult.

Von Bokungliedern hörte ich folgende:

bongu[s] be ɨpk bo za a wok ndoń e ne mbōń,
Eingeweihte des Schok, sie kommen zu hören (einen) Kult, er ist schön,

ɨib e dadań mbgk.
Sumpfbock, er geht über (das) Netz [1]).

Das heißt: Die Eingeweihten des Schok kommen, einen schönen Kult zu hören (wohl den Bokung), der Sumpfbock springt über das Netz. Der in letzterem liegende Vergleich ist mir unverständlich, es wird auch gesagt: *mɛzi* (Fleckenroller, Nandinia) *dadań mbgk*. Ferner:

ndoń-bokań, nkun oa ke kǫlabǫ ané elūń
Heiliger Bokung, Penis, er geht abstehen, wie Elefantenspeereisen
(vgl. hierzu die Zeichnung Bd. I, Abb. 225 Fig. 10).

Dann machten wieder die Issisleute ihre wunderlichen Bewegungen, auch der Medizinmann gab sich die größte Mühe, tanzte, indem er sich an den Pfahl lehnte, welcher in der noch uneingeweihten Figur steckte, machte Koitusbewegungen, löste zuletzt sein Lendentuch und schwang sich an dem Pfahl mit Hilfe des Stockes über den Rücken des Elefanten. Dann turnte er an der Figur herum, z. B. warf er sich über den Hals des Elefanten, fiel wie tot auf der anderen Seite herab, bekam Zuckungen usw., alles unter entsetzlichem Lärm und Geschrei auf dem Mirliton — anders kann man diese Art von Musik bei bestem Willen nicht bezeichnen. Zum Schluß trat der ominöse Tausendfuß wieder auf, der Medizinmann zerbiß das Tier und legte es in einem Blatte auf den Kopf des Elefanten, um ihn zur Einweihung, die am nächsten Tage stattfinden sollte, bei der Hand zu haben.

Zum großen Gaudium einiger meiner Jungen, die als kultivierte Leute nichts mehr von den Kulten wissen wollten, waren aber am nächsten Morgen die „Stücke" Tausendfuß anscheinend weggelaufen; Gläubige behaupteten allerdings mit ehrfurchtsvollen Mienen, der Medizinmann habe sie gegessen. Einerlei, der Tausendfuß war und blieb trotz alles Suchens verschwunden, und einen neuen zu beschaffen, weigerten sich, trotz eindringlicher Vorstellungen des Medizinmannes, die Mitspieler, da sie sich vor dem Tier allzusehr ekelten. So mußte denn die Sache ohne Tausendfuß vor sich gehen. Der Pfahl wurde herausgezogen und eine zweite Medizin in den Bauch des Elefanten versenkt, die aus Splittern der Leguminose **Detarium macrocarpum** Harms *(enāk)*, zerriebenen Knochen eines Mannes und aus Gift *(nśu)* bestand. Außerdem wurde eine Rotholzmedizin neben das Loch gelegt und Harz, das man anzündete; der Medizinmann „aß den Rauch", wie die Neger sagten. Bei der Leichtigkeit

[1]) Stellnetz zum Fangen von Tieren.

Z: Tessmann

FH9 Fang

Abb. 221. SCHOK-KULT IN BEDÄBEDAN. (FAM. ESSASSUM) NTUMGEBIET.

[Facing p. 76]

Verlegt und gedruckt bei Ernst Wasmuth A.-G., Berlin.

dieses Gerichtes war es denn auch kein Wunder, daß der Mann ungeheuer lange und viel „aß". Die Flammen, sagte man mir, sollen den Medizinmann erleuchten, ebenso wie sein Haus, wenn er nachts darin schläft, so daß die nachts umgehenden Zauberwesen lieber umkehren und ihm nichts anzutun wagen. Dann wurde eine Ziege um den Elefanten geführt, auf den Rücken des Tieres gehoben und hier geschlachtet, indem der Medizinmann ihr über dem Loch das Messer in die Kehle stieß (Taf. XX). Am Schluß — in manchen Gegenden geschieht es zu Anfang — der gesamten Festlichkeiten führten die Eingeweihten eine Elefantenherde vor, ähnlich wie beim Sso eine Schweineherde. Durch großen Lärm und Abgabe von Schüssen wurde die Vorstellung, es handele sich um richtige Elefanten, verstärkt.

Der Schok wird durch die Medizinen genau so mit Kräften ausgestattet wie andere Kultfiguren (Sso, Elong, Bokung) und wird dadurch in seiner Fähigkeit, als Verkörperung der göttlichen Macht- und Strafgewalt die Vergehen gegen Nsambe zu bestrafen, gestärkt. Da, wo der Schok über einem Toten errichtet wird, gewinnt er für den Pangwe ein menschlicheres, persönlicheres Leben, indem er Nsambe und den Gedanken seiner Vertretung zurückdrängt und als eine neue eigene Person an seine Stelle tritt, mit derselben Bestimmung, die Sünder zu strafen.

Die Schokfigur nebst zwei seitlichen Schildkröten (Abb. 25) stammt aus dem Gebiete von Manoa (Fam. Obuk), Fang.

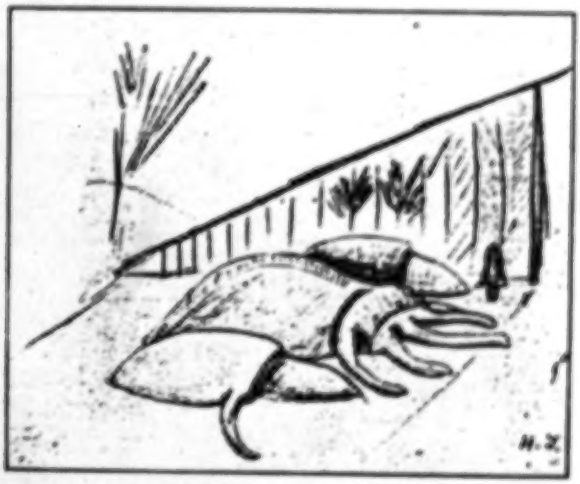


Abb. 25. Schok aus Manoa (Fam. Obuk), Fang.

IV. Ngi.

Die bedeutsamste und auch für uns sympathischste aller Kultgestalten ist der Ngi, der, mit Ausnahme der nördlichen Jaunde und Mwele [1]), im ganzen Pangwegebiete verbreitet, aber im Süden bei weitem reiner erhalten ist als im Norden. Vom Süden ist er auch offenbar ausgegangen und hat sich durch die menschlich verständlichere Ausdrucksform seines Kultes ein weites Gebiet erobert [2]), er ist indes bei seinen neuen Anhängern bald verfallen, namentlich werden auch Weiber dort eingeweiht, was immer das Zeichen eines Verfalls der alten Kulteinrichtungen ist.

Das Ngi ist der Kult des reinigenden Feuers [3]) unter dem Bilde des Gorillas. Bei der Aussprache ist zu beachten, daß Gorilla Mitteltiefton — *ngi* —, der Kult Mittelhochton — *ngí* — hat.

Für den, welcher die Menschenaffen nur nach den Schädeln oder ausgestopften Bälgen der Museen kennt, ist es nicht ohne weiteres verständlich, wie der Gorilla zum Sinnbild des Feuers und Guten geworden ist, wo doch sein naher Verwandter, der Schimpanse, im Kult des Bösen eine Rolle spielt. Aber wenn man die Eigenschaften und die Lebensweise der beiden Tiere gegeneinander hält, wird man der Sache näher kommen. Der Schimpanse ist das vollständige, ins Lächerliche gezogene Zerrbild des Menschen, seine Bewegungen, die Art und Weise zu klettern, kurz, sein ganzes Gebaren ist so komisch, daß er zur Karikatur des Menschen wird, die zum Lachen herausfordert, bei den Pangwe nicht anders als bei uns, wenn wir die Tiere in der Gefangenschaft sehen. Nicht so der Gorilla. Sein Benehmen ist ganz anders, tierischer, wilder, eindrucksvoller, vor allem zeichnet ihn aber vor seinem schwächeren Verwandten die ungeheure Kraft aus, die der vernichtenden Kraft des Feuers verglichen wird. Hinzu kommt vielleicht noch die meist rötlichere Färbung [4]) des Gorilla im Gegensatz zu der meist schwärzlichen der Schimpansen. Auch soll schließlich sein Geschlechtstrieb weniger ausgeprägt sein, daher wird das Gerücht

---

[1]) Also der Stämme nördlich des Nyong.

[2]) Sogar Nicht-Pangwe, wie einzelne Küstenvölker und ein Teil der Pygmäen, haben ihn angenommen.

[3]) Daher gelten nach A. L. Bennett für die Anhänger des Ngikultes folgende Verbote:

8. Food refuse must not be destroyed by fire,

9. To spit in the fire is against the law of Ngi (not permitted).

[4]) Es mag hierbei als Parallele erwähnt werden, daß auch dem Donar der alten Germanen „alles geweiht war, was rötliche Farbe — die Farbe des Feuers — aufweist, so Storch (wegen des roten Schnabels und der Beine), Fuchs, Eichhörnchen und Rotkehlchen".

kommen, daß er unter seinen Verfolgern denjenigen am Geruche heraus kennt und zuerst angreift, welcher sich vorher mit einem Weibe abgegeben hat. Die genaueren Einzelheiten entgehen uns natürlich, aber ich glaube, daß die verschiedene Beurteilung der beiden westafrikanischen Menschenaffen seitens der Pangwe berechtigt und ungefähr jenen Eigenschaften entsprungen ist.

Bevor ich mich den Eigenschaften des Ngi zuwende, sei die Feier, wie ich sie in Ebkangon (Essong) mitzumachen Gelegenheit hatte, hier beschrieben. Zuerst wurde ein kundiger Medizinmann, der selbst Ngi genannt wird [1]), herbeigerufen, und zwar neunmal. Neunmal muß der Veranstalter der Feier zum Sprecher des Ngi gehen und ihn an die Abhaltung der Festlichkeit gemahnen. 3 ist die gute, 3 × 3 die heiligste Zahl, drei Tage dauern auch die Festlichkeiten. Am ersten Tage wurde der Kultplatz, den man in schönfärberischer Weise das Ngidorf *(dzo-ngi)* nennt, hergerichtet und durch eine Wand aus Palmenblättern vor neugierigen Blicken geschützt; vor dieser Wand wurde ein offener Platz freigeschlagen, *elik e ngi*, was mit Vorplatz wiedergegeben werden kann [2]): bisher kannten wir *elik* als Bezeichnung für den eigentlichen Kultplatz, auf dem sich die Figur befindet. Auf dem Vorplatz wurden nun die Trommeln aufgestellt, die Teilnehmer ordneten sich in zwei Reihen, zwischen denen der Darsteller des Ngi, also der Medizinmann, seinen Tanz begann, indem er mit gräßlicher Bauchstimme (aber ohne Mirliton) sang und unverständliche Worte redete. Mit einem Messer in der Hand bedrohte er die Umstehenden, fuhr ihnen damit dicht unter die Nase und warf wütende Blicke um sich. Nachdem der Ngi so eine Weile wie ein Verrückter umhergetobt hatte, begab sich alles hinter die Wand, um hier den Grundstein der Ngifigur zu legen. In der Mitte des Platzes war unter dem Bauch der zukünftigen Figur ein kleines Loch in den Boden gegraben und darüber ein wasserhaltiges Holzstück, das aus einem Bach herausgefischt war, gelegt. Über das Loch stellte sich mit gespreizten Beinen ein Knabe, namens Essissa [3]), und bekam vom Medizinmann in die eine Hand einige Rindenstücke, in die andere Hand eine Blattüte mit abgeschabter Rinde (beide Teile von **Detarium macrocarpum** Harms *(ensk)* stammend). Nun mußte der Junge, während ihm von hinten die Augen zugehalten wurden, beides ins Loch stecken und dieses dann zuscharren. Es wurde dabei folgender Gesang, der ihn unter den besonderen Schutz des Ngi stellte, gesungen:

---

[1]) Solange er den Kult leitet.

[2]) Stamm *li* = schlagen, freischlagen (Busch), *eli* = der Baum, *elik* = freigeschlagener Platz, auf dem früher ein Dorf gestanden hatte, das dann aber verlassen wurde.

[3]) Es muß ein reiner Knabe sein, was natürlich cum grano salis zu verstehen ist, wie man mir auch sagte (siehe Abschnitt „Geschlechtsleben").

e mole a vül esisa, mol abuda ngi;
Der Mann, welcher tötet Essissa, der Mann: Opfer des Ngi;
e mole a bus esisa, mol abuda-ngi;
der Mann, welcher verflucht Essissa, (der) Mann: Opfer des Ngi;
nnem a dit esisa, abuda ngi.
(das) Zauberwesen, welches auffißt Essissa: Opfer des Ngi.

Dann legte der Medizinmann das Holzstück wieder über das nunmehr angefüllte Loch. Das Holzstück ist eine Medizin gegen Zauberwesen und soll andeuten, daß die Zauberwesen ebenso „zugrunde" gehen sollen wie das wasserschwangere Holzstück. Von **Detarium macrocarpum** sagt man, daß dicke, grünende Äste scheinbar ohne Veranlassung plötzlich abbrechen, so sollen auch die Zauberwesen vom Lebensbaume herunterfallen. Dem Jungen werden die Augen zugehalten, um anzudeuten, daß die Zauberwesen ebenso blind sein sollen, wenn sie ausgehen, um den Ngi aufzusuchen.

Man sieht, der beim Seo der Jaunde so klar entwickelte Todesgedanke ist schon vollständig verschwunden, wir befinden uns mitten im Kampf gegen die Zauberwesen und Sünder.

Am Schlusse der Kulthandlung gab der Medizinmann dem Festveranstalter, „der ihn gerufen hat", den Auftrag, bis zum nächsten oder übernächsten Tage den Schädel, einen Oberschenkel- und einen Unterschenkelknochen eines im Kriege getöteten oder durch einen Unglücksfall plötzlich ums Leben gekommenen Mannes sowie die übrigen Medizinen, die wir noch kennen lernen werden, zu beschaffen.

Nachdem diese Forderung erfüllt, begann der zweite Festtag. Nach einer Wiederholung des Messertanzes auf dem Vorplatz wurde die Figur selbst errichtet. Wie der Querschnitt (Abb. 26) zeigt, wurde ein Schädeldach *(b)* mit der Höhlung nach oben genau auf das mit Medizinen ausgestattete und wieder zugescharrte Loch *(a)* gelegt, ein unten vierfach gespaltener Stock *(d)* hineingestellt, das erwähnte nasse Holzstück *(c)* daran gelehnt und nun der Lehm darüber angehäufelt. Diesmal tat man auch noch ein übriges, indem man dem Ngi (Abb. 28) eine „Frau" beigab, die indessen nur aus einem Lehmhäufchen bestand, auf dem der Geschlechtsteil und die Oberschenkel-

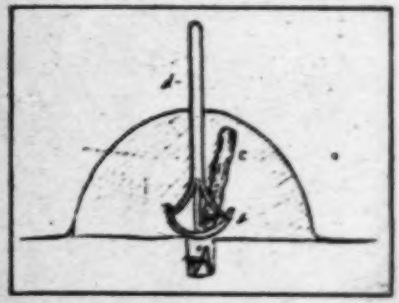
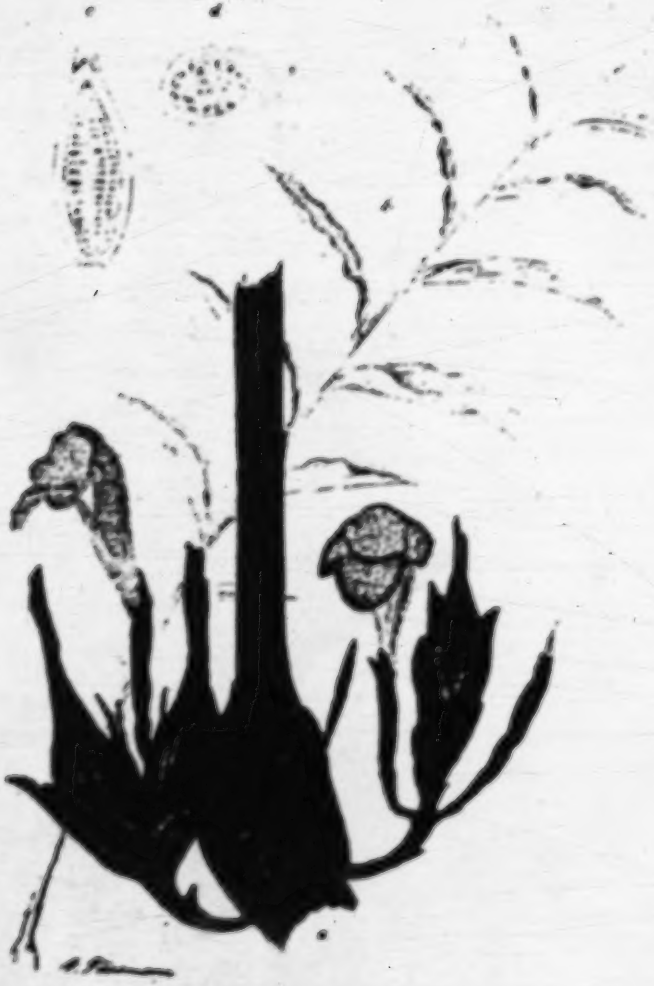


Abb. 26. Querschnitt durch eine Ngi-Figur in Ebolowa (Fam. Essong).



APHANOMUM ALBOVIOLACEUM K. SCHUM.

a Unterer Teil des Stengels mit Blüte und Früchten.
b Entblätterter Stengel.
c Längsschnitt durch die Frucht.
d Querschnitt " " "

Günter Tessmann, del. Fragen

Verlegt und gedruckt bei Reimer Wasmuth A.-G., Berlin.

[Facing p. 80]

Abb. 27. Ngi in Elöangan (Fang, Kamerun), Süd-Kamerun.

ansätze angedeutet waren *(b)*. Übrigens habe ich bei anderen Ngifiguren nie ähnliches gesehen. Die Begründung lautete: der Ngi sollte in seinem Herzen lachen, d. h. sich freuen und so in angenehme und seinen „Kindern" geneigtere Stimmung versetzt werden. Jedenfalls ein Zeichen, wie menschlich man sich diesen Ngi denkt. Als Augen wurden Sarcophryniumfrüchte eingesetzt. Um die ganze Figur wurden die bekannten Raphiasperre gesteckt, die aber hier zum größten Teil mit Früchten des Kardamoms besteckt waren. Diese Früchte *(nsun)*, die in einem anderen Falle in der Ngifigur selbst steckten, sollen Flammen bedeuten [7]), „die den Zauberwesen unten alles so rot wie Feuer zeigen" (Abb. 27). Man vergleiche die Abbildung des Aframeomum albo-violaceum K. Sch. (Taf. XXI). Häufiger werden freilich die Früchte des seltenen Aframeomum hasbanyi K. Sch. verwandt, da diese wegen ihrer dünneren und etwas gedrehten Gestalt die Flämmchen noch besser vortäuschen. Andererseits sind diese Früchte aber auch die Hauptnahrung des Gorilla, allerdings auch der Schimpansen, vielleicht mit ein Grund, daß ein Menschenaffe als Symbol in den Feuerkult übernommen wurde.

Nach Fertigstellung der Figur gingen alle, mit Ausnahme des Medizinmannes und einiger Gehilfen, wieder vor die Wand auf den Vorplatz, auf den jetzt die Einzuweihenden geführt wurden.

Die Gehilfen des Medizinmannes schüttelten die Bäumchen, die am Ngidorf standen, um zu zeigen, daß dort der Geist des Ngi herumgingo, dazu ließ

[7]) Daher vielleicht der häufige Name Esum bei den Pangwe; auch Ngi ist als Name sehr oft anzutreffen.

der Medizinmann die Knochen über der Wand tanzen und die Neulinge nach ihnen springen. Der Hauptwitz war, ihnen dabei mit dem Knochen möglichst unauffällig einen tüchtigen Klapps auf die Finger zu geben. Einem Jungen, der die Knochen versehentlich länger anfaßte, wurde sogar mit einer stacheligen Dalibergiaranke ganz eklig über die Hand gefahren. Die kleineren Jungen, fast Kinder waren darunter, nahm ein Verwandter auf den Arm, und dann führte er die Zeremonie für sie aus. Damit war der zweite Festtag beendigt.

Am dritten Tage folgte der Schluß der Einweihung. Nachdem auf dem Vorplatze der Messertanz aufgeführt und den Neulingen eine Zeitlang mit dem Messer dicht vor dem Gesicht herumgefuchtelt war, wurden sie ins Ngidorf geführt. Es war drollig zu beobachten, wie sich das Staunen über den berühmten und gefürchteten Ngi, von dem sie schon so viel wunderbare Taten gehört hatten, deutlich auf ihren Gesichtern abmalte. Man sah, daß einige der Kleineren vor Aufregung und Angst hätten weinen mögen, wenn sie sich es nicht vor dem Kreise der feierlich-vertraut ausschauenden eingeweihten Freunde und Bekannten verbissen hätten. Der Medizinmann suchte sich nun wieder einen anscheinend noch nicht geschlechtsreifen, also im Pangwesinne reinen Knaben aus, der den Stock aus dem Bauche ziehen und die ihm vom Meister überreichten Medizinen ins Loch versenken mußte. Die Einzelteile waren diesmal zwei Schlangenzähne, das Gift *(nǝu)* und ein besonderer Körperteil, der von einem Toten hergenommen war *(eyw)*, und in dem die Zauberkraft beim Menschen sitzt, die hiermit dem Ngi verliehen werden sollte. Damit ist der Ngi eine Persönlichkeit geworden. Darauf vereinigten sich alle Teilnehmer, auch die Neulinge, zu einem Festschmaus, der gleich im Ngidorfe eingenommen wurde und nichts besonderes bot. Sehr hübsch war der folgende symbolische Tanz, der von je einem Neuling und dem Medizinmann vorgeführt wurde und aus drei Teilen bestand. Zuerst stellten die Zwei sich einander gegenüber auf und tanzten aneinander vorbei, indem sie die Hände hinter den Kopf legten, wie es bei der Wehklage geschieht. Es sollte dadurch versinnbildlicht werden, daß die Menschen wegen einer unsittlichen Tat (vor allem Zauberei) vom Ngi mit dem Tode bestraft werden. Beim zweiten Teil des Tanzes, der im übrigen dem ersten glich, hakte jeder die Zeigefinger seiner beiden Hände ineinander, um auszudrücken, daß der Neuling nun auch ein „Kind" des Ngi, wie die Neger sagen, geworden sei und unter seinem Schutze stände; beim dritten Teile kehrten sich beide den Rücken zu, und das sollte heißen, daß die Zauberwesen dem Neuling nicht schaden, sondern sich von ihm — dem Ngigeweihten — abkehren würden.

Hiernach trat ein zweiter Ngimedizinmann — ob zufällig oder ob immer, weiß ich nicht — auf den Plan. Er nahm Rinde der **Eptaberna**, die wir schon

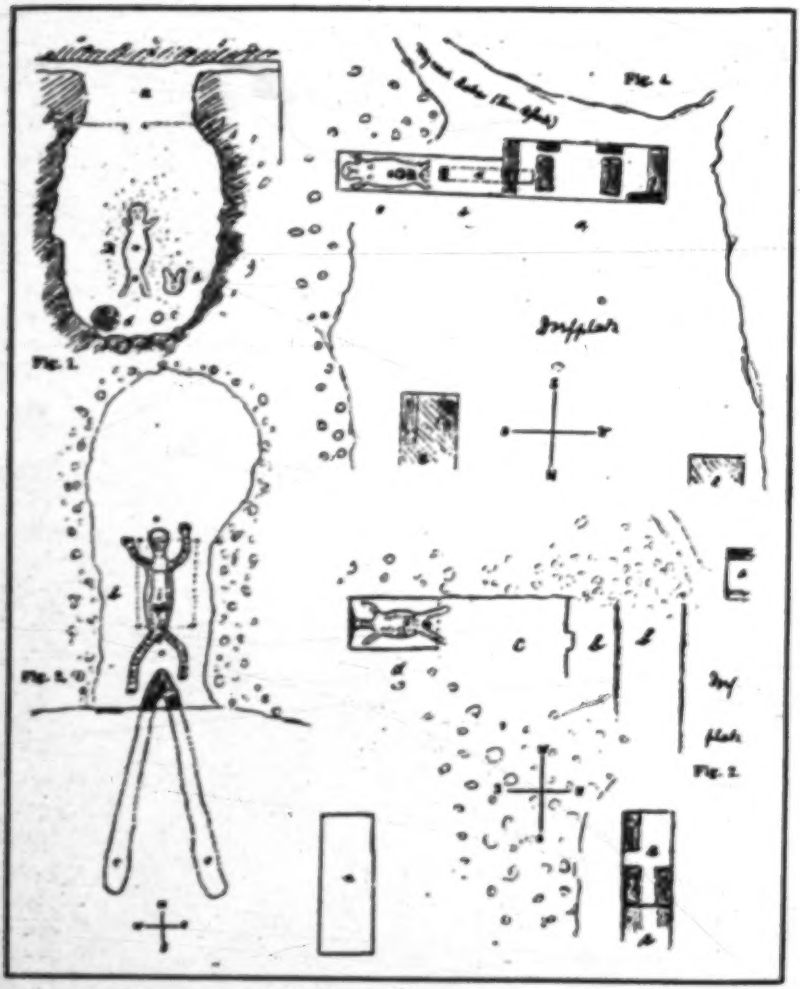


Abb. 28. Pläne von Ngi-Kultplätzen.

Fig. 1. Ngi in Etenagwa (Fang, Essengi, Kamerun). *a* Vorplatz, *b* „Frau" des Ngi, *c* junger Bananenpflanzen (Cultur), *d* Loch, aus dem der Lehm für die Figuren entnommen war.

Fig. 2. Ngi in Bibui (Fang, Schanmi, Spanj.-Guinea). *a* Versammlungsplatz, *b* Vorplatz, *c* Kultplatz, *d* Ngi in einer Hütte, *e* Wohnhäuser.

Fig. 3. Ngi in Essin (Fang, Essengi), Spanj.-Guinea. *a* Versammlungsplatz, *b* Kultplatz mit dem Ngi, *c* Unterirdische Gänge.

Fig. 4. Ngi in [illegible] (Fang, Ntumbulubi), Neu-Kamerun. *a* Versammlungsplatz, *b* Vorplatz, *c* Ngi in einer Hütte, *d* unterirdischer Gang, *e* Wohnhäuser.

als Medizin gegen Zauberwesen kennengelernt haben, und noch eine andere Rinde *(okbwö)*, legte beide ins Loch und zündete auf einem Rindenstück, das darüber gelegt wurde, das nie fehlende Harz an. In den Rauch hielt ein Gehilfe die Enden der beiden Knochen und noch vier **Dallbergia**ranken, um ihnen die Kraft, als Werkzeug des Ngi zu dienen, zu übertragen.

Den Abschluß der gesamten Ngifeier bildete der Knochentanz, der gleichfalls im Ngidorf ausgeführt wurde. Der Medizinmann tanzte vor den im Halbkreise aufgestellten Teilnehmern und fragte jeden singend:

ondundoń mbań a ne? ototun mbań a ne?
Langer Knochen, er ist (wo)? Kurzer Knochen, er ist (wo)?

Das heißt: Wo ist der Oberschenkelknochen und wo der Unterschenkelknochen?

Darauf antwortete der Gefragte:

ondundoń mbań a majum, ototun mbań a maja!
Langer Knochen in (der) Rechten, kurzer Knochen in (der) Linken!

und gab damit sein Verständnis für das wichtigste Werkzeug des Ngi kund.

Der stets wiederkehrende Gesang des Ngi lautete:

mbań a wū (= a ńū) mbań a wū (= a ńū),
Knochen, er hier (?), Knochen, er hier (?),

ondundoń mbań a majum ototun mbań a maja;
langer Knochen rechts, kurzer Knochen links,

mbań a vüi edu-medśá, mbań a vüi mvŋ̄-bekońo,
Knochen, er tötete Edu-Medscha, Knochen, er tötete Mwo-Bekongo,

mbań ele wū wū.
Knochen, besagter, er hier (?).

Nun wurden die beiden Knochen an die Figur gelegt, meist legt man sie indes auf den Leib und fügt den dazugehörigen Schädel oder ein Stück von ihm hinzu.

Äußerlich sind die Ngifiguren sehr verschieden: Abb. 29 und 30 zeigen einen Ngi vom mittleren Kjegebiet vom Essandundorfe Alén; in Abb. 29, die vor der Einweihung aufgenommen wurde, hatte man den Kopf der Figur durch eine Art Gerüst erhöht gelagert. Dahinter versteckte sich der Medizinmann, so daß, wenn er sang, es für die Zuschauer vorn schien, als ob der Ngi selbst sänge.

Die Feier brachte sonst nichts wesentlich Neues, der Medizinmann benahm sich nur noch bedeutend rabiater als der Messerheld von Ebäangon, er rannte wie toll auf dem Dorfplatze herum und bewarf unter Gröhlen jeden, der sich

2: Tessmann

FH9 Fang

[facing p. 84]

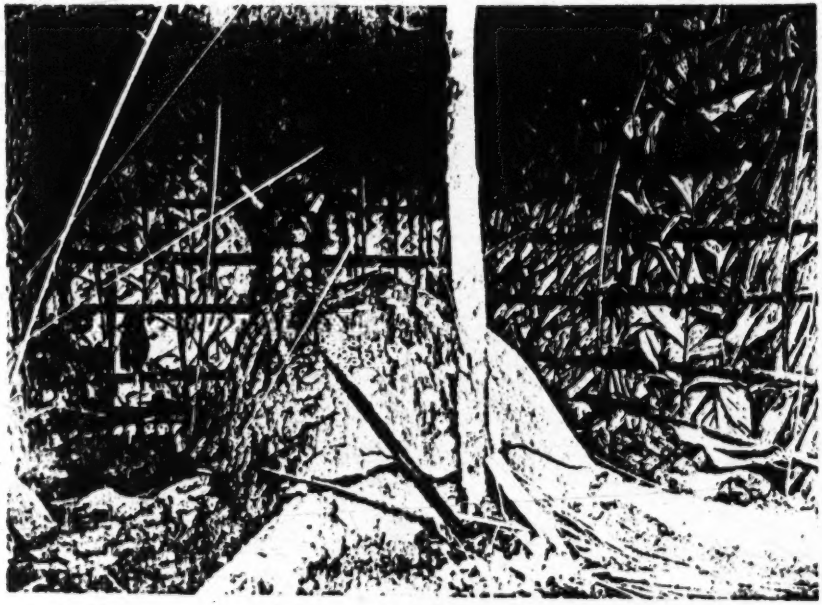


Abb. 224. NGI-FIGUR IN BEBAI (FAM. SCHUMU), SPAN. GUINEA.

Verlegt und gedruckt bei Ernst Wasmuth A.-G., Berlin.

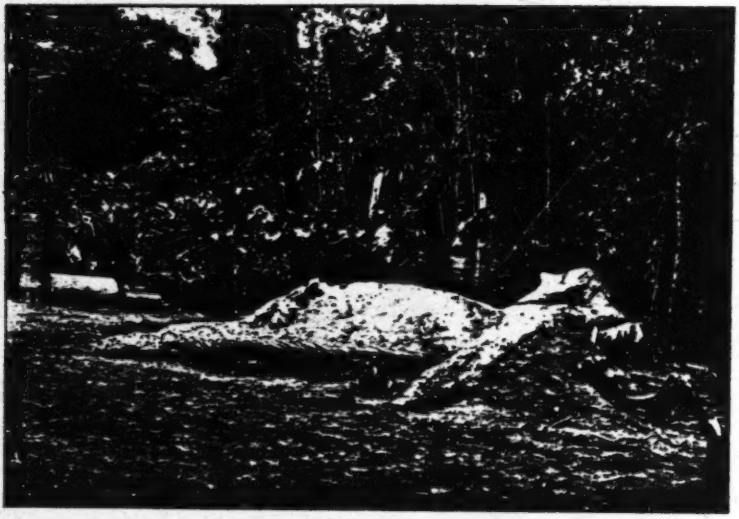


Abb. 29. Ngi-Kultfigur in Aiém (Fam. Epfak), Span.-Guinea. Der Medizinmann bläst unter dem erhöhten Kopfe der Figur auf einem Mirliton.

blicken ließ, mit den angeräucherten Knochen und Holzstücken, selbst ich mußte vor seinen Wurfgeschossen auf der Hut sein. Auch am Abend führte er die gleiche Komödie auf und gab noch außer dem gewöhnlichen Gegröhle das eigenartige Prusten der Ziegenböcke vor der Begattung wieder, eine Sache, die eigentlich gar nicht in den Kult des heiligen Feuers gehört, aber vielleicht ein Rest seiner alten Abstammung vom Bösen ist. In Abb. 30 wird die Medizin, das Gift *náü*, in das Loch getan, wobei man die vorsichtige Haltung der Leute beachte. Außer diesen freistehenden Figuren gibt es solche unter Schutzdächern, die sich sogar zu einer Art Haus und schließlich zu förmlichen Tempelanlagen entwickeln. Eine der großartigsten und packendsten Ngifiguren sah ich im Schumudorfe Bebai (Woddogebiet). Der Ngi lag hier (Taf. XXII, Plan: Abb. 28 Fig. 2) unter einem vorn offenen Hause und war schön mit weißen Kreisen und Sonnen bemalt. Das kunstvollste war jedoch der Kopf und der lange tierähnliche Hals, der an die Wand gelehnt war. Auf dem Kopfe saßen zwei rot und weiß gefärbte Hörner, die mir die Abstammung aller Kulte vom Bösen, für die ja auch noch ihr Name *nsöm* spricht, zu beweisen scheinen. Dieser Ngi stellt also gewissermaßen einen Atavismus dar. Der Verfertiger, der übrigens selbst später nach eigener Angabe von demselben Ngi getötet wurde, sagte mir zwar, die Hörner seien seine eigene Erfindung und dem Ngi nur als bessere Waffe beigegeben, aber der Mann wäre doch

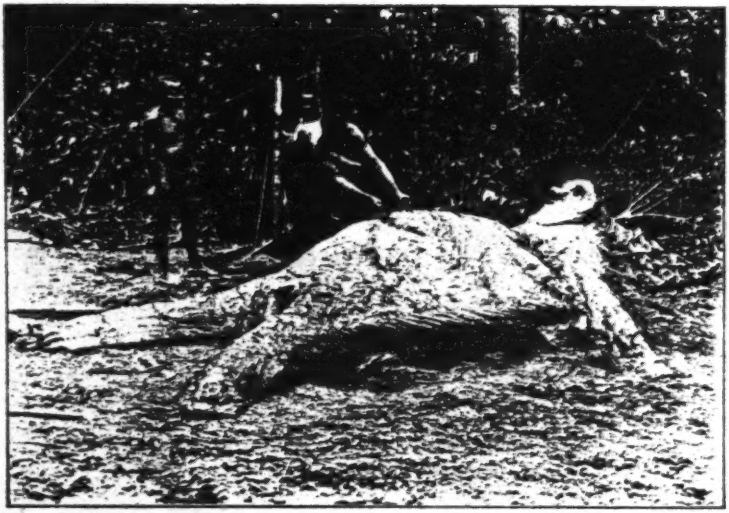


Abb. 30. Ngi-Kultfeier in Alén (Fam. Epfak). Der Medizinmann weiht die Figur ein.

gewiß nicht auf das Anbringen von Hörnern als Waffe für eine menschliche Persönlichkeit gekommen, wenn nicht eben die Erinnerung an die Mondhörner des Sso (in Masken und in der Ssofigur von Akonangi) ganz unbewußt im Denken des Volkes schlummerte. Natürlich werden dort, wo die Gedankenverbindung Mond — Hörner vergessen ist, die Hörner gerade oder gebogen hergestellt, wie es dem Verfertiger einfällt, ursprünglich indes kennt man nur gebogene Hörner und auch später, namentlich bei Masken, sind sie die häufigeren. Bei dem vorliegenden Ngi waren seine eigentlichen Waffen, die beiden Knochen, an der Decke des Hauses aufgehängt, sie waren mit mehreren roten Papageienfedern geschmückt, was andeuten sollte, daß dieser Ngi schon viele Zauberwesen getötet hatte. Die rote Farbe entspricht dem vergossenen Blute, anderseits ist der Papagei ein Tier der Sonne, des Guten, ist also vom Sonnenkult in den Ngikult übernommen. Auf dem Kopfe der Figur liegt das Stück eines Schädels.

Eine andere größere Anlage stammt aus dem mittleren Kjegebiet. Sie ist in Abb. 31 wiedergegeben. Am hinteren Ende des langen, schmalen, mit Wänden umgebenen Vorplatzes *(elik e ngi)* war in einem Hause der Ngi untergebracht. Man sieht die Figur mit dem Schädel und den Knochen auf dem Bauche in Abb. 32. Hier war außerdem ein unterirdischer Gang ausgehoben, der vom Ngihause unter dem ganzen Vorplatz hinweg zum Dorfplatz ging, und in den der Kultleiter hineinsteigt, um so aus der Tiefe zu sprechen, von wo seine Stimme besonders schaurig klingt.

2: Tessmann

FH9 Fang

[Facing p. 84]

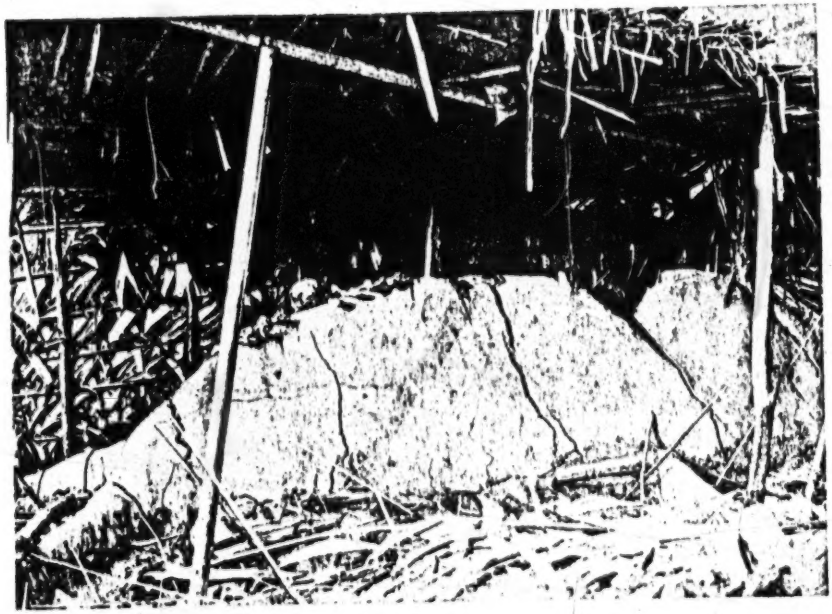


Abb. 237. NGI-FIGUR IN BENDAMBEJUSCH (FAM. EFÁK), NEU-KAMERUN.

Verlegt und gedruckt bei Ernst Wasmuth A.-G., Berlin.

Abb. 31. Umzäunter Ngiplatz beim Versammlungshause in Olámesö (Fam. Essandun), Neu-Kamerun

Den kühnsten und großartigsten Gedanken haben aber darin die Essengleute von Essun (oberes Kjegebiet) gehabt (Abb. 28 Fig. 3). Hier geht von der unter einem kleinen Schutzdach auf dem Kultplatz errichteten Figur ein unterirdischer Doppelgang aus, der unter der Wand hindurch bis zum Dorfplatz führt und etwas vor dem Versammlungshause blind endet. Die Gänge sind so schmal, daß die beiden Ngidarsteller rückwärts hineinkriechen müssen. Die beiden sprechen nun abwechselnd und geben dadurch der Ngidarstellung eine noch größere Lebendigkeit. Die Ngifigur selbst war mit vielen Kardamomfrüchten besteckt, mit einem hölzernen Penis und mit zwei roten Papageifedern als Nasenschmuck versehen.

Eine besondere Art sieht der Pangwe in jenen Ngifiguren, die unmittelbar mit dem Versammlungshause verbunden sind, wie eine solche im Grundriß Abb. 28 Fig. 4, von außen aufgenommen Abb. 33 zeigt. Wir sehen hier links die Ngihütte, das *dzä e ngi (c)*, rechts das Versammlungshaus *(a)*, zwischen beiden den Vorplatz; *elik e ngi (b)*, von dem zwei Türen abgehen, eine zum Versammlungshaus, eine zweite auf den Dorfplatz. Auch hier ist vom Ngi aus ein unterirdischer Gang *(d)* unter dem Vorplatz entlang gegraben, in welchem der Ngidarsteller bis unter das Versammlungshaus kriechen und hier mit seinem Gegröhle die darin versammelten Neulinge erschrecken kann. Der Ngi selbst (Taf. XXIII) hat eine ganze Auswahl von Knochen und einen gut

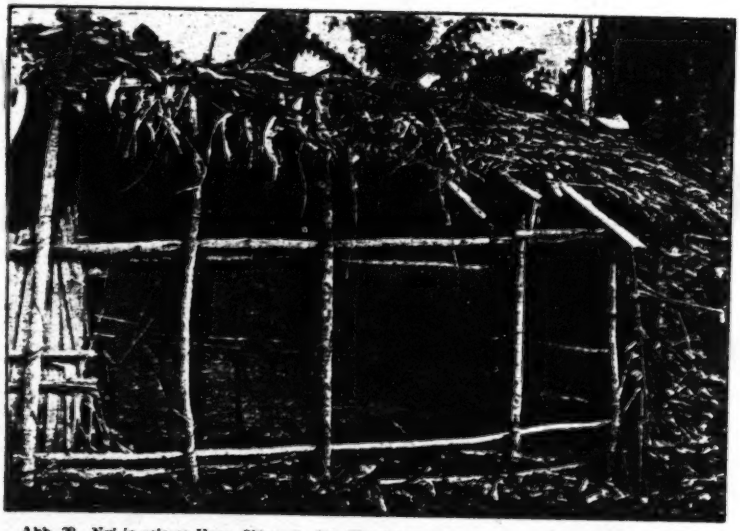


Abb. 72. Ngi in seinem Haus, Olámesö. Die Wand ist weggenommen, um die Figur freizulegen.

erhaltenen Menschenschädel auf seinem Bauche liegen, dazu hat man ihn nach Tätowierart mit Ritzmustern geschmückt (Abb. 34).

Diese kleine Auswahl von besonders eigentümlichen Ngifiguren ermöglicht wohl dem Leser einen Einblick in eine der merkwürdigsten religiösen Einrichtungen der Pangwe: aber der Ngi selbst ist uns bisher nur immer eine tote Figur gewesen, das wichtigste ist doch, wie sich denn im Geiste die Pangwe ihren Ngi, der den Guten ein Vater und Beschützer, den Schlechten ein strafender Rächer ist, vorstellen.

Der Ngi ist, wie erwähnt, die Verbildlichung des Feuers. Dem Feuer sind wir bei einigen der früheren Kulte schon begegnet, aber nur in der Rolle eines Vermittlers, insofern es die den Figuren durch Medizinen (Ewu!) eingegebenen bzw. die einem Toten innewohnenden Kräfte übertrug, und zwar durch Flamme und Rauch. Beim Ngi ist das Feuer die verkörperte Kraft selbst, und zwar bildlich dargestellt als Gorilla. Aber die Vorstellungen haben die abstrakte Idee fast abgestreift und rein persönliche Gestalt angenommen, man spricht daher von d e m Ngi wie von einem Menschen, während es d e n Bokung oder gar d e n Sso nicht gibt, höchstens einen Ssogedanken, das ist der Gedanke, von dem der Kult beseelt wird. Der Ngi also greift in das Leben der Pangwe persönlich schützend oder — meistens — strafend ein, er ist für sie der gefürchtete Wächter der Sitte, das Auge des göttlichen Gesetzes geworden. Wehe jetzt den Sündern!

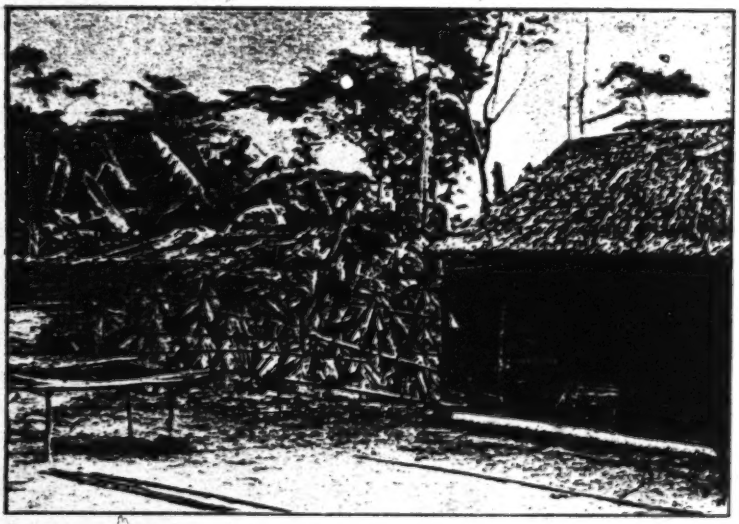


Abb. 32. Ngiplatz und Ngihaus am Versammlungshaus in Bendámbejasch (Fam. Epfak). Neu-Kamerun.

Hier muß ich auf das zurückgreifen, was ich am Anfang über die Auffassung der Sünde als des Verbrechens gegen göttliche Gesetze sagte: daß es nur heimliche Sünden gibt, das sind Diebstahl, sexuelle Vergehen und heimlicher Mord, und wieder nur heimliche Sünden innerhalb der Familiensippen. Der heimlichen Sünde entspricht aber heimliche Strafe, d. h. eine von der sittlich-göttlichen Macht, dem Ngi, ausgehende, mystisch wirkend gedachte. Notwendig und besonders wichtig ist hierbei das zweite Moment, daß nämlich diese heimliche Sünde innerhalb des Familienverbandes ausgeführt wird, so wichtig, daß man in einem Falle sogar über den Begriff der heimlichen Sünde hinausgeht und auch die öffentliche Tat den Befugnissen des Ngi unterstellt. Ein Mörder darf von seinen Sippengenossen mit dem Tode bestraft, aber es darf sein Blut nicht vergossen werden — er wird ertränkt, weil der Ngi sonst die Vollstrecker dieser Strafe krankmachen würde (Lepra). Der Sippengedanke kommt auch darin zum Ausdruck, daß der Ngi nicht weiter wirkt, als etwa einen halben Tagemarsch von seinem Standorte aus, oft noch nicht einmal soweit. Die Grenze, die ihm gezogen ist, deckt sich also meistens mit den Grenzen des engeren Familienverbandes und der befreundeten Nachbarsippen. Über dieselbe Grenze pflegen — wie wir sehen werden — auch die Zauberwesen nicht hinauszugehen, weil sich eben ihr Treiben gegen die Mitglieder eines befreundeten Kreises richtet.

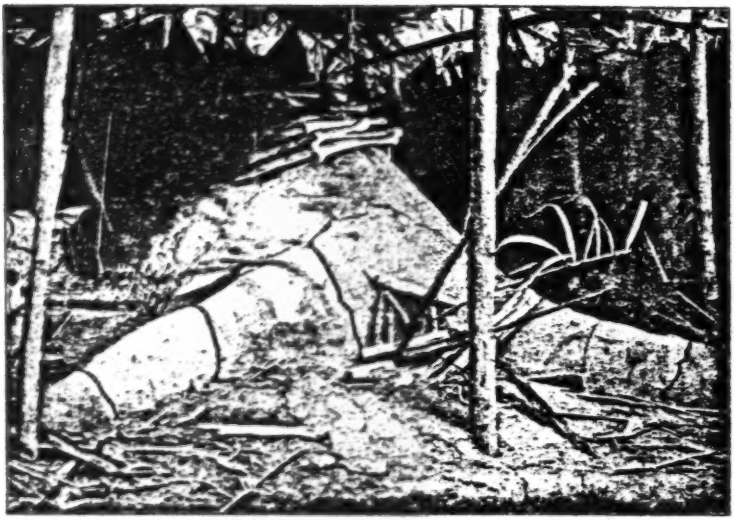


Abb. 34. Ngi in Bedámbejusch von vorne.

Ursprünglich ist aller Geschlechtsverkehr unerlaubt und Sünde, man hat sich dann aber doch darauf beschränken müssen zu sagen: Sünde ist der Geschlechtsverkehr am Tage [1]) und gleichgeschlechtlicher Verkehr. So ist bei allen unberührten Pangwe Geschlechtsverkehr am Tage, also auch der mit den eigenen Frauen, eine Sünde und kommt deshalb verhältnismäßig selten vor. Später haben einige Schlaue dann herausgefunden, was ja mit der Zeit kommen mußte, daß der Ngi doch nicht alle bestraft, die am Tage kohabitieren, daß er vielmehr hauptsächlich nur das Weib bestraft, wenn es gegen das Verbot handelt. Nach anderer Ansicht soll der Mann nur dann ngikrank werden, wenn er nach dem Koitus länger auf der Erde liegen bleibt, während sich das Weib schnell entfernt; umgekehrt wird das Weib krank, wenn es länger liegen bleibt als der Mann. Eine für den Mann äußerst praktische Bestimmung!

Bei Diebstahl und Ehebruch (der ja nur eine besondere Form des Diebstahls ist) läßt man es meistens auf einen Schwur ankommen, der beim Ngi bzw. bei anderen Kulten geschworen w[illegible] (vgl. Abschn. XVI, 5). Will sich der mutmaßliche Täter nicht auf einen solchen einlassen, so kann man sich an den Ngi wenden. Man braucht bloß einen Kassavestengel (Sinnbild der Zerbrechlichkeit, des Sterbens wegen seiner Brüchigkeit) auf dem Leibe des Ngi zu zerschlagen und dabei z. B. zu sagen:

[1]) Denn die Sonne bzw. der Tag, also das Gute, darf ihn nicht sehen.

a bō biań, nge oń dźibe kik dźum e dźam: abuda ngi.
Zu schlagen Medizin [1]), wenn du (nicht) gestohlen nicht Sache meine: Opfer des Ngi.

Das heißt: Wenn du auch sagst, du hättest nicht die Sache gestohlen, du wirst doch ein Opfer des Ngi werden (denn du h a s t sie gestohlen); oder:

a bō biań, nge oń kade kat: abuda ngi.
Zu schlagen Medizin, wenn du nicht die Unwahrheit sagst: Opfer des Ngi.

Das heißt: Wenn du auch sagst, du hättest nicht die Unwahrheit gesagt, du wirst doch ein Opfer des Ngi werden (denn du hast die Unwahrheit gesagt und die Sünde getan). Auch kann man, wenn der Dieb z. B. Zuckerrohr gestohlen hat, die zerkauten Stücke mit einem Gegenstand — nicht mit der Hand — aufnehmen und in das Loch im Bauche der Figur werfen, dann wird der Dieb ngikrank, oder man schabt von dem Knochen des Ngi etwas ab und legt es an den Weg, den der Dieb gehen wird, dann wird er auch ngikrank, kurz, es gibt unzählige Mittel, um die Rache des Ngi auf den Betreffenden herabzuschwören. Es ist jedoch nicht üblich und ratsam, den Ngi — wenigstens in feierlicherer Weise — anzurufen, wenn es sich um Kleinigkeiten handelt. Es wird jedesmal von dem Kultleiter betont, daß man sich nur in wichtigen Dingen, die natürlich selten sind, an den Ngi wenden solle, nicht bei jedem kleinen Mundraub.

Die bei weitem größte Rolle spielt jedoch der Ngi im Kampfe gegen die Zauberer, das sind Menschen, deren Wesen die Fähigkeit besitzt, nächtlicherweile den Körper zu verlassen und ungesehen in Geistergestalt andere Menschen zu bekämpfen, in ihren Häusern aufzusuchen und zu töten. Alles, was wir beim Ngifest gesehen hatten, war hauptsächlich gegen die Zauberei gerichtet.

Die Pangwe glauben fest daran, daß der Ngi des Nachts, wenn die Stunde für die Zauberwesen gekommen ist, aufsteht und in seinem Dorf und auf den Wegen umherstreift. Zur Nachtzeit, wo alle Formen sich verwischen und zu vergrößern scheinen, hebt sich dem Pangwe auch der Ngi zu riesenhafter Größe empor. Die Neger wissen, wie er dann aussieht in seiner übermenschlichen Gestalt mit den Knochen in den Händen — dem langen Knochen in der Rechten, dem kurzen Knochen in der Linken —, wie er von einem unbestimmten Feuerschein umgeben aus dem Dickicht dem Sünder entgegentritt, wie er ihn anschaut mit seinen starren, durchdringenden Augen, die so unheimlich brennen wie Feuer, wie er den Knochen in seiner Rechten hebt und zum tödlichen Schlage ausholt, und wie er dann plötzlich in einem Lichtschein verschwindet, der das Dunkel seines Haines grell erleuchtet.

Der Mensch aber, der versucht hatte zu zaubern, wacht am nächsten Tage auf mit Schmerzen im Gehirn, als ob ihn einer auf den Kopf geschlagen hätte, und mit einem schrecklichen Brennen in den Eingeweiden und im ganzen

[1]) Das ist hier der Ngi.

Körper — *abuda-ngí*, das Opfer des Ngi. Nach kurzer Zeit wird er bei den Schatten sein.

Man sollte nun meinen, daß die Zauberwesen den Platz meiden sollten, wo ein Ngi die nächtliche Wache hält, aber weit gefehlt! Diese Zauberwesen kehren sich an nichts, nicht einmal an das Heiligste, ja sie halten geradezu Wettstreit ab, wem es gelänge, sich den Ngi aus der Nähe anzusehen und in seinem Dorfe zu besuchen, wenn er — wie es anscheinend auch beim Ngi bisweilen der Fall ist — einmal schläft oder sich anstatt mit Zauberersuchen mit etwas anderem beschäftigt. Da sind ihm dann die Stachelranken der Dalbergia, die Raphiaspeere, die stacheligen Bäume, in deren Nähe man die Figur zu machen pflegt (vgl. Abb. 27), ein großer Schutz; die bösen Zauberwesen spießen sich daran auf, und man erzählt sich öfter, daß tatsächlich mitunter Blutspuren auf dem heiligen Platze angetroffen werden, die von den Zauberwesen herrühren. Ob das Blut nun zufällig durch Tiere, z. B. Ziegen oder Schafe, die sich an den Stacheln verletzt haben, oder wie es sonst dorthin gekommen ist, weiß ich nicht [1]). Sicher ist aber, daß der Ngi, trotz seiner Kraft, von den Zauberwesen sehr bedrängt wird, sodaß er eine riesige Menge von Medizinen in seinem eigenen Leibe bergen muß, um gegen die allerfrechsten nächtlichen Zudringlinge gesichert zu sein, und selbst dies wird noch nicht als ausreichender Schutz angesehen, sonst würde ich wohl nicht bei meinem Besuche des Ngi in Bebai ebenso angstvoll wie eindringlich gebeten worden sein, ja keine Zauberei zu treiben. Freilich werden ja die Weißen für außergewöhnlich mächtige Zauberer gehalten, die glatt imstande sind, es mit dem Ngi und allen seinen Medizinen aufzunehmen.

Wie fest die Eingeborenen an alle diese Sachen glauben, zeigt die Tatsache, daß viele Leute in ihrer Todesstunde angeben, vom Ngi getötet zu sein. Auf derartige Bekenntnisse von Sterbenden gründen sich auch die Anführung von bestimmten Namen beim Knochentanz und die Ausschmückung der Ngiknochen mit roten Federn, die die große Zahl seiner Opfer anzeigen sollen. Überhaupt habe ich von Betrügereien und Firlefanzereien, die man nur allzuleicht Naturvölkern unterzuschieben geneigt ist, bei den Pangwe nichts gemerkt; selbst bei anscheinend widersinnigen Angaben stand immer eine mißverstandene Tatsache im Hintergrund. Besonders interessant ist ein Fall aus dem erwähnten Bebai. Hier hatte ein junger, etwa zwanzigjähriger Mensch anläßlich des durch Zauberei erfolgten Todes seiner Schwester eine Ngifeier veranstaltet und geleitet. Nicht sehr lange nach meinem Besuch im Dorfe starb er mit dem Geständnis, er habe seinen Schwager nächtlicherweile töten wollen, weil dieser seine Schwester nicht voll ausbezahlt habe. Dabei sei er, der Medizinmann, vom Ngi überrascht worden, und dieser habe gesagt: „O, wie

[1]) An absichtliche Täuschung möge man immer zuletzt denken.

kommt dieser Mensch dazu, in meiner Nähe Zauberei zu betreiben." Er sei vom Ngi niedergeschlagen worden und müsse deshalb sterben.

Man sieht außerdem aus diesem Geständnis, daß die Medizinmänner, die den Ngi leiten, selbst Zauberer sind, also, wie der Pangwe in einem geflügelten Worte sagt, „selbst das Wasser herbeitragen, in dem ihr Kopf gekocht wird". Allerdings brauchen sie ihre Zauberkraft nicht im schlechten Sinne anzuwenden, wie es der Medizinmann von Bebai tat. Doch auf den Zauberglauben werde ich im Zusammenhange weiter unten kommen.

Vielen Völkern ist es gemeinsam, daß sie bei ihren Göttern und Ahnen zuzeiten eine gewisse Nachlässigkeit oder Unfreudigkeit bei der Arbeit in der Fürsorge für sie vermuten. Ebenso wie die Menschen haben auch die Götter Schwächezustände; sie können oder wollen nicht mehr ganz das leisten, was der Mensch von ihnen verlangt, eben weil es des Bösen zu viel gibt. Deshalb ist es nötig, von Zeit zu Zeit ihre Kräfte aufzufrischen. Während den Ahnenseelen Essen gereicht oder Feste gegeben werden, genügt beim Ngi, in welchem der Gedanke der in ihm verkörperten, zerstörenden Macht des Feuers noch lebendig ist, das Anzünden eines Feuers am Loche, wie es bei der Einweihung der Figur schon geschah. Dieses Feuer vernichtet dann nicht nur die im einzelnen Fall beteiligten Zauberwesen, sondern sogar alle, die sich in der Nähe auf Schleichwegen befinden. Es dringt ihnen in die Eingeweide und in das Organ der Zauberkraft *(evu)*: der Mensch wird krank und stirbt. In Bebai, das offenbar von den Zauberwesen als besonderer Tummelplatz angesehen wurde, brannte allabendlich ein solches Harzfeuer, anderswo zündet man es nur hin und wieder an.

Im allgemeinen handelt es sich bei der Ngikrankheit um kein bestimmtes Krankheitsbild, vielmehr jede unerklärliche innere Krankheit schreibt man dem Ngi zu, wenn man sich irgendeiner Sünde gegen ihn schuldig weiß. Nur e i n e erkennbare äußere Krankheit wird ausdrücklich auf den Ngi zurückgeführt: die Lepra. Die auf der schwarzen Haut rötlich scheinenden Flecke dieser furchtbarsten Krankheit des südlichen Pangwelandes werden mit dem Feuer verglichen, als zeichnete sich der Ngi selbst als Strafe für die Versündigung gegen ihn in den Lepraflecken ab, eine Anschauung, der wir noch häufig begegnen werden.

V. Schlußbemerkungen über Männerkulte.

Außer den hier genauer beschriebenen Hauptkulten, die ich alle mitgemacht habe, gibt es noch einige, die ich nicht aus eigener Anschauung kenne. Die Ntum haben das Enikö, bei dem man einen Hund auf einem Gerüst tanzen läßt, die Fang das Odschöe, angeblich der farbenprächtigste und glanzvollste

Kult und jedenfalls ein Verwandter des Sso, da das Zwergböckchen **Nestragus batesi** W i n t o n *(ndiâr VI)* ebenfalls ein, wenn auch nicht so ausgesprochenes Nachttier wie der **Cephalophus dorsalis** *(nâ)* ist. Der letzte mir genannte Kult ist das Schib der Fang *(ifi)* — **Limnotragus gratus** S c l a t e r, Sumpfbock). Früher scheint es noch weitere gegeben zu haben, die jetzt ausgestorben sind. Man sieht, welch ein Feld dieses Kultwesen für Forscher ist.

Die Honorare des Medizinmannes, der die Kultfiguren weiht, betragen für das Schok und Odschöle 200 Speer (= Mk. 14.—), für das Sso und Ndongmba 100 Speer (= Mk. 7.—), für das Bokung und Elong ebenso, für das Ngi nur 50 Speer (= Mk. 3.50).

VI. Weiberkulte.

Da ich der Ansicht bin, daß nur aus öfterer persönlicher Anschauung heraus ein klares Bild von der Bedeutung der Kulte erlangt werden kann, so habe ich gegen jede Wiedergabe von Eingeborenenberichten derartiger schwieriger Sachen eine große Abneigung. Ich selbst habe die Erfahrung gemacht, daß auch bei Vorgängen, die uns viel leichter verständlich sind, die Beschreibung durch die Neger ein ganz verzerrtes Bild der tatsächlichen Verhältnisse ergab. Man wird durch das oft beliebte und freilich bequeme Abfragen Eingeborener selten etwas Richtiges und Verläßliches erhalten, vielleicht noch am ersten dann, wenn man die Sprache der Eingeborenen beherrscht, nicht nur radebricht, vollkommen in die Sprach- und Denkweise der Leute eingeweiht ist und — was große Bedeutung hat — ungefähr schon die großen Richtlinien kennt, an die sich das zu Erzählende anlehnen wird. So glaube ich beim Jaunde-Sso, obwohl ich es persönlich nicht kenne, das Bezeichnende richtig hervorgehoben zu haben, da ich in dem Sso der Ntum eine Grundlage hatte für die zur Ergänzung notwendigen Fragen.

Die Schwierigkeiten, welche allgemein zu überwinden waren, ehe ich auch nur einen flüchtigen Einblick in das Kultwesen der Männer bekam, die sich auszudenken habe ich dem Leser überlassen. Hinsichtlich der Weiberkulte häuften sich diese Schwierigkeiten eben durch den Ausschluß des männlichen Geschlechts und die natürliche Scheu der Frauen derart, daß es mir nicht möglich war, persönlich zu ihnen Zutritt zu erlangen, zumal sie noch viel seltener gefeiert werden als die der Männer, nämlich vielleicht alle zwei bis drei Jahre einmal. So kann ich hier leider nur Berichte wiedergeben, und wenn ich froh bin, solche überhaupt geben zu können, so muß ich meiner Freude mit meiner eigenen obigen Bemerkung ein Tröpfchen Wermuth beimischen. Ich führe die Erzählung deshalb ohne erläuternde Anmerkungen, nur der Vollständigkeit halber an, obgleich ich selbst keinen rechten Überblick über das krause Zeug ge-

winnen kann und nur soviel verstehe, daß über die Männer das ganze Füllhorn weiblichen Spottes und weiblicher Klatschsucht ausgegossen wird. Vielleicht mag das meinem Freunde gerade als das Interessanteste und Wichtigste erschienen sein.

Es gibt im Pangwegebiete etwa fünf Weiberkulte, der verbreitetste ist das Mawungu, mit Ausnahme der Bene von den Jaunde bis zu den Fang bekannt, der wichtigste bei den Fang ist das Nkang oder Mekang, außerdem hörte ich von einem anscheinend in Bildung begriffenen, dem Endaluma. Ferner haben die Bene nach Mitteilung eines Eingeborenen dieses Stammes zwei weitere, namens Ewudu *(eyǝdǝ)* und Akang *(akǝn)*.

Der Verlauf des Mawungu und Nkang wurde mir von einem Fang erzählt, der ihn wieder von seinen weiblichen Bekannten erfahren hatte, nachdem er ihnen erzählt, er müsse in den Krieg ziehen und bedürfe der Kenntnis aller dieser Sachen, sonst würden die feindlichen Geschosse ihn töten. Glücklicherweise gingen die gekängstigten Liebenden sofort auf den Leim, sonst wäre ich nicht imstande gewesen, mehr von den Kulten zu bringen als die Namen.

Auch bei den Weiberkulten gibt es Eingeweihte *(ngua III)*, Nichteingeweihte *(akin)* und Neulinge *(mvun III)*. Letztere haben keine Quälereien und keine Absperrungen durchzumachen, haben bloß den Feiern beizuwohnen und gelten danach als Eingeweihte.

Mawungu.

Am Festabend versammeln sich alle Eingeweihten auf dem Festplatze. Die Männer müssen sich in den Häusern halten. Während die Neulinge im Versammlungshause warten, begeben sich die Eingeweihten unter Anführung einer medizinkundigen Alten auf den vom Dorfe wegführenden Weg, wo sie ein großes Feuer anmachen. Nun versteckt sich die Anführerin im Gebüsch und singt auf einem „Töpfchen" (wohl den Mirlitons der Männer entsprechend). Die anderen Weiber fallen in den Kehrreim ein. Nun werden die Neulinge vom Versammlungshause herbeigeführt und durch die blasende Alte, die aus dem Busch heraus ihre schaurige Musik ertönen läßt, erschreckt. Von den anderen Frauen wird den Neulingen dann gesagt: „Nun seid ihr Eingeweihte, Mawungu ist hier!" Darauf kehren alle ins Dorf zurück und beschimpfen die Männer, wobei sie jedenfalls für deren Bemerkungen beim Sso nichts schuldig bleiben und sogar noch persönlicher und spitziger als die Männer zu werden pflegen, so daß sich die meisten ihrer Ausfälle nicht einmal andeutungsweise wiedergeben lassen. Manchem der hinter den Türen eingesperrten Herren der Schöpfung werden wohl die Ohren dabei klingen.

Hiermit ist die nur für Damen bestimmte Hauptfeier beendigt. Am folgenden Tage findet eine weitere Verulkung des männlichen Geschlechts statt, bei der alle zugegen sein dürfen. Dazu ziehen die Frauen aus dem Dorfe, „kleiden" sich auf dem Wege „um" und kommen, angetan mit europäischen Zeugen, also in Herrentracht, im Gänsemarsch zurück. Alle haben dabei einen Kardamomstengel in der Hand, die Anführerin trägt ein Gewehr und hat sich mit dem Schwerte umgürtet. So ziehen diese eigenartigen Frauenrechtlerinnen unter Gesang, der ohne Zweifel auch auf das starke Geschlecht Bezug nimmt, ins Dorf, wo nun die Neulinge erscheinen, die rechte Körperhälfte mit roter Farbe bestrichen, die linke mit Öl gesalbt. Den Abschluß des netten Festes bildet der Tanz *ebun*, der sich oft bis zum Abend ausdehnt. Das Essen ist wie der Festschmaus der Männer nur für Eingeweihte bestimmt [1]). Uneingeweihte, auch die Männer, mögen sehen, wie sie satt werden. Also auch das noch!

Bei den Jaundefrauen gehört zum Mawungu noch eine feierliche Handlung, die als Medizin bezeichnet und außerhalb des eigentlichen Festes vorgenommen wurde. Sie richtet sich gegen die Zauberwesen männlichen oder weiblichen Geschlechts und wurde mir folgendermaßen geschildert.

Wenn z. B. eine Frau glaubt, sie sei durch Zauberei krank gemacht oder ihre Kinder seien durch Zauberei getötet, so bittet sie das medizinkundige Weib, die Mawungumedizin zu machen. Nach fünf Tagen erscheint dieses mit einer Anzahl anderer Frauen im Hause der Auftraggeberin und zündet ein großes Feuer an. Dann nimmt es eine Frucht der **Desplatsia dewevrei** De W. et B. *(afónige* F., *afónòk* Nt.) und hält sie ins Feuer, um zu sehen, ob ein günstiges Vorzeichen fürs Mawungu besteht. Dies ist der Fall, wenn die Frucht ganz verbrennt, verbrennt sie aber nur halb, so nimmt man an, daß die Frau sich geirrt oder gelogen hat und selbst am Tode der Kinder schuld ist. Bei günstigem Ausfall der Probe gräbt man die Medizin, die aus einer halbdurchgeschnittenen Luftknolle der **Dioscorea preussii** Pax. *(ebun)* und 3 × 3 = 9 Steinen besteht, unter der Tür im Hause ein. Die **Dioscorea preussii** haben wir wegen ihrer krankhaften Flecken schon als Medizin gegen Zauberwesen kennengelernt (S. 72); die Steine sollen dem Menschen Blutgeschwüre wünschen, die so groß und hart wie Steine sind. Nun kommt die Hauptsache. Die Medizinkundige legt sich nackend auf den Boden, nur das Gesicht mit einem Tuche bedeckt, und bekommt eine Treiberameise auf die Schamlippen gedrückt, an denen sich das Tier festbeißt. Dazu singen die Weiber im Chor und streuen dann die Asche der Desplatsiafrucht auf die Wege, die in das Dorf münden, eine Medizin, die den ankommenden Zauberern schaden soll; dann wird die Ameise entfernt. Ob der Vorgang bezwecken soll, daß die fremde Frau, die vielleicht gezaubert

[1]) Schwangere dürfen freilich auch nicht daran teilnehmen, da es der — vielleicht männlichen — Frucht schaden könnte.

hat, gleiche Schmerzen an der betreffenden Stelle empfinden soll, ist nicht mit Bestimmtheit zu sagen. Die Medizin ist damit beendigt und kostet der Auftraggeberin 100 Speere (= Mk. 7.—).

An demselben Tage wird auch die Medizin, die beim Schwören benutzt wird, bereitet (vgl. Abschn. XVI, 5).

N k a n g.

Der Name des Kultes kommt von *nkaŋ*, Pl.: *mekaŋ* = Perlhuhn, das im südlichen Pangwegebiete durch die Art **Guttera plumifera** (C a s s) vertreten wird, und das im Kult eine Rolle spielt. Die Feierlichkeiten werden durch den *ekan*-Tanz eingeleitet, dann wird am Abend Musik gemacht, wie beim Mawunga, und Feuer angezündet. Wenn die Neulinge am Feuer anlangen, rufen oder singen die dort anwesenden Frauen: *mekaŋ za o ne!* (Perlhühner, kommt her!) Darauf kommen die im Busch versteckten Weiber unter Blasen und Rufen in einer Linie heraus, jede mit einer Perlhuhnfeder in der einen und einer Desplatniafrucht in der anderen Hand. Eine von den am Feuer hockenden Frauen nimmt von Maiskörner und streut sie aus, indem sie singt: *mekaŋ, za a dii jane!* (Perlhühner, kommt zu unsem Mais!) Die aus dem Busch kommenden Weiber lesen die Körner auf und verzehren sie. Zuletzt ziehen alle ins Dorf, um dort durch ein ganz plumpes Verfahren die in den Häusern eingeschlossenen Männer zu erschrecken. Die Anführerin stellt sich in die Mitte des Dorfplatzes und klatscht mit einem Bananenstengel auf die Erde, ein Zeichen für die anderen, je eine Seite des Dorfes zu stürmen und an die Häuser zu hallern. Das übliche Beschimpfen der Männer beschließt den Tag. — Die Perlhuhnfedern werden sorgfältig bis zum nächsten Mal aufgehoben. — Die eigentliche Feier ist damit beendigt. Freilich pflegen die schlauen Weiber in derselben Nacht, wenn beide Geschlechter wieder friedlich vereint sind und die Männer glauben, die Sache sei beendigt, einige alte alleinstehende Frauen in der Nähe in den Busch zu schicken, wo sie den Ruf der Perlhühner nachahmen müssen, um die Männer glauben zu machen, daß wirkliche Perlhühner dabei seien, die sozusagen auf seiten der Frauen ständen. In den nächsten zwei Monaten sterben die Neulinge im Zeichen der Nkangfeier und dürfen die ersten zehn Tage geschlechtlich nicht mit Männern verkehren — ein deutliches Zeichen, daß auch bei den Weiberkulten die vom Sso her bekannten Sterbegedanken und ähnliche Anschauungen zugrunde liegen. Dann geht die Feier weiter, und zwar mit demselben Aufzug wie am zweiten Tage bei dem Mawunga, nur mit dem Unterschied, daß die Frauen statt des Kardamomstengels ein Stückchen des jungen Raphiapalmblattes (*ntsu-ndiogo* F., hier *ndiogo-mekaŋ* genannt) in der Hand halten. Diese Stückchen werden im Dorfe auf Gabeln gesteckt und später von der Kult-

leiterin ins Wasser geworfen oder auf einen Plantenstamm gelegt; die Plantenfrüchte dürfen nur von einer alten Frau gegessen werden (diese Palmblattstücke entsprechen also den Plantenblättern beim Sautana). Die übrigen Feierlichkeiten sind ebenso wie beim Mawunga. Am Schlusse wird den Neueingeweihten gesagt: „Ihr seid nun Eingeweihte, ihr dürft kein Perlhuhnfleisch essen, und wenn ihr die Federn eines Perlhuhnes am Wege liegen seht, dürft ihr nicht darüber hinwegsteigen."

Beim Endaluma waren sich die Gelehrten nicht darüber einig, ob es als *nsém* zu betrachten sei. Zwar findet ein Umzug der Weiber, die eine halbe Nuß von **Cola edulis** Baill. in der Hand halten, statt, aber zu weiterem konnten es die Weiber beim besten Willen anscheinend nicht bringen, und ihr Endaluma ist trotz des schönen Namens ein totgeborenes Kind.

Wie sich stellenweise die Frauen in den Ngikult einzudrängen gewußt haben, so sind umgekehrt Männer, Zauberer, denen nichts heilig ist, in die Frauenkulte eingedrungen. Aber es scheinen doch nur wenige zu sein. Im allgemeinen halten die Frauen ihre Kulte recht geheim. Anderseits verstehen sie neuerdings, deren Ansehen zu heben, wobei ihnen die Richtung der Zeit insofern zustatten kommt, als die Rechtsanschauungen der Weißen vielfach auf ihrer Seite stehen und von ihnen geschickt benutzt werden, um bei der über die ursprünglichen Sitten der Eingeborenen naturgemäß oberflächlich unterrichteten Behörde günstige Urteile zu erlangen. So nimmt die Pflege der Weiberkulte zu und nicht ab, im Gegensatz zu den Männerkulten. Natürlich gilt das nur von den unter europäischem Einfluß stehenden Gebieten (Jaunde).

VII. Allgemeine Bemerkungen.

Es liegt in der Natur der Sache, daß bei den Pangwe — wie bei allen Völkern — nur ein Teil der Leute über die Dinge, die dem täglichen Leben ferner liegen, nachzudenken imstande ist. Es darf uns nicht irre machen, daß ein großer, ja der größte Teil der Pangwe in ihren religiösen Handlungen, gerade wie viele Weiße auch, nur die Äußerlichkeiten sehen, die Maskenverkummung, die Tierkämpfe, die Festfreude, an der sie teilnehmen, den Hokuspokus des Medizinmannes und vor allem die sozialen Elemente, die sozialen Vorteile. Aber das ist ja besonders in südlichen Ländern mit dem Christentum auch oft nicht anders. Dazu kommt, daß jede Person meist nur einen Kult mitmacht, wodurch jeder Überblick und jedes Verständnis des Zusammenhanges von vornherein abgeschnitten wird. Zwar ist überall eine gewisse Ahnung der zugrundeliegenden Anschauungen vorhanden, aber nirgends herrscht Klarheit, niemand gibt sich darüber Rechenschaft, was die Einzelheiten eigentlich bedeuten. Wie lange dauerte es nicht, bis im Verlaufe unserer Besprechungen selbst die Klügsten

nach langem Nachdenken dahinterkamen, daß der Ngi eigentlich die Verkörperung des Feuers ist!

Eine andere Frage ist die, wie sich die innere Überzeugung der Pangwe zu dem gesamten Kultwesen stellt. Die Absicht war gewesen, die Sünde wieder gut zu machen und das Böse als Strafe für sie aus der Welt zu entfernen. Dieser Zweck wird aber niemals erreicht. Die Kräfte der Kultfiguren bleiben menschlich schwach, sie werden nicht zu selbständigen Göttern, die etwa dauernd als schützende oder rächende Mächte ihnen vorschweben. „Gott" bleibt Nsambe allein, die Weltanschauung also ein fatalistischer Monotheismus, der sich damit abfindet, daß Nsambe die Menschen geschaffen und für ihre Sünde bestraft hat, und daß zu ihm die Menschen nach dem Tode zurückkehren. Nur zeitweise — zur nächtlichen Stunde —, wenn Gewissensbisse und Furcht vor der Strafe der göttlichen Macht das Herz des einzelnen durchschauert — wenn der Unfehlbare, der Tod, in die nächste Nähe des Menschen tritt —, drängen sich dunkle, furchtbare Gestalten davor: das verzerrte, starre Gesicht des Sugetates mit seinen Hörnern, vor dem man sich als Kind so fürchtete, und der doch so etwas Geheimnisvoll-Lockendes hatte, weil er das Abbild der Sünnenhut und des Bösen war, der knochenschüttelnde Ngi und dann die vielen, vielen Schatten der Toten, die den Weg zu Nsambe noch nicht finden können, ein großes gleichgartetes Heer, dem jedermann einst angehören wird.

5. Praktische Anwendung der Anschauung über die Sünde.

Zwei Dinge, über deren ursprüngliche Bedeutung sich die Fachgelehrten noch immer nicht recht klar sind, scheinen mir in der Hauptsache — Nebengründe werden wohl an dieser oder jener Stelle mitgewirkt haben — ein Ausfluß der oben dargelegten Anschauungen von der Entstehung der Sünde zu sein, ich meine: das Bedecken der Schamteile und die Beschneidung. Für das erstere erklären wenigstens die Pangwe selbst, daß sie aus Gründen der Scham *(a n' ssun)* vorgenommen wird.

Für die Beschneidung sind die religiösen Beweggründe offensichtlicher und werden übrigens von vielen Völkern angeführt. Von den Pangwe wird allgemein betont, daß sie das bessere „Aussehen" dazu bestimmt hätte, aber wie kam man darauf, daß es besser „aussähe", wenn das Glied beschnitten sei? Die Beantwortung ergibt sich aus dem S. 26 erklärten Gedanken des „ersten Menschen", die geschlechtliche Sünde mit der Schlange zu entschuldigen, und aus der Annahme, man hätte die Ähnlichkeit zwischen dem Glied und der Schlange durch die Beschneidung noch stärker ausprägen wollen. Man könnte sagen, die altjüdische Ausdrucksweise, die Beschneidung sei ein Bund mit Gott,

trifft vollkommen das Richtige, denn da Gott die Schlange geschickt hat, von der alle Sünde kommt, und der Mensch die Schlangenform auf das Glied überträgt, so ist tatsächlich zwischen beiden eine Verbindung, ein Bund, hergestellt. Weil sie von gleichen Anschauungen herkommen, fallen bei vielen Negern Beschneidung und Kulte zusammen, so daß man von wirklichen Beschneidungsfesten reden kann. Bei den Pangwe ist das nicht der Fall, die Beschneidung wird ganz unabhängig von den Kulten und öffentlich ausgeführt.

Die Beschneidung wird bei Jungen von 6—7 Jahren, mitunter schon früher, sehr selten später ausgeführt und findet für mehrere zugleich ohne Feierlichkeit im Dorfe statt. In Bebai, im Ntumgebiet, sah ich sechs Jungen nebeneinander in einer Reihe vor dem Versammlungshause sitzen, vor jedem eine etwa fingertiefe Grube. Ein Bruder oder sonst ein Verwandter setzte sich hinter den Kleinen, schlug die Beine über die des Kindes und hielt sie auseinandergespreizt fest, indes der Operateur, ein Häuptling aus einem benachbarten Dorfe, mit einem gewöhnlichen Rasiermesser *(okóngóó)*, das aber haarscharf war und daraufhin an der Handinnenseite geprüft wurde, sich ans Werk machte. Er zog mit der linken Hand die Vorhaut weit über die Eichel vor und schnitt sie vor dieser quer ab, dann nahm er den stehengebliebenen Rand durch zwei oder drei Schnitte bis zum Ansatz weg (Abb. 35). Die Vorhaut warf er in die erwähnte Grube, in die auch das Blut der Wunde floß. Die Kleinen wimmerten und klagten, mit Ausnahme eines einzigen, sehr und wurden, wenn sie es zu arg machten, von den umstehenden Verwandten ernstlich verwarnt und ausgescholten. Andere, jüngere Leute wollten sich über die Schmerzen der Kleinen halb krank lachen und schienen überhaupt die ganze Sache als ein außerordentliches Vergnügen aufzufassen. Nach Beendigung der Operation (Abb. 36) bespie ein Mann die Wunden mit zerkauter Kolanuß, „damit nicht soviel Blut herauslaufen sollte". Zuletzt wurde eine mit Bändern versehene Holzrolle *(ngpo IV)* unter das Glied geschoben und festgebunden. An eine zweite Schnur wurde als Verband ein Blatt der **Brekeria subpeltata** (Willd) Kunth, Piperacee *(ebimedzem)*[1], gesteckt, so daß es sich von oben über die Geschlechtsteile legte (Abb. 37 und 38). Damit war die Sache beendet, die Gruben wurden zugeschüttet und die Jungen hatten nur noch nötig, die Wunde jeden Tag zu waschen, was zuerst im Hause, nach zwei Tagen im nahen Fluß geschah. Nach zwei Wochen hörten die regelmäßigen Waschungen auf, und in einem Monat ist die Wunde verheilt.

Mitunter, wenn die Jungen sich zu heftig sträuben, kommt es vor, daß der Schnitt fehlgeht und das Glied trifft, von schweren Zufällen, Krankheiten usw. ist mir etwas bekannt geworden.

[1] Anderswo sah ich statt dessen ein Blatt der **Cosophrynna**, Apocynacee *(ebiim)*, auch die **Emilia sagittata** (Vahl) D. C. *(ebi-mem)*, Compositae, soll genommen werden.

Abb. 35. Beschneidung eines Jungen in Massóm (Fam. Ndong), Süd-Kamerun.

6. Zwischenreich, Seelenfest, Seele im Jenseits.

Nach dem Tode des Menschen verläßt die Seele den Körper und bildet nun eine Person für sich. Die Pangwe messen der Seele — wie jeder Person — daher eine gewisse Selbstbestimmung zu. So kann die Seele von dem üblichen Weg, zuerst in Form von Schatten auf der Erde und später bei Nsambe weiterzuleben, abweichen, sie kann sich nämlich nach dem Tode verwandeln, und zwar dann, wenn der betreffende Mensch fürchtet, wegen seiner schlechten Taten von Nsambe zur Rechenschaft gezogen und bestraft zu werden, oder wenn er über die Schlechtigkeit seiner Mitmenschen so verärgert und so erbittert gewesen ist, daß er nur darauf sinnt, an ihnen Rache zu nehmen. Dann kann sich seine Seele in ein reißendes Tier verwandeln und in solcher Gestalt die Einwohner des Dorfes anfallen und töten. Wir haben hier eine wirkliche Seelenverwandlung vor uns, das Tier ist die zu Fleisch und Bein gewordene Seele selbst — aber nach dem Tode des Tieres ist auch die Seele endgültig tot, da ein Tier, und das ist die Seele ja nun geworden, keine eigene Seele haben kann. Derartige tiergewordene Seelen nennt man *Ibibi* V (*bi*, *bè* = schlecht). Man sieht sie indes nur in vereinzelten Stücken ihrer Gattung, eben in solchen, die Menschen angreifen, in alten, sich absondernden und besonders bösartigen Tieren unter Leoparden, Elefanten, Büffeln, Gorillas usw. Aber nicht nur aus schlechten Beweggründen, sondern im Gegenteil auch aus sehr edlen kann ein Mensch eine solche Verwandlung eingehen. In früheren Zeiten, ehe durch

Abb. 8. Nach der Beschneidung. Die Penisrolle wird angefertigt. Mawoan (Fam. Ndongi), Süd-Kamerun.

den Handel das Land mit europäischen Waren überschwemmt war, hatte es oft für Söhne unbemittelter Väter große Schwierigkeiten, eine Frau zu bekommen, denn wenn auch die Preise bedeutend niedriger waren als heute, so gab es doch keine Gelegenheit, sich durch Handeln und Kautschuksammeln Geld zu verdienen. Wenn nun ein Vater, der unbemittelt ist, seinen unbeweibten Sohn sehr lieb hat, so, glauben die Pangwe, ist er unter Umständen imstande, sich in ein Stück Großwild, besonders in einen großen, schönen Leoparden zu verwandeln und sich in solcher Gestalt von seinem Sohne schießen zu lassen, um ihm durch sein Fell und seine Knochen die Mittel zu verschaffen, eine Frau zu kaufen. Früher — heute nicht mehr — war nämlich ein Leopard soviel wert wie eine Frau [1]).

[1]) Vom Leopard waren und sind alle Teile begehrt; das Fell als Riemen, das Fleisch zum Essen, die Knochen und Zähne als Medizin. Beim Verkauf konnte früher folgender Erlös erzielt werden:

A. Fell: eingeteilt in 10 Fellbänder *(ndoana)* zu 100 Speere	1000	Speere
B. Fleisch: 4 Beine (ohne Tatzen und Unterstücke der Oberschenkel) zu 20 Speere	80	„
2 Bugstücke zu 20 Speere	40	„
Kopf (außer Reißzähnen und Unterkiefer)	80	„
Rumpfstück	10	„
Hals	10	„
Unterkiefer	10	„
	1230	Speere

Welch ein Mut und welch ein Glauben gehört dazu, um einem Vater eine solche riesenhafte Liebe zuzutrauen, daß er auf das lange, lange, glückliche Zusammenleben mit Gott verzichtet und sich für sein Kind opfert, nur um diesem ein doch immerhin nichtiges Glück und einen rein gesellschaftlichen Vorteil zu verschaffen! — Also die Liebe ist doch auch beim Neger kein leerer Wahn!

Abb. 37 und 38.
Ein Beschnittener mit und ohne Verband (Blatt). Bébai (Fam. Essang), Süd-Kamerun.

Immerhin sind alle diese Fälle, in denen sich die Seele aus eigenem Willen verwandelt, sehr selten. In der Mehrzahl der Fälle tritt sie nicht wieder ins Leben zurück [1]), sondern bleibt unkörperlich, ein *kun III* (= Seele).

Wenn ein Mensch auf dem Sterbelager liegt, so wissen das die Seelen der jüngst Verstorbenen; sei es, daß sie sich noch in der Nähe menschlicher Wohnungen, sei es, daß sie sich schon auf dem Wege zu Nsambe befinden, kommen sie, um die Seele des Sterbenden abzuholen und sie zu ge-

---

	Übertrag:	1230 Speere
Herz und Leber, jedes zu 5 Speere	10	„
4 Tatzen (ohne Knochen) zu 10 Speere	40	„
4 Oberschenkelunterstücke zu 5 Speere	20	„
Bauch	5	„
C. Medizinen: 4 Reißzähne zu 100 Speere	400	„
20 Rückenwirbel zu 1 Speer	20	„
4 Tatzenknochen zu 20 Knochen zu 1 Speer	80	„
	1805 Speere	
	= Mk. 126,35.	

(Die deutsche Währung ist natürlich nur als Anhalt für heutige Verhältnisse gegeben, früher ist ein Speer bedeutend mehr wert gewesen als heute.)

[1]) Allerdings scheint man auch zu glauben, daß die Seele eines Häuptlings z. B., der kurz vor der Geburt eines Nachkommen stirbt, in diesen fahren kann. Das Kind bekommt dann denselben Namen wie der Verstorbene.

leiten. Sie treten dann oft an das Sterbebett, und der Sterbende erkennt sie und sagt wohl: „Da stehen sie und da!" — man blickt hin und sieht nichts. Denn für die Lebenden sind die Seelen unsichtbar. Und doch spürt man sie und sieht man sie zuzeiten. Wenn z. B. ein Todesfall in der nahen Verwandtschaft droht, wenn etwa der teure Vater im Sterben liegt und der Sohn noch am späten Abend sich eilends zum Medizinmann ins nächste Dorf begibt, dann kann es vorkommen, daß er den Seelen, die seinen Lieben abholen wollen, begegnet. Da sieht er einen Schatten, wie er plötzlich auftaucht und dann im Dunkel verschwindet — er ruft, aber keiner antwortet, bloß die Tiere der Nacht. Er weiß jetzt, es war eine Seele. Es war keine Täuschung, denn er hat sie deutlich gesehen, wie sie als lilagrauer Schatten unheimlich vorüberstreifte. — Lila ist die Farbe der Seelen, denn viele Pflanzen mit lila Blüten enthalten in ihrem Namen das Wort „*kun*" bzw. „*bokun*", so die Komposite **Ageratum conyzoides** L. mit hellila Blüten: *okini-o-kọn* Nt. (*okini* = Blatt, Kraut, also Seelenkraut), *niale-bokọn IV* J.; die Komposite **Vernonia jugalis** O. et H. mit dunkellila Blüten: *taa-bokọn III* (*taa* = Tabak, weil die Blätter wie Tabaksblätter aussehen und auch als Ersatz für Tabak gebraucht werden, also Tabak der Seelen), ferner die **Vernonia biafrae** Ol. et Hiern. (*mvuru-bokọn*) und **Phaseolus lunatus** L.; mit lilaweißlichen Blüten: *okö-kọno III* (*okini* = Messer, wegen der Schoten), ferner *ngone-bokọn* V. — Lila sind auch die Schatten der Bäume, sogar die Stämme selbst. Man betrachte z. B. die abendlich beleuchteten Buchenstämme unserer Heimat genau.

Vielleicht rührt daher der Gedanke, daß sich in Baumstämmen die Seelen der Abgeschiedenen vorzugsweise aufhalten. Ganz besonders berühmt als Baum der Seelen ist die stattliche **Copaifera tessmannii** Harms (*orọn*) [1]), Abb. 39, angeblich deshalb, weil sie nach Osten (!) geneigt sei, sich also der Sonne zukehre (*a vọọn* = sich ändern, umkehren, anders werden, sich zum Guten wenden). Von manchen wird freilich eine andere Deutung angegeben, sicher ist, daß der Baum der größte und dickste des Südpangwegebietes ist und schon deshalb die Aufmerksamkeit des Volkes auf sich lenken mußte, wie ja bei vielen Völkern (Germanen!) die stattlichsten Bäume heilig waren. In dieser Copaifera hausen nun die Seelen im unteren Stamm und den Wurzeln, und wenn man sich nachts unter den Baum schlafen legt, so vernimmt man ihr Geflüster und hört sie klopfen, und dem Menschen sei nur geraten, diesen unheimlichen Ort zu verlassen [2]).

[1]) *orọn* heißt auch die verwandte **Afrelia africana**, in deren Stamm die Seelen ebenfalls wohnen.

[2]) Die Zauberwesen wohnen zeitweise auch in der Copaifera, aber in den Zweigen, das ist nicht zu verwechseln.

Abb. 38. Capparis tessmannii Harms.
A blühender Zweig, B Teil des Blütenstandes mit einigen Knospen, C geöffnete Blüte, D Blütenknospe.

Aber die Seelen können auch anderswo wohnen, in den Bananen hinter den Häusern, auf lichten Stellen im Urwalde, in verlassenen Dörfern, in Felsen und auf Bergen, in der Erde, im Wasser, kurz überall, wo sie wollen. Dort wohnen sie nun und schweifen zeitweise als Schatten umher, formlos, aber von dem Menschen in allen möglichen Formen wiedererkannt, wie oben schon gesagt. Besonders gern halten sie sich an Kreuzwegen auf.

Unter sich sind die Seelen, wie man schon aus dem Abholen der sich vom Körper im Augenblick des Todes trennenden Seele sieht, eine einzige „Freundschaft" (*be ne ngam mbol* = sie sind Freundschaft eine); Kämpfe etwa oder Streit gibt es bei ihnen nicht.

Auch gegen den Menschen wenden sie sich nicht, sie können es gar nicht, weil sie ja nicht mehr in einem Körper wohnen, dessen Wesen allein imstande ist, die Menschen zu bekämpfen, außerdem stellt sich der Pangwe die Seelen viel zu kraftlos und armselig dar, wie Schatten, die sie ja auch sind. Daher ist das Wort „Schattenreich" so sehr bezeichnend für das Reich dieser Seelen, die ich schon oben als Schattenseelen bezeichnet habe. Hunger und Durst scheinen sie sogar leiden zu müssen, ein Grund, weshalb die Pangwe ihren Verstorbenen, hauptsächlich den Kindern, die als Schatten wohl besonders unselbständig sind, Essen hinzulegen pflegen. Entweder wird es unter dem Dache aufgehängt oder vors Dorf in den ersten abzweigenden Weg gelegt, wo die Seelen es schon zu finden wissen. Allerdings machen sich das die Nachkommen recht leicht, ein alter Kochtopf, eine Kalebasse, die beide unbrauchbar gemacht werden, ein Feuerholz und ein Stück Zuckerrohr (was doch nur ein Erfrischungsmittel ist) genügt ihnen vollständig, mögen doch die in der Schattenwelt sehen, wie sie fertig werden! Hier hat nur der Lebende Recht! So ist es denn auch kein Wunder, daß die Seelen, wenn sie der Hunger kneift, die Hinterbliebenen im Traum um Nahrung bitten, und wenn auch das nicht hilft, sich selbst die rohen Erdnüsse aus der Farm stehlen. Um diese Felddiebstähle zu unterbinden, errichtet man Medizinen an der Abzweigung des Farmweges vom Hauptwege. Die häufigste stellt ein ganz drolliges Memento mori für die Seelen, die ja auch sterblich sind, dar und besteht aus einem pilzförmigen Termitennest (Abb. 40). Die Augen sind, wie beim Ngi, aus zwei roten Früchten des Sarcophrynium. Über dem Männchen, das scherzhaft *bökäböfane*, d. h. der Boka (Name) vom Busch genannt wird, ist ein Schutzdach aus Blättern errichtet, neben sich hat er einige Speere aus Blattüten, die auf einen Stengel gesteckt sind. Das Termitennest ist gewählt, weil die Seelen selbst einst von Termiten verzehrt werden, die Figur mit den Speeren ist gewählt, um eine Drohung auszusprechen, wie sie in unserem „Sensenmann" liegt. Außerdem fand ich noch einen zerbrochenen Kochtopf (die Seelen sollen bedenken, daß

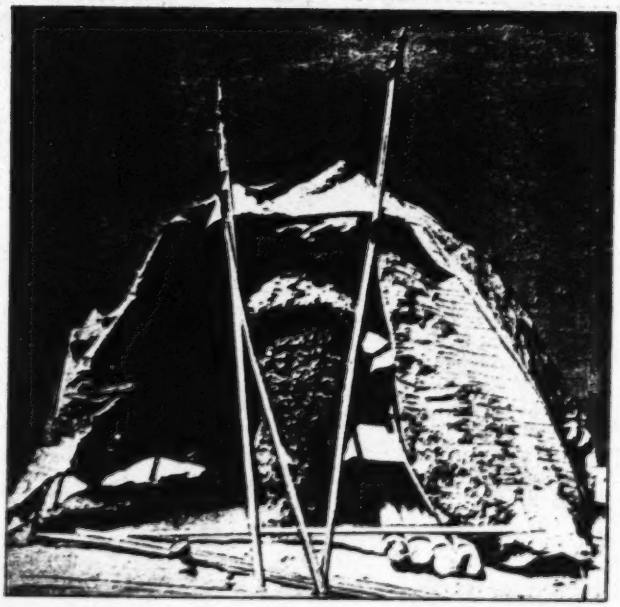


Abb. 40. Medizin gegen Felddiebstahl der Seelen (Bokábofane).

sie aus Erde [Ton] sind und so leicht zerbrechen wie ein Kochtopf), auf dem mit weißer und roter Farbe ein Kreuz gemalt ist, der weiße Strich ist der Tod, der das Leben, den roten Strich, durchschneidet [1]).

Weiter geht aber der Schaden, den die Seelen anrichten, nicht, eine absichtliche Schädigung der Lebenden an Gut oder Leib ist einfach ausgeschlossen. Das bißchen Stehlen ist kaum der Rede wert und wird mit der

---

[1]) Über die Bedeutung des Kreuzes in der Freimaurerei gibt uns ein Aufsatz von Ant. Chaura'nd de Mailly „Von erotischen Symbolen in der Freimaurerüberlieferung", erschienen in der Zeitschrift „Anthropophyteia", VII. Bd., Leipzig 1910, Aufschluß. Es heißt da S. 294: „Die Kreuzfigur bedeutet eine Bindung oder Vereinigung, dann Zerstörung und Auflösung. Die beiden Linien als „Wesen" betrachtet, vereinigen sich miteinander, erzeugen ihre Wirkung und vernichten sich sodann. Es ist das Schicksal aller Wesen, das durch dieses Sinnbild am einfachsten veranschaulicht wird.

Der aufrechte Balken stellt den Phallus dar, der wagrechte hingegen versinnbildlicht den Tod. Der aufrechte Balken durchbricht den wagerechten; er ist daher ein deutliches Symbol des Lebens, das den Tod besiegt. In der Vereinigungsstelle beider Balken geht der Sieg des Lebens über den Tod vor sich."

armseligen Lage und minderwertigen Verfassung der Seelen entschuldigt, wenn sie auch, wie mein Junge Epfuman, der Schalk, mir unter Augenzwinkern anvertraute, mitunter sogar in Mutters Speisekammer eindringen und sich gerade die leckersten Fleischstücke oder Früchte zu Gemüte führen; und Mutter ahnt nicht, wo das Leckermaul sitzt.

Ein besonderes Gebiet gibt es nun, auf dem die Seelen in häufigere Berührung mit den Menschen kommen, das ist das Reich der Träume. Erscheint ein bereits längere Zeit Verstorbener deutlich im Traum, so gilt das als böse Vorbedeutung und oft als die Ankündigung eines neuen Sterbefalls in der Familie. Auch alle anderen Träume kommen von den Seelen. Der Schlaf ist ja der Bruder des Todes, und ebenso wie man nach dem Tode „die Seelen sieht", wie die ständige Redensart der Pangwe lautet, so sieht man sie auch im Traum.

Was die Deutung der Träume betrifft, so haben die Pangwe schon sehr bald herausbekommen, daß Träume doch nur Schäume sind, daß nur weniges eintrifft von dem, was ihnen die Traumbilder vorgaukeln. Es bleibt also nur die Erklärung übrig, daß die Seelen neben „wahren Träumen" auch „Lügen" eingeben. Wer zwischen beiden unterscheiden lernen will und sich dadurch Auskunft über das, was in Zukunft eintreffen wird, verschaffen will, muß eine eigene Medizin machen: Ist ein Verwandter gestorben, so beugt man sich über das auf dem Grabe angezündete Feuer, auf dessen Bestimmung, Zauberwesen zu töten, ich schon hindeutete, und hält den Kopf in den Rauch, man wird dann hellseherisch und erkennt die Lügen der Seelen. Vereinzelte Personen gibt es indes auch, deren Träume immer eintreffen.

Wir haben oben gesehen, daß der Glaube, der in den Schatten Seelen sieht, aus dem steten Denken an den Verstorbenen hervorgegangen ist, wir haben auch gesehen, daß die Vorstellung desto schwächer wird, je mehr die Erinnerung verblaßt. Ist der Schmerz ganz erloschen, so verlieren auch diese Schatten ihr Leben und erscheinen dem Menschen nicht mehr, mit anderen Worten, die Seelen verlieren ihr Wesen und begeben sich ins Jenseits, zu Gott.

Merkwürdig ist nun, daß die Seele sich von der Erde noch nicht recht trennen kann oder will, bevor nicht der Mensch ihr eine Art Abschiedsfeier gegeben und dabei ihre Rechnungen auf der Erde beglichen, sozusagen ihre Geschäftsbücher abgeschlossen hat. So nüchtern diese Worte klingen mögen, so gut veranschaulichen sie doch, was der leitende Gedanke dabei ist. Da die Seele anscheinend das Bedürfnis hat, recht bald zu Nsambe zurückzukehren, so bittet sie, des langen Wartens müde, vergeßliche Gemüter, das Fest etwas zu beschleunigen, indem sie ihnen im Traum erscheint.

Dieses Fest nenne ich das Seelenfest, ein Ausdruck, der wohl treffender als Totenfest ist, obgleich natürlich der Tod eine große Rolle darin spielt. Das

Seelenfest ist gewissermaßen das freudigere Gegenstück zum Begräbnis, denn nun „stirbt" das Seelenwesen, und die Seele geht in reiner Gestalt zu Nsambe. Das Seelenfest heißt bei den Pangwe *masuŋ* (Pl.) und ist ihr größtes öffentliches Fest. Von allen Pangwe kennen nur die Jaunde und wohl auch Mwele das Seelenfest nicht, aber auch bei den Bulu hat es lange nicht die Bedeutung wie im Süden bei den Ntum und Fang.

Ausgenommen vom Seelenfest sind nur die im Kampfe Gefallenen; offenbar gelten die Opfer der Blutrache als ausreichende Sühne für den Tod des Betreffenden, so daß die Seele mit der Erde damit „quitt" ist, sonst wird es für alle gefeiert, wenn auch in verschiedenem Maßstabe. Kleine Kinder und Frauen erhalten nur eine kleine Feier, große Häuptlinge dagegen eine großartige Festlichkeit, für die lange vorher Vorbereitungen getroffen werden, und zu der die ganze Umgebung herbeiströmt. Vielfach wird für mehrere im gleichen Zeitraum Verstorbene e i n Seelenfest gegeben. Ebenso verschieden ist die zwischen Tod und Seelenfest verstreichende Zeit. Bei kleinen Kindern findet das Fest mitunter schon 5—10 Tage, im allgemeinen 1—3 Monate, bei großen Häuptlingen oft erst 1—2 Jahre nach dem Tode statt. Kleine Kinder sind eben schon früh vergessen, große Leute bleiben den Hinterbliebenen noch lange lebendig, eine Probe auf das oben Gesagte. Zwei Abende vor dem Feste ruft das Trommelsignal *bejemajema masuŋ*, am Vorabend ein zweites anderes *nkŭ oa lene kidi* = die Trommel für den Morgen, die Leute herbei. Für die Gäste, die oft viele Tagereisen machen, falls es sich um das Seelenfest eines großen Häuptlings ihres Familienverbandes handelt, werden Fremdenhäuser, die Bd. I S. 78 beschrieben sind, errichtet. Trotz der Trommelsignale erfordert es die Sitte, die Verwandten und Bekannten außerdem mündlich einzuladen, genau wie die Todesnachricht außer durch Signale durch Boten überbracht wird.

Das Fest selbst besteht aus einer Reihe von Tänzen und wird meist zwei Tage hindurch gefeiert. Am ersten Tage findet ein Einzeltanz Dschama und der große Totentanz Nkane statt, am zweiten, dem Hauptfesttag, folgt eine Reihe von Tänzen profaner und religiöser Art.

Vor Beginn des Festes werden einige Nahrungsmittel, Kleidungs- und Gebrauchsgegenstände, die der Tote bei feierlichen Anlässen getragen hat, also gewissermaßen sein Sonntagsstaat, an einer Stange bei seinem Hause aufgehängt (Abb. 41). Man kann also gleich sehen, ob der Verstorbene ein Mann, ein Kind oder eine Frau war. In Bedabedan fand ich für ein verstorbenes Kind folgende Sachen: Kindertragriemen, einen Topf mit Wasser, einen Stengel Zuckerrohr, zwei Planten, Rotholz, ein Messer und Medizinen, welche das Kind getragen hatte; bei einem Manne in demselben Dorf die in der Abbildung dargestellten Sachen: auf der Erde eine halbe Kalebasse mit Rotholz, Öl, einen Topf

Abb. 41. Seelenfest in Bedábedan (Fam. Emamdum). Die Ausstellung der von dem Verstorbenen benutzten Sachen.

mit Wasser, ein Bündel Speere, an dem Stock eine Kalebasse, ein Bündel mit Erdnußbrei, ein Stück Tuch, eine Tabakspfeife, eine Ananasfasertasche, auf dem Dache zwei Fliegenklatschen, ein Bündel Tabak, zwei Planten. Diese Sachen bekommt die älteste Schwester und, wenn sie Kinder hat, ihr ältester Sohn. Es handelt sich dabei nicht um eine Erbschaft im eigentlichen Sinne, sondern um eine Ehrengabe, was daraus hervorgeht, daß die eventuellen Söhne der jüngeren Schwestern zusammen durch ein Schaf entschädigt werden, und dieses Schaf jenen Nachlaß weit an Wert übertrifft. Hatte der Verstorbene keine Schwestern, so werden die Sachen vernichtet.

Am zweiten Tage des Festes, das in Bebai für einen verstorbenen Häuptling abgehalten wurde, dauerte die Veranstaltung ebenfalls von mittags bis abends. Sie bestand aus acht Tänzen und einer dazwischen eingeschobenen — sagen wir — Rechnungsablage, die öffentlich verkündigt wurde und zwischen die Tanzfolge fiel. Die Reihenfolge war:

1. *apfǝ,n* = Seelentanz (Männer),
2. *abǝ,* = Gegentanz (Männer und Frauen),
3. *dǝǝ,mǝ* = Einzeltanz,
4. *a bǝm ǝgbǝ,* = öffentliche Verkündigung,
5. *ǝbǝ* = Palmwedeltanz,
5. *aǝ* = Saotanz,

7. *adiö* = Weibertanz,
8. *ńdolandı̄ III* = Weibertanz,
9. *nkán I* = Totentanz.

Die Festlichkeit fand vor dem Versammlungshause statt, in welchem die älteren Häuptlinge und andere Zuschauer Platz genommen hatten. Was von den Männern nicht mehr hineinging, stand und saß neben den Weibern vor den Wohnhäusern. Die Männer hatten sich an einzelnen Stellen des Körpers Rotholzflecke aufgemalt, so besonders seitlich der Augen, außerdem triefte alles von Öl, im ganzen genommen ein recht farbenprächtiges Bild, das nur von einer Gesellschaft, die ich im jetzigen Neukamerun, bei Memwul, einen Liebestanz *(ekakue)* aufführen sah, übertroffen wurde.

Die jungen Leute, die sich auf dem Festplatz schon in allerlei Tanzbewegungen übten, ordneten sich in zwei Reihen; zwischen ihnen tanzte ein mit der Tanzhaube geschmückter Mann, oder — besser gesagt — er lief unter Trommelbegleitung die Reihe entlang, indem er wie ein lustiges Füllen mit den Füßen hinten ausschlug. Unter grotesken Rumpfverdrehungen schlug er mit einer Fliegenklatsche, wie beim Ndong-mba, nach einem Etwas in der Luft, drehte sich dann im letzten Augenblicke um, d. h. mit dem Gesicht dem Versammlungshause zu, und wirbelte dabei sein Lendentuch hoch, so daß seine Geschlechtsteile sichtbar wurden. Das bedrohte Etwas ist hier die Seele, die sich vorm Dorfe aufhält, und man zeigt ihr zuletzt den Hinteren, damit ihr klar wird, daß sie jetzt nichts mehr auf der Erde zu suchen hat, auch für eine Seele nicht mißzuverstehen. Jedesmal liefen dabei die jungen Leute mit lautem Hallo auf den Tänzer los und umringten ihn. Dann rückten alle, angeführt vom Vorsänger, unter Anstimmen der Totenlieder wieder langsam aufs Versammlungshaus zu (Abb. 42). Von hier aus begann das Spiel von neuem.

Darauf folgten Oboe und Duchama, zwei profane Tänze, und nun kam die „Verkündigung", die Rechnungsablage. Die Zuschauer stellten sich in einem Kreise auf, und in die Mitte trat ein älterer Mann, den oberen Teil eines Ölpalmenblattes, an dem sich jederseits wohl noch 12—15 Fiedern befanden, in der Hand. Dieses Palmenblatt sollte das Gedächtnis unterstützen. Die nun folgende Aufzählung, die der Ntum *a bjɔn ɔpɔwɔ* — unangenehme Handlungen aufpflanzen *(a bɔn)*, feststellen, d. h. Sachen ordnen, nennt, ist zu interessant und wirft ein zu bezeichnendes Licht auf Sitte und Art der Pangwe, als daß wir sie flüchtig abtun könnten.

Der Ausrufer begann seine Rede so: *ma bjɔn bɔtɔ bɔbɔ* — ich pflanze auf den Leuten Sachen, ich zähle euch Leuten die Sachen auf, „ich konstatiere folgendes". Dann nahm er den Wedel zur Hand, zog mit großer Wichtigkeit je ein Federblatt nach unten und nannte dabei den Namen eines Mannes, der

Abb. 42. Seeufer in Bedábedan (Fam. Essaudum). Die Leute singen Totenlieder (ekwar).

dem Verstorbenen irgend etwas angetan hatte, sei es, daß er ohne sein Vorwissen seine Frauen benutzt *(ndürman)* oder daß er ihn sonst geärgert hatte *(ebak)*. Andere ältere Leute unterstützten den Mann beim Aufzählen, wenn es haperte. So hieß es nun:

erstes	Fiederblatt:	Ngum-Engaa:	*nduman*
zweites	„ :	Schüe ba Ona:	„
drittes	„ :	mone Esangbwak [1]):	„
viertes	„ :	Njema Ngumu:	„
fünftes	„ :	(ein Bruder des Toten):	„
sechstes	„ :	Aböschoo-Edu:	*ebak*
siebentes	„ :	Njema-Etó:	„
achtes	„ :	Ngumu-Nanduigo:	„

Dieses recht stattliche „Defizit" wird aus allerlei guten Gründen veröffentlicht, nämlich zuerst deshalb, damit es gedeckt werde, damit also die Liebhaber der Frau bezahlen, und zwar tüchtig, zweitens, weil der zukünftige Erbe der Frau fürchtet, daß die Liebhaber, wenn sie noch „im Bauch" der Frau, d. h. nicht genannt wären, wiederkommen und ihn, den Erben, ebenso kqern würden wie den verstorbenen Bruder, zuletzt aber — und das ist gewiß der ursprüngliche Grund — deshalb, damit die Seele ihre Angelegenheiten auf der Erde abgeschlossen sieht. Ich habe mir sagen lassen, daß die Zahl der Lieb-

[1]) Esangbwak-mann.

haber oft der Anzahl Fiederblätter in einem ganzen (allerdings kleinen) Palmenwedel entspricht, wobei es nur ein geringer Trost ist, daß manche der genannten Freunde bei der Frau nur angefragt hatten, jedoch abgewiesen waren. Diese „korrespondierenden" Mitglieder des Vereins ehemaliger Mitarbeiter bezahlen dafür auch nur 100 Speere (= Mk. 7.—) auf dem für den nächsten Tag anberaumten Termin, die ordentlichen dagegen das Dreifache.

Man kann ja verstehen, daß der Ärger über die vielen heimlichen Liebhaber der Frauen den eifersüchtigen Fang die Freude an ihrem Besitz vergällen kann, und es ist sicher, daß mancher diesen Ärger über die Untreue und das aufsässige, ungehorsame Wesen seiner Frau brw. Frauen derart in sich hineinfrißt, daß er sich — kraß gesagt — zu Tode grämt, wie aber andere der aufgezählten Sachen dazu gedient haben, den Mann in seiner Lebenskraft zu treffen, das möge man nur einen Neger selbst fragen. Njema-Etoo z. B. hatte bloß das Dorf des Häuptlings verlassen, um sich in einem anderen ganz in der Nähe anzusiedeln; Ngumu Nandungo, der Sohn des Häuptlings, hatte ein noch eigenartigeres *„ebak"* auf dem Gewissen; die Sache lag so: Der Sohn wollte ein Mädchen aus einem anderen Dorfe heiraten, und da die Leute, trotz der Anzahlung, Schwierigkeiten machten, veranlaßte er seinen Vater, mit ihm zu gehen. In jenem Dorfe brach dann ein Wirbelsturm aus, als beide im Hause saßen, ein herabfallender Ast schlug durchs Dach und tötete den Vater. Hätte der Sohn nicht den Vater in das Dorf geführt, so wäre das Unglück nicht geschehen.

Der nun folgende Palmwedeltanz Etung wurde schon beim Sso flüchtig erwähnt, er scheint aber am meisten beim Seelenfest üblich zu sein. Zwei mit den Stielen aufeinandergebundene Ölpalmwedel werden in dem von Zuschauern gebildeten Kreise auf den Boden gelegt, ein Mann nimmt sie, gleich Hanteln, in die Hand und tanzt im Kreise herum, indem er sie einmal wie ein Ruder, ein andermal wie Flügel bewegt.

An den Palmwedeltanz schloß sich der schon geschilderte Ssotanz, der Höhepunkt der Feier auch für europäische Augen, denn die von drei Weibern ausgeführten Tänze konnten zuletzt kaum einmal die Pangwe mehr entzücken. Den Beschluß machte ein kurzes Nkan, das aber bald wieder aufgegeben wurde, da sämtliche Tänzer zu ermüdet waren; ich konnte das begreifen, da ich es schon von dem bloßen Zusehen war. Nachdem sich die Festgesellschaft bereits zerstreut hatte, führten einzelne unermüdliche Damen den Mawungutanz, das schlechtere Gegenstück zum Ssotanz, auf, wurden aber kaum mehr beachtet, da man an einzelnen Stellen schon das Festessen auftrug, und sich dazu die Familien und eingeladenen Freunde gruppenweise vor der Haustür oder im Wohnhause versammelten. So ein Schmaus unterscheidet

sich indessen von den gewöhnlichen Mahlzeiten nur wenig, höchstens, daß etwas reichlicher angerichtet ist; wenn ein Huhn geschlachtet wird, so gehört das schon zu den Seltenheiten. Um einen guten Bissen zu erwischen, machten einige Jungen eine Medizin, die aber scherzhaft gemeint war. In einem Korbe trugen sie Hühnerfedern herum und sagten zu den ängstlichen Muhmen: „Wenn ihr uns nicht ein Stück Hühnerfleisch gebt, so vergraben wir die Federn, die von diesem Huhne stammen, am Wege zum Abtritt, und ihr müßt sterben [1]." Lächelnd pflegen dann die also Bedrohten den jugendlichen Erpressern ein Stückchen von ihrem leckeren Mahl zu reichen.

Nach dem Seelenfest verliert die Seele das Seelenwesen, also jedes irdische Wollen, und geht somit gleichsam gereinigt zu Gott ins Jenseits. Dort, wo Nsambe, ihr himmlischer Vater, wohnt, da wohnt sie auch, und wenn Nsambe (S. 28) gesagt hatte: ich bin übers Meer gegangen (also nach Westen), so wird auch die Seele die Reise übers Meer antreten. Der Rest dieser Anschauung liegt in der heute bei den Pangwe nur noch scherzhaft gebrauchten Redensart: *a ke mos ajal* = er ist übers Meer gegangen, d. h. er ist gestorben.

Das Leben bei Nsambe stellt sich der Pangwe natürlich nach irdischem Muster vor. Als mächtiger Häuptling und aller Vater haust Nsambe in einem großen, schönen Dorfe, alle die Seinen, d. h. die, welche seinen Willen auf der Erde taten, wohnen bei ihm, während diejenigen, welche auf Erden nicht so gut gewesen sind, sich damit begnügen müssen, in weiter entfernten Dörfern zu wohnen, wo sie ihren Vater nicht so oft schauen und sie es weniger gut haben. Denn Nsambe hat die Seinen ebenso lieb wie ein irdischer Vater seine Kinder, er gibt ihnen Essen und viele Weiber und alles in Hülle und Fülle. Überhaupt ist alles ähnlich wie auf Erden, Wälder mit vielen Tieren und riesige Pflanzungen mit freundlichen Dörfern unter hohen Terminalien und Celben. Aber alles ist viel, viel schöner, die Natur ohne Mißklang, die Menschen ohne Schlechtigkeit.

Auf meine Frage, ob die schlechten Seelen nicht stärker bestraft, etwa zum Feuertode verdammt würden, bekam ich zuerst zögernd und dann mit völliger Bestimmtheit die herzige Antwort: „Ja — eigentlich müßten sie das — aber das wird Nsambe sicher nicht tun, denn dann hätte er ja bald überhaupt keinen Mann mehr, da es zuviel schlechte Menschen gibt. Er wird vielmehr sagen: ‚Was soll ich tun?! — Es sind alles meine Kinder!' und dann wird er ihnen ihren Platz anweisen. Aber darüber wird ja Nsambe entscheiden, wenn er sich die Leute ansieht!"

Dort oben bei Gott leben nun die Seelen glücklich und zufrieden — immer, immer. Aber schließlich müssen doch auch die Seelen einmal alt werden, und dann können sie selbstverständlich nicht mehr im Himmel bleiben, „da Nsambe keine schlechten Sachen bei sich leiden mag". Es bleibt ihm dann

[1] Vgl. das Vergraben von Zaubermitteln (Gift) an der genannten Stelle.

nichts anderes übrig, als sie einfach zum Himmel hinauszuwerfen. Offenbar fliegen dann die Seelen in großem Bogen heraus, denn sie fallen gerade ins Land der Schwarzen zurück, von wo sie herkamen. Dort fallen die Seelenleichen auf die Erde; ein Mensch sieht sie natürlich nicht, aber gewisse Tiere spüren sie, nämlich die Termiten, die sich über die Seelenleiche hermachen, wie Würmer über die menschliche Leiche. Daher entstand der Glaube, daß die Termitenhaufen die letzten Reste der Seele darstellen, daher stammt die Verwendung der Termitenmaster oder Stücke davon als Memento mori, als Abschreckungsmittel gegen die Seelen selbst. Und wenn schließlich auch der Termitenhaufen zu Staub zerfällt, dann ist auch der einstige Mensch zu dem geworden, aus dem er gebildet ist, zu Erde. Zu Erde, aus der alles geworden ist, was wir sehen, wie in der Schöpfungssage mitgeteilt wurde, zu dem einzigen Urstoff, aus dem Sonne, Mond und Erde entstanden sind. Damit schließt sich die Religion, der Glaube des Pangwe zu einem gewaltigen Ganzen, damit ist das letzte Glied der Kette eingefügt, das letzte Glied, das in das erste eingreift. Und wenn wir den Kreislauf der Kette verfolgen, wenn wir auch immer wieder Glied für Glied durch die Hände gleiten lassen, werden wir je wissen, wo Anfang und wo Ende ist? Werden wir je begreifen, was Geburt, was Leben, was Tod ist?

ɔpfrian: Rate doch mal ein Rätsel. —

ɔnɔ̂(k): Ich rate es.

ɔpfrian!! — *ɔnɔ̂(k)!* — *ɔbɔ̂ ɔɔ dɔnɔ ɔnɔ̂?*

Rate das Rätsel!! — Ich rate es! — Wie du sagst: ich rate es?

Rate doch einmal ein Rätsel!! — Du sagst: ich rate es?

Wie willst du je sagen: ich rate es?

Das ist die Überschrift, das ist das Wesen und das ist die Unterschrift für die Religion.

Das ist Geburt, Leben und Tod.

Das ist das eine große, große Rätsel der ganzen Menschheit.

7. Ahnenverehrung.

Nachdem die Seelen, von ihrem Willen befreit, zu Nsambe eingegangen sind, haben sie die Erde endgültig verlassen und jede Gemeinschaft mit den Menschen, jeden direkten Einfluß auf deren Tun und Lassen verloren. Indirekt jedoch können sie wirken, und zwar so, daß sie gewissermaßen in Vertretung von Nsambe dafür sorgen, daß es ihren Hinterbliebenen gut geht, aber nur im Allgemeinen, d. h. daß die bestehende Gesellschaft (d. i. der Familienverband) keinen Nahrungsmangel leidet, (daß beispielsweise keine Mißernte eintritt), oder daß sie an Zahl wächst und nicht etwa abnimmt. Nicht aber

ist es Sache der Ahnen, für die Einzelnen zu sorgen; wo sich diese durch unerlaubte Mittel die Macht der Ahnen dienstbar machen, handelt es sich nicht mehr um offizielle Verehrung, sondern um eine heimliche Medizin, die Sünde ist. Freilich tun die Ahnen aus sich selbst heraus so gut wie nichts, auch, wenn ihre Nachkommen besonderer Fürsorge bedürfen, und so müssen diese sich selbst darum bemühen. Sie treiben zu dem Zweck eine gewisse Ahnenverehrung, die jedoch nicht der üblichen Auffassung dieses Begriffes entsprechend ein frommer Ahnendienst ist — denn z. B. zieht die Vernachlässigung solchen Dienstes keineswegs eine Rache der Seele nach sich, ebensowenig wie ein persönlicher Verkehr mit den Ahnenseelen möglich ist, wie im Schamanismus —, sondern nur *bôm*, das ist eine Medizin in dem Sinne, daß man die Schädel der Verstorbenen aufbewahrt und durch Aufmerksamkeiten, z. B. Vorsetzen von Speisen oder Feste, die Seele zuweilen an die Hinterbliebenen und an die Pflicht der Fürsorge für sie erinnert. Das kann sogar in drastischer Vermahnung in Form eines feierlichen Fluches oder der Verhängung von Einzelhaft oder durch absichtliche Vernachlässigung geschehen.

Bei der Ahnenverehrung handelt es sich immer nur um die Schädel der nächsten Verwandten, vor allem des Vaters, dann der Mutter, des Oheims väterlicherseits usw., die einige Wochen oder Monate nach der Bestattung wieder ausgegraben und gereinigt werden. Hat man nur einen Schädel, so empfiehlt es sich nicht, ihn allein für sich aufzuheben, da die „Seligen" sich offenbar nur in Gesellschaft von ihresgleichen wohl fühlen, sondern man gibt ihn besser gewissermaßen in Pension bei anderen Familienmitgliedern, die den gleichen Kult betreiben, denn wenn die Ahnenverehrung auch inhaltlich *bôm*, eine Medizin, ist, so ist sie doch ein Kult, insofern es Eingeweihte und Uneingeweihte gibt, und deshalb auch von manchen als *nsôm* bezeichnet wird.

Daher der Name *mulon* vom Stamme *lo* = zusammengefügt sein bzw. zusammenfügen, weil die Ahnenschädel zusammengetan werden, mit der Nachsilbe *n*, pass. dauernde Eigenschaft, weil sie eben einfach zusammengehören, ohne daß mit diesem Zusammentun an sich etwas bezweckt wird; *ôdzo* heißt auch die bei der Ahnenverehrung eine Rolle spielende **Alchornea hirtella Benth** deshalb, weil die Blätter alle an der Spitze der Zweige zusammenstehen. Vergleiche dagegen *o-lo-m* = Falle, deren einzelne Teile zu ganz bestimmtem Zweck, nämlich zum Tierfang zusammengefügt sind (daher aktiv *m*).

Wird indessen durch den Tod anderer naher Verwandter Gelegenheit gegeben, die Schädelsammlung zu vervollständigen, so legt man sich ein eigenes „Vereinszimmer" für seine „Leute" [1]) an, das ist ein Rindengefäß *(nsâk I*, hier *nsâk-mulon* oder *ngo,m* genannt), von dem Bd. I S. 206/207 schon gesprochen

[1]) Der Fangwe nennt die Schädel oft *bat* = Leute.

wurde, und das in einer Ecke des Hauses aufgestellt wird (Abb. 43 Fig. 1). Für den Anfang begnügt man sich mit einer kleineren Schachtel, bei weiterem Wachsen der Sammlung kann man nur mehr von Rindentonnen (vgl. Abb. 47 und 48) reden. Die Schädel und Schädelstücke werden zu unterst zwischen Rindenschuppen der **Cepaltera** (einstiger Wohnort der Seelen) und abgeschnittenen mit Rotholz gefärbten Stücken der **Prevostea africana** (Don) Benth. *(atę[k] e ndźik)*[1]), angeblich eine Glücksmedizin, und anderen Medizinen verstaut. Die Tonne wird dann mit trockenen Bananenblättern vollgestopft und zugebunden. Obenauf thronen ein oder mehrere Holzfiguren und schauen mit ihren großen Blechaugen auf das tägliche Treiben in der Hütte so teilnahmslos herab, als ob sie von einer ganz anderen Welt kämen und all den Menschenkram gar nicht begreifen könnten. Diese Holzfiguren heißen *bíźa* = Medizin oder *bíaś malán* oder einfach *malán*; wir können sie „Ahnenfiguren" nennen, wenn auch nicht jede einzelne eine bestimmte Person vorstellen soll. Jedenfalls haben sie nur eine rein äußerliche Bedeutung, sie sollen Uneingeweihte, vor allem die neugierigen Frauen davon abhalten, den Inhalt der Tonne zu untersuchen, und ihnen vortäuschen, daß in der Tonne selbst nichts drin ist. Für sie wie für alle Uneingeweihten ist Tonne wie Figur ein noli me tangere, für die Eingeweihten haben sie geringe Bedeutung, wie die Tatsache beweist, daß die Pangwe diese von Europäern oft als „Götzen" hochgeschätzten Holzfiguren gegen Bezahlung nicht nur ohne Umstände weggeben, sondern in Gegenden, die von Weißen beeinflußt sind, diesen oft geradezu zum Verkauf anbieten. Dagegen wird es kaum möglich sein, die Tonnen mit dem Inhalt selbst für hohe Summen zu kaufen.

Die Figuren kommen in verschiedenen Formen vor. Die älteste scheint ein einfacher Kopf zu sein, der mit einem kürzeren oder längeren Stiel (Abb. 43 Fig. 3 u. 4) auf die Tonne gesteckt wird. Den Zweck, über den wahren Inhalt der Tonne hinwegzutäuschen, konnte ja auch ein Kopf deshalb am besten erfüllen, weil die Uneingeweihten so ohne weiteres den dazugehörigen Rumpf in der Tonne vermuten mußten, also keinen Grund hatten, darin nach etwas anderem zu suchen. Später machte man halbe (Abb. 43 Fig. 1 u. 2) und zuletzt ganze Figuren, an deren Rücken man einen Zapfen stehen ließ, der in die Schädeltonne hineingesteckt wird, so daß die Figur auf ihrem Rand zu sitzen scheint (Abb. 44). Die beiden ersten Formen sind jetzt schon sehr selten und nur noch in gewissen, ganz unberührten Teilen des Pangwegebietes zu finden, recht häufig dagegen die ganzen Figuren. Die, wie die Fang selbst sagen, „allerneueste Form" dieser Entwicklung ist die selbständige, von der Ahnentonne getrennte Holzfigur, die meist bedeutend größer (bis zu 1 m Höhe) geschnitzt wird und *nśmsdo III* = Erwachsener, Großer heißt (Abb. 45). Diese Figur wird vor den Augen der Frauen verborgen.

---

[1]) Als *atę[k] e ndźik* wird auch die verwandte Convolvulacee **Dipteropeltis paranaides** Hallier f. bezeichnet.

Fig. 1. Fig. 2. Fig. 3. Fig. 4.

Abb. 31. Fig. 1. Schädeltonne mit Ahnenfigur aus Tonne (Fang, Bastamerun). Fang. ½ nat. Gr. Fig. 2. Ahnenfigur (Kopf) aus Steatopyg (Fang, Okoum). Fang. ½ nat. Gr. Fig. 3 und 4. Ahnenfiguren (Köpfe) aus dem Tonne- oder Steatopyg-Kult, Fang-Kameruns.

In vereinzelten Fällen sind Schädeltonne und Ahnenfiguren nun besonders Schutz in besonderen „heiligen" Hütten aufbewahrt, meist ist man so bequem dazu und hält sie im Wohnhause; es kommt daher nicht selten vor, daß die Tonnen einmal umfallen, der Inhalt herauspollt und die Frauen ihn zu Gesicht bekommen, oder daß diese einmal eine schwache Stunde haben, wo sie trotz der Figuren den Inhalt der Tonne einer Besichtigung unterziehen und dann natürlich „zufällig" die Schädel sehen. Das Schauen der Ahnenschädel hat nun Krankheit zur Folge, wenn nicht die tierischen Schuldigen noch in den Kult eingeweiht werden, und so führt die Lüsternheit der Männer zum Eindringen der Weiber in den Kultus.

Abb. 48. Ahnenfiguren aus dem Osem-, Fang- und Okoyegebiet.

Über die „Pflege" dieser Überreste der Ahnen darf man sich nun keine allzu hohen Vorstellungen machen. Nur in langen Zwischenräumen wird vor die Tonne ein wenig Essen pro forma hingestellt, damit sich die Seelen im Himmel für diesen Gedenkens dankbar erzeigen. Der Fall, daß etwas für die „Leute" getan wird, tritt natürlichinnerdann ein, wenn man sie braucht, wenn der Familienvater zur Ansicht gekommen ist, daß die Wirtschaft, z. B. die Fleischversorgung der Sippe, nicht mehr auf der Höhe ist, daß die Vermehrung eine zu geringe ist, weil zu wenig Frauen da sind usw. Hält das nicht, so einigt sich Beath *(ebw)* mann und schlage wie möglich in die Tonne ohne nehmen. Dadurch schwindlig und ohnmächtig geworden, werden sie dann auf den heiligen Platz getragen, wo die Vorstellungen den ersten Tages beginnen. Wie oben gesagt, ist diese Sitte aber zum Teil abgekommen.

Abb. 49.
Grosse Figur für Ahnenverehrungszeremonien. Sipale, Kamerun.

die Sippschaft über ein eingezäuntes Feld, an dem man den Segen der Himmlischen erbitten will. Zu diesem großen Ahnenfest, dem Mbon, haben alle Kultgewikten den Kultus Zutritt, auch werden dabei zugleich neue Mitglieder eingeführt.

Eine lange Zeit vor dem Beginn der eigentlichen Feierlichkeiten, die zwei Tage dauern, werden die Schädel wirklich „gepflegt", sie werden mit Rotholz bestrichen, es wird ihnen das Gewand, mehrfach fast täglich, Essen hingestellt, kurz, sie werden mit Aufmerksamkeiten überschüttet.

Die Einführung der Neulinge beginnt damit, daß sie die Wurzelstöcke der Ahnenwesen bildlich

Durch die Ausführung der Figuren, die Ausführung der Figuren, die Ausführung der Figuren,

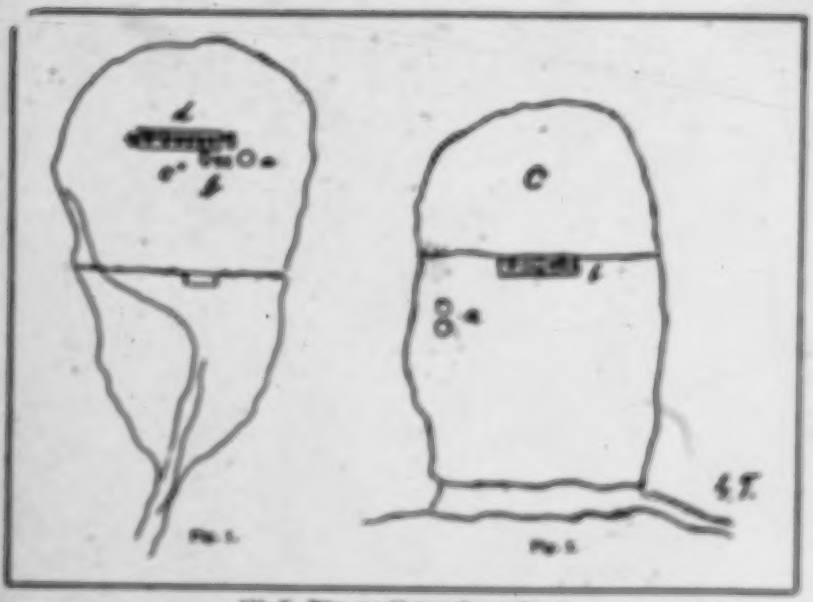


Abb. 48. Pfähle von Ahnenverehrungsplätzen.

Fig. 1. Verehrungsplatz in Mbamenje (Prov. Bamum), Kamerun. a Mittelsäulen, b Ahnenfiguren, c Medizinkorb, d Schädelplatte.

Fig. 2. Verehrungsplatz in Fumbina (Prov. Bamum), Spez.-Gebiet. a Bambusverehrungsplatz, b Schädelplatte, c Ahnenfigur.

wiederum oft wieder durch eine Wand eingeschlossen ist. Mitunter, z. B. in Jaunde, ist noch ein dritter Platz eingeschoben, so daß dann drei Wände vorhanden sind. Die Reihenfolge ist dann: Vorplatz, Kultplatz, Schädelplatz (Allerheiligstes). Einen Übergang dazu sah ich in Hokaupu (Bamum), wo ein Vorhang von Palmblättern vor die Schädel gehängt war (Abb. 48).

Die Beschreibung einer Festlichkeit in Nudiang (Bamum) möge hier folgen. Der heilige Platz ist in Abb. 48 Fig. 2 im Grundriß wiedergegeben.

Die im Dorf befindlichen Ahnenbilder, es waren in diesem Falle vier, wurden auf dem Festplatz, auf dem sich die Männer versammelten und mehrere Trommeln und ein Xylophon befanden, am Ende vor der hinteren Wand aufgestellt. Einige Leute nahmen die Ahnenfiguren, gingen hinter die Wand und hoben sie von dort auf der Wand tanzen, genau wie bei uns im Kasperlchen. Die untere Hälfte der Figuren war mit einem Tuch verhüllt, so daß man nur deren Oberkörper sah. Im Gänsemarsch rückten sie — mit Federbüschen geschmückt — von dem Hintergrunde heraus, während die Männer von den Männern geschützt wurden, und sagen vor die Wand, an der sie nun ihre pantomimischen Bewegungen machten. Sie drehten sich, sie schüttelten sich, sie tanzten

und sprangen herum, eine klammerte sich an eine Liane und griff verzweifelt an ihr herum, als ob sie verfolgt wäre und hinaufklettern wollte und es doch nicht konnte. Dann hingen sie wieder für Augenblicke ermattet über der Wand (Taf. XXIV), und nur noch ein leises Zucken ihrer Federkrone verriet, daß Leben in ihnen war; genau dasselbe wie im Kasperlethealer bei uns. Welch eine Bewegung war jetzt in den kleinen steifen Holzkörperchen, welch ein Feuer lag heute in ihren Augen, die früher so müde von der Tonne herabglotzten! — Die zuschauenden Fang schienen von dem Schauspiel, das lebhafte Jahrmarktserinnerungen in mir wachrief, nicht gerade belustigt, aber auch nicht so ernst gestimmt, wie man es hätte erwarten können. Machten einzelne der Ahnenfiguren allzu ungeschickte oder drollige Bewegungen, so wurde mitunter hie und da ein kurzes überlegenes Lachen laut, auch fehlte es nicht an Entrüstungsrufen, wenn einer der Kasperle durch eine schadhafte Stelle der Palmenblätterwand durchzudringen suchte und dabei die davorstehenden Rindengefäße umstieß.

Unterdessen wurden die Schädel aus der Tonne genommen, auf einer Bank vor der Wand aufgestellt (Abb. 47) und alle diese Häupter der Lieben gezählt; es waren im ganzen zehn einigermaßen gut erhaltene Schädel außer mehreren Bruchstücken, deren Persönlichkeiten offenbar nicht gleich richtig festgestellt werden konnten, wenigstens gerieten zwei der Teilnehmer wegen Meinungsverschiedenheiten über die fremden beinahe an ihre eigenen Schädel.

Der zweite Anfang begann mit einem Tanz, zu dem die Musikinstrumente auch neue mit verdoppelter Kraft einsetzten. Dazu wurde mit Beinrasseln, d. i. am Bein geschnallten Klöppeln mit Fruchtschalen geklappert, auf Eisenfiöten gepfiffen, wobei sich besonders ein alter Mann derart hervortat, daß man fürchten konnte, er würde bald vom Schlag getroffen werden, gerasselt, gepfiffen und sonstwie gelärmt. Währenddessen wurden zwei Bananenblattgefäße (a) in den Boden gegraben und darin eine Unzahl von Medizinen mit Wasser gemischt, außerdem eine Trockenmedizin aus abgeschabter Rinde hergestellt.

Dann kam der große Schädeltanz an die Reihe, den die Neulinge, die jetzt hereingeführt wurden, sehen durften. Zwei von ihnen waren Frauen — auch zwei eingeweihte Frauen nahmen an dem Feste teil. Mit diesen Frauen hatte es folgende Bewandtnis: Der einen waren alle Verwandte weggestorben, und die ihr Schädel dieser Verstorbenen, die vielleicht sehr einflußreich gewesen waren, im Ahnenkult verehrt wurden, so wollte man die alte Frau von dem Zusammensein mit ihren Ahnen nicht ausschließen. Die anderen sollten das Mana zufällig gesehen haben; von ihnen war die eine so hinfällig und krank, daß sie kaum mehr stehen konnte, wie man annahm, eine Folge des zufällig gesehenen Manas.

Auf die Neulinge, die ziemlich vorn standen, rückte nun eine Schar von

Abb. 204. TANZ DER AHNENFIGUREN BEIM AHNENKULT EBAANGON (FAM. ESSENG), NTUMGEBIET.

[facing p. 122]

Abb. 41. Abendvorführung in Elobayan (Fang Essang), Old Calabar. Aufstellung der Abendschädel auf dem Kalaphon.

Männern her, welche die Schädel mit beiden Händen dicht über den Boden vor sich hielten und hin und her bewegten. In einer Linie kamen sie langsam unter Tanzbewegungen von dem Schädelplatz heraus und stellten dann wieder in derselben Weise die Schädel auf den Platz zurück. Dieser Tanz wurde mehrmals wiederholt, wobei die Leute immer begeisterter und erregter wurden. Man sah förmlich, wie die alten Fangs aus ihrer Gruft stiegen, um an der Freude und den Lustbarkeiten ihrer Nachkommen für einen Tag teilzunehmen! Nun versammelten sie sich in einem Kreise und tanzten in wilder Lust gegeneinander an, wie-beim Mbale (Tanz), und kamen dann auf die Neulinge los und tanzten fast zwischen den Beinen und Armen hindurch. Hier auf dem Abendfest sah man besonders die alten Herren, die sonst ja nie mitmachen, ihre Kunst vorführen, einige ergraute Männchen waren ganz unermüdlich und gingen vollständig in dem Treiben auf, mochten sie vielleicht daran denken, daß ihnen auch bald ein solches Fest gefeiert würde?

Auch diese Vorstellung ging zu Ende. Die Schädel standen wieder auf ihren Plätze, und nun trat ein älterer Mann auf, gebot Stille und reinigte in feierlicher Weise die Seelen von einem Fluch, der wegen ihrer Nachlässigkeit über sie verhängt war (vgl. Abschn. XIX). Dann rief er nach dem Nachtmahl, ein Zeichen, daß die kleinen Figuren sehr tief aufzuerstehen schienen, denn sie zeigten während der ganzen Rede große Unruhe, bewarfen sogar den Redner mit kleinen

Stöcken usw., bewiesen überhaupt ihre Unzufriedenheit. Da mit dem Erscheinen des Niamodo die Feier ihrem Ende entgegengeht, so wollte, wie man mir sagte, diesen der Grund zur Unzufriedenheit der Kleinen sein. Bald verschwanden nun die Figuren von der Wand, und lebhaftes Schütteln der Bäume im hinteren Teile des Hinterplatzes zeigte das Erscheinen des „Großen" an. Dann kamen sie erneut aus dem Hintergrunde herauf, in der Mitte der Niamodo in wunderbarem Aufputz. Das Kasperletheater begann in neuer Auflage, darauf wurden die Schädel tanzen gelassen und zuletzt die Trockenmedizin mit Hühnerblut getränkt. Dann wurde einem Huhn der Rachen aufgerissen und das aufsteigende Blut mitsamt Rotholz zu einer Salbe gemischt, mit der die Schädel und die Neulinge eingerieben wurden, die außerdem von den Medizinen den einen Blattpfeifen trinken mußten. Der Rest der Medizin wurde mit Blätterbüscheln auf ihren Leib gespritzt. Übrigens bekamen auch andere Festteilnehmer auf Wunsch etwas von dem Segen ab. Zu guter Letzt wurden die Schädel noch in der Medizin des zweiten Gehäuses gewaschen, mit der Trockenmedizin gesalbt und in die Truhen zurückgelegt.

Nach dem ähnlichen Schmause auf dem Festplatze ordneten sich alle Teilnehmer zu einer Art Prozession, in der die Holzfiguren getragen wurden, in langsamem Schritt im Gänsemarsch mit Rückmarsch und Umgehen im Dorf, wo ein allgemeiner Tanz den ereignisreichen ersten Festtag beschloß.

Der zweite Festtag begann ähnlich wie der erste, brachte aber bald den Hauptteil der Feier, das Blutopfer an die Schädel. Diese wurden dann auf die Erde gestellt, und zwar auf ein Bananenblatt, einige von ihnen, an die man sich besonders wenden wollte, etwas vorgerückt. Nun begann ein ältrer Mann aus dem Dorfe eine Rede, wobei er die Geschenke, ein Schaf und (für die alte kranke Frau) ein Huhn, bei der Hand hielt. Er bittet den Ahnen vor, wie sie dazu kämen, „ihr Dorf so schlecht zu machen", zu gestatten, daß soviel Krankheit herrsche, auch habe man kein Jagdglück in der letzten Zeit gehabt, dann wehrten sich viele Frauen nach Kindern und viele junge Leute nach Frauen, und so trug er noch alle die anderen Sorgen der „Stadtleute" vor. Nun, fuhr er fort, höre er sie, die Ahnen, im Namen vieler Verwandter (Zustimmung hier und da), die Sache wieder gut zu machen und den Ihrem wieder Glück und Freude zu verschaffen (Beifallsgemurmel). Zu diesem Zwecke hätte er ihnen auch diese Geschenke (Vorzeigen der widerspenstigen Schlachtopfer) mitgebracht und schenkte sie ihnen hiermit. — Auf diese Rede hin, bei der im übrigen lautlose Stille geherrscht hatte, wurde das Schaf auf der Stelle geschlachtet, und das ganze Fest war damit beendet. Jeder Mitwirkende bekam ein Stück vom Fleisch des Schafes ab, auch ich, weil ich meine Trommel zur Verwahrung den Obermännern geliehen hatte.

Abb. 48. Ahnenverehrung in Elobengue (Fiot, Bawongi, Süd-Kamerun). Die Ahnenschädel wurden von einer Medizin (Bundel von verschiedenen Pflanzen) besonders gebunden.

Die zweite Ahnenfest in Elobengue war weniger großartig, es fehlte der Nlamedo und noch vieles mehr. Hier ließ man die Schädel um einen Strauß von Medizinen herum tanzen (Abb. 48). Diese einzeln zu beschreiben würde mich zu weit führen, meistens sind es Jagdmedizinen oder Medizinen, um Einfluß zu bekommen.

In der folgenden Nacht nehmen die Neulinge allein auf den Schädelplatz gehen und die dort aufgestellte Trommel schlagen, erstens als Beweis, daß sie auch wirklich dahin gegangen sind, und zweitens als Probe ihres Mutes, da die Umsitzenden im Glauben sind, im Nachte hielten sich die Ahnenseelen in persona auf dem Platze auf.

Diesseits (Erdenleben)					Zwischenaufenthalt (Schattenreich)			Jenseits (Himmelreich)	
Sichtbarer, vergänglicher Teil	Körper	indiff.			—			—	
	Körperwesen	rel. gute K. (*F. mmiemi I*)			—			—	
		schlechte K. (Zauberwesen) *F. nnjm, bojem*	gute Zauberwesen (*erw besi*)		—			—	
		erw: Sitz der Zauberkraft	schlechte Zauberwesen (*erw ngbwó*)		—			—	
Unsichtbarer, fortlebender Teil	Seele	indiff.			Seele (*F. kun III*)	gute Seelen (*F. kun III*)		Seelen (*F. kun I*)	bessere Seelen schlechtere Seelen
						schlechte Seelen (*F. bibi V*)	bessere schlechtere		— —
	Seelenwesen	rel. gute Seelenwesen (*F. ebin*)	Kulte des Guten (*F. nsim I*)		Seelenwesen	gute Seelenwesen (*F. ebin*)	•		—
		schlechte Seelenwesen (*F. ngus III*)	Kulte des Bösen (*F. nsim I*)			schlechte Seelenwesen (*F. ngus III*)	Kulte des Guten (*F. nsim*)		—
							Kulte des Bösen (*F. nsim I*)		—

Abschnitt XII.

Zauberglaube.

Zauberglaube hat nichts mit Religion zu tun. — Gute Körperwesen (lichte Menschen). — Schlechte Körperwesen. — Zauberwesen. — Verhältnis zum Seelenwesen. — Guter und schlechter Zauberwesen. — Ewa als Sitz der Zauberkraft. — Guter und schlechter Ewa. — Fortstellung des Körperwesens bei Tieren. — Tod als Bestimmung (natürlicher Tod). — Tod durch Zauberei. — Wichtigkeit und Zweck der Untersuchung eines Tieres. — Aufenthalt der Ewa. — Sektion. — Ausziehen der Ewa. — Mystische Vorstellungen vom Wirken der Zauberkraft. — Ursprung des Zauberglaubens. — Drei Menschenklassen: Lichte Menschen, gute Zauberer, böse Zauberer. — Ewa: zauberische Verhexerung innerer Körperteile durch Vergiftung, Malerei usw. — Erwerbung der Zauberkraft (Medizin). — Wanderungen der Ewa (Beseelung). — Die Zauberwesen in Tätigkeit: Sammelruf, Aufenthalt, gemeinsame Unternehmungen, Überwältigung der Schlafenden, Kämpfe der Zauberwesen untereinander (Märchen), Leichenbraut, Selbstverzehrung. — Strafe für Zauberei. — Furcht vor Zauberei. — Medizinen zur Abwehrung der Zauberwesen.

Unter Zauberglauben verstehe ich den Glauben an die Fähigkeit des Menschen, sein Wesen zeitweilig vom Körper abspalten zu können und mit ihm Unternehmungen irgendwelcher Art zum eigenen Nutzen oder zu anderer Schaden auszuführen. Es ist falsch, diesen Glauben als einen wüsten „Seitentrieb der Religion" zu bezeichnen, wie das wohl geschieht, dann müßte man z. B. auch unsere Vorstellungen über Elektrizität und drahtlose Telegraphie, überhaupt über die ganze Physik als Seitentrieb der Religion bezeichnen. Wie oben gesagt, haben der Zauberglaube und die daran anschließenden Vorstellungen nichts mit der Seele zu tun, denn wenn auch die Zauberwesen, die Träger der Zauberei, zeitweise unsichtbar sind, so kann man sie deshalb noch nicht zu den Seelen rechnen, ebensowenig, wie man elektrische Wellen zu Ihnen zählt. Der Glaube an Zauberei entspringt vielmehr der Anschauung von der doppelten Natur des lebenden Menschenkörpers, von der in Abschnitt X gesprochen ist. Die Summe seiner Eigenschaften, die als persönliches Körperwesen gedacht wird, gehört so wenig zur Religion wie die Seele zur Physik.

Wir haben oben ausgeführt, daß in dem Seelenwesen das Verhältnis zwischen den Menschen und Gott (bzw. den von ihm geschaffenen Gesetzen) zum Ausdruck kommt, und daß es schlecht ist, weil der Mensch sündig ist. Das Körperwesen zeigt sich in den Beziehungen der Menschen zueinander und ist ebenfalls von Natur schlecht, weil jeder Mensch zu dem anderen in den Kämpfen des Lebens in Gegensatz tritt.

[p 127]

Wie beim Seelenwesen unterscheidet man auch beim Körperwesen ein relativ gutes und ein ganz schlechtes. Die Menschen mit gutem Körperwesen nennt man *mamirnô*, von *mamirnô I*, auch *mmô I*, vom Stamme *mer* = Mondschein [1]), Licht, Helle — deshalb mit Lichtmensch übersetzbar —, alle anderen Menschen *bajem*, Plural zu *mojem* [2]), von *a ojem (ae)* = begegnen, an jemand vorübergehen, jemand streifen, weil sie — wie bei uns Gespenster — nicht-sicherweise den Menschen streifen. Ich will sie der Kürze halber Zauberer nennen; sie sind die Minderheit. Diese relativen Unterschiede entsprechen, wie man sieht, den beim Seelenwesen gemachten, die sich in *bekie* (relativ gute) und *bempor* (relativ schlechte) teilten, so daß jeder *ekie* ex ipso auch ein *mamirnô I* ist, d. h. seinen Mitmenschen nichts Übles zufügt, aber umgekehrt jeder *mamirnô* noch kein *ekie* zu sein braucht, da es sinnliche Menschen gibt, die sich wohl gegen die göttlichen Gebote vergehen, aber ihren Nächsten nicht zu schaden suchen. Daraus geht von neuem hervor, daß man Seele und Körperwesen nicht für gleich erachten darf.

Die *bajem*, das sind Zauberer, die darauf ausgehen, ihren Nächsten zu schaden, teilen sich nach der Stärke ihrer Bosheit wieder in zwei Gruppen. Die eine umfaßt die Leute, die sich den gewünschten Vorteil durch alleinige Kräfte und Machenschaften verschaffen, die zweite diejenigen, die „über Leichen gehen", die ihren Zweck durch den Mord ihrer Rivalen erreichen und Freude an diesem Morden haben.

Die Ausübung der Zauberei im allgemeinen heißt *ephul*, und da sie als Wesen, Lebensänderung des Körperwesens sichtbar ist, worauf ich immer wieder aufmerksam mache, muß man auch ihren Sitz im Körper nachweisen können. Und dieser Sitz ist die *eyw* Pl., *eyw* F., vom Stamme *e ew* = töten. Die Fangwe, die sich jede Kraft nur körperlich und persönlich vorstellen können, erkennen in dieser *eyw* die Gestalt eines Tieres.

Da es nun besseren und schlechteren Zauberwesen gibt, so muß es auch zwei verschiedene Arten der Eweu geben. Die Eweu der besseren Zauberer nennt man *eyw-kwal* — von *a ál* = etwas auf mystische Weise erwerben —, weil sie die Kraft hat, etwas zu erwerben, sich im Kampfe um Dasein auf höheren Stufen zu schwingen. Die Eweu der schlechteren Zauberer, welche Menschen zu töten vermag, ist *eyw-bajem* oder *eyw-ephul* [3]).

---

[1]) Ein Zeichen, daß jedem Wesen eigentlich schlecht ist, wie der Mond, von dem das Bild hergenommen ist.

[2]) Aber *mojem*, Pl.: *mmojem* = Herz.

[3]) Von Tieren werden Hausteine, insbesondere Schafe und Hunde, unter Umständen mit einer *eyw* gedacht, mit der sie andere ihrer Gattung töten. Man verwechsle aber *eyw* nicht mit *eyw* = *ewjin* = Magen.

Hieraus folgt, daß es für den Pangwe einen wissenschaftlichen Nachweis gibt, ob jemand ein Zauberer ist oder nicht; in ersterem Falle ist eben die Ewu vorhanden, in letzterem nicht. Diesen Nachweis führen sie tatsächlich durch eine regelrechte Leichenöffnung.

Wir wissen aus dem vorigen Abschnitt, daß der Tod als Strafe für die Sünde (des Geschlechtsverkehrs) von Gott verhängt ist, wir wissen, daß alle Menschen deshalb sterben müssen; vgl. Totenlied: *ave o sé mode* — der Tod ist keinen (einzelnen) Menschen (sondern allen). Aber der Mensch stirbt — sagt der Pangwe — nach diesem Gesetz erst „zu seiner Zeit", wenn seine Zeit gekommen, d. h. wenn er alt geworden ist, abgesehen von dem Tod als Strafe der im Ngi und in anderen Kultfiguren wirkenden sittlichen Macht, der an sich nicht göttliche Bestimmung, sondern Zauberei ist — die Kultfiguren haben ja auch eine Ewu (vgl. S. 88). Also alle Menschen, die „vor ihrer Zeit" sterben, die gewaltsam getötet sind, im Kriege gefallen, von einem stürzenden Baum erschlagen, bei einem Jagdunglück vom Leben gekommen oder durch unbekannte innere Krankheiten dahingerafft sind, alle diese sind einen unnatürlichen Tod (im Pangweinne) gestorben, und einen solchen weiß man sich nur durch die Wirkung irgendeiner Zauberkraft zu erklären.

Diese Zauberkraft kommt in der Regel von Fremden, sie kann aber auch von dem betreffenden selbst ausgegangen sein, der entweder durch das Überhandnehmen seiner eigenen Zauberkraft stirbt oder durch sie absichtlich (zum Lebensentziehzweck usw.) einen Unglücksfall herbeiführt. Wie das im einzelnen zu verstehen ist, werde ich später ausführen. Daher gilt es nun bei der Häufigkeit der „unnatürlichen Tode" und der daraus entspringenden allgemeinen Furcht vor den Zauberern, die Ewu zu suchen. Ist sie gefunden, so war der Verstorbene ein Zauberer, der vielleicht manchen der bisher unerklärt gebliebenen Todesfälle auf dem Gewissen hat, und der nun schließlich wohl selbst durch seine eigene Zauberkraft getötet worden ist. Die Untersuchung unterbleibt, weil überflüssig, wenn ein vor dem Tode abgegebenes eigenes Geständnis, gesundert zu haben, vorliegt oder es sonst nicht zweifelhaft ist, daß der Verstorbene Zauberer war. Im Gegensatz zu den Lichtmenschen, die mit dem Gesicht nach oben bestattet werden, damit sie nur Sonne sieht und damit die Medizinen in den Bauch versenkt werden können, werden die Zauberer in der Seitenlage beigesetzt, und zwar mit der rechten (guten Seite) nach oben, wenn es ein relativ guter Zauberer war, und mit der linken (schlechten Seite) nach oben, wenn es ein schlechter Zauberer war. Für den letzteren fällt die rächende Kultmedizin weg, die für Lichtmenschen und relativ gute Zauberer gemacht wird.

Die Ewu hält sich meistens in der oberen Bauchgegend auf, sie kann aber im Körper umherwandern und dadurch schwere Krankheit erzeugen, wenn sie in den

Kopf geht, sogar den Tod hervorrufen. Beim Weibe kann sie in die Vulva wandern und bei der Kohabitation den Penis festhalten (penis captivus); erst wenn Blut in die Scheide oder in den Mund des Weibes gegossen ist, gibt die ewig blutdürstige Ewu ihren Gefangenen frei.

Meistens findet sich nur e i n e Ewu, ganz bedeutende Zauberer haben indes mehrere, zwei bis zehn.

Die Untersuchung der Leiche nimmt ein Medizinmann vor, von dem man als *e mede e ton*, d. h. der Mann, welcher seziert, spricht, und der durch einen einzigen großen Längsschnitt die Bauch- und Brusthöhle öffnet, alle Eingeweide herausholt und genau prüft. Herz, Leber usw. werden sogar durchgeschnitten und innen besehen.

Das Aussehen der Ewu wird als ein tierartiges Gebilde mit Mund und Zähnen geschildert. An den Ewu, welche in meiner Gegenwart gefunden wurden, konnte ich diese Pangwebeschreibung beim besten Willen nicht bestätigen, ein „Mund" ließ sich ja zur Not erkennen, aber von Zähnen war nicht die Spur zu sehen.

Der Medizinmann belehrte mich allerdings, daß nicht jede Ewu der anderen gleiche.

Eine Verwechselung mit normalen Organen, etwa der Harnblase, halte ich für ausgeschlossen, da die Pangwe sämtliche inneren Teile des Körpers sehr gut kennen, auch und ich gestehen, daß der Medizinmann die Sache sehr ernst nahm und alle Teile auf das genauesten und sorgfältigste untersuchte. Ist die Ewu in den Kopf gewandert, was ihr von einer Blutspur bezeichneter Weg verrät, so bricht man sogar den Schädel auf.

Ist keine Ewu gefunden, so handelt es sich bei dem Toten um einen Lichtmenschen *(mmiwu)*. Andernfalls folgt die nähere Untersuchung der Ewu selbst, um die Frage zu entscheiden, ob es eine *eyw beil* oder eine *eyw-ephwi* ist, d. h. ob der Verstorbene ein guter oder böser Zauberer war. Die *eyw-beil* ist unverletzt, die *eyw-ephwi* zeigt dagegen Löcher und Wunden, die von den Angriffen der übergegnen Zauberwesen herrühren, auch sind bei einem bösen Zauberer die Gedärme „verdorben".

Der Pangwe glaubt also, daß man durch die Bösewilligkeit zauberkräftiger Menschen getötet werden kann, und findet die Bestätigung dieses Glaubens in der objektiv und unumstößlich feststellbaren Tatsache des Vorhandensein eines eigenen Organs als Sitz jener Zauberkraft. Die Art, wie diese Kraft wirkt, kann er sich nicht vorstellen, ähnlich wie einfache Menschen bei uns wohl die Wirkungen einer physikalischen Kraft (Elektrizität) anerkennen, weil sie die Maschine sehen, von der sie ausgeht, aber die Art der Wirkung nicht begreifen. Einen, wie mir scheint, treffenden Vergleich gibt die drahtlose Telegraphie.

Man sieht z. B. auf dem Schiff die Kraftquelle, sieht die Abgabe- und Aufnahmevorrichtung, sieht und hört den Apparat arbeiten (und Funken sprühen) und sieht die Wirkung, das beförderte Telegramm. Aber wie die Kraft zwischen den beiden Stationen verläuft, sieht man nicht. Für den Naturmenschen liegt da etwas geheimnisvoll Unerklärliches, liegt Zauberei, vielleicht Verwandlung der Kraft in einen Vogel, der zwischen jenen Stationen fliegt, oder sonst etwas Derartiges, jedenfalls Zauberei. So steht es auch mit der Ewu. Sie ist die Kraftquelle für Zauberei — man sieht sie bei der Leichenöffnung vor sich, sie wirkt — man sieht ihre Wirkung an dem Sterben der Menschen, aber die wirkende Kraft selbst sieht man nicht, sie ist „Zauber". Der Ewuglaube ist also vom Pangwestandpunkt aus kein sinnloser Aberglaube, über den wir berechtigt wären zu lachen, sondern eine durch Tatsachen wohlbegründete Vorstellung, eine wissenschaftliche Überzeugung. Für uns ist es das wichtigste, die dazu Berufenen, die Ärzte, zu veranlassen, hier mit ihren weiteren Forschungen einzusetzen, um uns dadurch Mittel und Wege zu zeigen, wie wir den unseligen Zauberglauben ausrotten und den Neger von einem schweren Alp befreien können.

Der Ursprung des Zauberglaubens liegt in der Beobachtung des täglichen Lebens mit seinen harten Tatsachen der Verschiedenheit der Menschenschicksale. Der Pangwe teilt in dieser Beziehung die Menschen in drei Klassen, die oben schon kurz angeführt sind:

Die Durchschnittsmenschen, die „guten Kerle" im guten wie unzüglichen Sinne des Wortes, sie alle leben mit ihren Nächsten in Frieden, fangen keinen Streit an und gehen nach, wenn andere mit ihnen anfangen, sie bilden die erste Klasse, die der *nsamiend*.

Die zweite und dritte Klasse umfaßt die geistig über dem Durchschnitt Stehenden, die vermöge ihrer Klugheit und Tatkraft die Durchschnittsmenge zurückdrängen und im Lebenskampf überflügeln. Der Kitzig erscheint dem Pangwe nur möglich unter der Annahme, daß sie in der Ewu eine Zauberkraft besitzen.

Diese Kraft wird von Leuten der zweiten Klasse benutzt, um sich zu bereichern, indem sie ihre „*Ekwanwu*" oder sklavischen Nebenmenschen ausbeuten. Zu ihnen gehören alle bedeutenden Menschen, Medizinmänner, Kultleiter, Häuptlinge (*nsakatum* = Reiche, Einflußreiche), Künstler und Sänger. Daß diese Menschen sittlich tiefer stehen als die ersten, zeigt sich darin, daß sie nicht mit dem Gesicht der Sonne zu, sondern mit der rechten (guten) Seite nach oben bestattet werden. Selbstverständlich gehören hierher auch die Weißen, so wie die Pangwe sie kennen und soweit sie nicht gar in eine noch tiefere Klasse kommen (da der Pangwe meint, der Weiße würde jeden Neger,

ganz einerlei wie, vernichten, wenn es ihm paßte). Mein Freund Ajong Beka rief vor den von mir gemalten Pflanzen und Tieren ganz erstaunt aus (er d a c h t e allerdings nur laut): *o ne nghwi* — du bist „von Zauberei", ein Zauberer [1]).

Die letzte Klasse besteht aus denjenigen, die sich den Erfolg im Leben durch heimlichen Mord verschaffen, vorzüglich durch Giftmord, die über die Leichen anderer hinweggehen, ja geradezu eine Freude am Morden haben; sie haben eine *ne-nghwi*, und man sieht ihnen oft schon am Blicke an, daß sie böse Menschen sind. Ihnen ist es dabei zunächst gleichgültig, wer das Opfer ist, ob „Durchschnittsmensch" *(mwinwi)* oder gute Zauberer oder Menschen ihres Schlages. Besonders freilich richten sie sich gegen die letzteren, weil sie ihre Konkurrenten sind. Vom Standpunkt einer fortgeschrittenen „Kultur" würde man den so ausdrücken können: Ein politischer Streber oder ein Kompetenzdenker z. B. hat natürlich kein Interesse daran, irgendwelche beliebigen Leute, Kaufleute oder Gelehrte etwa, beiseite zu schaffen, sondern nur diejenigen, welche ihm im Wege stehen, also seine „Kollegen". Bei den primitiveren Pangwe spielen sich dieselben Kämpfe, nur in kleineren Rahmen ab.

Was ist nun aber die Ewu, die sich der Pangwe in Tiergestalt vorstellt, in Wirklichkeit? Nach den obigen Andeutungen ist einig anzunehmen, daß es sich um anatomische, durch Krankheit oder Gift verursachte Veränderungen innerer Körperteile handelt. Beachtenswert ist da die Angabe, daß bei den bösen Zauberern die Gedärme zerstört seien. Bei ihnen dürfte also die Ewu in einer Krankheit des Darmes bestanden haben.

---

[1]) Ein sehr deutlichen Licht auf die Wesensart der Zauberei wirft folgendes Zwiegespräch. Ich fragte meinen Diener Esaus, der, wie erwähnt, „christ" war, einmal, ob ein Weißer „so wie ich", womit meine Person umschrieben ist, wohl einer Ewu hätte. Er antwortete: „Nein, das glaube ich nicht," und suchte bei einem anderen Jungen meiner Umgebung, der zufällig hinzukam, die Bestätigung. Aber da kam er gut an. „Du Dummerjahn," sagte der, übrigens ein Mission-zögling, „weißt du nicht, daß die Weißen eine — was sagt ich — vielleicht drei oder vier Ewu haben?" Der andere senkte traurig den Kopf, er glaubte es offenbar noch nicht. Er, der von keinem Kult etwas wissen wollte, nicht einmal von dem des Gottes, da alles eine — Sünde ist, derselbe Esaus hielt — und mit Recht — auch alles Zauberwesen, selbst das gute, für eine Sünde und traute, von sich auf andere schließend, mir etwas Schlechtes nicht zu, er hielt mich für einen Lichtzauberer, einen *mwirwi*, wie er selbst war. Wie — im Nugeiseine gesprochen — mein „Reichtum" und meine „Stimme Gottes", der Phonograph, in meinen Besitz kamen, darüber gab seine unschuldige Seele sich keine Rechenschaft. Der Gegner führte sie als schlauer Neger auf Zauberei zurück und hatte so das Recht auf seiner Seite.

Das letzte Wort über diese Sachen werden daher die Ärzte zu sprechen haben. An dieser Stelle muß die Spezialforschung einsetzen. Es wird von Fall zu Fall festgestellt werden müssen, welches die Anatomie oder pathologische Anatomie des als „Ewu" bezeichneten Irrsinns ist. Meiner Meinung nach kommt außer den Einwirkungen eines Giftstoffes hauptsächlich e i n e innere Krankheit in Betracht, die in ihren Erscheinungen manche Ähnlichkeiten mit der Vergiftung, so wie sie die Pangwe üben, zeigt und ja auch eigentlich eine Art innerer Vergiftung ist — die Malaria, das Schreckgespenst der Tropen und eine für Neger wie Weiße gleich furchtbare Geißel. Die Ähnlichkeit ist um so größer, als es sich um eine chronische Form handelt, aber auch ganz akute Fälle sah ich, und zwar bei Kindern, die mir gebracht wurden mit der Angabe, sie hätten eine Ewu bekommen (d. h. die Ewu wurde bei ihnen lebendig), und die zweifellos an Fieberanfällen litten. Weiter mag auch das Heer der übrigen inneren Erkrankungen mit zur Entstehung des Ewuglaubens beigetragen haben.

Auch die Ewu ist für die Pangwe etwas Erworbenes, der Keim dazu ist bei allen Menschen vorhanden, und jeder kann Zauberer werden, wenn durch eine Medizin der Keim zu einer wirklichen Ewu entwickelt wird. Das kann nur in der Jugend geschehen, wir würden sagen: in der Jugend zeigt es sich, wie sich die Persönlichkeit entwickeln wird, ob sie sich den befähigten oder mittleren Menschen (zweite oder dritte Klasse) zuwenden wird, oder ob sie überhaupt keine besonderen Fähigkeiten besitzt, die sie über bzw. unter den Durchschnitt stellen (erste Klasse). In späteren Jahren läßt sich die Ewu nicht mehr durch Medizinen entwickeln, man bleibt ein *neutral*, mit anderen Worten: gut veranlagte Menschen werden sich, auch wenn sie älter werden und in Schwierigkeiten kommen, nicht gegen ihre Mitmenschen in feindseliger Absicht wenden.

Die Medizin wird den Kindern, mit oder ohne ihren Willen, durch befreundete oder verwandte Zauberer eingegeben, die — ihnen wohlgesinnt — sie etwas besonderes werden lassen, ihren Einfluß und angesehene Stellung verschaffen möchten. Meinen sie es besonders gut mit ihnen, so warnen sie sich: „Du sollst ohne Not keine Zauberei gegen Menschen betreiben, denn dann wirst du selbst sterben; du sollst sie nur in der Notwehr anwenden, wenn andere böse Zauberwesen dich angreifen." Anderen wird dabei nichts gesagt, ihnen kommt die Erkenntnis durch die Wirkung der Medizin selbst, sie bekommen „Verstand". Noch andere wissen schon frühzeitig, um was es sich handelt, besorgen sich die Medizin selbst, nachdem sie den Entschluß gefaßt haben, Menschen zu töten, und gehen dann schon bald ihren blutdürstigen Trieben nach.

Aus diesem Glauben heraus läßt sich erst das Rätsel verstehen:

mezam-ekude e sisine e ñki ma mane bejum be mebn.
Schlagfallen auf (dem) Rücken (vom) Berge, sie machen fertig Alte von Mäusen [1]).

Schlagfallen, welche auf einem Bergrücken aufgestellt, sie machen alte Mäuse fertig (d. h. sie töten sie). Obgleich die alten Kurzschwanzmäuse sehr gewitzigt sind, so werden sie doch gefangen (der Bergrücken soll etwas Großes, Gewaltiges darstellen). Auflösung:

nnyen e mange e mane bonlambede.
Zauberer von Junge, er macht fertig alte Leute (Erwachsene).

Da die Zauberkraft doch immerhin große Vorteile bietet, so könnte man denken, daß sich viele um sie bemühen. Dem ist aber nicht so, da die Medizin sondern gefährlich ist, als die Entstehung der Ewu dem Körper schaden kann und da ferner nicht jeder sich zu so großen Dingen berufen fühlt; zuletzt fehlen manchem auch die sachverständigen Freunde und Verwandten, die ihnen diese Geheimnisse mitteilen.

Als Medizin soll Essen, wie es zum Gemüse und Fleisch im Bündel gekocht zu werden pflegt, und das zu-dem Zwecke viele Monate aufbewahrt war [2]), dienen und bringt dann im Körper Wirkungen hervor, die nach der Beschreibung Fieberanfälle zu sein scheinen. Der Betreffende glaubt nun, er sei nunmehr zu etwas ganz Besonderem geworden. Falls Erwachsene davon nehmen würden, würden sie krank werden, ohne die gewünschte Zauberkraft zu bekommen. Für die beiden verschiedenen Formen der Zauberei scheinen zwei verschieden starke Medizinen gebraucht zu werden, die für die *eyi-bei* bewirkt Schmerzen in der Lebergegend, die für die *eyi-ngbwi* starke, hin und her ziehende Schmerzempfindungen, die der Pangwe auf Wanderungen der Ewu im Leibe bezieht. Wandert sie zuerst, „um einen festen Platz zu finden", so tut sie es auch später noch häufig, weil sie sich auf dem „festen Platz" nicht wohlfühlt, und der Mann muß dann eine Ziege oder ein anderes Tier schlachten und das Blut trinken. Als Beseitigung für die Medizin verlangt der Meister nicht mehr und nicht weniger als ein Menschenleben, einen Verwandten, sei es Vater oder Mutter oder Schwester, und der Junge muß es ihm geben, indem er den betreffenden Verwandten durch Zauberei tötet. In anderen Fällen verlangt er die Zeugungskraft des Jungen. In welcher Weise das geschieht, ist

---

[1]) *mezim* — Mus subtilissimus Peters, Kurzschwanzmaus.

[2]) Möglicherweise handelt es sich um Fleisch- oder Fischgifte, die von den Pangwe verschieden stark dosiert werden können, so daß eine schwache Dosis nur unschädliches Fieber bewirkt und anderseits immun macht gegen absichtliche Vergiftung.

nicht klar, jedenfalls soll der Junge geschlechtlich abstinent bleiben, damit sein Sinnen und Trachten nicht von der Zauberei abgelenkt werde.

Sehr bemerkenswert ist es, daß die bösen Zauberwesen die Neigung haben, sich mit anderen ihrer Art zusammenzutun und gemeinschaftlich auf Mord auszugehen. Des Nachts, wenn der Zauberer anscheinend ruhig auf dem Bette liegt und schläft, entfernt sich sein Zauberwesen und läßt den Körper zurück, schweift herum und sucht Genossen seiner Bluttaten. Als Sammelzeichen benutzen die Zauberwesen den Ruf des westafrikanischen Uhus **Bubo poensis** Fras. und **B. leucostictus** (Tem.) Hartl. *(ndźak I)*, ferner der Eule **Syrnium nuchale** Sharpe *(akus)* und zuletzt den langgedehnten Ton eines nicht genau feststellbaren Tieres, wie die Pangwe sagen, der großen Achatschnecke **Achatina marginata** Swainson, eine Ansicht, die ich auch für die richtige halten möchte[1]). Nach anderer Lesart tragen sie eine Eule auf dem Kopfe, die man aber nicht sehen kann; in den wirklichen Eulen sieht man indes durchaus nicht allgemein Verkörperungen der Zauberkraft, nur „abergläubische" Naturen, die es unter den Negern ebensogut gibt wie in Europa, tun das. Gleicherweise blasen die Zauberwesen nur auf den Schneckenschalen, sie verkörpern sich nicht in einer Schnecke. Bemerkbar machen sich die Zauberwesen freilich auch, aber nur, wie die Seelen, als vorüberstreichende *(a ńsmán)* Gespenster, sie werden dann als ganze Gestalten beschrieben. Grau als Gespenster- und Zauberfarbe erklärt das Pangwewort für die silbergraue Zwergantilope, **Cephalophus melanorheus** Gray *o-ghwu,-ó*, von *ghwō* = Zauberei. Für kurze Zeit halten sich die Zauberwesen auch in Zweigen von Bäumen auf, besonders in der **Copaifera tessmannii** Harms *(sońó)*, ein Glaube, der offenbar mit dem durch plötzlichen Windzug verursachten Rauschen hoher Bäume zusammenhängt (Erlkönig!). Die Bewaffnung der Zauberwesen besteht in einem oder mehreren Speeren. So fliegen sie ungesehen in der Nacht umher und suchen nach Genossen. Hören die Zauberwesen in einem Dorfe nun den ihnen wohlbekannten Ruf, den sie genau von demjenigen wirklicher Eulen zu unterscheiden wissen, so eilen sie ihm entgegen und fragen nach dem Begehr des fremden Zauberwesens: „Wohin willst du, wir haben dich nicht gerufen?" Darauf entgegnet der Fremde: „Ich möchte den und den töten!" Wenn sich nun gerade unter ihnen ein Bruder oder Freund des Gesuchten befindet, einer, „der ihn sehr liebt" (was herzlich wenig vorkommen soll), so kann ein Streit entstehen, in dessen Verlaufe die unterliegende Partei von den Speeren derart

[1]) Man sagt auch, dieser Ton stamme vom Chamäleon. Es ist ein ganz langgezogener hoher Ton, der meist abends gehört wird, seltener nachmittags oder nachts. Nur in letzterem Falle kann der Ton von den Zauberwesen verursacht sein.

versuchen wird, daß die betreffenden Zauberer nach einigen Tagen sterben. Für gewöhnlich pflegen die Zauberwesen aus dem Dorfe mit den Fremden gemeinschaftliche Sache zu machen, selbst gegen nahe Verwandte. Wir haben ja schon bei Besaldung der Zaubermedizin gesehen, daß den schlechten Zauberern nichts heilig ist, nichts von alledem, was anderen Menschen lieb und teuer ist, und wir werden diesem Charakterzug noch öfter wieder begegnen. Haben sich also die Zauberwesen über das Opfer geeinigt, so dringen sie in dessen Haus, durch Löcher im Dach, zwischen Wand und Dach oder wo sonst eine Lücke ist. Sie fallen vom Längsbalken des Hauses gleich einer Ratte auf den Schlafenden herab und träufeln ihm eine Medizin in die Nase, so daß er nichts mehr spürt. Dann tragen sie ihn aus der Hütte heraus [1]) auf den Dorfplatz und hauen ihn mit einem Messer an, gleichwie man eine Kautschukliane [2]) anhaut, d. h. in Kreuz- und Querhieben. Das Blut lassen sie in Bananenblätter rinnen und trinken es. Dann sagen sie zu dem Mann: „Du wirst dann und dann sterben!" Das geschieht dann auch meist nach ein oder zwei Tagen, oft erst nach einem halben Monat. In dieser Form spielt sich ungefähr das Treiben der Zauberwesen ab, wenn das Opfer ein Lichtmensch, ein *mmirmi*, oder ein guter Zauberer war. Ist es ein böser Zauberer, so können dem Mörder Schwierigkeiten erwachsen, da jener den Anschlag merken kann, sein eigenes Zauberwesen ausschicken und dieses mit dem Angreifer kämpfen, ihn besiegen und töten kann, wenn es stärker ist.

Ein Märchen, das die Beziehung Zauberei — heimlicher Mord (Vergiftung?) — und den Kampf verschiedener Zauberwesen gegeneinander gut zum Ausdruck bringt, ist folgendes:

Der Bruder und die Schwester.

Essamniamalöge hatte einmal allen seinen Weibern gesagt, er wollte keine Zwillinge haben. Nun gab er aber einem Weibe Medizin, so daß sie Zwillinge gebären mußte. Es begab sich denn auch, daß dies Weib Zwillinge gebar und, da sie ihrem Mann fürchtete, so tat sie den einen Zwilling, einen Knaben, in einen Kochtopf und deckte ein Bananenblatt darüber; den Kochtopf aber stellte sie in ihr Haus. Den anderen Zwilling, ein Mädchen, behielt sie an ihrer Brust. Als nun Essamniamalöge kam, fragte er das Weib, ob sie nicht Zwillinge geboren habe. Die aber leugnete. Da rief er am anderen Tage alle Weiber in sein Versammlungshaus und fragte sie, ob nicht das eine Weib Zwillinge geboren hätte. Die Weiber aber verrieten die Frau nicht, sondern sagten, sie wüßten das nicht. Damit war aber Essambe nicht zufrieden, er fragte noch weiter im Dorfe herum und erfuhr endlich auch von einem Mann — der davon gehört hatte —, daß die Frau zwei Kinder bekommen habe. Da ging Essamnia-

---

[1]) Daher wird der Ruf der Eule oft gedeutet: *me ngi, me ngi a ile* = ich bin müde, ich bin müde zu tragen. Man identifiziert sie so mit Zauberwesen.

[2]) Nur die **Landolphia ochracea** K. Sch. und Verwandte *(ergm)*.

nabége zu der Frau und sagte: „Wie ich höre, hast du doch Zwillinge geboren." Die aber sagte: „Nein, doch nur dies eine." Da ging Essamnie in ihr Haus und suchte nach dem anderen Zwilling; er ließ kein Körbchen unbesehen und fand auch wirklich den Knaben im Kochtopfe. Da nahm er den Knaben, ging damit an den großen Fluß, der etwas weiter vom Dorfe entfernt floß, und warf das Kind hinein. Dann ging er wieder ins Dorf. Nun lebte gerade eine Frau einer anderen Familie, die zu ihrem Kummer nicht gebar; diese war zufällig gerade an dem Flusse, und als sie an die Stelle kam, wo Essamnie das Kind in den Fluß geworfen hatte, fischte sie das Kind, das im Röhricht und Lianengewirr über dem Wasser hängen geblieben war, mit dem Netz. Da war die Frau über alle Maßen froh, ging mit ihrem Fund nach Hause zu ihrem Mann und sagte: „Sieh, längst habe ich nun geboren, denn ich habe das Kind im Wasser gefunden und es gehört mir!" Da freute sich der Mann auch sehr, gab ihm den Namen Bebange be Mona und ließ den Knaben im Dorfe aufwachsen, so daß er sein Erbe würde. Als der Knabe herangewachsen war, begab es sich, daß dieser in dem Busch, der zwischen dem Dorfe Essamniamabége und dem Dorfe seiner Pflegeeltern war, Fallen aufstellte und diese nun nachsah. Da begegnete er einen Tages einigen Mädchen aus dem anderen Dorfe, die zum Fischen gingen. Da nahm er eine Rohrratte[7]) und gab es einem von ihnen; das Mädchen aber gab ihm von den Fischen, die es gefangen hatte. Den anderen Tag ging er wieder, um die Schlagfallen nachzusehen, da hatte er vier Tiere gefangen, einen Quastenstachler, ein Moschustier, eine Hamsterratte und eine Rohrratte, und als die Mädchen kamen, gab er jeder ein Tier, seiner Zwillingsschwester — denn sie war es — aber das Moschustier. Die Mädchen gaben nur jeden einen Fisch. Darauf gingen sie zurück und erzählten Essamniamabége das Erlebnis, und die Zwillingsschwester sagte: „Wir begegneten einem sehr schönen Manne, aber er sagte nicht zu einer: ‚Du mußt mich lieben,' sondern gab blos die Tiere." Da ging ihr Vater zu einem sehr klugen Manne, der alles wußte, der hieß Odschimesé, und befragte ihn deswegen. Odschimesé aber sagte ihm, daß dies sein Sohn wäre, und daß er zu dessen Stiefvater, der Mamambe hieß, gehen solle. Darauf ging Essamnie wieder nach Hause, um am nächsten Tage Mamambe aufzusuchen und den Sohn von ihm zurückzuverlangen. Nachdem Mamambe den andern angehört hatte, sagte er: „Wenn du diesen Sohn zurückhaben willst, so mußt du mir acht Schafe bezahlen." Das tat Essamniamabége auch und ging mit seinem Sohn ins Dorf zurück. Dort wunderten sich alle Weiber über die Schönheit des Ankömmlings, so daß Essamniamabége bei sich dachte: „Wenn das so weitergeht, so werden mich die Frauen gar nicht mehr ansehen. Es ist besser, ich töte diesen Menschen!" Da ging er zu seinen Leuten und sagte ihnen, sie sollten den Sohn des Nachts

---

[7]) Thryonomys swinderianus Temm. *(myrò IV, ebgobu[e]).*

heimlich töten! Nachts fand sich dann auch ein Mann vor der Tür des Sohnes ein und wollte ihn töten. Nun hatte aber der Sohn, wenn er schlief, hinten am Kopfe die Sonne und vorn den Mond. Als nun der Mann vor der Tür war, sagte der Mond zu ihm: „Du darfst nicht schlafen, man will dich töten." Da sagte Bebanga zu seinem Hausmann: „Folge dem Manne, der vor der Tür steht und töte ihn." Da folgte das Hausmann dem Manne und tötete ihn und kam zu Bebanga zurück und sagte ihm: „Ich habe den Mann getötet." Der sagte: „Gut so." Am anderen Tage rief Essamamabége die Leute wieder, und man fragte herum, ob nicht ein sehr starker Mann da sei, der es nachmals versuchte. Da stand ein anderer Mann auf und sagte: „Ich habe große Kraft und werde das Wagnis ausführen." Nachts ging dieser Mann ganz heimlich vor das Haus Bebangas, aber als er die Tür heimlich schieben wollte, sagte die Sonne zu Bebanga: „Du darfst nicht schlafen, man will dich töten." Da rief Bebanga wieder das Hausmann, und dieses folgte auf das Geheiß dem Manne vor der Tür und tötete ihn und kam wieder zu Bebanga zurück und sagte: „Der Mann ist tot." — „Gut." Als es nun am anderen Tage bekannt wurde, daß wieder ein Mann getötet war, wollte sich keiner mehr bereit finden, den Sohn zu ermorden; da sagte Essamamabége selbst: „Gut, wenn kein anderer den Mut hat, so werde ich selbst die Sache ausführen!" Nachts aber kam er, und als er durch das Dach brechen wollte, um Bebanga zu töten, rief die Sonne Bebanga wieder zu, er solle nicht schlafen, und er schickte seinen Hauer aus, der Essamamabége bis hoch in die Luft nachjagte. Schließlich ließ sich Essamamabége wieder niederfallen, und zwar in eine Cypadfera, aber der Hauer kam auch und tötete ihn durch Zauberei. Ein fremdes Zauberweiß, das sich auf die Sache verstand, machte Essamamabége wieder erwacht, flickte auch den Kopf wieder an und sagte zu ihm: „Morgen mußt du sagen: ‚Ich bin krank.' Und wenn dich die Leute fragen: ‚Wieber und wieso,' so sagst du: ‚Ich habe meinen Sohn töten wollen, aber er ist stärker gewesen als ich und hat mich getötet.'" Am anderen Tage sagte Essamamabége: „Ich bin krank überall." Da fragten ihn die Leute: „Wo und wie," und Essamamabége sagte: „Ja, ich habe meinen Sohn töten wollen, aber dieser war stärker als ich, und hat mich getötet." Kaum hatte er diese Worte gesagt, als er wirklich starb.

In Wirklichkeit haben beide Gegner sich offenbar vergiften wollen, und Bebangas Gift ist stärker gewesen als Essamamabége. Der spürt die Wirkung des Giftes sofort und drückt das im Verfolg der allgemeinen Fangvorstellung über Zauberei (vgl. oben) so aus, daß sein Zauberweiß in der Nacht vorher mit dem des Gegners geknüpft habe und unterlegen sei, daher: „er hat mich getötet." Am nächsten Tage wirkt das Gift vollständig, und der Tod tritt tatsächlich ein.

Auch vor Toten machen die Zauberweiber nicht halt. Sie graben die Leichen wieder aus, kochen das Fleisch und verteilen es untereinander.

Man sieht aus alledem, von welch einer Mordlust und teuflischen Blutgier die Zauberweiber erfüllt sind, man weiß, daß nichts, auch gar nichts für diese Menschen heilig ist; wie wir aus dem Seelenglauben gesehen haben, verwandeln sie sogar ihre Seelen in mähende Tiere, nur um weiter morden und vernichten zu können, anstatt zu versuchen, Gottes Verzeihung — die doch nicht ausgeschlossen wäre — zu erlangen. Nicht einmal für eigenes Leben ist den Zauberern etwas wert. Man muß den Negerverhältnissen kennen, um d a s zu begreifen. Ein Neger kann sich über irgendeine ihm ungeheure, oft ganz geringfügige Unbill oder Zurücksetzung in Ärgern und diesem Ärger und diese Verbitterung so in sich hineinfressen, daß er einfach gar keine Lust mehr hat zu leben. Zum Teil bewirken derartige Leute auf mystische Weise (durch Zauberei), daß sie von Bäumen erschlagen, auf der Jagd oder im Kriege erschossen oder sonstwie gewaltsam vom Leben gebracht werden. Ob die Neger sich wirklich zu vergiften suchen oder nur aus Verärgerung krank werden und wegsiechen, mag dahingestellt sein, jedenfalls glauben sie selbst vielfach, sich durch Zauberei getötet zu haben, wovon erschütternde Berichte und Geständnisse auf dem Totenbette Zeugnis ablegen. Genau dieselben Gründe, eine maßlose Verbitterung und Selbstverzweiflung (Pf.: *ekim*), aber nicht etwa — wie Erman[1]) meint — Reue, die gerade das Gegenteil wäre, sind die Ursachen des sogenannten Nemesmes der alten Ägypter, was auch bei ihnen als Verbrechen galt, ebenso wie bei den Pangwe jegliches *o dzi ngbwel* — durch Zauberei essen (d. h. töten, vernichten).

Zauberei ist — wie wir gesehen haben — voller Gefahr für den Zauberer, der im Kampfe mit seinesgleichen erliegen und durch sie über kurz oder lang seinen Tod finden wird. Aber auch da, wo er sich gegen Lichtmenschen wendet, ist er dem Tode verfallen: man zündet auf dem Grabe eines Lichtmenschen ein Feuer an, und dieses wird als „heilige Flamme", als Vertreter Nasambes, den Mörder töten; sehr bald wird man hören können, daß jemand im Dorfe gestorben ist, unter der Angabe, vom Rächer ereilt zu sein. Eine gleiche Vergeltung üben die Kultgestalten des Ngi, Schuk usw., wie wir schon gesehen haben.

Rätsel:

ene tele ekim ekt, kaa ekit kij[o] fe, yé meyéd.
Ich stelle auf Fluchwehr dort, nicht tötet Fluche andere (als) bloß Barbus[2]).

Lösung:

Mak, kaa ekit menimak, yé kajim
Medizin, nicht tötet Lichtmenschen, bloß Zauberer.

---

[1]) Adolf Erman „Die ägyptische Religion".
[2]) *meyéd* = Barbus gabali Thomis.

Freilich macht kein Feuer und kein Ngi den Ermordeten wieder lebendig, und so versteht sich daher, daß im Fangwegebiete die Furcht vor Zauberei, die als die schlimmste Feindin der Gesellschaft jegliches Streben verhindert, allgemein verbreitet ist, da man mit Recht fürchtet, daß die vielen unheimlichen, versteckten Feinde des Fortschritts in der Nähe lauern und einem nach dem Leben trachten; sie verhindert jedes Gemüt am Schaffen und am Besitz. So kommt es, daß die große Masse in einer gewissen Oberflächlichkeit und Stumpfheit verharrt, und nur ein kleiner Teil von Intelligenten sich über sie erhebt, aber auch diese werden durch den Druck der gegenseitigen Furcht niedergehalten. Im persönlichen Verkehr mit diesen hat man oft den Eindruck, daß man es mit bedeutenden und tüchtigen Menschen zu tun hat — wenn „ihr Herz auch schlecht" ist —, die wohl imstande wären, zu Charakteren heranzuwachsen und Führer ihres Volkes zu werden, das sie zu einer höheren Kulturstufe emporheben könnten. Aber die Furcht steht im Wege, sie vermagen immer da, wo sie öffentlich das Gewicht ihrer Persönlichkeit in die Wagschale werfen, wo sie vor die Welt treten sollten mit ihrem: „Hier stehe ich!" Aber d a n n sind sie nichts und wollen sie nichts, dann lassen sie alles bisher Erreichte fahren, dann schützen sie lieber Schwäche vor und lassen ihre Mitkämpfer im Stich, und dann erkennen wir sie als das, was sie vorher waren: als feige Spitzbuben und Giftmischer, als sittlich Minderwertige.

Die allgemeine Furcht vor Zauberei, d. h. vor dem Neid und der Rachsucht der Sippengenossen bedingt ein ebenso allgemeines Streben, sich gegen Zauberei zu schützen. Das geschieht durch Medizinen. Eine Reihe kleinerer haben wir schon kennen gelernt, ebenso die wunderbar ausgebildeten Kultgestalten, die temselben Zwecke dienen, aber überall begegnen wir ihnen. Der Säugling, der dem geboren ist, wird mit einer Medizin behängt, die gegen Zauberwesen schützt; der kräftige Jüngling trägt seine Medizin, die Zauberwesen abwehren soll, um den Hals (Abb. 49); das alte, 100jährige Mütterchen, das kaum mehr gehen kann, es muß auch eine schützende Medizin haben. Überall, wohin man blickt: Medizinen gegen Zauberwesen, auf und in den Häusern, auf dem Dorfplatze, im Versammlungshause, auf den Wegen, ja selbst im Busche — überall, überall.

Eine Gruppe von ihnen besteht aus Pflanzen mit Dornen oder Stacheln, wie die **Dalbergia tessmanni** H a r m s *(mabjimabim)* oder das *ntubojem* (= Kraut gegen Zauberwesen) oder die **Macaranga ledermanniana** P a x *(bula)*, deren Stämmchen, weil leicht bei der Hand, besonders häufig aufs Dach gelegt werden, wo sich die nächtlichen Eindringlinge daran aufspießen. Weitere Medizinen sind Nesseln, an denen sich die Zauberwesen verbrennen, so die **Tragia cordifolia** B e n t h. *(ntam)* oder die

gefährliche **Mucuna pruriens** D. C. *(ekpu)*, ferner die Zweige des Ameisenbaumes **Epitakeva**, die Kinder der Copaiferabäume, weil in ihnen die Seelen wohnen, und allerhand anderes. Weiter pflanzt man dunkelblättrige Kräuter an, damit die Zauberwesen die Häuser nicht finden

Abb. 6.
Medizinen gegen Zauberwesen, unter ein Ankängsel am Hausdach gebunden.

sollen, eine besonders naive Vogelstraußpolitik. Anderseits geschieht gerade das Gegenteil, man erhellt die Umgebung der Häuser durch dasweißblättrige **Polygonum tanigerum** R. Br. *(ekpam², ma)* = Helle, Schein), deren Schein die Zauberwesen abschrecken soll, und neben denen man außerdem noch zur Verstärkung einen Schlangenkopf eingräbt. Am Hause selbst wird als Abschreckungsmedizin ein Nest kleiner Bienen (Trigonaarten) angebracht, das man auf einen dreifach gegabelten Stock steckt und ans Dach lehnt. Die Ewu der Zauberer soll dem Bienenhaus gleich und, wie dieses von Gängen durchzogen, so von Wunden durchlöchert werden. Das sicherste Abwehrmittel ist die sogenannte Kamavemedizin. Leute, die sich besonders den Angriffen der Zauberwesen ausgesetzt glauben, graben des Nachts mit dem Knochensplitter eines Abenschädels ein 50 cm tiefes Loch vor ihrem Hause, wobei die Schädel selbst die Aufsicht führen, d. h. dabei aufgestellt werden, tun Medizin hinein und pflanzen einen Kamavestengel darauf, der sich zu einer üppigen Pflanze entwickelt. Die Zauberwesen, die gewitzigt sind und wissen, daß die Kamave die furchtbare Medizin anzeigt und ihnen zugleich droht, daß sie ebenso zerbrochen werden, wie der Kamavestengel abbricht, vermeiden nun diesen Ort. Jene Medizin, die in ein Stück Zeug genäht wird, besteht aus folgenden Teilen:

1. Schoten der **Mucuna pruriens** D. C. *(ekpu)*, wegen ihrer giftigen Haare;
2. Frucht der **Solanum depiolinatum** U. D. *(ebin)*, die Zauberwesen sollen so platzen wie die Früchte;
3. Frucht von **Pentaclethra macrophylla** *(ebij)*, die Zauberwesen sollen so auseinandergesprengt werden wie die Samen beim Platzen der Schoten;
4. Stammstück von *(ewókam)*, wegen der Dornen, an denen sich die Zauberwesen aufspießen;
5. Rindenstück der Leguminose **Detarium macrocarpum** Harms *(ewak)*, die Zauberer sollen so abfallen wie die Zweige des Baumes abfallen;
6. *kókomo*, das ist ein Stück von einem Baum, der einen Mann erschlagen hat; ein gleiches wünscht man den Zauberern;

7. ein verschlungenes Stück von Lianen, die Gedärme der Zauberer sollen sich ebenso verschlingen;
8. Harz der Leguminose **Albizzia lactiplata** (E. Mey) Oliv. *(siehe III)*, die Zauberer sollen solchen Auswurf haben oder aber Eiter ausschwitzen;
9. Blatt, das in ein Spinnengewebe gefallen ist, die Zauberwesen sollen sich ebenso fangen;
10. Kopfknochen einen an Frambösie gestorbenen Mannes, die Zauberer sollen auch an Frambösie sterben;
11. *mtigme ma (mpfwa)* — Mark eines Menschen; den Zauberern soll alles Mark aus dem Körper genommen werden.

Schon der Gedanke an all diese schrecklichen Dinge muß natürlicherweise den Zauberern eine so gewaltige Furcht einflößen, daß sie den Platz lieber meiden.

Abschnitt XIII.

Medizin.

Allgemeines: Begriff der Medizin. — Medizinleute. — Spezialisten. — Bezeichnung der Medizinleute. — Soziale Stellung der Medizinleute.

1. *Zaubermedizinen.* Zauberei und Vergiftung. — Hauptmedizin Nsoba, ihre Zusammensetzung (rezept, zum, schwarzes Nsoba), Zubereitung, Beschaffenheit, Anwendung. — Bösartigkeit des Giftmordes. — Wirkungen des Nsoba. — Vorbeugungs- und Gegenmittel. — Hexerei, Vorbeugungsmittel gegen Hexerei.

2. *Medizinen, um sich Glück zu verschaffen und Unglück abzuwehren.* Allgemeines. — Bestimmungsmedizinen. — Mehlmedizin (Bereitung, Anwendung der Zaubermedizin, Geistlichkeit), Aufbewahrung der Schädel, ihre Pflege, Gestaltung von den Schädeln. — Andere Bestimmungsmedizinen. — Zeremonie unter der Capallen, Hinweis auf ein Märchen, Gleichgewichtsmäßiger Verkehr als Bestimmungsmedizin. — Medizinen für Einfluß. — Lebensmedizinen, große Lebensmedizin Engongombeb (Verbreitung, Elefantenmedizin, Gerüchte: 1. Feuerg: Tanz und Störungsgang, Lieblinge, Lieblingsmann, Bläserbrung, Sorgfalt für die Schädel; 2. Feuerg: Wanderung, Gummibaumschälbaum, Schlußfeier). — Kleinere Lebensmedizinen (ihre Erklärung), Schutzmedizinen, Kriegsmedizin Angongo, andere Glücksmedizinen, Medizinen zur Abwehr von Unglück.

3. *Medizinen gegen Kultkrankheiten.* Allgemeines über Kultkrankheiten. — Behandlung einer Bedrängnisbrunken, Behandlung einer Ogbewunken.

4. *Heilkunde.* Unerkannte Krankheiten. — Erkannte äußere Krankheiten, erkannte innere Krankheiten, Parasiten. — Entstehung der Krankheiten durch Zauberei, Kalendarien (Aerzung, Amen) und Aussterbung. — Atmen, Einsetzung der Hoden, schwere Form der Ruhr, Frauenzeit, Einsetzung der Beine, brennende Hengenschwäre, Blutgeschwüre, Tripper, Leistenbeulenschwellung, Eiterer, Krätze, Kopfkrätze, Hautkrätze, Fußkrätze, Fußwurm. — Medizinen für die übrigen Krankheiten (Hirnbeschwerden, Herzbeschwerden usw.), Augenentzündungen, Augenwärmer, Sandflöhe. — Brech-, Stuhl- und Abführmittel. — Vergiftung durch Skorpione, Saubetwürm, Wespen. — Behandlung äußerer Wunden (Schußwunden, Hiebwunden, Brandwunden). — Verwundung und Brüche, Ausreiben. — Verbandstoffe.

5. *Speiseverbote.* Verschiedene Arten. — Liste aller Tiere mit Angabe, welche einmal gegessen werden, welche verboten und welche nicht verboten sind. — A. Säugetiere. B. Vögel. C. Reptilien. D. Amphibien. E. Fische. F. Niedere Tiere. — Pflanzliche Nahrungsmittel, welche verboten sind. — Beweggründe zu den Verboten sind religiöser Art, beruhen auf Furcht vor der Übertragung der Eigenschaften oder auf dämonischen Erfahrungen. — Vorsätze gegen die Verbote und Medizinen dagegen. — Gründe, weswegen gewisse Tiere einmal gegessen werden oder für alle verboten sind. — Gründe für zeitweilige Speiseverbote.

Ich fasse den Begriff „Medizin" im Sinne der Pangwe, die ihn viel weiter umgreifen als wir und unter „*bôp* = Medizin" Dinge vereinigen, die wir zu trennen pflegen, nämlich Zaubermittel, Mittel, um sich Glück zu verschaffen und Unglück abzuwehren, Mittel gegen Kultkrankheiten und Heilmittel in unserem Sinne. Als Anhang füge ich die Speiseverbote *(eki)* an.

Die Kenntnis von Medizinen ist bei den Pangwe ziemlich verbreitet, ein halbes Dutzend oder doch wenigstens ein paar kennt wohl jeder Pangwe und

[p.143]

wegen jede Fangwaffe; aber nur den, welcher besonders gut beobachtet, nicht zu Hause hockt wie der Durchschnittsmensch, Erfahrungen und Kenntnisse erworben hat, wird als Medizinmann, *ngangele f.* bezeichnet. Wie in einem früheren Abschnitt bemerkt wurde, herrscht bei den Fangwo weitgehende Spezialisierung aller Kenntnisse und Fertigkeiten, so auch der medizinischen. Der eine kennt Kultmedizinen, ein weiterer die Kwamedizinen, andere die Leichenstillung nur Feststellung der Ewu, noch andere Hautkrankheiten usw. Innerhalb dieser Gebiete geht die Spezialisierung noch weiter, insofern der einzelne Medizinmann sich auf eine bestimmte Krankheit (z. B. Lepra) verstehlt oder eine bestimmte Methode zur Behandlung dieser Krankheit ausübt; er heißt dann *ngangele*. Ein solcher wird oft aus weiter Ferne von Patienten aufgesucht, die in ihrer eigenen Dorfschaft keinen Sachverständigen für diesen Fall oder keinen von Ruf besitzen.

Die medizinischen Kenntnisse sind nicht auf bestimmte Familien beschränkt, in denen sie sich forterben, sondern sie sind individuelle und werden von dem Meister gegen Bezahlung anderen mitgeteilt. Diese geschäftliche Behandlung ist so wichtig, daß selten oder nie der Vater seinen eigenen Sohn unterrichtet, weil er sich von ihm nicht gut bezahlen lassen kann, um so weniger, als er sich ja dann gewissermaßen um sein eigenes Geld handelte; umgekehrt aber bringt er es wieder nicht über sich, denn trotz der großen Kindesliebe, trotz des innigen Verhältnisses zwischen Vater und Sohn ist der Neger einfach nicht imstande, sich mit Ausdauer einer Mühe und Arbeit zu unterziehen, wenn ihm nicht stets die Bezahlung vor Augen schwebt. Für Freunde beträgt das im voraus zu entrichtende Lehrgeld 100 Speer oder ein kleines Schaf, dafür weiht der Medizinmann seinen Jünger in alle Medizinen, die er kennt, ein.

Eine besondere soziale Stellung, Ansehen oder Einfluß kommt den Medizinmännern nicht zu, sie gelten im allgemeinen nur als besonders erfahrungsreiche und geschickte Menschen (*ndɔ́ɔ*, d. h. von Geschicklichkeit), nur diejenigen unter ihnen, die Zaubermedizinen kennen und weitergeben (dazu gehören auch die Kultleiter, die den Kultfiguren durch eine Zaubermedizin die Kraft zu zaubern geben), werden gefürchtet und mit Recht, weil man vermutet, daß sie mit Hilfe dieser Medizinen jederzeit zaubern, d. h. andere Menschen töten können.

1. Zaubermedizinen.

Wir haben im vorigen Abschnitt gesehen, daß die Quellen des Zauberglaubens in dem Kausalitätsbedürfnis angesichts unerkannter innerer Krankheiten, besonders der Malaria und der Vergiftungen, zu suchen sind. Diese beiden können wegen der Ähnlichkeit ihrer Symptome von den fernerstehenden Kau-

phere nicht zusammengehalten werden, und sogar für den Eingeborenen selbst ist es wohl meist unpraktisch, so ist es im Augenblick nicht möglich ist, ein klares Bild von diesen Dingen zu bekommen. Sicher ist, daß die Neger es verstehen, jemanden durch Gift aus den Wege zu räumen, daß sie in der bewußten Absicht zu töten Gifte mischen, unsicher aber ist, inwieweit sie sich einer physiologischen Giftwirkung in unserm Sinne bewußt sind. Soweit ich beobachtet habe, herrscht heute noch rein allgemein mystische Anschauungsweise. Alle Vergiftung wie alle innere Krankheit ist Zauberei und alle Zauberei ist die mystische Wirkung des vom Körper sich ablösenden Körperwesens, das die Kraft hatten in seiner durch Medizin entwickelten Ewu findet (siehe Abschnitt XII). Will nun jemand bewußt einen Menschen töten oder krank machen, so macht er eine Medizin, die seine Ewu verstärkt, ihr gleichsam für den einzelnen Fall neue und bestimmte Anregung schafft, die Richtung auf das Opfer angibt und die Fähigkeit zum Zaubern erteilt. So hatte man auch die Kultfiguren durch Beigabe von Medizin zu aktiven Zauberwesen gemacht. Eine spätere Zeit scheidet aus dieser Reihe: Medizin, Ewu, Objekt der Zauberei als Ewu aus, so daß die direkte Wirkung der Medizin auf das Objekt übrig bleibt, und wir haben dann statt einer Tötung durch Zaubermedizin eine direkte Vergiftung. Bisheng gehen diese Dinge bei im Pangwe noch durcheinander. Nur bei den Jesunde scheint der allerersste Anfang zu einer Trennung beider bemerkbar zu werden, indem sie sich nicht willenlos ihrem Schicksal ergeben, sondern die Giftmischer entdecken und den Wider herausfinden und zu bestrafen suchen. Dabei sind sie, kaum dieser Chorybdis entronnen, der Scylla des Justizmordes anheimgefallen, da sie bei der Schwierigkeit, den Richtigen zu treffen, sehr unmenschlich zu Werke gehen und z. B. beim Ableben eines Häuptlings, der angeblich von einer seiner Frauen vergiftet ist, alle oder doch sehr viele von ihnen mit dem Tode bestrafen.

Die Mehrheit der zum Giftmord benutzten Zaubermedizinen ist das *nsé*, das wir schon als kraftgebende Medizin bei den Kultfiguren kennen gelernt haben, und das in drei verschiedenen Arten hergestellt wird, als weißes, rotes und schwarzes *nsé*. Alle drei enthalten in der Regel Kettengift, außerdem enthält das weiße gewöhnlich

1. feine scharfkantige Splitter von zerriebenen Kaurischnecken, Glimmer *(ekób e dépó — Himmelsschuppen)* oder Glas;
2. Kopfknochen eines seit einem Monat verstorbenen Mannes. Der Mann muß an demselben Tage, an dem er erkrankte, gestorben sein;
3. Kröte: Bafo superciliaris Bigr. *(nyga)* getrocknet und zerrieben;
4. Eidechse: Lygosoma boscadi Bort. *(ebómakúúri)* ebenso zubereitet. Vergleiche Religion;

146

5. die giftigen Wurzeln der **Dioscorea macrostachya** Harms *(ndib IV)* über Feuer getrocknet und zerrieben;
6. die giftigen Haare der Leguminose **Mucuna pruriens** D. C. *(ekpe' ejuat*, d. h. Kraut vom Sau, d. h. Todeskraut); sowie
7. abgeschabte und verkohlte Rinde der Leguminose **Dolichos macrocarpus** Harms *(ewak)*, deren symbolische Bedeutung wir wissen können.

Eine andere Mischung bestand aus zerriebenem Glimmer, einer Kröte und zerriebenen Schlangenzähnen.

Das rote *nip* enthält gewöhnlich

1. **Lycoperdon bovista** Burt. (siehe oben);
2. einen roten Taschenkrebs aus dem Urwalde *(nkbede ikpés)* [7];
3. eine Skorpionart *(nowd)*, zerrieben;
4. ein Chamaeleon, zerrieben;
5. **Mucuna pruriens** D. C. (siehe oben).

Das schwarze *nip* enthält

1. *ngo-ekyé* oder *ekpé-ekyé*, Pilzerde getrocknet und zerfetzen;
2. *ekpo*, ein unter Wasser lebendes pilzartiges Gewächs, das sehr giftig sein soll;
3. *ekwo ngopo*, Hundertfuß, der wegen seiner Giftigkeit sehr gefürchtet ist.

Die Zubereitung des *nip* wird in der raffiniertesten Weise von kundigen Medizinmännern ausgeführt. Sie nähen sich dazu aus der Rinde des Baumes *ondyo* einen eigenen Anzug (Abb. 50), der einem langen Hemd gleicht und nur Kopf und Hände freilässt, und nähen diese freien Teile mit einem Anzug der **Ketkeria ostpeltata** (Wild.) Knuth *(ekymedzo)* ein, hauptsächlich um sich gegen die herumfliegenden sehr giftigen Haare der Mucuna zu schützen. So vorbereitet gehen die Giftmischer daran, die getrockneten Bestandteile in einem Topfe zu zerstampfen und zu verreiben, wobei sie sich eines langen Stockes bedienen, um möglichst weit von ihm abbleiben zu können, ja, noch mehr, zum Einsammeln und Einfüllen des Giftes in kleine Röhrchen oder Taschen (Abb. 51) werden alte lepakranke Leute genommen, um die es ja nicht schade ist, wenn sie dabei krank werden oder gar sterben sollten.

Das fertige Gemisch stellt ein knochentrockenes und äußerst feines Pulver dar und wird nicht ohne weiteres verwandt, sondern erst an Hunden geprüft. Durch Fortlassen bestimmter Teile, z. B. der Mucunahaare, oder durch andere Zusammensetzungen haben es die Giftmischer nach der bestimmten Angabe verschiedener Gewährsmänner in der Hand, die Leidenszeit des Opfers je nach Wunsch zu verkürzen oder zu verlängern oder nur Krankheit ohne tödlichen Ausgang hervorzurufen.

---

[7]) Das Tier soll angeblich eine Stimme haben, die mit *ll, ll*, wiedergegeben wurde.

Abb. 36.
Gesicht der Gifthexe: Akwanga (Fang, Kamerun), Frontalansicht.

Die Medizin, die von den Medizinmännern verkauft wird, und die wegen leichter Zersetzbarkeit sich nicht lange hält, wird so angewendet, daß man sie entweder im Essen schüttet oder auf das Kopfende des Bettes bzw. auf den Boden streut — wobei das Einatmen ruft, wie man sagt, schwere Erkrankung hervor — oder oberflächlich in die Erde an der Stelle einscharrt, wo das Opfer es stets pflegt. Die Frauen reinigen sich außerdem mit pulverisiertem Harz der *Albizzia Sudgiata* Oliv. *(vel)(ne)* und legen dann die Kleinstücke, mit denen sie ihre Gewehre laden, fünf Tage hinein.

Über die Häufigkeit des heimlichen Mordes durch „Zauberei" bzw. den Giftmordes macht man sich in Europa sicher keine richtige Vorstellung, da wir die Todesfälle in den ungeordneten Gebieten des tropischen Afrika meist ohne weiteres auf die Malaria schieben. Welche Wichtigkeit indes die genaue Erforschung dieses Gegenstandes auch für uns hat, zeigt die Tatsache, daß in den kleinen und erst seit wenigen Jahren von Weißen besuchten Kampagebiete (von dem Kilimatreibe abgesehen) in dieser Zeit schon nicht weniger als sechs Kaufleute vergiftet und gegen zwei Vergiftungsversuche ausgeführt sind.

Abb. 37.
Menschenschädel-Trinkbecher aus Aschenkistchen von Gifi, eine Hexenkiste (Fang, Ogoué).

Die Wirkung der Zaubermedizin, da wo sie sich um eine Vergiftung in unserem Sinne, ein Vergiften des Essens z. B., handelt, besteht nach der Beschreibung, je nach ihrer Zusammensetzung, teils in furchtbaren Schmerzen im Leibe, als ob „Feuer in die Eingeweide dringt", teils in Symptomen des Schwarzwasserfiebers, unter anderem dunkler Urin, oder in Lähmungen, tritt also sehr verschieden auf, so daß sich die Diagnose außerordentlich erschwert.

Glaubt man sich vergiftet oder der Vergiftung ausgesetzt, so wendet man besondere Mittel an, über deren Wert ich natürlich kein Urteil fällen kann.

Als Vorbeugungsmittel gelten die Blätter des **Phyllanthus gracilipes** Pax *(ewéy ebi)*, die ganz oder zerrieben gegessen werden, als Gegenmittel gegen das Gift im Essen in Jaunde die **Geryonaître parkyeense** K. Sch. *(ewé)* und der **Sida acuta** L. var. **carpinifolia** K. Schum. *(ewéyn IV)*, die Blätter zerrieben und gegessen, im Fanggebiet eine aus folgenden Teilen bestehende Medizin:

1. **Hookeria cubpellata** (Wild) Kooth *(ebyendúto)* Blätter oder Stengel zerrieben;
2. **wilde Bananen** *(edóte)* zerbeißt;
3. **Sterculia tragacantha** Lindl. *(edzíbi)*, Rinde abgeschabt;
4. **Parkyiebon macrophylla** Oliv. *(andúte)*, Rinde abgeschabt;
5. **Akron palchellus** Wall. *(ewólge III, ebyeto* — Kraut gegen *ewó)*, Blätter zerrieben;
6. **Desplanéia dewevrei** De Wild et Boes. *(edjejó)*, Rinde abgeschabt.

Diese sechs Teile werden in Wasser gelegt, und dann wird der Aszug getrunken. Gegen vergiftete Schlüsse mischt man die drei ersten von ihnen zusammen und ißt sie trocken.

Eine weitere Anwendung des *ewó* wird *zé* genannt, von *zé* = Leopard, weil die Schnurrbarthaare des Leoparden dazu benutzt werden: wie dieser sein Opfer

Abb. 52. Zauberpfeilchen eines Ba-Mannes.
A. 1. eines Zauberers oder Giftmischers

mit den Schnurrbarthaaren wittert, um es dann heimtückisch zu überfallen, so will es der *zé*-Werfer auch können. Ein etwa ½ cm langes Stückchen eines solchen Schnurrbarthaares wird durch ein Früchtchen des Schirmbaumes, **Musanga smithii** R. Br. *(ewóe)* gesteckt (Abb. 52) und so ein kleines Wurfgeschoß hergerichtet, das man in die Zaubermedizin taucht und dann auf den Gegner losschießt. Trifft es die Haut, so soll er nach 3 bis 6 Tagen erkranken und sterben. Ich ließ selbst einmal — berechtigt durch die Überzeugung von der rein mystischen Wirksamkeit — einen Versuch mit dieser „Vergiftung" machen, der natürlich ohne Erfolg blieb. Das brachte meinen Gewährsmann indes nicht aus der Fassung, er meinte, es sei vielleicht nicht die richtige Medizin, die ihm gegeben sei. Außer auf Schnurrbarthaare wird das *ewó* auf kleine Pfeile gestreut, die man aus dem Hinterhalt abschießt, wenn der Gegner bei irgendeinem Fest mit anderen zusammen gerade tanzt, in der allgemeinen Erregung also nicht merkt, wenn das Geschoß ihn trifft.

Als Vorbeugungsmittel gegen das *zé* wird eine Medizin empfohlen aus

1. **Albizzia fastigiata** (E. Mey.) Oliv. *(ebyo)*, Harz zerrieben;
2. **Musanga smithii** R. Br., Hüllblatt zerrieben (ist giftig);

3. **Pennisetum polystachyum** Beauv., Urtinsen *(ndáfang III)*, Blätter zerrieben;
4. **Hoslundia ocimoides** (Willd) Kouth. *(ekpontsáv)*, Stengel abgeschabt;
5. **Corynanthe pachyceras** K. Sch. *(ná)*, Blätter zerrieben;
6. einer unbestimmbaren Euphorbiaceae *(ewé)*, Blätter zerrieben.

Man setzt sie dem Rotholz zu, das man sich als Festschmuck auf den Körper schmiert.

2. Medizinen, um sich Glück zu verschaffen und Unglück abzuwehren.

Ich fasse diese scheinbar verschiedenen Medizinen zusammen, weil es eine Reihe gibt, die beiden Zwecken dient, sowohl dem Erwerb wie dem Schutz; Medizinen für Krieg z. B. geben Treffsicherheit sowohl wie Kugelsicherheit. Die meisten freilich sind spezifische Mittel für Glück oder gegen Unglück. Der Pangwe bezeichnet sie als *bizá*, weil sie gegen eine Krankheit, als die er eben das Unglück bzw. die Gefährdung seines Glückes auffaßt, helfen sollen. Wir übernehmen am besten diese Auffassung und nennen die Mittel „Medizinen". Die Glücksmedizinen sollen vor allem Reichtum, Glück in der Liebe, Glück beim Schießen, bei Fallenstellen und Fischfang und beim Ringkampf einbringen. Die Reichtumsmedizinen *(bizá ekwme)* gründen sich z. T. auf die bei der Ahnenverehrung entwickelten Anschauungen von der Einwirkung der Ahnen an Stelle Neuerlebter auf das irdische Wohlergehen ihrer Nachkommen, ihre wichtigste, die *ntem* oder *mek*, d. h. die Mekukmedizin auf die Ideen von Zauberei, wie ich sie im vorigen Abschnitte eingehendergewertet habe. Die zu dem Ahnenkult nötigen Schädel sind hier nicht diejenigen von Verwandten, die einen natürlichen Tode gestorben, sondern stammen von solchen, die heimlich, durch Zauberei (Gift) gemordet sind. Jeden *bizá ekwme* ist daher ein *neiw*, eine Sünde. Die Ermordeten oder vielmehr ihre Seelen heißen *mekpá* [1]). Einer, der sich deren Schädel aufbewahrt, um sich durch sie Reichtum zu verschaffen, heißt *e mede e bile mekpá* (= *e mede a n'e mekpá*), d. h. der Mann, welcher die Mekuk hat. Ich habe einen Mekukmann gekannt, der nicht weniger als zehn Schädel von seinen ermordeten Verwandten im Hause hatte. Der Mekukmann besitzt außerdem Zaubermittel, die er samt den Schädeln auf Wunsch und gegen eine gewisse Bezahlung an Leute verkauft, die selbst Mekukmänner werden wollen, das sind natürlich nur Zauberer, d. h. Leute, die — wie im Abschnitt XII gesagt — in der Jugend durch eine Medizin die Kraft zu zaubern bekommen, aber sie vielleicht bis dahin noch nicht ausgeübt hatten, und die sich nun auf dem speziellen Gebiete der Mekukmedizin ausbilden wollen. Ihr Lehrmeister verlangt dazu, daß sie einen nahen Verwandten, meist Vater oder Mutter, ermorden und ihm den Schädel bringen, er selbst gibt ihnen dafür einen älteren

---

[1]) Wortverwandt mit *nkák* — Oberkörper. Vielleicht liegt eine absichtliche Umschreibung vor, denn der Pangwe vermeidet gern die richtige Bezeichnung für seine *meném* (Sünden).

Schädel seiner eigenen Sammlung, dazu oft auch die Röhrenknochen. Der erste Schädel einer Mekukusammlung ist also ein Fremder, der schon als Medizin wirksam gewesen, kein eigentlicher Ahnenschädel, darf aber doch als solcher gelten, weil die Mekukleute alle gleichsam in ein Verwandtschaftsverhältnis zueinander treten, und die Schädelmedizin, die für den einen wirksam gewesen ist, es auch für den anderen wird. So setzt sich der neue Mekukmann in den Stand, weiter zu ziehen, und sucht sich die Opfer unter seinen nächsten Verwandten, als da sind Ihrer Brüder, Schwestern, Schwäger, Cousine usw., um durch Vermittlung ihrer Seelen, die ja nicht sterben, drei ihnen die Zauberei (bzw. das Gift) dem lieben Verwandten das schnelle Wiedersehen mit Nzambe ermöglicht hat, reich zu werden. Unter den erworbenen Reichtum gehört natürlich auch die Erbschaft, die man sich auf diese Weise schneller besorgt. Die Wirkungsart der Zaubermedizin wird folgendermaßen beschrieben: Der Mekukmann tut die Medizin in ein Tuch und bietet diesen dem Bruder z. B. an. Hat der Bruder „Verstand", so sagt er vielleicht: „Oh, früher hattest du viele Tücher gekauft und mir keine davon gegeben! Was hat es nun mit diesem Stück Zeug auf sich? — Ich will es nicht!" Dann wird der Mekukmann selbst krank. Oder man gibt dem Bruder, wenn er von der Reise zurückkommt, die Hand, in die man vorher eine Medizin geschüttet hat. Am häufigsten aber gibt man die Medizin einem Huhn ein, dem man nach einer Angabe außerdem die Sichelfedern ausreißt, und schickt ihn dann seinem von der Reise heimgekehrten Verwandten; ißt er den Tier, so soll er sterben, weist er es aber zurück, oder wirft er das Tier heimlich fort, so wird der Mekukmann krank und stirbt. In noch anderen Fällen schüttet man das Zaubermittel in die Tabakspfeife, ins Buschmesser oder ins Haus; ob all' dies eine physiologische Wirkung hat oder nicht, muß, wie ich schon S. 144/45 gesagt habe, unentschieden bleiben.

Auch bei dem Mekukzauberer besteht der Glaube, daß ein Mißlingen seines Anschlages seinen Tod zur Folge hat, wie wir das in Abschnitt XII bei den schlechten Zauberern gesehen haben. Man nimmt offenbar an, daß der Angegriffene, falls er merkt, daß es auf ihn abgesehen ist, selbst zum Angriff übergeht und seinerseits den Gegner zu besiegen trachtet, d. h. nach der Pangweauffassung sein Zauberwesen gegen das des Angreifers ausschickt. Sicher schränkt dieser Glaube das Verbrechen des Verwandtenmordes sehr ein.

Zur Aufbewahrung der Mekukschädel dient nicht etwa die vom Malan her bekannte Rindenschachtel, sondern eine Kammer, die man unter dem Boden des Hauses gräbt (Abb 53). Nur einmal sah ich einen Rindenkasten verwendet, der auf Leisten bis fast unter das Dach reichenden Stützen angebracht war. Die Kammer ist durch einen Absatz der Sohle in zwei Abteilungen geteilt, sorgfältig geglättet und mit Rotholz ausgeschmiert (daher der Name *eiam* von *eiém* = Abteilung.

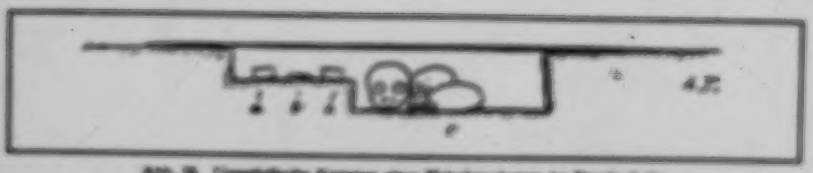


Abb. 9. Umschlossenes Zimmer eines Mekukmannes im Dorfbereich.
a Kreis aus Pflanzenstäbchen, b Zimmerschlüssel, c Schädel der mekukkenden Verwandten.

Zimmer, der für die ganze Medizin gilt); er wird durch ein Stück Rinde und eine darüber geworfene dünne Schicht Erde verdeckt und bleibt so fremden Augen verborgen. Vielfach wird auch eine Kiste darüber gestellt, oder das Erdzimmerchen wird unter einem Bette angelegt. Auf der stadendförmigen Erhöhung werden innerhalb eines Kreises aus Pflanzenstäbchen *(a)* die Medizinen *(b)* untergebracht, das sind vor allem das *mip*, außerdem abgeschälte Rinde der Pandifloracee **Ophioscelon cinnamomeum** Hook f. und **Adenia lobata** (Jacq.) Engl. *(andondile o nkiñ)*[1], Blätter von *mdijme* oder *ayôm-bere*, bedeutsam wegen der Drüsen in den Blättern, die dadurch durchlöchert aussehen wie die Eier eines toten Zaubers, und anderes. Vor der Stude werden die Schädel *(c)* in einem Halbkreis aufgestellt, so daß sie nach der Medizin sehen.

Die Schädel werden nun in ähnlicher Weise wie die Malamschädel gepflegt; sie bekommen wie diese zwar nicht täglich, aber doch öfter Essen vorgesetzt, man schlachtet ihnen mitunter Hühner und bedet sie in deren Blut und setzt ihnen deren Fleisch vor.

Diese im südlichen Gebiet (Jaunde) unbekannte Medizin ist bei den Fang recht verbreitet und hier der Gegenstand vieler Märchen und Geschichten geworden, die allen Lichtmenschen den Angstschweiß herauftreiben. Meine Jungen wurden durch die Erzählungen so aufgeregt, daß sie behaupteten, nicht schlafen zu können, wenn sie weiter an diese schrecklichen Mekuk dächten. So erzählt man sich unter anderem, daß die Mekuk des Nachts in ihrem Zimmerchen auf- und abgingen und poterten oder sogar herauskämen und die Hausgenossen des Mekukmannes im Schlaf durchprügelten, so daß diese ganz zerschlagen am anderen Tage aufwachten; auch aßen sie Geld und Sachen stehlen, um sie dem Mekukmann zu bringen, kurzum die Mekukgeschichten erinnern an die Erlebnisse des Mannes, der das Grusein lernen wollte.

Andere Reichtummedizinen, welche die Macht der Seelen ausnutzen, sind unschuldiger, sie erfordern keinen Mord von Angehörigen und keine Pflege der Schädel, sondern holen sich die Kräfte aus dem Aufenthaltsort der Seelen, der **Cupaffera tessmannii** Harms *(eyôs)*. Nur, falls der Medizinmann schon Mekukschädel besitzt, müssen diese dabei sein. Der Vorgang ist in der Regel folgender: Der Vater des Betreffenden begibt sich mit einem Medizinmann

[1]) Auch als Fischgift benutzt (vgl. Bd. I S. 112).

unter einer großen Copaifera, und beide schlagen dort einen Platz frei. Dann wird ein Blattgefäß mit Wasser aufgestellt und in diesem nennmal (3 × 3) von der Rinde der Copaifera hineingewaschen, außerdem kommt ein Stein aus dem Magen des Krokodils hinein, falls einer vorhanden ist. Nun wird eine eigenartige Probe auf die Würdigkeit des jungen Mannes angestellt. Man legt verschiedene Gegenstände in drei Haufen zusammen, auf den ersten großkopfige Kamare (Weiberessen) und einen Korb (*ekpele*), den nur alte Weiber tragen, weil wenig hineingeht, auf den zweiten ein Gewehr, ein Bündel Geschosse (Pfeile) mit Fisch, Messingschmuck und Kauriumschein und ein Stück Zeug, alles Sachen, an denen junge Leute Freude haben, auf den dritten eine Flügelkletsche (Gerät der Häuptlinge), einen Federbusch aus Elfenbein und ein gekochtes Huhn, also solche Sachen, die für Häuptlinge bestimmt sind. Nun wird der junge Mann herangeführt. „Hat er Verstand", so geht er auf diesen letzten Haufen los und verzehrt das Huhn. In diesem Falle hat er die Probe glücklich bestanden, wird nun mit dem Wasser des Blattgefäßes gewaschen und bekommt den Krokodilstein (Abb. 54), der ihm in Zukunft dazu verhilft, ein großer Häuptling und sehr reich zu werden, geht er zu dem Haufen, auf dem die Sachen für die junge Welt aufgebaut sind, so wird er ein Weiberfreund werden, als solcher sein Geld verschwenden und zu nichts kommen, geht er aber gar zu dem ersten Haufen, so wird er geistesgestört werden.

Abb. 54. [illegible]

Viele Märchen schildern die Wirkung von Reichtummedizinen, die Essamuiamaböge einem seiner Söhne, meist Ekute E., der ihn im Geisterland aufgesucht hatte, macht. Auch hier wird stets unter einer Copaifera ein Platz freigeschlagen, und Essamuiamaböge läßt dann ein ganzes hüttenreiches Dorf en miniature oder andere Sachen aufstellen, welche die zu erwartenden Schätze verbildlichen sollen. Außerdem gibt Essamuiamaböge dem Sohne meist noch Schachteln mit, in der die hilfreichen Seelen eingeschlossen sind, und die dem Menschen später den Reichtum ganz wie die Heinzelmännchen unserer Sagen verschaffen. Ebenfalls, wie oft bei uns, ist der Schluß überall der, daß sämtliche Schätze, vor allem Häuser und Frauen, meist durch Schuld des Betreffenden selbst mit einem Schlag verschwinden und der eben noch reiche Mann wieder arm und elend ist wie vorher. Ein solches Märchen sei hier angeführt:

Ekute Essamuiamaböge bei den Seelen.

Einst sagte Ekute zu sich: „Oh, ich will mal an den Platz gehen, wo meine Mutter geboren ist!" Ekute hatte nämlich nur eine Mutter und drei Brüder im Dorfe, sonst besaß er rein nichts, auch gar keine Frau, ebenso hatten seine

Brüder nichts. Aus dem Grunde machte er sich denn auf, um seine Verwandten von mütterlicher Seite zu besuchen, nämlich die Seelen. Bald kam er denn in einen großen Wald, der voller Tierfährten war, und es dauerte auch nicht lange, da traf er einen Quastenstachler, der seinem Jagdhunde eine Glocke um den Hals gehängt hatte, damit er anderen Quastenstachlern nachspüre: „denn," so sagte der Quastenstachler zu Ekute, „die anderen hätten die Kassave seiner Mutter gegessen". Da sagte Ekute: „Wie kommt es, daß du andere Quastenstachler tötest, bist du nicht selber einer?" Da sagte der: „Das ist die Sache [1]) wegen der Seelen. Kehre um und gehe nicht zu ihnen." Aber Ekute ging weiter. Da traf er bald einen Vogel, der eine Vogelfalle aufstellte, um Vögel zu fangen. Da fragte Ekute wieder: „Wie kommt es, daß du andere Vögel töten willst, bist du nicht selbst ein Vogel?" Da antwortet der Vogel: „Oh, das ist wegen der Sache mit den Seelen. Kehre um und gehe nicht in ihr Land!" Ekute aber ging weiter und traf zwei Schweine, die machten eine Fallgrube, um andere Schweine zu töten. Auf Ekutes Frage sagte ein Schwein, daß sie es täten, weil die anderen Schweine die Kassave ihrer Mutter aufzufressen pflegten. Da fragte Ekute abermals: „Wie kommt es, daß ihr andere Schweine töten wollt, wo ihr doch selbst zu der Familie der Schweine gehört?" Hierauf antworteten die Schweine: „Das ist wegen der Seelen, kehre um und gehe in das Land der Menschen zurück!" Ekute aber wollte sich nicht raten lassen; da sagte das Schwein: „Ach, Ekute, ich dachte, du hättest nun allmählich Verstand bekommen, aber ich sehe, du bist noch so dumm wie früher; gehe nur deiner Wege, dorthin, wohin es dir beliebt!" Dann begegnete Ekute einer Antilope, die ein Stellnetz aufgestellt hatte. Er fragte sie: „Oh, was machst du hier mit dem Stellnetz?" Da erwiderte die Antilope und sagte: „Wie kannst du nur so dumm fragen, Ekute, ich bin hier, um die anderen Antilopen zu fangen." Da wunderte sich Ekute sehr, aber die Antilope fragte: „Wo willst du denn hin?" Ekute sagte: „Ich will die Verwandten meiner Mutter aufsuchen." Das Tier entgegnete: „Dann geh nur diesen Weg, den ich gekommen bin, immer geradeaus, bis du an eine verlassene Lichtung gelangst, dort bist du nahe beim Dorf." Dann ging Ekute weiter und kam noch an vielen Tieren vorbei, an Elefanten, Schirrantilopen usw., die alle auf der Treibjagd waren. So ging er lange Zeit, drei Tage hindurch, bis er endlich an ein Dorf kam, da saß ein Mann, der sagte: „Nun, wohin willst du denn?" Ekute antwortete hierauf: „Oh, ich will die Söhne meiner Mutter aufsuchen, bin ich hier nicht recht?" Da erwiderte der Mann: „Jawohl, gehe nur in das nächste Dorf, da wirst du alle sehen." So ging denn Ekute weiter und kam auch in ein großes Dorf, das voll von Tieren war. Es waren alle da, die Antilope, das Schwein, der Adler, der Hund, der Leopard, der Elefant,

---

[1]) *dzäm*, Küstenenglisch: Palaver.

oh je! Da sagte Ekute: „Bin ich hier nicht im Dorfe meines Großvaters?" Dies bestätigten ihm denn auch die Tiere. Nun ging er ins Versammlungshaus und wollte sich hinsetzen, aber da riefen lauter Stimmen um ihn her: „Oh, oh, wie kommst du dazu, dich auf uns zu setzen?" Er setzte sich darauf anderswo hin, aber da sagte eine Stimme: „Oh, Ekute, paß' mir auf meine Füße auf, warum mußt du dich gerade hierher setzen?" Ekute aber sah keine der Seelen, weil ja die Menschen keine Seelen sehen können. Da sagte er zu den Unsichtbaren: „Oh, ich wollte nur meinen Großvater und dessen Verwandte besuchen; bin ich euch nicht recht, so werde ich wieder zurückgehen. Wenn ich mich irgendwo hinsetze, so heißt es: ‚Hier nicht.' Ich sehe aber niemanden, was soll ich da tun?" Bald kam denn auch sein Großvater, der nahm eine Blattdüte und tat Medizin in die Ohren Ekutes. Der fiel sofort tot um und wachte als Seele wieder auf. Da sah er alle Leute, viele, viele, und das große Dorf, in dem er sich befand, sah er nun erst ordentlich. Alle Häuser waren gedeckt, vorher hatte er sie nämlich alle nur mit Dachsparren bedeckt gesehen. Nun sprach Ekute: „Oh, mein Großvater, ich habe nichts, kein Huhn, kein Schaf, rein nichts, dagegen drei Brüder, die auch nichts haben, und meine alte Mutter. Nun wollte ich dich so bitten, wenn du ein Huhn oder Schaf hättest, es mir zu geben [1]), denn eine Frau habe ich auch nicht." Da lachte der Großvater und sagte: „Oh, das macht nichts, das kommt wohl noch alles zurecht, iß mir erst mal ordentlich." Da fing er ein großes Schwein ein, tötete es und aß es mit seinem Enkel. Am nächsten Tage schlachteten sie ein Schaf, und sie lebten herrlich und in Freuden. Nach einiger Zeit sagte der Großvater zu Ekute: „Komm, wir wollen in den Busch auf jene Seite gehen, dort will ich dir alles zeigen und du wirst ein großer Häuptling werden, und alle werden sich über dich verwundern." So gingen sie denn in den Urwald, bis sie an eine große Copaifera [2]) kamen. Dort sagte der Großvater: „Reinige alles um diesen Baum ordentlich, bis dort hinunter." Der Großvater ging dann hinunter und fragte: „Siehst du mich?" Ekute sagte: „Nein." Da sagte sein Großvater: „Reinige auch auf jener Seite!" Ekute tat, wie ihm geheißen. „Nun mußt du kleine Häuser machen, vierzig auf dieser Seite und vierzig auf jener Seite!" Auch das tat Ekute. Dann klopfte der Großvater an die Copaifera und siehe, sofort schrumpfte sie zusammen und wurde so klein, daß sie Feuerholz von ihren Ästen abschlagen konnten. Damit machten sie nun ein großes Feuer an, worauf sie die Medizin kochten. Der Großvater ging an einen kleinen Fluß und brachte zwei Rindenschachteln mit, die von selbst laufen konnten. Wenn er sie rief: „Kommt, kommt," so kamen sie von selbst. Nun sprach der Großvater: „Lieber Ekute, alle Dinge, die ich imstande bin, dir zu geben, sie sind hier. Nimm diese Schachteln, sie sind Wunderschachteln, und verberge sie nicht in deinem Dorfe, sondern unter-

---

[1]) Natürlich als Heiratsgeld für eine Frau.

[2]) Copaifera tessmannii Harms

halb des Baches in der Nähe deines Dorfes in der Erde und so, daß kein anderer sie findet; denn sonst ist die Geschichte aus. Wenn du nun zurückgehst, so brauchst du nur einen Wunsch zu äußern, und er wird in Erfüllung gehen, die Schachteln werden dir helfen." Darauf erwiderte Ekute: „Ach, mein Großvater, ich glaube diese Sache, die du mir hier mitteilst, ist nicht ganz richtig." Aber der Großvater entgegnete: „Doch, doch, geh nur dorthin. Dein Dorf wird aber wachsen und groß werden und achtzig Hütten wirst du bauen, denn achtzig Weiber wirst du heiraten, gerade wie du hier achtzig Häuser gebaut hast, und rufe die Schachteln." Das tat Ekute auch und rief: „Kommt, kommt." Da kamen sie schon, und Ekute war sehr froh und sagte: „Ja, nun sehe ich, daß du mir alles ordentlich gezeigt hast." Nachdem der Großvater abermals an den Baum geklopft hatte, damit er wieder seine ursprüngliche Größe bekäme, gingen die beiden in das Dorf zurück. Dort sagte der Großvater vor den Leuten des Scheines halber: Er hätte nicht viel zu vergeben, Ekute solle nur wieder nach Hause gehen, aber begleiten wolle er ihn bis zum anderen Dorfe. Das geschah auch und unterwegs gab der Großvater nochmals die Weisung, die Schachteln nicht zu zeigen, sondern unter dem bezeichneten Bach gut einzugraben. Darauf gab der Großvater Ekute wieder die Medizin, die er ihm in die Ohren träufelte, und Ekute war wieder ein Mensch und ging mit seinen Schachteln durch den Wald seinem Dorfe zu. Als er an den Bach dicht vor seinem Dorfe kam, von dem ihm sein Großvater gesagt hatte, grub er dem Bach ein anderes Bett, machte in dem alten ein Loch, und legte die Schachteln hinein; dann warf er Erde darüber und leitete den Bach wieder zurück [1]). Hierauf ging er in sein Dorf. Da gab es natürlich ein Verwundern, und sein Bruder sagte: „Oh, Ekute, wir glaubten, du wärest längst tot, du bist ja so lange ausgeblieben. Was hast du denn gemacht?" Ekute antwortete: „Ach, ich bin ganz im Wald herumgelaufen und war nahe daran zu verhungern, aber gesehen habe ich keinen." Da sagte der Bruder: „Oh, Ekute, siehst du, du bist dumm, weshalb gehst du so weit? Wir waren unterdessen nahe daran, Hungers zu sterben." Da ging denn Ekute in das Dorf, wo seine drei Häuser standen, und er sah alles verwachsen und sagte: „Oh, ich sehe, mein Dorf ist unterdessen längst verdorben."

---

[1]) Dieser Gedanke ist nicht neu und erinnert an die Bestattung eines Toten in einem Flußbett. So z. B. berichtet Mgr. Le Roy von den Okoa, einem Zwergvolk am Gabun, folgendes: „Es wird inmitten des Waldes ein Bach abgeleitet und der Leichnam, der in Matten und Rindenstücke eingehüllt ist, um Mitternacht — Frauen und Kinder sind ferngehalten — in die Grube gesenkt, die im Bette des Baches gegraben ist. Auf sein Haupt legt man einen großen Stein und umgibt es ganz mit Lehm, um zu verhindern, daß das Wasser hinzudringe." Vgl. auch: „Das Grab im Busento."

Darauf reinigte er den Platz bei seinem Hause schön sauber. Über Nacht aber war wie von Zauberhänden das ganze Dorf so sauber gemacht und die Häuser so niedlich, wie man es selten sieht. Alle Leute, die hier vorbei kamen, wunderten sich und sprachen: „Oh, welch niedliches kleines Dorf, wir wollen uns doch hier ein wenig ausruhen." Die Leute brachten ihm alle Kleinigkeiten und schenkten sie ihm. Nun hörte er, daß in einem Dorfe nach Osten hin ein Mädchen war, und er beschloß, sofort hinzugehen. Sein Bruder aber sagte: „Was, eben bist du von der Reise zurückgekommen und nichts ist bei dir in Ordnung, du hast keine schöne Sachen auf dem Körper, und geölt bist du auch nicht." Da bat Ekute seinen Bruder, ihm den Kopfputz ordentlich zurecht zu machen. Dann band er sich einen Messingkragen um den Hals, tat Messingringe an die Füße und Arme und ging nun so in jenes Dorf. Als er zu dem Vater des Mädchens kam und mit ihm wegen der Tochter sprach, sagte dieser: „Ach, Ekute, du hast ja rein gar nichts zum Heiraten, aber wenn du Freund mit meiner Tochter machen willst, auch gut." Da ging Ekute zu dem Mädchen, und als er sah, daß sie ihn gern hatte, fragte er, ob sie nicht vielleicht später mit ihm in sein Dorf gehen wolle? Das Mädchen erwiderte: „Oh, Ekute, du redest mit Umschweifen, ich bin immer sofort bereit, mitzugehen." Da sagte Ekute: „Laß uns auf der Stelle aufbrechen." Das Mädchen aber entgegnete: „Ach nein, augenblickilch ist das Essen auf dem Feuer." Als dies aber fertig war, bot sie es Ekute an, zu essen. Dieser aber sagte: „Laßt uns doch gehen, ich bin augenblicklich nicht hungrig." Dann tat das Mädchen das Essen in ein Bündel und ging — es war unterdes Nacht geworden — mit Ekute in sein Dorf. Am anderen Morgen fragte Ekute sich verzweifelt, woher er das Geld nehmen solle, er hatte nun wohl eine Frau, aber kein Geld, sie zu bezahlen. Bald kam denn auch der Vater des Mädchens und machte Ekute Vorwürfe über seine Unbedachtsamkeit und sagte: „Gib mir das Mädchen nur zurück, du kannst ja nichts bezahlen." Da kehrte der Mann um, und als Ekute in sein Haus ging, oh — standen da doch fünf große Kisten voll Speergeld und eine Kiste mit Stoffen und viele andere Dinge. Dann rief er seinen Bruder und brachte mit ihm alle Sachen in das Dorf seines Schwiegervaters, der wunderte sich sehr und dachte bei sich: „Wie kommt dieser Ekute, der doch vorher nichts besaß, zu all diesen Sachen?" Ihm selbst sagte er: „Mein lieber Sohn, du bist mir herzlich willkommen; denn du hast ja ungeheuer viel Geld und wirst in Wahrheit ein großer Häuptling." Nun war Ekute natürlich sehr froh und sagte zu sich: „Ja, eine Frau habe ich nun, aber keine Pflanzung, wir müssen doch leben." Da erinnerte er sich an die Worte seines Großvaters und ging in den Busch und suchte sich einen Platz für die Pflanzung aus. Nachts aber, bub, bub, schlugen die unsichtbaren Seelen die Pflanzung und brannten sie. Als Ekute

am nächsten Morgen kam, fand er die Pflanzung geschlagen und gebrannt. Da sagte er: „Nun müssen noch die Stämme beiseite geräumt werden, und es fehlen noch die Grenzen der Landstücke, für zwei Frauen, nämlich für meine Mutter und für meine Frau." Am nächsten Tage war auch das geschehen, und Ekute sagte froh zu Mutter und Frau: „Legt nun Ngon in die Erde, es ist Zeit, daß ihr auf Arbeit geht." Da fragte ihn seine Mutter und sagte: „Was, hast du schon alles fertig gemacht und abgegrenzt?" „Ja, gewiß," antwortete Ekute. Da gingen denn die Frauen hin und legten Ngon. Auch das Haus für seine Frau halfen ihm die Seelen bauen. Darauf ging Ekute weiter, um eine andere Frau zu suchen, und da er das Brautgeld immer im Hause hatte, so dauerte es nur kurze Zeit, bis er neunundsiebzig Frauen hatte. Alle Pflanzungen und alle Häuser wurden ihm von den Seelen bereitet. Nun hörte er eines Tages, es sei nicht weit von ihm ein sehr schönes Mädchen mit Namen Odangemaköng [1]); um die wollte er auch anhalten. Aber sein Bruder warnte ihn und sagte: „Oh, wenn du hörst, eine Sache heißt Odangemaköng, so ist sie sehr schlecht, heirate lieber dieses Mädchen nicht." Ekute aber erwiderte: „Ach was, warum soll ich sie nicht heiraten?" Das Mädchen liebte ihn auch sofort, und er führte sie als Frau in sein Dorf. Am Abend aber sagte das Mädchen: „Schlafe heute doch bei einer anderen Frau, ich mag nicht!" Dies tat Ekute denn auch, und als er schlafen gegangen war, machte Odangemaköng eine Medizin, indem sie ein Stück Holz anzündete und fragte: „Alle die vielen Sachen, die Ekute hat, woher kommen sie? Aus dieser Richtung?" — Das Feuer blieb. — „Aus jener Richtung?" — Das Feuer blieb. — „Aus jener Richtung?" Und sie zeigte den Weg, der zu dem Bache führte, und das Feuer erlosch. Dann ging sie auf den Weg, und als sie an den Bach kam, machte sie wieder ein Feuer an für die Medizin, und sie sagte: „Wo ist die Sache, die all diese Dinge hervorgebracht hat? hier?" Und das Feuer blieb. „Und hier? und hier?" — und sie zeigte so alle Richtungen, aber das Feuer blieb; da deutete sie zu ihren Füßen, und das Feuer erlosch sofort. Nun begann sie den Bach abzuleiten und grub und grub und fand denn auch die beiden Schachteln. Da sagte sie: „Also das ist die Sache," und sie öffnete den Deckel und wubb, alle die hilfreichen Seelen, die darin enthalten waren, entwischten aus beiden Schachteln und gingen zum Seelenland. Das Weib aber ging ins Dorf zurück und packte schleunigst alle ihre Sachen. Ekute aber kam in der Nacht aus dem Hause und sagte: „Ach, ich weiß nicht, was mir im Kopfe ist, ich kann heute gar nicht schlafen, ich will bei dir schlafen." Aber Odangemaköng rief: „Komme nicht, komme nicht in mein Haus!" Dann ging Ekute wieder in sein Haus zurück und legte sich hin. Odangemaköng aber nahm alle ihre Sachen und ging zu ihrem Vater zurück und sprach: „Wenn dieser Mann mich morgen trifft und sieht, daß alles so verdorben ist, so wird er

[1]) Das heißt: die alle an Klugheit übertrifft.

mich töten." Nächsten Tag erwachte Ekute, und er wollte seinen Augen nicht trauen, denn alles, das ganze Dorf war weg und nur die drei alten Häuser standen noch, wie sie zuerst gewesen waren, alle Weiber, alles war fort. Da sagte sein Bruder: „Siehst du, was ich gesagt habe, hättest du dieses Weib nicht geheiratet, so wäre noch alles wie gestern, so aber hast du nichts mehr. *Emam mese masámabo ava.* (Üblicher Schluß der Märchen.)

Ganz merkwürdig ist, daß gleichgeschlechtlicher Verkehr zu den Reichtumsmedizinen herangezogen wird, indem man glaubt, daß durch die intime Berührung die Medizin des einen auf den andern übertragen wird. In einem mir bekannt gewordenen Fall in Ebaängon besaß der passive Teil die Medizin, und der aktive wollte sie sich erwerben. Ein anderer Fall ist in dem Märchen erzählt, das ich Abschn. XVIII bringe Fürs praktische Leben dürfte die Wirkung der Medizin sich als gegenseitige Unterstützung der beiden „Freunde" herausstellen, die in der Hauptsache beruht auf dem Bewußtsein der gemeinsamen Schuld und dem Bestreben, diese Schuld nicht bekannt werden zu lassen. Diese Medizin ist nicht ohne Gefahr, denn in dem eben erwähnten Falle wurde erzählt, daß der eine erblindet, der andere aussätzig geworden sei; und im Märchen werden beide Teile aussätzig oder framboesiekrank.

Eine Abart der Reichtumsmedizinen sind diejenigen, welche ganz besonders dazu verhelfen, Frauen zu heiraten bzw. zu entführen *(biäṇ e bọm)*, eine weitere die Mittel, welche Einfluß und Achtung verschaffen *(biäṇ e bạme, biäṇ a vöge)*, so die große Anonacee **Pachypodanthium confius** Pierre, Engl. et D. *(ntüṃ I)* und die Melastomacee **Memexylon tessmannii** Gilg *(ntümä IV)*, die nebenbei auch als eigentliche Reichtumsmedizin gilt.

Nächst den Medizinen für Reichtum sind die wichtigsten und häufigsten die Liebesmedizinen *(biäṇ anduman)*. Nicht weniger als zirka 100 verschiedene Pflanzen sind in den Dienst der Venus gestellt.

Ist man in einem Dorfe zu der Ansicht gekommen, daß die Liebesangelegenheiten der jungen Leute einiger Auffrischung bedürfen, so wird ein großes allgemeines Liebesmedizinfest *(engÿṇełök)* anberaumt, das unter Aufsicht und Mitwirkung der im Malan verehrten Ahnenschädel gefeiert wird; infolgedessen dürfen sich nur die Eingeweihten des Malan daran beteiligen. Der Verlauf der Festlichkeiten entspricht mit der Vorbereitungszeit, den zwei Festtagen, der Anlage eines heiligen Platzes, auf dem die Fang sogar eine weibliche Figur aus Lehm aufstellen, dem bei den Kultfesten beschriebenen. In der sieben Tage dauernden Vorbereitungszeit werden die notwendigen Medizinen beschafft, das sind abgeschabte Rinde der Anonacee **Monodora tenuifolia** Bth. *(fọ̄b IV)* und der Olacacee *avọ̄m* und ein kleiner Elefantenzahn, in den folgende

Sachen hineingetan werden: 1. als wichtigstes der Kehlkopf *(engǒṅ)* eines berühmten Sängers, besonders eines, der sich auf Liebesgesänge versteht, oder eines Weibes, das sich vor der Anzahlung des Kaufpreises von dem Liebhaber hat entführen lassen. Man will die Kraft des Sängers, der wegen seiner Stimme geliebt wurde (berühmte Tenöre sind ja auch in anderen Ländern nicht nur beliebt, sondern auch geliebt) übertragen und ebenso geliebt werden, oder man will, daß das Weib so schnell (mit der Kehle = Stimme) einwilligt, dem Liebesruf zu folgen wie das Weib, dessen Kehle man im Elefantenzahn eingeschlossen hat. Der Name *engǒṅeśǒk* ist deshalb gewählt, weil man glauben machen wollte, daß es sich nur um die Kehle eines Elefanten *(śǒk)* handle, und den richtigen Inhalt, die Menschenkehle, nicht nennen wollte. Als Name für das Ganze soll Engongeschok ebenso den Sinn der Feier verschleiern, wie die Tiernamen den Zweck der Kulte. Also nur nicht das Kind mit richtigem Namen nennen. 2. Geschlechtsteile einer Schwiegermutter, der Gebärerin der Tochter und Geliebten. 3. Knochen eines Albino *(mvɛ̄ɪ,-mɔ̄ɪ)*, wegen der Hautfarbe von Weibern vorgezogen [1]). 4. Knochen von Zwillingen, man möchte mit der Geliebten ebenso vereint sein, wie Zwillinge im Mutterleibe. 5. Blitzröhren *(abr-zǎlǎṅ)*, so gewaltig wie der Blitz, der die größten Bäume niederwirft, so gewaltig soll auch die Liebe sein. 6. *nśṅ*, damit die Zauberwesen (= böse Menschen) nicht die Medizin zerstören. 7. Der Zahn eines Häuptlings, da man ebenso gut reden möchte wie ein Häuptling, der durch seine Worte offenbar die Frauen gewinnt. 8. **Monodora tenuifolia** B t h. *(ǰǒb IV)*. 9. **Ocimum basilicum** L. *(oś̄ɪm)*, das „Vergißmeinnicht" *(a śiman* = sich erinnern, nicht vergessen) der Pangwe, die Frau wird den Geliebten nicht vergessen. 10. **Aeolanthus edlingeri** G ü r k e, Labiate, *(elǎṅgelǎṅge F)*, mit der sich die Frauen gerne schmücken, da es angenehm riecht und einschläfernd wirkt. 11. **Abutilon indicum** S w., Malvacee *(abofǎ III)*, da die Pflanze weiß glänzt und das Weib den Liebhaber so „rein" sehen soll wie die Pflanze. Der Zahn wird mit Wachs geschlossen, und eine Papageienfeder, die im Walde gefunden sein muß, darauf gesteckt (Abb. 55).

Diese Medizin bringt übrigens auch außerhalb der Festzeit Glück, man könnte sagen, sie schafft geradezu Wunder. Unter die Türschwelle im Hause der Geliebten derart gelegt, daß das Mädchen sie nicht sieht, bewirkt sie, daß die Geliebte sofort „zustimmt", wenn man sie entführen will; liebte sie den Bewerber vorher nicht, so wird sie ihn nun allen anderen vorziehen, kurzum, sie wird „nur noch ja sagen", und alles das hat mit seiner Kehle (= Stimme) das Engongeschok getan.

Monodora und *avǒm* werden in einer Blattdüte in einen Topf mit Wasser gelegt und dieser an einer elastischen Gerte in der Mitte des Festplatzes vor dem Versammlungshause aufgehängt (Abb. 56, *a*). Hier wird auf dem

---

[1]) Die Ansichten über einen Albino schwanken sehr; anderswo wird ein Albino weniger geschätzt (Jaunde).

wie üblich durch einen Vorhang aus Raphiablättern abgesperrten Fest-

Abb. 55. Liebesmedizin Engongeschok: Elefantenzahn mit Liebesmedizinen darin.

platz ein merkwürdiges Gerüst (Abb. 56, *b*) aufgerichtet, das, wie die Eingeborenen sagen, Fallen bedeuten soll; außerdem wird ein Kultplatz seitlich des Hauses freigeschlagen, auf dem wirkliche Fallen aufgestellt werden. Ich komme gleich auf sie zurück. An das Gerüst hängt man ein Ginsterkatzenfell mit zwei Schwanzstücken, in dem eine Liebesmedizin eingenäht ist.

Ist das alles fertig, so wird die Festziege herbeigeschafft und den Ahnenschädeln mitgeteilt, daß alles bereit sei. Nun kann die eigentliche Feier, die zwei Tage währt, beginnen.

In dem von mir in Ebäangon mitgemachten Liebesfest war der Verlauf folgender: Am ersten Tage fand auf dem Festplatze unter Trommelbegleitung ein Tanz statt, bei dem der Vorsänger das Ginsterkatzenfell herumschwenkte und dabei mit den unvermeidlichen Schellen klirrte. Der Häuptling und Medizinmann (es ist nicht immer eine und dieselbe Person) ging darauf an den Topf, nahm die Tüte heraus, rief die Teilnehmer einzeln aus dem Kreise hervor, hieß sie sich niedersetzen (vgl. Abb. 57) und träufelte ihnen das Medizinwasser derart auf die Stirn, daß es den Nasenrücken entlang bis zur Spitze herunterlief. Gelang das nicht gleich, so wurde das Verfahren zwei bis drei mal wiederholt, und bei ganz widerspenstigen Tropfen die Medizin mit einem Strauß von Abutilonblättern den Nasenrücken hinuntergewischt. Darauf begab sich die Festgesellschaft auf den Kultplatz, hier Liebeshain genannt *(elik andēmän)*. Wie die Kultfiguren meist unter Bäumen (wegen der Zauberwesen nimmt man solche mit Stacheln) errichtet, wie die Reichtumsmedizinen unter dem Seelenbaum, der Copaifera, aufgebaut werden, so gehört zum Liebeshain der Liebesbaum, die Leguminose **Amphimas tessmannii** Harms *(edäi,)*[1]. In Ebäangon war der Baum nur klein, oft sind es dagegen ganz riesige Exemplare. Im Hintergrunde war eine Art Bank aus Stangen errichtet und unter ihr eine Menge Zweige von verschiedenen als Liebesmedizin geltenden Bäumen aufgehäuft. Dann wurden hinter der Bank die Ahnenschädel aufgestellt und die Zweige angezündet. Diejenigen, welche eine Aufbesserung ihrer Liebesangelegenheiten besonders

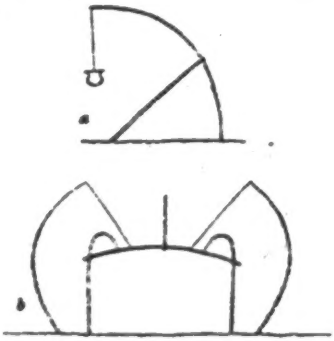


Abb. 56. Liebesmedizinfest Engongeschok in Ebäangon (Fam. Esseng).
a Topf mit Liebesmedizin, an einer Gerte aufgehängt, *b* Gerüst, das Uneingeweihte über den Zweck der Feier täuschen soll.

[1]) *a däi-ä* = lieben.

Abb. 57. Abwaschen der Sitru bei dem Liebesmedizinfest.

nötig hatten, legten sich auf die Bank und ließen sich gehörig durchräuchern (Abb. 58), während die Schädel mit kalter Strenge die Lage überschauten, bis sie selbst zu ihrem Recht kamen, denn man führte sie zum Tanz um den Liebesbaum. Einige der Teilnehmer nahmen inzwischen rote Farbe, zogen damit einen Strich auf der Rinde des Liebesbaumes und bemerkten dazu, ebenso wollten sie selbst in den Augen ihrer Geliebten aussehen. Ein anderer nahm außerdem noch schwarze Farbe, machte zuerst einen roten Strich, indem er sagte: „Bei dem Mädchen, zu dem ich gehen werde (er mochte wohl den Namen nicht aussprechen), möchte ich so (rot) aussehen," zog dann einen schwarzen Strich und fügte hinzu: „Dagegen soll das Mädchen alle anderen so (schwarzer Strich) sehen." Wir kennen ja Rot als die Farbe des Lebens, der Freude, des Lichtes. Schwarz bedeutet hier dessen Gegenteil, das Unangenehme, Häßliche.

Zu guter Letzt wurde den Ahnenschädeln eine kleine Strafe erteilt, indem sie in die obengenannten Zugfallen, die um den Baum aufgestellt waren, gesteckt und bis zum nächsten Tage darin gelassen wurden. Eine solche Bestrafung der Ahnen ist sehr selten, und es ist bezeichnend, daß sie nicht beim Malan, sondern bei der Liebesmedizin, die als dessen Entartung anzusehen ist, vorkommt. Um den Baum wurden dann noch allerlei Medizinen verteilt, wie rote Farbe und ein Stück vom Schamtuch einer Schwiegermutter. Bei den Fang sollen hierzu die Schamteile selbst genommen werden, die der verstorbenen Schwiegermutter herausgeschnitten sind.

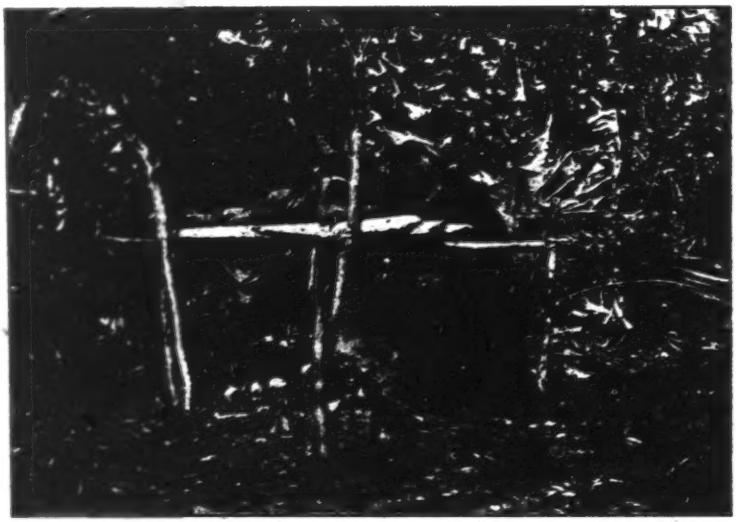


Abb. 58. Liebesmedizinfest Engongeschok. Einige Jünglinge lassen sich über einem Feuer, in dem Liebesmedizinen verbrannt werden, durchräuchern. Im Hintergrunde stehen die Ahnenschädel. Ebiangon (Fam. Esseng).

Am Vormittag des zweiten Festtages wurden ungefähr 25 Bananenblattgefäße auf dem Festplatze in einer Reihe aufgestellt und mit frisch herbeigeholtem Wasser gefüllt. In das erste Gefäß tat der Medizinmann ein ganzes Heer von Rinden und Blättern, lauter Liebesmedizinen. Die anderen Gefäße wurden stiefmütterlicher behandelt, ins zweite Gefäß kamen nur einige Rinden, in die folgenden immer nur eine, die letzten bekamen gar nichts mehr ab. Nun setzte sich der Medizinmann an das erste Gefäß, blies mit einem Rohr hinein, worauf ein mächtiger, seifenartiger Schaum entstand, der angeblich von der Rinde des **Cylicodiscus gabunensis** (T a u b) H a r m s *(edum)* herrührt, und wusch sich dann zuerst im ersten, dann in allen folgenden Gefäßen möglichst schnell das Gesicht. Der Zweck ist, sich reinzumachen und damit zu bewirken, daß die äußerliche Reinigung eine innerliche zur Folge hat, das geliebte Mädchen den Bewerber rein, weiß wie die Blätter von Abutilon sieht und ihn dann liebt; ob das bewirkt wird, weiß ich allerdings nicht, äußerlich war die günstige Wirkung des Wassers jedenfalls nicht zu verkennen. Der Schaum soll bewirken, daß das Herz des Mädchens ebenso „aufgeht". Diese Reinwaschung kann auch außerhalb des Liebesfestes ausgeführt werden, wenn man es z. B. auf ein bestimmtes Mädchen abgesehen; man hat dann aber noch Nägel, Kopf-, Scham- und Achselhaare von diesem Mädchen in das Gefäß zu tun.

Schon während der Waschung liefen zwei Leute den Dorfplatz hinunter und warfen sich gegenseitig das Ginsterkatzenfell zu, wobei sie sich im Laufen kreuzten. Mit ähnlichem Ballspiel, dessen Bedeutung ich nicht erfahren konnte, belustigte man sich beim nachfolgenden Tanz.

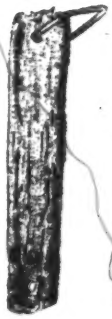


Abb. 59. Liebesmedizin aus dem Holze der Monodora tenuifolia.

Die Schlußfeier fand im Liebeshain statt. Ein Mann faßte mit der einen Hand den Baum und schwenkte sich so herum, während die anderen die Schädel aus den Fallen nahmen, mit ihnen in entgegengesetzter Richtung um den Baum tanzten und jedesmal, wenn sie an jenem vorbeikamen, von ihm umarmt wurden. Dann wurde die Festziege herbeigebracht und geschlachtet, das Blut über Schädel und Medizinen ausgegossen und eine Versöhnungsrede an die Schädel gehalten, die darin gipfelte, sie möchten nicht ärgerlich sein, weil sie ohne Essen draußen gelegen hätten; man hätte ihnen jetzt eine Ziege gebracht und erwartete, daß sie von nun an sich besondere Mühe geben würden, ihren Nachkommen in Liebessachen beizustehen. So endete das Fest zur Zufriedenheit der Schädel wie der Jünglinge.

Alle zu Liebesmedizinen gebrauchten Pflanzen namentlich hier anzuführen, würde unmöglich sein, es können nur die bei ihrer Wahl leitend gewesenen Gesichtspunkte genannt und einige Beispiele dazu gegeben werden. Es handelt sich immer um eine Eigenschaft, die man auf sich übertragen will, z. B.:

1. Üppigkeit der Blüten, Früchte und Triebe, zumal wenn die Blüten oder Triebe schön sind, man will ebenso in den Augen der Geliebten sein. **Monodora tenuifolia** Bth. *(fọ̄b IV)* (Abb. 59) wegen der üppigen Triebe mit prachtvollen Blüten, ferner die Simarubacee **Desbordesia glaucescens** Engl. *(alōb)* mit ihren weitleuchtenden roten bis blauen Trieben;
2. Schönheit der Blüten. Beispiele: Viele Orchideen *(ajāⁿ-ojōb)* und Scitamineen, so **Aframomum hanburyi** K. Sch. *(obạ́[s]-adźōm*, Blüten *atsạ́[k] adźōm)* und **Canna bidentata** Bertol *(ekọ̄n e ṣọ̄k)*. Ferner **Mussaenda**-Arten, die buntgefärbte Hochblätter haben;
3. Schönheit der Blätter. Beispiel: **Phyllanthus capillaris** Schum. et Thom. *(ntẹ̄bè III)* mit ihren zierlichen Blättern und die herzblättrige **Geophila speciosa** K. Sch. *(eṣẹ̄k-oṣóke)*;
4. Schönheit der Stämme. Beispiele: **Distemonanthus benthamianus** Baill. *(ejẹ̄n)*, **Triplochiton tessmannii** *(ajụ́,s)* und vor allem die erwähnte **Amphimas tessmannii** Harms *(edźɪ,)*;
5. weiße Farbe der Stämme und Blätter: **Voacanga obtusa** K. Schum. *(edọ̄mɛ̄ọ̄ⁿ a zá,m)*, **Polygonum lanigerum** R. Br. *(elọ̄amɛ,)* und das bereits erwähnte **Abutilon indicum** Sw. *(abofạ̄)*;

6. Einzelstehen der Bäume (bestimmte Bäume sollen durch die Entwicklung ihrer Krone kleinere niederhalten, so will man auch seine Nebenbuhler fernhalten), so *engökü̱m* und **Memexylon tessmannii** Gilg *(ntü̱mä IV)*;
7. schöner Geruch, wie *afán* und **Plectranthus** *(avá)*;
8. Neigung der Pflanzen, sich um andere zu schlingen; ebenso wünscht man mit dem Weib verbunden zu sein, z. B. Stücke von zwei Lianen, die ineinander verwachsen sind (Abb. 60), und Wurzeln, die sich umeinander schlingen, wie die der **Dracaena viridiflora** Engl u. Kr. *(alɛ̱n-ogbwö̱ III)*, ferner die Neigung von Pflanzen, andere Gewächse zu umschlingen, so besonders die Rubiacee **Sabicea calycina** Benth. *(okü̱dän)* [1]), die Aclepiadacee **Secamone myrtifolia** Bth. *(okü̱amalɛ̱n)* und andere;
9. Klettenbildung; man will mit dem Weibe so zusammengeklettet sein. Beispiele: **Desmodium**-Arten *(obö̱bonzen)*, (Klettenfrüchte); die Cyperacee **Scleria barteri** Bckl. *(pfáfölö III Nt.)*, deren Blätter und Stengel ankleben und besonders das Gras **Streptogyne erinita** R. Beauv. *(nkä̱m I, nkä̱mesö̱sö̱ I)*, dessen Rispen ganz außerordentlich fest aneinanderkletten;

Abb. 60. Liebesmedizin: Lianenstück, entstanden dadurch, daß zwei Lianen eine kurze Strecke zu scheinbar einer einzigen verwachsen sind.

10. Beliebtheit bei Frauen. Beispiele: **Kolobopetalum auriculatum** Engl. *(andɛ̱me III)*, bei Frauen als Gürtel beliebt, **Lygodium smithianum** Pr. *(ozö̱k)*, von Frauen als Schmuck benutzt.

Befriedigende Aufklärung darüber, warum einige Ficusarten, gewisse Amaryllidaceen, ferner Gallen der **Microglossa volubilis** (Wall) D. C. *(mɛ̱ɛ̱rä̱)* als Liebesmedizin benutzt werden, konnte nicht erlangt werden.

Außer pflanzlichen Teilen, die in überwiegender Mehrzahl zu Liebesmedizinen verwandt werden, sind besonders Antilopenhörner (Abb. 61) beliebt, die man zugleich als Stirn- oder Halsschmuck bei sich trägt, und auf denen man, wenn sie wirken sollen, pfeift: Ebenso wie eine Antilope nie ein einziges Horn, sondern stets ein Paar hat, ebenso soll der Mensch nicht allein, sondern zu zweien sein.

Eine dritte Gruppe von Glücksmedizinen sind die nicht weniger reichhaltigen Schußmedizinen. Von den 109 dazu gebrauchten Pflanzen sind 67 Gewehrmedizinen *(biäṅ ngá)*, d. h. Medizinen, die guten Schuß mit dem Gewehr verbürgen, 2 Kriegsmedizinen *(biäṅ belá)*, 18 Jagdmedizinen *(biäṅ tíl)*, 4 Armbrustmedizinen *(biäṅ mbán)*, 2 Medizinen für Treibjagd *(biäṅ a kin tíl)*, 2 Medi-

[1]) *a kü̱-dän* = sich umschlingen, umeinanderschlingen.

zinen für glückliches Auge bei der Jagd und 14 Medizinen, welche die Jagdtüchtigkeit der Hunde heben *(biäṇ mgá)* (Abb. 62).

Abb. 61. Liebesmedizin, Horn der Zwergantilope, meist als Stirnbehang an der Heimfrisur getragen.

Die Bestandteile der Schußmedizinen wählt man von verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten aus, einmal will man das Wild anlocken und nimmt daher Teile von Bäumen, die das Tier „liebt", d. h. gerne aufsucht, also auch noch in Form der Medizin aufsuchen, d. h. zum Jäger kommen wird, oder von Bäumen, bei denen man in gewissen Organen tierähnliche Bildungen sieht (z. B. die Ranken der **Oncinotis tessmannii** Gilg *(njɛ̄m osɔ̄k* = Schwanz der Rotschwanzmeerkatze), die einem Affenschwanz ähneln — dadurch wird der Jäger gleichsam dem Tiere ähnlich, und das Wild verliert vor ihm die Scheu; ein andermal will man das Wild „schwach", den Jäger und seinen Jagdhund „stark" machen und nimmt Teile von dementsprechenden Pflanzen, oder man nimmt sie von Bäumen, die viele Früchte tragen, um dadurch ebenso reiche Erfolge zu haben, oder schließlich man wählt Pflanzen, welche die schädigende Unreinheit des

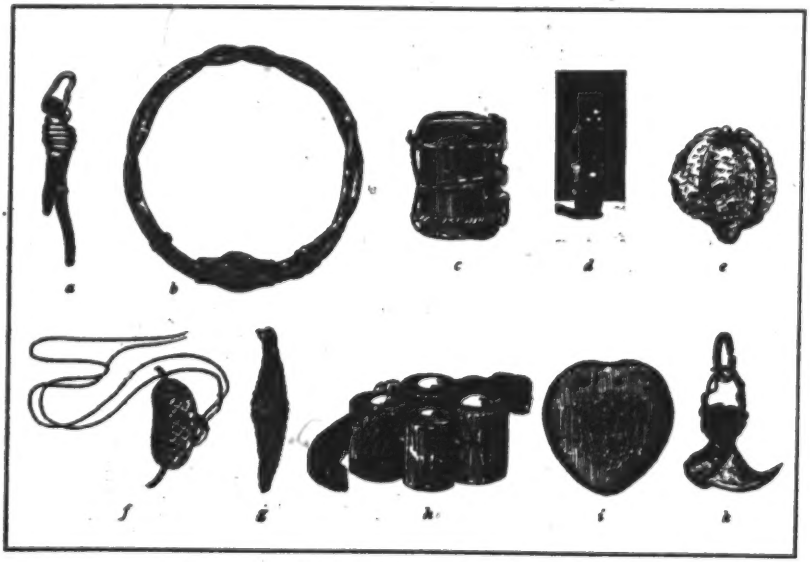


Abb. 62. Medizinen der Fang.

a Reichtummedizin: Wurzel eines Baumes (**Homalium africanum**) mit Messingdraht und Messingring verziert; *b—d* Medizin gegen feindliche Geschosse; *e* Medizin gegen feindliche Überfälle: Frucht der **Tiliacee Duboscia macrocarpa** (*ebak*), sie macht die Feinde ruhig, lind (**Duboscia** und **Leptonychia** = Friedenslinde); *f* Medizin für gutes Wandern; *g* Medizin für guten Vortrag und Gesang: enthält den Zahn eines Baumschliefers (der ausdauernd „singt"); *h* Medizin für den Tanz Dschama; *i* Medizin gegen Herzklopfen und Nervosität: Herzförmige Frucht der **Ertula scandens**, um den Hals getragen (macht das Herz stark), ungefähr ⅓ nat. Gr.; *k* Kriegsmedizin: Leopardenkralle, ⅓ nat. Gr.

Körpers entfernen sollen. Die Anwendungsweise ist verschieden, bald innerlich, indem die Blätter zerhackt mit dem Fleisch des zuletzt erlegten Tieres gegessen werden, bald äußerlich in Form von Klystieren eines Rindenaufgusses mit der doppelten Wirkung, die Unreinheit aus dem Leibe zu entfernen und ihm das Wesen der Pflanze mitzuteilen, oder so, daß man ein Stück Holz verkohlt und sich damit einen Strich über die Stirn zieht — dadurch „sieht" man ebenso aus wie die betreffende Pflanze. Am häufigsten entfernt man die Unreinheit durch Waschungen; entweder wäscht man einzelne Teile, Gesicht, Hände, oft noch Ellenbogen und Knie, außerdem das Gewehr in dem Medizinwasser, oder man wäscht sich den ganzen Körper im Bach, wobei man das Wasser durch einen kleinen Damm aufstaut und nach Beendigung der Waschung wieder ablaufen läßt, damit es den Schmutz weit weg den Fluß hinunter *(osüe nkiai)* trägt. Um sich eine dauernde Wirkung der Medizinen zu sichern, trägt man allgemein Holz- und Rindenstücke als Anhänger an Halsketten, an Jagdtaschen, Umhängetaschen, am Gürtel usw.

Auch unter den Jagdmedizinen kommt der Schädelkult vor, indem man den Schädel eines gewaltsam getöteten und auf der Stelle tot gebliebenen Mannes aus demselben Familienverbande in einer Rindenschachtel aufbewahrt und wie bei der Ahnenverehrung pflegt. Hat ein Jäger z. B. ein Wild erlegt, so bringt er dem Schädel das Stück, das ihm bei der Verteilung zunächst zufällt, das sind die Geschlechtsteile und das Fleisch um sie herum *(ekɪ,lə̃*, vgl. Abb. 92 in Bd. I) als ein Dankopfer, das er sich freilich wieder mitnimmt, um es selbst zu essen. Umgekehrt, hat man kein Glück auf der Jagd gehabt, so schlachtet man dem „Manne" in der Schachtel ein Huhn, damit er dafür sorgen soll, daß bald ein Wild seinem Schützling vor die Flinte kommt und ebenso gut getroffen wird wie er selbst es seinerzeit wurde.

Die Fang haben außerdem noch eine große Kriegsmedizin, eine Feier, die *aŋgũŋgũ* genannt wird und ein Seitenstück zum Engongeschok darstellt. Bei ihr wird ein heiliger Platz hergerichtet, ein unterirdischer Gang, ähnlich wie beim Ngi beschrieben, gegraben und eine Zwergantilope, **Cephalophus melanorheus** Gray *(ogbwũ,ũ)* herbeigeschafft, die lebendig eingefangen sein muß. Dann stellt sich der Medizinmann an dem einen Ende des Ganges auf, alle übrigen Männer, bewaffnet mit Gewehren, hängen sich einen Kern der **Sorindeia rubriflora** Engl. *(afə̃ne[k])* als Medizin um den Hals und kriechen — der erste mit der Antilope im Arm — durch den Gang. Am Ausgang gibt der Medizinmann allen, auch der Antilope, eine Medizin ein. Die Antilope wird darauf freigelassen und man glaubt, daß, wenn man einen Überfall plant, der Feind aber davon Wind bekommen hat, das Tier sich zeigt und dadurch die Angreifer rechtzeitig warnt. An Medizinen, die den

nötigen Mut für einen solchen Überfall sichern, stehen fünf verschiedene zur Verfügung.

Seltener als Schußmedizinen sind die Medizinen für Fallenstellerei und Fischfang, ein Zeichen, daß diese Beschäftigungen dem Pangwe mehr im Blute liegen als die freie Jagd. Ich habe nur acht Pflanzen für Fischfangmedizinen und zwölf für Fallenmedizinen aufgezeichnet.

Weitere Glücksmedizinen gelten für guten Einkauf (2), für guten Vortrag und Gesang (ungefähr ein Dutzend), für tadelloses Trommelschlagen (2), für Ringkampf (29), für Glücksspiel der Jaunde (8), für das Gedeihen der Nutzgewächse (9, vgl. Abschnitt V).

Die zweite Klasse der in diesem Teil behandelten Medizinen umfaßt die zur Abwehr von Unglück verwendeten. In erster Reihe gehören hierher die Medizinen gegen Diebstahl (ungefähr 30), gegen Ehebruch der Frauen (2), gegen Weiberbosheit (1), gegen Nebenbuhler bei Weibern (3), gegen Vergeßlichkeit und Lampenfieber (3), gegen Regen (nur einige, vgl. Abschn. XIV), gegen feindliche Geschosse, gegen die Folgen, die eintreffen, wenn man am Tage kohabitiert (7), wenn man schwangere Frauen beschläft (für letztere beiden Fälle gibt es sogar vorbeugende Medizinen) und schließlich gegen Folgen, die eintreffen, wenn man unreine Tiere ißt (7).

3. Medizinen gegen Kultkrankheiten.

Es ist bei den Kulten gezeigt worden, daß Übertretungen von Sittengesetzen Strafen in Form von Krankheiten zur Folge haben. Diese Kultkrankheiten sind wirkliche Krankheiten des Körpers; ihre Heilung aber ist nur durch die Macht möglich, deren Zorn sie verursacht hat, sie hätte darum auch bei den Kulten erwähnt werden können. Jede Kultmacht kann eine Krankheit verhängen, so daß jemand ssokrank (ndong-mbakrank), bokungkrank (elongkrank), schokkrank und ngikrank sein kann, auch Malankranke haben wir schon kennen gelernt. Da im Süden der Ngi die häufigste und gefürchtetste Kultmacht ist, so ist hier auch die von ihm stammende Kultkrankheit die häufigste und schwerste.

Zwei Kultkrankheiten habe ich selbst behandeln sehen. Das eine Mal handelte es sich um einen Jungen, der einen Bokungkranken vortäuschte, weil er nicht mehr arbeiten wollte, das andere Mal um einen im Kriege in die Brust geschossenen Mann, der angab, vom Ngi in dieser Weise bestraft zu sein.

Die Bokungkrankheit soll am Zittern des Kopfes und der Hände zu erkennen sein. In erwähntem Falle täuschte der gute Schona, so hieß der Junge, diese Krankheitserscheinungen recht gut vor. Der Bokungmann wurde gerufen,

die Trommeln wurden vor dem Hause des Kranken aufgestellt, ersterer verschwand für einen Augenblick im Gebüsch, kam dann als Schimpanse (siehe Bokungkult S. 65) unter Mirlitongeschrei wieder hervor und führte den Affentanz auf, währenddes sein Gehilfe die Medizinen aufstellte, die der Kranke trinken mußte. Dann bekam dieser ein Raphiamarktau, das in Medizinrotholz getaucht war, um den Hals (damit er sich so leicht fühle, wie das Raphiamark leicht ist). Rings um den Leib wurde mit derselben Farbe ein Strich gezogen, und der Medizinmann sprach dann durch das Mirliton folgende Beschwörung:

a źōna, a źōna, a pfulan a bōnenga kābād
O Schona, O Schona, er zusammen (aß) mit Weibern Ziege,

a ke adạṅ kā ojōb, a bèlè ele,
er geht zu überschreiten Schildkröte drüber, er ist besessen davon,

bokāṅ a bèlè nie,
Bokung er hat ihn (besessen gemacht)

nkakā malẹṅ, a nim ebẽ dzạṅ, mṛú yā,
? Ölpalmen?, geradematchen (wie) Stock (der) Raphia, Hund er stirbt,

ma nyōṅ nkā̆ d, a kāb, a nim,
ich nehme Rückenwirbel, wegnehmen, geraderichten,

oś ū̆ nkiẹ́,r wū, nyū adạṅ, nyū a ṛōs.
(ins) Wasser hinunter (lautnachahmend) Haut unübertrefflich, Haut sie leicht.

Durch diesen Gesang, der — wie viele Reinigungsgesänge — offenbar sehr alt ist und schon zum Teil nicht mehr verstanden wird, soll die Krankheit fortgenommen werden. Zur Erklärung des Verses mag bemerkt werden, daß für die Eingeweihten des Bokung- und Elongkultes die Verbote bestehen, mit Weibern zusammen Ziegen oder Schafe zu essen, Schildkröten zu essen oder über sie hinwegzusteigen. Man nimmt an, daß der Kranke vielleicht eins dieser Verbote übertreten habe. Mit dem Geradematchen ist der Kranke gemeint, der so gerade wie ein Raphiastock werden soll, der Hund stellt den Sündenbock dar, den man schlachtet, und dessen Rückenwirbel (im Rückenmark steckt der Krankheitsstoff) man statt desjenigen des Kranken ins Wasser wirft, um anzuzeigen, daß mit dem Sitz auch die Krankheit selbst fortgeschwemmt, weggenommen werden soll. Dann wird dem Kranken leicht werden. Natürlich ist die Anwesenheit von Frauen strengstens verboten.

Von einem Ngikranken sagt man: *ngi a bèlè nie*, d. h. der Ngi hat ihn, hat ihn besessen gemacht. Die Behandlung übernimmt der Ngimann, der mit Gegröhle und Schellengeklingel im Dorf des Kranken erscheint und mit dem Ngiknochen in der Hand bei Trommelmusik umhertanzt. In dem Falle, den ich mit-

machte, wurden nun Rinden verschiedener Pflanzen in Wasser aufgelöst, darunter vor allem **Leea guineensis** Don *(afŏbesŏn)*, **Musanga smithii** R. Br. *(asŏn)*, **Trema guineense** (Schum.) Engl., **Vernonia conferta** Bth., **Costus, Emilia, Uapaca, Antidesma** und **Heckeria.**

Die eigentliche „Kur" ging so vor sich, daß der Ngimann den Kopf des Kranken abwechselnd mit Büscheln der Macaranga und Trema schlug, dann die Schußwunde mit dem Medizinwasser wusch und dem Kranken von demselben Wasser zu trinken eingab. Darauf mischte er Rotholz mit Rindengeschabsel und Hühnerblut, das durch gewaltsames Aufreißen des Schnabels gewonnen war, und zog mit dieser Paste einen Strich rings um die Brust, beschmierte mit ihr den Hals und strich sie auf die Bettpfosten. Am nächsten Tage erschien der Ngivertreter nochmals mit Knochen und heiligen Dornen, führte allerlei Tänze auf, wie ich sie beim Ngikult beschrieben habe, und hielt im Halbgesang eine Art Beschwörungsrede in ähnlicher Weise, wie es der Bokungmann gemacht hatte. Falls eine einmalige Kur nicht hilft, wird sie wiederholt, in einem Dorfe hörte ich den Ngimann Nacht für Nacht gröhlen, um einen Schwerkranken von seinem Leiden zu befreien.

4. Heilkunde.

Alle für den Pangwe nicht erkannten inneren Leiden — namentlich, wie erwähnt, die Malaria, dann Migräne (*erə-nlə̄*, d. h. Ewu im Kopf) und plötzliche, rasch vorübergehende Stiche (*elərma*) — faßt der Pangwe auf als Ewu —, d. h. durch Zauberei verursachte Krankheiten, und er bekämpft sie durch allerhand mystische Mittel, auf die ich des Raummangels wegen hier nicht näher eingehen kann.

Er hat aber auch eine große Reihe von Krankheiten mehr oder weniger richtig erkannt und mit Namen belegt; vor allem natürlich solche mit äußerlich sichtbaren Symptomen. Ihrer Wichtigkeit nach nennt er sie in dieser Reihenfolge:

1. *zə̄m IV* = Aussatz, Lepra,
2. *ojə̄n* = Elefantiasis der Hoden,
3. *tɪ́ɪ IV* [1]) = schwere Form der Ruhr (Dysenterie), die sich durch aufgetriebenen Bauch *(nkŏm I)* auszeichnet,
4. *kə̄ɛ́lə̄ III kə̄də̄ III* = Syphilis, nur in Jaunde [2]),
5. *mabə̄da I* = Framboesie [3]),
6. *bendə̄mejə̄n Pl.* = Elefantiasis der Beine,
7. *fə́, pfə́ I* = fressende Hautgeschwüre,
8. *ekié, ekə́, mvɪ́m IV* = Blutgeschwüre,
9. *nkók I, edɛ́ə́, okŏn manərlük* = Tripper,

---

[1]) Aber *tɪ́ɪ IV* = Fleisch, Tier.

[2]) Zenker konnte 1891 noch keine konstatieren.

[3]) Die Pocken bezeichnet der Pangwe als *mbə̄da-mənie* Pl

10. *nkáśa* = Leistendrüsenschwellung, Bubo,
11. *nlśąń I* = Ekzem, Krokro,
12. *ewónạ* = Krätze,
13. *akộ* = Kopfflechte,
14. *lộn IV* = Hautflechte.

Gegen leichtere innere Krankheiten, so gegen Darmkrankheiten, Magenschmerzen, Zahnschmerzen usw., verhalten sich die Pangwe verhältnismäßig gleichgültig. Obwohl sie erkannt haben, daß manche von ihnen durch unmäßiges Essen, verdorbene Speisen usw. verursacht sind, so lassen sie doch von ihrer Lebensweise nicht ab, sondern suchen sich durch Medizinen zu heilen, anstatt eine vernünftige Diät zu befolgen.

Von inneren Krankheiten bezeichnen die Pangwe folgende: *okụ,bák, apfás, akụ* = Fallsucht, *okón-nkắle* = Rückenschmerzen (nervöser Art), *okón nném* = eigentlich Herzkrankheit, dann Geisteskrankheiten, da man glaubt, die nervösen Leiden gingen vom Herzen aus, *okón nlö* = Kopfschmerzen, *sö* = Lungenkrankheiten (Schwindsucht?), *ekémá, mbömán I* = Erkältung, *okón kłń* = Halsschmerzen, *nsụ,ń I*, meist in der Mehrzahl gebraucht = Magenleiden, Darmleiden (wenn stechende Schmerzen auftreten), *okón masụń, okón anụ* = Zahnschmerzen, *nnạ I* = rheumatische und nervöse Leiden, *nnạ-abụm* = Magenleiden (wenn ziehende Schmerzen auftreten), *nnạ-nkák* = Rumpfschmerzen, *nnạ-uwö* = Armschmerzen, *okón makjr-elań* = Hämorrhoiden, *okón mịs* = Augenkrankheiten, *nnạk I, mrós* = Augenentzündung, *dśột VII* = Gerstenkorn im Auge.

Von Parasiten kommen hauptsächlich *erö* = Augenwürmer, *aśó* = Sandflöhe und *nịn IV* = Läuse in Betracht.

Was die Entstehung dieser Krankheiten betrifft, so führt man die Elefantiasis der Hoden und der Beine auf Zauberei zurück, alle anderen schwereren Krankheiten auf die Kultmächte, die sie als Strafe für begangene Sünden verhängen, allen voran den Aussatz, dessen Name *zá,m* daher vom Stamme *a sám* (vgl. S. 13) = die Hände strafend ausstrecken, strafen herzuleiten ist, dann noch Framboesie und unheilbare fressende Hautgeschwüre. Die Kultmächte tun dies entweder selbständig und aus eigenem Antriebe, oder man bedient sich ihrer, indem man mit Dingen, die mit ihrem Kult zusammenhängen, gewisse symbolische Zeremonien ausführt. Ruft man den Ngi an, so tut man z. B. bei Diebstahl von Essen etwas von dem Rest, wie ausgekauten Zucker, in ein Gewehr und schießt dieses ab, oder man legt den zerkauten Zucker an Stelle des Eisens in die Schmiedegrube und bearbeitet ihn mit dem Blasebalg, oder man legt ihn zusammen mit einem Pfefferzweig neben das Erdloch einer **Lygosoma fernandi** Burt. (der Todeseidechse) und zündet Feuer darunter an. In allen

diesen Fällen erscheint das Feuer als Symbol des Ngi (Feuerkult). Ein anderes Mal wendet man sich an den Sso. Hat jemand z. B. ein Stück Wild aus der Falle gestohlen, so nimmt man die Haare, die noch daran kleben, legt sie in eine durchgeschnittene Negerbanane (die dem Sso geheiligte Pflanze) oder auf ein durchgeschnittenes Stück der **Aneistrophyllum acutiflorum** Becc. *nkane I* (ebenfalls eine Kultpflanze, Bedeutung unbekannt), und der Dieb wird aussätzig werden; auch braucht man nur die Reste des gestohlenen Gutes an den Weg zum Aborte eines Framboesiekranken zu legen, um den Dieb framboesiekrank zu machen. Solche Anwünschung einer Krankheit heißt *a pfũ,rdi* von *a pfũde* = tun, legen, jemandem etwas (an)tun, jemandem etwas auf(er)legen, aufwerfen.

Als dritte Ursache einer Krankheit ist die einfache Übertragung, die Ansteckung (Hauptw.: *nkũ,bán I*, Zeitw.: *a kũ,bán*) bekannt, und die Pangwe wissen ganz genau, daß die Framboesie stärker ansteckend, Lepra dagegen weniger ansteckend ist.

Bei leichteren Krankheiten kommt manchem wohl auch einmal der Gedanke, daß sie von beleidigten oder geschädigten Genossen irgendwie herbeigerufen sein könnten, im allgemeinen macht man sich indessen keine Gedanken über die Entstehungsursachen, die Krankheiten kommen eben einfach von selber.

In Jaunde kennt man das *a pfũ,rdi* nicht, weil die Kulte nicht so ausgebildet sind wie bei den Südpangwe. Dort schiebt man hingegen vielfach die Schuld auf Zauberwesen.

Die Honorarfrage wird verschieden behandelt. Bei der Lepra bekommt der Medizinmann 110 Speer (Mk. 7.—) oder eine kleine Ziege, wenn seine Kunst geholfen hat, sonst nichts. Bei Framboesie und Erkrankungen der Ewu erhält er im voraus ein Huhn, sowie Kopf und Herz der Ziege, die geschlachtet wird, damit der Kranke das Blut trinkt. War die Kur glücklich, so werden ihm 50 Speere gezahlt. Bei leichteren Krankheiten ist eine Vorausbezahlung nicht üblich, der Medizinmann bekommt nur ab und an ein kleines Geschenk, zumal er eine fast unerschöpfliche Menge von Mitteln weiß. Ist jedes Mittel umsonst oder stirbt gar der Kranke, so fordert der Medizinmann schon aus Takt und Mitleid nichts — „damit das Herz der Angehörigen nicht noch mehr betrübt wird"; ist Besserung eingetreten, so erhält er 5 Speere, wenn er in demselben Dorf wohnt, 10 Speere, wenn er von auswärts gerufen wurde.

Über irgendwelche Zeremonien bei der Heilung ist nichts zu berichten.

Aussatz *(zd,m)* (Abb. 63).

Die auf der schwarzen Haut gelblich scheinenden Flecken des Aussatzes werden mit den rauhen Blättern der **Ficus exasperata** Vahl *(ekõkõ F.)* oder den Stengeln von **Manniophyton africanum** Muell. Arg. *(angõs Nt.)* so lange

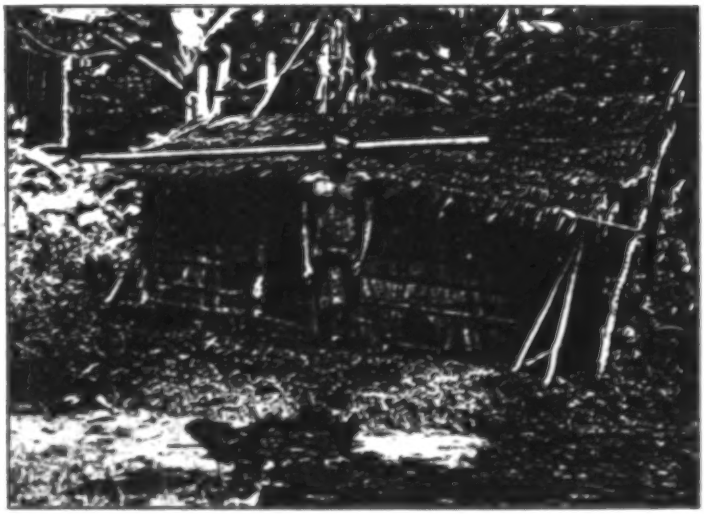


Abb. 63. Ausätziger vor seiner Hütte, Bébai (Fam. Essang), Süd-Kamerun.

gerieben, bis Blut hervorquillt. Dann werden folgende Medizinen getrocknet und zerrieben: **Mieroglossa afzelii** O. Hoffmann *(ojdń e ndźik)*, Plantenschale *(ortna ekõn)*, **Diospyros ampullacea** Gürke *(efifrdi)* (Blätter oder Rinde), und diese mit Harz von **Xylopia aethiopica** A. Rich. *(ojdń)* und Öl der Kerne von **Mimusops djave** *(inbõn adźab)* auf den Körper gerieben. Wenn die Heilung beginnt, wird ein Baumpilz hinzugetan. Eine zweite Medizin ist folgende: Nach gleicher Vorbehandlung wird ein Baumpilz, Rinde von **Pachyelasma tessmannii** Harms *(makõŋ III)* und einer unbestimmbaren Rubiacee *(ogõ)* zusammen zu Asche verbrannt und mit Schibutteröl oder Raphiapalmöl oder Öl der **Carapa procera** D. C. *(eŋgõń)* auf dem Körper zerrieben. Eine dritte Vorschrift empfiehlt, Blätter der **Mieroglossa afzelii** und des **Phaulopsis longifolius** Smis. *(oźałaelõk III)* auf die Leprastellen zu legen. Die Blätter der letzteren Pflanze werden auch als vorbeugendes Mittel, zerrieben und mit einem Ei im Essen (Bündelform) gekocht, eingenommen. In einigen Gegenden brennt man die Stellen mit einem glühenden Eisen aus und tut dann geriebene Blätter der Apocynacee **Psychotria coffeosperma.** K. Sch. *(otźjmałõ,e III)* mit Öl auf die Stellen, oder man wäscht die zerstörten Flecken mit heißem Rindenauszug von **Eurypetalum tessmannii** Harms *(andzitsfń)*, drückt ganze Blätter der Phaulopsis oder zerriebene der Kassave (**Manihot utilissima**) und der **Emilia sagittata** L. *(alõmrá III)* auf die Stellen und streut ein Pulver darauf aus den getrockneten und veraschten Wurzeln und Stämmchen der **Asystasia macrophylla** T. And.

(elibokui). Kurz vor der völligen Abheilung der Stellen drückt man die Früchte von **Solanum aethiopicum** L. var. *(ndzɛ̨i-ŝũm)* darauf, damit sie so schwarz werden wie die Früchte.

Für das spätere Stadium der Krankheit, in dem sich fressende Hautgeschwüre bilden, gilt folgende Vorschrift: Man nimmt **Bidens bipinnatus** L.-*(aniôn)*-Blätter, **Brillantaisia vogeliana** Bth. *(ebugebin)*-Blätter und **Ficus exasperata**-Rindenstücke, kocht sie zusammen in Wasser, gießt dieses in ein Blattgefäß, läßt es bis zur Lauwärme stehen und wäscht dann die Leprastellen damit aus. Danach legt man ganze Blätter der **Fleurya aestuans** (L.) Gandich *(ngukin IV)* als Pflaster darauf. Nach zwei Tagen nimmt man das Blatt ab, wiederholt die Waschung und tut die jungen, noch zusammengefalteten Blätter von der Loganiacee **Mostuea buchholzii** Engl. *(ofamu)* zerrieben auf die Wunden.

Ob diese Medizinen wirklich wirksam sind, werden die Ärzte zu untersuchen haben. Die Pangwe selbst behaupten jedenfalls, die Lepra in ihren Anfängen heilen zu können, und man zeigte mir Fälle mit abgeheilten und als hellere Flecken zurückgebliebenen Stellen, an denen jede Entzündungserscheinung verschwunden war. Eine öftere Wiederholung der Behandlung wird dabei vorausgesetzt. Die Lepra ist eine der schrecklichsten und häufigsten Krankheiten des südlichen Pangwegebietes. Bei einem Ssofest in Akonangi zählte ich beispielsweise 7 Leprakranke unter vielleicht 30 anwesenden Männern. Sie wird bei den primitiven Lebensverhältnissen und der Sorglosigkeit der Neger nur allzuleicht übertragen. Wohl gebraucht man prophylaktische Mittel, ja man sondert sogar die Kranken ab, aber einmal erst in vorgeschrittenen Stadien, und dann sehr unvollkommen, da man ihnen z. B. den Zutritt zu allen Tanzfesten erlaubt; die Frauen suchen sie sich sogar mit Vorliebe für ihren außerehelichen Geschlechtsverkehr aus. Im Norden tritt die Lepra nicht so schlimm auf, nach der Angabe eines Jaunde deshalb, weil man dort sofort nach Auftreten der Krankheit Medizinen anwendet.

Die Erklärung der Medizinwirkung ist da, wo sie überhaupt gegeben wird, stets eine mystische, woraus sich freilich keineswegs ergibt, daß die betreffenden Pflanzen nicht einer wissenschaftlichen Untersuchung wert wären. Bei dem Aussatz erklärt man z. B. meist die schwärzliche Farbe oder die schwärzende Eigenschaft der Pflanzen für das Wirksame, die Haut soll schwarz werden, daher wird auch die Medizin meist nachts gemacht, wo alles schwarz ist, daher die Wahl der *ojân e ndŝik* (**Mieroglossa afzelii**) und des *ojâŋ* (**Xylopia aethiopica**) von *a jâŋ* = rösten, schwärzen, daher *efiŋrdi* **Diospyros**) von *ŋrdi*, die Kohle, weil der Baum **kohlschwarz** ist, daher *orina ekin* (**schwarze Planten**) von *a rin* = **schwarz** werden, daher *ofũlũ elik* (**Phaulopsis**) von *nŝal* = schwarz.

Elefantiasis der Hoden *(ojǘn, mbǎn).*

Die Elefantiasis der Hoden ist bei den Pangwe nicht gerade häufig, sie wird von ihnen wohl nur deshalb so gefürchtet, weil sie in ihren späteren Stadien den Geschlechtsverkehr unmöglich macht. Die riesigen Hodensäcke, welche man z. B. in Nordkamerun findet, sind mir im Pangwegebiete nie vorgekommen. Die Eingeborenen glauben, daß die Krankheit durch Würmer verursacht wird, die für gewöhnlich im Magen leben und die Magenschmerzen hervorrufen. Von hier aus sollen sie in den Hodensack wandern und ihn zum Schwellen bringen. Angeblich nach dem Vorbilde der Weißen (vielleicht von Nkomakak aus?) ist es an einzelnen Stellen aufgekommen, den Hodensack zu öffnen und die Schwellungen herauszuschneiden. Die ursprüngliche und auch heute noch meist übliche Behandlung besteht in Medizinen gegen Magenwürmer. Rezepte für sie sind folgende: 1. *berü̱ᵉ a ndǎik III*, Rinde abgeschabt mit Raphiapalmharz gekocht, das Wasser zum Teil vorsichtig abgegossen, der Rest klystiert. Gleichzeitig Rindenstücke von **Cylicodiscus gabonensis** Harms *(edạm)* und **Alstonia congensis** Engl. *(ekụk)* in ein Blattgefäß mit Wasser gelegt und dann mit einem Rohr hineingeblasen, bis Schaum entsteht. In das Gefäß muß sich der Kranke hineinsetzen. Beide Pflanzen enthalten einen scharfen Saft, der die „Würmer" vertreiben soll; 2. **Illigera pentaphylla** Welw. *(matụ,lụ mesin III)*, Blätter zerrieben mit Pfeffer und Salz gegessen; 3. **Citrus limonum** Risso *(algs)*, „weil bitter und schlecht riechend, wodurch die Würmer vertrieben werden", zusammen mit **Plagiostyles klainei** Pierre *(eśälä̱)* von *a śälän* = sich lösen (von Knoten), „damit die Krankheit sich gleichfalls löst", **Oncinotis tessmannii** Gilg *(njẹm osǒk IV)*, „weil die Würmer die Haare (= das Jucken) fürchten", **Brillantaisia lamium** Bth. *(dǎibe elgk III)*, „weil diese Pflanze bitter ist" und **Stenochlaena guineensis** (Kuhn) Unt. *(nkǎdena̱ III)* zusammen im Topf mit Wasser gekocht und dann klystiert, außerdem Rindenstücke von **Mesocarpidium lepidotum** Engl. et Diels *(amrịm)* ein wenig gekocht und auf den Magen gedrückt; 4. **Dioscorea preussii** Pax *(abǎn)*, **Xylopia zenkeri** Engl. et Diels *(odǎǘẹ)* und ein Kraut *osä,*; Blätter bzw. Rindenstücke zusammen zerrieben, dann ein wenig gekocht und das Wasser klystiert. Bei beginnender Heilung **Maesobotrya** *(mbǎn-ajǎn I)* getrocknet, zerrieben und gegessen.

Außerdem sollen noch die Meliacee **Trichilia prieuriana** Juss *(eyọ)*, die Rubiacee *(ogǎ)*, die Rhamnacee **Maesopsis tessmannii** Engl. *(nkǎngǎ I)* und besonders die Leguminose **Millettia tessmannii** Harms *(nigkemakjr I)* die Krankheit heilen können.

Schwere Form der Ruhr *(lɩ,ʃ).*

Sie ist außer durch die Symptome der gewöhnlichen Ruhr durch einen unförmlich aufgetriebenen Bauch ausgezeichnet und führt vielfach zum Tode.

Als Mittel gegen sie wird **Trichilia prieuriana** Juss *(eyǫ́)* angewandt. Man legt die Rindenstücke in ein Blattgefäß, gießt heißes Wasser darauf und klystiert den Aufguß, auch werden die heißen Rindenstücke auf den Leib gedrückt. Ferner wird die Rinde der Leguminose **Amphimas tessmannii** Harms *(edɛ́ɩ,)* abgeschabt, mit Rotholz vermengt auf einer Topfscherbe über Feuer erhitzt und dann auf den Bauch gedrückt. Auch wird folgendes empfohlen: Rindenstücke der **Leptonychia tessmannii** Engl. Stercubiacee *(akǎk)* gekocht und heiß auf den Bauch gedrückt, dazu Rindenstücke einer **Parkia**-Art *(esɛ̌ɲ)* und zerriebene Blätter von **Cassia occidentalis** L. *(ebɛ̌ʃ-sɩ,)* und von **Solenostemon ocimoides** Sch. et Th. *(aɩd, e sɩ,)* in kaltem Wasser ausgezogen und getrunken, letztere beiden Pflanzen wegen des Geruches. Schließlich werden auch Rindenstücke der **Pseudospondias tessmannii** Engl. *(angǒkǫ̌ɲ)* gekocht und das lauwarme Wasser klystiert, oder kalt hergestellte Extrakte der Rinde von **Anonidium mannii** Oliv. *(ebǫ́m)* oder der Blätter von **Dichapetalum patentihirsutum** Engl. *(eldʼ)* klystiert [1]).

Framboesie *(mabɛ̌da).*

Nächst der Lepra ist die Framboesie die verbreitetste unter den gefährlichen Krankheiten des Pangwegebietes. Wie verschiedene angesteckte Europäer behaupten, ist die Behandlungsweise der Eingeborenen bei ihnen von entschiedenem Erfolg begleitet gewesen.

Die gebräuchlichste Medizin ist folgende: Mit einer Abkochung der Rinde von **Heisteria parvifolia** Smith *(ɛ́ɔ,ebɔ̌ III)* und Blättern von **Claoxylon africanum** Muell. Arg., Euphorbiacee *(beʃǫ́beʃǫ́o III)*, von **Costus littoralis** K. Sch. [2]) *(zɛ̌lɔ̌ndʼ mɩɛ̌m)*, „damit die Krankheit so um einen herumgeht wie die Blätter um die Pflanze", und einer **Aneilema**-Art, „weil die Blätter kalt sind und die Hitze des Schmerzes dämpfen sollen," werden die erkrankten Stellen möglichst heiß ausgewaschen, dann wird das Innere der roten Kardamomfrüchte *(esǖ,n)* auf einer Topfscherbe erhitzt und auf die Stellen gedrückt; quillt Blut hervor, so wird es mit dem heißen Wasser abgewaschen. Dann verascht

---

[1]) Gegen Syphilis wird nur die **Trichilia tessmannii** Harms *(alǫ̌m)* benutzt. Man kocht die Rindenstücke, tut sie mit dem Wasser in ein Blattgefäß und läßt den Kranken lange Zeit darin hocken, oder man streut Asche der Rindenstücke auf den Primäraffekt.

[2]) Brw. **Costus** aff. **ligulatus** Gagnep.

man die getrockneten Wurzeln einer **Dioscorea**-Art (**minutiflora** E n g l. ?) *(awä-nạk)* und bestreut die Stellen mit der Asche. Zuletzt träufelt man die Hauptmedizin, nämlich den Milchsaft der *nyä̱mä ndźik*, zweier Apocynaceen der **Olafia multiflora** S t p f. und der **Oncinotis glandulosa** S t p f. auf die Asche. Statt der Dioscoreaasche kann auch fein abgeschabte Rinde der genannten Apocynaceen verwendet werden. Dem Milchsaft werden oft Blätter der Ochnacee **Ouratea nigro-violacea** G i l g *(okạm-ajä̱n)* zerrieben beigemischt, dem Wasser Rinde der **Ouratea spinuloso-serrata** G i l g *(abọ̄neźọ̄k Nt.)*.

Elefantiasis der Beine *(bendạmejäñ)*.

Diese Krankheit ist im Pangwegebiete recht häufig und soll in der Hauptsache bei Weibern verbreitet sein; sie ist nur in den Anfangsstadien, solange bloß der Fuß geschwollen ist, heilbar. Hat sich die Schwellung auf die Unterschenkel ausgedehnt, so ist jede Mühe vergeblich. Die Behandlung, der sich der Kranke zu unterziehen hat, muß eine rechte Pferdekur genannt werden. Zuerst werden die Füße mit dem stacheligen **Acanthus montanus** T. A n d l. *(ndũ̄ị IV)* so lange geschlagen, bis Blut herausfließt, besser noch wird die Oberseite des Fußes mit dem Messer skarifiziert. Dann werden beide Füße mit Sand umhüllt, der durch mehrere Feuer erhitzt wird. Werden die Schmerzen unerträglich, so darf man die Füße in kaltem Wasser, dem Blätter der **Alchornea cordifolia** M u e l l. A r g. *(abäī Nt.)* und Rinde der **Macaranga heudelotii** B a i l l. *(asạs)* zugesetzt sind, kühlen. Die Alchornea soll „kalt" sein und kühlen, die Macaranga die Krankheit beheben *(a sä̱[s] okọ̄n* = eine Krankheit abschütteln). Dann kommen die Füße wieder in das heiße Sandbad und so dreimal hintereinander. Die Behandlung wird jeden zweiten Tag bis zur Heilung wiederholt.

Fressende Hautgeschwüre *(ſó, pſó)*.

Die Behandlung ähnelt derjenigen der Framboesie. Vielfach werden die Stellen mit heißem oder wenigstens warmem Wasser und nachher mit der Milch der Apocynaceen **Olafia** und **Oncinotis** ausgewaschen. Einige andere Medizinen mögen hier angeführt werden:

1. **Cissus smithiana** (B a k.) P l. *(njä̱mändạmänä III)*, Rinde dicht über der Erde abgeschabt, in Wasser getan und dann auf die Wunde gebracht;
2. **Costus** *(mịẹn IV)*, Stiel nach Entfernung der Rinde zerrieben, dann gekocht und heiß auf die Wunde gedrückt, darauf Blätter der **Alchornea cordifolia** M u e l l. A r g. zerrieben auf die Wunde gelegt;
3. nach gleicher Vorbehandlung mit Costus Blätter der Asclepiadacee **Periploca nigrescens** A f z. *(abạñ e ndźik)* auf die Wunde gelegt;

4. Rindenstücke von **Erythrophleum guineense** *(elŋ̄n)* und **Eurypetalum tessmannii** Harms *(andzɩtsíń)* gekocht und das Wasser auf die Stellen gedrückt, dann die Blätter der **Ampelocissus cinnamochros** Pl. *(nsɩ'sá III)* zerrieben auf die Wunden gelegt;
5. **Trichoscypha** *(eŋgǫ́ń)*. Einige Rindenstücke gekocht und mit dem heißen Wasser die Wunden ausgewaschen. Dann Rindenstücke verascht und auf die Stellen gestreut;
6. **Trichoscypha** *(amɩ'ùt)*, ebenso wie 5; im Anfang nach der Waschung Rinde von **Conopharyngia brachyantha** Stapf, Apocynacee *(etǔ̄ɩ̄)*, abgeschabt und auf die Stellen gestreut;
7. **Dissotis decumbens** (P. B.) Tr. *(mabǫmogbwǫ III)*, Blätter zerrieben, dann gekocht und mit dem heißen Wasser die Wunden gewaschen, dann Blätter von **Solenostemon ocimoides** Sch. et Th. *(aɩ'ā, e sɩ,)* auf die Wunde gelegt;
8. **Solenostemon**-Blatt zerrieben zusammen mit dem Saft aus der Knolle des Aframomum über der Wunde ausgedrückt.

Blutgeschwüre *(ekié, ekǒ, mɩ'ɩ'm IV)*.

Einige Medizinen seien hier erwähnt:

1. Commelinacee **Palisota preussiana** K. Sch. *(epfúpfǔ̄ɩ)*, Stengel nach Entfernung der Außenschicht abgeschabt, und das Geschabsel auf die Geschwüre gebunden;
2. **Colocasia antiquorum** *(atú)*, Knolle durch Quirlen mit dem Messer ausgehöhlt, der Inhalt mit dem Harz von **Pachylobus fraxinifolius** Engl. *(aśeɩ́)* auf die Stellen gelegt;
3. ganzes Blatt der Euphorbiaceen **Maesobotrya** *(mbā'ń-afā'n I)* mit Harz von **Pachylobus** auf die Stelle gelegt, „damit sie klein werde", denn die genannten Euphorbiaceen haben kleine Blätter im Vergleich zu der **Tricalysia macrophylla** K. Sch. *(mbā'ń)*;
4. ganzes Blatt von **Solenostemon ocimoides** Sch. et Th. *(aɩ'ā, e sɩ, edódóelǒ)* mit Harz auf die Stelle gelegt, „wegen des Geruches";
5. **Ancistrocarpus densispinosus** Oliv. *(akā́[k] a ndɛ́ɩk)*, Rinde abgeschabt mit Rotholz auf die Stellen gelegt, „*akā́[k] a ndɛ́ɩk* ist ruhig (vgl. *akā́k* = Friedenslinde) und hat Geruch (?)";
6. Gallen (Pl.: *bebǫma* = Früchte) der **Microglossa volubilis** D. C. *(mɩ'ɩ̄ɩ'ā I)* verascht und mit Öl auf die Wunden geschmiert;
7. Kassavewurzeln abgeschabt und auf der Stelle festgebunden;
8. Cucurbitacee **Lepistemon owariensis** (Spreng.) Hallierf. *(nkǭmbwǒ,le III)*, Blätter mit Rotholz und etwas Wasser zerrieben auf die Stellen ge-

schmiert, „*a bwō,le (buē,le)*, aufbrechen, die Früchte brechen von selbst auf, ebenso soll das Geschwür aufbrechen";

9. **Ophiocaulon gracile** Harms, Passifloracee *(ejǫk)*, Blätter auf Feuer erhitzt und dann auf die Stellen gedrückt. Die Früchte von Ophiocaulon sind hohl und platzen leicht unter schwachem Geräusch. „Ebenso sollen die Geschwüre aufplatzen";

10. **Conopharyngia brachyantha** Stpf. *(etū,ē)*, Saft der Pflanze auf die Geschwüre geträufelt, „damit sie so ausfließen, wie der Milchsaft aus der Conopharyngia";

11. **Desplatsia subericarpa** Bocq. *(ukū'kul a mfǒnǒk III)*, Inhalt der Frucht mit Rotholz aufgeschmiert, damit die Schwellung so klein wird, wie die Früchte der **D. subericarpa** klein sind im Vergleich zu **D. dewevrei** *(mfǒnǒk I)*;

12. Euphorbiacee **Tragia cordifolia** Benth *(otū,m)*, Blätter mit Harz aufgedrückt. Die Blätter brennen, und man hofft, die Schwellung dadurch zu vertreiben.

Schließlich sucht man die Schwellungen auch durch äußerliche Eingriffe zu beseitigen. So schlägt man sie z. B. mit dem scharfstacheligen **Acanthus montanus** so lange, bis Blut herausfließt und bedeckt die Wunde dann mit Blättern der **Dioscorea dumetorum** (Kunth) Pax *(andéā)*, oder man schneidet sie mit einem Messer auf.

Tripper *(nkók I)*.

Der Tripper soll im Pangwegebiete einheimisch sein, ist jedenfalls aber im unberührten Innern wenig häufig, in Jaunde dagegen und in der Nähe der Küste durch den Einfluß der „Kultur" stark verbreitet. Die Heilung des Trippers wird meist durch innerliche Medizinen versucht. So wird eine wässerige Lösung der **Conopharyngia** *(etū,ē)* getrunken, damit der Tripper „ausfließt", oder ein Rindenauszug von **Heisteria parvifolia** Sm., Flacourtiacee, *(ṛiǒs IV)* oder von **Rinorea dentata** (P. Beauv.) O. Ktze., Violacee *(olūṅ)* oder von **Mesocarpidium lepidotum** Engl. et Diels, Anonacee, *(amṛim)* oder von **Berlinia acuminata** Sol., Leguminose, *(epfǒbá)*. Statt reinen Wassers nimmt man vielfach Zuckerwasser, das zuvor an die Sonne gestellt wird, so z. B. bei **Triumfettia cordifolia** Guillet, Sterculiacee, *(okṇṅ)* (Wurzelauszug) oder bei der Araliacee **Schefflera tessmannii** Harms *(abṭokū̃ṛi)* oder bei **Garcinia purulata** Oliv. *(mekā eli)* oder bei **Canarium schweinfurthii** Engl. *(abê Nt.)*, oder es werden Blätter z. B. der **Polycephalium poggei** Engl. *(okǒngās)* zerschnitten mit Gewürzen (Salz, Pfeffer, Melegueta) [1]) im Ngonbündel gegessen, oft zusammen mit dem Fleisch des Stachelwelses. Die scharfen bzw. stechenden Sachen sollen die Krankheit austreiben, daher *okòngās* von *okǒṅ* = Messer. Seltener braucht

[1]) Unter Melequetapfeffer ist stets **Aframomum melegueta** K. Sch. *(andṅ̄ṅ)* zu verstehen.

man Klystiere, so einen Auszug aus dem Blütenkopf des **Costus.** Erklärung: „Damit sich der ‚Körpersaft' — als solchen stellt man sich den Ausfluß in diesem Falle vor — so im Körper zusammen ballt, wie die Blüten des Costus"), aus **Rinorea** oder **Maesopsis tessmannii** Engl. *(nkáŋgə̈ I).* Ferner wird die Haut über dem Schamberg, wo nach Pangwemeinung der Samen entsteht, skarifiziert und Asche von **Cnestis ferruginea** D. C., Connaracee *(ntébe sɪ I)* in die Wunden gerieben, damit der Ausfluß „niedersitzt" wie das Kraut *(a tébé o sɪ,* = niedersitzen).

Leistendrüsenschwellung *(nkáśá).*

Ein ableitendes Verfahren empfiehlt einen Einschnitt in eine Zehe der betreffenden Seite und Einreiben von Pfeffer und Salz in die Wunde. Eine andere Vorschrift lautet: Blätter von **Tricalysia macrophylla** K. Sch., Rubiacee *(mbə̈ń I)* und **Selaginella scandens** (B. B.) Sprg. *(zélánə̈)* veraschen und dann mit Öl auf die Stellen legen; die Krankheit soll den Menschen verfehlen *(a sélán)* wie die Blätter der Selaginella ihr Gegenüber „verfehlen" (die Blätter sind mit anderen Worten wechselständig), *mbə̈ń* von *a bə́ń* = ausweichen, die Krankheit soll so dem Menschen ausweichen, wie der Baum eine ausweichende Eigenschaft hat. (Bedeutung unklar.) Weiter wird die Krankheit durch Schlagen mit den brennesselartigen Blütenständen der Urticaceen **Boehmeria platyphylla** D. Don *(sə̈[s]-dźám IV)* oder **Fleurya podocarpa** Wedd *(sə́s IV)* ausgetrieben. Schließlich zerreibt man auch Blüten von **Hippocratea myriantha** Oliv. *(mesɪ, ndźɪk I)* und trägt sie mit Öl auf die Schwellung auf.

Ekzem, Krokro *(ntśə́ń I).*

Rezepte: 1. **Hosluntia verticillata** Vahl *(osaavə̈, asə̌benkúm),* Triebe in heißes Wasser tauchen und auf den Stellen verreiben, dann zerriebene Blätter der **Cyathula achyrantholdes** (Kth.) Mog. *(num e kə̌lə̈ɪ III)* mit Öl auflegen. 2. **Solenostemon ocimoides** Sch. et Th. *(avə́, e sɪ,),* mit einer Abkochung die Stellen waschen, dann Blätter der Apocynaceen **Dosecanga** oder **Rauwolfia** zerreiben und mit Öl auftragen.

Außerdem werden Teile folgender Pflanzen mit Öl auf die Stellen gerieben: **Phyllanthus cappillaris** Schum. et Thom *(elə̌ametśə́ń IV)* (zerriebene Blätter), **Rumex abessinicus** Jacq *(esə́ń)* (erhitzte Blätter), **Fleurya aestuans** *(ngúkə̈n IV)* (erhitzte Blätter), **Palisota thyrsiflora** Bth., Commelinacee, *(ekə̌kə́delə́ń)* (verkohlte Blätter), **Millettia drastica** Welw. *(onámeźə̌k)* (abgeschabte Rinde), **Gouania longipetala** Hemsley, Rhamnacee *(ngə̌ńə̈ a ndźɪk III)* (abgeschabte Rinde).

Gegen Krätze verwendet man vielfach Raphiapalmöl allein oder unter Zusatz von Blättern der **Hosluntia** oder der Vitacee **Ampelocissus caviceaulis**

(B a k.) P l. *(pfáǝ̄k IV)* oder **Aerua lanata** (L.) J u s s., Amarantacee *(angǝngǝnö III)*. Auch Reifen von Cissus oder Lepistemonstengeln werden um den Fuß geschlungen.

Gegen Kopfflechte *(akǝ̄)*, die meist freilich nicht beachtet wird und besonders häufig bei Kindern auftritt, werden Tabaksblätter auf dem rasierten Kopf verrieben, oder man pulvert ihn ein, indem man seine Fußsohle recht staubig macht und dann auf den Kopf des Kranken drückt.

Verbreiteter ist eine Hautflechte *(tǝn, matǝn)* mit hellen Flecken, die nicht mit Lepra verwechselt werden dürfen. Als Gegenmittel sind mir folgende Pflanzen bekannt geworden: **Capsicum**-Blätter zerrieben auf die Stellen gelegt; **Brillantaisia lamium** B t h. *(dźibě elǝk III)*; erhitzte Blätter auf die Stellen und Blätterauszug klystiert, die Pflanze ist dunkel, ebenso soll die Haut wieder werden; Asclepiadacee **Marsdenia ladifolia** (B t h.) S c h l t r. *(abǝdeambě III)*, Blätter zerrieben mit Öl auf die Stellen, die Pflanzen „schwärzen"; **Clerodendron buettneri** G ü r k e *(mavala elǝk III)*, wegen seiner Haare.

Eine unwichtigere Hautkrankheit, eine Art Krokro, die besonders die Füße befällt und *aśǝ,lák* heißt, tritt hauptsächlich in der Regenzeit auf. Man verwendet dagegen erhitzte Triebe von **Hibiscus sabdariffa** L. *(esáṅ)* und **Rumex abessynicus** J a c q. *(ebárdo esáṅ)*, die auf die kranken Stellen gedrückt werden, oder Blätter von **Aneilema aequinoctiale** K t h. *(nnál I)*, die einem Wasserfußbad zugesetzt werden.

Fallsucht *(okǝ,bák)*.

Sie entsteht nach einer Anschauung dadurch, daß man zufällig eine Zikade *(ngǝmlětěa IV)* mit dem Essen in den Magen bekommen, nach der herrschenden Meinung indes dadurch, daß man zu lange in die Sonne gesehen hat. Medizinen dagegen sind die Apocynaceen **Rauwolfia** und **Dogcanga**, deren Blätter zerrieben, gekocht und, wenn erkaltet, klystiert werden, ferner **Cola ricinifolia** E n g l. e t K r a u s e *(alǝ̄n)*, deren eine Wurzel in die Haare gesteckt wird, während man eine andere abschabt, in Wasser auslaugt und dieses dann trinkt; den Rest der Wurzeln steckt man unter das Bett. Angeblich ist die Cola „kalt". Im Anfall tut man zerriebene Blätter von **Cissus aralioides** (W e l w.) P l. *(aṅgönengí)* in Wasser und gießt dieses über den Kranken. Der Cissus verursacht Jucken und läßt ihn wieder zu sich kommen.

Gegen Rückenschmerzen werden **Erythrophloeum guineense** *(elǝ̄n)* und die Rubiacee **Gaertnera paniculata** *(esǝmǝ̄ F.)* verwandt. Vom Erythrophloeum wird die Rinde erhitzt auf ein Bett gelegt, und der Kranke legt sich darauf, von der Gaertnera wird die Rinde zerkleinert, in ein größeres Rindenstück derselben Pflanze getan, und der Kranke muß sich mit dem Rücken darauf legen. Gegen organische

Herzkrankheit *(nnạ nnêm* = Reißen im Herz) wird der Auszug der Rinde von **Sterculia tragacantha** Lindl. *(edźÿle)* getrunken, gegen Geisteskrankheiten, die auch vom Herzen kommen sollen *(okŏn nnêm)*, sind mir zehn verschiedene Medizinen genannt worden. Durch Erwerbung der betreffenden Eigenschaft der Pflanze soll das Herz eingeschläfert, dunkel und klein gemacht werden. Ich habe weiter gesammelt: 21 Medizinen gegen Kopfweh, 4 gegen Lungenkrankheit *(sŏ)*, 9 gegen Erkältung, 56 gegen Magen- und Darmerkrankung, 54 gegen Zahnschmerzen, 47 gegen rheumatische Leiden *(nnạ* und *nnạ-nkŭk)*, 23 gegen Magenleiden, wenn ziehende Schmerzen auftreten *(nnạ-abÿm)*, 5 gegen Hämorrhoiden, darunter vor allem die Cucurbitacee **Cephalonema polyandrum** K. Sch. *(ejaźÿm)*.

Gegen Augenentzündungen werden die zerriebenen Blätter der Rubiacee **Chasalia macrodiscus** K. Sch. *(dźr a ndźik III)* oder die abgeschabte Rinde der Euphorbiacee **Hasskarlia didymostemon** Baill. *(efüŏle, dźi, III)*, gegen Gerstenkörner die zerriebenen Blätter der **Ampelocissus cinnamochroa** *(nsi̱'s à III)* in eine Blattüte gefüllt, mit etwas Wasser versetzt und der unten abfließende Auszug ins Auge geträufelt.

Um Augenwürmer *(eyä)* zu vertreiben, bedient man sich des Saftes folgender Pflanzen: **Dipteropeltis poranoides** Hallier f., Convolvulacee *(atä[k] e ndźik)*, **Diodia brevisota** Benth, Rubiacee *(dèmezŏ III)*, **Gabunia brachypoda** Stpf., Apocynacee *(etŭ,ę ndźik)*, **Phaseolus lunatus** L. *(okŏkánŏ III)*.

Die Gleichgültigkeit der Neger gegen die Sandflöhe, **Sarcopsylla penetrans** *(aśŏ)*, ist bekannt, auch die Pangwe vernachlässigen die Sandflohwunden und machen sich erst eine Medizin, wenn der halbe Zeh in Eiterung übergegangen ist. Dann werden zerriebene Blätter von **Phytolacca abyssinica** Hoffmann *(atŏt e nkạ)* oder mit Öl vermischte zerriebene Blätter von **Ocimum gratissimum** L. *aasŏb)* oder mit Öl vermischtes Rindengeschabsel der Euphorbiacee **Neobontonia** *(frieana* Muell. Arg. *(okŏjŏm)* auf die Wunden gelegt, und nach einigen Tagen Harz von **Pachylobus fraxinifolius** Engl. *(aśeạ)*, das die etwa noch im Fleisch zurückgebliebenen Schmarotzer tötet, darauf verschmiert.

Die Medizinen gegen Läuse *(ṣ̩n)* wurden Bd. I. S. 187 angeführt.

Ein gut wirkendes Brechmittel, das freilich selten angewandt wird, liefert die **Microglossa volubilis** D. C. *(mvarä I)*. Die Blätter werden zerrieben, in Wasser ausgezogen und das Wasser dann getrunken.

Eine stopfende Wirkung soll ein Aufguß der Rinde der Olacacee **Strombosiopsis congolensis** de Wildem. *(edźib* von *dźib* = schließen*)* haben, der erkaltet klystiert wird, ebenso solcher von *avŏm*.

Als Abführmittel wird benutzt: **Cassia occidentalis** L. *(ebę̄ṭ sı,)*, die Blätter zerrieben in kaltes Wasser getan und dies getrunken, ferner die Rubiacee Uro-

phyllum callicarpoides H. *(mbǒśö̆ III)*, die jungen Triebe in Wasser zerrieben und dieses klystiert, schließlich **Physedra longipes** Hook f. *(ebö̆ri)*, die Wurzel in kaltem Wasser ausgezogen und dieses klystiert.

Von Schlangenbissen hört man im Pangwegebiet selten, trotz der ziemlich großen Artenzahl dieser Reptilien gibt es nur wenige, deren Biß fast immer tödlich wirkt — nämlich **Bitis nasicornis** Shaw *(ʃę,ṽ IV Nt.)* und **Naja melanoleuca** Hall, *(eṛindi nyö̆* = schwarze Schlange) — oder häufig zum Tode führt — **Naja guentheri** Blgr. *(okṹm)*, **Atheris squamiger** Hall. *(ṛiǫ̆t IV)* und die beiden **Thrasops**-Arten: **Thr. flavigularis** Hall. *(nkö̆dö-nśṅ,t III)* und **Thr. aethiops** Günth. *(nkö̆dö-ʃám III)*. Alle anderen sind, wenn auch z. T. giftig, so doch wenig oder gar nicht gefürchtet, da ihr Gift nicht lebensgefährlich ist und durch Medizinen unwirksam gemacht werden kann. Die verschiedene Wirkung des Schlangenbisses hat den Glauben veranlaßt, daß diejenigen, welche an ihm sterben, in der Nacht vorher auf Zauberei ausgegangen waren *(nwṅ,án I*, d. h. einer, der sterben soll), die übrigen nicht *(nniàn I*, d. h. einer, der leben soll).

Die Hauptrolle bei der Behandlung des Schlangenbisses spielt ein Stein, über den ich indes Genaueres nicht in Erfahrung gebracht habe. Außerdem zerreibt man Blätter der Urticacee **Pouzolzia guineensis** Benth *(mbǫ̆anö̆ III)* oder der **Solenostemon ocimoides** Sch. et Th. *(aṛá, e sı,)* in Wasser und wäscht damit die Wunden oder träufelt den Saft der auch bei der Kastration der Ziegen gebrauchten Guttifere **Haronga paniculata** (Pers.) Lodd. *(alṹ,ṽ)* hinein.

Ein vorbeugendes Mittel besteht vor allem in einem Messingring, den man am linken Daumen trägt, und den der Medizinmann vorher unter bestimmten Zeremonien, z. B. Kochen in Medizinen, heilkräftig gemacht hat.

Wird jemand von einem Skorpion gestochen, so pflegt man seinen Urin auf die Bißstelle zu lassen, was die Pangwe sonst bei Wunden nicht tun. Später sucht man den Krankheitsstoff durch schlechte Gerüche zu vertreiben, z. B. wird ein Blatt mit Vaginalschleim auf die Wunde gelegt. Die Erklärung des Berichterstatters lautete in bestem Küstenenglisch [1]):

Bumbo be bad ting, dem smell, he come de!
Scheide sein schlechte Sache, (nämlich:) der Geruch, er kommt daraus.

Auch stellt man den verwundeten Fuß in Wasser, in welchem Stengel von **Palisota preussiana** *(epʃö̆pfö̆ṛı)* zerstampft sind, oder erhitzte Blätter des Kalebassenkürbis *(ndǫ̆k IV)* werden zusammen mit Öl auf die Stelle gerieben, „denn der Kalebassenkürbis hat einen schlechten Geruch."

Der recht schmerzhafte Stich der Stachelwelse *(kö̆meśö̆m IV)*, z. B. des Bd. I Taf. IX abgebildeten **Auchenoglanis balayi** (Sauv.) *(nsḭṅ I)*, vor dessen Rücken-

[1]) Um Mißverständnisse zu vermeiden, sei betont, daß meine Pangweleute ihre Berichte in ihrer Sprache vortrugen, daß aber ihre Angaben mit Hilfe eines englischsprechenden Dolmetschers nachgeprüft wurden.

stacheln der Fischer einen heilsamen Respekt hat, wird unwirksam gemacht, indem man den Arm mit einem Tau fest umschnürt und dann die Stelle über Feuer hält.

Wespen- und Bienenstiche bekämpfen die Pangwe mit der **Heckeria subpeltata** (Wild) Kunth *(abömedzäṅ)*.

Kugeln, d. h. die ins Gewehr geladenen Eisenstücke, die sich bei den vielen Schießereien der Fang recht oft in die Körper der Kampfgenossen verirren, werden durch Schnitt entfernt. Auf die Wunden träufelt man dann den Saft der **Landolphia ochracea** K. Sch. *(arŭm)*, man salbt sie mit Öl, worin Blätter von **Chasalia afzelii** (Hi.) K. Sch., Rubiaceae, *(dźî a ndźik III)*, oder man wäscht sie mit Wasser aus, worin Blätter des **Sarcocephalus sambucinus** (K. Sch.) C. W. *(alämä)* zerrieben sind.

Bei Hiebverletzungen, die bei den häufigen Schlägereien mit Buschmessern nicht selten sind, aber auch vielfach aus Unvorsichtigkeit beim Roden entstehen, legt man die Blätter von **Cissus vogelii** Hook f. *(mbömönezäm I)* mit Schneckenwasser vermischt auf die Wunde, oder man träufelt den Saft aus den Zweigen des **Pterocarpus soyauxii** Taub *(mrö' IV F.)* darauf oder legt abgeschabte Rinde von **Amphimas tessmannii** Harms *(edźi,)* bzw. Wurzelrinde der Menispermacee **Jatrorrhiza strigosa** Miers *(ndźrkengú,i I, IV)* darüber. Ferner spielt in der Wundbehandlung eine Rolle eine **Sterculiacee** *(okuṅ e śö,k)* (Blätter, in Wasser zerrieben), **Combretum mucronatum** Thom. et Schum. *(otägelé III)*, Blätter ebenso zerrieben, **Coinochlamys schweinfurthii** Gilg., Loganiacee, *(otägelé-elö,k)*, und **Adenia staudtii** Harms *(edódo ndźik III)*, weiter **Phaseolus lunatus** L. *(okökúno III)*, Blätter zerrieben in eine Blattüte getan und diese über der Wunde ausgedrückt, schließlich **Trichoscypha** *(olene amvál)*, Rindenstücke gekocht, lauwarmer Abguß auf die Wunde, ebenso **Eurypetalum tessmannii** Harms *(andzitsiṅ)*.

Bei Brandwunden werden zerriebene Blätter von **Combretum lawsonianum** Engl. et D. *(tönlönebö III)* und **C. latialatum** Engl. *(nsösök I)* mit etwas Wasser aufgelegt.

Etwa ein Dutzend Medizinen kennt man für Verstauchungen *(mbäge)* und Brüche. Die Behandlung besteht bei jenen meist darin, daß man einen Büschel der heilkräftigen Pflanze über Feuer erhitzt und an die schmerzenden Stellen drückt. Brüche werden mit festangebundenen Raphiablattstielstreifen geschient.

Gegen Geschwülste *(etát)* gebraucht man die Rinde der Euphorbiacee **Cyclostemon tessmannianus** Pax *(betáte elv III)*. Der Baum trägt selbst an der Rinde Auswüchse, man nimmt die Rinde, trocknet und verascht sie, dann macht man Einschnitte in die Geschwulst und reibt die Asche hinein. Hier wird deutlich, daß die Anschauung der Eingeborenen über die Kräfte von widerspruchsvollen Verwechselungen nicht frei ist. Der Auswuchs am Baum ist etwas

Natürliches, der am Menschen unnatürlich. Durch Einverleibung des natürlichen Auswuchses des Baumes in Gestalt der Asche hofft man den menschlichen Auswuchs zu bewegen, zur Natur zurückzukehren, d. h. glatt zu werden, während man nun eigentlich erwarten sollte, daß der Mensch eine Geschwulst bekäme.

Als Verbandsstoff nehmen die Pangwe meist Binden aus trockenen Bananenblattscheiden. Bei Verwundungen an Fingern und Zehen stülpt man einen kleinen halben Kalabassenkürbis, der mit einem Bindfaden um das Gelenk befestigt wird, als Däumling über (Tafel XXV).

Medizinen gegen Impotenz, sexuelle Reizmittel, Mittel, die das weibliche Geschlechtsleben beeinflussen (Menstruation, Schwangerschaft, Geburt) werden später (Abschnitt XVIII) behandelt.

5. Speiseverbote.

Das Leben der Pangwe wird von einer Reihe von Vorschriften beherrscht, die sie *bekī,* (von *ekī,*) nennen, und die meist darin bestehen, bestimmte Handlungen in bestimmten Zeiten zu unterlassen oder gewisse Nahrungsstoffe entweder immer oder zu gewissen Zeiten zu meiden. Die wichtigsten sind die letzteren, die Speiseverbote. Man unterscheidet: 1. *ekī, bebin* = Verbot für die Uneingeweihten der Kulte oder *ekī, bonenga* = Verbot für Frauen, die für die Männerkulte Uneingeweihte sind; 2. *ekī, bongus* = Verbot für die Eingeweihten der Kulte, in praxi meist der Frauenkulte; 3. *ekī,-bondǔ'mán* = Verbot für junge lebenskräftige Leute, die verbotenen Tiere nennt man *dǔm*; 4. *ekī, abǔm* = Verbot für den Bauch, d. h. das Verbot gewisser Tiere zur Zeit der Schwangerschaft oder *ekī, mǒn* = Verbot wegen des Kindes, d. h. Verbot von Speisen für die Dauer der Schwangerschaft und für die Dauer des Stillens. Es gilt sowohl für die Mutter wie für den Erzeuger des Kindes während derselben Zeit. Diese Vorschrift folgt aus der Ansicht der Pangwe, daß die Frau — wie es immer heißt — den Liebhaber oder Mann „im Bauch hat", d. h. daß die entstehende Frucht eigentlich nichts weiter ist als der Mann, der mit Hilfe des weiblichen Körpers neu gebildet, ernährt und dann geboren wird; 5. *ekī, bongǔn* = Verbot für junge Mädchen.

Aus folgender Liste geht hervor, welche Tiere niemals gegessen werden, welche einem *ekī,* unterliegen, und welche nicht verboten sind.

A. Säugetiere.

1. Niemals gegessen:

Crocidura-Arten *(mbǫ́śǫ,m I)*; **Mus rattus** L. *(tǫ́lǫ́ III)*; **Sciurus pumilio** Leconte *(mɩ̌ǔk esǫ̌n)*; Inhalt der Stoßzähne des Elefanten *(ngǫ̌ e zǫ́k I)*, ebenso verboten, darüber hinwegzusteigen, „weil schlapp und bitter".

Tafel XXV.

Abb. 248. FANG MIT EINEM „DÄUMLING" AN DER ZEHE.

[facing p. 184]

2. *ekɪ, bebin* oder *ekɪ, bonenga*:

Schaf und Ziege *(kạbäd IV)* bei den Fang; **Simia satyrus** L. *(wọä III)* bei den Fang; **Gorilla gorilla** L. *(ngɩ IV)*; **Potamochoerus albifrons** Du Chaillu *(ngäɪ, F.)* bei den Fang; **Cephalophus dorsalis** Gray *(sö IV)*; **Neotrogus batesi** Winton *(odźü,ḡ)* bei den Fang, die letzten beiden auch verboten für die Uneingeweihten des Ssokultes.

3. *ekɪ, bandúman*:

Fledermäuse *(otä,n)*, für Erwachsene auch verboten anzufassen *(ekɪ, a bi,)*; Fliegende Hunde *(indḡm)* und **Scotonycterus zenkeri** Matschie *(ngǒm I)*; **Dendrohyerax tessmannii** A. Br. *(nɪ,ü̈k IV)*; **Perodicticus batesi** Winton *(awä̈n)*; **Arctocebus aureus** Winton *(mäsätśrdi I u. III)*; **Sciurucheirus gabonensis** Gray *(emám IV)*, auch verboten anzufassen; **Potamogale velox** Du Chaillu *(zê IV)*; **Anomalurus**-Arten *(ngui IV)*; **Mus** spec. *(edü,)*; **Viverra civetta poortmannii** Pucher. *(zö,ḡ IV)*; **Bdeogale** und **Herpestes**-Arten *(mɩ̣ạk)*; Rüssel vom Elefanten, „weil das Glied schwach wird"; Glied des Elefanten; **Phatages giganteus** Illiger *(pfɩ̈ma IV)* und **Manis**-Arten *(kä̈ IV)*; **Sciurus wilsoni** *(käḡ III)*.

4. *eki-abum* oder *eki-mǭn*.

Schaf und Ziege *(kạbäd IV)*, die männlichen großen Stücke wegen des schweren Atmens; das Kind würde denselben schweren Atem bekommen; **Cercopithecus brazziformis** Pocock *(fü,ṅ IV)* und **Miopithecus talapoin** Erxl. *(ozǒm)*, von gebärfähigen Frauen meistens überhaupt nicht gegessen; **Cercopithecus buccalis** Leconte *(ośǒk)*; **C. laglaizei** Pocock *(avǒm)* und **Colobus anthracinus** Leconte *(mvǭn IV)*, von manchen gegessen, wenn das Kind geboren ist, von anderen schon während der Schwangerschaft, allerdings machen sie dann eine Medizin, die die schlechte Wirkung aufhebt; **Thryonomys swinderenianus** Temm. *(mɩ̣ɩ̈b IV)* bis zur Geburt; wenn während der Schwangerschaft gegessen, ist Gegenmedizin nötig, da sonst das Kind fressende Hautgeschwüre *(pfó IV)* am Bein bekommen würde; **Sciurus rufobrachiatus aubryi** A. M. E. *(oɩ̣ḡi)* und **Sc. eborivorus** Du Chaillu, eierfressende Weibchen *(nsǒm I)*; **Sc. rubripes** Du Chaillu *(edụ̄n)* bis zur Geburt; **Sc. eborivorus** Du Chaillu *(mvok)* bis zur Geburt, wenn das Tier in einer Baumhöhle gefangen wurde. (Baumhöhle = weiblicher Geschlechtsteil; das Kind würde ebenso in dem „Bauche" der Mutter stecken bleiben, wie das Eichhörnchen in der Höhle) [1]); **Cricetomys dissimilis** Rochebrune *(káɪ IV)* bis zur Geburt, wenn das Tier bei seiner Höhle gesehen und auf der Flucht erlegt wird; **Atherura africana** Gray *(ngụ̄m IV)*, wenn es durch Körbe an der Höhle getötet

[1]) Es ist in folgendem als selbstverständlich fortgelassen, daß die Pangwe befürchten, das Kind möge dieselben Merkmale bzw. Eigenschaften des Tieres annehmen.

wird, nur die Haut, wenn das Tier auf der Flucht erlegt wird; **Mus hypoxanthus** Pucheran *(abǫ̀k)*, aber wegen der Kleinheit nur von Jungen und Alten gegessen; **Mus** spec. *(ekǒn)* wegen des Zitterns des Tieres, wegen der Kleinheit nur von Jungen und Alten gegessen; **Mus** spec. *(ndǔ,ń I)* wegen der langen Füße; **Myoxus angolensis** Winton *(osɪ,m Nt.)* wegen des Wohnens in Höhlen; **Elephas africanus** Blumenb., Kopf bis zur Geburt, man fürchtet, das Kind würde einen so dicken Kopf bekommen, Füße bis zur Geburt, man fürchtet, das Kind würde Klumpfüße bekommen; **Potamochoerus albifrons** Du Chaillu *(ngǔɪ, IV F.)*, Kopf und Bauch bis zur Geburt, der Kopf wegen des häßlichen Aussehens, der Bauch wegen der Warzen; **Bubalus** *(niǔt IV)*, männliche Stücke wegen des Röchelns; **Hyemoschus aquaticus** Gilg *(viǫ̀ń* Pl.: *lǒń)* bis zur Geburt; **Tragelaphus knutsoni** Lemberg *(nkǔ̀k I)* und **Cephalophus longiceps** Gray *(mvǭ IV)*, männliche Stücke; **C. nigrifrons** Gray *(ẓǭm IV)* bis zur Geburt; **C. leucogaster** Gray *(miẹ IV F.)*, das Tier soll „von selbst sterben".

5. Verbot für junge Mädchen.

Mus univittatus Pet. *(mvǒn IV)* wegen der Schamlosigkeit der Maus, die im Beisein von Menschen die Kassada beim Waschen stiehlt, die jungen Mädchen fürchten daher, wenn sie die Maus essen, daß ein Mann sie ebenso schnell stehlen würde.

6. Nicht verboten.

Hund *(mɪ,ú IV)*; **Maimon planirostris** Elliot *(esǒge)*; **Hemigalago demidoffi** Fischer *(ozạm)*, aber wegen der Kleinheit nur von Jungen gegessen; **Euoticus elegantulus** Leconte *(nsẹ̀i, I)*; **Sciurus lemniscatus** Leconte und **sharpei** Gray *(osǒn)* bei den Ntum und **Sc. subviridescens** Leconte *(sịb IV)*; **Cricetomys dissimilis** Rochebrune *(kúɪ IV)*, wenn es in einer Schlagfalle gefangen ist und Früchte in den Backentaschen trägt, jedoch müssen in diesem Falle die Früchte in der Speisekammer *(bǔǔ)* aufbewahrt und nach Geburt des Kleinen verascht werden; **Cr. dissimilis** und **Atherura africana** Gray, wenn unter anderen Umständen gefangen, als bisher aufgeführt; **Mus longipes** A. M. E. *(kǫ̀m IV)*; **M. pusillulus** Peters *(okíb)*, **M. pulchellus** Gray *(zǒfò III)*, **M. sebastianus** Winton *(ekǭ,ɪ)*, **M.** spec. *(aɪ,ùlǔ ekǭ,ɪ)*, **Mus tullbergii** Thomas *(ndǔ,n IV)*, aber von Erwachsenen nicht gegessen, weil das Tier zu klein ist, und weil es sich in der Nähe von Häusern aufhält; **Felis leopardus** Schreb. *(zǒ IV)*, **F. servalina** Puch. *(ebɪ,ó)*; **Genetta aubryana** Puch. *(nsɪ,ń I)*; **Nandinia binotata** Reinw. *(mvǭ,ɪ IV F.)*; **Poiana poensis** Waterh. *(ojạn)*; **Lutra matschieei** Cabr. *(abạń)* und **Herpestes melanurus** Gray *(nsǫ̀m I)*; **Elephas africanus** Bl. *(zǫ̀k IV)*; **Potamochoerus albifrons**

Du Chaillu *(ngui IV)*; **Bubalus** *(niàt IV)*; **Tragelaphus knutsoni** Lemberg *(nkǔk I)*; **Cephalophus longiceps** Gray; Schafe und Ziegen mit Ausnahme der oben erwähnten Stücke; **Limnotragus gratus** Scl. *(ɛiɩb IV)*; **Cephalophus callipygus** Peters *(mɛɩn IV)* und **C. melanorheus** Gray *(ogbüɩn)*.

B. Vögel.

1. Verboten für Eingeweihte des Mekangkultes (Weiber).

Guttera plumifera (Cass.) *(nkàn I)* bei den Fang.

2. *ekɩ-bondǔmàn.*

Himantornis haematopus (Tem.) Hartl. *(nkàlungà I)*; **Milvus aegypticus** (Gm.) *(esɩsà)*; **Strigidae**, vor allem **Bubo**-Arten *(ndɩ́ɩ̀k I)* und **Syrnium nuchale** Sharpe *(akɩ̀n)*; **Centropus monachus** Rüpp. *(dùgà III)* und **Passer griseus** (Vieill.) *(mɛàekàm IV)*.

3. *ekɩ-abǔm* oder *ekɩ-mɔ̀n.*

a) Weil der Vogel in Höhlen lebt oder in abgeschlossenen Nestern brütet: **Vinago calva** (Tem.) *(obɔ̀n)* und **Columba unicincta** Cass. *(apɩɔ̀b)* bis zur Geburt, wenn im Neste erbeutet, ebenso **Calopelia puella** (Schl.) *(edàgebɔ̀m)*; Capitonidae z. B. **Gymnobucco** *(oɛɔ̀ Nt.)*, **Buccanodon** *(ejɛle)* und **Barbatula**-Arten *(omɛɔ̀k)*; Indicatoridae *(mà III)* und Picidae *(ngǔmegɔ̀ IV)*; Bucerotidae z. B. **Ceratogymna** *(ngùn I)*, **Bycanistes** *(mìɛm IV)*, **Lephocerus fasciatus** (Shaw) *(okogbwai)* und **Ortholophus**-Arten bis zur Geburt, falls sie in ihrer Baumhöhle vermauert erbeutet werden; **Nicator**-Arten *(ekǔ)* bis zur Geburt, wenn im Neste angetroffen; Sturnidae, z. B. **Lamprocolius**-Arten *(kbàn IV)* und **Poeoptera** *(mesɔ̀ɔ̀lɔ̀n IV)*, bis zur Geburt.

b) weil der Vogel häßliche oder unnatürliche Merkmale an sich trägt: **Pteronetta cyanoptera** (Tem.) Hartl. *(alàt Nt.)* bis zur Geburt wegen der häßlichen Füße; **Canirallus oculeus** (Tem.) Hartl. *(mɛàlàbengàs IV)* bis zur Geburt wegen der langen Beine, außerdem des Geschreies wegen; Ardeidae *(esɩsǔ-osǔ́ɩ́ Nt.)* bis zur Geburt wegen der langen Füße und der langen Hälse; **Lophoaetus occipitalis** (Daud) *(abàɩǔk)* wegen der langen Nackenfedern; **Buccanodon duchaillui** Cass. *(ejɛle)* wegen des dicken Bauches; **Bias musicus** (Vieill.) *(abàɩǔ[k] etɔ́k)* wegen der Nackenfedern; **Diaphorophyia castanea** (Fras.) *(mekɔ̀boga III)* wegen der Hautlappen am Auge; **Motacilla vidua** Sund *(mangɔ̀,ɔ̀mentǔme III)* wegen des wippenden Schwanzes; **Camaroptera griseoviridis** (v. Müll.) *(dìndɛ III)* wegen der langen Füße.

c) weil der Vogel auffallend und häßlich ruft bzw. schreit: **Theristicus hagedash** (Lath.) *(ngàmǔmǔ I)*; **Turtur semitorquatus**

(Rüpp.) *(ɛ̃ɛ̃m IV)* und **Chalcopelia afra** (L.) *(odɛ̃)* bis zur Geburt; **Francolinus lathami** Cass. *(obɔ̃m)* bis zur Geburt; **Psittacus erithacus** L. *(kɔ́s IV)* bis zur Geburt; Musophagidae, so **Corythaeola cristata** (Vieill) *(kɛ̃nɛ̃k IV)* und **Turacus**-Arten *(mbɛ̃ III)* bis zur Geburt; **Eurystomus**-Arten *(kɛ̃mɛ̃k IV)*; **Smithornis zenkeri** Rchw. *(nɛ̃mekɛ̃pafɛ̃n)*; **Sigmodus rufiventris** Bp. *(angbɛ̃ɛ̃ngbɛ̃ɔ̃)* bis zur Geburt; **Laniarius leucorhynchus** (Hartl.) *(nɛ́ɛ̃ɛ̃bekɔ̃ɩ IV)*; **Lanius mackinnoni** Sharpe *(aɛ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃abɔ̃be III)*; **Dicrurus coracinus** Verr. *(obɛ̃mɔ̃ke III)*.

d) aus anderen Gründen: **Polyboroides typicus** A. Sm. *(eɛ̃ngbɔ̃ɩ̃)* wegen des Ausspritzens der Exkremente und wegen des Geschreis; **Gypohierax angolensis** (Gm.) bis zur Geburt, wenn im Neste geschossen, da der Vogel sein Nest sehr beschmutzt; Alcedinidae, z. B. **Halcyon**-Arten *(akɛ̃ɩ)*; **Ispidina**-Arten *(okɛ̃debakɛ̃ɩ)* bis zur Geburt wegen des eigenartigen Niederduckens der Vögel, wenn sie auf der Lauer sitzen; viele Muscicapidae, z. B. **Alseonax** und **Pedilorhynchus**-Arten *(okɛ̃dɛ̃gu)*, weil der Vogel sich immer an dieselbe Stelle setzt; **Ploceus**-Arten *(ngɛ̃ɛ̃ III)*, wegen des Zitterns mit den Flügeln; **Spermestes**- und **Estrilda**-Arten *(edɔ́ɔ̃le)* wegen des Aufbewahrens der Sämereien im Kropf, „Backentaschen".

4. Nicht verboten.

Haushuhn; **Guttera plumifera** (Cass.) *(nkɛ̃ɛ̃ I)* bei den Ntum; **Francolinus squamatus** Cass. *(ogbɛ̃ɛ̃)*; **Agapornis pullarius** (L.) *(kɛ̃ o kiɛ̃ɩ, IV)*; **Dryotriorchis batesi** Sharpe *(gbɛ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃ III)*; **Urotriorchis, Baza** u. a.; Falconiden *(obɛ̃medɔ́ɛ̃ɩ F.)*; **Centrochares** und **Clamator** *(nsɔ̃mentɛ̃ɩ I)*; **Cuculus**-Arten *(owɛ̃ɛ̃a III)* und **Chrysococcyx** *(avɛ̃vɛ̃abɔ̃be III)*; **Lophocerus camurus** (Cass.) *(nkukɛ̃ɛ̃ I Nt.)*; Meropidae *(otsɩdambɛ̃ɩ)* und Hirundinidae, so **Hirundo**- *(mvɛ̃ɩ IV)* und **Psalidoprocne**-Arten *(kɛ̃lejɛ̃ɛ̃be III)*, aber wegen Kleinheit nicht gegessen; **Tschitrea**-Arten *(abɔ̃bɔ̃ge III, mekɛ̃dɔ̃gɛ̃ III)*; **Campephaga** *(mbɛ̃rjɔ̃m I)*; **Malaconotus gabonensis** Shell. *(ekɔ̃)*; **Dryoscopus senegalensis** (Hartl.) *(eɛ̃ɛ̃gɛ̃)*; **Oriolus**-Arten *(mɛ̃ɩ̃n)*; **Malimbus**-Arten *(ngɛ̃ e nkɛ̃n IV)*; **Spermospiza guttata** (Vieill.) *(kɛ̃ o sɩ, IV)*; **Quelea erythrops** (Hartl.) *(sɛ̃lɛ̃kɔ̃ɔ̃ III Nt.)*, aber wegen Kleinheit nicht gegessen; **Nigrita**-Arten *(makɛ̃mafɛ̃ɩ̃bo III)* ebenso; sämtliche Pycnonotidae und Nectariniidae *(esɩ̃ɩ̃sɛ̃ Nt.)*; **Cisticola** *(ekɛ̃rni-otɛ̃ɩ̃k)* und **Turdus pelios saturatus** Cab. *(eɛ̃ɩ̃ɩ̃ɛ̃)*.

C. Reptilien.

1. Niemals gegessen.

Chamaeleon cristatus Stutsch *(dɔ́ɔ̃ngbwɛ̃ F.)*; **Lygosoma reichenowi** Ptrs. *(nɔ́ɔ̃ɩ̃ III)* und **L. fernandi** Burt. *(ebɔ̃makɛ̃ɛ̃ɩ)*; **Agama colonorum** Daud. *(ngɔ́dɔ̃ III)*[3]).

---

[3]) Nur in Jaunde von Jungen gegessen.

2. *ekɪ, bondúman.*

Varanus niloticus L. *(nkágk III)*; **Cinixys erosa** Schw. *(kǔ IV)*; **Mecistops cataphractus** Cuv. *(ngán IV)* und **Crocodilus niloticus** (Laur.) *(nkǔm I)*; die meisten Schlangen mit Ausnahme der an folgender Stelle erwähnten Arten.

3. *ekɪ,-abǔm* oder *ekɪ,-mǒn.*

Python sebae Gmel. *(mvǔm IV)* bis zur Geburt [1]); **Grayia smythii** Leach *(nsǒk I)* ebenso.

4. Kein Verbot.

Baumschlangen *(ajǎn).*

D. Amphibien.

1. Niemals gegessen.

Bufo superciliaris Blgr. *(mrǔn IV)*; **Bufo latifrons** Blgr. *(dǎǔn VII)*; **Rana mascareniensis** D. u. B. *(nkǒn I).*

2. *ekɪ, bonduman.*

Rana zenkeri Ndn. *(edǎǒ)*; **Hylambates**-Arten *(akábè III Nl.).*

3. Nicht verboten, aber nur von Weibern gegessen.

Rappia spec. *(obǎl)*; **Xenopus calcaratus** Bchh. u. Ptrs. *(mígneǎǒk IV).*

E. Fische.

1. *ekɪ, bonenga.*

Große Stücke von **Clarias walkeri** Gthr., da die Weiber sonst ngikrank werden.

2. *ekɪ, abǔm* bis zur Geburt.

Eutropius banguelensis Blgr. *(ekɪda F.)* wegen des schnellen Verderbens; **Eutr. banguelensis**? *(nkǎde-oǎób III)* wegen des dicken Bauches; **Distichodus hypostomatus** Pellegr. *(mbán I)*, weil der Fisch „von selbst sterben soll"; **Dist. notospilus** Gthr. *(akǒlo III)* wegen der großen Kiemen; **Auchenoglanis balayi** (Sauv.); **var gravoti** Pellegr. *(nsɪn I*, kleine Stücke *ndángǒna III)* wegen des großen Kopfes vgl. Bd. I Taf. XI Abb. *a*; **Clarias walkeri** Gthr. *(ngǔ IV)*, kleinere Stücke wegen des großen Kopfes; **Parauchenoglanis guttatus** (Lönnbg.) *(ebǔ)* wegen des dicken Bauches; **Alestes kingsleyae** Gthr. *(mbɪk I)* wegen „der Schnauze".

Die übrigen Fische sind nicht verboten.

---

[1]) In Jaunde für alle Uneingeweihten des Sso verboten.

F. Niedere Tiere.

1. *ekɪ, bonduman.*

Larven vom Käfer **Angosoma centaurus** F. P l. *(akɑ̨m)*; Schnecke **Pseudachatina downesii** (G r a y) *(nígábon I Nt.)*; **Pseudoglessula retifera** v. M a r t. *(ídń IV)* und eine andere Schnecke *(ebǵs)*.

2. *ekɪ, bonenga*, für Männer *ekɪ, abǵm*.

Achatina-Arten, bes. **marginata** S w. *(kɔ̄,r IV)*[1]).

3. *ekɪ, abǵm* bis zur Geburt.

Eßbare Raupen *(nkúń I)* und Larven des **Rhynchophorus phoenicis** F a b r. *(fǵs IV)*, wenn im Gespinst gefunden; eßbare Termiten *(sǵ̨me IV Nt.)* wegen des dicken Bauches.

4. N i c h t v e r b o t e n.

Eßbare Raupen und Larven des **Rhynchophorus**, wenn sie frei gefunden werden; Libellenlarven *(esgɪ,-bǫk)*, allerdings wird dann das Kind viel harnen wie die Libellenlarven; Taschenkrebse und Garneelen; Muschel **Lanistes libycus var. bernhardianus** (M o r e l e t) *(alǫń)*.

Alle übrigen niederen Tiere sind ungenießbar.

Von pflanzlichen Nahrungsmitteln unterliegen außer den kultgeweihten, z. B. der beim Sso und Mawungu gebrauchten Negerbanane, nur folgende einem Speiseverbot: Früchte der Pflanze *atalám*, die ganz scheußlich schmecken, und junge Pilze, sie sind *ekí mon*, da man fürchtet, die Kinder möchten auch solche Flecke auf der Haut bekommen, wie die jungen Pilze sie zeigen.

Forschen wir nach den inneren Gründen, aus denen gewisse Tiere niemals gegessen oder „verboten" sind, so finden wir, daß z. T. eine religiöse Beziehung z. T. die Scheu vor ihrer Lebensweise und ihrem Aussehen, vielleicht verbunden mit diätetischer Erfahrung, im Spiele ist.

Tiere, die aus religiösen Gründen verboten sind, dürfen meist von allen Frauen und Uneingeweihten des betreffenden Kultes nicht gegessen werden und sind da, wo der Kult fehlt, freigegeben. So sind Hörnertiere, die in den Kulten des Bösen mit ihrer Gedankenverbindung zwischen Mond und Hörnern eine Rolle spielen, verboten und zwar bei den Fang Schaf und Ziege, im ganzen Gebiete der **Cephalophus dorsalis** *(sō)*, im Bereich des Ngikultes ist der Gorilla *(ngí)* verboten, ferner bei den Fang der Schimpanse (im Kult der Bösen, Bokung, verehrt), das Schwein (Wichtiges Tier im Ssokult) und **Neotragus batesi** *(odźū,r)*, entsprechend dem **Cephalophus dorsalis** im Odschüekult verehrt, die Riesen-

[1]) Im Übertretungsfalle werden die Sündigenden ngikrank.

schlange *(mə̱m I V)*, deren Beziehung zum Phallus wir im Ssogerüst kennen gelernt haben, bei den Jaunde, die wie Bd. II, S. 45 erwähnt die ältesten Anschauungen über den Ssokult noch am reinsten bewahrt haben. Große Exemplare des Fisches **Clarias walkeri** *(ngə̱ IV)* und die Achatinaschnecken sind verboten, da sie anscheinend mit dem Ngikult etwas zu tun haben, indessen ist es mir unmöglich, zu erklären, inwiefern. Schließlich ist bei den Fang den Eingeweihten des Weiberkultes Nkang der Genuß des Perlhuhnfleisches verboten, was besonders beachtenswert ist, da bei den Männerkulten umgekehrt meist gerade die Eingeweihten das betreffende Kulttier essen dürfen, die Uneingeweihten dagegen nicht.

Das einzige Tier, das wir beim Überblicken der Kulte unter den Verboten vermissen, ist der Elefant, der im Schokkult verehrt wird. Man kann sich das nur damit erklären, daß wegen des vielen Fleisches eine Ausnahme gemacht ist entweder von vornherein freiwillig oder aber, was wahrscheinlicher ist, notgedrungen, weil es nicht möglich war, die ungeheuren Fleischmengen zu überwachen, die Weiber deshalb davon mitaßen und bald merkten, daß der Genuß des Fleisches keinerlei schlimme Folgen nach sich zieht.

Eine entfernte Beziehung zu den Kulten scheint auch das Verbot des **Sciurus wilsoni** *(kəg̱ I Nl.)* zu haben. Es lebt im Gegensatz zu anderen Eichhörnchen im Sumpfe und auf der Erde, und man deutet seinen Ruf deshalb: *sə̱ abə̱m, bokuʌ abə̱m, sə̱ abə̱m, bokuʌ abə̱m*, d. h. Sso im Bauch, Bokung im Bauch, oder, da beides *mesə̱m* = Sünden sind, einfach: Sünder und nochmals Sünder.

Einige weitere Tiere, die verboten sind, hängen nur mittelbar mit den Kulten zusammen, das Verbot entspringt älteren religiösen Vorstellungen: Chamaeleon und Eidechsen, insbesondere **Lygosoma fernandi**, werden niemals gegessen, weil sie mit dem Tode in Verbindung gebracht werden (vgl. Bd. II, S. 30 ff.), für junge Leute ist ferner Varan- und Krokodilfleisch verboten, meiner Ansicht nach, weil beide Tiere früher eine größere Bedeutung in der Religion der Pangwe gehabt haben und zwar das Krokodil wegen seines Aufenthalts im Wasser, der Varan, sein Gegenstück, wegen des Aufenthalts auf Bäumen und vor allem wegen seiner Eigenschaft, Krokodilseier zu fressen (vgl. Bd. I, S. 246), endlich sind Schildkröten und Giftschlangen verboten. Der Schildkröte sind wir bei den Kulten mehrfach begegnet (vgl. Schokkult Bd. II, S. 77 und Bokungkult Bd. II, S. 72, ohne daß wir ihr Auftreten recht erklären konnten[1]), die Giftschlangen mit ihrem scharf abgesetzten Kopf (Vipern!) haben den Anlaß zu dem Vergleich Penis = Schlange gegeben (vgl. Bd. II, S. 32).

Für andere Verbote scheint maßgebend zu sein, daß die Tiere nächtliche Lebensweise führen und dabei durch ihren starken eigentümlichen Schrei die

[1]) Hierbei ist es besonders auffallend, daß die Schildkröte das einzige Tier ist, das den Eingeweihten eines Männerkultes verboten ist.

Aufmerksamkeit des Menschen auf sich gezogen haben (vgl. Vorsilbenklassen Bd. I, S. 27 u. 28, Nachttier Bd. II, S. 36), so Flattertiere, gewisse Halbaffen, der Baumschliefer, die Flugeichhörnchen, von Vögeln die Nachtralle **Himantornis**, die Eulenvögel und der Mönchsporenkuckuck.

Noch andere Verbote rühren daher, daß die Tiere im Hause oder bei menschlichen Wohnstätten leben und deshalb gleichsam zur Familie gehören, nämlich die Hausratte und ihre Schwester, die im Pangwegebiet fast ausgestorbene afrikanische Ratte *(edu)*, der Schmarotzermilan und der Sperling, die Agama und vielleicht noch die Hauseidechsen (**Lygosoma reichenowi**). Für den Rest der verbotenen Tiere kommt der widerliche Geruch oder die häßliche und eigentümliche Gestalt in Betracht. Hier sind zu nennen: die Zibetkatze und die Herpestesarten mit Ausnahme des **H. melanurus**, die Spitzmäuse, sämtlich widerlich riechend, der Spitzotter (**Potamogale**) wegen seines eigenartigen Aussehens (halb Säugetier, halb Fisch), die Schuppentiere wegen ihres Panzers, **Sciurus pumilio**, die Kröten und Frösche. Sehr bemerkenswert ist eine wahre Furcht vor dem Innern der Stoßzähne des Elefanten, über die man nicht einmal hinwegsteigen darf, da der Penis so schlapp werden würde, wie das Elefantenzahnfleisch, das allerdings mit seiner blauroten Färbung und wabbeligen Beschaffenheit wenig einladend aussieht. Natürlich darf ein Weib das Fleisch ebensowenig essen, da von ihr bei der Umarmung ein schwächender Einfluß auf den Mann übergehen könnte.

Für die zeitweiligen Speiseverbote, die für die Zeit der Schwangerschaft und des Stillens gelten, ist — wie gesagt — das Maßgebende die Furcht, es könnte sich die Eigenschaft der Tiere auf das Kind übertragen. Zum Beispiel ist der Schopfadler, **Lophoaetus occipitalis** *(abərjɛk)* verboten, ein Tier, das die Pangwe selbst wegen seiner Schönheit viel bewundern, und dessen Schopf die Jungen durch Einstecken langer Federn ins Haar oder hinter die Ohren nachzuahmen suchen. Bei Schwangeren aber verhält sich die Sache anders, man rechnet so: wenn das Kind durch das Aufnehmen der Eigenart des Vogels mit der Nahrung auch einen Auswuchs bekommen würde, wie unnatürlich und häßlich wäre das! Sonst fürchtet man vor allem große Köpfe und dicke Bäuche — beides Eigenschaften, die uns öfter bei Negerjungen unangenehm auffallen — ebenso lange Beine. Hierbei erkennt man recht gut, wie genau der Neger zu beobachten versteht, und mit welcher Sicherheit er die geringfügigsten Unterschiede bei verschiedenen Arten einer Gattung erkennt. Ganz verpönt sind häßlich schreiende Vögel, könnte doch das Kind ebenso schreien, was — wie jeder Familienvater nachfühlen wird — äußerst unbehaglich wäre. Bezeichnend ist ferner der Ausschluß zitternder oder wackelnder Tiere, von denen das Kind am Ende gar fallsüchtig werden könnte.

Die schrecklichste Gefahr droht aber der Schwangeren von Tieren, die in irgendwelchen Höhlungen (Erdlöcher, in Bäumen) leben oder gefangen sind, man kann geradezu von einem horror vacui sprechen. Würde ein solches Tier gegessen, so könnte das Kind auch in seiner Höhle, „im Bauch", zurückbleiben wollen, und eine schwere Geburt stände bevor. Ebenso dürfen die Eltern während der Zeit keine Vogelnester, die in Baumlöchern angelegt sind, ausnehmen, und einer meiner Angestellten, der eine Frau geschwängert hatte, weigerte sich aufs bestimmteste, mir ein Modell von einem Kassavebrot zu machen, weil es drinnen hohl bleiben sollte. Von einem Jaundemann ist mir bekannt, daß er nichts essen wollte, als auf seinem Herdfeuer zwei Töpfe nebeneinander gestellt waren. Er fürchtete, seine Frau würde dadurch Zwillinge bekommen (*mṛé* = Topf und *mṛõ*, = Scheide).

Bei den vielen Spitzfindigkeiten in den Speiseverboten kann es nicht wundernehmen, daß häufig aus Versehen gegen sie verstoßen wird, aber auch wissentlich umgeht man sie, wenn die Fleischgier größer ist als die Furcht vor den bösen Folgen des Genusses. In diesen Fällen helfen wieder Medizinen (*bidʌ̃ ekɩ,*), die oft sogar prophylaktisch vorher oder gleichzeitig eingenommen werden. Ich brauche wohl kaum zu erwähnen, daß die Speiseverbote unter dem Einfluß fremder Kultur zuerst aufgegeben werden, nicht auf einmal, aber doch nach und nach sämtlich, am hartnäckigsten halten sich noch die religiösen Verbote. Ebensowenig brauche ich zu betonen, daß die Pangwe sich mit zwanzig Jahren noch gern zu den Jungen rechnen, wenn es sich um ein leckeres Stück Fleisch handelt, so sah ich meine im Alter von 10—20 Jahren stehenden „Jungen" die von mir geschossenen Schmarotzermilane ohne Gewissensbisse verzehren.

Abschnitt XIV.

Wahrsagerei und Wissenschaft.

1. Wahrsagerei. Verbreitung und Geltungsbereich. — Werkzeug des Wahrsagers. — Meister und Schüler. — Honorar. — Mißtrauen gegen die Wahrsager. — Wahrsagerei in Kriegsfällen.
2. Wetterkunde. Regen, Blitz und Donner. — Aussehen und Wirkung des einschlagenden Blitzes. — Regenmedizinen beim Ngontrocknen, bei Kultfeiern, bei der Ernte und auf Reisen, ihre Beurteilung. — Regenbogen: Entstehung, Märchen von der Entstehung. — Sturm: Entstehung, Gegenmedizinen.
3. Himmelskunde. Allgemeines. — Ansicht von der Erde als Weltkörper. — Himmelsgewölbe: Höhe, Wolken. — Mond und Sonne und ihr Lauf. — Mond als „Vorgesetzter" der Fruchtbarkeit und der Jahreszeiten. — Erster Tag des jungen Mondes als Sonntag. — Bedeutung der Tage um den Vollmond: Verbote und Mittel, sie zu umgehen. — Sterne und ihre Wesensart. — Kometen. — Größe der Himmelskörper und ihre Farbe.
4. Zeitrechnung. Verachtung der Zeit. — Halbjahre der Pangwe. — Jahreszeiten und Erklärung ihrer Namen. — Einteilung des Monats. — Tag und Nacht.

---

1. Wahrsagerei.

Der Wahrsager ist heute nur noch im Herzen des Pangwegebietes, im Uellegebiet, zu finden und steht auch hier auf dem Aussterbeetat, da sich seine Kunst in der Hauptsache auf Ereignisse und Zufälle in Kriegen bezieht, und diese infolge europäischen Einflusses immer seltener werden. In Friedenszeiten befaßt er sich nur mit der Ermittelung eines Diebes, mit der Frage, ob ein Weib fruchtbar oder unfruchtbar ist, und ob das körperliche Mißraten eines Kindes darauf zurückzuführen ist, daß ein anderer dem Kinde die Medizin für Zauberei, also für eine Ewu, eingegeben hat.

Die Medizinen, die man zur Wahrsagerei braucht, sind, wie alle früher aufgeführten, im Besitze bestimmter Personen, können aber jederzeit und durch jedermann gegen Bezahlung (ein Schaf) von dem Medizinmann erworben werden. Die Hauptmedizin ist in einem Horn der Weißrückenschopfantilope, **Cephalophus longiceps** Gray *(mvǫ IV)*, eingeschlossen, das der Wahrsager in die Hand nimmt und schüttelt *(a pfǫge)* — daher der Name *mpfǫge-mvǫ* = Antilopenhornschüttler für Wahrsager —, und wird auf folgende Weise beschafft: Der Wahrsagerneuling muß mit seinem Meister einen Krieg mitmachen und dabei einen im Kampfe Erschlagenen suchen, ihm den Kopf abhauen, Zähne und ein Auge herausnehmen und zuletzt den Bauch aufschlitzen, in den das für den Neuling bestimmte Antilopenhorn für einen Tag gelegt wird. Zähne, Auge und ein Stück von einer *ewu-besi* (Vergl. Bd. II, S. 128) kommt in das

[p.194]

Horn, das mit Varanhaut geschlossen wird. Ist auf diese grausige Weise die Hauptmedizin heimlich beschafft, so folgt eine auf dem Dorfplatz vor aller Augen stattfindende Weihe zum Wahrsager. Der Medizinmann kocht ein Huhn mit Blättern verschiedener Medizinpflanzen, vor allem des „Medizinbaumes" **Distemonanthus benthamianus** Baill. *(elrbengań, ejęn)*, zusammen und gibt davon dem Neuling zehnmal [1]) zu essen. Dann springt der Alte, das Wahrsagehorn schüttelnd, auf dem Dorfplatze herum, verascht ein Stück der gewaltigsten Liane des Pangwegebietes, der **Entada scandens** Benth., Leguminose *(ntŭ I)*, nachdem er sie beim Herumspringen öfter mit dem Fuß berührt hat, macht einen Einschnitt in eine Zehe des Neulings und reibt die Asche in die Wunde. Dabei sagt er: „Wenn du in den Krieg ziehst, und die Zehe stößt am Boden auf, so sind die Aussichten für deine Partei schlecht, andernfalls gut" (die Liane strebt nämlich nach oben). Die Asche der Liane soll also der Zehe die Eigenschaft der Pflanze, nach oben zu streben, mitteilen und dadurch dem Wahrsager helfen, so über seine Mitmenschen hinauszuragen, wie die zum Licht strebende Liane über die Bäume. Damit ist die Feier vorüber, und der Neuling ist ein vollwertiger Wahrsager geworden.

Als Honorar für Wahrsagungen werden gewöhnlich 1—5 Speere (7—35 ₰) gezahlt, in kriegerischen Zeiten aber, wo Aufregung, Spannung und Furcht alles mit Unsicherheit erfüllt, erheblich mehr. Dann weicht auch das Mißtrauen, das sonst heute schon meist gegen die Wahrsager herrscht, einer willigen Gläubigkeit. In ruhigen Zeiten ist es etwa wie bei uns, ganz Dumme und Abergläubische, in der Mehrheit Frauen, gehen zum weisen Mann, aber die große Masse glaubt an den Hokuspokus nicht mehr. „Es sind sehr viele Lügen darunter," sagte man mir, „aber es findet sich doch auch einmal etwas Wahres dabei", oder stellt sich höchstens, ganz wie bei uns Leute, die sich sonst für aufgeklärt halten, auf den Standpunkt: „man kann doch nicht wissen . . ."

Der erfolglose Wahrsager hat für den Spott nicht zu sorgen; so hörte ich in Bebai ein Spottgedicht auf einen Mann aus dem Ntumgebiete, den man absichtlich hineingelegt hatte. Einer hatte sein Haumesser vor Zeugen im Hause versteckt, ging dann zu dem Wahrsager und bat ihn ganz unschuldig, ihm zu sagen, wo das Messer geblieben sei, das er verloren habe. Nach allerlei Geheimnistuerei und Faxenmachen antwortete der, das Messer sei auf dem Felde beim Farmschlagen gestohlen worden. Zu allgemeinem Gaudium holte der „Bestohlene" das Messer aus dem Versteck, und der Wahrsager zog beschämt ab.

In kriegerischen Zeiten aber wird der Ruf des Wahrsagers wiederhergestellt. Vor dem Auszuge gegen das feindliche Dorf stellt sich die gesamte Jungmannschaft im Kreise um ihn auf, er springt mit dem Horne in der Hand herum, schüttelt es nach allen Regeln der Kunst, zeigt dann plötzlich mit dem Horne

[1]) Also 10 ist die weise Zahl, 7 die glückliche und 3 bzw. 9 die heilige Zahl der Pangwe.

auf einen Umstehenden und sagt: „Du wirst getötet oder (bei einem anderen) du wirst verletzt werden, wenn du in den Kampf gehst." Auch sagt der kluge Mann: „Du kannst ruhig in den Streit ziehen, dir wird nichts geschehen," das aber — wenn wir seiner Klugheit trauen dürfen — nur bei solchen, die sich für alle Fälle mehr hinten zu halten pflegen. Wer eine böse „Prognose" bekommen hat, bleibt hübsch zu Hause, und so wird der Wahrsager selten Lügen gestraft.

Wir haben Bd. II, S. 108 (Religion) gesehen, daß die Pangwe glauben, aus Träumen die Zukunft lesen zu können, und zwar dadurch, daß sie sich die Kraft der Seele aneignen, indem sie den Kopf in das auf dem Grabe angezündete Harzfeuer halten. Dadurch lernen sie wahre Träume von falschen zu unterscheiden, und erkennen infolgedessen, was die Zukunft bringen wird.

Tierorakel kenne ich aus dem Süden nicht, bei den Jaunde gibt es ein Spinnenorakel. Zenker [1]) schreibt darüber: „In jedem Weiler oder auch an Wegen findet man ein mit Pisangstämmen umlegtes Viereck, in dessen Mitte sich ein mit Bambusstäbchen [2]) umstecktes Loch befindet, in dem die Erdspinne haust. Will nun der Besitzer des Weilers oder einer seiner Angehörigen eine Reise unternehmen, so wird das Loch nachts mit Pisangblättern überdeckt. Bleiben die Stäbchen in Ordnung, so wird alles gut gehen, ist jedoch ein Stäbchen aus der Lage gebracht, so droht ein Unglück und man bleibt zu Hause."

2. Wetterkunde.

Der Regen ist oben am Himmel in einem großen Gefäß, das wie eine Frucht den Saft, so den Regen enthält. Ist es ganz vollgelaufen, so platzt es, das Wasser fließt nach und nach ab und fällt auf die Erde, ist es ganz ausgelaufen, so sagen die Menschen: „Die Regenzeit ist zu Ende." In der folgenden Trockenzeit läuft das Gefäß allmählich wieder voll, etwas Wasser sickert vielleicht einmal durch, aber die Hauptmenge bleibt doch drin. Dann platzt es wieder, wenn die neue Regenzeit beginnt.

Wenn das Gefäß platzt und das Wasser herausströmt, so entsteht ein Brausen und Tosen wie bei einem Wasserfall oder bei der Brandung; man hört es, wenn beim Gewitter, das in den Tropen öfter als bei uns mit dem Regen gleichzeitig stattfindet, Donner in der Ferne grollt. Die Pangwe nennen dieses Donnerrollen daher *ndǫaémmrǒn I* = Rauschen (Lärmen) des Regens [3]). Der Regen ist eine Schöpfung der Urmutter und als Zeichen einer bestimmten Jahreszeit abhängig von dem Mond, dem jene Urkraft, wie allen anderen Gestirnen, ihren Lauf gegeben hat.

---

[1]) G. Zenker, „Yaunde" in Mitteilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, herausgeg. von Dr. Freiherr v. Danckelmann.

[2]) Soll heißen: Raphia!

[3]) *mrǒn a dǫm* heißt: es donnert, es gewittert, eigentlich: der Regen braust.

Der Blitz ist, wie wir in den Schöpfungssagen gesehen haben, ebenfalls von Anfang an dagewesen (im Ei!), später haben sich ihn jedoch die Seelen dienstbar gemacht und gebrauchen ihn zu zwei verschiedenen Zwecken: erstens, um ihre Nachkommen auf der Erde vor dem drohenden Unwetter zu warnen — das ist Wetterleuchten und Höhenblitz *(rɔ̌rɔ̌s IV* F. oder *fɔ̌lerɔ̌s IV* Nt., es blitzt heißt dann *fɔ̌lerɔ̌s a rɔ̌s* oder *f. a lɩ̌d* = der Höhenblitz leuchtet auf, oder er geht vorüber; der Stamm *rɔ̌s* bedeutet: plötzlich aufklappen, aufleuchten, plötzlich erscheinen und wieder verschwinden —; zweitens, um die großen Bäume niederzulegen, die ihnen die Aussicht auf die Erde und das Treiben der Menschen versperren — das ist der einschlagende Blitz *zɑ̀ŋ̀ IV* Nt., *zɑ̀lɑ̀ŋ̀ IV* F. oder auch *zɛ̌yɑ̀ŋ̀ IV*. Den *fɔ̌levɔ̌s* denkt man sich wie das Anzünden von Pulver, das dabei kurz und rasch aufleuchtet, den *zɑ̀ŋ̀* wie das Abschießen eines Gewehres, und wie man bei diesem sagt: *ngɑ́ a kɔ̌bo* = das Gewehr spricht, so sagt man bei jenem *zɛ̌yɑ̀ŋ̀ a kɔ̌bo* = die Blitzbüchse spricht, d. h. es donnert (der den Blitz begleitende knatternde Donner im Gegensatz zu jenem Ferndonner, von dem oben die Rede war).

Der einschlagende Blitz wird als eine schwarze Kugel aufgefaßt, die die Bäume trifft und sie zersplittert. Dem „Kot des Blitzes" *(abɨ̀ zɛ̌yɑ̀ŋ̀)*, das sind vermutlich zerschmolzene und zusammengeballte Harzmassen, wie der Rinde der vom Blitz getroffenen Bäume messen die Eingeborenen heilkräftige Wirkung bei.

Obgleich die „Blitzpatrone" nur für Sprengungszwecke bestimmt ist, so kann sie doch auch Menschen gefährlich werden, wenn sie sich in der Nähe der betreffenden Bäume befinden, und man glaubt, daß der Tod durch das gewaltige Dröhnen herbeigeführt wird. Daher ist es ratsam, sich beim Gewitter in die Häuser zurückzuziehen, in die der Blitz, nach strengem Befehl der Seelen, nicht eindringen darf. Freilich ist er ein ungehorsamer Bursche, der schon der Urmutter Alonkok Schwierigkeiten gemacht hat, und kehrt sich nicht immer daran; fährt er nun einmal in seinem Eigensinn in die Häuser — ich habe übrigens nie davon gehört —, so wird ein böser Wille der Seelen, die vielleicht, was nur menschlich ist, vorbeigezielt haben könnten, nicht angenommen. Deshalb haben die sonst, wie alle Naturmenschen, recht ängstlichen Pangwe vor dem Gewitter keine Furcht, mag auch ein augenblicklicher Schreck über die Helligkeit des Blitzes und die Gewalt des Donners bei nervösen Gemütern sehr oft zu beobachten sein.

Es erhebt sich nur noch die eine Frage: „Warum bedienen sich die Seelen immer nur bei Regen ihrer ‚Blitzbüchsen', sie könnten doch sonst ebensogut die Bäume niederschmettern?" Aber da hat mein Pangwe die Antwort schon auf der Zunge: „Es geht nicht so gut, denn Regen und Gewitter machen die Luft durchgängig für den Blitzstrahl, und die Seelen haben es dann leichter."

Regenmedizinen sind im Pangwegebiete nicht häufig, herbeizuholen braucht man den Regen nicht, denn es gibt — weiß Gott — genug davon im tropischen Westafrika, eher möchte man ihn abwehren, z. B. beim Ngontrocknen, bei Kultfeiern, mitunter bei der Ernte und dann auf Reisen. Man vermeidet deshalb unnötiges Trommelschlagen, weil es den Regen anlockt, entsprechend der übrigens auch jenseits der Pangwegrenze herrschenden Ansicht, daß der (grollende) Donner vom Regen hervorgebracht sei.

Beim Ngontrocknen stellen die Frauen mitunter einen mit Plantenblättern zugebundenen Topf verkehrt auf den Dorfplatz, stecken daneben ein Stäbchen mit einer darauf gespießten rotgefärbten Plante und pflanzen etwa noch einen Zweig der **Petersia minor** Niedenzu *(abíṅ)* dabei ein. Der Topf soll das Gefäß am Himmel bedeuten, in dem der Regen eingeschlossen ist *(mrẹ́* = Topf, *mrẹ́-ṅ* = Regen). Das Zubinden zeigt an, daß man den himmlischen Topf ebenso verschlossen haben möchte. Die Plante ist eine Pflanze des Mondes, der die Jahreszeiten, also auch den Regen, bestimmt, und die Rotfärbung gleichsam eine Aufmerksamkeit für den Mond. Die Beziehung der Petersia zum Regen konnte ich nicht herausbekommen, nach Ansicht eines Fang hat das Wort *a bíṅán*, das im Namen *abíṅ* steckt, den Sinn von „grollend herumziehen"; man wünscht, daß das Unwetter auch nur grollend herumziehe.

Eine andere Kampfmethode gegen Jupiter pluvius, die hauptsächlich für Kultfeierlichkeiten angewendet wird, nimmt sich die Ahnen zu Hilfe. Man stellt die Ahnenfiguren, mit Öl und Rotholz festlich beschmiert, vors Haus, wo sie „bis auf die Haut" durchnässen würden, wenn sie nicht dafür sorgten, daß an diesem Tage kein Regen fällt. Gleichzeitig werden oft die Schädel mit einer Salbe aus Rotholz und zerriebener Rinde der **Pentaclethra macrophylla,** deren Schoten bei der Reife mit einem Knall aufspringen und die Früchte weithin schleudern, bestrichen und so darauf hingewiesen, daß der Regen in derselben Weise seitlich fortgeschleudert werden solle.

Sind Frauen zur Ernte, vorzüglich des Ngon, auf dem Felde und droht Regen, so tun sie etwas Wasser mit einem Stein in ein Blattbündel und hängen dieses in der Farm auf. Ebenso soll der Regen am Himmel festhängen, und so schwer soll er sein wie der Stein und an seinem Platze bleiben, gerade wie ein Neger, dessen „Herz schwer ist", keine Lust zu irgendwelchen Unternehmungen zeigt.

Auf Reisen werden ähnlich wirkende Medizinen ausgeführt, so wird ein Blatt von **Trachyphrynium violaceum** Radl. *(tsẹ́dẹ́kiàri, IV* F.) zu einer Tüte gedreht und mit etwas Wasser gefüllt an den Finger gesteckt, dadurch hält man den Regen fest, oder alte, voll Wasser gesogene Holzstücke werden aufgehängt, damit sich der Regen oben am Himmel auch festsaugt, ferner nimmt man einen Petersiazweig oder ein in Wasser getauchtes Farnkraut in die Hand,

damit sich der Regen so zersplittert wie die kleinen Fiederblättchen des Farnkrauts; schließlich fehlt auch nicht die uns schon bekannte **Selaginella**, das Kraut des „Verfehlens" *(zględnə̄*, von *á sględn* = verfehlen), d. h. der Regen soll den Mann verfehlen.

Es verdient betont zu werden, daß die Pangwe von diesen Medizinen wenig mehr halten und sie selbst als „Aberglauben" verspotten, sie haben längst gemerkt, daß sie alle nichts helfen. Infolgedessen sind Medizinen gegen Regen heute schon ungebräuchlich und nur noch als Scherz in Anwendung, vielleicht mit alleiniger Ausnahme der Kochtopfmedizin der Weiber. Aber auch sie scheint im Aussterben zu sein, denn ihr Sinn wird vielfach nicht mehr verstanden. Ich fand nämlich (früher) einmal als Regenmedizin einen offenen Kochtopf aufgestellt und konnte mir das gar nicht erklären, bis ich dann die richtige Medizin sah und belehrt wurde, daß in dem ersten Falle ein Fehler gemacht sei.

Der Regenbogen ist nach einer Auffassung das Werk eines großen Zauberers, der den anderen zeigen wollte, was er leisten könne. Andere halten ihn für Wasserdampf oder Rauch, und wenn er spät nachmittags im Osten erscheint, so sagt man wohl scherzweise: das eine Ende stehe im Kampo, das andere im Uelle. Eine dritte Ansicht, die sich wohl an die schillernden Farben angeschlossen hat, sieht in ihm eine Wasserschlange. Das Wort für Regenbogen ist daher *nyə,-ń III*, von *nyə̄* = Wasserschlange, außerdem findet sich *ntətə̄m I*, vom tonmalerischen Ausdruck *tə̄metə̄metə̄m*, einer Bezeichnung für das Flimmern vor Augen.

Das Märchen von der Entstehung des Regenbogens.

Einst sagte die Großmutter von Ekute Essamniámaböge zu ihrem Enkel: „Geh und zeig mir die Stelle, wo deine Mutter immer Fische fängt." Da ging Ekute mit ihr hin und zeigte ihr eine gute Stelle beim Flusse, aber die Großmutter sagte: „Nein, hier ist es nicht gewesen." Da zeigte ihr Enkel eine andere Stelle, aber auch hier sagte die Großmutter: „Dies ist nicht die Stelle, wo ich fischen werde." So gingen sie zusammen nach vier weiteren Stellen, aber nirgends wollte die Großmutter fischen. Da sagte der Enkel: „Weiter gibt es keine Stellen zum Fischen, jetzt folgt nur noch der große Fluß." Die Großmutter antwortete: „Gut, dorthin wollen wir gehen." Aber der Enkel sagte: „O, die Stellen, wo alle Leute fischen, sind hier, im Fluß ist es aber schlecht." Die Großmutter antwortete jedoch: „Ich will mir die Stelle aber ansehen; komm, wir gehen sofort." Da ging der Enkel mit, und als sie an die Stelle kamen, wo der Fluß eine Erweiterung bildete, sagte die Großmutter: „Hier will ich fischen." Der Enkel riet wieder ab, aber die Großmutter ließ nicht nach, ging ins Wasser, versuchte es fortzutreiben [1]), geriet aber dabei immer

[1]) In kleineren Wasserläufen wird das Wasser durch fortplantschen entfernt, in größeren Flüssen ist es natürlich nicht möglich.

weiter hinein, bis ihr das Wasser bis an den Hals stand. Da sagte sie zu Ekute: „Bring mir zwei Stöcke und lege sie ins Wasser, damit ich darauf stehen kann." Das tat auch Ekute, und die Großmutter entfernte das Wasser und fischte, und siehe da, sie hatte bald zehn Körbe voll von Fischen. Da sagte ihr Enkel: „Komm, wir haben nun genug, wir wollen nach Hause gehen." Die Großmutter aber sagte: „Nein, erst will ich das ganze Wasser ausfischen, ich werde dann alle Leute im Fischen übertreffen." So fischte sie weiter, aber da stieg ihr das Wasser auf einmal bis an den Hals und über den Mund, und schließlich verschwand sie unter Wasser. In demselben Augenblicke tauchte nun eine große Schlange auf [1]), und als Ekute die sah, griff er nach dem Speer, um sie zu töten. Da sagte die Schlange: „Du mußt warten, ich habe mit dir zu sprechen." Ekute aber lief weg ins Dorf und rief alle Leute, vor allem seinen Vater, den er schon unterwegs traf; der nahm Speere und ging mit zum Fluß. Als er die Schlange sah, wollte er sie mit dem Speer töten, die aber sagte: „Wartet erst, ich habe etwas zu sagen." Da befahl sie den Leuten, einen Korb zu machen und sie ins Dorf zu tragen. So geschah es denn auch, und als die Schlange ins Dorf gebracht und ihr ein Haus zum Schlafen angewiesen war, sagte sie: „Nein, ich will in dem ersten Hause neben dem Versammlungshause schlafen." Diesem Wunsche kamen die Leute nach. Bald hatte sich überall das Gerücht verbreitet, daß im Dorfe eine große Schlange zu sehen sei, und viele, viele Leute kamen sie zu sehen, und jeder mußte viel Geld, etwa soviel wie 10 Mark, dafür bezahlen. So wurde Essamniámaböge sehr reich und konnte sich von dem Geld allein zwei Frauen kaufen.

Nun begab es sich, daß er und alle Leute eines Tages fort waren und nur sein Sohn Ekute zurückblieb. Da erschienen mehrere Leute aus einem entfernteren Dorfe; sie hatten aber bloß zwei Hauer [2]) mitgebracht und verlangten dafür die Schlange zu sehen. Ekute aber wollte sie ihnen nicht zeigen. Die Leute redeten dagegen und drohten und verlangten die Schlange zu sehen. Da nahm der Ekute, der sehr unverständig war, aus Ärger einen Hauer und schlug oben die Hauswand ein, anstatt vorsichtig die Tür etwas zu öffnen und die Leute hineinblicken zu lassen. Da kam die Schlange heraus und ging auf den Dorfplatz und rief: „Seht, nun gehe ich schon." Die Leute aber und Ekute waren fortgelaufen. Nun hob die Schlange ihren Kopf und Körper und schwang sich in die Luft. In diesem Augenblicke kam Ekutes Vater zurück und konnte ihr gerade noch das untere Ende abschlagen, der andere Teil war bereits hoch in der Luft und steht noch heute als Regenbogen am Himmel, der Schwanz jedoch wurde die Riesenschlange, und aus den Eiern krochen alle anderen kleinen Schlangen hervor.

---

[1]) Die Großmutter war also eine Zauberin.

[2]) Buschmesser im Werte von 2 Mk.

Der Sturm wird gleichfalls als Werk böser Zauberer hingestellt. Liegt ein großer Zauberer im Sterben, so entfacht er einen Sturm, legt die Plantenpflanzungen der Leute, denen er nicht wohl will, nieder, verwüstet ihre Häuser, ja, wirft sogar ihre Kinder um, um sie zu verletzen. Wer einmal einen tropischen Tornado mitgemacht hat, wird den Gedanken der Pangwe, daß Zauberwesen im Spiele seien, begreiflich finden. Auch gegen den Sturm kennt man Medizinen; man schwächt ihn in steigendem Maße, indem man junge Makaboblätter (sie sind an sich schwach) auf Feuer legt (wodurch sie noch schwächer werden) und sie dann noch vor dem Hause auf der Erde zerreibt (am schwächsten). Anderseits „beschwert" man ihn und hält ihn dadurch am Himmel zurück, indem man einen Stein auf Paspalumgras *(obat)* legt, das wegen seiner Zähheit und Stärke den Sturm darstellen soll, und ihn gleichsam auf die Erde preßt. Ist der Sturm schon im Zuge, so schlägt man einen Plantenstengel auf der Erde des Dorfplatzes in Fetzen und ruft dabei:

okŭ[ś] a lŭde ma a lŭd: Okă[k] nkĭă,r

Sturm, er ziehe vorüber mir, vorüber(ziehen), (nach) Okak im Westen!

3. Himmelskunde.

Die astronomischen Kenntnisse der Pangwe sind selbst für ein Naturvolk sehr gering, was nur zum Teil mit den ungünstigen Verhältnissen ihres Landes (regenreiches Urwaldgebiet) entschuldigt werden kann.

Von der Erde haben die Pangwe dieselbe Auffassung wie die „Alten", d. h. sie ist flach wie ein Teller und an allen Seiten vom Meer umgeben. Über Erde und Meer wölbt sich der Himmel, der, wie in der Schöpfungsgeschichte gesagt, als abgesprengter und in die Höhe gehobener Teil der Erde entstanden, also von ähnlicher fester und endlich begrenzter Beschaffenheit gedacht wird. Man stelle sich also eine große Glasglocke über einem riesenhaften Teller vor, in dessen Mitte die Erde im Wasser schwimmt und man hat dann die Vorstellung der Pangwe, wobei natürlich nur an Afrika, d. h. eine einzige zusammenhängende Landmasse, gedacht wird.

Der Himmel ist unendlich hoch, die höchsten Berge, die der Pangwe kennt, reichen nicht hinein, man müßte etwa 200 und mehr Baumwollbäume (C e i b a , durchschnittlich 70 m hoch) aufeinandersetzen, ehe man den Himmel berührt.

Die Materie des Himmels ist ähnlich derjenigen der Erde und ist, wie sie, innen härter und fester und nach außen zu weicher, flüssiger, ein Gedankengang, zu dem die Sümpfe und der aufgeweichte Lehmboden geführt haben, und bildet hier, wie auf der Erdrinde, Schollen, so an der Himmelsrinde „Schuppen" *(ebą[s] e dźób* = Schuppen des Himmels, d. h. Wolken). Nun sind die Wolken aber einem dauernden Wechsel unterworfen. Und das er-

klärt man sich folgendermaßen: Die Massen der Himmelsrinde verschieben sich gegeneinander ähnlich wie das beim Schmieden flüssig gemachte Eisen oder Messing beim Erkalten mehr oder weniger schwerflüssig sich bewegt, so daß bei dem zuerst ausfließenden Metall eine stärkere Erkaltung die Bewegung rascher hemmt, das nachkommende dagegen darüber hinwegfließt und zwar je weiter nach oben, desto rascher. Darum bewegen sich die Wolken verschieden schnell und in mehreren Schichten voreinander.

Am Himmelsgewölbe gehen Mond und Sonne her, genau so wie es die Urkraft in ewigen Gesetzen festgelegt hat. Die Sonne geht tagsüber unter dem Gewölbe von Osten nach Westen und nachts über dem Gewölbe, wo sie natürlich unsichtbar ist, denselben Weg wieder zurück. Der Mond geht nachts unter dem Gewölbe der Sonne nach und am Tage über dem Gewölbe zurück, jedoch näher der Decke des Gewölbes, so daß man ihn öfter am Tage durchschimmern sieht. Sehr schnell finden sich die Pangwe mit den Mondphasen ab. Man nimmt an, daß der Mond dabei in einer der inneren Schichten sich bewegt, deren Schollen bereits mehr erstarrt sind, und von einer dieser Schollen bedeckt bleibt.

Die Bedeutung des Mondes im Kult haben wir bereits in der Religion besprochen, hier kommt nur noch die nüchtern-praktische Seite seiner Beziehung zum menschlichen Getriebe in Betracht. Der Mond ist der Herr der Fruchtbarkeit und der Jahreszeiten, nach ihm berechnet man Tage und Monate. Der erste Tag (nach anderen die zwei ersten Tage), an dem der neue Mond erscheint, heißt *avõ,r ngũn*, das ist kalter Mond. Von diesem Tage an ist aller Fortpflanzungstrieb für sieben Tage „kaltgestellt", alles Werden und alle Fruchtbarkeit ausgeschaltet, die Frauen haben ihren Blutfluß und die Männer halten sich vom Geschlechtsverkehr fern. Deshalb wird auch nichts anderes unternommen, nicht, weil ein Verbot bestände, sondern weil man kein besonderes Glück haben würde. Der Mann geht nicht zum Farmschlagen, denn er würde sich in den Finger schlagen, die Frau nicht zum Pflanzen, denn die Gewächse würden nicht gedeihen; auch Jagd und Fischfang wird nicht betrieben. Es ist wichtig, daß dieser Tag keineswegs als „schlecht" bezeichnet wird, sondern als ein Ruhetag, der unserem Sonntag entsprechen könnte, gleichsam als ob die ganze Natur sich ausruhen müßte.

Im Gegensatz dazu bringen die Tage um den Vollmond herum nichts Gutes für die Jagd, wohl deshalb, weil der Mond als Vollmond besonders „böse" ist und allen Sündenlosen — wie das z. B. Tiere sind — verhaßt; selbst die Feste des Mondkultes (Sso) werden nie bei Vollmond, sondern stets gegen Neumond gefeiert, um das Böse nicht in seiner grellsten Gestalt zu zeigen. Man rechnet neun „Vollmondstage", die heilige Zahl, der wir schon bei den Kulten begegnet

sind, und während dieser Zeit spricht der Pangwe vom *ndźıbe ngōn*, d. h. geschlossener (voller) Mond oder *ndźı,ge ng.* oder *abōm e ng.*, d. h. gebrauchter Mond. An ihnen wird zwar gearbeitet, aber Fischfang, Fallenstellerei und Treibjagden nicht betrieben. Bei den Fang besteht für diese drei ein direktes Verbot *(ekı,)*, um die sie sich allerdings — wie um andere — mit Hilfe von Medizinen gern drücken.

Vorschriften sind dazu da, um umgangen zu werden, dachten die Ntum in Bebai, hielten während der Vollmondtage ganz lustig große Treibjagden ab und machten eine Medizin, indem sie in die Rinde eines Baumes eines Kreis schnitten — der Vollmond — und darin die Rinde zur Hälfte aushoben. So wurde ein Halbmond daraus (Abb. 64). Diese Medizin ist köstlich naiv und zeigt so recht, wie sich der Neger in allen Lebenslagen zu helfen weiß.

Über das Wesen der Sterne sind sich die „Pangwegelehrten" noch nicht recht einig. Einige glauben, die Sterne seien bloße Löcher im Himmelsgewölbe, durch welche die des Nachts über ihm stehende Sonne zu sehen sei. Andere sagen, es seien kleine Feuerchen, die am Tage nur vom Glanze der Sonne überstrahlt würden, noch andere — und das ist wohl die Mehrheit — nehmen an, daß die Sterne zwar kleine Himmelskörper seien, wie Sonne und Mond, daß sie sich aber vor der Sonne fürchteten, sich am Tage ins Innere des Gewölbes zurückzögen, in der Nacht, vor der über das Gewölbe herkommenden Sonne flüchtend, herauskämen und dann sichtbar würden. Daher der Name *o-tɪ̄-tē-ı,*, vom Stamme *a tē,* = sich von seinem Platz entfernen [1]). Hat sich einer der Sterne zu weit aus seinem Loche herausgewagt, so fällt er natürlich herunter; wir nennen das eine Sternschnuppe, der Neger sagt: *otɪ̄tē,i, a ke a bōm* = der Stern geht auf Brautfahrt.

Befremden muß es, daß viele, selbst ältere Leute, noch nicht bemerkt haben, daß sich die Sterne scheinbar von Osten nach Westen bewegen. Eine derartige Behauptung wurde mir einmütig bestritten, und als ich den Beweis erbrachte, war allen die Erscheinung neu und auffällig.

Sternbilder oder Sternnamen kennen die Pangwe, wie es scheint, überhaupt nicht; wenn aus Jaunde davon berichtet wird, so werden es fremde Federn sein, mit denen sich das leichte Jaundevölkchen wieder einmal geschmückt hat. Die Kometen nennt der Pangwe *botū,lo*, von *tū,lo III*, und sieht in ihnen Varane. Mir wurde mehrfach eine ganz untergeordnete Gruppe von Sternen in der Nähe des Orion als *tū,lo* bezeichnet, ich halte das aber für eine Verwechslung, da 1902 ein Komet in der Nähe dieser Stelle verschwunden ist.

Allzu Wißbegierige wollen nun vielleicht noch von den Pangwe hören, welche Größe die Himmelskörper wohl hätten. Nun, möchten ihre Erwartungen nur nicht zu groß sein! — „Sonne und Mond," sagte mein Pangwe, den ich

---

[1]) *oa tē, odēn* = wann bist du von Hause fortgegangen (gereist)?

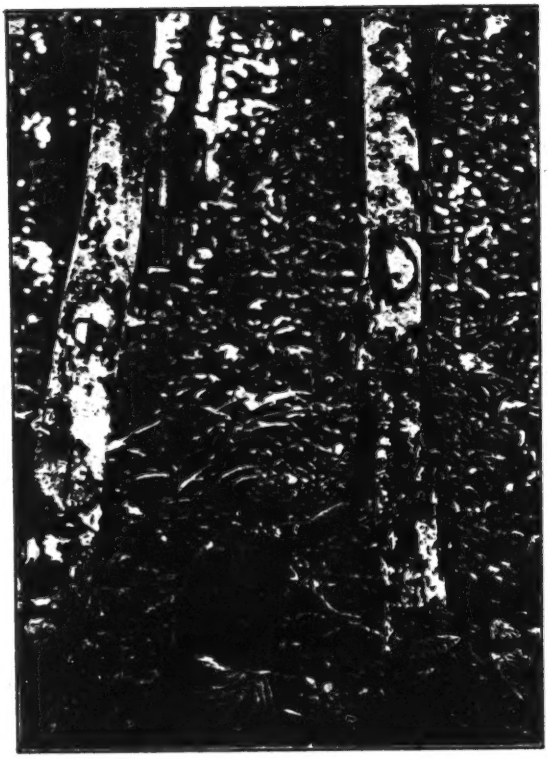


Abb. 64. Medizin an Bäumen, um bei Vollmond Treibjagd abhalten zu können, was eigentlich verboten ist. Bébai (Fam. Essang), Süd-Kamerun.

im Kreise seiner Kameraden fragte, „sind gleichgroß und etwa — sagen wir — so groß wie einer der großen blechernen Teller, die an der Küste verkauft werden." Bei dieser Antwort des Kandidaten erhob sich doch allgemeines Schütteln des Kopfes, und auf meinen Einwand, daß Menschen in der Ferne schon so klein wie Ameisen aussähen, der Himmel aber so unendlich viel weiter sei, mußte auch der Gefragte die Unterschätzung zugeben. Man einigte sich schließlich dahin, daß die Sonne so groß sei, wie der Platz vor meiner Station (etwa 10 m breit). Damit mußte ich zufrieden sein. Bei den Sternen kam man mir nach dieser Erfahrung schon von vornherein entgegen, als man sie so groß angab, wie den Raum, den man mit gespreizten Daumen und Zeigefingern beider Hände umschließt. Der Erzähler hatte aber anscheinend das Bedürfnis, seine Übertreibung vor sich selbst zu rechtfertigen, und bemerkte dazu: „Sie scheinen kleiner, weil sie weit weg sind!"

Was die Farbe der Gestirne anbetrifft, so ist die Sonne nach meinen Pangwe rot und heiß wie Feuer, der Mond und die Sterne weiß und kalt. „Wenn der Mond also kalt ist und kein eigenes Licht hat, wie mag es kommen, daß man ihn sieht? Weiß gekleidete Menschen sieht man doch auch nicht, wenn alles dunkel ist!" Diesem Einwurf begegnen die Pangwe mit der Antwort: „Auf der Erde ist es auch dunkel, am Himmel hell, d. h. nichts beschattet dort die Aussicht!"

4. Zeitrechnung.

Der Neger lebt fröhlich in den Tag hinein und kümmert sich nicht um „Zeit". Zeit spielt überhaupt in Afrika keine Rolle, ja, der Neger fühlt es fast als eine Beleidigung, wenn ein Weißer ihn drängt, weil „er keine Zeit hat". Man hat doch Zeit genug! An dieser Verachtung der Zeit liegt es auch, daß die Neger niemals ihr Alter wissen oder vielmehr sich zu merken für nötig finden. Ferner erklärt sich daraus ihre Unfähigkeit, Zahlen zu Vorstellungen und logischen Schlüssen zu kombinieren, obwohl sie Zahlen bis zu 10 000 begrifflich sehr gut erfassen, darüber hinausgehende nach Überwindung einiger Schwierigkeit.

Die Pangwe haben keine Bezeichnung für den unserem Sonnenjahr entsprechenden Zeitabschnitt, sondern rechnen nach *membú*. Jedes *mbú* (etwa mit Halbjahr zu übersetzen) umschließt zwei von den vier Jahreszeiten, die für das Pangwegebiet aufgestellt sind (vgl. Abschnitt I, S. 2). Auf eins von unseren Jahren gehen also zwei Pangwe„jahre" oder, wie die Eingeborenen, die mit Europäern in Berührung gekommen sind, sich ausdrücken: *membú menśúle meböt* = Jahre der Schwarzen.

Das eine *mbú* umfaßt die große Trockenzeit und die kleine Regenzeit und heißt *esèb*, von *a zèb (okòn)* = schleifen (ein Messer) herzuleiten, weil die Messer zu dieser Zeit, um Farmen zu schlagen, geschliffen würden, also etwa Farmzeit oder Saatzeit. Das zweite *mbú* umfaßt die kleine Trockenzeit und die große Regenzeit und heißt *ojün*, von *a jün* = trauern, klagen, also etwa Fastenzeit, sie entspricht sehr gut unserem Winter, der auch eine Zeit des Schlafens der Natur und des Darbens der Menschen ist. Die Pangwe erklären sich den Namen damit, daß zu Anfang der Regenzeit alles „Essen" gepflanzt sei und deshalb die Nahrung knapp würde, vielleicht ist aber der Ausdruck in früheren Wohnsitzen entstanden, wo die Regenzeit besonderes Unglück, etwa Überschwemmungen, gebracht hatte.

Die Verteilung der Jahreszeiten der Pangwe auf unser Sonnenjahr ist demnach folgende:

Erstes Halbjahr *(mbú)*.

esèb = Farmzeit (Sommer) vom Dezember bis Mai, besteht aus

1. *rügn esèb* = große Trockenzeit (Dezember bis Februar),
2. *śógō, esèb* = kleine Regenzeit (März bis Mai).

Zweites Halbjahr *(mbú)*.

ojü,n = Regenzeit (Winter) vom Juni bis November, besteht aus

1. *ɾüɣn ojü,n* = kleine Trockenzeit (Juni bis August),
2. *šö,gö, ojü,n* = große Regenzeit (September bis November).

Eine Einteilung der Halbjahre in Monate kennt der Pangwe nicht, nur die Zeitspanne des einzelnen Monats *(ngɣn* = Mond), und mit großer Mühe begreift er, daß dem Halbjahr der Weißen ungefähr 6—7, dem Jahr der Weißen ungefähr 12—13 ihrer Monate entsprechen.

Die Monate in Wochen zu zerlegen, hat der Pangwe von den Weißen gelernt und wegen der vier Sonntage *(sönö III)* sympathisch aufgenommen. Er selbst hat von den Tagen des Monats die ersten 1—2 nach Neumond als arbeitsfreie abgetrennt, wie schon erwähnt, und die ersten sieben als etwas Besonderes sich angemerkt, weil der Blutfluß der Weiber angeblich sieben Tage dauern soll, aber ein eigener, etwa mit Namen bezeichneter Abschnitt des Monats sind sie ihm nicht[1]). Ebensowenig ist ein solcher im Rest des Monats.

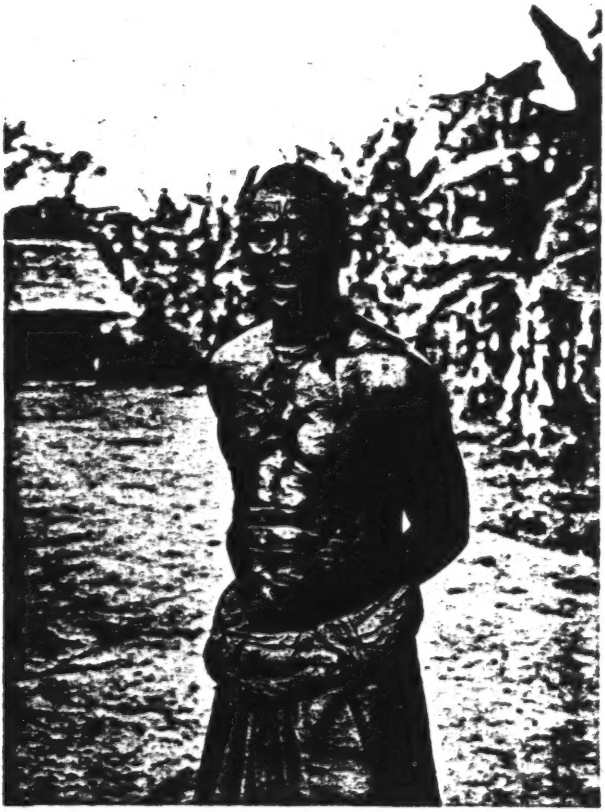
Das gleiche Bild wie beim Monat haben wir beim Tag, auch hier ist nur der Anfang scharf bezeichnet, das übrige kommt dann von selbst hinterher. Ein Tag von 24 Stunden heißt *alə̈ mbok* (Nt.) = Tag einer, und zerfällt in Tag = *mö̈ʃ IV* und Nacht = *alə̈*. Der Tag beginnt mit dem Morgen = *kɾdɪ IV* oder *kɾkɾdɪ*, der von 6 Uhr (Sonnenaufgang) bis 7 Uhr, also eine Stunde währt, und dauert bis zum *ngü,ɛ IV*, *ngüngü,ɛ IV* = Abend, d. h. bis zur Zeit um Sonnenuntergang (6 Uhr). Dazwischen kennt man als Stundenangabe nur noch eine „Zeit, wo die ersten Weiber aus den Pflanzungen kommen", das ist um 11 Uhr. Die Nacht wird nicht in bestimmte Abschnitte eingeteilt. Will man eine Stunde in ihr bezeichnen, z. B. für den Marsch durch ein feindliches Dorf, so hilft man sich, wie bei uns etwa mit dem ersten Hahnenschrei, so mit dem ersten Sporenkuckucksruf, **Centropus monachus** Rüpp. *(dügə̈ III)*, das ist um 11 Uhr; dieselbe Zeit nennt man auch *zə̈ʌ alə̈* = Mitternacht, oder man spricht z. B. beim Aufbruch vor Sonnenaufgang von einer „Zeit, wo der erste *ogbwə̈* (**Francolinus squamatus** Cass.) ruft", das ist um 5 Uhr morgens. Zeitangaben durch Anzeigen des Sonnenstandes mit der Hand, die doch in Gebieten, wo die Sonne das ganze Jahr hindurch ungefähr zur selben Zeit auf- und untergeht, so leicht und bequem zu machen wären, sind nicht bekannt, werden überhaupt nicht einmal verstanden.

---

[1]) Man sagt nur z. B.:

aɾö,ɾ ngɣn a sö malə̈ malə̈ oder *zängbə̈*
Kalter Mond, er kam Tage drei oder sieben

Tafel XXVI



HÄUPTLING VON NSCHÚGGEBOT (FAM. OJEK), SPAN. GUINEA.

[facing p. 206]

Abschnitt XV.

Gesellschaft, Verkehr, Handel.

Zusammensetzung der Gesellschaft. — Reichtum als Maßstab der gesellschaftlichen Stellung; Reichster als Häuptling. — Ohnmacht der Häuptlinge. — Nachfolge. — Entstehung neuer Häuptlingschaften. — Sippe. — Verkehr zwischen befreundeten Sippen. — Gastfreundschaft: Grund, Begrüßung, Bewirtung, Benehmen des Gastes, Tauschgeschenke, Gegenbesuch, Stellung des Gastes. Marktwesen. — Geld und Geldsorten. — Preisliste der gangbarsten Waren: I. Haustiere (lebend); II. Fleisch; III. Pflanzliche Nahrungsmittel; IV. Tierische Rohstoffe (Felle, Zähne, Hörner); V. Werkzeuge und Geräte; VI. Europäische Waren.

Die Gesellschaft gründet sich bei den Pangwe auf die Familie und die zunächst blutsverwandte, dann durch Zuzug vergrößerte Sippe (Familienverband). Das Dorf ist ursprünglich nichts weiter als eine Familiensiedlung, angelegt von einem Familienvater für sich, seine Frauen und Kinder, und findet sich in solch reiner Form nicht allzu selten. Diese engste Familiengemeinschaft erweitert sich dadurch, daß Männer derselben oder einer befreundeten Sippe, die unverheiratet sind, keine Aussicht haben, durch Erbschaft oder Kauf eine Frau zu bekommen oder sich zu schwach fühlen, einen eigenen Herd zu gründen, sich ihr anschließen, sowie dadurch, daß — bei den Jaunde, nicht im Süden — Kriegsgefangene zu Hörigen des Siegers werden. Beiden, den freiwillig oder unfreiwillig Untergebenen, leiht der Hausherr Frauen auf Zeit und kettet sie dadurch an sich. Werden ihre und seine eigenen Söhne erwachsen und heiraten sie, so kann mit der dritten Generation die Gefolgschaft des Familienvaters schon recht bedeutend sein. Es stehen sich also in dem Dorf zwei Gesellschaftsschichten gegenüber; auf der einen Seite das Oberhaupt, auf der anderen die Gesamtheit der Söhne und zugezogenen Männer, denen die Familienautorität und die wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse eine gewisse Abhängigkeit von jenem aufzwingen. Diese Abhängigkeit reicht nur genau so weit, wie ihre Ursache, der Reichtum, das sind die Frauen des Dorfoberhauptes. Die Frauen sind Geld, mit dem er sich die Arbeitsleistung, die Kriegsdienste und die Stimmen seiner Leute erkauft, sie mehren seinen Wohlstand und seinen Einfluß; durch Besitz von Frauen wird und bleibt er daher das Haupt des Dorfes, der Häuptling, der, wie die Pangwe sagen, „sehr Reiche" *(n-ku̇-ku̇m*, von *a-kum* = Reichtum). Als Reichster im Dorfe vertritt er es nach außen, wenn Besuche kommen,

[p. 207]

und nach innen, wenn Rechtsstreite und sonstige Fragen vor dem Forum des Versammlungshauses zur Entscheidung gebracht werden. Eine wirkliche Macht übt er nur in sehr geringem Maße aus, zumal im Süden wird er seiner hartköpfigen und eigenwilligen Untertanen selten Herr. Wir sahen schon, daß er oft nicht einmal imstande ist, seine Leute zum Bau eines neuen Versammlungshauses heranzuziehen; der oft unkrautbedeckte Dorfplatz zeugt dafür, daß er es nicht wagt, seine Frauen ernsthaft anzuhalten, den Platz zu reinigen, wie es sich gehört, ja es ist gar nicht selten, daß ein Häuptling selbst sein Versammlungshaus reinfegen, daß er selbst das Feuerholz herbeischleppen muß, und trifft gar ein „höherer Befehl" der Regierung ein, die Wege zu reinigen, so kann man oft das Oberhaupt allein bei der Arbeit sehen, weil keiner seiner getreuen Untertanen seiner Anweisung, zu helfen, nachkommen wollte. Das schlimmste ist, wenn er auch noch unter dem Pantoffel seiner Frauen steht. So ein Vertreter, der allemal erst bei seinen Weibern anfragen muß, ob er einem Fremden ein Huhn schlachten darf, sinkt dann zu einem erbärmlichen Zerrbild des männlichen Geschlechts und des Häuptlings im besonderen herab. Daß es sogar Häuptlinge gibt, die sich öffentlich von ihren Söhnen oder Leuten ausschimpfen oder Vorwürfe machen lassen, und daß es andere gibt, die einen hergelaufenen Kerl fürchten, weil er frecher und streitsüchtiger ist als die Einheimischen, das veranschaulicht so recht die Macht dieser Schattenkönige. Gewiß gibt es Ausnahmen, aber im allgemeinen fehlt die feste Hand einer kraftvollen Persönlichkeit — ich wies schon darauf hin, daß die Anschauungen und Tatsachen der Zauberei einer solchen im Wege stehen —, die Furcht vor Streitigkeiten, vor Widersetzlichkeit und vor dem Verlust seiner Leute überwiegt.

Die bisher angenommene engste Familiengemeinschaft ändert sich nun, wenn der Häuptling stirbt. Sein Vermögen wird durch die Erbschaftsteilung zersplittert; da aber die Gesetze — ungeschriebene natürlich — den ältesten Sohn hierbei vor den Brüdern bevorzugen, so wird er meist ein größeres Kapital — d. h. Frauen — in seine Hand bekommen als seine Brüder oder die Brüder seines verstorbenen Vaters, er wird also wieder der „sehr Reiche" im Dorfe sein, die Häuptlingswürde also auf ihn übergehen. Sie kann das sogar, wenn er noch minderjährig ist; dann verwaltet der nächstälteste Bruder des Vaters als Vormund das Amt bis zur Großjährigkeit, d. h. bis der Sohn fähig ist, „selbst in den Versammlungen zu sprechen". Bleibt er jedoch nicht der Reichste im Dorfe bei jener Erbteilung, so verliert er den Anspruch auf die Nachfolge seines Vaters, die Häuptlingschaft geht auf den nunmehrigen ersten Mann im Dorfe über. Erbfolgestreitigkeiten können daher nicht vorkommen; die Häuptlingswürde knüpft sich nicht an die Person, an das Blut, sondern an die wirtschaftliche Stellung.

Hat der Sohn die Stelle des Vaters eingenommen, so entziehen sich seine Brüder, die schon selbst Familie und Gefolgsleute haben, seiner unmittelbaren Autorität und gründen sich selbst, wenn auch wegen der Unsicherheit im Lande unmittelbar neben der väterlichen Siedelung eine eigene, die aus Männerhaus und Weiberhäusern besteht. Wir finden demnach heute meist zwei „Häuptlinge" in einem Dorf und eine ganze Reihe in den größeren Ortschaften, und von ihnen kann sich der jeweilig Reichste und Energischste einen über das eigene Dorf hinausreichenden Einfluß verschaffen. Am ehesten ist das im Norden des Pangwegebietes gelungen, wo man — immer in engen Grenzen zu verstehen — fast von einer politischen Machtstellung einzelner Häuptlinge sprechen kann, am wenigsten im Süden, wo sich die Verhältnisse primitiver erhalten haben und sich die Familienväter wenig aneinander kehren.

Durch weitere Teilung der Familien ist allmählich der Familienverband, die Sippe, entstanden, die im Frieden freundschaftlichen Verkehr pflegt, in Kriegszeiten sich zusammenschließt, und deren Zusammenhalt namentlich in den Rechtsanschauungen und in dem Verbot zum Ausdruck kommt, seine Frau innerhalb der eigenen Sippe zu wählen. Darüber wird an anderer Stelle eingehend gesprochen.

Der Verkehr zwischen den Familien derselben Sippe sowohl wie zwischen den befreundeten verschiedener Sippen ist äußerst rege, er ist, wie natürlich, nur möglich bei gegenseitiger Gastfreundschaft, aber diese Gastfreundschaft ist bei den Pangwe besonders stark und besonders eigenartig entwickelt, und sie ist doppelt interessant, weil sie uns zugleich ein Bild von dem Anfangsstadium des Handels gibt. Hatte der Verkehr vielleicht seinen ersten Anfang genommen aus den natürlichen Beziehungen der sich allmählich vergrößernden Familiengemeinschaft, so wurde er später unterhalten und ausgebaut durch den ungemein starken Geselligkeitstrieb des Negers, der sich nicht genug darin tun kann, Neuigkeiten mitzuteilen, zu klatschen und Geschichten zu erzählen, bei denen ihm die Phantasie oft genug durchgeht.

Die Gastfreundschaft beruht deshalb auf beiderseitig gleichen Interessen und ist eine durchaus aufrichtige. In Jaunde richtet sie sich allerdings nach dem Gast und seiner Geldbörse; für den einen hält man ein Huhn für angemessen, für den anderen ein Schaf oder eine Ziege. Namentlich unter jüngeren Leuten sind die Beziehungen herzlich und entwickeln sich zu richtigen Freundschaftsverhältnissen. Man besucht sich auf Tage und Wochen, bei größeren Entfernungen — Märsche von einer Woche sind nicht selten — gar auf Monate. Vorbedingung ist dabei irgendeine Beziehung, Verabredung oder flüchtige Bekanntschaft; ganz Fremde können auf eine derartige Gastfreundschaft nicht rechnen.

Verheiratete nehmen meist ihre Frau oder eine ihrer Frauen mit, Unverheiratete oder Leute, die ihre Frau zu Hause gelassen haben, erhalten von ihrem Gastgeber für die Dauer ihres Besuches dessen unverheiratete Schwester zur Genossin. Die Mädchen dürfen in dieser Beziehung frei über sich verfügen; eine ihrer Frauen dem Gast zu überlassen, wie es bei den Bulu und Mekei Sitte sein soll, ist bei den Jaunde, Ntum und Fang nicht üblich.

Kommen Gäste ins Dorf, so ist ihr erster Gang ins Versammlungshaus, wo sie von ihrem Wirt und den übrigen Männern in drolliger Weise begrüßt werden. Jeder der Einheimischen setzt sich nämlich auf die Knie des Gastes — auch eventuell der Frau — und wird in dieser Stellung von letzterem umarmt. Ist diese Begrüßung seitens der Männer vorüber, so kommen die Frauen des Dorfes, erweisen dem Fremden dieselbe Höflichkeit und nehmen die Frau des Gastes mit sich in eins der Wohnhäuser, während ihr Mann im Versammlungshause sitzen bleibt und seine Neuigkeiten, Familiennachrichten usw. auskramt. Indem so die Zeit mit Erzählungen, Fragen und Berichten hingeht, läßt der Wirt ein Huhn (in Jaunde auch eine Ziege) greifen, zeigt es seinem Gast mit der üblichen Redewendung

e kup, ma wuí oa, e ne ni
das Huhn, ich töte (es) dir, es ist hier (dieses)

und schickt es den Frauen zum Schlachten. Das fertige Essen, Fleisch und Gemüse, wird dem Gaste ins Versammlungshaus geschickt; er pflegt als vollendeter Gentleman an die Hausfrau, d. h. die Frau, welche das Huhn gekocht hatte, zu denken, läßt sich ein leeres Gefäß geben, füllt es mit Suppe, fügt ein Hühnerbein hinzu und schickt es ihr; er denkt auch an die Kinder und gibt ihnen ein Häppchen ab, im übrigen verzehrt er seinen Festbraten allein, der Hausherr ißt nicht mit.

Die folgende Zeit des Besuches verläuft derart, daß der Gast seinem Wirt beim Farmschlagen usw. hilft, und die Frau im Felde und Hause mitarbeitet; man tut, als gehöre man völlig zur Familie, und Fernstehende könnten sie tatsächlich für Einheimische halten. Nach etwa einem Monat läßt der Wirt den Gast im Dorfe allein und geht auf die „Suche" von Geschenken, die er ihm zu machen hat, und die oft einen Wert von mehreren hundert Mark nach unserem Gelde ausmachen. Gewöhnlich wählt er solche Dinge, die sein Freund daheim nicht besitzt und nicht leicht bekommen kann, z. B. Roheisen, wenn er in der Nähe einer Eisenschmelze wohnt, europäische Waren, wenn er mit einer Faktorei in Verbindung steht usw. So entsteht ein Austausch von Waren, der für die Verbreitung von einheimischen wie eingeführten Erzeugnissen und für die Übertragung von Kulturgütern außerordentlich wichtig ist; er schafft Kennt-

nisse und Bedürfnisse, die einen bezeichnenden Ausdruck finden in der Sitte, beim Frauenkauf niemals eine Wertsorte allein gelten zu lassen, sondern je einen bestimmten Teil von einer großen Reihe verschiedener Warengattungen zu fordern. Sehr geschickt hat man diese Gelegenheit benutzt, um seinen Bedarf an Gebrauchs- und Luxusgegenständen zu decken, in derselben Richtung hat man den Tausch der Gastgeschenke beeinflußt, und so ist ein Handelsverkehr zustande gekommen, der rasch, ausgiebig und gleichmäßig das Land mit allem Nötigen versorgte. Heute hat diese Methode weniger Bedeutung, da der europäische Händler seine Stationen weit ins Innere vorgeschoben hat und es dem Einzelnen leicht macht, die Waren direkt von ihm zu beziehen. Trotzdem besteht jene Sitte der Gastgeschenke noch heute, sie ist sogar von einiger Bedeutung für einen bestimmten Handelsartikel, das Pulver, dessen Einfuhr in Kamerun verboten ist, und das nun von der spanischen und französischen Küste her auf dem beschriebenen Wege ins Land kommt. Eine ganz geringe Rolle spielt in ihr für einige Gegenden das Roheisen.

Doch zurück zu dem Verlauf der Gastreisen. Hat der Wirt seine sämtlichen Geschenke überreicht, so wandert der Gast heim, mit ihm aber auf sofortigen Gegenbesuch sein Wirt, und nun wiederholt sich im anderen Dorfe dieselbe Geschichte: monatelanger Aufenthalt, Geschenke, wobei man nicht nur den Wert der erhaltenen Waren zurückgeben, sondern möglichst über ihn hinausgehen muß. Nach einiger Zeit wandern beide dann wieder ins erste Dorf zurück und so kann das abwechselnde Besuchemachen und Geschenktauschen sich noch ein paarmal wiederholen, ohne daß es sich freilich immer unmittelbar aneinander schließt. Es kann ein Monat und länger dazwischen liegen.

Im Gegensatz zu Largeau [1]) betone ich, daß gerade diese Art des Handels, wegen ihrer freundschaftlichen Form, wenig oder gar keinen Streit zur Folge hat, wie mir von allen Pangwe einstimmig versichert wurde; etwas anderes ist es beim Geldleihen.

Der Gast genießt im Dorfe sozusagen Asylrecht, sein Freund schützt ihn, verteidigt ihn, wenn nötig, mit der Waffe, ja übt für ihn Blutrache, falls ein Mann aus feindlicher Sippe ihn töten sollte. Wenn aber Streit zwischen den beiderseitigen Familien ausbricht, so kann der Wirt seinen Gast ergreifen und töten.

Merkwürdigerweise kennen die Pangwe das sonst bei den Negern des tropischen Afrika so verbreitete Marktwesen überhaupt nicht; es mag sein, daß die Abgeschlossenheit der Dörfer und die kriegerische Veranlagung der Pangwe es verhindert haben, und daß ein Bedürfnis zu anderweitiger Regelung des Verkehrs nicht fühlbar wurde, weil der vorhandene den gewünschten Zweck vollkommen erfüllte. Ausgiebig genug war dieser Verkehr, wie wir gesehen, und

[1]) Vgl. Largeau, Encyclopédie Pahouine S. 380 u. 381.

Abb. 68. Häuptling von Bibai (Fam. Eseng) beim Zählen von Eisengeld. Im Hintergrunde ein Korb, der als „Geldtasche" dient.

ebenso war er im einzelnen gut durchgebildet; das erkennt man daraus, daß die Pangwe ein eigenes Geld erfunden haben, d. h. einen Wertmesser aus selbstgeschmiedetem Eisen (Abb. 65). Früher hatte dieses Eisen die Form etwa eines Beiles en miniature, und mehrere von solchen „Beilen" waren durch eine Verschnürung von Buschtau (Oncocalamus) fächerförmig zusammengehalten (Abb. 66). Es hieß *awa̧mbekiẹ* oder *sòẹbekiẹ*, zehn solcher *awa̧mbekiẹ* waren meist lose zusammengebunden und hießen dann *awa̧mmetèt*; sie waren ungefähr 70 ₰ wert. Die heute gangbare Geldsorte hat die Form von Speerklingen, die größer und kleiner, einfacher und reicher geformt vorkommen und danach verschiedenen Wert haben.

Der gewöhnliche Eisenspeer (Speergeld), Abb. 67, heißt *eybwẹ̀ẹ* und ist 7 ₰ in unserem Gelde wert — bequemlichkeitshalber rechnet man drüben auch oft 10 ₰. Die in Abb. 68 dargestellte „Münze" ist doppelt soviel, also 14 ₰ wert, ist aber seltener. Noch seltener sind ganz große Speere, die zehnmal soviel Wert haben als ein gewöhnlicher Speer und mitunter für den Weiberkauf benutzt werden (Abb. 69).

Das bei den Jaunde gebräuchliche Speergeld (Abb. 70 u. 71) ist bedeutend kleiner, vier davon gehen auf einen Fangspeer oder auf 7 ₰.

Zur Erläuterung der Kaufkraft des Pangwe-Speergeldes diene folgende

Abb. 66.

Abb. 67.

Abb. 68.

Abb. 70.

Abb. 69.

Abb. 71.

Abb. 66. Altes Geld der Fang, Wert 10 Stück = 7 ₰.
Abb. 67. Gewöhnliches Speergeld der Fang, Wert 7 ₰.
Abb. 68. Speergeld der Fang, Wert 14 ₰.
Abb. 69. Speergeld der Fang, Wert ℳ 1.—.
Abb. 70. Speergeld der Jamde, Wert 4 Stück = 7 ₰.
Abb. 71. Speergeld der Fang, Wert 20 ₰.
Sämtlich ½ nat. Gr.

Preisliste — die Zahlen geben die Anzahl von Speergeld der Südpangwe für das Ntum- und Fanggebiet (Wert 7 ℳ) und von Jaundespeeren für das Jaundegebiet (Wert vier Stück 7 ℳ) an.

I. Haustiere (lebend).

Bezeichnung	Uellegebiet	Kampogebiet	Jaundegebiet
Schafe, große Hammel	300	200—300	1000
große Schafe	400	400	1500
mittlere Hammel	300	200	1000
„ Schafe	300	250	1200
männliche Lämmer	100	100	600
weibliche „	100	100	600
Ziegen, große Böcke	200	150	800
große Ziegen	300	300	1000
mittlere Böcke	100	100	600
„ Ziegen	200	200	600
junge männliche Stücke	100	50	400
„ weibliche „	100—150	100	400
verschnittene große Böcke *(miak)*	—	500	—
Hunde, große männliche	50	200	400
große weibliche Hunde	60	100	500
kleine Hunde	50 (60)	50	♂ 200 ♀ 300
Enten, große männliche	40	50	—
große weibliche	50	100	—
Hühner, große Stücke	20	30 (40)	200
kleine Stücke	20	20	100
Meerschweinchen	—	—	50

II. Fleisch.

Bezeichnung	Uellegebiet	Kampogebiet	Jaundegebiet
Ziege, Vorder- u. Hinterbeine allein	je 15	je 10	je 100
Mittelstück	20	20	100 (Brust)
Kopf mit Hals (10)	20	20	—
Hund, Rumpf in zwei Teilen je 20.	40	40	80 (Brust)
Kopf mit Leber und Herz	10	10	60—80 (Fuß)
Elefant, ein Korb Fleisch	100	100	—
Rüssel	200	200	—
Fuß	je 100	je 100	—

II. Fleisch. (Fortsetzung.)

Bezeichnung	Uellegebiet	Kampogebiet	Jaundegebiet
Schwein, Kopf ohne Kinnbacken	50	50	—
Seitenstücke *(nkä)*	je 5	—	je 100
Rücken *(nkoń)*	10	—	100
Hinterstück *(oduk)*	20	—	200
Bein	je 10	—	100—150
Büffel, Bein	je 100	—	je 200
Weiche *(ejebok)*	je 50	—	je 150
Hinterstück *(oduk)*	50	—	250
Tragelaphus, Schirrantilope, Limnotragus, Sumpfbock u. **Cephalophus longiceps** Gray, Bein	je 20	—	—
Cercopithecus brazziformis Pocock. u. **C. lagiaisei** Pocock., ganz	40	—	—
Cercopithecus buccalis Leconte, ganz	20	—	—
Miopithecus talapoin Erxl., ganz	10	—	—
Hamsterratte (**Cricetomys**), ganz	10	—	—
Quastenstachler (**Atherura**) u. Rohrratte (**Thryonomys**), 2 Stücke zu 20	40	—	—
Mus-Arten	1	1	1
Nashornvögel	10	—	—
1 Fisch zu 26 cm Länge	1	—	(10)
1 „ „ 43 „ „	2	—	(25)
1 „ von Armlänge	10	—	(50)

III. Pflanzliche Nahrungsmittel.

Bezeichnung	Uellegebiet	Kampogebiet	Jaundegebiet
1 Bund Plantenfrüchte	10	10	15—30
1 Korbteller voll Erdnüsse (roh)	5	10	50
1 „ „ Ngon	10	10	60
1 Kassaverolle (Kang)	1	1	—
5 Maiskolben (trocken, z. Aussaat)	1	1	5
1 Korbteller voll Taro	—	—	15
10 Jaundeyamswurzeln	—	—	200
5 Stück Zuckerrohr (unter Eingebor.)	—	—	1
1 „ „ (im Handel)	1	1	—
1 Ananas	1	1	—
1 mittl. Kalabasse voll Ölpalmöl	—	10	—
1 „ „ „ Raphiapalmöl	10	—	—
Palmwein	—	—	25

IV. Tierische Rohstoffe (Felle, Zähne, Hörner).

Bezeichnung	Uellegebiet	Kampogebiet	Jaundegebiet
Fell des Leoparden, 5 Querbinden .	je 400	je 400	—
„ „ Fischotters, 2 Querbinden .	je 100	—	—
„ der Ginsterkatze (**Genetta**), ganz .	60	—	—
„ des Zierrollers (**Poiana**), ganz . .	70	—	—
„ der Schirrantilope (**Tragelaphus**) .	—	—	50
„ des **Cephalophus dorsalis** Gray .	—	—	50
„ „ Nilvarans	100	100	—
Rote Schwanzfedern des Papageien .	20	20	100
Obere Reißzähne des Leoparden . . .	je 60	je 60	je 150
Untere „ „ „ . .	je 40	je 40	je 100
Kralle des Leoparden	1	5	—
Schwanzwirbel des Leoparden	1	1	—
Schnurrhaar des Leoparden	10	10	—
Gehirn des Leoparden	10	10	—
1 Schirrantilopenhorn	10	10	—
1 Sumpfbockhorn (**Limnotragus**) . .	20	20	—
1 Horn des **Cephalophus longiceps** Gray	50	50	—
1 Büffelhorn	10	10	—
5 Haare des Elefantenschwanzes . .	10	10	—
4 Schenkelknochen der Hinterbeine des Elefanten	je 50	je 50	—

Hierbei ist darauf aufmerksam zu machen, daß die Preise sehr schwanken können, z. B. können Medizinen, zu denen Zutaten obiger Art verwandt werden, ihren Ruf verlieren, die Nachfrage sinkt, und der Preis fällt.

V. Hausrat.

Bezeichnung	Uellegebiet	Kampogebiet	Jaundegebiet
1. Erzeugnisse der Töpferei.			
Topf (großer)	3	3	20
„ (mittlerer)	2	2	5
„ (kleiner, *obebe*)	1	1	—
Tonflasche (große)	10	10	—
„ (kleine)	5	5	—
Schmiedetrichter	1	1	2
Tabakpfeife	1	1	2

V. Hausrat. (Fortsetzung).

Bezeichnung	Uellegebiet	Kampogebiet	Jaundegebiet
2. Erzeugnisse der Holzschnitzerei.			
Blasebalg	5	5	20
Schemel	1	1	—
Holztrommel (nach der Größe)	50—100	50—100	100—200
Felltrommel (ohne Fell)	—	—	50
Rührlöffel	1	1	—
Schöpflöffel	2	2	1
Mulde	—	—	20
Holztöpfe	5	5	—
Armbrust	10	50	—
Jaundespielmarken	—	—	2
3. Erzeugnisse der Flechterei.			
Großer Korb	5	5	10
Kleiner „ *(engane)*	3	3	5
Korbteller (große)	2	2	2
„ (kleine)	1	1	1
4. Erzeugnisse der Schmiederei.			
Großes Schmiedegerät *(ngono)*	1000	—	—
Kleines „ *(edu)*	500	—	—

Was sonst von Schmieden hergestellt wird, wird nicht gehandelt, sondern das nötige Roheisen muß gekauft und dem Schmied die Arbeit bezahlt werden.

VI. Europäische Waren.

Bezeichnung	Uellegebiet	Kampogebiet	Jaundegebiet
1 Gewehr	100—200	—	—
1 Sack Salz	300—400	—	—
1 Hauer	10	—	—
1 Stück Zeug	60	—	—
1 Rolle Messingdraht	60	—	—
1 Blatt Tabak oder 1 Löffel Salz	1	—	—

Abschnitt XVI.

Rechtsanschauungen.

1. Sachenrecht.

A. Grundbesitz und Eigentumsrecht. Erwerbung des Grundbesitzes. — Grundbesitz im Dorfe. — Pflanzungen und Altfarmen. — Eigentumsrecht an den Farmen. — Besitzrecht auf Fruchtbäume (Erwerbung des Besitzrechtes). — Besitzrecht auf Kautschuklianen. — Fischereirechte. — Bodenrecht bei Fallen.

B. Fundrecht. Finderlohn. — Eigentumsrecht bei unbekannten Besitzern. — Fundrecht bei angeschossenen Tieren: Hochwild, Elefanten. — Unterschlagung des Fundes.

2. Erbrecht.

Nachlaß. — Beratung über die Verteilung des Nachlasses. — Erbberechtigte. — Verteilung der Frauen des Vaters unter die Söhne bezw. unter die Söhne und Brüder. — Verteilung des übrigen Besitztums. — Verteilung der Schwestern unter ihre Brüder. — Erbansprüche an die Nachkommen einer im Austausch für eine Schwester vom Vater geheirateten Frau, Beispiel dazu. — Regelung des Erbes beim Tode eines Sohnes. — Vererbung des Nachlasses der Frauen (Hühner). — Schlußbemerkung.

3. Strafrecht.

A. Mord, Totschlag, fahrlässige Tötung, Körperverletzung. Häufigkeit des Mordes. — Mord bei nahen Verwandten: Brudermord, Vatermord, Muttermord, Schwestermord, Frauenmord, Kindermord, Männermord. — Mord in derselben Sippe. — Morde bei Mitgliedern anderer Sippen. — Körperverletzung durch Menschen und durch bissige Hunde.

B. Diebstahl und Hehlerei. Häufigkeit der Diebstähle bei Weißen. — Diebstähle der Neger unter sich: Gewohnheitsdiebe, Strafe, diebische Frauen, Seltenheit des Diebstahls. — Zunahme der Diebstähle seit der Beeinflussung durch die Weißen. — Feld- und Nahrungsdiebstahl: Strafzahlung dafür, Beispiel. — Nahrungsdiebstahl der Jungen. — Medizinen gegen Nahrungs- und Felddiebstahl. — Diebstahl der Hunde. — Sachbeschädigung durch Haustiere. — Hehlerei. — Weitergabe des gestohlenen Gutes.

C. Andere Verbrechen. Versehentliche Sachbeschädigung. — Erpressung. — Beleidigungen. — Geschlechtliche Vergehen.

4. Prozeßrecht.

Der Richter. — Verhandlung einer Streitsache (Ehebruch): Parteien, Anklage, Verteidigung, weitere Reden, Zeugnis der Frau, Beratung, Urteilsspruch. — Gerichtskosten. — Große und kleine Streitsachen. — Bezahlung des Geschädigten. — Unentschiedene Streitsachen. — Zeugen und deren Aussagen. — Streitfälle zwischen zwei Familienverbänden.

5. Eide, Wahrheitsbeweise.

Art des Eides. — Eidabgabe in Jaunde (beim Malan- und Ssogeist). — Schicksal und Geldbuße des Meineidigen. — Eidschwur bei der Mawungumedizin. — Eidabgabe im Südgebiete: Übersteigen eines Toten, einer Medizin, einer Kultfigur. — Andere Formen des Eides. — Wahrheitsbeweis in Jaunde durch Einnehmen von Gift: Ursache, Einnahme des Giftes, Verhinderungsversuch, Gegenmedizin. — Wahrheitsbeweise im Südpangwegebiete.

[P. 218]

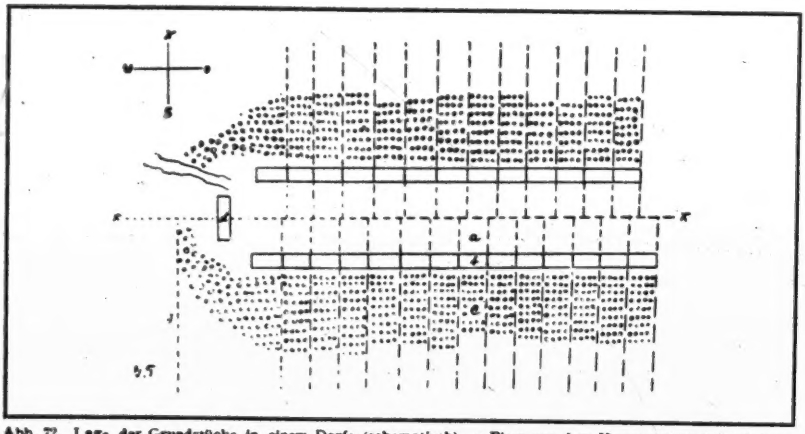


Abb. 72. Lage der Grundstücke in einem Dorfe (schematisch). *a* Platz vor dem Hause *(mbei)*, *b* Wohnhaus, *c* Platz hinter dem Hause *(fak)*, *d* Versammlungshaus, ∘°∘ Planten.

1. Sachenrecht.

A. Grundbesitz und Eigentumsrecht.

Der Urwald ist, mit Ausnahme gewisser Fruchtbäume und Bäche, herrenlos. Jedermann hat das Recht, aus ihm zu nehmen, was ihm beliebt oder ein Stück von ihm urbar zu machen und dadurch in seinen Besitz zu bringen. Grundbesitz wird also ursprünglich durch der Hände Arbeit erworben, er bleibt dann aber dauerndes Eigentum; selbst, wenn der Boden nicht mehr bearbeitet wird, kann er vererbt werden, verloren geht er nur infolge von Auswanderung.

Zum Grundbesitz sind zu rechnen:

1. die Grundstücke im Dorf,
2. die Pflanzungen,
3. die mit lichtem Busch bedeckten Altfarmen.

Bei der Anlage eines Dorfes werden die Plätze vom Häuptling verteilt; er selbst nimmt für seine Frauen diejenigen neben dem Versammlungshause. Nachdem der Dorfplatz gereinigt und die Häuser gebaut, wird der Platz hinter den Häusern für eine Anpflanzung von Planten hergerichtet. Zu jedem Hause gehört ein schmales Grundstück, das vorn — bei doppelreihigen Dörfern — auf der Mitte des Dorfplatzes mit dem Grundstück des gegenüberliegenden Hauses zusammenstößt (Abb. 72); nach hinten werden die Grenzen in der Plantenform genau in Verlängerung der Seitenwände des Hauses durch Bananen gekennzeichnet. Diese Bananen werden von den Männern gepflanzt, da sonst die Frauen ihre Grenzen zuungunsten der Nachbarn verschieben würden. Die Planten werden von den Frauen gepflanzt, die auch die weitere Bewirtschaftung

zu besorgen und den Vorplatz von Unkraut reinzuhalten haben, wobei ihnen der Mann höchstens in der ersten Zeit etwas hilft. Legt sich seine Begeisterung, so legt er auch den Hauer hin und überläßt der Frau das Feld, er bleibt aber rechtlich der Besitzer des oder vielmehr der Grundstücke — einschließlich des Hauses —, denn jede Frau bekommt ihr eigenes.

Die Grundstücke hinter den Häusern sind, wie gesagt, so breit wie diese, nur die hinter den letzten, am Ende der Reihe, neben dem Versammlungshause liegenden können sich seitlich ausdehnen und reichen hinter diesem wohl bis an die Mitte der Dorfachse. Vergrößert sich hier das Dorf, so muß ihr Besitzer die Planten fortschlagen, die in der Häuserflucht liegen, die übrigen bleiben sein Eigentum, und der Herr oder die Frau des neuen Hauses müssen sich ihren Plantagengarten anderswo anlegen, doch scheint diese Art, ein Dorf durch Anbau zu vergrößern, wenig üblich, man zieht es vor, ein neues Dorf in der Nähe zu gründen.

Die Pflanzungen werden selten von einem Mann allein, meist von den Dorfbewohnern zusammen angelegt, d. h. es wird mit dem Abschlagen und Abbrennen der Bäume begonnen. Im ersteren Falle liegt das Besitzrecht klar, im zweiten teilen sich die Männer in das Land, bevor es bepflanzt wird, und jeder einzelne wieder verteilt das ihm zugefallene gleichmäßig unter seine Weiber zur Bewirtschaftung. Ein Junggeselle pflegt kein Land zu beanspruchen, weil er eben keine Frau für die Feldarbeit hat; er beteiligt sich vielmehr an der Rodungsarbeit eines Verheirateten und wird später dafür von diesem sein Essen bekommen. Man teilt sich also im ganzen friedlich und je nach Bedürfnis des einzelnen in das Land.

Als Grenzmarken der Feldabschnitte dienen stehengelassene oder gestürzte Bäume, aufgeschichtetes Reisig oder Reihen regelmäßig gesetzter Nutzpflanzen, mitunter auch Buschtau (vgl. Abschnitt V).

Die Altfarmen bleiben vererbbares Eigentum des Gründers, haben indes wenig Wert, weil sie 3—5 Jahre brach liegen müssen und es dann fast ebensoviel Arbeit macht, sie herzurichten, wie ein Stück Urwald.

Genau entsprechend dem Grundsatz, daß die Arbeit das Eigentumsrecht schafft, gehören zum „Grundbesitz" außer Feuerholz nur die angebauten Pflanzen, nicht das Unkraut, auch wenn es Verwertung findet, wie das Sarcophrynium, in dessen Blätter z. B. die Kassave eingewickelt wird, nicht die Jagd — jeder Beliebige darf da schießen —, nicht die Wegegerechtsame — jeder darf die Pflanzung betreten, es sei denn, man könnte, wie auf Erdnußfarmen, die Pflanzen zertreten —, nicht das Recht am Funde — auf die gefundenen Sachen hat der Finder Anspruch.

Eine Sonderstellung nehmen gewisse Arten von Fruchtbäumen ein; sie

sind meist mit Ausnahme derjenigen, welche im unzugänglichen Urwald weitab von Dörfern stehen, im festen Besitze einzelner Personen; als wichtigster ist da zu nennen **Mimusops djave** Lan. Engl. *(adzab)*, ferner die Ölpalme (wegen des Palmöls), **Pachylobus edulis** E. Don. *(asə̆* Nt., *oś̆ŋ̆a* F.), **Irvingia barteri** Hook. f. *(andŭk)*, **Cola acuminata** (P. Beauv) R. Br. *(abĕ)*, **Pachylobus macrophyllus** (Oliv.) Engl. *(andŏlŭm)*, **Trichoscypta** spec. *(engŭ,n)* und **Trichoscypta** spec. *(amṛńt)*. Von der **Petersia minor** Niedenzu *(abín)*, auf der eine eßbare Raupenart vorkommt, und von zwei Landolphiaarten, nämlich der **Landolphia pyriformis** Hall. f. *(dźŏ III)* und **L.** spec. *(epfŏpfŏdo* Nt.), deren Früchte recht schmackhaft sind, haben nur die dicht beim Dorfe wachsenden Exemplare Besitzer; in Gegenden, wo Raphiapalmen selten sind, sind die wenigen vorkommenden häufig in Privatbesitz.

Ausnahmen sind **Coula edulis** Baill. *(ewuomo*, Früchte: *komo)*, wohl deshalb, weil sie als Nuß meist an Ort und Stelle gegessen wird, und die Zitronen und Apfelsinen, die wegen ihres schlechten Geschmackes als Frucht eigentlich kaum mitzählen können.

Das Besitzrecht auf einen Baum erwirbt, wer ihn zuerst sieht oder vielmehr, wer ihn zuerst als sein Eigentum öffentlich in Anspruch nimmt. Hat jemand z. B. im Urwald einen **Mimusops** gesehen, der, soviel er weiß, herrenlos ist, so verkündet er den Leuten im Versammlungshause:

ma dźona: ma mbe fei, ma jene adźab, e mode a
Ich sage so: ich war (im) Busch, ich sah **Mimusops** der Mann welcher

je d'a jen: ma nto a jadŭ
wird ihn sehen (wisse): ich schon bin Besitzer.

Das Recht kann sich aber auch auf zwei Leute aus verschiedenen Familienverbänden gleichzeitig erstrecken, sie einigen sich dann darüber, wann der eine und wann der andere die Früchte sammeln kann.

Für diejenigen Fruchtbäume, die dicht beim Dorfe stehen, sinkt das Besitzrecht in der Praxis zu einer Art Aufsichtsrecht herunter, denn die Sitte verlangt, daß jeder im Dorfe von den Früchten abbekommt oder sich nehmen kann, wenn er nur dem Besitzer Bescheid sagt, der unter anderem darauf zu achten hat, daß die Früchte nicht unreif abgerissen werden. Man betrachtet die Bäume also gleichsam als Eigentum der gesamten Dorfgemeinschaft.

Die Fruchtbäume werden beim Roden des Urwaldes geschont, auch ihre nächste Umgebung, soweit die Krone reicht, wird nicht abgeholzt und wird Eigentum des Baumbesitzers, auch wenn bei der Verteilung des Bodens das anstoßende Land einem anderen zufällt. Der Baum steht dann später mitten in der Farm eines Anderen.

Die Sonderstellung der Fruchtbäume teilen die Bäume mit Honigbienennestern, die im Privatbesitz sind. Neuerdings, seit der Wertsteigerung des Kautschuks, hat sich auch auf alle Kautschuklianen, mit Ausnahme der **Landolphia ochracea** K. Sch. *(arem)*, d. h. auf diejenigen, bei welchen der Kautschuk durch Abschneiden der Liane gewonnen wird, nicht durch Abzapfen, ein beschränkter Nießbrauch entwickelt. Der Nießbrauch wird — wie jenes Besitzrecht auf Fruchtbäume im Dorf — von dem Manne, der die Liane zum erstenmal gesehen hat, verkündet und dauert drei Tage; hat der Mann bis dahin die Liane nicht abgeschnitten, so erlischt sein Recht.

Fischereigerechtsame gibt es wenige, nur kleine Bäche im Urwalde können von einzelnen Personen beansprucht werden; in den Flüssen wird der Fischfang von den Dorfbewohnern gemeinsam betrieben.

Bei Fallen ist man sich über die Rechtsverhältnisse nicht recht einig, die einen behaupten, daß der Besitzer der Falle auch Herr des benachbarten Grund und Bodens sei, solange sie im Betrieb ist, andere bestreiten das und sagen, jeder hätte das Recht, eine neue Falle neben der ersten zu legen. Bei Fallgruben ist die letztere Auffassung anerkannt.

Ein Bodenrecht besteht endlich auf alle Gräber, mögen sie liegen, wo sie wollen.

B. Fundrecht.

Rechtlich kann der Finder eines verlorenen Gegenstandes genau die Hälfte des Wertes als Bezahlung verlangen, er sieht indessen bei einem Angehörigen desselben Familienverbandes vielfach davon ab in dem Gedanken: „Eine Hand wäscht die andere." Andernfalls sagt er zum Verlierer: „Sieh, ich habe längst die und die Sache, welche du suchst, gefunden. Du mußt mich nun bezahlen." Darauf der andere: „Ach, wir sind doch aus befreundeten Sippen. Werde ich meine Sache nicht wiedersehen?" Der Finder erwidert: „Das macht alles nichts, bezahle nur!" Will der Mann sein Eigentum wieder haben, so bleibt ihm nichts anderes übrig, als zu zahlen. Findet jemand dagegen eine Medizin, so wird sie meist, sogar an fremde Familienverbände, unentgeltlich zurückgegeben, jedenfalls aus Angst vor ihrer schädlichen Wirkung. Verlangt der Finder doch einen Lohn, so wird der Besitzer sagen: „Ja, wenn du diese Medizin behältst, so wirst du krank, da du nicht dabeigewesen bist, wie sie bereitet wurde."

Ist der Besitzer unbekannt, so behält der Finder den Gegenstand, bis sich jener meldet; gegen Zahlung des halben Wertes kann er ihn dann beanspruchen.

Handelt es sich um Dinge, die einem fremden, nicht befreundeten oder gar feindlichen Familienverband gehören, so sieht man den Fund als willkommene Beute an und erstattet sie keinesfalls zurück.

Unter das Fundrecht fallen auch angeschossene Tiere, die flüchtig gehen und später aufgefunden werden. Man unterscheidet dabei, ob das Tier sogleich vom Jäger verfolgt wurde, oder ob der Jäger sich erst nach Verlauf einiger Zeit aufmachte, um das verlorene Tier aufzufinden. So ist die Regel bei Hochwild folgende: Findet jemand ein angeschossenes Tier, und kommt der Jäger an demselben Tage, an dem es angeschossen wurde, hinzu, so erhält der Finder einen Vorderfuß. Vom zweiten Tage ab gilt jedoch das Tier als verloren, und der Jäger muß die Hälfte abgeben. Bei Elefanten ist die Frist etwas länger. Findet jemand einen angeschossenen Elefanten und kommt der Jäger am Tage der Jagd hinzu, so erhält der Finder zwei bis drei Körbe Fleisch; vom zweiten Tage ab erhält er die Hälfte des Fleisches. Vom dritten Tage ab gilt der Elefant als verloren, und der Finder bekommt die Hälfte des Tieres, also einen Zahn und die Hälfte des Fleisches.

Von Fundunterschlagung ein Beispiel aus dem Ntumgebiet: Jemand hatte einen Elefanten, den ein Mann aus demselben Dorfe geschossen hatte, gefunden. Dieser Elefant hatte einen großen und einen kleinen Zahn. Der Finder nahm nun den großen Zahn heraus und schaffte ihn heimlich in sein Haus, das Fleisch aber verdarb im Busch. Nach längerer Zeit stieß ein dritter Mann aus dem Dorfe auf die Reste des Elefanten, sah, daß ein Zahn herausgenommen war, und erzählte es dem Mann, der den Elefanten geschossen hatte. Der berief eine Versammlung, und dabei kam es denn heraus, daß der erste Finder den Zahn heimlich mitgenommen hatte. Da sagte der Jäger: „So, den Zahn mußt du auf der Stelle herausgeben, und wenn ich ihn in der Faktorei verkauft habe, bekommt der Mann, der mir von dem Fund berichtet hat, die Hälfte, du aber bekommst gar nichts, denn deine Handlungsweise ist dasselbe wie stehlen!"

2. Erbrecht.

Der Nachlaß des verstorbenen Pangwe, der zur Erbteilung kommt, besteht aus erstens den Frauen, zweitens den Töchtern, drittens dem Vermögen, d. h. Vieh, Geld, sonstigem Besitz und Eigentumsrechten. Häuser und Farmen gehören zu den Frauen und werden mit diesen zusammen vererbt.

Die Erbteilung ist ziemlich verwickelt und die Ursache vieler Streitigkeiten, anderseits eine wichtige Sache im Leben des Negers, der sich von Jugend auf mit dem Gedanken an das väterliche Gut beschäftigt, das er später zu erwarten hat. Es kommen sogar Vatermorde vor, weil der Sohn die Zeit nicht abwarten kann, wo er eine der väterlichen Frauen allein besitzt.

Ist jemand gestorben, so kommt am Tage nach dem Begräbnis das ganze Dorf im Versammlungshause zusammen, und die alten Leute treten in die Beratung über die Verteilung der Weiber ein. Diesen selbst steht es nicht zu, hierfür

Wünsche zu äußern, sie würden Vorwürfe bekommen und den Verdacht aussprechen hören: „Aha, du hast wohl den Tod des Mannes gewollt oder gar herbeigeführt, um mit dem zusammenzukommen, den du jetzt haben willst." In Jaunde glaubt man — wie wir gesehen haben — allgemein beim Tode eines Mannes, daß seine Frauen ihn vergiftet haben, und hat sie früher deshalb oft hingerichtet. Auch die Söhne pflegen sich nicht einzumischen, sie verlassen sich darauf, daß es bekannt ist, welche von den Frauen ihres Vaters sie gern haben, und daß man sich danach richtet. Ein letzter Wille des Verstorbenen in solcher Beziehung wird selten ausgesprochen, dann aber befolgt. Der öffentlichen Vorbesprechung pflegt sich eine geheime Sitzung der Alten anzuschließen, die endgültig entscheidend ist.

Erbberechtigt sind die männlichen Mitglieder der engeren Familie, die Söhne, Brüder, der Vater und die Brüder des Vaters. Die Söhne brauchen nicht die leiblichen Kinder des Verstorbenen zu sein, auch der Erstgeborene nicht, wenn er nur in der Ehe geboren ist; es kommt vor, daß jemand nach der Anzahlung des Kaufgeldes merkt, daß seine Auserwählte bereits schwanger ist, das Kind gilt dann trotzdem als das seine und genießt alle Erbrechte des eigenen.

Bei der Verteilung der Frauen berücksichtigt man zuweilen, aber nicht immer, ob sie an den eigenen Sohn oder an einen Stiefsohn fallen würden. Der Brauch schwankt dabei: Gewöhnlich wird sie nicht an den Sohn gegeben, weil die Achtung vor der Mutter ihm verbietet, über sie ebenso zu verfügen wie über fremde Frauen, d. h. gegen Geld anderen Männern zu überlassen, weil ihm also dadurch direkt wirtschaftlicher Nachteil erwächst. In seltenen Fällen gibt man sie gerade an den Sohn, um sie unter dessen Schutz zu stellen.

Die im Alter vorangehenden Söhne werden auch bei der Erbteilung bevorzugt, wie folgende Liste zeigt. Voraussetzung ist dabei, daß der Verstorbene keine Brüder hat.

Es erhält bei 10 Frauen und

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Söhnen
Sohn I . .	10	6	5	5	4	3	3	2	2	2	
„ II . .	—	4	3	3	2	2	2	2	1	1	
„ III . .	—	—	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	
„ IV . .	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
„ V . .	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	
„ VI . .	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	1	
„ VII . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	
„ VIII . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	
„ IX . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	
„ X . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	

Bei mehr Söhnen bleibt das Zahlenverhältnis dasselbe, der zehnte und die folgenden Söhne gehen leer aus.

Bei 20 Weibern würde die Verteilung folgende sein:

Es erhält bei	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15 Söhnen
Sohn I . .	10	8	7	6	6	6	6	5	4	4	4	4	4
„ II . .	6	5	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	2
„ III . .	4	4	4	4	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
„ IV . .	—	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1
„ V . .	—	—	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1
„ VI . .	—	—	—	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1
„ VII . .	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
„ VIII . .	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
„ IX . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
„ X . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	1	1
„ XI . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	1
„ XII . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1
„ XIII . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1
„ XIV . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
„ XV . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1

Hat der Vater außer Söhnen noch Brüder, so erben diese mit, wenn auch weniger als die Söhne. Ein Beispiel wäre folgendes:

Es erhält bei 5 Frauen und	1	2	3	4	5 Söhnen und 5 Brüdern
Sohn I . .	2	2	2	2	2
„ II . .	—	2	1	1	1
„ III . .	—	—	1	1	1
„ IV . .	—	—	—	1	1
„ V . .	—	—	—	—	—
Bruder I . .	1	1	1	—	—
„ II . .	1	—	—	—	—
„ III . .	1	—	—	—	—
„ IV . .	—	—	—	—	—
„ V . .	—	—	—	—	—

Am zweiten Tage wird nach gleichen Grundsätzen der übrige Nachlaß, nämlich Vieh und Barvermögen, verteilt, zu letzterem gehört das im Hause vorhandene Geld (Eisengeld und Tauschwaren) sowie das als Anzahlung für neu zu kaufende Frauen — der Neger hört bekanntlich nie auf zu heiraten — im Umlauf befindliche, das der betreffende Erbe dann einziehen oder, wenn er auch die Erbschaft der Liebe antreten und das Mädchen heiraten will, als Anzahlung stehen lassen kann. Die Eigentumsrechte an Bäumen gehen auf den ältesten Sohn über.

Wie die Frauen, werden auch die Töchter verteilt, und zwar an die leiblichen Brüder; nur wenn sehr viele Schwestern auf einen Bruder kommen,

bei einer Nebenfrau umgekehrt meist Söhne vorhanden sind, können sie Stiefbrüdern zugeschlagen werden, was immer der Fall ist, wenn überhaupt kein Bruder da ist. Man sucht hier soviel wie möglich auszugleichen. Der Vorrang des leiblichen Bruders erstreckt sich auch auf ungeborene Mädchen, d. h. wenn eine Frau nach dem Tode ihres Mannes eine Tochter gebiert, so gehört diese nicht ihrem jetzigen Mann, sondern ihren Söhnen.

Die Verteilung der Töchter unter ihre Brüder geht nach folgendem Schema vor sich. Es erhält bei 2 Brüdern und

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 Schwestern
Bruder I . .	1	1	2	2	3	3	4	4
„ II . .	—	1	1	2	2	3	3	4

Es erhält bei 3 Brüdern und

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 Schwestern
Bruder I . .	1	1	1	2	3	2	3
„ II . .	—	1	1	1	1	2	2
„ III . .	—	—	1	1	1	2	2

Es erhält bei 4 Brüdern und

	1	2	3	4	5	6 Schwestern
Bruder I . .	1	1	1	1	2	2
„ II . .	—	1	1	1	1	2
„ III . .	—	—	1	1	1	1
„ IV . .	—	—	—	1	1	1

Es erhält bei 5 Brüdern und

	1	2	3	4	5	6 Schwestern
Bruder I . .	1	1	1	1	1	2
„ II . .	—	1	1	1	1	1
„ III . .	—	—	1	1	1	1
„ IV . .	—	—	—	1	1	1
„ V . .	—	—	—	—	1	1

Nun kommt es aber sehr häufig vor, daß der Vater eine Tochter gegen eine neue Frau eingetauscht bzw. das Heiratsgeld, welches er für eine Tochter bekommt, dazu verwendet hat, sich eine Frau zu kaufen. Dann fällt also bei der Erbteilung für einen der Söhne eine Frau aus. Dafür hat dieser ein Anrecht auf die weiblichen Nachkommen der Frau, welche der Vater im Austausch für die Schwester geheiratet hatte, überhaupt nehmen die Brüder gewissermaßen die Stellung von Älteren gegenüber den Nachkommen der Austauschfrau ein. Sehr verwickelt kann die Sache dadurch werden, daß der Vater noch einmal „tauscht" und für eine Tochter der ersten „Austauschfrau" sich eine neue Frau nimmt. Deren Töchter gehören der ersten Austauschfrau oder vielmehr ihren Söhnen.

Ein Beispiel möge das Verfahren in einem solchen Falle erläutern. Ein Mann, er heiße Ngumu, heiratet für die Tochter F. seiner Frau Mbuu eine Frau H., die vier Töchter hat.

Ngumu.
Frau Mbuu

1. N ♂; 2. A ♂; 3. B ♀; 4. C ♂; 5. D ♂; 6. F ♀; 7. G ♂.

Diese vier Töchter der Frau H gehen auf die Söhne der Frau Mbuu über, und zwar so, daß der Bruder, welcher der Austauschschwester unmittelbar vorhergeht (D), als Ältester betrachtet wird, weil ihm eigentlich die Schwester weggenommen ist, und die Brüder, welche eine Schwester „hinter sich" haben, nicht oder weniger berücksichtigt werden, weil sie die jüngere Schwester noch haben. Danach bekäme N eine Tochter der H, A keine, da er eine Schwester hinter sich hat, C eine, D zwei, die Mutter H und eine Tochter, und G eine Tochter. Hat Frau H außer Töchtern noch Söhne, so verschlechtern sich die Aussichten der Söhne der Mbuu, und um so mehr, je mehr männliche Nachkommen in der Linie H noch vorhanden sind. Da nunmehr zuerst die Brüder berücksichtigt werden, so kann es unmöglich werden, den Nachkommen der Mbuu zum wenigsten die eine schuldige Frau zu geben. In diesem Falle hat der älteste Sohn der H die Ansprüche der Söhne der Mbuu auf eine Frau zu erfüllen. Er muß ihnen eine von seinen Töchtern abgeben, oder wenigstens geht sie nach seinem Tode auf jene über. Anderseits können, wenn sehr viele Töchter und kein oder wenige Söhne vorhanden sind, die Nachkommen der Mbuu unter Umständen mehr als eine Frau erben. Hat der älteste Sohn der H keine Töchter oder nach Abfindung der Söhne keine mehr übrig, so geht die Verpflichtung auf den Ältesten der dritten Generation über. Kann auch der sie nicht erfüllen, so erlischt der Anspruch auf mehr Frauen als eine.

Stirbt jemand bei Lebzeiten seines Vaters, so erbt dieser seinen ganzen Besitz, mit Ausnahme der Weiber. Diese fallen den Brüdern oder, wenn keine da sind, den Brüdern des Vaters bzw. deren Söhnen, und zwar in gleichem Verhältnis zu. Es kommt aber auch vor, daß der Vater sie widerrechtlich für sich behält. Bei der Verteilung wird darauf gesehen, daß alle Vettern von väterlicher Seite, wenn möglich, bedacht werden; sind einige Brüder dagegen kinderlos, so werden diese selbst bedacht, und zwar, weil sie in erster Linie stehen, oft reichlicher als die Kinder eines älteren Bruders. Sind keine Brüder und Onkel vorhanden, so bekommt der Vater die Frauen. Übrigens haben die Frauen der Ntum und Fang in diesen Fällen eine Art Selbstbestimmungsrecht errungen.

Die Weiber sind nach diesem allem nichts weiter als eine Sache; sie selbst haben an eigenem, vererbbarem Besitz eigentlich nur die Hühner, die an die

Töchter — die älteste hat dieselben Vorrechte wie der älteste Sohn — fallen beziehungsweise, wenn die Tochter bei Lebzeiten der Mutter stirbt, an diese und die Schwestern.

Für die gesamte Erbschaftsregulierung gilt der Satz, daß nicht immer streng nach dem Schema verfahren wird, sondern daß man versucht, jeden zu bedenken und keinen zurückzusetzen. Das wird in langen Beratungen von den alten Leuten durchgesprochen und nach Berücksichtigung aller möglichen Umstände und Wünsche entschieden. Natürlich ist die Anwesenheit aller Erbberechtigten dabei sehr nötig, damit sie ihre Interessen vertreten können, und man begreift, daß kein schwarzer Angestellter mehr zu halten ist, wenn er hört, sein Vater sei gestorben.

3. Strafrecht.

A. Mord, Totschlag, fahrlässige Tötung, Körperverletzung.

Unter allen Verbrechen nehmen bei den Pangwe Mord und Totschlag bei weitem die erste Stelle ein; auch fahrlässige Tötung ist recht häufig. Es ist von Naturvölkern bekannt, daß sie äußerst empfindlich sind, in ihrem Jähzorn kein Maß und keine Grenze kennen und leicht zum äußersten schreiten, wenn es gilt, ein ihnen angetanes Unrecht zu rächen. So kann es nicht wundernehmen, daß bei dem heftigen Charakter der Pangwe — besonders der südlichen Stämme — Verbrechen gegen das Leben weit häufiger sind als z. B. Diebstahl. Die Strafe dafür ist verschieden nach dem Verwandtschaftsgrad. Wir finden da die grellsten Gegensätze: einmal Todesstrafe, ein andermal völlige Straffreiheit.

Bei nahen Blutsverwandten gilt folgendes: Tötet jemand seinen rechten Bruder versehentlich, so geschieht nichts; es ist eben ein Unglück. Handelt es sich dagegen um einen Stiefbruder, also den Sohn einer anderen Frau des Vaters, so hat der Pechvogel den Brüdern des Getöteten eine Frau zu zahlen. Auf den nicht so seltenen Brudermord steht die Todesstrafe. Die Brüder oder andere Verwandte fangen den Mörder, binden ihn und werfen ihn ins Wasser. Ein Omwangmann hatte z. B. seinem älteren Bruder die ihm selbst zugehörige Schwester überlassen, damit er durch Umtausch eine Frau heiraten konnte. Der letztere hatte versprochen, die geliehene Frau (oder das Heiratsgut für eine Frau) zurückzugeben, wenn der Jüngere soweit wäre, zu heiraten. Später weigerte er sich und wußte von dem ganzen Geschäft nichts mehr. Darauf nahm der Jüngere ein Gewehr, lauerte dem Bruder am Wege auf und erschoß ihn aus dem Hinterhalt. Obgleich der Mörder in der Sache selbst im Rechte war, wurde er ersäuft, denn man sagte: „Wenn der Mörder auch eine gute Sache hat, so dringt die schöne Rede davon den Leuten nicht in die Ohren,

denn Mörder sein ist schlimmer." Auf Vatermord steht ebenfalls die Todesstrafe durch Ersäufen; auch er ist im allgemeinen recht häufig, fast noch häufiger als Brudermord. Der Beweggrund ist meist das Verlangen eines Sohnes nach den Weibern des Vaters, zum Teil auch die Eifersucht des Vaters selbst. In Makomengono erschoß ein Sohn seinen Vater, weil dieser bei der Verteilung von Speergeld einen Bruder bevorzugt hatte und dem auch sonst stets Recht gab. Man sieht, daß die Pangwe durch die geringste Zurücksetzung verärgert werden und sich so in diesen Ärger hineinfressen können, daß sie denjenigen, welcher ihren Zorn erregt hat, ums Leben bringen oder noch häufiger sich selbst entleiben, da sie wissen, welches Schicksal ihnen bei Vatermord droht.

Die Strafe besteht im Ertränken deshalb, weil man glaubt, vergossenes Blut eines „Nächsten", selbst eines Mörders, werde vom Ngi gerächt, der das Blut in Gestalt von Lepraflecken auf den Körper werfe.

Bei Frauen liegt die Sache nicht so schlimm, wie nach ihrer rechtlichen Stellung verständlich ist. Der Muttermörder geht vollkommen frei aus; er wird vielleicht von seinem Vater beschimpft wegen seiner Voreiligkeit, aber sonst geschieht ihm nichts. Ebenso ist Schwesternmord straflos; er kommt aber selten vor, da sich ja der Bruder selbst schädigen würde (er könnte sich mit ihr eine Frau kaufen) und sicher wäre, wegen seiner Dummheit verspottet zu werden. Handelt es sich um eine Stiefschwester, so muß er ihren rechten Brüdern eine Frau zurückerstatten. Häufig kommt es vor, daß jemand im Jähzorn seine eigene Frau erschlägt, ein Mann aus Alen (Essauong) z. B., weil sie ihm Vorwürfe darüber machte, daß er eine Frau aus seiner eigenen Familie, also eine Essauong, geschwängert hatte, was als Blutschande gilt. Die Tat war natürlich straffrei, da ja dem Mörder die Frau gehörte. Heute ändert sich die Sitte, insofern der schon früher aufgetauchte Gedanke, daß die Frau trotz der „Bezahlung" noch in gewissem Sinne zu ihrer Familie rechnet, in neuerer, europäisch beeinflußter Zeit an Boden gewinnt, und vielfach an die Familie der Frau eine Entschädigung von 1000—2000 Speergeld gezahlt werden muß.

Kinder sind dem Vater gegenüber schutzlos; er darf sie töten, ohne sich irgendwelchen Vorwürfen oder Strafen auszusetzen, und von diesem Rechte macht denn auch der Pangwe mitunter Gebrauch, sobald ihm die Kinder irgendwie unangenehm oder lästig werden.

Es kommt auch vor, daß Frauen ihre Männer umbringen; meist ist es Giftmord, aber auch gewalttätiger Totschlag ist nicht unbekannt. Für gewöhnlich scheint er keine schlimmeren Folgen für die Frau nach sich zu ziehen.

Gehört die getötete Person nicht zur nächsten Blutsverwandtschaft, wohl aber zu demselben Familienverbande, so ist für fahrlässige Tötung stets ein Weib zu bezahlen; bei Mord dagegen kann dafür die Blutrache eintreten. Die

nächsten Verwandten suchen, wenn sie den Mörder selbst nicht erwischen können, einen von dessen Angehörigen — Mann oder Frau, entsprechend dem Geschlecht des Getöteten — zu erschlagen, und erst, wenn ihnen das gelungen ist, kann über die Sache verhandelt werden, wobei der Mörder bzw. seine Familie zur Zahlung eines Weibes verurteilt wird.

Gehört die getötete Person einem fremden Familienverbande an, so tritt Blutrache ein, und ein solcher Fall zieht immer einen Krieg zwischen den betreffenden Sippen nach sich, selbst wenn die Familie des Mörders die beste Absicht hätte, zu bezahlen. Die vielen Kriege der Fangsippen rühren hauptsächlich von irgendeinem Mord oder Totschlag her, und die Feindschaft kann sich über viele Jahre hinziehen, es ist aber sicher, daß die Pangwe längst der unaufhörlichen Schießereien und Verluste an Menschenleben überdrüssig waren, und daß sie nur auf eine Gelegenheit warteten, um das drückende Joch der Sitte abzuschütteln. Diese Gelegenheit kam mit den Weißen; auch da, wo keine militärische Station die Kriege unterdrückt, ist es besser geworden, weil die Pangwe selbst die fremde Kultur vorschoben, um die Blutrache durch einen gütlichen Ausgleich zu ersetzen, zunächst wenigstens bei fahrlässiger Tötung. Die Buße ist allerdings recht hoch, nämlich mehrere Weiber, sie wird aber wohl im Laufe der Zeit auf ein Weib heruntergesetzt werden.

Körperverletzungen im Verlauf von Streitigkeiten sind nicht häufig. Meist werden sie nicht für sich erledigt, sondern mit dem Gegenstand des Streites zusammen; sie verschlimmern aber die Sache des Übereifrigen. Haben z. B. zwei junge Leute wegen eines Mädchens, das sie beide heiraten wollen, Streit, und der eine schlägt den anderen mit dem Hauer, so wird zuungunsten des Angreifers entschieden und dem anderen das Mädchen zugesprochen. Bei ernsterer Körperverletzung in derselben Familie werden 100 Speere bezahlt; in vielen Fällen schafft man sich selbst kurzerhand sein Recht und nach dem Grundsatze: „Auge um Auge, Zahn um Zahn" Genugtuung, d. h. es entsteht eine Schlägerei zwischen den Parteien.

Haftpflicht für bissige Hunde kommt kaum in Frage; der Angegriffene hilft sich selbst und sticht das Tier mit seinem Speer, in ernsteren Fällen kann er es auch töten.

B. Diebstahl und Hehlerei.

Wenn man von den fortwährenden Diebstählen, welche die Pangwe bei Weißen ausführen, hört — besonders die Jaunde stehen in dieser Beziehung in schlechtem Ruf — so könnte man glauben, daß es unter den Eingeborenen selbst ebenfalls schlecht damit bestellt ist. Aber gerade das Gegenteil ist der Fall. Über die Ursachen dieser merkwürdigen Erscheinung werden wir

später Genaueres erfahren. In dem Verhältnis zu den Weißen kann vielleicht als Entschuldigung gelten, daß die große Anzahl der neuen und für den Neger höchst begehrenswerten europäischen Gegenstände die Begierde reizen mußte, und daß diese Begierde die sittlichen Bedenken um so eher überwand, als der weiße Händler für den Angehörigen eines fremden Familienverbandes gilt, also für einen Feind, der außerhalb aller rechtlichen Beziehungen steht, und den zu übervorteilen kein Verbrechen ist. Dann kam die Freude über den gelungenen Streich, der Stolz auf den Besitz, die Bewunderung der Dorfgenossen, man machte die Sache noch einmal, und bald wurde es geradezu Sport, soviel wie möglich in den kaufmännischen Geschäften zu stehlen. Freilich kommt auch meistens der Diebstahl nicht ans Licht, da die Neger sich gegenseitig nie verraten und auf direkte Fragen bis zum letzten Atemzug leugnen. So ist es dahin gekommen, daß die Diebereien der Pangwe in den letzten Jahren in unglaublicher Weise zugenommen haben, und die Regierung nur imstande ist, Einhalt zu tun, wenn sie mit der größten Strenge vorgeht und selbst auf kleinere Diebstähle empfindliche Strafen setzt.

Bei den Negern unter sich ist das Bild anders, Gewohnheitsdiebe gibt es nur unter ganz armen und heruntergekommenen Leuten, z. B. den aus der Dorfgemeinschaft ausgestoßenen Leprakranken. Kann oder will der Vater eines solchen Diebes nicht mehr zahlen, weil sich die an ihn gestellten Ersatzansprüche zu sehr häufen, so wird kurzer Prozeß gemacht und der Dieb von den geschädigten Dorfbewohnern gebunden und ins Wasser geworfen. Beispielsweise litt ein Mann aus Mabungo (Ngbue) offenbar an der „Kleptomanie", nahm den anderen Leuten beständig Hühner und Sachen weg und mußte andauernd bezahlen. Schließlich hatten es die Leute satt und beschlossen, ihn mit Hilfe eines Kultgeistes zu töten. Darauf soll der Mann wirklich nach zwei Tagen „im Sumpf" gestorben sein, was die Vermutung nahelegt, daß er von den bestohlenen Leuten dort überfallen und ertränkt ist.

Hat eine Frau wiederholt gestohlen, so kann man sie zurückgeben, man bekommt dann das Heiratsgut anstandslos wieder ausbezahlt, da der Vater dem Schwiegersohn ein weiteres Zusammenleben mit einer Diebin nicht zumuten kann.

Daß der Diebstahl außerhalb des Kreises verkommener Männer und haltloser Weiber so wenig vorkommt, liegt wohl zum großen Teil an der Angst vor den religiösen Mächten, vor den furchtbaren Strafen des knochenschüttelnden Ngi, zum anderen Teil aber an der Furcht vor dem Schimpf und der Ächtung durch die Pangwegesellschaft, in deren Augen der Diebstahl innerhalb der Sippe etwas außerordentlich Beschämendes und Gemeines ist. Diese Furcht vor dem Verlust der gesellschaftlichen Stellung ist eine so große, daß man auch Ser-

befreundeten Familienverbänden Diebstahl vermeidet. Man würde bei ihnen gesellschaftlich sozusagen unmöglich werden und kaum eine Frau, die man doch aus befreundeten Sippen wählen muß, bekommen.

Natürlich werden die Verhältnisse gänzlich auf den Kopf gestellt, wo der Weiße die Pangwe als Träger durch fremde Landschaften führt oder als Händler in Gegenden schickt, die weit von dessen Heimat abliegen, oder wo er selbst auf den großen Stationen wissentlich oder unwissentlich ihre alten Sitten und Gebräuche zerstört. Hier fehlen oder fallen überall die sittlichen Schranken, und die Gelegenheit macht Diebe, auch wenn es sich um Schwarze gegen Schwarze handelt.

Eine mildere Beurteilung erfährt — wie bei uns — der Mundraub, der meist von Frauen begangene Diebstahl von Nahrungsmitteln gilt zwar in der öffentlichen Meinung als verächtlich, aber doch als ein leichteres Vergehen, das nicht hoch bestraft wird. Vielleicht weil hier der Gedanke der ursprünglichen Besitzgemeinschaft noch lebendig ist.

Gelegenheitsdiebstahl wird nur bei den Fang mit einer besonderen Geldstrafe belegt, die z. B. bei einem Bund Planten (Wert 10 Speer) 20 Speer, bei Ngun (Wert 10 Speer für einen Korbteller voll) 50 Speer beträgt. Die übrigen Pangwe begnügen sich mit Rückgabe des gestohlenen Gutes bzw. mit Ersatz des Wertes, ja man scheint in diesen Wert die Schande des Diebes mit einzurechnen und sich deshalb mit weniger zu begnügen, wie folgende Geschichte zeigt, die mir in Jaunde zu Ohren gekommen ist:

Eine Frau stahl von der unbewachten Pflanzung einer anderen in der gleichen Sippe verheirateten Frau Yamsknollen; sie war dabei von ihrer Freundin begleitet. Während sie sich ihren Korb mit Yams füllte, fragte sie die Freundin: „Willst du nicht auch etwas mitnehmen?" „Nein," antwortete die, „ich bin nur gekommen, dich zu begleiten; wenn du mir aber von dem Yams geben willst, so laß mir etwas ab!" Das tat die Diebin auch, und als die Eigentümerin des Feldes den Schaden merkte, folgte sie den Spuren ins Dorf der Diebin, sah diese gerade Yams kochen und sagte zu ihr: „Wo kommt all' dieser Yams her? Den hast du von meinem Felde entwendet!" Als die Frau leugnete, ging sie zu deren Mann und sagte ihm: „Deine Frau hat mir den Yams aus der Farm gestohlen," und zeigte ihm die verräterischen Spuren. Der Mann rief nun eine Anzahl Leute herbei, die den Tatbestand feststellen mußten, ging dann in das Haus seiner Frau und sagte ihr den Diebstahl auf den Kopf zu. Sie leugnete einige Zeit, mußte aber endlich gestehen, da jeder der Leute sie als Diebin bezeichnete. Sie sagte dann, sie sei es nicht alleine gewesen, ihre Begleiterin hätte auch vom Yams genommen. Bei der nunmehr folgenden Verhandlung wurde die Diebin zur Zahlung von 200 Jaundespeer, die Hehlerin zur Zahlung von

100 Jaundespeer verurteilt, obgleich der Korb Yams 500 Jaundespeer wert gewesen war und die Bestohlene natürlich den Yams los war. Man rechnete die Schande und den Spott, vielleicht die Schläge des Ehemannes als Strafe mit, sonst wäre deren geringe Höhe nicht zu begreifen.

Die Fangjungen stellen sich kleine fünfzinkige Gabeln (Abb. 73) durch Spalten eines langen Raphiarindenstabes her, langen mit ihnen von außen heimlich durch die Tür und spießen sich das auf dem Korbteller bereitstehende Essenbündel auf. Also auch hier: „Was ein Häkchen werden will, krümmt sich beizeiten." Ich rate ihnen aber, sich nicht abfassen zu lassen und sich schleunigst aus dem Staube zu machen, denn wird der kleine Dieb seinem Vater angezeigt, so muß er sich auf eine tüchtige Tracht Prügel gefaßt machen, was sonst nicht häufig vorkommt. Auch bei anderen Diebstählen bekommt der Junge seine Prügel und muß den gestohlenen Gegenstand zurückgeben.

Um sich gegen die Entwendung von Nahrungsmitteln aus dem Hause und gegen Felddiebstahl zu schützen, haben die Pangwe eine ganze Reihe von Abschreckungsmedizinen erfunden.

Dem ersten Zweck dienen folgende im Hause angebrachte:

1. *ŋgəm (ŋgəm* = Quastenstachler). (Abb. 74.) Sie besteht aus einem Streifen Raphiamark, in das Stacheln des Quastenstachlers gesteckt sind. Das weiche Mark soll den Dieb weich, widerstandslos machen, die Stacheln sollen bewirken, daß den Dieb die Speere der Zauberwesen treffen, seine Ewu durchlöchern und so ihm schwere Krankheit bringen;
2. *obɔ*, ein Raphiamarkstreifen, der abwechselnd mit roten und schwarzen Querstreifen bemalt ist. Die roten Stücke sollen das Blut des Diebes, das verspritzt werden soll, anzeigen, die schwarzen die Nacht, den Tod, den man ihm wünscht;
3. *odəgədəgəno* (von *dəgəm* = Bündel); sie besteht aus einem Bündel, in das neun Ölpalmenkerne gewickelt sind. Sie sollen auf dem Körper des Diebes und zwar auf dem Damm Verdickungen hervorrufen von der Größe dieser Steine oder Kerne.

Abb. 74.
Medizinen gegen Diebstahl von Essen, im Hause angebracht; Raphiamarkstreifen mit Quastenstachlerstacheln. Umgezeichnet.

Gegen Felddiebstahl schützen folgende in den Pflanzungen aufgehängte oder aufgestellte Medizinen:

1. junge Raphiablätter, wie sie beim Weiberkult Mekang gebraucht werden *(ndəgə-mekon)*; sie werden so auf-

gehängt, daß sie einen Vorhang bilden, gerade wie der Vorhang vor Kultplätzen. Dadurch wird das Strafgericht des Kultgeistes auf die Diebin herabbeschworen;

2. ein Stein oder eine Eisenschlacke, aufgehängt; der Dieb soll ein solches Blutgeschwür bekommen. Diese beiden sah ich am häufigsten;
3. eine alte angebrannte Hängematte; der Dieb soll dieselben Eigenschaften annehmen;
4. eine Grube, in der Farm ausgehoben, soll das Grab darstellen, in das der Dieb gehört;
5. eine aus den Blättern der Sumpfpalme (**Sclerosperma**) geflochtene Figur „*ozámezámé*" (angeblich von *a zám* = ausgestreckt liegen, weil die Figur meist auf den Boden gelegt wird); sie wird an den Fangplätzen der Fischer oder in der Farm aufgehängt und bewirkt, daß der Dieb oder, wenn es sich um eine Frau handelt, ihr Kind so eintrocknet wie die Figur;
6. ein trockenes Bananenblatt *(mbǝ̄m)* aufgehängt. Der Dieb soll ebenso trocken werden;
7. Ölpalmblätter, die an der Sonne leicht eintrocknen, mit demselben Zweck;
8. ein Strauß der **Triumfettia cordifolia** *(okǝ̄ń)* aufgehängt. Der Dieb soll mit einem Hautausschlag (vielleicht Lepra) bedeckt werden wie die Triumfettiablätter auf der Unterseite mit einem weißen Filz bedeckt sind;
9. leere Maisbrotrollen (Abb. 75*b*). Der Dieb soll Geschwüre bekommen, die ohne Eiter sind — wie die Rollen ohne Inhalt —, so daß sie nicht aufbrechen und der Dieb daran stirbt;
10. ein Tausendfuß aufgehängt. Man will, daß dem Dieb im Kopf ein solches Gekrabbel entsteht, wie der Tausendfuß macht;
11. Strauß von **Heckeria subpeltata** *(abǝ̄medzǝ́ń)* aufgehängt. Man will, daß der Penis des Diebes so schwach wird wie das Kraut, das abgepflückt sofort welkt;
12. ein Zweig des Pfeffers (**Capsicum**) aufgehängt, man wünscht dem Dieb etwas „Gepfeffertes" [1]);
13. eine Klystierspritze (Kalebasse), aufgehängt, nachdem zuvor darauf gepfiffen wurde. Man wünscht den Dieben, daß sie beim anderen Geschlecht ebenso verabscheut werden wie ein Klystier (Abb. 75*c*);
14. ein Stück des **Pennisetum purpureum** *(esuǝ́ń)*, das beim Ssokult gebraucht worden ist. Das Stück wird von Eingeweihten, seltener von Frauen, an die Tür des Hauses (innen) gelehnt oder in der Farm aufgehängt. Es ruft die Strafe des Ssogeistes auf den Dieb herab;
15. das Gerüst, das beim Ssokult den Phallus darstellen soll *(ndǝ̄ǝ̄m)*, aus Kassavestengeln hergerichtet und in der Farm aufgestellt (Abb. 75*a*). Die Kassave ist wegen der Brüchigkeit gewählt, das Gerüst als Teil des Ssokultes und damit des Ssogeistes ruft dessen rächende Macht herbei.

[1]) Vgl. den Spottnamen eines Weißen: *Bejange be fam* = etwas Brennendes, Scharfes, Gepfeffertes für die Männer.

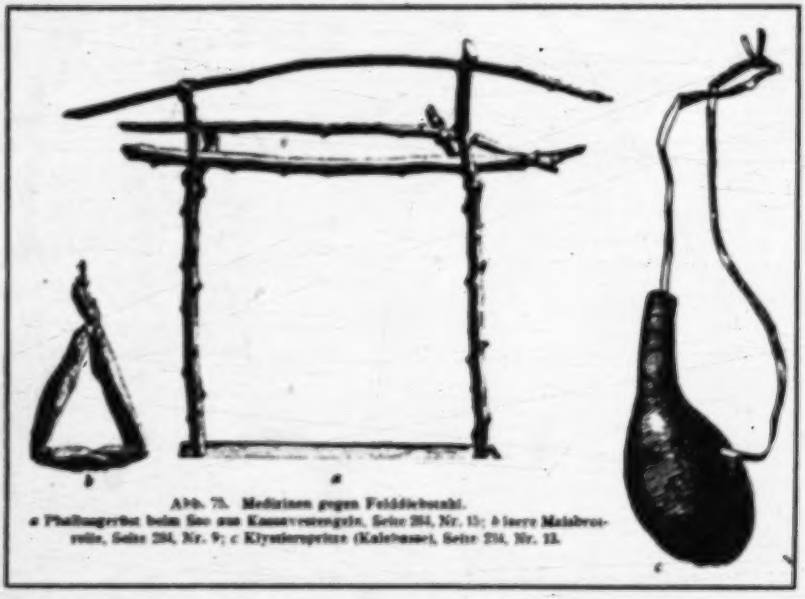


Abb. 75. Medizinen gegen Felddiebstahl.
a Phallusgrube beim See zum Kassavezaubern, Seite 284, Nr. 15; b leere Malabrosrolle, Seite 284, Nr. 9; c Klysmaspritze (Kalebasse), Seite 284, Nr. 13.

Wenn Haustiere fremdes Eigentum stehlen oder beschädigen, so muß der gleiche Wert erstattet werden. Für ein paar vom Hund gestohlene Eier gibt man ein Huhn, für ein Huhn ein anderes, für ein Stück Fleisch den Geldwert. Das schon früher erwähnte Gegenseitigkeitsprinzip der Pangwe, bei dem eine Hand die andere wäscht, mildert die strenge Einhaltung der Entschädigungsforderungen. So hatte ein Hund in Alén (Fam. Essanong) eine Portion Fische vom Trockenboden weggeschnappt, und die Frau wollte den Wert, der 50 Speere betrug, ersetzt haben [1]); ihr eigener Mann riet ihr aber ab, denn er könne sich vielleicht einmal selbst einen Hund anschaffen, und wenn der stehlen würde, müsse er auch so hohe Entschädigung zahlen; da begnügte sich die Frau mit 20 Speer.

Verwüsten Ziegen oder Schafe eine Erdnuß- oder Kassavepflanzung, so muß dem Geschädigten ein gleichgroßes Stück Land als Ersatz gegeben werden.

Hehlerei wird — wie aus dem Beispiel von dem Yamsdiebstahl der Jaundefrau hervorging — etwa mit dem halben Strafmaß wie Diebstahl belegt. Die Anzeige eines Diebes jedoch zu unterlassen, gilt nicht als strafbar oder unrecht, selbst wenn man unmittelbar dabei war.

Hat ein Mann (A) einem anderen (B) etwas gestohlen und es an C weiterverkauft, so kann B den Gegenstand von C nicht zurückverlangen,

[1]) Der angebliche Wert scheint stark übertrieben. Man muß aber bedenken, daß getrocknete Fische in der Zeit, wo keine Fische gefangen werden, bedeutend mehr wert sein können als frische Fische in der „Saison".

sondern hat sich an A zu halten. Ist dieser nicht zu erreichen, so muß er den Schaden tragen.

Ehebruch, der sozusagen nur eine besondere Form des Diebstahls ist, wird unter Abschnitt XVII besprochen werden.

C. Andere Vergehen.

Brandstiftung, Freiheitsberaubung, absichtliche Sachbeschädigung kommen nur im Kriege vor, sind da natürlich erlaubt und fallen hier deshalb fort.

Versehentliche Sachbeschädigung wird einfach dadurch erledigt, daß der Geschädigte ein anderes Stück erhält oder dessen Wert in Speeren ausbezahlt bekommt.

Erpressung ist nicht strafbar, sie wird nur gegen jemand ausgeübt, der etwas auf dem Kerbholz hat und die Anzeige fürchten muß; er einigt sich daher gern mit einem etwaigen Mitwisser und erkauft ihn durch ein kleines Schweigegeld, das etwa ein Fünftel vom Wert des gestohlenen Gutes bzw. des durch das Verbrechen erzielten Gewinnes zu betragen pflegt.

Eine Strafe für Beleidigungen gibt es nicht, man kann ja wieder beleidigen oder sich mit dem Mann prügeln.

Notzucht und Verführung Minderjähriger kommt außer vielleicht im Kriege nie vor. Weitere geschlechtliche Verfehlungen, wie Beischlaf zwischen nahen Verwandten *(zamadulu)* und gleichgeschlechtlicher Verkehr, fallen nicht in das Gebiet der Rechtspflege, da sich niemand dabei geschädigt fühlt.

4. Prozeßrecht.

Das Amt des Richters *(ntó 1)* oder besser Vorsitzenden des Gerichtshofes liegt in den Händen des Häuptlings, er kann nur nach Anhören der Ältesten im Dorf entscheiden und besitzt keine Exekutivgewalt; seine Tätigkeit ist also mehr eine väterlich vermittelnde als eine obrigkeitlich bestimmende. Hören wir einmal einer Verhandlung zu: Es handelt sich um einen Jaunde A, der die Frau seines Dorfgenossen B verführt hat. B ist vorher zu A gegangen und hat ihm gesagt: „Wenn du leugnest (und das ist fast immer der Fall), so laß uns die Sache dem Häuptling vortragen." A ist darauf eingegangen, wie es meist geschieht, denn weigert er sich, so läuft er Gefahr, daß der Kläger sich sein Recht gewaltsam nimmt oder sagt: „Nun, dann hast du auch die Tat begangen, die du leugnest." Darum pflegt auch der Häuptling in demselben Sinne zu vermitteln, mehr kann er aber nicht, vorladen kann er den Beklagten nicht. A und B sind also zusammen zum Häuptling gegangen, haben ihn um eine Verhandlung gebeten, und er hat den Tag festgesetzt. Beide Parteien sind mit ihren Zeugen *(nɔ̨m-adió III* = der etwas von der Sache *[adio]* weiß

(a ŋ̀m)), ihrem Familienanhang und ihren Freunden zur Stelle. Je mehr, desto besser; denn führt sie auch z. T. die Neugierde herbei, die Hauptsache ist die moralische Rückenstärkung, die von der Masse ausgeht, und die praktischen Wert bekommen kann, wenn es sich um einen Prozeß zwischen verschiedenen Familienverbänden handelt, bei dem jeder mit seinem Gewehr zu erscheinen pflegt, und der nicht immer friedlich ausläuft.

Häuptling und Älteste sind erschienen, und nun trägt der Kläger B den Fall vor, nach Negerart in größter Weitschweifigkeit und ohne eine Spur von Sachlichkeit; er erzählt, wieviel Gutes er dem A schon habe zukommen lassen, geht seine ganze Lebensgeschichte durch und bringt alles vor, was nur irgendwie mit seinem Verhältnis zu A zusammenhängt — oder auch nicht zusammenhängt. Schließlich kommt er denn mit der einfachen Tatsache heraus, daß er gestern abend den A an der Haustür ertappt habe, wie er bei seiner Frau stand, die er zweifellos vorher verführt hätte. Darauf beginnt A eine noch längere Verteidigungsrede, deren Kernpunkt schon gar nicht herauskommt, und erst auf Nachfrage ergibt sich als der langen Rede kurzer Sinn, daß A ganz unschuldig und nicht imstande ist, jemals die ihm zur Last gelegte Tat zu begehen. Nun beginnt B von neuem mit dem Redebombardement. A redet dagegen, bald schreit alles durcheinander, und ein wüster Lärm erfüllt das Versammlungshaus, bis der Baß des Häuptlings sich Gehör verschafft und, nachdem Ruhe eingetreten ist, vorschlägt, die Frau selbst zu rufen. Verwirrt und eingeschüchtert kommt sie herein, macht allerlei Redensarten und Umschweife, entschuldigt den Aufenthalt des A in ihrem Hause, um es nicht mit ihm zu verderben, gesteht aber schließlich den unerlaubten Verkehr ein. Es wäre aber nur dieses einzige Mal gewesen (im Wiederholungsfalle ist die Strafe nämlich höher). A ist überführt, sagt aber nichts mehr, wird auch nicht zum Geständnis gezwungen. Der Häuptling zieht sich mit den Ältesten hinter das Versammlungshaus zur Beratung zurück und fragt sie leise um ihre Meinung. Zuletzt gibt er seine eigene Stimme, sagt wohl: „Ja, genau so habe ich in meinem Herzen gedacht," kehrt ins Haus zurück und verkündet den Urteilsspruch: A ist schuldig *(a kụ̀* = fallen, auch *a ke o sí* = nach unten gehen) und muß bezahlen. Da es eine feste Taxe außer einer gewissen Maximalgrenze nicht gibt, so bleibt noch die Höhe der Summe zu entscheiden. Der Häuptling fragt daher B, wieviel er haben will. Fürchtet sich B vor A (Verzauberung alias Vergiftung), so verlangt er wenig, andernfalls nennt er eine unverhältnismäßig hohe Summe, die weiteres Handeln nötig macht. Endlich ist man einig, und der Häuptling gibt dem A auf, das Geld „zu suchen" und an B abzuliefern; für sich fordert er ein Richterhonorar von B, also von dem, der gewonnen hat oder, wie der Pangwe sagt, „nach oben gegangen ist" (*a ke ojɔ̀b*, außerdem sagt man auch *a kiá,be*).

Es beträgt in Jaunde durchweg 100 Speer, im Süden bei „großen Sachen" 60, bei „kleinen Sachen" 30 Speer. Zu den großen rechnet man dabei Ehebruch, Weigerung, das Heiratsgeld zurückzuzahlen bzw. die Frau herauszugeben (dieses beides kommt überhaupt am meisten zur Verhandlung), Kriegssachen, Diebstahl; zu den kleineren: Weigerung, eine Schuld anzuerkennen, und Weigerung, einen kleineren Teil (bis zur Hälfte) des Heiratsgutes zurückzugeben. Der Rechtsspruch wird also bezahlt wie jede andere Leistung. Der Käufer ist hier der „Gewinner". Daß der Verurteilte die Gerichtskosten zu zahlen hat, weil er im Unrecht ist, dieser Gedanke ist dem Pangwe fremd und unbegreiflich [1]). Der „Käufer" macht deshalb manchmal eine „Anzahlung" in Form eines Geschenkes an den Häuptling, das dieser von Rechts wegen zurückgeben müßte, wenn der Kläger nicht gewinnt, „der Kauf" also nicht abgeschlossen wird. Daß dies nicht immer geschieht, zeigt das Sprichwort:

ma ne ngü̧ṅ e ko,ṽ, oiȭb madźim, osī, matśõ,k.
Ich bin (wie eine) Achatina Schnecke nach oben Wasser, nach unten Erde.

Ein leeres Achatina-Schneckenhaus hat immer die Mündung gefüllt, wenn sie nach oben liegt, mit Wasser, wenn sie nach unten liegt, mit Erde. So behält der Häuptling das Geschenk, mag der Geber gewinnen oder verlieren.

Eine Strafgewalt hat der Häuptling, wie gesagt, nicht; weigert sich der Verurteilte, nachdem er eine Zeitlang „gesucht" hat, zu bezahlen, so wird dem Kläger auf seine Beschwerde die Antwort: „Hilf dir selbst, fang den Mann mit deinen Leuten und nimm dir das Geld mit Gewalt."

Kann die Sache, welche verhandelt wird, nicht entschieden werden, z. B. weil die Beweise oder Zeugen fehlen, so fällt sie in sich zusammen, sie „stirbt", wie der Neger sagt.

Die Rechtsprechung ist — wie ich glaube — gut. Der Neger hat, wie jeder zugeben wird, der mit ihm in nähere Berührung gekommen ist, ein instinktives Gefühl für Recht und Unrecht und dürfte zumeist mit seinem Urteil den wahren Schuldigen treffen. Er kehrt sich nicht an die Unschuldsbeteuerungen des Beklagten, denn er weiß, daß sie nichts wert sind, und daß jeder seiner Stammesgenossen bis zum letzten Atemzuge leugnet, ebensowenig an die Aussagen der Zeugen, die zwar regelrecht vernommen werden, aber sich weniger an die objektive Wahrheit als an ihren persönlichen Vorteil halten. Sind die Zeugen wegen Abwesenheit oder Krankheit nicht vor Gericht vernehmungsfähig, so kann der Häuptling die Aussagen durch einen Vertrauensmann einholen und in der Verhandlung vortragen lassen, das gibt freilich willkommenen Grund zur Berufung, da die Partei, der die Aussagen nicht passen, behauptet, sie seien unwahr oder verdreht.

---

[1]) Das ist oft eine nicht genügend beachtete Quelle von Mißverständnissen und Zerwürfnissen zwischen den Kolonialmächten und den Eingeborenen.

Bei Streitfällen zwischen Angehörigen zweier befreundeter Familienverbände wird die Sache meist nicht in einem der beiden Dörfer, sondern in einem neutralen dritten verhandelt, wenn es überhaupt gelingt, den Beklagten zu bewegen, ein Schiedsgericht anzuerkennen. Meistens tut man das freilich, um nicht in steter Furcht vor einem Überfall des Gegners schweben zu müssen, sonst verhilft der Geschädigte sich oft dadurch zu seinem Recht, daß er das Eigentum eines Dritten, Unbeteiligten — der meist natürlich einflußreich oder gefürchtet ist — zerstört, z. B. ihm Ziegen oder Schafe totschlägt, oder auch dadurch, daß er ihn beschimpft. Dieser Dritte geht dann zum Gegner des Mannes, der ihn in die Sache hineingezogen hat, und sucht ihn zu bewegen, den Geschädigten zu bezahlen bzw. sich mit ihm zu einigen, der ihm dann seinerseits die zerstörten Sachen nicht nur, sondern auch seine Vermittlung reichlich bezahlt.

5. Eide, Wahrheitsbeweis.

Der andauernden und geradezu virtuosen Lügenhaftigkeit ihrer Stammesgenossen begegnen die Pangwe durch die Einrichtung des Eides, die zu den Kulten in enger Beziehung steht. Wir haben gesehen, daß die Eingeweihten vor den heiligen Kultgegenständen (Jaunde) oder der Kultfigur auf dem Kultplatze selbst Schwüre ablegen können, auch werden Kultmedizinen, die eng mit den Kulten zusammenhängen und Teile von Kultfiguren enthalten, bei der Schwurhandlung aufgestellt. Kommt es zum Schwur, so wird er meist von beiden Parteien geleistet, so daß eine immer einen Meineid schwört.

Gewöhnlich ist der Angeklagte schuldig, und er hat den Vorschlag seines Gegners, den Wahrheitsbeweis anzutreten, nur angenommen, um nicht sofort als der Schuldige dazustehen.

Der Verlauf ist in Jaunde so, daß der Häuptling mit den beiden Gegnern, begleitet von den übrigen Dorfleuten, sich zum Hause begibt, in welchem sich die Tonnen mit den Menschenschädeln befinden, und dort zuerst der Beschuldigte vortritt und sagt: „Wenn es wahr ist — wie du sagst — daß ich dir das und das angetan haben soll, so will ich durch die Macht des Malan (der Seelen) getötet werden." Darauf sagt der andere: „Wenn die Tat nicht wahr ist, die ich dir zuschreibe — wie du sagst — so will ich durch die Macht des Malan getötet werden." Dabei legt er die Hand auf die Schädeltonnen oder Malanfiguren, beim Eid, der vor dem Ssogeist abgelegt wird, auf die beim Sso gebrauchten Geräte, die Trommel usw.; letztere wird dabei geschlagen.

Nach Ansicht der Eingeborenen wird der Meineidige über kurz oder lang krank — malankrank oder ssokrank, je nachdem, bei welchem Kultgeist er geschworen hat — und würde sterben, falls er nicht seine Sache den Leuten

beichtet. Der Medizinmann des betreffenden Kultes schlachtet eine Ziege, besprengt den Kranken mit dem Blut und behandelt ihn, wie es bei den Kultkrankheiten beschrieben wurde. Die Ziege verzehren die Beteiligten. Der Kranke wird sich nun erholen und muß dem Kläger die geforderte Summe zahlen, dem Häuptling außerdem einen Hauer (Wert: 1 Mk.), weil er ihm durch den Meineid ein Ärgernis gegeben hat. Wie die Gerichtskosten von dem, der den Prozeß gewonnen, so müssen die Kosten für die Eidesablegung vom Kläger bezahlt werden und zwar mit 200 Jaundespeer.

Eide werden sowohl beim Geist eines Männerkultes wie bei dem eines Weiberkultes geschworen, sogar Männer schwören bei letzterem und halten oft gerade diesen Eid recht hoch, weil sie den Kultgeist nicht kennen und deshalb besonders fürchten. Ein solcher Kult ist der Mawungu, bei dem eine von den Weibern bereitete Medizin aus 18 (2 × 9) Steinchen, zwei gefleckten Knollen der **Dioscorea preussii** Pax *(abäṅ)* und verschiedenen Rinden angewandt wird. Die Steine sollen Blutgeschwüre bedeuten und übertragen, die Dioscoreaknollen sollen eine fleckige Hautkrankheit bringen. Haben sich nun zwei Parteien geeinigt, den Mawungueid zu leisten, so gehen beide allein zu der Frau, die die Medizin in Verwahrung hat. Letztere wird auf die Erde gestellt, und der Beklagte muß zweimal darüber hinwegschreiten, wobei das Weib sagt: „Falls du lügst, wirst du sterben." Der Kläger bezahlt für die Zeremonie 10 Jaundespeere. Wird der Meineidige krank, so muß er das Weib rufen und sich die Krankheit wieder abnehmen lassen, was unter allerlei mystischen Gesängen geschieht. Die Bezahlung beträgt 200 Jaundespeer.

Das eben erwähnte Übersteigen der „Medizin" ist im Südgebiet das Wesentliche. Es gilt als *nsŏm*, als etwas Heiliges. Man steigt auch über einen Toten und schwört dabei, so, wenn die Frauen beim Tode ihres Mannes ihre Liebhaber nennen müssen und auf diese Weise beteuern, daß sie alle genannt haben. Andere Medizinen, über die beim Schwur hinweggeschritten wird, sind die *ekąkă* oder — wie die Kulte selbst — *mąrŭ* Pl. genannt, d. h. etwas, was mit dem Tode zusammenhängt. Ihren Hauptbestandteil bilden Stücke der Kultfiguren (also Erde), so Bokungerde, Elongerde sowie Mirlitons, die für die Kulte Schok, Ndong-mba, Bokung und Elong gebraucht werden und — das Schokmirleton ausgenommen — alle gleich aussehen. Außer diesen fand ich in einem Falle Knochenstücke eines durch Sturz vom Baum tödlich verunglückten Mannes — so soll der Meineidige auch sterben —, Knochen eines verstorbenen Zwillings — so wird von den beiden Eidesleistern auch der eine, der Meineidige, sterben —, schließlich „Blitzkot" *(abi-zeyäṅ)* vgl. Bd. II S. 197, wie der Blitz zum Schmelzen bringt, so soll der Meineidige hinschmelzen. Ein andermal fand ich folgende Sachen in der Medizin vor: Erde einer Sso-, Ngi-, Elong- und Schokfigur; Mirli-

tons vom Sso, Bokung und Ndong-mba; Knochen eines Ahnenschädels vom Malankult; Gift *nsụ̄*; Pilzerde *abụ̄n*; Stück eines Termitennestes, weil man dem Meineidigen den Leib so von Würmern zerfressen wünscht, wie das Termitennest von Termiten durchlöchert ist; Stück der Leguminose **Detarium macrocarpum** Harms *(enuk)*; eine Zikade, damit der Mann ebenso „kopfüber herunterfällt", wie eine Zikade; zusammengedrehtes Lianentau, damit sich die Gedärme des Meineidigen so verschlingen.

Alle diese Sachen sind in einer kleinen Rindenschachtel *(nsök)* untergebracht oder in einem Rindenstück, das dann oben zusammengebunden und mit einem Griff aus Kassavestengeln versehen ist (Abb. 76). Soll der Eid geleistet werden, so stellt man die Schachtel auf den Dorfplatz, brennt auf ihr ein Harzfeuerchen ab, ebenso wie auf den Kultfiguren und pflanzt zur Seite zwei Speere auf. Dann steigt der Angeklagte oder beide Parteien darüber hinweg und sagt dabei den üblichen Spruch her.

Abb. 76. Schwurmedizin: Lehm von Kultfiguren in Rinde eingewickelt, Griff aus Kassavestengeln. Ntum. 1/7 nat. Gr.

Auch die Kultfiguren selbst werden überschritten, wie wir gesehen haben.

In unwichtigen Fällen tritt an Stelle des Überschreitens das einfache Aussprechen des Schwures vor der Figur oder das Berühren der Figur mit einem Kassavestengel (zerbrechlich!).

Ich glaube, ein Eid bei einem Kultgeist wird selten falsch abgegeben, es herrscht doch ziemliche Furcht vor dem Ngi und anderen Kultgeistern; die verdorbenen Jaunde sind hierin indessen viel leichtsinniger.

Außer dem Eid gibt es, hauptsächlich in Jaunde, die Sitte des freiwilligen Wahrheitsbeweises ohne Anrufung irgendwelcher sittlichen Macht. Diejenige Person, welche sich fälschlich angeschuldigt glaubt, erbringt aus eigenem Antriebe den Beweis der Wahrheit, indem sie die giftige Rinde des **Erythrophloeum guineense** Don *(elụ̄n)* mit Wasser zusammen einnimmt; *elụ̄n* = **Erythrophloeum** und *olụ̄n* = der Ärger, das Verzweifeltsein (infolge des Ärgers) sind zwei Wörter, die einen gemeinsamen Stamm haben und deshalb eng zusammengehören. Wir haben bereits mehrfach gehört, daß der Neger durch eine Kleinigkeit tief verärgert werden und sich so in seinen Ärger und Haß verbohren kann, daß er alle Lust am Leben verliert und nur auf Mittel und Wege sinnt, dem Zustand irgendwie ein Ende zu machen. Solches tiefes Vergrämtsein des Herzens, das der Pangwe mit *olụ̄n* bezeichnet, wird z. B. hervorgerufen, wenn man jemandem fortgesetzt Vorwürfe wegen irgendeiner Sache macht. Dieses dauernde Vorbringen derselben Beschuldigung, die der andere hundertmal schon zurückgewiesen hat, zusammen mit heimlichem Gerede und Gespött der

Leute, die an die Wahrheit der Beschuldigung glauben müssen, versetzen den Gepeinigten in einen solchen Zustand des *olïrn*, daß er entweder Selbstmord begeht oder, wie bei den Jaunde, dem Gerede mit einem Schlag ein Ende macht, indem er den Wahrheitsbeweis antritt. Zu dem Zweck geht er zu einem Erythrophloeumbaume, schlägt etwas Rinde ab und kaut sie mit Wasser, das muß er dreimal wiederholen. Gleichzeitig gibt er öffentlich die Versicherung ab, daß er unschuldig ist. Die Meinung der Jaunde geht dahin, daß bei wirklicher Unschuld des Mannes das Gift wieder ausgebrochen wird, im entgegengesetzten Falle aber im Körper bleibt und tödlich wirkt. Die Verwandten suchen ihren Mann davon abzubringen; gelingt es ihnen nicht oder kommen sie, wie meistens, zu spät, so geben sie ihm ein Brechmittel. Sind gute Freunde oder Verwandte nicht anwesend, wie besonders bei den Weibern, die ja aus fremden Familienverbänden geholt sind, so tritt oft genug der Tod ein, so noch kürzlich bei einer Jaundefrau, die ihren Mann durch Zauberei (also durch Gift) getötet haben sollte und den Wahrheitsbeweis antrat.

Das Brechmittel soll unter anderem aus einem rohen Ei bestehen, das mit Stengeln des Costus *(miɑ'm)* gegessen wird.

Obgleich es in den meisten Fällen ein Beweis der Unschuld ist, wenn jemand sich der Giftprobe unterzieht, so kommt es doch auch vor, daß Schuldige den Trank nehmen, um den ihnen peinlichen Vorwürfen zu entgehen und sich vor der öffentlichen Meinung reinzuwaschen, auf die Gefahr freilich, unter Umständen ihr Leben lassen zu müssen.

Die Südpangwe bringen ihre Gegner dadurch zum Verstummen, daß sie sich Stiche in den Oberschenkel, Arm und dgl. beibringen.

Abschnitt XVII.

Waffen und Kriegführung.

Steinschloßgewehr. — Behälter für Ladung und Pulver. — Speere. — Schwert und Streitaxt. — Schilde. — Kriegslust. — Nachtangriffe, spanische Reiter, Fallgruben, Stachelläste. — Frauen und Kinder im Kriege. — Befestigungen. — Art der Kriegsführung (Beispiel). — Kriegsgefangene.

Die Hauptwaffe der Pangwe ist heute das Steinschloßgewehr. Bis zur Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts wurde es in unserem Gebiete nur ganz vereinzelt angetroffen, seit den sechziger und siebziger Jahren indes von den vielen neugegründeten Küstenfaktoreien in immer steigender Zahl eingeführt, es bildete eine gangbare und einträgliche Handelsware, die das Land so überschwemmt hat, daß man auf jeden Pangwe, mindestens auf jeden Ntum und Fang 3, 4 oder gar 5 Gewehre rechnen kann, von denen freilich ein Bruchteil unbrauchbar ist. Seit 1906 hat die deutsche, seit 1909 auch die französische und spanische Regierung die Einfuhr von Pulver verboten, und so ist, besonders im Norden, ein fühlbarer Mangel daran eingetreten, der u. a. der vielen überflüssigen Knallerei bei Festlichkeiten usw. in Kamerun und im angrenzenden spanischen Gebiet ein Ende gemacht hat. Das wenige, was noch im Tauschhandel von Süden nach Norden seinen Weg findet, wird für spätere Fälle versteckt gehalten.

Die Ladung des Gewehres besteht aus kleinen Eisenstückchen, die — wie das Pulver — in kleinen Behältern meist am Gürtel oder an der Umhängetasche *(mfŏk)* mitgeführt werden (Abb. 78). Vielfach dient letztere selbst zur Aufnahme der Geschosse, d. h. der Eisenstückchen, die der Pangwe ebenso wie die Speere *akŏn* nennt. Die Behälter (Abb. 77) sind entweder Täschchen aus Fell *(a)* oder hübsch mit Messing verzierte Flaschen (nur für Geschosse) *(b)* und *(c)* oder mit Varanhaut überzogene Fläschchen *(d—g)* oder Kalebassen *(h)* oder runde Früchte eines Baumes *(aŝo, aŝun) (i, k)* oder Raphiafrüchte *(l)* oder eine Kakaofrucht *(m)* oder andere Früchte *(n—p)*.

Mit dem Abschneiden der Pulverzufuhr werden die Gewehre zwecklos, und so mag vielleicht der Wurfspeer, der früher die eigentliche Fernwaffe der Pangwe

[p. 243]

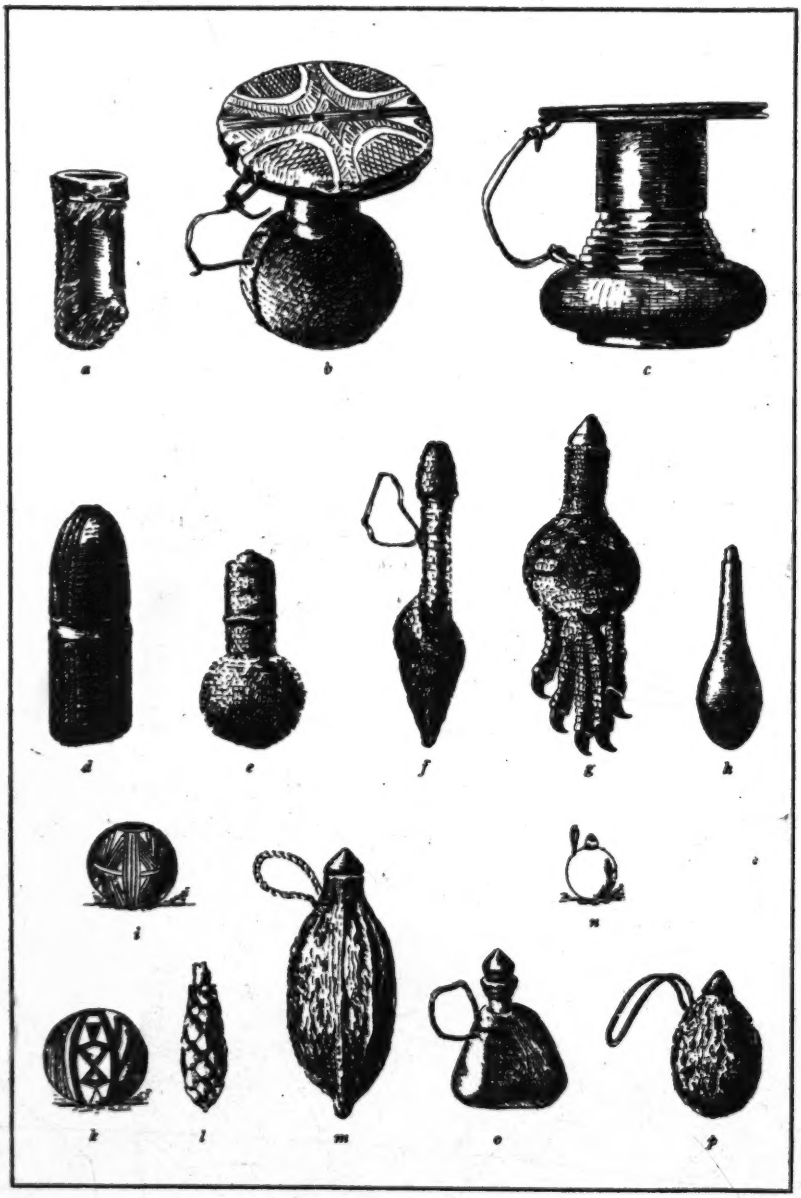


Abb. 77. Behälter für Gewehrladung oder Pulver.

war, wieder zu Ehren kommen, um so mehr, als er nie ganz außer Gebrauch gewesen ist. Freilich sind die heute hergestellten Speere nicht so groß wie diejenigen der alten Zeit, und sie dienen mehr als Spazierstöcke besserer Güte oder als Prunkwaffe, die man auf die Reise mitnimmt — meist hat man zwei oder drei bei sich — und zum wirklichen Kampfe kaum zu benutzen versteht. Nur die Jaunde haben durch fortgesetzte Übungen eine Fertigkeit im Speerwerfen behalten, sie sind überhaupt nicht so ausschließlich zur Feuerwaffe übergegangen, wie beispielsweise die Fang, die sich von ihrer Flinte gar nicht trennen können, ihr sogar menschliche Rufnamen beilegen und sie so gern „sprechen" lassen. Die Speere (Abb. 79) bestehen aus Schaft und Spitze. Jener ist aus Holz und künstlich längsgeriffelt, wie in dem Abschnitt über Holzarbeiten beschrieben. Die Spitze ist mit einer Tülle aufgesetzt und aus Eisen geschmiedet, in allerjüngster Zeit sieht man bei Ntumhäuptlingen öfters Prunkspeere mit gut gearbeiteten Messingspitzen. Die Klinge hat die Form eines mehr oder weniger länglichen Blattes, und nach ihr unterscheidet man verschiedene Arten von Speeren. Die älteren Sorten sind bei den Fang *gbim̀-akùm̀ (akùm̀* = Speer*) (a), akùm̀-okạ̀k (okạ̀k* = Okak, Fangleute) *(a), tụ̀mụ̀-ak (e)* und *mbằ[s]-ak. (b)*; neueren Ursprungs sollen sein der Widerhakenspeer *ngạ̀m[a]-ak. (c)* und *etõnõk.*

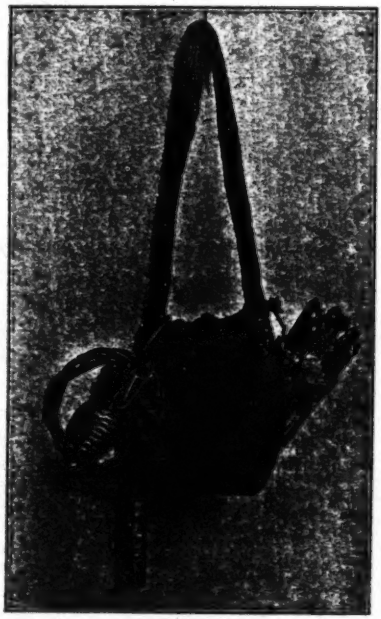


Abb. 78. Umhängetasche aus Ananasfasern, zum Aufbewahren von Sachen, im Kriege von Ladung; rechts Körbchen mit „spanischen Reitern", links Schußmedizinen und eiserne Kriegspfeife.

Die Armbrust ist nur Jagdwaffe, Pfeil und Bogen sowie Schleuder kommen nur als Kinderspielzeug vor.

Die Waffen des Nahkampfes sind Schwert und Streitaxt.

Das Schwert *(pfá IV Nt., fá IV F.)* (Abb. 80) besteht aus einer zweischneidigen Klinge, die manchmal an der Basis in Widerhaken ausläuft, und aus einem gut für die Hand ausgearbeiteten Holzgriff, der z. T. mit Eisenband oder Messingdraht umsponnen ist. Das Schwert steckt in einer aus zwei Hälften bestehenden Holzscheide, die oft mit Varanhaut überzogen ist, oder in einer Messingscheide, die zwei Messingösen für das Fellband, an dem die Waffe über die

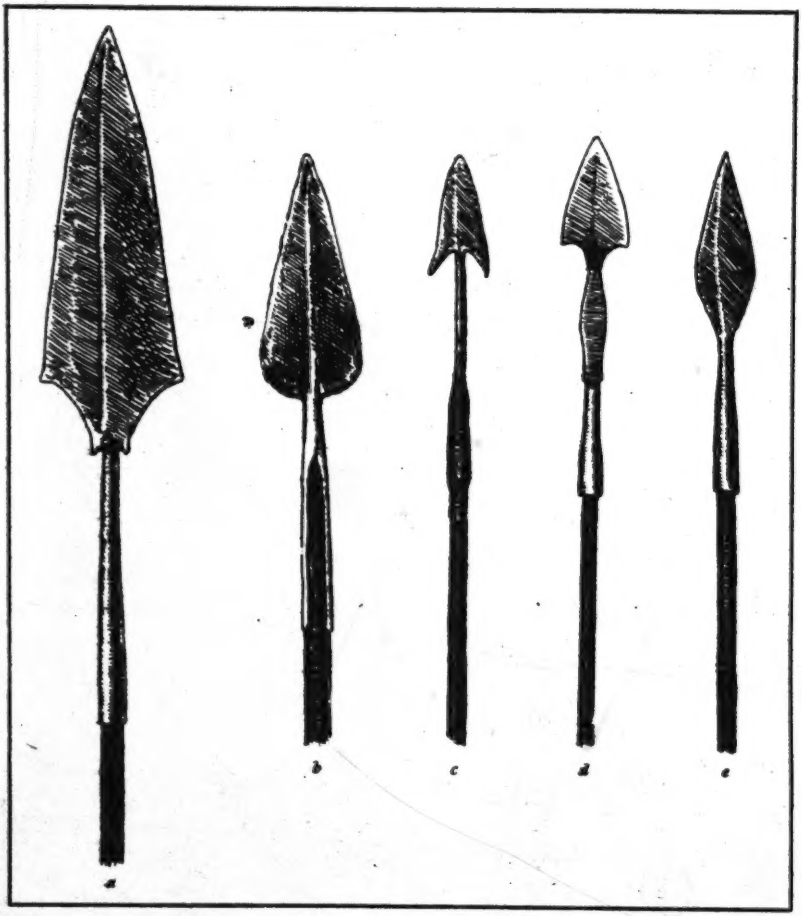


Abb. 79. Speere. ⅓ nat. Gr.

Schulter gehängt wird, zeigt (vgl. Abb. 80). Nach Aufkommen der von Europa eingeführten Haumesser oder Hauer vertraten diese eine Zeitlang das Schwert und wurden dann in Scheiden (Abb. 81) mitgeführt, die indessen heute wieder abgekommen sind.

Die Streitaxt, *ovunebokui* = Axt der Pygmäen genannt (Abb. 82), hat weniger große Bedeutung, findet sich nur bei den Fang, besonders den südlichen, und auch bei ihnen nur in wenigen Stücken. Sie kann nur für den Nahkampf in Betracht kommen. Die keilförmige Klinge mit konvexer Schneide und ein-

geschwungenen Kanten ist in den kurzen, in der unteren Hälfte drehrunden, in der oberen abgeplatteten Stiel eingelassen.

Als Schutzwaffe sind drei Arten von Schilden in Gebrauch, der Holzschild, der Schild aus Büffelhaut (Abb. 83) und der Schild aus dem Ohr eines Elefanten. Die beiden letztgenannten sollen den einzelnen Mann decken, haben seit Aufkommen der Feuerwaffe an Bedeutung verloren und sind heute recht selten geworden. Der Holzschild (Setzschild, Abb. 84) deckt dagegen die ganze Gruppe der Krieger und ist gleichsam eine tragbare Schutzwehr, die von einem Mann vorangetragen wird, hinter dem sich die übrigen verstecken. Beim Zusammentreffen mit den Feinden wird hinter der hölzernen Wehr hervorgeschossen, und falls man fliehen muß, der Schild einfach im Stich gelassen. Er besteht aus einer ungefähr 1,45 cm langen, 37 cm breiten Platte aus Schirmbaumholz, deren Außenfläche in Reliefschnitzerei mit Mustern bedeckt ist, wie wir sie (in Abschnitt IX) kennen gelernt haben.

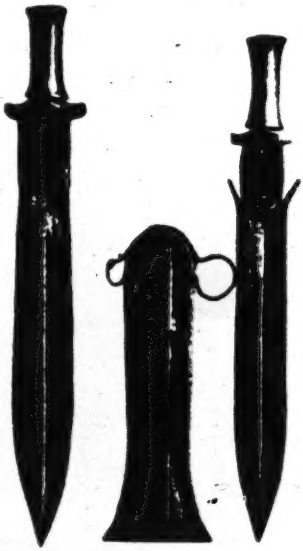


Abb. 80. Schwerter und Schwertscheide aus Messing. 1/3 nat. Gr.

Die Kämpfe der Pangwe sind meist nur der Austrag von Feindseligkeiten zwischen benachbarten Dörfern und beschränken sich daher auf den Kleinkrieg, d. h. auf eine Reihe von Überfällen, bei denen der Angreifer naturgemäß im Vorteil ist und infolgedessen „siegt". In diesem Rahmen aber verdient der Stamm seinen kriegerischen Ruf, namentlich die Fang sind äußerst streit- und händelsüchtig und beuteversprechenden Kriegszügen durchaus nicht abgeneigt. Sie verstehen dabei alle Vorteile ihres waldbedeckten Landes auszunutzen, überraschen den Gegner an unwegsamen Stellen, legen sich im dichten Busch in den Hinterhalt und machen mitunter Nachtangriffe, wenn die Gelegenheit günstig ist, während sonst der Pangwe sich auf nächtliche Unternehmungen nur ungern einläßt, sie hindern den Vormarsch des Feindes durch „spanische Reiter", d. h. spitze Stöcke aus Raphiablattstielrinde, die in die Erde gesteckt werden, und durch Fallgruben, die gut verdeckt wie die Wildgruben, aber breiter und tiefer und am Grunde ähnlich gespickt sind. Im Handgemenge werfen sie ihren Gegnern die stacheligen Stämme der **Macaranga ledermanniana** Pax *(ausfs)* zwischen die Beine.

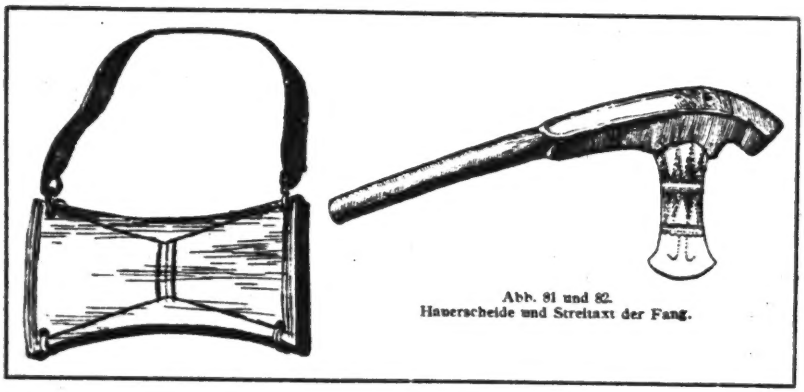


Abb. 81 und 82.
Haverscheide und Streitaxt der Fang.

In unruhigen Zeiten bringt man Frauen und Kinder und — soweit es geht — bewegliches Eigentum in Sicherheit, d. h. an versteckte Stellen im Urwald oder in befreundete Dörfer. Befestigungen gibt es nur in sehr unvollkommenem Maße, die Wände der Versammlungshäuser werden zu dem Zweck, wie schon beim Hausbau erwähnt, aus übereinandergeschichteten halben Stämmen des Schirmbaumes hergerichtet, und die Dorfeingänge daneben, wenn Gefahr droht, durch Zäune oder Knüppelbarrikaden abgesperrt. Das ist namentlich bei den südlichen Fang, die ihre Dörfer enger anlegen, so daß die Versammlungshäuser an sich schon den Weg fast schließen, leicht geschehen. Ein einziges Mal habe ich gesehen, daß ein ganzes Dorf ringsherum von einem Schutzzaun, einem ziemlich kräftigen Pfahlwerk aus senkrechten Pfosten und in diese eingefügten Latten umgeben war. Vor dem Zaun war das Gelände durch Abschlagen des Busches freigelegt, so daß eine Annäherung von Feinden leicht entdeckt und verhindert werden konnte.

Von der Art, wie Fehden entstehen und verlaufen, wird folgendes Beispiel eine gute Anschauung geben:

Zu beiden Seiten des Lo, eines kleinen Nebenflusses des Kampo, liegen etwa 12 Minuten voneinander entfernt zwei Dorfschaften der Essengsippe, nämlich Bebai und Ebäangon. Die Leute der drei Bebaidörfer, die Ebäangon am nächsten liegen, sind den Ebäangonleuten verwandt, die übrigen erst zugezogen und den letzteren fremd. Der einflußreichste Häuptling der fremden Bebaileute heißt Makina, er hat schon lange dem Häuptling von Ebäangon, Schüe, gegenüber „frech geredet". Eines Tages, anläßlich eines Seelenfestes, das letzterer für eine seiner verstorbenen Frauen gibt, kommt der Streit zum Ausbruch. Schüe will im Laufe des Festes mit der Aufzählung der Leute beginnen, die der Verstorbenen ein Leid zugefügt haben, und gebietet, da — wie

üblich — bei dem Fest viel geschossen wird, Ruhe vor dem Versammlungshause: wer schießen wolle, möge lieber ins nächste Dorf gehen. Darauf steht Bekongo, der Sohn Makinas, mit den Worten auf: „Ach was, ich höre nicht auf dieses dumme Gerede" und schießt sein Gewehr dicht beim Versammlungshause ab. Das wollen sich selbstverständlich die Ebäangonleute nicht bieten lassen, und Schües Söhne sagen zu Bekongo. „Oh, unser Vater hat eben verboten zu schießen, glaubst du denn, daß Schüe hier in seinem Dorf ein Sklave ist?" So entwickelt sich ein Wortstreit zwischen den beiden Parteien, und bald ist die Schlägerei mit Buschmessern, wobei auf beiden Seiten Blut fließt, im vollsten Gange. Die den Ebäangonleuten verwandten Bebaileute versuchen zu versöhnen oder stellen sich auf Schües Seite. Schließlich ziehen die Bebaileute ab, verfolgt von den mit Hauern bewaffneten Ebäangonleuten, die ihnen zurufen: „Wartet, wir kommen auch noch!" Der letzte der Bebaileute ist Ejamatua, ein Mann aus dem Dorfe Makinas. Er ärgert sich über den Zuruf oder wird von den Verfolgern besonders belästigt, kurz und gut, er nimmt plötzlich sein Gewehr und schießt den vordersten nieder. Wie die Ebäangonleute sehen, daß einer der Ihrigen, noch dazu ein Sohn ihres Häuptlings getötet ist, laufen sie schnell zurück, um ihre Gewehre zu holen. Die auf ihrer Seite stehenden Bebaileute erwarten sie und alle zusammen ziehen gegen die feindlichen Bebaidörfer, wo sie sich mit Makinas Leuten herum schießen, freilich ohne daß Blut fließt. Die Ebäangonleute schlafen die Nacht bei den befreundeten Bebaileuten. Am nächsten Tage wird weiter gekämpft, auch jetzt wird niemand getötet, dagegen gelingt es den Ebäangonleuten, Makinas Dorf aufzubrennen. Darauf kehren „die Sieger" nach Ebäangon zurück. Nach zwei Tagen erneuern sie ihren Angriff, erreichen aber nichts.

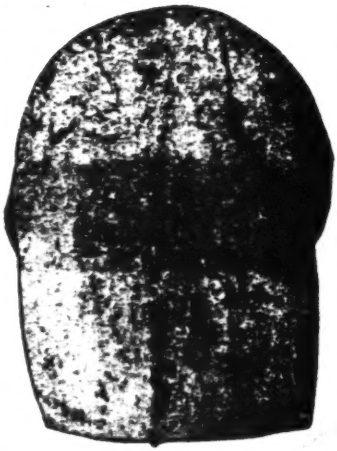


Abb. 88. Schild aus Büffelhaut.

Makina will jetzt die Sache aus der Welt haben, schickt zwei Weiber als Bezahlung zu Schüe, der sie auch behält, obgleich er keineswegs geneigt ist, Frieden zu machen. Im Gegenteil, seine Leute überfallen von neuem Makinas Dörfer, da reißt diesem die Geduld, er geht zum Häuptling von Messelle, einem großen Dorfe auf der rechten Seite des Kampo, und bittet ihn, den Streit zu schlichten. Als Schüe das hört, schickt er die beiden Weiber ins Dorf des Makina zurück und entsendet vier seiner Söhne als Vertreter zu der Verhandlung nach

Messelle. Die Entscheidung lautet dahin: Makina hat unrecht, weil „er zuerst gegen Schüe frech geredet hat, sein Sohn Bekongo beim Seelenfest den ganzen Streit angefangen hat und so schuld an dem Tode von Schües Sohn ist." Darauf nimmt er sofort Makina fest und fordert seine Gerichtskosten, fünf Schafe, von Schües Partei ein, indem er ihm dafür die Auslieferung Makinas verspricht. Nachdem die Bezahlung erfolgt und Makina ausgeliefert ist, fordern ihn Schües Söhne auf, seinen schuldigen Sohn zu rufen. Makina erklärt sich dazu außerstande und wird von ihnen unterwegs — am Mburru — mit Knütteln niedergeschlagen und die Leiche in den Fluß geworfen.

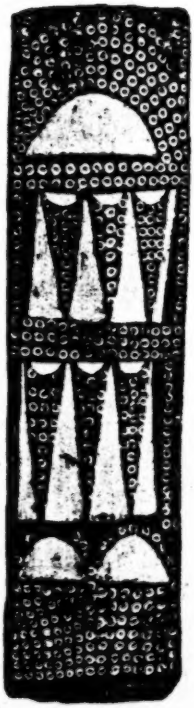


Abb. 84. Holzschild.

Auf die Nachricht dieser Ereignisse, die Schües Söhne mit nach Ebäangon bringen, greifen die Leute Makinas zu den Gewehren, ziehen ihrerseits nach Ebäangon und brennen Schües Dorf zur Hälfte nieder. Damit war dem Rachegefühl beider Parteien Genüge geleistet, denn der Verlust war auf beiden Seiten genau derselbe, jederseits ein Dorf aufgebrannt und ein Mann getötet.

Die Sache wäre noch weiter gegangen, denn die Bebaileute waren doch noch unzufrieden, da sie ihren Verlust deshalb für größer hielten, weil ihr Toter ein großer Häuptling, der andere aber nur ein junger Mann gewesen war, wenn nicht der Einfluß der Weißen zu dieser Zeit nach Bebai gedrungen und den Streitigkeiten dadurch ein Ende gesetzt wäre.

Man ersieht aus diesem Beispiel, daß die Pangwe nach dem Grundsatze handeln, Auge um Auge, Zahn um Zahn, und die Blutrache nur dann aufhören kann, wenn die Verluste auf beiden Seiten gleich sind: In einem „Kriege" zwischen Schumu- und Essengleuten waren acht Schumuleute gefallen, und es konnte erst Friede geschlossen werden, als auch von den Esseng acht Mann getötet waren. Man sieht ferner, daß es oft ganz geringfügige Ursachen sind, aus denen folgenschwere Dorffehden entstehen.

Gefangene werden meist getötet und dann auch oft verzehrt, wie früher bereits gesagt wurde. Nur Kinder zieht man als „Sklaven" im Dorfe auf. Kriegsgefangene Frauen werden meistens von den Siegern aufgenommen und geheiratet, mitunter aber auch getötet, um die Zahl der Gefallenen auf beiden Seiten auszugleichen und dadurch den Frieden zu ermöglichen.

Abschnitt XVIII.

Geschlechtsleben.

1. **Geschlechtsleben bis zur Reife.** Drei Entwicklungsstufen des Menschen (Kind, Mann, Greis). — Kinder als gute Menschen (*bebin*), als „Unschuldige". — Geschlechtliche Annäherung im Spiel. — Gleichgeschlechtlicher Verkehr der Jungen.
2. **Geschlechtsleben zwischen Reife und Ehe.** Jünglinge und Mädchen. — Freie Liebe. — Jungfernschaft. — Begehrlichkeit der Weiber (Tanzgesang). — Mädchen, die jedem feil sind: *nsila*. — Takt des Jünglings im Verkehr mit dem Mädchen und dessen Familie. — Schamhaftigkeit gegenüber den Eltern des Mädchens. — Verkehr mit diesem. — Dauernde Liebesbündnisse. — Liebesprüfungen (Erzählung). — Uneheliche Kinder.
3. **Ehe.** Verbot des Geschlechtsverkehrs mit verwandten Sippen; Geschlechtsverkehr in der eigenen Sippe, Blutschande. — Mädchenraub, Anhalten beim Vater. — Preis der Frau und Art der Bezahlung (Beispiel). — Verkehr des zukünftigen Tochtermannes mit den Schwiegereltern, Schwiegermutter und ihre Verehrung, Scham und kein Ende. — Hochzeit (Festlichkeit). — Flitterwoche. — Vielweiberei. — Anzahl der Weiber von Häuptlingen. — Eheliche Treue — Verleihen der Frauen. — Heimliche Liebhaber. — Rückgabe von Frauen, Gründe dazu. — Rückzahlung des Brautpreises.
4. **Medizinen, Einfluß des Geschlechtsverkehrs.** Entstehung des Samens. — Ursache der Menstruation (Stillung des Blutes). — Medizinen zur Verstärkung der männlichen Kraft. — Unfähigkeit der Männer; Entstehung, Medizinen gegen Impotenz. — Geschlechtskrankheiten; Bezahlung bei Ansteckung. — Einfluß des Geschlechtsverkehrs. — Glückbringende und unglückbringende Weiber. — Künstlich Verschnittene (*mûk*): Veranlassung und Zweck, Verbreitung, Verlauf der Weihefeier, Enthaltsamkeit der Geweihten, Entweihung.
5. **Abarten des Geschlechtsverkehrs.** Quirlen der Glieder, um Juckreiz auszulösen. — Onanieren beim männlichen und weiblichen Geschlecht. — Gleichgeschlechtlicher Verkehr der Männer. — Gleichgeschlechtlicher Verkehr als Reichtummedizin; Märchen. — Bestrafung der Gleichgeschlechtlichen durch Kultgeister.
6. **Schwangerschaft, Geburt.** Feststellung des Beginns der Schwangerschaft. — Einstellung des geschlechtlichen Verkehrs. — Abtreibung: Gründe dafür, Medizinen. — Ort der Niederkunft. — Geburtshelferinnen. — Entbindung. — Behandlung des Kindes: Abquetschen der Nabelschnur. — Behandlung der Nachgeburt. — Medizin für die Mutter. — Geburtsanzeige. — Ernährung des Kindes durch die Mutter, Ausbleiben der Milch. — Späteres Verhalten der Mutter, Verbot des geschlechtlichen Verkehrs, Stillungszeit des Säuglings.

---

1. Geschlechtsleben vor der Reife.

Der Pangwe teilt die Lebenszeit des Individuums wie wir in drei Abschnitte, in die Zeit der Kindheit, in die des erwachsenen Menschen und in die des Greisenalters. Dieser Abschluß beschäftigt indes bei dem im Durchschnitt frühzeitig eintretenden Tode den Neger weit weniger als die beiden ersten Lebensabschnitte. Zwischen beiden — der Kindheit und dem Mannesalter — bildet die Grenze die Geschlechtsreife, die der Pangwe besonders stark betont, weil die Sexualität im Mittelpunkt seiner religiösen Anschauungen steht und äußerlich

zum Ausdruck gebracht wird durch die Einweihung in die Kulte — wie bei uns durch die Einsegnung. Er tut so, als handle es sich bei dem Menschen vor der Geschlechtsreife, ich nenne ihn der Kürze halber Kind — *mǫ̃ngo III* —, um eine Vorstufe des eigentlichen Menschen — *mát III* — wie etwa die Raupe die Vorstufe des Schmetterlings ist.

Denken wir an das zurück, was bei der Religion über das Seelenwesen gesagt wurde, so erinnern wir uns, daß die Pangwe je nach dessen Art zwei Sorten von Menschen unterscheiden, *bebrn* (Uneingeweihte, Gute) und *bongǫ̃s* (Eingeweihte, Schlechte). Kinder *(bǫ̃ngo)* aber sind *bebrn* = Uneingeweihte, Gute, weil sie den Geschlechtsverkehr nicht kennen und, wenn sie ihn vorzeitig kennen gelernt haben, nicht wissen, daß es Sünde ist, was sie tun, es ja auch nicht wissen können, weil sie eben nicht eingeweiht sind in die tiefen Zusammenhänge von Geschlechtsverkehr, Leben und Tod.

In der Wirklichkeit stellen sich die Dinge so, daß die junge Pangwewelt ganz genau Bescheid weiß, offiziell aber jeder das Bedürfnis hat, zu betonen, daß er ein Kind, *mǫ̃ngo*, d. h. gut, nichtwissend, in den Geschlechtsverkehr uneingeweiht ist, auch wenn er nicht nur der wirklich unschuldigen Kindheit (in engerem Sinne), sondern auch der Zeit der Geschlechtsreife längst entwachsen ist. Die Probe darauf kann man an jedem beliebigen Neger, der im Alter zwischen 10 und 20 Jahren steht, machen, wenn man ihn fragt, ob er schon geschlechtlichen Verkehr pflege. Die Antwort wird stets dieselbe sein, mag der Gefragte ein Fang aus dem Busch oder ein längst von der Kultur beleckter Jaunde sein, nämlich die: *ma ne mǫ̃ngo* = ich bin ein Kind, d. h. unschuldig, ich weiß nichts vom Geschlechtsverkehr; er sichert sich so das milde Urteil, mit dem wir „Dummejungenstreiche" abtun.

Für die Kinder „*bǫ̃ngo*" wird also ein ganz anderer Maßstab angelegt; was s i e tun, insbesondere in geschlechtlicher Beziehung, wird nicht ernst genommen.

bǫ̃ngo bə̀ bə́lé oson = Kinder haben keine Scham, und umgekehrt zeigen Erwachsene Kindern gegenüber nicht so viel Scham wie sonst (siehe gleichgeschlechtliches Leben Bd. II, S. 271), weil eben Kinder gar nicht wissen, was böse *(só)* ist und was Scham *(o-so-n)* zu bedeuten hat. Wenn die sonst, wenigstens äußerlich, recht „schamhaften" Neger das selbst sagen, so werden wir nicht hoffen dürfen, viele von den Eigenschaften eines wahren, unschuldigen *ebrn* bei den Kindern zu finden, und in der Tat beginnen die ersten spielerischen Nachahmungen des bei Älteren beobachteten Verkehrs schon mit dem fünften oder sechsten Lebensjahre; mit 8—9 Jahren ist das „Elternspielen" schon nichts weiter als ein zielbewußter Geschlechtsverkehr, bleibt aber in der allgemeinen Auffassung ein Spiel, das mir unter dem Namen *ebə̀bə̀ne-bǫ̃ngo Nl.* oder *ebə̀nebə̀ne bǫ̃ngo F.* direkt unter „Kinderspielen" aufgeführt wurde, und das meistens am Vormittag

in den Wohnhäusern vor sich geht, wenn die Eltern auf den Pflanzungen oder sonst abwesend sind. Die Partner sind dabei nicht bloß Knaben und Mädchen, sondern auch Knaben unter sich. Später im Alter von 8—10 Jahren und oft noch ein Stück darüber hinaus zeigt sich ähnlich — wenigstens beim männlichen Geschlecht — neben dem Trieb zu gleichaltrigen Mädchen bei vielen Jungen eine Neigung zum gleichen Geschlecht. Bei der äußerlich immer möglichst lange zur Schau getragenen Schamhaftigkeit bedienen sich die Pangwejungen eines Mittels, mit dem sie sich „durch die Blume" verständigen. Ein Junge scharrt etwas Erde und Kehricht in ein Blatt, bindet dieses in der Art der Speisebündel flüchtig zusammen und gibt es dem anderen. Ist der bereit, die Zuneigung zu erwidern, so öffnet er das Bündel, tut so, als ob er äße und sagt zuletzt *me mane a dij*, d. h. ich habe gegessen, andernfalls wirft er das Bündel, über dessen Inhalt er sich im klaren ist, fort.

Über Onanie siehe später S. 270.

2. Geschlechtsleben zwischen Reife und Ehe.

Nach der Reife heißt das Mädchen *ngon III*, der Jüngling *nkap I*, für beide hat man auch die Bezeichnung *bandgman*, Mehrzahl von *ndgman* = Jüngling oder Mädchen im verliebten Alter, und drückt so schon im Namen aus, unter welchem Zeichen die folgende Lebenszeit steht. Es herrscht freie Liebe im verwegensten Sinne des Wortes, das Mädchen darf ohne Einschränkung ihre Gunst verschenken, wem und wann sie will, und hat sich nur an die religiöse Vorschrift zu binden, die den Geschlechtsverkehr am Tage, und an die gesellschaftliche, die ihn zwischen Blutsverwandten verbietet. Sonst gibt es keine Schranke, die passenden Lebensalter finden sich zusammen und sie nutzen ihre Freiheit gehörig aus. In der ersten Zeit nach der Reife wird freilich die Begierde gedämpft durch die sittliche Mahnung der Kulte mit ihrer Verkündigung von der Sündhaftigkeit des Geschlechtsverkehrs, die vereint mit der körperlichen Übersättigung und dem seelischen Widerwillen zum „moralischen Kater" wird, aber solche Rücksichten und Gefühle sind bald überwunden; wie im Essen, so kennen die Pangwe auch im Liebesleben kein Maßhalten, sie leeren den Freudenbecher bis zur Neige. Späterhin, besonders wenn der Pangwe mehrere Frauen erworben hat, pflegt an die Stelle der zwischen ungezügelter Leidenschaft und ihrer Rückwirkung, seelischem Unbehagen, hin und her schwankenden Jugendliebschaften eine mehr geschäftsmäßige Betrachtung der Geschlechtsliebe zu treten.

Daß bei jener ausgiebigen freien Liebe die Jungfernschaft der zukünftigen Frau bei der Wahl des Mannes ausscheidet, ist selbstverständlich, ja das Vorhandensein eines Jungfernhäutchens *(ajjdebi)* wird meist kaum beachtet und

ist manchen überhaupt nicht bekannt; es soll um das 15. Lebensjahr herum von gleichaltrigen Knaben zerstört werden.

In der Libido geben sich Mädchen und Jünglinge im allgemeinen nichts nach, man kann jedoch sagen, daß für jene bei der Auswahl ihres Freundes vielfach nur die potentia virilis maßgebend ist. Das kommt recht gut in den verschiedenen Tanzliedern zum „Mbale" (die übrigens von den lockeren Jaunde zu den Fang und Ntum gebracht sind) zum Ausdruck, beispielsweise in folgender Klage:

Vorsänger:

Mrnjnga ga mát ebərn, edó a va kí,

(Eine) Frau und (ein) Mann Liebschaft [1]), daraufhin er war gegangen (zu ihr),

a kí a bǫ́mo ba mrnjnga enjə́, a sǫ a níe

er geht zu schlafen mit (dem) Weib (auf) Bett, er kohabitiert mit ihr,

kaa ngə́ edó mát a va ke,

keine Stärke, daraufhin (ein) Mann (d. h. ein anderer) er war gegangen,

a nga fíī dáá: mrnjnga níene:

er lebte singen (das) Lied [2]): (Das) Weib sie (sagt) so (zu mir):

o kənt a kə́da na: kaa bǫ́dí a sə́,

du gehe zu sagen so (zum Liebhaber): Nicht wieder (zu) kommen,

kaa bǫ́dí a sə́, a sə́ dźǫ́ mebərə́, alə́ a ngərn

nicht wieder (zu) kommen, man nicht ausfüllen Beilager, Nacht sie noch war

ojə́rə́ — ma nga lame tíjbǫ́ nale, adzǫ́ a n'abí

länge (dauernd)[3]) — ich lebe müssen (zu) bleiben so, Sache sie ist sch'echt.

Chor:

A ta ma vǫ oder *a na ma vǫ.*

Oh, mein Vater, ich sterbe, Oh, meine Mutter, ich sterbe [4]).

Obgleich es keine eigentlichen Prostituierten gibt, so finden doch einige Frauen an dem freien Mädchenleben Gefallen und bleiben lange, bis zu 30, 35 Jahren *ngərn* = Mädchen. Diese Art von „Mädchen", denen jeder, sei es ein Junge oder ein Erwachsener, heiße er so oder so, sei er hübsch oder nicht, gleich will-

---

[1]) *ebərn* = Schamgegend, übertragen: Liebschaft, Verhältnis.

[2]) Dichterische Freiheit, weil die Vortragsform Gesang ist, würde heißen: Daraufhin sagte ein Mann folgendes.

[3]) D. h. der Liebhaber hätte noch Zeit genug gehabt, öfter zu kohabitieren.

[4]) Der Neger stirbt bei jeder Gelegenheit, wenn ihm etwas Unangenehmes geschieht; der Chor spricht also im Sinne der Frau, die über diese „schlechte Sache" so verzweifelt ist, daß sie fast sterben möchte.

kommen ist, bezeichnet man als *ńśila*, und daß über sie im Volke keine bessere Meinung herrscht als bei uns über Freudenmädchen, zeigt ein Seelenfestgesang, der in seiner Art ein köstliches Spottgedicht, und mehr noch, eine für die Pangwe außerordentlich geistvolle dichterische Leistung darstellt. Ich habe ihn in Abschnitt XX (Musik) gebracht.

Trotz der großen Sinnlichkeit ist der Verkehr der Geschlechter nicht ohne feinere Züge; taktvolles Benehmen, genaues Befolgen vorgeschriebener Formen und tiefes seelisches Empfinden fehlen nicht. Die Unbefangenheit, mit der der junge Mann den Eltern des Mädchens gegenübertritt, und die Selbstverständlichkeit, mit der sich die jungen Leute ihr Liebesglück nehmen, ohne Verpflichtungen, ohne gesellschaftliche Vorurteile, haben fast etwas Ideales an sich.

Hat der junge Mann ein Auge auf ein Mädchen geworfen oder sich mit ihm schon geeinigt, so geht er zu dessen Eltern, stellt sich zuerst dem Vater vor, der sich meistens von seiner liebenswürdigsten Seite zeigt und den Jüngling seiner Tochter empfiehlt. Sollte der Liebhaber nicht vorher das Einverständnis der Freundin eingeholt haben, was schon bei einer flüchtigen Begegnung mit ein paar Worten geschehen kann, so wird er trotzdem wenig Widerstand finden. Der Verkehr mit dem „Schwiegervater" und vor allem der „Schwiegermutter" ist so herzlich und zartfühlend, wie er nur sein kann. Der Jüngling überbringt seiner „Schwiegermutter" ein kleines Geschenk, bestehend in europäischem Salz oder in anderen Dingen, die Frauen lieben, macht sich auch bei dem Vater durch irgendwelche kleine Aufmerksamkeiten oder Geschenke beliebt, während die Eltern bzw. das Mädchen selbst den Gast aufs beste bewirten. Ein natürlicher Takt läßt den Pangwe im Umgang mit der Familie des Mädchens alles vermeiden, was seine Beziehungen zu diesem berührt, ja, sein Zartgefühl gegenüber den „Schwiegereltern" steigert sich bis zur falschen Scham:

wō-oson a vē mabgde menkīf.

(Das) Gefühl — Scham, es stirbt (an) Framboesie (der) Schwiegereltern (Verschwägerten).

Das Schamgefühl hat bewirkt, daß man an der Framboesie, die von den Schwiegereltern übertragen ist, stirbt, d. h. ein Liebhaber fürchtete sich aus Scham, das Essen, welches der framboesiekranke Vater des Mädchens ihm anbot, auszuschlagen. Er aß mit dem Manne aus einer Schüssel, steckte sich an und starb.

Dem Mädchen selbst bringt der Liebhaber meist ein halbes Stück Zeug — im Werte von einer Mark — (in Jaunde ein ganzes). Mit seiner Liebeswerbung kommt er indes meistens nicht gleich zum erwünschten Ziel, denn es ist Sitte, daß das Mädchen, wenn es auch dem Jüngling ihre Zuneigung schenkt und

mit ihm schläft, in der ersten Nacht den geschlechtlichen Verkehr verweigert. (Vergl. Märchen S. 272.)

Der Grund dieser Sitte liegt in *osen*, in der Scham vor dem Gerede der Leute. Man kennt sich in punkto Lüsternheit ganz genau, stellt sich aber als ganz harmlos hin und vermeidet ängstlich alles, was einen Anlaß zum Klatsch geben könnte. Sprechen wir daher mit den Pangwe über geschlechtliche Dinge, so hören wir immerzu das Wort *osen* = Scham, *osen* hier und *osen* da. Freilich läßt es da, wo der europäische Einfluß um sich greift, nach, denn mit ihm schwinden die religiösen Anschauungen, auf denen die Scham, wie wir bei der Sünde *(nsóm)* gesehen haben, beruht, es lockert sich auch das sittliche Empfinden, und man legt sich keinerlei Schranken mehr auf.

Bei der allgemeinen freien Liebe kommt es natürlich auch vor, daß sich mehrere Liebhaber für eine Nacht beim Mädchen einfinden, zumal wenn sie keine Anfängerin mehr ist, und sie hat — wie der Pangwe selbst spottend sagt — „Erbarmen" mit ihnen allen[1]). Bei solchen, namentlich den älteren *ni ila*, erlaubt man sich denn auch anzügliche Redensarten und derbe Scherze, die bei einem jungen Mädchen, gar der zukünftigen Frau, unerhört wären und streng verpönt sind; man macht beispielsweise Phalli aus Holz und zeigt sie in ein Blatt eingewickelt vor.

Wie schon angedeutet, sind auch auf wirklicher Liebe beruhende Herzensbündnisse keineswegs selten. Daß sie meistens nicht unbegrenzt halten und nicht die Belastung ertragen, die man bei uns von ihnen erwartet, wird niemand wundern. So ist mir kein Fall bekannt geworden, daß jemand Selbstmord aus verschmähter Liebe oder wegen zurückgewiesener Werbung verübt hätte, obwohl sich Frauen erhängen, weil ihnen ein paar elende Hühner entwendet sind, und Männer sich erschießen, weil ihr Vater eine Tochter verkauft hatte, um eine Frau dafür zu erwerben, anstatt sie dem Sohne, dem Bruder des Mädchens, zu überlassen. Die Macht der Negerliebe ist im allgemeinen nicht so gewaltig wie die Liebe der Weißen. Gleicht letztere einem brausenden Strom, der alles hinwegreißt, was sich ihm entgegenstellt, so die Liebe der Schwarzen einem stillen, aber tiefen See, und sicher ist, daß die Zaubermacht der Liebe auch in Afrika oft zwei Herzen innig aneinanderkettet daß es echte Liebe gibt, die vor der europäischen Auffassung in jeder Richtung bestehen kann. Das zeigen recht gut die „Liebesproben", welche die Männer mitunter anwenden, um sich von der Liebe ihrer zukünftigen Frau zu überzeugen, ganz nach dem Muster: „Drum prüfe, wer sich ewig bindet, ob sich das Herz zum Herzen findet."

Ein Beispiel bietet folgendes Märchen:

Eines Tages ging ein junger Mann zu dem Mädchen, das er liebte und heiraten wollte. Während er nachts in ihrem Hause schlief, kam ihm ein Bedürfnis

---

[1]) Auch nur deren Zahl zu behalten, ist eine zu schwere Aufgabe für ihr Gedächtnis, darum zählen die Jaundemädchen ihre Freunde an Raphiastäbchen (siehe Zenker).

an, aber da er nicht wußte, wo der Abort lag, und kein Mann da war, den er fragen konnte, sagte er zu sich: „Oh, was soll ich in meiner Not tun? — — Aber ich will einmal sehen, ob das Mädchen mich wirklich liebt!" Er nahm einen kleinen Kochtopf *(obébə)* und benutzte ihn, so daß er bis oben hin voll *(lɔ̀dɔ́lɔ̨)* wurde; dann deckte er Blätter darauf und stellte ihn hinter ein Bett. Am anderen Morgen machte er sich auf den Heimweg, das Mädchen begleitete ihn bis vors Dorf, und unterwegs sagte er: „Ich gehe jetzt in mein Dorf, und ich werde sehen:

ng(e) oa dɛ́ɲ̀ ma: obébə, ng(e) oa bə̀ne ma: obébə,"

wenn du liebst mich: (das) Töpfchen, wenn du haßt (nicht liebst) mich: (das) Töpfchen, d. h. das Töpfchen wird es zeigen, ob du mich liebst oder nicht! Das Mädchen verstand nicht, was er damit sagen wollte, und fragte, was er meinte. Er antwortete aber bloß:

ə̀, koa dɛ̀ám mɔ̀,

Oh, keine Sache weiter (als das):

ng(e) oa dɛ̀rn ma: obébə, ng(e) oa bə̀ne ma, obébə.

Als das Mädchen nach Hause ging, dachte sie bei sich: „Was soll das eigentlich wohl heißen: *ng(e) oa dɛ̀ɲ̀ ma: obébə, ng(e) oa bə̀ne ma: obébə*!?" Auch im Hause dachte sie noch darüber nach, da spürte sie auf einmal den Geruch und fand das Töpfchen hinter dem Bett. Sie nahm es, goß es in den Plantenhain hinter dem Hause aus und reinigte es gut mit Wasser. Unterdessen war ihr Geliebter heimlich ins Dorf zurückgekommen und beobachtete von einem Versteck aus, wie sich die Sache entwickelte, ob das Mädchen etwa die Leute rufen würde, um ihn öffentlich bloßzustellen [1]). Aber nichts

[1]) Dann hätte sich der Liebhaber nämlich vor dem Spott seiner Genossen nicht bergen können und wäre vollends in dem Dorfe seiner Geliebten einfach unmöglich geworden. Man vergesse nicht, für wie entsetzlich beschämend ein Neger ein derartiges Vorkommnis, ja überhaupt den Gedanken an ein natürliches Bedürfnis hält. Ein Mensch, dem in dieser Beziehung, wie wir sagen, ein Unglück zugestoßen ist, wie etwa im obigen Falle, ist für lange Zeit gesellschaftlich unmöglich geworden, wenn die Sache bekannt wird, während wir „Barbaren" bei dem geringen Maße unserer „*aeon*" ein solches Geschehnis für einen zwar im Augenblick peinlichen Vorfall halten, aber ihn nicht weiter nachtragen und überdies die physiologische Körperentleerung als etwas „Natürliches" ansehen. Unglückliche Unkultur-Kulturmenschen! Die Wilden sind doch bessere Menschen! Da gibt es eine unzählige Reihe Umschreibungen für die entsetzliche Handlung: *ma ke a npɛ́[ɑ] bɛ́dɔ̀ɲ̀* — ich gehe, eine Medizin holen; *a bɔ̀be ɛ̀kɔ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀* — die Schlagfalle nachsehen; *a bɔ̀be ɛ̀bɛ̀* — die Fallgrube nachsehen; *a tɛ̀ɛ̀ ndɔ̀ɔ̀ɲ̀* — Feuerholz suchen; *ma ke afɛ̀ɛ̀* — ich gehe in den Busch usw. Ich muß noch heute lächeln, wenn ich an eine Begebenheit denke, die ich zu Anfang meines Aufenthaltes in Alén erlebte. Einer meiner Fangjungen, der mich auf der Jagd begleitete, sagte plötzlich bei einem dicken, halb-

dergleichen geschah. Er sah dann das Mädchen in das Haus ihrer Mutter gehen, schlich schnell durch den Plantenhain nach und lauschte hinter dem Hause, was das Mädchen wohl sagen würde. Aber mit keinem Wort erwähnte sie den Vorfall. Da ging er freudigen Herzens zurück und sagte zu sich: „Dieses Mädchen liebt mich in Wahrheit." Nach zwei Tagen kehrte er zurück, hielt um sie an und führte sie als Frau in sein Dorf.

Bei diesem Anlaß ist das geflügelte Wort entstanden: *ng(e) oa dǯʃ̌ʊ̄ ma, obébɛ̄, ng(e) oa bẹ̄ne ma: obébɛ̄.*

Die vielen Liebesmedizinen *(bia,n andu'man)*, welche in recht anschaulicher Weise das Ineinanderaufgehen und Zusammenkletten der Geschlechter (geistig wie körperlich) veranschaulichen, wurden Bd. II, S. 163 besprochen.

Uneheliche Kinder sind recht selten. Der Vater des Kindes — selbst wenn man ihn kennt — hat keinen Anspruch auf das Kind, wie das Mädchen keine Ansprüche an ihn. Das Kind gehört dem Vater des Mädchens und wird als gar nicht ganz unliebsame Zugabe angesehen, da es bei Verheiratung des Mädchens den Kaufpreis um ein beträchtliches hinaufschraubt. So lange die Mutter unverheiratet ist, bleibt ihr Kind im Hause ihrer Eltern; heiratet sie, so wird

morschen Baumstumpf: *„ma ke tsʊ̄ ndǯʊ̄ʊ̄* = ich gehe Feuerholz holen." In der Meinung, daß er wirklich vom Baumstumpf Feuerholz abschlagen wollte, entgegnete ich auf diesen mir unverständlichen Einfall, halb erstaunt, halb spottend: *„ge oa bẹ̄le orẹ̄n* = hast du denn eine Axt?" Warum mich ein so niederschmetternder, moralisch vernichtender Blick traf, begriff ich erst nach einer Weile. Nach dieser Entgleisung wurde ich vorsichtiger und war bald zu einem auf der Höhe der Pangwekultur stehenden Menschen zurechtgestutzt, der in fremden Dörfern nie mehr vom *edák* (Abort) sprach, sondern als wohlerzogener „Pangwe" nur fragte:

ngɛ be ütrdán ma, ma gürle vɛ̄?

Wenn man scheucht (drängt) mich, ich ducke (verstecke) mich wohin?

oder: *vɛ̄n e medǯʊ̄ e ne vɛ̄?*

Wo ist der Weg zum Wirt (eigentlich: Dorfherrn)?

Weitere Beweise für die Schamhaftigkeit in bezug auf die natürlichen Bedürfnisse der Pangwe sind die Anwendung einer Klystierspritze, die in mittelbarem Zusammenhang mit dem Auswurf bzw. After steht, als Abschreckungsmedizin gegen Felddiebstähle, und ferner das bezeichnende Märchen von der Schildkröte und der Frau: Eine Schildkröte will ein Mädchen wider seinen Willen zwingen, ihre Frau zu werden, und das gelingt ihr nach allerlei vergeblichen Versuchen nur dadurch, daß sie des Nachts von ihrem eigenen Auswurf an das Bett und das Zeug des Mädchens schmiert, sich dann schlafen legt und am anderen Morgen, als das Mädchen die Bescherung sieht, droht, im Dorfe und vor aller Welt zu erzählen, daß sie ihr Bett beschmutzt hätte. Damit brachte sie das Mädchen vollständig in ihre Gewalt und zwang es zur Einwilligung in die Heirat.

es vom Manne sozusagen mitgeheiratet und ganz wie sein eigenes angesehen. Läuft die Mutter — was vorgekommen ist — mit einem Manne davon, ohne das Kind mitzunehmen, so wird dieses von der Großmutter genährt, deren Namen es auch, wenn es weiblichen Geschlechts ist, meist zu tragen pflegt. Eine Schande ist es für das Mädchen keineswegs, wenn ihr Verkehr mit jungen Männern Folgen zeitigt.

3. Ehe.

Wir sahen schon, daß der Geschlechtsverkehr innerhalb der Blutsverwandtschaft verboten *(ekı)* ist. Als solche gilt

1. der eigene Familienverband;
2. der Familienverband, aus dem die Mutter stammt;
3. der Familienverband, aus dem die Mutter des Vaters stammt.

Dieses Verbot ist früher von allen Pangwe gleichmäßig streng innegehalten worden, wird heute jedoch vielfach umgangen, die Jaunde kehren sich nicht immer daran, die Fang, ausgerechnet die Fang mit ihrer stets betonten *oson*, haben es für den eigenen Familienverband fallen lassen, aber für die anderen Familienverbände beibehalten. Den Ntum und allen übrigen Pangwe ist dies empörende Geschehnis stark auf die Nerven gefallen, und sie pflegen keine Gelegenheit vorübergehen zu lassen, ohne sich über die Unsittlichkeit der Fang, die ihrer „eigenen Schwester beiwohnen", spottend zu äußern oder zu entrüsten, wobei sie ihre eigene hohe Achtung vor Sitte und Anstand hervorzuheben nicht verfehlen. Dabei sind die Ntum selbst, wenigstens teilweise, bereits von dem bösen Beispiel der Fang angesteckt, und auch sonst kommen Verfehlungen gegen das Verbot nicht allzuselten vor. Die Sitte, mit den eigenen Sippengenossinnen (Schwestern im Pangwesinne) zu verkehren, führt den Namen *zámadulu III* oder einfach *záma III*, das Zeitwort *a dulu záma*. Der Name ist, wie an der Vorsilbenklasse zu sehen ist, ganz unverändert vom Namen Gottes *(záma)* abgeleitet und bedeutet „so tun wie Sama", weil, wie aus der Schöpfungsgeschichte ersichtlich (Bd. II, S. 16ff.), Sama (Nsambe) seine eigene Schwester begattet hatte.

Wo das *zámadulu* noch verboten ist, ist bei Zuwiderhandlung eine Bezahlung an den Vater des Mädchens zu leisten, die je nach der Schwere des Falles verschieden ist, nämlich einige Ziegen (früher waren es vielfach fünf) außer einem Hund, der als Sündenbock dient, d. h. die vom Kultgeist dem Sünder drohende Krankheit auf sich nehmen soll. Treten doch Krankheiten ein, so werden Medizinen bereitet, die mit den Kulten in Zusammenhang stehen (vgl. Medizinen gegen Kultkrankheiten Bd. II, S. 167).

Die moderne freiere Auffassung oder — bei den Fang — Ablehnung des Verbots, mit Blutsverwandten (im Pangwesinne) zu verkehren, hört auf, sobald es sich um die Ehe handelt, dann gilt das Verbot überall und ohne Einschränkung.

Der freie Verkehr zwischen dem Jüngling und dem Mädchen ist in vielen Fällen nur eine kürzere oder längere Probezeit, die nach gutem Ausfall der „Prüfung" — hier einer körperlichen als Gegenstück zu der seelischen, von der oben die Rede war — zur Ehe führt. Liebt das Mädchen ihren Freund sehr, um eine Pangweredensart zu gebrauchen, so kann er sie wohl bewegen, ihm gleich in sein Dorf zu folgen. Solcher „Mädchenraub" gilt halb und halb als durch die Sitte geheiligt, mag auch die Familie der Braut oft nicht darüber erfreut sein. Der Vater des Mädchens macht sich dann am anderen Tage auf, um den Kaufpreis vom Schwiegersohn einzufordern. Ist dieser imstande, ihm einen Teil, vielleicht die Hälfte, zu bezahlen, so ist die Sache in Ordnung, der Rest wird meist gestundet. Stellt es sich aber heraus, daß der „Räuber" ein armer Schlucker ist oder sein Vater nicht mit dem Geld herausrücken will, so wird ihm die Braut erbarmungslos wieder abgenommen, und wenn sie selbst Ströme von Tränen vergießt. Umsonst ist eben nichts. In den meisten Fällen jedoch läßt sich das Mädchen nicht darauf ein, sofort mitzulaufen, sondern verlangt, daß der Freier bei ihrem Vater um sie anhält und erst eine Anzahlung leistet.

An sich ist jede Frau, sei sie jünger oder älter, gleich viel wert, doch wechselt die Höhe des Kaufpreises nach den allgemeinen wirtschaftlichen Verhältnissen sehr. Jn Jaunde stellt sie sich am billigsten, im Kern des Pangwelandes am teuersten, der Preis schwankt zwischen 200 und 750 Mk. in unserem Gelde. Im Mittel kann man für den Süden heute 500—600 Mk. annehmen. Die auch in Afrika eingetretene Entwertung des Geldes hat den Preis gegen frühere Zeiten erheblich gesteigert.

Der Kaufpreis kann nun nicht in Geld (Speergeld) allein oder in Vieh allein oder in einer Sorte Waren allein ausgezahlt werden, sondern es müssen darin alle gangbaren Tauschgegenstände vertreten sein. So wurde z. B. 1906 für eine Frau im Fanggebiet bezahlt:

6000	Speere	ℳ 420.—
12	Gewehre	„ 120.—
2	Faß Pulver	„ 4.—
70	Hauer	„ 70.—
2	Schafe	„ 50.—
2	eiserne Töpfe	„ 8.—
10	Stück Tuch	„ 40.—
5	Hüte	„ 10.—
13	Kessel Salz, je ℳ 2.—	„ 26.—
2	Messer	„ 2.—
2	Paket Perlen	„ 2.—
2	Tabakpfeifen	„ —.50
2	Paket Flintensteine	„ —.50
1	Hut Knöpfe	„ —.50
		ℳ 753.50

Die etwa vorhandenen unehelichen Kinder heiratet der Mann mit, und zwar hat er für einen Knaben 500 Speere, für ein Mädchen 1000 Speere zuzulegen; er tut das übrigens nicht mehr als gern, denn jedes Kind bedeutet einen Vermögenszuwachs.

Von den unendlich vielen Streitigkeiten, die sich bei der Heirat besonders daraus ergeben, daß nicht der ganze Kaufpreis auf einmal bezahlt wird, will ich nicht reden, ebensowenig davon, daß der Vater des Mädchens seine Tochter, auch wenn sie einen anderen liebt, gerne dem zuschiebt, der am meisten oder am schnellsten zahlt, das würde zu weit führen.

Bleibt das Mädchen im elterlichen Hause und erstreckt sich die Auszahlung des Kaufgeldes über Wochen und Monate, so hat der Freier genügend Zeit, seine zukünftige Frau und ihre Familie kennen zu lernen. Er begegnet ihr mit größter Zuvorkommenheit, und namentlich vor der Schwiegermutter *(ni,é-ngən III*, d. h. Mutter des Mädchens) hat er einen „Heidenrespekt". Er ist die Höflichkeit selber, bringt ihr kleinere und größere Geschenke, schlachtet ihr von Zeit zu Zeit ein Huhn oder ein Schaf, kurz, man könnte allen Ernstes von einem Schwiegermutterkult reden (vgl. Liebesfest Bd. II, S. 159). Und vor allem: *oson, oson, oson*: Scham und dreimal Scham. Unsagbar schamvoll ist der Schwiegersohn gegen die Schwiegermutter und umgekehrt sie gegen ihn, und das erst recht nach der Heirat, wo die gute Schwiegermutter ihre Schamhaftigkeit auch auf die Sippengenossen des Schwiegersohns ausdehnt. Wie eine Diebin schleicht sie sich hinter den Wohnungen in das Haus ihrer Tochter, um nicht gesehen zu werden und — was weiß ich — vielleicht zur Entstehung von Schwiegermutterwitzen Veranlassung zu geben.

Rätsel:

gzən e bönśüe, e ne kaangá
Weg der Eidechsen, er ist (im) Riedgras (Cyperus)

Auflösung:

gzən e boni,éngən, e n' a fá
Weg der Schwiegermutter, er ist auf (der) Strecke hinter den Häusern.

Führt ein Mann seine junge Frau heim, so feiert das Dorf an dem Tage ein größeres Tanzvergnügen, zu dem sich alle nach Möglichkeit schmücken, und dem die junge Frau, rot von Rotholzfarbe, auf einem Schemel als Ehrenperson beiwohnt. Dabei darf die Knallerei mit den Donnerbüchsen nicht fehlen, denn sie gehört zur Festmusik wie ein Tusch bei uns. Die Tanzerei und Knallerei dauert sogar mehrere Tage, wenn ein reicher Häuptling sich neubeweibt hat, oder wenn es sich um die Erstlingsfrau eines Dorfgenossen handelt; irgendwelche auffällige Besonderheiten fehlen dabei; es ist einfach eine Reihe verschiedener

Tänze (darunter mit Vorliebe das Dschama), wie sie auch bei anderen Gelegenheiten üblich sind.

Nach der Hochzeit wird der jungen Frau einige Zeit der Ruhe (bis zu einem Monat) gegönnt, während der sie nicht zu arbeiten braucht. Täglich mit Rotholz neu gefärbt, stolziert sie im Dorfe herum. Nach diesen Flitterwochen geht es dann an die tägliche Feldarbeit, indes der Mann vielleicht schon Ausschau nach einer zweiten Frau hält. Viele sind es übrigens nicht, die sich den Luxus mehrerer Frauen leisten können, meist nur der Häuptling, seine Brüder und einige andere Leute, die große Mehrzahl muß sich mit einer Frau begnügen. In früheren Zeiten gab es sogar Leute, die wegen Geldmangels zu dauerndem Junggesellentum verurteilt waren, denn die Verdienstmöglichkeiten waren nicht so günstig wie bei dem heutigen Betrieb der europäischen Handelswirtschaft. Beim Seelenglauben (Bd. II, S. 102) wurde erzählt, wie liebende Väter durch Verwandlung in einen Leoparden dem Sohne eine Frau verschaffen.

Die Anzahl der Weiber, die der einzelne Häuptling sein eigen nennt, nimmt von Norden nach Süden ab, genau in demselben Verhältnis, wie seine Herrschermacht nach Süden zu abnimmt. Die angesehensten und größten Häuptlinge der Mwele und Jaunde besitzen z. T. an 100 Weiber, auch Buluhäuptlinge mit 50 Weibern sind keine Seltenheit, bei den Fang dagegen haben sie nur 16 bis 20, höchstens 30, in kleineren Dörfern gar nur 5 oder noch weniger, da, wie wir gesehen haben, jedermann durch Gründung eines neuen Dorfes Häuptling *(nkakama)* werden kann, weil er in diesem Dorfe der „Reichste" ist.

Das Wort klingt hart, aber es muß ausgesprochen werden: das geschlechtliche Leben der Frau ist im Grunde eine Fortsetzung desjenigen des Mädchens, vielleicht in noch raffinierteren Formen, also eine bessere Prostitution. Eheliche Treue kommt sehr wenig vor, obgleich meine Schwarzen das entschieden behaupteten, mir selbst wurde nur einmal als „Kuriosum" eine Frau gezeigt, die *sich nicht von anderen Männern verführen lassen wollte, und das war nicht* einmal im Pangwegebiete, sondern auf meinen Reisen im Bassálande. Daß es auch unter den Pangwe Frauen gibt, die ihrem Manne ohne Zwang Treue halten, soll damit gar nicht abgestritten sein, aber, wie gesagt — weiße Raben! Und im Grunde wäre es wohl etwas viel verlangt, das bei der herrschenden Vielweiberei als Regel zu erwarten, alle Eifersucht und alles Überwachen nützt nichts, die Frauen verschaffen sich eben hinter dem Rücken des Mannes das, was er ihnen nicht gewähren kann oder will.

Im allgemeinen pflegt der Häuptling überhaupt nur einen kleinen Teil seiner Frauen, vielleicht 3—5, für sich zu behalten, die anderen teilt er seinen

Anhängern und Freunden zu oder verleiht sie gegen Barbezahlung an Bekannte auf eine oder mehrere Nächte. Außerdem halten sich die Frauen, wie aus den Abrechnungen beim Seelenfest hervorgeht, noch eine ganze Reihe von Verehrern, die sie — wenn es gar nicht anders geht — trotz Ngi und aller Kultgeister — am Tage in der Pflanzung befriedigen. Sogar Aussätzige und Krüppel werden nicht verschmäht, wenn sie geschlechtlich leistungsfähig sind. Kommt dem Ehemann der Name eines Liebhabers seiner Frau zu Ohren, so hat dieser ihm ungefähr 300 Speere zu zahlen. Der Preis schwankt etwas und wird, falls eine Einigung nicht zustande kommt, in einer Gerichtsverhandlung festgesetzt. Ertappt der Gatte einen Nebenbuhler in flagranti, so macht er sich mitunter kein Gewissen daraus, ihn auf der Stelle niederzuschießen.

Stirbt eine Frau bald nach der Verheiratung, so erhält der Witwer die Schwester der Verstorbenen als Frau entweder umsonst oder gegen geringe Zuzahlung, denn man glaubt, daß die Frau eine Ewu in sich trug, also eine Zauberin war, ihren Tod deshalb selbst verschuldet und so ihren Gatten geschädigt hatte.

Paßt dem Mann eine Frau aus irgendeinem Grunde nicht, so kann er sie ohne größere Schwierigkeiten zurückgeben, denn sie behält ja ihren Wert und kommt schließlich immer noch „an den Mann". Bei jungen Leuten, die oft die erste beste vom Fleck weg heiraten und nachher erst bemerken, was sie sich eigentlich zugelegt haben, werden die Frauen sogar zurückgenommen, wenn sie schlechtes Aussehen, kranke Zähne, üblen Geruch usw. haben, überhaupt „unsympathisch" sind.

Sonst sind die hauptsächlichsten Scheidungsgründe: 1. Boshaftigkeit und Aufsässigkeit gegen den Gatten; 2. Böswilliges längeres Verlassen des Mannes (aber nicht bloßes Entlaufen) und unüberwindliche Abneigung gegen ihn; 3. wiederholter Diebstahl; 4. Zauberei, durch welche die Frau die Kinder anderer Frauen tötet (vergiftet). Der Mann fürchtet, ihr früher oder später auch zum Opfer zu fallen; 5. zu langsames Wachsen der als Kind geheirateten Frau (der Mann hatte also ihr Alter überschätzt). *Echt negerhaft wie dieser Fall ist seine* Begründung: „Damit sein Geld nicht umsonst ausgegeben sei;" 6. folgende Krankheiten, wenn sie sich bald nach der Heirat herausstellen: Lepra, Elefantiasis der Füße und eine Form der Dysenterie *(Ili)*.

Unter Umständen kann auch fortgesetzter Ehebruch und Unfruchtbarkeit des Weibes zur Scheidung führen.

Ist die Rückgabe des Weibes begründet, was sie wohl meistens sein wird, denn umsonst gibt ein Neger seine Frau nicht wieder ab, so wird der Kaufpreis zurückgezahlt oder, falls der Schwiegervater mehr Töchter hat, eine Schwester der verflossenen Frau für die Nichtpassende gegeben.

Natürlich entstehen hierbei Streitigkeiten in Hülle und Fülle, und die Prozesse wegen Weigerung, den Kaufpreis für eine Frau zurückzugeben, machen nächst Ehebruchsachen die Mehrzahl aller Gerichtsverhandlungen aus.

4. Medizinen, Einfluß des Geschlechtsverkehrs.

Der Same wird nach Ansicht der Pangwe in den Brustwarzen gebildet — man ist wohl deshalb darauf gekommen, weil die Brüste zur Zeit der Geschlechtsreife anschwellen und zuweilen sogar die Größe der Brüste gleichaltriger Mädchen erreichen —, strömt von da in die Schamgegend zum mons veneris *(edə̄k)* und lagert sich hier, um im Coitus abzufließen (vgl. Medizin beim Tripper Bd. II, S. 178). Das würde zu reichlich der Fall sein, falls man die Schamhaare abrasierte; man schneidet sie deshalb nur kurz ab, eine hygienische Maßnahme, die das heiße Klima, die Schweißabsonderung und die juckenden Hautausschläge eingegeben haben. Über die Bedeutung der Hoden sind sich die Pangwe völlig im unklaren, sie glauben, daß sie nur zum Aufrichten des Gliedes dienen.

Die Menstruation ist das Zeichen der Gebärfähigkeit und wird als eine Wirkung des Mondes *(ngə̄n* = Mädchen und Mond*)* angesehen, sie sollte daher, wenn es nach der Regel ginge, in den ersten Tagen nach Neumond einsetzen, aber leider scheint der weißhaarige Alte seine Aufgabe auf die leichte Schulter zu nehmen, er ist selten zuverlässig. Um den Eintritt zu beschleunigen und das Mädchen dadurch früh gebärfähig oder besser den Männern zugänglich zu machen, ist eine Medizin in Gebrauch. Der Geschlechtsverkehr während der Menstruation ist nicht gerade verboten, gilt aber doch als unästhetisch und wird meistens vermieden. Um das Blut zu hemmen *(a dźib makji)*, stopfen sich die Frauen trockenen Plantenwerg in die Scheide, den sie von Zeit zu Zeit erneuern, auch Medizinen, die den Blutfluß rascher beendigen sollen, fehlen nicht.

Bei der Unmäßigkeit, mit der die Pangwe von früher Jugend an ihrer geschlechtlichen Begierde frönen, fühlt der Jüngling bereits frühzeitig das Bedürfnis, seine Geschlechtskraft zu stärken. Man nimmt deshalb Medizinen zu Hilfe, „*biə́ə́ nkə̄n*"-Medizinen für das Glied, deren Wirkung den früher auseinandergesetzten Anschauungen von der Organisationskraft entsprechend als Übertragung von Eigenschaften gedacht wird. Ich nenne folgende:

1. Hartes Holz, das seine Härte auf das Glied übertragen soll: **Albizzia brownei** Oliv., Leguminosae *(angə́k)*; **Baccaurea bipindensis** Pax., Euphorbiac. *(mbə́ə́-afən I)*, Blätter zerrieben im Ngon gegessen; **Carpolobia alba** Don., Polygalaceae *(ongə́, tə̄mo[k] IV F., tə̄ə̄me Nt.)*, häufig gebrauchtes Mittel,

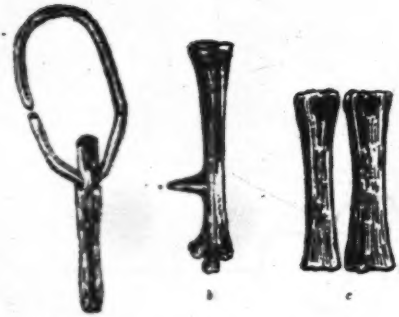


Abb. 85. Medizinen zur Verstärkung der männlichen Kraft, am Gürtel, meist über dem Gesäß getragen. *a* Holz von **Carpolabia alba**, *b* Unterschenkelknochen eines Hahns, *c* Schwanzwirbel des Leoparden.

die Blätter werden mit Ei gegessen, ein Stück des Stämmchens um den Leib gebunden, so daß es über dem Gesäß zu liegen kommt (Abb. 85 *a*); **Cyclostemon gilgianus** Pax., Euphorbiac. *(onǵṅ nsǵk, t.-nsǵk)*, Wurzel abgeschabt im Ei, Stammstück wie bei vorig. getragen; **Tricalysia tessmannii** Krause, Rubiaceae *(lüg̃me-afǵn IV Nt.)* ebenso; **Cola pachycarpa** R. Schum., Sterculiaceae *(ekǵm)*, Fruchtkerne gegessen; **Clerodendron bipindense** Gürke, Verbenaceae *(ndźike fǵm* = Männerliane*)*, Blätter zerrieben mit echter Kola gegessen.

2. Dornen, deren Steifheit auf das Glied übertragen werden soll: **Lonchocarpus barteri** Benth., Leguminosae *(ejǵ a fǵm a nsǵk* = Dorn des Mannes, d. h. Mannesdorn der Sumpfes*)* und **Combretum latiolatum** Engl. *(ejǵ a fǵm, nsǵsǵk I)* und vielleicht auch **C. tessmannii** Gilg. *(anduṅ a ndźik)*, von den beiden ersten werden Dornen mit verschiedenen Gewürzen und Blättern anderer stärkender Pflanzen m Bündel gekocht (damit die Stärke des Dorns in die Speise übergehe und so mit eingenommen werde), dann wird der Dorn herausgenommen und auf der Stirn oder über dem Gesäß getragen, von **C. tessmannii** werden die Blätter zerschnitten mit einem Ei gegessen; **Macaranga ledermanniana** Pax., Euphorb. *(kǵa III, asǵs)*, Rindenstücke (an denen die Stacheln sitzen) gekocht und Abguß heiß getrunken.

3. Schneidende Blätter und Stengel: **Scleria barteri** Bckl., Cyperaceae *(pfáfǵlǵ III Nt.* von *pfá* = Schwert, Buschmesser und — vielleicht — *afǵlǵ, afǵlǵṅ* = Hut, weil das rankende Riedgras den Hut zu zerschneiden droht? (Im Küstenenglisch bushknife genannt), junge Blätter gegessen.

4. Bittere scharfe Stoffe: Salz; Negerpfeffer (Capsicum); Meleguetapfeffer, d. i. Samen von **Aframomum melegueta** (Rool) K. Sch. *(andǵṅ* = Same: *ndǵṅ)*[1]; **Andropogon schoenanthus** L. (Bestimmung fraglich) *(oźu,m e ndźṅgźn)*, Wurzel gegessen; **Cola acuminata** (P. Beauv.), Sterculiac. *(abź)*.

5. Juckenerregende Stoffe: **Tragia cordifolia** Pax *(ofu,m)*, Blätter zerrieben mit einem Ei gegessen, ebenso **Urera dinklagei** Engl., Urticaceae *(sǵ[s] ndźrk)*.

6. Erhitzende Stoffe (Angabe der Eingeborenen): **Derris glabrata** Welw. *(ejǵṅ e ndźik)*, Wurzel und Blätter zerrieben, mit Gewürzen gekocht und Abguß getrunken.

---

[1]) Stamm *fu, ndu* = warm, heiß; vgl. *nduźn* = Feuer; *o-fu* = Buschhaar, Fackel; *o-fu-m* = Urticacee **Tragia cordifolia** Pax, brennt, *a-ndu-ṅ a ndźik* = **Combretum tessmannii** Gilg (vgl. oben).

7. Erklärung unbekannt: **Uapaca guineensis** Muell. Arg., Euphorb. *(asʊ̀m)*; (vielleicht wegen starken Holzes?); **Coinochlamys schweinfurthii** Gilg., Loganiaceae *(olí ʃạm* = Männerbäumchen), Stückchen vom Stamm in die Haare gesteckt (hartes Holz?); **Geophila herbacea** L., Rubiaceae *(elʊ̀[k] a lʊ̀n)*, Blätter zerrieben mit Kola gekaut (Blätter sind haltbar, „stark", vielleicht deshalb?).

Von Tieren gilt das Fleisch der Stachelwelse, das sehr fetthaltig ist, als Anregungsmittel ersten Ranges, ferner werden der Unterschenkelknochen eines Hahnes (Abb. 85 *b*) wegen des Spornes und Schwanzwirbel des Leoparden (Abb. 85 *c*) wegen der Stärke des Schwanzes am Körper getragen.

Von den Anregungsmitteln (Aphrodisiaca) sind die Medizinen gegen Impotenz *(biáɲ a jè* oder *biáɲ ejè)* zu unterscheiden, von der es eine in frühester Jugend und eine später erworbene gibt. Erstere ist, wie man sagt, dadurch entstanden, daß die Betreffenden als ganz kleine Kinder, während sie von der Mutter gepäppelt wurden, in ihr Essen uriniert hätten. Eine andere Lesart schließt sich an den Zauberglauben an, man hält einen Jungen für fähig, seine Geschlechtskraft hinzugeben (vgl. Zauberglauben Bd. II, S. 134), um die Macht der Zauberei, d. h. die Macht über andere Menschen, dafür einzutauschen. Vielleicht entspringt diese Auffassung der Furcht, daß die Impotenten danach trachteten, sich für ihr Unglück an ihren Mitmenschen zu rächen. Die Medizinen gegen Impotenz sind nicht zahlreich, scheinen aber z. T. tatsächlich wirksam zu sein, ist doch die gebräuchlichste aus der Rubiacee **Corynanthe yohimbe** K. Sch. neuerdings unter dem Namen Yohimbin auch in unseren Arzneischatz übernommen worden. Die Eingeborenen stellen sich einen Auszug aus Rinde und Holz des Baumes her und trinken ihn. Die Art der Wirkung denken sie sich ähnlich, wie oben erwähnt, und folgern so: das Holz des Baumes ist besonders hart im Verhältnis zu anderen Bäumen, etwa so wie der Penis eines Schweines im Verhältnis zu dem anderer Tiere (was man merkt, wenn man ihn kocht und essen will), und diese Eigenschaft des Holzes gewinne ich, wenn ich von dem Holz etwas einnehme. — Der Baum führt daher auch den Namen *nkʊ̀n e ngüt,* = Schweinepenis.

Außer der Corynanthe Yohimbe sind hier noch zwei Bäume zu nennen, denen vielleicht auch physiologische Wirkung zukommt: Leguminose **Baphia buettneri** Harms *(mʃá I, mʃáɲ I)* und die Flaccourtiacee **Homalium africanum** Bth. *(ejʊ̀m*, angeblich von *a jùme nkʊ̀n* = das Glied aufrichten, ein Ausdruck, der mir sonst nicht wieder vorgekommen ist; meiner Meinung nach ist der in *ejʊ̀m* enthaltene Stamm derselbe wie in *nnʊ̀m* Mz. *bojʊ̀m* = Mann als Geschlecht, *ejʊ̀m* heißt also der Baum für *(e)* den Mann; *majʊ̀m* Mz. = Same).

Von der **Raphia buettneri** werden die Blätter genommen, auf Steinen zerrieben und in Zuckerwein an die Sonne gestellt. Das Gemisch wird warm getrunken. Von Homalium wird dagegen die Rinde abgeschabt und zerrieben, dann mit Gewürzen gekocht und heiß getrunken.

Endlich wurden mir noch drei andere Pflanzen, darunter das **Solanum duplosinuatum** U. D. *(etŭ'n)* — wegen seiner Stacheln — als *biäṇ eję̂* angeführt.

Geschlechtskrankheiten (vgl. Abschn. XIII) sind nur da häufig, wo der europäische Einfluß bereits längere Zeit besteht, besonders in Jaunde und Gabun. Von diesen Plätzen aus ist die Syphilis weiter verschleppt. Als eine Art Geschlechtskrankheit scheint von den Negern die Framboesie angesehen zu werden, denn wer ein Mädchen oder eine Frau mit dieser Krankheit ansteckt, muß ihr oder ihrem Vater dieselbe Strafe zahlen (500—1000 Speere), als wenn er sie mit Syphilis ansteckt. Wird umgekehrt der Liebhaber durch das Weib krank, so hat er keine Entschädigung zu beanspruchen.

Bei Tripper kann das erkrankte Weib nur dann etwas verlangen, wenn es das Unglück bemerkt, ehe es sich für die gewährte Gunst hat bezahlen lassen, und zwar 400 Speere Entschädigung, wenn es aus derselben Sippe, 1000 Speere Entschädigung, wenn es aus einer anderen Sippe stammt. Mit der Bezahlung ist der „Ehekontrakt auf Zeit" abgelaufen und jeder Anspruch auf Entschädigung erloschen. Also immer die Schulden so bald wie möglich bezahlen:

a bę́le, a bę́le, a kŏn abę́ mayŏ́k.

Behalten, behalten, es trifft (einen) schlechten Einkaufpreis.
Wer immer mit dem Gelde an sich hält, trifft eine schlechte Preislage!

Den Einfluß, den der schrankenlose Geschlechtsverkehr auf die Neger ausübt, ist ein höchst verderblicher, er schwächt und verdummt sie. Kleinere Jungen sind oft als Diener recht anstellig; haben sie aber nach der Geschlechtsreife mit Weibern Bekanntschaft gemacht, so sind sie schlechtweg nicht mehr zu gebrauchen. Diesen schlechten Einfluß haben die Pangwe sehr gut erkannt, und Verständige standen nicht an, mir gegenüber offen einzugestehen, daß der geschlechtliche Umgang sie verdürbe und zu einer angespannten körperlichen oder geistigen Arbeit unfähig mache. Aber wir bedürfen gar nicht des Zeugnisses der Einzelnen — die Volksgebräuche beweisen die Erkenntnis zur Genüge. Denn ich glaube, daß den Enthaltsamkeitsvorschriften für Kriegs- und größere Jagdzüge, ferner für die Eisenschmelzarbeit außer der ursprünglichen religiösen Anschauung von der Sünde des Geschlechtsverkehrs und des ihn verkörpernden Weibes die Erfahrung zugrunde liegt, daß geschlechtlicher Verkehr die körperliche und geistige Tätigkeit des Mannes schwächt. Natürlich ist der Mann geneigt, die Schuld auf die Weiber ab-

zuwälzen und den *bebǫ̂n* = Scheiden, wie er sie verächtlich nennt [1]), in die Schuhe zu schieben.

Der großen Masse der Frauen, die durch die Umarmung dem Manne Unglück bringen, den *bebǫ̂bdń*, steht als Ausnahmeerscheinung die bei den Ntum *aṛū,ṛ III*, bei den Fang *ayǎ*, genannte Frau gegenüber, und die Vereinigung mit ihr bringt beiden Teilen, dem Weib wie dem Mann, für den der Einfluß indessen wichtiger ist, z. B. bei kriegerischen und jagdlichen Unternehmungen, Glück. Geht z. B. der Mann am Tage nach dem Beischlaf auf die Jagd, so wird er bald ein Stück Wild sehen und es zur Strecke bringen; zieht er in den Krieg, so „trifft sein Gewehr", das des Feindes dagegen nicht. Für diesen Fall läßt er sich außerdem eine Medizin von der Frau mitgeben, d. h. Rotholz, das sie in bestimmter Weise zerrieben hat *(bā-ayâ, mfumu-bā)*. Auch das Weib hat an diesem Tage Glück, wenn sie auf die „Jagd" nach Fischen, d. h. zum Fischtreiben *(a lū,k)* ausgeht oder die Farm bestellt (vgl. Bd. I, S. 91).

Diese glückbringenden Weiber sind aber — wie gesagt — Seltenheiten, die Mehrzahl der Frauen bringt Unglück. Geht ein Mann am Tage nach dem Coitus auf die Jagd, so weichen ihm alle Tiere in weitem Bogen aus *(a bā,ń)*. Daher der Name *ebǫ̂bdń*.

Einen Beweis dafür, daß die Pangwe die schädliche Wirkung übertriebenen Geschlechtsverkehrs kennen, sehe ich in der merkwürdigen Sitte der *miǥk*-Weihe. Das Wort *miǥk* bedeutet eigentlich das kastrierte Tier, in erster Linie den Ziegenbock (vgl. Bd. I, S. 106), und ist hier symbolisch auf einen Menschen angewendet, der durch eine öffentliche und feierliche Erklärung auf eine bestimmte Zeit vom Geschlechtsverkehr ausgeschlossen wird. Nach einem glücklich geführten Kriege, seltener aus anderer Veranlassung beschließt jemand (meist der Häuptling), seinen Sohn oder seine Tochter, die natürlich noch nicht mit dem Geschlechtsleben bekannt sein dürfen, also erst 4—6 Jahre alt sind, der Reinheit zu weihen, damit sie einst an Einsicht und Verstand alle anderen überragen; dann werden sie durch ihre geistige Überlegenheit Einfluß, Macht (Wissen ist Macht!) und namentlich Reichtum erwerben, der beim Sohne diesem selbst, bei der Tochter dem Vater zugute kommt, der für sie ein höheres Kaufgeld erhält, als für ein Mädchen mit dem üblichen lockeren Lebenswandel; die „Wilden" wissen also sittliche Reinheit recht wohl zu schätzen.

---

[1]) „Bezeichnungen, die ursprünglich nur soviel wie ‚vulva' oder ‚cunnus' bedeuteten, dann aber zu dem Begriff ‚Dirnen' verallgemeinert wurden," gibt es auch in Europa überall; vgl. Anthropophyteia, Jahrbücher für folkloristische Erhebungen und Forschungen zur Entwicklunggeschichte der geschlechtlichen Moral. Herausgegeben von Dr. Friedrich S. Krauß, IX. Bd., 1912, S. 31.

Die Sitte der *miǧk*-Weihe war früher über das ganze Pangwegebiet verbreitet, wird heute indes, wo die kriegerischen Zeiten aufgehört haben, nur noch bei den Fang des mittleren Uelle angetroffen. Ich möchte sie vergleichen mit der bei uns im Mittelalter gebräuchlichen Sitte, daß die Häupter vornehmer Familien (Fürsten besonders) nach einem glücklichen Erfolg (z. B. im Kriege) ein Kind für den geistlichen Stand bestimmten und dem reinen gottergebenen Leben weihten, oft nicht ohne Berechnung der Vorteile, die für sie daraus entspringen konnten.

Der Verlauf der Weihefeier ist folgender: Das Kind, mit einem kleinen Lendenschurz bekleidet, wird zum Medizinmann geführt und von ihm mit einem Medizinwasser gewaschen. Die dazu verwendeten Medizinen sind Rinden verschiedener Bäume, die reichlich Früchte tragen, wie z. B. die **Pseudospondias microcarpa** (Rich.) Engl. *(ofôs)*, damit der Verstand des Kindes ebenso reichlich Früchte tragen soll wie die betreffenden Bäume, oder mit anderen Worten: damit ihm der Reichtum in solcher Menge zufalle, wie die Früchte der Bäume auf die Erde darunter fallen. Die Rinden werden in einem Behälter aus Bananenblättern mit heißem Wasser übergossen. Nach der Waschung hat das Kind die Hauptmedizin einzunehmen: ein Bündel Ngon mit zerhackten Blättern bestimmter „schwacher" Pflanzen, wie **Hibiscus moschatus** (Roxb.) *(tége III* von *a tèk* = schwach, weil die Früchte in kurzer Zeit gar werden), um das Kind auch so schwach, d. h. geschlechtlich unfähig zu machen, ferner mit Hühnerfleisch — das Huhn ist der Vogel des Tages, des Guten und Reinen, zugleich soll es den für das Kind erhofften Reichtum symbolisch andeuten (der Häuptling, der „Sehr Reiche", gilt als bevorzugter Sohn der Sonne) — oder mit Elefantenfleisch — das Kind soll geistig so groß und bedeutend werden, wie der Elefant körperlich die anderen Tiere überragt — oder schließlich vom Quastenstachler — das Kind soll so viel Sachen bekommen, wie der Quastenstachler Stacheln hat [1]).

Damit ist das Kind *miǧk* geworden, ihm wird das Hüfttuch abgenommen, und es hat von nun an — sei es männlichen oder weiblichen Geschlechts — vollkommen nackend zu gehen. Wieder eine für die sittlich-religiöse Anschauung der Pangwe bezeichnende Tatsache: Die Bekleidung, d. h. Verhüllung der Geschlechtsteile ist entstanden, weil das Gefühl der Scham (*o-so-n*), das sich mit der ersten Sünde (*n-sô-m*, Stamm *so*), d. h. dem Geschlechtsverkehr eingefunden, eine solche verlangte. Stellt man den Zustand vor dem Sündenfall (Unkenntnis des Geschlechtlichen) künstlich her, so fällt die Bekleidung als unnötig fort.

Die *miǧk* werden allgemein geachtet, man hütet sich, mit ihnen über geschlechtliche Dinge zu sprechen oder gar die Mädchen zu verführen, zumal

---

[1]) Man würde ein bekanntes Sprichwort, wenn man verständlich sein will, etwa so ins Pangwe übersetzen: Er sitzt so voller Dummheiten, wie der Quastenstachler voll Stacheln.

der ihnen durch die Sitte selbst zuteilwerdende Schutz wirksam erhöht wird durch das Recht des Vaters oder der Verwandten, den Verführer, wo sie ihn treffen, ohne weiteres niederzuschießen. Heute ist es freilich teilweise zur Lockerung der alten Sitten gekommen, die *miǥk* sind nicht immer das, was sie sein sollten.

Die Aufhebung der Keuschheitsverpflichtung findet in gleichfalls feierlicher Weise statt, wenn die geweihte Person vollständig erwachsen ist, also nicht vor dem zwanzigsten Lebensjahre. Beim Manne wird dazu gefordert, daß er sich im Kriege als Tapferster bewährt, zum mindesten einen Feind erschossen hat [1]). Beim Mädchen wird vom Freier verlangt, daß er, entgegen der üblichen Gepflogenheit, den an sich schon höheren Preis auch noch bis auf das letzte Perlenschnürchen im Voraus bezahlt.

Der Vorgang selbst spielt sich folgendermaßen ab: Eine Ziege wird geschlachtet, ihr Blut vom Medizinmann mit Medizinen gemischt und auf den Körper des *miǥk* gerieben. Die Medizinen bestehen aus geschabter Rinde von verschiedenen Bäumen und sollen bewirken, daß die geschlechtliche Unfähigkeit von ihnen „abgestreift" wird, die Ziege ist deshalb gewählt, weil sie im Gegensatz zum Huhn das Tier des Bösen, des Geschlechtstriebes ist. Zuletzt erklärt der Medizinmann feierlich, daß der Betreffende aufgehört hat, ein *miǥk* zu sein, und damit der Verpflichtung der Enthaltsankeit ledig ist. Von nun an trägt der bisherige *miǥk* wieder einen Schamschurz.

5. Abarten des Geschlechtslebens.

Die starken Schweißabsonderungen des Negers, hauptsächlich aber eine an den Geschlechtsteilen und zwischen den Gesäßbacken auftretende Hautkrankheit, das Krokro *(metiǫn)*, verursacheneinen Juckreiz, der bei den Pangwe zu der Unsitte geführt hat, auch sonst sich fotwährend am Glied zu kratzen und, wenn Zeit und Gelegenheit günstig ist, durch Quirlen, ähnlich wie beim Feuermachen mit Stöcken, den Juckreiz künstlich auszulösen, ein Sport, der von Jungen und Erwachsenen gleichmäßig betrieben wird und *a kik e metsǫn* oder *a wōo (= wōk) metiǫn* heißt, was nur bedeutet, den Juckreiz durch Kratzen auslösen *(metiǫn* bedeutet Jucken jeder Art, Krokro ist nur die unangenehmste Form des Juckens). Dabei tritt natürlich meist Erektion ein, der allerdings kein Samenerguß folgt, wie überhaupt die Auslösung des geschlechtlichen Lustgefühls nicht damit beabsichtigt war. Unvermittelt geht diese Handlung indes in eine Art richtigen Onanierens, gleichfalls durch Quirlen des Gliedes, über *(a sik nkǫn)*, bei dem Samenerguß aber auch nicht immer zu erfolgen pflegt. In gewissen Gegenden bei den Okak ist dieses *nsign-nkǫn* (so das Hauptwort) verboten *(eki)*, man sagt, daß sonst der Betreffende keinen Frauen mit Erfolg mehr beiwohnen kann.

---

[1]) Heute hat man in den von Weißen beeinflußten Gegenden diese Bestimmung mildern müssen.

Beim weiblichen Geschlecht ist die Selbstbefriedigung mittelst einer Plantenfrucht weit verbreitet, was bei den Mißständen, die sich aus der Vielweiberei ergeben, vorauszusehen ist. Ein Sprichwort sagt:

o küe ma zą (są[k]) ebôn oná, oa bẹ́le nkŭn,

du triffst mich befriedigen Scheide (mit dem) Finger[1]) du hast (das) Glied,

und wird angewendet, wenn jemand von einer Sache, die er im Überfluß hat, nichts abgeben will, obgleich er sieht, daß ein anderer daran Mangel leidet und sich notdürftig mit einem schlechten Ersatz behilft.

Von gleichgeschlechtlichen Beziehungen der „Kinder" war oben die Rede. Für Erwachsene gilt ein solcher Umgang als etwas Unsittliches und Widernatürliches, einfach als unerhört. In Wirklichkeit ist es freilich doch öfter „erhört", daß junge Leute miteinander Beziehungen pflegen, und daß sogar Ältere sich Knaben — die bekanntlich „weder Verstand noch Scham haben" — nehmen und sie leicht mit dem Hinweis trösten: *bia bö pfiá̈ŋga* = wir machen Scherz, Spaß, Spielerei. Diese werden entschuldigt mit der bekannten Behauptung, die in ihrem tieferen Sinne selten aufrechtzuerhalten ist: *bö ne bŭŋgo*, es sind Unwissende, d. h. sie wissen nicht, was sie tun, und jene mit dem entsprechenden *a bẹ́le nném e bŭŋgo* = er hat (das) Herz (d. h. das Trachten) der Knaben, was für sie selbst freilich keineswegs eine Schmeichelei ist.

Öffentlich begegnet man natürlich den Gleichgeschlechtlichen mit größter Verachtung, und sie mußten daher naturgemäß dazu kommen, sich nach einem schützenden Deckmantel umzuschauen, der sie wie das Stachelkleid eines Igels vor den Angriffen Andersgearteter sicherte, an dem diese sich den Mund und die spitzige Zunge blutig rissen. Und einen solchen Deckmantel hat die Medizin abgegeben, — es heißt, der gleichgeschlechtliche Verkehr ist eine „Reichtumsmedizin" *(biąŋ nkŭma)*, vgl. Bd. II, S. 158. Unter diesem Namen hat man mir folgendes Märchen erzählt:

Es war einmal ein Mann namens *bongo-be-ntuu-dumo* (= Knaben — welche?), der hatte eine Tochter, die hieß *akukebedaŋga* und war sehr schön (Name angeblich von *akúk* = **Achatina marginata** Sw. var. **nigrofasciata** Thiele, die sehr schön ist und *adáŋ* = übertreffen, weil sie so unübertrefflich schön war wie die Achatschnecke; Name also, wenn ich recht verstehe: Achatschnecke von Unübertrefflichkeit).

---

[1]) Wohl umschreibender Ausdruck, da man den wahren Gegenstand nicht nennen mochte. Übrigens heißen im Küstenenglisch bei einem „Plantenbund" die in wechselständigen Stockwerken zusammenstehenden Früchte „Plantenhand" und die einzelnen Früchte, aus denen die Hand besteht, „Finger".

Einst nun geschah es, daß sich auf dem Wege, der ins Dorf des Bongo (so kürze ich ab) führte, vier junge Leute trafen, sie wollten alle zum Mädchen gehen, und als sie sich gegenseitig fragten: „Zu wem gehst du?" hieß es auf allen Seiten: „Zur Akukebedanga!" Da besprachen sie sich und kamen überein, daß sie gemeinsam ins Dorf gehen und abwarten wollten, wen das Mädchen am meisten lieben würde. Die jungen Leute, die aus verschiedenen Familien stammten, hießen (ich schreibe die Abkürzung voraus):

Schok I, er hieß mit vollem Namen *á [k] bö áua* (Erklärung?);

Schok II, er hieß *á [k] bö ngöne makẹ makö, (ekẹkö,)*, d. h. Schok, *böngöne* (unbekannt) ich gehe fort, um später wiederzukommen (= ich werde des längeren ausbleiben);

Schock III: *á [k], bö kä jẹm bödẹö melọn* [1]),
Schok — von nicht wissen Reden schlechte,

d. h. der Schok, welcher keine bösen Reden führt, und

Schok IV: *á [k] bö nüm e káb b'ogbwgle ba jẹm e krọi*
Schok von: Hahn und Frankolin sie wissen die Morgen
ma lẹne.
sie brechen an.

Also die vier Liebhaber kamen in das Dorf, wo sie sich dem Vater des Mädchens, dem Bongo, vorstellten. Der sagte: „Oh, wie kommen vier Mann so auf einmal an — es ist doch nur e i n Mädchen! Aber wir können ja einmal sehen!" Dann führte er sie ins Haus, wo sie die Mutter des Mädchens antrafen. Die meinte gleichfalls: „Oh — vier Mann! Ich weiß, daß bisher dieser oder jener Liebhaber gekommen ist, und wenn das Mädchen ihn liebte, schlief sie mit ihm, und liebte sie ihn nicht, so ging er wieder nach Hause! Aber so — vier Mann auf einmal!?" Da sagten die jungen Leute: „Sehen wir, wen das Mädchen liebt." Die aber liebte Schok IV. Dagegen liebte die Mutter Schok III, w ä h r e n d d e r B r u d e r d e s M ä d c h e n s S c h o k II u n d d e r V a t e r S c h o k I l i e b t e. Als die Nacht hereinbrach, wurden die Fremden ins Haus des Mädchens geführt. Dieses schlief mit Schok IV zusammen, die übrigen schliefen auf den anderen Betten. Als nun Schok IV das Mädchen umarmen wollte, rief einer der anderen: „Oh, wie ist dieses Mädchen geil, gleich in der ersten Nacht gibt sie sich dem Liebhaber hin!" Da sagte das Mädchen zu Schok IV: „Oh, wie redet dieser Mensch so, laß ab, wir wollen eine andere Nacht abwarten!" Als die anderen schliefen, fragte Schok IV das Mädchen ganz leise: „Willst du mich nicht heiraten?" Damit war das Mädchen einverstanden, und sie beschlossen, daß beide am anderen Tag entfliehen wollten (d. h. im Pangwe, daß der Liebhaber das Mädchen „rauben" sollte); sollte sie jemand

[1]) Statt: *belọn.*

sehen, so wollten sie sagen, sie gingen zum Baden. Am nächsten Tage ging Schok IV also angeblich zum Baden, und das Mädchen folgte ihm unbemerkt nach. Beide gingen dann in das Dorf des Schok IV.

Wie am Nachmittage desselben Tages beide noch nicht zurück waren und es klar auf der Hand lag, daß Schok IV das Mädchen geraubt hatte, ging Schok III zur Mutter, die ihn ja gerne hatte, und machte ihr die heftigsten Vorwürfe, daß das Mädchen entflohen sei. Die Mutter entgegnete: „Nun, wie kann ich dafür, ich stecke doch nicht in der Haut des Mädchens." Da wurde Schok III zornig, nahm ein Buschmesser, schlug auf die Frau los und tötete sie auf der Stelle. Dann ging er nach Hause.

Schok I, der den Vater liebte, wandte sich an diesen, machte ihm ebenfalls die schlimmsten Vorwürfe und fragte ihn, wie das Mädchen dazu käme, wegzulaufen. Der Vater sagte darauf: „Oh, ich kann doch nicht dafür; wenn ich das Mädchen wäre, hätte ich nicht so gehandelt (die weibliche Rolle des Bongo scheint damit angedeutet), aber ich bin doch auch nicht in der Haut des Mädchens!" Jedoch wollte sich Schok I mit dieser Erklärung nicht zufrieden geben. Da ging der Vater ins Dorf des Schok IV, der seine Tochter entführt hatte, und verlangte von ihm den Brautpreis. Den zahlte Schok IV auch aus. Bongo ging damit zurück und sagte zu Schok I: „Hier ist alles Geld für das Mädchen; ich bezahle dich damit!" Aber der sagte: „Nein, ich will das Geld nicht!" Da nahm der Vater eine seiner Frauen und das Geld und wollte alles dies dem Schok I als Entschädigung anbieten. Aber auch jetzt wollte Schok von Bezahlung nichts wissen. Er sagte: „Nein, ich will es nicht — vielmehr (und das sollte die Entschädigung sein) werden wir beide immer zusammensein; wenn du pissest, werde ich auch pissen, wenn du austrittst, werde auch ich austreten, wenn du schläfst, schlafe auch ich mit dir auf einem Bett!"[1])

So geschah es auch, und beide schliefen zusammen. Schließlich erkrankten aber beide an Framboesie und starben daran.

Der letzte Schok II, der den Bruder liebte, machte es ebenso mit ihm, wie Schok mit Bongo. Als Ersatz für das Mädchen blieb er stets bei dem Bruder und beide schliefen zusammen. Aber auch sie wurden krank und zwar an Lepra und starben.

Besonders auffallend ist in diesem Märchen das verschiedene Schicksal der normal und abnorm Geschlechtlichen. Der normale Schok III geht straflos aus, obgleich er die Frau seines Gastgebers, die seine Schwiegermutter werden sollte, totschlägt, die gleichgeschlechtlichen Schok I und II bekommen eine furchtbare Strafe für ihren Verkehr in Form der Lepra und Framboesie.

Wie wir bereits wissen und auch hier wieder gesehen haben, ist die Strafe für den gleichgeschlechtlichen Verkehr meist Lepra, die vom Ngi (oder auch

[1]) Die große Liebeserklärung der Pangwe, entsprechend unserer: „Wo du hingehst, da will ich auch hingehen!"

anderen Kultgeistern) als Hüter der Reinheit verhängt wird, ebenso wie für andere sittliche Verbrechen, wie z. B. den geschlechtlichen Verkehr am Tage usw.

Über gleichgeschlechtlichen Verkehr zwischen Frauen sind mir keine Tatsachen bekannt geworden.

Bestialität kommt, soviel ich weiß, nicht vor.

6. Schwangerschaft, Geburt.

Die Pangwe erkennen den Eintritt einer Schwangerschaft an dem Ausbleiben der Menstruation, auch ist ihnen bekannt, daß leichtes Unwohlsein und Kopfschmerzen etwa einen Monat nach dem Beischlaf eine Schwangerschaft vermuten lassen. Ist sie festgestellt, so verkehrt der Mann noch etwa zwei Monate mit der Frau, dann muß der Umgang mit ihr jedoch eingestellt werden, da man fürchtet, die Frucht würde durch den Samen, den sie „trinken" muß, zerstört oder doch geschädigt. Es erübrigt sich, zu betonen, daß diesen Verbot nicht immer eingehalten wird, ja, es gibt eine Medizin, Sand in Wasser, die eine Frau trinken soll, wenn der Mann mit ihr noch dicht vor der Niederkunft verkehrt, der Sand soll den Samen vom Leibe der Frucht abscheuern.

Meist wird der Eintritt einer Schwangerschaft von der Frau als ein freudiges Ereignis begrüßt, aber es gibt auch Fälle, wo sie nicht gern gesehen ist, z. B., wenn der verbotene Verkehr mit Männern verwandter Sippen Folgen hat, oder wenn eine Frau von einem „nichtgeliebten Manne" schwanger ist oder auch im allgemeinen, wenn sie die Last, das Kind aufzuziehen, nicht auf sich nehmen oder wenn sie dem Gebot der geschlechtlichen Enthaltsamkeit entgehen will. In solchen Fällen — und sie sind durchaus nicht selten — wird die Frucht abgetrieben *(a ghur abgm, a kev abgm* — den Bauch (Frucht) fallen lassen). Die Medizinen, größtenteils Giftstoffe, die wir schon als Fischgifte kennen gelernt haben, sind: 1. **Piptadenia africana** Hook. f., Leguminose *(tigm IV)*, Rinde in Stücken losgelöst und abgeschabt, gekocht und der Auszug, wenn erkaltet, klystiert; 2. **Cylicodiscus gabunensis** Harms, Leguminose *(adgm)*, Anwendung ebenso; 3. Kern der Frucht von Mimusops Afzeri (L. a m.) Vogl. (Baum — *adzab*) Kern — *ngip-ebin IV)*, in Wasser zerrieben; 4. Rubiacee *ogr*, Früchte zerhackt und **Cucumis**, Cucurbitac. *(mkgmgi I)*, Wurzeln zerrieben, beiden zusammen gekocht, und Abguß erkaltet klystiert; 5. **Mazzepsis tessmanii** Engl., Rhamnacee *(nkdogr I)*, Rinde gekocht, Abguß kalt klystiert. Wahrscheinlich ist hier zur Aufnahme unter die Abtreibemittel bestimmend gewesen, daß das Holz des Baumes im oberen Stammteile stärker ist, unten dagegen schwächer.

Ist die Niederkunft nahe, so pflegt sich die Frau, falls das Heimatsdorf nicht allzuweit entfernt ist und es sonst die Verhältnisse erlauben, zu ihren

Eltern zu begraben. Andernfalls bleibt sie zu Hause, wie es ältere Frauen, die drei- oder viermal geboren haben, überhaupt tun.

Vor der Entbindung hält sich die Frau zwei bis drei, seltener vier Tage ruhig im Hause, aber es sind auch Fälle nicht selten, wo sie während der Arbeit in der Pflanzung von den Wehen überrascht wird und ohne fremde Hilfe das Kind zur Welt bringt, allerdings sucht sie dann durch Schreien und Rufen vorübergehende oder in der Nähe befindliche Frauen aufmerksam zu machen, die ihr beistehen und sie und das Kind ins Dorf bringen.

Es ist streng verpönt, daß männliche Verwandte oder fremde Männer dem Geburtsvorgang zusehen *(ooṇ* = Scham, einige sagten sogar *nsòm* = Verbrechen), selbst der eigene Mann ist nur dann zugegen *(ooṇ* auch für ihn*)*, wenn keine Geburtshelferinnen da sind; er muß dann deren Stelle vertreten. Das ist aber ein seltener Ausnahmefall, für gewöhnlich gibt es genug hilfreiche und erfahrene Frauen, die sich bei der Kreißenden einfinden, ihr Mut zusprechen und bei der Geburt Hilfe leisten, indem sie den Leib von hinten umfassen und so stützen.

Ohne Medizin geht es natürlich nicht ab. Der Saft der **Cephalonema polyandrum** K. Sch., Cucurbitaceae *(ejáṇm)* und der **Fleurya aestuans** (L.) Gaudich, Urticaceae, *(ṇṇáṇn IV)* wird in die Scheide geträufelt; er ist schlüpfrig, „glatt" und wird also eine glatte Abwicklung der Angelegenheit bewirken.

Die eigentliche Geburt geht ohne irgendwelche Eingriffe vonstatten, falls das Kind die auch für den Fangwe als normal geltende Kopflage hat. Bei der Fußlage oder anderen Unregelmäßigkeiten wird das Kind gewaltsam herausgezogen und ist dann — so wurde gesagt — immer tot. Schwere Geburten scheinen recht selten zu sein, da meinen verschiedenen Berichterstattern nie etwas derartiges zu Ohren gekommen war, ebenso kommt es nur sehr selten vor, daß Frauen gleich nach der Entbindung an den Folgen (Blutung, Herzschwäche) sterben (der Tod durch Kindbettfieber ist dagegen häufiger). Bei solchen Todesfällen sprechen die Fangwe von *a kiṇ*, das bedeutet soviel, daß eine fremde Frau durch Zauberei den Tod herbeigeführt hat.

Ist das Kind bei regelmäßigem Verlauf der Geburt aus den Geburtswegen ausgetreten, so wird es von einer der helfenden Frauen in Empfang genommen und der Nabelstrang *(ṇṇób IV*, nicht zu verwechseln mit *ṇṇób IV* = Glückshaube, Hülle) 8—10 cm vom Leib des Kleinen entfernt mit einem Raphiasplitter abgequetscht. Der Rest fällt nach fünf bis sechs Tagen von selbst ab und wird dann achtlos weggeworfen, der Nabel *(dób*, Mz. *mób)* ist dann verheilt. In anderen Fällen schneidet man den Nabelstrang 1 cm vor dem Bauche ab, dadurch entsteht ein Nabelbruch *(ndódób* = Nabel par excellence), der als besonders schön gilt. Nunmehr wird das Kind gewaschen und auf einer Unterlage von Blättern aufs Bett neben die Mutter gelegt.

Die Nachgeburt *(akynan)* folgt bald darauf von selbst; man pflegt sie in ein Blätterbündel zu tun und im Abfallhaufen zu verstecken oder in einer Grube in der Plantenpflanzung hinter dem Hause zu vergraben. Wenn diese Vorsichtsmaßregel nicht beachtet wird, wird das Kind sterben oder die Mutter nicht mehr gebären können.

Zuletzt wird für die Mutter eine Medizin gemacht, man nimmt das Kraut **Ocimum gratissimum** L. *(asób)*, taucht es in heißes Wasser und drückt es auf die Geschlechtsteile.

Während der Entbindung wartet der Gatte im Versammlungshause den Verlauf ab. Ist das Kind geboren, so teilt ihm eine der helfenden Frauen das Ereignis mit. Früher wurden dann Freudenschüsse abgegeben, jetzt ist der Brauch, zumal im Norden, aus Pulvermangel abgekommen.

Schon am ersten Tage reicht die Mutter dem Kinde die Brust. Will keine Milch ausfließen, so nimmt man an, daß die Mutter Liebhaber gehabt hat, die noch in ihrem „Bauche" sind und einen hemmenden Einfluß ausüben. Also raus mit ihnen! Da hilft kein Hin- und Herreden, sie müssen alle der Umgebung, also den Frauen, der Reihe nach genannt werden, wenn die Milch fließen soll. Am zweiten Tage nach der Entbindung geht die Mutter wohl mal hinaus, um ihre Notdurft zu verrichten, im übrigen aber hütet sie 8—10 Tage lang das Haus. Dann reibt sie sich und das Kind täglich mit Rotholz ein und zwar einen Monat lang, wenn sie sich im Dorfe der Eltern, zwei Monate, wenn sie sich im Hause ihres Mannes befindet. Erst nach Ablauf dieser Zeit nimmt sie die gewohnte Arbeit wieder auf.

Eine besondere Diät hat die Frau vor und nach der Entbindung nur in Form der schon besprochenen Speiseverbote einzuhalten. Dagegen muß sie sich vom geschlechtlichen Umgange fernhalten, bis das Kind gehen kann (zwei Jahre), andernfalls das Schlimmste, ja der Tod für das Kleine befürchtet werden muß. Natürlich kommen vor allem gegen Ende dieser Periode recht viele Verstöße gegen das Verbot vor, man spricht dann von *a tabe bŋgo* (genau: die Kinder wegstoßen, von sich wegsperren).

Gestillt werden die Kinder ebenso lange, da erst nach Einsetzen des regelmäßigen Geschlechtsverkehrs die Milch weniger werden und versiegen soll. Indessen tritt bei erneuter Schwangerschaft der Milchfluß wieder auf, so daß dann das Kleine wieder gesäugt werden kann. Auch später, oft bis zum siebenten Jahre, labt sich der kräftige Bengel dann und wann noch an dem süßen Trank. Ist die Mutter des Säugens überdrüssig, so reibt sie einfach die Brustwarzen mit Pfeffer (Capsicum) ein.

Abschnitt XIX.

Kindheit und Spiele.

1. Namen und Namengebung. *Zeitpunkt* der Namengebung, Verkündung des Namens. — Von der Mutter gegebene Namen. — Verwechselbarkeit der Namen bei den Unerwachsenen. — Einteilung der Namen. — Namen mit Erklärung: A. Knabennamen und Einteilung; B. Mädchennamen. — Spottnamen, Scherzvers mit Spottnamen. — Vollständiger Name (Vorname, Sippenname, Name der Sippe der Mutter), Beispiel. — Abneuvellen, Scherzvers. — Es ist eine Beleidigung, nach dem Namen der Ahnen zu fragen.

2. Erziehung. Mittel der Erziehung: Beeinflussung des Ehrgefühls. — Schwerkeimiel für kleine Kinder (Schwerkeimicke, Schwirrbalk). — Erziehung durch Belehrung; Lehrsätze (Beispiele). — Erziehung vom Vater geleitet. — Widerspenstigkeit des Sohnes. — Pfuch: Grund, Verkündigung, Wirkung, Abnahme (Formel, symbolische Handlung). — Verliehung des Namens durch die Hauptfrau. — Verliehung der Seelen. — Heimliche Pfuche. — Der Pfuch Nasenbein.

3. Kinderspiele. Einteilung. — Turnspiele und Steinwerfen. — Speerwerfen. — Kriegs- und Jagdspiele (Scheinwaffen und Kriegswerkzeuge, Menschenkampfspielzeuge, Jagdgeräte, Armbrust, Bogen und Pfeil). — Nachahmung von Fischfang und Fallenstellerei. — Sonstige Nachahmungsspiele (Pulverkanalien, Kaufspiele, Nachahmung des Familienlebens). — Sechsspiele (Schlender usw., Kreisel). — Geschicklichkeitsspiele (Fadenkunststück, Kegelspiel mit Kreisel, Kegelspiel, Geschicklichkeitsspiel von Blatt und Gerstbar). — Kunstspiele (technische Spielereien, Tanzspiele, Gedächtnisspiele, Zauberkunststücke).

4. Spiele der Erwachsenen. Geschicklichkeitsspiel von der Zweigmatrone. — Geschicklichkeitsspiel des Mannesfingers. — Steinspiel: Ursprung und Verbreitung, Spielform und Namen, Verlaufen, Rauchbeidung; Meisterspieler, Schwierigkeiten und ihre Erklärung. — Glückspiel: Ursprung und Verbreitung, Spielgeschichten und Marken, Spielregel: Verlaufen und Rauchbeidung, Spielmarken, Medizinen.

5. Ringkampf. Allgemeines; Verlaufen, Parkunstrücke.

---

1. Namen und Namengebung.

Unmittelbar nach der Geburt, aber nicht vor Abschnürung der Nachgeburt, bekommt das Kind vom Vater den Namen, den er schon vor der Entbindung ausgedacht, aber bis dahin geheim gehalten hat. Der Name wird öffentlich verkündet, ohne Einspruch oder Weiterungen angenommen und gilt als dauernder Hauptname. Einen zweiten erhält das Kind von seiner Mutter, ihn bezeichneten viele Fangwe als „groß", d. h. wichtig — jedenfalls, weil sie ihn in der ersten Kindheit ausschließlich von der Mutter gehört hatten. Bei Namensangabe wird später aber meist der vom Vater gegebene genannt, nur wenn er dem Betreffenden unangenehm klingt oder wenn man in betrügerischer Absicht seine Personalien verdecken will — namentlich Weißen gegenüber — bevorzugt man den mütterlichen.

[p.277]

Tatsache ist jedenfalls, daß der von der Mutter gegebene Name dem Träger lieb und wert ist und von Befreundeten deshalb oft als Kosename angewandt wird.

Ich teile in folgendem eine Anzahl mir bekannt gewordener Namen samt Erklärungen mit. Wie man aus den dahinter gesetzten Abkürzungen der Unterstämme oder Volksgruppen (N = Nordpangwe, S = Südpangwe) sieht, ist nur ein kleiner Teil von ihnen über das ganze Pangwegebiet verbreitet, die meisten reichen über wenige Unterstämme nicht hinaus, so daß ein genauer Kenner vielfach schon am Namen erkennen kann, woher ein Eingeborener stammt.

Ihrer Grundbedeutung nach können wir die Namen in folgende Gruppen einteilen:

I. Namen religiösen Ursprungs (nur bei Knabennamen);
II. Namen, welche auf eine schöne Hautfarbe Bezug nehmen;
III. Namen, welche die guten Eigenschaften bezeichnen, welche man dem Kinde wünscht;
IV. Namen, die Glück bringen sollen;
V. Namen, die bezeichnen sollen, daß der Mann der Schrecken seiner Feinde wird;
VI. Namen, die eine schlechte Eigenschaft aussprechen, in dem Gedanken, dadurch zu bewirken, daß der Träger im Gegenteil gute Eigenschaften bekommt;
VII. Namen, die über ein Ereignis vor oder zur Zeit der Geburt des Kindes berichten.

A. Knabennamen.

I. Namen religiösen Ursprungs.

1. *nsôm*, von *nsôm* = Kult, heilige Handlung, Nt. (F.);
2. *ngy* = Gorilla, als Tier der Reinheit Sinnbild des Ngikults; der Name Ngi bedeutet frei: der Reine (S.);
3. *osôm* = Frucht des Kardamom, Hauptnahrung der Menschenaffen, im Ngikult verwendet, ebenso [7]).

---

[7]) Ich vermute das wenigstens, obgleich es nicht ganz sicher ist, denn vielleicht sind die Kardamomfrüchte wegen des glänzend roten Aussehens gewählt, gehören also in die nächste Abteilung. Überhaupt glaube ich nicht, daß bei Namen ein unmittelbarer Ursprung aus religiösen Einrichtungen bzw. Anschauungen anzunehmen ist; ich bin darin nur den Eingeborenen gefolgt, die mir *nsôm* als von *nsôm* = Kult herrührend bezeichneten. Nun irren sich aber die Pangwe selbst oft bei Erklärung von Wörtern; zweifeln aber wurde mir der Name *(nsôm)* mit Mittelhochton angegeben, beim Kult höre ich Hochton, während der Ichnemum *(nsôm)* Mittelhochton hat. Da sich nun aber (vgl. Bd. I, S. 16) die Mittelstufe leicht ersetzen, nehme ich an, daß hier das Ichnemum

II. Namen, welche auf eine schöne Hautfarbe Bezug nehmen und meist von Dingen der Tier- und Pflanzenwelt entnommen sind, die der Pangwe als besonders schön empfindet.

Nach der Farbe wurden mir folgende genannt:

a) Rot.

4. *mbê* — Turaco, eigentlich: der Rotglänzende;
5. *ndɔ̂ɔ*, von *ondɔ,ɔ* — Tanzhaube aus Turakofedern (S.);
6. *mor* — Rotholzbaum, **Pterocarpus soyauxii** Taub., weil er rot ist.

b) Weiß.

7. *mɔ̂ɔng*, von *mɔ̂ɔn* — weiß (S.);
8. *mɔ̂ɔ* — Schirmbaum, **Musanga smithii** R. Br., wegen seines weißen Stammes (S.);
9. *ekyn* — Handgelenkring aus Elfenbein (F.).

c) Grau.

10. *ekî* — afrikanische Ratte (im Pangwegebiet von der Hausratte verdrängt) (S.);
11. *ndjo* — Hausratte, **Mus rattus** L.;
12. *ndɔ̂ngo* — Hausratte, **Mus rattus** L.;
13. *ekɔ̂ɔ̂ɔ*, von *ekɔ̂ɔ̂ɔ* — Fliegenschnäpper, in der Hauptsache **Alseonax**- und **Pedilorhynchus**-Arten, wegen der schönen mausgrauen Farbe;
14. *ngi(a) mɔ̂ɔ* — **Bécagnie nigripes** Pucheran.

d) Schwarz.

15. *mɔ̂ɔ̂ne*, von *mɔ̂ɔ̂n IV* — Satansaffe, **Colobus satanas** Leconte.

e) Hell und dunkel, bunt.

16. *ê* — Leopard, hell und dunkel gefleckt (S.);
17. *êêi* — Zibethkatze, **Viverra civetta**, gleichfalls (S.);
18. *mengî*, von *mengîmontrne* — Bachstelze, schwarz und weiß gefärbt (S.);
19. *ndɔ̂ɔ̂ne*, von *ndɔ̂ɔ̂n* — Regenbogen, bunt (S.).

III. Namen, welche die guten Eigenschaften bezeichnen, die man dem Kinde wünscht.

20. *eppe*, von *eppe* — Sippe, Familienverband, er soll ein tüchtiger Vertreter seiner Sippe werden und sich des guten Namens, den diese im Stamme hat, würdig zeigen (S.);
21. *meppe*, Mehrzahl, ebenso (Nt.);

---

und nicht der Kult als Grundwort für den Namen gedient hat. Dazu paßt es vorzüglich, daß das Schimpfwort: **Nesopithecus melanarus** Gray, das mit *nɔ̂ɔ̂n* bezeichnet wird, eine graue Farbe hat, die vielleicht zur Benennung des Menschen mit *nɔ̂ɔ̂n* Veranlassung gegeben hat. Der Name *ngɔ̂* — Gorilla kann auch als Sinnbild der Stärke gemeint oder wie vielleicht *ondɔ* wegen der roten Farbe gewählt sein.

22. *ejjame*, von *a jáʃ mam* = bei Streitsachen bezahlen = er ist also gutmütig (S.);
23. *ewene* = Erdnuß, die gut schmeckt; der Träger des Namens ist also ebenso „genießbar" (F., J.);
24. *elengje*, von *elik* = Luftknollenyams, **Dioscorea sativa** L., dieselbe Erklärung wie bei vorigem (S.);
25. *ejbuel*, von *a ghuel mudzi* = Sachen wiedererzählen, etwa gleich Plaudertasche, der Mann macht sich dadurch beliebt, weil die Leute das gern hören;
26. *elij* = **Lannea longifoliolata** Engl., Anacardiac., er wird ebenso beliebt sein, wie der Baum bei den Helmturaks beliebt ist, die sich in seiner Krone aufhalten und die Früchte fressen (S.).

IV. Namen, die Glück bringen sollen.

27. *ebende*, von *ebet* = Gras **Pennisetum**, er wird Sachen in Menge bekommen, ebenso wie das Gras in Menge da ist (S.);
28. *ekome*, von *a kome kom* = Sachen erwerben, er wird Sachen selbst erwerben, da er keine Schwestern usw. hat, die für ihn Geld bedeuten, ist also ein Selbstmacherman (J.);
29. *ekwe* von *a kwe kwe* = plötzlich reich werden, deutsch: emporkommen, also Emporkömmling im guten Sinne (S.);
30. *ekwenwe*, ebenso (J.);
31. *eyi* bzw. *keyi*, von *eye keyi* = die Fähigkeit, zu erwerben, er wird also sich selbst etwas erwerben (S.);
32. *elil*, von *a lil kom* = Sachen schmieden, er wird sich durch Schmiedearbeit (das einzige Handwerk in unserem Sinne) Geld verdienen.

V. Namen, die bezeichnen sollen, daß der Mann der Schrecken seiner Feinde wird.

33. *ekem* = Raubvogel, Hühnerräuber, kann auch noch zu voriger Abteilung gezogen werden, wenn daran gedacht wird, daß sich der Träger die Sachen nehmen wird (fortnehmend: *kob*, daher *e-kem*); sonst abschreckend, da an das Räubertum dabei gedacht wird (S.);
34. *ekeme*, von *ekem* = Zugfalle, wird für die Feinde dasselbe sein wie die Falle für die Tiere (S., Mwu);
35. *eyeme*, von *eyen* = Axt, wird für die Feinde dasselbe sein wie die Axt für die Bäume (S.);
36. *ewedi*, von *a wéli*, *a wedi* = morden, der Männermordende (F., Ni.);
37. *eyidi*, von *a yit* = müde sein, die Leute werden müde werden, ihn zu belästigen, da er ein sehr böser Mann ist und seine Gegner vernichtet;
38. *mei*, von *a bi eyele* = drängen, mahnen, sein Vater schickt ihn, um seine Schuldner zu mahnen, vielleicht ist der Vater alt, so daß der Sohn jetzt die Schulden eintreiben wird;
39. *ziá* = Elefant, er wird so gefürchtet sein wie ein Elefant;
40. *ekiyi* = Elefantenführte, er wird sich seinen Weg so durch die Leute bahnen, wie der Elefant durch den Urwald, er wird also alles, was ihm im Wege steht, vernichten.

VI. Namen, die eine schlechte Eigenschaft aussprechen, in dem Gedanken, dadurch zu bewirken, daß der Träger im Gegenteil gute Eigenschaften bekommt.

41. *nizma*, von *nizm* = Schwanz, als Inbegriff tierischer Eigenschaften (S.);
42. *mak* = verdorben (S.);
43. *nkabèmu*, von *nkàk* = niedergefallener Baumstamm, *bèmu* = ein stacheliger Baum, dessen wissenschaftlichen Namen ich nicht anführen kann; kommt auch als Spottname vor, soll heißen: wertlos und schlecht (Nt.);
44. *nepfòz* = ich plaudere aus der Schule, ebenfalls als Spottname gebräuchlich (J., F., Nt.);
45. *bkòmò*, von *a kòmò* = schnarchen, Scherzname (Nt.).

VII. Namen, die über ein Ereignis vor oder zur Zeit der Geburt des Kindes berichten.

46. *bàd* = Schwestern, er hat nur Schwestern, ist also der einzige Sohn (S.);
47. *ofòman*, von *a pfòman* = verfehlen, als der Träger geboren wurde, hatte sein Vater alle Schwestern bereits verkauft, so daß der Sohn den Vorteil, den ihm der Verkauf der Schwestern gebracht hätte, „verfehlte";
48. *engòma*, von *engòma mbòm* = getrocknete Kassaverollen für die Hungerszeit, soll andeuten, daß die Mutter ihn zur Hungerszeit geboren hatte;
49. *mjòbe* = ich sehne mich nach etwas, der Vater hatte sich nach einem Sohne gesehnt (S.);
50. *mbar* = Halsstücke vom Wild, der Vater liebte diese Stücke (F.);
51. *ètòsò*, von *a bò sò* = er war ein Widerspruchsgeist, nämlich der Vater; nach der Vergangenheitsform zu urteilen, scheint er jedoch zurzeit zahm zu sein;
52. *mmàrò*, *mmàrò*, von *a àrma ap̀pk* = eine Verwicklung beilegen, der Vater soll das getan haben, es kann sich vielleicht auch auf den Sohn selbst beziehen und gehört dann zu Abteilung III;
53. *ètòjò*, von *a wòjo a kòjò kòjò* (lautnachahmend) = leise gehen, so ist der Vater zum Weibe gegangen;
54. *ètòdu*, von *a bòdu mòt* = jemand bedecken, beschützen, so hat die Mutter ihr Kind gegen ihren Bruder beschützt;
55. *ètòò*, von *atòk* = ein Familienverband der Fang, die Mutter war eine geborene Aschok, heute verallgemeinerter Name.

VIII. Erklärung unbekannt.

56. *ètòòz*, von *ètòò* = **Dainbellia reticulata** Gilg, Sapindaceae, Deutung unbekannt;
57. *ètòò* = ein mir unbekannter Baum;
58. *ètòr* = Fisch, **Sarcodaces odoe** (Bl.), vielleicht wegen der Gefährlichkeit für andere Fische (wie unser Hecht), wäre dann abschreckender Name; vielleicht wegen der silbergrauen Farbe.

B. Mädchennamen.

I. Namen, welche auf eine schöne Hautfarbe Bezug nehmen und meist von Dingen der Tier- und Pflanzenwelt entnommen sind, die der Pangwe als besonders schön empfindet.

Nach der Farbe wurden mir folgende genannt:

a) Rot.

1. *ndíɲo*, von *ndíɲk* = Tanzhaube aus Turakofedern;
2. *ngüi* = Schwein, offenbar weil das Schwein rötlich gefärbt ist;
3. *ngüidéna*, von *ngüi* = Schwein und *ndéá* = übertreffen, die ein Schwein übertrifft.

b) Weiß.

4. *mfɛmɔ* = die Weiße, auch Männername.;
5. *nsɛ̃ɛ̃ɛmɔ* = *nsɛ̃* = glatt, glänzend, die glänzend Weiße;
6. *mbɛ́ɛ́* = Elfenbein;
7. *mbɛ́ɛ́ɲo*, von *mbɛ́ɛ́* = Elfenbein, *ɛ́ɛ́k* = Elefant;
8. *mfamezɔk* = das Weiße (der Zahn) vom Elefant;
9. *mɔnembɛ́ɛ́* = das kleine Elfenbein;
10. *akɛngɔ́ne* = *akɛ* = Ei, *ngɔ́n* = Krokodil, Krokodilei, wegen der Weiße.

c) Grau.

11. *abɛ́ɛ́*, von *abɛ́k* = **Mus hypoxanthus** Puch. (vielleicht auch zu e).

d) Schwarz.

12. *nɔ́ɔ́ɛ́*, von *nɔ́ɔ́* = schwarz, die Schwarze;
13. *mesi[s] me ɛ́ɛ́k* = Schwanzhaare des Elefanten, die glänzend schwarz sind.

e) Hell und dunkel, bunt.

14. *ɔ́ɔ́ne*, von *ɔ́ɔ́n* = **Poiana poensis** Waterh., Zierruller.
15. *ɔ́ɔ́ne*, wahrscheinlich Tragelaphus albovirgatus;
16. *mɛ́ɛ́dɔ*, von *mɛ́ɛ́* = Messing, buntglänzend, vielleicht auch der gelben (roten) Färbung wegen, dann zu a).

II. Namen, welche die guten Eigenschaften bezeichnen, die man dem Träger wünscht.

17. *nɔ́ɔ́ɛ́* von *ɔ́ ɔ́ɛ́* = bewundern, weil alle die Schönheit des Mädchens bewundern;
18. *nkɔ́ne*, von *nkɔ́n* = Stiel, weil das Mädchen so schlank ist wie ein Stiel;
19. *nkɔ́nengɔne* = *nkɔ́n* = Stiel, *ngɔn* = Mädchen, ebenso;
20. *kɔmabɔne*, von *kɔɔ mabɔn* = nicht eitel;
21. *ɔɔgɔmɔ*, von *ɔɔgɔn* = **Landolphia ochracea** K. Sch., wegen der wohlschmeckenden Früchte, genau so wohlschmeckend wird auch das Mädchen sein;
22. *akɔ́ɔ́kɔ́ɔ́*, von *akɔ́ɔ́[l]* = Floten, Tutern, *akɔ́ɔ* = Fischotter, das Mädchen schleicht so leise wie eine Fischotter;
23. *nɔ́ɔ́-akɔ́ɔ* = Einzelfischotter, wie vorher;
24. *mɔnɔnkɔ́ɔ* = kleiner Fischotter;
25. *akɔ́ɔ-mɔ́ɔ́*, von *akɔ́ɔ* = Fischotter, *mɔ́ɔ́ɔ́* = sich zieren, geziert gehen.

III. Namen, die Glück bringen sollen.

26. *afɛ̀ɛ̀kɔ̀bɛ*, von *a fɛ̀ɛ̀* = schwer, *a kɔ̀bɛ* = kaufen, eintauschen; kann auch noch zu voriger Gruppe gerechnet werden, da das Mädchen so gute Eigenschaften hat, daß der Preis nicht leicht zu erschwingen ist;
27. *mafɪɪ́*, von *a fɪɪ́* = schnell aufwachen, das Mädchen soll schnell aufwachen, damit sie bald Früchte trägt (d. h. den Kaufpreis einbringt); vgl. Ehescheidung (Bd. I, S. —);
28. *anggno* oder *anggnemɔ̀nɛ*, von *ngɔ̀n* = Mädchen, *a mɔ̀nɛ* = fertig sein, d. h. die Mädchenschaft soll bald vorbei sein, ebenso;
29. *afɔ̀ɛ̀ɛ̀kɔ̀ɔ*, von *afɔ̀ɔ́-nkɔ̀ɔ* = Liliacee, Medizin zum Kaufen *(nkɔ̀ɔ)*, das Mädchen soll soviel einbringen, wie sie es tun würde, wenn der Vater diese Medizin hätte;
30. *mɛ̀dɔ̀*, *a dɔ̀ a tɔ̀ɔ́ a dɔ̀ɔ́* = sie hat ihre Zeit erfüllt, in (ihrem) Dorfe zu bleiben, d. h. sie wird zur rechten Zeit heiraten;
31. *mɛ̀ɔ́*, von *a tɔ̀ɔ́* = sitzen, ich sitze, d. h. sie soll nicht zuviel zur Arbeit angetrieben werden (von ihrem Zukünftigen natürlich), sondern im Dorfe sitzen bleiben.

IV. Namen, die abschrecken sollen, und zwar hier übermütige Freier oder heimliche Liebhaber.

32. *afɛɛ́ma*, von *a tɛɛ́ma* = abbrechen (ein Dorf), „weil der Vater das Dorf aus Trauer und Wut zerstören würde, wenn das Mädchen geraubt würde; im Falle der Liebhaber hört, daß sich solche Folgen ereignet haben, bringt er das Mädchen vielleicht wieder zurück";
33. *afɔ̀ɔ́bannɔ̀mɛ*, *a ɔ̀ɔ́* = erzürnt sein, *a nɔ̀mɛ* = im Herzen, vielleicht auf den Vater, vielleicht auch auf den Mann (angeblich so) zu beziehen, der über einen Ehebruch sehr böse werden wird.

V. Namen, die über die Ereignis vor oder zur Zeit der Geburt berichten.

34. *afɪngɔ̀n*, von *a ɪɪ* = sich wünschen, *ngɔ̀n* = Mädchen, weil die Mutter nur Jungen hatte und sich nun auch ein Mädchen wünschte;
35. *mɔnkɔ̀ɔ́* = Jünglinge, da die Mutter schon viele Jungen hat;
36. *anɔ̀ngɔ̀nɔ*, von *a nɔ a ngɔ̀n* = er (oder sie) hat kein Mädchen, d. h. hatte bisher kein Mädchen, und dieses ist das erste;
37. *ndɔ̀r*, von *a dɔ̀a* = übertreffen, sehr viel sein, weil die Mutter viele Kinder geboren hat, und dieses das letzte ist; so angeblich, es sind wohl noch mehr Erklärungen möglich;
38. *nɔ̀ngɔ̀nɔ*, von *nɔ̀r* = ältesten, *ngɔ̀n* = Mädchen;
39. *mɛɛ̀fɛ̀ɛ̀mɔnɔ*, von *a ɛɛ̀fɛ̀ɛ̀mɔ̀n* = verfehlen, da sie weder Vater noch Mutter gesehen hat;
40. *bɔ̀ɔ́*, von *a nɔ̀ bɔ̀ɔ́ a nɔ̀mɔ* = er ist schon traurig im Herzen, auf den Vater bezogen, da „er nicht weiß, ob die Tochter am Leben bleiben wird";
41. *ɔ̀kɔ̀nɔ*, von *ɔ̀kɔ̀n* = Mimula rostrata Klatt., Compositae, bei den Frauen beliebt, besonders bei der Mutter.

VI. Erklärung unbekannt.

42. *belgŋ*, von *belgk* = Kraut;
43. *abŏ(ŋ)ɛ*, von *abŏk* = **Gynura repiliaides** Bth., von Frauen gegessen.

Namen, die für Knaben sowohl wie für Mädchen üblich sind, gibt es sehr wenige, mir sind nur Mfumu und Mangŏŏ bekannt, beide übrigens öfter für Mädchen als für Knaben gebraucht.

Spottnamen sind häufig. Die stets zu Scherzen und Neckereien aufgelegten Neger haben ihre helle Freude daran, sich über die Schwächen ihres lieben Nächsten lustig zu machen und sie immer und immer wieder durchzuhecheln. Eine sonderbare Eigenschaft, eine komische Begebenheit löst den Spitznamen aus, und der erhält sich dann, ohne daß man später noch immer den ursprünglichen Sinn kennt. „Berühmte" Leute haben oft eine ganze Reihe von Spottnamen, wie der Häuptlingssohn Anwŏo-Ekang, dessen Namen in folgendem Scherzgesang verewigt sind:

anwŏo-ekɔŋ — anfuman ekɔŋ ane — sɔŋ nkaŋ —
Anwŏo-Ekang — Sohn (des) Ekang nun — Honigsauger (auf) Baumstumpf —
endɔ — nam e kaŋ — a kike mɔŋ ne ɔlɔ —
Feile — Mann (im) Salzwasser — abhauen (die) Köpfe vom Farnkraut —
ɔŋɔ a ɔŋɔnak, ndɔlɔn a ɔlɔk — mɔkɔ(ŋ) mɔdɔ,
Solanum [1]) es setzt an, Abpflücken er steht (bereit) — Raupen zum Essen,
nɔŋ a mɔŋ — ɔɔlɔ bi bekɔl, ɔkɔm bi
Mutter hat Kletterer — Musanga keine Haltrane, Macrolobium [2]) keine
mɔdɔ, — mɔnɔ ŋgɔn ɔjɔ (bondɔŋgɔ mɔdɔ).
Bettwurzeln — Sohn (eines) Mädchens von Eja (Bondanga Madscha = Häuptling der Eja):

Anwŏo-Ekang, der Sohn des Ekang bekanntlich, — (Scherznamen:) Honigsauger auf einem Baumstumpf (etwas Kleines, Zartes auf einem Riesigen, Starken) — Feile (etwas, das anderes zerstört) — Mann im Salzwasser (unklar, vielleicht entsprechend unserer „Karre, die im Dreck sitzt"). — Man haut die jungen Blattspitzen des Farnkrauts ab (da ein Weibesmann, für einen Mann ungeziemend). — Das Solanum setzt Früchte an, und der Erntemann steht bereit (Sinn klar). — Die Raupen, die auf den Bäumen sitzen, sind zum Essen reif, und die Mutter hat einen Kletterer, der sie herunterholt (geht auf Anwŏo selbst). — Die Musanga hat keine Haltrane (Lianen usw.), das Macrolobium keine Bettwurzeln. — Sohn einer gebornen Eja.

Wie man sieht, sind die Scherznamen, ähnlich wie die [illegible] (hauptsächlich im Süden), vielfach einer sprichwörtlichen Redensart entnommen,

[1]) **Solanum melongena** Dun.
[2]) **Macrolobium stipulaceum** Harms.

die auf eine Eigentümlichkeit des Trägers anspielt; auf welche, das wußte man in dem vorliegenden Falle nicht mehr.

Natürlich haben auch die Weißen ihre Spottnamen, sie sind sogar fast nur unter solchen bekannt, da die Eingeborenen die europäischen Namen meist nicht kennen oder nicht aussprechen können.

Dem eigenen, vom Vater gegebenen Namen wird der des Vaters selbst angefügt. Heißt z. B. der Vater Essun, der Sohn Boka, so ist der vollständige Name des Boka Boka-Essun, d. h. Boka, Sohn des Essun, oder — mit Genitivpartikel — Boka Bossun(e); heißt der Sohn des Boka Ayong, so ist sein vollständiger Name Ayong-Boka usw.[7])

Familiennamen in unserem Sinne kennen die Pangwe nicht. Fremden gegenüber vertritt ihn der Name der Sippe, die ja als „Familie" im Pangweinne zu bezeichnen ist, und dem zugleich noch der Name des Familienverbandes der Mutter hinzugefügt wird. Mein treuer Faktotum Ayong, der dem Leser schon auf Tafel III im Bilde vorgeführt ist, würde sich z. B. vorstellen:

me ne ayon-boka, mejer essinza, mone
ich bin Ajong-Boka, Kind (aus der Familie) Essunzong, Kind (eines)

ngyn essiip.
Mädchens (der) Essiip.

Diesen vollständigen Namen auswendig zu lernen, ist die erste Aufgabe des Kindes. Kann es den fehlerfrei hersagen, so schreitet der Vater, stolz ob der Klugheit seines Sprößlings, zur weiteren Aufgabe, die darin besteht, daß der Kleine mit dem Namen des Großvaters und Urgroßvaters (natürlich väterlicherseits) bekannt gemacht wird. Greifen wir wieder ein Beispiel heraus:

Das Kind heißt Nbungo, sein Vater Essun, aus der Familie Abui, also: *ndjapo-essun, mejer abui* usw., Nbungo vom Essun aus der Familie Abui. — „Aber von wem stamme ich, Essun?" fragt der Vater. „*mem-nsoma*, d. h. Essun vom Nsoma," ist die Antwort. „Und von wem stammt Nsoma — *nsoma nse?*" „*nsoma-ngyi.*" — Das Kind lernt das alles sehr schnell, denn was Auf-

---

[7]) v. Stein (Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, Bd. XII, S. 137) sagt von den Bane (= Bene): „Fast ähnliche Namen sind Doppelnamen, und bedeutet der an zweiter Stelle stehende, im scharfen Gegensatz zur Bakoko- (soll wohl heißen: Bamö-) Gepflogenheit, fast durchweg den Namen der Mutter. Nur in ganz ausnahmsweisen Fällen fügt der Bane bei besonders berühmtem Vater seinen, wenn ich so sagen darf, Taufnamen dem Vatersnamen hinzu. Bulingkoere heißt also: Bolinga, Sohn der Ekoere."

Die hier von den Bane beobachtete Sitte, den Namen der Mutter dem eigenen anzufügen, gilt nach Zenker (Mitt. a. d. deutsch. Schutzgeb., Bd. VIII, S. 50) auch von den Jaunde.

fassung anbetrifft, ist das Negerkind den weißen Kindern weit „über". — Beim Großvater jedoch bleibt der Pangwe nicht stehen. Jeder von den schwarzen Herrschaften hat seine ganzen Ahnen im Kopfe, genau wie unsere Feudalen. Freilich weiß keiner mehr von ihnen als die Namen. Unser Ndungo konnte so elf Ahnen aufzählen, seinen Vater Essun, dann Nsema, Ngää, Massoo, Obute, Ahiege, Asangui, Awudo, Tulo, Nsaim, Okudu.

Im allgemeinen dürften die Pangwe durchschnittlich 8—10 Ahnen dem Namen nach kennen, auch 10—12 hört man nicht selten, 14 stellten den Höhepunkt dar.

Oftere ist dem letzten Ahnen ein längerer Beiname zugefügt, der dem Ganzen eine prächtige Schlußwirkung gibt etwa so wie bei uns die Nachkommen eines berühmten Mannes ihren Stammbaum bis auf diesen verfolgen: „Ich stamme von dem ab und dessen Vater hieß soundso und dessen Vater war der Soundso, der berühmte General, der in dem und dem Kriege den und den Sieg erfochten hat." So lautete die Ahnentafel eines Essengmannes namens Abiechoo folgendermaßen: Ogbue, Ngumbaschoo, Edu, Ngumu, Bokoo, Motoo, Osele, Akuschoo Bele — *ɔpɔm ɛsɔ̀ pa andɛ̀m* — der Akuschoo Bebe, der wußte, wann die Trockenzeit kommt und wann es regnet (Erklärung im letzten Teil unsicher). Ein Scherzgedicht, bei dem ein Junge abfragt, der andere antwortet, zählt nicht weniger als 21 Ahnen auf:

„ɔ ndɛ̀ lɛ̀ɔ́ ɛ ɔ?" — *„ɔ lɔ́m". „ɔɔ sɔ̀l dɔ́?"* — *„nwɔ́a."*
Du wann fischtest wo? — Im Sannaga. Du tötetest was? — (Eine) Garnele.

„ɔɔ ɔ dɔ́?"
Wer er ißt? (Wer wird sie essen?) — „Abele".

„Abele sa?" (= von wem stammt Abele). „Abele-Boka" (Abele ist der Sohn des Boka). „Boka bo sa?" „Boka bo Sainsi." „Sainsi sa?" „Sainsi Mening." „Mening sa?" „Mening me Koebe". „Koebe sa?" „Koebe kum". „Kum sa?" „Kum Otsaa." „Otsaa sa?" „Otsaa Maniodo." „Maniodo sa?" „Maniodo Sazawinne." „Sazawinne sa?" „Sazawinne a Seongo." „Seongo sa?" „Seongo Abui." „Abui sa?" „Abui Nkumu". „Nkumu sa?" „Nkumu Bawu." „Bawu sa?" „Bawu Otsu." „Otsu sa?" „Otsu Kuboo." „Kuboo sa?" „Kuboo Ezwi." „Ezwi sa?" „Ezwi Abungo." „Abungo sa?" „Abungo a Schiele." „Schiele sa?" „Schiele Maa." „Maa sa?" „Maa Makama." „Makama sa?" Makama

ne ngɔ bɔge nana ɔbɔ: ɛɔ́ɔ
welcher lehte erbrechen (der) Mutter das Bein, tsaas (laut nachahm.).

Ein Rest der alten Abneigung aller Naturvölker, Namen zu nennen, weil damit irgend ein Unfug getrieben werden könnte, ist auch bei den Pangwe noch

zu erkennen. Fremden gegenüber sprechen sie ungern ihren Rufnamen aus, und die Frage nach dem vollen Namen (also einschließlich des ihres Vaters) empfinden sie, wie ich bei unberührten Fangs vielfach merkte, als taktlos, ja fast als beleidigend. Eine Beleidigung in aller Form ist es indessen, einen anderen an seine Ahnen zu erinnern. Das braucht nicht einmal namentlich zu erfolgen — da der andere ja die Namen nicht immer kennt —, sondern ist schon allein mit den Worten geschehen: ich werde dir deine Ahnen „zeigen". Man faßt das nämlich so auf, als drohe er mit Zauberei, d. h. heimlichem Mord und sage seinem Gegner voraus, daß er ihn töten und ihn so zu seinen Ahnen bringen wolle. Eine solche Beleidigung wird oft mit dem Schwerte gerächt.

2. Erziehung.

Mittel der Erziehung sind Beispiel und Belehrung, selten Drohungen, fast nie — wenigstens nur bei groben Verstößen gegen die Sitte, z. B. Diebstahl — körperliche Züchtigung. Das Ergebnis muß ein durchaus gutes genannt werden, die Pangwekinder benehmen sich taktvoller und besser als die unsrigen im gleichen Alter.

Von manchen „Kennern der Negerseele" wird die Behauptung aufgestellt, daß der Schwarze kein Ehrgefühl habe — ein Blick in das Familienleben lehrt uns das Gegenteil, in der Erziehung ist die Entwicklung des Ehrbegriffs des Kindes — natürlich im Pangwesinne — geradezu eine der ersten Regeln. Das Kind muß lernen, sich vor dem Schämen ebenso zu fürchten wie unsere Knaben vor dem spanischen Rohr.

Die Drohungen, die bei kleineren Kindern bis zu 6—7 Jahren in Anwendung kommen, beschränken sich auf unschuldige Schreckmittel, die unter dem Namen *bikp-bynge* III *(J)* oder *bjm a s;ze bynge (Südp.)* = Sachen, um Kinder zu erschrecken, bekannt sind. Das Verfahren besteht darin, daß abends oder nachts ein Verwandter vor dem Hause irgendwelchen Lärm macht. Der Kleine, der unartig ist oder schreit, wird dann von den Leuten vor dem bösen Manne dort draußen gewarnt. Das einfachste Lärmzeug ist ein Stämmchen, das auf den Boden gestellt wird und nun abwechselnd im Takte aufgestampft und mit einem Klöppel geschlagen wird. Dazu kann mit dumpfer Stimme gemurmelt werden *(bikp nie a ŋa nie* = der böse Mann *(bikp)*, er ist gekommen). Das Werkzeug selbst heißt — trommelnd — *bikdbn,mu III (bi bi* = Aufschlagen des Klöppels, *bn,m* = Aufstampfen des Stockes auf den Boden, zugleich *ekn,m* = Baumstumpf, aufrechtes Stammstück). Ein noch wirksameres Schreckmittel für Kinder ist der unheimliche Ton des Schwirrholzes (*edzibynge* = Kinderfresser, Abb. 86), dessen sich oft Männer und ältere Knaben bedienen, um die jüngeren zu schrecken. Außer Lärmapparaten gibt es noch

verschiedene andere Schreckmittel, wie z. B. den *belonezok* oder Wanderelefant, die ich hier jedoch nicht genauer beschreiben kann.

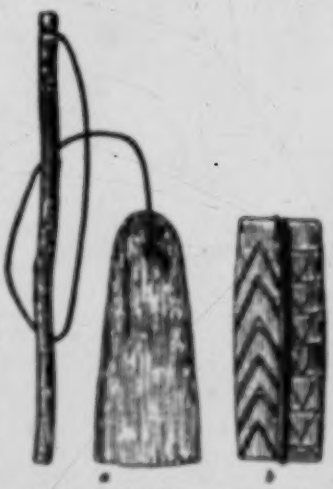


Abb. 96. Schwirrhölzer. *a* mit Stock; *b* ohne Stock. Schnur um den Hals geschlungen.

Ein viel wichtigeres Erziehungsmittel ist die mündliche Unterweisung und Belehrung, die Vater sowohl wie Mutter dem Bürschchen in reichem Maße zukommen läßt. Die Mutter erzählt Mârbepe. Sie werden täglich bei jeder passenden Gelegenheit vorgebracht und immer wiederholt, sodaß sie sich dem Jungen fest einprägen. Eine Anzahl solcher Lehrsätze, die uns ein unverfälschtes Bild des Familienlebens entrollen und uns die Ansicht der Pangwe von dem, was Sitte und Ordnung heißt, enthüllen, seien hier in ungezwungener Folge gebracht, so wie die Jungen sie mir wiedergaben:

Mein Vater hat mir gesagt:

1. Wenn ich auf Reisen gehe, siehe mir auf Hühner, Hunde, Weiber, damit alles in Ordnung ist, wenn ich zurückkomme; dann wird mein Herr sich freuen.

2. Du sollst nicht alle Dinge, die dir anvertraut werden, ausplaudern, sonst wird der Mann, der sie dir gesagt hat, zornig.

3. Du sollst auf deines V a t e r s Worte hören, denn wenn du später ein Mädchen heiratest, so wird dein V a t e r es bezahlen.

4. Wenn ich in meinem Hause Besuch habe und dir sage, du sollst Feuerholz bringen, so tue es schnell; wenn ich sage, du sollst Essen für die Gäste bringen, so tue es, sonst wird dein Vater von dir sagen: Du bist wie ein Huhn, eine Ziege oder ein Hund — ich habe dich nicht erzeugt!

5. Wenn du zum Ringkampf gehst, so mußt du deine Kräfte dabei zusammennehmen, damit du Sieger bist, denn wenn andere dich werfen, so werde ich traurig sein und mich schämen müssen.

6. Wenn du eine Geliebte hast, und sie bringt dir Essen (wenn der Jüngling sie besucht. Anm. d. Verf.), so mußt du nicht alles gleich aufessen, sondern

bescheiden zwei oder drei Löffel voll nehmen, denn sonst wird das Mädchen glauben, du seiest ein Vielfraß, und sie wird dich nicht mehr lieben.

7. Wenn dein Vater viele Weiber hat, so hilf fleißig, große Stücke Urwaldes zu roden und zur Pflanzung vorzubereiten. Nachher werden die Weiber dann viel Essen *(bekí)* pflanzen können. Wenn meine Schwiegervater und Schwiegermütter (!) zu Besuch kommen, so müssen sie reichlich Essen haben. Gehen sie hungrig zur Ruhe, so werden sie einen schlechten Begriff von unserem Dorfe bekommen und es ein erbärmliches Nest nennen.

8. Wenn Fremde (Gäste) kommen und mich nicht zu Hause treffen, so bewirte sie ebenso, als ob ich da wäre, und sei in jeder Weise zuvorkommend, sonst sagen sie, du hättest keine Lebensart (Pl.: *o sáke mói* — du bist kein Mensch — Mann).

9. Wenn du schmieden kannst, und wenn einer meiner Brüder (d. h. Sippengenossen) kommt und etwas angefertigt haben will, so mache du ihm alles recht nach Wunsch, und kommt ein Mann aus einer anderen Familie, so tue ebenso, weil du nicht wissen kannst, ob du nicht einmal ein Mädchen aus der betreffenden Familie heiraten wirst. Hast du aber getan, wie ich dir riet, und begehrst du dann später die Tochter des Mannes oder seiner Sippengenossen zur Frau, so wird er dich sogleich gern haben, da du ihm einen Gefallen getan hattest.

10. Wenn du die Frau eines anderen Mannes verführt hast, und der Gatte kommt in mein Dorf und bringt die Medizin mit, über die du hinwegsteigen sollst (zum Wahrheitsbeweis, siehe Rechtsanschauungen), so wirst du sterben. Mein Sohn, eine sehr schlimme Sache ist dies! Bedenke das! Lieber gib die Sache sofort zu; ich selbst werde für dich bezahlen, das macht dir nichts! Ich sage damit nicht, daß du die Frauen anderer verführen sollst usw.

11. Du sollst nicht fetterwerdlich (Pl.: *ekk/* — geizig, in bezug auf Essen) sein. Falls du das bist, so werden alle über dich lachen und, wenn du an einen anderen Platz gehst, wirst du selbst nichts zu essen bekommen.

12. Wenn ich viele Töchter habe, so sollst du lernen, die Frisuren (Schmuckfrisuren) zu machen, damit die Mädchen nicht anderswohin gehen, um einen Mann, der Frisuren macht, zu finden, denn Mädchen pflegen nicht gern lange Wege zu machen.

13. Behandle deine (rechte) Schwester gut! Wenn sie dich schimpft, so laß sie in Ruhe (d. h. schimpf sie nicht wieder), es macht dir nichts aus! Schlage sie auch nicht, denn für das Geld, das für die Heirat deiner Schwester bezahlt wird, kaufst du dir ja wieder eine Frau. Wenn du deine Schwester schlägst, stirbt sie vielleicht durch Zauberei (es ist gemeint, aus Ärger über die Mißhandlung würde sie sich das Leben nehmen, was in der Tat vorkommt), und du hast kein Geld und keine Frau, und die Leute werden dich nicht achten usw.

14. Bist du der ältere von zwei Brüdern, hast geheiratet und hast eine Tochter, dann heirate nicht mit dem Heiratsgut für die Tochter eine andere Frau, werfen überlasse die Tochter (bzw. das Geld) deinem jüngeren Bruder. Wenn du als Ältester so gehandelt hast, wirst du unter den Brüdern dieselbe Ehre und Achtung genießen wie dein Vater.

Abb. 67. Knabe von ungefähr 7 Jahren [illegible] Kind [illegible] (Fang, Kamerun). Gold-Kamerun.

15. Dein Vater sagt die alle diese guten Lehren und Ratschläge nicht, um dich, seinen Sohn, schlecht zu machen (d. h. aus geringem Vertrauen oder geringer Achtung vor ihm), auch nicht, um deine Freiheit zu beeinträchtigen, sondern weil er will, daß du ihm keine Unannehmlichkeiten (Streitsachen) im Hause bringst, ihm und dir zum Schaden. Denn wenn ich zwei bis dreimal bezahlt habe, werde ich dieser Sachen müde (überdrüssig) sein, sonst möchte es nicht lange dauern, und ich habe kein Weib mehr im Dorfe (d. h. er wäre ein armer Mann, denn Weiber sind Geld, und für die Strafen des Sohnes hätte er all sein Geld ausgegeben).

Dem aufmerksamen Leser wird bei Durchsicht der früheren Abschnitte der streng patriarchalische Sinn der Fangwe nicht entgangen sein; es ist darum klar, daß der Vater die Erziehung des Kindes und namentlich des heranwachsenden Jünglings leitet. Er tut das in idealer — auch bei uns als ideal gepriesener — Weise, indem er der beste Freund des Sohnes wird und ihm in allen wichtigen Lebensfragen beratend zur Seite steht.

Natürlich ist auch die Mutter den Niggern lieb und teuer wie überall anderswo in der Welt, aber die sittliche Kleinheit und Scham war ihr verbietet dem Sohne, ihr alles mitzuteilen, was er auf dem Herzen hat, und irgendwelchen Einfluß im Familienverbande besitzt nur die Hauptfrau und auch

TAF XXVI

ABB. 98. FRAU AUS ALEM (FAL)
EBRAUCHEND MIT KEULE.

Gilbert Tessmann, die Pangwe Verlag und gedruckt bei Bruno Wissmann A.-G., Berlin

[Facing p. 290]

sie nur in beschränktem Maße. In allen Fragen des Lebens bleibt der Vater als Familienoberhaupt der eigentliche Freund und Berater des Sohnes, wie die Mutter für die Tochter.

So führt die Liebe der Eltern das Kind mit sanfter Hand durch die Gefilde der Jugend hindurch. Ist der Knabe jedoch zum Jüngling herangereift, so macht sich mitunter die Dickköpfigkeit, mit der die Natur die Pangwe in besonderem Maße ausgestattet hat, nach gegenüber der Vater den Fluch über den Sohn. Die Verwünschung dazu ist andauernder Ungehorsam, z. B. wenn der Sohn trotz wiederholter Verwarnungen die Frauen des Vaters benutzt. Der Vater stellt sich dann auf den Dorfplatz, um von den Leuten gehört zu werden, meist morgens, wenn sie noch ähnlich im Hause sind, oder beruft alle ins Versammlungshaus und spricht zu ihnen etwa: „Dieser, mein Sohn, handelt fortwährend meinen Anordnungen zuwider usw., darum soll ihm von nun an nichts mehr glücken, er soll keine Sachen mehr erlangen (durch Kauf und Geschenkhandel), er soll keinen Erfolg auf der Jagd mehr haben; wenn er zu einem Mädchen geht, soll dieses ihn ‚wie Schmutz ansehen' und Ihm keine Liebe schenken. Denn er soll verflucht sein." Eine bestimmte Formel ist in den meisten Gegenden nicht vorgeschrieben, nur im Norden des Pangwegebietes sagt man: *ma gik(e) ne J.* = ich verfluche dich.

Abb. 48. Kleiner Junge von 5–7 Jahren. Studienarbeit (Fang, Elfenbeinzahn, Spain-Guinea).

über der väterlichen Gewalt geltend. Hier hilft zuweilen nur das wirksamste und gefürchtetste Erziehungsmittel, um den Widerspenstigen zu sanfteren Sitten zurückzuführen – der öffentliche Fluch. Der Fluch *(ekin(e)*, Zeitwort: *a bike)* kann vom Vater und von der Mutter über den Sohn sowie vom ältesten Sohn als Vertreter des Vaters, besonders nach dessen Tode, über einen jüngeren Bruder ausgesprochen werden. In den meisten Fällen verhängt in-

Der Fluch sieht in den meisten Fällen die vom Vater angedrohten Folgen, soweit sie sich auf die gesellschaftliche Stellung erstrecken, wirklich nach sich, denn die Nachricht verbreitet sich überallhin, und niemand will mehr etwas von dem Verfluchten wissen; wohin er kommt, wird er schief angesehen oder gar mit Schimpf und Spott überhäuft. In seines Vaters Dorfe wird er überhaupt unmöglich sein. So hat der Sohn bald diesen unerträglichen Zustand satt und versucht nun, den Vater zur Abnahme des Fluches zu bewegen. Er läßt ihn durch Freunde oder Verwandte bitten, den Fluch von ihm zu nehmen, oder durch seine Mutter, aber dann auf dem Umwege über ihren Bruder, da sie „sich vor ihrem Manne fürchtet".

Ist dann der Vater auf diese Bitten und auf das Versprechen des Sohnes hin, sich bessern zu wollen, bereit, den Fluch ungültig zu machen, so hat ihm der Sohn zunächst, wenn er erwachsen ist, eine Ziege, sonst ein Huhn zu zahlen, das entgegen der sonstigen Gepflogenheit, jedes Stück Vieh zum Heiratsgut für weitere Frauen zu schlagen, von den Eltern und Verwandten verzehrt wird. Er bekommt dann die Aufforderung, am nächsten Tage sich im Dorf einzufinden. Der Vater versammelt wieder alles Volk im Versammlungshause, hält eine lange Rede, in der er die ganze Angelegenheit von seinem Standpunkt aus bis in die kleinsten Einzelheiten ins Gedächtnis zurückruft, bis er dann am Schluß auf den eigentlichen Zweck der Sitzung zu sprechen kommt und zur Abnahme des Fluches schreitet. Die Formel, mit der das geschieht, ist ungefähr folgende:

ma ŋŋ, mətŋ', ma kobe ma, ma mone

Ich habe verhängt Fluch [9] (?), ich entledige mich (dessen), ich mache gerade

ma, — ɔtɔ ɔtɔgi; Chor: *mɔn.*

mich — (ins) Wasser hinab. Chor: Fertig, vorbei.

Die Formeltexte, die oft noch durch Einfügung von Vergleichen erweitert werden und sich wörtlich natürlich nicht genau gleichen, sind anscheinend alle sehr alt, da sie recht schwer und zum Teil überhaupt nicht verständlich sind.

Zugleich speit der Vater dem Sohne in die Hand, um anzudeuten, daß er das, was er ihm durch die Worte (versinnbildlicht durch Speichel) genommen hat, wieder in seine Gewalt (Hand) zurückgibt, oder er beißt — so in Jaunde — ein Stück von dem Stengel einer Cactus (Zaubergerte) ab und speit es aus, womit er zugleich alle Bitterkeit des Herzens (Cactusstengel ist bitter) von sich wegwirft.

Einen Fluch kann ferner auch die erste Frau gegen ihren Ehemann aussprechen, falls er sie schlecht behandelt und immer zurücksetzt. Das geschieht öffentlich wie beim väterlichen Fluch oder auf dem Felde, wenn die Frauen unter sich sind.

---

[9] *mətŋ'* — der aufgelegte Fluch, *a ɔɔ mətŋ'* — den (aufgelegten) Fluch abnehmen; Stamm: *a ŋŋ* — sich abreiben, sich vom Heim entfernen, *mətŋ'* — Stern (vgl. Bd. II, S. 203).

Dreifig nutzet die Verfluchung der Seelen durch die Nachkommen an; sie wird beim Ahnenfest ausgesprochen, wenn man glaubt, jene bekümmerten sich nicht mehr um sie, und wird auch bei der gleichen Gelegenheit zurückgenommen. Obgleich die Seelen als Ahnen höherstehende Personen waren, die man eigentlich nicht verfluchen kann, so geht hier einmal wieder Macht vor Recht, denn nach dem Tode sind die Seelen für die Erde machtlos, wie wir wissen.

Endlich glaubt man an heimliche Flüche und fürchtet deshalb manchmal, wenn das Glück im Leben ausbleibt, von diesem oder jenem verflucht zu sein.

Der furchtbarste Fluch ist der, den Nzambe (Gott) über die Menschen ausgesprochen hat, als sie den ersten schweren Verstoß gegen seinen väterlichen Willen begangen. Er wird, wie Bd. II, S. 59 beschrieben, symbolisch bei der Kultfeier ausgeführt.

3. Kinderspiele [1]).

Die Kinderspiele teile ich in zwei große Hauptklassen: die allgemein nachahmenden Spiele und die selbständigen Spiele. Von jenen unterscheide ich drei Gruppen, nämlich erstens die Turnspiele, welche die Bewegungen der Erwachsenen (Laufen, Sport und Tanz) nachahmen, zweitens die Kriegs- und Jagdspiele, welche die Hauptbeschäftigungen, um nicht zu sagen -berufe, der Erwachsenen nachahmen, und drittens alle übrigen nachahmenden Spiele. Die bisher stehenden selbständigen Spiele teile ich in wieder drei Gruppen, nämlich in viertens Sachenspiele, d. h. Spiele, welche mit Gegenständen betrieben werden und keine Tätigkeit der Erwachsenen nachahmen wollen, in fünftens Gesellschaftsspiele und in sechstens Kunstspiele. Letztere sind die am höchsten entwickelten Spiele, da es sich bei ihnen nicht mehr um Unterhaltungen handelt, an denen sich alle Anwesenden beteiligen, sondern um Vorführungen einzelner besonders Begabter. In den Zauberaufführungen erreichen die Kunstspiele und Spiele überhaupt ihre Vollendung. Sie berühren damit das Gebiet der darstellenden Kunst und ließen sich gleichsam als deren Vorstufe betrachten.

Soweit die Einteilung der Spiele. Daß die verschiedenen Gruppen nicht immer scharf getrennt werden können, weil die Grenzen durch viele Übergänge verwischt sind, brauche ich wohl nicht ausdrücklich zu bemerken.

Von den Turnspielen führe ich hier nur die Namen der gebräuchlichsten an, es ist da zu nennen das Wettlaufen, *ndo*, eine Vereinigung von unserem Himmel- und Höllenspiel und dem Hasche, *ngá-ngá*, genannt, ferner das von größeren Knaben betriebene Ziehen, *ekodan*, ein Spiel, das unserem Tauziehen entspricht, das Kettenziehen, *ngáyá*, das in Jaunde besonders von fast Er-

[1]) Vgl. G. Tessmann, „Die Kinderspiele der Pangwe" im Baessler-Archiv, Bd. II, Heft 5/6, S. 250. Dort sind die Kinderspiele ausführlich behandelt.

Abb. 40. Stabwerfer in Aktion (Fiwa, Cyrtos), Opau-Gebiet

wachsenen gespielte „Wettstreit" *etapa kic, F., ete I.*, bei dem es darauf ankommt, daß zwei sich gegenüberstehende Spieler im schnellen Auf-der-Stelle-Tretzen zuletzt den entgegengesetzten Fuß zugleich vorsetzen, und endlich das Tanzspiel, *ekoki*.

Als ein Sport darf wohl auch das Stabwerfen (Abb. 8a) bezeichnet werden. Die Stäbe werden aus dem Holz des Schirmbaumes, **Musanga smithii**, geschnitzt.

Im Übergang von sportlichen zu kriegerischen Spielen bildet das Speerwerfen nach einer Scheibe, das im ganzen Pangwegebiet verbreitet und beliebt ist: man nennt es *ngili* nach der vielgenannten **Desplatsia dewevrei** Burret (*ngili*), aus deren grossen Früchten die Scheibe geschnitten wird. Als Speere dienen Schößlinge oder Stämmchen von jungen Bäumen.

Die Kriegs- und Jagdspiele dürften von allen Spielen die beliebtesten und häufigsten sein. In dem Kleinkrieg der reiferen Jugend (8—15 Jahre), der mit-

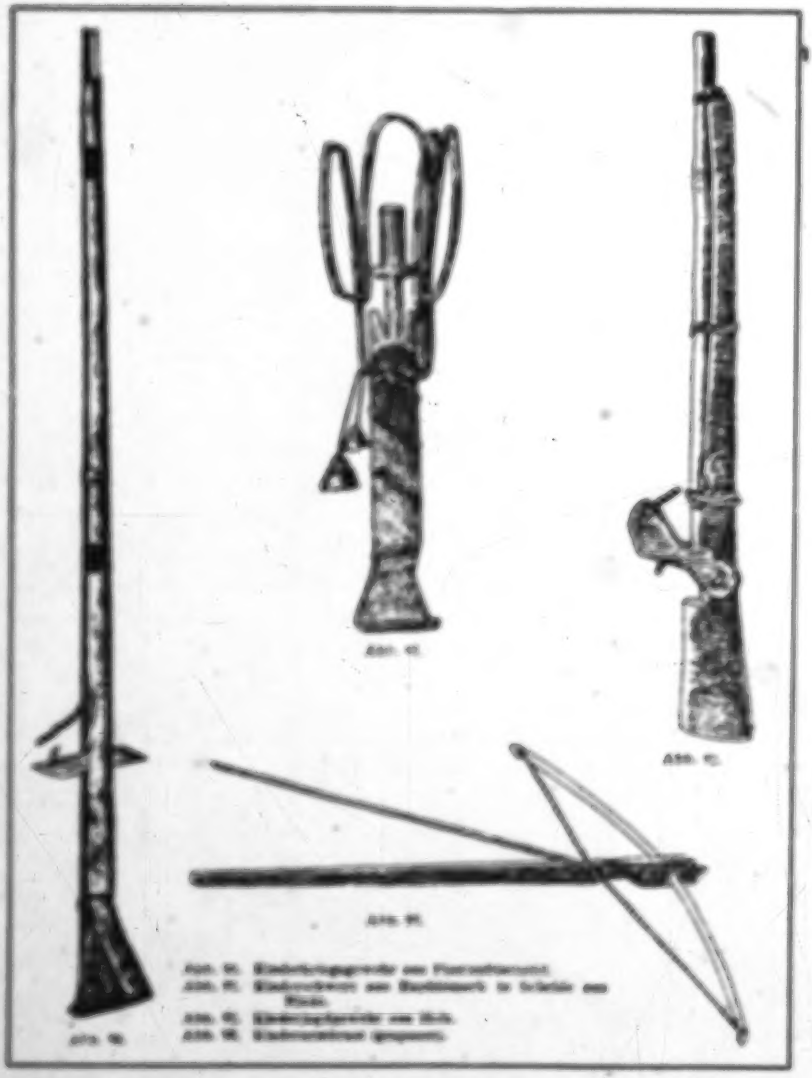


Abb. 90. Kinderspielgeräte aus Raphiamark.
Abb. 91. Kinderspielgeräte aus Holz.
Abb. 92. Kinderspielzeug (gespannt).

unter in blue Schlägereien ausartet, dient — wie bei den Alten — als Waffe das Gewehr, das in verschiedenen Formen aus Blattstielen (Abb. 90), Raphiamark oder anderen Stoffen nachgebildet wird. Auch das „blinkende Schwert" aus Raphiamark fehlt nicht (Abb. 92); es hat den Vorteil, ohne allzu gefährlich

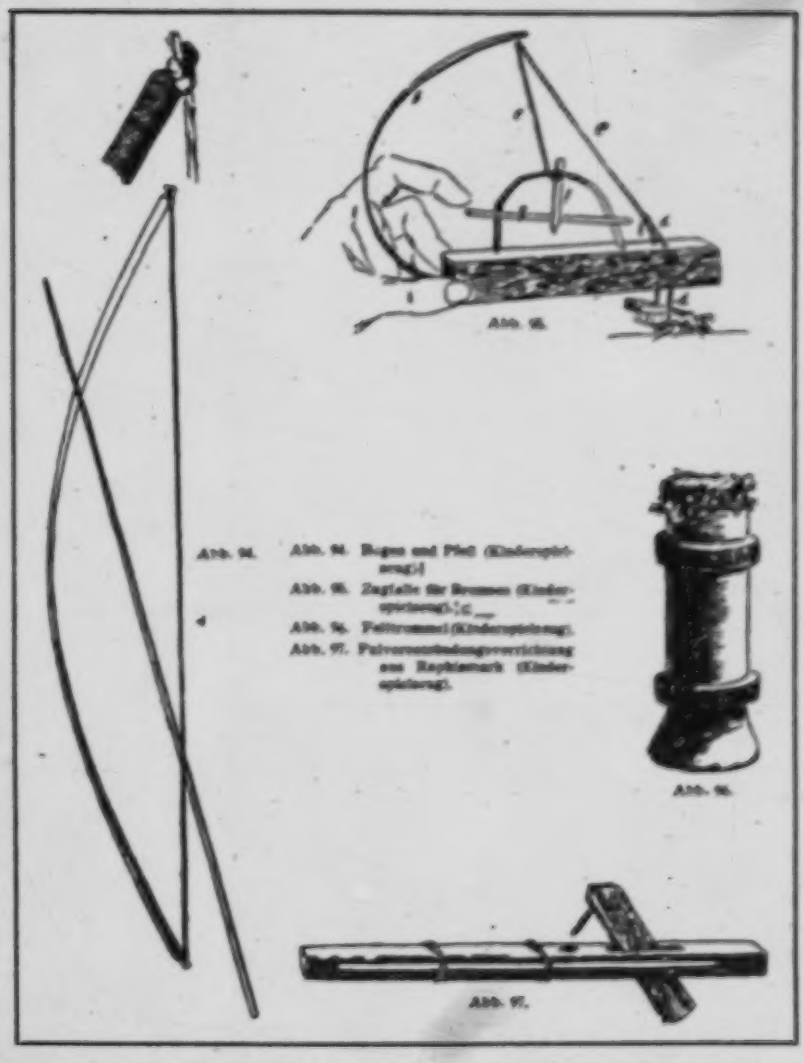


Abb. 94. Bogen und Pfeil (Kinderspielzeug).
Abb. 95. Zaglaile für Bremsen (Kinderspielzeug).
Abb. 96. Pfeiltrommel (Kinderspielzeug).
Abb. 97. Pulverentzündungsvorrichtung aus Rapsstamm (Kinderspielzeug).

zu sein, beim Aufschlagen auf den Körper des Feindes ein ziemlich stark klappendes Geräusch und einen für den Augenblick heftigen Schmerz zu verursachen.

Wirklich unangenehm ist das Beworfenwerden mit Maisspindeln, die vorher in einem Korb in den Fluß gelegt worden sind und sich da voll Wasser gesogen

haben, noch mehr ein hohles Stück Schirmbaumholz, das mit Erde gefüllt mittelst eines Pfropfens aus Blättern geschlossen und dann auf die Feinde aus nächster Nähe entleert wird.

Ein recht gefährliches „Spiel" ist das Mäusefangen. Zu dem Zweck nehmen sich einige Knaben ein Stück Ozocalammstreifen (Buschtau) und verknüpfen es zu einer Schlinge. Diese verstecken sie an dem Wege, der aus dem Dorf führt, hübsch säuberlich zwischen Gras und Blättern, während das freie Ende an einem Baumstumpf festgebunden wird. Die bösen Buben verstecken sich nun hinter Bäumen und Sträuchern und harren mit hämischen Blicken der kommenden Dinge. Gerät ein Vorübergehender mit dem Fuß in die Schlinge, so stürzt er natürlich nieder, die Jungen aber nehmen schleunigst Reißaus, was ihnen auch nur gerathen sei; denn wenn es dem Hereingefallenen gelingt, einen der Sünder zu fassen, so mag er sich auf eine tüchtige Tracht Prügel oder eine Anklage beim Vater gefaßt machen.

Für die niedere Jagd auf weichhäutige Insekten, Spinnen usw. dient ein Gewehr aus Holz, in das etwas Pulver getan wird (Abb. 92). Durch den Dampf werden die zarten Sechs- oder Achtfüßler betäubt und fallen entkräftet zu Boden. Auch eine Armbrust aus Raphiamark wird zur Spinnenjagd mit Erfolg benutzt (Abb. 93). Bei der „höheren Jagd", d. h. zum Erlegen von Eidechsen und Mäusen, kommt Bogen und Pfeil (Abb. 94) zur Anwendung. Eine Jagdart der Erwachsenen, das Umkreisen eines Stück Wildes, wird nachgeahmt, indem ein kleiner Junge sich irgendwo verstecken muß, während die Flachwehre in kleinen Nachbildungen ihr Gegenstück finden. Sie werden in den vom Regen aufgewühlten Rinnsalen aufgestellt und versperren den mitgeschwemmten Holzstückchen und Blättern den Weg. Sogar sehr niedliche Zugfallen en miniature stellen kunstfertige Jungen her zum Zwecke, die lästigen Bremsen, die sich während des Blutsaugens überfressen lassen, darin einzufangen (Abb. 95).

Im übrigen ahmt man im Spiel fast alles nach, was von den Erwachsenen Auffälliges gemacht und getrieben wird, so z. B. Gebrauchsgegenstände, wie Messer und Kästen, in Raphiamark, so allerliebste kleine Felltrommeln in Holz- oder Bananenmark (Abb. 96). Als Fell dient dabei ein Stück Rattenhaut. Die beliebten Knallerien bei Festlichkeiten vermehrt der kleine Fang durch eine Pulverzündvorrichtung aus Raphiamark (Abb. 97). Vor allem aber darf nicht unerwähnt bleiben, daß auch die Kinder einen Kult nachahmen und zwar bezeichnenderweise die Ahnenverehrung, auf deren Sonderstellung oben aufmerksam gemacht wurde. Die Ahnenfigur wird von den Kindern aus Plantenmark geschnitzt und trägt eine Haube aus Cannablüten, die auf Stäbchen gezogen werden. Nur einmal sah ich auch eine Figur aus Holz. Die Ahnenschädel werden ersetzt durch — Affenschädel. Welch köstliches Schauspiel müßte dem

„eingeweihten" Europäer solch ein unschuldiges Kinderspiel bieten, wenn er es ungesehen beobachten könnte!

Von der Nachahmung des Familienlebens, an der auch die kleinen Mädchen stark beteiligt sind, wurde schon Bd. II, S. 252 gesprochen. In der Hauptsache entspricht das Spiel unserem „Mutter und Kind". Die Buben bemühen sich durch viel Geschrei und Getue den bedächtigen Vater wiederzugeben und versuchen die schon recht widerspenstigen „Gattinnen" überall herumzuzerren und mit ihnen nach Herzenslust zu schalten und zu walten. Das „Kind", und das ist den kleineren Mädchen die Hauptsache, ist eine Puppe (*mpo-ekpo* = Kind aus Pflanze), Abb. 98, die von der besorgten Mutter immer mitgeschleppt und mit großer Liebe behütet und gepflegt wird; sie besteht *nur* aus einer einfachen Walze aus Pflanzenmark, die in ein Tragband aus trockenen Blattscheiden der Pfeife gesteckt wird.

Zur vierten Gruppe, den Sachenspielen, gehört unter anderem die Schleuder (*ndope ge dirme*) Abb. 99. Sie besteht aus einem Stock, an den ein Raphiamarkstab gebunden ist. Am freien Ende bildet das sehr leicht zerreißbare Tau eine Schlinge, in die eine Ölpalmnuß gelegt wird. Die Schleuder wird niemals in feindlicher Absicht, etwa bei Kriegsspielen, angewandt, sondern gehört lediglich zu den Sachenspielen, d. h. man unterhält sich mit diesem Spielzeug seiner eigentümlichen Wirkung wegen. Beim Gebrauch nimmt man den Stock in die Hand und schleudert den Stein vorwärts. Dabei reißt infolge der Zugkraft des Steines das zarte Tau durch, ohne die Wucht des Wurfes allzu sehr zu beeinträchtigen. Weiter rechne ich hierher den Rasselstock, die Kreisel, das Hampelmannspiel (Abb. 100) und den Fernsprecher (Abb. 101). Als Kreisel werden Schneckengehäuse (Abb. 102) benutzt oder aber eine Frucht von *Sarcophrynium velutinum* (Baker) K. Sch. (vgl. Bd. I, Taf. XI), die, wie der Kreisel selbst, *ndwo* heißt. Ein Stäbchen aus Raphiarinde wird durch sie hindurchgesteckt (Abb. 103) und der Kreisel ist fertig; er wird durch Quirlen des Stäbchens zum Tanzen gebracht, während der Achatinakreisel in der uns bekannten Weise mit den Fingern fortgeschnellt wird.

Auch von den Gesellschaftsspielen der Pangwe entsprechen viele genau den unsrigen, z. B. das Verstecken eines Gegenstandes bei den Spielern, wo dann ein Mitspieler, der vorher hinausgegangen war, den Gegenstand zu suchen hat. Sehr beliebte sind das Palmnußspiel und das Kegelspiel mit Kreiseln.

Das Palmnußspiel wird *ndwo* genannt und besteht darin, daß man von einer größeren Zahl Nüsse, die auf den Boden gelegt sind, eine Handvoll hochwirft und dann mit dem Handrücken auffängt. Diejenigen Nüsse, welche auf der Hand liegen bleiben (etwa 1—5, selten mehr), sind Wurfsteine, d. h. man darf jeden dieser Steine für sich hochwerfen, muß, so lange er in der Luft, mit der-

Abb. 98. Fuppe aus Flaschenkürbis.
Abb. 99. Schleuder der Kinder.
Abb. 100. Hauptfanggerät. a und b Hauptdrehvorrichtung.
Abb. 101. Fangnetzer, Kinderspiel. b Durchschnitt durch die Schlußvorrichtung.
Abb. 102. Knebel aus Schlaufenfallenspiel. a aus Pandanusblattes Durchschnitt. b aus Ackerdistel.
Abb. 103. Knebel aus der Fischfalle von Sarcophyteinsel.

selben (der werfenden) Hand von den anderen am Boden liegenden Nüssen so viele wie möglich aufnehmen und die hochgeworfene Nuß dann mit der gleichen Hand wieder auffangen. Es ist dabei erlaubt, sich die Nüsse vorher auf der Erde auszubreiten, z. B. drei nebeneinander. Hat der Werfer den hochgeworfenen Stein aufgefangen, so sind akustische in der Hand befindliche Steine sein Eigentum, andernfalls wieder Allgemeingut. Dann vermischt er es mit den anderen Wurfsteinen. Sind auch diese verspielt, so kommt der nächste an die Reihe. Am Schluß des Spieles, d. h. wenn alle Nüsse im Besitz von Spielern sind, legen diejenigen Jungen, welche überhaupt einen Stein gefangen haben, die gleiche kleinste Anzahl ihrer Nüsse in die Mitte zusammen. Von den Spielern ist dann der Sieger, welcher die größte Anzahl von Nüssen besitzt. Diese eroberten Nüsse werden von den Jungen scherzweise als Frauen bezeichnet.

Das beliebteste und beliebteste Spiel der Pangwe ist das Kegeln mit Schneckenkreiseln *(e ñ ndwa)*. Das „Kreiselkegeln", wie wir es vielleicht nennen dürfen, wird hauptsächlich von Jungen im Alter von 5 bis 7 Jahren, mitunter auch von Männern, gespielt und zwar meistens spät nachmittags oder gegen Abend, wenn die Sonne nicht mehr auf den Dorfplatz brennt. Unsere Fig. 104 zeigen die Aufstellung der beiden Parteien und der Kegel, die in der Nähe der Partei, zu der sie gehören, aufgestellt sind (in Fig. 104 linke Partei). Von den Spielern der Gegenpartei (angreifende Partei) hat einer einen Wurfkreisel, der zwischen die Kegel hineingespielt wird, wo er nun im Kreisel einen Kegel oder gar einige berührt. Diese getroffenen Kegel *(ndjo-ndwa)* nebst dem Wurfkreisel *(nawin-ndwa)* werden der angreifenden Partei zurückgegeben. Mit diesem wirft sie dann von neuem. Trifft ein Wurfkreisel nicht *(a ke ntñ ndzi* — er geht das Wasser hinunter, nach Westen), so gehört er der angegriffenen Partei, die ihn als Gefangenen zurückbehält. Hat keiner der Wurfkreisel getroffen, was leichter öfters vorkommt, da die Kreisel mit großer Geschicklichkeit geworfen werden, so stellt die angreifende Partei die Kegel, die vorher der Gegenpartei gehörten, bei sich auf, und die früher angegriffene Partei ist jetzt die angreifende. Die angreifende Partei spielt, wenn sie erst einmal einige Kreisel hat, mit diesen so lange, bis alle Kegel der Gegenpartei getroffen sind und man der angreifenden Partei gehören, so daß beim nächsten Spiel die Rollen vertauscht sind.

Die Ndjangwe kennen keine Sieger und Unterliegende beim Spiel, ihnen macht „das Spielen selbst Vergnügen", wie sie sagen, dagegen führen sie, abweichend von den Jaunde, das Vorschußsystem in reichem Maße, eine Gewohnheit, die ebenso wie das Vorschußsystem beim Kautschukhandel der Großen zu Unzuträglichkeiten führen muß, ja sogar betrügerischen Handlungen Tür

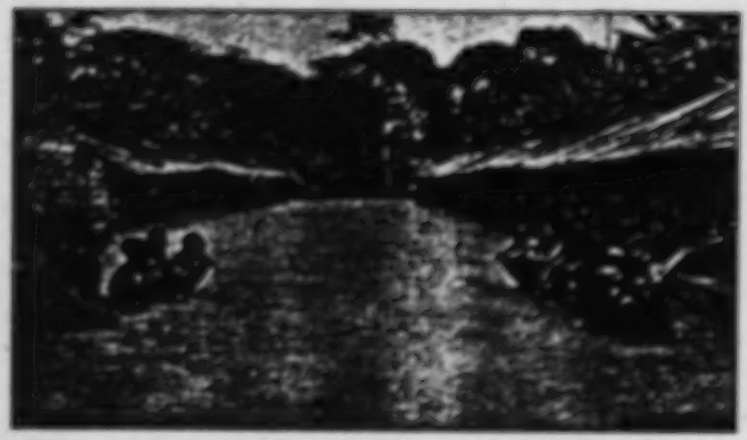


Abb. 94. Kapelle mit Schwerkranzverbindung.

und Tor öffnet. Falle die werfende Partei eine größere Anzahl Kreisel verspielt hat, kann ihr die angegriffene Partei, um das Spiel zu verlängern, einige Kreisel leihen, aber nur von denen, die von der Gegenpartei verspielt, also „gefangen" sind, und nicht mehr als acht. Zum Beispiel: Die werfende Partei hat sechs Kreisel verspielt und nur noch einen Kreisel nach, so kann ihr die angegriffene Partei diese sechs leihen sowie im weiteren Verlauf des Spiels noch zwei der später verlorenen. Sollten alle acht geliehenen Kreisel auch wieder vorbeigeworfen werden, so wechseln die Parteien, die nunmehr angreifende (vorher angegriffene) Partei fängt aber nicht mit einem Wurfkreisel wie sonst an, sondern mit den sämtlichen der Gegenpartei abgenommenen Kreiseln, also mindestens acht, außerdem müssen ihr im Laufe des Spieles die vorher entliehenen acht Kreisel aus den vorbeigespielten acht Kreiseln wieder zurückerstattet werden. So geht das Spiel zum weiter und kann abgebrochen werden, wenn es irgendeiner Partei gefällt. Vielfach aber gerateu vorher die Jungen wegen der vorgenommenen Kreisel in Streit, und eine allgemeine Hauerei ist das Ende des so friedlich scheinenden Spiels; auch sonst suchen die Kleinen, beim Kreiselspiele zu „schummeln", indem ein Spieler der angegriffenen Partei einen Kreisel abfängt, bevor er seinen Bogenweg zu Ende getanzt hatte, obgleich noch Aussicht da war, daß er einen Kegel hätte berühren können.

Das Steinspiel der Kinder ist eine einfachere Form desjenigen der Erwachsenen. Es heißt *ayao* und besteht aus einem halben Raphiablattstiel, dessen Mark zu zwölf Fächern ausgehöhlt ist, die in zwei Reihen angeordnet sind. Rechts und links an den Enden befindet sich ein doppelt so großes Fach für Gefangene.

Das Verfahren beim Spiel entspricht genau dem der Erwachsenen und unterscheidet sich nur dadurch von ihm, daß in jedem Fach vier Cassamanen als Spielsteine, nicht fünf Palmnüsse oder andere größere Fruchtkerne liegen wie hier.

Sehr bemerkenswert ist das **Kugelspiel**, *mbpo (mbpo* = Kugel), bei dem das außerordentlich gut ausgebildete Beobachtungsvermögen der Neger seinen Triumph feiert. Der Durchschnittseuropäer dürfte bei diesem „Kinderspiel" allemal schlecht abschneiden, ich wenigstens verzichtete dabei auf jeden Mitbewerb. Man muß sich zu dem Kugelspiel etwa dreißig der pillenförmigen **Cassa indica**-Samen beschaffen. Der Spielleiter A nimmt diese Samen in die Hand; er hat sich bereits mit einem Spielgenossen B draußen eine Zahl, sagen wir 18, verabredet, die nun von den Spielern herausgefunden oder, wie der Neger sagt, „gezeigt" werden muß. Er wirft die Kugeln schnell aus und gibt jeder, als Namen gewissermaßen, die Zahlen von 1—30 mit auf den Weg. Liegen alle dreißig Kugeln, die natürlich durcheinanderrollen, so zeigt A auf die gedachte achtzehnte Kugel, während B die Augen dabei schließt, um nachher selbst auf die gedachte Kugel zu zeigen. Dadurch wird verhindert, daß A. mogelt oder, was öfter vorkommt, sich verzählt; es ist also eine Gegenprobe. Bei den folgenden Würfen, bei denen die gleiche Zahl gilt, haben die Spieler nun die gedachte Kugel zu zeigen, was oft schon beim zweiten oder dritten Wurf gelingt. Wer die Kugel zuerst erkennt, wird im folgenden Spiel, bei dem eine andere Nummer gewählt wird, Spielleiter.

Als letztes Unterhaltungsspiel sei ein bei sechs- bis siebenjährigen Jungen beliebtes **Gedächtnisspiel** angeführt. Es heißt *bolymo* ebenso wie der Hauptspieler und Gedächtniskünstler, der beiseite oder vor die Tür gehen und nun antworten muß. Der im Kreise der Spieler sitzende Abfrager hat sehr Pfefferfrüchte, die ebenfalls *bolymo* (von *olymo* = Gemüse) heißen, vor sich hingelegt, ferner zwischen jede Frucht ein Bananenblatt *(ekiɣ)* gesteckt. Das Abfragen hat jedesmal bei einem *bolymo* ein Ende, der *bolymo* wird fortgenommen und das Abfragen geht wieder von vorne an, bis alle *bolymo* herausgefragt oder vielmehr herausgeantwortet sind. Die Fragen sind folgende:

a) *e bolymo?* = Oh Bolomo? b) *ɛ* oder angeglichen *ɔ* = Ja! c) *ɛnɔn e diɣ e ɣɛ?* = Dein Vater, er sagte dir was? d) *ɛɛfdjn (a) diɣ me ne: kos rɔ, ndɔmɔ* (oder *dɛam)* = Mein Vater, er sagte mir so: nicht verfehlen Kugel (oder Sache), d. h. du sollst keinen Fehler machen (im Spiel oder Ernst). e) *dzidzi?* = was ist das? f) *bolymo* = Gemüse.

Nun nimmt der Abfrager den Bolomo (das Gemüse) weg und fragt von vorne an: a—d, dann e) *dzidzi?* f) *(o)kiaɣ* = Blatt! g) *dzidzi?* h) *bolymo.* Beim nächsten Abfragen ergibt sich als Antwort: Blatt, Blatt, Gemüse, dann Blatt, Blatt, Blatt, Gemüse usw.

Abb. 251. KINDER BEIM KEGELSPIEL MIT KREISELN, NTUMGEBIET.

Günter Tessmann, die Pangwe

Verlag und gedruckt bei Dietr. Reimer A.-G., Berlin

Die genaue sehr Fragen werden im schnellsten Tempo meist unter taktmäßigem Händeklatschen der Mitspieler hergesagt, um den Antwortenden möglichst zu verwirren.

Die einfachsten Kunstspiele sind das Entwickeln von dreiligen Figuren aus einem Blatt *(bas)* Abb. 105, das Zusammenflechten von Stengelstreifen des Sarcophrynium in besonderer Form *(sere)* Abb. 106, und das Schnitzen von Vögeln und anderen Figuren aus Raphiamark *(ovon-ekirit)* Abb. 107.

Eine weitere Gruppe von technischen Spielereien bilden die allbekannten Tanzspiele, die jedenfalls bei den Seilverfertigern entstanden sind. Im ganzen kenne ich von den Fang nicht weniger als vierzig verschiedene Figuren, von denen verschiedene zeitweise nacheinander entwickelt werden.

Wahrscheinlich aus den Tanzspielen hervorgegangen sind die hochentwickelten feinsinnigen „Geduldspiele". Die Aufgabe dabei ist die, entweder zwei beieinander befindliche Gegenstände auseinander zu bringen (bzw. zwei getrennte Gegenstände zusammen zu bringen) oder anscheinend unentwirrbar ineinander verschlungene Teile auseinander zu nehmen.

Zu der ersten Gruppe gehört ein weitverbreitetes Spiel, das in Abb. 108 dargestellt ist. Man könnte es zweischnüriges Bogengeduldspiel *(ellin ebe)* nennen. Es besteht aus einem Stab aus Raphiarengstreifen mit einer Durchbohrung in der Mitte. An den beiden Enden ist eine Schnur befestigt, die sich in einer doppelten Schleife (Abb. 109,e) durch das Loch in der Mitte zieht. So entstehen gleichsam zwei Schnen, auf die eine sind zwei Perlen, Meerspinnenstücke oder dergleichen aufgezogen, jedoch muß das Loch in der Mitte immer kleiner sein als die betreffenden Gegenstände. Die eine Perle, wenn ich diesen Gegenstand als Beispiel wählen darf, soll von auf die andere Schne gebracht werden. Die Lösung dieser Aufgabe geht am besten aus den Figuren 109,b—f hervor.

Zur zweiten Gruppe gehören zwei verschiedene Geduldspiele. Das erste (Abb. 110) besteht in seinem Hauptteile aus einem fischförmig zugeschnittenen Stück Varanhaut *(ellin ebab e fil)*, in das am dicken Ende (Kopf) ein Loch geschnitten ist, während in den schmäleren Teil (Leib) parallele Längschlitze gemacht sind. Der zweite Teil des Spieles ist eine Schnur, an deren Enden je ein Stück Elpalmenkern angeknüpft ist. Die Kernstücke sind aber größer als das Loch. Die Schnur ist nun mit ihrer Mitte (von vorne gesehen) über den Steg zwischen den Schlitzen geschlungen und führt von da aus von hinten durch das Loch (vgl. Abb. 110). Um die beiden Teile voneinander zu lösen, muß der Steg durch das Loch gebogen und die Schnur herausgenommen werden.

Das zweite Spiel dieser Gruppe besteht aus zwei Samen der Posta-

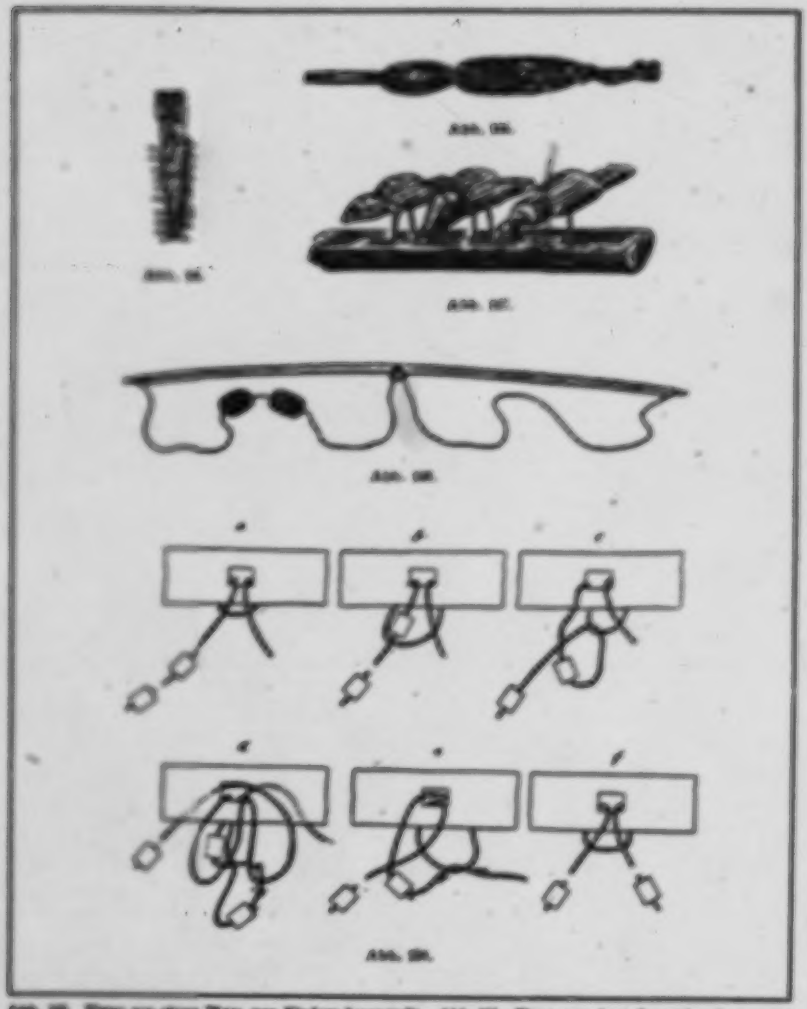


Abb. 110. Figur aus einem Blatt, von Kindern hergestellt. Abb. 111. Figur aus einem Sarcophrynium-Blatt gefertigt. Abb. 112. Figur aus Raphiamark, von Kindern hergestellt. Abb. 113. Zweiteiliges Bogengebilde. Abb. 114. Lösung der Aufgabe beim zweiteiligen Bogengebilde.

einfaches monopkylla B e n t h. *(affin elgr.)*, von denen jeder mit drei Löchern versehen ist. Durch die Löcher ist in der Weise, wie Abb. 111 zeigt, eine Doppelschnur gesteckt, die mit einer Schleife um den Samen geschlungen ist. Am anderen Ende der Doppelschnur ist in gleicher Weise der zweite Kern befestigt, in ihrer Mitte ist ein Knoten geschlagen. Wie die Lösung der Aufgabe, die Samen von

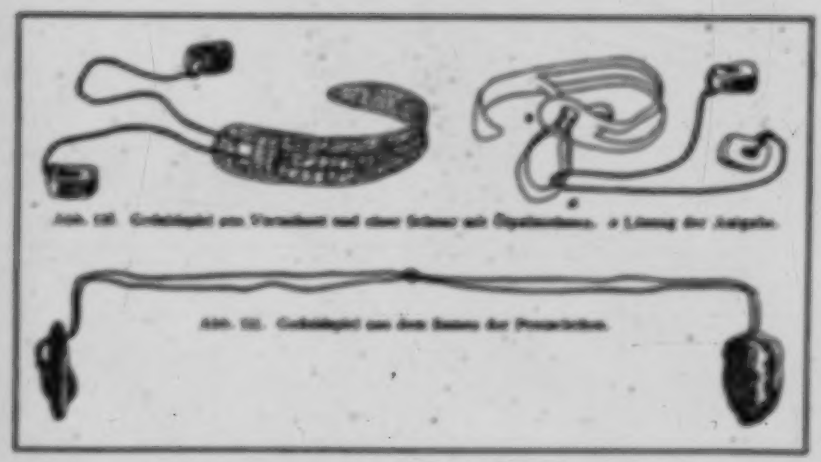


Abb. 130. Gebrauchsgegenstand zum Verwechseln und einer Schlange mit Öffnungsmaul. a Lösung der Aufgabe.

Abb. 131. Gebrauchsgegenstand zum Zählen der Fingerglieder.

der Schnur zu entfernen, eigentlich zu vollführen ist, weiss ich selbst nicht. Vielleicht versucht sich ein geduldiger Leser damit.

Die letzte Gruppe der Kunststücke bilden die Zauberei-vorführungen *(mukla me hyngo* — Geschicklichkeiten der Kinder), deren Wirkung darauf beruht, daß sich der Zuschauer durch Beeinflussung seitens des Spielers und falsche Beobachtung über die Gründe der vorgeführten Erscheinungen täuschen läßt, und das um so leichter, als durch die Schnelligkeit der Ausführung dem Beobachter nicht die Zeit zu einem ruhigen Nachdenken gelassen wird.

Einfach ist das Herauszaubern einer in der Hand eines Zuschauers befindlichen Kugel *(efø* vom Stamme *fø* — eingezogen, eingeschlossen, trans. u. intrans.). Es erinnert an das Zählen von drei Geldstücken beim Aufnehmen und Hinlegen, das bei uns üblich ist. Beim *efø*-Spiel wird eine beliebige, aber nicht zu kleine Anzahl von Kugeln (z. B. Samen der Canna) oder kurzen Raphiastäbchen paarweise in eine Reihe gelegt. Die Zahl der Paare muß immer ungleich sein. Außerdem wird eine überzählige Kugel, die den Namen *efø*, d. h. Eingeschlossene, führt, für sich als Abschluß der Reihe hingelegt. Nun nehmen der Hauptspieler A sowie einer der Zuschauer, B, immer eine Kugel von den Paaren ab, B bekommt den Überzähligen. Um den Mitspieler zu beeinflussen, ruft A., indem er die Hand hin- und herschüttelt, nach den von B „eingeschlossenen" Überzähligen: „*efø, efø, efø, efø, efø, efø nøk, efø nøk, efø nøk, efø nøk, efø, efø, efø, efø* — Eingeschlossener, Eingeschlossener komm', Eingeschlossener!" Nun wird B. aufgefordert, zwei seiner Kugeln zusammenzulegen. Dann legt A zwei zusammen, dann wieder B usw., bis alle Kugeln paarweise liegen. Zum Erstaunen

derjenigen, welche im Rechnen schwach sind, legt A den „Ringgeschlossenen" als Letzten an die Reihe, so ist *ejo* wirklich zu A gekommen.

Recht auffallend ist das Fortzaubern des mittleren von drei aufeinanderliegenden Blättern. Dazu legt man drei Blätter von Pasiram ninatem Aubl. *(ekjo)* übereinander, bei zwei von ihnen, dem oberen und unteren, ist die Spitzenhälfte entfernt. Dann legt der kleine Zauberer die Blätter mit dem Rücken auf die Erde und beginnt, sie vom unteren Ende zur Spitze hin aufzurollen. Ein Zauberversen, den der Künstler zusammen singt, bewegt das Blatt zum Fortwandern: *„kajo ekre, kajo e ire, e ke o, meme* — entferne dich, Gras[1]), entferne dich aus der Mitte, gehe nach hinten!" Zuletzt übergibt er die Blätter einem Zuschauer zum Abrollen und es zeigt sich nun, daß die zwei kürzeren Blätter aufeinander lagen und das große Blatt sich zu unterst befindet. Man kann diesen Zauberstückchen übrigens auch mit Papierstreifen, von denen der eine die beiden anderen ein wenig überragt, ausführen.

Das nun plus ultra dessen, was geschickte Pangwekneben bieten können, sind Zauberstückchen, bei denen die Geschwindigkeit die Hexerei ausmacht. Davon einige Proben:

Ein Knabe läßt sich z. B. auf die Stirn einen Aschenstrich machen und die Hände auf den Rücken fesselnden. Hinten Haus laufen und mit auf den Rücken zusammengebundenen Händen, aber ohne Aschenstrich auf der Stirn, wieder erscheinen, ist eins. Natürlich hat der geschickte Junge die Hände zusammengebunden unter Gesäß und Beinen hindurchgeführt, den Strich ausgewischt und die Hände auf demselben Wege wieder zurückgebracht. Die Hauptsache ist dabei die Schnelligkeit, die in der Tat verblüffend ist.

Ein zweites kleines Kunststück ist das Fesseln der Hände. Der Knabe läßt sich ein Tau geben, läuft damit hinter das Haus und kommt sofort wieder — mit auf den Rücken gebundenen Händen. Er hatte zwei Schleifen an den Enden gemacht, in jede eine Hand gesteckt und nun durch geschicktes Drehen der beiden Hände in entgegengesetzter Richtung das Tau so verschlungen, daß man glauben mußte, er sei wirklich von einem anderen gefesselt.

Einer beliebten Nummer unserer Zauberkünstler entspricht bei den Pangwe das Fortzaubern eines Ringes aus einem ausgehöhlten Pflanzenblattstiel, dessen Höhlung außerdem noch mit „Medizin", d. h. zerriebenen Blättern geschlossen wurde. Der Stiel mit dem Ring liegt auf der Erde, der Zauberkünstler bindet sich über die Hand ein Stück Pflanzenblatt, in das er vorher einen ganz gleichen, mit Blättern verschlossenen Blattstiel untergebracht hatte, nur ohne einen Ring, schlägt wie spielend mit der blattüberschatteten Hand auf den Boden und tauscht dabei mit Blitzesschnelle die beiden Pflanzenblattstiele gegen-

[1]) Im allgemeinen, im besonderen Eleusine indica (L.) Gärtn.

einander um. Dann bittet er die Zuschauer, sich davon zu überzeugen, daß zwischen der Ring hervorgezaubert worden ist. Während die Zuschauer diesem Vorschlage nachkommen, steckt sich der Künstler den Ring schnell an die Finger und bringt auch den Fingerzeitel beiseite.

4. Spiele der Erwachsenen.

Das Gedächtnisspiel von der Zwergantilope.

Das meinen Wissens nur im Südpangwegebiete vorkommende Spiel besteht, wie das Gedächtnisspiel der Kinder, im Aufsagen von Sätzen, die hier freilich nicht abgefragt, sondern von einem einzigen Spieler hergesagt werden. Die Sätze sind besonders schwierig, und zwar deshalb, weil sie viele Wörter mit Kehllauten enthalten, deren musikalische Tochtöne außerordentlich wechselt, so daß selbst der Pangwe sich leicht dabei vergreifen kann.

Zur Stütze des Gedächtnisses bedienten sich meine Jungen eines langen Raphiastabes, auf den eine ganze Anzahl aus Raphiamark geschnittener Querhölzchen aufgereiht waren, derart, daß zuerst drei Stücke, jedes einzeln, dann zwei, drei, vier usw. Querhölzchen in Gruppen geordnet waren, ähnlich so, wie etwa Kugeln auf einer Rechenmaschine (Abb. 111).

Beim Aufsagen jedes Satzes — es sind im ganzen zwölf — müssen die vorhergehenden Sätze rückwärts wiederholt werden und bilden dann mit ihnen zusammen eine Satzgruppe, die jedesmal durch folgenden Vers eingeleitet wird:

ɛɛ ghoɛ̃, ɛɛɛ́ɔ́ ki,ɔ — Sessantilopenkoun: *ghoɛ̃* (lautnachahmend, deutsch: tö), Regen: *kiɛ́ɔ́* (d. h. Feuerdonner, lautnachahmend, deutsch: bum). Das Horn der Sessantilope pfeift: tö, und schon antwortet der Regen mit Donnern: bum. Die Sessantilope ist, wie wir wissen, das Tier des Mondes, dieser der Herr der Jahreszeiten und damit des Regens; pfeift man auf dem Horn, so wird der Regen, der den Pangwe zufolge das Donnern hervorbringt, antworten.

Ist man mit der zwölften Satzgruppe fertig, so müssen alle vorher aufgesagten Satzgruppen rückwärts wiederholt werden.

Satz 1: *ngɔm akkɛ,ɔ ɛ kɛ ɛ dɔ́ŋɔpɔn ɛ nkɛ́[k]*
Mann der Zwergantilope, er geht (sich) zu verlieben im liegenden
ɛ́ɛ́ k(ɛ) ɛɛ́ŋgɔ-ɔghɔ,.
Stamm drinnen, mit Assangno-Oghwo.

Der Zwergantilopenmann geht sich zu verlieben im liegenden Baumstamm drinnen (der hohl ist, so daß die kleine Antilope ihn als Schlupfwinkel benutzen kann) mit der Assangno-Oghwo, wörtlich: der ältesten Tochter des Zauberers.

Satz 2: *ɔghɔ́ɔ́nɛ ɔghɔ́,ɔ ɛ kɛ ɛ kɛ́ ngɔm akkɛ,ɔ.*
Kleines von Zwergantilope, es geht zu folgen Mannantilope.

Satz 3: *ngá-ngáya a ke a ke ngáyiyw ngáya.*
Weib vom Zwergantilope, es geht an Stätte (der) kleinen Antilope.
„ 4: *ngáya ebei* (2 Antilopen) *d'a ke a ki ngá ngáya.*
Satz 5: *ngáya ele* (3 Antilopen) *d'a ke a ki ngáya ebei* (4).
„ 6: *ngáya ewi* (4 Antilopen) *d'a ke a ki ngáya ele* (3).
„ 7: *ngáyà eiwe* (5 Antilopen) *d'a ke a ki ngáya ewi* (4).
„ 8: *ngáya ewiyewe* (6 Antilopen) *d'a ke a ki ngáya eiwe* (5).
„ 9: *ngáya ewighang* (7 Antilopen) *d'a ke a ki ngáya ewiyewe* (6).
„ 10: *ngáya ewaiw* (8 Antilopen) *d'a ke a ki ngáya ewighang* (7).
„ 11: *ngáya eka*, (9 Antilopen) *d'a ke a ki ngáya ewaiw* (8).
„ 12: *ngáya ewaw* (10 Antilopen) *d'a ke ki ngáya eka*, (9).

Das Spiel wird gern von jungen Liebhabern mit ihrem Mädchen betrieben, wie auch schon der etwas zusammenhaltende Text verraten läßt. Scherzweise sagt das Mädchen, sie ergebe sich nur dem, der das ganze Spiel fehlerlos durchführen kann.

Das Gedächtnisspiel *(ndab mvélle* bzw. *mvélle)*.

Es ist nur bei den Fang und einigen angrenzenden Nbamstämmen bekannt und angeblich altmodischerweise. Man benutzt dazu einen flachen Stab mit kurzen paarweisen Querfortsätzen und senkrecht darin eingesetzten Pflöcken; das Ende ist meist in einen Kopf ausgeschnitzt (Abb. 113). Jedes Paar Querfortsätze bildet mit dem Pflock und dem darvorliegenden Teil des Stabes einen Abschnitt, auf dem oft verschiedene Punkte zur Benutzerwerbung benutzt sind (vgl. Abb. 114).

Das Spiel ist vielleicht aus einem älteren, einfacheren hervorgegangen, bei dem die einzelnen Teile des menschlichen Körpers aufgezählt wurden, es deuten darauf hin die Benennung des Stabes als Leib, das ausgeschnitzten Ende — auch wenn es nicht ein regelrechter Kopf ist — als Hals und Kopf, die — in der Abb. 114 fehlende — Dreiteilung der Querfortsätze (entsprechend dem Oberarm, dem Unterarm, der Hand) und schließlich der aufrechtstehende Pflock, namens *ndapétrap* (der Rote; rot als Farbe der Zeugung, des Lebens), unter dem ursprünglich wohl das männliche Glied verstanden wurde. Das Gerät soll also einer Zweifel einen menschlichen Körper vorstellen, dessen Glieder vervielfacht sind.

Das Spiel wird von zwei Leuten gespielt, einer fragt ab, der andere antwortet. Jener sitzt im Kreise der Zuhörer, hält das Gerät in der Hand und zeigt auf die verschiedenen Punkte, die

Abb. 115. [illegible]

beantwortet werden müssen, indem er bei jedem dann ruft: *ar ar?* — Was ist das? (Antwortgleichen und verdoppelten aus der *Ara*). Der Hauptspieler steht weiter ab und beantwortet die Fragen in rhythmischem Gesang, während die anderen im Takte dann mit den Füßen stampfen oder in die Hände klatschen. Es ist natürlich nicht gestattet, daß er sich Merkzeichen macht, etwa ein Stäbchen, das er in entsprechend viele Abschnitte teilt. Es handelt sich um Kopfarbeit.

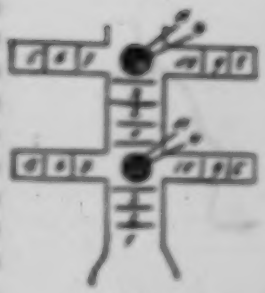


Abb. 116. [illegible]

Die für jeden Abschnitt gleichen *ell* Fragen sind folgende:

1., 2., 3. (vgl. die entsprechenden Nummern in Abb. 114)
ndili *ondile ayin.*
Leib (der) Ondile hier. Das ist der Leib der Ondile.

4. *[illegible] ntir a ndo ni(?) i, a ntyamdige.*
Roter, er, er steht hier, o Immendige!
Da steht der Rote, o Mondmdige (Erfinder des Spieles)!

5. *mokiy ma ntjin a ndell.*
Bruch des Zweiges, er (ist) hier.

6. *mojidan ma ntjin a ndell.*
Abnagung des Zweiges, sie (ist) hier.

7. *ki a ke a kamun (oder a ntjin) a mkamun a mam,*
Wir, wir gehen zu treffen zum zu Treffpunkt des Weges,
a ndo ntyamdige.
o Vater Mondmdige (d. h. vielleicht: Kniekehle der Schenkel).

8. *kejie a kpma.*
Geh fort nach Buma (angeblich Hausmonumentalbau).

9. *pi ma ke a kpma.*
(Fragwort:) Ich gehe nach Buma? — Gehe ich etwa nach Buma?

10. = 7.

11. = 4.

Sind alle Abschnitte — gewöhnlich acht bis zehn — von unten nach oben abgeantwortet, so zeigt der Frager auf das Hauptstück:

ar ar — Was ist das?

Antwort: *ŋvu* *andʒŋ a ndab*
Hals (der) Ondŋ̃ŋ er hier,

und auf das Kopfstück:

ŋ ŋ — Was ist das?

Antwort: *nnɔ* *andʒŋ a ŋgɔ.*
Kopf (der) Ondŋ̃ŋ er hier.

Die Hauptsache für den Spieler ist also, stets im Gedächtnis zu haben, wieviel Abschnitte er beantwortet hat, damit er sich nicht um Schlimme irrt und anstatt die zwei Fragen nach Hals und Kopf zu beantworten, einen neuen Abschnitt anfängt.

Das Steinspiel.

Von allen Spielen der Erwachsenen ist das beliebteste das fast über die ganze Welt verbreitete Steinspiel, bei dem man eine Anzahl nebeneinanderliegender Löcher mit Steinen belegt und diese Steine darauf nach bestimmten Regeln auf die Löcher verteilt.

Das Steinspiel ist in neuerer Zeit, nach Angabe der Berichterstatter, von den Bene (die es wieder durch östliche Stämme kennen lernten) zu den Jaunde und Bule gekommen und von hier aus, etwa in den Jahren 1895—98, im Nzimu- und Fanggebiet eingeführt. Diesen Angaben entspricht, daß man die bestgearbeiteten und mit Füßen versehenen (wie Abb. 115) Spielbretter bei den Jaunde und Bene findet, die in jedem Versammlungshause ein solches haben und sich gern und oft damit beschäftigen; weniger häufig spielen es Nzimu und nur sehr selten die Fang, die sowieso soviel andere, weniger harmlose Sachen im Kopfe haben, als daß sie sich dem Spiele mit Leidenschaft hingeben könnten.

Das Spielbrett (Abb. 115) besteht aus zwei aneinandergebundenen halben Raphiablattstielen, die durch Anbrennen des Markes in je sieben Fächer *(ndɔ* = Haus Mz.: *mondɔ)* geteilt sind. Nur im Süden des Fanggebietes (und bei den Bamö) sah ich solche aus Holz, die dann meistens seitlich noch je ein Fach für die „Gefangenen" trugen (Abb. 116). In die Fächer gehören nun die Spielsteine *(ŋgɔ̃k IV)*, und zwar in jedes Fach fünf. Ursprünglich, zum Teil auch heute noch, wurden dazu wirkliche Kieselsteine benutzt, die dem ganzen Spiele den Namen *ŋgɔ̃k* (angeblich: kleiner Kiesel) gegeben haben. Dieser Name ist allerdings nur bei den Jaunde und Bene üblich, im Süden bezeichnet er das entsprechende Spiel der Kinder, während das der Erwachsenen hier *akɔ́ŋ* heißt, und zwar wegen der großen schwarzen Perlen *(akɔ́ŋ)*, die als Steine benutzt wurden, heute aber überhaupt aus der Mode gekommen sind. Statt ihrer nimmt man gern die Kerne der Ölpalme oder des Rheinsoden-

drei abtauen, im Norden und an gewissen anderen Stellen die kinwhtnin-ähnlichen Kerne einer mir unbekannten Baumart, wilmeer Steine.

Das Verfahren beim Spielen selbst ist vom im ganzen Fangwegebiet das gleiche. Abweichungen von der gewöhnlichen Spielregel finden sich nur ganz vereinzelt.

Zum Spiel setzen sich die beiden Spieler (A und B) gegenüber und nehmen das Brett zwischen sich. Dem A. gehören die Fächer 1—7, dem B. die von I—VII. Nun nimmt jeder Spieler Zug um Zug aus einem seiner Fächer die darin befindlichen Steine auf und legt, in der Richtung des Uhrzeigers vorschreitend, in jedes folgende Fach, sei es sein eigenes oder das des Gegners, einen Stein. Wenn im Anfang also z. B. der Spieler A die fünf Steine aus Fach 5 aufnimmt, so muß er sie auf Fach 6, 7, I, II und III verteilen, nimmt der Gegner B dann die sechs Steine, die sich jetzt in Fach III befinden auf,

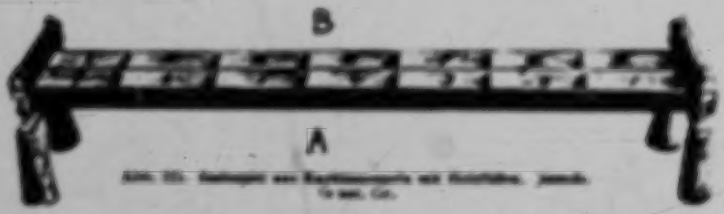


Abb. 355. Spielregel aus Raphiarippenrippe mit Steinfächern. Jaunde. ½ nat. Gr.

so muß er sie in Fach IV, V, VI, VII, 1 und 2 legen usw. Sind nun soviel Steine in einem Fach, nehmen wir an des A, daß sie beim Verteilen über die Reihe des Gegners hinausreichen, so werden sie wieder in die eigenen Fächer, von 1 ausgehend, zurückgelegt, aber nur bis zu dem Fach, aus dem sie entnommen sind, nicht mehr in dasselbe hinein. Vielmehr muß man dann, also bei vierzehn oder mehr Steinen, den vierzehnten in Fach I des Gegners legen und dann bei mehr Steinen weiter nach rechts bis Fach VII fortfahren. Hat A auch dann noch Steine zu verteilen, hatte er also einundzwanzig oder mehr aufgenommen, so darf er nicht wieder in die eigenen Fächer zurücklegen, sondern hat den einundzwanzigsten in Fach I zu legen, um dann wie gewöhnlich weiter zu verteilen.

Das Ziel jedes Spielers ist nun, aus den Fächern des anderen möglichst viele Gefangene herauszuziehen, wobei derjenige gewonnen, der am meisten

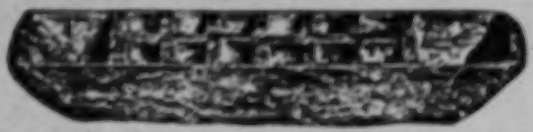


Abb. 356. Spielregel aus Holz. Südgangwegebiet. ½ nat. Gr.

Gefangene gemacht hat. Die Entscheidung fällt dann, wenn ein Spieler keine Steine mehr in seinen Fächern liegen hat. In diesem Falle zählt der Spieler, welcher in seinen Fächern noch Steine hat, diese zu den Gefangenen hinzu und die höchste Zahl der Steine bedeutet den Sieg.

Der Spielende kann alle Steine eines gegnerischen Faches zu Gefangenen machen, wenn die Zahl der Steine drei nicht überschreitet. Er muß dazu den Zug so führen, daß sein letzter zu verteilender Stein in ein solches Fach trifft, darin also der zweite, dritte oder vierte Stein ist. Diese zwei, drei oder vier Steine zählen dann als Gefangene. Da also nur „Häuser" mit wenigen Steinen oder, wie der Neger sagt, Leuten dem Gegner zum Opfer fallen, so wollen wir ein solches Fach ein schwaches Fach nennen, jedes andere, also ein Fach, in dem kein Stein ist oder vier und mehr Steine sich befinden, heiße ein starkes Fach.

Nun kann der Spieler, wenn sein letzter Stein ein schwaches Fach trifft, nicht nur dies, sondern auch alle unmittelbar vorhergehenden schwachen Fächer plündern. Ein Beispiel möge das verdeutlichen: Angenommen bei B liegen, was er natürlich hätte verhindern müssen, in Fach I ein Stein, in Fach II vier, in III zwei, in IV drei, in V zwei, in VI neun und in VII fünf Steine, und A hätte in Fach 5 sieben Steine, so legt er diese in Fach 6, 7, I, II, III, IV und V und nimmt als Gefangene die in Fach V liegenden zwei Steine, dazu seinen eigenen hinzugelegten, die in Fach IV liegenden drei mit seinem Treffstein und die in Fach III liegenden zwei mit seinem Treffstein, zusammen zehn Gefangene. Es hat also jeder Spieler darauf zu achten, daß sein Gegner mit seinem letzten Stein in kein schwaches Fach kommt oder, falls dieser Fall nicht zu vermeiden ist, daß das vorhergehende Fach stark ist.

Im Durchschnitt spielen die Pangwe das Steinspiel nicht besonders gut, es gibt aber einzelne — sogar Frauen —, die es zu einer wahren Meisterschaft gebracht haben, namentlich sind einige Bulu als hervorragende Geister auf diesem Gebiete im Ntumlande berühmt, und auf sie sind einige Scherzgeschichten gemünzt, die sich ebensoweit verbreitet haben wie ihr Ruhm. Die Mehrzahl wird dem „Champion" der Pangwespieler, Bekena a Mpfa, den Sohn des Mpfa Mangöö, in den Mund gelegt. Diese Geschichten werden mitunter beim Spiel von dem gewandteren Partner in außerordentlich schnellem gleichmäßigem Tone vorgetragen, vielleicht mit der Absicht, den weniger sicheren Gegner abzulenken und zu verwirren. Was den Inhalt betrifft, so gießen diese Geschichten den beißendsten Spott auf die weniger geübten Spieler aus.

Spottlied der Ntum.

ma ma ŋga lǭ bekǒna, bekǒna a mpſá, ndǔman a mpſá-mangöö.

Ich, ich spielte (mit) Beköna, Beköna vom Mpfa, Sohn des Mpfa-Mangöö.

nǫm kaa masǫ̈n niene: ma ke ma dźi bekɔ̈b be zǫ̈k; mɛrnɪnga
Mann ohne Zähne, er sagt: ich gehe, zu essen Häute von Elefanten; Frau
kaa makɛ̈n niene: ma tǫ̈bǫ̈ o kpǫ; ukǫ̈kute dźǫ̈m a nga
ohne Hintern, sie sagt: ich setze mich auf Schemel; verrücktes Ding, es ließ
wüɛ sɔ̈ a bim, a lige isia a kǫ̈n bekɔ̈na
vorbei (eine) Ssoantilope auf Treibjagd, es läßt seinen Vater krank Beköna
a mpfá, ndǫ̈man a mpfá mangöö, niene: ɛ̂, böte, mi addn
vom Mpfa, Sohn des Mpfa-Mangöö, er sagt: Ach was, Leute, ihr übertrefft
a kǫ̈bo (oder *a ngǫ̈ngǫ̈*); *ye tada a nga kǫ̈n bekɔ̈na, niene:*
zu reden . Fragw.: Vater, er ist krank (an) Beköna, er so:
a dźi sɔ̈; kö ma nga vui tada ogbü̈ɛn a
zu essen Ssoantilope?; doch ich tötete (dem) Vater (eine) Zwergantilope auf
bim o ngü̈ɛ, tada a tame dźi ogbü̈ɛn.
Treibjagd gestern, Vater er muß essen Zwergantilope.

Frei übersetzt: Ich spielte einmal mit Beköna das Steinspiel, dem bekannten Beköna-Mpfa, der der Sohn des Mpfa-Mangöö ist. Der sagte: „Du gleichst wirklich einem alten Mann, der keine Zähne hat und Elefantenhaut essen will [1]), oder einem Weib, das keinen Hintern hat und sich auf den harten Holzschemel setzt, und zum dritten der blödsinnigen Nudel, die eine Ssoantilope [2]) auf der Treibjagd vorübergehen läßt und daheim seinen Vater krank weiß, siech an der Krankheit, die vom Beköna-Mpfa, dem Sohn des Mpfa-Mangöö herrührt.', Na, da sagt man doch: „Ach was, ihr Leute, ihr redet ja zuviel Ungereimtes! Wenn auch mein Vater an der Bekönakrankheit leidet, muß er dann durchaus Ssoantilopenfleisch essen? Ich habe doch gestern auf der Treibjagd meinem Vater eine Zwergantilope geschossen, laßt meinen Vater nur erst einmal die Zwergantilope essen!"

Spottlied der Fang (Anfang wie oben).

... mɛrnɪnga kaa makɛ̈n, niene: ma bǫ̈de azǫ̈n ukǫ̈kute
... Frau keinen Hintern, sie sagt: ich trage Raphiaschürze; verrücktes
dźǫ̈m, oa lige isü̈a akǫ̈n e bekǫ̈; wǫna: oa ke a wü̈a
Ding, du läßt deinen Vater krank an Geschwüren; du sagst: du gehen zu legen
ngɔ̈ akü̈ɛn.
Steine ins Spiel.

... Du gleichst einem Weib, das keinen Hintern hat und eine Raphiaschürze tragen möchte (die große pferdeschwanzartige Raphiaschürze kleidet

---

[1]) Die bekanntlich recht dicke und zähe Elefantenhaut wird tatsächlich, gut gekocht, von einigen Leuten (mit Zähnen!) gegessen.

[2]) Schwarzrückenschopfantilope, **Cephalophus dorsalis** Gray.

ein solches Weib nicht). Und überdies, du dummer Mensch, liegt dein Vater daheim krank an Blutgeschwüren!" Da würde man doch sagen [1]): „Lege du nur die Steine, wir werden ja sehen!"

Spottlied der Ntum.

o lə̄ za? o lə̄ fĕ za? bə́ lə̄,
Du spielst (mit) wem? Du spielst mehr (mit) wem? Leute spielen,
bə́ lə̄! ngá nzə̄la: mə̄nlnga kaa mebə̄n niene: o ɣə̄,
Leute spielen! Frau Nsōla (sagte): Frau ohne Unterschenkel, sie sagt: Du legen
ma mvə̄l anĕ bo nga ɣə̄, ntsáma-obiáà.
mir Messingdraht (um) wie sie legen (herum) (der) Ntsama-Obiang.

Frei übersetzt: Mit wem spielst du? Mit wem spielst du denn eigentlich nun? — Ja, ja, die Leute sind nicht gleich, die einen spielen gut, die andern schlecht, und Frau Nsōla sagt: „Dies ist ja putzig, eine Frau, die keine Waden hat, und will Messingringe (um die Waden) umgelegt haben, gerade wie bei der schönen Ntsama-Obiang!" (die natürlich Waden hat).

Die erste Geschichte bedarf einiger Erläuterung, da sie, wie einer meiner Leute sehr hübsch auf Küstenenglisch sich ausdrückte, dear for saby (teuer zu wissen, verstehen) = schwer zu verstehen ist. Im voraus muß bemerkt werden, daß der Meisterspieler Beköne, wie es heißt, *ekī, akə̄à* ist, d. h. daß es (nach Muster der Enthaltsamkeitsgebote = *bekī,)* nicht gut ist für den gewöhnlichen Sterblichen, mit Beköna zu spielen, da man im Falle der Niederlage *a kə̄n bekə̄na* = bekönakrank wird, ganz wie man bei Verstößen gegen die Kultgesetze kultkrank wird.

Der Anfang ist leicht verständlich: Es kommt ein guter Durchschnittsspieler (der vielleicht Mittelmäßige besiegen kann, aber nicht den Beköne) zum Meister, und der vergleicht ihn mit dem Alten ohne Zähne und dem Weib ohne Hintern, die beide eine Sache unternehmen wollen, der sie nicht gewachsen sind, gerade wie der Spieler, der sich mit Beköne messen will. Zuletzt aber vergleicht Beköne ihn mit einem unvernünftigen Jäger, der eine Ssoantilope (die von mittlerer Größe ist) vorübergehen läßt in der Hoffnung, etwas Besseres (d. h. ein größeres Wild) zu erlegen, obgleich sein Vater krank (an Beköna) zu Hause liegt und deshalb gern etwas Besonderes, nämlich Fleisch, essen möchte.

Auf den Spieler angewandt, will das heißen: Du willst dich mit mir, Beköna, messen und läßt weniger gute Spieler, die du besiegen könntest, nicht mit dir spielen (im Vergleich die Ssoantilope, die der Jäger vorübergehen läßt) in der eitlen Hoffnung, mich, Beköna (im Vergleich das größere Wild) zu besiegen, obgleich dein Vater schon von mir besiegt worden ist — denn nur dadurch kann

[1]) Die Übersetzung von *wə̄na* mit „man" ist deshalb berechtigt, weil *wə̄na* gewissermaßen an den Zuhörer gerichtet ist.

er bekönakrank werden — und gern sähe, wenn sein Sohn ihm durch Besiegen eines anderen Spielers Genugtuung verschaffte.

Der andere erwidert: Wenn auch mein Vater vom Meisterspieler besiegt ist (= bekönakrank ist), muß er deshalb gerade sehen, daß ich einen mittelguten Spieler (im Vergleich: die Ssoantilope) besiege? Ich habe doch gestern einen ganz geringen Spieler (im Vergleich: die Zwergantilope) besiegt! Daran hat mein Vater fürs erste ausreichende Genugtuung (im Vergleich: genügend zu essen).

Man sieht, ein Füllhorn des Spottes, das hier ausgegossen wird. Prächtige Vergleiche! Kernige Wendungen! Urkräftige Negerdichtung!

Glückspiel (*abia* J., B.).

Wie das Steinspiel ist das Glückspiel nicht Kulturgut der Pangwe gewesen, es ist von den Maka (Makie J.) im Osten durch Vermittlung der Sippe der Mwogenianga (wohl Bene) am oberen Nyong zu dem Kern der Bene gekommen, die es den Jaunde und Bulu übermittelten. Erst in neuester Zeit wurden auch die Ntum durch Jaunde- und Benehändler, die im Dienst der Weißen zu ihnen kamen, mit ihm bekannt gemacht, doch sah ich selbst nur einmal, 1907, in der Nähe des nördlichen Ntumgebietes die Leute mit diesem Spiel beschäftigt, bei den Fang ist es unbekannt.

Das Glückspiel wird mit kreisrunden Spielscheibchen (*sd*, Mz.: *bezd*, von *esd*, = Ware, weil sie dem Pangwe zufolge darüber aussagen, ob die Spieler gewinnen oder verlieren und daher sozusagen das Geld in Form von Waren, Handelssachen einbringen) gespielt, die einfach aus Kalebassenfruchtrinde ausgeschnitten sind (Abb. 495 *a*). Ferner gehören Spielmarken (*mri,ŏ I*) dazu, von denen jeder Mitspieler sich eine eigene mitbringen muß. Sie werden aus der harten Fruchtschale eines von den Jaunde *abam* genannten Baumes hergestellt und tragen auf der glatten Oberfläche (Außenseite der Frucht) hübsche, verschiedenartige Muster, Tierbilder oder menschliche Figuren, die, wie der Rand, erhaben ausgeschnitzt sind (Abb. 117 *b—d*).

Abb. 117. *a* Spielmarke. *b—c* Spielsteine zum Glückspiel. Jaunde. Nat. Gr.

Die Zahl der Spieler ist unbegrenzt, sie muß aber mindestens vier betragen.

Zum Spielen *(a dǫ̃ abɪa)* ist noch ein Korbteller nötig, in den ein für allemal sieben Spielscheibchen gelegt werden (7 wieder als glückliche Zahl). Bei Beginn des Spielens legt jeder Mitspieler seine Marke in den Korb zu den Scheibchen. Der Spielleiter, der selbst nicht mitspielt, schleudert mit dem Teller Marken und Scheiben in die Luft, fängt sie wieder auf, dreht rasch den Teller um und deckt sie zu. Fallen Marken daneben, so sind diese einfach an den Rand des Körbchens zu schieben — sie gelten. Dagegen gilt der Wurf nicht, falls beim Aufheben des Korbes eine Marke zwischen anderen eingeklemmt hochkant steht.

Es handelt sich nun darum, ob die Spielmarken mit der rechten, geschnitzten Seite nach oben liegen oder mit der unrechten. Je nachdem dann die Spielscheibchen recht (mit der blanken Seite nach oben) oder unrecht liegen, gewinnen entweder die rechtliegenden oder unrechtliegenden Marken.

Die Entscheidung über Gewinn oder Verlust ist aus folgender Zusammenstellung ersichtlich:

Liegen alle Marken recht oder alle unrecht, so ist der Wurf ungültig und zu wiederholen. Liegen dagegen nicht alle Marken mit derselben Seite nach oben, so gewinnt bzw. gewinnen

bei 4 Spielern,

wenn alle Scheibchen unrecht oder bis 3 Scheibchen einschließlich recht liegen
und 1 Marke recht liegt, die 1 recht liegende Marke,
2 Marken recht liegen, „ 2 „ liegenden Marken,
3 „ „ „ , „ 1 unrecht liegende Marke,

wenn 4 bis 7 Scheibchen recht liegen und
1 Marke recht liegt, die 1 recht liegende Marke,
2 Marken „ liegen, „ 2 unrecht liegenden Marken,
3 „ „ „ , „ 1 „ liegende Marke,

bei 5 Spielern,

wenn alle Scheibchen unrecht oder bis 3 Scheibchen einschließlich recht liegen
und 1 Marke recht liegt, die 1 recht liegende Marke,
2 Marken „ liegen, „ 2 „ liegenden Marken,
3 „ „ „ , „ 3 „ „ „
4 „ „ „ , „ 1 unrecht liegende Marke,

wenn 4 bis 7 Scheibchen recht liegen und

1 Marke	recht liegt,	die	1	recht	liegende	Marke,
2 Marken	„ liegen,	„	3	unrecht	liegenden	Marken,
3 „	„ „ ,	„	2	„	„	„
4 „	„ „ ,	„	1	„	liegende	Marke.

In Worte gefaßt, läßt sich das folgendermaßen ausdrücken:

1. Im Falle alle Scheibchen unrecht oder bis 3 Scheibchen einschließlich recht liegen, verliert die recht liegende Partei nur dann, wenn die Marken aller Spieler weniger einem (Gesamtzahl — 1) recht liegen;
2. im Falle 4 bis 7 Scheibchen recht liegen, verliert die recht liegende Partei stets, wenn mehr als eine Marke recht liegt.

Nun kann es auch vorkommen, daß vier Spieler nicht aufzutreiben sind. Dann helfen sich drei Spieler dadurch, daß sie eine blinde Marke für den fehlenden Vierten hinlegen. Kommt diese Marke allein als Gewinner heraus, so gilt natürlich der Wurf nicht; ist sie dagegen der zweite Gewinner, so fällt der Anteil des Blinden an ihren Mitgewinner.

Gespielt wird um Geld, das gesetzt werden muß, bevor der Korbteller aufgehoben wird. Jeder Spieler hat einen bestimmten, und zwar ziemlich hohen Wert (z. B. 2, 5 oder 10 Mk.), meist in Form von Waren, auf einen Haufen zu legen, der zu gleichen Teilen an die Gewinner fällt; ist nur einer da, so hat er das Ganze gewonnen. Die Verluste, die ein Neger im Spiele hat, sind bedeutend; hat er kein Geld mehr bei sich, so läßt er sich von glücklicheren Freunden Vorschuß geben, in der Hoffnung, bei einem späteren Wurf zu gewinnen und die Anleihe wieder zurückzuzahlen. Dadurch geraten manche so tief in Schulden, daß sie schließlich ihre Frauen dem Gläubiger überlassen müssen, und es kommt dann mitunter zu Streit, ja Totschlag; Blutrache und Kriege sind öfters die Folgen der Spielsucht gewesen. Obgleich in neuerer Zeit das Glückspiel im Machtbereich der deutschen Regierung verboten ist, so wird im geheimen noch sehr viel dem Spielteufel gehuldigt.

Um sich Glück beim Spiel zu sichern, wird eine ganze Reihe Medizinen gemacht, die nach der uns schon bekannten Anschauung die Eigenschaften von Pflanzen auf die Spielmarken übertragen, z. B. Pflanzen, die sie brennend (**Boehmeria**, Urticac.), scharf, pfefferig (**Spilanthes**, Compositae) und stark (**Carpolabia**, Polygalac.) machen. Andere wieder wollen die als Spieleinsatz hingelegten Gegenstände dem Besitzer erhalten, das sind Kletten (**Desmodium**) und schlingende Araceen.

Abb. 118. Fanglente beim Ringkampf in Alén (Fam. Essanong), links vor der Wahl, rechts beim Ringen.

5. Ringkampf.

Ringkämpfe sind besonders im südlichen Pangwegebiet sehr häufig, und zwar sowohl zur Austragung persönlicher Streitigkeiten — hierbei wurde früher der Unterliegende zuweilen halb tot gedrückt, und sogar Todesfälle sind vorgekommen — wie als Sport. Im letzteren Falle kann man geradezu von einem Sportfest sprechen, zu dem die Trommel jung und alt, Mann und Weib von weither zusammenruft, doch kann ich von einer näheren Beschreibung absehen.

Es werden dabei bestimmte Spielregeln innegehalten, so z. B. müssen beide Partner sich möglichst gewachsen sein, und hiernach richtet sich, ob sie die Aufforderung ablehnen *(a kdṅ nśũ,é)* oder auch annehmen *(a mõ,m nś.)*.

Unser Bild (Abb. 118) gibt eine Augenblicksaufnahme solcher Ringer *(nsi̱ṅ I*, von *a si̱ṅ* = ringen). Man sieht links eine Gruppe junger Männer warten *(a jä,ṅän)*, bis sie herausgefordert werden *(a śũ,é* = auffordern). Vor dem Kampfe reibt man sich Handfläche und Arme mit Staub ein *(a dũ,k mbṅ lák endm* = aufreiben Staub [auf den] Arm), um ihnen die Glätte zu nehmen.

Rechts sieht man zwei Gegner im Kampfe; jeder Griff, sogar hinter den Fuß haken, und jede Finte, um den Gegner durch alle möglichen Überraschungen zu Fall zu bringen, gilt als durchaus zulässig.

Der Sieg ist entschieden, wenn einer der Gegner die Erde mit beiden Schultern berührt. Fällt er nur auf eine Seite, und gelingt es dem anderen nicht gleich, ihm die Schultern auf die Erde zu drücken, so gilt der Gang als unentschieden (Zeitw.: *a kǎ,nǎn)*. In zweifelhaften Fällen entscheiden die Schiedsrichter, die während des Kampfes, mit Stöcken bewaffnet, das Paar umkreisen.

Der Sieger *(ngbō, III*, von *a gbō,* = werfen) wird von seinen Sippengenossen auf die Schultern genommen *(a bō(g)e matětǎ)* und mit Gesang oder Gejohle abgeführt. Meist kämpfen Mitglieder verschiedener Sippen oder wenigstens verschiedener Dorfschaften miteinander, gewiß ein Rest aus früheren Zeiten, wo das Ringen ein ernsteres Kampfmittel war.

Zenker erwähnt in den „Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten", Berlin 1895, Ringkämpfe von Frauen und Mädchen der Jaunde. Ich selbst habe nie davon gehört.

Abschnitt XX.

Musik.

Von

Erich M. von Hornbostel.

(Aus dem Phonogramm-Archiv des psychologischen Instituts der Universität Berlin.)

Vorbemerkung.

Über die Musik der Pangwe ist bisher wenig Zuverlässiges bekannt geworden. Die Aufzählungen von Musikinstrumenten, die R. Avelot[1]) gibt, ist weder erschöpfend, noch sind seine Beschreibungen und Abbildungen genau. Die Veröffentlichungen von P. H. Trilles[2]) verfolgen ausschließlich ethnologische Absichten und gehen daher auf die mitgeteilten Notenbeispiele vom musikwissenschaftlichen Standpunkte nicht näher ein. Zudem sind die Musikstücke nach dem bloßen Gehör aufgezeichnet und erscheinen für den Kenner primitiver Musikverhältnisse nicht besonders vertrauenswürdig[3]). Es ist daher besonders dankenswert, daß Herr G. Tessmann auf der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition außer Originalen, Photographien und Skizzen von Musikinstrumenten und eingehenden Beobachtungen über die musikalische Kultur des Pangwestammes auch an die hundert phonographischer Aufnahmen von Gesängen und Instrumentalmusik gesammelt hat. Auf dieses Material stützt sich die folgende Untersuchung[4]).

Von den phonographisch festgelegten Melodien kann hier nur ein geringer Teil vorgelegt werden; die Auswahl der Beispiele wurde so getroffen, daß sie

[1]) La musique chez les Pahouins etc. L'Anthropologie XVI, 287 ff., 1905.

[2]) Les missions catholiques **30** (1898), **32** (1900), **34** (1902); Anthropos IV (1909), 945 ff. und V (1910), 163 ff.; Le Totémisme chez les Fang, Anthropos-Bibliothek I. 4. (1912).

[3]) Vgl. die Bemerkungen unten S. 356.

[4]) Außer einigen Ergänzungen aus der Literatur füge ich ein paar Angaben bei, die ich dank der Freundlichkeit von Herrn P. H. Neckes von einem Jaunde erhielt.

[p. 320]

sowohl die charakteristischen Züge der Pangwemusik als die verschiedenen musikalischen Gattungen möglichst vollständig zur Anschauung bringen.

Wie bei allen sogenannten Naturvölkern spielt die Musik auch im Leben der Pangwe eine überaus große Rolle. Die Vokalmusik überwiegt vor der Instrumentalmusik, doch werden die Gesänge meist von rhythmusgebenden, oft auch von melodietragenden Instrumenten begleitet, so die kultlichen Chorgesänge von Trommeln, Xylophon oder (Röhren-)Mirliton. Von den Tänzen ist der alte, von Holz- und Felltrommeln begleitete Festtanz *ebɑ'n* eigentlich kultlich, wird aber fakultativ auch bei profanen Gelegenheiten aufgeführt. Ausschließlich profan dagegen sind der von den Bojelle (?) zu den Bulu und von diesen zu den Ntum eingeführte Schautanz *dźä,ma III* und der von den Jaunde in das Süd-Pangwegebiet eingeführte gewöhnliche Unterhaltungstanz *mbɑ̨le III* (vgl. Notenbeispiel 10, 11), dessen Gesänge gelegentlich auch bei der Arbeit gesungen werden. Diese Tänze werden ebenfalls mit Holz- und Felltrommeln begleitet. Außer dem Liebestanz *bekükü̈e* kennt man noch verschiedene Liebesgesänge: *akü,m*, mit dem Kastenmirliton begleitet; *beabanduman*, Chorgesänge der Frauen (vgl. Notenbeispiel 8, 9) und Ständchen, die die Männer zur Harfenzither *mrɔ̀t IV* singen. Den größten Melodiereichtum zeigen die Chöre, die ohne Instrumentalbegleitung beim Seelenfest gesungen werden. Sie zerfallen in zwei Gruppen: alte, historisch-epische, *sɔ̀* (vgl. Notenbeispiel 1—3), und neue, *nkán I* (vgl. Notenbeispiel 4—7), die, wie die *mbɑ̨le*-Chöre, auch gelegentlich bei der Arbeit gesungen werden.

Die profanen, von melodietragenden Instrumenten begleiteten Gesänge heißen nach diesen: die Chöre zum Holmxylophon, zu dem sich öfters Trommeln gesellen, *mendźɛ'n* (vgl. Notenbeispiel 12), die zum Tragxylophon *oboè;* Solo- oder Chorgesänge erklingen zur Flöte, *ndźing* (vgl. Notenbeispiel 13), und zur Harfe, *ngüme IV* (vgl. Notenbeispiel 14). (Diese Instrumente werden auch ohne Gesang gespielt; andere, wie der Musikbogen, die Holztrompete, sind ausschließlich Soloinstrumente.)

Zu den genannten Gesanggattungen kommen endlich noch die Rezitativgesänge, Gesangeinleitungen und -einlagen bei Märchenerzählungen und die Spiellieder der Erwachsenen und der Kinder (vgl. Notenbeispiel 15).

Der Vollständigkeit halber sei erwähnt, daß die Pangwe auch Melodien mit dem Munde pfeifen und außerordentlich geschickt sind in der Nachahmung von Vogelstimmen.

1. Musikinstrumente.

Nach der Natur des primär schwingenden Körpers kann man die Musikinstrumente in vier Klassen teilen: 1. feste Körper, 2. (gespannte) Membranen, 3. (gespannte) Saiten, 4. Luft. Zur I. Klasse gehören Klangstäbe, Holztrommeln,

Glocken und Rasseln, zur II. Klasse außer den Felltrommeln das Mirliton; die IV. Klasse fällt, da Schwirrapparate bei den Pangwe fehlen, hier mit den Blasinstrumenten zusammen.

Abb. 119. Tragxylophon (heute nicht mehr im Gebrauch) Fang.

Klasse I.

Einfache Schlaghölzer, d. h. zwei rhythmisch gegeneinandergeschlagene Stäbe, werden von den Pangwe im Kult verwendet (vgl. S. 48). Sie sind wahrscheinlich das primitivste aller Musikinstrumente und Vorläufer des Xylophons, *mendáŋ*, Mz.

a) Die einfachere Form, das Holmxylophon, besteht aus einer Serie von (höchstens 18) Klangstäben, die auf zwei parallele Bananenstämme gelegt sind; am Verrutschen werden sie durch in die Holme gesteckte Pflöcke gehindert, die das eine Ende jedes Klangstabs flankieren, das andere durchbohren. Für die Klangstäbe verwendet man bestimmte Holzarten: *aṛōlōge* (**Trema guineensis**), *atūin* (**Haronga paniculata**), *ojáng* (**Xylopia aethiopica**) oder *mpjo* (**Enantia chlorantha**) [1]). Um sie abzustimmen, werden die Klangstäbe in der Mitte der Unterseite ausgehöhlt. Die Tonleiter hat höchstwahrscheinlich sieben gleichgroße Intervalle in der Oktave, wie die birmanische und siamesische [2]). Die Stäbe werden aber nicht immer einfach der Tonhöhe nach angeordnet.

Als Schlägel dienen einfache Stäbe aus beliebigem Holz, vielfach aus Raphiablattstielstücken [3]). Das Xylophon wird zwei- oder vierhändig, als Soloinstrument, wie auch zur Chorbegleitung gespielt.

b) Die vollkommenere Form, das Bügelxylophon (s. Abb. 119), ist bei den Pangwe heute schon fast ganz verschwunden. Die (8) Klangstäbe sind auf Holzträger aufgebunden, die mit Rindenzeug umwickelt sind, und

---

[1]) Letztere auch bei den Jaunde. Nach H. Trilles (Revue musicale, V., 473) im Congó français vorzugsweise *kd* (Dichostemma glaucescens), gelegentlich auch *alo* (Desbordesia insignis) oder Rotholz.

[2]) Diese Annahme gründet sich u. a. auf Versuche mit einem Jaunde. Aus Phonogrammen lassen sich Xylophontöne wegen der kurzen Klangdauer und der starken Obertöne schlecht bestimmen und eine direkte Messung des Originals (in Lübeck) war mir bisher leider nicht möglich.

[3]) Im Congo français mit Kautschukknöpfen (Trilles).

Abb. 120.

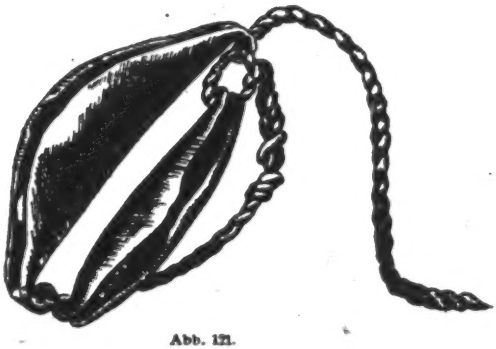


Abb. 121.

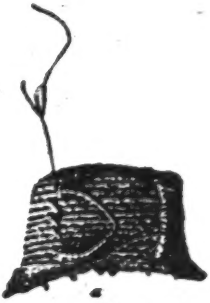


Abb. 122.

Abb. 120. Eiserne Glocke. ¼ nat. Gr.

Abb. 121. Eiserne Schellen. Nat. Gr.

Abb 122. Rasselkörbe. 122a ⅓ nat. Gr., 122b ⅓ nat. Gr.

unter jedem Klangstab ist ein Kürbisresonator [1]) aufgehängt; das Instrument wird an einem Gurt um den Hals gehängt und durch einen großen Bügel, der zugleich die Holme trägt, vom Körper des Spielers abgehalten.

Die Holztrommel, *nkŭ I* (s. Taf. XXIV), wird aus bestimmten Holzarten verfertigt und mit Schlägeln aus Holz oder Raphiablattstielstücken geschlagen. Sie wird meist zusammen mit Felltrommeln zur rhythmischen Begleitung von Musikstücken, aber auch zu einfachen Signalen, verwendet; nur die Mwele haben eine etwas besser ausgebildete Signalsprache (Trommelnamen und Sprichwörter) und die Jaunde eine echte, auch das Sprachmelos berücksichtigende Trommelsprache.

Einfache eiserne Klöppelglocken, *ongŏlă*, *omrŭk* oder *ongŏ* (siehe Abb. 120), und eiserne Doppelschellen (s. Abb. 121) werden bei Tänzen, namentlich kultlichen, gebraucht. Auffallend ist das Fehlen der Doppelglocke

[1]) Nach Trilles nimmt man im französischen Gebiet nicht Kalebassen, sondern härtere Fruchtschalen, die — wie auch sonst bei den meisten westafrikanischen Tragxylophonen — mit Membranen (Spinneneierhaut) verklebte Löcher haben.

Abb. 123. Felltrommel aus Mabungo (Fam. Ngbôe), Span. Guinea. 1/10 nat. Gr.

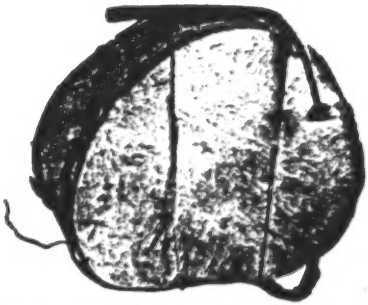


Abb. 125. Doppelfellige Trommel der Mwele mit Holzschlägel. (Kombokotto, Jibikollo.) 1/9 nat. Gr.

Abb. 124. Kriegstrommel mit Holzschlägel aus Raphiamark. Ebdangon. (Fam. Esseng.) 2/10 nat. Gr.

bei den Pangwe, da sie alle Nachbarstämme haben, so die Wute im Norden, die Maka und Njem im Osten und die Bafiote im Süden.

Über hölzerne, seltener eiserne Glocken, die den Hunden bei der Jagd umgehängt werden, vgl. Abschnitt V S. 137.

Von Rasselinstrumenten besitzen die Pangwe eine hauptsächlich bei kultlichen, seltener bei profanen Tänzen gebrauchte Korbrassel (s. Abb. 122) und eine sehr eigentümliche, heute zum Kinderspielzeug degradierte Stabrassel, *asók*, eine mit Samenkörnern gefüllte und kreuz und quer mit Stiften gespickte Röhre [1]).

Klasse II.

Von den Felltrommeln mit der für Kamerun (nicht speziell für die Pangwe) charakteristischen Keilspannung wird die lange, *mbg,i I* (s. Abb. 123),

[1]) Vgl. G. Tessmann, Die Kinderspiele der Pangwe. Baeßler-Archiv II (1912) S. 265.

beim Tanz, die kurze, *ngǖm IV* (s. Abb. 124), ausschließlich im Kriege verwendet. Die Tanztrommel wird mit den Händen (und zwar in der Mitte des Fells mit den Fingerspitzen, am Rande mit den mittleren Phalangengliedern), die Kriegstrommel mit hakenförmigen Schlägeln aus Raphiamark geschlagen.

Abb. 126. Holzmirliton. ½ nat. Gr.

Wahrscheinlich durch ihre nördlichen Nachbarn haben die Mwele und nördlichen Bene eine Doppelfelltrommel mit (Zickzack-)Schnurspannung von sudanischem Typus (Haussa) mit einem gebogenen und am Ende zu einem Knopf erweiterten Holzschlägel bekommen (s. Abb. 125). Sie begleitet Tänze und den Marsch der Karawanen.

Nicht zu den eigentlichen Musikinstrumenten gehört das Mirliton, da es nur zur Veränderung der Klangfarbe der menschlichen Stimme dient. Da es im Kult die Stimme des Sängers maskieren soll, wird es vor den Frauen geheimgehalten [1]). Es ist im wesentlichen ein am einen Ende mit einer Membran verschlossenes Rohr, in das gesungen oder gesprochen wird. Herr Tessmann sah drei Formen dieses Instruments:

a) einfaches Röhrenmirliton, das nur für Kultzwecke verwendet wird (vgl. S. 54 u. 75). Bennett (l. c.) erwähnt ein Mirliton *(mbang akóni)* aus einem Elefantenzahn. Avelot [2]) zitiert einen Fall, in dem ein Priester das Mirliton in einem Nasenloch trug, im anderen ein Sprachrohr aus Horn *(efame)*, das auch allein benutzt wird;

b) hölzernes Kastenmirliton, *mbɔ̈ɔ̈-akë̱m I* oder *endɔ̈ɔ̈-akë̱m* (s. Abb. 126), mit einem Rohr;

c) (Kasten-)Doppelmirliton mit zwei Röhren. Die Kastenmirlitons sind heute profan, doch deutet der Gebrauch, sie „hinter den Häusern", d. h. nicht in der Öffentlichkeit zu spielen, sowie die Ausbildung des einen Doppelmirlitons zu einer menschlichen Figur darauf hin, daß auch sie früher Kultgeräte waren.

Als Membran wird bei allen Formen die zähe Haut benutzt, mit der gewisse Spinnen ihre Eier umhüllen.

Klasse III.

Musikbogen, *elém*, so genannt nach dem Baum **Olax tessmannii** Engl. *(elém)*, aus dessen Holz der Bogen verfertigt wird. Als Saite ist zwischen den Bogenenden ein Streifen vom Stämmchen der Schlingpalme **Oncocalamus** ausgespannt. Die Linke hält den Bogen nahe dem einen Saitenende und zugleich ein kurzes Stäbchen, mit dem die Saite verkürzt wird, während die Rechte die Saite mit einem dünnen Stabe schlägt; man läßt die Saite zwischen den

---

[1]) Vgl. A. L. Bennett, Ethnographical Notes on the Fang, Journ. Anthrop. Inst., N. S. 2, 1899.

[2]) l. c.

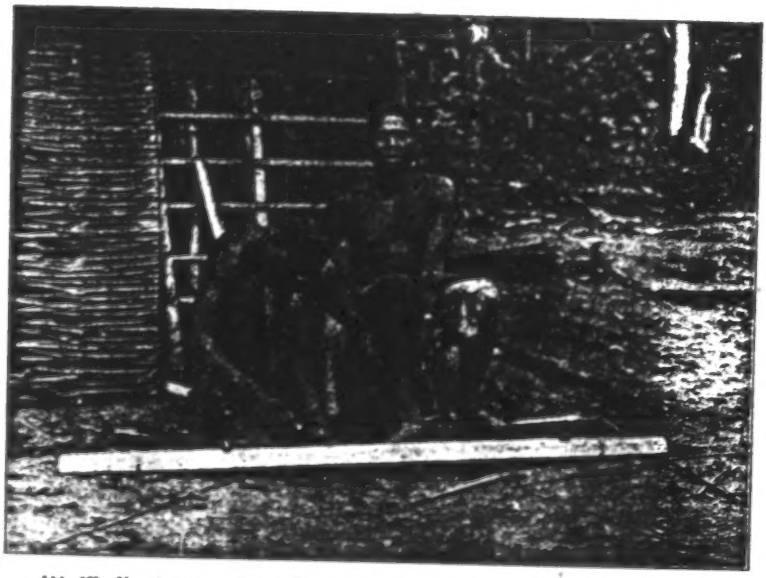


Abb. 127. Nzumjungen aus Bébel (Fam. Eseng) spielen die Kinderzither (*medzom me bongo*).

Zähnen in den Mund hineinschwirren, wie die Lamelle einer Maultrommel, und verstärkt verschiedene Obertöne durch Resonanz, indem man die Mundhöhlengröße variiert [1]). Der Musikbogen dient ausschließlich als Soloinstrument.

Bogengitarre, *ndóna III* (veralteter Name: *akędankąma III*, vgl. Abb. 128). Der rechteckige Resonanzkasten wird aus Raphiamark hergestellt, durch das die drei Saitenträger — Raphiablattstielstreifen — einfach durchgesteckt werden. Jede Saite hat ihren besonderen Träger, durch dessen Federkraft sie gespannt wird, je nach der Länge (und Durchbiegung) des Trägers, mehr oder weniger straff. Da auch das untere Saitenende an seinem Träger — und zwar an dessen aus der unteren Kastenwand hervorstehendem Teil — festgebunden ist, erscheint das ganze Instrument als eine Reihe durch den gemeinsamen Resonanzkörper verbundener Musikbogen. Das Saitenmaterial ist dasselbe wie bei der Harfe (s. u.). Die Bogengitarre, die mit den bloßen Fingern gezupft wird, wird nur als Soloinstrument verwendet. (Auch bei den Jaunde.)

Stabzither, *medzom me bongo* = Knaben-*medzom* (vgl. Xylophon), s. Abb. 127. Wohl die älteste Form der Zithern und, neben dem Musikbogen, eines der primitivsten Saiteninstrumente überhaupt. Der Schallkörper wird von einem der Länge nach halbierten Raphiablattstiel — daher wird diese

[1]) Vgl. die Abbild. Anthropos IV, 950 oben.

Abb. 128. Fang aus Nschäbot (Fam. Essuong) spielt Guitarre (*ndông*).

Zither auch scherzweise *ndongo-nnôn* = „Herr von Bettstab" genannt — gebildet, aus dessen Epidermis ein (einziger) schmaler Streifen losgelöst, an den Enden durch Umwicklungen gesichert und durch zwei Stege (Palmnüsse) vom Resonanzkörper abgehoben ist. Ein Spieler schlägt die Saiten mit einem Stück Raphiablattstiel, während ein zweiter sie durch Aufdrücken einer Achatinaschneckenschale verkürzt. Außer dieser Spielweise und der Konstruktion spricht für das hohe Alter des Instruments die Erniedrigung zum Kinderspielzeug, die auch schon durch die Namen angedeutet ist. (Ebenfalls als Kinderspielzeug bei den Jaunde.)

Harfenzither, *mvôt IV* (vgl. Abb. 129). Das Instrument, eine Weiterbildung des vorigen, besteht aus einem Raphiablattstiel, von dessen Rinde vier dünne Streifen als Saiten losgelöst sind; diese sind an den Enden durch Umwicklungen (Ringe) vor dem Abreißen gesichert und können zugleich

durch Verschieben dieser Ringe stärker gespannt werden; ungefähr in der Mitte des Instruments laufen die Saiten über einen einzigen treppenförmig ausgezahnten Holzsteg. Unter diesen ist eine Kürbis- (sehr selten eine Ton-)Schale angebunden, die der Spieler gegen den Körper drückt. Die Saiten werden zu beiden Seiten des Stegs mit den bloßen Fingern gezupft. Da die Saiten durch den Steg ungleich geteilt werden, hat das Instrument acht Töne. Die Harfenzither dient (im Süden, bei den Fang) als Soloinstrument, aber auch (mehr im Norden, bei den Jaunde) zur Gesangbegleitung.

Abb. 129. Fang aus Nachtbot (Fam. Essunong) spielt das Raphiainstrument (*mvöl*).

Bügelharfe, *ngomo IV* F., *ngügme IV* Nt. (vgl. Abb. 130 u. 131). Der trogförmige Resonanzkörper aus dem Holz von **Alchornea caloneura** Pax *(ndamaba)* ist mit einer Decke aus der Rinde der **Ficus vogeliana** Miq. *(lü, etilo)* überzogen, die durch zwei Schallöcher durchbrochen ist. An dem oberen, zuweilen in Form eines (Tier- oder Menschen-)Kopfes geschnitzten Fortsatz des Schallkörpers ist der bogenförmige Saitenträger aus dem Holz der **Uapaca guineensis** Muell. Arg. *(asäm)* angebunden. Die acht[1]) Saiten laufen von Wirbeln (aus beliebigem Holz) durch die Resonanzdecke hindurch und sind unter dieser durch kurze Querriegel aus Raphiamark (für jede Saite ein besonderer!) befestigt. Die Saiten werden hergestellt entweder aus Raphiapiassave *(kaŋga dźdń)* oder (weniger gut) aus den Stengeln der Orchidee **Myrsacidium productum** Kranzl. *(anzuma, oko ojob)*, die von der äußersten Rindenschicht befreit sind, oder (noch weniger gut) aus Ölpalmpiassave *(kaŋgamalèn)*; endlich nimmt man, als Notbehelf, wenn z. B. während des Spiels eine Saite reißt, gedrehte Stengelstreifen *(ndèn)* von **Sarcophrynium velutinum** (und zwar nicht frische, sondern alte, mit denen Kassaverollen umschlungen sind). Die Saiten werden mit den bloßen Fingern gezupft. Die Harfe wird zur Gesangbegleitung verwendet. Die Bügelharfe der Pangwe ist der am weitesten nach Südwesten vorgedrungene Nachkomme des altägyptischen Instruments.

---

[1]) Die schöne Photographie eines Harfenspielers bei Trilles (Miss. cath. 34, S. 431) zeigt ein 7-saitiges Instrument.

Klasse IV.

Pfeifen, d. h. Röhren ohne Grifflöcher, die durch einen bandförmigen, gegen eine Kante des oberen Endes gerichteten Luftstrom angeblasen werden, gibt es in mehreren Formen, die aber alle am unteren Ende geschlossen sind:

Abb. 130. Nzum beim Harfenspiel.

a) einfache hölzerne Pfeifen (s. Abb. 132) für Kriegssignale;

b) Doppelpfeifen, bestehend aus zwei nach Art der Panpfeife nebeneinander gebundenen Röhren (Jaunde) [1];

c) einfache eiserne Pfeifen — die in Abb. 133 dargestellte ist aus dem oberen Teil eines Gewehrlaufs hergestellt —, die meist bei Kultfesten geblasen werden (s. Ahnenverehrungsfest S. 122) [2];

d) kleine Pfeifen aus der Daumenschere eines Taschenkrebses als Kinderspielzeug [3].

Querflöten, d. h. am oberen Ende geschlossene Röhren mit seitlichem Blasloch und Grifflöchern, die wie die Pfeifen angeblasen werden. Die Flöten der Pangwe, *ndīi,ń I* oder *edīi,ń* (s. Abb. 134), werden aus dem Stämmchen der Palme **Calamus decratus** Mann et Wendl. *(edīi,ń)* hergestellt und haben nur ein einziges Griffloch. (Wie man auf diesem Instrument, selbst mit Hilfe von Überblasungstönen, Melodien wie die des Notenbeispiels 13 zustandebringen kann, ist mir unverständlich.) Die Flöte wird allein oder zur Gesangbegleitung geblasen, bei den Jaunde angeblich nur von Frauen [4].

---

[1]) Vgl. Ankermann, Afrikanische Musikinstrumente, Ethnol. Notizblatt III. 1. (1901) S. 39, Abb. 74. (Solche Pfeifen mit einem, zwei oder drei [?] Rohren werden von den Jaunde beim *sō* geblasen, und zwar viele zugleich.)

[2]) Auch von Trilles (Totémisme S. 353f.) unter dem Namen *ekima* beschrieben.

[3]) Siehe Tessmann, Kinderspiele l. c. Largeau (Encyclopédie Pahouine, Paris 1901) erwähnt auch eine Pfeife aus einem Elefantenzahn, die am weiten Ende angeblasen wird, also wahrscheinlich unten geschlossen ist.

[4]) Vgl. Ankermann, l. c., S. 42. — Trilles leugnet das Vorkommen von Pfeifen (oder Flöten) aus Holz oder Rinde. Dagegen führt er (Längs- oder Quer-?) Flöten aus den Tibien von Menschen oder Antilopen an *(ovíara)*, die bei Krankenheilungen verwendet werden.

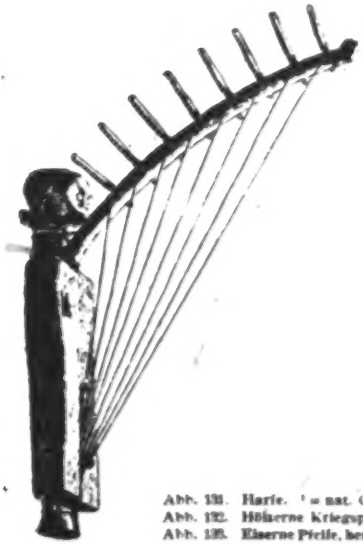


Abb. 131.

Abb. 132.

Abb. 133.

Abb. 131. Harfe. 1/10 nat. Gr.
Abb. 132. Hölzerne Kriegspfeile. 2/3 nat. Gr.
Abb. 133. Eiserne Pfeile, hergestellt aus der Spitze eines Gewehrlaufes. 1/2 nat. Gr.

Quertrompeten, d. h. mit Lippenvibration angeblasene Instrumente mit seitlichem Blaseloch, finden sich in drei Formen:

a) Holztrompeten, *lón IV* (s. Abb. 135), die für Signale im Kriege, beim Aufbruch von Karawanen usw., aber auch zu musikalischen Vorträgen gebraucht werden;

b) Hörner der Antilope **Cephalophus longiceps** Gray *(mva IV)*, s. Abb. 136;

c) Trompeten aus Elfenbein; nur bei den Jaunde.

Überblickt man das musikalische Instrumentarium der Pangwe, so findet man eine nicht gewöhnliche Mannigfaltigkeit von Typen. Neben sehr altertümlichen Formen, die sie in voller Ursprünglichkeit bewahrt haben (Schlaghölzer, Musikbogen, Stabzither), sind ihnen für höhere Kulturen charakteristische Typen zugetragen worden (Querflöte, Doppelfelltrommel) oder sie haben sie selbst aus ihrem früheren Wohnsitzen mitgebracht (Harfe). Die meisten Instrumente sind ihnen heute mit ihren Nachbarn gemein; doch zeigt ihr Inventar auch charakteristischen Besitz (Harfenzither, Stabrassel, Mirliton) und charakteristische Lücken (Doppelglocke, Sansa) [1]).

---

[1]) Im Widerspruch zu Herrn Tessmanns Beobachtungen stehen die Herkunftsangaben einer Sansa im Berliner Museum für Völkerkunde („Fang",

Abb. 134. Flöten aus dem Stämmchen der Schlingpalme (Calamus deerratus). ½ nat. Gr.

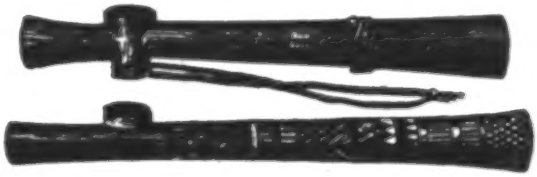


Abb. 135. Holztrompeten. ¼ nat. Gr.

Abb. 136. Trompete aus dem Horn einer Antilope (Limnotragus gratus). ⅓ nat. Gr.

2. Melodien.

A. Notenbeispiele und Analysen.

Bei der Übertragung der Phonogramme in Notenschrift wurde das Verfahren befolgt, das Otto Abraham und ich [1]) vorgeschlagen haben. Immerhin sind in der gewöhnlichen Notenschrift nicht allgemein übliche Zeichen äußerst sparsam verwendet. Es sind die folgenden:

+ oder – über der Note für geringe Erhöhung oder Vertiefung (bis zu einem Viertelton); ist ein bestimmter Ton durch das ganze Stück hindurch regelmäßig erhöht, so steht + über dem Versetzungszeichen (s. Nr. 9, 10, 13, 14). (?) bedeutet, daß der betreffende Ton bald etwas höher, bald etwas

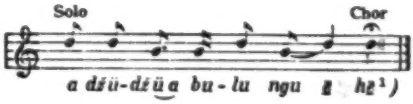
vgl. Ankermann l. c. S. 34) und zweier ähnlichen Exemplare im Metropolitan Museum (Crosby-Brown Collection) in Newyork, von denen ebenfalls das eine den Fang, das andere den Mpongwe zugeschrieben wird. Mit Rücksicht auf die letztere Angabe läßt sich der Widerspruch vielleicht dahin auflösen, daß diese Instrumente aus einer Zeit stammen, da die Pangwe ihr heutiges Gebiet noch nicht vollständig okkupiert hatten.

[1]) Vorschläge für die Transkription exotischer Melodien. Sammelbände der Interpat. Mus.-Ges, IX, 1909.

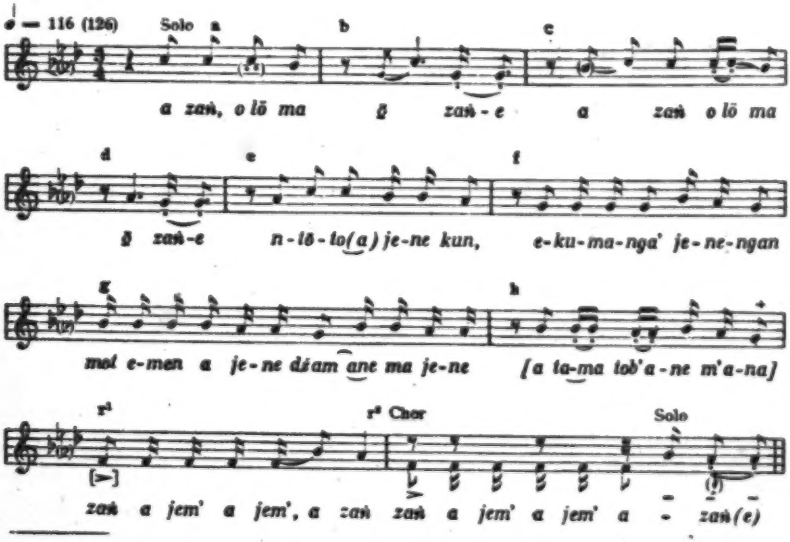
tiefer intoniert wird. Notenstiele ohne Kopf bezeichnen Töne von unbestimmbarer Höhe. ⌣ über der Note steht für geringe Verkürzung, die den Gesamtrhythmus nicht beeinträchtigt. ∨ = kurze Pause ohne rhythmische Bedeutung (Atempause). Doppelter Legatobogen bedeutet sehr starke Verschleifung (Glissando). In derselben Zeile notierte Solo- oder Chorstimmen sind durch die Richtung der Cauda (♩ ♪) unterschieden. Noten in ( ) kehren nicht in allen Wiederholungen wieder. Noten in [ ] sind im Phonogramm nicht hörbar, sondern aus Parallelstellen ergänzt; ebenso Textsilben in [ ].

Die Gesänge beim Seelenfest werden mit einer stereotypen Formel eingeleitet und beschlossen, die sich tonal der Hauptmelodie anpaßt, aber keinen Rückschluß auf die Haupttöne zu gestatten scheint.

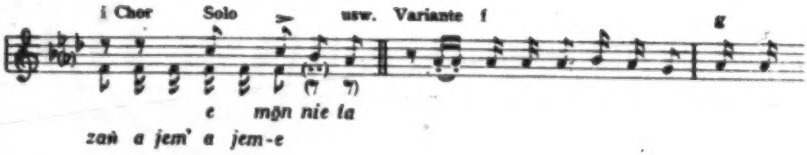
Die Formel verwendet in Nr. 3, 4, 5 die Töne *h* und *d*, in Nr. 2 *g* und *h*, in Nr. 6 *d* und *g*, in Nr. 1 *c* und nur einen tieferen Ton (*g?*) auf der Sechzehntelnote.



1. (Phonogr.-Nr. 63 a = 65 a) so, Gesang beim Seelenfest (alt). Essandun-Leute.



[1]) [a dźüme, dźá, a bźlä ngá ǥ, hǥ
Einstimmen ins Lied, o Bulu, mit Stärke, he, d. h. Stimmt ein ins Lied, ihr Bulu, feste! (T.)]



Der Hauptton *f* wird erst beim Refrain (r) erreicht; der Refrain wird von da an (in jedem Takt) vom Chor wiederholt (rhythmisierter Bordun). Die Terz ist in 63 a groß *(a)*, in 65 a klein, aber merklich gegen die neutrale zu vergrößert *(ä̃s)*. In b bis h erscheint uns das zweite Achtel als guter Taktteil; der Refrain — namentlich in der Chorwiederholung — erzwingt aber dann die im Notentext wiedergegebene Auffassung. (Man könnte aber ebensogut das erste Achtel des Refrains als betonten Auftakt schreiben.) Je zwei ¾-Takte schließen sich zu einer rhythmisch-melodischen Gruppe zusammen.

Melodisch verwandt durch die Schlüsse auf der Sekunde: b ~ d ~ f ~ h; rhythmisch: a ~ i; b ~ d; f ~ h; textlich identisch a b = c d.

Gesamtaufbau im wesentlichen in Gruppen von fünf Doppeltakten:

a	b	c	d	—	—	—	—	| e f	g h |	r' |
a	b	c	d	a	b	—	—	| (e f	g h) |	
i	h	i	h	i	h	—	—	| e f	g h |	
a	b	c	d	a	b	/c	d/	| e f	g h ||	
a	b	/c	d/ || [1]).									

1. *a zäṅ o lǒ ma, ǖ zäṅe,* oder: *a*
O Nashornvogel [2]), du rufst mich, o weh, Nashornvogel, O
zäṅ o lǫ̈le, ǖ zäṅe oder: *a zäṅ o*
Nashornvogel, du stehst, o weh, Nashornvogel, O Nashornvogel, du
rǫle, ǖ zäṅe nlötg a jène kun
gehst, o weh, Nashornvogel. Ameise Paltothyreus [3]), sie sieht Seelen. Ameise
ekamängä[s] a jène ngän. möl emǫn a jǫ̈ne dzäm
Camponotus maculatus [4]) sie sieht Rätsel. Mann, er selbst, er sieht (die) Sache,
ane ma jǫ̈ne, a tama tǫb' ane ma ana, e mǫn nie la, a
wie ich (sie) sah, er muß bleiben wie ich nun, das Kind, es (hat) Vater, es
tama tǫb' ane ma ana, e mǫn nie ṅie, a tama tǫb' ane ma
muß bleiben wie ich nun, das Kind, es (hat) Mutter, es muß bleiben wie ich
ana. zäṅ a jèmejèm', (nzäṅ a lude ejèmejème).
nun. Nashornvogel, er Luft, (Nashornvogel, er fliegt durch [die] Luft).

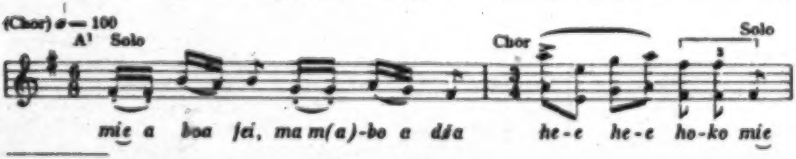
---

[1]) ( ) fehlt in 63 a, / / fehlt in 65 a.
[2]) **Bycanistes sharpei** (E 11.).
[3]) **Paltothyreus tarsatus** F.
[4]) **Camponotus maculatus** F. Var. der Rasse **brutus** F o r. *(ekamäṅgängä's).*

Freie Übersetzung: O Nashornvogel, du rufst mich, o weh, Nashornvogel. O Nashornvogel, du stehst, o weh, Nashornvogel. O Nashornvogel, du gehst, o weh, Nashornvogel. Die Ameise Paltothyreus sieht die Seelen (d. h. kommt ins Seelenland). Die Ameise Camponotus maculatus sieht das Rätsel. Dem Mann selbst wird es genau so gehen, wie es mir ergangen ist, er wird dasselbe Schicksal haben wie ich. Das Kind, das einen Vater (eine Mutter) hat, wird dasselbe Schicksal haben wie ich. Der Nashornvogel fliegt durch die Luft.

Erklärung: Dieser Gesang ist, wie die meisten älteren Seelenfestgesänge *(so)*, zur Zeit der Kämpfe zwischen Bulu und Ntum nördlich vom Kampo entstanden. Sie wurden vielleicht zu Ehren der getöteten Kriegsleute gesungen und später allgemein ins Seelenfest übernommen. Daher atmen die meisten eine kriegerische Stimmung. In dem vorliegenden, nicht leicht verständlichen Lied wird a — d einem Kriegsgefangenen, der getötet werden soll, in den Mund gelegt. Der Nashornvogel ist der Todesverkünder [1]); hier steht er direkt für: Seele. Der Gefangene sieht in der Todesangst, wie eine Seele ihn abholen will [2]), wie sie ihn ruft, wie sie stehen bleibt, wie sie ihm nachgeht. Nun kommt die Seele eines verstorbenen Feindes und vergleicht den Gefangenen zweimal mit Ameisen, da er ebenso klein und machtlos ist wie eine Ameise, die ja auch ein Kriegsmann (!) ist. Zuerst, sagt sie, wird er die Seelen sehen, also mit anderen Worten: sterben. Dann wird er das Rätsel sehen. *ngan* [3]) heißt: etwas, was nach zwei Seiten geht, zweideutiges (Rätsel), Zweiheitliches (in der Religion: Leben — Tod). Der Tod ist den Pangwe das Rätsel par excellence [4]). Mit anderen Worten: der Gefangene wird sterben. Der Schluß ist verständlich: Dem Gefangenen wird es genau so gehen, wie es dem toten Feinde gegangen ist: er wird sterben. T. [5])

2. (Phonogr.-Nr. 63 b) *so*, Gesang beim Seelenfest (alt). Essandunleute.



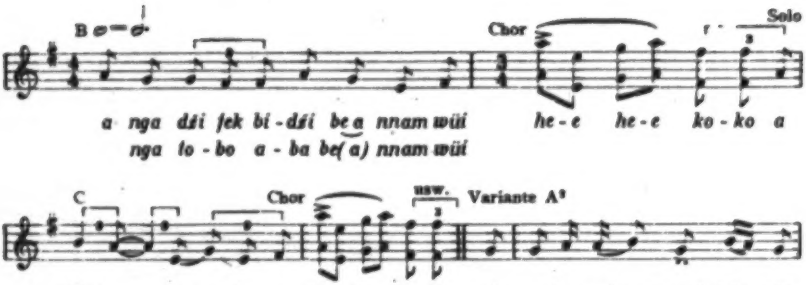
[1]) Vgl. G. Tessmann, Das Verhältnis der Fangneger zur umgebenden Tierwelt. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Heft 4 u. 5, 1907, S. 755.

[2]) Vgl. Bd. II, Abschnitt XI, S. 103.

[3]) Vgl. Bd. I, Abschnitt II, Sprache, S. 23.

[4]) Vgl. das Rätsel Bd. II, Abschnitt XI, S. 30.

[5]) Die Texte mit Übersetzungen sowie die Erklärungen dazu stammen von G. Tessmann (T.).



Hauptton: *fis; Mi-* oder *Si*-Modus.

Eine ungewöhnliche Abwechslung der Rhythmen zeichnet die kurze Melodie aus. Der Chorrefrain, langsame ³/₄, gibt das Zeitmaß, das auch vom Solisten streng eingehalten wird. Nur in C ist der Solotakt auch dreigliedrig (⁹/₈), dafür aber mit Synkopen gewürzt; in A sind die sechs Achtel beibehalten, aber in zwei Gruppen phrasiert (⁶/₈); in B treten gar ⁴/₄ an Stelle der ³/₄, wie gesagt, ohne das Tempo der ♩. zu ändern (Quartole). Diese Rhythmen werden streng durchgeführt in allen Wiederholungen.

Das Motivschema A B C bleibt in allen Wiederholungen gleich, nur einmal tritt B B C auf.

1. A. *miɛ, a bo aʃɛi, ma ma bo a dźá.* Chor: *hɛ*
Schwager, er schläft im Busch, ich, ich schlafe im Dorf. O,

kɔ̨kɔ̨. 2. B. *miɛ, n'ă nga dźi ʃek bidźi be a*
böser Mann [1]). Schwager, er nicht lebt essen, mehr Essen, es im

nnam(e) wüi, hɛ kokɔ̨. 3. C. *a miɛ, ma, ma nga bɔ̃ ga, h. k.*
Land hier. O, Schwager mein, ich lebe tun was?

4. B. *miɛ, n'ă nga lɔ̨b(o) abɑ̨ be a nnam (e)wüi, h. k.*
Schwager, er nicht lebt zu sitzen im Versammlungshaus, welches im Land hier,

5. B. *miɛ, n'ă nga [turupe?] abɑ̨ be a nnam(e) wüi, h. k.* 6. C = 3.

7. A. *miɛ, a bo aʃan, m'ma bo a dźa, hɛ koko.*
Schwager, er schläft (im) Busch, ich, ich schlafe im Dorf.

8. B. = 2. 9. C. = 3. 10. A. = 7. 11. B. = 4. 12. C. = 3. 13. A. = 7. 14. B. = 4. 15. C. = 3.

Freie Übersetzung: Mein Schwager schläft im Busch, ich schlafe im Dorf. Mein Schwager, was soll ich machen? Mein Schwager lebt nicht mehr von den Feldfrüchten seines Geburtsortes. Mein Schwager sitzt nicht mehr im Versammlungshause seines Geburtsortes.

---

[1]) *kɔ̨kɔ̨-bonɑ̨o*, d. h. böser Mann für die Kinder; er ist dasselbe, was bei uns der „schwarze Mann" für unsere Kinder ist; im besonderen heißt das Schwirrholz so.

Erklärung: Dieses Kriegslied ist leicht verständlich. Die Feinde haben ein Dorf eingenommen und dessen Bewohner sind in den Busch geflüchtet. Nun spottet der Sieger über den Besiegten, den er „Schwager" nennt. Der Name „Schwager" hätte in Friedenszeiten einige Berechtigung, da es möglich wäre, daß die Sieger früher Frauen aus der Familie der Besiegten geheiratet hätten, diese also Brüder ihrer Frauen wären. Später ist der Name „Schwager" auf alle möglichen Neubekannten ausgedehnt, in demselben Sinne wie „mein Freund" bei den Pangwe und bei uns. T.

3. (Phonogr.-Nr. 59 b) so, Gesang beim Seelenfest (alt).

♩ = 168 Solo A¹

a - kō' a-di, a-kok {e dźum y'a-ngom' a-fan, a fun-nan

A²

a źok} a-ko a-di, a-kok, e dźum y'a ngo-mo a-fan, a fun-nan

B Chor Solo C

a źok hē ē, ē ē ta-ta yē ē, dźi d'a bo ma'na hē ē, ma

Chor Solo D

se be-le ta-te e e e, dźi d'a bo ma'na hē-ē, e

Chor

mo-ngo a kum-bo dźi bi-dźi, ni a-dań ngum n-źi-la, ni a-dań a-kab! hē ē,

Solo E Chor Solo C¹

ma bēd'a-biń, ma źik-e ngum a-nkan, ma kū a myu-do źi hē-ē, ma

Chor usw.

le-le ta-ta e e ta-ta e, dźi d'a bo ma' na hē-ē

Hauptton: *g* (?); auf diesem schließen A¹, A², B und D; C und C¹ — Schlußteil des ganzen Stücks — auf *a*; E auf *ć*. Der Chorrefrain führt stets zum Halbschluß (?) auf der Quinte *d*. Die (durch kleine Noten bezeichnete) Variante in C — *c* statt *h* (häufig!) — charakterisiert die wirkliche melodische Bedeutung der Terz: sie ist (variabler) Zwischenton zwischen *d* und *g* (*d* — *h* — *g* nicht „zerlegter Dreiklang"!).

Rhythmus, namentlich in A¹, A², D und E, schwer wiederzugeben; die Notierung kann nur als Annäherung gelten.

D (allenfalls auch E) = Variante von A; B und C parallel durch den Schluß (Reim).

Gesamtaufbau:

	A¹	A²	B	C	
	D	E	—	C	
A²	D	E	C	C	C
C	D	E	C	C	C

ako adi, akok, e dium y'a ngomo afan, a funan a ʒǫk,
Stein dieser, Stein, Ding, es im dicksten Urwald, es ähnelt einem Elefanten,

hɛ̄, ɛ, ɛ, ɛ tata, yɛ̄, ɛ, dit da bo ma na, hɛ̄ ɛ, ma se bele tāte, —,
o, o, o, o Vater, o, o, was es macht mich so, o, o, ich nicht habe Vater [1])

e mongo, a kumbo dɛ́ bidɛ́, ni adaŋ ngum nɛ́ila, ni adaŋ
der Knabe, er möchte essen Essen, der geht über (eine) alte Hure, die übertrifft

akab, hɛ̄ ɛ, ma bɛd abjɔ̄, ma sik e ngum a
abzugeben, o, o, ich klettere auf Petersia, ich klettere hinunter an großem

nkan ma kūt mgudo si, he, ɛ, ma tele, tata.
Ancistrophyllum, ich erreiche festen Boden, o, o, ich stehe, Vater.

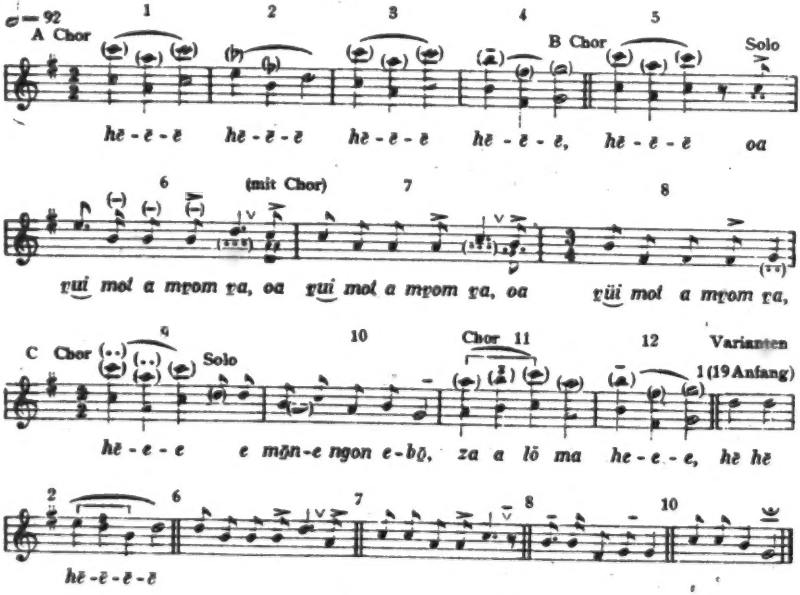
Freie Übersetzung: Es ist ein Stein, ein Ding im tiefsten Urwald, das sieht aus wie ein Elefant, o Vater, o, wie geschieht mir. O, ich habe keinen Vater mehr, d. h. ich bin sehr unglücklich. — Der Knabe, der gern etwas Schönes essen möchte, er geht zu einer alten Hure, die gibt sich allen gern hin. — O, ich steige auf eine **Petersia minor** Niedenzu hinauf und komme auf einem dicken **Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum** Becc. wieder herunter: doch ich erreiche festen Boden. Na, nun geht's mir wieder gut!

Erklärung: Dieses Lied ist — im Gegensatz zu den vorigen — ein Spottlied auf die älteren „Mädchen", die sich nicht schnell verheiraten, sondern solange als möglich das freie Liebesleben mit den jungen Leuten genießen. Diese Mädchen (*„nɛ́ila"*), für die etwa „Hure" der entsprechende Name ist, geben sich allen hin und werden von Anspruchsvolleren wenig begehrt, um nicht zu sagen: verachtet. So ein Mädchen wird mit einem Stein verglichen, weil sie

[1]) Das heißt einfach: ich bin unglücklich.

immer an demselben Platze bleibt, sich also nicht verheiratet, ferner mit einem Dings (mißachtender Ausdruck) im tiefsten Urwald, weil es einen etwas „dunklen" Lebenswandel führt, schließlich ist es einem Elefanten ähnlich (dicke Frauen werden oft scherzweise „Elefanten" genannt). Ein Jüngling, der sich offenbar in ein solches Mädchen verliebt hat, ruft: „O, mein Vater, wie geschieht mir; ich bin sehr unglücklich!" Nun wird ohne Verschleierung gesagt: Ein Knabe, der gern etwas Gutes essen möchte (Geschlechtsverkehr = Essen), der geht zu einem solchen Mädchen, die gibt sich allen hin (wörtlich: die gibt allen etwas ab, nämlich von dem Geschlechtsgenuß, den sie verschaffen kann). Sehr nett ist der letzte Vergleich: Der Liebhaber eines solchen Mädchens sagt: Ich steige auf eine **Petersia minor** hinauf. (Die Petersia minor hat erstens einen schönen glatten Stamm, zweitens leben auf ihr eßbare Raupen, die der Kletterer holen möchte.) Aber als er sich den Schaden besieht, nämlich wieder heruntersteigt, befindet er sich auf einer **Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum,** einer Schlingpalme mit vielen Stacheln, auf der es gar nichts zu holen gibt. Schließlich erreicht er aber doch festen Boden, und nun geht es ihm wieder ganz gut. T.

4. (Phonogr.-Nr. 19 = 48) *nkan*, Gesang beim Seelenfest. Vorsänger: Ngi-Nkompfa; Chor (Jünglinge) unison, in 48. in Oktaven (außer in Takt 2).



Hauptton: *g*. Intonation sehr schwankend, namentlich bei der Terz (*b* — *h*) und Sexte (*es* — *e*); *g* — $\overset{+}{b}$ klein bis neutral; $\overset{+}{b}$ — *d* neutral; *c* — *e (es)* in 19. groß, in 48. klein, bei der Wiederholung von A (in 48.) neutral; *fis* in 48. und *g* in Takt 10 tief.

Scheinbare rhythmische Verschiebung durch die starken Akzente auf dem vierten und achten Achtel in B (und durch die Luftpausen in Takt 6 und 7); die gewählte Einteilung rechtfertigt sich durch die Analogie von A und das Wegfallen des Auftakts (wie in der Variante von Takt 7) bei manchen Wiederholungen von B. Verkürzung in Takt 8 (negative Fermate).

B = Variante von A: durch den Text (Solo) bedingte rhythmische Auflösung. In C Parallelismus zu A und B: Anfang (Chorrefrain, Takt 9) und Ende (Reim, Takt 12) gleich; Takt 11 Umkehrung von Takt 3.

Motivschema: A (B) = a b a c
C = a d a c.

Anordnung der Teile nach drei-, sechs- oder zwölfgliedrigen Gruppen:

19.:	A	A	|	B	B	|	C	C	‖				
		A	|	B	B	|	C	B	|	C	C	|	C	C	‖
	A	C	|	B	B		B	B	|	C	C	|	C			
				B	B	|	Refr.		‖							
48.:	A	A	|	C	B	|	B	B	|	B	B	‖	C	C	|	C	C	‖
	A	C	|	B	B		B	B	|	B	B	‖	B	C	|	C	C	‖
	A	C	|	C															
	A	A	|	B	B	‖	C												

Phonogr.-Nr. 19. 1. A. *he* |: *he he he* :|$^{3\times.}$ 2. A. = 1. 3. B. *he* :|
He he, he, he

oa vui mei a mvǔm ra :|$^{3\times.}$ 4. B. *he* |: *o seke m'opfupfus* (aus
Du tötest große Riesenschlange dort. Du gibst nicht mir (ein)

ma opfupfus) :|$^{2\times.}$ *o seke m'otšitšit* (aus *ma otšitšit*) 5. C. *he o sě*
Fleischfinzelchen. Du gibst mir nicht (ein) Fleischstückchen. Du nicht

dźū ma masuṅ, za a lō ma, he. 6. C. *he [a manem aböšoo?]*
stimmst ein mir (in) Seelenfestlieder, wer er ruft mich. O Manem-Aböschoo,

za a lō ma, he. 7. A. = 1. 8. B. *he* |: *za a lō ma a mvǔ'm*
wer er ruft mich. Wer er ruft mich zur Riesenschlange

ra :|$^{3\times.}$ 9. B. :| *o seke m'opfupfus* :|$^{3\times.}$ 10. C. = 5.
dort. Du gibst nicht mir (ein) Fleischfinzelchen.

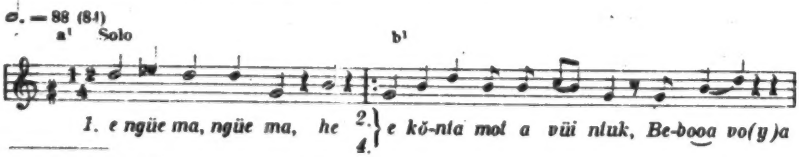
11. B. = 9 (?). 12. C. *hē e mǭne ngǫn ebǭ,, za a lö ma, he.*
Das Kind (des) Mädchens aus Ebo, wer er ruft mich.
13. C. = 6. 14. C. *a bo a bulu ngu e, za a lö ma, he.*
Zu machen ihr Bulu (mit) Stärke[1]), nicht!, wer er ruft mich, he.
15. A. = 1. 16. C. = 3. 17. B. = 3. 18. B. = 9. 19. B. = 3. 20. B. = 9.
21. C. = 5 (?). 22. C. = 12. 23. C. = 6. 24. B. *hē* |: *[o se dźü ma matoya?]* :| 3 ×.
25. B. = 24 (?). 26. *hē.* T.]

Phonogr.-Nr. 48: 1. A. = **19.** 1. 2. A. = **19.** 1. 3. C. = **19.** 6. (?). 4. B. = **19.** 3. 5. B. = **19.** 4. 6. B. = **19.** 3. 7. B. = **19.** 4. 8. C. = **19.** 6. 9. C. = **19.** 12. 10. C. *hē [a mó 'ay turumbá?] za a lömá, hē.* — 11. A. = **19.** 1. 12. C. = ? 13. B. = **19.** 24. 14. B. = **19.** 25. 15. B. = **19.** 3. (?). 16. B. = **19.** 4. 17. B. = **19.** 3. 18. B. = **19.** 9. 19. C. *hē [a ma tú mu ta yin tó?] zá a lömá, hē.* 20. C. = **19.** 12. 21. C. = **19.** 6. — 22. A. = **19.** 1. 23. C. = **19.** 12 (?). 24. C. = **19.** 12. — 25. A. = **19.** 1. 26. A. = **19.** 1. 27. B. = **19.** 3. (?). 28. B. = **19.** 4 (?) usf. [2])

[Freie Übersetzung: Du hast eine große Riesenschlange getötet und mir doch kein Fleischfinzelchen abgegeben. Du stimmst mir nicht einmal in die Seelenfestgesänge ein (als Chorsänger), wozu rufst du mich denn überhaupt. O, Manem-Aböschoo, wozu rufst du mich denn. Wozu rufst du mich her, wo eine Riesenschlange erlegt ist und gibst mir nichts ab usw. Wozu rufst du mich, das Kind einer geborenen Ebo (Familienverband der Mwai).

Erklärung: Der Inhalt des Liedes zielt auf den Geiz der Dorfbewohner, die dem von weit hergerufenen Vorsänger nichts abgegeben haben und ihn nicht einmal bei den Seelenfestgesängen als Chorsänger ordentlich begleiten. Weshalb haben sie ihn denn gerufen? Wahrscheinlich ist der Dichter ein „Kind einer geborenen Ebo" (Yebo) [3]). T.]

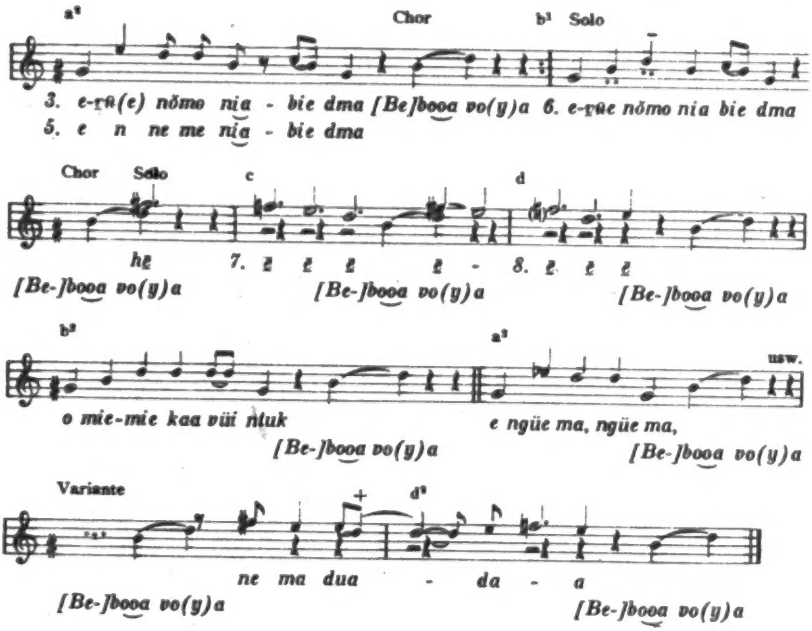
5. (Phonogr.-Nr. 45 b = 61 b) *nkan*, Gesang beim Seelenfest. Vorsänger in 45 b: Ngi Kompfa; in 61 b: Esona-budo.



[1]) Das heißt: den Chorgesang.

[2]) Die hier wiedergegebene Reihenfolge ist durch wiederholte Vergleichung beider Phonogramme festgestellt; die Silben in [ ] geben lediglich, was ich aus dem Phonographen höre, ließen sich aber sinnvoll nicht interpretieren. [v. H.]

[3]) Vgl. Bd. I, S. 47.



Die Terz *gis — h* in beiden Aufnahmen klein; dagegen *h — d̄* in 45 b sehr klein, in 61 b groß; *h — d̄* fast = *h — dis*. Eine in afrikanischer Musik ganz vereinzelte Erscheinung ist die Chromatik bei c. Die Stelle macht den Eindruck des Kläglich-Schauerlichen, wozu auch die Stimmfärbung beiträgt; ob wirklich eine musikalische Illustration des Textes beabsichtigt ist, ist zweifelhaft.

Im Verlaufe des Gesangs treten einige Parlandotakte (p) auf, in denen aber der Hauptrhythmus und der gesungene Chorrefrain (*h — d*) erhalten bleiben; in der zweiten Aufnahme (61 b) paßt sich dieser improvisierte Zwischenruf auch tonal der gesungenen Melodie an.

Motivschema:

45 b.:	a¹	b	a²	b	a²	b	c	d¹					
	b	a¹	b	a²	a²	b	d¹	d²	p	p	d¹	b	a².
61 b.:	a¹	b	b	a²	b	a²	b	p	p				
	a²	a¹	a²	a¹	b	c	a¹	b	p.				

[1. A. *ẽ ngugma, ngügma hẽ.* Erbarmen, Erbarmen, o.

a vüi ntuk, bebo oa vo ya, er ist verdorben, Bebo, du hast gehört es?

2. B. *ẽ kõ nta mot,* Wenn du siehst (einen) Mann,

zusammengezogen in *'boa voya.*

3. A. *ɛ (e)ɣü̈, e nomo nie abi nnjă, bebo oa vo ya*
Ewu, sie kackt ihm Kot (in das) Gedärme, Bebo, du hast gehört es?

4. B. = 2. 5. A. *ɛ, nnèm, e ni (?) abi nnjă, bebo oa vo ya.*
Zauberer, er legte Kot (in das) Gedärme.

6. A. = 3. 7. C. *ɛ ɛ ɛ.* 8. C. *ɛ ɛ ɛ.* 9. B. *ɛ miemie kaa vüi ntuk.*
Lichtmensch nicht verdorben.

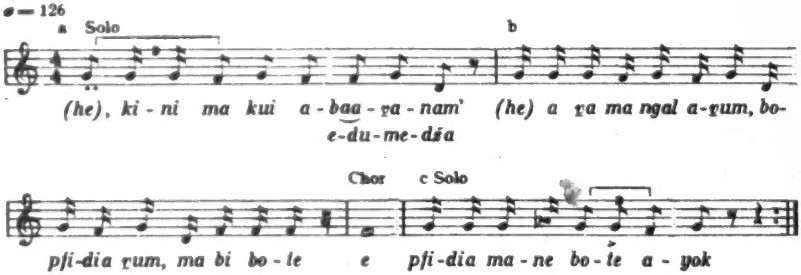
10. = 1. 11. = 4. 12. = 3. 14. = 5 (?). 15. = 8. 16. *e'' [ma ma dua daa-e?].* 17. u. 18. gespr. *nia n'oŝü li* usw. 19 = 8. 20. = 2. 21. = 3 (?).

Freie Übersetzung: Erbarmen sei mit mir! O, wenn du einen Mann verdorben (d. h. durch Zauberei getötet) siehst — Bebo, hast du gehört —, so entleerte sich ihm die Ewu (= Sitz der Zauberkraft) in das Gedärme. Ein Zauberer entleerte sich ihm in das Gedärme — Bebo [1]), hast du es gehört —, ein Lichtmensch wird nicht verdorben.

Ich verweise auf die Anschauungen über Zauberglauben, Abschnitt XIII.

Erklärung: In diesem Liede kommt der Zwischenruf: *nia n' oŝü li,* = er ist vorn da (er ist da vorn) vor. Damit ist die Seele des Toten gemeint, der gerade im Seelenfest abgefeiert wird (vgl. Bd. II, S. 109). T.

6. (Phonogr.-Nr. 46 a) Gesang beim Seelenfest. Vorsänger: Ngi Kompfa.



Hauptton vermutlich *g*; außer seiner Funktion als Anfangs- und Schlußton und überwiegenden Frequenz auch durch die Unterquarte *d* (?) und die Wechselnote *as* charakterisiert; merkwürdig berührt uns der Choreinsatz auf dem langausgezogenen *f*. Die Melodik — ebenso wie die offenbar vollständig durch den Text gegebene Rhythmik — hat Recitativcharakter; man sollte daher hier am ehesten Übereinstimmung der Melodiebewegung mit den Sprachtonhöhen erwarten. Dennoch geht die Melodie bei der tieftonigen Silbe *(a)vu,m* hinauf!

---

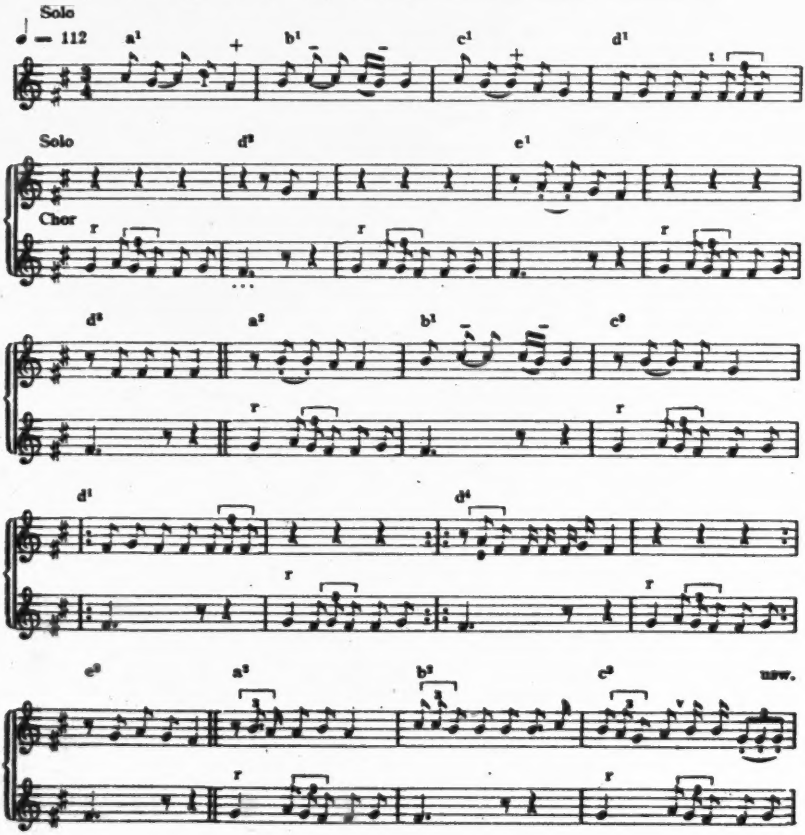
[1]) Bebo oder Engoschoo, berühmter Dichter und Sänger von Seelenfestliedern aus der Familie Essangbuak (Ntum).

Die Wiederholungen bringen nur ganz unbedeutende, textbedingte Varianten.

[Vorsänger: *he, kini ma kui abạ avanama*
O, geh mir erreichen Versammlungshaus von Awanamma
(oder *edumedsa* oder *eśiẓidśibe), he, a ẓa ma ngäl awü̱m, bopfidi*
(oder Edume-dscha oder Eschieidschibe), er geben mir Gewehre zehn, Pulverfässer
awü̱m, ma bi bole e. Chor: *pfidi a mane bol ayǫ̈k.*
zehn, ich fange Leute, o. Pulver, es macht fertig Leute mit Gewalt.

Freie Übersetzung: O, geh mir sofort ins Versammlungshaus des Awanamma, er soll mir zehn Gewehre und zehn Pulverfässer geben, ich will Menschen (Feinde) töten. Chor: Das Pulver rottet die Menschen aus. T.

7. (Phonogr.-Nr. 66 b) Gesang beim Seelenfest. Essandun.



Mi-Modus (vgl. 63 b). Leittonartige Zwischentöne in b^1, die Tonschritte enger als ein Halbton *(cis — cis, h — h)*, eine auch bei uns häufige, offenbar melodisch bedingte Eigentümlichkeit der Intonation.

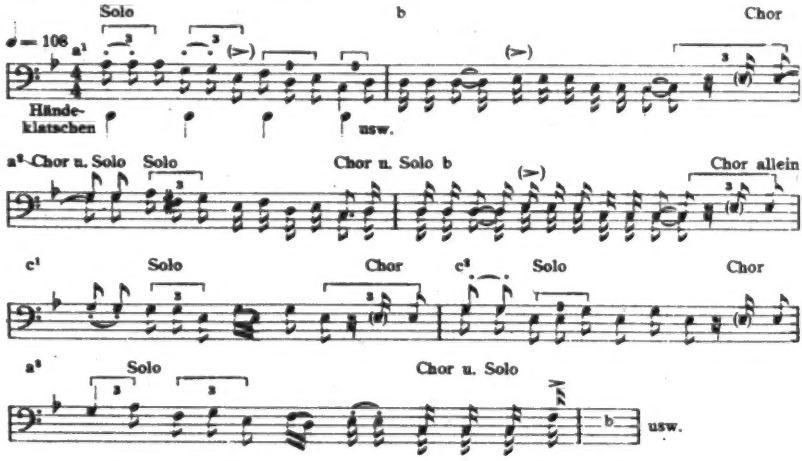
Der Chor wiederholt seinen kurzen Refrain beständig, unbekümmert um Härten des Zusammenklangs mit dem Vorsängersolo (Ostinato).

Die Motive a, b, c und e sind einander melodisch und rhythmisch analog, eigentlich nur Varianten eines Motivs auf verschiedenen Leiterstufen *(a, h, g, fis)*; e ist zugleich eine verkürzte Variante des Refrains r; d ist ein (im Wortsinn) monotones Motiv auf der Tonika. Die Teile sind zwölftaktig, der erste Teil um zwei Takte verkürzt; den Abschluß bildet eine Rekapitulation der beiden Anfangstakte, an die unmittelbar der Chorrefrain tritt.

Motivschema:

a^1	b^1	c^1	d^1	| r	d^2	r	e^1	r	d^3	—	—
a^2	b^1	c^2	d^1	| r	d^1	r	d^4	r	d^4	r	e^2
a^3	b^2	c^3	d^1	| r	d^1	r	d^1	r	d^4	r	d^4
a^3	b^2	—	—	| r ‖							

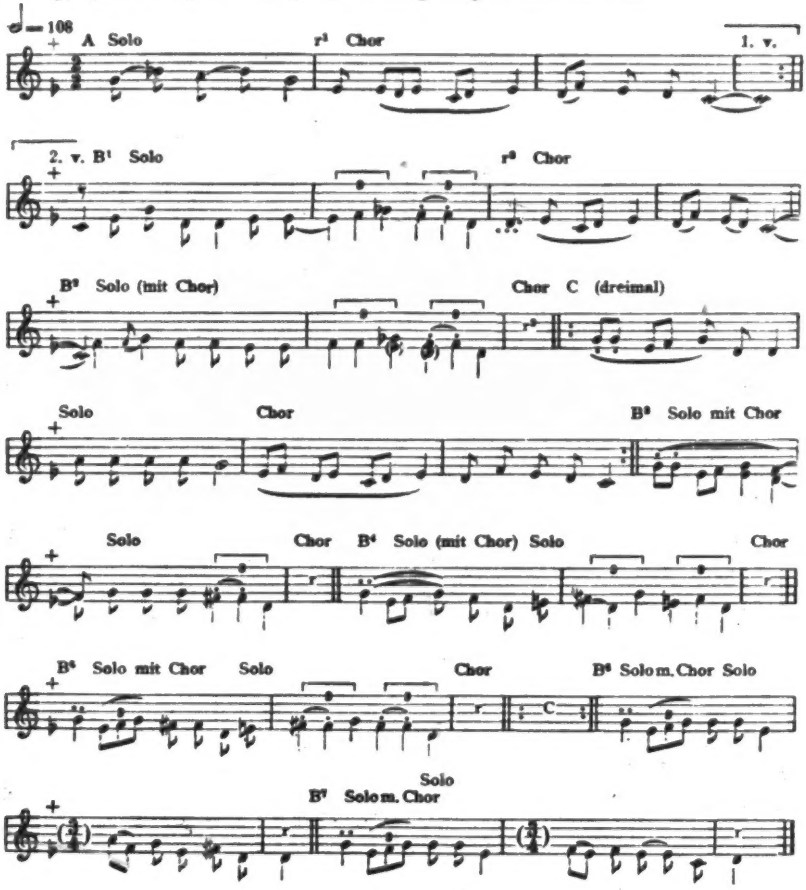
8. (Phonogr.-Nr. 40 a) Liebesgesang. Solo mit Chor. Vorsänger: Essassummann aus Edabedan.



Das c (Hauptton) meist etwas hoch. Die enge Umspielung der Oberquinte *(as — fis — g)* in a^2 vergleiche man mit Takt b^1 in Nr. 66 b!

Einzelne Chorsänger singen in der höheren Oktave. Händeklatschen auf jedem Viertel. Von a^2 an wiederholt sich beständig die Gruppe a b, mit unwesentlichen, offenbar textbedingten Varianten in a; c kehrt nicht wieder.

9. (Phonogr.-Nr. 58 a) Weibergesang. Solo mit Chor.

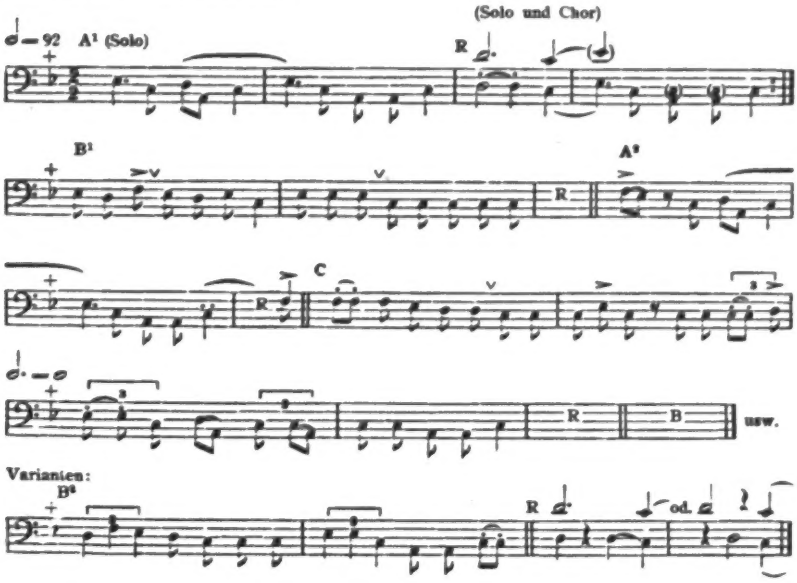


Hauptton: *c:* die Terz neutral *(ẽs)*. Intonation, namentlich im Chor, schwankend; hierauf sind wohl, soweit die Abweichungen nicht melodisch bedingt sind, die Töne *ges (fis)* und *e* zurückzuführen. Die Terzen in B² und B³ sind offenbar nicht beabsichtigt, sondern zufällig durch melodische Abweichungen des Chors vom Vorsänger entstanden („Heterophonie"). Die Melodie erinnert mehrfach (namentlich in C) an europäische Volksweisen.

Durchaus uneuropäisch sind aber die Triolen in B. Die scheinbare Verkürzung der $^3/_2$ zu $^3/_4$ in B⁶ und B⁷ kommt dadurch zustande, daß der Chorrefrain schon auf dem letzten Viertel des Vorsängersolos einsetzt, eine in Afrika

sehr häufige und für die Anfänge der Mehrstimmigkeit bedeutungsvolle Erscheinung (vgl. auch den Anfang von B²). Die Teile sind durchweg viertaktig: 2 Takte Solo (in B mit Chor) + 2 Takte Chorrefrain. Die Verkürzung im Einleitungsteil (A) — nur ein Takt Solo — wird, wenigstens das erstemal, durch längeres Aushalten der Schlußnote ausgeglichen.

10. (Phonogr.-Nr. 38 b) Leute aus *Bebai*, Tanzgesang *„ata ma vui"* beim *mbale*. Solo mit Chor.



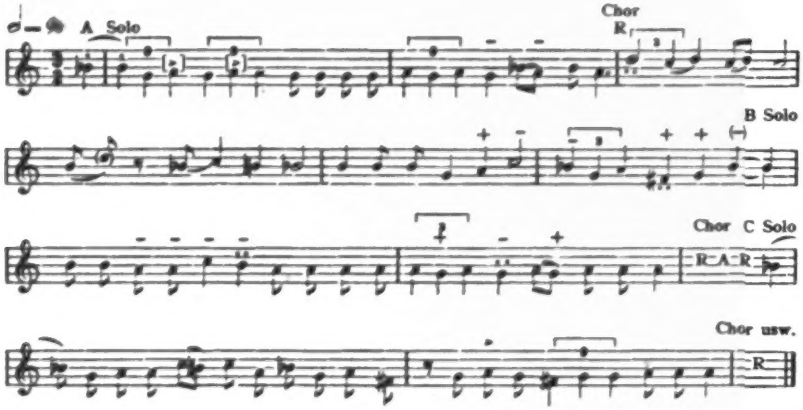
Die Terz des Haupttons *(c)* neutral (zwischen *es* und $\overline{e}$).

Der Chor fällt beim Refrain (R) in der höheren Oktave ein.

Sehr intrikat ist der Rhythmus in C; die Niederschrift versucht die tatsächlichen Zeitlängen so genau als möglich wiederzugeben, ohne Rücksicht auf unsere Auffassung, nach der der erste Ton des zweiten Takts *(c)* zum vorigen und der letzte Ton *(d)* zum nächsten gehören würde. Der dritte und vierte Takt entsprechen jeder genau zwei Halben, wie alle anderen; das Tempo bleibt auch völlig konstant. Der erste Takt von C scheint melodisch dem ersten Takt von B, der dritte von C dem zweiten von A zu entsprechen; jedenfalls ist B eine einfache, C eine erweiterte Variante von A.

Ob das Schema A R A R | B R A R | C R B R ‖ auch weiter eingehalten wird, geht aus dem Phonogramm, das vorzeitig abbricht, nicht hervor.

11. (Phonogr.-Nr. 16) Tanzgesang beim *mbale*. Jaunde. Solo mit Chor.

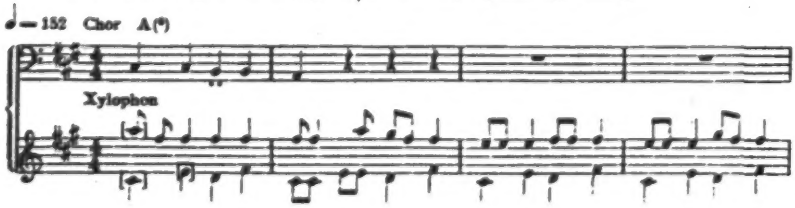


Tonal sehr eigentümlich: der beständige Wechsel von *b* und *h*, die — auch der Messung nach — durch ein deutliches Halbtonintervall geschieden sind. Dagegen ist *a* meist sehr hoch intoniert, nur etwa einen Viertelton tiefer als *b*. Bemerkenswert die chromatische Stelle im zweiten Takt von R (vgl. dazu Nr. 45 b!). Am Schlusse der Soloteile (A, B und C) wechseln, anscheinend willkürlich, die beiden Formen *b* — *a* (wie in A^1 im Notentext) und *a* — *a* — *a* (wie in B, C); in späteren Wiederholungen kommt auch die erste Form in B und C häufig vor. Die sechstaktigen Perioden (2 Takte Solo + 4 Takte Chorrefrain) folgen sich im Phonogramm nach diesem Schema:

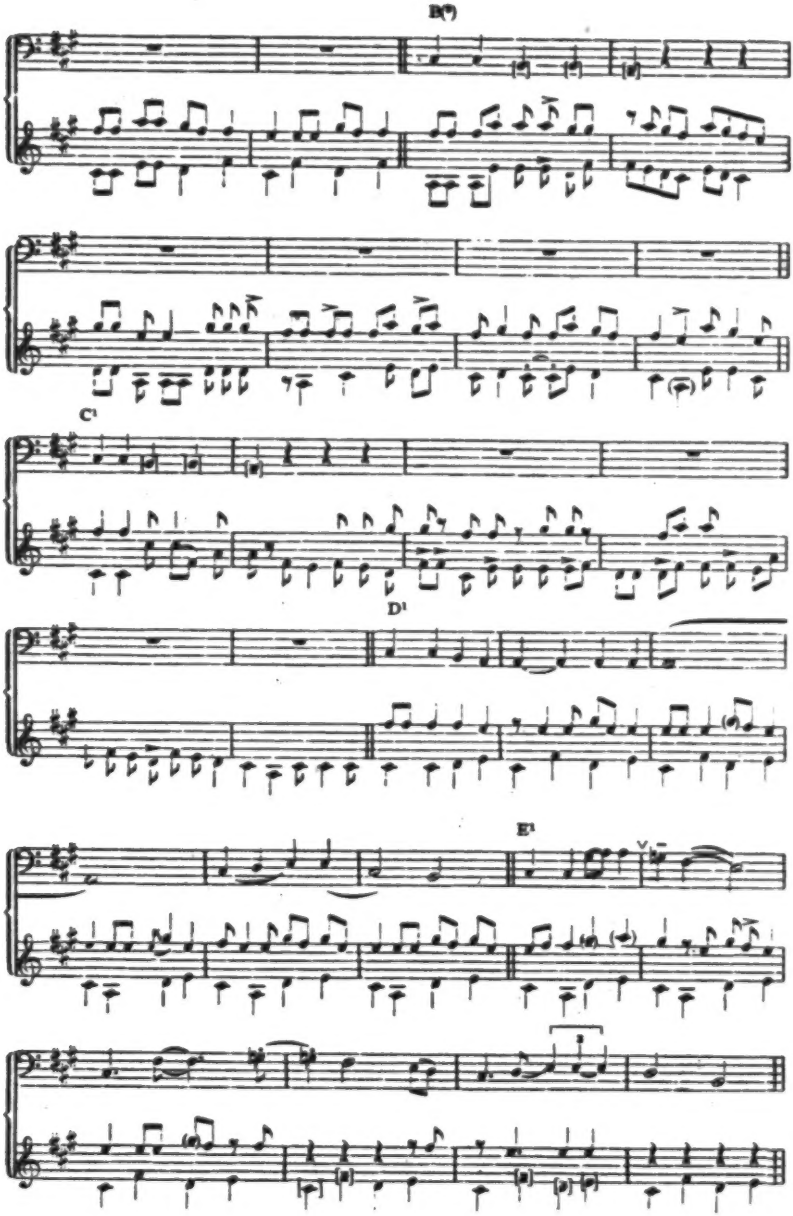
A R B R
A R C R B R
A R C R
A R B R C R C R C R,

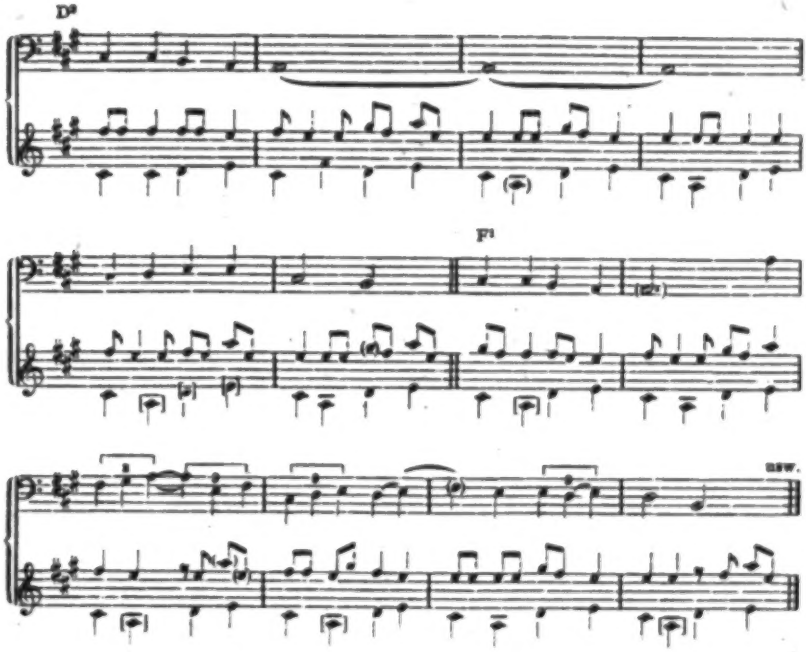
mit geringfügigen, offenbar nur durch die Freiheit des Sängers bedingten Varianten.

12. (Phonogr.-Nr. 74) Chor mit Xylophonbegleitung.



348





Es ist nicht mit Sicherheit zu sagen, ob die notierten Xylophontöne, namentlich der Oberstimme, Grund- oder Obertönen der Holzstäbe entsprechen. Bei starkem Anschlag sind die Obertöne oft lauter und es ist sogar nicht unmöglich, daß sie, und nicht die Grundtöne, intendiert sind. Auch über die Intervalle ließe sich Sicheres nur nach direkter Messung des Instruments sagen; ich hatte Grund, zu vermuten, daß die Leiter der Fang-Xylophone siebenstufig gleichstufig ist (vgl. oben S. 322). Die hier mitgeteilte Notierung gibt bezüglich der Tonhöhen den subjektiven Eindruck.

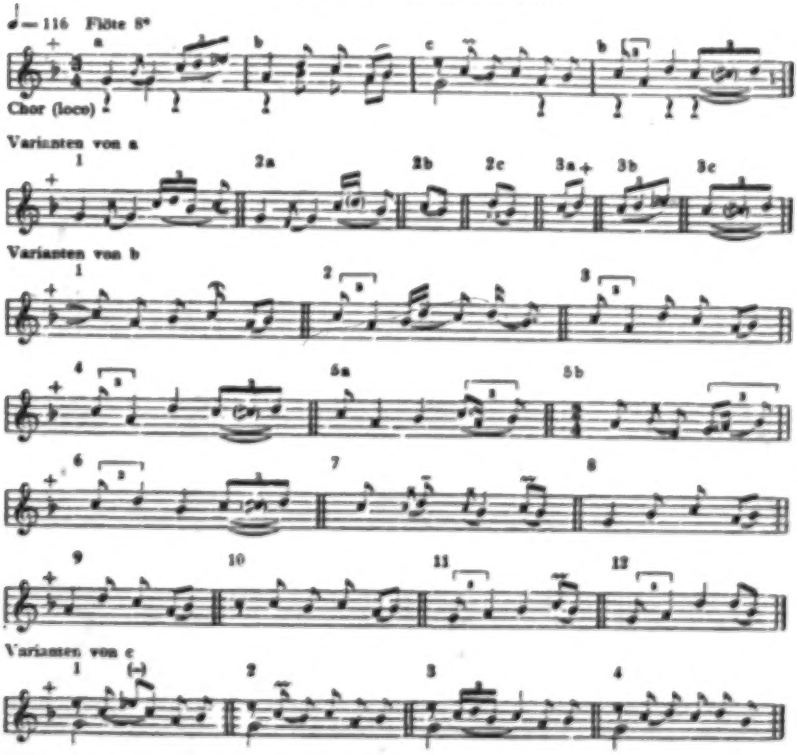
Die Xylophonstimmen in den Teilen A, D, E und F kann man als eine Art Doppelostinato auffassen; das Motiv der Oberstimme ist bewegter, häufiger und stärker variiert, die Melodiebewegung in den Halbtakten (ruhend oder) absteigend; das Motiv der Unterstimme ruhiger (fast durchweg gleichmäßige Viertel), mit geringen Varianten (nur auf dem zweiten Viertel), die Melodie der Halbtakte vorwiegend aufsteigend; am Taktschluß laufen beide Stimmen in der Regel zur Oktave zusammen. — Die Teile B und C sind virtuose Instrumentalzwischenspiele, in denen beide Stimmen parallel gehen (vorwiegend in Quarten). Hier ist auch der Rhythmus durch die zahlreichen Synkopen und die unregelmäßige Akzentverteilung (für uns) besonders widerhaarig.

350

Die Hauptmotive, die der Chor in D^1 und den folgenden Teilen bringt, ist weniger kurzatmig als die Instrumentalmotive, schließt sich aber diesen an, indem sie bald der oberen, bald der unteren Xylophonstimme parallel geht (in Oktaven, Quinten, Quarten). Sie wiederholt in allen Teilen außer E den (zweitaktigen) Refrain, den der Chor auch schon in A und B (außer A^1) bringt und das zum Refrain hinleitende (ebenfalls zweitaktige) Übergangsmotiv. Die (sechstaktigen) Teile — von denen im Notentext nur einzelne Beispiele gegeben sind — lassen sich am besten zu fünfgliedrigen Gruppen mit Einleitungs- und Übergangsteilen ordnen:

A_1 | A_2 . A_3 . A_4 . A_5 . A_6
B_1 . B_2 . B_3 . C . B_3 | A_7 . A_8
A_9 | D_1 E_1 . D_2 F_1 . D_1 E_2 . D_1 E_3 . D_1 A
D_1 E_4 . D_1 F . D.....

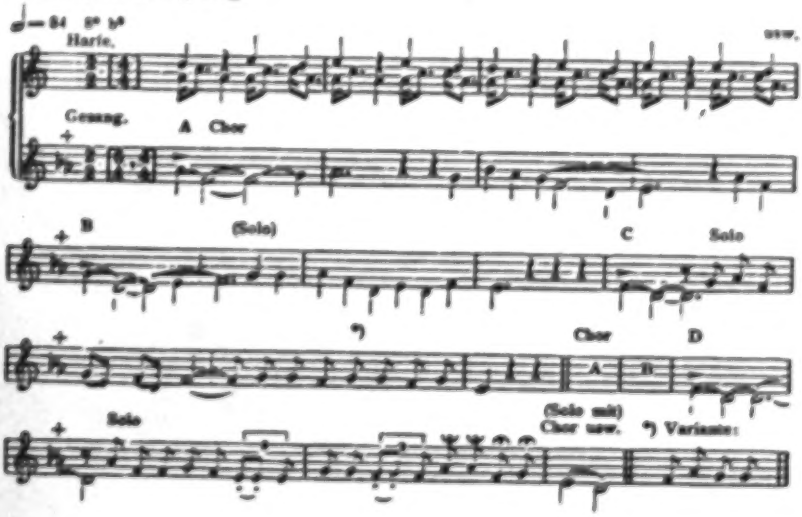
13. (Phonogr.-Nr. 54 b) Flötensolo mit Chor.



Das Phonogramm enthält 12½ Wiederholungen der kurzen Melodie, alle nach dem Schema a b a b oder a b c b. Der Chor ist bloß auf dem zweiten Viertel von a und in der refrainartigen Phrase in b — c hörbar und geht in Oktavenparallelen zur Flöte; die vereinzelte Terz (drittes Achtel von b) kommt durch Gleichzeitigkeit verschiedener melodischer Varianten zustande (Heterophonie, vgl. 58 a).

Die Varianten sind so lehrreich, daß ich sie sämtlich anführe. Man erkennt mehrere Arten der Variation: 1. melismatische Auflösung längerer Noten in kürzere, z. B. die zweiten Viertel in b. 1. → b. 2., b. 4. → b. 3., das fünfte Achtel in a. 2 b → a. 2 a; 2. rhythmische Verschiebung, z. B. in b. 5 a → b. 1., die beiden ersten Viertel in c. 2. → c. 3.; 3. Vertauschung eines Tons mit seinem Nachbarton, z. B. das fünfte Achtel in a. 2 b → a. 2 c; 4. Vertauschung von Tönen mit ihrer Quarte: die Vorschlagsnote in a ist (beliebig) *f* oder *b*; erstes Viertel in b. 2. → b. 6. *(a → d)*, in b. 2. → b. 11 *(c → g)*, drittes Achtel in b. 10 → c. 1. *(b → es)*, drittes Viertel in a. 3 b → b. 5 b *(c — d — es → g — a — b)* usw. Diese Art der Variation ist theoretisch besonders wichtig, denn sie spricht dafür, daß Quartentöne einander in derselben Art (wenn auch nicht im gleichen Grade) ähnlich sind, wie Oktaventöne; 5. Angleichung verschiedener Motive, z. B. übernimmt b. 4. (und b. 6.) die Triole von a. 3 a, c. 3 das Umspielte *c* von a. 1.

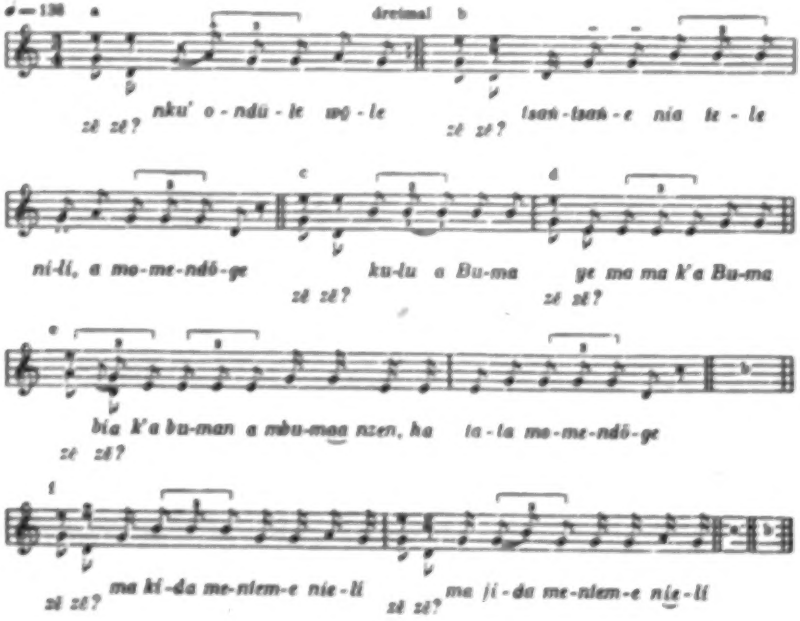
14. (Phonogr.-Nr. 35) Harfenlied mit Chor. Spieler und Vorsänger: Ndong-Si-



Haupttöne vermutlich *e* und *d*; trotz des *a* der Harfenbegleitung im Gesang auffallend tiefe Intonation des *a*, meist fast wie *as*. Auch wenn man beide Töne als identisch intendiert annimmt, kommt keine harmonische Mehrstimmigkeit in unserem Sinn heraus. Die Harfe begleitet mit einem Doppelostinato, das zwar die Haupttöne der Melodie *(e* und *d; a)* vorwiegend benützt, im übrigen sich aber um die Melodie des Gesangs nicht kümmert. Innerhalb der Harfenbegleitung könnte man allenfalls etwas wie „Auflösungen" finden: Sekunde-Einklang, Terz-Quart, Terz-Einklang; in diesem Falle müßte man die (große) Terz als ebenso diskordant annehmen, wie die (große) Sekunde — was für frühe Stadien der Mehrstimmigkeit nicht unmöglich ist. Ich möchte aber doch für wahrscheinlicher halten, daß auch die Harfenbegleitung nicht akkordlich (harmonisch), sondern polyphon gemeint ist, d. h. daß jede der beiden Stimmen eine selbständige Melodie bedeutet (die obere, auf *d* und *e*, zweitaktig; die untere, auf *a* und *e*, eintaktig).

Der vergrößerte Teil tritt (an Stelle von C) im Phonogramm nur einmal auf. Der Gesang schließt (mit C) auf *e*.

15. (Phonogr.-Nr. 26 a) Gedächtnisspiel; Wechselgesang. Hauptsänger Mbe Yen, Mabungo.



Die Melodie bewegt sich um den Mittelton *g* herum; das *e* scheint funktionell dem *d* gleich (vgl. d mit a!) und ist vielleicht durch die Nachwirkung von *h* (in c, Quinte! entsprechend *a* — *d* in den andern Teilen) bedingt. Diese Verhältnisse sind bemerkenswert für das Verständnis sogenannter pentatonischer Leitern *(d e — g a h)*.

Der eine Sänger gibt nur die Frage (*zèzè*, *g* — *d* [absteigend!], Anfangsrefrain). Der Text der Antwort bedingt die Rhythmik: Wechsel von Achteln, Triolen und Sechzehntel; der Eifer des Spiels führt öfters zu vorzeitigen Einsätzen (wie in d und e). Die musikalischen Phrasen sind zweitaktig (a wird nur das erstemal dreimal, später nur zweimal wiederholt.

Vergleiche Abschnitt XIX S. 307 (Text des Gedächtnisspieles und Erklärung.)

B. Zusammenfassende Charakteristik.

a) Melos.

Eine in nichtharmonischer Musik sehr häufige Erscheinung findet sich auch in den Gesängen der Pangwe: die schwankende oder neutrale (d. h. zwischen den „reinen" Tonschritten die Mitte haltende) Intonation der Töne, die eine Terz (oder Sexte) über dem melodischen Hauptton liegen (Beispiel 1, 4, 5, 9, 10). Entwicklungsgeschichtlich bleiben die Terzen „noch lange ein sozusagen weicher Bestandteil des musikalischen Knochengerüstes, nachdem die Grundkonsonanzen längst fest geworden" (Stumpf). Es wäre deshalb auch ganz verkehrt, einen durch einen Zwischenton (Terz) geteilten Quintenschritt (Beispiel 3) als „zerlegten Dreiklang" aufzufassen. Die rein melodische Bedeutung der Terzen, besonders der kleinen, als „schreitender" Intervalle von der Sekunde verwandtem Charakter ist an vielen Stellen der Pangwelieder offenkundig (Nr. 5, 8 c); häufig entstehen Terzenschritte auch durch Umspielung einer zwischenliegenden Stufe (8 a und viele andere Stellen), aber auch in diesem Falle ist die Weite des Intervalls sehr variabel (vgl. Nr. 10, erster Takt: *d a c* mit 8 a^2: *as fis g)*. So geht auch die Spannweite der (eigentlichen) Sekunden gelegentlich noch unter den Halbton herunter (Nr. 7, 11). Ja sogar Folgen von Halbtonschritten kommen vor (Nr. 5, 11), eine in der Musik sogenannter Naturvölker äußerst seltene Erscheinung (echte „Chromatik"). Mit der Bevorzugung des Halbtons hängt wohl auch sein Vorkommen (als „absteigender Leitton") oberhalb des Haupttons zusammen, wodurch die Tonalität einen Charakter gewinnt, den man in Europa von altersher gern vermieden hat („*Mi*-" oder „*Si*-Modus", Nr. 2, 7). Für unser Gefühl sehr befremdend ist auch das Schwanken des melodischen Schwerpunktes zwischen zwei, einen Halbton (Nr. 14) oder einen Ganzton (Nr. 6) auseinanderliegenden Tönen. — Von größeren Tonschritten

(„springenden Intervallen") kommen Quarten (absteigend fast in allen Melodien, aufsteigend in Nr. 1, 2, 12, 13) sehr häufig, Quinten dagegen sehr selten vor (Nr. 3). Auffallend ist der sprunghafte, durch keine Zwischenstufe geteilte Tritonus in Nr. 5: er dürfte, wie die Vergleichung der beiden Aufnahmen dieser Melodie (Phonogr.-Nr. 45 b und 61 b) wahrscheinlich macht, als eine sehr eng intonierte Quinte aufzufassen sein. Die eigentümliche Tonalität dieser und der verwandten Melodie Nr. 10 ist wohl so zu verstehen, daß man die Stufe, die den Tritonus (ungefähr) distanzgleich teilt (*h* in Nr. 5, *c* in Nr. 10) als Hauptton (Mese) annimmt. Auf die Ähnlichkeit (Klangverwandtschaft) von Tönen, die im Quartenverhältnis stehen, deutet ihre Vertauschbarkeit bei der Variantenbildung (Nr. 13) [1]).

b) Mehrstimmigkeit.

Die Melodik der Pangwemusik zeigt, neben besonderen Zügen, deutlich die Eigentümlichkeiten, die die einstimmige Musik der meisten sogenannten Naturvölker kennzeichnen. Der enge Zusammenhang mit der Homophonie läßt die mehrstimmigen Stücke, als mehrstimmige, primitiv und daher für das Studium der musikalischen Entwicklung besonders wertvoll erscheinen.

Die sehr häufigen Oktavenparallelen können als beabsichtigte Mehrstimmigkeit nicht gelten; sie treten an die Stelle des Unisono (vgl. Nr. 8), wenn die Stimmlagen der Sänger untereinander (Nr. 2, 4, 10) oder von der des Begleitungsinstruments (Nr. 13, hohe Flöte) zu sehr abweichen. Sicher unbeabsichtigt sind auch die ganz vereinzelten („heterophonen") Terzen (Nr. 9, 13), die sich ergeben, wenn zufällig zwei (verschiedene) Motivvarianten zugleich erklingen, und die daher auch an den Parallelstellen bei den Wiederholungen nicht wiederkehren. Von diesen beiden Arten unbeabsichtigter Mehrklänge kann die Entwicklung mehrstimmiger Formen ausgehen: sie führt von den Parallelen zum Organum, von den Motivdivergenzen zur Heterophonie [2]); die Chorlieder der Pangwe weisen aber auf eine dritte Wurzel.

Fast sämtliche Gesänge zeigen die auch sonst in Afrika häufige Form des Wechsels von Vorsängersolo und Chorrefrain; jenes bringt den Hauptinhalt des Textes und ist daher melodisch und namentlich rhythmisch reicher, dieser beschränkt sich oft auf ein kurzes Motiv, dessen Text ausschließlich (Nr. 3, 5, auch 4) oder größtenteils (Nr. 2) aus vokalreichen sinnlosen Silben *(e, he)* be-

[1]) Die gleiche, offenbar allgemein psychologisch begründete Erscheinung findet sich u. a. auch in chinesischer Musik, vgl. E. Fischer, Sammelb. d. Internat. Mus.-Ges. XII, 1910/11.

[2]) Vgl. Stumpf, Anfänge der Musik (Lpz. Barth 1911), S. 97 ff. und meine Ausführungen im Bericht über den III. Kongreß der Int. Mus. Ges., Wien 1908, und Anthropos IV (1909) S. 1038 ff.

steht oder den Schlußvers der musikalischen Strophe wiederholt (Nr. 1). Aber auch, wo dem Chor eine plastische Melodie zufällt (Nr. 2, 4, 9), bleibt diese doch bei allen Wiederholungen unverändert (Refrain). Es ergibt sich nun leicht, daß der Chor seine Schlußnote noch in den Beginn des Vorsängersolos hinein aushält (Nr. 8, 9 bei B^2), oder, was auf dasselbe hinauskommt, der Solist vorzeitig einsetzt. (Beim Gedächtnisspiel Nr. 15 beeilt sich der Gefragte natürlich mit seiner Antwort; aber auch der Fragende wird gespannt auf sein Stichwort warten.) So wird aus dem Wechsel- ein Zwiegesang. Zunächst nur stellenweise: Nr. 5 gibt ein schönes Beispiel dieser Übergangsform (Refrain-Ostinato). Ist das Chormotiv länger und sind die Pausen zwischen den Wiederholungen kürzer, so entstehen echt polyphone Gebilde: der rhythmisierte Bordun, wenn sich das Chormotiv auf einen einzigen Ton beschränkt (Nr. 1, vgl. auch Nr. 6!), und das Ostinato, wenn als Refrain ein mehrtöniges Motiv auftritt (Nr. 7); ein prinzipieller und für die Entwicklungsgeschichte bedeutsamer Unterschied liegt hierin aber nicht.

Alle drei Prinzipien wirken in der komplizierteren Polyphonie des chorbegleitenden Xylophonstücks (Nr. 12) zusammen: parallel gehen die beiden Instrumentalstimmen in den Zwischenspielen, ferner der Chor mit der oberen Xylophonstimme im ersten Takt fast aller Teile; aber der Parallelismus ist durch manche heterophone Abweichungen unterbrochen. Eine bordunartige Fermate bildet das tiefe *a* des Chors in den D-Teilen. Die untere Xylophonstimme beschränkt sich auf ein eintaktiges Ostinato-Motiv, in dem bloß das zweite Viertel wechselt; auch die Melodie der Oberstimme wird im wesentlichen durch variierte Wiederholung eines eintaktigen Motivs gebildet (besonders deutlich in D^1 D^2). Man kann daher — abgesehen von den Zwischenspielen (B, C) — den Instrumentalpart als Doppelostinato auffassen, das die Chormelodie begleitet.

Es liegt in der Natur der nichtharmonischen polyphonen Formen (Heterophonie, Bordun, Ostinato), daß neben Konsonanzen zahlreiche dissonante Zusammenklänge vorkommen, und zwar auch ohne „Auflösung". In Nr. 7 zeigt sich immerhin eine gewisse Bevorzugung der Konsonanzen (Einklang, Quart, Quint) an melodisch markanten Stellen (den Schlüssen des Chorrefrains); ebenso in Nr. 12, wo die beiden Xylophonstimmen auf dem letzten Viertel jedes Taktes (außer in B, C) Oktaven oder Quarten (Undezimen) geben, die Chorstimme an den Teilschlüssen die Unterquarte *(h)*, auf dem ausgehaltenen Bordunton die Unterquinte *(a)* des Haupttons *(e)* bringt [1]).

[1]) Die eigentliche Stimmung des Instruments (vermutlich 7 stufige Temperatur), die sich in unserer Notenschrift schwer adäquat wiedergeben läßt, bringt es mit sich, daß manches im Notenbild kraus erscheint, was in Wirklichkeit so übel nicht klingt; wie der Triton *d-gis*, der wohl als Quarte hingehen mag.

Sieht man in der Harfenbegleitung (Nr. 14) von dem heterophonen Mittelton *(c)* ab, so geben die beiden Stimmen — die die Chormelodie wieder mit einem Doppel-Ostinato begleiten — ebenfalls nur Quarten und Quinten. Dieser Befund stimmt gut zu den Quarten-Parallelen, die die Harfe als Nachspiel in einem bei Trilles[1]) notierten Gesang ausführt; um so verdächtiger erscheinen die Terzengänge [2]) und noch mehr die Moll-, Dur- und verminderten Dreiklänge [3]), die er demselben Instrument zuschreibt.

c) Rhythmus.

Neben der Mehrstimmigkeit ist der Rhythmus das bemerkenswerteste Moment an den Pangwemelodien. Er zeigt vielfach eine Höhe der Entwicklung, der der Europäer unvorbereitet gegenübersteht. Es ist uns oft unmöglich, die rhythmischen Komplikationen beim bloßen Hören zu erfassen, und erst sorgsames Studium der Phonogramme, unter Mithilfe des Metronoms, läßt den objektiven Sachverhalt erkennen. Die Schwierigkeiten für unsere Auffassung liegen in erster Linie in der ungewohnten Verteilung der Akzente und in der Phrasierung (Atempausen). Betonung der „schlechten" Taktteile (Nr. 4), Synkopen (Nr. 8, 12 E) und betonte lange Vorschläge (♪♩. Nr. 1, 14) sind im Zusammenhang noch leicht verständlich; dagegen wirkt die Akzentverteilung in den Xylophonstücken (vgl. Nr. 12, besonders B, C) mit Synkopierungen und dem schnellen Tempo in verwirrender Weise zusammen [4]). Mit besonderer Vorliebe verwenden die Pangwe Triolen im Wechsel mit zwei- oder vierteiligen Gruppen (Nr. 4, 6, 9, 10, 11). (Nur ausnahmsweise erscheint diese Rhythmisierung durch den Text gefordert [Nr. 15]). Auf dasselbe Prinzip lassen sich Bildungen zurückführen, wie sie Nr. 2 zeigt, wo an Stelle eines $^6/_8$-Taktes (in A) ein $^6/_4$-Takt, und Nr. 10, wo an Stelle eines $^9/_8$-Taktes ein $^3/_4$-Takt bei gleichbleibender (absoluter) Taktlänge auftritt; die Komplikation ist im einen Falle noch durch den — auch sonst weit verbreiteten — Wechsel von $^3/_4$ und $^6/_8$ (vgl. auch Nr. 1, i) erhöht, im andern durch die Auflösung des ersten und dritten

---

[1]) Anthropos V, S. 172.

[2]) Anthropos IV, S. 954.

[3]) ibid. S. 959.

[4]) Bei der Niederschrift wurde die Geschwindigkeit um mehr als die Hälfte verlangsamt. Die Gewähr für die Richtigkeit der Wiedergabe liegt in der Übereinstimmung der Wiederholungen und in der glatten Durchführbarkeit des Taktschemas, das sich aus der Chorstimme ergab. — Zu beneiden ist die Begabung eines Gewährsmannes von P. Trilles, der Rhythmen wie 𝄴 𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯

Viertels in Triolen. Ein Beispiel von Polyrhythmie gibt das Stück Nr. 14, in dem der $^6/_8$-Takt des Chors durch den $^4/_4$-Takt der Harfe begleitet wird.

Wechsel von ungleichlangen Takten kommen selten vor (Nr. 3, 9) und sind wohl sicher nicht als solche gemeint, beruhen vielmehr auf einer gewissen Freiheit in der Deklamation des Vorsängersolos, in dem es ja auf genaue Einhaltung einer konstanten Gruppenlänge weniger ankommt.

Das Tempo wird im allgemeinen mit großer Genauigkeit eingehalten. Wird der Rhythmus besonders markiert, wie in Nr. 8 (Händeklatschen), so ist die Konstanz des Zeitmaßes so streng, daß die Schläge das ganze Stück hindurch absolut genau mit denen eines Metronoms zusammenfallen. Auf ein gutes absolutes Tempogedächtnis lassen die zweimal zu verschiedenen Zeiten aufgenommenen Stücke schließen, die beide Male genau (Nr. 4) oder doch nahezu (Nr. 1, 5) gleich schnell genommen werden [1]).

d) Form.

Während die rhythmische Gliederung innerhalb der Melodieteile fast in allen Musikstücken der Pangwe sich streng an ein bestimmtes Schema hält — so streng, daß ihm selbst eingeschobenes Parlando und Zwischenrufe (Nr. 5) angepaßt werden —, werden die Melodieteile selbst in ziemlich freier Weise aneinandergereiht. Aus den Doppelaufnahmen (Nr. 1, 4, 5) geht deutlich hervor, daß die Zahl und Reihenfolge der Wiederholungen vielfach der Willkür der Sänger überlassen bleiben. Im allgemeinen scheint eine Vorliebe für dreiteilige Perioden zu bestehen (Nr. 2, 4, 7, 10, 11), doch werden die Teile häufig durch Einschiebsel verlängert (Nr. 3, 7) oder auch durch Auslassungen verkürzt. Manche Melodien zeigen Annäherung an einen fünfteiligen Periodenbau (Nr. 1, 12). So erscheint der Aufbau, obwohl durchaus nicht regellos, doch nicht besonders kunstvoll. In der Gesamtform verrät sich eben der Einfluß der Improvisation, die ja die Vokalmusik der Bantu allgemein beherrscht.

Wie stark indes die formende Kraft der feststehenden überlieferten Melodien ist, zeigt sich in der schon erwähnten Anpassung der Einleitungs- und Schlußformel der Seelenfestgesänge an die Hauptmelodie und noch überzeugender darin, daß selbst ein Zwischenruf, der nicht eigentlich zum Gesangtext gehört (Nr. 5), sich dem Rhythmus des Ganzen einfügt und so die zeitlich genaue Wiederholung des Chorrefrains ermöglicht.

---

[1]) Die eingeklammerten Metronomzahlen im Notentext beziehen sich auf die zweite Aufnahme.

Abschnitt XXI.

Rätsel, Märchen und Sprichwörter.

Rätsel: Entstehung, Bedeutung des Namens, Beispiele. — Nachahmung von Tieren. — Nachahmung und Deutung von Tierstimmen, Beispiele (Kuckuck, Pirol, Wegtaube). — Längere Erzählungen zur Erklärung von Tierstimmen, Beispiel (Die Klage der Schnecke). — Märchen: Einteilung; erklärende Märchen, Beispiel (Wie die Tiere daran schuld wurden, daß sie durch Bogen und Pfeil, durch Angeln und durch Stellnetze getötet werden). — Unterhaltende Märchen. I. Tiermärchen: Beispiele (1. Der Leopard und die Schildkröte; 2. Die Schildkröte, der Leopard und der Schimpanse). II. Märchen aus dem Menschenleben. III. Melusinensage: Beispiel (3. Die schöne Mekükü). — Belehrende Märchen: Beispiel (Der Geieradler und das Mädchen). — Fabeln: Anwendung, Beispiel von der Schlange und dem Andropadus. — Übergang zu den Sprichwörtern, Beispiel (Geben oder Fortnehmen). — Sprichwörter, Beispiele.

---

1. Rätsel, Tierstimmendeutung.

Die Rätsel und Tiernachahmungen sind ohne Zweifel aus dem Spiele bzw. dem Trieb, sich zu unterhalten und durch lustige Darbietungen zu erfreuen, hervorgegangen. Der Ausdruck *a käne ngán (a kiẹ̄ne ngán)* bedeutet z. B. sowohl Tauspiele vorführen als auch Rätsel raten; wörtlich heißt *a käne ngán:* Zweideutiges entwirren [1]).

Eine Anzahl Rätsel sind schon an verschiedenen Stellen in den Text (besonders in Abschnitt V) eingestreut worden, einige weitere Proben seien im folgenden angeführt. Jedesmal, wenn man sich Rätsel erzählt, sagt der

Rätselaufgeber: *kándʼń* F. oder *apfilań* Nt., Nordp., der

Ratende: *kándʼń* F. oder *azǒk (anzǒk)*, Nt., Nordp.

(die Bedeutung dieser Worte ist völlig unbekannt).

1. Rätsel: *ma wä,ä kạbäd a kólǭgǭ, a nga*
Ich werfe ein Schaf in (die) Kletten (**Plectranthus**), es lebte
sö', käkä kólǭgǭ.
(heraus)kommen, keine Kletten.

Lösung: *mbä,ń ẓǭk* = Elefantenzahn.

2. Rätsel: *ndä a ne m' okö', kaa mbẹ̄ĩ.*
Haus, es ist mir dort, keine Tür.

Lösung: *akjẹ̄-kńb* = Hühnerei.

---

[1]) *nga* deutet etwas an, was nach zwei Richtungen geht (vgl. Abschn. II S. 22).

[p. 358]

3. Rätsel: *elɪ̃ e ne m' okõ, sõ[k] o sɪ, tśɪn o jõb.*
Baum, er ist mir dort, Krone nach unten, Stamm nach oben.
Lösung: *dũɪ̃* = Nase (aber Nase der schwarzen Leute!).

4. Rätsel: *efũ,a-kũb e dãn madźõm.*
Weißes Huhn, es fliegt über (das) Kardamomgebüsch.
Lösung: *mɪɛ̃* = Mondschein.

5. Rätsel: *ma sõ wõ, ma kẽ wõ.*
Ich komme her (lautnachahm.), ich gehe hin (lautnachahm.).
Lösung: *ekõk* = **Panicum sulcatum** Aubl., wegen des Rauschens der breiten Blätter.

6. Rätsel: *endõngendõn, mõ̃ngo ã jõm.*
Hin- und Herschwanken, Junge (Kind) des Sanaga.
Lösung: *nkã'ba-ndũãn* = Flamme (Sanaga als fast sagenhafter riesiger Fluß an Stelle von Element, Kind des Elements = Flamme, Kind des Feuers).

7. Rätsel: *tã'da a bẽ'i, mõ̃n okõ, adźõ, a nga tade dźõ,*
Mein Vater, er zeugte Kind dort, die Rede, es lebte früher reden,
elõ a ngón a dźõ a mũ.
natürlich es noch lebt zu reden zurzeit (eigentl. i. d. Umgegend).
Mein Vater (das ist Gott) zeugte ein Kind. Und die Sprache, die es früher gesprochen hat, genau dieselbe spricht es auch natürlich noch heute.
Lösung: *ašõ,k* = Wasserfall.

8. Rätsel: *atüẹ mvõ,n a tśũ,be (a tũ,be) mfãn akõ̃m.*
Durchleckender Regen, er durchdringt Wurzel der Terminalie.
Lösung: *isĩ, a tśũ,be egbüigbüe nnõ.*
Haare, sie sprossen heraus (aus) abrasiertem Kopf.

9. Rätsel: *abõk a ne m' ekũ,m e dũm, mõ kẽ*
Tanz, er ist mir auf Baumstumpf der Ceibe, Mensch nicht
lẽ (= lige) abõk.
bleibt zurück (beim) Tanz (= keiner bleibt zurück, der nicht tanzte).
Lösung: *oyõ* = Schlaf.

10. Rätsel: *ngɪ e bãgebe ma akõ̃m.*
Gorilla, er liegt ausgestreckt mir (auf dem) Felsen.
Lösung: *nɪn* = Laus (auf dem Kopfe).

11. Rätsel: *o ne bŭ[m]bŭmo, ba ne: bŭmo ṛä.*
Du bist Schläger, sie sagen: schlage hier!
Du bist ja einer, der schlagen kann, da sagt man: so schlage mal hier drauf!

Lösung: *mesọ̀ makọ̀* = Speerspitzen.

12. Rätsel: *o ne bõbḕle, ba ne: bḕle ṛä.*
Du bist (ein) Haltender, sie sagen: halte hier!
Du bist ja einer, der halten kann, da sagt man: so halte mal hier!

Lösung: *ndõõn* = Feuer.

In der mimischen Darstellung von Eigentümlichkeiten der Tiere sind die Pangwe meiner Meinung nach keine so großen Meister wie andere Negerstämme, obgleich sich auch die Fang trefflich darauf verstehen, so z. B. sah ich sie einmal den Bartvogel **Buccanodon duchaillui** (Cass.), *ejṛle*, nachahmen. Dieser Vogel mit seinem drolligen nervösen Wesen, dem Kopfdrehen und unruhigen Flügelklappen wurde vorzüglich wiedergegeben, dazu sang der Schauspieler einen Vers, der in demselben Tonfall gehalten war, wie der eigenartige schüchterne Gesang des Vogels.

Meister dagegen sind sie in der Deutung und Nachahmung von Tier-, insbesondere Vogelstimmen, von denen einige Beispiele hier angeführt seien. Im übrigen muß ich auf meine Veröffentlichung in der „Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1907 Heft 4—5," verweisen.

Aus dem dreistufigen Ruf des westafrikanischen Kuckucks **Cuculus solitarius** Steph. und **gabonensis** Lafr. *(owẅa)* hört man die Worte heraus: *tite e sè afḕo* = Tiere (d. h. Fleisch, für den Kuckuck eßbare Tiere) sind nicht im Walde, oder gar: *mṛḕi a sè afḕo* = schön ist's nicht im Busch. Den Pirol, **Oriolus** *(mṛäṇn)*, läßt man unter anderem sagen: *kị nkọ̀ elŭn* = hau ab den Stamm des **Erythrophloeum guineense** (Giftpflanze). Sehr hübsch wird der Ruf der Wegtaube, **Chalcopelia afra** (L.) *(odẅ)*, erklärt. Sie bat nämlich einst die Schnecke, die so leise am Wege einherkriecht, um Medizin, die bewirken solle, daß auch sie von den Leuten nicht gehört und nicht gesehen würde. Die Schnecke sagte darauf: „Ja, das kann ich dich lehren, du mußt nur aufpassen, wie ich es mache, und vor allem ganz leise und still am Wege sitzen bleiben. Gehe nun dort hinten hin und warte!" Die Wegtaube tat so, obgleich ihr dabei sehr ängstlich zumute war. Bald kamen nun Leute daher, und die Wegtaube, welche die Schritte hörte, rief der Schnecke zu:

a ákúke, nnḕm a bọ̀ ma abŭm: dźṇge, dźṇge, dźṇge.
O Schnecke, Herz, es macht mir im Bauch: tik tik tik.

Da wurden die Leute auf die Wegtaube aufmerksam, und sie rannte (flog) Hals über Kopf davon. An der Schnecke aber gingen sie ruhig vorüber.

Auch im Anschluß an längere belehrende Erzählungen wird eine passende Erklärung von Tierstimmen gegeben, so daß man sich die betreffende Lehre jedesmal ins Gedächtnis zurückrufen wird, wenn man den Ruf des Tieres hört:

Die Klage der Schnecke.

Einst wohnten alle Tiere in einem Dorf, die Schnecke mit ihrer Mutter allein bewohnte ein anderes. Einmal trat nun eine große Hungersnot ein, und alle Tiere magerten ab, da sie sich nur elend von Kräutern und Früchten, die sie im Walde auflasen, ernährten. Die Schnecke ging auch täglich in den Wald und fand einmal sehr schöne Pilze. Die nahm sie nun mit zu ihrer Mutter und sagte: „Aha, schon haben wir eine gute Speise, wir werden sie aufbewahren und morgen auch davon leben können." Da legte sie sie auf ein Röstbrett, um sie zu trocknen. Am nächsten Tage ging die Schnecke wieder in den Wald und suchte mehr Pilze. Als sie wieder zu Hause ankam, fand sie nichts als einen Schmutzhaufen, der von den Pilzen noch übrig geblieben war, vor. Da sagte sie zu ihrer Mutter: „O, du hast nun alle Pilze durch deine Unachtsamkeit verdorben, siehe morgen besser zu." Da legte sie denn die neuen Pilze auch auf das Röstbrett, um sie zu erhalten, und ging am nächsten Tage wieder an dieselbe Stelle und fand wieder neue Pilze, die der Regen hervorgebracht hatte; Erfreut ging sie mit ihrem Fund nach Hause, fand aber wieder alle Pilze vom vorigen Tag verdorben vor. Da sagte sie zu ihrer Mutter: „O, meine Mutter, ich gehe jeden Tag in den Wald, um Essen zu suchen; wenn ich dann wiederkomme, ist alles verdorben durch deine Trägheit. Ich will das nun nicht mehr leiden, paß mir besser auf!" Da ging die Schnecke den nächsten Morgen früh wieder auf die Suche, nachdem sie die Pilze zum Trocknen hingelegt hatte. Als sie zurückkam, war alles wieder wie früher verdorben. Da wurde sie sehr zornig und sagte zu ihrer Mutter: „Dies ist doch zu arg. Ich gehe stets die Pilze mit großer Mühe suchen, und wenn ich sie gefunden habe, verdirbst du sie! Nun bin ich aber deiner überdrüssig!" Da nahm sie ein Holzscheit und schlug im Zorn auf die Mutter los und traf sie gerade auf die Nase, so daß sie auf der Stelle tot umfiel. Die Schnecke begrub dann ihre Mutter.

Monate waren verflossen, und die Zeit des Säens war gekommen. Alle Tiere hatten fleißig Busch geschlagen, ihn trocknen lassen, Feuer hineingelegt und alles soweit in Ordnung gebracht, daß die Frauen mit dem Legen von Erdnüssen und Mais beginnen konnten. Das war eine hilde Zeit! Wer nicht eine Frau hatte, für den säte seine Schwester oder Tante, oder wer selbst die nicht hatte, dem half seine Mutter, die Farm zu besäen. Nur die Schnecke saß einsam

in ihrem Dorfe. Kein Mensch half ihr, da sie keine Schwester und keine Frau hatte. Ihre Mutter aber!? Die hatte sie selbst im Jähzorn erschlagen, und sie mußte nun furchtbaren Mangel leiden. Da ergriff die Schnecke große Traurigkeit und Reue um ihre schlechte Tat. Sie stand auf, ging in den Wald und klagte laut und rief:

o..., ngɛ̄ ma jɛ̄m, ngɛ̄ ma nga vüi nana ebō̄ rüŋ...

O! wenn ich (das) gewußt hätte, als ich tötete Mutter (wegen) verdorbener Pilze.

(O! hätte ich das gewußt, als ich meine Mutter um nichts tötete!)

Und wenn du nun abends den klagenden Ton im Busch hörst, so weißt du nun: das ist die Schnecke, die um ihre erschlagene Mutter klagt!

Mit dieser Erzählung sind wir bereits bei den Märchen angelangt. Ich teile sie in erklärende Märchen, eigentliche (unterhaltende) Märchen und belehrende Märchen — dem Sinne nach Trilles folgend [1]) —, doch ist diese Einteilung nicht ganz unanfechtbar, da schließlich alle Märchen sowohl unterhalten als auch den Geist bilden, d. h. erklären und belehren sollen. Immerhin ist sie empfehlenswert, da in der Tat bei einigen der Zweck, mehr erklären als belehren zu wollen, bei anderen der umgekehrte deutlicher hervortritt. Für die erklärenden Märchen, zu denen schon die vorige Erzählung von der Schnecke zu rechnen ist, sei als typisches Beispiel folgendes aufgeführt:

Wie die Tiere schuld daran wurden, daß sie durch Bogen und Pfeil, durch Angeln und durch Stellnetze getötet werden.

Einst sagte die Schildkröte zu der Antilope, sie möge alle Tiere zusammenrufen zu einer großen Sache — Säugetiere, Vögel und Fische. Das geschah auch, und zum angegebenen Tage füllte sich das Versammlungshaus der Schildkröte mit allen Säugetieren, Vögeln und Fischen — niemand war zurückgeblieben. Nun nahm die Schildkröte das Wort und sagte: „Freunde, ich habe euch zusammengerufen wegen einer großen Sache. Es ist nämlich eine Pflanze im Walde, die müßt ihr ganz aufzehren; falls ihr das nicht tut, werdet ihr sterben!" Da fragten die Tiere: „Was ist das für eine Pflanze?" Darauf erwiderte die Schildkröte und sprach: „Kommt nur mit, ich werde sie euch schon zeigen!" Da gingen alle Tiere mit ihr, und die Schildkröte führte sie auf einen Platz, wo der Urwald niedergeschlagen und abgebrannt war, damit dort eine Pflanzung entstehe. Dort waren die Schößlinge der Apocynacee **Gaertnera paniculata** Beuth. *(esō̄mo)* [2]) neu emporgesprossen. Diese zeigte nun die Schildkröte den Tieren und

[1]) P. H. Trilles, Proverbes, Légendes et Contes Fang, erschienen im Bulletin de la Société Neuchateloise de Géographie, Tome XVI, 1905, S. 125 ff.

[2]) Die Blätter und Stengel dieser Pflanze sind sehr bitter; aus der Pflanze werden Stricke gemacht (siehe Bd. I, S. 210).

sagte: „Die Pflanze, von der ich euch gesagt habe, ihr müßt sie essen, wenn ihr nicht sterben wollt, sie ist hier!" Da wunderten sich die Tiere alle sehr und wollten nicht daran gehen, denn sie kannten die Pflanze nicht als Nahrungsmittel. Die Schildkröte sagte: „Gut, ganz wie ihr wollt, ich sage bloß, wenn ihr die Pflanze nicht essen wollt, so werdet ihr sterben!" Da kamen die Fische näher heran und legten die Blätter in den Mund. Als sie aber den bitteren Geschmack wahrnahmen, aßen sie nicht weiter davon, sondern liefen weg und stellten sich im Hintergrunde auf, um der weiteren Entwicklung der Dinge zuzusehen. Die Säuger und Vögel wollten aber die Pflanze auch nicht essen, sondern liefen alle weg in den Busch.

Nicht lange dauerte es, da waren die Schößlinge ziemlich groß geworden, und Jungen kamen, die schnitten sie ab, machten ein Tau daraus, knoteten es an einen Bogen aus Raphiarinde, nahmen Pfeile aus Raphiarinde und gingen in den Busch. Da hörte die Schildkröte: *ngbwǒm* (lautnachahmend), wie der Pfeil von der Sehne schnellte, und schon stürzte ein Vogel tödlich getroffen ins Gebüsch. Da ging die Schildkröte an den Vogel heran und sagte: „Siehst du! Was ist der Grund, daß du nicht die Pflanze *esǔmo* essen wolltest? Nun ist es so gekommen, wie ich gesagt habe. Hättest du diese Pflanze gegessen, so wärest du nicht gestorben!" Dann schlug sie sich seitwärts in die Büsche. Zum andern machten Leute ein Tau aus der Gaertnera, banden es oben an eine Raphiablattstielrippe, knüpften unten ans Tau einen Angelhaken und gingen zum Wasser. Wub!, hatten sie schon einen Fisch gefangen. Die Schildkröte aber ging an den sterbenden Fisch, der im Grase lag, heran und sagte: „Siehest du nun!? Habe ich nicht gesagt: ‚Wenn ihr die Pflanze *esǔmo* nicht eßt, so werdet ihr sterben!' Nun habe ich richtig prophezeit!" Andere Leute aber kamen wiederum, machten Taue aus der Pflanze Gaertnera, knüpften sie zu einem Netze zusammen und stellten dies im Urwald auf, indem sie es ordentlich an der Seite befestigten. Nun trieben sie den Urwald ab, und eine Antilope verfing sich in dem Netz, und die Leute kamen, sie zu töten. Da ging die Schildkröte zu ihr und sagte: „Siehst du! Warum wolltest du nicht die Pflanze essen, von der ich sagte, ihr würdet alle sterben, wenn ihr sie nicht vertilgen würdet? Nun ist meine Voraussagung in Erfüllung gegangen, und du mußt sterben!"

Von unterhaltenden Märchen kann man dem Stoffe nach solche unterscheiden, die aus dem Tierleben (Légendes des animaux nach Trilles), sowie solche, die aus dem Menschenleben hergeleitet sind, und das sind dann meist Zaubermärchen (Légendes merveilleuses nach Trilles). Ihren Höhepunkt bilden die „Melusinensagen".

Von den Tiermärchen seien zwei Beispiele hier angeführt.

1. Der Leopard und die Schildkröte (Fang-Märchen).

Einst waren Leopard und Schildkröte gut Freund, und weil sie jeden Tag nur Kassave und Gemüse zu essen hatten, beschlossen sie, gemeinsam auf Tierfang zu gehen. Sie machten sich also auf und errichteten im Walde an geeigneter Stelle Jagdhütten. Dann begannen sie eine Zugfalle zu machen, und schon fingen sie am nächsten Morgen eine Weißrückenantilope [1]). Darauf rösteten sie das Fleisch in ihrer Hütte und machten die Falle zu neuem Fang zurecht. Als sie am anderen Morgen nachsahen, hatten sie eine Ssoantilope [2]) gefangen. Auch diese rösteten sie und stellten die Falle wieder auf. So fingen sie noch eine Menge anderer Tiere, und sie blieben sehr lange Zeit im Busch. Da sagte der Leopard: „Ich glaube, es ist Zeit, daß wir wieder nach Hause gehen." Alle beide machten sich nun daran, Buschkörbe zu flechten und das Fleisch hineinzupacken. Sie legten auch fürsorglich Blätter in die Körbe, damit andere Leute nicht sehen konnten, was sie darin hatten. Dann schliefen sie noch eine Nacht in der Hütte, da sie am anderen Morgen zeitig aufbrechen wollten. In der Nacht aber erwachte die Schildkröte und dachte: „Halt, wozu braucht denn der Leopard all das Fleisch, ich werde es ihm stehlen." Da ging sie hin und suchte viele Steine und tat sie dem Leoparden in den Korb, während dieser ruhig weiterschnarchte, das Fleisch aber legte sie in ihren eigenen Korb. Am anderen Morgen in der Frühe brachen die beiden auf, da sie nichts in der Falle mehr gefunden hatten, und gingen nach Hause. Bald trennte sich der Weg der Schildkröte und der des Leoparden, und sie verabschiedeten sich an dieser Stelle. Als der Leopard zu Hause ankam, traf er gerade seine Frau, wie sie Kassave zerrieb, eine andere, wie sie Makabospinat machte. Da rief er aus: „Werft doch dieses alles weg, ich will es nicht mehr sehen, denn ich habe viel Fleisch mitgebracht." Darüber freuten sich natürlich die Frauen sehr, warfen auch gleich das Essen weg und waren sehr begierig auf das Fleisch, welches der Leopard mitgebracht hatte. Der Leopard ging denn auch daran, seinen Korb auszupacken, aber — o Schrecken! — er fand nichts als Steine. Da jammerten die Frauen sehr und machten dem Leoparden viele Vorwürfe. Der aber sagte: „Ach, meine geliebten Frauen, ich kann wirklich nichts dafür, das muß die böse Schildkröte gewesen sein, die mir das Fleisch gestohlen hat." Da schalten die Frauen sehr auf die Schildkröte und sagten: „Wir haben nun alles Essen weggeworfen, es ist doch besser, wenn wir dafür Bezahlung bekommen." Der Leopard aber ging hin, und überall, wo er eine Schildkröte sah, fraß er sie rein auf bis auf die Schale. Daher die Feindschaft zwischen Leopard und Schildkröte.

---

[1]) **Cephalophus longiceps** Gray *(mvɑ̃)*.
[2]) **Cephalophus dorsalis** Gray *(sö)*.

2. Die Schildkröte, der Leopard und der Schimpanse.

Einst wohnten Schildkröte, Leopard und Schimpanse in drei verschiedenen Dörfern, die nicht weit voneinander lagen, etwa so wie Nssälang, Biänemajong und Alén [1]). Eines Tages nahm der Leopard eine große Axt und ging in den Busch, wo er viel Honig in einem Baum fand. Er tat ihn in ein Blätterbündel und hing ihn in seinem Versammlungshause auf. Während er nun im Wohnhause auf dem Bett lag, stahl die Schildkröte den Honig aus seinem Versammlungshaus. Der Leopard bemerkte den Diebstahl und sagte zum Schimpansen: „Diesen Fall wollen wir morgen gerichtlich untersuchen, hörst du! Und die Schildkröte soll auch dazu kommen!" Am anderen Tage kamen denn auch die Tiere im Versammlungshause des Leoparden zusammen. Die Schildkröte sagte zum Schimpansen: „O, zurzeit ist meine Haut nicht sehr schön, ich will mich waschen gehen." Da sagte der Schimpanse: „Ja, ich werde auch waschen gehen." Darauf gingen beide zum Wasser. Als sie mit dem Bade fertig waren und ihren Körper mit Öl salben wollten, sagte die Schildkröte: „Laßt uns mit dem Öl tauschen; mein Öl ist sehr gut und hat einen schönen Geruch." Da willigte der Schimpanse ein, und sie tauschten. Die Schildkröte salbte sich mit dem Öl des Schimpansen, und der Schimpanse schmierte sich den Honig auf den Pelz, denn die schlaue Schildkröte hatte den Honig in die Öldose getan. Als sie nun zurückkamen, sagte die Schildkröte zum Leoparden: „Wenn du bei irgend jemand viele Bienen auf dem Pelz siehst, so mußt du sagen, der hat den Honig gestohlen." Und richtig, es dauerte nicht lange, als viele, viele Bienen ankamen und sich auf den Pelz des Schimpansen setzten. Der Leopard aber nahm sein Gewehr und schoß den Schimpansen tot.

Die Zaubermärchen behandeln entweder gute Zauberei (also Reichtumsmedizinen, vgl. Abschnitt X S. 7, XII und XIII, Teil 2) oder schlechte Zauberei (also heimlichen Mord, vgl. Abschnitt X S. 8 und XII). Von den ersteren ist ein Beispiel in Abschnitt XIII S. 152 angeführt, von den letzteren in Abschnitt XII S. 136. Als Melusinensage führe ich an:

3. Die schöne Mekükü i (Fang-Märchen).

Es war einmal ein Mann, namens Nsambe (Gott), in einem großen Dorf, der hatte eine Frau, und diese hatte ihm schon viele Kinder geboren. Nsambe aber pflegte jedes Kind bald nach der Geburt aufzufressen. Als dies nun schon fünf- oder sechsmal so gegangen war, sagte die Frau zu sich: „Wie kann dieser Mann immer die Kinder auffressen, das nächste Mal werde ich weit weggehen, um zu gebären, und ihm das Kind nicht wieder geben!" Als es nun Zeit war, daß sie gebären mußte, ging sie in den Busch, um einen geeigneten Platz zu

[1]) Drei nahe gelegene Essauongdörfer am Unterlauf der Abea. Das Märchen stammt von dort.

suchen. Da fand sie eine Felsengrotte, die gerade einen geschützten Raum in sich barg. Hier gebar sie nun eine Tochter und nannte sie Obelle (*obɛ̃le* = eine Plantensorte) [1]). Nun machte sie die Felsgrotte wie eine Wohnung zurecht und brachte viel Essen hinein für ihre Tochter. Als Nsambe sie nun fragte, wo das Kind geblieben sei, sagte sie, es wäre tot gewesen, und so hätte sie es im Busch gelassen. Da ihr diese List gelungen war, so beschloß sie, es nun immer so zu machen. Als sie wieder schwanger wurde, ging sie wieder in das Felsenhaus und gebar eine Tochter, die sie Mbui-Ekon (*mbür* = eine Plantensorte) [1]) nannte, und die dritte Tochter gebar sie auch darin und die hieß Schi-Ekon (rote Plante) [1]), die letzte aber nannte sie wegen ihrer schönen rötlichen (d. h. hellen) Farbe Mekükü = Mondlicht. Ihren Mann, der ihr wegen ihres veränderten Wesens Vorwürfe machte, wußte sie zu täuschen und zu beschwichtigen, obgleich er sehr ungehalten war, daß er die Kinder nicht aufessen konnte. Die Frau brachte den vier Töchtern immer heimlich Essen und zog sie groß.

Nun lebte in einem anderen Dorfe ein junger Mann, der öfters mit der Armbrust in den Wald zog, um Tiere zu schießen. Eines Tages kam er auch auf der Jagd in die Nähe der Felsgrotte und sah die jüngste Tochter, Mekükü, vor der Tür sitzen. Da verwunderte er sich sehr über ihre Schönheit und dachte bei sich: So eine herrliche Jungfrau habe ich doch noch nie gesehen, ich will einmal versuchen, ob ich sie nicht zu meiner Frau machen kann. — Als die Mekükü des jungen Mannes ansichtig wurde, schlüpfte sie gleich in die Grotte zu ihren Schwestern, obwohl ihr der Mann zurief: „Fürchte dich nicht und bleibe, ich habe dich schon lange gesehen!"

Schon den nächsten Tag ging der Mann in das Dorf des Nsambe und sagte: „Ich komme, um deine Tochter anzuhalten, denn ich liebe sie sehr." Da sagte Nsambe: „Was für eine Tochter? Ich habe gar keine Töchter, mein Freund." Da erzählte der junge Mann von seinem Erlebnisse im Walde an der Felsenstelle. Als das Nsambe hörte, sagte er: „Gut, rufe du morgen alle deine Verwandten her, auch ich will die meinigen holen lassen, damit wir über den Fall einen Beschluß fassen. Wenn es sich so verhält wie du sagst, so soll sie deine Frau sein, sonst aber, wenn du hier Lügen auftischst, wird es dir schlecht gehen." Das war der junge Mann zufrieden, und er kam am anderen Tage mit seinen Verwandten wieder in das Dorf des Nsambe. Nun ließ Nsambe seine Frau rufen, fragte sie wegen der Tochter und befahl, sie alsogleich herzurufen. Da ging die Frau fort und kam mit der ältesten Tochter Obelle wieder. Der junge Mann aber schüttelte mit dem Kopfe und sagte: „Nein, diese ist es nicht, rufe die andere." Da rief sie die zweite Tochter, aber wieder sagte der Mann: „Nein, ich meine diese nicht." Da ließ die Frau die dritte Tochter holen, aber der Mann sagte: „Auch diese ist es nicht, die ich im Walde gesehen habe. Du hast noch

[1]) Die Plante ist die dem Monde geheiligte Pflanze (vgl. Bd. II, Religion S. 50).

eine andere Tochter." Da wollte die Frau die jüngste, Mekükü, rufen, die blieb aber im Hause und sagte: „Ich gehe nicht, da ich keine Veranlassung habe." Nun sagte die Mutter, daß ein junger Mann wegen der Heirat gekommen sei. Darauf sagte Mekükü: „Gut, wenn er mich liebt, so soll er einen Korbteller mit Armspangen (Messingdraht) und Perlen füllen, aber einen ganz neuen, der soeben geflochten ist. Wenn er ihn vor meiner Tür hinstellt und ich bin mit dem zufrieden, werde ich kommen." Da ging der Mann sofort hin, kaufte sich Messingdraht und viele Perlen, häufte sie auf einen neuen Teller, stellte ihn vor der Tür hin und bat die Jungfrau zu kommen. Da kam sie heraus, strahlend von Schönheit wie das Mondlicht, und ging mit dem Manne zum Dorfe. Unterwegs lag aber ein Baumstamm über den Weg, und die Jungfrau sagte: „Gut, bis hierher bin ich nun gekommen, ich werde aber nicht über den Baumstamm hinwegsteigen, es sei denn, du füllst noch einen Teller mit Messingdraht und Perlen." Da sagte der junge Mann: „O, das tue ich nur zu gern für dich"; ging hin, kaufte Perlen und Messingdraht und füllte wieder einen Teller auf. Da stieg das Mädchen auch über den Baumstamm und ging mit ins Dorf. Kaum war sie vor dem Hause angekommen, als sie sagte: „Wenn du willst, daß ich hineingehen und deine Frau werden soll, mußt du noch einen Teller mit Armspangen und Perlen auffüllen." Da sagte der Mann: „Das macht mir nichts aus, das tue ich gern." Und füllte noch einen Teller mit diesen Dingen auf und gab ihn dem Mädchen. Da ging es ins Haus. Nsambe aber sagte: „Sei mir als Schwiegersohn willkommen, denn wenn du nicht gewesen wärest, hätte ich nie erfahren, daß ich diese Töchter alle habe. Nimm sie nun in dein Dorf, halte sie aber fürsorglich im Hause, und laß sie nur Essen kochen, weiter nichts! Achte auch darauf, daß keiner mit ihr spielt und sie ein schönes Weib nennt, denn dann werden böse Dinge geschehen!" Das sagte der Mann auch zu und ging mit seiner jungen Frau in sein Dorf, wo er ihr eine ganz neue, schöne Hütte anwies und sie ruhig zu Hause bleiben ließ. So ging es einige Zeit ganz gut, da mußte er aber eines Tages wieder auf Jagd, um Essen für sich und seine Frau herbeizuschaffen. Da rief er seine Schwester herzu und sagte: „Bleibe bei diesem Weib und achte darauf, daß niemand ihr nahe kommt und sie berührt." Das versprach natürlich auch seine Schwester. Kaum war der Mann fortgegangen, als sie sich in die Hütte zu der jungen Frau setzte. Als sie nun deren Schönheit und den tadellosen Körper sah, konnte sie nicht unterlassen, sie zu berühren, und sie rief aus: „Eine sehr schöne Frau bist du doch!" Kaum hatte die Schwester das gesagt, als sich die Frau in einen Affen verwandelte und ganz die Gestalt einer rotschwänzigen Meerkatze annahm. Zuerst ging sie auf die Planten, von da auf die höheren Bäume und verschwand dann im Busch. Nicht lange darauf kam der Mann wieder und fragte seine Schwester:

„Wo ist meine Frau?" Da sagte sie: „O, lieber Bruder, ich habe schlechte Dinge gesehen. Deine Frau ist nicht mehr da!" Der Bruder erschrak sehr. Sie erzählte ihm aber den Hergang und sagte: „Das ist gar kein richtiges Menschenkind gewesen, sondern ein garstiger Affe! Wie kannst du nun darüber so trauern!" Andern Tags ging der Mann traurigen Sinnes in das Dorf seines Schwiegervaters und erzählte sein Unglück. Der gab ihm als Ersatz seine andere Tochter, Obelle, zur Frau. Da ging der Mann mit ihr wieder nach Hause. In der Zeit, wo Obelle auf dem Felde war, um in der Erdnußpflanzung zu jäten, weinte sie immer laut und klagte um ihre Schwester, auch brachte sie kaum einige Unkräuter hinweg, sie mußte zu sehr weinen. Plötzlich rauschte es hinter ihr, und ihre Schwester kam in Affengestalt aus den Büschen; sie legte sodann ihre Haut ab und verwandelte sich wieder in einen Menschen und war so schön, wie sie vorher gewesen war. Da sprach sie zu ihrer Schwester Obelle: „Warum weinst du denn um mich, ich bin nicht gestorben." Die Schwester aber antwortete: „Ach, wie soll ich wohl nicht weinen! Früher haben wir so glücklich gelebt, und nun bist du ein häßlicher Affe. Das ist so viel wie gestorben." Ihre Schwester sagte aber: „Du siehst mich ja, ich bin nicht tot. Laß das Weinen." Dann half sie Unkraut zu jäten und machte das so schnell, daß die Frau bald nach Hause gehen konnte. Kaum machte Obelle sich auf, als schon die Schwester ihre Affenhaut ergriff, sich in eine Meerkatze verwandelte und eins, zwei, drei in den Bäumen verschwunden war. Da ging das Weib klagend nach Hause. So ging es ihr jeden Tag: die Schwester kam, verwandelte sich, half ihr Unkraut jäten, aber sowie Obelle nach Hause gehen wollte, ging Mekükü, trotz Bitten der Schwester, wieder als Meerkatze in den Busch. Schließlich wurde dem Manne auffällig, daß seine Frau immer wehklagend und so schnell vom Felde zurückkam. Er fragte sie also eines Tages nach der Ursache, und die Frau erzählte ihm alles. Da sagte ihr Mann: „Da will ich dir aber helfen, morgen verstecke ich mich in der Nähe und ergreife sie, wenn sie wieder ein Mensch geworden ist." Damit war Obelle einverstanden, und am andern Tage ging sie mit ihrem Manne in die Farm; er versteckte sich nahe der Stelle, wo Mekükü sich zu verwandeln pflegte. Obelle aber ging, wie gewohnt, an ihre Arbeit. Es dauerte auch nicht lange, als Mekükü kam, aber sie lief erst unruhig hin und her, ehe sie sich verwandelte. Da sagte Obelle: „Was fehlt dir denn heute, sonst verwandelst du dich doch immer an dieser Stelle?" Da sagte Mekükü: „Ich rieche hier etwas, es scheint noch ein anderer Mensch in der Nähe zu sein." Die andere sagte aber: „Durchaus nicht, ich bin hier ganz allein." — „Gut," sagte Mekükü, „wenn das aber nicht wahr ist, werden wir nie mehr miteinander sprechen." Darauf legte sie ihre Affenhaut ab und ward wieder ein Mensch. Kaum hatte das ihr Mann gesehen, als er aus seinem Versteck hervorstürzte,

die Affenhaut ergriff und sie in dem Feuer, das die Frauen der Sandfliegen wegen anzuzünden pflegen, verbrannte. Nun fesselte er Mekükü, da er fürchtete, sie würde doch weglaufen, und brachte sie ins Dorf. Mekükü aber war stumm geworden, sie konnte sich wohl noch durch Zeichen verständigen, aber kein Wort kam mehr über ihre Lippen. Darüber wurde ihr Mann sehr traurig; er ging nach allen Medizinmännern des Landes, sie um Rat zu fragen, aber alle wußten nichts dagegen, bis ihm ein Mann sagte: „Du mußt Planten zerreiben als Essen für deine Frau und über dem Topf einen großen Tausendfuß aufhängen. Wenn deine Frau den sieht, wird sie sich erschrecken und fragen: „Wer hat das hier gemacht?" Dann mußt du und alle deine Leute rufen: ‚Da redet sie schon, sie redet schon! und der Bann ist gebrochen." Der Mann tat auch so; er zerrieb die Planten zum Mittagessen und band einen Tausendfuß darüber fest. Dann rief er alle seine Leute zusammen und sagte zu seiner Frau: „Gehe hinein ins Haus, ich habe dir Essen zubereitet." Da ging sie in das Haus, als sie aber den Tausendfuß sah, bekam sie einen Schrecken und sagte: „Wer hat denn das gemacht?" Sofort begannen alle Leute zu rufen: „Nun spricht sie ja! Nun spricht sie ja!" und der Zauberbann war von dem Tage an gebrochen, sie konnte wieder reden. Obelle ging in das Dorf ihres Vaters zurück. Die Liebe der beiden Leute aber wurde nicht mehr durch Zauberei gestört; sie lebten fortan in Glück und Frieden miteinander.

Von belehrenden Märchen sei das hübsche vom Geieradler und dem Mädchen hier aufgeführt.

Der Geieradler[1]) und das Mädchen (Fang-Märchen).

In einem Dorfe auf dem jenseitigen Ufer (von den Fang aus, also dem rechten Ufer) des Kampo (Ntem) lebten einst zwei Leute, Mann und Weib, die eine sehr schöne Tochter hatten. Als diese aber nun herangewachsen war, sprach das Weib zu ihrem Manne: „Wir können dieses Kind nicht mehr bei uns behalten, denn es ist sehr schlecht in seinem Herzen, wir haben nur Elend von ihm. Komm laßt uns ausziehen auf die andere Seite des Flusses, wir wollen da ein neues Haus bauen!" Darauf gab der Mann seinem Weibe recht; sie beschlossen, das Kind zurückzulassen und zogen über den Fluß, wo sie einen neuen Wohnsitz aufschlugen. Das Mädchen erwachte am anderen Tage und sah seine Eltern nicht mehr; es ging in das Versammlungshaus, um seinen Vater zu suchen, sah jedoch niemand; da es aber dachte, die Leute könnten auf den Fischfang gegangen sein, setzte es sich hin und wartete bis zum Abend. Als auch dann niemand kam, begann es zu wehklagen und zu rufen: „O weh, nun haben sie mich hier allein zurückgelassen und sind fortgegangen, und ich werde hier wohl sterben, denn ich habe nichts zu essen." Als es am andern Tage auch

[1]) **Gypohierax angolensis** (E m.) *(dzún*, Mz.: *bíùn* oder *mùn)*. Die Jugendform ist braun, die Altersform dagegen schwarz und weiß.

keinen ihrer Angehörigen sah, ging es wehklagend auf den Weg, um die Ihrigen zu suchen. Bald kam es an einen großen Fluß, den es noch nicht gesehen hatte, den Kampo. Nun begann es noch lauter zu wehklagen: „Meine Eltern sind gewiß über den Fluß gezogen, und ich kann nicht hinüber, denn der Fluß ist sehr breit und unendlich tief. Ich werde hier nun armselig zugrunde gehen!"

Ein Geieradler hörte das Mädchen, kam heran und fragte, was es wolle. Darauf klagte es ihm sein Leid und sprach: „In das Dorf werde ich nie mehr zurückkehren, denn es erwartet mich dort nur Not und Elend, da ist es doch besser, wenn ich hier im Urwalde von den wilden Tieren zerrissen werde." Den Geieradler jammerte das Leid des Kindes, und er sagte: „Nun wohl, ich weiß, wo deine Eltern sind, ich sah sie über den Fluß ziehen, sie haben sich auf der anderen Seite des Stromes ein neues Dorf gebaut! Höre auf zu weinen, ich will dich hinübertragen; aber dort werde ich dir etwas sagen, und wenn du nicht tust, wie ich dir rate, so wirst du sterben müssen. Hast du gehört?" Das Mädchen sagte ja, und der Geieradler nahm es auf seine Schwingen und trug es auf die andere Seite des Stromes. Hier setzte er es nieder und sprach: „Höre genau, was ich dir sage; deine Eltern wohnen gar nicht weit von hier, es befinden sich sehr viele Ölpalmen an ihrem Platze. Nun fangen sie uns dort in Schlingen, die sie am Baume angebracht haben; vier meiner Brüder haben sie schon getötet! Wenn du nun dort hinkommst, so iß niemals von dem Fleische, wenn deine Eltern dir es auch aufnötigen; wenn du einen Adler ißt, so wirst du sterben, und ich werde dein Herz und deine Leber aufzehren!" Darauf verschwand der Geieradler.

Nun ging das Mädchen auf dem Wege, den ihm der Adler gezeigt hatte, in das Dorf. Hier traf es seine Mutter, die sich sehr wunderte und zu ihrem Mann sagte: „Wie? Wir haben dieses Kind auf dem jenseitigen Ufer zurückgelassen, wie kommt es nun hieher?" Als es aber Mittag war und die Sonne senkrecht über den Häuptern der Ölpalmen stand, sah das Mädchen, wie seine Mutter das Fleisch eines Geieradlers, den sie eben gefangen hatte, zubereitete, Pfeffer und Salz daran tat und es auf den Tisch brachte. Die Mutter bot es ihm an, das Mädchen wollte jedoch nicht davon essen. Auf die Fragen seiner Eltern, warum es das Fleisch nicht essen wolle und wie es herübergekommen sei, erzählte es seine Geschichte, auch daß der Geieradler gesagt habe, es müsse sterben, wenn es Geieradlerfleisch äße. Nun aber begann die Mutter, der dieses gerade recht war, ein großes Gerede und nötigte die Tochter dringend. Die Tochter wollte aber nichts essen, obgleich sie sehr hungrig war, denn sie hatte zwei Tage nichts gegessen. Als ihre Mutter dieses sah, redete sie ihr noch mehr zu und sagte: „Du törichtes Kind, weißt du denn nicht, daß dieser Geieradler nicht der ist, der dich über den Kampo getragen hat? Dieser Adler war schwarz

und weiß, während jener Adler braunes Gefieder hatte. Du ißt nun sofort davon!" Des war nun die Tochter müde, und sie sagte: „Nun gut, ich bin der Sache überdrüssig; zwei Tage habe ich nichts gegessen und wenn dieser nicht derselbe Geieradler ist, so werde ich vielleicht nicht sterben!" Darauf setzte sie sich zu Tisch und begann auch von dem Fleisch zu essen. Kaum hatte sie aber ihren ersten Hunger gestillt, als sie sich unwohl fühlte und sich niederlegte. Sie wurde immer kränker, klagte sehr und sagte zu ihrer bösen Mutter: „Habe ich dir nicht gesagt, daß ich sterben müsse, wenn du mir von dem Fleisch zu essen gäbest, nun ist alles wahr geworden, mein Herz und meine Leber und alle Gedärme sind zerrissen, und ich muß hier elendig zugrunde gehen [1])." Und bald starb sie eines schrecklichen Todes.

Als sie eine Seele war und im Schattenreiche weilte, sagte eine andere Seele zu ihr: „Siehst du, warum hast du nicht gehört, was der Adler dir sagte! Er ist es selbst gewesen, den deine Mutter zubereitet und dir gereicht hatte; und du hast von seinem Fleisch gegessen! Hättest du damals auf seine Worte gehört, so hättest du nicht zu sterben brauchen. Das ist die Strafe für deine Torheit und Undankbarkeit!"

Die Fang unterscheiden von den bisher aufgeführten „Märchen" *(nlá,ń I)* die Fabeln *(nkąne I)*, welche in der Hauptsache nicht zur Unterhaltung dienen, sondern vor Gericht erzählt werden, um die Anklage oder Verteidigung des Schuldigen zu unterstützen. Der Redner geht von der Geschichte auf die Handlungsweise des Angeklagten über und zieht so gleich die Nutzanwendung daraus, was niemals den nötigen Eindruck auf die Versammlung zu verfehlen pflegt, vorausgesetzt, daß das Beispiel gut gewählt war. In einem Fall z. B., wo ein Ntumhäuptling einen ihm bisher befreundeten Jaunde beschuldigte, er hätte versucht, sein Weib zu verführen, indem er es in die Pflanzung begleitet und unterwegs durch Fragen belästigt hätte, leitete der Häuptling seine Anklage mit folgender Geschichte ein:

Eine Schlange war einmal mit dem *otǫ,k* (**Andropadus**, Fam. Pycnonotidae, oder Haarvögel) befreundet. Zu der Zeit aber, wo der Andropadus Junge im Nest hatte und ausgeflogen war, Futter für sie zu suchen, schlich sich die

---

[1]) Gesang: *ma tama dzó ʃʊʊ (ʃʊ): o ʃũ ma dźó,*
Ich muß (es) zuerst sagen mit eins: du nicht mußt mir sagen (zu-
nanʊʊ (nə́nə́) — kaka dźi dźúnʊʊ (dźúń); dźúń, nie a va dań
sprechen), Mutter! — Nicht essen Geieradler, Geieradler, er er hatte hinüber-
ma mbǫń nlǫm a mʊʊ (mʊ́ń), dźúń e bǫla
gebracht mich (über) die Furt des Kampo am Tage, Geieradler, er verdirbt
besʊʊ (besʊ́k), dźúń e bǫla menjʊʊ (menjʊ́), a dźúnźę, a dźúnźę,
(die) Leber, Geieradler, er verdirbt (die) Gedärme, o Geieradler, o Geieradler!"

Schlange an das Nest heran und legte sich dicht dabei, denn sie wollte wohl die Jungen fressen. Bald kam der Vogel wieder zurück und sagte zur Schlange: „O, was willst du hier so dicht bei meinen Jungen?" Da sagte die Schlange: „Nichts weiter, bloße Freundschaft!" Da zufällig die Timalie **Alethe castanea** (Cass) *(akáḷát)* in der Nähe war, mischte sie sich in die Sache und sagte zur Schlange: „Sieh mal, wenn du Freund mit dem Andropadus bist, so darfst du dich nicht so dicht bei den Jungen hinlegen, sonst meint man, du wolltest die Kleinen auffressen! Solche Freundschaft ist nur recht zweifelhaft. — *ngbwó tsò tsò tsò tsò ṭáḷk, ngbwó tsò tsò tsò tsáḷk* [1]) = Freundschaft (ist) klein, klein, klein!"

Die Armbrust und die Timalie [2]).

Einmal ging die Armbrust in den Busch, um Tiere zu töten. Da sah sie eine Timalie und legte an, um den Vogel zu töten. Als der das sah, rief er und bat: „Liebe Armbrust, töte mich nicht, laß mich leben; alle andern Vögel, und es sind doch so viele im Busch, mußt du töten, von mir aber laß ab, wir wollen Freunde sein." Da entgegnete die Armbrust: „Gut, aber wie soll ich dich wieder erkennen, wenn ich in den Wald gehe, viele Vögel sind doch genau wie du! Wie ist denn dein Ruf?" Da sagte der Vogel: „Ich habe nur einen Ruf und der ist: *tsa tsa tsa tsa tsa tsa.*" Die Armbrust meinte: „Gut, und ich habe auch nur einen Ruf, der ist: *ngbwɔ̀m*" (das Abschnellen des Pfeiles von der Sehne). Da ging die Armbrust nach Hause. — An einem anderen Tage ging sie wieder in den Busch und erlegte einen Nashornvogel [3]). Darauf ging sie leise weiter und wartete auf andere Tiere. Plötzlich kam ein Vogel ins Gebüsch geflogen, ohne die Armbrust zu bemerken, und rief: *tsa tsa tsa tsa tsa — mɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɔ̀.* Da legte die Armbrust an, denn sie dachte bei sich: „O, dies ist nicht mein Freund, die Timalie," und sagte *ngbwɔ̀m: ɛ́ɛ́* (lautnachahmend) fiel der Vogel zur Erde, und nun sah die Armbrust, daß es doch die Timalie gewesen war. Die aber klagte sterbend: „O, mein Freund, was hast du nun aus mir gemacht! Wie konntest du mich töten?" Die Armbrust sagte: „Ja sieh, daran bist du selbst schuld, du sagtest zuerst, du hättest nur den einen Ruf: *tsa tsa tsa tsa*, und wenn du jetzt stirbst, so hast du dies dir selbst zu verdanken!"

Derartige Geschichten mit Nutzanwendung bilden oft die Veranlassung zur Entstehung eines geflügelten Wortes, das zuletzt zu einem stehenden Sprichwort *(aka, nkɔ̀ne)* wird. Eine solche Geschichte, die zu dem Worte: *ngɛ̀ oa dɛ́ɛ́ɔ̀ ma — ebɔ̀bɔ̀, ngɛ̀ oa bɛ̀ne ma — ebɔ̀bɔ̀* = liebst du mich — der Topf wird es zeigen, liebst du mich nicht — der Topf wird es zeigen, gehört, ist bereits Bd. II, S. 257 angeführt, eine weitere, die einen Übergang von den Geschichten mit Nutzanwendung *(nkɔ̀ne)* zu den Sprichwörtern *(aka, nkɔ̀ne)* bildet, ist folgende:

---

[1]) So wird der Ruf der Timalie wiedergegeben.

[2]) **Alethe castanea** (Cass).

[3]) **Ceratogymna atrata** Temm. *(ngwá)*.

Eine Frau hatte drei Söhne, die alle bucklig waren. Eines Tages sagte die Mutter zu dem ältesten: „Wenn du deine Krankheit los werden willst, so mußt du auf den Platz gehen, wo früher das Dorf stand (*elik* = verlassene Gegend); dort wirst du jemand finden, der dir Anweisung gibt, wie du zu handeln hast!" Der Sohn tat auch, wie ihm gesagt, und als er in die verlassene Gegend kam, hörte er, daß eine alte Frau seinen Namen rief. Da trat er heran, und die Alte sagte zu ihm: „Deine Krankheit wird fortgenommen, wenn du tust, wie dir gesagt wird! Gehe also in das nächste Dorf und schlafe dort. Nachts wirst du es auf dem Dache klopfen hören und eine Stimme wird dich fragen:

ge a rɛ́, rɛ́, ge a rə̌ rə̌

zu geben oder zu fortnehmen?, d. h. geben oder fortnehmen?

Dann antworte nicht *a rɛ́* = geben, sondern *a rə̌* = fortnehmen, und alles wird gut sein. Da tat der Jüngling wie ihm gesagt. Als er nachts schlief, weckte ihn ein Klopfen auf dem Dache, und eine Stimme rief: „*ge a rɛ́, rɛ́, ge a rə̌ rə̌* = geben oder fortnehmen?" Da sagte er: „*a rə̌*" = fortnehmen. Am anderen Morgen, als er aufwachte, war richtig der Buckel vom Rücken verschwunden und lag auf dem Bette. Da ging er erfreut zu seiner Mutter, und die sagte: „Siehst du, habe ich es dir nicht gesagt?"

Am nächsten Tage sagte die Mutter zum zweiten Sohne ebenso, wie sie zum ältesten gesagt hatte, und alles war ebenso und auch er wurde vom Buckel geheilt. Zuletzt sagte die Mutter zum dritten Sohne gleichfalls so, und der ging auch auf die verlassene Stätte. Als er aber sah, daß ihn bloß eine alte häßliche Frau rief, wollte er nicht kommen. Dann ging er in das nächste Dorf und legte sich dort schlafen, wo auch seine Brüder gelegen hatten. Nachts hörte er auf dem Dache ein Klopfen, und eine Stimme rief: „*ge a rɛ́, rɛ́, ge a rə̌ rə̌*" = geben oder fortnehmen? Der Mann antwortete schnell: *a rɛ́* = geben, denn er glaubte, es handelte sich um schöne Sachen, die ihm gegeben werden sollten. Als er aber am anderen Morgen aufwachte, hatte er auch auf der Brust einen großen Buckel und sah nun ganz verunstaltet aus. Als er so zu seiner Mutter zurückkam, sagte sie: „Ja, dieser, mein Sohn, hat nicht gehört, was ich ihm gesagt habe. Nun ist nichts mehr dabei zu machen!"

Zum Schluß gebe ich eine Reihe von Sprichwörtern, die — wie die unsrigen — meist ohne weiteres verständlich sind.

1. *nge oe wɔ: lɛ́ɛ́ — g'o ne ngɔn.*

Wenn du hörst: klirr(en) — du sagst: (ein) Mädchen?

Wenn du etwas klirren hörst, sagst du deshalb: es ist ein Mädchen? Da nicht bloß Mädchen, sondern auch Frauen Messingringe tragen, so darf man nicht glauben, daß jedes Klirren von Mädchen ausgehe.

Deutsches Sprichwort: Es ist nicht alles Gold, was glänzt.

2. *wə̧ na, wə̧ na* oder: *wə̧ na, wə̧ ɟɛ̀ na, akakal abai.*
Du so, du so oder: Du so, du mehr so, Verrückte zwei.

Du bist so und du bist auch so, ihr beide seid unvernünftig!
Niederdeutsches Sprichwort: De een is von Stroh, de anner ebenso!

3. *mɪ mebai ma nɪɛ̀be oyə̄, nsə̄ tʃɪ́ e nɪɛ̀be ɟá, ebai.*
Augen zwei, sie gut (zum) Schlaf, gerade Pflanzung, sie gut (für) Hauer zwei.

Zwei Augen sind gut zum Schlafen, zwei Hauer gut für eine schöne Farm.
Deutsches Sprichwort: Einigkeit macht stark.

4. *oa bɛ̌ madzə́ m' angn, ye o ʃə̄m elɪ.*
Du lauschst (den) Stimmen der Vögel, (Fr.) du hast Fallen gestellt auf den Baum?

Du lauschst den Stimmen der Vögel, hast du die Fallen auf dem Baume gestellt?

5. *mgne ʃə̧k a tə̄rɛ, mɟə̀nə̄k, a bürne engə̄n.*
Kleiner Elefant, er nimmt Frucht der Desplatsia, er schätzt sich Kehle.

Ein kleiner Elefant nimmt eine Frucht der **Desplatsia dewevrei** Burset (die sehr groß ist), da er glaubt, er hätte die Kehle dazu.

Niederdeutsches Sprichwort: Stell den Strang nich wider, as du springen kannst.

6. *móde ə̄ tʃɪ,dan angn abai.*
Mann, er nicht verfolgt Vögel zwei.

Man verfolgt nicht zwei Vögel zugleich.
Deutsches Sprichwort: Keiner kann zween Herren dienen.

7. *dɪ́ɟ a kɟə̄, nnɪ,ɛ̀ a ɟə̄m.*
Heiß im Hals, Mutter sie kochte (es).

Wenn die Suppe auch heiß im Halse ist, man bedenke, daß die Mutter sie gekocht hat.

8. *bə̄ ɪdman enɟə̄, kaa ndɛ̀i akə̄n.*
Man nicht rühmt sich zu leben, kein Enkel (an der) Hinterseite (d. h. bei sich, da der Großvater oft mit dem Enkel auf einem Bett schläft, also Rücken gegen Rücken).

Man soll nicht sagen, man lebt fort, wenn man noch keinen Enkel hat.
Deutsches Sprichwort: Man soll den Tag nicht vor dem Abend loben.

9. *ma ne ngə̄n-kə̄,ɛ̀, ojə̀b: madɪ́ɟm, osi,: matɪ́gk.*
Ich bin Achatina-Schnecke, oben: Wasser, unten: Erde.

Ich bin wie ein Schneckenhaus, wenn es nach oben liegt, ist Wasser darin, wenn es nach unten liegt, Erde.

10. *ayɔ̌b e ɣíɔ̌n, maɔ̌ɣń e kɔ̌s.*
Kälte fürs Hirschferkel, für Fischotter Fische.

Im Wasser, wohin das Hirschferkel (**Hyemoschus aquaticus** Ogilby) bei Gefahr flieht, ist es kalt für das Hirschferkel, für die Fischotter aber gibt es Fische darin.

Niederdeutsches Sprichwort: Wat den eenen sin Uhl is, is den annern sin Nachtigal.

Lateinisches Sprichwort: Si duo faciunt idem, non est idem.

11. *o nga wɔ̌k oyɣn a bülü nkɔ̌n, o n' a jɛ̌n nkɔ̌n e wa,r.*
Du gerade hörst Axt sie zerbricht (im) Stiel, du bist zu sehen Saft des Honigs.

Wenn du hörst, daß der Stiel der Axt zerbricht, dann gerade siehst du schon den Honigseim. (Der Honig wird aus den Bäumen herausgehauen.)

Zwischen Lipp' und Kelchesrand schwebt der dunklen Mächte Hand, oder besser: Wenn die Not am größten, ist Gott am nächsten.

12. *se ntɩ mfɔ̌k, ebɩ̌ e sɩ̌b: endm e ɩ,be, mɩn' akiɣme m' ondɩ.*
Nicht alte Tasche, verdorbenes Eichhörnchen [1]): Vorderfuß des Sumpfbockes, Kind des Akieme Ondo.

Akieme Ondo, ein Essakudan, heiratete ein Essamongunmädchen und zeugte mit ihr ein Kind. Später ging die Mutter zum Besuch nach Essamongun, wurde aber dort zurückbehalten, weil Akieme — wie üblich — nicht alles bezahlt hatte. So sagt der Mann in seinem Galgenhumor: Nicht die alte Tasche will ich haben, auch nicht das verdorbene Eichhörnchen, sondern bloß den Vorderfuß des Sumpfbockes. Mit der alten Tasche (wir würden sagen: alte Schachtel) meint er die Frau, die ihm entrissen, mit dem verdorbenen Eichhörnchen das zum Teil bezahlte Heiratsgeld, das verdorben genannt wird, weil der Schwiegervater es sicher längst für andere Frauen wieder ausgegeben hat, der Sumpfbock dagegen bezeichnet sein Geschlecht, von dem das Kind einen Teil (Vorderfuß) darstellt. Verstärkt wird diese Zugehörigkeit zu dem Klagenden durch: *mɩne akiɣme m' ondɩ* = das Kind Akieme Ondos.

Das Sprichwort wendet sich gegen eine Buße, die zu dem strittigen Gegenstand in keinem Verhältnis steht.

---

[1]) **Sciurus subviridescens** Leconte, ein kleines Eichhörnchen.

Abschnitt XXII.

Bestattung, Trauer.

Verkündung eines Todesfalles durch Trommelsignale. — Herbeirufen des Leichenöffners. — Beruf des Leichenöffners nicht beliebt. — Medizin des Leichenöffners. — Furcht und Ekel der Pangwe vor einer Leiche. — Begräbnis in Akum: Klagen der Verwandten: Leichenrede; dem Toten wird Kleidung und Schmuck abgenommen; Aufbahrung; Grab; Leichenöffnung, Zweck und Verlauf; Beerdigung; Verkündung des Befundes. — Lagerung des Toten im Grab bei Lichtmenschen und guten Zauberern; Bestattung unter Kultfiguren; Lagerung der schlechten Zauberer; Begräbnis der armen Sünder. — Sarg. — Bestattung auf dem Dorfplatze. — Grabpflege. — Trauer; Zeichen der tiefen Trauer und der Halbtrauer; Zeitdauer und Art der Trauer beim Tode von Verwandten: A. Für Frauen; B. Für Männer.

Ist ein Todesfall eingetreten, so gibt man ihn durch ein bestimmtes Signal der Sprechtrommel dem Dorf und der Nachbarschaft bekannt und trifft Vorbereitungen zum Begräbnis, das sehr bald nach dem Tode, d. h. nachmittags, wenn der Betreffende morgens, am folgenden Morgen, wenn er abends gestorben war, stattfindet.

Die wichtigste Persönlichkeit, ohne die das Begräbnis nicht stattfinden kann, ist — wie bei uns der Pfarrer — bei den Pangwe der *mót a len* = Mann, welcher aufschneidet, das ist der Medizinmann, der die bei den meisten Verstorbenen übliche Leichenöffnung vornimmt, von der ich schon beim Zauberglauben (Absch. XII) gesprochen habe. Es ist üblich, ihn — ebenso wie die näheren Verwandten — mündlich von dem Todesfall in Kenntnis zu setzen, da er im Vollbewußtsein seiner Unentbehrlichkeit das Trommelzeichen vollkommen zu überhören pflegt, ja sogar absichtlich auf Reisen geht, um sich den Nimbus zu wahren. Da heißt es, schnell Boten hinterherschicken, die ihn bitten, seines Amtes zu walten, und ihm gleich das Honorar von 20 Speeren (= Mk. 1.40) in die Hand drücken. Er kann sich so etwas um so eher erlauben, als sich nur wenige für seinen Beruf begeistern, einmal, weil sich der Neger davor ekelt — hatten wir doch gesehen, daß er sich schon vor Grauen schüttelt, wenn der Kultleiter einen Tausendfuß durchbeißt —, dann, weil es ihm vor dem Toten selbst graut.

Besonders wird die Leiche eines Medizinmannes gefürchtet, da man sagt, daß sie den bedauernswerten Kollegen anblicken oder gar mit der Hand; an-

[p. 376]

fassen könne. Diese Furcht verläßt den Neger selbst dann nicht ganz, wenn er sich schon dem Beruf des *mót a lèn* zugewendet hat, und er macht sich daher vor der jedesmaligen Leichenöffnung eine Medizin zurecht, die das furchtsame Ding unter den Rippen beruhigen und zugleich bewirken soll, daß der Tote ihm nichts anhaben kann. Dazu zerreibt er Blätter verschiedener Pflanzen und schmiert sie sich in einem rings um den Leib oberhalb der Nabelhöhe (hier sitzt offenbar das Herz!) gezogenen Strich auf den Körper.

Diese Furcht habe ich verschiedentlich beobachtet. Als einmal eine eben erst bestattete Leiche wieder ausgegraben wurde und untersucht werden sollte, hielt nur einer meiner Diener mit mir aus; ein anderer — ein baumstarker Kerl — blieb 5 m abseits im Gebüsch und hielt sich zerriebene Blätter vor die Nase, um sich gegen den Geruch zu schützen; ein dritter dieser Helden, die sich noch dazu Soldaten schimpfen ließen, blieb schon 15 m entfernt, dort, wo der Weg die letzte Biegung machte, und hielt den Karabiner bereit, dem Anschein nach, um s i c h zu Hilfe zu eilen, falls der Tote es etwa wagen sollte, aufzustehen und ihn „mit der Hand anzufassen". Da sich aber vorerst nichts derartiges ereignete, pflanzte er das Gewehr auf und stand stolz ob seines „Mutes" auf der Wache, gerade wie der Neger vor dem Woermann-Hause in Hamburg. Alle übrigen „Soldaten" warteten den Ausgang der Untersuchung weit vom Schuß, in den Plantenhainen hinter den Häusern, ab.

Sind Medizinmann, Verwandte und Freunde des Verstorbenen beisammen, so beginnen die Begräbniszeremonien, eingeleitet von der lauten, weithin hörbaren Trauerklage der Frauen. In Akum (Fam. Essassum) im Ntumgebiet verlief eine solche Feier folgendermaßen:

Aus der Trauergesellschaft, etwa hundert Personen, die im Versammlungshause und vor den Häusern Platz genommen hatten, trat ein älterer Mann vor, gebot Ruhe und hielt dann eine Art Leichenrede. Er führte aus, daß im Kampfe mit den Schumu bereits so und so viele Männer getötet wären, und daß auch der Tote, den sie jetzt beklagten, von diesen Feinden überfallen und getötet sei. Er schloß mit einer Aufforderung zur Blutrache, die wohl noch aufreizender ausgefallen wäre, wenn ich nicht dabei gewesen wäre.

Hiernach schleppte man die Leiche, die inzwischen etwas abseits, von Frauen bewacht, gelegen hatte, auf einem Rindenstück herbei und nahm ihr das Lendentuch, wie allen Zierrat, vor allem den schweren Messinghalsring ab, ein langes und umständliches Verfahren, da der Ring durch Hebelkraft auseinandergebogen werden mußte. Das geschah übrigens nur, weil der Verstorbene im Kampfe gefallen war, sonst werden die Toten mit Kleidung und vollem Schmuck bestattet.

Während dieser ganzen Zeit lag ein würdiger Ernst über der Trauerversammlung, und man hatte durchaus den Eindruck aufrichtigen Schmerzes und Ergriffenseins, auch sah man nichts von Kindern und unreifen Jungen, die bei den Kulten die heilige Handlung durch ihre Anwesenheit oft geradezu stören.

Nach Entfernung des Schmuckes wurde die nackte Leiche auf der Unterlage von Rinde in die hinter den Häusern befindliche Plantenfarm getragen, und neben dem hier ausgehobenen Grabe, einer 1,30—1,50 m tiefen, in Breite und Länge eben ausreichenden Grube niedergelegt. Das Grab *(sɔ̀ɔ̀*, Mz.: *mosɔ̀ɔ̀)* wurde mit den Blättern der **Vernonia conferta** Bth. *(abàngɛ̀k)* ausgelegt, die irgendeine Beziehung zum Tode zu haben scheint, denn sie wird auch bei Kulten vielfach als Medizin benutzt; vielleicht haben die weiße Rinde (weiß, Farbe des Todes) und die großen, schattenspendenden Blätter (Schattenbäume = Friedensbäume, vgl. **Leptonychia,** die Friedenslinde) Veranlassung zu dieser Symbolik gegeben.

Die Richtung des Grabes läuft meist gleich der Häuserreihe von Ost nach West.

Nun trat der Medizinmann heran und öffnete die Leiche, um, wie schon Bd. II, S. 130 ausführlich beschrieben, festzustellen, ob der Tote ein Lichtmensch *(mizmiz)*, ein Mensch mit gutem Zauberwesen *(nnɛ̨m* mit *ezɔ̀-besɔ̀)* oder ein Mensch mit schlechtem Zauberwesen *(nnɛ̨m* mit *ezɔ̀-ngbwɔ́,)* war (vgl. Abb. 137). Nach beendeter Untersuchung legte er die Eingeweide wieder in den Körper und ließ die Haut vernähen. Dann wurde die Leiche ins Grab gesenkt. Nur ein kleiner Teil der älteren Männer harrte am Grabe aus, die übrigen und sämtliche Frauen warteten das Ergebnis bei den Häusern und im Versammlungshause ab. Nach Verkündung des Befundes durch den Medizinmann verlief sich die Versammlung.

Die Lagerung des Toten richtet sich nun nach dem Ausfall der Untersuchung. Die Menschen ohne Zauberwesen *(memizmiz)*, also die Lichtmenschen, legt man auf den Rücken, damit sie nach oben (zur Sonne) sehen, und damit man von oben her den Bauch mit einem Pfahl durchstoßen und die Medizin gegen Zauberwesen hineintun kann. Das Nähere ist in Abschn. XII gesagt worden. Mitunter soll diesen Toten ein Messer in die Hand gegeben werden, damit sie es den Leuten, welche ihre Schädel zu Kultzwecken suchen, in den Leib rennen können.

Die guten Zauberer werden auf der linken Seite liegend bestattet. Jene Medizin wird auch bei ihnen, jedoch seltener, gemacht und dann in die nach oben gerichtete rechte (gute!) Seite eingeführt.

Mitunter werden Tote dieser beiden Gruppen direkt unter einer Schokfigur (vgl. Bd. II, Abb. 73) beerdigt, um sie durch Übertragung der Organi-

Abb. 157. Der Medizinmann untersucht den Leichnam auf eine Ewu.

sationskraft (vgl. Abschn. X) zu einem „lebendigen" Wesen zu machen. Auch hierfür werden Tote der ersten Gruppe bevorzugt.

Die ganz schlechten Menschen, d. h. solche mit einem schlechten Zauberwesen, die bei Lebzeiten Zauberei gegen ihre Mitmenschen getrieben haben, legt man auf die rechte Seite, also mit der linken (schlechten!) nach oben. Sie werden niemals mit einer Medizin gegen Zauberwesen oder gar mit Kultfiguren in Verbindung gebracht. Ja, oft wird ihnen gar nicht einmal die nötige Ehre beim Begräbnis erwiesen, zumal, wenn sie keinen Anhang gehabt haben: Ein paar mitleidige alte Weiber nehmen einen solchen Toten auf, weil kein Mann sich dazu verstehen will, werfen ihn dann einfach in die Grube und lassen ihn liegen, wie er gefallen ist. Erde darauf und fertig! Schlecht und armselig, wie sie waren, so mögen sie auch begraben sein! — Gewiß kommt diese Art der Bestattung nur in Ausnahmefällen vor, aber sie sagt doch genug.

Bei den „besseren Menschen" wird das Grab an allen Seiten mit Rinde ausgelegt, der Tote hineingebettet, ein Stück Rinde darüber gebreitet, so daß ein richtiger Rindensarg *(evin e sin)* entsteht, und dann Erde aufgeschüttet. Bei denen, die im Kriege gefallen sind, kommt auf die Leiche zunächst ein Stück Baumrinde und dann erst Erde.

In der Regel liegen die Gräber, wie in obigem Falle, in der Plantenpflanzung hinter den Häusern, doch habe ich auch mehrfach gehört, daß man seine Angehörigen vor dem Wohnhause bestattete, um sie in der Nähe zu haben. In

Jaunde und Bene ist es sogar allgemeiner Brauch, die Toten auf dem Dorfplatz beizusetzen, und er zeugt von der großen Anhänglichkeit des Negers an seine Lieben.

Die Gräber sollten eigentlich von Unkraut freigehalten werden, es geht aber damit wie mit den Dorfplätzen — ihre Pflege läßt viel zu wünschen übrig und hört, wenn sie erst etwas älter sind, überhaupt auf.

Und doch darf man nicht glauben, daß der Pangwe seine Toten nicht aufrichtig betrauert. Er tut es gewiß, was schon daraus hervorgeht, daß gewisse Dinge, deren man sich nach einem Sterbefall enthält, nicht verboten *(ekɪ,)* sind, und daß die äußeren Trauerbezeugungen, insbesondere das Einhalten einer bestimmten Trauerzeit, wie mir die Neger immer wieder betonten, nicht von einem „Gesetz" vorgeschrieben, sondern lediglich eine Sache des Taktgefühls der Hinterbliebenen sind. Vor Ablauf einer bestimmten Zeit legt man indessen nicht gern die Trauer ab — und das schränkt allerdings das eben Gesagte etwas ein —, weil man fürchtet, die Leute würden sonst sagen: Vielleicht hat der oder die Betreffende um den Tod des Verstorbenen gewußt und ihn gar herbeigeführt (vgl. Erbrecht Bd. II, S. 224)!

Eine zeremonielle Klage um den Toten gibt es nicht. Auch die ist Angelegenheit des Herzens und richtet sich, so sagt der Pangwe, nach den Kräften und der Liebe des einzelnen. Übrigens können besonders Frauen sehr lange ihren verstorbenen Mann beweinen, oft noch lange nach dem Ablauf der Trauerzeit. Diese Trauerklage, die die Eingeborenen von Zeit zu Zeit, wie von plötzlichem Schmerz erfaßt, anstimmen, besteht in einer Art Gesang, aus dem mitunter der Name des Verstorbenen als einziges verständliches Wort herauszuhören ist. Vielfach hört man sie aus der Hütte ertönen, oft aber begegnet man einem trauernden Menschenkind mit hinter dem Kopf gefalteten Händen im Busch oder in den Pflanzungen, wo es tränenüberströmt und laut klagend umherirrt.

Bei den Frauen besteht das äußerliche Zeichen der tiefen Trauer im Anlegen von trockenen Plantenblättern an Stelle der gewöhnlichen Kleidung. (Die Plante ist die Pflanze des Todes.) Die Blätter werden im Südgebiet als Vorder- und Hinterschurz unter den Gürtel gesteckt; in Jaunde bilden sie eine vom Gürtel herabfallende, den Unterkörper deckende Hülle. Ferner entfernen die Frauen den Haarschmuck, rasieren den Kopf und enthalten sich des geschlechtlichen Verkehrs. Bei sehr tiefer Trauer halten sie sich in den Häusern und zeigen sich nicht vor den Leuten. In Jaunde tritt noch ein Bestreichen des Körpers mit weißer Farbe (weiß als Farbe des Todes) hinzu.

Halbtrauer wird angezeigt durch weiße Tücher oder Hinterschürzen, statt der rotgefärbten, durch Enthaltung von Tanzvergnügen und, was damit zusammenhängt, Weglassen der Rotholzbemalung (rot als Farbe des Lebens).

Männer legen zum Zeichen der Trauer ein weißes Lendentuch an, nehmen den Perlenschmuck ab, halten sich vom Tanzvergnügen fern und verzichten auf die Rotholzbemalung.

In nachfolgendem ist eine Aufstellung gegeben, aus der hervorgeht, wie es sich ungefähr mit der Trauerzeit bei dem Tode der verschiedenen Verwandten verhält.

A. Trauer für Frauen.

1. Beim Tode des Mannes: Die Witwe trägt ein halbes Jahr *(mbú)* lang nur Plantenlaub, rasiert sich den Kopf, läßt sich nicht in „Gesellschaft", auch nicht einmal auf dem Dorfplatz sehen und enthält sich des geschlechtlichen Umgangs. Fünf weitere Tage trägt sie Halbtrauer, d. h. weißes Zeug und keinen Schmuck.
2. Beim Tode des rechten Bruders oder der rechten Schwester (Pangwe: „Geschwister von einer Mutter stammend"): zwei bis drei Tage tiefe Trauer, dann fünf Monate Halbtrauer.
3. Beim Tode des Stiefbruders oder der Stiefschwester (P.: Geschwister von zwei Müttern stammend): einen Tag tiefe Trauer, d. h. nur Plantenbekleidung, keine Halbtrauer.
4. Beim Tode eines Kindes:
   I. wenn die Mutter noch fähig ist, zu gebären:
      a) wenn das Kind noch nicht gehen konnte: Die Frau darf einen Monat lang nicht mit dem Manne verkehren (dies ist *ekī*„ da sie sonst nicht wieder gebären würde), ferner legt sie ein weißes Tuch an und entfernt den Perlenschmuck;
      b) wenn das Kind gehen konnte, aber nicht älter als etwa sieben Jahre war: bloß für einen Tag tiefe Trauer, keine Halbtrauer;
      c) bei größeren Kindern: Zwei bis fünf Tage lang tiefe Trauer;
   II. wenn die Mutter n i c h t mehr fähig ist, zu gebären: Die Trauer ist ähnlich wie beim Tode des Mannes: Plantenblätter und Ablegen des Schmuckes, das Haupthaar wird aber nicht abrasiert, auch darf die Mutter sich auf dem Dorfplatz zeigen.
5. Beim Tode eines Enkels oder einer Enkelin: zwei Tage Trauer (Plantenblätter).
6. Beim Tode des Vaters oder der Mutter: ein halbes Jahr Trauer (Plantenblätter). Ist die Tochter ledig, so wird sie die Liebhaber während der Zeit abweisen; ist sie verheiratet, so darf sie dem Manne das eheliche Recht nicht verweigern, auch pflegt sie in diesem Falle den Schmuck nicht abzunehmen.

7. Beim Tode der Großeltern väterlicherseits: zwei Tage Trauer.
8. Beim Tode der Großeltern mütterlicherseits, der Schwiegereltern oder der Geschwister des Mannes: keine Trauer, nur die Rotmalung wird unterlassen.

B. Trauer für Männer.

1. Beim Tode der rechten oder der Stiefgeschwister: für zwei oder mehr Monate fällt die Rotholzbemalung weg.
2. Beim Tode des Vaters oder der Mutter: ein halbes Jahr Trauer, d. h. man trägt weißes Zeug, bemalt sich nicht mit Rotholz, tanzt nicht, aber die Schmuckhaartracht wird nicht entfernt.
3. Beim Tode einer Frau ebenso, nur wird außerdem die Schmuckhaartracht entfernt.
4. Beim Tode des Bruders des Vaters ist die Trauer wie beim Tode des Vaters.
5. Beim Tode der Schwiegereltern keine Trauer.
6. Beim Tode des Kindes, wenn das Kind klein war: Trauer (weißes Lendentuch) bis zur Geburt eines anderen; wenn das Kind größer war, bemalt sich der Vater für lange Zeit, oft bis zum Tode, nicht mehr mit Rotholz, da „der Tod eines erwachsenen Sohnes dem Vater sehr ans Herz geht".
7. Beim Tode eines Enkels oder einer Enkelin: keine Trauer.

Die Schmuckmützen werden bei Trauerfällen nicht dem festen Kopfputz gleichgesetzt, sondern, da sie sofort und leicht abnehmbar und viel mehr reiner Putz sind, der Rotholzbemalung.

Abschnitt XXIII.

Rück- und Ausblick.

Wenn man die Urteile hört, die z. B. in kolonialpolitischen Büchern oder auf Kolonialversammlungen über die Neger abgegeben werden, so kann man sich eines gelinden Staunens einmal über die Verschiedenheit, dann über die Einseitigkeit der Ansichten nicht erwehren. Gewiß wird man über die Wege, die eine gleichmäßig auf die Interessen der Weißen wie auf das Wohlergehen der Schwarzen bedachte Politik einzuschlagen hat, sehr verschiedener Ansicht sein können, über den Charakter des Negers — meine ich — kann gar kein Zweifel herrschen. Aber:

„Von der Parteien Gunst und Haß verwirrt,
Schwankt sein Charakterbild in der Geschichte."

Dieses Schwanken ist daraus zu erklären, daß eben die wenigsten den Neger wirklich kennen bzw. bei Beurteilung seines Charakters die Eigenart der gesamten geistigen Kultur, namentlich ihrer Hauptgebiete Religion und Zauberglaube, berücksichtigen. Ohne das kann aber ein richtiges Urteil nicht zustande kommen.

Wir wir in Abschnitt X gesehen haben, unterscheidet der Neger ein Verhältnis zu Gott und ein solches zu den Menschen, oder — wie er es ausdrückt — das Verhalten des Seelenwesens (der Seele) und das des Körperwesens (des Menschen). In dieser Anschauung müssen wir ihm folgen, wenn wir sein Innenleben verstehen wollen. Betrachten wir rückblickend daher kurz sein Verhältnis zu Gott (bzw. den Naturgesetzen) oder, was dasselbe ist, sein sittliches Verhalten.

Seine Religion, obgleich auf der Grundlage des Monotheismus aufgebaut, besteht heute in der Hauptsache im Kult von Elementen (Mond, Sonne, Wasser, Feuer), in denen man teils das sittlich Gute, teils das sittlich Böse zu sehen glaubt. Gute Kulte stehen also bösen Kulten gegenüber. Keinem der Kulte ist aber ein Vorzug gegeben, vielmehr bestehen alle, seien sie böse oder gut,

[p. 383]

in friedlicher Eintracht nebeneinander, keiner ist an sich besser. Der Pangwe erkennt also zwei Mächte als gleichberechtigte an, eine gute und eine böse Macht.

Besonders deutlich und auffällig wird dieses Nebeneinanderbestehen von den Pangwe selbst im Ndong-mba zum Ausdruck gebracht: man denke an den Scheinkampf des Sonnendarstellers mit den Schimpansenleuten und die gütliche Einigung beider Parteien (vgl. S. 69). Die Vorliebe für das friedliche Nebeneinander zweier entgegengesetzter Elemente zeigt sich z. B. auch in der Farbenauffassung: Die beiden am weitesten voneinander entfernten Farben, Weiß und Schwarz, sind, wenn sie nebeneinander vorkommen, den Pangwe von allen Farben und Farbenzusammenstellungen die liebsten, dagegen sagen ihnen feinere Farbenunterschiede nichts, und desto weniger, je näher diese sich in der Farkenskala stehen, wie z. B. Blau und Grün. Um einige Beispiele zu nennen:

Es gibt in der Familie der Würger (Laniidae) zwei nahe verwandte Tiere, die ganz verschieden (und auffallend) gefärbt sind. Ich meine den **Chaunonotus sabinei** (E r.) *(edzää̈, evüs*[1]*), evügu)* und den **Malaconotus gabonensis** S h e l l. *(ekö,)*. Kopf und Hals des letzteren Vogels sind aschgrau, auf dem Rücken geht diese Färbung in ein Olivengrün über, während Kehle, Brust und Bauch im prachtvollsten weitleuchtenden Feuerrot erstrahlen. Der **Chaunonotus** ist dagegen auf der Oberseite (mit Ausnahme des Unterrückens) glänzend schwarz, auf der Unterseite aber reinweiß gefärbt. Sämtliche Pangwe, denen ich die beiden Vögel vorlegte, erklärten ohne Zögern den schwarz-weißen **Chaunonotus** für den schöneren. — Die einfach schwarz und weiß gesprenkelte Bachstelze, **Motacilla vidua** S u n d *(mangŏmente̱me III)*, hat einen vielbekannten Rufnamen abgegeben, aber der herrliche, in allen Farben schillernde große Honigsauger **Cinnyris superbus** (S h a w.) *(mbŏm e sg̱)*, über dessen Schönheit ich ganz entzückt war, wurde durchaus unbeachtet gelassen.

Anders wird es, wenn es sich nicht mehr um die ideale Weltanschauung handelt, die z. B. im Bokung-Elong beide Mächte, Böse und Gut, ruhig nebeneinander hergehen ließ; anders als im Reich des Schönen, bei dem keinerlei wirkliche Interessen im Spiele sind, ist es im praktischen Leben. Das Leben fordert eine Entscheidung. Da der Neger, wie wir sahen, theoretisch zwei Mächte, das sittlich Böse und sittlich Gute, anerkennt, so kann es sich bei einer Stellungnahme natürlich nur darum handeln, welcher von diesen beiden Mächten aus praktischen Gründen der Vorzug gegeben wird. Da, wo der Neger nichts zu fürchten und nichts zu hoffen hat, entscheidet er sich allemal für das, was ihm angenehm ist, und das ist freilich meist das Böse. Er ist dann reiner Genußmensch, ohne Vorwärtsstreben, ist vergnügungs- und putzsüchtig — daher

[1]) In *evüs*, wahrscheinlich Stamm *vü* = Tod.

sind fast alle Neger in Europa unangenehme Fatzkes und Lebemänner, überhaupt äußerlich und oberflächlich im höchsten Grade, der Völlerei ergeben, trunksüchtig und sinnlich, ganz besonders das letztere. Es gibt eigentlich kein Laster, dem die Neger nicht zugetan wären. Kurz, es heißt von ihnen: „Und alles Dichten und Trachten ihres Herzens nur böse war immerdar."

In dem Schönheitsempfinden für Farben tritt uns dieser Zug zum Bösen derart entgegen, daß der Neger von einzelnen Farben das Weiß — keineswegs die Farbe der Unschuld, sondern gerade im Gegenteil, die des Bösen (vgl. Mondkult Bd. II, S. 50) — allen anderen vorzieht, dann folgt Schwarz — die Farbe der Nacht, des Unangenehmen, Unheimlichen, Schrecklichen — und erst zuletzt Rot — die Farbe des Guten, der Freude. Andere Farben scheinen für den Neger überhaupt nicht da zu sein, auch hat er keine Namen für sie. Natürlich wechseln die Ansichten bei den einzelnen Personen, im Durchschnitt aber ergab sich immer wieder die Reihenfolge: weiß, schwarz, rot. Um ein Beispiel anzuführen:

Obgleich sonst im allgemeinen die Fang aus den Nachbardörfern meiner Station an den von mir geschossenen oder gefangenen Tieren nur jagdliche Teilnahme zeigten (wegen des guten Schusses und des eßbaren Fleisches), aber niemals der Wissenschaft und des Schauens wegen kamen, stellte sich einmal eine ganze Anzahl Neugieriger ein, die zwei von mir erlegte Kuhreiher, **Bubulcus ibis** (L.) *(mfü,a onon)*, sehen wollten. Diese Vögel sind allerdings im Ntumgebiet selten. Die Ausdrücke der Bewunderung über die Schönheit der Vögel, die doch so einfach weiß gefärbt sind, wollte kein Ende nehmen.

Wer den Neger richtig nachempfindet, der wird auch verstehen, wie ein mir bekannter Loangoneger dazu kam, zu sagen, das Schönste in Deutschland sei eine in Schnee gehüllte Landschaft.

Freilich zeigt der Neger sich auch anders: Wo er auf der einen Seite Strafe fürchtet, auf der anderen Belohnung erhofft, läßt er mit derselben Ruhe und Selbstverständlichkeit, mit der er sich vorher für das Böse entschied, das Gute siegen. Er, der eben noch in seinem Dasein keine andere Aufgabe erblickte, als die Befriedigung seiner leiblichen Genüsse, besonders seiner Sinnlichkeit, sitzt mit einmal entsagungsvoll in der Kirche, das Gesangbuch in der Hand, und singt fromme Lieder in aller Sittigkeit. Natürlich nur, solange die Missionare oder Geistlichen hinter ihm stehen und ihm alle Vorteile eines christlichen Lebenswandels sowohl im Himmel als auch ganz besonders schon hier auf Erden, vor allem auf sozialem Gebiete, das ist die Zugehörigkeit zu einer Kirchengemeinde, an den Fingern aufzählen. So fromm und rein er dann auch scheinen möge, er ist nicht fromm aus Überzeugung, sondern nur äußerlich; was er tut, tut er aus praktischen Gründen Sowie diese wegfallen, sowie sein äußeres

Heiligtun keinen Sinn mehr hat, z. B. im Verkehr mit seinesgleichen, ist er der alte Sünder. Daß seine Lobpreisung des Guten, Wahren, Schönen keine innerliche Überzeugung ist, sieht man auch daraus, daß der Neger für sie niemals auch nur das kleinste wirkliche Opfer zu bringen imstande ist. Da wir Weißen nun nicht immer erkennen können, wie weit ihm eine Tat von praktischem Nutzen ist oder zu werden verspricht — er erkennt es selbst nicht immer klar —, so scheint es uns, als wähle er willkürlich einmal das Böse, einmal das Gute. Wir nennen ihn deshalb unbeständig und wankelmütig. In Wahrheit ist der Neger konservativ durch und durch.

Eins ist also sicher: Es gibt hier auf unserer unvollkommenen Erde zwei Mächte, mit denen auch wir es täglich zu tun haben. Der Neger ist dabei nun nicht — wie wir — für einen frischen, fröhlichen Kampf, sondern immer für friedlichen Vertrag, sei er auch noch so schmachvoll. Trotz der Streitsucht, die gerade der Pangwe in unberührten Gegenden an den Tag legt, scheut keiner den Kampf so wie er. Den Kampf in jeder Beziehung: Er fürchtet den offenen Kampf mit den Waffen in der Hand für ein Ideal, etwa für das Vaterland, den Stamm, die Religion. Er ist sich ja selbst das höchste Ideal, und er könnte bei einem Kampfe ja Schaden leiden. Wenn er Krieg führt, so geschieht es nur zur Verteidigung seiner Person. Darum ist ihm die Blutrache, in der einer für den anderen eintreten soll, ein großer Dorn im Auge, und er zieht sogar da, wo er sich sonst um die Meinung der Weißen nicht im geringsten kümmert, z. B. im tiefsten Innern, ihre „Gesetze" an den Haaren herbei, nur um diese Bestimmung zu umgehen. Er fürchtet überhaupt den Kampf, der das Leben bedeutet, und darum ermüdet er auch auf geistigem Gebiete so leicht.

Das Bestreben des Negers, auf allen Gebieten jeder der beiden gegensätzlichen Mächte Raum zu geben, hat ihn nun keineswegs, wie immer wieder geglaubt wird, glücklicher gemacht als wir es sind, denn es war und ist eben nicht durchzuführen. Das Leben bedeutet eben Kampf. Zwei feindliche Mächte, zwei Gegensätze, können hier nicht friedlich zusammen sein, eins schließt das andere aus. Das gilt sowohl äußerlich von dem Verhältnis der Träger verschiedener Kulturen, d. h. der Negerstämme zueinander, wie innerlich von der Kultur selbst. Obwohl die Pangwe versucht haben, sich in die unwegsamsten, dichtesten Urwälder eines fieberschwangeren Tropengebietes zurückzuziehen, sie kamen doch immer wieder in Berührung mit anderen Völkerelementen, die vor ihnen da waren oder nach ihnen kamen, zuletzt mit den gefährlichsten Feinden der nichtfortschrittlichen „Naturvölker", den Weißen.

Obwohl es dem Neger gelungen ist, auf geistigem Gebiete den Kampf der Gegensätze soweit als möglich zurückzudrängen, so kamen diese doch immer wieder miteinander in Streit, und der ersehnte ewige Friede trat nicht ein.

Die unbewußte Erkenntnis der Unmöglichkeit zu dem gewünschten Ziele zu gelangen, zu dem in Frieden Nebeneinanderleben Aller, zu anarchistisch-paradiesischen Zuständen, hat den Fatalismus geboren, auf den wir zuletzt immer wieder stoßen, wenn wir uns ins Innenleben der Neger vertiefen, und der geradezu den Kern des sittlichen Lebens der Pangwe ausmacht, um den herum der dicke Mantel des Dualismus, des Nebeneinander von Böse und Gut, sitzt. Einer der bekanntesten Ausdrücke dieses Fatalismus ist das durch ganz Afrika — mutatis mutandis — hindurch zu verfolgende Wort: amri ya mungu = Wille Gottes. Wir werden immer wieder an den alten Ausspruch Salomos erinnert: „Alles ist eitel." Wozu soll man also sich Mühe geben, irgendeiner Weltanschauung den Sieg zu erkämpfen? Wozu einen Fortschritt für die Menschheit erkämpfen? Ach, was soll das ganze Streben, was soll all der Schmerz, die Lust?

Überall kommt der Fatalismus zum Vorschein, sowohl im Kampfe mit den Waffen in der Hand, als auch im Kampfe gegen die geistigen Mächte. Mitten in Kriegszeiten z. B., wenn überall Gefahr droht und jeden Augenblick ein Angriff der Feinde zu erwarten ist, legt sich der schwarze Soldat ruhig schlafen, weit entfernt, Wache zu halten: „Wenn ich sterben soll, was soll ich dagegen tun?" ist das Wort, das aus seinem „müden Herzen" kommt. Erst recht auf geistigem Gebiete ist ein Neger furchtbar leicht müde zu machen. Er läßt da alles gehen, wie es geht. Er läßt sich selbst gehen — das Böse, das Gute — alles ist ihm einerlei. Gerade darum, weil der Neger nichts mit dem Mute der Überzeugung bis zum Ende durchzuführen vermag, weder Gutes noch Schlechtes, gerade darum verzweifeln selbst die besten Freunde der Schwarzen an ihrer Sache.

Summa summarum: Der Neger ist weder gut noch böse — aus einem Saulus könnte ja ein Paulus werden —, sondern überhaupt nichts.

Genau so wie zu Gott bzw. den Sittengesetzen, verhält der Neger sich zu den Menschen, d. h. wie seine sittlichen Eigenschaften, so sind auch seine Charaktereigenschaften.

Auch hier ist er für das möglichst lange Nebeneinander entgegengesetzter, d. h. guter und schlechter Elemente, auch hier möglichst für einen Vertrag, sei er nun rühmlich oder unrühmlich. Auch hier werden wir wieder an die Szene zwischen dem Sonnenhäuptling und den Schimpansenmenschen erinnert. Der Neger ist dafür, die durch das Schicksal geschaffenen Zustände, seien sie auch noch so schlecht, möglichst lange zu ertragen. Nur keine Veränderung, die stets einen Kampf mit sich bringt. Nur nicht kämpfen! — Wo er sich über die Überlegenheit eines anderen im klaren ist, vermeidet er offenen Kampf. Daher kommt es, daß die Weißen große Gebiete des tropischen Afrika so schnell erobert haben, daß jeder einzelne Vertreter europäischer Kultur inmitten von

vielen tausend Eingeborenen so rasch als unumschränkter Herrscher des Volkes wie als Herr des einzelnen anerkannt wird. Dieses Nebeneinanderher geht solange gut, als nicht eine vermeintliche oder auch tatsächlich vorhandene Schwäche des Gegners ihm die Aussicht auf Überlegenheit eröffnet.

Wenn er sich entscheidet, gilt natürlich nur, was seiner Persönlichkeit nützt. Dann ist der Neger — sei er es in der Gesamtheit einer anderen Rasse gegenüber, sei es nur der einzelne gegenüber schwächeren Charakteren — ein rücksichtsloser Gewaltmensch, wie er im Buche steht. Ein auch noch so bescheidenes „Liebe deinen Nächsten" ist ihm ganz fremd. Barmherzigkeit, Mitleid mit dem Schwachen, Unterliegenden liegt ihm fern, gar Großmut und Edelmut wäre für ihn Wahnsinn. Trifft er diese Eigenschaften bei den weißen Eroberern, so legt er sie stets als Schwäche aus. Also auch im Streite der Persönlichkeiten gegeneinander vermeidet er fast immer offenen Kampf, er nimmt heimliche Waffen zu Hilfe, nämlich als äußere Gift, als innere Lug und Trug. Das Gift ist, wie in der neuen Welt (im besonderen hörte ich von vielen Fällen aus Brasilien), so auch in Afrika ein wichtiges Hilfsmittel zur Beseitigung unliebsamer Personen. Über die Verlogenheit des Negers ist schon viel geklagt worden. Manche Schriftsteller meinten, er betreibe das Lügen aus Sport, weil es ihm Vergnügen mache. Das ist aber eine unbegründete Annahme, einen Zweck hat er immer dabei, wir wissen nur vielfach nicht, welchen. Jedenfalls ist der Neger verlogen durch und durch, und ganz besonders wichtig ist die Berücksichtigung dieser Tatsache für den Richter: einem Neger glauben, auch auf noch so viel Schwüre, ist das letzte, was er tun sollte. Auch der Forscher muß stets daran denken, daß das Lügen des Schwarzen zweite Natur ist. Er darf, worauf ich bereits öfters hinwies, nie auf etwas bauen, was ein Neger sagt, wenn er es nicht selbst gesehen oder nachgeprüft hat. Den Negern ist nie zu trauen, besonders nicht, wenn sie schon etwas kultiviert sind. Aber auch in ihrer ursprünglichen Kultur sind sie weit entfernt von einem „freien, aufrechten Naturvolk", als welches sie in früheren Zeiten öfters hingestellt wurden.

Auch wo er sich scheinbar anderen nützlich macht, geschieht es nur, weil er seinen Vorteil dabei findet. Z. B. die schwarzen „Boys" sind für eine Zeit, die durchaus nicht immer ganz kurz zu sein braucht, Perlen, wirkliche Perlen. Daher viele begeisterte Schilderungen besonders von Reisenden, die die Schwarzen nicht näher kennen, weil sie sich verhältnismäßig kurze Zeit im dunklen Kontinent aufgehalten haben. Wie lange dauert aber die Sache? Solange es dem Neger paßt, solange der Vorteil, den er von seinem Herrn hat, anhält oder solange wie er an zukünftige Vorteile glaubt! Hört das auf, so ist auch die frühere Perle gar nicht wiederzuerkennen, sein eigener Herr wäre versucht zu glauben, sie hätte sich in ein Klümpchen Mist verwandelt. Viele

schon haben diese Erfahrung machen müssen, und sie wird immer wieder gemacht werden müssen. Wirkliche Treue erwarte man von keinem Neger, solange er schwarz ist.

Schließlich auch hier: Fatalismus. Gelingt es dem Neger auch in vielen Fällen, sein Ich durchzusetzen, den Gegner durch seine heimlichen Waffen zugrunde zu richten, es kommt immer wieder ein noch Stärkerer und alles, was bisher erreicht ist durch Böses, durch Gutes, alles ist verloren: der ganze Kampf ums Dasein ist ebenso wie alles Ringen mit Gott eitel. Schließlich erreicht man nichts. Es kommt Alter und Krankheit und als letzter starker Charakter der Tod, der sich nicht beiseite schaffen, nicht betrügen läßt. Warum also kämpfen? — Laisser aller, laisser faire!

Die Negerrasse ist also geistig und moralisch minderwertig. Das Streiten in Wort und Schrift über den Charakter des Negers ist dahin zu entscheiden, daß er weder guten, noch auch schlechten Charakter hat, vielmehr überhaupt keinen.

Wir dürfen nun nicht vergessen, daß es auch bei uns Leute gibt, die allem Fortschritt abgeneigt sind und jede Veränderung der bestehenden Zustände, deren Mangelhaftigkeit sie selbst zugeben, verhindern möchten. Sie sind aber Ausnahmen, die in der fortschrittsfreundlichen Mehrheit untergehen. In den allermeisten liegt doch wenigstens das Streben nach selbstloser Mitarbeit an der Aufrichtung des großen Gebäudes wahrer Kultur und wahren Menschentums, sei es auf praktischem Gebiet, sei es auf geistigem Gebiet. Der Unterschied zwischen uns und der Negerrasse ist der, daß diese letzteren Elemente bei den Negern wohl vorkommen aber seltene Ausnahmen sind, und daß sie (bzw. ihre Bestrebungen) von der feindlichen Mehrheit bald unterdrückt werden, so daß sie sich nirgends geltend machen können.

Prüfen wir unter den Gesichtspunkten, die ich in diesem Abschnitt aufgestellt habe, die in den beiden Bänden des vorliegenden Werkes behandelte Kultur der Pangwe nach, so müssen wir sagen, daß die geschilderten Zustände bei ihnen vor der Berührung mit den Weißen ihrer Charakteranlage am besten angepaßt waren. Alles war auf die möglichste Vermeidung des Kampfes für den einzelnen und auch für die Gesamtheit zugeschnitten. So war man auf religiösem Gebiet zu einer — wenn ich so sagen darf — Reinzüchtung von Gut und von Böse durch ihre Heiligung in den verschiedenen Kulten gelangt, auf dem Gebiet menschlichen Wirkens hatte man durch den Ausbau des auf natürlichen Ursachen beruhenden Zauberglaubens (vgl. Abschnitt XIII) jegliches Streben nach Fortschritt so weit wie möglich unterdrückt, auf sozialem Gebiete hatte man sowohl Armut als auch Reichtum so weit als möglich ausgemerzt dadurch, daß das Kapital in Frauen angelegt wurde was für den „Reichen" selbst nur eine relative Freude ist. Denn ein Mann kann tatsächlich nur e i n e

Frau befriedigen und nur das aufessen, was eine Frau an Nahrungsmitteln dem Boden abgewinnt. Dagegen gibt die Einrichtung der Vielweiberei dem „Armen" Gelegenheit, zu seinem Rechte am Besitz des „Reichen" zu kommen, sei es hinter dem Rücken des Eigentümers, sei es durch Aufnahme in die Familie des „Reichen".

In dieser seiner alten Kultur befindet sich der Neger daher — relativ — am besten: er braucht nicht rein zu sein, denn die Unreinheit ist auch gottgewollt, heilig, und er wird daher nicht zu Übertretungen eines Verbotes gereizt. Er braucht sich nicht in einen solchen „Kampf ums Dasein" zu stürzen wie wir, denn ein Sieg in diesem Kampfe bringt ihm am Ende keinen so großen Vorteil (der Neger sagt: Zauberer sein, ist nicht erstrebenswert, da man dann von anderen Zauberern besiegt und getötet werden kann). Er braucht nicht so nach dem Gelde zu streben wie wir, da es ihn bei der Anlage in Frauen im Grunde nicht glücklicher macht. Wenn die Neger auch in ihrer Kultur sinnlich sind, nach Einfluß und Reichtum streben, so sind die Gegensätze zwischen gut und böse, energisch und schwach, reich und arm doch lange nicht so große als bei uns, lassen sich häufiger ausgleichen und nehmen daher dem Kampfe beider Gewalten, wenn er sein muß, die Schärfe.

Der Neger hat also die Kultur, die seiner Charakteranlage am meisten entspricht, ist aber weder glücklicher noch zufriedener als wir, da sich der Kampf eben einfach nicht vermeiden, der Fortschritt nicht hemmen läßt.

Es bliebe nun noch die Frage zu behandeln: Werden die Neger unsere Kultur, vor allem das Christentum in sich aufnehmen und auch selbständige, nützliche Mitglieder der Menschheit sein? Es wird vielfach angenommen, daß der Neger von vornherein überhaupt nicht die Fähigkeit besäße, die Lehren des Christentums und die Erfordernisse unserer Kultur zu verstehen. Diese Ansicht kann ich nicht teilen. Ich meine, daß der Neger mit seinen hervorragenden geistigen Fähigkeiten und der Schärfe seines Verstandes sehr wohl dazu imstande wäre, daß er es aber einfach nicht will und, wenn er seine Anschauungen nicht ganz ändert, auch nicht kann. Die Neger wollen und können es nicht, weil sie sich so in die Sackgasse des Rückschritts verrannt haben, daß eine Rückkehr unmöglich ist. Wo es heißt, einem Ideal zum Siege zu helfen, einen Fortschritt für die Menschheit zu erkämpfen, da versagt der Neger. Daß er äußere Kulturerrungenschaften sehr schnell annimmt, sein Haus mit Grammophonen, seinen Körper mit Kleidern, Kragen, Röllchen ausstaffiert, ist kein Gegenbeweis seiner Kulturfeindlichkeit, denn er tut das alles bloß aus Vergnügungs- und Putzsucht (Pruner[1]) hat ganz recht, wenn er sagt: „Der Neger putzt sich, anstatt sich zu bekleiden"), und um sich dem Weißen anzuähneln (coloured gentlemen!) und dadurch an den Vorteilen, die jener genießt, teilzunehmen, also

[1]) F. Pruner, Die Krankheiten des Orients vom Standpunkte der vergleichenden Nosologie betrachtet. Erlangen 1847, S. 67.

nur aus äußeren Gründen. — Würde eine Kultur auftreten, die der unsrigen äußerlich den Rang abliefe und dem Neger größere Vorteile böte, so würde der Neger sofort mit großer Selbstverständlichkeit Bibel und Gesangbuch in die Ecke werfen und wieder Heide werden, mit derselben Selbstverständlichkeit auf Kleider, Kragen, Grammophone verzichten. Im kleinen erlebt man das ja bei solchen Negern, die aus Europa zurückkehren und sich in Afrika sofort aus einem Patentfatzke wieder in einen „Buschnigger" zurückverpuppen. Derselbe Vorgang wird ja eintreten, wenn auch langsamer, wo der Neger aus der ständigen Überwachung durch europäische Herren entlassen wird und sich selbst überlassen bleibt, wie in Amerika. Die, wenn auch kurze, Geschichte der amerikanischen Neger hat gezeigt, daß die Neger nicht fortschreiten, sondern zurückgehen, zurück zu ihren alten Grundsätzen. Das zeigt das Drunter und Drüber, der Götzenkult und die Menschenfresserei (Schlachten der weißen Ziegel) auf Haiti.

Nun wird mancher sagen: Ja, nur Geduld, erst nach vielen, vielen Jahrhunderten wird der Neger, wenn er immer auf einem kulturfreundlichen Wege geleitet wird, so weit sein, daß er die Kultur festhält. Das Ergebnis dieses Experimentes wird ja freilich die heutige Generation nicht mehr erleben. Wie es ausfällt, das wird die Geschichte lehren; ich fürchte nur, daß es damit ebenso gehen wird, wie mit dem Versuch jenes Engländers, der seinem Pferde das Fressen abgewöhnen wollte: Gerade als es das gelernt hatte, starb es!

Und so wird auch die Negerrasse aussterben bzw. so umgebildet sein, daß man sie nicht mehr „Neger" nennen kann, wenn sie das wirkliche Christentum erfaßt und wirkliche Kultur angenommen haben wird. Ich möchte diese meine Ansicht deshalb besonders hervorheben, weil man, je näher man den Neger und seine nicht zu unterschätzenden Fähigkeiten kennen lernt, desto mehr geneigt sein wird, sich von seiner Entwicklungsmöglichkeit ein günstiges Bild zu entwerfen.

Damit soll natürlich durchaus nicht gesagt sein, daß die Negerrasse nicht auf bestimmten Gebieten gewisse Fortschritte machen und sie der Kulturwelt mitteilen kann. Das ist sogar der Fall. Bezeichnend ist es wieder, daß unter den gedachten Gebieten das der darstellenden Kunst, also einer nicht fortschrittlichen Geistesrichtung, den ersten Platz einnimmt. Auf diesem Gebiete: in der dramatischen Kunst, im Tanz, in der Musik und vor allem in der Erzählungskunst leistet schon heute die schwarze Rasse Beachtenswertes. Besonders aber ist es die sinnliche Glut ihrer Einbildungskraft, die ihre Werke in hohem Maße auszeichnet.

Alle Erzählungen und Dichtungen der Neger atmen die köstliche Poesie seiner Heimat. Sie fesseln immer: meisterhaft in Form und Sprache, liebens-

würdig in der Wiedergabe der Gemütsstimmung, tief empfunden und feinsinnig in den Bildern des Spottes.

Aber zu seinem Werke gehört der Meister selbst, und der wiederum ist unzertrennbar von dem Boden, aus dem er hervorgewachsen ist, von den afrikanischen Steppen und Urwäldern. Zu den köstlichen Märchen, echten Stücken afrikanischen Denkens und Lebens, gehört der Neger am nächtlichen Lagerfeuer im Urwald, gehört die Musik seiner klangvollen, tonmalenden Sprache. Gehört Stimmung! Stimmung ist alles in der Kunst des Negers. Wie der Gesang der Wellen, wenn sie wogend und brandend ans Schiff schlagen, wie der nicht nachgeahmt werden kann, wie der Jubelruf, das Jodeln freier Gebirgsvölker, wenn es im Hochgebirge vom Felsen zurückschallt und die Täler mit seinen fröhlichen Klängen erfüllt, wie auch das nicht anderswohin übertragen werden kann, so geht es auch mit der Kunst des Negers. — Herausgerissen aus ihrer Umgebung, vorgebracht von blaßhäutigen Verstandesmenschen im „modernen Salon" vor einer Gesellschaft, die sie Zeit hat — da verliert sie ihren Hauptinhalt, ihre frische, kernige Natürlichkeit.

Darum suche man den Neger in seiner heimatlichen Umgebung auf, lerne ihn aus der Natur heraus verstehen. Man erwarte nicht Kulturarbeit, denn die kann und will der Neger nicht leisten, sonst wird man sich enttäuscht abwenden. Aber man widme sich — wenn man „Zeit hat" — der Beschäftigung mit seiner Naturkunst, und dann wird man ihm immer eine freundliche, fast wehmütige Erinnerung bewahren.

Ich aber bin am Ende:

a mui, ma ke ya!
Mein Freund, ich gehe schon!
(Abschiedsgruß der Pangwe.)

Inhaltsverzeichnis zu Band II.

Seite

Abschnitt X. Grundlagen der Weltanschauung 1

Abschnitt XI. Religion 11

1. Entstehung der Welt, Gott und sein Wirken. 2. Trennung von Gott durch die Sünde. 3. Das Seelenwesen. 4. Kulte: I. der Sackuß, II. Bokung und Ekong, III. Sdwk, IV. Ngi, V. Schlußbemerkungen über Männerkulte, VI. Weiberkulte, VII. Allgemeine Schlußbemerkungen. 5. Praktische Anwendung der Anschauung über die Sünde. 6. Zwischenreich, Seelenheil, Jenseits und Ahnenverehrung.

Abschnitt XII. Zauberglauben 127

Abschnitt XIII. Medizin 143

Allgemeines. 1. Zaubermedizinen. 2. Medizinen, um sich Glück zu verschaffen und Unglück abzuwenden. 3. Medizinen gegen Krankheiten. 4. Heilkunde. 5. Speiseverbote.

Abschnitt XIV. Wahrsagerei und Wissenschaft 194

1. Wahrsagerei. 2. Wetterkunde. 3. Himmelskunde. 4. Zeitrechnung.

Abschnitt XV. Gesellschaft, Verkehr, Handel 207

Abschnitt XVI. Rechtsanschauungen 218

1. Sachenrecht. 2. Erbrecht. 3. Strafrecht. 4. Prozeßrecht. 5. Eide, Wahrheitsbeweise.

Abschnitt XVII. Waffen und Kriegführung 243

Abschnitt XVIII. Geschlechtsleben 251

1. Geschlechtsleben bis zur Reife. 2. Geschlechtsleben zwischen Reife und Ehe. 3. Ehe. 4. Medizinen, Einfluß des Geschlechtsverkehrs. 5. Abarten des Geschlechtsverkehrs. 6. Schwangerschaft, Geburt.

Abschnitt XIX. Kindheit und Spiele 277

1. Namen und Namengebung. 2. Erziehung. 3. Kinderspiele. 4. Spiele der Erwachsenen. 5. Ringkampf.

Abschnitt XX. Musik 320

Abschnitt XXI. Rätsel, Märchen und Sprichwörter 358

Abschnitt XXII. Beisetzung, Trauer 376

Abschnitt XXIII. Rück- und Ausblick 383

Abkürzungen.

Unter Zeichnungen: H. J. — Hans Jobelmann, M. A. — Mathilde Aereboe, G. T. — Verfasser.
Im Text: N. — Nordpangwe, S. — Südpangwe, J. — Jaunde, Be. — Bene, Bu. — Buki, Ni. — Nitum, F. — Fang.

[p. 393]

Verzeichnis der Tafeln.

Band I.

			Seite
I.	Fangjüngling aus Owöng. Farbentafel	gegenüber dem Titelblatt	
II.	Eingang in den Urwald bei Makonanám, Span.-Guinea	gegenüber	2
III.	A jóng Boka (Fam. Ellsuong), Fang	„	8
IV.	Dorf Makonanám (Fam. Ojekl), Span.-Guinea	„	56
V.	Inneres des Versammlungshauses von Olanga (Fam. Ellängbuakl), Nlumgebiet	gegenüber	66
VI.	Erdnuß, Arachis hypogaea. Farbentafel	„	88
VII.	Erdnußpflanzung, im Hintergrund Mais, Nlumgebiet	„	90
VIII.	Ngon, Cucumeropsis edulis Cogn. Farbentafel	„	92
IX.	Fische aus dem Kampo und Uelle. Farbentafel	„	108
X.	Salz liefernde Pflanzen. Halopegia acutea und Cyrtosperma senegalensis. Farbentafel	gegenüber	146
XI.	Sarcophrynium velutinum (Bak.) K. Schum. Farbentafel	„	154
XII.	Wohnhaus in Bebai (Fam. Ellengl, Nlumgebiet	„	156
XIII.	Mann aus Angónenesi (Fam. Omwangl, Span.-Guinea	„	174
XIV.	Fang (Fam. Omwangl, Span.-Guinea	„	178
XV.	Frau aus Bebai (Fam. Ellengl, Nlumgebiet	„	186
XVI.	Flechtmaterial liefernde Schlingpalmen. Oncocalamus mannii und Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum. Farbentafel	gegenüber	214
XVII.	Eisenschmelze in Bebai (Fam. Schumu), Span.-Guinea	„	226
XVIII.	Schmiede in Bebai (Fam. Ellengl, Nlumgebiet	„	234

Band II.

XIX.	Sło-Figur in Akonangi (Fam. Ellandun), Süd-Kamerun	gegenüber	62
XX.	Schok-Kult in Bedábedan (Fam. Ellsumi, Nlumgebiet	„	76
XXI.	Afrasomum alboviolaceum. Farbentafel	„	80
XXII.	Ngi-Figur in Bebai (Fam. Schumu), Span.-Guinea	„	84
XXIII.	Ngi-Figur in Bendembejulch (Fam. Elékl, Nord-Kamerun	„	86
XXIV.	Tanz der Ahnenfiguren beim Ahnenkult Ebéangon (Fam. Ellengl, Nlumgebiet	gegenüber	122
XXV.	Fang mit einem „Dämmling" an der Zehe	„	184
XXVI.	Häuptling von Nebiggebol (Fam. Ojekl), Span.-Guinea	„	206
XXVII.	Frau aus Alén (Fam. Ellsuong) mit Kind	„	290
XXVIII.	Kinder beim Kegelspiel mit Kreiseln, Nlumgebiet	„	302

Verzeichnis der Karten.

Band I.

1.	Das Pangwegebiet	nach Seite XXII
2.	Spezialkarte dazu	„ „ 48

[p. 394]

Verzeichnis der Abbildungen im Text.

Band I.

Seite

1. Im Urwald bei Makonanám, Span.-Guinea 3
2. Fangjünglinge (Fam. Elláuong und Omwang), Span.-Guinea 5
3. Nlum aus Akonangi (Fam. Elländun), Süd-Kamerun 7
4. Nlum aus Bébai (Fam. Elleng) 8
5. Ellun (Fam. Omwang), Span.-Guinea 9
6. Ondo aus Angónneuai (Fam. Omwang), Span.-Guinea 11
7. Nlum (Fam. Ojek), Span.-Guinea 12
8. Ndong-Alogo (Fam. Ojek), Span.-Guinea 13
9. Ellún-Meko aus Alén (Fam. Elláuong), Span.-Guinea 14
10. Ollchána-Kenloo (Fam. Ojek), Span.-Guinea 15
11. Fang (Fam. Ellálop), Span. Guinea 19
12. Medizinmann aus Ebäangon (Fam. Elleng), Süd-Kamerun 19
13. A jingon, Fangmädchen aus Alén (Fam. Elláuong) 21
14. Fangfrau aus Alén (Fam. Elláuong) 25
15. Blick auf die Ortschaft Aléclom (Fam. Okönq), Span.-Guinea 35
16. Plan eines Dorfes der Ortschaft Nllálang (Fam. Elláuong), Fang . . . 55
17. Pangwedorf, Span.-Guinea 57
18. Entstehung einer Dorfschaft aus Einzelsiedelungen 58
19. Pfeiler aus einem Versammlungshaus in Malén (Fam. Elláuong), Fang . 59
20. Versammlungshaus in Olanga (Fam. Ellángbuak) 60
21. Versammlungshaus eines Nlumdorfes in Neu-Kamerun 61
22. Stück einer Dachmatte, mit deren Herstellung eben begonnen worden ist 62
23. Kleines Dorf der Ortschaft Nllálang (Fam. Elláuong), Span.-Guinea . . 62
24. Gerüst eines Hauses 63
25. Gerüst eines Versammlungshauses der Fang aus dem Gebiet des Komo (Dorf Omvan, Fr.-Kongo) 64
26. Querschnitt durch den First eines Hauses 64
27. a) Fig. 1. Grundriß eines Versammlungshauses in Majo (Fam. Schumu) 65
    Fig. 2. Seitenansicht 65
    b) Fig. 1. Grundriß eines Versammlungshauses in Mbö (Fam. Elláku nan) 65
    Fig. 2. Seitenansicht 65
28. Seitenwand einer Ruhebank 66
29. Bemalter Sockel einer Ruhebank in einem Versammlungshaus, Fanggebiet. Fig. 1 von vorn, Fig. 2 von der Seite 67
30. Gewehrhalter. Engugumo, Fang 67
31. Gewehrständer. Owöng (Fam. Ellandöng), Fang 68
32. Feuerfächer 68
33. Versammlungshaus in Nchüggebol (Fam. Ojek), Span.-Guinea, mit Zierplatten aus Rinde 69
34. Wohnhaus in Makonanám (Fam. Ojek), Span.-Guinea 70
35. Türstück eines Wohnhauses in Olanga (Fam. Ellángbuak), Süd-Kamerun 71
36. Tür eines Wohnhauses in Alén (Fam. Ellauong) 72
37. Grundriß eines Wohnhauses der Pangwe 73

Seite
38. Wohnhaus der Fang 74
39. Querschnitt durch ein Wohnhaus von Tür zu Tür 75
40. Schemel, Fang 76
41. Feger 77
42. Schmutzschippe zum Reinigen des Versammlungshauses, Nhum 79
43. Harzlampe, Fang 79
44. Dorf Olanga (Fam. Ellángbuak), Süd-Kamerun 80
45. Kanus auf der Nie (Nebenfluß des Kampo), Neu-Kamerun 82
46. Brücke über die Abea bei Makonanám während der Trockenzeit . . 81
47. Brücke über den Bimfille während der Regenzeit 83
48. Hacke 86
49. Axt 86
50. Buschmesser 86
51. Fangfrauen, die mit Feuerholz von den Pflanzungen zurückkehren . . 87
52. Erdnuß-Maispflanzung bei Bébai (Fam. Efleng), Süd-Kamerun 92
53. Frau aus Bébai beim Ausklopfen der Ngonfrüchte in einer Kassavepflanzung 95
54. Kassavestecklingen 99
55. Zuckerrohrstecklingen 100
56. Plantan (Negerbananen) und Bananen bei Nfólang (Fam. Elláuong) . 103
57. Schale, Dorf Makonanám (Fam. Ojek) 106
58. Schaf- und Ziegenstall in Mallóm (Fam. Ndong), Süd-Kamerun . . . 107
59. Angel 111
60. Lageplan einer Fischwehr in der Abea 112
61. Kurzer Fischkorb 114
62. Langer Fischkorb für Korbwehre 114
63. Lageplan eines Korbwehres 114
64. Korbfalle für Fische 115
65. Fangkorb für Fische 115
66. Lageplan eines Fischgrabens 117
67. Gerüst einer Netzfalle für Fische 118
68 und 69. Fischfang mit einem Netz, das in Verbindung mit einem Gerüst steht 119
70. Schlagfallen 121
71. Rattenfalle *(ekúidi-o-job)* 123
72. Bodenschlinge *(asima-o-si-)* 125
73—75. Antilopenfallen *(esuma, nsobogo* und *ndakie)* . . . . . 126—127
76. Spitzotterfalle *(olam e se)* 127
77. Zugfalle für Antilopen *(vien)* 127
78. Ginsterkatzenfalle *(olam e nsin)* 128
79. Schreitvogelfalle *(ewuas)* 129
80. Vogelzugfalle *(nkpwas)* 130
81. Halbaffenfalle *(mbun)* 131
82. Halbaffenfalle 132
83. Frankolinfalle *(ndon)* 133
84. Bogenfallen 135
85. Elefantenspeer (wird aus einem Gewehr abgeschossen) 136

Seite
86. Korbfallen 138
87. Hundeglocke 139
88. Lockpfeifen. a) Für Affen, b) für Vögel 140
89. Armbruft 141
90. Jäger mit einer Armbruft 142
91. Meffer aus einer Speerklinge zum Zerlegen eines gefölelten Menfchen 144
92. Namen der Fleifchteile eines Schlachtvieches 145
92 a) Tönerne Waffenflafchen 150
93. Holzteller zum Zerreiben der Kerne von Irvingia 150
94. Schulterblatt eines Affen (a) und Baumpilz (b) zum Entfernen des Zerriebenen beim Mahlftein 150
95. Mulden mit Stößeln 151
96. Holztrog mit Stößel 151
97. Plantenfchäler 152
98. Rührlöffel 153
99. Kaleballenlöffel 154
100. Prunkkaleballenlöffel 154
101. Schneckenlöffel 154
102. Kaffaverolle 156
103. Steigbügelförmig gebogenes Blatt 156
104. Nlumfrau zerftampft Kaffaveblätter in einer Mulde zu Spinat 158
105. Schöpflöffel der Männer 162
106. Ein Nlummann reibt mit einem flachligen Stengel das Fleifch aus den Abfchnitten des Zuckerrohres heraus, um daraus Zuckerwein zu preffen 164
107. Tabakpfeifen aus Holz 168
108. Pfeifenköpfe für die Tabakpfeife aus Bananenblattftiel 168
109. Tabakpfeife aus Ton 169
110. Tabakpflanzung auf einem Dorfplatze 170
111. Leute aus Angónneuai (Fam. Omwang), Span.-Guinea 172
112. Baftgürtel 173
113. Geflochtener Gürtel 173
114. Hinterfchurz der Fangfrauen aus Rindenzeug 174
115. Hinterfchurz der Nlum-Frauen aus Raphiabaft 174
116. Haartrachten 175
117. Afloko aus Alén (Fam. Efléuong), Span.-Guinea 176
118. Nlum beim Zubereiten von Schmuckhelmfrifuren, Akonangi, Süd-Kamerun 176
119. Helmmützen 177
120. Haarfchmuck 180
121. Nafenfchmuck 180
122. Stirnbänder aus Perlen 181
123. Halskette aus Früchten von Coix lacryma (Hiobstränen) 181
124. Nlumfrau aus Alén (Fam. Efandun) 181
125. Halskette aus Hunde- und Meerkatzenzähnen 182
126. Halskette mit nachgemachten Zähnen 182
127. Anhänger an den Halsfchmuck 182
128. Anhänger aus Ebenholz, mit Meffingdraht umwunden 182

Seite
129. Halskette mit der Kralle eines Kampfadlers 182
130. Halskette mit den Früchten von Chrysophyllum tessmanni (mbam . . 183
131. Halsschmuck 183
132. Fang (Fam. Omwang), Span.-Guinea 184
133. Nlumfrau aus Akonangi (Fam. Effandun) 185
134. Armband aus Palmenstreifen 186
135. Geflochtenes Armband 186
136. Handgelenkringe aus Messing 186
137. Fingerringe 186
138. Nlumfrau aus dem Kampogebiet 187
139. Kämme, a) aus Raphiabast, b—d) aus Holz 188
140. Rasiermesser 188
141. Zweischneidige Messer der Fang mit Scheiden 189
142. Messer der Fang mit einfacher Schneide 189
143. Zahnbürste 190
144. Ölpresse, auf der Raphiapalmöl ausgepreßt wird 191
145. Palmölgewinnung aus den Früchten der Ölpalme 192
146. Ölpalmnüsse werden zur Ölgewinnung aufgeklopft 194
147. Reiber für Rotholz (Schote der Pentaclethra) 195
148. Gefäße zum Aufbewahren von Rotholz 195
149. Messer zur Herstellung von Ziernarben 197
150. Führung der Ziernarbenschnitte 197
151. Ziernarbenkünstler bei der Arbeit. Bébai, Span.-Guinea 198
152. Tätowierkünstler bei der Arbeit. Nikolentángan, Span.-Guinea . . . 200
153 und 154. Grifflose Messer zur Tätowierung (ekut) 200
155. Messer zur Tätowierung (bendolo) 200
156. Verstümmelung eines Vorderzahnes 202
157. Meißel zum Abklemmen der Vorderzähne 202
157. (a) Ablösung der Baumrinde zum Hausbau 204
158. Schlägel, bei der Rindenherstellung gebraucht 207
159. Herstellung von Rindenstoff durch Klopfen der Bastschicht eines Ficusstammes 208
160. Schnurwickler mit Schnur 209
161. Zubereitung von Bast aus einem jungen Raphiapalmblatt 210
162. Herstellung von Schnüren aus Gaertnera paniculata 211
163. Knoten der Pangwe 212
164. Aufhängevorrichtung für Kochtöpfe. Mwele 213
165. Vorratskorb für Erdnüsse 213
166. Hängekörbchen der Frauen 214
167. Messerscheide 216
168. Kleine Tragkörbe 216
169. Tragkörbchen der Männer mit Fell- und Perlkettenschmuck 217
170. Korbnäpfe der Mwele 218
171. Korbteller 218
172. Zur Herstellung des Schemels 221
173. Deißel 221

Seite
174. Meißel, Säge und Pfriemen 223
175. Herstellung des Schöpflöffels 223
176. Zur Herstellung eines Schöpflöffels. Längsdurchschnitt 223
177. Löffelschaber 224
178. Herstellung der Pulverflasche aus Holz 224
179. Zugmesser für Speerfliele 225
180. Zugmesser (zugleich Reiber) für Speerfliele 225
181. Schmelzhütte in Bébai (Fam. Schumu), Span.-Guinea 228
182. Grundriß einer Schmelzanlage in Bébai 230
183. Blasebalgzieher und Gehilfe des Medizinmannes, der das Feuer schürt. Eisenschmelzerei in Bébai (Fam. Schumu), Span.-Guinea 233
184. Schmelzofen in Bébai (Fam. Schumu), Span.-Guinea 234
185. Gewonnenes Eisen (Luppe) nach Abbruch des Schmelzofens. Bébai (Fam. Schumu) 235
186. Grundriß einer Schmiede im Dorfe Okö, Nlumgebiet 237
187. Hammer und Stampfeisen 239
188. Meißel zu Eisenarbeiten 239
189. Spritzer und Zange des Schmiedes 239
190. Tongefäß für Messingguß 240
191. Form eines Messinghalsringes in einem halbierten Raphiablattstiel . . 240
192. Meißel zur Herstellung der Muster auf Messinghalsringen 240
193. Gelbschmied verziert einen Messinghalsring. Akonangi, Süd-Kamerun 241
194. Töpferin bei der Herstellung eines Topfes. Links die Erzeugnisse der Töpferei. Bébai (Fam. Esseng), Süd-Kamerun 242
195. (Fehlt.)
196. Grundmuster der Rindenzierkunst 244
197. Varanmuster auf Zierrindenplatten 245
198. Blatt der Sumpfpalme, Sclerosperma mannii 246
199. Kissenmuster auf einer Rindenzierplatte 246
200. Entwicklungsreihen der abgewandelten Muster der Rindenzierkunst . . 248
201. Leoparden- und Chamäleonmuster auf Zierrindenplatten 249
202. Zusammengesetzte Muster der Rindenzierkunst und ihre Entstehung . . 250
203. Zierrinden 251
204. Zierrinden in Form von Masken 252
205. Kerbschnittmuster an Schemeln 252
206. Schachbrettmuster 252
207. Aufbewahrungskörbchen der Jaunde-Frauen aus Blattstreifen des Schraubenbaumes 252
208. Stücke des Zuckerrohrstengels 252
209. Schemelmuster 253
210. Kauristräge 253
211. Entwicklungsreihen der abgewandelten Muster der Kerbschnittkunst . . 254
212. Schemelmuster 256
213. Muster von Felltrommeln (abgerollt) 257
214. Trommel der Mwai aus Malén (Fam. Sebo), Neu-Kamerun 258
215. Ziernarben 259

Seite
216. Grundmuster der Tätowierkunst 261
217. Entwicklungsreihen der abgewandelten Muster der Tätowierkunst . . 262
218. Tätowierungen 265
219. Tätowierungen 266
220. Zusammengesetzte Muster der Tätowierkunst 267
221. Ritzmuster 268
222 a) Verzierungen auf Messinghalsringen 269
222 b) Verzierungen auf Fußstulpen 270
223. Verzierungen auf Schwertern und Streitäxten 271
224. Topfmuster der Ntum, Fang und Mwai 272
225. Zeichnungen an Hauswänden und Rindenplatten 273
226. Zeichnungen eines Dieners des Verfassers 274
227. Ende eines Häuptlingsstockes mit menschlicher Figur 275

Band II.

1. Xylophonartiges Instrument 47
2. Penisstulp 47
3. Sío-Neulinge, Jaunde 48
4. Dasselbe 49
5. Schattendarsteller (Iffisleute) beim Sío-Kult in Bébai (Fam. Effeng). Der mittelste mit der Sío-Maske 53
6. Mirlitons für Kulte 54
7. Ndong-mba in Bébai (Fam. Effeng). Der Kultleiter führt die Neulinge aus dem Hause und zeigt ihnen symbolisch die Sonne; links das beim Sío benutzte Phallusgerüst 55
8. Tanz eines Neulings auf dem Phallusgerüst, Sío-Kult in Akonangí (Fam. Effandun) 58
9. Sío-Kultplatz in Bébai (Fam. Effeng), Süd-Kamerun 59
10. Plan eines Sío-Kultplatzes bei Bébai (Fam. Effeng), Ntum 60
11. Hörnermaske der Schattenmänner beim Sío-Kult der Südpangwe (Fam. Efféngi), Fang 62
12. Errichtung einer Sío-Figur über einem gedeckten Gange (das Grab darstellend), Akonangí (Fam. Effandun), Süd-Kamerun 63
13. Sío-Figur in Akonangí vor der Einweihung 64
14. Tanzhaube aus Turakofedern mit einem Büschel Hahnenfedern 67
15. Tanzhaube aus Papageienfedern, mit Perlenschnüren verziert 67
16. Schimpansentanz beim Bokúng-Kult in Bébai (Fam. Effeng) 68
17. Plan eines Bokúng-Kultplatzes in Bébai (Fam. Effeng), Ntum 70
18. Grundriß der Elong-Figur 70
19. Querschnitt durch eine Sío-Figur in Akonangí 70
20. Elóng-Figur beim Bokúng-Kult in Bébai (Fam. Effeng) 71
21. Längsschnitt durch einen Schok, der über einer Leiche errichtet ist . . 73
22. Plan eines Schok-Kultplatzes in Bedábedan (Fam. Effaffum), Span.-Guinea 74
23. Herstellung einer Schok-Figur in Bedábedan (Fam. Effáffum), Span.-Guinea 75
24. Mirliton für den Schok-Kult 75
25. Schok aus Manoa (Fam. Obuk), Fang 77

Seite

26. Querſchnitt durch eine Ngi-Figur in Ebäangon (Fam. Eſſeng) 80
27. Ngi in Ebäangon (Fam. Eſſeng), Süd-Kamerun 81
28. Pläne von Ngi-Kultplätzen 83
29. Ngi-Kultfigur in Alén (Fam. Epfak), Span.-Guinea 85
30. Ngi-Kultfeier in Alén (Fam. Epfak) 86
31. Umzäunter Ngiplatz beim Verſammlungshaus in Olámeſö (Fam. Eſſandun), Neu-Kamerun 87
32. Ngi in ſeinem Haus, Olámeſö 88
33. Ngiplatz und Ngihaus am Verſammlungshaus in Bendámbejuſch (Fam. Epfak), Neu-Kamerun 89
34. Ngi in Bendámbejuſch von vorne 90
35. Beſchneidung eines Jungen in Maſſóm (Fam. Ndong), Süd-Kamerun . . 101
36. Nach der Beſchneidung. Die Penisrolle wird angefertigt. Maſſóm (Fam. Ndong), Süd-Kamerun 102
37 und 38. Ein Beſchnittener mit und ohne Verband. Bébai (Fam. Eſſeng), Süd-Kamerun 103
39. Copaifera Iessmannii Harms 106
40. Medizin gegen Felddiebſtahl der Seelen (Bokábofane) 107
41. Seelenfeſt in Bedábedan (Fam. Eſſaßdum) 110
42. Seelenfeſt in Bedábedan (Fam. Eſſaßdum) 112
43. Ahnenfiguren 118
44. Ahnenfiguren 119
45. Große Figur für Ahnenverehrungsfeſte, Span.-Guinea 120
46. Pläne von Ahnenverehrungsplätzen 121
47. Ahnenverehrung in Ebäangon (Fam. Eſſeng), Süd-Kamerun 123
48. Ahnenverehrung in Ebäangon (Fam. Eſſeng), Süd-Kamerun 125
49. Medizinen gegen Zauberweſen, meiſt als Anhängſel am Halsſchmuck getragen 141
50. Hemd für Giftmiſcher. Akonangſ (Fam. Eſſandun), Nhum 147
51. Meſſingbehälter zum Aufbewahren von Gift aus Mandúmu (Fam. Ojek) 147
52. Zaubermedizin eines Sö-Werfers, d. i. eines Zauberers oder Giftmörders 148
53. Unterirdiſche Kammer eines Mekukzauberers im Durchſchnitt 151
54. Reichtumsmedizin 152
55. Liebesmedizin Engongeſchok 160
56. Liebesmedizinfeſt Engongeſchok in Ebäangon (Fam. Eſſeng) 160
57. Abwaſchen der Stirn beim Liebesmedizinfeſt 161
58. Liebesmedizinfeſt Engongeſchok, Ebäangon (Fam. Eſſeng) 162
59. Liebesmedizin aus dem Holze der Monodera tenuifolia 163
60. Liebesmedizin: Lianenſtück 164
61. Liebesmedizin: Horn der Zwergantilope 165
62. Medizinen der Fang 165
63. Ausſätziger vor ſeiner Hütte. Bébai (Fam. Eſſeng), Süd-Kamerun . . 172
64. Medizin an Bäumen, um bei Vollmond Treibjagd abhalten zu können, was eigentlich verboten iſt. Bébai (Fam. Eſſeng), Süd-Kamerun . . . 204
65. Häutpling von Bébai beim Zählen von Eiſengeld 212
66—71. Geld der Fang und Jaunde 213

Seite
72. Lage der Grundstücke in einem Dorfe 219
73. „Diebsangel", Instrument der Fangjungen, um Essen aus den Häusern zu stehlen 233
74. Medizinen gegen Diebstahl von Essen 233
75. Medizinen gegen Felddiebstahl 235
76. Schwurmedizin 241
77. Behälter für Gewehrladung oder Pulver 244
78. Umhängetasche aus Ananasfasern 245
79. Speere 246
80. Schwerter und Schwertscheide aus Messing 247
81 und 82. Hauerscheide und Streitaxt der Fang 248
83. Schild aus Büffelhaut 249
84. Holzschild 250
85. Medizinen zur Verstärkung der männlichen Kraft 265
86. Schwirrhölzer 288
87. Knabe von ungefähr 7 Jahren trägt ein Kind. Bébai (Fam. Esseng), Süd-Kamerun 290
88. Kleiner Junge von 5—7 Jahren. Nsfälang (Fam. Essauong), Span.-Guinea 291
89. Stelzenläufer in Alén (Fam. Epfak), Span.-Guinea 294
90—93. Kinderwaffen 295
94—97. Kinderwaffen 296
98—103. Spielzeug 299
104. Kegeln mit Schneckenkreiseln 301
105—109. Spielzeug 304
110—111. Geduldspiele 305
112. Gedächtnisspiel 308
113—114. Gedächtnisspiele 309
115—116. Steinspiele 311
117. Spielmarke und Spielsteine 315
118. Fangleute beim Ringkampf in Alén (Fam. Essauong) 318
119. Tragxylophon, Fang 322
120—122. Lärminstrumente 323
123—125. Trommeln 324
126. Holzmirlitons 325
127. Ntumjungen spielen die Kinderzither 326
128. Fang aus Nschäbot spielt Guitarre 327
129. Fang aus Nschäbot spielt das Raphiainstrument 328
130. Ntum beim Harfenspiel 329
131—133. Harfe und Pfeifen 330
134—136. Flöten und Trompeten 331
137. Der Medizinmann untersucht den Leichnam auf eine Ewu 379

3: Trézenem A E-5 (ca. 1935) 1936 FH9 Fang FH9

Ethnographic Notes on the Fan Tribes of the Middle Ogooué (Gabon)
(Notes Ethnographiques sur les Tribus Fan du Moyen Ogooué [Gabon])

Édouard Trézenem

Journal de la Société des Africanistes,
Vol. 6, pp. 65-93
Paris, 1936

Translated from the French by Anne R. Coleman

Human Relations Area Files

1959

[title page]

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES
on
THE FAN TRIBES OF THE MIDDLE OGOOUÉ (GABON)

by
Édouard Trézenem

Notice

121 The notes which we present here do not aim to be a monograph on the entire Fan [Fang] nation but only a purely objective description of the present life of the Fan tribes which inhabit the Ogooué region. This description, moreover, does not pretend to be without gaps.

121 184 On many points, particularly regarding the religious life, the customs of these tribes may appear to be quite different from those described by the authors who have spoken about the Fan and even about those tribes which live farther inland, towards the lands of the Woleu-N'tem or of the Ivíndo [River]. In the Ogooué [area], these differences seem to be due to continued contact with Europeans, to the influence of Christian missions which have a catechist in each village, and to the expansion of relations with neighboring peoples.

We will not discuss these in principle, nor will we attempt to follow the progressive evolution of the tribes, having in mind only a work of documentation.

The Country and Its Inhabitants

[131] 133 137 The region where we began our inquiry is situated below the equator, in Gabon, in the [area of the] middle Ogooué. In this, a land largely of forests, one finds in the west, on the banks of the river and its tributaries (the Abanga at the right, the Mbumi at the left) low, heavily forested areas, flooded in the rainy season, from which arise a few narrow ridges [66], some dozen meters in height at the most, where villages have been established. Many marshes, and lakes

133 full of fish, hold water during the worst of the dry season.

137 In going up the Ogooué one meets, a little before the island of Talagouga, the first spurs of the north-south oriented African plateau, still low (N'Djolé has an altitude of 63 meters), the elevation of which increases rapidly as one goes towards the interior. Upstream from N'Djolé, the Ogooué ceases to be navigable. Broken by rapids, it is no longer passable except for specially equipped dugout canoes. About a dozen kilometers beyond the influx of the Okano, the aspect of the country changes: the large forest gives way to great stretches of prairie dotted with wooded groves, on the hillsides formations of quartz blocks are seen and oil palms, which were not present downstream, begin to appear. Mt. Otoumbi dominates the landscape from its 700 meters, and the rounded hillsides of the ranges bordering the river recall some features of the Vosges.

133 In the N'Djolé region, the Ogooué receives as its chief tributaries: to the right, the Bingola, Okano, and Abanga; to the left, shorter rivers of less volume, the Leledi, Lebe, and Mbumi. Only Abanga is navigable, and this for only about 70 kilometers.

132 The climate is hot and humid, with alternating dry and rainy seasons:
133 from October to January, the rainy season; from January to March, a very hot, dry season, the ripening time of almost all the forest fruits; from March to June, again violent rains, great tornadoes, and severe heat; and from June to October, a comparatively cool, dry season, with cessation of growth for some varieties of forest vegetation. At this time the waters are very low; sand banks can be seen everywhere in the Ogooué some of whose tributaries, like the Misanga, have only a trickle of water. The seasons are obviously not as strictly demarcated as this, and one season often encroaches on the other.

101 Today this whole region is almost entirely inhabited by the Fan who,
since their arrival, probably at the beginning of the nineteenth century,
563 have either driven out or decimated the [other] inhabitants, the Okata and Bapinji [Bapindji] up the N'Djolé (of the Okata there is now only one village left, and the Bapinji have completely disappeared) and the Bakele [Bakale, Bakelle (?)] downstream. The latter still have some villages in the interior on the left bank, but only one on the edge of the river.

101 Fan is the name they give themselves. Pahouin [Pahuin] is the one by which they are commonly known and which, according to Haug (1)

1. Ernest Haug, "Notice géographique et ethnographique sur le Bas-Ogooué"

101 [Geographic and Ethnographic Comment on the Lower Ogooué], Ann. de Géogr., No. 62, March 15, 1903.

" is a [67] corruption of the word mpanwe by which the tribes of the coast refer to the Fan." Among them are found the tribes of three great parent branches, the Betsi and the Nzaman of the Madzouna dialect, and the Make of the Maekina dialect. Their number has a [161] strong tendency to decrease due to continuous migration towards the sea, and above all due to lack of births and to stillbirths. There are 361 actually no villages except on the banks of the Ogooué and the Abanga, and in the valley of the Okano along the route that joins the river at Oyem; and a few hamlets of the Make in the interior near small Bakele settlements on the left bank. The whole region of the right bank is depopulated, and one finds no more than frequent patches of short, thick brush without trees, except for some banana trees which are traces of vanished former villages.

Beliefs

113 I. Concerning the origin of man, the elements. Whenever a Pahouin recites his genealogy (every child is used to this from his early [867] years, a survival of the need while traveling to make oneself known as a member of a tribe), he ends the list of his ancestors with: "X... son of Nzame," and adds a formula meaning "and the rooster crowed and I was not there." All the Pahouin now living thus claim a common ancestor, Nzame, to whom they attribute supernatural powers but whom they do not worship. This Nzame himself has four known ancestors: Meboere, Nkwa, Sokuma, and Mba Angwe. We have not been able to obtain any information about these, nor about the formula in which the rooster is mentioned [sic]. It seems that this is due to the ignorance of the natives rather than their ill will (many traditions were lost through contact with peoples met in the westward migration and especially through contact with Europeans), since the natives questioned quite voluntarily gave accounts of the life of Nzame as their fathers had described it to them.

173 In the past Nzame lived a life which his children still live today,
773 proceeding westward as he abandoned villages in which he had lived with his wives and which he vacated after the fields had been exhausted. The number of his wives was so great that it was not known, and his villages were so important that at their sites the forest could not grow back, and this is why there are now plains in the midst of the forest in the Pahouin country.

Nzame arrived at the end of the earth, which is flat, and came up against the sky barring his way, an iron roof covering the earth as a roof covers a hut, and held up at its center by an invisible stake which [68] has since been held up by Ningone Maboere, sister of Nzame. He went to the other side of the sky after having crossed a very wide river, Endam, into which all the rivers empty and which flows all around the earth and under it, bursting through at the thinnest points so as to emerge in the form of springs. Then Nzame stopped and established the village Dzo, which he has not left since.

It is in this village that Nzame still lives with his wives and children. His life is the same as on earth, and there he welcomes the dead and keeps the elements imprisoned, the sun, moon, rain, etc...

773 Every morning, when Okwal the wild fowl calls, Nzame goes to
821 open the door of the hut where the sun sleeps. The sun wakes up, gets on its way, goes around the sky, and returns in the evening when everyone is in bed, to rest in the hut which it left in the morning. uThe sun is a large ball of fire which gives heat and light as it burns.

The moon also is imprisoned in the village Dzo. It is a large white stone which Nzame regularly shows to the people at night in different phases: small, larger, entirely round, then smaller and smaller, until he hides it for a few days. Because of its whiteness, the moon also gives light.

The rainbow is a big snake which is seen when Nzame gives it permission to go out and drink water from the river.

Sometimes Nzame also opens the door of another hut, and rain comes out, preceded by wind. Rain falls through holes pierced in the sky, which allow the lights of the Dzo village, or the shining eyes of the dead which look at the earth, to be seen at night. These luminous holes are the stars. Sometimes lightning comes out of the hut at the same time as the rain. The former is a little animal that falls on the trees and breaks them, making a noise. In the dry season the rain goes back to the hut, and it is seen at night or in the morning in the form of great white mists rising above the lakes and rivers.

773 Nzame has much work in his village, but he does not disdain to en-
821 joy himself. He causes tomtom dances to be performed on the sky, and the noise of the dancers' feet is called thunder. From time to time also, when there is an eclipse, it is Nzame who takes pleasure in frightening people by plunging them into darkness at midday.

776 II. The evur. The evur or evus (plural, bivur) appears to be an individual spirit which plays a fundamental role in the life of the Pahouin. Not all persons have an evur. To have an evur, one must have received it from a person who has one. Such a person is called nem (plural, beyem). A child in the foetal state carried by its mother [69] can receive an evur even without the knowledge of the mother. One can tell by its weight that a newborn has an evur; only a nem, on lifting a child in his arms, can say that he has felt the weight of the evur, imperceptible to anyone else.

776 If at its birth a child has no evur, it can then receive one. The
852 evur given it is either good (evur mve) or evil (evur abi).

(1) Good evur. In the case of a good evur, the donor of this evur, who is always an elder of the tribe, comes often to see the child until the latter can count to ten, that is to say, at about seven or eight years
[856] of age. At this time the child is considered intelligent enough to understand what is expected of him, and then the ceremony called akaǧa is performed.

All the beyem of the village are invited to meet at a tree called
[824] ovaṅ (Didelotia africana), chosen from among all the others as the fetish tree because of its size, its longevity, and its resistance to tornadoes. The child is brought there; then the donor of the evur, in the presence of the assembled beyem, pronounces the wishes which he makes for the child's future. He wishes him wealth, strength, success, in general all that which will make him happy. For little girls the wishes are more particularly that they may later have many children, that they may be strong for their planting tasks, and that they may be esteemed by the other wives of their future husbands.

A kind of soup called nam akaǧa, the preparation of which is secret, is made on the occasion of this ceremony. Each time the donor of the evur makes a wish, the child must take a little nam. For example, if the wish is for him to have ten wives, this is made with the following words:

e mon ni, nam ma ke we wi oluǧ bunega awum
That child, the soup I give you here marries ten wives,

776 and he must take ten spoonfuls of soup. Similarly, he will eat a
852 spoonful for each child wished for. As to the other wishes, wealth, strength, courage, esteem, etc., these necessitate eating all that is left in the pot. This large quantity of soup signifies that the wish made is for an immeasurable amount of whatever is desired.

776 The night following the ceremony of akaga, the bivur of the beyem who have been present leave the bodies of their possessors in order to hold an invisible meeting called ngwel. This is the only time that the ngwel does not have a completely malevolent action, since otherwise the bivur never meet except to do evil. The ngwel which follows the akaga confirms the wishes made for the child and promises to protect his evur until it is strong enough; in fact, the evur grows with the child and does not reach its full vitality until the child is an adult. The ngwel [70] also shows the new member what part of the body he must remove from the person he will later sacrifice, in order to make a fetish. This sacrifice is made in gratitude to the bivur who concerned themselves with him during the akaga.

776 Every time an evur leaves the body for a ngwel, it is injured and
784 fatigued, and can only be restored with human blood. After the ngwel, which follows the akaga, the bivur who have taken part in this weakened state and, when they have finished attending to the wishes made for the child, they ask the evur of the person who invited them to point out the victim they must eat for their recovery. An old man of the paternal or maternal family is usually designated for this purpose. Lacking such a person, the nem who bestowed the evur may sacrifice himself. If he does not consent, the assembled bivur place a prohibition (eki) on the child. For example, if ten wives have been wishes for him, he is forbidden on pain of death to take an eleventh; or else he is forbidden, always on pain of death, to eat certain foods or to do, or allow such and such a thing to be done. When the prohibition is of little importance, death in case of infraction may be replaced by the good evur transforming into an evil one.

Respect for the prohibitions and faith in their power is so firmly fixed in the minds of all the Pahouins that one who [illegible] violated a prohibition of akaga is sure to die, and without external intervention.

784 A Protestant missionary of the Samkita station cited to us the case
158 of a twelve-year-old child, a boarding pupil of the mission, who was

784 forbidden by akaǧa to eat manioc. He had never eaten any and had
158 lived on bananas. One evening he cooked his bananas in a pot which had been used by other pupils, without having taken the precaution of washing it. During the night he learned that before he had used it, manioc had been cooked in it. Thinking that his bananas might thus have been contaminated by the remains of manioc caught on the edges of the pot and that he had broken his eki, he died in a few hours with horrible suffering, as none of the cares lavished on him was able to alleviate his condition. It is to be noted that none of the children who had eaten the manioc cooked in the pot was ill, and that the one who died was in excellent health up to the moment when he learned that he had broken his eki.

The same missionary also cited to us the case of a woman of the Ngone village, near the station, who had as eki not to be hit on the back. A district guard supervising the work of brush clearance in the village and seeing that she was not working hard enough, gave her a very light tap on the shoulder blade. Immediately the woman started rolling on the ground. She was carried in terror to the mission, eyes rolling, foam at the mouth, muscles contracted, and unable to utter [71] a sound. The missionary, believing this to be an epileptic seizure, tried in vain by every possible means to quiet her. Later when he had heard the story and learned that he was in the presence of a Protestant Christian woman, he explained to her that since she was a Christian the bivur could no longer have power over her, and in any case, if she believed them to be strong enough to make her die, she would not fail to go to hell after death. Was this fear of hell stronger than the ancestral one of the bivur? After long religious exhortations by the missionary, the woman returned to her normal condition.

776 In order to avoid the eki, the child may give a part of his body to the bivur. At the place where the removal has been performed -- invisible because performed by spirits -- an incurable wound is incurred. But usually, if it is a boy, he gives his testicles to the bivur, who take them and eat them. Only their image remains on the child, and it is this image which everyone takes for reality. In this case the bivur predict for him an accumulation of wealth when this image of the testicles swells.

When the child for whom the bivur worked in the ngwel after the akaǧa has become a man, and some of the wishes that were made have

776 been realized, he rewards these bivur by giving them a member of his family: father, mother, brother, first wife, first child, or maternal uncle.

776 The person eaten by the bivur dies, and the beneficiary of the akaǧa
778 must take a portion of the body and keep it all his life. This will be a protecting fetish.

For example, a man has offered his father. When the corpse has rotted in the grave, he goes and extracts a tooth and gives it to the beyem who, at the time of the akaǧa, had told him to take it. These beyem, or at least those who have not died by this time, meet again under the ovaḥ where they cause an evur to dwell in the tooth and order it to make all its guardian's wishes come true. The wishes made at the time of the akaǧa are renewed, this time in the form of an order to the evur which takes its place in the tooth. The latter is then given back to its owner who, in order to hide it, swallows it or keeps it enclosed in a box carefully hidden in his hut so that no one sees it, not even his wives or children. Before accomplishing anything at all, he must first speak to the tooth, invoking the evur so that it will come to his aid.

If it is the first wife who has been given to the bivur, the husband removes a piece of frontal bone from the corpse, which receives an evur in the same way as the tooth described above. This bone is placed in a box full of oil, and every time the owner of the fetish appeals to this evur he must anoint his face with the oil in which the bone is soaked. [72]

Sometimes instead of a tooth or a bone, flesh is removed. The removal is then made in the night following the burial. The beyem dry the piece of flesh and incorporate an evur in it. In order to invoke this evur the owner of the fetish must put the piece of dried flesh in his mouth.

The possessor of an evur is forbidden to have any other fetish than that prescribed for him by the akaǧa.

776 (2) Evil evur. The evil evur, like the good, is given at the moment of birth. It may also come from an evur given the child in its mother's womb with which the nem donor does not concern himself at birth, or from a good evur whose owner has broken a prohibition of the akaǧa.

There is no akaǧa for an evil evur.

776 The evil evur concerns itself only with eating people in the course of the ngwel and with waging war against the good bivur. It is almost always the evil evur which is the victor.

(3) Activities of the evur. The manifestations of the evur are many, and itis the evur which acts in everything instead of, and in place of, its owner.

It is essential for one who wishes to be a practitioner to have an evur. Moreover, this profession is assigned to a child, should the occasion arise, at the time of the ceremony of akaǧa.

Except in the case of an activity favorable to its owner, or at the time of the akaǧa, the evur is always malevolent. The only aim of the ngwel meetings is to assure the life of the bivur through the death of the persons whom they eat.

776 When the good evur of a nem has worked in full daylight for its
155 owner, the latter falls ill at the same time as his evur. He can be
824 treated only with a thick medication made of water, a cooked egg, and crushed leaves of ebele beyem. Ebele beyem is the name of a poisonous vine whose leaves and blossoms resemble those of the sweet potato.

776 The malevolent activity of the evur is always manifested in a death.
761 It may also be the cause of abortion, or the death of a newborn the moment it sees daylight.

776 The evur also allows its possessor to change himself into an animal.
762 For example, a man who wishes to die causes his evur to go out and take the form of an animal (usually a black antelope, nzip, or a red
158 antelope, nkoǧ), and to walk at the edge of the village. The animal is noticed at once by the inhabitants who hunt and kill it. The evur then immediately returns to the man who sent it, and it is the man who is killed instead of the animal. The transformation is simultaneous with the blow which causes death, and it is the man, transported by his evur, who is found dead at the spot where the animal fell. [73]

776 An example of this faculty of transformation was reported to us in
158 March, 1934. Two hunters landed on a small island in Lake Mangueigne to hunt a monkey which they had seen in a tree. They separated at the landing spot, after having decided that each should go around the island from his side. One of them saw a large black antelope in the thickets, fired, and when he drew near found his comrade riddled with shot, gasping his last and dying shortly afterwards. The inhabitants of the neighboring village, aroused by the cries, arrived in time to hear

776 158 the victim exonerate the murderer, admitting that what happened was his own fault and that he had changed himself into an antelope so as not to frighten the hunted monkey. Not for an instant did the Pahouin of the district dream of doubting the truth of the story, and each recalled the exploits of the dead man who, thanks to his ability to change himself, had several times lived among gorillas and panthers, whose young he had brought back as proof of his double existence.

In September, 1933, in the village of Ebabara on the Abanga, a woman, Ningone Obame, told us how her husband, Obiang Abugo, transformed into an elephant, killed her little daughter: One day she saw Obiang come into the hut in the form of a bird, and he asked her to give him the little girl to look after him. Ningone refused. To punish her, Obiang caused her to have an abscess on her breast. A few days after this, she went fishing in a side channel of the river, Obiang staying in camp with the child. Suddenly Ningone felt her head get heavy and her heart beat fast. She was frightened and returned to the camp where she found her husband lying asleep. The little daughter was not there. Ningone went out, called her, and suddenly saw her dead, trampled by Obiang in the shape of an elephant. At this point Obiang, the elephant, promised to give her a boy in place of the little girl. Ningone went back to the camp. Obiang was still lying down and continued to sleep. She waked him up and accused him of the death of her daughter. Obiang did not deny it and said he had to kill her so that his own evur would not die. Nevertheless, he died two or three days afterwards.

Ningone told us this story in the presence of all the inhabitants of the village and numerous listeners from neighboring villages, all of whom considered the incident normal and only discussed the question of whether, because of the crime committed by Obiang's evur, Ningone should, or should not, pay back the dowry to her dead husband's family.

778 776 (4) Protection against the bivur. In spite of all the acknowledged power of the evur, the Pahouin seek to protect themselves against it. For this there is an essential fetish called mvul, or byah bivur. Upon the death of a person suspected of having had an evur which fed upon human blood, the abdomen of the corpse is opened and a search is made for the evur. [74] This, it seems, is like a crab; it has a small mouth with little teeth; its claws form long veins that go into every part of the body. Once the evur is found, its belly is opened, and if it

has lived on human flesh, a piece of the flesh is found. That piece of flesh is taken out and put into an antelope horn together with scrapings of a vine called nzi bivur, a panther claw (dze nze), the talon of ansparrow hawk, and a firefly. The end of the horn is closed with the wax of white honey (eko abe).

The fetish thus made is either carried by the person who wishes to protect himself or is hung at the door of the hut. At night, if the bivur wish to enter the hut, the firefly will leave the horn and fly into the hut, giving warning of their approach. Then there is a battle (abal nguel, the war of the ngwel) between the bivur and the horn fetish, from which the fetish almost always emerges victor.

III. The bieri. The bieri is a family fetish whose help must be sought before every important undertaking: hunting, fishing, a journey, choice of farm land, etc.,.., by the head of the family who owns the fetish.

It consists of the skull of a dead ancestor taken from the grave by a practitioner after the complete disappearance of the flesh. After having taken the skull, the practitioner goes into the forest and makes from the bark of a tree called andun (Berlinia sp.) a cylindrical box with a lid, big enough to hold the skull. The bottom of the box and the top of the lid are formed by a circular disc of wood nailed into the bark cylinder with little pegs of hard wood. The practitioner then cleans the skull and anoints it with an ointment of red wood sawdust (ba) and oil of raphia palm. The box is called nseg and the skull sen bieri, the whole having the name of bieri. Into the box is also placed some red wood sawdust and a plant called nzen (a kind of fern), and sometimes also a little wooden bowl. The bieri thus made is put in a hidden place in the hut of the family head. It will speak in dreams to a family head whenever it wishes to notify a member of the family of some event. Sometimes a statuette roughly representing the person whose skull constitutes the main part of the fetish is put on the lid of the box. It is called nin bieri (the head of the bieri).

No one may see the bieri unless he has eaten some alan (Strychnos icaja) in the course of a ceremony called ku melan. The heads of several families send the future initiates to look for roots of alan, of which they retain only the bark. Then in the morning each family head brings his bieri to a place prepared in advance in the bush near the

276 village which is called ngun [75] melan; he carries the bieri on his
778 shoulder and appears to collapse under its weight. That position is a
787 manner of worshipping the fetish. When everyone has gathered, animals, fowls, or kids are sacrificed; then, to the accompaniment of tomtoms, the neophytes dance, sing, and cry out, all the while chewing pieces of alan prepared the previous day. After a certain time, the effect of the root, combined with the excitement of the dances and songs, causes most of the participants of the celebration to become unconscious after many spasms. This unconsciousness may last two or three hours, during which the individuals retain a corpse-like stiffness. On awakening, each tells the elders what he has seen or what the bieri has told him in his dream. One may have been ordered to hunt, with the assurance of killing many antelope; another may have been warned of the impending death of a member of his family; still another may have been told of the imminent pregnancy of a brother's wife. All the Pahouin whom we have questioned state that predictions made by the bieri to people drunk with alan always come true.

Then the neophytes have the right to look at the bieri, whose boxes are open, making a vow not to speak of them to anyone who has not undergone the initiation of alan. Every uninitiated person who looks at a bieri falls ill, and only the care of a competent practitioner can prevent his death.

When a family head wants to supplicate his bieri, he sacrifices a
782 hen, a duck, or a kid, or offers it the hind leg of an animal killed in
778 the hunt, and pours blood on the skull. The meat is cooked in leaves by a woman, then taken to the bieri with stalks of manioc or a mash of bananas and water, by the one making the sacrifice. If, for example, the bieri is appealed to before a hunt, he who makes the sacrifice presents the food with these words:

"O tar ta mba bidzi olun wa to we nlem e to ma tune we yũ, Binyu bon be wa y onzan vag bie betsir" (O father, see the good food, I want to dispel the anger that is in your heart. Your children die of want, give us meat).

Then he goes out of the hut because the bieri will not eat in the
778 presence of a living being. Several hours later he comes back to look
782 for the food left by the bieri. Its consumption, however, is not visible
787 as it is accomplished immaterially. This food that has been brought to the watchers' hut [corps de garde] will be eaten only by the

initiates. Anyone else who eats it will become mortally ill. During the following night, the bieri will reveal to an initiate during his sleep the means of assuring the success of the hunt for which his help has been asked.

The bieri strictly forbids anyone, under pain of mortal illness, to [76] insult it. Its power is unlimited: it can cause a woman who has fled from the village to return to it; it causes lost objects to be found.

In spite of all the faith which the old Pahouin still have in the bieri, in the region which interests us one may say that the majority of the population has abandoned it, primarily because of its being driven out by the Christian missions.

IV. The buiti. The buiti, which our informants told us were of Mitsogho [Mitsogo] or Masango [Missanga?] origin (peoples of the right bank of the N'Gounié), is a protective association against the bivur. The information on this secret society was given us by Akam Eyene, the head of a buiti, who lived in the village Elong Eko on the Abanga. It is rather incomplete because this informant was unwilling to give us certain details and to answer numerous questions.

Possessors of bieri band together because of the fear of the bivur, against which the bieri by itself is powerless to protect them. Their association, the buiti, in its fight against the ngwel, shows itself as stronger and kills the bivur (and consequently the individual possessors of bivur). It also serves to reveal the beyem, who have evil intentions toward members of the buiti and to make their efforts ineffectual.

Every member of the buiti brings a piece of his bieri and a piece of the animal under whose protection he has placed himself. All of these are put in a box and constitute the fetish of the association, which also keeps such material things as:

A musical instrument, ngomi, a harp with eight strings. At the bottom of the resonance chamber of the one belonging to Akam Eyene were pierced three holes covered by three pieces of flesh of chimpanzee, gorilla, snake, elephant, eagle, panther, and rooster. This instrument accompanies the songs of the ceremony.

A bell, etsoge, a round hollowed-out fruit, into which are put little pebbles. It is equipped with a handle and is shaken during the songs.

A branch of raphia palm lying horizontally on two carved stakes called missaga mi buiti. The whole thing is called obaka. During the ceremonies this branch is beaten with two sticks.

515 We have not been able to learn anything about the ceremonies of
184 protection against the bivur. However, Akam Eyene told us that when a member of the buiti has inadvertently eaten the flesh of his protecting animal, which is absolutely forbidden, he holds a meeting called dzimba in the course of which the wrongdoer, after dancing, presents his case. Then the [77] head of the buiti absolves him, spitting scrapings of the bark of the ovaṅ onto his head.

515 The buiti has a secret language. Akam Eyene gave us only the
148 secret names of certain of its initiates, which correspond to the animals chosen as protectors:

He himself	called	ndzikwe	chimpanzee
Ondo Ngema	—	ngilebongo	gorilla
Akum Eyene	—	osingi	tiger cat
Ngema Eyene	—	mitumbu	panther
Bekeka Yebe	—	mogabene	elephant
Angwe Nseme	—	menyanga	snake
Mba Minkwe	—	meyasamba	rooster
Kumeyeme	—	mepeku	eagle
Abaga	—	ndzobe	wildcat

771 V. Totemism. Despite all questions which we have put to many natives of various tribes, we have not been able to find any signs of totemism. We were only told of instances of individual unions with animals, as in the buiti or following an akaga.

Family and Collective Life

000 In this chapter we will examine the life of the individual in the family and in the social group, from his conception until his death, incorporating into this framework the family and tribal organization as well as relations with strangers.

842 Conception (menoṅ bum). A woman, we have been told by our
833 male and female informants, cannot conceive until after she has
841 menstruated four times. She is, in fact, forbidden to have sexual intercourse before her fourth period. At her first menses, the woman tells her mother or her mother-in-law if she is married (usually her mother-in-law, since there is hardly even a young girl, still with her family, without a husband); the latter henceforth supervises her more

842 meticulously and in due time gives her permission to have relations
833 with her husband. The first relations must take place on the day fol-
841 lowing the end of the menstrual period so that the not yet completely dried blood in the organs of the woman can mix with the sperm of the man and make a kind of paste called nsũe a mon (lizard of a child), which goes back up into the womb of the woman and there develops [78] and becomes the child. If the woman has relations with a man before the prescribed time, she will definitely become sterile.

842 Sterility, for which many causes are recognized, can be treated, except in the case noted above, in case of bad conduct, and in case of voluntary abortion in the course of a first pregnancy. In order to
841 abort, the woman finds a midwife (ngañ minanga) who sends her out
824 to look for the bark of the afamega vine and the tum tree, which she crushes and with which she makes an infusion. The woman goes to the brush and takes four irrigations of this infusion, and that is enough to induce abortion.

842 On the other hand, the woman who wishes to have children may be barren for several reasons:

(1) She may have aborted naturally and without desiring it. An
843 abortion is recognized as having a natural cause, that is, without
842 malignant external intervention, in that the patient recovers three or four days after the accident and without having suffered too much. In this case the midwife gives the invalid a prohibition called awos which restrains her from going near any man other than her husband. She may not say a word to a man except through the mediation of another woman who acts as interpreter; she may not give anything to a man without this intermediary, and may not sit where a man has sat; and for this last reason she always carries a little seat with her. This prohibition must be observed for two or three months, after which the woman is again allowed to have relations with her husband. If at the end of three more months she is still not pregnant, the midwife then gives her a treatment which consists in having the patient take some soup (abura) made of pumpkin (ngon) ground on a stone and mixed with herbs (mia mi nyo, oyah) gathered and chopped by the midwife. These she cooks with salt and pimento in a pot at the bottom of which has been placed a copper ring (kon ango), covered by a large leaf during the cooking.

843
842 If three months after the treatment the woman is still not pregnant, there is nothing to be done and she has to give up having children.

(2) A woman may be barren after abortion because of her evur. This
842 is recognized in that she aborts with much suffering and then stays
789 ill afterwards for more than eight days. An appeal is made to the
824 practitioner, who renders the evur harmless by making it crazy. After having made the woman take a medicine made of white honey (abe), bark of a cola tree (abel), and bark of abal and atega trees, all mixed with chicken blood, the practitioner goes with her to the ovah where where he customarily conducts his ceremonies, and performs a kind of exorcism which was not revealed to us. Once back in the village, the woman follows the same [79] treatment as in the case of natural abortion. The secret ceremony performed by the practitioner is called avi evur akur (making the evur crazy).

(3) Finally, the abortion may have been caused by a male member
843 of the husband's family, the possessor of an evur, who is revealed by
842 the practitioner. If the woman wants to have children, the guilty one
789 must die. He is discovered in the course of a ceremony, part of which is carried out at night and at which the presence of women is forbidden; this is the dance of the bisir. An akuma singer is brought, who recites stories of the tribes of both husband and wife. Before him, covered by a large cloth, lie three or four men who are the bisir. These men have in their hands pointed pieces of bamboo. A young boy of the husband's family is brought there. He passes several times between the singer and the bisir, who prick the boy's legs with the bamboo sticks. The child then goes back into his hut while the songs continue until dawn, the men of the village dancing and clapping their hands in accompaniment to the singer.

In the morning the husband of the aborted woman goes into the forest to find two wooden forks, a limb, and some branches. He plants the two forks in the village square, places the limb on them horizontally, and conceals the forks under the branches; this structure is called nzum. The child who passed before the bisir the previous night is seated on the rail. Before all the assembled men and women of the village, the aborted woman approaches the child and says madzuna, nzum me tela esi ũi, e mur awu makula mebum abure (I say, I stay under the nzum so that the man may die who caused me to abort).

842 After this second part of the ceremony, called elum nzum, the
843 child is hidden for eight days in a hut, and women are forbidden to
789 see him during this time; he is now called mvùm. On the morning of the eighth day, the men lay him on a mat in the village square and cover him with mats and cloths so that the women do not see him; the inhabitants of the village are again assembled, and the men of the husband's family step over the mvun one after the other, saying: madzune, e mvun ebue ni ngi me ki me nga kule abum, me bure (I say, the mvun is lying there; if it is I who caused the abortion, may I die). When all the men have passed, the child is taken away. Some time later the guilty one becomes sick, has a swollen abdomen, and dies, there being no possibility of caring for him. After his death, the woman is treated as in the case of natural abortion.

843 Pregnancy (ndzua abum). When a woman is pregnant, she is bound by numerous obligations and prohibitions which aim to care for the child which she carries so that she can bring it into the world in good health. [80]

843 The obligations consist of taking medicines; to prevent the child
757 from having sores in the womb of its mother, she takes an infusion of the roots of various trees. This medicine is called ese bibolo (to treat infections); if it is neglected, the child is born with infected sores which never heal.

The future mother must also go every three days into the brush and give herself a washing with a preparation of bark of ebom which has fermented in vater. After each enema, water is added to the vessel containing the pieces of bark, which are kept until the delivery.

That the child may be strong, the pregnant woman anoints her abdomen with an ointment prepared by the midwife with padouk powder mixed with raphia oil and bark.

843 Finally, to prevent abortion, the woman wears on her skin, like a
757 belt, a piece of okum vine, which is not removed until after the birth of the child.

843 All this does not prevent the woman from continuing her work; when she feels tired, it is because the child is sick, and the midwife treats her with one of the medicines mentioned above. If the woman's husband has not had children for a long time, the future mother then enjoys much esteem; she receives gifts, and her husband pays a great deal of attention to her.

843 Throughout her pregnancy the woman continues to live with her husband's other wives.

There are many prohibitions:

First of all, there is the prohibition on sexual intercourse after the pregnancy is certain so that the child will not be born covered with sperms and have a cold all his life.

The future mother may not eat decayed things for fear that the child will be born covered with black spots or with sores.

If the pregnant woman looks into the hollow of a tree, the child will be born with crossed eyes; she must not strike the death blow to an animal, for the child will have convulsions like those of the animal in agony. She may not step over a grave, or the child will have gaps in its skull, its bones will not knit, and it will die. She may not eat bananas or the child will have its head covered with scabs, she may not eat land turtle, or the child will always stay thin; it will also be thin if its mother has gone near a chameleon during her pregnancy. Neither may she step over the mvun or her child will be born with a swollen abdomen and die, just as it will die with a swollen abdomen after birth if its mother has eaten an animal, killed the previous day, which has a swollen belly. [81]

The pregnant woman who goes up to a door may not speak from the threshhold but must open the door and speak from inside; if she does not do so, at the time of delivery the child will come out and then go back into the womb of the mother, causing her unbearable pain.

A woman knows whether she will bring a boy or a girl into the world, if she has noticed whether the nsiie a mon has gone right or left in her womb: it will be a boy if it goes to the right, or a girl if it goes to the left.

844 Confinement (ekurele mir, literally "wrinkling the eyes"). The confinement takes place in the hut where the woman lives; it takes place nowhere else except by accident, for example, if the child comes into the world sooner than expected, during work in the fields or in the forest.

A circle of dry banana leaves is arranged on the ground in the hut. The woman giving birth is seated on it, legs spread, and held from behind by an especially strong woman. In front of her stands another woman to whom is given the name of mbyale, who waits for the child

844 and helps with its birth. It sometimes happens that the child presents only its head and that the rest has difficulty in following. One of the women present goes to ask the husband if, during the pregnancy of his wife, he has nailed anything or fastened it with vines, as it could be this that is holding the child back. In this case the husband must unnail or detach something; similarly, if he has built a hut, he must remove some bark from the wall of any hut in order to facilitate the birth of the child.

845 824 If the delivery is especially difficult, a man leads a young boy to a wild mango tree (andok), takes him by the feet, and makes him scratch the bark of the tree with a machete, while holding him with his head down. As he scratches, the boy collects pieces of bark in a plate. These pieces, taken back to the village, are used to prepare an infusion which the patient drinks. In case this remedy fails another is made: an infusion of a chopped herb (eyele nzum) is poured into the mouth of the woman in labor by a child perched on the roof of the hut; just above the woman the child has pierced a hole, into which the infusion flows through a hollow banana stalk. When neither of these two medicines has worked, there is a last one which is used in an unusual way, but which, our informants say, is always crowned with success. The invalid eats a paste made of mashed pumpkin, an herb (manden makwe), and a small snail (nson akwe), cooked with salt in leaves. It is very rare, however, that recourse must be had to any of these three medicines. During the entire period of the confinement, at which only women are allowed to be present, the husband stays outside the door of the hut.

844 Immediately after the delivery, the woman called mbyale takes the child and [82] cuts the cord (dol) about 10 centimeters from the abdomen with a piece of bamboo shaped in the form of a knife. The portion removed (ngoe mon) is buried under a banana tree, whose fruit is reserved strictly for men. Then the spot where the delivery took place is cleared of the leaves and washed; at the same time the child is bathed in cold water and laid on a fresh banana leaf. It must spend one night before taking the breast for the first time, and until then nothing is given it to drink.

The placenta (kum) is removed and wrapped in banana leaves in a package which is hidden in the brush. The young mother must not

844 see it, and if she sees it she will have no more children. The mother is then washed with very hot water in which pimento has been steeped; after this her abdomen is bound with a belt of bark (ewag) which she keeps on for several days.

846 After the birth of her child, a young mother is known by the name of nzinze, which she keeps until she has the right to resume relations with her husband. She has a special bed in the hut, on which a [84] menstruating woman may neither sit nor lie so as not to give scabies to the mother and the newborn. The young mother rests for about three months, during which she does no work and bathes every day with water as hot as she can stand, the lumbar region especially being [75] bathed. Moreover, after every bath she is smeared with red paste (ba) to prevent scabies.

Recovery from childbirth is marked by a celebration (okula mon). The first time she goes out, the woman carries a package of ba, a piece of which she places on every tree stump she meets on her way, to mark her path. On her return she prepares a large quantity of food she has brought back. The husband invites the men of his tribe, and the wife invites the women of her husband's tribe. When the food is ready, it is taken to the men in the watchers' hut, where the child is also taken. The women eat in the hut.

846 To improve the quality of her milk, the young mother drinks pro-
827 gressively, if necessary, three medicines:
757 (1) An infusion of aseh roots.

(2) A milky-looking infusion of pieces of tubers of a plant with a thorny stem (ekon bökun).

(3) Latex from a rubber plant.

761 It may be that the child dies at birth. Three causes for this are
789 recognized:

An evur has eaten the child. To prevent this from being repeated and so that the woman will in the future bring living children into the world, she resorts to the practitioner. He goes into the forest armed [83] with a machete and a basket. He gathers the bark of an ovan, and also brush and vines that grow under this tree. On his return to the village he divides his collection into two parts. One part, mixed with water, is put in a large rectangular container of banana leaves called etok, which has been filled with the blood of a domestic animal sacrificed for the welfare of the woman. She then immerses herself

761 in the etok and stays there for a certain length of time. While she is
789 in this bath, she eats a soup made of the rest of the bark gathered by the practitioner, together with a pumpkin, a piece of the heart, liver, and some blood of the sacrificial animal, all cooked in a pot. This remedy is intended to satisfy the evur and prevent it from eating the blood of the woman or of the child which she may carry in her womb in the future.

761 The death of the child may also arise from an akaga given to its mother, which predicted that one of her children would not live.

Finally, if there is neither evur nor akaga, this mishap is believed
761 to be caused by the violation of a prohibition or, more likely, by
784 adultery committed by the woman during her pregnancy. To make
837 her denounce her accomplice, she is beaten until she has named him. This man must then pay to the husband an indemnity equal to half the dowry which he spent to get his wife, an indemnity which represents the price of the adultery and the price of the child's corpse. The woman is subjected from then on to the prohibition of awos until the the birth of her next child.

854 The child (mon). Until it talks, the child is called nkañele. We We have seen that after its birth it is washed in cold water and not fed until the following morning. The breast is first given it by another woman rather than by the mother, whose milk is not good at first.

At the age of eight days, the child is smeared with ba. If the cord dries up by itself without trouble, it is enough to moisten it with saliva.

845 Anomalies such as the birth of an albino or of twins are considered
[143] normal. The natives have stated that albinos are reproduced in the same family at an interval of three generations. As to twins, they are forbidden later on to take part in the ngwel. If the twins are boys,
[551] the first is called Nzugo, the second Dzima; if they are girls, they are given the names respectively of Bela and Nzua.

551 A name is not given a child until several months after birth, when one is almost certain that it will live. A child receives several names. The father chooses the first name from among his ancestors. For example, a boy will be called Osene from the name of a paternal ancestor, to this name of Osene has been added the name of his father Ekomi, and so the child is called Osene Ekomi; but he also has a sort of first name chosen by the parents, which in the present case is [84] Andzang. The complete name thus is Andzang Osene Ekomi. The mother's

551 family has given him a second name, Ekure Nzork (elephant hide), which corresponds to the wish made by the grandparents that their grandson may be as tough as elephant hide. Still other names may be given by other relatives, each of these corresponding to an affectionate feeling or a wish for the child. Andzang [misprinted Andang in original] has a third name given by the wife of one of his uncles, Nzul Weya (young civet), that is to say "as handsome as a civet," [301 832] civet skin formerly having been worn as an ornament by young Pahouin wanting to make female conquests.

When a man has had several children who have died at an early age, in order that the newborn may not die like the others he gives him the name of an animal: Ngi (gorilla), Waġa (chimpanzee), Nze (panther), Mvina (antelope), etc...

Sometimes the child receives a name referring to an incident of his birth. A child may be called: Nefan (from afan, the forest), if he is born in the forest; Bemvaṅ (from mvaṅ, rain), if he was born in the rain or on a rainy day; or Biteẹ́ (from eteġ, mourning), if he was born after the death of his father, during his mother's mourning, etc...

[771] Actually in all the N'Djolé region children are given a Christian name, in addition to their native names, even if neither the parents nor the child have any contact with the missions. It is also quite usual to see children bearing European proper names, names which were given them because the parents thought them pretty. Similarly, one meets children called Captain, Major, Militiaman, etc... , and always the parents give as reason fortheir choice that the name taken for the child is beautiful.

851 The child belongs to its father and cannot be dependent on the mother unless she has been repudiated and the father has waived his claim to reimbursement.

853 Nursing continues until eighteen months or two years, but at about the age of six months, in addition to the breast, the child gets the same food as its parents except for fish, meat, and salt, which are forbidden him.

855 The physical care given the child is reduced to the minimum: he lives naked until the age of about ten years and is bathed every day. When he can walk, he is put on his own and plays with the other children of the village, boys and girls together. While he is still rather

855 weak, the mother takes him with her to the fields or on her other trips. She carries him either on her hip by means of a belt of antelope hide, or on her back with a rope of vines on which the child sits, as long as he is small. After he can hold on by himself, he is carried [85] on the hip, clutching the neck of the person who is carrying him. One sees children of some ten years old being carried.

857 As soon as the child is old enough to eat like adults, and talks
868 and counts properly, he starts accompanying his parents to the fields and to fishing; he learns to swim, paddle, dance, and play the tomtom and various musical instruments. The little girls learn to cultivate a small piece of farm land which is given them by their mothers.

Games. The numerous games are almost all common to both sexes. Little boys and girls play together in the village, but the boys have three games in which girls never take part:

Nge ou ye. This game consists of rolling on the path at the end of the village, before a lineup of young boys, a cylinder of soft wood which
[41] they must hit by throwing a sharp spear. This is training for throwing the assagai.

Biñra, game of the bow. This is a hunt of rats and lizards by young boys with small bows made of mvibema wood and strung with a vine; the arrows are of bamboo with their tips smeared with pimento. It is
[41] to be noted that although children play with the bow, adults do not have this weapon and only the crossbow is found.

857 Mbeñ, musical bow: This is a kind of guessing game. The one who has the instrument thinks about something; another child has to guess it, and therefore he asks: "Nzam e biale ebe, fore dza ke yo, eñi for dza lige esi, matsi eve?" (Nzam made two of them, one goes up, the other stays on the ground, where am I fastened?), and asks if it concerns the one above or the one below. If he has guessed right, a deep tone of the bow answers him; if he is mistaken it is a shrill sound. If, for example, he happens to choose the one below, the game continues with the question "me sal e Nzam esi fore dza ke osui, eñi for dza lige kinige, matsi eve?" (I cut the lower Nzam in two, one goes to the river, the other stays on land, where am I fastened?), and the game goes on, dividing the guessed part in two until the object thought of is discovered.

The following are some mixed games:

Mebog. The children are seated in line, legs apart, except for two of them, who remain standing. One of these two hides an object among

857 the legs of the others and the second must find it. They take turns, and the game may continue for a considerable time.

Sima bebene is played by moonlight. The children are seated closely packed, one beside the other, and each chooses the name of a common object to represent him. Two of the children remain standing; one of them goes away and the other stays near his comrades. He is sima bebene. The one who is at a distance calls "sima bebene!" and the other answers "o ooo!" The first then calls "a to we be nza ben zá (who are those over there?), to which sima bebene [86] answers by reciting the names adopted by each. Then the child who is at a distance names the objects necessary for ordinary life. For example, he will say, "eto e ñzag me kwe enõ" (may the loincloth come to find me here), and the child who has taken the name of loincloth gets up and goes, and so the game goes on. The children who remain seated, not having been called, are the objects of the others' derision, because they did not know how to choose things that are necessary for ordinary life.

Kunege, this is a kind of leapfrog. The children are placed in line, bent over, legs stiff, hands on the ground. The last walks on the backs of the others and bends over at the other end of the line, which moves in this way.

Ngal ngüi (the sow). Two of the strongest children hold each other by the hands, arms extended. The one who represents ngal ngüi is held by all the others in a line. The line, stooping, passes under the extended arms, singing, "ngal ngüi eyele eye a a a... ngal ngüi." The last in line is caught by those who hold each others' hands and goes to one side. This goes on until ngal ngüi is left alone. Then they all form two rows and try to catch him, singing "me lege ne nkuma nkum ke mon" (I have stayed like a dry tree trunk without child).

Nda mebeme (the bound hut). The children sit on the ground with legs crossed over the abdomen of the one in front, holding him by the shoulders. The line thus formed leans alternately to the right and to the left and moves forward on the buttocks, singing "nda mebeme eyele ye... nda mebeme."

Endele is played at night. The children are gathered in the village square, and one of them is chosen to be endele. The others give him

857 something to do near the village, and when he has gone they call to him, "endele o o o...", and he answers, "o yo o o o mur e mur a ne e nzine bekun nlu si mebo yo mura kue a ba a muge nie a nu" (there is a big man on the road, a phantom with his head down and his feet up and a red mouth). Endele keeps answering until he has done what was asked of him. Usually he comes back before this from fear of the phantom of which he speaks and which he thinks he sees.

882 Puberty, Adolescence. Puberty occasions no ceremony, but from then on the child has the right to eat the take of his hunting and fishing, which was formerly forbidden him. This prohibition is called eki wo.

304 Circumcision is done either before or after puberty. It is an operation which is usually performed for many children at a time, and takes place in the early morning. The operator (nkir) comes to the village without the children's being told, and the fathers who wish their sons circumcised watch them so they do not run away. The children are led behind a hut where pieces of red wood have been prepared. [87] A hole is made in the ground, and the pieces of red wood are put in it and set on fire. Each child sits on the stump of a banana tree. The operator uses a well-sharpened razor. Before the operation he fills his mouth with seeds of wild pimento which he chews. He takes the foreskin of the child in his left hand, pulls it, makes a mark on it with his nail at the place where he will cut. The father of the child sees whether the cut piece will be of the desired size, and if he agrees the operator slices the foreskin with one stroke of the razor and spits the pimento, which he has in his mouth, onto the wound. Then he says, "fam e ne e saġa e saġa saġ mi saġ nkūi," an obscene expression which it is impossible to translate here. The circumcised child goes and sits near *the fire of red wood. The foreskin is placed on top of a banana tree,* [262] whose fruit is cooked and eaten by men only. The circumcision is an occasion for rejoicing; it is done so that the children will not die [826] and also to remove the foreskin which keeps a man from being strong.

304 Female circumcision is never practiced any more. It was formerly done to married women of notoriously bad conduct in order to punish 681 them. The woman was fastened to two stakes in the village square. The clitoris was removed by the man who did the circumcising and was then attached by a thread and put around the neck of the woman, who had to keep it that way for several days to her great shame. The

304 circumcision was public, and the woman to whom it was done under-
681 went the gibes and insults of all the inhabitants.

The life of the young people is the same as that of the adults. The
883 virginity of a woman is considered unimportant and the Fan have
836 sexual relations from the time they are capable of cohabitation. When
848 a young girl has a child, it belongs to her parents, from whom the child acquires wealth; there is no search for the father and the young girl keeps all the respect which she enjoyed. Young girls are free to give themselves to whomever they please. This very broad morality,
[582] however, has one important qualification in that there are, so to speak, no young girls, the little girls having been married off by their parents very early, sometimes even before their birth.

582 Marriage (alug). Men rarely marry before the age of twenty years, and usually later, because they do not have the means to pay the dowry for taking a wife.

582 Exogamy is always practiced because marriage between people of
835 the same tribe is sterile. Marriage between cousins is forbidden up to the third generation and in general, marriage is forbidden between persons linked by any kind of kinship; in this case there is also pro-
[684] hibition of sexual relations. No penalty is prescribed for infraction, but the guilty ones will fall ill and their children, if they have any, will not live.

582 Occasionally there are instances when marriage between relatives
783 is authorized, but only after the practitioner has removed the pro-
835 hibition by the process [88] called abvule minsem. The practitioner goes to find some termite earth (ngurege), a plant (mekaga), and a vine (nyola dzik); the plant and vine are folded and placed in an etok
[845] (a container of banana leaves) full of water. The termite earth is placed on a nzum (see the description in the section on conception) and the etok is placed underneath. The two kinsmen who want to marry also stand underneath it, while the practitioner climbs onto the nzum, dips the leaves in the etok, and says, "nseme ose mi waga bo e wo ma va yüi" (I remove every prohibition that you have made). He hits the termite earth with the leaves and then takes the etok and pours the contents onto the heads of the two people from whom he is removing the prohibition. With the remainder, the man and woman each takes a washing.

583 A man who has not enough dowry but who finds a young girl eager to marry him may take her away in the night; when the parents come

583 to look for her, he gives them what he has in the way of money and goods, and the parents have to consent to the marriage by accepting this first payment. This practice is called abom.

584 This practice is exceptional, and the marriage proposal is generally made in a more conventional way. A man, having learned that there is a free woman in a neighboring tribe, a young girl or a repudiated wife, goes to the woman's parents and asks to see her. She comes [576] into the hut, sits down, and allows herself to be looked at. She does not speak if she has never been married, but she speaks if she is used to men; then she goes out after about an hour. Her brothers ask her opinion of the suitor and take the answer to the latter, who gives his opinion of the woman he has seen. This visit is called dzāga. If both agree to marry, they spend the night together; the man may leave in the morning without saying anything if the woman has not suited him and he does not wish to marry her. If it is the woman who is not satisfied, she asks her brothers to tell the suitor not to come back. In case of agreement, the suitor goes back several times for several days. The father of the woman fixes the amount of the dowry, and the suitor has to accept it.

586 If a married woman, not wishing to stay with her husband, goes off with another man, the latter pays the woman's parents the amount of the dowry which was paid by the former husband. This practice is fairly recent. In earlier times the former husband received the dowry of his successor directly or, if he refused it, it was a case of war unless another woman was given him in exchange.

583 585 Marriage is not considered final until the dowry has been paid in full by the husband. The amount is variable, currently about 1,500 or 2,000 francs, in money or in various goods. The woman leaves her tribe and goes to live with her husband. Her arrival at her new village is marked by celebrations. [89] She is accompanied by women who cry out "e e ke o o o ko"; these cries are called mekogo. The husband's mother recites to her the genealogy of her son; then the bride goes into her husband's hut where the women of her husband's family bring her food. She is confined here for a week, and this is the "good welcome to the bride," eyale mbom.

585 535 Two days after the arrival of the bride, there are songs and dances performed by women only: these are the bya bi mbom. The men play the tomtom and are spectators. This takes place near the husband's hut.

585 The day on which the woman is to come out of the hut, she is bathed
535 and anointed with an oil (mbon nzüi) and is seated on a stool placed in the middle of the village square. Other women sing and dance around her and give her a new name to represent a wish she has made.

There is no religious ceremony.

583 There also used to be a marriage by exchange of wives (mvole bunanga). With the mere consent of the women concerned, two men could exchange their wives. The parents of the wives did not interfere except to verify the amounts of the dowries and to make sure that the husband of the wife with the lesser dowry had fully paid the difference to the other.

593 The relations between married couples are simple: the man must
562 lodge his wife and clear the brush from the site where she will make her plantings; on the other hand, the wife owes absolute fidelity and obedience to her husband, who has the right to beat her. The woman has no authority in the household; she is hardly more respected than
[842] a domestic animal; she owns in her own right only the cooking utensils and the tools for planting and fishing, and does not have the right to own animals. Prohibition of sexual relations is rigidly observed during
[834] pregnancy, during lactation, and in the night preceding departure for the hunt, work at the forge, and various [other] tasks. If the prohibition were not observed, these tasks would be unsuccessful.

595 Polygamy is the present custom among the Fan. The first wife has authority over the others, who must obey her. She receives the largest share of everything and assigns household chores and field work. The husband sleeps with each of his wives for three days.

In adultery, only the wife is punished. She is beaten and her ac-
684 complice pays an indemnity to her husband. This indemnity amounts
837 to a quarter of the dowry. The wife confesses her adultery only when forced to by a series of corporal punishments which range from blows to being tied to a tree full of ants (akokum).

586 Repudiation is accomplished without difficulty: the man sends back his wife and the dowry is repaid him. The causes for repudiation are repeated adultery, the death of a child as a result of adultery, laziness, practice of fetishism, and excessive surveillance of the husband; sterility is not a reason for [90] repudiation. The children stay with the husband, and the woman, once repudiated, may remarry.

587 When a man dies and one of his relatives marries his wives, there
768 is no additional payment of dowry. When a man loses his wife, the dowry is repaid fully, or in part, by the relatives of the deceased wife if she has left no children. If there are children, the widower makes no claim to the dowry.

765 The widow cuts her hair. After the death of the husband, the wife is made to confess the names of her lovers in order to make them give payments which will finance the celebrations at the end of mourning. She must weep for one whole day and one whole night; she may do nothing without the permission of her husband's heir; and for a month she stays dirty, dressed in an old loincloth. At the end of this time there are celebrations of the end of mourning which last several days. The widow sits for a whole night in the village square, and the husband's relatives throw her water and pimento. The following morning she jumps four times over a fire of dry banana leaves. While she is jumping, men hit her for the anguish which she has caused her husband to endure. After that she receives a new loincloth from her family and then, before beginning the dances, if she has not accepted remarriage
[587] to her husband's heir, she chooses a new husband from among the assembled men of the dead man's family.

838 Neither homosexuality nor bestiality have ever been recorded, to
839 our knowledge, among the Fan.

548 Prostitution does not exist.

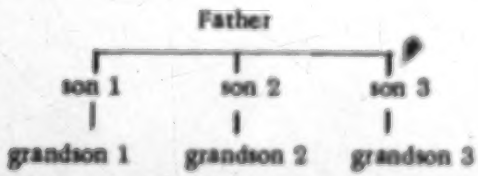
833 Impotence (eyel), if it is congenital, is attributed to the mother's having accidentally caused milk to flow onto the penis of her son while nursing him. If it occurs later, it is said to be from the abuse of coitus and it is believed that there is no more sperm in the impotent person.

596 Family Group. The family (nda ebur) consists of the man, his wives, his children, and his brothers. It usually includes several homes and constitutes a village in itself. The authority belongs to the father, and it is he who commands because of his being the most respected. He has absolute power, but also incurs certain duties, the most important of which is to find money or goods as dowry for the women whom his sons wish to marry. These dowries are usually obtained through payments made by the girls' husbands. The most complete mutual aid is obligatory among all members of the family, in all
596 circumstances. When the parents have become too old to continue
888 exercising their authority, they live with the family of their oldest son

596 where they enjoy great esteem and are consulted every time on de-
[898] cisions concerning all the family, [91] such as the marriage of a
child, because this is a matter of alliance with another tribe, or such
as moving the village. Young people of a poor family who get them-
[597] selves adopted may be incorporated into the family and assimilated
among its children. The adopted son (ntob) gets a wife from the head
of the family which has taken him in. This wife, however, is only
loaned to him, and the children whom he may have do not belong to
him and are regarded as being of the adopter's family whose name
they receive.

596 Each family has a fetish all its own, which is handed down through
118 the oldest sons. It is often a reed (ayan) which is planted behind the
169 huts of the village where the family lives, by a practitioner in the
course of an important ceremony. The practitioner digs a hole, puts
into it the bones of a member of the family killed by the bivur, spits
onto it some wild pepper that he has chewed, and, before planting the
reed, says, "ke nzue, ke wone, me nga non we bemvama e dzam ese
dzah bor yüi, o ke sile e yenege" (without stealing or hiding myself I
have taken from my ancestors, so that everything which will be asked
of you by this family shall happen). The reed must be treasured and
constantly kept clear of weeds which might grow around it. A fowl is
sacrificed to this reed by the head of the family every time he wishes
to undertake an important matter, and when the village moves the
plant is taken along with the bones and replanted.

613 Social Life. Pahouin society is limited to a group of families which
614 make up the tribe. The latter originates from a single family, the sons
of which have left to establish other families in their turn. The separa-
tion occurs almost constantly in the third generation. The formation
of a tribe may be diagrammed thus:



Grandson 1 establishes a family which keeps the name of the founder;
grandson 2, a family which will take the name of this grandson; and

613 the same for the third grandson. The group of the sons' three families
614 constitutes what is called etuña or aval. The tribe (ayoh) gives its name to all the families which have been established since its founder.

Social relations are rare with foreign tribes, the tribe forming a
614 homogeneous whole where the stranger is received only with reserve
●609 and when he shows goods which prove that his visit has no other aim
578 but to come and look for a woman to marry. The [92] tribes are often hostile to one another, and while they no longer can make war, this hostility is still demonstrated by an atmosphere of haggling which always forces the weakest to give way. Several tribes have thus had to leave the N'Djolé region to settle farther downstream on the Ogooué because they could no longer live beside their neighbors.

574 On the other hand, visits among members of one tribe are frequent, presents are exchanged, and wives are bought.

Death (awu). Death is regarded as a change of village. After his
761 death, a person has become an inhabitant of the big village created
775 by Nzame beyond the earth. There he will find the members of his family who already live there, and therefore he follows a very wide trail which leads him to the bank of the river Endam where his relatives who died before him come to await him. It may be that the crossing of the river is not immediate, and the dead man may have to stay for several days on the bank, which happens especially to people of whom the bivur have made human victims.

763 The dying person (edzegela) is attended by women who, when death has occurred, announce it on coming out of the hut, where all the inhabitants of the village then assemble. The corpse is taken from its bed and laid on the ground on mats; it is washed, rubbed with oil, and clothed in a white loincloth, then rolled in the mats and in pieces of bark, and tied. It stays this way in the hut until the grave is dug.

764 Funeral ceremonies immediately follow death. The wrapped body is carried by two men to the place of burial. The inhabitants of the village follow, one behind the other, and are present at the interment, which is done with a vine holding the body so that it does not fall suddenly to the bottom of the hole dug to receive it. The grave is oriented east-west, or is dug parallel to the course of the river which flows by the village, the head of the dead being placed upstream or to the east, the feet downstream or toward the west, so that the dead will lie in the direction of the river Endam. Before the grave is filled,

764 there are placed in it the arms or some everyday objects of the deceased. Then everyone goes back to the village, the women crying. The close relatives of the deceased go into mourning, which is much stricter for a woman than for a man; we have already seen what comprises the mourning of a widow. As for the widower, after having
765 stayed for two or three days in a state of prostration, often simulated, he continues to look after his work as usual, remaining meanwhile under the obligation to stay dirty until the celebrations at the end of mourning.

763 The autopsy of the corpse to find the evur is done at the edge of the
765 grave, after the women have been sent away. The package containing [93] the corpse is undone and the practitioner operates with a large knife made especially for this purpose. He has previously painted his face half black, half red so that the deceased will not recognize him and cannot come from his abode in the village of Nzame to avenge himself for the mutilation he is undergoing. When the operation is finished, the corpse is sewed up, re-wrapped, and placed normally in the grave.

764 There is no cemetery, and the dead are buried a short distance from the village, almost behind the huts. Sometimes when a person is thought to have died from having been eaten by the bivur, in order that the grave may not be violated for the purpose of removing a piece of the corpse, it is buried in the very hut of the head of the family.

765 The life of the dead in the village of Nzame is identical with that which they had at home; they do the same work, have the same entertainments, marry, procreate, always stay young, and also have the power to do whatever they wish; it is enough for them to express a wish for it to be granted.

The dead sometimes leave their abode to return to the earth, perhaps in the form of phantoms with long hair to frighten the living, meeting a phantom being fatal, or perhaps in the shape of animals in order to avenge themselves. Some may change themselves into an elephant and ravage the fields of their enemies; others change into a panther and kill all the livestock and poultry and sometimes even the inhabitants of the village where they were unhappy in life. When they
766 wish to be beneficent, they appear in the dreams of their relatives and friends and give them wise advice.

775 825 Sometimes a dead person who was not sufficiently mourned has on account of this been unable to find the route to the river Endam, and he comes back in the shape of a black antelope to get himself killed so as to die a second time and be sure to arrive at the village of the dead.

775 829 Europeans, on account of their pale look, their long, smooth hair, and above all because of the material goods they have brought, are still regarded as dead Pahouin who have returned to their country, and the fear of the children who rush to hide from the sight of a white man in many villages is due to the legends told by the old people who thus describe us.

3: Trézenem
619

Fang FH9

/Information on the social unit Trézenem calls the "tribe" has been placed in Category 614 Sibs. --Analyst/

3: Trézenem FH9 Fang

JOURNAL

DE LA

SOCIÉTÉ DES AFRICANISTES

TOME VI

AU SIÈGE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ
61, RUE DE BUFFON, PARIS
1936

[title page]

3: Trézenem FH9 Fang

NOTES ETHNOGRAPHIQUES

SUR

LES TRIBUS FAN DU MOYEN OGOOUÉ (GABON).

PAR

ÉDOUARD TRÉZENEM.

AVERTISSEMENT.

Les notes que nous présentons ici ne visent pas à être une monographie de toute la nation Fan, mais seulement une description purement objective qui n'a d'ailleurs pas la prétention d'être sans lacunes, de la vie actuelle des tribus de cette nation qui habitent dans la région de l'Ogooué.

Sur beaucoup de points, en particulier pour la vie religieuse, les coutumes de ces tribus pourront paraître assez différentes de celles décrites par les auteurs qui ont parlé des Fan, et même de celles des tribus qui habitent plus à l'intérieur, vers les régions du Woleu-Ntem ou de l'Ivindo. Ces différences paraissent dues dans l'Ogooué à la persistance du contact avec l'Européen, à l'influence des Missions chrétiennes qui ont un catéchiste dans chaque village et à l'extension des relations avec les races voisines.

Nous ne les relèverons en principe pas, ni ne nous attacherons à suivre l'évolution progressive des tribus, n'ayant en vue uniquement qu'un travail de documentation.

LE PAYS ET LES HABITANTS.

La région où nous avons procédé à notre enquête est située sous l'Équateur, au Gabon, dans la région du Moyen-Ogooué. Pays principalement de forêts, on y rencontre à l'Ouest, au bord du fleuve et de ses affluents (Abanga à droite, Mbumi à gauche) des zones basses de grande forêt, inondées en saison des pluies, d'où émergent quelques arêtes peu

[p.65]

larges, d'une dizaine de mètres de hauteur au maximum où sont installés les villages. De nombreux marais et lacs très poissonneux conservent de l'eau au plus fort de la saison sèche.

En remontant l'Ogooué on rencontre, un peu avant l'île de Talagouga, les premiers contreforts du plateau africain orientés N.-S., encore peu élevés (Ndjolé est à 63 mètres d'altitude) et dont la hauteur s'accroît rapidement au fur et à mesure que l'on s'avance vers l'intérieur. En amont de Ndjolé, l'Ogooué cesse d'être navigable. Coupé de rapides, il n'est plus praticable qu'aux pirogues montées par des équipages spécialisés. A une dizaine de kilomètres au delà du confluent de l'Okano, l'aspect du pays change : la grande forêt fait place à d'immenses étendues de savane parsemées de galeries forestières ; au flanc des collines, on voit des alignements de blocs de quartz ; les palmiers à huile qui n'existaient pas en aval commencent à apparaître. Le mont Otoumbi domine le paysage de ses 700 mètres et les croupes arrondies des chaînes qui bornent le fleuve évoquent certains aspects des Vosges.

Dans la région de Ndjolé, l'Ogooué reçoit comme principaux affluents : à droite, Bingolo, Okano, Missanga, Abanga ; à gauche des rivières plus courtes et d'un débit moins important : Leledi, Lebe, Mbumi. Seul de tous, l'Abanga est navigable et seulement sur à peu près 70 kilomètres.

Le climat est chaud et humide, avec saisons sèches et pluvieuses alternées : d'octobre à janvier, saison de pluies ; de janvier à mars, saison sèche très chaude, époque de la maturité de presque tous les fruits de la forêt ; de mars à juin, à nouveau pluies violentes, grandes tornades, forte chaleur ; et de juin à octobre, saison sèche relativement fraîche avec arrêt de la végétation pour certaines espèces forestières, les eaux sont très basses, les bancs de sable se voient partout dans l'Ogooué dont certains affluents comme la Missanga n'ont plus qu'un filet d'eau. Ces saisons ne sont évidemment pas réglées d'une façon aussi rigoureuse et il arrive fréquemment que l'une empiète sur l'autre.

Toute cette région est en presque totalité habitée aujourd'hui par les Faû qui lors de leur arrivée, au début du XIXe siècle probablement, en ont chassé ou décimé les habitants, Okaïs et Bapinji en amont de Ndjolé (il ne reste plus maintenant qu'un seul village d'Okaïs et les Bapinji ont complètement disparu) et Bakele en aval. Ceux-ci ont encore quelques villages sur la rive gauche à l'intérieur et un seul au bord du fleuve.

Faû est le nom qu'ils se donnent à eux-mêmes. Pahouin est celui sous lequel ils sont ordinairement désignés et qui d'après Hong[1] « est une

1. Ernest Hong, *Notice géographique et ethnographique sur le Bas-Ogooué*, Ann. de Géogr., n° 62, 15 mars 1902.

3: Trézenem FH9 Fang

corruption du mot *mpanue* par lequel les tribus de la côte désignent les Faû ». On en trouve des tribus de trois grandes branches parentes entre elles : Betsi et Nzaman de dialecte Madzouna et Make de dialecte Maekina. Leur nombre a une forte tendance à diminuer par le fait de la migration vers la mer qui continue, et surtout par l'insuffisance des naissances et la morti-natalité. Il n'y a actuellement de village qu'aux bords de l'Ogooué, de l'Abanga et dans la vallée de l'Okano, le long de la route qui joint le fleuve à Oyem ; quelques hameaux de Máke aussi à l'intérieur près des petits groupements Bakele de la rive gauche. Toute la région de la rive droite est dépeuplée, on n'y rencontre plus que de nombreuses taches de petite brousse épaisse sans arbres d'où émergent quelques bananiers, traces d'anciens villages disparus.

Les Croyances.

I. *Sur l'origine de l'homme, les éléments.* — Lorsqu'un Pahouin récite sa généalogie (chaque enfant y est habitué depuis son jeune âge, souvenir d'une nécessité qui permettait en voyage de se faire reconnaître comme membre certain d'une tribu), il termine la liste de ses ancêtres par : X... fils de Nzame » et il ajoute une formule signifiant « et le coq a chanté et je n'y étais pas ». Tous les Pahouins actuellement vivants se réclament donc d'un ancêtre commun, Nzame, à qui ils attribuent des pouvoirs surnaturels et à qui ils ne rendent aucun culte. Ce Nzame a lui-même quatre ancêtres connus, Meboere, Nkwa, Sokuma et Mba Angwe. Sur ceux-ci nous n'avons pu obtenir aucun renseignement, non plus que sur la formule où il est question du coq. Il semble qu'on ait affaire là à l'ignorance des indigènes plutôt qu'à leur mauvaise volonté (beaucoup de traditions se sont perdues au contact des races rencontrées dans la migration vers l'Ouest et surtout au contact des Européens), car les indigènes interrogés donnent assez volontiers des explications sur la vie de Nzame telle que leurs pères la leur ont représentée.

Nzame a vécu autrefois de l'existence que mènent aujourd'hui encore ses enfants, avançant vers l'Ouest par abandon des villages qu'il habitait avec ses femmes et qui étaient quittés après épuisement des plantations. Le nombre de ses femmes était tellement grand qu'on ne le connaît pas, et ses villages si importants qu'à leur emplacement la forêt n'a pu repousser, c'est d'ailleurs pourquoi il existe maintenant des savanes au milieu de la forêt en pays pahouin.

Nzame est arrivé au bout de la terre qui est plate, il a rencontré, lui barrant la route, le ciel, toit de fer recouvrant la terre comme un toit couvre une case, soutenu en son milieu par un piquet invisible que main-

tient depuis Ningone Maboere, sœur de Nzame. Il est passé de l'autre côté du ciel après avoir traversé un fleuve très large, Endam, où toutes les rivières vont se jeter, qui coule tout autour de la terre et en dessous et qui l'a crevée aux endroits où elle est le moins épaisse, pour sortir sous forme de source. Alors Nzame s'est arrêté et a créé le village Dzo qu'il n'a plus quitté depuis.

C'est dans ce village que Nzame vit toujours avec ses femmes et ses enfants de la même vie que sur terre, qu'il accueille les morts et qu'il tient enfermés les éléments, soleil, lune, pluie, etc...

Tous les matins, lorsque *Okwal*, la poule sauvage, chante, Nzame va ouvrir la porte de la case où dort le soleil qui s'éveille, se met en marche, fait le tour du ciel et revient le soir quand tout le monde est couché pour se reposer dans la case qu'il a quittée le matin. Le soleil est une boule de feu assez grosse qui en brûlant donne la chaleur et la lumière.

La lune aussi est enfermée au village Dzo. C'est une grosse pierre blanche que Nzame montre régulièrement aux hommes, la nuit, sous différents aspects, petite, plus grosse, toute ronde, puis de plus en plus petite jusqu'à ce qu'il la cache pour quelques jours. A cause de sa blancheur, la lune donne aussi de la lumière.

L'arc-en-ciel est un grand serpent que l'on voit lorsque Nzame lui donne la permission de sortir pour aller boire de l'eau à la rivière.

Parfois aussi Nzame ouvre la porte d'une autre case, et la pluie sort précédée du vent. Elle tombe par des trous percés dans le ciel qui laissent voir la nuit les lumières du village Dzo ou les yeux brillants des morts qui regardent la terre, ces trous lumineux sont les étoiles. En même temps que la pluie, sort quelquefois de la case l'éclair, petite bête qui tombe sur les arbres et les casse en faisant du bruit. A la saison sèche, la pluie retourne dans sa case, on la voit monter sous forme de grands brouillards blancs la nuit et le matin, au-dessus des lacs et des rivières.

Nzame a beaucoup de travail dans son village, mais il ne dédaigne pas de s'amuser. Il fait danser des tams-tams sur le ciel et le bruit des pieds des danseurs est ce qu'on appelle le tonnerre. De temps en temps aussi, lorsqu'il y a une éclipse, c'est Nzame qui prend plaisir à effrayer les hommes en les plongeant dans l'obscurité en plein jour.

∴

II. *L'evur*. — L'*evur* ou *evus* (pluriel *bieur*) apparaît comme un génie individuel qui joue un rôle primordial dans la vie des Pahouins. Tous les individus ne possèdent pas d'evur. Pour avoir un evur, il faut l'avoir reçu d'une personne qui en possède un. Une telle personne est appelée *nem* (au pluriel, *beyem*). Un enfant à l'état de fœtus porté par sa mère

peut recevoir un evur à l'insu même de la mère. On reconnaît à son poids qu'un nouveau-né a un evur, et c'est un nem qui en soupesant l'enfant dans ses bras peut dire s'il a senti le poids de l'evur imperceptible pour tout autre.

Lorsqu'à sa naissance un enfant n'a pas d'evur, il peut alors en recevoir un. Cet evur donné est bon (*evur mve*) ou mauvais (*evur abi*).

1° *Bon evur.* Dans le cas de bon evur, le donneur de cet evur, qui est toujours un vieux de la tribu, vient souvent voir l'enfant, jusqu'à ce qu'il sache compter jusqu'à dix, c'est-à-dire vers sept ou huit ans. A ce moment il est jugé suffisamment intelligent pour comprendre ce qu'on attend de lui et l'on fait alors la cérémonie appelée *akaja*.

Tous les beyem du village sont invités à se réunir auprès d'un arbre appelé *ovat* (Didelotia africana) choisi parmi tous les autres comme arbre fétiche à cause de ses dimensions, de sa longévité et de sa résistance aux tornades. L'enfant est amené et le donneur d'evur prononce à ce moment en présence des beyem assemblés les vœux qu'il formule pour son avenir. Il lui souhaite la richesse, la force, la réussite, en général tout ce qui rend heureux. Aux fillettes on souhaite plus particulièrement d'avoir plus tard beaucoup d'enfants, d'être fortes pour les travaux de plantations et d'être toujours bien considérées par les autres femmes de leur futur mari.

Une sorte de soupe dont la préparation est secrète est faite à l'occasion de cette cérémonie, on l'appelle *nam akaja*. Chaque fois que le donneur d'evur formule un souhait, l'enfant doit absorber un peu de nam. Par exemple, s'il lui est souhaité d'avoir dix femmes, ce qui est fait dans les termes suivants :

> *e mon ni, nam ma ke ne wi olaj bonego ewum*
> Cet enfant là, la soupe je donne toi ici épouses femmes dix,

il devra absorber dix cuillerées de soupe. De même il en mangera une cuillerée par enfant souhaité. Quant aux autres vœux, richesse, force, courage, considération, etc., ils nécessitent l'absorption totale de ce qui reste dans la marmite, cette grande quantité de soupe signifiant que le souhait est fait pour une somme incalculable de l'objet envisagé.

Dans la nuit qui suit la cérémonie de l'akaja, les bévur de chacun des beyem qui y ont assisté, sortent du corps de leur possesseur pour tenir une réunion invisible appelée *ngwel*. C'est seulement dans ce cas que le ngwel n'a pas une action purement malfaisante, car les bévur ne s'assemblent jamais autrement que pour faire le mal. Le ngwel qui suit l'akaja confirme les vœux faits à l'enfant, s'engage à protéger son evur jusqu'à ce qu'il soit assez fort ; l'evur en effet grandit avec l'enfant et n'atteint sa pleine vitalité que lorsque l'enfant est adulte. Le ngwel

3: Trésenem FH9 Fang

indique également au récipiendaire quelle partie il devra prélever, pour en faire un fétiche, sur l'individu qu'il sacrifiera plus tard en reconnaissance aux bivur qui se sont occupés de lui pendant l'akaga.

Chaque fois qu'un evur sort pour un ngwel, il est blessé, fatigué, et ne peut être rétabli qu'avec du sang humain. Après le ngwel qui suit l'akaga, les bivur qui y ont participé se trouvent dans cet état de déficience et, lorsqu'ils ont fini de s'occuper des souhaits faits pour l'enfant, ils demandent à l'evur de celui qui les a invités de leur indiquer l'individu qu'ils doivent manger pour leur guérison. C'est un vieillard de la famille paternelle ou maternelle qui est généralement désigné. A son défaut, le nom donneur d'evur peut se sacrifier. S'il n'y consent pas, les bivur assemblés donnent une interdiction (*eki*) à l'enfant. Par exemple, s'il lui a été souhaité dix femmes on lui interdit sous la peine de mort d'en prendre une onzième, ou bien on lui interdit, toujours sous peine de mort, de manger certains aliments, ou de faire ou de laisser faire telle ou telle chose. Lorsque la défense est peu importante, la mort en cas de transgression peut être remplacée par la transformation du bon evur en mauvais evur.

Le respect des interdictions et la foi en la puissance est si ancrée dans l'esprit de tous les Fahouins, que celui qui a enfreint une défense d'akaga meurt à coup sûr, et sans intervention extérieure.

Un missionnaire protestant de la Station de Samkita nous a cité le cas d'un enfant de douze ans, élève interne de la Mission, à qui il avait été interdit par akaga de manger du manioc. Jamais il n'en avait mangé et se nourrissait de bananes. Un soir il fit cuire ses bananes dans une marmite ayant servi à d'autres élèves, sans avoir pris la précaution de la laver. Au cours de la nuit il apprit qu'avant qu'il s'en serve, on y avait fait cuire du manioc. Prétendant que ses bananes avaient ainsi pu être souillées par les restes de manioc accrochés aux bords de la marmite, et qu'il avait enfreint son eki, il est mort en quelques heures dans d'horribles souffrances, sans qu'aucun des soins qui lui ont été prodigués aient rien pu faire pour améliorer son état. Il est à noter qu'aucun des enfants ayant mangé du manioc cuit dans la marmite n'a été indisposé et que le défunt était en excellente santé jusqu'au moment où il apprit qu'il avait transgressé son eki.

Le même missionnaire nous citait encore le cas d'une femme du village Ngume, voisin de la Station, qui avait pour eki de ne pas être frappée dans le dos. Un garde régional surveillant des travaux de débroussement dans le village, trouvant qu'elle ne travaillait pas assez, lui donna une tape très légère sur une omoplate. La femme aussitôt se mit à se rouler par terre. Elle fut transportée en transes à la Mission, les yeux révulsés, la bave à la bouche, les muscles contractés et ne pouvant arti-

celer aucun son. Le missionnaire croyant à une crise d'épilepsie essaya en vain de tous les moyens possibles pour la calmer, et, ayant entendu l'affaire, comme il se trouvait en présence d'une chrétienne protestante, lui expliqua que puisqu'elle était chrétienne, les bivur ne pouvaient plus avoir d'influence sur elle, et qu'en tous cas, si elle les croyait assez puissants pour la faire mourir, elle ne manquerait pas après sa mort d'aller en enfer. Cette crainte de l'enfer fut-elle plus forte que celle ancestrale des bivur ? Après de longues exhortations religieuses du missionnaire, la femme revint à son état normal.

Pour éviter l'eki, l'enfant peut donner une partie de son corps aux bivur. A l'endroit où le prélèvement — invisible puisque fait par des esprits — a été opéré, une plaie inguérissable se forme. Mais, le plus souvent, si c'est un garçon, il donne ses testicules aux bivur qui les prennent et les mangent. Il n'en reste que l'image sur l'enfant et c'est cette image que tout le monde prend pour la réalité. Dans ce cas les bivur lui prédisent un accroissement de richesse, lorsque cette image des testicules enfler.

Lorsque l'enfant, pour qui les bivur ont travaillé dans le ngwel après l'akaga est devenu homme, que certains des vœux faits ont été réalisés, il récompense ces bivur en leur livrant quelqu'un de la famille : père, mère, frère, première femme, premier enfant ou oncle maternel.

La personne mangée par les bivur meurt et le bénéficiaire de l'akaga doit prendre une partie du corps du cadavre et la conserver toute sa vie. Ce sera un fétiche protecteur.

Par exemple un homme a livré son père. Lorsque le cadavre sera pourri dans la tombe, il ira déterrer une dent et la donnera aux beyem qui au moment de l'akaga lui auront dit de la prendre. Ces beyem, ou tout au moins ceux qui ne sont pas morts à cette époque, se réunissent à nouveau sous l'ovah où ils font loger dans la dent un evur à qui ils donnent l'ordre de faire réaliser tous les désirs de son gardien. Les souhaits faits au moment de l'akaga sont renouvelés, cette fois sous forme d'ordre à l'evur qui prend place dans la dent. Celle-ci est ensuite remise à son propriétaire, qui, pour la cacher, l'avale ou bien la garde enfermée dans une boîte soigneusement dissimulée dans sa case pour que personne ne la voie, pas même ses femmes ou ses enfants. Avant d'accomplir quoi que ce soit, il devra d'abord s'adresser à la dent, en invoquer l'evur pour que celui-ci lui vienne en aide.

Si c'est la première femme qui a été donnée aux bivur, le mari prélève sur le cadavre un morceau d'os du front qui reçoit un evur de la même manière que la dent ci-dessus. Cet os est mis dans une boîte pleine d'huile et chaque fois que le propriétaire du fétiche aura recours à cet evur, il devra s'oindre la figure avec l'huile où trempe l'os.

Quelquefois au lieu de dent ou d'os, c'est de la chair qui est prélevée. Le prélèvement se fait alors dans la nuit qui suit l'enterrement. Les beyem sèchent le morceau de chair, lui incorporent un evur. Pour invoquer cet evur le possesseur du fétiche doit mettre le morceau de chair séchée dans sa bouche.

Il est interdit au possesseur d'un evur d'avoir un autre fétiche que celui qui lui est imposé par l'akaǵa.

2° *Mauvais evur.* — Le mauvais evur se donne comme le bon, au moment de la naissance. Il peut aussi provenir d'un evur donné à l'enfant dans le ventre de sa mère et dont le nem donneur ne s'occupe pas à la naissance, ou d'un bon evur dont le possesseur a enfreint une défense de l'akaǵa.

Il n'y a pas d'akaǵa pour le mauvais evur.

Le mauvais evur ne s'occupe que de manger des gens au cours du ngwel et de lutter contre les bons bivur. C'est presque toujours le mauvais evur qui est vainqueur.

3° *Activités de l'evur.* — Les manifestations de l'evur sont multiples, c'est lui qui agit en tout au lieu et place de son possesseur.

Avoir un evur est indispensable à qui veut être féticheur. Cette profession est d'ailleurs indiquée pour l'enfant, le cas échéant, lors de la cérémonie de l'akaǵa.

Sauf dans les cas d'activité en faveur de son possesseur ou au moment de l'akaǵa, l'evur est toujours malfaisant. Les réunions de ngwel n'ont pour but que d'assurer la vie des bivur par la mort d'individus qu'ils mangent.

Après que le bon evur d'un nem a travaillé en plein jour pour son possesseur, celui-ci tombe malade en même temps que son evur. Il ne peut être soigné qu'avec un médicament pâteux fait avec de l'eau, un œuf cru et des feuilles pilées d'*ebele beyem*. Ebele beyem est le nom d'une liane vénéneuse dont les feuilles et les fleurs rappellent celles de la patate.

L'activité malfaisante de l'evur se manifeste toujours par une mort. Elle peut aussi être cause d'avortement, ou de décès d'un nouveau-né au moment où il voit le jour.

L'evur permet aussi à son possesseur de se transformer en animal. Par exemple un homme qui veut mourir fait sortir son evur qui prend la forme d'une bête (le plus souvent antilope noire, *nsip*, ou antilope rouge, *nkng*), et se promène aux abords du village. L'animal est tout de suite remarqué par les habitants qui le chassent et le tuent. L'evur revient immédiatement alors chez l'homme qui l'a envoyé et c'est l'homme qui est tué à la place de la bête. La transformation est simultanée avec le coup qui donne la mort, et c'est l'homme transporté par son evur qui est trouvé mort à l'endroit où l'animal est tombé.

3: Trézenem FH9 Fang

Un exemple de cette faculté de transformation nous a été signalé en mars 1934. Deux chasseurs débarquèrent dans une petite île du lac Mangoègue pour y chasser un singe qu'ils avaient aperçu sur un arbre. Ils se séparèrent au point de débarquement après avoir décidé de faire le tour de l'île chacun de son côté. L'un d'eux aperçut dans les fourrés une grosse antilope noire, tira et, lorsqu'il s'approcha, trouva son camarade criblé de plombs qui râlait et qui mourut peu après. Les habitants du village voisin alertés par les cris, arrivèrent assez à temps pour entendre la victime disculper le meurtrier en reconnaissant que ce qui était arrivé était de sa propre faute et qu'il s'était transformé en antilope pour ne pas effrayer le singe poursuivi. Pas un instant les Pahouins de la région ne songèrent à mettre en doute la véracité de l'histoire et chacun de rappeler les exploits du défunt qui, grâce à sa facilité de transformation, aurait vécu à plusieurs reprises parmi les gorilles et les panthères dont il aurait rapporté des petits comme preuve de sa double existence.

En septembre 1933, au village Ebubara sur l'Abanga, une femme, Ningone Obame, nous raconta comment son mari Obiang Abugo, changé en éléphant, tua sa fillette : un jour elle vit Obiang entrer dans la case sous la forme d'un oiseau et lui demander de lui donner sa fillette pour se soigner. Ningone refusa. Pour la punir, Obiang lui fit avoir un abcès à la poitrine. A quelques jours de là, elle était à la pêche dans un marigot, Obiang était resté au campement avec l'enfant. Tout à coup Ningone sentit sa tête lourde, son cœur battre à coups précipités. Elle eut peur et rentra au campement où elle trouva son mari couché et dormant. La fillette n'était pas là. Ningone sortit, l'appela et tout à coup la vit morte, piétinée par Obiang changé en éléphant. A ce moment Obiang-éléphant lui promit de lui donner un garçon à la place de la petite fille. Ningone rentra au campement. Obiang était toujours couché et continuait à dormir. Elle le réveilla, l'accusa de la mort de sa fillette. Obiang ne nia pas et dit avoir eu besoin de la tuer pour que son evur à lui ne meure pas. Il décéda cependant deux ou trois jours après.

Ningone nous a raconté cette histoire devant tous les habitants du village et de nombreux auditeurs des villages voisins qui considéraient tous le cas comme normal et discutaient seulement la question de savoir si en raison du crime commis par l'evur d'Obiang, Ningone devait ou non rembourser la dot à la famille de son mari défunt.

4° *Protection contre les bêtes.* — Malgré la toute puissance reconnue de l'evur, les Pahouins cherchent à se protéger contre lui.

Il y a pour cela un fétiche essentiel appelé *meal*, ou *bgat bêtes*. Lorsque meurt un individu soupçonné d'avoir eu un evur qui s'est nourri de sang humain, on ouvre le ventre du cadavre et l'on recherche l'evur.

3: Trézenem FH9 Fang

Celui-ci, paraît-il, ressemble à un crabe, il a une petite bouche avec de petites dents ; ses pattes forment de longues veines qui s'en vont dans toutes les parties du corps. Une fois l'evur trouvé, on lui ouvre le ventre, et s'il s'est nourri de chair humaine, on en trouve, un morceau. Ce morceau est recueilli, mis dans une corne d'antilope avec de la réclure d'une liane appelée *nzi bivur*, une griffe de panthère (*dze nze*), une griffe d'épervier, une luciole. Le bout de la corne est fermé avec de la cire de miel blanc (*eko abe*).

Le fétiche ainsi constitué est, ou bien porté par la personne qui veut se protéger, ou bien suspendu à la porte de la case. La nuit, lorsque les bivur veulent entrer dans la case, la luciole quitte la corne, vole dans la case, avertissant de l'approche des bivur. Alors s'engage entre eux et la corne fétiche une lutte (*abal ngwel*, la guerre du ngwel), dont le fétiche sort à peu près chaque fois vainqueur.

∴

III. *Le biori.* — Le *biori* est un fétiche familial dont l'aide doit être sollicitée avant toute action importante : chasse, pêche, voyage, choix d'un terrain de plantation, etc..., par le chef de la famille qui le possède.

C'est le crâne d'un ancêtre décédé, recueilli dans la tombe par un fétiheur, après disparition complète des chairs. Après avoir pris le crâne, le fétiheur va dans la forêt, confectionne avec de l'écorce de l'arbre appelé *andon* (Berlinia sp.) une boîte cylindrique avec un couvercle, assez grande pour contenir le crâne. Base de la boîte et sommet du couvercle sont fermés par une plaque circulaire de bois clouée dans le cylindre d'écorce avec de petites chevilles de bois dur. Le fétiheur nettoie ensuite le crâne et l'enduit d'une pâte de sciure de bois rouge (*ba*) et d'huile de palmier raphia. La boîte s'appelle *nseg* et le crâne *ses biori*, l'ensemble porte le nom de *biori*. Dans la boîte, on ajoute de la sciure de bois rouge et une herbe appelée *nzen* (espèce de fougère), quelquefois aussi une petite coupe en bois. Le biori ainsi constitué est placé dans un endroit caché de la case du chef de famille. Il parlera en rêve à ce chef chaque fois qu'il voudra avertir de quelqu'événement un membre de la famille. Parfois une statuette représentant grossièrement la personne, dont le crâne constitue la pièce principale du fétiche, est mise sur le couvercle de la boîte. On l'appelle *nlo biori* (la tête du biori).

Nul ne doit voir le biori s'il n'a mangé l'alan (*Strychnos innja*) en cours de la cérémonie dite *ka melan*. Les chefs de plusieurs familles envoient les futurs adeptes chercher des racines d'alan dont ils ne gardent que l'écorce. Puis, le matin, une chefs de famille apportent à un endroit préparé à l'avance dans la brousse à proximité du village et appelé *ngan*

3: Trézenem FH9 Fang

melan, chacun leur bieri en le portant sur l'épaule et en ayant l'air de succomber sous le poids. Cette attitude est une manière d'adoration pour le fétiche. Lorsque tout le monde est réuni, des animaux, poules ou cabris, sont sacrifiés ; puis, avec l'accompagnement des tams-tams, les néophytes dansent, chantent, crient, tout en mâchant les morceaux d'alan préparés la veille. Au bout d'un certain temps l'effet de la racine joint à l'excitation des danses et des chants provoque après de nombreux spasmes l'évanouissement de la plupart des participants de la fête. Cet évanouissement peut durer deux ou trois heures, pendant lesquelles les individus conservent une raideur cadavérique. Au réveil, chacun raconte aux anciens ce qu'il a vu ou ce que le bieri lui a dit en rêve. L'un aura reçu l'ordre de faire la chasse avec la certitude de tuer beaucoup d'antilopes, l'autre aura été averti de la mort imminente d'un membre de sa famille, un autre encore aura été avisé de la grossesse prochaine d'une femme de son frère. Tous les Pahouins que nous avons interrogés affirment que les prédictions faites aux gens ivres d'alan, par le bieri, se sont toujours réalisées.

Ensuite, les néophytes ont le droit de contempler les bieri dont les boîtes sont ouvertes, en faisant le serment de n'en parler à aucun de ceux qui n'ont pas subi l'initiation de l'alan. Toute personne non initiée qui regarde un bieri tombe malade, et seule les soins du fétichseur compétent peuvent l'empêcher de mourir.

Lorsqu'un chef de famille veut implorer son bieri, il sacrifie une poule, un canard ou un cabri, ou lui offre un gigot d'une bête tuée à la chasse et verse du sang sur le crâne. La viande est cuite par une femme dans des feuilles, puis portée par le sacrificateur auprès du bieri avec des bâtons de manioc ou une partie de bananes et de l'eau. Si par exemple le bieri est imploré avant une chasse, le sacrificateur présentera les mets en ces termes :

« *O tar ta mâm bâfui ofam wa ta ne ofem e ta ma tsese ne yâ, Sinyu ben be wa y ancan ewy bie betsir* » (O père, voici la bonne nourriture, je veux faire passer le calme qui est dans ton cœur. Tes enfants meurent de diettis, donne-nous de la viande).

Puis il sortira de la case, car le bieri ne mange pas en présence d'un vivant, et quelques heures après viendra chercher la nourriture laissée par le bieri dont la consommation n'est pas visible, puisque faite immatériellement. Cette nourriture appartiée au corps de garde sera mangée par les initiés seulement. Tout autre qui en mangerait serait mortellement malade. Pendant la nuit suivante, le bieri révélera à un initié pendant son sommeil le moyen d'assurer le succès de la chasse pour laquelle son assistance a été demandée.

Le bieri interdit formellement, sous peine de maladie mortelle, n'on

3: Trézenem FH9 Fang

l'insulte. Son pouvoir est illimité, il peut faire revenir au village une femme qui s'en est enfuie, il fait retrouver les objets perdus.

Malgré toute la foi qu'ont encore les vieux Pahouins pour le bieri, dans la région qui nous intéresse on peut dire que la majorité de la population l'a abandonné à cause surtout de la chasse qui lui est faite par les Missions chrétiennes.

*
* *

IV. *Le buiti.* — Le *buiti* que nos informateurs nous ont dit être d'origine Mitsogho ou Masango (populations de la rive droite de la Ngounié) est une association de défense contre les bivur. Les renseignements qui nous ont été donnés sur cette société secrète par Akam Eyene du village Elong Eko sur l'Abanga, chef d'un buiti, sont assez incomplets, cet informateur n'ayant pas voulu indiquer certains détails ni répondre à plusieurs questions.

Des possesseurs de bieri s'assemblent par crainte des bivur contre lesquels le bieri seul est impuissant à les protéger. Leur association, le buiti, dans la lutte qu'elle mène contre le ngwei se révèle la plus forte et tue les bivur (et par suite les individus possesseurs de bivur). Elle sert également à déceler les beyem mal intentionnés à l'égard des membres du buiti et à rendre leurs efforts impuissants.

Chaque membre du buiti apporte un morceau de son bieri et un morceau d'un animal sous la protection duquel il s'est placé. L'ensemble est placé dans une boîte et constitue le fétiche de l'association qui conserve encore comme objets matériels :

un instrument de musique, *ngomi*, harpe à huit cordes. Au bout de la caisse de résonance de celle d'Akam Eyene étaient percés trois trous obturés par trois morceaux de chair de chimpanzé, de gorille, de serpent, d'éléphant, d'aigle, de panthère et de coq. Cet instrument accompagne les chants des cérémonies.

une sonnaille, *etenge*, fruit rond, évidé, à l'intérieur duquel sont mis de petits cailloux ; il est muni d'un manche. On l'agite pendant les chants.

une branche de palmier raphia reposant horizontalement sur deux piquets sculptés appelés *mosaga mi buiti*. L'ensemble s'appelle *ohala*. Pendant les cérémonies on frappe sur cette branche avec deux baguettes.

Nous n'avons rien pu savoir sur les cérémonies de protection contre les bivur. Par contre Akam Eyene nous a dit que lorsqu'un des membres du buiti avait par mégarde mangé la viande de son animal protecteur, ce qui est absolument interdit, il se tenait une réunion appelée *dimbe* au cours de laquelle le fautif après avoir dansé exposait son cas. Ensuite le

chef du buiti l'absolvait en lui crachant sur la tête de la réclure d'écorce d'*ovoA*.

Le buiti a une langue secrète. Akam Eyene ne nous en a donné que les noms secrets de certains de ses adeptes, qui correspondent aux animaux choisis comme protecteurs :

lui-même	s'appelle	*ndzikwe*	le chimpanzé
Ondo Ngema	—	*ngilabongo*	le gorille
Akum Eyene	—	*osingi*	le chat-tigre
Ngema Eyene	—	*mitumbu*	la panthère
Bekeka Yebe	—	*mogabene*	l'éléphant
Angwe Nseme	—	*menyanga*	la vipère
Mba Minkwe	—	*meyassamba*	le coq
Kumeyeme	—	*mepeku*	l'aigle
Abaga	—	*ndzobe*	le chat sauvage

*
* *

V. *Le totémisme.* — Malgré toutes les questions que nous avons posées à de très nombreux indigènes de tribus différentes nous n'avons pu en relever de traces. Il ne nous a été signalé que des cas d'alliance individuelle avec des animaux comme dans le buiti ou encore à la suite d'un abaga.

Vie familiale et collective.

Dans ce chapitre nous examinerons la vie de l'individu dans sa famille et dans le groupe social depuis la conception jusqu'à la mort, en faisant entrer dans ce cadre l'organisation familiale et tribale ainsi que les relations avec les étrangers.

Conception (*menoA bum*). — Une femme, nous ont dit nos informateurs et informatrices, ne peut concevoir qu'après avoir eu quatre fois ses règles. Il lui est en effet interdit d'avoir des rapports sexuels avant ses quatrièmes règles. A leur première apparition la femme prévient sa mère ou sa belle-mère, si elle est mariée (sa belle-mère plutôt, car il n'existe guère de jeune fillette, même encore dans sa famille, sans mari); celle-ci à partir de ce moment la surveille plus particulièrement et lui donne en temps voulu l'autorisation de connaître son mari. Les premières relations doivent avoir lieu le jour qui suit la fin des règles de façon que le sang non encore complètement séché à l'intérieur des organes de la femme puisse se mélanger au sperme de l'homme et former une sorte de pâte appelée *nsôr a man* (bézoard d'enfant), qui remontant dans le ventre de la femme s'y déve-

3: Trézenem FH9 Fang

loppera et deviendra l'enfant. Si la femme a des relations avec un homme avant le temps prescrit, elle devient définitivement stérile.

La stérilité pour laquelle de nombreuses causes sont reconnues peut être soignée, sauf : dans le cas indiqué précédemment, la mauvaise conduite et l'avortement volontaire au cours d'une première grossesse. Pour avorter, la femme va trouver une sage-femme (*ngat minanga*), qui l'envoie chercher l'écorce de la liane *afameya* et de l'arbre *tom*, qu'elle pile et dont elle fait une infusion. La femme se rend en brousse et prend par quatre fois des lavements avec cette infusion et cela suffit pour provoquer l'avortement.

La femme qui au contraire désire avoir des enfants peut être stérile pour plusieurs raisons :

1° Elle peut avoir avorté de façon naturelle et sans l'avoir cherché. On reconnaît que l'avortement a une cause naturelle, c'est-à-dire sans intervention maléfique extérieure, à ce que la patiente est rétablie trois ou quatre jours après l'accident et sans avoir trop souffert. Dans ce cas la sage-femme donne à la malade une défense appelée *avoa* qui consiste à n'approcher aucun autre homme que son mari. Elle ne doit adresser la parole à un homme que par l'intermédiaire d'une autre femme qui sert de truchement ; ne rien donner à un homme sans cet intermédiaire, ne pas s'asseoir à un endroit où un homme s'est assis, pour cela elle transporte continuellement avec elle un petit banc. La défense doit être observée pendant deux ou trois mois, temps au bout duquel la femme est autorisée à avoir à nouveau des rapports avec son mari. Si au bout de trois autres mois elle n'est pas enceinte, la sage-femme fait alors un traitement qui consiste à faire absorber à celle qui le suit une soupe (*ahora*) composée de *mengu* (*ngon*) écrasée sur une pierre, mélangée avec des herbes (*mia mi ngo, ngat*) recueillies par la sage-femme, hachées, et qu'elle fait cuire avec du sel et du piment dans une marmite au fond de laquelle on a mis au préalable une bague en cuivre (*kon ongo*) et qui pendant la cuisson est recouverte d'une large feuille.

Si trois mois après le traitement la femme n'est à nouveau pas enceinte, il n'y a rien à faire et elle doit renoncer à avoir des enfants.

2° Une femme peut être stérile après avoir avorté à cause de son cœur. Cela se connaît à ce qu'elle avorte au milieu de grandes souffrances et qu'elle reste malade ensuite pendant plus de huit jours. On s'adresse au fétisheur qui rendra l'avor inoffensif, ou le rendant fou. Après avoir fait absorber à la femme un médicament composé de miel blanc (*ahr*), d'écorce de kolatier (*ahel*), d'écorce des arbres *ahel* et *ntrge*, le tout mélangé à du sang de poulet, le fétisheur s'en va avec elle auprès de l'avoa où il fait habituellement ses cérémonies, et pratique une sorte d'exorcisme qui ne nous a pas été révélé. Une fois rentrée au village, la femme suit le même

3: Trésanem F319 Fang

traitement que dans le cas d'avortement naturel. La cérémonie secrète faite par le féticheur s'appelle *aci evur akur* (tourner l'evur feu).

3° L'avortement enfin peut avoir été provoqué par un homme de la famille du mari, possesseur d'un evur, ce qui est décelé par le féticheur. Si la femme veut avoir des enfants, il est nécessaire que le coupable meure. On le découvre au cours d'une cérémonie dont une partie se fait de nuit et pour laquelle la présence des femmes est interdite, c'est la danse des *bizir*. On fait venir un chanteur d'akoma, qui récite les histoires des tribus du mari et de la femme. Devant lui se couchent recouverts d'un grand pagne, trois ou quatre hommes qui sont les bizir. Ces hommes ont en main des morceaux de bambou pointus. Un jeune garçon de la famille du mari est amené et passe à plusieurs reprises entre le chanteur et les bizir qui lui griffent les jambes avec des morceaux de bambou. L'enfant ensuite rentre dans sa case tandis que les chants continuent jusqu'à l'aube devant les hommes du village qui dansent en accompagnant le chanteur de claquements de mains.

Le matin, le mari de l'avortée va chercher dans la forêt deux fourches de bois, une branche et des rameaux. Il plante les deux fourches dans le cour du village, y pose horizontalement la branche et dissimule les fourches sous les rameaux, cet ensemble s'appelle nzem. L'enfant qui a passé devant les bizir au cours de la nuit précédente est assis sur le bois. Devant tout le village rassemblé, hommes et femmes, l'avortée s'approche de l'enfant et dit *madzoma, nzem me tola esi di, e mor ewu makala mekum ahure* (je dis, je reste sous le nzem, que meure l'homme qui m'a fait avorter).

Après cette deuxième partie de la cérémonie appelée *ekem nzem*, l'enfant est caché pendant huit jours dans une case, et il est interdit aux femmes de le voir pendant ce temps, il s'appelle à ce moment meen. Le huitième jour au matin, les hommes le couchent sur une natte dans le cour du village, le couvrent de nattes et de pagnes pour que les femmes ne le voient pas, les habitants du village sont à nouveau rassemblés et les hommes de la famille du mari enjambent l'un après l'autre le meen en disant : *madzoma, e meen ehur ni ngi me bi me nga kale ahum, me bere* (je dis, le meen est couché là, si c'est moi qui ai causé l'avortement, que je meure). Quand tous les hommes ont passé, l'enfant est enlevé. Quelque temps après le coupable devient malade, il a un gros ventre et meurt sans qu'il soit possible de le soigner. La femme après ce décès est traitée comme dans le cas d'avortement naturel.

Grossesse (ndzoa ahum). — Lorsqu'une femme est enceinte, elle est astreinte à de nombreuses obligations et interdictions qui ont pour but de soigner l'enfant qu'elle porte afin qu'elle puisse le mettre au monde en bonne santé.

3: Trésenem FH9 Fang

Les obligations consistent à prendre des médecines : pour éviter que l'enfant ait des plaies dans le ventre de sa mère, celle-ci prend une infusion de racines de divers arbres; ce médicament est appelé *ese bibolo* (soigner les pourritures); s'il est négligé, l'enfant naît avec des plaies infectées ne guérissant jamais.

La future mère doit également tous les trois jours aller en brousse et se donner un lavement avec une préparation d'écorce de *ebom* qui a fermenté dans l'eau. Après chaque lavement, de l'eau est rajoutée dans le récipient qui contient les morceaux d'écorce qui sont conservés jusqu'à l'accouchement.

Pour que l'enfant soit fort, la femme enceinte s'enduit le ventre d'une pommade préparée par la sage-femme avec de la poudre de *padouk* mélangée à de l'huile de raphia et à des écorces.

Enfin, pour éviter l'avortement, la femme porte sur la peau comme ceinture un morceau de la liane *okum* qui n'est enlevé qu'après la naissance de l'enfant.

Tout cela n'empêche pas la femme de continuer ses travaux; lorsqu'elle se sent fatiguée, c'est que l'enfant est malade, la sage-femme le soigne avec un des médicaments indiqués ci-dessus. Si le mari de la femme n'a pas eu d'enfants depuis longtemps, la future mère jouit alors d'une grande considération, elle reçoit des cadeaux et son mari est plein d'attentions pour elle.

Pendant toute sa grossesse la femme continue à habiter avec les autres femmes de son mari.

Les interdictions sont très nombreuses :

Il y a tout d'abord l'interdiction des rapports sexuels dès que la grossesse est certaine, cela pour éviter que l'enfant naisse couvert de sperme et reste enrhumé pendant toute sa vie.

La future mère ne doit pas manger de choses pourries de crainte que l'enfant en naissant soit couvert de taches noires ou de plaies.

Si la femme enceinte regarde dans le creux d'un arbre, l'enfant naîtra avec les yeux de travers; elle ne doit pas achever de tuer une bête, car l'enfant aurait des convulsions semblables à celles de la bête qui agonise. Elle ne doit pas enjamber une tombe, l'enfant aurait des fentes dans le crâne, ses os ne se toucheraient pas et il mourrait. Elle ne doit pas manger d'ananas, l'enfant serait couvert de croûtes sur la tête, pas de tortue de terre, l'enfant resterait toujours maigre, il serait maigre également si sa mère s'était approchée d'un caméléon pendant sa grossesse. Elle ne doit pas non plus passer au-dessus du mvun, son enfant naîtrait avec un gros ventre et mourrait, de même il mourrait après être né avec un gros ventre, si sa mère avait mangé une bête tuée de la veille et ayant le ventre gonflé.

La femme enceinte qui se présente devant une porte ne doit pas parler depuis le seuil, elle doit franchir la porte et parler à l'intérieur ; si elle ne le fait pas, au moment de l'accouchement l'enfant sortira, puis remontera dans le ventre de sa mère causant à celle-ci des douleurs insupportables.

Une femme sait si elle mettra au monde un garçon ou une fille, si elle a remarqué que le *nsüe a mon* est allé à droite ou à gauche dans son ventre. A droite ce sera un garçon, à gauche, une fille.

Accouchement (*ekurele mir*, littéralement « froncer les yeux »). — L'accouchement se fait dans la case où habite la femme, il n'a lieu ailleurs qu'accidentellement, par exemple si l'enfant vient au monde plus tôt qu'il n'était attendu, au cours d'un travail à la plantation ou en forêt.

Un cercle en feuilles sèches de bananier est disposé par terre dans la case. La parturiante est assise dessus, les jambes écartées, maintenue par derrière par une femme particulièrement forte. Devant elle se tient une autre femme à qui l'on donne le nom de *mbyale* qui attend l'enfant et aide à son expulsion. Il arrive parfois que l'enfant ne présente que la tête et que le reste ait des difficultés à suivre. Une des femmes présentes va demander au mari si pendant la grossesse de sa femme il n'a rien cloué ou attaché avec des lianes, ce pourrait être cela qui retient l'enfant ; dans ce cas le mari doit déclouer ou détacher quelque chose ; de même s'il a construit une case, il doit enlever quelques écorces au mur d'une case quelconque pour faciliter la naissance de son enfant.

Si la délivrance est plus particulièrement difficile, un homme conduit un jeune garçon auprès d'un manguier sauvage (*andok*), le prend par les pieds et lui fait gratter l'écorce de l'arbre avec une matchette, en le tenant suspendu la tête en bas. En même temps qu'il gratte, l'enfant recueille les morceaux d'écorce dans une assiette. Ces morceaux rapportés au village servent à préparer une infusion que la patiente boit. En cas d'insuccès de ce remède on en fait un autre : une infusion d'une herbe (*eyele nzum*) hachée est versée dans la bouche de la femme qui accouche, par un enfant monté sur le toit de la case et qui, juste au-dessus de la femme, a percé un trou par où passe un tuyau fait d'un pétiole de feuille de bananier creusé, dans lequel coule l'infusion. Quand aucune de ces deux médications n'a réussi, il en est une dernière employée de façon exceptionnelle mais qui, disent nos informateurs, est toujours couronnée de succès. La malade absorbe une pâte faite avec un hachis de courge, d'herbe (*manden makwe*), d'un petit escargot (*nson akwe*) cuit avec du sel dans des feuilles. Il est très rare d'ailleurs qu'il soit besoin de recourir à aucun de ces trois médicaments. Pendant toute la durée de l'accouchement auquel seules les femmes sont autorisées à assister, le mari se tient dehors à la porte de la case.

Aussitôt après la délivrance, la femme dite *mbyale* prend l'enfant et

3: Trézenem FH9 Fang

lui coupe à dix centimètres du ventre le cordon (*dol*) avec un morceau de bambou taillé en forme de couteau. Le morceau enlevé (*ngue mon*) est enterré sous un bananier dont les régimes sont exclusivement réservés aux hommes. Puis l'endroit où a eu lieu l'accouchement est débarrassé des feuilles et lavé en même temps que l'enfant est baigné à l'eau froide et couché sur une feuille fraîche de bananier. Il doit passer une nuit avant de prendre le sein pour la première fois, jusque là on ne lui donne rien à boire.

Le placenta (*kum*) est enlevé, enfermé dans des feuilles de bananier avec lesquels on fait un paquet qui est caché en brousse. La jeune mère ne doit pas le voir, si elle le voyait, elle n'aurait plus jamais d'enfant. La mère est ensuite lavée avec de l'eau très chaude où a macéré du piment, après quoi on lui serre le ventre avec une ceinture en écorce (*ewaf*) qu'elle garde quelques jours.

Une jeune mère dès la naissance de son enfant est désignée par le nom de *ninze*, qu'elle garde jusqu'à ce qu'elle soit en droit d'avoir à nouveau des relations avec son mari. Elle a dans la case un lit spécial sur lequel une femme qui a ses règles ne doit ni s'asseoir ni se coucher pour ne pas donner la gale à la mère et au nouveau-né. La jeune mère se repose pendant environ trois mois pendant lesquels elle ne fait aucun travail et se baigne chaque jour avec de l'eau aussi chaude qu'elle peut la supporter, la région lombaire particulièrement est baignée. De plus après chaque bain elle est enduite de pâte rouge (*ba*) pour éviter la gale.

Les relevailles sont marquées par une fête (*okula mon*). A sa première sortie la femme emporte un paquet de ba dont elle dépose un morceau sur chaque tronc d'arbre abattu qu'elle rencontre sur son chemin pour marquer son passage. Au retour elle prépare en grande quantité les vivres qu'elle a rapportés. Le mari invite les hommes de sa tribu, la femme invite les femmes de la tribu de son mari. Lorsque la nourriture est prête, elle est portée aux hommes dans le corps de garde où l'enfant est aussi amené. Les femmes mangent dans la case.

Pour améliorer la qualité de son lait, la jeune mère boit si cela est nécessaire trois médications progressives :

1° Une infusion de racines de *asrè*.

2° Une infusion à l'aspect laiteux de morceaux de tubercules d'une plante à tige garnie de piquants (*ekon bèkun*).

3° Du latex de liane à caoutchouc.

Il arrive que l'enfant est mort en naissant. A cela trois causes sont reconnues :

C'est un evur qui a mangé l'enfant. Pour empêcher que le cas ne se reproduise et pour que la femme mette au monde à l'avenir des enfants vivants, on a recours au féticheur. Celui-ci se rend dans la forêt muni

3: Trésorem 7H9 Fang

d'une machette et d'une corbeille. Il récolte de l'écorce de *ossé* et des arbustes et lianes qui poussent sous cet arbre. De retour au village il fait deux parts de sa récolte. L'une mélangée à de l'eau est mise dans un grand bassin rectangulaire en feuilles de bananier appelé *etok*, que l'on achève de remplir avec du sang d'un animal domestique sacrifié en vue des soins à donner à la femme, qui se plonge dans l'etok et y reste un certain temps. Pendant qu'elle est dans ce bain, elle mange une soupe faite avec le reste des écorces apportées par le féticheur, de la courge, un morceau de cœur, un morceau de foie et du sang de l'animal sacrifié, le tout cuit dans une marmite. Ce remède est destiné à ranimer l'evur et à l'empêcher de manger le sang de la femme ou de l'enfant qu'elle pourra à l'avenir porter dans son sein.

La mort de l'enfant peut aussi provenir d'un akage donné à sa mère et qui lui avait prédit que l'un de ses enfants ne vivrait pas.

Enfin cet accident est considéré, s'il n'y a ni evur ni akage, comme provenant de la violation d'une interdiction ou plutôt d'un adultère commis par la femme pendant sa grossesse. Pour lui faire dénoncer son complice elle est frappée jusqu'à ce qu'elle l'ait nommé. Celui-ci doit alors payer au mari une indemnité égale à la moitié de la dot qu'il a versée pour avoir sa femme, indemnité qui représente le prix de l'adultère et le prix du cadavre de l'enfant. La femme est soumise à partir de ce moment à l'interdiction de l'ossa jusqu'à la naissance de son prochain enfant.

L'enfant (*mon*). — L'enfant jusqu'à ce qu'il parle s'appelle *nkatele*. Nous avons vu que dès sa naissance il est lavé à l'eau froide et mis à la diète jusqu'au premier matin qui suit. Les premières tétées lui sont données par une autre femme que la mère dont le lait n'est pas bon au début.

A huit jours, l'enfant est enduit de ba. Le cordon se résorbe seul, sans soins, on se contente de le mouiller avec de la salive.

Les anomalies telles que naissance d'un albinos ou de jumeaux sont considérées comme normales. Les indigènes ont constaté que les albinos se reproduisaient dans une même famille à trois générations de distance. Quant aux jumeaux, il leur est interdit par la suite de participer au ngwel. Si les jumeaux sont des garçons, le premier est appelé *Nzogo*, le second *Dzima* ; si ce sont des filles, on leur donne les noms respectifs de *Bela* et *Nzua*.

Le nom n'est donné à l'enfant que plusieurs mois après sa naissance, lorsqu'on est à peu près sûr qu'il vivra. Un enfant reçoit plusieurs noms. Le père choisit le premier nom parmi ses ancêtres. Par exemple un garçon sera appelé *Osene* du nom d'un ancêtre paternel, à ce nom d'Osene a été ajouté le nom du père *Ekomi*, l'enfant se nomme *Osene Ekomi* ; mais il a en plus une sorte de prénom choisi par les parents, dans le cas pré-

3: Trézenem F369 Fang

seul c'est *Andzang*. Le nom complet est donc *Andzang Owono Ekomi*. La famille de sa mère lui avait donné un deuxième nom : *Ekore Nsoré* (la peau de l'éléphant) qui correspondait au souhait fait par les grands-parents que leur petit-fils soit résistant comme la peau de l'éléphant. D'autres noms encore peuvent être donnés par d'autres parents, chacun de ces noms correspondant à un sentiment d'affection ou à un souhait pour l'enfant. Andzang a un troisième nom donné par la femme d'un de ses oncles : *Nzol Weya* (jeune civette) c'est-à-dire beau comme une civette, dont la peau était portée autrefois comme ornement par les jeunes Pahouins désireux de faire des conquêtes féminines.

Lorsqu'un homme a eu plusieurs enfants qui sont morts en bas âge, pour que le nouveau-né ne meure pas comme les autres il lui donne un nom d'animal : *Ngi* (gorille), *Weya* (chimpanzé), *Nse* (panthère), *Meina* (antilope), etc...

L'enfant quelquefois reçoit un nom se rapportant à un incident de sa naissance. On appellera un enfant

Mefan (de *afan* la forêt), s'il est né dans la forêt,

Bemsen (de *mesé* la pluie), s'il est né sous la pluie ou un jour de pluie,

Bitege (de *etej* deuil), s'il est né après la mort de son père, pendant le deuil de sa mère, etc...

Actuellement dans toute la région de *Ndjolé* on donne aux enfants en plus de leurs noms indigènes un prénom chrétien, même si les parents ou l'enfant n'ont aucun rapport avec les Missions. Il est assez fréquent aussi de voir des enfants porter des noms propres d'Européens, noms qui leur ont été donnés parce que les parents les trouvaient jolis. On rencontre également des enfants qui s'appellent Capitaine, Commandant, Milicien, etc..., les parents donnent toujours comme motif à leur choix que le nom pris pour leur enfant est beau.

L'enfant appartient à son père, il ne peut dépendre de la mère que si celle-ci a été répudiée et que le père a abandonné ses droits contre le versement d'une indemnité.

L'allaitement dure jusqu'à dix-huit mois ou deux ans, mais vers l'âge de six mois, en plus des tétées, l'enfant reçoit une alimentation identique à celle de ses parents, sauf le poisson, la viande et le sel qui sont exclus.

Les soins corporels donnés à l'enfant se réduisent à peu de chose, il vit nu jusqu'à l'âge de dix ans environ, est baigné tous les jours. Quand il peut marcher, il est livré à lui-même et joue avec les autres enfants du village, garçons et filles ensemble. Tant qu'il est encore assez faible, sa mère l'emmène avec elle à la plantation ou dans ses autres déplacements. Elle le porte soit sur la hanche à l'aide d'une sangle en peau d'antilope, soit sur le dos avec une sangle en lianes sur laquelle l'enfant est assis, cela tant qu'il est petit. Dès qu'il est capable de se tenir seul, il est porté

sur la hanche et se retient lui-même au cou de la personne qui le porte. On voit des enfants d'une dizaine d'années se faire porter.

Aussitôt que l'enfant a l'âge de manger comme les adultes, qu'il parle et comprend convenablement, il commence à accompagner ses parents aux plantations, à la pêche, il apprend à nager, à pagayer, à danser, à jouer du jam-tam et des divers instruments de musique. Les fillettes apprennent à cultiver un petit morceau de plantation qui leur est donné par leur mère.

Jeux. — Les jeux, nombreux, sont presque tous communs aux deux sexes. Garçonnets et fillettes jouent ensemble dans le village. Les garçons ont trois jeux auxquels les fillettes ne participent jamais :

ngo ou go, ce jeu consiste à faire rouler dans la piste au bout du village devant les jeunes garçons alignés, un cylindre de bois tendre qu'ils doivent atteindre en lançant un épieu pointu. C'est un entraînement pour le lancer de la sagaie.

bitiri, jeu de l'arc. C'est une chasse aux rats et aux lézards faites par les jeunes garçons avec de petits arcs faits en bois de *mokiewa* et tendus avec une liane; les flèches sont en bambou avec la pointe enduite de piment. Il est à remarquer que bien que les enfants jouent à l'arc, les adultes ne possèdent pas cette arme, on ne trouve que l'arbalète.

mbeti, sec nominal. C'est une sorte de jeu de devinette. Celui qui a l'instrument pense à un objet, un autre enfant doit le deviner, pour cela il questionne : « *Nsam e biale ebe, fere dza be go, ebi fer dza lige oni, matsi ene?* » (Nsam en a fait deux, l'un va en haut, l'autre reste par terre, où suis-je attaché?) et demande s'il s'agit de celui d'en haut ou d'en bas; s'il a deviné juste un ton grave de l'arc lui répond, s'il s'est trompé, c'est un son aigu. Si par exemple il fallait choisir celui d'en bas le jeu continue par la question « *me sal e Nsam oni fere dza be ondi, ebi fer dza lige kinige, matsi ene?* » (je coupe en deux Nsam d'en bas, l'un va en fleuve, l'autre reste sur terre, où suis-je attaché?) et le jeu continue en partageant en deux la partie devinée jusqu'à ce que soit trouvé l'objet pensé.

Voici quelques jeux mixtes :

mebeg. Les enfants sont assis en ligne, les jambes écartées, sauf deux d'entre eux qui restent debout, l'un de ces deux cache entre les jambes des autres un objet que le second doit trouver. Les tours changent et le jeu peut durer assez longtemps.

sima bebene, ce jeu se fait de jour. Les enfant sont assis en tas l'un à côté de l'autre, chacun d'eux choisit pour se désigner un nom d'objet usuel. Deux des enfants sont restés debout, l'un d'eux s'éloigne, l'autre reste près de ses camarades, c'est lui *sima bebene*. Celui qui est loin appelle « *sima bebene!* » qui répond « O ooo! »; le premier crie alors « *a to ue be nza ben za* » (quels sont ceux qui sont là-bas?) à quoi sima bebene

répond en citant les noms adoptés par chacun. Ensuite l'enfant qui est désigné appelle les objets indispensables à la vie courante, par exemple il dira « *eto o tsaŋ me kuse end* » (que le pagne vienne me trouver ici) ; l'enfant qui a pris le nom du pagne se lève et s'en va, et ainsi de suite. Les enfants qui restent assis n'ayant pas été appelés sont l'objet des moqueries des autres parce qu'ils n'ont pas su choisir les choses qu'il fallait pour la vie ordinaire.

Ananga, c'est un genre de saute-mouton. Les enfants sont placés en ligne, buisté, jambes tendues, mains à terre. Le dernier marche sur le dos des autres et va se baisser à l'autre bout de la ligne qui se déplace ainsi.

ngal ngôi (à truie), deux des enfants les plus forts se tiennent par les mains, bras tendus. Celui qui représente ngal ngôi est tenu par tous les autres en file. La file passe en se baissant sous les bras tendus en chantant « *ngal ngôi eyele eye a a a.... ngal ngôi* ». Le dernier de la file est emprisonné par ceux qui se tiennent les mains et va se mettre à l'écart. Cela continue jusqu'à ce que ngal ngôi reste seul. Tous alors se mettent sur deux rangs et cherchent à l'attraper en chantant « *me lege ne nkuma nkum ke mon* » (je suis resté comme un tronc d'arbre sec sans enfant).

nda mebeme (la case liée). Les enfants s'associent par terre en croisant les jambes sur le ventre de celui qui est devant et en le tenant par les épaules. la file formée se penche alternativement à droite et à gauche et avance sur les fesses en chantant « *nda mebeme eyele ye ... nda mebeme* ».

endele, se joue la nuit. Les enfants sont rassemblés dans la cour du village, l'un d'eux est désigné pour être endele. Les autres lui donnent quelque chose à faire à proximité du village et quand il est parti l'appellent « *endele o o o...* » il répond « *o ye oo o mare mar a ne e nsine bekun ele ai mele ye mara kue a be a mage nie a ne* » (il y a un homme grand qui est sur le chemin, un fantôme avec la tête en bas les pieds en haut, la bouche rouge), endele continue à répondre jusqu'à ce qu'il ait fait ce qui lui a été demandé. Le plus souvent il revient avant par peur du fantôme dont il parle et qu'il croit voir.

Puberté, adolescence. — La puberté ne donne lieu à aucune cérémonie, l'enfant a à partir de ce moment le droit de manger le produit de sa chasse et de sa pêche, ce qui lui était interdit auparavant, cette interdiction s'appelle *chi ne*.

La circoncision se fait, soit avant, soit après la puberté. C'est une opération qui est généralement faite pour beaucoup d'enfants à la fois, elle a lieu au début de la matinée. L'opérateur (*akir*) vient au village sans que les enfants soient avertis, et les pères qui veulent faire circoncire leur fils le surveillent pour qu'il ne se sauve pas. Les enfants sont conduits derrière une case où ont été préparés des morceaux de bois rouge.

Un trou est fait dans la terre et les morceaux de bois rouge y sont mis et enflammés. Chaque enfant s'assied sur un tronc de bananier coupé. L'opérateur se sert d'un *rasoir* bien aiguisé, avant l'opération il emplit sa bouche de graines de piment sauvage qu'il mâche, il prend le prépuce de l'enfant dans sa main gauche, le tire, y fait à l'ongle une marque à l'endroit où il coupera ; le père de l'enfant voit si le morceau coupé aura la dimension voulue, et s'il est d'accord, l'opérateur tranche le prépuce d'un coup de rasoir et crache le piment qu'il a dans la bouche, sur la plaie. Puis il dit « *fam e ne e safe e safe saf mi saf nkôi* », expression obscène qu'il est impossible de traduire ici. L'enfant circoncis va s'asseoir près du feu de bois rouge. Le prépuce est placé en haut d'un bananier dont le régime est cuit et mangé par les hommes seulement. La circoncision donne lieu à des réjouissances, elle est faite pour que les enfants ne meurent pas et aussi pour enlever le prépuce qui empêche l'homme d'être fort.

L'excision n'est plus jamais pratiquée, elle était faite autrefois aux femmes mariées d'une mauvaise conduite notoire pour les punir. La femme était attachée à deux piquets dans la cour du village. Le clitoris était enlevé par l'homme qui fait la circoncision, puis attaché par une ficelle et mis au cou de la femme qui devait le garder ainsi pendant quelques jours à sa grande honte. L'excision était publique et la femme à qui elle était faite subissait les quolibets et les injures de tous les habitants.

La vie des jeunes gens est identique à celle des adultes. La virginité de la femme est considérée comme sans importance et les Fan ont des relations sexuelles dès qu'ils sont capables de coïter. Lorsqu'une jeune fille a un enfant, il appartient à ses parents dont il accroît la richesse ; il n'y a pas de recherche du père et la jeune fille conserve toute la considération dont elle jouissait. Les jeunes filles sont libres de se donner à qui elles veulent. Cette morale très large subit cependant une importante restriction dans le fait qu'il n'y a pour ainsi dire pas de jeunes filles, les fillettes étant mariées par leurs parents très tôt, quelquefois même avant leur naissance.

Mariage (*alaf*). — Les hommes se marient rarement avant l'âge de vingt ans, et généralement plus tard parce qu'ils n'ont pas les moyens de payer la dot demandée pour prendre femme.

L'exogamie est toujours pratiquée parce que le mariage entre gens de la même tribu est stérile. Le mariage est interdit entre cousins jusqu'à la troisième génération et en général entre des individus liés par une parenté quelconque ; il y a également dans ce cas interdiction de rapports sexuels. Aucune sanction n'est prévue en cas d'infraction, mais les coupables tombent malades et s'ils ont des enfants, ceux-ci ne vivent pas.

Il y a parfois des cas où le mariage est autorisé entre parents, mais seulement après que le féticheur a levé l'interdiction par l'opération

3: Trézenem F119 Fang

appelée *abouk minsem*. Le féticheur va chercher de la terre de termite (*ngoroge*), une herbe (*mokaga*) et une liane (*ngola ndzik*) ; herbe et liane sont pilées et mises dans un *etok* (bassin en feuilles de bananier) plein d'eau. La terre de termite est placée sur un *nsum* (voir la description au chapitre de la conception), l'*etok* est placé dessous, les deux parents qui veulent se marier se placent également dessous, le féticheur monte sur le *nsum* trempe des feuilles dans l'*etok* et dit « *nsome ose mi waga bo e wo ma se gôi* » (j'enlève toute défense que vous avez faite) et frappe la terre de termitière avec les feuilles, puis il prend l'*etok* et fait couler le contenu sur la tête des deux personnes à qui il lève l'interdiction. Avec le reste, l'homme et la femme prennent chacun un lavement.

Un homme qui n'a pas de dot suffisante, mais qui trouve une jeune fille désireuse de l'épouser, peut l'enlever pendant la nuit ; lorsque les parents viennent la chercher, il leur présente ce qu'il a comme argent et comme marchandises et les parents sont obligés de consentir au mariage en acceptant ce début de paiement. Un tel rapt s'appelle *abom*.

Cette façon de procéder est exceptionnelle, la demande en mariage se fait d'une façon plus régulière. Un homme apprenant que dans une tribu voisine il y a une femme libre, jeune fille ou femme répudiée, va voir les parents de cette femme et demande à la voir ; elle entre dans la case, s'assied, se laisse contempler sans parler si elle n'a jamais été mariée, elle parle si elle est habituée aux hommes ; elle sort environ au bout d'une heure. Ses frères lui demandent son avis sur le prétendant et vont porter la réponse à celui-ci qui donne son avis sur la femme qu'il a vue. Cette visite s'appelle *dzaga*. Si tous deux sont d'accord pour s'épouser, ils passent la nuit ensemble ; l'homme peut partir le matin sans rien dire, c'est que la femme ne lui aura pas convenu et qu'il ne veut pas l'épouser. Si c'est la femme qui n'est pas satisfaite, elle fait dire par ses frères au prétendant de ne plus revenir. En cas d'accord, le prétendant revient plusieurs fois pour plusieurs jours. Le père de la femme fixe le chiffre de la dot et le prétendant est obligé de l'accepter.

Il arrive qu'une femme mariée ne voulant plus rester avec son mari s'en aille avec un autre homme qui verse aux parents de cette femme le montant de la dot qui est remise à l'ancien mari. Cette façon de procéder est assez récente, autrefois l'ancien mari recevait directement la dot de son successeur, ou s'il la refusait, c'était un cas de guerre, à moins qu'une autre femme ne lui soit donnée en échange.

Le mariage n'est considéré comme définitif que lorsque la dot a été versée entièrement par le mari. Son montant est variable, il est actuellement d'environ mille cinq cents ou deux mille francs, en argent ou en marchandises diverses. La femme quitte sa tribu et vient habiter avec son mari. Son arrivée à son nouveau village est marquée par des fêtes.

3: Tréanem F319 Fang

Elle est accompagnée par des femmes qui crient « *e e he e o o he* » ; ces cris s'appellent *mekogo*. La mère du mari lui récite la généalogie de son fils, puis la nouvelle épousée entre dans la case de son mari où les femmes de sa belle famille lui apportent à manger. Elle reste enfermée pendant une semaine, c'est le « bon accueil de l'épousée », *ngale mbom*.

Deux jours après l'arrivée de la nouvelle mariée, il y a danses et chants de femmes seules : ce sont les *bya bi mbom* ; les hommes jouent le tam-tam et sont spectateurs. Cela se passe près de la case du mari. Le jour où la femme doit sortir de la case, elle est baignée et ointe d'une huile (*mbon ndi*) et assise sur un tabouret disposé au milieu de la cour du village. Les autres femmes chantent et dansent autour d'elle et lui donnent un nouveau nom qui indique un souhait fait par elle.

Il n'y a pas de cérémonie religieuse.

Il existait aussi un mariage par échange de femmes (*mvule bananga*). Avec le simple consentement des intéressés, deux hommes pouvaient échanger leurs femmes. Les parents des femmes n'intervenaient que pour vérifier le montant des dots et s'assurer que le mari de la femme à dot la plus faible avait bien versé la différence entre les mains de l'autre.

Les rapports entre époux sont simples, l'homme doit loger sa femme et déboisser l'emplacement où elle fera ses plantations, par contre la femme doit la fidélité et l'obéissance les plus absolues à son mari, qui a le droit de la frapper. La femme n'a aucune autorité dans le ménage, elle est à peine mieux considérée qu'un animal domestique, elle ne possède en biens propres que ses ustensiles de cuisine, ses instruments pour les plantations et la pêche, elle n'a pas le droit de posséder d'animaux. L'interdiction des rapports sexuels est rigoureusement observée pendant la grossesse, pendant l'allaitement, pendant la nuit qui précède le départ à la chasse, le travail de la forge, divers travaux. Si l'interdiction n'était pas respectée ces travaux seraient manqués.

La polygamie est l'usage courant chez les Fan. La première femme épousée commande aux autres, qui doivent lui obéir, elle reçoit la plus grosse part en tout, et répartit le travail du ménage et des plantations. Le mari prend chacune de ses femmes pendant trois jours dans son lit.

L'adultère n'est puni que pour la femme, elle est frappée et son complice paie une indemnité au mari. Cette indemnité atteint le quart de la dot. La femme n'avoue son adultère que contrainte par une série de châtiments corporels qui vont des coups jusqu'à l'attache contre l'arbre à fourmis (*akokum*).

La répudiation se fait sans difficultés, l'homme renvoie sa femme et la dot lui est remboursée, les motifs sont l'adultère répété, la mort d'un enfant par suite d'adultère, la paresse, la pratique du fétiche, une surveillance exagérée exercée sur le mari ; la stérilité n'est pas un motif de

répudiation. Les enfants restent au mari et la femme ainsi répudiée peut se remarier.

Lorsqu'un homme meurt, c'est un de ses parents qui épouse ses femmes, il n'y a pas de nouveau paiement de dot. Quand c'est un homme qui perd sa femme, la dot est remboursée en totalité ou en partie par les parents de la défunte, si elle n'a pas laissé d'enfants. S'il y a des enfants, le veuf abandonne la dot.

La veuve se coupe les cheveux. Dès la mort du mari on fait avouer à la femme le nom de ses amants pour leur faire payer des indemnités qui serviront à financer les réjouissances de fin de deuil. Elle doit pleurer pendant tout un jour et toute une nuit, elle ne peut rien faire sans l'autorisation de l'héritier de son mari, elle reste seule, vêtue d'un vieux pagne pendant un mois. Au bout de ce temps cet héritier fait les fêtes de fin de deuil qui durent plusieurs jours. La veuve est assise pendant toute une nuit dans la cour du village, les parents du mari lui jettent de l'eau et du piment. Le lendemain, matin, elle passe quatre fois par-dessus un feu de feuilles de bananier sèches. Pendant qu'elle saute, des hommes la frappent pour les tourments qu'elle a pu faire endurer à son mari. Après cela elle reçoit un pagne neuf de sa famille, puis avant de commencer les danses elle choisit, si elle n'a pas accepté de se remarier avec l'héritier de son mari, un nouveau mari parmi les hommes rassemblés de la famille du défunt.

L'homosexualité ni la bestialité n'ont jamais été constatées, à notre connaissance, chez les Fang.

La prostitution n'existe pas.

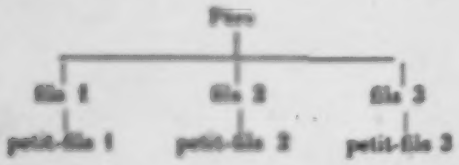
L'impuissance (*ryel*), si elle est congénitale, est considérée comme due à ce que la mère sœur par mégarde fait couler du lait sur le verge de son fils en l'allaitant. Si elle est provoquée plus tard, on dit que c'est par abus du coït et qu'il n'y a plus de sperme chez l'impuissant.

Groupe familial. — La famille (*ada ebur*) est composée de l'homme, de ses femmes, de ses enfants et de ses frères. Elle comporte en général plusieurs foyers et forme à elle seule un village. L'autorité appartient au père, c'est lui qui commande, parce qu'étant le plus respecté. Il a pouvoir absolu, mais à côté de cela, certains devoirs lui incombent dont les plus importants sont de trouver de l'argent ou des marchandises pour doter les femmes que ses fils veulent épouser ; ces dots sont le plus souvent obtenues par les versements que font les époux des filles. L'entr'aide la plus complète est de rigueur entre tous les membres de la famille, en toute circonstance. Les parents, père et mère devenus trop vieux pour continuer à exercer leur autorité, habitent dans la famille de leur fils aîné où ils jouissent d'une très grande considération et sont consultés chaque fois qu'il s'agit de prendre une décision intéressant toute la famille,

comme le mariage d'un enfant, car il s'agit d'une alliance à contracter avec une autre tribu, ou comme le déplacement du village. A la famille peuvent s'incorporer et être associés des enfants, des jeunes gens d'une famille pauvre qui se font adopter. L'adopté (*atsé*) reçoit une femme du chef de famille qui l'a accueilli, mais cette femme ne lui est que prêtée et les enfants qu'il peut en avoir ne lui appartiennent pas, ils sont considérés comme étant de la famille de l'adoptant dont ils reçoivent le nom.

Chaque famille possède un fétiche qui lui est propre et qui se transmet par les fils aînés. C'est très souvent un roseau (*ayat*) qui est planté, derrière les cases du village où réside la famille, par un fétiheur au cours d'une cérémonie importante. Le fétiheur creuse un trou, y met des commentés d'un membre de la famille tué par les biwer, crache dessus du poivre sauvage qu'il a mâché, et avant de planter le roseau, dit « *be ezen, be ezen, me nga ezen ze bememe e ziam ese dzeñ bor gôi, o be ale e gonge* » (mon voler ci mon coeur je lai pris de mes ancêtres, que chaque chose qui te sera demandée par cette famille arrive). Le roseau doit être conservé précieusement et constamment débarrassé des mauvaises herbes qui peuvent pousser autour. Un poulet est sacrifié sur ce roseau par le chef de famille chaque fois qu'il veut entreprendre un acte important, et quand le village se déplace, la plante est emportée avec les commentés et remise en terre.

Vie sociale. — La société pahouine est bornée à un ensemble de familles qui constituent la tribu. Celle-ci provient à l'origine d'une seule famille dont les fils se sont séparés pour former à leur tour d'autres familles. La séparation se produit à peu près constamment à la troisième génération. On peut schématiser ainsi la formation d'une tribu :



Le petit-fils 1 forme une famille qui conserve le nom du fondateur, le petit-fils 2 une famille qui prendra le nom de ce petit-fils, de même pour le 3e petit-fils. L'ensemble des trois familles des fils constitue ce qu'on appelle *etsia* ou *essi*. La tribu (*ayat*) donne son nom à toutes les familles qui sont formées à partir de son fondateur.

Les relations sociales sont rares avec les tribus étrangères, la tribu forme un tout homogène où l'étranger n'est reçu qu'avec réserve et seulement quand il montre des marchandises prouvant que sa visite n'a pas d'autre but que de venir chercher une femme à épouser. Les tri-

3: Trésorem F919 Fang

bus sont très fréquemment hostiles l'une à l'autre et si elles ne peuvent plus se faire la guerre, cette hostilité se manifeste encore par une attitude chicanière qui oblige toujours la plus faible à se déplacer. Plusieurs tribus ont ainsi dû quitter la région de Ndjolé pour s'installer plus en aval sur l'Ogooué parce qu'elles ne pouvaient plus vivre à côté de leurs voisines.

Par contre entre membres d'une même tribu les visites sont fréquentes, des cadeaux sont échangés, des femmes sont prêtées.

La mort (*ewo*). — La mort est considérée comme un changement de village. Dès son décès, un individu est devenu un habitant du grand village créé par Nzame au delà de la terre. Il va *y* retrouver les membres de sa famille qui y habitent déjà, il suit pour cela une piste très large qui le conduit au bord du fleuve Eudem où ses parents morts avant lui viennent l'attendre. Il arrive que la traversée du fleuve ne soit pas immédiate et que le défunt doive demeurer quelques jours devant la berge, c'est ce qui se passe en particulier pour les gens dont les bêtes ont fait des victimes humaines.

L'agonisant (*ofangola*) est assisté par des femmes qui, dès que la mort est survenue, l'annoncent en sortant de la case, où se réunissent alors tous les habitants du village. Le cadavre est enlevé de son lit et étendu à terre sur des nattes, il est lavé, frotté d'huile et vêtu d'un pagne blanc, puis roulé dans les nattes et dans des morceaux d'étoffe et ficelé. Il reste en cet état dans la case jusqu'à ce que la tombe soit creusée. Les funérailles suivent immédiatement la mort. Le corps empaqueté est transporté par deux hommes jusqu'au lieu de l'inhumation. Les habitants du village suivent l'un derrière l'autre et assistent à la mise dans la tombe qui est faite avec une liane maintenant le corps pour qu'il ne tombe pas brusquement au fond du trou creusé pour le recevoir. La tombe est orientée Est-Ouest, on creuse parallèlement au cours de la rivière qui passe près du village, la tête du mort est placée à l'amont ou à l'Est, les pieds vers l'aval ou vers l'Ouest, pour que le mort soit dans la direction du fleuve Eudem. Avant de recouvrir la tombe on y dépose les armes ou quelques objets usuels du défunt. Ensuite tout le monde retourne au village, les femmes en pleurant. Les parents proches du défunt prennent le deuil, qui est beaucoup plus sévère pour la femme que pour l'homme; nous avons vu déjà en quoi consistait le deuil de la veuve. Pour le veuf, après être resté deux ou trois jours dans un état de prostration souvent affecté, il continue à vaquer à ses occupations comme à l'ordinaire, restant cependant soumis à l'obligation d'être sale jusqu'aux fêtes de fin de deuil.

L'autopsie du cadavre pour la recherche de l'evur est faite au bord de la tombe, après que les femmes ont été renvoyées. Le paquet contenant

3: Trésenem FH9 Fang

le cadavre est défait et le fétichour opère avec un grand couteau fabriqué spécialement pour cet usage. Il c'est au préalable peint la figure mi-partie noire, mi-partie rouge, pour que le mort ne le reconnaisse pas et ne puisse venir de son séjour du village de Nzame pour se venger sur lui de la mutilation qu'il subit. L'opération terminée, le cadavre est recousu, empaqueté à nouveau et mis normalement dans le tombe.

Il n'y a pas de cimetière, les morts sont enterrés à peu de distance du village, presque derrière les cases. Quelquefois quand on suppose qu'une personne est morte pour avoir été mangée par les bêtes, pour que le tombe ne soit pas violée dans le but de prélever un morceau du cadavre, on enterre dans la case même du chef de famille.

La vie des morts au village de Nzame est identique à celle qu'ils avaient chez eux, ils font les mêmes travaux, ont les mêmes distractions, se marient, procréent, restent toujours jeunes et ont en plus le pouvoir de faire tout ce qu'ils désirent ; il leur suffit d'exprimer un souhait pour qu'il soit exaucé.

Les morts quittent parfois leur séjour pour revenir sur la terre, soit sous forme de fantômes à longs cheveux pour effrayer les vivants, la rencontre d'un fantôme est mortelle, soit sous forme d'animaux pour se venger. D'aucuns se transformeront en éléphant et ravageront les plantations de leur ennemi, d'autres se changeront en panthère et tueront tout le bétail et la basse-cour et même quelquefois des habitants du village où ils ont été malheureux de leur vivant. Lorsqu'ils veulent être bienfaisants ils apparaissent dans les rêves de leurs parents et amis et les conseillent judicieusement.

Parfois, un mort qui n'a été pas assez pleuré n'a pu à cause de cela trouver la route du fleuve Endam, il revient sous forme d'antilope noire se faire tuer pour mourir une deuxième fois et être sûr de parvenir au village des morts.

Les Européens à cause de leur aspect blanc, de leurs longs cheveux lisses, et surtout avec les objets matériels qu'ils ont apportés sont encore considérés comme des morts pahouins qui reviennent dans leur pays et la crainte des enfants qui s'enfuient en hurlant à la vue d'un Blanc, dans beaucoup de villages, est due aux légendes racontées par les vieux qui nous représentent ainsi.

4: Dugast 5-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 F109 Fang F109

5

Table of Contents

The Beti or Bati	1
The Pahouin	3
The Bundju and Kombe	8
The Ngwo	9
The Bafik - Tangafuk	10
Tsinga-Betsinga	12
Mangisa	14
Eum	15
The Ewondo	18
The Bane	24
The Fong	26
The Fang, the Mvae, the Nsumu	27
The Bulu	32
The Mvele	36
The Yenum and the Yebekanga	39
The Yekabe	41
The Benvele and the Bebili	43
The Yebekolo	46
The Omvang	48
The Mbida-Mbane and the Mvogo-Nlenge	50

CHAPTER 6

THE BETI AND THE PAHOUIN

THE BETI OR BATI

[58] /Pp. 1-56 not translated/ In the introductory section devoted to the peopling of the area, we have spoken of the Beti, or Bati, who certainly comprised a large group with many branches. They have been subject to many upheavals and, consequently, it is impossible to determine which of them have remained pure Beti and which—according to G. Tessmann's expression—have become "Pahouinized," and to what extent they have become "Pahouinized." Therefore, we will first devote a short paragraph to the Beti, and then another to the Pahouin /Pahuin/.

In the discussion which follows we will speak first of the populations which the authors have grouped under the name of Beti, and then, imperceptibly, we will move on to the Pahouin, but we are not able to decide exactly where the dividing line should be placed.

[13] It is certain that the various branches of the Beti, or Bati, spread
[31] over a large area. According to the oral traditions of a number of these peoples, their original habitat was north of the Sanaga River, and near its tributary the Mbam /M'Bam/. /Map 1/ A tiny group of these Bati remained there, and they may still be found southwest of Bafia, on the right bank of the Lihoua, a tributary of the Sanaga. Their little territory of barely 20 square kilometers is wedged in between the Yambasa /Yambassa/ in the east, the Lemande in the north, [164] and the Baso in the west and to the south. There are only 300 persons altogether in the villages of Keleng (on the route from Bafia to Ngambe) and the hamlets of Mpouka and Nyambat.

[167] Others of the Beti remained north of the Sanaga and divided into a scattering of small groups; when the Germans found them they had not united /58/ and were still migrating. They did not become settled until the Babute had been pushed back to their former habitat by the new occupants.

4:Dugast--1a 5-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FI19 Fang FI19
Beti

161
131

[Map 1]

[8] This group of Beti, or Bati, north of the Sanaga, whom the Ger-
[3] mans—being good linguists—recognized easily by their language, were all those whom the French administration later called by the general name "Sanaga." They included the Tsinga, the Mvele /Mvelle/ (contrary to Nekes' opinion), the Bavek, the Mangisa, the Ngoro, and the Kombe.

[16] What is the origin of these Bati? G. Tessmann thinks that they may
[17] be related to the peoples he has named "Mittelkamerun Bantu /Middle Cameroons Bantu/" (Bafia, Banen /Bamend/, Yambasa, etc.). But he does not confuse the two groups. He believes that the Bati came from the north, where they first lived on the left bank of the M'Bam. Then, pushed by the Babute, some of them moved to the right bank. He notes that from that point on two tendencies are apparent: Some of the Bati were attracted by the civilization of the northeast (Babute), others by that of the southeast (Pahouin). Thus the Bavek and the Tangafuk (the Fök and the Fuk) migrated and scattered in a direction that differed from the one taken by groups such as the Betsinga and the Mangisa, who were moving toward the Pahouin. The latter two let themselves be assimilated quite rapidly.

According to G. Tessmann, the Bati are not Pahouin but rather a population encountered by the latter in their migrations. These people were attracted or influenced by the Pahouin and, in turn, influenced the invaders, just as they influenced, or were influenced by, the central Bantu. In the course of influences and counter influences, the intermingling of Pahouin and Bati, as much in culture as in language, has been so great that it is now difficult to untangle the threads of their various ramifications. Some threads have been lost, others broken, and those that remain have taken on a variety of hues.

[13] Language. See:

Johnston, H. H. A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Language (Oxford University Press, Vol. 1, 1919, Vol. 2, 1922), Vocabulary No. 216, and his reference to the study by Carl Meinhof, "Die Sprachverhältnisse in Kamerun /Linguistic Relationships in the Cameroons/," Zeitschrift für afrikanische und oceanische Sprachen (Berlin, 1895).

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe /The Fang/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes, Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und Früherer

113 Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe/. Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (2 vols.) (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), p. 34 (a short vocabulary).

-----. "Die Volker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of the Cameroons/," Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen, 1932, pp. 185-86.

197 We wonder whether G. Tessmann knew the following three lines written by von Stein zu Lausnitz: "The Bati languages show certain resemblances to those of the Baya and the Bangandu of the eastern end of the colony." (1)

113 1. von Stein zu Lausnitz, "Eine Erkundungs-Expedition zwischen Wuri und Sanaga /An Exploratory Expedition between the Wuri and the Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1908, p. 523.

Bibliography

von Stein zu Lausnitz. Op. Cit., pp. 522, 523, 527.

Thorbecke, (Mrs.). Auf der Savanne /On the Savanna/, (1913), pp. 206-18.

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe, I Op. Cit., historical portions.

-----. "Die Bafia und die Kultur der Mittelkamerun-Bantu /The Bafia and the Culture of the Middle-Cameroons Bantu/," Ergebnisse der 1913w. Reichs-Kolonialamt ausges andte Forschungsreise nach Kamerun /Results of the 1913 Research Expedition to the Cameroons Sponsored by the Colonial Office/ (Stuttgart: Strecker and Schröder, 1914), historical portions.

Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Bati."

Bulletin de la Societe d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 25-26 and No. 10 (June 1946).

Moisel map, G2, Jaunde, April, 1913. /59/

THE PAHOUIN

101 It has seemed necessary to us to employ the term "Pahouin,"
131 generally used by the French to designate a group of peoples who,

101 barely a century and a half ago, invaded and took over more than
131 176,000 square kilometers of land in the western part of Equatorial Africa. For a century these peoples have occupied the huge forest area which stretches from 1° south of the equator to 4° 30 in the north, and from 9° 30 to 14° meridian in longitude.

101 Poutrin uses the term "Fan" to designate these peoples. Tessmann
114 uses the term "Pangwe /Mpangwe/."

We have rejected Poutrin's term "Fan" for the same reason that Tessmann did. There exists in the Cameroons a subgroup of Pahouin known as Fang, and it seems to us that using the same term to designate two different entities—on the one hand, a large group occupying a vast territory, and on the other, a very small unit comprising 12,583 persons within this group—could lead to confusion and misunderstanding.

114 The penetration of the area by the Germans, which brought them into contact with the Pahouin of the southern part of the territory, had to be carried out slowly. The first expeditions started from Grand-Batanga near Kribi. It was possible to explore quite rapidly the lower part of the Sanaga River as far as Edea Falls. At that time the river was called "Grand (Big) Nyong," and the present-day Nyong was "Petit (Little) Nyong." The natives on the coast said at that time that in the interior there flowed a great river whose waters moved from west to east. This detail posed a great problem for the Germans: Did the separation of the waters reaching the Congo and Grand-Nyong basins occur so near the coast? The first expedition was led by Lieutenant R. Kund, who was accompanied by Lieutenant Tappenbeck, the zoologist Weissenborn, and the botanist Braun. On October 15, 1887, they left Grand-Batanga, traveled through the Ngumba country and the valley of the Nyong, and, going northeast, reached the Sanaga on January 19, 1888. According to the reports they were "at least 300 kilometers from the coast," but it is not possible to locate the exact spot.

Within a few years from that date nearly the whole forest region had been explored, opened up to commerce, and studied both from ethnographic and economic viewpoints.

114 The first observations were based on linguistic notations, and the
174 extension of the Pahouin invasion above the second parallel was easily perceived when it was investigated also from the south through Gabon.

114 The great explorer Schweinfurth was the first to present the theory
174 that the invasion must have begun far to the east among the Azande, south of Bahr el Ghazal (approximately 23° long., and 5° north lat.). Dr. Poutrin, R. P. Trilles, Largeau, and Avelot accepted his conclusions, but Baumann and Westermann rejected them as greatly exaggerated. According to them, the Pahouin came only from the high Sanaga and had reached the western part of Equatorial Africa through a series of successive westward migrations, avoiding the great equatorial forest by going around it in the north and going through the valleys of the Lom and the Adamawa. "The advance of the subgroups," write Baumann and Westermann, "was made in successive leaps, as each group pushed the other ahead or passed them by. The migration was made by kin groups, about thirty to a tribe, which constituted the only political and social unit. These kin groups (agon) moved continuously westward, often passing one another; the last comers settled beyond their predecessors for a generation or two and then departed again."

The last push was made quite recently, /60/ in the southern part of the plateau of the Adamawa, by the Mbum and the Baya, who subsequently had to yield to the Fulbe /Fulani/. This last move from the right bank of the Sanaga to the forest dates back no more than about a hundred years. When the Europeans came, they in turn stabilized the positions of all these peoples.

In spite of the linguistic investigations quickly undertaken by the
114 Germans, whose great specialist was Father Nekes, and the study of
101 oral traditions carried out to a greater extent by the French, the con-
197 clusions arrived at concerning the distribution of the Pahouin in the Cameroons are not entirely in agreement with one another. They are as follows:

Father Nekes is the authority on the subject, but his classification is chiefly linguistic. According to him there are two major groups, the Beti and the Mvele. In the first he includes the Ewondo, the Bane /Bene?/, the Yetenga, the Yetudi, the Eton, and the Betsenga; in the second, the Mvele, the Yebekolo, the Yebekanga, the Bulu, the Ntumu /Ntum?/, the Okak, the Omvang, and the Fang. Tessmann connects the Yesum with the Bulu.

According to Dr. Schnee, the "Fang" are divided into two large
114 groups, the Betschi /Betsi/ (established in the northwest) and the
101 Makei /Mekei/ (settled in the southwest). His division is based on whether they pronounce the phrase, "I say that," as Mekima or Matsina. The groups are divided into an infinite number of tribes,

114 with names beginning either with Eb (Makei) or with Es (Betschi).
101 The Governor General, Cournarie, after carefully surveying the peoples in the vicinity of Yaoundé, where he was administrator, prepared the following table:

- NANGA ....
  - Beti ....
    - Kolo ....
      - Ewondo
      - Bane
      - Mangisa
      - Kombe
      - Tsinga
      - Etudi
      - Emfek
    - Eton
    - Mvele
    - Badzu
    - Omvang
    - Ntumu
  - Yesum

And he concluded: "It appears that among the Beti one can also include the Badjia, the Bavek, the Bamvele, the Djanti, the Ngoro, and the Yangafuk."

It is impossible to say whether or not this problem will ever be solved, for it becomes more and more complex from decade to decade because of the changes which are taking place, with perhaps increasing speed. We would like future researchers to be aware of its complexity; they should not believe that we have thought to present solutions here.

Bibliography

113 "Bericht über den äusseren Verlauf der Batanga-Expedition (Ende Oktober 1887 bis März 1888)" /Progress Report of the Batanga Expedition (End of October, 1887 to March, 1888)/ Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1888, pp. 6-30, 112-21.

Pahouin

113 Avelot, R. "Recherches sur l'histoire des migrations dans le bassin de l'Ogooué et la région littorale adjacante /Researches into the history of migrations in the Ogooue Basin and the Adjacent Coastal Region/," Bulletin de Géographie Historique et Descriptive, Vol. 20 (1905), pp. 357-412. (five maps.)

Cottes, A. La mission Cottes au Sud-Cameroun (1905-1908). Exposé des résultats scientifiques, d'après les travaux des divers membres de la section française de la Commission de délimitation entre le Congo français et le Cameroun (frontière meridionale) et les documents étudiés au Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. /The Cottes Mission to South Cameroons, 1905-1908. A Presentation of the Scientific Results of the Mission Based on the Work of Various Members of the French Section of the Commission to Set the Boundaries Between the French Congo and the Southern Frontier of the Cameroons, and on Documents Examined at the Museum of Natural History./ (Paris: Leroux, 1911).

Struck, B. "Die Sprachverhältnisse im 'Moyen Congo' /Linguistic Relationships in the 'Middle Congo'/," Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, pp. 204-25.

Nekes, H. "Jaunde und seine Bewohner (Sudkamerun) /Yaunde and its Inhabitants (South Cameroons)/," Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, pp. 468-74.

Tessmann, Günter. "Gabun /Gabon/," Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, pp. 225-37.

-----. Die Pangwe /The Fang/, Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes, Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913). /61/

-----. "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of the Cameroons/," Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen, 1932, pp. 113-20 and 186-90.

Poutrin, Dr. Esquisse ethnologique des principales populations de l'Afrique Equatoriale Française /An Ethnographic Sketch of the Major Peoples of French Equatorial Africa/ (Paris: Masson, 1914), pp. 24-31.

Abel, J. "Sitten und Gebräuche der Pangwe im deutschen Muni-Gebeit /Customs and Habits of the Fang in the German Muni Territory/," Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, Ergänzungsheft no 9a, Landeskundlicher Teil, 1914, pp. 31-41.

Pahouin
Bundju
Kombe

113 Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Fang."
Cournarie, P. Essai sur les coutumes des populations de la Circonscription de Yaoundé /Essay Concerning the Customs of the Peoples of the Yaoundé District/ (1933) (unpublished).
Bruel, G. La France équatoriale africaine /French Equatorial Africa/ (Paris: Larose, 1935).
Bulletin de la Société d'Études Camerounaises, No. 3, (July 3, 1943).
de Pedrals, H. "Contribution à l'établissement d'un inventaire ethnique du Cameroun /A Contribution toward Setting up an Inventory of the Peoples of Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept-Dec. 1945), pp. 7-15.
Baumann, H. and Westermann, D. Des peuples et les civilisations de l'Afrique, suivi de: Les langues et l'éducation /Peoples and Cultures of Africa, followed by: Languages and Education/. (Translated by L. Homburger) (Paris: Payot, 1948), pp. 199-201.

THE BUNDJU AND THE KOMBE

131 Location: 11°25 to 11°50 long.
101 4°30 to 4°35 north lat.

We cannot silently skip over these minute groups whose names are known only to administrators working in the region of M'Bam, east of Bafia. As a matter of fact, they are essentially a part of the Beti group.

Physical and Human Geography

161 Population: Bundju—about 550 inhabitants
Kombe—about 1, 126 inhabitants

361 The Kombe are settled in three villages in the valley of the
131 M'Bam, on the right bank of that river and on the highway from Bafia to Yaoundé, from the 16th kilometer to the 22nd kilometer southeast of Bafia. /Map 2/

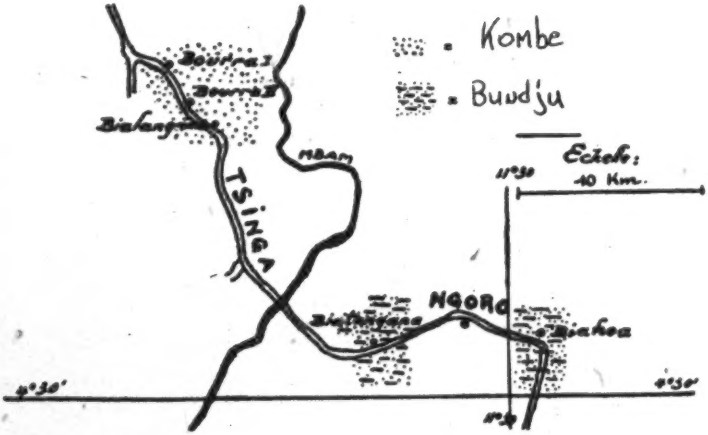
The Bundju occupy two villages, also on the vehicular road, southeast of the Kombe but between the M'Bam and the Sanaga rivers. The two villages are separated by a Ngoro village which is wedged in between them. /62/

131 According to the Moisel map of April, 1913 (G2, Jaunde), these
101 two peoples occupied far greater territories at that time. The Kombe (then known as the Nkombe) were found all the way to the borders of

4:Dugast--8a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Bundju
Kombe

101
131

[Map 2]



Bundja
Kombe
Ngoro

101 present-day Bafia, in numerous villages all along the right bank of
131 the M'Bam, meeting the Tsinga at the Owama or Afama River and reaching as far as the vicinity of the Yambasa. Others, known as Kombe, were located much farther east on the Maloko River and are probably under the jurisdiction of the Kombe villages, now claimed to be Mvele and Bavek villages (on the vehicular road in the north).

On this Moisel map, the Bundju occupied the whole vast territory, triangular in shape, which lies between the M'Bam and the Sanaga rivers.

173 According to the reports of the administrator Cournarie, resumed by the administrator Relly, these peoples lost all cohesion after the Babute invasion in the middle of the last century. According to their traditions, the Kombe were enslaved and consequently dispersed. The Bundju, said to be related to the Mangisa, first crossed the Sanaga. Later, when the Germans pushed the Babute back towards the north, the Bundju, greatly reduced in numbers, recrossed the Sanaga and returned to their former lands.

000 It would be interesting to investigate these former Beti from the linguistic viewpoint and to find out how much of their former language remains with them. The study should not be made on the basis of entire zones; rather it should be carried out almost village by village throughout a whole area where these peoples may be found juxtaposed and overlapping one another all along a vehicular road. No doubt the study will /sic/ shed but little light on the problem of origins, but it will clearly show what G. Tessmann calls the "Bati-Mbam" languages.

THE NGORO

131 Location: $11^{o}15$ to $11^{o}30$ long.
101 $4^{o}30$ to $4^{o}55$ north lat.

Physical and Human Geography. The Ngoro are widely dispersed on the left bank of the M'Bam, in the valley of its tributary, the
133 Ngoro. This little river has a minimal water supply during the dry season, but during the rainy months, on the contrary, it swells beyond the river bed and floods the banks, sometimes for a considerable distance. This is a prairie region adorned with thin shrubs. Near branches of the river, a few clumps of raffia palms can be seen.

Ngoro
Bafok-Yangafuk

361 The several Ngoro villages are stretched over 70 kilometers of trails. A single one may be found on the right bank of the M'Bam, in the immediate vicinity of Bafia, on the vehicular road. Another is located about 30 kilometers to the southeast, also on the vehicular road but on the left bank of the M'Bam; it is Goura, inhabited by the Ngoro who moved down toward fertile land.

173 The Ngoro say that they descended from the Mangisa a long time ago—perhaps during the time when the latter still lived north of the Sanaga. The traditions of the Ngoro also say that their original ancestor was the same as that of the Betsinga, the Kombe, and the Bundju. Is this myth or history? This extended kinship brings together all the Beti.

The folk history of the Ngoro begins only with the war against the Babute in the last century. At that time they were dispersed, and most of them clustered around the Ngoro River. When attacked by the Babute, those nearest the M'Bam crossed the river and settled among the Bafia, whom they pushed back. /63/ Others, the Yasakunu, were driven all the way back to the Yambasa. The people of the village of Ngoro submitted and were enslaved. They were deported north to Linte and Tibati and south to Goura. /Map 3/

175 167 At Goura the young slave Ndenge was born of a Ngoro father and a Djanti mother, both deported there. As an adult, Ndenge enlisted in the native army of the Germans and attracted the attention of his superiors by his intelligence and zeal. They assigned him the task of reuniting all the exiles, and little by little turned over to him all those who were freed through their wars—first the exiles found among the Yambasa, then those among the Bafia. These migrations are the explanation for the wide scattering of Ngoro villages and for the frequent moves. Fortunately, the appearance of the cacao tree has begun to stabilize a number of these settlements.

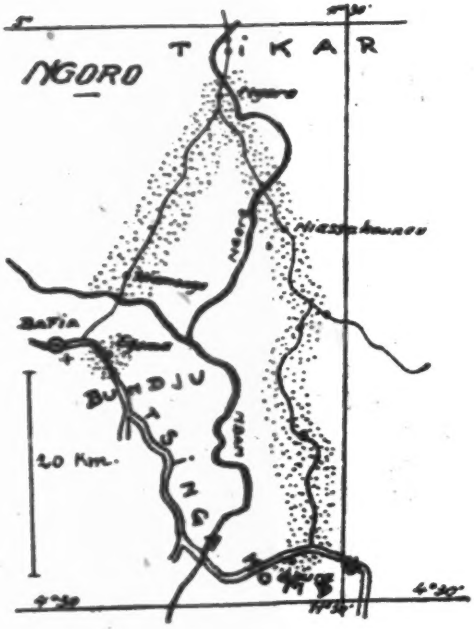
THE BAFÖK-YANGAFUK

101
131
361

Location: widely scattered, to be found in several settlements sometimes very far from each other
Between 11°15 and 12°30 long.
and 4°30 and 5°50 north lat.

4:Dugast--10a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Ngoro

101
131



[MAP 3]

Bafök-Yangafuk

101 The peoples who are the subject of this chapter have been given several names spelled in a variety of ways by Europeans. On German maps they appear as "Fuk," "Fök," or "Fu." In French reports and maps they are called "Baveuk," "Bafeuk," or "Yangafouk." All these words seem to resemble each other, and, in reality, they are identical.

[161] Physical and Human Geography. Total population: 5, 352 inhabitants.

361 Three little enclaves of these people a few kilometers long may be
461 found on the Yoko road east of Bafia. They are settled in eight villages all told and inhabit an area of very fertile soil and forest. Cacao, palmettoes, or food crops could bring them prosperity, were it not for
[161] their laziness. (The people of these villages number 1, 558.)

173 The five southernmost villages of the eight say that their members
361 come from the southeast, from the plain of the Sanaga, or from the east, from the plain of Djerem.

The two neighboring villages to the northeast are called Yalongo (see the chapter on the Yekaba and the Bamvele). It is thought that the Yalongo conquered the Bafök and /64/ adopted their language. Finally, the eighth village is said to be related to the first five and to have come also from Djerem.

[161] To the southeast of Yoko is an enclave whose two villages, in the middle of the prairie (445 inhabitants), claim to be related both to the Yalongo and the southern Bafök.

About 50 kilometers north of Yoko, in the Babute country, is the
[161] enclave of Lena consisting of 260 inhabitants. It is said that they came from the south and reached their present habitat by traveling an arc of 250 kilometers via Tibati. /Map 4/

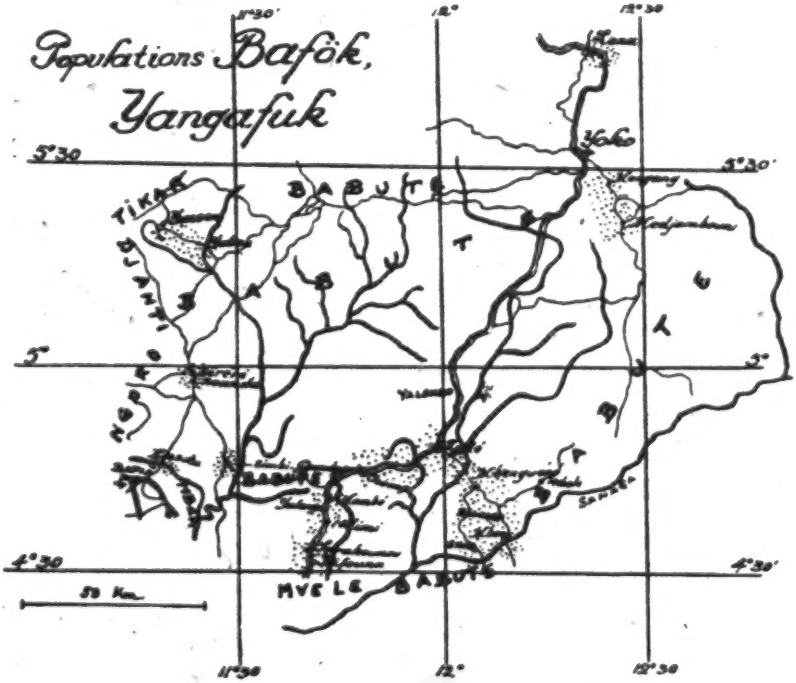
[161] The 360 inhabitants of the enclave of Yassem, in the midst of the Tikar country, 120 kilometers west of Yoko, say that they sprang from the Bamvele. We would be more inclined to say that they share a common origin with the latter. The wars among the tribes brought them to the Tikar country where they isolated themselves on their mountain. They differ from other Bafök in that they have adopted the
[797] Islamic religion of the Tikar and that they recognize no kinship with the southern Bafök.

361 A single village may be found on the banks of the M'Bam, a few
161 kilometers from the town of Bafia. (It has 313 inhabitants.)

And lastly, on the right bank of the Sanaga, there are several Yangafuk villages (containing 2, 418 inhabitants) which are related to those found in the south on the Yoko road but separated from them by a thick forest. /65/

4:Dugast--11a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Bafök, Yangafuk

101
131



[Map 4]

Bafok-Yangafuk
Tsinga - Betsinga

174 The recognized kinship among the various groups clearly permits us to assert that their extraordinary dispersion is quite recent, going back no further than to the historical period when the Tikar and the Babute made their last advances and were driven back by the advancing Fulbe. Before that time these peoples probably inhabited the entire plain south of the Ndomé. Ndoumba was their most important center.

197 Language. The linguistic unity among the various groups of Bafok and Yangafuk confirms our impression. Dialect differences among them are minimal; they all understand each other.

G. Tessmann classifies their language as falling between that of the Bamvele and the group of Pahouin languages. As we have already mentioned, a passing observer at Lena, the Reverend Good of the American Mission, noticed a very great similarity between the language spoken there and that of the Bulu in the south.

Bibliography

113 Thorbecke, Mrs. Auf der Savane /On the Savanna/, (1913), p. 152.
Thorbecke, Fr. Im Hochland von Mittelkamerun /In the Highlands of the Middle Cameroons/, Abhan dlungen der Hamburgischen Kolonial-Institut 1919-1924 (L. Friedrichsen & Co.), Vol. 1, p. 43, Vol. 2, p. 20.
Bulletin de la Société d'Études Camerounaises, No. 3, (July 1943).
Unpublished reports by administrators Delteil and Coquereaux.

TSINGA - BETSINGA

131 Widely scattered habitat: 11°20 to 11°50 long.
and from south to north: 3°35 to 3°50 north lat. near Yaoundé
4°15 to 4°40 north lat. on the two banks of the Sanaga.

101 Physical and Human Geography. Like the administrator Cournarie in the past, we have grouped together under one term the peoples generally designated as Tsinga, Betsinga, Betchenga, or Batchenga. One name is probably a transformation of another. Since the traditions of the various groups are the same, it seems inappropriate to draw distinctions among them.

361 The Tsinga are so widely dispersed that their territory does not form a unit. They are located on both banks of the Sanaga (there known as

361 the Betsenga) as far north as its tributary the Maloko and, toward the south, for about a dozen kilometers inland. Another Tsinga zone exists in the northwest on both sides of the M'Bam. Another fairly homogeneous center may be found much farther south, east of Yaoundé. Finally, there are several Tsinga villages just south of the Nyong in the vicinity of the southern road.

It is impossible to calculate the area of their various habitats except near the M'Bam (75 square km.), among the Betsenga of the Sanaga (180 square km.), and for the few purely Tsinga villages east of Yaoundé (189 square km.). Elsewhere these people appear only together with other populations.

[161] The total population comes to 15, 562 persons.

361 Near the M'Bam, as well as on the Sanaga and its little tributaries,
173 the Tsinga are settled in a land of small hills and valleys, on a prairie broken by groves and by clumps of forest. According to their traditions they originally lived north of the Sanaga, but the Babute advanced upon them. Many of them crossed the river. It appears that as soon as the Germans came and /67/ stopped the Babute, some of the Tsinga returned to the north of the Sanaga. /Map 5 covers p. 66./

197 Some say that the Tsinga are related to the Eton, and this statement
113 seems to be confirmed by the similarity between the two languages (See Nekes) /"Jaunde und seine Bewohner (Sudkamerun)"/Yaoundé and its Inhabitants (South Cameroons/, " Koloniale Rundschau, 1912/. See a few words of vocabulary in G. Tessmann's Die Pangwe /The Fang/, Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), p. 34, under the name "Bati (Batjenga)," as well as H. H. Johnston, A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, (Oxford University Press, Vol. 1, 1919, Vol. 2, 1922), Vocabulary No. 216, under "Bati (Bacenga)."

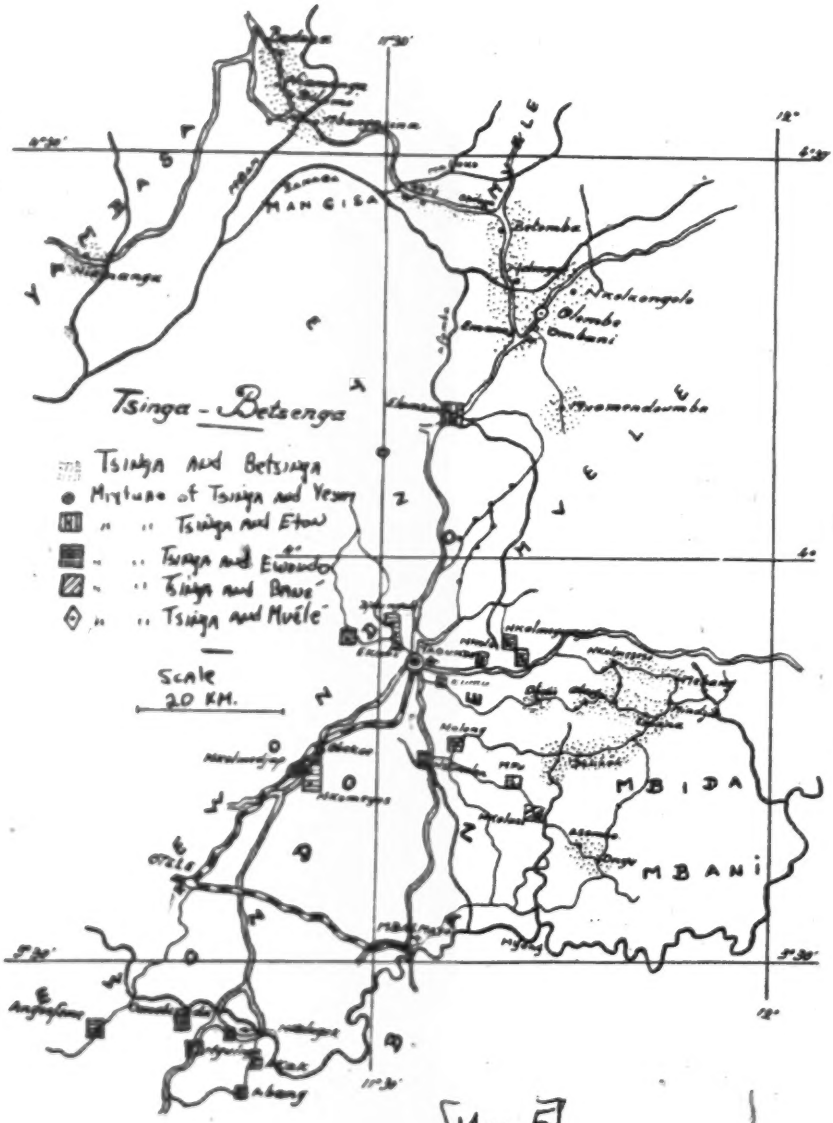
161 Demography. Their population balance is favorable; the ratio of births to deaths is + 1.14 percent.

Bibliography

113 Dominik. "Bericht über eine Strafexpedition gegen des Batschengastamm /Report on a Punitive Expedition Against the Betsenga Tribe/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1899, pp. 14-15.

4:Dugast--13a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Tsinga-Betsinga

101
131
563



[MAP 5]

Tsinga-Betsinga
Mangisa

113 Von Stein zu Lausnitz. "Eine Erkundungs-Expedition zwischen Wuri und Sanaga /An Exploratory Expedition Between the Wuri and the Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1908, pp. 522-23.

MANGISA

131 Location: 11°15 to 11°30 long.
4°25 to 4°30 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: about 316 square km.
161 Population: 14, 588 inhabitants
Density: 46.2 per square km.

131 The Mangisa occupy the right bank at the bend of the Sanaga, a land of wooded hills.

173 They were probably among the peoples who crossed the Sanaga rather early, for their traditions say that, in later times, when the Eton also crossed the river, they found the Mangisa occupying the territory. /Map 6/ Fairly intensive struggles followed; then the two peoples formed an alliance which enabled them to live in peace side by side.

361 311 Like the Eton, the agricultural Mangisa live in large villages. Because of the density of the population, the entire /68/ woodland has to a large extent been cleared for their plantations, and palm trees have been planted.

197 But what is the exact origin of the Mangisa?

174 Language. The question has been raised in linguistics.

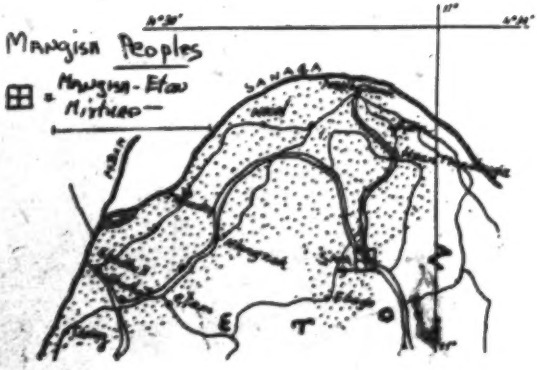
G. Tessmann has written: "In the classification of the Pahouin tribes of the north, the situation is not yet clear. One thing is certain: all the tribes—at least all those of the northeast—contain a more or less pronounced component derived from the Bati-Mbam. Thus, a few decades ago, the Eton and the Mangisa spoke a pure Bati; they have therefore become Pahouinized only in recent times, at least as regards language (1)."

1. Günter Tessmann, "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and

4:Dugast--14a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Mangisa

101
131
663

[MAP 6]



197 Languages of the Cameroons/, "
174 Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen,
1932, p. 184, note 4.

On the other hand, on the basis of a personal communication from Dr. Aujoulat, who worked among the Mangisa for several years, Dr. Olivier makes the following statement: "However, on the basis of differences (from the Pahouin) in language and physical type, Aujoulat has hypothesized a different, more northern origin and contact with tribes whom he calls Sudano-Bantu, namely the Yambasa and the Sanaga (2)." On the basis of the classifications that we our-

2. Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16, p. 55.

selves propose in this work, would not a Beti origin be possible? This great question is raised once again here.

141 Physical Anthropology. The /anthropometric/ indexes have been calculated by the Drs. Olivier and Aujoulat as follows:

	OLIVIER	AUJOULAT	
	Men	Men	Women
Cephalic	76.0	76.7	76.3
Facial	81.4	77.7	77.9
Nasal	88.7	86.0	90.5
Cormique	50.4	50.9	50.6
Envergure/T	104.8	105.0	103.8

143 Their blood-group ratios show a greater proportion of AB type than is present among other Pahouin, and a predominance of type A over type B. The percentages are as follows:

O: 52 percent; A: 21.9 percent; B: 10.9 percent; AB: 15.2 percent; —index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$: 1.44.

ETON

131 Location: 11°10 to 11°45 long.
3°45 to 4°30 north lat.

131 Physical Geography. Area: 2, 520 square km.

133 The country of the Eton is made up of hills and plateaus; it drifts
137 gently down from the heights of the country of the Ewondo to the valley of the Sanaga River. The border of the great southern forest crosses the territory from south to north; the westerly two-thirds of the area are covered with forest, and the last third is prairie. The Sanaga borders the country only in the northwest and northeast, for the greater part of the loop [misprint in French text: bouche for boucle. See map.] of the river is occupied by the Mangisa. /69/

161 Human Geography. Population: 111, 738 inhabitants
Density: 44.3 persons per square km.

173 It is impossible to say whether the Eton should be counted among the Beti populations who were dislodged and crossed the Sanaga or whether they were among the first Pahouin to cross the Sanaga at the time of the invasion. Their traditions do not go back very far; they only tell of their departure from the fork of the M'Bam and the Sanaga. /Map 7/ The Eton say that after crossing the river in the direction of the present-day village of Nkolbogo, they fell upon the Mangisa who had already arrived, and then spread themselves throughout the territory which they occupy to this day.

361 The Eton are settled in large villates, whose hamlets line the length
487 of their many trails. At present their country is traversed by several roads on which heavy trucks can travel so that their products can reach Yaoundé and the railroad.

197 Language. With reference to this subject it seems best to refer the reader to the paragraph on linguistics in the chapter on the Mangisa, since the same question is raised for the two peoples. /70/

142 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Eton are above average in height, mesocephalic, and platyrrhin.

143 Their blood-group ratio is typically Negro, with a relatively high proportion of the AB type:

O: 55.7 percent; A: 13.8 percent; B: 17.5 percent; AB: 12.9 percent;—index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$: 0.878.

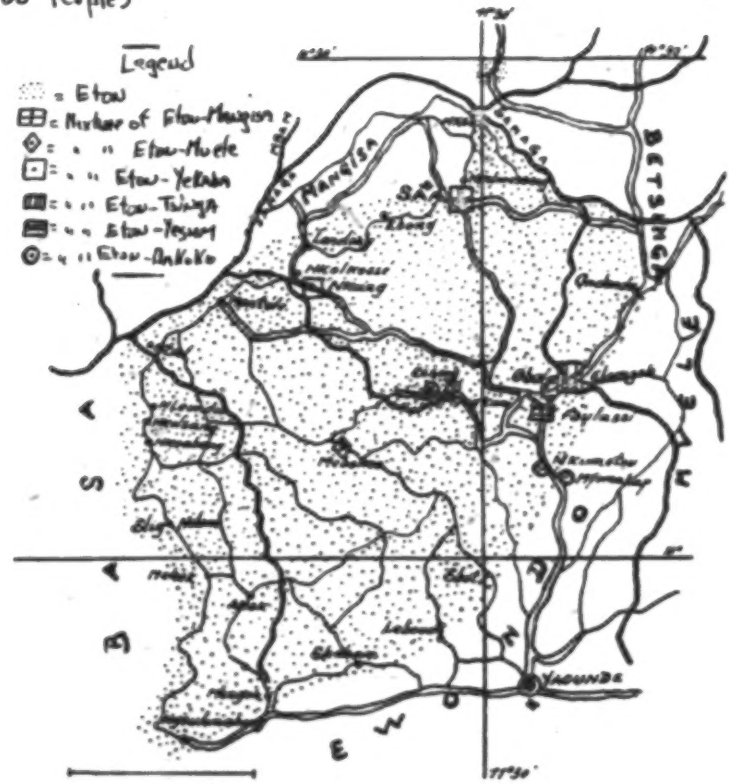
141 Their height is /for the/ average: men 167.8 cm.; women 159.9 cm.

4:Dugast--16a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Eton

[MAP 7]

101
131
563

Etou Peoples



141

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	76.2	76.4
Facial	85.1	84.2
Nasal	83.8	81.6
Cormique	50.8	51.0
Envergure/T	104.4	102.3

163 The birth rate is gradually dropping.

Bibliography of Physical Anthropology

113

Olivier, G. "Etude anthropologique comparée des principales tribus de la région de Yaoundé /A Comparative Study of the Physical Anthropology of the Principal Tribes in the Yaoundé Region/, " Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 10 (June 1945), pp. 55-76.

Olivier, G. and Aujoulat, L. "L'obstétrique en pays Yaoundé. Etude ethnologique medicale et anthropologie somatique. /Obstetrics in Yaounde Country. A Study in Medical Ethnology and Physical Anthropology/, " Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 12 (Dec. 1945), pp. 7-71.

Olivier, G., in collaboration with Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Greiner. "Documents anthropométriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations de Sud-Cameroun /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/, " Bulletin de la Société d'études Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Dec. 1946), p. 45.

General Bibliography

On the subject of the settlements, subsistence, and customs of the Eton, only unpublished sources are available.

We also want to mention an important demographic report by Dr. Aujoulat of the "Ad lucem" Foundation at Efok (Subdivision of Saa). The work was carried out in 1944 (Archives du Service de Santé).

Finally, we must not neglect to mention that at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris there is a film of great ethnographic and artistic

113 worth on the subject of the "Rite SSO" as it is practiced among the Eton and the Mangisa. The film was made in an Eton village in 1955.

THE EWONDO

101 These people are called Yaoundé (1) by the Europeans, but they

> 1. The etymology of this name is given nowhere. According to tradition, the name Ewundu is that of the original ancestor of the people; the prefixes ya, ye, and e occur frequently in Pahouin languages.
>
> According to Nekes, the name means "peanut"; it would therefore be a nick-name, because, they say, "They are as numerous as peanuts."

call themselves Ewondo.

131 Location: 10°40 to 11°40 long.
3°10 to 4°05 north lat.

The Evuzok branch: on a north-south trail at 10°05 long.
on an east-west trail 10°25 to 10°40 long.
3°10 to 3°25 north lat.

Physical Geography. Area: approximately 4,320 square km.

133 The territory occupied by the Ewondo is a high plateau broken by
137 little valleys. In its northern section may be found several high hills which divide the waters of the Sanaga Basin from those of the Nyong. The entire territory is within the great forest zone, but much of the land has been cleared because of the density of the population. /71/ The dividing line between forest and prairie runs east to west about 10 kilometers north of Yaoundé.

133 The river Nyong, at 3°30 north latitude, first borders the Ewondo country north to south and then crosses it from east to west before flowing into the territory of the neighboring Basa. Much further downstream it flows north to south by the settlement of the Evuzok before reaching its mouth at the ocean.

133 The southeastern part of Ewondo territory is also watered by the high stream of the little river Lokoundje.

The whole country is very fertile, rich with food crops and beautiful groves of cacao trees.

Human Geography

161 Population: Ewondo (in the Yaounde subdivision)—70, 994 in 1946
" " " M'Balmayo ")—15, 359
" " " Lolodorf ")— 6, 674 in 1947
93, 027

Evuzok: 4, 273 inhabitants

The population density varies greatly in the different zones: the region north of the Nyong is most densely populated, 49. 3 persons per square kilometer; south of the Nyong there are 13. 1 persons per square kilometer; in Evuzok, 5 persons per square kilometer.

173 History. The Ewondo settled in their present habitat quite recently —one hundred and fifty years ago at most. According to their traditions, they began the last stage of their migrations somewhere on the right bank of the Sanaga near its junction with the M'Bam. They crossed the Sanaga about five generations ago, at the time when all the peoples north of the Sanaga suffered the consequences of pressure by the Fulbe. They spread southward, and some of them even crossed the Nyong and traveled in the "low" direction (west) toward the commercial roads.

It is believed that German expeditions first reached the Ewondo in about the year 1887 (during the exploration by Kund, Tappenbeck, and Weissenborr). The administrative "station" of Yaoundé was created in 1889, and its direction was placed in the hands of G. Zenker, a man of science whose name is not likely to be forgotten in the Cameroons.

According to most of the traditions, the Evuzok (1) were the last

[101] 1. Their name is said to be nothing but a nickname meaning "elephant's stomach," which was given them by the other Ewondo after a hunt which was followed by an unforgettable feast.

of the Ewondo to arrive during the last migration, and they were

173 therefore forced to settle in the most westerly area. (See the unpublished report of Father Sohler.) Others say (according to the report of X. Béliard) that they are only brothers of the Ewondo, who crossed the Sanaga, entered the southern forest as far as the present-day region of Ebolowa, stayed there a few years, and, step by step, took the northwest route, crossing the Lokoundje River. Then they infiltrated among the Basa tribes and settled in their present habitat. What we know for certain is that not until 1910 did they occupy the three villages on the road between Kribi and Edéa, and that their migration was still in full swing when the German occupation forced them to settle in one spot.

184 563 The population in the vast territory occupied by the Ewondo is not culturally homogeneous. In many villages and even in the hamlets, the Ewondo live side by side with members of neighboring groups. On our map we have indicated the most important enclaves and mixed settlements /Map 8, facing p. 72/, namely those where the strangers are as numerous as the Ewondo or even more so. /72/ The actual situation is more complex than this, but on a map of this scale it has not been possible to show the minorities. (1)

[114]

1. A remarkable large-scale diagrammatic map of the administrative subdivision of Yaoundé should be mentioned here. It was set up in 1944 by the administrator J. Christol and shows even the smallest intermixtures, with proportional strengths, for every village and hamlet.

361 511 The Ewondo live in sizable villages which stretch along the many roads in the area. The villages are well maintained and show evidence of a comfortable standard of living which is largely the result of the prosperity of their cacao trees and their trade.

181 The Ewondo are robust and muscular, skillful and intelligent. They emigrate readily, and their workers are valued in all enterprises.

497 The shipment of their products is facilitated by a major branch of the railway which crosses their territory between Yaoundé and Otélé, and transportation on their roads plays an important role in getting the various foodstuffs and the cacao from the great markets in the bush to the railroad.

197 Languages. Father Nekes, who is an authority on the subject, was the first to show the very close relationship which exists between the Ewondo language and the languages spoken by the Pahouin of Gabon and of Spanish Guinea, despite the wide Bulu zone that separates them. The people of Gabon and the Ewondo readily understand each other.

Nevertheless, in the same year B. Struck and Nekes pointed out that in the past the Ewondo and the Bane spoke "Ati," and that they only recently adopted the Pahouin language (See Koloniale Rudschau, 1912, p. 220 and H. Nekes, "Jaunde und seine Bewohner (Sudkamerun) /Yaoundé and Its Inhabitants (South Cameroons)/, "Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, p. 469). In 1913, when Father Nekes published his book, Die Sprache der Jaunde in Kamerun /The Language of the Yaunde in the Cameroons/, he actually wrote in his introduction: "The old Ewondo today still speak 'Ati'."

Although the evolution of the language was probably completed under the eyes of Nekes a few years before World War I, at the present time the new language has been adopted entirely.

On this subject see also Gunter Tessmann, Die Pangwe. /The Fang/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/, (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), pp. 30-31.

Bibliography on Linguistics

113 Meinhof, C. "Die Sprachverhältnisse in Kamerun /Linguistic Relationships in the Cameroons/," Zeitschrift für afrikanische und oceanische Sprachen, (Berlin, 1895), pp. 138-63.

Haarpainter, M. "Grammatik der Yaoundesprache /Yaunde Grammar/," Anthropos, 1909, pp. 684-701 and 919-30.

Nekes, H. Die Sprache der Jaunde in Kamerun /The Language of the Yaunde in the Cameroons/, (Berlin, 1913).

Roussel. Eléments de grammaire ewondo /Elements of Ewondo Grammar/ (1918).

M. von Heepe. Jaunde-Wörterbuch /Yaunde Dictionary/.

Johnston, H. H. A Comparative Study of Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, (Oxford University Press, 1922), Vocabulary No. 217.

Graffin, R. and Pichon, F. Grammaire ewondo /Ewondo Grammar/ (Paris, 1930), 215 pages.

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Ewondo are people
142 of above average height (men 168.4 cm; women 158.6 cm.), fairly slender, mesocephalic, barely platyrrhinian.

143 Their blood-group ratio is that of typical Negroes:
O: 55.5 percent; A: 14.1 percent; B: 17.4 percent; AB: 11.5 percent; —index $\frac{A+AB}{A+AB}$: .885.

141

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.0	77.6
Facial	85.7	85.6
Nasal	82.3	78.2
Cormique	50.5	50.4
Envergure/T	105.3	104.0 /73/

/Map 9, Ewondo Peoples, facing p. 72./

161 The population balance is fair. the differential index (ratio of births to deaths) is + 0.2 percent.

163 A slight increase in the birth rate has been noted; at the same time infant mortality is very low: 3 percent.

The fertility rate is 3.06 pregnancies per woman.

Bibliography of Physical Anthropology

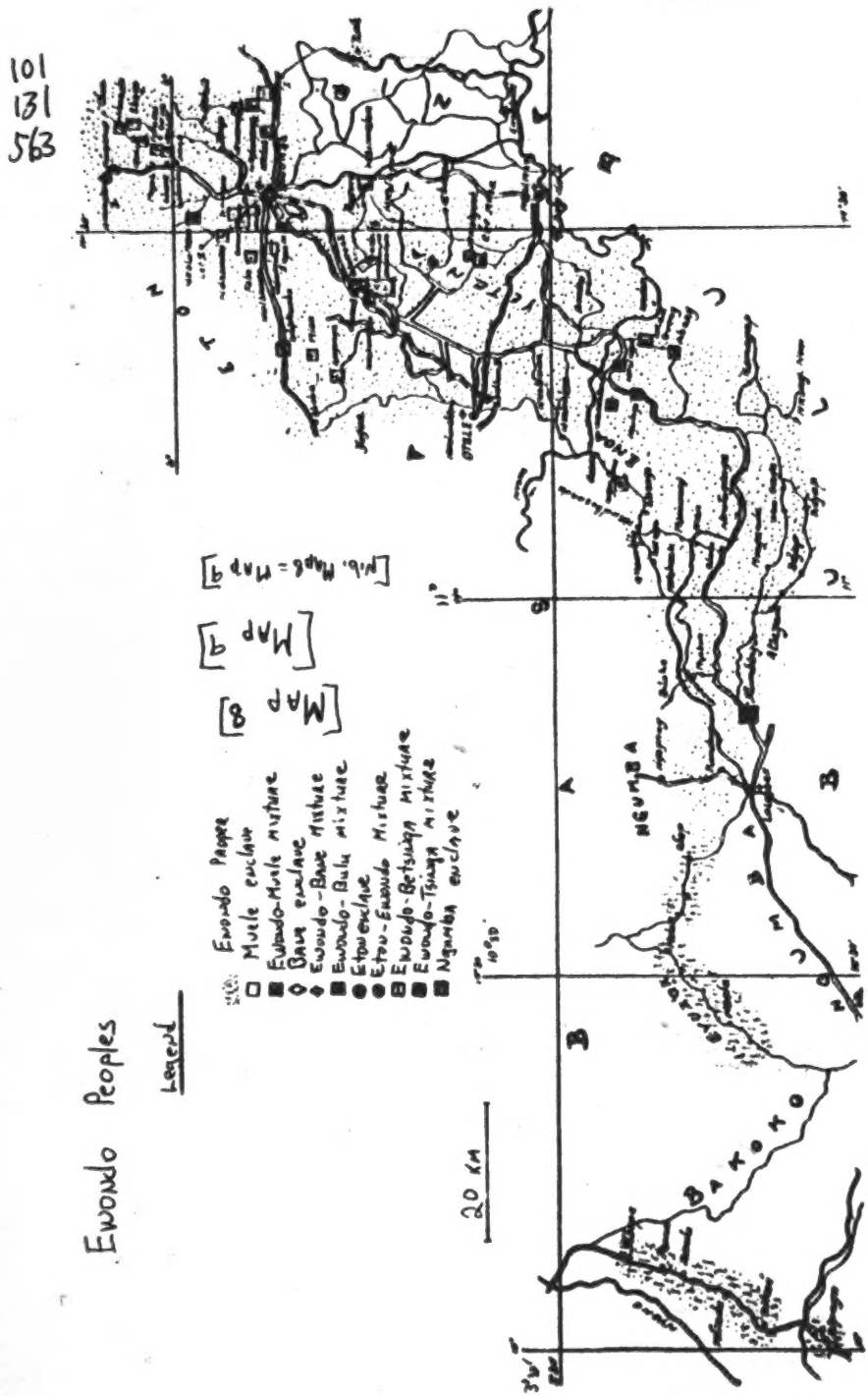
113 Virchow. "6 Schädel von Yaunde aus Kamerun /Six Skulls of Yaunde from the Cameroons/," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1897.

Olivier, G. "Etude anthropologique comparée des principales tribus de la region de Yaoundé /A Comparative Study of the Physical Anthropology of the Major Tribes of the Yaoundé Region/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 10, pp. 55-76.

Olivier, G. and Aujoulat, L. "L'obstetrique en pays Yaoundé. Etude ethnologique medicale et d'anthropologie somatique. /Obstetrics in Yaoundé Country. A Study in Medical Ethnology and Physical Anthropology/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 12 (Dec. 1945), pp. 9-72.

Olivier, G. with the collaboration of the Drs. Ajoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Grenier. "Documents anthropométriques pour servir a'letude des principales populations du Sud-

101
131
563


Ewondo Peoples
Legend
Ewondo Proper
Mvele enclave
Ewondo-Mvele mixture
Bane enclave
Ewondo-Bane mixture
Ewondo-Bulu mixture
Etou enclave
Etou-Ewondo mixture
Ewondo-Betsimja mixture
Ewondo-Tsinga mixture
Nguemba enclave
20 km
BAKOKO
NGUMBA
[Map 8]
[Map 9]
[Mvele Map = Map 9]

113 Cameroun /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/, " Bulletin de la Société d'etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Dec. 1946), pp. 46 and 65, with bibliography.

General Bibliography

"Bericht über dem äusseren Verlauf der Batanga-Expedition (Ende Oktober 1887 bis März 1888 /Progress Report of the Batanga Expedition (End of October, 1887, to March, 1888)/, " Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1888, Vol. 1, pp. 6-22.

"Bericht über den Verlauf der Kund'schen Batangaexpedition während der Zeit vom November 1887 bis Januar 1888 /Report on the Progress of the Exploratory Batanga Expedition from November, 1887 to January, 1888/, " Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1888, Vol. 3, pp. 112-21.

Zenker, G. "Das Yaunde-Land /Land of the Yaunde/, " Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1891, pp. 138-44.

-----. "Yaunde, " Mitteilingen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1895, pp. 36-70.

Dominik, Hans. Vom Atlantik zum Tschadsee, Kriegs-und Forschungsfahrten in Kamerun /From the Atlantic to Chad Lake, Military and Research Trips in the Cameroons/ (Berlin: Mittler, 1908).

Zimmermann, O. Durch Busch und Steppe /Through Bush and Steppe/ (Berlin: 1909), pp. 60-75.

Nekes, H. "Jaunde und seine Bewohner (Sudkamerun) /Yaoundé and its Inhabitants (South Cameroons)/, " Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, pp. 468-84.

-----. "Totemische manistische Anschauungen der Jaunde in ihren Kultfeiern und Geheimbünden /Totemistic Manistic Views of the Yaunde as seen in their Rituals and Secret Leagues/, " Koloniale Rundschau, 1913, pp. 134-53.

Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Jaunde."

Bearth. "L'essani et le tso, anciennnes coutumes Yaoundé de la region sud du Nyong /The Essani and the Tso, Ancient Customs of the Yaoundé in the Region South of the Nyong/, " Togo-Cameroun, June-July-August 1929, pp. 223-26.

Cournarie, P. "Notes sommaires sur les pratique divinatoires des populations de la Circomference de Yaoundé /Brief Notes on the

113 Divinatory Practices of the Peoples in the District of Yaoundé/, " Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 1936, No. 1, pp. 35-39.

Frazer, James George. "The Native Races of Africa and Madagascar, " Anthologia Anthropologica (London: Percy Lund Humphries and Co., 1938), pp. 175-76.

Numerous unpublished studies on customs (by Cournarie, Joubert, and others), reports to the Bureau des Affaires Politiques (Bureau of Political Affairs) and among the documents of the S.E.C. /Société d'Etudes Camerounaises/, unpublished investigations on the subjects of shelter and subsistence.

Moisel map, G2, Jaunde.

THE BANE

131 Location: 11°15 to 11°55 long.
3°05 to 3°55 north lat.

Physical Geography. Area: about 2,736 square km.

The territory of the Bane borders on the Western side of the Ewondo country and stretches north to south from the vicinity of Yaoundé to 25 kilometers northeast of Ebolowa and northwest of Sangmélima.

[137] The country is located entirely within the forest zone, which is quite thinned out because of the density of population.

133 At 3°30 north latitude the river Nyong crosses the country from east to west. At that point it is a navigable canal. Further down, the river turns south and marks the boundary between the territories of the Bane and the Ewondo.

161 Human Geography. Total population: 58,309 inhabitants.

More than half of the total number of inhabitants in Bane territory live in the small area located north of the Nyong, where the population density is 40.1 per square kilometer. South of the Nyong, the density is 14.1 persons per square kilometer. /74/

174 History. Like their neighbors of the same Pahouin family, the Bane lived north of the Sanaga in the past before the last invasion. Their southward migration occurred at about the same time as that of the Ewondo, and was brought about by the same cause. The Bane crossed the Sanaga rather late, and found the Eton already settled on the other side. Therefore, they infiltrated little by little from north to south among the people who preceded them /Map 10/ They were not completely pacified until 1897.

101
131
563

Bane Peoples
Legend

- Bane Proper
- Ewondo-Bane mixture
- Tsinga-Bane mixture
- Tsinga enclave
- Ewondo enclave
- Mbida-Mbani-Bane mixture
- Bane-Mvele mixture

Scale
20 km

[Map 10]

174 At that time they were already situated along one of the principal commercial routes of the south, used to ship from the east many sought-after products, especially ivory.

361 The Bane are settled in large villages and hamlets. The population in these settlements is no more homogenous /75/ than the Ewondo's. The major intermixtures are shown on our map.

491 497 The road from Yaoundé to Ebolowa now crosses the Bane country from north to south. Another road, south of the Nyong, is the terminal point of the trade routes coming from the southeast. Because of these roads and the connection with the railroads at M'Balmayo, all the wealth of this country of great food crops, rich farmlands (cacao and coffee), and forests is easily brought to market.

000 Language. The subject is discussed in the paragraph on the linguistics of the Ewondo.

141 142 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Bane are of above-average height, fairly slender, mesocephalic, and only slightly platyrrhinian.

143 Their blood-type ratios are as follows:
O: 49 percent; A: 18 percent; B: 14 percent; AB: 19 percent—index $\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}$: 1.121.

141

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.3	77.0
Facial	81.8	80.8
Nasal	85.2	86.0
Cormique	50.9	51.8
Envergure/T	104.9	103.9

161 163 The population balance is stable: the ratio of births to deaths is +0.2. The fertility rate is 4.7 pregnancies per woman. See the studies in physical anthropology in Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, Nos. 10, 12, 15-16.

Bibliography

113 Von Stein. "Bericht ü ber die Bane-Buli-Expedition /Report on the Bane-Buli Expedition/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1898, pp. 173-75.

113 The oldest sketch map on which the Bane are shown is a map without scale, but where the distances are calculated in terms of "hours on foot"; it appears in Von Stein's report entitled "Ueber die geographische Verhältnisse des Bezirkes Lolodorf (Sudkamerun Gebiet), speziell die dort wohnenden Volkstämme /The Geographic Relationships of the Lolodorf District (South Cameroons), especially the Resident Tribes/, " in Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutgebeiten, 1899, pp. 120-41. This report also contains an extensive geneological table which includes the Bane; ethnographic details on pp. 135-38 should be especially noted.

Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Bane."

Moisel maps, G2, Jaunde, and H 1-2, Kribi.

Bearth. "Le Nsig N'to, ancienne coutume Bane /The Nsig N'to, an Ancient Bane Custom/, " Togo-Cameroun, January 1930, pp. 19-22.

Important unpublished documents exist on the subject of customs, shelter, and subsistence among the Bane.

THE FONG

131 Location: 11° and 11°15 long.
3°15 north lat.
and 11°30 to 12° long.

101 Physical and Human Geography. The Fong /Fang/ are not all settled in a single area. They constitute a very small population divided into three separate clusters, lined up from west to east; the total area of the different small zones occupied by these settlements is about 1, 152 square kilometers, and in the largest and most easterly, the enclaves of Bulu villages are to be found.

101 563 Bertaut has written: "The territory is occupied by Bane and Fong without any geographical unity. Fong, Bulu, and Bane are intermingled, and one passes from a Bane area /76/ to a Fong area without noticing. This situation is the result of a mingling of tribes which must have occurred when the Bane and the Fong, who came from the north, encountered the Fang and the Bulu, who were also not yet permanently settled." (Report of May, 1932)

113 The Fong may be considered the southernmost participants in the recent invasion which brought the Ewondo and the Bane to the south

Fong
Fang

173 of the Nyong. According to their traditions they come from an area north of the Sanaga, as do the other groups which preceded them. They settled in the forest, where there are at present 12, 783 of them [161] (a density of 6.9 persons per square km.).

231 262 The Fong are an agricultural people. They seem to have little inclination to hunt so that their diet consists chiefly of vegetables, although they have a fairly large number of domesticated animals. /Map 11/

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. Average height: men 169.7 cm.; women 162 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	80.8	81.5
Nasal	95.21	84.01

161 163 The population balance is slightly positive, the ratio of birth to deaths being + 0.77. The rate of sterility is high, 25.6 percent, but is fortunately compensated for by the fertility rate, 5.3 pregnancies per woman.

Bibliography

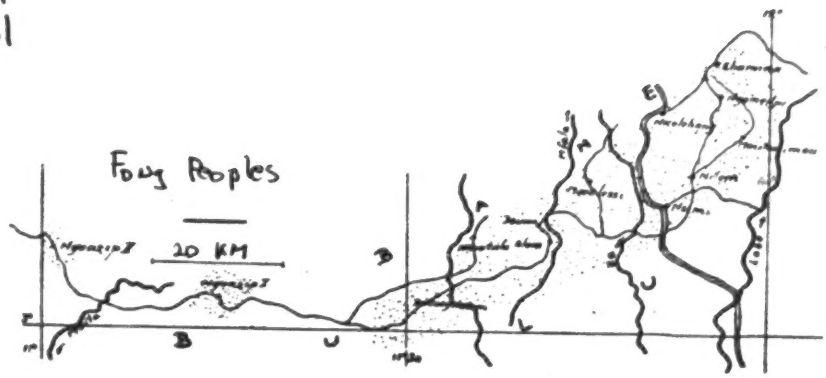
113 Cottes, A. La mission Cottès au Sud-Cameroun (1905-1908). Exposé des résultats scientifiques, d'après les travaux des divers membres de la section française de la Commission de delimitation entre le Congo français et le Cameroun (frontière méridionale) et les documents étudiés au Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. (The Cottes Mission to South Cameroun 1905-1908. A Presentation of the Scientific Results of the Mission Based on the Work of Various Members of the French Section of the Commission to Set the Boundaries Between the French Congo and the Southern Frontier of the Cameroons, and on Documents Examined at the Museum of Natural History) (Paris: Leroux, 1911), pp. 125-31.

THE FANG, THE MVAE, THE NTUMU

131 Location: $10^{o}45$ to $12^{o}45$ long.
and a few islands between 10° and $10^{o}30$ long.

4:Dugast--27a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9 Fong

101
131



[Map 11]

101 Mvae Branch: 9°45 to 10°45 and 11°20 to 11°40 long.
131 2°15 (at the frontier of the South Cameroons) to 2°55 north lat. and a few islands at 3° north lat.

Ntumu branch: 10°25 to 11°35 long.
2°15 (on the frontier of the South Cameroons) to 2°35 north lat. /77/

Physical and Human Geography

131 Total area: about 11, 500 square km.
161 Population and density of each group:
Fang: 12, 583 inhabitants; 2 persons per square km.
Mvae: 5, 287 inhabitants; 5.8 persons per square km.
Ntumu: 16, 236 inhabitants; 9.8 persons per square km.

137 The whole territory of the Fang is within the great equatorial forest, in the basin of the N'Tem and those of its tributaries that flow to the right of it. /Map 12/

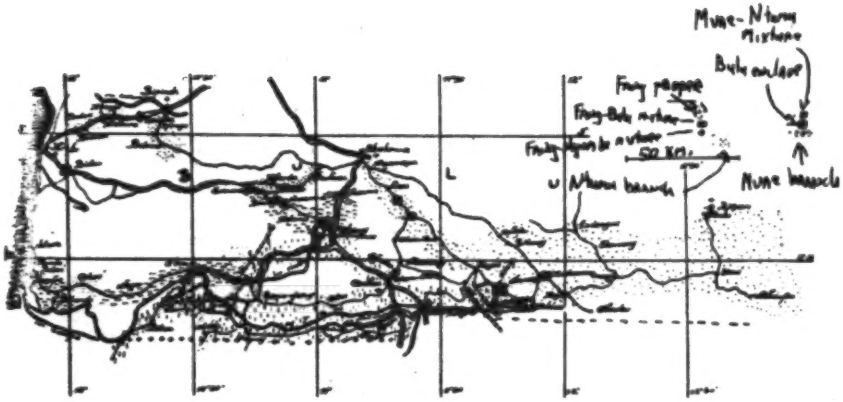
361 The Fang villages which are to be found furthest west in the direction
563 of the ocean are situated near Bipindi and on the road from Bipindi to Kribi. Some of them alternate with Bulu villages, others are composed of mixed populations consisting, for example, of Fang and Bulu, Fang and Ngumba, or Mvae and Ntumu /Ntum?/. Nor are the villages and trails south of Ebolowa in the great forest inhabited by homogeneous populations. Enclaves from one group are settled with another, and intermingle with each other. The transition from the somewhat educated Bulu to the primitive inhabitants of the great forest occurs imperceptibly. Because of the inhospitable territory which they occupy, the Fang are dispersed in the enormous forest all the way to the ocean and are to be found here and there among the Mvae. They
[313] lead the unstable existence of lumbermen in order to force from the land the bare means of subsistence.

The settlements of the Mvae are scattered. Some are located on the periphery of Ambam to the east and north, others are south-southeast of Ebolowa, and still others are to be found on the lower part of the N'Tem, from a point east of Nyabessan as far as the ocean.

4:Dugast--28a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9 Fang

101
131
563

Fang Peoples



[Map 12]

361 The Ntumu make up a fairly homogeneous group falling between the Fang and the Mvae.

173 History. According to the oral traditions of the Fang, the last stage of their journey to their present habitat brought them from the south. Therefore, it is possible that they formed a part of the ancient Fang migration which came from the north /78/ and reached Gabon by way of the Ivindo Valley. It is thought that the few groups under discussion then moved slightly north, where they encountered the Bulu who arrived somewhat later.

The Mvae are an offshoot of the Fang, who arrived with the latter. At first they were dispersed throughout the whole N'Tem basin but were later displaced by the arrival of the Ntumu.

It is impossible to separate the arrival of the Ntumu in the N'Tem Basin from that of the Fang, since they were a part of the same invasion. But their oral traditions say that they occupied the country in two waves which came from different directions. It is thus possible to distinguish in their history two branches of migration: One came from the northeast, passed through the Ebolowa region, and went down to the south. Other Ntumu came from the present-day territory of Sangmélima with the Fang and went south with them, through Mimvoul, Bitam, and Oyem. Like some of the Fang, they then went back north and west through the valleys of the Woleu Benito, the N'Tem, and the Kyé. The fusion of the two branches occurred either on the banks of the N'Tem (in the Eba region) or between the Kye and the N'Tem, between 1905 and 1910. Their villages became mixed. It was during these local migrations that the Mvae branch is thought to have been N'Tem pushed out of the Basin.

197 Language. The Fang speak the language that they brought with them from the more southern region (present-day Gabon) when their migration moved back from south to north. Struck believes that they are the ones who, coming from the south, introduced their neo-Bantu language among peoples somewhat further to the west, and that the Bane and the Ewondo, who until that time had spoken "Ati," were also reached in this movement from south to north. (Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, p. 220.)

If this assertion is plausible it forces us to think that the arrival of the Bulu, who are also Pahouin, was not the end of a migration, for their presence in their current habitat would have prevented a direct contact between the Fang and the Ewondo, the only condition under which such a far-reaching linguistic influence would have been possible.

113 See:

Tessmann, Gunter. Die Pangwe /The Fang/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), pp. 30-31, (short Ntum and Fang vocabularies), and pp. 45-48.

Johnston, H. H. A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, (Oxford University Press, 1922), Vocabulary 218: Pangwe; (The Ntum vocabulary is included in Vocabulary 219: Bulu).

Tessmann, Günter. "Sprichwörter der Pangwe, Westafrica /Fang Proverbs/," Anthropos, Vol. 8, (1913), pp. 402-26.

-----. "Rätzel der Pangwe (West Zentralafrika) /Riddles of the Fang (West Central Africa)/," Anthropos, Vol. 10-11 (1915-1916), pp. 675-725.

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Fang are barely above average in height, platyrrhinian, and mesocephalic.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.0	76.6
Facial	83.2	87.0
Nasal	91.3	88.7
Cormique	51.2	50.9
Envergure/T	105.3	103.4

161 Their population balance is hardly favorable. The ratio of births over deaths is + .03 percent.

163 The population is therefore stationary: the rate of sterility is 7 percent; the fertility rate is 3.8 pregnancies per woman.

141 The Mvae are tall and mesocephalic.

Indexes	Men	(measurements of women were not made)
Cephalic	78.8	
Nasal	104.6	
Cormique	50.4	
Envergure/T	103.9	

161 There is a slight rise in population: ratio of births over deaths is + .69 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 15.2 percent; the fertility rate, 4.3 pregnancies per woman.

141 The Ntumu are above average in height, mesocephalic, and platyrrhinian.

Indexes	Men	(measurements of women were not made)
Cephalic	77.4	
Nasal	102.3	
Cormique	50.6	
Envergure/T	101.6	

161 The population balance remains favorable in spite of an extremely
165 high rate of infant mortality, reaching 58.91 percent of children born alive. The ratio of births over deaths is + 1.53 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 12 percent; the fertility rate, 4.6 pregnancies per woman.

113 See G. Olivier, with the collaboration of Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Grenier, "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du Sud-Cameroun /Anthropometric Documents for a study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept-Dec. 1946), pp. 48-49 and 62.

General Bibliography

Foerster. "Bericht über eine Erkundung des mittleren Kampofluses /Report on an Exploration of the Middle Campo River/," (with a Moisel map), Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1902, pp. 123-28.

"Expedition des Stabsarztes Hoesemann längs der Südgrenze von Kamerun /Expedition of the Staff Physician Hoesemann along the Southern Border of the Cameroons/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1902, pp. 291-93 and 313-15.

Zimmerman, O. "Das Gebiet der Ntum und Mwei /The Ntum and Mwei Region/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1910, pp. 459-65.

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe, Op. Cit., pp. 7, 40, 43, 49.

113 Frazer, James George. "The Native Races of Africa and Madagascar," Anthologia Anthropologica (London: Percy Lund Humphries and Co., 1938), pp. 165-66.

Numerous unpublished reports by Bertaut, André Raynaud, E. André, and H. Richard, members of the administration, are to be found in the archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs (Bureau des Affaires Politiques) and among the documents of the S.E.C. /Société d' Etudes Camerounaises/.

Moisel Map, H 1 and 2, Kribi.

THE BULU

131 The actual Bulu inhabit an area which stretches from east to west
101 in a thin band from 10° to 13°10 longitude and extends from 2°35
to 3°15 north latitude toward the east. Toward the west their villages
[36] only extend along two parallel trails, then go in a single line to within 30 kilometers of the ocean.

North of this horizontal band, in an area which extends from 12° to 12°35 longitude and from 3°35 to 4°30 north latitude, are to be found the Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda. We are including these groups among the Bulu on the authority of their traditions.

133 Physical Geography. The Bulu territory is a huge, very monotonous plateau covered with forest. It is situated at an altitude of 600 to 650 meters on the average, with a few hills rising 150 to 200 meters at most above the rest. The hills are round or conical in shape and generally wooded.

The actual Bulu country (an area of about 9,936 square km.) is watered, on the one hand, by little tributaries which flow from the left bank of the Nyong and form valleys going from southeast to northwest. In the east the branch called the Zaman flows for 60 kilometers, touches the only trail in the thickness of the forest at a distant spot, and meets the Dja River, a tributary of the Sanga /sic/, beyond 13° longitude.

361 The Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda are settled on a
133 strip of land going from north to south in an area which is part prairie and part forest. From the plain of the Sanaga the country rises gradually, and in the northern part of the Yengono country a chain of hills separates thewaters of the Sanaga and the Nyong basins. The three peoples are settled south of this line in the Nyong Basin

361 in a country full of valleys and woods. The territory covers about
133 1, 728 square kilometers. /Map 13/

Human Geography

161 Population and density of each group:

True Bulu: 96, 216 inhabitants; 9. 59 persons per square km.

Yengono, Yembama, Yelinda: 12, 987 inhabitants; 7. 5 persons per square km.

Zaman: 1, 407 inhabitants.

173 History. The Bulu say that they come from the east. Indeed, those who have surveyed the area with care say that "old natives can mark the sites of the villages in which they were born and those of their fathers. Going back generation by generation the track leads east." (1)

1. Bertaut, Droit coutumier des Boulous (The Customary Law of the Bulu), p. 40.

174 By bringing together linguistic and ethnographic data it has been possible to determine that, during the first wave of the Pahouin invasion, the Bulu first followed the high valley of the Sanaga and then took a direction from north to south, which it has been possible to set at 12° to 12°30 longitude. They swamped the Maka, who were settled there before them, and chased them out of the entire territory. Traditions describe them as dividing into two groups once they reached present-day Sangmélima. One group spread throughout that section and moved toward the west; those who went furthest reached almost to the ocean, from which they were separated by only a few coastal populations.

The other group went toward the east into the great forest, and the Zaman pushed all the way to the Dja, 120 kilometers away.

But considering the assertion of B. Struck and Father Nekes that the Fang language influenced that of the Ewondo, we would seem justified in placing the Bulu settlement between the Ewondo and the Fang at a very recent time, for this influence was only possible through constant and direct contacts and intermingling, not by crossing over the Bulu to reach each other. In this case does linguistics enable us to date history?

361 The settlements of these peoples vary in appearance. The villages and hamlets of the Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda are located in relatively open country and they stretch out along numerous trails. The Bulu in the south, situated in a land of parallel valleys through which flow the tributaries of the Nyong and by thick forest, can only build their villages along the valleys. This whole area, es-
241 pecially in the Nyong Basin, is very fertile. The natives have fine fields of food crops and many palm trees. Many prosperous enterprises, lumber yards, and fine groves of cacao trees can also be found. /81/[Map 13]

489 All the products are transported to the railroad at M'Balmayo along a large network of roads and the navigable parts of the Nyong.

181 The Bulu are intelligent and hard working, and are capable of becoming excellent craftsmen.

197 Language. We have seen that Father Nekes and G. Tessmann see a very close relationship between the language of the Bulu and that of the Mvele. The Bulu language includes a number of dialects with only slight variants, and falls between the speech of the Ewondo and that of the Gabon Pahouin, which are almost identical.

Linguistic Bibliography

113 von Hagen, Gunther Tronje. Lehrbuch der Bulu Sprache /Handbook of the Bulu Language/ (Berlin: Radetzki: 1914), Vol. 7, 402 pages.

Johnston, H. H. A Comparative Study of Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, (Oxford University Press, 1922), Vocabulary No. 219.

Bates, George L. Handbook of Bulu (Revised Edition; with the vocabulary revised and much enlarged by the author and Silas F. Johnson) (Ebolowa: The Halsey Memorial Press, 1926).

Good, A. I. Bulu Handbook Supplement. Supplementary Facts in Bulu Grammar. Appendix to Vocabulary in Bulu. Vocabulary of Exclamatory Words. (Ebolowa: The Halsey Memorial Press, 1934).

English-Bulu Vocabulary (Ebolowa, undated).

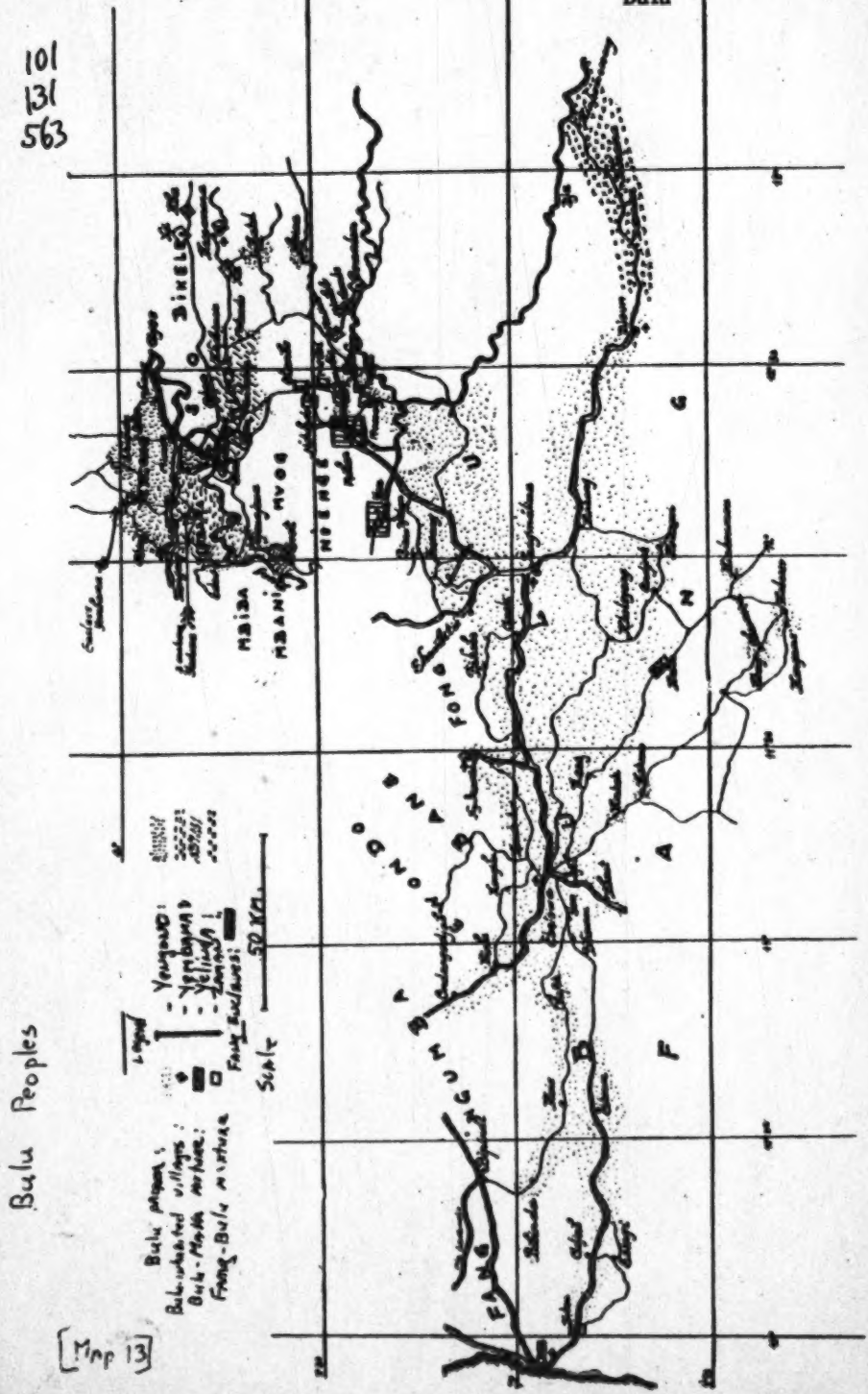
Physical Anthropology and Demography

141 Bulu: average height, men 165.4 cm.; women 157.6 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.8	79.2

4:Dugast--34a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Bulu

101
131
563



[Map 13]

141

Facial	86.5	85.1
Nasal	85.7	82.0
Cormique	51.2	52.2
Envergure/T	103.7	102.9

161 The population is barely increasing: the ratio of births over deaths is + 0.30 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 7 percent; the fertility rate is 4.12 pregnancies per woman.

164 Yengono. Sleeping sickness has been rampant in this area in the past but now seems to have been conquered.

143 Their blood group ratios are as follows:
O: 50.1 percent; A: 15.7 percent; B: 29.5 percent; AB: 4.7 percent; —index $\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}$: 0.59.

161 The population balance is slightly favorable; the excess of births over deaths is .63 percent.

163 Sterility rate 9 percent; fertility rate, 3.47 pregnancies per woman.

161 Yelinda. The population balance is not being maintained; the index of births over deaths is -0.1 percent.

163 Sterility rate 18 percent; fertility rate, 3.30 pregnancies per woman.

164 Yembama. Sleeping sickness has been very prevalent among these people, but it is continually decreasing.

161 The population balance is favorable: the excess of births over death is .72 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 16 percent; the fertility rate, 3.97 pregnancies per woman. /82/

Bibliography of Physical Anthropology

113 Virchow. "Rothgefarbter Schädel eines Bulu Negers von Kamerun /Painted Red Skull of a Bulu Negro in the Cameroons/," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1900.

Poutrin. "Contribution a l'Etude des Pygmées d'Afrique /A Contribution to the Study of the Pygmies of Africa/," L'Anthropologie, 1910, pp. 443-46 and 500 (the Bulu group).

Olivier, G., with the collaboration of Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Grenier. "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du

113 Sud-Cameroun /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/, " Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept.-Dec. 1946), pp. 40-41.

General Bibliography

Von Kamptz. "Ueber den nach Jaunde ausgeführten Zug /The Expedition to Yaounde/, " Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1904, pp. 288-91.

Zimmermann, Haupt. "Reisebericht des Chefs des Verwaltungsbezirkes Ebolowa /Travel Report of the Regional Head of the Ebolowa District/, " Deutsches Kolonialblatt, pp. 232-34.

Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Bule."

The annual report of the French government concerning the administration of the mandated territories of the South Cameroons, for the year 1923, pp. 72-76.

Bertaut, M. Le droit coutumier des Boulous. Monographie d'une tribu du Sud-Cameroun /The Customary Law of the Bulu. Monograph on a South Cameroons Tribe/, " (Paris: 1935).

"Esquisse othnologique pour servir a l'étude des principales tribus des Territoires du Cameroun sous mandat français, d'après les documents allemands, les études du Dr. Poutrin en A.E.F., et les archives du Bureau des Affaires Politiques (1935-1937). " /An Ethnographic Sketch for the Study of the Principal Tribes of the Cameroons Territories under French Mandate, Based on German Documents, the Studies of Dr. Poutrin in A.E.F. (French Equatorial Africa) and the Archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs for 1935-37/., Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 28-29.

THE MVELE

131 Location: $11^{o}40$ to $12^{o}10$ long.
$3^{o}45$ to $4^{o}20$ north lat. south of the Sanaga River
Also from south to north at $4^{o}20$ to $4^{o}35$ north lat. and $11^{o}40$ long.

133 Physical Geography. Area: 2, 304 square kilometers south of the

133 Sanaga. The northern part of the Mvele territory is a high plateau which is covered by prairie interspersed with strips of forest. It is very well watered by tributaries and subtributaries of the Sanaga which flow calmly on broad river beds. Toward 4° north latitude a row of hills marks the dividing line between the waters of the Nyong and the Sanaga basins. Thus the entire southern portion of the Mvele country is part of the Nyong Basin. The last vestiges of the forest are to be found there, in addition to crops and many palm trees.

Human Geography

161 Population: south of the Sanaga: 35, 340 inhabitants in 1945
north of the Sanaga: 1, 655 inhabitants
density south of the Sanaga: 15. 3 persons per square km.

174 History. The movement of the Babute was also responsible for pushing the Mvele back to the left bank of the Sanaga in the middle of the last century. A few enclaves remained wedged in between the various small groups who sought refuge in the area between the M'Bam and the Sanaga Valley. Therefore, the Mvele of the north and those of the south are really part of the same group.

The various authors are not in agreement on the question of a kinship between the Mvele and the large group called Yesum. According to Engelhardt, these are two separate groups. G. Tessmann, on the contrary, believes that the Yesum must be considered part of the Mvele "complex."

361 When the Germans first reached the Mvele they were struck by the unusual appearance of their villages. Engelhardt describes them as follows: "Unlike the rest of the Fang, who place their huts in rows on both sides of trails, /83/ the Mvele build theirs in a star-shape around a central square or with no regard for symmetry." (Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1902, p. 421.)

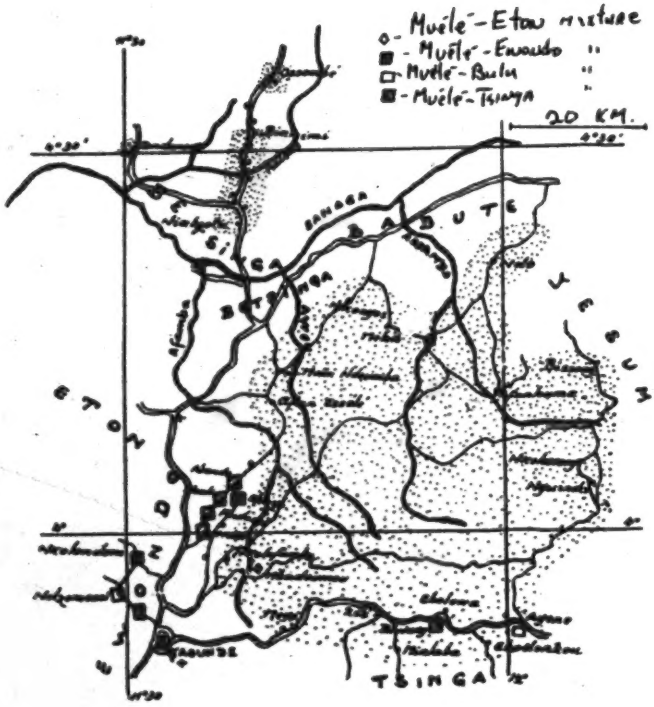
487 From the beginning of the German occupation, the trails in the
489 territory served as trade routes to the south over which the products of the east were transported toward Yaoundé and to the coast. At the present time these products are carried both on the road that crossed the Mvele country in the south (from Akonolinga to Yaoundé) and on the eastern highway (from Nanga-Eboko to Yaounde). /Map 14/

197 Language. According to Engelhardt the Mvele tongue is very similar to that of the Ewondo and seems to be but a dialect of the

4:Dugast--37a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Mvele

101
131
563

Mvélé Peoples



[Map 14]

197 latter. Father Nekes, however, is of a different opinion; he stresses a very great resemblance to the Bulu language of the Ebolowa district. In his opinion the Mvele language represents a more archaic form than those of the Ewondo or the Bane.

See:

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe /The Fangs/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), pp. 30-31 (a short vocabulary).

-----. "Die Volker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of Cameroons/," Petermans geographische Mitteilungen, 1932, p. 184, note 40.

Nekes. Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, pp. 469-70. /84/

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Mvele are slender, slightly platyrrhinian; they have the features of the Sudan in attenuated form.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.5	78.4
Facial	81.3	82.1
Nasal	90.0	85.5
Cormique	51.5	52.1
Envergure/T	104.1	103.1

143 Their blood group ratios are typically Negro, although the proportion of group AB is slightly greater than in the classical formula.

O: 51 percent; A: 14.3 percent; B: 16.3 percent; AB: 18.4 percent;—index $\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}$: 0.942.

161 The population balance is not being maintained: the index of births to deaths is -0.21 percent.

See:

131 Olivier, G. "Etude anthropologique comparée des principales tribus de la region de Yaoundé /A Comparative Study in the Physical Anthropology of the Principal Tribes of the Yaoundé Region/,"

113 Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 10 (June 1945), pp. 55-76.

Olivier, G., with the collaboration of the Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Grenier. "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du Sud-Cameroun /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Populations of the South Cameroons/, " Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept.-Dec. 1946), pp. 59-60.

Bibliography

Engelhardt, Hauptmanns. "Bericht über seine Reise von Bertua nach Yaunde /Report on a Trip from Bertua to Yaoundé/, " Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1903, pp. 389-91 and 419-21.

Von Oertzen. "Die Oeffnung des direkten Weges Nanga-Eboko-Dengdeng /Opening of a Direct Route to Nanga-Eboko-Dengdeng/, " Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1907, pp. 625-27.

"Esquisse ethnologique pour servir à l'étude des principales tribus des Territoires du Cameroun sous mandat français d'après les documents allemands, les études du Dr. Poutrin en A.E.F. et les archives du Bureau des Affaires Politiques (1935-1937) /An Ethnographic Sketch for the Study of the Major Tribes of the Cameroons Territories under French Mandate, on the Basis of German Documents, the Studies of Dr. Poutrin in A.E.F. (Fr. Equat. Africa) and the Archives in the Bureau of Political Affairs for 1935-37/, " Bulletin de la Societe d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 9-66.

Important unpublished reports of the administrators Cournarie and Chauleur.

THE YESUM AND THE YEBEKANGA

131 Location: 11°55 to 12°30 long.
5°05 to 5°35 north lat.

Physical Geography. Area: Yesum: about 1,296 square km.
Yebekanga: about 315 square km.

133 The country of the Yesum appears on a map as an irregular four-sided figure. The territory stretches through the plain of the Sanaga

133 River and is watered by its tributaries and subtributaries. Throughout the northern region these flow through thick strips of forest in the prairie. The southern part of the country is still within the forest zone.

The Yebekanga are neighbors of the Yesum to the east. They occupy a triangular area in the valley of the Tédé; the land is flat and monotonous, a prairie broken by thickets and strips of forest.

161 Human Geography. Population: Yesum: 8,075 inhabitants
Yebekanga: 747 inhabitants
Densities: Yesum: 6.1 persons per square km.
Yebekanga: 2.37 persons per square km.

174 We have noted that the first German ethnologists were not agreed on the origin of the Yesum or their ethnic relationship to other Pahouin /85/ peoples. Some saw a Yesum-Mvele complex, others, on the contrary, a complex of Yesum-Bulu.

Lastly, the administrator Chauleur states in a 1933 report that among the peoples of "Fang" origin in the subdivision of Nanga-Eboko, "the chief nucleus is comprised of the Yesum .... According to their oral traditions they are descended from the ancestor Ngombe who lived in the country of Djoum." According to this new version of their origin the Yesum came from the south, having been separated quite late from the Bulu; according to the two German versions, on the other hand, they entered the country from the north at the time of the Pahouin arrival.

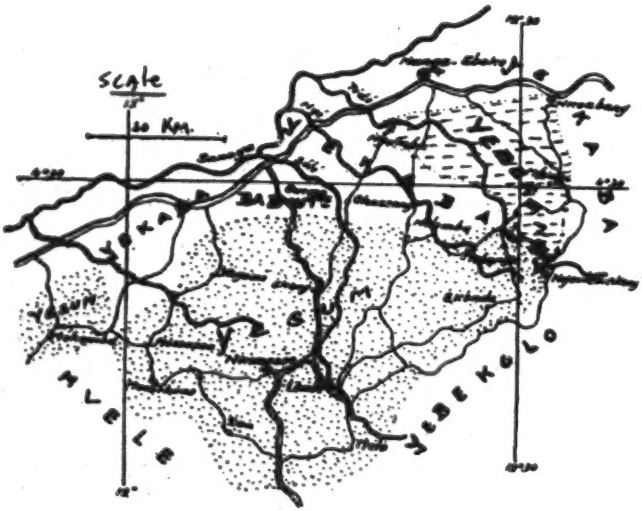
To go back to G. Tessmann's classification—which may be only provisional, since future studies may reveal new data—we note that there is no absolute contradiction between the Mvele-Yesum and Bulu-Yesum theses except as regards the direction of migration, for both hypothetical complexes are Pahouin, regardless of whether the migration occured at a later or earlier date, in one direction or the other. /Map 15/

In the midst of the Yesum is the settlement of the Yemfang, comprised of no more than a few hundred persons. The administrator Chauleur was able to determine that the latter group also came from the south and that they are closely related to the people of the Bulu region.

Mr. Bertaut, for his part, notes the presence of the Yesum among peoples living in the Bulu territory, and we find them listed in his nomenclature. (1)

4:Dugast--40a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Yesum
Yebekanga

101 Yesum and Yebekanga
131



[MAP 15]

174 1. Bertaut, Le droit coutumier des Boulous. Monographie d'une tribu du Sud-Cameroun (The Customary Law of the Bulu. A Monograph Concerning a South Cameroon Tribe)," (Paris, 1935), p. 45.

As for the Yebekanga, the administrator Chauleur says that "it is impossible to show a common origin for the Yebekanga and the Yesum. It seems likely, however, that this tribe climbed from the shores of the Nyong at a fairly recent time." (2)

2. Unpublished report on February 28, 1933. /86/

Here we have grouped the Yesum and the Yebekanga together despite contradictions in our sources. We have done so simply because of the possibility that they migrated in the same direction. According to their accounts, it would seem that their migration took place quite recently, just a few years before the coming of the Europeans. In the course of it they clashed with peoples of the same Pahouin origin who had come from the north about a hundred years ago, and pushed them back toward their present habitats.

161 Demography. The population of the Yesum is decreasing in spite of apparently good conditions. At present the ratio of births to deaths is -2.6 percent.

163 The sterility rate rises as high as 25.53 percent, and the fertility rate is 3.4 pregnancies per woman.

Bibliography

113 Thierry. "Dienstreise nach Esum-Sannaga /Official Trip to Esum-Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1903, pp. 521-23.

THE YEKABA

101 Location: 12° to 12°50 long.
5°20 to 5°45 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: about 1,602 square km.

161 Population: 14,500 inhabitants

Density: 9.2 persons per square km.

133 All of the Yekaba country is located on the prairie which extends through the plain on the right bank of the Sanaga River. The country has few valleys; it is watered by tributaries of the Sanaga, the Tédé and the Nyé, which are bordered by forest.

101 The information provided by various observers (the administrators Chauleur, Cournarie, and Boudineau) gives no clear indication as to the general grouping in which we should place this group of peoples settled on the right bank of the Sanaga. All French maps give the general name of Badjia, and under it are classed several groups not all of whom are known to have a common origin. The name "Badjia" may be but a nickname (according to Boudineau). German maps use only the name "Yekaba," concerning which Chauleur also says: "Among these tribes (of the Badjia group), the most important is the Yekaba, and it gives it's name to the region." (1)

1. Unpublished report of February 28, 1933.

114 According to Cournarie, the Yekaba and several kindred groups originate among the Yalongo who live on the northern bank of the Sanaga, directly north of their present habitat. Under pressure from the Babute, who were themselves pushed back by the Fulbe, these peoples fled south and crossed the Sanaga River. It is possible that at first they occupied all of the territory north of the Nyong, together with their neighbors the Bamvele. Later they were pushed back toward the Sanaga by the migration of the Yesum-Yebekanga coming from the south. (2) These two waves moving in opposite directions clashed and interpenetrated, producing the present confusion. The Yekaba found themselves split in two by the Yebekanga, who formed /87/ an enclave in their midst. The peoples of the left bank of the Sanaga (in the administrative subdivision of Nanga-Eboko) are thus composed of two different elements: the somewhat older inhabitants who came originally from the north, went south, and were pushed back, and the more recent arrivals who came from the south and pushed back the former.

These two groups, one coming from the north, the other from the south, and arriving at different times, are probably both part of the

174 long migration of the Pahouin—although the name "Yalongo" spoken of in their geneologies is reminiscent of the Beti. Once again we are aware of the complexity of the Beti-Pahouin intermixture.

361 The villages and huts spread through the bush give an impression
491 of poverty, although in 1903 the Germans noted that the great trade route from Bertoua to Yoko passed through Yekaba territory. /Map 16/ At the present time the whole length of the territory is serviced by the great eastern highway (Yaoundé—Nanga-Eboko—Bertoua).

197 Language. The fact that the Yekaba form part of the Pahouin migration is apparent from G. Tessmann's tribal map, where they are shown in the large Pahouin blot—under the general heading of "Mvele." We will return to this subject later in the chapter on the Bamvele.

161 Demography. The Yekaba are definitely decreasing in number.

165 The infant mortality rate among them is 34.3 percent. The sterility
163 rate is 33.93 percent; the fertility rate is 4.3 pregnancies per woman, but with about 10 percent stillbirths.

161 The population balance shows a ratio of -4.4 percent births to deaths.

Bibliography

113 Thierry. "Dienstreise nach Esum-Sannaga /Official Trip to Esum-Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1903, p. 522.

Sieber, J. "Die Wute /The Wute/," Lebenshaltung, Kultur und religiöse Weltanschauung eines Afrikanischen Volkstammes /Attitude toward Life, Cultural and Religious Attitudes of an African Tribe/ (Berlin: Reimer, Vohsen, 1925), pp. 112-13.

Unpublished reports of the administrators Cournarie, Chauleur, Gatau, and Boudineau.

Moisel map, G3, Dume. /88/

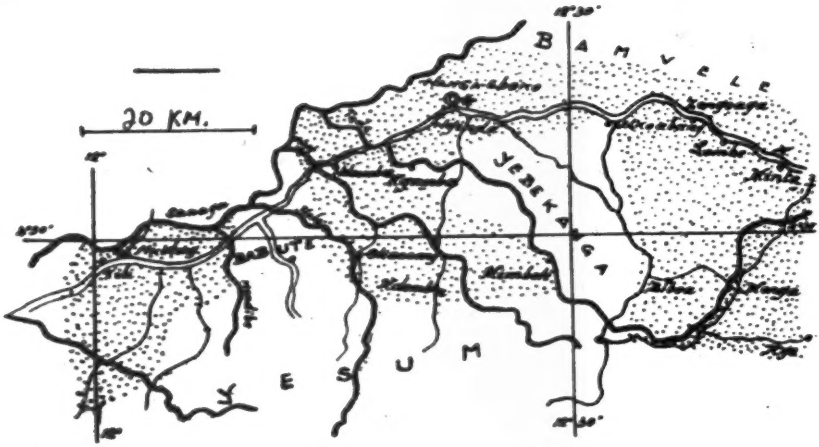
THE BAMVELE AND THE BOBILI

131 Location: 12°30 to 13°30 long.
4°35 to 4°50 north lat.

101 On all German maps the people we call Bamvele are designated by the name of Bele (see the Moisel map and Tessmann's tribal map).

4: Dugast--43a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Yekaba

101
131 Yekaba Peoples



[Map 16]

101 We connect the Bobili with the Bamvele because, on the one hand, they do not appear separately from the Bele on the Moisel map (Dume, G3), and, on the other, the traditions pertaining to their origins are not precise enough to permit us to draw a conclusion differing from that of the Germans.

Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: 2,472 square km.

161 Population: Bamvele—18,452 inhabitants
Bobili—6,247 inhabitants

Density: 10 persons per square km.

133 The Bamvele are close neighbors of the Yekaba and the Yebekolo in the north; they occupy a large homogeneous territory on the border between forest and prairie. The country is almost flat, extending into the Sanaga plain and borders the river for about 30 kilometers. The territory is watered by several broad tributaries of the Sanaga. In the east, one of these tributaries, the Long, serves as a frontier between the Bamvele and the Babute, who surround them everywhere except in the south. A few Bamvele villages have been established [361] on the right bank of the Long, and they border the Bertoua road for a few kilometers.

174 Like their neighbors, the Yekaba, the Bamvele in their traditions tell that their origins are to be sought among the Yalongo north of the Sanaga. They too were pushed by the Babute who were under pressure from the Fulbe; they fled south and crossed the Sanaga a little more than a hundred years ago. Their history is identical with that of their neighbors, the Yekaba. /Map 17/ /89/

173 The Bobili believe that they are native to the territory, but they say that in former times their country extended west, beyond the Long. Therefore, the impact upon them of the Babute and Fulbe movements would have been very slight. (1)

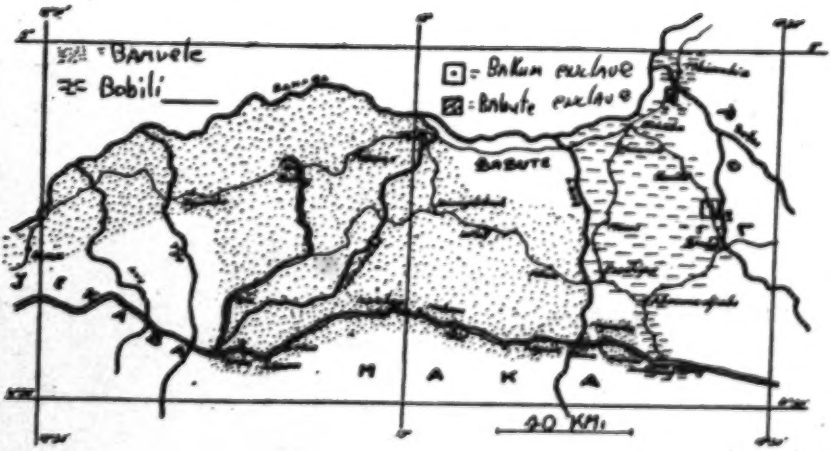
1. Unpublished report of Mr. Brothier-Oubre for May, 1945.

114 The administrator Chauleur carried out prolonged research in an attempt to untangle the network of peoples on the banks of the Sanaga. He does not feel that he can make a statement about the remote origins of the Yalongo, but he poses the following problem: "Could they be related to the Ba-yoka of the Congo who emigrated south

4:Dugast--44a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Bamvele
Bobili

101
131
563

[Map 17]



114 from the Masai territory during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? The presence of Ba-yoka in the midst of the tribe is, of course, insufficient evidence. In order to give a satisfactory answer to this question we would have to be able to make a comparison between the languages."

245 The country of the Bamvele and the Bobili is enriched by the presence of beautiful palm trees which are the sole source of prosperity for these peoples.

491 The country is serviced in the south by the eastern highway and also by a central road which runs from the Yekaba frontier to the north of their district.

197 Language. Although the traditions of the Yekaba and the Bamvele state that the ancestors of both peoples fled from among the Yalongo north of the Sanaga, the linguistic map of G. Tessmann clearly distinguishes between the two.

As we have seen, he says that the Yekaba speak a Pahouin tongue. The Bamvele (Bele in the German terminology) are said to have brought from their land of origin a language which is different from, although related to, the Pahouin languages, but mixed with that of the Beti. This observation is interesting and plausible. The Yekaba of the same origin as the Bamvele may thus have borrowed their language.

See Günter Tessmann, "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /People and Languages of the Cameroons/," Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen (Gotha, 1932), pp. 117 and 184.

141 Physical Anthropology. The people are almost all tall and strong, with flat noses and a marked prognathism. The trunk of the body is proportionately long.

Average height: men 169.7 cm.; women 158.9 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	79.3	78.7
Facial	84.7	84.9
Nasal	87.0	81.8
Cormique	51.5	52.5
Envergure/T	104.5	104.2

THE YEBEKOLO

131 Location: 12°08 to 12°45 long.
3°50 to 4°20 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

Area: about 1,950 square km.
161 Population: 23,291 inhabitants
Density: 11.9 persons per square km.

133 The territory of the Yebekolo, in the form of a cornucopia laid on its side, is all to be found in the basin of the Nyong. The river forms its southern boundary. The tributaries on the right bank have broad beds and, in the vicinity of the Nyong, often overflow so that the valleys are frequently flooded. /90/ This is a large territory, covered with forest and quite marshy.

361 Large villages are found here. While the food crops are not poor,
262 they are not very abundant. The people who live near the Nyong supplement their food supply by fishing and hunting.

174 It is difficult to say what may be the remote origins of this people. Their oral traditions (as reported by Mr. Tremesaygues) speak of their ancestor as being of Yambasa stock and, therefore, as having lived about 200 kilometers west of their present settlement, north of the Sanaga. /Map 18/ Moving eastward, the Yebekolo met first the Omvang and then the Maka, whom they pushed back to their present habitat.

The German maps, however, do not confirm these traditions. Also based on traditions, upon which linguistic data is often superimposed, they show all the Yebekolo as part of the "Mvele complex" (see detailed maps in Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1907) under the name "Pangwe." It is possible that a borrowing of language occurred here —for a linguistic fact provides clues rather than permanent solutions to ethnographic problems.

648 When the Germans arrived in the territory of the Yebekolo (1904-
487 1905), the latter submitted to them without resistance. The new occupants found them settled on the big eastern trials leading to Doumé. From that time on the trails were improved, and the Yebekolo thus found themselves situated on the big trade routes by which the products of the eastern forest were taken to the coastal regions. /91/

4:Dugast--46a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Yebekolo

101
131

Yebekolo Peoples

[Map 18]

197 Language. The linguistic map of G. Tessmann shows without comment, the Yebekolo, under the category of "Mvele."

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The average height of the Yebekolo is 165.5; the average cephalic index is 78.8.

143 Their blood-group ratios are as follows:
O: 69.3 percent; A: 13.1 percent; B: 12.1 percent; AB: 5.35 percent;—index $\frac{A+AB}{A+AB}$: 1.197.

165 The extremely high rate of infant mortality (58.64 percent) is due
164 to malaria. The disease is fostered by the marshiness of the region, which is likely to remain a source of sleeping sickness as well.

161 The population balance is stationary; the ratio of births to deaths is + 0.09 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 5 percent; the fertility rate is 3.98 pregnancies per woman.

See:

113 Olivier, G., with the collaboration of Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Greiner, "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du Sud-Cameroun, /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept.-Dec. 1946), p. 65.

Brygoo. "Le nouveau-né et la femme enceinte aux environs d'Ayos /The Newborn Child and the Pregnant Woman in the Vicinity of Ayos/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 21-22 (1948), pp. 49-68.

Bibliography

Scheunemann. "Die Unruhen in Südbezirk von Kamerun 1904 bis 1906 /Unrest in the Southern Area of the Cameroons/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1907, pp. 349-51, and 396.

Tremesaygues. Unpublished report on the geneologies and the origins of the peoples in the subdivision of Akonolinga (1930).

Numerous reports in the Archives du Service de Santé /Archives of the Health Service/ from the medical station at Ayos.

Moisel map, G3, Dume

THE OMVANG

131 Location: the Omvang are split into two sections
One section: 12°15 to 12°50 long.
3°55 to 4°05 north lat.
Other section: 12°45 to 13° long.
4°05 to 4°28 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

Area: in the west—about 390 square km.
in the east—about 660 square km.

161 Population: in the west—4, 852 inhabitants
in the east—7, 520 inhabitants

Density: in the west—12.4 persons per square km.
in the east—11 persons per square km.

131 The Omvang inhabit a forest country which is quite poor in the west but rich in the east. Those who are furthest west, northwest of Ayos, are on the banks of the Nyong, and that is the only place where they have access to a road. The territory of the eastern Omvang is 133 in the valley of the Ayong, a tributary from the right of the Nyong, but their country does not reach as far as the river itself. However, the stream is navigable everywhere so that the river can be easily reached. Ayong flows first of all through a forest which thins out toward the south and is replaced by beautiful clusters of raffia palms.

173 The Omvang know little of their history. They know only that less then a century ago they still occupied the entire territory north of the Nyong; they were in constant contact with the Yebekolo and were sometimes their masters, sometimes their slaves. They were warriors trained in guerrilla warfare, and in the end they attacked the neighboring Maka and wrested from them the land which is their present habitat. The advance of the Yebekolo /92/ split them into two sections. Only the intervention of the Germans in 1904-1905 reestablished peace in the area.

174 P. Chauleur does not agree with the view that the Omvang are a people of the Pahouin group. His arguments, based only on data concerning local migrations, seem to be no more valid than those he opposes.

241 The eastern Omvang, settled in a fertile region are hard-working and good farmers. In addition to their food crops they care for large

241 fields of peanuts and maintain beautiful palm groves and coffee and cacao plantations.

197 Language. G. Tessmann is no more definite as regards the language of the Omvang than other authors concerning their folk history. His tribal map shows the two Omvang sections stand out clearly on the large Pahouin area /Map 19/ His only comment on the subject is the following: "Probably they should be grouped with the Neo-Bantu, perhaps with the Pahouin, " ("Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of the Cameroons/, " Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen, 1932, p. 190).

164 Demography. The western Omvang have one of the highest incidences of sleeping sickness.

161 Nevertheless, their population balance is slightly favorable; the ratio of births to deaths is + 0.83 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 8 percent; the fertility rate is 3.57 pregnancies per woman.

164 The eastern Omvang also have suffered greatly from sleeping sickness. /93/

161 Their population balance also shows a slight increase; the ratio of births to deaths is 0.92 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 9 percent; the infant mortality rate is very low.

Bibliography

113 "Esquisse ethnologique pour servir a l'étude des principales tribus des Territoires du Cameroun sous mandat francais, d'après les documents allemands, les études de Dr. Poutrin en A.E.F. et les archives du Bureau des Affaires Politiques (1935-1937) (An Ethnographic Sketch for a Study of the Major Tribes in the Cameroons Territories under French Mandate, on the basis of German Documents, the Studies by Dr. Poutrin in French Equatorial Africa, and the Archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs for 1935-1937), "Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 18-19.

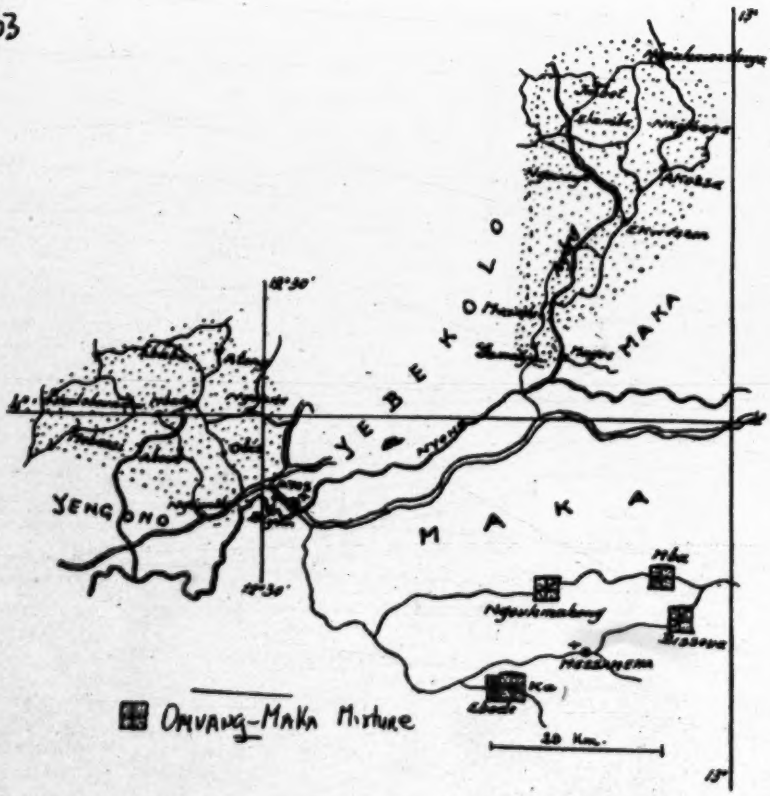
Unpublished reports of the administrators Bertaut and de Villedeuil in the Archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs /Archives du Bureau des Affaires Politiques/ and in the documents of the S.E.C. /Société d'Etudes Camerounaises/.

Moisel map, G3, Dume.

4:Dugast--49a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Omvang

101
131
563

Omvang Peoples



[Map 19]

Mbida-Mbage
Mvogo-Nienge

THE MBIDA-MBANE AND THE MVOGO-NIENGE

131 Location: Mbida-Mbane—11°40 to 12°15 long.
4°20 to 4°50 north lat.
Mvogo-Nienge—12° to 12°28 long.
4°20 to 4°45 north lat.

Physical Geography. Areas: Mbida-Mbane—1, 548 square km.
Mvogo-Nienge—710 square km.

101 The origins of the Mbida-Mbane and the Mvogo-Nienge seem to be similar enough for us to discuss them together here.

Geographically they are neighbors. The Mbida-Mbane are located on both sides of the Nyong River, in two sections of about equal size in the north and in the south.

The Mvogo-Nienge are their neighbors to the east, south of the Nyong.

133 Both peoples occupy fertile forest regions. The river Nyong flows northeast to southwest through the middle of Mbida-Mbane country. The Mvogo-Nienge inhabit its banks for only a few kilometers, upstream from Akonolinga.

Human Geography

161 Population: Mbida-Mbane—19, 707 inhabitants
Mvogo-Nienge—7, 291 inhabitants
Densities: Mbida-Mbane—12.8 persons per square km.
Mvogo-Nienge—10.26 per square km.

174 History. The traditions of the Mbida-Mbane as well as those of the Mvogo-Nienge tell of ancestors living on the right bank of the Sanaga, as do those of the Yeduma, the Yengono, and the Yembama (the last two groups have been classified by Tessmann among the Bulu). It is said that three slaves of the same master, whose lives were in danger as a consequence of a great palaver, escaped and crossed the Sanaga. Since they were slaves, naturally no mention is made of their ethnic family. Their descendants comprise a number of the peoples who live in the environs of the Nyong at the present time.

241 Both groups live in a fertile country where the cultivation of food crops may be found adjacent to prosperous cacao and coffee plantations. The inhabitants on the banks of the Nyong supplement their diets with fish.

505 The wealth of all this region is easily transported by way of the river, which is navigable to M'Balmayo, where it connects with the railroad by way of the eastern road (Abong-M'Bang—Akonolinga—Yaoundé) /94/ and finally by way of the southern road (Sangmélima-M'Balmayo).

164 Demography. The Mbida-Mbane have not suffered greatly from sleeping sickness except in the Akonolinga group, and even here the disease was quickly checked. However, congenital syphilis accounts for 22.2 percent of the cases of infant mortality. /Map 20/

161 The ratio of births to deaths is slightly favorable: + 0.68 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 7 percent; the fertility rate is 5.20 pregnancies per woman.

511 The living conditions of the population as a whole are good, and it is growing slowly.

161 Among the Mvogo-Nienge the number of births barely exceeds the deaths; the ratio is + 0.39.

163 The sterility rate is 9 percent; the fertility rate is 4.25 pregnancies per woman. However, there is a very high proportion of stillbirths—26.9 percent—which explains the fact that this population remains stationary.

4:Dugast--51a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Mbida-Mbane
Mvogo-Nienge

101 Mbidambani and
131 Muog-Nienge Peoples
563

[Map 20]

4: Dugast FH9 Fang

MÉMOIRES DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'AFRIQUE NOIRE
(CENTRE DU CAMEROUN)

Série : POPULATIONS

N° 1

I. DUGAST

INVENTAIRE ETHNIQUE DU SUD-CAMEROUN

[title page]

1949

4: Dugast i S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9

000

An Inventory of the People of the South Cameroons
[Inventaire Ethnique du Sud-Cameroun]

Idelette Dugast

Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire
(Centre du Cameroun); Série: Populations, No. 1, pp. 57-94.
Dakar: 1949

Translated from the French by Monika B. Vizedom

Human Relations Area Files
1959

[title page]

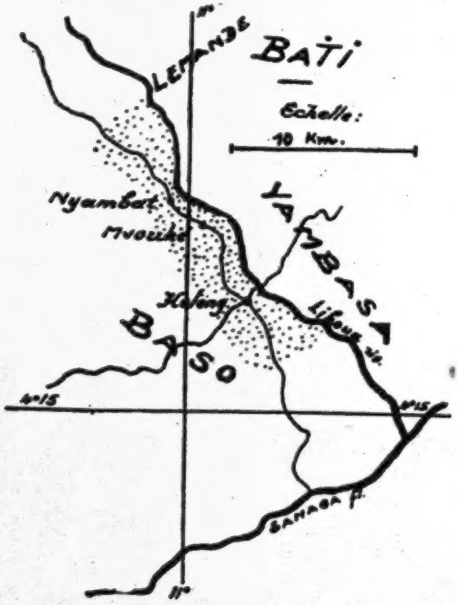
VI

BETI ET PAHOUINS

Les BETI ou BATI

Nous avons parlé, dans l'introduction, au paragraphe du PEUPLEMENT, des *BETI* ou *BATI* qui certainement formèrent un vaste groupe aux nombreuses ramifications. Etant donné les chocs qu'ils reçurent, et, par suite, l'impossibilité qu'il y a à déterminer lesquels parmi eux sont restés purs *BETI*, et lesquels — selon l'expression de G. TESSMANN — se sont « pahouinisés », — et dans quelle mesure ils se sont « pahouinisés » — nous consacrons d'abord ici un court paragraphe aux *BETI*, puis un autre aux *PAHOUINS*.

Dans le répertoire qui suit, nous parlerons d'abord des populations que les auteurs ont groupées sous le nom de *BETI*, et nous passerons insensiblement aux *PAHOUINS*, sans pouvoir décider où exactement se place la démarcation entre les deux.



Les *BETI* ou *BATI* ont certainement étendu leurs ramifications sur un territoire assez vaste.

Les traditions orales de nombreuses populations qui en seraient issues placent leur habitat primitif au Nord de la Sanaga, et près de son affluent le Mbam. Une infime partie de ces *BATI* resta sur place et nous les trouvons encore au Sud-Ouest de Bafia sur la rive droite de la rivière Lihoua, affluent de la Sanaga, enclavés dans un minuscule territoire d'une vingtaine de km² à peine entre les *YAMBASA* à l'Est, les *LEMANDE* au Nord, les *BASO* à l'Ouest et au Sud. Ils ne sont à peine que 800 individus, dans les villages de Keleng (sur la piste de Bafia à Ngambe) et les hameaux de Mpouke et Nyambat.

D'autres *BETI* restèrent au Nord de la Sanaga et se scindèrent en une poussière de petites populations, que les Allemands trouvèrent sans uni-

té et encore en plein mouvement. Elles ne furent fixées que lorsque les *BABUTE* furent repoussés dans leur habitat ancien par les nouveaux occupants.

Cet ensemble de *BETI* ou *BATI* du Nord de la Sanaga, que les Allemands, bons linguistes, reconnaissaient facilement à leur langue, furent tous ceux que plus tard l'Administration française engloba sous le nom général de : *SANAGA*. Ils comprennent là les *TSINGA*, *MVELE* (contrairement à l'opinion de NEKES), *BAVEK*, *MANGISA*, *NGORO*, *KOMBE*.

Où est la souche de ces *BATI* ? G. TESSMANN pense qu'ils peuvent être apparentés à ceux qu'il désigne du nom de « Mittelkamerun Bantu » (*BAFIA*, *BANEN*, *YAMBASA*, etc.). Mais il ne les confond pas avec eux. Venus du Nord, ils auraient habité, à l'origine, sur la rive gauche du Mbam ; puis, pressés par les *BABUTE*, une partie d'entre eux passa sur la rive droite. De là, TESSMANN note deux tendances : les uns furent attirés par la civilisation du Nord-Est (*BABUTE*), les autres par celle du Sud-Est (*PAHOUINS*) ; d'une part *BAVEK* et *YANGAFUK* (les *FÖK* et les *FUK*) en effet cheminèrent et se dispersèrent dans un sens différent de ceux qui se rapprochèrent des *PAHOUINS* : *BETSINGA* et *MANGISA* se laissèrent assez rapidement assimiler complètement.

Pour G. TESSMANN, les *BATI* ne sont pas des *PAHOUINS*, mais une population que l'invasion pahouine rencontra sur son parcours, qui subit son influence ou son attirance, et qui, par un choc en retour, agit aussi sur les envahisseurs ; comme aussi ils agirent sur les Bantu du centre ou furent influencés par eux. C'est parce que le métissage est si net entre *PAHOUINS* et *BATI*, tant au point de vue culture qu'au point de vue langue, qu'actuellement, avons-nous dit, d'actions en réactions, il est devenu difficile de débrouiller l'écheveau de leurs différentes ramifications, car certains fils se sont perdus, d'autres rompus, et ceux qui subsistent ont pris des teintes variées.

LANGUE. — Voir le vocabulaire n° 216 de Sir H. H. JOHNSTON, et son renvoi à l'étude de Carl MEINHOF, Die Sprachverhältnisse in Kamerun (*ZAOS*, Berlin, 1895).

G. TESSMANN, *Die Pangwe*, p. 34, court vocabulaire.
— *PM*, 1932, pp. 185 et 186.

Nous nous demandons si G. TESSMANN a eu connaissance de ces trois lignes écrites par von STEIN zu LAUSNITZ : « Les langues *BATI* montrent quelques analogies avec celle des *BAYA* et des *BANGANDU* de l'extrême Est de la colonie » (dans *DK*, 1908, p. 523 : Eine Erkundungs-Expedition zwischen Wuri und Sanaga).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

VON STEIN ZU LAUSNITZ, Eine Erkundungs-Expedition zwischen Wuri und Sanaga (*DK*, 1908, pp. 522, 523, 527).

THORBECKE (Mme), Auf der Savanne, pp. 206 à 218.

G. TESSMANN, Die Pangwe, les parties historiques.

— Die Bafia, les parties historiques.

DKL, au mot BATI.

BSEC, n° 3, juillet 1943, pp. 25 à 26.

— n° 10, juin 1945.

Carte MOISEL, G2, Jaunde, avril 1913.

Les PAHOUINS

Il nous a paru nécessaire de revenir à ce terme, généralement employé par les Français pour désigner un ensemble de populations qui, il y a un siècle et demi à peine, vint envahir et submerger plus de 176.000 km² de terrain dans l'Ouest de l'Afrique équatoriale. Depuis un siècle, ces populations occupent cette immense zone de forêt, depuis le 1° lat. Sud jusqu'au 4°30 de lat. Nord, et du 9°30 jusqu'au 14° E. Greenwich.

POUTRIN désigne ces populations du terme général de : *FAN*. TESSMANN emploie celui de *PANGWE*.

Nous avons renoncé au nom « *FAN* » de POUTRIN pour la même raison qui l'a fait rejeter par TESSMANN. Car, au Cameroun, il existe un sous-groupe *PAHOUIN* qui se désigne du nom de *FANG*. Il nous semble qu'un terme unique pour désigner deux entités de valeur différente, d'une part le grand tout occupant une vaste zone, d'autre part une minuscule partie du tout, groupant 12.583 individus, peut prêter à confusion et à malentendus.

⁂

La pénétration du pays par les Allemands, pénétration qui les mit en contact avec les *PAHOUINS* du Sud du pays, ne put se faire que lentement. Les premières expéditions partirent de Grand-Batanga, près de Kribi. Assez rapidement, le bas cours de la Sanaga put être exploré et connu, jusqu'aux chutes d'Edéa : le fleuve était alors désigné par le nom « Grand Nyong » ; le Nyong actuel était le « Petit Nyong ». Les indigènes de la côte affirmaient à l'époque que dans l'intérieur coulait un grand fleuve dont les eaux descendaient d'Ouest en Est. Ce détail posait aux Allemands un grand problème : la ligne de partage des eaux entre le bassin du Congo et celui du Grand-Nyong était-elle donc si près de la côte ? La première exploration, conduite par le Lieutenant R. KUND, accompagné du Lieutenant TAPPENBECK, du zoologiste WEISSENBORN et du botaniste BRAUN, quitta Grand-Batanga le 15 octobre 1887, par le pays Ngumba et la vallée du Nyong ; puis, allant vers le N.-E., elle atteignit la Sanaga le 19 janvier 1888, en un point qu'il est impossible de situer « à au moins 300 km. de la côte », disent les rapports.

A partir de ce moment la zone forestière à peu près entière fut explorée en quelques années, ouverte au commerce et étudiée, tant au point de vue ethnique qu'économique.

Les premières observations se fondèrent sur des notations linguistiques, et il fut facile de connaître l'extension de cette invasion pahouine au-dessus du 2° parallèle, alors qu'elle était étudiée aussi du Sud, par le Gabon.

Le grand explorateur SCHWEINFURTH émit le premier la théorie que le point de départ de l'invasion devait se situer très à l'Est, chez les *AZANDE*, au Sud du Bahr-el-Gazal (23° E. Gr., 5° lat. N. env.). Le Dr POUTRIN, le R.P. THILLES, LARGEAU, AVELOT adoptèrent ses conclusions. Mais BAUMANN et WESTERMANN les rejettent, comme très exagérées : d'après eux, les *PAHOUINS* ne viennent que de la haute Sanga. Par une série de migrations successives vers l'Ouest, et évitant la grande forêt équatoriale qu'ils contournèrent par le Nord, ils déferlèrent sur l'Ouest de l'Afrique équatoriale par la vallée du Lom et de l'Adamaoua. « L'avance des sous-tribus, écrivent BAUMANN et WESTERMANN, s'est faite par bonds successifs, chacune poussant l'autre en avant ou passant par-dessus. La migration s'est faite par groupes familiaux dont chaque tribu comptait une trentaine et qui constituaient l'unique unité politique et sociale. Ces unions familiales (*agon*) se sont avancées, souvent en se dépassant l'une l'autre, vers l'Ouest, d'une manière continue ; les derniers venus s'établissaient au delà de leurs devanciers pour une ou deux générations et repartaient ensuite. »

C'est au Sud du plateau de l'Adamaoua que, très récemment, ils subirent la

dernière poussée, celle des *MBUM* et des *BAYA*, qui eux-mêmes durent céder la place aux *FULBE*. Cette dernière avance, de la rive droite de la Sanaga à la forêt, ne date que de cent années environ. Puis les Européens, arrivant à leur tour, fixèrent toutes ces populations.

Malgré les sondages linguistiques d'une part, entrepris rapidement par les Allemands, — le R.P. NEKES fut leur grand spécialiste — et l'étude des traditions orales d'autre part, plus particulièrement conduite par les Français, les conclusions relatives à la répartition des *PAHOUINS* au Cameroun ne sont pas absolument d'accord. Nous les donnons ici :

Pour le R.P. NEKES, qui fait autorité en la matière, mais dont la classification apparaît surtout linguistique, il existe deux grands groupes : d'une part les *BETI*, de l'autre les *MVELE*. Au premier, appartiennent les *EWONDO*, les *BANE*, les *YETENGA*, les *YETUDI*, les *ETON* et les *BETSENGA*.

Au second, les *MVELE*, *YEBEKOLO*, *YEBEKANGA*, *BULU*, *NTUMU*, *OKAK*, *OMVANG* et *FANG*. TESSMANN rattache les *YESUM* aux *BULU*.

D'après le Dr SCHNEE, les « *FANG* » se divisent en deux grands groupements: les *BETSCHI* (établis au Nord-Ouest) et les *MAKEI* (installés au Sud-Est), d'après la façon dont ils prononcent la phrase « Je dis que ». *Mekima* ou *Matsina*. Ils se répartissent en une infinité de tribus dont le nom commence soit par Eb (Makeï), soit par Es (Betschi).

Le Gouverneur Général COURNARIE, ayant soigneusement prospecté les populations des alentours de Yaoundé, dont il était administrateur, en dresse le tableau suivant :

- NANGA
  - Beti
    - Eton
    - Mvélé
    - Badzu
    - Omvang
    - Ntumu
    - Kolo
      - Ewondo
      - Bane
      - Mangisu
      - Kombe
      - Tsinga
      - Etudi
      - Emfek
  - Yesum

Et il conclut : « Il semble qu'au groupe des *BETI*, on puisse également rattacher les *BADJIA*, les *BAVEK* et les *BAMVELE*, les *DJANTI*, les *NGORO* et les *YANGAFUK* ».

Il est impossible de dire si le problème se résoudra jamais, car il se complique au contraire de décade en décade par le fait des transformations qui se poursuivent et peut-être se précipitent. Nous voudrions que les chercheurs de l'avenir en comprissent la complexité et ne pensassent pas que nous ayons osé apporter ici des solutions.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Bericht über den äusseren Verlauf der Batanga-Expedition (Ende Oktober 1887 bis März 1888) (*MDS*, 1888, p. 6 à 30, 112 à 121).

R. AVELOT, Recherches sur l'histoire des migrations dans le bassin de l'Ogooué et la région littorale adjacente (*B. de Géogr. hist. et descript.*, XX, 1905, pp. 357-412, 5 pl. cartes).

La mission COTTES au Sud-Cameroun (1905-1908).

B. STRUCK. Die Sprachverhältnisse im « Moyen Congo » (*KR*, 1912, pp. 204 à 225).

H. NEKES, Jaunde und seine Bewohner (Südkamerun) (*KR*, 1912, pp. 468 à 474).

G. TESSMANN. Gabun (*KR*, 1912, pp. 225 à 237).

— Die Pangwe.

G. Tessmann, *PM*, 1932, pp. 113 à 120 et 186 à 190.
Dr Poutrin, Esquisse ethnologique des principales populations de l'A.E.F., pp. 24 à 31.
Joh. Abel, Sitten und Gebraüche der Pangwe im deutschen Muni-Gebiet, dans *MDS, Ergänzungsheft n° 9a, Landeskundlicher Teil*, 1914, pp. 31 à 41.
DKL, au mot Fang.
P. Cournarie, Essai sur les coutumes des populations de la Circonscription de Yaoundé, 1933, 35 pages (inédit).
G. Bruel, La France équatoriale africaine (Paris, *Larose*, 1935), 545 pages.
BSEC, n° 3, juill. 1943.
H. de Pedrals (*BSEC*, n° 15-16, sept.-déc. 1946).
Baumann et Westermann, Peuples et civilisations..., pp. 199-201.

BUNDJU et KOMBE

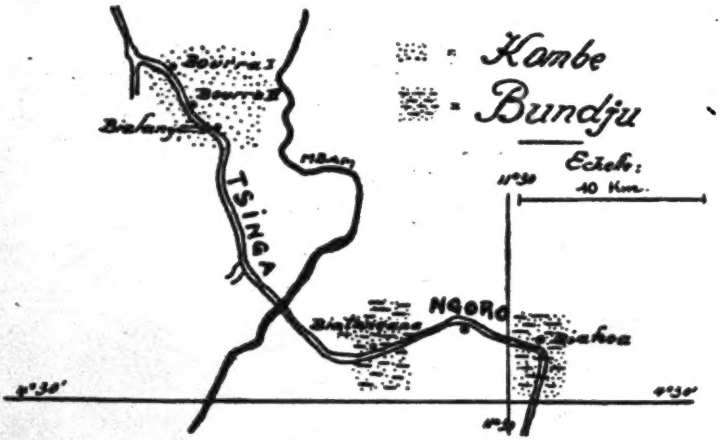
Situation : 11°25 à 11°50 E. Gr.
4°30 à 4°35 lat. Nord.

Nous ne pouvons pas passer sous silence ces minuscules populations dont les noms ne sont connus que des administrateurs au travail dans la région du Mbam, à l'Est de Bafia. Elles font en effet essentiellement partie du groupe des *BETI*.

GEOGRAPHIE PHYSIQUE ET HUMAINE.

Population : Bundju : 550 habitants environ.
Kombe : 1.126 habitants environ.

Les *KOMBE* sont groupés dans trois villages de la vallée du Mbam, sur la rive droite de celui-ci, sur la grande route de Bafia à Yaoundé, du km. 16 au km. 22 au Sud-Est de Bafia.



Les *BUNDJU* occupent deux villages, également sur la route carrossable, au Sud-Est des KOMBE, mais entre le Mbam et la Sanaga. Ils sont séparés par un village peuplé de *NGORO*, enclavé entre eux.

Sur la carte Moisel d'avril 1913 (G2, JAUNDE), ces deux populations occupaient à l'époque des régions beaucoup plus vastes : les *KOMBE* (appelés alors *NKOMBE*) installés depuis les confins de l'actuel Bafia, peuplant toute la rive droite du Mbam avec de nombreux villages et allant rejoindre les *TSINGA* à la rivière Owama ou Afama, pénétrant aussi jusque près des *YAMBASA*. D'autres, appelés *KOMBE*, étaient situés beaucoup plus à l'Est sur la rivière Maloko, et sont probablement les ressortissants des villages KOMBE se disant actuellement *MVELE* et *BAVEK* (sur la route carrossable du Nord).

Les *BUNDJU*, sur cette même carte Moisel, occupaient tout le grand pays, de forme triangulaire, compris entre le Mbam et la Sanaga.

D'après les rapports de l'administrateur COURNARIE, repris par l'administrateur RELLY, c'est l'invasion *BABUTE*, du milieu du siècle dernier, qui ôta toute cohésion à ces populations. Les *KOMBE*, disent leurs traditions, furent asservis, et par conséquent dispersés. Les *BUNDJU*, qui seraient apparentés aux *MANGISA*, passèrent d'abord la Sanaga ; puis lorsque les Allemands repoussèrent les *BABUTE* vers le Nord, les *BUNDJU*, très réduits, repassèrent la Sanaga et rejoignirent leurs anciennes terres.

Il serait intéressant de prospecter ces anciens *BETI* du point de vue linguistique et de se rendre compte de ce qui subsiste chez eux de leur ancienne langue. L'enquête devrait se faire, non plus par zones entières, mais presque village par village, sur toute une région où les populations se juxtaposent et s'imbriquent les unes dans les autres le long d'une route carrossable ; sans doute n'éclaircirait-elle que fort peu le problème des origines, mais elle ferait apparaître de façon claire ce que G. TESSMANN dénomme les langues « Bati-Mbam ».

NGORO

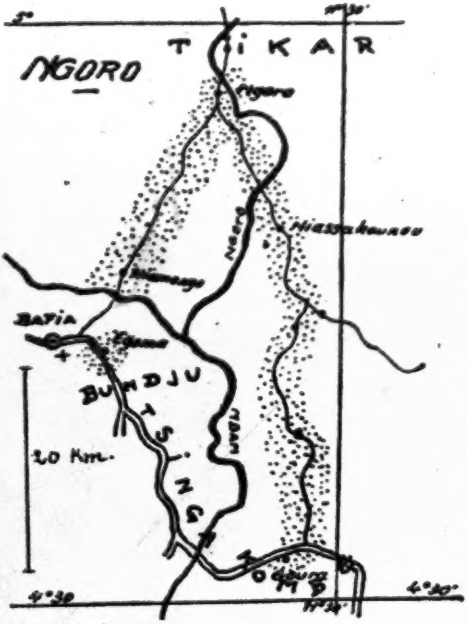
Situation : 11°15 à 11°30 E. Gr.
4°30 à 4°55 lat. Nord.

GEOGRAPHIE PHYSIQUE ET HUMAINE. — Les *NGORO* sont très dispersés sur la rive gauche du Mbam, dans la vallée de son affluent la Ngoro. Le débit de cette rivière est minime pendant la saison sèche ; pendant les mois pluvieux, au contraire, elle a des crues qui la font sortir de son lit et inonder les rives sur une étendue parfois considérable. C'est une région de savane émaillée de maigres arbustes. A proximité des marigots, quelques peuplements de palmiers-raphias sont à noter.

Les quelques villages *NGORO* s'échelonnent sur 70 km. de pistes. Un seul se trouve sur la rive droite du Mbam, dans les environs immédiats de Bafia, sur la route carrossable. Un autre existe à une trentaine de kilomètres vers le Sud-Est, également sur la route carrossable, mais sur la rive gauche du Mbam : Goura, peuplé de *NGORO* descendus vers les terres fertiles.

Les *NGORO* se disent issus des *MANGISA* à une époque lointaine — peut-être à l'époque où ces derniers vivaient encore au Nord de la Sanaga. Les traditions des *NGORO* disent aussi — est-ce un mythe, est-ce historique ? — que leur premier ancêtre serait commun aux *BETSINGA*, aux *KOMBE*, aux *BUNDJU*. En somme, toute cette parenté étendue englobe les *BETI*.

Leurs traditions historiques ne commencent qu'avec la guerre avec les *BABUTE*, au siècle dernier. A cette époque, ils étaient dispersés, la plupart d'entre eux se groupant autour de Ngoro. A l'attaque des *BABUTE*, les plus proches du Mbam traversèrent la rivière et vinrent se fixer chez les *BAFIA* qu'ils



repoussèrent. D'autres, les *YASAKUNU*, refluèrent jusque chez les *YAMBASA*. Ceux du village de Ngoro firent leur soumission et devinrent esclaves. Ils furent déportés à Linte, à Tibati vers le Nord, à Goura vers le Sud.

C'est à Goura, d'un père Ngoro déporté et d'une mère Djanti déportée, que naquit NDENGE, jeune esclave, qui s'engagea adulte dans les troupes indigènes allemandes. Remarqué par ses chefs pour son intelligence et son dévouement, ce fut lui qu'ils chargèrent de regrouper tous les exilés, et ils lui rendirent peu à peu tous ceux que leurs guerres délivraient : ceux qu'ils trouvèrent chez les *YAMBASA* d'abord, puis chez les *BAFIA*. Ce sont ces migrations qui expliquent le caractère extrêmement dispersé des villages *NGORO* et leurs fréquents déplacements. Heureusement l'apparition du cacaoyer a commencé de stabiliser un certain nombre de leurs groupements.

BAFÖK-YANGAFUK

Situation : très disséminée, se présentant sous forme de quelques groupements parfois fort éloignés les uns des autres
entre 11°15 à 12°30 E. Gr.
et 4°30 à 5°50 lat. N.

Les populations dont il est question dans ce chapitre-ci ont reçu des Européens différentes dénominations orthographiées de façons variées : sur les cartes allemandes : *FUK, FÖK, FU*. — Sur les cartes et dans les rapports français : *BAVEUK, BAFEUK, YANGAFOUK*. Tous ces vocables ont entre eux un air de ressemblance et sont en réalité identiques.

GEOGRAPHIE PHYSIQUE ET HUMAINE. — Population totale : 5.352 hab.

Trois petites enclaves de quelques kilomètres de longueur sur la route de Yoko, à l'Est de Bafia, groupent en tout huit villages, dans une zone de forêt au sol très fertile, où cacao, palmistes et cultures vivrières apporteraient la prospérité si ce n'était la paresse des habitants (1.556 ind.).

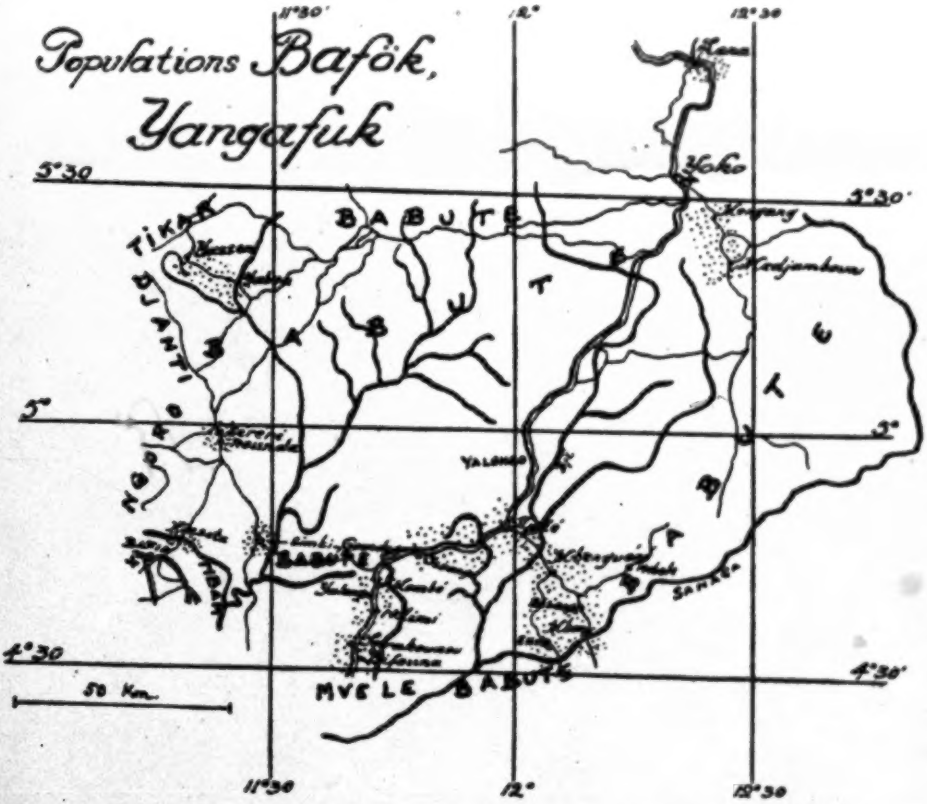
De ces huit villages, les cinq plus méridionaux disent que leurs ressortissants viennent de la direction du S.-E., de la plaine de la Sanaga, ou de l'Est, de celle du Djerem.

Les deux villages voisins en direction N.-E. se disent *YALONGO* (voir le chap. *YEKABA* et *BAMVELE*). Les *YALONGO* auraient conquis les *BAFÖK* et en auraient

adopté la langue. Enfin le huitième village se dit apparenté aux cinq premiers et venu lui aussi du Djerem.

Au S.-E. de Yoko, une enclave dont les deux villages, en pleine savane (445 hab.), se déclarent à la fois apparentés aux *YALONGO* et aux *BAFÔK* du Sud.

A 50 km. au Nord de Yoko, l'enclave de Lena (en pays *BABUTE*), avec ses 260 habitants ; venus du Sud, ils auraient fait un long périple de 250 km. par Tibati pour se fixer dans leur habitat actuel.



Les 360 habitants de l'enclave de Yasseru, en plein pays *TIKAR*, à 120 km. à l'Ouest de Yoko, placent leur origine chez les *BAMVELE*. Nous dirions plutôt qu'ils auraient une origine commune avec les *BAMVELE*. Les guerres de tribus les amenèrent jusqu'au pays *TIKAR*, et ils s'isolèrent sur leur montagne. Ils diffèrent des autres *BAFÔK* par le fait qu'ils adoptèrent l'Islam des *TIKAR* et ne se connaissent pas de parenté avec les *BAFÔK* du Sud.

Un village unique, au bord du Mbam, existe à quelques kilomètres de l'agglomération de Bafia (313 habitants).

Enfin, sur la rive droite de la Sanaga, se trouvent quelques villages *YANGAFUK* (2.418 hab.), apparentés à ceux du Sud de la route de Yoko, mais séparés d'eux par une épaisse forêt.

Il est évident que la parenté reconnue entre les divers groupes nous autorise à affirmer que cette dispersion remarquable est toute récente, ne remontant qu'à l'époque historique des dernières poussées *TIKAR* et *BABUTE*, refoulés par l'avance des *FULBE*. Jadis ils habitaient probablement toute la plaine au Sud de la Ndomé. Ndoumba était leur centre le plus important.

LANGUE. — L'unité linguistique entre les différents groupes *BAFOK* et *BANGAFUK* confirme aussi cette impression. Les différences dialectales sont minimes entre eux : tous se comprennent.

G. Tessmann classe leur langue entre celle des *BAMVELE* et le groupe des langues pahouines. — Nous avons déjà indiqué qu'un observateur de passage à Lena, le Pasteur Goon de la Mission américaine, s'est rendu compte de la similitude très grande de la langue locale avec celle des *BULU* du Sud.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Thorbecke (Mme), Auf der Savane (1913), p. 152.

Fr. Thorbecke, Im Hochland von Mittelkamerun, vol. I, p. 43 ; vol. II, p. 20.

BSEC, n° 3, juill. 1943.

Rapports inédits des adm. Delteil et Coquerelle.

TSINGA-BETSINGA

Habitat très dispersé : 11°20 à 11°50 E. Gr.
et du Sud au Nord : 3°35 à 3°50 lat. N. près de Yaoundé,
4°15 à 4°40 — — sur les deux rives de la Sanaga.

GÉOGRAPHIE PHYSIQUE ET HUMAINE. — Nous avons réuni sous un même vocable (comme l'a fait autrefois l'administrateur Cournarie) les populations que l'on désigne généralement des noms de : *TSINGA*, *BETSINGA*, *BETCHENGA* ou *BATCHENGA*. L'un de ces noms doit être l'altération de l'autre. Les traditions des divers groupes sont les mêmes, aussi paraît-il inopportun de les différencier.

L'habitat des *TSINGA* est si dispersé qu'il est loin de former une unité. Il se situe à la fois sur les deux rives de la Sanaga (*BETSENGA*) jusqu'à son affluent Maloko au Nord, et, vers le Sud, sur une douzaine de kilomètres de profondeur. Une autre zone *TSINGA* est installée au N.-O. de part et d'autre du Mbam. Un autre centre assez homogène se trouve beaucoup plus au Sud, à l'Est de Yaoundé. Enfin quelques villages *TSINGA* sont situés immédiatement au Sud du Nyong, aux alentours de la route du Sud.

On ne peut guère calculer la superficie de leurs différents habitats que près du Mbam (75 km²), chez les *BETSENGA* de la Sanaga (180 km²) et pour les quelques villages purs à l'Est de Yaoundé (189 km²). Ils n'apparaissent autre part que mélangés aux autres populations.

Leur chiffre total atteint 15.562 individus.

Aussi bien près du Mbam que sur la Sanaga et ses petits affluents, dans un pays partout de petite ondulation, les *TSINGA* sont installés dans une savane coupée de boqueteaux et de galeries forestières.

Leurs traditions racontent que, vivant à l'origine au Nord de la Sanaga, ils subirent, au siècle dernier, la poussée des *BABUTE*. Une grande partie d'entre eux franchit le fleuve. Il paraîtrait qu'à l'arrivée des Allemands, au moment où

[p. 66]

ceux-ci fixèrent les *BABUTE*, ils ramenèrent une partie des *TSINGA* au Nord de la Sanaga.

D'aucuns les disent apparentés aux *ETON*, ce qui paraît confirmé par l'analogie de leurs langues (NEKES).

Voir quelques mots de vocabulaire dans G. TESSMANN, *Die Pangwe*, p. 34, rapportés sous le nom BATI (Batjenga) ; — ainsi que le vocabulaire n° 216 de Sir H. H. JOHNSTON : BATI (Bocenga).

DÉMOGRAPHIE. — Leur balance démographique est favorable ; l'index différentiel est + 1,14 %.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Dominik, Bericht über eine Strafexpedition gegen des Batschengastamm (*DK*, 1899, pp. 14 à 15).

Von Stein zu Lausitz, Eine Erkundungs-Expedition zwischen Wuri und Sanaga (*DK*, 1908, pp. 522 à 523).

MANGISA

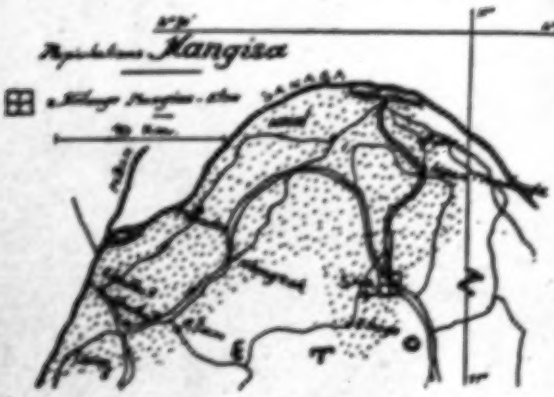
Situation : 11°15 à 11°30 E. Gr.
4°25 à 4°30 lat. N.

GÉOGRAPHIE PHYSIQUE ET HUMAINE.

Superficie : 316 km² env.
Population : 14.588 hab.
Densité : 46,2 au km².

Les *MANGISA* occupent la rive gauche de la boucle de la Sanaga, un pays de collines boisées.

Ils furent probablement de ceux qui traversèrent la Sanaga assez tôt, car les traditions racontent que lorsque plus tard les *ETON* la franchirent à leur tour, ils trouvèrent les *MANGISA* occupant le pays. Il s'ensuivit d'assez fortes luttes; puis entre les deux populations se créa une alliance qui leur permit de vivre en paix côte à côte.



Comme les *ETON*, les *MANGISA* agriculteurs vivent dans de gros villages ; étant donné leur densité, toute

cette zone forestière est très éclaircie par leurs plantations et enrichie de palmiers.

Mais quelle est l'origine exacte des *MANGISA* ?

LANGUE. — C'est la linguistique qui pose la question :

G. TESSMANN a écrit : « La situation, dans le système de classification des tribus pahouines du Nord, n'est pas encore claire. Une chose est certaine : c'est que, dans toutes, — à un degré moindre dans celles du Nord-Est, — il existe une composante plus ou moins forte, provenant du Bati-Mbam. Ainsi, les *ETON* et les *MANGISA* ont, il y a quelques décades, parlé le pur Bati ; ils n'ont donc été pahouinisés que récemment, du moins quant à la langue (1). »

D'autre part, le Dr OLIVIER a tiré cette réflexion d'une communication envoyée à lui personnellement par le Dr AUJOULAT qui a travaillé parmi eux pendant plusieurs années : « Cependant, sur le vu de différences (avec les *PAHOUINS*) dans le langage et le type physique, AUJOULAT a émis l'hypothèse d'une origine différente, plus septentrionale, en rapport avec les tribus que l'on appelle soudano-bantu : *YAMBASA* et *SANAGA* (2). » Dans les classifications que nous-même proposons dans ce travail, ne penserions-nous pas à une origine *BETI* possible ?

Cette grande question, une fois de plus, se pose ici.

ANTHROPOLOGIE SOMATIQUE. — Voici leurs indices calculés par les Drs OLIVIER et AUJOULAT :

	OLIVIER	AUJOULAT	
	Hommes	*Hommes*	*Femmes*
Céphalique	76,0	76,7	76,3
Facial	81,4	77,7	77,9
Nasal	88,7	86,0	90,5
Cornique	50,4	50,9	50,6
Envergure/T	104,8	105,0	103,8

Leur formule sanguine est la suivante, avec un excès de AB sur les autres *PAHOUINS*, et une prédominance du groupe A sur le groupe B :

O : 53 % ; — A : 21,9 % ; — B : 10,9 % ; — AB : 15,2 % ; — indice 1,44.

ETON

Situation : 11°10 à 11°45 E. Gr.
3°45 à 4°30 lat. N.

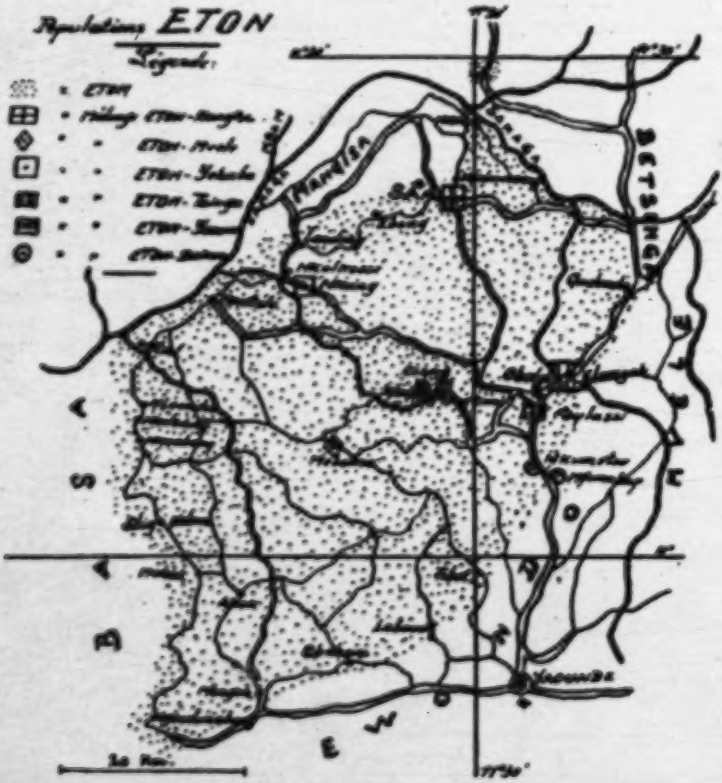
GEOGRAPHIE PHYSIQUE. — Superficie : 2.520 km².

Le pays des *ETON*, fait de plateaux et de collines, descend doucement des hauteurs du pays *EWONDO* vers la vallée de la Sanaga. La lisière de la grande forêt du Sud le traverse en direction Sud-Nord, les deux-tiers Ouest de la contrée étant couverts par la forêt, l'autre tiers est en savane. La Sagana le limite au Nord-Ouest et au Nord-Est seulement, la plus grande partie de la bouche du fleuve étant occupée par les *MANGISA*.

(1) *PM*, 1932, p. 184, note 40.
(2) *BSEC*, n° 15-16, p. 55.

GEOGRAPHIE HUMAINE. — Population : 111.738 hab.
Densité : 44,3 au km².

Il n'est pas possible de dire si les *ETON* sont à compter au nombre des populations *BETI*, bousculées et ayant traversé la Sanaga, ou s'ils sont parmi les premiers *PAHOUINS* ayant traversé la Sanaga, au moment de l'invasion. Leurs traditions ne remontent pas haut : elles les font simplement partir de la fourche



du Mbam et de la Sanaga. Ayant traversé le fleuve vers l'actuel village de Nkolbogo, disent-ils, ils se heurtèrent aux *MANGISA* déjà arrivés, puis se répandirent dans le pays qu'ils occupent encore.

Les *ETON* sont établis dans de gros villages dont les hameaux s'échelonnent le long de leurs nombreuses pistes. Actuellement le pays est parcouru par plusieurs routes ouvertes à la circulation des camions lourds, grâce auxquels les produits peuvent être dirigés sur Yaoundé et la voie ferrée.

LANGUE. — Nous ne pouvons mieux faire que de renvoyer le lecteur au paragr. linguistique du chap. *MANGISA*, puisque la même question se pose pour les deux populations.

ANTHROPOLOGIE SOMATIQUE ET DEMOGRAPHIE. — Ils sont de taille sur-moyenne, mésocéphales, platyrhiniens.

Leur formule sanguine est celle des Noirs typiques avec excès de groupe AB : O : 55,7 % ; — A : 13,8 % ; — B : 17,5 % ; — AB : 12,9 % ; — indice : 0,878.

Leur taille est moyenne : hommes : 167,8 ; — femmes : 159,9.

Indices	*Hommes*	*Femmes*
Céphalique	76,2	76,4
Facial	85,1	84,2
Nasal	83,8	81,6
Cormique	50,8	51,0
Envergure/T	104,4	102,3

L'index de natalité est en légère régression.

Bibliographie anthropologique

Voir les *BSEC*, n° 10, juin 1945, l'étude du Dr Olivier ; — n° 12, déc. 1945, l'étude des Drs Olivier et Aujoulat ; — n° 15-16, juin-déc. 1946, p. 45.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE GENERALE

Il n'existe sur les *ETON* que de la bibliographie inédite, tant sur le coutumier que sur l'habitation et l'alimentation.

Nous signalons aussi un important rapport démographique du Dr Aujoulat, de la Fondation « Ad lucem » à Efok (Subdiv. de Saa), poursuivie en 1944 (Arch. du Serv. de Santé).

Enfin, nous ne pouvons pas passer sous silence l'existence au Musée de l'Homme, à Paris, d'un magnifique film cinématographique de haute valeur ethnographique et artistique, sur le « Rite SSO », tel qu'il est pratiqué par les *ETON* et les *MANGISA*. Ce film a été tourné en 1935 dans les villages *ETON*.

EWONDO

Les Européens les désignent communément du nom de Yaoundé (1), mais ils se nomment eux-mêmes *EWONDO*.

Situation : 10°40 à 11°40 E. Gr.
3°10 à 4°05 lat. N.

Rameau EVUZOK : sur une piste N.-S. à 10°05 E. Gr.
— — E.-O. : 10°25 à 10°40 E. Gr.
3°10 à 3°25 lat. N.

GEOGRAPHIE PHYSIQUE. — Superficie : 4.320 km² env.

Le pays occupé par les *EWONDO* est un haut-plateau vallonné. Dans sa partie Nord, quelques collines plus élevées forment la ligne de partage des eaux entre les bassins de la Sanaga et du Nyong. La contrée entière est comprise dans la zone de la grande forêt, actuellement très défrichée à cause de la densité de la

(1) L'étymologie de cette appellation n'est nulle part donnée. Les traditions donnent le nom de EWUNDU comme celui de l'ancêtre de la population, — les préfixes *ya*, *ye*, *e* étant fréquents dans les langues pahouines.

D'après Nekes, le nom signifie « arachides » ; leur nom serait alors un sobriquet, parce qu'ils disaient : « Ils sont nombreux comme le sont les arachides. »

population. La limite forêt-savane passe en E.-O. à quelque 10 km. au Nord de Yaoundé.

Le fleuve Nyong, à 3°30, borde le pays ewondo en direction N.-S. d'abord, puis le traverse en E.-O., avant de pénétrer chez les *BASA* voisins. Nous le retrouvons beaucoup plus en aval, chez les *EVUZOK*, coulant du Nord au Sud, peu avant son embouchure dans l'Océan.

Dans la partie S.-E., le pays ewondo est encore arrosé par le haut cours du petit fleuve Lokoundje.

Tout le pays est très fertile, riche de cultures vivrières et de belles cacaoyères.

GEOGRAPHIE HUMAINE.

Population :	EWONDO (dans la Subd. de Yaoundé) :		70.994	en 1946.
	— — —	Mbalmayo) :	15.359	
	— — —	Lolodorf) :	6.674	en 1947.
			93.027	

EVUZOK : 4.273 hab.

La densité de la population est très variable suivant les zones : la région située au Nord du Nyong est la plus peuplée : 49,3 hab. au km² ; — au Sud du Nyong : 13,1 hab. au km² ; — EVUZOK : 5.

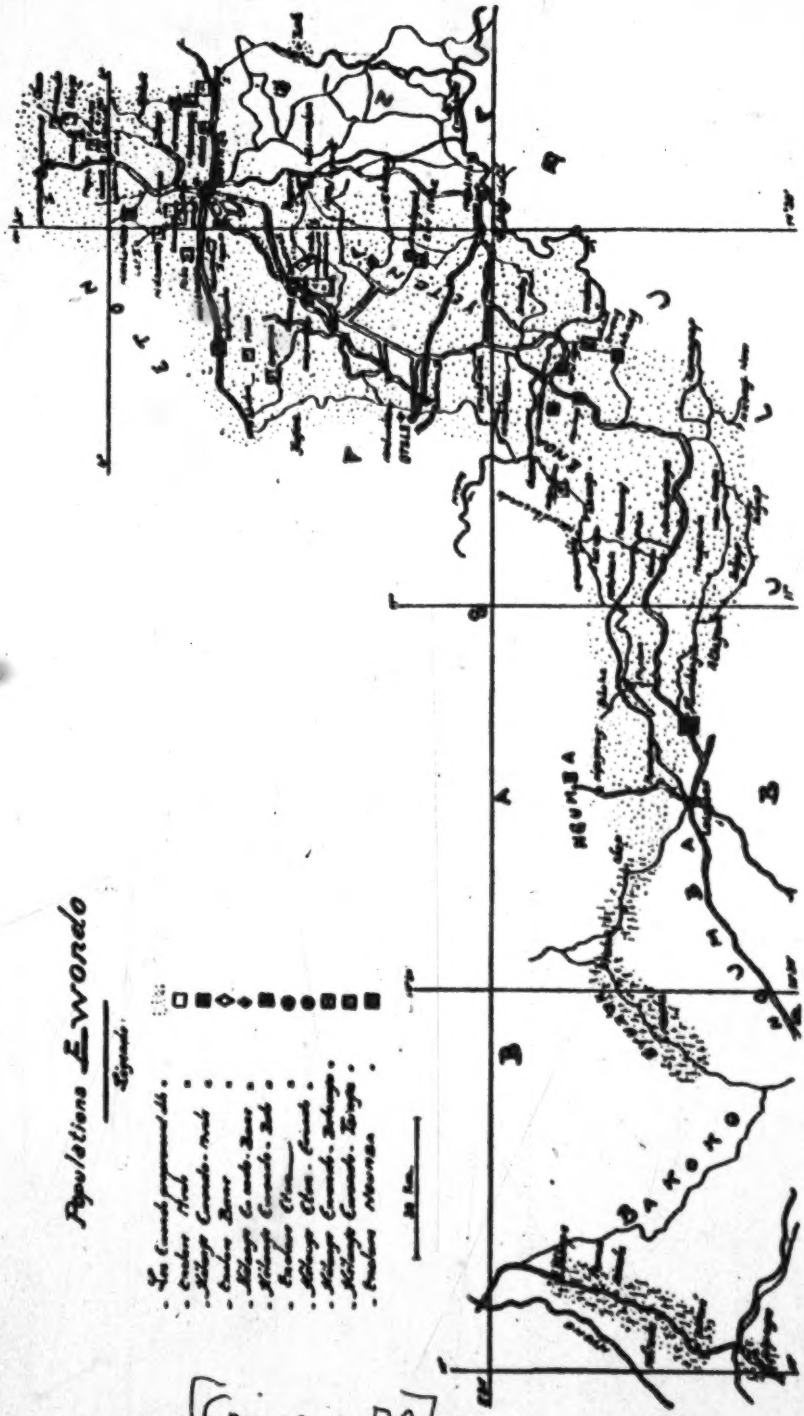
Histoire. — Les *EWONDO* arrivèrent dans leur habitat actuel à une époque tout à fait récente : cent cinquante ans tout au plus. Le point de départ de leur dernière étape se situe, d'après les traditions, sur la rive droite de la Sanaga, vers le confluent du Mbam. Ils traversèrent la Sanaga il y a cinq générations environ, au moment où toutes les populations du Nord de la Sanaga subirent le contre-coup de la poussée exercée par les *FULBE*. Ils se répandirent vers le Sud, certains même traversèrent le Nyong et prirent la direction « du bas » (Ouest), vers les routes commerciales.

Les premières expéditions allemandes qui atteignirent les *EWONDO* se placent à la fin de l'année 1887 (exploration Kund, Tappenbeck et Weissenborn). La « station » administrative de Yaoundé fut créée en 1889 et confiée à la direction de G. Zenker, homme de science dont le nom n'est pas près d'être oublié au Cameroun.

Dans la plupart des traditions, les *EVUZOK* (1) seraient les derniers arrivés de cette migration ewondo (rapport inédit du R.P. Sohler) et obligés de s'installer dans la région la plus occidentale. Pour d'autres (rapport X. Béliard), ils ne sont que frères des *EWONDO* : après la traversée de la Sanaga, ils seraient descendus dans la forêt du Sud jusque dans l'actuelle région d'Ebolowa, y auraient séjourné peu d'années, puis d'étape en étape auraient pris le chemin du N.-O., franchissant le fleuve Lokoundje. Ils s'infiltrèrent alors entre les tribus basa pour s'établir dans leurs habitats actuels. Ce qui est certain, c'est qu'ils occupèrent en 1910 seulement les trois villages de la route de Kribi à Edea, et étaient encore en pleine migration lorsque l'occupation allemande les obligea à se fixer.

Dans la vaste région qu'occupent les *EWONDO*, la population n'est pas ethniquement homogène. Dans beaucoup de villages et même de hameaux, les *EWONDO* vivent côte à côte avec les représentants des populations voisines. Nous avons marqué sur notre carte les enclaves ou les mélanges les plus importants : ceux où les ressortissants étrangers sont à égalité avec les *EWONDO* ou plus

(1) Leur nom ne serait qu'un sobriquet : « estomac d'éléphant », que leur donnèrent les autres *EWONDO* après une chasse suivie d'un festin dont le souvenir ne s'effaça pas.



[Facing p.72]

nombreux qu'eux. La réalité est plus complexe encore, mais nous n'avons pas pu, sur une carte à cette échelle, porter les minorités (1).

Les *EWONDO* vivent dans d'importants villages qui s'échelonnent sur les nombreuses routes du pays. Leurs villages sont bien tenus et l'on y perçoit un niveau de vie aisé obtenu en grande partie par la richesse de leurs cacaoyères et de leur commerce.

Ils sont robustes et musclés, adroits et intelligents ; ils émigrent facilement et leurs travailleurs constituent dans toutes les entreprises une main-d'œuvre appréciée.

L'écoulement de tous leurs produits est facilité par le tronçon important de voie ferrée qui parcourt leur pays entre Yaoundé et Otélé, et la circulation sur leurs routes est importante pour amener les diverses denrées vivrières et leur cacao des grands marchés de brousse jusqu'au chemin de fer.

LANGUE. — Le R.P. NEKES, qui fait autorité en la matière, a le premier indiqué la parenté très proche de la langue ewondo avec celles parlées par les *PAHOUINS* du Gabon et de la Guinée espagnole, malgré la grande zone *BULU* qui les sépare : *GABONAIS* et *EWONDO* se comprennent facilement.

Mais pourtant, B. STRUCK et NEKES rendirent compte, la même année, que dans le passé *EWONDO* et *BANE* parlaient le « ati » et n'adoptèrent le pahouin que récemment (*KR*, 1912, p. 220, et NEKES, *KR*, p. 469). En 1913, lorsque le R.P. NEKES publia son livre : *Die Sprache der Jaunde in Kamerun*, il écrivit en effet dans son introduction : « Les vieux *EWONDO* parlent encore aujourd'hui " ati ". »

Si l'évolution de la langue s'est probablement terminée sous les yeux de NEKES quelques années avant la guerre de 1914, actuellement l'adoption en est absolue.

Voir aussi TESSMANN, *Die Pangwe*, pp. 30-31.

Bibliographie linguistique

C. MEINHOF, Die Sprachverhältnisse in Kamerun (*ZAOS*, Berlin, 1895, pp. 138-163).

R.P. M. HAARPAINTER, Grammatik der Yaoundesprache (*Anthropos*, 1909, pp. 684-701 et 919-930).

R.P. H. NEKES, Die Sprache der Jaunde in Kamerun (Berlin, 1913).

Lieut. ROUSSEL, Eléments de grammaire ewondo (1918).

M. VON HEEPE, Jaunde-Wörterbuch.

Sir H. H. JOHNSTON, vocabulaire n° 217.

R. GRAFFIN et Fr. PICHON, Grammaire ewondo (Paris, 1930), 215 pages.

ANTHROPOLOGIE SOMATIQUE ET DEMOGRAPHIE. — Individus de taille sur-moyenne (hommes : 168,4 ; femmes : 158,6), assez élancés, mésocéphales, à peine platyrhiniens.

La formule sanguine est celle des Noirs typiques :

O : 55,5 % ; — A : 14,1 % ; — B : 17,4 % ; — AB : 11,5 % ; — indice : 0,885.

Indices	*Hommes*	*Femmes*
Céphalique	77,0	77,6
Facial	85,7	85,6
Nasal	82,5	78,2
Cormique	50,5	50,4
Envergure/T	105,3	104,0

(1) Nous devons signaler ici une carte schématique remarquable à grande échelle, de la Subdivision administrative de Yaoundé, établie en 1944 par l'administrateur J. CHANSTOL ; y sont portés les moindres mélanges, avec leur importance proportionnelle, dans chaque village et chaque hameau.

La balance démographique est moyenne : index différentiel + 0,2 %.

On constate une légère progression dans les naissances ; d'autre part, la mortalité infantile est très faible : 3 %.

Le taux de capacité génitale est de 3,06 grossesses par femme.

Bibliographie anthropologique

Virchow, 6 Schädel von Yaunde aus Kamerun (*ZE*, 1897).

Dr G. Olivier, Etude anthropologique comparée des principales tribus de la région de Yaoundé (*BSEC*, n° 10, pp. 55-76).

Drs G. Olivier et L. Aujoulat, L'obstétrique en pays Yaoundé (*BSEC*, n° 12, pp. 9 à 72).

BSEC, n° 15-16, pp. 46 et 65, avec bibliographie.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE GENERALE

Bericht über den äusseren Verlauf der Batanga-Expedition (Ende Oktober 1887 bis März 1888) (*MDS*, 1888, I, pp. 6-22).

Bericht über den Verlauf der Kund'schen Batangaexpedition während der Zeit vom November 1887 bis Januar 1888 (*MDS*, 1888, III, pp. 112-121).

G. Zenker, Das Yaunde-Land (*MDS*, 1891, pp. 138 à 144).

— Yaunde (*MDS*, 1895, pp. 36 à 70).

H. Dominik, Vom Atlantik zum Tschadsee.

O. Zimmermann, Durch Busch und Steppe (Berlin, 1909), 238 pages. Voir pp. 60 à 75.

R.P. H. Nekes, Jaunde und seine Bewohner (Südkamerun) (*KR*, 1912, pp. 468 à 484).

— Totemistische manistische Anschauungen der Jaunde in ihren Kultfeiern und Geheimbünden (*KR*, 1913, pp. 134 à 153).

DKL, aux mots JAUNDE.

Bearth, L'*essani* et le *fao*, anciennes coutumes Yaoundé de la région sud du Nyong (*T-C*, juin-juillet-août 1929, pp. 223 à 226).

P. Cournarie, Notes sommaires sur les pratiques divinatoires des populations de la Circ. de Yaoundé (*JSA*, 1936, fasc. I, pp. 35 à 39).

J.-G. Frazer, The native races..., pp. 175-176.

Nombreuses études inédites du coutumier (Cournarie, Joubert, etc.), rapports au Bur. des Affaires Politiques et à la documentation de la S.E.C., enquêtes inédites sur l'habitation et l'alimentation.

Carte MOISEL, G2, JAUNDE.

BANE

Situation : 11°15 à 11°55 E. Gr.
3°05 à 3°55 lat. N.

GEOGRAPHIE PHYSIQUE. — Superficie : 2.736 km² env.

Limitrophe du pays des *EWONDO* à l'Ouest, celui des *BANE* s'étire du Nord au Sud, depuis les environs de Yaoundé jusqu'à 25 km. au N.-E. d'Ebolowa et N.-O. de Sangmélima. Il est entièrement situé dans la zone de forêt peu dense étant donné le peuplement.

A la hauteur du 3°30, il est traversé de l'Est à l'Ouest par le fleuve Nyong, à cet endroit bief navigable, qui ensuite s'infléchit au Sud et délimite les *BANE* et les *EWONDO*.

GEOGRAPHIE HUMAINE. — Population totale : 58.309 hab.

Sur ce total, un peu plus de la moitié habite la petite zone au Nord du Nyong où la densité du peuplement est de 40,1 au km². Au Sud du Nyong, densité de 14,1.

Histoire. — Comme leurs voisins de même souche pahouine, avant la dernière invasion, l'habitat des *BANE* se trouvait autrefois au Nord de la Sanaga. Leur migration vers le Sud se produisit en même temps, ou à peu près, que celle des *EWONDO* et fut provoquée par la même cause. Ils traversèrent la Sanaga assez tardivement pour trouver les *ETON* déjà installés dans le pays. Ils s'infiltrèrent

alors peu à peu du Nord au Sud entre les populations qui les avaient précédés. Ils ne furent définitivement pacifiés qu'en 1897.

Ils étaient déjà à cette époque placés sur une des principales voies commerciales du Sud par où passaient les produits recherchés, ivoire en particulier, venant de l'Est.

Les *BANE* sont groupés par gros villages et hameaux, dans lesquels le peu-

piement n'est pas plus homogène que celui des *EWONDO*. Les principaux mélanges sont indiqués sur notre carte.

La route de Yaoundé à Ebolowa parcourt actuellement le pays *BANE* du Nord au Sud. Une autre, au Sud du Nyong, est l'aboutissement des voies économiques en provenance du Sud-Est. Par ces routes et l'attache de la voie ferrée à Mbalmayo, toutes les richesses de ce pays de grandes cultures vivrières, de cultures riches (cacao et café) et de bois sont facilement acheminées sur le marché.

LANGUE. — La question en est traitée au paragraphe linguistique des *EWONDO*.

ANTHROPOLOGIE SOMATIQUE ET DEMOGRAPHIE. — Les *BANE* sont de taille sur-moyenne, assez élancés, mésocéphales, peu platyrhiniens.

Leur formule sanguine est la suivante :

O : 49 % ; — A : 18 % ; — B : 14 % ; — AB : 19 % ; — indice : 1.121.

Indices	*Hommes*	*Femmes*
Céphalique	77,3	77,0
Facial	81,8	80,8
Nasal	85,2	86,0
Cormique	50,9	51,8
Envergure/T	104,9	103,9

La balance démographique est stable : index différentiel + 0,2. Le taux de capacité génitale est de 4,7 grossesses par femme.

Voir : *BSEC*, n° 10, n° 12 et n° 15-16, les différentes études anthropologiques.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Von Stein, Bericht über die Bane-Buli-Expedition (*DK*, 1898, pp. 173 à 175).

La plus ancienne esquisse cartographique sur laquelle figurent les *BANE*, esquisse sans échelle, mais où les distances sont comptées en « heures de marche », est celle qui accompagne le rapport de von Stein : Ueber die geographische Verhältnisse des Bezirkes Lolodorf (Südkamerun Gebiet), speziell die dort wohnenden Volksstämme, dans *MDS*, 1899, pp. 120 à 141. — Dans ce même rapport figure un vaste tableau généalogique dans lequel figurent les *BANE* ; voir les détails ethnologiques spécialement aux pp. 135-138.

DKL, au mot BANE.

Cartes MOISEL, G 2 JAUNDE et H 1-2 KRIBI.

Bezarth, Le Nsig N'lo, ancienne coutume Bane (*T-C*, janv. 1930, pp. 19 à 22).

Documentation inédite importante sur le coutumier, l'habitation et l'alimentation chez les *BANE*.

FONG

Situation : 11° et 11°15 E. Gr.
3°15 lat. N.
et 11°30 à 12° E. Gr.

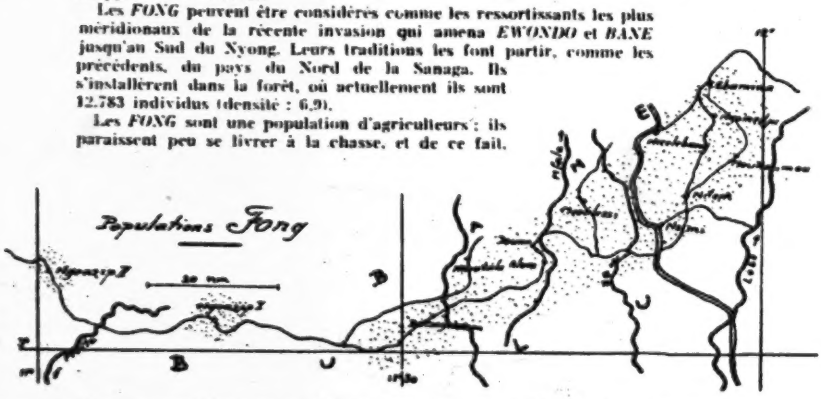
GEOGRAPHIE PHYSIQUE ET HUMAINE. — Les *FONG* ne sont pas tous groupés en un centre unique. Ils constituent une très petite population répartie en trois îlots séparés, échelonnés d'Ouest en Est : la superficie totale des différentes petites zones occupées par eux est d'environ 1.152 km², encore que dans la plus orientale, qui est la plus importante, se trouvent des enclaves de villages bulu.

M. Bertaut a écrit : « C'est un pays peuplé de *BANE* et de *FONG*, sans aucune unité géographique. *FONG*, *BULU*, *BANE* sont mélangés, et on passe d'une

leire *BANE* sur une terre *FONG* sans s'en apercevoir. C'est là le résultat d'un brassage des tribus qui a dû se produire au moment où les *BANE* et les *FONG*, venus du Nord, se sont rencontrés avec les *FANG* et les *BULU*, qui eux aussi n'étaient pas encore définitivement établis sur les terres qu'ils occupaient. » (Rapport de mai 1932).

Les *FONG* peuvent être considérés comme les ressortissants les plus méridionaux de la récente invasion qui amena *EWONDO* et *BANE* jusqu'au Sud du Nyong. Leurs traditions les font partir, comme les précédents, du pays du Nord de la Sanaga. Ils s'installèrent dans la forêt, où actuellement ils sont 12.783 individus (densité : 6,9).

Les *FONG* sont une population d'agriculteurs ; ils paraissent peu se livrer à la chasse, et de ce fait,



bien que possédant un nombre assez important d'animaux domestiques, leur alimentation est essentiellement végétale.

ANTHROPOLOGIE SOMATIQUE ET DEMOGRAPHIE. — Taille moyenne : hommes 169 cm. 7 ; femmes : 162 cm.

Indices	*Hommes*	*Femmes*
Céphalique	80,8	81,5
Nasal	95,21	84,01

La balance démographique est légèrement en faveur des naissances : index différentiel + 0,77. La stérilité atteint un taux élevé : 25,6 % ; elle est heureusement compensée par le taux de capacité génitale : 5,3 grossesses par femme.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

La Mission Cottes au Sud-Cameroun, pp. 125 à 131.

FANG, MVAE, NTUMU

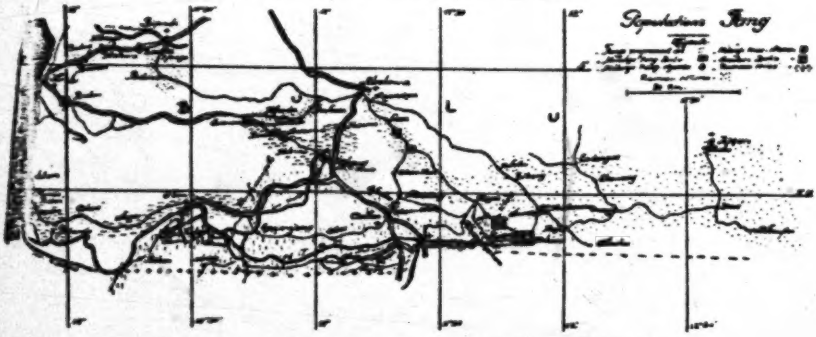
Situation : 10°45 à 12°45 E. Gr.
quelques îlots entre 10° et 10°30 E. Gr.
Rameau MVAE : 9°45 à 10°45 et 11°20 à 11°40 E. Gr.
2°15 (frontière Sud-Cameroun) à 2°55 lat. N.
quelques îlots au 3° lat. N.
Rameau NTUMU : 10°25 à 11°35 E. Gr.
2°15 (frontière Sud-Cameroun) à 2°35 lat. N.

GÉOGRAPHIE PHYSIQUE ET HUMAINE.

Superficie totale :		11.500 km² env.
Populations :	FANG :	12.583 hab.
Densité :	—	2 au km².
	MVAE :	5.287 hab.
Densité :	—	5,8 au km².
	NTUMU :	16.236 hab
Densité :	—	9,8 au km².

Le pays des *FANG* tout entier se trouve dans la grande forêt équatoriale, dans le bassin du Ntem et de ses affluents de la rive droite.

Les villages *FANG* les plus septentrionaux en direction de l'Océan se situent



en quelques villages près de Bipindi et sur la route de Bipindi à Kribi. Ou bien ils y alternent avec des villages *BULU*, ou bien présentent une structure mixte de populations mélangées *FANG-BULU*, *FANG-NGUMBA* et *MVAE-NTUMU* par exemple. De même au Sud d'Ebolowa, dans la grande forêt, les villages ne sont pas homogènes, ni les pistes habitées par une population homogène : enclaves des unes chez les autres, mélangées les unes aux autres, on passe insensiblement des *BULU* déjà un peu éloignés aux habitants primitifs de la grande forêt. Les *FANG*, de par l'habitat ingrat qu'ils occupent, sont dispersés dans l'immensité de la forêt, jusqu'aux abords de l'Océan çà et là chez les *MVAE*, menant la vie instable d'abatteurs d'arbres pour arracher au sol quelques ressources vivrières.

Les *MVAE* ont un habitat dispersé. Ils sont établis d'une part dans la périphérie d'Ambam, à l'Est et au Nord, d'autre part au S.-S.E. d'Ebolowa, enfin sur le cours inférieur du Ntem, depuis l'Est de Nyabessan jusqu'à l'Océan.

Les *NTUMU* forment un bloc assez homogène entre *FANG* et *MVAE*.

Histoire. — D'après les traditions orales des *FANG*, ils arrivèrent dans leur habitat actuel, en dernière étape, de la direction du Sud. Il est donc possible qu'ils appartiennent à la migration *FANG* ancienne, qui, descendue du Nord, a atteint

le Gabon par la vallée de l'Ivindo. Puis ces quelques unités seraient remontées insensiblement vers le Nord où elles se rencontrèrent avec les *BULU* venus un peu plus tardivement.

Les *MVAE* sont un rameau des *FANG*, venu avec ces derniers. Dispersés d'abord dans tout le bassin du Ntem, ils furent ensuite disloqués par l'arrivée du *NTUMU*.

L'arrivée des *NTUMU* ne peut pas être séparée de celle des *FANG* dans le bassin du Ntem. Ils se rattachent à la même invasion. Mais les traditions orales les montrent occupant le pays en deux vagues arrivant de directions différentes. C'est ainsi que l'on peut déterminer dans leur histoire deux branches de migrations : l'une vient du Nord-Est et, passant par la région d'Ebolowa, descend ensuite au Sud. D'autres *NTUMU*, venant avec les *FANG* de l'actuel pays de Sangmelima, allèrent vers le Sud avec eux, par Mimvoul, Bitam et Oyem. Comme quelques *FANG*, ils reprirent ensuite les directions Nord et Ouest par les vallées du Woleu Benito, du Ntem et de la Kyé. La fusion des deux branches s'est faite soit au bord du Ntem (région Eba), soit entre la Kyé et le Ntem, entre 1905 et 1910. Leurs villages se mêlèrent. C'est au cours des migrations locales que l'on constate le refoulement du rameau des *MVAE* à l'extérieur du bassin du Ntem.

LANGUE. — Les *FANG* parlent la langue qu'ils apportèrent de la région plus méridionale (Gabon actuel), lorsque leur migration remonta du Sud au Nord. STRUCK pense que ce sont eux qui, venant du Sud, introduisirent chez les populations un peu plus septentrionales leur langue néo-bantu, et que ce serait de cette direction S.-N. qu'elle atteignit les *BANE* et les *EWONDO* qui jusqu'alors parlaient « ati » (*KR*, 1912, p. 220).

Cette assertion — si elle est plausible — oblige alors à penser que la venue des *BULU*, autres *PAHOUINS*, n'était pas migration terminée alors. Leur installation dans leurs habitats actuels aurait en effet empêché le contact direct *FANG-EWONDO*, seule condition à une influence linguistique aussi profonde.

Voir les courts vocabulaires NTUM et FANG rapportés par TESSMANN, *Die Pangwe*, pp. 30-31. — Voir aussi les pp. 45-48.

Sir H. H. JOHNSTON, vocabulaire n° 218 : *Pangwe*. — Le vocab. NTUM est assimilé au voc. BULU, n° 219.

G. TESSMANN, Sprichwörter der Pangwe, Westafrica (*Anthropos*, Vienne, t. VIII, 1913, pp. 402-426).

— Rätzel der Pangwe (West Zentralafrika) (*Anthropos*, t. X-XI, 1915-1916, pp. 675-725).

ANTHROPOLOGIE SOMATIQUE ET DEMOGRAPHIE. — Les *FANG* sont à peine sur-moyens, platyrhiniens, mésocéphales.

Indices	*Hommes*	*Femmes*
—	—	—
Céphalique	77,0	76,6
Facial	83,2	87,0
Nasal	91,3	88,7
Cormique	51,2	50,9
Envergure/T	105,3	103,4

Leur balance démographique est à peine favorable : index différentiel + 0,03 %.

C'est donc une population stationnaire ; taux de stérilité : 7 % ; taux de capacité génitale : 3,8 grossesses par femme.

Les *MVAE* sont de grande taille, mésocéphales.

Indices	*Hommes*	*(n'ont pas été calculés pour les femmes)*
—	—	
Céphalique	78,8	
Nasal	104,6	
Cormique	50,4	
Envergure/T	103,9	

La balance démographique montre une légère progression : index différentiel + 0,69 %.

Taux de stérilité : 15,2 % ; — taux de capacité génitale : 4,3 grossesses par femme.

Les *NTUMU* sont de taille sur-moyenne, mésocéphales, platyrhiniens.

Indices	*Hommes*	*(ceux des femmes n'ont pas été calculés)*
—	—	
Céphalique	77,4	
Nasal	102,3	
Cormique	50,6	
Envergure/T	101,6	

La balance démographique reste favorable, malgré une énorme mortalité infantile, atteignant jusqu'à 58,91 % des enfants nés vivants : index différentiel + 1,53 %.

Taux de stérilité : 12 % ; — taux de capacité génitale : 4,6 grossesses par femme.

Voir *BSEC*, n° 15-16, sept.-déc. 1946, pp. 48-49 et 62.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE GENERALE

FORSTER, Bericht über eine Erkundung des mittleren Kampoflusses (avec une carte MOISEL) (*MDS*, 1903, pp. 123 à 128).

Expedition des Stabsarztes HOSSEMANN längs der Südgrenze von Kamerun (*DK*, 1902, pp. 291 à 293 et 313 à 315).

O. ZIMMERMANN, Das Gebiet der NTUM und MWEI (*DK*, 1910, pp. 459 à 465).

G. TESSMANN, Die PANGWE, pp. 7, 40, 43, 49.

FRAZER, The native races of Africa..., pp. 165-166.

Nombreux rapports inédits dans les archives du Bureau des Affaires Politiques et à la documentation de la S.E.C., de MM. BERTAUT, André RAYNAUD, E. ANDRÉ, H. RICHARD, de l'administration.

Carte MOISEL, H 1 et 2, Kribi.

BULU

Les *BULU* proprement dits occupent une zone qui s'étire d'Est en Ouest entre les degrés 10° et 13°10, en une bande de peu d'épaisseur ; et entre les degrés 2°35 et 3°15 lat. Nord vers l'Est. Vers l'Ouest, leurs villages ne s'échelonnent plus que sur deux pistes parallèles, pour pousser une pointe unique jusqu'à une trentaine de kilomètres de l'Océan.

Au Nord de cette bande horizontale, dans une zone allant du 12° à 12°35 E. Gr. et 3°35 à 4°30 lat. N., nous comptons dans le nombre des populations *BULU*, — parce que leurs traditions nous y autorisent, — *YENGONO*, *YEMBAMA*, *YELINDA*.

GEOGRAPHIE PHYSIQUE. — Le pays bulu est un vaste plateau très monotone couvert par la forêt, à 600 ou 650 m. d'altitude moyenne, quelques collines

émergeant du paysage à 150 ou 200 m. au plus au-dessus de l'ensemble du plateau. Collines de forme arrondie ou en pain de sucre, elles sont généralement boisées.

Le pays proprement bulu (9.936 km² env.) est arrosé d'une part par les petits affluents de la rive gauche du Nyong, qui tracent des vallées dirigées en direction S.E.-N.O. A l'Est, le rameau *ZAMAN*, sur une piste de 60 km. de longueur, pousse une pointe lointaine sur une unique piste d'épaisse forêt, touchant à la rivière Dja (affluent de la Sanga), au delà du 13° E. Gr.

YENGONO, YEMBAMA, YELINDA sont installés en une bande Nord-Sud, dans un pays mixte de savane et de forêt. Au départ de la plaine de la Sanaga, le pays s'élève peu à peu, et lorsqu'il atteint le Nord du pays YENGONO, une chaîne de collines trace la ligne de partage des eaux des bassins de la Sanaga et du Nyong. C'est au Sud de cette ligne, dans le bassin du Nyong, que sont installées ces trois populations, dans un pays très vallonné et boisé. Il couvre une superficie de 1.728 km² environ.

GEOGRAPHIE HUMAINE.

Populations : proprement BULU : 96.216 hab.
Densité : 9,59 au km².
YENGONO, YEMBAMA, YELINDA : 12.987 h[illegible].
Densité : 7,5 au km².
ZAMAN : 1.407 hab.

Histoire. — Les *BULU* disent qu'ils viennent de l'Est. En effet, ceux qui ont prospecté le pays avec soin disent que « les vieux indigènes peuvent indiquer les emplacements des villages où ils sont nés et ceux de leurs pères. En remontant de génération en génération, on se déplace vers l'Est » (1).

En mettant en parallèle les données ethnologiques et linguistiques, il a pu être possible de déterminer qu'avec la première vague de l'invasion pahouine, les *BULU* ont d'abord suivi la haute vallée de la Sanaga, puis une direction Nord-Sud qu'on peut fixer entre les longitudes 12° et 12°30. Ils submergèrent et chassèrent de toute cette zone les *MAKA* qui y étaient installés avant eux. Arrivés dans la région de l'actuel Sangmelima, les traditions les montrent se partageant en deux groupes : les uns, se répandant dans tout ce secteur, s'acheminèrent vers l'Ouest, et ceux qui avancèrent le plus loin atteignirent presque l'Océan : quelques populations côtières seules les en séparent.

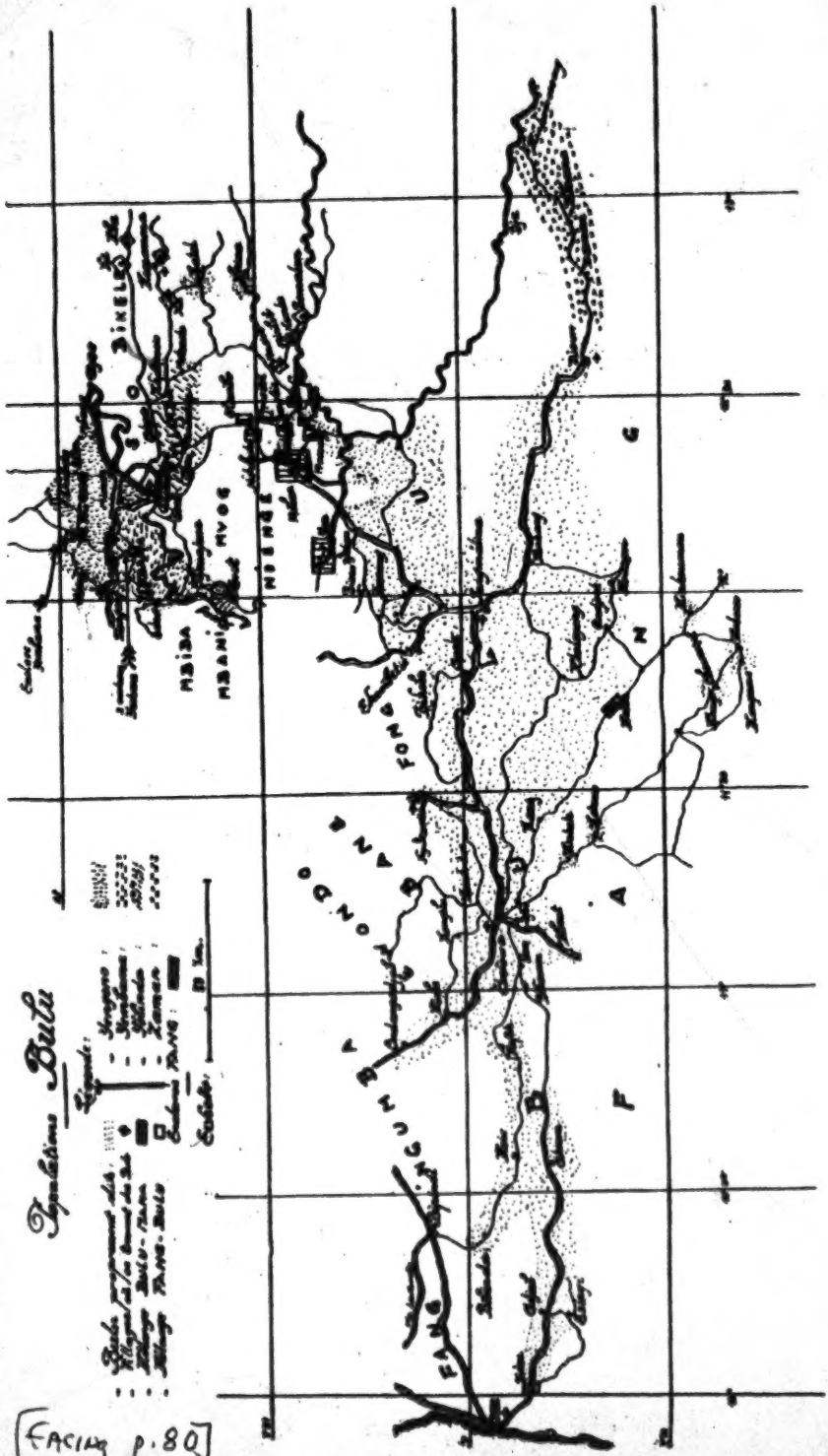
L'autre groupe prit la direction de l'Est, dans la grande forêt, et, à 120 km. de là, les *ZAMAN* poussent une pointe jusqu'au Dja.

Mais étant donné l'influence exercée, affirment B. Struck et le R.P. Nekes, de la langue des *FANG* sur celle des *EWONDO*, il semble que l'on soit autorisé à dater dans une époque très récente ce glissement des *BULU* entre *EWONDO* et *FANG* ; car l'influence n'a pu s'exercer que par promiscuité et contacts constants et directs, et non pas par enjambement par-dessus les *BULU*. La linguistique permet-elle ici de dater l'histoire ?

Les habitats de ces populations présentent des aspects différents. Alors que, dans un pays relativement ouvert, les villages et hameaux des *YENGONO, YEMBAMA* et *YELINDA* s'échelonnent sur de nombreuses pistes, les *BULU* du Sud, installés dans un pays aux vallées parallèles où coulent les affluents du Nyong et qui sont séparées les unes des autres par la forêt dense, ne peuvent construire leurs villages que le long de ces vallées.

Tous ces pays sont très riches, surtout dans le bassin du Nyong. Les autochtones y font de belles plantations vivrières, y ont beaucoup de palmiers. On y rencontre aussi maintes exploitations riches, de belles cacaoyères et des coupes de bois.

(1) Bertaut, *Droit coutumier des Boulous*, p. 40.


Expédition Bulu
Légende:
Echelle:
10 Km.
BIKELE
NSIMA
NSANI
NYOE
NTENDE
FONG
NANGONG
FANG
F
A
N
G

[Facing p. 80]

Tous les produits sont écoulés par un important réseau routier et le Nyong navigable jusqu'à la voie ferrée, à Mbalmayo.

Les *BULU* sont intelligents et travailleurs et sont capables de devenir d'excellents artisans.

LANGUE. — Nous avons vu que le R.P. NEKES et G. TESSMANN voient une parenté très proche entre la langue des *BULU* et celle des *MVELE*. Cette langue bulu s'étend, peu différenciée, entre les idiomes presqu'identiques entre eux des *EWONDO* et des *PAHOUINS* du Gabon.

Bibliographie linguistique

Günther TROLLE VON HAGEN, Lehrbuch der Bulu Sprache, VII-102 pages (Berlin, Radetzki, 1914).

Sir H. H. JOHNSTON, vocabulaire n° 219.

George L. BAYES, Handbook of Bulu. Revised edition ; with the vocabulary revised and much enlarged by the author and Silas F. JOHNSON (Ebolowa, 1926, The Halsey Memorial Press).

A. I. GOOD, Bulu handbook supplement. Supplementary facts in Bulu grammar. Appendix to vocabulary in Bulu. Vocabulary of exclamatory words. 131 pages (Ebolowa, 1934, The Halsey Memorial Press).

English-Bulu Vocabulary (Ebolowa, s.d.), 187 pages.

ANTHROPOLOGIE SOMATIQUE ET DEMOGRAPHIE. — *BULU :* taille moyenne : hommes 165 cm. 4 ; femmes 157 cm. 6.

Indices	*Hommes*	*Femmes*
—	—	—
Céphalique	77,8	79,2
Facial	86,5	85,1
Nasal	85,7	82,0
Cormique	51,2	52,2
Envergure/T	103,7	102,9

La balance démographique est à peine progressive : index différentiel + 0,30 %.

Le taux de stérilité est de 7 %, et le taux de capacité génitale de 4,12 grossesses par femme.

YENGONO : la région a été un gros foyer de trypanosomiase, qui paraît maîtrisé.

Leur formule sanguine est la suivante :

O : 50,1 % ; — A : 15,7 % ; — B : 29,5 % ; — AB : 4,7 % ; — indice : 0,50.

La balance démographique est légèrement favorable : index différentiel + 0,63 %.

Taux de stérilité : 9 % ; — taux de capacité génitale : 3,47.

YELINDA : la balance démographique est déficitaire : index différentiel — 0,1 %.

Taux de stérilité : 18 % ; — taux de capacité génitale : 3,30.

YEMBAMA : la trypanosomiase a sévi chez eux avec une assez grande intensité, mais elle est en régression continue.

La balance démographique est favorable : index différentiel + 0,72 %.

Taux de stérilité : 16 % ; — taux de capacité génitale : 3,97.

Bibliographie anthropologique

VIRCHOW, Rothgefarbter Schädel eines Bulu Negers von Kamerun (*ZE*, 1900).

Dr POUTRIN, Contribution à l'étude des Pygmées d'Afrique (*L'Anthropologie*, 1918), pp. 443-446, et 500 : groupe Boulou.

BSEC, n° 15-16, sept.-déc. 1946, pp. 40-41.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE GENERALE

VON KAMPTZ, Ueber den nach Jaunde ausgeführten Zug (*DK*, 1896, pp. 288 à 291).

Hauptl. ZIMMERMANN, Reisebericht des Chefs des Verwaltungsbezirkes Ebolowa (*DK*, 1904, pp. 232 à 234).

DKL, au mot BU'LE.

Rapport annuel du Gouv. franç. sur l'Admin. des Terr. sous mandat du Cameroun pour l'année 1923, pp. 72 à 76.

M. BARTAUT, Le droit coutumier des Boulous, Monographie d'une tribu du Sud-Cameroun (Paris, 1935), 366 pages, 2 cartes.

BSEC, 1943, n° 3, pp. 28-29.

MVELE

Situation : 11°40 à 12°10 E. Gr.
3°45 à 4°20 lat. N., au Sud de la Sanaga.
Sur une ligne S.-N. : 4°20 à 4°35 lat. N.
à 11°40 E. Gr.

GEOGRAPHIE PHYSIQUE. — Superficie : 2.304 km² au Sud de la Sanaga.

Le Nord du pays des *MVELE* est un haut-plateau couvert par la savane, coupé de galeries forestières. Il est très bien irrigué par les affluents et les sous-affluents de la Sanaga, aux lits larges et tranquilles. Vers le 4° de lat. N., une série de collines trace la ligne de partage des eaux entre les bassins du Nyong et de la Sanaga. Aussi toute la partie Sud du pays *MVELE* appartient-elle au bassin du Nyong. Il y subsiste les derniers tentacules de la forêt, enrichis de cultures et de nombreux palmiers.

GEOGRAPHIE HUMAINE.

Population : au Sud de la Sanaga : 35.340 hab., en 1945.
au Nord — » 1.655 hab.
Densité du Sud de la Sanaga : 15,3.

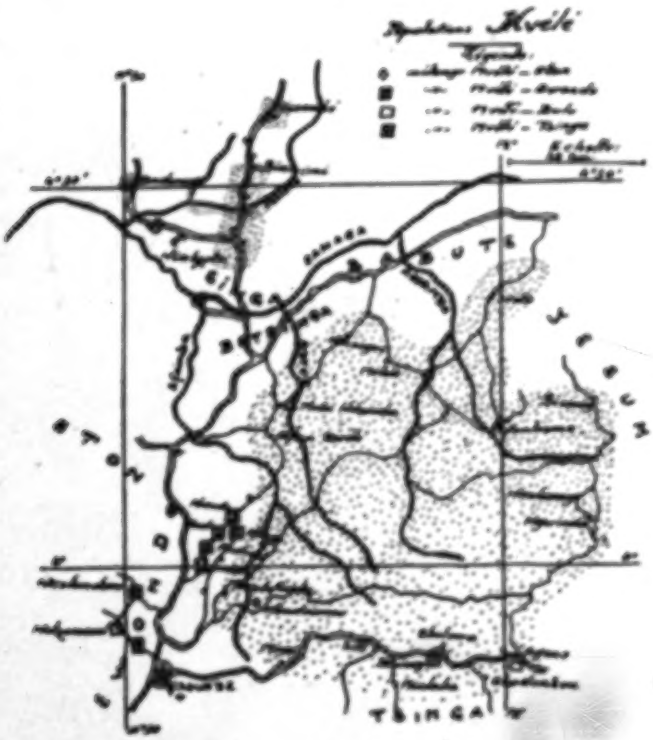
Histoire. — C'est toujours la poussée des *BABUTE* qui repoussa les *MVELE*, au milieu du siècle dernier, sur la rive gauche de la Sanaga. Quelques noyaux subsistèrent enclavés entre les différentes petites populations qui se réfugièrent entre le Mbam et la vallée de la Sanaga. C'est ainsi que les *MVELE* du Nord et du Sud représentent une unité.

Les auteurs ne sont pas d'accord au sujet de la parenté qui existerait entre les *MVELE* et l'important groupe des *YESUM*. Pour ENGELHARDT, ce sont deux populations différentes. G. TESSMANN, au contraire, croit devoir rattacher les *YESUM* au « complexe » *MVELE*.

Lorsque les Allemands pénétrèrent chez les *MVELE*, ils furent frappés par l'aspect spécial de leurs villages. ENGELHARDT les décrit ainsi : « Au contraire des autres *FANG* qui disposent leurs cases en ligne droite de part et d'autre des

pistes, les *MVELE* les construisent en étoile autour d'une place centrale ou sans aucune symétrie. » (*DK*, 1902, p. 421).

Les pistes du pays servirent, dès le début de l'occupation allemande, de voies commerciales pour le Sud, par lesquelles les produits de l'Est étaient acheminés vers Yaoundé et la côte. Actuellement ceux-ci s'écoulent à la fois par la route qui



traverse le pays *MVELE* au Sud (Akonolinga à Yaoundé) et par la grande route de l'Est (Nanga-Eboko à Yaoundé).

LANGUE. — Très proche de l'Ewondo, dont elle ne semble être qu'un dialecte, dit Engelmardt. — D'un avis différent, le R.P. Nekes dénote plutôt une très grande identité avec la langue des *BULU* du district d'Ebolowa. Selon lui, elle représenterait une forme plus archaïque que la langue des *EWONDO* et des *BANE*.

Voir : Tessmann, un court vocabulaire dans : *Die Pangwe*, pp. 30-31.
— *PM*, 1903, p. 184, note 40.
R.P. Nekes, *KR*, 1913, pp. 469-478.

ANTHROPOLOGIE SOMATIQUE ET DEMOGRAPHIE. — Les *MVELE* sont de type élancé, à peine platyrhiniens ; ils présentent des caractères atténués de Soudaniens.

Indices	*Hommes*	*Femmes*
—	—	—
Céphalique	77,5	78,4
Facial	81,5	82,1
Nasal	90,0	85,5
Cornique	51,5	52,1
Envergure/T	104,1	103,1

Leur formule sanguine est celle de Noirs typiques, avec excès de groupe AB sur les chiffres classiques :

O : 51 % ; — A : 14,3 % ; — B : 16,3 % ; — AB : 18,4 % ; — indice : 0,942.

La balance démographique est un peu déficitaire : index différentiel — 0,21 %.

Voir : BSEC, n° 10, juin 1945, l'étude du Dr Olivier.
Voir également : BSEC, n° 15-16, juin-déc. 1946, pp. 59-60.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Bericht des Hauptmanns Ehrhardt über seine Reise von Bertua nach Yaundé (*DK*, 1903, pp. 389 à 391 et 419 à 421).
Von Oeuvres, Lieut., Die Oeffnung des direkten Weges Nanga-Eboko-Dengdeng (*DK*, 1907, pp. 426-427).
BSEC, n° 3, p. 38.
Importants rapports inédits des administrateurs Courbarde et Chauleur.

YESUM, YEBEKANGA

Situation : 11°55 à 12°30 E. Gr.
5°05 à 5°35 lat. N.

GEOGRAPHIE PHYSIQUE. — Superficies : YESUM : 1.290 km² env.
YEBEKANGA : 315 km² env.

Le pays des *YESUM* se dessine sur la carte comme un quadrilatère irrégulier. Il s'étend dans la plaine de la Sanaga, arrosé par les affluents et sous-affluents du fleuve, qui coulent dans d'épaisses galeries forestières dans la savane, dans toute la zone Nord. La partie méridionale du pays appartient encore à la zone forestière.

Les *YEBEKANGA*, voisins orientaux des *YESUM*, occupent un territoire triangulaire dans la vallée de la *Tédé*, pays monotone et plat, dans une savane coupée de bosquetaux et de galeries forestières.

GEOGRAPHIE HUMAINE. — Populations : YESUM : 8.075 hab.
YEBEKANGA : 747 hab.

Densités : YESUM : 6,1 au km².
YEBEKANGA : 2,37 au km².

Nous avons vu que les premiers ethnologues allemands n'ont pas été d'accord sur l'origine des *YESUM* et leur parenté ethnique avec les autres populations

pahouines. Les uns voulurent voir un complexe *YESUM-MVELE*, les autres au contraire un complexe *YESUM-BULU*.

L'administrateur CHAULEUR enfin, dans un rapport de 1933, rend compte que, parmi les populations d'origine « *FANG* » de la Subdivision de Nanga-Eboko, « le principal noyau est constitué par les *YESUM*... Les traditions orales les font descendre de l'ancêtre Noomo, qui vivait au pays de Djoum ». Cette nouvelle version les fait donc venir du Sud, détachés tardivement des *BULU*, alors que les deux autres versions allemandes les voyaient prendre pied dans le pays par le Nord, au moment de l'arrivée des *PAHOUINS*.

En reprenant ici la classification de G. TESSMANN qui n'est peut-être que provisoire, — les études de l'avenir apporteront peut-être des données nouvelles,

— nous constatons que, sauf pour le sens dans lequel s'est effectuée la migration, il n'y a pas contradiction absolue entre les deux thèses *MVELE-YESUM* et *BULU-YESUM*, car les uns et les autres sont des *PAHOUINS*, — que leur migration se soit produite plus ou moins tard, dans un sens ou dans l'autre.

Au milieu des *YESUM* sont installés les *YEMFANG* (à peine quelques centaines d'individus). L'administrateur CHAULEUR a pu déterminer que ces derniers sont aussi venus du Sud et qu'ils sont étroitement apparentés à ceux de la région des *BULU*.

M. BRUYSUY, de son côté, les signale au nombre des populations existant au pays BULU, — comme aussi nous retrouvons les *YESUM* dans sa nomenclature (1).

Quant aux *YEBEKANGA*, l'administrateur CHAULEUR en dit qu' « il est impossible d'affirmer la commune origine des *YEBEKANGA* et des *YESUM*. Il apparaît toutefois probable que cette tribu est montée des bords du Nyong, à une époque assez récente » (2).

(1) BRUYSUY, *Droit coutumier...*, p. 45.
(2) Rapport inédit du 20 février 1932.

Nous avons groupé ici *YESUM* et *YEBEKANGA*, malgré la confusion des renseignements, en nous fondant simplement sur l'identité possible du sens de leur migration. Il semble, d'après leurs récits, que celle-ci ait été très récente, quelques années à peine avant l'arrivée des Européens. Elle se heurta aux populations de même souche pahouine, venues du Nord il y a cent ans environ, et les refoula vers leurs habitats actuels.

DEMOGRAPHIE. — La population *YESUM* est en regression, malgré de bonnes conditions apparentes. En effet, la balance démographique donne l'index différentiel : — 2,8 %.

Le taux de stérilité s'élève à 25,53 % et le taux de capacité génitale est de 3,4 grossesses par femme.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Hauptl. THUMBT, Dienstreise nach Ezum-Sanaga (*DK*, 1903, pp. 521 à 523).

YEKABA

Situation : 12° à 12°50 E. Gr.
5°20 à 5°45 lat. N.

GEOGRAPHIE PHYSIQUE ET HUMAINE.

Superficie : 1.802 km² env.
Population : 14.500 hab.
Densité : 9,2 au km².

Le pays des *YEKABA* est tout entier situé dans la savane qui s'étend dans la plaine de la Sanaga, sur la rive gauche du fleuve. Le pays est peu vallonné, arrosé par les affluents de la Sanaga, Tédé et Nyé, qui coulent dans des galeries forestières.

Les renseignements fournis par différents observateurs (les administrateurs CHAULEUR, COURNARIE, BOUDINEAU) n'indiquent pas de façon claire sous quelle dénomination générale nous devons classer cet ensemble de populations installées sur la rive droite de la Sanaga. Toutes les cartes françaises portent le nom général de *BADJIA*, et sous cette dénomination sont classées plusieurs ethnies dont on n'a pas pu reconnaître pour toutes une souche commune. Ce nom *BADJIA* n'est peut-être qu'un surnom (renseignements BOUDINEAU). Les cartes allemandes n'emploient que le nom *YEKABA*, dont CHAULEUR dit aussi : « De ces tribus (du groupe des *BADJIA*), la plus importante, et qui donne d'ailleurs son nom à la région, est celle des *YEKABA* (1). »

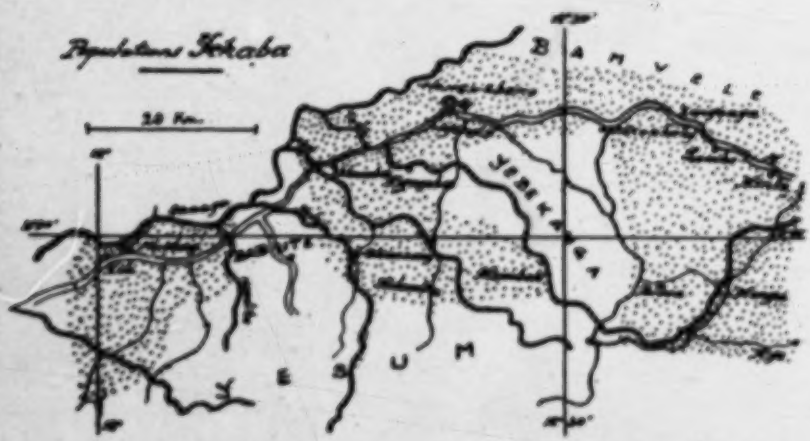
D'après COURNARIE, l'ensemble des *YEKABA* et des quelques groupements frères ont leur souche chez les *YALONGO* de la rive Nord de la Sanaga, c'est-à-dire directement au Nord de leur habitat actuel. Poussés par les *BABUTE*, refoulés eux-mêmes par les *FULBE*, ils s'enfuirent vers le Sud et passèrent la Sanaga. Il est possible qu'ils occupèrent d'abord, avec leurs voisins les *BAMVELE*, tout le pays au Nord du Nyong. Ils furent ensuite repoussés en direction de la Sanaga par la migration venant du Sud des *YESUM-YEBEKANGA* (2). Ces deux flots contraires se heurtèrent, se compénétrèrent et il en résulta la confusion actuelle. Les *YEKABA* se trouvèrent coupés en deux tronçons, les *YEBEKANGA* restèrent

(1) Rapport inédit du 26 février 1933.
(2) Voir plus loin, au chap. BAMVELE.

enclavés au milieu d'eux. Deux éléments différents composent donc l'ensemble des populations de la rive gauche de la Sanaga (dans la Subdiv. admin. de Nanga-Eboko) : un élément un peu plus ancien venu du Nord, descendu vers le Sud et repoussé ; puis un élément plus récent venu du Sud et refoulant le premier.

Venus du Nord et du Sud, à des dates différentes, ces deux éléments appartiennent probablement l'un et l'autre à la même migration lointaine des *PAHOUINS*, — quoique le nom des *YALONGO* prononcé par eux dans leur généalogie nous rappelle les *BETI*. Là encore apparaît la complexité de ce qui constitue l'amalgame *BETI-PAHOUINS*.

Les villages disséminés en brousse, et les cases, sont pauvres. Pourtant, dès 1903, les Allemands signalèrent que dans le pays des *YEKABA* passait la grande



voie commerciale de Bertoua à Yoko. Actuellement, dans toute sa longueur, il est desservi par la grande route de l'Est (Yaoundé-Nanga-Eboko-Bertoua).

LANGUE. — L'appartenance des *YEKABA* à la migration pahouine ressort de la carte ethnique de G. TESSMANN, sur laquelle ils figurent dans la grande tache pahouine, — sous la rubrique générale des *MVELE*. Nous y reviendrons plus loin, au chap. des *BAMVELE*.

DÉMOGRAPHIE. — Les *YEKABA* sont en régression très nette.

La mortalité infantile y est de 34,3 %. Le taux de stérilité est égal à 33,93 % ; celui de la capacité génitale de 4,3 grossesses par femme, mais avec près de 10 % de mortinatalité.

Le bolance démographique donne un index différentiel égal à — 4,4 %.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Hauptl. TESSMANN, Dienstreise nach Essum-Sanaga (DK, 1913, p. 433).
J. BANNA, Die WUTE, pp. 113-119.
Rapports inédits des Administrateurs COUTURIER, CROCHERIE, GOTAY et BOUCHERAT.
Carte MOISEL, G 8, DUMS.

BAMVELE et BOBILI

Situation : 12°30 à 13°30 E. Gr.
4°35 à 4°50 lat. N.

Sur toutes les cartes allemandes, la population que nous nommons *BAMVELE* est désignée du nom de *BELE* (carte MOISEL, carte ethnique de TESSMANN).

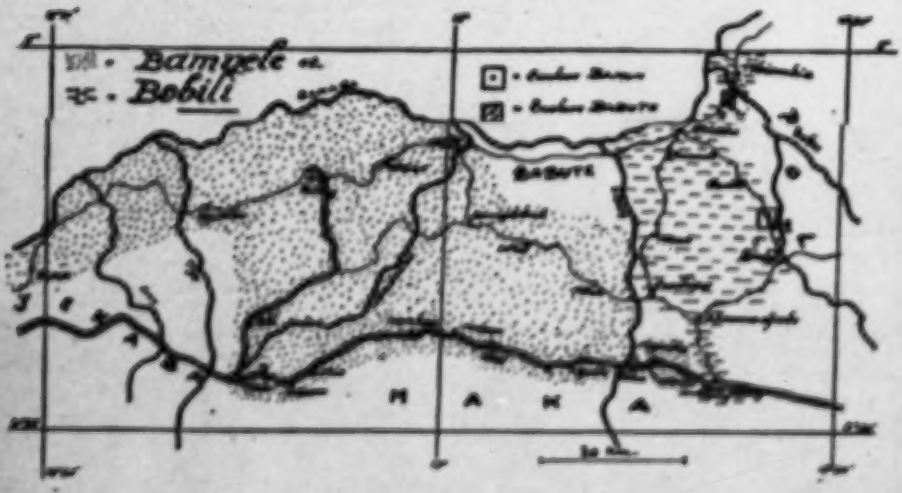
Nous rapprochons les *BOBILI* des *BAMVELE*, d'une part parce que la carte MOISEL (DUMZ, G 3) ne les distingue pas des *BELE* ; d'autre part, parce que les traditions sur leurs origines ne sont pas assez précises pour nous autoriser à une conclusion autre que celle adoptée par les Allemands.

GEOGRAPHIE PHYSIQUE ET HUMAINE.

Superficie : 2.472 km² env.
Population : BAMVELE : 18.452 hab.
BOBILI : 6.247 hab.
Densité : 10 au km².

Les *BAMVELE*, voisins immédiats des *YEKABA* et des *YEBEKOLO* au Nord, occupent un vaste pays homogène à la lisière savane-forêt. Pays à peu près plat, qui s'étend dans la plaine de la Sanaga dont il est riverain sur une trentaine de kilomètres. Il est arrosé par quelques gros affluents de la Sanaga. A l'Est, le Long lui sert de limite avec les *BABUTE*, qui encerrent les *BAMVELE* de toutes parts, sauf au Sud. Seuls quelques villages se sont installés sur la rive droite du Long, s'échelonnant sur quelques kilomètres le long de la route de Bertoua.

Les traditions des *BAMVELE*, comme celles de leurs voisins *YEKABA*, racontent que leurs origines doivent être recherchées chez les *YALONGO* du Nord de la Sanaga. Ils ont subi la même poussée des *BABUTE* pressés par les *FULBE*, et, s'enfuyant vers le Sud, passèrent la Sanaga il y a un peu plus d'un siècle. Leur histoire est identique à celle de leurs voisins *YEKABA*.



Les *BOBILI* se croient autochtones, mais ils disent qu'autrefois leur habitat s'étendait jusqu'au delà du Long, vers l'Ouest. Ils auraient donc été très peu touchés par les poussées *BABUTE* et *FULBE* (1).

L'administrateur CHAULEUR, qui a procédé à de longues recherches tendant à débrouiller l'écheveau de ces populations des bords de la Sanaga, n'ose pas se prononcer sur les origines lointaines des *YALONGO*. Il pose pourtant un problème : « Seraient-ils apparentés aux *BA-YOKA* du Congo qui, venant du pays Massal, émigrèrent vers le Sud aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles ? L'existence de *BA-YOKA* au sein de la tribu est une indication évidemment insuffisante. Il faudrait pouvoir comparer les langues pour apporter à cette question une réponse satisfaisante. »

Le pays des *BAMVELE* et des *BOBILI* est enrichi de beaux palmiers qui représentent leurs seuls éléments de prospérité.

Au Sud, le pays est desservi par la grande route de l'Est et également par une route centrale, qui, partant de la limite des *YEKABA*, monte vers le Nord de leur district.

LANGUE. — Alors que les traditions des *YEKABA* et des *BAMVELE* affirment que les ancêtres de ces deux populations s'enfuirent de chez les *YALONGO* au Nord de la Sanaga, la carte linguistique de G. TESSMANN les distingue nettement.

Nous avons vu que, d'après lui, les *YEKABA* parleraient une langue pahouine. Les *BAMVELE* (*BELE* dans la terminologie allemande) auraient apporté de leur pays d'origine un parler différent, quoiqu'apparenté aux langues pahouines, mais mélangé de *BETI*. Cette observation est intéressante et plausible. Chez les *YEKABA* de même origine, il y aurait donc eu, peut-être, emprunt de langue.

Voir TESSMANN, *PM*, 1932, pp. 117 et 184.

ANTHROPOLOGIE SOMATIQUE. — Presque tous grands, forts, à nez épaté et prognathisme accentué. Tronc relativement long.

Taille moyenne : hommes, 169 cm. 7 ; femmes, 158 cm. 9.

Indices	*Hommes*	*Femmes*
Céphalique	79,3	78,7
Facial	84,7	84,9
Nasal	87,0	81,8
Cormique	51,5	52,5
Envergure/T	104,5	104,2

YEBEKOLO

Situation : 12°08 à 12°45 E. *Gr.*
3°50 à 4°20 lat. N.

GÉOGRAPHIE PHYSIQUE ET HUMAINE.

Superficie : 1.950 km² env.
Population : 23.291 hab.
Densité : 11,9 au km².

Le pays des *YEBEKOLO*, qui revêt la forme d'une corne d'abondance couchée horizontalement, s'étend tout entier dans le bassin du Nyong. Le fleuve le limite au Sud. Ses affluents de rive droite, aux lits larges, répandent leurs eaux

(1) Rapport inédit de M. BRETHES-OCHOA, mai 1945.

aux abords du Nyong dans des vallées souvent inondées. C'est un grand pays, couvert par la forêt et assez marécageux.

Il s'y trouve de gros villages. Les cultures vivrières, sans être pauvres, n'offrent cependant pas une grande abondance. Les riverains du Nyong complètent leur nourriture par le produit de la chasse et de la pêche.

Il est difficile d'affirmer les origines lointaines de cette population. Les traditions orales (rapportées par M. TREMESAYGUES) racontent que l'ancêtre était de souche *YAMBASA*, et vivait par conséquent à près de 200 km. vers l'Ouest, au

Nord de la Sanaga. Marchant vers l'Est, les *YEBEKOLO* rencontrèrent d'abord les *OMVANG*, puis les *MAKA*, refoulant ceux-ci dans leur habitat actuel.

D'autre part, les cartes allemandes ne confirment pas ces traditions : établies aussi suivant des traditions auxquelles se superposent souvent des données linguistiques, elles situent toutes les *YEBEKOLO* dans le « complexe *NVELE* » (cartes de détails du *DK*, 1907), sous la dénomination *PANGWE*. Il peut d'ailleurs y avoir eu emprunt de langue, — un fait linguistique n'apporte qu'une indication et non des solutions définitives à des problèmes ethniques.

Lorsque les Allemands arrivèrent dans le pays des *YEBEKOLO* (1904-1905), ceux-ci se soumirent sans résistance. Les nouveaux occupants les trouvèrent installés sur les grandes pistes de l'Est conduisant à Doumé. Dès lors, les pistes furent aménagées et les *YEBEKOLO* se trouvèrent ainsi situés sur les grandes voies commerciales qui écoulaient les produits de la forêt de l'Est vers les régions côtières.

LANGUE. — La carte linguistique de G. TESSMANN place, sans commentaire, les *YEBEKOLO* sous la rubrique *MVELE*.

ANTHROPOLOGIE SOMATIQUE ET DEMOGRAPHIE. — La taille moyenne des *YEBEKOLO* est de 165 cm. 5 et l'indice céphalique moyen 78,8.

Leur formule sanguine est la suivante :

O : 69,3 % ; — A : 13,1 % ; — B : 12,1 % ; — AB : 5,35 % ; — indice : 1,197.

L'énorme mortalité infantile (58,64 %) est due au paludisme à cause de la nature marécageuse de la région, qui risque aussi de rester une menace de trypanosomiase.

La balance démographique est stationnaire : index différentiel + 0,09 %.

Taux de stérilité : 5 % ; — de capacité génitale : 3,98 grossesses par femme.

Voir *BSEC*, n° 15-16, sept.-déc. 1946, p. 65.

Dr BRUGOO. Le nouveau-né et la femme enceinte aux environs d'Ayos (*BSEC*, n° 21-22, 1948, pp. 49-68).

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

SCHEUSEMANN, Die Unruhen im Südbezirk von Kamerun 1904 bis 1906 (*DK*, 1907, pp. 349 à 351, et 396).

Rapport inédit sur les généalogies et les origines des populations de la Subdivision d'Akonolinga, par TREMEAVGUES (1930).

Nombreux rapports aux Arch. du Serv. de Santé, provenant du Poste médical d'Ayos.

Carte MOISEL, G 3, DUME.

OMVANG

Situation : les *OMVANG* sont scindés en deux tronçons :

d'une part : 12°15 à 12°50 E. Gr.
3°55 à 4°05 lat. N.

d'autre part : 12°45 à 13° E. Gr.
4°05 à 4°28 lat. N.

GEOGRAPHIE PHYSIQUE ET HUMAINE.

Superficie : à l'Ouest : 390 km² env.
à l'Est : 660 km² env.

Populations : à l'Ouest : 4.852 hab. ; à l'Est : 7.520 hab.

Densités : — 12,4 au km² ; — 11 au km².

Les *OMVANG* habitent un pays de forêt, assez pauvre à l'Ouest, riche à l'Est. Les plus occidentaux, au Nord-Ouest d'Ayos, sont riverains du Nyong, et là seulement ils jouissent du passage d'une route. — Le pays des *OMVANG* orientaux s'étend dans la vallée de la rivière Ayong, affluent de la rive droite du Nyong, mais le pays n'atteint pas le fleuve. Cependant, le cours d'eau est navigable partout, et grâce à cela, le fleuve est facilement atteignable. Il coule d'abord en forêt ; puis celle-ci s'éclaircit vers le Sud pour céder la place à de beaux peuplements de palmiers-raphias.

Les *OMVANG* connaissent peu leur histoire. Ils savent seulement qu'il y a moins d'un siècle, ils occupaient encore toute la zone au Nord du Nyong, en contact constant avec les *YEBEKOLO*, dont ils furent tantôt les maîtres, tantôt les esclaves. Guerriers et entraînés à la guérilla, ils finirent par attaquer les *MAKA* voisins sur lesquels ils conquirent leur habitat actuel. L'avance des *YEBEKOLO*

finit par les disloquer en deux tronçons. La paix ne put être rétablie dans le pays que par l'intervention des Allemands en 1904-1905.

P. CHAULEUR ne partage pas l'opinion qui tend à rattacher les *OMVANG* aux populations pahouines. Il ne semble pas que ses raisons, qui ne s'appuient que sur quelques faits de migrations locales, soient plus valables que celles qu'il combat.

Les *OMVANG* orientaux, installés dans un pays riche, sont travailleurs et de bons agriculteurs. Parallèlement aux cultures vivrières, ils préparent de grands champs d'arachides et entretiennent de belles palmeraies, des caféières et des cacaoyères.

LANGUE. — G. TESSMANN n'est pas plus affirmatif en linguistique que les autres auteurs n'osent l'être en traditions historiques. Sur sa carte ethnique, les deux îlots *OMVANG* tranchent nettement sur la grande tache pahouine. Le seul

commentaire qu'il en donne est celui-ci : « Probablement à rattacher aux néo-bantu, peut-être aux *PAHOUINS*. » (*PM*, 1932, p. 190).

DÉMOGRAPHIE. — La trypanosomiase a eu chez les *OMVANG* de l'Ouest un de ses foyers les plus actifs.

Leur balance démographique est cependant légèrement favorable : index différentiel + 0,83 %.

Taux de stérilité : 8 % ; — taux de capacité génitale : 3,57.

Les *OMVANG* orientaux eux aussi ont beaucoup souffert de trypanosomiase.

Leur balance démographique est également en légère progression : index différentiel : + 0,92 %.

Taux de stérilité : 9 % ; — mortalité infantile très peu élevée.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

BSEC, n° 3, juill. 1943, pp. 18-19.

Rapports inédits des administrateurs BERTAUT, DE VILLEDEUIL, aux Arch. du Bureau des Affaires Politiques et à la documentation de la S.E.C.

Carte MOISEL, G 3, DUME.

MBIDA-MBANE et MVOGO-NIENGE

Situations : MBIDA-MBANE : 11°40 à 12°15 E. Gr.
4°20 à 4°50 lat. N.

MVOGO-NIENGE : 12° à 12°28 E. Gr.
4°20 à 4°45 lat. N.

GEOGRAPHIE PHYSIQUE. — Superficies : MBIDA-MBANE : 1.548 km².
MVOGO-NIENGE : 710 km².

Les *MBIDA-MBANE* et les *MVOGO-NIENGE* paraissent être d'origines assez semblables pour être groupés ici.

Ils sont voisins géographiquement. Les *MBIDA-MBANE* sont installés de part en part du fleuve Nyong, en deux groupes d'importance à peu près égale au Nord et au Sud.

Les *MVOGO-NIENGE* sont leurs voisins vers l'Est, au Sud du Nyong.

Les uns et les autres occupent des zones forestières riches. Le pays des *MBIDA-MBANE* est traversé par le Nyong en son milieu, en direction N.E.-S.O. Les *MVOGO-NIENGE* n'en sont riverains que sur quelques kilomètres, en aval d'Akonolinga.

GEOGRAPHIE HUMAINE. — Populations : MBIDA-MBANE : 19.707 hab.
MVOGO-NIENGE : 7.291 hab.

Densités : MBIDA-MBANE : 12,8 au km².
MVOGO-NIENGE : 10,26 au km².

Histoire. — Les traditions des *MBIDA-MBANE* d'une part, et celles des *MVOGO-NIENGE* d'autre part, de même que celles des *YEDUMA*, des *YENGONO*, des *YEMBAMA* (ces deux dernières populations rattachées par TESSMANN aux *BULU*), racontent que leurs ancêtres vivaient sur la rive droite de la Sanaga. Ils auraient été là trois esclaves d'un même homme et se seraient sauvés à la suite d'une grosse palabre qui mettait leur vie en danger, et passèrent la Sanaga. Etant esclaves, il n'est naturellement pas dit de quelle souche ils étaient. Ce sont leurs descendances qui constituent actuellement un certain nombre des populations des alentours du Nyong.

Ils vivent les uns et les autres dans un pays riche, où des cultures vivrières voisinent avec des cacaoyères et des caféières prospères. Les riverains du Nyong ajoutent aussi à leur nourriture les produits de la pêche.

Les richesses de toute cette région sont facilement écoulées d'une part par le fleuve, bief navigable jusqu'à Mbalmayo où il rejoint la voie ferrée, d'autre part

par la route de l'Est (Abong-Mbang-Akonolinga-Yaoundé), enfin par la route du Sud (Sangmélima-Mbalmayo).

DEMOGRAPHIE. — Les *MBIDA-MBANE* n'ont pas été fortement touchés par la trypanosomiase, sauf le groupement d'Akonolinga, mais la régression de la maladie a été rapide. Mais l'hérédo-syphilis intervient pour 22,2 % dans les causes de la mortalité infantile.

L'index différentiel est légèrement favorable : + 0,68 %.

Le taux de stérilité est de 7 % ; — le taux de capacité génitale de 5,20 grossesses par femme.

L'ensemble de la population vit dans de bonnes conditions et est en lente progression.

L'index différentiel des *MVOGO-MIENGE* est à peine excédentaire : + 0,39 %.

Le taux de stérilité est de 9 % ; — le taux de capacité génitale de 4,25 grossesses par femme. Mais la mortinatalité est très forte : 26,9 %. C'est ce qui explique que cette population soit stationnaire.

[73] Part II. Chapter I

Fang Society

I. The Fang Country

114 Fang migrations toward the Gabon coast continued until the beginning of the twentieth century. This thrust continues, and the terror it inspired among the populations which were driven back soon attracted the attention of the first explorers and colonists. As early as 1856, Du Chaillu succumbed to the attraction of the Fang country, conjuring up this "apparently restless and enterprising race" which strives to "take possession of the whole coastline." He knew that the key trading positions of the interior were to be found there. In 1884, A. Fourneau, then making his first expedition, was astonished by the conquering vitality of the Fang. He describes them as "intelligent, with very well-developed commercial instincts, not yet having the vices of the coastal tribes; there is no doubt that before long they will cause all the aborigines to disappear by absorbing them." (1) During the entire period of

1. A. Fourneau, Au Vieux Congo, Notes de route [In Old Congo, Travel Notes], Editions du Comité de l'Afrique Française, 1932, pp. 41-42.

penetration, there was a kind of Fang mirage which tended to overestimate the importance of the group: according to the Marquis de Compiegne (about 1875), "an extreme density of population extending over a length of more than 400 kilometers"; according to Lesieur-Trilles (1900), a population "that must number several million"; and following his mission (1905-08), Captain Cottes, more precisely and affirmatively, puts the figure at "two or three million subjects " Actually, Europeans discovering the "interior" during the second half of the nineteenth century were surprised at a large migration toward the coast taking place under their eyes, along the Ogooué River in the opposite direction from

114 their own penetrating movement, and in a way coming to meet them.

101 [74] The Fang -- or Pahouin [Pahuin] -- occupy in an oblique direction, northeast to southwest, the upper part of Gabon, with the line of the Ogooué roughly forming their southern frontier. [161] They represent 127,000 inhabitants out of the 415,000 living in this territory. They are separated by the Cameroons frontier from a collection of related and particularly active peoples numbering more than 550,000 individuals. (1) They are divided by the

1. Cf. I. Dugast, Inventaire ethnique du Sud-Cameroun [Ethnical Inventory of the South Cameroons], I.F.A.N., Douala, 1949; or "Esquisse ethnologique pour servir à l'étude des principales tribus du Cameroun français... [Ethnological Sketch to Serve for the Study of the Principal Tribes of the French Cameroons]," Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Camérounaises, pp. 21-22, 1948.

frontiers of Spanish Guinea which, with an essentially Fang population (of nearly 100,000 individuals), isolates closely related groups. The hazards of colonial expansion have led to this partition into three "blocs" which were subject to different policies and condemned for a long time to ignorance of each other.

174 As to the arrival of the Fang in Gabon, we possess a few guide marks. According to our investigations in Woleu-N'Tem, the settlement goes back in this region eight or nine generations, which corresponds to the second half of the eighteenth century. According to E. Trezenem the Fang reached the Middle Ogooué at the beginning of the nineteenth century, (2) and their arrival at the estuary

2. E. Trezenem, "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan du Moyen-Ogooué [Ethnographic Notes on the Fang Tribes of the Middle Ogooué]," Journal de la Société des Africanistes, Vol. 6, f. I, 1936.

174 must have been about 1850. (3) At the extreme end of their push

3. Rapport de la Commission d'Enquête Historique [Report of the Commission of Historical Inquiry], Libreville, 1949.

they reached the Setté-Cama region (near Sounga Lagoon) about 1890, (4) having been attracted by the trading stations that were

4. Archives de Gabon, rapports du Poste de Setté-Cama [Archives of Gabon, Reports of the Setté-Cama Post].

then there.

Originally, this great human movement occurred as a repercussion of the push of the victorious Peul (pl. Foulbé) into the Cameroons during the second half of the eighteenth century, (5)

5. Dugast, op. cit. and a general survey: "Essai sur le peuplement du Cameroun [Essay on the Population of the Cameroons]," Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Camerounaises, 21-22, 1948.

which forced the savanna population toward the forest zone. (6)

6. J. Despois, "Les genres de vie des populations de la forêt dans le Cameroun oriental [Types of Life of the Peoples of the Forest of the Eastern Cameroons], "Annales de Géographie, 297, 1946.

Most of the legends place the original country inhabited by the Fang very far to the northeast, a country which has an entirely different fauna from that of Gabon and which is peopled by white men using horses and skilled in iron work. (7) The arrival in the

7. Cf. Trezenem, op. cit.

174 forest region was symbolized by the legend told of the adzap (aža mbura) hole, referring to the obligation of all migrating groups [75] to pass through a hole dug in the adžap tree. Some of the educated Fang of the present day lay stress on the origins as reported by tradition, stressing the linguistic kinship between the Fang and Zandé dialects, (1) thus linking them to the civilizations of the

1. Kinship recognized by L. Homburger, Les Langues negro-africaines [Negro-African Languages], Paris, 1941, p. 35.

Upper Nile (and from there perhaps to Egypt), recalling the period when their ancestors were dressed "exactly like the Haoussa." (2)

2. In the modern version of the legend relating to the Ndong tribe (dispersed in Woleu-N'Tem).

This more or less explicit desire to give themselves "noble" origins corresponds to the more or less conscious desire of the Fang to force themselves on the forest populations of Gabon.

174 It is necessary to examine precisely the distribution of the
101 Fang throughout Gabon, and to recall their relations with the neighboring territories of the Cameroons and Spanish Guinea. The first classification attempted by early authors (3) was a division into

3. Captain Maignan, "Etudes sur le pays *Pahouin [Studies on the Pahouin Country]*" (dating from 1912), Bulletin de la Société des Recherches Congolaises, No. 14, 1931; and L. Mba, "Essai de droit coutumier pahouin [Essay on Pahouin Common Law]," Bulletin de la Société des Recherches Congolaises, June 25, 1938.

"lands": Betsi land (region north-northwest of the Estuary, overlapping Spanish Guinea); Maké land (region southwest of the

174 Estuary and Ogooué-Ivindo), Ntoum land (region north of Woleu-
101 N'Tem, overlapping the Cameroons). This simplified division does not take into account all the groups existing in Gabon, and does not indicate the overlappings between tribes which occur in each of the "lands" where there is constant migratory movement. Moreover, these names have barely survived. (4) They have been

4. Maignan, nearly fifty years ago, considered such a division fictitious.

obliterated by the general designation of "Fang" and by specific names (of tribe or clan, especially of family lines) representing local reality. One might think from certain statements of G. Tessmann and I. Dugast (5) that these names have mostly denoted

5. G. Tessmann, Die Pangwe [The Pangwe], 2 vols., Berlin, 1913; I. Dugast, Inventaire ethnique [Ethnical Inventory], chapter devoted to the Pahuin.

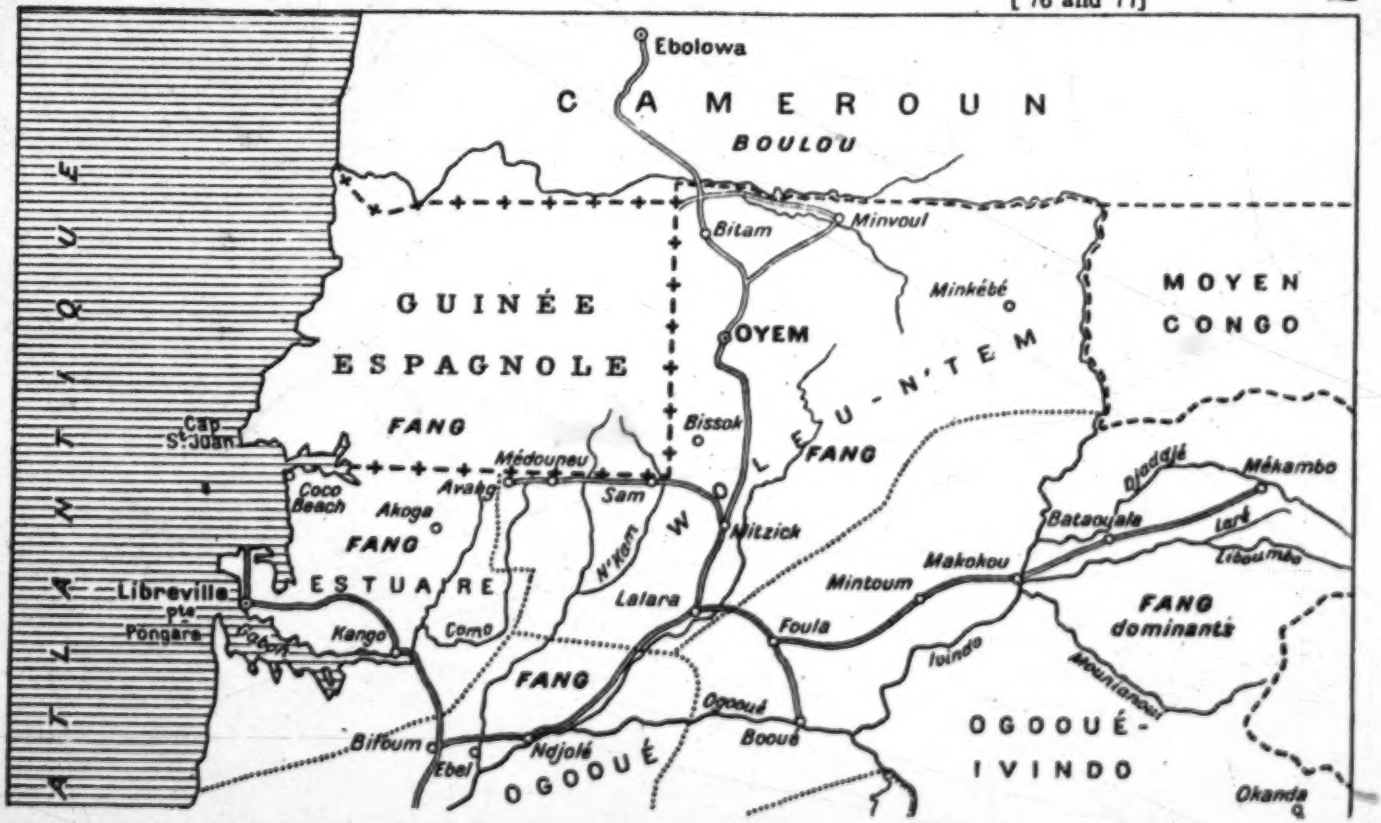
migratory groups that have dominated and assimilated various foreign groups and have thus acquired certain distinctive cultural characteristics.

Father Trilles asserts in a study published in 1912 that similar distinctions can be explained "from the point of view of dialects [78] and not from that of the customs or habits (which) are exactly the same." (1) But the dialectal variants themselves which appear

1. Father H. Trilles, Le Totémisme chez les Fan [Totemism among the Fang], Bibliothèque Anthropos, Vol. 1, fasc. 4, 1912, p. 12.

notably at the level of the names of clans (beginning with Esa, Esé, Esi, ... in the case of the Betsi; with Eba, Ebi ... in the case of the Maké) have become blurred. At the time of the migrations several groups changed their clan name, having become

[76 and 77]



Legend: 1. Important centers. 2. Minor centers. 3. Roads. 4. Frontiers of regions.

GABON

[76 and 77]

Legend: 1. Important centers. 2. Minor centers. 3. Roads. 4. Frontiers of regions.

174 contaminated, so that the linguistic map is no longer indicative
101 of these ancient distributions.

From these facts two conclusions can definitely be drawn. The Fang population is not represented in Gabon by large homogeneous zones as in the Cameroons (where the Evondo country, the Boulou country, etc., can be clearly distinguished). The diverse Fang groups have become interdispersed and in the course of their almost incessant migrations since the second half of the eighteenth century have "digested" the foreign traits peculiar to the peoples they have met. And it is in the Lower Gabon, at the end of their journeyings that the Fang groups present a state of maximum confusion.

162 Administrative documents permit one to get a present-day
178 picture of the distribution of the Fang, a precise picture -- at least so it seems. The weakening (indeed the near disappearance) of distinctions between tribes and clans, the breaking up, the scattering, and half autonomy of the various groups, have led to the confusion of these two types of grouping and to placing them on the same plane. The administration cannot be blamed for this, for these two notions are no longer always precise in the minds of the present-day Fang. Let us discuss, first of all, the two zones by which this people reached Gabon, Woleu-N'Tem, and Ogooué-Ivindo.(2)

2. Cf. G. Balandier, Rapport préliminaire de la Mission d'information scientifique en Pays Fang [Preliminary Report of the Mission of Scientific Information on Fang Country], Brazzaville, 1949, étude mimiographiée [mimeographed study], pp. 5-10.

162 Region of the Woleu-N'Tem
361

This region presents a certain physical unity and a true ethnic unity. It is inhabited exclusively by Fang, a relatively preferable demographic situation. In 1949 there were over 71,000 inhabitants. It is surrounded only by either identical or related Fang groups; it

162 was explored and then occupied only at a late date. These condi-
361 tions delayed "contaminations" and permitted the maintenance of a certain unity. It now has a viable economic structure, thanks to its cacao production, which has finally created a true peasant state. [79]

1. Bitam and Minvoul Districts

These two districts are wedged between the Cameroons to the north, Spanish Guinea to the west, and a true "no man's land" to the east. The inhabitants, numbering 27,500, are the most active
[433 and prosperous elements(producing three quarters of the cacao
511] grown in the region) on the roads serving the Cameroons and the center of Oyem. They have built modernized villages "tied" to the cacao plantations. Their inhabitants belong to groupings found in the Cameroons and in Spanish Guinea, and some of the villagers have relatives in one or the other territory — like so many links favoring traffic in "merchandise" and ideas.

619 According to the census of 1936, the only detailed document,
615 27 clans or tribal fragments (clans that have maintained the tribal name) are now there. The most numerous clan is that of the Effak
[162 (Yénzòk tribe), (1) which has more than 15 percent of the population,

1. We give the tribal dependencies with all reservation. The near ignorance and "cheating" allied to the movement of clan regroupment render all certainty impossible, except when we have access to early documents, more particularly to a mention in the notes of Monsignor Martrou, which were kindly lent to us at the Libreville Mission.

followed by that of the Eba (Yémisèm tribe), which has 10 percent. The other groups may go down to a few tens of individuals. In this region are found the following tribes (ayog): Yénzòk, Yémvòg, Yémisèm. These are the most important in the Cameroons in the

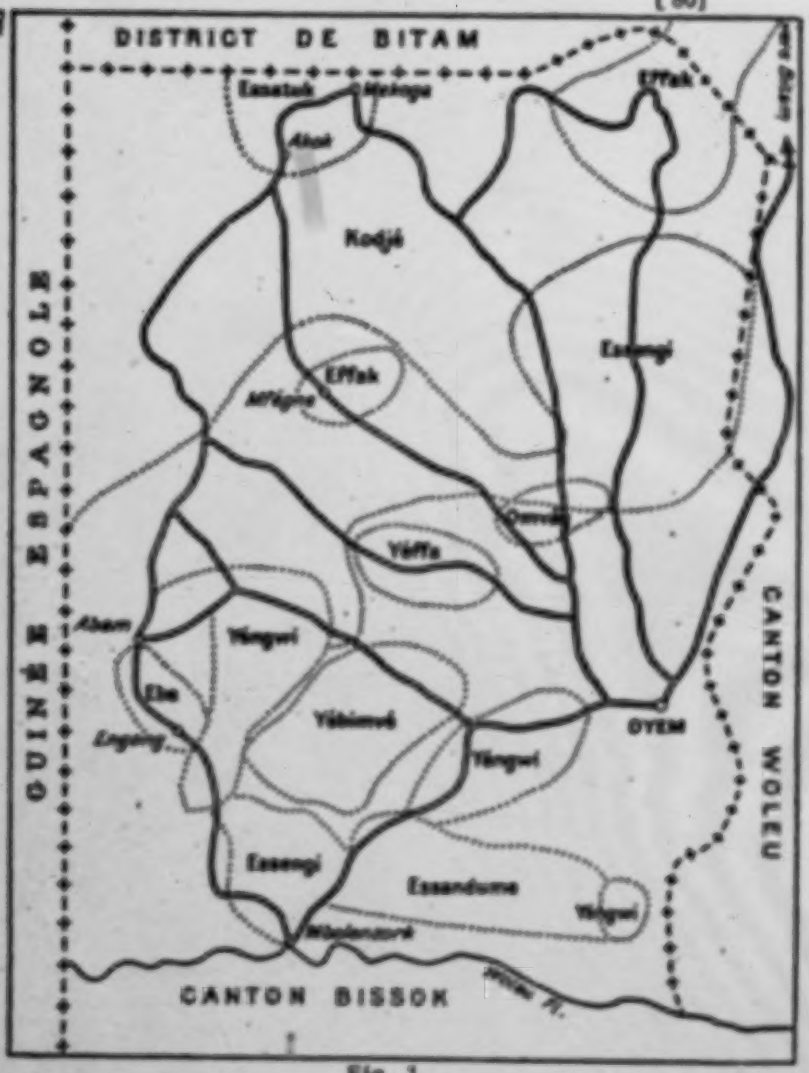


Fig. 1
Distribution of the "Ayôg" in Kyé-Nyé Canton (District of Oyem).

619 Ebolowa and Sangmélima regions (2). The whole of Upper Woleu-
619

2. Documents relating to "ethnic groupings," Administrative Archives of Ebolowa.

N'Tem is oriented toward the Cameroons with which it has not only economic ties (it exports its cacao there and imports its goods) but also political ties (which explains why it served to relay the directives and their implementations that appeared in this territory).

2. Oyem District

162 This district, with 30,000 inhabitants, has a long frontier with
361 Spanish Guinea, and is crossed by the Woleu River, an important
439 means of access to this possession. The major part of the population (more than two thirds) is "stuck" to the frontier. This is understood because related groups exist on each side of the frontier; [80] [Fig. 1] [81] Guinea has always exerted an economic attraction (it is the center of trade and exchange of labor which is much in demand), she serves occasionally as a place of refuge. The vil-
[453] lagers are fairly well-to-do because of the cacao cultivation (one
519 fourth of the Woleu-N'Tem production) and because of the trade with Guinea (peanuts, coffee, palmetto). This is shown particularly by an improvement in housing.

162 Kyé-Nyé Canton, a meeting place of two migratory streams
619 coming from the Lower Cameroons, contains by itself nearly
619 12,000 inhabitants who again are distributed by clans (Fig. 1). The dominant groupings are the Eŋengi (Yémvŏg tribe), who account for more than 40 percent, the Koje for about 25 percent, and the Yéngwi for over 15 percent. In the canton of Woleu, the villages of the Ołip tribe are dominant, accounting for 33 percent of the population. Then the Bŏkwé (Nźŏg tribe) account for about 12 percent, and the Eamŏkos (Yéngŏl tribe) (1) for more than 10

1. Only confirmed by the notes of L. Martron.

162 percent. Only the Koǰe (more than 90 percent of the population)
619 and the Ozip form the Canton of Oyem. In Binok Canton, the
615 population is dominated by the Yéngwi and Yémisèm tribes, while Ellelem Canton is characterized by a sprinkling of groups: 17 clans or tribal fragments for 3,200 inhabitants, where the Bókwé (allied to the Nǒg tribe) alone assert themselves, although apparently numbering less than 25 percent.

361 Oyem District shows a great homogeneity, which is found
184 nowhere else in Fang country in Gabon. Its greater population density, its relative prosperity, the fact that it is centered on Oyem, an important administrative and market town, these facts explain the prestige it exerts on Fang villagers and its present-day political vitality.

3. Mitzic District

162 With 11,000 inhabitants belonging stricto sensu to the Fang
361 group (2) this district occupies a position which lends itself badly to

2. We designate as Fang the restricted whole which bears this sole name -- a migratory group according to us.

the stabilization of a population. It opens on three zones of attraction: the Ogooué, the coast, and Spanish Guinea. It has played the role of thoroughfare and was profoundly disturbed during the famine years (1922-23, 1925-26). It is barely beginning to modernize its economy by the installation of cacao plantations. [82] Besides being the least populated district, it has the worst demographic situation, the lowest birth rate, and the smallest child population. Although the people have settled along the roads (as is clearly shown when present-day maps are compared to early ones), the villages have remained unstable and very small, consisting of
361 composite groupings. An investigation of 50 villages spread along
615 the two roads show that they have in their midst 30 clans or tribal
619 fragments. At the time of the recent regrouping of clans, the most

361 active tribes were the Yémvóg, the Yémódág, the Nóóg, the
619 Yéngwi, and the Yémistem. They are also the ones which reveal a
619 tendency to dominate. If Mitzic could have been considered the "geographic center" of Fang country, it would be difficult now to find for it any other significance.

4. Médouneu District

162 Reduced to a single canton this cistrict has less than 3,500
361 inhabitants It is maintained because of its position on the
619 frontier and because of the network of tracks used by traders which run directly to Lower Gabon and Libreville. The Oyék and the Effak are the most numerous groups, making up 13 out of the 37 villages scattered throughout the district.

361 We have applied ourselves with great precision to this whole region not only because our investigation was carried out chiefly in the Woleu-N'Tem villages, but because it plays a primary role in the development of Gabon. Its chief town, Oyem, competes with Libreville in imposing its directives on the whole Fang country. Its richer economy and better demography (the population density is more than 6.5 inhabitants per kilometer (1) make

1. Map of Capeain Roumel (completed in 1912) and surveys of itineraries in the Oyem District

it a center of vitality. Closely allied to the Cameroons (from whom it receives suggestions of policy) and opening onto Spanish Guinea, it nevertheless preserves a sense of unity and a certain special spirit.

Region of the Ogooué-Ivindo

162 This region has neither the ethnic unity (it is a zone of
361 multiple contacts) nor the demographic importance (35,600 inhabitants scattered throughout three districts) of the preceding one. It is isolated and without [83] economic development; its isolation has made it a zone of refuge in a period of uncertain peace.

Dominated by the great and often marshy forest, this country is characterized by a very localized population indicated on a map by "strips" linked to the system of rivers. In the two districts which they occupy, Booué and Makokou, the Fang are the dominating ethnic group, forming about 45 percent and 40 percent of the total population. They are in the neighborhood of ethnic groups which are considered to be related to them, the Shaké and the Bakwélé. By their migrations they have disordered the population of this region and created contacts resulting in great cultural contaminations. If one can believe Father Trilles, who noted an "archaic language" used in the legends, proverbs, and songs, and similar to Batéké, (1) the relations with the peoples of the Congo

1. Father H. Trilles, op. cit

and Gabon borders would be early.

According to tradition, the Fang-Maké (or Bisibé) were the first to reach the Ivindo. De Brazza finds them on the Ogooué (on the island of Zabouré). Their largest tribe is Mékuk, specifically referred to by Father Trilles and specially mentioned by Tessmann on his distribution map. Outside of the Maké, the Fang of this region are in two distinct groups -- Bétsi and Nzaman -- the latter representing, according to early authors, the "true Pahouin of the Ogooué." (2) In Booué District the villages, although without clan

2 Cf. Captain Curault, "Monographie du secteur de N'Djolé au Gabon [Monograph on the N'Djolé section of Gabon]," Revue des Troupes Coloniales, 68, 1908.

homogeneity, showed at the time of the "regrouping movement" the predominance of the three great tribes, Yémödâg, Yémvâg, and Yémisem.

The Ogooué-Ivindo seems to be one of the poorest regions of Gabon. Not having any economic equipment, it was only precariously active during the war effort. On the other hand, frequent recruiting has seriously affected this country (which along with

511 N'Gounié and Woleu-N'Tem was a "reservoir of manpower") by
702 upsetting its demographic equilibrium. Consequently, most of the administrative reports stress the poverty and mediocrity of the villages, the political instability and "indiscipline," and the eagerness with which all innovations are greeted in the hope of improving conditions. [84]

Region of the Maritime Ogooué

175 During the second half of the nineteenth century the Fang descended the Ogooué in order to reach the trading centers established on the river, and the counting houses of the coast. They pushed back the Bakèlè, imposed themselves on the Galwa and the Nkomi. Since 1880 the Fang have settled in large numbers along
361 the Ogooué as a result of a penetration which organized convoys on the river, created posts, and made possible the settlement of traders.

361 The Fang are settled in the four districts forming this adminis-
162 trative region, but in that of Omboué, the extreme point of their advance, they represent less than 5 percent of the population. Ninety-five percent of the 9,300 inhabitants of N'Djolé District are Fang who have taken the place of the ancient Bakélé people. They belong to the Maké, Nzaman, and Bétsi groups; the first of these was located downstream from N'Djolé before 1865 (1).

1. Captain Curault, op. cit.

They came largely from the Lower Ivindo, but also from the Woleu-N'Tem, where the villagers soon sought to obtain commercial out-
[512] lets on the Ogooué. Outside of a small mine exploitation at N'Djolé, this district is extremely bare. Consequently, the very scattered villages have a miserable appearance, and the male
[513] population has been canvassed (or recruited) by the neighboring lumber works and by the coastal centers.

523 Lambaréné District, which is very important because of its
[361] forest exploitations (and also because it is an old commercial
313 center, still has a largely Fang population. These are in opposition to the aboriginal group of the Galwa (less than 2,200 individuals)

563 who, being related to the coastal minorities, constitute the "aristocratic race" of the country, and, having become relatively hierarchical, has known how to "preserve its position." (2)

2. Rapport Ogooué-Maritime [Maritime Ogooué Report], 3e trimestre [Third Quarter], 1935.

162 Though the Fang "have settled in a haphazard manner and a little everywhere," they have nevertheless formed two important centers of population, on the Ogooué above Lambaréné and in the area around the southern lakes. (3) They represent more than 35 percent

3 Rapport Ogooué-Maritime [Maritime Ogooué Report], 4e trimestre [Fourth Quarter], 1935.

of the population (17,500 inhabitants) in this district of multiple ethnic groups, which in 1936 had one fifth of its inhabitants settled at the lumber works. The Fang villages here consist of 35 clans or 621 fragments, about half of the population forming a homogeneous 619 clan, while the other [85] half is composite. Apart from the Yémoung, most of the existing tribes are not found (or are unimportant) in the Woleu-N'Tem [region]. The most numerous elements seem to originate from the Ivindo. Although they reached the region forming the present-day district of Port-Gentil at the end of their push, the Fang have not succeeded in evicting the dominant ethnic groups, the Ourongou and the Nkomi.

Region of the Estuary

162 We have already stated that the date of the arrival of the Fang at the Estuary can be set at 1850. At that time they replaced the residual coastal groupings, particularly the Bakélé who, after abandoning the Ogooué, had to leave the Como. Since 1900 the population of this region has been "nearly entirely composed of

162 Pahouin." (1) They occupy the districts of Kango and Cocobeach

1. Archives de Libreville [Archives of Libreville], 1900-1910.

(6,000 and 7,500 inhabitants); they represent more than 95 percent of the district of Libreville, if one discounts the foreign "workers" hired under contract. They have imposed themselves on Libreville (to the detriment of the aboriginal Mpongwé), where they form nearly 40 percent of the population and are dominant in 15 out of 23 sections of the town. This hold over the chief town of the territory is proof of their conquering activity.

361 618 In the district of Cocobeach, more than 20 clans or tribal fragments are present, especially Oyèk (a tribe found also at Médouneu and particularly in Spanish Guinea) and Eflak This region, which in the past was important as a commercial center, is without any trade, and the administrative reports stress the [61] depopulation movement which is taking place. (2)

2 Cf. especially Rapport politique [Political Report] 1937, Department of the Estuary, giving a special analysis of the causes of the very high infant mortality.

162 361 618 619 Kango District at the tip of the Estuary is one of those where the demographic decline is the most marked. If the census of 1936 is accepted, there are 25 clans and fragments The most numerous group, that of the Yéngé, accounts only for about 10 percent Libreville District, having incorporated the former subdivision of Chinchoua, exhibits a Fang population divided to the maximum This last region is characterized by a [86] veritable crumbling of the group. The 1943 census shows 54 clans and tribal fragments (with 3,500 inhabitants), of which only 8 contain more than 150 persons. This is also the region which has been most emptied for the benefit of the capital, where the natives of the former subdivision of Chichoua represent nearly 7 percent of the population.

162 In the part of the district that corresponds to the former subdivision
361 of Libreville, the Fang group is much more homogeneous. The
619 Oyek are dominant with 45 percent of the villagers, then come the
619 Ntum numbering 20 percent, and the Effak (Yénzbk tribe) with about 12 percent. Nine other groupings represent from 4 5 percent (Esinis) to 1.5 percent (Omvîg) of the population of this former division. Like Chinchoua it has suffered under the attraction of Libreville.

361 If the Estuary region has been affected demographically during
619 the last fifty years, it does not seem to have changed from the point of view of clan composition. The archives of the former Como Circle [administrative unit] (1) show that the groupings now

1. For which very precise reports were drawn up in 1905 and 1909.

considered the most important constituted villages known during the years 1900-10. However, two essential differences appear: these groupings at that time existed almost isolated and not at the level of dozens of little groups.- They were localized rather definitely along the banks of the rivers, whereas they are now scattered. The villages they formed were larger than those of the present day. We have thus an indication of the process of atomization which took place during the first half of this century.

One is at first astonished at the complexity of the Fang country Outside the Upper Wolou-N'Tem, clan groupings do not appear within the limits of even small regions; they form villages which are often far apart from one another; they are scattered and intermixed. As a matter of fact, only the village grouping and the land it uses can be located on the terrain. Moreover, it is necessary to specify that the latter was stabilized, and a limit set on its mobility only at a very recent date. The fragmentation is at its maximum at the extreme end of the Fang migration, in the coastal districts and in the "zone of contact" [87] created in the surroundings of the Middle and Lower Ogooué. An average volume by clan could be calculated for each region which would give figures between

361 a minimum of 64 in the former subdivision of Chinchoua and a
619 maximum of 1,000 in Kyé-Nyé Canton, (Oyem District), and in the villages situated on Bitam-Minvoul. Thus the reality and effectiveness of the clan groupings are very different according to different sections of the Fang country. Hence, it can be understood that attempts to renew the clans could only take place in regions where such a grouping still has vitality. It should also be noted that the highest average volume by clan occurs in the regions where the Fang population is greatest and where the demographic
184 situation is the most favorable. The centers of vitality are located in in the Woleu-N'Tem [area] (a large part of the district of Mitzic being excluded) and in a small zone in the neighborhood of Libreville. These two regions compete to extend their influence over the whole of the Fang country, the rivalry appearing in the elections when a candidate from Libreville is opposed by one from the Upper Gabon (legislative elections of 1951). And it can be understood that the Fang country as a whole does not show everywhere the same degree of change in the traditional social structure nor the same capacity to adapt itself to present-day conditions.

167 By transferring to a map the groupings estimated in each of the
178 districts, other facts become clear. The direction in which the dis-
619 persal took place becomes manifest. Thus the Effak coming from the frontier of the Cameroons passed by the outskirts of Spanish Guinea to reach the coast near Cocobeach and Libreville; the Angouanové coming from the Woleu-N'Tem reached the Ogooué (they were found in the section of N'Djolé at the beginning of this century), then Lower Gabon beyond Lambaréné, etc. Moreover, some groupings did not spread out and were found only in relatively definite regions: the Oyek in Spanish Guinea and in the French districts south of this territory (Médouneu, Cocobeach, and Libreville), the Koji at Bitam and Oyem, the Olip only at Oyem, etc. Finally, certain minor groupings existed only on the frontiers of the Fang country and had an independent existence. The Yengwi of Oyem remember that one of their fragments emigrated towards Kango (without knowing either the exact name or place), but none of the groupings taken by the census in this district claim a common

167 origin with the Yengwi of the Woleu-N'Tem. Thus [88] this last
178 link has disappeared – the only link observed at the beginning of
619 this century by an administrator who claimed there was an "extreme" breakup of groupings which were scattered "hundreds of kilometers from one another." (1)

1. Captain Maignan, "Etudes sur le Pays Pahouin [Studies of the Pahuin Country]," dated 1912 and published in the Bulletin de la Société des Recherches Congolaises, 14, 1931.

This fragmentation and entanglement of Fang groupings can be explained by the recent character of the migrations across Gabon and the search for economically advantageous spots, and by the pacification which makes the cohesion of numerically strong groupings no longer necessary. These were also noted by the first observers: Maignan speaks of "families camped near the Ivindo" who "have felt the need to unite in order to defend themselves from the attacks of their neighbors and who have remained united, forming uninterrupted lines of villages." (2) Finally, the role of

2. Op. cit.

the administration must be stressed: a policy of recruitment in order to have manpower at hand in the administrative centers; the reaction of certain groupings which consisted in running away from administrative ascendency ("as soon as a position is created in a populated region, a vacuum occurs in the twinkling of an eye around it," writes Périquet in a Mission report) (3); a policy of stabilizing

3. Captain Périquet, Mission d'Étude du chemin de fer du nord [Mission to Study the Northern Railroad], 1910-1911.

the population for purposes of road building and regrouping of villages (1930). The nomadism of the Fang has been the despair of the

167 administrators. But outside these most evident causes, others of
178 an internal nature giving rise to this fragmentation must be con-
619 sidered. We must retain the idea of a maximum capacity of village grouping which we will enlarge upon in the study of the social structure.

The successive ruptures of the groupings and the multiple migrations make it difficult to understand precisely the nature of the present-day groupings scattered throughout the Fang country. As for the several large groups usually recognized, we have suggested that they were migratory groups which moved at different periods after having been subject to different cultural influences, and having been the first to have occupied the Fang country in Gabon (which would explain the attempts of earlier observers to define a division into "lands"); and we have shown how their significance has become blurred. (See pp. 4-8 .) We have the proof that these names are subsequent to [89] the tribal and clan names (at least those of the oldest clans). In the Ozip there are collected groupings calling themselves Ntumu, Fang, and Maké (1); Tessman places the Ntumu and Fang in two different

1. Tradition des Ozip [Tradition of the Ozip], Administrative Archives of Oyem.

groups, the Nzog and the Bikwé, (2) According to our investiga-

2. Tessmann, op. cit.

tion (confirmed by various observers), it is a question of a Nzog tribe of which the Bikwé (a corruption of the word Ebikwe) are a clan. Curault gives another example of this: at the beginning of the century a tribe, Okana, at N'Djolé had "produced" clans called Bézi, Maké, and Nzaman. (3)

3. Captain Curault, "Monographie du secteur de N'Djolé au Gabon [Monograph on the Section of N'Djolé in Gabon]," op. cit.

167 If we go by the names taken in the census, we note that
178 names of different formation designate groupings that are apparent-
619 ly identical: some of the names begin with Yé or a consonant, the others begin with Esa (ésé, isi) or Eba (ébi), the names in the form of ésa or éba being the most numerous. The word ye (meaning "valley") is accompanied by a qualifier often referring to a plant, an animal, or a natural phenomenon (yé-ngwi (the boar), yé-mvâg (the rain), etc.). The prefix ésa or éba (meaning "begetter") is used to designate the posterity of a more or less remote human ancestor We must therefore surmise that in this last case we are dealing with names designating more recent groupings of secondary formation: clans and lines of descent, The other names refer to ancient groupings whose origin is legendary, who in the past were localized, and who split up and scattered due to multiple migrations; that is, they refer to tribes. The first to observe the Fang, Trilles and Marwou, are positive about these facts. So are the tribal traditions: that of the Yénǐnk has preserved the memory of the first division into four clans which occurred after crossing the Sanaga River (4) (principal halting place of the

4. Traditions des Yénǐnk [Traditions of the Yénǐnk], Administrative Archives of Eholowa, the French Cameroons.

migrations which distributed the Fang throughout the South Cameroons and Gabon). Each important halting place of the migrations accentuated the fragmentation and created new pre-eminences. Such is the case of the Yénǐnk. The crossing of the Sanaga led to a division of the groupings which are still called Yénǐnk; the crossing of the N'Tem (which gives access to Gabon) resulted in the establishment of the large Effak grouping, [90] which divided to reach the coast in subgroupings who call themselves only Effak. (1)

1. Table of the "tribes and subtribes" set up by the Fang of Lower Gabon for the Commission of the Historical Investigation of Libreville.

167 Relations between groupings resulting from such successive
178 ruptures have fallen off and finally disappeared in many cases.
42 This is because of the conflicts which were often the origin of the fragmentation, because of the distance between fragments, and because of the situation resulting from colonial occupation which brought about peace so that "strong tribal solidarity" was no longer essential. (2) Other reasons are control of collective movement

2. L. Martrou, "La langue Fan et ses dialectes [Fang Language and Dialects]," Journal de la Société Africanistes, Vol. 6, p. 2, 1936.

and establishment in the interior of administrative districts which have finally brought about very localized associations. A proof of this falling off is found by comparing the tribal compositions established by L. Martrou (on the Ogooué in the first decade of the century), by those responsible for the movement of clan regrouping (in Upper Gabon after 1945), and by the investigators of the "Commission of Historical Investigation" (in Lower Gabon in 1949). These documents show great divergences which can be accounted for by local circumstances. Taking advantage of this confusion the leaders of the clan movement have been able to set up regroupings which are very questionable from the point of view of clan logic. In addition, the fact that the groupings in the course of their migrations have changed their names (affirmed by L. Martrou, Maignan, and L. Mba) (3) tends to accentuate this con-

3. L. Martrou, op. cit.; Captain Maignan, op. cit.; and L. Mba, "Essai de droit coutumier pahouin [Essay on Pahouin Common Law]," Recherches Congolaises, 25, 1938.

fusion. It can therefore be understood that the limited and definitely located groupings have been for many years the only ones that are truly effective -- and, at the same time, which enjoy a kind of independence.

II. The Demographic Situation of the Fang

161 Not only the administrators of the Fang country but also the villagers themselves are aware of an unfavorable demographic situation. For more than twenty-five years the administrative and medical reports have stressed the "seriousness of the demographic problem." The Fang, alarmed by the numerical [91] decline of their groupings, show us their anxiety by asking that their women be treated medically so as "to have a great many children, as in the past." This feeling of demographic deficiency, added to fragmentation and the lack of power in the groupings, constitutes one of the characteristics of the various Fang "crises." Unfortunately, not all the documents necessary for a detailed study exist. Census taking has only been accurate in the last few years, and the administrative limits which form the framework of the census have changed frequently.

The only study of the whole to which we can refer is that of a physician, Dr. Le Dentu. It is based on information furnished by the local health reports and applies to more than 84,000 individuals. (1) It draws attention to the "great local differences."

1. Gal Le Dentu, "Démographie de l'A.E.F. [Demography of French Equatorial Africa]," Archives du Service de Santé [Archives of the Health Service], Brazzaville, 1937.

The Fang race, which shows a deficit in the regions of the Maritime Ogooué and of the Estuary — where the replacement indices are 0.5 and 0.7, respectively — displays a "much greater vitality" among the Woleu Fang and the Bakwélé of the Sangha, whose indices are 1.05 and 1.08. The author tends to explain these differences by the very different degrees of evolution [sic] of each of these groups. Such an opinion requires interpretation. One must take into account not only the methods of evolution (the present-day peasantry of Woleu-N'Tem is one of the healthiest of French Equatorial Africa while being wide open to modern

[6] influences) but also the conditions of nature affecting each of these groups. These conditions as well as economic factors (intensive forestry exploitation) and factors of social disorganization have created in Lower Gabon the most unfavorable demographic situation (the highest degree of sterility and the lowest "genital capacity"). The whole ethnic condition of the Fang remained stationary during the decade 1930-40 (2.3 percent births for 2 percent deaths). How can this feeling of a demographic crisis be explained?

One must consider a disequilibrium which, combined with colonial establishment and exploitation (or aggravated by them), was only very recently broken. It is difficult to be sure, for we have at our disposal only fragmentary information of unequal value. The first calculations of population density [92] made about 1910 by G. Bruel (1) and Périquet (2) give much higher results than those

1. G. Bruel, Notes géographiques sur le Bassin de l'Ogooué [Geographic Notes on the Ogooué Basin], Paris, 1911.

2. Captain Périquet, Mission d'Etude du chemin de fer du Nord [Mission for the Study of the Northern Railroad], Archives Brazzaville.

obtained at the present time. Concerning the Woleu-N'tem the geographer G. Sautter was able to make precise comparisons and was convinced that "from the time of the French penetration until about 1930 population ... has diminished considerably." He recalls that "where Périquet estimated the population density as 4.5 inhabitants per kilometer (2) ...., twenty years later [a figure of] less than 2 [illegible]"

2. Captain Periquet, Mission d'etude du chemin de fer du Nord [Mission for the Study of the Northern Railroad], Archives Brazzaville.

less than 2 is found," and that such a divergence cannot be wholly

161 attributed to the optimism of this observer who "seems to have been conservative." (3) G. Sautter thinks that such a population,

3. G. Sautter, "Essai sur le peuplement et l'habitat au Woleu-Ntem" [Essay on the Population and Habitat in Woleu-Nt'Tem], Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 14, April-June, 1951.

"itself deficient" (for causes which appear in part of a natural order since they occur "from one end to the other of the equatorial forest bloc"), has been sorely tried by endemic diseases and famine as well as by emigration and recruiting. Stabilization, which has asserted itself during the last two decades along with the equipment and enrichment of the region, is still tenuous. Because of this G. Sautter will not risk making any forecast on the future evolution of the Woleu-N'Tem population. He recognizes that the Fang of this region are a "flourishing population when compared to their congeners of the Ivindo, the Ogooué, and the coast, who are in a far worse position."

The fragility of this equilibrium was apparent at the time of the "war effort." The political report of Woleu-N'Tem (1944) pays particular attention to the problem of depopulation. It shows
[159] a large excess of deaths over births (22.1 percent versus 15.9), and it stresses the serious recrudescence of the migratory move-
[160] ment — an official estimate gives 4,500 adult men (that is more than 20 percent of the adult male population) who at that time had gone to Spanish Guinea. That is to say, that the results obtained since 1930 by [our] population policy have remained eminently precarious. While still one of the most vigorous ethnic groups of Gabon, the Fang have a handicap which makes them sensitive to any critical situation, as was apparent during the last years of the war. There is no medical report that [93] still boasts, as did the early observers, of the robustness and prolicacy of the Pahouin.

162 With the help of precise investigations made in Woleu-N'Tem, we have been able to study the structure of the Fang population in this relatively favorable region. The most apparent fact is the

disproportion between the number of men and women, which becomes accentuated at the level of age groups called "adult" (according to present-day administrative census, these begin at

WOLEU-N'TEM

District of Oyem
11 villages, 1,570 inhabitants.

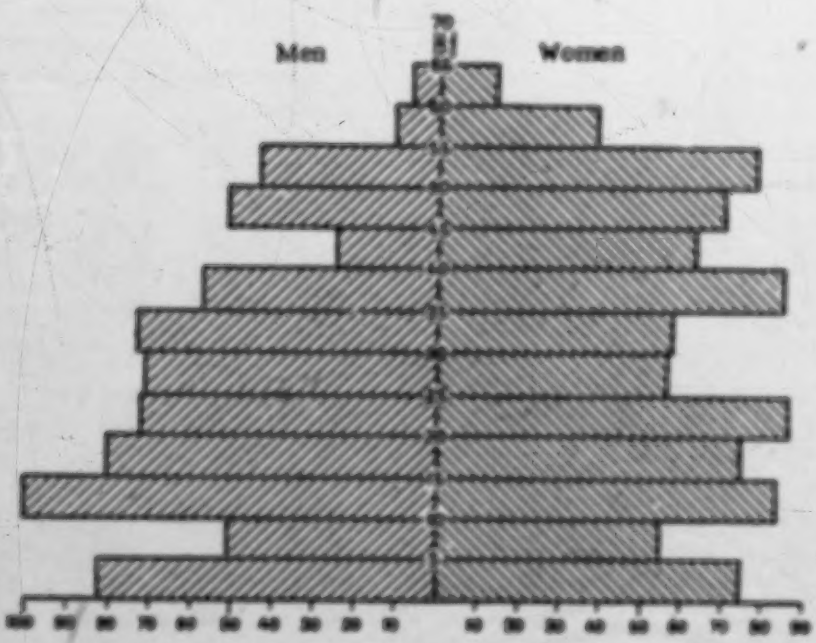


Fig. 2
Distribution by Age and by Sex.

fifteen years of age). The censuses of 1936 and of 1950 show this clearly, although there has been a reduction in the disequilibrium during the last fifteen years.

Sr Balandier--28 E-5 (1948-1951) 1955 FH9 Fang FH9

Table I

142 Distribution of the Sex Ratio [Woleu-N'Tem Region]

		Entire Region	Bitam-Minvoul	Oyem	Mitzic	Médouneu (1)
Number of women per 1,000 men (total population)	1936	1,283	1,170	1,239	1,241	
	1951	1,147	1,184	1,142	1,161	1,125
Number of women per 1,000 men (population called adult)	1936	1,521	1,443	1,598	1,523	
	1951	1,373	1,443	1,337	1,323	1,300

1. Médouneu did not belong administratively to the Woleu-N'Tem region in 1936.

In order to make these general indications more specific, we took the census of eleven villages in Oyem District, where we made our investigation and which have a [total] population of 1,570 inhabitants. The distribution of these by age group and by sex (Fig. 2) confirms the preceding observation. In the eleven villages there are 838 women for 732 men, that is, a ratio of 1,144, for 1.142 for the whole district. The disequilibrium between the sexes is very different according to the age considered.

Table II

Age Group	0	10	20	30	40	50	60 years
Number of women per 1,000 men	955	868	996	1,083	1,728	2,127	

162 If one excludes the drop revealed for the group from ten to twenty years of age (which can be explained partly by mistakes in estimating ages of the women, who are usually made older by the census takers), (1) it can be seen that the number of women

1. The census takers simply estimate the age when the birth date is either contested or forgotten; there are practically no vital statistics recorded.

increases [95] going from one age group to the next, the increase being particularly marked over 40 years of age. One must consider first of all a higher male mortality, which is apparent by comparing the figures obtained in the census taking. Thus the census of 1936 shows a male mortality of over 60 percent of the total mortality, with a maximum of 66.6 percent in Oyem District. But this alone does not explain the disproportions observed. Keeping in mind the date of 1930 which marks the slowing up of emigration and the end of recruiting on a large scale, (1)

1. Cf. G. Sautter, op. cit.

one notes that the men of over twenty at this time are those who are now over forty; the deficit in men of the oldest age group represents especially those emigrants who did not return and those who died in the lumbering operations. The reduction in the disequilibrium from 1936 to 1951 tends to confirm this statement. One must also bear in mind a factor arising from the social organization. The young women (from ten to twenty years of age) are given in marriage to foreign groups before being compensated for by foreign women, [who are eventually] brought into the local group in marriage, through the brice-prices received for the former.

Dr. Le Dentu's report made it apparent that in 1936 the whole Fang nation showed an insufficient child population. The groups from zero to fifteen years amounted to 28.4 percent, while among other Gabon peoples, the Eschira for example, they represent

nearly 36 percent of the population. The figures furnished by the census of 1950 do not indicate any improvement, at least so far as the districts of Bitam-Minvoul and Mitzic are concerned.

Table III

District	Bitam-Minvoul	Oyem	Mitzic	Médouneu
Percentage of child population	29.3%	35.3%	25.4%	32.3%

[96] The most unfavorable situation is at Mitzic; this partially explains the loss of 2,092 inhabitants in this district from 1936 to 1940, which is more than 20 percent of its present population and about half the loss suffered by the Woleu-N'Tem region during the same period. The demographic state seems to be at its best in Oyem District. However, since 1936 the population to within a hundred units has remained merely stationary. Our investigation covering eleven villages shows to what extent this situation is affected by the changes in economic and political circumstances. The years of the war effort (1940-45) are shown by a lacuna at the level of the five- to ten-year-old group, while the return to normal conditions and the relative prosperity due to the increase in cacao production entail a broadening of the demographic base at the level of the children from zero to five years old (Fig. 2). Accurate census taking in nine villages in the neighborhood of Oyem in 1945, 1946, and 1948 show an increase from 1,090 to 1,133 inhabitants with a replacement index of 1.32. In addition, while the excess of births is only 13 units, the increase in population is 43 units. This increase implies above all a return of former emigrants.

These facts confirm the extreme demographic sensitivity and indicate the quick reaction to changes in local politics. But this sensitivity is only apparent because of a poor situation. In spite of normal fertility (the genital capacity, the mean number of

162 163 165 In spite of normal fertility (the genital capacity, the mean number of pregnancies in women by the time of menopause, is 4.2 for the whole district), the number of children is not sufficient because of the high infant mortality (see the following table), and also apparently because of the aging of the female population. Serious malarial diseases affecting 78 percent of the children from two to five years old are the reasons for this mortality as well as intestinal parasitosis.

[97] Table IV

(Based on the medical report of the 4th quarter of 1946)

District	Birth Rate	Rate of mortality from 0 to 1 year	Rate of infant mortality	Percentage of child population with reference to total population
Bitam	1.3%	7.1% of deaths	27% of deaths	29%
Minvoul	1.3%	7.3% of deaths	13% of deaths	25%
Oyem	1.7%	10% of deaths	20% of deaths	34%
Mitzic	0.8%	6.7% of deaths	18% of deaths	25%

These figures should be completed by stating that infant mortality which is very high from zero to one year diminishes from one to five years and drops meaningfully only from this age on. Dr. Le Dentu in 1936 gave for the whole Fang people, for each of these categories, the following percentages: 16.5 percent, 12 percent, and 8.9 percent of deaths, which indicates the catastrophic situation in certain parts of the Pahouin country

Such are the figures as they appear in the privileged region of the Woleu-N'Tem. They are still higher when the whole

162 administrative division is taken into account, especially at the end
163 of a period of crisis, as is shown by the health study of 1944, or
165 when one considers only the most restricted village groupings that are the most affected. The diagrams for the three villages of Oyem (Fig. 3) are characteristic.

However this demographic situation appears excellent when it is compared to that of the Fang of other regions. In this respect we give as an example the Fang of the Ogoué-Ivindo about whom we have information gathered during the year 1947: [98] [Fig. 3.]

[99]

Index of replacement: 0.43.
Birth rate: 0.77 percent.
Percentage of child population: 24.7 percent.
Total mortality rate: 1.79 percent.
Infant mortality rate: 25 percent of deaths.(1)

1. Economic report of the Ogooué-Ivindo; chapter on "Demography."

163 And a slightly earlier report (1946) on the essentially Fang district of Booué shows complementary percentages which are still more significant: a genital capacity of 2.7 and for the young women a fertility rate (mean number of reported pregnancies) of 1.2, these figures being far below those obtained from the Fang of the Woleu-N'Tem. Incidentally, "35 to 40 percent of the young women remain sterile while the percentage of sterility in the older women does not exceed 8 to 12 percent." (2) The Fang

2. Population Commission, Official Report of the Meeting of August 8, 1946.

of the Ogooué-Ivindo are registered in a region where all the ethnic groups show a demographic decline and which has lost a seventh of its population from 1934 to 1947. Their situation is comparable to that of their congeners of Lower Gabon who, as Dr. Le Dentu pointed out, show a marked deficit.

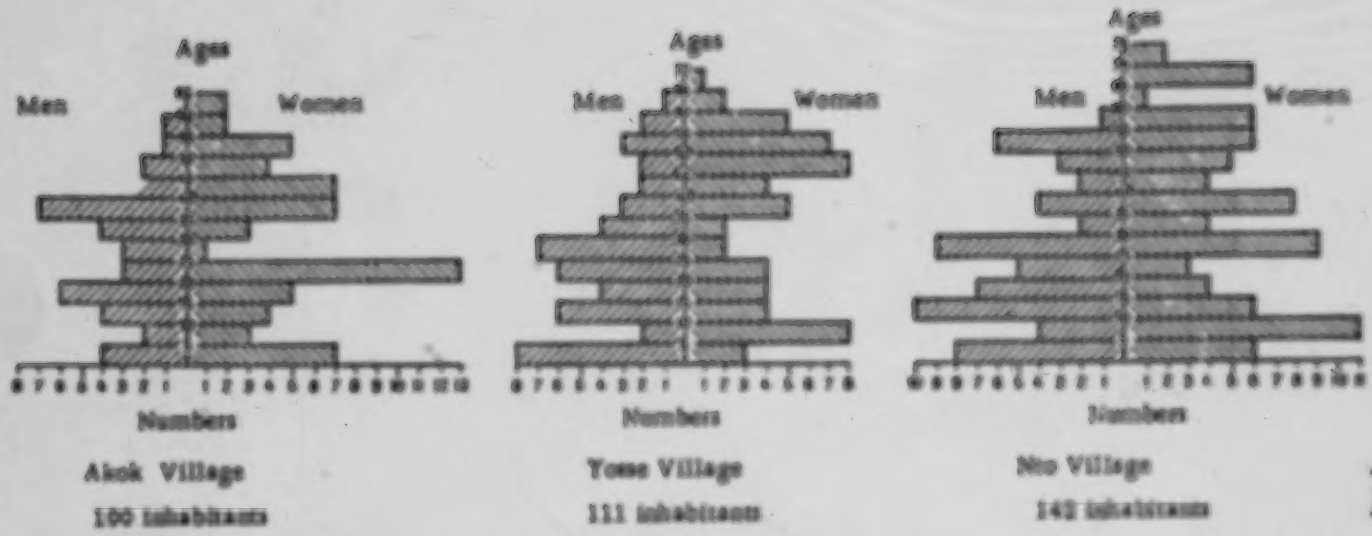


Fig. 3
Age Pyramids of Three Kõjé Villages
(Villages numerically reduced)

162 We have been able to define the characteristics of this demographic crisis, of which the Fang as a whole are aware. These are a drop in the population, which is more or less checked according to the region and circumstances; a lack of balance between the number of men and of women — the sex ratio rising rapidly at the level of the oldest age groups — and a more marked aging of the feminine population; an insufficient demographic basis and at the same time a high infant mortality. And it is
168 the lack of children and the sudden importance acquired by women
578 (conditioned by their number as well as by the general movement of social evolution) of which the villagers complain, far more than they criticize the inadequacy of sanitary equipment. In a society where the number [that is, the size of the groups] differentiates the groupings in a hierarchical system, and permits personal preeminence, the acute phases of this demographic crisis arouse great anxiety; the decline of fecundity in the women is one of the reasons, the most important one perhaps, for the hostility of the men toward the women.

168 The grounds given for such a situation [100] have a double aspect, modernist and traditionalist. The grounds of the former were displayed at the time of the Pahouin Congress of 1947 and also by certain groupings at the time of the movement for regrouping clans. They are expressed by definite claims, such as demanding a health program and education in hygiene, a desire to control and then limit prostitution, to consolidate the "family" by limiting divorce and curbing adultery, a need for rich crops "that can be sold in order to support the family," (1) etc. The grounds of the
168
186

1. Statement by a Dignitary of the Yémödïg Tribe, Mitzic, 1949.

traditionalists without doubt compel recognition and represent the opinion of the greatest number. They reveal a strong reaction to the present state of Fang society and a desire to return to a past when everything was better, when there were "a great many men and a great many children"; they express a tendency toward "counter-acculturation." The upheavals that have occurred in

168 the social and cultural organizations are directly blamed: the
166 breaking up and dispersal of the groupings resulting in the rupture of fundamental interdictions (especially that of exogamy: with the
[335] present confusion each man risks marrying his "sister" and being condemned to a sterile union); the abandonment of traditional religious observances, especially the Biéri worship rendered to
[749 ancestors — so that the Biéri "revenges" itself, "according to cer-
892] tain informants, by making the women sterile. Borrowing from European civilization and from their neighbors has altered "Fang manners" and resulted in behavior that is not valid for the Fang and puts their social existence in danger. These are the principal reasons brought forth. We have already in this chapter paid particular attention to these facts, because they show the subjective aspect of the demographic crisis and how much the search for fertility and for power, both linked together, still plays a part in the present reactions of this people, how it takes effect in an ambiguous manner by having recourse at the same time to modern foreign methods and to traditional Fang methods. For the Fang villagers the crisis is the most serious consequence of a situation created by colonization — by "civilization," as some of them curiously say. This is sufficient indication that these facts must be integrated in the whole we have undertaken to analyze.

[101] III. The Type of Social Structure (1)

1. A study carried out with the help of documents collected especially among the Fang of the Woleu-N'Tem, and principally in Oyem region where Fang vitality is the most authentic.

Tribes, Clans, and Lineages

596 The recent clan renewal to which we have often referred has shown the still fundamental importance of the groupings established as a function of "kinship." This was immediately grasped by the first observers and administrators of the Fang country, who insisted on the "family" nature of the Pahouin groupings and came to the

596 conclusion that a substantial social framework did not exist. A report written at the beginning of the century notes the impossibility "of finding an embryo of organization," emphasizing that there exist only more or less extended "families."

596 In the past the educational system very early gave the young
867 Fang an exact knowledge of his genealogy (abara). Father Trilles writes that "the young man is particularly taught the individual list of his ancestors, which only concerns the male generations, (for) the woman is ignored," and, moreover, she never receives such instruction. (2) By knowing the relationships within his

2. Father Trilles, Le totémisme chez les Fan [Totemism Among the Fang], notes on pp. 109, 111, 180.

paternal line, the individual knows to which fundamental groupings he belongs, which women are forbidden him, and what relations he should have with such-and-such individuals, both living and dead. By more and more distant links he attaches himself to groupings that are more and more widely extended and are of more and more ancient formation. The first of these [groups] in which he finds himself immediately entered is the nd'e bot, a patrilocal group at the village level which often has its own locality and communal house, which gather together, under the authority of the "eldest," or mbi-mbot, the latter's posterity, his younger brothers and their posterity, and sometimes that of his paternal uncles; in addition, the [posterity] of individuals who are tied to him by bonds of kinship, adoption, or friendship. The most extended of
619 these [groups] is the "tribe" (ayôg, formerly aybm, studied by Martrou and Trilles, whose origin is neither located nor dated, but simply legendary, and whose dispersed took place throughout nearly the whole of the Fang country. [102] The intermediate groupings spread out concentrically from one to the other; the relations existing between the individuals they contain are expressed by a "fraternity" that is less and less real and less and less binding.

We have kept the term "tribe," used by the first observers of the Fang, to designate this earliest formed grouping, which is

619 now the most comprehensive, the most dispersed, the least active, and which traces its origin to a legendary ancestor — or mvam — now Christianized by some (thus, Adam-Nzamb among the Ndbg) Its unity is indicated by a name, a motto, and special tattooing and symbols. (1) Before the last great migrations the tribe had a rela-

1. These symbols are clearly described by Trilles, Largeau, and, particularly, by Tessmann (op. cit.).

tively definite location and was divided only into a limited number of clans (for example, 6 in the case of the Yévb). The migrations going toward and through the South Cameroons and Gabon have created a long series of upheavals, as is evidenced by the various tribal legends which ascribe the great fragmentations and dispersals to the crossing of the Upper Sanaga (Lom) and of the "Adzap hole" (symbolizing access to the great forest). Thus the Yévb (2) trace back to this "crossing" the separation into 10 group-

2. Légendes des Yévb [Legends of the Yévb], Archives of Ebolowa.

ings going toward the region of N'Tem (6 groups), toward Gabon (3 groups), and toward the coast after following along the Nyong (one group). These last have also undergone a process of a chain of upheavals and dispersals themselves, which we shall analyze by means of recent examples. Father Trilles was able to show how, following this movement, the tribal name was preserved only for the "clan of the founder of the tribe and (for) that which was founded by one of his sons or descendants in direct line." (3) In

3. Father Trilles, op. cit., p. 130.

this last case a prefix signifies that it applies to a secondary group: thus the tribal name Yémvi survives only under the forms of Yémvi and Esamvi. However, such clans manifest a pre-eminence which is at the base of the social organization: that of the "eldest" and of the line of descent from the eldest [ones]. The legitimacy of

619 this pre-eminence was also guaranteed by the possession of the skulls of ancestors (évora bidri), which were transmitted "from eldest son to eldest son." (4) Nowadays, because of the extreme

4. Idem., p. 113.

dispersal of the tribal fragments and the near-disappearance of the Bidri cult, because [103] of the small number of such groupings and the relaxing of relations between groupings, these clans do not have the benefit of a privileged situation and did not always play a major role at the time of the clan movement -- some have even assimilated at that time by more vigorous tribes. (1) They were

1. "Such a group that believed itself a tribe (ayong) would find itself demoted to the level of a simple clan," writes the author of a Rapport sur le regroupement des Fan [Report on the Regrouping of the Fang], March, 1948.

not able to maintain the feeling of tribal reality or the solemn gatherings (ésama, ésulan) which confirmed this feeling periodically, while the Cameroons groupings, who were less divided and less scattered, have preserved them. This explains their exemplary role during recent years.

619 The term "clan" therefore remains reserved for the groupings whose lines of descent go back to a real ancestor (ésa, the ésa being opposed to the mvam as "real kinship" is to "spiritual kinship"). These groupings express themselves locally far more than the tribe (by clan patches or echeloned villages), and have imposed a strict and unquestionable exogamy. They participate in the system of alliances set up by the interplay of marriage and have a special name -- while the inferior groupings are not named. The colonial administration knows the Fang groupings by their clan names and these have been used in taking the census. These names have a characteristic morphology because of their prefixes ésa or éba. The clans have also been subjected to rupture. Groupings

6 Pressed from the lines which originally constituted them may be separated by great distances or may even be in foreign territory (in Gabon and in Spanish Guinea, for example). Nevertheless, whatever their average size, depending on the location, there remain a few groupings which are imposed on individuals in a specific way: particularly by belonging (one is an Esibil, Esakwa, etc.) and by "fraternity" (expressed by the title mwananayôg), which they imply. The word ayôg is also used today to designate the clan. This seems to be its true original meaning; it has only taken on the tonspecific meaning to the extent that tribal reality became blurred at the time of recent migrations, resulting in the near disappearance of the word characterizing it (aybm). The value of this interpretation becomes obvious when one refers to the observations made by Tessmann, who, at the beginning of the century, pointed out the existence of groupings called ayôg who were more or less united at the higher level to constitute [104] [Fig. 4.] [105] the largest grouping, which he calls "tribe" (ayam). This confusion is significant of the profound upheavals that have occurred and explains the uncertainties shown by Father Trilles in this respect

6 This author, besides, has stressed the existence of a Fang totemism which could be seen [to extend] from the tribe to the individual, and extended out to the various groupings. But he also took care to point out that this was in the process of disappearing at the beginning of the century on the Ogooué and in the coastal regions. A valuable estimate has been made of this fantastic theory by Van Gennep, who writes: "All our efforts to limit the terms totem and totemism to a well-defined category are nonexistent for Father Trilles, who manages to make of the totem the equivalent of the Latin genius or of any other protecting spirit of any individuals or groups whatsoever." (1) We cannot discuss now an absolete

1. A. Van Gennep, L'Etat actuel du problème totémique [The Present State of the Totem Problem], Paris, 1920, p. 35.

quarrel — more especially as rapid changes during the last fifty years have changed or destroyed the elements necessary for any

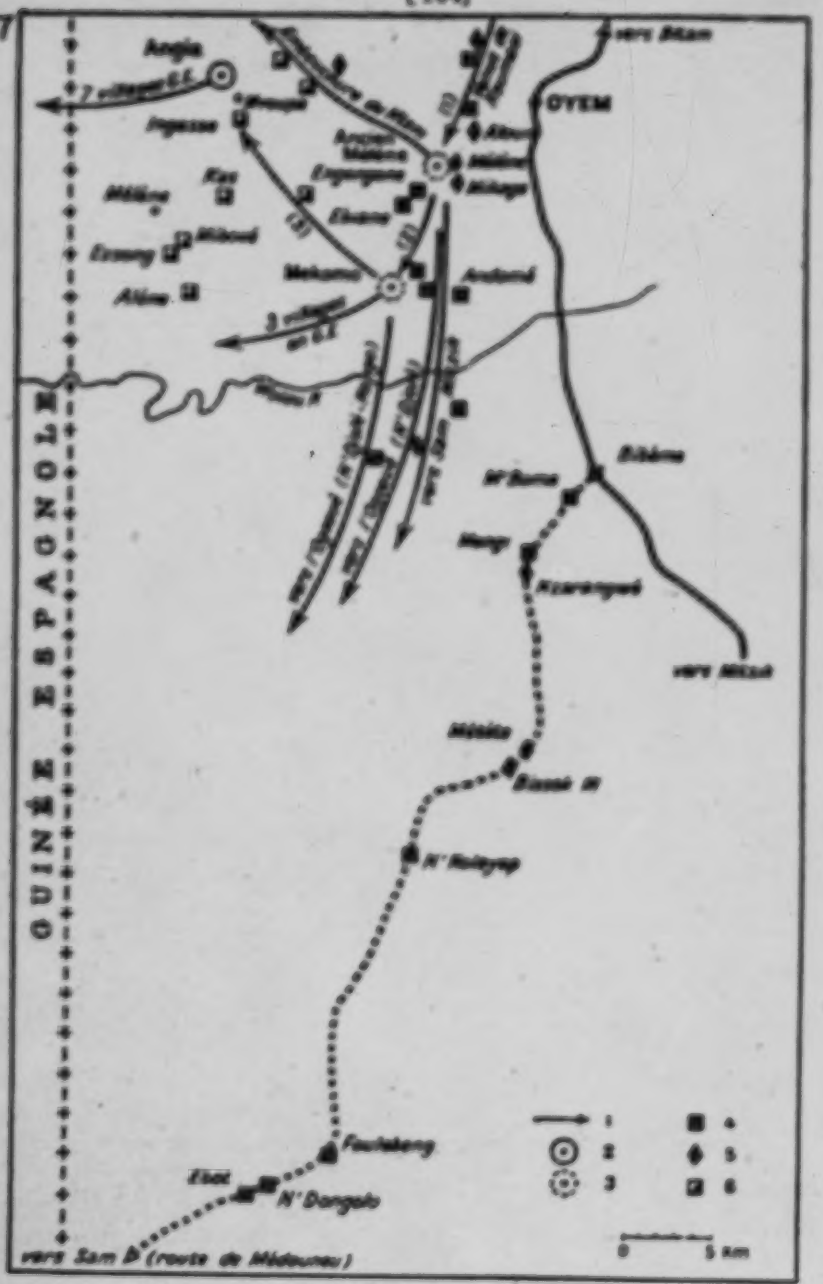


Fig. 4

Dispersal of the Yengwi around Oyem.
(Esónó Angó lineage)

Legend: 1. Important displacements; 2. Center of Dispersal; 3. Vanished Center of dispersal; 4. Group of Mònomvògo Esònò; 5. Groups of Nsim Esònò; 6. Groups of Efwana Mòmomvògo.

619 opinion – but we can remember from the facts reported by Father
776 Trilles the indication that a protecting being, a body of religious
178 material (akamayon), a collection of symbols, and a body of beliefs and legends gave a uniformity, other than a genealogical one, to the Fang clans.

619 The agnate lines of descent with a more or less limited num-
621 ber of generations have played, and still play, an important role. Around them are organized the groupings forming the village or village groups which were established by the nomadic groups noted by the first observers. In this respect the history of progressive distribution throughout Gabon is significant. We will give the example of the Yéngwi, of which a fragment represented by twenty-five villages is established in the Oyem region in the Woleu-N'Tem. They are all attached to an ancestor called Esono Ango, who is said to have come from the legendary place Adïa Mbura and to have led the first journeys through the South Cameroons. He is still considered the founder (abial) of the groupings existing today. These, consisting of about 3,500 individuals, are especially concentrated in the southern part of Kyé-Nyé, Cameroon, north of the Woleu River. Starting from this region where the first Yéngwi villages were established and where a compact nucleus of more than [106] 1,500 individuals is still in existence, a great migration took place in the direction of present-day Spanish Guinea (in to villages) from the mouth of the N'Tem, the Ogooué, and the Gabon. The large grouping thus formed by the lines issued from Esono Ango and settled at the level of a demarcated region constitutes an abial à bot, or major linage. Although these lines are spread out through ten generations, there exist real bonds between members of the grouping, even if their "kinship" goes back to Esono Ango, and which are sufficient to make possible the aggregation of dissident elements from one village to another.

The word abial implies an idea of localization. It may signify "place of birth," "place of origin." (1) The groupings called

1. Cf. Mgr. L. Martrou, Lexique Fãn-Français [Fang-French Lexicon], Paris, Procure Générale, not dated.

ábisi ə bɔt are distinguishable by a double criterion, one genea-
logical — a limited but definite localization. All those that we have studied in Woleu-N'Tem relate themselves to an ancestor who led the last migrations through the present-day Cameroons, and enabled (or realized) the crossing of the N'Tem, and to the first settlements beyond this river, from which each clan fragment spread out and migrated. In the case of the just mentioned Yéngwi, Esɔɔb Angɔ established the first village created south of the N'Tem; his two sons, Mbɔɔbmvɔgɔ Esɔɔb (the eldest) and Nsim Esɔɔb, after having lived for some time in the midst of the same grouping, separated and founded the first two Yéngwi villages of the Oyem region. From these two centers the lineages began to organize themselves independently, from the third generation on, and to distribute themselves as is shown in Fig. 5.

Before the administration had transformed, for reasons of its own benefit, the reality of the village, recomposing and displacing it, the village corresponded to the men issued from one line of descent, including a variable number of generations, and to those clients [dependents]. The Yéngwi village of Ebiane, for example, still includes the major portion of the lineage born of Egwaga Mbɔɔbmvɔgɔ, second son of Mbɔɔbmvɔgɔ Esɔɔb, — which goes back for eight generations. The only unattached elements created the present-day small villages of Nhoum and Bibasse (22 and 65 inhabitants), which have remained on the outskirts of the original grouping. But the village itself, [107] [Fig. 5.] [108 and 109] [Fig. 6] [110] as soon as it has reached an average size, includes a definite number of minor lineages which represent the still present posterity of the group of real brothers and of half brothers (bɔbɔ̃ŋ) who formed the initial cell. Ebiane has three of these minor lineages that coincide with the three lines of descent issued from the three sons of Egwaga Mbɔɔbmvɔgɔ, and are named after them. These are the previously mentioned nd'é bɔt — this term containing the idea of descent, the minor lineages found at the base of the hierarchy of the groupings (see Fig 6, for an example of their distribution in the midst of a group of Kɔɔ villages established in the vicinity of Oyem).

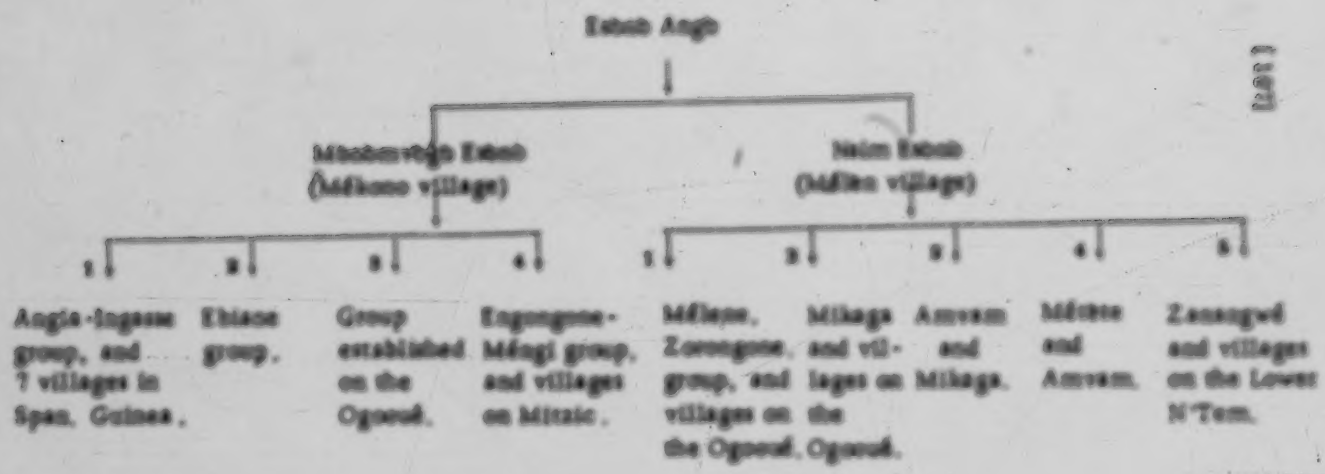


Fig. 5.
Tengwi of the Vicinity of Oyem

Generations:

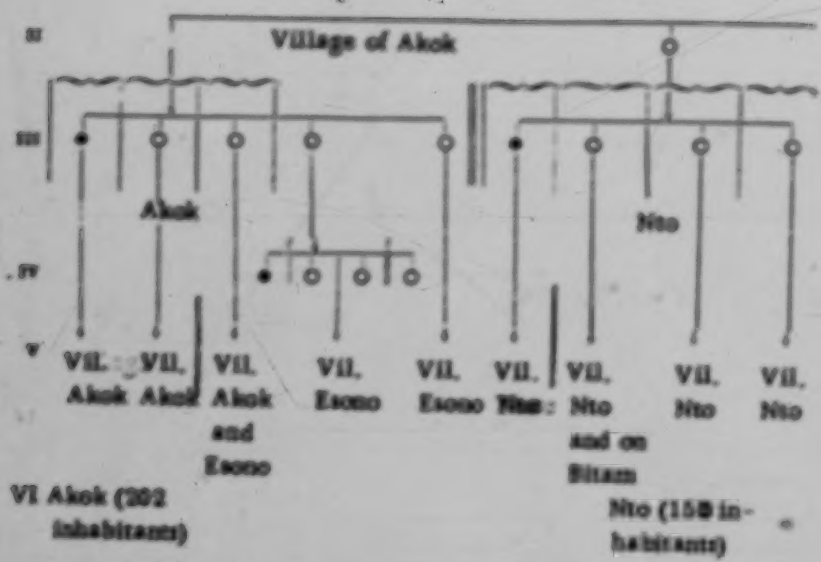
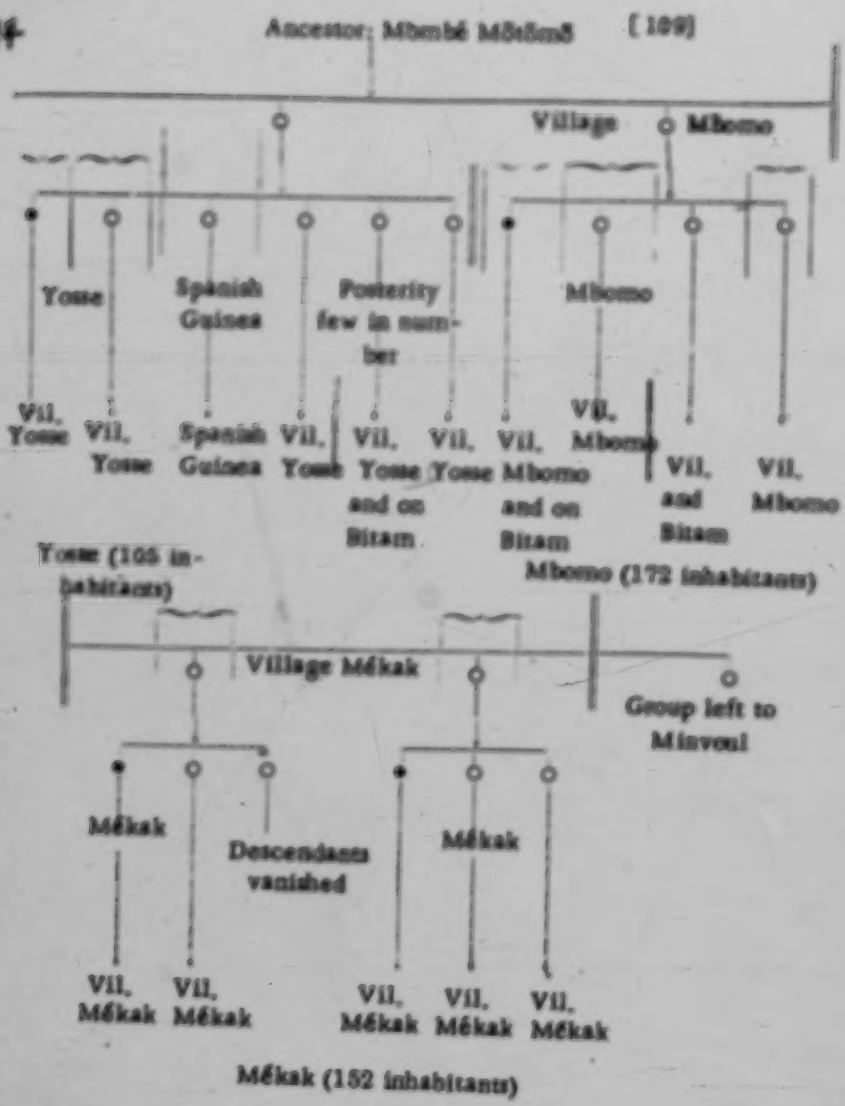


Fig. 6

Example of "fragmentation": Koje in the Vicinity of Oyem

Legend: Eldest brother
Younger brothers
nd'e bbt recognized at the village level
Lines of fission.

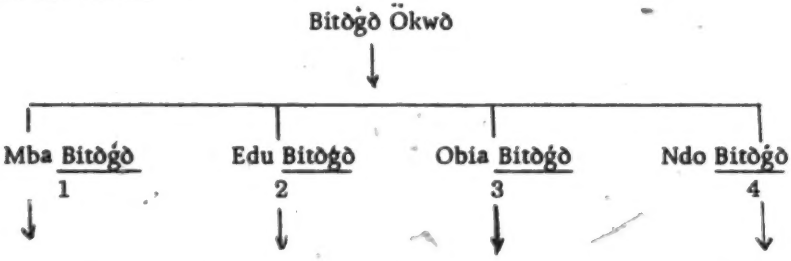

Ancestor: Mbembé Mõõmõ [109]
Village
Mbomo
Yosse
Spanish Guinea
Posterity few in number
Mbomo
Vil. Yosse
Vil. Yosse
Spanish Guinea
Vil. Yosse
Vil. Yosse and on Bitam
Vil. Yosse
Vil. Mbomo and on Bitam
Vil. Mbomo
Vil. and Bitam
Vil. Mbomo
Yosse (105 inhabitants)
Mbomo (172 inhabitants)
Village Mékak
Group left to Minvoul
Mékak
Descendants vanished
Mékak
Vil. Mékak
Vil. Mékak
Vil. Mékak
Vil. Mékak
Vil. Mékak
Mékak (152 inhabitants)

611
614 This structure by interlocked lineages appears to be the primary characteristic of Fang society. One can therefore understand the importance attached in the past to the minute knowledge held by each individual of the elements of his paternal line. By means of the system of naming used by the Fang – a name of two units constructed by using as the second unit of the son's name the first unit of the father's name – the line of descent appears as a chain in which it is impossible to omit a single unit. Thus, Ntutum Ngéma of Sam village in Mitzic region (Esabökâ clan) can link the names of his male ancestors up to the fourteenth generation:

Generations	Known ancestors	
X	Y	
14	Éba Zi	
13	Möbyen Éba	
12	Zɔ̀gɔ̀ Möbyen	
11	Ekwikwi Zɔ̀gɔ̀	
10	Mâfɔ̀ Ekwikwi	
9	Sé Mâfɔ̀	
8	Étɔ̀gɔ̀ Sé	Nki Sé
7	Tsa Étɔ̀gɔ̀	
6	Okwɔ̀ Tsa	
5	Bitɔ̀gɔ̀ Okwɔ̀	
4	Édu Bitɔ̀gɔ̀	
3	Bɔ̀gɔ̀ Édu	2 3 4 4
2	Ngéma Bɔ̀gɔ̀	
1	Ntutum Ngéma	

Although this knowledge is limited, Ntutum Ngéma is able to place himself in the lineage issued from Eba Zi, who led the [111] migrations across the South Cameroons, and in that of Sé Mâfɔ̀, who led a fragment of the Esabökâ as far as present-day Gabon. He can also place himself in relation to intermediate lineages (Étɔ̀gɔ̀ Sé and Nki Sé) and to minor lineages (four sons of Bitɔ̀gɔ̀ Ɔ̀kwɔ̀), which are still represented in the region and within the village.

614 551 Incidentally, the method of naming peculiar to the Fang is evidence of a fundamental social segment, the group of brothers, real and half (siblings and half-siblings). Thus there are the sons of Bitògò Ökwo who form the "heads" of four minor lineages still in existence:



The names themselves emphasize this double orientation, the vertical showing the real filiation and the horizontal showing the real brotherhood, which characterizes Fang social structure. Around such a horizontal segment the village (in this particular case Sam village) is constituted, and inside such a segment are produced the fissions giving birth to separate lineages. From the clan to the minor lineage the groupings must be defined in terms of these two dimensions, thus showing a structure that could be called both segmental and interlocked.

614 578 621 But this overlapping is not sufficient to bind the groupings together and to impose a hierarchy. Ruptures have been frequent and can be explained by the mechanism of Fang expansion, by economic factors, and by causes of a structural nature. By analyzing the lineages settled at the level of a fixed region, one notes that those whose origin goes back to an eldest son (ntòl-mòt are larger in number and are the basis of the local population. The Yèngwi studied above show this very specifically.

614 [112] Yèngwi in the Vicinity of Oyem
578
621

Generations

I Esɔ̀nɔ̀ Angɔ̀
(lineage of 3,325 individuals)

↓

II F_1 (lineage of 2,175 individuals) | F_2 (lineage of 1,150 individuals)

↓ ↓

III $f_1 f_2 f_3 f_4$ | $f_1 f_2 f_3 f_4 f_5$

X 950 | 1.225 ind. | 510 ind. | 640 ind.

Each of the definitely located clan fragments reveals the existence of two groupings which are in a state of latent antagonism, which is shown, geographically, by the separate villages. The cleavage is such that at the time of the recent movement for regrouping villages, initiated entirely by the natives, each of the two antinomic elements refused to join together in order to create larger and more modernized village units. (1) Every time the

1. At the time of our investigation of a Kɔ̀jé grouping, for example, most of our informants asserted tirelessly that "the village will break apart if all the Kɔ̀jé mingle."

fission has been carried out between lineages issued from an "eldest" and the lineages issued from younger brothers. The five clan groupings studied in the Oyem region revealed this rupture – going back to the time of their settlement in the country – with irrefutable clarity (see Table V).

614
578
621

Table V

Clans	Groupings descended from the eldest	Groupings descended from younger son or sons	Villages corresponding to the first grouping	Villages corresponding to the second grouping
Yégnwi	Lineage of Mònòmògò Ésònò	Lineage of Nsim Esònò	Ebiane, etc...	Zorongone, etc...
Effak	Lineage of Ngu Mâmvé	Lineage of Môndu Mâmvé	Nto, etc..	Mékomo, etc...
Ožip	Lineage of Enduma Eswa	Lineage of Emvélé	Nkang	Mbenga, etc...
Yébimvé	Lineage of Ekòrò Mési	Lineage of Obiré Mési	Aféname, etc...	Angone, etc...
Kojé	Lineage of Mözògò Môombé	Lineages of five younger sons	Nto, etc...	Mbomo, etc...

[113] This state of tension, bringing about more or less real fissions, is bound up with a social organization which gives economic and political pre-eminence to the "eldest," [sons] which favors the lineages issued from them, and which, above all, is not hierarchic for the purpose of maintaining the cohesion of groupings, except as needed for defense and expansion, and except for the prestige of temporary "chiefs." The desire for independence manifested by the heads of lineages as soon as their grouping has become fairly large is not controlled in an organized manner. Studies conducted during the first years of this century, especially those of Martrou and Trilles, all insist on the process of fragmentation of

614 lineages which is more marked as the Fang become unattached
578 conquerors. In the same way frequent examples have been given
621 of extensive agglomerations being broken up after the death of the "chief" who had founded and maintained them. The size and cohesion of the groupings appear therefore in a large measure to depend on the personality of the leaders who have asserted themselves (for any rightful succession may be contested under pretext of incapacity, or it may be refused) and on circumstances. This explains in part the frequency of fissions observed by various authors at the level of the third or fourth generation. (1) The size

1. Particularly, E. Trezenem, "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan du Moyen-Ogooué [Ethnographic Notes on the Fang Tribes of the Middle Ogooué]," op. cit.

of localized groupings may therefore vary a great deal – especially since the pacification of the country – going from the major lineage expressed in "clan patches" to the minor lineage (nd'è bòt) forming an isolated hamlet.

Kinship

612 Our analysis of Fang society has so far considered groupings only in terms of two fundamental elements: paternal filiation and real fraternity. We must now examine the bonds created and the relations prescribed by other modalities of kinship, as well as by the alliances that may exist between "foreign" groupings as a result of marriages.

612 Through the medium of his father (ésa, whom he calls taga)
601 and of his mother (nya, whom he calls nanö), the individual belongs to two kinship groupings, the paternal (ésinyâg) and the maternal (dzânanö). For the young Fang these two have neither the same significance nor the same importance. [114] The course of his life will generally be spent in the midst of the first group, while he has only incidental relations with the "relatives." of the second group. It is from the first that he receives his clan affiliation. The fundamental relations of paternal kinship are governed,

612 as we have maintained, in terms of filiation — the term émò,
601 with a qualifying word indicating the filiation: thus émò wam, my son — and in terms of "fraternity," the term mwanö indicating the descendants found in the same segment. From these two coordinates, some of the relationships can be represented as follows:

Table VI

Generations	Designations in the vertical direction	Designations in the horizontal direction
X	Mvam (sg)	
I	Mvam (sg)	
II	Esa (sg)	
III	Mwanö (sg)	Bobéñâg (pl)
IV	Bèndè (pl)	Bobéñâg (pl)
V	Nwabâg (col)	Bobézǎâg (pl)
Y	Nwagbâg (col)	Mwan'ayôg (sg)

Abbreviations: sg, singular; pl, plural; col, collective.

In the first place it seems that the word mvam, used specifically for the grandfather and the forefather, has a very general meaning. It is applied to the great-uncle and to both the ancestor of the direct line of descent and those of the collateral lines. According to Trilles mvam "is derived from a root va, which implies not the idea of a generation, which is sa or ba, 'to plant,' but of production, increase, growth. . . ." (1) The mvam, living or dead

1. Father H. Trilles, op. cit., p. 88.

who may be at the same time ancestors and guardian beings, constitute in an indistinct way the ngibâg, or ancestry. This voluntary
612 confusion of terminology, being a sort of throwback into the past
601 in the defunct part of the clan grouping, should be connected with
888 the Fang custom of keeping the old men away from public life and reducing them to a sort of marginal life. (2) In the same way,

2. Ibid., p. 106, "The white-haired old

612
601
[888]

man is rarely esteemed in the Fang country. As soon as he no longer has the strength to carry a gun, he receives no consideration, and of his own accord he adapts himself to this role, joking and playing at every turn."

the fourth generation assures [115] the passage into the midst of the confused grouping called nwabâg, which, while specifically designating the great-grandchildren, also signifies progeny, the whole of the descendants related in an unspecified way, who are to one another mwanézâg (plural, bobézâg), a term that could be translated as "brother of the same lineage" or simply as "relative." This passage which occurs at the first and fourth generations indicates the privileged position given to two intermediary generations, that of the ésa (father) and that of the mwanõ (son). In the case of this conquering people who rated their villages only by the number of its warriors, this fact must be linked to the importance given socially to the "man in his full strength" nyamòrò (1), — and

1. Ibid., p. 106, "Mur means 'personality' and the particle nya indicates the idea of plenitude or superiority, Our French word 'maître' [master] corresponds fairly well to this meaning."

to "the man who has become adult" — ékwar. On these two generations is based the framework of traditional Fang society.

On the other hand, the strong fraternity expressed by the notion of mwanénâg (2) survives only to the third generation with

2. Father Trilles writes that this term "indicates real kinship or filiation and not by adoption or blood brotherhood . . . ," op. cit., p. 251.

respect to a common mvam (grandfather). (3) The order of

612
601

3. An expression frequently heard during our investigations was: "They had the same mvam, therefore they belonged to the same nd'è bòt."

succession confirms this fact by retaining in the collateral lines of descent only "first cousins" and paternal nephews (émò mwaneñâg, son of mwanéñâg) of the deceased. (4) Apart from the individual

4. Cf. M. Bertaut, Le Drout coutumier des Boulous [Common Law of the Boulou], chapter, "Successions," and L. Mba, Essai de droit coutumier pahouin [Essay on Pahouin Common Law], p. 39.

family which has no independent existence, it is in relation to this kinship that the most coherent and restricted grouping of Fang society, the nd'è bòt, is organized. This assures the cohesion of such a grouping but also contributes, in quite the opposite direction, with the relaxing of effective kinship, to the cleavages which occur frequently in the fourth generation.

612 Important distinctions should be marked on the same hori-
601 zontal segment. First of all in terms of sex, between brother
561 (ndum) and sister (kal). These two terms have a very broad meaning, since, according to L. Martrou, they may mean by extension "village brother" and "daughter [or girl] of the same village." (5)

5. L. Martrou, Lexique [Lexicon].

In terms of birth, children born of the same mother (of the same womb, abum avòri) form a distinct group called abumò bòt. No privilege however is [116] granted the siblings, this qualification most frequently being specified only by a periphrase, mwanéñâg abum avòri, "brother from the same womb." Above all, in terms of seniority, the eldest, ntòl or nyamòrò, takes precedence over the younger brother, ndzimõ. This pre-eminence is fundamental and is of the same order as that which subordinates the generation

612 of mwanó to that of the ésa. The eldest son is not only almost
601 the exclusive heir to property — "he inherits at least seven tenths,"
561 writes Mr. Bertaut — but he also has religious privileges. He is the sole guardian of the skulls of ancestors, and he has political privileges, if he shows himself sufficiently able.

601 Within the maternal kinship the most important relations are
608 those between nephew (mwanö kal) and maternal uncle (nya-nduma). Of this we have proof in an early study of the Fang of the N'Djolé region, and in a recent document written at the time of a clan gathering which shows the maintenance of some of these relations. Captain Curault (1) refers to them in a precise manner in his

1. Captain Curault, "Monographie du secteur de N'Djolé au Gabon" [Monograph on the N'Djolé Sector in Gabon], Revue des Troupes Coloniales, 68, February, 1908.

monograph on the N'Djolé sector: "The relations between uncle and nephew are very close; during his life the nephew gives his uncle a great many presents to increase still further the price paid to his uncle for his mother. In the same way, whenever his nephew pays him a visit, the uncle kills a chicken for him, etc... as does the father-in-law for his son-in-law. ... If a poor nephew needs goods to pay for a palaver or to get married, he can go to his uncle, sure that he will receive help from him, even if he has not often given him presents. It is a supreme shame for a man
[428] to send away the son of his sister with empty hands." Maternal uncle and nephew have a share in the inheritance. An official report of the clan gathering of the Yémisèm-Éba still provides in 1948 for the "indemnity" due at the time of the death of a nya-nduma (a sum corresponding to the value of a woman and a sheep) and on the death of a mwanö-kal (a slightly smaller sum, "varying according to the size of the inheritance," and a sheep). (2)

2. Réunion de 25 villages de la tribu Yémissem a Afénane (District d'Oyem) du 12 an 19 Juillet, 1948 [Gathering of 25 villages of the Yémissem tribe at

601
608 Afénane (Oyem District) from July 12-
19, 1948], Archives d'Oyem.

The relation between the mwanö-kal and the nya-nduma is about the same as that between son-in-law and father-in-law.

583 Such an assembly of facts is understandable only in terms of
608 the Fang principle regulating the circulation of bride prices. "The brother marries with his sister's bride price," nduma a luǧ nö biki kal. Within such a circuit, the establishment of a couple concerns not only [117] the two partners but also the sister of the husband who has indirectly "provided" the bride price making the marriage possible, and the brother of the wife who has indirectly "recovered" this same bride price in order to get married. This explains the bonds existing between the maternal [sic] nephew and
[601] uncle and also the rights which the paternal aunt (sôna) has, according to Curault, "over her brother's children, since it is thanks to the price of her sale that her brother was able to get married and consequently have children." In exceptional circumstances
608 614 this relationship is sufficiently active to allow the nephew to settle in the midst of the family grouping of the maternal uncle or of the husband of the paternal aunt. We have had occasion to observe the first case, which involved a change of clan affiliation. A man of Yèngwi birth left his grouping following a death of which he was suspected; having joined his maternal uncle with whom he settled down to live, where he was considered as an Esabâg (he was said to be ña ayôg, entered into the clan).

601 The kinship terms in the Fang system are applied not only to a specific class of individuals but are often used in an extended manner. Ngwé may designate any maternal relative. Nya-nduma (literally, the mother's brother) is applied to certain maternal male relatives: maternal grandfather and his brothers, maternal uncles and their descendants (1), in fact, to all the men belonging

1. Cf. L. Mba, op. cit., pp. 32 and 41.

to the nd'è bot of the maternal grandfather. Mwanö-kal implies

601 kinship with descent through the women, i.e., through paternal aunts (the term sôna having a descriptive equivalent, kal ésuò, father's sister), maternal aunts (to whom is applied symmetrically the term sôna), and sisters (kal). But its meaning can be broadened to include, as Martrou states, "any child whose mother is a native of the village or the tribe." When the emphasis is on the closest kinship, in each class the term is used with the word fogo, which means "true" and which has a quality of accentuation. Thus mwanéñâg fogo would be translated "brother by the same father." While the mwanéñâg group refers essentially to paternal filiation, the mwanōkal group points to descent through sisters, and the system of distribution of bride prices. They have in a way a complementary existence and are associated with the mechanism which allows the establishment of the couple and the procreation of posterity. The one [latter] may remedy the decay of the other [former]. Curault [118] points this out by using a case already quoted: "An orphan who does not get on with his father's brothers seeks a "brother" in his maternal uncle or in the husband of his paternal aunt, or in the son of his sister, if the latter is much older than he and already the mother of full-grown men." There is therefore a recourse to be had for anyone who, as an exception, wants to escape from the authority unjustly employed by the "chief" of his nd'è bòt.

612 This account of the principal aspects of kinship shows fairly well that, while granting first place to the "paternals," Fang society also acknowledges the "maternals" by attributing important roles to them. (1) This double recognition is confirmed by the

1. M. H. Kingsley had already stressed this important fact. Cf. Travels in West Africa, London, 1897, in which she writes: "Among the Fang, kinship is recognized both on the side of the father and of the mother, and is not limited as among the Galwa by immediate sanguinity."

obligation of double exogamy. It is forbidden to marry a woman

612 belonging to the clan of the father or the mother (or belonging to a clan connected by marriage to either when the common origin is still known). We have already pointed out certain circumstances in which maternal kinship is effective. It should be remembered that this maternal kinship manifests itself from childhood on by obligating the mwanõ kal to visit his nya-nduma(s), that it is able to receive the right of guardianship, to collect the bride price, and to benefit from an inheritance (in addition to compensation normally provided at the time of a maternal nephew's death) by substituting for a vanished paternal kinship, and that it shares along with the relatives by marriage (abè) in the various phases of funeral ceremonies and mourning. This fact suggests that the power of the maternal kinship, while remaining subordinate, is recognized in this way to strengthen the power of "alliances" created by marriage. Those related to the father by marriage are the nya-nduma of his immediate descendants. In this way the bonds essential to the existence of traditional Fang society are consolidated.

Marriage and Alliances

581 554 The first explorers, Du Chaillu and M. H. Kingsley, did not fail to point out the important role of relations set up by means of the numerous marriages among foreign groupings. Father Trilles, in his study made at the beginning of this century, also pointed out the personal advantages connected with a network [119] of alliances opened up through the interplay of marriages. He writes: "The Fang will therefore marry a girl in order to secure alliances in other tribes, to acquire greater influence by having more men attached to him by the ties of blood." (1) All researchers emphasize definitely

1. Father Trilles, "Proverbes, légendes et contes Fang [Fang Sayings, Legends and Tales]," Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie, 1905, pp. 49-295.

two social consequences of marriage: the increase of personal prestige and the increase of the strength of the family group.

581 554 562 These facts should be complemented by specifying the particular value attributed by every Fang to the "possession" of several wives

581 and by recalling the keen competition for women this society. This
554 value was expressed in a colorful way by Dr. Cureau when he said:
562 "The gynaeceum is a bank, a savings bank. . . ." (2) And M. L. Mba,

2. Dr. A. Cureau, op. cit., p. 118.

a Fang of the Libreville region, in his Coutumier Pahouin [Pahuin Customs] gives a similar interpretation: the wife "is part of the property (or bioum) of the group into which she enters by marriage." [837] He completes this interpretation by saying that the adultery of a married woman "is severely punished because it is considered a theft." (3) The woman has no juridical personality: she has no

3. In the same vein, we cite a remark, quoted by Mgr. Martrou in a study dated 1918, made by a young Fang of Libreville to his wife: "What do you have to complain of, you are my beast . . . I paid a high enough price for you!"

personal property of any importance, merely goods for everyday use; she has no share in any inheritance; she is transmitted by inheritance, just as are various goods and valuables (which may be considered virtually as women). However, the woman is property of a special kind; she is property in the highest sense of the word: creative capital. [She is the] source of produce (by her agricultural function, all the more important now that the woman takes part in cultivating the rich plantations) and of service (by her various domestic functions). [She is the] source of power, by "the procreation of children contributing to the defense of the group or securing alliances," (4) and [she is the source] of personal prestige.

4. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 29.

[She is the] source of "alliances" and kinship; through her the number of people who exchange services and gifts and who can render aid and assistance is increased. Thus, marriage has a

581 specific social meaning; it creates bonds (abè) which fasten together
554 the family and clan groupings. Curault points out that this imposes
562 a "close union, in spite of divergencies in language and in spite of the palavers of the different parts of the Pahouin people." At the same time, marriage [120] has a personal meaning. In traditional
[556] Fang society the possession of many wives is the principal sign of wealth and the condition for all increase of wealth. This wealth conditions the importance of the social role; it makes possible the acquisition of a kind of personal power in a society with hardly any hierarchical system. (1)

1. Let us point out that two words with the same root, éval and évala, mean "polygamy" and "a prop, a support," respectively.

836 Because of this personal element the competition for women can become particularly keen. Very early, government reports pointed out the frequency of palavers due to the "women question," and they continue to complain of them as being characteristic of "Fang society and psychology." Let us state at the outset that the competition does not concern the sexual services demanded from the woman. For the unmarried men there are various compensating possibilities -- but only in the line of "lustful sexuality," to quote the expression of R. Bastide. (2) The young unmarried people have

2. R. Bastide, Sociologie et Psychanalyse [Sociology and Psychoanalysis], Bibliothèque de Sociologie Contemporaine, Paris, 1950.

complete sexual liberty among themselves: it is the custom called azòya-angòn (azòya, fornication; ngòn, maiden). E. Trezenem states in his monograph on the Fang of the Ogooué that "virginity of the woman is considered of no importance," that "the young
836 girls are free to give themselves to whomever they want." Then
584 he adds an "important restriction," saying that there are practically

836 no young girls, the little girls being married very early by their
584 parents, sometimes even before their birth." (3) This restriction

3. E. Trezenem, "Notes éthnographiques [Ethnographical Notes]," op. cit., p. 87.

is entirely relative, for, according to L. Mba, "the custom allows the betrothed to have as many lovers as she wants during the time of her engagement." M. Bertaut specifies similarly that "the young girl is free as far as her body is concerned so long as she has no husband," which may represent a long period of freedom, considering the time it takes to settle a bride price that is always very large. There exists also a kind of tolerated, it not established,
837 prostitution, since the husband may "place one of his wives under
[548] obligation to bring him some income by prostituting herself to strangers." (4) Certain customs, such as the placing of a wife at

4. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 29; and V. Largeau, Encyclopédie Pahouine [Pahuin Encyclopedia], article on adultery": ... "a husband is always free to lend his wife on condition of a certain payment... ."

the disposal of a guest, or the lending or [121] exchanging of a wife (1) as a token of friendship (the wife becoming munögo ângôm,

1. Cf. V. Largeau, op. cit.:" ... the rules of good hospitality require the host to put one of his wives at the disposal of the one whom he is entertaining. On the other hand, it is a current custom for two good neighbors who respect each other to exchange wives from time to time, and this is a definite indication of mutual sympathy." Also, Captain Maignan,

837 "Etudes sur le Pays Pahouin [Study on the Pahouin Country]," op. cit.

"friendship wife"), show, as does the freedom just referred to, that the curbing of adultery can be explained by social reasons which are quite alien to sexuality.

[727 567] 831 595 581 The possibility of raping women of neighboring people during the time of conquest, the possibility of buying foreign women at a good price, so long as the slave trade lasted, permitted the "chiefs" of groupings to remedy the dangers due to the unsatisfied desires of the young men. Apparently the Fang do not display, as do some people, (2) signs of unsatisfied sex due to the fact that

2. Cf. R. Bastide, Sociologie et Psychanalyse [Sociology and Psychoanalysis], pp. 160-161.

women remain the property of the older men. What is sought is the legal possession of the woman, let us say, for the many advantages it entails, rather than sexual possession. And in this sense the justification brought forward by L. Mba can be understood when he writes, "It was not material satisfaction of the senses which drove the Pahouins to polygamy, but many other reasons. . . ."

581 562 684 628 When the marriage is consummated, the woman goes from a state of near liberty to one of strict sexual control. The specific painful physical penalties for adultery to which the woman alone is subject are particuarly severe: being exposed naked before the assembled village, being tied to the ant tree, excision of the clitoris or pimento torture, various mutilations. When the woman, either by flight or by rape, leaves the grouping into which she married, the whole group reacts violently. It is the cause of fights, kidnaping, and pillaging of the village that has taken her 581 562 in. (3) There is the most absolute contrast between this control

3. "Hence, conflicts that last for years, expressed through kidnaping of women and ending in gunshots," Libreville, Archives of 1909. And

581
562

> the saying: "If the woman is the receptacle in which all can quench their thirst, she should not be carried off."

between these collective sanctions, and the very broad morality which allows a girl to "celebrate her youth" and which appears in the proverb: "Woman is an ear of dry corn in which anyone with teeth may bite." Marriage strengthens the socialization of woman, imposing on her [122] unconditional submission. One might say, to quote R. Bastide, that it consists in passing from "lustful sexuality" to "social sexuality."

581
585

The social character of marriage is emphasized symbolically. A series of ceremonies mark the admission of the woman into the group that is receiving her. The mother of her husband recites the latter's genealogy, and a segregation of a week is imposed on her, after which she undergoes a coming-out ritual — she is bathed and anointed with oil by the oldest woman relative -- [551] and she receives a new name, indicating a wish, which the other women give to her at a time of song and dance. (1) The "alliance"

> 1. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., p. 89.

concluded between the two family groupings is demonstrated by meals taken together and by rejoicing (éyalö), and above all, it is [769] consecrated by the sacrifice of an animal destined for the biéri (ancestors' altar) of the young girl's parents, showing that bonds exist not only with the group of living but also with the community of ancestors. (2) The emphasis is thus laid on taking possession of

> 2. No doubt it is necessary to link this sacred character of the alliance to the violence of collective reactions provoked by "women affairs."

the posterity (in this respect the recitation of the genealogy appears to be very significant) and on the creation of an alliance (the same

581 word abè meaning both the bond and those joined) imposing peace
585 and mutual assistance. In this way the two essential functions of the woman are revealed: she is an element of fecundity and a maker of peace and assistance. These are the elements on which traditional Fang society is based. Hence it is easy to understand the control exercised by the group by restricting freedom of choice of a spouse – through the medium of the head of the family, it seeks the alliance which will be of greatest advantage to it (3) – and by

> 3. Cf. L. Mba, op. cit., "In the past the opinion of the interested parties mattered little. The request is made by the head of one family to the head of another family."

intervening when the flight or rape of the woman would compromise the equilibrium brought about by the marriage.

583 The method itself of marriage marks the development of a
584 series of exchanges between the two family groups it unites. With the first phase known as the "betrothal," dzâga, the young man acquires pre-eminence over the chosen girl. He has the right to live with her for several days, but his family must provide the "fiancée's" parents with the first presents and must lend assistance at the time of various undertakings (clearing undergrowth, building huts, hunting [123] or fishing expeditions). During this period the girl's father determines the amount of the bride price, "nswa. The second period corresponds to the payment of this bride price, which may be made at intervals, provided that the first payment be the largest. This often gives rise to arguments and palavers. On the other hand, the nkia ("he who has received the bride price") is obliged to bring compensation in the form of gifts, usually of animals, which are called mévalö. Finally, the third phase corresponds to the "handing over of the fiancée" and to her settlement in the midst of the family grouping of the young man. It involves the ceremony we have described. The woman, according to Largeau, becomes truly the wife (mônōga), and not merely the concubine, from the moment when she is able to cook for her husband after

583 584 "her mother has come and prepared with her the first meal." (1)

1. V. Largeau, op. cit., article: Épouser [Getting Married].

This final ceremony, as M. Leenhardt has noted in other areas, has the character of a "communal manducation"; (2) it concludes a

2. M. Leenhardt, "Cérémonie et sceau du mariage [Ceremony and Seal of Marriage]," Le Monde Non Chrétien, 15, 1950.

phase in which the ties born of reciprocity are strengthened by an intimate communion between the members of the allied groupings. Afterwards the exchanges continue in the form of visits, assistance, and reciprocal gifts, particularly at the birth of children, when the husband is obliged to give presents to his family-in-law. This reciprocity must have been more direct in olden times, for some Fang can remember when marriages were made by exchanging wives. A young Pahouin author, F. Meyé, writes that "cases of such marriages (called "bikour mêngong") are known "but are very rare. (3) In spite of the medium of the bride price, this reciprocity

3. Cf. François Méyé, "Pour la Jeunesse Fang [For Fang Youth], Journal A.E.F., July 25, 1948.

is manifested in a nonequivocal manner. The interminable process it involves, which led Dr. Cureau to compare the family-in-law to innumerable leeches, (4) nevertheless guarantees the durability

4. And to write: "There are ceaseless demands under the most bizarre pretexts, the fiancée's first menses, first conjugal cohabitation, first signs of pregnancy, childbirth ..." in Sociétés primitives, p. 117.

583 of the alliance. (5)
584

5. Cf., on the importance of these facts of reciprocity and their role in so-called primitive societies, the remarkable work of C. Levi-Strauss devoted to the study of Structures élémentaires de la Parenté [Elementary Structures of Kinship], Paris, 1949.

581 As it circulates, the bride price weaves a network of ties
583 between groupings which, without the obligation of exogamy, would
578 have lived as so many biological, economic, and political units
595 retired within themselves. [124] It compels co-operation; it creates zones of security in a country where, at a time of conquest, the economic competition is severe (as regards the best land for cultivation and hunting, and the trade centers and roads). In addition the double exogamy multiplies these abé bonds, and the specific recognition of the maternal kinship reinforces, as we have suggested, these bonds, The circulation of women and in a parallel direction that of the bride prices have to be minutely regulated. This function belongs to the head of the nd'è bòt, to the ntòl, the latter signifying not only "ancient" but also "arbiter, envoy, ambassador." He is custodian of wealth and giver of women. At the level of the segment of brothers (bobèñâg), the principle that bride prices received at the time of the marriage of daughters are used to marry the sons in the order of their birth is completed by the obligation of the eldest brother to contribute to the formation of a bride price necessary for the marriage of the younger brother who does not benefit by such a compensation. Certainly this principle which was meant to regulate the distribution of the women and to limit competition has not turned out to be infallible. Antagonisms between the "eldest" [brothers] and younger brothers leading to the breaking up of groupings are often explained by this obligation not being met. (1) The oldest men can take advantage of their pre-

1. Cf. supra, pp. 112-113.

eminence in order to buy up the greatest number of wives. Finally,

581 the younger brothers are often tempted to collect for themselves
583 the elements of a bride price or to carry out rapes or raids. They
578 represent the most dynamic and mobile fraction of the grouping. (2)
595

2. Probably their lineages represent the major part of the Fang population of Lower Gabon. This would help to explain, apart from "modernist" reasons, the more or less pronounced rivalry and antagonisms between the "Fang from above" and the "Fang from below."

However, the earliest observations show that there was a sort of limited polygamy. Fourneau writes: "The Pahouin is in fact most often monogamous, simply because the woman is very highly prices," (3) and Dr. Cureau more specifically states: "Among the

3. A. Fourneau, op. cit., p. 77.

Fang where a wife is expensive, the maximum rarely goes above five; apparently thirty years ago, only the very rich could rise to one or two units above humiliating monogamy." (4) These two

4. Dr. A. Cureau, op. cit., p. 119.

authors confirm the existence of a restricted polygamy and therefore of a tendency to equalize the distribution of the women which, according to them, is allied with the high cost of bride prices.

583 [125] It is now time to analyze the material nature of the bride price. During the nineteenth century it consisted essentially of iron objects (representations of assagais, Pahouin knives, and axes very reduced in size), of which the bikki are the best known, (1)

1. Cf. M.H. Kingsley, op. cit.; the ancient word for bride price is bikki, or nswa bikki.

reserved exclusively for matrimonial exchanges, and of animals,

583 ivory, and salt. With the growing development of trade, imported "goods" took the place in part of these symbolic objects, and the explorer Du Chaillu about 1860 notes "an ever increasing desire" for these articles. (2) Then, until 1918-20, the bride price con-

2. Stating in another connection: "... copper rings, white beads, and copper dishes called "neptunes" have the highest current value among the Fang for the purchase of a wife...," cf. Voyages et Aventures dans l'Afriques Equatoriale [Travels and Adventures in Equatorial Africa].

sisted essentially of symbolic money and "goods" of high value. It has only been since that date that currency is used and represents an increasingly large proportion of the bride price. This evolution must be looked upon in the first place as a desire to maintain as the equivalent of woman, who is wealth in the highest sense of the word, the most valuable property which Fang society has at its disposal. The society endeavors to have the bride price consist of scarce products: that is, bikki, "goods," in the period of trading; currency when the latter became widespread and accepted by the villagers. This corresponds originally less to a notion of high price — the notion of price only slowly supplanting that of exchange — than to the desire to establish a restricted circuit in which only the heads of family groupings would participate, that is, a circuit controlled to the maximum. (3) Under these conditions polygamy, which was not

3. The effectiveness of this control is pointed out in a study, Le Mariage Fang [Fang Marriage] appearing in the Archives of Oyem": Formerly the authority of the head of the family was very great and often he made use of family solidarity to allow the poorest to marry each other and to obtain a just distribution of the women."

583 common, appears as the sign of exceptional success, which explains the prestige of the nkukuma who owns a greater number of wives and more property (bium). The price characteristic manifested now in the bride price is a recent transformation. Originally, its final payment sealed an alliance that could not be broken without a long process of "divorce"; one which survived even the man who enabled it to be, since the wife was transferred to the eldest son or the oldest brother; and one which, above all, legitimized the ownership of posterity: if the bride price was not paid in full, the newborn child belonged to the parents of the wife; if not fully paid back [126] at the time of a "divorce," the child belonged to the father. The fact that the bride price is not refunded at the death of the wife, when the latter leaves posterity, does not suggest that it is a matter of the price of the latter, but rather a reciprocity emphasizing that through the posterity the alliance has become a kinship.

562 584 We have thus endeavored to show the social importance of marriage, pointing out particularly the fundamental role of the links it establishes between groups and the pre-eminence attached to controlling the circulation of the women and their bride prices. But obviously this system does not always function smoothly. A lack of equilibrium exists between the meaning it has for the grouping and the meaning it might have for the individuals concerned. Certain rules of procedure, recognized by custom, provide solutions for possible conflicts. The marriage agreed to by the young people may take place against the wish of the family heads following the rape (abòm) of the girl (1); the wife has various methods [839]

1. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., p. 88: "The young man gives what he has in money and goods, and the parents are obliged to agree to the marriage by accepting this first payment."

of recourse against a seriously prejudicial union. Her complaint may result in her marriage to another of the sons of her father-in-law, or else she may go to a man of her choice who pays the

562 compensation, or she may "publicly curse her husband." (2)
584

2. Cf. V. Largeau, op. cit., article: Femme [Woman].

562 Finally, in the case of serious conflicts, the union may be dissolved
586 by "divorce," but the latter may only be used traditionally under well-defined circumstances and "with the assent of the two interested family heads." (3) There are therefore arrangements that allow

3. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 21.

personal reasons to be taken into account and which F. Meyé had in mind when he said, "the Fang woman can in no way be compared to a slave," because of the many kinds of recourse she has at her disposal; these arrangements play a wholly exceptional role in ancient Fang society. Beside the personal element, which also acts as a disturbing element, is the fact that the number of unions indicates wealth and social importance. (4) It results, when the

4. This element is shown particularly in the custom reported by L. Mba: "In comfortably off families, the parents betroth the boys before puberty and the girls after puberty," op. cit., p. 14.

circulation of goods is no longer strictly controlled, in keen competition and numerous disputes.

582 It is now essential to consider the persons concerned in the
835 play of marriage and to point out at once that certain persons [127] are excluded from it. Apart from the double exogamy which introduces a form of "fraternity" in a very broad sense of the word, there are prohibitions concerning the precise degrees of relationship as follows: between members of the taǧa class (father, mother, uncle, aunt) and the mwanõ class (sons and daughters, nephews and nieces); between members of the same segment, including cousins to the third generation; there are prohibitions on those

582 related by marriage: between a man and "any woman, even
835 divorced, of his kinship by marriage," between "members of the son-in-law's family" and any woman divorced from the kinship by marriage. (1) There are also prohibitions relating to the

1. Cf. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 17.

"adopted" (ntobō). It seems important to us to state that these various interdicts exclude from marriage persons between whom there are already very definite relations, those due to effective kinship (including "cousins" to the level where the nd'ɛ̀ bòt is most often split into separate elements), those that exist between groupings already related by marriage, and those which arise from the state known as "adoption." Everything takes place as
[60] if the aim sought by means of marriage was to impose an alliance on the most foreign elements — foreign and hostile being considered as synonymous during the period of conquest. (2) The

2. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., pp. 91-92: "Relations with foreign tribes are rare ... the foreigner is accepted with reserve and only when he shows merchandise proving that his visit has no other purpose than to fetch a woman whom he can marry. The tribes are very frequently hostile to one another..."

obligation to respect both double exogamy and the above-mentioned interdicts contributes essentially to broadening among the groupings the field of relations based on co-operation. Incest,
835 an infraction of these principles, enters into the category of the
783 nsem defined by Martrou as "ritual impurity, moral defilement." It brings about sterility or illness and arouses in traditional society a collective reaction. V. Largeau in his work mentions the process of expiation (3) in use at that time with the intervention of the

3. Op. cit., article: Inceste [Incest].

835 783 "men's society" and the rite allied to the makuma dance characteristic of this society.

Marriage creates the so-called "restricted" or "individual" family. This has no special name and represents the smallest grouping in which communal life takes place. The husband and wife are nomõ and nga to each other — these two terms stressing the biological character of the union since they also signify male and female. His parents-in-law are minki [128] or nkia, "he who has received the bride price," a word recalling the seal that has validated the union. In the same way the term mbòm, meaning "newly married woman whose bride price has just been paid," is used to designate the daughter-in-law, and has the same context. The principle already mentioned of the pre-eminence attached to seniority subsists in the relations with the abè. For the husband the wife's eldest sister is mînki (mother-in-law) while the younger sister is ngòm zam (my daughter). On a similar pre-eminence is based the authority of the first wife over the other wives; while the former is nanõ (mother) the others are mbòm (daughter-in-law) — which explains her role of directing the various jobs and moral responsibilities entrusted to her. Finally, the personal element at the level of these relations is perfectly symbolized by the position accorded to the preferred wife (nluga or ntômba). This astonished one of the first administrators of the Fang country, who wrote: "While they usually profess great indifference toward their wives and have no scruples over renting or lending them out, they have a rather keen affection for the companion whom they choose as 'favorite.'" (1) This is the least socialized part and manifests relations that have a certain spontaneity between the two elements associated by marriage.

1. Archives for the Year 1905, Libreville.

Residential Units

621 The colonial government has acknowledged only a "collection" of villages in the Fang country, giving this name to the

621 groupings, whatever their size, settled in a definite spot and occupying a limited area. Referring to observations made in the past, the Fang apparently distinguished definitely two types of these units: the Ƶal, "inhabited only by the family of the ésa (chief or patriarch) his kin and his clients [dependents]" and the mfaǵ, "where several families gather together without mingling together ...," the different parts being "separated by guardhouses built in the center of the single street...." (2) It is easy to see

2. V. Largeau, op. cit., article: Village.

by this statement that the nd'è bòt (minor lineage) formed the fundamental element, as is seen by sections or quarters definitely marked out. The numerous concentrations were most often conditioned by reasons of security (they were mostly found on the frontiers [129] of the Fang country at the period of conquest) or by the power of aggregation of a strong personality. (1) They repre-

1. Maignan in his Études sur le Pays Pahouin [Studies of the Pahouin Country], op. cit., refers to such a power held by "him who, by his age, his experience, his eloquence, his wealth ... is the most capable of protecting the interests of all."

sented more or less extended lineages. L. Martrou points out that all the members of these villages "go back through four or five ancestors to a common paternal founder." (2)

2. Father L. Martrou, "Le nomadisme des Fangs [Nomadism of the Fangs]," Revue de Géographie, Vol. 3, 1909.

621 166 Early works and documents show the village grouping to be an eminently mobile unit. Father Trilles gives the example of a village

621 166 that accomplished a migration of 500 kilometers with the same chief (1910), and Dr. Aujoulat mentions a grouping which in twenty years moved over 200 kilometers (1935). These are characteristics of a seminomadic people and not of a peasant people. For a long time the government ran up against what it called the "migratory mania" of the Fang. The law in Gabon manifests a lack of attachment to cultivated land which underlines this instability. L. Martrou points out that there is no definite appropriation of the places for cultivation, hunting, or fishing; there exist only "zones of influence" with uncertain boundaries. (3)

3. Father L. Martrou, "Le nomadisme des Fangs [Nomadism of the Fangs]," op. cit.

166 The geographer, J. Bruhnes, basing his judgment on these facts, made of the Fang a type of Naturvoelker [nature folk] and claimed that "the most general causes of the migrations... resulted from destructive occupation." (4) It is essential to correct

4. J. Bruhnes, La Geographie Humaine [Human Geography], abridged edition, Paris, 1942, pp. 199-204.

here an opinion based on insufficient information, which will lead us to observations valuable for our analysis. At various times we have specifically stated that there exist some Fang centers settled a long time ago in a limited region (in Woleu-N'tem). (5) We

5. Confirmed by Captain Maignan, op. cit., who draws attention to villages "occupying the same land for more than a century," (study dated 1912).

have shown how echeloning took place, starting from regular "migratory centers," and have indicated the manner in which the

166 social organization favored (or gave rise to) the breaking up of groupings. These facts lead to the idea of relative instability and to the recognition of internal causes responsible for this instability.

Moreover, recent geographic studies assert that the "system of agriculture adopted by the Fang (could not by) the destruction of the forest, [130] (determine) the displacement of a whole population," These studies recall the existence of a "true and early settlement" in the heart of the Fang country in the South Cameroons.(1) This is certified by the existence of landed property

1. G. Sautter, "Les paysans noirs du Gabon septentrional" [The Black Peasants of Northern Gabon], op. cit., pp. 126-128, 158.

among the Cameroons Pahoun. (2) The migrations through Gabon

2. Cf. M. Bertaut, op. cit., chapter: Les Biens [Property].

must be the most recent (representing no doubt the point of departure of a new phase of expansionism), and the Ogooué represents the frontier of the Fang country (actually the advanced front of this people) only because of French occupation. The Fang have only recently given up a policy of conquest at which they excelled because of their fighting valor and their assimilating capacity. Until the eve of 1914 the administration ran up against warlike organizations, the Bizima, operating in the neighborhood of the Okamo River, and a report of 1922 specifically states that "the native is not easily handled." There is no doubt that for a long time the Fang have made every effort to secure and control the trade routes and trading centers early established in this part of central Africa. This is confirmed by legends which connect a trek toward the west with the discovery of great riches. (3) As

3. Cf. Legends quoted by L. Mba, op. cit., and V. Largeau, op. cit.

166 early as the middle of the last century the explorer Du Chaillu noted how this warlike pressure was completed by peaceful conquest by means of "alliances" created by marriage with foreighers. (4) Dr. Cureau, fifty years later, pointed out that the

> 4. Father Du Chaillu, op. cit., "... for their part the Fang, far away from the European commerce much coveted by them, are happy to acquire a son-in-law nearer the coast. So I suspect that in a few years they will succeed in contracting marriages with other tribes on a very large scale."

control of the Ogooué trade had passed into the hands of the Fang peoples. (5) With settlement in Gabon, the economy of the Fang

> 5. Dr. A. Cureau, op. cit., p. 294.

groupings takes on a double orientation: it comes in contact with the forest peoples who are essentially hunters and collectors of trading produce, and it transforms its movement of expansion into an attempt to seize the trade of Lower Gabon. One might say that French colonization has prevented a sort of Fang colonization in this region. While this double task of conquest and trade depends on the [143] men, the economy of subsistence is to all intents and purposes left to the women. On this basis [131] the division of labor is established, leaving to the men alone the means of acquiring wealth and capital.

166 621 361 Such elements help us to understand the relative mobility of the groupings. A people that has no concern for agriculture would have no strong attachment for land that is equally fertile in any part of the forest. (1) In another respect the characteristic of a

> 1. See what was still said in 1934 by the administrator Le Testu (one of the best observers of the men and the country): "Lacking any taste for working the

166
621
361

land, which the Pahouin will never acquire, for he considers it humiliating, he will perhaps develop a taste for the profit resulting from this work."

conquering society has imposed on the old Fang village an appearance which has often been mentioned: two uninterrupted rows (nkara) of huts surrounding a kind of courtyard closed at each end [712] by a "guardhouse" (abèñō); sometimes a palisade of posts enclosing a banana plantation serves as a protection in the rear. Inside the huts there is only a limited amount of things which are easily [352] transportable: "goods" of value are stored in chests, the ancestors' altars (biéri) are kept in large cylindrical boxes. (2) There is no

2. Very similar to the "baskets of ancestors" carried by the Ba-kongo during their great migrations.

doubt that the grouping lived for a long time in a state of insecurity. This was primarily the factor which intervened to maintain a minimum size without which there was no real security. The causes contributing to the breaking up of groups, the organization of Fang society itself, the search for women and goods, and, finally, the agricultural methods, were dominated and largely impeded by this necessity. It appears certain that really large villages existed at the beginning of French occupation. V. Largeau refers to mfaǵ with eight or ten "guardhouses"; F. Grébert speaks of ten to twenty of these "guardhouses," (3) and F. Meyé asserts

3. F. Grébert. Au Gabon [In the Gabon], Paris, 1932.

that "the normal population of a village was from 80 to 170 warriors, exclusive of women and adolescents." (4) According to estimates

4. Quoted by G. Sautter, op. cit., p. 124.

166 made fifty years ago, such a whole represented from 350 to 700
621 or 800 persons — while present-day villages rarely average more
361 than 100 inhabitants. With peace restored, the grouping has relaxed and divided into its constituent elements which have broken away to form neighboring hamlets. A special word, ngòra, is the name given to these hamlets which are considered as still forming the same whole.

621 Linked with the virile character of Fang society is certainly
562 [132] the accent on the separation of sexes as shown in daily
571 life. For the woman, the living place is the hut; for the man it
344 is essentially the "guardhouse." M. H. Kingsley writes[3] "The men spend most of their time in palaver houses built at each end of the street, while the women bring bowls of food the whole day
[784] long," (3) without being able to enter the abèñõ, which is absolutely

3. Travels in West Africa, p. 1154.

forbidden them. H. Trilles defines this abèñõ as the place "where the men assemble to deal with community affairs, war, marriage,
[574] lawsuits, etc...," and where strangers are welcomed. In addition it is the place where the young men receive a large part of their education, where they learn, according to L. Mba, the most im-
621 portant interdicts (éki). Males of the same nd'è bòt assemble in
562 the abèñõ, which forms a virile grouping and one of kinship. In
571 its midst the authority of the "eldest" is expressed. He is both the symbol and the regulator of the life of the group, and the intermediary between it and the ancestors. Here not only are important transactions regulated, but work is also organized. The life of each one is subject to the control and the nearly constant censure of all. In its is created a cohesion so that this group is the most resistant element of Fang society. It is through the medium of this group, that the traditional Fang is assessed, is isolated as an individual, by the foreigner; he is not known in the first place as X but as a man attached to the abèñõ of Y. Such a grouping therefore represents a strong "community": the fusion, which favors effective kinship to the maximum (it is based on immediate filiation and "fraternity"), worship of the same ancestors, and joint

621 participation in the same tasks, tends — if one may venture the
562 play on words — to the confusion of its members. On the other
571 hand, the women it controls do not form such a coherent whole; they represent different clans, different modalities of kinship; they are the center of virtual conflicts (between female "relatives" and female "relations by marriage," between co-wives); except for the wives of the same man, who live together, they do not have a common living place.

621 The nd'è bòt — and, more precisely, this virile whole made
571 up of relatives belonging to the same guardhouse (abèñõ) — harbors,
578 however, latent antagonisms, which are the result of the privilege
614 linked with ancestry [133] or seniority. These tensions can come to a head when disputes arise usually from economic causes, such as circulation of wealth or of women, or allocation of farming land. They help to explain the very variable size of the groupings considered as villages, and the phenomena of aggregation and disintegration of the latter according to circumstances. But both of these movements are effected as a function of the minor lineage which is the nd'è bòt.

621 This grouping may by itself constitute a separate unit of about
571 ten persons or a village with up to a hundred inhabitants. When a
614 village is old, with a large population (200 to 300 persons or more), it cannot remain organized around a single common hearth. It is arranged around several centers corresponding to the sons of the founder or their successors. Thus the village of Ebiane (Yéngwi in the vicinity of Oyem) has 235 inhabitants distributed in three groups representing the respective posterity of three brothers. We have already stressed the fact that the heads of minor lineages are at the level of the same segment. The village of Afénane (Yébimvé of the Oyem region) with more than 300 inhabitants also consists of the posterity of three brothers, and each of the nd'è bòt occupies a definite position on the village street, according to the following diagram:

621 571 614 The groupings are located according to the order of their pre-eminence, that of the eldest being at the back in direct contact with the chief's hut. Also, grouping 1 does not represent the whole of the lineage descended from the eldest brother (Ekòrò Ngòm); the latter divided at the level of the sons of Ekòrò Ngòm into three elements, of which one is at Afénane and the two others make up the very close villages of Messia (139 inhabitants) and M'Fagne (97 inhabitants).

621 571 578 614 This whole Yébimvé group, consisting in a limited area of nearly 1,000 persons, is interesting to the extent that it shows how the "major" lineages (which we have described above under the name of abial è bòt) and the "minor" ones determine residence in a definite zone and a village. Two brothers led a migratory group [134] of Yébimvé from the Cameroons to the territory occupied today by their posterity. A conflict arising from the unequal distribution of the women acquired from foreign villages lead to the first rupture. Each of the two brothers moved away with the group he controlled, and the memory of past antagonisms has remained sufficiently alive to prevent any attempt today at recombining the members.

621 571 614 The initial cleavage can be presented in the following manner: (Table VII on following page.)

The cleavage is expressed in relation to a common origin (A) which represents the head of the "major" lineage and gives rise to the first rupture which we mark with a double line. The two nd'è bòt have separated and settled in spite of all in adjacent regions. But these groupings have themselves been subject to new fragmentations since then. We represent the second of these where they occur [135] at the level of the third generations (after III, V, and VII), giving rise to the creation of villages very close to one another and able to co-operate and, above all, to regroup if required by circumstances.

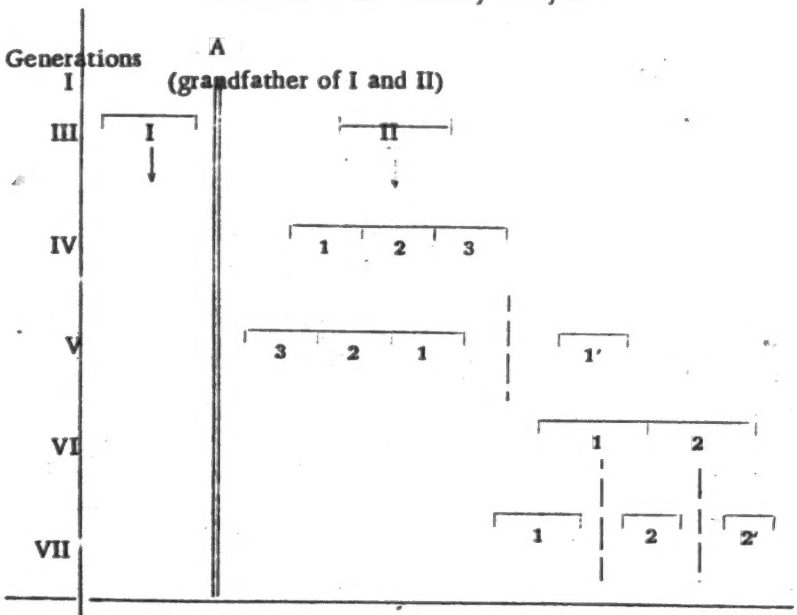
These observations show that the nd'è bòt is a true residential unit. They show how the cleavage becomes possible as soon as this unit reaches a certain size (a size, from the point of view of security and economic demands, making it viable as a separate unit); but the distance (in the sociological sense) between fragments varies

621
571
614

in terms of the circumstances which gave rise to the rupture and of the necessity to reserve eventual co-operation. The instability of the Fang village until recent times is certainly due to the nature of the old economy and to a poor capacity for disposition of land space, but also to a type of organization that does not permit (or permits badly) the control of large groupings. These have been made necessary only by lack of security.

Table VII

Yébimvé in the Vicinity of Oyem



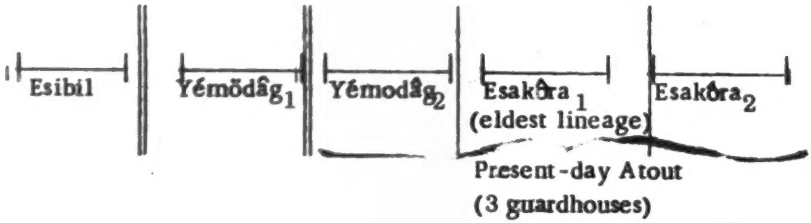
Legend: ‖ separation of the two major lineages
: fragmentation at the level of the third generations.

In the case of mixed villages where groupings belonging to different clans are found assembled together, usually following an administrative alteration of the population, instability appears to be more marked and distribution into definitely located nd'è bɔ̀t becomes a necessity. Such a grouping thus adds divisions which involves the co-existence of clan elements foreign to the

621 divisions already existing. This occurs even in the case of small
571 villages. We give the example of Atout in Mitzic region founded
614 by some Esibil to whom were added some Yémödâg and some Esakòra.

Table VIII

Village of Atout



Legend: ‖ definitive separation

| division into nd'è bòt making up Atout.

The founding group and a large part of the Yémödâg have already seceded; the Esakòra grouping has divided into two nd'è bòt (the "elder" and the younger), which represents a first [136] phase of the relaxing of bonds, for this division is not necessitated by the as yet reduced size of the group.

The mixed villages – called mfulana möyôg, mixture of clans – have necessitated the creation of an embroyonic form of chefferie [French administrative district]; the recognition of an authority based outside "kinship." Thus, when a fairly large grouping is concerned,the chief is careful to settle apart and to have at his disposal a guardhouse other than the one in which the members of his nd'è bòt assemble. But except for the attempts of the government to "construct" this chefferie, nothing justifies such an organization to maintain the cohesion of the village grouping it controls. The political problem – Fang society has been classed among the "anarchies" or "stateless societies" – in fact conditions

621 all future progress to the extent to which it allows (or does not allow)
571 the maintenance of sufficiently large and stable village units.
614

Political Authority and Judicial Authority

554 Taking Fang society as an example, Dr. Cureau speaks of
622 "a phenomenon of a stretching ... of the social bloc into a hierarchy based either on filiation or on intellectual and particularly moral superiority, both of which principles have their practical value according to the times." (1) He insists on a fact we have

1. Work already quoted, p. 332.

pointed out, the lack of a hierarchical organization, [with only] the simple existence of pre-eminences. The language itself gives
[196] proof of this fact by not having a special word to designate the chief, using ésa when the pre-eminence is in a way genealogical, nkuma when it is based on wealth, ǯoé (from ǯu, to say) when it justified by eloquence and the ability to command. By magnifying this statement, A. Cureau contrasts the Fang groupings with those of other peoples as being "anarchical tribes" as opposed to "organized tribes." He writes: "Authority is occasional and momentary ... Edvoughe has carried the votes in such-and-such a difficult palaver, the whole assembly obeys for a moment this ephemeral chief; tomorrow Nzokh will have succeeded Edvoughe in the leadership of opinion; here then the struggle against one and all takes place between constantly changing and constantly renewed contestants." (2)

2. Ibid., p. 326.

In a similar sense the informants of the Commission for [137] Historical Investigation assert that the chief was "in a word the one from whom the community expected the greatest services." (1)

1. Official report of the fifth session.

In the same vein there are continual complaints from administrators incapable of reviving the powerful traditional chefferies and of acting through their medium.

554 It should be noted, however, that pre-eminence "based on
622 filiation," as Cureau puts it, is maintained without too much
769 difficulty — being durable while power born of events is temporary — so long as the worship of ancestors by each clan fragment remains in force. Seniority determines this pre-eminence, justified and made effective by the possession of the basket containing the ancestors' skulls. This power of the "eldest," who is at the same time "first among his equals" and priest of the biéri cult organized within the cadre of "kinship," has not however allowed the implantation of effective chefferies comparable to those based on the same principles in the Ba-kongo country (2).

2. Cf., Third part of this work.

An early government report stressed the fact that one became chief, specifying that the nyamòrò (eldest) "became chief in his zone of influence when his fairness and the effectiveness of his power were recognized." (3) Thus neither the villages nor the

3. Customs regulating the attributes of chiefs and their designation in Rapport politique du Djouah [Political Report of Djouah], 1938.

localized clan fragments, nor still less the extended clan and the tribe, reveal the existence of a true hierarchy. We see the pre-eminence of the ésa (which may only be shown by some deferential attitudes) or the provisional pre-eminence of a man who has known how to expand his "zone of influence."

554 What are the reasons for such a situation? Taking as an
622 example Ba-kongo, which will be studied later, one sees that the
[7] fundamental social relationship is that which exists between the ancestors (masters and guardians of the sod), the land, and the lineage; it implies necessary relations between related lineages and limits the mobility of groupings. There is nothing like this in the Fang country, where the relation with land has no such importance and the whole economy, until very recently, remained oriented toward warlike and economic conquest. Even in the

554 regions where the Fang population seems relatively old, instability
622 is the rule for a large proportion of the groupings. There is thus a sort of vicious circle: mobility imposed by long-range conquest has prevented the [138] establishment of a hierarchical organization and this "lack" results in an unrestrained instability.

The social system does not show any elements favorable to a better hierarchical organization. While the pre-eminence of the eldest is accepted, that of the eldest lineage (from which, among the Ba-kongo, the "crowned chief" is selected) is barely maintained. On the contrary, we have shown that there is a nearly constant tension between this lineage and those of the "younger" [567] brothers. On the other hand, the absence of domestic slavery indicates the wish to prevent any development of inequality. During the entire period of great conquests the Fang have had only two [727] solutions in relation to conquered foreigners: to destroy or to adopt. And while the eldest appears to be the regulator of the economic and political life, and to be responsible for the worship of the ancestors, his authority is subject to an effective control. It counts only within the framework of groupings of limited extent. It is open to the criticism of the men of the nd'è bòt (who consider themselves the equal of the eldest who only acts "by delegation") or of the council members when the village contains several minor lineages. It also remains in competition with occasional authorities.

If it is true that seniority almost automatically creates authority, this authority is also limited and often threatened by the principle that "the most capable" is the most influential. In the fairly large villages, the position of chief (one should rather say the regulator and intermediary with foreign groupings, which the word ntòl specifically means) is generally passed on from eldest son to eldest son (or, in default, from eldest [son] to a younger brother on the same segment) in the lineage descended from the founder. This is on condition that the successor is approved by all "for his bravery, his wealth, and his eloquence." (1) In the opposite case, a stronger

1. L. Mba, Coutumier Pahouin [Pahouin Customs], p. 12.

personality is chosen from among the eldest of another nd'è bòt in the village. In other respects this authority is controlled by a council

554 representing not simply the various minor lineages but open to
622 competitive authorities – the best warrior (éyènö), a rich man (nkuma), the cleverest at settling palavers (nté bété), not to mention the dignitaries of the "associations." In the traditional society, the possession of the biéri basket established the right of the eldest's pre-eminence and gave this right a sacred basis [139] it was a partial guarantee against the struggles for prestige. With the disappearance of this cult under the influence of the colonizers, the eldest must use the new "associations" or must make himself feared by having recourse to techniques of a magical order; otherwise he will find himself threatened as "chief" at the time of a competition which is implied by the Fang social logic.

554 The role of personal prestige appears clearly in studying the vocabulary, which has a considerable number of words or expressions applicable to the "important" or "honored" man: éguma (from gum, to honor), muramo(r) (t) and fâm ndên (from mura and ndên, great or important), nkurödi (very important man), mfum (well-known man, who has many relations), nkuma (already quoted, a man who is influential because of his wealth), etc. The authority acquired by such prestige limits the essential authority which we have shown to be dependent on seniority, but tradition also imposes strict restraints on it as well. Any pre-eminence acquired by virtue of purely personal merit is dangerous for the one who holds it, for it is essential that power, wealth, and wisdom be placed at the service of all members of the grouping.

554 Many early authors have pointed out the risk of displaying
578 an affluence and a prosperity that are not shared. Le Testu emphasizes the role played by "the fear of exciting jealousy": "Larger and more successful plantations, a better hut, wives that are more fertile, more prosperous affairs... each is a cause for jealousy, and the consequence of this feeling, as is often believed to be true, is the death of the one who excites it ...." (1) Similarly, M.

1. Le Testu, Le N'gwéna [The N'gwéna], Bulletin de la Société des Recherches Congolaises, Vol. 12, 1930.

554 Briault, an accurate observer of the Fang states that the death of
578 a chief, or an old man, or a notable person, is suspect and demands a much more "minute" enquiry than in the case of men of the common people." "Whoever has privileges is envied, whoever exerts authority makes malcontents; many chiefs have died unexpectedly; many who were envied have not made old bones; this must be fairly common since it is confirmed by proverbs (2). . . ."

> 2. M. Briault, Sur les pistes de l'A.E.F. [On the Trails of French Equatorial Africa], 1948, pp. 37-38, 42-43.

One might say that "intentional death" threatens (threatened rather, for colonial affairs and peace have allowed some to grow rich and to be protected) those who in their own interest disregard the fundamental solidarity and leveling tendency.

631 [140] By this play of forces, more or less antagonistic and varying according to circumstances, Fang society is protected from any excessive concentration of power. This explains why, in spite of its conquering military nature, it has never allowed even a rudimentary feudal system to appear. Strictly controlled, power was organized only at the level of small units — a village or a group of villages, relatives or neighbors. It has only exceptionally (and precariously) gone beyond the frontiers of these groupings, and as the "associations" have barely been able to remedy this deficiency, Fang society shows an absolute lack of centralization, which was a contributing factor in its rapid deterioration during the colonial period.

692 In a social system which leaves plenty of room for opposing relationships, cases of judicial action and conciliation play an important part. The Fang have not only established a classifica-
[673] tion of offenses — nté, simple disagreement; étôm, serious dis-
[681] pute that might result in war; and mêm, ritual infraction — and a gradation of punishments going up to holding a hostage (étéa), but have also conceived a judicial organization with

692 "arbiters" and a "jury" that has set various methods of establishing proof (including several methods of ordeal). L. Mba, in a still unpublished study, (1) points out the existence of a

1. Last part of Essai de Droit Coutumier Pahouin [Essay on Pahouin Common Law], in Rapport de la Commission Enquête Historique, Libreville, 1949.

"family tribunal" — of minor lineage — with the ntòl as peacemaker assisted by one or two members of the grouping for dealing with purely internal affairs. He also indicates the existence of a "tribunal" of major lineage that intervenes in conflicts between two or several nd'è bòt, this constituting in principle) a court of appeal, consisting of a judge (who is not necessarily the "chief" of the lineage but any peacemaker who has shown his ability) before whom the representatives of the groupings involved appear. He also points out the existence of a similarly constituted clan "tribunal," which has the same functions at the level of larger groupings and also has the role of a court of appeal. Let us add [695] that the jury (bétolö) is not selected, outside of (blood) relatives and relatives by marriage, until the day the "tribunal" meets. These are only general indications. They show, however, that it is not so much a question of organizations with a judicial function as of principles [141] assuring the regulation of infractions and conflicts by a way other than violence. The status of "judge" 693 554 does not exist with the definiteness we will find when studying the Ba-kongo; instead it displays the same weaknesses as those of the "chief's" situation. The latter may be the judge for the lineage and the clan, but he will often find himself supplanted by a true "master of palaver." In this connection ability and personal prestige are dominant to such an extent that recourse is possible to judges of foreign clans, especially in criminal matters.

692 In the matter of judiciary organization as in that of the chefferie, it appears that the framework of kinship groupings lend itself very little to a centralization of power, either political

692 or judicial. We have sufficiently stressed the diffuse character of the latter. On the other hand, certain "associations" show an organization (which is often effective outside the clan) that fills (or attempts to do so) a compensating function. This is true of the Ngil, whose role of pacification and justice extends beyond clan limits — and in spite of these limits.

6. The Associations

769 794 We have frequently pointed out the rather loose nature of the bonds which exist between even close fragments of a clan. In Gabon, because of the extreme dispersal and entanglement of the divers fragments, the "periodic gatherings" disappeared very early. No mention is made of them by early authors, except for a vague one by Father Trilles. However, these gatherings (ésulan) have been kept up in the Cameroons with the purpose of reminding the members of their solidarity and having them show it by "helping one another in kind, with money, and with days of work." (1)

1. Tradition des Yénžòk [Tradition of the Yénžòk], Archives of Ebolowa, The Cameroons.

These bonds, however, are found to be tightened at the time of the initiation of young men to the Bièri cult when the society of grown men is also strengthened. Bièri, while borrowed, according to H. Trilles, "in its form from neighboring nations" yet "remaining basically Fang," is a cult rendered to the spirits of the ancestors through the agency of their skulls. It necessitates for [778] every nd'è bòt an altar set up in the hut of the eldest, or very near it. [142] It requires sacrifices (regular and circumstantial), and it has to be consulted before every important action.

This cult confirms the continuity of the line and reveals periodically the profound unity which constitutes the continuation of the generations — at the time of sacrifices of food, the food is first "consumed" by the Bièri, then eaten by the secluded initiates (mvoma bièri) assembled in the guardhouse. It imposes a large

769 number of prohibitions (with regard to the uninitiated and the
794 women) and obligations. It "separates" the initiated men, thus giving a privileged position — justified by the right to commune with the ancestors and to "see the Bièri" — to the most active elements of Fang society.

The initiation is particularly characterized (the culminating
[276] moment of the series of ceremonies) by drunkenness produced by the plant alan, (1) which may result in long-lasting unconscious-

1. Strychnos icaja.

ness.(2) The newly initiated man at this juncture becomes certain

2. E. Trezenem, op. cit., III, Le Bièri, pp. 74-76.

that he has enjoyed a revelation and from then on is in communication with the ancestors. He experiences the fervor of a communion that binds him to the whole society whose effectiveness he discovers at the same time: he has in fact become the object of predictions that are always realized. (3) He asserts himself, if we

3. Cf. idem., p. 75: "All the Pahouins whom we questioned assert that predictions made to people drunk on alan by the bièri have always been realized.

may use the expression, as a full-fledged Fang. The Bièri cult assumes therefore the highest function of aggregation. We stress the fact that initiation is carried out in the same place for several of the nd'è bòt belonging to the same clan, thus strengthening the ties of kinship existing between closely related clan fragments, and tending to reconstitute, to make real, units larger than the individual groupings. On the other hand, initiation to this cult,
[304 177] like circumcision (which takes place apart and appears to be a recent acquisition of the Fang), creates groupings of young men who belong appreciably to the same age group. It emphasizes a link between generations (the "fathers" or "eldest" being

794 those who give the initiation), which is important in traditional
[769] Fang society.

The grouping that forms the Bièri – which brings together full-grown men who take an integral part in the social life – remains closely linked with the system of kinship. It has, none the less, an important role which we have just pointed out, that is, [143] it establishes relations, which are most effective because they are religious, between elements of the same clan who do not belong organically [sic] within the limits of a superior unit which might have been the chefferie. But other associations have come into existence beyond the clan kinship and beyond the diversity, peculiarities, and antagonisms it provokes. The Ngil, with a multifunctional activity and with an aim to putting things in order at the time of crises and conflicts, seems to be the best known. (1)

1. Cf. Father H. Trilles, op. cit., p. 62. Captain Maignan, op. cit. Lt. Poupard, "Le Fétichisme et la barbarie au Congo [Fetishism and Barbarism in the Congo]," Renseignements Coloniaux, March, 1908. Above all, L.C. Leroux, Etude sur le Ngil [Study on the Ngil], Bulletin de la Société des Recherches Congolaises, 6, 1925.

794 Members of the Ngil as such are guaranteed "in all places
787 against attack"; they circulate "without the least fear of any outrage" among tribes that are in "open vendetta." (2) The Ngil –

2. L.C. Leroux, op. cit.

the word designates both the association and the masked man who operates in its name – "has the right to strike, wound, and even kill." The solemnity of his action is marked by the suspension of all life in the village when he arrives. The huts are closed, the fires put out, the women cloistered, and no inhabitant shows

794 himself in the interior courtyard. The final ceremony includes
787 the erection of a hollow clay statue (3) (also called Ngil) before

3. Cf. the description in the articles of Leroux, op. cit., and Poupard, op. cit.

which "all the inhabitants of the village and those of the villages of the same line" must appear, and whose function is to reveal the guilty ones (who have caused unexplained deaths or calamities from which the whole group has suffered, etc.). The intervention of the Ngil is sought in moments of serious crises. It calls for total action involving large groupings for whom it has a real therapeutic value: by determining guilt (impossible to contest because it is a matter of a superior and anonymous justice), by reinstating unity (on a passionate basis) at the time of the punishment, by re-creating a new vigor by means of this "purification."

794 The religious aspect of the "association" justifies such an
769 absolute, such an indisputable action. Unfortunately, we know little about it, except that certain dead are called upon by means of skulls, bones, and sacrifices, and that fertility rites are included
[831] when the Ngil has a female companion, Omore (1). [144]

1. H. Trilles, op. cit., p. 62, writes that "the new members must accomplish a number of actions connected with the act of generating before the statue of Omore ...," and Poupard speaks of "shameful ceremonies."

We have here a prevalent dialectic: a recourse to the social past – which is a true reservoir of endlessly accumulated powers – in order to instruct the social future and to fertilize it; the past and the future, the ancestors and the living are, like the generation of the ésa and that of the mwanö, in the relation of begetter to begotten. This movement expresses dependence and a certain social order. The intervention of the Ngil – but it is not the only

794 one – tends to re-establish this elementary order, it is a rein-
769 statement, a pledge of fertility and power. Apparently the Ngil
resembles a great many other "associations" that have existed in
[171] Gabon, especially the Mwiri of the Ngounié people. (2) It con-

2. Cf. A. Maclatchy, "Organisation sociale des populations de la region de Mimongo [Social Organization of the Peoples of the Mimongo Region]," Bulletin de l'Institut d'Etudes Centrafricaines, I, I, 1945.

stitutes primarily an instrument of struggle against the sorcerers (böyêm), to the extent that they attempt to interfere with the normal order. But it is much more than that: it is the indication of a power superior to that based on kinship, a grouping with a great capacity for control (doubtless the most powerful).

794 The Fang have known other associations of men with spe-
cialized functions – or rather those that create "specialists,"
[535] such as the akûm, who directs the ceremonies linked with the
male dance called makuma. The akûm, who appears also as a
sort of chronicler-singer, intervening especially at the time of
[847] funerals and affairs concerning fertility (search for the "sorcerer"
responsible for an abortion that might result in permanent sterility, (3)

3. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., p. 79.

ceremonial intended to lift the incest which creates sterile marriages). The akûm in daily life is distinguished from the non-initiates by being subject to a number of special interdicts. He is a "respected, or rather a feared, person," for to him is stributed "great power." "In order to reach this situation he must have been
[535 taught by another akûm; he must have learned the interminable
674] songs that last a whole night long, and then with his own hand kill one of his close relatives...." (4) This brief description is

4. Father L. Martrou, "Les Éki

794

des Mfang [The Éki of the Fang]," Anthropos, Vol. 1, 1906.

interesting for the last point it brings up; it indicates a test, it shows above all with unquestionable brutality that all power existing outside the clan and the kinship is acquired only after making the more or less symbolic gesture of "killing the kinship." It is by the interplay of [145] such groupings that the logic of the system of kinship and of alliance by marriage is transcended.

"Associations" have a function whose import varies according to particular circumstances. They intervene to create a better cohesion between clan fragments, as is shown by the grouping of [171] initiates at the Bièri (Gabon cult) or at the Ssò (Cameroons cult known to the frontier villages); this at a time when insecurity demands a minimum of union among related villages. In other circumstances, they attempt to reinforce the inherent power of functions whose importance is affirmed: as in the case of groupings that controlled the ancient "dance of justice" (sòmana) at the time when peaceful settlement of conflicts remained the only one possible, and when the role of "peacemaker" was of primary importance. As is shown by the feminine "associations," they may also act as a curb on the domination to which a social group of inferior status is subjected. This is all the more marked as the decay of these groupings has been paralleled by the change in the relations between the sexes. We have pointed out, in connection with the Ngil, that "associations" have acted as the mechanism for higher appeal for the purpose of pacification. We must now stress the fact that some of them assume an almost permanent role of opposition to the social order.

754 776 782 Such is the case of the "association" of men known as sorcerers (pl. bòyèm), who endeavor to acquire permanently, and in their own personal right, "wealth, strength, and power." Each one has been admitted in terms of an absolute differentiation — the possession of a "spirit" called évu(r) (s) which is physically distinguishable (1) — and with a special initiation, the latter entails the

1. Cf. H. Lavignotte, L'évur, Société

754
776
782

des Missions Evangéliques, 1947; E. Trézenem, op. cit., II, L'évur, pp. 68-74; M. Briault, op. cit., Captain Maignan, op. cit. We point out that this is a belief which is widely spread throughout South Gabon and as far as the country of the Ba-téké.

obligation to break off (more than symbolically) the ties of kinship and alliance: by the sacrifice of the first child if a woman is in question, and of the maternal uncle if it is a man.

754 776 The évur is received before birth or during the first week following birth. It transforms the organism of the individual carrying it since it can be detached at the time of an autopsy; (2)

2. It is described as follows: "It is a beast with paws, eyes, a mouth, and a tongue ... it can travel through the body ....," M. Briault, op. cit.

biologically the possessor (nnèm) and the évur are linked together; the latter "grows with the child and attains its full vitality [146] only when the child becomes an adult." Their respective powers are dependent on each other and demand sacrifices for their preservation. The bond between the two is continually shown by the play of interdicts and special obligations from which the nnèm "cannot free himself." Everything contributes to make the nnèm feel he has a different nature; even the ritual at the time of the two fundamental ceremonies celebrates the "birth" of the new nnèm and his "maturity" which permits the acts of domination. H. Lavignotte writes: "The évur lives in the body of its possessor, allowing him to split himself in two, or rather to leave his body to act in his place, to know the secrets of the other böyèm (plural of nnèm) to increase his strength tenfold, to do extraordinary things that will make him rich, to kill without leaving a trace." E. Trézenem completes this account by specifying: "Except in the case of acting for the benefit of its possessor ... the évur is always

754 harmful."
776

Thus we find asserted the use of an uncommon power for strictly personal ends: this power, called sân ngwèl, is that of the évur in action. The characteristics of domination and radical differentiation are emphasized (to the point that the possession of the évur "is indispensable to anyone wishing to be" a magician (1)) in opposition to the system of the relationships of kinship

1. E. Trezenem, op. cit., p. 72.

(implying "fraternity" and a leveling tendency) and of alliance by marriage (implying reciprocity and co-operation). While "associations" such as the Ngil or the Akûm have a licit function, which places them in the heart of the total society, the mèm as a whole constitute a foreign grouping which is fundamentally heterogeneous and for that reason extremely dangerous. The bonds existing between bôyèm, which become a reality at the moment of the two ceremonies of presentation and initiation, do not exclude competition, for the évur may quarrel among themselves. The quality of being a nnèm liberates the individual to a great extent. It allows him to assert himself against the established order (he can threaten those who maintain it), but it also imposes a near solitude, a state of continual aggression and defense, a dangerous existence, as is shown by the violence of collective reactions at the time of the punishment of sorcerers. (2) The symbols

2. Cf. V. Largeau, op. cit., "... when he is recognized he is burned alive or massacred and eaten."

used and the formula pronounced for the presentation of the évur indicate the hoped-for advantages (glory, wealth, and numerous progeny) but also express the indispensable qualities (virility and courage).

754 [147] These facts reveal a radical form of opposition to the clan system. They represent the most individualizing and

754 revolutionary part of Fang magic. One may see a kind of "fixation" of feelings of aggressiveness and individuality which are thwarted by the sentiments imposed by tradition (1) (the nnèm is

1. The English anthropologist G. Lienhardt analyzes the Dinka magic in "Some Notions of Witchcraft among the Dinka," Africa, Vol. 21, No. 4, October, 1951.

tolerated so long as there is no evidence of his harmful activity). One must also recognize in the nnèm a means of differentiation, an internal source of profound changes (2). The bóyèm are the

2. For the role of differentiation played by witchcraft, cf. G. Davy, La Foi Jurée [Sworn Faith], 1922. On this role and on the transformations of the social organization, "the margin of liberty," born of the conflicts between the religious clan and magic brotherhoods, cf. G. Gurvitch, La Vocation actuelle de la Sociologie [Real [or Present-day] Vocation of Sociology], ch. 7, especially pp. 412, 436, 503, 523-524.

elements that carry on the most violent and the most lasting disputes with the total society. However, the attitude of this society toward them is ambiguous. The distinction between a "good" and a "bad" évur, while both are dangerous to a normal man, proves this. They create a necessary threat.

IV. Relations between the Sexes and the Generations, and the System of Interdicts

182 The present-day study of Fang society, as we will show in the next chapter, reveals two types of outstanding problems, those connected with the change in relations between men and women

562 (symbolized by the expression "our women have become unruly"), and those connected with the change of typical relations between generations. There is no doubt that the morphological changes affecting the groupings – splintering, mobility of individuals, abnormal sex ratio – and the process of economic development have conditioned these phenomena. Nevertheless, it is equally true that specifically Fang internal conditions explain the acuteness of the resulting problems.

562 Oral tradition is significant on the traditional relations between the sexes. According to this, woman appears to be primarily regarded in terms of her fertility: "Go find your women and populate the earth," [148] says Nzame to the first man; (1) and in terms of

1. H. Trilles, "Proverbes, Légendes et Contes Fang [Fang Proverbs, Legends, and Tales]," Legend of the Nsas, op. cit.

her usefulness: "Old woman, worn out calabash," asserts a proverb. She is shown to be subject to man ("I am nothing before a man, I am as stupid as a hen," says another proverb) and protected by him, who remains essentially "a warrior" in the ancient society. The few extant ethnographic studies have emphasized this lesser position. In his works dating from the beginning of the century, Father Trilles writes: "The girl is not considered as a "member" of the tribe." (2) E. Trezenem confirms this in a more recent account:

2. Father H. Trilles, Le totémisme chez les Fang [Totemism Among the Fang], note, p. 109.

The woman "is considered hardly more than a domestic animal..."(3)

3. Op. cit., p. 89.

At the same time, in an apparently contradictory manner, most of the early documents express surprise at the inordinate importance which seems to be placed on the woman, who is found at the source of numerous palavers, Let us add that the Fang woman was

562 shown by most observers as the principal agent of production in the midst of a slavery-free society and, for that reason, as a factor in becoming rich. These are the generally accepted opinions; what are they worth?

562 842 It appears to us that the stress falls primarily on the capacity for fecundity of the woman who is acquired legally. The wife allows the man to manifest himself as a begetter (ésa); she assures his posterity, which for a Fang is the prime property. Through her he not only proves himself fully male but he obtains a true social promotion, acquiring influence which grows in proportion to the growth of his family group, participating fully in the pre-eminent social stratum, that of the generation of "fathers." In a conquering society, as Fang society was up until recent times, a man's influence was determined more by the number of the warriors attached to him (4) (the wife properly giving him male

4. Let us quote an unequivocal proverb: "a relative is a gun."

descendants and relatives by marriage) than by his personal warlike valor. One might say his importance was in proportion to his aggressive and defensive potential.

The man without posterity is a lesser being, an inferior Fang, because he is powerless. It is significant that the word ki means at the same time "strength, virility, and power." This explains [149] the position held by the magic for fecundity, by the "techniques" to check the causes of sterility, and the fact that sterility is the sanction linked to the most serious offenses (especially incest). In a well-known formula, this state of affairs indicates the pre-eminence of the "production of human beings" over the production of means of existence." The chance dis-
562 842 159 covery of a notebook in which a young man of the Oyem region had written down some of his dreams and the rules of conduct he followed has shown us the level of obsession which the pursuit after future descendents may attain.

We give as an example the most "direct" of these dreams: "I dream that a lady speaks to me in my dream so that my wife may have a child. I should roast a banana, go near a river, cut

562 this banana, and give half to my wife, after we have both drunk
842 some water. Then I should go and embrace my wife. Then I
159 should dip her (?) in water saying: who is this woman from whom you come?" Another text, given as a "dream," hardly deserves this name, or is only part of a richer dream (and it is still very revealing). It consists of a recipe for fecundity: "I dream that the devil recommends three herbs for a sterile woman, that she may bear a child...." The meaning is clear, all the more as various precepts collected under the title The Individual Will confirm it clearly. "I shall find means not to live any longer without leaving a child; what pursuits will permit a man not to die without leaving a child?; to choose oneself 'what is needed' to marry a woman who bears children (1) ...." One could call

1. Cahier de Daniel Ngema Ondo
[Notebook of Daniel Ngéma Ondo].

it a regular "complex of the man without posterity." The search for numerous future descendants is still the most important undertaking. If the reasons for "power" just referred to have for the moment disappeared, others have been substituted or have appeared: the fear of breaking a line of descent, of being only a "deceased one" and not an ancestor (mvam) revered by his posterity, the fear of abandoned old age, and now the desire to enrich the family grouping, which is an economic unit, by having at one's disposal the greatest possible number of active elements. Elsewhere we have pointed out that the possession of a large grouping is a guarantee of greater liberty because of the increased influence it entails.

562 Besides being the instrument for reproduction — and hence subject [150] as soon as she is married to the most complete control — the woman is also the instrument of production. While the man builds the huts, clears the plantations, and (in the past) was essentially in charge of "defending the women and children," (1)

1. In 1890, A. Fourneau observed in the Estuary region "long files of women loaded like mules" who

562

brought supplies regularly to Gabon,
escorted by men with flintlock guns.

the woman is primarily a peasant. She ensures to a large extent the economy of subsistence, even taking part in hunting. With the arrival of colonization this aspect has taken on a new importance and a new direction. With the opening of increasingly more numerous markets and the established use of money, the products obtained by the woman have become a source of income, and the woman, as a worker, a source of profit. The woman became of great economic value and became, as one might say, doubly fertile. At the same time, her purely instrumental nature and her dependence became more marked. She tended to be truly an "object," all the more coveted since polygamy (in spite of the "freedom" allowed young unmarried people) makes of the woman a scarce "product". (2) The woman stands at the center of all

2. Cf. C. Levi-Strauss, Les Structures Élémentaires de la Parenté [Elementary Structures of Kinship], Paris, P.U.F., 1949.

competition at the same time that she remains the most dominated element of Fang society, because she is the one from whom most is demanded. It seems as if the woman were "separated" from the society of men, a stranger to the most organized and most active social body, and as if her impure nature is periodically asserted to better ensure her submission. This may all the better be explained because among the men the leveling tendency and the refusal to have slavery have not permitted the established existence of a relationship between one dominating and one dominated.

562 789 This situation presents some ambiguity. The "mother" has relative authority over her sons and has at her disposal the weapon of calling down curses (yogö, to curse), by which she denies her "mother" quality. (3) In the same way, the first wife may curse

3. Cf. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 35, the text of the "Curse."

562 789 her husband. The "son-in-law" and the "mother-in-law" are bound together by a system of interdicts; the mwanõ are required [606] to show respect to the "generation of the mothers"; the pre-eminence attached to seniority plays a role in the relations between the sexes. The woman may therefore be the object of respect and the subject of fear. [151] On the other hand, "associa-562 795 tions" of women which have created a hierarchy, a teaching, a ritual of initiation, and a whole body of distinguishing symbols and signs and a technique shown by a specific dance, are referred to in various documents, particularly the Mévungõ (1), which is

1. Unpublished documents collected by Abbot A. Walker, a native of Lower Gabon and truly versed in local ethnology.

a Pahouin version of the Nyèmbé, a widely disseminated female sect in Gabon. This sect was observed by Du Chaillu about 1860 among the Ba-kélé who were for the most part subdued by the Fang. This observer wrote at that time that the Nyèmbé "protects the women from their male enemies, it avenges their grievances, and serves them in all circumstances according to their whims."(2)

2. Father du Chaillu, op. cit., p. 322 ff.

This points out with great subtlety, to the essentially compensatory role played by such a grouping. By participating in the "society of women," the woman remedies the marginal situation and the submission which are her share throughout her daily life. It imposes or necessitates her collaboration in important moments for the community and in domains which in principle are forbidden to her. [535] Thus the dance of the Mévungõ was used "long ago when a Pahouin tribe was preparing to wage war against another tribe or to make raids for women"; it was also used "at the time of preparation for great elephant hunts." (3) Such "associations" no longer survive

3. Abbot A. Walker, notes inédites [unpublished notes].

562 except in a sporadic and very degenerate form; we mention the
795 N'nup with a whole string of "queens" that has appeared in the neighboring regions of Spanish Guinea.

562 This ambiguity in the position of woman to a certain extent
578 creates an equilibrium. On the other hand, from the point of
837 view of sentimental relations, this is not true. The man who admits that marriage should be regulated primarily in terms of social considerations hopes to obtain some day a "favorite" wife and has little fear of sanctions connected with adultery. The woman, married young, remains prisoner of the system and is always threatened with severe sanctions. Apparently this results in the many disputes which were referred to by the first administrators. "Very often the woman abandons her husband and returns to her parents' village or follows a man of her choice..." (Archives of Libreville, 1909). They were also referred to by the first Fang scholars: "The Pahouin woman does not hesitate to leave with a lover; often married against her wishes she avenges [152] this state of things by a very great infidelity" (L. Mba, op. cit.). The expression used by this author is significant. What might be called the sentimental excuse permits a broader reaction responding to frustrations of another nature. We must see there the sign of tensions which are actualized at the only possible level. Let us add that the conditions created by colonization will liberate these tensions to a great extent by destroying the equilibrium obtained approximately by traditional means.

561 These tensions are not the only ones to be mended. Between
578 generations, that of the ésa and that of the mwanō, on the same
784 segment between the eldest and the younger brothers, it appears that relationships of dependency can turn into antagonisms. Soon
[551] after his birth the young boy is "marked" by his ascendants, receiving a double name (essential in relation to other denominations) which contains the name of an ancestor of his paternal line (of a mvam) and the first term of his father's name. In addition to individual interdicts imposed by his father, the child is subject to various general interdicts which are removed by degrees as the child becomes a man. Thus, there is the interdict on the pig (1), and on

1. The pig appears as a valuable animal

561
578
784

in all this part of central Africa, where the ox is unknown because of trypanosomiasis.

the produce of hunting and fishing, and these exist until the time of puberty. They signify, according to L. Martrou, that in the family group there should be "no useless mouth," ..."but rather arms and hearts capable of defending and enriching it." (2) Thus

2. L. Martrou, Les "Ékis" des Mfang [The "Ékis" of the Fang] op. cit.

[834] it is forbidden to cohabit with a woman before being circumcized (3)

3. V. Largeau, op. cit. article: Interdit [Interdict].

561 578 [852 881] In the same way various rites mark the steps of this ascent: the rite of the Ssò for the ten-year-old children; (4) circumcision,

4. M. Bertaut in his thesis on the Boulou of the Cameroons, a related nation, speaks of a less degraded form of the Ssò which was the center of a true "society of men" now almost vanished.

which is not accompanied by any initiation (but seems rather to bear public witness to virility and to show the individual as an active male), and above all, the "revelation" of the Biéri. When
561 578 885 the young man joins the company of men, he has experienced in various degrees of intensity [153] this biological, social, and spiritual dependence on his ancestors (mvam) and on his elders (nyamòrò). To them he owes his life, his security, his social existence. Even after having crossed the various steps and being able to take full part in the assembly of men, he receives from

561 them various interdicts that testify to his new state and remind
578 him of the obligation to submit to those who have made him a
885 man, a complete Fang. (1)

1. Cf. M. Briault, op. cit., pp. 183-184.

561 For a long time he submits to this superiority of his elders,
885 who intervene with the ancestors, the source of prosperity and
888 power, who permit him to fulfill and increase himself by marriage and the possession of posterity, by controlling the circulation of bride prices and women. Thus the male life curve reaches a maximum which corresponds to the social influence of the nyamòrò, decreases as old age approaches (we have already stressed the tendency in the past to discard the "grandfather," mvam), and increases infinitely after death, which gives him the quality of "ancestor" with limitless power on behalf of the living. Childhood and old age, representing the "low" points of this curve, are preparation for the two "high" states which are characterized by an increase in power and autonomy.

561 In ancient Fang society dependence guaranteed material
578 and spiritual security. It was centered on the relation between
182 the begetter (ésa) and the begotten (émò wâm) rather than on that between the dominating one and the one dominated. We have frequently stressed the leveling tendency existing in the heart of the nd'è bòt and the dangers threatening any pre-eminence acquired by personal right. The just distribution of women, wealth, and tasks is expected from the "eldest," not any domination. In another respect, during the period of conquest, attempts at domination and the establishment of excessive personal power were limited by the important role of the "warrior" (who best incarnates the qualities which caused Dr. Cureau to compare the Fang to "modern Spartans") and the threats of rupture in the heart of a grouping which needed to remain sufficiently large and coherent. An equilibrium may arise between the power of the "eldest ones" (religious and political pre-eminence) and the power of the young men (martial pre-eminence). It involves particularly the rigid regulation of the circulation of the women, the possibility for these

561 young men to go beyond the level of simple dependence to be-
578 come, in their turn, creators of dependence, and the possibility
182 [154] of "capitalizing" human lives (women and descendants). This equilibrium has been upset and competition disorganized by the passage from warlike to economic conquest, then to an agricultural economy in which the woman plays a fundamental part, and the pacification which no longer permits the lack of women to be remedied by raids. Capitalization of women and capitalization of property are then bound together, the former becoming to a great extent the condition of the latter. The role of the "rich" man (nkumakuma) is increasing; (1) relations be-

1. To such an extent that Bertaut notes that among the Cameroons Boulou, who have been longer subject to a modern economy, there is only one word nkuma to designate the chief of village groupings.

tween generations, between "eldest sons" and "younger sons," may become that between possessors (women, property, and political role) and nonpossessors. Dependence tends to take on the characteristics of a domination creating tensions and conflicts.

784 We have been able to define a certain number of points of
626 equilibrium in the heart of ancient Fang society. We must now specify the important position held by the system of interdicts (biki) in social control. According to M. Briault the word éki (plural, biki) comes from the root ki meaning "force, restraint, virility, power"; it expresses a ritual prohibition, an interdict or taboo; it designates "a person or thing marked with a sacred character with whom or with which contact or use are forbidden." This author considers the éki essentially from the point of view of the restraint they exercise and of the social order which they help to maintain. He writes: "They give rather the idea of an effective means of keeping youth, women ... in short, all in the society who are made to obey, in a spirit of subjection to those whose will is of importance ... political interest is doubled and made

788
626

valid by a supernatural appearance." (2) L. Mba presents them

2. M. Briault, op. cit., p. 183 ff.

as rules of conduct whose observance the Pahouin have imposed upon themselves in matters of personal behavior, of good manners and tact, or regulations concerning marriage, religion, medicine, witchcraft, and morals." (3) He refers to their extension to the

3. The "E-Tchi," unpublished study added to the reports of the Commission of Historical investigation.

whole society, their character of categorical imperative, and the power of their hold. The classification he attempts to make and that given by L. Martrou (4) suggest a distinction between

4. Father L. Martrou, "Les 'Ékis' des Mfang [The 'Ékis' of the Fang]," op. cit.

collective biki: the general ones (concerning "morality" or those of sex, age group, and "association"; and the personal biki: applying to state, or fortuitous [sic] ones. By referring to the "guardians" charged with maintaining or [155] imposing the eki – male relatives are charged with imposing them on children, the husband on the wife, the old men on the young ones – Léon Mba points out the importance of interdicts in maintaining and strengthening social pre-eminences. In the same sense, L. Martrou notes the numerous éki imposed on the wife and placing her "in an inferior position." The éki appears to be a rudimentary means of regulation expressed without specific justification, that asserts the pre-eminence of the agent in charge of maintaining it or "granting" it, and the violation of which brings about more or less keen reactions according to the nature of the authority involved (going from simple disapproval to the sacrifice of reparation). He points out particularly the form that law can assume in

784 a society without specialized institutions, in a society which must
626 have recourse to material signs in default of written signs which can express any law in a permanent manner. It should be noted, as suggested by the Fang vocabulary, that the same word, biki, designates the "money" used in the past for matrimonial exchanges as well as the "interdicts." The regulation of the circulation of wives was perhaps the origin of the system of éki and was the first and most important of these regulations. There is perhaps additional proof there for the authors who consider the "taboo of incest" as a constituent element of so-called primitive societies.

If the éki system contributes to the protection of the social order and the pre-eminences it implies, it is also the creator of a right for those it subjects. The latter must respect the éki affecting them, but they insist that this obligation be respected by others. (1) In this double sense the role of "giver of éki" is

1. Thus the husband is required in an imperative manner to respect the éki of each of his wives. Information in the study Le Mariage Fang [Fang Marriage], Archives of Oyem.

important, indicating a pre-eminence and a vague form of individual right. In his study L. Martrou has given a privileged place to the éki of [personal] "circumstance" and of "social condition." The éki make conspicuous the important moments of the life of the individual (thus the multiple "interdicts" connected with pregnancy), of the collective life (periods of preparation for war or for hunting, for example), and also of special situations (the members of the "associations" have special éki for each one). There is here an important function of differentiation which marks their minds and multiplies their distinctive behavior. The n'nèm is given some éki at the same time as the évur which makes him a "sorcerer." Because of these he feels himself to be radically [156] apart to the point of linking his physical existence to the strict respect of the éki. Mr. Trezenem mentions specific cases when the involuntary transgression of a certain éki resulted

784 626 in almost immediate death (without any other intervention). (1)

1. Op. cit., pp. 70-71.

The content of the éki, which may be almost insignificant or specifically symbolic, is often less important than the fact of giving and receiving the éki. The éki has authority: that of the ancestors who have bequeathed the "tradition," (2) that of an

2. The Fangs have a word eyêm (plural, biyêm) to designate individual or collective manners of being.

ancestor who has expressed himself in a dream, that of the practicing magician, that of the father, or that of the assembly of the full-grown men, etc. It aims at an effectiveness by affirming a new circumstance of the person and of the social condition. In the case of "interdicts" that are automatically connected with certain illnesses, the objectives of differentiation and therapy are very definite.

The éki do not constitute a closed, untouchable system. They are indicative of the life itself of the total society, proliferating or falling into disuse according to circumstances. L. Mba specifies that the contact of the Fang with other people of Gabon has caused the éki to evolve "toward becoming mixed and multiple." This remark is important because it shows how the éki have been used for the policy of assimilation and power of the contacting Fang groups. It also shows how much the éki tend to adapt themselves to new conditions. In addition this "multiplicity" is allied to a great extent to the factors of differentiation operating outside the clan structure. L. Mba shows the "interdicts" not only as a "certain code of morals" but also as "the secret and atavistic resource of the Pahouin soul." He thus stresses their role in the formation of a sort of "national character" and the essential values that they may promote and defend.

V. First Reactions to Material Inferiority

556 441 The access of the Fang to the traditional trade regions has had great consequences. What started out as a conquering and "colonizing" undertaking has imperceptibly changed into a search for manufactured "riches" (bium) and [157] competition for trade routes and trade centers. The quest for "merchandise" is the pri- [HC2] mary male activity and sets in motion the machinery of war and witchcraft.

829 773 The legends which we know stress the attraction of the West as the country of white men who have all riches at their disposal. One of these told by V. Largeau suggests the importance of access to these trade zones:

"We arrive at last at the N'Tem and the Ogooué where we meet those who distribute riches ... they give us everything, we become rich." (1)

1. Op. cit., article: Instruction.

The legendary texts collected by Father Trilles under the title "Noirs et Blancs [The Blacks and the Whites]" are particularly significant. A predominant place is given to the theme of wealth, held only by the white men. Wealth has escaped the black men — because of a lack of technique and because of an attitude of abandoning rather than dominating the world, (2) or

2. "Proverbes, Légendes et Contes Fang [Fang Proverbs, Legends, and Tales]," op. cit., and especially "Noirs et Blancs [Blacks and Whites]" and "Légende du Nsas [Legend of the Nsas]."

has been stolen from them. (3) The whites apparently represent

3. "Legend of Bingo"; and "in order to seize his treasures (from the hero

829
773

> Bingo) and possess his secret, they killed him and took the green stone, the green stone he would have left us. Since then men from beyond the mountains possess the riches of the earth, but we have kept the laws of Bingo...."

wealth, they are mitâgō, those who count. They have even been proclaimed by mythology. They have the physical appearance of ghosts, and they have at their disposal all the goods accumulated in the country of the ancestors. One can see therefore the powerful impression made by the arrival of the white man who was rich in merchandise, and the value, reinforced by the whole meaning of the myth, placed on this wealth. At the time of the clan regrouping movement, certain teachings in the form of question and answer continued to associate the two terms, power of the white man's example and pursuit of riches:

"--What life should we lead?
--We should lead the European life.
--What is the example we should give to lead the European life?
--We should work in order to earn money...." (4)

4. Cahier des réunions [Notebook of Gatherings], Yémisèm of Oyem.

441 [167] At the beginning of this chapter we stressed the attraction of the economically strong centers -- the coast, the Lower Ogooué, Spanish Guinea. A map of the migrations makes [158] them appear like meeting points. At first the Fang settled in the outskirts of these centers or attracted the trading stations to themselves with a feeling of real appropriation. Du Chaillu and Cureau observed this phenomenon, the former by showing how "having become the white man of such-and-such a chief, " he "obtained well-being and security" but was obliged to give

441 presents." (1) The latter analyzed the Ogooué commerce which was

1. Voyages et Aventures dans l'Afrique Equatoriale [Travels and Adventures in Equatorial Africa], pp. 106 and 120.

"under the thumb of the Fang population": "Firms were obliged to maintain their establishments in definite localities and were forbidden under threat of hostilities to move them upstream. The European agent was respected; far from being disturbed, their stores were strictly protected by the village warriors. The merchant was a prisoner of the population; he found himself invested with a monopoly." (2)

2. Op. cit., pp. 294-295.

441 556 829 The first government reports continue to note, like Du Chaillu, the desire of each large grouping to have a trading post for itself; once satisfied they would relax and be submissive."(3)

3. Rapport annuel de 1907 [Annual Report of 1907], Archives of Gabon.

This behavior is not explained by the single economic anxiety to reserve for themselves a monopoly and to have at hand the possibility of bartering. To have a trading station in contact with the village itself is to have reached the end of migrations westward which were to lead to the source of wealth; it is to participate constantly in this wealth and to have the certainty of a superior life. To enter into relations with the white man, who appears both as an "eldest son" and more than a human being with his riches and knowledge of riches, this is to participate in a circuit of power and fecundity, and to transcend a somehow cursed existence in order to attain the "true life."

829 773 On the other hand, the legends show how, in contact with technical manifestations and European enterprise, the Fang very

829 soon developed a feeling of subjection and inferiority in wisdom
773 and riches. This is attributed to a decision of Nzamö (God), to a veritable curse. A text collected by Largeau mentions two children of Nazmö — Ekouagha (subjected) and Ndan'gho (ruler) — and the wishes expressed for each of these:

For Ndan'gho, the father says: "Riches! authority! wisdom!" [159] He adds: "All these things are in yourself!" Again he says: "You will beget white children." For Ekouagha, he cries out: "Alas! my other son has taken everything with the fortune ... There are no riches left for you ... you will beget black men ... you will be miserable..." (1) This is a theme comparable to that

1. Op. cit., article, Instruction.

of the "Legend of the Nsas" given by Father Trilles, in which Nazmö [sic] ends by saying: "You, black man, rise and go and find your wives and populate the earth ... you will always remain naked as now ... You, white man, you will be rich, richer even than you were in your dream. You, the white man, will always be the white man, the black man will always be the black man, the white man will always be rich, the black man always poor..." (2)

2. Op. cit., Légende du Nsas
[Legend of Nsas].

829 The curse motif indicates the effective potentialities attached
773 to imported riches and their acquisition. Also there appears per-
177 haps the first awareness of the racial question and above all a technical insufficiency allied to a social organization that is wholly preoccupied with the production of human beings, (in the legend quoted, "go and find your wives and populate the earth" is part of the curse). The illusion of direct participation in riches was quickly destroyed, and the ascendancy of the agents of colonization became more specific and more complete. The theme of the curse attached to the race shows the extent of the deception. It is no longer possible to return to methods of violence. Witchcraft techniques then increase in number; recourse is had to knowledge revealed during fits brought on by the absorption of certain forms

829 of strychnine, and the idea, borrowed from Christianity, of a
773 better life after death becomes more specific. The effort at
177 adaptation dealt first with religious and magical techniques; in these fields much was borrowed from neighboring peoples (for example, the Bwiti cult of which we will speak later); customs are altered not in order to assimilate for purposes of conquest but simply for means of defense. The Fang people, reduced to a state of unemployed conquerors, lose the essential part of their moral strength. As we will show in the next chapter the Fang are one of those peoples that have most keenly suffered from crises due to the colonial situation and one of those that have reacted most to this threat.

5: Balandier E-5 (1946-1951) 1955 FH9 Fang FH9

000

Contemporary Sociology of Black Africa: Social Changes in Gabon and the Congo [Sociologie Actuelle de l'Afrique Noire changements sociaux au Gabon et au Congo]

by Georges Balandier

Paris: 1955
Presses Universitaires de France

Translated from the French by Dorothy Crawford

Human Relations Area Files

1959

[Title page]

5: Balandier FH9 Fang

UNIVERSITÉ DE PARIS — FACULTÉ DES LETTRES

SOCIOLOGIE ACTUELLE DE L'AFRIQUE NOIRE

Changements sociaux au Gabon et au Congo

THÈSE POUR LE DOCTORAT ÈS LETTRES
PRÉSENTÉE A LA FACULTÉ DES LETTRES
DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE PARIS

PAR

Georges BALANDIER

PRESSES UNIVERSITAIRES DE FRANCE
108, BOULEVARD SAINT-GERMAIN, PARIS

1955

[Title page]

DEUXIÈME PARTIE

CHANGEMENTS SOCIAUX CHEZ LES FANG DU GABON

[p. 72]

CHAPITRE PREMIER

LA « SOCIÉTÉ FANG »

I. Le pays Fang.

Les migrations fang se sont poursuivies, en direction des côtes du Gabon, jusqu'au début du XXe siècle; cette poussée continue, et la terreur qu'elle entretenait au sein des populations refoulées, ont attiré très tôt l'attention des premiers explorateurs et colons. Dès 1856, Du Chaillu subit l'attrait du pays fang, il évoque cette « race qui paraît remuante et entreprenante », qui s'efforce de « prendre possession de tout le littoral » — en sachant que s'y trouvent les positions clefs du commerce intérieur. Et, en 1884, A. Fourneau qui fait alors sa première expédition est étonné par la vitalité conquérante des Fang; il dit d'eux : « intelligents, avec des instincts commerciaux très développés, n'ayant pas encore les vices des tribus côtières, il n'est pas douteux qu'ils fassent disparaître, en les absorbant avant peu, tous les autochtones[1] ». Durant toute l'époque de pénétration, il se produit une sorte de mirage fang — qui pousse notamment à surestimer l'importance du groupe : « une densité extrême », « s'étendant sur une longueur de plus de cent lieues », selon le marquis de Compiègne (vers 1875), un chiffre de population qui « doit être porté à plusieurs millions » d'après Lesieur-Trilles (1900), et, plus précis et affirmatif, le capitaine Cottes fixe à la suite de sa mission (1905-1908) le chiffre « de 2 à 3 millions de sujets ». En fait, les Européens, qui découvrent « l'intérieur » durant la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle, sont surpris par une migration importante qui s'effectue sous leurs yeux, en direction de la Côte et le long du fleuve Ogooué, qui opère à l'inverse de leur mouvement de pénétration et vient en quelque sorte à leur rencontre.

1. A. FOURNEAU, *Au Vieux Congo*. Notes de route. Editions du Comité de l'Afrique Française. 1932; pp. 41-42.

Les Fang — ou Pahouin — prennent en écharpe, selon une direction NE-SO, la partie supérieure du Gabon; la ligne de l'Ogooué formant d'une manière grossière leur limite sud. Ils représentent 127.000 habitants sur les 415.000 qui peuplent ce territoire; ils sont séparés par la frontière du Cameroun d'un ensemble de populations parentes, et particulièrement actives, qui comprend plus de 550.000 individus [1]; ils sont divisés par les frontières de la Guinée-Espagnole qui, de peuplement essentiellement fang (soit près de 100.000 individus), isole des groupes étroitement apparentés. Les hasards de l'expansion coloniale ont conduit à ce partage en trois « blocs » soumis à des politiques différentes et longtemps condamnés à s'ignorer.

Quant à l'implantation des Fang au Gabon, nous disposons de quelques points de repère. D'après nos enquêtes faites au Woleu-Ntem, l'établissement remonte, en cette région, à huit ou neuf générations, ce qui correspond à la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle; selon E. Trezenem, les Fang seraient parvenus dans le Moyen-Ogooué au début du XIXe siècle [2] et leur arrivée sur l'estuaire doit se situer vers 1850 [3]; à l'extrême pointe de leur poussée, ils atteignent la région de Setté-Cama (abords de la lagune Sounga) vers 1890 [4], attirés en cette région par les factoreries qui s'y trouvent alors.

A l'origine, cet important mouvement humain se serait produit en contre-coup de la poussée des conquérants peul (*pl.* foulbé) qui s'exerce au Cameroun, durant la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle [5], et refoule des populations de la savane vers la zone forestière [6]. La plupart des légendes situent très loin, au Nord-Est, le premier pays habité par les Fang; pays qui possède une faune très différente de celle du Gabon, qui est peuplé par des hommes blancs disposant de chevaux et maîtres dans le travail du fer [7]. L'arrivée dans la région forestière serait symbolisée par la légende, dite du trou de l'*adzap* (*aža mbura*), indiquant l'obligation où se trouvèrent tous les groupes de

1. Cf. L. Dugast, *Inventaire ethnique du Sud-Cameroun*, I. F. A. N., Douala, 1949 ou, « Esquisse ethnologique pour servir à l'étude des principales tribus du Cameroun français... » in *Bull. Soc. Etudes Camerounaises*, 21-22, 1948.
2. E. Trezenem, « Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan du Moyen-Ogooué, *in Journ. Soc. des Africanistes*, T. VI, f. I, 1936.
3. *Rapport Com. Enq. Historique*, Libreville, 1949.
4. Arch. Gabon, rapports du Poste de Setté-Cama.
5. Dugast, *op. cit.*, et une vue d'ensemble : « Essai sur le peuplement du Cameroun » in *Bull. Soc. Etudes Camerounaises*, 21-22, 1948.
6. J. Despois, « Les genres de vie des populations de la forêt dans le Cameroun Oriental », in *Annales de Géographie*, 297, 1946.
7. Cf. Trezenem, *op. cit.*

migration de passer au travers d'un trou creusé dans l'arbre *adzap*. Certains des Fang éduqués insistent, actuellement, sur les origines rapportées par les traditions : mettant l'accent sur la parenté linguistique existant entre les dialectes fang et zandé [1], se raccrochant ainsi aux civilisations du Haut-Nil (et par là, peut être, à l'Égypte), évoquant l'époque où leurs ancêtres s'habillaient « exactement comme des Haoussa [2] ». Cette volonté, plus ou moins explicite, de se donner des origines « nobles » correspond au désir, plus ou moins conscient, qu'ont les Fang de s'imposer aux populations forestières du Gabon — l'esprit conquérant se nuance et varie ses moyens.

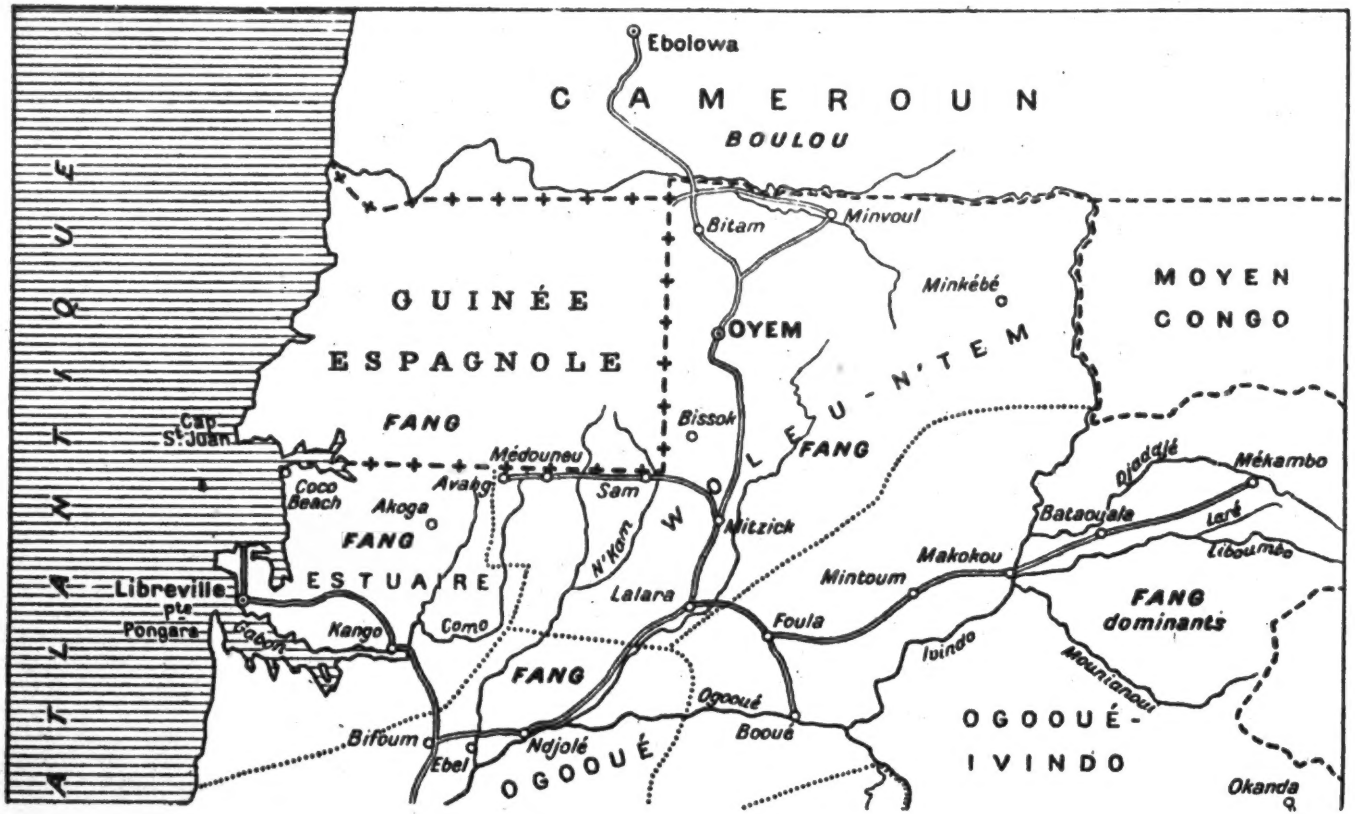
Il est nécessaire d'examiner de manière précise la répartition des Fang à travers le Gabon — et d'évoquer les relations qu'ils entretiennent avec les territoires voisins, Cameroun et Guinée-Espagnole. Une première distinction, la division en « terres », a été tentée par d'anciens auteurs [3] : terre *Betsi* (région nord-nord-ouest de l'Estuaire, débordant sur la Guinée-Espagnole), Terre *Maké* (région sud-ouest de l'Estuaire et Ogooué-Ivindo), Terre *Ntoum* (région nord du Woleu-Ntem, débordant sur le Cameroun). Cette division maintenant simpliste ne rend pas compte de tous les groupes présents au Gabon, et ne manifeste pas les imbrications entre tribus, existant dans chacune des « terres », qui sont liées à un mouvement de migrations à peine stoppé. De plus, ces dénominations ne se sont guère maintenues [4], elles se sont effacées devant la dénomination générale de « Fang » et devant les appellations précises (de tribu ou de clan, de lignée surtout) exprimant une réalité locale. On peut penser, d'après certaines indications de G. Tessmann et de I. Dugast [5], que ces appellations ont surtout désigné des groupements de migration ayant dominé et assimilé des groupes étrangers différents, ayant acquis de cette manière certains caractères culturels distinctifs.

Le P. Trilles affirme, dans une étude publiée en 1912, que de semblables distinctions s'expliquent « au point de vue des dia-

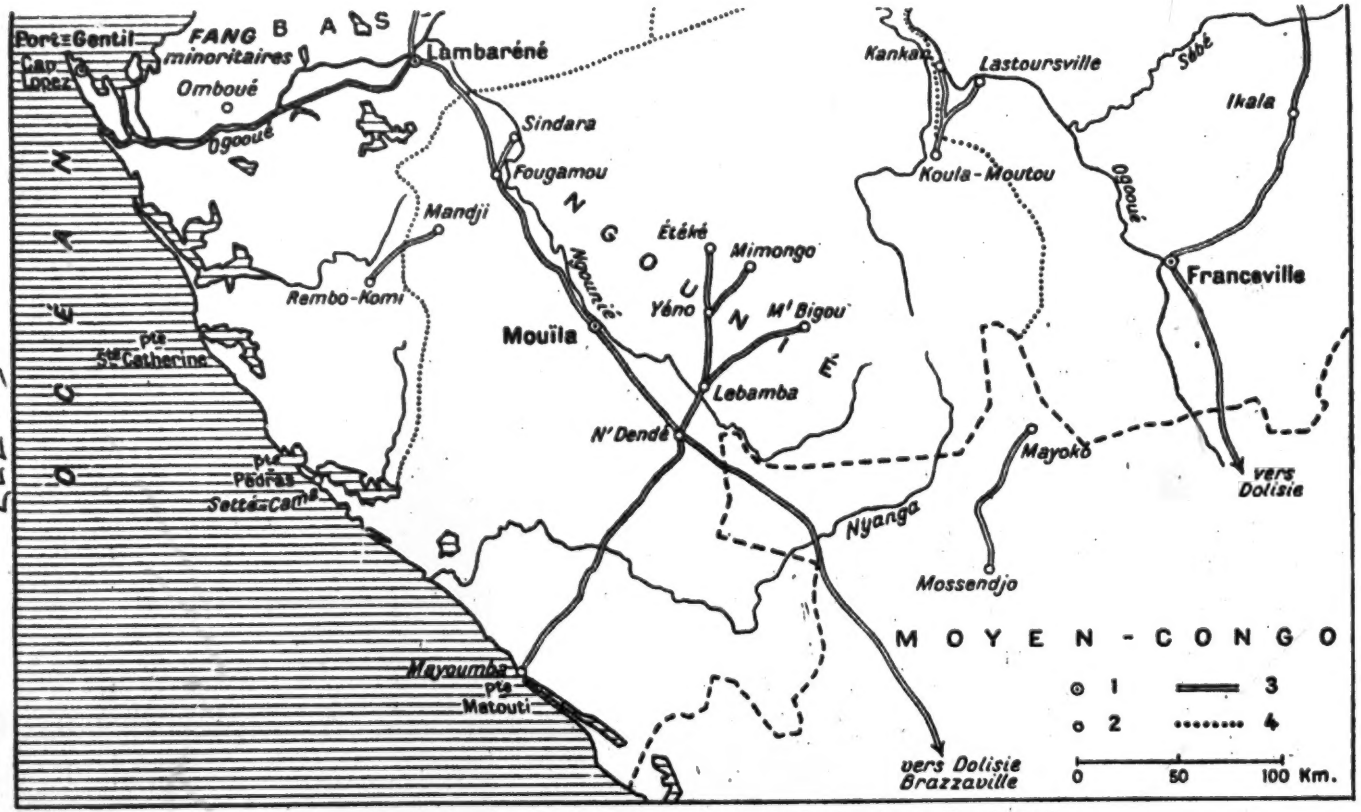
1. Parenté reconnue par L. Homburger, *Les langues négro-africaines*, Paris, 1941, p. 35.
2. Dans la version moderne de la légende relative à la tribu *Ndong* (diffusée au Woleu-Ntem).
3. Cne Maignan, « Etudes sur le pays Pahouin » (datées de 1912) in *Bull. Soc. Recherches Congolaises*, n° 14, 1931. et L. Mba, « Essai de droit coutumier pahouin », in *Bull. Soc. Recherches Congolaises*, 25 juin 1938.
4. Maignan, il y a près de 50 ans, considérait déjà qu'une telle « division est fictive ».
5. G. Tessmann, *Die Pangwe*. Deux volumes. Berlin, 1913.
I. Dugast, *Inventaire ethnique...*, Chapitre consacré aux Pahouins.

5: Balandier

FH9 Fang



[p. 76]



Légende: 1. Centres importants. 2. Centres mineurs. 3. Routes. 4. Limites de régions.

GABON

[p. 77]

lectes, et non à celui des mœurs ou habitudes (qui) sont absolument les mêmes[1] ». Mais les variantes dialectales elles-mêmes, qui apparaissent notamment au niveau des noms de clans (commençant par *Esa, Esé, Esi*... dans le cas des Betsi, par *Eba, Ebi*,... dans le cas des Maké) se sont estompées : lors des migrations plusieurs groupes ont changé leur nom clanique, subi des contaminations, si bien que la carte linguistique n'est plus significative de ces anciennes répartitions.

A partir de ces faits, deux conclusions s'imposent. Le peuplement fang ne s'exprime pas, au Gabon, par larges zones homogènes, comme c'est le cas au Cameroun (où l'on distingue nettement, pays Evondo, pays Boulou, etc.). Les divers groupes fang se sont interdispersés et ont, au cours de leurs migrations quasi-incessantes depuis la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle, « digéré » des traits étrangers particuliers aux peuples rencontrés. Et c'est dans le Bas-Gabon, à l'achèvement de leur course, que les groupes fang présentent un état de confusion maxima.

Les documents administratifs permettent d'avoir de l'*actuelle* répartition des Fang, une physionomie précise — en apparence. L'affaiblissement (voire la quasi-disparition) des distinctions entre tribus et clans, la fragmentation, la dispersion et la semi-autonomie des divers groupes, ont conduit à confondre et mettre sur le même plan ces deux types de groupements. On ne saurait en faire grief à l'administration, car il y a là deux notions qui ne sont plus toujours précises dans l'esprit des Fang actuels! Évoquons, tout d'abord, les deux zones par où ce peuple accéda au Gabon, le Woleu-Ntem et l'Ogooué-Ivindo[2].

Région du Woleu-Ntem.

Elle présente une certaine unité physique, une unité ethnique réelle : elle est peuplée exclusivement de Fang, une situation démographique relativement meilleure : elle compte plus de 71.000 habitants en 1949. Elle n'est environnée que de groupes fang identiques ou parents, n'a été reconnue, puis occupée, qu'à une époque tardive; ces conditions ont retardé les « contaminations » et permis le maintien d'une certaine unité. Elle dispose maintenant d'une structure économique viable grâce à sa production cacaoyère qui a fini par créer un véritable paysannat.

1. R. P. H. Trilles, *Le Totémisme chez les Fân*, Bibliothèque Anthropos, T. I, fasc. IV, 1912; p. 12.
2. Cf. G. Balandier, *Rapport préliminaire de la Mission d'information scientifique en Pays Fang*, Brazzaville, 1949; étude mimiographiée; pp. 5-10.

1. *Districts de Bitam et Minvoul.*

Ces deux districts sont coincés entre le Cameroun (au nord) la Guinée-Espagnole (à l'Ouest) et un véritable *no man's land* (à l'Est). Ils sont peuplés (au nombre de 27.500 habitants) par les éléments les plus actifs et les plus aisés (produisant les 3/4 du cacao fourni par la région) repliés sur les routes qui desservent le Cameroun et le centre de Oyem, ayant édifié des villages modernisés « liés » aux plantations de cacaoyers. Leurs habitants appartiennent à des groupements qui se retrouvent au Cameroun et en Guinée-Espagnole; certains villageois ayant des « parents » dans l'un et l'autre territoires — comme autant de chaînons favorisant le trafic des « marchandises » et des idées.

D'après le recensement de 1936, seul document entrant dans le détail, vingt-sept clans ou fragments tribaux (clans qui ont maintenu le nom tribal) sont alors présents. Le clan le plus nombreux est celui des Effak (tribu Yénzòk[1]) rassemblant plus de 15 % de la population, suivi des Eba (tribu Yémisèm) qui comptent pour 10 %. Les autres groupements peuvent descendre jusqu'à quelques dizaines d'individus. On retrouve en cette région les tribus *(ayôg)* — Yénzòk, Yémvôg, Yémisèm — qui sont parmi les plus importantes, au Cameroun, dans les régions d'Ebolowa et de Sangmélina[2]. Tout le Haut Woleu-Ntem est orienté vers le Cameroun, avec lequel il a non seulement des liens économiques (il y évacue son cacao et en reçoit ses « marchandises »), mais encore des liens politiques (ce qui explique qu'il ait servi de relais aux initiatives et mots d'ordre apparus sur ce territoire).

2. *District d'Oyem.*

Le district, peuplé de 30.000 habitants, possède une longue frontière avec la Guinée-Espagnole, est traversé par le fleuve Woleu, importante voie d'accès à cette possession. La majeure partie de la population (plus des 2/3) est « collée » à la frontière. Cela se comprend : des groupements apparentés existent de part et d'autre de cette dernière; la Guinée exerce un attrait

1. Nous donnons les dépendances tribales sous toutes réserves; la quasi-ignorance et les « truquages » liés au mouvement de regroupement clanique rendent toute certitude impossible. Sauf, lorsque nous disposons de documents anciens, notamment d'une mention dans les notes de Mgr Martrou qui nous furent aimablement prêtées à la Mission de Libreville.

2. Documents relatifs aux « groupements ethniques et coutumiers », archives administratives d'Ebolowa.

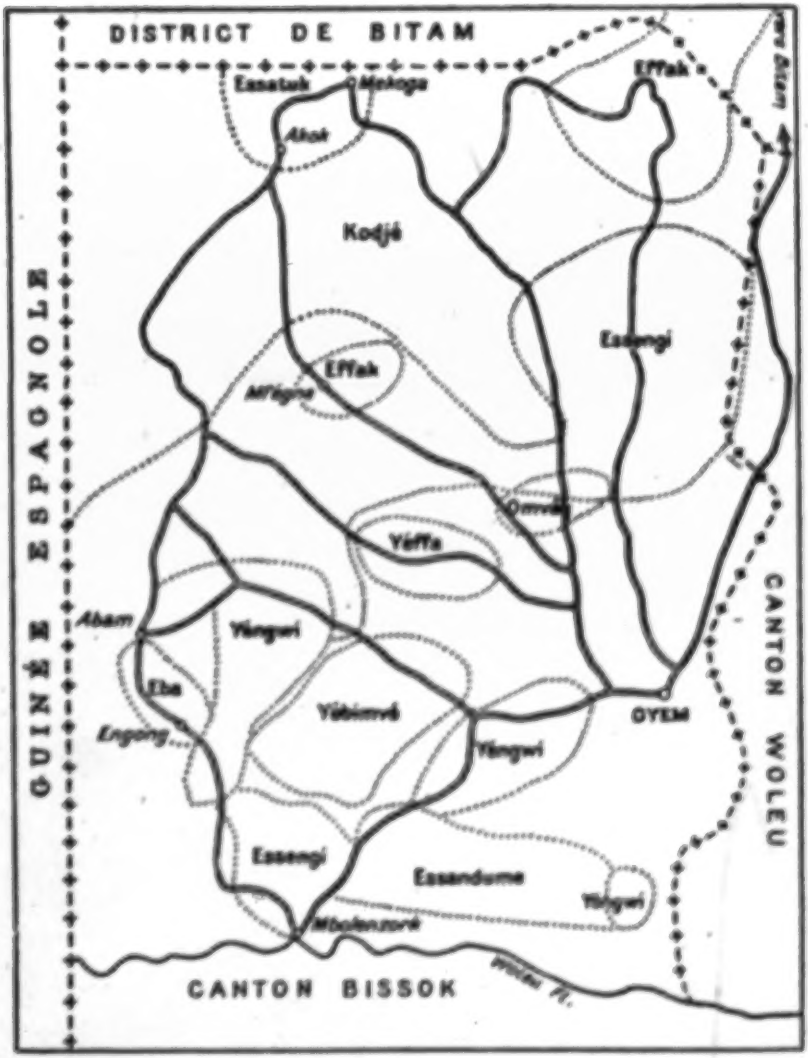


Fig. 1

RÉPARTITION DES « AYÔGS » DANS LE CANTON KYÉ-NYÉ
(District d'Oyem).

économique déjà ancien (elle est centre de traite et marché de travail à forte demande); elle sert éventuellement de lieu de refuge. Les villageois disposent d'une certaine aisance liée à la culture du cacao (le 1/4 de la production du Woleu-Ntem) et au commerce avec la Guinée (arachide, café et palmistes) qui s'exprime en particulier par une amélioration de l'habitat.

Le canton Kyé-Nyé (lieu de rencontre de deux courants de migration venus du Bas-Cameroun) regroupe, à lui seul, près de 12.000 habitants qui se répartissent encore par « taches claniques » (fig. 1). Les groupements dominants sont les Esèngi (tribu Yémvôg) qui figurent pour plus de 40 %, les Kojé pour 25 % environ et les Yéngwi pour plus de 15 %. Dans le canton Woleu, les villages de la tribu Ožip dominent : ils rassemblent 33 % de la population; les Bökwé (tribu Ndôg) comptent ensuite pour 12 % environ et les Esamökos (tribu Yéngòl)[1] pour plus de 10 %. Ce sont uniquement les Kojé (plus de 90 % de la population) et les Ožip qui composent le canton d'Oyem. Dans le canton Bissok, le peuplement est dominé par les tribus Yéngwi et Yémisèm, tandis que le canton Ellelem se caractérise par une poussière de groupements : dix-sept clans ou fragments tribaux, pour 3.200 habitants, où seuls s'affirment les Bökwé (liés à la tribu Ndôg) qui paraissent cependant pour moins de 25 %.

Le district d'Oyem révèle une très relative homogénéité qui ne se retrouve, au Gabon, nulle part ailleurs en pays fang. Sa meilleure densité de population, sa relative aisance, le fait qu'il soit centré sur Oyem — important chef-lieu administratif et lieu de marché — expliquent le prestige qu'il exerce sur les villageois fang; et sa vitalité politique actuelle.

3. *District de Mitzik.*

Rassemblant 11.000 habitants, qui appartiennent au groupe *Fang*[2] *stricto sensu*, il occupe une position qui se prête mal à la stabilisation du peuplement; il ouvre sur *trois zones d'attraction :* l'Ogooué, la Côte et la Guinée-Espagnole. Il a joué le rôle de « lieu de passage » et fut profondément bouleversé durant les années de famine (1922-23, 1925-26). Il commence, à peine, à moderniser son économie par l'installation de cacaoyères.

1. Confirmée par les notes L. Martrou, seulement.
2. Nous notons *Fang* l'ensemble restreint — groupe de migration, selon nous — qui porte ce seul nom.

District le moins peuplé, il est également celui qui présente la plus mauvaise situation démographique : le plus bas taux de natalité viable et le plus bas taux de population enfantine. Bien que le peuplement se soit organisé aux abords des routes (comme cela apparaît nettement en comparant les cartes actuelles aux anciennes [1]), les villages sont restés instables et de très médiocre importance, constitués de groupements composites. Une enquête portant sur cinquante villages échelonnés au long des deux routes révèle, au sein de ces derniers, trente clans ou fragments tribaux. Lors du récent mouvement de regroupement clanique, ce sont les tribus Yémvôg, Yémödâg, Ndôg, Yéngwi et Yémisèm qui sont les plus actives, et manifestent les groupements qui tentent de s'imposer. Si Mitzik a pu être considéré comme le « centre géographique » du pays Fang, il serait bien difficile de lui trouver pour l'instant une autre signification.

4. *District de Médouneu.*

Réduit à un seul canton, il groupe moins de 3.500 habitants; il est maintenu en raison de sa position frontière et du réseau des pistes, utilisées par les traitants, qui débouchent directement sur le Bas-Gabon et Libreville. Les Oyèk et les Eflak y sont les plus nombreux : ils constituent chacun 13 villages sur les 37 répartis dans le district.

Nous nous sommes attachés, avec précision, à cet ensemble régional non seulement parce que notre enquête a surtout été accomplie dans les villages du Woleu-Ntem mais parce qu'il joue un premier rôle quant à l'évolution du Gabon. Oyem, qui en est le chef-lieu, rivalise avec Libreville pour imposer ses initiatives à la totalité du pays fang. Son économie plus riche et sa meilleure démographie (la densité de population dépasse 6,5 hab. au km² dans le district d'Oyem) en font un centre de vitalité. Pays largement lié au Cameroun (dont il reçoit des suggestions d'ordre politique) et ouvert sur la Guinée-Espagnole, il n'en conserve pas moins le sens de son unité et un certain esprit particulariste.

Région de l'Ogooué-Ivindo.

Elle n'a ni l'unité ethnique (c'est une zone à contacts multiples), ni l'importance démographique (35.600 habitants répartis en trois districts) de la précédente; elle est isolée et sans déve-

1. Carte du Capitaine Roussel (complétée en 1912) et levés d'itinéraires.

loppement économique — l'isolement ayant fait d'elle, à une époque de pacification incertaine, une zone de refuge. Dominé par la grande forêt, souvent marécageuse, ce pays est caractérisé par un peuplement très localisé qui, sur une carte, se manifeste par « bandes » liées au système des rivières. Dans les deux districts où ils se trouvent, Booué et Makokou, les Fang représentent le groupe ethnique dominant, composant environ 45 % et 40 % de la population totale. Ils sont au voisinage de groupes ethniques considérés comme parents : les Shaké et les Bakwélé. Ils ont, par leurs migrations, bouleversé le peuplement de cette région, et créé des contacts imposant d'importantes contaminations culturelles. Si l'on en croit le P. Trilles, qui nota les éléments d'une « langue archaïque » utilisée dans les légendes, les proverbes et les chants, et proche du batéké [1], les relations avec les peuples des confins du Congo et Gabon seraient anciennes.

Selon la tradition, les Fang-Maké (ou Bisibé) auraient les premiers atteint l'Ivindo, et de Brazza les rencontre sur l'Ogooué (à l'île Zabouré). Leur plus forte tribu est Mékuk que repéra le P. Trilles d'une manière précise et à laquelle Tessmann accorda une mention spéciale sur sa carte de répartition. En dehors des Maké, les Fang de cette région se distinguent en deux groupes : Bètsi et Nzaman — ceux-ci représentant, selon les anciens auteurs, les « vrais Pahouin de l'Ogooué [2] ». Dans le district de Booué, les villages, bien que n'ayant pas d'homogénéité clanique, ont manifesté au moment du « mouvement de regroupement » la prédominance de trois grandes tribus : Yémödâg, Yémvâg et Yémisèm.

L'Ogooué-Ivindo apparaît comme une des régions les plus pauvres du Gabon. Sans équipement économique, elle ne connut qu'une précaire activité lors de l'effort de guerre. Par ailleurs, les multiples « recrutements » ont gravement touché ce pays (qui constitua avec la Ngounié et le Woleu-Ntem un « réservoir de main-d'œuvre ») en bouleversant son équilibre démographique. Aussi la plupart des rapports administratifs insistent-ils sur la pauvreté et la médiocrité des villages, sur l'instabilité politique et « l'indiscipline », sur l'avidité avec laquelle sont accueillies toutes les innovations dont il est espéré un mieux-être.

1. P. Trilles, *op. cit.*
2. Cf. Cne Curault, « Monographie du secteur de N'Djolé au Gabon », in *Rev. des Troupes Colon.*, 68, 1908.

Région de l'Ogooué Maritime.

Durant la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle, les Fang descendirent l'Ogooué pour accéder aux centres de traite, établis sur le fleuve, et aux comptoirs de la Côte. Ils repoussèrent les Bakèlè, s'imposèrent aux Galwa et aux Nkomi. C'est à partir de 1880, à la suite de la pénétration qui organise des convois sur le fleuve, crée des postes et permet l'installation des traitants, que les Fang s'établirent en grand nombre au long de l'Ogooué.

Les Fang sont établis dans les quatre districts qui constituent cette région administrative; mais dans celui d'Omboué, qui marque l'extrême pointe de leur avance, ils représentent moins de 5 % de la population. Les 9.300 habitants du district de Ndjolé sont, pour 95 % environ, des Fang substitués à l'ancien peuplement bakélé. Ils appartiennent aux groupes Maké, Nzaman et Bétsi : les premiers se trouvant en aval de Ndjolé avant 1865 [1]; ils proviennent du Bas-Ivindo, pour la plus grande partie, mais aussi du Woleu-Ntem où les villageois s'efforcèrent tôt d'obtenir des débouchés commerciaux sur l'Ogooué. En dehors d'une petite exploitation minière, existant à Ndjolé, ce district est d'un extrême dénuement : aussi, les villages, très dispersés, présentent-ils un aspect misérable; la population mâle a été sollicitée par les proches chantiers forestiers (ou recrutée) et par les centres de la Côte.

Le district de Lambaréné, très important par le nombre des exploitations forestières (et, de plus, vieux centre commercial), reste surtout peuplé de Fang. Ceux-ci s'opposent au groupe autochtone des Galwa (moins de 2.200 individus) qui, apparenté aux minorités côtières, constitue la « race aristocratique du pays » et, relativement hiérarchisé, a su « conserver sa position [2] ». Si les Fang « se sont installés au hasard et un peu partout », ils ont pourtant constitué deux centres de peuplement importants : sur l'Ogooué, en amont de Lambaréné, et aux alentours des lacs du Sud [3]. Ils représentent plus de 35 % de la population (17.500 habitants) dans ce district aux multiples groupes ethniques qui avait, par ailleurs, en 1936, un cinquième de ses habitants établis sur les « chantiers ». Plus de trente-cinq clans ou fragments composent ici les villages fang qui révèlent, pour moitié environ, un peuplement clanique homogène, pour moitié,

1. Cne Curault, *op. cit.*
2. Rap. Ogooué-Maritime, 3e trim. 1935.
3. Rap. Ogooué-Maritime, 4e trim. 1935.

un peuplement composite. En dehors des Yémvôg, la plupart des tribus présentes ne se retrouvent pas (ou sont peu importantes) au Woleu-Ntem; les éléments les plus nombreux semblent être originaires de l'Ivindo. En parvenant dans la région qui constitue l'actuel district de Port-Gentil, à l'achèvement de leur poussée, les Fang n'ont pas réussi à évincer les groupes ethniques dominants : Ouroungou et Nkomi.

Région de l'Estuaire.

Nous avons indiqué qu'il est possible de situer aux environs de 1850 l'arrivée des Fang sur l'Estuaire. Ils se sont alors substitués aux groupements côtiers résiduels et surtout aux Bakélé qui, après avoir abandonné l'Ogooué, doivent quitter le Como. Dès 1900, la population de cette région est « presque entièrement composée de Pahouins »[1]. Ils occupent les districts de Kango et de Coco-Beach (6.000 et 7.500 habitants); ils représentent plus de 95 % de la population du district de Libreville si l'on ne tient pas compte des « travailleurs » étrangers engagés sur contrat. Ils se sont imposés à Libreville (au détriment des Mpongwé autochtones) où ils constituent près de 40 % de la population et dominent dans quinze quartiers sur vingt-trois. Et cette main mise sur le chef-lieu du territoire apporte un témoignage quant à leur activité conquérante.

Dans le district de Coco-Beach, plus de 20 clans ou fragments tribaux se trouvent présents : en particulier Oyèk (tribu se retrouvant à Médouneu et surtout en Guinée-Espagnole) et Effak. Cette région, importante autrefois en tant que centre commercial, est maintenant en dehors de tout trafic et les rapports administratifs insistent sur le mouvement de dépopulation qui s'y développe[2].

Le district de Kango, situé à la pointe de l'Estuaire, reste un de ceux où la chute démographique est la plus marquée. Si l'on tient compte du recensement de 1936, il y existe environ vingt-cinq clans et fragments : le groupe le plus nombreux — celui des Yéngü — ne compte que pour 10 % environ. Quant au district de Libreville, il manifeste, en ayant incorporé l'ancienne subdivision de Chinchoua, un peuplement fang divisé au maximum. Cette dernière région est caractérisée par un

1. Archives de Libreville, 1900-1910.
2. Cf. notamment, Rap. politique 1937, Département de l'Estuaire, qui présente en particulier une analyse des causes de la mortalité infantile très élevée.

véritable émiettement du groupe; le recensement de 1943 y révèle cinquante-quatre clans et fragments tribaux (pour 3.500 habitants!) dont huit seulement rassemblent plus de 150 personnes. Cette région est également celle qui s'est le plus vidée au profit du chef-lieu : où les natifs de l'ancienne subdivision de Chinchoua représentent près de 7 % de la population. Dans la partie du district, qui correspond à l'ancienne subdivision de Libreville, le groupe fang est beaucoup plus homogène. Les Oyèk dominent en rassemblant 45 % des villageois, puis viennent les Ntum qui comptent pour 20 % et les Effak (tribu Yénzòk) qui paraissent pour environ 12 %; neuf autres groupements représentent de 4,5 % (Esisis) à 1,5 % (Omvâg) de la population de cette ancienne division. Celle-ci a, comme Chinchoua, subi l'attrait de Libreville.

Si la région de l'Estuaire a été atteinte démographiquement, au cours des cinquante dernières années, elle ne paraît guère s'être transformée quant à la composition clanique. Les archives de l'ancien cercle du Como[1] montrent que les groupements, actuellement remarqués comme les plus importants, constituaient les villages connus durant les années 1900-1910. Cependant deux différences essentielles apparaissent : ces groupements existaient, alors, quasiment isolés et non au niveau de dizaines de groupuscules; ils avaient une localisation assez précise aux abords des cours d'eau, tandis qu'ils sont maintenant disséminés, et composaient des villages plus importants que les actuels. Nous avons là une indication quant au processus d'atomisation qui s'est accompli durant la première moitié de ce siècle.

***

On est, d'entrée, étonné par cette complexité du pays fang : en dehors du Haut Woleu-Ntem, les groupements claniques ne s'expriment pas dans les limites de régions même médiocres; ils composent des villages souvent éloignés l'un de l'autre; ils sont disséminés et entremêlés. En fait, seul le groupement villageois et les terres qu'il exploite peuvent être situés sur le terrain; encore faut-il préciser que ce dernier ne s'est stabilisé, ou n'a limité sa mobilité, qu'à une époque très récente. La fragmentation est maxima, à l'extrême pointe de la poussée des Fang, dans les districts côtiers, et dans la « zone de contact »

1. Pour lequel des rapports très précis ont été rédigés en 1905 et 1909.

qui s'est créée aux abords du Moyen et du Bas-Ogooué. On pourrait calculer, pour chaque région, un volume moyen par clan qui donnerait des chiffres situés entre un minimum de 64, dans l'ancienne subdivision de Chinchoua, et un maximum de 1.000 dans le canton Kyé-Nyé (district d'Oyem) et dans les villages situés sur Bitam-Minvoul. C'est assez dire combien le groupement clanique et le lignage ont une réalité et une efficacité très différentes selon les divers secteurs du pays fang : on comprend alors que les tentatives de renouveau clanique n'aient pu se produire que dans les régions où un tel groupement a encore de la vitalité. Il convient, en plus, de remarquer que le volume moyen par clan est le plus élevé dans les régions où la population fang est la plus nombreuse, où la situation démographique est la plus favorable : les centres de vitalité se situent au Woleu-Ntem (une grande partie du district de Mitzik étant exclue) et dans une zone réduite aux abords même de Libreville. Ces deux régions rivalisent afin d'étendre leur influence à la totalité du pays fang : la rivalité se manifestant sur le plan électoral en opposant un candidat de Libreville à un candidat du Haut-Gabon (élections législatives de 1951). Et l'on conçoit que l'ensemble du pays fang ne présente partout ni le même degré d'altération des structures sociales traditionnelles, ni la même capacité d'adaptation aux conditions actuelles.

En reportant, sur une carte, les groupements repérés dans chacun des districts, d'autres constatations s'imposent. Le sens d'écoulement selon lequel opérèrent les migrations des divers fragments s'y manifeste. Ainsi, les Effak, depuis la frontière du Cameroun, passent aux abords de la Guinée-Espagnole pour atteindre la Côte vers Coco-Beach et Libreville; les Angonâmvé, depuis le Woleu-Ntem, atteignent l'Ogooué (ils sont signalés dans le « secteur » de Ndjolé au début de ce siècle), puis le Bas-Gabon au delà de Lambaréné, etc. Par ailleurs, certains groupements ne s'échelonnent pas et ne se rencontrent qu'en des régions relativement précises : les Oyèk en Guinée-Espagnole et dans les districts français au sud de ce territoire (Médouneu, Coco-Beach et Libreville), les Kojé sur Bitam et Oyem, les Ožip sur Oyem seulement, etc. Enfin, il apparaît que certains groupements mineurs n'existent qu'aux limites du pays fang, où ils ont une existence indépendante. Les Yèngwi d'Oyem ont conservé le souvenir d'un de leurs fragments émigré vers Kango (sans en connaître ni le nom ni l'emplacement actuels) et aucun des groupements recensés dans ce district ne revendique une origine commune avec les Yéngwi du Woleu-Ntem; ainsi, a

disparu ce dernier lien, le *seul* observé au début de ce siècle par un administrateur qui évoquait le morcellement « à l'extrême » de groupements se trouvant « à des centaines de kilomètres les uns des autres[1] ».

Cette fragmentation et cet enchevêtrement des groupements fang s'expliquent : par le caractère récent des migrations à travers le Gabon et la recherche des points économiquement avantageux, par la pacification qui n'a plus rendu nécessaire la cohésion de groupements numériquement forts. Ces derniers sont encore attestés par les premiers observateurs : Maignan parle des « familles cantonnées près de l'Ivindo » qui « ont éprouvé le besoin de se réunir pour se défendre des attaques de leurs voisins et sont restées en cohésion, formant des lignes ininterrompues de villages[2] ». Enfin, il convient d'insister sur le rôle de l'action administrative : politique d'attraction pour disposer de main-d'œuvre dans les centres administratifs, réaction de certains groupements, par la fuite, à l'emprise administrative (« dès qu'un poste est créé, dans une région peuplée, le vide se fait en un clin d'œil autour de lui », écrit Périquet dans un rapport de mission[3]), politique de fixation des populations pour la réalisation des routes et politique de regroupement des villages (1930). Le nomadisme des Fang a fait le désespoir des administrateurs. Mais il faut penser qu'en dehors de ces causes — les plus évidentes — d'autres causes, d'ordre interne, conditionnent cette fragmentation : retenons l'idée d'une *capacité maxima du groupement villageois*, que nous aurons à préciser en étudiant la structure sociale.

Les éclatements successifs des groupements, et les migrations multiples, rendent difficile toute compréhension précise de la nature des groupements actuellement répartis à travers le pays fang. Nous avons suggéré, quant aux quelques grands groupes habituellement reconnus, qu'il s'agissait de groupes de migration s'étant déplacés à des époques différentes, ayant subi des influences culturelles différentes et ayant, les premiers, occupé le pays fang gabonais (ce qui expliquerait les tentatives des anciens observateurs définissant une division en « terres »); et nous avons montré combien leur signification s'est estompée. Nous avons la preuve que ces appellations sont *postérieures* aux

1. Cne MAIGNAN, « Etudes sur le Pays Pahouin » (datées de 1912) et publiées dans le *Bull. de la Soc. des Rec. Congolaises*, 14, 1931.
2. *Op. cit.*
3. Cne PÉRIQUET, *Mission d'étude du chemin de fer du nord*, 1910-1911; archives de Brazzaville.

appellations tribales et claniques (du moins celles des clans les plus anciens); les Ožip rassemblent des groupements se disant Ntumu, *Fang* et Maké[1]; Tessmann place dans deux groupes différents : Ntumu et *Fang*, les Ndôg et les Bökwé[2] alors qu'il s'agit d'après nos enquêtes (confirmées par divers observateurs) d'une tribu Ndôg dont les Bökwé (corruption du mot Ebikwé) constituent un clan; et Curault en donne un autre exemple, au début de ce siècle, une tribu présente à Ndjolé, Okana, qui avait « produit » des clans dits Bétsi, Maké et Nzaman[3].

Si nous nous en tenons aux dénominations recensées, nous remarquons que des noms de formation différente : les uns commençant par *Yé* ou une consonne, les autres commençant par *Esa* (*ésé*, *isi*) ou *Eba* (*ébi*), désignent des groupements actuellement identiques en apparence; avec cette constatation que les dénominations en *ésa* ou *éba* sont de beaucoup les plus nombreuses. Le mot *yé* (signifiant *vallée*) est accompagné d'un qualificatif évoquant souvent une plante, un animal ou un phénomène naturel (yé-*ngwi* (le sanglier), yé-*mvâg* (la pluie), etc.) tandis que le préfixe *ésa* ou *éba* (signifiant, *géniteur*) est employé pour désigner la descendance d'un ancêtre humain plus ou moins éloigné. Nous devons donc penser que, dans ce dernier cas, il s'agit de dénominations désignant des groupements plus récents, de formation secondaire : des clans et des lignées; tandis que les autres appellations se réfèrent à des groupements anciens, dont l'origine est légendaire, autrefois localisés, qui se divisèrent et s'éparpillèrent en raison des multiples migrations, à des tribus. Les premiers observateurs des Fang, Trilles et Martrou, sont affirmatifs quant à ces faits. De même, les traditions tribales : celle des Yénžòk a conservé le souvenir de la première division en 4 clans qui s'accomplit après le passage du fleuve Sanaga[4] (étape capitale des migrations qui répartirent les Fang à travers le Sud-Cameroun et le Gabon). Chaque étape importante des migrations a accentué la fragmentation et créé des prééminences nouvelles. Tel est le cas des Yénžòk : le passage de la Sanaga a entraîné une division en groupements qui se nomment encore Yénžòk, le passage du Ntem (qui donne accès au Gabon) a provoqué la constitution de l'important groupement Effak

1. *Tradition des Ožip*, archives administratives d'Oyem.
2. Tessmann, *op. cit.*
3. Cne Curault, « Monographie du secteur de N'Djolé au Gabon », *op. cit.*
4. *Tradition des Yéndzòk*, archives administratives d'Ebolowa, Cameroun Français.

qui s'est divisé, pour atteindre la Côte, en sous-groupements qui se disent seulement Effak [1].

Les relations, entre groupements nés de tels éclatements en chaîne, se sont relâchées puis ont fini par disparaître dans de nombreux cas; en raison des conflits qui étaient souvent à l'origine de la fragmentation, de l'éloignement existant entre fragments et de la situation créée par l'occupation coloniale : pacification qui n'exige plus « la puissante solidarité de la tribu [2] », contrôle des déplacements collectifs et fixation à l'intérieur de circonscriptions administratives qui finissent par imposer des associations très localisées. De ce relâchement, on peut avoir une preuve en comparant les compositions tribales établies par L. Martrou (sur l'Ogooué, dans la première décade du siècle), par les responsables du mouvement de regroupement clanique (dans le Haut-Gabon, après 1945) et par les enquêteurs de la « Commission d'enquête historique » (dans le Bas-Gabon, en 1949) — ces documents présentent des divergences importantes qui s'expliquent d'abord en fonction des circonstances locales. Et c'est à la faveur de cette confusion que les leaders du mouvement clanique ont pu faire admettre des regroupements très contestables du point de vue de la logique clanique. Par ailleurs, le fait que les groupements aient, au cours de leurs migrations, changé leur appellation (attesté par L. Martrou, Maignan et L. Mba [3]) contribue à accentuer cette confusion. On comprend, alors, que les groupements restreints et précisément localisés soient depuis de nombreuses années les seuls ayant une efficacité réelle — et, en même temps, qu'ils disposent d'une quasi-autonomie.

II. La situation démographique des Fang.

Ce sont non seulement les administrateurs du pays fang, mais encore les villageois eux-mêmes qui ont le sentiment d'une situation démographique défavorable. Depuis plus de vingt-cinq ans, les rapports administratifs et médicaux insistent sur la « gravité du problème démographique »; et les Fang, alarmés par la

1. Tableau des « tribus et sous-tribus » établi par des Fang du Bas-Gabon pour la Commission d'Enquête Historique de Libreville.
2. L. Martrou, « La langue Fan et ses dialectes », *J. Soc. Africanistes*, VI, 2, 1936.
3. L. Martrou, *op. cit.*; Cne Maignan, *op. cit.*; et L. Mba, « Essai de droit coutumier pahouin », in *Recherches Congolaises*, 25, 1938.

chute numérique de leurs groupements, nous manifestèrent leur inquiètude en demandant que leurs femmes fussent traitées médicalement pour « avoir beaucoup d'enfants comme autrefois ». Ce sentiment de déficience démographique, joint à la fragmentation et au manque de puissance des groupements, constitue l'une des caractéristiques des diverses « crises » fang. Malheureusement, tous les documents nécessaires à une étude minutieuse n'existent pas : les recensements ne sont précis que depuis peu d'années; les limites administratives, servant de cadre à ces derniers, ont fréquemment changé.

La seule étude d'ensemble à laquelle nous puissions recourir est celle du médecin général Le Dentu; elle se fonde sur les renseignements fournis par les rapports sanitaires locaux et intéresse plus de 84.000 individus[1]. Elle attire l'attention sur de « grandes différences locales »; la race fang, qui se révèle déficitaire dans les régions de l'Ogooué-Maritime et de l'Estuaire — où les indices de remplacement sont de 0,5 et 0,7 — manifeste « une vitalité beaucoup plus grande » avec les Fang du Woleu et les Bakwélé de la Sangha qui ont des indices de 1,05 et 1,08. Et l'auteur tend à expliquer ces différences par les degrés d'évolution très différents pour chacun de ces groupes; une telle opinion demande à être nuancée : il convient de tenir compte non seulement des modes d'évolution (ainsi, l'actuel paysannat du Woleu-Ntem reste un des plus sains du sud de l'A. E. F., tout en étant largement ouvert aux influences modernistes) mais encore des conditions naturelles affectant chacun des groupes. Ces dernières ont joué en même temps que les causes économiques (le régime intensif d'exploitation forestière) et les causes de désorganisation sociale pour créer, dans le Bas-Gabon, la situation démographique la plus défavorable (le taux le plus élevé de stérilité et la plus faible « capacité génitale »). Quant à l'ethnie fang dans son ensemble, elle se révèle stationnaire au cours de la décade 1930-1940 (2,3 % de naissances pour 2 % de décès). Comment expliquer, donc, ce sentiment de crise démographique si fortement éprouvé à nouveau?

On doit songer à un déséquilibre qui, lié à l'installation et à l'exploitation coloniales (ou accentué par elles), n'aurait été brisé qu'à une époque très récente. La certitude est difficile à obtenir car nous ne disposons que d'indications fragmentaires et de valeur inégale. Les premiers calculs précis de densité de

1. Gal Le Dentu, *Démographie de l'A. E. F.*, 1937; archives du Service de Santé, Brazzaville.

population réalisés vers 1910, par G. Bruel[1] et Périquet[2], donnent des résultats très supérieurs à ceux obtenus actuellement. Le géographe G. Sautter a pu, en ce qui concerne le Woleu-Ntem, faire des comparaisons précises et acquérir la conviction que, « depuis la pénétration française jusqu'aux environs de 1930, la population... a diminué dans des proportions considérables ». Il rappelle que « là où Périquet estimait la densité de population à 4,5 habitants au km²... on en trouve vingt ans plus tard moins de 2 » et qu'on ne saurait attribuer un tel écart au seul optimisme de cet observateur « qui semble avoir été modéré »[3]. G. Sautter pense qu'une telle population, « elle-même déficiente » (pour des causes qui semblent, en partie, d'ordre naturel puisqu'elles agissent « d'un bout à l'autre du bloc forestier équatorial »), a été durement éprouvée par les endémies et la famine en même temps que par l'émigration et les recrutements. La stabilisation, qui s'est affirmée au cours des deux dernières décades parallèlement à l'équipement et à l'enrichissement de la région, est encore fragile : à tel point que G. Sautter ne risque aucune prévision quant à l'évolution à venir de la population du Woleu-Ntem — tout en reconnaissant que les Fang de cette région constituent « une population florissante quand on les compare à leurs congénères de l'Ivindo, de l'Ogooué et de la Côte, en infiniment plus mauvaise posture ».

La fragilité de cet équilibre s'est révélée lors de la période d' « effort de guerre ». Le rapport politique du Woleu-Ntem (1944) dresse un bilan en s'attachant essentiellement au « problème de la dépopulation » : il manifeste un large excédent des décès sur les naissances (22,1 % pour 15,9 %) et il insiste sur la grave recrudescence du mouvement d'émigration — une estimation officielle compte 4.500 hommes adultes (soit plus de 20 % de la population mâle adulte) qui ont alors rejoint la Guinée-Espagnole. C'est dire que les résultats obtenus à partir de 1930, par une politique de la population, sont restés éminemment précaires. Les Fang, tout en demeurant un des groupes ethniques les plus vigoureux du Gabon, subissent un handicap qui les sensibilise à toute situation de crise comme cela s'est manifesté durant les dernières années de guerre. Aucun rapport médical

1. G. Bruel. *Notes géographiques sur le Bassin de l'Ogooué*, Paris, 1911.
2. Cne Périquet. *Mission d'étude du chemin de fer du Nord*. Archives Brazzaville.
3. G. Sautter. « Essai sur le peuplement et l'habitat au Woleu-Ntem. » *Cah. d'Outre-Mer*, 14, avril-juin 1951.

ne vante plus, à l'imitation des premiers observateurs, la robustesse et la prolificité des Pahouins.

A l'aide des enquêtes précises réalisées au Woleu-Ntem, il nous est possible d'étudier la structure de la population fang en cette région relativement favorisée. Le fait le plus appa-

WOLEU-NTEM

District d'Oyem
11 villages. 1 570 habitants.

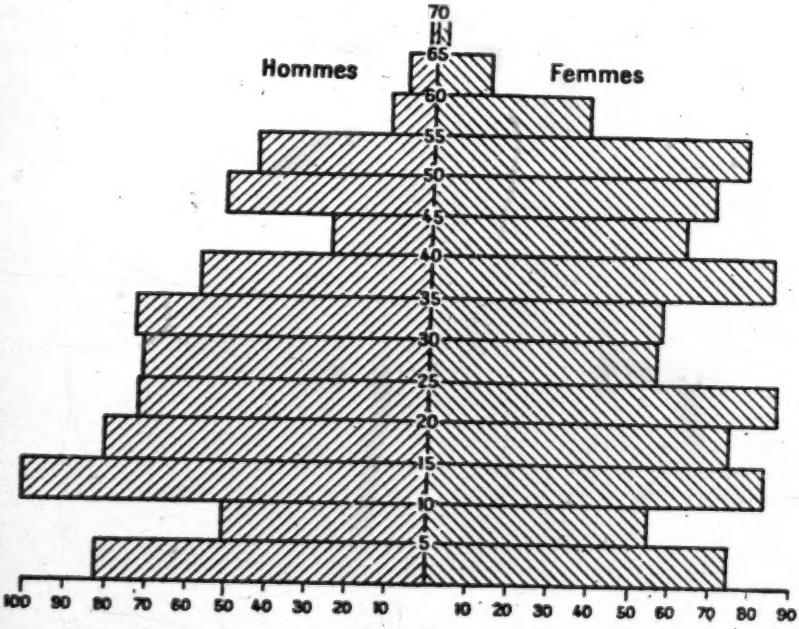


Fig. 2

RÉPARTITION PAR AGE ET PAR SEXE

rent est la disproportion entre le nombre des hommes et celui des femmes qui s'accuse au niveau des classes d'âges dites « adultes » (d'après les actuels recensements administratifs, celles comptées à partir de quinze ans). Nous pouvons le remarquer à l'aide des recensements de 1936 et 1950 qui révèlent toutefois une réduction du déséquilibre durant ces quinze dernières années :

1. Médouneu n'appartenait pas administrativement à la région du Woleu-Ntem en 1936.

Tableau I

Répartition du *sex-ratio*.

		Ensemble de la Région	Bitam-Minvoul	Oyem	Mitzik	Médouneu (1)
Nombre de femmes pour 1.000 hommes (ensemble de la population)	1936	1.283 °/oo	1.170 °/oo	1.239 °/oo	1.241 °/oo	
	1951	1.147 °/oo	1.184 °/oo	1.142 °/oo	1.161 °/oo	1.125 °/oo
Nombre de femmes pour 1.000 hommes (population dite *adulte*)	1936	1.521 °/oo	1.443 °/oo	1.598 °/oo	1.523 °/oo	
	1951	1.373 °/oo	1.443 °/oo	1.337 °/oo	1.323 °/oo	1.300 °/oo

Afin de préciser ces indications générales, nous avons accompli le recensement de 11 villages du district d'Oyem, au sein desquels nous avons enquêté, et qui représentent une population de 1.570 habitants. La répartition de ceux-ci par classes d'âge et par sexe (fig. 2) confirme d'abord l'observation précédente : dans ces onze groupements, il existe 838 femmes pour 732 hommes — soit un °/oo de 1.144, pour 1.142 quant à l'ensemble du district. Le déséquilibre entre sexes est d'une nature très différente selon la classe d'âge considérée.

Tableau II

Classes d'âge	0	10	20	30	40	50	60 ans
Nombre de femmes pour 1.000 hommes.	955	868	996	1.083	1.728	2.127 °/oo	

Si l'on exclut la chute se révélant pour la classe de dix à vingt ans (s'expliquant, en partie, par les erreurs d'appréciation quant à l'âge des femmes qui sont généralement vieillies par les recenseurs [1]), on constate que le nombre des femmes croît

1. Les recenseurs recourent à l'estimation pure et simple lorsque la date de naissance est ou contestée ou oubliée; quasi-inexistence d'état-civil.

en passant d'un groupe d'âge à l'autre; l'accroissement se manifestant d'une manière brutale au-dessus de quarante ans. Il convient, d'abord, de songer à une mortalité masculine plus élevée; ce qui apparaît en comparant les chiffres fournis par les recensements : ainsi, celui de 1936 indique une mortalité masculine représentant plus de 60 % de la mortalité totale, avec un maximum de 66,6 % dans le district d'Oyem. Mais on ne peut expliquer par ce seul fait les disproportions observées. En retenant la date de 1930, qui marque le ralentissement de l'émigration et la fin des recrutements importants [1], on constate que les hommes ayant plus de vingt ans à cette époque sont ceux qui en ont plus de quarante actuellement; le déficit en hommes, dans les groupes les plus âgés, représente surtout la part de l'émigration sans retour et de la mortalité sur les « chantiers » — la réduction du déséquilibre, de 1936 à 1951, tend à confirmer cette observation. Il faut penser, par ailleurs, à un facteur relevant de l'organisation sociale : les femmes jeunes (de dix à vingt ans) sont cédées, par mariages, aux groupes étrangers *avant* d'être récupérées, grâce aux dots reçues, sous forme de femmes étrangères épousées par les hommes du groupement. Décalage qui s'exprime partiellement par la chute notée au niveau de la classe d'âge de dix-vingt ans.

Le rapport du docteur Le Dentu faisait apparaître, en 1936, quant à l'ensemble de l'ethnie fang, une population enfantine insuffisante : les groupes d'âges de zéro à quinze ans y comptant pour 28,4 % alors que chez d'autres peuples gabonais, les Eschira par exemple, ils représentent près de 36 % de la population. Les chiffres fournis par le recensement de 1950 ne manifestent pas, du moins en ce qui concerne les districts de Bitam-Minvoul et Mitzik, une amélioration quelconque :

Tableau III

Districts	Bitam-Minvoul	Oyem	Mitzik	Médouneu
Taux de population enfantine	29,3 %	35,3 %	25,4 %	32,3 %

1. Cf. G. Sautter, *op. cit.*

La situation la plus défavorable apparaissant à Mitzik; ce qui explique partiellement le déficit de 2.092 habitants, subi par ce district de 1936 à 1950, qui représente plus de 20 % de sa population actuelle et environ la moitié du déficit accusé par la région du Woleu-Ntem durant la même période. C'est dans le district d'Oyem que l'état démographique paraît le meilleur : cependant, de 1936 à 1948 la population, à cent unités près, ne fait que rester stationnaire. Notre enquête, portant sur 11 villages, montre à quel point cette situation est rapidement sensible aux changements de la conjoncture économique et politique : les années d' « effort de guerre » (1940-1945) se manifestent par un trou au niveau de la classe de cinq à dix ans, tandis que le retour aux conditions normales et la relative prospérité due à l'accroissement de la production cacaoyère entraînent un élargissement de la base démographique au niveau des enfants de zéro à cinq ans (fig. 2). Les recensements précis effectués, par ailleurs, dans 9 villages des environs d'Oyem, en 1945, 1946, et 1948, révèlent un accroissement de 1.090 à 1.133 habitants avec un indice de remplacement de 1,32; de plus, alors que l'excédent des naissances n'est que de 13 unités, l'augmentation de population est de 43 unités : le croît implique surtout un retour d'anciens émigrants.

Ces indications confirment l'extrême sensibilité démographique et laissent supposer les rapides réactions aux modifications de la politique locale. Mais cette sensibilité n'est aussi apparente qu'en raison d'une situation médiocre : malgré une fécondité normale (la capacité génitale, nombre moyen des grossesses subies par les femmes ménauposées, est de 4,2 pour l'ensemble du district) le nombre d'enfants n'est pas suffisant en raison de la forte mortalité infantile (voyez le tableau suivant) et semble-t-il en raison du vieillissement de la population féminine. Les affections paludéennes graves, qui touchent 78 % des enfants de deux à cinq ans, sont causes de cette mortalité en même temps que les parasitoses intestinales.

Tableau IV

(Établi avec le rapport médical du 4e trimestre 1944).

Districts	Taux de natalité viable	Taux de mortalité de 0 à 1 an	Taux de mortalité infantile	Taux de population enfantine
Bitam	1,3 %	7,1 % des décès	27 % des décès	29 %
Minvoul	1,3 %	7,3 % des décès	13 % des décès	25 %
Oyem	1,7 %	10 % des décès	26 % des décès	34 %
Mitzik	0,8 %	6,7 % des décès	18 % des décès	25 %

Il convient de compléter ces chiffres en indiquant que la mortalité infantile, très élevée de zéro à un an, diminue de un à cinq ans et n'accuse une baisse importante qu'à partir de cet âge. Le docteur Le Dentu donnait en 1936, quant à l'ensemble des Fang, pour chacune de ces catégories, les pourcentages suivants : 16,5 %, 12 % et 8,9 % des décès, qui révèlent par ailleurs la situation catastrophique en certaines parties du pays pahouin.

Tels sont les faits apparents au niveau de cette région privilégiée du Woleu-Ntem. Ils sont encore grossis lorsqu'on considère l'ensemble de la division administrative, notamment à la fin d'une période de crise, comme le manifeste l'étude sanitaire de 1944, ou lorsqu'on s'en tient aux groupements villageois les plus restreints qui semblent les plus affectés — les diagrammes établis pour trois villages d'Oyem (fig. 3) étant caractéristiques.

Pourtant, cette situation démographique paraît excellente lorsqu'on la compare à celle des Fang d'autres régions; nous donnons, à cet égard, l'exemple des Fang de l'Ogooué-Ivindo pour lesquels nous disposons d'indications établies durant l'année 1947 :

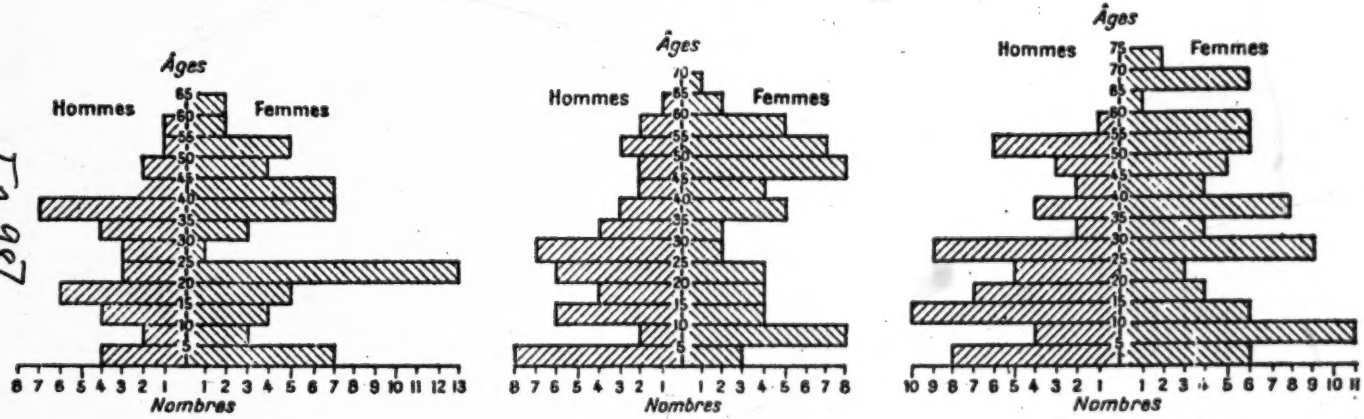


Fig. 3

PYRAMIDES DES AGES DE TROIS VILLAGES KÓJÉ
(villages numériquement réduits).

[p. 98]

Indice de remplacement : 0,43.
Taux de natalité : 0,77 %.
Taux de population enfantine : 24,7 %.
Taux de mortalité globale : 1,79 %.
Taux de mortalité infantile : 25 % des décès [1].

Et un rapport légèrement antérieur (1946) exprime, quant au seul district de Booué, de peuplement essentiellement fang, des taux complémentaires encore plus significatifs : une capacité génitale de 2,7 et, pour les « jeunes femmes », un taux de fécondité (nombre moyen des grossesses déclarées) de 1,2 — ces chiffres étant très inférieurs à ceux obtenus avec les Fang du Woleu-Ntem; par ailleurs, « 35 à 40 % des femmes jeunes restent stériles tandis que le pourcentage de stérilité chez les femmes âgées ne dépasse pas 8 à 12 % [2] ». Les Fang de l'Ogooué-Ivindo s'inscrivent dans une région où tous les groupes ethniques sont en chute démographique et qui a, de 1934 à 1947, perdu le septième de sa population. Leur situation est comparable à celle de leurs congénères du Bas-Gabon qui accusent, comme l'a rappelé le docteur Le Dentu, un « déficit » important.

Nous avons pu définir les caractéristiques de cette *crise démographique* dont les Fang ont, dans leur ensemble, pris conscience : une chute de population plus ou moins « freinée » selon les régions et les circonstances; un déséquilibre entre le nombre des hommes et celui des femmes — le *sex-ratio* s'élevant rapidement au niveau des classes d'âge les plus vieilles — et un vieillissement plus marqué de la population féminine; une base démographique insuffisante en même temps qu'une forte mortalité infantile. Et c'est du manque d'enfants, de l'importance soudaine prise par les femmes (qui est conditionnée par le nombre en même temps que par le mouvement général de l'évolution sociale) que se plaignent les villageois; bien avant de critiquer les insuffisances de l'équipement sanitaire. Dans une société où le *nombre* différencie et hiérarchise les groupements, permet les prééminences personnelles, les phases aiguës de cette crise démographique sont ressenties avec anxiété; la chute de fécondité des femmes est une des raisons, la plus importante peut-être, expliquant l'hostilité des hommes à l'égard de celles-ci.

Les raisons qui sont données, quant à une telle situation,

1. Rapport économique de l'Ogooué-Ivindo, 1947; chapitre « Démographie ».
2. Commission de la Population. Procès-verbal de la réunion du 8 août 1946.

ont un double aspect, moderniste et traditionaliste. Les premières ont été exposées, lors du Congrès pahouin de 1947 et, par certains groupements, lors du mouvement de regroupement clanique. Elles se traduisent par des revendications précises : exigence d'une politique sanitaire et d'un enseignement de l'hygiène, désir de contrôler puis limiter la prostitution, de consolider la « famille » en limitant les divorces et réprimant les adultères, besoin de cultures riches « qui peuvent être vendues afin de bien entretenir la famille[1] », etc. Les secondes sont, sans aucun doute, celles qui s'imposent le plus, qui représentent l'opinion du plus grand nombre; elles révèlent une forte réaction à l'état actuel de la société fang, le désir du retour à un passé où tout était mieux, où « il y avait beaucoup d'hommes et beaucoup d'enfants » : elles expriment la tendance à la « contre-acculturation ». Les bouleversements survenus dans les organisations socio-culturelles sont directement mis en cause : l'éclatement et la dispersion des groupements qui ont entraîné la rupture d'interdits fondamentaux (celui d'exogamie notamment : avec la confusion actuelle, chaque homme risque d'épouser sa « sœur » et d'être condamné à une union stérile); l'abandon des pratiques religieuses traditionnelles et, surtout, du culte *Biéri* rendu aux ancêtres — si bien que le *Biéri* « se venge », disent certains informateurs, en rendant les femmes inféconds; les emprunts faits à la civilisation européenne et aux peuples voisins ont altéré les « manières fang », ont imposé des comportements qui ne sont pas valables pour les Fang et mettent en danger leur existence sociale. Telles sont les principales raisons évoquées. Nous nous sommes, dès ce chapitre, attachés à de tels faits parce qu'ils montrent l'aspect subjectif de la crise démographique; et combien la recherche de la fécondité et de la puissance, toutes deux liées, intervient encore dans les réactions actuelles de ce peuple, combien elle s'effectue d'une manière ambiguë en recourant, en même temps, aux moyens modernes étrangers et aux moyens traditionnellement fang. La crise est, pour les villageois fang, la plus grave conséquence d'une situation créée par la colonisation — par la « civilisation » disent curieusement certains d'entre eux. Cela indique assez que ces faits doivent s'intégrer dans l'ensemble que nous avons entrepris d'analyser.

1. Exposé d'un dignitaire de la tribu Yémôdâg, Mitzik, 1949.

III. Le type de structure sociale [1]

Tribus. Clans. Lignages.

Le récent renouveau clanique, auquel nous avons souvent fait allusion, a montré l'importance encore fondamentale des groupements établis en fonction de la « parenté ». Cette dernière fut immédiatement saisie par les premiers observateurs et administrateurs du pays fang, qui insistèrent sur le caractère de « famille » des groupements pahouins et conclurent à l'absence d'une armature sociale solide : impossibilité de « trouver un embryon d'organisation », indique un rapport rédigé au début du siècle, en soulignant qu'il n'existe que des « familles » plus ou moins étendues.

Autrefois, le système d'éducation donnait très tôt, au jeune Fang, la connaissance précise de sa généalogie (*abara*) — on apprend « surtout à celui-ci, écrit le P. Trilles, la liste individuelle des ancêtres; cette dernière concerne uniquement les générations masculines, (car) la femme est ignorée » et, par ailleurs, ne reçoit jamais un tel enseignement [2]. En connaissant les termes de sa lignée paternelle, l'individu sait à quels groupements fondamentaux il appartient, quelles femmes lui sont interdites et quelles relations il doit entretenir avec tels individus vivants ou morts. Par des chaînons de plus en plus éloignés, il se rattache à des groupements d'extension de plus en plus vaste et de formation de plus en plus ancienne. Le premier d'entre eux, au sein duquel il se trouve inscrit de manière immédiate, est le *nd'è bòl :* groupe patri-local, au niveau du village, qui a souvent son quartier et sa maison commune particuliers, qui rassemble sous l'autorité de « l'aîné », ou *ntòl-mòl*, la descendance de ce dernier, ses frères cadets et leur descendance, quelquefois celle de ses oncles paternels; en plus, des individus qui lui sont attachés par des liens de parenté, d'adoption ou d'amitié. Le plus vaste d'entre eux est la « tribu » (*ayóg, ayòm*, anciennement), étudiée déjà par Martrou et Trilles, dont l'origine n'est ni située, ni datée, mais simplement légendaire, dont l'éparpillement s'est effectué sur la quasi-totalité du pays fang. De l'un

1. Etude conduite à l'aide des documents recueillis surtout chez les Fang du Woleu-Ntem; et notamment dans la région d'Oyem où la vitalité fang est la plus authentique.
2. R. P. Trilles, *Le totémisme chez les Fân*, notes des pages 109, 111, 190.

à l'autre, les groupements intermédiaires s'élargissent d'une manière concentrique; et les relations, existant entre les individus qu'ils rassemblent, s'expriment par une « fraternité » de moins en moins réelle, de moins en moins contraignante.

Nous conservons, à la suite des premiers observateurs des Fang, le terme de « tribu » pour désigner ce groupement, le plus anciennement formé, et actuellement le plus compréhensif, le plus dispersé, le moins agissant, qui remonte, quant à son origine, à un ancêtre légendaire — ou *mvam* — maintenant christianisé par certains (ainsi, Adam-Nzamō, chez les Ndôg). Son unité se manifestait par une dénomination, une devise, un tatouage et des symboles particuliers [1]; il avait, avant les dernières grandes migrations, une localisation relativement précise et n'était divisé qu'en un nombre limité de clans (par exemple, six dans le cas des Yévò). Les migrations vers, et à travers, le Sud-Cameroun et le Gabon ont provoqué une longue série d'éclatements comme en témoignent les diverses légendes tribales qui rapportent au passage de la Haute Sanaga (Lom) et du « trou de l'*adzap* » (symbolisant l'accès à la grande forêt) les fragmentations et dispersions importantes. Ainsi, les Yévò [2] évoquent, à partir de ce « passage », la séparation de dix groupements se dirigeant vers la région du Ntem (6 groupes), vers le Gabon (3 groupes) et vers la Côte après avoir suivi le Nyong (1 groupe). Ces derniers, eux-mêmes, ont été soumis à un processus d'éclatements en chaîne et d'essaimage, que nous aurons à analyser à la faveur des exemples récents. Le R. P. Trilles a pu montrer comment, à la suite de ce mouvement, le nom tribal n'est conservé que pour « le clan du fondateur de la tribu et (pour) celui fondé par un de ses fils ou descendants en ligne directe » [3] — dans ce dernier cas, un préfixe marquera qu'il s'agit d'un groupement formé secondairement; ainsi, le nom tribal Yémvi subsiste uniquement sous les formes *Yémvi* et *Bouémvi*. De tels clans manifestent cependant une prééminence qui est à la base de l'organisation sociale : celle de l' « aîné » et de la lignée des aînés; la légitimité de cette prééminence était d'ailleurs garantie par la possession des crânes d'ancêtres (*évora biéri*) qui se transmettaient « de fils aîné en fils aîné » [4]. Maintenant, en raison de l'extrême dispersion des fragments tribaux, de la quasi-disparition du culte *Biéri*, du

1. Ces derniers sont évoqués précisément par Trilles, Largeau et surtout Tessmann (*op. cit.*).
2. *Légende des Yévò*, archives d'Ebolowa.
3. R. P. Trilles, *op. cit.*, p. 130.
4. *Id.* p. 113.

petit nombre de tels groupements, du relâchement dans les relations entre groupements, ces clans ne bénéficient pas d'une situation privilégiée et n'ont pas toujours joué un rôle capital lors du mouvement clanique — certains ont même été assimilés, à cette occasion, par des tribus plus vigoureuses [1]. Ils n'ont pu maintenir ni le sens de la réalité tribale, ni les réunions solennelles (*ésama, ésulan*) qui affirmaient cette dernière périodiquement; alors que les groupements du Cameroun, moins divisés et moins séparés, les ont conservées : ce qui explique leur rôle exemplaire au cours de ces dernières années.

Le terme de clan reste, alors, réservé aux groupements constitués à partir de lignées remontant à un ancêtre réel (*ésa :* l'*ésa* s'opposant au *mvam* comme la « parenté réelle » à la « parenté spirituelle ») qui, plus que la tribu, s'expriment localement (par taches claniques ou villages échelonnés), qui ont imposé une exogamie stricte et incontestable, qui participent aux systèmes d'alliances créés par le jeu des mariages, et qui disposent d'une dénomination particulière — alors que les groupements inférieurs ne sont pas nommés. C'est sous les noms claniques que l'administration coloniale a connu, et recensé, les groupements fang : ces noms qui ont une morphologie caractéristique en raison de leurs préfixes en *ésa* ou *éba*. Les clans ont également subi le processus d'éclatement; les groupements issus des lignées qui les constituaient peuvent, alors, être séparés par des distances importantes ou se trouver, même, en des territoires étrangers (au Gabon et en Guinée-Espagnole, par exemple). Ils n'en restent pas moins, quel que soit leur volume moyen selon les régions, des groupements qui s'imposent aux individus d'une manière précise : par l'appartenance (on est Esibil, Esakôra, etc...) et la « fraternité » (s'exprimant par le titre de *mwanayôg*) qu'ils impliquent, notamment. Le mot *ayôg* est, aujourd'hui, également employé pour désigner le clan; il semble que ce soit là son véritable sens originel : il n'a pris une acception imprécise que dans la mesure où la réalité tribale s'est estompée, à l'occasion des migrations récentes, entraînant la quasi-disparition du mot la caractérisant *(ayôm)*. Cette interprétation prend toute sa valeur si on la rapporte aux observations faites par Tessmann qui signalait, au début du siècle, l'existence de groupements nommés *ayôg* plus ou moins fédérés au niveau supérieur pour constituer

1. « Tel groupement qui se croyait une tribu (ayong) se voit rabaissé au niveau du simple clan », écrit l'auteur d'un *Rapport sur le regroupement des Fan* (mars 1948).

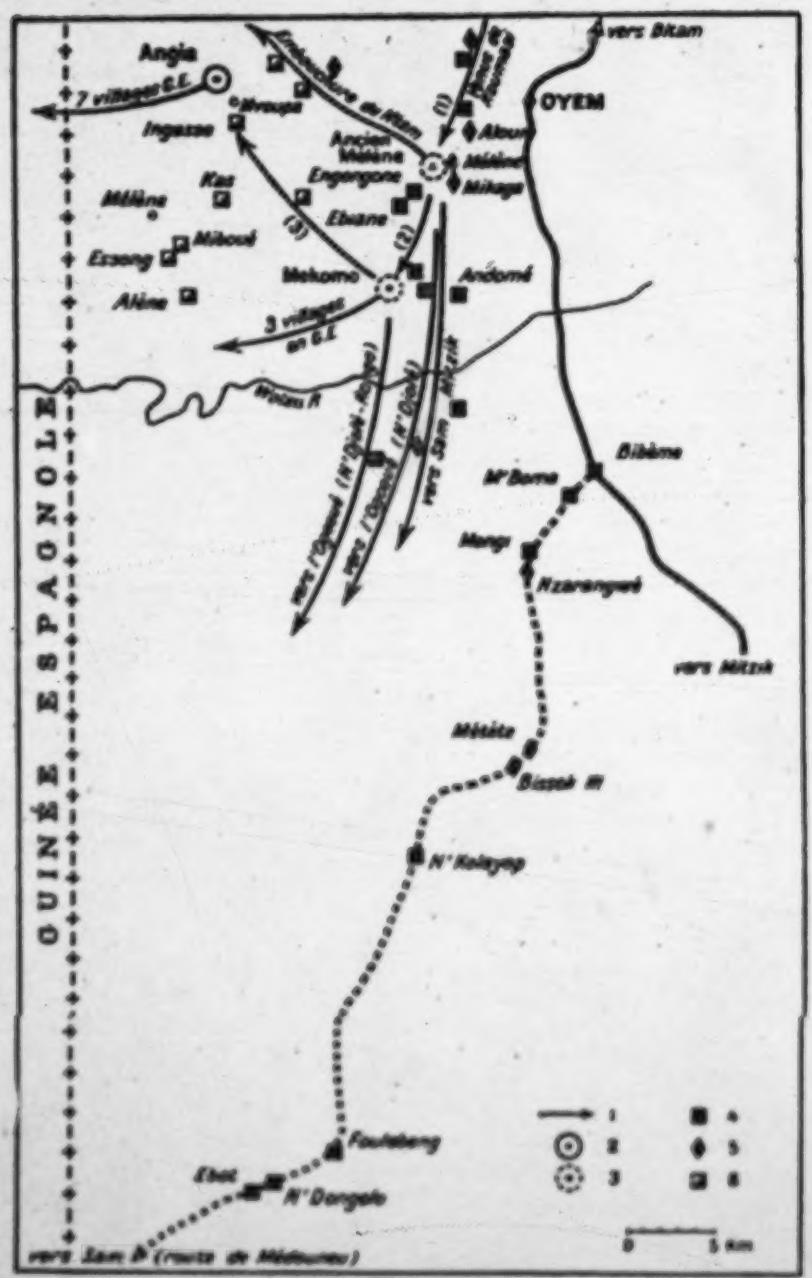


Fig. 4

DISPERSION DES YENGWI DES ENVIRONS D'OYEM
(lignage Esónó Angó).

Légende : 1. Déplacements importants; 2. Centre de dispersion; 3. Centre de dispersion disparu; 4. Groupe de Mémamvégo Esónó; 5. Groupes de Nsém Esónó; 6. Groupe de Ebwam Mémamvégo.

104

le groupement le plus large qu'il nomme « tribu » (*ayam*). Cette confusion est significative des profonds bouleversements survenus, elle explique les incertitudes manifestées par le P. Trilles en ce domaine.

Cet auteur a, d'autre part, insisté sur l'existence d'un totémisme fang qui pourrait s'observer depuis la tribu jusqu'à l'individu et s'étendre aux divers groupements — tout en prenant la précaution d'indiquer qu'il s'agit de faits en voie de disparition, au début de ce siècle, sur l'Ogooué et dans les régions côtières. Sur cette fantaisie théorique, un jugement valable a été émis par Van Gennep écrivant : « Tous nos efforts pour restreindre à une catégorie bien délimitée de faits les termes de totem et de totémisme sont nuls pour le P. Trilles, qui en arrive ainsi à faire du totem un équivalent du *génius* latin ou de tout autre génie protecteur d'individus et de groupes quelconques »[1]. Nous ne pouvons revenir, ici, sur une querelle désuète — d'autant plus que les transformations rapides survenues au cours des cinquante dernières années ont altéré ou détruit les éléments indispensables à tout jugement — mais nous pouvons retenir, des faits apportés par le P. Trilles, l'indication qu'un être protecteur, un matériel religieux (*akamayón*), un ensemble de symboles, et un corps de croyances et légendes donnaient une unité, autre que généalogique, aux clans fang.

Les lignées agnatiques comptant un nombre plus ou moins restreint de générations ont joué, et jouent encore, un rôle important : c'est autour d'elles que sont organisés les groupements composant le village ou le groupe de villages, que s'étaient constitués les groupes de nomadisme évoqués par les premiers observateurs. L'histoire des répartitions progressives à travers le Gabon est significative à cet égard; nous donnerons l'exemple des Yéngwi dont un fragment, représenté par 25 villages, se trouve établi dans la région d'Oyem au Woleu-Ntem. Ils se raccrochent tous à un ancêtre nommé Esònò Angò qui serait venu du lieu légendaire Adża Mbura et aurait dirigé les premiers déplacements à travers le Sud Cameroun, qui reste considéré comme la souche (*abial*) des groupements actuellement existant. Ceux-ci, comptant environ 3.300 individus, sont surtout concentrés dans la partie sud du canton Kyé-Nyé, au nord du fleuve Woleu; à partir de cette région où furent établis les premiers villages yéngwi, et où subsiste un noyau compact de plus de

1. A. Van Gennep, *L'état actuel du problème totémique*, Paris, 1920, p. 35.

1.500 individus, un essaimage s'est effectué en direction de l'actuelle Guinée-Espagnole (dans dix villages), de l'embouchure du Ntem, de l'Ogooué et du « Gabon ». Le groupement important ainsi constitué par les lignées issues de Esònò Angò, et implanté au niveau d'une région délimitée, constitue un *abial è bòt* ou lignage majeur; bien que ces lignées s'échelonnent sur dix générations, des liens réels subsistent entre membres du groupement, même si leur « parenté » remonte à Esònò Angò, et qui suffisent à permettre l'agrégation d'éléments dissidents d'un village à un autre.

Le mot *abial* implique une idée de localisation : il peut signifier : « lieu de naissance », « lieu d'origine »[1]. Les groupements nommés *abial è bòt* se distinguent, en effet, par un double critère; l'un d'ordre généalogique — un ancêtre commun à toutes les lignées; l'autre d'ordre géographique — une localisation restreinte mais précise. Tous ceux que nous avons étudiés au Woleu-Ntem se réfèrent à un ancêtre qui dirigea les dernières migrations à travers le Cameroun actuel et permit (ou réalisa) le passage du Ntem, et aux premiers établissements, au delà de ce fleuve, à partir desquels chaque fragment clanique s'élargit et essaima. Dans le cas des Yéngwi évoqués à l'instant, Esònò Angò a établi le premier village créé au sud du Ntem; ses deux fils, Mònòmvògò Esònò (l'aîné) et Nsim Esònò, après avoir vécu quelque temps au sein d'un même groupement, se séparèrent et fondèrent les deux premiers villages yéngwi de la région d'Oyem. C'est à partir de ces deux centres que les lignages commencèrent à s'organiser indépendamment dès la troisième génération — et à se répartir comme l'indique le schéma ci-contre.

Avant que l'administration eût transformé la réalité du village — le re-composant et le déplaçant en fonction de considérations surtout valables pour elle — ce dernier correspondait aux hommes issus d'une lignée impliquant un nombre variable de générations, et à leur clientèle. Le village yéngwi de Ebiane, par exemple, rassemble encore la majeure partie du lignage né de Egwâgs Mònòmvògò, second fils de Mònòmvògò Esònò — ce qui reporte à huit générations; les seuls éléments détachés ont créé les actuels villages de Nkoum et Bibasse qui, de médiocre importance (22 et 65 habitants), sont restés aux abords du groupement d'origine. Mais le village lui-même, dès qu'il a atteint un

1. Cf. Mgr. L. Martrou, *Lexique Fân-Français*, Paris, Procure Générale, s. date.

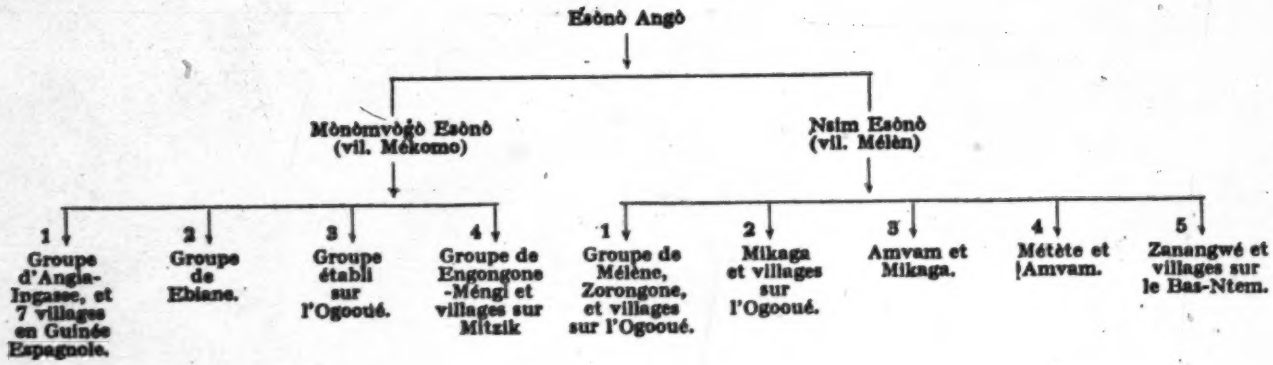


Fig. 5.
YÉNGWI DES ENVIRONS D'OYEM

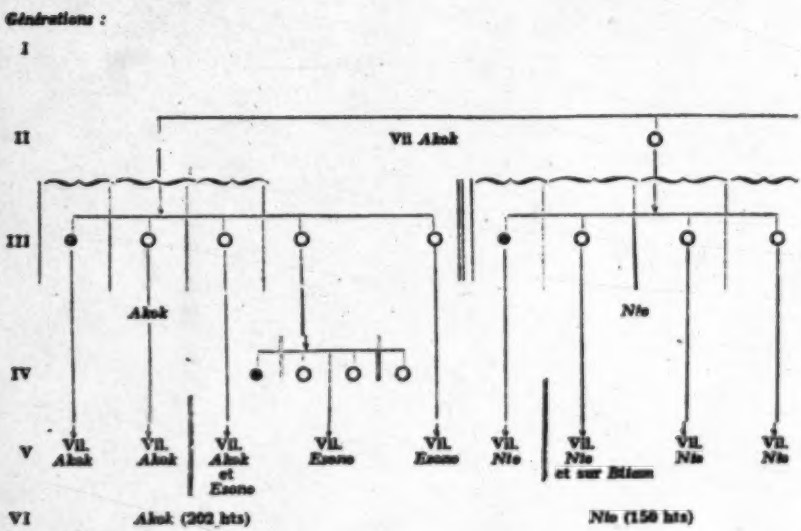
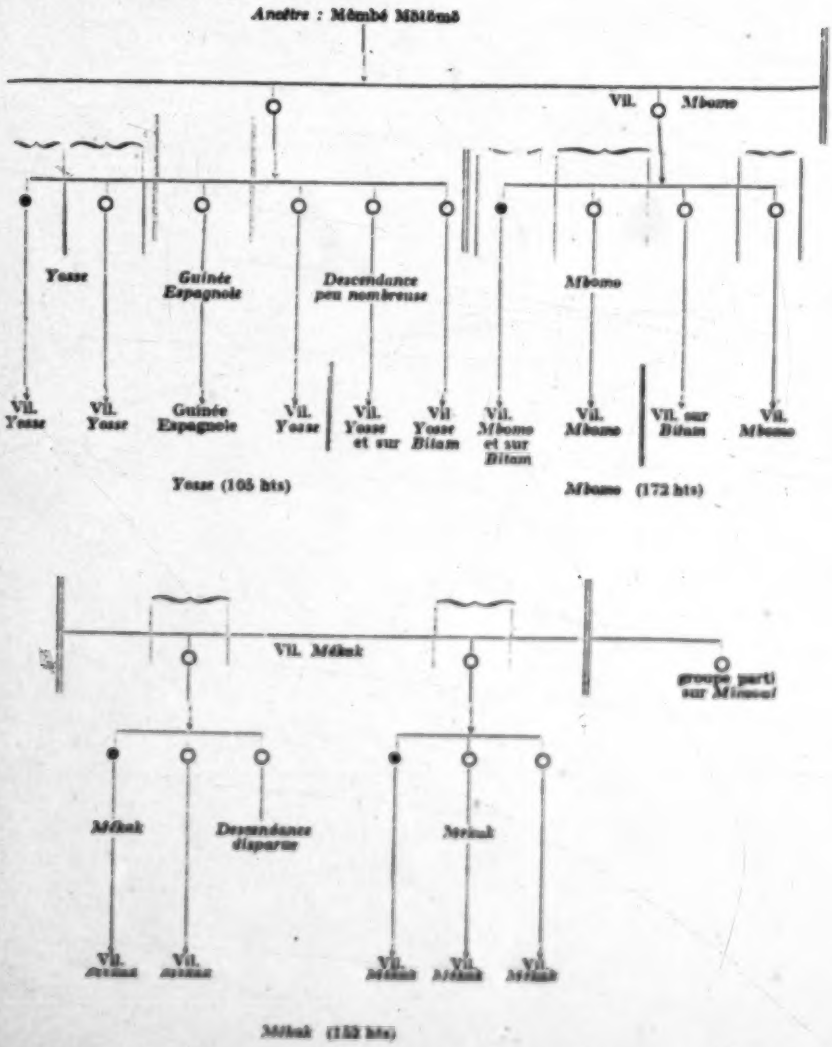


FIG. 6.

EXEMPLE DE " FRAGMENTATION " : KOJÉ DES ENVIRONS D'OYEM

Légende : ● frère aîné
○ frères cadets
| | ref'l bel reconnu au niveau du village.
|| lignes de fission.

[p. 108]


Ancêtre : Mèmbé Mbiômô
Vil. Mbomo
Yosse
Guinée Espagnole
Descendance peu nombreuse
Mbomo
Vil. Yosse
Vil. Yosse
Guinée Espagnole
Vil. Yosse
Vil. Yosse et sur
Vil Yosse Bitam
Vil. Mbomo et sur Bitam
Vil. Mbomo
Vil. sur Bitam
Vil. Mbomo
Yosse (105 hts)
Mbomo (172 hts)
Vil. Mèkuk
groupe parti sur Minsoul
Mèkuk
Descendance disparue
Nzouk
Vil. Mèkuk
Vil. Mèkuk
Vil. Mèkuk
Vil. Mèkuk
Vil. Mèkuk
Mèkuk (152 hts)

[p.109]

volume moyen, comprend un nombre précis de lignages mineurs : ces derniers représentent la descendance, encore présente, du groupe des frères réels et demi-frères (*bòbéñâg*) qui constituèrent la *cellule initiale*. Ebiane possède trois de ces lignages mineurs, qui coïncident avec les trois lignées issues de trois fils de Egwâga Mònòmvògò, et sont nommés d'après ceux-ci. Ce sont là les *nd'é bòl* — ce terme contenant l'idée de descendance — déjà évoqués, les lignages mineurs qui se trouvent à la base de la hiérarchie des groupements (voir, fig. 6, l'exemple de leur répartition au sein d'un groupe de villages kòjè établis aux environs d'Oyem).

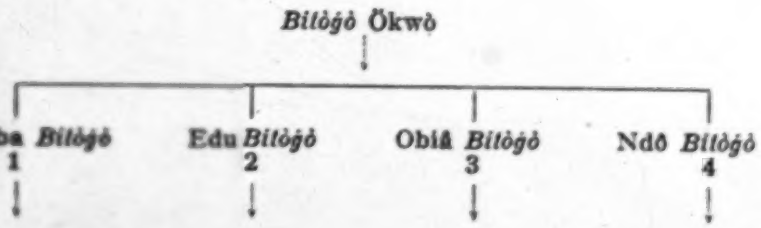
Cette *structure par lignages emboîtés* apparaît comme la première caractéristique de la société fang. On s'explique alors l'importance accordée autrefois à la connaissance minutieuse, par chaque individu, des éléments de sa lignée paternelle. Celle-ci, à la faveur du système de dénomination employé par les Fang — un nom à deux termes, construit en employant comme second terme du nom du fils le premier terme du nom du père — se manifeste comme un enchaînement dont il est impossible d'omettre une unité. Ainsi, Ntutum Ngéma, du village Sam dans la région de Mitzik (clan Esabökâ) peut « enchaîner » les noms de ses ancêtres mâles jusqu'à la quatorzième génération :

Générations	*Ancêtres connus*
X	Y
14	Éba Zi
13	Mòbyèn Éba
12	Zògò Mòbyèn
11	Ékwikwi Zògò
[illegible]	[illegible]
9	Sé Máfò
8	Étògò Sé — Nkì Sé
7	Tsa Étògò
6	Okwò Tsa
5	Bitògò Okwò
4	Édu Bitògò — 2 — 3 — 4
3	Bògò Édu
2	Ngéma Bògò
1	Ntutum Ngéma

Cette connaissance limitée permet cependant à Ntutum Ngéma de se situer au sein du lignage issu de Eba Zi, qui dirigea les

migrations à travers le Sud-Cameroun, et de celui engendré par Sé Mâfò qui conduisit un fragment des Esabökâ jusqu'à l'actuel Gabon, de se situer par rapport aux lignages intermédiaires (Êtò̧ò Sé et Nki Sé) et aux lignages mineurs (quatre fils de Bitò̧ò Ökwò) qui sont encore représentés dans la région et à l'intérieur du village.

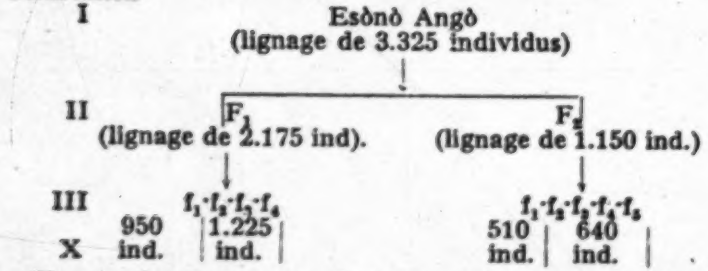
Par ailleurs, le mode de dénomination particulier aux Fang met en évidence un segment social fondamental, le *groupe des frères* réels et demi-frères (*siblings* et *half-siblings*); ainsi, les fils de Bitò̧ò Ökwò qui constituent les « têtes » de quatre lignages mineurs encore présents :



Les dénominations mêmes soulignent donc *cette double orientation*, verticale marquant la filiation réelle et horizontale marquant la fraternité relle, qui caractérise la structure sociale fang. C'est autour d'un tel segment horizontal que se constitue le village (Sam dans le cas précis) et à l'intérieur d'un tel segment que se produisant les fissions donnant naissance à des lignages séparés. Du clan au lignage mineur, les groupements doivent être définis en fonction de ces deux dimensions, manifestant ainsi *une structure que l'on pourrait dire segmentée et emboîtée.*

Mais cette imbrication n'est pas suffisante pour lier les groupements entre eux et imposer une hiérarchie; les ruptures furent fréquentes, qui s'expliquent par la mécanique de l'expansion fang, les raisons économiques et par des raisons d'ordre structurel. En analysant les lignages implantés au niveau d'une région déterminée, on constate que ceux d'entre eux dont l'origine remonte à un aîné (*ntòl-mòt*) ont un volume plus important, constituent le fond du peuplement local. Les Yèngwi étudiés précédemment manifestent ce fait d'une façon précise :

Yèngwi des environs d'Oyem.



Chacun des fragments claniques précisément localisés révèle souvent l'existence de deux groupements qui sont en relation d'antagonisme latent et qui s'expriment, sur le terrain, par des villages séparés. La coupure reste telle que, lors du récent mouvement de regroupement des villages né d'initiatives purement indigènes, chacun des deux éléments antinomiques refusa de se joindre à l'autre afin de créer des unités villageoises plus larges et modernisées [1]. Toutes les fois, la fission s'est accomplie *entre lignages issus d'un « aîné » et lignages issus de cadets :* les cinq groupements claniques, étudiés dans la région d'Oyem, révélèrent cette rupture — remontant à l'époque de l'établissement dans le pays — avec une netteté incontestable (voir le tableau V).

Tableau V

Clans	Groupement issu de l'aîné	Groupement issu du (ou des) cadet (s)	Villages correspondant au 1er groupement	Villages correspondant au 2e groupement
Yégnwi	Lignage de Mònòmvògò Ésònò	Lignage de Nsim Esònò	Ebiane, etc.	Zorongone, etc.
Eflak	Lignage de Ngu Mâmvé	Lignage de Môndu Mâmvé	Nto, etc...	Mékomo, etc...
Ozip	Lignage de Enduma Eswa	Lignage de Emvélé Eswa	Nkang	Mbenga, etc...
Yébimvé	Lignage de Ekòrò Mési	Lignage de Obiré Mési	Aféname, etc...	Angone, etc...
Kojé	Lignage de Mozògò Mômbé	Lignages de cinq cadets	Nto, etc...	Mbomo, etc...

1. Lors de notre enquête dans un groupement Kòjé, par exemple, la plupart de nos informateurs affirmèrent d'une manière inlassable : « Le village se casserait si tous les Kòjé sont mélangés. »

On doit lier cet état de tension, entraînant des fissions plus ou moins réelles, à une organisation sociale qui accorde la prééminence économique et politique aux « aînés », qui favorise les lignages issus de ces derniers, et qui, surtout, n'est pas hiérarchisée afin de maintenir la cohésion des groupements autrement que par les nécessités de défense et d'expansion, et le prestige de « chefs » temporaires. La volonté d'indépendance, que manifestent les « têtes » des lignages dès que leur groupement a pris quelque volume, n'est pas contrôlée d'une manière organisée. Les études rédigées durant les premières années de ce siècle, celles de Martrou et Trilles notamment, insistent toutes sur le processus de fragmentation des lignages qui s'accentue à mesure que les Fang deviennent des conquérants en disponibilité. De même, des exemples fréquents ont été donnés d'agglomérations étendues disloquées après la mort du « chef » qui les avait fondées et maintenues. Le volume et la cohésion des groupements paraissent donc, dans une large mesure, *dépendant de la personnalité des leaders* qui se sont imposés (car toute succession de droit peut être contestée, sous prétexte d'incapacité, ou refusée) et des circonstances. Cela explique, en partie, la fréquence des fissions observées par divers auteurs au niveau des troisièmes ou quatrièmes générations [1]. Le volume des groupements localisés peut donc varier à l'extrême, surtout depuis la pacification du pays : allant du lignage majeur s'exprimant par « taches claniques » jusqu'au lignage mineur (*nd'è bòl*) constituant un hameau isolé.

La Parenté.

Notre analyse de la société Fang n'a, pour l'instant, envisagé les groupements qu'en fonction de deux éléments fondamentaux : *la filiation paternelle et la fraternité utérine*. Il convient maintenant d'examiner les liens créés, et les relations prescrites, par d'autres modalités de la parenté, ainsi que les alliances pouvant exister entre groupements « étrangers » du fait des mariages essentiellement.

Par l'intermédiaire de son père (*ésa*, qu'il nomme *laga*) et de sa mère (*nga*, qu'il nomme *nanò*) l'individu se trouve inscrit dans deux groupements de parenté, paternel (*ésingâg*) et maternel (*dzènanò*). Pour le jeune homme fang, tous deux n'ont ni la même signification, ni la même importance. C'est au sein du pre-

1. Notamment, E. Trezenem, « Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Pan du Moyen-Ogooué », in *op. cit.*

mier que se déroule généralement le cours de son existence, alors qu'il n'entretient avec les « parents » du second que des relations circonstantielles; c'est du premier qu'il reçoit son appartenance clanique. Les relations fondamentales de la parenté paternelle sont régies, nous avons insisté sur ce fait, en fonction de la filiation — le terme *émò* accompagné d'un qualificatif marquant cette dernière, ainsi *émò wam :* mon fils — et de la « fraternité » — le terme de *mwanō* désignant les descendants se trouvant sur un même segment. D'après ces deux coordonnées, certaines des relations peuvent être figurées ainsi :

Tableau VI

Générations	*Appellations dans le sens vertical*	*Appellations dans le sens horizontal*
X	Mvam (sg)	
I	Mvam (sg)	
II	Esa (sg)	
III	Mwanō (sg)	Bobéñâg (pl)
VI	Bèndè (pl)	Bobéñâg (pl)
V	Nwabâg (col)	Bobéžâg (pl)
Y	Nwabâg (col)	Mwan'ayôg (sg)

Abréviations : sg, nom singulier; pl. nom pluriel; col, nom collectif.

Il apparaît, en premier lieu, que le mot *mvam* qui s'emploie précisément à propos du grand-père et de l'aïeul, a un sens très général : il s'applique au grand-oncle, à tous les ancêtres de la lignée directe et des lignées collatérales. D'après H. Trilles, *mvam* « provient d'une racine *va* qui implique non l'idée de génération, qui est *sa* ou *ba* « planter », mais celle de production d'augmentation, de croissance... »[1]. Les *mvam* vivants ou morts — ces derniers pouvant être à la fois ancêtres et êtres tutélaires — constituent d'une manière indistincte la *ngibâg*, ou ascendance. Cette confusion volontaire de la terminologie, constituant une sorte de rejet dans le passé, dans la partie défunte du groupement clanique, doit être reliée à l'usage qu'ont les Fang de tenir à l'écart de la vie publique, de réduire à une sorte de vie marginale les hommes trop âgés[2]. De même, la quatrième génération assure

1. R. P. H. Trilles, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 106. « Le vieillard à cheveux blancs est rarement estimé au pays fan. Dès qu'il n'a plus la force de porter un fusil, on ne lui prête aucune considération, et de lui-même il se plie à ce rôle en plaisantant et en jouant à tout propos. »

le passage au sein du groupement confus nommé *nwabâg*, qui signifie — tout en désignant précisément les arrière-petits-fils — progéniture, ensemble de descendants apparentés d'une manière non spécifiée; et ces derniers sont entre eux *mwanézâg* (pl. *bobézâg*), terme que l'on pourrait traduire par « frère de lignage » ou simplement « parent ». Ce passage, qui s'accomplit au niveau de la première et de la quatrième générations, manifeste la place privilégiée donnée à deux générations intermédiaires : celle des *ésa* (père) et celle des *mwanõ* (fils). Dans le cas de ce peuple conquérant, qui estimait ses villages au seul nombre des guerriers, un tel fait doit être rattaché à l'importance accordée socialement à « l'homme se trouvant dans la plénitude de sa force » — *nyamòrò* [1] — et à « l'homme devenu adulte » — *ékwar*. C'est sur ces deux générations que repose l'armature de la société fang traditionnelle.

Par ailleurs, la fraternité forte qu'exprime la notion de *mwanéñâg* [2] ne subsiste que jusqu'à la troisième génération, par rapport à un *mvam* commun (grand-père) [3]. L'ordre successoral confirme ce fait en ne retenant, dans les lignées collatérales, que les « cousins germains » et les neveux paternels (*émò mwaneñâg*, fils de *mwanéñâg*) du défunt [4]. C'est par rapport à une telle parenté qu'est organisé le groupement le plus cohérent et le plus restreint — en dehors de la famille individuelle qui n'a pas d'existence indépendante — de la société fang, le *nd'è bòt*. Cela, qui assure la cohésion d'un tel groupement, contribue dans un sens tout à fait opposé, avec le relâchement de la parenté efficace, aux fissions qui se produisent fréquemment à la quatrième génération.

Sur un même segment horizontal, il convient de repérer les distinctions importantes. En fonction du sexe d'abord, entre frère (*ndum*) et sœur (*kal*); ces deux termes ayant une acception très large, puisque, d'après L. Martrou, ils peuvent signifier par extension « frère du village » et « fille du même village » [5]. En fonction de la naissance, les enfants nés d'une même mère (« d'un même ventre », *abum avòri*) constituent un groupe distinct nommé *abumò bòt*; sans qu'il soit cependant accordé un privilège

1. *Ibid.*, p. 106. « *Mur* signifie « la personnalité » et la particule *nya* indique l'idée de plénitude ou de supériorité. Notre mot français « maître » répond assez bien à cette signification. »
2. Le P. Trilles écrit que ce terme « indique une parenté ou filiation réelle et non d'adoption ou de frère de sang... » *op. cit.*, p. 251.
3. Une expression fréquemment entendue au cours de nos enquêtes était : « Ils avaient le même *mvam*, donc ils appartenaient au même *nd'è bòt*. »
4. Cf. M. Bertaut, *Le Droit Coutumier des Boulous*, ch. « Successions » et L. Mba, *Essai de droit coutumier pahouin*, p. 39.
5. Mgr L. Martrou, *Lexique*.

aux *siblings :* cette qualité ne se précisant, le plus souvent, qu'à l'aide d'une périphrase, *mwanénâ abum avòri*, « frère par le même ventre ». Surtout, en fonction de la séniorité : l'aîné, *ntòl* ou *nyamòrò*, s'impose au cadet, *ndzimõ;* cette prééminence est fondamentale, elle est du même ordre que celle qui subordonne d'une manière incontestable la génération des *mwanõ* à celle des *ésa*. Le fils aîné est non seulement héritier quasi-exclusif des biens — il « hérite des 7/10e au moins, écrit M. Bertaut » — mais encore des privilèges religieux, il est le seul gardien légitime des crânes d'ancêtres, et de privilèges politiques s'il se révèle suffisamment capable.

Au sein de la parenté maternele, les relations entre neveu (*mwanõ kal*) et oncle maternel (*nye-nduma*) sont les plus importantes. Nous en avons la preuve dans une étude ancienne, consacrée aux Fang de la région de Ndjolé, et dans un document récent, rédigé lors d'une réunion clanique, qui montre le maintien de certains de ces rapports. Le capitaine Curault [1] les évoque de manière précise dans sa monographie du secteur de Ndjolé : « Les rapports d'oncle à neveu sont très étroits : pendant la vie, le neveu donne à son oncle beaucoup de cadeaux pour augmenter encore le prix payé, pour sa mère, à son oncle. De même l'oncle, à chaque visite de son neveu, lui tue des poules, etc... comme le beau-père pour son gendre... Si un neveu pauvre a besoin de marchandises pour payer un palabre ou se marier, il peut aller chez son oncle, certain d'avance, même si sa pauvreté l'a empêché de faire souvent des cadeaux à son oncle, que celui-ci l'aidera. C'est la honte suprême pour un homme de renvoyer les mains vides le fils de sa sœur. » Oncle et neveu maternel participent à l'héritage; un compte-rendu de la réunion clanique des Yémisèm-Êba prévoit encore, en 1948, l' « indemnité » due lors du décès d'un *nye-nduma* (une somme *correspondant à la valeur d'une femme* et un mouton) et du décès d'un *mwanõ-kal* (une somme légèrement inférieure « variant suivant l'importance de l'héritage » et un mouton) [2]. Celui-ci est avec celui-là, d'une certaine manière, dans les mêmes rapports que le gendre avec son beau-père.

Un tel ensemble de faits n'est compréhensible qu'en fonction du principe fang régissant la circulation des dots : « le frère se marie avec la dot de sa sœur », *nduma a luỵ nõ biki kal*. Dans un tel circuit, la constitution d'un couple met en cause non seule-

1. Cne Curault, « Monographie du secteur de N'Djolè au Gabon », *in Rev. des Troupes Coloniales*, 68, février. 1908.
2. *Réunion de 25 villages de la tribu Yémissem à Afénane (District d'Oyem) du 12 au 19 juillet* 1948. Archives d'Oyem.

ment les deux éléments qui le composent mais encore la sœur du mari, qui a indirectement « apporté » la dot permettant le mariage, et le frère de la femme, qui a indirectement « récupéré » cette même dot afin de se marier. Ce qui explique les liens existant entre le neveu et l'oncle maternels mais aussi les droits que la tante paternelle (*sôna*) a, selon Curault, « sur les enfants de son frère, puisque c'est grâce au prix de sa vente que son frère a pu se marier, et par conséquent avoir des enfants ». Cette parenté est suffisamment agissante pour permettre, dans des circonstances exceptionnelles, l'établissement du neveu au sein du groupement familial de l'oncle maternel ou du mari de la tante paternelle. Nous avons eu l'occasion d'observer le premier cas, qui avait entraîné un changement quant à l'appartenance clanique — un homme, Yèngwi de naissance, quitta son groupement à la suite de décès qui l'avaient rendu suspect et, ayant rejoint son oncle maternel auprès duquel il se fixa, fut considéré comme *Esabág* (on le disait *ña ayóg*, « entré dans le clan »).

Les termes de parenté du système fang s'appliquent non seulement à une classe précise d'individus mais s'emploient souvent d'une manière extensive. *Ngwé* peut désigner tout parent maternel. *Nya-nduma* (littéralement, « frère de la mère ») s'applique à certains parents maternels mâles : grand-père maternel et ses frères, oncles maternels et leurs descendants [1], en fait, à tous les hommes appartenant au *nd' è bòl* du grand-père maternel. *Mwanô-kal* implique la parenté avec la descendance par les femmes, par les tantes paternelles (le terme *sôna* ayant un équivalent descriptif, *kal ésuò*, sœur du père), les tantes maternelles (auxquelles s'applique, d'une manière symétrique, le terme *sôna*) et les sœurs (*kal*); mais son acception s'élargit en pouvant désigner, comme l'indique Martrou, « tout enfant dont la mère est originaire du village ou de la tribu ». Lorsque l'accent est mis sur la parenté la plus proche, dans chacune des classes, le terme est employé avec le mot *fojo* qui signifie « véritable », qui apporte le caractère d'accentuation; ainsi, *mwanéñág fojo* se traduira : frère de même père. Alors que le groupe des *mwanenág* se réfère essentiellement à la filiation paternelle, le groupe des *mwanôkal* met en cause la descendance par les « sœurs » et le système même de distribution des dots. Ils ont, en quelque sorte, une existence complémentaire; ils se réfèrent au mécanisme qui permet la constitution du couple et la procréation d'une descendance. Celui-ci peut remédier aux défaillances de celui-là; Curault le

1. Cf. L. Mba, *op. cit.*, p. 32 et 41.

montre, à la faveur d'un cas déjà évoqué, en précisant : « Un orphelin qui ne s'entend pas avec les frères de son père va également chercher un « frère » chez son oncle maternel, ou chez le mari de sa tante paternelle, ou chez le fils de sa sœur, si celle-ci est beaucoup plus âgée que lui et déjà mère d'hommes faits ». Il y a donc un recours pour celui qui, exceptionnellement, veut échapper, à l'autorité qu'emploierait injustement le « chef » de son *nd'ě bòt*.

Cette évocation des aspects principaux de la parenté montre assez que la société fang, tout en accordant la première place aux « paternels », reconnaît les « maternels » en leur attribuant des rôles importants [1]. Cette double reconnaissance est affirmée par l'obligation de double exogamie : il est interdit d'épouser une femme : ppartenant au clan du père ou au clan de la mère (ou relevant d'un clan apparenté à ces derniers lorsque l'origine commune est encore connue). Nous venons de signaler certaines circonstances à la faveur desquelles la parenté maternelle se montre efficace; il convient de rappeler qu'elle se manifeste dès l'enfance en obligeant le *mwanō kal* à rendre visite à ses *nya-nduma*, qu'elle peut recevoir le droit de tutelle, recueillir la dot, bénéficier d'une succession (en dehors des compensations prévues normalement lors du décès d'un neveu maternel) en se substituant à la parenté paternelle disparue, qu'elle participe, aux côtés des « alliés » (*abè*), aux différentes phases des funérailles et du deuil. Il semble bien, ce dernier fait le suggère, que la puissance de la parenté maternelle — tout en restant subordonnée — soit ainsi reconnue pour renforcer la puissance des « alliances » créées par les mariages : les « alliés » du père sont les *nya-nduma* de ses descendants immédiats; ainsi se trouvent consolidés des liens indispensables à l'existence même de la société fang traditionnelle.

Le mariage et les alliances.

Les premiers explorateurs, Du Chaillu, M. H. Kingsley, ne manquèrent pas de repérer le rôle capital des relations établies, à la faveur des mariages multiples, entre groupements étrangers. De son côté, le P. Trilles, dans son étude rédigée au début de ce siècle, rappelle les avantages personnels qui sont liés à un réseau

1. M. H. Kingsley avait déjà souligné ce fait important. Cf. *Travels in West Africa*, Londres, 1897, où elle écrit : « ...la parenté, chez les Fana, est reconnue à la fois du côté du père et de la mère, et non comme chez les Galwa limitée à la consanguinité immédiate ».

d' « alliances » élargi par le jeu des mariages; il écrit : « Le Fang épousera donc une jeune fille pour se procurer des alliances dans les autres tribus, acquérir ainsi plus d'influence, ayant plus d'hommes rattachés à lui par les liens du sang »[1]. Tous soulignaient, de manière précise, deux conséquences sociales du mariage : augmentation du prestige personnel et de la puissance du groupement familial.

Il convient de compléter ces faits en précisant la valeur particulière qu'attribue tout Fang à la « possession » de plusieurs femmes, et de rappeler l'acuité, au sein de cette société, de la compétition pour les femmes. Cette valeur, le Dr Cureau l'exprimait d'une manière imagée en disant : « Le gynécée est une banque, une caisse d'épargne... »[2]. Et M. L. Mba, Fang de la région de Libreville, donne dans son *Coutumier Pahouin* une interprétation de même nature : la femme « fait partie des biens (ou *bioum*) du groupe dans lequel le mariage la fait entrer »; il la complète en précisant que l'adultère de la femme mariée « est puni sévèrement parce que *considéré comme vol* »[3]. La femme n'a pas de personnalité juridique : elle n'a pas de propriété personnelle importante, plutôt des biens d'usage; elle n'accède pas aux successions; elle est transmise par héritage, tout comme les « marchandises » et richesses diverses (qui peuvent être considérées comme des femmes virtuelles). La femme, cependant, est un bien d'une nature spéciale; elle est le bien par excellence : un capital créateur. Source de produits (par sa fonction agricole, d'autant plus importante maintenant que la femme participe aux cultures riches) et de services (par ses diverses fonctions domestiques). Source de puissance, par « la procréation d'enfants concourant à la défense du groupe ou procurant des alliances »[4], et de prestige personnel. Source d' « alliances » et de parenté : par son intermédiaire, le nombre des gens participant aux échanges de services et de cadeaux, pouvant accorder aide et assistance, est élargi. Ainsi, le mariage a un sens social précis; il crée des liens (*abé*) qui « accrochent » entre eux les groupements familiaux et claniques : Cursult indique justement que cela impose une « union étroite, malgré les divergences de langage et les palabres, des différentes parties du peuple pahouin ». Il a en même temps

1. R. P. H. Trilles, « Proverbes, légendes et contes Fang » *in Bull. Soc. Neuchâteloise de Géographie*, 1905, pp. 49-295.
2. Dr. A. Cureau, *op. cit.*, p. 118.
3. Dans le même sens, nous rapportons cette réflexion, citée par Mgr Martrou dans une étude datée de 1918, faite par un jeune Fang de Libreville à sa femme : « Qu'as-tu à te plaindre, tu es ma bête... je t'ai payée assez cher! ».
4. L. Mba, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

un sens personnel : la possession de nombreuses femmes est, dans la société fang traditionnelle, le signe principal de la richesse et la condition de tout accroissement de richesse; cette richesse conditionne l'importance du rôle social, elle permet d'acquérir une sorte de pouvoir personnel dans une société très peu hiérarchisée [1].

C'est à la faveur de cet élément personnel que la compétition pour les femmes peut révéler une particulière acuité. Très tôt, les rapports administratifs ont signalé la fréquence des palabres dues à la « question des femmes » — et ils continuent à s'en plaindre en voyant là une caractéristique de « la société et la psychologie fang ». Remarquons, au départ, que la compétition ne s'exerce pas d'abord à propos des services sexuels qui sont demandés à la femme. Il existe pour les hommes non-mariés diverses possibilités de compensation — mais sur le seul plan de la « sexualité libidineuse » pourrait-on dire en reprenant l'expression de R. Bastide [2]. Les jeunes gens célibataires ont, entre eux, une entière liberté sexuelle : c'est la coutume nommée *azége-angón* (*azége*, fornication; *ngón*, jeune fille). E. Trezenem rappelle, dans sa monographie des Fang de l'Ogooué, que « la virginité de la femme est considérée comme sans importance », que les jeunes filles sont libres de se donner à qui elles veulent »; puis, il apporte une « importante restriction » en indiquant « qu'il n'y a pour ainsi dire pas de jeunes filles, les fillettes étant mariées par leurs parents très tôt, quelquefois même avant leur naissance » [3]. Cette restriction est toute relative car, selon L. Mba, « la coutume tolère que la fiancée ait autant d'amants qu'elle veut pendant la durée de ses fiançailles », et M. Bertaut précise, d'une manière semblable, que « la jeune fille est libre de son corps tant qu'elle n'a pas d'*époux* »; ce qui peut représenter une longue période de liberté étant donné le temps nécessaire au règlement d'une dot toujours élevée. Il existait, par ailleurs, une sorte de prostitution tolérée, sinon instituée, puisque le mari pouvait « mettre une de ses femmes dans l'obligation de lui rapporter des revenus en se prostituant avec les étrangers » [4]. Certains usages, placer une femme à la disposition d'un hôte, prêter ou faire

1. Signalons que deux mots de même racine, *éwé* et *éwés*, signifient l'un : « polygamie », l'autre : « appui, soutien ».
2. R. Bastide, *Sociologie et Psychanalyse*, Bibl. de Sociologie Contemporaine, Paris, 1950.
3. E. Trezenem, Notes ethnographiques », in *op. cit.*, p. 67.
4. L. Mba, *op. cit.*, p. 29; et V. Largeau, *Encyclopédie Fabulaire*, article « adultère » : « ...un mari est toujours libre de prêter sa femme moyennant paiement... »

échange d'une femme [1] en témoignage d'amitié (la femme devenant *munêgu dngôm*, « femme de l'amitié »), montrent, tout comme la liberté évoquée à l'instant, que la répression de l'adultère s'expliquait par des raisons sociales, étrangères à la sexualité.

Surtout, la possibilité d'opérer des rapts de femmes au sein des peuples voisins, à l'époque conquérante, la possibilité d'acheter des femmes étrangères a bon compte, tant que dura la traite des esclaves, permettaient aux « chefs » des groupements de remédier aux dangers liés à l'insatisfaction des jeunes hommes. Il ne paraît pas que les Fang manifestent, à l'égard de certains peuples [2], des signes d'insatisfaction sexuelle dus au fait que la femme reste la possession des hommes âgés. C'est la *possession légale* de la femme, pourrions-nous dire, qui est recherchée — pour les avantages multiples qu'elle implique — plus que la possession sexuelle. Et dans ce sens, l'on comprend la justification esquissée par L. Mba qui écrit : « Ce n'était pas la satisfaction matérielle des sens qui poussait les Pahouins vers la polygamie, mais bien d'autres nécessités... »

Le mariage consommé, la femme passe d'un état de quasi-liberté à un état de sévère contrôle sexuel. Les peines physiques spécifiques du châtiment de l'adultère, qui l'affectaient elle seule, sont particulièrement rudes : exposition, nue, devant l'assemblée des villageois; attache à l'arbre à fourmis; ablation du clitoris ou supplice du piment; mutilations diverses. De plus, leur caractère public montre que le groupement entier se considère lésé. Lorsque la femme, par fuite ou par rapt, quitte le groupement où elle s'est mariée, celui-ci réagit dans son ensemble et avec violence : c'est la cause de conflits, d'enlèvements et de pillages au détriment du village qui l'a accueillie [3]. Il y a là le contraste le plus absolu entre ce contrôle, ces sanctions d'ordre collectif, et la morale très large qui permet à la jeune fille de « fêter la jeunesse » et qui apparaît dans le proverbe : « La femme est un épi de maïs sec, quiconque a des dents y mord ». Le mariage renforce la socialisation de la femme; il impose à celle-ci une

1. Cf. V. Largeau, *op. cit.* : « ...les règles d'une bonne hospitalité exigent que l'hôte mette une de ses femmes à la disposition de celui qu'il hébergeait; d'autre part, entre deux bons voisins qui se respectent, faire de temps en temps échange de femmes est de pratique courante et une marque non équivoque de mutuelle sympathie ». Et, Cne Maignan, « Études sur le Pays Pahouin », *op. cit.*

2. Cf. R. Bastide, *Sociologie et Psychanalyse*, pp. 160-161.

3. « De là, des conflits qui durent des années, qui se traduisent par des enlèvements de femmes et se terminent par des coups de fusils ». Libreville, archives de 1909. Et le proverbe : « Si la femme est un récipient dans lequel tout le monde se désaltère, on ne doit pas l'emporter ».

soumission inconditionnelle. On pourrait dire, en citant R. Bastide, qu'il constitue un des passages de la « sexualité libidineuse » à la « sexualité sociale ».

Il est insisté d'une manière symbolique sur le caractère social du mariage; une série de cérémonies marquent l'agrégation de la femme au groupement qui l'accueille. La mère de son mari lui récite la généalogie de ce dernier et une ségrégation d'une semaine lui est imposée, après laquelle elle subit un rituel de sortie — elle est baignée et ointe d'huile par la parente la plus âgée — et reçoit un nouveau nom, indiquant un souhait, que lui donnent les autres femmes à l'occasion de chants et de danses [1]. L' « alliance », qui s'établit entre les deux groupements familiaux, est manifestée par des repas pris en commun et des réjouissances *(éyalɔ̃)*, surtout, elle est consacrée par l'offrande d'un animal destiné au *bièri* (autel des ancêtres) des parents de la jeune fille — montrant que les liens existent non seulement avec le groupe des vivants mais, aussi, avec la communauté des ancêtres [2]. L'accent est donc porté sur la prise de possession de la descendance (la récitation de la généalogie paraît très significative à cet égard) et sur la création d'une alliance (le même mot, *abé*, désignant le lien et les alliés) qui impose paix et assistance mutuelle. Ainsi se révèlent les deux fonctions essentielles de la femme qui figure comme élément de fécondité, facteur de paix et d'assistance. Ce sont là les éléments sur lesquels se fonde la société fang traditionnelle; on comprend donc le contrôle qu'exerce le groupement en limitant la liberté de choix du conjoint — par le truchement du chef de famille, il recherche l'alliance qui lui est la plus avantageuse [3] — en intervenant lorsque la fuite ou le rapt de la femme compromettent l'équilibre réalisé à la faveur du mariage.

Le processus même du mariage marque le développement d'une réciprocité, d'une série d'échanges entre les deux groupements familiaux qu'il allie. Dès la première phase dite des « fiançailles », *dzâge*, le jeune homme obtient une prééminence sur la jeune fille choisie, le droit de venir vivre auprès d'elle durant plusieurs jours, mais sa famille doit fournir, aux parents de la « fiancée », les premiers cadeaux et apporter son assistance à l'occasion de divers travaux (débroussage, construction des cases, expéditions de

1. Cf. E. Trezenem, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
2. Sans doute faut-il encore lier, à ce caractère *sacré* de l'alliance, la violence des réactions collectives que provoquent « les affaires de femmes ».
3. Cf. L. Mba, *op. cit.*: « L'avis des parties intéressées importait peu, autrefois. La demande est adressée de chef de famille à chef de famille ».

5: Balandier FH9 Fang

chasse ou de pêche). C'est durant cette phase que le père de la jeune fille détermine le contenu de la « dot », *nsuu*. Le deuxième temps correspond au paiement de cette dernière, qui peut être échelonné — à condition que le premier versement soit le plus important — mais donne alors lieu, le plus souvent, à des contestations et à des palabres. Par contre, le *nkia* (« celui qui a reçu la dot ») est tenu d'apporter une compensation sous la forme de présents, des animaux le plus souvent, qui portent le nom de *mémili*. Enfin, la troisième phase correspond à la « remise de la fiancée » et à son établissement au sein du groupement familial du jeune homme; elle impose le cérémonial que nous avons évoqué : la femme, selon Largeau, devenant véritablement épouse *(mènège)*, et non simple concubine, dès l'instant où elle peut faire la cuisine pour son mari après que « sa mère fut venue avec elle préparer le premier repas »[1]. Cette dernière cérémonie a, comme l'a noté M. Leenhardt en d'autres lieux, le caractère d'une « manducation communielle »[2]; elle achève une phase où les liens nés de la réciprocité sont renforcés par une communion intime entre les membres des groupements alliés. Par la suite, les échanges se poursuivent sous la forme de visites, aides et présents réciproques, se manifestent notamment lors de la naissance des enfants qui oblige le mari à offrir des cadeaux à sa belle-famille. La réciprocité dut, à une époque ancienne, être plus directe, car certains Fang ont conservé le souvenir de mariages par échanges de femmes; un jeune auteur pahouin, F. Meyé, écrit que « des cas de pareils mariages (dits « bikour mèngong ») sont connus » mais très rares[3]. Malgré le truchement de la « dot », cette réciprocité apparaît d'une manière non-équivoque; le processus interminable qu'elle exige — et qui conduit le Dr Cureau à comparer la belle-famille à d'innombrables « sangsues »[4] — garantit d'ailleurs la durée de l'alliance[5].

En circulant, la dot tisse un réseau de liens entre groupements qui, sans l'obligation d'exogamie, auraient vécu en tant qu'unités biologiques, économiques et politiques repliées sur elles-mêmes;

1. V. Largeau, op. cit., article « épouser ».
2. M. Leenhardt, « Cérémonie et sceau du mariage », in *Le Monde Non Chrétien*, 15, 1950.
3. Cf. François Meyé, « Pour la Jeunesse Fang », in journal *A. E. F.*, 28 juillet 1948.
4. Et à écrire : « on sent d'innombrables exigences sous les prétextes les plus bénins : premières manifestations de la fiancée, première cohabitation conjugale, premiers signes de grossesse, accouchement... » *In Sociétés Primitives*, p. 117.
5. Cf. Sur l'importance de ces faits de réciprocité, et sur leur rôle dans les sociétés dites primitives, le remarquable ouvrage de C. Lévi-Strauss, consacré à l'étude des *Structures élémentaires de la parenté*. Paris. 1949.

elle oblige à la coopération; elle crée des zones de sécurité dans un pays où, à l'époque conquérante, la compétition économique est rude (quant aux meilleures terres de culture et de chasse, quant aux centres et routes de traite). De plus, la double exogamie multiplie ces liens-*abé*, et la reconnaissance précise de la parenté maternelle vient, comme nous l'avons suggéré, renforcer l'efficacité de ces derniers. Circulation des femmes, et parallèlement circulation des dots, doivent donc être minutieusement réglées : c'est au chef du *nd'è bôl*, au *nlôl* — ce mot signifiant non seulement « ancien » mais encore « arbitre, envoyé, ambassadeur » — qu'appartient cette fonction; il est détenteur des richesses et donneur de femmes. Au niveau du segment des frères *(bobêldg)*, le principe que les « dots » reçues, lors du mariage des filles, servent à marier les fils selon l'ordre de leur naissance est complété par l'obligation, pour l'aîné, de contribuer à la constitution d'une « dot » nécessaire au mariage du cadet qui ne bénéficie pas d'une telle compensation. Il est certain que ce principe destiné à régler la distribution des femmes, et à limiter la compétition, n'a pas joué d'une manière infaillible. Des antagonismes entre « aînés » et cadets, entraînant la rupture des groupements, s'expliquent souvent par un manquement à cette obligation [1]; les hommes les plus âgés peuvent utiliser leur prééminence afin d'accaparer le plus grand nombre de femmes; enfin, les cadets sont souvent tentés d'aller recueillir eux-mêmes les éléments d'une « dot » ou d'opérer des rapts ou des razzi — ils représentent la fraction la plus dynamique et la plus mobile du groupement [2]. Cependant, les observations les plus anciennes montrent qu'il s'était établi une sorte de polygamie limitée, Fourneau écrit : « ... Le Pahouin est le plus souvent, en fait, un monogame et cela simplement parce que la femme est cotée à un prix des plus élevée » [3]; et le Dr Cureau précise en indiquant : « Chez les Fangs, où la femme coûte cher, le maximum ne va guère au delà de cinq; il paraîtrait même que, il y a trente ans, les très riches seuls pouvaient s'élever d'une ou deux unités au-dessus de l'humiliante monogamie » [4]. Ces deux auteurs confirment l'existence d'une polygamie *restreinte*, donc d'une tendance à l'équité dans la répartition des femmes, liée, selon eux, au coût élevé des « dots ».

1. Cf. *supra* p. 112-113.
2. Il est probable que leurs lignages représentent la majeure partie du peuplement fang du Haut-Gabon; ce qui aiderait à comprendre, en dehors des raisons « modernistes », la rivalité et les antagonismes plus ou moins marqués entre « Fang du haut » et « Fang du bas ».
3. A. Fourneau, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
4. Dr A. Cureau, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

Il convient d'analyser, maintenant, la nature matérielle de la « dot ». Au cours du XIXe siècle, cette dernière est constituée essentiellement d'objets en fer (représentations très réduites de sagaies, couteaux pahouin et haches), dont les *bikki* sont les plus connus [1], uniquement réservés aux échanges matrimoniaux, et d'animaux, ivoire et sel. Avec le développement accru de la traite, les « marchandises » d'importation se substituent, en partie, à ces objets symboliques et l'explorateur Du Chaillu, vers 1860, constate « une convoitise toujours croissante » pour ces denrées [2]. Puis, jusqu'en 1918-1920, la « dot » est composée essentiellement de monnaie symbolique et de « marchandises » à valeur éminente; ce n'est qu'à partir de cette date que le numéraire sera utilisé et représentera une part de plus en plus importante. Cette évolution doit être considérée, d'abord, comme le souci de maintenir *en équivalence de la femme*, richesse par excellence, *les biens les plus précieux* dont dispose la société fang. Elle s'efforce de composer la « dot » en produits raréfiés : *bikki*, « marchandises » à l'époque de la traite, numéraire lorsque celui-ci vient d'être diffusé et accepté par les villageois; cela correspond moins, à l'origine, à une notion de prix élevé — celle de prix n'évinçant que très tardivement celle d'échange — qu'au désir d'établir un circuit restreint auquel participent seuls les chefs des groupements familiaux, un circuit *contrôlé* au maximum [3]. Dans ces conditions, une polygamie non commune apparaît comme le signe d'une réussite exceptionnelle; ce qui explique le prestige du *nkukuma*, qui possède plus largement « femmes » et biens *(bium)*. Le caractère de prix, manifesté maintenant par la « dot », représente une transformation récente. A l'origine, son paiement définitif scelle une alliance qui ne peut être rompue sans un long processus dit de « divorce », qui servit même à l'homme qui l'a permise puisque la femme est transmise au fils aîné ou au frère le plus âgé, et qui, surtout, légitime la possession de la descendance : la « dot » non complètement payée, l'enfant nouveau-né appartient aux parents de la femme, non complètement remboursée

1. Cf. M. H. Kingsley, *op. cit.*; le mot ancien pour « dot » est d'ailleurs bikki, ou nsem bikki.

2. Indépendamment par ailleurs : « ...les anneaux de cuivre, les perles blanches et les plats de cuivre apportés européens, sont les meilleures valeurs qui aient cours chez les Fans pour l'achat d'une femme... », cf. *Voyages et Aventures dans l'Afrique Équatoriale*.

3. L'efficacité de ce contrôle se trouve signalée dans une étude, *Le Mariage Fang*, figurant dans les archives d'Oyem : « Autrefois, en effet, l'autorité du chef de famille était très forte, et, souvent, il faisait jouer la solidarité familiale pour permettre aux plus pauvres de se marier et pour obtenir une plus juste répartition des femmes ».

5: Balandier FH9 Fang

lors du « divorce », l'enfant appartient au père. Le fait que la « dot » ne soit pas restituée, à la mort de la femme, lorsque celle-ci laisse une descendance, ne peut faire penser qu'il s'agit du prix de cette dernière; plutôt à une réciprocité qui souligne que, par la descendance, *l'alliance* s'est transformée en *parenté*.

Nous nous sommes ainsi efforcé de manifester l'importance sociale du mariage, signalant notamment le rôle fondamental des liens qu'il établit entre groupements, la prééminence attachée au fait de contrôler la circulation des femmes et des dots. Mais il est évident que ce système ne fonctionnait pas sans heurts : un déséquilibre existe entre la signification qu'il avait pour le groupement et la signification qu'il pouvait prendre pour les individus mis en cause. Certaines procédures, reconnues par la coutume, apportent des solutions à des conflits possibles : le mariage par accord des jeunes gens peut se réaliser, contre la volonté des chefs de famille, à la suite d'un rapt *(abèn)* de la jeune fille [1]; la femme a divers recours contre une union qui lui porte préjudice grave : à la suite de ses plaintes elle peut être liée à un autre des fils de son beau-père, ou bien elle peut s'en aller chez un homme de son choix qui verse la compensation, ou « maudire publiquement son mari » [2], enfin, en cas de conflits graves, le « divorce » vient rompre l'union, mais il n'est utilisable traditionnellement qu'en des circonstances bien déterminées et « avec l'assentiment des deux chefs de famille intéressés » [3]. Il y a donc des aménagements qui permettent de tenir compte des raisons personnelles — ceux-là qui font dire à F. Meyé que « la femme fang ne peut en aucun cas être comparée à une esclave » étant donnés les recours dont elle dispose — mais qui jouent de manière tout à fait *exceptionnelle* dans l'ancienne société fang. Par ailleurs, l'élément personnel, qui agit le plus en tant que facteur perturbateur, est le fait que le nombre des unions manifeste la richesse et conditionne l'importance sociale [4]; il entraîne, lorsque la circulation des biens n'est plus rigoureusement contrôlée, une compétition aiguë et nombre de contestations.

Il importe maintenant de considérer les personnes mises en cause par le jeu du mariage; et de rappeler, d'entrée, que cer-

1. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., p. 88 : le jeune homme « présente ce qu'il a comme argent et comme marchandises et les parents sont obligés de consentir au mariage en acceptant ce début de paiement ».
2. Cf. V. Largeau, op. cit., article « Femme ».
3. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 21.
4. Cet élément se manifeste notamment dans l'usage rapporté par L. Mba : « Dans les familles aisées, les parents fiancent les garçons avant leur puberté et les filles après la puberté », op. cit., p. 14.

taines personnes sont exclues d'une telle union. En dehors de l'obligation de double exogamie, qui fait intervenir une « fraternité » au sens très large, des interdits existent quant à des degrés précis de la parenté : entre membres de la classe des *tɔ̀ŋa* (père, mère, oncle, tante) et de la classe des *mɔ̀ɔnɔ̀* (fils et filles, neveux et nièces), entre membres d'un même segment en incluant les cousins jusqu'à la troisième génération; quant aux « alliés » : entre un homme et une « femme quelconque, même divorcée, de sa parenté par alliance », entre les « membres de la maison du gendre » et une femme quelconque divorcée de la parenté par alliance [1]; quant aux « adoptés » *(ntobɔ̀)*. Il nous semble important de constater que ces divers interdits excluent, de l'alliance que crée le mariage, des personnes qui ont déjà entre elles des relations bien précises; celles dues à la parenté efficace (comprenant les « cousins » jusqu'au niveau où le *nd'è bòt* est le plus souvent brisé en éléments séparés), celles qui existent entre groupements déjà « alliés » et celles qui naissent de l'état nommé « adoption ». Tout se passe comme si le but, recherché à la faveur du mariage, était d'imposer une alliance aux éléments les plus étrangers — étranger et hostile pouvant être considérés comme synonymes durant toute l'époque conquérante [2]. L'obligation de respecter et la double exogamie et les interdits évoqués à l'instant contribue essentiellement à élargir, autour des groupements, le champ des relations fondées sur la coopération. L'inceste, infraction à ces principes, rentre dans la catégorie des *nsɔ̀m* définis par Martrou comme « impureté rituelle, souillure morale »; il entraîne l'infécondité ou la maladie, appelle, dans la société traditionnelle, une réaction collective. V. Largeau, dans son ouvrage, évoque le processus d'expiation [3] alors usité qui fait intervenir la « société des hommes » et le rituel lié à la danse *makuna* caractéristique de cette dernière.

Le mariage crée la famille dite « restreinte » ou « individuelle », qui n'a pas reçu de dénomination spéciale, qui représente le plus petit groupement où se déroule la vie en commun. Le mari et sa femme sont entre eux *nomɔ̀* et *ngɔ* — ces deux termes insistant sur le caractère biologique de l'union puisqu'ils signifient aussi bien « mâle » et « femelle ». Ses beaux-parents sont *mɔ̀nkí*

1. Cf. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 17.
2. Cf. E. Trilles, op. cit., pp. 91-92; « Les relations sont rares avec les tribus étrangères... l'étranger n'est reçu qu'avec réserve et seulement quand il montre des marchandises prouvant que sa visite n'a pas d'autre but que de venir chercher une femme à épouser. Les tribus sont très fréquemment hostiles l'une à l'autre... »
3. Op. cit., article « Inceste ».

ou *nkia*, « celui qui a reçu la dot », mot rappelant le sceau qui a validé l'union; de même que le terme *mbòm*, signifiant « femme nouvellement mariée, dont la dot vient d'être versée », est employé pour désigner la belle-fille et fait appel au même contexte. Le principe, déjà évoqué, de la prééminence liée à la séniorité subsiste dans les relations avec les *abè:* pour le mari, la sœur aînée de la femme est *mìnki* (belle-mère) alors que la cadette est *ngòm zam* (ma fille). C'est sur une prééminence de même nature que se fonde l'autorité de la première femme à l'égard des co-épouses, alors qu'elle est *nanò* (mère), les autres sont pour elles *mbòm* (bru) — ce qui explique son rôle de direction quant aux divers travaux et les responsabilités morales qui lui sont confiées. Enfin, il convient d'ajouter que l'élément personnel jouant au niveau de telles relations est parfaitement symbolisé par la place accordée à la femme préférée (*nluga* ou *nlàmba*); cela étonnait un des premiers administrateurs du pays fang, qui écrivait : « Alors qu'ils professent généralement une grande indifférence pour leurs femmes et n'éprouvent aucun scrupule à les louer et les prêter, ils ont un attachement assez vif pour la compagne qu'ils ont choisie comme favorite »[1]. C'est ici la part la moins socialisée qui manifeste, entre les deux éléments qu'associe le mariage, des relations déterminées par une certaine spontanéité.

Les unités résidentielles.

La puissance coloniale n'a guère connu en pays fang qu'une « collection » de villages; donnant ce nom aux groupements, quelle que soit leur importance, établis en un lieu précis et occupant une aire restreinte. Si l'on se reporte aux observations anciennes, il apparaît que les Fang distinguaient précisément deux types de ces unités. Le *ìal* qui « n'est habité que par la famille de l'*ésa* (chef ou patriarche) sa parenté et sa clientèle ». Le *m/aj* « où plusieurs familles se réunissent... sans qu'aucun mélange ait lieu entre (elles)... », les différentes parties étant « séparées par des corps de gardes construits au milieu de l'unique rue... »[2]. Il est facile d'apercevoir, à travers cette évocation, que le *nd'è bòl* (lignage mineur) constitue l'élément fondamental et s'exprime par secteurs ou quartiers précisément repérables. Les concentrations nombreuses étaient conditionnées le plus souvent par des raisons de sécurité (c'est surtout aux confins du

1. Archives de l'année 1905, Libreville.
2. V. LABRIAU; op. cit., article « Village ».

pays fang qu'on les signala à l'époque de la conquête) ou par le pouvoir d'agrégation d'une personnalité forte [1]. Elles représentaient des lignages plus ou moins étendus et L. Martrou indique que tous les membres de ces villages « remontent par 4 ou 5 ascendants à une souche paternelle commune » [2].

Les travaux et documents anciens révèlent le groupement villageois en tant qu'unité éminemment *mobile*. Le P. Trilles donne l'exemple d'un village qui avait accompli, avec le même chef, une migration de cinq-cent kilomètres d'amplitude (1910) et le Dr Aujoulat évoque un groupement qui, en vingt ans, s'était déplacé « sur plus de deux-cent kilomètres » (1935). Ce sont là caractéristiques de peuple semi-nomade et non de peuple paysan : l'administration se heurta longtemps à ce qu'elle nomme la « manie migratoire » des Fang. Et le droit ne manque pas de manifester, au Gabon, un manque d'attachement au sol cultivé qui souligne cette instabilité : L. Martrou indique qu'il n'y a pas appropriation précise des lieux de culture, de chasse et de pêche, mais existence de « zones d'influence » aux limites incertaines [3].

Le géographe J. Brunhes, fondant son jugement sur ces indications, a fait des Fang le type même des *Naturvoelker* et affirme que « les causes les plus générales des migrations... résultent de l'occupation destructive » [4]. Il importe, ici, de corriger un jugement qui repose sur une information insuffisante; cet effort conduisant d'ailleurs à des observations précieuses quant à notre analyse. Nous avons, à divers moments, précisé qu'il existe des centres fang très anciennement fixés au niveau d'une région limitée (au Woleu-Ntem) [5]. Nous avons montré comment l'échelonnement se produit, à partir de véritables « centres d'essaimage », et manifesté la manière dont l'organisation sociale favorise (ou suscite) l'éclatement des groupements. Ces faits conduisent à l'idée d'instabilité *relative* et à la reconnaissance de causes internes.

Les études géographiques récentes affirment, d'ailleurs, que le « système de culture adopté par les Fan (n'a pu par) la destruc-

1. Mauchan, dans ses *Études sur le Pays Pahouin*, op. cit., évoque un tel pouvoir détenu par « celui qui, par son âge, son expérience, son éloquence, sa richesse... est le plus apte à défendre les intérêts de tous ».
2. R. P. L. Martrou, *Le nomadisme des « Fangs »*, in *Revue de Géographie*, III, 1929.
3. R. P. L. Martrou, *Le nomadisme des « Fangs »*, op. cit.
4. J. Brunhes, *La Géographie Humaine*, édition abrégée. Paris, 1942, p. 199-204.
5. Avec une confirmation donnée par le Capitaine Mauchan, op. cit., qui signale des villages « occupant la même terre depuis plus d'un siècle », (étude datée de 1912).

5: Balandier FH9 Fang

tion de la forêt (déterminer) le déplacement d'une population entière » et rappellent l'existence d'une « fixation véritable et précoce », au cœur du pays fang, dans le sud Cameroun [1] — le droit attestant ceci en révélant l'existence d'une propriété foncière chez les Pahouins camerounais [2]. Il faut penser que les migrations à travers le Gabon sont les plus récentes (représentant sans doute le point de départ d'une phase nouvelle destinée à une plus grande amplitude) et que l'Ogooué ne représente la limite du pays fang (en réalité le front avancé de ce peuple) qu'en raison de l'occupation française. Les Fang n'ont renoncé que récemment à une politique de conquête à laquelle ils excellaient, en raison de leur valeur combattante et de leur capacité assimilatrice. Jusqu'à la veille de 1914, l'administration s'est heurtée à des associations guerrières, les *Birima*, opérant aux abords de la rivière Okamo, et un rapport de 1922 précise encore que « l'indigène n'est pas en main ». Il est certain que les Fang ont longtemps fait pression pour accaparer et contrôler les routes et les centres de traite anciennement établis en cette partie de l'Afrique Centrale; les légendes le montrent, qui lient à une marche vers l'Ouest la découverte des véritables richesses [3]. Dès le milieu du siècle dernier, l'explorateur Du Chaillu observe comment cette pression guerrière est complétée par une conquête pacifique, à la faveur « d'alliances » créées par mariage avec les étrangers [4]. Et le Dr Cureau signale, cinquante ans plus tard, que le contrôle du commerce de l'Ogooué (est passé) sous la coupe des populations fang [5] ». Avec l'établissement au Gabon, l'économie des groupements fang subit une double orientation : elle entre en contact avec des peuples forestiers essentiellement chasseurs et collecteurs de produits de traite; elle transforme son mouvement d'expansion en une tentative de main mise sur le commerce du Bas-Gabon; on peut dire que la colonisation française a empêché une sorte de colonisation fang en cette région. Alors que cette double tâche, conquérante et mercantile, relève des hommes, l'économie de subsistance est quasiment abandonnée aux femmes : c'est sur une telle base que s'établit

1. G. Sauvier, « Les paysans noirs du Gabon septentrional », op. cit., pp. 126-128, 158.
2. Cf. M. Bertaut, op. cit., chapitre « Les Bissa ».
3. Cf. Légendes citées par L. Mba, op. cit. et V. Largeau, op. cit.
4. P. Du Chaillu, op. cit. ; « ...les Fang, de leur côté, éloignés de ce commerce européen tant convoité par eux, sont heureux de s'acquérir un beau-fils plus proche du littoral. Ainsi, je soupçonne fort que dans quelques années ils réussiront à contracter des mariages avec les autres tribus, sur une très grande échelle ».
5. Dr A. Cureau, op. cit., p. 294.

la division du travail, elle laisse entre les mains des seuls hommes les moyens d'enrichissement et de capitalisation.

De tels éléments aident à comprendre la mobilité relative des groupements : l'attachement à un sol également productif en quelque endroit de la zone forestière ne saurait être puissant chez un peuple qui n'a pas d'abord des préoccupations agricoles [1]. Par ailleurs, le caractère de société conquérante a imposé au vieux village fang un aspect maintes fois évoqué — deux rangées *(nkara)* ininterrompues de cases ménageant, entre elles, une sorte de cour que ferme à chaque extrémité un « corps de garde » *(abéné)*; parfois, une palissade de pieux, enclosant une bananeraie, assure la protection sur les arrières; à l'intérieur des cases, un matériel réduit et aisément transportable : les « marchandises » de valeur sont serrées dans des coffres, les autels d'ancêtres *(bêti)* sont établis dans de grandes boîtes cylindriques [2]. Il est certain que le groupement vécut, durant longtemps, sous le signe de *l'insécurité*. C'était là le facteur intervenant en premier lieu pour maintenir un volume minimum, sans lequel il n'y avait pas de sécurité réelle; les causes concourant aux fissions du groupement, organisation même de la société fang, recherche de femmes et de marchandises et, en dernier lieu, méthodes agricoles, étaient dominées et largement contrariées par cette nécessité. Il paraît certain qu'au début de l'installation française, il existait des villages ayant une réelle importance. V. Largeau évoque des *mfaj* de 8 ou 10 « corps de garde », F. Grébert parle de 10 à 20 de ces « corps de garde [3] » et F. Meyé affirme que « la population normale d'un village était de 80 à 170 guerriers, non compris les femmes et les adolescents [4] ». D'après les estimations établies il y a cinquante ans, un tel ensemble représente de 350 à 700 ou 800 personnes — alors que les villages actuels attestent des moyennes dépassant rarement 100 habitants. Avec la pacification, le groupement s'est relâché, s'est divisé en ses éléments constitutifs qui souvent s'égrènent en hameaux rapprochés : un mot spécial, *ngiru*, nomme ces derniers, qui sont considérés comme constituant encore un même ensemble.

Il faut sans doute lier au caractère viril de la société fang une

1. Voyez ce que disait encore, en 1934, l'administrateur Le Tacon (un des meilleurs observateurs des hommes et du pays) : « A défaut du goût du travail de la terre que le Fahomin ne prendra jamais, car il le trouve humiliant, il prendra peut-être goût au bénéfice de ce travail. »
2. Très comparables aux « corbeilles d'ancêtres » que les Ila-kongo transportaient au cours de leurs grandes migrations.
3. F. Grébert, *Au Gabon*, Paris, 1922.
4. Cité par G. Sautter, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

accentuation de la séparation entre sexes qui s'exprime au niveau de la vie quotidienne; le lieu de résidence est, pour la femme, la case; pour l'homme, il est essentiellement le « corps de garde ». M. H. Kingley écrit : « Les hommes passent la plus grande partie de leur temps dans les maisons-à-palabres établies à chaque extrémité de la rue, cependant que les femmes apportent des boules de nourriture à longueur de journée [3] » — sans pouvoir pénétrer dans l'*abèñò* qui leur est alors *absolument* interdit. H. Trilles définit ce dernier comme le lieu « où les hommes se réunissent pour traiter des affaires de la communauté, guerre, mariage, procès, etc... » et où les étrangers reçoivent l'hospitalité. Il faudrait ajouter que c'est également l'endroit où les jeunes garçons acquièrent une grande part de leur éducation, où ils apprennent, selon L. Mba, les interdits *(éki)* les plus importants. L'*abèñò* rassemble les mâles d'un même *nd'è bòl* : il constitue un groupement de parenté et un groupement viril. C'est en son sein que s'exprime l'autorité de « l'aîné », qui est à la fois symbole et régulateur de la vie du groupe, intermédiaire auprès des ancêtres; c'est là que se règlent non seulement les actes importants mais que s'organise aussi le rythme des travaux. La vie de chacun y est soumise au contrôle et à la censure quasi constante de tous. Il s'y crée une cohésion qui fait de ce groupe l'élément *le plus résistant* de la société fang. C'est par le truchement de ce dernier que le Fang traditionnel est saisi, isolé en tant qu'individu, par l'étranger : il n'est pas connu, d'abord, comme X, mais comme un homme attaché à l'*abèñò* de Y. Un tel groupement représente ainsi une « communauté » forte : la fusion, que favorise une parenté efficace au maximum (elle est fondée sur la filiation immédiate et la « fraternité »), un culte rendu aux mêmes ancêtres, une participation commune aux mêmes tâches, tend — si l'on peut risquer le jeu de mots — à la confusion des membres. Les femmes qu'il contrôle ne constituent pas, par contre, un ensemble aussi cohérent : elles représentent des clans différents, des modalités différentes de la parenté; elles sont au centre de conflits virtuels (entre « parentes » et « alliées », entre co-épouses); elles n'ont pas, sauf les co-épouses d'un même homme qui résident ensemble, un lieu de vie commune.

Le *nd'è bòl* — et, plus précisément, cet ensemble viril que constituent les parents appartenant au même corps de garde *(abèñò)* — ne manque cependant pas de recéler des antagonismes latents; ceux qui tiennent au fait du privilège lié à l'ascendance

3. *Travels in West Africa*, p. 154.

ou à la séniorité. Ces tensions peuvent s'actualiser à l'occasion de différends dont la cause reste généralement d'ordre économique : circulation des richesses et des femmes ou attribution des terrains de culture. Elles *contribuent* à expliquer l'ampleur très variable des groupements considérés en tant que villages, et les phénomènes d'agrégation et désagrégation que ces derniers révèlent selon les circonstances. Mais l'un et l'autre de ces mouvements s'effectuent en fonction de ce lignage mineur qu'est le *nd'è bòl*.

Ce groupement a la possibilité de constituer à lui seul un « écart » comptant quelques dizaines de personnes ou un village rassemblant jusqu'à une centaine d'habitants. Mais ce dernier cas reste exceptionnel. Lorsqu'un village est ancien, et maintient un volume de population important (200 à 300 personnes et plus), il ne peut rester organisé autour d'un *seul* foyer commun. Il se dispose autour de plusieurs centres correspondant aux fils du fondateur ou aux successeurs de ceux-ci : ainsi, le village de Ebiane (Yéngwi des environs de Oyem) qui rassemble 235 personnes réparties en trois ensembles se référant à trois frères dont ils représentent respectivement la descendance. Nous avons déjà insisté sur le fait que c'est au niveau d'un même segment que se trouvent les têtes des lignages mineurs. Le village de Afénane (Yébimvé de la région de Oyem), qui rassemble plus de 300 habitants, est lui aussi constitué par la descendance de trois frères et chacun des *nd'è bòl* occupe une position précise du village-rue; selon le schéma suivant :

Les groupements sont situés selon l'ordre de leur prééminence, celui de l'aîné se trouvant placé en arrière-plan au contact même de la case du chef. Ajoutons que le groupement 1 ne représente pas la totalité du lignage issu du frère aîné (Ekòrò Ngòm); ce dernier s'est, au niveau des fils de Ekòrò Ngòm, partagé en trois éléments dont l'un se retrouve à Afénane et dont les deux autres composent les villages très *proches* de Messia (139 habitants) et M'Fagne (97 habitants).

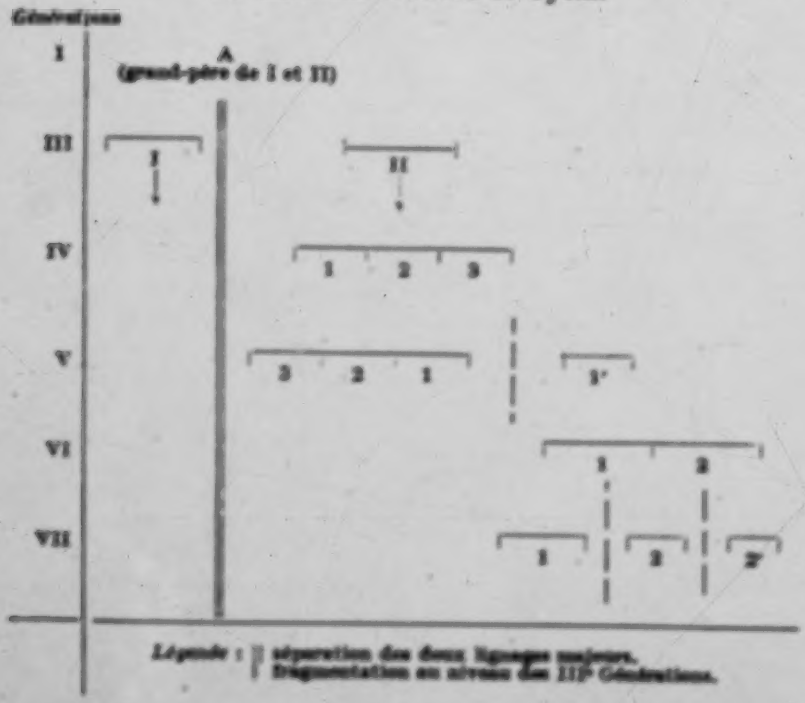
Cet ensemble yébimvé, qui rassemble dans une région d'extension restreinte près de 1.000 personnes, est intéressant dans la mesure où il montre comment les lignages « majeurs » (que nous avons décrits précédemment sous le nom de *abial è bòl*) et les lignages « mineurs » conditionnent la résidence en une zone et en un village précis. Deux frères ont conduit un groupe

de migration yébimvé, parti du Cameroun, jusqu'au territoire actuellement occupé par leur descendance. Un conflit, mettant en cause l'inégale répartition des femmes acquises auprès des villages étrangers, entraine la première rupture : chacun des deux frères se déplaçant avec le groupe qu'il contrôle; et le souvenir des antagonismes passés reste suffisamment vif pour contrarier actuellement toute tentative de remembrement.

La coupure initiale peut être présentée sous la forme suivante :

Tableau VII

Yébimvé des environs de Oyem.



Elle s'exprime par rapport à une origine commune (A), qui représente la tête du lignage « majeur », et suscite un premier éclatement que nous marquons par un double trait. Les deux *ndʼé bél* se sont séparés et implantés dans des régions malgré tout *voisines*. Mais ces groupements eux-mêmes ont été soumis, depuis cette époque, à de nouvelles fragmentations; nous les figurons en ce qui concerne le deuxième d'entre eux où elles

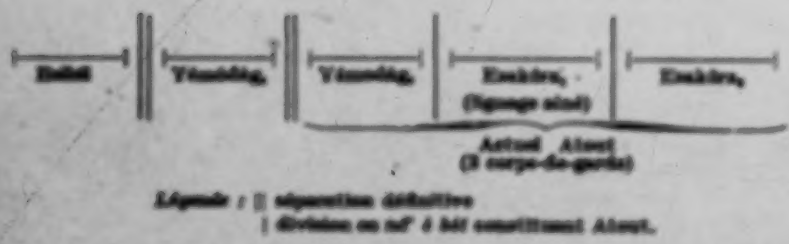
s'effectuent au niveau des troisièmes générations (après III, V et VII), donnant lieu à la création de villages très proches les uns des autres et susceptibles de coopérer et surtout de se regrouper si les circonstances l'exigent.

Ces observations affirment le *nd'è bòl* en tant que véritable unité résidentielle. Elles montrent comment la coupure devient *possible* dès qu'un certain volume de ce dernier (volume le rendant, au point de vue de la sécurité et des exigences économiques, viable en tant qu'unité séparée) est atteint, mais la distance (au sens sociologique) entre fragments varie en fonction des circonstances qui entraînent la rupture et de la nécessité de réserver une coopération éventuelle. L'instabilité du village fang, jusqu'à une époque récente, tient certes à la nature de l'économie ancienne et à une médiocre capacité d'aménagement de l'espace mais aussi à un mode d'organisation qui ne permet pas (ou mal) le contrôle de groupements nombreux. Seule l'insécurité avait pu imposer ces derniers.

Dans le cas des villages mixtes où se trouvent rassemblés, généralement à la suite d'un remaniement administratif du peuplement, des groupements relevant de clans différents, l'instabilité paraît plus accusée et la répartition en *nd'è bòl* précisément localisés s'impose nécessairement. Un tel groupement ajoute ainsi les divisions qu'implique la co-existence d'éléments claniquement étrangers aux divisions manifestées à l'instant, et cela même dans le cas des villages de médiocre importance. Donnons l'exemple de Atout, dans la région de Mitzic, fondé par des Esibil auxquels se sont ajoutés des Yémôdâg et des Esakòra.

Tableau VIII

Village de Atout.



Le groupement fondateur et une partie importante des Yémôdâg ont déjà fait sécession, le groupement Esakòra s'est divisé en deux *nd'è bòl* (« aîné » et cadet), ce qui représente une première

phase du relâchement des liens, car cette division n'est pas exigée par le volume encore réduit du groupe.

Les villages mixtes — nommés *mfulana mêpêg :* mélange des clans — ont exigé la mise en place d'une chefferie embryonnaire, la reconnaissance d'une autorité ayant son fondement *en dehors* de la « parenté ». C'est ainsi que lorsqu'il s'agit de groupements ayant une certaine importance, le chef prend soin de s'établir *à part* et de disposer d'un corps de garde autre que celui où se réunissent les membres de son *nd'ê bêl*. Mais rien, sinon les tentatives de l'administration afin de « construire » la chefferie, ne permet de justifier une telle organisation, de maintenir la cohésion du groupement villageois qu'elle contrôle. Le problème politique — la société fang a été classée parmi les « anarchies » ou « sociétés sans état » — conditionne en fait tout progrès à venir, dans la mesure même où il permet (ou ne permet pas) le maintien d'unités villageoises suffisamment importantes et stables.

Autorité politique et autorité judiciaire.

S'attachant à l'exemple de la société fang, le Docteur Cureau évoque « un *phénomène d'étirement*... du bloc social en une hiérarchie basée soit sur la filiation, soit sur la supériorité intellectuelle et surtout morale, principes qui tous deux ont leur valeur pratique selon les époques [1] ». Il affirme un fait que nous avons signalé : le *manque d'une organisation hiérarchique*, la simple existence de prééminences. Le langage même atteste ce fait en ne disposant pas d'un mot spécial pour désigner le chef : employant *ésa* lorsque la prééminence est en quelque sorte généalogique, *nkuma* lorsqu'elle se fonde sur la richesse, *bêl* (de *lu :* dire) lorsqu'elle se justifie par l'éloquence et l'habileté à commander. C'est en exagérant cette constatation que A. Cureau oppose les groupements fang, à ceux d'autres peuples, comme des « tribus anarchistes » à des « tribus organisées ». Il écrit : « L'autorité est occasionnelle et momentanée... Edvoughe a remporté des suffrages dans telle palabre difficile, l'agora tout entière obéit pour un instant à ce chef éphémère; demain, Nzokh aura succédé à Edvoughe dans la conduite de l'opinion; ici donc, la lutte du contre-un et du contre-tous se passe entre des combattants sans cesse changeants, sans cesse renouvelés [2]. » C'est dans un sens semblable que les informateurs de la *Commission*

1. Ouvrage cité, p. 332.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 336.

d'Enquête Historique affirment que le chef était « celui, en un mot, dont la communauté attendait les plus éminents services[1] »; et c'est dans le même sens que vont les plaintes continuelles des administrateurs incapables de récupérer des chefferies traditionnelles puissantes et d'agir par leur truchement.

Il convient cependant de remarquer que la prééminence « basée sur la filiation », selon l'expression de Cureau, se maintient sans trop de difficultés — étant durable alors que le pouvoir né des événements reste occasionnel — tant que furent agissants les cultes rendus aux ancêtres par chaque fragment clanique. La *séniorité* détermine cette prééminence, la possession du panier contenant les crânes des ancêtres la justifie et la rend efficace. Ce pouvoir de l' « aîné », qui est à la fois « premier parmi ses pairs » et prêtre du culte *bièri* organisé dans le cadre de la « parenté », n'a cependant pas permis l'implantation de chefferies efficaces comparables à celles instituées, à partir des mêmes principes, en pays ba-kongo[2]. Un rapport administratif déjà ancien insiste sur le fait que l'on *devenait* chef, précisant que le *nganéré* (aîné) « lorsque son équité et l'efficacité de son pouvoir d'exécution étaient *reconnues* devenait, dans sa zone d'influence, un chef[3] ». Ainsi, ni les villages, ni les fragments claniques localisés, et encore moins le clan distendu et la tribu, ne révèlent l'existence d'une hiérarchie véritable; il s'y manifeste la prééminence de l'*ésa* (qui peut très bien n'apparaître que par quelques attitudes de déférence) ou celle, provisoire, d'un homme qui a su dilater sa « zone d'influence ».

Quelles sont les raisons d'une telle situation? Si l'on se réfère à l'exemple des Ba-kongo, étudié plus loin, on s'aperçoit que la liaison sociale fondamentale y est celle qui existe entre les ancêtres (maîtres et gardiens du sol), la terre et le lignage; elle implique des relations nécessaires entre lignages parents et limite la mobilité des groupements. En pays fang, rien de semblable : les rapports avec la terre n'y ont pas une telle importance et toute l'économie reste, jusqu'à une époque très récente, orientée vers la conquête guerrière et économique. Même dans les régions où le peuplement fang paraît relativement ancien, l'instabilité est de règle pour une large fraction des groupements. Il s'est ainsi établi une sorte de cercle vicieux : la mobilité, imposée par une conquête à longue portée, a contrarié la mise

1. Procès-verbal de la circonscription ménoua.
2. Cf. Troisième partie de cet ouvrage.
3. Coutumes régissant les attributions des chefs et leur désignation, in *Rap. pol. du Djouah*, 1924.

en place d'une organisation hiérarchisée, et ce « manque » agit dans le sens d'une instabilité mal contenue.

Le système social ne révèle pas d'éléments favorables à une meilleure organisation hiérarchique. Si la prééminence de l'aîné est affirmée, celle du lignage aîné (à l'intérieur duquel se recherche, chez les Ba-kongo, le « chef couronné ») ne se maintient guère; bien au contraire, nous avons précisé qu'il existe une tension quasi constante entre ce lignage et les lignages « cadets ». D'un autre côté, l'absence d'esclavage domestique montre la volonté de contrarier tout développement de l'inégalité; pendant toute la période des grandes conquêtes le Fang n'a eu recours vis-à-vis des étrangers dominés qu'à deux types de solution : détruire ou adopter. Et l'autorité dont bénéficie l'aîné paraît soumise, bien qu'il fasse figure de régulateur de la vie économique et politique et de responsable du culte des ancêtres, à un contrôle efficace. Elle ne s'inscrit que dans le cadre de groupements d'*extension limitée*, reste passible de la critique des hommes du *nd'è bôt* (qui se considèrent comme les égaux de l'aîné qui n'agit seul que « par délégation ») ou des membres du *conseil* lorsque le village rassemble plusieurs lignages mineurs, demeure mise en concurrence avec les autorités occasionnelles.

S'il est vrai que la séniorité crée l'autorité, d'une manière que l'on pourrait dire quasi automatique, cette dernière est ainsi limitée, souvent menacée, par le principe qui veut que « le plus capable » soit le plus influent. Dans les villages de quelque importance, la qualité de chef (il conviendrait plutôt de dire : régulateur et intermédiaire auprès des groupements étrangers, ce que signifie très précisément le mot *nlôl*) est en général dévolue de fils aîné à fils aîné (ou, à défaut, d'aîné à cadet sur un même segment) dans le lignage issu du fondateur. Cela, à condition que le successeur fût agréé par tous, « en raison de sa bravoure, sa richesse et son éloquence [1] »; dans le cas contraire, une personnalité dite *plus forte* est choisie parmi les aînés des autres *nd'è bôt* constituant le village. Par ailleurs, cette autorité est contrôlée par un conseil qui n'apparaît pas simplement comme représentatif des différents lignages mineurs mais comme ouvert aux autorités concurrentielles — le meilleur guerrier *(épémé)*, le riche *(nkuma)*, le plus habile à régler les palabres *(nlé bôlé)*, sans mentionner les dignitaires des « associations ». Dans la société traditionnelle, la possession du panier *bôrî* fondait en droit la prééminence de l'aîné et donnait un fondement sacré

1. L. Mba. *Coutumier Fulsuin*, p. 12.

à cette dernière : elle la garantissait partiellement contre les luttes de prestige. Avec la disparition de ce culte, sous l'action du colonisateur, l'aîné doit utiliser les « associations » nouvelles, ou s'imposer par la crainte en recourant à des techniques d'ordre magique, sinon il se voit menacé en tant que « chef » à l'occasion d'une compétition qui est impliquée par la logique sociale fang.

Le rôle du prestige personnel apparaît précisément à l'étude du vocabulaire. Ce dernier offre un nombre considérable de mots ou expressions s'appliquant à « l'homme important » ou « honoré » : *ɛ́gume* (de *gum:* honorer), *mɔrɔmɔ*(r) (t) et *fɔ́m ndɔ́n* (de *mɔrɔ* et *ndɔ́n*, grand ou important), *nkurɔ́dí* (« homme très important »), *mfum* (homme connu, « qui a beaucoup de relations »), *nkumɔ* (déjà cité, homme influent par sa richesse), etc. L'autorité acquise en raison d'un tel prestige limite cette autorité essentielle que nous avons montrée dépendante de la séniorité, mais la tradition lui impose, à elle aussi, de sévères contraintes. Toute prééminence acquise à titre purement personnel *est* dangereuse pour celui qui la détient : car il importe que la puissance, la richesse ou le savoir soient mis au service de tous les membres du groupement.

Plusieurs auteurs anciens ont signalé les risques encourus à manifester une opulence non partagée ou une prospérité non commune. Le Testu met en valeur le rôle joué par « la crainte d'exciter la jalousie » : « Des plantations plus vastes, mieux réussies, une case plus décente, des épouses plus fécondes, des affaires plus prospères... tout est motif à jalousie, et la conséquence de ce sentiment, c'est, à ce que l'on croit souvent avec raison, la mort de celui qui l'excite...[1] ». C'est dans le même sens que M. Brisult, observateur précis des Fang, rappelle que toute mort de chef, d'ancien ou de notable est suspecte, exige une enquête plus « minutieuse » que lorsqu'il s'agit de « gens du commun peuple » : « Quiconque a des privilèges est envié; quiconque exerce l'autorité fait des mécontents; bien des chefs sont morts sans s'y attendre; bien des jalousés n'ont pas fait de vieux os; ce doit être assez commun puisqu'il y a des proverbes qui l'affirment[2]... ». On peut dire que la « mort intentionnelle » menace (menaçait, plutôt, car les affaires et la paix coloniales ont permis à certains de s'enrichir et d'être protégés) ceux qui, obéissant aux sollicitations de leur intérêt, remettent en cause la solidarité et la tendance égalitaire fondamentales.

1. Le Testu, Le N'gwéna, in *Bul. Soc. Rech. Congol.*, XII, 1930.
2. M. Brisult, *Sur les pistes de l'A. E. F.*, 1948; pp. 37-38, 42-43.

5: Balandier FH9 Fang

La société fang, par ce jeu de forces plus ou moins antagonistes, variables selon les conjonctures, est ainsi préservée à l'encontre de toute concentration excessive du pouvoir; cela explique qu'elle n'ait permis, malgré son caractère de société militaire conquérante, l'apparition d'une féodalité au moins rudimentaire. Le pouvoir, sévèrement contrôlé, ne s'est organisé qu'au niveau d'unités réduites — village ou groupe de villages, parents et voisins. Il n'a que de manière exceptionnelle (et précaire) débordé les frontières de ces groupements, et comme les « associations » n'ont guère pu remédier à ce manque, de leur côté, la société fang manifeste un défaut absolu de centralisation qui contribua à sa dégradation rapide durant la période coloniale.

Dans un système social qui laisse une large place aux relations d'opposition, les instances de justice et de conciliation sont appelées à jouer un rôle de premier plan. Les Fang ont établi non seulement une classification des infractions — *ntê*, simple différend, *êtên*, litige grave pouvant entraîner une guerre et *nsêm*, infraction rituelle — et une gradation des peines allant jusqu'à la mise en otage *(êtêa)*, mais ont conçu une organisation judiciaire recourant à des « arbitres », à un « jury » et ayant fixé les divers moyens d'établir la preuve (y compris plusieurs modalités de l'ordalie). L. Mba, dans une étude encore inédite [1], indique l'existence d'un « tribunal de famille » — en fait, de lignage mineur — qui manifeste le *ntêl* en tant que conciliateur assisté par un ou deux membres du groupement et ne connaît que des affaires proprement internes; l'existence d'un « tribunal » de lignage majeur, qui intervient à propos des conflits opposant deux ou plusieurs *nd'ê bêl* et constitue (en principe) une juridiction d'appel, qui reste constitué par un juge (qui n'est pas nécessairement le « chef » du lignage mais aussi bien un conciliateur ayant affirmé son habileté) auprès duquel figurent les représentants des groupements en cause; l'existence d'un « tribunal » du clan, constitué de manière semblable, qui a les mêmes fonctions au niveau de groupements plus larges et également un rôle en matière d'appel. Ajoutons que les jurés *(bêloô)* n'étaient désignés, en dehors des parents et des alliés, que le jour même de la réunion du « tribunal ». Ce ne sont là que des indications générales; elles montrent cependant combien il s'agit moins d'organisations à fonction judiciaire que de principes permet-

1. Dernière partie de *Essai de Droit Coutumier Pahouin*, in *Rap. Cam. Enquête Hist.*, Libreville, 1943.

tant d'assurer le règlement des infractions et des conflits autrement que par la violence. Le statut de « juge » n'existe pas avec cette netteté que nous noterons en étudiant les Ba-kongo; il se retrouve à ce propos les mêmes faiblesses que celles signalées à l'instant en étudiant la situation du « chef ». Ce dernier peut être juge de lignage et de clan, mais il lui arrive souvent d'être supplanté par un véritable « maître en palabre »; en cette matière, le savoir-faire et le prestige personnel *dominent:* à tel point qu'ils rendent possible le recours à des juges claniquement étrangers — notamment en matière criminelle.

En fait d'organisation judiciaire comme de chefferie, il apparaît que le cadre des groupements de parenté ne s'est guère prêté à une centralisation du pouvoir, qu'il soit politique ou judiciaire; nous avons suffisamment insisté sur le caractère diffus de ce dernier. Par contre, certaines « associations » manifestent une organisation (souvent efficace en dehors du clan) qui accomplit (ou s'efforce de le faire) une fonction compensatrice. Tel est le cas avec le *Ngil* dont le rôle de pacification et de justice s'accomplit au delà des limites claniques — et en dépit de ces dernières.

6. *Les associations.*

Nous avons fréquemment signalé le caractère assez lâche des liens qui existent entre les fragments, même rapprochés, d'un clan. Au Gabon, en raison de l'extrême dispersion et de l'enchevêtrement des divers fragments, les « réunions périodiques » ont très tôt disparu : aucune mention, sauf un rappel imprécis dû au P. Trilles, n'en est faite par les auteurs anciens. Cependant que ces dernières *(évulan)* se sont maintenues au Cameroun, ayant pour but de rappeler la solidarité existant entre tous les membres, et de la manifester sous forme « d'entr'aide en nature, en deniers ou en journées de travail[1] ».

Ces liens se trouvaient cependant resserrés lors de l'initiation des jeunes hommes au culte *Bièri*, en même temps que se renforçait à cette occasion la société des hommes pleinement mâles. Le *Bièri* qui semble, selon H. Trilles, emprunté « dans sa forme aux nations voisines » cependant que « le fond demeure fang », est un culte rendu aux mânes des ancêtres par le truchement de leurs crânes. Il impose un autel par *nd'è bêl*, établi dans la case de l'aîné », ou aux abords immédiats de cette dernière. Il

1. Traditions des Yébèlé. Archives d'Ebolowa, Cameroun.

requiert des sacrifices (réguliers et circonstantiels) et demande à être consulté avant toute action importante.

Ce culte affirme la continuité de la lignée et révèle périodiquement la profonde unité que constitue la suite des générations — lors des sacrifices de nourriture, les aliments étaient d'abord consommés « par le Biéri, mangés ensuite par les seuls initiés *(même biéri)* à la faveur d'une réunion dans le corps de garde. Il impose un large ensemble d'interdits (à l'égard des non initiés et des femmes) et d'obligations. Il « sépare » les hommes initiés, donnant ainsi une place privilégiée — justifiée par le droit de communier avec les ancêtres et de « voir le *Biéri* » — aux éléments les plus agissants de la société fang.

L'initiation est surtout caractérisée (moment culminant de la série des cérémonies) par un enivrement, obtenu à l'aide de la plante *alan*[1], qui peut entraîner un évanouissement de longue durée[2]. Le nouvel initié acquiert, à cette occasion, la certitude qu'il bénéficie d'une révélation, se trouve désormais en communication avec les ancêtres. Il éprouve la ferveur d'une communion qui le lie à la société totale en même temps qu'il découvre l'efficacité de cette dernière : il est en effet devenu l'objet de prédictions toujours réalisées[3]. Il s'affirme, si l'on nous permet l'expression, comme un Fang « de plein exercice ». Le culte *Biéri* assume donc la plus haute fonction d'agrégation. Nous insistons sur le fait que l'initiation se réalise en un même lieu pour plusieurs des *nd'è bôt* relevant d'un même clan; elle renforce ainsi les liens de parenté existant entre proches fragments claniques; elle tend à reconstituer, à actualiser, des unités plus larges que ces groupements particuliers. D'un autre côté, l'initiation à ce culte, tout comme la circoncision (qui s'effectue à part et semble une acquisition récente des Fang), crée des groupements de jeunes gens appartenant sensiblement aux mêmes classes d'âge; elle rappelle une liaison entre générations (les « pères » ou les « aînés » étant ceux qui donnent l'initiation) importante dans la société fang traditionnelle.

Le groupement que constitue le *Biéri* — qui rassemble les hommes dans la plénitude et participant intégralement à la vie sociale — reste étroitement attaché au système de la parenté. Il n'en a pas moins un rôle capital que nous venons de signaler :

1. *Strophanthus iness.*
2. E. Trezenem, op. cit., III, *Le biéri*, pp. 74-78.
3. Cf. *id.*, p. 75 : « Tous les Pahouins que nous avons interrogés affirment que les prédictions faites aux gens ivres d'alan, par le biéri, se sont toujours réalisées ».

il établit des rapports, et les plus efficaces qui soient puisque religieux, entre éléments d'un même clan qui ne sont pas inscrits organiquement dans les limites d'une unité supérieure qui aurait pu être la chefferie. Mais d'autres associations se sont constituées au delà de la parenté clanique, de la diversité, des particularismes et antagonismes qu'elle suscite. Celle du *Ngil*, qui a une activité multi-fonctionnelle et vise à une sorte de totale remise en ordre au moment des crises et conflits exceptionnels, paraît la mieux connue[1].

Les membres du *Ngil*, agissant en tant que tels, sont « en tous endroits garantis contre toute attaque »; ils circulent « sans craindre le moindre attentat » au milieu de tribus qui sont en « vendetta ouverte[2] ». Le *Ngil*, ce mot désignant et l'association et l'homme masqué qui opère en son nom, « a le droit de frapper, blesser et même tuer ». La solennité de son action est marquée par l'arrêt de toute vie, au sein du village, lors de son arrivée : les cases sont fermées, les feux éteints, les femmes claustrées et aucun habitant ne se montre dans la cour intérieure. La cérémonie finale comporte l'érection d'une statue creuse d'argile[3] (nommée également *Ngil*) devant laquelle « tous les habitants du village et ceux des villages de la même lignée » doivent comparaître, et qui a pour fonction de révéler les coupables (ayant provoqué des morts inexpliquées, des calamités dont le groupement entier pâtit, etc.). L'intervention du *Ngil* est sollicitée dans les moments de crise grave; elle appelle une action totale mettant en cause de larges groupements; pour ces derniers, elle a une réelle valeur thérapeutique : en déterminant une culpabilité (impossible à contester puisqu'il s'agit d'une justice supérieure et anonyme), en refaisant une unité (à base passionnelle) à l'occasion du châtiment, en rendant une nouvelle vigueur à la faveur de cet « assainissement ».

L'aspect religieux de l' « association » justifie une action aussi absolue, aussi incontestable; malheureusement, nous en savons peu de chose : sinon, qu'il y a appel à certains défunts par le moyen de crânes, d'ossements et de sacrifices, qu'une place est faite, le *Ngil* ayant une compagne, *Omore*, aux rituels de fécon-

1. Cf. R. P. H. Trilles, *op. cit.*, p.62. Cne Maisman, *op. cit.* Lt Poupard, « Le Fétichisme et la Barbarie au Congo », *in Renseignements Coloniaux*, mars 1908. Surtout, L. C. Leroux, Étude sur le Ngil, *in Bul. Soc. Rech. Congolaises*, 6, 1925.
2. L. C. Leroux, *op. cit.*
3. Cf. description dans les articles de Leroux, *op. cit.*, et Poupard, *op. cit.*

dité[1]. C'est là une dialectique courante; un recours au passé social, véritable réservoir de puissances sans fin accumulées, pour informer le devenir social, pour le féconder; le passé et l'avenir, les ancêtres et les vivants sont, comme la génération des *ésa* et celle des *mwanô*, en relations de géniteur à engendré. Ce mouvement exprime une dépendance, un certain ordre social. L'intervention du *Ngil* — mais elle n'est pas la seule — tend au rétablissement de cet ordre élémentaire; elle est une remise en état, gage de fécondité et de puissance. Il apparaît que le *Ngil* ressemble à beaucoup d'autres « associations » ayant existé au Gabon, notamment au *Mwiri* des peuples de la *Ngounié*[2]. Il constitue, d'abord, un instrument de lutte contre les « sorciers » *(bôgôm)* dans la mesure même où ceux-ci s'efforcent d'atteindre l'ordre normal; mais il est bien plus que cela : l'annonce d'un pouvoir supérieur à celui que fonde la parenté, un groupement à forte capacité de contrôle (sans doute le plus puissant).

Les Fang ont connu d'autres associations d'hommes à fonctions spécialisées — ou, plutôt, créatrices de « spécialistes », tel l'*akûm* qui dirige les cérémonies liées à la danse masculine nommée *mokuma*. L'*akûm*, qui apparaît aussi comme une sorte de chantre-chroniqueur, intervient surtout lors des obsèques et des affaires mettant en cause la fécondité (recherche du « sorcier » responsable d'un avortement risquant d'entraîner une stérilité définitive[3], cérémonial destiné à lever l'inceste qui crée des unions stériles). L'*akûm*, dans la vie quotidienne, se distingue des non-initiés par la soumission à un ensemble d'interdits spéciaux; il est un « personnage respecté ou plutôt redouté » car on lui prête « une grande puissance »; « pour arriver à cette situation, il a dû se mettre à l'école d'un autre *akûm*, apprendre ces interminables mélodies, qui durent une nuit entière, et puis tuer de sa propre main un de ses proches parents... »[4]. Cette évocation sommaire est intéressante quant au dernier point; elle manifeste une épreuve, elle montre surtout avec une brutalité non équivoque que tout pouvoir existant en dehors du clan, de la parenté, n'est acquis qu'après avoir fait le geste (plus ou moins symbolique) de « tuer la parenté ». C'est par le jeu de

1. H. Trilles, *op. cit.*, p. 62, écrit que « les récipendiaires doivent accomplir devant la statue d'*Omore* un certain nombre d'actes se rapportant à la génération... » et Poupard parle de « cérémonies honteuses ».
2. Cf. A. Maclatchy, « Organisation sociale des populations de la région de Mimongo »; in *Bul. de l'Institut d'Études Centrafricaines*, I, I, 1945.
3. Cf. E. Trezenem, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
4. R. P. L. Martrou, « Les « Eki » des Mfang », *in Anthropos*, I, 1906.

tels groupements que la logique du système de parenté et d'alliance est transcendée.

Les « associations » ont une action dont le *sens* varie selon les conjonctures particulières. Elles interviennent, comme le montre le groupement des ibitiés au *Biéri* (culte gabonais) ou au *Ssé* (culte camerounais connu des villages frontaliers), en faveur d'une meilleure cohésion entre fragments claniques; ceci à l'époque où l'insécurité exige un minimum d'union entre villages parents. En d'autres circonstances, elles tentent de renforcer le pouvoir inhérent à des fonctions dont l'importance s'affirme : ainsi, les groupements qui contrôlaient l'ancienne « danse de justice » *(sémana)* à l'époque où seul reste possible le règlement pacifique des conflits et où le rôle du « conciliateur » passe au premier plan. Elles peuvent aussi, comme le manifestent les « associations » féminines, jouer en tant que frein à la domination subie par un ensemble social de statut inférieur; ceci est d'autant plus net que le dépérissement de ces groupements a été parallèle à la transformation des rapports entre sexes. Nous avons indiqué, à propos du *Ngil*, que les « associations » ont constitué des instances supérieures de pacification; il importe maintenant d'insister sur le fait que certaines d'entre elles assument un rôle presque permanent d'opposition à l'ordre social.

Tel est le cas avec « l'association » des hommes dits sorciers (pl. *bôyém*) qui s'efforcent d'acquérir de manière durable, et à titre *personnel*, « richesse, force et puissance ». Chacun d'entre eux a été admis en fonction d'une *différenciation* absolue — la possession d'un « génie » nommé *évu(r) (s)* qui est physiquement repérable[1] — et d'une initiation particulière. Cette dernière entraîne l'obligation de rompre (plus que symboliquement) les liens de la parenté et de l'alliance : sacrifice du premier enfant s'il s'agit d'une femme, de l'oncle maternel s'il s'agit d'un homme.

L'*évur* est reçu avant la naissance ou durant la première semaine qui la suit. Il transforme l'organisme de l'individu qui le porte puisqu'on peut le déceler au moment de l'autopsie[2]; biologiquement, le possesseur *(nnèm)* et l'*évur* sont liés : celui-ci « grandit avec l'enfant et n'atteint sa pleine vitalité qu'au

1. Cf. H. Lavigerotte, *L'évur*, Société des Missions Évangéliques, 1947. E. Trézenem, *op. cit.*, II, *L'évur*, pp. 68-74. M. Briault, *op. cit.* Cne Maignan, *op. cit.* Signalons qu'il s'agit d'une croyance largement répandue dans le Sud-Gabon, le Loango et jusque chez les Ba-téké.

2. On le décrit : « c'est une bête pourvue de pattes, avec des yeux, une bouche et une langue... elle peut voyager à travers le corps... » *in* M. Briault, *op. cit.*

5: Balandier FH9 Fang

moment de l'âge adulte », leurs puissances respectives sont dépendantes et exigent des sacrifices permettant leur conservation. La liaison de l'un et de l'autre se manifeste continuellement par le jeu des interdits et des obligations particulières dont le *nnèm* « ne peut se délivrer ». Tout contribue à donner au *nnèm* le sentiment qu'il est d'une nature différente; le rituel, lui-même, à l'occasion des deux cérémonies fondamentales joue la « naissance » du nouveau *nnèm* et sa « maturité » qui permet les actions de domination. H. Lavignotte écrit : « L'*évur* habite dans le corps de son possesseur, lui permet de se dédoubler ou, plutôt, sort de son corps pour agir à sa place, de connaître les secrets des autres *bègèm* (pl. de *nnèm*) de décupler sa force, de faire des choses extraordinaires qui lui permettront de devenir riche, de tuer sans laisser de trace ». Et E. Trézenem complète cette évocation en précisant : « Sauf dans les cas d'activité en faveur de son possesseur... l'évur est toujours malfaisant ».

Ainsi, se trouve affirmé l'usage d'une puissance non commune à des fins strictement personnelles : cette puissance nommée *sàn ngwèl* qui est celle de l'*évur* en action. Les caractères de domination et de différenciation radicale sont accusés (à tel point que la possession de l'*évur* « est indispensable à qui veut être » magicien [1]) à l'encontre du système des relations de parenté (impliquant « fraternité » et tendance égalitaire) et d' « alliance » (impliquant réciprocité et coopération). Alors que les « associations », comme le *Ngil* ou l'*Akùm*, ont une activité licite, qui les situe au sein de la société globale, l'ensemble des *nnèm* constitue un groupement étranger, foncièrement hétérogène et par la même dangereux au maximum. Les liens existant entre *bègèm*, qui s'actualisent au moment des deux cérémonies de donation et d'initiation, n'excluent pas la compétition : les *évur* peuvent eux-mêmes entrer en lutte. La qualité de *nnèm* libère l'individu dans une large mesure; elle lui permet de s'affirmer contre l'ordre établi (de menacer ceux qui le maintiennent), mais elle impose une quasi-solitude, un état d'agression et de défense continuelles, une existence dangereuse comme le rappelle la violence des réactions collectives lors du châtiment des sorciers [2]. Les symboles utilisés et la formule prononcée pour la donation de l'*évur* manifestent les avantages espérés (gloire, richesse et postérité nombreuse) mais expriment, aussi, les qualités indispensables (virilité et courage).

1. E. Trezenem, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
2. Cf. V. Largeau, *op. cit.*, « ...quand il est reconnu, il est ou brûlé vif ou égorgé pour être mangé ».

Ces faits révèlent une forme radicale d'opposition *à l'ordre classique;* ils représentent la part la plus individualisante, la plus révolutionnaire de la magie fang. On peut voir là un mode de « fixation » des sentiments d'agressivité et d'individualisme que contrecarrent les sentiments imposés par la tradition[1] (le *nsem* est alors toléré tant que n'est pas établie l'évidence de son activité nocive). Il faut aussi y reconnaître un moyen de différenciation, une source interne de transformations profondes[2]. Les *bêpêm* sont les éléments qui entretiennent avec la société globale les conflits les plus violents et les plus durables; pourtant l'attitude de cette dernière à leur égard est ambiguë : la distinction entre « bon » et « mauvais » *ewu*, bien que tous deux dangereux pour l'homme normal, le prouve. Ils créent une menace nécessaire.

IV. Rapports entre sexes et générations et Système des interdits.

L'étude actuelle de la société fang, comme nous le montrerons au cours du prochain chapitre, révèle deux types de problèmes dominants : ceux qui tiennent à la transformation des rapports entre hommes et femmes (et que symbolise la formule devenue usuelle : « Nos femmes ont « gagné » la « mauvaise tête »); ceux qui tiennent à l'altération des relations typiques existant entre générations. Il est certain que les changements morphologiques affectant les groupements — atomisation, mobilité des individus, *sex-ratio* anormal — et les procès de développement économique ont conditionné ces phénomènes. Il n'en est pas moins vrai que des conditions internes, spécifiquement fang, expliquent l'acuité des problèmes ainsi posés.

La littérature orale comporte des indications significatives quant aux rapports traditionnels existant entre sexes. D'après cette dernière, la femme paraît envisagée d'abord en fonction de sa *fécondité :* « Va retrouver tes femmes et peupler la terre »,

1. Ainsi l'analyse de la sorcellerie Dinka par l'anthropologue anglais G. Lienhardt : « Some notions of Witchcraft among the Dinka » *in Africa*, XXI, 4, oct. 1951.

2. Sur le rôle de différenciation joué par la Magie, cf. G. Davy, *La Foi Jurée*, 1922, sur ce même rôle et sur les transformations de l'organisation sociale, « la marge de liberté », nées des conflits entre clan religieux et confréries magiques, cf. G. Gurvitch, *La Vocation actuelle de la Sociologie*, ch. VII, notamment pp. 412, 436, 503, 523-524.

dit Nzame au premier homme[1]; en fonction de son *utilité:* « Femme vieille, calebasse usée », affirme un proverbe. Elle s'y révèle soumise à l'homme (« je ne suis rien devant un homme, je suis aussi stupide qu'une poule », précise un autre proverbe) et protégée par celui-ci qui reste essentiellement un « guerrier » dans l'ancienne société. Les quelques études ethnographiques existantes ont insisté sur cette situation mineure. Le P. Trilles écrit dans ses travaux datant du début du siècle : « La fille n'est pas considérée comme « membre » de la tribu[2] ». E. Trézenem confirme l'observation dans un exposé plus récent : La femme « est à peine mieux considérée qu'un animal domestique... »[3]. En même temps, d'une manière apparemment contradictoire, la plupart des documents anciens s'étonnent de l'importance démesurée que l'on semble accorder à la femme qui se trouve à l'origine de multiples palabres. Il reste à ajouter que la femme fang fut présentée, par la plupart des observateurs, comme le principal agent de production existant au sein d'une société sans esclavage, et, par là même, comme un facteur d'enrichissement. Ce sont là des opinions généralement admises; que valent-elles?

Il nous paraît que l'accent porte d'abord *sur la capacité de fécondité que donne la femme légalement acquise.* La femme-épouse permet à l'homme de se manifester en tant que géniteur *(ésa);* elle lui assure une postérité qui est pour tout Fang le premier des biens. Par cette dernière, non seulement il se montre pleinement mâle, mais il obtient une véritable promotion sociale : acquérant une influence qui croît dans la mesure où prospère son groupement familial, participant pleinement à cette couche sociale prééminente qu'est la génération des « pères ». Dans une société conquérante, ce que fut la société fang jusqu'à une époque proche, l'influence d'un homme était conditionnée plus par le nombre des guerriers qui lui étaient rattachés[4] (la femme lui donnant justement descendants mâles et « alliés ») que par sa seule valeur combative; on pourrait dire que son importance était à la mesure de son potentiel agressif et défensif.

L'homme sans descendance est un être diminué, un Fang inférieur parce que sans puissance; il paraît significatif que le mot *ki* signifie, à la fois, « force, virilité et pouvoir ». Cela explique

1. H. Trilles, « Proverbes, Légendes et Contes Fang », Légende du Nzas, *op. cit.*
2. R. P. H. Trilles, *Le totémisme chez les Fang, op. cit.*, note p. 109.
3. *Op. cit.* p. 89.
4. Citons le proverbe non équivoque : « Un parent, c'est un fusil ».

la place tenue par la magie de fécondité, par les « techniques » permettant de repérer les causes de stérilité, et le fait que la stérilité soit la sanction liée aux infractions les plus graves (notamment à l'inceste). En recourant à une formule célèbre, on décèle encore dans cet état une prééminence de la « production des êtres humains » sur la « production des moyens d'existence ». La découverte fortuite d'un cahier, où un jeune homme de la région d'Oyem avait consigné certains de ses rêves et les règles de conduite qu'il se donnait, nous a révélé le niveau obsessionnel que peut atteindre la recherche d'une postérité.

Nous donnons, en exemple, le plus « direct » de ces rêves : « Je rêve qu'une dame me parle en songe afin que ma femme ait un enfant. Rôtir une banane, aller auprès d'une rivière, couper ce doigt de banane et en donner la moitié à ma femme, après avoir mangé boire de l'eau tous deux. Puis aller embrasser ma femme. Après tu iras lui (?) tremper dans l'eau en disant : qui est cette femme d'où tu viens? ». Un autre texte, présenté comme « rêve », mérite à peine ce nom, ou ne constitue qu'un fragment (et c'est alors bien révélateur) d'un rêve plus riche; il consiste en une recette de fécondité : « Je rêve que le diable me conseille trois herbes pour une femme stérile, afin qu'elle enfante... ». Le sens n'est pas équivoque, d'autant plus que divers préceptes rassemblés sous le titre : *La volonté personnelle*, viennent l'affirmer clairement : « ...Je chercherai les moyens de ne plus vivre sans que je laisse un enfant; quelles sont les recherches qui permettent à l'homme de ne pas mourir sans laisser un enfant?; choisir soi-même « ce qu'il faut » pour épouser une femme qui donne des enfants[1]... ». On devrait parler d'un véritable « complexe de l'homme sans descendance »; la recherche d'une postérité nombreuse reste encore l'entreprise la plus importante. Si les raisons de « puissance » évoquées à l'instant ont disparu, d'autres ont subsisté, ou se sont manifestées : la peur de briser une lignée, de n'être qu'un « défunt » et non pas un ancêtre *(nsum)* révéré par une descendance, la crainte d'une vieillesse abandonnée et, maintenant, le désir d'enrichir le groupement familial — qui est une unité économique — en disposant du plus grand nombre possible d'éléments actifs. Par ailleurs, nous l'avons signalé, la possession d'un groupement important est une garantie de plus grande liberté parce que cause d'influence accrue.

Instrument de reproduction — et en conséquence soumise

1. *Cahier de Daniel Ngéma Ondo.*

dès que mariée au plus complet des contrôles — la femme est aussi instrument de production. Tandis que l'homme bâtit les cases, défriche les plantations et (autrefois) avait pour charge essentielle de « défendre les femmes et les enfants[1] », la femme est d'abord une paysanne; elle assure pour une large part, participant même à la chasse, l'économie de subsistance. Cet aspect a pris du fait de la colonisation une importance nouvelle et a changé de sens : avec l'ouverture de marchés toujours plus nombreux, et l'usage établi de la monnaie, les produits obtenus par la femme sont devenus source de revenus, et cette dernière une travailleuse, source de profit. La femme subissait une importante valorisation de caractère économique; elle devenait, si l'on peut dire, doublement féconde. Dans le même temps, son caractère instrumental implicite et sa dépendance étaient accusés : elle tendait à être véritablement un « objet », selon l'expression déjà citée. Objet d'autant plus convoité que la polygamie (malgré la « liberté » laissée aux jeunes gens non mariés) fait de la femme un « produit » raréfié[2]. La femme reste au centre de toutes les compétitions, en même temps qu'elle demeure l'élément le plus dominé de la société fang, parce qu'elle est celui auquel il est le plus demandé. Il semble bien que la femme soit « séparée » de la société des hommes, étrangère à la partie la plus organisée et la plus active du corps social, que son caractère impur soit affirmé périodiquement, pour mieux permettre sa soumission. Ceci s'explique d'autant plus que, au niveau des hommes, la tendance égalitaire et le refus de l'esclavage n'ont pas permis l'existence instituée des rapports de dominant à dominé.

Cet état ne manque pas d'impliquer une certaine ambiguïté. La « mère » a une relative autorité sur ses fils et dispose de l'arme de la malédiction (*gojé*, maudire) par laquelle elle nie sa qualité de « mère »[3]; de même, la première femme a la possibilité de maudire son mari; le « gendre » et la « belle-mère » sont liés par un système d'interdits; les *mvanô* sont tenus aux manifestations de respect à l'égard de la « génération des mères »; la prééminence attachée à la séniorité joue dans les relations entre sexes. La femme *peut* donc *être objet de respect et sujet de crainte.*

1. En 1890, A. Fourneau observe dans la région de l'Estuaire, les « longues théories de femmes chargées comme des mules » qui approvisionnent régulièrement le « Gabon » escortées par des hommes armés de fusils à silex.
2. Cf. C. Lévi-Strauss, *Les Structures Élémentaires de la Parenté*. Paris, P. U. F., 1949.
3. Cf. L. Mba, *op. cit.*, p. 35, le texte de la « malédiction ».

Par ailleurs, des « associations » de femmes ayant créé une hiérarchie, un enseignement, un rituel d'initiation, un ensemble de symboles et signes distinctifs et une technique manifestée par une danse spécifique, sont signalées par divers documents; notamment le *Mévungé*[1] qui est une version pahouine du *Ngèmbé*, secte féminine largement répandue au Gabon et observée par Du Chaillu vers 1860 chez les Ba-kélé que les Fang soumirent en grande partie. Cet observateur écrivait alors que le *Ngèmbé* « protège les femmes contre leurs ennemis du sexe masculin, qu'il venge leurs griefs, et qu'il les sert, en toutes circonstances, suivant leurs fantaisies[2] ». C'était repérer, avec beaucoup de finesse, le rôle de compensation que joue essentiellement un tel groupement; en participant à la « société des femmes », la femme remédie à la situation marginale et à la soumission qui sont sa part au long de la vie quotidienne. Elle impose, ou rend nécessaire, sa collaboration en des moments importants pour la communauté, et en des domaines qui lui sont en principe interdits : c'est ainsi que la danse du *Mévungé* était utilisée « autrefois quand une tribu pahouine se disposait à faire la guerre à une autre tribu ou à opérer des razzias de femmes », utilisée, aussi, « lors de la préparation des grandes chasses à l'éléphant[3] ». De telles « associations » ne subsistent plus que d'une manière sporadique, et très dégradées : citons le *N'nup*, qui déploie toute une théorie de « reines », apparu dans les régions voisines de la Guinée-Espagnole.

Cette ambiguïté quant à la situation de la femme est génératrice d'équilibre dans une certaine mesure. Par contre, sur le plan des rapports sentimentaux, il n'en est pas de même : l'homme qui admet que les mariages soient réglés d'abord en fonction de considérations sociales a l'espoir d'obtenir, un jour, une épouse « favorite » et redoute peu les sanctions liées à l'adultère; la femme, elle, mariée jeune, reste prisonnière du système et toujours menacée par des sanctions graves. Il semble bien que de nombreux conflits en résultent, signalés par les premiers administrateurs : « Très souvent, la femme abandonne son mari pour retourner dans le village de ses parents ou pour *suivre un homme de son choix*... » (archives de Libreville, 1909); et par les premiers lettrés fang : « La femme pahouine n'hésite pas à partir avec un amant; mariée souvent contre son gré, *elle se venge de*

1. Documents inédits recueillis par l'abbé A. Walker, originaire du Bas-Gabon, et véritable érudit en matière d'ethnologie locale.
2. P. du Chaillu, *op. cit.*, p. 322 sq.
3. Abbé A. Walker, notes inédites.

S: Balandier FH9 Fang

cet état de choses par une très grande infidélité » (L. Mba, *op. cit.*). L'expression utilisée par cet auteur est bien significative : le prétexte que l'on pourrait dire sentimental permet une réaction plus vaste répondant à des frustrations d'une autre nature. Il faut voir là le signe de tensions qui s'actualisent au seul niveau où elles puissent le faire; ajoutons que les conditions créées par la colonisation libéreront ces dernières, dans une plus large mesure, en détruisant l'équilibre approximativement obtenu par les moyens traditionnels.

Ces tensions ne sont pas les seules repérables. Entre les générations, celle des *ésu* et celle des *mumvó*, sur un même segment, entre « aînés » et « cadets », il apparaît des relations de dépendance qui peuvent se transformer en antagonismes. Peu de temps après sa naissance, le jeune garçon est « marqué » par ses ascendants, recevant un double nom (essentiel par rapport aux autres dénominations) qui récupère le nom d'un ancêtre de la lignée paternelle (d'un *mvom*) et le premier terme du nom du père. L'enfant, en dehors des interdits individuels que lui impose son père, reste soumis à divers interdits généraux qui sont levés, par degrés, à mesure que s'affirme sa qualité d'homme : ainsi celui du porc [1], celui des produits de sa chasse et de sa pêche qui existent jusqu'au moment de la puberté — et signifient, selon L. Martrou, qu'il ne faut pas, dans le groupement familial, « des bouches inutiles »... « mais des bras et des cœurs capables de le *défendre* et de l'enrichir [2] »; ainsi l'interdiction de cohabiter avec une femme avant d'avoir été circoncis [3]. De même, divers rituels marquent les étapes de cette ascension : le rite du *Sió* pour les enfants d'une dizaine d'années [4], la circoncision qui ne s'accompagne pas d'une initiation (mais semble plutôt témoigner publiquement de la virilité et manifester l'individu en tant que mâle actif), la « révélation » du *Biéri*, surtout. Le jeune homme, lorsqu'il accède à l'assemblée des hommes, a donc éprouvé à des degrés d'intensité variable

1. Le porc apparaît comme un bétail de valeur dans toute cette partie de l'Afrique Centrale où le bœuf est inconnu à cause de la trypanosomiase.
2. L. Martrou, Les « Ekis » des Mfang, *op. cit.*
3. V. Largeau, *op. cit.*, article « Interdit ».
4. M. Bertaut dans sa thèse consacrée aux Boulou du Cameroun, peuple parent, évoque une forme moins dégradée du *Sso* qui était au centre d'une véritable « société d'hommes » maintenant quasiment disparue.

cette dépendance biologique, sociale et spirituelle vis-à-vis des ancêtres *(mvom)* et des « aînés » *(njamèrè)*; il leur doit l'existence et la sécurité, l'être social. Même, lorsqu'ayant franchi les diverses étapes, il peut participer pleinement à l'assemblée des hommes, il reçoit de la part de celle-ci divers interdits qui témoignent de son nouvel état et lui rappellent l'obligation de se soumettre à ceux qui l'ont fait homme, pleinement Fang [1].

Longtemps, il subit cette supériorité des « aînés » qui interviennent auprès des ancêtres, source de prospérité et de puissance, qui lui permettent de s'accomplir et de s'accroître par le mariage, et la possession d'une descendance, en contrôlant le circuit des dots et des femmes. Ainsi, la courbe de la vie masculine passe-t-elle par un maximum qui correspond à l'influence sociale du *njamèrè*, décroît à mesure que la vieillesse s'affirme (nous avons souligné la tendance à rejeter l' « aïeul », *mvom*, dans le passé) et augmente indéfiniment après la mort, qui donne la qualité « d'ancêtre » et permet une efficacité sans limite en faveur des vivants. L'enfance comme la vieillesse, qui représentent les points « bas » de cette courbe, sont des préparations aux deux états « hauts » qui sont caractérisés par un accroissement en puissance et en autonomie.

Dans l'ancienne société fang, la dépendance assure sécurité matérielle et spirituelle. Elle est plus centrée sur les rapports de géniteur *(ésa)* à engendré *(émé mèn)* que sur ceux de dominant à dominé. Nous avons souvent insisté sur la tendance égalitaire existant au sein du *nd'è bòt*, sur les dangers qui menacent toute prééminence acquise à titre personnel : on attend de l' « aîné » la juste répartition des femmes, des richesses et des tâches, non une domination. Par ailleurs, lors de l'époque conquérante, le rôle considérable du « guerrier » (qui incarne le mieux ces valeurs qui conduisent le Docteur Cureau à comparer les Fang à de « modernes Spartiates »), et les menaces de rupture au sein d'un groupement qui doit rester suffisamment nombreux et cohérent, limitent les tentatives de domination et d'établissement d'un pouvoir abusivement personnel. Un équilibre peut se créer entre le pouvoir des « aînés » (prééminence religieuse et politique) et le pouvoir des jeunes hommes (prééminence guerrière). Il implique en particulier une stricte réglementation de la circulation des femmes, la possibilité pour ces hommes jeunes de dépasser le niveau de la dépendance simple pour devenir, à leur tour, créateurs de dépendance, et la possibilité de « capita-

1. Cf. M. Balandier, *op. cit.*, p. 183-184.

5: Balandier FH9 Fang

liser » en vies humaines (femmes et descendants). Le passage de la conquête guerrière à la conquête économique, puis à une économie agricole où la femme joue un rôle fondamental, la pacification qui ne permet plus de remédier par razzi au déficit en femmes, ont bouleversé cet équilibre et dérégié la compétition. La capitalisation des femmes et la capitalisation des biens sont alors liées, celle-là devient dans une grande mesure la condition de celle-ci. Le rôle du « riche » *(nkumakume)* va s'accroissant [1]; les relations entre générations, entre « aînés » et « cadets », peuvent devenir celles de possédants (femmes, biens et rôle politique) à non-possédants; la dépendance tend à prendre les caractères d'une domination créatrice de tensions et de conflits.

Nous avons pu définir, au sein de la société fang ancienne, un certain nombre de points d'équilibre, il convient de préciser maintenant la place considérable que tient le système des interdits *(biki)* en matière de contrôle social. Selon M. Briault, le mot *éki* (pl. *biki*) vient du radical *ki* signifiant « force, contrainte, virilité, puissance »; il exprime une défense rituelle, un interdit ou tabou; il désigne « une personne ou chose marquée d'un caractère sacré dont on interdit le contact ou l'usage ». Cet auteur considère essentiellement les *éki* sous l'aspect de la contrainte qu'ils exercent, de l'ordre social qu'ils contribuent à maintenir; ils donnent « plutôt l'idée, écrit-il, d'un moyen efficace de maintenir la jeunesse, les femmes... bref, tout ce qui, dans la société, est fait pour obéir, dans un esprit de soumission à ceux dont la volonté compte... l'intérêt politique se trouve doublé d'un aspect surnaturel qui l'accrédite » [2]. Quant à L. Mba, il les présente comme des « règles de conduite dont les Pahouins se sont imposés l'observance en matière de convenances personnelles, de savoir-vivre et faire, de régime matrimonial, de religion, de médecine, de sorcellerie et de morale [3] »; il évoque leur extension à la totalité du social, leur caractère d'impératif catégorique et la puissance de leur emprise. La classification qu'il tente, et celle donnée par L. Martrou [4], suggèrent une distinction entre *biki* collectifs : généraux (dits de « moralité »), ou de sexe, de classe d'âge, d' « association », et *biki* personnels : d'état ou accidentels. En évoquant les « gardiens », chargés de maintenir

1. A tel point que Bertaut note, chez les Boulou du Cameroun depuis plus longtemps soumis à une économie moderniste, le seul mot de *nkume* pour désigner le « chef » du groupement villageois.
2. M. Briault, *op. cit.* p. 183 ss.
3. Les « *E-Tchi* »; étude inédite jointe aux rapports de la Commission d'Enquête historique.
4. R. P. L. Martrou, Les « Ekis » des Mfang, *op. cit.*

ou imposer les *éki*, parents mâles à l'égard des enfants, mari à l'égard des femmes, anciens à l'égard des jeunes hommes, Léon Mba manifeste l'importance des interdits quant au maintien et au renforcement des prééminences sociales. C'est dans le même sens que L. Martrou remarque les nombreux *éki* imposés à la femme et destinés à la situer « dans une position inférieure ». L'*éki* apparaît comme un mode rudimentaire de réglementation, exprimé sans justification précise, affirmant la prééminence de l'agent chargé de le maintenir ou de le « donner », et dont la violation appelle des réactions plus ou moins vives selon la nature de l'autorité en cause (allant du simple blâme au sacrifice de réparation). Il révèle, en particulier, la forme que peut prendre la loi dans une société qui ne dispose pas d'institutions spécialisées et qui doit recourir à des signes matériels, à défaut des signes écrits qui permettent d'exprimer toute loi d'une manière durable. On doit remarquer, le vocabulaire fang y invite, que le même mot, *biki*, désigne la « monnaie » servant anciennement aux échanges matrimoniaux et les « interdits »; la réglementation de la circulation des femmes serait, peut-être, à l'origine du système des *éki*, le premier et le plus important de ces réglements. Il peut y avoir, là, une preuve de plus pour les auteurs qui considèrent le « tabou de l'inceste » comme l'élément constitutif des sociétés dites primitives.

Si le système des *éki* contribue à protéger l'ordre social et les prééminences que ce dernier implique, il est aussi créateur de droit pour ceux qu'il soumet — qui doivent respecter les *éki* les affectant mais qui exigent de quiconque le respect de cette obligation [1]. C'est en ce double sens que le rôle de « donneur d'*éki* » est considérable : manifestant une prééminence, créant une ébauche de droit particulier. L. Martrou a, dans son étude, accordé une place privilégiée aux *éki* « d'état » et de « condition sociale ». Ils mettent en évidence des moments importants de la vie individuelle (ainsi, les multiples « interdits » marquant la grossesse) et collective (époques de préparation à la guerre ou aux chasses, par exemple) ou des situations particulières (les membres des « associations » ont des *éki* spéciaux à chacune d'entre elles). Il y a là une importante fonction de différenciation qui marque les esprits et multiplie les comportements distincts. Le *n'nèm*, à qui des *éki* ont été donnés en même temps que l'*évur* qui le constitue « sorcier », se sent en raison de ceux-ci radicale-

1. C'est ainsi que le mari est tenu, d'une manière impérative, au respect des *éki* propres à chacune de ses femmes. Indication dans l'étude *Le Mariage Fang*, archives d'Oyem.

5: Balandier FH9 Fang

ment autre, au point de lier son existence physique au strict respect de ces derniers. M. Trezenem évoque des cas précis où la transgression involontaire de tel *êki* entraîne la mort (sans aucune autre intervention) presque immédiate[1]. Le contenu de l'*êki*, qui peut être quasiment insignifiant ou précisément symbolique, est souvent moins important que le fait même de donner et de recevoir l'*êki*. Ce dernier révèle une autorité : celle des ancêtres qui ont légué la « tradition »[2], de tel ancêtre qui s'est exprimé par un rêve, du magicien traitant, du père ou de l'assemblée des hommes mûrs, etc. Il vise à une *efficacité* en affirmant un nouvel état de la personne et de la condition sociale; et dans le cas des « interdits » liés automatiquement à certaines maladies les buts de différenciation et de thérapeutique sont très nets.

Les *êki* ne constituent pas un système clos, intouchable; ils sont significatifs de la vie même de la société globale, proliférant ou tombant en désuétude selon les circonstances. L. Mba précise que le contact des Fang avec d'autres peuples gabonais a fait évoluer les *êki* « vers l'amalgame et la multiplicité ». Cette observation est importante, elle montre combien ces derniers ont été utilisés pour la politique d'assimilation et de puissance des groupements fang de contact, combien ils tendent à s'adapter aux conditions nouvelles. Il faudrait ajouter que cette « multiplicité » est liée, pour une large part, aux facteurs de différenciation opérant en dehors de la structure clanique. L. Mba présente les « interdits » non seulement comme un « certain code de morale », mais encore comme « les ressorts secrets et ataviques de l'âme pahouine ». Il insiste, ainsi, sur le rôle qu'ils jouent dans la formation d'une sorte de « caractère national », et sur les valeurs essentielles qu'ils peuvent promouvoir et défendre.

V. Premières réactions à l'infériorité matérielle.

L'accès des Fang aux régions traditionnelles de traite a été gros de conséquences; insensiblement, une entreprise, qui était à l'origine de conquête et de « colonisation », s'est transformée en recherche des « richesses » manufacturées *(bium)* et en compé-

1. *Op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.
2. Les Fang ont un mot, *ngém* (pl. *bigém*) pour désigner les « manières d'être » individuelles ou collectives.

5: Balandier FH9 Fang

tition pour les routes et lieux de traite. La quête des « marchandises » passe au premier plan des activités masculines, met en mouvement l'appareil des techniques guerrières et magiques.

Les légendes, que nous connaissons, insistent sur l'attrait de l'Ouest en tant que pays des Blancs qui disposent des richesses; l'une d'elles, rapportée par V. Largeau, suggère l'importance qu'eut l'accès à ces fiches de traite :

« Nous sommes enfin arrivés sur le Ntem et sur l'Ogooué, où nous nous sommes rencontrés avec ceux qui distribuent les richesses... ils nous donnent de tout, nous devenons riches[1] ».

Les textes légendaires recueillis par le P. Trilles, notamment sous le titre « Noirs et Blancs », sont particulièrement significatifs. Le thème de la richesse, détenue par les seuls Blancs, qui a *échappé* — en raison d'un manque de techniques et d'une attitude qui est plus d'abandon que de domination du monde[2] — ou a été *dérobée*[3] aux Noirs, y occupe une place dominante. Il y apparaît que les Blancs représentent la richesse, ils sont *mildgé* : « ceux qui comptent »; la mythologie même les avait annoncés : ils ont l'aspect physique des revenants et ils disposent de tous les biens accumulés au pays des ancêtres. On voit donc avec quelle puissance s'imposa l'arrivée du Blanc riche de « marchandises », et quelle valeur — renforcée de toute la signification du mythe — put s'attacher à ces dernières. Certain enseignement diffusé lors du mouvement de regroupement clanique, sous forme de questions et réponses, continue à associer les deux termes : puissance de l'exemple blanc et poursuite des richesses;

« — Quelle vie devons-nous suivre?

— Nous devons suivre la vie européenne.

— Quel est l'exemple que nous devons donner pour suivre la vie européenne?

— Nous devons travailler pour gagner de l'argent... [4]. »

Nous avons, au début de ce chapitre, insisté sur l'attrait qu'exercèrent les « centres économiquement forts » — la Côte, le Bas-Ogooué, la Guinée-Espagnole; une carte des migrations les

1. Op. cit., article « Instruction ».
2. « Proverbes, Légendes et Contes Fang », op. cit.; surtout, « Noirs et Blancs » et « Légende du Nzas ».
3. « Légende de Bingo » ; et « pour revir (au héros Bingo) ses trésors, et posséder son secret, ils le tuèrent et prirent la pierre verte, la pierre verte qu'il nous avait laissée. Depuis ce temps, les hommes de par delà les monts possèdent les richesses de la terre, mais, nous autres, nous avons gardé les lois de Bingo... ».
4. *Cahier des réunions*, Yémisdem d'Oyem.

S: Balandier FH9 Fang

fait apparaître comme des *points de convergence*. Au départ, les Fang s'établirent aux abords de ces centres ou attirèrent les factoreries avec le sentiment d'une véritable appropriation. Du Chaillu et Cureau observèrent précisément ce phénomène; le premier, en montrant comment, devenu « l'homme blanc de tel chef », il obtenait « bien-être et sécurité » mais se trouvait soumis aux demandes de « présents »[1]; le second, en analysant le commerce de l'Ogooué qui se trouve « sous la coupe des populations fang » : « Des maisons se sont vues obligées de maintenir leurs établissements en des localités déterminées, avec interdiction, sous menace d'hostilités, de les déplacer vers l'amont. L'agent européen était respecté; ses magasins, loin d'être inquiétés, étaient sévèrement protégés par les guerriers du village. Le commerçant était prisonnier de la population; il se trouvait investi d'un monopole forcé »[2].

Les premiers rapports administratifs continuent à noter, à l'image de l'observation faite par Du Chaillu, la volonté de chaque groupement important d'avoir une « factorerie à soi » qui, « satisfaite, provoque détente et soumission »[3].

Il y a là un comportement qui ne s'explique pas par le seul souci économique de se réserver un monopole et d'avoir immédiatement les possibilités de troc. Avoir une factorerie au contact même du village, c'est avoir atteint le terme des migrations vers l'Ouest qui devaient conduire aux sources des richesses; c'est participer constamment à ces dernières et tenir la certitude d'une vie supérieure. Entrer en relations avec le Blanc, qui paraît à la fois un « aîné » et plus qu'un être humain, avec les biens et le savoir de ce dernier, c'est participer à un circuit de puissance et de fécondité, transcender une existence en quelque sorte maudite pour parvenir à « la vraie vie ».

Les légendes montrent, d'un autre côté, comment les Fang au contact des manifestations techniques et de l'emprise européenne, eurent très tôt le sentiment d'un assujettissement, d'une infériorité en savoir et richesse rapportés à une décision de Nzamô (Dieu), à une véritable *malédiction*. Un texte recueilli par Largeau évoque deux enfants de Nzamô — « Ekouagha (assujetti) » et « Ndan'gho (dominateur) » — et les vœux prononcés pour chacun de ceux-ci :

Pour Ndan'gho, le « père » dit : « Richesse! autorité! savoir!

1. *Voyages et Aventures dans l'Afrique Équatoriale*, pp. 106 et 120.
2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 204-05.
3. *Rapport Annuel de* 1907, Archives du Gabon.

Il ajoute : Toutes ces choses sont en toi-même! Il dit encore : Tu engendreras des enfants blancs ». Pour Ekouagha, il s'écrie : « Hélas! mon autre fils a tout pris avec la fortune... Il n'y a plus de richesses pour toi... tu engendreras des hommes noirs... tu seras misérable... »[1]. Motif qui est comparable au thème de la « légende du Nsas », donnée par le P. Trilles, où Nazmô conclut :

« Toi, Noir, lève-toi et va-t-en retrouver tes femmes et peupler la terre... toujours, tu resteras au comme maintenant... Toi, Blanc... tu seras riche, plus riche même que tu l'as été en songe... Le Blanc sera toujours le Blanc, le Noir toujours le Noir, le Blanc toujours riche, le Noir toujours pauvre... »[2].

Le motif de la malédiction montre quel potentiel affectif s'attache aux richesses d'importation et à leur conquête. On peut voir là, également, une première prise de conscience de la situation raciale et, surtout, d'une insuffisance technique liée à une organisation sociale toute préoccupée de la « production des êtres humains » (dans la légende citée, le « va-t-en retrouver tes femmes et peupler la terre » fait partie de la malédiction). L'illusion d'une participation directe aux richesses fut vite déçue, et l'emprise des agents de la colonisation se fit plus précise, plus complète : *le thème de la malédiction* attachée à la race montre l'ampleur de la déception. Le retour aux méthodes de violence n'est plus possible : c'est alors que se multiplient les techniques magiques, le recours aux connaissances révélées lors des crises provoquées par l'absorption de certaines « strychnées », que se précise, à l'aide d'emprunts chrétiens, l'idée d'une vie meilleure après la mort. L'effort d'adaptation porta d'abord sur les techniques religieuses et magiques; en ces domaines, les emprunts aux peuples voisins (ainsi, le culte *Bwiti* dont nous aurons à parler) furent nombreux : les « coutumes » s'altèrent non plus pour une assimilation à buts conquérants mais *en vue de la simple défense*. Le peuple fang, réduit à l'état de conquérant en disponibilité, perd l'essentiel de sa « force morale ». Il est un de ceux qui ont le plus vivement éprouvé, nous l'allons montrer dans le chapitre suivant, les crises nées de la situation coloniale; aussi, un de ceux qui ont le plus réagi à ce « défi ».

1. *Op. cit.*, article « Instruction ».
2. *Op. cit.*, *Légende du Nsas*.

Chapitre II

LES CRISES FANG DE 1920 A 1950

Dès le début du siècle, le P. Trilles s'inquiétait du « relâchement de l'autorité » chez les Fang et de la « disparition des coutumes ancestrales ». Il retenait deux causes très importantes : la compénétration de tribus de races différentes » — que nous avons évoquée en parlant de la capacité assimilatrice des Fang — et l'établissement du Blanc qui agit par « sa présence, son culte » et par « la crainte qu'il inspire ».

La « poussée » fang et la pénétration européenne étaient animées d'un mouvement contraire. L'une cherchait à conquérir, pour les contrôler, les routes directes du commerce de traite, s'imposant à des peuples peu nombreux, diminués et divisés [1]. L'autre cherchait à étendre son avance vers le Haut-Ogooué, en empruntant les voies du commerce intérieur, en s'efforçant d'y établir des communications régulières reliant une chaîne de postes allant du « Gabon » à Brazzaville. Dans une certaine mesure, les Fang tentèrent de lier leur conquête à ce mouvement. Les besoins suscités par le fonctionnement des « convois » de l'Ogooué [2] furent importants dès 1880, ils provoquent, selon l'expression de A. Fourneau, un exode « encouragé ». Cet accord provisoire, de certains groupements fang et des colonies européennes qui s'établissent, a contribué aux jugements favorables portés sur l'ethnie à cette époque.

Avant 1900, cependant, les premiers incidents se manifestent, liés aux diverses formes de l'emprise coloniale — et portés généralement au compte d'une « pacification » inachevée. Réac-

1. L'explorateur Du Chaillu a montré comment le commerce de l'intérieur était soumis à une multitude d'*intermédiaires* qui défendaient leurs droits en donnant notamment aux traitants européens la crainte des Noirs de l'intérieur (tous dits anthropophages) et, à ceux-ci, la crainte des Blancs des comptoirs côtiers (présentés comme des anthropophages qu'alimente la traite des esclaves).

2. En 1889, « presque chaque jour un vapeur de commerce touche Ndjolé »; cité par A. Fourneau, *op. cit.*

tions à l'expansion missionnaire qui multiplie ses « postes » en suivant la voie de l'Ogooué[1]. Réactions de caractère économique, surtout, qui ne cessent de se multiplier. Le système des grandes concessions fut la première atteinte grave à l'organisation économique anciennement établie et, à propos de la région de Ndjolé, Curault écrit « qu'en tuant le commerce des intermédiaires, (ce système) a fortement fait diminuer la population ». La concurrence existant entre les maisons de commerce, entre ces dernières et les « Sociétés », utilise les divisions entre groupements locaux ou provoque la rébellion de ces derniers. L'ouverture et la fermeture des factoreries s'effectuent sans contrôle; cette dernière provoquant la révolte de villages qui étaient venus s'établir en fonction de cette unique source d'activité. Les conflits ayant l'aspect de luttes économiques rudimentaires se multiplient; à l'encontre des « procédés déloyaux utilisés pour attirer l'indigène » et des sévices subis [2]; à l'encontre des « vols » dont l'indigène est victime : le dollar, unité de compte, lui étant estimé à 1,5 lorsqu'il « livre des produits » et entre 2 et 2,5 lorsqu'il « est payé en marchandises »[3]. Voilà quelques manifestations d'une prise de contact avec la forme la plus rudimentaire et la plus brutale de l'économie mercantiliste. Elles sont à l'origine des premiers comportements marquant le manque de confiance à l'égard des Blancs, des premiers jeux de dérobade, de tromperie ou de fuite.

Par ailleurs, avant 1910, l'économie coloniale est déjà subie sous deux aspects qui la caractérisent fréquemment; le retentissement grave des « crises » affectant les produits coloniaux — ainsi, en 1907, celle du caoutchouc qui rend la situation particulièrement « délicate »; la nécessité de réunir la main-d'œuvre demandée par les entreprises aux conditions fixées par ces dernières. Le rapport de 1907 précise : « Le problème de la main-d'œuvre s'est posé d'une telle façon qu'il convient dès à présent, *si ce n'est déjà trop tard*, de la réglementer rigoureusement; la main-d'œuvre devient de plus en plus rare et plus difficile à recruter ». Cet aveu est significatif. L'économie existante — caractérisée par son arbitraire, son manque d'organisation, son utilisation sans ménagements des hommes et des produits — n'est pas contrôlée par une administration qui n'a pas encore réussi à

1. Sur le mouvement missionnaire catholique, voyez : Sœur MARIE-GERMAINE, *Le Christ au Gabon*, Louvain, 1931.
2. *Rapport de la Ngounié*, 1903. Où l'action d'un agent ayant tué « quelques indigènes » et incendié « quelques cases » est évoquée.
3. *Rapport annuel de* 1907, plaintes contre la Société C. F. C. O.

« tenir » l'ensemble du territoire. Elle s'impose à celle-ci et agit souvent à l'encontre des intentions administratives.

En 1910, le Gabon compte encore trois régions « militaires » (Ivindo, Okano et Ofoué-Ngounié) où le peuplement fang est important et particulièrement insoumis. Le rapport annuel rappelle que chaque époque de « stagnation complète des affaires » avive une « hostilité presque toujours latente », qui repose sur le sentiment qu'ont acquis les indigènes d'une « opposition » des Européens à leur commerce. Les efforts faits pour administrer réellement le pays à partir de 1910 ajouteront, à cette conscience aigüe de la domination économique, la prise de conscience d'une domination politique qui gagne en étendue et en intensité : et dont le signe le plus manifeste reste le paiement de l'impôt. Cette dernière exigence, demandant l'acquisition de numéraire, agit d'ailleurs en renforçant la dépendance économique; les migrations ayant pour but d' « échapper à l'impôt » viennent aggraver une situation déjà confuse. L'administration s'efforce, dès 1913-1915, d'attirer de nouveaux groupements vers le Bas-Gabon où se trouvent les principaux établissements européens; les archives de Médègue montrent le rôle de ce poste, situé au nord-est de Libreville sur les pistes allant vers le Woleu-Ntem et la Guinée-Espagnole, dans cette tâche de renouvellement [1]. C'est l'amorce d'un mouvement que la « découverte » de l'okoumé devait rapidement accélérer — en même temps qu'elle surimposait à l'économie de traite déclinante une économie d'exploitation échappant *totalement* au contrôle indigène. L'année 1925 représente une date significative : les recrutements pour les chantiers forestiers sont intensifiés et permettront de porter le volume des exportations à plus de 200.000 tonnes en 1927 (alors qu'il était de 4.000 tonnes en 1900 [2]); la « soumission » des derniers dissidents fang du Woleu-Ntem et de l'Okano est obtenue; le premier parti créé à Libreville, parti « Jeune Gabonais », n'a plus de « manifestation active ». Les années 1920-1925 ont permis la mise en place d'un système économique et administratif qui ne subira plus d'importants changements jusqu'à ces dernières années. Et pour mieux manifester d'une manière symbolique les transformations profondes qui ont, à cette époque, affecté

1. « Le chef de Subdivision se préoccupe activement de favoriser les migrations pahouines vers la Côte »; *rapport de* 1913. « Dans les deux derniers mois de l'année, l'exode des populations vers la Côte a été favorisé et d'importants mouvements ont commencé à se produire... les contingents immigrants qui descendent de la Guinée-Espagnole sont pris vigoureusement en mains... »; *rapport de* 1915.

2. *Le Gabon*, Agence des Colonies, 1948.

la société fang, signalons qu'en 1919 « l'abbé Jean Aubame est le premier prêtre de la sauvage race pahouine » [1].

I. Les transformations au niveau des structures démographiques et économiques.

Nous avons souligné combien les Fang disposaient plus d'une économie de conquête que d'une économie de production. Cette faiblesse de leur base matérielle en même temps que leur qualité de peuple le plus nombreux du Gabon devaient, après leur avoir permis de réagir le plus vivement à l'emprise coloniale, les soumettre plus complètement à cette dernière fermement établie. Certains groupements ne purent retrouver une part de liberté qu'en raison de leur degré « d'évolution » : la minorité agissante de Libreville, ou en raison de leur transformation en paysannat attaché à une culture « riche » : les villageois du Woleu-Ntem qui, après 1930, développèrent la production cacaoyère. Ce sont d'ailleurs les deux centres actifs, et riches d'initiatives, de l'actuel pays fang.

Alors que l'intérieur du pays reste encore mal connu et mal occupé, certains rapports datant de 1915, et les documents réunis par la *Commission d'étude du mariage et de la famille* créée en 1918, montrent combien les régions côtières présentent des sociétés déjà gravement atteintes. Ils lient, à cette désorganisation, une crise de population qui commence à inquiéter l'administration en raison de l'essor économique entrevu. Citons un de ces textes :

« Les Pahouins de l'Estuaire et des Circonscriptions voisines vivent aujourd'hui en pleine anarchie. Les lois rudimentaires qu'ils observaient primitivement sont tombées rapidement en désuétude au contact des Européens et des populations côtières... Le Pahouin débarrassé malgré lui de ses palabres (de femmes) ne serait plus alors — ce qu'il n'est actuellement que par intermittence — qu'un travailleur robuste, intelligent et indispensable au développement économique du Gabon » [2]. Il y a là l'évocation d'une situation qui va s'élargir rapidement. De plus, c'est dans cette région « touchée » que se multiplieront, après 1920, les exploitations forestières; les encouragements à l'émigration « vers la

1. Sœur Marie-Germaine, *op. cit.*
2. Citation du rapport de l'administration Guibet, dans le procès-verbal de la réunion du 7 mars 1918.

5: Balandier FH9 Fang

Côte » se révèleront insuffisants et la pratique des recrutements s'imposera.

Incidences démographiques de la politique de recrutement.

Jusqu'à ces dernières années, qui sont caractérisées par un effort de mécanisation, les chantiers forestiers ont exigé une main-d'œuvre dont le chiffre varie de 20 à 30.000 travailleurs. Si l'on fait un calcul sommaire, basé sur les générations des hommes généralement engagés (de 20 à 40 ans), avec la structure actuelle de la population, on s'aperçoit que le nombre de travailleurs correspond à la totalité de ces classes d'âge mâles pour une population de 150 à 180.000 individus — soit près de la moitié du chiffre total manifesté par le Gabon. C'est donner une idée de l'effort exigé des régions extérieures à la zone d'exploitation!

Les rapports annuels du territoire du Gabon fournissent des indications précises quant « aux demandes » de recrutement » et quant au nombre de « manœuvres engagés »; nous tirons de ces documents quelques chiffres significatifs :

TABLEAU I

ANNÉES.	NBRE D'AUTORISATIONS demandées.	NBRE D'AUTORISATIONS accordées.	NBRE DE MANOEUVRES engagés.
1925	16.300	12.500	6.500
1926	18.940	9.350	4.120
1927	18.736	7.996	4.500
1928	17.300	6.750	6.000
1933	5.299	5.095	Chiffre non produit
1947	14.030.	3.120	Chiffre non produit

Ce tableau simplifié montre comment, jusqu'à une époque très récente, les besoins en main-d'œuvre furent d'une importance très semblable — si l'on exclut un fléchissement qui, de 1929 à 1932, correspond aux incidences locales de la crise économique mondiale. A l'inverse de ces besoins soutenus, on remarque une diminution continuelle de l'effort administratif : la main-d'œuvre disponible et utilisable s'est amenuisée rapidement; dès 1927, le

gouvernement local songe à organiser des recrutements de manœuvres étrangers [1].

Il convient de compléter ces indications statistiques en rappelant que l'engagement portait sur une durée de deux ans — mais souvent prolongée par pression des employeurs, ou en raison d'un endettement grave, ou d'une situation administrative irrégulière — et en examinant « la proportion des retours d'engagés ». L'administrateur qui posa cette dernière question y répondit en écrivant : « De comptages, anciens il est vrai, j'ai déduit avec quasi-certitude que, sur les dix mille hommes engagés annuellement autrefois, la moitié à peu près étaient perdus pour la Colonie, soit qu'ils mourussent en cours d'engagement, soit que, ne rentrant pas chez eux, on ne put compter sur une descendance née de leurs œuvres » [2]. En ce qui concerne la mortalité sur les « chantiers », le géographe G. Sautter a pu montrer que la main-d'œuvre fang était particulièrement éprouvée. Il évoque une citation de rapport signalant « de nombreux décès parmi les équipes importées, ce, exclusivement dans la main-d'œuvre pahouine », et le cas précis d'une équipe de 175 manœuvres, engagée à Oyem en janvier 1922, qui a perdu par décès, durant le premier mois de travail, 30 de ces derniers [3]. On entrevoit comment ce « pompage » a pu atteindre la situation démographique (déjà médiocre) des zones de recrutement : une grande partie de la « population jeune mâle » a été perdue, par décès ou par incapacité de retrouver sa place dans les villages d'origine. Un document de 1946 évoque une « subdivision très obérée par le recrutement, celle de Makokou (peuplée en majorité de Fang) qui compte 4.603 hommes pour 7.018 femmes » [4]. Cette région fournissant ainsi un *sex-ratio* encore très anormal : 1.526 femmes pour 1.000 hommes — alors que certaines régions du Woleu-Ntem ont pu améliorer cet indice, de 1936 à 1951, à la faveur d'une économie paysanne en extension [5]. Ce même rapport, dû à M. A. Maclatchy, montre comment la politique des recrutements a transformé l'organisation des régions où se trouvent les exploitations : « Des milliers de travailleurs célibataires ont été transférés à la Côte, dont 75 % ne devaient jamais réintégrer le pays natal; ainsi est né, autour des zones d'exploitation, un

1. Recrutements qui ont fini par être « expérimentés », en 1950, avec des travailleurs originaires du Bas Nigeria.
2. G. Le Testu. *Rapport sur le Woleu-Ntem;* non daté. Cité dans : G. Sautter. Les paysans noirs du Gabon septentrional, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 132.
4. Commission de la Population, août 1946; rapport Maclatchy.
5. Cf. Ch. I, « La situation démographique des Fang ».

5: Balandier FH9 Fang

prolétariat de déracinés ayant rompu tout lien avec les coutumes ancestrales... » Bien avant cette date, en 1933, le gouverneur du Gabon s'inquiétait des problèmes posés par les « villages d'étrangers » et par les « vagabonds qui errent de chantier en chantier ».

Très tôt, l'administration locale reconnut les conséquences démographiques et sociales de cette politique, qui atteint gravement les peuples du Gabon sans parvenir à satisfaire les demandes des entrepreneurs. Les Fang furent affectés d'une double manière, leur habitat se trouvant à la fois dans les zones d'exploitation et dans les zones de recrutement. Les administrateurs de l'intérieur (notamment au Woleu-Ntem et en Ogooué-Ivindo : deux « réservoirs » pour les recruteurs) reconnurent les dangers qui menacent leur région et tentèrent de s'opposer à la doctrine officielle : « Attirer la main-d'œuvre et l'installer à proximité des centres forestiers ». Dès 1921, le Woleu-Ntem fournit 939 travailleurs recrutés sur les 2.167 exigés de l'ensemble du Gabon. En 1923, « plus de 2.000 individus jeunes ont été enlevés ou attirés par les entreprises de la Colonie et celles de la Guinée-Espagnole »; « ponction » qui correspond environ au dixième de la population mâle adulte. En 1925, il est estimé que, dans la seule subdivision d'Oyem, le « tiers ou à peu près des gens adultes se trouve déjà aux chantiers ». En 1928, dans un des cantons rattachés à Mitzic, 450 travailleurs sont prélevés, soit plus du tiers de la population jeune mâle [1].

L'altération de la composition même des groupements, qui résulte d'une telle politique de la main-d'œuvre, est encore accusée par le fait des départs « volontaires » (en particulier, vers la Guinée-Espagnole) qu'impose le besoin de ressources monétaires. Les retours de ces émigrants n'interviennent qu'avec retard : ainsi, à partir de 1935, au Woleu-Ntem, au moment où cette région permet les premiers développements d'un paysannat « moderniste ». Les hommes, ou les groupes, qui rejoignent leur village d'origine constituent d'importants facteurs d'évolution : leur déracinement fait qu'ils ne sont plus, et ne redeviendront pas, des Fang typiques. Ils sont colporteurs d'idées et de comportements nouveaux. A évaluer le nombre des hommes mis en cause par les « recrutements » et les migrations, on peut estimer non seulement le bouleversement démographique conséquent, mais encore la multiple emprise des « innovations » étrangères et des influences dites « modernes » sur ces travailleurs.

1. Données fournies par G. Sautter, *op. cit.*, et les rapports politiques locaux.

La situation dans les régions d'exploitation.

Le rapport économique de 1947, donnant une analyse précise des problèmes gabonais, affirmait d'entrée que le plus important d'entre eux réside dans le nombre trop élevé des « travailleurs » par rapport au nombre des « paysans ». C'était reconnaître le fait d'une *prolétarisation étendue* et admettre le déséquilibre créé par une économie élémentaire qui a développé un seul secteur (l'exploitation forestière, puis minière) et détruit, ou atteint sérieusement, l'économie agricole de subsistance. Ce même document constate que le « Bas-Gabon est épuisé »; nous avons indiqué, dans le chapitre précédent, combien cette région, ancien centre de traite puis zone des « chantiers », a été atteinte dans sa substance même : le fait de la dépopulation y étant incontestable. Elle est, par ailleurs, celle des contacts multiples entre éléments étrangers, celle où les influences socio-culturelles étrangères sont les plus nombreuses. Sur les « chantiers », de nouveaux types de relations humaines s'établissent et des emprunts ou adaptations culturels s'accomplissent; surtout, les populations du « Bas » subissent l'attrait, ou la marque, des deux villes établies à leur contact, Libreville (la ville administrative) et Port-Gentil (la ville des « forestiers »), et sont en rapport avec le plus grand nombre d'établissements européens. Il y a là comme un renforcement des « facteurs de démoralisation » signalés par certains administrateurs bien avant 1920. Tel de ceux-ci, dans une étude datée de 1915, s'étonne à propos des Fang de l'affaiblissement et « de la diminution d'une population autrefois si prolifique, qui paraissait vouloir envahir la plus grande partie du Gabon en absorbant les autochtones »[1].

Sur le plan démographique, le fait aussi important que l'indication de « chute » est, dans ces subdivisions du Bas, la prédominance masculine — à l'inverse de l'indice calculé pour l'ensemble du territoire qui révèle 1.264 femmes de plus de quinze ans pour 1.000 hommes de plus de quinze ans. Une aspiration d'hommes célibataires ou d' « engagés », déplacés sans leur famille, s'est produite d'une manière quasi continuelle. Les indices que donnent les districts de la zone d'exploitation sont significatifs, surtout lorsqu'on les compare aux indices manifestés par les régions de l'intérieur où furent effectuées les principales ponctions de main-d'œuvre — les deux séries paraissent en quelque sorte complémentaires.

1. Document produit par la Commission d'étude du mariage et de la famille.

TABLEAU II

DISTRICTS	Nombre de femmes de plus de 15 ans pour 1.000 hommes de plus de 15 ans.	
	Zone d'exploitation	Zone « réservoir de main-d'œuvre »
Libreville et commune	835 °/oo	
Port-Gentil et commune	965 °/oo	
Lambaréné	845 °/oo	
Oyem		1.337 °/oo
Bitam		1.443 °/oo
Booué		1.413 °/oo
Makokou		1.411 °/oo

Le rapport Maclatchy, auquel nous avons déjà recouru, a pu exagérer ces faits et parler d'une « ségrégation des sexes due au transfert des éléments jeunes mâles vers les zones d'exploitation ». Une telle situation explique ici l'acuité particulière de la compétition pour les femmes et l'importance prise par la prostitution ou le commerce de femmes. Contre ce dernier état de chose, bien avant la grande époque des « chantiers », l'évêque du Gabon s'élevait avec indignation en rendant la polygamie responsable d'une telle commercialisation : « Les polygames fournissent des femmes contre rétribution aux ouvriers des chantiers, aux miliciens, aux tirailleurs et traitants de passage »[1]. Il paraît certain que le principe d'une utilisation commerciale de la femme, possible à partir d'une « coutume » très sollicitée, s'est affirmé à la faveur de ce nouveau mode de peuplement que constituent les camps de travailleurs. Ces derniers, établis aux abords des chantiers, constituent essentiellement des groupements de jeunes mâles n'ayant guère accès aux femmes autochtones que dans les

1. Mgr. L. MARTROU, *Notes sur le projet de réglementation du mariage indigène*, inédit, archives de Libreville. Il faudrait compléter la citation par le passage suivant : « Qui de nous n'a vu, au dernier jour de chaque mois, l'un de ces vieux aller toucher ses mensualités chez ses clients, rentrant avec son aubaine et ramenant ses femmes si la quête n'a pas été fructueuse, ou s'il juge bon de les employer à d'autres travaux... »

limites de la semi-prostitution organisée — certaines femmes « se louent », en effet, après s'être libérées de leurs anciens liens par remboursement de la dot [1]. On peut penser que le ressentiment contre les femmes, cet antiféminisme qui se manifeste activement depuis quelques années, est en particulier la conséquence de ces relations vécues à l'occasion de l'expérience des chantiers. Ajoutons que c'est au niveau du Bas-Gabon que *les rapports entre sexes ont été le plus radicalement altérés*, que la femme a été la plus atteinte en tant que source de vie : le taux de stérilité le plus élevé (29, 37 %) se trouve évidemment établi quant à la région de l'Ogooué-Maritime [2].

Le rapport Maclatchy, qui indique encore : « A l'heure actuelle certaines régions de recrutement se trouvent peuplées de jeunes femmes et de vieillards », attire notre attention sur un autre fait. S'il se crée une certaine ségrégation des sexes, il se réalise aussi une *coupure matérielle entre les générations*. Cette dernière altère les rapports traditionnels entre générations (caractérisés par la prééminence des « aînés » et des « pères ») et actualise les tensions qu'ils impliquent. Elle conduit à une *différenciation* non moins importante liée, quant aux jeunes hommes, aux conditions économiques, aux rapports sociaux et aux influences culturelles nouveaux éprouvés lors du séjour dans les zones d'exploitation. Il est certain que le Bas-Gabon, en tant que région de traite d'abord, en tant que secteur économique anciennement établi ensuite, a pesé sur tous les groupements de l'intérieur en altérant la base démographique et l'économie traditionnelle, en suscitant de nouveaux modèles socio-culturels.

Instabilité du peuplement.

Il convient d'évoquer maintenant les réactions de refus provoquées par une emprise qui s'affirme plus lourdement : dérobade ou refuge dans les lieux les moins contrôlés, fuite pure et simple — devant l'impôt, les recrutements et les prestations multiples. Un rapport de 1922 justifie la difficulté de la tâche administrative en disant du Pahouin que « son désir le plus vif est de se soustraire à une autorité quelconque, naturelle ou de

1. J. Keller, « La dot dans l'évolution de l'Afrique Noire » *in Journ. des Missions Evangéliques*, juill.-sept. 1951. Cet auteur, missionnaire anciennement établi au Gabon, écrit : les femmes « se louent lorsque, comme ce fut le cas dans le Bas-Ogooué, elles avaient pu se racheter par la vente du produit de leurs plantations ».
2. Rapport médecin-général Le Dentu.

source étrangère ». La Guinée Espagnole a été, autant que source de meilleurs revenus, lieu de refuge (rôle qu'elle continue à jouer); et les administrateurs ont signalé, en l'exagérant sans doute, l'attrait exercé par un pays où « il n'y a ni recensement, ni impôt indigène, ni prestations, ni justice indigène »[1], où l'on peut vivre « dans la plus complète indépendance ». En 1933, encore, le chef de région du Woleu-Ntem signale comme « un fait important, qui mérite d'être rapporté, la récupération des villages cachés en brousse dans la région de Minvoul-Minkébé... »[2]. Cependant, l'année suivante, le processus de dérobade fonctionne à nouveau : « Les gens de Minkébé s'accrochent à leur région qu'ils savent d'accès trop difficile pour être souvent visitée par les représentants de l'administration; beaucoup d'indigènes qui primitivement occupaient la route automobile de Minvoul à Oyem l'ont abandonnée pour aller ailleurs... »[3]. En 1940, une tentative de recrutement pour le compte d'une exploitation minière de l'Ogooué a provoqué une véritable « panique » dans un des cantons de la subdivision de Mitzik. Durant l'époque dite d'effort de guerre (jusqu'en 1944), la récolte du caoutchouc fut relancée — exigeant beaucoup de travail pour une rémunération médiocre; et tel rapport signale que « le gros effort demandé aux indigènes en vue d'obtenir une importante production de caoutchouc a provoqué de nombreux départs vers des Subdivisions où l'effort demandé est moindre... ou même nul ». Chaque administrateur s'efforce péniblement, à l'intérieur de sa subdivision, d'empêcher les « fuites ».

Ces quelques faits montrent combien les *réactions de dérobade* se sont maintenues jusqu'alors malgré un contrôle administratif plus strict. Elles ont contribué à la mobilité des groupements. Elles représentent la forme la plus élémentaire de la fuite devant des exigences économiques et administratives parfois très lourdes, de cette tendance à la clandestinité que nous retrouvons à d'autres moments de l'analyse. On peut noter ainsi, au Woleu-Ntem, un véritable tropisme conditionné par les régions frontières du Cameroun et de la Guinée-Espagnole qui ont à leur contact une grande partie des habitants. Ce qui indique un attrait d'ordre économique et, tout autant, la recherche des avantages liés à la situation de village « frontalier ». En 1942, un rapport administratif constate, dans un langage qui ne manque pas d'être savou-

1. G. Le Testu, *Rapport de tournée en Guinée-Espagnole*, 1933.
2. Rap. 3e trimestre 1933.
3. Rap. Woleu-Ntem, 3e trimestre 1934.

reux, « qu'à la première contrariété, l'indigène quitte son village pour aller vagabonder ou même se réfugier en Guinée-Espagnole »[1].

Les causes d'ordre interne, la pacification établie et les causes dépendant de la situation coloniale particulière ont favorisé l'émiettement et entretenu la mobilité des groupements. C'est pour remédier à cet état de chose et obtenir une emprise plus réelle que l'administration pratiqua, aux environs de 1930, une politique systématique de « regroupements des villages », pour faciliter aussi le programme routier qui suscite alors les premières réalisations importantes et exige une main-d'œuvre stable chargée de l'entretien. De 1930 à 1935, les rapports administratifs rendent compte des progrès réalisés et des difficultés éprouvées en certains districts, où les villageois se dérobent, retournant à leurs « campements de brousse ». Le « regroupement » ne réussit en fait que dans les régions où il n'apporte pas des avantages à la seule administration, en facilitant notamment son contrôle. Ainsi, au Woleu-Ntem, il s'effectue au moment même où la culture du cacao commence à rendre, où les colons européens s'établissent et créent un commerce local orienté vers le Cameroun. Le mouvement, né de la contrainte, finit par y obéir à une sorte de nécessité : les villageois prenant eux-mêmes, durant ces dernières années, l'initiative de rejoindre les abords de la route ou de créer des accès à cette dernière. La route s'impose par ses marchés puis par les relations qu'elle permet en « ouvrant » le pays. Tandis que les anciennes cartes, établies au Woleu-Ntem entre 1910 et 1915, révèlent un réseau de pistes assez dense et un peuplement en surface, les cartes récentes manifestent un peuplement linéaire au long des grandes voies de communication.

Cette tranformation récente entraîna des conséquences qu'il importe d'examiner. A la suite d'une longue période de confusion, de 1915 à 1930, les groupements villageois ont eu tendance à se fixer — les plantations de cacaoyers et de caféiers, puis la route, contribuant à la stabilisation — et à retrouver une relative importance numérique. Ce qui est particulièrement net dans le cas des cantons du district d'Oyem :

1. Rap. Woleu-Ntem, 2e trimestre 1942.

TABLEAU III

Cantons du District de Oyem.

CANTONS	POP. DU CANTON EN 1948.	NBRE DE VILLAGES en 1948	MOYENNE DE POP. PAR village
Kyé-Nyé	11.400 hab.	87	131 hab.
Woleu	7.610 —	57	133 —
Bissok	5.025 —	52	96 —
Ellelem	3.095 —	35	88 —
Oyem	2.615 —	15	174 —

Ce *resserrement* a imposé des relations de voisinage, des rapports organisés entre groupements qui ne peuvent plus s'ignorer. Dans certains cas, des fragments relevant de clans ou de tribus différents ont été contraints de vivre dans la même unité villageoise — notamment entre Mitzik et Minvoul [1]; de nouveaux liens s'établissent ainsi, qui procèdent de la résidence et non plus de la seule « parenté ». Enfin, la route, avec la circulation qui s'y crée, facilite et suscite le mouvement des personnes; les idées et les initiatives des peuples voisins sont rapidement connues au Woleu-Ntem : l'influence du Cameroun, sur lequel cette région ouvre normalement, grandit.

Dans le Bas-Gabon, avec le développement des exploitations forestières, deux faits caractérisent le peuplement : la *multiplicité des brassages* liés au renouvellement des manœuvres recrutés à l'extérieur; le *volume des agglomérations de travailleurs* : sur Lambaréné, le cinquième de la population se trouve « aux chantiers » en 1936. De plus, la région ouvre sur les deux villes qui rassemblent plus de 20 % de la population des deux ensembles administratifs qu'elles commandent : Libreville, très ancien chef-lieu, passe de 2.653 habitants en 1918, à 5.444 en 1935 et à environ 11.000 (population flottante comprise) en 1949 — il est de plus en plus dominé par l'élément fang qui s'y trouve majoritaire; Port-Gentil, capitale économique, a une population de plus de 8.000 habitants qui reste particulièrement sensibilisée aux conditions que lui impose l'économie coloniale.

1. *Rap. pol. Woleu-Ntem*, 1er sem. 1937. « De nombreux villages sont composés d'indigènes appartenant à des tribus n'ayant aucun lien entre elles, principalement dans les subdivisions de Mitzic et de Minvoul ».

Les transformations d'ordre économique.

La lecture des documents d'archives révèle que l'économie de traite fut quasi dominante jusqu'aux environs de 1915-1920. Elle est caractérisée par la valeur éminente accordée aux marchandises d'importation, par le processus de trocs successifs qui « descend » les produits locaux (ivoire et caoutchouc) et « monte » les marchandises et le sel. Selon la place occupée sur ce circuit, le groupement se trouve astreint aux activités de collecte, ou bénéficie du rôle plus fructueux d'intermédiaire qui entre en contact avec les comptoirs européens. Vers le milieu du siècle dernier, l'explorateur Du Chaillu rapporte comment les Fang — alors, gens de l'intérieur — n'étaient que producteurs d'ivoire et comment par le truchement des mariages, créateurs d'alliance, un circuit commercial pouvait s'établir avec le minimum de risques [1]. C'est là le point de départ d'une conquête économique qui s'est vite affirmée.

En 1908, faisant sa monographie du « secteur de Njolé », Curault constate que l'agriculture y est « nulle », que l'élevage et l'industrie y sont « nuls » mais que le commerce « est *la véritable occupation* des Pahouins ». Il précise que « les Pahouins du secteur de Ndjolé ne sont que des intermédiaires entre ceux de l'intérieur et les commerçants européens établis sur les bords du Fleuve » [2]. Les Fang furent d'autant mieux placés pour ce commerce qu'ils n'eurent pas à s'opposer à une pénétration européenne qui interdisait le vieux trafic d'esclaves; ils recherchèrent les établissements européens à une époque où les peuples traitants traditionnels s'efforçaient de les éviter pour maintenir leurs activités négrières [3]. Et les archives se trouvant encore à Libreville révèlent que les Fang du Bas-Gabon (régions du Como, de Sindara et de Setté-Cama) eurent un rôle déterminant en matière de commerce jusqu'aux environs de 1905.

Les anciennes relations de voyage — ainsi les observations de M. H. Kingsley à la fin du siècle dernier — montrent que la collecte du caoutchouc ou de l'ivoire [4] mettent en cause des groupements

1. P. du Chaillu. *Voyages et Aventures dans l'Afrique Equatoriale.*
2. Capitaine Curault. « Monographie du Secteur de Ndjolé », *op. cit.*
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 110. En 1885, Fourneau signale que la traite des esclaves se fait encore par des voies détournées mais que « depuis notre occupation on peut la considérer comme entravée ». Un rapport de la N'Gounié, daté de 1903, indique cependant : « Les Pahouins sont les seuls qui n'aient pas d'esclaves... Les villages des environs de Sindara se livreraient au commerce des esclaves. Ceux-ci proviendraient de la région Issogho située sur la rive droite de la N'Gounié et seraient ensuite dirigés par voie de terre soit sur Lambaréné, soit sur Setté-Cama... »
4. *Travels in West Africa*, pp. 282 ss, 229 ss.

importants (souvent un village entier). Il en est de même pour le contrôle des voies ou centres de traite : tel village considère que la factorerie établie à son contact est « la sienne », tel groupement se fractionne et s'échelonne pour « tenir » une route de commerce. Ces activités conservent donc le caractère d'*une économie encore liée aux groupements fondamentaux* tout en créant entre eux une sévère compétition. Mais, elles entraînent une capitalisation de « marchandises » qui ne sont consommées que pour une très faible partie — voilà où intervient le déséquilibre. C'est à cette accumulation, directement liée à l'extension de l'emprise commerciale des Fang et à la pénétration coloniale qui établit les comptoirs de l'intérieur, qu'il convient de rattacher le bouleversement du système des « dots », le renchérissement de ces dernières et la capitalisation anormale d'épouses — bref, l'origine d'une atteinte grave aux fondements de l'organisation sociale. C'est pour remédier à cet état de chose que l'administration cherche, dès 1918, à généraliser le paiement de la dot en argent »; elle pense « que cette solution permettra aux jeunes gens... de trouver aisément à se marier » en empêchant que les femmes soient « monopolisées par les vieillards possesseurs des marchandises d'échange »[1]. Ce fut une illusion : car le décalage s'est maintenu, longtemps, entre les possibilités accrues de recueillir des biens toujours plus importants et l'usage qu'il est fait de ces derniers : la capitalisation des « épouses » reste toujours le signe de la richesse et de la prééminence sociale.

De 1905 à 1915 s'établit une période de transition : le passage se fait d'une activité fondée sur la traite et le troc à une activité qui utilise l'individu en tant que salarié. Par contre, ce n'est qu'aux environs de 1930 que se constitue le paysannat du Woleu-Ntem : la crise économique a suscité son établissement. Il est né de l'initiative d'administrateurs locaux[2] qui s'efforcent de relancer, à partir de 1925, la culture du cacaoyer tentée par les Allemands au temps du Neu-Kamerun; la création de la route du Cameroun et l'établissement de colons européens, à la même époque, devant favoriser les relations commerciales avec ce territoire. La division traditionnelle du travail, qui fait que le Fang ne se considère pas comme un paysan, l'empreinte laissée par les économies passées, rendent le démarrage difficile.

Il faut ajouter à ces difficultés celles qui sont inhérentes à la position spéciale du Woleu-Ntem : région qui ouvre normale-

1. Du mariage chez les M'Pongoué et chez les M'Fan; lettre datée du 3 janvier 1918.
2. Les administrateurs Auréas et Saint-Yves.

ment sur le Cameroun et la Guinée Espagnole alors que la « frontière », et le régime douanier, constituent des entraves au commerce local. Le rapport établi à la suite d'une inspection administrative (réalisée en 1935) indique :

« La région du Woleu-Ntem a besoin d'être peuplée et mise en valeur. Pour arriver à cette fin, il ne faut pas que l'application des tarifs douaniers paralyse le commerce et gêne le développement agricole du pays. Les indigènes n'ont pas intérêt à développer leurs plantations de cacaoyers et de caféiers puisqu'ils ne peuvent trouver sur place l'utilisation de l'argent acquis par leur travail [1]. »

Malgré cela, les cacaoyères se sont développées dans les districts de Bitam-Minvoul et Oyem; le cacao constitue la « base de la production du pays » : celle-ci atteint 1.670 tonnes en 1947, 2.000 tonnes en 1949 et représente environ 2.400 tonnes en 1950. On voit donc qu'il s'agit, à la faveur des hauts cours actuels, d'une économie en extension mais qui n'en est pas moins restée rudimentaire; cette culture rémunératrice apparaît comme une activité de substitution remplaçant l'ancienne traite, s'associant même à un commerce du café (production d'anciennes plantations) et des palmistes qui rappelle cette dernière; elle est effectuée dans de mauvaises conditions de rendement (en certains villages, on estime à 90 % la perte se produisant en raison d'un défaut de traitement [2]) malgré l'acquisition de certaines techniques, telle celle du séchage des fèves sur de grandes claies amovibles. Enfin, le fait que la traite du cacao soit laissée à la discrétion des commerçants locaux, dominée par la présence de la puissante Société du Haut-Ogooué, que le paysan ne soit pas armé pour résister aux pressions subies [3], explique le préjudice matériel porté à ce dernier qui est souvent trompé sur la quantité et la qualité du cacao livré et qui reste victime du « coxage ». Il faut ajouter que le stimulant propre à accroître la production manque encore : le marché local n'est pas organisé en fonction de la consommation indigène, soit que les traitants n'approvisionnent pas leurs boutiques, soit qu'ils s'efforcent de reprendre immédiatement, par le jeu d'une rareté en « marchandises » calculée, l'argent donné sur le marché à cacao.

1. Rapport de la tournée d'inspection faite par M. Soalhat, Inspecteur des affaires administratives.
2. En 1949, un technicien du Service de l'Agriculture constate « la mauvaise tenue, en général, des cacaoyères ».
3. La création d'une Coopérative des planteurs africains a été différée jusqu'alors.

Actuellement, cette culture n'a une importance réelle que dans les districts de Bitam-Minvoul et dans le district d'Oyem; les deux premiers fournissant environ les trois quarts de la production

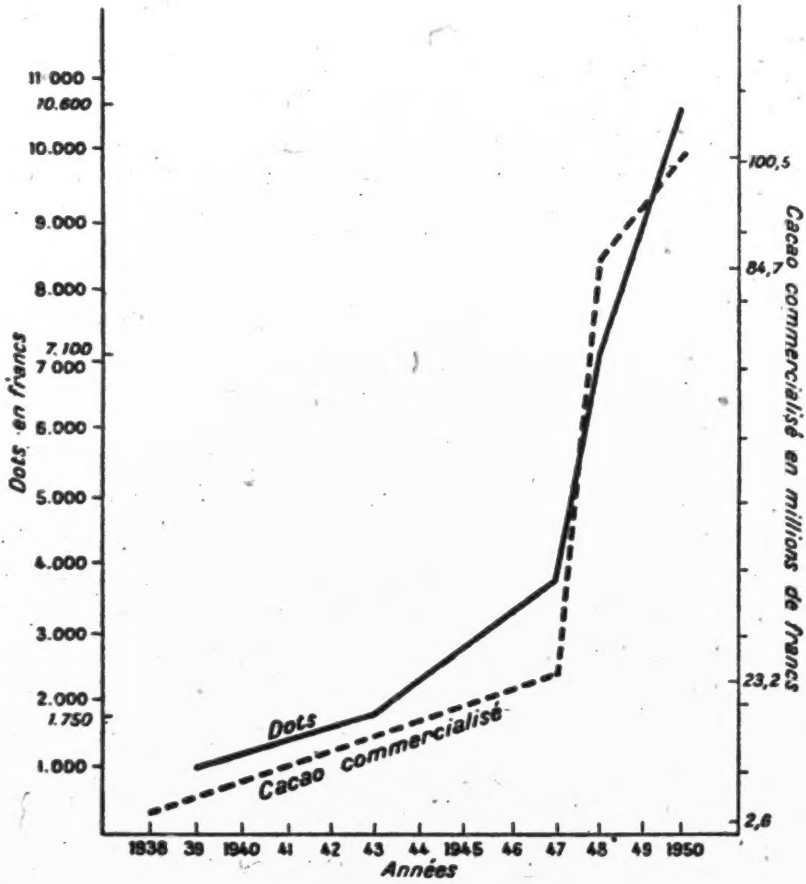


Fig. 7

COUT NUMÉRAIRE DES DOTS ET COMMERCIALISATION DU CACAO

totale commercialisée. En 1949, avec le prix moyen de 40 francs le kilo, lors de la vente au traitant, les paysans ont retenu durant la campagne près de 90 millions de francs C. F. A.; ce qui représente environ 2.500 francs par personne pour les villages de Bitam-Minvoul et 750 francs par personne pour les villages d'Oyem. A ces revenus se sont ajoutés, durant cette même année, les

profits impossibles à chiffrer (et réalisés essentiellement en marchandises) provenant de la traite du café, des palmistes et des pommes de terre, effectuée avec les commerçants de Guinée Espagnole. Ce ne sont là que des revenus très insuffisants mais qui paraissent considérables lorsqu'ils sont comparés à ceux correspondant aux autres régions du Haut-Gabon.

Il est certain qu'une large part de ces revenus circule d'abord sous forme de « dots » avant de contribuer à l'élévation du niveau de vie. Nous avons étudié la variation de la part en argent entrant dans les « dots », de 1939 à 1948, à l'aide des chiffres enregistrés à la Mission catholique de Minvoul lors des mariages chrétiens — chiffres qui sont à peine inférieurs à ceux manifestés par les mariages non-chrétiens. Et nous avons pu remarquer que la courbe, exprimant cette variation, a le même mouvement que la courbe correspondant aux variations du volume des opérations commerciales [1] réalisées lors de la traite du cacao (fig. 7). Ce qui est significatif de l'emploi des revenus et du caractère économique maintenant attaché à la « dot ». Il faut ajouter que la capitalisation s'effectue, par ailleurs, en « marchandises » *(bium)* serrées dans des coffres, obtenues à grands frais, qui représentent la part concrète des « dots » et des cadeaux aux « alliés ».

Lorsque le voyageur accède à la région à cacao du Woleu-Ntem, il est frappé par une amélioration du niveau de vie qui se manifeste dans l'habitation et dans le vêtement. La transformation du paysage villageois s'explique, au départ, par une intervention administrative liée à la politique de regroupement pratiquée aux environs de 1930. Les administrateurs cherchent à substituer les cases isolées, bâties en pisé, aux anciennes cases conjointes réalisées en écorce martelée. Malgré des résistances, que soulignent les rapports officiels des années 1934-1935, qui s'expliquent surtout par la séparation des « cuisines » et des « chambres » obligeant l'homme à vivre dans une demeure sans foyer, le nouveau type de case s'est imposé maintenant. La fixation des villages, conditionnée par l'existence des cacaoyères et de la route où se tiennent les marchés, l'acquisition de biens nouveaux (lits de bois, tables, chaises, coffres ou valises, etc.) ont facilité cette transformation. Surtout, des éléments d'ordre psychologique ont joué : le besoin d'affirmer un standing plus élevé, au fur et à mesure que s'établit la culture du cacaoyer, si bien que l'importance de la case est liée à l'importance écono-

1. Chiffres fournis par le *Bulletin d'informations économiques et sociales*, A. E. F., n° 20, février 1950.

mique nouvellement acquise; l'emprise des facteurs modernistes, au cours des dix dernières années, qui pousse à emprunter davantage aux modèles européens, et a imposé une case imitée des constructions coloniales (notamment dans le cas des fonctionnaires, des commerçants, des planteurs de quelque importance, des anciens militaires et des chefs). Le géographe G. Sautter, qui donne un tableau précis de ces transformations matérielles, indique comme preuve de la « connexion entre économie et habitat... la coïncidence de la zone de forte production cacaoyère avec celle où les cases nouvelles sont les plus nombreuses »[1]. Il faut ajouter que c'est en cette région que les besoins de modernisation radicale du village s'exprimèrent, avec le plus de force et de ténacité, à partir de 1945.

En matière de vêtement, l'amélioration est surtout sensible chez les femmes; la plupart portent des robes confectionnées et non plus des pagnes. Les tailleurs se sont donc multipliés dans les centres et villages importants et aux abords des lieux de marché. Quant aux hommes, ils ont européanisé leur vêtement, en empruntant jusqu'au casque colonial, ne maintenant quelquefois, à l'occasion de leurs déplacements, qu'une fausse lance qui sert de bâton de marche et reste la seule survivance de l'équipement de l'ancien guerrier fang.

Ces transformations, si médiocres soient-elles, montrent comment les Fang du Woleu-Ntem sont en train de recouvrer équilibre et vitalité en se transformant en paysans modernistes, après avoir été les éléments les plus atteints par les « recrutements » et les famines. Il convient maintenant d'évoquer les transformations sociales provoquées plus ou moins directement par cette économie nouvelle. En premier lieu, ce ne sont pas seulement les villages qui se sont fixés[2] — les cacaoyères exigeant un entretien et une surveillance réguliers ont « tenu » les villages à leurs abords — mais les hommes eux-mêmes qui, *devenus* paysans, se sont attachés à leurs champs. Les villages qui ont été contraints de se déplacer ont conservé la propriété de leurs plantations riches : manifestant l'existence nouvelle de liens avec le sol alors que dans l'ancienne économie celui-ci « n'est à personne »[3]. Dans les régions où la culture cacaoyère ne connaît pas encore une grande extension, ainsi sur Mitzik, le travail peut

1. « Les paysans noirs du Gabon septentrional », *in op. cit.*, pp. 146-156.
2. Cf. L. Martrou, « Le nomadisme des « Fangs » », *op. cit.*
3. Un village des environs d'Oyem s'est nommé *Aᵋébé*, ce qui signifie « enterrer »; les notables ayant voulu manifester leur volonté de ne plus déplacer le village.

se faire en respectant l'unité du *nd'è bòt* comme lorsqu'il s'agit des cultures vivrières. Dans la majeure partie des cas, chaque homme adulte marié a « ses » cacaoyers et « ses » caféiers — certains, disposant d'une plantation de quelque importance, y établissent une marque de propriété (le plus souvent, un panneau portant le nom du « propriétaire »). La famille restreinte tend à devenir l'unité où s'accomplit cette économie moderniste, alors que les cultures vivrières s'effectuent dans les limites du *nd'è bòt* ou des groupements de camaraderie. Les éléments les plus « évolués » (chefs administratifs, anciens tirailleurs, anciens habitants des centres, etc.) sont à la fois ceux qui ont réalisé les plus grandes étendues cultivées (de 3 à 5 ou 6 hectares plantés) et ceux qui affirment, de la manière la plus apparente, leur droit de propriété. Beaucoup d'entre eux revendiquent le titre de « planteur », mais aucun n'a eu la possibilité de prendre une importance telle qu'il puisse échapper en partie aux exigences des traitants européens.

Grâce aux cultures riches, le Fang se transforme en paysan « intéressé »; la division du travail entre les sexes est modifiée : ces cultures sont l'affaire effective des hommes, les femmes ne font que les aider en cette matière et assurent surtout le transport des fèves de cacao aux lieux de marché. Si les cultures vivrières sont « la richesse de la femme », le produit de leur vente lui appartenant, cette dernière ne reçoit, sur la vente du cacao, que la part consentie par son mari — elle s'arrange d'ailleurs pour proportionner son effort à la générosité de celui-ci. Les rapports entre hommes et femmes en sont transformés; ces dernières s'affirment en tant qu'instruments de production avec un sens presque moderne. Par ailleurs, quelques « planteurs », très peu nombreux, recourent à une main-d'œuvre rémunérée. On voit donc que les rapports sociaux traditionnels sont profondément bouleversés; d'autant plus que l'économie et les besoins nouveaux ont agi dans le sens de la différenciation en multipliant les commerçants, les intermédiaires ou trafiquants, les artisans (ébénistes, tailleurs, jusqu'à un peintre qui décore les cases de la route de Minvoul de motifs empruntés à des livres religieux ou profanes) et les producteurs de cacao qui s'affirment comme « planteurs ».

L'économie fondée sur le cacao a, en créant des ressources locales, limité l'émigration volontaire; elle tend à stabiliser le groupement familial autant que le groupement villageois. De plus, elle a, à l'intérieur de ce peuplement mieux fixé, multiplié la vie de relations : les marchés du cacao favorisent les rapports

entre villageois; le trafic accru avec le Cameroun — le commerce se faisant avec Ebolowa ou Kribi — a facilité les contacts avec les peuples parents qui y sont établis [1]. Alors que les déplacements forcés vers le Bas-Gabon, et l'attraction exercée par cette région, ont anciennement provoqué et affirmé l'influence socio-culturelle de ce dernier (ainsi, par l'intermédiaire du Woleu-Ntem, la secte *Bwiti* parvint à s'établir en certains points du Cameroun), les relations nouvelles ont, au cours des dix dernières années, favorisé les influences camerounaises (notamment à l'occasion du mouvement de regroupement clanique).

Surtout, les « centres » de Bitam ou Oyem se sont imposés par les activités économiques — même rudimentaires — qu'ils suscitent; ils attirent, alors qu'autrefois ils repoussaient en tant que centres de domination administrative. En analysant la carte actuelle de la région d'Oyem, on constate que la population des villages diminue à mesure que l'on s'éloigne du « centre » au long des deux pistes importantes (celle de Mbenga et celle du Woleu) et des routes carrossables.

Tableau IV

	Moyenne pour les 5 prem. villages	Moyenne pour les 10 prem. villages	Moyenne pour les 15 prem. villages	Moyenne pour les 20 prem. villages	Moyenne pour les 25 prem. villages
Route de Bitam	677 hts	211 hts	179 hts		
Route de Mitzick	166 hts	133 hts	154 hts	145 hts	134 hts
Piste de Mbenga	236 hts	166 hts	146 hts	130 hts	
Piste du Woleu	151 hts	137 hts	115 hts	105 hts	

Dans le cas de la route de Mitzick la chute ne se manifeste pas aussi rapidement en raison du grand nombre de villages qui, proches les uns des autres, annoncent les abords d'Oyem.

1. Le rapport politique de 1942 (Woleu-Ntem) constate que « la création du courrier régulier Cameroun-Gabon a amené un échange d'étrangers dans les centres urbains. »

L'importance politique des autochtones s'affirme de plus en plus au niveau de ce centre, par des associations (ainsi le *Comité de la Jeunesse Ntoumou* fondé en 1948) et un « mouvement », créé par le député Aubame, soutenu par les représentants locaux. Certains éléments font campagne afin d'obtenir un lotissement précis d'Oyem et la création d'une « commune mixte ». Ce sont là des manifestations qui s'expliquent plus par l'essor économique du pays que par la politique nouvelle des autorités européennes.

***

Il reste à indiquer que l'économie monétaire est maintenant établie dans la totalité du pays fang ayant substitué la notion de prix, et de profit, à celle d'échange et de don réciproque. Si l'on se reporte aux observations faites par l'explorateur Du Chaillu, il apparaît que certains produits tôt diffusés par la traite — ainsi le Neptune ou plat de cuivre — ont pris le caractère de monnaie particulièrement appréciée. Dans le Bas-Gabon, à l'occasion de leurs rapports avec les maisons de commerce, les Fang acquièrent vite la notion de « dollar-marchandises »; un document administratif (1905) mentionne et critique le système :

« Les indigènes se trouvent d'accord avec les maisons de commerce pour ne pas désirer l'introduction de l'argent... ce sont des marchandises qu'il leur faut pour aller dans l'intérieur acheter du caoutchouc et de l'ivoire... également pour payer la dot de leurs femmes... Les commerçants feront tout leur possible pour garder le système du dollar-marchandises si commode pour rançonner les Pahouins [1]. » Ce dernier définit, quelle que soit la part de l'arbitraire, une valeur d'échange et permet l'obtention brutale d'un profit important; les Fang n'ont pas fait, pendant longtemps, les frais du système sans en retenir ces deux notions — leurs actions violentes pour obtenir la baisse du « prix » des marchandises, évoquées par les anciens rapports, le prouvent.

En 1891, un arrêté détermine le salaire journalier du manœuvre et du chef d'équipe, fixe le taux de la ration. La définition du salaire, dans un pays où l'emploi salarié croît rapidement de 1910 à 1920, et celle de l'impôt de capitation (dont le recouvrement est la tâche principale des chefs administratifs), ont accéléré l'établissement de l'économie monétaire; d'autant plus que

1. Rapport du poste de Botika (région de Libreville), 1905.

l'administration a imposé le plus possible « l'introduction de l'argent » afin de faciliter la collecte de l'impôt. Ensuite, l'exploitation forestière et minière, la culture du cacaoyer et du caféier, la multiplication des centres de consommation ont accru, sans cesse, le volume de la circulation monétaire et le nombre des individus participant à cette dernière.

A l'économie concrète et personnelle de l'échange, s'est substituée l'économie abstraite et anonyme de la monnaie avec toutes les possibilités de spéculation que permet cette dernière. Une propriété à caractère personnel tend à se développer; elle s'affirme par les pancartes-marques de propriété qui figurent sur les boutiques de village, les cases modernistes, les abords des plantations. Les revenus tendent à s'individualiser : la femme, qui contribue maintenant à la production de biens commercialisables et n'est plus limitée à celle des seuls biens de consommation, l'homme célibataire, qui peut s'employer en tant que salarié, participent également à cette tendance. Mais la richesse personnelle, créatrice de prééminence, *n'est pas tolérée* si un groupement de quelque importance n'est là pour la protéger et y participer en compensation. Tel commerçant d'un village situé à un carrefour de routes, où nous avons séjourné, a acquis un rôle unique au sein de ce groupement en raison de sa richesse relative : mais il contribue largement aux fêtes publiques, apporte son aide matérielle en certains cas et reçoit les hôtes de passage.

Une coutume signalée chez les Fang du groupe Ntoumou (qui se trouvent à cheval sur le Cameroun et le Gabon), et qui s'est développée dans les villages camerounais enrichis beaucoup plus tôt par le cacao, manifeste les aspects *collectifs* et *publics* de la richesse; il s'agit du *bilaba* [1] qui présente certains caractères du *potlatch* [2]. Le mot désigne le défi que se lancent deux personnes quant à leur richesse ou à leur puissance; toutes deux, assistées par leurs femmes, leurs parents et leurs amis, se rendent des visites au cours desquelles dons et contre-dons sont accumulés à la faveur d'une manifestation publique imposant chants, danses et, surtout, échange de moqueries et d'injures à l'occasion de la discussion des prix. L'auteur d'une étude consacrée à ces faits achève sa description en écrivant :

1. D'après le *Lexique* de Mgr MARTROU, le verbe *lab*, qui est à l'origine de ce mot, signifie à la fois : « projeter, éclabousser » et « se procurer en grande quantité, monopoliser ».
2. « Visage africain d'une coutume indienne et mélanésienne », par Ch. ZOLL'OWAMBE, *in Bul. Soc. Et. Camerounaises*, 19-20, 1947. Aussi : J. GUILBOT, « Le Bilaba », in *Journ. Soc. des Africanistes*, XXI, fasc. II, 1951.

« Vient à la fin le balancement des comptes... C'est alors qu'apparaît la gloire, la richesse du vainqueur. L'honneur des deux partenaires est en jeu. Car plus on a fourni de cadeaux à son invité... plus on acquiert l'estime de tous. Et plus on a d'intérêt à donner; car plus on donne, plus on recevra; et plus on doit recevoir, plus facilement les amis et les parents acceptent de vous prêter tout ce que vous désirez obtenir.

« Aussi, lorsque, les rôles étant renversés, le premier hôte ira à son tour chez son ancien invité, celui-ci aura amassé de nombreux biens pour répondre honorablement aux dons qu'il a reçus; au besoin il aura emprunté parmi les siens, parmi ses pairs et tous lui auront prêté, sachant... qu'il leur sera rendu plus qu'ils ne donnent [1]. »

La lutte ne peut cesser qu'avec l'épuisement économique ou la disparition de l'un des « adversaires »; celui qui doit céder est condamné au « mépris général » tandis que le vainqueur, « écouté » et « considéré », « deviendra un notable ». Il ne s'agit pas de ces *prestations totales*, analysées par M. Mauss dans son *Essai sur le Don*, où ce sont des collectivités qui se défient; l'aspect individuel, personnel, domine l'aspect collectif, et l'étude évoquée prend la précaution de préciser qu'il n'est pas encore connu « que le *bilaba* puisse lier toute une famille ou une société à travers l'un de ses membres ». Si les partisans prêtent à chacun des antagonistes, c'est avec l'espoir d'un profit, « sachant qu'il leur sera rendu plus qu'ils ne donnent ». Ce qui nous paraît important, c'est la manifestation publique de la richesse, et dans une certaine mesure la participation du public à cette dernière, la constitution d'une clientèle bénéficiant de celle-ci. On peut penser qu'il y a là un processus destiné à faire admettre la richesse acquise à titre personnel — dans une société qui se montre, traditionnellement, hostile aux prééminences dont la collectivité ne tire pas avantage — à établir l'importance sociale du « riche » dans une société qui, lors de l'époque conquérante, ne reconnaissait pas d'abord les valeurs économiques; un des signes du passage de la compétition guerrière à la compétition économique. La mécanique même des échanges, qui oblige à désigner le rival « du Nord », ayant à apporter les « marchandises du Nord » (c'est-à-dire les produits du cru) et le rival « du Sud », ayant à apporter les « marchandises du Sud » (c'est-à-dire les produits d'importation européenne), rappelle le système de l'ancienne traite, suggère qu'il s'agit d'une adaptation (ou d'une innovation) liée aux conditions

1. Cf. Ch. Zoll'Owambe, *in op. cit.*

économiques nouvelles. Il semble, d'après l'étude consacrée au *bilaba*, qui évoque des observations datant de 1930, que cette institution soit maintenant en complet déclin. L'extension de l'économie agricole et la multiplication du nombre des individus participant aux sources de revenus, l'emprise accrue du contrôle européen qui a limité les dangers liés aux manifestations de « jalousie », ont favorisé l'établissement d'une richesse personnelle dont peut bénéficier un groupement restreint. Nous avons déjà suggéré, à plusieurs reprises, cette atomisation des groupements qui ont le caractère d'unités économiques.

L'extension de l'économie monétaire a, très vite, agi sur la nature et le sens de la dot. L. Mba signale, dans son *Coutumier Pahouin*, que c'est à partir de 1922 que le numéraire a été réellement « offert en dot »; date qui correspond à la pleine époque d'emploi sur les chantiers forestiers, à la période dite « d'aisance » par certains textes administratifs. La part du numéraire s'est sans cesse accrue, jusqu'à représenter 75 % environ de la dot totale; les « marchandises » apportées en plus ayant surtout un caractère symbolique (animaux, sel, pagnes, marmite) ou le sens de « cadeaux » ajoutés à la dot. La somme qui compose cette dernière n'est plus, en général, conservée comme moyen d'échange matrimonial. Elle *peut être utilisée*, tout comme l'argent acquis par la culture du cacao ou le commerce. Elle est de l'argent plus qu'une « dot ». Cette dernière prend ainsi le caractère d'un prix qui obéit aux variations des prix locaux; et la femme, bien raréfié, devient un instrument de spéculation facile. Le jeu des divorces et des re-mariages permet la spéculation sur la hausse du « prix de la dot »; et parallèlement, l'adultère plus ou moins consenti, plus ou moins provoqué, devient une source de profit par les indemnités — représentant une portion définie de la « dot » — auxquelles il donne droit. C'est affirmer le caractère instrumental de la femme, sa nature de « bien ». Contre ce fait, un jeune auteur fang, F. Meyé, réagit en écrivant : « L'idéal serait que les pères de famille se montrent plus désintéressés et puissent comprendre qu'une fille n'est pas une marchandise [1]. » Mais nous avons ailleurs indiqué que le souci de constituer une « dot » est resté le principal stimulant de toute entreprise et que la polygamie continue à permettre les prééminences — et à renforcer la position économique — dans une société qui n'a jamais reconnu réellement les chefferies administratives et dont les tentatives d'organisation nouvelle ont toutes été déçues.

1. F. Meyé, « Pour la Jeunesse Fang. La Femme Africaine », *op. cit.*

***

C'est aux transformations de la base démographique et économique qu'un rapport administratif de 1938 rattache les principaux bouleversements de la société fang; indiquant dans une sorte d'énumération, de bilan catastrophique :

« Les traditions se sont atténuées; la richesse individuelle s'est développée; les voyages à la Côte, les séjours sur les chantiers forestiers ont donné naissance à l'esprit d'indépendance. De simples membres de la famille, d'anciens « clients » sont devenus des chefs et se sont, à leur tour, constitués une clientèle. Les familles se sont mêlées; les villages aussi. Des famines longues et cruelles ont aidé à ces dispersions et à ces regroupements disparates »[1].

Se retrouvent là, simplement énumérés, les faits que nous venons de manifester et de décrire. Ils vont constituer une sorte d'arrière-plan pour l'étude des « crises » repérées par l'administrateur européen, ou ressenties par les Fang qui tentent de réagir d'une manière indépendante. L'analyse de ces dernières nous permettra de dépasser le niveau des constatations, de mieux saisir les rapports réels entre la société coloniale et la société fang, d'entreprendre l'analyse compréhensive des transformations survenues dans le cadre de la situation coloniale et de mettre en évidence certaines caractéristiques fondamentales de la société fang, en même temps que certains caractères spécifiques de l'état de dépendance.

II. Les « crises » fang repérées par l'administration coloniale.

Un dépouillement méthodique des documents administratifs, rapports périodiques ou rapports de Commissions, portant sur la période récente allant de 1915 à 1950, révèle une série stéréotypée de jugements et critiques concernant « le Pahouin » et la société qu'il anime, d'une part, un effort pour « faire le point » à la faveur d'enquêtes précises lors de chacun des après-guerres, d'autre part. Ces dernières, en 1920 comme en 1946-1947, sont provoquées par les circonstances; elles expriment le souci d'une remise en ordre, à la suite des réactions et des transformations nées de

1. *Rapport politique du Djouah*, 1er sem. 1938.

« l'effort de guerre », le souci de relancer et d'étendre l'économie locale — favoriser la production forestière après 1920, faciliter la politique d'équipement et de production intensifiée après 1945 — donc, de créer les conditions humaines favorables à la « reprise ». Il convient de préciser qu'elles ont plus servi à révéler certains problèmes qu'à apporter des solutions.

Quant aux rapports périodiques, il est remarquable que leur contenu ait peu changé au cours des trente dernières années. La préoccupation dominante, qui apparaît comme une sorte de leit-motiv, est celle d'avoir une emprise réelle et complète sur une société qui se dérobe, et qui n'est pas organisée pour permettre un contrôle même indirect. Les récriminations contre la mobilité des groupements et la « manie migratoire », contre les fuites, les « vagabonds » et la « population flottante », les tentatives visant à récupérer les « villages cachés » dans des régions difficilement accessibles, révèlent le désir de donner une base en quelque sorte physique à l'emprise politique, d'avoir *tous* les groupements « bien en main » selon une expression souvent utilisée. Entreprise toujours déçue, de même que les tentatives faites pour imposer une hiérarchie administrative et, par le truchement de celle-ci, contrôler jusqu'au moindre groupement. Les critiques mettent en cause la psychologie même du Fang — « esprit anarchiste », refus de toute subordination « à une autorité quelconque, naturelle ou de source étrangère » [1], « individualisme » et « tendance à s'isoler », etc. — et l'organisation sociale — manque de « chefs de tribu » sur lesquels l'administrateur « puisse compter », « incapacité à contrôler un groupe d'hommes important » [2], rivalités de tribu à tribu, « instabilité des familles » et rôle démesuré des « palabres de femmes ». Cette emprise administrative qui vise au maintien de l'ordre, à la rentrée rapide de l'impôt, à la satisfaction des besoins économiques locaux n'a jamais été profonde. Elle s'exprime par une action incertaine, souvent contradictoire, toujours sur ses gardes. Lorsque les Fang, après 1945, tentèrent de réorganiser leur société à la faveur d'un regroupement clanique, l'administration se manifesta réticente, puis hostile, parce que l'initiative du mouvement était strictement fang et qu'elle pouvait être interprétée comme le début d'une prise de conscience.

Selon une démarche propre à la colonisation française, les préoccupations d'ordre politique sont d'abord, et le plus souvent,

1. Rapport annuel du Gabon, 1922.
2. Rapport Woleu-Ntem, 1934.

exprimées; mais les préoccupations à caractère économique les accompagnent. Le souci des « recrutements » a longtemps dominé; c'est par son intermédiaire que l'administration a pris conscience de la mauvaise situation démographique, de l'état d'épuisement des peuples gabonais; et les Fang, considérés jusqu'alors comme une race vigoureuse, provoquent une véritable déception qui pousse certains auteurs des rapports à envisager jusqu'à leur « disparition » [1]. Par ailleurs, indication des difficultés éprouvées à vouloir convertir le Fang aux tâches du paysan — qui invoque le manque de « courage au travail » et de « goût du travail de la terre » — avec, par moments, la constatation que la médiocrité des revenus obtenus et des stimulants économiques, les impôts et prestations trop lourds, multiplient ces difficultés. L'établissement d'une économie d'exploitation extensive, très contraignante pour des peuples peu nombreux et non adaptés, aboutit à une série d'impossibilités que les rapports administratifs ne peuvent que constater, à partir de 1920. Tels sont les deux ensembles qui apparaissent à la lecture de ces documents. Il faut y ajouter l'incertitude manifeste quant à l'attitude à adopter vis-à-vis du mouvement « d'évolution » créé par la situation coloniale; elle s'exprime par une égale méfiance à l'égard des vieillards, qui fondent leur opposition sur les « fétiches » qu'ils contrôlent, et à l'égard des « évolués » en raison des revendications qu'ils peuvent exprimer. L'étude des documents établis à la suite d'enquêtes particulières vient éclairer ces observations très générales.

Le bilan établi en 1918-1920 : *les problèmes de l'organisation familiale.*

D'après les archives, se trouvant au Gouvernement de Libreville, la première Commission chargée d'étudier les problèmes urgents manifestés par la société fang fut constituée le 1er janvier 1918. Elle a pour but affirmé de s'attacher à la « question du mariage chez les M'Fans » et de rechercher les moyens favorisant « la constitution et l'évolution de la famille ». Elle invoque « l'action civilisatrice » de la nation coloniale, exprime le souci d'assurer le « développement moral et social » des autochtones et « de relever le niveau moral » des Fang. Mais l'on voit paraître, à certains passages des textes établis, d'autres raisons. Le désir de réduire les « palabres de femmes », causes de conflits entre

1. Rapport Woleu-Ntem, 3e trimestre 1929; Rapport Ogooué-Maritime, 3e trimestre 1935.

« les différentes tribus », créant un « état de chose... qui est un des principaux obstacles apportés à notre action civilisatrice »; la recherche des moyens propres à réduire la polygamie des hommes âgés et en conséquence « à miner l'autorité que ces derniers tiennent de leur richesse relative, dont ils font, le plus souvent, un mauvais usage »; le besoin de libérer le Fang d'un état social « anarchique », afin de mieux en faire, selon une expression déjà citée, « un travailleur robuste, intelligent et indispensable au développement économique du Gabon [1] ». Les préoccupations d'ordre politique et économique, correspondant à l'établissement de cette double emprise durant la période 1915-1920, dominent en fait.

Le rapport le plus important, celui de l'administrateur Guibet, évoque les aspects les plus visibles de « l'évolution » sociale. En premier lieu, le *relâchement du contrôle social*. Ce document constate que « les lois anciennes de la race pahouine... sont tombées rapidement en désuétude au contact des européens et des populations côtières » et que les femmes ont été les premières à bénéficier de cette carence. L'action des Missions chrétiennes et de l'administration s'est opposée aux sanctions traditionnelles considérées comme « inhumaines » (cependant qu'elles répriment l'adultère, les relations avec les filles impubères, etc.). Le recours à ces deux autorités (les Missions jouant souvent le rôle de lieu-refuge) permit à la femme d'échapper à la subordination totale et de risquer cette libération sur le plan sentimental que nous avons signalée au cours du chapitre précédent : « Aussi, l'adultère est-il devenu courant en pays pahouin et, véritablement excessive, l'inconduite de la femme pahouine dès son tout jeune âge ». Ce même document suggère à cet égard l'influence des « populations côtières » qui sont profondément marquées par leur contact ancien avec la colonisation européenne. L'exemple de la minorité mpongwé semble, en particulier, avoir été déterminant dans la région de l'Estuaire : il révèle une grande liberté en matière de mœurs sexuelles, le refus du mariage, l'utilisation par les femmes (les célèbres « Gabonaises » des récits de voyage) de la prostitution plus ou moins franche afin de se libérer et d'améliorer leurs conditions d'existence [2]. L'élargissement des communications

1. Lettre du Gouverneur du Gabon au Président de la Commission, 3 janvier 1918; Procès-verbal de la séance du 7 mars 1918.

2. En 1918, sur les « 935 femmes mariées ou en âge de l'être » qui se trouvent à Libreville », plus de 400 sont en quelque sorte vouées au célibat », parmi ces dernières « 65 vivent maritalement avec des Européens » et « une centaine vivent réellement de la prostitution ». *Rapport administratif.*

et la pacification ont permis la diffusion de tels comportements.

L'étude insiste, en second lieu, sur les *conséquences de l'économie coloniale* qui a accumulé les « marchandises », en échange des produits de traite, et multiplié les « conflits d'intérêt ». Cette accumulation a d'abord permis une circulation plus rapide des « dots ». Ensuite, dans les régions pacifiées du Bas-Gabon, le fait même de l'*alliance* créée par le jeu des mariages a paru moins important que les avantages économiques que cette dernière pouvait permettre (le gendre est harcelé de demandes de cadeaux et de services auxquelles il cède sous la menace d'un divorce devenu facile). La circulation des femmes commence à être uniquement liée à la circulation des marchandises d'échange, donc à un mécanisme *strictement économique*, en même temps que la femme devient créatrice de richesses et non plus des seuls biens de consommation (« être riche, c'est posséder plusieurs femmes et la fortune s'accroît avec leur nombre »). Les « notes », rédigées à l'époque par Monseigneur Martrou, après avoir rendu « la désorganisation de la famille » responsable de « la faible natalité », s'attachent aux deux mêmes aspects. Citons : « Les coutumes n'ayant plus de sanctions (qui ont été combattues parce que « liées à des conceptions immorales, contraires aux principes de notre législation, et reposant sur des croyances fétichistes inadmissibles ») ... ont perdu leur force » et sont « décidément désuètes ». Par ailleurs, l'étude insiste sur l'exaspération des caractères économiques impliqués par la condition de la femme (considérée comme une « chose » ou un bien) et la polygamie (qui entraîne « raréfaction » et « monopolisations » des femmes), par une coutume qui, sollicitée, permet l'utilisation mercantile de la femme. Elle révèle, en conclusion, les efforts faits par les Missions catholiques pour atteindre la polygamie : mariage chrétien accordé seulement à la « première femme »; surtout, encouragement et appui donnés aux « jeunes femmes » qui déclarent vouloir épouser chrétiennement un célibataire[1].

Et l'on s'aperçoit que la « désorganisation » de l'ancienne société fang, vivement critiquée et posant des problèmes graves auxquels des solutions sont cherchées, a été en partie souhaitée

1. Mgr Martrou, *Notes sur le projet de réglementation du mariage indigène*, inédit. Citons quant au dernier point : « Tout récemment, Monsieur le Gouverneur de l'A. E. F. a bien voulu déclarer à Monseigneur Augouard, que les jeunes femmes de polygames qui s'évaderaient du domicile conjugal et se réfugieraient dans un poste ou une mission, ne pourraient être inquiétées, ni obligées de réintégrer les foyers évadés. Il suffirait que le jeune homme, qui voudrait en marier une, rende à l'ancien mari l'équivalent de la dot, *et cela lors du nouveau mariage* ».

et favorisée par les administrateurs et les missionnaires. Les uns voulant atteindre les autorités politiques traditionnelles (pour leur substituer des autorités nouvelles et contrôlées), les autres voulant toucher gravement les tenants du « fétichisme » et la famille polygame. Tous favorisent ainsi les éléments traditionnellement subordonnés : les femmes (pour qui le prétexte du mariage chrétien est un moyen de libération [1]) les jeunes hommes (qui doivent être mis en état de devenir des « bons travailleurs »). Cette action, plus ou moins consciente, donnant lieu à une politique ambiguë, a accentué et accéléré les transformations dues au relâchement du contrôle social et à l'action économique des Européens.

La réglementation envisagée par cette Commission de 1918 — interdiction du mariage des impubères, restriction et contrôle des divorces, limitation du montant de la « dot » et paiement en argent, sanctions réprimant l'adultère — s'est révélée inopérante. En 1936, un projet régissant « le mariage indigène en pays Fang » reprend les mêmes points [2]. La Commission de la Population en 1946, le Congrès Pahouin en 1947, redonnent une place de premier plan à ces mêmes préoccupations. Les Fang eux-mêmes, lors du mouvement de regroupement clanique, manifestèrent une conscience précise de cette crise affectant le groupement familial et les rapports institués entre sexes. Ils retiennent certaines des suggestions administratives : limitation de l'âge du mariage, contrôle du divorce et de l'adultère, et veulent redonner vie à quelques sanctions traditionnelles. Il y a là un ensemble de problèmes apparus très tôt et non encore résolus; nous allons tenter de les approcher en procédant à une analyse précise.

***

Nous avons obtenu un état minutieux de la polygamie, établi village par village en 1945, pour les cantons environnant le centre d'Oyem. A titre de comparaison, nous avons pu adjoindre, aux données précédentes, les renseignements fournis par la monographie d'un canton des environs de Sangmélima (région

1. L'étudede Mgr Martrou évoque des divorces encouragés pour permettre des mariages chrétiens (des « centaines de cas, chaque année, au Vicariat du Gabon ») et des appuis financiers obtenus en France pour assurer « la libération des jeunes femmes de polygames ».

2. *Projet d'arrêté réglementant le mariage indigène en pays Fang*, décembre 1936.

proche, au Cameroun) habité par des groupements parents[1], plus anciennement transformés par une agriculture « riche » et plus complètement soumis à l'action missionnaire.

Le premier fait qui apparaît est le nombre élevé des célibataires : pour la région d'Oyem où fut effectué l'inventaire — portant sur une population de 25.000 habitants — il se révèle 39,8 % de célibataires pour 60,2 % d'hommes mariés. A ce haut pourcentage, il faut ajouter celui, élevé, des monogames « forcés », soit 52,3 % des hommes mariés; la répartition totale des femmes entre ces derniers se présentant de la manière suivante :

TABLEAU IV

Nombre de femmes.	1 F.	2 F.	3 F.	4 F.	+ de 4 F.
Pourcentages	52,3 %	25 %	11,1 %	5,1 %	6,5 %

Ces indications peuvent être comparées aux pourcentages produits par une région dite évoluée — le Canton Ndou-Libi — et par l'ensemble des Fang gabonais, en 1938, à l'occasion de l'enquête du médecin-général Le Dentu.

Nombre de femmes	1 F.	2 F.	3 F.	4 F.	+ de 4 F.
Ndou-Libi	66,8 %	17,1 %	8,1 %	2,9 %	5,1 %
Fang Gabon	63,1 %	22,2 %	9,6 %	2,4 %	2,7 %

Tous ces chiffres manifestent une polygamie limitée (le nombre de 3 femmes n'est dépassé qu'exceptionnellement) et une monogamie dominante. Cette dernière s'accusant dans le cadre des régions marquées par l'évangélisation — tel est le cas de Ndou-Libi qui compte, en moyenne, 1 « catéchiste » pour 162 habitants et révèle, au niveau des villages protestants surtout, une accentuation du nombre des monogames :

1. *Le Canton Ndou-Libi (Subdivision de Sangmélima)*; étude inédite de l'administrateur J. M. SOUPAULT, 1948; archives d'Ebolowa.

TABLEAU V

Religion déclarée.	% de monogames	% de polygames	% de la pop. tot.
Catholiques	63 %	37 %	56 %
Protestants	73 %	27 %	39,4 %
Animistes	43,5 %	56,5 %	4 %

S'accusant, aussi, dans le cas des régions pauvres qui se vident de femmes au profit des régions plus r ches; au long du cours moyen de l'Ogooué, zone particulièrement démunie, le « taux de nuptialité » est de 1.330 femmes mariées pour 1.000 hommes mariés (Subdivision de Ndjolé) alors qu'il est de 1.630 pour la totalité de la population fang[1]. Mais il convient de préciser que cette tendance à la monogamie n'est, dans une certaine mesure, qu'*apparente*. La multiplication des divorces permet une polygamie « dans le temps » — le Canton Ndou-Libi (population inférieure à 6.500 habitants) fait apparaître sur une période d'environ une année 206 divorces connus pour 521 mariages. Cette généralisation du divorce[2] et le « réemploi » de la femme divorcée — signalés comme une altération grave de la coutume dès le début du siècle — ont, avant d'avoir pris le caractère d'une spéculation sur le changement du taux des « dots », constitué un des expédients permettant de maintenir la polygamie alors que les rapts ou les achats d'étrangères étaient devenus impossibles. Un des autres moyens ayant été d'accentuer le décalage entre l'âge auquel les filles sont données en mariage — la multiplication des mariages de filles impubères a, depuis longtemps, été présentée comme une autre sollicitation abusive de la coutume — et l'âge auquel les jeunes hommes ont la possibilité matérielle de constituer ou récupérer une « dot ». Ces tentatives d'ajustement sont contrariées dans la mesure même où la compétition se généralise (avec la multiplication des possibilités d'accès

1. Enquête Le Dentu, 1938.
2. En 1939, un rapport de la Subdivision de Lambaréné indique, à propos de « l'instabilité des familles », « qu'il n'est pas rare de voir une femme, en très peu de temps, passer entre les mains de quatre ou cinq maris ».

aux sources de revenus) et où une partie des femmes n'accepte plus passivement de participer au système classique des mariages.

Avec les pourcentages donnés dans le Tableau IV, pour la région d'Oyem, un groupe de 100 « hommes » parvient à récupérer, par mariages, environ 115 « femmes ». Soit un nombre supérieur à celui que manifeste le rapport hommes-femmes pour l'ensemble de la population fang : 105 femmes pour 100 hommes d'après l'enquête Le Dentu. Ce nombre est à peu près équivalent au *sex-ratio* produit par le district d'Oyem (1.142 °/oo) et par l'ensemble de la région du Woleu-Ntem (1.147 °/oo) en 1951 [1]. On doit donc penser qu'il n'y a ici qu'un médiocre apport des régions extérieures. Une étude précise de deux groupes, Kòjé et Yébimvé, a effectivepent montré que les « alliances » se font en fonction des *relations de proximité :*

Groupe *Kòjé*	avoisinés par :	*Effak*	qui donnent	28 %	des	« alliances »
de *Nto*	« «	*Esèngi*	« «	26 %	«	«
		Esatuk	« «	14 %	«	«
Groupe *Yébimvé*	« «	*Esèngi*	« «	52 %	«	«
de *Afénane*	«	*Yèngwi*	« «	32 %	«	«
		Kòjé	« «	15 %	«	«

La circulation des femmes s'effectue ici à l'intérieur de zones d'envergure réduite et constitue des systèmes relativement clos : ce qui augmente, à l'intérieur de ces derniers, l'acuité de la compétition.

Cependant, une étude des « taux de nuptialité » — nombre de femmes mariées par rapport au nombre d'hommes mariés — dans chacun des cinq cantons constituant le District d'Oyem montre des taux situés aux environs de 1.600 °/oo pour trois de ceux-ci (coïncidant avec le chiffre moyen donné pour l'ensemble des Fang) et des taux supérieurs, 1.823 °/oo et 2.175 °/oo, dans les cantons dits de Kyé-Nyé et d'Oyem. Tous deux, liés l'un à la Guinée-Espagnole, l'autre au centre d'Oyem, sont en meilleure position économique disposant de sources de revenus plus nombreuses. L'enquête de 1938 avait montré par ailleurs que les subdivisions de l'Estuaire présentent, à cette époque, les taux les plus élevés : 1.780 °/oo — ce sont justement celles où la présence des chantiers forestiers crée un mouvement économique de réelle importance. Il apparaît donc, au niveau d'une région précise, *un rapport entre le volume de la polygamie et le potentiel économique.* C'est cela qu'exprime indirectement le jeune auteur fang, déjà cité, en écrivant que « le régime de la dot... est devenu à la

1. Cf. Chapitre I, Deuxième partie, Tableau I.

longue le fondement, le point de départ et l'aboutissement de toute l'économie fang[1] ». Nous avions déjà, en évoquant les transformations économiques particulières à la région du Woleu-Ntem, indiqué qu'une partie considérable des revenus circule d'abord sous forme de « dots » et que le taux de ces dernières varie avec les prix locaux; de même, nous avions insisté sur l'exaspération des aspects économiques révélés par le système des mariages.

Le *boom* économique dû, dès 1920, à l'exploitation intensive de l'okoumé, a, en libérant brutalement une quantité importante de numéraire, accéléré le rythme de ces transformations et accru la compétition. Cependant que le réglement de la « dot » effectué pour une part toujours croissante en argent a, tout comme l'obligation de l'impôt, lancé le plus grand nombre d'individus dans le circuit de l'économie coloniale. Un bon observateur, faisant le point quant à « la famille pahouine en 1931 », écrit : « Le cours de la dot moyenne ayant subi des hausses excessives aux années de prospérité du commerce des bois d'okoumé, beaucoup de jeunes gens ne trouvaient à se marier qu'en quittant le village pour se livrer aux blancs comme mercenaires de la coupe des bois[2] ». Ainsi, de plus en plus, un système aussi fondamental que celui régissant la circulation des femmes, les mariages et la parenté, se trouve lié à des circonstances — économiques et administratives — extérieures à la société fang; il échappe, de plus en plus, au contrôle des Fang eux-mêmes. L'étude à l'instant évoquée montre comment l'intervention administrative a pu, à l'inverse du but recherché, favoriser la décomposition du système sans apporter une nouvelle réglementation efficace. En établissant une « mercuriale tacite utilisée dans le règlement des palabres » et « en interdisant aux gendres de verser les suppléments de dot habituels et continuels », elle a officialisé la notion de « prix de la femme »; et les hommes « se sentant appuyés par l'administration ont ... prétendu à l'entière possession ou disposition de la femme, ils ont « acheté » leur femme ». Le nombre des différends se multipliant, il fallut augmenter le nombre des conciliateurs administratifs, qui ne coïncident pas avec « les chefs réels » et tirent avantage de leur situation officielle. Grébert affirme que « le village du tribunal devint une cour d'abus, de prostitution, de marchandage, et aussi d'exploitation de travaux, contre la nourriture des entreposées », c'est-à-dire des

1. F. Méyé, La Femme Africaine, *op. cit.*
2. F. Grébert, La Famille pahouine en 1931, *in Africa*, V, 2, 1932.

femmes en litige [1]. Ce sont là deux aspects principaux manifestant la désagrégation du système ancien [2]; nous les avons évoqués, à la suite des incidences économiques, pour montrer l'importance des conditions relevant uniquement de la situation coloniale.

Par ailleurs, il est incontestable que cette dernière ait actualisé certains antagonismes impliqués par l'organisation traditionnelle. En ne permettant ni une véritable promotion économique, ni une adaptation efficace du système politique traditionnel, l'administration a maintenu à l'ancienne recherche du plus grand nombre de femmes toute sa valeur. Cette dernière reste le seul moyen de se constituer une clientèle [3], d'acquérir la prééminence et de trouver une marge d'indépendance dans la mesure où l'autorité repose sur un groupe relativement nombreux. Seulement, le niveau auquel s'exerce la compétition s'est déplacé : des groupements importants aux groupements restreints et aux individus; en même temps que cette compétition change de nature et s'accentue en ne s'effectuant plus que par des moyens strictement économiques et pacifiques. Par ailleurs, elle a pris une acuïté dont on peut trouver l'indication dans l'aménagement apporté aux deux règles fondamentales imposant l'exogamie et prohibant l'inceste : les techniques destinées à tuer la parenté et à lever l'interdit ne sont plus d'usage exceptionnel [4]; non seulement la compétition se généralise, se durcit, mais *elle tend à devenir libre*. En même temps, le mariage qui était instrument d'alliance et créateur de relations à base de réciprocité (symbolisées par l'échange « dot » — « contre dot ») devient prétexte à recherche d'avantages personnels — la femme permet d'exercer, sur celui auquel elle est liée, chantage au divorce et exigences continuelles; bien rare, elle est transformée en instrument de spéculation.

Nous avons, dans le précédent chapitre, montré comment la prééminence fondée sur la séniorité n'est admise que lorsque l' « aîné » *(nyamòrò* ou *nlòl)* l'utilise justement et se révèle pleinement « donneur de femmes [5] » et faiseur d'alliances. Les rela-

1. F. Grébert, *op. cit.*
2. Un rapport d'inspection administrative, daté du 4 janvier 1937, signale encore : « les agissements abusifs des chefs de canton à l'égard des femmes et de leurs époux en instance de divorce ou de séparation » et « l'asile que trouvent les femmes mariées dans les villages des chefs de canton ». *Subdivision de Kango, archives.*
3. F. Grébert, *op. cit.*, signale à propos du « polygame important » que des « jeunes gens viennent se faire adopter par lui, et qu' « à chacun il donne une femme qu'il peut reprendre si le jeune homme le mécontente ».
4. Cf. L. Mba, *op. cit*, et E. Trezenem, *op. cit.*
5. Cf. quant à cette expression l'étude de C. Lévi-Strauss, *Les Structures élémentaires de la Parenté*, chap. xv.

tions altérées, les rapports entre « aînés » et « cadets », génération des *taga* et génération des *mwanõ*, tendent à devenir ceux de possédants à non-possédants, à prendre un caractère conflictuel. Il est certain que de telles transformations ont permis à l'élément dépendant — les jeunes hommes — et à l'élément dominé — les femmes — de réagir contre l'organisation sociale traditionnelle. La coupure matérielle entre les générations que créent, après 1920, les déplacements de main-d'œuvre, le relatif avantage que tirent de leur salaire les jeunes hommes engagés, facilitent l'action de ces derniers; acquérant quelques possibilités de constituer eux-mêmes les dots de leurs femmes, ils lèvent la plus lourde des causes de dépendance. Mais, en voulant participer directement à la compétition pour les femmes, ils situent le conflit entre générations sur un plan où il doit prendre une violence particulière et atteindre l'ancienne organisation à son fondement même. La société coloniale (missions religieuses et administration) pousse à une sorte de radicalisme; la coupure s'accentue entre « Jeunes Fang » et « Vieux Fang », jusqu'à ces dix dernières années.

Dans le cas de la femme fang, la réaction fut plus rapide. Grébert le rappelle en signalant, dès 1931, combien les hommes se plaignent d'avoir des femmes « qui ont pris la mauvaise tête ». Nous avons longuement insisté sur le fait que la femme fang est l'élément le plus soumis (elle est « liée » par un grand nombre d'*éki*) mais montré, aussi, comment elle dispose de moyens lui permettant de limiter cette soumission. Elle a une marge de liberté vis-à-vis de la famille à laquelle elle est intégrée, vis-à-vis de son mari en tenant compte du comportement de ce dernier pour réduire ou augmenter ses services [1], vis-à-vis des hommes, en général, en étant un bien rare particulièrement recherché et en participant à des associations féminines. Avec le relâchement des « interdits » (sous l'action des missionnaires surtout), des méthodes traditionnelles de coercition (condamnées parce que « barbares ») cette marge de liberté s'est considérablement accrue.

L'attitude des hommes à l'égard de ces transformations est ambiguë. Ils réagissent violemment lorsqu'ils sont lésés en tant qu'époux virtuel ou mari; mais ils s'efforcent d'en tirer avantage lorsqu'ils ont, en tant que père, oncle ou frère aîné, autorité et droit de contrôle sur une femme. Il semble que les hommes,

1. La femme « mécontente » peut retourner dans sa famille, peut rompre l'alliance; la veuve a la liberté de choisir parmi les héritiers ou de retourner dans sa famille si cette dernière rembourse la dot; la femme peut, sous prétexte de maladie, aller se faire soigner par ses parentes.

dans leur ensemble, n'aient guère pu tenir compte de la place nouvelle occupée par la femme. Lors du *Congrès Pahouin*, à Mitzic, les participants n'émettent aucun vœu en ce qui concerne la situation de la femme et la polygamie (même les représentants fang des missions chrétiennes ne sont pas intervenus). Les vœux émis quant à « la révision de la coutume » tendent essentiellement à protéger les droits du mari à l'égard de ses « alliés ». Plus tard, les « statuts » établis par les tribus à l'occasion du « mouvement de regroupement » ne feront qu'accorder, à la femme fang, certaines concessions (en interdisant le mariage des impubères, imposant le « respect de la femme, créant des dignités féminines au sein de la tribu, etc.) qui semblent surtout tactiques. Cependant que le désir de ré-affirmer le contrôle reste manifeste : restauration stricte de la règle d'exogamie, interdiction du divorce de la femme « qui a déjà donné des enfants » et limitation des divorces, sanctions contre l'adultère et le « détournement » des femmes mariées et, surtout, rétablissement des châtiments à l'égard des femmes [1]. Depuis trente-cinq ans environ, le même ensemble de problèmes s'impose à l'administration coloniale. Cette dernière a tenté d'intervenir en n'apportant à des questions urgentes que des solutions partielles, à caractère juridique, qui, imposées par une autorité extérieure, furent inefficaces lorsqu'elles n'ajoutèrent pas à la confusion [2].

Les indications de la Commission de la Population en 1946.

L'obligation, dès la fin de 1945, de renoncer à la politique d'exception, d'assurer la reprise économique et de préparer les réformes impliquées par la nouvelle Constitution, ont révélé la nécessité d'établir un bilan d'ensemble.

La *Commission de la Population*, créée en juin 1946, a donc eu la charge d' « étudier non seulement le problème démographique, mais encore celui de la structure même de la population (car) la situation actuelle est très grave ». Elle évoque, à nouveau, les questions relatives à la chute de population, à la « désorganisation familiale », aux camps de travailleurs et aux recrutements, à la malnutrition. Les procès-verbaux utilisent des observations

1. *Règlement de la tribu Yémissem.* « Art. 13. Les punitions admises pour les femmes qui commettent une faute contre le règlement de leur mari sont les suivantes : une série de gifles, une bastonnade, une corvée forcée, une prison de quelques jours à l'administration (*sic*)... » A l'occasion de certaines réunions, des femmes dont l'inconduite était notoire furent châtiées publiquement.

2. Cf. G. Balandier, Actualité du problème de la dot en Afrique Noire, in *Le Monde Non-Chrétien*, janv.-mars 1952.

faites surtout en pays fang, et constatent (non sans naïveté) que « la désagrégation actuelle... avec toutes ses conséquences néfastes sur la natalité a pour cause profonde l'altération de la coutume, la disparition des institutions coutumières ». Manifestant une méconnaissance étonnante de la conjoncture sociale, la Commission envisage « la renaissance de la coutume », le « retour à la morale ancestrale ». Elle conçoit une solution radicale : la constitution d'une *réserve* préservant, au Woleu-Ntem, les groupements de Minvoul et Oyem — en ayant soin de ne point toucher aux groupements sur lesquels s'appuient les diverses exploitations européennes [1]. Le seul intérêt de ces travaux, qui restèrent sans conséquences pratiques, fut de repérer l'ensemble des problèmes et de montrer combien ces derniers sont interdépendants.

Le Congrès Pahouin de Mitzic et la crise de l'organisation politique.

Le premier *Congrès Pahouin* s'est tenu à Mitzic, du 26 au 28 février 1947, « convoqué par les soins du Gouverneur du Gabon ». Les organisateurs le présentent comme inaugurant « une politique de large contact avec tous les éléments de la population » et comme une « manifestation qui a permis de faire le point des tendances actuelles d'une société traditionnelle ». Les délégués, au nombre d'une cinquantaine environ, comprennent surtout des chefs administratifs (chefs de canton) auxquels sont adjoints les représentants fang à l'Assemblée locale et un groupe « des évolués de Libreville » conduits par leur leader. A l'occasion des séances de travail, ces derniers sont les seuls à manifester une opposition réelle, à adopter une attitude critique; c'est par leur action que le Congrès, entreprise officielle, échappe en partie au contrôle strict de l'administration. Ils sont les seuls à vouloir passer des « vœux » aux réalisations en s'efforçant de faire reconnaître leur leader comme *N'Zoé Fang* (Chef Supérieur) à la suite d'élections officieuses [2]. Leur « habileté manœuvrière » fut telle que l'autorité administrative supérieure signale, après coup, « l'inconvénient de leur présence » qui a conduit les « chefs », « dans un congrès coutumier », « à voter à la fois contre leur intérêt, contre la coutume et contre la bonne administration » [3]. Elle manifeste combien les chefs (nommés inexactement

1. Procès-verbal de la réunion du 8 août 1946.
2. Lettre adressée au Chef du Territoire du Gabon, 19 mai 1947, avec compte-rendu des « élections ».
3. Lettre Gouverneur général à Gouverneur Gabon, avril 1947.

« chefs traditionnels ») sont liés à l'administration, contraints à un comportement ambigü et combien cette dernière s'oppose, selon un rapport, aux « évolués qui risquent de dominer la masse rurale : ce dont l'actualité coloniale démontre malheureusement le danger ».

Cette réaction n'est que le retour d'une hostilité qui s'est révélée, après 1920, dès les premières manifestations des « évolués de Libreville ». Cette fois, l'initiative reste à ceux-ci dans une certaine mesure : leur leader au *Congrès Pahouin* s'efforce, dès son retour, d'agir sur le plan politique (par le mouvement dit *Comité Mixte Gabonais*), de constituer et contrôler des « Tribunaux Coutumiers », d'imposer une « Société de secours mutuel pour la race fang »[1]. La conscience plus précise que prennent, les « évolués », de leurs problèmes, leur volonté de recouvrer une certaine autonomie, conduisent l'administration à préconiser au moment même où l'assimilation totale s'affirme juridiquement une « évolution dans le cadre des institutions traditionnelles » — alors que vingt-cinq années plus tôt elle cherchait à atteindre les autorités traditionnelles. Ainsi le veut la situation coloniale, qui oblige la société dominante à transformer sa politique en fonction des groupements qui lui « résistent » au sein de la société colonisée.

En dehors de ce rôle de révélateur, le *Congrès Pahouin* a mis en avant un certain nombre de problèmes et suggéré des solutions[2]. D'après le compte-rendu des séances, il apparaît que celles relatives à la « coutume » et à « l'organisation des chefferies » donnèrent surtout lieu à « des débats animés ». Nous avons, quant aux suggestions faites en matière de coutume, évoqué l'essentiel à propos de la crise affectant les rapports entre sexes et l'organisation familiale. Il convient d'ajouter que, dans le domaine des transformations religieuses, un « vœu » fut émis à l'encontre du culte *Bwiti*[3]; c'est essentiellement l'œuvre des « chefs, qui voient dans le Mbouiti une menace pour leur autorité » et de certains délégués « qui sont liés aux Missions »[4]. Ce qui est significatif, comme nous le montrerons, de l'importance réelle, politique et religieuse, de ce culte, au sein de la société fang actuelle. Avant d'examiner les questions relatives aux « chefferies » et à la « crise de l'autorité », qui sont le centre des préoccupations

1. Toutes tentatives étroitement surveillées par les autorités administratives et qui font l'objet de multiples « rapports de police ».
2. Cf. une brochure établie par le Bureau des Affaires Politiques et Sociales, Territoire du Gabon.
3. Cf. *Vœux*, II, 4, « Que la lutte contre le culte Bouiti soit entreprise ».
4. Compte rendu du Secrétaire du Congrès Pahouin.

des congressistes, signalons les diverses indications apportées.

Les faits d'ordre économique sont évoqués « sans passion »; bien que les revendications exprimées soient significatives d'un développement rudimentaire puisqu'elles demandent : implantation et développement des cultures industrielles, équipement mécanique, étude d'un plan d'industrialisation, création d'un élevage véritable, organisation du commerce en produits de traite [1], multiplication des voies de communication. En ce qui concerne la « politique du travail », les délégués, manquant de maturité et d'expérience personnelle (il n'y a quasiment pas de salariés parmi eux), finissent par donner leur accord à des « vœux » vagues en matière de protection de la main-d'œuvre et d'aménagement du salaire des manœuvres. Par contre, le désir exprimé de voir se multiplier les « concessions rurales » [2] est significatif de l'évolution agricole et, parallèlement à cette dernière, d'un souci d'appropriation réelle et définitive — pour les communautés villageoises et les individus. Ce désir, qui marque une transformation profonde du droit traditionnel, n'est pas seulement lié aux caractères nouveaux de l'économie fang mais encore à une volonté, toute récente (et confuse), de posséder véritablement le pays fang et de se protéger contre l'extension des exploitations européennes. Enfin, le ton moderniste est donné par les revendications exprimées en fait d' « hygiène sociale » et « d'enseignement ». Et l'on voit combien l'attention des membres du *Congrès Pahouin* a, en fait, été centrée sur les problèmes que posent la décomposition des organisations de base (système de répartition des femmes, mariage et stabilité de la famille restreinte) et la dénaturation du système politico-judiciaire en raison de la main-mise administrative. Ce sont les seuls qui donnèrent lieu à des débats précis.

Malgré les réticences des autorités [3], la majorité des délégués demanda « que soit instauré un chef supérieur élu ». L'opposition des seuls représentants du Woleu-Ntem, qui votèrent contre la proposition, s'explique autrement que par la plus forte pression administrative à laquelle ils sont soumis (les autorités locales

1. Un vœu tel que celui-ci, III, 3, « que l'approvisionnement du commerce indigène soit assuré; que notamment un certain contingent de marchandises lui soit réservé dans les arrivages de l'extérieur », est significatif de la faible part concédée au secteur indigène et du besoin de « marchandises ».

2. *Cf.* Compte-rendu; il est demandé « qu'au procès-verbal de la séance soit inscrit un vœu traduisant le désir que les concessions rurales soient libéralement accordées aux indigènes et même à des villages entiers ».

3. *Cf.* Compte-rendu; « ...la question du chef supérieur fang fut posée... je pense que la plupart des chefs de canton avaient été catéchisés puisqu'ils votaient presque tous ce vœu manifestement contraire à leur intérêt ».

ayant le contrôle du Congrès); par une structure sociale moins essentiellement atteinte : ce qui n'impose pas, avec la même urgence, un symbole d'unité et un foyer commun d'autorité; par une rivalité politique qui s'affirme, depuis 1945, entre leaders fang du Bas-Gabon et du Woleu-Ntem. Le sens de la revendication est apprécié justement par l'administration. Une circulaire commentant les « vœux » exprimés indique : « Il semble donc que le vœu (des Fang) de se donner un chef supérieur représentant la race et regroupant les énergies réponde, à leurs yeux, à une nécessité vitale, celle de maintenir cohérent et fort le groupe ethnique devant les dangers d'effritement et de dissolution qui le menacent », en même temps qu'il révèle « une réaction très intéressante de certains autochtones devant les récentes mesures législatives »[1].

La période d'effort de guerre par ses exigences (contrainte affirmée, production accrue, activités de cueillette et portage) a donné, aux problèmes, une particulière acuité. Elle est suivie d'une détente, d'une période de réformes, qui accentuent la confusion mais permettent une certaine reprise de l'initiative indigène. C'est en fonction de cette double impulsion qu'il convient d'envisager les réactions qui se manifestent après 1945. Une prise de conscience, à laquelle le *Congrès Pahouin* contribua[2], de la situation réelle des groupements fangs (particulièrement vive chez les représentants des régions les plus affectées) et une volonté de remembrement, de reconstruction autour d'un symbole d'unité. Un certain particularisme « racial » qui va à l'encontre de la législation nouvelle, ne tenant aucun compte des diversités ethniques, et repose sur une affirmation des caractères proprement fang[3]. Ce sont des aspects que le mouvement de regroupement clanique affirmera sitôt après le *Congrès Pahouin*.

a) *Le Problème des chefferies.*

Malgré une majorité de chefs administratifs, les délégués de Libreville parvinrent à aborder le problème des chefferies. L'un

1. Lettre-circulaire, aux chefs de Région, commentant les Vœux du Congrès Pahouin.
2. Ce qui fut reproché aux organisateurs du *Congrès* par les éléments les plus conservateurs de l'administration.
3. Ainsi la lettre des Fang de Libreville, demandant un chef Supérieur, ré-affirme l'hostilité à l'égard du peuple rival, les Mpongwé : « Les Fangs... n'acceptent et n'accepteront jamais d'être commandés par les Pongwés... » Dans une toute autre région du Gabon, la Ngounié qui constitue une mosaïque de peuples, le *Rapport politique de* 1949 note « une renaissance du racisme local »; la réaction déborde dont les limites de l'ethnie fang.

d'eux indique avec force que « la crise d'autorité » est liée au fait de la dispersion (l'éclatement des clans et l'éparpillement n'ont cessé qu'à une époque récente) qui a détruit l'unité politique normale, le *clan*, et au fait que les chefs sont uniquement des « créations administratives » (le « véritable chef, c'est le chef de clan »). Ainsi, se trouve suggéré le caractère artificiel des groupements créés par l'administration et des « autorités » imposées à ces derniers. Les rapports ont, depuis longtemps, signalé « qu'il y a loin des chefs légaux aux chefs réels » et rappelé que les premiers, « en raison de leur origine, n'ont en général guère d'autorité sur leurs gens » [1]. Ils sont compromis en tant qu'autorité établie de l'extérieur par la société coloniale; ils ne correspondent pas à un élément existant dans l'ancienne organisation sociale — et cela affirme leur caractère « imposé ». Dans le même temps, les *leaders* véritables des villages se réservent les avantages de l'opposition plus ou moins latente et de la résistance aux exigences administratives. Le thème de l'opposition aux « chefs » a notamment dominé le mouvement de regroupement clanique, d'autant plus que les « évolués, qui aspirent à jouer un rôle politique », ont joint leurs attaques à celles des traditionalistes.

Nous avons montré, dans le chapitre précédent, combien la société fang ancienne ne disposait pas d'une véritable hiérarchie mais plutôt d'un ensemble de prééminences soumises au contrôle de tous; l'administration n'eut donc pas la possibilité de fonder son autorité sur des chefferies puissantes. Par ailleurs, nous avons indiqué que la prééminence dominante, celle de l'*ésa* (géniteur, père *lato sensu*) repose sur un lignage plus ou moins étendu et tire sa force du culte rendu aux ancêtres : l'*ésa* est celui qui possède l'*évòra biéri* (panier contenant les crânes des ancêtres); et l'*ésa* ne devient un « chef » que dans la mesure où, « dilatant sa zone d'influence », il s'est imposé en tant que personnalité puissante. La nature même de l'économie fang ancienne, toute orientée vers la conquête, et l'instabilité des groupements, qui entraînait un manque d'attachement au sol et de socialisation durable du cadre géographique, expliquent que le « patriotisme biologique » [2] soit alors seul agissant. De plus, les forces centripètes qui poussent à l'agrégation de lignages affiliés et de clans [3] sont, durant l'épo-

1. Rapports politiques du Djouah (1er sem. 1938) et du Woleu-Ntem (1er sem. 1937).

2. Le « patriotisme biologique » est opposé au « patriotisme géographique » par le géographe E.-F. Gautier qui imposa ce couple de notions.

3. Tessmann fait allusion à ce mode de fédération plus ou moins lâche des *ayôg* formant un groupement supérieur qu'il nomme « tribu ». Cf. *Die Pangwe*.

que récente, moins actives que les forces centrifuges qui poussent à la fragmentation et à la dispersion; cependant que l'action missionnaire intensive, s'attaquant au culte *bièri*, atteint les bases sacrées des groupements claniques. L'administration n'a pu organiser son commandement ni sur une hiérarchie stable, ni sur une unité politique précisément localisée. Elle a donc imposé des divisions administratives arbitraires (cantons et terres) et choisi les intermédiaires qui étaient le mieux à même de la servir. Ces derniers, le plus souvent impopulaires, se sont contentés d'exploiter à leur avantage une situation qui les a compromis définitivement [1] ou ne sont que des « hommes de paille » sacrifiés à l'administration [2]. L'organisation politique des Fang (qui reposait sur un système de prééminences et d'équilibres de forces antagonistes) a été essentiellement atteinte; mais il n'y eut rien, sinon des expédients, pour la remplacer.

Lors du *Congrès Pahouin*, les chefs, sachant qu'ils représentent surtout l'administration, admettent eux-mêmes le principe de l'élection (IV, 5) — vœu « manifestement contraire à leur intérêt », précise un rapport officiel — mais refusent que l'*ayôg* serve de cadre à de nouvelles chefferies [3]. Cependant que la minorité dite « évoluée » s'efforce de ré-interpréter l'ancienne structure clanique dans un sens moderniste : combinant le principe d'une unité politique proprement fang *(ayôg)* et le principe de l'élection par tous les hommes adultes. L'accomplissement au Cameroun, au sein des peuples parents de la région du Ntem, d'une réforme reconnaissant des « chefs de groupement » élus par « tous les mâles du clan » [4] contribuera à imposer ce type de solution aux éléments fang les plus agissants. Le *Congrès Pahouin* ne fut pas suivi de réalisations; il a néanmoins donné une impulsion et permettra aux initiatives fang de se manifester : « mouvement de regroupement clanique » *(alar ayôg)* et « mouvement de regroupement des villages » mettront en évidence les soucis d'ordre politique qu'il a révélés.

1. Un rapport d'inspection concernant les « plaintes » des fang de Kango (janv. 1937) évoque les « abus des chefs de canton » en matière d'impôts, en fait de palabre et d'instruction des divorces, de détournement des femmes mariées, et parle « d'exactions commises ». Cf., aussi, F. Grébert, *op. cit.*
2. Rapport de présentation au Conseil Représentatif du Projet de réforme des chefferies, 1948.
3. L'un des « chefs » affirme, en évoquant les anciennes guerres entre *ayôg*, « ce serait la guerre! »; le projet de rétablissement et de reconnaissance administrative des chefs d'*ayôg* est repoussé.
4. Réforme dite Bourdier-Granier, 1944-1945.

b) *Exemple des groupements fang du Woleu-Ntem.*

Avant d'étudier ces dernières précisément, nous voudrions illustrer les observations précédentes de quelques exemples empruntés surtout à la région du Woleu-Ntem. La division du pays en « cantons » et « terres », seules unités dépassant le village où l'autorité reste concédée à un « chef » indigène, n'a pu se faire qu'en tenant compte des considérations géographiques et surtout de la commodité de l'administration. Le système de commandement imaginé est absolument artificiel quant à la base territoriale et humaine qui le supporte, quant au mode d'autorité qu'il prétend instaurer. Il réunit au sein d'une même « unité » un grand nombre d'éléments relevant de clans étrangers, qui ont entre eux des liens « d'alliance » mais qui, le plus souvent, vivent sur des souvenirs d'antagonismes anciens. Le cas des cantons du Haut Woleu-Ntem, où la base clanique reste la moins altérée, n'en est pas moins significatif de ce « panachage ».

TABLEAU VI

District de	Canton de	Groupement dominant	% Population du canton	Nombre de clans
Bitam				
	Nord	Effak	34 %	27
	Sud	Éba	31 %	pour l'ensemble
	Ekorité	Kòjé	23 %	du District [1]
Oyem				
	Kyé-Nyé	Esèngi	40 %	12
	Woleu	Òžip	32 %	17
	Bissok	Esèngi	23 %	10
	Ellelem	Bŏkwé	24 %	18

Les documents administratifs, faisant le bilan des échecs, ont insisté sur le fait qu' « il existe souvent entre les clans des violentes rivalités » [2] contraires à tout effort de « regroupement »; sur le fait que les « petits groupements » [3] sont seuls stables et

1. Utilisation du recensement de 1936, qui est le seul document important, mais ne vaut quant au nombre des clans que pour l'ensemble du District.
2. Rapport annuel, Gabon, 1933.
3. Le rapport Le Testu pour le Woleu-Ntem, année 1934, après avoir marqué sa préférence pour les « petits groupements », affirme que « l'indigène, sauf exception, ne possède ni la persévérance, ni la *méthode*, ni la suite dans les idées qui sont nécessaires au gouvernement d'un groupe d'hommes important ».

que la chefferie efficace ne dépasse pas, en général, le niveau du corps de garde », c'est-à-dire du *nd'è bòl* (lignage mineur). Le rapport de la région Ogooué-Ivindo, pour 1943, précise très nettement : « Des chefs, il n'en manque pas; il y en a autant que de corps de garde et ce n'est pas peu dire... L'investiture officielle n'aura pas pour autant fait un chef de canton ou un chef de terre de celui qui n'est et ne sera jamais qu'un chef de famille ». Il faudrait ajouter que cette « investiture » a bien au contraire un rôle négatif. Le « chef », dans le meilleur des cas, ne pourrait être que l'homme d'un clan. Cela même n'est pas. Les antagonismes (l'opposition lignage d'aîné — lignages de cadets, notamment) subsistent encore, effacés lorsqu'il s'agit de réagir en face d'éléments étrangers, actualisés lorsqu'il s'agit d'affaires internes. Les Ožip du canton Ellelem (district d'Oyem) nous ont révélé que l'opposition des leaders de deux groupements de villages, l'un étant chef de canton, s'appuie sur les antagonismes entre lignages que nous venons de rappeler. Les « chefs » sont enfin concurrencés, dans leur propre clan, par des personnalités nouvelles qui aspirent à un rôle politique.

Il faut rappeler que la position du « chef » a également été compromise en raison du pouvoir judiciaire, appuyé sur l'administration et sur une règlementation « adaptée », qui lui a été concédé. Il n'est qu'une autorité d'appel, un arbitre dont une des parties espère un avantage sur la base d'un règlement étranger à la coutume [1]. Il tend souvent à abuser d'un pouvoir qui n'est fondé que sur une autorité toute extérieure, mais puissante, rejetant les villageois, comme l'a signalé Grébert, vers les « arbitres non officiels, les chefs réels des villages ». En ce domaine important de la palabre, l'arbitraire de certains « chefs » ainsi que les bouleversements apportés en matière de règlement des différents et de répression, ont atteint gravement le principe même de l'autorité fondée anciennement sur le fait de « savoir parler » au nom de la coutume, autant que sur la qualité de géniteur *(ésa)* ou la valeur guerrière. Surtout que, dans le même temps, l'impossibilité de recourir à la violence, la multiplication des différends due aux transformations économiques et au dépérissement de la « morale traditionnelle », ont donné une place exceptionnelle au rôle de « conciliateur » *(ntè mözö)*.

1. Un rapport de la Subdivision de Lambaréné (1er sem. 1939) où les Fang sont en contact avec une ethnie étrangère, les Galwa, donne un exemple caractéristique de ce comportement. « Il n'est pas rare de voir des Pahouins faire régler les affaires de famille par des Galwa dans l'espoir d'avoir plus facilement raison avec des juges ne connaissant pas leurs coutumes. »

Le mouvement de regroupement clanique, mieux que le *Congrès Pahouin*, manifeste la volonté de créer des chefferies réelles dépassant le cadre du village. Il ré-affirme la parenté existant entre clans relevant d'une même unité tribale, afin de retrouver, au niveau d'une région restreinte, des groupements de quelque importance liés par la « fraternité d'*ayôg* ». Il fonde l'autorité sur l'élection, à laquelle participent tous les mâles adultes présents lors de la réunion; comportement moderniste dans son expression mais qui correspond néanmoins à cette « tendance égalitaire » repérée à différents niveaux. En 1948, lorsque l'administration ne s'oppose pas ouvertement au mouvement, les chefs élus affirment leur autorité dans la région d'Oyem, et certains rapports suggèrent de reconnaître « le fait accompli » et de ne pas provoquer l' « hostilité déclarée des véritables chefs » [1] — tolérance qui ne sera que de courte durée. Rares sont les chefs administratifs, par contre, qui aient pu accepter le mouvement et en tirer une confirmation de leur autorité; la plupart d'entre eux recherchent l'appui de l'administration en manifestant ainsi combien leur pouvoir est fondé en dehors de la société fang.

Des problèmes similaires existent dans le cadre du groupement villageois. Surtout lorsque celui-ci juxtapose des éléments appartenant à des clans étrangers *(mfulana möyôg)*; ce qui est le cas dans le district de Mitzic : au long des routes, 45 % des villages sont « mélangés » [2] et le rapport annuel de 1935 peut parler de villages « tout à fait artificiels ». Dans le cadre de ces derniers la véritable unité reste le *nd'è bòt* ayant son corps-de-garde distinct, son « foyer commun ». Lors du mouvement de regroupement clanique, lorsque certains villages se « cassèrent », la rupture sépara chacun de ces éléments composants. L'intérêt (ainsi le désir de se maintenir aux abords des centres) et surtout le recours au système des « alliances » (moyen permettant à deux groupements de vivre en paix en s'obligeant réciproquement) ont pu donner à la cohabitation un fondement plus réel — fragile cependant; mais ces exemples restent exceptionnels. En fait, ces *amalgames* sont les plus stables dans les petits villages : le signe en est alors l'existence d'un seul corps-de-garde; cela aussi est rare. L'autorité, dans les villages « mélangés », ne dépasse guère le cadre de chacun des fragments claniques juxtaposés —

1. District d'Oyem, rapport de tournée de janvier 1948.
2. Alors que sur une piste de l'intérieur (piste de Médègue) difficilement accessible, seulement 13 % des villages sont mixtes, et les éléments juxtaposés sont « alliés » entre eux.

« il y a parfois cinq ou six *ayong* représentées et autant de chefs dans un village », précise un rapport, et la « chefferie » y reste artificielle, réduite avec beaucoup de difficultés aux seules tâches imposées par l'administration.

Lorsqu'il s'agit de villages homogènes composés de plusieurs *nd'è bòt* apparentés (correspondant aux lignages mineurs crées par les frères ou fils du fondateur) l'unité est réelle. La cohésion tend à se maintenir par le jeu d'un *principe d'alternance* qui distribue l'autorité à chacun des *nd'è bòt* importants, tout en marquant la prééminence de la lignée du fondateur. Nous en donnons quelques exemples relevés sur Mitzic et sur Oyem :

TABLEAU VII

VILLAGE DE	FOUK Solé (M) (Esibib)	NKAR I (M)	NKANG (O)	MÉKAK (O)	MBOMO (O)	AKOKO (O)	NTO (O)
Dévolution de la chefferie réelle dans chacun des *nd'è bòt*	1 1 2 2 1 2	1 1 2 3	1 1 3	1 2 1 1 1	1 2 2 2 1 2 3	1 2 2 1 2 2 2 1 1	1 1 1 2 1
Nombre de *nd'è bòt*	2	3	3	2	3	3	4

(M) Mitzic (O) Oyem

Il est très rare que l'autorité demeure dévolue continuellement en ligne directe, de père en fils; cela n'arrive que lorsque la lignée aînée, qui est en même temps celle du fondateur, a su maintenir une prééminence non contestée. L'accomodement, que représente le recours plus ou moins caractérisé au principe d'alternance, ne va pas à l'encontre du système fang, car il n'existe, comme l'a rappelé un délégué du *Congrès Pahouin*, « aucune coutume imposant l'hérédité du pouvoir ». Il tend à affermir la coopération entre groupements qui sont tenus à vivre ensemble, ne serait-ce que parce que l'administration s'op-

pose depuis près de vingt ans à toute nouvelle fragmentation[1].

Au niveau du groupement villageois, l'autorité établie par l'administration n'est guère plus efficace qu'au sein des unités plus importantes. Dans un village créé sur ordre administratif, aux abords du Poste de Mitzic, le chef-fondateur reçut le surnom de *Âmvöné kâ*, « celui qui sait tout supporter »[2]; ce qui reste significatif de l'état d'esprit avec lequel est accepté ce rôle d'intermédiaire. En 1934, un rapport politique reconnaît que « la plupart des indigènes ne se soucient nullement d'être chefs »[3]. Le processus de dérobade apparaît nettement dans certains villages où le pouvoir administratif, sorte de doublage, existe indépendamment du pouvoir réel; ainsi à Engongone (sur Oyem) qui constitue un groupement yèngwi très actif :

VILLAGE DE ENGONGONE :

Dévolution du pouvoir réel.	*Dévolution du pouvoir administratif.*
(1) Mözögo Mötulu (fondateur)	(a) Neveu paternel de (1).
(2) Fils de (1)	(b) Parent d'une lignée collatérale.
(3) Neveu paternel de (1)	(c) Chef d'un petit groupement « allié » fixé à Engongone.
(4) Fils de (3)	(d) Fils de (3).

Ce n'est qu'en 1925, avec l'avènement du « chef » actuel, que les deux types de pouvoir coïncident pour la première fois; mais la dérobade peut se réaliser à nouveau si les circonstances l'exigent. Le plus souvent, le chef réel abandonne l'autorité administrative à un neveu paternel ou à un fils. Ce qui lui permet d'agir par un intermédiaire qu'il peut contrôler de manière très précise; ce qui est une satisfaction apparente donnée à l'administration qui, dans une société où la séniorité joue encore un rôle considérable, est néanmoins obsédée par la recherche « des chefs jeunes et énergiques ». On peut également remarquer l'incompatibilité existant entre les deux modes d'autorité, et noter l'*instabilité de celle qui est d'origine administrative*, en comparant la dévolution du pouvoir administratif — qui révèle une sorte d'accélération — et la succession des « aînés » dans chacun des *nd'è bòt*. Nous donne-

1. Nombreux sont les rapports de tournées qui signalent le renvoi autoritaire des « écarts » au sein du village central.
2. De *âmvön*, patience, support; cf. *Lexique Fang-Français*.
3. Rapport annuel du Woleu-Ntem, année 1934.

rons ainsi l'exemple typique du village de Akok (sur Oyem) qui est au centre d'un petit peuplement kòjé :

VILLAGE DE AKOK :

Succession à la « chefferie »	*Successions au sein des 3 « nd'è bòl »*
(1) Asumu Môмbé. (fondateur) (2) fils de (1) (3) fils de (1) (1915) (4) fils de (2) (5) fils de (2) (6) fils de (3) (7) p. fils de (3) (8) ar. ar. p. fils de (1) (9) ar. ar. p. fils de (1) *Chef actuel*	(1) Asumu Môмbé (2) Môмbé Asumu — (3) Evònò Asumu — Òlò Asumu (troisième fils) (4) [f] — [f] — [f] [f] — [f] — [f] *ntòl* actuel — *ntòl* actuel (9) [f] *ntòl* actuel et *chef actuel* du village.

Ce dualisme, qui révèle la co-existence d'un pouvoir officiel et d'un pouvoir réel, n'agit pas seulement en tant que moyen de dérobade permettant de limiter l'emprise administrative. Il est souvent cause de graves déséquilibres : parce qu'il contribue à la destruction de l'autorité dans une société non hiérarchisée et profondément bouleversée par la situation coloniale; parce qu'il partage les groupements en partisans de la collaboration avec l'administration et « résistants » à cette dernière [1]; parce que le chef administratif, s'il a personnalité et ambition, peut utiliser l'important appui extérieur dont il bénéficie et s'imposer à l'encontre des autorités réelles. Nous avons justement signalé combien le mouvement de regroupement clanique avait actualisé les conflits de cette nature.

c) *Les nouveaux types de différenciation.*

Ce n'est là qu'une première série de problèmes apparaissant par rapport au contexte traditionnel. Il importe maintenant

1. Fait noté par un rapport officiel : « Il est à remarquer que dans les villages, surtout chez les Fangs, il y a toujours deux clans : ceux qui sont avec le chef, ceux qui sont contre le chef... Les jeunes gens lettrés sont toujours contre les chefs, sauf naturellement si un intérêt immédiat commande le contraire... »

d'examiner ceux qui naissent de la transformation interne des groupements fang; tout d'abord, des changements affectant les processus de différenciation qui opèrent au sein de la société pahouine. Au moment même où le clan, le lignage et la « parenté » — ces puissants facteurs d'unification — sont atteints profondément (par éclatement et dispersion, par perte de leur fondement sacré), la situation coloniale multiplie le nombre et change le sens de ces processus. Les structures sociales sont transformées à des degrés divers selon les circonstances locales, et des forces politiques nouvelles cherchent à s'exprimer — la crise du pouvoir est maintenant, en partie, liée aux manifestations de ces dernières. C'est cela que pressent certain administrateur en écrivant : « Une réforme des chefferies est souhaitée dans tous les milieux indigènes, évolués et non-évolués »[1]. A l'opposition ancienne, plus ou moins directe, au pouvoir d'origine administrative, s'ajoute l'entrée en compétition de catégories sociales nées de la colonisation; elles s'efforcent de jouer un rôle, d'être représentées. Quelles sont-elles donc?

La présence européenne, bien que séculaire au Gabon, est quantitativement réduite : elle représente 9,2 °/₀₀ de la population africaine; mais le pays fang se trouve au contact des zones qui rassemblent la quasi-totalité du peuplement européen et la proportion s'y trouve alors élevée à 18,2 °/₀₀. Ce voisinage, recherché lors des dernières migrations pahouines, en même temps que la place occupée par les Fang dans l'économie locale, ont accentué l'emprise de la société coloniale sur ce peuple, accéléré les processus de différenciation. Les études anglaises, consacrées aux phénomènes de *culture-contact*, ont évoqué selon un schéma maintenant classique le rôle des « agents européens » de transformation socio-culturelle. Nous nous contenterons donc d'une évocation rapide, voulant surtout repérer comment les changements affectent la structure sociale et modifient les rapports d'ordre politique.

L'action d'évangélisation et l'enseignement ont suscité deux types sociaux nouveaux, le « chrétien » et le « lettré »; les représentants en sont peu nombreux mais s'imposent au niveau des villages par leurs comportements différents, ajoutés ou substitués aux comportements traditionnels. Ils se distinguent eux-mêmes en catégories plus ou moins précises qui entretiennent des rapports hiérarchiques ou de rivalité : pour le premier type, le prêtre

1. Rapport politique, Oyem, 1947.

indigène et le « catéchiste », le catholique et le protestant; pour le second, l'instituteur et le moniteur, le « certifié » [1], le commis, le clerk. En tenant compte des seules différenciations à caractère religieux, on constate actuellement l'existence d'antagonismes entre « chrétiens », traditionalistes et sectateurs du culte *Bwiti*, entre catholiques et protestants. Chacun de ces antagonismes prenant d'ailleurs un sens politique, car on ne conçoit pas en milieu africain une emprise religieuse qui ne soit en même temps politique. Les rapports périodiques font souvent allusion aux oppositions existant entre l'administration et les missions religieuses [2], aux manifestations d'une « espèce de lutte religieuse entre Catholiques et Protestants » [3]. Les divisions de la société coloniale s'inscrivent au sein de la société colonisée et entraînent celle-ci dans des luttes d'influence qui lui sont en grande partie étrangères : particulièrement vives lors des périodes d'élection durant lesquelles rivalisent souvent « candidats de l'administration » et « candidats des missions » [4]. Les sectateurs du culte *Bwiti* s'opposent, eux, aux « chrétiens » — par leur volonté d'établir une religion vraiment fang — et aux « chefs » — par leur désir de récupérer le rôle politique qui appartenait aux anciennes « société d'hommes ». Ils représentent une force qui, en certaines régions (Libreville, Kango, Médouneu), s'impose par la crainte qu'elle inspire. Comme typique de ces divisions à fondement religieux, nous donnerons l'exemple du petit village de Nkoumadzap (Médouneu) où s'élèvent un « poste » catholique et un temple *bwiti*, où la population pourtant réduite se partage en une majorité de soi-disant catholiques, une minorité de traditionalistes et quatre sectateurs du *Bwiti*. Le fait que ces éléments puissent coexister prouve que les tensions qu'ils impliquent — actualisées en certaines circonstances — sont dominées par des facteurs d'unité (la « parenté » existant entre les villageois et l'appartenance au clan Òyèk encore cohérent en cette région) et contra-

1. Le possesseur du Certificat d'Etudes Primaires bénéficie d'un prestige considérable; son diplôme lui est un titre à large valeur sociale.
2. Exemple dans le rapport de la Subdivision de Booué, 3e trim 1935 : « Difficultés accrues... par la présence des deux Missions de la région, dont les catéchistes minent sourdement le peu d'autorité des chefs de tout ordre, en présentant les Missions comme des lieux de refuge pour les femmes mécontentes de leur mari et du travail qu'il leur impose, et pour les indisciplinés qui vont y passer quelques jours afin d'éluder les travaux du village. »
3. Allusions à cette « lutte », « dont les conséquences eussent pu être en temps normal d'une certaine gravité », sur Booué et Makokou, dans le rapport de 1943, 2e sem.
4. Au Woleu-Ntem notamment, à Oyem, où la Mission catholique s'est efforcée d'imposer les représentants locaux et d'avoir ainsi sa propre politique parfois hostile à l'administration (1949-1950).

riées par l'utilisation plus ou moins complémentaire des diverses techniques religieuses.

Quant aux « lettrés », suivant la dénomination souvent employée, nous montrerons combien leur action a été la seule à avoir une signification directement politique. Elle fut longtemps limitée aux centres importants, mais elle s'est maintenant diffusée en raison même du rôle joué par le « lettré » dans la plupart des villages. L'établissement d'un nouvel usage en matière de dot — celui de dresser la liste *(kalag)* des dons faits à la belle famille — a établi l'importance de ce dernier; en même temps que jouent sa qualité d'auxiliaire des chefs et des commerçants, sa fonction « d'interprête », de commentateur des lettres ou de certains journaux locaux : tel *Méfoé*, publication réalisée par la Mission Protestante Américaine d'Elat (Cameroun) qui s'impose comme « le journal des Fang ». Les signes sont multiples qui indiquent le passage d'une civilisation fondée sur la tradition orale à une civilisation fondée sur l'écriture. En ce sens, le mouvement de regroupement clanique fut significatif : justifié par des textes capitaux, la « légende d'origine » et les « statuts » propres à chaque *ayôg*, il s'accompagnait d'un ensemble de manifestations bureaucratiques : rédaction de compte-rendus des réunions et de « décisions », établissement d'une comptabilité sommaire des sommes versées à la caisse *(mbâk)* de la tribu. Il en fut de même dans les régions où l'association *Ngòl* s'établit quelque temps. Dans la mesure même où s'élargit le recours au document, le rôle du « lettré » s'insère dans la société fang et ne se limite plus à celui d'intermédiaire entre la société coloniale et les villageois. Cela explique les aspirations politiques qu'il manifeste, souvent hostiles et à l'administration et aux « Vieux Fang ».

Parmi les processus de différenciation particulièrement agissants, nous devons maintenant évoquer *ceux qui sont liés à un contact plus étroit avec la société coloniale;* qu'il s'agisse des agents de cette dernière ou d'éléments retournés à leur village après avoir vécu, durant plusieurs années, hors de leur milieu coutumier. Dans la première catégorie, évoquons les « chefs » et les auxiliaires de l'administration, les salariés des entreprises européennes; dans la seconde, les anciens citadins et les anciens « militaires ». Pour ceux-là, le caractère distinctif est la situation de *client*, plus ou moins fidèle, d'un des éléments de la société coloniale, le renforcement de la dépendance. Ils peuvent d'ailleurs s'appuyer sur cette puissance pour établir leur prééminence vis-à-vis des villageois; leur comportement a toujours un

caractère ambigü et peut évoquer un « double-jeu » très rudimentaire [1]. Nous donnerons à cet égard l'exemple d'un de nos informateurs, Florentin : jeune homme ambitieux, éduqué par la Mission catholique, qui compensait sa fonction d'assesseur auprès du Tribunal de Conciliation d'un district du Woleu-Ntem par un rôle important dans une des principales « paroisses » du culte *Bwiti* et par une grande activité, lors du mouvement clanique, qui lui valut une dignité dans la nouvelle hiérarchie. Il recourt à chacune des lignes de force qui peuvent affermir son autorité, en dépit de sa position administrative, sur les divers groupements locaux.

Quant aux éléments qui retrouvent leur milieu après une rupture, due à un séjour dans les villes ou hors du Gabon, il se révèle que leur nouvelle intégration est difficile. Ils sont convaincus d'avoir acquis une supériorité sur les villageois — ainsi, tel homme jeune, retourné au village après un séjour à Libreville, s'est très tôt séparé de sa famille « parce que les cases n'y étaient pas assez propres et assez modernes » — et n'acceptent plus sans réactions la forte contrainte administrative existant « en brousse » — après 1944, de nombreux exemples en furent donnés par les « tirailleurs » libérés, dont certains rapports évoquent l' « indiscipline » [2]. Ces éléments sont colporteurs de modèles culturels et de comportements nouveaux. Le culte *Bwiti* a été emprunté, et diffusé en pays fang, par les travailleurs qui séjournèrent dans le Bas-Gabon. Le mouvement de regroupement et de modernisation des villages est soutenu, au Woleu-Ntem, par quelques anciens combattants qui voudraient établir des gros groupements imités de ceux des campagnes française et nord-africaine. Ce sont là des agents qui, par leur nombre accru, agissent de plus en plus profondément et aspirent à un rôle de leader au sein d'une société fang modernisée sous leur impulsion.

Nous ajouterons enfin, sans que ces distinctions puissent être très strictes car elles se recouvrent en partie, les modes de différenciation qui sont liés au *développement de l'économie locale*. Le modeste « commerçant » fang, avatar moderne de l'ancien traitant, jouit d'un statut privilégié. Il est le détenteur de richesses particulièrement recherchées dans un pays où le marché de consommation est loin d'être saturé, et où, à l'ancienne capitalisation en « marchandises » s'ajoute, de plus en plus élargie,

1. Cf. G. Balandier, L'utopie de Benoît Ogoula Iquaqua, *in Les Temps Modernes*, 84-85, 1952.
2. Cf. par exemple, Rapport Ogooué-Ivindo, 1er sem. 1944.

5: Balandier FH9 Fang

la demande en produits réellement consommés. Il est par excellence le *nkumakuma*, « celui qui possède », et nous avons montré précédemment dans quelles conditions sa « richesse » est reconnue en tant que créatrice de prééminence et garantie. Sa mobilité explique, par ailleurs, qu'il soit un élément de liaison entre les groupements, un colporteur de marchandises et d'idées. Il paraît en général attaché à ce que l'on peut nommer l'*esprit moderniste* [1]. Toutes les interviews, que nous avons recueillies au Woleu-Ntem lors de l'enquête sur le mouvement de regroupement des villages, ont manifesté ce fait : désir de groupements villageois d'un volume plus important, équipés de manière à élever le niveau-de-vie et où le pouvoir, tenant compte des conditions nouvelles, ne serait plus fondé seulement sur la prééminence généalogique ou les exigences administratives [2]. Certain élément ne craint pas d'affirmer avec vigueur : « Nous agirons, guidés par notre député, même si les Blancs s'y opposent ».

Avec l'extension des cultures dites « riches » quelques villageois ont voulu s'affirmer en tant que « planteurs » ayant la certitude de s'élever dans la hiérarchie sociale » [3]. Dans le pays à cacao, il s'agit le plus souvent de jeunes hommes ayant réussi à planter plus de 5 hectares de cacaoyers et qui marquent de manière évidente leur droit de propriété sur les plantations — cependant qu'il n'existe que quelques planteurs d'importance réelle aux abords d'Oyem et surtout de Bitam. Cette transformation récente (1930-1935) est cependant grosse de conséquences : elle donne au village une assise et une signification nouvelles; elle modifie les rapports sociaux. Non seulement le village est « fixé » par les cacaoyères, mais à son voisinage même le périmètre d'exploitation prend une configuration précise enclosant des parcelles bien limitées (limite = *'ni*). Un droit de propriété s'établit, auquel prétend chaque homme qui cultive, et tend à s'imposer comme définitif, l'abandon du village n'impliquant pas l'abandon des droits sur les arbres plantés [4]. Des groupements

1. Un rapport de l'Ogooué-Ivindo, année 1948, dû à un administrateur-éthnographe, et spécialement consacré aux problèmes politiques, ne craint pas de signaler « des agitateurs parmi tous les petits commerçants qui font de nombreux voyages « dans le bas » — signe d'une méfiance panique vis-à-vis de ces éléments modernistes.

2. Cf. G. Balandier et J. C. Pauvert, *Villages Gabonais*, Mémoire de l'Institut d'Etudes Centrafricaines, 5, 1952.

3. *Rapport* 2e *sem.* 1937, Région de l'Estuaire. En réalité, l'auteur s'inquiète, avec une certaine nuance méprisante, de « l'état d'esprit des petits planteurs indigènes *qui ont cru s'élever* dans la hiérarchie sociale ».

4. Nous avons justement assisté dans le village de Metsui (sur Mitzic) à un palabre opposant un fragment ayant fait sécession pour s'établir à

apparaissant jusqu'à une époque récente comme des groupes de nomadisme se transforment en communautés agricoles. Les hommes sont devenus agriculteurs et ont la charge des cultures « qui font de l'argent »; ils découvrent que leur puissance économique est directement liée à la quantité de travail qu'ils fournissent — lors du mouvement clanique, par exemple, il était enseigné parmi d'autres « commandements » : « Nous devons travailler pour gagner de l'argent »[1]. Les jeunes hommes les plus actifs éprouvent le besoin de s'entraider, sur la base des groupements de « camarades » *(miō)*, pour réaliser des défrichements plus importants. La nécessité d'une organisation de type coopératif, permettant d'obtenir de meilleures conditions à la vente, est ressentie par les éléments les plus organisés. L'inégalité s'accuse à la faveur des différences de revenus agricoles, commençant à établir des relations — très rares pour l'instant — du type employeur-salarié. La richesse d'un villageois dépend de plus en plus de ses activités agricoles, tend à se manifester par l'importance de ses plantation autant que par le nombre de ses femmes. Les éléments les plus entreprenants souhaitent une organisation du village qui reconnaisse leur influence, garantisse leurs droits et soit essentiellement fondée sur cette économie en extension.

Il faudrait ajouter à ces deux types, nés de la nouvelle économie villageoise, celui du « demi-artisan » qui commence à s'établir dans les régions où se trouvent des sources de revenus — il s'agit surtout des « tailleurs »[2] et de quelques menuisiers ou menuisiers-forgerons. Ce sont là des catégories professionnelles qui ne représentent en rien une résurgence de l'ancien artisanat qui, ainsi que l'a signalé F. Grébert il y a près de vingt ans [3], a totalement disparu. Elles s'établissent en fonction des besoins nouveaux et ne rassemblent que des éléments trop peu nombreux pour qu'ils puissent être à l'origine de manifestations ou revendications importantes.

Tels sont les *types sociaux qui tendent à se différencier*, à s'exprimer au-delà des relations fondamentales de la « parenté ». Il en

1 kilomètre en avant, et affirmant ses droits sur les anciens cacaoyers et caféiers plantés, et les villageois restés sur place qui tentaient d'accaparer les arbres.

1. Cahier de réunion d'un dignitaire, Yémissen d'Oyem.

2. Dans un district à revenus médiocres, comme celui de Mitzic, 11 « tailleurs » étaient officiellement recencés en 1945 pour le seul chef-lieu.

3. F. Grébert, Arts en voie de disparition au Gabon» *In Africa*, VII, I, 1934. Aussi, G. Balandier, Les conditions sociologiques de l'art noir, in *Présence Africaine*, 10-11, 1951, numéro spécial *L'art Nègre* édité par G. Balandire et J. Howlett. Tandis que M. H. Kingsley, *op. cit.*, évoquait un artisanat florissant au siècle dernier.

résulte, pour l'instant, plus de confusion que l'ébauche d'une structure nouvelle; l'administration ayant une certaine responsabilité en contrariant toutes les tentatives de réorganisation dues à des initiatives indigènes. Le mouvement clanique, qui était l'une de ces tentatives, a parfaitement montré quels éléments tiraient bénéfice de la nouvelle hiérarchie et d'un choix fondé sur l'élection. Donnons-en quelques exemples tirés de l'enquête réalisée en 1949 au sein des tribus les plus actives :

TABLEAU VIII

Tribu et localisation (a)	Qualité sociale dominante	Dignité lors du mouvement clanique (b)
Yémisèm (E)	ancien pasteur	Anime la tribu Yémisèm et a tenté de fédérer les tribus Fang du Cameroun
Yémisèm (B)	chef de canton révoqué	Président en tête
Yémisèm (O)	planteur	Président en tête
—	commerçant, ancien élève de la Mission Catholique	Président-Vice
—	ancien cuisinier	Président-Vice
—	ancien agent du Service de l'Agriculture	Inspecteur de la tribu
Yémisèm (M)	commerçant	Président
Yémisèm (Me)	assesseur au Tribunal de Conciliation	Président-Vice
—	commerçant	Directeur du Commerce
Yémisèm (Bo)	ancien tirailleur	Président
Yémvâg (O)	planteur de cacao	Président en tête
Yémvâg (M)	ancien tirailleur	Président en tête
—	chef de village	Président-Vice
—	assesseur au Tribunal de Conciliation	Président-Vice
—	charpentier-menuisier	Gouverneur
—	planteur	Gouverneur
—	planteur	Gouverneur
Yémvâg (Bo)	ancien sous-officier	Président en tête
—	commerçant	Président-Vice
—	chef de terre	Président
Yémödâg (O)	tailleur	Président en tête

Tribu et localisation (a)	Qualité sociale dominante	Dignité lors du mouvemement clanique (b)
Yémödâg (M)	chef de terre	Président en tête
Yémödâg (Bo)	ancien tirailleur	Président
—	chef de terre	Président
—	interprète de l'administration	Président-Vice
—	ancien tirailleur	Président-Vice
—	commerçant	Gouverneur
Yénzòk (B)	gros planteur de cacao	Président en tête
Yéngwi (O)	planteur, ancien élève de la Mission Catholique	Président en tête
—	ancien manœuvre-magasinier à Libreville	Président-Vice
Óžip (O)	ancien sous-officier	Président
—	assesseur au Tribunal de Conciliation	Président-Vice

(*a*) Les abréviations indiquent : (B) Bitam, (Bo) Booué, (M) Mitzic, (Me) Médouneu, (O) Oyem.
(*b*) Le sens exact de ces « dignités » est donné ci-dessous au cours de l'analyse consacrée au mouvement clanique.

Cette liste manifeste, en même temps que la montée des catégories sociales que nous venons de révéler émergentes, le refus presque total des autorités administratives. Le choix, à Bitam, d'un ancien chef de canton révoqué en 1937, symbolise l'opposition à un ordre administratif éprouvé comme de moins en moins adéquat. Il fut difficile de faire justifier ces « élections »; les arguments se réduisant en fait à deux : élection parce que la personnalité est « riche » et qu'on espère engager sa richesse en lui donnant prééminence sur le groupement tribal; élection parce que la personnalité affirme sa connaissance des Européens et qu'on lui demande d'enseigner les moyens de « suivre la vie européenne ». D'autre part, la compétition pour les dignités importantes, la hiérarchie complexe et aux degrés multiples — sinon efficaces — établie par le mouvement clanique, ont montré avec quelle intensité est recherché le pouvoir. La lutte s'exprime à la faveur des anciens antagonismes entre groupements et laisse place aux impulsions proprement politiques données à Libreville

ou dans les centres du Cameroun [1] — c'est encore un point où apparaissent l'ambiguïté et la complexité caractérisant l'actuelle société fang. L'importance accordée, dans l'ancienne société, au prestige personnel préparait cependant à de telles luttes. Les mouvements récents, nés d'initiatives purement fang, ont indiqué les transferts de puissance qui se sont effectués ou s'effectuent au sein de la société pahouine; des valeurs « généalogiques » aux valeurs économiques, de la génération des « anciens » aux jeunes générations qui sont économiquement plus actives et déterminent l'évolution sociale, des traditionalistes aux « modernistes » qui s'appuient sur une expérience et un savoir acquis au contact de l'Européen. Il est important d'ajouter que, lors du regroupement clanique, la promotion de la femme fang fut en partie reconnue — des dignités féminines étant créées ou intégrées : Chef des femmes *(évèl mininga)*, Présidente de la tribu, Gouvernante de la tribu, etc. — cependant que, d'un autre côté, les hommes tentaient de réaffirmer leur autorité sur les femmes et de soumettre ces dernières à un contrôle strict. L'administation, en pratiquant « le torpillage des cadres traditionnels » [2], a d'abord facilité le jeu de ces nouvelles puissances; puis, en s'opposant à elles par crainte de perdre une part de son autorité, elle n'a fait que contrarier une reconstruction sociale qui ne s'est exprimée, jusqu'à présent, que par une série d'essais avortés.

III. Les « initiatives » fang jusqu'en 1950.

Au début du chapitre, nous avons rappelé combien l'emprise de la société coloniale s'était affirmée, de 1910 à 1920, politiquement et économiquement. Cette période marque, pour les Fang, la fin de leur entreprise de conquête et celle de la grande traite où ils s'efforcèrent de concurrencer les peuples détenant les anciens monopoles. Elle révèle, manifestant le caractère nouveau des relations désormais établies entre les Pahouin et la société coloniale, leurs premières réactions positives à la présence européenne et aux problèmes que pose l'altération de leurs structures sociales. Le Bas-Gabon, où le « contact » est plus ancien et plus actif en raison de l'existence des centres urbains et des « chantiers »,

1. Celles du *Comité Mixte Gabonais* (Libreville) de l'*Union Tribale Ntem-Kribi* (non officiellement reconnue) et de l'*Union des Populations Camerounaises* (grands centres du Sud-Cameroun).
2. Rapport de tournée, Canton Ndou-Libi, *op. cit.*

où le processus de désorganisation a joué plus rapidement, restera longtemps le foyer des « initiatives » fang. Les premières tentatives presque contemporaines, s'effectuent selon deux orientations différentes : l'une ayant un fondement religieux, se révélant capable de récupérer en partie l'acquit traditionnel — c'est le culte *Bwiti ;* l'autre ayant un fondement politique, au sens moderne, et exprimant les réactions de cette catégorie sociale qui est dite des « évolués » — c'est le début de l'opposition politique organisée.

Le culte Bwiti : une réaction à fondement sacré.

Selon le vieil abbé indigène A. R. Walker, érudit en fait d'ethnologie des peuples du Bas-Gabon, le culte *Bwiti* a été établi chez les Fang il y a moins d'un demi siècle; depuis vingt-cinq ou trente ans « l'engouement de ces derniers est devenu tel — du moins vers le Littoral et sur les rives de l'Ogooué — qu'il dépasse celui de toutes les autres races »[1]. Dans son étude consacrée au « totémisme chez les Fân », qui date de 1912, le P. Trilles ne fait que noter une parenté, fondée surtout sur les aspects symboliques communs, entre le « *Biéri* fân » et le « *Bwiti* fiot » — les Fiot représentant un grand ensemble ethnique s'étendant jusqu'au fleuve Congo. Les ouvrages antérieurs ne mentionnent même pas le mot et l'on peut penser que la « contamination » s'est produite, de 1900 à 1910, par l'intermédiaire des groupements fang les plus avancés, alors établis au Fernan Vaz et jusqu'à Setté-Cama. Ce sont là deux zones de « contact » à l'aboutissement des routes de traite. D'après les informations les plus sûres[2], le culte *Bwiti* a d'abord été diffusé au sein des peuples de la Côte par les esclaves et les Noirs de traite. Il faudrait ajouter que, par la suite, les groupements refoulés en contre-coup de l'invasion fang sont devenus d'excellents propagateurs; parmi ces derniers figurent les Ba-kélé auprès desquels l'explorateur Du Chaillu observa le *Mbuiti*, « idole du clan », vers le milieu du siècle dernier. Les indications de cet auteur révèlent un culte à fondement clanique, rassemblant uniquement les hommes (les femmes participant au « Njambai ») et chargé d'assurer la pro-

1. Nous devons de vifs remerciements à M. l'abbé Walker non seulement pour ses informations orales mais aussi pour la communication d'études inédites : *Le Bouiti* et *Explication de quelques termes de sorcellerie gabonaise. Cf.* également : ..., Le Bouiti, *Bul. Soc. Recherches Congolaises*, 4, 1924.

2. Études de l'abbé Walker, indications dans le livre du R. P. Trilles, dans certaines notes de Mgr Tardy reprises en partie par M. Briault, in *Sur les pistes de l'A. E. F.*

tection des membres et des biens du groupement [1]. Si la plupart des peuples du Bas-Gabon (Eshira, Ba-varama, Ba-vungu, Ba-lumbu et Galwa, Nkòmi, Oroungou, Mpongwé, etc.), connaissent le *Bwiti*, la plupart ne l'ont acquis qu'en « supplément », ne le mettant pas au centre de leurs activités religieuses. A. R. Walker écrit, dans une monographie des Mpongwé, qu' « il est excessivement rare que des Mpongwé authentiques se fassent initier à cette société » [2]. Le pays d'origine du culte *Bwiti* semble être la Haute-Ngounié; mais les peuples de ces régions eux-mêmes, Mitshogo et Masango, qui en seraient les véritables créateurs, le possèdent en plus d'autres « associations », ainsi le *Mwiri* qui a été étudié comme une société d'hommes à fondement sacré accomplissant des fonctions multiples, judiciaires, disciplinaires et économiques [3]. Ce n'est que chez les Fang, dans les régions où il a pu s'établir fermement, que le culte a pris *un développement exclusif*, visant à accaparer la majeure partie des activités religieuses et politiques : c'est une première constatation que nous aurons à expliciter afin de découvrir le sens de cet « engouement ».

La totalité des études consacrées aux Fang, de l'Estuaire, de l'Ogooué et du Woleu-Ntem [4], aux environs de 1910, ne signalent pas l'existence du culte *Bwiti* au sein de ces groupements. La contamination était alors très restreinte, et la plupart de nos informateurs ont insisté sur le fait que les « chantiers » du Bas-Gabon furent les véritables centres d'apprentissage du *Bwiti* : ces derniers imposaient en effet le contact continuel de « recrutés » de la Ngounié et du pays fang, ces deux réservoirs de main-d'œuvre. C'est durant la période de 1920 à 1930, celle du plein développement des exploitations, que le culte multiplie ses temples *(mbâ:a mbwiti)* dans les régions de Lambaréné et de Kango, s'établit à Libreville, se diffuse au long de l'Ogooué et au Woleu-Ntem, par la « piste » qui relie cette région à la Côte, parvenant jusqu'aux villages Ntoumou du Cameroun (district d'Amban). Les anciens recrutés ont joué le rôle de colporteurs du nouveau culte. Cette diffusion marquera, jusqu'à une époque récente, l'influence prépondérante des Fang du Bas-Gabon, de ceux de Libreville notamment qui voudraient faire de cette dernière une « capitale bwiti ». L'organisation est suffisamment

1. Du Chaillu, *op. cit.*, pp. 134, 331 ss.
2. Documents inédits rassemblés par la Commission d'enquête historique, Libreville, 1949.
3. A. Maclatchy, L'organisation sociale des populations de la région de Mimongo» in *Bul. Inst. d'Etudes Centrafricaines*, I, 1, 1945.
4. Cf. Lieutenant Poupard,, Capitaine Curault, et Capitaine Maignan, titres dans la Bibliographie.

établie pour pouvoir transmettre des mots d'ordre de résistance aux exigences administratives : c'est aux environs de 1930 que M., qui manifeste déjà son rôle de leader d'opposition, est poursuivi pour ses activités en tant que « chef bwiti ». L'hostilité officielle se joint alors à celles des missionnaires; des incidents ont lieu, en 1931, dans les environs de Médouneu (Abangotome) à la suite des destructions de temples bwiti opérées par un abbé de race fang; les adeptes du territoire de Guinée-Espagnole sont pourchassés et victimes de peines très graves. De nombreux villages fuient vers les régions d'accès moins facile et le développement clandestin du culte s'accentue; ce n'est que depuis quelques années, après 1945, qu'il fut possible de remarquer des temples établis aux abords des routes carrossables. Cette clandestinité explique la concentration des villages bwiti dans les zones marginales : entre Coco-Beach et Médouneu, par exemple.

Tels sont les éléments que nous avons pu recueillir quant à l'histoire de cette institution. Ils permettent de comprendre certains caractères du *Bwiti* fang. Le fait qu'il s'agisse d'un système socio-culturel ayant beaucoup circulé et subi des adaptations, exigées par le contexte dans lequel il s'insérait et par les circonstances de sa diffusion, explique la liberté que les Fang ont pu prendre vis-à-vis d'un semblable emprunt. Ils l'ont chargé de significations qui ont varié au cours des vingt dernières années, en ont enrichi l'aspect matériel, à tel point que A. R. Walker écrit qu'il y est « ajouté tant de choses que le Bouiti des Fang ne ressemble en rien au Bouiti primitif des Apindji et des Mitsogo »[1]. D'autre part, les conditions mêmes de l'emprunt, dans des *régions de contact* où le *Bwiti* a déjà un caractère inter-tribal et dans les camps de travailleurs où il crée un lien entre éléments ethniquement disparates, ou de sa diffusion, par le « colportage » qu'en font les individus qui rejoignent après une séparation leur village d'origine, expliquent le fait que la nouvelle secte soit peu dépendante des groupements de parenté. Elle est relativement ouverte, à l'étranger, à la femme même (mais cette mixité reste exceptionnelle), sous la seule condition de l'initiation et du respect des règles. Enfin, les antagonismes qui se manifestent en contre-coup des répressions missionnaires (qui l'attaquent en tant que renouveau du « fétichisme ») et administratives (qui craignent de le voir s'établir en tant qu'organisation politico-religieuse), ont donné à ses manifestations un caractère anti-européen; certains adeptes peuvent prendre à l'occasion de ces

1. Notes inédites.

conflits, nous l'avons constaté à diverses reprises, le sentiment précis d'être des « persécutés ».

Le terme même de *Bwiti* désigne, à la fois, la divinité supérieure qui se révèle à l'initié, le poteau sculpté qui constitue la pièce fondamentale du temple, la société des adeptes; mais il est impossible de déterminer l'étymologie de ce mot répandu, sous les formes *bwiti*, *bwété* ou *butu*, dans une grande partie du Gabon. Il convient de signaler ici que le vocabulaire du *bwiti*, en raison même de l'extension du culte, pose de nombreux problèmes linguistiques qui n'ont pu être abordés dans le cadre de notre enquête. Chacun des peuples emprunteurs a apporté un développement et une marque originaux; en dehors des termes fondamentaux communs, il s'en rencontre qui relèvent des groupes linguistiques du Sud (Omyéné et Fiote) tandis que l'essentiel du matériel linguistique est dû aux groupes de la Haute-Ngounié (Mitshogo et Masango). Les adeptes fang, en dehors de leurs apports directs, ont donc acquis un ensemble linguistique qui ne leur est signifiant que par « équivalences », par « traductions », qui représente une partie du savoir réservé par lequel l'initié au culte *(ba'âz*, pl. *bōba'âz)* se distingue du profane.

a) *Les aspects matériels et le symbolisme.*

Le temple, *mbâza mbwiti*, occupe le plus souvent une position privilégiée dans le village, se trouvant dans le prolongement de l'allée centrale; se manifestant comme la « tête » du village dans le cas des groupements qui sont entièrement favorables au culte. Sinon, il est rejeté aux abords du quartier où demeurent les adeptes. Le temple est fondé sur les reliques (crâne et ossements) d'un homme dont la *puissance* a été remarquée : chef, homme riche ou traitant; des dépouilles d'Européens ayant même été utilisées en pays mishogo [1]. La fondation d'un nouveau temple exige de la part de celui qui le crée, et en devient le prêtre (*nkòbé bwiti*, parole de Bwiti), un sacrifice. L'efficacité du culte requiert un sacrifice humain précis : celui d'un parent ou celui d'un « adopté » — on ne peut évidemment savoir dans quelle mesure cette exigence a été respectée, mais on y constate l'obligation de « tuer la parenté » déjà signalée à propos des « associations » qui s'établissent anciennement en dehors, et au dessus, des groupements de parenté.

1. *Cf.* Rapport État-Major, 2e Bureau, Libreville, 21 août 1947 : « La perfection serait d'avoir un crâne de Blanc. Les crânes de Monsieur Ourson et du sergent Sampique ont été des bwiti fameux en pays mishogo ».

C'est sur les « reliques », auxquelles peuvent être adjoints des éléments empruntés aux anciens « paniers *biéri* » de certains adeptes [1], qu'est planté le poteau sculpté (nommé *bwiti*) qui soutient le temple en sa partie médiane — pièce dont l'importance est comparable à celle du « poteau-mitan » des sanctuaires vodou du Nouveau Monde [2]. Lors de la chasse faite au *Bwiti*, par les missionnaires et quelques administrateurs, il arrivait souvent que le poteau fût mis à bas et les « reliques » déterrées; elles ont donc été transferrées, le plus souvent, au sanctuaire secret *(njimba)* établi dans la forêt, en même temps d'ailleurs que les objets véritablement consacrés. Un déséquilibre s'établit entre les aspects publics et les aspects privés du culte; les premiers tendant à apparaître comme une *doublure* désacralisée (allant jusqu'à n'utiliser que des copies profanes du matériel sacré) des derniers, exaltant surtout le caractère de « fête » des manifestations publiques et cherchant, par là même, à s'innocenter et à se faire tolérer des administrateurs [3].

C'est surtout d'après l'organisation du poteau central, plus ou moins riche de symboles figurés, que se manifeste la personnalité des différents *Bwiti*. Nous avons donc pu distinguer trois types assez précisément localisés : un type rudimentaire où le poteau, simplifié comme dans les temples mishogo, ne comporte vers la base qu'un évidement en forme de losange qui figure le sexe féminin; un type moyen où le symbole est essentiellement une sculpture de femme, au sexe et aux seins précisément indiqués, réalisée à même le poteau et qui représente Nyingòn Möbòga, la « première femme », sœur de Nzam (Etre suprême), pilier du Monde et lien entre la terre et le ciel [4]; un type élaboré où le symbolisme est riche et composite, incorporant des apports

1. Cf. E. Trezenem, Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fang du Moyen Ogooué, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

2. Étant donné le volume des déportations « congolaises » à l'époque de la traite, le rôle des « esclaves » dans la diffusion du *Bwiti*, il s'agit certainement de bien plus qu'une coïncidence. Et une étude intensive du *Bwiti* gagnerait beaucoup à être menée en tenant compte des travaux des vodoulsants.

3. Lors de l'enquête, un *nkòbé bwiti* d'un *Bwiti* du Bas-Ogooué demanda notre intervention auprès de l'administrateur local, pour obtenir un écrit reconnaissant son groupe comme celui des « meilleurs danseurs » et lui donnant l'autorisation d'aller se produire en dehors du village.

4. Cf. E. Trezenem, *op. cit.*, p. 67-68; « Nzame est arrivé au bout de la terre qui est plate, il a rencontré, lui barrant la route, le ciel, toit de fer recouvrant la terre comme un toit couvre une case, soutenu en son milieu par un piquet invisible que maintient Ningone Maboere, sœur de Nzame ». On voit donc, ici, combien la cosmogonie fang a été récupérée par le culte nouveau.

chrétiens qui s'inscrivent dans la configuration même du temple. Le premier type se rencontre dans cette zone marginale que nous avons évoquée, entre Kango-Médouneu et aux environs de Médouneu, où le repli a entraîné un certain conservatisme et « figé l'institution »; le deuxième apparaît dans les villages du Moyen-Ogooué, vers Mitzic et le Cameroun; le troisième caractérise la région la plus anciennement et la plus profondément « acculturée » : de Libreville à Kango et un peu au-delà en direction de Lambaréné. Partout, le poteau-*bwiti* reste une pièce fondamentale qui n'est pas abandonnée lorsque le village se déplace; surtout lorsque les adeptes ont dû, comme nous l'avons constaté, aller l'acquérir jusqu'à Libreville même. Ces quelques indications montrent combien l'institution s'est diversifiée selon les circonstances locales, combien son potentiel symbolique est variable.

En pays fang, le temple n'a pas une forme particulière alors que chez les Mitshogo, par son aspect de construction surbaissée et par le découpage de la maîtresse-poutre, il évoque une pirogue renversée. Grand bâtiment rectangulaire, ouvert entièrement à l'une des extrémités, il rappelle le traditionnel « corps de-garde » et comporte sur chacune des longueurs une banquette destinée aux « assistants » et aux spectateurs. Dans le cas des *Bwiti* marqués d'apports chrétiens, il s'y ajoute une ou deux pièces annexes (comparées à la « sacristie ») où se prépare l'officiant; de plus, l'autel, qui se trouve au fond du temple, est alors plus vaste, construit en terrasse, chargé de symboles astraux [1] peints ou modelés en terre, et prétend rappeler l'autel des églises chrétiennes [2]. Cet autel, sur lequel sont accomplis les sacrifices (cabri, poulet, œufs et argent), apparaît comme un élément surajouté, comme un appendice du poteau-*bwiti* si l'on peut dire; il n'existe pas sous cette forme séparée en pays mitshogo et certains temples du pays fang n'en possèdent pas [3]; il est très variable dans sa forme, depuis une logette constituée de simples rondins jusqu'à une petite construction de pisé formant des logettes ou s'élevant par degrés. Par contre, les éléments se rencontrant *toujours*, et faisant partie intégrante du temple, sont

1. Ainsi dans le temple *bwiti* d'Abogotome : soleil, lune et étoiles sont figurés sur la paroi verticale de l'autel.

2. Un exemple est donné (*Bwiti* d'Akournam) dans le document établi par la Subdivision de Libreville pour l'*Enquête sur l'habitation des indigènes*. Archives de Brazzaville.

3. E. Trezenem ne le mentionne pas à l'occasion de ses enquêtes dans le Moyen-Ogooué et nous-même avons visité des temples de la région Médouneu où il est absent.

situés sur l'axe médian parallèle à sa longueur : en avant, le poteau-*bwiti ;* vers le centre, un foyer toujours entretenu; à l'arrière, *obaka,* branche de palmier raphia reposant horizontalement sur deux piquets et sur laquelle un « assistant » frappe avec deux baguettes. Au long de cette dimension fondamentale se trouvent placés, accrochés à la maîtresse poutre, des cercles de rotin qui marquent les lieux où l'on doit se placer « lorsqu'on s'adresse à *Bwiti* ».

Revenons à chacun de ces éléments indispensables de manière à préciser leur signification :

(*a*). Nous donnerons d'abord l'exemple d'un poteau-*bwiti* particulièrement « chargé », celui du temple d'Abogotome — district de Médouneu. Il comporte un nombre important de figurations dont certaines sont peintes :

Face avant (dirigée vers l'extérieur) : « L'oiseau de la mort » qui ne chante que la nuit et entraîne la mort de celui qui l'entend; le varan qui est l'équivalent du tonnerre (la foudre et le feu ont un rôle considérable dans le rite mitshogo [1]); la « première femme »; le singe; la scie qui symbolise les entreprises de destruction; le symbole d'un animal décrit comme une sorte de lémurien (qui ne relâche pas son étreinte lorsqu'on l'a tué) qui manifeste la cohésion du groupement (on dit qu' « il tient le *Bwiti* ») et la volonté des adeptes qui refusent de « renoncer » quels que soient les sévices subis.

Face arrière (tournée vers l'intérieur du temple) : Les symboles de l'araignée (terre), des étoiles, de la nuit et du jour (sur certains poteaux se trouve entre ces deux symboles une ligne marquant la « limite », la séparation existant entre jour et nuit, terre et ciel, monde des vivants et monde des morts); la « porte » et les « quatre fenêtres du Monde »; une série de croix (les « croix des morts »), et la tortue.

Côtés : Le serpent python, qui correspond à l'arc-en-ciel, et joue dans les *Bwiti* du Bas-Gabon un rôle si important que le P. Trilles a pu affirmer que « la société du *Bwiti* toute entière »

1. Cf. un des chants recueillis par A. R. Walker qui célèbre, en évoquant la foudre, la puissance de *Bwiti* suscité sous le nom de ses diverses personnes :

« Là où la foudre a passé, des champignons ont poussé.
O Mère! Ma Mère! Di gôjé fait (vraiment) des prodiges!
Dibôji fait (vraiment) des prodiges!
Là où la foudre a passé, des tatouages (en losanges) ont apparu
O mon peuple!
Ah! ah! ah! c'est Botudu lui-même qui a accompli cette chose extra-
[ordinaire »;

(in *Chants du Bwiti*, inédit).

lui est « consacrée »[1] — c'est un symbole qui n'a pas, bien que partout présent, la même priorité dans l'ensemble du pays fang; une série d'encoches figurant le sexe féminin; un couteau rappelant le châtiment, qui attend ceux qui veulent nuire aux adeptes, et évoquant le rôle de défense, contre la sorcellerie malfaisante, qui est dévolu à la société *bwiti*.

Il s'agit donc d'un ensemble composite, où la valeur de chaque apport serait à déterminer à la faveur d'une enquête exclusivement consacrée à l'étude du *Bwiti*, où la contribution originale des fondateurs apparaît considérable dès qu'on établit des comparaisons. On y trouve les reflets (plus certainement, les survivances) d'une cosmogonie, l'indication d'une pensée religieuse centrée sur l'idée de fécondité et l'idée de la mort (et des morts), la marque d'une réaction de défense contre les dangers dits de sorcellerie qui se sont multipliés en raison de la désorganisation sociale — c'est justement sur cet aspect d'association défensive qu'insiste E. Trezenem, à propos des *Bwiti* de l'Ogooué, et il faut le considérer comme une indication valable quant à la multiplication des conflits et compétitions individuels.

(*b*) Le foyer alimenté par trois bûches de bois, qui se trouve au centre du temple, reste constamment entretenu par l'un ou l'autre des adeptes; il représente un des éléments présents dans tous les *Bwiti*[2]. Il apparaît comme le « foyer commun », auquel est comparable celui qui figure au centre du « corps-de-garde », ayant conservé l'intégralité de sa signification religieuse; l'a[illegible]t affirmée même dans la mesure où une équivalence s'est établ[illegible] comme nous l'avons constaté — avec la lampe du sanctu[illegible]e catholique. La permanence du foyer est liée à un ensemble de gestes rituels et d'invocations qui accordent une place importante au feu et aux astres. Citons, à ce sujet, les indications d'une ancienne enquête consacrée partiellement aux Fang : « Avant toute cérémonie, le féticheur prend une torche allumée, la promène dans la case et sort en faisant des invocations aux

1. R. P. Trilles, *Le Totémisme chez les Fân*, p. 52; *idem*, extraits de l'étude du R. P. Le Scao sur « Le *bwiti* de Setté-Cama » où se trouvent des indications sur le grand nombre d'éléments empruntés au serpent et de figurations de ce dernier. Parmi les chants rassemblés par A. R. Walker, l'un est en l'honneur du serpent python; les danseurs-chanteurs se suivent à travers le village en « portant sur l'épaule une longue corde à laquelle sont attachés des flambeaux de résine d'okoumé. Cette corde figure un python déroulant ses anneaux ». Le chant indique :
« L'énorme python descend le long du fleuve : telle une corde que l'on [déroule! »

2. Chez les Mitshogo : description de l'abbé Walker; chez les Fiote du Bas-Gabon : description du P. Le Scao qui dit, du foyer, « c'est comme la lampe du sanctuaire ».

astres, de même que tout ce qui servira à la cérémonie sera passé à la flamme [1] ». Il y a là les éléments d'un culte où le feu et les puissances naturelles jouèrent un rôle considérable, qui n'est pas le bien propre des Fang mais des peuples autochtones du Haut-Gabon — et qui put être colporté par les esclaves de traite si l'on considère la place réservée au feu dans certains rituels vodou.

(c) *Obaka* désigne un instrument qui se retrouve chez les peuples du Bas-Gabon, ainsi les Mpongwé, avec la même dénomination. Il semble qu'il n'ait pas seulement un caractère instrumental, mais ait maintenu sa valeur symbolique. Chez les Mpongwé, les synonymes désignant non seulement cet objet, mais tous ceux où le raphia est employé, signifient en plus : « origine, temps immémorial » *(ikókó)* [2]. Ce sens d' « origine » — de « genèse », serait plus exact — paraît attesté par le fait que le joueur de la harpe à huit cordes *(ngòma)* se place au voisinage immédiat d'*obaka*, légèrement à l'arrière; *ngòma* symbolisant « la première femme », la femme en tant que créatrice. L'ensemble de ces deux instruments constitue un pôle féminin par rapport à ce pôle masculin qu'est la personnalité même de *Bwiti*. Le rôle éminent de *ngòma* est manifesté non seulement par son existence dans tous les temples, mais surtout par le fait qu'elle reçoit le sang des sacrifices, qu'elle est à tel point sacrée qu'on la protège des saccages éventuels en multipliant les copies sans valeur autre qu'instrumentale. *Ngòma* possède une tête, indiquée de manière très schématique, sur la face de laquelle s'inscrit une petite croix de métal (« la croix des morts »); un cou portant une ligature de fer sur laquelle s'insèrent les cordes et qui souligne l'endroit de la nuque où fut sacrifiée la victime humaine; un dos, qui reçoit le sang des sacrifices, figuré par la caisse de résonance; un ventre, la peau qui couvre cette dernière et est évidée de trois cercles figurant les seins et le sexe [3]. Elle établit une liaison entre le couple *Bwiti-Nyingòn Mōbòga* et la victime humaine — qui était autrefois une femme — sacrifiée lors de la fondation du temple. Elle figure un des aspects de ce culte complexe (et grossièrement élaboré par les Fang qui ont chargé d'apports constants un ensemble d'emprunts) où le *dualisme* tient une place considérable sous la forme des couples : mascu-

1. Indications reprises dans l'étude déjà citée de l'abbé Walker.
2. Cf. A. R. Walker, *Dictionnaire Mpongwè-Français*.
3. Cette description est celle de la harpe employée par les *Bwiti* de Nkoumadzap, route de Médouneu.

linité-féminité, jour-nuit, ciel-terre, naissance-mort etbien-mal.

(*d*). Les assistants du *nkòbé-bwiti* prennent place, de part et d'autre du foyer et du *poteau-bwiti*, sur des tabourets de bois aux formes particulières qui ne se rencontrent qu'à l'intérieur du temple; le plus remarquable de ceux-ci étant constitué par deux plateaux circulaires reliés par deux éléments de spirale croisés. Il est certain que, là encore, une signification difficile à expliciter (parce qu'elle s'est perdue comme le manifeste la dégradation symbolique des instruments dans de nombreux temples) s'inscrit dans le matériel rituel.

Il convient de compléter cette rapide description des aspects extérieurs du culte, en indiquant que le hochet ou le sistre *(èlsògé)* accompagne les danses chantées du « prêtre » et de certains des fidèles; que ces dernières imposent aux initiés un vêtement, de peaux de chat-tigre et de singe ceintes par-dessus le cache-sexe ou le pagne de raphia, qui est un rappel de l'ancien costume du guerrier fang, des ornements peints sur le visage et le corps en même temps qu'une coiffure faite de plumes. Là encore, il s'agit de « résidus » culturels qui tendent à disparaître ou à se transformer selon les influences locales. Dans la région de Libreville-Médouneu, les initiés en sont venus à adopter, comme marque de leur adhésion, un signe aussi étranger que le port de la chéchia rouge[1].

Nous avons fait une part à ces faits d'ordre matériel, non seulement parce qu'il n'existe aucune étude importante les précisant, mais parce qu'ils montrent à quel point le *Bwiti* reste un « conservatoire » des formes culturelles qui furent gravement atteintes au cours de l'évolution sociale. Il récupère tout un corps de connaissances et de mythes, une partie de l'ancien culte *bièri* « abandonné à cause surtout de la chasse qui lui fut faite par les Missions chrétiennes[2] » (à tel point que certain auteur a confondu *Bièri* et *Bwiti*) et remplit, ou voudrait remplir, les fonctions qui relevaient des anciennes « associations ». Mais le *Bwiti* n'en est pas moins ouvert, nous le montrerons ultérieurement, aux influences et aux besoins nouveaux — ses aspects syncrétiques sont à cet égard significatifs.

b) *Les aspects sociologiques et les fonctions de la secte.*

Les villageois, étrangers à la secte, désignent fréquemment les adeptes en disant : « Ce sont des hommes qui ont bu l'*iboga* »;

1. Un de nos étudiants, d'origine galwa, nous signale les incidences récentes de l'Islam sur certains *bwiti*.
2. E. Trézenem, *op. cit.*

l'écorce rapée de cette plante *(Tabernanthe Iboga)* servant à une préparation, à pouvoir excitant jusqu'à l'hallucination et aux effets aphrodisiaques, qui est consommée pour la première fois lors de l'initiation. Cet arbuste, souvent cultivé aux abords des cases, apparaît comme la marque distinctive des adeptes et révèle, par la place considérable qu'il tient dans le culte, la double préoccupation de « révélation » particulière et de « puissance » accrue (manifestée par l'exaspération du désir sexuel) qui anime chacun des initiés. L'enseignement reçu a moins d'importance que l'expérience personnelle faite à la faveur de l'énivrement par l'*iboga:* c'est sur la seule qualité de sa révélation que le candidat est jugé en vue de l'admission au sein de la secte. Nous avions, dans le chapitre précédent, signalé une orientation toute semblable à propos de l'initiation au *Bièri;* et le P. Trilles avait déjà rappelé que le candidat au titre d'*akûm* reste lié plusieurs jours au cadavre de sa victime humaine et sort de là en proie aux visions hallucinatoires[1]. On voit donc quelle place tient chez les Fang, en dehors de la connaissance commune, la connaissance révélée; elle, seule, permet les engagements particuliers et peut apporter un certain type de qualification. La révélation, bien que jugée sur la forme qu'elle prend dans chacun des cas, n'en est pas moins *profondément socialisée;* les aspects de *Bwiti* comme ceux du « pays des morts », qui se manifestent lors des crises hallucinatoires, sont stéréotypés dans une large mesure. On pourrait parler d'un dérèglement partiellement réglé de l'esprit, qui impose cependant une aventure personnelle et qui valorise en fonction de l'intensité avec laquelle cette dernière est vécue. Aventure qui implique notamment un retour au passé du groupement, une communion étroite avec l'ensemble des défunts : c'est là une des raisons de succès du *Bwiti* en une époque où l'insécurité est accentuée alors que les anciens moyens de protection ont quasiment disparu. Par ailleurs, ce culte montre combien l'expérience religieuse n'a pu changer de nature malgré la christianisation déjà ancienne : en ce sens, le *Bwiti* est reconnu comme une religion vivante, vécue de manière intensive, alors que le christianisme est éprouvé comme une religion non seulement imposée de l'extérieur mais encore « enseignée » d'une manière rationnelle et non découverte à l'occasion d'une révélation exaltante. C'est justement une des causes de l'échec missionnaire. Le *Bwiti* a sauvé une partie de

1. R. P. Trilles, *Le Totémisme chez les Fan*, op. cit.
2. Notons qu'il y a là, pour les peuples « sans écriture », une des formes de « l'appel à l'histoire ».

l'héritage culturel fang et, en même temps, maintenu certains comportements éprouvés comme spécifiquement fang — en ce sens, il est une réaction à la dénaturation culturelle impliquée par la situation coloniale.

La cohésion de la secte est favorisée par ce sentiment qu'ont les adeptes de détenir une connaissance supérieure (on signale, au candidat à l'initiation, qu'il aura le « grand honneur » de connaître « comment vont les choses de la terre »). Elle est maintenue par la règle de secret (sous peine de mort) et par la clandestinité imposée à certaines manifestations — qui commence à se relâcher cependant dans la mesure où le *Bwiti* aspire à devenir une grande religion et ouverte au plus grand nombre. Elle est affirmée par les sacrifices périodiques auxquels participent tous les sectateurs, par les cérémonies publiques, les fêtes liées à l'initiation *(abâji)* qui mettent momentanément la secte au centre de toutes les activités du village ou des groupes de villages. Surtout, l'opposition active des missions et de l'administration accentue la cohésion et donne à l'entreprise le caractère d'une réaction *à fondement racial* autant que socio-culturel.

La cohésion est servie par le fait que l'appartenance au *Bwiti* s'effectue à partir d'un choix personnel (l'individu hostile à la secte peut toujours échapper aux pressions des adeptes) et que l'organisation du culte n'est pas contrainte par les limites claniques ou tribales; l'étranger initié est admis dans les *Bwiti* fang : certains Européens l'ont même été à condition de se soumettre strictement aux règles de la secte (c'est évidemment une limite extrême qui ne fut franchie que rarement dans le cas d'individus très « africanisés »). De plus, en ayant incorporé des éléments chrétiens aux mythes et au rituel, le *Bwiti* peut récupérer un grand nombre des transfuges du christianisme. Il leur propose une véritable religion autochtone sans exigences démesurées ou incompatibilités. Les adeptes les plus éclairés insistent sur ce caractère : opposant le *Bwiti* à l'ancien *Bièri* comme un « culte public » à un « culte privé » — l'un recourant à la *totalité* des ancêtres alors que l'autre s'en tient aux seuls ancêtres claniques; et le présentant comme une grande religion capable de rivaliser avec la chrétienne — les apports syncrétiques ayant, en la circonstance, permis l'élargissement du culte ancien en même temps qu'ils en changeaient la nature.

La diffusion du nouveau culte peut être considérée comme la première tentative de « regroupement » réalisée par les Fang, et comme leur première réaction organisée aux entreprises de dépossession religieuse conduites par les missions chrétiennes.

Elle vise à rétablir une cohésion, une solidarité et une pratique religieuse que les anciens groupements (altérés) ne pouvaient plus maintenir. Son organisation même manifeste une telle volonté de remembrement; une hiérarchie s'établit entre les différents centres *bwiti*, selon l'ancienneté de leur création, leur renommée, le prestige des *nkòbé-bwiti* responsables des « temples ». Des zones d'influences, sortes de « paroisses », se sont créées à partir de Libreville, de Kango et Médouneu. Elles révèlent la prééminence d'un centre qui impose non seulement l'autorité de son « prêtre » (chargé notamment des initiations), mais encore les modèles matériels (forme du temple), symboliques (motifs du poteau-*bwiti*), mythiques et rituels (ainsi, tel type de danse) qui le caractérisent. Lors de notre enquête, le prêtre du *Bwiti* de Ngonéki (district de Médouneu), qui fut un de nos informateurs, montra toute l'importance qu'il put prendre localement à la suite d'un séjour à Libreville : il y avait acquis la connaissance d'une nouvelle version du mythe des origines[1] et d'un type de danse plus réglé que l'ancien. De Ngonéki, dépendent directement les *Bwiti* de quatre villages, dont Efulana qui sert de relais et élargit la zone d'influence à une nouvelle série de villages s'étendant jusqu'à Nkamenvi sur la route de Mitzic. Certains leaders peuvent ainsi, à la faveur d'une innovation ou d'un succès personnel, élargir leur zone d'influence. En plusieurs régions, une organisation imitée des missions chrétiennes (réunions périodiques des responsables des « temples », « tournées » semblables à celles réalisées par les missionnaires, etc.), favorise cette emprise — et tel prêtre influent de la région de Kango, visitant ses centres, ne craint pas de se présenter à un Père catholique qui inspectait les postes missionnaires avec sa qualité d' « Evêque Bwiti ». La tendance au regroupement et à la réorganisation est nettement marquée. C'est pour cela que l'administration reste hostile au mouvement, alors que les Missions feignent de le considérer en tant que simple résurgence du « fétichisme ». Il apparaît comme une réaction *totale* où l'aspect religieux domine — c'est d'ailleurs à ce seul niveau que les éléments les plus réactifs du peuple fang peuvent agir — et où les aspects socio-culturels, nous rappelons le rôle de « récupération » joué par le *Bwiti*, et politiques sont importants. Il a les caractéristiques de certaines des « églises nègres » de l'Afrique bantou qui annoncent l'éveil des nationalismes. Cependant, la

1. Version très christianisée, indiquant comment le monde fut créé durant une nuit de cinq jours, et comment, le sixième jour, furent créés le ciel et les astres, la lumière succédant alors à la nuit.

tendance unitaire ne manque pas d'être contrariée : le *Bwiti* ne parvient pas à effacer le souvenir des antagonismes ethniques et même claniques — qui limitent sa capacité de regroupement au niveau des seuls groupes fang et, encore plus, au niveau du Bas-Gabon; la crainte des répressions plus ou moins directes restreint les possibilités d'extension du mouvement; les rivalités entre leaders au sein du *Bwiti*, entre « initiés » et « chrétiens » ou non-initiés, entre autorités de la secte et autorités administratives, contrarient la puissance d'action d'un tel mouvement.

Comment expliquer l'emprise que ce culte nouveau a exercé, en moins de trente ans, sur une partie importante du pays fang? En dehors des raisons sociologiques et culturelles que nous venons d'évoquer, il en est d'autres strictement psychologiques. Dans une société gravement altérée, où les mécanismes du contrôle social sont ou détruits ou dépendants d'une autorité étrangère, il offre une certaine sécurité : en protégeant contre les « sorciers » et contre les rivalités dangereuses, en apportant des thérapeutiques conformes à la coutume, en donnant des garanties sur l'au-delà — ayant, en ce domaine, subit une forte empreinte chrétienne. Il crée des centres de vie intense, permet ces bouleversements de la personnalité que manifeste le nom secret acquis par l'initié; il est une réaction complète de l'être, une libération à l'égard d'un milieu social rationalisé par l'administration coloniale et l'économie mercantile. Il attire par les éléments d'organisation qu'il suscite au sein d'une société quasi-détruite. Certains leaders fang ont senti combien un tel mouvement pouvait séduire les masses villageoises, et se sont efforcés de l'orienter; mais ils restent très peu nombreux, la minorité dite « évoluée » ayant d'abord eu le souci de s'imposer sur un plan strictement politique, au sens moderne, se condamnant à une action qui fut longtemps sans grande portée et très vulnérable.

Réactions à caractère directement politique.

Les premières réactions des groupements fang furent plus directement conditionnées par le souci d'évincer les ethnies dominantes du Sud-Gabon que par la situation coloniale. Les rapports administratifs révèlent, jusqu'en 1940 environ, le souci qu'ont les Fang d'empêcher toute prééminence des Mpongwé (région de Libreville), des Galwa (région de Lambaréné), des Oroungou et Nkomi (région de Port-Gentil). L'un de ces documents, daté de 1938, rappelant « l'inimitié bien connue entre Fang et Mpongwé », indique qu'il s'agit de la « rivalité de grou-

pements voisins dont chacun prétend exercer une action prépondérante, l'un en vertu de sa supériorité intellectuelle, l'autre de sa plus grande vitalité et de sa supériorité numérique[1] ». La minorité fang active à Libreville, centre politique par excellence, fut longtemps évincée par l'action des éléments mpongwé et métis mieux préparés aux entreprises de caractère politique.

C'est après la première guerre mondiale que se constitue une section gabonaise de la *Ligue des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen*. L'animateur et les leaders importants ne sont pas des Fang; mais ces derniers sont incorporés dans des « sous-sections », créées au niveau des villages, dont « l'activité s'étend à la totalité de la circonscription de Libreville ». L'administration y voit une entreprise essentiellement dirigée contre elle (« entraver par tous les moyens, et sous les prétextes les plus divers, l'action administrative », affirme un rapport) mais reconnaît cependant que « la majorité, animée sinon du meilleur esprit du moins de la meilleure volonté, n'a effectivement pour désir que le mieux être de la population indigène[2] ». La tentative vise à réduire la domination exercée par la société coloniale; elle révèle la volonté qu'à la minorité dite « évoluée » de participer à la gestion des affaires publiques, de réagir à l'aliénation politique qu'elle subit. Cette volonté s'affirme d'une manière plus précise par la création du premier parti, le mouvement *Jeune Gabonais*, et du premier journal politique, l'*Echo Gabonais* qui devint rapidement la *Voie Coloniale*. Les dénominations mêmes montrent qu'il s'agit d'une réaction directe à la situation coloniale, fait des générations les plus jeunes et des éléments les plus « évolués ». Ce groupement eut une activité d'opposition jusqu'en 1924; les autorités administratives locales (à Libreville et Port-Gentil) reconnaissent qu'il « contrecarre » leur action et « multiplie les attaques » contre leurs décisions. A partir de cette date, le mouvement s'affaiblit; en raison de l'opposition administrative, des rivalités entre leaders qui révèlent l'acuité de la compétition due à une situation interdisant toute participation au pouvoir, des antagonismes entre ethnies différentes et surtout d'une situation économique rendue plus favorable par l'exploitation intensive de l'okoumé. Les rapports officiels constatent, à partir de 1926, que les éléments autrefois actifs dans le domaine politique ont renoncé à leurs revendications et

1. Lettre Gouverneur Gabon à Gouverneur Général, Brazzaville, 3 avril 1938.
2. Rapport Gabon, 1922, chap. II, Situation Politique.

que, « satisfaits », « ils ne songent plus à soulever aucun obstacle à l'administration ».

La crise économique de 1930 devait remettre en cause cette quiétude relative. En 1933, L. M. est relevé de ses fonctions de chef de canton et depuis cette époque fait figure de leader de l'opposition fang. A la même époque, l'*Amicale des Métis* est constituée à Libreville et exprime les revendications de cette importante partie de la population qui bénéficie d'appuis extérieurs. En 1937, un *Comité Pongwé* se constitue qui groupe « les éléments les plus éclairés de la population » et révèle leur « dessein de prendre une part effective à l'administration de leur pays[1] ». Cette création suscite, en réaction antagoniste, l'activité des Fang qui établissent un *Comité de Défense des Intérêts Pahouins*. Cette division profite essentiellement à la politique administrative; elle révèle néanmoins qu'une minorité moderniste est apparue chez les Fang, capable de penser les problèmes politiques de manière indépendante.

La seconde guerre mondiale, suivie d'une politique de réformes qui entraîna la mise en place d'un système électoral, permit aux Fang non seulement de reprendre l'initiative mais encore de s'imposer en tant que groupement ethnique le plus nombreux du Gabon. Ils siègent dans les assemblées locales et le député du territoire (deuxième collège) à l'Assemblée Nationale est l'un des leurs, originaire du Woleu-Ntem. L. M. fonde à Libreville un mouvement « progressiste », le *Comité Mixte Gabonais*, qui s'inspire plus ou moins directement de l'action du Rassemblement Démocratique Africain; en même temps, L. M. s'efforce de reprendre certaines des responsabilités détenues par la seule société coloniale : intervention dans les conflits du travail, essai d'organisation d'une société de secours mutuel et, nous l'avons dit, de tribunaux coutumiers. Le mouvement ne peut cependant connaître qu'un développement limité : l'administration reste hostile à ces manifestations de « reprise en mains »; les antagonismes de race jouent au sein d'un comité qui s'est voulu mixte avec une prééminence fang. L'opposition des leaders de Libreville et des leaders du Woleu-Ntem marque l'importance que compte prendre cette région à la suite de son développement économique accéléré — se compliquant, en plus, d'une opposition entre éléments que l'on pourrait dire « progressistes » (sensibles à l'exemple des mouvements nationaux étrangers)

1. Rapport Gouverneur du Gabon, janvier 1938.

et « réformistes » (cherchant des améliorations dans le cadre de la situation existante).

Les leaders ont, à la suite des expériences passées, senti que leur action ne pouvait être efficace qu'en entraînant l'adhésion des populations rurales. Elle s'exprime donc à deux niveaux très différents : sous une forme empruntée qui s'est inspirée de l'activité des partis (les deux leaders rivaux suscitant deux partis antagonistes : au *Comité Mixte Gabonais* s'oppose l'*Union Démocratique et Sociale Gabonaise*); sous une forme plus traditionnelle qui utilise les individus et les groupements influents au sein des clans (tel magicien renommé ou la société *bwiti*, par exemple) et qui s'efforce de diriger les aspirations confuses exprimées par les clans les plus actifs. C'est ainsi que la tendance au remembrement, à l'unité manifestée par ces derniers, fut utilisée sous la forme du regroupement clanique ou du regroupement des villages. Les leaders sont donc amenés à une tactique complexe, variable selon les circonstances : ainsi, tel d'entre eux doit se présenter tantôt en tant que chef d'un mouvement politique, tantôt en tant que chef... des *Bwiti* importants du Bas-Gabon. Leur action transforme par l'intérieur le contenu d'institutions — comme le clan ou la tribu — qui semblent caractériser au maximum l'organisation traditionnelle. Elle est fondamentalement ambiguë, comme le sont les nouvelles organisations socio-culturelles qui s'affirment, et représentent bien plus une série de mutations sociales qu'un terme marquant les moments d'un processus d'évolution.

Les mouvements de « regroupement ».

Nous avons, à diverses occasions, évoqué le mouvement de regroupement clanique comme la plus importante tentative de reconstruction sociale risquée par les Fang gabonais; mouvement surtout actif au Woleu-Ntem qui manifeste, en cette circonstance, sa plus grande vitalité. Les réformes politiques accomplies à partir de 1946 ont, en bouleversant quelque temps l'ancienne structure administrative, favorisé la reprise des initiatives fang.

Le schéma de la réorganisation est emprunté aux groupements fang du Cameroun, qui sont parvenus à conserver la structure clanique tout en se modernisant à la faveur d'une économie « riche » plus ancienne. Ces groupements ont pu maintenir les réunions périodiques *(ésulan)* qui affirment l'unité et la solidarité claniques, ont réussi à imposer une réforme des chefferies (1944-1945) qui reconnaît les *chefs de clan* à l'intérieur des unités

administratives, ont manifesté leur volonté de donner une unité à l'ensemble des Fang camerounais en réalisant une fédération des tribus. Cette dernière phase entraîne la constitution, en juillet 1948, d'une *Union Tribale Ntem-Kribi* : « L'organe supérieur de l'Union est l'Assemblée tribale » qui s'appuie sur un système de conseils et comités claniques (représentant les unités politiques traditionnelles) et de conseils et comités locaux (représentant les unités administratives créées par la puissance tutrice)[1]. Mais l'*Union* ne reçut jamais l'autorisation nécessaire à son fonctionnement : l'administration était radicalement hostile à une organisation puissante, capable de nouvelles revendications politiques et d'une nouvelle extension.

Cet exemple s'impose avec force aux groupements voisins établis au Gabon. Le *Congrès Pahouin*, d'un autre côté, permet d'évoquer les problèmes graves qui affectent la société fang et apparaît comme une incitation à les résoudre — il provoque véritablement le renouveau clanique. Les premières réunions, antérieures à 1947, n'avaient touché sous l'impulsion de « délégués » camerounais qu'un nombre limité de villageois. Cette date marque par contre le point de départ d'un mouvement qui se répand rapidement, sous le nom de *alar ayôg* (de *lar*, unir et *ayôg*) à travers le Woleu-Ntem, atteint l'Ogooué et la région de l'Ogooué-Ivindo. Un véritable enthousiasme, qui se révèle à l'occasion de fêtes accompagnant les *ésulan*, montre les espoirs de transformation sociale qui s'attachent à cette initiative.

a) *Réunions tribales et mode de propagation.*

L'*ésulan* rassemble, dans chacune des subdivisions, les membres des divers clans qui relèvent d'une même unité tribale. Le premier but est donc de remédier à l'émiettement et à la dispersion en reconstituant, localement, des ensembles qui se sentent liés *au niveau de la tribu* et non au niveau du clan. Un « livre de la tribu » comporte la liste des groupements qui *doivent* être unis; il montre la place maintenant occupée par la tradition écrite et par les « lettrés » qui la fixent. C'est dans ce sens que les statuts de l'*Union Tribale Ntem-Kribi* consacrent deux articles à la « généalogie tribale » : les délégués tribaux sont « tenus d'apporter à l'Assemblée la filiation de leur clan qui sera lue à l'ouverture du Congrès » et qui « tient lieu de mandat du

1. Statuts de l'Union Tribale Ntem-Kribi, déposés au chef-lieu de la Région du Ntem, Ebolowa.

délégué qui la présente » (art. 18); les listes de filiation « constituent le principal des archives de l'Union Tribale » (art. 19). Le désordre est tel, au Gabon, et les traditions tellement altérées, que les rapports entre groupements sont mal connus. Les limites entre le clan et la tribu restent souvent imprécises : un groupement est considéré comme « tribu » dans le Haut-Gabon tandis qu'il apparaît comme « clan » dans les districts côtiers; c'est devenu une affaire d'importance locale. Les parentés claniques sont donc déterminées avec un certain arbitraire — nombre de nos informateurs nous ont déclaré : « avant *alar ayôg*, nous ne savions pas que nous étions parents avec tel ou tel groupe » — mais le prestige de la chose écrite légalise cet état de fait. C'est entre leaders que les contestations sont les plus vives : ceux du Bas-Gabon s'efforcent de limiter l'emprise de ceux du Woleu-Ntem en présentant la tribu *Yémisèm*, qui fut dès le départ la plus active, comme une « invention » de ces derniers [1]. Le but apparaît cependant d'une manière nette : rassembler, sous une seule dénomination tribale, le plus grand nombre de clans et de fragments claniques. Les tribus *Yémisèm*, *Yémvâg*, *Yémödâg*, *Yéngwi* et *Ozip* en regroupent, au Woleu-Ntem, respectivement vingt-huit, quarante, dix-huit, onze et huit; certaines d'entre elles ont même assimilé, comme le révèlent les dénominations des groupements incorporés, des résidus tribaux.

Les regroupements sont justifiés par une « légende tribale » qui est établie selon une version très modernisée (marquée souvent de la connaissance de la Bible) et transcrite dans le « livre de la tribu ». Nous donnerons l'exemple de la légende propre au groupement Ndôg — établie sous le titre *Endan Ayôg Ndôg* — qui, après un court préliminaire, commence par la formule généralement employée : « Nous allons vous faire savoir comment la tribu Ndong a été créée, et d'autres tribus qui s'y rattachent ». Une longue première partie représente une adaptation du passage biblique intitulé « David adultère et meurtrier » [2] et utilise ensuite le symbole de la Tour de Babel pour évoquer l'unité de l'humanité avant la dispersion qui différencia les races et les tribus. Dans une seconde partie, sont évoquées les migrations (au Cameroun, puis au Gabon) et énoncés les groupements issus de la souche commune ainsi que leur répartition. C'est le type même des légendes nouvelles, confiées à la garde des dignitaires choisis lors des *ésulan*, et transmises par eux de village à village.

1. Il s'agit en fait d'un groupement important chez les Boulou du Ntem (Cameroun),
2. Livres Historiques, Samuel II, 11.

En dehors de ces récits particuliers circule un texte d'ordre très général qui, rappelant les migrations communes aux différents rameaux de l'ethnie fang, affirme l'unité de cette dernière. Il représente une version fort bien adaptée du mythe des migrations fang (légende dite du « trou de l'adzap ») servant à justifier l'unité par une tradition remaniée en fonction des besoins actuels; « nous faisons *une seule partie de notre race nègre* »[1], affirme la conclusion. L'idée d'un fédéralisme tribal commence, plus ou moins confuse, à se répandre; et l'ancien esprit de conquête et d'assimilation reparaît, certaines tribus particulièrement actives s'efforçant d'entraîner des fragments d'ethnies voisines sous les prétextes les plus divers.

A ces textes fondamentaux, liste des clans et légende locale, sont adjoints les « statuts » ou « lois » de la tribu. Précédés souvent d'une proclamation solennelle[2], ils apparaissent comme une série de « commandements »; ils tentent d'établir une réglementation pouvant remédier au désordre de la société fang et favoriser la modernisation de cette dernière; ils réaffirment les impératifs et les valeurs propres à renforcer la cohésion sociale. Les « statuts » révèlent directement le caractère ambivalent du mouvement : d'une part le retour aux valeurs efficaces (notions de race, de sang et de fraternité tribale) qui faisaient la force de l'ancienne organisation clanique, d'autre part, l'affirmation d'exigences modernistes dans les domaines politiques et économiques. Les « statuts » donnent lieu à un enseignement dont sont chargés, durant la saison sèche, les dignitaires de la tribu; à la faveur duquel les jeunes gens sont instruits de l'histoire et des généalogies de la tribu[3]. Cet enseignement a un aspect très formaliste qui s'inspire souvent du procédé par questions et réponses auquel recourent les missionnaires pour catéchiser[4]. Il

1. « Donc, nous tous, Fang, Yaoundé, Okak, Mévoumendem, Boulou, Ntoumou, sommes nés d'un même père Afri Kara et de Kara Kouba Ta, Ta Ma, Ma Mgôo, et nous faisons *une seule partie de notre race nègre* ».

2. Ainsi, le « règlement » des Yémisem de Makokou est énoncé après la formule suivante : « Dieu étant celui à qui appartiennent toute la sagesse, toute la puissance, toute l'intelligence, il ne faut jamais commencer ou entreprendre quoi que ce soit sans l'avoir prié pour demander son aide ».

3. Cf. *Règlement des Yémisèm de Makokou.* « Les cours pour enseigner la généalogie et l'histoire de la bribu sont organisés... chaque saison sèche. Arrêté très important car l'histoire de la tribu renferme des faits éducatifs au point de vue moral, intellectuel, civique et scientifique qu'il convient d'enseigner à la jeunesse. »

4. Donnons un exemple pris dans le « cahier des réunions » d'un dignitaire Yémisèm d'Oyem : « De quelle race êtes-vous? — Nous sommes de la tribu Yémisèm parce que nous avons un même sang. — Qui est-ce qui nous a mis au monde? — C'est en Missam Mivoğo que nous devons respecter la naissance, etc... »

est important de noter que les textes sont souvent rédigés en français et non en dialecte; ce qui révèle la place primordiale tenue par les « lettrés » à l'intérieur du mouvement, en même temps que la volonté de présenter ce dernier comme une réaction très élaborée de peuple maintenant civilisé. Le mode d'expression manifeste, par ailleurs, l'influence prise par les deux principales sources de « littérature » connues en pays fang : les textes de l'enseignement missionnaire et les textes administratifs; on comprend mieux, en se référant à ces modèles, le caractère particulier de la littérature clanique!

Les observateurs administratifs ont souligné l'atmosphère de « fête au village » qui caractérise les réunions tribales. La place du village où se tient l'*ésulan* est décorée d'arcs de feuillage tressé; un abri provisoire *(dubana)* y est dressé à l'usage des dignitaires de la tribu. La danse *ényêngé*, d'origine gabonaise semble-t-il, accompagne ces réunions dont elle est, par excellence, le symbole. *Ényêngé* est une danse mixte, alors que les danses anciennes séparaient les sexes : elle marque la tendance à de nouveaux rapports entre hommes et femmes. Elle est privée — d'une manière délibérée puisque certains textes la définissent comme une « danse où les femmes ne se dépouillent pas » — des gestes obscènes qui accompagnaient les danses traditionnelles profanes et sacrées; elle révèle d'une manière significative les conséquences puritaines de l'action missionnaire. Néanmoins, la danse conserve malgré les transformations son éminente fonction sociale : elle a toujours été liée à toute entreprise de ferveur et de communion. *Éngêngé* ne se danse qu'à l'occasion des réunions tribales, pour annoncer le règlement des affaires intéressant les groupements claniques, et sert à saluer les dignitaires de la tribu ou à honorer les hôtes influents. On a pu la comparer justement à l'ancienne danse *somana* qui s'accomplissait lors de la visite d'un « chef » ou d'un « juge traditionnel » et qui, précédant la tenue de palabres importantes, apparaissait comme une « danse de justice »[1]. Enfin, certaines manifestations symbolisent directement l'unité de tous les membres de la tribu et favorisent la communion de tous les participants. Le repas pris en commun constitue le point culminant et il en est dit : « En mangeant les mêmes aliments pendant le festin d'*ésulan*, nous faisons le mélange des sangs » (Yémõzit de Mitzic); quelques tribus imposent

1. Cf. E. Trezenem, Rapport sur le regroupement des Fang, inédit, donne la définition suivante : « Danse qui exigeait une hiérarchie : *otsamedzang*, chargé de la police, *éverman*, garde du corps, *monekule*, enfant désigné pour l'accompagner. Au cours de la danse *somana*, de nombreuses palabres étaient jugées. »

aux membres des différents clans, au début des réunions, l'obligation de « s'embrasser comme des frères » (Yémisèm d'Oyem).

Selon un dynamisme propre aux sociétés négro-africaines, le mouvement développe un aspect religieux en même temps qu'un aspect politique. Les statuts des diverses tribus imposent tous l'obéissance à Dieu, *Nzamõ;* un Dieu confus qui peut aussi bien être celui des églises chrétiennes que celui évoqué par les cultes traditionnels; et, en de nombreuses régions, les réunions ne se font qu'après avoir « invoqué le nom de Dieu »[1]. Lors de certaines *ésulan*, des chants religieux dûs aux éléments christianisés, séparés cependant en deux groupes : catholiques et protestants, prennent place immédiatement après la danse *ényêngé*. Il faut y voir la marque des influences camerounaises; et notamment de la Mission Américaine d'Elat (près d'Ebolowa) qui a développé indirectement, par son enseignement et la diffusion du journal *Méfoé* rédigé en langue boulou, une sorte de christianisme « national ». Par ailleurs, pour les individus dits « évolués », l'adhésion plus ou moins conditionnelle à la religion chrétienne est la marque indiscutable de leur transformation; dans ce sens, un informateur déclare très nettement : « La religion est un progrès apporté par la civilisation et il faut adhérer à l'une ou à l'autre, mais adhérer.[2] » La teinture chrétienne donnée au mouvement révèle l'influence des « lettrés », pour la plupart anciens élèves des Missions, et leur désir de présenter cette tentative comme un progrès et non comme un essai de retour aux organisations socio-culturelles traditionnelles. Il convient cependant d'ajouter, comme nous le montrerons dans la troisième partie de cet ouvrage, que la montée des christianismes africains a été souvent liée à une prise de conscience que l'on pourrait dire nationale. Dans le cas des Fang, cela n'est vrai que lorsqu'il s'agit des groupements camerounais. Au niveau du Gabon, les rapports sont beaucoup moins favorables aux éléments christianisés; aussi, les caractères chrétiens du mouvement *alar ayôg* s'y sont-ils altérés ou transformés — au point de pouvoir être acceptés des adeptes du culte *Bwiti*. Cette évocation rapide montre à quel point l'*ésulan* favorise cette atmosphère d'exaltation et de communion qui caractérisait les fêtes traditionnelles; par là même, elle s'efforce de rendre sens et vie à l'institution tribale très dégradée[3].

1. Statuts des Yémvâg de Booué.
2. *Rapport de tournée*, Canton Ndou-Libi (Sangmélina).
3. Citons cette évocation d'un rapport administratif de la Région du Ntem. « Les *ésulan* gardent dans certains cas ce caractère de « festivités »

Le mouvement de regroupement s'est diffusé, par étapes, depuis le Cameroun; suivant d'une manière grossière les lignes des anciennes migrations. Les dignitaires de la tribu, désignés dans l'une des subdivisions administratives, ont la charge de « porter *alar ayôg* » dans la subdivision voisine. Au cours de réunions préparatoires, ils enseignent les connaissances historiques et généalogiques concernant la tribu, font apprendre les « statuts » établis pour cette dernière et font démontrer la manière de danser *ényêngé*. Lorsque cet enseignement est assimilé, la date de l'*ésulan* peut être fixée. Les dignitaires dirigent la réunion jusqu'au moment où la hiérarchie locale se trouve mise en place; ils reçoivent, à l'issue de la fête, une rémunération pour les connaissances qu'ils ont apportées. De proche en proche, le mouvement a touché la presque totalité des villages du Woleu-Ntem et de l'Ogooué-Ivindo; mordant à peine sur les régions du Bas-Gabon où la confusion est extrême et où les Fang sont mêlés à des ethnies étrangères. Ces régions, par ailleurs, correspondent essentiellement à celles de l'emploi salarié et les problèmes y sont très différents de ceux posés par le pays à cacao — on comprend que le mouvement n'y ait pas provoqué le même enthousiasme, surtout si l'on ajoute qu'il y parvient, en dernière étape, au moment même où l'administration affirme son hostilité.

Jusqu'en 1949, les conséquences du regroupement restent très visibles : des villages se sont déplacés pour se rassembler selon les affinités claniques (district de Mitzic); des cases ont été reconstruites et décorées selon les mots d'ordre exprimés par les dignitaires tribaux; certains villages affirment, à l'aide d'un panneau, le nom de l'*ayôg* dont ils relèvent[1] et en quelques endroits (pays fang camerounais) les cases portent un signe qui indique l'appartenance tribale[2]; des travaux d'intérêt commun

auquel faisait allusion M. Bertaut; elles se tiennent au grand jour, sur la place de tel ou tel village, plus ou moins pavoisée; les autorités locales sont généralement invitées à la séance de clôture et j'ai assisté récemment à l'une d'entre elles, salué à mon arrivée par la danse *enyengé*... Occasion de danses et de réjouissances, mais aussi, et surtout, assemblée populaire où se discutent fort gravement les choses qui intéressent la communauté, et notamment le régime du mariage et le taux des dots... » Ebolowa, 1948.

1. Plusieurs « villages portent des panneaux avec le nom de l'ayong; ils sont décorés d'arcs de palmes tressées surmontés de la croix chrétienne ». *Rap. politique*, Booué, mars 1948.

2. « Inscription spéciale peinte sur la façade de chaque case de femme Yékombò. Cette inscription indique aux gens de passage, faisant partie de cette tribu, qu'ils peuvent s'arrêter et qu'ils trouveront là le gîte et la nourriture. » *Rap. Subdivision Sangmélina*, 1942.

ont été lancés à l'occasion du mouvement. Ce sont les manifestations matérielles d'un ensemble de pratiques destinées à exalter l'honneur de la tribu et la fraternité tribale; de telles réalisations ont surpris les autorités administratives qui se sont trouvées pour la première fois en face d'un mouvement organisé — au point que certains administrateurs ont voulu y découvrir des influences « étrangères » — et populaire, créateur d'une véritable mystique de la renaissance fang.

b) *La hiérarchie mise en place.*

C'est dans le cadre des divisions administratives que la hiérarchie tribale est instituée; les dignités les plus importantes se retrouvant au niveau du district, du canton et du village. L'intention est manifeste de substituer, aux chefs « nommés », des autorités élues par les assemblées tribales. Nous avons déjà insisté sur le caractère de cette tentative visant à résoudre le problème de l'autorité et à re-conquérir, au niveau de groupements restreints, *un minimum d'initiative politique.* Les chefs administratifs ne s'y sont pas trompés, qui furent pour la plupart, au Cameroun comme au Gabon, hostiles au mouvement; de nombreux rapports rédigés durant les années 1947-48 reconnaissent, par contre, que les chefs élus par la tribu *(jé ayôg)* possèdent « une forte autorité sur les membres de leurs groupements » et qu'ils représentent un pouvoir beaucoup plus « réel » que celui établi par l'administration coloniale. La plupart des dignitaires mis en place s'efforcèrent d'ailleurs de manifester l'efficacité de leur pouvoir : ils réglèrent des palabres, s'attachèrent à la mise en ordre des villages, à l'amélioration des plantations, se firent les interprètes des villageois auprès des administrateurs européens; par une politique habile, ils tentèrent de forcer l'adhésion de ces derniers.

Lors des réunions tribales, dans la rédaction des « statuts », il est rare que ne soit affirmée la volonté d'obéissance à l'administration; la devise des Yémisèm de Makokou en est l'exemple le plus frappant : « Le plus haut, tout au-dessus de la tête, Dieu trois fois saint; au niveau du cœur, l'Administration et le Gouvernement français; en bas, au niveau des genoux, la Tribu ». Toutes les précautions sont prises pour que le mouvement ne soit pas interprété comme une entreprise de sécession ou d'opposition xénophobe.

La hiérarchie n'a pas manqué d'étonner par la terminologie qu'elle utilise et par la multiplicité des fonctions qu'elle semble retenir. Les titres donnés aux dignitaires sont empruntés aux

associations, aux organisations administratives et militaires qui assurent localement l'emprise de la société coloniale. Ce processus, dont les uns se sont moqués en l'envisageant comme une parodie puérile, dont les autres se sont inquiétés en le considérant comme l'indication d'une organisation subversive en gestation, a un aspect psychologique intéressant. Il montre l'attachement aux mots français qui expriment fortement l'idée de pouvoir [1] et par une sorte de démarche magique de la pensée le besoin de posséder ceux-là pour acquérir celui-ci; par ailleurs, il révèle le souci de présenter le mouvement de renouveau clanique comme une entreprise de modernisation et comme un progrès qui assure aux Fang la possession d'institutions « civilisées ». En dehors du *Président-en-tête* et du *Président-Vice* qui détiennent les deux fonctions les plus importantes, ayant autorité sur tous les gens de l'*ayôg* qui résident dans le district, il s'est établi une hiérarchie de *Gouverneurs*, *Commandants*, au niveau du canton et du village, et de « techniciens », si l'on peut dire, *Assesseurs* (sortes d'assistants de justice), *Pascalets* (contrôle des plantations), *Inspecteurs du commerce*, *Commissaires* (chargés de l'ordre public), etc. Sans nommer une poussière de menues dignités. De plus, sous les titres de *Présidente* ou *Gouvernante de la Tribu*, de *Chef des Femmes (Êvèt mininga)* des dignités féminines furent établies; elles tendent à assurer l'organisation et le contrôle du travail des femmes, à établir une instance de conciliation « réglant les différends qui surviennent dans les ménages », à obtenir que les repas des hommes soient organisés en commun (certaines tribus ont prévu une sanction frappant ceux qui s'isolent) afin de manifester et entretenir l'unité du groupement. Cela est significatif de la place que commence à prendre la femme fang; non plus en tant que « richesse », mais en tant que personne, à la faveur des transformations sociales.

Une telle hiérarchie rappelle beaucoup celle qui existait à l'intérieur des sociétés de travail, en Haïti, à l'époque où ces groupements étaient prospères et puissants. L'ethnologue A. Métraux a écrit, dans une étude consacrée aux villageois de la vallée de Marbial, que chacune de ces sociétés « est en miniature une petite armée ou une petite république » et que « le goût des paysans pour les hiérarchies compliquées et les titres sonores s'y

1. Le « règlement » de la tribu Yémisèm (Makokou) précise justement : « A la tête de chaque tribu, il y a un Chef, homme intelligent et puissant qu'on appelle Président. Le mot Président est emprunté au français car notre vocabulaire ne nous donne aucun mot qui saurait exprimer exactement le rôle de celui-ci. »

donne libre cours »[1]. En Afrique même, il s'agit d'un phénomène répandu, sinon bien connu. Au Congo Belge, dans la région du Haut-Katanga, un observateur signalait en 1936 « un pullulement de sociétés... qui donnèrent à l'administration quelques inquiétudes et qui, avec leurs statuts parodiant grossièrement nos institutions, traduisent le besoin d'une discipline ». En 1944, dans la subdivision de Dagana, au Sénégal, l'administrateur commandant cette unité observe une modernisation de l'organisation par classes d'âge : les différentes « classes » se sont fédérées, sous le nom de *Comité*, au niveau du village ou du groupe de villages. Une hiérarchie, comparable à celle retenue par les Fang, est mise en place; une « caisse » est alimentée par un système de cotisations et d'amendes; et le *Comité* vise à jouer un rôle important en matière de travaux d'intérêt collectif, de justice au sein du village et d'organisation des grandes fêtes périodiques. Un rapport, consacré à cette entreprise de renouvellement d'une institution traditionnelle, la juge assez justement en affirmant : « Il s'agit là, essentiellement, d'un symptôme de profonde évolution des populations rurales et d'une manifestation de l'esprit progressiste des jeunes générations de paysans noirs[2]. » Les exemples africains montrent qu'il y a transformation, *par l'intérieur*, d'institutions traditionnelles, la « fraternité d'âge » ou le clan. Ils révèlent la montée de nouvelles catégories sociales et expriment les réactions des éléments les plus conscients de l'état de dépendance créé par la situation coloniale. La multiplicité des dignités établies paraît significative du *besoin de prestige et de responsabilité politique* d'une partie croissante de la population villageoise; besoin que les Fang ont affirmé à l'occasion du mouvement clanique et du mouvement de « regroupement des villages ». Par ailleurs, selon certains informateurs, nombre de fonctions sont créées « pour faire plaisir »; elles sont plus honorifiques qu'efficaces — et n'ont guère à se manifester qu'au moment des *ésulan*. On peut voir là une précaution destinée à ne pas heurter directement la tendance égalitaire, sur laquelle nous avons insisté en étudiant les institutions traditionnelles, et à éviter les réactions de jalousie toujours redoutées. Il convient néanmoins d'insister sur le fait que le retour aux anciennes organisations n'est qu'apparent — on ne saurait donc parler de « contre-acculturation » comme l'entendent habituellement les

1. A. Métraux, *L'homme et la terre dans la Vallée de Marbial (Haïti)*, UNESCO, 1951.
2. Cf. *Rap. annuel*, Subdivision de Dagana, 1944. Courte étude reprise dans la revue *Farm and Forest*, 1945, Ibadan (Nigeria).

anthropologues. Ces dernières ne sont utilisées, d'une manière souvent arbitraire, nous l'avons signalé à propos de l'extension donnée aux tribus et des légendes tribales, qu'avec une signification nouvelle directement conditionnée par les changements économiques et la situation actuelle. Elles sont employées à un niveau supérieur, tendant à établir le fédéralisme tribal alors que dominaient les antagonismes entre tribus et clans, à favoriser le regroupement et l'apparition de nouvelles unités politiques là où n'existaient que la dispersion et l'arbitraire des unités administratives, à susciter des groupements économiques (sociétés de travail *(ékip)* et coopératives chez les Fang camerounais [1]) adaptés aux besoins et aux exigences nouveaux, à établir un type de pouvoir redonnant l'initiative aux villageois et révélant les nouvelles puissances sociales. On voit qu'il s'agit de véritables mutations, qui ne ré-actualisent l'état de « crise » auquel elles cherchent à remédier que dans la mesure où le contrôle colonial les contrarie radicalement.

c) *Les sociétés de travail.*

L'initiative des sociétés de travail, *ékip biséñõ* (de *ésé :* travail, œuvre), est due aux groupements camerounais qui disposent d'une économie plus développée et qui bénéficièrent provisoirement de l'accord de l'administration locale. Alors qu'en Afrique Occidentale, chez les grands peuples agriculteurs, une telle institution est ancienne, elle représente ici une innovation liée à des circonstances très précises. Elle assure une adaptation à la nouvelle législation du travail, qui a supprimé le travail forcé, en offrant ses services pour la réalisation des tâches d'utilité publique; dans la région d'Ebolowa, chacune des « sociétés » se soumettait ainsi à deux périodes de travail, d'une durée de dix jours, chaque année. Elle a pour obligation d'affirmer, d'une manière très matérielle, le caractère constructif du mouvement de regroupement clanique — et par là même de séduire l'administration pour obtenir son acquiescement. Enfin, elle représente un essai d'organisation des éléments les plus jeunes et les plus dynamiques qui ne sont plus soumis à une éducation collective depuis la disparition des cultes et associations traditionnels [2]. La création des « sociétés » s'est faite « dans l'enthousiasme »; elles se rendaient au lieu de travail précédées d'une fanfare et de

1. En 1945, les *Yé-mbong* affirmaient, lors d'une *ésulan*, vouloir obtenir, dans le cadre du groupement, la création d'une « société des planteurs » chargée de commercialiser le cacao.
2. Cf. M. Bertaut, *op. cit.*

fanions distinctifs; elles ont réalisé des travaux importants, ainsi, à Ebolowa, l'assainissement de la ville. En 1947, témoignage de l'intérêt porté à ce mouvement, il existait 79 « sociétés » pour la seule subdivision dépendant de ce centre. Dans le canton Ndou-Libi (subdivision de Sangmélima) chaque groupement tribal avait à sa disposition, en 1948, une ou deux « sociétés », selon son volume : ces dernières rassemblaient 830 hommes, soit plus du tiers de la population masculine dite « adulte ». L'administration, inquiète de la place tenue par ces groupements nouveaux s'efforça de ne pas les laisser « devenir un état dans l'état » — ce qui témoigne du dynamisme animant ces associations de jeunes hommes.

Au Gabon, les *ékip* n'ont eu d'activité que dans la région d'Oyem; chez les Yémisèm et les Yéngwi. Elles ont pris l'initiative de construire une piste carrossable (Zorongone-Oyem) et une école (Ebiane), de travailler à l'entretien du chef-lieu, d'aider les jeunes gens à améliorer leurs plantations de cacaoyers. Leur décadence fut liée aux vicissitudes du mouvement *alar ayôg* et au manque d'aide matérielle. La mise en place de la « société » yéngwi est l'œuvre du dignitaire camerounais qui vint enseigner le regroupement clanique; le *Président-en-tête*, choisi lors de la première *ésulan*, a autorité sur l'équipe dont il organise le programme de travaux cependant qu'un nouveau dignitaire, *évèt mbarlè biséñõ* (chef de surveillance des travaux), dirige l'exécution de ces derniers. La « société » yémisèm d'Oyem fut organisée selon ce même principe très rudimentaire et n'est qu'une activité réduite.

Les groupements de travail n'ont pas, au Gabon, joué un rôle important. Cela tient au fait que l'effort porta d'abord sur la reconstruction de l'organisation clanique et tribale, plus gravement atteinte qu'au Cameroun. Surtout, cela correspond à une économie encore rudimentaire : il n'existe pas une « bourgeoisie » de planteurs et de commerçants capable, par son nombre, de peser sur la vie économique et de l'orienter; il n'existe pas les mêmes besoins d'extension de l'économie et de répartition précise des tâches.

d) *La solidarité à l'intérieur de l'ayôg.*

La solidarité entre « frères de la tribu » est une des obligations les plus constamment affirmées à l'occasion du mouvement de regroupement. Les « statuts » l'imposent par des formules stéréotypées : « Chacun pour tous et non pour soi... Il faut porter secours, avec un bon cœur, à son frère, lorsque celui-ci est

endommagé par un accident... » (Yémisèm de Makokou). « La famille Yemvang prête serment de porter secours à chacun de ses membres dans toute circonstance fâcheuse » (Yémvâg de Booyé). Les impératifs manifestent tous la marque de l'enseignement chrétien qui a transformé la manière même dont est exprimée la morale clanique; on la retrouve non seulement dans les préceptes évoqués à l'instant mais aussi dans ceux qui condamnent l'adultère, le vol, le meurtre. Pratiquement, la solidarité s'exprime surtout selon l'ancienne formule de *réciprocité des services :* aide lors de la reconstruction des cases, lors de l'entretien ou de l'extension des plantations, etc. Mais elle tend à prendre l'aspect d'une aide financière grâce à la constitution d'un modeste budget de l'*ayôg* (*mbâk*, du français « banque »).

Les sommes qui constituent la *mbâk* sont perçues au moment des *ésulan*, durant lesquelles chaque membre de la tribu doit apporter une contribution financière, et à l'occasion des infractions aux « lois » de la tribu, qui donnent lieu à une amende. La gestion de ce budget est confiée au *mbâk mözö*, ou « banquier », sous le contrôle du *Président-en-tête* qui vérifie périodiquement les comptes. La *mbâk*, en principe, doit venir en aide à tout homme, membre du clan, qui a besoin d'un secours financier (c'est en réalité un prêt à intérêt réduit : 5 % en général) pour achever le paiement d'une « dot », régler l'impôt ou se libérer d'une sanction pécuniaire imposée par les autorités européennes, permettre le traitement d'un malade; elle doit subvenir aux besoins des orphelins et aider les jeunes garçons les plus capables de poursuivre leurs études dans les « grandes écoles ». Elle cherche à empêcher l'exploitation usuraire à l'intérieur de l'*ayôg;* mais cette ambition même a limité sa portée réelle : les éléments les plus influents, souvent ceux qui ont obtenu une dignité importante parce que leur contribution lors des *ésulan* fut la plus élevée, n'acceptent pas de tarir définitivement cette source de revenus qu'est l'usure. A l'imitation des caisses de secours constituées par l'administration, à l'intérieur des Sociétés Indigènes de Prévoyance, les Yémisèm de Makokou organisèrent une « caisse de la société de prévoyance de la tribu ». Cette appellation est significative du désir qu'ont les villageois de participer *directement* à la gestion de leurs intérêts, au niveau de groupements restreints comme le village ou le groupement tribal existant à l'intérieur du district. C'est un phénomène comparable à celui observé, au Sénégal, lors de la mise en place des associations que nous avons évoquées plus haut; et l'administrateur local remarquait alors la profonde transformation accomplie en

signalant que, par la possession d' « un embryon de budget », les novateurs avaient établi « une formule nouvelle d'organisation municipale plus rapprochée de la conception que nous avons de la commune ».

e) *Le mouvement alar ayôg et les réactions conséquentes.*

Une étude d'ensemble du mouvement révèle, à la fois, l'organisation précise qui l'anime et l'adhésion réelle qu'il obtint de la majorité des populations villageoises. On peut se demander quelles furent les raisons données, ou les pressions exercées, pour obtenir ce ralliement? L'argumentation développée est radicalement ambigüe parce qu'il faut obtenir l'accord de toutes les catégories sociales — le mouvement, création des « Jeunes Fang », peut ainsi apparaître comme une émanation des « Vieux Fang »; il affirme, en toutes occasions, sa volonté de collaboration avec l'administration coloniale tout en s'efforçant de limiter l'emprise de cette dernière — et montre ainsi comment le dynamisme de ré-organisation sociale et celui de recherche de l'autonomie *sont directement liés.*

En nous référant aux sondages d'opinion réalisés, il apparaît que cette argumentation s'est construite à partir du sentiment général que la société fang se trouve dans un état de « crise » grave. Ce dernier est ressenti d'une manière confuse mais forte; certitude que les groupements se dépeuplent : parce que la « race est mélangée », la loi d'exogamie transgressée et la morale sexuelle relâchée (on attache une grande importance au fait que l'interdit du coït durant le jour ne soit plus respecté — sans doute parce que cette rupture correspond au développement de l'adultère); désir de mettre fin à la compétition non-contrôlée pour les femmes qui est à l'origine de la plupart des antagonismes : « Toutes nos divisions sont venues par les affaires de femmes »; découverte, à l'occasion des contacts avec le monde extérieur, de la médiocrité du niveau de vie et volonté de l'améliorer par une meilleure organisation économique : affirmation de l'obligation de travailler dans un sens moderne et effort en faveur des cultures riches; constatation que la fragmentation des groupements et leur dispersion et le relâchement du contrôle traditionnel ont facilité la domination coloniale. Le mouvement est présenté comme *une solution totale* devant permettre aux groupements fang de retrouver leur puissance perdue : la notion d'*ayôg* se trouve au centre de cette entreprise de reconstruction. Et, pour provoquer l'enthousiasme, les leaders se réfèrent à un passé plus ou moins

falsifié mais qui évoque tout le prestige de l'époque des conquêtes fang : allusion aux migrations communes, à la puissance des groupements alors unis et nombreux, à la parenté existant entre les membres de la tribu, à l'identité de « sang » et de « race ». L'entr'aide entre « frères d'*ayôg* » est présentée comme le signe même de l'unité retrouvée : la menace proférée contre les récalcitrants reste justement celle de la « mise hors de la tribu », le coupable ne pouvant plus être ni hébergé, ni secouru ou aidé par les membres de son propre groupement. Cela montre l'usage émotionnel qui est fait de cette notion, bien que la tribu et la parenté aient été gravement atteintes, et cela explique l'adhésion des éléments les plus traditionnalistes — ils interprètent le mouvement comme un retour à un passé qui peut redonner vie aux anciennes prééminences. Mais ces arguments, en quelque sorte réactionnaires, sont combinés à d'autres capables de répondre au désir d'évolution ou aux désirs des « évolués ». Le but de ces derniers est, d'abord, de se faire reconnaître en tant que « civilisés » — un des dignitaires nous disait : « Nous empêcher de faire *alar ayôg*, c'est vouloir nous laisser dans la sauvagerie »; cette reconnaissance constitue le fondement même des responsabilités politiques qu'ils veulent conquérir. Tous les statuts expriment un souci de modernisation : obligation scolaire pour tous les enfants et propositions de création d'écoles, prescriptions d'hygiène et propagande en faveur de l'effort sanitaire, meilleure mise en valeur économique. Cette dernière exigence, qui emporte facilement l'accord des villageois car l'emprise de l'économie mercantiliste est maintenant établie, aide à faire admettre les autres exigences modernistes qui sont présentées comme la conditionnant.

Ainsi le mouvement a-t-il deux aspects que l'on a pu qualifier de « réactionnaire » et de « révolutionnaire ». Bien que l'initiative soit partout le fait des éléments modernistes, le rapport entre ces deux tendances varie selon les régions : la seconde s'atténue dans la mesure où l'on descend du Cameroun vers l'Ogooué, des régions en cours de développement économique aux régions non-développées. C'est au niveau de ces dernières que les conflits se manifestèrent le plus activement à propos de la christianisation, de la réglementation du mariage et de la position de la femme au sein de la société fang. Cependant, le mouvement affirme partout une même volonté de remembrement — s'opposant au processus d'atomisation des groupements — et de mise en place d'un système de contrôle social remédiant à la désorganisation familiale et politique, à l'affaiblissement des lois fondamentales. Cet effort

de reconstruction représente la première tentative massive qui tend à relâcher la dépendance subie.

Dès 1950, on avait la certitude que le mouvement pourrissait sans avoir apporté les transformations attendues. Que s'est-il passé? Il faut penser au jeu de causes intérieures et extérieures à l'actuelle société fang. Un des nos informateurs nous disait : « Je n'ai pas accepté de dignité parce que je sais que le Fang n'est pas assez tenace. » Et nombre de villageois ont, en effet, retrouvé une attitude de réserve ou d'indifférence dès que l'opposition administrative se manifesta. Par ailleurs, l'acuité de la compétition pour les dignités a redonné vigueur aux anciens antagonismes entre tribus, clans et lignées, a brisé l'unité du mouvement; il était difficile d'exalter la tribu sans *immédiatement* évoquer les rivalités d'autrefois. L'action des partis politiques, s'efforçant de récupérer le mouvement, a également favorisé la division : les leaders fang gabonais se sont efforcés d'empêcher la main-mise des leaders camerounais (utilisant la vieille, et coloniale, hostilité entre Gabonais et Camerounais), ils ont ainsi coupé les groupements gabonais des foyers les plus dynamiques; les leaders gabonais se sont opposés entre eux, suscitant une influence Libreville *(Comité Mixte Gabonais)* et une influence Oyem *(Union Démocratique et Sociale Gabonaise)*, remettant en compétition les deux centres les plus actifs du pays fang. Enfin, il paraît surtout que la tribu ne représente pas, au Gabon, un cadre favorable aux efforts de modernisation et d'adaptation : elle reste une unité artificielle, malgré les essais de regroupement, en raison d'un émiettement auquel un bouleversement radical (et impossible) du peuplement pourrait seul remédier.

Les réactions de la société coloniale à l'égard du mouvement ont, directement ou indirectement, entretenu et aggravé la confusion. L'administration est, durant une première période, favorable : au Cameroun, à l'époque de la réforme des chefferies; au Gabon, immédiatement après le Congrès Pahouin; elle voit là une possibilité de remettre en ordre la société fang et de résoudre, peut-être, la crise du pouvoir qui contrarie son action depuis de nombreuses années. Durant cette phase, chaque *ésulan* donne lieu à de solennelles manifestations de loyalisme, à des déploiements de drapeaux et banderoles tricolores. Puis, lorsque le mouvement consolide son organisation, manifeste son souci de construire un fédéralisme tribal, l'administration devient réticente ou hostile. Le refus de reconnaître les statuts de l'*Union Tribale Ntem-Kribi* ouvre, au Cameroun, cette seconde phrase; peu de temps après, le Gabon adopte une même politique. A

cette époque, certains rapports d'administrateurs alertent les autorités supérieures en ne voyant plus dans le mouvement qu'une manifestation « nationaliste » et une « organisation politique » étroitement liée à des « rassemblements » qui sont dits « d'inspiration communiste ». La ré-organisation sociale, surtout *lorsqu'elle recourt à des formes modernistes*, peut difficilement s'accomplir dans le cadre d'une situation coloniale typique: elle atteint vite une limite qui paraît dangereuse à la société dominante et entraîne l'opposition de cette dernière sous des prétextes souvent stéréotypés. Par contre, un mouvement comme le *Bwiti*, qui obéit aux anciens principes d'organisation, qui est protégé par une façade culturelle aux significations difficilement accessibles et par un développement semi-clandestin, est plus difficilement attaquable — bien qu'il permette à l'égard de la société coloniale des réactions de même nature.

Les missions chrétiennes furent toutes favorables à un mouvement qui affirmait la nécessité d'être chrétien et qui imposait, comme première obligation, « le devoir d'obéissance à Dieu ». Le principal organisateur est d'ailleurs, au Cameroun, un ancien pasteur d'origine boulou qui a été formé dans une Mission des environs d'Ebolowa; une équipe de « coadjuteurs protestants » majoritaires, et de représentants des « catholiques » ou des « croyances différentes », l'aide à établir l'*Union Tribale*. Il est certain que les éléments les plus dynamiques appartiennent à l'église protestante : un rapport officiel, dont nous ne pouvons donner la référence, reconnaissait alors que les protestants indigènes « constituent des cadres sérieux, plus surs, mais plus difficilement manœuvrables » que le sont les catholiques. Lorsqu'il apparut que les apports protestants risquaient de dominer, les premières réticences sérieuses se manifestèrent du côté catholique. A tel point que le rapport d'information établi par un officier commandant le pays fang, en Guinée-Espagnole, ne craind pas de présenter le mouvement comme une machination montée par une mission protestante étrangère qui, « soucieuse de contrebalancer l'influence du clergé catholique, aurait rêvé d'installer, à l'aide d'un mouvement tribal fortement organisé, des chefs de clan qui lui seraient dévoués »[1]. La question religieuse devient vite un nouveau facteur de division : les missions catholiques, un moment hésitantes, jugent nécessaires d'adopter une attitude identique à celle des autorités administratives. A l'extérieur,

1. Traduction d'un rapport établi par les autorités espagnoles, Ebebeyin, (Guinée-Espagnole), déc. 1948.

comme à l'intérieur des groupements, les forces contraires au mouvement de renouveau tribal l'emportent; surtout au Gabon où les leaders de valeur se sont révélés trop peu nombreux.

***

Le mouvement a partiellement échoué, mais les causes qui l'ont provoqué subsistent, et aussi la volonté des éléments modernistes de trouver un remède à la « crise » fang. Un projet déposé par le député Aubame, Fang originaire du Woleu-Ntem, et qui vise à assurer la modernisation dans le cadre de villages « regroupés » afin de constituer des unités suffisamment importantes, permet un nouvel espoir de solution. Une mystique du « regroupement des villages » se développe au Woleu-Ntem, souvent mal distinguée de celle du mouvement *alar ayôg* et bénéficiant des enthousiasmes que ce dernier avait libérés. Le mot d'ordre diffusé est qu'il faut maintenant construire des villages comparables à ceux de la campagne française; ce qui impose non seulement un regroupement — alors souhaité par les villageois tandis que les anciens regroupements n'avaient pu se faire que sous la contrainte et n'avaient pas « tenu » — mais un programme de réalisations matérielles (écoles, dispensaires, marchés) et de réformes (à caractère politique, organisation d'une autorité municipale élue, et à caractère économique, organisation des producteurs). Le projet, respectant les divisions établies par l'administration coloniale, ne s'en tient plus à l'organisation tribale mais s'attache à reprendre en mains les deux cellules de base qui relèvent du commandement indigène : le village et le canton. On pourrait donc le juger comme visant à obtenir, dans les limites de l'organisation existante, une amélioration des conditions matérielles et la reconnaissance, aux villageois, d'un certain nombre de responsabilités politiques et économiques [1].

Non seulement le projet trouve au Woleu-Ntem une atmosphère préparée — par le *Congrès Pahouin* et le mouvement de regroupement clanique — mais bénéficie d'une propagande habile conduite par les représentants et associations locaux. L'action des « lettrés », des éléments dits « évolués » (commerçants, planteurs, anciens citadins et anciens militaires) et des jeunes

1. Cf. J.-H. Aubane. *Renaissance Gabonaise*. Brazzaville, 1947. Et notre ouvrage : G. Balandier et J.-Cl. Pauvert, *Villages Gabonais*, Mémoires de l'Institut d'Etudes Centrafricaines, Montpellier, 1952.

générations se révèle déterminante; ils se trouvent là en un domaine qui n'en appelle plus à la tradition mais à la connaissance des « manières européennes », ce qui renforce leur position; ils manifestent leur désir de participer aux « conseils villageois » qui pourraient être créés et font admettre la nécessité de leur présence aux côtés des autorités traditionnelles (les chefs des *nd'è bòl*),

L'exécution du programme de regroupement exigerait d'importants moyens matériels (demandés à l'administration) et un bouleversement profond du peuplement et de l'organisation socio-économique. L'attitude réservée des autorités administratives s'explique par le manque de crédits, la crainte d'un désordre qui porterait préjudice à la production cacaoyère et la crainte de constituer des villages trop peuplés pour qu'ils puissent réaliser leurs cultures vivrières sans difficultés graves; en dernier lieu, par un certain scepticisme quant à la possibilité de « fixer » de grosses unités villageoises. Les paysans du Woleu-Ntem interprètent cette méfiance comme la volonté, une nouvelle fois affirmée, de s'opposer à leurs efforts de reconstruction sociale et de modernisation. Ils multiplient les manifestations affirmant leur attachement à ce nouvel espoir de résolution des problèmes urgents : pression sur les administrateurs locaux, villages se déplaçant afin de se rassembler, villages commençant à construire une piste carrossable dans le but de se relier à la grande voie Gabon-Cameroun et, à un niveau supérieur, défense du projet devant les assemblées « représentatives ». Les campagnes de propagande révèlent l'action organisée de tous les éléments modernistes, des leaders des associations locales comme de ceux du parti *Union Démocratique et Sociale Gabonaise* — elles manifestent la pression d'une minorité qui, libérée des contraintes traditionnelles, aspire à un rôle social qui n'est pas plus accessible dans le cadre de l'actuelle organisation administrative que dans celui de l'ancienne organisation sociale.

Cette minorité, qui affirme son rôle de « leader » à l'occasion de la nouvelle initiative et aspire à une réforme sociale radicale, doit cependant se rallier la majorité des traditionalistes. Elle reprend l'argumentation utilisée lors du mouvement clanique : nécessité de reconstituer les gros villages d'autrefois qui conditionnaient la puissance fang, d'apaiser les anciennes querelles pour rétablir la *fraternité d'ayôg;* elle s'exprime parfois par des slogans très exagérés, tel que : « Il vaut mieux aller retrouver son « frère » que rester auprès de sa plantation; » elle insiste sur la nécessité de l'obéissance au député qui est véritablement le

5: Balandier FH9 Fang

ɛ̀ɔ́é, celui qui peut « parler » au nom de tous les Fang. Pour apprécier l'importance de ce mouvement, et étudier les possibilités matérielles, nous avons eu la charge d'organiser deux missions qui enquêtèrent surtout dans les districts de Mitzic et de Oyem [1]. Il apparut alors une grande différence entre l'opinion exprimée par les villageois dans chacune de ces unités. Elle tient à l'inégal développement socio-économique : dans la région de Oyem, il existe un accord général en faveur du projet parce qu'une majorité de villageois en attend des avantages économiques (possibilités d'extension des cacaoyères et meilleures conditions de commercialisation du produit) ou la satisfaction de besoins politiques nouveaux; dans la région de Mitzic, la désorganisation sociale et la médiocre mise-en-valeur font que le projet est plus subi qu'accepté — tandis que le mouvement *alar ayôg*, qui recourrait à des solutions d'aspect plus traditionnel, obtenait une large adhésion. Les sondages réalisés auprès des groupements du district de Oyem ont également révélé, dans cette zone pourtant plus ouverte aux influences modernistes, la permanence de relations conditionnées par l'ancienne organisation. La constitution de villages « regroupés » n'est acceptée que sur la base de l'unité tribale; mais à l'intérieur de cette dernière les antagonismes entre clans et lignages continuent à jouer : les compétitions économiques, la compétition pour les femmes et la recherche des prééminences les ayant souvent utilisés. C'est, là, le drame d'une société qui ne peut ni revenir à une organisation sociale dégradée ni, en raison du contrôle subi, opérer les transformations nécessaires : elle ne peut guère qu'accumuler les antagonismes et les situations conflictuelles.

1. Cf. G. Balandier et J.-Cl. Pauvert, *op. cit.*

CHAPITRE III

LE SENS DES CHANGEMENTS SOCIO-CULTURELS EN PAYS FANG

Si la société fang s'est profondément transformée, au cours de la période coloniale, on ne peut cependant considérer que les procès agissants aient intervenu dans le seul sens de la dégradation. Cette dernière ne dépasse pas certaines limites, variables selon les conjonctures particulières, sans que jouent des processus de compensation ou qu'interviennent, avec des succès plus ou moins durables, des tentatives de ré-organisation. Il apparaît donc un double mouvement : d'ouverture ou de soumission aux agents de transformation sociale, de « reprise » et de reconstruction sociale; mais le premier domine pour des causes qui tiennent à la nature même de la société fang et au fait de la situation coloniale.

De ces causes, les unes constituent un ensemble dont l'étude a été lancée par les sociologues anglo-saxons qui se sont attachés aux problèmes des pays dits sous-développés, à la recherche des conditions du « progrès » et de la « modernisation ». Les autres représentent un domaine à peine abordé par les sociologues universitaires; du côté français, seul l'économiste F. Perroux a tenté de définir la notion d'*économie dominante* et de préciser les *effets de domination*. C'est dans cette double perspective que nous voulons analyser le « cas fang » dont nous avons donné une description presque précautionneuse — tant il convient d'apporter, en même temps qu'une vue d'ensemble, des éléments rassemblés avec une minutie prudente. Une telle société, dans son état actuel et en se référant à son histoire des cinquante années passées, impose une première série de problèmes que nous devons au moins évoquer : ceux qui tiennent à la rupture du cloisonnement entre groupements; ceux que suscite la dénaturation de la « démocratie clanique »; ceux qui sont liés au fait des nouvelles obligations techniques.

I. Destruction des « frontières » entre groupements semi-autonomes.

Nous avons, au cours des chapitres précédents, montré combien les groupements traditionnels apparaissent comme des unités semi-autonomes, capables de s'*allier* par le jeu des mariages, mais se trouvant plus souvent en relations de compétition qu'en relations d'association. Nombre d'équilibres ne pouvaient jouer qu'à l'intérieur de ces unités, organisées en vue de la conquête, quasi indépendantes et n'ayant qu'un volume restreint. L'insécurité limitait les rapports entre les membres de ces groupements et les « étrangers » et les relations avec l'extérieur restaient la charge *exclusive* des individus prééminents et des associations spécialisées. La colonisation a permis, ou imposé, la rupture de ce presque cloisonnement.

Ce phénomène « d'ouverture », en dehors du rôle joué par la pacification et les facilités de communication, reste largement lié à des processus d'ordre économique. Alors que la traite rudimentaire de la première période coloniale ne faisait circuler qu'un volume réduit de biens et mettait en cause des groupements, l'implantation de l'économie monétaire n'a cessé d'accroître la circulation de numéraire, de « marchandises » et d'individualiser les compétitions et la recherche des sources de revenu. Nous avons insisté sur le fait que les villageois fang, après avoir été salariés par contrainte, le sont devenus par nécessité, sur l'importance croissante accordée aux productions commercialisables. Des mécanismes fondamentaux se trouvent touchés, cependant que les autorités traditionnelles se sont manifestées incapables de maîtriser un ensemble de processus complexes et obéissant à des impulsions sur lesquelles elles n'ont guère de prise.

Les conséquences de cette situation apparaissent, avec une particulière gravité, dans le cas des rapports existant entre les phénomènes économiques et les principes régissant la circulation des femmes. Dans l'actuelle société fang, la capitalisation en femmes reste encore le moyen d'acquérir (ou conserver) prestige et prééminence — à la fois survivance d'une époque où la puissance s'exprimait d'abord en nombre d'hommes et reconnaissance de la place que la femme peut tenir en tant que productrice. La constitution de « dots » demeure la condition fondamentale, et maintenant quasi-unique, de cette capitalisation. La « dot » apparaît comme étant un des derniers (sinon le dernier) obstacles à la libre compétition; elle est désirée par les femmes en tant

que facteur de stabilité (à défaut des anciennes « protections » sociales et religieuses), en tant que signe de la valeur personnelle reconnue à l'épouse; elle reste désirée par les hommes qui y voient le sceau du mariage, une preuve indiscutable de légalité. Elle s'impose tant que se maintient l'attachement à la polygamie et tant que le mariage continue à s'inscrire dans un contexte juridique et social d'esprit coutumier. Seulement, et c'est à ce point qu'intervient le déséquilibre, la circulation des « dots » — numéraires et marchandises à valeur éminente — à tous les caractères d'un processus économique.

Le système est conservé bien que son fonctionnement efficace exige la quasi-fermeture, et la pauvreté en richesses extérieures, des groupements. L'extension de l'économie monétaire détruit radicalement ces conditions, et cela d'autant plus qu'elle ne s'est pas développée au point de susciter une accumulation de capital sous la forme de biens fonciers, d'immeubles ou d'entreprises à caractères modernes. *Elle est à la fois trop et trop peu développée.* Dans de telles conditions, nous l'avons montré, la femme prend certains des aspects de la marchandise et la « dot » du prix; un accroissement de l'argent en circulation, ce qui s'est produit avec les dernières campagnes du cacao au Woleu-Ntem, entraîne une inflation des « dots ». L'économie de marché s'inscrit ici dans un ensemble social encore bâti sur la parenté, l'alliance et la puissance physique du groupement familial; elle ne peut agir que de manière destructrice — en porte à faux. Les compétitions pour les femmes sont d'autant plus accusées qu'il existe des possibilités plus nombreuses d'accéder *individuellement* aux sources de revenus, qu'il y a décalage marqué entre le volume des revenus et le volume des biens réellement consommés. Il convient justement d'insister sur le fait que l'ensemble des « dots » représente un capital constitué d'une manière improductive, bien que sans cesse accru, dont le seul rôle est de circuler pour régler la répartition des femmes. C'est certainement à cet aspect qu'apparait le mieux le déséquilibre créé par l'ouverture de la société fang aux circuits de l'économie monétaire. Il ne pourra se résorber que dans la mesure où les déterminations « biologiques » et mythiques des rapports humains s'effaceront au profit des relations *réelles* qu'imposent les conditions économiques et culturelles actuelles; en fait, lorsque ces dernières auront un dynamisme propre à provoquer une véritable mutation sociale.

D'une manière schématique, on peut dire que dominent deux types de problèmes. Ceux qui tiennent à la difficulté, pour une société dont les éléments n'ont pu s'ajuster que sur la base

de l'action collective et de la réciprocité, d'intégrer toutes les formes de l'action et de la compétition individuelles. Ceux qu'imposent le fait même de la dégradation des groupements semi-autonomes, l'élargissement du champ des relations sociales. Ce dernier phénomène a suscité des tentatives visant à *définir de nouveaux espaces sociaux* et agissant dans le sens de l'unité. Toutes les initiatives d'origine fang ont révélé des tendances de cette nature. Le *Bwiti* s'efforce de « regrouper » en fonction d'une religion syncrétique, sorte de monothéisme marqué par le christianisme, qui élargit les assises des anciens cultes et ré-organise le contenu mythique qu'ils impliquaient. Le renouveau clanique, avec ses buts de fédéralisme tribal affirmés par les groupements camerounais, a les mêmes ambitions unitaires, mais les exprime en fonction de conceptions politiques d'esprit moderne et d'une reconnaissance tacite du christianisme. Une telle orientation ne manque pas d'avoir été animée par le rôle unificateur que s'efforcèrent de jouer, à leur avantage, l'administration et les missions chrétiennes.

Des obstacles nombreux, cependant, s'opposent à ces entreprises unitaires. A partir d'un fonds socio-culturel commun, les diverses régions du pays fang ont, en raison de circonstances locales, subit des différenciations importantes qui font qu'elles ne s'ouvrent pas avec un égal succès aux mêmes innovations. L'accord apparent repose souvent sur une équivoque. D'un autre côté, les « petits particularismes » ont toujours pu s'exprimer à la faveur de prétextes occasionnels cependant que le villageois fang n'avait guère la possibilité de réaliser les ajustements indispensables. Il s'est trouvé pris dans un système administratif et soumis à un contrôle direct qui ont fonctionné à l'encontre de chacune de ses initiatives; de manière d'autant plus efficace que la société fang ancienne, qualifiée d'*anarchie* par certains auteurs[1], ne disposait pas d'organisations propres à limiter cette emprise. Les obstacles ne doivent cependant pas être surestimés, des processus sont lancés qui peuvent entraîner la transformation de cette société dans le sens d'une unité et efficacité accrues.

II. La dénaturation de la « démocratie clanique ».

Nous avons révélé précédemment les caractères qui donnaient à la société fang son aspect de « démocratie virile », insisté sur

1. Cf. H. Deschamps, *L'éveil politique africain*. Paris, 1952, ch. II.

la tendance égalitaire qui se manifestait à l'intérieur des groupements? Les points d'équilibre significatifs étaient à cet égard : le contre-poids que constituait la classe des hommes jeunes (représentant la puissance guerrière) vis-à-vis de la génération des anciens (détenant la puissance politique et religieuse); le rôle joué par la séniorité qui conditionnait la prééminence et donnait à *tout* homme mûr *(nyamòrò)* une importance sociale d'abord fondée sur l'âge[1]; la quasi-égalité entre membres du « conseil de village » et le fait que l'autorité du chef était plus circonstantielle, et liée à la qualité personnelle de celui qui la détient, qu'instituée.

La situation coloniale et les changements économiques conséquents ont définitivement atteint le système. Lorsque l'administration crée les chefferies administratives, en les hiérarchisant : chefferie de village, de terre et de canton, en les faisant coïncider avec un territoire défini, elle introduit un double principe d'organisation radicalement étranger. En pays fang, la chefferie administrative se trouvait donc d'emblée hors de la coutume. Cela explique qu'elle n'ait pu accueillir que des individus « mis en avant » par les autorités réelles des groupements ou des individus capables de l'utiliser à des fins personnelles. La charge de percevoir l'impôt, la compétence judiciaire étendue, l'appui pris sur l'appareil administratif, ont pu, dans certains cas, favoriser la naissance d'un pouvoir de *type féodal*. Un rapport d'inspection administrative, daté de janvier 1937, en manifeste les caractéristiques : abus lors du prélèvement de l'impôt de capitation, utilisation du service des prestations pour obtenir du travail gratuit, indemnités exigées « pour le règlement des palabres »[2]; à cela, on doit encore ajouter l'observation que les chefs peuvent recourir à l'aide administrative pour se constituer une position économique forte en donnant notamment une extension exceptionnelle aux cultures riches. Il ne s'agit cependant que d'exemples peu nombreux, tant la résistance des divers groupements a contrarié la montée d'une telle « féodalité ».

Le mouvement clanique a manifesté la gravité de la crise du « commandement » mais il a, d'une manière aussi nette, affirmé des besoins modernistes précis : la nécessité d'un pouvoir indigène réel au niveau d'ensembles sociaux dépassant les limites

1. Chez les Bantou du Sud-Africain, une coutume et un symbole matériel, « la fixation de la couronne de cire », marquaient pour les hommes mûrs leur promotion sociale. La prééminence liée à l'âge apparaît largement répandue. Cf. H. A. Junod, *Mœurs et Coutumes des Bantous*. T. I. Paris, 1936.

2. Rapport de l'Inspecteur des Affaires Administratives, 4 janv. 1937.

du village, la reconnaissance d'une différenciation sommaire des fonctions (politiques, judiciaires et économiques), le souci de mettre en place une organisation administrative d'inspiration indigène. La conception moderne de l'exercice du pouvoir apparaît grâce à l'action des éléments « lettrés » et le mouvement peut être, par divers aspects, considéré comme une *tentative bureaucratique dans un cadre clanique*. Ce n'est que l'une des tendances de ce mouvement aux multiples implications; elle montre, comme le fait ensuite l'action en faveur de la modernisation des villages, avec quelle persévérance la minorité « évoluée » cherche à s'imposer en tant qu'élite gouvernante. De son nombre et de sa puissance, donc des progrès économiques et culturels, dépend en fait l'avenir du pays fang.

La question qui se pose est de savoir comment ces éléments « évolués » parviennent, ou parviendront, à affirmer leur qualité de *leader*. L'état de « vide politique » créé par le manque d'autorité des chefs officiels joue en leur faveur, de même que leur situation d'opposants. A l'inverse, la méfiance vis-à-vis de tout pouvoir établi de manière durable et échappant au contrôle quasi-constant de tous, le discrédit attaché à la notion même de « chefferie », apparue dans un contexte administratif, contrarient leur ascension. Le mouvement clanique a manifesté non seulement l'intensité de la compétition pour les dignités, mais encore le caractère fragile de l'autorité acquise par la plupart des dignitaires. Un des passages de l'enseignement, par questions et réponses, diffusé par les Yémisèm de la région d'Oyem paraît révélateur » :

« Q — Comment risquons-nous de détruire notre religion (*sic*) de la tribu?

R. — Ce qui risque de détruire notre religion de la tribu, c'est la désobéissance et l'élection de plusieurs Présidents. »

Il est suivi de « commandements » allant dans le même sens : « Nous devons respecter nos supérieurs de façon à ce que nos enfants nous respectent nous-mêmes. Nous ne devons jamais être jaloux d'un frère devenu Président qui maintient l'ordonnance parfaite de la tribu »[1]. Il est certain que les anciens comportements à l'égard du pouvoir subsistent et constituent, *hors du cadre traditionnel*, un frein à la réorganisation qu'exigent les nouveaux rapports sociaux. Les individus qui ont acquis une prééminence sont ceux qui s'imposent en tant que *conciliateurs* — on devrait les dire créateurs de droit car ils donnent à la

1. Cahier de réunions d'un « Président » Yémisèm du District d'Oyem.

coutume les infléchissements indispensables, ceux qui contribuent au progrès matériel de groupements plus ou moins vastes, ceux qui peuvent apporter au profit du groupe une expérience acquise auprès des Européens. Lors du mouvement clanique, il était recommandé, dans certaines tribus (Yémisèm et Yéngwi), de choisir les dignitaires en raison de leur « autorité » et non d'autres considérations; on entendait insister sur leur capacité à apaiser les conflits qui se multiplient dans une société « en transition ». Il se révélait aussi l'importance prise par les éléments capables de susciter des méthodes nouvelles d'administration du village : le « lettré » commence à s'affirmer en tant que commis des affaires du clan et c'est un signe des transformations profondes survenues en certains secteurs du pays fang. Enfin, nos enquêtes nous ont montré combien l'homme économiquement puissant peut bénéficier d'un prestige réel, s'il sait créer des conditions économiques également favorables au groupe — en fondant un « marché », en orientant les courants commerciaux, en suscitant une meilleure exploitation des cultures riches, etc. C'est là une forme moderne du prestige dont le *nkumakuma* ou le donneur de *bilaba*[1] étaient entourés; l'homme riche doit devenir l'animateur de l'économie locale et représenter éventuellement une caisse de secours pour les individus les plus démunis.

Nous voulons, à titre exemplaire, évoquer au moins la personnalité de deux *leaders* caractéristiques; l'un ayant une influence large, l'autre ayant une autorité limitée à un nombre réduit de groupements. L. M. est un fang du Bas-Gabon appartenant au clan éssòké. Il a reçu une formation scolaire relativement poussée et a su l'utiliser pour étudier les aspects les plus valables du droit coutumier, pour analyser les problèmes urgents qui affectent la société fang. Ses connaissances l'imposent à l'attention de l'administration qui lui confie un poste de chef de canton. L. M., originaire de l'une des régions où la dégradation sociale et l'émiettement des groupements sont les plus accentués, pressent très tôt que la première des tâches est de rétablir des liens entre individus et entre groupes d'extension restreinte; il reconnaît dans le culte *Bwiti* un mouvement utilisable et efficace et on ne saurait douter qu'il ait tout mis en œuvre pour acquérir au sein du culte

1. Cf. J. Guilbot, *op. cit.* « Un notable est vraiment digne de ce nom lorsqu'il s'est le plus distingué au *bilaba*... l'autorité de nombreux chefs bulu et le respect qui leur est témoigné sont dûs en grande partie à leurs exploits au *bilaba*... (l'homme riche) et capable de subvenir aux besoins des malheureux... est mêlé à toutes les affaires publiques et privées »; p. 172-173.

un rôle prédominant [1], qu'il ait vite entrevu combien les différentes « paroisses » pouvaient constituer des éléments d'organisation échappant au contrôle administratif. Son rôle devenu suspect, L. M. est révoqué de ses fonctions de chef de canton en 1933 : c'est l'ouverture d'une période de conflits, avec l'administration, qui ne manquent pas de valoir à L. M. l'acquiessement des Fang les moins soumis. En 1947, lors du *Congrès Pahouin*, son autorité sur une partie de la population fang ne peut être ignorée; il participe aux débats et nous avons indiqué comment il tenta de se faire reconnaître en tant que « chef supérieur ». Son prestige, unique à l'intérieur de l'ethnie fang, car il s'exprime jusqu'en des régions très éloignées, tient à une grande habileté à s'attacher les éléments les moins « évolués » aussi bien que les éléments « modernistes ». L. M. sait faire d'une lutte électorale une compétition entre techniques magiques ou religieuses, faire reposer une action essentiellement politique sur la puissance que représente le culte *Bwiti* dans le Bas-Gabon. Il n'hésite pas, pour donner un sens à cette organisation radicalement nouvelle qu'est le parti politique, à transformer ce dernier en un instrument efficace dans le cadre de la vie quotidienne : en aménageant son intervention dans les conflits, les réglements coutumiers, les tentatives modernes de coopération. Enfin, L. M. tient son influence non seulement de son attitude d'opposant, et de ses initiatives, mais encore de la manière même dont il exalte le concept de « race fang ».

Si l'on cherche à définir les conditions de cette influence personnelle exceptionnelle, on doit retenir : l'importance prise en tant que symbole de l'opposition au contrôle administratif, la capacité à évaluer rapidement les possibilités qu'offrent chacune des innovations socio-culturelles (culte *Bwiti* et mouvement clanique), l'habileté à donner à l'action politique un caractère ambivalent qui lui permet d'avoir prise sur les Vieux Fang aussi bien que sur les Jeunes Fang. L. M. a su imposer à ses entreprises d'esprit « moderniste » une forme qui puisse paraître familière aux individus encore liés par la coutume; il peut ainsi rivaliser d'influence avec les représentants élus qui n'ont pas la même opportunité d'agir de manière ambiguë, sont liés à un système contrôlé par la puissance coloniale et n'apparaissent pas comme le symbole exclusif de l'ensemble des Fang.

Z. O. est originaire du district de Médouneu; jeune homme

1. Les documents rassemblés à Libreville, lors d'une instruction judiciaire, tendent à le prouver.

d'une trentaine d'années, il n'en a pas moins acquis une influence réelle sur une grande partie de la population. Éduqué par une mission chrétienne, il a rapidement accédé à un poste administratif qui lui permet d'être considéré par les villageois comme leur « intermédiaire » le plus proche de l'administrateur local, qui lui permet d'être informé des questions concernant le district et d'acquérir une connaissance sommaire des méthodes d'administration. A la capacité d'action auprès des éléments christianisés et « modernistes », Z. O. a su adjoindre une efficacité de type plus traditionnel — d'une part, il s'est imposé par son habileté à régler les différends, d'autre part, il a acquis un rôle prééminent à l'intérieur d'une « paroisse » *bwiti* dominante. Lors du mouvement clanique, il parvient à obtenir la « Présidence » des groupements locaux relevant de la tribu *Yémisèm;* un texte justifiant ce choix insiste sur le fait de sa « bonne conduite », de « sa volonté de servir la tribu Yémisèm *toute entière* » et sur ses connaissances qui lui permettent d'être « un intermédiaire entre l'Administration et la tribu [1] ». Cette espèce de polyvalence — de capacité à agir sur les diverses tendances animant l'actuelle société fang — constitue l'un des éléments favorables à une autorité élargie au delà des limites de la « parenté ».

Cependant, si ces deux exemples suggèrent d'une manière sommaire comment les *leaders* parviennent à fonder leur prééminence sur des groupements plus ou moins étendus, il importe d'ajouter que le nombre et l'efficacité de ces autorités nouvelles restent réduits. Très tôt, les forces centrifuges ont dominé, empêchant toute tentative de concentration du pouvoir. Altération de la base physique de la société fang, dégradation du contexte mythique, rôle toujours prédominant des rapports de parenté, interviennent en contrariant l'apparition de nouveaux ensembles sociaux et la montée de nouveaux *leaders.* Il y a déséquilibre entre les besoins que révèle cette société et ses possibilités *actuelles* d'adaptation, entre la nécessité de hâter sa re-construction et le contrôle strict qu'elle subit. L'emprise de la « parenté » reste telle qu'elle gêne pour les uns l'accumulation de richesse, pour les autres l'accumulation de pouvoir, qu'elle continue à retarder l'organisation des groupements dépassant ses limites, à imposer la notion d'obligation vis-à-vis des « parents » alors que devrait maintenant intervenir la notion de « service public ». Il s'agit d'un conservatisme de plus en plus formel, tant le déséquilibre est grand, mais aussi d'un conser-

1. Cahier de compte-rendu, tribu Yémisèm, 1948.

vatisme d'autant plus valorisé qu'il sauvegarde les derniers pans de l'édifice traditionnel.

III. Problèmes liés aux nouvelles obligations techniques.

La mise en place des cultures riches — les cacaoyères du Woleu-Ntem — a constitué une innovation technique de grande importance, dont le succès relatif a été favorisé par le désir des villageois d'échapper le plus possible à l'obligation du travail salarié, par la stimulation des hauts cours durant les dernières années, par l'affirmation des besoins monétaires. Ainsi, le Fang a-t-il pu devenir un authentique agriculteur. L'acquisition de la technique d'exploitation du cacaoyer[1] a été facile, mais elle demeure à un bas niveau en raison du peu d'incitation à élargir les plantations et du manque d'attention aux possibilités d'amélioration : meilleur traitement des arbres, meilleures conditions de fermentation, de séchage et de conditionnement. Il y a là un problème strictement technique qui tient à l'insuffisante éducation du paysan et à la médiocrité des moyens mis à sa disposition. Mais nous verrons qu'il n'est pas simplement technique dans la mesure où il exige une organisation adéquate des villageois — redoutée de la part des commerçants qui achètent et exportent les produits.

Le fait même de la mise en place des cultures riches détermine de nouveaux rapports de l'homme et de la terre qu'il exploite. Cette dernière prend une valeur en devenant source de revenus et non plus des seuls produits vivriers : nous en avons la preuve au Cameroun, chez les populations parentes plus anciennement stabilisées et plus tôt productrices de cacao, où les plantations ont pu être cédées pour amortir une dette, lors de la crise du cacao, en 1928. C'est une démarche révélant à quel point l'estimation de la terre plantée en cacaoyers a été valorisée[2]. Par ailleurs, ce droit sur la plantation, fondé sur la mise-en-valeur

1. Cf. G. Perrault, Les Fang du Pays Yaoundé, *op. cit.* « Il s'agit en effet d'une culture qui convient merveilleusement à l'indigène. Il lui suffit de débroussailler un sous-bois convenable, de planter les cacayoers et de venir ensuite cueillir, chaque année, les cabosses arrivées à maturité... ». Le travail de préparation et de conditionnement s'effectue avec l'aide des femmes.

2. Alors que, « dans la tradition, la terre est à qui la prend; elle n'a aucune valeur... on ne la donne pas en garantie d'une dette... ». Cf. *Rapport S. D. N.*, 1922, sans nom d'auteur.

réalisée, est un droit durable; il s'est constitué en marge de la coutume (les plantations ont été faites sous la pression de l'administration locale) et résulte d'initiatives individuelles; il n'a pris de l'importance qu'insensiblement, ne porte encore que sur une faible partie des terres, mais les conditions de son apparition font qu'il introduit, à l'intérieur même du droit coutumier, *la notion de propriété personnelle*. Nous avions déjà signalé cette transformation en évoquant quelques-unes des marques matérielles qui affirment ce droit nouveau; de même, nous avons rappelé que, parmi les « vœux » émis au *Congrès Pahouin*, figure celui relatif à une reconnaissance officielle des « concessions rurales ». Les cultures riches stabilisent le peuplement en même temps que les droits qu'elles créent tendent à faire apparaître un cadastre, dessinant plus précisément les « limites » des terres du village et des plantations personnelles. En principe, le droit de choisir un emplacement pour y planter des cacaoyers n'est pas limité — il suffit que le chef du groupement villageois exprime son accord sur le choix (qui ne doit pas donner lieu à compétition, empêcher l'extension du village, etc.) ; en fait, ce droit est limité par l'obligation de le fonder sur une mise en valeur effective.

Alors que la notion de propriété foncière s'affirme, que cette propriété est source de revenus, c'est toujours la capacité de mise en valeur de la terre qui conditionne ce droit. L'homme important, qui a la possibilité de s'attacher ou de rétribuer de la main-d'œuvre, peut ainsi donner à sa puissance une assise foncière — et l'on voit, chez les Fang du Cameroun, quelques-uns des nouveaux « propriétaires » capitaliser ensuite sous la forme d'immeubles ou de moyens de transport qui produisent des revenus élevés[1]. Cependant, au Woleu-Ntem, où la réalisation des cacaoyères est plus récente, le nombre des grands « planteurs » reste réduit[2] et l'accumulation de capital s'effectue surtout à la manière ancienne — en femmes et en « marchandises ». Les villageois les plus modestes, notamment les jeunes hommes, n'en sentent pas moins combien il y a là une cause définitive d'inégalité sociale; ils s'efforcent, dans certains cas, de faire jouer l'entr'aide à l'intérieur des « groupes de camaraderie » ou de manifester un esprit d'entreprise qui leur permet de ne point se laisser trop distancer. Soit par cet effort de production, qui vise à faire contre-poids à la puissance des éléments prédomi-

1. Cf. G. Perrault, *Ibid.*, p. 332.
2. Au dessus de 3 ou 4 hectares, les plantations font figure d'exploitations non-communes.

5: Balandier FH9 Fang

nants, soit par le jeu des menaces que suscite la provocation à la jalousie, s'affirment les tendances qui cherchent à limiter le développement d'une aristocratie foncière.

Il importe de préciser les problèmes qui sont liés aux difficultés qu'a ce paysannat, presque improvisé, à s'organiser en tant que groupement de production. La constitution de main-d'œuvre, la création d'un salariat à l'intérieur même du clan ou du lignage, dans une société qui n'a pas conçu de formes « d'esclavage » ou de « servitude » et où s'exprime encore la tendance égalitaire, se heurtent à un ensemble de comportements qui leur sont hostiles [1]. Le mouvement clanique a manifesté cette ambiguïté en exaltant d'une part la « fraternité dans l'*ayôg* » et en demandant d'autre part de « travailler pour gagner de l'argent », sans proposer de solution qui parvienne à concilier ces deux principes. En dehors des cas très rares où un planteur parvint à s'attacher des salariés, il apparaît surtout un recours à des *expédients* qui semblent s'accorder avec le contexte traditionnel. Tout d'abord l'utilisation (fondée sur la polygamie) des femmes en tant que main-d'œuvre des plantations dites industrielles; il s'agit alors d'un bouleversement, dans la répartition coutumière du travail, qui exige l'accord des épouses, l'octroi de compensations et qui donne à ces dernières, à l'encontre de l'homme, un pouvoir qu'elles n'auraient su concevoir autrefois. Elles deviennent plus étroitement associées à l'enrichissement du mari, donc plus libres vis-à-vis de lui; il y a là une situation qui est cause de déséquilibre : contribuant à l'émancipation de la femme, favorisant la pression des « alliés » qui veulent obtenir un avantage en prétextant de leur droit de contrôle quant aux conditions d'existence imposés à la femme qu'ils ont cédée, accusant les rivalités entre co-épouses. L'homme important, et par conséquent polygame, a par ailleurs la possibilité de s'attacher une main-d'œuvre masculine en retenant des jeunes hommes qui ont accès à certaines de ses femmes [2] — le « prêt de la femme » s'inscrivant dans un contexte

1. Le même problème s'est présenté dans les régions cacaoyères de la Côte-d'Ivoire. C'est, en fait, par le recours aux « étrangers » que s'est constitué le salariat des planteurs africains. Mais, cela n'a pas manqué de créer des antagonismes entre les « étrangers » et les autochtones.

2. Cf. F. Grébert, La Famille Pahouine en 1931, *op. cit.* Faisant allusion à des faits camerounais Sœur Marie-André du Sacré-Cœur note (en ne rappelant pas les références coutumières) : « Il y a aussi le grand planteur avisé, qui transforme le bénéfice de ses plantations en « dots » pour accroître le nombre de ses femmes (c'est-à-dire de ses travailleuses) et qui ferme les yeux sur leurs relations : car celles-ci lui procurent des manœuvres, double main-d'œuvre agricole qu'il craindrait de perdre par trop de sévérité. *La Condition Humaine en Afrique Noire;* Paris, 1953, p. 104. Cette « dénaturation » peut avoir une assise coutumière, nous venons de le rappeler.

coutumier puisqu'il est déjà noté par Largeau à la fin du siècle dernier. Enfin, le *nkumakuma*, l'homme aisé, peut se constituer un groupe de travailleurs en « obligeant » certains membres de sa parenté, les aidant notamment à constituer une « dot » propre à accélérer leur mariage. On voit combien la possession de plusieurs femmes ou de « femmes virtuelles » (les éléments constitutifs de la « dot ») est au centre de ce système d'expédients — l'homme « riche » n'ayant pas encore la possibilité de dominer *directement* d'autres hommes relevant de son clan.

Le rapide accroissement de la production cacaoyère au cours des récentes années et du volume des revenus, que cette dernière fait circuler, ont accéléré le rythme des changements sociaux. Si le mouvement se poursuit et s'accentue (comme l'administration le souhaite) les rapports entre individus auront alors à s'établir sur le modèle des relations propriétaires-salariés agricoles ou sur le modèle de l'association à base de solidarité au sein de groupements de production spécialisés. L'influence de la société coloniale agira plutôt dans le premier sens, les influences fang plutôt dans le second. Les groupements du Cameroun révèlent actuellement une hésitation entre l'une ou l'autre alternative : multiplication des planteurs-employeurs et même apparition d'une association de type capitaliste (reprise d'une plantation européenne de caféiers et cacaoyers) ou « sociétés de planteurs » à l'intérieur des clans et essais d'organisations coopératives [1]. C'est montrer combien l'introduction de techniques agricoles nouvelles n'a pas simplement opéré une « conversion » faisant de l'ancien guerrier fang un agriculteur, mais encore transformé les relations qu'il entretient avec la terre, les principes de la division du travail et, finalement, les rapports interindividuels.

Un deuxième ensemble de problèmes est constitué par ceux qui apparaissent avec le besoin de nouvelles techniques d'administration des hommes et des biens. Le phénomène le plus manifeste reste le décalage existant entre l'ouverture et l'élargissement du champ des relations sociales et, selon l'expression de P. Gourou, les « techniques d'organisation de l'espace » maîtrisées par les Fang. La faiblesse des moyens de communication, matériels et immatériels, le manque d'une « administration » fang au niveau des groupements humains dépassant les limites du village, révèlent la vulnérabilité d'une telle société; seules les réalisations

1. Données précises dans le *Rap. annuel*, Région du Ntem, Cameroun, année 1947.

de la société coloniale y suppléent — d'une manière imparfaite à cause de la médiocrité des moyens mis en œuvre et des résistances de la société colonisée. On peut dire qu'en conséquence nombre de besoins, provoqués par les changements économiques et sociaux, sont restés sans réponse ou sans réponse adéquate. Les tentatives faites lors du mouvement clanique pour re-définir la « coutume », pour mettre en place des « juges » ou « arbitres » au niveau des groupements tribaux, ou d'une fédération de ces groupements, sont significatives des aménagements nécessaires. Une telle faiblesse apparaît dans le cadre des activités religieuses : les « associations », qui agissaient au delà des limites particulières aux cultes familiaux, ont tôt disparu cependant que le culte *Bwiti*, avec ses tendances unitaires, n'est qu'une manifestation récente. Il a manqué aux Fang ce réseau étendu de relations religieuses, semblable par exemple à celui que tisse la société du *Komo* au Soudan, qui fut en Afrique Noire indispensable en tant qu'organisation efficace liant des groupements très distants les uns des autres.

Un ensemble de problèmes (difficiles à aborder de manière rapide) tient au fait de l'implantation de l'écriture dans un système culturel construit sur la base de la tradition orale et des signes ou symboles matériels, ou à la nécessité de faire maintenant appel à cette technique. Cette dernière s'explique, en dehors des exigences exprimées par l'administration (par exemple, en fait de recensement et de collecte de l'impôt), par des raisons proprement fang. Nous avons insisté sur l'urgence d'une réorganisation de la coutume qui paraît inadaptée, en raison du nombre des changements sociaux, et inefficace en beaucoup de points. Les réunions claniques le révélèrent en même temps qu'elles suscitèrent des essais de modernisation et de rationalisation du système coutumier. Celles tenues en juillet 1948, par 25 villages Yénisèm des environs d'Oyem, se donnaient pour but « de traiter certaines questions relatives à l'adaptation de la coutume à la vie moderne ». Et un document rédigé avec une réelle solennité s'efforce de réglementer le système de la « dot », le procès du divorce, les conditions de transmission des biens, etc,.[1]. Le problème qui se pose, pour chacune de ces tentatives, reste la nécessité de *valoriser* la réglementation adoptée, de lui donner une *efficacité*. En utilisant la puissance potentielle que recèle tout texte d'apparences administratives, en présentant ce dernier comme expri-

1. Réunion du 25 villages de la tribu Yémisem à Afénane (District d'Oyem) du 12 au 19 juillet 1948. Document, archives d'Oyem.

mant l'accord de tous les hommes adultes ayant participé aux réunions, les animateurs du mouvement s'efforcent de fonder, d'une manière durable, les adaptations coutumières indispensables. Dans une société qui ne dispose pas d'organismes centralisateurs, « chefs « ou « assemblées », ce problème paraît quasi-insoluble; d'autant plus qu'il prend (et doit avoir) tous les aspects d'une tentative de réglementation échappant au contrôle administratif — il attire nécessairement la méfiance de l'administration (qui y voit l'action d'autorités non-reconnues par elle) ou des villageois (s'il s'exprime par le truchement des chefs officiels). Tant qu'il n'y aura pas, au delà du groupement villageois, des cadres administratifs et des autorités efficaces, cet effort de ré-organisation de la coutume, entrepris à partir d'une « bureaucratie » rudimentaire, ne peut qu'intervenir sans résultats importants.

Ce recours, à la chose écrite, ne s'impose pas seulement en tant que moyen visant à fonder les innovations coutumières, il s'impose aussi en tant que substitut des anciens procédés de preuve. Dans une société où les conflits se sont multipliés, où les compensations monétaires jouent un rôle toujours plus actif, l'usage de la preuve écrite ne peut que s'affirmer, soit qu'elle intervienne dans des situations radicalement nouvelles (comme le prêt de sommes de quelque importance), soit qu'elle remplace les symboles matériels autrefois utilisés. La « dot », devenue une des principales causes de litige, se constitue maintenant d'éléments consommables, monnaie et « marchandises », et non plus des objets symboliques qui servaient uniquement aux échanges matrimoniaux; elle change de « cours » et s'inscrit dans un processus qui permet l'abus des demandes de « cadeaux » (*aɔ̄ nzòm*, « donner la sauce » aux parents de la femme); elle exige une comptabilité — en raison des risques accrus de divorce — et n'a plus la valeur de preuve parfaite — on pouvait suivre sa circulation inverse exactement de la circulation des femmes — qu'elle possédait autrefois. Ceci explique l'importance prise par la liste *(kalaɛ)* où tous les dons sont consignés, le souci qu'ont certains jeunes hommes de faire enregistrer leur mariage. Là encore, le besoin d'un appareil bureaucratique simple et, en contre-coup, le rôle joué par le « lettré » de village, se manifestent. Enfin, il faut signaler le recours au document manuscrit pour faire intervenir la notion d'autorité de la chose jugée : il commence à apparaître dans le cas des règlements exigeant une compensation monétaire. Et, un peu en dehors de cette série d'observations, nous rappellerons l'usage de la pancarte de propriété lié aux changements

5: Balandier FH9 Fang

survenus et à la valorisation affectant le droit de propriété foncière.

Cette nécessité d'en appeler à l'écriture, qui se révèle aussi dans des cas plus particuliers : la « comptabilité » du commerçant ou du planteur comme la « plainte » adressée à l'administration, par exemple, montre l'ampleur de la transformation qui s'effectue. Elle introduit notamment un principe de rationalisation dont nous avons pu remarquer l'influence en étudiant les légendes tribales rédigées lors du mouvement clanique. Elle n'impose pas seulement le savoir du « lettré » ou du « commis ».

IV. Conservatisme et Changements sociaux et culturels.

En ayant insisté sur les processus des changements sociaux et culturels, qui ont affecté la société fang typique, nous avons montré à de nombreuses reprises le rôle du conservatisme et des comportements de type traditionnel, les désajustements qui en résultent souvent. Certaines transformations, qui s'avèrent indispensables, ne peuvent alors s'accomplir. Une telle résistance reste conditionnée par des causes complexes dont il n'est pas aisé de faire le partage : soit qu'interviennent inertie à l'égard des tentatives novatrices (un de nos informateurs disait : « Le Fang n'est pas assez tenace »), crainte d'une transformation radicale et définitive, soit qu'agissent les intérêts de groupes et d'individus, soit que la dérobade derrière la « tradition » constitue une des meilleures tactiques de protection et de refus vis-à-vis de l'emprise exercée par la société coloniale [1].

Les relations entre conservatisme et processus de changements peuvent être examinées de manière fructueuse à partir de ce complexe d'emprunts, d'apports fang et d'innovations, qu'est le culte *Bwiti*. Nous avons en particulier présenté le *Bwiti* comme un véritable « conservatoire » de formes culturelles gravement atteintes, en rappelant qu'il récupère « tout un corps de connaissances et de mythes » et une partie de l'ancien culte *Biéri*. Dans une culture où les « monuments » que créaient les artistes et artisans ont disparu, où l'écriture — technique empruntée — ne joue qu'un rôle réduit, une organisation comme celle-ci rassemble de véritables « archives ». Le fait n'est pas isolé si l'on pense, dans

1. Nous avons, au cours de la première partie de cet ouvrage, insisté sur le fait que la société dominée peut recourir à sa spécificité culturelle pour dérober ses réactions de refus.

le cas des Noirs transplantés aux Antilles et au Brésil, aux archives africaines que furent, pour ces hommes totalement dépouillés, le *Vodou* et le *Candomblé*. En la circonstance, le conservatisme n'est nullement stérile.

Né, dans une large mesure, des réactions à l'encontre du christianisme, le culte tente d'un autre côté de s'établir en tant que religion à tendances unitaires. Il enrichit ainsi les aspects ou les thèmes qui paraissent avoir des équivalences au sein de la religion chrétienne. Le phénomène est apparent au niveau du mythe, tout au moins dans les versions les plus récentes. *Bwiti* peut, dans les « paroisses » où l'effort de reconstruction est le plus achevé, acquérir les caractères du Dieu créateur : nous l'avons indiqué en rappelant un enseignement rudimentaire, expliquant la création du monde durant une période de six jours, associé à la dénomination (étrangère) de *Ivâgi Vâga :* Celui qui a créé toutes choses. Il est aussi présenté comme Dieu le Père, dans la mesure où Jésus-Christ — dont un arbre à écorce rouge, *dèmbò*, est dit porter le sang — lui est associé. Par ailleurs, dans l'un au moins des temples où nous avons enquêté, une équivalence s'est établie entre *Nyingòn Mòbòga* (la Première Femme) et la Vierge Marie dont une statuette avait été dérobée dans une Mission catholique. D'un autre côté, les anciens noms d'initiation, coïncidant avec le nom de l'animal protecteur individuel, commencent à recevoir des équivalents parmi les noms des saints ou des anges [1] (Gabriel, notamment). Il s'agit de cas encore rares et de correspondances grossières; cependant, un effort est fait pour fonder les liaisons entre éléments indigènes et éléments chrétiens : ainsi, un jeune homme ayant reçu le nom de *Mayâza* (dont l'équivalent est : « l'ange qui gardait la porte du Ciel lorsque Jésus-Christ y passa ») a été initié un vendredi, en raison du sens et de l'importance que les Chrétiens accordent à ce jour.

C'est la topographie mythique qui paraît la plus révélatrice quant aux apports chrétiens. Lors de la révélation stéréotypée qu'impose l'initiation, il était anciennement insisté sur le rôle de *Bwiti* en tant que chef du « village des morts » [2] — et ce

1. Le glissement de la notion de protecteur individuel à celle d'ange-gardien ne fait aucun doute. Les « traductions » de l'enseignement religieux le favorisant.

2. Cf. ***. *Le Bouiti, in op. cit.* « ... L'initié voit passer sous ses yeux une longue suite de squelettes ou de cadavres hâves et grimaçants, répandant une odeur insupportable et presque tous éclopés. Le chef de cette cité des morts, encore plus repoussant que les autres, demande au candidat d'une voix terrible : « Que viens-tu faire ici? — « Je viens voir *Bouiti* » — « Eh bien, c'est moi! ».

contact physique avec la mort, réalisé réellement ou par le truchement d'une hallucination provoquée, caractérisait les initiations impliquées par la société traditionnelle. Le mythe, tel qu'il est aujourd'hui enseigné, donne une topographie beaucoup plus minutieuse et significative du « pays des morts ». Un premier village, nommé *Tsômbo* [1], est le lieu à partir duquel sont dirigés les morts, selon leur mérite. Le deuxième village, *Misòbanpay*, est la résidence du « Seigneur Jésus-Christ »; le troisième, *Lubanasêgé*, est le lieu où séjournent les « bons morts » tandis que le quatrième, *Mavindi*, est reconnu comme « l'enfer »; viennent ensuite, *Mbulakômbo*, où se trouve le « Créateur » (c'est-à-dire *Bwiti* en tant que maître de toutes choses créées) et *Dumakâga* où se tiennent les « anges » (les défunts qui ont le plus mérité d'être au service immédiat de *Bwiti*) [2]. Cet aperçu sommaire, sur la nouvelle forme du mythe, montre l'importance des changements survenus dans le comportement religieux : le christianisme a imposé l'idée de salut, de récompense ou de châtiment après la mort; il a transformé la conception traditionnelle quant à la manière dont les défunts peuvent intervenir en faveur des vivants — ceux qui ont le plus « mérité » (les « anges ») ont seuls la capacité d'intercéder de manière efficace auprès de *Bwiti ;* il a modifié la manière même dont le mort doit être traité : la technique des funérailles cherche à favoriser le séjour dans le « village des bons morts ». On pourrait dire, reprenant la formule de S. Reinach, que le culte présente, à cette étape du syncrétisme, les caractères associés des « religions antiques » et des « religions modernes » : le fidèle y « prie les morts » et « prie pour les morts » [3]. Mais il est bien certain que le premier de ces aspects — le souci d'efficacité pour les œuvres des vivants — domine.

Nous avons, dans le chapitre précédent, indiqué combien l'organisation matérielle du culte — *construction du temple*, vêtements du *nkòbé-bwiti* assimilés aux ornements sacerdotaux du prêtre catholique — et l'organisation de l'église — avec ses « paroisses » et sa hiérarchie, avec les tournées et réunions comparables à celles des missionnaires — sont marquées par les emprunts faits aux missions chrétiennes. Il y a un souci évident d'imposer le *Bwiti* sous les aspects d'une religion incontestable.

1. Peut être lié à la racine *tsâm* (passif, *tsâmba*), s'éparpiller, aller de tous côtés.
2. Version recueillie dans les temples de la région de Médouneu.
3. S. Reinach. L'origine des prières pour les morts, in *Cultes, Mythes, Religions*. Paris, 1905, t. I. « Les païens priaient les morts, tandis que les chrétiens priaient pour les morts ».

Les adeptes affirment leur volonté d' « être forts comme le sont les catholiques », protestent contre les « persécutions » dont ils sont les victimes alors qu'ils ont la certitude de « pratiquer une religion comme les autres » et « d'adorer le Dieu » d'une manière plus efficace et plus appropriée à leurs besoins. Surtout, en recourant aux « modèles » que constituent les églises chrétiennes, ils mettent en place une organisation qui peut dépasser les limites du village (ou du groupement restreint de parenté) et imposer un certain ordre dans une société où les anciens systèmes de contrôle social sont dégradés.

On ne peut douter du caractère *novateur* d'une telle entreprise : les colporteurs du culte, anciens travailleurs des « chantiers », en même temps que la composition des assemblées *bwiti*, où dominent des éléments plutôt jeunes, en témoignent. Si l'on veut comprendre comment sont liés éléments nouveaux et éléments de type traditionnel, il convient d'examiner leurs relations non seulement au niveau des faits culturels mais encore au niveau des relations sociales et des rapports, directs ou indirects, avec la société européenne dominante. Les seules démarches de l'anthropologie culturelle s'avèrent alors insuffisantes.

En plaçant cette tentative religieuse à côté des diverses initiatives prises par les Fang, dans le but de porter remède à l'état de « crise » de leur société, nous avons montré qu'elle ouvrait une période *positive* de reconstruction faisant suite à une longue période de dégradation et de transformation des rapports sociaux. Elle répond à des exigences, conditionnées par des forces extérieures à la société fang, que l'on pourrait dire tactiques, et à des exigences d'ordre intérieur. Parmi ces dernières interviennent : la nécessité de « re-placer » dans cette société les éléments qui ont été séparés, plus ou moins longtemps, de leur groupement de parenté; le rôle qu'aspirent à jouer les hommes jeunes devenus « force économique » après avoir été « force guerrière » des groupements; l'urgence à donner aux multiples groupements « atomisés » des autorités valables (ayant dans ce cas un caractère sacré) et propices à un remembrement; l'obligation, dans les limites d'une société au sein de laquelle émergent de nouveaux types sociaux, de laisser une certaine liberté aux possibilités d'affirmation personnelle[1] (le *Bwiti* le permet à la faveur d'une ferveur ou de révélations exceptionnelles); la nécessité de rétablir un système d'interdits qui puisse être efficace

1. Caractère qui est également manifeste dans les « églises nègres » du domaine sud-africain et congolais; voyez la troisième partie de cette étude ch. II, III.

— et c'est avec cette fonction que la notion chrétienne de salut est incorporée aux anciennes préoccupations religieuses. Du côté des incitations d'ordre « tactique », nous songeons surtout au besoin de limiter l'emprise religieuse et politique exercée par la société coloniale. Le *Bwiti* s'efforce de réagir quant à ce double contrôle; l'utilisation, qu'il fait, des apports proprement fang facilite l'adhésion et la notion même de salut, ici comme à l'intérieur des « églises nègres », est propice aux actions de résistance [1]. Ni les leaders les plus conscients, ni les administrateurs européens n'ont été ignorants de cette force que porte en lui le culte. A ce moment de l'analyse, il apparaît donc que les buts visés conduisent à une nouvelle organisation de la société fang, même si des aspects anciens (ceux particuliers aux associations religieuses autrefois actives en dehors et au delà des groupements de parenté) dominent.

Les faits de syncrétisme ne prennent un sens que si on les considère comme le résultat d'un choix opéré en fonction de certains besoins sociaux — qui viennent d'être évoqués — et individuels. Les remaniements du culte *Bwiti*, au cours des vingt dernières années, sont significatifs quant aux premiers. Quant au fidèle, ce qu'il recherche à la faveur de la nouvelle pratique religieuse c'est d'abord l'acquisition des deux valeurs cardinales traditionnelles (force ou puissance et fécondité au sens très large), puis la protection personnelle dans une société où se sont multipliés les « dangers » [2]. Mais le *Bwiti* lui apporte davantage : certains de nos informateurs ont précisément révélé leur désir de forcer la connaissance des « choses de l'autre monde » — cet « autre monde », qui, d'après le corps des anciens mythes, est celui des hommes blancs, reste le lieu où peuvent se découvrir les secrets de la richesse et de la puissance de l'Européen; l'attachement à l'idée de salut, apportée par le christianisme, a été favorisée par le contexte mythique traditionnel qui a permis de présenter la « récompense après la mort » comme une participation aux richesses de « l'autre monde ». L'adepte du *Bwiti* entrevoit la possibilité de compenser son infériorité (celle que lui a constituée la présence de l'Européen) dès maintenant, à l'occasion d'un accès aux sources du véritable savoir, ou après sa mort comme récompense de sa fidélité. Selon l'expression d'un jeune aide-pasteur fang, qui fut l'un de nos informateurs, le culte

1. *Ibid.*
2. En ce sens, M. L. Mba nous a présenté le *Bwiti* comme ayant pour fonction non seulement de protéger mais encore de « juger les individus qui se révèlent néfastes à la communauté ».

associe le principe des anciennes thérapeutiques magiques et religieuses (celui du « chemin court », c'est-à-dire de l'efficacité rapide) au principe chrétien du « chemin long » (qui assure le sort de l'homme après sa mort). On voit donc que le *Bwiti*, s'il tient compte de besoins religieux traditionnels (devoirs à rendre aux « ancêtres » des groupements, accès aux valeurs cardinales) est bien davantage marqué par la nécessité de répondre à des besoins nouveaux; sa montée est liée à la montée de l'individualisme (dont l'importance accordée à l'idée de salut témoigne) et aux premières réactions à l'encontre des aliénations qu'impose la situation coloniale.

Ces expressions nouvelles, cependant, recourent à des modèles traditionnels. Il n'y a pas de phénomène social important, en pays fang, sans la mise en place d'une chorégraphie spécifique. La danse reste le principal instrument de liaison entre individus participant à un même ensemble social; on pourrait affirmer que chacune des institutions importantes *est dansée* : il existait autrefois une danse de l'association des *akûm*, une danse *(somana)* des assemblées de justice. Chacune des innovations récentes, le *Bwiti* comme le mouvement clanique, possède une chorégraphie qui affirme et leur importance et leurs caractères particuliers; dans le cas du *Bwiti*, les transformations du mouvement ont toujours entraîné des transformations de la chorégraphie. Ainsi se trouve maintenu d'une manière vivante, un *mode de liaison et de communication* qui tenait une grande place dans la société fang traditionnelle. D'un autre côté, le culte *Bwiti* manifeste la place toujours accordée à la connaissance révélée et aux techniques qui la suscitent; les mécanismes de l'initiation et l'emploi de macérations à effets hallucinatoires font appel à un savoir déjà ancien. Il importe néanmoins d'en saisir le sens actuel : de réaction à l'encontre de toutes les forces suscitant et développant la rationalisation; d'adaptation à un état d'instabilité sociale et culturelle qui restreint l'efficacité du conformisme, et doit en conséquence faire appel aux apports personnels et à l'innovation. L'émergence de l'individu dépend de la qualité du savoir qu'il parvient à capter; en ce sens, les cadres donnés à son « hallucination » constituent plus des orientations, des points de repère communs à tous les adeptes, que des obstacles à la découverte personnelle.

Si l'on tente, utilisant une telle analyse, de repérer d'une manière schématique certaines relations entre conservatisme et processus de changement, quels enseignements peut-on tirer? La tentative novatrice, animée par les individus les plus libérés du

5: Balandier FH9 Fang

contexte typique, s'efforce d'être *totale*. Elle élabore un système religieux, esquisse un système d'autorité (passage d'une « autorité patriarcale », gravement atteinte, à une autorité « charismatique » et élargissement de l'aire d'application de cette autorité), suscite d'une manière spécifique tout un ensemble de comportements. Cette reprise, active à *tous* les niveaux, s'explique par le fait qu'elle intervient dans une société dont les éléments disposent d'une marge d'indépendance plus étroite que celle existant à l'intérieur des sociétés modernes. Les divers éléments sont solidaires au cours de la dégradation comme au cours de la reconstruction; et les solutions partielles risquées par l'administration sont inopérantes parce qu'elles vont à l'encontre d'une telle réalité. En second lieu, une semblable tentative exerce d'abord son pouvoir d'agrégation sur les individus et les éléments de l'ensemble socio-culturel les plus affectés par les processus de changement : ce qui explique qu'elle constitue, à certains égards, une sorte de « conservatoire culturel » tout en se construisant autour des individus les plus favorables à une véritable réorganisation. Enfin, l'utilisation des modèles traditionnels et le choix des modèles empruntés à la société coloniale se font d'une manière *fonctionnelle:* c'est-à-dire en fonction des nouveaux besoins exprimés par les catégories sociales et les individus les plus sensibilisés. Cet équilibre, entre éléments proprement fang et éléments empruntés, qui donne à l'institution son aspect syncrétique, reste conditionné par les rapports (de puissance et d'intérêt, notamment) qui se sont établis entre groupements et à l'intérieur des groupements, entre ces derniers et la société européenne. La nature de l'équilibre varie en fonction des transformations survenues dans ces rapports; nous l'avons suggéré en montrant comment le culte *Bwiti* s'est efforcé de « répondre » aux exigences de l'individualisme naissant, aux besoins de reconstruction politique sur la base de groupements élargis, au souci affirmé de limiter le contrôle exercé par la société coloniale. Il y a un remaniement continuel qui tend en fait à l'émergence d'un nouveau type de société; une étude qui ne tiendrait compte que des rapports d'ordre culturel, qui sont justement caractéristiques du syncrétisme, et non des rapports de « forces », ou qui se ferait d'un point de vue statique, laisserait échapper l'essentiel d'une telle situation.

En ayant précisé les difficultés qui contrarient une adaptation efficace, nous avons insisté, à propos des divers essais de ré-organisation, sur l'ambiguïté des comportements, qui tient aux possibilités de spéculation que crée l'actuelle « phase de

creux » entre une coutume inadéquate et un droit moderne en cours d'élaboration [1]. Il importe d'ajouter à ce rappel l'obstacle que constitue, quant à l'aménagement des nouveaux rapports sociaux, le rôle des particularismes et l'attachement au souvenir d'anciens conflits entre groupements étrangers ou groupements apparentés. Et les difficultés conséquentes n'ont pas manqué de se manifester, d'une manière toute brutale, lors des premières enquêtes devant orienter la politique de regroupement et de modernisation des villages [2]. Le poids du passé est plus lourd dans le cas des sociétés où intervient exclusivement la tradition orale et la mémoire collective y paraît encore toute imprégnée des événements (rapts ou détournements de femmes, incestes et adultères, rivalités pour les voies de traite, etc.) qui ont entraîné les ruptures d'alliance, les guerres ou les scissions à l'intérieur d'un groupement de « parents ». D'autre part, dans le cas des anciens groupements fang insuffisamment liés pour constituer des unités de réelle importance — ce qui est caractéristique au niveau du Gabon — on peut dire que les événements qui les ont affectés ne constituent qu'une *micro-histoire*. Ce défaut de préparation historique a constitué une de leurs faiblesses majeures d'autant plus grave que s'est continuellement imposée, durant la période récente, la nécessité d'une co-opération et d'une réaction collective à l'emprise de la société dominante.

V. L'orientation que donne la situation de dominé.

1. La situation coloniale a soumis la société fang, d'une manière toute *physique*, à des processus sur lesquels elle n'a pas de contrôle — auxquels elle réagit le plus souvent par des méthodes grossières d'auto-défense. Qu'il s'agisse des recrutements de main-d'œuvre, dont nous avons montré l'ampleur, des essais de redistribution de la population (regroupement des villages aux abords des voies de communication) ou, dans un sens différent, des méthodes de protection sanitaire, on ne peut sous-estimer le rôle de telles interventions qui transforment les groupements en *quantité* et en *qualité*. La rupture des équilibres entre sexes et entre générations est d'abord conditionné par cet ensemble d'actions essentiellement physiques entreprises, de

1. Le phénomène étant encore accusé en milieu urbain; *cf.* notre *Sociologie des Brazzavilles Noires*.
2. Cf. notre livre, *Les villages Gabonais*, ch. v.

manière directe ou indirecte, par le colonisateur. Dans certaines régions, et nous pensons surtout aux villages établis au long du Moyen-Ogooué, le choc a été si violent que les groupements se trouvent en dessous des points d'équilibre (démographiques et économiques) indispensables à leur conservation. Ils restent presque passifs vis-à-vis d'un mouvement de destruction qui les entame toujours davantage : seules les techniques propres à tromper le sentiment d'insécurité (recrudescence de la magie de protection) se développent alors que les initiatives, tendant à une reconstruction sociale, ne se manifestent pas ou ne sont pas accueillies.

L'attention doit ainsi être attirée sur deux faits. D'une part, cette transformation de l'*extension* des groupements en même temps que l'*élargissement des rapports* qu'ils entretiennent entre eux, et avec l'extérieur, exigent une véritable ré-organisation [1]. D'un autre côté, ces remaniements physiques subis par les groupements, dès l'instant où ils n'atteignent pas le seuil de tolérance limite, finissent par créer des conditions imposant une réaction positive. On ne saurait douter qu'il est un moment où la dégradation de la société colonisée devient aussi dangereuse pour la société coloniale qu'elle l'est pour cette dernière : les vicissitudes de la politique des recrutements l'ont révélé. Il y a alors une opportunité de « reprise » dont les villageois du Woleu-Ntem ont su tirer avantage.

Cette menace d'intervention matérielle, que les exigences économiques déterminent, est aggravée par *l'insécurité* qui caractérise toute économie restée primaire. Que ce soit pour les revenus provenant de l'ancienne traite ou des cultures commerciales (cacao et café), ou que ce soit pour les salaires distribués dans les secteurs minier et forestier, les conditions du marché extérieur agissent de manière directe et brutale. Le Fang se trouve ainsi soumis à un rythme de « crises » sur lesquelles il n'a pas la capacité d'agir. Il est jeté dans un monde autrement plus menaçant que celui que ses techniques traditionnelles avait apprivoisé. Une telle situation ne provoque pas seulement ses protestations à l'encontre de l'Européen qu'il rend responsable, mais lui donne le sentiment de sa faiblesse et de son dénuement. Nous avons manifesté comment les légendes nouvelles exprimèrent, très tôt, un véritable « complexe d'infériorité technique » et rapportèrent

1. Il y a, entre ces changements dans l'extension des groupements et les rapports qu'ils entretiennent, et certaines de leurs caractéristiques nouvelles, une étroite relation.

le fait de cette infériorité à une décision de la divinité, à une véritable malédiction[1]. Le corps de mythes modernes, tel que l'a établi le R. P. Trilles, dès le début du siècle, présente un grand intérêt parce qu'il permet de suivre l'effort de rationalisation accompli pour expliquer l'infériorité vécue. Une telle démarche est incontestablement à l'origine d'une prise de conscience quant à la nature des rapports subis dans les limites de la situation coloniale. Mais on doit se demander si cette orientation psychologique n'a pas été propice à la transformation religieuse repérée à l'intérieur même du culte *Bwiti :* recours à l'idée de compensation obtenue après la mort, nécessité d'établir avec la divinité une liaison identique à celle dont les Européens ont apporté le modèle et qui est considérée comme la cause véritable de leur puissance matérielle. L'évangélisation aurait alors proposé des solutions à des besoins — de compenser l'infériorité éprouvée de manière radicale, de chercher à renverser cette infériorité — qui se sont très tôt exprimés par le truchement des nouvelles créations mythiques et légendaires. Elle a, comme le montre le développement des églises noires en milieu bantou, souvent suscité les innovations impliquant des satisfactions d'ordre utopique ou conditionné les premières manifestations dites « nationalistes ».

A partir du moment où les processus économiques et culturels, liés à la situation coloniale, ont agi de manière profonde à l'intérieur de la société colonisée, les réactions conséquentes sont moins globales et plus directement appropriées. Elles deviennent l'expression d'intérêts précis et sont le fait des catégories sociales nouvellement différenciées. L'apport de la société coloniale reste reconnu valable sous la forme des techniques d'exploitation et d'administration des richesses, mais le colonisé a maintenant une expérience qui lui permet de *savoir qu'il a la capacité d'accéder à ces techniques.* Et c'est là une découverte de grandes conséquences; l'infériorité cesse d'être reconnue comme fatale pour être appréhendée comme le fait d'une situation provisoire. Le *Congrès Pahouin* a exprimé des revendications allant dans le sens d'une participation indigène accrue au progrès économique. Le mouvement clanique a montré que les préceptes les plus répandus, à la faveur de l'enseignement diffusé, recommandent de « suivre la vie européenne », de « travailler pour gagner de l'argent » et de multiplier les cultures riches. Mais alors se développent les conflits

1. Cf. Ch. I, V, de cette Deuxième partie, ainsi que le recueil de *Proverbes, Légendes et Contes Fang* dû au P. Trilles.

réels : ainsi, ceux qui existent entre les « planteurs » et les entreprises européennes qui commercialisent leurs produits. La société fang n'a fait qu'atteindre ce stade à partir duquel les antagonismes *se spécifient* et donnent lieu à des revendications précises. Maintenant, le Fang commence à réagir en fonction de sa qualité de travailleur salarié, de « planteur », ou de « lettré » qui ne participe pas au système administratif. Et c'est dans cette mesure que son attachement aux compensations illusoires se relâche.

2. L'intervention, toute empirique, par laquelle la société coloniale assura sa politique indigène, est *contradictoire* à la fois au cours du temps et durant une période déterminée. Cela s'explique par le caractère hétérogène de la société coloniale qui oppose des buts souvents divergents et des « clientèles » constituées au sein de la population locale. Nous avons mis en évidence le fait des divisions et conflits qui se trouvent en quelque sorte transférés à l'intérieur de la société colonisée : le Woleu-Ntem comme le Bas-Gabon révèle le rôle que joue dans ce sens les trois pôles de la société européenne, l'administration, les missions chrétiennes et les entreprises commerciales ou industrielles. De plus, une même politique, celle des autorités administratives, paraît contradictoire lorsqu'on la considère en ses différentes périodes. Nous avons montré comment après avoir souhaité une limitation du pouvoir des autorités traditionnelles, favorisé l'émancipation des hommes jeunes, cette même politique a espéré récemment pouvoir susciter un renouveau de la tradition et contraindre l'importance prise par les « évolués »[1]. Le dynamisme des rapports entre société coloniale et société colonisée fait que cette dernière reste constamment menacée au niveau des éléments *qui sont ses centres de force* et inévitablement de résistance. Et cela limite ses capacités de ré-organisation au moment où elle s'ouvre à des contradictions qu'elle n'a pas suscitées.

3. La situation de dominé explique l'intervention fréquente des *processus de dérobade* et la place détenue par les *réactions indirectes ou ambiguës.* Le rôle de la rupture pure et simple du contact, la mise en évidence d'institutions de doublage (cas des chefferies) ou le souci d'affirmer avec le maximum d'éclat la volonté de collaboration avec l'administration (comme elle fut manifeste lors de la première phase du mouvement clanique) sont des indications significatives. L'ouverture à des innovations multiples (de forme surtout religieuse) n'est pas simple signe

1. Cf. Ch. II, II, de cette Deuxième partie.

d'incapacité à maîtriser et utiliser efficacement l'une d'entre elles, mais attachement à des tentatives qui n'ont pas encore été contrôlées ou contrariées par la société coloniale. Maintenir une certaine instabilité des institutions, c'est rendre ces dernières *moins facilement contrôlables*. Le recours à des formes socio-culturelles anciennes pour satisfaire des fins radicalement nouvelles s'impose en partie pour cette même raison — maintenir une façade devant laquelle le colonisateur s'est toujours senti étranger et partiellement désarmé — en dehors de l'obligation de conserver un ensemble signifiant pour les éléments les moins « modernistes ». On pourrait ainsi parler d'un véritable *formalisme tactique*. Le culte *Bwiti*, avec l'orientation que s'efforcèrent de lui donner certains leaders du Bas-Gabon, constitue une illustration de ce fait. De même, le mouvement clanique tentait d'atteindre, sous des apparences coutumières, des buts très actuels. Ce formalisme, conditionné par des exigences d'ordre nterne et d'ordre externe, peut devenir un obstacle à une reconstruction sociale viable. L'analyse des « crises » spécifiques de la société fang a montré comment, de l'une à l'autre, désajustements et déséquilibres *se sont accumulés* faute d'avoir reçu à temps une solution valable. Les nouvelles lignes de force, qui se dessinent, ne parviennent pas encore à agir de manière pleinement efficace, parce qu'elles remettent en cause les rapports fondamentaux caractérisant la société fang typique et surtout parce qu'elles requièrent un nouvel aménagement des rapports établis avec la société coloniale.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE SUCCINCTE

En dehors des documents d'archives, des rapports politiques et économiques, des études administratives particulières (celles relatives aux mouvements messianiques et aux églises congolaises) et des travaux entrepris en fonction de l'Enquête Historique que nous avons organisée pour le Gouvernement Général de l'A. E. F. (1950), nous avons consulté la plus large partie des ouvrages et études concernant les Fang et les Ba-kongo. Nous ne pouvons cependant dresser ici qu'une bibliographie succincte.

I. *Fang.*

AVELOT (R.) « Recherches sur l'histoire des migrations dans le bassin de l'Ogooué et la région littorale adjacente. » *Bul. géogr. hist. et descr.*, XX, 1905.

BALANDIER (G.) « Problèmes économiques et problèmes politiques au niveau du village fang. » *Bul. Inst. Et. Centrafr.*, 1, 1950.

BALANDIER (G.) « Aspects de l'évolution sociale ches les Fang du Gabon. » *Cah. Intern. de Sociologie*, IX, 1950.

BALANDIER (G.) avec la collaboration de PAUVERT (J.-Cl.). *Les Villages Gabonais.* Mémoire de l'Inst. Et. Centrafr., n° 5, Brazzaville, 1952.

BERTAUT (M.) *Le Droit Coutumier des Boulous.* Paris, 1935.

BRUNHES (J.) « Exploitations de primitifs : type complexe de dévastation végétale et animale dans la forêt équatoriale : les Fang. » In *La Géographie Humaine*, édition abrégée, Paris, 1947, pp. 199-204.

CURAULT (Cne). « Monographie du Secteur de N'Djolé au Gabon. » In *Rev. des Troupes Colon.*, 68, 1908.

CUREAU (Dr A.) *Les populations primitives de l'Afrique Equatoriale.* Paris, 1912.

DUGAST (I.) *Inventaire ethnique du Sud-Cameroun.* Douala, I. F. A. N., 1949.

GREBERT (F.) *Au Gabon.* Paris, 1928.

GREBERT (F.) « La famille pahouine en 1931. » *Africa*, 2, avr. 1932.

[p. 282 – 504 not processed]

KINGSLEY (M. H.) *Travels in West Africa. Congo français, Corisco and Cameroons.* London, 1897.

KINGSLEY (M. H.) *West African Studies.* London, 1901, 2nd edition.

LARGEAU (V.) *Encyclopédie Pahouine.* Paris, 1901.

LAVIGNOTTE (H.) *L'Evur, croyance des Pahouins du Gabon.* Paris, 1936.

LEROUX (L.-C.) « Étude sur le Ngil (confrérie Fan). » *Bul. Soc. Rech. Cong.*, 8, 1925.

MAIGNAN (Cne) « Études sur le Pays Pahouin. » *Bul. Soc. Rech. Cong.* 14, 1931

MARTROU (L.) « Les « Eki » des Mfang. » *Anthropos*, I, 1906.

MARTROU (L.) « Le nomadisme des « Fangs ». *Rev. Geogr.*, nouv. série, III, 1909.

MARTROU (L.) « La langue fan et ses dialectes. » *Journ. Soc. African.* VI, 2, 1936.

MBA (L.) « Essai de droit coutumier pahouin. » *Bul. Soc. Rech. Cong.*, 25, 1938.

PERRAULT (G.) « Les Fang du Pays Yaoundé. » *Cah. d'Outre-Mer*, 8, 1949.

SAUTTER (G.) « Le cacao dans l'économie rurale du Woleu-Ntem. » *Bul. Inst. Et. Centrafr.*, 1, 1950.

SAUTTER (G.) « Les paysans noirs du Gabon Septentrional. Essai sur le peuplement et l'habitat au Woleu-Ntem. » *Cah. d'Outre-Mer*, 14, 1951.

TESSMANN (G.) « Ueber das Verhältniss der Fangneger zur umgebenden Tierwelt. » *Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie*, XXXIX, 1907.

TESSMANN (G.) « Religions formen der Pangwe. » *Zeitschrift fur Ethnologie*, XLI, 1909.

TESSMANN (G.) « Kinderspiele der Pangwe. » *Baessler Archiv.* IV, 1912.

TESSMANN (G.) *Die Pangwe, Volkerkundliche Monographie eines Westafrikanischen Negerstammes.* 2 vol., Berlin, 1913.

TRILLES (H.) « Les Fang. Croyances et religion. » *Bul. Soc. Géogr. de Lille.* XLVIII, 1907.

TRILLES (H.) *Le totémisme chez les Fang.* Biblioth. Anthropos, Münster, 1912.

TRILLES (H.) « Proverbes, légendes et contes Fang. » *Bul. Soc. Neuchâteloise de Géogr.*, 1905, pp. 49-295.

TRILLES (H.) *Quinze ans au Pays Fan.* Paris, 1912.

TREZENEM (E.) « Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan du Moyen Ogooué. » *Journ. Soc. African.*, VI, 1, 1936.

WALKER (A.) Etudes dispersées dans *Bul. Soc. Rech. Cong.* et surtout importantes études encore inédites.

II. *Ba-kongo.*

BALANDIER (G.) « Messianismes et Nationalismes en Afrique Noire. » *Cah. Intern. de Sociologie*, XIV, 53.

BALANDIER (G.) *Sociologie des Brazzavilles Noires.* Paris, Armand Colin, 1955.

BONNEFOND (R. P.) et LOMBARD (J.) « Notes de folklore Lari. » *Journ. Soc. African.*, IV, 1, 1934. Etude ayant donné lieu à diverses publications.

CABANAC (P.) « Les tribus Ballali et Bassoundi de la Subdivision de Mayama. » *Bul. Soc. Rech. Cong.*, 7, 1925.

CHAUMETON (J.) *La parenté et la propriété foncière chez les Balali-Bassundi.* I. E. C., ms.

CLEENE (N. de) « Les chefs indigènes au Mayombe. » *Africa*, VIII, 1, 1935.

CLEENE (N. de) « La famille au Mayombe. » *Africa*, X, 1, 1937.

CUVILLIER-FLEURY (H.) *La mise en valeur du Congo français*, Paris, 1904.

DRESCH (J.) « Villes congolaises : Étude de géographie urbaine et sociale. » *Rev. Géogr. hum. et ethno.*, 3, 1948.

EUCHER (R. P.) *Le Congo. Essai sur l'Histoire religieuse de ce pays depuis sa découverte — 1884 — jusqu'à nos jours.* Huy, 1894.

HUBSCHWERLIN (G.) « Le régime foncier indigène dans la région de Boko. » *Bul. Soc. Rech. Cong.*, 24, 1937.

JAFRE (R. P.) « L'Afrique aux Africains, le « N'gounziame » au Congo. » *Les Études*, mars 1934.

JONGHE (E. de) *Les sociétés secrètes au Bas-Congo.* Bruxelles, 1907.

LAMAN (K. E.) *Dictionnaire Kikongo-Français.* Bruxelles, 1936.

MERTENS (J.) *Les chefs couronnés chez les Bakongo Orientaux. Étude de régime successoral.* Mem. Inst. Roy. Colon. Belge, XI, 1, 1942.

MERTENS (J.) « La juridiction indigène chez les Bakongo Orientaux. » *Kongo-Overzee*, 1946-1947 à 1951.

MERTENS (V.) « Le mariage chez les Bambada (Bakongo) et ses leçons sociales. » *Zaire*, II, 10, 1948.

MERTENS (V.) « Détermination des relations de famille chez les Bakongo. » *Zaire*, III, 1, 1949.

PROYART (Abbé L.-B.) *Histoire du Loango, Kakongo et autres royaumes d'Afrique, rédigée d'après les mémoires des préfets apostoliques de la mission française.* Paris, 1776.

RICHARDS (A.) « Some types of family structure amongst the Central Bantu. » In : Radcliffe-Brown (A. R.) et Forde (D.). *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*. London, 1950. Trad. française, Paris, 1953.

ROUGET (F.) *L'expansion coloniale au Congo Français*. Paris, 1906.

SAUTTER (G.) « Une économie indigène progressive : les Bacongo du district de Boko (Moyen-Congo). » *Bull. Assoc. Géogr. Franc.*, mars-avril 1951.

SCHLOSSER (K.) *Propheten in Afrika*. Braunschweig, 1949.

TCHIKAYA (J.) « Étude sur la race Bassoundi. » *Bull. Inf. et Doc. de l'A. E. F.*, 59, 1950.

TORDAY (E.) « Dualism in Western Bantu Religion. » *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.*, LVIII, 1933.

VAN WING (J.) « Une évolution de la coutume bakongo. » *Congo*, II, 1926.

VAN WING (J.) « Nzo Longo ou les rites de la puberté chez les Bakongo. » *Congo*, I et II, déc. 1920 et s..

VAN WING (J.) *Etudes Bakongo. Histoire et Sociologie*. Bruxelles, 1921.

VAN WING (J.) *Etudes Bakongo. II. Religion et Magie*. Bruxelles, 1938.

III. *Bibliographies.*

BRUEL (G.) *Bibliographie de l'Afrique Equatoriale Française*. Paris, 1914.

SANNER (P.) *Bibliographie Ethnographique de l'Afrique Equatoriale Française*. Paris, 1949.

Bibliographie africaniste. Publiée annuellement par le *Journ. Soc. African.*

Bibliographie ethnographique du Congo Belge et des régions avoisinantes. Publiée par le Musée du Congo Belge, Tervueren (Belgique).

5: Balandier FH9 Fang

TABLE DES MATIÈRES

Pages.

INTRODUCTION VII

PREMIÈRE PARTIE

LA PART DE LA « SITUATION COLONIALE »

CHAPITRE PREMIER. — La notion de « situation » coloniale..... 3

Quelques moyens d'approche. L'importance des faits politiques et des méthodes administratives. Les apports de la sociologie et de la psychologie sociale. Conclusions pour l'étude.

CHAPITRE II. — Les peuples du Gabon, Congo et la présence européenne..... 37

Les conditions historiques. La période coloniale et la situation actuelle.

DEUXIÈME PARTIE

CHANGEMENTS SOCIAUX CHEZ LES FANG DU GABON

CHAPITRE PREMIER. — La Société « Fang »..... 73

Le Pays Fang. La situation démographique des Fang. Le type de structure sociale. Rapports entre sexes et générations et système des interdits. Premières réactions à l'infériorité matérielle.

CHAPITRE II. — Les Crises Fang de 1920 à 1950. Les problèmes qu'elles ont posés..... 160

Les transformations au niveau des structures démographiques et économiques. Les « crises » fang repérées par l'administration coloniale. Les « initiatives » fang jusqu'en 1950.

5: Balandier FH9 Fang

CHAPITRE III. — **Le sens des changements socio-culturels en pays Fang** 253

Destruction des « frontières » entre groupements semi-autonomes. La dénaturation de la démocratie clanique. Problèmes liés aux nouvelles obligations techniques. Conservatisme et changements sociaux et culturels. L'orientation que donne la situation de dominé.

TROISIÈME PARTIE

CHANGEMENTS SOCIAUX CHEZ LES BA-KONGO DU CONGO FRANÇAIS

CHAPITRE PREMIER. — **Les caractéristiques de la société Ba-kongo** 285

Les Ba-kongo du Congo français. Structure du peuplement et structure démographique. Le type de structure sociale. Relations sociales capitales. Economie traditionnelle et relations traditionnelles.

CHAPITRE II. — **Nature et sens des changements sociaux. Problèmes spécifiques**... 353

L'intervention européenne en pays Ba-kongo. Changements d'ordre morphologique et d'ordre économique. Facteurs d'équilibre et de déséquilibre dans l'actuelle société ba-kongo. Le mouvement « amicaliste » : phénomène social à implications multiples.

CHAPITRE III. — **Le Messianisme ba-kongo en tant que « révélateur »**..... 417

Aperçus sommaires sur les mouvements prophétiques en Afrique du Sud. La naissance du messianisme ba-kongo : le « Sauveur » Simon Kimbangou. Le développement du Kimbanglsme : mise en place de la Mission des Noirs. Le messianisme ba-kongo et ses implications sociales : nouvelles « églises » du Congo Français. Le phénomène du messianisme, champ privilégié d'observation....

CONCLUSION. — **Situation coloniale et changements sociaux.**

BIBLIOGRAPHIE 505

CARTES

Gabon..... 76
Moyen-Congo..... 286

6:Alexandre and Binet G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

The Group Called Pahouin (Fang-Bulu-Beti)
/Le Groupe dit Pahouin (Fang-Boulou-Beti)/

Pierre Alexandre and Jacques Binet

Paris: 1958

Monographies Ethnologiques Africaines
Presses Universitaires de France

Translated from the French by Isabella Athey

Human Relations Area Files
1959

/title page/

6;Alexandre and Binet--; G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

Preface

Since 1945 the International African Institute has been engaged in the preparation and publication of a series of ethnographic studies of Africa, with the purpose of presenting in convenient form a summary of contemporary knowledge about the various African peoples, as to natural environment, economy and industries, social structure, political organization, religious beliefs and rituals. The material that has already been published peovides a basis for these studies, and numerous unpublished documents derived from administrative reports and from the archives of missionary societies are being put to use in the same way as are field observations and special communications by ethnologists and qualified persons. Each volume in this series is devoted to a people, or group of related peoples, and contains a detailed bibliography and a map.

The committee for the series was set up under the chairmanship of /the late/ Professor Radcliffe-Brown; the director of the Institute is in charge of editorial organization. The generous cooperation of many research institutes and administrative officers in Europe and in the African countries has been promised, as have the services of experienced ethnologists.

The work was undertaken with the aid of a subsidy from United Kingdom Colonial Development and Welfare Funds on the recommendation of the Social Science Research Council /of the Colonial Office/. This subsidy has been employed mainly, but not entirely, to finance studies dealing with countries under United Kingdom jurisdiction. An additional subsidy from the government of the /former/ Anglo-Egyptian Sudan contributed to the preparation and publication of the volumes devoted to that territory.

The Ministry of Overseas France and the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire /French Institute of Black Africa/ have shown interest in this undertaking, and thanks to their good offices subsidies have been granted by the governments of French West Africa and the French Cameroons toward the preparation and publication of volumes pertaining to those regions. These volumes have been edited by French ethnologists, with the assistance and advice of Professor Griaule of the Sorbonne and of Father Th. Monod, director of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire.

6:Alexandre and Binet--ii G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

The cooperation of Belgian authorities in this work was obtained through the courtesy of the late Father De Jonghe and secures the interest of the ethnological committee of the Royal Belgian Colonial Institute. The Institute for Scientific Research in Central Africa has also agreed to collaborate. Work in connection with countries under Belgian jurisdiction is being /vi/ carried out under the supervision of Father Olbrechts at the document center of the Musée du Congo Belge at Tervueren, where Mademoiselle Boone and members of her department are engaged incollecting and classifying materials concerned with the peoples of the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi. They work closely with ethnologists in the field, to whom plans for publications are submitted for verification.

The International African Institute wishes to express gratitude to the official organizations whose financial assistance has made possible the carrying out of this work, and to the many scholars, directors of research organizations, administrative officers, missionaries, and others who have contributed and who, by providing facilities for research and by reading manuscripts, have a share in any achievement that may be ascribed to the authors of the different volumes.

Taking into consideration the fact that existing documents are not of equal value and also that they were compiled in a variety of ways —which has been one of the reasons for undertaking this project— it is obvious that these monographs cannot be looked upon as complete and definitive. It is hoped, however, that they will provide a reasonably clear account of our present state of knowledge and will indicate where gaps occur and where further research is necessary. /vii/

6:Alexandre and Binet--iii G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

114 Pierre Alexandre made several field trips to Gabon and Spanish Guinea while carrying out official duties in the southern Cameroons from 1946 to 1951. Since 1955 he has been connected with the University of Paris as executive secretary of the Centre de Hautes Études d'Administration musulmane, (C. H. E. A. M.) /Center for Advanced Study in the Department of Moslem Affairs/.

Jacques Binet has also held an administrative post in the /French/ Cameroons, and since 1954 has been on the staff of the Office de la Recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer, (O. R. S. T. O. M.) /Bureau for Oversea Scientific and Technical Research/. He has carried out several missions in Pahouin country for the Conseil supérieur de la Recherche sociologique outre-mer /Higher Council for Oversea Sociological Research/, during the course of which he did research in juridical and economic sociology.

The authors wish here to express their thanks to the authorities of French Equatorial Africa whose kind assistance made this book possible.

List of Tribal Names Occurring in Alexandre and Binet,
Le Groupe Dit Pahouin (1)

10 Akélé /Kalai (Akelle)?/
Asembé /Simba (Asimba)/
Ati
Babinga /Binga/
Babonté /Wute (Bafute)/
Babouté (Wutéré)
Badjué
Bafia /Fia/
Bajieli /Jelli (Badiele)/ /Pygmy, see Beye'ele/
Bajoué /Badjue/
Bakoko *
Bakota /Kota/
Bakwele /Kwele/
Balengi /Lengi (Balenge)?/
Bamiléke *
Bamoum /Mum/
Bamum /Mum/
Bamvele
Bané *
Bantu-Myéné
Bapounou /Puno (Bapuno)?/
Basa /Bassa/
Basa-Bakoko /Bassa-Bakoko/
Batchanga /Betchenga/ (Tsinga)
Batenga /Batanga?; hence Tanga?/
Bati *
Baya *
Bedzi (Betéchi)
Bekôé
Bele
Benga *
Béti
Bezi *
Beye'ele /Jelli (Bayele)/ /Pygmy, see Bajieli/
Bibaya
Bikélé *

|0| "Boulé" (Boulou)
Boulou /Bulu/
Bundju
Duala * (Dawala /Diwala/)
Dzimou /Nzimu/
Dzimu /Nzimu/
Esel *
Eton *
Evuzok
Ewôndo
Fang * or Fan *
Fong
Fulbé /Fulani/
Galoa *
Jem /Dzem/
Kaka *
Kombe *
Konabembé /Konambembe/
Kozimé
Kozimé-Njem (or Jem) /Dzem/
Kumbe *
Mabea /Bea/
Maka * (Mekaé)
Maké
Mangisa
Mazouna
Mbida-Mbané
Medzimé /Ndsime (Medjimi, Megdsime)?/
Meka
Mekaé
Méké
Mekei (Makei)
Mekina
Mekuk
Mvog-Nyenge
Mvaé *
"Mvègue" (Mvae?)
Mvéké *
Myéné

101 Ngoumba /Ngumba/
Ngumba *
Nkomi *
Ntoumou /Ntum/
Okak
Okande /Kanda/
Omvang
b-Osyéba /Osieba/
Ouroungou /Rungu (Orungu)/
Pahouin *
Pongoué /Mpongwe/
Pongwé /Mpongwe/
Séké *
Sonanke
Vili-Kongo /Vili/ /Kongo/
Wutéré (sing. Wuté) /Wute/
Yambasa /Yambassa/
Yanda
Yasum
Yebekanga
Yekaba
Yebekolo
Yelinda
Yembama
Yengono
Yesum
Yetudi
Zaman
Zimu /Nzimu/

1. Names in brackets / / are the equivalents used in Murdock's tribal list /George P. Murdock, Africa: Its Peoples and their Culture History, New York, 1959, pp. 425-456/. Those names asterisked are the same as those in Murdock's list, op. cit. This list was compiled by Mary Rouse, editor of the English translation.

6:Alexandre and Binet--vii G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

Table of Contents

000 Preface i
List of Tribal Names iv
Chapter I. Geographical Location and Climate 1
Chapter II. Ethnological and Historical Position 4
1. Nomenclature 4
2. Various Groups and Territorial Distribution 5
a. The Invaders or True Pahouin 5
b. Assimilated or Pahouinized Tribes 8
3. Neighboring Populations 9
4. Survey of Demography 11
5. History and Traditions of Origin 14
Chapter III. The Language 20
1. Distribution 20
2. Dialects 22
3. Characteristics of the Language 24
4. Classification 30
Chapter IV. Economic Life (by J. Binet) 31
1. Subsistence 31
2. Agriculture 34
3. Trade 41
4. Towns 45
Chapter V. Social Organization 49
1. Forms of Settlement, Habitat 49
2. Groupings and Relationships 53
a. The Tribe 54
b. The Clan 56
c. The Extended Family or Village Family 60
d. The Limited or Domestic Family; Kinship 62
e. Marriage, Descent 64
3. Age Grades 71
4. Slavery, Castes, Classes, Chiefdoms 73
5. Associations 80
6. Law and Property 89
a. Source 89
b. Legal Power 91
c. Punishments 92

6:Alexandre and Binet--viii G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

d. Delinquency 94
e. Land Tenure 95
f. Personal Property 98
g. Inheritance, Guardianship 99
h. Contracts and Various Quasi Contracts 102
7. The Position of Women (by J. Binet) 105
Chapter VI. Principal Elements of Culture 107
1. Physical and Mental Characteristics 107
a. Anthropological Data 107
b. Clothing, Ornaments, Body Marks 109
c. Psychological Characteristics 112
2. The Individual Life Cycle 115
a. Conception, Gestation, Birth 115
b. Childhood 118
c. Adolescence 121
d. Transition to Adulthood 123
e. Old Age 128
f. Death and the Afterlife 129
3. Religion and Magic 136
a. Concept of God, Creation 137
b. Ancestor Cult, Totem, Spirits 141
c. Elements of Cosmogony 145
d. Sorcery, Possession 148
e. Permissible Magic, Divination, [illegible] Medicine 152
f. Prohibitions 155
g. Sorcery and Magic at the Present Time 157
4. Arts and Literature 158
Chapter VII. The Process of Change 162
1. Local Government Organs 162
2. The Pahouin and the Future 171
Bibliography 173

/1/

Chapter 1

Geographical Location and Climate

|3| The Pahouin country covers about 180, 000 square kilometers, from the middle Sanaga (4° 30' N) to the mouth of the Ogooué (1° 20' S) in latitude, from the Atlantic (9° 30' E) to the middle Sanga (14° E) in longitude. The inhabitants are politically under the jurisdiction of the Cameroons, Spanish Guinea, and French Equatorial Africa (Gabon and Middle Congo).

636

|33 The country appears essentially as a plateau of rocks, crystalline in the north, metamorphic in the south, with somewhat worn, intrusive domes, separated from the sea by a worn mountain range of rarely more than 1, 000 meters cut by the gorges of coastal rivers. The mean altitude varies from 500 to 700 meters up to the deep fault of the lower Ogooué Valley.

The watershed between the Congo and the coastal river basins bends toward the southeast from the Nkolomendim (the mountain-of-the-waters) massif in the Sangmélima subdivision. The principal tributary of the Congo, by way of the Sanga, is the Dja (N'Goko). The principal coastal rivers are the Sanaga and the Nyong, the N'Tem (Campo), the Muni, and the Ogooué.

|32 The climate is of the humid equatorial type, modified by the altitude and characterized by a double alternation of dry and rainy seasons. The time measure of the Pahouin is the mbu, about six lunar cycles (ngon), and the solar year is divided as follows: (1)

805

> 1. The dates are approximately valid for the Cameroons-Gabon border. The terms are in Boulou; in Fang they would be: oyum, sugha, or sughé.

mid-June to mid-December: ôyôn (little dry season) and su'u (great rainy season)

mid-December to mid-June: ésep (great dry season) sometimes characterized by bikone (small rains)

Mean temperatures and rainfall are indicated on the table on page 3.

137 The humidity promotes vigorous forest vegetation throughout almost the whole area under consideration: on the plateau, primary forest (afan) giving way to secondary forest of softwood and dense undergrowth (ékôtôk) (2); in the valley of the Ogooué there is swamp forest

[31] 196

2. In my view ékwotola or ékotok clearly denote secondary forest but of the brushwood variety, and, if I understand correctly, ékotok is used to describe fallow, land that has been cultivated and that is still more or less in use.

Secondary forest would be called afan, in which the nuance of cleared forest is lost.

Primary forest would be called mfun afan. (J.B.)

at Poto-poto /2/ and mangrove in the estuary. Only north of Yaoundé, in Beti country, is there park-savanna with gallery forest along the
134 tributaries of the Sanaga. Black earth with thick humus (évindisi) is found in the valley bottoms, with red earth in process of rapid lateritization (évelesi) predominating, especially in the north.

135 The minerals are: a medium grade of lateritic iron, which is fairly common; rutile /an ore of titanium/; a little placer gold; perhaps a little copper.

136 Wild fauna is still quite abundant in the less populated regions and is extremely varied. There are anthropoids (gorilla, chimpanzee, and perhaps a third species, ébôt, not described by French writers but listed by Du Chaillu and by certain German zoologists); elephant; hippopotamus (becoming extinct); manatee (nearly extinct); buffalo; many kinds of antelope, among which the great Cephalophus (sô) plays an important role in social and religious life; flying squirrels; earth hog; pangolins; river hog and forest pig; rock badger in the south; panthers; tiger cats; civet cat; otter, and parpassa /?/; various reptiles, among them python, Dendraspis, Bitis gabonica, and cobra; numerous diurnal and nocturnal birds of prey; touraco, toucan; Buceros; francolin; grey parrot; giant snail and fresh-water bivalves; fresh-water crabs and prawns; abundant siluroids; crocodiles; various insects, among them the goliath beetle, etc.

164 There are many parasites and insect vectors: dysenteric amoeba;
136 ankylostoma; microfilaria; plasmodia; Trypanosoma (especially in the east); jigger flea; forest ticks and leeches are rather uncommon.

Mean Temperatures and Rainfall

Stations (1)	Coordinates (2)		I		II		III		IV		V		VI	
	Latitude	Longitude	T (3)	R (3)	T	R	T	R	T	R	T	R	T	R
Yaoundé ...	3°52' N	11°32' E	24.1	35	24.5	44	24.4	122	24.1	173	23.8	182	23.1	129
Ebolowa....	2°54' N	11°10' E	24.5	50	24.5	63	24.7	154	24.8	200	24.4	212	24.1	149
Oyem	1°45' N	11°41' E		75		94		189		202		210		129
N'Djolé....	0°11' S	10°45' E		81		138		225		194		215		46
Lambaréné .	0°42' S	10°13' E	26.6	136	26.7	197	27.1	268	27.5	193	26.6	180	24.6	16
Libreville ..	0°25' S	09°27' E	27.0	206	27.3	291	27.4	264	27.3	395	27.0	244	25.8	40

Stations (1)	VII		VIII		IX		X		XI		XII		Total Annual Rainfall (4)	Temperature Extremes (5) Maxima		Minima	
	T	R	T (3)	R (3)	T	R	T	R	T	R	T	R		Months	Degrees	Months	Degrees
Yaoundé ...	22.3	37	22.4	97	22.8	206	23.0	283	23.5	119	23.8	11	1 138	Feb.	29.6	Aug.	18.6
Ebolowa ...	23.1	47	23.0	70	23.5	186	23.6	272	24.1	175	24.4	61	1 639	April	30.9	Oct.	18.2
Oyem		41		76		194		338		194		101	1 843				
N'Djolé....		3		6		63		334		271		133	1 709				
Lambaréné .	23.3	2	23.7	5	25.2	75	25.9	363	26.0	404	26.2	142	1 981	April	32.2	July	19.7
Libreville ..	24.7	1	25.2	11	25.9	106	26.4	359	26.5	416	26.9	260	2 593	March	31.4	July	21.6

131 (1) Names of stations.
132 (2) Geographical co-ordinates of the stations.
(3) T: mean monthly temperature in degrees (general mean for the last 10 years). R: mean monthly rainfall in millimeters (general mean for the last 10 years).
(4) Total annual rainfall in millimeters, 1946-1955.
(5) Temperature extremes: maxima and minima during the year (mean for the last 10 years, months and degrees) (Oyem and N'Djolé, have only pluviometric posts).

/4/

Chapter 2

Ethnological and Historical Position

1. Nomenclature

101 The term "Pahouin" is undoubtedly incorrect, but it is convenient. There exists in fact no African designation applicable to the whole of the group of peoples studied here. Some writers (Martrou, Trilles...) prefer to speak of the Fang or Fan group, which has the drawback of creating a confusion with the tribes properly called Fang, which constitute but a fraction of this group. That is why, along with Largeau, Tessmann, Madame Dugast, and others, I prefer to speak of the Pahouin.

It should be observed that this term, long taken amiss by the Africans, in recent years tends to be adopted by them in connection with the political regrouping of tribes, for the very reason that it does not give prominence to any one of them. Thus the Mitzic
101 Conference in 1947, bringing together the Fang, Boulou /Bulu/,
64 Ntoumou /Ntum/, Mvaé, and Fong, took the name Pahouin Conference, Ntoumou, Boulou, Mvaé, and Fong declining to be lumped together under the designation "Fang."

101 Even the origin of the word "Pahouin" is debatable. The most plausible hypothesis is that of Father Trilles, who derives it from m-fañ (radical fañ plus the singular classifier m/be) by way of Pongoué /Mpongwe/, which changes the F to P and is averse to ending

101 a word with a consonant. One would thus have *Mpa'ngwen, from which Europeans have made mpawen, then Pahouin.

About the term "Fang" itself it should be remarked that the regular form m-fañ (Class I or personal, m/be) is in actual fact hardly ever used by the Pahouin themselves, who prefer their usual ethnical constructions, that is, the radical preceded by mon (son, descendant). Thus one says mone fañ, bo' be fañ, like mon éwôndô, mone bulu (1), etc. The meaning of the word is obscure. It does not mean "man"

[104] 1. I usually employ current Boulou orthography, except for words that have an official spelling in general use, like the names of places (Ebolowa, Ambam, not ébolewo'o, mbam) and certain Gallicized names of tribes (the Boulou, the Ntoumou, but Bulu /adjectival use/ Ntum /adjectival use/; the Fang, but the Fañ group). /The last phrase is meaningless for English, because there is no English equivalent for the distinction between capitalized French nouns of "nationality" and the corresponding noncapitalized substantive adjectives. Hence, in the English translation this distinction will be ignored, the official spelling being used for tribal names whether used as noun or adjective. —Ed./

It should be observed, by the way, that bulu and éwôndo are plurals of which the singular (*mulu, *éwôndo) is not used.

(viz), which is fam, a mistake rightly /5/ noticed by Father Trilles, who nevertheless connects it with a root FA connoting the idea of virility, of violence (fa * machete, fañe * to do on purpose, intentionally, etc).

2. Various Groups and Territorial Distribution

104 It is not easy to define the exact boundaries of the Pahouin group. 503 The lists given by different authors include up to ten tribes, one way or another—thousands of individuals. At the end of the nineteenth century, penetration in extended order* prevented ascertaining

M4
S3

/* Ordre disperse (Military conception) = extended order. —Ed./

definite relationships. Later, on the other hand, the Pahouinization of neighboring tribes, subjugated or merely influenced, brought about assimilations that were often misleading.

Broadly speaking, we may say that a large body of invaders, rather recently come from the northeast—the Pahouin properly so called—assimilated through contacts on the one hand, some of the inhabitants of the invaded area, on the other hand, likewise assimilated other invaders who followed in their wake. What is certain is that this assimilation or Pahouinization of foreign tribes is going on at the present day, partly due to the mere fact of colonization.

We shall distinguish in this study between the invaders—Fang, Boulou, Beti—on the one hand, and, on the other, the neighboring populations that have been or are being Pahouinized.

A. The Invaders or True Pahouin

101 Theories as to their boundaries are too many and contradictory for all me to expatiate on here.

In Father Trilles' view they are divided into two branches: b-Oyéba /Osieba/ in the east, Fang in the west. The Mekuk are connected with the first, the Mékè, Betsi, "Mvègne" (Mvaé?), and "Boulé" (Boulou) with the second. Largeau like Schnee bases his division between Bedzi (betschi) and Mekei (makei) on linguistic considerations; the first, in the west, tend to begin their remarks with the formula ma nǒ na, the second, in the east, with me ki na. Here there appears to be a partial confusion between the Pahouin properly speaking, and the Pahouinized Maka (Mekaé) (1). Madame Dugast

[M]

1. There are indeed two Fang dialects, corresponding to the nǒ/ki (or ŋ̀/ki) criterion, but the people who speak them, all call themselves Fang. Besides, there is a Maka or Mekaé tribe whose language is close to eastern Fang, which it has perhaps influenced.

[M]

lol very rightly points out that the problem is visibly complicated by the existence of reciprocal influences. I therefore suggest, with many reservations, an empirical classification based on the geographical position of the various tribes, the dialectical differences, and the reconcilable portions of traditions and genealogies, all together.

Thus there may be distinguished:

in the south: a Fang group, in the rather broad sense

in the north: a Beti group, perhaps more Pahouinized than Pahouin

between the two: a Boulou group /6/

a) The Fang group in the south would include:

the Fang, properly so called, of the Ogooué Valley in the southern Cameroons

the Ntoumou (or Ntum) in northern Gabon (Woleu-N'Tem), Spanish Guinea and the southern Cameroons (Ambam sub-division)

the Mvaé, split into two blocks, to the east and west of the Ntoumou

perhaps the Oyéba of the Ogooué-Izindo region, nowadays merged with the eastern Fang

b) The Boulou group would include:

the Boulou of the Sangmélima, Kribi, and Eholowa (Cameroons) regions

no doubt the Zaman of the valley of the Dja

probably the Yengono, Yembama, and Yelinda of the Nyong Valley and the Okak of Spanish Guinea

perhaps the Yesum, Yebekanga, Yebekolo /misprinted in text as Yekebolo/, and Mvélé (1)

1. The last, in spite of the similarity of name, are to be distinguished from the Bamvele or Bele and are to be connected with the Beti.

The situation of the Beti is more obscure. They may perhaps have had a different origin from the true Pahouin, whom they would have followed in their migration toward the southwest. A striking cultural and linguistic likeness to the Fang is observed among certain tribes who are nevertheless separated from them geographically by the Boulou. This likeness disappears progressively as one moves northward. It might therefore be a question of some sort of intermediary

grouping between the Bantu of the central Cameroons and the Pahouin. However that may be, certain tribes cannot be studied except in connection with the true Pahouin:

the Ewondo of the Nyong-and-Sanaga region
the Bané of Nyong-and-Sanaga, N'Tem, and Dja-and-Lobo
the Fong of the Dja-and-Lobo and N'Tem (the last, moreover, influenced by the Boulou)
the Mbida-Mbané and Mvog-Nyenge, east of Yaoundé, who are probably descendants of prisoners-of-war of the preceding

The Eton of Saa and Obala may also be associated, but already with more difficulty, with the Ewondo, for instance. On the other hand, the other Beti tribes ought rather to be classed with the Pahouinized peoples discussed below.

B. Assimilated or Pahouinized Tribes

Among these we must distinguish those who were in the country at the arrival of the Pahouin from those that followed.

a) Tribes that followed the Pahouin invasion. These are fundamentally, as pointed out above, the Beti. According to Nekes, some of the tribes already mentioned still spoke an ati dialect at the time of the German conquest. At the present time one can point out as in the process of "Pahouinization" (Ewondo dialect):

The Mangisa, Yekaba, Bamvele, Evunok, Batchanga /Betchenga/ (Tsinga), /?/ Omvang, and Yetudi of the Sanaga. On the other hand, the Beti of the right bank (Bati, Kombe, Bundju, etc.), also few in number, are more drawn toward the Baboutié /Wute/, Bafia /Fia/, etc.

b) Aboriginal tribes or tribes established before the Pahouin invasion. There is reason to treat separately the Pygmy groups (Bibaya, Babinga, Beye'ele) and mixed populations (Bekoé) who live symbiotically with the Pahouin without by this fact being really absorbed.

The Pahouin invasion seems to have come on a country occupied by two Bantu groups come from the east several centuries before, which it drove back either toward the sea or toward the present eastern boundary of the Cameroons.

The first of these would have been the Maka and Ngoumba /Ngumba/ group, which was cut in half by the invasion, Maka on the

101
114
503

east, Ngoumba and Mabéa /Bea/ on the west. The Maka (more correctly Mekaé) have been to a large extent absorbed by the invaders, to the point of being confused with them by several authors.

The second group would have been the Kozimé-Njem (or Jem) /Dzem/, Dzimou /Nzimu/, Bajoué /Badjue/ of nearby origin and likewise absorbed to the point of being confused with the true Pahouin group.

3. Neighboring Populations

As I have already pointed out in connection with the Pahouinized peoples, the Pahouin are literally submerged in a Bantu mass.

Their neighbors to the north, on the right bank of the Sanaga, are those whom Madame Dugast calls the Bantu of the central Cameroons. This represents an extremely heterogeneous group, including tribes that claim to be aboriginal along with others that say they are immigrants, with a linguistic, anthropological, and cultural network that effectively prevents any exact classification. The two main tribes contiguous with the Beti-Pahouin are the Bafia and Yambasa /Yambassa/.

Immediately to the east of the above tribes, still in the Sanaga Valley, are the Wutéré (sing. Wuté) /Wute/ known to the colonial administration by their Bantu name of "Baboute /Bafute/." They are Sudanese, and it seems likely that it was on account of direct pressure from them that the Pahouin crossed the Sanaga.

To the west of the Yambasa-Bafia, the Sanaga Valley is occupied by the Basa-Bakoko group on both banks. These tribes are difficult to classify. They must certainly be Bantu. Some writers group them under the name Baso; others connect the Basa /Bassa/ with the central Cameroons, Bantu and the Bakoko with the Beti, even with the Pahouin, to whom they in fact show some cultural resemblances.

Along the coast there are Bantu groups: on the coastal range the Ngumba and Mabéa related to the Mekaé mentioned above; on the coastal plain the Duala group, with the Duala (Dawala /Diwala/), properly speaking, the Batenga, and the Kumbé. The Balengi /Lengi (Balenge) ?/ in Spanish Guinea are probably related either to the Mabéa or to the /8/ Duala. In Gabon the Pongoué (Mpongwé) are a residual Bantu-Myéné group, entirely isolated in the midst of the Fang.

To the east of the Cameroons Pahouin, on the left bank of the Dja, the Mekaé, Badjué, Dzimu /Nzimu/, and Jem are, I repeat,

101
174
83

Pahouinized to the point of finding themselves mixed with the Pahouin of the Middle Congo. This mingling is still going on at the present time among the other tribes of the Kozimé group and specifically among the Konabembé /Konambembe/, Esel (1), and Medzimé

[17]

1. The Esel require two comments: first, they appear to speak a language very close to Duala; second, they have the same name as one of the principal Pahouin clans.

/Ndsime (Médjimi, Mendsime)?/. All these tribes, coming from the northeast (Mekaé) or southeast (Kozimé), and Bantu-speakers, formerly had a much more extensive habitat to the west and north, whence they were driven back toward the south by the Baya and Kaka, and toward the east by the Pahouin.

The Bakwelé /Kwele/ of the Middle Congo apparently may also be connected with the Kozimé and, like them, may be considered Pahouinized. They were pushed back onto the left bank of the Ivindo at a comparatively recent date, like their neighbors to the south, the Bakota /Kota/ and the Okandé /Kanda/. The Séké and Akélé /Kalai (Akalle)?/ of the lower Ogooué are probably related to them.

Finally, the Pongwé /Mpongwe/—already mentioned—the Ouroungou /Rungu (rungu)/, Bapounou /Puno (Bapuno)?/, Galoa, and Nkomi of the lower Ogooué probably belong to an intermediary group between the Bantu of the northwest (Duala and coastal group) and the Vili-Kongo in the south (Baumann), the Myéné group. These tribes not long ago occupied most of the territory of the true Fang, whence they have been forced back for a century by the Pahouin invasion, which did not reach the sea until 1890-1900. The Benga (coastal Bantu) and Pongwé of Libreville, isolated in the midst of the Fang, the Ouroungou, Séké, Asembé, Galoa, and Bapounou of Port Gentil and Lambaréné are the last non-Pahouin peoples in existence on the right bank of the Ogooué. The Fang have, it must be added, a solid bridgehead on the left bank in N'Djolé District.

We must remember that throughout Pahouin country there are groups of Pygmies, whose status will be discussed further on.

6; Alexandre and Binet--11 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

4. Survey of Demography

IN 120 14

In addition to the usual reasons for lack of precision in demographic data, commoe to all the African territories (absence or inadequacy of a registery office, weak administrative structure, especially in the medical branch), there is in relation to the Pahouin group the fact of their belonging politically to four territories, of which one is not French.

For the southern Cameroons we have at our disposal good census returns and competent, up-to-date medical information issued periodically as a result of the obligation to furnish reports at regular intervals to the League of Nations and then to the United Nations. The heads of mobile teams of the S. H. M. P. /7/, which have been especially well staffed since Dr. Jamot's campaigns, collect during each tour anthropological information /9/ as satisfactory as their multiple duties and the intellectual and social level of the surveyed areas allow. The military personnel provided in varying proportions by the territorial administration permitted many colonial officials, particularly before and during the last war, to make individual studies, often detailed, such as those of E. André on the demographic development of the Ntoumou of Ambam.

The situation is less satisfactory in French Equatorial Africa. First of all the Federation government has never, like that of the Cameroons, had to arrange for regular reports to be submitted to international agencies. Furthermore—and especially—meager budgets have often forced the administration to assign territorial commands—whose headquarters and location have many times been changed—to junior officers or to subordinate civil servants lacking the necessary training for profitable work in this field and hampered, moreover, by the very size of the thinly populated districts. For a long time only approximate estimates were available for Gabon and the Middle Congo, erring mostly on the side of administrative optimism, in no way motivated by scientific considerations. The situation has greatly improved since 1946, but the imaginary character or inadequacy of earlier data may well falsify the conclusions to a considerable extent (1).

1. Cf. Sautter, L'utilisation des documents administratifs pour l'etude de la population du Moyen-Congo et du Gabon /Utilization of

114
127
161

administrative documents for population study in the Middle Congo and Gabon/, Bulletin de l'Institut d'Études centrafricaines, 1954, Nos. 7-8; Ziegle, Afrique équatoriale française /French Equatorial Africa/, Berger-Levrault, Paris, 1952, p. x; Christol, Un essai de fichier démographique au Cameroun /An Attempt at Demographic Classification in the Cameroons/, Bulletin mensuel de statistique d'Outre-mer, 1951, No. 20.

Finally, for Spanish Guinea the sources are rather inaccessible and of very uneven value. The best are probably the reports submitted by the scientific expedition of 1948 organized by the /Spanish/ Department for Morocco and the Colonies, of which the Anthropological Commission apparently made a study of demographic development in collaboration with the colony's health service: these reports I have not been able to obtain. The fiscal census carried out by Civil Guard officers in command of the "Demarcaciones /Demarcations/" seems to be considered a state secret; the census returns prepared by the Roman Catholic missions appear unreliable. If one accepts the total population figure given by official statistics, supposedly 172, 000 persons, it would be necessary to put the number of "Pamue" (the Spanish form of mpangwé) at about 50 percent of that total. Estimates made during the recent war by civil administrators and frontier officers of Gabon and the Cameroons are much lower, giving a total of about 130, 000 inhabitants, 50, 000 to 60, 000 of whom were Pahouin. Likewise, Spanish medical reports seem to be colored with a possible excessive optimism, attributing specially to biological causes a rise in population that results mainly from immigration.

In conclusion, the lack of agreement about even the composition of the Pahouin group makes the figures vary greatly, whether round estimates /10, table on pp. E2a-E2e/ or genuine demographic indices. Thus we meet with totals that vary from 650, 000 to 1, 500, 000 Pahouin, with the differential index clearly positive or clearly negative according to the writer.

161
163

My own estimate of about 820, 000 takes account of Pahouin only in the strict sense and leaves out the tribes whose affiliation is debatable (1). This group as a whole is growing slightly (the differential

K

Demographic Situation

Territory	Tribe	Habitat	Number	Density	Demographic Data
Cameroons (Beti)	Evôndo	Nyong-and-Sanaga region (S.)	95, 000	20.1	D. I. : + 0.2 %. I. M. : 30 %. G. C. : 3.06.
	Bané	S. Nyong-and-Sanaga N. N'Tem and Dja-and-Lobo	60, 000	21.5	D. I. : + 0.2 %. G. C. : 4.7.
	Fong	N. N'Tem-Dja-and-Lobo	13, 000	6.9	D.I. : 0.77 %. S. : 25.6 %. G. C. : 5.3.
	Eton	N. Nyong-and-Sanaga	112, 000	44.3	No recent accurate data. D. I. : > + 1 %. Population on the increase.
	Mbida Mbané.	S. E. Nyong-and-Sanaga	20, 000	12.8	D. I. : + 0.68 %. S. : 7 %. G. C. : 5.20 %.
	Mvog Nyengé.	S. E. Nyong-and-Sanaga	7, 000	10.6	D. I. : + 0.39 %. S. : 9 %. S. B. : 26.9 %. G. C. : 4.25.

Cameroons		Mangisa. . .	N. Nyong-and-Sanaga	15, 000	46.2	No recent accurate data. D.I. : positive.
		Yekaba . . .	N. Nyong-and-Sanaga	14, 000	9.2	D.I. : —4.4 %. I.M. : 34.3 %. S. : 33.9 %. G.C. : 4.5. S.B. : 10 %.
	(Probable Beti)	Bamvelé . . (Belé)	E. Nyong-and-Sanaga W. Lom and Kadéï (Nanga, Bertoua)	25, 000	10	No data.
		Evuzok . . .	Scattered (Lolodorf)	5, 000	?	No data.
		Tsinga . . .	Scattered (M'Bam, Nyong-and-Sanaga)	16, 000	?	D.I. : +1.4 %.
		Miscellaneous		20, 000		
		Total Cameroons Beti		401, 000		
		Boulou	N'Tem, Dja-and-Lobo, Kribi	100, 000	9.9	D.I. : +0.30 %. S. : 7 %. G.C. : 4.12.

Cameroons	Zaman . . .	E. Dja-and-Lobo (Dja Valley)	1, 500		D. I. : negative. S. : > 25 %.
	(Bulu) Yengono . .	S. E. Nyong-and-Sanaga (Akonolinga)			D. I. : + 0. 63 %. S. : 9 %. G. C. : 3. 47.
	Yembama .		13, 000	7. 5	D. I. : 0. 70 %. S. : 16 %. G. C. : 3. 97.
	Yelinda. . .				D. I. : —0. 1 %. S. : 18 %. G. C. : 3. 30.
	(Supposedly related to the Boulou) Yesoum . .	N. Nyong-and-Sanaga	9, 000	4. 2	D. I. : —2. 6 %. S. : 25. 53 %. G. C. : 3. 4.
	Yebekanga .				
	Yebekolo. .	E. Nyong-and-Sanaga (Akonolinga)	23, 000	11. 9	D. I. : fairly positive.
	Mvelé . . .	E. Yaoundé	37, 000	15. 3	D. I. : —0. 21 %.
	Total Cameroons Boulou . . .		184, 000		

(Fañ)	Fang.	Kribi, N'Tem, Dja and Lobo (scattered)	13, 000	2	D. I. : +0.03 %. S. : 7 %. G. C. : 3. 8.
	Ntum		17, 000	9. 8	D. I. : 1. 53 %. S. : 12 %. G. C. : 4. 6.
	Mvaé		6, 000	5. 8	D. I. : +0. 69 %. S. : 15. 2 %. G. C. : 4. 3.
	Total Fañ		36, 000		
	Total Cameroons . . .		623, 000	Not including "assimilated" tribes in the east (Mekaé-Kozimé).	
Spanish Guinea	Ntum	Along N. border (Ebebiyín)	20, 000	4	Approximate estimate based on French colonial archives. According to some reports, to this should be added about 6, 000 Pahouin emigrants from French colonial territories, especially Gabon. The given numbers represent the minima.
	Mvaé	N. border (Minkomesen)	1, 000		
	Fang	S. E.	30, 000		
	Okak	Center	4, 000		
	Total Spanish Guinea		55, 000		

Gabon	Ntum . . .	Woleu-N'Tem (especially Nitam)	15, 000	5 to 1	D. I. : slightly positive. High sterility rate. Proportion of children: about 30%.
	Bakwélé . .	Makokou	3, 000		
	Fang	Woleu-N'Tem estuary, Ogooué-Ivindo, Ogooué	110, 000		
	Total Gabon		128, 000		
Middle Congo	Miscellaneous assimilated	Souanké Ouesso	8, 000	2	?
	Total Middle Congo		8, 000		
General Total.			814, 000		Not including neighboring peoples in process of being assimilated.

D. I. : differential index. S. : sterility rate. G. C. : genital capacity. S. B. : stillbirth rate.
I. M. : infant mortality.
The figures, from I. Dugast, Inventaire, No. 130, refer, on the average, to ten years ago.

163 [161]

1. As an indication, the numerical strength of the Mekaé and Kosimé of the Cameroons may be put at about 80,000 persons.

index is a little less than ± 1%), more, apparently, from a fall in the death rate than from a rise in the birth rate, which is rather inclined to decrease a bit. The table on pages 12a-12e gives a succinct survey in detail.

16 This table calls for some comments. First, the known rate of genital capacity*, nearly always around 4, like the sterility indices

/* According to another source, Georges Balandier /5/, "the genital capacity /is/ the mean number of pregnancies in women by the time of the menopause....." Sociologie Actuelle de l'Afrique Noire, Changements sociaux au Gabon et au Congo /Contemporary Sociology of Black Africa; Social Changes in Gabon and the Congo/, p. 96, Paris, 1955.--Ed./

that reach 30 percent, forms a contrast to the accounts of the first explorers as well as to tribal traditions, which uniformly speak of high fertility and a large proportion of children. Even taking into account the undoubted exaggeration that colors these statements, it remains likely that a demographic decline took place in the second quarter of the twentieth century, offset by a lowering of mortality, at least in certain areas. The difficulties of adaptation to forest life are an explanation for the south. Undoubtedly, one must add factors like the spread of syphilis (kôto) along the highways and especially around settlements, and the outbreak of sleeping sickness, which seems to have followed pacification and to have affected particularly northern and northeastern Pahouin country. In the south there was also the great Gabon famine of 1924-27, as well as sociological causes such as heavy recruiting for the timber industry and perhaps psychological factors arising from the impact of colonization (Balandier). In the north where the precocious rise of an agricultural economy based on cacao stabilized the villages rather early, the change in the form of the bride price and the individual appropriation

of land by "elder sons" (minkôl) have certainly had an unfavorable demographic effect by upsetting the family structure—41 percent of adult males were unmarried in the Oyem subdivision in 1948. Finally, the wide-scale introduction of trade alcohol before 1914 and since 1946 has most certainly made things worse.

However, the magnitude of the crisis, which has primarily affected the Fang of Gabon, must not be exaggerated. The general demographic developement might be summed up as follows:

Temporary increase in general mortality immediately after pacification, owing to greater spread of epidemics, particularly of smallpox and sleeping sickness, as a result of new means of mobility; possible rise of sterility rates with slight fall in the genital capacity /13/ owing to venereal infection, alcoholism, labor recruitment (above all in Gabon), and changes in family and village economic organization.

On the other hand, rapid and continuous fall in general mortality resulting from pacification; since about 1930 a falling-off of epidemics and general improvement in hygiene initiated; at present a decline in infant mortality. The universal application of wide-scale antimalarial prophylaxis (in the Cameroons) already allows us to anticipate a spectacular increase in the population.

Viewed as a whole, the balance between favorable and unfavorable factors appears to be on the positive side, in any case in areas not affected by the great Gabon famine of 1924. Moreover, awareness of demographic malaise must have partly resulted from the halting of migration, which made a sort of inventory possible. This awareness is especially perceptible in Gabon, where the situation seems to have been in fact more serious.

5. History and Traditions of Origin

The known history of the Pahouin group is that of a migration toward the sea, a migration in process of completion before our eyes.

Whence did it start? This is a very controversial question. Stoll, following Schweinfurth, speaks of Upper Egypt, as does Trilles, basing this opinion on linguistic and cultural arguments such as the use of the military crossbow and the shape of the saber (fa). It is this same shape that leads Tessmann to speak of Roman influence. Marche and

the Marquis de Compiègne, and later Largeau, speak more moderately of a relationship with the Zandé /Azande/ and Mangbetu of the upper Ubangi, which remains hypothetical.

In fact, the only reasonable certainty we have on this subject, based on traditions, genealogies (for 15 to 20 generations, becoming more or less mythical at the tenth or twelfth), and the observations of the first travelers (notably Du Chaillu) and of European and American missionaries, is that the migration which is now coming to a close must have begun toward the end of the eighteenth century in a savanna area on the right bank of the Sanaga, somewhere to the northeast of the group's present habitat. Would this have been on the upper Sanghá, toward Bouar, the region of Baïbokoum, more to the north, or on the Adamawa toward N'Gaoundéré? In our present state of knowledge it is impossible to determine this. Traditions simply speak of an area "toward the east" (mfa' ɔ̃ku) in a high region of lakes, where there were lions (ngbwemgbwem) and, according to Trilles, rhinoceros (abvi —?), near a "red" people.

The ancestors of the Pahouin were driven from this habitat by an invasion. Did this involve the Fulbé /Fulani/ of Othman dan Fodio or one of his successors? Some points in the tradition allow us to think so, but the present distribution of tribes north of the Sanaga and their /14/ own traditions would indicate rather that those in question were the Baboute (Wutéré) and perhaps the Mboum /Mbum/, themselves fleeing before the Fulbé.

However that may be, the ancestors of the Pahouin must have crossed the Sanaga in several waves, approximately between Nanga-Eboko and the confluence of the M'Bam, on one side and the other of the Nachtigal Falls. The first waves must have included the ancestors of the Fang and Boulou who went deep into the forest under pressure from the Beti, of whom a handful remained on the right bank.

The spearhead of the migration seems to have divided into three columns somewhere near Bengbis (subdivision of Sangmélima). It was perhaps at this time that the present tribal divisions were determined. A Fang column headed southward, doubtless penetrating into Gabon following the Dja, then the Ivindo. A second column, mainly Boulou, headed westward, parallel to the course of the Nyong, while a third, Ntoumou and Fang, reached into northern Gabon, following an axis that pretty nearly bisected the angle of the other two.

174 This penetration was not at all peaceful: the echo of battles with the Bantu of the interior reached as far as the trading posts on the coast, and the terror spread by the invaders did not fail to hinder commercial relations. Du Chaillu met the Fang and the Ntoumou near Mitzic, the Oyéba on the Ivindo at the beginning of the Second Empire /1852-54/. In 1868, Admiral de Langle reported them in contact with the trading stations of the upper Ogooué, estimating their numbers at about 50,000. In 1875, the Marquis de Compiègne and Aloysius Horn met them at Lambaréné and in the immediate neighborhood of Libreville. Brazza was to aid their march toward the coast and the lower Ogooué, which they would reach in 1893 (Largeau). Since then their advance has continued at a slower pace, partly on the left bank of the Ogooué, to the south off N'Djolé, partly along the coast as far as the Fernan-Vaz lagoon.

For their part, the Boulou have had less luck; they were halted in their progress toward the sea by the Germans around 1890, when they were not more than 30 kilometers from the coast, to the southeast of Kribi. A last war—the ôban, still living in present-day memory—faced them, between 1885 and 1895, with the Bané who sought to spread toward the south. After 1895, they were practically fixed in their present area (but not in the exact sites of contemporary villages) just like the Beti.

Although I have spoken of columns, it is not necessary to represent these migrations as the exodus of the children of Israel across the desert. They were rather by successive leaps, following a general axis, by small family or/and village groups. One could speak of their design of migration as leapfrog: family A is settled; family B establishes a village further south; family C occupies the former territory of B; /a part of/ A then breaks off and /sets up/ a village, A; southof B; next B would act in the same way when A, under pressure from C, /15/ would again move mfa'a mañ, "toward the sea," which is left the final goal. This, multiplied hundreds of times, brings about the extreme scattering of family groups, extended families, and clans, at the same time as /did/ the eddies and whirlpools which explain the present confusion. Whole groups have turned back on their steps, after a military defeat or to avoid contact with the European administration; thus, the Ntoumou of northern Gabon have in part been driven back to the north of the N'Tem by a recoil of the Fang, driving back toward the east and west, along the valley, the Mvaé

174 who were settled among them and the Boulou. The last Beti groups to cross the Sanaga, blocked by those who had preceded them, have turned perpendicularly or obliquely to the general axis of migration.

The total migration was made exclusively by land, even when its [505 axis followed the course of a navigable river. The Pahouin are not users 487] of the pirogue, and the customary trails followed along ridges rather than valleys. Settlement is mainly linear, stretched along trails and, [361] now, roads, in long ribbons, separated by empty areas.

173 The traditions dealing with this exodus are of three kinds: the collective tradition of the group, varying in detail from tribe to tribe but always agreeing in the broad outlines of the same theme; family traditions, consisting of a commentary on genealogies, the majority of which have not been collected and are by way of being lost due to the abandonment of the customary training of boys; finally, a pseudo tradition of contemporary invention, which is far from the least interesting. I shall here give an account only of the principal features of these traditions and, first, of the collective tradition.

According to this, the ancestors used to live in a country called mvo' ékanga or mvo' ékañ'a (Largeau: mvôgh ẽtangha), which means something like "cloudy country" or "honorable country," depending on the tone, or perhaps both at the same time (1). I have

[192] 1. a) Radical kañ = to honor, to respect, whence ékanâ'a = honor, respect, veneration; b) radical kañ = to mark, to design, whence ékanga = mark, design, cloud; c) verb kañele = to lash, to shape /timber/, whence ékanga = bridge.

pointed out previously the legendary features of this land in the east, the details of which vary according to the informants. It should be observed in passing that they differ as to whether or not this land was the actual cradle of the ancestors and whether the latter came from a place located even more to the east, as the present pseudo tradition assets (2).

[533 538] 2. The last of the Ntoumou storytellers sing to the accompaniment of a guitar, mvet, the exploits of the bikañ or bo'bikañ,

173
[533
538]

superhuman heroes, who include not only their ancestors but also the earliest well-known Europeans: Ngôtô Zambe (Rev. Good), Mendômô (Hauptmann von Hagen), Akôk (Marius Pascalet), etc., thus are found to be naturalized as it were and incorporated into tradition.

Driven out of this country by red giants (or by a red giant), the ancestors, fleeing to save their lives, were brought to a standstill at the Sanaga, incapable of crossing it until the intervention of the guardian of the waters, a python according to Beti and Boulou, a crocodile according to /16/ the Fang (1). By stretching himself across

1. Bertaut gives the names as mot yom and nga medja or ngan meja. Discounting a mistake in transcription, these expressions could mean "a being to be supplicated," "crocodile to be supplicated," from môt (Fang, môr, mur) = person; ngan = crocodile; ja'é (Boulou) dzak, dzaghé (Ewondo, Fang) = to ask, to supplicate; yom = to beg, to implore.

the river this animal formed a bridge which the ancestors crossed family by family, in order of primogeniture, until the moment when a child (or woman) wounded the animal's back by letting fall a weapon (or a torch). The animal dived below, abandoning on the right bank the Beti group that is still there today.

[103] Osoe Nnanga, whence Europeans have derived "Sanaga," means [222] "white river" or "river of the albino." White is the color of death; [824] ghosts (bekôn) are white; albinos are thought to be offspring of incubi. [775] Lastly, the land of the dead has always been situated in the west, toward the sea (mañ), even though the Pahouin could not have known the sea except by hearsay. Considered in connection with some of the legends collected by Trilles, these facts may lead us to think that the Pahouin in crossing the Sanaga were entering, at least symbolically, the land of the dead.

When they had reached the left bank, they found their road blocked by an impenetrable forest, with the single path obstructed by an

173 enormous ajap (Mimusops djave), the tree symbolic of power and of physical and spiritual vigor. They made their way through it by means of a narrow tunnel, the nlom ajap, and were able from then on to go forward unimpeded. But after this passage a quarrel broke out between the brothers, over women according to some, over precedence and inheritance according to others, and they separated into four groups, of which one remained on the spot, the others heading toward the sea by the three routes described above.

Thereafter we have to refer to family traditions in order to follow the wanderings of each group, which are impossible to describe in detail.

The most interesting contribution from recent pseudo tradition is without doubt the genealogy collected among the Ntoumou by the administrative officer André, which is particularly widespread among the Fang linguistic division of the Pahouin group. It starts with the ancestor Afiri Kara, leader of the migration at the time of the crossing of the Sanaga, who died after the passage through the nlom ajap. Afiri Kara, "who gave his name to Africa," was the son of Kara Kuba, son of Kuba Ta, son of Ta Ma'a, son of Ma'a Ngɔ̂, "who is the father of the Negro race." The sons of Afiri Kara are the ancestors of the present tribes, to whom they have given their names, names which are in fact nicknames derived from puns. For instance, Ntumu Afiri, the ancestor of the Ntoumou, walked with a stick (ntum), Ewôndɔ̂ Afiri was fond of groundnuts (ɔ̂wôndo) or had as many offspring as the seed of a groundnut; Bulu Afiri was especially hard working or serious (bulu: from the root bo, to do = to do seriously, really), (2) etc.

2. Cf. the verb fañ = to do well, to do really, on purpose.

Largeau and Tessmann seem to be entirely unacquainted with this legend, whose origin probably does not go back beyond the First World War. /17/

The contribution of pseudo tradition is harder to ascertain in the legends collected by Largeau, Trilles, and Grebert concerning the actual origin of the human race. The theme is that of Jacob and Esau: a younger son of Zobeyo Mebe'e (in Fang: Nzame Mebeghe, Nzame Mebere) takes advantage of the stupidity of his elder brother to become heir to this world's riches (biom, bium = wealth, goods,

173 as against the fruits of the earth) and flees to the west, land of the dead or the ancestors, where the frustrated elder son pursues him (1).

[823] 1. This association of the west with material goods, of the east with the produce of the land, is found again in the potlatch (bilaba), described further on.

Largeau and Grebert make of the usurping younger son the ancestor of the Whites, but Trilles has collected versions which he considers older, in which the younger son is the ancestor of the Bantu of the coast; these versions, moreover, exist side by side with Largeau's. It is possible that the association of the younger son with the Whites dates from the first trade contacts. /18/

Chapter 3

The Language

1. Distribution

197 The group as a whole is characterized by an unquestionable linguistic unity, which spreads across cultural and anthropological boundaries. I have earlier indicated the existence of Pahouinized tribes or tribes [53] becoming Pahouinized, especially the Maka and the Kozimé. To these must be added the Pygmies living symbiotically with the Pahouin, and whose language they appear to have adopted to a very great extent, to a point where it is difficult to know for certain if they still possess a language of their own.

[198] Moreover, Pahouin dialects tend to be used as a trade language in areas where, on the one hand, the Pahouin are but a minority, often as emigrants, or, on the other, in regions less advanced economically and socially than is their own habitat.

There are therefore:

a) A true Pahouin linguistic area: this is Pahouin country as described in the first chapter. There Pahouin is spoken as a mother tongue by the Pahouin themselves and in all probability by the Pygmies.

197 There it is spoken as a main language though not really a mother tongue by permanent or semipermanent immigrants, of whom the greatest number are the Bamiléké in the Cameroons and, in Gabon, the "Gabonese" of the Myéné linguistic group.

b) A Pahouinized area, including in the Cameroons the left bank of the middle Sanaga (Beti country, with Mangisa and Eton especially), Maka country around Abong-M'Bang, the left bank of the Dja in Jem and Dzimou country (1); in the Middle Congo, part of Ouesso District

1. Koch, in "Le petit bétail chez les Badjoué et Bikélé de Messaména /Small livestock among the Bajoué and Bikélé of Messamena/, " Bulletin de la Société de Recherches congolaises, 13-14, March-June, 1946, gives striking examples of the penetration of Boulou into this region.

(in the west), that of the Souanké; in Gabon the left bank of the Ivindo, among the Bakwelé. Differences between the languages spoken in these areas and the Pahouin dialects are rapidly disappearing.

198 c) Areas in which Pahouin dialects serve as trade language, either
197 between tribes with different languages, or for administrative and commercial relations, even for political and /19/ religious propaganda. In the Cameroons, Ewôndo serves this purpose on the right bank of the middle Sanaga, in the M'Bam region, as well as on the left bank toward the Ubangi border in the Lom-and-Kadei region, especially in the Bertoua subdivision. Boulou has become the trade language of the Kribi region. In Spanish Guinea, Fang and Boulou are used as a common language by immigrants from the French territories. In Gabon the Myéné dialects are giving way to Fang, which is coming more and more into use, as far as the Congo-Ocean railway. In the large towns—Douala, Yaoundé, Libreville, Port-Gentil, and even Dolisie—Pahouin dialects are used by immigrants belonging to other linguistic groups.

197 The vigor of the major dialects—Boulou, Ewôndo, Fang—comes not only from the enterprising character of the Pahouin but also from
[197 the work of missions which distribute a good deal of literature in these
214] dialects, while the languages of some of the neighboring populations have not been transcribed or have only given rise to scanty publications.

2. Dialects

197 Guthrie lists seven dialects, including three principal ones: "YAUNDE,
197 BULU, Ntum, Meka, Zimu /Nzimu/, FAN, Make." It would probably be better to speak of three dialect areas corresponding to the three groups—Beti, Fang, Boulou—already defined, each area containing a predominant speech, which is always the one transcribed by missionaries. The importance of this sociological phenomenon is underlined by the fact that the transcribed dialects tend sometimes to extend beyond and sometimes to shrink within the corresponding ethnological area, in conjunction with nonlinguistic factors, the principal one being the religious affiliation of the speakers. Likewise, it is established that in certain areas a mother tongue coexists with a written dialect learned at mission schools and spoken by Christian converts.

The predominant dialect in the Beti area is Ewôndo, the working language of the Catholic mission, which is rapidly supplanting the Beti (Ati) dialects properly so called of the Sanaga Valley. The Eton dialect, for instance, which was more Ati than Pahouin on the eve of the 1914 war (Nekes), is today completely assimilated; Tsinga and Mangisa are on the way to being so. Finally, Ewôndo as a trade language is gaining ground in the north and east, as already indicated. In the south, on the contrary, though it may be replacing Bané and Fong and even be making superficial inroads into the Catholic cantons of the Boulou-speaking area; it is losing out to Boulou in the districts
[191] evangelized by the American Presbyterian Mission. Thus the Bané, the Fong, and certain Protestant Ewôndo are in fact bilingual; they speak as their mother tongue a dialect close to Ewôndo, while they write, pray, or sing in Boulou.

197 Boulou is therefore gaining in the Ewôndo linguistic area in the north. Toward the east, it is gaining among the Mekaé and Kozimé, has supplanted Fang among the isolated Fang groups of the north, and serves as the cultivated language among the /20/ Cameroons Ntoumou
[198] and Mvaé (except for Catholics) and as a trade language at Kribi and in Spanish Guinea. It even competes with Fang as a written language in northern Gabon. In the Catholic sectors it is putting up quite a good resistance to Ewôndo, except where it comes in contact with Bané and Fong.

Fang has supplanted Ntoumou in the Woleu-N'Tem region—except in Bitam District, where it is in competition with Boulou—and

197 in Spanish Guinea. It is advancing to east and south and tending to replace Pongwé as a trade language. Its progress remains handicapped by the existence of several transcriptions that borrow simultaneously from different dialects, a fact which hinders standardization of the dialect. It seems however that the dialect of the west—Mazouna or Betsi—is gaining on that of the east—Mekina or Maké—which, moreover, has provided fewer elements in the transcriptions.

The differences between Ewôndo, Boulou, and Fang are unmistakable, but not such, however, as to prevent communication. The syntax is practically identical, the grammatical differences unimportant. The distinctions between different kinds of speech are chiefly related to pronunciation and vocabulary.

As for pronunciation, there is a striking resemblance between
194 Fang and Ewôndo, which is rather surprising, since the two groups are
197 separated by the Boulou enclave and do not have, or no longer have, direct contacts. Ewôndo is a little less harsh, a little less guttural than Fang, while Boulou is neither in any way. Above all, Boulou is quite without r, ordinary or fricative (r, x), replacing it with t or, more recently, with a velar l:

arki (Ew.), arigi (F.) = ahlki (B.)
kalara (Ew.), kalaghë (F.) = kalat (B.)

Boulou usually avoids hard or emphatic intervocalic occlusives (g, k, gh, kh) and replaces them with a vocalic plosive /attaque vocalique/ or a rough aspirate:

saghele (F.), sakélé (Ew.) = sa'ale (B.)
afôghele (F.) = afô'ôlo (B.)

It omits many of the initial nasals of Fang:

Nzame (F.) = Zambe (B.);

and uses j (ʒ) in preference to dz:

zé (F., Ew.) = jé (B.);

likewise ty (tʃ) in preference to, or together with, k:

ôkeñ (F.) = ôtyeñ (B.).

192 From the point of view of vocabulary the three kinds of speech differ chiefly in their borrowings from neighboring languages. Guthrie estimates these loan words at not more than 5 percent of the vocabulary of the Pahouin group, but the proportion is greater in Ewôndo and in Fang, in the latter reaching 20 percent. The borrowings come from the Myéné group for Fang, from Ati for Ewôndo. Boulou borrows indirectly /21/ from Myéné and Ati, directly from

192 Maka-Ngumba, from Jem-Dzimu, and from coastal Bantu. The European contributions would come more from Coast English for Ewôndo and Boulou, from Portuguese "sabir"* for Fang, but Coast

[198] /* A mixture of Arabic, French, Italian, Spanish, etc., used in the Levant and Africa. —Tr./

English is increasing its influence on the whole group, as French is doing. The Abbé Walker mentions Arabic influences, but the only authentic examples are extremely rare: I only know of banga (Indian hemp) and arki (alcohol).

3. Characteristics of the Language

193 Sentence structure follows the order: subject, verb, attributive complement, objective complement.

Thus: M'aboté évet zel = I moisten chief beard (I grease the chief's palm).

The qualifier, adverb or epithet, is usually but not always placed before the word modified:

abeñ minga = pretty woman; mbia môt = wicked man; ôbe anen = rather large; but

anen abui = very large; bôte bela = three people.

192 Trilles, in Totemism among the Fang (no. 166) (1), estimates

[128] 1. The numbers inside parentheses refer to corresponding numbers in the Bibliography, p. 179.

the vocabulary at 18,000 words, undoubtedly counting as separate words certain derivatives, especially verbal inflections, which could as well be classed with the radical form, as to Bates and Good; they obtained a Boulou vocabulary of about 7,000 words, which is far from being complete. The correct number must be near 10,000 to 12,000 at least. While the language has been enriched by European and non-Pahouin African loan words, it appears at the same time to have been impoverished by the loss of certain nuances of meaning, of technical or religious terms, of older literary or poetical figures

172 of speech, and this to a large extent owing to European influence, in
particular compulsory schooling. The teaching of rhetoric played a
[869] great part in the traditional education of boys (njôô, nzoé = speaker,
orator = chief), and initiation into various rites gave the initiates
the right to use certain words forbidden to the uninitiated (2). Con-

2. I was never able to learn the real word for "skull" reserved for biéri initiates; I was only told the paraphrase, ékokoé nlo môt, "shell of a man's head."

[177] version to Christianity and instruction in colonial schools have brought
about a definite deterioration in the language, by forcing traditional
[538] education to retreat or by destroying it. It is thus that the novel
Nnanga kôn (no. 153), written after the war of 1914, is nowadays
arduous reading for young Boulou.

173 The majority of the words in the language are formed from /22/
a biliteral root (consonant-vowel) or triliteral (consonant-vowel-
consonant) to which affixes are added. There are thus series such as:

KI (Fang) or TYI (Boulou), radical—kié, tyé = power; éki, étyi = prohibition; tyik = to cut, to decide; tyi = to be under a prohibition; tyili = to lay under a prohibition, to forbid; étyé, ékié = iron, pl. bityé, bikie = sacramental money; ôtyeñ, ôk(i)eñ = knife; metyi, meki = blood, etc.

The most important affixes are the nominal classifiers, which permit the division of nouns and pronouns into nominal classes or semantic genders; sexual gender does not exist. There are five or six of these classes or genders, according to different writers. Semantic implication /sic/ is not always clear in true substantives, but it is much more so for verbal substantives. I give here the Boulou classes according to Bates:

I. nominal classifiers: m, n, n/be, b; pronominal classifiers: a, ny, w/be, b. —Personal class, names of persons, of personified animals; names of European origin. Verbal derivatives indicating the agent.

Ex: mot, bot = person; ngal, beyal = wife, female;
metoa, bemetoa = conveyance /voiture/;
mbo, bebo = he who does /makes/, from bo = to do /make/;
ndi = he who eats, from di = to eat.

A3 II. m, ñ, n/mi; ô, w/mi. —Various names, without specific semantic connotation; verbal derivatives indicating the result of action, under some sort of passive aspect; derivatives of nouns of other classes indicating quality or state.

Ex: mbu, mimbu = season; nsoñ, minsoñ = point;
mboan (1) = action (what is done), from bo = to do /make/;

1. The forms of the verb in -ban and -an correspond to passive and reciprocal aspects.

ñyeman = sapience, understanding, from yem = to know;
ndiban (1) = closed, from dip = to close; ñwuan = deceased, from wu = to die;
mbe'e = burden, cargo, from be'e = to carry;
nkôbo = speech, from kôbo = to speak;
mintaé = pain, suffering, from taé = to hurt;
ndindim = a blind man, from ndim = blindness;
ñwuwup = a thief, from wup = theft.

III. no nominal classifier; pronominal classifiers e, ny, j. — Words of this class may be used in the plural with I and IV classifiers (be, b; me, m) according to the sense; no words derived from verbs; the corresponding form of the verb is the simple or elementary form.

Ex: zok, optional plural bezok = elephant;
kal, optional plural bekal = sister;
fa, optional plural mefa = saber /23/

N. B. —This class is perhaps peculiar to Boulou and Ewôndo; in Fang most of the corresponding words take a regular classifier in the singular. Ex: ze, zok, kal (B.) = nze, nzok, nkal (F.).

IV. a, d, j/me, m, e, d/me, m. —Odd nouns, including however many anatomical terms; words derived from verbs, indicating a verb's action in itself, corresponding either to an infinitive or to a substantive infinitive (drinking /le boire/, eating /le manger/), names of trees derived from names of fruit.

Ex: jam, mam = thing, matter, question;
jôé, môé = name, nose, authority; abo, mebo = paw;
abum, mebum = belly, uterus, pregnancy;
ake = the fact of going, the going; mevak = rejoicing, from vak = to rejoice;
ayôñ = heat, from yôñ = to be hot.

193 V. é, j/bi; é, j/bi. —Names of tools or instruments, often found in the next class; names of qualities used as adjectives; various nouns, some of them European words; words derived from verbs, indicating the object of an action, its objective result; words derived from nouns, with an idea of strengthening or increase.

Ex: jôm, biôm = thing, merchandise; évele = red, the fact of being red, redness; ébak, bibak = hoe;
bidi = food, what is eaten, from di = to eat;
éto = state, situation, meeting, session, from to = to be seated;
élik = inheritance, legacy, what one leaves, from lik = to leave;
ékotôkot = cheating, from nkot = crooked;
ésen̄ = forest, copse of umbrella trees /musanga Smithii, R. Br., used for paper pulp, — Tr. /, from asen̄ = umbrella.

VI. ô, vi, w/a, l; ô, vi, w/e, d. —Various nouns, including names of tools and instruments; names of elusive, transitory things; names of small things and diminutive derivatives; words derived from verbs, apparently indicating intellectual qualities.

Ex: ôdiba'a, adiba'a = key (also exists in Class V: édiba'a);
ôsoé, asoé = river; ôtita = smoke; ôyo = sleep;
vioé, loé = laughter; viek, lek = cooking pot;
ôlé = stick (élé = tree); ônon = bird; ôbe, abe = small, a bit of, a small quantity;
ôfifis = small piece, from éfus = piece; ôkukut = fool, from akut = mad;
ôsimsan = good memory, from simsan = to remember; ôvuan = memory, from vuan = to forget.

Bates adds to these six classes a fossil class of names of liquids, which is well represented in the Bantu languages but in Pahouin only includes words identical with plurals of Class IV, with rare exceptions. I must also mention certain words that belong /24/ to classes or genders that differ according to whether they are in the singular or the plural (1).

1. Certain morphological irregularities have semantic implications. Ex: ésa, in the sense of "father," becomes in the plural beésa (Class I, personal); in its normal class (V, augmentative,

193 pl. bisa) it means "extended family." The two words (which have different tones) come from sak, to ejaculate, to f.... /sic: probably foutre/ which would have led to *nsak, besak = genitor, father.

The pronominal classifiers have an important and typical role, that of connecting a noun and its complement or a noun-subject and its verb. Nevertheless, this rule does not seem to be absolute, and Boulou especially is quite ready to omit the connective in the genitive, particularly in the singular:

jôm é ntañgan or jôm ntañgan, biôm bi ntañgan or biôm ntañgan = thing or things of whiteness;

mon a fañ, bo' be fañ = a or some Fang;

alu e ne dibi, melu me ne dibi = the night (s) is (are) dark;

mvu j'adi, bemvu b'adi = the dog (s) eats (eat).

Fundamentally, verbs are divided into verbs of state or position and verbs of action, which are not conjugated the same way. One type is derived from another by affixation to the radical, which makes it possible to complete the defective conjugation of verbs of state by recourse to their active derivatives. Tense, mood, voice, and aspect are indicated either by affixation or inflection, or by using auxiliary verbs, some of which have a meaning by themselves, while others may only be used with another verb (the last are perhaps simple affixes).

Pronouns and pronoun-adjectives are well represented, while qualifying adjectives are rare, especially in Boulou, and are most frequently replaced by nouns of quality or state that do not agree. The same is to be observed concerning tool-words /mots-outils/: aside from a few adverbs, the invariable conjunction and preposition, nouns are mainly used:

éyoñ = time, circumstance = when; mfa'a = direction, orientation = toward; ajô te = this matter = thus, therefore, consequently, etc.

194 From the phonetic point of view the outstanding trait of the group
194 is undoubtedly the use of tones, which is the basis of telephony by drum (nkul), bell (nkeñ), or modulated cry (ékiga). Bates and Johnson recognize five tones, plus the glissando of the negative. Bertaut, following the German scholars, distinguishes two fundamental tones, high and low; two derived ones, ascending and descending;

and a middle tone. Father Stoll, raising the problem again in a recent work, turns it upside down by describing two fundamental tones, symmetrically contrasted, two dominant tones, and eight compound /composés/ or gliding ones, all of them together classed as eight principal (four simple and four gliding) and four secondary ones. He connects this symmetrical system with the cosmogony, proving his point with an illustration from the sô rite. The battle among specialists is too violent for me to express an opinion. I shall restrict myself /25/ to pointing out that the nkul and the nkeñ only give two tones, and that in sending a message by one of these methods rhythm plays as important a part as do the tones (1).

1. But the balafo, mejeñ, consist of five xylophones of different tonality, each having six notes.

In the spoken language, and especially in formal speech, rhythm is just as important, and even those missionaries who possess a fine enough ear to avoid involuntary puns through tone usually do not succeed in mastering rhythm as can the last of the poet-storytellers. Current transcriptions do not, moreover, take rhythm or tone into account, the meaning of homographs emerging from their context. I think I observed here as elsewhere that the younger generation is inclined to forget the fine points of the language and no longer distinguish more than two tones, high and low, while the use of the nkul is daily losing ground.

A final important element in the language, especially in the oral literature, is represented by exclamative-descriptives, a series of locutions based on onomatopoeias or derived from verbs or modified nouns, reduplicated and often introduced by an exclamative particle or a click (2). Some of them are sufficiently accepted to be used in

2. Bertaut is one of the rare authors, if not the only one, to point out these clicks. I know of three in general use: one of approval, one of denial, one of warning. Others exist, used in hunting and still little known, which were perhaps borrowed from the Pygmies.

194 written texts, but the majority remain current only in the spoken language, the speaker moreover not hesitating to invent as need arises.

4. Classification

197 114 Most writers, from Meinhof to Guthrie, class the languages of the Pahouin group with the Bantu. In his general classification of Bantu languages (1948), Guthrie puts them in his area A, under the decimal number 60, including Ewondo, Bulu /Boulou/, Ntum /Ntoumou/, Mekaé, Zimu, Fañ /Fang/ (the so-called Betsi or Mazouna dialect, although he does not specify this) and Maké (doubtless eastern Fang, the dialect called Makina). Stoll includes Ewondo in his work on the Bantu and semi-Bantu languages of the Cameroons, without specifying whether he classes it with one or the other (3).

> 3. In its reports to the United Nations, the Cameroons government qualifies the Pahouin of the southern Cameroons as "neo-Bantu."

197 Yet it seems certain that, if these languages are really to be included in the Bantu family, they form a special category, which cannot be likened purely and simply to the unquestionably Bantu languages of adjacent populations. Besides, there is discussion as to whether the Pahouin invaders brought their language with them or have adopted and changed that of the peoples established before them on the Cameroons-Gabon plateau. There has also been some hesitation about classing the languages /26/ of the border tribes, notably Mekaé and Kozimé, either with the Pahouin group or with the adjacent Bantu groups. For instance, while it is agreed to put Ngumba beside the Bantu languages of the coast, Mekaé, which is certainly related to it, is classed sometimes with the Pahouin tongues, sometimes with those of the Bantu of the eastern Cameroons.

197 114 The existence of a nominal gender (Bates' Class III) lacking a classifier prevents our putting the group among "agglutinating languages with a perfect class system having a special pronoun for each class," where Delafosse places Bantu. Mademoiselle Homburger (Le langage et les langues /Speech and Language/, p. 69) makes of it a separate family, close both to coastal Bantu and to semi-Bantu. In the chapter she devotes to Bantu in Les langues du monde /Languages of the World/

197 114 she connects it with Delafosse's West African group, harking back to its non-Bantu character in Les langues africaines et les peuples qui les parlent /African Languages and the Peoples Who Speak Them/.

Father Trilles and Abbé Walker believe that they have found Semitic and Hamitic influences in Fang. A borrowing from Sudanese appears more likely. Westermann classes "Bati" in the semi-Bantu group, pointing out that the term "Sudanese languages possessing classes" seems to him more appropriate. Now, we know that Beti (Ati), which is losing ground today to Ewondo, is itself very close to Fang (Betsi-Mazouna) and recently reached to the northern limits of Boulou, which it has influenced.

We may therefore come to the conclusion that the Pahouin linguistic group, at present very close to Bantu, ought probably to be considered intermediate between the true Bantu tongues and the semi-Bantu or Sudanese class languages, historical circumstances and contact with neighboring peoples having accentuated the Bantu traits in such a way that it is proper, from the methodological point of view especially, to classify it as a special family of the Bantu group (1).

1. In the absence of specific mention, it seems that Greenberg (no. 70) would classify it in his Nigero-Congo group. [i.e., Niger-Congo.-Analyst]

Chapter 4

Economic Life

1. Subsistence

222 262 The diet of the Pahouin peoples would be enough to prove that their attachment to the land is quite recent. In fact the importance of collected produce is striking. According to a study carried out in Eton country (region of Yaoundé) by Dr. Masseyeff, the consumption of mushrooms amounts on Eton average to 4.1 grams per day per person (1). Snails, termites, caterpillars, palm larvae, and crickets

1. R. Masseyeff, A. Cambon, Enquête sur l'alimentation au Cameroon, Rapport à l'Office

222
262

de la Recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer /Inquiry into nourishment in the Cameroons, Report made to the Oversea Scientific and Technical Research Office/, I. R. C. A. M., Yaoundé.

are also eaten. "If this inquiry had taken place 30 years ago, the list of foods would have been much longer. Many leaves and fruits that used to be gathered were neglected, then given up altogether.... Likewise, game has become scarce...." (2) In many villages there

224
264

2. Compiègne (no. 13) pointed out as long ago as 1875 the ravages to herds of elephants caused by Fang "hunting parties," which killed male, female, and young elephants indiscriminately.

The following are the principal hunting techniques now in use:

Shooting: With crossbow for monkeys and large birds, using "bamboo" strophanthin-poisoned arrows; with guns for large game: guns with central percussion /sic/ in the Cameroon, with trade guns in Gabon (these, which are prohibited in the Cameroons, are superior for shooting assagai at elephants, which often causes improved rifles to burst); beating and calling.

Battue /beating/: Dogs wearing little bells drive the game into nets, where it is finished off by spearing.

Snaring: Snares of elephant hair for francolin /partridge/ and small mammals (a method used particularly by children); wire snares for boar and antelope; pitfalls for elephant; trenches with stakes, plain trenches, dead-end trenches; 4-shaped deadfalls /quatre-de-chiffre/; land weirs; portcullis cages; snaring with latex; poisoned bait (for panther and wildcat).

224
262

Hunting on foot: Practiced especially by the Pygmies, without dogs. Some Pahouin still hunt down buffalo and forest pig and kill them with boar spears, but they are few. (P. A.)

222 are men who call themselves hunters (3). Income from the sale of
262

3. In some Boulou villages one finds foreign professional hunters, Baya or Kaka usually. Besides, Pygmies are regular hunters for their "landlords." (P. A.)

game meat appears to be practically negligible in family budgets. But, according to the work quoted above, hunting provides about a fifth of the total consumption of meat. Fishing is not unknown, but
226 the techniques are of the simplest. Women sometimes /28/ dam
262 streams to dry up the beds where the fish can be caught. Sometimes fishing with poison is done, and children like to fish with line. But none of the methods is really productive; there are no large weirs, no nets, no canoes. Nutritionists estimate the ration of locally caught fish to be 1 gram per person per day—which is a simply way of underlining the feeble nautical talents of the Pahouin.

262 Agriculture furnishes the basic subsistence. Manioc is used in countless dishes: manioc rolls made from the crushed and boiled tubers, smothered manioc, or manioc fritters; even the leaves are often eaten. The use of leaves for food is perhaps a peculiar trait of Ewôndo and Boulou diet. Thirteen kinds of leaves are used in cooking, either as seasoning or as a purée, often to thicken sauces. Along with manioc, the plantain banana provides the basic food. Next comes macabo, Xanthosema sagittefolia /malanga/. Various kinds of yams are much liked. This gastronomic pattern of the Fang, and
[177] in particular of the Beti, should be enough to prove their foreign origin, because yams, which are tropical rather than equatorial, do not grow at all well in the present habitat of the Pahouin.

Maize is the only cereal currently used as food. It is often served as a dough, as gruel, and even on the cob. Maize beer, outside
[273] certain urban centers, seems to be drunk less than palm wine, (the sap of the Elaeis guineensis). The oil palm, moreover, plays an important part in the diet. A source of lipoids /lipides/ and Vitamin A,

262 palm oil is the basis of sauces and stews eaten with tubers and cereals. Groundnuts are widely used (do not the Ewôndo owe their name to them?). The dough obtained after cooking and pounding goes toward the making of numerous dishes and provides the main part of the needed protein. One article of food ought finally to be mentioned because it is very much liked and also because its consumption seems absolutely uneconomical—pumpkin seeds. The seeds are preserved, dried, and cleaned one by one, then put to boil, and mashed. The skill required for, and the time spent in, shelling the seeds appears subject to scanty return (1).

[438] 1. But fritters made of pumpkin-seed dough are delicious .... There is quite a good trade in these seeds for town consumption. (P. A.)

2. Agriculture

177 24 Before broaching the description of present-day agriculture, we must see what it used to be like and what it still is in certain traditionalist sections. In fact, methods do not appear to have changed at all; new crops have simply been added to the old ones. It is likely that because of the influence of these new crops /29/ the whole technology (material techniques, legal techniques, etc.) will develop further. But that trend is only starting, and at present the cultivation of groundnuts, maize, and other long-familiar foodstuffs remains nearly what it was forty years ago, before the advent of the cacao tree.

24 Traditional agriculture

Formerly, each family produced everything it needed and confined its efforts. There were no cash crops, there was no article of food suitable for maintaining an exchange system, but all sorts of crops were cultivated. As to clothes, elderly Bané and Ewôndo state that [247 the cultivation and weaving of cotton was practiced by their ancestors; there could be no question of this in their present habitat, and the 286] tradition is valuable merely as evidence, either for those who believe that the Pahouin come from regions further north, or for those who see in the Beti not true Pahouin but a Pahouinized people (1). Each

241 [824] 1. The Boulou call cotton sut and kapok sut duma; neither the cotton plant nor the kapok tree grows in their area. (P. A.)

family grows some tobacco, some pimentos, or condiments of various kinds, in short, all it consumes. Each plot of land, moreover, shows this multiple cultivation, since all sorts of plants are sown together according to the so-called system of companion crops, in contrast to European cultivation where one field is devoted exclusively to one crop.

241 242 This mixture of different plants probably avoids exhausting the soil of any one of its constituants. A stand of maize with its shallow roots absorbs what nourishment it needs, while the tubers of the macabo which surround it go deeper to feed themselves with other elements, and a few plantings of groundnuts enrich the soil by holding nitrogen in it. And yet, as an additional preventive measure, so to speak, the farmer varies his sowings from year to year. Does he consciously carry on true crop rotation, is he led to this practice by the length of growing cycles or by the needs of the plants?

241 After a rough clearing of the ground by burning, the women sow and plant the freshly cleared land: gourds, plantains, macabo to be harvested in a year or eighteen months, maize that will mature in five months. After the maize harvest, a second planting period is devoted to groundnuts; when they are mature, macabo, manioc, and plantain will be ready to harvest. Manioc is left in the ground for a long time and can, at need, provide tubers. The cycle completed, the ground is left fallow and goes back to bush. Fallow land that was abandoned for good at the time of the great migrations is now being put back into cultivation after a lapse of time that varies with the demand for land due to demographic pressure, with the quality of the soil, and with the nature of its reclamation. /30/

Obviously, there is no period of any length without a crop.

Except for maize, groundnuts, and pumpkin seeds, there is no crop that can be stored in a granary, a fact that has as much bearing on social psychology as upon building techniques. Working according to traditional methods, a woman cultivates 0.52 hectares a year to provide food for her family (1). There is another way of judging the

1. A mean based on /the work of/ 27 women (Ewondo and Bané) whose plots were measured

241 in 1954 in connection with a study of family budgets.

amount of food necessary to maintain the population: a crop census was taken in 1948 in one of the Sangmélima cantons (2). In order to

[431]

2. Report of the administrative officer, J. M. Soupault. An average individual's requirement would be: 250 maize plants, 330 manioc plants, 130 plantains, 110 macabo, 7 kilograms of rice, and 32 kilograms of groundnuts.

satisfy the needs of 6, 249 inhabitants there is no "exportation" to [433] speak of. The canton used to produce 1, 635, 000 maize plants, 2, 049, 000 manioc, 824, 190 plantain bananas, 687, 800 macabo. It furthermore provided 44 tons of rice, 200 tons of groundnuts. There were 85, 180 fruit trees producing various kinds of fruit (Pachylobes /Canarium edulis Hooker, known as assa in Pahouin country—Ed. /, Estulis, oranges, etc.)

Clearing land by burning and the absence of organic fertilizer probably explain the exhaustion of the soil and the shifting cultivation that results from it.

231 The breeding and rearing of small animals is nevertheless understood and practiced: goats, dogs, fowls, pigs were and still are plentiful in the villages. These animals do not seem to contribute [432] much to the food supply nor to the economic life. The very limited practice of selling pieces of pork has dates from recent years. As a [431] matter of fact, animals were useful for giving quasi-ritual presents, [432] for paying bride prices, and for celebrating family occasions: at a marriage, burial, and the end of mourning, two or three goats were killed to provide food for the relatives.

Of course, these animals are not stabled or fed; the herds wander along the outskirts of villages and do not fail to plunder the gardens. [571] There are innumerable classic quarrels between farmers and herders (with the slight difference here that no one is exclusively a herder nor 357 exclusively a farmer). Was the practice of enclosing by hedges established so as to avoid such depredations, or to give military protection to the settlements? Whatever the origin, this practice associated with the raising of animals would have made it possible to avoid

erosion and preserve the fertility of the soil. At present it would be a definite exaggeration to speak of an enclosure system, as may be done about the Bamiléké in the western Cameroons. Did such a system ever exist in Pahouin country, and are the humble hedges sometimes to be found encircling villages or plantations traces of it? However that may be, the practice could be very beneficial, and its development is much to be desired.

The raising of animals is now on the decline, especially in villages removed from the main roads. Are sacrifices requiring goats and hens passing into disuse? /31/ Have vehicular traffic and the number of fowls run over prevented the renewal of the leasing out of domestic animals /?/ /cheptel/. These various causes may have been simultaneously at work, but the reason most often given is the development of cacao plantations. Without fences, the raising of goats and the planting of cacao trees are incompatible. To protect their plantations or to avoid endless quarrels, owners of herds have had to limit their undertakings.

Modern agriculture

Cacao is indeed the symbol and the essential component of a modern economy. From this crop and from the agricultural, juridical, and economic practices which it entails, a thousand improvements or seeds of progress appear throughout the society.

It would, however, be unfair not to mention the other economic activities of the Pahouin districts, although their influence and financial return are far behind that of cacao. Timber, though its importance has decreased, played an essential role a few decades ago. African entrepreneurs are rare in this industry where equipment is complicated and expensive. A fairly large tonnage of palmetto is sold when the market is good, although the best soil and climate for palms is not to be found here (1).

1. The Pahouin of the southern Cameroons, the Boulou and Ntoumou particularly, dislike climbing trees and often sell the bunches of dates to Mekaé on the tree. (P. A.)

But cacao remains the master crop. Its cultivation has become a part of the mores and has left its mark on psychological patterns.

245 Planters boast of the number of their trees. Does this transformation go deep? Balandier thinks not: "Present-day interest in cacao growing ought not to mislead us—the Fang is not by nature a farmer; he raises cacao insofar as it brings in money and commodities." (2)

2. Balandier and Pauvert, Villages gabonais /Gabonese Villages/, I.E.C.A. /Institut d'Etudes centrafricaines/, Brazzaville, 1952.

Within the last forty years millions of trees have been planted. A few figures will go to show the extent of this activity: in Boulou country there is an average of 1,500 cacao trees per able-bodied man at Ebolowa, 1,100 at Sangmélima, 950 at Djoum. In Beti country, the plantations are not so large, either because the soil was less fertile or because the population density did not allow as much land to be withdrawn from subsistence crops. Nevertheless, there are 413 trees per able-bodied man for the whole Yaoundé region. Distribution by subdivision is of some interest because it makes it possible to understand how far cacao trees have extended. The M'Balmayo subdivision comes first with 743 trees per man; then Djongolo with 655; Etse, 415; Akonolinga, 401; Saa, 378; Mfou, 347; Okola, 277. The Nanga-Eboko figure does not warrant consideration, the subdivision being in part in an unfavorable climatic area. /32/ Ebolowa is clearly the center of diffusion, and the contagion of example explains perfectly well the gradually decreasing density of the plantations. At Yaoundé or Akonolinga, plantations are fewer because the custom of planting is more recent. But the low figures for Saa or Okola are probably to be explained by the difficulty of finding empty land in areas where the density of population may reach 100 persons per square kilometer. On the other hand, extreme sparsity of population becomes an unfavorable factor. Djoum with 0.8 persons per square kilometer is less abundantly planted than are Sangmélima or Ebolowa with 8 to 10 persons.

In measuring the importance of the cacao trees to the local economy, the distribution-per-man figures will give no indication of the dis- [123] tribution of the ownership of trees or of wealth. The entire production is in African hands. Everyone considers it a point of honor to own a plantation. Townsmen, officials, or /salaried/ employees, whose

245 occupations keep them away from their native villages, try to build up plantations, even though they may draw no profits before their retirement. Among Boulou or Beti every married man is a cacao planter. In the course of a sample survey of 490 rural families, only 43 (less than 9 percent) were found who do not have some income from a cacao plantation (1): 7 live from the sale of different agri-

1. J. Binet, Budgets familiaux des planteurs de cacao au Cameroun /Family Budgets of Cacao Planters in the Cameroons/, O.R.S.T.O.M. /Office de la Recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer/.

cultural products; 15 are engaged in crafts; 9 are salaried workers, employed in trade, missions, the administration. For the 437 other families cacao is a basic resource.

245 556 434 511 The large number of proprietors is accompanied by a wide distribution of wealth and by a certain amount of social equality (2).

2. Sautter, "Le cacao dans l'économie rurale du Woleu-Ntem /Cacao in the Rural Economy of the Woleu-N'Tem/," Études centrafricaines, 1951.

Nevertheless, financial differences are clearly marked. To take only cash income and to disregard home consumption, 28 households had available an average of 3, 720 francs C.F.A. per annum (3).

436 3. One franc C.F.A. equals two metropolitan francs. Incomes were computed in 1954, a year during which quotations for cacao were especially favorable.

113 households had 10, 000 francs C.F.A., 217 had 29, 600 francs, 87 had 71, 500 francs, 36 had 152, 000 francs, 5 had 440, 000 francs. Large incomes coincide with enormous plantations, but also with 205 profits from a variety of sources: of the 5 families with the highest 511 income, only 2 derive theirs entirely from cultivation. Of the 36 in 556 the next lower category, 24 have a purely agricultural income. The

245 [511] [556] distribution of cacao plantations is neither the only nor perhaps the principal cause of inequality. Cacao production is on a considerable scale: around 50, 000 tons in the Cameroons, 3, 000 tons in Gabon (4).

[433]

4. Almost the whole of the Gabon output comes from the Woleu-N'Tem region and especially the Ntoumou cantons. (P. A.)

It is easy to understand that this crop is an essential factor in the 182 evolution /sic/ of Pahouin society.

245 In the field of common law, for example, cacao has affected the orientation of land law. By giving each person the possibility of making /33/ private profits, cacao has increased the independence of men and even of women from family authority. Because it allows the accumulation of durable and tranferable goods, cacao has raised, in a new form, the problem of successional devolution /inheritance/.

To consider only the realm of technology: settling on the land during several generations has apparently put an end to real nomadism; villages are no longer moved about. But a certain amount of shifting cultivation will remain inevitable if some method of rapid reclamation of fallow land is not adopted.

245 The stock of tools has increased considerably. An axe with a small, 412 narrow head ending in a tongue was fastened into the large end of a wooden handle, a daba similarly made but with a rounder head and lighter handle (1) and a machete were formerly the basic implements.

[284]

1. The tongue of the hoe, driven into a branch like a spike, is also bound to it with liana. Old women still use the digging stick, which has or had some ritual significance. (P. A.)

To these must now be added pruning shears, caterpillar destroyer or a local copy, and cacao spear.

245 Boxes or baskets provide vats for fermenting the /cacao/ beans, a roof shades the trays on which they are put to dry. Some men have thought of buying Vermorel vaporizers for spraying the cacao trees; others dream of mowing machines for clearing the land.

3. Trade

431 Planters command few sources of income; beside their tool equipment a thousand new needs have arisen, which trade must satisfy.
556
437 There is, oddly, no commercial tradition at all among the Pahouin. For bride-price payments previous generations used ivory tusks or pieces of wrought iron in the shape of arrows. But was this a form of money? Nothing was bought, nothing sold. And yet, according to Balandier, the pursuit of wealth represented the men's principal activity (2) aside from routine work, perhaps, moreover, because

> 2. Cf. Largeau (no. 48) for the mythical role of the spider in producing merchandise "among the dead." (P. A.)

there was no trade or exchange. From the accounts, it appears that previous generations could only obtain goods from distant countries by bilaba and not by purchase. The bilaba approximates the potlatch in being a contest. During a visit a host gives his guest all kinds of presents, defying him to do the like. Later the guest will have to offer even more than he received. Thus, exchange and a struggle for prestige are involved at the same time (3). Bilaba apparently were

> 3. J. Guilbot, Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 1951, Vol. 21; G. Balandier, Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire /Contemporary Native African Sociology/, P.U.F. /Presses Universitaires de France/, 1955, p. 182.

means of distributing objects of European origin (salt, weapons, clothes) and of exchanging them for ivory collected in the interior, game, or the dogs that some tribes /34/ eat. In general, it is to such exchanges as these that the old accounts refer. But one can scarcely speak of trade for such ritualized gifts and countergifts. And nothing else warrants the assumption of an economy based on exchange. Between
443 Yaoundé and Brazzaville there are no markets, or, more correctly,
177 the markets that now exist were started by Europeans or at their instigation (1).

177
443

1. This lack is also pointed out by Balandier, op. cit., p. 544.

A careful study of village names in several subdivisions has not turned up a name that seems connected with ideas of market, exchange, or trade. Moreover, vocabularies for such subjects are very limited.

And, into this land so unprepared for an economic /sic/ life, world economy is penetrating with all its complexity, setting a purchase price for the total output, which has fluctuations the planters obviously cannot understand. Their dismay is natural, since they have not even been able to become familiar with ideas about price, demand, or bargaining through traditions of trade.

It goes without saying that the time when salt was the item most
431 in demand is long since past. However, bags of salt appear among
258 traditional wedding presents, and the manufacture of salt from lye-
585 washed palm ash is still known, though the product is only sold —
278 and moreover very rarely—for its medicinal properties.

511 Expenditures have become extremely diversified, as shown by the analysis of an average family budget: (2)

2. These figures drawn from Budgets familiaux au Cameroun /Family Budgets in the Cameroons/, p. 150, do not take into account, we must remember, auto consumption.

Food	14	percent	Household articles	1.9	percent
Textiles	17.4	-	Equipment	7.7	-
Bride price	13	-	Taxes	8.5	-
Housing and furniture	7.5	-	Medicaments	1.3	-
Bedding	1.5	-	Education	0.9	-
Lighting and upkeep	3	-	Gifts and miscellaneous	6	-
Trips	2	-			

517
177
511
291
[241]

Food now includes, even in the bush, imported items like stockfish or like the bread, sardines, sugar, and condensed milk that are used less regularly. Clothes are the main item of expense. The desire to follow Paris fashions is perhaps not a national trait peculiar

517
177
511 to Pahouin women, but it is certainly a geographical characteristic of
[29] the southern Cameroons, consequently, the textiles for sale are to a great extent those sold in Europe. Specifically African prints, such as "wax-prints," are dying out. Underclothes, stockings, and shoes reflect the sophistication that goes with wealth. The purchase of durable goods that go under the heading "Equipment," (bicycles, phonographs, pressure lamps) is another symptom, as is the changing
[445] demand for household articles. /35/ While the saucepan is still the basic kitchen utensil, enamelware is in strong competition with
[513] crockery and glass. Blankets are used everywhere, but the use of sheets is also on the increase.

A mere list of commodities shows the present-day importance of
439 trade. The native populations have not always realized this, owing
441 to their lack of inclination for it. They have not started businesses and have often left this to immigrants, coastal people long familiar with European ways, particularly the Bamiléké or "Haoussa," /Hausa/ who for their part have a solid trading tradition and great capacities in this field. The Boulou especially despise trade and refuse to have anything to do with it. Other Pahouin peoples are not so strongly antipathetic, but their business activity remains very limited.

Is it this bankruptcy on the part of the indigenous people and this
443 taking over by "foreigners" which explains the organization and the
194 location of trade in the region? The villages are in fact very badly
441 served; markets are few and far between and so are rural shops. Perhaps we ought to note differences between the various Pahouin and Pahouinized groups. While a village trader is always most uncommon in Boulou country in spite of the relative affluence of the planters, he is not unknown in Ewondo districts and is quite often to be met with among the Eton, where resources are, nevertheless, more limited. Without local trade the collecting of crops and specifically of cacao posed quite a problem, to which the coming of buyers brought a solution. Business houses advance money to the buyers and buy what they are able to bring back. From hut to hut along the trails buyers negotiate purchases with planters. With these "purchases by peddling" it might seem logical for sales by peddling to develop. Yet this phenomenon is quite recent, being tied up with the development of transportation by car and bicycle. But while the buyers are generally native to the region, the pedlars are nearly always foreign.

[65] As house-to-house buying creates countless disadvantages, the administration has endeavored to create rural markets so that the public

184 441 443 [654] nature of the transactions and competition would correct them. These markets represent an attempt at introducing trade into the rural milieu, and they are not restricted to the purchase of cacao and palm trees; some African traders try to sell textiles, hardware, and food products. But the markets are still too new for the custom to have become firmly established, for them to have an existence of their own. It may be that here too we should except certain Eton cantons, where there seem to be some genuinely native rural markets.

443 Although of European origin, the markets held each day in the main towns of the subdivisions have become entirely a part of the way of life. Originally they were set up to provide food supplies for the settlements that grew up around administrative posts /36/ or missions. Then, professional traders came to offer imported merchandise to villagers come to sell their garden produce. Nowadays these markets are routine affairs, drawing their clientèle from a radius of 20 kilometers. Their importance depends upon that of the particular subdivision. As an illustration, we may use the following figures from a study of the market at Sangmélima: 200 women come to sell vegetables, maize, or fruit grown in their gardens. Some women dealers in palm oil, after having bought it liter by liter in the bush, come here with from 10 to 20 liters to sell. Young boys sell cigarettes, pieces of sugar, sandwiches, or cups of coffee, while women bring fritters. Side by side with these petty tradesmen others transact [439] business on a larger scale: about 20 sell dried, smoked fish prepared on the coast or stockfish (dried and salted) imported from Europe, while in their stalls 20 "market boys" /sic/ offering textiles, enamelware, or hardware wait for customers.

[493] The number of craftsmen grouped around the market, the number of cars, lorry-buses /camions amenages/, or bicycles which have brought customers show clearly that this is not an artificial institution. The market is now tending to become one of the elements of the town.

It shares this role with the shops. European and African traders do business along Western lines, both wholesale and retail at the same time. They try to keep on good business terms with the African small dealers who know very well how to go from supplier to supplier to compare merchandise, price, and terms. At the same time they sell directly to the public. Such shops are uncommon outside towns — in this connection as with markets, the villages are little touched by economic activity.

4. Towns

361 This lack of vitality in the bush is understandable if we turn to
621 conditions of settlement: the scattered pattern of settlement is very obvious. There are no villages properly speaking, just a dusting of hamlets. In the Cameroons, the villages are very small, with an average of 230 inhabitants. Furthermore, we are dealing with units in a system of control: their village is divided into many hamlets of from 5 to 20 huts grouped around that of the family head /chef de famille/.

178 In Gabon, Fang leaders are worried about this crumbling apart of the
361 population and have issued slogans for regrouping the villages.
621 Amongst them, indeed, the scattering is perhaps even more marked.
[12] "The average number of inhabitants per village varies from 42 (territory of Mitzic) to 105 around Oyem and to nearly 138 in the Fang canton of Makokou." (1)

1. Balandier and Pauvert, Les villages gabonais /Gabonese Villages/, Mémoir, I.E.C.A. /Institut d'Études centrafricaines/, Brazzaville, 1952.

This is not the place for a study of whether scattered settlement is natural in a country where no centralized authority has been imposed, in which the only certain /37/ power was that of the family head, or whether, on the contrary, it evidences a new kind of anarchy, an intensified individualism. We shall merely point out that the
[184] hamlets are larger in Boulou country than in Ewôndo or Bané country, although the former political institutions of the Ewôndo and Bané seem to have given tribal chiefs some political powers and marks of rank, of which there seems to have been no question among the Boulou. The first appearance of centralized political power would seem to coincide with a greater dispersion in settlement.

The fact remains that no center of concentration forced any crystallization whatsoever of an amorphous mass. This fact, closely connected with the absence of trade, clearly indicates the new and artificial character of the towns. They are all of recent origin, and yet they have become a necessity.

463 The role of the towns in the external trade of the region is evident, but their role in regional economy is no less essential. In fact, formerly the population had hardly any specialization, because of limited needs: each group was self-sufficient. No division of labor was prescribed aside from the allotment of tasks to men and women. Only smiths possessed a special technique which allowed them to ply a
326 trade. Yet they were not a caste; a smith could ally himself by marriage with any family whatsoever, and a farmer's son might become a smith.

Everyone could extract iron ore, but only a skilled man who had acquired knowledge and magical power could work metal. Professional differentiation is /sic/ obviously still rudimentary. Perhaps it corresponds to a mediocre technological level: the stock of tools is limited—a stone used as an anvil, an iron bar as a hammer, and a bellows as a forge. The smith does not seem to have been the mysterious and awesome figure found in other societies. At most we may believe that there were sexual prohibitions connected with certain phases of his work, which allows us to assume a magical or religious aspect (1).

1. Miss /Mary/ Kingsley, Travels in West Africa, London, 1897; we should note however "an important pottery art, ironwork that deserves particular mention owing to its excellence, a technique for treating latex, an art of plaiting clothes" (in Balandier,
113 "Village fang /Fang Village/, " Études centrafricaines, 1951).

463 The small number of objects in use did not require a real division of labor. A piece of grooved ivory was used for beating bark to soften it for the making of clothes. This technique has evidently disappeared. There /were/ a few potteries; the wooden bowls are now replaced by imported ware. One still fairly often finds calling drums, wooden ladles or spoons carved by artisans, and mortars. Spearheads are currently sold in the markets. Crossbows are less and less used, and hunters make their own nets.

Needs which are now more varied have given rise to /36/ many professional specializations. A few are represented in rural districts,

463 but most of the artisans live in towns; there it is that they learned their trades, more easily find materials and tools, there also they believe the multitude will enable them to collect a large number of orders.

Certain crafts are long established, such as tailoring, masonry, and carpentry. But while Pahouin are numerous in the woodworking and building trades, as tailors they frequently have to compete with immigrants. New professions arise, often controlled by foreigners also—photographers, mattress makers, and mechanics. This brief list of the most widespread trades allows one to infer the rise in the standard of living: doors and windows, tables, chairs, wardrobes, beds, mattresses are now in quite general use.

369 166 The towns plan an essential role and are completely integrated into the country, since it is there that the rural people go to have the things made which they need. The mixed character of town populations is astonishing. Immigrants from all regions of the Cameroons or French Equatorial Africa give them a cosmopolitan character, while the bush has not sustained such a complex intermixture.

Nevertheless, we must not exaggerate the antithesis between country people and townsfolk: many countrymen have resided a few years in town and have kept up connections there. Migration away from centers was quite active thirty years ago, and certain Pahouin tribes were largely represented in the timber industry. There has been just as decided a movement toward the towns: "The development of cacao plantations along the Woleu-N'Tem by changing the living conditions of the villagers certainly seems to have been the principal cause of the halt in emigration in 1930." This remark by Sautter about the Fang is also true of the Boulou and —to a lesser degree, perhaps—of the Béti and assimilated tribes more closely pressed together in their habitat.

463 162 Béti, Boulou, or Fang form a petty bourgeoisie rather than a proletariat without resources. The following figures show the relatively small proportion of unskilled laborers (1):

1. M. Soret, Démographie et problèmes urbains en A.E.F. /Demography and Urban Problems in French Equatorial Africa/, I.F.A.N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noir/, 1954.

463
162

Occupational Distribution of Pahouin Emigrants in Douala

	Laborers	Artisans	Intellectual Occupations	Traders and Licensed Dealers
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Beti	37	55	1.9	6
Boulou		60	40	

A study of Dolisie, Baronga, and Poto-Poto makes it possible to establish similar facts for occupations (2). /39/

2. According to J. Guilbot, Petite étude sur la main-d'oeuvre à Douala /A Brief Study of Manpower at Douala/, I. F. A. N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noir/, the Cameroons, 1947.

162
871

The proportion among them of persons who have education is about 40 percent and, what is even more important, that of the well-educated is relatively high.

Poto-Poto: Cultural Level of "Coastal Forest Dwellers"

Illiterates	Educated	Holders of the C. E. P.*	Holders of the "Brevet"
610	390	111	56

/*Certificat d'etudes primaires, certificate of primary education. /

369
166

After spending some time in town, some emigrants return to their native villages, thus diminishing the separation between the two places. The bush folk, in turn, often come to the urban centers (1) and in

1. A set of figures gives the exact number of these trips: in 480 budgets relative to a total of 2, 000 persons, 1, 116 trips were listed (J. Binet, op. cit., p. 112).

such a case we gather that each principal town of a subdivision is a genuine center of attraction. Although new these towns are not artificial. There is another piece of evidence for this, the social-occupational distribution of the urban population is almost constant from one town to another, a proof that it corresponds to needs that are also constant.

Out of 100 inhabitants one generally finds: laborers 16.5, employees 12, traders 8.3, chauffeurs 6.9 (and "motor boys" 4.3), public service employees 6.7, domestic servants 5.8, carpenters 4.9, masons 4, farmers 3.5, tailors 3.2, mechanics 2.9, photographers 0.8, herders 0.5, catechists 0.1, without occupation 9, etc.

This in general outline is the present-day distribution. Let it simply be kept in mind that, with the diffusion of a new culture, the whole society becomes modified. The techniques and tools in use have been increased and diversified at the same time as social conditions.

Chapter 5

Social Organization

1. Forms of Settlement, Habitat

The basic social group is the patriarchal family (nda bot = lit., house of the people), to which corresponds the hamlet or elementary village, the jal (Boulou, pl. mal; Fang, Ewôndo, dzal), generally called by the name of the patriarch (ésa = father; ntôl = eldest, senior), but sometimes, when isolated, carrying a special toponym (éyôlé = proper name, designation; a person's name is rather jôé; Fang, édzoé). These mal are usually arranged into multifamily, sometimes multi-clan, villages, minlam (sing. nlam), the latter term designating both the group of dwellings and the soil appertaining to them. The nlam always has a place name of its own, which may refer to its geographical situation: nkôlayôp = on the hill; to a topographical or botanical peculiarity: ako'abete = dressed stone, ajap = the name of a tree, ma'an = crossroads; or to an incident connected with the founding: ébolewo'o (Ebolowa) = decayed chimpanzee, because the village was

103 set up at a spot where the body of a chimpanzee had been found; menjikôm = from me nji kômbo, I did not want to, the founding family not having wanted to go any further. /Or the nlam may take its place name/ from a nickname or whimsical name: mañ = sea, the site being considered "as beautiful as the sea"; kamelôn = Kamerun, "because a white man told us that the country would be called thus henceforward; évuzok = elephant's stomach, because of the appetite of its inhabitants, etc. It may also happen that a village name repeats that of its founder's native village, sometimes coupled with an indication like baa = second, mfefé = new, or with the name of its founder or chief, Méyo me Nkulu, the Méyo of Nkulu.

166 The leapfrog advance of small Pahouin groups at the time of the
621 invasion has already been described. Each of these groups generally
178 corresponded to a hamlet—jal—or to a village—nlam—or, rather, to the corresponding family units, nda bôt or mvôk. The migrating group retained rights to the abandoned site (bilik). Today the migration of whole villages is much less common. Rather, we are witnessing either a "swarming off" of villages that are overpopulated in relation to the amount of land available for plantations (in particular land near a vehicular road, especially in Cameroons), or a kind of explosion or social disintegration, /41/ the latter phenomenon being particularly noticeable among the Fang, where it has been well described by Balandier. Administrative action has often been a prime mover in the latest migrations: in Gabon, for instance, there has been an attempt to move whole villages for administrative, economic, or hygienic reasons, but in doing so collective groups have been broken up that had already been weakened by the disappearance of ancient defense needs and by the economic changes resulting from colonization. The new villages, often reconstituted without taking into account previous clan or family structures, no longer had any cohesion and split up into small rootless hamlets, poorly populated, continually moving their sites in disorderly fashion and usually seeking to escape contact with the administration. Since 1946, especially at the instance of the deputy, Aubame, himself a Fang, there has come into existence in Gabon a movement to regroup villages by clans, the results of which do not seem to have corresponded to the hopes of its promoters.

166 The situation is perceptibly different in the Cameroons, where the
621 early introduction of the cultivation of cacao (before 1914 in Ewôndo

166 country and in the north of Boulou country) has put a considerable
621 brake upon village nomadism, the planters not liking to move away from their plantations. When there is migration, the activity consists rather in the "swarming off" of a portion of the inhabitants, who go to found a new hamlet in a site favorable for cultivation, without there being from then on any necessary correspondence between family structure and settlement pattern. The new jal will no longer necessarily correspond to one family but may gather together several families from different and unrelated lineages (mvam).

361 The Pahouin village of former times was planned for defense.
712 Situated in an oblong clearing, usually within reach of the nearest
[202] village (3 to 4 kilometers) by drum-telephone (nkul), it comprised two lines of contiguous rectangular huts, gable to gable, on either side of a courtyard or main street (nsen̄), blocked at either end by a guardhouse /men's house/ (aba, aben̄) allowing only a narrow entrance, often oblique, which was barricaded every evening. All doors gave onto the nsen̄; the outer walls having merely a few loopholes. Sometimes the village was encircled by a moat (ésalak) and traps, sometimes also by a stockade /akak). The most important subsistence plots (mefup) were in the forest, often quite far away, but near the village behind the huts were banana groves and kitchen gardens, while medicinal plants (bilok bi mebian̄) as well as tobacco were grown in
342 the central nsen̄. The hut walls were made of bark (particularly of certain kinds of Ficus /fig/) which was wetted, then beaten flat and dried to form boards; these are the "carbotes" (from the English word "cardboard") still in use on the coast. These boards were fastened by lianas and pegs to posts set in a rectangle. The double pitched roof was of "tiles" made of raffia folioles (ôbaé, pl. abaé) folded in two and pinned with wooden splinters to the scantlings made of /42/ strips of the main leaf rib set parallel to the ridgepole. This ridgepole
[531] rested on forked posts, of which the two central ones had magical significance and were usually carved or at least painted. The dimensions of these dwelling huts rarely exceeded 6 by 3 meters, while those of the guardhouses (meba) might reach twice this. In each
[352] household the man had his private hut where he kept his most valuable possessions (biôm): chests containing loincloths, etc., weapons, drums, "medicaments" (mebian̄), his own seat, masks, and magical equipment. The women's huts, side by side with his and where the young children slept, were used as kitchens and contained carrying

352 baskets, storage baskets (binaan), crockery (viek), or imported "negro pots" /sic/ (minkeñ), the drying rack, shrimp nets, mortars, and other feminine implements. The young unmarried men slept in
341 the guardhouse; the girls slept with the women. A jal occupied by an average-sized family might be 50 meters long. Large minlam reached half a kilometer, in which case the nseñ was divided into sections by the secondary meba of each family. The chief lived in the middle and had a larger aba than those of other families.

177 342 This kind of village has almost entirely disappeared. Bark huts
[178] are still extant in a few isolated villages in Gabon, but they are increasingly rare. In actual fact, one finds almost everywhere the hut of reinforced banco /wattle and daub?/ (the wattle consists of laths made of the main ribs of raffia, incorrectly called bamboo), imposed on Boulou country around 1925 by an administrator called Nkulu (meaning "the Tornado"), which has left its mark throughout Pahouin country. These huts are usually rectangular but tend, in prosperous villages, to be influenced by European forms, with T-, U-, or H-shapes, with verandas and lean-to showers. They are often plastered with kaolin (fem) sometimes mixed with red or green ocher or with imported laundry blueing. The roof is still usually of raffia tile, but it may have four slopes or be even more complicated, copied
[514] from European roots. Each family has its own privy (éduk).

341 The layout of villages has likewise changed. The most prevalent plan keeps the single central nseñ /street/, but the huts are in four lines on either side and are separate, no longer contiguous. The men's huts are nearest the road, the women's, now called kisin (cuisines /kitchens/), are laid out behind, or sometimes around, the
[631] husband's. The plaster is often painted in fresco with various subjects —copies of pictures in magazines, religious subjects, in Boulou country illustrations from the novel Nnanga kôn (1), portraits of

1. The best Boulou painter of recent years was David Monewoso, a Yemfek from Sangmélima, who not only established the iconography of Nnanga kon but is also a good portraitist and a remarkable painter of animals.

Europeans famous locally or internationally. The aba /guardhouse/ has lost its defensive character and often take the form of an airy

shed with a roof low enough to /43/ give good protection from the sun. Some villages are placed at right angles to the road; others follow an L or Y plan, with several minseñ. Family "allotments" are separated by hedges of euphorbia, castor-oil plant, hibiscus, and bougainvillea. Sometimes one comes across sheepfolds, although in old-style (and most contemporary) villages small livestock roam at will. A village often includes a guesthouse (ayak).

In building operations the man generally takes charge of the framework and the laths, leaving to the women the preparation and application of the banco /clay daub?/. But European-style huts with their elaborate door frames and often cement floors are more and more the work of specialized artisans, who are paid to supervise the family labor provided by the owner. These men have nevertheless preserved, along with the English term "mason," the old name nloñ nda, literally, hut-weaver, which goes back to the time when huts were made of sewn bark (1).

1. The dwelling continues to evolve: framed doors, windows, and shutters are in general use today. The dimensions of the buildings lead to the construction of a real frame. Finally, to possess a sheet-iron roof is a sign of wealth. In recent years there has arisen a real passion for the improvement of dwelling: in the Cameroons we may estimate that 10 percent of the dwellings now built in the bush are the most modern type. (J.B.)

2. Groupings and Relationships

The main divisions of Pahouin society are both exactly defined in the minds of its members themselves and at the same time uncertain for the European observer, who is constantly tempted to state them clearly in organic forms accessible to his "logic" and who is hindered by the variations or the dialectal confusions of Pahouin terminology. Father Trilles, basing his observations on the Fang of Gabon alone, reached a sort of palaeontological reconstruction of the "Fang nation," extremely theoretical, yet not without basis

571 121 114 [165] however, since traces of it can be recognized in the contemporary movement for Pahouin Regrouping represented in the Cameroons by the U. T. N. K. party (N'Tem Kribi Tribal Union). Such /theoretical/ constructs are still rather risky in our present state of knowledge, and it is better to limit ourselves to a pure and simple description, resorting as little as possible to interpretation, which in any case should be done with hesitancy.

128 571 I shall therefore limit muself here to the attempt to perceive Pahouin society on three essential structural levels, while emphasizing again the necessarily arbitrary and incomplete nature of such a proceeding.

These three levels are the most easily perceptible to the European observer and at the same time the most significant, apparently, in the eyes of the Pahouin themselves. These are, what I shall call, for lack of anything better and because they are the terms particularly retained by the administration, the tribe, the clan, and the extended family or village family. Something will also have to be said about intermediate structures such as lineages, segments /fractions/, and village groups, and a little more on the subject of the household or limited family, whose importance is increasing. /44/

a. The Tribe

GP I designate as "tribe" what Trilles calls "group," while he keeps the term "tribe"—as do many observers in Gabon—for what I call "clan." This is because in southern Gabon there is only one "tribe" in the sense I understand, that of the true Fang, or Fang-Fang as Spanish writers call them.

I know of no Pahouin word specifically denoting tribe, Trilles uses the expression mfulane meyoñ, that is, "all of the clans together." In fact, and this is no doubt significant, the term most commonly used is ayoñ, which also denotes what I call clan. Mfulane meyoñ is used particularly when there is occasion to specify that one is referring to a higher structural level, sometimes also referred to as ngum ayoñ, "the clan as a whole," or meyoñ mese, "all the clans." (1) Nevertheless, the tribe is indeed a reality, in spite of this

1. American translators of the Bible have used ayoñ for "people" as well as for "tribe" and "realm."

619 uncertainty about the term for it. It is known by a proper name—Fang, Boulou, Ntoumou, Ewôndo, etc. —and its members have an actual feeling of belonging.

Tribes usually inhabit a homogeneous geographical area; but this is not an absolute rule: the Mvaé are divided into two blocks by the Ntoumou, similarly there are isolated Fang nuclei in northern Boulou country.

Earlier (pp. 18-19) we recalled the legend that places the formation of the tribes at the time when the children of the ancestor Afiri Kara separated after crossing the Sanaga. Each tribe would therefore be composed of the descendants of one of these mythical ancestors, /each/ having followed a distinct migration route and later settled down in a specific area of shifting cultivation. This explanation would give us a satisfactory solution, but it contradicts another tradition, apparently better attested, according to which the same clans are to be found within all the tribes. The latter tradition corresponds better with the aspirations toward unity of the "Pahouin nation." The tribes would then be definite groupings composed of the same clans, and at the core of each tribe would be found descendants of several mythical ancestors and not of just a single one, as the first theory has it.

In any case there is no question but that the tribe has a very definite existence and makes itself known, particularly as against adjacent tribes, even though admittedly the latter would be composed of the same clans. Tales of old wars and the spectacle of present-day rivalries are evidence of this.

We should add that some tribes have a traditional origin that is non-Pahouin, although they definitely belong to the group. This is the case with the Mbida-Mbane and the Mvog-Nyenge, who probably are descended from slaves of the Pahouin; with the Fong, who probably derive from the marriage of a Bané to /45/ a Pygmy woman; and perhaps there are others. We shall see that it is difficult in certain cases to know whether to class certain groups among "tribes" or among "clans."

The tribe formerly had no over-all political organization: there is no word exactly denoting "chief." Individuals designated to lead the tribe in war, to represent it in trade or political negotiations, had only a temporary authority, personal, and always open to question. The ties of clan relationship were much stronger and more evident

than tribal ties. Nevertheless, politico-religious associations like the ngil did exist—very little is known about them today—which transcended clan barriers and contributed to a certain amount of tribal cohesion. On the other hand, certain individuals could have influence, sometimes authority, but never permanent command, extending beyond the limits of their clan. Usually the people involved were officers in initiation societies: the nsig nto, the Bané high judge, was probably a high-ranking initiate in the ngil. The njôô bôt (commander of men, war leader), the évet ("capita," caravan leader), the nkukuma (1) (rico hombre, rich man)—these men on the other

1. Emphatic form of nkukum (rich).

hand had only occasional authority and that within a limited circle.

b. The Clan

I call "clan" that which the majority of the Pahouin call ayoñ (mvôg, mvôk, in certain northern tribes) (2). It is perhaps the basic

2. Cournarie, 1933, in Coutumes de Nyong et Sanaga /Customs of the Nyong and Sanaga/ points out that ayong were divided into meyom (ayom). The ayom is formed by the coming together of several mvogo who, being descended from the same ancestor, consider themselves the issue of the same mother (obligation of exogamy). Occasionally deference is paid to the mvogo most closely related to the ancestor, and its head is called ntomba or nya moto nnam or mot nnam.

The collective group may gather together: Emoi of nda bot, Ekoan of myogo. All grown men may speak. Elders and distinguished persons then withdraw for deliberation (esok); they return to announce the decision. (J.B.)

structural unit of Pahouin society, at any rate the one the Fang of

Gabon have given priority to recreating, the regrouping of villages being supposed, in their view, to take place as a function of the regrouping of the meyoñ.

The ayoñ includes all the patrilineal descendants of a common ancestor, the illegitimate children of girls belonging to the ayoñ, and adopted ones. The ayoñ has a name, a tattoo mark (ndan), often certain prohibitions (bityi, biki), and perhaps a totem. The most strict exogamy is the rule. All members call themselves brothers (bobenyañ).

Although there was, properly speaking, no real political division corresponding to the ayoñ, nor any organized chiefship—explicable particularly in view of the very scattered settlement pattern of the members—clan sentiment was, and still is, very strong. Periodical meetings, bisulan, bring ayoñ members together, presided over by the eldest (ntôl) of the senior lineage (mvôk, ayôm) (3). The custom

3. Ayôm probably has the same root as nnôm, pl. beyôm = male; it should be remarked that the ayôm is often designated by the name of a female ancestor.

of these bisulan has recently been revived /46/; first in the Cameroons, where the native authority was reorganized in 1945-48 along clan lines, then in Gabon, where the meyoñ are in an advanced state of disintegration, above all in the south.

An ayoñ, whose villages separated one from the other by villages of other clans sometimes extend over several hundred kilometers, is divided into segments (mvôk) that include the descendants of the brothers, or rather the sons, of the clan ancestor, then /is divided/ into lineages (bisa, meyôm) derived from the descendants of the sons of the ancestor of the segment. The longer the genealogy (mvam, nlañ bimvam; meba'a), the more vague these categorical differences become: in one place mvôk is used for what is called ésa nearby and ayôm further away. But, except in southern Gabon, the genealogies are still well preserved, and the majority of adults can trace their relationship, if not to the clan ancestor himself, at least to his lineage. The teaching of these genealogies, which was the core of the traditional training of boys, is dying out with the spread of schooling, but children still know at least the genealogy of their village-family (jal, dzal; nda bôt).

G14 G19 Trilles listed about 80 meyoñ among the Fang of Gabon, and comparable figures may be set for the Boulou or the Ewôndo, which would tend to cross-check the theory according to which clan ties extend across tribal boundaries to include the whole Pahouin group. The phenomenon does not seem open to question as regards those clans that are to be found under the same name throughout all, or in many, tribes; it is perhaps more questionable for certain Gabon segments that have been more or less arbitrarily absorbed into Cameroons clans at the time of "Pahouin regrouping." Even in the latter case, however, there exists for the pseudo tradition a precedent genuinely rooted in custom, that of tribes like the Yebekolo or the Yembama, whose names suggest that we are dealing with former clans, which became detached from a tribe (the Boulou, in actual fact) and took to practicing endogamy. An analgous process of "clanification" may be imagined of Fang segments too long isolated from their ayoñ.

Be that as it may, this intertribal community of meyoñ is more apparent between the Boulou and Fang tribes, that is, in the south, than between them and the Beti tribes of the north, certain of which, moreover, call the clan mvôg, not ayoñ, a phenomenon perfectly explicable if we admit that the Eton and Mangisa, for instance, are Pahouinized rather than true Pahouin.

G14 Each ayoñ has a proper name, which, according to Trilles, would be that of the clan totem preceded by the prefix ésa or ye (segments and lineages are called by the name of the ancestor). Some meyoñ, however, have a name that does not include these particles, but they are generally those groups that possess a particular kind of structure G14 M2 to which we shall refer later on (1). The particle ésa derives from the

1. The ébi clans in Gabon are related in the opinion of some writers to the ésa clans; but there is a noun ébi, ébé, meaning hole, ditch.

verb sak /47/, a transitive verb meaning "to perform coition" (sa' minga = to copulate with a woman), by extension meaning "to impregnate;" the regular derivative, ésa/bisa, means "lineage," while the irregular form, ésa/beséa, means "father." The particle ye might come from yee, "valley," "hollow," "fissure," perhaps connected with a root Y./YI connoting ideas of moisture, feminity, or maternity

614 [192] (yii = to weep; yek = to make a fish dam of wet earth; nyia = mother; nyin = four; enyin = life). Sometimes the differences in name have been explained by geographical origin: the ésa clans would be those in the west, the ye clans those in the east. Actually, we find ye clans and ésa clans in all tribes, in the east as well as the west. Yet the geographical explanation should perhaps not be altogether rejected but rather associated with a sexual interpretation.

823 571 614 The Pahouin do, in fact, seem to have ascribed their system of directions to the apparent movement of the sun or, perhaps, to the line of their migration. The west would then be associated with the right, mbo nnôm = male side, the east to the left, mbo ngal = female side (1). This polarity would indicate a series of little-known insti-

1. According to Largeau, north is on the right (male), south on the left (female), which is understandable if directions are based on an E-W line of march. See below.
In Zoll'Owambe's description of the bilaba (no. 125) imported merchandise (male?) comes from the north, local merchandise (female) from the south, while he uses to designate the south the term nsak, meaning "interior, " "upstream," or "east, " a meaning comparable with that of nké, west or downstream.

tutions, first of all, the joking relationship, awusô, derived in turn from the great national sô rite. In fact, I think I observed that the awusô relationship existed almost always between an ésa clan and a ye clan: Esakoé-Yekomba, Esaébeñ-Yenjôk, Esel-Yembôñ, etc. Certain points may also suggest a link with the former marriage custom and a kind of potlatch called bilaba (2).

2. Another explanation makes the ésa clans originally segments of the ye clans; this interpretation could also account for the joking relationship.

614 The problem is not made easier by the knowledge that certain ésa clans identify themselves with ye clans in other tribes and that there

614 are, besides, meyoñ that are outside the system.

614 Among the latter I shall mention the Ndôñ and the Bekôé or Bekwi,
563 to be found under these names in all, or nearly all, the Pahouin tribes.
184 The ethnic substantive Bekôé is simply the plural of a common noun, nkôé, "dwarf." These people are, it seems, descendants of aborigines, undoubtedly Pygmies, "adopted" by the tribes at the time of invasion. Although looked upon as an ayoñ and calling one another brother, they do not practice exogamy and seem to attach their genealogies to those of other clans, to which nevertheless they do not belong.

614 The case of the Ndôñ is quite different. They crossed the Sanaga
184 with the other Pahouin, and they are certainly "active" Pahouin. But they observe endogamy among their three mvôk (Ndôñ Mvu, Ndôñ Bibak, and Ndôñ Bikoé), which no other Pahouin ayoñ does, at least to my knowledge. Besides, I believe I noticed /48/ among those of the southern Cameroons and northern Gabon morphological traits setting them sharply apart from those of neighboring clans—reddish
[142] color of the skin, frequency of green or greenish-blue eyes—which
[144] might be explained by the inbreeding consequent upon endogamy, but also perhaps by a different ethnic origin. Another piece of evi-
[326 dence, as insufficiently attested as the foregoing, is that among the
791] Ndôñ I met the last of the smiths and the most feared magicians among the Boulou and Fang tribes of the Cameroons.

The Ngoé ayoñ also is found under this name in nearly all the Pahouin tribes and, according to Bertaut, among the neighboring Bakoko. The Esel, who are similarly spread throughout the tribes, have non-Pahouin homonyms: /for instance/ the Bantu Esel tribe of the southeastern Cameroons (Moloundou). The name could, however, be a contraction of ésa (ésa-el?). Ngoé and Esel are usually exogamic.

c. The Extended Family or Village Family

596 The term "village family" is no doubt more accurate than the
621 classic "extended family," both because the nda bôt (house of the people) is the only social group that corresponds exactly to a geographical form of settlement (the jal or hamlet), and because without the geographical criterion it is difficult to distinguish this /kind of/ family from the intermediate structures between it and the clan, such as segments or lineages (mvôk, bisa). And finally, it is on this

level that the agencies of authority, of social control, are most in evidence.

The head of the family is the senior, ntôl or ntôle môt, of the adult and active men, benya bôtô, "the true men." He is not necessarily the oldest in age, because infirm old men suffer a genuine capitis diminutio /a loss of status/. The founder of the hamlet or his eldest son can still, even if infirm, preserve a certain moral authority as father, ésa, of the family, but actual authority will then be delegated to a nya môtô chosen from his brothers, sons, or nephews, the éfo'olo (Bertaut). In principle, a jal is composed of the founder, his old relatives /parents/, his younger brothers, his children and those of his sisters, his unmarried sisters, their illegitimate children and those of his daughters. Wives do not belong to the jal; their village is referred to as jañ. Of a divorced woman one would say, a keya jañ, "she has gone back to her village." The size of the nda bôt depends upon different factors: security, the /family/ head's authority, the fertility of the soil, etc. I have already pointed out how several mal can be gathered into a nlam, a proper village. Nowadays the menda me bôt are tending to decrease numerically and no longer to correspond to the jal, which can from now on combine several /menda me bôt/. The limited or household family is becoming more and more important, while the government-sponsored institution of village chiefship /chefferie/, although it is often only an imperfect substitute for the authority of the ntôl or the ésa, undermines that none the less. The size of an average nda bôt may be calculated at twenty /49/ persons (including the wives who do not belong to the jal), less in the towns and among the less prosperous people, more among large planters and the influential (minkukum).

The nda bôt used to be a religious, military, and economic unit. On the religious plane, the father, ésa, was the custodian of the biéti (Fang, biéri), the portable altar or ark of the ancestral cult containing the skulls of the ancestors; he made the decisions about initiations and bore their expense. The initiations have died out, and the missions have burned dozens, if not hundreds, of biéri. Security and colonial order have removed any interest in the ésa's military function. Only his economic role survives to some extent. He used to be the sole owner of the family goods (biôm), sole treasurer of income, and sole regulator of expenditures, of which the most important was the payment of "bride prices" (minsuba) for his younger brothers and his

sons. When cacao was introduced, cultivation was done collectively by the nda bôt, with the ésa selling the produce and taking charge of the money. The younger generation quickly tired of this state of affairs and left their families in order to have plantations of their own. In addition, the inflation of land values from the growing of export crops led to division upon the death of the ésa and brought on the splintering of the nda bôt. This had never been very stable, even before the colonial period, but the cessation of military needs made possible a precocious "swarming off," which had not occurred before except when a new nda bôt was large enough to provide for its own defense.

In spite of this disintegration, jal and nda bôt remain the basic units of Pahouin life, more so than the ayoñ. Development of private property notwithstanding, there does exist a juridical community with collective responsibility and obligatory self-help among its members. Many young people denounce this (cf. Eza Boto, Ville cruelle /Cruel City/, no. 182) and partly leave the jal in order to escape. But that is futile because the ties spread throughout the country become closer at a distance /from the jal/ and because the solidarity of the extended family is probably even stronger among emigrants than among stay-at-homes.

d. The Limited or Household Family; Kinship

The limited or household family, composed of an economically independent man, his wife, his children, sometimes old relatives /parents/, unmarried brothers and sisters, is becoming more and more important, both within the nda bôt framework and outside it. The missions have contributed a good deal to this, especially at the outset of evangelical activity, in order to separate the catechumens from their still animistic mintô mi bôt (they incline to react in the opposite direction nowadays to fight against "destructive individualism"). But economic changes have also played an important part. The household family is the unit of the migrant petty official, of the small-scale planter. There is no word for it; people say either mone nda bôt, "little extended family," or simply nda, "house."

Purely for convenience I shall discuss kinship on this level, in terms of an adult married man. /50/

582 The first principle regulating kinship is that of double exogamy, in the paternal line, but also in the maternal line. Marriage is not allowed within one's own clan, nor within the clan of one's mother. Incest within the maternal clan is scarcely less serious than incest within the paternal clan, but the interdiction in this line is not definitive and hereditary. At the present time the prohibition seems to die out after two generations: a great-grandson may take a wife from the clans of his maternal great-grandmothers, and even a grandson from that of his maternal grandmother. It is another matter in the paternal line, whose genealogy children learn by heart. However, on account of the present state of forgetfulness, I do not know the exact rules.

601 A second characteristic of kinship is that it is classificatory and that the nomenclature is modified as to person, sometimes as to gender, in accordance with the subject of the relationship. Thus "father" or "mother," for instance, are called:

1st person	2nd person	3rd person
tate	éso	ésa
nane	nyua	nyia

according to whether there is involved a relative of the speaker, of the person spoken to, or of the person spoken about.

For "brother" and "sister" the terms furthermore vary according to the sex of the subject of the relationship:

monyañ (a contraction of moneyañ (1) = mother's son) = brother

1. Third person: — nyañ, from nyia, "mother;" 1st person, mojañ: — jañ, the same word as jañ = jal, "mother's native hamlet."

of a man or sister of a woman of the clan; while
the sister of a man = kal,
the brother of a woman = ndôm.

A man's son is ndôman, his daughter is ngon; a woman's /son and daughter/ are simply bon (sing. mon), "the little ones."

601 The generic /terms/ of kinship are formed from these words, for
602 instance:

601 602 ndômenyañ (3rd person) = mother's brother, designating the maternal uncle and all his bobenyañ (clan or consanguineal brothers); this is a respect relationship;

motate, a contraction of mone tate = son of my father, designating half brothers on the father's side, with an idea of respect;

monekal = sister's son, designating nephews and uterine cousins with whom marriage is forbidden, although they belong to a different ayoñ; this is a joking relationship; the same term is applied to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law;

monengon = daughter's son, designating uterine relatives within [848] the clan and particularly sisters' illegitimate children, who are members of the clan but with a certain capitis diminutio, loss of status;

and so forth, relationship always being reckoned by clan, generation, and sex. This is borne out by the way ethnic constructions are formed: a Boulou, a /51/ Yenjôk, are mone bulu, mone yenjôk, a "child of Boulou," a "child of Yenjôk"; a Boulou woman is ngone bulu, a "daughter of Boulou"; two bo'be yenjôk would therefore be brothers, bobenyañ. What is curious is that this term, the most frequently employed for full brother or half brother on the father's side, clearly refers to a uterine relationship, since it means, literally, "mother's son."

Kinship in relation to order of generations (ndaé = grandchild; éndil = great-grandchild) entered into the choice of a name (éyôlé), /a practice that is/ not well understood at present. Even at the present, similarity of biyôlé creates a sort of quasi relationship between the homonyms mimbôm (sing. mbôm) or bemôé (sing. môé), with the obligation of reciprocal help.

Parents-in-law are betyi (possibly related to étyi = prohibition?); we shall mention this again in connection with marriage, but it may be pointed out here that the term is applied equally to the first wife considered with respect to her co-wives.

e. Marriage, Descent

582 The primary rule of marriage remains the prohibition against incest, the clan exogamy already mentioned. To take a wife from one's own or one's mother's clan is forbidden, also to marry the daughters of lineage sisters to quite a distant degree, even though

they belong to another clan. This is merely the application of exogamy to the maternal line and is less observed than the other rule of exogamy.

Having established this, we may distinguish several forms of marriage—Bertaut counts seven—or, on the contrary, consider them all to be derived from "regular marriage," mfañ aluk (from fañ = to do well, correctly, and luk = to marry). This kind of marriage is based on the payment of the "bride price," nsuba, nowadays essentially monetary and giving rise to abuses that have often been described, but in former times it was ritual in character, at least partially so (a century ago there was already a commercial element). The "bride price" of the past included local products (ivory, cattle) (1), imported merchandise (biôm), especially loincloths, guns and

1. The bride-price sheep, bikiga or bityiga, up to seven, which were in theory bred with a special view to payment of the nsuba and were sacrificed at the time of the marriage.

ammunition, salt, trade alcohol, and, finally, a special iron currency in the form of flat arrowheads tied into bundles (bityé, biki; bikpwelé; the unit of count being the bundle, akutu bikpwelé). The last was used only for ritual or magical purposes (2). There are reasons for

2. There is a prohibition against making them; all those to be seen look old.

believing that the composition of bride prices in local products and merchandise varied according to clan structure, the affiliation of the spouses, and the marriages previously concluded by the group. Nothing of this survives today, and the bride price has become a bargaining, at times pretty sordid, even a real /52/ auction, with the bride often the first to boast of the high price she has obtained in the marriage market.

Marriage not long ago was, and still in a measure remains, a group affair, the concern of the two meyoñ and two menda me bôt involved, which is discussed between the head of the young man's family and the guardian responsible for the future wife, nya ndômô, "true brother," that is, an ascendant paternal relative or paternal

584 uncle, a full brother or a half brother on the father's side. The custom persists in the better families, even if the future spouses' consent is asked or if the initiative for the union comes from them. When this is impossible, for instance among emigrants, it is still the correct thing for the prospective husband to use the offices of an older person, perhaps even an administrative superior, who arranges the marriage, [583] kômesan aluk. To the nsuba proper are added customary presents to the future mother-in-law and affinal family, which are the more important when payment of the nsuba is in periodic installments (as it more and more tends to be). After the first installment is paid, there [834] is a bethrothal, and the young girl, who before that has enjoyed sexual freedom, is from now on theoretically supposed to be faithful. Sexual relations with the prospective husband often begin at this time, if they have not already. The Christian ceremony and the civil registry take place when a portion of the bride price, amounting to from a quarter to a half, has been paid. In former times the bride used to remain in seclusion before going in procession from her village, where the groom's family came to fetch her, to her conjugal residence. After consummation of the marriage, she would with her mother's help cook the first meal served to her husband. These practices have fallen into general disuse.

Up to a recent date, on the other hand, the custom persisted—now prohibited officially—of "paying bride price" for a girl who had not reached puberty, even for a fetus or an unconceived child, who would go to live with her affinal family almost as soon as she was weaned, there to be brought up either by her mother-in-law or by her husband's first wife, whom she would look upon as her ntyi (mother-in-law). The marriage would be consummated after the girl's second menstruation (ayene ngon = to see the moon).

583 The mfañ aluk form of marriage is the most usual nowadays. It leads to many lawsuits in connection with deciding who is to be the [691] nya ndômô to collect the "bride price." As the ntôl môt's authority has weakened, especially when he is not the girl's real father /sic/, uncles and brothers quarrel over who is to receive the nsuba. Some emancipated young women, particularly those who are mistresses of Europeans, decide the matter by collecting it themselves, but this is very much frowned on.

[586] The "bride price" is given back to the husband in the case of divorce, to the fiancé in the case of a broken betrothal, caused, for example, by the premature death of the fiancée.

583 example, by the premature death of the fiancée. Almost all customary courts now refuse /to uphold/ repayment when a woman has died without issue, as was the old custom.

The other forms of marriage were abom, marriage by abduction, which was regularized by later payment of the "bride price" (meso [426] ngon = arrival of the girl); putting in pawn for debt, which was made permanent /53/ by nonrepayment; éjian, substitution for a fiancée deceased before marriage or for a wife who died without issue (in such cases a younger sister of the dead woman was often provided); [682] tañ abim, corpse price, that is, the giving in payment of a young woman as blood money after a homicide; exchange of women between clans, usually on the occasion of an alliance /i.e. through marriage/, élat (1).

1. Elat = alliance, agreement; bilelat = kindred, the whole body of relatives and affinal kin.

837 Exchange or loan of women, mvia, was perhaps a form of hospitable prostitution. It apparently did not apply to the benya binga, the "true wives," in any case never to the ôsua minga, the first wife, [50] who would have considered it a reason for divorce without repayment of bride price. In the same way, nkuan, sale, was not the equivalent [426] of marriage and must have applied mainly to foreigners, though perhaps sometimes to Pahouin girls pawned and not redeemed.

587 The inheritance of widows did not automatically have the same 428 value as marriage. It was usually permitted only between succeeding generations—from father to son, from elder to younger brother; inheriting by an older from a younger brother appears in recent law. Furthermore, the heir possessed the right of renunciation, except with respect to his mother, whom he had to support but whom he would naturally not make his wife. He could send other widows back to their families, keeping their children, who belonged to his clan. 587 To require repayment of the bride price for a widow's "liberation" 503 seems to be a recent deviation; in the past this custom must have applied only to barren women or to those whose children had not lived, but only when they returned to live with their families without remarrying. The moment a widow remarried outside the family of her deceased husband, the "bride price" went to the latter's heirs, and

587 the law has not changed on this point. "No bride price, no marriage"
583 —Sa nsuba, ve alu' e se kik. We shall find this principle again in connection with legitimate descent.

583 Thus it is the absence of payment of the nsuba that gives their
837 character to free union, ébon, and to adultery, mejian, and makes them really infringements upon the law of property, justifying the fact
[684] that customary courts logically refuse to impose a penalty in a case of ébon when the girl returns to her family pregnant (2).

2. This is hard for some magistrates to understand.

581 A husband must provide his wife with lodging and clothes and
593 must clothe any children he has by her. He must clear the field she will cultivate, provide her with household utensils and, in theory, with meat. He must allow her to visit her parents, to whom he owes respect. He must not use sorcery (3) against her and must respect the

[586 837 754] 3. Likened to sorcery are fellatio and sodomy, the grounds for numerous divorces from former members of native infantry regiments.

[833] prerogatives of rank that she holds among her co-wives; he is supposed to sleep with her when she is not menstruating nor pregnant nor nursing.
[834] He must not beat her beyond what she can stand nor expose her vulva in public. /54/

A woman owes obedience to her husband, to her mother-in-law, and to the first wife, respect to her affinal relatives, therefore to her husband's clan; she must be faithful to her husband and perform her conjugal duty. She is responsible for cultivating the plots cleared for her, for fishing with weirs, for feeding her children, taking her turn at cooking for her husband, for keeping her hut clean and that of her husband when she is sleeping with him, and for helping to build them (it is she who applies the banco onto the frame). She does not have to take care of imported household equipment and clothes because these are biôm of a masculine nature (but the schools and missions
[840] are trying to train women to do so). Finally, and above all, she must be prolific: this is her first duty and a great deal will be forgiven her if she performs it.

595 The first wife, married by mfañ aluk, a proper wedding, and called ôsua minga or ékômba, theoretically has a privileged position vis-à-
[606] vis the mimbom or co-wives. It falls to her to aid or replace the mother-in-law, ntyi, in her role of disciplinarian over the women of the nda. It is or was she who took over the training of the young immature brides waiting to reach puberty in her hut; co-wives of inferior rank therefore often looked upon her as their ntyi. This relationship of daughter-in-law and mother-in-law also exists between two mimbom when the nsuba of the second was paid with the nsuba received for the marriage of a daughter of the first, or when she was the object of a marriage by exchange for this daughter.

Against these legal prerogatives, we find the actual prerogatives of the favorite, nkpwek or ntômba (ntômba = ewe), who besides may be the ôsua minga, although this is rather rare. Custom recognizes the actual privileges of the nkpwek by limiting them so as to prevent them from becoming privatives of the rights of the other wives. I think, although I cannot state it for certain, that there exists, besides, a nuance between the terms nkpwek and ntômba, the first referring, as the word indicates, to an actual preference on the part of the husband, the second to a legal position which the most prolific of the wives would have, or perhaps the one of the best origin.

614 Let us remember that marriage does not remove a woman from her own clan to attach her to her husband's: she is connected with this clan only through her children, if she has any. These children and their bobenyañ will become bobekal to their matrilineal cousins.
586 If the marriage breaks up without the woman having borne a child, a kinship relation between the two clans is not established.

Such a dissolution of a marriage may come about, first, upon the death of the woman when no éjian takes place, the substitution of a sister, which is rare today. The kinship tie between the clans is in force if children are born of the marriage; it remained in force in former times in the absence of children if the nsuba was not repaid. The husband's death ends the personal marriage tie but not the collective bond by virtue of which widows are assigned to the heir, as described above. /55/

One of the most frequent causes /sic/ of the dissolution of a marriage nowadays is divorce. This may be the husband's action: a suu minga jañ, he sends his wife back to her village. The grounds usually given are habitual misbehavior, sorcery, "bad character, "

586 sterility. In theory, if the facts are self-evident, the repudiating husband ought to obtain ipso facto the return of the nsuba, reduced, however, in proportion to the number of children the repudiated woman has borne him. In practice, the nya ndômô usually makes difficulties and postpones repayment until the woman's remarriage and his collecting the new bride price (1).

1. But nowadays it is common to see the second husband pay the nsuba directly to the first husband, giving the nya ndômô only the eventual increment.

The woman can also take the initiative in divorce: a ke jañ dé; she goes back to her father, blaming the excessive stinginess of the husband who "takes bad care of her," a ba' ale nye abe, his impotence, brutal treatment, or sorcery, or even a grievous insult to her or to her parents. Repayment of the nsuba is obligatory in this case too, except when the husband has committed a very serious offense, usually sorcery or mutilation of the woman.

Finally, divorce may be the action of the woman's nya ndômô: a vaa minga aluk, he withdraws the woman from the marriage, either because he considers her badly treated or because he thinks he has been insulted by his son-in-law or particularly—and more and more often nowadays—because the nsuba has not been entirely paid, or even because he has found another prospective husband willing to pay a higher nsuba. We then witness a real process of extortion, with the nya ndômô relentlessly demanding new presents from the husband under the threat of taking back his daughter. The courts concerned with checking abuses /les tribunaux repressifs/ are almost powerless to penalize these practices, which are very hard to define according to the penal code.

586 In every case legitimate children remain with their father; the
851 woman can only keep custody of them until they are weaned. The
848 proverb pater is est has its Pahouin equivalent: Mon ase mone mbiaé, mon ane mone bityé, "a child is not the child of the genitor, he is the child of the 'bride price' (bityé = bride-price money). In principle, only a child born after payment of the nsuba in full is considered legitimate; in practice, a sort of legitimation by payment after birth is recognized when first payments of the nsuba have already been

586 made, but this practice is only very rarely followed in cases of free
851 union, ébon, even when that is followed by a regular marriage of the
848 natural parents. Illegitimate children, fruits of an ébon, bobengon, are kept in their mother's clan, where, moreover, they rank socially only after legitimate children.

597 There used to exist a kind of adoption, rare today, of a political
614 rather than family nature, which could almost be defined as naturalization. It could only be carried out by the head of an extended family
[641] on behalf of an orphan, mone nyui, of another clan (orphans within /56/ the clan being, of course, already considered children of the head of the family). The adopted child, abiaé môsô (i.e., "conceived
[833] in the daytime," sexual relations being lawful only between sundown and sunrise), came into the clan with a status analogous to that of the monengon. He remained subject to the marriage prohibitions of his clan of origin.

609 A non-Pahouin outsider permanently residing in a village, a ntabe,
614 may benefit through marriage by alliance, élat, which does not thereby make him a member of the clan. He becomes a monekal (sister's son, uterine relative) and his children, though legitimate, belong to their mother's clan.

593 The descent relationship may be broken by paternal or maternal
578 curse, meyo'é: the parent uttering the curse shows the child his sexual organs, "the place whence he came," while pronouncing a formula oath. The curse is supposed to bring misfortune and death to the offspring accursed, whom everyone avoids. It can only be
[783] lifted by a collective purificatory rite (étye, tyô) in which the whole nda bôt participates.

3. Age Grades

561 The individual's life cycle is marked by a certain number of transitions, which are accompanied, or were usually accompanied, by rites that will be discussed further on (p. 115). These crises are birth, weaning, puberty, attaining majority, marriage, death. Age grades correspond to the intermediate stages; they are less strictly defined today than formerly.

561 I do not know the exact word for fetus: people say abum, belly.
843 There must be a more precise term, but I think there is a prohibiton connected with it, certainly as regards men, although it may now be

561 no more than a mere conventional taboo, as with certain words con-
[843] sidered crude in French. At birth and until weaning a baby is ntyen (nken) or nkeñelé.

After weaning, which usually occurs when the child begins to walk
[862] by itself, between eighteen months and two years, the nken becomes a mongô (mone fam = boy; mone minga = girl); an uncircumcised
561 boy is called more specifically nsôsôl.

881 Circumcision takes place between eight and twelve years of age
[304] (1), before the first premonitory signs of puberty, especially the

> 1. In former times it was sometimes put off until the youth had killed his first enemy. See Trilles (no. 166) and Largeau (no. 48).

appearance of the first pubic hair (afañ, related to the verb fañ = to do well, correctly, on purpose, from the masculine root FA?). The circumcised boy, ntyi'an, "cut one," becomes an adolescent, ndôman, a term also meaning "son" (in relation to a man, see above, p. 63). Correspondingly, a pubescent girl becomes ngon (which can mean at the same time young girl, daughter of a man, or moon: ayene ngon, "to see the moon," that is, to be menstruating), or also élenan. /57/

The adolescent boy is still ébis, uninitiated. The missions have now adopted the term mvôn, "initiated," to denote church members. Formerly, one became mvôn after initiation, mostly in the great national so initiation, the members of which were called monewôsô (probably "child of the death /la mort/ of the sô"; compare this with the joking relationship, awusô = the dying /le mourir/ of the sô).

561 After initiation, that is, somewhere between the sixteenth and
882 twentieth year, a young man though of military age was not yet a nya môtô, a true person. This he became only upon marriage, when
[884] he attained what might be considered his legal, civil, even economic, majority.

561 A girl, ngon, who became ngal or nya ngal, a true woman, by
[885] losing her virginity, after marriage was nya minga, a /married/ lady, and ésila or ékua, a matron, when she had brought up her first children. A man with grandchildren was ntole môt, an elder, usually
[888] around forty; this was the highest possible social position. Indeed,

561 an old man, nnôm môt, who lived too long lost his prestige as he be-
688 came decrepit. It seems probable that during the great migrations old people, particularly feeble old women, were abandoned in the forest when a village moved its site. Certainly death must often have come before the infirmities of age, from fighting, hunting, or the first serious illness. My informants were always unanimous in telling me
[769] that the skull of an infirm or senile old man could not be used in the biéri cult.

With the second generation of descendants, a man, alive or dead, inevitably becomes émvam, a forefather, in the double sense of grandfather and ancestor.

561 An age grade covers about three years: this is about the longest possible stretch of time during which two children born on different dates can both be at the breast together, and it was approximately the interval separating two large collective initiation ceremonies. Classificatory kinship groups people by generation: all those of one generation are bobenyañ, brothers, as mentioned above. Within an age grade the term éjula, "comrade," is more apt to be used. The succession of age grades created an internal hierarchy within the generation and strengthened the clan and tribal ties between the bijula. This strengthening was even more marked between the bo'bewôsô of the same time of initiation.

178 Modern life alters these ties, as much from the dying out or trans-
561 formation of the initiations as from the loosening of ties in the extended family and also from the greater mobility of individuals and limited families. The little Fang boy born at Fort-Lamy, where his father is postal agent, scarcely feels himself to be the éjula of his clan monyañ born on the same day at Libreville. Economic and political development tends more and more to set up hierarchies founded more on occupation, wealth, even education, rather than on age and rank in the family. /58/

4. Slavery, Castes, Classes, Chiefdoms

567 Largeau spoke of the Pahouin as of a "people who have no synonym for our words 'king,' 'master,' 'servant,' 'workman,' 'slave.'" It is a fine phrase, but it only partially corresponds to reality. Largeau himself, in his encyclopedia, translates the word "slave" as nsagha, a loan word from Gabonese (Mpongwé), he says. Further north, people

567 spoke of ôlo (or mon ôlo) or étu'a as against nti (nté) or mo'nti, the latter word meaning freeman, civis. However, all the late nineteenth century writers agree that the Pahouin did not know of slavery and, closer to our period, L. Mba repeats the assertion, declaring that belô [727] or minsagha were not slaves but prisoners of war "considered part of the spoils" (no. 120).

Nevertheless, it does indeed seem that there were genuine com-
567 mercial transactions, selling and buying of these captives or, at any
727 rate, of the bitu'a, whose position must have been different from that of the bo' belo. The latter were more likely prisoners subject to ransom (ngôtô = ransom) or hostages; I have personally known elderly Boulou men of good family who were prisoners of the Bané in the way after the 1885 ôban /war/. They had been treated as men not as chattel, taking part in noble masculine activities such as hunting, but not in work considered menial like porterage. Some of them married Bané girls at the time of the treaty which followed the ôban; others were adopted by Bané clans. In their case one certainly could not speak of slavery.

567 The position was not the same for the bitu'a (1), who were, as I

[304]

1. Sometimes called bityi'ityi'a, the mutilated, the gashed, because their ears were slashed.

made the objects of commercial transactions, of sales, and not simply put in pawn. First lieutenant Dominick, for instance, bought outright from Ewôndo chiefs part of his complement of porters. These bitu'a were not Pahouin but foreign prisoners from neighboring tribes or the original inhabitants of conquered territory. Therefore it is perhaps correct to say that the Pahouin had no slaves among themselves of their own, but not that they were unacquainted with slavery. They certainly made little use of it, preferring to exchange captives for merchandise from the coastal or river tribes who specialized in trade. Besides, the children of belô or of bitu'a born within a clan must have been pretty easily absorbed if one of the parents belonged to the clan.

563 At the present time, in any case, the distinction between bo' beti
565 and bo' belo is very fine drawn (2), not to say obliterated, if only

6:Alexandre and Binet--75 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9
Cameroon Pygmies FH4
F
563
565

2. This division of the population into three categories, noble tribes (Beti), vassal but free tribes, and servile groups, is still evident in certain border regions: the ethnic map in manuscript prepared by the government officer Botti (in accordance with the 1954 genealogical census, of the Okola subdivision (Nyong and Sanaga, the Cameroons) distinguishes between the Eton Beti (lords), the Eton Beloa (vassals), and the Beloa Beton (enslaved). (J. B.)

because /59/ people tend to forget genealogies. Nevertheless, there survives a condition that is not without a suggestion of serfdom, that of the Pygmies. They would appear to belong to three "tribes" — Babinga /Binga/ in the east, Bibaya in the center, Beye'ele or Bajieli /Jelli (Bayele, Badiele)/ in the west. They live in small family bands and are nomadic hunters within a limited area. These small hordes are said to "belong" to Pahouin families or individuals. The Pygmies hunt for their "owner," keep him supplied with meat, skins, ivory, medicinal plants and receive from him in return salt, spearheads, sabers, cloth, and cultivated foodstuffs. They do not have the right—and this is the important point—to carry on such dealings with another "owner," and the "owner" may prosecute anyone infringing his monopoly. Even more, he has a feudal lord's right of pursuit /droit de suite/ should "his" Pygmies try to escape and to become nomadic inhabitants in the territory of another village. He may also cede his rights over "his" Pygmies to another Pahouin, but not the Pygmies themselves. Here again then there is no slavery in the Roman sense of the word. Moreover, it appears that the "owner's" rights over "his" Pygmies derive originally from a reciprocal contract, a sort of alliance between the two groups, the balance of which was later upset in favor of the invaders. Within recent years a trend may be observed toward the emancipation of the Pygmies. They are now very crossbred; they use the language of their masters and seem to have preserved of their own only the technical and ritual vocabulary, of which the little that is known appears to be related for the most part to the dialects of Bantu tribes driven back by the Pahouin invasion. Crossbred groups that have been sedentary for several generations, the

F P 563 565 Bekôé, are now assimilated and are considered a special Pahouin ayôn (see above, p. 54). But the nomadic groups themselves are beginning to give up the obligatory intermediation of the Pahouin in order to sell their game; they are to be seen at markets and even in government offices and in the courts.

F 609 Foreigners, bone bikul (ékul = foreign tribe), had no rights except as guests or hosts, beyeñ (sing. nneñ), which means that they had in fact to buy security. Since European conquest there has been an increase in the betabe (from tabe = to stay, to dwell), privileged strangers admitted to residence by the head of a family or village, often allied by marriage to the clan amid which they have settled. Their children can be absorbed but are not true bo'beti, at least not F in the first generations.

56 Thus truly Pahouin society was and remains very much a closed one, since entrance into it is, in practice, only by blood. On the other hand, it is very little stratified internally, outside of age grades; it might even be said to be averse to hierarchies.

F 564 At first one is rather tempted to conclude that there are no castes. This statement is perhaps too sweeping, if we take into consideration the fact that certain endogamous clans like the Ndôñ are perhaps castes or represent former castes. The subject deserves further study. /60/

F 556 565 Does Pahouin society admit of social classes based on birth or wealth? In spite of the egalitarian and anarchic temperament of the Pahouin, I think this is so. Terminology proves it by distinguishing the bo' beti not only from the captives but even from the zesé bôt, the humble people; mo'nti is often translated today as "Monsieur." Within the last two generations there has grown up before our eyes a real bourgeoisie of large-scale planters, clerks (bekilak), artisans, and skilled workmen, which is inclined to stand out against a lower class of small peasants, laborers, and even, at the moment, of a "proletariat in sunglasses" — petty tradesmen, etc. —a local equivalent of our white-collar workers. Already in traditional society the minkukum, the rich, were to be distinguished from the common people, the zesé bôt.

556 565 431 437 The rich were looked at askance and were objects of suspicion to the general public, always quick to attribute material success to the possession of an évu (évur, évus), to malevolent sorcery. The

556 nkukum had to excuse his wealth, primarily by distributing it through
565 customary hospitality and also by a special device of economic-social
431 control resembling the potlatch, the bilaba.
437 This practice seems to have been especially common among the Boulou. Bertaut relates the word to a Ngumba root meaning "to talk," "to cajole." I should rather incline toward a derivative of the verb lap, "to draw water," by extension "to splash," which can figuratively also convey the idea of scoffing. It is not impossible that the bilaba mechanism was connected with that of the joking relationship, awusô. The bilaba begins with a challenge from one nkukum to another, each man claiming to be the richer. The challenger goes to the house of the challenged, carrying a load of merchandise, mebo me dulu, "legs for the journey," and accompanied by a large retinue of musicians and singers, etc. When he reaches the home of the other njem bilaba (bilaba dancer), he overwhelms him with presents and taunts; his opposite number replies, present for present and jeer for jeer, until he has contributed more than the equivalent of the mebo me dulu. The first njem bilaba goes home and waits for the other's return visit with his own mebo me dulu. Visits and countervisits may go on for a long time, each of the bejem bilaba calling on his immediate family for help, then upon his lineage or clan, for continued supplies. The bilaba therefore comes to be a collective affair. It must be observed that not just any kind of merchandise is exchanged: a njem bilaba in the east (nku, ôku) provides local products, (livestock, cacao, ivory, etc.), in the west (nké) imported products (loincloths,
823 salt, powder, etc.) (1). It should be remembered /61/ in this
831

1. M. Zoll'Owambe (no. 125) speaks of akum so, "merchandise of the north," imports, and of akum nsak, "merchandise of the south," products of the country. But there appears to have been some confusion. In fact, so = coast, downstream, is related to nké = west, which also means downstream, while nsak = hinterland, upstream (nku = east, related to kui = to come from, rise from, emerge); cf. Largeau, who considers the north to be on the right (male) and the south on the left (female). Imported products would be considered male.

connection that the points of the compass have a sexual implication, which is not well understood. The bilaba sets up a sort of joking relationship between the families of the participants, which may continue after their death.

The institution seems to be dying out, though it was still flourishing between the two /World?/ wars and often involved considerable amounts of money (1).

> 1. Balandier (no. 175 and in a personal communication) stresses the economic importance of the bilaba which, in a society without a money or trade economy, constituted one of the principal means of circulating goods and, especially, of diffusing imported commodities.

In spite of the fear his success inspires, and perhaps because of this fear, the rich man enjoyed undoubted authority in his village and sometimes beyond it. Nkukuma, the absolute form of nkukum, is used to translate "chief" (it probably means, more precisely, "person of note").

The word évet, also applied to subchiefs or government "capitas" is likewise used —a correct nuance if, as Bates says, évet is a corruption of headman applied originally to the chiefs of trade caravans. These men were chosen for their business astuteness, diplomacy, authority, and courage, but they were only deputies of a clan or village, not true political chiefs. To convey the latter implication the preferable term is still njôô bôt (Fang, nzoé mur) from jô = to say, to command, a term indicating a de facto state, /état de fait/ rather than a legal notion. It should be recalled that there were no political leaders other than the seniors, mintôl, of the extended families. Their authority was further limited by the ease with which their brothers could leave the village to establish another nearby (2).

> 2. But among some Pahouinized peoples the existence of royal insignia shows that chiefship /chefferie/ is an institution: among the Ewôndo and Yanda the head of the clan designated his successor or, if he

184
564
622

had not done so, the clan chose its chief, and the neighboring populations each sent him a spear in token of recognition.

[534]

The power of the Fong chief is on an even more personal level. The chief conveys his commands by means of an enormous drum; his pipe is preserved like a relic; his musicians play special instruments, among them the nkeñ (percussion double bell), quite rare in that region but a classical instrument in the western Cameroons with the Bamiléké or Bamoum /Mum/. The chief's installation is marked by the tradition of the spears and the donning of a headpiece of parrot plumes. (J. B.)

[233
237]

Any more extensive authority was founded on personal prestige, which always aroused resentment. Authority was never conferred except temporarily, and it was quite often withdrawn from the holder before term.

631
636

French, German, and Spanish administrations have attempted to set up a hierarchical system of authority that it has never been possible really to impose upon the country. The three administrations all made the initial mistake of trying to establish this authority on a territorial basis, which is completely—or nearly—foreign to these nomadic people. Only village chiefship had some resemblance to a customary institution, provided that the choice of chief fell upon a ntôl mût, a genuine senior, and that his brothers accepted his authority. Canton and higher chiefdoms had no cohesion except insofar as the incumbent had authority or administrative support. At the beginning of the colonial period, however, these functions were very often entrusted to genuine bejôô bôt, /62/ well-known war chiefs, high initiates of societies like the ngil, or celebrated magicians. Later on, it became more difficult to find, even among opposition ranks, chiefs possessed of real authority. After 1945 there was an attempt in the Cameroons to reorganize the system of authority on a clan basis (the Bourdier-Granier reform), then on village lines (the Christol system), finally ending up with a municipal type of system.

631 Given Pahouin interest in a political system based on election, which
636 pretty well corresponds both with their individualism and with their
[181] mistrust of individuals, it may be that such a system has some chance of success if it is allowed to become Pahounized.

5. Associations

575 Traditional associations were undoubtedly less developed among the Pahouin than among other African societies with more closely knit or more stable hierarchical structures. The social groups at the core of clans or villages arose and decayed in accordance with migrations and "swarmings-off." They showed a kinship rather than an associational character.

Nevertheless, there existed within kinship as well as outside it associations not based on descent, voluntary and not de facto /discretionary?/. These were often characterized by initiations and had a magical or religious basis, with varying purposes.

The minsamba, "societies," were temporary, organized for a military operation (ôban, mvéle) or for a trade journey to the coast or to the "trading-posts" of the Ogooué. The men who took part often came from different villages or even from different clans bound by an alliance (élat). They swore an oath of loyalty and mutual assistance, involving a ritual sacrifice followed by a communion
[782] meal; for a war enterprise, there might be a human victim, especially if it were a matter of avenging the death, kum mbim, of a monyaŋ (brother) and if there were a prisoner of war available to sacrifice. The association was dissolved once its end had been accomplished, but a bond persisted between its members.

[204] Similar temporary associations could be formed for large elephant
[141] hunts; they were moreover often confused with the nsamba dulu or nsamba ayak (traveling society, trade society) afterward organized for the sale of the ivory.

575 The most important permanent associations were those among the
783 initiates of different rites. But what was most often involved in these was a kind of relationship by way of a rite, which was not the rite's real purpose, or was so only adventitiously. When, for instance, all the inhabitants of a village took part in the ésye purification rite, a strengthening of the fraternal ties among them certainly ensued, but the prime purpose was purification (1). /63/

575
628
783

1. Among the Beti (Eton) another rite is to be found that cuts across clan or tribal barriers: "étup is planted" to make peace, to end a family quarrel, to check an epidemic. The old men consult the spider oracle, /63/ then call the men together. The assembly is in charge of the mbongengañ (magic-makers—initiates of higher rank). The members of the two groups start to hurl mutual accusations. Then those who bring bad luck are pointed out, the biwonwolo. A shrub, meyan, is then planted, and a biañ /medicament/ is prepared in a pot, over which the audience swear an oath to give up behaving badly to one another. The biañ is then inserted into the nostrils of the biwonwolo in order to do away with the bad luck. (J. B.)

575
626
Nevertheless, certain rites had along with other aims that of setting up among the initiates an association that would produce a kind of dialectic of energies /sic/ (tyé, kié) between the group and its members. The principal society, which probably had a national character that cut across clan lines, was the ngil (1), about which unfortunately very little is known nowadays. The ngil seems to have been the main, if not the only, element of tribal cohesion on a political level. Its function was social control and defense, especially to preserve the society as a whole from the activity of sorcerers. By uniting initiates from all clans, it could settle interclan disputes by avoiding recourse to war or feud. It served to some extent as a police force and judicial system, with the initiates of lower rank carrying out the

1. The origin of this word is uncertain. It has been referred to ngil (njil) meaning gorilla; old administrative reports speak of "gorilla-men." There has also been suggested, less convincingly, a connection with ngul, meaning capacity, potency.

sentences passed by their superiors. In struggling against sorcerers, it had also a medical role, which for a while outlived its police role: Bertaut (no. 110) seems to have known it only under this aspect, which did not arouse so much administrative suspicion. Allys considers it to be the "war fetish," thus agreeing, apparently, with Allégret and Largeau. Martrou and Leroux refer in this connection to "franc-juges," which recalls Bearth's description of the nsig nto of the Bané.

Very little is known about ngil rites as a whole or about their symbolism. The initiation has some traits in common with the sô: preliminary physical and moral purification, flagellation, confession, a broth for a test made of horrible substances, representation of ancestors, symbolic transition from an epicene or androgynous to a monosexual state (2), blood sacrifices. It is probable that these traits

2. Or, on the contrary, according to Stoll, transition from a monosexual state to a bisexual completion.

are to be found in all important Pahouin rites. The sacred spot was a rectangular stockade, ésam, open to one side, with clay figures of the ngil and his "wife," (3) in front of which there was dug a

3. Or a single androgynous statue.

trench covered with a lattice in which initiates were hidden so as to prick the candidates with their spears when brought before the ngil after having had to climb through an ant pit (as in the sô). There was also a liana representing a python, the precise role /i.e., significance/ of which I do not know. The neophytes had to bring ancestral bones, which were kneaded into the clay of the figurines. The ceremony included a test intended to show if the neophyte was nnem (bearer of évu), which would have entailed his being put to death immediately; /64/ a blessing of the ritual spears which, according to Trilles, bore totemic designs; finally a sexual symbolism termed "obscene" by the authors mentioned, who give no further description of it.

The initiates left their houses in procession, masked or painted with white and red (mourning and rejoicing colors, respectively),

575 preceded by drummers and trumpet players and by a boy (uncircumcised?) entrusted with holding across the village street a liana, which the cortege broke through only after sacrificing a chicken. The uninitiated did not have the right to be present at this procession. The
769 ngil leader, masked and painted in red and white, carried his per-
sonal bieti (bieri); he was always accompanied by a full orchestra
534 (mvet guitar, mbaé and nkul drums, mejañ balafo). The initiation ceremony lasted a month (1).

304 1. The ngil mark was a tattoo below the sacrum, therefore covered by the loincloth. Initiates did not go out except in masks, so that theoretically it was impossible to recognize them.

Members of the ngil circulated in small groups, masked, to carry
754 out inquiries in villages where a case of sorcery was suspected or to put sorcerers to death. For ordinary cases they applied the ordeals in current use (minkal), but for serious cases it was necessary to arrange for an initiation ceremony: this feature is found in nearly all ritual associations, where initiation is always accompanied by collective catharsis.

304 Among other masculine initiation societies the ndôngô rite must be mentioned, whose initiates have two incisions on the nape of the neck. Its symbolic /features/ include confession, purification, seclusion in darkness, passage through a narrow corridor or a low doorway, a liana-serpent, a consecrated lance, a sacrifice (2), a

782 784 2. Dogs were sacrificed. Ndôngô canceled serious minsem /breaking a taboo/ like homicide or incest and allowed initiates to eat pork, mutton, and porcupine. (J. B.)

825 horrible brew. The ritual animal was the tortoise. The purpose of this rite seems also to have been protection against sorcerers and, perhaps, to improve luck, ma'a. The initiation of circumcised youths, bekungu, is perhaps a juvenile form of ndôngô. Both survived until the Second World War. Ndôngô does not seem to set up

575 as strong interclan ties as does ngil; however, the initiation leader may belong to a different clan from the initiates.

[783] Esye (étye or tyo?) is a purification and reconciliation rite, described by Father Guillemin for the Beti; it does not extend outside the ranks of an ayôm (segment).

575 825 Among the Boulou of Sangmélima, the Ntoumou of Ambam, and the Fang of Djoum, I found some medical society initiates who call themselves "snakes," using the proper word, benyo (sing. nyo), not the euphemism minkol afan (lit., bush lianas). Their specialty is treating bites and capturing and taming snakes. Initiates are known within the society under the name of one or another variety of snake, conferred at initiation. There are several degrees of initiation (three?): first-degree initiates /65/ are called bo' b'ayañ, children of the Dendraspis; advanced initiates are bo' be mvôm, children of the python. Their medical knowledge seems quite extensive; they [765] claim, in particular, to be immune to /snake/ bites, thanks to the application of a special biañ (medicament) through incisions at the time of initiation. The main center of this association would appear to be among the Mekaé of Messamena, and it is therefore not properly Pahouin.

575 626 754 All these ritual associations contributed to social order mainly through defense against malevolent sorcerers. The sorcerers, for their part, are often organized in secret societies in order to join forces against the organs of control and repression. Inevitably, therefore, these societies are ill understood. Nearly all of them must have included beyem (sing. nnem), that is, bearers of évu. In fact, if one may be subject to possession involuntarily and even unknown to oneself, one may also nyoñ évu, receive évu, always in the sense of a burden. A person entering a beyem association has to pay for his entrance by the sacrifice of a near relative and also accept the imposition of a special prohibition, the breaking of which (nsem) brings instant death.

575 754 The ze mimfaka (lit., road panthers), notorious under the name of leopard-men, were an association of man-eating sorcerers, a kind of counter-ngil (1). Nowadays what is involved may well be a

1. There are also independent ze mimfaka.

pathologically degenerate form of the ngil itself. In the course of a

575 754 judicial inquiry at Ambam in 1948 after a raid on ze mimfaka, an old chief who was a Protestant and an elder of his church declared, in so many words, that "the white man has weakened the ngil, and the beyem have taken it over; now it is the ngil of ngbwel /sorcery/."

[789] The initiates of the kôn or kun, a kind of magic that enables one to assume another person's strength without destroying his body, also seem to be grouped into a secret society with meetings every seven years.

575 [786] Beyem associations do not usually include both sexes; male and female sorcerers meet together only occasionally, for orgiastic sabbaths.

[789] The distinction between white and black magic is, nevertheless, difficult to draw the present time, and one can never tell offhand if the small groups springing up nearly everywhere to protect their members against bad luck by using, in addition to remnants of traditional rites, recipes copied from magic manuals printed in France, belong to the one or the other.

[562] To come back tothe traditional associations, we must underline /the fact that/ in them there was a complete separation of the sexes, to such an extent that women were often forbidden to speak the name of a men's society or to show any kind of knowledge, even superficial, of its rites. The prohibition was less stringent for men with regard to women's rites, since the nsem, the breaking of a taboo, was for them punished by physical incapacity or illness rather than by death. /66/

A women's rite like mevungu had both a village aspect, on account of its geographical framework, the jurisdiction of its huts, and an interclan aspect as a result of exogamy. Much less is known of these women's rites than of the men's, for the very good reason that men are not allowed to know anything about them. Missionaries have condemned mevungu as obscene: I have heard that initiates who have gone through the menopause are supposed to play a male role in dances miming coition, without being able to obtain the slightest proof or the least detail (1). What is certain is that this is a rite of

[842 224]

[831]

1. A woman "chosen for her large vagina" presided, seated with legs spread apart. Each initiate would go tickle her and pull the clitoris. (J. B.)

fecundity, of fertility, and also of the hunt: an unlucky hunter may have his wife initiated so as to ward off bad luck.

have his wife initiated so as to ward off bad luck. This is not the only example of the indirect intervention of one sex in a rite of the opposite sex. Allégret points out that it is a "woman who has had bad luck fishing" who "finds the ironwood for making the war fetish." It certainly seems that he has mixed up ngil with sô, but the example remains valuable. Therefore, though traditional rites and the associations of initiates of these rites were strictly masculine or feminine, this does not altogether exclude the intervention of the opposite sex. No more can be said in our present state of knowledge (2).

> 2. The other important women's rite, ngômbô, was more especially limited to old women. The participants built a sort of basin out of four banana trunks and their leaves, in which a vegetable biañ /medicament/ was prepared that gave protection against theft. (J.B.)

Contemporary cults and associations, on the other hand, are open to both sexes, whether religious or politico-religious societies or mutual-aid associations.

The two principal politico-religious associations are the bwiti (or mbuti) and the ngôl, well described by Balandier (no. 175). They have spread to the north from Gabon and the Middle Congo and are not of Pahouin origin. They are beginning to penetrate Boulou country, where they have not been as successful as among the Fang of the south, undoubtedly because of the lesser degree of social destruction.

Bwiti was originally a "tyogo" ancestor cult, comparable to the Pahouin biéri, if one accepts Trilles. It must have first appeared among the Pahouin at the beginning of the century, probably among Pahouin families cut off from their clans and thus from the biéri and sô rites, whose significance is primarily ethnic and familial. Libreville was an important point of contact, not only between African peoples of different stock, but also with European religious systems. Modern bwiti borrows a great deal from Christianity and also from freemasonry, which was fairly widespread in Gabon before the war, especially in half-caste circles and on the periphery of principal towns. In assuming this syncretist character, bwiti appears at the same time as a nationalist—or Africanist—movement and as a progressive movement abandoning the old cults or rather modernizing them. It is the

575 object of official suspicion /67/ and rightly so, since it has free re-
668 course to human sacrifice and to physical liquidation of apostates; it has assumed the traits of a secret, often surreptitious, society. The liberal character of the administration since the 1946 reforms has aided the spread of bwiti by giving emphasis to the frankly political side of its activities: the municipal elections of 1956 were in large measure a bwiti triumph.

575 Bwiti, like the old rites, first of all works to protect its members against the beyem (bearers of évu), and its whole purely African side recalls those ancient rites. As in ngil, members have to bring in to the society the bones of their ancestors; as in prohibited /criminels/ societies, they often have to agree to the putting-to-death or mutilation of a close relative; as in the melan, they drink a brew based on narcotic herbs that enables them to "see the bwiti." There is a sacred musical instrument, the ngomi harp, sculptured figures or reliefs, especially on hut poles, recalling the biéri cult, a special language, prohibitions, etc. But the weekly ceremonies are influenced by the
[177] Mass; the progressive degrees of initiation probably derive from free-masonry, as does the lodge organization; finally, the Bible is used and interpreted in a manner, often political, that can only come from Protestant influence.

575 Balandier has shown how bwiti is trying to effect a reorganization of Pahouin society in Gabon, by providing it with an ideological
668 basis, a total collective weltanschauung permitting an integration of customary forms of behavior with those resulting from the colonial situation. It would be interesting to carry his investigation into the Cameroons and into Spanish territory in order to study the reaction of very similar societies in quite different politico-administrative and economic contexts.

177 Ngôl is much more recent than bwiti and represents, perhaps, an even more striking example of politico-religious syncretism. Its
575 source is an African interpretation, a mythology based upon Free
668 French propaganda in French Equatorial Africa from 1940 to 1944. Nzela me Ngol—General de Gaulle—has become a "white" hero, sent to liberate the black man by revealing the white man's (1)

1. "Logically" one might have expected this role to be ascribed to Governor General Eboué.

177 secrets and powers (power-ngul, to be related to ngôl?). There is thus
575 a "cargo-cult" side, already observable in certain traditions and
668 pseudo traditions mentioned by Trilles and Largeau. The mixture of Christian and traditional elements in the ritual suggests bwiti, with definitely a greater ceremonial elaboration in terms of modern technology, such as representations of aircraft, submarines, etc. The liberating-hero cycle involves a putting to death (by his white brothers) and a return by parachute, plane, or submarine—there are different versions, sometimes co-existing. The society's hierarchy copies that of the /68/ administration: the master of the lodge, wearing a kepi with star, is the nzela me ngôl; he is accompanied by "presidents," "presidents in chief," "commanders," "inspectors general," "governors" and "governers general," "militiamen," doctors," etc. (1). There is

1. One of the highest officers is the "adjutant of the guard," who is in charge of the police and of carrying out legal decisions.

a parallel female hierarchy, having, in particular, a "douane" /possibly "duenna"?—Tr./, who is supposed to have an eye on good relations between households. The political purpose is clear: the ngôl hierarchy has often replaced that recognized by the administration, sometimes with positive practical results, thus connecting up with the movement for Pahouin regrouping in its Gabonese form.

575 In the Cameroons this regrouping has in fact quite a different
797 aspect. It appears to be essentially a tentative social and political
668 revival of clans rather than a tribal regrouping, which is not felt to be as necessary as in Gabon. It leans especially, on the religious level, more toward disciplinary /sic/ schism than towards syncretism, at least for the time being. Some of its leaders have left or wish to leave the missions to set up national churches that would allow, for instance, polygamy, but they do not oppose Christian dogma, which they proclaim that they accept, constantly maintaining that it is rather the missionaries who have altered it, consciously or not. Here the influence of the American Presbyterian Mission is predominant. It might be said that the Cameroons clans, especially the Boulou ones, have been organized into a pattern of Presbyterian synods. The movement has been less successful among the Beti, where Catholic

575
797
669 influence is stronger, but there too one finds associations influenced by foreign types of ecclesiastical organization.

614 Since 1946 the Boulou clans have formed associations, sometimes
576 proclaimed in conformity with the law of 1901, and since 1950 gathered into the N'Tem-Kribi Tribal Union, which covers primarily Boulou, Fong, Fang, Ntoumou, and Mvaé. Each clan has a central board elected during an annual or biennial ésulan, and local boards. Membership is not automatic: members have to apply for admission, pay subscription and entrance fees. At the core of each clan association there are "societies" of young people of both sexes, of married women, of nonvoters /abstinents/, etc. The young people's "societies" are certainly the most unusual. They were formed with official approbation at the time of the abolition of forced labor recruitment. The "societies" used to bargain with local authorities over projects like road maintenance or the construction of works of art /sic/, the money received being turned into a common account and used, either to help the members meet bride-price payments or other expenses, or—particularly—to arrange festivals and banquets.

575 In large towns Pahouin migrants join de jure and de facto associ-
454 ations, generally within a tribal, not a clan, framework. These associations have protective and mutual-aid purposes /69/ and are sometimes quite powerful. To these should be related the tontines or subscription societies consisting of small numbers of laborers, servants, or minor employees, who pay into a common fund the larger part of their monthly wage, each member in turn being able to draw upon the sizable sum thus collected each month. The last two institutions are in no way specifically Pahouin, nor characteristic of the Cameroons or Gabon.

6. Law and Property

a. Source

671 Pahouin law has always been complex. Formerly, it dealt primarily with the status and condition of persons /statut et de l'état des personnes/ upon which the property system was dependent. Under the influence of the economic changes brought about by colonization, the law with regard to property has become definitely independent of the law of persons, the latter being inclined to grow simpler with the dissociation of the old social and family organizations.

671 The sources of law are at present custom and the European legal system brought in from outside. Each obviously affects the other: custom is modified by the written code, while the application of the latter is bent by the influence of custom. Law is continually evolving. It is quite difficult to understand, even though often written. The decisions of courts, the minutes of reconciliation proceedings, the "covenants between natives" established by the 1920 decree, the minutes of discussion sessions (1), and even some private contracts are

1. Bulletin de la Société d'Études camerounaises, 1947, No. 19-20, p. 141, (no. 126).

filed in the administrative archives, but they have only rarely been systematically collated.

671 183 The general term for custom is biyem (from yem = to know), connoting at the same time habits and modes of life and the laws that regulate them and qualify them as good or bad. Forms of behavior are rather mebo, from bo, to do. Methods and general practices are mam (sing. jam) or mejô (ajô = speech, from jô = to say), the second also meaning "business" in a litigious sense. One often hears, almost always with a tone of regret: Nnôm éyem, bimvam bi nga wô'ô bo mebo mete, melu mvus; nale a nga'ane kik, "The old ways, as our ancestors used to do things, they don't exist any longer." The whole "Pahouin regrouping" movement is characterized by this antithesis between regret for the biyem bimvam and yearning for progress. The result has been the growth of pseudo traditions attempting to connect contemporary ways with customary norms.

671 178 Since 1944 we have witnessed a trend in public opinion in favor of written codification of the law. Most clan groups /70/ have drafted their customary laws, which are revised periodically at the bisulan and which serve as legal basis for the decisions of the civil courts. It is probably too early for a final codification on a territorial scale, which would most likely involve an intertribal unification of the law (already stimulated by the colonial legal system), but periodic publication of local customary law by a committee of high-ranking men and assessors is often demanded and has already been sporadically carried out, as much by ésulan chairman as by certain government officials

b. Legal Power

692 The contemporary /legal/ organization is, except for a few details, the same in the three territories inhabited by the Pahouin. In the Cameroons and Gabon, criminal law /la justice repressive/ is in the hands of magistrates administering the French penal code; civil law is administered by first- and second-degree courts presided over by an official of administrative rank, sitting with two African assessors. There are also the so-called customary courts composed entirely of Africans and not entitled to deal with questions of personal status /état des personnes/, and a mediation system preliminary to all court action, in the jurisdiction either of chiefs or of first-degree court assessors. The system in Spanish territory is similar, but the first jurisdiction of the penal law is entrusted to officers called jefes de demarcación.

Alongside this official framework may often be noted a semi-official mechanism, sometimes tolerated, sometimes prosecuted as illegal. This consists of courts or arbitrators of the ngôl, of the bwiti or of the meyoñ, and also disciplinary committees of the missions, official or semi-official.

671 The distinction between civil and criminal was undoubtedly less sharp in former times. It did, however, exist, and an organization like the ngil dealt primarily with criminal cases, the major crime from which all others arose being that of ngbwel, sorcery. A homicide /meurtre/ might be a civil matter, when the circumstances precluded the probability of an act of sorcery; a well-planned theft, on the other hand, or even outstanding commercial acumen, could involve a capital charge.

627 Outside the ngil, law was administered in the first instance by the esa or ntol mot of the extended family or the village. This was a matter of disciplinary rather than legal power, at least so long as the ntôl's decisions concerned only his bobenyañ. When the case (étom) 628 went beyond a purely family framework, recourse was had to a judge, ntyi'i mejô, palaver-cutter, chosen within the clan from a kinship level nearer the ancestor. If several allied clans were involved, arbitrators or assessors were taken from among the mintôl not directly concerned in the suit. Finally, a diviner or magician, mvimvi'i or [791] ngengen, could be consulted, either visited in his own dwelling or into consultation.

[575] Suits between members of an association were, and often still are, conducted by an official of the association /71/.

c. Punishments

681 The scale of punishments included death, the paternal curse, putting in chains (mbok), fine, and bastinado. To these were added for women removal of the clitoris and the labia minora, injection of pimento into the vagina and public exposure, naked, with legs held apart by the mimbok /pl./ (ésamele minga).

681 783 The death sentence was carried out so as not to shed blood— which would have made purification necessary—by drowning, strangling, burial alive (the last particularly in certain cases of nsem, like incest), or by burning. If the execution had to be bloody, it was carried out by a captive—a foreigner to the clan—but, in theory, the shedding of blood always had a sacrificial character and was to be avoided on all other occasions.

The death sentence was applied for sorcery and serious minsem (breakings of taboo) such as incest or the killing of a monyañ. For other infractions, compensation was the general rule, either by retaliation or by indemnity, the latter usually being the preferred method. For instance, for a homicide /meurtre/ committed outside the clan, the mintôl arbitrators tried to make the killer's family pay blood money, either in goods or by giving a woman in compensation. To this there might have been added some sort of disciplinary corporal punishment within the killer's clan or family. If compensation was not paid, the victim's clan had recourse to retaliation upon any member of the clan or family of the guilty man: responsibility was individual within the family, collective within the clan and tribe.

A fine must be distinguished from the compensation accorded to the victim: it went, in fact, to the ntyi'i mejô, perhaps to pay for his intervention. It survives today, though illegal, to the benefit of official and semi-official assessors: it is freely called toya, from Coast English tax, to distinguish it from compensation, ngôtô = ransom, redemption.

Placing in chains applied especially to persons considered socially dangerous (it is nowadays used in remote villages for some insane), bastinado to minor crimes committed within the clan. Clitoridectomy was the punishment for adultery and minor incest. The injection of
695 pimento was rather a nkal, test or ordeal, than a punishment; it was applied especially to widows after the husband's death to discover whether or not they had been responsible. The use of ordeals, minkal,

695 was in other respects common. They were administered either by the ntyi'i mejo —esa, ntol, njoo bot, or officer of the ngil or another association—or by a diviner, mvimvi'i, sometimes a specialist in this category of bitom, palavers. The true ordeal had several forms: by a curse uttered over the ancestral grave or the bieti basket; by bitter herbs, alan; by pimento or ants; by boiling water or fire. /72/ Initiations and particularly that for ngil all involved a collective ordeal intended to ward off beyem who might have tried to push their [787] way in. In addition to the ordeal proper, the mvimvi'i could make use of various forms of divining in order to discover presumed culprits. Except for a serious crime, the culprit thus revealed was not forced to undergo an ordeal if he admitted his guilt. Physical ordeals are [671] on the decline; they are considered crimes or delicts in the Penal Code. And ordeal by oath has lost a great deal of its force. Divining remains much in use and is sometimes highly effective (1).

1. An oath may be sworn on a nzo'okak—a little elephant shield containing various medicines, equipped with a strap and worn under the arm. The nzo'okak is not an insignia of authority. Upon the death of its holder it does not pass automatically to the man who becomes head of the family but goes to the one who has a flair for magic. To leap over a nzo'okak laid on the ground means swearing that one has told the truth. The nzo'okak is a guarantee of treaties: [728] after a battle it is placed between the belligerents, who jump over it to vouch for their peaceful intentions. (J. B.)

177 Among modern punishments, fines and imprisonment are well 681 recognized by the Pahouin and have a definite intimidating power. On the other hand, the subtleties of setting up a public prosecutor /la constitution de partie civil/ are beyond many peasants, who thus lose the possibility of receiving damages that custom would have given them. Above all, the Napoleonic interpretation of crimes and delicts remains pretty well foreign to Pahouin norms, for example, in judging an insult as a mere transgression even when directed to an

177 ascending relative. These /factors/ explain the success and persis-
681 tence of parallel judicial processes, which are illegal from the point of view of European law, although sometimes tolerated by the administration.

d. Delinquency

674 If the older people are to be believed, delinquency offenses used to be rare: secret societies with their ordeals and swift punishments prevented delicts by the fear they inspired. At present the jail books and the judicial statistics make it possible to gauge the dimensions of the phenomenon, but there is no proof that all delinquents are prosecuted. Some affairs never reach the ears of the law: for instance, fathers of families often deplore the immorality of their sons or their wives, whom they accuse of stealing from them, but since no complaint is lodged, these facts are not recorded.

It is usual in Africa to complain of the rise in juvenile delinquency. The figures at my disposal do show an increase:

	18 yrs.	18 - 20 yrs.	20 - 25 yrs.	25 - 30 yrs.	30 - 35 yrs.	Over 35 yrs.	Total
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
1936	3	3.5	19	32	18	25	100
1946	-	10	21	35	15	14	100
1956	7	7.2	25	22	15	24	100

/73/ But this increase is not as great as might have been feared. A study of the statistics allows another conclusion: delinquency is
[369] an urban phenomenon. In fact, only people following city occupations are found in the jails. In a region of primarily agricultural activity, a relatively low number of rural delinquents is remarkable. Admittedly we must recognize that in towns law enforcement is easier, also that the more Westernized townsmen do not hesitate so much to make use of the courts. Nevertheless, the differences between the delin-
674 quency rates of different occupations deserve to be pointed out, al-
463 though the figures below are, of course, only approximate. They were obtained by a study of the census returns for three towns in the southern Cameroons and by a comparison of the jail books for the same localities.

674
463

	Office-holders	Trade Employees	Traders	Butchers	Tailors	Carpenters	Masons	Chauffeurs	Mechanics	Motor Boys	Domestic	Laborers	Chiefs	Planters
Percent of Delinquents	4.8	15	7.5	4	8	5	3	13	10	23	8.3	8	0.8	0.8

Employees in trade, chauffeurs, and apprentice chauffeurs are the social groups with the lowest standard of behavior. The nature of the delicts makes it possible to be precise: in the Beti country of the Cameroons, moral delicts /delit de moeurs/(desertion of the conjugal domicile) make up 47 percent of the cases; theft and swindling, 26 percent; intentional assault and battery come far behind with 16 percent.

These figures enable us to measure the decline of the present-day family. (J.B.)

e. Land Tenure

473 According to early documents land regulations formerly were very simple. There appears to have been no rights over land: "Land belongs to whoever takes it; it has no value. It is not sold, not given as a guarantee for debt, does not enter into inheritance." There is absent not only the notion of private ownership of land but also that of collective ownership: "There is never any conflict between villages over ownership of land. . . . We often see an outside village insert itself between two groups of dwellings belonging to the selfsame Boulou village." (1) In Fang country in Gabon the situation was

1. Report to the League of Nations, 1922.

similar: "In the Woleu-N'Tem region, tradition is unaware of the idea of ownership even by a village." (2)

423 2. Sautter, Bulletin d'Études centrafricaines, 1950 (no. 102).

[166] Migrations and conquests still belong to the recent past. Besides, /74/ the movement of peoples was effected without organization or authority: different clans, tribes, and peoples overlap, family by family, so that it is not possible to determine the territorial base of a collective group.

Among the Ewôndo and Eton the situation is slightly different: the clans, probably better organized, preserved a certain amount of cohesion and carried out their conquest without becoming scattered. Therefore we find that they have boundaries between villages and collective rights over land. "Once plots of land have been cleared, they are not abandoned for good. A village looks upon them as a [241] reserve." In fact population density very much limits shifting cultivation.

[178] In the past forty years customs have changed a great deal and, among these peoples where land tenure was embryonic or nonexistent, ideas are arising that approximate Western rights of ownership.

[161] Population is now pretty nearly stable. It would be quite logical for rights over crops within a fixed boundary to arise, and in this direction some development is making itself felt. In certain areas 423 anyone may still cut wood, lianas, gather wild fruits, or hunt, to 241 satisfy his personal needs, but if he makes a profit from the sale of these things, he must obtain the consent of the family /occupying/ the area in which he carries on this activity. Elsewhere, the use of certain produce even for private requirements is subject to permission or to sharing the harvest. Thus the customary principle of the free use of natural goods is being restricted, at least in certain particular cases. With increase in population comes the idea of a virtual right over uncultivated forest lands. Families consider that they alone have the right to clear the land on which they depend. Men with experience state clearly that "formerly everyone cleared forest land without asking anyone's permission. Now that the country is becoming populous, permission must be asked." In less populated cantons clearing in the great forest goes on without restriction.

In conformity with ancestral customs, the harvest belongs to the cultivators: a right over personal property rather than a right over land. Nevertheless, a tendency toward a right of land ownership is

423 241 making itself felt. Indeed, before any sowing, trees have to be cut down and the land cleared. This work has a relatively permanent effect: to clear undergrowth of ten to fifteen years is less difficult than to clear a bit of primary forest. Furthermore, the original clearer of the land is acknowledged to have rights over the fallow. Within a family, each head of a household can put back into cultivation fields which he used to work, and in such a case each wife has the right to go back to her old plot. When collective ownership is involved, the process has not been so clear. This is understandable, for when a village leaves its old site and no one remains in the neighborhood, it means that no return is expected. Therefore, abandoned sites may in general be occupied without difficulty and without explicit agreement.

But in the case of cacao plantations it is obvious that the right arising /75/ from cultivation is transformed into right over land. Right to the harvest has turned into right over the tree that bears it and over the ground in which the tree grows: the duration of a plantation justifies this transition by settling men for two or three generations.

This transition, however, has not been entirely accomplished, and some people want to insure their right over the land by planting trees upon it; and peculiar devices may be observed, such as a competitor's setting out cacao trees between those of an emigrant planter, in order to oust him.

423 609 Development /evolution/ in the direction of ownership has not yet ended. There is now a right of use, but a right of disposal has not been established. Many believe that land cannot be sold. Not, it seems, on religious /sic/ grounds, but because the collective group would /in such a case/ be definitely defrauded. In this connection the attitude toward outsiders /l'attitude des etrangers/ is indicative. In this region of inextricably mingled clans and tribes, the problem of outsiders arises constantly. Those that belong to sister tribes are looked upon almost as members of the group, but others, coming from more distant populations, follow special regulations. They must ask for land from the head of the family near which they settle: he authorizes them to clear a field for a subsistence crop, but forbids them to plant cacao trees. In fact, if making a field of maize gives right of possession to the land for a few months, the establishment of a cacao plantation would lead to long-lasting possession. There is no question of a custom connected with the owning of trees, since the older inhabitants insist that formerly

423 any stranger could plant melen palms (Elaeis guineensis) and sa
601 (Pachylobus edulis), but of a defense reflex to preserve control of a valuable crop and to ward off the wave of immigration it could attract.

An examination of forms of pawning fields leads to a similar con-
423 clusion: there is far from a complete right to dispose of property.
426 The harvest rather than the land is pledged. Among the Ewondo, in fact, the creditor may harvest and dispose of the produce. "Should the harvest surpass the debt, he will turn over to the debtor part of the produce. Since the owner runs the risk of having his land go to waste, the creditor may keep it in good heart and thus increase his credit. He may be induced to keep the property for several years: in fact, he keeps it long enough to be repaid out of the harvest. However, there is no assumption that he can keep it perpetually. Here we run into what is probably an important difference between the local land tenure and our own: everything takes place as if the land were inalienable (1)." The trend is similar among the Boulou, though

1. J. Binet, Budgets familiaux dans la zone cacaoyère du Cameroun /Family Budgets in the Cacao-growing Region of the Cameroons/, L'Homme d'Outre-mer, No. 3, 1956 (no. 93).

it must be admitted that the question of pawning land does not raise serious economic problems at present. (J.B.) /76/

f. Personal Property

422 This is undoubtedly the only form of property originally recognized. Much of it seems to have been collective, at least as concerns valuable possessions: the ésa was in charge of these possessions, the family patrimony which served mainly to pay the minsuba, "bride prices." There was, however, individual ownership of useful objects, men's weapons, women's gardening tools and household equipment, objects that were buried with the owner. It seems, also, that there
[83] was a sexual differentiation between the various categories of possessions: biôm beyôm were masculine, biôm beyal were feminine, a distinction to be traced not to ownership, but to use and perhaps to origin. I have already mentioned that in the bilaba the njem bilaba of the west contributed imported goods, while his eastern counterpart

422 brought produce of the locality, the system of directions very probably being ascribed to sexual categories, the northeast area, male and the southwest area, female. It would be advisable to know more about the ritual use of different tools and implements in order to throw more light on the subject. We know that the saber, fa, is essentially male, that the hunting bell tied to a dog's neck, angôñ, is essentially female, that the drum-telephone, nkul, is androgynous (though women are not allowed to use it); the rifle, ngal, is probably epicene, and the same is true for a few other objects, but we know almost nothing about the effect of this sexual differentiation upon property and its conveyance.

In any case, since the introduction of a money economy, personal property /propriété mobilière/ has become almost entirely individual. Personal property /meubles/ that remains collective is primarily so by appropriation, like the equipment of associations, the profits of their subscriptions, sometimes objects bought in common by members of a family because of their cost or function—like the sewing machines obtained from Spanish Guinea after the last war, for instance.

Personal property still involves some restrictions for women and
422 young men, although they are less and less accepted. Respectful
513 sons and submissive wives still allow their fathers and husbands to use the objects acquired by the earnings of their labor, but when they rebel the trend of the courts is increasingly in their favor. However, the obligatory aid arising from family ties still holds good, and to refuse to "lend" something to a monyañ is likely to be frowned on, which is a serious matter. Thus there survives a kind of right of collective family use working against individual /ownership of/ personal property.

g. Inheritance, Guardianship

422 These come about from death or disappearance. A paternal curse
578 did not entail loss of civil rights, but the possessions left behind by an accursed son who quit his village were confiscated and divided among his brothers.

The disposal of possessions left by a dead man, called élik from
428 lik = to leave, took place at the end of the period of mourning,
765 meyep, perhaps /77/ a mbu, six months after death. This waiting period tends to become shorter and in towns usually lasts a month,

a long enough interval in which to inform and call together the eventual heirs; in villages it remains longer.

The élik includes on the debit side the family debts incurred by the de cujus, but not his purely personal debts, which die with him; the distinction is sometimes hard to make and gives rise to suits between the heirs and creditors of the dead man. The debit side also includes the funeral costs, especially compensation to the diviner called in to determine the cause of death (but the expenses of the final illness are considered to be a personal debt). Assets cover all real and personal property that belonged to the deceased, including his wives. The settlement, akap = distribution, is directed by the nkap élik, distributor of the inheritance, usually a ntôl môt, a kinsman or affinal relative not benefiting from the inheritance and appointed either by the de cujus or by the heirs themselves. Inheritances are more important now than they used to be, not only because there are more, and a greater variety of, objects to be distributed but also because the custom is dying out of destroying or burying part of them during the funeral rites.

There are six degrees of possible heirs: male offspring and their male descendants; full brothers; half brothers on the father's side; paternal first cousins, bobenyam; clan nephews, hence brother's sons, bobendôm; uterine brothers, nephews, and grandsons of the clan, hence bastards, bobengon, and legitimate nephews and grandsons outside the clan, bobekal. Inheritance does not devolve by ascending order except in the complete absence of descending heirs.

The eldest of the heirs of the first degree called to the inheritance, ntôl mon, is privileged; he is the replacement, njian, for the dead man. To him go the hut, the family jewelry, ancestral cult objects, especially the bieti basket, the rifle, and certain valuable possessions like bicycles, sewing machines, etc. The other possessions are divided among the other heirs of the same degree. The njian's right of seniority is beginning to be criticized; it is gradually ceasing to apply to plantations, and now the heirs are demanding a division into portions of equal value along lines similar to those of the Civil Code.

The possessions left by a woman went in the first instance to her daughters, in their absence to her co-wives, and in their absence to her husband. With the present instability of marriage, related to the economic emancipation of women, this order of inheritance is

428 very much questioned: one often sees a woman's family trying to get hold of the inheritance on the grounds of incomplete payment of the bride price.

Oral wills are increasingly being replaced by written wills. The testator may himself kap élik, distribute the inheritance, and favor certain heirs. He cannot entirely disinherit the ntôl mon except by cursing him, unless the latter has left the village in an apparently final manner, in which case a younger brother becomes njian. /78/

Disappearance is a question of fact. When a man has stayed away for a long time without sending news, and no one knows where he is, his elders and his brothers may decide to share his possessions. This division is canceled should he return.

429 Guardianship of a minor, meba'ale or akalé (from ba'ale or kalé = to take care of, watch over) is given to a nya mòtò of a higher age grade, preferably a paternal uncle, ésa (lit., father) or paternal grandparent, émvam; in their absence it is given to an elder brother; in the absence of all these, to a senior member of the family or clan. The maternal uncle, ndomenyan, acts as a kind of deputy guardian with the duty of supervising the guardianship. A ward who is maltreated by his guardian will seek refuge with his maternal uncle.

The guardian, mba'ak mon or nkalé mon, has by virtue of his age and of their kinship tie full power over an orphan, mone nyui or mo'nyui. He cannot, however, have control of his possessions, which must be restored in full, either in kind or in /equivalent/ value, when the orphan reaches majority. In theory a guardian ought to arrange his ward's marriage at his own expense, a tradition that is dying out with the decrease in family property. When the ward grows up he may demand an accounting of the guardianship, provided that there is no insult to the guardian. A family council composed of elders, mintôl, deals with such a case.

The mba'ale mon responsible for the guardianship of a girl is the person who approves her marriage and accepts the nsuba, of which he must reserve the total for the marriage of the girl's brothers if they also are minors. Guardianship of a girl is always given to her eldest brother if he is grown at the time of the father's death; if not, she is handed over to him when he reaches majority by the mba'ale mon, if she has not been married during the brother's minority. Furthermore, even in the latter case, it falls to him to repay the nsuba should the girl be divorced after he has passed out of guardianship.

h. Contracts and Various Quasi Contracts

675 A legal obligation is atiñ, from tiñ = to tie. For a long time no distinction was made between a contract and a quasi /or implied/ contract, but, as the range of independent activity spreads, we may recognize among metiñ the genuine contract, mfañ atiñ, from fañ = to do really, on purpose, by design.

Underlying all metiñ is the idea of compensation, avutan or abutan, which might be interpreted as follows: any effect /atteint/, positive or negative, on the total legal personality of an individual through the act of another must lead to a positive or negative compensation restoring the status quo ante. In other words, whoever enriches another person, has a claim to compensation; whoever deprives another, owes compensation.

Thus arises the distinction between nsenge and avu or avuan which have sometimes been confused by being translated as "gain" or "profit." It /79/ seems that nsenge in fact referred specifically to commercial profit made outside the clan through trade, abom, to which compensation did not apply. Avu or avuan (from vu = to grow rich, to increase in wealth, with an = to grow, to increase) meant the natural increase in property, such as a harvest in relationship to the sowing /or/ the biological increase of a herd. If the avuan was made at the expense of a monyañ, compensation was called for. Nowadays the idea of avuan approximates that of interest, legitimate or illegitimate according to the case. The weakening of the old social structures at the same time tends to allow nsenge even within the clan.

431 675 The verb kuan, to sell, is merely the reciprocal form of the verb kus, to buy; thus kuan means literally, "one person's buying from another," with a now very attenuated implication of exchange. The verbs fol and folan, formerly almost synonymous with kus and kuan, have kept the sense of "exchange"; they are applied to barter, kuan and kus, to money transactions.

At the present time selling is considered to be established with delivery of the merchandise or the payment, while exchange seems to call for a simultaneous delivery of the objects exchanged.

421 675 To lend something for temporary and brief use is señ; it is not strictly speaking a contract, and the borrower may even not be under obligation, for example when he has been loaned a tool to carry out

426 a job for profit and under the supervision of the lender. To lend on
675 long terms with actual deprivation of possession of the object loaned is, on the other hand, a frequent atiñ. The same verbs mean both "to lend" and "to borrow": yôé is used for the loan-borrowing of a specific object, kôlé for something within a class of objects or of a sum of money. The thing loaned is ndôñ or ékôla, according as the case may be, or, more frequently, mvôla, which means any kind of debt or credit (mbi mvôla = creditor; mvômvôla = debtor). The borrower is required to return in good order the ndôñ and what it produces or the ékola, increased by avutan if he has profited from the loan. The borrower is responsible not only for the care but also for
[672] the use that he makes of the borrowed object, the lender, however, retaining a sort of joint and several responsibility vis-à-vis third parties whom the borrower may injure by means of the borrowed object (indemnity can be claimed by the victim of an accident from the owner who has loaned his bicycle to the author of the accident), and even vis-à-vis is the borrower, if he comes to harm through the borrowed object.

From loan is derived hiring, indicated by the same word as the
487 loan of a specific object, yôé. /This is/ a recently introduced form
676 of contract, and its legal position is still vague. Like loan, hiring may lead to the giving of a pledge, éban. The éban often involved people until European legislation prohibited the pledging of persons, though it is still practised clandestinely. Today it mainly involves objects that can be returned, either to the lender or to a third person; ownership of the security may /80/ be transferred to the lender when repayment falls due, without extinguishing the debt. The pawning of ungathered harvests or even of plantations is more and more common; with plantations, however, the pledge covers rights over the produce rather than over the land itself. When a girl is pawned, the repayment of the debt, aju, is sometimes considered a sort of nsuba; as long as the debt lasts, in any case, the children of the pawned girl belong to her clan and not to that of the guaranteed creditor.

231 The contract for the loan-grazing of livestock, meyale kabat
675 (yale = to raise, make grow) may seem rather peculiar at first glance. The owner of an animal turns it over to the ñyale, who must look after it and, at the expiration of the contract, return not only the animal but any young. The lender gets rid of the care of a flock—he is often sending it away, moreover, to escape an animal plague—

231 yet takes the risk of a breach of faith on the ñyale's part. The latter
675 is supposed to return the flock intact, but as long as he tends it, he may do what he wants with it, putting it to use like a kind of credit. It is as well to point out that this kind of contract, which at present is falling into disuse, gave occasion to endless litigation.

The trade contract under its old name abom or the newer atiñ kilak
426 or atiñ akus kaka is, on the other hand, becoming more and more
675 widespread. A trader, nkuan biôm or mbi fatyélé, advances to a kilak
441 (from "clerk") cash and goods on the kilak's undertaking to provide the equivalent in a certain tonnage of cacao. The contract is set forth in a written "good for...," which represents recognition of the debt. The kilak exerts himself to collect the promised tonnage, usually by buying from planters of his clan, sometimes by subcontract with "small clerks," bone bekilak. The contract has a due date, with the usual contingencies; in the case of rising prices, the kilak may run into difficulties and not be able to furnish the promised tonnage unless planters of his family give him credit or sell to him below the price. Cacao buying is also done by commission, the agent, nlôman, (envoy), receiving a cash advance with which to buy as much cacao as possible. Both methods give rise to litigation, which is all the more common because the moneylender is usually a European or an African of another tribe, a "Gabonese" in French Equatorial Africa, a Bamiléké, mone galifis (from Coast English "Grassfield") in the Cameroons.

556 In general a commission is always possible, whether in making a
675 contract or in pleading in court. The person giving the commission
431 is called mve ngul, giver of power; the agent is called mbili ngul, possessing power. They are jointly and severally responsible.

The bilaba contract, described about (41, 77), is disappearing. There survives, however, a sort of poor man's bilaba, the meyeñ, from nneñ, guest, which allows a zesé môt, a humble man, to levy a kind of tax on the rich, minkukum, of his clan by the simple procedure of going to visit them, carrying a present /81/ which must be returned by generous hospitality and by a countergift of higher value. This is a quasi contract, sanctioned by public opinion, which is a heavy burden on people thought to be rich; it underlies the family parasitism prevalent in large towns. The reputed nkukum who tries to escape would be accused of being hard hearted, nlem ayet, which could easily lead to a charge of sorcery.

7. The Position of Women(1)

562

1. J. Binet, "Condition des femmes /The Position of Women/, " Cahiers internationaux de sociologie, 20, 1956, Presses Universitaires de France, and "Statut des femmes dans le Sud-Cameroun /Status of Women in the Southern Cameroons/, " to appear in Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin, 1956, Edit. of the Librarie Encyclopédique, Brussels.

If the older people are to be believed, the position of women according to orthodox custom was that of minors. However, there is nothing in traditional theory that justifies such a negative attitude towards women: some clans name women among their eponymous heroes, and there are legends attributing to the creator god (Zambë) a daughter in whose honor certain rites were performed. At the present time the tribal societies making an effort to revive the old clans and to revise their codes of manners and their customary laws always keep a place for women at the core of the executive /état-major/, but very often the role of women is secondary: they are dancers, singers, organizers of dances, or stewards watching over followers—in short they only carry out men's orders. Women are also sometimes associated with men in religious /confessional/ so-
[575] cieties (Protestant or, more frequently, Catholic), but mostly they form separate groups, formerly so-called secret societies, today Christian devotional confraternities, which enable women to meet together, to set up a hierarchy and have leaders of their own. Women do not actually participate in the life of the community /cité/ or, better, they form a community among themselves, distinct from that of men.

In law women seem to be at a disadvantage, but it is not clear that they owe this to genuine antifeminism. In fact, no one is perfectly free in customary law; only the patriarchal head of a family
[585] possesses full legal capacity. Marriage does not confer majority on a woman, and a girl possesses greater independence than does a
[948] married woman. In the sexual sphere this is clear: illegitimate births involve no disgrace; a child is always welcome. If born before marriage, it belongs to the mother's family. And it is not unusual for respectable fathers to wait until a daughter has borne children before marrying her off.

562 children before marrying her off. In the economic sphere a young unmarried woman may freely undertake all sorts of commercial enterprises, whereas a married woman would need her husband's consent. Nor do divorce or widowhood, /82/ any more than marriage, emancipate a woman in theory. Escaping from her husband's guardianship, she falls back under the authority of the head of her family, but from the point of view of custom this is not a detrimental situation, since every person remains subject to his father.

Therefore the liberty women possess in managing their inheritance [459] ought not to appear an anomaly. Besides, individual savings are widespread in Africa. And the division of property into masculine and feminine allows women and girls to own objects which neither [422] husbands nor fathers may take from them. A partition of goods is the logical consequence of these assumptions.

Women theoretically have the right to dispose of the product of their labor—their harvest—but they must provide the basic foodstuffs. Only the surplus is sold, but in the majority of families when large sales take place the proceeds are divided between husband and wife. Women usually control the proceeds of day-to-day sales in a market or to passing travelers: petty amounts comprising only 10 percent of the total family budget. They may invest these profits by joining [457] a tontine (a society in which each person makes a contribution on a fixed date and of which the capital is allotted to each member in turn).

Thus the traditional means for growing rich are limited. But changing customs are allowing women to follow various occupations that will make them independent. Women engaged in trade or dressmaking, for which they pay a license, business trade employees or saleswomen, theoretically have to be authorized by their husbands, who may decide how the earnings are to be spent. In actual fact women seem to be free agents. Even in the customary courts they appear alone, unaccompanied by fathers or husbands.

423 In the sphere of land tenure the trend is the same: women are 562 acquiring a certain amount of property. With stabilization /i.e. settling down/, the growth of collective rights over cleared land or land good for tillage is quite understandable. The idea of allowing a personal right to a woman who is not truly a member of a family, but merely loaned to it, seems an aberration. This, nevertheless, is the situation among the Ewôndo, where a divorced woman

423 continues to have rights over her old garden plots and may gather the
512 harvest from them. Among the Bané and the Boulou the position of divorced women is not the same, but the tendency is so, for when fallow land is cleared, every woman goes back to the plots she used to work four or five years before, and sons may demand plots that have been cultivated by their mothers.

Cacao plantations raise other problems. A man concerned for his children's future may turn over a plantation to a wife or encourage her to make one for their son. In other cases childless women start
[513] plantations as a means of providing for old age. Women with children do not have to fear, for their children will look after them. Finally, there is an even more important /83/ change appearing: a matrimonial system of community of property is developing. When a woman has collaborated with her husband to set up a plantation, she has the right upon his death to keep the usufruct. Even if her son inherits the plantation and sells the produce, it is she who collects the proceeds. This is an important development, because it is evidence of a kind of equality between spouses who are keen and efficient in harvesting the produce of the same piece of land. It furthermore shows that the
[512] household is a legal reality vis-à-vis the two individuals, on the one hand, the patriarchal family, on the other. (J.B.)

Chapter 6

Principal Elements of Culture

1. Physical and Mental Characteristics

a. Anthropological Data

141 The first travelers describe the Fang as very tall, well built, and with a formidable appearance. This opinion certainly contained a good deal of subjective evaluation, because the figures given, for instance by I. Dugast, some of which are cited below, indicate simply an above-average height:

141

Tribe	Height		Cephalic Index		Trunk Index /Indice cormique/	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mangisa	above average		76.7	76.3	?	?
Eton	167.8	157.9	76.2	76.4	60.8	51.0
Ewôndo	168.4	158.6	77.0	77.6	50.5	50.4
Boulou	165.4	157.6	77.8	79.2	51.2	52.2
Fang	above average		77.0	76.6	51.2	50.9

[143]

Tribe	Blood Group (in %)					Facial Index		Width/Height /Envergure s/taille/	
	O	A	B	AB	Index	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mangisa	52	21.9	10.9	15.2	1.44	?	?	?	?
Eton	55.7	13.8	17.5	12.9	0.878	85.1	84.2	104.4	102.5
Ewôndo	55.5	14.1	17.4	11.5	0.885	85.7	85.6	105.3	104.0
Boulou	?	?	?	?	?	86.5	85.1	103.7	102.9
Fang	?	?	?	?	?	83.2	87.0	105.3	103.4

It is inevitable, in any case, that a population of this numerical size should present fairly obvious extreme variations, but my own observation, also subjective, thrown into relief a larger proportion of short and very short persons than of tall and very tall: interbreeding [144] with Pygmies (the Bekoé ayoñ especially) would explain this to a great extent. The Beti in the north, who have had much less contact with Pygmies, seem taller and slenderer.

142 The group as a whole may be considered mesocephalic with a /85/ [141] slight tendency to dolichocephaly (1), with not very obvious Negroid

[304 856]

1. Midwives, bebialé binga, still continue the practice of shaping newborn skulls by lengthening. On the other hand, the custom of binding babies' heads with a bark band is dying out.

facial traits, rather light chocolate brown skin, although some groups have a reddish tinge to the skin and green eyes (the Ndôñ ayoñ of [143 821] Sangmélima). Pectoral hair is common. There is fairly common albinism, some polydactylism (the subjects are supposedly sorcerers).

142 The group displays powerful shoulder girth, rather well-developed calf, pronounced arch, ungual phalanges that cannot be pulled back.

The explorers of the last century were one and all struck by the difference in physical appearance between the Pahouin and their neighbors, much less evident today, particularly to a European (the Pahouin themselves often recognize a stranger from quite a distance). It is possible that at the time of conquest the Pahouin may have had a
[24] heavier meat diet than did the coastal populations or do their present-day descendants: the hippopotamus has been exterminated, and the rest of the wild fauna has been greatly reduced, while even animal breeding and rearing is on the decline.

b. Clothing, Ornaments, Body Marks

291 The traditional clothing as described by explorers hardly exists any more. One sometimes meets in remote villages the beaten fig-bark breechcloth, ɔ̂bɔ̂m, and the monkeyskin hat-wig, afɔ̂'ɔ̂lɔ̂, which was the men's everyday dress, with a wide belt of antelope skin, ases, holding a sort of sporran as well as a saber sheath. Battle dress and
292 full dress have become very rare; they included, in addition to a red-dyed ɔ̂bɔ̂m, a tailpiece /séant/ of tiger-cat skin or of drill or any animal with bright fur, fringed leggings of the same fur, and a sort of cloak made of leopard or gorilla skin with the head sometimes forming a hood; there was a headdress of beads hanging down to the shoulders or arranged in the hair, with a tuft of touraco or juggler-eagle /aigle-
411 bateleur/ feathers. Weapons consisted of the saber, fa, the dagger, otyen —both double bladed, the spear, akoñ, or rifle, ngal (the cross-bow, mfan, was more a hunting weapon, and the bow, ngale, a toy). Defensive armor included an oblong shield, ngu or éndeñ, of plaited lianas or of leather, sometimes made of an elephant ear. Even today men do not like to leave home without a weapon, at least in the
301 villages; formerly, they were always armed. Men's jewelry comprised copper bracelets and teeth necklaces—of either animal's or men's
[75] teeth—chains of copper, iron, ivory, or elephant hair. Protective
293 "medicaments" mebiañ, were usually carried in an antelope horn (Cephalophus sylvicultrix), nla' zip, hung around the neck or wrist on a strip of leather or snakeskin—a practice that still survives. The
292 ceremonial costumes for the different rites /86/ included masks, mantles of dried grass, beads, or cowries.

301 Women wore only a sort of double apron of grass or leaves, azem
[291] or abui, fastened to a belt of cylindrical steatite beads, nsanga; brace-
lets, mekom, of ivory or copper shaped like spools; ankle chains,
bibat, of cast copper, very heavy; and an enormous necklace of cast
copper, nkembé, which was put on a little girl when she entered her
[764] affinal household and which could not be removed until after death,
by cutting apart the body or melting the necklace or awaiting decom-
position. All this jewelry belonged to, and remained in, the husband's
[422] family, even in case of divorce; the ésa was the person who distributed
it among his wives and daughters-in-law. Flat bracelets were made of
306 "neptunes" or "benares" /?/ imported from the coast; later on they
made, and still make, rings and bracelets from cartridge cases and
telegraph wire. But the origin of the cast minkembé /plural/ is still
a mystery; the technique of metal casting is unknown or forgotten;
placer or lode copper is very rare, not only in the present Pahouin
[325] habitat but also where they seem to have come from. Furthermore,
these very old necklaces resist corrosion and have a very pale patina
indicating some kind of alloy; moreover, the nearest workers in bronze
the Bamum, do not make this kind of necklace.

291 Men's dress at the present time is usually of the European type,
[177] from shorts and sports shirt to the surplus American cap; those who
wear shoes have European footwear, leather or canvas according to
their income, or in the style of the Arabic—silifa, from English
"slipper" = babouche, of Hausa or Peul manufacture. Mention should
be made of the helmets and kepis of umbrella-tree wood and the fake
spectacles of slivers of ráffia "bamboo." In the villages or at home,
imported loincloths are rolled around a belt or tied behind the neck.

Women also wear a loincloth, éndelé, tied at the neck or rolled
tight above the breasts when they have nothing else on, rolled at the
waist when wearing the "mission jacket," éwoman (apparently from
"woman"). The favorite head covering is still the kerchief, éyañese
(from "handkerchief"). More and more women are also wearing cut
and sewn European-style dresses, bizingi; often a kind of slip; no
[944] panties except for a few young modernists (who call them caleçons,
"drawers"); and internal sanitary napkins made of medicinal plants.
[747] Mission activity has spread notions of prudery; formerly only those
past puberty were obliged to cover their sexual parts. Women did so
834 with great care in spite of the casual nature of their clothing; the
greatest insult to a woman was to uncover her vulva in public; she never

834 uncovered it except when uttering a curse. Nowadays most women
292 cover their breasts (1) with almost equal vigilance. /87/ In old-

[177]

1. The aesthetic standard in this connection is changing, especially in towns, as a result of European (cinema?) influence; one only rarely sees girls binding their breasts with strips of bark or cloth to make them fall.

fashioned villages widows still go back to the traditional dress after their seclusion: for eight days, sometimes longer, they wear the ébui made of leaves, which is then replaced by an old ôbôm or a jute sack that leaves the head and shoulders and thighs bare, then by a sack or an old khaki dress shaped like a sack with holes for head and arms.

291 Boys and girls used to run around naked until the first signs of puberty appeared, usually the pubic hair (Boulou, afaň /"h." in the text must be a misprint for "b."—Tr./; Fang, avul). Boys wore a special breechcloth of a special vegetable /material/ after circum-
[304] cision while waiting for the wound to heal and afterwards had to wear a covering only if they had already started to grow hair. At present they wear clothes from the beginning of school age and even before that in militant Christian families and the urban bourgeoisie.

304 Body marks have fallen out of use with the exception of circumcision. First the men stopped filing their incisors to a point. Tattooing persisted longer, in Gabon until just before the Second World War. At present tattooing is being revived among urban pickpockets and syncretist associations. The face was tattooed, usually between the eyes but sometimes on the cheeks, with blue markings made of soot mixed with vegetable ash, or in red with padouk /?/ powder, baa. These marks could indicate clan or association affiliation, or even were imposed during or after a course of medico-magical treatment, or even to satisfy aesthetic demands. It was the same for cicatrices engraved in relief on chest or abdomen, which are nowadays described as being "to make nyanga" (!pretty," Coast English—of Hausa origin?). It is quite possible that some of the magic significance has been forgotten. The most important marks were the dorsal scarifications made at initiations: a triple row of incisions along the vertebral column, widening into a v at the nape

304 of the neck for the sô; a (secret) design on the sacrum for the ngil; three horizontal marks on the nape for the ndôngô; a line of "vaccination marks" on the inner surface of the arms, forearms, and thighs, and along the carotid arteries, for the serpent /associations/, etc.

302 Men wore their hair braided, or else they shaved the temples and parietal bones, leaving a sort of comb on the top of the skull, suggesting a gorilla's crest. There were special ways of dressing the hair appropriate for the different initiations. The moustache was worn only by the benya bôtô; the beard, a goatee, by a few aged men, often diviners. In our day men usually wear their hair short and merely combed; a central part, in the Lower Nigerian fashion, was very common around 1948 among factory hands, while former recruits went in for a crew cut with a frill beard /barbe en collier/. Many students wear a little goatee, and this style is now growing among the rest of the younger generation. Since up to now wearing a beard was a sign of mourning, a political implication has sometimes been [765] attributed to this fashion—but mourning beards are not trimmed. /88/

Women have many ways of doing their hair. in plaits, checker [765] board, "horns," etc. As a sign of mourning their heads are shaved, and they are not allowed to comb the hair that grows out before the end of mourning. The growth of beard or moustache that often [145 764] follows menopause is considered a sign of sorcery. Stylish women pluck their armpits, and a few also remove their pubic hair, for reasons perhaps of elegance and hygiene, perhaps of ritual (is there a relationship between the name of the important female rite mevungu and mevul, meaning "female pubic hair?"). Padouk powder, baa, is still used in the way that henna is for both magical and aesthetic reasons, but European make-up, mainly lipstick, has taken its place among young fashionable women.

515 Bodily cleanliness is much in favor: men and women often bathe several times a day with plenty of soap. But it is common to see them put back on their well-scrubbed bodies perfectly filthy clothes, no doubt because bodily cleanliness is a much older practice than that of wearing clothes made of cloth.

c. Psychological Characteristics

181 Like the majority of known peoples, the Pahouin have a very flattering opinion of themselves, and the curious thing is that this

181 opinion is quite widely shared by foreign observers. "Much more intelligent and... more active and harder working than the average Negro... they also have more forethought... they compare with other Negroes as do Aryans with Semites and the red men /Rouges/ ... capable of acquiring a certain amount of intellectual cultivation and of performing all sorts of industries," wrote Largeau in 1900. Before him, Du Chaillu /had written/: "Proud and fierce warriors... clever and industrious... that will supersede... the degenerate tribes (of the Ogooué)," while Horn, who did not like the French at all, thought the "Mpangwe" of 1875 to be the "Prussians of Africa," which, considering his attitude and the period, was a compliment. Later, Trilles favorably compares their moral standards with those of Europeans; his Protestant colleague Grebert speaks of their "individualism," their "fierce love of liberty." The portrait admits, it is true, of some reservations: "brusqueness," "brutal frankness," along with "unreliability," "malice," and "greed for gain" for Largeau, "pride," "tendency to hoard," "stubbornness," for Grebert, "cruelty," "avarice" for Du Chaillu, "superstition" for Horn, while Compiègne thinks they "disappointed Admiral de Langle's hopes (for their ability to become assimilated)." It is a remarkable fact that these "defects" may just as well appear aspects of their "good qualities," just like the strictures on "anarchy" and "rebelliousness" that often turn up in the official reports.

All these evaluations still hold good, clearly subjective and /89/ nonscientific as they are, just as are those I have been able to make myself and which lead me to say that I have actually met among the Pahouin I associated with a large proportion of intelligent, energetic, high-spirited /fiers/ people, endowed with a sarcastic humor well illustrated in many recent novels and also in the giving of nicknames, especially to government officials, and in the celebrated caricatures of Monewoso among the Boulou.

114 153 The only scholarly work on this subject that I know is some research done in the Cameroons by Stoerkel, head of the Service de Psychotechnie et d'Orientation professional /Psychotechnical and Vocational Guidance Service/, which does not seem to have been published. This research was done in 1949-50 at the beginning of the construction of the Edéa dam. The studies revealed, among the Pahouin of the southern Cameroons, motor adaptability, concentration, and capacity for integration superior on the whole to those of other

114 ethnic groups in the same region, the Boulou subjects being classed
153 first on these points among the Pahouin tribes. Intelligence tests and mental-age evaluations made among school children and lycée students gave similar results in comparison with Africans of the same age. On the other hand, a comparison with European children living in the Cameroons showed a certain inferiority, from which it is still impossible to draw definitive conclusions because of the scarcity of "culture-free tests" used at the time. Projective tests administered
114 under the same conditions revealed schizoid tendencies with rather
157 marked aggression and a fairly high frequency of the Oedipus fixation with some transference /assimilation/ from father to white man. The difference in level from neighboring tribes was less clear among the lycée students than among school children, and less clear among the latter than among the laborers at Edéa. It must be emphasized
[125] that these tests, especially the projective ones, involved a limited number of persons in particular situations outside the village milieu, that remains the background of the majority of their fellow tribesmen. I am not acquainted with the results of later research.

156 With regard to social psychology, we are also largely restricted to subjective evaluations in the same class as those mentioned at the beginning of this section. Allégret a half century ago remarked upon a defeatism more bitter since the Fang had come in contact with Europeans, and certain legends reported by Trilles and Largeau on the Jacob and Esau theme, with the white man in the role of the usurping younger brother, go some way to confirming this. Balandier has given a good description of contemporary expressions of this feeling of collective frustration, both in his Sociologie actuelle and in various articles, one of them with the significant title, "Les Fang, conquérants en disponibilité" /The Fang, Unattached Conquerors/, (nos. 175 and 173).

One striking trait, also emphasized by Balandier, is that of collective mistrust of successful persons. This may appear to contradict the previous statement about Pahouin individualism, but in fact it is precisely /90/ this individualism that produces a good share of the suspicion of the other individual (cf. in Ezo Boto, Ville cruelle, no. 182, the reactions of the hero Banda vis-à-vis the rebel Koumé).

556 We must also point out the psychological and social importance
156 of akum, wealth, and of biôm, possessions, especially imported possessions. Combined with the as yet little-studied concept of the

556 relations between the sexes, this emphasis to a great extent explains
156 why no true peasantry has developed, but rather a class of nonpeasant planters, comparable in the last analysis to some of the European settlers. The Pahouin remain very much strangers and travelers on the land, whence the importance of personal property (in the legal sense) in their eyes. Nevertheless, a further development is in the making in this connection—described above (p. 96) which is leading to a strengthening of land ownership, /so that/ certain collective reactions in the way of procedure concerning land and domain suggest that we are witnessing, at least in the Cameroons, a genuine putting down of roots.

619 Tribal pride is still considerable, to the point of hostility between different branches of the group, but ethnic cohesion is found vis-à-vis outsiders and gives real unity to the Pahouin as a solid group.

2. The Individual Life Cycle

a. Conception, Gestation, Birth

843 A woman is considered pregnant, a nyoñeya abum, she has got a belly, when she has passed through four menstrual cycles, a nji yene ngon, without seeing the moon. Conception is supposed to be the [842] result of the mixture of sperm, meyôm (with the same root as nnôm, pl. beyôm = male) and of menstrual blood, metyi me ngon, girl's blood or lunar blood; the length of pregnancy is calculated from the date when the last menstruation should have begun. Nowadays a pregnancy of nine months is considered normal, but some of my informants mentioned normal terms of eight or ten ngon (lit., moon or girl), a word that can as well refer to a calendar month as to a lunar month or a menstrual cycle. It is difficult for a man to obtain more precise information on this point since the subject is restricted to women. Besides, longer pregnancies are considered possible, [154] though sometimes suspect; amenorrhea due to a fibroid growth is a proof of sorcery, the tumor being considered an évu. The fetus (for which the term is secret, forbidden, étyi, in any case for men, and probably for women uninitiated into mevungu) is thought at the beginning of gestation to take the form of a lizard, like the first man at the moment of the creation /of the universe/.

843 As soon as pregnancy is recognized, the parents have to observe all sorts of bityi, prohibitions, the first of these being to stop having sexual intercourse, which would bring on a miscarriage or produce a monster. They must not go near a corpse nor attend funerals. The woman must abstain from certain foods /91/, the eating of which would harm the child: fish, which would cause skin diseases; bat and duck, which would mean webbed fingers and toes; snake, which would mean a child born without limbs or with atrophied limbs, etc. The woman must avoid taking long strides and stepping over holes or ditches and must stop wearing drawers if she has done so before. The husband must not nail or tie anything, which would make for a difficult delivery; he must also abstain from certain foods. During pregnancy the woman anoints the belly and breasts with palm oil mixed with baa, wears a special belt of ôkumu liana (a kind of solanaceous plant), and avoids leaving the house barefoted.

"Accidental" miscarriages are generally attributed to the breaking of a taboo (nsem) and entail ritual purification; so long as these have not been carried out, the woman is not allowed to speak to any man except her husband, at least directly, nor to look a man in the face.

[783] "Criminal" miscarriages are attributed to sorcery or, more precisely, to an évu, which may belong to the woman herself; they entail more rigorous purification; the lochia are submitted to a kind of magical "disinfecting" before being buried secretly beneath a road so that

847 passers-by will walk over them without knowing. Voluntary abortion, very rare in former times, is becoming fairly common, particularly among unmarried mothers in Christian families; it is brought about by vegetable emmenagogues (one is extracted from papaya root) or by introducing into the neck /of the womb/ a roll of twisted bark (I could not find out from what tree). Sometimes women induce abortion in one of their co-wives out of jealousy.

844 The first delivery and often succeeding ones usually take place in the woman's native village (jaⁿ). A husband is not allowed to take wife and child back home until after payment of what is really the final installment of the bride price, particularly a substantial present for the mother-in-law, which is repeated at each birth, whence the proverb, "A mother-in-law's basket is never full." The parturient is delivered in a sitting position, with her mother or ntyi (mother-in-law or co-wife of higher rank) holding her from behind, and assisted by a midwife, mbialé binga, formerly an official in

844 one of the women's associations. The child is delivered on a mattress of banana leaves. The umbilical cord is cut with a special knife, perhaps the same used in circumcisions (1), and it is buried under a

1. This is not certain; since the circumciser is a man, we may question whether he would use a woman's knife.

banana tree, whose fruit will be étyi to people of the opposite sex from the child. The placenta is buried by the mother herself in a secret spot, or in her place by a woman of her own blood; afterward the mother may tell her child, as a mild way of cursing, "I know where your placenta is." The baby is immediately wrapped in a loincloth and laid beside its mother, after being shown to the father if it is a boy. The following day the baby as well as the mother is rubbed with warm oil, and it is given the breast. /92/

845 Difficult deliveries are quite common, and the midwives' technique extremely uneven. Although some may know how to effect artificial delivery, even version, most of them are limited to massaging and to using magic, like placing an axe between the mother's legs. If the woman dies in childbirth, sorcery is suspected or a grave nsem like incest; in the old days the baby, even if born alive, would have been buried with its mother. A stillborn child also arouses great suspicion about the mother, who may have to go through an ordeal and be forced to confess an offense presumed to have caused the death of the fetus.

Some writers have claimed that baby girls were sacrificed at birth [847] as being of no value to the clan. This seems very unlikely unless the infanticide was the result of an accusation of sorcery, which could also apply to a boy. What is true is that a woman giving birth only to girls would be considered the victim of a spell or a breaking of taboo.

The birth of twins is propitious, for they are thought to be necessarily mie or mmimie, that is, free of évu (the same word mie means "confinement" or, more precisely, the "labor" of childbirth). Twins receive traditional names that vary according to clan.

846 The first coming out of the house /relevailles, "churching"/, ékulu mon, "baby's coming out," takes place three months after birth, if everything has gone well. The woman starts bathing in the

946 river again (until now she has washed in her hut), puts on new clothes presented by her husband, and starts cooking for him again and work-
[703] ing in her garden. Special purification has been carried out if the
[833] baby has died in the interval. The prohibition against sexual relations
853 lasts as long as the child is at the breast; to break this taboo would make it nyu meyôm, drink sperm, which might lead to its death.

Postpartum care is given by the mbialé binga, then by the woman's mother or aunt or ntyi. This consists of vaginal douches and external and internal napkins of vegetable compresses.

853 The baby may be suckled only by its mother or a woman of the mother's blood, a grandmother or maternal aunt. If this is impossible, the baby cannot live (at least in rural districts where concentrated
[278] milk is unknown). Traditional pharmacopoeia possesses, however, extraordinary vegetable lactic stimulants, probably without equivalent in the European pharmacopoeia.

b. Childhood

563 The old custom was not to name (yôlé) the baby until it was taken out of the house; until then it was usually called by the name of a small animal, like "squirrel" or "palm rat." Nowadays the name is
[641] given within a few days of birth, if for no other reason than to comply with citizenship regulations. /93/

551 A name, jôé or jui (also meaning nose, order, command, authority) includes the ɛyôlé, the individual's own name, and the atinan, complementary name chosen from the biyôlé of ancestors according to clan or family traditions, which are on the decline. Formerly, a cognomen was added to these, a mebatan (1) or jôé mebatan (lit.

1. Trilles translates this word as "genealogy": lañ mebatan means both "to recite the genealogy" and "to recite the salutation," simply because this was in fact the formal way of introducing oneself; a newcomer's genealogy determined how his hosts would "greet" him. True genealogy, pedigree, is éndan, related to ndan, tattoo mark, emblem.

salutation name), sometimes conferred at initiation. This mebatan

561 may serve as atinan to the next generation and after that becomes the éyôlé; thus, a chief with the cognomen Atyaminlam, destroyer of villages, will have a son called Mbutu Atyaminlam and grandson Atyaminlam Mbutu.

551 177 Influenced by French customs there has been, since the establishment of regulations for native citizenship, a stabilizing of patronymics, especially in official circles. A new patronymic may have begun as the father's atinan or éyôlé or mebatan systematically given to all his children as an éyôlé. Furthermore, conversion to Christianity has led to adding a Christian name to the jôé, which may serve in place of an éyôlé or be joined with a native éyôlé. Thus, for example, Ze Mvondo, with the cognomen Mebianga (man of drugs, because of a sickly childhood), is baptized Solomon in a Christian mission and becomes by contraction Solomon Mebianga. He may give his mebatan as an atinan to all his children and we should then have Menge Mebianga, Oyônô Mebianga, etc., with a Christian name besides, or he may give them: his mebatan as éyôlé, without atinan, with only a Christian name. There are other solutions besides, often the result of a vogue, from the names of men famous internationally or locally, dead or living (De Gaulle, Pascalet, Victor Hugo) to the orthographic Gallicizing of the jôé chosen as patronymic (Aubame, Minguet, etc.).

551 I have referred to the old rules controlling the choice of elements of a name. The éyôlé could be connected with some event at birth or during gestation; could have been suggested by a dream or a diviner; be deprecatory so as to break an evil spell; could result from a prohibition imposed on the father or mother, etc. It could also reflect the genealogical rank of the bearer, though this function was restricted more to the atinan chosen from the biyolé of the male and female forebears of both lineages. Nowadays the trend is to give as atinan always the father's éyôlé, sometimes the mother's, especially in the case of illegitimate children. According to Trilles, a name also had a totemic significance, also connecting it with genealogy. All this has by now pretty well passed into oblivion.

From the linguistic point of view, the majority of proper names are common nouns, occasionally heightened: mvôm (python), Mvômô; /94/ afan (forest), Afana; zok (elephant), Zo'o, etc.; or else phrases: Ebéndeñ (e bee éndeñ), "shield-bearer;" Atyaminlam (a tyam minlam), "destroyer of villages," etc. They are usually

551 epicene but tend to be attributed more to a particular sex—thus, it is rather rare to find a girl called Ze or a boy Nyangono.

854 In any case a baby, ntyen or nkeñelé, is not considered a human
[859] being until it receives a name. After the first going out from the
551] house /the churching/ and until weaning, that is, for eighteen months or two years, the mother carries it everywhere with her, in a fold of her loincloth or in a sling for the purpose, doé or awoé, then, when it can stand by itself, astride her hip. The nkeñelé is given almost no training; the mother gives it the breast whenever the baby cries and does not attempt toilet training; a father occasionally plays with sons, rarely with daughters. Older sisters help the mother to take care of the baby, for instance, watching it in the shade while she is working in the fields or carrying the baby for her when she is overburdened.

862 Weaning often occurs in stages; the child begins to take solid food while still at the breast, sometimes before it is a year old. But it
[859] does not stop being considered a baby, nkenele, and become a child, mongô, until it walks and begins to talk pretty well. From that time
854 on, it must learn to respect its personal prohibitions and clan taboos; often an older brother or sister will be charged to supervise him. Separation of the sexes increases with age; at about the fourth year children are no longer allowed to see adults of the opposite sex naked; around the fifth year, boys and girls, bo'befam and bo'binga, stop
[857] playing together.

857 Games are to a great extent mixed with the learning of future tasks:
861 little girls play at housekeeping and sometimes with dolls; little boys hunt rats with the bow, throw small assagais at moving targets, set snares, etc. But there are also "free" games like jacks, cat's cradle, blindman's buff, common to both sexes, ndongo tops made of snail shells for boys, émvala or /a kind of/ dance for girls. Children also have their own dances distinct from those of adults and peculiar to each sex. They start working as soon as they know the taboos, girls helping their mothers, boys beginning to learn masculine crafts by preparing materials; stripping leaves from folioles of raffia "bamboo," barking and pounding lianas to be made into ropes, scraping skins, etc.

The children of a village play in bands, but practical training and the teaching of traditions is carried on at home, under father or
861 mother, according to the /child's/ sex. However, preparation for

861 initiations and now catechism bring all the boys and girls of a village together.

854 Adult surveillance is casual: grown people mainly want /95/ children to know their place and not to be a nuisance. Otherwise, it is mostly the older children who take care of the younger ones.

c. Adolescence

882 Boys and girls share their mother's hut until the beginning of
854 adolescence, at which age the boys go to live by themselves, formerly in the "guardhouse," aba, nowadays in a hut on the paternal "allotment." Formerly, girls were sometimes married off before birth and
[582] went to the husband's village at about eight years of age; this is very unusual today, but it is still fairly common for them to go at that age to a paternal or maternal aunt or to a married sister, where they act more or less as servants until puberty, being trained meanwhile. It is also quite common for boys to go to live with a relative whose
[871] house is nearer a school than is their own village (1).

> 1. But a motive of proximity to school is not a complete explanation, merely an additional reason for leaving. In fact, a study of urban centers equipped with
> [574] schools of a good level shows that 30 percent of the children live outside the paternal household with uncles or grandparents. Whatever a father's personal view, he could never refuse his son to relatives expressing a wish to have the boy for some time. (J. B.)

881 The bongô /children/ become ndôman, a youth, or ngon, a girl,
304 at the onset of puberty. The transition is marked by circumcision
864 among boys, atyi'i atyel, in the past sometimes followed by the first initiation, bekungu. Circumcision is done between the ages of six and twelve, usually around ten. Nowadays it is often done at a dispensary, while it formerly was the occasion of a family and village ceremony. Subjects for circumcision prepared for the ceremony with a relatively short seclusion (of a fortnight) during which they were

931 304 964 limited to a vegetarian diet without salt or spices, to "freshen the blood." They received sexual instruction from the ngengañ, diviner-healer, who performed the operation, while the elders, mintôl, examined /the boys/ in knowledge of the mebatan, "salutations" or genealogies: in actual fact circumcision ended the prohibition against coition by showing the danger of involuntary incest in case relationships were not well understood. Women were not allowed to be present 304 at the operation, which the ngengañ performed with a special razor, cauterizing the wound with a pimento decoction. A boy was held by his father, who pronounced the formula that lifted the taboo against coition. The foreskin was usually buried under a tree, perhaps a banana, perhaps a tree indicated by clan or lineage tradition, perhaps [126] chosen, if we accept Trilles, for totemic reasons. Sometimes the foreskin was preserved for magic use. While the scar was healing, the circumcised boy could wear only a special vegetable breechcloth which was renewed daily; during this time no woman was supposed to speak to him or to touch him or his breechcloth; this he took advantage of so as to steal food and various things. /96/ Once the scar had healed, he could no longer appear in public naked. This whole /procedure/ is only partly followed at the present time; furthermore, since the time for the operation has been generally made earlier, circumcised boys who have not yet reached puberty (1) are often

> 1. A Protestant Ntoumou chief in Ambam told me that he had had his children circumcised earlier so as to be able to send them to the district school without running the risk of their breaking the sexual and food taboos of the uncircumcised when away from his supervision.

seen going about nude in villages. According to Trilles and Largeau, in the past some youths remained uncircumcised, minsôsôl, until they had killed their first enemy. At the present time all youths are circumcised, even Christians; the missions have only rarely tried to oppose the practice and always unsuccessfully.

931 863 After circumcision the nsôman was able to have sexual relations and eat certain foods prohibited before. He went to live with other

88| youths in the aba and prepared for further initiations, while beginning
—883 to participate fully in masculine activities, work and games. The bekungu (Fang, bekhun?) initiation that came directly after circumcision was not a general practice. My own impression is that this was not a tribal or clan rite like sô, but that of an association of diviners or seers involving only specially endowed individuals, perhaps related to the ndôngô rite restricted to grown men, which appears to have identical ritual tattoo marks.

881 For the mo'minga reaching puberty there is no stage equivalent to circumcision. In spite of what Trilles says, excision has apparently never been used except as a punishment for certain kinds of adultery or mild incest. It must not be forgotten that a little girl very soon went to live with her affinal family and that she was deflowered as soon as she reached puberty. She very rarely remained ôlenan, that is, pubescent and unmarried, and then for a very short time. One might almost say that her adolescence was telescoped into the period between childhood and the arrival of puberty marked by the mevungu rite.

This adolescent phase is now prolonged by the law fixing the
[582] marriageable age at fourteen (puberty usually comes during the
[145] twelfth year), by school attendance, and by the change in the bride-price system. Most of my friends of a certain age see in these facts the reasons for a crisis in immorality which they probably to some extent exaggerate.

Nevertheless, first menstruation was apparently acknowledged in a ceremony in which only women took part, but this may have been merely a preliminary to the mevungu initiation, about which hardly anything is known. Otherwise /as regards female adolescence/ coition is forbidden to immature girls, while unmarried girls who have begun menstruating have actually great sexual freedom, even in Christian circles. It must, however, be realized that only too often, especially in schools, there are girls deflowered before puberty, whereas boys seem to wait for circumcision /97/ before their first exploits — there
[883] are parents, worried about their sons' "good behavior," who give
884 them aphrodisiacs as encouragement.

d. Transition to Adulthood

882 The ndoman is not yet a real person, nya mô; undoubtedly he participates in men's work, in hunting and clearing the land, but he

is not yet admitted to the essential functions of full manhood: ritual, warfare, and marriage. Formerly, he was not until after the great tribal initiation, sô. Sô is the name of a large red antelope, Cephalophus castoneus, found in great quantity in the forest and in the galleries of the park-savanna. The meat is taboo, étyi, to the uninitiated (bibis) and, a fortiori, to women. It may seem strange that Trilles does not mention it in Le totemisme chez le Fang, although the sô seems to be one of the most important tribal totems. It should be observed in this connection that the sô rite, widespread among the Cameroons Pahouin, including the Beti, and among those of the Woleu-N'Tem, seems to vanish somewhere between Mitzic and N'Djolé, while some of its features are to be found in the initiation to the biéri, which is basically merely an adjunct. It would therefore appear to have gone to pieces at the same time as the structure of the meyoñ, to be revived in the extreme south by the bwiti, reported by Trilles, which is at present moving northward. Nevertheless, I must point out that what Trilles describes under the name of bawu may well be sô.

Initiation ceremonies were filmed among the Eton of Saa in 1935; the film is kept at the Musée de l'Homme. Bertaut (no. 110) gives a very full description of the outward forms of the initiation, Stoll (no. 84) an interpretation of its symbolism.

Initiation took place about every three years (every seven mimbu?); Bertaut states that a ceremony might be arranged after some serious happening in a village. It lasted three months (one year, according to Stoll, who counts in the preliminary ceremonies for the initiation proper and the period following) and entailed great expense for sacrifices on the part of the parents of initiates and especially the initiation leader, the nkpwé sô (judge of the sô; lit., butcher of the sô), a senior chosen from the most wealthy and respected. From this point of view, one may believe that the rite coincided with the desire for levelling of wealth which appears to have been so constant in Pahouin society. The nkpwé sô did not himself lead the ceremony; he was the instigator and the person responsible, but the celebrant was a diviner, a mfek sô, "sô wise man" or "sô measurer" or "sô pouch," if the tone is changed (vek = to take aim, to compute, to divine, to measure).

The main theme of the rite, of which the following description is quite incomplete, was the death of the sô, awu sô, afterwards eaten

 by the initiates (its meat was taboo to all others). The ceremony opened with a general village purification and went on to four successive sacrifices till the death of the sɔ̂ and the communion meat upon its flesh. The candidates, mvɔ̂n, passed through a series of tests /98/ and instruction of a warlike and sexual character, at the end of which they became true persons, benya bɔ̂tɔ̂, as well as true members of the society.

After circumcision youths received preliminary instruction within their families, but this represented preparation for the rite, not the rite itself. Preliminary ceremonies began three months before the initiation took place, with a public confession before the whole village by the nkpwé sɔ̂ standing back-to-back with another official "who sped his movements, moving lips when he spoke and like him trampling an old calabash" (Stoll); pieces of the calabash were used to receive the blood of the first sacrifice, with which the nkpwé sɔ̂ and all the minkpwangɔ̂s (initiates) of the village were sprinkled, and were then thrown away in the bush to the cry of "Gone, gone /effacé/," (andim, related to the form mendim = water). Initiates then came together outside the village to choose the bevɔ̂n who were to ku sɔ̂ (lit., to fell /tomber/ sɔ̂) in this promotion. These beku were then subjected to a first seclusion of twenty days in the forest, during which they built the aba so, a sanctuary containing a platform reached by three ladders, to which access was forbidden to all uninitiated except the bevɔ̂n. The mfek sɔ̂ began to teach them their duties as initiates and proceeded to eliminate those who were "faint-hearted." At the end of this seclusion the bevɔ̂n returned to the village in procession and received from their relatives /parents/ presents in groups of nine, the sɔ̂ ritual number.

The second stage of the initiation then began, étyi'a bilé bi sɔ̂, felling the trees of the sɔ̂. The nkpwé sɔ̂ provided materials for a ritual meal, which included a soup in which the mfek sɔ̂ cooked certain mebiɔ̂ intended to reveal any beyem (bearers of évu) among the bevɔ̂n. Nothing was supposed to be left over from this meal. The bevɔ̂n then lay down in a ditch where they were sprinkled with a special /vegetable/ decoction; then the village women between puberty and menopause strode over them nine times. The minkpwangɔ̂s met together for a secret sacrifice and a meal prepared in the same pot as that used for the bevɔ̂n meal, called nlak sɔ̂ (sɔ̂ horn; according to Stoll, with the esoteric meaning of testicle).

[281] The nkpwé sô then defecated into the pot, which was buried in a secret spot near the sanctuary. The bevôn then took part in a mock battle at the end of which the nkpwé sô gave goats to their families. The initiated now went into the forest to cut a njôm pole, chosen, according to Allégret, by a woman whose husband had no luck at hunting—this pole was placed across two forks planted in front of the sanctuary near the nkal sô. Meanwhile, the bevôn had been cutting raffia "bamboo" to be used in making the ésam sô, an enclosure around the njôm. They returned in Indian file with their group "major" (ôsu zua) at the head; they set up the "bamboos" in a triangle open toward the back of the njôm, fastening them together with plaited raffia leaves the end of which an initiate buried in the nlak sô. During their marching by, which women and unitiated are not allowed to see, they were beaten with sticks by the initiates.

They then proceeded to a "crabbing" which consisted of immersion in water flavored with pimento. /This was/ the commencement of the third stage, which was continued by withdrawal into the forest, where the bevôn painted themselves white and engaged in a ritual hunt.

Meanwhile, initiates closed the ésam sô with two lianas representing a python (mvôm) and a Dendraspis (ayañ). The bevôn then were subjected to the ant-tree test in which they had to climb an angakomo tree on which weaver-ants lived whose bite is very painful. They then spent a night in the ésam sô, lying on thorns and rubbed with pimento juice, while masked initiates beat them and blew trumpets [274] to keep them from going to sleep. The next day they went off on a round of visits through villages related or allied to their own, while the mfek sô and initiates carved and shaped the njôm in keeping with clan traditions. The designs had to be explained to the bevôn during the next stage, abete njôm, the erection, the setting up of the njôm.

[304] Upon their return from the round of visits, the bevôn were tattooed by the mfek sô: three rows of incisions along the spine, the two outer ones spreading apart at the top like the sô's "halter," and a small triangular mark at the nape, perhaps the same as that of the ndôngô. They then put on a sort of skirt of raffia fiber, painted themselves white once more, and did a public dance during which the "major" mounted astride the njôm, the other bevôn after him. Anyone who fell off was rejected by the sô and had to leave the

881 community. After another sacrifice, the bevôn were again confined inside the ésam sô, where initiates had dug a narrow passage and covered it with wattling and earth, the bottom strewn with thorns, crushed pimento, and warrior ants. The bevôn would receive final instructions, then, after taking mud baths, grunting like hogs, they had to crawl through the passage previously filled with smoke, while the minkpwangôs struck and pricked them with assagais through the cover; a mvôn who rose up or tried to escape was immediately killed by prisoners stationed outside the enclosure. This was the third stage, the true "death of the sô," awu sô.

After leaving the esam, the bevôn were supposed to be aggressive, teasing, to worry the other villagers, steal food, fowls, etc., tear down barriers, and in general behave like wild beasts. This period lasted for several days, preceding the sortie of the sô, akui sô, a parade of the group in war dress, carrying spears engraved with the distinctive clan mark, ndem, which had been consecrated during the initiation. A feast followed. For six months (mbu) afterward, the new initiates were still subject to certain sexual and food prohibitions, from which they were freed if they killed a man during the period. At the end /100/ of this waiting time, they went away, painted white, into seclusion for a night and came back painted red, making the rounds of the village nine times in procession. Then they bathed in a stream where fishing was afterward forbidden until the initiation of the next group, apparently.

A young man thus initiated became a mone wôsô, child of the death of the sô (wu = to die; wôé = to kill), thereafter ready for marriage, which would make him a complete man, nya môtô. His [269] father might instruct him in the family cult, which till then he knew only in its externals; he was taught to identify the ancestral skulls kept in the biéti basket and to enter into communication with them [270] by means of the narcotic herb alan. Sometimes the instruction was given collectively in the melan rite, which, according to Stoll, complemented sô, the latter being androgynous, while the former was gynandrous. Sô was to give creative power, melan fecundity and wealth. Melan has a medical aspect lacking in sô; the participation of women is greater. Some elements seem to have survived until the present day, whereas the last sô ceremonies must have occurred about [114] 1940. Stoll gives a pretty full description in La tonétique des langues bantu... du Cameroun /The Tonal System of the Bantu Languages ... of the Cameroons/ (no. 84).

881 The female rite corresponding to sɔ̂ is mevungu, about which little is known, for the reasons mentioned earlier. It was not a clan rite, since the women of a village would, in consequence of exogamy, belong to different clans. Like sɔ̂, its function was to make of the initiates accomplished women, benya bengono or benya binga, fertile, free of évu, and disciplined, and perhaps, in addition, to set up a community bond between the women of a village in place of the missing clan bond among them.

Initiates of both sexes were exempt from numerous general food taboos. They were bound together by an obligation of mutual aid reinforcing and even transcending that of clan fraternity. The dying [178] out of initiations has definitely left a void which contemporary Pahouin are trying to fill; the new syncretist rites seem to have succeeded better in this than the churches and political parties.

e. Old Age

882 The nya mɔtɔ̂ and the nya minga are people in full possession of their faculties, quite capable of fulfilling their social roles. Their prestige is in proportion to their abilities; when they are no longer "true" men or "true" women, society is inclined to lose interest in them and to push them aside. An old man can mitigate his loss of physical power by his wealth or his skill in magic; an old woman owns nothing and easily incurs the risk of an accusation of sorcery. Her decline begins earlier than a man's, when she ceases to bear children or to be physically attractive, while a man reaches his prime when /101/ he has grandsons living with him and accepting his authority. But this authority lasts only so long as a man can "stand up for himself" /se défendre/ in the semi-colloquial sense of the word. Nowadays the ease with which villages and extended families burst their bounds geographically often accelerates this decline, which some minkukum palliate thanks to the polygamy on a large scale that enables them to retain economic power.

Old people without children have a very hard time of it, even in regions converted to Christianity, especially widows, who in their affinal family do not benefit from the clan obligation of mutual aid. In times past old people were abandoned in the forest during migrations; they are still left in bilik, deserted villages, when the main body of the village moves, for instance, to establish itself along a

888 road. The missions have tried, with unequal results, to ameliorate
[797] the fate of old people without children; certain clan "societies" have also been active in this direction, but none of it goes very far. Moreover, the old people accept their lot and occasionally joke about it among themselves with the rather biting irony that seems one of the mental characteristics of the group. Some old people kill themselves
[762] "from being tired of life." According to Trilles, some used to burn themselves to death voluntarily. According to Largeau, the heirs took the initiative in this so as to make the inheritance available.

888 The least wretched old people are those with children, particularly
593 sons (1), since daughters usually live with their affinal family. There

1. Cf. Eza Boto, Ville cruelle (no. 182), for an illustration of relations between mother and son.

does exist a genuine obligation for children to provide parents with food, which is sanctioned by paternal or maternal curse in case of default.

f. Death and the Afterlife

761 Every death is suspect, but that of a nya mɔ̂tɔ̂ more than another,
763 because a nya mɔ̂tɔ̂ does not die: someone kills him, though it may be none other than himself. Therefore the death of a man of some
763 importance was always followed by an autopsy: the ngengaⁿ would cut open the body and examine the thoracic organs, nlem, the seat of intellect and will, to look for signs of sorcery, the work either of another or of the dead man should his évu have turned against him or been killed by a malignant agency. There also appears to have been a magic process, éwɔ̂mɔ̂lɔ̂, that revived the dead long enough to put questions concerning the cause of death.

766 If the autopsy revealed that the deceased was a sorcerer, nnem,
the body was burned or thrown into a large river or perhaps buried at
765 a crossroads far from the village. If he were mie, free of évu, the regular mortuary rites ensued. The body was washed in warm water, massaged and softened, then rubbed with baa dissolved in palm oil, wrapped in a white loincloth, watched over by armed men while the grave was made ready and the relatives /102/ and affinal kin /alliés/

764 in neighboring villages were informed. The dead man's fellow initiates came to lift the corpse onto a stretcher-coffin of bark (1)

[177]

1. The fig-bark coffin recalls the custom, borrowed from the Pygmies, of putting the body of a chief in a hollow tree or between the buttresses of certain large trees.

[824]

The fig has an important magic role. A fig tree was planted at the founding of a new village, and slips were carried away upon migration. (J. B.)

and danced around him the funeral dance proper to their association, at which women were not allowed to be present but were shut into their huts, where they wailed in a shrill key. The grave was narrow and quite deep, with a plank or "bamboo" bed at the bottom on which the dead man was placed on his back, feet toward the west (near a river, the grave was dug parallel to the course and the feet were placed downstream, nké = downstream or west). Above was built a platform of round logs on which were piled — after having been "killed" by breaking — all the personal possessions of the dead man that did not belong to the family patrimony, his weapons, tools, and jewelry. Now and then, only rarely, one of his wives would be sacrificed to keep him company (it is possible that the execution of wives convicted of having killed their husbands has been confused with a sacrifice of this kind). The grave was filled in and covered with a mound, which was sometimes provided with a flue at the head end by which "to feed" the dead man. The graves of prominent men were dug in, or in front of, their huts, those of ordinary people outside the village on the edge of the forest. Graves of family heads were guarded so as to prevent outsiders from carrying off the skull; [778] this was cut off by the privileged heir, njian, the replacement, who placed it with the other ancestral skulls in the biéti shrine, after dye- [386] ing it with baa. A statuette in umbrella-tree wood was carved and painted white, and inside it were enclosed some of the hair and a phalanx of the dead man; this was placed upon the biéti altar. The tibia of the dead man had previously been removed for the ngil rite.

Matrons, benya binga, were buried by mevungu initiates in a ceremony which men did not attend. Ordinary women /femmes du

764 commun/ were buried by their co-wives and the women of their affinal family. Bongô and bikeñelé were buried at home with no other ceremonial than the mother's mourning.

When signs of sorcery were found on a corpse, the ngengañ or
787 mvimvi'i turned to divination to find the presumed culprit, who was subjected to an ordeal of bitter herbs. As a general thing, wives had
695 to submit regularly to the pimento or ant ordeals to make them confess not only the part they might have had in the husband's death but also their adulteries. When no one was found responsible for the death of a mie individual (nonsorcerer), it was decided that he had been the victim of a breaking of taboo, nsem, sometimes unwittingly. Whatever the cause of death, sorcery or nsem or repercussion from
783 an act of sorcery, purification always occurred, generally by a sacrifice at the end of the mourning period (meyep). /103/

765 The duration of mourning was, and still is, a mbu /six months/, but it is now less rigorous. Formerly the wives of the dead man were secluded, naked, for a month in his hut, the first wife lying on his bed; their heads and all their body hair were shaved, and they were painted white with ash and forbidden to wash or do their hair until the end of mourning. The dead man's brothers and sons shaved their heads and let their beards grow without trimming or combing; their foreheads were painted white and they wore only old clothes. They had to observe a series of prohibitions concerning certain ways of hunting, the eating of certain kinds of game (perhaps the dead man's personal totem?), all journeys, the circumcision of the dead man's sons, the use of a bed, etc. The end of mourning was marked by a sacrifice and often by a melan ceremony in order to enter into communication with the dead man.

The strictest mourning was observed for the death of an esa, a man of the father's age grade, less for a monyañ, and hardly any for a mongô. With regard to women, a man observed solemn mourning only for his mother and first wife, and this meant mourning within the family, while a man's death involved the whole village. However, an epidemic was followed by heavy mourning, and when the one presumed responsible was identified, it was not enough that he
766 pay avutan, compensation, he was burned or drowned (his immediate
79 family was constrained to pay the avutan), and then a general
783 purification was undertaken.

177 764 Obviously this has now changed, but perhaps not so much as one would imagine: every year the courts are aware of several ordeals after a death, of mutilations of corpses which are really autopsies, of sums of money extorted which are customary compensation payments imposed on the "person responsible" for a death. And we may assume that in this connection three-quarters of the cases never reach the European courts. Funeral rites have, however, been lightened and colored by Christian influence, even when the deceased had remained to the end attached to the old beliefs: his wives or children usually call in a nkat foé (news-announcer = catechist) to say the prayers for the dead and to sing psalms or hymns. The old-fashioned cylindrical bark litter has been replaced by a European plank coffin, gradually even for women and children. The graves of the well-to-do have masonry walls and are covered with a concrete slab bearing name, date of death, and a pious text, or even with a small flower bed framed with bricks or bottle necks, with a grave stone or cross at the head. The dead man's hut is no longer destroyed, especially if made of "solid" material, nor are his personal effects broken. Often the body is washed and dressed in European clothes instead of being anointed with baa; the white shroud remains. In Christian families women take part in wakes for men and attend their burials; men attend the burials of women but rarely take part in their wakes. In [795] /104/ many villages the different /Christian/ sects have separate cemeteries.

765 177 Mourning is less rigorous and is often expressed by the European black arm band and tie worn by men. In the villages widows are still rather ill-treated (cf. above, pp. 128-129), but their sequestration has been reduced to a week, and they are allowed to wash after a month or two. Most of the prohibitions of the mourning period have fallen out of use, and the end of mourning is marked by a family gathering which has more about it of a certain kind of French provincial New Year's Eve party than of the old purificatory rites.

761 Death in the traditional concept is not so much the cessation of life as the dissociation of the personality. Enyiñ, life, comes from the verb nyiñ meaning "to survive" rather than "to be alive"; /thus life represents/ a kind of dynamism opposed to the static to, tabe = to be, exist, remain, etc.

826 774 The body, nyul or nyôl, is perishable and corruptible; it supports the other elements of the personality, above all the nsisim or nsisiñ,

826 774 the shadow or immaterial duplicate of the body. The heart and lungs, nlem, are the seat of the intellect and sensibility, especially of the consciousness of good and evil, the seat of the moral and mental personality. It is by way of the nlem that a person's mind is struck, that, for instance, he is made mad; through their évur the beyem do di nlem, eat the nlem, of their victims. The nlem for a time survives death; the nsisim seems to be immortal. Breath, avebe (from vebe, to breathe, derived from vee = to be alive, alert) is characteristic of physiological life (1).

> 1. Among the Ewôndo, the breath, ewundu (Boulou, evunulu = wind) is characteristic of the human being, as is nsisim; animals are not provided with either, that is why they can be eaten. (J. B.)

Strength, tye, tyi, kie, or ki, is somehow external to the individual, independent of him, yet that which insures the cohesion of the elements of the personality. It seems to be particularly localized in the nlem (thoracic organs) and the boo, brain, which is evidently the seat of action (the verb bo = to do, to act), whence the importance [769] of skulls in the ancestral cult, biéti. Ngul, which may also be translated "strength," is more "capacity" or "power," the faculty of making use of tyi. It is impersonal, it pre-exists and survives the individual, who during his lifetime can waste or augment it; it is the basis for magic and sorcery, tyi being in itself neither good nor bad. Everything that exists possesses tyi, including the dead, but living beings possess more than inanimate beings, and men more than other living beings. Sacrifices and prohibitions revalue around this notion, as vocabulary well shows: étyi = prohibition, metyi = blood, atyi = egg, tyik = to cut, to kill, to command, etc., (cf. above p. 25). The dead keep a certain amount of strength, which makes them at the same time potentially dangerous and potentially usable.

557 A name, jôé, jui, also pre-exists and survives the person it distinguishes, whence the special ties between bemôé /105/, homonymns, and also the need to know a person's name in order to cast a spell upon him, etc. A dead man keeps his name until it is given to one

551 of his descendants, in whose person he will be repeated rather than reembodied. It should be remembered that jɔ̂é also means "authority," a notion that cannot be dissociated from that of name.

761 The cessation of vital functions, awu (from wu, to die), is not
628 thought of as necessarily final: catalepsy, deep coma, anaesthesia, and real death are confused. It is evident that if the body is hurt during awu, a revival is impossible. A ghost, kɔ̂n (Fang, khun), is
754 not necessarily physically dead: one of the most feared forms of
808 sorcery, at which the Ndɔ̂ñ are reputed to be particularly expert, consists of separating a person from his nsisim, shade or double, by giving him the appearance of physical death, then in awakening the body which will thereafter automatically obey the sorcerer's orders and may be used by him for all sorts of ends, to go kill or steal, or, more prosaically, to work his plantations. Persons thus transformed into bekɔ̂n are recognized by their pallor, jerky movements, and haggard expression; they survive the experience /opération/ for only a few months before dying in great physical and moral agony (1).

[276] 1. I have reason—but no proof—to believe that this is more than a myth: perhaps the criminal use of a narcotic producing effects similar to those of Pentothal. A kɔ̂n, frightful to see, died at the Sangmélima dispensary in 1947. The judicial inquiry revealed nothing.

761 Death in the complete sense does not occur for some time after the cessation of vital functions, and funeral rites seem to have had the purpose of detaching the individual from his mortal shell. There
76 were two abodes of the dead. The bemie, those unblemished by ngbwel (sorcery by évu), crossed the river-of-the-west or the sea to go to the village of Zǎmbe (Zobeyo, Nzame) in a cold country where their nsisim led a life rather like that in a terrestrial village where everything goes well (2). The beyem went down to ɛ́tɔ̂tɔ̂lan, the

2. According to Trilles, this would have been Venus, otya alu, "the night's torch."

775 subterranean abode of the dead, where they were the prey of flames. A tradition reported by Largeau tells of the dead man arriving at the bridge over the river-of-the-west to meet there the judges, Oyem-Bôt (He-Who-Knows-Men) and Oka'Bot (He-Who-Divides-Men /Repartit-les-Homme/), who question him and allow him to cross the bridge leading to Mon-Anen (Great Being), who questions him in the presence of the dead and makes sure that he has "left his name" (that he has forgotten it in the land of the living). He is then turned over to the Divider-of-Men /Partageur-des-Hommes/, who cuts him in two, one half staying among the living, while the other, having been given a new name, goes to the dead. It is difficult to decide what precise part of the person remains with his descendants; in my view it is name-authority; in any case I do not believe it to be the nsisim. It might be the kôn but, in such a case, the result of an accident, for a ghost is a disturbing neighbor, if not a dangerous one, in any case very fearsome, often malevolent. Its appearance is that of a living [143] person, except that it is white /106/, whence the belief that albinos are the children of ghosts. The nsisim, on the other hand, who can turn up during a person's lifetime in a place distant from where he is (witches' and sorcerers' power of bilocation), is immaterial but absolutely identical in appearance with the body. The kôn might be the ghost of a person whose funeral rites had not been correctly performed, of an imperfectly exorcised sorcerer or, if one wishes, one imperfectly sterilized (for instance, if the corpse had not been burned), or even of a person who died without being purified of a nsem (1).

1. Among the Ewôndo, the dead who have not yet crossed the bridge leading to ésam nzigi, the abode of the dead, are called ngudu. (J. B.)

775 825 It also may happen that a dead man becomes embodied in a wild animal living near a village, and that, henceforth, "cannot" be killed. I have not been able to find out exactly whether this is a matter of actual impossibility or of a respect taboo. The animal may be benevolent, like the old gorilla, a former Mvaé chief, who protected the Nyabisaã village gardens against the depredations of "real" gorillas in 1948, or, on the contrary, malevolent, like one Zaman, turned panther, who ravaged his affinal family's flocks in the Boucle

775 825 du Dja region during the same period. This incarnation is probably related to the totemism or the alliance between a man and an animal élañela, which Trilles discusses at length (no. 166). The incarnation is only temporary and ends at the death or disappearance of the animal.

775 787 As a result of mission influence, nlam bekon, the land of the dead, is now divided into heaven and hell, which are none other than Zambe's village and étôtôlan. Souls in purgatory seem to be confused in village minds with dissatisfied bekôn, who are always disturb-
[761] ing. The notion of natural death, brought about neither by sorcery nor by breaking a prohibition, has not developed at all: after all, "the wages of sin is death," and "sin' has been rendered as nsem in translations of the Scriptures. Therefore the dead continue to belong to society, even though the decline of the ancestor cult, the biéti, and of the initiations with a probable totemic character like sô, have weakened their bonds with the living.

775 762 This belief in survival perhaps explains a certain scorn of death, which is indicated not only by bravery in war and the suicides of the old, but also suicides for the sake of a point of honor: a woman kills herself in order to take revenge on her husband, a man because he
[608] considers himself offended or injured. The "one responsible" for such a suicide is severely judged by public opinion, and must pay compensation and make an expiratory sacrifice.

3. Religion and Magic

797 Aside from a few old people who are known as "children of the old ways" (or "of the old knowledge"), bo' biyem bi nnom, and who are treated as pagans by their children, and, even more uncommon, a few /107/ young people who declare themselves to be agnostics, the great majority if not the mass of contemporary Pahouin claim to be attached to one of the sects that has done evangelical work in the region: French or American Presbyterian, /Roman/ Catholic, /Seventh Day/ Adventist. In fact, and with no intention of arguing over the statistics that give proportions of 105 percent "Christian" in certain districts, the influence of Christianity is indeed considerable, but it is tinged with animist survivals and revivals to an extent and in ways that only a great deal of detailed research could present accurately.

771 The first observers described the Pahouin, especially the Fang,
781 as "less superstitious," "less given to fetishism" than neighboring
114 populations. Trilles and Martrou emphasized their profound religious sentiment, while Allégret (no. 147) gives very interesting information about the feeling of religious destitution they experienced, particularly after contact with Europeans. Often observed also has been the ease with which they would adopt new beliefs and ceremonies, and this refers not only to Christian sects but to cults like bwiti and ngôl and even, before the last war, to freemasonry in the vicinity of Libreville.

All these influences are so intermingled that we must resort to a kind of conjectural palaeontology in order to reconstruct their original beliefs. Without casting any reflection upon the intellectual integrity of observers like Trilles and Martrou, we must recognize—and regret—that a certain professional slant from time to time affected their conclusions, to a point that induces us to turn instead to laymen much less well qualified linguistically, like Largeau, of whom Trilles has shown himself perhaps a little too critical.

a. Concept of God, Creation

776 The Pahouin believe (or used to believe, see later on) in a creator god Mebe'e (Fang, Mebere, Mebeghe), eternal, formerly immanent, becoming infinitely transcendant after the first nsem.

The word Mebe'e seems to be related to the verb be'e, to carry, which has the agent-noun, mbe'e. Mbe'e is a plural form, corresponding to nouns of action and also to the collective plural forms of names of liquids (mendim = water, metyi = blood, meyôm = sperm, etc.). It is usually accompanied by triple apposition: "Mebe'e, Mebe'e menkpwa, sokuma, mbongbwe" (or, according to Trezenem, mba angwe). The meaning of these three qualifiers is as uncertain as that of Mebe'e; menkpwa should probably be connected with kpwaé = to strike down, to judge, to condemn; sokuma with kôm (kum) = to arrange, to direct, sô conveying the idea of generosity, rectitude, balance (Boulou, soso, zoso); mbongbwé would then, according to Grebert, mean "creator of generations" (bo = to make; ngbwé = maternal kinship), but could also be /108/ connected with ngbwa = love, friendship, alliance, with the sense of "he who makes an alliance" or "he who loves."

776 A definition is added to these qualifiers, given by Mebe'e himself in reply to men who asked him what his name was, and reported by Largeau thus, the formula varying slightly in detail according to other writers: Mebe'e me se kôm, ke môt, ke minga, ke nyia, ke ésa, émien étam étam, ke yoo-yoé, a tame mebialé me bôt, which means, more or less, "Mebe'e, with no one, without wife, mother, father, all alone by himself, impenetrable (lit., 'not open,' perhaps in the sense of 'without beginning'), starts the generations."

Largeau gives weight to traditions that run counter to this concept of uniqueness, according to which Mebe'e (he connects the word with a verb meaning "to divide"?) would be none other than the sun and would have begotten man by a union with the female principle Anghe Ndongha, "universal womb" (?). But he himself admits the "vague" nature of these traditions "mumbled by a few old men."

Mebe'e is uncreated and eternal. He declares to the first man: A mon wôm, me se k'asum, me se k'aman, me ne fo'o mbembé, "O my son! I have no beginning (origin), no end, I am in truth he that endures (bembe = to be fixed)."

773 "Feeling lonely by himself," writes Trilles, Mebe'e, "when things were not yet," decides to create man (môt = a person /persona?-Tr./. He creates a lizard out of clay and five days later puts it into a bowl of water (sea water, according to Trilles) where he leaves it for seven full days. On the eighth day he shouts, "Come forth!" Man comes out and gives thanks. Trilles rightly emphasizes the beauty of the scene: Alu mwom ane a nga ke dé'é, nyina: Ku'i! A nga kui, a to môt. Ane, a nga kutubu meboff, nyina: Abotan. "On the eighth day (lit., the eighth night) then, he goes to look, then: 'Come forth! (lit., Emerge!). It emerges; it is a man. And he falls on his knees: Thanks! (lit., Praises!)"

This first man is called Nzame or Zambe (Boulou, Zobeyo) or, more accurately, Nzame Mebe'e. According to the tradition reported by Largeau, he gave himself this name at the time he gave the creator the name Mebe'e. According to others, Mebe'e named Nzame. The name may be related to the Fang verb dzame (Boulou, jame), meaning "to leave," "no longer to be concerned with," and also "to forgive a debt," "to pardon." Nzame would thus be "he who pardons" or "he who abandons," the form Zambe used in the north being a dialectal variant or perhaps a passive derivative. Trilles for his part attributes to Nzame the meaning of "the invisible one,"

773 translating the verb dzame by "to efface oneself, " explainable by Trilles' continually confusing Mebe'e and Nzame, the creator and the created. Nzame and Zambe can apparently be related to a whole series /of words/ with similar meaning in nearby Bantu languages and, perhaps, to the West Indian Creole zombi. But the relationship is less obvious with the Boulou Zobeyo, whose origin, which is obscure, is perhaps connected with the verbs zu, "to arrive" (in Boulou) or zũ, dzũ, "to open" (in Fang) and yoo or yooé, "to be open, " "to open"; /the meaning/ is approximately /109/ "opening of those who open, " in the sense of "first ancestor. "

Traditions differ about the origin of the first woman. Largeau gives two. According to one, Mebe'e, having taught Nzame to clear the forest and plant trees, puts him to sleep and, having cut off a large toe, fashions it into the first woman, Nyingono Mebe'e (Nyingon = mother-daughter). According to the other tradition, he would have fashioned at the same time as Nzame his sister, Oyeme = Mam (she-who-knows-things). My Ntoumou informant, who knew both legends, reconciled them by referring to the Bible, a common attitude among old Protestants in Gabon, who are made very uneasy by discrepancies between the Hebrew and the Pahouin Genesis.

In any event, Mebe'e makes all animals subject to the first man and woman so that they will work for them. But Nzame disturbs this arrangement by fornicating with his sister: this is the great nsem, the breaking of a prohibition, the initial incest that introduces death to the earth. Mebe'e "dies" or, rather, removes himself from mankind and departs, leaving to Nzame, whom the animals have ceased to obey, authority over the world.

Oyeme-Mam then brings forth eight sets of twins, male and female, who are the ancestors of the Pahouin, the white men, Pygmies, gorillas, chimpanzees, red men, and the coastal tribes.

Not much is known of the next bit of the legend because the versions vary greatly according to the reporter. Roughly, Nzame teaches agricultural methods to his children and goes to seek from Mebe'e (by dying, to be resurrected later?) the secrets of the crafts (1).

1. According to some, these were taught by the spider.

Before leaving his children in final "death, " (he does not, in fact, die

773 physically: "His tomb is neither above nor below, neither to the right nor to the left"), he divides his possessions, a division which is disturbed by quarrels, the machinations of younger sons or the negligence of the elder ones. He then departs beyond the river-of-the west, followed by the white men (or the coastal tribes?) who by a ruse have got hold of part of the biôm inherited by the Pahouin. The latter in turn start westward, crossing the Osoe Nnanga, then the niôm adjap (hole in the silk-cotton tree) as described earlier (see p. 19).

776 Nzame (Zambe) is emphatically not the creator god but the ancestor * mentor; all genealogies go back to him. Yet all the Christian
787 missions have taken his name to express the idea of God. This mistake has come about because the word Mebe'e was rarely spoken, while Nzame turned up in all "salutations," in everything that had to do with the ancestor cult. As the original monitor he could be confused with the creator — in fact, he in a way completed "natural" creation by the magical invention of the arts and crafts. As an ancestor he was solicited in prayers (meya'alan) by his descendants, while Mebe'e was not addressed except on rare occasions—in solemn vows, at initiations. Finally, the very fact of having been misled from the first /110/ made it difficult to go back to the first translation. It may well be though that this mistake, the substitution of the creature for the creator, the deification of man, has not been without influence on the social development of the Pahouin. The Mintangan, who actually came from the niam bekôn, the land of the dead, brought with them a genuine theological revolution, a heresy to which their material wealth gave a sure guarantee. The psychological repercussions must have been considerable.

Nowadays one hears it currently said that "Mebe'e is the old name
[788] for Zambe," and the latter seems to be permanently established in his usurped role (1); the traditions connected with the two personages

1. Good, the first American missionary among the Boulou, was nicknamed "Ngôô Zambé," Zambe's ransom, which may have been not merely an approximation of his name.

are inextricably mixed with Christian contributions, to such a degree that we may speak of a new theogony being formed in the syncretist cults and in some Christian schismatic movements.

b. Ancestor Cult, Totem, Spirits

769 We have seen that practically no worship was offered to the creator Mebe'e, only to Zambe (Nzame), the first ancestor, who was invoked as the father of all. But resort to Zambe was rather exceptional; people first asked for help, meya'ale, or protection, akam, from the nearest ancestors, bimvam.

The most characteristic form of the ancestor cult was the biéri (biéti), particularly well developed among the southernmost tribes and especially among the true Fang. Its priest was the living ancestor, the father, esa, and it had an acting hierarchy corresponding to the different levels of the social structure and the clan organization, a hierarchy of a religious rather than political character, as the authority which was derived from it being primarily /one of/ reverence. The main cult equipment consisted of the skulls of male ancestors, which the father, the senior, guarded in a basket, évora biéri (évolé biéti), a kind of ark which the family group carried with it during its migrations. It was a fig-bark cylindrical box, decorated with beads and clan emblems (mindem); on the cover was a statuette of the first ancestor. The évora biéri was kept on a sort of altar (the view of which was étyi to women and the uninitiated) placed either in the hut of the head of the family or in a special hut. The évora was transported in a case of delicate basketwork, guarded by armed initiates. The skulls were painted with baa and sometimes decorated with copper or bead inlay.

769 When a younger son established a new village, the founder's skull was the first to be placed in the ark: the village he had left kept the skulls of the preceding ancestors of the lineage. Hence it may be imagined that the custodian of the lineage skulls had a certain amount of authority, delegated by the ancestors of higher rank, over the heads of splinter families, while he himself was somehow /111/ subordinate to the custodian of the ancestral skulls common to the segment, and so, one after the other ascending and descending the genealogical trees, from Zambe, departed and yet alive, to the living émvam of the last generation.

When a family split up without a quarrel, the senior, ntôl, of the new group received from his ésa, in place of the skulls which were supposed to stay with the original segment, a statuette containing fragments of ancestral bones, phalanges, teeth, or cranial bones.

769 The figure was placed on the new group's first family altar, and so afterwards were the skulls of the founder and of the benya bôtô of succeeding generations. A full biéti basket was the sign of a group's [554] antiquity, which doubtless implied prestige more than genuine authority, yet nevertheless represented the nearest approach to political authority that existed in the Fang group, particularly if one takes into account the fact that officials of interclan associations were chosen from among the owners of many skulls, whence prestige extended to a large number of mvôk or meyom. The prestige of the living was exerted through the authority of the dead.

[826] Skulls were, indeed, the seat or receptacle of the individual's capacity for action (we must remember that bo = to make, boo = brain), and the use of skulls in the practice of magic was not confined to ancestral skulls only: the skulls of enemies killed in battle or sacrificed in anthropophagous ceremonies before or afterward were preserved, and so were those stolen from neighbors. In the same way the skulls of the kinds of animals desired were used for hunting rites. However, it seems that a distinction was made between family skulls and outsiders' skulls, only the first having a place in the éwolé biéti and [782] appearing in family rites. The power of the skulls was increased by sprinkling them with sacrificial blood.

769 When a youth reached nya môtô age he had to learn to recognize 869 his ancestors so as to be able to ask for their help when the occasion 881 arose. Their skulls were shown to him until he could identify them individually and put them in the correct genealogical order. When he was able to do this, he was given a brew of the narcotic herb alan, [276] then spent a night in the biéti hut, facing the skulls, which had been removed from the éwolé and placed on the altar on which strongly scented plants were burned. During the night the ancestors appeared and gave him a cognomen and imposed one or more new taboos (at the same time he was relieved of certain prohibitions connected with age). Apparently it was during this initiation that his individual totem was revealed (if it was indeed a totem).

769 This question of the totem is very poorly elucidated, in spite of 614 some 600 pages devoted to the subject by Father Trilles. He dis- 114 tinguishes between clan, segment, individual, family, and society totems, etc. He also distinguishes a tutelary being, mvame, from the "effect of a tutelary being"; akam, an animal totem, from a dedicated animal or an incarnation of a man in an animal, etc. He

789 also discriminates between the ésayoñ, ancestor cult /112/, and the
64 mvamayoñ, totemic cult. It must be admitted that there is now no
114 chance of obtaining a cross-checking of his theories except on points of detail, although that is no formal condemnation of his theories; it is the consequence of a shortage of researchers, lack of respect on the part of the researchers, or loss of traditions of initiation. The following points may be considered as established:

mvam (émvam) connotes ideas of a forefather, dead or alive, lineal and protective.

[784] akam, protection, is sometimes used in speaking of animals, to indicate the reason for a prohibition; the verb kam having a defending-protecting meaning as well as that of forbidding-prohibiting.

All prohibitions are not tied up with these notions, but some are and they may well be individual prohibitions as well as hereditary collective ones, not necessarily involving animals.

Clan markings, mindem, and tattoo marks, mindan, are often connected with a prohibition.

825 There is a whole system of animal symbolism, evident particularly
[787] in tales and augury ("zoomancy," divination by spiders).

Certain animals are connected with initiation cults: very definitely the sɔ̂ and snakes (dendraspis and python); probably the porcupine and tortoise (with feminine rites); perhaps the gorilla (njil; ngil, Johnson's tone 4, the ngil rite having tone 5).

[55] There does not appear to be any connection between an animal name borne by a person (Mvɔ̂mɔ̂ = Python, Zo'o = Elephant, Ze = Panther, etc.) and the prohibitions he is subject to.

Moreover, the following, it seems pretty certain, are not specifi-
64 cally related to totemism:
825 Alliance, élat or ngbwa, between a person and a particular animal.

A sorcerer's employing an animal, nkuk (observe that nkuk also means "mask") to carry out his sorcery at a distance.

[175] The incarnation of a sorcerer in the body of an animal, élañela (Trilles applies this name to the nkuk).

The temporary incarnation of a dead man in an animal's body.

The first three phenomena often seem to be confused in the minds of present-day Pahouin, and the fourth may be the consequence of this.

773 It is curious that the legend recounted by Trilles about the crocodile, which he considers to be the "national totem," represents

773 the animal pursuing the ancestors of the Fang in order to devour them, while the legendary history of migration collected in the north shows, on the contrary, the crocodile enabling the tribe to cross the Osoé Nnanga (the python performs this service for the Beti).

776 The observation made by the authors quoted on the "unsuperstitious" character of the Pahouin and of the slight development /113/ of "fetishism" among them is to be related to the almost total absence in their mythology of beings intermediary between God and man, genii or demigods.

774 Aside from the bivur, to be discussed in connection with sorcery, there are only the bingungur (Fang)(Boulou, bingôngôt) shown in some 825 legends as kinds of ogres or ghouls haunting forests and attacking travelers. According to another interpretation, these rather are evil animals endowed with intelligence and malevolence beyond that of normal members of their species, perhaps animal sorcerers. The inoffensive aardvark, mvômesila, is thus very much feared; also a sort of very rare Pithecanthropus (Fang, éngure; Boulou, éngu'u) and a mermaid, the mammywôta of the coast, no doubt a lamantin /or manatee/. For Trilles, the éngungure is a "spirit, often transformed into an animal, which sorcers obey"; may there not be a confusion here with the évur (Boulou, évu)?

775 As for ghosts, bekôn, it might be said that there are good ones 769 but no nice ones. One may usually get on with the kôn of a properly buried forebear who was respected in his lifetime and even obtain useful services from him, formerly paid for by sacrifices and libations 772 to his skull and often today by candles, Masses, or prayers (I have 777 known Protestants to go to Catholic missionaries for exorcism). There is more difficulty /in dealing/ with the kôn of a sorcerer or with that of a stranger neither whose name nor whose skull is in one's possession.

266 Lawful /non criminelle/ anthropophagy probably had for an end, among others, that of acquiring power over the bekôn of enemies and perhaps of assimilating the rights they derived from their ancestors. This wartime cannibalism appears to have existed especially on the geographical fringes of the group and particularly along the invasion front, among the Fang proper, the vanguard of the migration. A relative or affinal kin was never eaten, only strangers, and these only by warriors (or sometimes by sons of warriors killed by the enemy). It is worth noting that for the cannibalism of the Fang and Oyéba only the "Gabonese" felt the terror described by all explorers. The

266 Boulou and Ntoumou, who often fought the Fang, do not accuse them of cannibalism, which seems to prove that this /practice/ was restricted to "foreign" wars, to conquests. Intestinal cannibalism was held in horror and practiced only by sorcerers, often called bedi bôt, man-eaters. Di niem, usually translated as "soul eating," means literally "to eat the thoracic organs" and may be applied to outright material consumption of these internal organs. On the other hand, the anthropophagy or "necropophagy" that might be qualified as homeopathic, which consists of swallowing in a biaň (mbiaň) a tiny amount, often as ash, of an ancestor's or an initiate's body, has nothing criminal about it and apparently used to be part of all important rites. /113/ From this point of view, the communion meal of the body of the ań, if this rite is truly totemic, represented perhaps manducation of the ancestor.

As for gastronomic cannibalism, it is a story for the picture papers. Not only man's flesh but even that of anthropoids, aside from the cases mentioned above, is absolutely taboo /the plural bityi is used here. —Tr./, and accidental consumption or consumption enforced 268 by absolute necessity (for instance, if hunters are marooned by a flood) entails rigorous purification.

c. Elements of Cosmogony

272 Our knowledge of the traditional world view is largely conjectural too, for the reasons already pointed out. We may state with reasonable certainty two fundamental concepts:

Orientation of space and time referred to the apparent movement of the sun; perhaps it would be better to speak of space-time, as the two ideas are closely connected.

The principle described by Stoll as "double symmetry," which could also be called "sexual complementarity" and summed up as the equilibrium in tension of all elements of the universe /creation/.

These two concepts are, as things stand, tied together if not inseparable.

Time and space flow from east to west in a declining movement. East is ñim, upstream, high, and male; west, nke, is downstream, low, and female. The earth, si, is surrounded by water, or rather, enclosed by water and darkness, /thus/, ndim = blind; mendim =

[120] water; dim • to terminate, to extinguish, to sink (in connection with
[123] a star); dimi • to get lost; dip • to close; dibi • dark, opaque. (According to Trezenem, the world is surrounded by the river ɛ́ndam, a word related to ndam • width, wide.) The darkness of the east is black (cf. the name of the land of origin, mvɔ̂ ɛ́kanga • country of high white clouds; low dark rain clouds are minkut); the darkness of the west is white, the feminine color, white, moreover, being the color of mourning and death. The bekɔ̂n are white, at least those that remain on earth; those admitted to Zambe's village are red.

In relation to the east-west axis, north is on the right, mbo mɔ̂m, male side, south is on the left, mbo ngal, female side. The dividing line between north and south is the Sanaga (Ɔ̂ɔ́ Nnanga • white river, river of the albinos) crossed by the python, mvɔ̂m, who is also the rainbow (though a Fang tradition in eastern Gabon mentions a river, the Evindi, that is, "black"). North is connected with red (1), the

[122]

1. Evindi, ɛ́fumulu, and ɛ́vele, "black," "white," and "red," are the only names of colors in the language. They are applied to the near shades: a grey is "white" or "black," a blue or green is "black," ochre or light brown is "red," light yellow is "white," etc. For greater exactness, similes are used —so'obon, "aquatic moss," for green, ɔ̂p, "sun," "egg yolk," for orange or yellow —or loan words like "blue."

masculine /115/ and festival color. South is also noon, midday, zane mos, and the zenith, yɔ̂ne ɔ̂p (yɔ̂p • sky, high, height; ɔ̂p sun, in Fang, dɔ̂); it is the side of light, vian, sunlight, or ɛ́fufup, brightness.

The sky, yɔ̂p, seems to be supported by an iron post (akɔ̂ • post
[121] or spear, a masculine symbol) held by the sister-wife of Zambe, Nyingon Mebe'e. The sky appears both masculine and feminine, like the earth; the sun is masculine, the moon feminine.

Thus we come to define two opposing directions or sectors on the compass card: the N/E quadrant is male; the S/W quadrant is female —the two others seem to be neuter. The NE-SW diameter bisects

the two opposite angles and would represent the axis of migration, mfa'a maŋ, "toward the sea." The masculine direction seems to have been the place of origin of the ye (feminine?) clans, the feminine direction, that of the ésa clans. Trilles places with the latter the ébi clans, which are, geographically, from eastern clans; I wonder if they ought not rather to be connected with the ye clans since ébi means "hole," "chasm" (yee = valley, ravine). In the bilaba, masculine commodities come from the female sector, and vice versa.

These apparent contradictions would be resolved by applying the principle of double symmetry, or of sexual complementarity, similar to that which makes paternal, nonuterine half brothers called bobenyaŋ, "my mother's sons." This principle might be expressed somewhat as follows: every being capable of life must, in order to exist and be complete, include the opposite sex. In other words, bisexuality, a universal vital principle, should be found in every part of the universe /création/. Stoll finds proof of this in the language, where the tone levels in his view constitute genuine differentiation by grammatical sex genders, and especially in the rites whose purpose appears to be not to make men entirely masculine or women entirely feminine, but rather to give to each sex the necessary complement of the opposite sex.

Whatever may be thought of this theory, it is a fact that, because of the apparent or real absence of grammatical sex gender in the language, the majority of the early writers, even Trilles, did not attach enough importance to real gender, to the sex actually attributed to objects, particularly to magical and ritual materials. We know that spear, akoŋ, saber, fa, and probably the large drum, mbad, are male; calabashes and cooking pots, rattles (mengoŋ), the double bell (nkeŋ) are female; the drum-telephone, nkul, is androgynous; horns for medicaments, minlak, are male at the pointed end, female at the hollow end, and the same with the rifle. As to numbers, my conclusions are diametrically opposed to those of Stoll, who believes even numbers to be male, and odd, female, though admittedly he advances as proof the large part played by odd numbers in feminine rites, which runs directly counter to his theory of double symmetry.

The numerical system is in any event only imperfectly known. Counting is based on 10, with traces of an 8:10, (awom), basis /116/ and of 8, mwom, /having?/ perhaps the same root as different classifiers. The so number is 9. Nyin, 4, seems related to a YI

80 radical with feminine connotations (yi = to wish, also meaning "to need," "to cry"; it conveys an idea of "desiring," in contrast to kɔ̂mbɔ̂, related to kɔ̂m = to arrange, put in order, do properly, and bo = to do, make, conveying an idea of "will"; the passive form of yi, yian, means both "duty" and "to be well," "to suit"). Much research needs to be done while there is still time.

d. Sorcery, Possession

Malignant sorcery, ngbwel, is generally attributed to a sorcerer, 75 nnem (plur: beyem, cf. yem = to know, to dream), being possessed by a malevolent being, an évu (Fang, évur, évus). The évu is not an 85 immaterial spirit but a living being, an animal like a crab or centipede, and lodging in the internal organs of the nnem. At an autopsy it is often found in the form of a polyp or tumor, a fibroid tumor in women. It may even happen that the nnem's body does not show such an indication, because the évu has escaped, but there will be some traces of it, fluids, distention of the stomach, colon, or gall bladder. 76 In such cases, as has been said, the corpse is not buried in the usual manner but is burned, thrown into a river, or buried at a crossroads far from the village, in order to prevent the nnem's kɔ̂n from returning to haunt relatives and neighbors.

The possessed person may be unaware of the possession, but he is held no less responsible for the harm caused by the évu. The latter goes out at night while the nnem is asleep and feeds on the blood, metyi, hence strength, tyi of its victims, who fall ill, grow weak and die, or it eats their nlem (heart and lungs), which brings on madness or mental decay and often death, too. The évu also feeds on eggs, on metyi /sic/, and on milk, preferably women's milk (menyãn, from nyãn = to give the breast, cf. -nyãn = mother, in compound words), food which village people will not touch. When the évu has trouble in getting food, it may turn against the nnem and kill it for nourishment or, if the nnem is a woman, it may attack the children in her womb. Aside from these occasions, ngbwel is an advantage to the nnem, even when it is unconscious; he benefits from the strength accumulated by the évu during its nocturnal hunts; furthermore, the évu assists him, brings a sort of luck to his undertakings, which is natural, since the évu gains from the nnem's intermediation. This 77 kind of luck, asɛ́ɛ́ (from a verb, sɛ́ɛ́, with like meaning: a nga sɛ́ɛ́

754 777 akum = he has become rich by ngbwel), is to be distinguished from ordinary, accidental luck, ma'a, by its lasting character, which soon arouses public suspicion — this is one of the visible symptoms of ngbwel.

754 683 The involuntary nnem was generally put to death, more easily than the conscious sorcerer, who knew how to protect himself. Nevertheless, it was possible to treat a nnem, by means of a very drastic purification involving physiological as well as psychological catharsis and sometimes by real surgical operations /117/, to which in most cases the patient succumbed. Today the European administration usually prevents the execution of beyem, but their relatives often succeed in persuading them to kill themselves. After an epidemic of meningitis at Ambam in 1948, two men and two young women, [731 762] accused by a bwiti diviner of having caused the death of a dozen children by involuntary ngbwel, threw themselves into the N'Tem within the month. In former times, beyem were burned by being covered with wood in such a way as to prevent both the évu and their nsisim from escaping; they were also drowned or buried alive, preferably in the bed of a stream that had been diverted and was then turned back to its old course after the burial.

754 The conscious nnem is both more and less dangerous. Bound to his évu by a kind of pact, he directs its activity instead of allowing it to kill at random as the unconscious nnem does. Therefore, he is more dangerous to his enemies but less so to his kin, although the concluding and maintenance of the alliance with the évu requires him to sacrifice members of his family.

A nnem with a strong personality, tyi anen a niem ayet, with great strength and a hard heart, can succeed in really controlling his évu and making it a servant that will procure him wealth and power, rid him of his enemies, and confer supernatural powers on him, such as the ability to be in two places at once /bilocation/, to move objects from a distance /telekinesis/, divination, etc. But ngbwel always remains a dangerous art. First of all, the nnem knows that he is condemned after death to be a white kôn, forbidden to cross the ékanga bekôn, the bridge of the dead, to seek the ancestors, mañ ayat, beyond the sea. There are immediate dangers, in addition to that final condemnation. First, the ever present risk that the évu will dominate the nnem and weaken the latter. Next, the risk of a kind of reaction if the évu attacks a stronger nnem or a mie well protected by a bian provided with white magic. Finally, /there is the risk/ of

the évu or the animal employed as assistant being killed during a skirmish, which would bring about the nnem's death.

Many people nevertheless regard these disadvantages as weighing little against the immediate advantages which the évu procures. Therefore some bemie (people without évu) have themselves initiated into ngbwel, and some beyem dedicate their children from birth (which has the additional effect of protecting them against the parent's évu). For this purpose beyem organize into secret societies (and these are really secret societies), well described by Trilles and particularly so by Lavignotte (no. 155).

Babies are dedicated by a nnem kinsman in a ceremony, aka'é, before the umbilicus is healed (the évu is believed to enter through the umbilical lesion). A special taboo is imposed on the child, and a part of his body (finger, toe or even foot, hand or whole arm) is symbolically sacrificed to the évu with a slight letting of blood. From that time on, only the shade of the sacrificed part, its semblance, is believed to continue to exist. The child is then nkôman ngbwel /118/, prepared for the ngbwel, but he is not yet a nnem; if he were it would be discovered at the preliminary stage of the adolescent initiation, and he would be put to death. It is only at the time of initiation with the official rites that he becomes a sorcerer, kuli ngbwel, through a further ceremony during which his "godparents" reveal to him that he has been "prepared," dedicated. He must then buy back the bodily part "sacrificed" at the aka'é by offering his "godparents" the body of a member of his family, killed and eaten by the beyem in circumstances about which little is known. What is known suggests some of the sexual aspects of European witches' sabbaths (apparently participants of both sexes, naked, practiced sodomy, biéti, and profaned the ancestral relics, probably fragments of biéti). The initiation of an adult consists only of the akuli ngbwel, the aka'é being resricted to children.

Beyem meet periodically, aside from initiation ceremonies, in order to "feed the bivu" in anthropophagous or necrophagous meals accompanied by obscene rituals. These meetings take place at the new moon in secret places in the forest, usually in clearings on top of hills or on islands in marshes — mmimie are afraid of stumbling by chance on one of these spots which, according to some of my informants, are guarded between meetings by an aardvark, mvômesila. If such a place is discovered, a nnengali is immediately called in to perform a sort of exorcism.

perform a sort of exorcism. Sorcerers seem to be convened to these meetings by secret messages in the form of bundles of sticks notched according to a particular code, or in the form of the quipu. They are believed to reach the meetings by levitation or by sending only their nisim while their bodies remain at home in a state of apparent death. This offers a good chance of getting rid of the sorcerer by burning his body, the disadvantage being that the nisim survives, as does the ɛ́vu, and that they than can be incarnated in an animal, which cannot happen if the sorcerer is burnt alive.

The ɛ́vu may use various methods of moving about outside the nnem's body. Sometimes he leaves it in an invisible and immaterial form, but this method is exceptional. Most often he enters the body of an animal, generally a leopard, but sometimes a black make, civet cat, gorilla, or chimpanzee, or even certain insects; the list is unlimited, but nearly always the animal in question is powerful or dangerous. The carrier-animal is then almost invulnerable, endowed both with human intelligence and with the powers of an ɛ́vu. It is, however, possible to strike at it, with luck and good mebiak, and any injury to the ɛ́vu rebounds on the sorcerer. On the other hand, injury to a sorcerer during the ɛ́vu's absence is not necessarily fatal to the latter, because the ɛ́vu can survive in the body of the vehicle-animal. The latter is called nkuk (1), which can also mean "mask." It is

1. Among the Ewondo, this term also denotes the good bekôn who appear in dreams to give advice to the living. (J.B.)

not clear whether there is a confusion /119/ with the ɛ́lɔ̃ɔ̃ɛ́la, as Trilles suggests, or with animal-bekôn, or with those who are beyem on their own account, or even with bingongôt (bingungure).

These seems to exist alongside ngwel a /kind of/ sorcery connected with abé nlem or mbia nlem, malignity of the heart, and having nothing to do with possession by the bivu. Thus practitioners of kôn, which consists of killing a person while leaving his body alive (see above, p. 134), would not necessarily be beyem in the strict sense. Likewise, many malevolent activities are only criminal deviations from permissible magic. Alliance with an animal, or incarnation in the body of an animal, or even the transformation of a magician into an animal, need not be malevolent or only becomes so

754 as a result of the magician's natural spitefulness (ézezam = wickedness, disorder; nielaŋ = malevolence, from élaŋ = an evil act committed expressly and without necessity: a woe bot elan = he who kills for pleasure, ndan of the begôvina* from the German occupation until

*/No footnote is given to this puzzling phrase, but "begôvina" may mean "government people." —Tr./

the present). A protective biaŋ against the beyem can be used against an innocent mie, a magical weapon, a spell against a brother. Such an action may constitute not only an étom, a delict, but also a nsem, a breaking of taboo, when initiation into magical technique included a prohibition against using it for evil ends. The same thing holds for the use of certain methods, illegal or immoral in themselves, even when the purpose is permissible or morally good: this is the case with the biaŋ for /ensuring/ conjugal fidelity, which consists of the husband having his wife drink his sperm; with that for curing an illness by transferring it to another person (transfer to an animal or plant is permissible); with the use of certain mebiaŋ for fertility, etc. The commonest acts of sorcery do not belong in the ngbwel category (and perhaps also in that of the kôn) and would lead simply to a "civil" suit, neither more nor less than a case of assault and battery or a [68] "manual" homicide. Ngbwel, on the contrary, is always a capital crime, provided that the nnem be not too powerful to escape judgment or punishment.

e. Permissible Magic, Divination, Medicine

759 The first aim of licit magic is to fight against sorcerers, especially beyem, but that is only one of its aspects. In fact, it extends to all life's activities, and everyone uses it to a greater or less extent, aside from the specialists, ngengaŋ or ngaŋ, magician, mvimvi'i, diviner, mbibian, healer, and nyia bia, singer (1).

[143] 1. Among the Ewôndo there used to be a sort of priest, nzomelo, often a chief, who received the first fruits of maize, blessed sowings, and presided over the ancestor cult. (J.B.)

787 Magic appears to be a technique for making use of the strength, tyi, contained in every element of the universe /création/, which everyone has more or less the capacity, ngul, to employ. Elementary magic is taught within the family, advanced magic /is taught/ in associations, by experienced practitioners and also, nowadays, through /120/ correspondence with European charlatans. All initiations include a course in magic, all associations possess a body of specialists.

787 Divination, mvi'i, and medicine, mboan mebiañ, are to magic in general what in Europe the special branches are to general medicine. [791] Every ngengañ is a diviner and physician, but he may consult a colleague more specialized in one of those branches.

Everyone learns from childhood on to interpret everyday omens, which are mostly taken from "zoomancy:" the flight or song of certain birds, meeting certain animals in certain circumstances, etc. The interpretation of the movements of the victim of a family sacrifice, the abôp spider oracle, asking the advice of ancestors by means of the narcotic herb alañ, (iboga), require that /a person/ be already initiated. Oracles by water, sand or gravel, or conducting minkal tests require much deeper knowledge.

759 The same holds for medicine. Everyone knows the ordinary mebiañ, but for serious cases people must turn to a mbibiañ. The word biañ, usually translated "medicament," "greegree," even "fetish," indicates not only the drug, a pharmaceutical product, but also the whole of a magical act, including the chanting and dancing associated with it for grave illnesses. Pharmacopeoia and therapy proper, to some extent investigated by Baudre, Weber, and Chabeuf in the Cameroons and by Gascón in Spanish Guinea, are or were quite copious. Not only did the mbibiañ know many substances with a mainly vegetable base, but they also knew how to perform several surgical operations [762] —reduction of fractures and dislocations, incision and drainage of deep abcesses, amputations, excision of certain tumors, and perhaps trepanning. But obviously there was a great deal of pure magic mixed up with this practical medicine, and the majority of mebiañ, if they had a therapeutic effect, owed it largely to psychosomatic reactions—which is not peculiar to Pahouin medicine.

791 Aside from medicine and divination and the combating of sorcerers, the essential role of the mingengañ consisted of influencing the shaping of the destiny of the group or of the individuals, if not in controlling their destiny. The powers of high initiates to some extent

791 suggest those of the sorcerers they were fighting, as do some of their procedures. Like them, /high initiates/ were capable of telekinesis and bilocation, etc. Trilles gives numerous examples, some of which he claims to have observed himself. Like /sorcerers, initiates/ could transform themselves into animals or make use of a dedicated animal, élañela. They killed people from a distance, especially by casting a spell on a token /temoin, "witness"/ of the classical type, or by acting directly upon people with their power, ngul, by forcing them to submit to their will. Like sorcerers, also, they could be victims through repercussion.

Considering the circumstances, it is not surprising that /121/ magicians and sorcerers have often been confused, nor that some magicians have been led into making evil use of their knowledge, nor, [754] finally, that contemporary associations, like the mbuti (bwiti), intended to combat sorcery, have borrowed its methods, even in their criminal aspects.

533 789 In addition to the magicians proper, there is the singer, ñyia bia, who plays an important role in all rites, including initiations. Every important rite and ceremony has its musical accompaniment, with a specific orchestra for the occasion, and a choirmaster, who leads the incantations and acts somewhat as a master of ceremonies, without himself participating directly in the sacrifice or the magical act. It is peculiar to the ñyia bia that he is present at the three major rites, sô, ngil, and ndôngô, as at all magic ceremonies, no matter what his affiliation; apparently he is not liable to the prohibitions concerning participation affecting nesé bôt, ordinary or profane people. He [424] buys and sells or inherits his songs, is not assigned to a caste /n'est pas caste/, yet seems to have enjoyed a certain immunity during the wars of former times, but this may only have been the case with the most celebrated of the beyia bia. There are also female beyia bia, who enjoy the same prerogatives in feminine rites.

778 789 Magical equipment consists, first, of the instruments appropriate to each rite, drums, horns, rattles, bells, the ngôma harp of the bwiti, etc., with a great variety of additional diverse objects: fly-[534] whisks, akpwassa, sometimes mutilated; antelope horns filled with mebiañ; human and animal skulls and bones; pots and calabashes; engraved and decorated magician's spears; masks; the bwiti broken mirror; bikpwélé (iron "bride-price money"); shells, etc. Every magical act, every rite, has its own properties, the complete description of which would require a separate monograph for each. We

778 shall merely point out that part of this equipment, permanently assigned
789 to magical use, is étyi, taboo to the uninitiated and sometimes even to other mingengan than the owner, that certain objects become bityi after having once been used for this purpose, while others are returned to ordinary use, and others are destroyed after use.

f. Prohibitions

784 Prohibitions, bityi, assume a large place in Pahouin life. Martrou (no. 159) has devoted a special study to them, which is very well documented but still incomplete, because of their number and diversity.

The word étyi comes from the root TYI/KI, conveying an idea of strength (cf. above, p. 133), of authority, and also of cutting, hence of prohibition; /for example, / tyik = to cut, kill, slice, decide; tyili = to render taboo; tyii = to have a taboo (étyi is the nominal-resulting form of the last verb); tyilan = to be taboo. /122/

A complete listing of the bityi is probably impossible, but a brief classification may be attempted by distinguishing /the following/:

Food prohibitions and prohibitions of actions.

Among prohibitions of actions there are those protecting certain animals, marriage prohibitions, and general sexual prohibitions.

Individual prohibitions and collective prohibitions.

Hereditary prohibitions and personal prohibitions.

Temporary and permanent prohibitions.

Masculine, feminine, and age-grade prohibitions.

Ordinary prohibitions (zesé bityi) and capital prohibitions, bityi awu (mortal ones).

All together they form a sort of network that covers every act,
[777] every phase of individual and social conduct. Mission activity and general development have caused some to disappear or have lessened the immediate consequences of infractions, minsem, but enough remain with sufficient sanction to influence the whole of day-to-day life.

[778] A nsem, a breaking of a prohibition, has various consequences, ranging from a slight illness to death, and almost always carrying with it public reprobation. The nsem may be unconscious, the culprit being unaware that his act was taboo for him, either because he had not been taught so or because the étyi had been imposed without his knowledge by a magician.

788 Some bityi appear to be connected with totemism; these are the bityi mekam, protective prohibitions, forbidding members of certain clans to kill certain animals or to eat certain plants. Others are undoubtedly connected with the social structure, like sex or age-grade prohibitions, the breaking of which strike at the family hierarchy. Others may be described as hygienic prohibitions, like those connected with pregnancy, illness, or convalescence. There are prohibitions connected with magic: personal taboos vis-à-vis some animal seen in a dream after a family initiation, or imposed when joining an association; prohibitions pronounced by a magician, often out of revenge; prohibitions undertaken as vows to obtain a specific result. Among the Beti, Binet has known women to impose on themselves certain [489] food etyi for a year, at the end of which time there is a party where [177] they collect many presents from their relatives and friends. This seems to be an innovation and perhaps represents a deviation from certain Catholic practices.

[614] It seems that in former times, following a war or an alliance, or in connection with an awusô relationship, two clans might undertake to respect one another's clan taboo. Besides, married women, although they did not enter the husband's clan, were supposed to some extent to respect its bityi.

783 Minsem can be expiated by redemption, nsôm, according to 787 different rites (étyi, melan among men, évôô among women), including public confession and sacrifice (for women, the sacrifice is made by father or husband, the woman undergoing severe corporal punishment). /123/

Some personal bityi can be raised (kui étyi = to emerge from a taboo) by a process similar to that of redemption for a nsem. This is never possible in cases of general sexual, age-grade, or clan prohibitions.

787 The first Christian converts must have shown genuine heroism in 787 giving up their bityi, since they had to overcome, not only personal fear, sometimes at the cost of real psycho-physiological crises, but also unanimous public obloquy and often the vengeance of their family, which attributed to their minsem all its misfortunes. One might say that only that first generation of Christians succeeded in abandoning the bityi almost completely. The following generations, in much greater numbers, continued to observe quite a few /bityi/, certainly all those that did not openly conflict with the practice of the /new/

religion. For several years, exogamic taboos have even been observed to take on new life with a strictness that runs counter to canonical ideas about marriage (cf. above, p. 63).

g. Sorcery and Magic at the Present Time

Even in the areas longest converted to Christianity, contemporary Pahouin continue to believe in magic and sorcery, which is, moreover, not contrary to the teaching of the Scriptures. Mbibiañ compete with European or African bedôkits, mingengañ compete with exorcists, mvimvi'i with the police, and so on. Once in a while beyem still kill in order to feed their évu, and I knew a kôn practitioner who tried to make use of his skill so as to win an election.

However, since the coming of the Europeans, magic and sorcery have developed in the direction of a syncretism that is sometimes baroque. Ecclesiastical schisms do not bring about a complete return to ancient practices, but a sort of grafting of what remains onto a Christian stem, to which is often added a facile /à bon marché/ esotericism borrowed from mages and fakirs of metropolitan France. Talismans, perfumes guaranteed to inspire love, and magical jewelry arrive by the hundredweight in each mail from France. Initiations that had died out are being revived in the form of parodies of the Mass or of ordination, or even of hazings often obscene. What was most valuable in the native pharmacopoeia is being more and more neglected in favor of modern preparations used at random, with only the magical aspect surviving, emptied of its old meaning and therefore of its functional character.

Admittedly, Christianity has "caught on" in the country, just as European medicine has—the question is, just how deeply. In any event it is certain that old practices, overthrown as they may have been, survive nonetheless in new form, fluid and changing and still far from stabilized. The result is a continual uneasiness, a crisis in adaptation, of which the outcome is unpredictable.

Leaving aside any religious or ideological position, /124/ it does, however, seem possible to say as of now that one of the most revolutionary contributions of the missions has been to make women participate in the same religious cult as men.

4. Arts and Literature

531 The principal form of plastic art used to be sculpture, in wood or steatite. Aside from masks for associations, especially for the ngil, figures of ancestors, full-length figures or simply masks, and figures for ritual ceremonies were carved. Drums, seats, crossbows, sometimes imported chests, were decorated in demirelief. The features of a mask were only slightly indicated, the attitude of figures was rather stiff, while subjects in demirelief, particularly animals, were often very lively.

531 177 The sculptors were initiates of the different rites and with the decline of the latter, traditional sculpture has largely disappeared, to be replaced by work in wood or ivory in the Barbes /?/ or Saint-Sulpice style /the implication of the second is of the commercial religious art sold in shops near the St.-Sulpice in Paris. —Tr./, thanks to the work of schools and missions. An interesting project at the professional school in Ebolowa, under the director, Lecoq, between 1946 and 1950, has had no sequel. However, there are a few indications that allow hope for the rise of a Christian art that will perhaps be original, alongside the commercial sculpture for tourists, which is extremely flourishing.

This conclusion holds good for painting, since some frescoes in Catholic chapels, particularly in Ewondo country, appear to be manifestations of a new art. Furthermore, painting is at present the popular art par excellence, in the form of frescoes inside and outside houses. Aside from religious subjects, one often sees paintings of animals, family scenes, portraits of local or world celebrities. A Boulou from Sangmélima, David Monewoso, has established the features of the heroes of the novel Nnanga Mon in numerous frescoes throughout Boulou country. All this constitutes something new, because traditional art made little use of painting in this form. Huts were more likely to be decorated with geometrical figures with an esoteric meaning, in nothing but the three traditional colors, red, black, and white. Drawing was mostly represented by engraved designs, made with burin or red-hot iron on wooden objects, sometimes by charcoal drawings done on walls or rocks.

20 Literature was solely oral until the colonial period. It is not, however, accurate to say that the Pahouin were completely ignorant of writing. Aside from the quipu (biall zezeghe —? —, according to

212 Largeau /sic/) and the mekutu alek, bundles of little sticks making it possible to communicate in code, they had a kind of pictography, ntilan, with tens, if not hundreds, of signs, mindem. These we know (insufficiently) from the counters used in the abia game, a kind of 524 tarots, used as a game as much as for predicting the future; the pieces 787 were made of the seeds, or rather the pods, of a mimosa common in 889 the forest (Tetrapleura /125/ thonningii, according to Trilles). These signs had a surface meaning, understood by all, and an esoteric meaning, restricted to initiates. They made it possible if not to write down traditions as a whole, at least to draw up a kind of aid to memory to be used by the beyia bia. They also enabled scouts to leave messages for a main body of fighters that followed. Each clan, 304 each family had its own ndem, sometimes depicted in its tattoo mark, ndan, which thus constituted a sort of coat of arms.

538 The old literature included stories or tales, minlan, songs, bia, and chronicles, minkañete.

Trilles is responsible for collecting most of the tales (no. 165), which often took the form of fabliaux whose hero was none other than Ol' Br'er Terrapin, Kulu (emphatic or personal form of kul), the earth tortoise (Cinyxis erosa), surrounded by Beme, the wild pig, stupid and gluttonous, Ze, the panther, mean and cunning, its princi- 325 pal enemy; Zo'o, the elephant, the king of beasts; Abûp, the spider, artful and obliging; and the majority of the other forest animals (except, it seems, snakes, which no one ever likes to mention). Kulu, thanks to his shrewdness, always ends by getting out of the holes in which his caustic spirit or the old hostility between him and Ze have put him. Tales of magicians were also told, or stories about the conjugal mishaps of supposed ancestors. All such tales were in the public domain and were recited by anyone who felt competent. This was also the case with the puzzles and riddles that young people put to one another as a kind of flirtation.

533 Songs, however, were performed by specialists, even aside from ritual or magical songs. Some were used to accompany dances; they represented the most complete form of musical expression, with the tone of the words supposed to fit the music while being related to the movements of the dance. There are still beyia bia competent to lead a dance of this kind by improvisation, but they are few and very expensive. There also still exist players of the mvet (harp-guitar), whose repertory includes, beside the old sung legends, some modern

533 skits, often satirical, sometimes to the accompaniment of European tunes that have been adapted to the instrument. Choral song, finally, is very popular, using imported tunes that are often considerably improved by the native interpretation which makes extensive use of fugue and counterpoint. Unfortunately, these modern airs are not suited to the tonal system of the language, which they tend to impair when words are adapted to them.

538 173 527 Chronicles, minkaffete, of which the salutations, mebatan, were in a way summaries, were part of traditional training and were recited only on solemn occasions. They are falling into oblivion because of the considerable demands they made upon the memory and because of the time necessary for learning them by heart, without mentioning the fact that they contained incomprehensible passages, perhaps borrowed from tribes that were neighbors of the Pahouin before their great migration. /126/

177 536 The systems of transcription introduced by missionaries were first used to translate the Scriptures and to compose hymns, which have not always had a good effect upon the language but have nonetheless become classics in spite of the mistakes and improprieties they often contain. After these works produced by Europeans in the native language, there have appeared in rapid succession works composed by Pahouin writing in their own language. The most remarkable is without doubt Nnanga kôn by the Boulou, Jemba Medu, which describes Boulou life at the time of the arrival of the first white men (nnanga kôn = phantom albino). This, to my knowledge, is the only novel composed in one of the languages of the group; its popularity is prodigious, to such a degree that its characters have entered into contemporary Boulou folklore.

204 There is a missionary press in Gabon and in the Cameroons. The papers with the largest circulation are Nleb Bekristen (Christians' Guide) (Ewondo, Catholic) and Mefoé (News) (Boulou, Protestant), which is read as far afield as Gabon. The lay press in French is not of much importance and its publications moreover are usually short lived.

534 A Pahouin literature in the French language is a recent — and significant — phenomenon. Oyono and Eza Boto-Mongo Beti are both from the Cameroons; neither Gabon nor Spanish Guinea have up to now produced a novelist.

535 The dance has lost a great deal in being deprived of its old ritual character. Formerly there was a specific dance for every ceremony,

535 rite, and event in life, of which the orchestral element as well as the dance movements and costumes had a very precise symbolical meaning. Many of these dances have died out, either because they have lost their raison d'être (as with war and initiation dances, etc.) or because they have been prohibited by the administration and especially by the missions as obscene or pagan (fertility, funeral, medical dances, etc.). Those that survive have now a recreational or purely artistic character, which was only secondary before. It is
[560 178] significant that the number of dances in which both sexes take part has considerably increased and that nearly all are now open to the public and may be seen by spectators of any age or sex.

In spite of this falling off, there is still a large number and variety of dances. Among the most widespread may be mentioned:

- ôzila, an old fertility dance, especially among the Fang and
[534] Nitoumou; an orchestra of vertical drums, mbae and ngom, with "spoken" accompaniment of the drum-telephone, nkul; it is danced by professionals (women initiates of mevungu?) with bare torso, vegetable rattles at the ankles, unewu wildcatskin skirts, wooden masks on the left arm; the leading dancer, ôsua njem, inserts a horn into her vagina during the dance; the dancers
[276] apparently drug themselves with a decoction containing (notably) Indian hemp; the missions have forbidden this dance, and this has provoked several incidents.
- menjôk, called thus because the dance is accompanied by an orchestra of balafos; it is widespread except, perhaps, among the Boulou; it is performed by the young girls and little girls of a village; each village has its own tune and special costume consisting of a belt of raffia fiber, skirt and cap in "pastry-cook" style in the village colors, with a brassière worn in Christian villages.
- 535 179 ôyengô, sometimes called njeman fulutita, a Protestant dance (it must have been inspired by Swedish gymnastics used by a German-American M. P. A. /American Presbyterian mission?/ missionary to provide a substitute for "immoral" dances; si non à vero...), found especially among the Boulou but extending into northern Gabon under the aegis of the Movement for Regrouping Pahouin; it is a dance performed by young women and girls with a male leader, nlebe njeman, who conducts with a whistle; an orchestra of drums, nkul, mbae, and ngom, rattles

and flutes; chorus sung by the dancers; white dresses, a uniform headkerchief and foulard sash; the musical themes are those belonging to village, association, and clan; it is danced at civil or religious festivals, mebɔ̂k, mevak, and at bisulan (ayoñ meetings), etc.; the words are sometimes satirical.

anyeñ, a men's or (more rarely) a women's dance, similar to the above, perhaps inspired by it, but more lively. The words are often obscene, the gestures scatological (in the men's version); probably of ritual origin; one of the few male dances surviving today.

akɔ̂ma mba, danced by one or two young women; a chorus of women, with the large vertical drum, mbad; raffia fiber skirt and bare torso; an ancient ritual (marriage?) dance; it is looked at askance by the missions and is becoming rare.

asiko, a modern mixed dance, quite erotic; no costumes; percussion instruments and rattles; a mixed chorus; it is forbidden by the missionaries.

In towns, European or American dances are current under the generic name "tangõ," although the rhythm, when they are not danced to a phonograph, is rather that of a /West Indian/ beguine, often fugual.

The theatre, unknown in the past, is beginning to develop, partly under the influence of youth organizations introduced from outside. At bisulan, short farces are often put on, like morality plays, or satirical sketches related to our cabaret revues, in which there is no hesitation in scoffing at the authorities.

Chapter 7

The Process of Change

1. Local Government Organs

The disintegration characteristic of Pahouin clans makes it difficult to establish a coherent organization. The conflict between the system of personal rights and that of territorial rights is clear-cut:

631 177 insofar as he accepts an authority higher than that of the head of the family a Pahouin is dependent upon the head of his ayoñ, who may live several hundred kilometers away. This authority had a sacred character and was based on laws of consanguinity. In addition, there were, even before the coming of the Europeans, other influences at work, tending to group people no longer on a basis of kinship but on that of local relations. Among the Fong of the Cameroons, for instance, as early as 1880, a chief had brought together under his control families that belonged to different clans and involved them in expeditions against Maka villages. From among the conquered he chose some young children for himself, brought them up, and saw them settled, creating thus, outside his consanguineal family, and even outside his tribe, a group of people devoted to his person.

Therefore, upon the power of the clan there was superposed an authority that assumed an interclan and even intertribal character. Among the Beti peoples of the Yaoundé region nearly the same system was in effect. The clans had more coherence than among the Fang or the Boulou. But the chief controlled, in addition to his own mvog, conquered families, beloa or beloa bitoa, to whom he assigned land along the margins of his domain.

The transition from a system of authority based on the law of consanguinity to a territorial one is already apparent.

In the face of Pahouin lack of political order, which nullified all attempts at organization, Europeans unconsciously tried to reinforce the trend toward a territorial system of authority.

[671] Since the period of the great invasions, in fact, the jus soli has been authenticated as a basis of authority, while /the application of/ the jus sanguinis involves a thousand difficulties and makes it almost impossible to govern.

By a curious paradox, nevertheless, the presence of Europeans favored legal principles opposed to those they might have desired. The tribal wars brought about a regrouping around the victor and enabled him to carve out a domain /seigneurie/. The chaotic Pahouin migrations strained clan ties: what family relationships can survive a lengthy separation, /129/ particularly when journeys are rare and dangerous? These factors would have brought about the creation of territorial entities. Peace, on the other hand, which allowed the resumption of relations, improved mobility, and per-
[621] mitted individual freedom, favored a return to the law of consanguinity; the individual person, whether young man or head of a

177 621 631 family, had a profound sense of being a member of a community scattered over several thousand square kilometers, whereas he did not feel strongly bound to his neighbor who belonged to another ayoñ.

648 631 The German colonial administration divided the country up into large chiefdoms as a solution to this difficult problem, a possible solution if the country had not been an ethnic as well as a clan maze. If the territory of the large tribes—Boulou, Banê, Ewôndo, etc.—had been a little more homogeneous, it would have been conceivable to entrust each region to a chief, at a higher level than that of clan allotments. But the confusion of peoples and their wide dispersion made any solution precarious. Authority was not always accepted without demur, and among populations with anarchistic tendencies it is not easy to build up a ruling class /aristocratie/ sufficiently sure of itself not to perpetrate abuses. There was no time for the system of large appanages to take root. Chiefs of cantons and village chiefs both rule over more limited but clear-cut territories; as representatives of the principle of jus soli their influence view with that of the clan movements embodying the jus sanguinis.

631 668 In Gabon, Pahouin leaders had the idea of mingling the two tendencies. Starting with the assumption that the villages were too small, they sanctioned a regrouping which would have allowed both stronger chiefdoms and a beginning of reassembling of clans.

The regrouping of the meyoñ does not seem to have been planned as a whole, nor does it seem that a territorial base had been thought of for each clan, which would have resolved, for the time being at least, the conflict between the law of things /droit réel/ and the law of persons /droit personnel/. Only a partial solution was considered: the establishment of large, single-clan villages (1). In

1. J. Aubame, Renaissance gabonaise /Renaissance in Gabon/, Brazzaville, 1947 (no. 171); Balandier and Pauvert (no 177).

fact, and in spite of the endless difficulties connected with the transfer of population, the regrouping was able to give to the chiefdom a new prestige, by confirming its character as a territorial power on the one hand, and by binding it, on the other hand, to the meyoñ traditions. In the present state of affairs, cantons and even villages

631 include representatives of all the clans. Who then could exercise
668 authority over such a motley population, if they were to follow purely traditional rules? Various methods are used for selecting chiefs. In one place people adhere to investing the legitimate heir of the lineage of the village founder. Elsewhere, a representative of the largest ayõ is sought. Quite often, particularly in the Cameroons, the choice of chief by /130/ election is believed to allow the population to express their views, whatever the motives of selection may be. Will the village regrouping movement permit the establishment of a new, better-adapted system? A blaze of enthusiasm has gripped the Fang people, convinced that the new system will make it possible to solve all problems as by a magical formula, without sacrificing either traditional forms or individual anarchy.

In the Cameroons a few years ago the movement to regroup the meyõ appeared just as likely to bring an end to all difficulties. More bound up with traditional institutions, the meyõ organization movement set out simply to give some order to the intellectual and moral /behavioral?—Tr./ life of groups by codifying customs, taking note of traditions, and creating a collective awareness, a common clan sentiment, through periodic meetings, dances, and songs. In contrast to the movement in Gabon, the bisulan movement hardly touches upon the concrete, the economic field.

It is worth emphasizing that this movement did not question the administrative division into regions and subdivisions. The bisulan do not in fact seem to have voiced any criticism of this distinction, and the population of Dja-and-Lobo even expressed a lively wish to see Sangmélima raised to regional status and separated administratively from the N'Tem region.

In fact, though local organization at the lowest levels may not have found its bearings, at a higher level it seems to have become thoroughly incorporated in the country. When they reached Pahouin
648 country, the European powers—France, Germany, Spain—set up a
631 network of resident posts for the representatives of authority. In this country without crystallizing centers, the main town of a subdivision has become a town with a town's multiple functions, administrative, judicial, cultural (missions and schools), economic (road station,
[169] trade). A study of the journeys made by the rural population of the southern Cameroons shows clearly that these towns are no longer artificial centers but genuine points of attraction. The capital of

6:Alexandre and Binet--166 G-S (1946-1954) 1958 Fi19 Fang Fi19

their subdivision is the goal of 37 percent of travelers. The motives indicated vary greatly: people go there for reasons connected with their jobs (1.3%), for medical care (2%), to attend to matrimonial affairs (9.5%), to visit relatives (10.5%), merely for their own pleasure (23%), to attend to business connected with the public services (civil status /état civil/, law, various public departments, in 45% of the cases). There is no need to underline the importance of contacts with the administration. So in the Cameroons it has been thought necessary to decentralize the administrative machinery further and to place it within reach of the people. The establishment of new subdivisions within the Yaoundé region and of administrative posts in Boulou country demonstrate this attitude. All this takes place as if the Pahouin, in vague resentment /131/ against the inadequacies of their traditional organization, were trying to replace them with new and foreign institutions.

In order to prevent the population from totally committing its fate into the hands of the European organization and thereafter refusing to make any personal effort at improving their condition, the French administration has attempted, at the same time as it distributed authority throughout the country, to remove concentration at the center. Though it was beneficial to multiply the agents of the central power in contact with the population, it was even more necessary to give the people or their representatives the opportunity to manage public services and to organize the collective life.

Civil law was, therefore, largely decentralized. In addition to the first- and second-degree courts at which subdivision or regional heads /chefs de... —the implication here is of French colonial officials. —Tr./ made decisions based on custom, assisted by African assessors, there were created a great many "customary" courts whose judges were not officials. In the majority of cases, chiefs were thus appointed as presidents of customary courts, with prominent men and secretaries to help them. The number of cases dealt with allows us to believe that the reform has been beneficial. Though the nature of the suits has no bearing on the local government organization, it should, nevertheless, be mentioned for the light it throws on the points of friction that exist between individuals.

In the Cameroons the distribution was as follows: divorces, 38 percent; liberation of widows, 6 percent; adultery, 9 percent; real property rights, 17 percent. These represent the principal disputes; the probable maladjustment of matrimonial institutions provides the main portion.

Next, the establishment of urban and rural municipal councils permits financial decentralization. Towns under the term "urban communes," cantons, and sometimes whole subdivisions under the term "rural communes," received a legal character, with a domain to manage and a budget to fix. Elected councilors under an appointed mayor had to study plans for road works, to set up construction or maintenance programs, inquire into taxes? /taxes/ and assessments /imports/, and have an eye to a sound financial position.

In towns this was nothing new, but its extension to wide rural areas was an experiment. Boulou or Beti country, where there was no risk of these new methods giving offense to a strong traditional /social/ structure, was the ideal place for trying out a new /kind of/ organization.

Throughout the elections arranged to fill the posts of councilor, we can see crystallizing the most striking traits of the new élite, the characteristics of the aristocracy or oligarchy that will get itself into power.

Pessimism had expressed fear that such elections, based on almost universal suffrage, would overthrow the classical social values and impair the prestige of the present acting élite.

This point of view disregarded the fact that in a country practically without stratification, no one can keep authority without the support of public opinion. /132/ Granting the vote to vassals in a feudal society may unsettle the power of the nobility. It is quite otherwise here, where chiefs of village or canton are most commonly chosen by election.

The older men have preserved a privileged position vis-à-vis the younger generation. A comparison of the age pyramid of councilors with that of the adult male population as a whole readily shows this: (table on following page).

The younger generation is poorly represented. Mature men of thirty to forty are represented in proportion to their ratio in the total population; but men of forty to fifty or of the older age group are heavily represented. Electoral influence has not been seized by the younger men.

Neither does it appear that the poorer class, more numerous than the rich, has benefited from the ballot so as to eliminate the latter. From the point of view of the possession of a certain amount of wealth, we can assert that municipal councilors are much better off than the common people.

Distribution by Age

Age Group	Elected Municipal Councilors	Total Adult Male Population (1) (Nyong-and-Sanaga)
	Percent	Percent
20 to 30 years	9	26
30 to 40	33	29
40 to 50	37	28
Over 50	20	15

1. Evaluation made according to censuses established by the subdivisions; the documentation is not faultless but nevertheless is indicative.

The figures given below for the whole population are not definitive, but as they have been taken from a recent complete census they may be considered good approximations.

Distribution of External Signs of Wealth
(for 100 persons)

	Masonry Houses	Bicycles	Automobiles
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Municipal councilors	27	50	11
Adult male population of Ebolowa	1.4	21	0.3

Not for nothing do the Pahouin use the word nkukuma (rich) to designate a chief. The chosen leaders are the rich men. /133/

A study of the matrimonial situation enables us to be more specific about the personal characteristics of elected men. Polygamy is much more common among them than among the population as a whole.

6: Alexandre and Binet--169 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

595
623

Distribution According to Matrimonial Status

	Municipal Councilors	Sample of the Total Population of the Boulou and Beti Area (1)
	Percent	Percent
Polygamous	43	23
Monogamous	43	63
Unmarried	3	14

1. A random sample taken for the study of family budgets, 1954, op. cit.

[111
556]

That councilors are often polygamous is to be explained in terms of their relatively advanced age and their wealth.

623
463

As elderly possessors of wealth and polygamous, do the elected men embody all the traditional ways in contrast to a progressive younger generation? An examination of occupations, of educational level, and of religion reveals that the actual situation is more complex.

Distribution by Occupation

	Municipal Councilors	Adult Male Population of the Nyong and Sanaga Region (2)
	Percent	Percent
Chiefs	30	1.8
Planters	30	85
Office-holders	14	0.5
Trade employees	3	1
Traders	10	7
Craftsmen	5	7
Catechists, mission monitors	2	2.3

2. According to the annual administrative report; approximations are involved, Yaoundé-Ville being excluded.

G3
K3
871

If we set up an index of electoral power based on the percentage in councils and the percentage in the total population, we come to the conclusion that office-holders are very much on top (70). Chiefs come next (17), then trade employees (3), and traders (1.4). Distribution in terms of educational level confirms the influence of educated people /intellectuels/ that could be guessed at from the occupational table. /134/

G3
871

Distribution by Educational Level

	Municipal Councilors	Adult Male Population of Nyong and Sanaga Region
	Percent	Percent
Illiterate	10	75
Literate in local language	9	?
Literate in French	60	17
Holders of the C.E.P. *	10	8 (1)
Holders of higher diplomas	2.4	0.3
Worthless figures **	8	--

1. The regional statistics give "primary completed," not "C.E.P."; the nuance may mean a great deal. A survey of the urban population of Ebolowa gives a lower rate: 6.4 percent of certificate-holders.

/*Certificat d'études primaires, certificate of primary education./

/**Ambiguous: Fiches inutilisables may refer to the quality of the statistics or to the use of meaningless initials after an individual's name. —Tr./

The tremendous influence of holders of higher diplomas is obvious, so that uneducated people are almost eliminated, although they are still numerous.

Thus this new élite crystallizing out of the municipal elections appears to be made up of men who are both traditionalist and modern.

6:Alexandre and Binet--171 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 Fi19 Fang Fi19

The men who compose it, older men, rich, practicing old-fashioned polygamy, have had an academic training. We must not be deceived —in this country there is no real gulf between office-holders and chiefs.

Thus municipal councils can allow an élite class to rise to the surface and assume responsibilities.

2. The Pahouin and the Future

Shaped by their history, the Pahouin owe to it their positive qualities and their defects.

From having been conquerors, or more accurately, from having been successful in establishing themselves in new lands, they have retained a certain pride and self-confidence. Without being violently xenophobic, they preserve toward foreigners a friendly but the least bit contemptuous attitude, such is their feeling of superiority.

They had the good fortune to have been exposed very early to Christianity and to schools, at least in the Cameroons. Because they are intelligent—tests given to school pupils in the Cameroons show that the Boulou come out on top, along with the Bamoun—they have provided the administration and trade with a large part of their personnel and, when they emigrate, they do not join the unskilled labor force but provide specialized personnel, often salaried workers. This indicates the power of the Pahouin.

Finally, thanks to cacao, they have acquired a certain amount of wealth and live in some degree of comfort. This indicates their basic role in the economy. It also indicates their influence upon local finance. In the Cameroons as in Gabon, the Pahouin country is a rich area, whose exports and imports supply a significant portion of the economy. /135/ The Pahouin, therefore, play an essential role in the life of these territories, and they are able to obtain superior services for their region. There are already many roads, schools, and dispensaries.

But their traditional lack of organization impedes them in certain occupations. They despise trade and are only moderately successful in it, because their natural anarchy does not dispose them toward taking advantage of partnership or of market organization. The absence of urban centers is even more of an obstacle: the town is a new phenomenon, where immigrants are numerous and have been able to create stable situations for themselves, since there were no precedents.

6:Alexandre and Binet--172 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 F119 Fang F119

It is true that this absence of former organization among the Pahouin leaves them free to adopt modern forms without difficulty or compunction. For them democracy is not a seed of revolution, as it would be for a feudal society. Democracy goes their way. We may, therefore, hope that this system will make possible among them the rise of new elites.

J. B.

6:Alexandre and Binet--173 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

113 In addition to the works indicated below, the following periodicals,
114 among others, should be referred to:

. . . . . .

Bulletin de la Société d'Études camerounaises, at present the Cameroons section of the I.F.A.N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noir/. (B.S.E.C.)

. . . . . .

And from the local press, among others:

Radio-Presse du Cameroun: has published stories and, in 1949-50, an open debate upon marriage problems.

. . . . . .

For the Cameroons, the Annual Reports to the League of Nations, then to the United Nations, contain a great deal of material, especially on social, political, and economic development; see also the publications of the O.M.S. /?/

Many of the works mentioned contain bibliographies, in part included below; see particularly Trilles (no. 166), Dugast (no. 133), Balandier (no. 175), Baumann and Westermann (no. 5), Leroi-Gourhan and Poirier (no. 25), Encyclopedie de l'Union française (nos. 37 and 38).

The archives of the colonial government, in the /local/ posts as well as in the political offices of /district/ headquarters, constitute a very rich source, partly exploited for Gabon by Balandier, for the Cameroons by Binet, Madame Dugast, and Sister Marie-André of the Sacred Heart. Further, J.P. Nicolas has microfilmed for the I.F.A.N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noir/ certain material preserved at Yaoundé. /138/

5. Baumann, H., and Westermann, D. Les peuples et civilisations de l'Afrique /The Peoples and Civilizations of Africa/. Paris, Payot, 1948. 605 pp., ill.

In Baumann's view the "Fan" are a people of Sudanese origin who came from the Upper Sangha and mingled with the Bantu inhabitants of the invaded region; linguistically Bantu; culturally placed in the group of "North Congo peoples."

6:Alexandre and Binet--174 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

B 114

13. Compiègne, Marquis de. L'Afrique équatoriale. I. Gabonais, Pahouins, Gallois; II. Okenda, Bangouens, Osyéba. Paris, Plon, 1875. 2 vols. of 360 pp., ill.

Monsieur de Compiègne is ironical about "Duchaillu," the particle of whose name induces in him suspicion of his sincerity. He is mistaken.

17. Du Chaillu, P. Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa. London, John Murray, 1861.

Alongside exaggerations which sometimes come near to being jokes, the book contains very exact and very valuable observations of the Fang invasion.

21. Horn, A. Trader Horn., La Côte-d'Ivoire (sic) aux temps héroïques /The Ivory Coast—sic—in the Heroic Period/. Paris, Stock, 1932. 303 pp.

Old Horn was a much more daring liar than Du Chaillu; nevertheless, his memoirs are interesting just because they are those of a "trader." /139/

25. Leroi-Gourhan, A., and Poirier, J. Ethnologie de l'Union française /Ethnology of the French Union/. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1953.

This has the Fang coming from Bahr-el-Ghazal (following Bowditch, Gautier, and Vallois).

30. Richard-Molard, J. "Groupements ethniques et civilisations nègres d'Afrique /Ethnic Groupings and Negro civilizations of Africa/," Cahiers d'Outre-mer, 1952, no. 17.

A brief and very good analysis of the results of the "ayoli regrouping" movement.

41. Cottes, A. La mission Cottes au Sud-Cameroun (1905-1908). Paris, Leroux, 1911. 254 pp., ill.

Anthropological information and photographs. /140/

46. Grebert, F. Au Gabon /In Gabon/. Paris, Société des Missions évangéliques, 1948. (3rd ed.), 237 pp., ill.

This deals primarily with the Fang of the Ogooué; good illustrations.

48. Largeau, V. Encyclopédie pahouine /Pahouin Encyclopedia/. Paris, E. Leroux, 1911. 700 pp.

In spite of the criticisms of Father Trilles, who accuses Largeau of not knowing the Fang language and of having an uninitiated "boy," the Encyclopédie is still a mine of invaluable information, often more accurate than that of Trilles.

113
114

51. Pedrals, D. P. de. "L'origine des Fang /The Origin of the Fang/." Tropiques, 1952, vol. 50, no. 348.

A version of traditional history collected from prominent persons in the southern Cameroons, some of whom were our own informants. Hard to use because of faulty transcription of certain names.

54. Tessmann, G., and Warmuth, E. Die Pangwé, Volkerkundische Monographie eines westafrikanisches Negerstammes /The Pangwe, An Ethnological Monograph on a West African Negro People/. Berlin, Hansa verlag für mod. Literatur, 1913. 2 vols., 275 and 402 pp., ill.

The summa on the group as a whole, including "Pahouinized" neighbors. It would be worth translating, even after a half century.

55. Trezenem, Edouard. "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan du Moyen Ogooué /Ethnographic Notes on the Fang Tribes of the Middle Ogooué/." Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 1936, vol. VI.

One of the best recent works on the Fang of Gabon; unfortunately the transcription of certain words makes them unrecognizable. /141/

68. Good, A. I. Bulu Handbook Supplement. Elat, Halsey Memorial Press, 1934. 131 pp.

The only work to give a glossary of exclamatives, descriptives with ne, which play an important role in the oral literature.

70. Greenberg, J. "Etude sur la classification des langues africaines /A Study of the Classification of African Languages/." B. I. F. A. N. P., vol. XVI, nos. 1-2 (Jan.-April, 1954), pp. 83-142; vol. XVII, nos. 1-2 (Jan.-April, 1955), pp. 59-108. Ill.

There is no specific reference to the Pahouin group, which appears to be included in the Nigero-Congo /language/ family.

71. Guillemin, L. "Le tambour d'appel des Ewondo /The calling drum of the Ewôndo/." B. S. E. C., 1948, nos. 21-22, pp. 69-84.

Indispensable to a study of the nkul; it contains many mindan (indicative) notations, words, and music.

113
114

72. Guthrie, Malcolm. The Classification of Bantu Languages. London, Oxford University Press, 1948.

This classes the Pahouin language in Zone A, Group 60 of Bantu. It ascribes as characteristics the absence of size-gender (inaccurate, for there is Class ô/a for small objects, Class a/me for collectives and for large objects) and the absence of the correlation of gender with idea (inaccurate).

77. Homburger, Lysias. Le langage et les langues /Speech and Language/. Paris, Payot, 1951. 256 pp.

This describes the "leapfrog" advance of the Pahouin. It places their languages in a separate family, close to, but different from, that of the coastal Bantu languages of northern Congo.

78. Homburger, Lysias. Les langues négro-africaines et les peuples qui les parlent /Negro-African Languages and the Peoples Who Speak Them/. Paris, Payot, 1941. 350 pp.

Classes the Pahouin languages in a group intermediate between the Sudanese and Bantu.

79. Lejeune, R.P. /Rev. Father?/. Dictionnaire français-fang précédé de quelques principes grammaticaux sur cette même langue. Paris, Faivre & Teillard, 1892. 347 pp.

Like nearly all such works of the period this follows too closely the grammar and syntax of French and Latin. /142/

81. Martrou, L. Lexique fân-francais. Paris, Procure générale, n.d.

A "Catholic Fang" transcription which cannot be reproduced on the universal keyboard; it does not give tone levels; has about 3,500 words.

84. Stoll, A. La tonétique des langues bantu et semi-bantu du Cameroun /The Tone System of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages of the Southern Cameroons/. Paris, n.d. Memorandum No. IV of the I.F.A.N. Center, Cameroon, 1955. 172 pp., 2 tabls.

In addition to a new theory of tone levels, this has interesting suggestions about the so and melan rites, with an account of the theory of double symmetry, which is supposed to underlie Pahouin cosmogony.

93. Binet, J. Budgets familiaux des planteurs de cacao au Cameroun /Family Budgets among the Cacao Planters of the Cameroons/.

113
114

Paris, C.S.R.S.O.M., "L'Homme d'outre-mer" series, no. 3, 1956. 154 pp., ill.

Research done in the southern Cameroons in 1955-56. This is comparable with the work of Sautter and Balandier in northern Gabon.

98. Grebert, F. Monographie ethnographique des tribus Fang, Bantous de la forêt du Gabon /Ethnographic Monograph on the Fang Tribes, Bantus of the Gabon Forest/. Geneva. Manuscript, 36 pls., 719 drawings.

This unfortunately unpublished work constitutes the best pictorial representation of the Pahouin peoples. One of the six copies can be consulted in France, at the library of the Evangelical Missions. /143/

109. Bearth. "Le nsig-n'to, ancienne coutume Bane /Nsig-n'to, An Old Bane Custom/," Togo-Cameroun, January, 1930, pp. 313-332, ill.

The high judge nsig-nto was perhaps a high-ranking ngil dignitary.

110. Bertaut, M. Le droit coutumier des Boulou /Customary Law of the Bulu/. Paris, Domat-Montchrestient, 1935. 308 pp.

In spite of the title this book deals not only with the Bulu but also with their northern neighbors, including the Ewondo; there is a detailed description of the nsâ ceremony, a good study of juridical customs and also of living habits.

119. Koch, H. "Le petit bétail chez les Badjoué et Bikélé de Messamena /Small livestock among the Badjue and Bikele of Messamena/," Bulletin de la Société d'Études camerounaises.

This gives concrete examples of the progressive "Pahouinization" of the border tribes (here under Bulu influence). /144/

120. Mba, L. "Essai de droit coutumier pahouin /Essay on Pahouin Customary Law/," Bulletin de la Société de Recherches congolaises, 1938, no. 25, 46 pp.

An interesting essay by one of the Fang political leaders in Gabon.

122. Panyella, A., and Sabater, J. "Esquema de la antroponimia Fang de la Guinea española desde el punto de vista etnologico /Outline of Fang Nomenclature (?) in Spanish Guinea from the Ethnological Point of View/," A.I.E.A., 1955, VIII, no. 34.

6;Alexandre and Binet--178 G-5 (1946-1954) 958 FH9 Fang FH9

113
114

The most recent study of the anthroponymy /nomenclature?/ and rules for name giving, interesting observations on the designation of segments and lineages by the name of a female ancestor.

125. Zoll'Owambe, Ch. "Visage africain d'une coutume indienne et mélanésienne /An African Aspect of a (North American) Indian and Melanesian Custom/." Bulletin de la Société d'Études camerounaises, 1947, nos. 19-20, pp. 55-60.

A description of the bilaba potlatch, somewhat marred by confusions in the translation of salient points.

126. X.... "Tenue de palabre /Discussion Session/." B.S.E.C., 1947, nos. 19-20, pp. 141-146.

An extract from the archives of the Ambam subdivision; observations by Ntumu and Mvae men of standing on marriage customs and their evolution.

133. Dugast, I. "Inventaire ethnique du Sud-Cameroun /Ethnic Inventory of the Southern Cameroons/." Mémoires of the I.F.A.N. (Cameroons Center), "Populations" Series, no. 1, 159 pp., ill.

The most recent synthesis of the subject. It is to be regretted that the same work could not have been done for Gabon and Guinea. /145/

147. Allegret, E. "Les idées religieuses des Fang /The Religious Ideas of the Fang/." Revue d'histoire des Religions, vol. 50, 1904, pp. 214-233.

An interesting note on the religious "defeatism" which the Fang seem to have experienced especially after contact with Europeans.

151. Garnier, C., and Fraion, N. Le fétichisme en Afrique noire /Fetishism in Black Africa/. Paris, Payot, 1951.

Some notes on the rites of the Cameroons Pahouin.

152. Guillemin, R.P. Le rite "ésye." B.S.E.C., 1948, nos. 23-24, p. 71.

An excellent description of a purification rite among the northern tribes. Interesting notes on practices of divination.

153. Jemba Medu. Nnanga Kon. Elat, Halsey Memorial Press, n.d.

This novel, which is unfortunately out of print, is a mine of ethnological and linguistic information. Written in rather archaic and learned language, it is quite difficult to read

113
114

nowadays. It is to be hoped that it will be translated by a Bulu of today.

155. Lavignotte, H. L'évuz, croyance des Pahouins du Gabon /The Evuz, A Belief of the Pahouin of Gabon/. Paris, Société des Missions évangéliques, 1936. 118 pp.

A very full commentary on ngbwel sorcery and methods of protection against it. /146/

156. Leroux, L.G. "Etude sur le ngil, confrérie fan /A Study of ngil, a Fang confraternity/." Bulletin de la Société de Recherches congolaises, 1925, no. 6.

The author, although thoroughly understanding the judicial and warlike functions of ngil, is in favor of its suppression in the interests of public order.

158. Martrou, L. "L'âme fang après la mort /The Fang Soul after Death/." Anthropos, VI, 1911.

This bears comparison with the traditions collected by Largeau; Martrou knew the country and the language better, but, like Trilles, his interpretation seems at times to be influenced by his preoccupations as a priest.

159. -----. "Les éki des Fang /Fang éki/." Münster. Anthropos, I, 1906.

A good study of prohibitions, though far from exhausting the subject.

161. Nassau. Fetishism in West Africa. New York, Young Peoples' Missionary Movement, 1904.

Little information relative to the Fang; the author knew primarily the coastal populations.

165. Trilles, H. "Proverbes, légendes et contes fang /Fang Proverbs, Legends, and Tales/." Neufchâtel. Bulletin de la Société neufchâtelloise de géographie, Vol. XVI, 1905. 247 pp.

Phonetic transcriptions and translations "omitting what is smutty" (sic). In spite of the cuts this is the most complete collection.

166. -----. Le totémisme chez les Fân /Totemism among the Fang/. Münster i. W., Bibliothèque Anthropos, 1912, 653 pp.

This is Father Trilles' magnum opus. As in all his works, there are, along with subtle and accurate observations, somewhat risky generalizations and surprising lacunae, which may come from a certain professional slant. In spite of these, Father Trilles remains the great authority on the Fang.

6:Alexandre and Binet--180 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

113 114 171. Aubame, J. Renaissance gabonaise /Renaissance in Gabon/. Brazzaville, 1947.

A program for clan regrouping of Fang villages put forward by the deputy of the second constituency. /147/

175. Balandier, G. Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire, dynamique des changements sociaux en Afrique centrale /The Contemporary Sociology of Black Africa, The Dynamics of Social Change in Central Africa/. Presses Universitaires de France, 1955, 510 pp.

The first part of this work, which is devoted to the Fang of Gabon, contributes a new explanation of the social malaise afflicting the Fang and of the attempts at social reconstruction based on tribal regrouping and syncretist cults. It is the best book on the Fang since Trilles, Largeau, and Tessmann.

180. Celine, L. F. Voyage au bout de la nuit /Journey to Night's End/. Paris, Denoël, 1932.

The same kind of thing as no. 187 and no. 195.

182. Eza Boto. Ville cruelle /Cruel City/. Paris, Editions africaines, n.d., 219 pp.

A good study of the present younger generation, of the attraction of towns and the fear they inspire, and the conflict between generations.

183. Faure, F. Le diable dans la brousse /The Devil in the Bush/. Paris, Société des Missions évangéliques, "Je sers," 1953. 165 pp.

These edifying tales contain a good deal of information about the social and family organization of the Fang of Gabon.

187. Marie-André du Sacré-Coeur, Sister. La condition humaine en Afrique noire /Man's Fate in Black Africa/, Paris, Grasset, 1953. 260 pp., ill.

Notes on marriage in the southern Cameroons, sometimes a bit farfetched. /148/

191. Mongo Beti. Le pauvre Christ de Bomba /The Poor Christ of Bomba/. Paris, R. Laffont, 1956. 370 pp.

A novel concerned with the consequences of Roman Catholic mission activity; often unjust, but indispensable for an understanding of the most recent developments.

113 114 193. Oyono, F. Le vieux nègre et la médaille /The Old Negro and the Medal/. Paris, Julliard, 1957. 209 pp.

Oyono belongs to the tradition of the mvet players, satirical story-tellers, always harsh and often unjust.

195.. Schweitzer, A. A l'orée de la forêt vierge /On the Edge of the Virgin Forest/. Paris, Payot, 1929. 231 pp.

Interesting though rather abbreviated comments on the social disorganization of the Pahouin of the Ogooué and of their reactions to culture contact.

196. X.... Ekomi, histoire d'un petit Pahouin racontée par lui-même aux enfants d'Europe /Ekomi, The Tale of a Little Pahouin boy, Told by Himself to European Children/. Paris, Société des Missions évangéliques, 1921.

Conveys a moral.

6: Alexandre and Binet
101, 131, 563, 619

Fang FH9

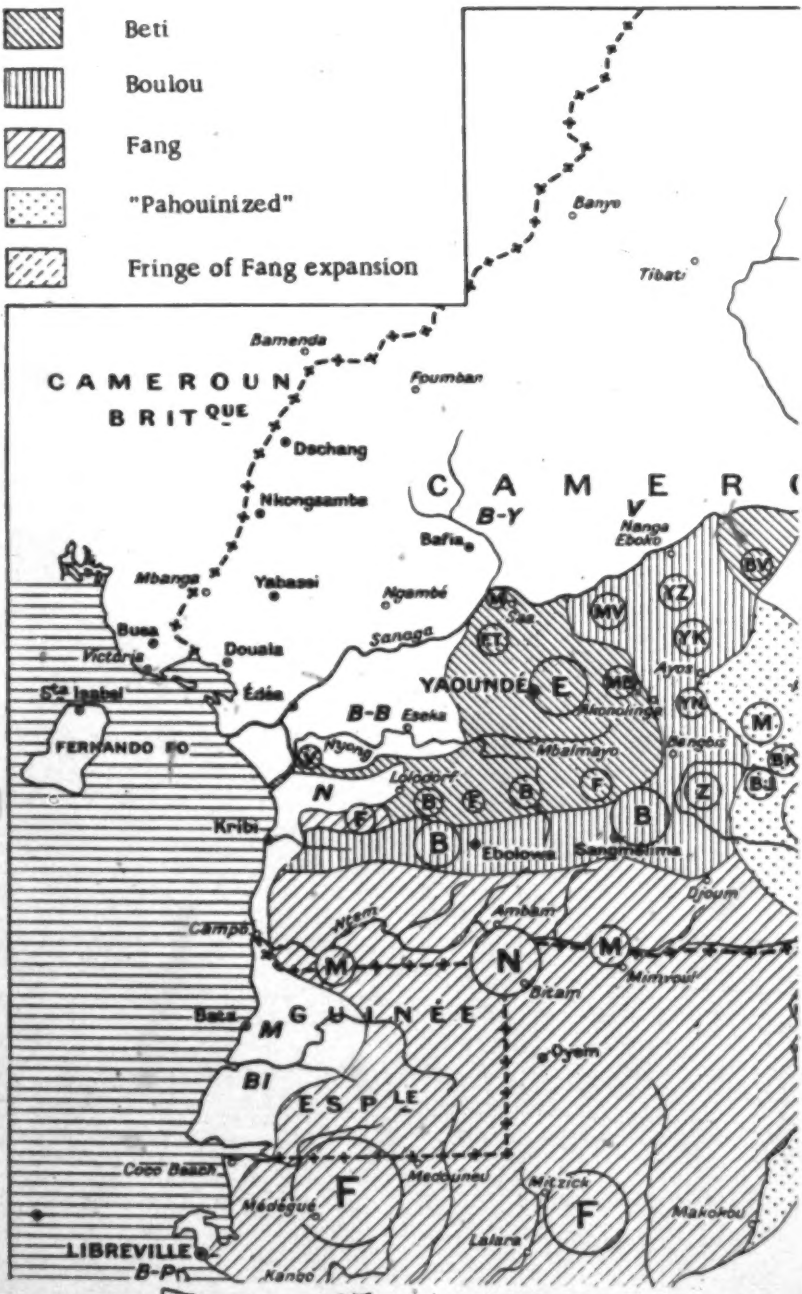
[Chart for sections of end map.]

A	B
C	D

6: Alexandre and Binet-- 182 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

101
131
563
619

The Pahouin Group

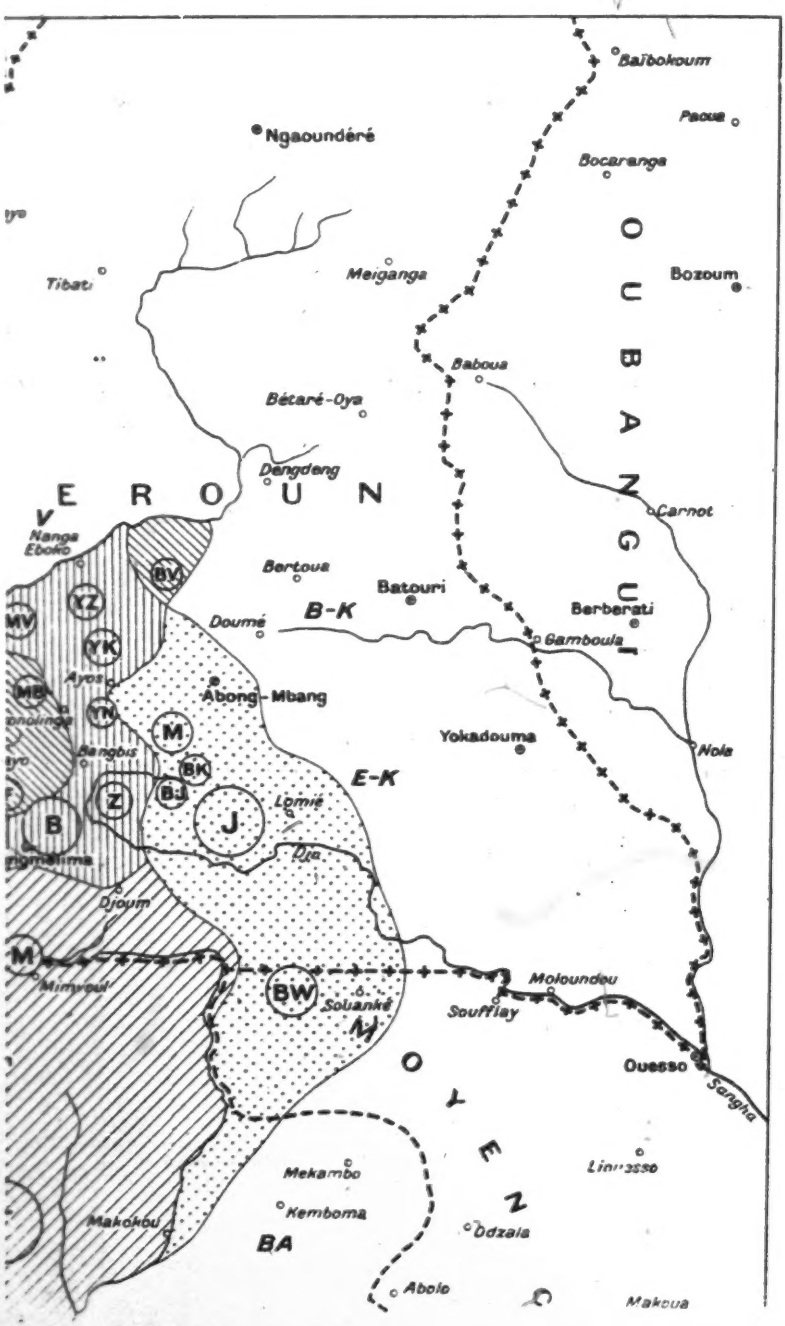


[End Map (A)]

6: Alexandre and Binet-- 183 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

The Pahouin Group

101
131
563
619



[End Map (B)]

6: Alexandre and Binet--184 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

101
131
563
69

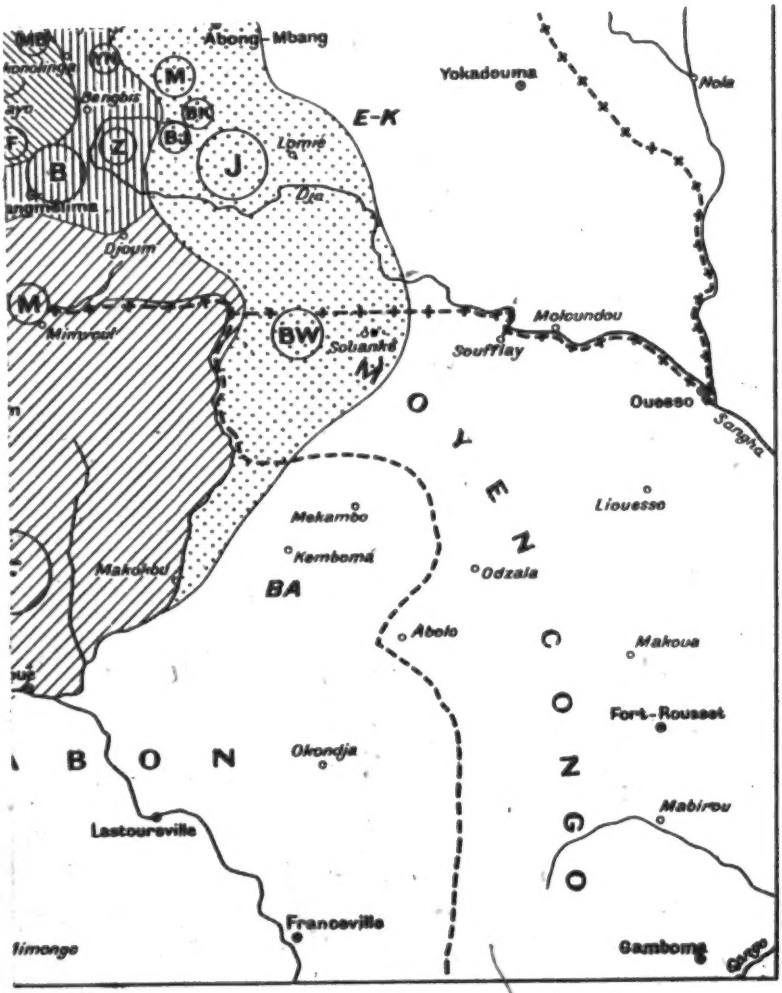
Neighboring Peoples

B-B : Bassa-Bakoko , **B-Y** : Bafia-Yambasa , **V** : Babouté (Vutéré) , **B-K**
M-O : Mitshogo-Okandé ; **BU** : Bapounou , **NK** : Nkomi , **B-P** : Benga-Pongwé

[End Map (C)]

6: Alexandre and Binet--185 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

101
131
563
619



MBIDA-MBANE BANE BAMVELE BOULOU ZAMAN YEBEKOLO

NTOUMOU MEKAE BADJOUE BAKWELE BIKELE DZIMOU-JEM

...outé (Vutéré), B-K : Baya-Kaka, E-K : Essel-Konabembé, BA : Bakota
...B-P : Benga-Pongwé, BI : Balengi, M : Mabéa, BT : Batenga, N : Ngoumba

[Fld Map(D)]

LE GROUPE DIT PAHOUIN

(FANG — BOULOU — BETI)

[p. i]

6: Alexandre and Binet FH9 Fang

L'Institut International Africain
dont le siège est à Londres, a pour adresse :

INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN INSTITUTE
10/11 Fetter Lane, Fleet Street
LONDON E. C. 4

La présente collection est placée sous la direction du Pr Daryll FORDE, directeur de l'*International African Institute*, à qui toutes demandes concernant les publications et les travaux de l'Institut doivent être adressées.

[p. ii]

6: Alexandre and Binet FH9 Fang

MONOGRAPHIES ETHNOLOGIQUES AFRICAINES
publiées sous le patronage de l'
INSTITUT INTERNATIONAL AFRICAIN

LE GROUPE DIT PAHOUIN

(FANG — BOULOU — BETI)

par

Pierre ALEXANDRE et **Jacques BINET**

Secrétaire général du Centre des Hautes Études d'administration musulmane de l'Université de Paris

Attaché à l'Office de la Recherche scientifique et technique Outre-Mer

PRESSES UNIVERSITAIRES DE FRANCE
108, BOULEVARD SAINT-GERMAIN, PARIS

1958

[p. iii]

[p. iv not processed]

AVANT-PROPOS

Depuis 1945, l'Institut International Africain s'occupe de la préparation et de la publication d'une série d'études ethnographiques de l'Afrique, ayant pour but de présenter, sous une forme commode, un résumé des connaissances actuelles sur les divers peuples de l'Afrique, concernant l'environnement naturel, l'économie et les métiers, la structure sociale, l'organisation politique, les croyances et rites religieux. Les documents déjà publiés fournissent la base de ces études, mais nombre de documents inédits provenant de rapports administratifs et des archives de sociétés missionnaires sont utilisés ainsi que des observations faites sur place et des communications spéciales par des ethnologues et autres personnes compétentes. Chacun des volumes de cette collection est consacré à un peuple ou à un groupe de peuples apparentés ; il contient une bibliographie détaillée et une carte géographique.

Le Comité de Direction de cette collection a été placé sous la présidence du Pr Radcliffe-Brown ; le directeur de l'Institut est chargé d'organiser la rédaction. La généreuse collaboration de nombreux instituts de recherche et de fonctionnaires des administrations, en Europe et dans des territoires africains, est assurée, ainsi que les services d'ethnologues expérimentés.

Les travaux ont été instaurés avec l'aide d'une subvention des British Colonial Development and Welfare Funds, sur la recommandation du Social Science Research Council. Cette subvention a été employée principalement, mais non exclusivement, pour le financement d'études se rattachant aux territoires britanniques. Une subvention supplémentaire du Gouvernement du Soudan anglo-égyptien a apporté une aide à la préparation et à la publication des sections intéressant ce territoire.

Le ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer et l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire se sont intéressés à cette étude et grâce à leurs bons offices des subventions ont été octroyées par les Gouvernements de l'Afrique occidentale française et du Cameroun français pour la préparation et la publication des sections se rapportant à ces régions. Ces sections ont été rédigées par des ethnologues français, avec l'appui et les conseils de M. Griaule, professeur à la Sorbonne et du Pr Th. Monod, directeur de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire.

La collaboration des autorités belges pour cette étude a été obtenue grâce aux bons offices de feu le Pr De Jonghe, qui s'assura l'intérêt de la Commission d'Ethnologie de l'Institut Royal colonial belge. La collaboration de l'Institut pour la Recherche scientifique en Afrique centrale a été aussi accordée. Le travail concernant les territoires belges est effec-

6: Alexandre and Binet FH9 Fang

tué sous la direction du Pr Olbrechts, au Centre de Documentation du Musée du Congo belge, à Tervueren, où Mlle Boone, et les membres de son service, s'emploient au rassemblement et au classement d'une documentation considérable concernant les peuples du Congo belge et du Ruanda-Urundi. Ils travaillent en collaboration étroite avec les ethnologues qui sont sur place, auxquels les projets de communications sont soumis pour vérification.

L'Institut International Africain désire exprimer toute sa reconnaissance aux organisations officielles, dont l'aide financière a permis l'exécution de cette étude, et aux nombreux savants, directeurs d'organisations de recherche, fonctionnaires des administrations, missionnaires et autres, qui ont collaboré à ces travaux, et qui, en accordant des facilités à nos chercheurs, en lisant leurs manuscrits, partagent le mérite qui pourrait être attribué aux auteurs des diverses sections.

Étant donné que la valeur inégale des documents existants, et que la diversité des méthodes employées dans leur recueil ont été parmi les raisons pour lesquelles cette étude a été entreprise, il est évident que ces exposés ne peuvent être considérés comme complets et définitifs. On a l'espoir, cependant, qu'ils donneront une description assez claire de l'état actuel de nos connaissances, qu'ils indiqueront leurs lacunes et les points où des recherches complémentaires sont nécessaires.

[p. vi]

Pierre Alexandre a visité à plusieurs reprises le Gabon et la Guinée Espagnole alors qu'il exerçait des fonctions administratives au Sud-Cameroun de 1946 à 1951. Il est, depuis 1955, détaché à l'Université de Paris comme secrétaire général du Centre de Hautes Études d'Administration musulmane (C.H.E.A.M.).

Jacques Binet, après avoir, lui aussi, assumé des responsabilités administratives au Cameroun, est, depuis 1954, attaché à l'Office de la Recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer (O.R.S.T.O.M.). Il a, sous l'égide du Conseil supérieur de la Recherche sociologique outre-mer, accompli plusieurs missions en pays pahouin, au cours desquelles il a effectué des enquêtes de sociologie juridique et économique.

Les auteurs tiennent à exprimer ici leur reconnaissance aux autorités de l'Afrique Équatoriale Française, dont le bienveillant appui a permis la publication de ce livre.

[p. vii]

TRANSCRIPTION PHONÉTIQUE

Presque tous les mots africains reproduits dans le texte sont des mots bulu transcrits selon l'orthographe dite protestante (Bates et Good), la seule permettant l'emploi d'une machine à écrire à clavier ordinaire. Les valeurs des lettres sont à peu près les suivantes, par rapport au français ou à l'anglais :

a = intermédiaire entre *a (mat)* et *á (mâle)*.
e = 1° Précédant *n* final : comme l'anglais *ten*, *men* (ɛ) ;
2° Précédant *k* ou *ñ* final : comme l'anglais *sung* ou *buck* (ʌ) ;
3° Partout ailleurs *eu* bref comme *veuf* (ə).
o = comme dans *port*, *mort* (ɔ).
ó = comme *pôle*, *mâle*, mais plus près de *ou*.
u = *ou*.
i, *é* = à peu près comme en français.

Les voyelles longues sont doublées (*aa*, *uu*, etc.). Un *l* final muet allonge la voyelle qui le précède.

w, *y* = *ou* et *i* consonnes *(water, yole)*.
b, *d*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *t*, *v*, *z* = comme en français ; le *l* final ne se prononce que dans les liaisons.
g = toujours comme *gâteau*, *go*.
s = toujours comme *son*, *sabot*.
j = comme *John* (dʒ).
f = légèrement plosif, un peu comme *apfel* (le *p* initial des mots européens se transforme souvent en *f* : *police* = *fulis*).
ñ = comme le *ng* du participe anglais *singing* (ŋ) ; le tilde est remplacé par un accent circonflexe en dactylographie *(â)*. L'usage moderne est d'omettre le tilde ou accent devant un *k* ou un *g* : *nkol*, *ngóé*.
ty = intermédiaire entre *tchèque (tʃek)* et *tiers (tier)*.
h = fortement aspiré comme *horse*, *have* (rare).
' = 1° Indique l'élision d'une voyelle par attraction : *m'ake* = *me ake*.
2° Indique l'élision du *k* entre deux voyelles ; se prononce alors comme une attaque vocalique (ʔ) ou un esprit rude (ʼ).

Il existe deux plosives particulières *kpw* et *gbw*, différant des plosives labio-vélaires *kp* et *gb* par l'addition d'un *ou* consonne.

Il n'y a pas de *r* en bulu. L'*r* des mots européens est remplacé par un *l* vélaire que je note *ł* ; l'*r* fañ est remplacé par un *t (biéri = biéti)*, parfois un *k* ou x *(Mebere = Mebe'e)*.

Les fricatives vélaires x (allemand, écossais : *och*) et γ (arabe maugrébin ج) existent en fañ et sont toutes deux transcrites par *gh*, étant interchangeables suivant les dialectes (on a ainsi une série **mebexe-mebeγe-mebe'e**).

Le *k* emphatique (ق) existe dans certains dialectes fañ généralement transcrit *kh*.

Les tons ne sont pas notés, excepté le glissando du négatif qu'on souligne ou met en italique :

m'ayem = je sais.
m'ayem = je ne sais pas.

CHAPITRE PREMIER

SITUATION GÉOGRAPHIQUE ET CLIMATIQUE

Le pays pahouin couvre environ 180 000 km², de la Moyenne-Sanaga (4° 30′ N) à l'embouchure de l'Ogooué (1° 20′ S) en latitude, de l'Atlantique (9° 30′ E) à la Moyenne-Sangha (14° E) en longitude. Ses habitants ressortissent politiquement au Cameroun, à la Guinée espagnole et à l'A.E.F. (Gabon et Moyen-Congo).

Ce pays se présente essentiellement comme un plateau de roches cristallines au Nord, métamorphiques au Sud, avec des dômes d'intrusion assez effacés, séparé de la mer par une chaîne usée dépassant rarement 1 000 m, coupée par les gorges des fleuves côtiers. L'altitude moyenne varie entre 500 et 700 m, jusqu'à la coupure profonde de la vallée du Bas-Ogooué.

La ligne de partage des eaux entre les bassins du Congo et des fleuves côtiers s'infléchit vers le Sud-Est à partir du massif de Nkolomendim (la montagne-des-eaux) dans la subdivision de Sangmélima. Le principal tributaire du Congo (par la Sangha) est le Dja (Ngoko). Les principaux fleuves côtiers sont la Sanaga et le Nyong, le Ntem (Campo), le Muni et l'Ogooué.

Le climat est de type équatorial humide modifié par l'altitude et caractérisé par une double alternance de saison sèche et de saison de pluies. La mesure du temps chez les Pahouins est le *mbu*, d'environ six lunaisons *(ngon)*, l'année solaire se répartissant comme suit (1) :

— mi-juin - mi-décembre : *ôyôn* (petite saison sèche) et *su'u* (grande saison de pluies) ;

— mi-décembre - mi-juin : *ésep* (grande saison sèche) où l'on distingue parfois *bikone* (petites pluies).

Les températures et pluviosités moyennes sont indiquées au tableau de la page 2.

L'humidité favorise sur presque toute la zone considérée une végétation forestière puissante : sur le plateau forêt primaire *(afan)*, en recul devant la forêt secondaire à essences tendres et sous-bois dense *(ékôlôk)* (2) ; dans la vallée de l'Ogooué, forêt inondée à poto-poto

(1) Dates valables approximativement pour la frontière Cameroun-Gabon ; terminologie bulu. En fan : *oyum*, *sugha* ou *sughâ*.

(2) Pour moi, *ékuotola* ou *ékotok* désigne bien la forêt secondaire, mais dans sa variété taillis, et si j'ai bien compris, *ékotok* caractérise une jachère, terre qui a été cultivée et qui est encore plus ou moins appropriée.

La forêt secondaire se dirait *afan* — où la nuance de forêt *défrichée* est perdue. La forêt primaire se dirait *mfur afan* (J. B.).

TEMPÉRATURES ET PLUVIOSITÉS MOYENNES

Stations (1)	Coordonnées (2)		I		II		III		IV		V		VI		VII	
	Latitude	Longitude	T (3)	P (3)	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P
Yaoundé ..	3° 52′ N	11° 32′ E	24,1	35	24,5	44	24,4	122	24,1	173	23,8	182	23,1	129	22,3	37
Ebolowa ...	2° 54′ N	11° 10′ E	24,5	50	24,5	63	24,7	154	24,8	200	24,4	212	24,1	149	23,1	47
Oyem	1° 45′ N	11° 41′ E		75		94		189		202		210		129		41
Ndjolé	0° 11′ S	10° 45′ E		81		138		225		194		215		46		3
Lambaréné.	0° 42′ S	10° 13′ E	26,6	136	26,7	197	27,1	268	27,5	193	26,6	180	24,6	16	23,3	2
Libreville ..	0° 25′ S	09° 27′ E	27,0	206	27,3	291	27,4	264	27,3	395	27,0	244	25,8	40	24,7	1

Stations (1)	VIII		IX		X		XI		XII		Pluviosité totale annuelle (4)	Températures extrêmes (5)			
												Maxima		Minima	
	T (3)	P (3)	T	P	T	P	T	P	T	P		Mois	Degrés	Mois	Degrés
Yaoundé	22,4	97	22,8	206	23,0	283	23,5	119	23,8	11	1 138	Févr.	29,6	Août	18,6
Ebolowa	23,0	70	23,5	186	23,6	272	24,1	175	24,4	61	1 639	Avril	30,9	Oct.	18,2
Oyem		76		194		338		194		101	1 843				
Ndjolé		6		63		334		271		133	1 709				
Lambaréné	23,7	5	25,2	75	25,9	363	26,0	404	26,2	142	1 981	Avril	32,2	Juill.	19,7
Libreville	25,2	11	25,9	106	26,4	359	26,5	416	26,9	260	2 593	Mars	31,4	Juill.	21,6

(1) Nom des stations.
(2) Coordonnées géographiques des stations.
(3) T : Températures moyennes mensuelles en degrés (moyenne générale des dix dernières années). — P : Pluviosités moyennes mensuelles en millimètres (moyenne générale des 10 dernières années).
(4) Pluviosité totale annuelle en millimètres (1946-1955).
(5) Températures extrêmes : maxima et minima dans l'année (moyenne des 10 dernières années, mois et degrés) (Oyem et Ndjolé n'ont que des postes pluviométriques).

et mangrove dans l'estuaire. Ce n'est qu'au Nord de Yaoundé, en pays beti, qu'on trouve la savane-parc avec galeries forestières le long des affluents de la Sanaga. Les terres noires à humus épais *(évindisi)* se trouvent dans les fonds de vallée, la terre rouge en voie de latéritisation rapide *(évelesi)* prédominant, surtout au Nord.

Minerai de fer latéritique à teneur moyenne assez fréquent ; rutile ; un peu d'or en placers ; peut-être un peu de cuivre.

La faune sauvage reste assez abondante dans les régions les moins peuplées, et très variée : anthropoïdes (Gorille, Chimpanzé, et peut-être une troisième espèce, *ébôl*, non décrite par les auteurs français, mais cataloguée par Du Chaillu et certains zoologistes allemands) ; Éléphant ; Hippopotame (en voie de disparition), Lamantin (presque éteint) ; Buffle ; nombreuses antilopes, parmi lesquelles le grand Céphalophe *(sô)* joue un rôle important dans la vie sociale et religieuse ; Anomalures ; Oryctérope ; Pangolins ; Potamochère et Hylochère ; Daman dans le Sud ; Panthères, Chats-tigres, Genette, Loutre et parpassa ; serpents variés, parmi lesquels Python, *Dendraspis*, *Bitis gabonica* et naja ; rapaces diurnes et nocturnes nombreux ; touraco, toucan, calao, francolin, Perroquet gris ; hélix géant et bivalves d'eau douce ; Crabes et Crevettes d'eau douce ; Silures abondants ; Crocodiles ; insectes variés dont le Goliath, etc.

Parasites et insectes vecteurs abondants : Amibe dysentérique, Ankylostome, Microfilaire, *Plasmodia*, Trypanosome (surtout dans l'Est), Puce-chique ; Tiques et Sangsues forestières assez rares.

[p.4]

CHAPITRE II

SITUATION ETHNIQUE ET HISTORIQUE

1) Nomenclature

Le terme de « pahouin » est certainement impropre, mais il est commode. Il n'existe en effet aucune désignation africaine s'appliquant à l'ensemble du groupe de populations étudié ici. Certains auteurs (Martrou, Trilles...) préfèrent parler de groupe Fang ou Fan, terme qui a l'inconvénient de créer une confusion avec les tribus Fang proprement dites, qui ne constituent qu'une fraction de ce groupe. C'est pourquoi, avec Largeau, Tessmann, Mme Dugast et d'autres, je préfère parler des Pahouins.

Il est à noter que ce terme, longtemps pris en mauvaise part par les Africains, tend à être adopté par eux depuis quelques années, à l'occasion du mouvement de regroupement politique des tribus, justement parce qu'il ne donne la prééminence à aucune d'entre elles. C'est ainsi que le Congrès de Mitzic de 1947, réunissant des Fang, des Boulou, des Ntoumou, des Mvaé et des Fong, prit le nom de Congrès Pahouin, Ntoumou, Boulou, Mvaé et Fong se refusant à être englobés dans l'appellation « fang ».

L'origine même du mot « pahouin » est contestée. L'hypothèse la plus plausible à cet égard est celle du R. P. Trilles qui le fait dériver de *m-fañ* (radical *fañ* + classificateur singulier *m/be*) par l'intermédiaire du Pongoué, qui mute le F en P et répugne à terminer un mot par une consonne. On aurait ainsi **Mpa'ngwen*, dont les Européens auraient fait *mpawen*, puis pahouin.

Sur le terme de « Fang » même, il convient de remarquer que la forme régulière *m-fañ* (classe I ou personnelle, *m/be*) n'est pratiquement pas employée par les Pahouins eux-mêmes qui préfèrent leur construction habituelle des ethniques, c'est-à-dire le radical précédé de *mon* (fils, enfant). On dira ainsi *mone fañ*, *bo' be fañ*, comme *mon ɛwɔndɔ́*, *mone bulu* (1), etc. La signification du mot est obscure. Il ne signifie *pas* « homme » *(vir)*, qui se dit *fam*, erreur relevée à bon droit par le

(1) J'emploie le plus souvent l'orthographe bulu courante, sauf pour les mots possédant une orthographe administrative d'usage universel, tels les noms de lieu (Ebolowa, Ambam et non *ɛbɔlɔwa'o*, *mbam*), et certains noms de tribus francisés (les Boulou, les Ntoumou, mais le bulu, le ntum ; les Fang, mais le groupe Faŋ).

Il faut noter, en passant, que *bulu* et *ɛwɔndɔ* sont des pluriels dont le singulier (**mulu*, **ɛwɔndɔ*) n'est pas employé.

P. Trilles, qui le rattache cependant à une racine FA, connotant l'idée de virilité, de violence (*fa* = coupe-coupe, *fañe* = faire exprès, à dessein, etc.).

2) Groupes divers et répartition territoriale

Il n'est pas aisé de délimiter exactement le groupe pahouin. Les listes données par les divers auteurs comprennent jusqu'à une dizaine de tribus — des milliers d'individus — en plus ou en moins : à la fin du XIXe siècle la pénétration en ordre dispersé a empêché de constater certaines parentés, plus tard au contraire la pahouinisation de tribus voisines, subjuguées ou simplement influencées, a entraîné des assimilations souvent inexactes.

On peut dire, en gros, qu'une masse importante d'envahisseurs, venus du Nord-Est assez récemment — les Pahouins proprement dits — a assimilé par contact d'une part certains des habitants de la zone envahie, d'autre part d'autres envahisseurs qui marchaient dans son sillage. Ce qui est certain, c'est que cette assimilation ou pahouinisation de tribus étrangères se poursuit de nos jours, en partie sous l'influence du fait colonial.

Nous distinguerons dans cette étude d'une part les envahisseurs — Fang, Boulou, Beti —, d'autre part les populations voisines pahouinisées ou en cours de pahouinisation.

A) *Les envahisseurs ou Pahouins proprement dits*

Les théories concernant leur délimitation sont multiples et contradictoires, trop pour que je les développe toutes ici.

Pour le P. Trilles, ils se divisent en deux branches : b-Osyéba à l'Est, Fang à l'Ouest. Aux premiers se rattacheraient les Mekuk, aux seconds les Méké, Betsi, « Mvègne » (les Mvaé ?) et « Boulé » (Boulou). Largeau, comme Schnee, fonde sur des considérations linguistiques sa répartition entre Bedzi (betschi) et Mekei (makei) ; les premiers, à l'Ouest, commenceraient leurs discours par la formule *ma zô na*, les seconds, à l'Est, par *me ki na*. Il semble s'agir ici d'une confusion partielle entre les Pahouins proprement dits et les Maka (mekaé) pahouinisés (1). Mme Dugast fait très justement remarquer que la question se complique à vue d'œil du fait des influences réciproques. Je propose donc, sous toutes réserves, une classification empirique, fondée à la fois sur la position géographique des diverses tribus, les différences dialectales et les éléments conciliables des traditions et généalogies.

On parvient ainsi à distinguer :

— au Sud : un groupe Fañ, au sens un peu étendu ;
— au Nord : un groupe Beti, peut-être plus pahouinisé que pahouin ;
— entre les deux un groupe Bulu.

(1) Il existe bien, en effet, deux dialectes fañ répondant au critère *zô /ki* (ou *jô /ki*), mais les gens qui les parlent se disent tous Fang. Par ailleurs, il y a une tribu Maka ou Mekaé, dont la langue se rapproche du fañ de l'est, qu'elle a peut-être influencé.

a) Le groupe Fañ du Sud comprendrait :

— les *Fang* proprement dits, de la vallée de l'Ogooué au Sud-Cameroun ;
— les *Ntoumou* (ou Ntum), dans le Nord-Gabon (Woleu-Ntem), en Guinée espagnole et au Sud-Cameroun (subdivision d'Ambam) ;
— les *Mvaé*, scindés en deux blocs, à l'Est et à l'Ouest des Ntoumou ;
— peut-être les *Osyéba* de l'Ogooué-Ivindo, de nos jours fondus avec les Fang de l'Est.

b) Le groupe Bulu comprendrait :

— les *Boulou* des régions de Sangmélima, Kribi et Ebolowa (Cameroun) ;
— sans doute les *Zaman* de la vallée du Dja ;
— assez probablement les *Yengono*, *Yembama* et *Yelinda* de la vallée du Nyong, et les *Okak* de Guinée espagnole ;
— peut-être les *Yesum*, *Yebekanga*, *Yekebolo* et *Mvélé* (1).

c) Le cas des Beti est plus obscur. Ils sont peut-être d'une autre origine que les Pahouins proprement dits, qu'ils auraient suivis dans leur migration vers le Sud-Ouest. On constate dans certaines tribus une identité culturelle et linguistique frappante avec les Fang, dont ils sont cependant séparés géographiquement par les Boulou. Cette identité disparaît progressivement à mesure qu'on remonte vers le Nord. Il pourrait donc s'agir là d'un groupement en quelque sorte intermédiaire entre les Bantu du Centre-Cameroun et les Pahouins.

Quoi qu'il en soit, certaines tribus ne peuvent être étudiées qu'avec les Pahouins proprement dits :

— les *Ewôndo*, de la région de Nyong-et-Sanaga ;
— les *Bané*, de Nyong-et-Sanaga, Ntem et Dja-et-Lobo ;
— les *Fong*, de Dja-et-Lobo et Ntem (ces derniers d'ailleurs influencés par les Boulou) ;
— les *Mbida-Mbané* et *Mvog-Ngenge*, à l'Est de Yaoundé, qui descendraient de captifs de guerre des précédents.

Les *Elon*, de Saa et Obala, peuvent encore, mais déjà plus difficilement, être assimilés aux Ewôndo, par exemple. Par contre, les autres tribus beti doivent être plutôt rangées parmi les Pahouinisés étudiés ci-dessous.

B) *Les tribus assimilées ou pahouinisées*

Il faut distinguer parmi elles celles qui se trouvaient dans le pays à l'arrivée des Pahouins et celles qui les ont suivis.

a) *Tribus ayant suivi l'invasion pahouine.* — Ce sont essentiellement, comme indiqué ci-dessus, les Beti. D'après Nekes, certaines des tribus précédemment mentionnées parlaient encore un dialecte *ati* au moment de la conquête allemande. Actuellement on peut citer comme étant en voie de « pahouinisation » (dialecte éwôndo) :

Les *Mangisa*, *Yekaba*, *Bamvele*, *Evuzok*, *Balchanga* (Tsinga),

(1) Ceux-ci, en dépit de la similitude de nom, sont à distinguer des Bamvele ou Bele, à rattacher aux Beti.

Omvang, et *Yeludi* de la Sanaga. Par contre, les Beti de la rive droite (*Bati*, *Kombe*, *Bundju*, etc.), d'ailleurs peu nombreux subissent plutôt l'attraction des Babouté, Bafia, etc.

b) *Tribus aborigènes ou installées avant l'invasion pahouine.* — Il y a lieu de mettre à part les groupements pygmées (*bibaya*, *babinga*, *beye'ele*) et métis (*bekoé*) vivant en symbiose avec les Pahouins sans pour autant être vraiment assimilés.

L'invasion pahouine semble avoir trouvé le pays occupé par deux groupes bantu venus de l'Est quelques siècles auparavant, qu'elle a refoulés soit vers la mer, soit vers l'actuelle frontière orientale du Cameroun.

Le premier de ces groupes serait celui des *Maka* et *Ngoumba*, coupé en deux par l'invasion, Maka à l'Est, Ngoumba et Mabéa à l'Ouest. Les Maka (plus exactement Mekaé) ont été très largement assimilés par les envahisseurs, au point d'avoir été confondus avec eux par plusieurs auteurs.

Le second serait celui des *Kozimé-Njem* (ou Jem), *Dzimou*, *Bajoué*, d'origine très voisine et également assimilé au point d'avoir été confondu avec le groupe pahouin proprement dit.

3) Populations voisines

Comme je l'ai déjà indiqué à propos des pahouinisés, les Pahouins baignent littéralement dans une masse bantu.

Leurs voisins du Nord, sur la rive droite de la Sanaga sont ceux que Mme Dugast appelle les Bantu du Centre-Cameroun. Il s'agit d'un groupe extrêmement hétérogène, comprenant à la fois des tribus qui se disent aborigènes et d'autres immigrées, avec un enchevêtrement linguistique, anthropologique et culturel qui empêche en fait toute classification précise. Les deux principales tribus de ce groupe jouxtant les Beti-Pahouins sont les *Bafia* et *Yambasa*.

Immédiatement à l'Est des précédents, toujours dans la vallée de la Sanaga, se trouvent les *Wuléré* (sing. : *Wulé*), administrativement connus sous leur désignation bantu de « Babouté ». Ce sont des Soudanais et il semble bien que ce soit sous leur pression directe que les Pahouins ont franchi la Sanaga.

A l'Ouest des Yambasa-Bafia, la vallée de la Sanaga est occupée par le groupe *Basa-Bakoko*, sur les deux rives. Ces tribus sont difficiles à classer. Il s'agit certainement de Bantu. Certains auteurs les groupent sous le nom de *Baso*. D'autres rattachent les Basa aux Bantu du Centre-Cameroun et les Bakoko aux Beti, voire aux Pahouins, avec lesquels ils présentent effectivement quelques ressemblances culturelles.

Le long de la côte se trouvent des groupes bantu : sur la chaîne côtière, les *Ngumba* et *Mabéa*, apparentés aux Mekaé, dont j'ai parlé plus haut ; dans la plaine côtière, le groupe Duala, avec les *Duala (Dawala)* proprement dits, les *Balenga* et les *Kumbé*. En Guinée Espagnole, les *Balengi* seraient apparentés soit aux Mabéa, soit aux

Duala. Au Gabon, les Pongoué *(Mpongwé)* sont un groupe résiduel Bantu-Myéné, entièrement isolé au milieu des Fang.

A l'Est des Pahouins du Cameroun, sur la rive gauche du Dja, les *Mekaé*, *Badjué*, *Dzimu* et *Jem* sont, je le rappelle, pahouinisés au point de se voir confondus avec les Pahouins du Moyen-Congo. Cette assimilation progresse encore actuellement parmi les autres tribus du groupe Kozimé et spécifiquement parmi les *Konabembé*, *Esel* (1) et *Medzimé*. Toutes ces tribus, venues du Nord-Est (Mekaé) ou du Sud-Est (Kozimé), de langue bantu, ont eu un habitat beaucoup plus étendu vers l'Ouest et le Nord, d'où elles ont été refoulées vers le Sud par les *Baya* et *Kaka*, vers l'Est par les Pahouins.

Les *Bakwélé* du Moyen-Congo semblent aussi pouvoir être rattachés aux Kozimé et, comme eux, être considérés comme pahouinisés. Ils ont été refoulés sur la rive gauche de l'Ivindo à une date assez récente, comme leurs voisins du Sud, les *Bakola* et les *Okandé*. Les *Séké* et *Akélé* du Bas-Ogooué leur seraient apparentés.

Enfin les *Pongwé*, déjà cités, les *Ouroungou*, *Bapounou*, *Galoa* et *Nkomi* du Bas-Ogooué appartiendraient à un groupe intermédiaire entre les Bantu du Nord-Ouest (Duala et groupe côtier) et le groupe Vili-Kongo du Sud (Baumann), le groupe *Myéné*. Ces tribus ont occupé naguère la majeure partie du domaine des Fang proprement dits, d'où ils ont été refoulés depuis environ un siècle par l'invasion pahouine, qui n'a atteint la mer que vers 1890-1900. Les *Benga* (bantu côtiers) et Pongwé de Libreville, isolés au milieu des Fang, les Ouroungou, Séké, Asembé, Galoa et Bapounou de Port-Gentil et Lambaréné sont les derniers peuples non pahouins subsistant sur la rive droite de l'Ogooué. Les Fang ont d'ailleurs une solide tête de pont sur la rive gauche dans le district de Ndjolé.

Rappelons la présence, dans tout le pays pahouin, de groupements pygmées dont nous étudierons le statut plus loin.

4) Aperçu démographique

Aux causes habituelles de l'imprécision des renseignements démographiques communes à tous les territoires africains (absence ou insuffisance d'état civil, faible infrastructure administrative et surtout médicale) s'ajoute en ce qui concerne le groupe Pahouin son appartenance politique à quatre territoires dont un non français.

Nous disposons, pour le Sud-Cameroun, de bons recensements et de documents médicaux périodiques bien faits et régulièrement tenus à jour, en raison de l'obligation de fournir périodiquement des renseignements à la S.D.N., puis à l'O.N.U. Les chefs des équipes mobiles du S.H.M.P., particulièrement étoffé depuis les campagnes du Dr Jamot, recueillent à chaque tournée des renseignements anthropologiques

(1) Les Esel appellent deux observations. En premier lieu, ils parleraient une langue très proche du duala. En second lieu, ils portent le même nom qu'un des principaux clans pahouins.

aussi satisfaisants que le permettent la multiplicité de leurs tâches et l'évolution intellectuelle et sociale des zones prospectées. Les effectifs relativement fournis de l'administration territoriale ont permis à beaucoup d'administrateurs, surtout avant et pendant la dernière guerre, de faire des études personnelles souvent détaillées, telles celles d'E. André sur l'évolution démographique des Ntoumou d'Ambam.

La situation est moins satisfaisante en A.E.F. Tout d'abord, l'administration de la Fédération n'a jamais été tenue comme celle du Cameroun à l'établissement de rapports périodiques destinés aux organisations internationales. Ensuite et surtout, ses faibles moyens budgétaires l'ont souvent contrainte à confier les commandements territoriaux, dont le siège et l'assiette ont été maintes fois modifiés, à des sous-officiers ou à des fonctionnaires subalternes ne possédant pas la formation nécessaire pour se livrer valablement à de telles études, gênés qu'ils étaient au surplus par l'étendue même de circonscriptions faiblement peuplées. On n'a longtemps disposé pour le Gabon et le Moyen-Congo que d'estimations très approximatives, péchant le plus souvent par un optimisme de commande, motivé par des considérations qui n'avaient rien de scientifique. La situation s'est considérablement améliorée depuis 1946, mais la fantaisie ou l'insuffisance des données antérieures risque de fausser considérablement les conclusions (1).

Pour la Guinée Espagnole, enfin, les sources sont peu accessibles et de valeur très inégale. Les meilleures seraient les comptes rendus de l'Expédition scientifique de 1948, organisée par la Direction générale du Maroc et des Colonies, dont la Commission d'Anthropologie a, paraît-il, étudié l'évolution démographique en liaison avec le Service de Santé de la colonie : je n'ai pu me les procurer. Les recensements fiscaux effectués par les officiers de la Garde civile commandant les Demarcaciones paraissent considérés comme des secrets d'État, ceux des missions catholiques semblent sujets à caution. Si l'on accepte le chiffre total de la population donné par les statistiques officielles, soit 172 000 âmes, il faudrait estimer le nombre de « pamue » (version espagnole de *mpangwé*) à environ 50 % de ce total. Les évaluations faites pendant la dernière guerre par les administrateurs et officiers frontaliers du Gabon et du Cameroun sont très sensiblement inférieures, donnant un total d'environ 130 000 habitants, dont cinquante à soixante mille Pahouins. De même, les rapports médicaux espagnols paraissent empreints d'un optimisme peut-être excessif, attribuant, notamment à des causes biologiques un accroissement de la population tenant surtout à l'immigration.

Enfin, les désaccords portant sur la composition même du groupe pahouin font largement varier les chiffres, qu'il s'agisse des estimations

(1) Cf. Sautter, L'utilisation des documents administratifs pour l'étude de la population du Moyen-Congo et du Gabon, *B.I.E.C.* 1954, nos 7-8 ; Zieglé, *Afrique équatoriale française*, Berger-Levrault, Paris, 1952, p. x ; Christol, Un essai de fichier démographique au Cameroun, *Bulletin mensuel de statistique d'O.M.*, 1951, n° 20.

SITUATION DÉMOGRAPHIQUE

Territoire		Tribu	Habitat	Nombre	Densité	Renseignements démographiques
	(Beti)	Ewôndo	Région de Nyong-et-Sanaga (S.).	95 000	20,1	I. D. : + 0,2 %. Mortalité infantile : 30 %. C. G. : 3,04.
		Bané	S. Nyong-et-Sanaga. N. Ntem et Dja-et-Lobo.	80 000	21,5	I. D. : + 0,2 %. C. G. : 4,7.
		Fang	N. Ntem-Dja-et-Lobo.	13 000	6,9	I. D. : + 0,77 %. S. : 26,6 %. C. G. : 5,2.
		Eton	N. Nyong-et-Sanaga.	112 000	44,3	Pas de renseignements précis récents. I. D. : > + 1 %. Population en voie d'accroissement.
		Mbéda Mbané	S.-E. Nyong-et-Sanaga.	20 000	12,8	I. D. : + 0,08 %. S. : 7 %. C. G. : 3,20.
		Mvog Nyengé	S.-E. Nyong-et-Sanaga.	7 000	18,8	I. D. : + 0,30 %. S. : 9 %. M. N. : 26,9 %. C. G. : 4,23.
		Mangisa	N. Nyong-et-Sanaga.	15 000	46,2	Pas de renseignements précis récents. I. D. : positif.
		Yebaba	N. Nyong-et-Sanaga.	14 000	9,3	I. D. : — 4,4 %. M. I. : 34,3 %. S. : 33,0 %. C. G. : 4,4. M. N. : 10 %.
	(Beti probable)	Bamvelé (Bété)	E. Nyong-et-Sanaga. W. Lom et Kadei (Nanga, Bertoua).	25 000	10	Pas de renseignements.
		Evuzok	Dispersés (Lolodorf).	5 000	?	Pas de renseignements.
		Tsinga	Dispersés (Mbam, Nyong-et-Sanaga).	18 000	?	I. D. : + 1,4 %.
		Divers		20 000		
		TOTAL BETI CAMEROUN		401 000		
CAMEROUN	(Bulu)	Boulou	Ntem, Dja-et-Lobo, Kribi.	100 000	9,9	I. D. : + 0,30 %. S. : 7 %. C. G. : 4,12.
		Zaman	E. Dja-et-Lobo (Vallée du Dja).	1 500		I. D. : négatif. S. : > 25 %.
		Yengono	S.-E. Nyong-et-Sanaga (Akonolinga).			I. D. : + 0,03 %. S. : 9 %. C. G. : 3,47.
		Yembama		13 000	7,5	I. D. : 0,70 %. S. : 16 %. C. G. : 3,97.
		Yelinda				I. D. : — 0,1 %. C. G. : 3,4.
	(parentés des Boulou)	Yebekanga		9 000	4,5	
		Yebekolo	E. Nyong-et-Sanaga (Akonolinga).	28 000	11,9	I. D. : faiblement positif.

			13 000	7,5	C. G. : 5,97. I. D. : — 0,1 %.
	Yellocla		9 000	4,2	C. G. : 3,4.
(suite des Boulou)	Yebekanga Yebekolo	E. Nyong-et-Sanaga (Akonolinga).	23 000	11,9	I. D. : faiblement positif.
	Mvelé	E. Yaoundé.	27 000	15,3	I. D. : — 0,21 %.
	TOTAL BOULOU CAMEROUN		184 000		
(Fang)	Fang	Kribi, Ntem, Dja et Lobe (dispersés).	13 000	2	I. D. : + 0,08 %. S. : 7 %. C. G. : 3,8.
	Ntum		17 000	9,5	I. D. : 1,55 %. S. : 12 %. C. G. : 4,6.
	Mvaé		6 000	5,8	I. D. : + 0,80 %. S. : 15,2 %. C. G. : 4,5.
	TOTAL FANG		36 000		
	TOTAL CAMEROUN		623 000	Non compris tribus « assimilées » de l'Est (Mekaé-Kozimé).	
GUINÉE ESPAGNOLE	Ntum	Le long de la frontière N. (Ebébiyin).	20 000	4	Estimation approximative sur archives administratives françaises. D'après certains rapports il faudrait y ajouter environ 8 000 émigrants pahouins des territoires français, Gabon surtout. Les chiffres donnés constituent des minima.
	Mvaé	Frontière N. (Mikomeseng).	1 000		
	Fang	S.-E.	30 000		
	Okak	Centre.	4 000		
	TOTAL GUINÉE ESPAGNOLE		55 000		
GABON	Ntum	Woleu-Ntem (Bitam surtout).	15 000	5 à 1	I. D. : légèrement positif. Taux de stérilité élevé. Proportion d'enfants : 30 % environ.
	Bakwélé	Makokou.	3 000		
	Fang	Woleu-Ntem, estuaire, Ogooué-Ivindo, Ogooué.	110 000		
	TOTAL GABON		128 000		
MOYEN-CONGO	Assimilés divers	Sanaké. Ouesso.	8 000	2	?
	TOTAL MOYEN CONGO		8 000		
TOTAL GÉNÉRAL			814 000	Non compris peuples voisins en voie d'assimilation.	

I. D. : Indice différentiel. — S. : Taux de stérilité. — C. G. : Capacité génitale. — M. N. : Morti-natalité. — M. I. : Mortalité infantile.
Les chiffres, donnés d'après I. DUGAST (*Inventaire*, n° 130), datent d'une dizaine d'années en moyenne.

numériques globales ou des indices démographiques proprement dits. On arrive ainsi à des totaux variant entre 650 000 et 1 500 000 Pahouins, avec un indice différentiel nettement positif ou nettement négatif suivant les auteurs.

Ma propre estimation, environ 820 000, ne tient compte que des Pahouins au sens étroit, en laissant de côté les tribus dont l'appartenance est contestée (1). L'ensemble de ce groupe est en progression légère (indice différentiel un peu inférieur à + 1 %), plus, semble-t-il, grâce à un recul de la mortalité que par une augmentation de la natalité qui tendrait plutôt à diminuer légèrement. Le tableau pp. 10-11 donne un aperçu sommaire de la situation de détail.

Ce tableau appelle quelques commentaires. En premier lieu, les taux de capacité génitale connus, presque tous aux environs de 4, de même que les indices de stérilité, atteignant jusqu'à 30 %, contrastent avec les récits des premiers explorateurs tout comme avec les traditions tribales, qui parlent uniformément d'une fécondité élevée et d'une proportion importante d'enfants. Compte tenu des exagérations certaines qui entachent ces renseignements, il reste probable qu'un fléchissement démographique s'est produit dans le second quart du XXe siècle, compensé par une diminution de la mortalité, dans certaines zones tout au moins. Les difficultés d'adaptation à la vie forestière ne l'expliquent que pour le Sud. Il faut sans doute y ajouter des facteurs comme l'extension de la syphilis *(kôlo)*, le long des axes routiers et autour des agglomérations surtout, et la poussée de trypanosomiase qui semble avoir suivi la pacification et a affecté surtout le Nord et le Nord-Est du pays pahouin. S'y ajoutent dans le Sud la grande famine gabonaise des années 1924-1927, ainsi que les causes sociologiques telles que les grands recrutements pour les chantiers forestiers et peut-être des facteurs psychologiques dus au choc colonial (Balandier). Dans le Nord, où l'apparition précoce d'une économie agricole basée sur le cacao a fixé les villages assez tôt, la transformation de la « dot » et l'appropriation individuelle des terres par les « aînés » *(minlôl)* ont certainement eu aussi des incidences démographiques défavorables, en bouleversant les structures familiales (41 % d'hommes adultes célibataires dans la subdivision d'Oyem, en 1948). Enfin, l'introduction massive d'alcool de traite avant 1914 et depuis 1946 a très certainement encore aggravé les choses.

Il ne faut cependant pas exagérer l'importance de la crise, qui a atteint surtout les Fang gabonais. L'évolution démographique générale paraît pouvoir se résumer ainsi :

— aggravation momentanée de la morbidité générale immédiatement après la pacification, due à une extension plus grande des épidémies, variole et trypanosomiase en particulier, par suite des nouvelles facilités de circulation ; augmentation possible des taux de stérilité avec légère diminution de la capacité géni-

(1) A titre indicatif l'importance numérique des Mekaé et Kozimé du Cameroun peut être évaluée à environ 80 000 âmes.

tale résultant de la contamination vénérienne, de l'alcoolisme, du recrutement des chantiers (surtout au Gabon) et de la modification des structures économiques familiales et villageoises ;

— en contrepartie diminution rapide et continue de la mortalité générale résultant de la pacification ; depuis 1930 environ, recul des épidémies et amélioration sanitaire générale amorcée ; actuellement, recul de la mortalité infantile. La généralisation des méthodes de prophylaxie antipalustre massive (Cameroun) laisse déjà prévoir une augmentation spectaculaire de la population ;

— dans l'ensemble, la balance des facteurs favorables et défavorables paraît positive, en tout cas, dans les zones non atteintes par la grande famine gabonaise de 1924. La prise de conscience d'un malaise démographique a d'ailleurs dû résulter en partie de l'arrêt du mouvement migratoire qui a permis une sorte d'inventaire. Cette prise de conscience est surtout sensible au Gabon où la situation semble avoir été effectivement plus grave.

5) Histoire et origines traditionnelles

L'histoire connue du groupe pahouin est celle d'une migration en direction de la mer, migration en train de s'achever sous nos yeux.

D'où est-elle partie ? La question est très controversée. Stoll, après Schweinfurth, parle de la Haute-Égypte, de même que Trilles, fondant cette opinion sur des arguments linguistiques et culturels, tels l'usage de l'arbalète de guerre et la forme du sabre *(fa)*. C'est cette même forme qui pousse Tessmann à parler d'une influence romaine. Marche et le marquis de Compiègne, puis Largeau parlent, plus modestement, d'une parenté avec les *Zandé* et *Mangbetu* du Haut-Oubangui, ce qui reste du domaine de l'hypothèse.

En fait, la seule certitude raisonnable qu'on possède à ce sujet, fondée sur les traditions, les généalogies (15 à 20 générations devenant plus ou moins mythiques aux environs de la dixième ou douzième) et les observations des premiers voyageurs (notamment Du Chaillu) et missionnaires européens et américains, c'est que la migration qui s'achève a dû commencer vers la fin du XVIIIe siècle, dans la zone de savane située sur la rive droite de la Sanaga, quelque part au Nord-Est de l'habitat actuel du groupe. Était-ce la Haute-Sangha, vers Bouar, la région de Baïbokoum, plus au Nord, ou l'Adamaoua vers Ngaoundéré ? C'est, dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, impossible à préciser. Les traditions parlent simplement d'une zone « vers l'Est » *(mfa' ôku)*, dans une région élevée où se trouvaient des lacs, où vivaient des lions *(ngbwemgbwem)* et, d'après Trilles, des rhinocéros *(abvi — ?)*, près d'une population « rouge ».

Les ancêtres des Pahouins furent chassés de cet habitat par une invasion. S'agissait-il des *Fulbé* d'Othman dan Fodio ou d'un de ses successeurs ? Certains détails des traditions permettent de le penser, mais l'actuelle répartition des tribus du Nord de la Sanaga et leurs

propres traditions indiqueraient plutôt qu'il s'agissait des *Baboulé* (Wutéré) et, peut-être, des *Mboum*, fuyant eux-mêmes devant les Fulbé.

Quoi qu'il en soit, les ancêtres des Pahouins durent traverser la Sanaga en plusieurs vagues, approximativement entre Nanga-Eboko et le confluent du Mbam, de part et d'autre des chutes Nachtigal. Les premières vagues devaient comprendre les ancêtres des Fang et Boulou qui s'enfoncèrent dans la forêt sous la pression des Beti, dont une petite minorité resta sur la rive droite.

L'avant-garde de la migration semble s'être divisée en trois colonnes, quelque part du côté de Bengbis (subdivision de Sangmélima). C'est peut-être à ce moment que se précisèrent les divisions tribales actuelles. Une colonne Fang se dirigea vers le Sud, pénétrant sans doute au Gabon suivant le Dja, puis l'Ivindo. Une seconde colonne, essentiellement Boulou, se dirigea vers l'Ouest, parallèlement au cours du Nyong, tandis qu'une troisième, Ntoumou et Fang, pénétrait dans le Nord-Gabon, suivant un axe qui formait à peu près la bissectrice entre les deux autres.

Cette pénétration n'avait rien de pacifique : l'écho des batailles livrées aux Bantu de l'intérieur parvenait jusqu'aux postes de traite de la Côte et la terreur répandue par les envahisseurs n'était pas sans gêner les relations commerciales. Du Chaillu rencontre les Fang et Ntoumou vers Mitzik, les Osyéba sur l'Ivindo au début du Second Empire. En 1869, l'amiral de Langle les signale au contact des factoreries du Haut-Ogooué et de la Komo, évaluant leur nombre à une cinquantaine de milliers. En 1875, le marquis de Compiègne et Aloysius Horn les rencontrent à Lambaréné et aux environs immédiats de Libreville. Brazza facilitera leur marche vers la Côte et le Bas-Ogooué qu'ils atteindront en 1893 (Largeau). Depuis cette date, leur progression a continué au ralenti, d'une part sur la rive gauche de l'Ogooué, vers le Sud, à la hauteur de Ndjolé, d'autre part le long de la côte jusqu'à la lagune de Fernan Vaz.

De leur côté, les Boulou ont eu moins de chance, arrêtés par les Allemands dans leur progression vers la mer aux environs de 1890, alors qu'ils ne sont plus qu'à une trentaine de kilomètres de la côte, au Sud-Est de Kribi. Une dernière guerre — l'*óban*, encore vivante dans les mémoires de nos jours — les oppose, entre 1885 et 1895, aux Bané qui cherchent à gagner vers le Sud. Après 1895, ils sont pratiquement fixés dans leur zone actuelle (mais non aux emplacements précis des villages contemporains), de même que les Beti.

Encore que j'aie parlé de colonnes, il ne faut pas se représenter ces migrations comme l'exode des Enfants d'Israël à travers le désert. Elles se font plutôt par bonds successifs, suivant un axe général, par petits groupes familiaux ou/et villageois. On a pu parler à leur propos de migration en saut-de-mouton : une famille A s'installe ; une famille B fonde un village plus au Sud ; une famille C occupe l'ancien territoire de B ; A essaime alors un village au Sud de B, A' ; puis B pourra en faire autant, alors que A, sous la pression de C, se

sera de nouveau déplacé *mfa'a mañ*, vers la mer, qui reste le but final. Ceci, multiplié des centaines de fois, entraîne une dissémination extrême des groupes familiaux, familiaux-étendus et claniques, en même temps que des remous, des tourbillons qui expliquent l'enchevêtrement actuel. Des groupes entiers sont revenus sur leurs pas, à la suite d'un échec militaire ou pour éviter le contact avec l'administration européenne ; ainsi, les Ntoumou du Nord-Gabon ont en partie été refoulés au Nord du Ntem par un recul des Fang, rejetant vers l'Est et l'Ouest, le long de la vallée, les Mvaé qui s'étaient installés entre eux et les Boulou. Les derniers groupes Beti à franchir la Sanaga, bloqués par ceux qui les avaient précédés, ont dévié perpendiculairement ou obliquement à l'axe général de la migration.

L'ensemble de la migration s'est fait exclusivement par voie terrestre, même quand son axe suivait le cours d'un fleuve navigable. Les Pahouins ne sont pas des piroguiers et les pistes coutumières empruntent plutôt les lignes de crête que les vallées. Le peuplement est essentiellement linéaire, étalé le long des pistes et, maintenant, des routes, en longs rubans séparés par des zones vides.

Les traditions se rapportant à cet exode sont de trois ordres : tradition collective du groupe, variant dans le détail de tribu à tribu, mais se conformant toujours aux grandes lignes d'un même thème ; traditions familiales, consistant en un commentaire des généalogies : la plupart n'ont pas été recueillies et sont en train de se perdre en raison de l'abandon de l'éducation coutumière des garçons ; enfin, une pseudo-tradition d'invention contemporaine, qui n'est pas la moins intéressante. Je ne rapporterai ici que les principaux traits de ces traditions et d'abord de celle du groupe.

D'après celle-ci les ancêtres vivaient autrefois dans un pays appelé *mvo' ékanga* ou *mvo' ékaña'a* (Largeau : *mvôgh élangha*), ce qui signifie à peu près « pays nuageux » ou « pays honorable », suivant le ton, et peut-être les deux à la fois (1). J'ai indiqué précédemment les caractéristiques légendaires de ce pays de l'Est, dont les détails varient suivant les informateurs. Il faut noter, en passant, que ceux-ci diffèrent sur le point de savoir si ce pays était ou non le berceau même des ancêtres ou si ces derniers venaient d'un endroit situé encore plus à l'Est, ce qu'affirme à présent la pseudo-tradition (2).

Chassés de ce pays par des géants rouges (ou par *un* géant rouge), les ancêtres, fuyant pour sauver leur vie, se trouvèrent acculés à la Sanaga et incapables de la traverser, jusqu'à l'intervention du gardien des eaux, python d'après les Beti et Boulou, crocodile d'après les

(1) *a)* Radical *kañ* = honorer, respecter, d'où *ékañ'a* = honneur, respect, vénération ; *b)* Radical *kañ* = marquer, dessiner, d'où *ékanga* = marque, dessin, nuage ; *c)* Verbe *kañele* = brêler, charpenter, d'où *ékanga* = pont.

(2) Les derniers conteurs ntumu chantent, en s'accompagnant de la guitare, *mvet*, les exploits des *bikañ*, ou *bo'bikaña*, héros surhumains, qui comprennent non seulement des ancêtres mais encore les premiers Européens célèbres : *Ngôtô Zambe* (Rev. Good), *Mendômô* (Hauptmann von Hagen), *Akôk* (Marius Pascalet), etc., qui se trouvent ainsi en quelque sorte naturalisés et incorporés à la tradition.

Fang (1). Celui-ci se mettant en travers du fleuve, forme un pont que les ancêtres traversent famille par famille, par ordre de primogéniture, jusqu'au moment où un enfant (ou une femme) lui blesse le dos en laissant tomber une arme (ou une torche). L'animal plonge, abandonnant sur la rive droite les groupes Beti qui s'y trouvent encore de nos jours.

Osoé Nnanga, d'où les Blancs ont tiré « Sanaga », signifie « rivière blanche » ou « rivière de l'albinos ». Le blanc est couleur de mort, les fantômes *(bekôn)* sont blancs, les albinos considérés comme enfants d'incubes. Enfin, le pays des morts a toujours été situé au couchant, vers la mer *(mañ)*, alors même que les Pahouins ne devaient connaître celle-ci que par ouï-dire. Rapprochés de certaines légendes recueillies par Trilles, ces faits peuvent faire penser qu'en franchissant la Sanaga, les Pahouins pénétraient, au moins symboliquement, dans le pays des morts.

Parvenus sur la rive gauche, ils trouvent leur chemin barré par une forêt inextricable, l'unique sentier obstrué par un énorme *ajap (Mimusops djave)*, arbre symbolique de la force, de la vigueur physique et spirituelle. Ils le traversent au moyen d'un tunnel étroit, le *nlom ajap*, et peuvent dès lors avancer librement. Mais, après cette traversée, une querelle éclate entre les frères, pour une question de femmes, d'après certains, de préséance et d'héritage d'après d'autres, et ils se séparent en quatre groupes dont l'un reste sur place, les autres se dirigeant vers la mer par les trois itinéraires décrits plus haut.

A partir de là, il faut se reporter aux traditions familiales pour suivre les pérégrinations de chaque groupe, impossibles à décrire en détail.

L'apport le plus intéressant de la pseudo-tradition récente est sans doute la généalogie recueillie chez les Ntoumou par l'administrateur André et répandue surtout parmi la fraction linguistique fañ du groupe pahouin. Elle part de l'ancêtre *Afiri Kara*, chef de la migration au moment de la traversée de la Sanaga, mort après celle du *nlom ajap*. Afiri Kara « qui a donné son nom à l'Afrique » est fils de *Kara Kuba*, fils de *Kuba Ta*, fils de *Ta Ma'a*, fils de *Ma'a Ngô* « qui est le père de la race nègre ». Les fils d'Afiri Kara sont les ancêtres des tribus actuelles auxquelles ils ont donné leurs noms, noms qui sont en fait des sobriquets fondés sur des calembours. Par exemple, *Ntumu Afiri*, ancêtre des Ntoumou, marchait avec une canne *(nlum)*, *Ewôndô Afiri* était amateur d'arachides *(ôwôndo)* ou avait une postérité aussi nombreuse que celle d'une graine d'arachide ; *Bulu Afiri* était particulièrement appliqué ou sérieux (*bulu* : de la racine *bo*, faire = faire sérieusement, réellement) (2), etc. Largeau et Tessmann semblent ignorer absolument cette légende dont la formation ne remonterait pas au delà de la première guerre mondiale.

(1) Bertaut donne les noms de *mot yom* et *nga medja* ou *ngan meja*. Sous réserve d'une erreur de transcription, les expressions pourraient signifier « être d'imploration », « crocodile d'imploration », de *môt* (f. *môr*, *mur*) = personne ; *ngan* = crocodile ; *ja'é* (b.), *dzak*, *dzaghé* (é., f.) = demander, implorer ; *yom* = prier, implorer.

(2) Cf. le verbe *fañ* = faire bien, faire vraiment, exprès.

La part de la pseudo-tradition est plus difficile à faire dans les légendes recueillies par Largeau, Trilles et Grebert au sujet de l'origine même de l'humanité. Le thème est celui de Jacob et Ésaü : un fils cadet de *Zobeyo Mebe'e* (fañ : *Nzame Mebeghe*, *Nzame Mebere*) profite de la stupidité de son aîné pour devenir héritier des richesses de ce monde (*bióm*, *bium* = les biens, les marchandises, par opposition aux produits de la terre) et s'enfuit vers l'Ouest, pays des morts ou des ancêtres, où l'aîné, frustré, le poursuivra (1). Largeau et Grebert font du cadet usurpateur l'ancêtre des Blancs, mais Trilles a recueilli des versions qu'il estime plus anciennes où il est l'ancêtre des Bantou de la Côte, ces versions co-existant d'ailleurs avec celle de Largeau. Il est possible que l'assimilation du cadet aux Blancs date des premiers contacts commerciaux.

(1) Cette assimilation de l'Ouest aux marchandises, de l'Est aux produits du pays se retrouve dans le potlatch *(bilaba)* décrit plus loin.

[p. 18]

CHAPITRE III

LA LANGUE

1) Diffusion

L'ensemble du groupe se caractérise par une unité linguistique certaine, débordant les frontières culturelles et anthropologiques. J'ai indiqué précédemment l'existence de tribus pahouinisées ou en voie de pahouinisation, groupes Maka et Kozimé notamment. Il faut y ajouter les Pygmées vivant en symbiose avec les Pahouins et qui paraissent en avoir très largement adopté la langue, au point qu'il est difficile de savoir avec certitude s'ils possèdent encore une langue propre.

Au surplus, les dialectes pahouins tendent à servir de langue véhiculaire dans des zones où les Pahouins ne se trouvent qu'en minorité, souvent émigrés, d'une part, et, d'autre part, dans des zones moins avancées économiquement et socialement que leur propre habitat.

Nous avons donc :

a) Une zone linguistique pahouine proprement dite : c'est le pays pahouin, tel que décrit au chapitre premier ; y parlent pahouin, à titre de langue maternelle, les Pahouins eux-mêmes et, très probablement, les Pygmées ; l'y parlent à titre de langue principale, mais non proprement maternelle les immigrés permanents ou quasi-permanents, dont les plus nombreux sont au Cameroun les Bamiléké, au Gabon les « Gabonais » du groupe linguistique myéné.

b) Une zone pahouinisée, comprenant au Cameroun la rive gauche de la Moyenne-Sanaga (pays Beti, chez les Mangisa et Eton surtout), le pays Maka autour d'Abong-Mbang, la rive gauche du Dja, en pays Jem et Dzimou (1) ; au Moyen-Congo, une partie du district d'Ouesso (à l'Ouest), celui de Souanké ; au Gabon, la rive gauche de l'Ivindo, chez les Bakwelé. Les différences entre les langues parlées dans ces zones et les dialectes pahouins s'effacent rapidement ;

c) Des zones où les dialectes pahouins servent de langue véhiculaire, soit entre tribus de langues différentes, soit pour les rapports administratifs et commerciaux, voire pour la propagande politique ou

(1) KOCH, in Le petit bétail chez les Badjoué et Bikélé de Messaména, *B.S.E.C.*, 13-14, mars-juin 1946, donne des exemples frappants de la pénétration du bulu dans cette zone.

religieuse. Au Cameroun, l'éwôndo remplit cette fonction sur la rive droite de la Moyenne-Sanaga, dans la région du Mbam, ainsi que sur la rive gauche, vers la frontière de l'Oubangui, dans la région de Lom-et-Kadéi, surtout dans la subdivision de Bertoua. Le bulu est devenu la langue commerciale de la région de Kribi. En Guinée Espagnole, fañ et bulu servent de langue commune aux immigrants venant des territoires français. Au Gabon, les dialectes Myéné reculent devant le fañ, de plus en plus utilisé jusqu'au chemin de fer Congo-Océan. Dans les grandes villes — Douala, Yaoundé, Libreville, Port-Gentil et même Dolisie — des dialectes pahouins sont utilisés par des immigrants appartenant à d'autres groupes linguistiques.

L'essor des grands dialectes — bulu, éwôndo, fañ — tient non seulement au caractère entreprenant des Pahouins mais aussi à l'œuvre des missions qui diffusent une assez abondante littérature dans ces dialectes, alors que les langues de certaines populations voisines n'ont pas été transcrites ou n'ont donné lieu qu'à peu de publications.

2) Dialectes

Guthrie énumère sept dialectes, dont trois principaux : « yaundo, bulu, ntum, meka, zimu, fan, make ». Il vaudrait sans doute mieux parler de trois zones dialectales, correspondant aux trois groupes — beti, fañ, bulu — précédemment définis, chaque zone comprenant un parler dominant, qui est toujours celui qui a été transcrit par les missionnaires. L'importance de ce phénomène sociologique est soulignée par le fait que les dialectes transcrits tendent tantôt à déborder, tantôt à régresser de la zone ethnique correspondante, en liaison avec des facteurs non linguistiques dont le principal est l'appartenance religieuse des sujets parlants. De même, on constate dans certaines zones la co-existence d'un parler maternel avec un dialecte écrit appris à l'école religieuse et parlé par les christianisés.

Le dialecte dominant en zone beti est l'éwôndo, langue de travail des missions catholiques, qui supplante rapidement les dialectes beti (ati) proprement dits de la vallée de la Sanaga. Le dialecte éton, par exemple, plus ati que pahouin à la veille de la guerre de 1914 (Nekes), est aujourd'hui complètement assimilé ; le tsinga et le mangisa sont en voie de l'être. Enfin l'éwôndo, employé comme langue véhiculaire, gagne du terrain vers le Nord et l'Est, comme indiqué précédemment. Au Sud, au contraire, s'il se substitue au bané et au foñ et mord même superficiellement en zone bulu dans les cantons catholiques, il recule devant le bulu dans les cantons évangélisés par la Mission Presbytérienne Américaine. Ainsi les Bané, les Fong et certains Ewôndo de confession protestante sont en fait bilingues, parlant comme langue maternelle un dialecte proche de l'éwôndo, mais écrivant, priant ou chantant en bulu.

Le bulu mord donc au Nord sur la zone linguistique éwôndo. Il gagne vers l'Est chez les Mekaé et Kozimé, a supplanté le fañ parmi les groupes Fang isolés du Nord, sert de langue de culture chez les

Ntoumou et Mvaé camerounais (catholiques exceptés) et de langue véhiculaire à Kribi et en Guinée Espagnole. Il concurrence même le fañ comme langue écrite dans le Nord-Gabon. Il résiste assez bien à l'éwôndo dans les secteurs catholiques, sauf dans les zones de contact avec le bané et le foñ.

Le fañ a supplanté le ntum dans le Woleu-Ntem — sauf dans le district de Bitam, où il est en concurrence avec le bulu — et en Guinée Espagnole. Il progresse vers l'Est et le Sud et tend à remplacer le pongwé comme langue véhiculaire. Son progrès reste handicapé par l'existence de plusieurs transcriptions, empruntant simultanément aux divers dialectes, ce qui gêne l'unification dialectale. Il semble cependant que le dialecte de l'Ouest — mazouna ou betsi — soit en train de l'emporter sur celui de l'Est — mekina ou maké — qui a d'ailleurs fourni moins d'éléments aux transcriptions.

Les différences entre éwôndo, bulu et fañ sont bien marquées, mais pas assez cependant pour empêcher l'intercommunication. La syntaxe est pratiquement identique, les différences grammaticales peu importantes. Les distinctions entre les parlers tiennent surtout à la prononciation et au vocabulaire.

Pour ce qui est de la prononciation, on constate une ressemblance frappante entre fañ et éwôndo, assez étonnante puisque les deux groupes sont séparés par l'enclave bulu et n'ont pas, ou n'ont plus, de contacts directs. L'éwôndo est un peu moins rauque, un peu moins guttural que le fañ, alors que le bulu ne l'est pas du tout. Surtout le bulu ignore absolument le *r*, ordinaire ou fricatif (*r*, *x*), le remplaçant par un *l* ou, plus récemment, par un *l* vélaire :

arki (Ew.), *arigi* (F.) = *ahlki* (B.) ;
kalara (Ew.), *kalaghe* (F.) = *kalal* (B.).

Il évite généralement les occlusives dures ou emphatiques intervocaliques *(g, k, gh, kh)* les remplaçant par une attaque vocalique ou un esprit rude :

saghele (F.), *sakélé* (Ew.) = *sa'ale* (B.) ;
afôghele (F.) = *afô'ôlo* (B.).

Il omet beaucoup des nasales initiales du fañ :

Nzame (F.) = *Zambe* (B.) ;

et emploie *j* (ʒ) de préférence à *dz* :

zé (F., Ew.) = *jé* (B.) ;

ainsi que *ty* (*tʃ*) de préférence à, ou concurremment avec *k* :

ôkeñ (F.) = *ôtyeñ* (B.).

Au point de vue du vocabulaire, les trois parlers diffèrent surtout par les emprunts aux langues voisines. Guthrie estime que ces emprunts ne dépassent pas 5 % du vocabulaire pour l'ensemble du groupe Pahouin, mais la proportion est plus forte en éwôndo et en fañ, atteignant 20 % pour ce dernier. Les emprunts se font au groupe Myéné pour le fañ, à l'ati pour l'éwôndo. Le bulu fait des emprunts indirects

au myéné et à l'ati, des emprunts directs au maka-ngumba, au jemdzimu et au bantu côtier. Les apports européens viendraient plutôt du coast english en éwôndo et bulu, du sabir portugais en fañ, mais le coast english augmente son influence sur l'ensemble du groupe, de même que le français. L'abbé Walker parle d'influences arabes, mais celles qui paraissent certaines sont bien rares : je ne vois guère que *banga* (chanvre indien) et *arki* (alcool).

3) Caractéristiques de la langue

La construction des phrases suit l'ordre : sujet, verbe, complément d'attribution, complément d'objet.

Ainsi :

M'abolé ével zel = je mouille chef barbe (je graisse la patte au chef).

Le déterminant, adverbe ou épithète, se place le plus souvent, mais pas toujours, avant le déterminé :

abeñ minga = jolie femme, *mbia môl* = méchant homme ;
ôbe anen = assez grand ;

mais

anen abui = très grand, *bôte bela* = trois personnes.

Trilles (in *Le totémisme...*, n° 166) (1) évalue le vocabulaire à 18 000 mots, comptant sans doute comme mots à part certaines formes dérivées, flexions verbales notamment, qu'on peut aussi bien ranger avec la forme primitive, comme le font Bates et Good ; ces derniers ont procuré un vocabulaire bulu d'environ 7 000 mots, qui est loin d'être complet. Le chiffre exact doit se situer aux environs de dix à douze mille mots au moins. Si la langue s'est enrichie d'apports européens et africains non pahouins, il semble qu'elle se soit en même temps appauvrie de certaines nuances de sens, de termes techniques ou religieux, de tournures littéraires ou poétiques anciennes, ceci en grande partie sous l'influence européenne, à cause de la scolarisation en particulier. L'enseignement de la rhétorique jouait un grand rôle dans l'éducation coutumière des garçons (*njôô*, *nzoé* = parleur, orateur = chef) et l'initiation aux divers rites ouvrait aux initiés le droit de se servir de certains mots interdits aux non-initiés (2). La christianisation et l'enseignement scolaire colonial ont, en faisant reculer ou en détruisant l'éducation traditionnelle, entraîné une détérioration certaine de la langue. C'est ainsi que le roman *Nnanga kôn* (n° 153), écrit après la guerre de 1914, est aujourd'hui d'une lecture ardue pour les jeunes Boulou.

La plupart des mots de la langue sont formés à partir d'un radical

(1) Les numéros entre parenthèses renvoient aux numéros correspondants de la *Bibliographie*, *infra*, p. 136.

(2) Je n'ai jamais pu savoir le véritable mot pour « crâne », réservé aux initiés *bièri*. On ne m'a donné que la périphrase *ékokoé nlo môl*, « coquille de tête d'homme ».

bilitère (consonne-voyelle) ou trilitère (consonne-voyelle-consonne) auquel s'ajoutent des affixes. On a ainsi des séries, telles que :

KI (fañ) ou TYI (bulu), radical — *kié, tyé* = force ; *éki, étyi* = = interdit ; *tyik* = couper, décider ; *tyi* = avoir un interdit ; *tyili* = = frapper d'interdit, défendre ; *étyé, ékié* = fer, pl. *bilyé, bikié* = monnaie sacramentelle ; *ôtyeñ, ôk(i)eñ* = couteau ; *metyi, meki* = sang, etc.

Les affixes les plus importants sont les classificateurs nominaux, qui permettent de répartir les noms et pronoms en classes nominales ou genres sémantiques, le genre sexuel n'existant pas. Ces classes ou genres sont au nombre de cinq ou six, suivant les auteurs ; l'implication sémantique n'est pas toujours évidente pour les substantifs proprement dits, mais l'est beaucoup plus pour les substantifs verbaux. Je donne ici les classes bulu d'après Bates :

I : *classificateurs nominaux* m, n, ñ/be, b ; *classificateurs pronominaux* a, ny, w/be, b. — Classe personnelle, noms de personnes, d'animaux personnisés ; noms d'origine européenne. Dérivés verbaux indiquant l'agent.

Ex. : *môt, bôt* = personne ; *ngal, beyal* = épouse, femelle ;
meloa, bemeloa = voiture ;
mbo, bebo = celui qui fait, de *bo* = faire ; *ndi* = celui qui mange, de *di* = manger.

II : *m, n, ñ/mi* ; *ô, w/mi*. — Noms divers, sans connotation sémantique particulière ; dérivés verbaux indiquant le résultat de l'action, sous un aspect en quelque sorte passif ; dérivés de noms d'autres classes indiquant une qualité, un état.

Ex. : *mbu, mimbu* = saison ; *nsoñ, minsoñ* = *pointe* ;
mboan (1) = action (ce qui est fait), de *bo* = faire ; *ñyeman* = sapience, de *yem* = savoir ;
ndiban (1) = fermé, de *dip* = fermer ; *ñwuan* = défunt, de *wu* = = mourir ;
mbe'e = charge, cargaison, de *be'e* = porter ;
nkôbo = langage, de *kôbo* = parler ;
minlaé = peine, souffrance, de *laé* = faire souffrir ;
ndindim = un aveugle, de *ndim* = cécité ;
ñwuwup = un voleur, de *wup* = vol.

III : *pas de classificateur nominal ; classificateurs pronominaux é, ny, j*. — Les mots de cette classe peuvent s'employer au pluriel avec les classificateurs I et IV *(be, b ; me, m)*, suivant leur sens ; pas de dérivés verbaux : la forme correspondante du verbe est la forme simple ou élémentaire.

Ex. : *zok*, pl. facultatif *bezok* = éléphant ;
kal, pl. fac. *bekal* = sœur ;
fa, pl. fac. *mefa* = sabre.

(1) Les formes en *-ban* et *-an* du verbe correspondant aux aspects passifs et réciproques.

N. B. — Cette classe est peut-être particulière au bulu et à l'éwôndo ; en fañ, la plupart des mots correspondants prennent un classificateur régulier au singulier.

Ex. : *ze, zok, kal* (b.) = *nze, nzok, nkal* (f.).

IV : *a, d, j/me, m ; e, d/me, m.* — Noms quelconques comportant cependant beaucoup de termes anatomiques ; dérivés verbaux, indiquant l'action du verbe en elle-même, pouvant correspondre soit à un infinitif, soit à un infinitif substantivé (le boire, le manger) ; noms d'arbres, dérivés de noms de fruits.

Ex. : *jam, mam* = chose, sujet, question ;
jôé, môé = nom, nez, autorité ; *abo, mebo* = patte ;
abum, mebum = ventre, utérus, grossesse ;
ake = le fait d'aller, l'aller ; *mevak* = réjouissance, de *vak* : se réjouir ;
ayôñ = chaleur, de *yôñ* = être chaud.

V : *é, j/bi ; é, j/bi.* — Des noms d'outils ou d'instruments, se retrouvant souvent dans la classe suivante ; des noms de qualité employés comme adjectifs ; des noms divers, dont quelques mots européens ; dérivés verbaux indiquant l'objet de l'action, son résultat objectif ; des dérivés de noms avec une idée de renforcement ou d'augmentation.

Ex. : *jôm, biôm* = chose, marchandise ; *évele* = rouge, le fait d'être rouge, la rougeur ; *ébak, bibak* = houe ;
bidi = nourriture, ce qui se mange, de *di* = manger ;
élo = état, situation, séance, session, de *lo* = être assis ;
élik = héritage, reliquat, ce qu'on laisse, de *lik* = laisser ;
ékolôkol = fourbe, de *nkol* = courbé ;
éseñ = forêt, boqueteau de parasoliers, de *aseñ* = parasolier.

VI : *ô, vi, w/a, l ; ô, vi, w/e, d.* — Des noms divers, comportant des noms d'outils et d'instruments ; des noms de choses élusives, passagères ; des noms de petites choses et des dérivés diminutifs ; des dérivés verbaux, semblant indiquer des qualités intellectuelles.

Ex. : *ôdiba'a, adiba'a* = clef (existe aussi cl. V : *édiba'a*) ;
ôsoé, asoé = rivière ; *ôlila* = fumée ; *ôyo* = sommeil ;
vioé, loé = rire ; *viek, lek* = marmite ;
ôlé = bâton (*élé* = arbre) ; *ônon* = oiseau ; *ôbe, abe* = petit, un peu de, une petite quantité ;
ôfifis = petit morceau, de *éfus* = morceau ; *ôkukul* = sot, de *akul* = = fou ;
ôsimsan = bonne mémoire, de *simsan* = se souvenir ; *ôvuan* = mauvaise mémoire, de *vuan* = oublier.

Bates ajoute à ces six classes une classe fossile des noms de liquides, bien représentées dans les langues bantu mais ne comprenant guère en pahouin que des mots identiques aux pluriels de la classe IV, sauf rares exceptions. Il faut mentionner également quelques mots appartenant

à des classes ou genres différents selon qu'ils sont au singulier ou au pluriel (1).

Les classificateurs pronominaux jouent un rôle important et caractéristique, celui de connectifs entre un nom et son complément ou entre un nom-sujet et son verbe. Toutefois, cette règle ne paraît pas absolue, et le bulu, plus spécialement, se dispense volontiers du connectif au génitif, surtout au singulier :

jôm é nlañgan ou *jôm nlañgan*, *biôm bi nlañgan* ou *biôm nlañgan* = la chose, les choses du blanc ;
mon a fañ, *bo' be fañ* = un, des Fang ;
alu e ne dibi, *melu me ne dibi* = la, les nuit(s) est, sont obscure(s) ;
mvu j'adi, *bemvu b'adi* = le, les chien(s) mange(nt).

Les verbes se divisent essentiellement en verbes d'état ou de position et verbes d'action, qui ne se conjuguent pas de la même façon. On passe par dérivation d'un type à l'autre par affixation du radical, ce qui permet de compléter la conjugaison défective des verbes d'état en ayant recours à leurs dérivés actifs. Temps, modes, voix et aspects s'indiquent soit par affixation ou flexion, soit en employant des verbes auxiliaires, dont certains ont un sens par eux-mêmes, alors que d'autres ne peuvent être utilisés qu'avec un autre verbe (ces derniers sont peut-être de simples affixes).

Les pronoms et pronoms-adjectifs sont bien représentés, alors que les adjectifs qualificatifs sont rares, surtout en bulu, et le plus souvent remplacés par des noms de qualité ou d'état qui ne s'accordent pas. Même observation pour les mots-outils : en dehors de quelques adverbes, conjonction et préposition invariables, on se sert surtout de noms :

éyoñ = temps, circonstance = quand ; *mfa'a* = direction, orientation = = vers ; *ajô le* = cette affaire = ainsi, donc, par conséquent, etc.

Au point de vue phonétique, la caractéristique la plus importante du groupe est sans doute l'emploi de tons, base de la téléphonie par tambour *(nkul)*, cloche *(nkeñ)* ou cri modulé *(ékiga)*. Bates et Johnson reconnaissent cinq tons, plus le glissando du négatif. Bertaut, après les auteurs allemands, distingue deux tons fondamentaux — haut et bas — deux tons dérivés — ascendant et descendant — et un ton moyen. Le R. P. Stoll, reprenant la question dans un ouvrage récent, la bouleverse en décrivant deux tons fondamentaux, symétriquement contrastés, deux tons dominants et huit composés ou glissants, le tout groupé en huit principaux (quatre simples et quatre glissants) et quatre secondaires. Il lie ce système symétrique à la cosmogonie, en donnant une démonstration fondée sur le rite *sô*. La querelle de spécialistes est trop chaude pour que j'exprime une opinion. Je me bornerai

(1) Certaines irrégularités morphologiques ont des implications sémantiques. Ex. : *ésa*, au sens de « père », fait au pluriel *bésa* (cl. I personnelle) ; dans sa classe normale (V, augmentative, pl. *bisa*) il signifie « famille étendue ». Les deux mots (dont les tons diffèrent) viennent de *sak*, éjaculer, f.... qui aurait dû donner **nsak*, *besak*, géniteur, père.

à remarquer que *nkul* et *nkeñ* ne donnent que deux tons et que dans la transmission d'un message par un de ces moyens le rythme joue un rôle aussi important que les tons (1).

Dans le langage parlé, et surtout dans le beau langage, le rythme est également important et ceux mêmes des missionnaires qui ont l'oreille assez fine pour éviter les calembours tonétiques involontaires n'arrivent généralement pas à maîtriser le rythme comme savent le faire les derniers conteurs-poètes. Les transcriptions courantes ne tiennent d'ailleurs compte ni du rythme ni des tons, le sens des homographes ressortant du contexte. J'ai cru remarquer, là comme ailleurs, que les jeunes gens tendent à oublier les finesses de la langue et à ne plus distinguer que deux tons, haut et bas, tandis que l'usage du *nkul* régresse chaque jour.

Un dernier élément important de la langue, surtout dans la littérature orale, est constitué par les exclamatifs-descriptifs, série de locutions à base d'onomatopées ou dérivées de verbes ou de noms modifiés, redoublés et souvent introduits par une particule exclamative ou un click (2). Quelques-uns sont assez courants pour être employés dans les textes écrits, mais la plupart restent usités exclusivement dans le discours parlé, l'orateur ne se privant d'ailleurs pas d'en inventer suivant les besoins du moment.

4) Classification

La majorité des auteurs, de Meinhof à Guthrie, classent les langues du groupe pahouin parmi les langues bantu. Dans sa classification générale des langues bantu (1948), Guthrie les range dans sa zone A, sous la cote décimale 60, en comprenant dans ce groupe l'éwôndo, le bulu, le ntum, le mekaé, le zimu, le fañ (dialecte dit betsi ou mazouna encore qu'il ne le précise pas) et le make (sans doute le fañ oriental, dialecte dit makina). Stoll englobe l'éwôndo dans son ouvrage sur les langues bantu et semi-bantu du Cameroun, sans préciser s'il le range parmi les unes ou les autres (3).

Il apparaît toutefois certain que, si ces langues doivent bien être comprises dans la famille bantu, elles forment dans cette famille une catégorie particulière qui ne peut être assimilée purement et simplement aux langues incontestablement bantu des populations limitrophes. On discute, au surplus, sur le point de savoir si les envahisseurs pahouins ont apporté leur langue avec eux ou s'ils ont adopté, en la déformant, celle des populations installées avant eux sur le plateau camerounais-gabonais. On a, de même, hésité à classer les langues

(1) Mais la batterie de balafon, *mejeñ*, comporte cinq xylophones de tonalité différente, chacun comportant six notes.

(2) Bertaut est un des rares auteurs, sinon le seul, à signaler ces clicks. J'en connais trois d'usage généralisé : un d'approbation, un de dénégation, un d'avertissement. Il en existe d'autres, employés à la chasse et encore mal connus, qui ont peut-être été empruntés aux Pygmées.

(3) Dans ses rapports à l'O.N.U. l'administration camerounaise qualifie les Pahouins du Sud-Cameroun de « néo-bantu ».

des tribus bordières, mekaé et kozimé notamment, soit avec le groupe pahouin, soit avec les groupes bantu limitrophes. Alors que, par exemple, on s'accorde à ranger le ngumba à côté des langues bantu côtières, le mekaé, qui lui est certainement apparenté, est classé tantôt parmi les parlers pahouins, tantôt parmi les parlers bantu de l'Est-Cameroun.

L'existence d'un genre nominal (cl. III de Bates) dépourvu de classificateur empêche de ranger le groupe parmi les « langues agglutinantes à système de classe parfait avec pronom spécial pour chaque classe » où Delafosse place le bantu. Mlle Homburger (*Le langage et les langues*, p. 69) en fait une famille à part, proche à la fois du bantu côtier et du semi-bantu ; dans le chapitre qu'elle consacre au bantu dans *Les langues du monde*, elle la rattache au groupe Ouest-Africain de Delafosse, revenant sur son caractère non bantu dans *Les langues africaines et les peuples qui les parlent*.

Le R. P. Trilles et l'abbé Walker ont cru trouver en fañ des influences sémitiques et hamitiques. Une empreinte soudanaise paraît plus vraisemblable. Westermann classe le « bati » parmi le groupe semi-bantu, en indiquant que le terme de *langues soudanaises à classes* lui paraît mieux approprié. Or, on sait que le beti (ati), aujourd'hui en recul devant l'éwôndo, lui-même très proche du fañ (betsi-mazouna), s'étendait encore récemment jusqu'à la limite nord du bulu, qu'il a influencé.

On peut donc conclure que le groupe linguistique pahouin, actuellement très proche du bantu, doit très probablement être considéré comme intermédiaire entre les parlers bantu proprement dits et les langues semi-bantu ou soudanaises à classe, les circonstances historiques et le contact avec les peuples voisins ayant accentué ses caractères bantu de telle façon qu'il est expédient, au point de vue méthodologique en particulier, de le classer comme une famille particulière du groupe Bantu (1).

(1) En l'absence de référence spécifique, il semble que GREENBERG (n° 70), le classerait dans son groupe nigéro-congolais.

[p. 27]

CHAPITRE IV

VIE ÉCONOMIQUE

1) Alimentation

Le régime alimentaire des peuples pahouins suffirait à prouver que leur fixation au sol est bien récente. L'importance des produits de cueillette est en effet remarquable. D'après une étude menée en pays Éton (région de Yaoundé) par le Dr Masseyeff, la consommation des champignons atteindrait en moyenne 4,1 g par jour et par personne (1). Des escargots, des termites, des chenilles, des larves de palmier, des criquets sont également consommés. « Si cette enquête s'était déroulée 30 ans plus tôt, la liste des aliments aurait été beaucoup plus considérable. Quantité de feuilles ou de fruits de cueillette ont été négligés, puis abandonnés... De même, le gibier s'est raréfié... (2). » Dans beaucoup de villages, on trouve des hommes qui se disent chasseurs (3). Les revenus tirés de la vente de la viande de chasse apparaissent comme pratiquement négligeables dans les budgets familiaux. Mais, selon l'ouvrage cité plus haut, la chasse fournirait un cinquième de la consommation totale de la viande. La pêche n'est pas inconnue : mais les techniques sont élémentaires. Les femmes

(1) R. MASSEYEFF, A. CAMBON, *Enquête sur l'alimentation au Cameroun*, Rapport à l'Office de la Recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer, I.R.C.A.M., Yaoundé.

(2) COMPIÈGNE (n° 13), signale déjà en 1875 les ravages causés aux troupeaux d'éléphants par les « compagnies de chasse » faisant mâles, femelles et éléphanteaux sans discrimination.

Les principales techniques de chasse sont actuellement les suivantes :

— à tir : à l'arbalète pour les singes et gros oiseaux, avec flèches de « bambou » empoisonnées au strophantus ; au fusil pour le gros gibier : fusils à percussion centrale au Cameroun, fusils de traite au Gabon (ces derniers, interdits au Cameroun, sont plus propres au tir de la sagaie à éléphants, qui provoque souvent l'éclatement des armes perfectionnées) ; traque et appel ;
— en battue : des chiens munis de grelots rabattent le gibier sur des filets, où il est achevé à la lance ;
— piégeage : collets en crin d'éléphant pour les francolins et petits mammifères (technique employée surtout par les enfants) ; en fil de fer pour les sangliers et antilopes ; piège-à-chute pour l'éléphant ; fosse à pal, fosse simple, fosse à goulot ; quatre-de-chiffre ; nasse terrestre ; cage à porte tombante ; gluaux au latex ; empoisonnement d'appâts (panthère, chat sauvage) ;
— courre : pratiquée surtout par les Pygmées, sans chien. On trouve encore quelques Pahouins qui forcent le buffle et l'hylochère et les servent à l'épieu, mais ils se font rares. (P. A.)

(3) Dans certains villages bulu on rencontre des chasseurs professionnels étrangers, Baya ou Kaka généralement. En outre, les Pygmées chassent en permanence pour leurs « propriétaires ». (P. A.)

barrent parfois des ruisseaux qu'elles mettent à sec pour en attraper les poissons. La pêche au poison est parfois pratiquée, les enfants pêchent volontiers à la ligne. Mais toutes ces méthodes ne sont guère productrices : pas de grands barrages, pas de filets, pas de pirogues. Les nutritionnistes évaluent à 1 g par personne et par jour la ration de poisson pêché localement : c'est souligner simplement les faibles capacités nautiques des Pahouins.

L'agriculture fournit l'essentiel de l'alimentation : le manioc est utilisé dans de multiples plats. Bâtons de manioc fabriqués avec les tubercules écrasés et bouillis, manioc cuit à l'étouffée ou en beignets, les feuilles mêmes sont souvent consommées. La consommation de feuilles est peut-être un trait particulier de l'alimentation éwôndo et des Boulou. Treize espèces de feuilles sont employées dans la cuisine, soit comme condiments, soit en purée, souvent pour rendre les sauces mucilagineuses. Avec le manioc, les bananes plantain constituent la base de l'alimentation. Le macabo, *xanthosema sagittefolia*, vient ensuite. Diverses variétés d'ignames sont très appréciées. Et cette orientation gastronomique des Fang, et en particulier des Beti, suffirait à prouver leur origine étrangère, puisque les ignames, tropicales plutôt qu'équatoriales, viennent assez mal dans la zone d'extension actuelle des Pahouins.

Le maïs est la seule céréale de consommation courante. Il est souvent offert en pâtes, en bouillies ou même en épis. La bière de maïs, centres urbains mis à part, paraît beaucoup moins employée que le vin de palme (sève d'*elaeis guineensis*). Le palmier à huile joue d'ailleurs un rôle très important dans l'alimentation. Source de lipides et de vitamines A, l'huile de palme est à la base des sauces et ragoûts mangés avec les tubercules et les céréales. Les arachides sont très employées (n'est-ce pas à elles que les Ewôndô doivent leur nom ?). La pâte obtenue après cuisson et pilage entre dans la confection de multiples plats et fournit l'essentiel de la ration de protéines. Enfin, une denrée mérite d'être mentionnée parce qu'elle est fort appréciée, et aussi parce que son emploi paraît absolument anti-économique : les pépins de courges. Des graines sont conservées, séchées, épluchées une à une, puis mises à bouillir et pilées. L'adresse nécessaire pour l'épluchage et le temps passé à cette opération paraissent soumis à un faible rendement (1).

2) Agriculture

Avant d'aborder la description de l'agriculture actuelle, il faut voir ce qu'elle était et ce qu'elle est toujours, dans certains secteurs traditionalistes. En effet, il semble bien que les méthodes ne se sont guère modifiées : de nouveaux produits cultivés se sont simplement ajoutés aux anciens. Il est probable que sous l'influence de ces produc-

(1) Mais les beignets à la pâte de graines de courge sont délicieux... Il se fait un commerce assez important de ces graines à destination des villes. (P. A.)

tions nouvelles l'ensemble des techniques (techniques matérielles, techniques juridiques, etc.) viendra à évoluer. Mais le mouvement ne fait que débuter et présentement la culture des arachides, du maïs et autres produits connus de longue date reste proche de ce qu'elle était il y a 40 ans, avant l'apparition du cacaoyer.

Agriculture traditionnelle

Jadis, chaque famille produisait tout ce qui lui était nécessaire et limitait son effort : aucun produit n'était commercialisé, aucune denrée n'était susceptible d'alimenter un courant d'échanges, mais toutes sortes de produits étaient cultivés. Pour les vêtements, des vieillards bané et éwôndo affirment que la culture et le tissage du coton étaient pratiqués par leurs ancêtres : il n'en saurait être question dans leur habitat actuel et cette tradition mérite simplement d'être apportée comme argument soit à ceux qui estiment que les Pahouins viennent de régions plus septentrionales, soit à ceux qui voient dans les Beti non pas de véritables Pahouins mais des pahouinisés (1). Chaque famille cultive du tabac, des piments ou condiments divers, bref tout ce qu'elle consomme. Chaque parcelle de terre témoigne d'ailleurs de cette polyculture, puisque toutes sortes de plantes y sont semées côte à côte, selon le système dit des cultures associées, opposé à la culture d'Europe où un champ est consacré exclusivement à une récolte.

Ce mélange de plantes diverses, évite probablement d'épuiser le sol d'un de ses éléments constituants. Un pied de maïs, par des racines superficielles, puise la nourriture dont il a besoin, tandis que les tubercules de macabo qui l'entourent vont, plus profondément, se nourrir d'autres éléments, et que quelques pieds d'arachides enrichissent la terre en y fixant l'azote. Et pourtant, par une précaution supplémentaire pour ainsi dire, d'une année à l'autre, le paysan varie ses semis. Procède-t-il consciemment à un assolement véritable ; est-il amené à agir ainsi par la durée des cycles végétatifs ou les exigences des plantes ?

Après nettoyage sommaire du terrain, par brûlis, les femmes sèment et plantent sur les essarts : courges, plantains, macabo qui produiront un an ou dix-huit mois plus tard, maïs qui sera en épis 5 mois après. Après récolte de maïs, une seconde période de culture est entreprise avec des arachides ; lorsqu'elles sont à maturité, macabos, manioc et plantains fournissent leur récolte. Le manioc reste longtemps en place et peut fournir au besoin des tubercules. Le cycle terminé, la terre est laissée en jachère et réoccupée par la brousse. Abandonnées sans espoir de retour aux temps des grandes migrations, les jachères sont aujourd'hui remises en culture après un délai dont la longueur varie avec le besoin de terres dû à la pression démographique, avec la qualité des sols, avec la qualité de leur régénération.

(1) Les Boulou appellent le coton *suf* et le kapok *suf duma* ; ni le cotonnier ni le kapokier ne poussent chez eux. (P. A.)

Il n'y a pas, on le voit, de longue période sans récolte.

Sauf le maïs, les arachides, les graines de courges, il n'y a pas de récolte susceptible d'être conservée en grenier : faits aussi importants pour la psychologie populaire que pour les techniques architecturales. Travaillant selon les principes traditionnels, une femme cultive annuellement 0,52 ha pour nourrir sa famille (1). Une autre méthode permet d'évaluer la quantité de vivres nécessaires pour nourrir la population : un recensement des récoltes a été fait en 1948 dans un des cantons de Sangmelima (2). Pour satisfaire aux besoins des 6 249 habitants, il n'y a pratiquement pas « d'exportation ». Le canton produisait 1 635 000 pieds de maïs, 2 049 000 de manioc, 824 190 de bananiers plantains, 687 800 de macabo. Il fournissait en outre 44 t de riz, 200 d'arachides. 85 180 arbres fruitiers fournissaient des fruits divers (Pachylobes, Estulis, oranges, etc.).

L'usage du feu pour le nettoyage des terres et l'absence d'engrais organiques expliquent probablement l'appauvrissement des sols et le nomadisme agricole qui en est la conséquence.

Le petit élevage est pourtant connu et pratiqué ; chèvres, chiens, volailles, cochons étaient et sont encore nombreux dans les villages. Ce bétail paraît n'avoir pas un rôle bien considérable dans l'alimentation, ni dans la vie économique. L'usage, fort peu répandu, de vendre des morceaux de porc date de ces dernières années. En fait, le bétail servait à faire des cadeaux quasi rituels, à payer des dots, et à célébrer des fêtes familiales : à l'occasion d'un mariage, d'un enterrement, d'une levée de deuil, deux ou trois chèvres étaient tuées pour nourrir la parenté.

Bien entendu, les bêtes ne vivent pas dans une étable et ne sont pas nourries. Les troupeaux vont errer aux abords des villages et n'hésitent pas à piller les jardins. Les querelles classiques d'agriculteurs contre éleveurs sont innombrables (avec cette nuance que nul ici n'est uniquement éleveur, ni uniquement cultivateur). L'usage des clôtures de haies s'était-il imposé pour éviter ces déprédations ou pour assurer la protection militaire des hameaux ? Quelle qu'en soit l'origine, cette pratique associée à l'élevage aurait pu permettre d'éviter l'érosion et de protéger la fertilité des sols. Actuellement, il serait nettement excessif de parler d'un système de clôtures, comme on pourrait le faire à propos des Bamiléké de l'Ouest-Cameroun. Ce système a-t-il jamais existé en pays pahouin et les modestes haies que l'on rencontre parfois autour des villages ou des plantations en sont-elles la trace ? Quoi qu'il en soit, cet usage pourrait être extrêmement bénéfique et son développement serait hautement souhaitable.

L'élevage est actuellement en recul, surtout dans les villages desservis par les routes. Les sacrifices pour lesquels les chèvres et

(1) Moyenne obtenue avec 27 femmes (Ewôndo, Bané) dont les champs ont été mesurés en 1954 au cours d'une étude de budgets familiaux.

(2) Rapport de l'administrateur J. M. Soupault. Il faudrait pour un individu moyen : 250 pieds de maïs, 330 de manioc, 130 de plantains, 110 de macabo, 7 kg de riz et 32 d'arachides.

poules étaient nécessaires tombent-ils en désuétude ? L'afflux de voitures et le nombre de poules écrasées ont-ils empêché le renouvellement du cheptel ? Ces causes diverses ont pu agir en même temps, mais la cause invoquée le plus souvent est le développement des cacaoyères. Faute de clôtures, l'élevage des chèvres et la plantation de cacaoyers sont choses incompatibles. Pour protéger leurs plantations ou éviter d'avoir de trop nombreux palabres, les propriétaires de troupeaux ont dû limiter leur activité.

Agriculture moderne

Le cacao est, en effet, le symbole et l'élément essentiel d'une économie moderne. A travers cette culture et à travers les pratiques agricoles, juridiques ou économiques qu'elle entraîne, mille progrès ou germes d'évolution apparaissent dans la société entière.

Il serait injuste cependant de ne pas citer les autres activités économiques des pays pahouins, bien que leur influence et leur rendement financier les classent loin derrière le cacao. Le bois, dont l'importance a diminué jouait, il y a quelques décades, un rôle essentiel. Les entrepreneurs africains sont très rares dans ce secteur où l'équipement est complexe et coûteux. Un tonnage assez important de palmistes est commercialisé lorsque les cours sont favorables, bien que le palmier ne trouve pas ici les meilleures conditions de sol et de climat (1).

Mais le cacao reste le produit-roi. Sa culture est entrée dans les mœurs et marque les psychologies. Les planteurs se vantent du nombre de leurs arbres. Cette transformation est-elle profonde ? Balandier estime que non : « L'actuel intérêt attaché à la culture du cacao ne doit pas faire illusion, le Fang n'est pas naturellement agriculteur ; il fait du cacao dans la mesure où celui-ci fait de l'argent et des marchandises (2). »

Depuis 40 ans, des millions d'arbres ont été plantés : quelques chiffres suffiront à indiquer l'ampleur du mouvement. En pays bulu, la moyenne est d'environ 1 500 cacaoyers par homme actif pour Ebolowa, 1 100 pour Sangmelima, 950 pour Djoum. En pays béti, les plantations sont moins vastes, soit parce que la terre y était moins propice, soit parce que la densité de la population ne permettait pas de soustraire aux cultures vivrières de si nombreuses superficies. On compte cependant 413 cacaoyers par homme actif pour l'ensemble de la région de Yaoundé. La répartition par subdivision n'est pas sans intérêt car elle permet de comprendre l'extension des cacaoyers. La subdivision de Mbalmayo vient en tête avec 743 arbres par homme ; puis Djongolo, 655 ; Etse, 415 ; Akonolinga, 401 ; Saa, 378 ; Mfou, 347 ; Okola, 277. Le chiffre de Nanga Eboko ne mérite pas d'être pris en considération, la subdivision étant en partie dans une zone climatique

(1) Les Pahouins du Sud-Cameroun, Boulou et Ntoumou notamment, répugnent à grimper aux arbres et vendent fréquemment les régimes pendants à des Mekaé. (P. A.)
(2) BALANDIER et PAUVERT, *Villages gabonais*, I.E.C.A., Brazzaville, 1952.

défavorable. Ebolowa est bien le centre de diffusion et la contagion de l'exemple explique bien la densité de moins en moins forte des cacaoyères. A Yaoundé ou à Akonolinga, les plantations sont moins denses parce que l'habitude de planter est plus récente. Mais les chiffres faibles de Saa ou d'Okola s'expliquent vraisemblablement par la difficulté de trouver des terres vides dans des zones où la densité peut aller jusqu'à 100 habitants au kilomètre carré. D'un autre côté, la raréfaction extrême de la population devient défavorable. Djoum (0,8 habitant au kilomètre carré) est moins richement planté que Sangmelima ou Ebolowa (8 à 10 habitants au kilomètre carré).

Mesurant l'importance des cacaoyers dans l'économie locale, les chiffres de répartition par homme ne donneront aucune indication quant à la répartition de la propriété des arbres et de la richesse. Toute la production est aux mains des Africains. Chacun tient à honneur de posséder une plantation. Les citadins, fonctionnaires ou employés, que leurs occupations tiennent éloignés de leur village d'origine, s'efforcent de créer une cacaoyère, même s'ils n'en recueillent pas le fruit avant leur retraite. Parmi les Boulou ou les Béti, tout homme marié est planteur. Au cours d'une enquête par sondage portant sur 490 familles rurales, on en a trouvé seulement 43 (moins de 9 %) ne jouissant pas des revenus d'une cacaoyère (1) : 7 vivent de la vente de produits agricoles divers, 15 se livrent à des travaux artisanaux, 9 sont salariés : employés de commerce, de missions, d'administration. Pour les 437 autres familles, le cacao est une ressource essentielle.

Le grand nombre de possesseurs va de pair avec une grande dispersion de la richesse et une certaine égalité des conditions sociales (2). Pourtant, les différences financières sont marquées : à considérer uniquement le revenu en argent et sans tenir compte de l'auto-consommation, 28 foyers disposent en moyenne de 3 720 F C.F.A. par an (3), 113 de 10 000 F C.F.A., 217 de 29 600 F, 87 de 71 500 F, 36 de 152 000 F, 5 de 440 000 F. Les gros revenus vont avec de vastes plantations mais aussi avec des recettes provenant de sources diverses : parmi les 5 familles jouissant des revenus les plus élevés, 2 seulement ont des revenus purement agricoles. Parmi les 36 de la catégorie immédiatement inférieure, 24 ont uniquement des revenus agricoles. La répartition des cacaoyères n'est ni la seule, ni peut-être la principale source d'inégalité. La production de cacao est considérable : 50 000 t environ pour le Cameroun, 3 000 t pour le Gabon (4). On comprend que cette culture joue un rôle essentiel dans l'évolution de la société pahouine.

En droit coutumier, elle a, par exemple, déterminé l'orientation du droit foncier. En donnant à chacun des possibilités de gains per-

(1) J. Binet, *Budgets familiaux des planteurs de cacao au Cameroun*, O.R.S.T.O.M.
(2) Sautter, Le cacao dans l'économie rurale du Woleu-Ntem, *Etudes centrafricaines*, 1951.
(3) 1 F C.F.A. = 2 F métropolitains. Les revenus ont été relevés en 1954, année où les cours du cacao ont été particulièrement favorables.
(4) La quasi-totalité de la production gabonaise provient du Woleu-Ntem et, particulièrement, des cantons Ntoumou. (P. A.)

sonnels, elle a accru l'indépendance des hommes et même des femmes à l'égard des patriarches. Permettant la constitution de biens durables et transmissibles, elle a contribué à poser en termes nouveaux le problème de la dévolution successorale.

A ne considérer que le domaine technique, la fixation au sol pour plusieurs générations a vraisemblablement mis fin au nomadisme proprement dit : les villages ne se déplacent plus guère. Mais un certain nomadisme agraire restera inévitable si un mode de régénération rapide des jachères n'est pas adopté.

L'outillage s'est considérablement accru. Une hache dont le fer petit et étroit, terminé par une soie était fichée dans la grosse tête d'un manche en bois, une daba construite de façon semblable, mais au fer plus rond et au manche moins lourd (1), une matchette constituaient les outils essentiels. Il faut maintenant y ajouter le sécateur, l'échenilleuse ou son imitation artisanale, la lance à cacao.

Des caisses ou des paniers servent de bac pour la fermentation des fèves, un toit abrite les claies où celles-ci sont mises à sécher. Certains ont songé à acheter des pulvérisateurs Vermorel pour traiter leurs arbres, d'autres rêvent de moto-faucheuses pour nettoyer le sol.

3) Commerce

Les planteurs disposent de quelques recettes ; outre l'outillage, mille besoins nouveaux sont nés, que le commerce doit satisfaire.

Fait étrange à constater, il n'y a absolument aucune tradition commerciale chez les Pahouins. Pour payer les dots, les anciens se servaient de pointes d'ivoire ou de morceaux de fer façonnés en forme de flèches. Mais était-ce là une monnaie ? Rien ne s'achetait, rien ne se vendait. Et cependant, selon Balandier, la recherche des richesses représentait l'activité essentielle des hommes (2), en dehors du travail régulier, peut-être d'ailleurs parce qu'il n'y avait pas de commerce et d'échanges. A travers les récits, il semble que les ancêtres n'aient pu se procurer les objets venant des pays lointains que par des *bilaba*, et non par des achats. Le *bilaba* se rapproche des potlaches par son caractère de lutte. Au cours d'une visite, l'hôte donne à son ami toutes sortes de présents en le défiant de pouvoir en faire autant. Plus tard, celui-ci devra fournir plus encore qu'il n'a reçu. Il s'agit donc à la fois d'un échange et d'une lutte de prestige (3). Les *bilaba* ont vraisemblablement servi à distribuer les produits en provenance de l'Europe (sel, armes, vêtements) et à les échanger contre l'ivoire récolté dans l'intérieur, la viande de chasse, ou les chiens que certaines tribus

(1) La soie de la houe, enfoncée dans une branche en forme de crochet est, en outre, ligaturée sur celle-ci avec une liane. Les vieilles femmes utilisent encore le bâton-à-fouir, qui a, ou a eu, une signification rituelle. (P. A.)

(2) Cf. Largeau (n° 48), pour le rôle mythique de l'araignée dans la fabrication des marchandises « chez les morts ». (P. A.)

(3) J. Guilbot, *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, 1951, t. XXI ; G. Balandier, *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire*, P.U.F., 1955, p. 182.

consomment. C'est en général à de tels échanges que font allusion les vieux récits. Mais on peut à peine parler de commerce pour des dons et contre-dons aussi ritualisés. Et rien d'autre ne permet de supposer une vie économique comportant des échanges. De Yaoundé à Brazzaville, il n'y a pas de marchés, ou plus précisément ceux qui existent aujourd'hui ont été établis par les Européens ou à leur instigation (1).

Une étude attentive des noms de villages dans plusieurs subdivisions n'a pas permis de trouver un nom qui paraisse lié aux idées de marché, d'échange, de commerce. Les vocabulaires sont d'ailleurs de plus en plus limités sur ces sujets.

Et dans ce pays si peu préparé à une vie économique, l'économie mondiale pénètre avec toute sa complexité, imposant à la production totale un prix d'achat aux variations duquel les planteurs ne peuvent évidemment rien comprendre : leur désarroi est normal puisqu'ils n'ont même pas pu, par des commerces traditionnels, se familiariser avec les idées de prix, de besoin, de marchandage...

Il va sans dire que l'époque où le sel était la marchandise la plus demandée est depuis longtemps dépassée. Le sac de sel figure pourtant dans les cadeaux traditionnels de mariage, et la fabrication de sel avec les cendres lessivées du palmier est encore connue, mais le produit n'est vendu, et bien rarement d'ailleurs, que pour ses propriétés médicales.

Les achats se sont diversifiés à l'extrême, comme on peut en juger par la répartition des dépenses dans un budget familial moyen (2) :

Alimentation	14	%	Ustensiles de ménage	1,9	%
Textiles	17,4	–	Equipement	7,7	–
Dot	13	–	Impôts	8,5	–
Logement et mobilier	7,5	–	Médicaments	1,3	–
Literie	1,5	–	Education	0,9	–
Eclairage et entretien	3	–	Cadeaux et divers	6	–
Voyages	2	–			

L'alimentation comporte maintenant, même en brousse, des produits importés comme le stockfish ou comme le pain, les sardines, le sucre ou le lait condensé dont la consommation est plus irrégulière. Les vêtements constituent le principal chef de dépense. L'empressement à suivre la mode parisienne n'est peut-être pas un trait ethnique propre aux femmes pahouines, mais c'est un caractère géographique bien particulier au Sud-Cameroun : aussi les tissus vendus sont-ils pour une bonne proportion ceux vendus en Europe. Les impressions particulières à l'Afrique, les *wax-prints*, reculent. Lingerie, bonneterie, chaussures, témoignent de ce raffinement qui va avec la richesse. L'achat des objets durables classés sous la rubrique « équipement » (bicyclettes, phonos, lampes à pression) en est un autre symptôme, comme la transformation des besoins pour les ustensiles de ménage.

(1) Cette absence est également signalée par BALANDIER, *op. cit.*, p. 544.
(2) Ces chiffres extraits des *Budgets familiaux au Cameroun*, p. 150, ne tiennent pas compte, rappelons-le, de l'auto-consommation.

6: Alexandre and Binet FH9 Fang

Si les marmites sont toujours l'instrument de cuisine essentiel, les « émaillés » sont durement concurrencés par la faïence et le verre. On trouve partout des couvertures mais, en outre, l'emploi des draps devient plus fréquent.

La simple liste des marchandises montre bien l'importance actuelle du commerce. Les autochtones ne l'ont pas toujours compris faute de goût pour cette profession ; ils n'ont pas créé d'entreprises commerciales et ont souvent laissé faire des immigrés : gens de la côte familiarisés depuis plus longtemps avec les usages européens, et surtout Bamiléké ou « Haoussa » qui possèdent, eux, des traditions commerciales solides et une grande habileté dans ce domaine. Les Boulou en particulier méprisent le commerce et refusent de s'y adonner. Les autres peuples pahouins ne manifestent pas une antipathie aussi brutale, mais leur activité commerciale reste très limitée.

Est-ce à cette carence des autochtones et à cette mainmise des « étrangers » qu'il faut imputer l'organisation et la localisation du commerce dans la région ? En effet, les villages sont extrêmement mal desservis : les marchés sont rares et les boutiques rurales également. Peut-être faut-il marquer une différence entre les divers groupes pahouins ou pahouinisés : si le commerçant villageois est toujours un personnage rarissime en pays boulou, malgré la richesse, au moins relative, des planteurs, il n'est pas inconnu en pays éwôndô et se rencontre plus fréquemment chez les Éton, où les ressources sont pourtant plus faibles. Faute de commerce local, la collecte des produits, et plus précisément du cacao, posait un problème difficile : l'intervention des acheteurs apportait une solution. Les maisons de commerce leur avancent de l'argent et achètent les tonnages qu'ils peuvent collecter. De case en case, le long des pistes, l'acheteur négocie les achats avec les planteurs. A côté de ces « achats par colportage », le développement des ventes par colportage aurait pu paraître logique. Et pourtant, c'est un phénomène tout récent, lié au développement des transports par auto et bicyclette. Mais, tandis que les acheteurs sont en général originaires du pays, les colporteurs sont le plus souvent des étrangers.

Les achats porte à porte entraînant mille inconvénients, l'administration s'est efforcée de créer des marchés ruraux, afin que la publicité des opérations et la concurrence en garantissent la correction. Ces marchés représentent une tentative pour implanter le commerce en milieu rural : ils ne sont pas limités à l'achat du cacao ou des palmistes ; des commerçants africains s'efforcent d'y vendre tissus, quincaillerie ou produits alimentaires. Mais ils sont encore trop récents pour que l'usage en soit solidement implanté, pour qu'ils aient une existence propre. Peut-être faudrait-il, ici encore, mettre à part certains cantons éton où il existe des marchés ruraux paraissant vraiment indigènes.

Bien qu'ils soient d'origine européenne, les marchés qui se tiennent chaque jour dans les chefs-lieux de subdivisions sont parfaitement entrés dans les mœurs. A l'origine, ils furent créés pour l'alimentation des agglomérations formées autour des postes administratifs ou mis-

6: Alexandre and Binet FH9 Fang

sionnaires. Puis des commerçants professionnels vinrent y offrir des marchandises importées aux villageois venus vendre les produits de leurs champs. Aujourd'hui, ces marchés sont parfaitement réguliers et attirent le public dans un rayon de 20 km. Leur importance varie avec celle de la subdivision considérée ; on peut retenir à titre d'exemple les chiffres suivants, obtenus par l'étude du marché de Sangmélima : deux cents femmes viennent vendre des légumes, du maïs ou des fruits de leurs jardins. Des revendeuses d'huile de palme, après avoir acheté litre par litre en brousse, viennent y vendre quelque 10 à 20 litres. Des jeunes garçons vendent cigarettes, morceaux de sucre, sandwiches ou verres de café, tandis que des femmes apportent des beignets. A côté de ces commerçants d'occasion, d'autres travaillent à plus grande échelle : une vingtaine vendent des poissons séchés et fumés, préparés sur la côte ou des stockfish (séchés et salés) importés d'Europe, tandis que, dans leurs échoppes, soixante « market boys », vendeurs de tissus, d'émaillés, ou de quincaillerie, attendent les clients.

Le nombre des artisans groupés autour du marché, le nombre des cars, des camions aménagés ou des bicyclettes qui ont amené les chalands, montrent bien qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une institution artificielle. Le marché tend maintenant à devenir un des éléments de la ville.

Il partage ce rôle avec les boutiques. Commerçants européens et commerçants africains travaillent selon les méthodes occidentales, sont à la fois grossistes et détaillants. Ils s'efforcent de maintenir leurs relations commerciales avec les détaillants africains qui savent fort bien aller de fournisseur en fournisseur pour comparer marchandises, prix et conditions. En même temps, ils vendent directement au public. De telles boutiques sont rares hors des villes : ici, comme pour les marchés, les villages sont peu touchés par la vie économique.

4) Les villes

Ce manque de dynamisme de la brousse se comprend si l'on se reporte aux conditions du peuplement : la dispersion de l'habitat est très nette. Il n'y a pas, à proprement parler, de village, mais une poussière de hameaux. Au Cameroun, les villages sont très petits : 230 habitants en moyenne. Encore s'agit-il d'une unité de commandement : leur village se divise en nombreux hameaux de 5 à 20 cases groupées autour de celle du chef de famille.

Au Gabon, les leaders fang s'inquiètent de cet émiettement de la population et ont lancé des mots d'ordre de regroupement de villages. Chez eux, en effet, la dispersion est peut-être plus marquée encore. « La moyenne des habitants par village varie de 42 (territoire de Mitzic) à 105 sur Oyem et presque à 138 dans le canton fang de Makokou (1). »

Ce n'est pas ici le lieu d'étudier si la dispersion est naturelle dans un pays où aucune autorité ne s'était imposée, où le seul pouvoir

(1) Balandier et Pauvert, Les villages gabonais, *Mémoire I.E.C.A.*, Brazzaville, 1952.

certain était celui du chef de famille, ou si au contraire elle témoigne d'une anarchie nouvelle, d'un individualisme exacerbé. Signalons simplement que les hameaux sont plus gros en pays bulu qu'en pays éwôndô ou bané, alors que les institutions politiques anciennes des Êwôndô et des Bané semblent avoir donné aux chefs de tribus des pouvoirs politiques, des insignes, dont il ne paraît pas avoir été question dans les coutumes bulu. Avec un début de concentration du pouvoir politique coïnciderait une dispersion plus grande de l'habitat.

Il reste qu'aucun point de concentration n'imposait une cristallisation quelconque à une masse amorphe. Ceci, lié à l'absence de commerce, marque bien le caractère nouveau et artificiel des villes. Toutes sont de création récente, et cependant, elles sont devenues nécessaires.

Leur rôle dans le commerce extérieur de la contrée est évident, mais leur activité dans l'économie régionale n'est pas moins essentielle. En effet, jadis, sous l'influence de besoins limités, la population ne pratiquait guère la spécialisation : chaque groupe se suffisait à lui-même. Aucune division du travail, sauf le partage des tâches masculines et des tâches féminines, ne s'imposait. Seuls les forgerons étaient en possession d'une technique spéciale, leur permettant d'exercer un métier. Encore n'étaient-ils pas castés : un forgeron pouvait s'allier par mariage avec n'importe quelle famille et un fils de cultivateur pouvait devenir forgeron.

Chacun pouvait extraire du minerai de fer, mais seul un homme d'art, ayant acquis connaissances et pouvoir magique, pouvait façonner le métal. La différenciation professionnelle, on le voit, est encore rudimentaire. Peut-être coïncide-t-elle avec un niveau technologique médiocre : l'outillage est sommaire : une pierre employée comme enclume, une barre de fer comme marteau, un soufflet de forge. Le forgeron ne paraît pas avoir été ce personnage mystérieux et redouté que l'on rencontre dans d'autres civilisations. Tout au plus peut-on penser qu'il y eut des interdits sexuels pendant certaines phases du travail, ce qui pourrait supposer un aspect magique ou religieux (1).

Le petit nombre des objets utilisés n'exigeait pas une véritable division du travail : un morceau d'ivoire rainuré servait à marteler des écorces pour les assouplir et permettre de les utiliser comme vêtements. Cette technique a évidemment disparu. Quelques poteries, des bols de bois remplacés maintenant par des objets importés. On trouve encore assez fréquemment des tambours d'appel, des louches ou cuillers de bois sculptées par des artisans, des mortiers. Les fers de lance se vendent couramment sur les marchés. Les arbalètes sont de moins en moins employées et les chasseurs fabriquent eux-mêmes leurs filets.

Les besoins, plus variés maintenant, ont donné naissance à de

(1) Miss KINGSLEY, *Travels in West Africa*, Londres, 1897 ; notons pourtant « un important art de la poterie, un travail du fer qui mérite une notation spéciale en raison de son excellence, une technique du traitement du latex, un art du vêtement tressé » (*in* : BALANDIER, Village fang, *Etudes centrafricaines*, 1951).

nombreuses spécialisations professionnelles. Certaines sont représentées dans les milieux ruraux, mais la plupart des artisans résident en ville : c'est là qu'ils ont appris leur métier, qu'ils trouvent plus facilement matériaux et outillage, c'est là aussi que l'affluence leur permettra, pensent-ils, de grouper des commandes nombreuses.

Certains métiers sont implantés de longue date, comme ceux de tailleur, de maçon, de menuisier. Mais, si les Pahouins sont nombreux dans les métiers du bois et du bâtiment, ils sont souvent concurrencés comme tailleurs par des immigrés. De nouvelles professions naissent souvent contrôlées aussi par des étrangers : photographes, matelassiers, mécaniciens. Cette simple liste des professions les plus répandues permet de deviner l'amélioration de l'habitat ; portes et fenêtres, tables, chaises, armoires, lits, matelas sont maintenant assez couramment employés.

Les villes remplissent un rôle essentiel et sont parfaitement incorporées au pays, puisque c'est là que les ruraux vont faire exécuter les objets dont ils ont besoin. Le caractère disparate de leur peuplement étonne. Des immigrés venus de toutes les régions du Cameroun, ou de l'A.E.F. leur donnent un caractère cosmopolite, alors que la brousse n'a pas subi un brassage aussi complexe.

Il ne faudrait pas cependant s'exagérer l'opposition entre ruraux et citadins : bien des paysans ont séjourné quelques années dans les centres et y ont conservé des relations. L'émigration a été assez active il y a 30 ans et certaines tribus pahouines étaient très fortement représentées sur les chantiers forestiers. Vers les villes, le mouvement était également marqué : « Le développement des plantations de cacao au Woleu-Ntem, en transformant la condition des villageois, semble bien avoir été la cause principale de l'arrêt de l'émigration en 1930. » Cette remarque de Sautter à propos des Fang est vraie aussi des Boulou et — peut-être à un moindre degré — des Béti et tribus assimilées, plus serrées dans leur territoire.

Béti, Boulou ou Fang constituent une petite bourgeoisie plutôt qu'un prolétariat sans ressources. Les chiffres suivants indiquent la proportion relativement faible de manœuvres (1).

RÉPARTITION PROFESSIONNELLE DES ÉMIGRÉS PAHOUINS A DOUALA

	Manœuvres	Ouvriers	Professions intellectuelles	Commerçants et patentés
	%	%	%	%
Béti	37	55	1,9	6
Boulou		60	40	

Une étude sur Dolisie, Baronga et Poto Poto-permet de faire des constatations semblables (2) pour les professions.

(1) M. Sorex, *Démographie et problèmes urbains en A.E.F.*, I.F.A.N., 1954.
(2) D'après J. Guildot, *Petite étude sur la main-d'œuvre à Douala*, I.F.A.N., Cameroun, 1947.

La proportion d'individus instruits est parmi eux de 40 % et, ce qui est plus important, la proportion d'individus très instruits est relativement forte.

POTO-POTO : NIVEAU CULTUREL DES « FORESTIERS COTIERS »

Illettrés	Instruits	Titulaires du C.E.P.	Titulaires du brevet
610	390	111	56

Après avoir passé une période en ville, des émigrés rentrent dans leurs villages d'origine, diminuant ainsi la séparation entre les deux. De leur côté, les broussards viennent souvent dans les centres (1) et l'on constate alors que chaque chef-lieu de subdivision est un centre d'attraction véritable. Bien que neuves, ces villes ne sont pas artificielles. Un autre fait en témoigne : la répartition socio-professionnelle de la population urbaine est pratiquement constante d'une ville à l'autre : preuve qu'elle répond à des nécessités constantes elles aussi.

Pour 100 habitants, on rencontre en général : manœuvres, 16,5 ; employés de commerce, 12 ; commerçants, 8,3 ; chauffeurs, 6,9 (et motor-boys 4,3) ; employés des services publics, 6,7 ; domestiques, 5,8 ; menuisiers, 4,9 ; maçons, 4 ; cultivateurs, 3,5 ; tailleurs, 3,2 ; mécaniciens, 2,9 ; photographes, 0,8 ; bouviers, 0,5 ; catéchistes, 0,1 ; sans profession, 9, etc.

Telle est dans ses grandes lignes la répartition actuelle. Retenons simplement qu'avec la diffusion d'une culture nouvelle, la société tout entière se modifie. Les techniques et outils employés se sont enrichis et diversifiés, en même temps que les conditions sociales.

J. B.

(1) Un chiffre précise le nombre de ces voyages : pour 480 budgets concernant au total quelque 2 000 individus, 1 116 voyages ont été dénombrés (J. Binet, *op. cit.*, p. 112).

[p. 40]

CHAPITRE V

ORGANISATION SOCIALE

1) Formes d'établissement, habitat

Au groupe social de base, la famille patriarcale (*nda bôl* = lit. maison des gens) correspond le hameau ou village élémentaire, *jal* (bulu, pl. *mal*; fañ, éwôndo : *dzal*), généralement désigné du nom du patriarche (*ésa* = père ; *ntôl* = aîné), mais portant parfois, lorsqu'il est isolé, un toponyme spécial (*éyôlé* = nom propre, désignation ; le nom d'une personne est plutôt *jôé* — f. : *édzoé*). Ces *mal* sont le plus souvent groupés en villages pluri-familiaux, parfois pluri-claniques, *minlam* (sing. : *nlam*), ce dernier terme désignant tout à la fois le groupe d'habitations et le terroir qui en dépend. Le *nlam* a toujours un toponyme propre qui peut faire allusion à sa situation géographique : *nkôlayôp* = sur la colline ; à une particularité topographique ou botanique : *ako'abele* = pierre dressée, *ajap* = nom d'un arbre, *ma'an* = carrefour ; à un incident marquant de sa fondation : *ébolewo'o* (Ébolowa) = chimpanzé pourri, le village ayant été fondé à un endroit où l'on avait trouvé le corps d'un chimpanzé, *menjikôm* = de *me nji kômbo*, je n'ai pas voulu, la famille des fondateurs n'ayant pas voulu aller plus loin ; ou d'un sobriquet ou nom fantaisiste : *mañ* = mer, l'emplacement ayant été jugé « beau comme la mer », *kamelôn* = = Kamerun « parce qu'un Blanc nous avait dit que le pays s'appellerait ainsi désormais », *évuzok* = estomac d'éléphant, à cause de l'appétit de ses habitants, etc. Il arrive aussi que le nom d'un village reprenne celui du village d'origine de son fondateur, parfois accompagné d'une indication comme *baa* = second, *mfefé* = nouveau, ou du nom de son fondateur ou de son chef : *Meyo me Nkulu* le Méyo de Nkulu.

On a décrit plus haut l'avance en saut-de-mouton des petits groupes pahouins au moment de l'invasion. Chacun de ces groupes correspondait en général à un hameau — *jal* — ou à un village — *nlam* — ou plutôt aux cellules familiales correspondantes : *nda bôl* ou *mvôk*. Le groupe en migration conservait des droits sur l'emplacement abandonné *(bilik)*. De nos jours la migration de villages entiers est beaucoup plus rare. On assiste plutôt soit à l'essaimage de villages trop peuplés par rapport à la quantité de terres disponibles pour les plantations (en particulier, au Cameroun surtout, de terres proches d'une route carrossable), soit à une sorte d'explosion ou de désinté-

gration sociale, ce dernier phénomène étant particulièrement sensible chez les Fang, où il a été bien décrit par Balandier. L'action administrative a souvent joué un rôle primordial dans les dernières migrations; au Gabon, par exemple, on a essayé de déplacer des villages entiers, pour des raisons administratives, économiques ou sanitaires, mais, ce faisant, on a « cassé » des collectivités déjà rendues fragiles par la disparition des nécessités défensives anciennes et les transformations de l'économie résultant de la colonisation. Les villages nouveaux, souvent reconstitués sans tenir compte des structures claniques et familiales antérieures, n'avaient plus aucune cohésion et éclataient en petits hameaux mal enracinés et faiblement peuplés, se déplaçant continuellement de façon anarchique et cherchant le plus souvent à échapper au contact de l'administration. Depuis 1946, sous l'impulsion notamment du député Aubame, Fang lui-même, existe au Gabon un mouvement de regroupement des villages par clans, dont les résultats ne semblent pas avoir correspondu aux espérances de ses initiateurs.

La situation est sensiblement différente au Cameroun, où l'introduction précoce de la culture du cacao (avant 1914, en pays éwôndo et dans le Nord du pays bulu) a considérablement freiné le nomadisme villageois, les planteurs répugnant à s'éloigner des plantations. Lorsqu'il y a migration, il s'agit plutôt de l'essaimage d'une partie des habitants qui vont fonder un nouveau hameau dans un emplacement propre aux cultures, sans qu'il y ait désormais de correspondance obligatoire entre structure familiale et habitat : le nouveau *jal* ne correspondra plus forcément à une famille, mais pourra grouper plusieurs foyers relevant de lignées *(mvam)* différentes et non apparentées.

Le village pahouin d'autrefois était conçu pour la défense. Situé dans une clairière oblongue, généralement à une portée de *nkul*, tambour-téléphone, du village le plus proche (3 à 4 km), il comprenait deux rangées de cases rectangulaires, jointives, pignon à pignon, de part et d'autre d'une cour ou rue centrale *(nseñ)*, barrée à chaque bout par un corps de garde *(aba, abeñ)* ne ménageant qu'une entrée étroite, souvent en chicane, barricadée chaque soir. Toutes les portes ouvraient sur la *nseñ*, les parois extérieures ne comportant que quelques meurtrières. Le village s'entourait parfois d'un fossé *(ésalak)* et de chausse-trapes, parfois aussi d'une palanque *(akak)*. Les plantations vivrières *(mefup)* les plus importantes étaient en forêt, souvent assez éloignées, mais près du village, derrière les cases, se trouvaient des bananeraies et des potagers, alors que les plantes médicinales *(bilok bi mebiañ)* étaient, de même que le tabac, cultivées dans la *nseñ* centrale. Les parois des cases étaient faites d'écorce (celle de certains ficus en particulier) détrempée, puis battue à plat et séchée pour former des planches : ce sont les « carbotes » (de l'anglais *cardboard*) encore en usage sur la Côte. Ces planches étaient fixées au moyen de lianes et de chevilles sur des poteaux plantés en rectangle. Le toit à double pente était en « tuiles » de folioles de raphia *(ôbaé*, pl. *abaé)* pliées en deux et épinglées avec des éclats de bois sur des voliges, faites avec

les éclats de la nervure maîtresse de la feuille, parallèles à la faîtière. Celle-ci reposait sur des poteaux fourchus, dont les deux centraux avaient une signification magique et étaient en général sculptés ou tout au moins peints. Les dimensions de ces cases d'habitation dépassaient rarement 6 m sur 3, alors que celles des *meba* (corps de garde) pouvaient atteindre le double. Dans chaque foyer, l'homme avait sa case personnelle où il gardait ses biens *(biôm)* principaux : caisses contenant les pagnes, etc., armes, tambours, « médicaments » *(mebiaň)*, siège personnel, masques et accessoires magiques... Les cases des femmes, accolées à la sienne, et où couchaient les jeunes enfants, servaient de cuisines et contenaient les paniers de transports, les paniers-greniers *(binaan)*, les poteries *(viek)* ou « negro-pots » d'importation *(minkeň)*, la claie-séchoir, les haveneaux, mortiers et autres ustensiles féminins. Les jeunes hommes célibataires couchaient dans le corps de garde, les jeunes filles avec les femmes. Un *jal* habité par une famille de moyenne importance pouvait avoir une cinquantaine de mètres de long. Les grands *minlam* atteignaient un demi-kilomètre, la *nseň* étant alors divisée en sections par les *meba* secondaires de chaque famille. Le chef habitait au milieu et avait une *aba* plus grande que celle des autres familles.

Les villages de ce type ont à peu près complètement disparu. Il subsiste des cases d'écorce dans quelques villages écartés, au Gabon, mais elles sont de plus en plus rares. Pratiquement, on trouve à peu près partout la case en banco armé (l'armature est en lattes de nervure maîtresse de raphia, improprement appelée bambou), imposée en pays bulu, vers 1925, par un administrateur surnommé *Nkulu* (= la Tornade), et qui a fait tache d'huile dans tout le pays pahouin. Ces cases sont le plus souvent rectangulaires mais tendent, dans les villages riches, à s'inspirer de formes européennes, avec un plan en T, en U, ou en H, des vérandas, des douchières en appentis. Elles sont souvent crépies au kaolin *(fem)*, parfois mélangé d'ocre rouge ou vert ou de bleu à linge importé. Le toit reste le plus souvent en tuile de raphia, mais il peut être à quatre pentes ou encore plus compliqué, copié sur les toits européens. Chaque famille a son cabinet d'aisances *(éduk)*.

La forme des villages a changé également. Le plan le plus répandu conserve la *nseň* centrale unique, mais les cases sont sur quatre lignes de part et d'autre, séparées et non plus jointives. Les cases des hommes sont les plus proches de la route, celles des femmes, appelées maintenant *kisin* (cuisines) rangées derrière ou parfois autour de celle du mari. Le crépi est souvent peint à fresque de sujets variés ; copies d'images de magazines, sujets religieux, illustration, en pays bulu, du roman *Nnanga kôn* (1), portraits d'Européens célèbres localement ou mondialement. L'*aba* a perdu son caractère défensif et se présente souvent comme un hangar aéré, avec un toit assez bas pour bien protéger du

(1) Le meilleur peintre boulou de ces dernières années était David MONEWOSO, Yemfek de Sangmélima qui, non seulement a fixé les types des héros de *Nnanga kôn*, mais encore est un bon portraitiste et un remarquable animalier.

soleil. Certains villages sont orientés perpendiculairement à la route, d'autres ont un plan en L, en Y, avec plusieurs *minseñ*. Les « concessions » familiales sont séparées par des haies d'euphorbe, de croton, d'hibiscus, de bougainvillées. On trouve parfois des bergeries, alors que dans les villages d'autrefois (et la plupart des modernes) le petit bétail erre en liberté. Le village comporte souvent une case des hôtes *(ayak)*.

Dans la construction, l'homme se charge généralement de la charpente et de l'armature, laissant aux femmes la préparation et la mise en place du banco. Mais les cases à l'européenne, avec leurs huisseries compliquées et leur sol souvent cimenté, sont de plus en plus l'œuvre d'artisans spécialisés, payés pour diriger le travail de la main-d'œuvre familiale fournie par le propriétaire. Ils ont cependant conservé, à côté de la désignation anglaise de *mason*, le vieux nom de *nloñ nda* = = lit. tisseur de case, qui date des cases en écorce cousue (1).

2) Groupements et parentés

Les grandes divisions de la société pahouine sont à la fois précises, dans l'esprit de ses membres eux-mêmes, et incertaines pour l'observateur européen, toujours tenté de les articuler en organigrammes accessibles à sa « logique » et gêné par les variations ou les confusions dialectales de leur terminologie. Le R. P. Trilles, se fondant sur l'observation des seuls Fang gabonais, parvenait à une sorte de reconstitution paléontologique de la « nation fang », extrêmement théorique, mais cependant non dépourvue de tout fondement, puisqu'on retrouve ses traces dans le mouvement contemporain du Regroupement Pahouin, incarné au Cameroun par le parti de l'U.T.N.K. (Union Tribale Ntem Kribi). De telles constructions restent bien hasardeuses dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances et il vaut mieux se borner à une description pure et simple en ayant le moins possible recours à l'interprétation, laquelle, en tout état de cause, doit être faite au mode dubitatif.

Je me contenterai donc ici de tenter de saisir la société pahouine à trois niveaux de structure importants, en insistant encore sur ce qu'une telle démarche a forcément d'arbitraire et d'incomplet.

Ces trois niveaux sont à la fois les plus aisément perceptibles à l'observateur européen et, semble-t-il, les plus significatifs aux yeux des Pahouins eux-mêmes. Ce sont, ce que je baptiserai, faute de mieux et parce que ce sont les termes retenus notamment par l'administration, la tribu, le clan et la famille-étendue ou famille-villageoise. Il faudra aussi dire un mot des structures intermédiaires, lignées, fractions, groupe villageois, et s'étendre un peu plus sur la famille-foyer ou famille-restreinte, dont l'importance va croissant.

(1) L'habitat continue à évoluer : les huisseries (portes, fenêtres et volets) sont employées couramment. Les dimensions des édifices amènent à construire une véritable charpente. Enfin, la possession d'un toit de tôle est le signe de la richesse. Depuis ces dernières années, un véritable engouement pour l'amélioration de l'habitation est né : au Cameroun, on peut estimer que 10 % des habitations actuellement construites en brousse sont du type le plus moderne. (J. B.)

a) *La tribu*

Je désigne par « tribu » ce que Trilles appelle « groupe », réservant, avec beaucoup d'observateurs gabonais, le terme « tribu » à ce que je baptise « clan ». C'est qu'en effet, il n'existe guère dans le Sud-gabonais qu'une seule « tribu » au sens où je l'entends, celle des Fang proprement dits, ou Fang-Fang, comme disent les auteurs espagnols.

Je ne connais pas de mot pahouin désignant expressément la tribu. Trilles le rend par *mfulane meyoñ*, c'est-à-dire « ensemble des clans ». En fait, et c'est sans doute significatif, le terme le plus couramment usité est *ayoñ*, qui désigne aussi bien ce que j'appelle le clan ; *mfulane meyoñ* est employé surtout quand il y a lieu de préciser qu'on parle du niveau de structure supérieur, parfois désigné aussi comme *ngum ayoñ*, « le clan tout entier », ou *meyoñ mese*, « tous les clans » (1). Cependant, il y a bien une réalité de la tribu, malgré cette incertitude dans sa désignation. Elle est connue sous un nom propre — Fang, Boulou, Ntoumou, Êwôndo, etc. — et ses membres ont un sentiment effectif d'appartenance.

Les tribus ont le plus souvent une zone géographique d'habitat homogène, mais ce n'est pas une règle absolue : les Mvaé sont répartis en deux blocs, séparés par les Ntoumou ; de même, il y a des noyaux fañ isolés au Nord du pays bulu.

J'ai rappelé (*supra*, p. 16) la légende qui fait remonter la formation des tribus à la séparation des enfants de l'ancêtre Afiri Kara, après le passage de la Sanaga. Chaque tribu se composerait donc des descendants d'un de ces ancêtres mythiques, ayant suivi une route de migration distincte et s'étant plus tard fixé dans une zone particulière de nomadisation agricole. L'explication fournirait une définition satisfaisante, mais elle est en contradiction avec une autre tradition, paraissant mieux attestée, et selon laquelle les mêmes clans se retrouvent au sein de toutes les tribus. Cette dernière tradition s'accorde mieux avec les aspirations à l'unité de la « nation pahouine ». Les tribus seraient alors des groupements de fait, de composition clanique identique, au sein de chacun desquels se retrouveraient des descendants de plusieurs ancêtres mythiques et non d'un seul comme dans la théorie précédente.

Quoi qu'il en soit, il n'est pas contestable que la tribu existe bel et bien, et se manifeste en particulier *contre* les tribus voisines, alors même qu'il serait admis que celles-ci auraient la même composition clanique : le récit des guerres anciennes, le spectacle des rivalités actuelles sont là pour en témoigner.

Ajoutons que certaines tribus ont une origine traditionnelle non pahouine, encore qu'elles fassent bien partie du groupe. C'est le cas des Mbida-Mbane et Mvog-Nyenge qui descendraient d'esclaves des Pahouins ; des Fong, qui proviendraient du mariage d'un Bané avec

(1) Les traducteurs américains de la Bible ont rendu par *ayoñ* aussi bien « peuple » que « tribu » ou « royaume ».

une femme pygmée, peut-être d'autres. Nous verrons qu'il est difficile dans certains cas de savoir s'il faut classer certains groupes parmi les « tribus » ou parmi les « clans ».

La tribu n'avait autrefois aucune organisation politique d'ensemble : il n'y a pas de mot signifiant proprement « chef ». Les individus désignés pour la mener à la guerre, la représenter dans une négociation commerciale ou politique, n'avaient qu'une autorité temporaire, personnelle et toujours mise en question. Les liens de parenté clanique étaient beaucoup plus forts et marqués que les liens tribaux. Cependant, il existait des associations politico-religieuses, comme le *ngil*, aujourd'hui très mal connues, qui transcendaient les barrières claniques et donnaient une certaine cohésion tribale. D'autre part, certains individus pouvaient avoir une influence, parfois une autorité, mais jamais un commandement permanent, s'étendant au delà des limites de leur clan. Il s'agissait certainement le plus souvent de dignitaires des associations initiatiques : le *nsig nlo*, grand juge des Bané, était probablement un initié de rang élevé du *ngil*. Le *njôô bôl* (commandeur de gens, chef de guerre), l'*ével* (« capita », chef de caravane), le *nkukuma* (1) *(rico hombre)* n'avaient par contre qu'une autorité de circonstance et dans un cercle restreint.

b) *Le clan*

J'appelle « clan » ce que la plupart des Pahouins appellent *ayoñ* (*mvôg*, *mvôk* dans certaines tribus du Nord) (2). C'est peut-être la structure fondamentale de la société pahouine, en tout cas, celle que les Fang du Gabon ont essayé de reconstituer en priorité, le regroupement des villages devant se faire, à leurs yeux, en fonction de celui des *mayoñ*.

L'*ayoñ* comprend l'ensemble des descendants patrilinéaires d'un ancêtre commun, les enfants naturels des filles qui en font partie, et les adoptés. Il a un nom, une devise tambourinée *(ndan)* souvent des interdits *(bilyi, biki)*, peut-être un totem. L'exogamie la plus stricte y est de règle. Tous ses membres se disent frères *(bobenyañ)*.

S'il n'y avait pas à proprement parler de division politique correspondant à l'*ayoñ*, ni de chefferie organisée, ce qui s'explique notamment par l'habitat très dispersé de ses membres, le sentiment clanique était et est encore très fort. Des réunions périodiques, *bisulan*, rassemblaient les membres de l'*ayoñ*, sous la présidence de l'aîné *(nlôl)* de la lignée *(mvôk, ayôm)* (3) aînée. L'habitude de ces *bisulan* a été reprise

(1) Forme emphatique de *nkukum* (riche).

(2) Coupnarie, 1933, *Coutumes de Ngong et Sanaga*, indique : *Ayong* fractionnées en *mayom (ayom)*. L'*ayom* est formé par la réunion de plusieurs *mvogo* qui, descendants d'un même ancêtre, se considèrent comme issus de la même mère (obligation d'exogamie). Parfois une déférence est marquée au *mvogo* se rapprochant le plus de l'ancêtre et son chef est nommé *nlombe* ou *nga mvôo nnam* ou *mol nnam*.

La collectivité peut s'assembler : *Emol* de *Nda bol*, *Ekoan* de *mvogo*. Tous les adultes peuvent parler. Puis anciens et notables vont à l'écart pour une délibération *(esok)*. Ils revviennent exposer la décision. (J. B.)

(3) *Ayôm* : probablement même racine que *nnam*, pl. *bayôm* = mâle ; à noter que l'*ayôm* est souvent désigné par le nom d'un ancêtre féminin.

récemment, au Cameroun d'abord, où le commandement indigène a été réorganisé de 1945 à 1948, sur des données claniques, puis au Gabon, où les *meyoñ* sont, surtout dans le Sud, en état de désintégration avancée.

L'*ayoñ*, dont les villages, séparés les uns des autres par des villages d'autres clans, s'étirent parfois sur plusieurs centaines de kilomètres, se divise en fractions *(mvôk)*, comprenant les descendants des frères ou plutôt des fils de l'ancêtre clanique, puis en lignées *(bisa, meyôm)*, descendant des fils de l'ancêtre de la fraction. Plus la généalogie *(mvam, nlañ bimvam; meba'a)* s'allonge, plus ces distinctions de catégories deviennent incertaines : on appellera ici *mvôk* ce qu'on appelle *ésa* à côté et *ayôm* un peu plus loin. Mais, sauf dans le Sud du Gabon, ces généalogies sont encore bien conservées et la plupart des adultes savent se rattacher, sinon à l'ancêtre clanique lui-même, du moins à sa lignée. Cet enseignement des généalogies, pièce maîtresse de l'éducation traditionnelle des garçons, recule devant les progrès de la scolarisation, mais les enfants savent encore au moins la généalogie de leur famille-villageoise *(jal, dzal; nda bôl)*.

Trilles dénombrait environ quatre-vingts *meyoñ* chez les Fang gabonais ; on arrive à des chiffres analogues chez les Boulou ou les Ewôndo, ce qui tendrait à recouper la théorie selon laquelle les liens claniques s'étendent, au delà des divisions tribales, à tout l'ensemble pahouin. La chose ne paraît pas contestable pour ceux des clans qu'on retrouve sous le même nom dans toutes les tribus ou dans plusieurs ; elle l'est peut-être davantage pour certaines fractions gabonaises assimilées plus ou moins arbitrairement à des clans camerounais à l'occasion du « regroupement pahouin ». Même dans ce dernier cas, cependant, il existe à cette pseudo-tradition un précédent réellement coutumier, celui de tribus comme les Yebekolo ou les Yembama, dont le nom peut faire penser qu'il s'agit d'anciens clans, détachés d'une tribu (les Boulou, en l'occurrence) et s'étant mis à pratiquer l'endogamie : on peut concevoir une « clanification » analogue de fractions Fang isolées trop longtemps de leur *ayoñ*.

Quoi qu'il en soit cette communauté inter-tribale des *meyoñ* est plus évidente entre les tribus bulu et fañ, c'est-à-dire dans le Sud, qu'entre ces tribus et les tribus beti du Nord, dont certaines, d'ailleurs, appellent le clan *mvôg* et non *ayoñ* : phénomène parfaitement explicable si l'on admet que les Eton et Mangisa, par exemple, sont plutôt des pahouinisés que des Pahouins proprement dits.

Chaque *ayoñ* a son nom propre, qui serait, d'après Trilles, celui du totem clanique précédé du préfixe *ésu* ou *ye* (les fractions ou lignées sont désignées par le nom de l'ancêtre). Certains *meyoñ*, cependant, ont un nom ne comprenant pas ces particules, mais il s'agit généralement de groupes ayant justement une structure particulière sur laquelle nous reviendrons (1). La particule *ésu* dérive du verbe *sak*,

(1) Les clans en *ôbi* du Gabon se rattacheraient d'après certains auteurs aux clans en *dzi* ; mais il existe un nom *ôbi, ôbé*, signifiant trou, fosse.

verbe transitif signifiant colter (*sa'minga* = copuler avec une femme), par extension féconder ; le dérivé régulier, *ésa/bisa*, signifie lignée, la forme irrégulière, *ésa/beséa*, voulant dire père. La particule *ye* pourrait venir de *yee*, vallée, creux, fissure, peut-être lié à une racine Y./YI connotant des idées d'humidité, de féminité ou de maternité (*yii* = pleurer ; *yek* = faire un barrage de pêche en terre mouillée ; *nyia* = mère ; *nyin* = 4 ; *ényiñ* = vie). On a parfois expliqué la différence d'appellation par l'origine géographique : les clans en *ésa* seraient ceux de l'Ouest, les clans en *ye* ceux de l'Est. En fait, on trouve dans toutes les tribus des clans en *ye* et des clans en *ésa*, aussi bien à l'Est qu'à l'Ouest. L'explication géographique n'est cependant peut-être pas à rejeter totalement, mais plutôt à relier à une explication sexuelle.

Les Pahouins, en effet, semblaient bien référer leur système d'orientation au mouvement apparent du soleil ou, peut-être, à l'axe de marche de leur migration. L'Ouest serait alors lié à la droite, *mbo nnôm* = côté mâle, l'Est à la gauche, *mbo ngal* = côté femelle (1). Cette polarité marquerait une série d'institutions mal connues et d'abord la parenté-à-plaisanterie, *awusô*, dérivant elle-même du grand rite national *sô* ; j'ai cru remarquer, en effet, que la relation d'*awusô* est presque toujours entre un clan en *ésa* et un clan en *ye* : Esakoé-Yekombo, Esaébeñ-Yenjôk, Esel-Yembôñ, etc. Certains indices peuvent aussi faire penser à un lien avec l'ancienne coutume matrimoniale et l'espèce de potlatch appelé *bilaba* (2).

Le problème n'est pas simplifié quand on sait que certains clans en *ésa* déclarent s'identifier à des clans en *ye* d'autres tribus et qu'en outre, il existe des *meyoñ* n'entrant pas dans le système.

Je citerai parmi ces derniers les *Ndôñ* et les *Bekôé* ou Bekwi, qu'on retrouve sous ces noms dans toutes ou presque toutes les tribus pahouines. L'ethnique *Bekôé* n'est autre que le pluriel du nom commun *nkôé*, « nain ». Ce sont, semble-t-il, les descendants d'aborigènes, sans doute de pygmées, « adoptés » par les tribus au moment de l'invasion. Bien que considérés comme un *ayoñ* et s'appelant frères entre eux, ils ne pratiquent pas l'exogamie et paraissent rattacher leurs généalogies à celles d'autres clans, dont ils ne font cependant pas partie.

Le cas des Ndôñ est très différent. Ils ont franchi la Sanaga avec les autres Pahouins et sont bien des Pahouins « de plein exercice ». Mais ils pratiquent l'endogamie entre leurs trois *mvôk* (Ndôñ Mvu, Ndôñ Bibak et Ndôñ Bikoé), ce que ne fait aucun autre *ayoñ* pahouin, à ma connaissance tout au moins. En outre, j'ai cru remarquer chez

(1) D'après LARGEAU, le Nord est la droite (mâle), le Sud la gauche (femelle), ce qui se comprend si on s'oriente suivant un axe de marche E.-W. Voir *infra*.

Dans la description du *bilaba* par ZOLL'OWAMBE, (n° 125), les marchandises importées (mâles ?) viennent du Nord, les marchandises locales (femelles) du Sud, alors qu'il emploie pour désigner le Sud le terme *nsak* signifiant « intérieur », « amont » ou « est », signification comparable à celle de *nké*, ouest ou aval.

(2) Selon une autre explication les clans en *ésa* seraient, à l'origine, des fractions de clans en *ye* ; cette explication pourrait, elle aussi, rendre compte de la parenté-à-plaisanterie.

ceux du Sud-Cameroun et du Nord-Gabon des caractéristiques anthropomorphiques tranchant sur celles des clans voisins : coloration rougeâtre de la peau, fréquence des yeux verts ou pers, ce qui pourrait s'expliquer par *in-breeding* résultant de l'endogamie, mais peut-être aussi par une origine ethnique différente. Autre indice, d'ailleurs aussi insuffisamment vérifié que le précédent, c'est chez les Ndôñ que j'ai rencontré les derniers forgerons et les magiciens les plus redoutés parmi les tribus bulu et fañ du Cameroun.

L'*ayoñ Ngoé* se rencontre aussi sous ce nom dans presque toutes les tribus pahouines et, d'après Bertaut, chez les Bakoko voisins. Les *Esel*, également répandus dans toutes les tribus, ont des homonymes non pahouins : la tribu bantu Esel du Sud-Est-Cameroun (Moloundou). Leur nom pourrait cependant être une contraction en *ésa (ésa-el?)*. Ngoé et Esel pratiquent normalement l'exogamie.

c) *La famille-étendue ou famille-villageoise*

Le terme « famille-villageoise » est sans doute plus préci» que le terme classique de « famille-étendue », d'une part parce que la *nda bôl* (maison des gens) est le seul groupe social correspondant exactement à une forme d'établissement géographique (le *jal* ou hameau), d'autre part parce que, en dehors de ce critère géographique, il devient difficile de distinguer entre cette famille et les structures intermédiaires entre elle et le clan, fractions ou lignées *(mvôk, bisa)*. Enfin, c'est à ce niveau que les organes d'autorité, de contrôle social sont le plus en évidence.

Le chef de famille, c'est l'aîné, *nlôl* ou *nlôle môl*, des hommes adultes et actifs, *benya bôlô*, « les vrais hommes ». Ce n'est pas forcément le doyen, car les vieillards impotents subissent une véritable *capitis diminutio*. Le fondateur du hameau ou son fils aîné peut cependant, même impotent, conserver une certaine autorité morale, comme père, *ésa*, de la famille, mais l'autorité effective sera alors déléguée à un *nya môlô* choisi parmi ses frères ou ses fils ou neveux, l'*éfo'olo* (Bertaut). A l'origine, le *jal* comprend le fondateur, ses vieux parents, ses jeunes frères, ses enfants, ceux de ses frères, ses sœurs célibataires, leurs enfants naturels et ceux de ses filles. Les épouses ne font pas partie du *jal* : on emploie pour parler de *leur* village le mot *jañ* ; d'une femme divorcée, on dira *a keya jañ*, « elle est partie dans son village ». L'importance de la *nda bôl* varie suivant divers facteurs : sécurité, autorité du chef, richesse du terroir, etc. J'ai déjà indiqué comment plusieurs *mal* peuvent se grouper en un *nlam*, village au sens propre. De nos jours, les *menda me bôl* tendent à diminuer d'importance numérique et à ne plus correspondre au *jal* qui peut désormais en grouper plusieurs. La famille restreinte, ou famille-foyer, prend de plus en plus d'importance, tandis que la chefferie de village d'institution administrative, si elle ne se substitue souvent qu'imparfaitement à l'autorité du *nlôl* ou *ésa*, n'en mine pas moins celle-ci. On peut chiffrer l'importance de la *nda bôl* moyenne à une vingtaine

d'âmes (y compris les épouses qui ne font pas partie du *jal*), moins dans les villes et chez les gens peu fortunés, plus chez les grands planteurs et notables *(minkukum)*.

La *nda bôl* était autrefois une unité religieuse, militaire et économique. Sur le plan religieux, le père, *ésa*, était gardien du *biëti* (fañ : *biéri*), autel portatif ou arche du culte des ancêtres, contenant les crânes des aïeux ; il décidait des initiations et en faisait les frais : les initiations ont disparu et les missions ont brûlé des dizaines, sinon des centaines de *biéri*. La sécurité et l'ordre colonial ont ôté tout intérêt à son rôle militaire. Seul son rôle économique subsiste en partie. Il était autrefois seul propriétaire des biens *(biôm)* de la famille, seul encaisseur des revenus et ordonnateurs des dépenses, au premier rang desquelles venait le paiement des « dots » *(minsuba)* de ses frères puînés et de ses enfants. Lors de l'introduction du cacao, la culture se faisait collectivement par *nda bôl*, l'*ésa* vendant le produit et gardant l'argent ; très vite les jeunes gens se lassèrent de cette situation et quittèrent la famille pour avoir leur propre plantation ; au surplus, la valorisation du terrain par les cultures d'exportation, entraînant son partage à la mort de l'*ésa*, provoqua le fractionnement de la *nda bôl*. Celle-ci n'avait jamais été très stable, même avant la colonisation, mais la disparition des nécessités militaires permit des essaimages précoces, alors qu'auparavant ils ne se produisaient que lorsque la nouvelle *nda bôl* était assez nombreuse pour pouvoir se défendre.

Malgré cet émiettement *jal* et *nda bôl* restent les cadres essentiels de la vie du Pahouin, plus encore que l'*ayôn*. En dépit de l'individualisation de la propriété, il subsiste une communauté juridique avec responsabilité collective et entraide obligatoire des membres. Beaucoup de jeunes s'en déclarent las (*cf.* Eza Boto, *Ville cruelle*, n° 182) et quittent le *jal* en partie pour y échapper, en vain d'ailleurs, car les liens distendus au pays se resserrent loin de lui et que la solidarité de la famille-étendue joue probablement encore plus chez les émigrés que chez les sédentaires.

d) *Famille-restreinte ou foyer ; parenté*

La famille-restreinte ou foyer, composée d'un homme économiquement autonome, de sa femme, de ses enfants, parfois de vieux parents et de frères et sœurs célibataires, joue un rôle de plus en plus important, soit dans le cadre de la *nda bôl*, soit en dehors. Les missions y ont beaucoup contribué, surtout au début de l'évangélisation, pour détacher les catéchumènes de leurs *minlô mi bôl* restés animistes (elles tendent à réagir en sens contraire de nos jours, pour lutter contre l' « individualisme destructeur »), mais les transformations économiques ont joué un rôle aussi important : la famille-foyer est celle du fonctionnaire, émigré, du petit planteur. Il n'y a pas de mot pour la désigner : on dira soit *mone nda bôl*, petite famille-étendue, soit, tout simplement, *nda*, maison.

Par simple commodité, c'est à son niveau que j'étudierai la parenté, par rapport à un individu mâle adulte et marié.

Le premier principe qui la règle est celui de la double exogamie, en ligne paternelle, mais aussi en ligne maternelle : on ne peut se marier ni dans son propre clan, ni dans le clan de sa mère. L'inceste dans le clan maternel est à peine moins grave que l'inceste dans le clan paternel, mais l'interdit dans cette ligne n'est pas définitif, héréditaire. Actuellement, il semble disparaître en deux générations : l'arrière-petit-fils peut prendre femme dans les clans de ses arrière-grand-mères maternelles, et même le petit-fils dans celui de sa grand-mère maternelle. Il en va autrement dans la ligne paternelle, celle dont la généalogie est apprise par cœur par les enfants, mais j'ignore les règles précises, en voie d'oubli de nos jours.

Deuxième trait de la parenté, elle est classificatoire et sa nomenclature s'accorde en personne et parfois en genre par rapport au sujet de parenté. Ainsi « père » ou « mère », par exemple, se disent :

A la première personne	A la deuxième	A la troisième
tale	*éso*	*ésa*
nane	*nyua*	*nyia*

suivant qu'il s'agit d'un parent de celui qui parle, de celui à qui l'on parle, ou de celui dont on parle.

Pour « frère » et « sœur », les mots varient, en outre, selon le sexe du sujet de parenté :

— *monyañ* (contraction de *moneyañ* (1) = fils de mère) = frère d'un homme *ou* sœur d'une femme *dans le clan* ; alors que
— la sœur d'un homme est *kal* ;
— le frère d'une femme est *ndôm*.

Le fils d'un homme est *ndôman*, sa fille *ngon* ; ceux d'une femme simplement *bon* (s. : *mon*) « les petits ».

Les génériques de parenté se forment sur ces termes ; par exemple :

— *ndômenyañ* (3e personne) = frère de la mère, désigne l'oncle maternel et tous les *bobenyañ* (frères claniques ou consanguins) de celui-ci ; c'est une parenté à révérence ;
— *molale*, contraction de *mone tale* = fils de mon père, désigne les consanguins, avec une notion de révérence ;
— *monekal* = fils de sœur, désigne les neveux et cousins utérins, avec lesquels le mariage est interdit, bien qu'ils soient d'un autre *ayoñ* ; c'est une parenté à plaisanterie ; le même terme s'applique aux beaux-frères et belles-sœurs ;
— *monengon* = fils de fille, désigne les parents utérins à l'intérieur du clan, et notamment les enfants naturels des sœurs, membres du clan mais atteints d'une certaine *capitis diminutio* ;

et ainsi de suite, la parenté se classant toujours par clan, par génération et par sexe. La construction des ethniques le souligne : un Boulou, un

(1) A la 3e personne : — *nyañ*, de *nyia*, mère ; à la première personne *mojañ* : — *jañ*, même mot que *jañ* = *jal*, hameau d'origine de la mère.

Yenjôk, sont *mone bulu*, *mone yenjôk*, « un enfant de Boulou », un « enfant de Yenjôk » ; une Boulou est *ngone bulu*, une « fille de Boulou » ; deux *bo'be yenjôk* seront donc frères, *bobenyañ*. Ce qui est curieux c'est que ce terme, le plus usité pour la fraternité germaine ou consanguine, se réfère expressément à une relation utérine, puisqu'il signifie littéralement « fils de mère ».

La relation par rapport à l'ordre des générations (*ndaé* = petit enfant ; *éndil* = arrière-petit enfant) jouait un rôle, aujourd'hui mal connu, dans le choix du nom *(éyôlé)*. De nos jours encore la similitude des *biyôlé* crée entre les homonymes, *mimbôm* (s. : *mbôm*) ou *bemôé* (s. : *môé*) une sorte de quasi-parenté, avec obligation d'assistance réciproque.

Les beaux-parents sont les *belyi* (relation possible avec *élyi* = interdit, etc., ?) ; nous en reparlerons à propos du mariage, mais on peut signaler ici que ce terme s'applique également à la première épouse considérée par rapport à ses co-épouses.

e) *Mariage, filiation*

La première règle de tout mariage reste la prohibition de l'inceste, l'exogamie clanique déjà signalée : interdiction de prendre femme dans son propre clan, ou dans le clan de sa mère ; interdiction aussi d'épouser les filles des sœurs de lignée, jusqu'à un degré assez éloigné, encore qu'elles soient d'un autre clan, ce qui n'est que l'application de l'exogamie en ligne maternelle, moins bien respectée que l'autre.

Ceci posé, on peut distinguer plusieurs formes de mariage — Bertaut en compte sept — ou estimer, au contraire, qu'elles dérivent toutes du « mariage régulier », *mfañ aluk* (de *fañ* = faire bien, correctement, *luk* = épouser). Ce mariage est fondé sur le paiement de la « dot », *nsuba*, aujourd'hui essentiellement monétaire et donnant lieu à des abus souvent décrits, mais autrefois sacramentelle, au moins partiellement (il s'y mêlait déjà un élément commercial il y a une centaine d'années). La « dot » ancienne comprenait des produits locaux (ivoire, bétail) (1), des marchandises importées *(biôm)*, notamment des pagnes, des fusils et leurs munitions, du sel et de l'alcool de traite, et enfin une monnaie spéciale de fer, en forme de têtes de flèches plates liées en faisceau (*bilyé, biki ; bikpwelé* ; l'unité de compte était le faisceau, *akulu bikpwelé*), cette dernière ne servant qu'à des usages rituels ou magiques (2). Il y a des raisons de penser que la composition des dots en produits locaux et marchandises variait en relation avec la structure clanique, l'appartenance des époux et les mariages conclus antérieurement par le groupe. Rien n'en subsiste aujourd'hui et la dot est devenue marché, parfois assez sordide, voire véritables

(1) Les moutons-de-dot, *bikiga* ou *bilyiga*, au nombre de sept, élevés, en principe spécialement en vue du paiement de la *nsuba*, et sacrifiés au moment du mariage.
(2) Il est interdit d'en fabriquer ; tous ceux qu'on voit paraissent anciens.

enchères, l'épousée étant souvent la première à tirer gloire du prix élevé qu'elle a atteint sur le marché matrimonial.

Le mariage était naguère, et reste dans une certaine mesure, affaire de groupe, des deux *meyoñ* et des deux *menda me bôl* intéressées, qui se traitait entre le chef de famille du jeune homme et le tuteur responsable de la future épousée, *nya ndômô*, « vrai frère », c'est-à-dire un ascendant ou oncle paternel ou un frère germain ou consanguin. La coutume subsiste dans les bonnes familles, même si l'accord des futurs est sollicité et si l'initiative de l'union leur revient ; quand c'est impossible, chez des émigrés par exemple, il reste de bon ton pour le prétendant d'avoir recours à un aîné, voire à un supérieur administratif, qui *kômesan aluk*, arrange le mariage. A la *nsuba* proprement dite s'ajoutent des cadeaux d'usage à la future belle-mère et à la belle-famille, d'autant plus importants que les versements de la *nsuba* sont plus échelonnés dans le temps (et ils le sont de plus en plus). Il y a fiançailles après le premier versement et la jeune fille, sexuellement très libre auparavant, est désormais théoriquement tenue à la fidélité ; les relations sexuelles avec le futur commencent souvent à ce moment, si elles ne l'avaient pas déjà fait avant. La cérémonie chrétienne et l'enregistrement à l'état civil ont lieu lorsqu'une fraction de la « dot », pouvant aller du quart à la moitié, a été versée. Autrefois, la mariée faisait retraite avant de se rendre en cortège de son village, où la famille du fiancé venait la chercher, à son domicile conjugal. Après consommation du mariage, elle cuisinait avec l'aide de sa mère le premier repas servi à son mari. Ces pratiques sont en désuétude générale.

Jusqu'à une date récente, par contre, a subsisté l'habitude, officiellement interdite maintenant, de « doter » une fillette impubère, ou même un fœtus ou une enfant non conçue, qui allait vivre dans sa belle-famille presque aussitôt après le sevrage, pour y être élevée soit par sa belle-mère, soit par la première épouse de son mari, qu'elle considérait alors comme sa *ntyi* (belle-mère). Le mariage était consommé après sa deuxième ménstruation (*ayene ngon* = voir la lune).

La forme de mariage *mfañ aluk* est la plus employée de nos jours. Elle donne lieu à de nombreux procès relatifs à la détermination du *nya ndômô* qui doit percevoir la « dot » : avec l'affaiblissement de l'autorité du *nlôl môl*, surtout lorsqu'il n'est pas le père réel de la fille, oncles et frères se disputent à qui touchera la *nsuba*. Certaines filles émancipées, concubines d'Européens notamment, règlent la question en la touchant elles-mêmes, mais c'est extrêmement mal vu.

La « dot » est remboursée au mari en cas de divorce, au fiancé en cas de rupture de fiançailles, résultant, par exemple, de la mort prématurée de la fiancée. Presque tous les tribunaux coutumiers refusent aujourd'hui le remboursement après décès de la femme sans postérité qu'admettait l'ancienne coutume.

Les autres formes du mariage étaient *abom*, mariage par enlèvement, régularisé par paiement ultérieur de la « dot » (*meso ngon* = = arrivée de la fille) ; la mise en gage pour dette, consolidée par non-

remboursement ; *éjian*, remplacement d'une fiancée morte avant les noces ou d'une épouse décédée sans postérité (on donnait souvent, dans ce cas, une sœur puînée de la morte) ; *lañ abim*, prix du cadavre, c'est-à-dire dation en paiement d'une fille pour prix du sang après un homicide ; l'échange de filles entre deux clans, généralement à l'occasion d'une alliance, *élal* (1).

L'échange de femmes, ou le prêt de femmes, *mvia*, était peut-être une forme de prostitution hospitalière. Il ne s'appliquait pas, semble-t-il, aux *benya binga*, les « vraies femmes », en tout cas jamais à la *ôsua minga*, la première épouse, qui y aurait trouvé un motif de divorce sans remboursement de dot. De même *nkuan*, la vente, n'équivalait pas à un mariage et devait s'appliquer surtout à des étrangères, peut-être cependant parfois à des filles pahouines mises en gage et non rédimées.

L'héritage des veuves n'équivalait pas automatiquement à un mariage ; il n'était normalement admis que dans la pente chronologique des générations ; de père à fils, d'aîné à puîné ; l'héritage de cadet à aîné paraît de jurisprudence récente. Au surplus, l'héritier jouissait d'une faculté de délaissement, sauf à l'égard de sa mère, qu'il devait entretenir, mais dont il ne faisait naturellement pas son épouse ; il pouvait renvoyer les autres veuves dans leur famille, en gardant leurs enfants, qui étaient de son clan. Exiger, pour la « libération » des veuves le remboursement de leur dot paraît une déviation récente : cette pratique ne devait s'appliquer autrefois qu'aux femmes stériles ou dont les enfants n'avaient pas vécu, mais seulement lorsqu'elles rentraient pour vivre dans leur famille sans se remarier. Dès l'instant qu'une veuve se remariait hors de la famille de son défunt mari, la « dot » était due aux héritiers de celui-ci, et la jurisprudence n'a pas changé sur ce point. « Pas de dot, pas de mariage » : *Sa nsuba, ve alu' e se kik*. Nous retrouverons ce principe à propos de la filiation légitime.

C'est donc l'absence de paiement de la *nsuba* qui caractérise l'union libre, *ébon*, et l'adultère, *mejian*, et en fait de véritables atteintes à un droit de propriété, justifiant la condamnation que les tribunaux coutumiers se refusent logiquement à prononcer en cas d'*ébon* si la jeune fille est revenue enceinte dans sa famille (2).

Le mari doit loger sa femme, l'habiller ainsi que les enfants qu'il a eus d'elle, lui défricher le champ qu'elle cultivera, lui fournir les instruments du ménage et, en principe, la viande, la laisser rendre visite à ses parents, qu'il doit honorer, ne pas recourir à la sorcellerie (3) contre elle, respecter les prérogatives qu'elle tient de son rang parmi les co-épouses, coucher avec elle tant qu'elle n'est pas ménopausée ou enceinte, ou qu'elle n'allaite pas, ne pas la battre au delà de ses forces, ne pas exposer sa vulve en public.

(1) *Elal* : alliance, accord ; *bilelal* ; parentèle, ensemble des parents et alliés.
(2) Ce qu'ont difficilement compris certains magistrats.
(3) A laquelle sont assimilées la *fellatio* et la sodomie : d'où nombreux divorces d'anciens tirailleurs.

La femme doit obéissance au mari, à la belle-mère, à la première épouse, respect aux beaux-parents, donc au clan du mari, fidélité, accomplissement du devoir conjugal. Elle a la charge de cultiver les champs défrichés pour elle, de pratiquer la pêche au barrage, de nourrir ses enfants, de cuisiner à son tour de service pour le mari, de tenir propre sa case et celle du mari quand elle y couche et de participer à leur construction (c'est elle qui maçonne le banco dans la charpente), mais non d'entretenir les instruments de ménage et les vêtements importés, qui sont des *biôm* d'essence mâle (mais les écoles et les missions essaient de l'y amener). Enfin et surtout, elle doit être féconde : c'est le premier de ses devoirs et il lui est beaucoup pardonné si elle s'y conforme.

La femme première épousée en *mfañ aluk*, en justes noces, appelée *ôsua minga* ou *ékômba* jouit en principe d'une situation privilégiée par rapport aux *mimbom* ou co-épouses. C'est à elle qu'il appartient d'assister ou de remplacer la belle-mère, *nlyi*, dans son rôle de préfet de discipline des femmes de la *nda*. C'est, ou c'était elle, qui se chargeait de l'éducation des jeunes épouses impubères qui attendaient l'âge de la nubilité dans sa case ; les co-épouses de rang inférieur la considèrent donc souvent comme leur *nlyi*. Cette relation de bru à belle-mère existe également entre deux *mimbom* lorsque la *nsuba* de la seconde a été payée avec la *nsuba* reçue pour le mariage d'une fille de la première, ou lorsqu'elle a fait l'objet d'un mariage par échange contre cette fille.

En face de ces prérogatives de droit, on trouve les prérogatives de fait de la favorite, *nkpwek* ou *nlômba* (*nlômba* = brebis), qui peut d'ailleurs être l'*ôsua minga*, encore que ce cas soit assez rare. La coutume reconnaît les privilèges de fait de la *nkpwek* en les limitant pour éviter qu'ils ne deviennent privatifs des droits des autres femmes. Je crois, sans pouvoir l'affirmer, qu'il existe, en outre, une nuance entre les termes de *nkpwek* et *nlômba*, le premier se référant, comme indiqué, à une préférence de fait du mari, le second à une situation de droit qui serait celle des épouses les plus fécondes ou, peut-être, de meilleure origine.

Je rappelle que le mariage ne fait pas sortir la femme de son clan d'origine pour la rattacher à celui du mari : elle ne se trouve liée à ce clan que par l'intermédiaire de ses enfants, si elle en a, ces enfants et leurs *bobenyañ* devenant *bobekal* de leurs cousins en ligne maternelle. Si le mariage est dissous sans que la femme ait enfanté, la relation de parenté entre les deux clans ne se noue pas.

Cette dissolution du mariage peut d'abord résulter de la mort de la femme lorsque celle-ci ne donne pas lieu à un *éjian*, à une substitution de sœur, rare aujourd'hui. Le lien de parenté entre les clans subsiste si des enfants sont nés du mariage ; il subsistait autrefois en l'absence d'enfants si la *nsuba* n'était pas remboursée. La mort du mari fait disparaître le lien personnel du mariage mais non le lien collectif en vertu duquel les veuves sont colloquées à l'héritier comme indiqué plus haut.

Une des causes de dissolution les plus fréquentes de nos jours est le divorce. Celui-ci peut être le fait du mari : *a suu minga jañ*, il renvoie la femme à son village. Les motifs généralement invoqués sont l'inconduite habituelle, la sorcellerie, le « mauvais caractère », la stérilité. Théoriquement, si les faits sont patents, le mari répudiateur devrait obtenir *ipso facto* le remboursement de la *nsuba*, réduite toutefois à proportion du nombre d'enfants que lui a donnés la femme répudiée. Dans la pratique, le *nya ndômô* fait généralement des difficultés et retarde le remboursement jusqu'au remariage de la femme, et à la perception par lui de la nouvelle dot (1).

Celle-ci peut prendre également l'initiative du divorce : *a ke jañ dé*, elle retourne chez son père, invoquant l'avarice exagérée du mari qui « la garde mal », *a ba'ale nye abé*, son impuissance, de mauvais traitements ou des pratiques de sorcellerie, ou encore une injure grave à son encontre ou à celui de ses parents. Le remboursement de la *nsuba* est, là encore, obligatoire, sauf faute très grave du mari, généralement sorcellerie ou mutilation de la femme.

Enfin, le divorce peut être le fait du *nya ndômô* de la femme : *a vaa minga aluk*, il retire la femme du mariage, soit qu'il la juge mal traitée ou bien qu'il estime avoir été insulté par son gendre, soit surtout, et de plus en plus souvent de nos jours, que la *nsuba* n'ait pas été entièrement payée ou même qu'il ait trouvé un nouveau prétendant disposé à en payer une plus élevée ; on assiste alors à un véritable chantage, le *nya ndômô* exigeant sans cesse du mari de nouveaux cadeaux sous la menace de reprendre sa fille. Les tribunaux répressifs sont à peu près impuissants à sanctionner ces pratiques, très difficiles à qualifier en droit pénal.

Dans tous les cas, les enfants légitimes restent chez leur père, la femme ne pouvant conserver leur garde que jusqu'au sevrage. L'adage *pater is est* a son équivalent pahouin : *Mon ase mone mbiaé, mon ane mone bilyé*, « l'enfant n'est pas l'enfant du géniteur, il est l'enfant de la « dot » » (*bilyé* = monnaie de dot). En principe, n'est réputé légitime que l'enfant né après complet paiement de la *nsuba* ; en pratique, on admet une sorte de légitimation par paiement postérieur à la naissance, lorsque les versements initiaux de la *nsuba* avaient déjà été effectués, mais cette pratique ne s'applique que très rarement en cas d'*ébon*, union libre, même suivie d'un mariage régulier des parents naturels. Les enfants naturels, fruits d'un *ébon*, *bobengon*, restent dans le clan de leur mère où, d'ailleurs, ils ne prennent rang socialement qu'après les enfants légitimes.

Il existait une sorte d'adoption, rare aujourd'hui, plutôt politique que familiale, qu'on pourrait presque qualifier de naturalisation. Elle ne pouvait être faite que par un chef de famille-étendue, au profit d'un orphelin, *mone nyui*, d'un autre clan (les orphelins du

(1) Mais de nos jours il est fréquent de voir le second mari rembourser directement la *nsuba* au premier, ne versant au *nya ndômô* que la plus-value éventuelle.

clan étant, naturellement, déjà considérés comme les enfants du chef de famille). L'adopté, *abiaé môsô* (= engendré le jour, les rapports sexuels n'étant licites qu'entre le coucher et le lever du soleil), entrait dans le clan avec une situation analogue à celle du *monengon*. Il restait tenu par les interdits de mariage de son clan d'origine.

Le pérégrin non pahouin domicilié définitivement dans le village, *nlabe*, peut bénéficier par mariage d'une alliance, *élat*, qui n'en fait pas pour autant un membre du clan ; il devient un *monekal* (fils de sœur, parent utérin), ses enfants, bien que légitimes, appartenant au clan de leur mère.

La filiation peut être rompue par malédiction paternelle ou maternelle, *meyo'é* ; le parent qui maudit son enfant lui montre son sexe, « l'endroit d'où il est sorti », en prononçant une formule imprécatoire. La malédiction doit entraîner le malheur et la mort de l'enfant maudit, dont tout le monde s'écarte. Il ne peut en être relevé que par un rite purificatoire collectif *(élye, lyô)* où toute la *nda bôl* participe.

3) Classes d'âge

Le cycle vital de l'individu est marqué par un certain nombre de passages qui s'accompagnent, ou s'accompagnaient généralement, de rites étudiés plus loin (*infra*, p. 90). Ces points critiques sont la naissance, le sevrage, la puberté, l'arrivée à l'âge d'homme, le mariage, la mort. Aux phases intermédiaires correspondent les classes d'âge, moins rigoureusement délimitées aujourd'hui qu'autrefois.

J'ignore le mot exact désignant le fœtus : on dit *abum*, le ventre. Il doit exister un terme plus précis, mais je pense qu'un interdit pèse dessus, en tout cas pour les hommes, interdit qui n'est d'ailleurs peut-être plus de nos jours que de simple convenance, comme certains mots réputés crus en français. A sa naissance et jusqu'à son sevrage, le bébé est *nlyen (nken)* ou *nkeñelé*.

Après le sevrage, qui intervient généralement lorsque l'enfant commence à marcher seul, entre dix-huit mois et deux ans, le *nken* devient *mongô* (*mone fam* = garçon, *mone minga* = fille) ; le garçon incirconcis est appelé plus précisément *nsôsôl*.

La circoncision a lieu entre huit et douze ans (1), avant les premiers signes précurseurs de la puberté, plus spécialement l'apparition des premiers poils pubiens (*afañ* ; parenté avec le verbe *fañ* = faire bien, correctement, exprès, de la racine masculine FA?). L'enfant circoncis, *nlyi'an*, « coupé », devient adolescent, *ndôman*, terme qui signifie aussi « fils » (par rapport à un homme ; cf. *supra*, p. 50). De son côté, la fillette pubère devient *ngon* (qui signifie à la fois jeune fille, fille d'un homme, et lune : *ayene ngon*, « voir la lune », c'est être réglée), ou encore *élenan*.

(1) Autrefois elle aurait parfois été reculée jusqu'à ce que le jeune homme ait tué son premier ennemi. Voir Trilles (n° 166) et Largeau (n° 48).

L'adolescent est encore *ébis*, non initié. De nos jours les missions ont adopté le terme *mvôn*, « initié », pour désigner les membres des églises. Autrefois, on devenait *mvôn* après l'initiation, le plus souvent la grande initiation nationale *sô*, dont les membres portaient la désignation de *monewôsô* (probablement « enfant de la mort du *sô* »; rapprocher de la parenté-à-plaisanterie *awusô* = le mourir du *sô*).

Après l'initiation, c'est-à-dire à peu près entre la seizième et la vingtième année, le jeune homme, bien que d'âge militaire, n'était pas encore un *nya môlô*, une véritable personne. Il ne le devenait que par son mariage, atteignant alors ce qu'on pourrait considérer comme sa majorité juridique et civile, et même économique.

La jeune fille, *ngon*, devenue *ngal* ou *nya ngal*, vraie femme, en perdant sa virginité, était *nya minga*, dame, après son mariage et *ésila* ou *ékua*, matrone, lorsqu'elle avait élevé ses premiers enfants. L'homme qui avait de grands fils était un *nlôle môl*, un aîné, en général vers la quarantaine; c'était la plus haute position sociale possible. En effet, le *nnôm môl*, le vieillard, qui vivait trop longtemps perdait son prestige à mesure de sa décrépitude. Il semble bien que, du temps des grandes migrations, des vieillards, vieilles femmes impotentes surtout, aient été abandonnées en forêt lorsque le village changeait d'emplacement. Il est vrai que la mort devait intervenir le plus souvent avant la décrépitude, à la guerre, à la chasse ou à la première maladie grave. Mes informateurs ont été en tout cas unanimes à me dire que le crâne d'un vieillard impotent ou gâteux ne pouvait être utilisé pour le culte du *biéri*.

Dès la seconde génération de ses descendants, de toute façon, l'homme, vivant ou mort, devient *émvam*, aïeul, au double sens de grand-père et d'ancêtre.

Une classe d'âge s'étend sur trois ans environ : c'est à peu près le délai maximum pendant lequel deux enfants nés à des dates différentes peuvent s'être trouvés simultanément à la mamelle, c'était approximativement l'intervalle qui séparait deux grandes cérémonies collectives d'initiation. La parenté classificatoire, elle, groupe les gens par génération : tous ceux de la génération sont *bobenyañ*, frères, comme indiqué précédemment. Au sein d'une classe d'âge, on emploie plutôt le terme *éjula*, « camarade ». La succession des classes d'âge créait une hiérarchie interne au sein des générations et renforçait le lien clanique et tribal entre les *bijula*. Ce renforcement était encore plus marqué entre les *bo'bewôsô* de la même promotion d'initiation.

La vie moderne altère ces liens, tant en raison de la disparition ou de la transformation des initiations que du relâchement des liens familiaux-étendus et aussi que de la mobilité plus grande des individus et des familles-restreintes : le petit Fang né à Fort-Lamy où son père est postier, ne se sentira guère *éjula* de son *monyañ* clanique, né le même jour à Libreville. L'évolution économique et politique tend de plus en plus à susciter des hiérarchies fondées davantage sur la fonction, la fortune, voire l'instruction, plutôt que sur l'âge et le rang dans la famille.

4) Esclavage, castes, classes, chefferies

Largeau parlait des Pahouins comme d'un « peuple chez lequel nos mots, *roi*, *maître*, *serviteur*, *ouvrier*, *esclave* n'ont pas de synonymes ». La phrase est belle, mais ne correspond que partiellement à la réalité. Largeau lui-même donne au mot « esclave », dans son encyclopédie, la traduction *nsagha*, terme emprunté, dit-il, au gabonais *(mpongwé)*. Plus au Nord, on parlait d'*ôlo* (ou *mon ôlo*) ou d'*étu'a*, par opposition à *nti (nté)* ou *mo'nti*, ce dernier mot désignant l'homme libre, le *civis*. Tous les auteurs de la fin du XIXe siècle s'accordent cependant à déclarer que les Pahouins ignorent l'esclavage, et, plus près de nous, L. Mba reprend cette assertion, en déclarant que *belô* ou *minsagha* n'étaient pas des esclaves, mais des prisonniers de guerre « adjugés comme parts de butin » (n° 120).

Il semble bien cependant y avoir eu de véritables transactions commerciales, des ventes et achats de ces captifs, ou en tout cas des *bitu'a*, dont la situation devait être différente de celle des *bo'belo*. Ces derniers étaient plutôt des prisonniers rançonnables (*ngôlô* = rançon) ou des ôtages ; j'ai personnellement connu de vieux Boulou de bonne famille qui avaient été ainsi prisonniers des Bané après l'*ôban* de 1885. Ils avaient été traités en hommes et non en choses, participant aux activités masculines nobles, comme la chasse, mais non aux travaux réputés serviles, comme le portage. Certains ont épousé des filles bané à l'occasion du traité qui suivit l'*ôban* ; d'autres ont été adoptés par des clans bané. Dans leur cas, on ne pouvait donc effectivement pas parler d'esclavage.

Il n'en était pas de même avec les *bitu'a* (1), qui, je le répète, ont fait l'objet de transactions commerciales, de ventes, et non de simples mises en gage : l'Oberleutnant Dominik avait purement et simplement acheté à des chefs éwôndo une partie de son train d'hommes de somme. C'est que ces *bitu'a* n'étaient pas des Pahouins, mais des prisonniers étrangers, provenant de tribus voisines, ou d'anciens habitants des territoires conquis. Il est donc peut-être exact de dire que les Pahouins n'avaient pas d'esclaves *parmi eux*, mais non qu'ils ignoraient l'esclavage. Ils en usaient certainement assez peu, préférant échanger ces captifs contre des marchandises auprès des tribus côtières ou fluviales spécialisées dans la traite. En outre, les enfants de *belô* ou de *bitu'a* nés dans un clan devaient être assimilés assez facilement, si un de leurs parents appartenait à ce clan.

Actuellement en tout cas, la distinction entre *bo' beti* et *bo' belo* est très atténuée (2), pour ne pas dire effacée, ne fût-ce que parce qu'on

(1) Parfois appelés *bityi'ityi'a*, mutilés, tailladés, parce qu'on leur lacérait le pavillon de l'oreille.

(2) Cette distinction du peuple en trois catégories, tribus nobles (beti), tribus vassales mais libres et groupes serviles est encore marquée dans certaines régions frontières : la carte ethnique manuscrite établie par l'administrateur Botti, d'après recensement généalogique en 1954, de la subdivision d'Okola (Nyong et Sanaga, Cameroun) distingue les Eton Beti (seigneurs), les Eton Belon (vassaux) et les Belon Beton (asservis). (J. B.)

tend à oublier les généalogies. Il subsiste cependant une situation qui n'est pas sans rappeler le servage, celle des Pygmées. Ceux-ci, qui appartiendraient à trois « tribus » — *Babinga* à l'Est, *Bibaya* au Centre, *Beye'ele* ou *Bajieli* à l'Ouest —, vivent en petites bandes familiales, pratiquant un nomadisme de chasse dans une zone déterminée. Ces petites hordes sont réputées « appartenir » à des familles ou à des individus pahouins. Les Pygmées chassent pour leur « propriétaire », le ravitaillent en viande, en peaux, en ivoire, en plantes médicinales, et reçoivent de lui, en échange, du sel, des fers de lance, des sabres, de l'étoffe, et des produits vivriers cultivés ; ils n'ont pas le droit, c'est le point important, de trafiquer ainsi avec un autre « propriétaire », et celui-ci peut poursuivre en justice quiconque enfreindrait son monopole. Mieux, il a un droit de suite si « ses » Pygmées cherchent à s'enfuir et à aller nomadiser dans le territoire d'un autre village. Il peut également céder à un autre Pahouin ses droits sur « ses » Pygmées, *mais non ces Pygmées eux-mêmes*. Là encore, donc, il n'y a pas esclavage au sens romain du mot. Il semble d'ailleurs, que les droits du « propriétaire » sur « ses » Pygmées trouvent leur source, à l'origine, dans un contrat bilatéral, une sorte d'alliance entre les deux groupes, l'équilibre s'étant rompu par la suite au profit des envahisseurs. Depuis quelques années se dessine une tendance à l'émancipation des Pygmées ; ceux-ci sont actuellement très métissés ; ils usent de la langue de leurs maîtres et ne paraissent avoir conservé de la leur qu'un vocabulaire technique et rituel, dont le peu qu'on connaît semble se rattacher en majeure partie aux dialectes des tribus bantu refoulées par l'invasion pahouine. Les groupes métis sédentarisés depuis quelques générations, les Bekôé, sont maintenant assimilés et considérés comme *ayôn* pahouin particulier (*supra*, p. 44). Mais les groupes nomades eux-mêmes commencent à se dispenser de l'intermédiaire obligatoire des Pahouins pour vendre les produits de leur chasse : on en voit sur les marchés, et même dans les bureaux administratifs et les tribunaux.

Les étrangers, *bone bikul* (*ékul* = tribu étrangère), n'avaient de droit que comme invités ou hôtes, *beyeñ* (s. : *nneñ*), c'est-à-dire qu'en fait ils devaient acheter leur sécurité. Depuis la conquête européenne on a vu se multiplier les *belabe* (de *labe* = rester, demeurer), étrangers privilégiés, admis à résidence par le chef de famille ou de village, souvent alliés par mariage au clan dans lequel ils sont installés. Leurs enfants peuvent être assimilés, mais ne sont pas de véritables *bo'beli*, en tout cas pas aux premières générations.

La société proprement pahouine était et reste donc très fermée, puisqu'on y entre pratiquement que par le sang. Par contre, elle est peu hiérarchisée intérieurement, en dehors des classes d'âge ; on peut même dire qu'elle répugne aux hiérarchies.

On est assez tenté, au premier abord, d'affirmer qu'elle ne comporte pas de castes. Cette affirmation est peut-être trop absolue si l'on considère que certains clans endogames, comme les Ndôñ, sont peut-être des castes ou d'anciennes castes. La question mériterait une étude plus approfondie.

Comporte-t-elle des classes sociales fondées soit sur la naissance, soit sur la fortune ? En dépit de l'esprit égalitaire et anarchique des Pahouins, je crois que oui. La terminologie le prouve, qui distingue les *bo' beti* non seulement des captifs, mais encore des *zesé bôl*, gens de peu : *mo'nti* est souvent traduit de nos jours par Monsieur. Une véritable bourgeoisie de gros planteurs, de clerks *(bekilak)*, d'artisans et d'ouvriers qualifiés s'est créée sous nos yeux dans les deux dernières générations et tend à s'opposer à un menu peuple de petits paysans, de manœuvres, et même, à présent, de « prolétaires en lunettes noires » — sous-traitants du commerce, etc. — équivalent local de nos « prolétaires en col dur ». Déjà dans la société traditionnelle les *minkukum*, les riches, se distinguaient du commun, des *zesé bôl*.

Ils étaient fort mal vus, faisaient l'objet de la suspicion générale de l'opinion publique, toujours prompte à attribuer la réussite matérielle à la possession d'un *évu (évur, évus)*, à la sorcellerie maléfique. Le *nkukum* devait se faire pardonner sa richesse, essentiellement en la redistribuant, par le moyen de l'hospitalité coutumière, et aussi, par un mécanisme particulier de contrôle économico-social, analogue au potlatch, le *bilaba*.

Cette pratique paraît avoir été en usage surtout chez les Boulou. Bertaut rattache le mot à une racine ngumba signifiant « parler », « flatter ». Je pencherais plutôt pour un dérivé du verbe *lap*, « puiser de l'eau » et, par extension, « éclabousser », qui peut, au figuré, connoter également l'idée de raillerie. Il n'est pas impossible que le mécanisme du *bilaba* ait été en rapport avec celui de la parenté-à-plaisanterie, *awusô*. Le *bilaba* commence par un défi d'un *nkukum* à un autre, chacun se prétendant plus riche que l'autre. Celui qui a lancé le défi se rend chez le défié, emportant avec lui un chargement de marchandises, les *mebo me dulu*, « jambes du voyage », et accompagné d'une suite nombreuse, de musiciens, de chanteuses, etc. Arrivé chez l'autre *njem bilaba* (danseur du bilaba), il l'accable de ses cadeaux et de ses railleries ; l'adversaire répond, cadeau pour cadeau et raillerie pour raillerie, jusqu'à ce qu'il ait fourni plus que la contrepartie des *mebo me dulu*. Le premier *njem bilaba*, rentre alors chez lui et attend que l'autre lui rendre visite à son tour avec ses propres *mebo me dulu*. Visites et contre-visites peuvent se poursuivre assez longtemps, chacun des *bejem bilaba* faisant appel à l'aide de sa famille immédiate, puis de sa lignée ou de son clan pour continuer à fournir. Le *bilaba* arrive donc à devenir collectif. Il importe de noter qu'on n'échange pas n'importe quelles marchandises : le *njem bilaba* de l'Est *(nku, ôku)* fournit des produits locaux — bétail, cacao, ivoire, etc. — celui de l'Ouest *(nké)* des produits importés — pagnes, sel, poudre etc. (1) ; rappelons

(1) M. Zoll'Owambe (n° 125), parle d'*akum so* « marchandises du Nord », importées, et *akum nsak* « marchandises du Sud », produits du pays. Mais il semble qu'il y ait eu confusion. En effet *so* = la côte, l'aval, à rapprocher de *nké* = Ouest, qui signifie aussi l'aval alors que *nsak* = l'hinterland, l'amont (*nku* = Est, à rapprocher de *kui* = sortir de, sourdre, émerger) ; cf. Largeau, pour qui le Nord est la droite (mâle), le Sud la gauche (femelle). Les produits d'importations seraient réputés mâles.

à ce propos qu'il y a une implication sexuelle des points cardinaux, d'ailleurs mal connue. Le *bilaba* crée entre les familles des participants une sorte de parenté-à-plaisanterie qui peut se perpétuer après leur mort.

L'institution paraît en voie de décadence ; elle était encore florissante entre les deux guerres et portait souvent sur des sommes considérables (1).

Tout craint qu'il pût être en raison de sa réussite, et peut-être parce que craint, le riche jouissait d'une autorité certaine dans son village et parfois au delà : *nkukuma*, forme absolue de *nkukum*, est employé pour traduire « chef » (il signifierait plutôt « notable »).

On emploie également le mot *ével*, appliqué aussi aux sous-chefs ou capitas administratifs ; nuance juste, si, comme l'affirme Bates, *ével* est une déformation de *headman*, appliquée à l'origine aux chefs des caravanes de traite. Ceux-ci étaient choisis pour leur astuce commerciale, leur diplomatie, leur autorité et leur courage, mais ils n'étaient que des délégués d'un clan ou d'un village, non de véritables chefs politiques. Pour rendre cette dernière notion le meilleur terme est encore *njôô bôl* (fañ = *nzoé mur*), de *jô* = dire, ordonner, terme qui exprime un état de fait plutôt qu'une notion juridique. Redisons ici qu'il n'y avait pas de chefs politiques en dehors des aînés, *minlôl*, des familles-étendues. Encore leur autorité était-elle limitée par la facilité avec laquelle leurs frères pouvaient quitter le village pour en fonder un autre à côté (2). Toute autorité plus étendue se fondait sur un prestige personnel qui suscitait toujours la méfiance : le commandement n'était jamais confié que temporairement, encore était-il fréquent qu'on le retirât avant terme à son détenteur.

Les administrations françaises, allemandes et espagnoles ont tenté d'implanter un commandement hiérarchisé qui n'a jamais pu s'imposer réellement dans le pays. Elles ont toutes trois commis au début l'erreur de vouloir asseoir ces commandements sur une base territoriale, totalement étrangère, ou à peu près, à ce peuple nomade. Seule la chefferie de village ressemblait à une institution coutumière, à condition qu'on choisisse comme chef un *nlôl môl*, un aîné, authentique, et que ses frères acceptent son autorité. Chefferies de canton et chefferies supérieures n'avaient de cohésion qu'autant que leur titulaire avait d'autorité, ou de soutien administratif. Au début de la colonisation, cependant, ces fonctions furent très souvent confiées à de véritables *bejôô bôl*,

(1) Balandier (n° 175 et communication personnelle), insiste sur l'importance économique des *bilaba* qui, dans une société sans économie monétaire ni commerciale, constituaient un des principaux instruments de circulation des biens et, surtout, de diffusion des marchandises d'importation.

(2) Mais chez certains peuples pahouinisés, l'existence d'insignes royaux montre que la chefferie est une institution : chez les Ewôndo et les Yanda le chef de clan désignait son successeur ou, s'il ne l'avait pas fait, le clan choisissait son chef, et les peuples voisins, en signe de reconnaissance, lui faisaient parvenir chacun une lance.

Le pouvoir du chef des Fong est plus personnalisé encore. Le chef transmet ses ordres au moyen d'un tambour énorme. Sa pipe est conservée comme une relique, ses musiciens jouent d'instruments spéciaux, entre autres le *nkeñ* (cloche double à percussion) assez rare dans la région mais classique dans l'Ouest-Cameroun, chez les Bamileke ou les Bamoum. L'intronisation du chef est marquée par la tradition de lances et l'imposition d'un chapeau de plumes de perroquet. (J. B.)

chefs de guerre connus, grands initiés de sociétés comme le *ngil*, ou magiciens réputés. Par la suite, il devint beaucoup plus difficile de trouver, même dans l'opposition, des chefs ayant une autorité effective. A partir de 1945, au Cameroun, on entreprit de réorganiser le commandement sur une base clanique (réforme Bourdier-Granier), puis villageoise (système Christol), pour aboutir enfin à un système de type municipal. Étant donné l'intérêt pris par les Pahouins au système politique fondé sur l'élection, qui correspond assez bien et à leur individualisme et à leur méfiance à l'encontre des individus, on peut penser qu'un tel système a des chances de succès si on le laisse se pahouiniser.

5) Associations

Les associations coutumières étaient sans doute moins développées chez les Pahouins que dans d'autres sociétés africaines, plus cohérentes ou pourvues de hiérarchies plus solidement structurées. Les groupes sociaux formés au sein des clans ou des villages se faisaient et se défaisaient au gré des migrations, des essaimages. Ils présentaient un caractère de parenté plutôt que d'association.

Il existait cependant aussi bien dans la parenté qu'en dehors d'elle des associations non fondées sur la filiation, volontaires et non de fait. Elles avaient le plus souvent un caractère initiatique, un fondement magique ou religieux, leurs buts pouvant varier.

Les *minsamba*, « compagnies », se formaient temporairement, soit pour une opération guerrière *(ôban, mvéle)*, soit pour un voyage commercial vers la Côte ou les *trading-posts* de l'Ogooué. Les hommes qui y prenaient part, souvent originaires de plusieurs villages ou même de plusieurs clans liés par une *élat* (alliance), prêtaient un serment de fidélité et d'assistance mutuelle, dont le rite comportait un sacrifice suivi d'un repas communiel ; pour une opération de guerre, la victime pouvait être humaine, spécialement lorsqu'il s'agissait de venger la mort, *kun mbim*, d'un *monyañ* (frère) et qu'on disposait d'un prisonnier de guerre à sacrifier. L'association était dissoute une fois son but atteint, mais un lien subsistait entre ses membres.

Des associations temporaires analogues pouvaient être formées pour les grandes battues à l'éléphant ; elles se confondaient d'ailleurs souvent avec la *nsamba dulu* ou *nsamba ayak* (compagnie de voyage, de traite) organisée ensuite pour vendre l'ivoire.

Les associations permanentes les plus importantes étaient celles qui se formaient entre les initiés des différents rites. Mais là, il s'agissait le plus souvent d'une sorte de parenté par le rite qui ne constituait pas le but même de ce rite, ou ne le constituait qu'accessoirement : lorsque tous les habitants d'un village participaient, par exemple, au rite de purification *ésye*, le renforcement des liens fraternels entre eux en résultait bien, mais le but premier était la purification (1).

(1) On rencontre chez les Beti (Eton) un autre rite transcendant les barrières claniques ou tribales : on « plante l'*étup* » pour faire la paix, clore une querelle familiale, arrêter une épidémie. Les anciens consultent l'oracle de l'araignée, puis rassem-

Pourtant certains rites avaient bien pour but, entre autres, de créer entre les initiés une association génératrice d'une sorte de dialectique d'énergies *(lyé, kié)* entre le groupe et ses membres. La principale, qui présentait très probablement un caractère national transcendant les barrières claniques, était le *ngil* (1), malheureusement très mal connu de nos jours. Le *ngil* paraît avoir été le principal, sinon le seul élément de cohésion tribale sur le plan politique. Il jouait un rôle de contrôle et de protection sociale, chargé notamment de préserver la société dans son ensemble de l'action des sorciers. Rassemblant des initiés de tous les clans, il pouvait trancher les litiges interclaniques en évitant le recours à la guerre ou à la vendetta : il servait, en quelque sorte, de police et de système judiciaire, les initiés de rang inférieur exécutant les sentences rendues par les maîtres. Luttant contre les sorciers, il avait également un rôle médical, qui a survécu quelque temps à son rôle de police : Bertaut (n° 110) paraît ne l'avoir connu que sous cet aspect, qui soulevait moins la méfiance administrative. Allys le considère comme le « fétiche de la guerre », rejoignant ainsi, semble-t-il, Allégret et Largeau. Martrou et Leroux parlent à son propos de « francs-juges », ce qui rappelle la description par Bearth du *nsig nlo* des Bané.

On sait assez peu de choses sur l'ensemble des rites du *ngil* et leur symbolisme. L'initiation a certains traits communs avec celle du *sô* : purification préalable physique et morale, flagellation, confession, soupe d'épreuve à base de matières immondes, représentation d'ancêtres, passage symbolique d'un état épicène ou androgynique à un état monosexuel (2), sacrifices sanglants ; il paraît probable que ces traits se retrouvent dans tous les rites pahouins importants. Le lieu sacré se présentait comme une palanque rectangulaire, *ésam*, ouverte d'un côté, contenant les statues en terre du *ngil* et de sa « femme » (3) devant lesquelles était creusée une fosse recouverte d'une claie, dans laquelle se dissimulaient les initiés qui piquaient à coup de lance les impétrants lorsqu'on les amenait devant le *ngil* après les avoir (comme dans le *sô*) fait ramper dans la fosse aux fourmis. Il y avait également une liane représentant un python, dont le rôle exact m'est inconnu. Les néophytes devaient apporter des ossements d'ancêtres, qu'on pétrissait dans la terre des statues. La cérémonie comprenait une épreuve destinée à révéler si le néophyte n'était pas *nnem* (porteur d'*évu*), ce qui aurait entraîné sa mise à mort immédiate ; une béné-

bient les hommes. La réunion est dirigée et arbitrée par les *mbongengań* (faiseurs-de-magiciens : initiés d'un rang supérieur). Les membres des deux groupes commencent par se lancer mutuellement des accusations. Puis on désigne les malchanceux, *binwowolo* ; on plante alors un arbuste, *meyon*, et l'on prépare dans une marmite un *bińń* sur lequel les assistants prêtent serment, s'engageant à ne plus mal agir à l'encontre les uns des autres. Le *bińń* est ensuite instillé dans les narines des *binwowolo* pour leur ôter la malchance. (J. B.)

(1) L'origine de ce mot est incertaine ; on l'a rapproché de *ngil (njil)* = gorille, et des rapports administratifs anciens parlent « d'hommes-gorilles ». On a aussi voulu le rattacher à *ngul* = capacité, puissance, ce qui paraît moins probable.

(2) Ou au contraire, en suivant Stoll, passage d'un état monosexuel à une complétude bi-sexuelle.

(3) Ou une seule statue androgyne.

diction des lances rituelles, qui, d'après Trilles, portaient des figurations totémiques ; enfin, un symbolisme sexuel, qualifié d' « obscène » par les auteurs cités qui ne l'ont pas autrement décrit.

Les initiés se déplaçaient en cortège, masqués ou maquillés de blanc et de rouge (couleurs de deuil et de *fête*, respectivement), précédés de tambours et de sonneurs de trompe et d'un garçonnet (non circoncis ?) chargé de tendre en travers de la rue du village une liane que le cortège ne franchissait qu'après sacrifice d'un poulet. Les non-initiés n'avaient pas le droit d'assister à cette entrée. Le maître du *ngil*, masqué et peint en rouge et blanc, apportait son *bidi (bidi)* personnel ; il était toujours accompagné d'un orchestre très complet (guitare *mvel*, tambours *mbod* et *nkul*, balafon *mejah*). La cérémonie d'initiation durait un mois (1).

Les membres du *ngil* circulaient en petits groupes et masqués, soit pour aller effectuer des enquêtes dans les villages où l'on soupçonnait des cas de sorcellerie, soit pour aller exécuter des sorciers. Dans les cas ordinaires, ils administraient les ordalies courantes *(minkol)*, mais dans les cas graves il fallait organiser une cérémonie d'initiation : ce trait se retrouve dans presque toutes les associations rituelles où l'initiation s'accompagne toujours d'une catharsis collective.

Parmi les autres sociétés initiatiques masculines, il faut citer le rite *ndôngô*, dont les initiés portent deux incisions sur la nuque. Sa symbolique comprend, elle aussi, une confession, une purification, une réclusion dans l'obscurité, le passage dans un couloir étroit ou sous un portique bas, une liane-serpent, une lance consacrée, un sacrifice (2), un breuvage immonde ; l'animal rituel est la tortue. Le but du rite paraît également la protection contre les sorciers et, peut-être, l'accroissement de la *ma'a*, la chance. Une initiation pour jeunes circoncis, *bekungu*, est peut-être une forme juvénile de *ndôngô*. L'une et l'autre ont survécu jusqu'à la seconde guerre mondiale. Le *ndôngô* ne paraît pas créer un lien interclanique aussi fort que le *ngil*. Cependant le maître de l'initiation peut appartenir à un autre clan que les initiés.

Esge (ôtge ou *Igo ?)* est un rite de purification et de réconciliation, décrit par le P. Guillemin chez les Beti ; il ne dépasse pas le cadre de l'*ayôm* (fraction).

J'ai rencontré, chez les Boulou de Sangmélima, les Ntoumou d'Ambam et les Fang de Djoum, des initiés d'une société médicale, qui se disent « serpents », utilisant le vrai nom, *bengo* (s. : *ngo*) et non l'euphémisme *minkol afan* (lit. : lianes de brousse). Leur spécialité est le traitement des morsures et la capture et l'apprivoisement des serpents. Les initiés seraient connus dans la société sous le nom de telle ou telle espèce de serpent, reçu au moment de l'initiation. Celle-ci comporterait plusieurs degrés (trois ?) ; les initiés du premier degré

(1) La marque du ngil consistait en un tatouage à la base du sacrum, donc dissimulé par le pagne. Les initiés ne se déplaçant que masqués, il était théoriquement impossible de les reconnaître.

(2) On sacrifiait un chien. *Ndôngô* effaçait les mixaus graves, meurtre ou inceste, et permettait à ses initiés de manger du porc, du mouton et du porc-épic. (J. B.)

se disent *bo' b'ayañ*, enfants du dendraspis ; les grands initiés seraient *bo' be mɔdm*, enfants du python. Leurs connaissances médicales paraissent étendues ; ils prétendent, en particulier, être immunisés contre les morsures, grâce à l'application par scarifications d'un *biañ* (médicament) spécial, au moment de l'initiation. Cette société aurait son siège chez les Mekaé de Messaména et ne serait donc pas proprement pahouine.

Toutes ces associations rituelles concouraient à l'ordre social, principalement par la défense contre les sorciers malfaisants. Ceux-ci, à leur tour, se groupaient souvent en sociétés secrètes pour joindre leurs forces contre les organes de contrôle et de répression. Ces sociétés sont donc, par définition, très mal connues. Presque toutes devaient grouper des *beyem* (s. : *nnem*), c'est-à-dire des porteurs d'*évu*. En effet, si l'on peut être ainsi possédé involontairement et même à son insu, on peut aussi *nyoñ évu*, recevoir l'évu, toujours à titre onéreux : celui qui entre dans l'association des *beyem* doit payer son entrée par le sacrifice d'un proche parent, et aussi se voir imposer un interdit spécial dont la rupture *(nsem)* entraîne la mort immédiate.

Les *ze mimfaka* (lit. : panthères des routes), célèbres sous le nom d'hommes-léopards, étaient une association de sorciers anthropophages, une sorte de contre-*ngil* (1). Il peut même s'agir aujourd'hui d'une dégénérescence pathologique du *ngil* lui-même ; dans une enquête judiciaire menée à Ambam, en 1948, à la suite d'un raid de *ze mimfaka*, un vieux chef, de confession protestante et ancien d'église, déclarait à peu près « les Blancs ont affaibli le *ngil* et les *beyem* s'en sont emparés ; maintenant, c'est le *ngil* du *ngbwel* ».

Les adeptes du *kɔn* ou *kun*, forme de magie permettant de s'emparer de la force d'un individu sans tuer son corps, seraient également groupés en une association secrète aux réunions septennales.

Les associations de *beyem* ne seraient pas mixtes : sorciers et sorcières ne se réuniraient qu'occasionnellement pour des sabbats orgiaques.

La distinction entre magie blanche et magie noire est, au demeurant, difficile à faire de nos jours et on ne sait jamais au premier abord si les groupuscules qui foisonnent un peu partout, pour protéger leurs membres contre les mauvais sorts, en utilisant, outre des reliquats de rites traditionnels, des recettes empruntées à des manuels de magie imprimés en France, ressortissent à l'une ou à l'autre.

Pour revenir aux associations traditionnelles, il faut souligner que la séparation des sexes y était absolue, au point qu'il était très souvent interdit aux femmes de prononcer le nom d'une association masculine, ou de manifester de façon quelconque une connaissance même superficielle de ces rites. La prohibition était moins sévère pour les hommes à l'égard des rites féminins, le *nsem*, bris d'interdit, étant puni pour eux plutôt par l'impuissance ou la maladie que par la mort.

(1) Il existe aussi des *ze mimfaka* isolés.

Un rite féminin, comme *mevungu*, était à la fois villageois par son cadre géographique, le ressort de ses loges, et interclanique comme conséquence de l'exogamie. On sait d'ailleurs encore moins de choses sur ces rites féminins que sur les masculins, pour la bonne raison que les hommes n'ont absolument pas le droit de les connaître. Les missionnaires ont condamné *mevungu* comme obscène ; j'ai entendu dire que les initiées ménopausées joueraient un rôle masculin dans les danses mimant le coït, sans obtenir la moindre preuve ou le moindre détail (1). Ce qui est certain, c'est que c'est un rite de fécondité, de fertilité et aussi de chasse : un chasseur malheureux peut faire initier sa femme pour écarter la malchance. Ce n'est pas le seul cas d'intervention indirecte d'un sexe dans un rite de sexe opposé ; Allégret signale que c'est une « femme malheureuse à la pêche » qui « trouve le bois de fer pour la fabrication du fétiche de la guerre » ; il semble bien qu'il ait confondu *ngil* et *só*, mais l'exemple reste valable. Si donc les rites coutumiers, et les associations d'initiés de ces rites, étaient strictement masculins ou féminins, ils ne devaient pas exclure pour autant toute intervention du sexe opposé. On ne saurait en dire plus dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances (2).

Les nouveaux rites et les nouvelles associations, par contre, sont mixtes, qu'il s'agisse de sociétés religieuses ou politico-religieuses ou d'associations d'entraide.

Les deux principales associations politico-religieuses sont le *bwili* (ou *mbuli*) et le *ngól*, bien décrites par Balandier (n° 175). Elles se sont répandues vers le Nord à partir du Gabon et du Moyen-Congo et ne sont pas d'origine pahouine. Elles commencent à pénétrer en pays bulu, où elles ont moins de succès que chez les Fang du Sud, en raison, certainement, du caractère moins accentué de la destructuration sociale.

Le *bwili* était primitivement un culte tyogo des ancêtres, analogue au *biéri* pahouin, si l'on en croit Trilles. Sa pénétration en milieu pahouin doit avoir commencé au début du siècle, probablement parmi les familles pahouines isolées de leur clan et, par là même, détachées des rites *biéri* et *só*, dont la signification est d'abord ethnique et familiale. Libreville a été un point de rencontre important, non seulement entre populations africaines de souches différentes, mais encore avec les religions européennes : le *bwili* moderne emprunte beaucoup au christianisme, mais aussi à la franc-maçonnerie, assez développée dans le Gabon d'avant-guerre, en particulier dans les milieux métis et antillais du chef-lieu. En prenant ce caractère syncrétiste le *bwili* se présentait à la fois comme un mouvement nationaliste, ou africaniste, et comme un mouvement progressiste, abandonnant les anciens cultes, ou plutôt les modernisant. Objet de la méfiance admi-

(1) Une femme, « choisie pour son grand vagin », présidait, assise et jambes écartées. Chaque initiée allait la chatouiller et lui tirer le clitoris. (J. B.)

(2) L'autre grand rite féminin, *ngómbó*, était plus spécialement réservé aux femmes âgées. Les participantes construisaient une sorte de bassin avec quatre troncs de bananier et leurs feuilles. On y préparait un *biañ* végétal protégeant contre le vol. (J. B.)

nistrative — à bon droit, puisqu'il a eu volontiers recours au sacrifice humain et à la liquidation physique des apostats — il a adopté des allures de société secrète, souvent clandestine. Le caractère libéral imprimé à l'action administrative depuis les réformes de 1946 a facilité son expansion, en accentuant le côté franchement politique de son action : les élections municipales de 1956 ont été dans une large mesure un succès *bwili*.

Le *bwili*, comme les anciens rites, sert d'abord à protéger ses initiés contre les *beyem* (porteurs d'*évu*), et tout son côté proprement africain rappelle ces anciens rites : comme dans le *ngil* les initiés doivent faire apport à la société d'ossements de leurs ancêtres, comme dans les sociétés criminelles, ils doivent souvent consentir à la mise à mort ou à la mutilation d'un proche parent, comme dans le *melan*, ils absorbent une potion à base de stupéfiants végétaux qui leur permet de « voir le *bwili* » ; il y a un instrument de musique sacré, la harpe *ngomi*, des représentations sculptées ou gravées, sur les poteaux de cases notamment, rappelant le *biéri*, une langue spéciale, des interdits, etc. Mais les cérémonies hebdomadaires s'inspirent de la messe, les degrés successifs d'initiation viennent probablement de la franc-maçonnerie ainsi que l'organisation des loges, il y a enfin usage et interprétation de la Bible, dans un sens politique bien souvent, qui ne peut venir que d'une influence protestante.

Balandier a montré comment le *bwili* tente une reconstruction de la société pahouine gabonaise, en lui fournissant une base idéologique, une *wellanschauung* collective totale permettant d'intégrer les comportements coutumiers et ceux résultant de la situation coloniale. Il serait intéressant de prolonger son enquête en territoire camerounais et espagnol pour étudier la réaction de sociétés très semblables dans un contexte politico-administratif et économique largement différent.

Le *ngôl* est beaucoup plus récent que le *bwili* et constitue un exemple de syncrétisme politico-religieux peut-être encore plus frappant : il trouve son origine dans une interprétation africaine, une mythification de la propagande faite en A.E.F. par la France libre de 1940 à 1944. *Nzeia me Ngôl* — le général de Gaulle — est devenu un héros *blanc*, envoyé pour libérer les Noirs en leur révélant les secrets des Blancs (1), leurs pouvoirs (pouvoir = *ngul* ; à rapprocher de *ngôl* ?). Il y a donc un côté *cargo-cult*, déjà observable dans certaines traditions ou pseudo-traditions rapportées par Trilles et Largeau. Le mélange dans le rituel d'éléments chrétiens et coutumiers rappelle le *bwili*, avec en plus une sacralisation certaine de la technique moderne : représentations d'avions, de sous-marins, etc. Le cycle du héros libérateur comporte une mise à mort (par ses frères blancs) et un retour en parachute, en avion ou en sous-marin — les versions diffèrent, et parfois coexistent. La hiérarchie de la société calque celle de l'admi-

(1) On aurait pu « logiquement » s'attendre à voir investir de ce rôle le gouverneur général Eboué...

nistration : le maître de la loge, coiffé d'un képi étoilé, est le *nzela me ngôl* ; il est assisté de *présidents*, *présidents en chef*, *commandants*, *inspecteurs généraux*, *gouverneurs* et *gouverneurs généraux*, *miliciens*, *docteurs*, etc. (1). Il y a une hiérarchie féminine parallèle, comportant en particulier la *douane*, chargée de veiller à la bonne entente des ménages. L'intention politique est évidente : le *ngôl* a souvent substitué sa hiérarchie à celle reconnue par l'administration, parfois avec de bons résultats pratiques, rejoignant ainsi le mouvement de regroupement pahouin dans sa forme gabonaise.

Au Cameroun, ce mouvement de regroupement a, en effet, une allure très différente : il se présente essentiellement comme une tentative de revivification sociale et politique des clans, plutôt que comme un regroupement tribal, dont le besoin se faisait moins sentir qu'au Gabon. Surtout il tend plutôt, sur le plan religieux, au schisme disciplinaire qu'au syncrétisme, du moins quant à présent. Certains de ses leaders se sont séparés ou veulent se séparer des missions pour constituer des églises nationales admettant, par exemple, la polygamie, mais n'attaquent pas, et déclarent admettre les dogmes chrétiens, soutenant toutefois fréquemment que les missionnaires les ont déformés, volontairement ou non. L'influence de la Mission Presbytérienne Américaine, y est prédominante : on peut dire que les clans camerounais, les Boulou surtout, se sont organisés en régime presbytérien synodal. Le mouvement a eu moins de succès chez les Beti, où l'influence catholique est plus grande, mais là aussi, on trouve des associations inspirées par les structures ecclésiales importées.

Depuis 1946, les clans bulu ont constitué des associations, parfois déclarées conformément à la loi de 1901, groupées depuis 1950, dans l'Union Tribale Ntem-Kribi, qui rassemble essentiellement Boulou, Fong, Fang, Ntoumou et Mvaé. Chaque clan a son bureau général, élu au cours d'une *ésulan* annuelle ou bi-annuelle, et ses bureaux locaux. L'adhésion n'est pas implicite : les adhérents doivent solliciter leur admission, payer une cotisation et des droits d'entrée. Au sein de chaque association clanique existent des « sociétés » de jeunes gens des deux sexes, de mères de famille, d'abstinents, etc. Les « sociétés » de jeunes gens sont sans doute les plus remarquables ; elles se sont constituées avec l'approbation de l'administration, lors de l'abolition du recrutement forcé de travailleurs. Les « sociétés » passaient marché avec les autorités locales pour l'exécution de travaux tels que l'entretien des routes ou la construction d'ouvrages d'art, l'argent reçu étant versé à une caisse commune et employé soit à aider les membres pour le paiement de « dots » ou autres dépenses, soit, surtout, pour organiser des fêtes et banquets.

Dans les grandes villes, les migrants pahouins se groupent en associations de droit ou de fait, généralement dans un cadre tribal et non clanique ; ces associations ont un but de défense et d'entraide

(1) Un des plus hauts dignitaires est l'*adjudant des gardes*, chargé de la police et de l'exécution des décisions judiciaires.

et sont parfois assez puissantes. Il faut en rapprocher les tontines ou *colisations*, groupant un petit nombre de manœuvres, de domestiques ou d'employés subalternes qui versent à une caisse commune la plus grande partie de leur salaire mensuel, chaque membre disposant à son tour de la somme importante ainsi rassemblée chaque mois. Ces deux dernières institutions n'ont rien de spécifiquement pahouin, ni même de camerounais ou de gabonais.

6) Droit et propriété

a) *Sources*

Le droit pahouin a toujours été un droit complexe. Il traitait essentiellement autrefois du statut et de l'état des personnes, d'où dépendait le régime des biens. Sous l'influence des transformations économiques résultant de la colonisation, le droit des biens a acquis une autonomie certaine par rapport au droit des personnes, ce dernier tendant à se simplifier à mesure de la dissociation des anciennes structures sociales et familiales.

Les sources du droit sont actuellement la coutume et la réglementation européenne importée. Elles réagissent évidemment l'une sur l'autre, la coutume étant modifiée par le règlement écrit, tandis que l'application de celui-ci est infléchie par l'influence coutumière. La jurisprudence évolue constamment. Elle est assez difficile à suivre, bien que très souvent écrite : les jugements des tribunaux, les procès-verbaux de conciliation, les « conventions entre indigènes », instituées par le décret de 1920, les procès-verbaux de tenue de palabre (1) et même certains contrats privés sont déposés dans les archives administratives, mais n'ont que trop rarement fait l'objet de recueils systématiques et méthodiques.

Le terme général pour désigner la coutume est *biyem* (de *yem* = = savoir), signifiant à la fois les habitudes, les manières d'être et les règles juridiques qui les régissent, les qualifient en bien ou en mal. Les façons d'agir seraient plutôt *mebo*, de *bo*, faire. Les pratiques, les affaires en général sont *mam* (s. : *jam*) ou *mejô* (*ajô* = parole, de *jô* = dire), ce dernier mot désignant aussi les « affaires » au sens contentieux. On entend dire souvent *Nnôm éyem, bimvam bi ngə wô'ô bo mebo mele, melu mvus ; nale a ngə'ane kik*, « Manière ancienne, les ancêtres faisaient comme ça autrefois ; ça n'existe plus », presque toujours avec un sentiment de regret. Le mouvement de « regroupement pahouin » est tout entier marqué de cette contradiction entre le regret des *biyem bimvam* et les aspirations à l'évolution. Il en est résulté la naissance de pseudo-traditions qui cherchent à référer à des normes coutumières les pratiques contemporaines.

On assiste depuis 1944, à un mouvement de l'opinion publique favorable à une codification écrite du droit. La plupart des sociétés

(1) *B.S.E.C.*, 1947, n° 19-20, p. 141 (n° 126).

claniques ont rédigé des coutumiers, révisés périodiquement lors des *bisulan* et qui servent de base légale aux jugements des tribunaux civils. Il est sans doute trop tôt pour une codification définitive à l'échelon territorial, qui impliquerait très probablement une unification intertribale du droit (déjà amorcée par la réglementation coloniale), mais la mise à jour périodique des coutumiers locaux par des commissions de notables et d'assesseurs est souvent réclamée, et déjà sporadiquement appliquée tant par les présidents d'*ésulan* que par certains administrateurs.

b) *Pouvoir judiciaire*

L'organisation moderne est, à quelques détails près, la même dans les trois territoires habités par les Pahouins. Au Cameroun et au Gabon, la justice répressive est confiée à des magistrats jugeant selon le code pénal français ; la justice civile est administrée par des tribunaux du premier et second degré, présidés par un fonctionnaire de l'ordre administratif, siégeant avec deux assesseurs africains ; il existe également des tribunaux dits coutumiers, entièrement composés d'Africains, incompétents en matière d'état des personnes, et un système de conciliation préalable à tout procès, cette conciliation étant du ressort soit des chefs, soit d'assesseurs du tribunal de premier degré. L'organisation espagnole est analogue, mais la justice pénale en premier ressort est confiée aux officiers *jefes de demarcación*.

A côté de cet appareil officiel, on constate souvent l'existence d'un appareil officieux, tantôt toléré, tantôt poursuivi comme illégal : tribunaux ou arbitres du *ngôl*, du *bwiti* ou des *meyoñ*, et aussi commissions de discipline, officielles ou officieuses, des missions.

La distinction du civil et du criminel était sans doute moins rigoureuse autrefois. Elle existait cependant et une organisation comme le *ngil* avait compétence essentiellement au criminel, le crime majeur, d'où dérivaient tous les autres, étant celui du *ngbwel*, sorcellerie : un meurtre pouvait être affaire civile, lorsque ses circonstances écartaient la probabilité d'un acte de sorcellerie, un vol astucieux, au contraire, ou même une habileté commerciale exceptionnelle pouvaient entraîner l'accusation capitale.

En dehors du *ngil*, la justice était administrée en premier lieu par l'*ésa* ou *nlôl môl* dans la famille-étendue ou le village. Il s'agissait là d'un pouvoir plutôt disciplinaire que judiciaire, aussi longtemps du moins que les décisions du *nlôl* n'intéressaient que ses *bobenyañ*. Lorsque l'affaire, *élom*, sortait d'un cadre purement familial, on avait recours à un juge, *ntyi'i mejô* = trancheur de palabres, choisi dans le clan à un niveau de parenté plus rapproché de l'ancêtre ; si plusieurs clans alliés étaient intéressés on prenait des arbitres ou assesseurs parmi les *mintôl* non impliqués directement dans le litige. On pouvait enfin s'adresser à un devin ou magicien, *mvimvi'i* ou *ngengen*, visité chez lui ou appelé en consultation.

Les litiges entre membres d'une association étaient, et sont encore très souvent, réglés par un dignitaire de l'association.

c) *Peines*

Leur échelle comprenait la mort, la malédiction paternelle, la mise aux ceps *(mbok)*, l'amende et la bastonnade. S'y ajoutaient, réservées aux femmes, l'ablation du clitoris et des *labia minora*, l'injection vaginale au piment et l'exposition publique, nue, les jambes maintenues écartées par les *mimbok (ésamele minga)*.

La peine de mort s'exécutait de façon à ne pas répandre de sang — ce qui aurait entraîné la nécessité d'une purification — par noyade, strangulation, inhumation (ceci notamment dans certains cas de *nsem*, comme l'inceste) ou par le feu ; si l'exécution devait être sanglante, on en chargeait un captif — étranger au clan — mais, en principe, l'effusion de sang avait toujours un caractère sacrificiel et devait être évitée en toutes autres occasions.

La peine de mort s'appliquait à la sorcellerie et aux *minsem* (ruptures d'interdits) graves : inceste ou meurtre d'un *monyañ*. Pour les autres infractions, la règle générale était la compensation, soit par le talion, soit par l'indemnisation, ce dernier mode étant généralement préféré. Par exemple, pour un meurtre commis en dehors du clan, les *mintôl* arbitres essayaient de faire payer à la famille du meurtrier un prix du sang, soit en marchandises, soit par dation en compensation d'une fille. Pouvait s'y ajouter, à l'intérieur du clan ou de la famille du meurtrier, une peine corporelle en quelque sorte disciplinaire. Si la compensation n'était pas payée, le clan de la victime avait recours au talion sur un membre quelconque du clan ou de la famille du coupable : la responsabilité, individuelle dans la famille, était collective dans le clan et dans la tribu.

L'amende devait être distinguée de la compensation accordée à la victime ; elle revenait, en effet, au *nlyi'i mejô*, peut-être pour payer son intervention. Elle subsiste de nos jours, bien qu'illégale, au profit des assesseurs officiels ou officieux : on l'appelle volontiers *loya*, du Coast English *lax*, pour la distinguer de la compensation, *ngôlô* = rançon, rachat.

La mise aux ceps s'appliquait surtout aux individus considérés comme socialement dangereux (de nos jours, dans les villages éloignés, à certains fous), la bastonnade aux fautes peu graves commises dans le clan. La clitoridectomie punissait l'adultère et l'inceste mineur. L'injection de piment était autant une *nkal*, épreuve ou ordalie, qu'une peine ; on la faisait subir, en particulier, aux veuves après le décès de leur mari, pour déterminer si elles en étaient ou non responsables.

Le recours aux ordalies, *minkal*, était d'ailleurs fréquent. L'ordalie était administrée soit par le *nlyi'i mejô* — *ésa*, *ntôl*, *njôô bôl* ou dignitaire du *ngil* ou autre association — soit par un devin, *mvimvi'i*, parfois spécialisé dans telle catégorie de *bitom*, palabres. L'ordalie proprement dite avait plusieurs formes : par serment imprécatoire sur la tombe des ancêtres ou le panier du *biéti* ; par les herbes amères, *alan* ; par le piment ou les fourmis ; par l'eau bouillante ou le feu

Les initiations, et d'abord celle du *ngil*, comportaient toutes une ordalie collective destinée à écarter les *beyem* qui auraient tenté de s'y introduire. A côté de l'ordalie proprement dite, le *mvimvi'i* avait recours aux divers procédés divinatoires pour découvrir les présumés coupables : sauf crime grave, on ne soumettait pas à l'ordalie le coupable ainsi décelé qui reconnaissait sa faute. L'ordalie physique est en recul, considérée comme crime ou délit par le Code pénal, et l'ordalie par serment imprécatoire a perdu beaucoup de sa valeur. Les procédés divinatoires restent très employés et sont parfois très efficaces (1).

Parmi les peines modernes l'amende et l'emprisonnement sont bien admis par les Pahouins et ont un pouvoir d'intimidation certain. Par contre, les subtilités de la constitution de partie civile échappent à beaucoup de paysans qui perdent ainsi la possibilité de recevoir les dommages-intérêts que la coutume leur aurait accordés. Surtout la qualification napoléonienne des crimes et délits reste très largement étrangère aux normes pahouines, par exemple lorsqu'elle considère comme simple contravention l'injure, même adressée à un ascendant. C'est ce qui explique le succès et la persistance de juridictions parallèles, illégales au point de vue du droit européen, bien que parfois tolérées par l'administration.

d) *Délinquance*

Si l'on en croit les anciens, la délinquance était rare jadis : les sociétés secrètes, leurs ordalies et leurs châtiments rapides prévenaient les délits par la terreur qu'ils inspiraient. Actuellement, les registres d'écrou et les statistiques judiciaires permettent de mesurer le phénomène, mais rien ne prouve que tous les délinquants soient poursuivis. Certaines affaires ne viennent jamais aux oreilles de la justice : souvent des pères de famille déplorent l'immoralité de leurs fils ou de leurs femmes affirmant qu'ils sont volés par eux ; mais aucune plainte n'étant déposée, les statistiques n'enregistrent pas ces faits.

Il est d'usage en Afrique de déplorer la poussée de délinquance juvénile. Les chiffres en ma possession montrent évidemment un accroissement :

	18 ans	18 à 20 ans	20 à 25 ans	25 à 30 ans	30 à 35 ans	Plus de 35 ans	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1936	3	3,5	19	32	18	25	100
1946		10	21	35	15	14	100
1956	7	7,2	25	22	15	24	100

(1) Le serment peut être prêté sur le *nzo'okak* — petite défense d'éléphant emplie de médecines diverses, garnie d'une bretelle et portée sous le bras. Le *nzo'okak* n'est pas un insigne de commandement ; à la mort de son détenteur il n'est pas attribué obligatoirement à celui qui devient chef de famille, mais à celui qui a des penchants pour la magie. Sauter le *nzo'okak* posé par terre, c'est jurer qu'on a dit vrai. Le *nzo'okak* garantit les traités : après une guerre, il est posé entre les belligérants. Ceux-ci le sautent pour garantir leurs intentions pacifiques. (J. B.)

Mais cet accroissement est moins fort qu'on ne pouvait le craindre. Un examen des statistiques permet une autre conclusion : la délinquance est un phénomène urbain. En effet, les professions exercées en ville sont les seules représentées dans les prisons. Dans une zone où l'agriculture est l'activité essentielle le nombre relativement faible de ruraux délinquants est remarquable. Certes, il faut tenir compte du fait que l'activité des services de répression est plus facile en ville, du fait également que les citadins plus occidentalisés, hésitent moins à saisir les tribunaux. Cependant, les différences entre le taux de délinquance des diverses professions méritent d'être signalées : certes, les chiffres donnés ci-dessous ne sont qu'approximatifs. Ils ont été obtenus par l'étude du recensement de trois villes du Sud-Cameroun et par la comparaison avec les registres d'écrou des mêmes localités.

	Fonctionnaires	Employés de commerce	Commerçants	Bouchers	Tailleurs	Menuisiers	Maçons	Chauffeurs	Mécaniciens	Motor boys	Domestiques	Manœuvres	Chefs	Planteurs
% de délinquants...	4,8	15	7,5	4	8	5	3	13	10	23	8,3	8	0,8	0,8

Employés de commerce, chauffeurs et apprentis chauffeurs sont les groupes sociaux où la moralité est la moins bonne. La nature des délits permet de préciser les choses : dans les pays béti du Cameroun les délits de mœurs (abandon du domicile conjugal) constituent 47 % des causes ; vol et escroquerie en constituent 26 % ; les coups et blessures volontaires viennent loin derrière : 16 %.

Ces chiffres permettent de mesurer la décadence actuelle de la famille. (J. B.)

e) *Droit foncier*

D'après les documents anciens, le régime foncier était jadis des plus simples. Il ne semblait pas y avoir de droit sur le sol : « La terre est à qui la prend, elle n'a aucune valeur. On ne la vend pas, on ne la donne pas en garantie d'une dette, elle n'entre pas dans l'héritage. » Ce n'est pas seulement la notion de propriété individuelle du sol qui fait défaut, mais aussi celle de propriété collective : « Il n'y a jamais de conflit entre les villages pour la propriété du sol... On voit souvent un village étranger venir s'intercaler entre deux groupes d'habitations appartenant à un même village de Boulou (1). » Dans les pays fang du Gabon, la situation était analogue : « La tradition ignore au Woleu-Ntem la notion de propriété même par village (2). »

Les migrations et les conquêtes sont encore récentes. En outre,

(1) Rapport à la S.D.N., 1922.
(2) Sautter, *Bulletin d'Études centrafricaines*, 1950 (n° 102).

le mouvement de peuples s'est fait sans organisation ni commandement cohérent : clans, tribus, peuples divers sont imbriqués, famille par famille, sans qu'il soit possible de distinguer l'assiette territoriale d'une collectivité.

Chez les Éwôndo et les Eton, la situation est un peu différente : les clans, probablement mieux organisés, ont conservé une relative cohésion et ont effectué leur conquête sans s'éparpiller. Aussi, trouve-t-on chez eux des limites entre les villages et des droits collectifs du sol. « Les terrains une fois défrichés ne sont pas abandonnés sans espoir de retour. Le village les considère comme une réserve. » En effet, la densité de la population limite beaucoup le nomadisme agricole.

Depuis une quarantaine d'années, les coutumes ont beaucoup évolué et chez ces peuples dont le droit foncier était embryonnaire ou inexistant, apparaissent des notions voisines de celles du droit de propriété occidental.

La population est à peu près fixée maintenant. La naissance d'un droit de cueillette à l'intérieur d'un périmètre serait assez logique. Une évolution se dessine en ce sens. Dans certaines zones, quiconque peut encore couper du bois, des lianes, récolter des fruits sauvages ou chasser pour ses besoins personnels ; mais s'il en tire profit par des ventes, il doit obtenir le consentement de la famille dans la zone d'extension de qui il se livre à cette industrie. Ailleurs, l'utilisation, même à des fins personnelles de certains produits, est soumise à autorisation ou partage de récolte. L'ancien principe coutumier du libre usage des biens naturels se trouve donc limité, au moins dans certains cas particuliers. Avec l'accroissement de la population naît la notion d'un droit virtuel sur des forêts non cultivées. Les familles estiment qu'elles seules ont le droit de défricher les terres situées dans leur mouvance. Des hommes expérimentés précisent bien : « Jadis, chacun défrichait dans la forêt sans demander à personne. Maintenant que le pays est peuplé, il faut demander. » Dans les cantons moins peuplés, les défrichements en grande forêt se font librement.

Conformément aux coutumes ancestrales, la récolte appartient aux cultivateurs : droit mobilier plutôt que droit sur le sol. Cependant, la tendance vers un droit de propriété foncière se fait sentir. En effet, avant tout ensemencement, il a fallu abattre les arbres et défricher. Ces travaux sont relativement durables : défricher un taillis de 10 ou 15 ans est moins pénible que défricher une parcelle de forêt primaire. Aussi reconnaît-on à l'ancien défricheur un droit sur ses jachères. A l'intérieur de la famille, chaque chef de ménage peut remettre en culture des terres qu'il utilisait précédemment et dans ce cas, chacune de ses femmes a le droit de retrouver son ancien champ. Lorsqu'il s'agit de propriété collective, l'évolution est moins nette. Cela se comprend : lorsqu'un village abandonne son emplacement ancien, si personne ne reste aux alentours, c'est qu'aucun retour n'est envisagé. Aussi les emplacements abandonnés peuvent-ils être occupés en général sans difficulté ni accord explicite.

Mais c'est évidemment dans le cas des cacaoyères que le droit né

du travail se transforme en droit sur le sol. Du droit sur la récolte, on passe au droit sur l'arbre qui la porte et sur le sol où il est enraciné : la pérennité de la plantation justifie ce passage en fixant les hommes pendant deux ou trois générations.

Le passage cependant n'est pas parfaitement accompli et certains veulent assurer leur droit sur le sol en y plantant des arbres et l'on voit des procès étranges, où pour évincer un planteur émigré, un concurrent plante d'autres cacaoyères dans les intervalles.

L'évolution vers la propriété n'est pas encore terminée : nous sommes en présence d'un droit d'usage mais le droit de disposer n'est pas bien établi. Beaucoup estiment qu'il n'est pas possible de vendre la terre. Non point, semble-t-il, pour des motifs religieux mais parce que la collectivité se trouverait frustrée de façon définitive. L'attitude à cet égard des étrangers est caractéristique. Dans cette zone où clans et tribus se mélangent de façon inextricable, le problème des étrangers se pose tous les jours. Certains appartenant à des tribus sœurs, sont à peu près considérés comme le seraient les membres du groupe. Mais d'autres, venus de peuples plus éloignés vivent selon un statut spécial... Ils doivent demander une terre au chef de famille auprès de qui ils s'installent. Celui-ci les autorise à défricher une parcelle pour leurs cultures vivrières. Mais il leur interdit de planter des cacaoyers. En effet, si la création d'un champ de maïs donne droit de posséder le sol pour quelques mois, la création d'une cacaoyère amènerait à une possession de longue durée. Il ne s'agit pas d'une coutume liée à la possession des arbres, puisque des anciens affirment que naguère l'étranger pouvait planter des palmiers *melen (elaeis guineensis)* et des *sa (pachylobus edulis)*, mais d'un réflexe de défense pour conserver le contrôle d'une culture intéressante et repousser l'afflux d'immigration qu'elle pourrait attirer.

L'examen des modalités de mise en gage des terres amène à une conclusion analogue : le droit de disposition est loin d'être total. Ce sont les récoltes plutôt que les terres qui sont engagées. Chez les Ewôndo, en effet, le créancier peut récolter et disposer des fruits. « Si la récolte dépasse la dette, il remettra à son ancien débiteur une part du produit. Comme le propriétaire risque de laisser sa terre à l'abandon, le créancier peut entretenir le fonds et ce faisant mériter un accroissement de sa créance. Le créancier peut être amené à conserver le bien en mains plusieurs années : en fait, il le conserve assez longtemps pour être remboursé par les fruits. Cependant, on n'envisage pas qu'il puisse le garder perpétuellement. On saisit là une différence vraisemblablement importante entre le droit foncier local et le nôtre : tout se passe comme si la terre était inaliénable (1). La tendance est analogue chez les Boulou, mais il faut convenir que le problème de la mise en gage ne paraît pas poser de gros problèmes économiques actuellement. (J. B.)

(1) J. Binet, Budgets familiaux dans la zone cacaoyère du Cameroun, *L'Homme d'Outre-mer*, n° 3, 1956 (n° 93).

f) *Propriété mobilière*

C'est sans doute la seule connue à l'origine. Elle paraît avoir été en grande partie collective, en tout cas en ce qui concerne les biens de valeur : l'*ésa* était gérant de ces biens, patrimoine familial qui servait principalement à payer les *minsuba*, « dots ». Il y avait cependant propriété individuelle d'objets fonctionnels, armes des hommes, instruments de travail ou de ménage des femmes, objets qu'on enterrait avec leur propriétaire. Il semble bien, également, y avoir eu une distinction sexuelle des différentes catégories de bien : *biôm beyôm* masculins, *biôm beyal* féminins, cette distinction ayant trait non à la propriété mais à l'usage et peut-être à l'origine. J'ai déjà mentionné que, dans les *bilaba*, le *njem bilaba* de l'Ouest apportait des objets d'importation, celui de l'Est des produits du pays, l'orientation se référant très probablement à des catégories sexuelles : aire Nord/Est, mâle ; aire Sud/Ouest, femelle. Il faudrait mieux connaître les usages rituels des différents outils et instruments pour préciser cette notion. On sait que le sabre, *fa*, est essentiellement mâle, que la clochette de chasse attachée au cou des chiens, *angôñ*, est essentiellement femelle, que le tambour-téléphone, *nkul*, est androgyne (mais les femmes n'ont pas le droit de s'en servir), le fusil, *ngal*, probablement épicène, et ainsi de quelques autres objets, mais on ignore à peu près totalement quels effets a cette sexualisation sur la propriété et sa transmission.

Quoi qu'il en soit, depuis l'introduction de l'économie monétaire, la propriété mobilière s'est à peu près intégralement individualisée. Les meubles qui restent collectifs le sont d'abord par affectation : matériel des associations, produits de leurs cotisations, parfois objets achetés en commun par les membres d'une famille, en raison de leur prix ou de leur usage, par exemple les machines à coudre qu'on allait chercher en Guinée Espagnole après la dernière guerre.

La propriété mobilière comporte encore quelques restrictions appliquées aux femmes et aux jeunes gens ; encore les supportent-ils de moins en moins. Les fils respectueux, les épouses soumises laissent encore leurs pères et maris utiliser les objets acquis avec le produit de leur industrie, mais lorsqu'ils s'y refusent la tendance des tribunaux est de plus en plus en leur faveur. Cependant, l'obligation d'assistance résultant des liens familiaux est toujours effective et refuser de « prêter » un objet à un *monyañ* risque d'être mal vu, ce qui est fort grave. Il subsiste ainsi une sorte de droit d'usage collectif, familial, grevant la propriété mobilière individuelle.

g) *Successions, tutelles*

Elles s'ouvrent par la mort ou la disparition. La malédiction paternelle n'emportait pas la mort civile, mais les biens abandonnés par le fils maudit qui quittait le village étaient confisqués et partagés entre ses frères.

La liquidation des biens laissés par le défunt, appelés *élik*, de *lik* = laisser, avait lieu à la fin de la période de deuil, *meyep*, soit

un *mbu*, six mois après le décès., Ce délai tend à se raccourcir de plus en plus et est généralement d'un mois dans les villes, période suffisant à prévenir et convoquer les héritiers éventuels ; il demeure plus long dans les villages.

L'*élik* comprend au passif les dettes familiales du *de cujus*, mais non ses dettes purement personnelles qui meurent avec lui ; la distinction est parfois malaisée et donne lieu à des procès entre héritiers et créanciers du mort. Le passif comprend également les frais de funérailles, notamment la rétribution du devin appelé à déterminer la cause du décès (mais les frais de dernière maladie sont considérés comme dette personnelle). L'actif comprend tous les biens meubles et immeubles ayant appartenu au défunt, y compris ses femmes. La liquidation, *akap* = partage, est dirigée par le *nkap élik*, partageur de succession, généralement un *nlôl môl*, parent ou allié, non appelé à la succession, et désigné soit par le *de cujus*, soit par les héritiers eux-mêmes. Les successions sont plus importantes de nos jours qu'autrefois, non seulement parce que la quantité et la variété des objets à partager sont plus grandes, mais encore parce que l'habitude se perd d'en détruire ou d'en enterrer une partie lors des funérailles.

Il y a six degrés de successibles : enfants mâles et leurs descendants mâles ; frères germains ; frères consanguins ; cousins germains en lignée paternelle, *bobenyañ* ; neveux du clan, donc fils de frères, *bobendôm* ; frères, neveux et petits-fils utérins du clan, donc bâtards, *bobengon*, et neveux et petits-fils hors du clan, légitimes, *bobekal*. La succession n'est dévolue en ordre ascendant qu'à défaut absolu de successibles en ordre descendant.

L'aîné des héritiers du premier degré appelé à la succession, *nlôl mon*, est privilégié : c'est le remplaçant, *njian*, du mort. Il prend sa case, les bijoux de famille, les objets du culte des ancêtres et notamment le panier du *biéli*, le fusil et certains biens de valeur tels que bicyclette, machine à coudre, etc. Les autres biens sont partagés entre les autres successibles du même degré. Le droit d'aînesse du *njian* commence à faire l'objet de critiques ; il cesse de plus en plus de s'appliquer aux plantations et l'on voit maintenant des héritiers réclamer un partage en lots d'égale valeur suivant un mode analogue à celui du Code civil.

Les biens laissés par une femme allaient en premier lieu à ses filles, à défaut à ses co-épouses, à défaut de co-épouses à son mari. Avec l'instabilité matrimoniale actuelle, conjuguée à l'émancipation économique des femmes, cet ordre successoral est très discuté : il est fréquent de voir la famille d'une femme tenter de s'emparer de la succession en arguant du paiement incomplet de la dot.

Le testament oral est de plus en plus remplacé par le testament écrit. Le testataire peut lui-même *kap élik*, partager la succession, et avantager certains héritiers. Il ne peut guère déshériter complètement le *nlôl mon* qu'en le maudissant, sauf si celui-ci a quitté le village de façon apparemment définitive, auquel cas c'est un puîné qui devient *njian*.

La disparition est une question de fait : lorsque quelqu'un est resté longtemps sans donner de nouvelles et sans qu'on sache où il est, ses aînés et ses frères peuvent décider de partager ses biens, le partage est annulé s'il revient.

La tutelle d'un mineur, *meba'ale* ou *akalé* (de *ba'ale* ou *kalé* = = prendre soin, garder) est confiée à un *nya môlô* d'une classe d'âge supérieure, de préférence un oncle paternel, *ésa* (lit. : père) ou grand-parent paternel, *émvam* ; à défaut, à un frère aîné ; à défaut de l'un et de l'autre, à un aîné de la famille ou du clan. L'oncle maternel, *ndômenyañ*, sert en quelque sorte de subrogé tuteur, chargé de veiller à la régularité de la tutelle. C'est chez lui que se réfugiera un pupille maltraité par son tuteur.

Le tuteur, *mba'ale mon* ou *nkalé mon*, a, du fait même de son âge et du lien de parenté qui les unit, pleine autorité sur l'orphelin, *mone nyui* ou *mo'nyui*. Il ne peut, toutefois, disposer de ses biens, qu'il doit lui restituer intégralement, en nature ou en valeur, dès que l'orphelin est parvenu à l'âge d'homme. Il devrait même, en principe, se charger de marier son pupille à ses frais, tradition qui se perd avec le recul de la propriété familiale. Le pupille devenu majeur peut se faire rendre des comptes de tutelle, à condition de ne pas insulter le tuteur ; c'est le conseil de famille, composé des aînés, *minlôl*, qui est compétent dans ce cas.

C'est le *mba'ale mon* chargé de la tutelle d'une fille qui donne son consentement au mariage de celle-ci et touche la *nsuba*, dont il doit réserver le montant au mariage des frères de la fille s'ils sont mineurs aussi. La tutelle d'une fille est toujours confiée à l'aîné de ses frères s'il est majeur au décès du père ; sinon, elle lui est transférée par le *mba'ale mon* dès qu'il a atteint l'âge d'homme si la fille ne s'est pas mariée pendant sa minorité. Même dans ce cas, d'ailleurs, c'est à lui qu'incombera la responsabilité du remboursement de la *nsuba* si la fille divorce lorsqu'il est sorti de tutelle.

h) *Contrats et quasi-contrats divers*

L'engagement juridique est *atiñ*, de *tiñ* = nouer ; on a longtemps ignoré la distinction entre contrat et quasi-contrat, mais, à mesure qu'augmente le domaine de l'autonomie de la volonté, on distingue parmi les *metiñ* le *mfañ atiñ*, contrat véritable, de *fañ* = faire vraiment, faire exprès, à dessein.

A la base de tous les *metiñ* se trouve la notion de compensation, *avulan* ou *abulan*, qu'on pourrait énoncer approximativement ainsi : toute atteinte, positive ou négative, à la personnalité juridique totale d'un individu du fait d'un autre individu doit donner lieu à une compensation négative ou positive qui remette les choses en l'état. En d'autres termes, quiconque enrichit autrui a droit à compensation, quiconque appauvrit autrui doit compensation.

De là dérive la distinction entre *nsenge* et *avu* ou *avuan*, qu'on a parfois confondus, sous la traduction de « gain » ou « bénéfice ». Il

semble qu'en fait *nsenge* désignait expressément le profit commercial fait à l'extérieur du clan à l'occasion de la traite, *abom*, et pour lequel la compensation ne jouait pas. *Avu* ou *avuan* (de *vu* = s'enrichir, augmenter sa richesse ; forme en *an* = s'accroître, être augmenté) désignait l'augmentation naturelle d'une fortune, par exemple la récolte par rapport aux semences, le croît biologique d'un troupeau ; si l'*avuan* se faisait aux dépens d'un *monyañ*, il y avait lieu à compensation. Aujourd'hui, la notion d'*avuan* se rapproche de celle de l'intérêt, légitime ou illégitime selon les cas d'espèce ; l'affaiblissement des structures anciennes tend simultanément à faire admettre le *nsenge* même dans le clan.

Le verbe *kuan*, vendre, n'est autre que la forme réciproque du verbe *kus*, acheter : *kuan* signifie donc littéralement « s'acheter l'un à l'autre », avec une idée d'échange, très affaiblie aujourd'hui. Les verbes *fol* et *folan*, autrefois presque synonymes de *kus* et *kuan*, ont conservé le sens « échanger » ; ils s'appliquent au troc, *kuan* et *kus*, aux transactions monétaires.

On considère aujourd'hui que la vente est nouée dès la tradition de la marchandise ou du prix, alors que l'échange semble exiger la remise simultanée des objets échangés.

Prêter un objet pour un usage momentané et assez bref est *señ* ; ce n'est pas à proprement parler un contrat et la responsabilité de l'emprunteur peut même n'être pas engagée, par exemple lorsqu'on lui a prêté un outil pour effectuer un travail au profit et sous la surveillance du prêteur. Prêter à long terme avec dépossession effective de la marchandise prêtée, est, par contre, un *atiñ* fréquent. Les mêmes verbes signifient simultanément « prêter » et « emprunter » : *yôé* s'applique au prêt-emprunt d'un objet déterminé, *kôlé* à celui d'une chose de genre ou d'une somme d'argent. La chose prêtée est *ndôñ* ou *ékôla*, suivant le cas ou, plus généralement, *mvôla*, qui désigne toute dette ou créance (*mbi mvôla* = créancier ; *mvômvôla* = débiteur). L'emprunteur est tenu à restitution en bon état du *ndôñ* et de ses fruits ou de l'*ékôla*, augmenté d'*avulan* s'il s'est enrichi du fait de l'emprunt ; il est responsable non seulement de la conservation, mais encore de l'usage qu'il fait de l'objet prêté, le prêteur ayant toutefois une sorte de responsabilité solidaire vis-à-vis des tiers auxquels l'emprunteur aurait pu nuire à l'aide de l'objet emprunté (une indemnité peut être réclamée par la victime d'un accident au propriétaire qui a prêté une bicyclette à l'auteur de l'accident), et même vis-à-vis de l'emprunteur si celui-ci vient à méchef du fait de l'objet emprunté.

Du prêt dérive le louage, désigné par le même mot que le prêt d'objet déterminé, *yôé*, contrat d'introduction récente, dont la jurisprudence est encore imprécise ; comme le prêt de louage peut donner lieu à constitution de gage, *éban*. L'*éban* portait fréquemment sur des personnes, jusqu'à ce que la législation européenne ait prohibé la mise en gages de personnes, qui se pratique cependant encore clandestinement. Il porte surtout de nos jours sur des objets, qui peuvent être remis soit au prêteur, soit à un tiers ; la propriété du gage peut

être transférée au prêteur à l'échéance du remboursement, sans pour autant éteindre la dette. La mise en gage de récoltes pendantes ou même de plantations est de plus en plus fréquente ; dans le cas des plantations, cependant, le gage porte plutôt sur le droit aux fruits que sur le terrain même. Dans le cas de mise en gage d'une fille, la remise de dette, *aju*, est parfois considérée comme une sorte de *nsuba* ; tant que la dette subsiste, en tout cas, les enfants de la fille mise en gage appartiennent à son clan, et non à celui du créancier gagiste.

Le contrat de prêt-embouche de bétail, *meyale kabal* (*yale* = élever, faire pousser), peut paraître assez singulier au premier abord : le propriétaire du bétail le confie au *ñyale* qui doit le soigner et rendre à l'expiration du contrat non seulement le bétail reçu mais aussi le croît : le prêteur se débarrasse du souci du troupeau (très souvent, d'ailleurs, il l'envoie ainsi en garde pour le soustraire à une épizootie), mais prend le risque d'une infidélité du *ñyale* ; celui-ci doit rendre intégralement le troupeau, mais tant qu'il l'a en garde, il peut en faire ce qu'il veut, l'utiliser comme une sorte de crédit. Il est bon de signaler que ce contrat, actuellement en voie de désuétude, donnait lieu à de multiples contestations.

Le contrat de traite, sous son ancien nom d'*abom* ou sous la désignation plus récente d'*atiñ kilak* ou *atiñ akus kaka*, est, par contre, de plus en plus répandu. Un commerçant, *nkuan biôm* ou *mbi falyélé*, remet à un *kilak* (anglais : *clerk*) une avance en argent et en marchandise, le *kilak* s'engageant à fournir en contrepartie un certain tonnage de cacao ; le contrat est constaté par un écrit, le « bon pour », qui tient lieu de reconnaissance de dette. Le *kilak* s'efforce de recueillir le tonnage promis, généralement en l'achetant à des planteurs de son clan, parfois en sous-traitant avec des « petits clerks », *bone bekilak*. Le contrat est à terme, avec les aléas des contrats de ce type ; en cas de hausse des cours, le *kilak* risque de se trouver en difficulté et de ne pouvoir fournir le tonnage promis, à moins que les planteurs de sa famille ne lui fassent crédit ou ne lui vendent au-dessous du cours. L'achat du cacao se fait aussi par le procédé du mandat, le mandataire, *nlôman*, envoyé, recevant une avance d'argent avec laquelle il doit acheter le plus de cacao possible. Les deux procédés donnent lieu à des litiges d'autant plus fréquents que le bailleur de fonds est généralement un Européen ou un Africain d'une autre tribu, « gabonais » en A.E.F., Bamiléké, *mone galifis* (du Coast English : *Grassfield*) au Cameroun.

D'une façon générale, le mandat est toujours possible, que ce soit pour passer un contrat ou pour ester en justice. Le mandant est appelé *mve ngul*, donneur de pouvoir, le mandataire *mbili ngul*, ayant pouvoir. Ils sont solidairement responsables.

Le contrat *bilaba*, décrit plus haut (*supra*, pp. 33 et 60) est en voie de disparition. Il subsiste, par contre, une sorte de *bilaba* du pauvre, le *meyeñ*, de *nneñ* = hôte, qui permet à un *zesé môl*, homme de peu, de lever une sorte de taxe sur les *minkukum*, les riches, de son clan, par le procédé très simple d'aller les voir en leur apportant un cadeau

auquel ils doivent répondre par une hospitalité généreuse et un contre-cadeau de valeur plus élevée. C'est un quasi-contrat sanctionné par la contrainte sociale et qui pèse très lourdement sur les gens considérés comme riches ; il est à l'origine du parasitisme familial souvent constaté dans les grandes villes. Le réputé *nkukum* qui voudrait s'y soustraire serait accusé d'avoir le cœur dur, *nlem ayel*, ce qui peut assez facilement mener à une accusation de sorcellerie.

7) Situation des femmes (1)

Si l'on en croit les anciens, la situation des femmes, selon la coutume orthodoxe, serait celle de mineures. Pourtant, rien dans les principes traditionnels ne justifie bien une telle misogynie : certains clans citent des femmes parmi leurs héros éponymes et des légendes attribuent au Dieu créateur (Zambē) une fille, en l'honneur de qui étaient accomplis certains rites. Actuellement, les sociétés tribales, qui s'efforcent de revitaliser les anciens clans et de repenser les règles morales et juridiques coutumières, réservent toujours au sein de leurs états-majors des places pour les femmes, mais bien souvent leur rôle est assez secondaire : danseuses, chanteuses, organisatrices de ballets ou commissaires chargées de surveiller les adhérentes, elles ne font en somme qu'exécuter les ordres des hommes. Elles siègent parfois aussi avec des hommes dans les associations confessionnelles (protestantes ou plus souvent catholiques), mais le plus souvent, elles forment des groupes distincts de ceux des hommes, sociétés dites secrètes hier, pieuses confréries chrétiennes aujourd'hui permettant aux femmes de se retrouver entre elles, d'avoir leur hiérarchie, et leurs chefs. Les femmes ne participent pas réellement à la vie de la cité, ou plus précisément, elles forment entre elles une cité, distincte de celle des hommes.

En droit, les femmes paraissent avoir une situation défavorable. Il n'est pas certain pourtant qu'elles doivent cette situation à un anti-féminisme véritable. En effet, nul n'est parfaitement indépendant en droit coutumier ; seul le chef de famille, le patriarche jouit de la pleine capacité. La femme n'est pas rendue majeure par le mariage et la jeune fille jouit d'une indépendance plus grande que la femme mariée. Dans le domaine sexuel, cela est évident. Les naissances illégitimes ne comportent aucune honte : un enfant est toujours bien accueilli. S'il naît avant le mariage, il appartient à la famille de la mère. Et il n'est pas rare que de respectables pères de famille attendent que leur fille ait donné des enfants avant de la marier. Dans la vie économique, la fille non mariée peut entreprendre librement toutes sortes d'affaires commerciales, alors que la femme mariée aurait besoin du consentement de son mari. Pas plus que le mariage, le divorce

(1) J. Binet, Condition des femmes, *Cahiers internationaux de sociologie*, XX, 1956, P.U.F., et Statut des femmes dans le Sud-Cameroun, à paraître in *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, 1956, Edit. de la Librairie Encyclopédique, Bruxelles.

ou le veuvage n'émancipent théoriquement la femme. Échappant à la tutelle du mari, elle retombe sous l'autorité de son chef de famille, mais dans l'esprit de la coutume ceci n'est pas une situation défavorable : chaque individu reste soumis à son père.

La liberté dont jouissent les femmes pour la gestion de leur patrimoine ne doit donc pas faire figure d'anomalie. En Afrique, d'ailleurs, l'usage du pécule individuel est très répandu. Et la division des biens en biens masculins et biens féminins permet aux femmes et aux jeunes filles d'avoir la propriété d'objets que ni maris, ni pères ne peuvent leur prendre. Une séparation des biens est la conséquence logique de ces données.

La femme dispose en principe du produit de son travail — de ses récoltes — mais elle doit fournir l'essentiel de la nourriture. Le surplus seul est vendu, mais dans la plupart des familles, lorsque des ventes importantes sont faites, le produit en est partagé entre mari et femme. La femme dispose seule en général du produit des ventes courantes faites sur un marché ou au passage de voyageurs : faibles sommes n'atteignant que 10 % du budget total de la famille. Elle peut investir ses bénéfices en participant à des tontines (société où chacun fait à date fixe un apport et où le capital est réparti à tour de rôle entre les différents associés).

Les moyens d'enrichissement prévus par la coutume sont donc faibles. Mais l'évolution des usages permet aux femmes d'exercer divers métiers assurant leur indépendance. Commerçantes, ou couturières, payant patente, employées de commerce ou vendeuses sont théoriquement autorisées par leur mari, qui pourrait décider de l'emploi des bénéfices. En fait, les femmes semblent agir librement. Devant les tribunaux coutumiers même, elles se présentent seules, sans être accompagnées de leur père ou de leur époux.

Dans le domaine du droit foncier, la tendance est la même : les femmes accèdent à une certaine propriété. Avec la stabilisation, la naissance d'un droit collectif sur des terres défrichées ou susceptibles de l'être est assez compréhensible. L'idée d'un droit personnel accordé à une femme qui n'est pas vraiment membre de la famille mais lui est simplement prêtée paraît aberrante. Telle est pourtant la situation chez les Ewôndo, où la femme divorcée continue à avoir un droit sur ses anciennes cultures et peut y faire la récolte. Chez les Bané et les Boulou, cette situation des divorcées n'est pas la même. Mais la tendance est la même : lorsque les jachères sont défrichées, chacune retrouve les champs qu'elle avait cultivés quatre ou cinq ans plus tôt, et les fils peuvent réclamer les terres qui ont été cultivées par leur mère.

Les cacaoyères posent d'autres problèmes. Certains hommes, soucieux de l'avenir de leurs enfants, confient une plantation à leur épouse ou l'incitent à en créer une pour leur fils. Ailleurs, ce sont des femmes sans enfants qui plantent pour assurer leur subsistance dans leur vieillesse : celles qui sont mères sont sans inquiétude, leurs enfants les soigneront. Enfin, une transformation plus importante

encore se laisse pressentir : un régime matrimonial de communauté des biens est en gestation. Lorsqu'une femme a collaboré avec son mari à établir une plantation, elle a le droit, à la mort de celui-ci, d'en conserver l'usufruit. Même si son fils en hérite et effectue les ventes, c'est elle qui percevra les recettes. Évolution importante, car elle témoigne d'une sorte d'égalité entre les époux qui ont vocation et aptitude à recueillir les fruits d'une même propriété. Elle montre, en outre, que le ménage est une réalité juridique en face des deux individus d'une part, de la famille patriarcale, d'autre part. (J. B.)

[p. 84]

CHAPITRE VI

PRINCIPAUX ÉLÉMENTS DE LA CULTURE

1) Caractéristiques physiques, mentalité

a) *Données anthropologiques*

Les premiers voyageurs décrivent les Fang comme très grands, bien bâtis et d'aspect redoutable. Cette appréciation comportait certainement une bonne part de subjectivité, car les chiffres donnés, par exemple, par I. Dugast, dont nous reproduisons quelques-uns ci-dessous, indiquent une taille simplement sur-moyenne :

Tribu	Taille		Indice céphalique		Indice cormique	
	H.	F.	H.	F.	H.	F.
Mangisa ...	Sur-moyenne		76,7	76,3	?	?
Eton	167,8	157,9	76,2	76,4	50,8	51,0
Ewôndo ...	168,4	158,6	77,0	77,6	50,5	50,4
Boulou	165,4	157,6	77,8	79,2	51,2	52,2
Fang	Sur-moyenne		77,0	76,6	51,2	50,9

Tribu	Formule sanguine (en %)					Indice facial		Envergure s/taille	
	O	A	B	AB	Indice	H.	F.	H.	F.
Mangisa ...	52	21,9	10,9	15,2	1,44	?	?	?	?
Eton	55,7	13,8	17,5	12,9	0,876	85,1	84,2	104,4	102,5
Ewôndo ...	55,5	14,1	17,4	11,5	0,885	85,7	85,6	105,3	104,0
Boulou	?	?	?	?	?	86,5	85,1	103,7	102,9
Fang	?	?	?	?	?	83,2	87,0	105,3	103,4

Il est obligatoire, d'ailleurs, qu'une population de cette importance numérique présente des variations extrêmes assez accusées, mais mes propres observations, subjectives également, font ressortir une proportion plus forte d'individus petits et très petits, que de grands et très grands : le métissage avec les Pygmées (*ayoñ* Bekoé, notamment) l'expliquerait en grande partie : les Beti du Nord, qui ont eu beaucoup moins de contacts avec les Pygmées semblent plus grands et plus élancés.

L'ensemble du groupe serait mésaticéphale tendant vers une doli-

chocéphalie modérée (1), avec un faciès à caractéristiques négroïdes peu accusées, une peau brun chocolat assez claire et des groupes à peau tirant sur le rouge et yeux verts (*ayoñ* Ndôñ de Sangmélima). Pilosité pectorale fréquente. Cas d'albinisme assez fréquents, quelques polydactiles (souvent réputés sorciers). Ceinture scapulaire forte, mollet assez développé, cambrure accusée, phalangettes non redressables vers le haut.

Les explorateurs du siècle dernier ont été unanimement frappés par une différence d'aspect physique entre les Pahouins et leurs voisins, beaucoup moins évidente aujourd'hui, en tout cas pour un Européen (les Pahouins eux-mêmes reconnaissent souvent un étranger de fort loin). Il est possible que les Pahouins de l'époque de la conquête aient eu un régime plus riche en viande que celui des populations côtières et que celui de leurs descendants actuels : l'hippopotame a été exterminé, la densité du reste de la faune a beaucoup diminué, l'élevage même est en recul.

b) *Vêtement, parures, marques corporelles*

Le vêtement traditionnel tel que l'ont décrit les explorateurs n'existe pratiquement plus. On rencontre encore parfois, dans les villages reculés, le cache-sexe d'écorce de ficus battue, *ôbôm*, et le chapeau-perruque en peau de singe, *afô'ôlô*, qui constituaient la tenue quotidienne des hommes, avec la large ceinture de peau d'antilope, *oses*, soutenant une sorte de sporran, ainsi que l'étui du sabre. Les tenues de guerre et de parade sont devenues très rares ; elles comprenaient, outre un *ôbôm* teint en rouge, une séant de peau de chat-tigre, de drill ou autre animal à fourrure brillante, des franges molletières de la même fourrure et une sorte de cape faite de la peau d'un léopard ou d'un gorille, dont la tête formait parfois capuchon ; coiffure de perles, pendant sur les épaules ou tressées dans les cheveux, avec bouquet de plumes de touraco ou d'aigle-bateleur. L'armement comportait le sabre, *fa*, le poignard, *ôtyeñ*, à double tranchant tous les deux, la lance, *akeñ*, ou le fusil, *ngal* (l'arbalète, *mfan*, était plutôt une arme de chasse, l'arc, *ngale*, un jouet). L'armement défensif comprenait un bouclier oblong, *ngu* ou *éndeñ*, en lianes tressées ou en cuir, parfois fait d'une oreille d'éléphant. Même de nos jours les hommes n'aiment pas sortir sans arme, du moins dans les villages ; autrefois, ils étaient toujours armés. Les bijoux masculins comprenaient des bracelets de cuivre et des colliers de dents — dents de fauves, ou dents d'hommes — des anneaux de cuivre, de fer, d'ivoire ou de poil d'éléphant. Les « médicaments » de protection, *mebiañ*, étaient le plus souvent portés dans une corne d'antilope *(céphalophus sylvicultrix)*, *nla' zip*, attachée au cou ou au poignet par un lien de cuir ou de peau de serpent, habitude qui subsiste encore. Les costumes de cérémonie des différents rites compre-

(1) Les sages-femmes, *bebiali binga*, conservent souvent l'habitude de modeler en l'allongeant le crâne des nouveau-nés. Par contre l'usage de la bande d'écorce comprimant la tête des bébés tend à se perdre.

naient des masques, des capes d'herbes sèches, de perles ou de cauris.

Les femmes ne portaient qu'une sorte de double tablier d'herbe ou de feuillage, *azem* ou *abui*, fixé sur une ceinture de perles cylindriques en stéatite, *nsanga* ; bracelets, *mekom*, d'ivoire ou de cuivre, en forme de bobine, anneaux de cheville, *bibal*, en cuivre fondu, très lourds, énorme collier de cuivre fondu, *nkembé*, mis en place sur la fillette à son arrivée dans la belle-famille et qu'on ne pouvait retirer qu'après sa mort, en découpant les chairs, en chauffant le collier ou en attendant la décomposition. Tous ces bijoux appartenaient à la famille du mari et y restaient, même en cas de divorce ; c'était l'*ésa* qui les répartissait entre ses femmes et ses brus. Les bracelets plats étaient fabriqués avec les « neptunes » ou « bénarès » importés de la côte ; plus récemment on a fait, on fait encore, des bagues et bracelets avec des étuis de cartouche et du fil télégraphique. Mais l'origine des *minkembé* fondus reste mystérieuse ; la technique de la fonderie est inconnue ou oubliée, le cuivre, placérien ou filonien, très rare non seulement dans la zone d'habitat actuel des Pahouins, mais encore dans celle d'où ils semblent venir ; au surplus ces colliers, fort anciens, présentent une résistance à la corrosion et une patine très pâle qui semblent indiquer qu'il s'agit d'un alliage ; or, les bronziers les plus proches, les Bamum, ne fabriquent pas de colliers de ce type.

Le vêtement masculin actuel est le plus souvent de type européen, depuis le short et la chemisette jusqu'à la capote des surplus américains ; ceux qui portent chaussure l'ont européenne, de cuir ou de tennis suivant la fortune, ou bien à l'arabe — *silifa*, de l'anglais *slipper* = babouche, de fabrication haousa ou peul. A signaler des casques et képis en bois de parasolier, de fausses lunettes en éclats de « bambou » raphia. Dans les villages ou chez soi, pagne d'importation, roulé à la ceinture ou noué derrière le cou.

Les femmes portent, elles aussi, le pagne, *éndelé*, noué au cou ou roulé au-dessus des seins quand elles n'ont rien d'autre, roulé à la taille quand elles portent le « caraco-mission », *éwoman* (de l'anglais *woman*, semble-t-il). Le couvre-chef favori reste *éyañese* (anglais : *handkerchief*), le mouchoir de tête. De plus en plus, elles mettent également des robes coupées et cousues, à l'européenne, *bizingi*, souvent une sorte de combinaison ; pas de culotte, sauf quelques jeunes modernistes (qui les baptisent « caleçons ») ; garnitures périodiques internes faites de plantes médicinales. L'action des missions a considérablement étendu la notion de *pudenda* ; autrefois, seuls les individus pubères étaient astreints à dissimuler leur sexe. Les femmes le faisaient avec un soin particulier en dépit du caractère sommaire de leur costume ; la plus grande insulte qu'on pouvait leur faire était d'exposer leur vulve en public ; elles ne l'exposaient d'elles-mêmes que pour prononcer une malédiction. Aujourd'hui, la plupart d'entre elles dissimulent leurs seins (1) avec une vigilance presque égale ; toutefois,

(1) Le critère esthétique en la matière est en train de changer, dans les villes surtout, sous l'influence européenne (cinéma ?) : on ne voit plus que rarement les jeunes filles se les serrer avec une bande d'écorce ou d'étoffe pour les faire tomber.

dans les villages traditionnalistes, les veuves reprennent le costume d'autrefois après leur réclusion ; pendant huit jours, parfois plus, elles portent l'*ébui* de feuilles qu'elles remplacent ensuite par un vieil *ébém* ou un sac de jute, laissant le buste et les cuisses nues, puis par un sac, ou une vieille robe kaki en forme de sac, avec un trou pour la tête et deux pour les bras.

Garçons et filles allaient nus autrefois jusqu'à l'apparition des premiers signes de la puberté, généralement des poils pubiens (h. : *afañ* ; f. : *avul*). Les garçons portaient un cache-sexe végétal spécial après la circoncision, en attendant la cicatrisation, mais n'étaient obligés de s'habiller ensuite que s'ils étaient déjà velus. Actuellement, ils sont vêtus dès l'âge scolaire et même avant dans les familles de chrétiens militants et la bourgeoisie urbaine.

Les marques corporelles sont tombées en désuétude, à l'exception de la circoncision. Les hommes ont cessé d'abord de se limer les incisives en pointe, les tatouages ont persisté plus longtemps, au Gabon jusqu'aux années précédant immédiatement la seconde guerre mondiale. Ils réapparaissaient actuellement dans la pègre urbaine et dans les associations syncrétistes. On tatouait sur la figure, le plus souvent entre les deux yeux, mais parfois sur les pommettes, des marques colorées en bleu avec un mélange de noir de fumée et de cendre végétale, ou en rouge à la poudre de padouk, *bou* ; ces marques pouvaient indiquer l'appartenance à un clan ou à une association, ou encore être apposées au cours ou à la suite d'un traitement médico-magique, ou enfin répondre à des considérations esthétiques. Il en allait de même des cicatrices en relief gravées sur la poitrine et l'abdomen, dont on dit aujourd'hui qu'elles étaient « pour faire *nyanga* » (joli, Coast English — origine haoussa?) : il se peut qu'on ait oublié certaines de leurs significations magiques. Les marques les plus importantes étaient les scarifications dorsales des initiations : une triple ligne d'incisions le long de la colonne vertébrale, s'élargissant en V à la nuque, pour le *sé* ; un dessin (secret) sur le sacrum pour le *ngil* ; trois traits horizontaux sur la nuque pour le *ndéngé* ; une ligne de « vaccins » sur la face intérieure des bras, des avant-bras et des cuisses et le long des carotides pour les serpents ; etc.

Les hommes portaient autrefois les cheveux tressés en nattes ou bien se rasaient les tempes et pariétaux en conservant une sorte de crête au sommet du crâne, rappelant le cimier du gorille ; il existait des coiffures spéciales propres aux différentes initiations. La moustache n'était portée que par les *benya bélé*, la barbe, en bouc, par quelques hommes âgés, souvent devins. De nos jours, les hommes portent généralement le cheveu court, et simplement démêlé ; la raie au milieu, à la mode de basse Nigéria, se portait beaucoup, vers 1948, chez les commis de factorerie alors que les anciens tirailleurs affectaient une coupe en brosse avec la barbe en collier. Beaucoup d'étudiants ont un petit bouc dont la mode gagne actuellement le reste de la jeunesse. Comme le port de la barbe était jusqu'à présent signe de deuil, on a parfois attaché une signification politique à cette mode (mais la barbe de deuil n'est pas taillée).

Les femmes usent d'une grande variété de coiffures : nattes tressées, damiers, « cornes », etc. En signe de deuil, on leur rase le crâne et elles n'ont pas le droit de peigner les cheveux qui repoussent avant la fin du deuil. La poussée de barbe et de moustache qui survient parfois à la ménopause est considérée comme un indice de sorcellerie. Les élégantes s'épilent les aisselles ; l'épilation du pubis est pratiquée également par quelques-unes, peut-être par élégance ou hygiène, peut-être pour des raisons rituelles (parenté entre le nom du grand rite féminin *meungu* et *meul* = toison pubienne de la femme ?). La poudre de padouk *bou* est encore employée, à la façon du henné, pour des raisons à la fois magiques et esthétiques, mais les fards européens, rouge à lèvres d'abord, l'ont supplantée chez les jeunes élégantes.

La propreté corporelle est fort en honneur : hommes et femmes se baignent souvent plusieurs fois par jour à grand renfort de savon ; mais il est courant de voir remettre sur le corps bien savonné un vêtement parfaitement crasseux : c'est sans doute que l'habitude de la propreté corporelle est bien plus ancienne que celle du port du vêtement d'étoffe.

c) *Caractéristiques psychologiques*

Comme la plupart des peuples connus, les Pahouins ont fort bonne et flatteuse opinion d'eux-mêmes ; ce qui est plus curieux, c'est que cette opinion est assez largement partagée par les observateurs étrangers : « Beaucoup plus intelligents et... plus actifs et laborieux que le commun des Nègres... ils sont aussi plus prévoyants... ils sont par rapport aux autres Nègres ce que les Aryens sont aux Sémites et aux Rouges... aptes à recevoir une certaine culture intellectuelle et à exercer toutes les industries », écrit Largeau, en 1900. Avant lui, Du Chaillu : « Proud and fierce warriors... clever and industrious... that will supersede... the degenerate tribes (of the Ogowe) », tandis que Horn, qui n'aimait guère les Français, considère les « Mpangwe » de 1875, comme les « Prussiens de l'Afrique », ce qui, dans son esprit et à cette époque, était un compliment. Plus tard, Trilles compare favorablement leur moralité à celle des Européens ; son collègue protestant Grebert parle de leur « individualisme », de leur « farouche amour de la liberté ». Le tableau comporte, il est vrai, des restrictions : « brusquerie », « brutale franchise », en même temps que « mauvaise foi », « rancune », « âpreté au gain » pour Largeau, « orgueil », « tendance à la thésaurisation », « entêtement », pour Grebert, « cruauté », « avarice » pour Du Chaillu, « superstition », pour Horn, alors que Compiègne considère qu'ils ont « déçu les espérances que mettait l'amiral de Langle (dans leur capacité d'assimilation) ». Il est frappant de constater que ces « défauts » peuvent tout aussi bien apparaître comme un aspect de leurs « qualités », tout de même que les accusations d' « anarchie » et d' « esprit frondeur » qui reviennent souvent dans les rapports administratifs.

Toutes ces appréciations restent, évidemment subjectives et non

scientifiques, autant que celles que j'ai pu faire moi-même et qui me font dire que j'ai effectivement rencontré, parmi les Pahouins que j'ai fréquentés, une forte proportion de gens intelligents, actifs, fiers et souvent dotés d'un humour sarcastique dont on trouve un excellent témoignage dans plusieurs romans récents, tout comme dans les surnoms donnés, notamment, aux administrateurs, et chez les Boulou, les célèbres portraits-charges de D. Monewoso.

Je ne connais comme travaux scientifiques sur ce point que certaines enquêtes faites au Cameroun par M. Stoerkel, chef du Service de Psychotechnie et d'Orientation professionnelle, qui ne paraissent pas avoir été publiées. Ces enquêtes avaient été menées en 1949-1950, à l'occasion de la mise en chantier du barrage d'Édéa. Elles faisaient ressortir, chez les Pahouins du Sud-Cameroun, une adaptabilité motrice, une attentivité et une capacité d'intégration supérieures dans l'ensemble à celles des autres groupes ethniques de la même région, les sujets boulou se classant au premier rang des tribus pahouines sur ces points. Des évaluations de Q.I. et d'âge mental faites sur des écoliers et lycéens donnaient des résultats analogues en ce qui concerne la comparaison avec des Africains du même âge ; par contre la comparaison avec des enfants européens vivant au Cameroun laissait apparaître une certaine infériorité, dont il était cependant impossible de tirer des conclusions absolues, en raison de l'insuffisance des *culture free tests* employés à l'époque. Des tests projectifs passés dans les mêmes conditions décelaient des tendances schizoïdes avec une agressivité assez marquée et une fréquence assez importante de fixation œdipienne avec une certaine assimilation du Père au Blanc. La différence de niveau avec les tribus voisines était moins nette chez les lycéens que chez les écoliers, et moins nette chez ces derniers que chez les manœuvres d'Édéa. Il faut souligner que ces tests, et surtout les tests projectifs, portaient sur un nombre restreint d'individus placés dans une situation particulière, en dehors du milieu villageois, qui reste celui de la très grande majorité de leurs contribules. Je n'ai pas eu connaissance des résultats des enquêtes ultérieures.

En ce qui concerne la psychologie sociale, on est également réduit en grande partie aux appréciations subjectives, qui rejoignent celles mentionnées au début de ce paragraphe. Allégret signalait déjà, il y a un demi-siècle, un sentiment d'abandon, plus amer depuis que les Fang étaient au contact des Européens : certaines légendes rapportées par Trilles et Largeau, sur le thème de Jacob et Ésaü, les Blancs jouant le rôle du cadet usurpateur, viennent le confirmer. Balandier a bien décrit les réactions contemporaines à ce sentiment de frustration collective, tant dans sa *Sociologie actuelle*, que dans divers articles dont un portant le titre significatif de *Les Fang, conquérants en disponibilité* (nos 175 et 173).

Un autre trait frappant, également bien souligné par Balandier, est celui de la méfiance collective à l'égard des individus qui réussissent. Cela peut paraître contradictoire avec la constatation faite précédemment de l'individualisme des Pahouins, mais en réalité, c'est justement

en bonne part de cet individualisme que doit résulter la méfiance à l'égard de l'*autre* individu (cf. Eza Boto, *Ville cruelle*, n° 182, les réactions du héros, Banda à l'égard du révolté, Koumé).

A signaler aussi l'importance psychologique et sociale d'*akum*, la richesse, et de *biôm* ; les biens, et, spécialement les biens d'importation : combinée avec la conception, encore mal étudiée, des rapports entre les sexes, elle explique dans une large mesure qu'il ne se soit pas constitué de véritable paysannat, mais bien plutôt une classe de planteurs non paysans, assez comparables, finalement, à certains colons européens. Les Pahouins restent très largement étrangers et voyageurs sur la terre, d'où l'importance des meubles (juridiques) à leurs yeux : il se produit toutefois sur ce point une évolution, décrite plus haut (*supra*, p. 74) qui mène à la consolidation de la propriété foncière : certaines réactions collectives, en matière de procédure foncière et domaniale, indiquent que nous assistons, au moins au Cameroun, à un véritable enracinement.

L'orgueil tribal reste très grand, allant jusqu'à une certaine hostilité entre les divers rameaux du groupe, mais la cohésion ethnique se retrouve face aux étrangers et donne sa véritable unité au bloc pahouin.

2) Cycle de la vie d'un individu

a) *Conception, gestation, naissance*

Une femme est considérée comme grosse, *a nyoñeya abum*, elle a pris ventre, lorsqu'elle a passé quatre cycles menstruels, *a nji yene ngon*, sans voir la lune. La conception étant supposée résulter du mélange du sperme, *meyôm* (même racine que *nnôm*, p. *beyôm* = mâle), et du sang menstruel, *metyi me ngon*, sang de fille ou sang lunaire, la durée de la grossesse se calcule à partir de la date où auraient dû commencer les dernières règles. La durée de neuf mois est considérée de nos jours comme normale, mais certains de mes informateurs m'ont indiqué des durées normales de huit ou dix *ngon*, ce mot (lit. lune ou fille) pouvant se rapporter aussi bien à un mois civil, qu'à une lunaison ou à un cycle menstruel ; il est difficile à un homme d'obtenir des précisions sur ce point, le sujet étant réservé aux femmes. Au surplus, des grossesses plus longues sont considérées comme possibles, bien que parfois suspectes : une aménorrhée due à un fibrome est une preuve de sorcellerie, le fibrome étant regardé comme un *ésu*. Le fœtus (dont le nom est secret, interdit, *élyi*, en tout cas pour les hommes, et probablement pour les femmes non initiées au *mesungu*) est censé prendre au début de la gestation la forme d'un lézard, tout comme le premier homme au moment de la création.

Dès que la grossesse est reconnue, les parents sont soumis à toutes sortes de *bilyi*, d'interdits, et d'abord doivent cesser d'avoir des rapports sexuels, qui provoqueraient soit l'avortement, soit la naissance d'un monstre. Ils ne doivent plus approcher d'un cadavre, ni assister à des funérailles. La femme doit s'abstenir de certains aliments,

dont la consommation porterait tort à l'enfant : poisson, qui causerait des dermatoses, chauve-souris et canard, qui lui vaudraient les doigts palmés, serpent, qui le ferait naître sans membres ou avec des membres atrophiés, etc. Elle doit éviter de marcher à grands pas, d'enjamber des trous ou des fossés, cesser de porter un caleçon, si elle le faisait auparavant. Le mari ne doit rien clouer, ni lier, ce qui rendrait l'accouchement difficile, il doit également s'abstenir de certaines nourritures. Pendant la grossesse, la femme s'oint le ventre et les seins d'huile de palme mélangée de *bon*, porte une ceinture spéciale en liane *ôkumu* (sorte de solanée) et évite de sortir pieds nus.

Les fausses-couches « accidentelles » sont généralement attribuées à la rupture d'un interdit *(nsem)* et donnent lieu à des purifications rituelles ; tant que celles-ci ne sont pas accomplies la femme n'a pas le droit d'adresser la parole à un homme autre que son mari, au moins directement, ni de le regarder en face. Les fausses-couches « criminelles » attribuées à l'action des sorciers, ou plus exactement à un *évu*, qui peut appartenir à la femme elle-même, donnent lieu à des purifications plus rigoureuses, les lochies étant soumises à une sorte de « désinfection » magique avant d'être enterrées en secret sur un chemin où les passants les enjamberont à leur insu. L'avortement volontaire, extrêmement rare jadis, devient assez fréquent, en particulier chez les filles-mères de certaines familles chrétiennes ; on le provoque soit avec des emménagogues végétaux (on en extrairait un de la racine de papayer), soit en introduisant dans le col un laminaire d'écorce roulée (je n'ai pu savoir de quel arbre). On voit parfois des femmes provoquer l'avortement d'une de leurs co-épouses par jalousie.

Le premier accouchement, et souvent les suivants, ont lieu en général dans le village d'origine de la femme *(jaß)*. Le mari ne peut remmener chez lui épouse et enfant qu'après paiement d'un véritable complément de dot, comportant notamment un cadeau important à la belle-mère, répété à chaque naissance ; d'où le proverbe « le panier de la belle-mère n'est jamais rempli ». La parturiente accouche assise, tenue par derrière par sa mère ou sa *ntyi* (belle-mère ou épouse de rang supérieur), assistée par une sage-femme, *mbialé binga*, autrefois dignitaire d'une association de femmes. L'enfant est reçu sur un matelas de feuilles de bananier. Le cordon est coupé avec un couteau spécial, peut-être le même que celui des circoncisions (1), et enterré sous un bananier dont les fruits seront *ôlyi* pour les gens du sexe opposé à celui de l'enfant. Le placenta est enterré par la mère elle-même, ou à son défaut par une femme de son sang, dans un endroit secret : plus tard, elle pourra dire à son enfant, comme une sorte de malédiction mineure, « Je sais où est ton placenta ». L'enfant est immédiatement enveloppé dans un pagne et couché près de sa mère, après avoir été présenté à son père si c'est un garçon. Le lendemain on l'oint d'huile tiède, ainsi que la mère et on lui fait prendre le sein.

(1) Ce n'est pas sûr : le circoncireur est un homme, on peut se demander s'il utiliserait un couteau de femme.

Les accouchements dystociques sont assez fréquents et la technique des sages-femmes extrêmement inégale : si certaines savent pratiquer la délivrance artificielle et même les retournements, la plupart se bornent à des massages et à des pratiques magiques, telles que placer une hache entre les jambes de la parturiente. Si celle-ci meurt en couches on soupçonne une conséquence de la sorcellerie ou un *nsem* grave, tel que l'inceste ; il arrivait autrefois que l'enfant, né viable, soit enterré avec elle. Un enfant mort-né fait également peser de graves soupçons sur sa mère qui peut être soumise à l'ordalie et contrainte à avouer la faute présumée avoir provoqué la mort du fœtus.

Certains auteurs ont prétendu que les fillettes étaient parfois sacrifiées à leur naissance comme sans intérêt pour le clan. Cela paraît très improbable, à moins que ces infanticides n'aient eu pour cause une accusation de sorcellerie, qui pouvait aussi bien s'appliquer à un garçon. Ce qui est exact, c'est qu'une femme qui n'enfanterait que des filles serait considérée comme victime d'un sort ou d'une rupture d'interdit.

La naissance de jumeaux est de bon augure : on considère qu'ils sont obligatoirement *mie* ou *mmimie*, c'est-à-dire, dépourvus d'*évu* (le même mot, *mie*, signifie l'accouchement, ou, plus exactement, le « travail » des couches). Les jumeaux recevaient un nom traditionnel variant avec les clans.

Les relevailles, *ékulu mon*, sortie de l'enfant, ont lieu trois mois après les couches, si tout s'est bien passé. La femme retourne se baigner à la rivière (jusque-là elle s'était lavée dans sa case), met des vêtements neufs offerts par son mari et recommence à cuisiner pour lui et à cultiver son champ. Il y a lieu à purification spéciale si l'enfant est mort dans l'intervalle. L'interdit des relations sexuelles subsiste tant que l'enfant est au sein : le rompre serait lui faire *nyu meyôm*, boire du sperme, ce qui pourrait provoquer sa mort.

Les soins post-parturiaux sont donnés par la *mbialé binga*, puis par la mère ou tante de la femme ou par sa *ntyi*. Ils consistent en injections vaginales et en garnitures externes puis internes au moyen de compresses végétales.

L'enfant ne peut recevoir de lait que de sa mère ou d'une femme du sang de sa mère, grand-mère ou tante maternelle ; si c'est impossible, il est condamné (tout au moins dans les milieux ruraux où l'on ignore l'usage du lait concentré). La pharmacopée traditionnelle possède d'ailleurs d'extraordinaires galactogènes végétaux, probablement sans équivalent dans la pharmacopée européenne.

b) *Enfance*

L'usage ancien était de ne nommer *(yôlé)* le bébé qu'au moment des relevailles ; jusque-là on le désignait généralement par le nom d'un petit animal, écureuil ou rat palmiste, par exemple. De nos jours, le nom est donné dès les premiers jours qui suivent la naissance, ne fût-ce qu'en raison des règlements d'état civil.

Le nom, *jôé* ou *jui* (signifie aussi nez, et ordre, commandement, autorité), comprend l'*éyôlé*, véritable nom propre à l'individu, et l'*atinan*, nom complémentaire, choisi parmi les *biyôlé* des ancêtres, selon des traditions claniques ou familiales en voie de disparition. S'y ajoutait autrefois un cognomen, *mebalan* (1) ou *jôé mebalan* (lit. : nom de salutation), parfois imposé au moment d'une initiation. Ce *mebalan* pouvait passer comme *atinan* à la génération suivante et devenir ensuite *éyôlé* : ainsi de tel chef surnommé Atyaminlam, destructeur de villages, dont le fils aîné s'appelle Mbutu Atyaminlam et le petit-fils Atyaminlam Mbutu.

Sous l'influence des habitudes françaises on assiste, depuis l'instauration d'une réglementation de l'état civil indigène, à une fixation des patronymes, notamment dans les milieux de fonctionnaires. Le patronyme nouveau peut être à l'origine l'*atinan* ou l'*éyôlé* ou le *mebalan* du père systématiquement donné comme *éyôlé* à tous ses enfants. En outre l'évangélisation a fait ajouter au *jôé* un prénom chrétien, qui tient parfois lieu d'*éyôlé*, ou est joint à un *éyôlé* indigène. On aura ainsi, par exemple, tel Ze Mvondo, surnommé Mebianga (l'homme aux drogues) à cause d'une enfance maladive, baptisé Salomon dans une mission chrétienne et devenant, par contraction, Salomon Mebianga ; il pourra soit donner son *mebalan* comme *atinan* à tous ses enfants, et l'on aura alors Menge Mebianga, Oyônô Mebianga, etc., avec en outre un prénom chrétien, soit le leur donner comme *éyôlé*, sans *atinan*, avec seulement un prénom chrétien. Il y a d'ailleurs d'autres solutions, question de mode bien souvent, depuis les noms d'hommes mondialement ou localement célèbres, morts ou vifs (de Gaulle, Pascalet, Victor Hugo) jusqu'à la francisation orthographique du *jôé* choisi comme patronyme (Aubame, Minguet, etc.).

J'ai fait allusion plus haut aux règles anciennes qui présidaient au choix des éléments du nom. L'*éyôlé* pouvait se rapporter à une circonstance de la naissance ou de la gestation ; avoir été indiqué par un songe ou par un devin ; être déprécatoire, pour rompre un mauvais sort ; résulter d'un interdit imposé au père ou à la mère, etc. Il pouvait aussi refléter le rang généalogique de celui qui le portait, encore que ce rôle ait été plutôt réservé à l'*atinan*, choisi parmi les *biyôlé* des ancêtres mâles et femelles des deux lignes ; de nos jours, la tendance est de donner toujours comme *atinan* l'*éyôlé* du père, parfois celui de la mère, notamment dans le cas des enfants naturels. D'après Trilles, le nom avait également une signification totémique, liée elle aussi, à la généalogie. Tout ceci est en grande partie oublié actuellement.

Au point de vue linguistique, la plupart des noms propres sont des noms communs, parfois emphatisés : *mvôm* (python), *Mvômô ;*

(1) Trilles traduit ce mot par « généalogie » ; *lait mebalan* signifie à la fois « répéter la généalogie » et « répéter la salutation », simplement parce que c'était effectivement la façon de se présenter protocolairement : c'est la généalogie du nouvel arrivant qui déterminait comment ses hôtes devaient le « saluer ». La généalogie proprement dite, le pedigree est *ôdan*, à rapprocher de *ndan*, indicatif tambouriné, devise.

afan (forêt), *Afana ; zok* (éléphant), *Zo'o* ; etc. ; ou encore des locutions : *Ebéndeñ (e bee éndeñ)* = porteur de bouclier ; *Atyaminlam (a tyam minlam)* = destructeur de villages ; etc. Ils sont généralement épicènes, avec des fréquences d'attribution plus grande dans l'un ou l'autre sexe : ainsi, il est assez rare de voir une fille s'appeler Ze ou un garçon Nyangono.

En tout cas le bébé, *ntyen* ou *nkeñelé*, n'est vraiment considéré comme un être humain que lorsqu'il a reçu un nom. Après les relevailles et jusqu'au sevrage, c'est-à-dire pendant dix-huit mois ou deux ans, sa mère l'emporte partout avec elle, dans un pli de son pagne ou sur la bandoulière *ad hoc*, *doé* ou *awoé*, puis, quand il peut se tenir seul, à califourchon sur sa hanche. Il n'est donné au *nkeñelé* à peu près aucune éducation ; la mère le met au sein dès qu'il pleure et ne cherche pas à discipliner ses excreta ; le père joue parfois avec les garçons, plus rarement avec les filles. Les grandes sœurs aident la mère à s'occuper du bébé, par exemple en le gardant à l'ombre pendant qu'elle travaille aux champs, ou en le portant à sa place quand elle est trop chargée.

Le sevrage est souvent assez progressif, l'enfant commençant à prendre de la nourriture solide alors qu'il est encore au sein, parfois avant l'âge d'un an. Il ne cesse toutefois d'être considéré comme un bébé, *nkeñelé*, pour devenir un enfant, *mongô*, que lorsqu'il marche et commence à parler couramment. A partir de ce moment, il doit apprendre à respecter ses interdits personnels et ceux du clan ; c'est souvent un grand frère ou une grande sœur qui sera chargé d'y veiller. La séparation des sexes s'accentue avec l'âge ; vers leur quatrième année, les enfants cessent de pouvoir contempler la nudité des adultes du sexe opposé ; vers la cinquième année, garçons et filles, *bo'befam* et *bo'binga*, cessent de jouer ensemble.

Les jeux se confondent en bonne part avec l'apprentissage des tâches futures : les filles jouent au ménage, parfois à la poupée, les garçons chassent le rat à l'arc, lancent de petites sagaies sur des cibles mobiles, posent des collets, etc. Mais il y a aussi des jeux « gratuits » : osselets, *cal's craddles*, colin-maillard, communs aux deux sexes, toupies-billes *ndongo*, en coquilles d'escargots, des garçons, *émvala* ou danse touche-pied des filles. Les enfants ont aussi leurs propres danses, différentes de celles des adultes et distinctes selon le sexe. Ils commencent à travailler dès qu'ils connaissent les interdits, les filles aidant leurs mères, les garçons commençant à apprendre les techniques masculines par la préparation des matériaux : effeuillage des folioles de « bambou » raphia, écorçage et pilonage des lianes destinées à la fabrication des cordes, grattage des peaux...

Les enfants d'un village jouent en bandes, mais l'apprentissage des techniques et l'enseignement des traditions se font surtout dans la famille, auprès du père ou de la mère, selon le sexe. Cependant, la préparation aux initiations et, de nos jours, le catéchisme réunissent tous les garçons ou toutes les filles du village.

La surveillance des adultes est assez légère ; ils exigent surtout

que les enfants se tiennent à leur place et ne les dérangent pas. Au reste, ce sont principalement les enfants les plus âgés qui s'occupent des plus jeunes.

c) *Adolescence*

Garçons et filles partagent la case de leur mère jusqu'au début de l'adolescence, âge auquel les garçons vont habiter à part, autrefois dans le « corps de garde », *aba*, de nos jours dans une case de la « concession » paternelle. Jadis, les filles, mariées parfois avant leur naissance, rejoignaient le village de leur mari vers leur huitième année, ce qui est beaucoup plus rare aujourd'hui ; il reste assez fréquent de les voir aller vivre à cet âge chez une tante paternelle ou maternelle, ou chez une sœur mariée, à qui elles servent plus ou moins de domestiques jusqu'à leur nubilité, tout en continuant leur éducation. Il est également fréquent de voir des garçons aller vivre ainsi chez un parent domicilié plus près d'une école qu'ils ne l'étaient dans leur village (1).

Les *bongô* deviennent *ndôman*, jeune homme, ou *ngon*, jeune fille, aux approches de la puberté. Le passage est marqué chez les garçons par la circoncision, *alyi'i alyel*, parfois suivie autrefois de la première initiation, *bekungu*. La circoncision est pratiquée entre six et douze ans, le plus souvent autour de la dixième année. De nos jours, elle se fait souvent au dispensaire, alors qu'autrefois elle donnait lieu à une cérémonie familiale et villageoise. Les futurs circoncis se préparaient à la cérémonie par une retraite assez brève (une quinzaine) au cours de laquelle ils étaient astreints à un régime alimentaire végétarien, sans sel ni condiments, pour « rafraîchir le sang » ; ils recevaient des leçons d'éducation sexuelle données par le *ngengañ*, devin-guérisseur, chargé de l'opération, tandis que les *minlôl*, aînés, vérifiaient leur connaissance des *mebalan*, « salutations » ou généalogies : c'est qu'en effet, la circoncision levait l'interdit du coït, faisant apparaître le danger d'un inceste involontaire s'ils avaient mal connu leurs liens de parenté. Les femmes n'avaient pas le droit d'assister à l'opération, que le *ngengañ* pratiquait à l'aide d'un rasoir spécial, cautérisant la plaie avec une décoction de piment. Le garçon était tenu par son père qui prononçait la formule levant l'interdit du coït. Le prépuce était généralement enterré sous un arbre, tantôt bananier, tantôt arbre fixé par la tradition du clan ou de la lignée, peut-être, si l'on suit Trilles, pour des raisons totémiques. On le conservait parfois pour des usages magiques. Tout le temps que durait la cicatrisation, le circoncis ne pouvait porter d'autre vêtement qu'un cache-sexe végétal spécial, renouvelé tous les jours ; pendant cette période, aucune femme ne devait lui adresser la parole ou le toucher, ou toucher son cache-sexe ; il en profitait pour chaparder de la nourriture ou de menus objets.

(1) Mais le motif de la proximité de l'école n'explique pas tout : c'est seulement une cause supplémentaire d'absences. En effet, une étude faite dans des centres urbains munis d'écoles d'un bon niveau montre que 30 % des enfants vivent hors du foyer paternel, chez des oncles ou des grands-parents. Le père, quelle que soit son opinion personnelle, ne pourrait guère refuser son fils à certains de ses parents qui exprimeraient le désir de le garder quelque temps avec eux. (*J. B.*)

La cicatrisation achevée, il ne pouvait plus rester nu en public. Tout ceci n'est plus que partiellement en usage ; en outre, l'âge de l'opération ayant été assez généralement avancé, on voit souvent des circoncis impubères circuler nus dans les villages (1). D'après Trilles et Largeau, certains jeunes gens restaient autrefois *minsôsôl*, incirconcis, jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient tué leur premier ennemi. Actuellement, tous les jeunes gens sont circoncis, même les chrétiens ; les missions n'ont d'ailleurs que rarement essayé de s'opposer à la circoncision, et toujours sans succès.

Après la circoncision, le *ndôman* pouvait avoir des rapports sexuels et manger de certains aliments qui lui étaient interdits auparavant. Il allait vivre dans l'*aba* avec les autres jeunes gens et se préparait aux initiations ultérieures tout en commençant à participer pleinement aux activités masculines, travail et jeux. L'initiation *bekungu* (fañ : *bekhun* ?) venant juste après la circoncision n'était pas d'usage général. Mon impression personnelle est qu'il s'agissait non pas d'un rite tribal ou clanique comme *sô*, mais d'une association de devins ou voyants ne s'adressant qu'à des individus doués, peut-être en rapport avec le rite *ndôngô*, réservé aux adultes, dont les tatouages rituels paraissent identiques.

Pour la *mo'minga* qui devient pubère, il n'existe pas d'étape analogue à la circoncision. En dépit des dires de Trilles, l'excision n'a jamais été, semble-t-il, utilisée autrement que comme une peine frappant certains adultères ou certains incestes bénins. Il ne faut pas oublier que la fillette allait vivre très tôt dans sa belle-famille et qu'elle était déflorée sitôt nubile ; elle ne restait *élenan*, c'est-à-dire fille pubère et non mariée que très rarement et très peu de temps. On peut presque dire que son adolescence était télescopée entre son enfance et son accession à la féminité, marquée par le rite *mevungu*.

Cette phase d'adolescence est prolongée actuellement par la réglementation fixant l'âge nubile à quatorze ans (la puberté paraissant survenir généralement pendant la douzième année) par la fréquentation scolaire et par la transformation du système de la « dot ». La plupart de mes amis d'un certain âge voient là la raison d'une crise d'immoralité qu'ils s'exagèrent peut-être un peu.

Il semble bien, pourtant, que les premières règles aient été marquées par une cérémonie à laquelle ne prenaient part que des femmes, mais il ne s'agissait peut-être que d'un préliminaire de l'initiation *mevungu*, dont on ne sait à peu près rien. Reste que le coït est interdit aux filles impubères, alors que les célibataires déjà réglées jouissent d'une liberté sexuelle de fait très grande, même dans les milieux christianisés. On doit, toutefois, reconnaître qu'il n'est que trop fréquent, surtout dans les écoles, de rencontrer des fillettes déflorées avant la puberté, alors qu'il semble bien que les garçons attendent encore d'être

(1) Un chef Ntoumou protestant d'Ambam m'a déclaré avoir avancé la date de circoncision de ses enfants pour pouvoir les envoyer à l'école régionale sans qu'ils courent le risque, loin de sa surveillance, de briser un interdit sexual ou simplement des incirconcis.

circoncis pour faire leurs premières armes (on voit des parents, inquiets de la « sagesse » de leur fils, leur faire prendre des aphrodisiaques pour les y encourager).

d) *Passage à l'âge adulte*

Le *ndôman* n'est pas encore une vraie personne, *nya môlô* ; sans doute prend-il part aux travaux des hommes, à la chasse et aux défrichements, mais il n'est pas encore admis aux fonctions essentielles de l'homme fait : culte, guerre et mariage. Il ne l'était autrefois qu'après la grande initiation tribale, le *sô*. *Sô* est le nom d'une grande antilope rouge, *cephalophus castoneus*, abondante en forêt et dans les galeries de la savane-parc. Sa viande est *élyi*, interdite, aux non-initiés, *bibis*, et, *a fortiori*, aux femmes. Il peut sembler curieux que Trilles n'en parle pas dans *Le totémisme chez les Fang*, alors que le *sô* paraît bien être un des plus importants totems tribaux. Il faut noter, à cet égard, que le rite *sô*, répandu chez tous les Pahouins du Cameroun, Beti compris, et chez ceux du Woleu-Ntem, semble disparaître quelque part entre Mitzik et Ndjolé encore qu'on en retrouve des détails dans l'initiation au *biéri*, qui n'en est, au fond, qu'une annexe. Il se serait donc désintégré en même temps que la structure des *megoñ*, pour être relevé, dans l'extrême-Sud par le *bwiti*, déjà observé par Trilles, et qui remonte actuellement vers le Nord. Il faut, toutefois, signaler que ce que le même Trilles décrit sous le nom de *bawu* pourrait bien être le *sô*.

Les cérémonies d'initiations ont été filmées en 1935 chez les Eton de Saa ; le film est conservé au Musée de l'Homme. Bertaut (n° 110) donne une description très complète des formes extérieures de l'initiation ; Stoll, une interprétation de sa symbolique (n° 84).

L'initiation avait lieu tous les trois ans environ (tous les sept *mimbu* ... ?) ; Bertaut affirme qu'on pouvait organiser une cérémonie après un événement grave dans le village. Elle durait trois mois entiers (un an d'après Stoll, qui compte les cérémonies préparatoires à l'initiation proprement dite et la période qui la suit) et coûtait fort cher en sacrifices aux parents des initiés et surtout au chef de l'initiation, le *nkpwé sô* (juge du *sô*, lit. : abatteur du *sô*), aîné choisi parmi les plus riches et considérés : à ce point de vue, on peut penser que le rite concourait à ce désir de nivellement des fortunes qui paraît avoir été une constante de la société pahouine. Le *nkpwé sô* ne dirigeait pas lui-même la cérémonie ; il en était l'initiateur, le responsable, mais le célébrant était un devin, le *mfek sô*, « sage du *sô* » ou « mesureur du *sô* » ou « sac du *sô* », si on change de ton (*vek* = viser, calculer, deviner, mesurer).

Le thème général du rite, dont la description donnée ci-dessous est très incomplète, était la mort du *sô*, *awu sô*, mangé ensuite par les initiés (sa viande était interdite à tous autres). Les cérémonies commençaient par une purification générale du village et procédaient par quatre sacrifices successifs jusqu'à la mort du *sô* et à la communion à sa chair. Les impétrants, *mvôn*, passaient par une série d'épreuves

et d'instructions à caractère guerrier et sexuel, à l'issue desquelles ils étaient devenus de vraies personnes, *benya bôlô*, en même temps que de vrais membres de la société.

Les jeunes gens recevaient une instruction préliminaire dans leur famille dès la circoncision, mais il s'agissait là de préparation au rite et non du rite lui-même. Les cérémonies préparatoires à l'initiation commençaient trois mois avant celle-ci, par la confession publique du *nkpwé sô*, faite devant tout le village, le *nkpwé sô* se tenant dos à dos avec un autre dignitaire « agissant comme lui, remuant les lèvres pendant qu'il parle et piétinant comme lui une vieille calebasse » (Stoll), dont les morceaux, après avoir servi à recueillir le sang du premier sacrifice dont on aspergeait le *nkpwé sô* et tous les *minkpwangôs* (initiés) du village, étaient jetés dans la brousse au cri de : « Effacé, effacé » (*andim*, à rapprocher de la forme *mendim* = eau). Les initiés se réunissaient ensuite hors du village, pour désigner les *bevôn* destinés à *ku sô* (lit. : tomber *sô*) dans cette promotion. Ces *beku* étaient alors assujettis à une première retraite de vingt jours en forêt, au cours de laquelle ils construisaient l'*aba sô*, sanctuaire contenant une estrade où l'on accédait par trois échelles, et dont l'accès était interdit à tous les non-initiés autres que les *bevôn*. Le *mfek sô* commençait à leur enseigner leurs devoirs d'initiés et procédait à l'élimination de ceux qui avaient « le cœur faible ». A l'issue de cette retraite, les *bevôn* revenaient en procession au village où ils recevaient de leurs parents des cadeaux par séries de neuf, chiffre rituel du *sô*.

Commençait alors la seconde phase de l'initiation, *étyi'a bilé bi sô*, l'abattage des arbres du *sô*. Le *nkpwé sô* fournissait les éléments d'un repas rituel, comprenant une soupe dans laquelle le *mfek sô* faisait cuire des *mebiañ* destinés à révéler s'il ne se trouvait pas de *beyem* (porteurs d'*évu*) parmi les *bevôn* ; aucun relief de ce repas ne devait subsister. Les *bevôn* étaient ensuite couchés dans un fossé où ils étaient aspergés d'une décoction spéciale, puis enjambés neuf fois par les femmes nubiles et non ménopausées du village. Les *minkpwangôs* se réunissaient ensuite pour un sacrifice secret et un repas préparé dans la même marmite qui avait servi au repas des *bevôn*, appelée *nlak sô* (corne du *sô* — ésotériquement testicule, d'après Stoll). Le *nkpwé sô* déféquait ensuite dans cette marmite qui était enterrée dans un endroit secret près du sanctuaire. Les *bevôn* se livraient alors à un combat simulé, à l'issue duquel le *nkpwé sô* distribuait des chèvres à leurs familles. Les initiés partaient alors en forêt couper la perche *njôm*, choisie, au dire d'Allégret par une femme dont le mari n'avait pas de chance à la chasse, et la plaçaient sur deux fourches plantées devant le sanctuaire, à proximité du *nlak sô*. Pendant ce temps, les *bevôn* allaient couper les « bambous » de raphia destinés à la confection de l'*ésam sô*, enceinte entourant le *njôm*. Ils en revenaient en file indienne, le « major » de promotion *(ôsu xua)* en tête, et plantaient des « bambous » en triangle ouvert vers l'arrière du *njôm*, les reliant entre eux par une tresse de feuilles de raphia dont un initié enfouissait l'extrémité dans le *nlak sô*. Pendant leur défilé auquel les femmes et

les non-initiés n'avaient pas le droit d'assister, ils étaient battus de verges par les initiés.

Ils allaient ensuite à la « pêche au crabe » qui consistait en une immersion dans l'eau pimentée, début de la troisième phase qui continuait par une retraite en forêt au cours de laquelle les *bevôn* se livraient, peints en blanc, à une chasse rituelle.

Pendant ce temps, les initiés fermaient l'*ésam sô* de deux lianes, représentant le python, *mvôm*, et le dendraspis, *ayañ*. Les *bevôn* étaient alors soumis à l'épreuve de l'arbre aux fourmis, où on les faisait grimper à l'arbre *angakomo* sur lequel vivent des fourmis tisserandes dont la piqûre est très douloureuse. Ils passaient ensuite la nuit dans l'*ésam sô*, couchés sur des épines et frottés de jus de piment, pendant que les initiés masqués les battaient et sonnaient de la trompe pour les empêcher de dormir. Ils partaient le lendemain pour une tournée de quête dans les villages apparentés ou alliés aux leurs, pendant que le *mfek sô* et les initiés gravaient et sculptaient le *njôm* suivant les traditions du clan. Les dessins devaient être expliqués aux *bevôn* pendant la phase suivante, *abele njôm*, le dressage, l'érection du *njôm*.

Au retour de la tournée de quête, les *bevôn* étaient tatoués par le *mfek sô* : trois lignes d'incisions tout le long de l'échine, les deux externes s'écartant vers le haut, à la façon du « harnais » du *sô*, et une petite marque triangulaire à la nuque, peut-être la même que celle du *ndôngô*. Ils revêtaient alors une sorte de jupe en fibres de raphia, se peignaient de nouveau en blanc et participaient à une danse publique, pendant laquelle le « major » montait à califourchon sur le *njôm*, suivi par les autres *bevôn*. Celui qui tombait était rejeté par le *sô* et devait s'expatrier. Après un autre sacrifice les *bevôn* étaient à nouveau enfermés dans l'*ésam sô* où les initiés avaient creusé un boyau étroit, recouvert d'un clayonnage et de terre, et dont le fond était rempli d'épines, de piment écrasé et de fourmis guerrières. Les *bevôn* recevaient les dernières instructions, puis, après s'être baignés dans la boue en grognant comme des porcs, devaient traverser en rampant le boyau, préalablement enfumé, pendant que les *minkpwangôs* les frappaient et les piquaient avec leurs sagaies à travers le plafond ; le *mvôn* qui se redressait ou tentait de fuir était immédiatement assommé par des captifs placés à l'extérieur de l'enceinte. C'était la fin de la troisième phase, la « mort du *sô* », *awu sô*, proprement dite.

Une fois sortis de l'*ésam* les *bevôn* devaient se montrer agressifs, taquins, houspiller les autres villageois, voler de la nourriture, des poulets, etc., arracher les barrières, et, généralement, se conduire comme des bêtes sauvages. Cette période durait quelques jours, précédant la sortie du *sô*, *akui sô*, procession de la promotion en costume de guerre, et portant les lances gravées de la marque distinctive, *ndem*, du clan consacrées au cours de l'initiation, suivie d'un banquet. Pendant le *mbu* (six mois) qui suivait les nouveaux initiés restaient soumis à certains interdits sexuels et alimentaires dont ils pouvaient être relevés s'ils tuaient un homme pendant cette période. Au bout de

ce délai, ils partaient, peints en blanc, pour une retraite d'une nuit d'où ils revenaient peints en rouge, faisant neuf fois le tour du village en procession, après quoi ils allaient se baigner dans un ruisseau où la pêche était ensuite interdite, jusqu'à l'initiation de la promotion suivante, semble-t-il.

Le jeune homme ainsi initié devenait un *mone wôsô*, enfant de la mort du *sô* (*wu* = mourir ; *wôé* = tuer), apte désormais au mariage qui en ferait un homme complet, *nya môlô*. Il pouvait être initié par son père au culte familial, dont il ne connaissait jusque-là que des aspects extérieurs : on lui apprenait à reconnaître les crânes des ancêtres, renfermés dans le panier du *biéti*, à entrer en rapport avec eux au moyen de l'herbe stupéfiante *alan* ; cet enseignement était parfois donné collectivement dans le rite *melan*, qui, d'après Stoll serait complémentaire du *sô*, celui-ci étant androgynique, alors que *melan* serait gynandrique. *Sô* donnerait la force créatrice, *melan* la fécondité, la richesse. *Melan* présente un caractère médical absent de *sô*. La participation des femmes y est plus importante. Certains de ses éléments paraissent avoir subsisté jusqu'à nos jours, alors que les dernières cérémonies de *sô* ont dû avoir lieu vers 1940. Stoll en donne une description assez complète dans *La tonétique des langues bantu... du Cameroun* (nº 84).

Le rite féminin correspondant au *sô* est *mevungu*, très mal connu pour les motifs indiqués précédemment. Ce n'était pas un rite clanique, puisque les femmes d'un village, en raison de la règle d'exogamie, appartenaient à des clans différents. Il servait, comme *sô*, à faire des initiées des femmes accomplies, *benya bengono* ou *benya binga*, fécondes, exemptes d'*évu* et disciplinées, et, peut-être, accessoirement, à créer un lien communautaire entre les femmes d'un village, destiné à suppléer l'absence de lien clanique entre elles.

Les initiés des deux sexes étaient relevés de nombreux interdits alimentaires généraux. Ils étaient liés entre eux par une obligation d'entraide renforçant et même transcendant celle de la fraternité clanique. La disparition des initiations a certainement laissé un vide que les Pahouins contemporains cherchent à combler : les nouveaux rites syncrétistes paraissent y arriver mieux que les églises et les partis politiques.

e) *Vieillesse*

Le *nya môlô*, la *nya minga* sont des gens en pleine possession de leurs moyens, pleinement aptes à remplir leur rôle social. Leur prestige est à la mesure de leurs aptitudes ; quand ils cessent d'être de « vrais » hommes ou de « vraies » femmes, la société tend à se désintéresser d'eux, à les mettre à l'écart. Un vieillard peut pallier la diminution de ses forces physiques par sa richesse ou par son art magique ; la vieille femme, elle, ne possède rien et court facilement le risque d'une accusation de sorcellerie. Son déclin est plus rapide que celui de l'homme : il commence quand cessent sa fécondité et son attrait physique, alors que l'homme atteint l'acmé de sa carrière lorsqu'il est

père de grands fils, vivant avec lui et acceptant son autorité. Mais celle-ci ne dure qu'autant que l'homme est capable de « se défendre », au sens quasi argotique du mot. De nos jours, la facilité d'éclatement géographique des villages et des familles-étendues tend souvent à accélérer ce déclin que certains *minkukum* pallient grâce à la grande polygamie qui leur permet de garder une puissance économique.

La condition des vieillards sans enfants est extrêmement dure, même dans les zones christianisées, surtout celle des veuves qui, dans leur belle-famille, ne bénéficient même pas de l'obligation d'entraide clanique. On a vu jadis des vieillards abandonnés en forêt au cours des migrations, on en voit encore laissés seuls dans les *bilik*, villages désertés, lorsque le gros du village va, par exemple, s'installer sur la route. Les missions religieuses ont essayé, avec des résultats inégaux, d'améliorer le sort des vieux sans enfants ; certaines « sociétés » claniques ont agi aussi dans ce sens, mais tout cela ne va pas très loin : les vieux acceptent d'ailleurs leur sort et se plaisantent parfois eux-mêmes avec cette ironie assez sarcastique qui paraît une des caractéristiques mentales du groupe. Il arrive que des vieillards se suicident « par lassitude de vivre ». D'après Trilles, certains se faisaient brûler volontairement. D'après Largeau, ce sont les héritiers qui en prenaient l'initiative, pour ouvrir la succession.

Les moins malheureux des vieillards sont ceux qui ont des enfants, et surtout des fils (1), les filles vivant généralement avec leur belle-famille. Il existe une véritable obligation alimentaire d'enfant à parent, sanctionnée par la malédiction paternelle ou maternelle en cas de non-exécution.

f) *La mort et l'au-delà*

Tout décès est suspect, mais celui d'un *nya mölö* plus qu'aucun autre : un *nya mölö* ne meurt pas, quelqu'un le tue, qui peut n'être autre que lui-même. La mort d'un homme considéré était donc toujours suivie d'une autopsie : le *ngengañ* ouvrait le corps et examinait les viscères thoraciques, *nlem*, siège de l'intelligence et de la volonté, pour y rechercher des traces de sorcellerie, soit du fait d'autrui, soit du fait du mort, son *évu* s'étant retourné contre lui ou ayant été tué lors d'une opération maléfique. Il semble avoir existé aussi un procédé magique, *ówömölö*, permettant de ressusciter le mort le temps de l'interroger sur les causes de sa mort.

Si l'autopsie révélait que le défunt étant *nnem*, sorcier, on brûlait son corps, ou bien on le jetait dans un fleuve important, ou encore on l'enterrait à un carrefour loin du village. S'il était *mie*, dépourvu d'*évu*, on procédait aux funérailles normales. Le corps, lavé à l'eau chaude, massé et assoupli, puis oint de *boa* délayé dans l'huile de palme, et enveloppé dans un pagne blanc, était veillé par des hommes armés pendant qu'on préparait la fosse et qu'on alertait les parents

(1) Cf. pour un exemple de relations entre mère et fils, Eza Boto, *Ville cruelle*, n° 182.

et alliés des villages voisins. Les compagnons d'initiation du mort venaient enlever le cadavre sur un brancard-cercueil en écorce (1) et dansaient autour de lui la danse funèbre propre à leur association, à laquelle les femmes ne devaient pas assister : enfermées dans les cases, elles se lamentaient sur le mode aigu. La fosse était étroite et assez profonde, le fond garni d'un plancher ou d'un lit de « bambou », sur lequel on déposait le mort, couché sur le dos, les pieds tournés vers l'Ouest (à proximité d'un fleuve la fosse était creusée parallèlement au courant, les pieds vers l'aval — *nké* = aval ou Ouest). On construisait au-dessus un plafond de rondins sur lequel on déposait, après les avoir « tués » en les brisant ceux des objets personnels du mort, armes, instruments et bijoux, qui ne fasaient pas partie du patrimoine familial. On sacrifiait parfois, assez rarement, une de ses femmes pour l'accompagner (il se peut qu'on ait confondu l'exécution de femmes convaincues d'avoir tué leur mari avec un sacrifice de ce genre). La fosse était comblée et recouverte d'un tumulus, parfois en ménageant une cheminée à la tête pour « nourrir » le défunt. Les tombes de notables étaient creusées dans leur case ou devant elle, celles des gens du commun en dehors du village, en lisière de la forêt. On montait la garde sur celles des chefs de famile pour empêcher des étrangers de s'emparer de leur crâne ; celui-ci était détaché par l'héritier privilégié, *njian*, remplaçant, qui le plaçait avec ceux des autres ancêtres dans l'arche du *biéti*, après l'avoir tint au *baa* et avoir sculpté une statue en parasolier peinte en blanc, renfermant des cheveux et une phalange du mort, qu'on plaçait sur l'autel du *biéti*. Les tibias étaient prélevés pour le rite *ngil*.

Les *benya binga*, les matrones, étaient enterrées par les initiées du *mevungu*, au cours d'une cérémonie à laquelle les hommes n'assistaient pas. Les femmes du commun l'étaient par leurs co-épouses et les femmes de leur belle-famille. Les *bongô* et *bkeñelé* étaient enterrées en famille, sans cérémonie autre que le deuil de leur mère.

Lorsqu'on trouvait sur le cadavre des traces de maléfices, le *ngengaß* ou *mvimvi'i* recourait à la divination pour trouver le coupable présumé qu'on soumettait à l'ordalie par des herbes amères. D'une façon générale, les femmes étaient systématiquement soumises à l'ordalie du piment ou des fourmis pour leur faire avouer non seulement la part qu'elles pouvaient avoir prise à la mort de leur mari, mais aussi leurs adultères. Lorsqu'on ne trouvait pas de responsable à la mort d'un individu *mie* (non sorcier), on concluait qu'il était victime d'un *nsem*, bris d'interdit, parfois inconscient. Quelle qu'ait été la cause du décès, maléfice, *nsem*, choc en retour d'un acte de sorcellerie, il y avait toujours lieu à purification, généralement par un sacrifice à la fin du deuil, *mepep*.

(1) Le cercueil en écorce de ficus rappelle la coutume, empruntée aux Pygmées, de placer le cadavre des chefs dans un arbre creux, ou entre les contreforts de certains grands arbres.

Le ficus à un rôle magique important. On en plantait un à la fondation d'un nouveau village, dont on emportait les boutures en cas de migration. (J. B.)

La durée de celui-ci était, et même est encore, d'un *mbu*, mais aujourd'hui il est moins rigoureux. Les femmes du mort étaient autrefois recluses nues dans sa case pendant un mois, la première épouse devant coucher sous son lit ; on leur rasait la tête et tous les poils, on les peignait en blanc avec de la cendre et on leur interdisait de se laver ou de se coiffer jusqu'à la fin du deuil. Les frères et enfants du mort se rasaient la tête et laissaient pousser leur barbe sans la tailler ni la peigner ; ils se peignaient le front en blanc et ne portaient que de vieux vêtements ; ils étaient astreints à une série d'interdits : certains modes de chasse, la consommation de certains gibiers (peut-être le totem individuel du défunt ?), tout départ en voyage, la circoncision des enfants du mort, l'usage d'un lit... La fin du deuil était marquée par un sacrifice et, souvent, par une cérémonie *melan*, pour entrer en communication avec le défunt.

Le deuil le plus rigoureux était observé pour la mort d'un *ésa*, d'un homme de la classe des pères ; il l'était moins pour un *monyañ* et à peine pour un *mongó*. En ce qui concerne les femmes, un homme n'observait de grand deuil que pour sa mère et sa première épouse ; encore s'agissait-il de deuil familial, alors que la mort d'un homme entraînait un deuil villageois. Toutefois, une épidémie était suivie d'un deuil renforcé ; quand son auteur présumé était identifié, on ne se contentait pas de lui faire payer l'*avulan*, compensation, on le brûlait ou le noyait (sa famille immédiate restait tenue de l'*avulan*) et on faisait ensuite une purification générale.

Tout ceci a évidemment changé aujourd'hui, mais peut-être moins qu'on ne le pense : les tribunaux connaissent tous les ans de plusieurs affaires d'ordalies après décès, de mutilations de cadavres qui sont en réalité des autopsies, d'extorsions de fonds qui sont le paiement de compensations coutumières imposées au « responsable » d'un décès ; or, en ces matières, on peut estimer que les trois quarts des causes ne parviennent jamais devant les tribunaux européens... Les rites funéraires se sont pourtant allégés et colorés d'influences chrétiennes, même lorsque le défunt s'était accroché jusqu'au bout aux croyances anciennes : ses femmes ou ses enfants appellent généralement un *nkal foé* (annonce-nouvelle = catéchiste) pour dire les prières des morts et faire chanter psaume ou cantique. L'ancienne civière cylindrique d'écorce est remplacée par le cercueil européen de planches, même, de plus en plus, pour les femmes et les enfants ; les fosses des gens riches ont des parois maçonnées et sont recouvertes d'une dalle de béton portant leur nom, la date du décès et une inscription pieuse, ou bien d'un petit parterre fleuri, entouré de briques ou de culs de bouteille, avec une stèle ou croix au chevet. On ne démolit plus la case du mort, surtout si elle est « en dur », et on ne brise plus ses affaires personnelles ; le corps, souvent, est simplement lavé et vêtu de vêtements européens au lieu d'être oint de *baa* ; le suaire blanc subsiste. Dans les familles chrétiennes, les femmes participent à la veillée des morts masculins et assistent à leur enterrement ; les hommes assistent aux enterrements de femmes mais participent rarement à la veillée. Dans

beaucoup de villages, on trouve des cimetières confessionnels séparés.

Le deuil est moins sévère et se porte assez souvent à l'européenne avec crêpe et cravate noire pour les hommes ; dans les villages, les veuves restent assez maltraitées (cf. *supra*, p. 102), mais leur séquestration est réduite à une semaine et elles sont autorisées à se laver au bout d'un mois ou deux. La plupart des interdits de la période de deuil sont tombés en désuétude et la fin du deuil est marquée par une fête de famille qui tient plus du banquet de bout-de-l'an de certaines provinces françaises que des anciens rites purificatoires.

La mort, dans la conception coutumière, n'est peut-être pas tant la cessation de la vie que la dissociation de la personnalité. *Enyiñ*, la vie, vient du verbe *nyiñ* qui signifie plutôt « survivre » qu' « être en vie » : une sorte de dynamisme opposé au statique *lo*, *labe* = être, exister, rester, etc.

Le corps, *nyul*, ou *nyôl*, est périssable et corruptible ; il est le support des autres éléments de la personnalité et d'abord du *nsisim* ou *nsisiñ*, ombre ou double immatériel du corps. Le cœur et les poumons, *nlem*, sont le siège de l'intelligence et des sentiments, et d'abord du sentiment du bien et du mal, de la personnalité morale et mentale ; c'est par le *nlem* qu'on porte atteinte à l'esprit d'une personne, qu'on la rend folle par exemple ; les *beyem* font *di nlem*, manger le *nlem*, de leurs victimes par leur *éeur* ; le *nlem* survit passagèrement au mort. Le *nsisim* semble immortel. Le souffle, *avebe* (de *vebe*, respirer, dérivé de *vee* = être vivant, éveillé) est caractéristique de la vie physiologique (1).

La force, *tyé*, *tyi*, *kié* ou *ki*, est en quelque sorte extérieure à l'individu, indépendante de lui, mais c'est elle qui assure la cohésion des éléments de la personnalité ; elle paraît localisée spécialement dans le *nlem* (viscères thoraciques) et dans le *boo*, cerveau, qui serait le siège de l'agir (verbe *bo* = faire, agir), d'où l'importance des crânes dans le culte des ancêtres, *biéti*. *Ngul*, qu'on traduit également par « force » est plutôt la capacité ou le pouvoir, la faculté d'utiliser la *tyi*. Celle-ci est impersonnelle, préexiste et survit à l'individu qui peut, pendant sa vie la dépenser ou l'augmenter : c'est la base de la magie et de la sorcellerie, la *tyi* n'étant ni bonne ni mauvaise en soi. Tout ce qui existe a de la *tyi*, y compris les morts ; mais les êtres vivants en ont plus que les êtres inanimés et les hommes plus que les autres êtres vivants. Sacrifices et interdits tournent autour de cette notion, ce qu'indique bien le vocabulaire : *élyi* = interdit, *melyi* = sang ; *alyi* = = œuf ; *tyik* = couper, tuer, ordonner, etc. (cf. *supra*, p. 22). Les défunts conservent une certaine quantité de force, ce qui les rend à la fois potentiellement dangereux et potentiellement utilisables.

Le nom, *jôé*, *jui*, préexiste et survit lui aussi à l'individu qu'il caractérise en le distinguant ; d'où les liens spéciaux entre *bemôé*, homo-

(1) Chez les Ewôndo le souffle éwundu (bulu : éwuhulu = vent) est caractéristique de l'être humain, comme le *nsisim* : les animaux sont dépourvus de l'un et de l'autre, c'est pourquoi on peut les manger. (J. B.)

nymes ; d'où la nécessité de connaître le nom d'un individu pour pouvoir l'ensorceler, etc. Le mort garde son nom jusqu'à ce qu'on le donne à un de ses descendants, en la personne duquel il sera plutôt répété que réincarné. Rappelons que *jôé* signifie aussi autorité, notion indissociable de celle de nom.

La cessation des fonctions vitales, *awu*, de *wu*, mourir, n'est pas considérée comme obligatoirement définitive : catalepsie, coma profond, anesthésie et mort véritable sont confondus. Il est évident que si le corps est endommagé pendant l'*awu*, le retour à la vie est impossible. Un fantôme, *kôn* (fañ : *khun*), n'est pas forcément physiquement mort ; un des maléfices les plus redoutés, auquel les Ndôñ passent pour exceller particulièrement, consiste à séparer un individu de son *nsisim*, ombre ou double, en lui donnant l'apparence de la mort physique, puis à réveiller son corps qui obéit désormais mécaniquement aux ordres du sorcier et peut être utilisé par celui-ci à toutes fins, soit pour aller tuer ou voler, soit, plus prosaïquement, pour travailler ses plantations. Les individus ainsi transformés en *bekôn* se reconnaissent à leur pâleur, à leurs gestes saccadés et à leur expression hagarde ; ils ne survivent que quelques mois à l'opération, avant de mourir dans une angoisse physique et morale épouvantable (1).

La mort totale ne se produit qu'un certain temps après la cessation des fonctions vitales et les rites funéraires semblent avoir eu pour but d'achever de détacher l'individu de sa dépouille mortelle. Il y avait deux séjours-des-morts. Les *bemie*, purs de *ngbwel* (sorcellerie par *évu*), franchissaient la rivière-de-l'Ouest ou la mer pour aller au village de *Zambe (Zobeyo, Nzame)* dans un pays froid où leur *nsisim* poursuivait une vie assez semblable à celle d'un village terrestre où tout aurait bien marché (2). Les *beyem* descendaient à l'*élôlôlan*, séjour souterrain des morts, où ils seraient la proie des flammes. Une tradition rapportée par Largeau montre le mort arrivant au pont de la rivière-de-l'Ouest pour y rencontrer les juges *Oyem-Bôl* (Connaît-les-Hommes) et *Oka'Bôl* (Répartit-les-Hommes) qui l'interrogent et lui font passer le pont menant chez *Mon-Anen* (Grand-être) qui l'interroge en présence de tous les morts et s'assure qu'il a « laissé son nom » (qu'il l'a oublié sur la terre des vivants) ; on le livre alors au Partageur-des-Hommes qui le coupe en deux, une moitié restant auprès des vivants, tandis que l'autre, ayant reçu un nouveau nom, va chez les morts. Il est difficile de déterminer quelle est exactement la partie de l'individu qui reste auprès de ses descendants ; à mon avis, c'est le nom-autorité ; en tout cas, je ne crois pas que ce soit le *nsisim*. Ce peut être le *kôn*, mais alors à la suite d'un accident : un fantôme est un voisin gênant, sinon dangereux, en tout cas très craint, souvent malveillant. Son apparence est celle d'un vivant, mais sa couleur

(1) J'ai des raisons, mais pas de preuves, de penser qu'il y a là plus qu'une légende : peut-être l'utilisation criminelle d'un stupéfiant produisant des effets analogues à ceux du pentotal. Un *kôn*, effrayant à voir, est mort au dispensaire de Sangmélima en 1947. L'enquête judiciaire n'a rien révélé...

(2) D'après Trilles ce serait Vénus, alpe alu, « flambeau de la nuit ».

est blanche, d'où la croyance que les albinos sont fils de fantômes ; le *nzisim*, au contraire, qui peut apparaître du vivant de l'individu dans un endroit éloigné de celui où il se trouve (bilocation des magiciens et des sorciers), est immatériel mais d'apparence absolument identique à celle du corps. Le *bên* serait le spectre d'un individu dont les rites funéraires n'ont pas été correctement célébrés, celui d'un sorcier mal exorcisé, ou, si l'on veut, mal stérilisé (dont on aurait, par exemple, omis de brûler le cadavre), ou encore d'un mort décédé sans s'être purifié d'un *nsem* (1).

Il arrive aussi qu'un mort s'incarne dans un animal sauvage, vivant à proximité d'un village, et que, désormais, on « ne peut » tuer, sans que je puisse préciser s'il s'agit d'une impossibilité de fait ou d'un interdit révérentiel ; l'animal pourra être bienveillant, tel ce vieux gorille, ex-chef *mvaé*, qui protégeait les plantations du village de Nyabisañ contre les déprédations des « vrais » gorilles vers 1948, ou, au contraire, malfaisant, comme tel Zaman, devenu panthère, qui ravageait les troupeaux de sa belle-famille dans la Boucle du Dja à la même époque. Cette incarnation est probablement en rapport avec le totémisme ou l'alliance entre un homme et un animal *diañela*, sur lesquels Trilles s'étend longuement (nº 166). L'incarnation n'est que temporaire et cesse à la mort ou à la disparition de l'animal.

Sous l'influence des missions *nlam bekôn*, le pays des morts se divise maintenant en Enfer et Paradis, qui ne sont autres que l'*ôlôlôm* et le village de Zambe, les âmes du Purgatoire paraissant bien se confondre dans l'esprit des villageois avec les *bekôn* insatisfaits, toujours aussi inquiétants. La notion de mort naturelle, non provoquée par un maléfice ou une rupture de l'interdit n'a guère progressé : après tout « le salaire du péché c'est la mort » et « péché » a été rendu par *nsem* dans les traductions des textes sacrés. Les morts continuent donc à faire partie de la société, même si le recul du culte des ancêtres, *bôti*, et des initiations à caractère probablement totémique comme *sô* ont distendu leurs liens avec les vivants.

Cette croyance à la survie explique peut-être un certain mépris de la mort, qui se marquait non seulement dans le courage guerrier et les suicides de vieillards, mais encore, et même de nos jours, par des suicides par point d'honneur : une femme se tue pour se venger de son mari, un homme parce qu'il s'estime offensé ou lésé. Le « responsable » de ce suicide est sévèrement jugé par l'opinion publique, et doit payer compensation et faire un sacrifice expiatoire.

3) Religion et magie

Hormis quelques rares vieillards qui se reconnaissent « enfants des vieilles coutumes » (ou des « vieilles connaissances »), *ba' bôgum bô nnôm*, et que leurs enfants traitent de païens, et quelques jeunes,

(1) On désigne du terme *ngudu* chez les Eviondo les morts qui n'ont pas encore franchi le pont menant à l'*ekom ngôl*, séjour des morts. (J. B.)

plus rares encore, qui se disent agnostiques, l'immense majorité, sinon la quasi-totalité des Pahouins contemporains prétend se rattacher à l'une des confessions qui ont évangélisé la région : presbytériens français et américains, catholiques, adventistes. En fait, et sans vouloir polémiquer sur les statistiques indiquant des proportions de 105 % de « chrétiens » dans certains districts, l'emprise du christianisme est effectivement considérable, mais se mêle de survivances et de résurgences animistes dans des proportions et selon des modes que de multiples études de détail pourraient seules préciser.

Les premiers observateurs ont qualifié les Pahouins, spécialement les Fang, de « moins superstitieux », « moins adonnés au fétichisme » que les populations voisines. Trilles et Martrou ont insisté sur leur religiosité profonde, alors qu'Allégret (n° 147) donne une indication très intéressante sur le sentiment d'abandon religieux qu'ils ressentiraient, surtout depuis qu'ils sont au contact des Européens. On a également souvent noté la facilité avec laquelle ils adopteraient les croyances et rites nouveaux, ce qui vaut non seulement pour les religions chrétiennes mais aussi pour des cultes comme le *bwiti* et le *ngôl*, et même, avant la première guerre mondiale, autour de Libreville pour l'enseignement maçonnique.

Toutes ces influences sont tellement mêlées qu'il faut se livrer à une sorte de paléontologie assez conjecturale pour tenter de reconstituer leurs croyances originelles. Sans vouloir mettre en doute la probité intellectuelle d'observateurs tels que Trilles ou Martrou, on est obligé de reconnaître, et de regretter, qu'une certaine déformation professionnelle ait parfois infléchi leurs conclusions, au point que pour bien des détails on se voit amené à leur préférer des laïcs beaucoup moins qualifiés au point de vue de leur connaissance de la langue, tels Largeau, pour lequel Trilles s'est montré peut-être un peu bien sévère.

a) *Conception de Dieu, création*

Les Pahouins croient (ou croyaient, voir plus loin) à un dieu créateur *Mebe'e* (Iaâ : *Mebere*, *Mebegbe*), éternel, autrefois immanent, devenu infiniment transcendant après le *nsem* initial.

Ce mot, *Mebe'e*, semble se rattacher au verbe *be'e*, porter, dont le nom d'agent est *mbe'e*. *Mebe'e* est une forme plurielle, correspondant aux noms d'action, et aussi à la forme des pluriels collectifs des noms de liquides (*mendim* — eau, *melpi* — sang, *mepém* — sperme, etc.). Il est habituellement accompagné d'une triple apposition : « *Mebe'e, Mebe'e menkpem, sekuma, mbongbue* » (ou, d'après Trezenem, *mbo engue*). Le sens de ces trois qualificatifs est aussi incertain que celui de *Mebe'e*; *menkpem* doit probablement être rattaché à *kpumé* — faire tomber, juger, condamner ; *sekuma* à *kôm (kum)* — arranger, ordonner, se donnant l'idée de générosité, de droiture, d'équilibre (*bulu* : *soso*, *suse*) ; *mbongbué* serait, d'après Grebert, « créateur des générations » (*bo* — faire ; *ngbué* — parenté maternelle), mais pourrait aussi se rat-

tacher à *ngbwa* = amour, amitié, alliance, avec le sens de « celui qui fait alliance » ou « celui qui aime ».

A ces qualificatifs s'ajoute une définition, donnée par *Mebe'e* lui-même en réponse aux hommes qui lui demandaient son nom, et rapportée ainsi par Largeau, la formule variant légèrement dans le détail selon d'autres auteurs : *Mebe'e me se kôm, ke mâl, ke minga, ke ngia, ke ésa, émien étam étam, ke poo-goé, a tame mebialé me bêl*, soit, à peu près : « *Mebe'e*, sans personne, sans femme, sans mère, sans père, lui-même tout seul, impénétrable (lit. « pas ouvert », peut-être au sens de « sans commencement »), il commence les générations. »

A l'encontre de cette unicité, Largeau fait bien état de traditions d'après lesquelles *Mebe'e* (nom qu'il rattache à un verbe signifiant « répartir » ?) ne serait autre que le soleil et aurait engendré l'homme en s'unissant à un principe féminin *Anghe Ndongha*, « matrice universelle » (?), mais il reconnaît lui-même le caractère « vague » de ces traditions « balbutiées par quelques vieillards ».

Mebe'e est incréé et éternel ; il déclare au premier homme : *A mon mêm, me se k'asum, me se k'aman, me ne fa'a mbembé*, « O mon fils, je n'ai pas de commencement (d'origine), pas de fin, je suis vraiment celui qui dure (*bembé* = être fixé). »

« S'ennuyant d'être seul » (Trilles), *Mebe'e*, « quand les choses n'étaient pas encore », décide de créer l'homme (*mâl*, la personne). Il fait un lézard d'argile et cinq jours après le place dans un bassin d'eau (de mer, d'après Trilles), où il le laisse sept jours entiers. Le huitième jour, il lui crie : « Sors ! », l'homme sort et remercie. Trilles souligne à juste titre la beauté de la scène : *Alu mnom ane a npa ke dê'é, ngina : Ku'i ! A npa kui, a le mâl. Ane, a npa kulukù mebeû, ngina : A bolan*, « Le huitième jour (lit. : la huitième nuit), donc, il va voir, puis : Sors ! (lit. : Émerge). Il émerge, c'est un homme. Et il tombe à genoux : Merci ! (lit. : Louanges !). »

Ce premier homme s'appelle *Nzame* ou *Zambe* (bulu : *Zebege*), ou, plus exactement, *Nzame Mebe'e*. D'après la tradition rapportée par Largeau, il s'est nommé ainsi lui-même, en même temps qu'il donnait au créateur son nom de *Mebe'e*. D'après d'autres, c'est *Mebe'e* qui aurait nommé *Nzame*. Ce nom pourrait se rattacher au verbe fañ *dzame* (bulu : *jame*), signifiant à la fois « laisser », « ne plus s'occuper de » et « remettre une dette », « pardonner » ; *Nzame* serait alors soit « celui qui pardonne », soit « celui qui abandonne », la forme *Zambe*, utilisée dans le Nord, étant une variante dialectale ou peut-être un dérivé passif. Trilles, lui, donne à *Nzame* le sens de « l'invisible », en traduisant le verbe *dzame* par « s'effacer », traduction qui s'explique par la constante confusion qu'il fait de *Mebe'e* et de *Nzame*, du créateur et du créé. *Nzame* et *Zambe* semblent pouvoir être rapprochés de toute une série de sens analogue dans les langues bantu voisines, et, peut-être, du créole antillais *zombi*. Mais la parenté est moins évidente pour le bulu *Zebege*, dont l'origine, obscure, est peut-être à rattacher aux verbes *zu*, « arriver » (bulu) ou *zû*, *dzû*, « ouvrir » (fañ) et *poo* ou *pooé*, « être ouvert », « ouvrir » : approximative-

ment, « ouverture de ceux qui ouvrent », au sens d' « ancêtre primitif ».

Les traditions diffèrent sur l'origine de la première femme ; Largeau en rapporte deux. D'après l'une, *Mebe'e*, ayant appris à *Nzame* à défricher la forêt et à planter des arbres, l'endort et, l'ayant amputé d'un gros orteil, fabrique avec lui la première femme, *Ngingono Mebe'e* (*Ngingon* = mère-fille). D'après l'autre, il aurait fabriqué en même temps que *Nzame* sa sœur *Ogume-Mam* (celle-qui-sait-les-choses). Mon informateur ntumu, connaissant les deux légendes, les concilliait en se référant à la Bible : attitude très fréquente chez les vieux protestants gabonais qui rend parfois extrêmement malaisé de faire le départ entre la Genèse hébraïque et la Genèse pahouine.

Quoi qu'il en soit, *Mebe'e* soumet tous les animaux au couple original afin qu'ils travaillent pour lui. Mais *Nzame* trouble cet ordre en forniquant avec sa sœur : c'est le grand *nsem*, le bris d'interdit, l'inceste initial qui introduit la mort sur la terre. *Mebe'e* « meurt », ou plutôt se sépare des hommes, s'éloigne en laissant à *Nzame*, auquel les animaux ont cessé d'obéir, le commandement sur la terre.

Ogume-Mam met alors au monde huit couples de jumeaux, mâles et femelles, qui sont les ancêtres des Pahouins, des Blancs, des Pygmées, des gorilles, des chimpanzés, des hommes rouges et des tribus de la Côte.

Ce qui suit est mal connu, les versions variant largement suivant les auteurs. En gros, *Nzame* enseigne les techniques agricoles à ses enfants et va chercher chez *Mebe'e* (en mourant pour ressusciter peu après ?) le secret des techniques artisanales (1). Avant de quitter ses enfants pour sa « mort » définitive (en fait, il ne meurt pas physiquement : « Sa tombe n'est ni en bas ni en haut, ni à gauche ni à droite »), il fait le partage de ses biens, partage faussé par les querelles, les ruses des cadets ou la négligence des aînés. Il s'en va alors au delà de la rivière-de-l'Ouest, suivi par les Blancs (ou les tribus côtières ?), qui se sont emparé par ruse de la part des *biôm* qui revenait aux Pahouins. Ceux-ci se mettront à leur tour en route vers l'Ouest, franchissant *Osé Nzange* puis le *nôm adjap* (trou du fromager), comme indiqué précédemment (*supra*, p. 16).

Il faut souligner que *Nzame (Zambe) n'est pas le dieu créateur*, mais bien l'ancêtre-moniteur ; c'est à lui que remontent toutes les généalogies. Or, toutes les missions chrétiennes ont pris son nom pour traduire la notion de Dieu. L'erreur s'explique : le nom de *Mebe'e* était rarement prononcé, alors que celui de *Nzame* revenait dans toutes les « salutations », dans tout ce qui touchait au culte des ancêtres ; comme moniteur original, il pouvait être confondu avec le créateur — en fait, il complétait en quelque sorte la création « naturelle » par l'invention magique des arts et techniques ; comme ancêtre, il était sollicité par ses descendants dans les prières, *mego'ôlon*, alors qu'on ne s'adressait à *Mebe'e* que dans de très rares occasions — serments solennels, initiations ; enfin, le fait même de s'être trompé au départ

(1) Enseignées, selon certains, par l'araignée.

rendait difficile de revenir sur la première traduction. On peut penser que cette erreur, substitution de la créature au créateur, déification de l'homme, n'a pas été sans influencer l'évolution sociale des Pahouins : les *Minlangue*, venus précisément du *niam bekón*, du pays des morts, apportaient avec une véritable révolution théologique, une hérésie à laquelle leur richesse matérielle donnait une caution certaine. Les répercussions psychologiques ont dû être considérables.

Aujourd'hui, on entend dire couramment que « *Mebe'e* est l'ancien nom de *Zambe* », ce dernier paraissant définitivement installé dans son rôle usurpé (1) ; les traditions relatives aux deux personnages sont inextricablement mélangées aux apports chrétiens, au point qu'on peut parler d'une nouvelle théogonie en formation dans les cultes syncrétistes et dans certains schismes chrétiens.

b) *Culte des ancêtres, Islam, esprits*

Nous avons vu qu'on ne rendait pratiquement pas de culte au Créateur *Mebe'e*, mais seulement à *Zambe (Nzame)*, ancêtre original, invoqué comme père commun. Mais ce recours à *Zambe* restait relativement exceptionnel : on demandait d'abord aide, *mego'ale*, ou protection, *akam*, aux ancêtres, *bimoam*, les plus proches.

La forme la plus caractéristique du culte des ancêtres était le *biéri (biéli)*, particulièrement développé dans les tribus les plus méridionales, et d'abord chez les Fang proprement dits. Le prêtre en était l'ancêtre vivant, le père, *ésa*, avec une hiérarchie de fait correspondant aux différents niveaux de la structure sociale et clanique, hiérarchie à caractère plus religieux que politique, l'autorité qui en découlait étant d'abord révérentielle. Le matériel cultuel essentiel était constitué par les crânes des ancêtres masculins, gardés par le père, l'aîné, dans le panier aux crânes, *évuru biéri (évulé biéli)*, sorte d'arche que le groupe familial transportait avec lui au cours des migrations. L'*évuru biéri* était une boîte cylindrique en écorce de fleus, ornée de perles et d'emblèmes claniques *(mindem)*, dont le couvercle portait la statue du premier ancêtre. Elle était conservée sur une sorte d'autel, dont la vue était *éfyi* pour les femmes et les non-initiés, placé soit dans la case du chef de famille, soit dans une case spéciale. L'*évuru* était transportée dans un étui en vannerie fine, sous la garde d'initiés armés. Les crânes étaient teints au *bon* et parfois ornés d'incrustations de cuivre ou de perles.

Quand un nouveau village était créé par un cadet, le crâne du fondateur était le premier à prendre place dans l'arche, le village d'où il était parti conservant ceux des précédents ancêtres de la lignée. On conçoit dès lors que le gardien des crânes de la lignée ait eu une certaine autorité, déléguée par les ancêtres de rang supérieur, sur les chefs des familles ensemblées, lui-même étant en quelque sorte

(1) M. Green, premier missionnaire américain chez les Boulou, fut surnommé *Ngolé Zambe* — rangon de *Zambe*, ce qui n'est peut-être pas seulement un à-peu-près sur son nom.

subordonné au gardien des crânes des ancêtres communs de la fraction, et ainsi de suite en montant ou descendant les arbres généalogiques, de Zambe, parti mais vivant, à l'*ômoam* vivant de la dernière génération.

Lorsque l'essaimage d'une famille se produisait sans querelle, le *ndâl*, aîné, du nouveau groupe recevait de son *ôsu*, à défaut des crânes qui devaient rester dans la fraction d'origine, une statue contenant des fragments d'ossements des ancêtres, phalangettes, dents ou éclats d'os crâniens. La statue était placée sur le premier autel familial du nouveau groupe, où la rejoignaient plus tard le crâne du fondateur et ceux des *bengo bôlî* des générations suivantes. Un panier du *biéri* bien rempli était un signe d'ancienneté du groupe, qui impliquait sans doute plus de prestige que de véritable autorité, mais n'en restait pas moins l'approximation la plus proche d'un commandement politique existant dans le groupe fang, surtout si l'on tient compte du fait que les dignitaires des associations interclaniques étaient choisis parmi les possesseurs de nombreux crânes, dont le prestige s'étendait par là à un nombre important de *mabê* ou de *mayem*. Le prestige des vivants s'exerçait par l'autorité des morts.

Les crânes étaient, en effet, le siège ou le réceptacle de la capacité d'action de l'individu (rappelons : *be* = faire, *boo* = cerveau), et leur utilisation magique n'était pas restreinte aux seuls crânes d'ancêtres : on conservait également les crânes d'ennemis tués à la guerre ou sacrifiés dans les cérémonies anthropophagiques qui la précédaient ou la suivaient, ou bien des crânes volés à des voisins, de même qu'on utilisait pour les rites de chasse des crânes d'animaux de l'espèce qu'on désirait chasser. Il semble, toutefois, qu'une distinction ait été faite entre crânes familiaux et crânes étrangers, les premiers seuls ayant place dans l'*ômôl bôlî* et prenant part aux rites familiaux. On augmentait la force des crânes en les asperges du sang des sacrifices.

L'adolescent arrivant à l'âge de *nge mâlê* devait apprendre à connaître ses ancêtres pour pouvoir demander leur aide à l'occasion. On lui montrait les crânes jusqu'à ce qu'il sache les nommer individuellement et les placer dans leur ordre généalogique exact ; quand il le savait, on lui faisait prendre une décoction d'herbe stupéfiante *alan* puis passer la nuit dans la case du *bôlî*, en face des crânes sortis de l'*ômôl* et placés sur l'autel où brûlaient des herbes odoriférantes. Au cours de la nuit, les ancêtres lui apparaissaient et lui imposaient un surnom et un ou plusieurs nouveaux interdits (il était, en même temps, relevé de plusieurs interdits d'âge) ; il semble que c'est au cours de cette initiation que lui était révélé son totem individuel (si vraiment c'en était un).

Cette question du totem est très mal élucidée en dépit des quelque six cents pages que lui a consacrées le P. Trilles. Celui-ci distingue totem de clan, de fraction, individuel, familial, de société, etc. Il distingue encore l'être tutélaire, *mamma*, de l' « effet de l'être tutélaire », *ekum*, l'animal-totem de l'animal voué ou de l'incarnation d'un homme dans un animal, etc. Il sépare aussi le culte de l'*ésqué*, culte de l'an-

être, du culte du *mommugué*, culte totémique. Il faut bien avouer qu'on ne parvient guère aujourd'hui à obtenir de recoupements de ses théories, sauf sur des points de détail, sans d'ailleurs que cela les condamne formellement : il peut s'agir d'une insuffisance des enquêteurs, de respect humain chez les enquêtés, ou bien de traditions initiatiques perdues. Peuvent être tenus pour acquis les points suivants :

— *mmam (ômmam)* connote les idées d'aïeul, mort ou vif, de lignée et de protection ;
— *ekum*, protection, est parfois employé en parlant d'animaux, pour indiquer la cause d'un interdit, le verbe *kum* ayant le sens de défendre-protéger aussi bien que de défendre-prohiber ;
— tous les interdits ne sont pas liés à ces notions, mais certains le sont et il peut s'agir aussi bien d'interdits individuels que d'interdits collectifs héréditaires, ne portant pas obligatoirement sur des animaux ;
— les marques, *mindem*, et les indicatifs tambourinés, *mindan*, des clans ont souvent un rapport avec un interdit ;
— il existe toute une symbolique animale, visible surtout dans les contes et les présages (zoomancie, divination par l'araignée) ;
— certains animaux sont liés à des cultes initiatiques : très certainement le *sô* et les serpents (dendraspis et python) ; probablement le poro-épic et la tortue (rites féminins) ; peut-être le gorille (*ngil*, *ngil*, ton 4 de Johnson, le rite *ngil* étant du ton 5) ;
— il ne semble pas y avoir de rapport entre le nom d'animal porté par un individu (*Mokoé* = Python, *Ze'e* = Éléphant, *Ze* = = Panthère, etc.) et les interdits auxquels il est soumis.

Il semble à peu près certain, par ailleurs, que ne sont pas exactement rattachables au totémisme :

— l'alliance, *ôlal* ou *ngbua*, entre un individu et un animal particulier ;
— l'emploi par un sorcier d'un animal, *nkuk* (noter que *nkuk* signifie aussi « masque »), pour exécuter ses maléfices à distance ;
— l'incarnation du sorcier dans le corps d'un animal, *ôlatala* (Trilles donne ce nom au *nkuk*) ;
— l'incarnation momentanée d'un mort dans le corps d'un animal,

les trois premiers phénomènes paraissant souvent se confondre dans l'esprit des Pahouins contemporains, le quatrième pouvant en être la conséquence.

Il est curieux de noter que la légende rapportée par Trilles à propos du crocodile, qu'il considère comme « totem national », montre celui-ci poursuivant les ancêtres des Fang pour les dévorer, alors que l'histoire légendaire de la migration, recueillie plus au Nord, le montre, au contraire, faisant franchir *Ossé Nsonge* à la tribu (chez les Beti c'est un python qui rend ce service).

L'observation faite par les auteurs précités du caractère « peu superstitieux » des Pahouins, du moindre développement du « fétî-

chisme » parmi eux est à rapprocher de l'absence presque totale dans leur mythologie d'êtres intermédiaires entre Dieu et l'homme, génies ou demi-dieux.

En dehors des *bieur*, dont il sera traité à propos de la sorcellerie, on ne rencontre guère que les *bingungur* (fañ ; bulu : *bingéngôl*), que certaines légendes présentent comme une variété d'ogres ou de goules hantant les forêts et attaquant les voyageurs. Selon d'autres explications, il s'agirait plutôt d'animaux maléfiques, doués d'une intelligence et d'une malveillance dépassant celle des individus normaux de leur espèce, peut-être d'animaux sorciers. L'inoffensif oryctérope, *mademvila*, est ainsi très redouté ; on parle également d'une sorte de pithécanthrope, très rare, *éngure* (fañ ; bulu : *éngu'u*), et d'une sirène, la *mammgudia* de la Côte, qui est sans doute le lamantin. Pour Trilles, l'*éngungure* est un « esprit, souvent transformé en animal, auquel obéissent les sorciers » : on peut se demander s'il ne s'agit pas là d'une confusion avec l'*éeur* (bulu : *éeu*).

Des *bekén*, fantômes, on pourrait dire qu'il en est de bons, mais point de délicieux. On peut, le plus souvent, s'entendre avec le *kén* d'un ancêtre convenablement enterré et respectable de son vivant, et même obtenir de lui des services utiles, rétribués autrefois en sacrifices et libations à son crâne, et bien souvent aujourd'hui en cierges, messes ou prières (j'ai vu des protestants s'adresser aux missionnaires catholiques pour un exorcisme). C'est beaucoup plus difficile avec le *kén* d'un sorcier ou avec celui d'un étranger dont on ne possède ni le nom ni le crâne.

Il est probable que l'anthropophagie non criminelle avait pour but, entre autres, d'acquérir un pouvoir sur les *bekén* des ennemis et peut-être d'assimiler les droits qu'ils tenaient de leurs ancêtres. Cette anthropophagie guerrière paraît avoir existé surtout sur les franges géographiques du groupe, et, particulièrement, sur le front d'invasion, chez les Fang proprement dits, avant-garde de la migration. On ne mangeait jamais un parent ou allié, mais seulement des étrangers, et seuls les guerriers en mangeaient (ou, parfois, des fils de guerriers morts à l'ennemi). Il est remarquable que seuls les « Gabonais » aient éprouvé en face de l'anthropophagie des Fang et Osyéba la terreur rapportée par tous les explorateurs : les Boulou ou les Ntoumou, qui se sont souvent battus contre les Fang, ne les accusent pas de cannibalisme, ce qui paraît confirmer que celui-ci était réservé aux guerres « étrangères », aux conquêtes. L'anthropophagie intestine est considérée avec horreur et pratiquée par les seuls sorciers, souvent appelés *bedi bôl*, mangeurs d'homme ; *di nlem*, généralement traduit par « manger l'âme », signifie littéralement « manger les viscères thoraciques », et peut s'appliquer à une consommation tout à fait matérielle de ces viscères. Par contre, l'anthropophagie ou nécrophagie qu'on pourrait qualifier d'homéopathique, celle qui consiste à absorber dans un *biat (mbiat)*, une parcelle très réduite, souvent sous forme de cendre, du corps d'un ancêtre ou d'un initié n'a rien de criminel et entrait, semble-t-il, dans le cérémonial de tous les grands rites.

A ce point de vue, la communion au corps du *sô*, si ce rite est bien totémique, représentait peut-être la manducation de l'ancêtre.

Quant à l'anthropophagie gastronomique, c'est une légende pour journaux illustrés : non seulement la viande d'homme, mais encore celle des anthropoïdes sont, en dehors des cas cités plus haut, absolument *bilyi*, tabou, et leur consommation accidentelle ou due à une nécessité absolue (cas de chasseurs isolés par une inondation) donne lieu à une purification rigoureuse.

c) *Éléments de cosmogonie*

Nos connaissances sur la conception traditionnelle du monde sont largement conjecturales, elles aussi, pour les raisons précédemment indiquées. On peut faire état avec une certitude raisonnable de deux concepts fondamentaux :

— l'orientation de l'espace et du temps référée au mouvement apparent du soleil ; peut-être vaudrait-il mieux parler ici d'espace-temps, les deux notions étant étroitement confondues ;
— le principe qualifié par Stoll de « double symétrie », qu'on pourrait appeler aussi « complémentarité sexuelle » et résumer comme un équilibre en tension de tous les éléments de la création.

Ces deux concepts sont, au demeurant, liés de près, sinon indissociables.

Le temps et l'espace s'écoulent d'Est en Ouest, suivant un mouvement descendant. L'Est est *ôku*, amont, haut, et mâle ; l'Ouest, *nké*, aval, bas et femelle. La terre, *sî*, est entourée d'eau, ou plutôt enclose d'eau et d'obscurité : *ndim* = aveugle, *mendim* = eau, *dim* = = terminer, éteindre, se coucher (en parlant d'un astre), *dimi* = se perdre, *dip* = fermer, *dibi* = obscur, opaque (d'après Trezenem, le monde est entouré du fleuve *éndom*, mot à rapprocher de *ndom* = largeur, large). L'obscurité de l'Est est noire (cf. le nom du pays d'origine : *mat' ékunga* = pays des nuages hauts et blancs ; les nuages pluvieux, bas et sombres, sont les *minkuf*), celle de l'Ouest blanche, couleur féminine, le blanc étant en outre teinte de deuil et de mort : les *bekôn* sont blancs, du moins ceux qui restent sur terre ; ceux qui sont admis au village de *Zambe* sont rouges.

Par rapport à l'axe de référence Est-Ouest, le Nord est à droite, *mbo ndom*, côté mâle, le Sud à gauche, *mbo ngul*, côté femelle. La limite entre le Nord et le Sud est la Sanaga (*Oubé Nnanga* =rivière blanche, rivière de l'albinos), franchie sur le python, *modm*, qui est aussi l'arc-en-ciel (mais une tradition fang de l'Est gabonais parle d'une rivière Évindi, c'est-à-dire noire). Le Nord est lié au rouge (1), couleur

(1) *Evindi*, *ôyamba* et *ôvulu*, noir, blanc et rouge, sont les seuls termes de couleur dans la langue. Elles s'appliquent aux nuances proches : un gris sera « blanc » ou « noir », un bleu ou un vert, « noire », un ocre ou un brun clair « rouge », un jaune clair « blanc », etc. Pour plus de précision on a recours soit, à des comparaisons (*ni'ôkon* = mousse aquatique pour vert ; *ôlip* = soleil, jaune d'œuf pour orange ou jaune) soit à des emprunts (*bleu*).

masculine et couleur de fête. Le Sud est aussi le midi, *nañe mâa*, et le zénith, *gêbe jêp* (*gêp* = ciel, haut, hauteur, *jêp* = soleil ; fañ : *dzê*) ; c'est le côté de la lumière, *vian*, lumière solaire, ou *êfufup*, clarté.

Le ciel, *gêp*, serait soutenu par un pilier de fer (*akoñ* = pilier ou lance, symbole masculin) que tient l'épouse-sœur de *Zambe*, *Nyingon Mebe'e*. Le ciel paraît à la fois masculin et féminin, de même que la terre ; le soleil masculin, la lune féminine.

On arrive ainsi à déterminer sur la rose des vents deux aires ou secteurs opposés : le quadrant Nord/Est, mâle ; le quadrant Sud/Ouest, femelle, les deux autres paraissant neutres ; le diamètre N.E.-S.W. formant bissectrice des deux angles opposés donnerait l'axe de la migration, *mfa'a mañ*, vers la mer. L'aire masculine serait le lieu d'origine des clans en *ge* (féminins ?), l'aire féminine, celui des clans en *êsa*. Trilles assimile à ces derniers les clans en *êbi*, qui, géographiquement, sont des clans orientaux ; je me demande si ces clans ne doivent pas plutôt être rattachés aux clans en *ge*, *êbi* signifiant trou, creux (*gee* = vallée, ravin). Dans le *biloba*, les marchandises masculines viennent du secteur femelle et vice versa.

Ces contradictions apparentes se résoudraient par application du principe de double symétrie, ou de complémentarité sexuelle, de même que celle qui fait appeler *bobengañ*, fils de ma mère, les frères consanguins et non les utérins. Ce principe pourrait s'énoncer approximativement comme suit : tout être viable doit pour être existant et complet comporter en lui le genre sexuel opposé au sien. En d'autres termes, la bi-sexualité, principe vital universel, se retrouverait dans chaque partie de la création. Stoll en trouve la preuve dans le langage, où les tons constitueraient d'après lui, une véritable différenciation en genres sexuels grammaticaux, et surtout dans les rites dont le but serait non pas de masculiniser totalement les hommes et de féminiser totalement les femmes, mais bien de donner à chaque sexe son complément nécessaire du sexe opposé.

Quoi qu'il faille penser de cette théorie, il est certain que, sans doute à cause de l'absence, apparente ou réelle, de genre sexuel grammatical dans la langue, la plupart des premiers auteurs, et même Trilles, n'ont pas attaché suffisamment d'importance au genre réel, au sexe effectif attribués aux objets, en particulier au matériel magique et rituel. On sait que la lance, *akoñ*, le sabre, *fa*, probablement le grand tambour *mbôl* sont mâles ; les calebasses et marmites, les grelots, *mengañ*, la double cloche, *nkañ*, femelles ; le tambour-téléphone, *nkul*, androgyne ; les cornes à médicaments, *minlak*, mâles sous leur aspect pointe, femelles sous leur aspect creux, de même que le fusil. Pour les chiffres, mes conclusions sont diamétralement opposées à celles de Stoll qui considère les nombres pairs comme mâles, les impairs comme femelles ; il est vrai qu'il donne comme preuve l'importance des chiffres impairs dans les rites féminins, ce qui irait tout justement à l'encontre de son principe de double symétrie.

La numérologie est d'ailleurs très imparfaitement connue. La numération est basée sur la dizaine, avec des traces d'une base 8 : 10,

mdém, et 8, *mnom*, ont peut-être la même racine avec des classificateurs différents. Neuf est le chiffre du *sé*. *Nyin*, quatre, paraît lié à un radical YI à connotations féminines (*yi* = vouloir, signifie aussi « avoir besoin de », « pleurer » ; il donnerait l'idée de désir, par opposition à *kémbé*, apparenté à *kém* = arranger, mettre en ordre, faire bien, et *ke* = faire, qui donnerait l'idée de volonté ; la forme passive de *yi*, *yien*, signifie à la fois « devoir », et « aller bien », « convenir »). L'exploration reste largement à faire, pendant qu'il en est encore temps.

d) *Sorcellerie, possession*

La sorcellerie maléfique, *nghwé*, est attribuée très généralement à la possession du sorcier, *nnem* (pl. *bepem* ; cf. *pem* = savoir, rêver) par un être maléfique, l'*évu* (fém : *évur*, *évus*). L'*évu* n'est pas un esprit immatériel, c'est un être vivant, un animal, ressemblant à un crabe ou à un scolopendre, et logeant dans les viscères du *nnem*. A l'autopsie, on le trouve souvent sous forme de polype ou tumeur, de fibrome chez les femmes. Il arrive d'ailleurs que le corps du *nnem* ne présente pas cet indice, l'*évu* s'étant échappé, mais on en trouve des traces : sérosités, distension de l'estomac, du côlon ou de la vésicule biliaire. Dans tous ces cas, nous l'avons dit, le cadavre n'est pas enterré selon les formes habituelles, mais brûlé, jeté dans un fleuve ou inhumé sous un carrefour loin du village, pour empêcher le *kón* du *nnem* de revenir hanter ses parents et voisins.

La possession peut être inconnue du possédé, qui n'en est pas moins responsable du mal causé par l'*évu*. Celui-ci sort la nuit, pendant le sommeil du *nnem* et va se nourrir en buvant le sang, *metyi*, donc la force, *fyi*, de ses victimes, qui tombent malades, s'affaiblissent et meurent, ou bien en mangeant leur *nlem* (cœur et poumon), ce qui entraîne la folie ou la dégénérescence mentale, et souvent aussi la mort. L'*évu* se nourrit aussi d'œufs, *metyi*, et de lait, de femme de préférence (*mangué*, de *ngué* = téter, cf. *-ngué* = mère, dans les mots composés), nourritures qui répugnent aux villageois. Lorsqu'il éprouve des difficultés à se ravitailler, il arrive qu'il se retourne contre le *nnem* et le tue pour s'en repaître, ou, si c'est une femme, qu'il s'attaque aux enfants dont elle est grosse. Hors de ces cas, le *nghwé*, même inconscient, profite au *nnem* : il bénéficie de la force accumulée par l'*évu* au cours de ses chasses nocturnes ; en outre, l'*évu* l'aide, lui porte une sorte de chance dans ses entreprises, ce qui est naturel puisqu'il en profite par l'intermédiaire du *nnem*. Cette chance, *osé* (d'un verbe *sé*, sens analogue : *o ngu sé ésum* — il s'est enrichi par *nghwé*), se distingue de la chance ordinaire, accidentelle, *ma'a*, par son caractère permanent qui a tôt fait de soulever la suspicion publique : c'est un des symptômes visibles du *nghwé*.

Le *nnem* inconscient était très généralement mis à mort, plus facilement même que le sorcier conscient, qui savait se défendre. On pouvait cependant le soigner, au moyen d'un traitement purificatoire extrêmement rigoureux, comportant une catharsis physiologique autant que psychique, et parfois de véritables opérations

chirurgicales : le patient y succombait dans la plupart des cas. De nos jours, l'administration européenne empêche généralement l'exécution des *bogem*, mais leurs parents arrivent souvent à les convaincre de se suicider : après une épidémie de méningite à Ambam en 1948, deux hommes et deux jeunes femmes, accusés par un devin *bwiti* d'avoir causé par *nghwel* inconscient la mort d'une douzaine d'enfants, se jetèrent dans le Ntem au cours du même mois. Autrefois, on brûlait les *bogem*, en les recouvrant de bois de façon à empêcher à la fois l'*évu* et leur *nsisim* de s'envoler ; on pouvait aussi les noyer ou encore les enterrer vifs, de préférence dans le lit d'un ruisseau préalablement détourné puis renvoyé dans son lit après l'inhumation.

Le *nnem* conscient est à la fois plus et moins dangereux. Lié par une sorte de pacte à son *évu*, il dirige l'action de celui-ci, au lieu de le laisser tuer au hasard, comme le *nnem* inconscient. Il est donc plus dangereux à l'égard de ses ennemis et moins à celui de ses proches, encore que la conclusion et le maintien de l'alliance avec l'*évu* exigent qu'il lui sacrifie des membres de sa famille.

Un *nnem* doué d'une forte personnalité, *lyi anen a niem ayel*, d'une grande force et d'un cœur dur, peut arriver à bien contrôler son *évu*, à s'en faire un serviteur qui lui apporte richesse et puissance, le débarrasse de ses ennemis et lui confère des pouvoirs surnaturels : bilocation, télékinésie, divination, etc. Mais le *nghwel* reste en tout temps un art dangereux. D'abord, le *nnem* se sait condamné à rester après sa mort un *bôn* blanc, à qui il est interdit de franchir l'*ékanga bebôn*, le pont des morts, pour aller retrouver les ancêtres *mañ ayel*, au delà de la mer. A cette condamnation à terme s'ajoutent des périls immédiats. En premier lieu le risque, toujours possible, de voir l'*évu* dominer le *nnem*, à la faveur d'un affaiblissement de celui-ci. Ensuite, celui d'une sorte de choc en retour, si l'*évu* s'attaque à un *nnem* plus puissant ou à un *mie* bien protégé par un *bôañ* ressortissant à la magie blanche. Enfin, celui de voir l'*évu*, ou l'animal qu'il emploie comme support, tués au cours d'une sortie, ce qui entraîne la mort du *nnem*.

Beaucoup de gens cependant estiment que ces inconvénients pèsent peu en face des avantages immédiats procurés par l'*évu*. On voit donc des *bemie* (personnes dépourvues d'*évu*) se faire initier au *nghwel*, et des *bogem* y vouer leurs enfants dès leur naissance (ce qui a pour effet, en outre, de les protéger contre l'*évu* de leurs parents). Pour ce faire, les *bogem* se groupent en sociétés secrètes (et il s'agit là de sociétés *vraiment* secrètes), bien décrites par Trilles et surtout par Lavigouille (n° 156).

Les bébés sont voués par un *nnem* de leur parenté au cours d'une cérémonie, *aba'á*, avant cicatrisation de l'ombilic (l'*évu* est censé pénétrer par la plaie ombilicale). Un interdit spécial est imposé à l'enfant et une partie de son corps (doigt, orteil ou même pied, main ou membre entier) sacrifiée symboliquement à l'*évu*, avec une petite effusion de sang : désormais, seule l'ombre de la partie sacrifiée, son apparence, est supposée subsister. L'enfant est alors *nkômon nghwel*,

préparé pour le *nkgnel*, mais pas encore *nnem* : s'il l'était, en effet, on le découvrirait au moment de la phase préliminaire de l'initiation d'adolescence et on le mettrait à mort. Ce n'est qu'une fois initié aux rites officiels qu'il *kuli nglnel*, devient sorcier, au cours d'une nouvelle cérémonie pendant laquelle ses « parrains » lui révèlent qu'il a été « préparé », voué. Il doit alors racheter le membre « sacrifié » lors de l'*aku'é* en offrant à ses « parrains » le corps d'un membre de sa famille, assassiné et mangé par les *beyem* dans des conditions mal connues, dont ce qu'on sait rappelle certains aspects sexuels des sabbats démoniaques européens (les participants des deux sexes, nus, se livreraient à la sodomie, *bidê*, et profaneraient des reliques ancestrales, fragments de *bidi* probablement). L'initiation d'un adulte ne comprend que l'*akuli nglnel*, l'*aku'é* étant réservé aux enfants.

Les *beyem* se réunissent périodiquement, en dehors des cérémonies d'initiation, pour « nourrir les *bisu* » au cours de repas anthropophagiques ou nécrophagiques accompagnés de rites obscènes. Ces réunions ont lieu à la nouvelle lune dans des endroits secrets de la forêt, généralement des clairières en haut des collines ou des îlots dans les marais ; les *maimie* redoutent de pénétrer par hasard dans un de ces endroits, qui, d'après certains de mes informateurs, seraient gardés entre les réunions par un oryctérope, *mômesila*. Lorsqu'on en découvre un on fait immédiatement appel à un *ngengoh* pour une sorte d'exorcisme. Les sorciers seraient convoqués aux réunions par messages secrets, sous forme de faisceaux de bâtonnets entaillés selon un code particulier, ou de quipou. Ils sont supposés s'y rendre par lévitation ou n'y envoyer que leur *nzisim*, le corps restant au village en état de mort apparente, ce qui offre une bonne occasion de se débarrasser du sorcier en brûlant son corps, l'inconvénient de la méthode étant que le *nzisim* subsiste, ainsi que l'*évu*, et qu'ils peuvent alors s'incarner dans un animal, ce qui ne se produit pas si on brûle le sorcier vivant.

L'*évu* peut adopter divers modes de circulation hors du corps du *nnem*. Quelquefois, il sort invisible et immatériel, mais c'est là un mode peu courant. Le plus souvent, il entre dans le corps d'un animal, en général un léopard, mais parfois aussi un serpent noir, une civette, un gorille ou chimpanzé, ou encore certains insectes : la liste n'est pas limitative, mais il s'agit presque toujours d'animaux puissants ou dangereux. L'animal porteur est alors presque invulnérable, étant doté à la fois d'une intelligence humaine et des pouvoirs de l'évu ; on peut cependant en venir à bout, avec de la chance et de bons *mobiah*, et toute atteinte qu'on lui porte se répercute sur le sorcier. Au contraire, une atteinte au sorcier pendant l'absence de l'évu n'est pas forcément fatale à celui-ci, qui peut subsister dans le corps de l'animal véhicule. Celui-ci est appelé *nkuk* (1), mot qui peut aussi signifier « masque » ; il n'est pas certain qu'il se confonde avec

(1) Chez les Eviénoudo on lorsque désigne aussi les bons fétiches, qui apparaissent en songe aux consultants les vivants. (J. B.)

l'*élañela*, comme l'indique Trilles, pas plus qu'avec les animaux-*bekôn* ou avec ceux qui sont *beyem* par eux-mêmes, ou encore avec les *bingôngôl (bingungure)*.

A côté du *ngbwel*, il semble exister une sorcellerie liée à l'*abé nlem* ou *mbia nlem*, malignité du cœur, et ne recourant pas à la possession par les *bisu*. Ainsi les praticiens du *kôn*, qui consiste à tuer un individu en laissant vivre son corps (*supra*, p. 105), ne seraient pas obligatoirement des *beyem* au sens étroit. De même nombre de pratiques maléfiques ne seraient que des déviations criminelles de la magie licite. L'alliance avec un animal, ou l'incarnation dans un animal, ou encore la transformation d'un magicien en animal peuvent n'être pas maléfiques ou ne le devenir qu'à la suite de la méchanceté naturelle (*ésezam* = méchanceté, désordre ; *nlelañ* = malveillance, de *élañ* = = acte mauvais commis exprès et sans nécessité : *a woé bôl élañ* = celui qui tue par plaisir, *ndan* des *begôeina* depuis la colonisation allemande jusqu'à nos jours) du magicien. Un *biañ* de protection contre les *beyem* peut être employé contre un *mie* innocent, une arme magique, un envoûtement contre un frère. Une telle action peut constituer non seulement un *élom*, un délit, mais encore un *nsem*, bris d'interdit, lorsque l'initiation à la technique magique comprenait l'interdiction de s'en servir pour faire le mal. Il en est de même de l'emploi de certaines techniques, illicites ou immorales par elles-mêmes, encore que leur but soit licite ou même moral : ainsi du *biañ* de fidélité conjugale consistant pour le mari à faire boire son sperme à la femme, de la guérison d'une maladie par transfert à une autre personne (le transfert à un animal ou plante est licite), de certains *mebiañ* de fécondité, etc. Le plus souvent les actes de sorcellerie n'entrant pas dans la catégorie du *ngbwel* (et peut-être aussi du *kôn*) donneront simplement lieu à un procès « civil », ni plus ni moins qu'une affaire de coups et blessures ou un meurtre « naturel ». Le *ngbwel*, au contraire, est toujours crime capital — à condition que le *nnem* ne soit pas trop puissant pour échapper au jugement ou au châtiment.

e) *Magie licite, divination, médecine*

Le premier but de la magie licite est de lutter contre les sorciers, spécialement les *beyem*, mais ce n'est qu'un de ses aspects. En fait, elle s'étend à tous les actes de la vie et tout le monde la pratique plus ou moins, en dehors des spécialistes, *ngengañ* ou *ngañ*, magicien, *meimei'i*, devin, *mbibiañ*, guérisseur, et *ñgia bia*, chantre (1).

La magie apparaît comme une technique d'utilisation de la force, *fyi*, enfermée dans chaque élément de la création, dont chaque individu a plus ou moins la capacité, *ngul*, de se servir. La magie élémentaire est enseignée en famille, la magie supérieure dans les associations, chez les praticiens éprouvés et aussi, de nos jours, par

(1) Il y aurait eu chez les Evindo une sorte de prêtre, *nsumala*, souvent un chef, qui recevait les prémices du maïs, bénissait les semences et présidait au culte des ancêtres. (*J. B.*)

correspondance auprès de charlatans européens. Toutes les initiations comportent un cours de magie, toutes les associations un collège de spécialistes.

La divination, *mvi'i*, et la médecine, *mboan mebiaŋ*, sont à la magie en général ce que sont les spécialités à la médecine générale en Europe. Tout *ngengaŋ* est devin et médecin, mais il peut consulter un confrère qui s'est attaché plus spécialement à l'un de ces points.

Chaque individu apprend dès son enfance à interpréter les présages courants, qui relèvent en majorité de la zoomancie : vol ou chant de certains oiseaux, rencontre de certains animaux dans telle circonstances, etc. L'interprétation des mouvements de la victime d'un sacrifice familial, l'oracle de l'araignée *abóp*, la consultation des ancêtres au moyen de l'herbe stupéfiante *alaŋ (iboga)* réclament déjà d'être initié. Les oracles par l'eau, par le sable ou les graviers, l'organisation des épreuves *minkal* exigent une science beaucoup plus approfondie.

Il en est de même pour la médecine. Tout le monde connaît les *mebiaŋ* courants, mais dans les cas graves, il faut avoir recours au *mbibiaŋ*. Le mot *biaŋ*, généralement traduit par « médicament », « grigri », voire « fétiche », désigne non seulement la drogue, le produit pharmaceutique, mais encore l'ensemble de l'acte magique, y compris l'incantation et la danse qui l'accompagnent dans les cas graves. La pharmacopée et la thérapeutique proprement dites, partiellement étudiées par de Baudre, Weber et Chabeuf au Cameroun, par Gascón en Guinée Espagnole, sont, ou étaient, assez riches. Non seulement les *mbibiaŋ* connaissaient de nombreuses préparations à base surtout végétales, mais encore ils savaient pratiquer quelques opérations chirurgicales — réductions de fractures et de luxations, incision et drainage d'abcès profonds, amputations, exérèse de certaines tumeurs et peut-être trépanation. Mais, évidemment, il se mêlait beaucoup de magie pure à cette médecine pratique et la plupart des *mebiaŋ*, s'ils avaient une action thérapeutique effective, la devaient sans doute à des réactions psychosomatiques, ce qui n'est d'ailleurs pas particulier à la médecine pahouine.

En dehors de la médecine et de la divination et de la lutte contre les sorciers, le rôle essentiel des *mingengaŋ* consistait à influer sur le déroulement de la destinée du groupe ou des individus, sinon à diriger leur destin. Les pouvoirs des grands initiés n'étaient pas sans rappeler certains de ceux des sorciers contre lesquels ils avaient à lutter, de même que certains de leurs procédés. Comme eux, ils étaient capables de télékinésie, de bilocation, etc. : Trilles en donne de nombreux exemples, dont certains qu'il aurait constatés *de visu*. Comme eux, ils pouvaient se transformer en animal, ou utiliser les services d'un animal voué, *elaŋela*. Ils tuaient les gens à distance, notamment par envoûtement sur « témoin » de type classique, ou agissaient directement sur eux par leur pouvoir, *ngul*, en soumettant leur volonté à la leur. Comme les sorciers, toujours, ils pouvaient être victimes de chocs en retour.

Il n'est pas étonnant, dans ces conditions, qu'on ait souvent

confondu magiciens et sorciers, ni que certains magiciens se soient laissés aller à faire mauvais usage de leur science, ni enfin que les associations contemporaines comme le *mbuli (bwili)*, destinées en principe à lutter contre la sorcellerie, lui empruntent ses techniques, même dans ce qu'elles ont de criminel.

A côté des magiciens proprement dits, un personnage qui joue un grand rôle dans tous les rites, y compris les initiations, est le chantre, *ñgia bia*. Chaque rite, chaque cérémonie importante a son accompagnement musical, avec un orchestre particulier dans chaque cas et un chef de cœur qui entonne les incantations et joue un peu le rôle de maître des cérémonies, sans personnellement participer directement au sacrifice ou à l'acte magique. Ce *ñgia bia* a la particularité d'assister aux trois grands rites, *sé*, *ngil* et *ndôngô*, comme à toutes les cérémonies magiques, quelle que soit l'appartenance du magicien : il semble ne pas tomber sous le coup des interdits de participation frappant les *zeze bôl*, gens du commun ou profanes. Il vend et achète ses chants, ou en hérite, n'est pas casté mais semble avoir joui autrefois d'une certaine immunité pendant les guerres, qui ne s'appliquait peut-être qu'aux plus réputés d'entre les *begia bia*. Il existe aussi des *begia bia* féminines jouissant des mêmes prérogatives dans les rites de femmes.

Le matériel magique comprend d'abord les instruments propres à chaque rite, tambours, cornes d'appel, grelots, cloches, harpe *ngôma* du *bwili*, etc., à quoi s'ajoute une très grande variété d'objets divers : chasse-mouches, *akpanaza*, parfois tronqué, cornes d'antilope contenant les *mobiah*, crânes et ossements humains et animaux, marmites et calebasses, lance gravée et décorée du magicien, masques, miroir brisé du *bwili*, *bikpwôlé* (« monnaie de dot » en fer), coquillages, etc. : chaque acte magique, chaque rite a les siens, dont la description complète nécessiterait autant de monographies. Indiquons simplement qu'une partie de ce matériel, affectée en permanence à des usages magiques, est *ôlgi*, interdite aux non-initiés et même parfois aux *mingengeñ* autres que leur propriétaire, que certaines pièces deviennent *bilgi* après avoir été utilisées une fois à cet usage alors que d'autres retombent dans l'usage commun, que d'autres enfin sont détruites après usage.

f) *Interdits*

Les *bilgi*, interdits, occupent une place considérable dans la vie des Pahouins. Mgr Martrou leur a consacré une étude spéciale (n° 159), très documentée mais encore incomplète tant ils sont nombreux et divers.

Le mot *ôlgi* dérive de la racine TYI/KI donnant l'idée de force (*cf. supra*, p. 104), d'autorité, mais aussi de coupure, et par là d'interdiction : *lgik* — couper, tuer, trancher, décider ; *lgili* — rendre tabou ; *lgil* — avoir un interdit (*ôlgi* est la forme nominale-résultante de ce dernier verbe) ; *lgilan* — être tabou.

Une énumération complète des *bilyi* est probablement impossible, mais on peut tenter une classification sommaire, en distinguant :

— les interdits alimentaires et les interdits d'action ;
— parmi les interdits d'action, les interdits protégeant certains animaux, les interdits de mariage et les interdits sexuels généraux ;
— les interdits individuels et les interdits collectifs ;
— les interdits héréditaires et les interdits personnels ;
— les interdits temporaires et les interdits permanents ;
— les interdits masculins, féminins et de classe d'âge ;
— les interdits ordinaires, *zesé bilyi*, les interdits capitaux, *bilyi ewu* (mortels).

L'ensemble constitue une sorte de réseau enveloppant tous les actes, tous les comportements individuels et sociaux. L'action des missions et l'évolution générale en ont fait disparaître certains ou ont atténué les conséquences immédiates des infractions, *minsem*, mais il en reste suffisamment et suffisamment sanctionnés pour que toute la vie courante en soit influencée.

Le *nsem*, rupture d'interdit, a des conséquences variées qui vont de l'indisposition légère à la mort et comportent presque toujours la réprobation sociale. Le *nsem* peut être inconscient, le coupable ignorant que l'acte accompli lui était interdit, soit qu'on ne le lui ait pas appris, soit que l'*ôlyi* lui ait été imposé à son insu par un magicien.

Certains *bilyi* paraissent liés au totémisme ; ce sont les *bilyi mebum*, interdits de protection, qui défendent aux membres de tel clan de tuer tel animal ou de manger de telle plante. D'autres sont sans doute liés à la structure sociale, comme les interdits de sexe ou de classe d'âge dont la rupture porte atteinte à la hiérarchie familiale. D'autres encore peuvent être qualifiés d'hygiéniques : interdits de grossesse, interdits de maladie et de convalescence. Il en est de magiques : interdits personnels sur tel animal apparu en songe après l'initiation familiale, ou imposés à l'entrée dans une association ; interdits lancés par un magicien, souvent par vengeance ; interdits-vœux pour obtenir un résultat déterminé. Binet a vu chez les Beti des femmes s'imposer l'*ôlyi* de certaines nourritures pendant une année, à l'issue de laquelle on organise une fête qui leur vaut de nombreux cadeaux de leurs parents et amis ; ceci paraît récent et serait peut-être une déviation de certaines pratiques catholiques.

Il semble qu'autrefois, à la suite d'une guerre ou d'une alliance, ou de l'existence d'une relation d'amitié, deux clans aient pu s'engager à respecter chacun l'interdit classique de l'autre. D'autre part, les femmes mariées, bien que n'entrant pas dans le clan de leur mari, étaient, dans une certaine mesure, tenues d'en respecter les *bilyi*.

Les *minsem* peuvent être expiés par un rachat, *ngôlô*, selon des rites divers (*ôlya*, *mekon* pour les hommes ; *ôdôlô* pour les femmes), comportant une confession publique et un sacrifice (pour les femmes, le sacrifice est offert par le père ou le mari, la femme subissant des sévices corporels).

Certains *bilgi* personnels peuvent être levés (*kui ètyi* — sortir d'interdit) par une procédure analogue à celle du rachat d'un *nsem*. Ce n'est jamais possible pour les interdits généraux de sexe, d'âge ou de clan.

Les premiers prosélytes chrétiens ont dû faire preuve d'un véritable héroïsme pour renoncer à leurs *bilgi*, ayant à surmonter non seulement leurs craintes personnelles, parfois au prix de véritables crises psycho-physiologiques, mais encore la réprobation sociale unanime et souvent la vengeance de leur famille qui attribuait à leurs *mimsem* tous les malheurs qui pouvaient la frapper. On peut dire que seule cette première génération de chrétiens est parvenue à abandonner à peu près complètement les *bilgi*. Les générations suivantes, beaucoup plus nombreuses, ont continué à en observer une quantité, tous ceux en tout cas qui ne gênaient pas ouvertement la pratique du culte. On voit même depuis quelques années les interdits exogamiques reprendre une sévérité qui va à l'encontre des conceptions canoniques du mariage (cf. *supra*, p. 56).

g) *Évolution actuelle de la sorcellerie et de la magie*

Même dans les zones les plus anciennement christianisées, les Paholuins contemporains continuent à croire à la magie et à la sorcellerie, ce qui n'est d'ailleurs pas contraire aux enseignements des Écritures. Les *mbibiat* concurrencent les *bedikèlè* européens ou africains, les *mingengut* les exorcistes, les *mòmòl'i* les gendarmes... Les *begem* tuent encore parfois pour nourrir leur âme et j'ai connu un praticien du *bòn* qui tenta d'utiliser son art pour briguer un mandat électoral.

Mais magie et sorcellerie ont évolué depuis l'arrivée des Européens dans le sens d'un syncrétisme parfois baroque. Les schismes ecclésiastiques n'entraînent pas un retour intégral aux anciennes pratiques mais une sorte de greffe de ce qui en subsiste sur un support d'inspiration chrétienne, à quoi s'ajoute souvent un ésotérisme à bon marché emprunté aux mages et fakirs de la métropole. Les talismans, parfums d'amour et bijoux magiques arrivent par quintaux à chaque courrier de France. Les initiations disparues ressuscitent sous l'apparence de parodies de la messe ou de l'ordination, ou encore de brimades souvent obscènes. Ce qu'il y avait de plus valable dans la pharmacopée locale est de plus en plus oublié au bénéfice des spécialités modernes utilisées à tort et à travers, l'aspect magique survivant seul, vidé de sa signification ancienne et par là de son caractère fonctionnel.

Certes, le christianisme a « pris » sur le pays, comme a « pris » la médecine européenne. La question est de savoir jusqu'à quelle profondeur. Il est certain, en tout cas, que les pratiques anciennes, pour bouleversées qu'elles aient été, n'en subsistent pas moins, sous des formes nouvelles, floues et changeantes et qui sont encore loin d'atteindre à la stabilité. Il en résulte un constant malaise, une crise d'adaptation dont l'issue est imprévisible.

En écartant toute prise de position religieuse ou idéologique, il

semble cependant qu'on puisse dire dès maintenant qu'une des révolutions les plus importantes apportées par les missions a été de faire participer les femmes au même culte que les hommes.

4) Arts et littérature

La principale forme d'art plastique était autrefois la sculpture, sur bois ou sur stéatite. Outre les masques des associations, du *ngil* notamment, on sculptait des statues d'ancêtres en pied ou en simple masque, et des statues destinées aux cérémonies rituelles. Les tambours, les sièges, les arbalètes, parfois les coffres d'importation étaient décorés en demi-relief. Les traits du masque étaient peu accusés, les attitudes des statues assez figées, alors que les sujets en demi-relief, animaux en particulier, étaient souvent très vivants.

Les sculpteurs étaient des initiés des différents rites ; avec le recul de ceux-ci la sculpture traditionnelle a très largement disparu, remplacée, grâce à l'œuvre des écoles et des missions, par des travaux sur bois ou ivoire en style Barbès ou Saint-Sulpice. Une intéressante tentative faite à l'école professionnelle d'Ébolowa, de 1946 à 1950, par le directeur Lecoq, n'a guère eu de suite. On constate cependant quelques signes laissant espérer, à côté de la sculpture commerciale pour touristes, extrêmement florissante, la naissance d'un art chrétien qui sera peut-être original.

Cette constatation vaut pour la peinture : certaines fresques décorant des chapelles catholiques, en pays éwôndô spécialement, paraissent être des manifestations d'un art nouveau. La peinture est d'ailleurs actuellement l'art populaire par excellence, sous forme de fresques à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur des cases. Outre les sujets religieux, on voit fréquemment des peintures animalières, des scènes familières, des portraits de célébrités locales ou mondiales. Un Boulou de Sangmélima, David Monewoso, a fixé les traits des héros du roman *Nnanga kôn* dans de multiples fresques en pays bulu. Tout ceci constitue une nouveauté, car l'art traditionnel usait peu de la peinture sous cette forme : les cases étaient décorées plutôt de figures géométriques à sens ésotérique, n'utilisant guère que les trois couleurs traditionnelles, rouge, noir et blanc. Le dessin se manifestait surtout par des gravures, au burin ou au fer rouge, sur les objets en bois, parfois par des dessins au fusain sur les murs ou rochers.

La littérature a été uniquement orale jusqu'à la colonisation. Il n'est cependant pas exact de dire que les Pahouins ignoraient absolument l'écriture. Outre les quipos (*biat nzephe* — ? —, d'après Largeau) et les *mekuta ekôt*, faisceaux de petits bâtons entaillés, permettant de correspondre suivant un code, ils possédaient une sorte de pictographie, *ndilon*, avec plusieurs dizaines, sinon plusieurs centaines, de signes, *mindem*. Ceux-ci nous sont connus (mal) par les jetons du jeu d'*ekôn*, sorte de tarot, servant aussi bien à jouer qu'à prédire l'avenir, dont les lames sont faites avec les graines, ou plutôt les coques des amandes d'une mimosée commune en forêt (*Intrapiours*

thonningii, d'après Trilles). Ces signes avaient une signification apparente, connue de tous, et une signification ésotérique, réservée aux initiés. Ils permettaient, sinon de transcrire intégralement les traditions, du moins de dessiner des espèces d'aide-mémoire à l'usage des *beyia bia*. Ils permettaient également à des éclaireurs de laisser des messages au gros qui les suivait. Chaque clan, chaque famille avait son *ndem* particulier, parfois décrit dans son indicatif tambourinné, *ndan*, qui constituait ainsi la devise d'une sorte de blason.

La littérature ancienne comprenait les histoires ou contes, *minlaß*, les chants, *bia*, et les chroniques, *minkußele*.

Les contes (dont le principal recueil est dû à Trilles, n° 165) prenaient souvent la forme de fabliaux dont le héros n'était autre qu'*Ol'Br'er Terrapin*, *Kulu* (forme emphatique ou personnalisée de *kul*), la tortue de terre *(cinguis erosa)*, entourée de *Beme*, le cochon sauvage, bête et glouton, *Ze*, la panthère, méchante et sournoise, son ennemie principale, *Ze'o*, l'éléphant, roi des animaux, *Abép*, l'araignée, rusée et serviable, et la plupart des autres animaux de la forêt (sauf, semble-t-il, les serpents, qu'on n'aime jamais nommer). *Kulu* finit toujours par se tirer, grâce à son astuce, des mauvais pas où l'ont mis son esprit caustique ou la vieille inimitié qui l'oppose à *Ze*. On racontait aussi des histoires de magiciens, ou des contes sur les misères conjugales d'ancêtres supposés. Tous les contes de ce genre étaient dans le domaine public et récités par qui s'en sentait capable. Il en allait de même des devinettes et énigmes qu'échangeaient les jeunes gens en manière de flirt.

Les chants, au contraire, étaient affaire de spécialistes, même en dehors des chants rituels ou magiques. Certains accompagnaient les danses ; ils constituaient l'expression musicale la plus complète, les paroles devant, par leur ton, suivre la musique tout en ayant un rapport avec les figures de la danse ; on trouve encore des *beyia bia* capables de diriger ainsi une danse en improvisant, mais ils sont rares et se font payer très cher. Subsistent également les joueurs de *mesé*, harpe-guitare, dont le répertoire comprend, outre de vieilles légendes chantées, des à-propos modernes, souvent satiriques, parfois sur des airs européens adaptés à l'instrument. Le chant choral, enfin, est tout à fait à la mode, sur des airs d'importation, souvent considérablement améliorés par l'interprétation locale, qui use largement de la fugue et du contrepoint. Malheureusement, ces airs modernes ne sont pas appropriés à la tonétique de la langue qu'ils tendent à détériorer lorsqu'on leur adapte des paroles.

Les chroniques, *minkußele*, dont les salutations, *mebulan*, étaient en quelque sorte les digestes, faisaient partie de l'éducation traditionnelle et n'étaient récitées que dans des circonstances solennelles ; elles tendent à tomber dans l'oubli, en raison de l'effort de mémoire considérable qu'elles exigeaient et du temps qu'il fallait consacrer à les apprendre par cœur, sans parler du fait qu'elles contenaient des passages incompréhensibles, peut-être empruntés aux tribus qui voisinaient avec les Pahouins avant leur grande migration.

Les systèmes de transcription introduits par les missionnaires ont servi d'abord à des traductions des Écritures et à la composition de cantiques, qui n'ont pas toujours amélioré la langue, mais n'en sont pas moins devenues classiques, en dépit des erreurs ou des impropriétés qu'elles contiennent souvent. Après ces œuvres, rédigées par des Européens en langue du pays, on en a vu rapidement apparaître rédigées, elles, par des Pahouins écrivant leur propre langue. La plus remarquable est sans doute le *Nnangu kôn* du Boulou Jemba Medu, qui dépeint la vie des Boulou au moment de l'arrivée des premiers Blancs (*nnangu kôn* = albinos fantôme) ; c'est, à ma connaissance, le seul roman rédigé dans une des langues du groupe ; sa popularité est extrême, au point que ses personnages sont entrés dans le folklore bulu contemporain.

Il existe une presse missionnaire au Gabon et au Cameroun ; les plus forts tirages sont ceux du *Nlob Bekristen (Guide des Chrétiens)* (évondô, catholique) et de *Mefoé (Les nouvelles)* (bulu, protestant), ce dernier étant lu jusqu'au Gabon. La presse laïque en langue française est sans grand intérêt, ses titres étant d'ailleurs généralement éphémères.

L'apparition d'une littérature pahouine de langue française est un phénomène récent, et remarqué. MM. Oyono et Eza Boto-Mongo Beti sont tous deux Camerounais, ni le Gabon, ni la Guinée Espagnole n'ayant fourni de romancier jusqu'à présent.

La danse s'est considérablement appauvrie en perdant son ancien caractère rituel. Jadis, à chaque cérémonie, à chaque rite, à chaque circonstance de la vie correspondait une danse particulière, dans laquelle la composition de l'orchestre comme les mouvements des danseurs et leur costume avaient une signification symbolique très précise. Beaucoup de ces danses ont disparu, soit qu'elles aient perdu leur raison d'être (danses de guerre, d'initiation, ...), soit qu'elles aient été interdites par l'administration et surtout par les missions comme chrétiennes ou païennes (danses de fécondité, de funérailles, médicales, ...). Celles qui subsistent ont maintenant un caractère récréatif ou purement artistique, qui n'était que très secondaire autrefois. Il est significatif que le nombre des danses mixtes ait considérablement augmenté et que presque toutes soient publiques, les spectateurs pouvant être de tous âges et de tous sexes.

En dépit de cet appauvrissement, les danses restent nombreuses et assez variées. Parmi les plus répandues, on peut citer :

— *ésila* : ancienne danse de fécondité, surtout faû et ntum ; orchestre de tambours verticaux, *mbol* et *ngom*, accompagnement « parlé » au tambour-téléphone, *ekul* ; dansée par des professionnelles (initiées *mevungu* ?), torse nu, grelots végétaux aux chevilles, jupe de peaux de chat sauvage non cousues, masque de bois attaché au bras gauche ; la première danseuse, deux *ngom*, s'enfonce une corne dans le vagin au cours de la danse ; il semble que les danseuses se dopent avec une décoction conte-

nant notamment du chanvre indien ; cette danse est interdite par les missions, ce qui a provoqué plusieurs incidents ;

— *mangat*, ainsi appelée parce qu'elle est accompagnée par un orchestre de balafons, très répandue partout, seul, peut-être, chez les Boulou ; danse des jeunes filles et fillettes d'un village ; chaque village a son air particulier et son costume spécial pour le corps de ballet : ceinture en fibre de raphia, jupe et bonnet, style pâtissier, aux couleurs du village, soutien-gorge dans les villages chrétiens ;

— *dogengé*, parfois appelée *njoman fulufilu*, danse protestante (elle aurait été inspirée, en partant de la gymnastique rythmique suédoise, par un missionnaire germano-américain de la M.P.A., désireux de remplacer les danses « immorales » ; *si non è vero...*), surtout bulu, mais tend à se répandre dans le Nord-Gabon, sous l'égide du Mouvement de Regroupement Pahouin ; danse de jeunes femmes et jeunes filles, avec maître de ballet masculin, *nlebe njoman*, qui dirige au sifflet ; orchestre de tambours, *nkul*, *mbut* et *ngom*, hochets et flûtes ; chœur chanté par les danseuses ; robes blanches, mouchoir de tête uniforme, ceinture en foulard ; thèmes musicaux de village, d'association et de clan ; dansée dans les réjouissances, *mebik*, *mesuk*, civiles ou religieuses, les *bisulan* (réunions d'*ngut*,) etc. Paroles parfois satiriques ;

— *ngut* : danse d'hommes ou de femmes (plus rarement), ressemble à la précédente, qui s'est peut-être inspirée d'elle, mais plus gaillarde : paroles souvent obscènes, gestes scatologiques (dans l'*ngut* des hommes) ; origine probablement rituelle ; c'est une des rares danses masculines subsistant de nos jours ;

— *akôma mbo* : dansée par une ou deux jeunes femmes ; chœur de femmes et grand tambour vertical, *mbut* ; jupe en fibre de raphia, torse nu ; ancienne danse rituelle (mariages ?) ; mal vue des missions, devient rare ;

— *ezilo* : danse mixte moderne, assez érotique ; pas de costume ; instruments à percussion et hochets ; chœur mixte ; interdite par les missions.

Dans les villes les danses européennes, ou américaines, se répandent sous le nom générique de « tango », encore que le rythme, du moins lorsqu'elles ne sont pas accompagnées au phonographe, soit plutôt, en général, celui d'une biguine, souvent fugué.

Le théâtre, jadis inconnu, commence à faire son apparition, en partie sous l'influence des mouvements de jeunesse importés. On voit souvent jouer dans les *bisulan* des sayynètes en forme de moralités, ou des sketches satiriques s'apparentant à nos revues de chansonniers, où l'on ne se prive pas de brocarder les autorités.

[p. 128]

CHAPITRE VII

L'ÉVOLUTION

1) Organes de gouvernement local

L'émiettement caractéristique des clans pahouins rend difficile la mise sur pied d'une organisation cohérente. Le heurt entre le système du droit personnel et celui du droit territorial est net : dans la mesure où il accepte une autorité supérieure à celle du chef de famille, le Pahouin dépend du chef de son *ayuè*, qui réside parfois à plusieurs centaines de kilomètres. Ce pouvoir était de caractère sacré et basé sur les lois du sang. Aux côtés de lui, dès avant l'arrivée des Européens, d'autres influences agissaient et tendaient à grouper les hommes non plus en raison de leur parenté mais en raison de relations de vicinité. Chez les Fang du Cameroun par exemple, dès 1880, un chef avait réuni sous ses ordres des familles appartenant à divers clans, et les avait entraînées dans des expéditions contre des villages maka. Parmi les vaincus, il se réservait de jeunes enfants, les élevait, les établissait, se créant ainsi, en dehors de sa famille par le sang, en dehors de sa tribu même, un groupe d'hommes dévoués à sa personne.

Au pouvoir clanique, il superposait donc une autorité qui prenait un caractère interclanique et même intertribal. Parmi les peuples beti de la région de Yaoundé, un système voisin fut employé. Les clans avaient plus de cohérence que chez les Fang ou les Boulou. Mais, le chef, outre son propre *meng*, commandait des familles conquises, *beloa* ou *beloa bilen*, qu'il allotissait de terres à la limite de sa mouvance.

Le passage du commandement basé sur la loi du sang au commandement territorial est déjà perceptible.

En face de l'anarchie pahouine qui annihilait tous leurs efforts d'organisation, les Européens essayèrent inconsciemment de renforcer la tendance vers un commandement territorial.

Depuis l'époque des grandes invasions, en effet, le *jus soli* s'est avéré être un principe d'ordre, alors que le *jus sanguinis* entraîne mille difficultés d'application et ne permet guère de gouverner.

Mais par un paradoxe singulier, la présence des Européens favorisait des principes juridiques opposés à ce qu'ils auraient pu souhaiter. Les guerres tribales amenaient un regroupement autour du guerrier victorieux et lui permettaient de se tailler une seigneurie. Les migrations désordonnées des Pahouins distendaient les liens claniques : quelles relations familiales peuvent survivre à un éloignement durable,

surtout lorsque les voyages sont rares et dangereux ? Ces facteurs auraient amené la création d'entités territoriales. Au contraire, la paix, qui permettait la reprise des relations, l'amélioration de la circulation, la liberté individuelle, favorisait un retour au droit du sang, et l'individu, jeune homme ou chef de famille, se sentait profondément membre d'une communauté, éparse sur plusieurs milliers de kilomètres carrés, alors qu'il ne se sentait pas profondément lié à son voisin, d'un autre *ayoñ*.

L'administration coloniale allemande, pour résoudre ce problème difficile, avait découpé le pays en très grandes chefferies, solution possible si le pays n'avait pas été un puzzle ethnique en même temps qu'un puzzle clanique. Si le terroir des grandes tribus (Boulou, Bané, Ewôndô, etc.) avait été à peu près homogène, il eût été concevable de confier chaque région à un chef, au-dessus du morcellement clanique. Mais l'enchevêtrement des ethnies et leur extrême dispersion rendaient toute solution précaire. L'autorité n'était pas toujours acceptée sans difficulté et, parmi des populations de tendance anarchique, une aristocratie suffisamment maîtresse d'elle-même pour s'imposer de ne pas commettre d'abus n'est pas facile à recruter. Le système des grands apanages n'eut pas le temps de s'enraciner profondément dans le pays. Les chefs de cantons et chefs de villages gouvernent également des territoires plus limités mais bien précisés. Représentants du principe du *jus soli*, leur influence est combattue par les mouvements claniques, qui incarnent le *jus sanguinis*.

Au Gabon, les leaders pahouins avaient songé à mélanger les deux courants. Partant de la constatation que les villages étaient trop petits, ils préconisaient un regroupement qui eût à la fois permis des chefferies plus fortes et un début de rassemblement des clans.

Il ne semble pas que le regroupement des *meyoñ* ait été envisagé dans son ensemble et que l'on ait songé à l'attribution d'un terroir à chaque clan, ce qui aurait réglé, au moins provisoirement, le conflit entre le droit réel et le droit personnel. Une solution fragmentaire était seule envisagée : la constitution de villages importants et claniquement homogènes (1). En fait, et malgré les mille difficultés d'un transfert de population, le regroupement pouvait permettre de donner à la chefferie un prestige nouveau, en confirmant son caractère de pouvoir territorial d'une part et en la liant de l'autre aux traditions des *meyoñ*. Dans l'état actuel en effet, les cantons et les villages mêmes renferment des représentants de tous les clans. Qui donc pourrait, si l'on s'attachait à suivre les règles purement traditionnelles, exercer une autorité sur une population aussi bigarrée ? Divers systèmes sont employés pour choisir les chefs. Ici, on s'attache à investir l'héritier légitime de la lignée du fondateur du village. Ailleurs, on cherche un représentant de l'*ayoñ* le plus nombreux. Assez fréquemment, au Cameroun en particulier, on estime que la désignation du chef par

(1) J. Aubame, *Renaissance gabonaise*, Brazzaville, 1947 (n° 171) ; Balandier et Pauvert (n° 177).

élections permet à la population de manifester son opinion, quelles que soient les motivations de son choix. Le mouvement de regroupement des villages pouvait-il permettre la création d'une structure nouvelle, mieux adaptée ? Une flambée d'enthousiasme a soulevé la population fang, persuadée que le système nouveau permettrait de résoudre tous les problèmes comme une formule magique, sans sacrifice ni des formules traditionnelles, ni de l'anarchie individuelle.

Au Cameroun, quelques années auparavant, le mouvement de regroupement des *mayuñ* avait paru également susceptible de régler toutes les difficultés. Davantage lié aux institutions traditionnelles, le mouvement d'organisation des *mayuñ* se proposait simplement de réglementer la vie intellectuelle et morale des groupes, en codifiant les coutumes, en notant des traditions, et en créant par des réunions périodiques, des danses et des chants, une conscience collective, une âme commune du clan. Contrairement au mouvement gabonais, le mouvement des *bisulan* ne rentra guère dans le domaine du concret, de l'économique.

Il est intéressant de souligner que ce mouvement ne mettait pas en cause la répartition administrative en régions et subdivisions. Les *bisulan*, en effet, ne semblent pas avoir élevé de critique contre ce découpage et le public du Dja-et-Lobo manifesta même vivement son désir de voir Bangmélima érigée en région et séparée administrativement de la région du Ntem.

En effet, si l'organisation locale, aux échelons les plus élémentaires, n'a pas trouvé son assiette, il semble qu'à un niveau plus élevé elle soit bien incorporée au pays. Lors de leur arrivée en pays pahouin, les puissances européennes, la France, l'Allemagne, l'Espagne ont installé un réseau de postes où résidaient les représentants de l'autorité. Dans ce pays, qui manquait de noyaux de cristallisation, le chef-lieu de subdivision est devenu une ville avec ses multiples fonctions, administrative, judiciaire, culturelle (missions, écoles), économique (gare routière, commerce). Une étude sur les voyages de la population rurale dans le Sud-Cameroun montre bien que ces villes ne sont plus des centres artificiels, mais constituent véritablement des points d'attraction. C'est vers le chef-lieu de leur subdivision que se dirigent 37 % des voyageurs. Les motivations indiquées sont extrêmement variées : les voyageurs se rendent à la subdivision pour des raisons professionnelles (1,3 % de cas), pour s'y faire soigner (2 %), pour y régler des affaires matrimoniales (9,5 %), pour y visiter leur famille (10,5 %), pour leur simple agrément (23 %), pour y régler des affaires avec les services publics (état civil, justice, bureaux divers, 45 % des cas). L'importance des contacts avec l'administration n'a pas besoin d'être soulignée. Aussi a-t-on pensé, au Cameroun, qu'il était nécessaire de déconcentrer encore l'appareil administratif, de le mettre plus à la portée de la population : des créations de nouvelles subdivisions dans la région de Yaoundé, des créations de postes administratifs en pays bulu ont marqué cette orientation. Tout se passe comme si les Pahouins, ressentant confusément les insuffi-

6: Alexandre and Binet FH9 Fang

sances de leur organisation traditionnelle, cherchaient à les remplacer par ces institutions nouvelles et étrangères.

Afin d'éviter que la population ne remette totalement son sort aux mains de l'organisation européenne, et ne refuse ensuite tout effort personnel pour l'amélioration de ses conditions de vie, l'administration française s'est efforcée, en même temps qu'elle déconcentrait l'autorité, de la décentraliser. S'il était utile de multiplier les agents du pouvoir central au contact avec la population, il était plus nécessaire encore de donner à la population ou à ses représentants l'occasion de gérer des services et d'organiser la vie collective.

La justice civile fut ainsi largement décentralisée. A côté des tribunaux de 1er et 2e degré, où les chefs de subdivision, de région jugeaient selon la coutume, entourés d'assesseurs africains, de nombreux tribunaux « coutumiers » furent créés où aucun des juges n'était fonctionnaire. Dans la plupart des cas, les chefs furent ainsi nommés présidents de tribunaux coutumiers et se firent assister de notables et de secrétaires. Le nombre des affaires traitées permet de penser que la réforme a été utile. Si la nature des litiges n'a aucun intérêt quant à l'organisation du gouvernement local, elle mérite pourtant d'être indiquée par les lumières qu'elle apporte sur les points de friction existant entre les individus.

Au Cameroun, la répartition est la suivante : diverses, 38 % ; libération de veuves, 6 % ; adultère, 9 % ; droit immobilier, 17 %. Tels sont les principaux litiges : les institutions matrimoniales probablement mal adaptées forment le contingent essentiel.

La création de conseils municipaux urbains et ruraux permit ensuite une décentralisation financière. Des villes, sous le nom de communes urbaines, des cantons et parfois des subdivisions entières sous le nom de communes rurales reçurent la personnalité juridique, eurent un domaine à gérer, un budget à établir. Des conseillers élus, sous la présidence d'un maire nommé, durent étudier des plans de travaux routiers, établir des programmes de construction ou d'entretien, discuter de taxes ou d'impôts et veiller au bon équilibre financier.

Dans les villes, la chose n'était pas neuve, mais son extension à de vastes zones rurales était une expérience. Les pays bulu ou béti, où aucune structure traditionnelle solide ne risquait de se trouver offensée par ces méthodes nouvelles, étaient le lieu idéal pour expérimenter une organisation nouvelle.

A travers les élections organisées pour pourvoir ces postes de conseillers, on voit se dégager les traits les plus saillants de la nouvelle élite, les caractéristiques de l'aristocratie ou de l'oligarchie qui se fera porter au pouvoir.

Des esprits chagrins avaient manifesté la crainte que de telles élections, faites à un suffrage quasi universel, ne bouleversent les valeurs sociales classiques et n'entament le prestige des élites actuellement dirigeantes.

C'était oublier que dans ce pays pratiquement sans hiérarchie, nul ne peut conserver une autorité si l'opinion publique ne le soutient.

6: Alexandre and Binet FH9 Fang

Dans une société féodale, l'octroi du bulletin de vote à des vassaux peut ébranler le pouvoir des seigneurs. Il en est autrement ici, où les chefs de village ou de canton sont désignés le plus souvent par élection.

Les hommes d'âge ont conservé en face des jeunes gens une position privilégiée. La comparaison de la pyramide d'âge des conseillers avec celle de l'ensemble de la population mâle adulte le montre facilement.

RÉPARTITION PAR AGE

Classe d'âge	Conseillers municipaux élus	Ensemble de la population mâle adulte (1) (Nyong-et-Sanaga)
	%	%
20 à 30 ans	9	16
30 à 40 —	23	39
40 à 50 —	37	28
Plus de 50 —	30	15

Les jeunes gens sont faiblement représentés. Les hommes mûrs de 30 à 40 ans ont une représentation proportionnée à leur importance dans la population totale. Au contraire, les hommes de 40 à 50 ans ou de groupes plus âgés sont fortement représentés : l'influence électorale n'a donc pas été confisquée par les jeunes.

Il ne semble pas non plus que les pauvres, plus nombreux que les riches, les aient éliminés à la faveur du scrutin. En se basant sur la possession de certaines richesses, on peut affirmer que les conseillers municipaux sont beaucoup plus riches que le commun.

Les chiffres présentés ci-dessous pour l'ensemble de la population n'ont pas une valeur absolue. Mais, extraits d'un recensement complet et récent, ils peuvent être considérés comme de bonnes approximations.

RÉPARTITION DES SIGNES EXTÉRIEURS DE RICHESSE
(pour 100 individus)

	Maisons en maçonnerie	Bicyclettes	Automobiles
	%	%	%
Conseillers municipaux	27	50	11
Population mâle adulte de la ville d'Ebolowa	1,4	21	0,3

Ce n'est pas en vain que les Pahouins emploient le mot *nkukuma* (riche) pour désigner le chef. Les leaders choisis sont des riches.

(1) Evalués d'après les recensements établis par les subdivisions — documents qui ne sont pas parfaits mais qui donnent néanmoins des indications.

L'étude de la situation matrimoniale permet de préciser encore la personnalité des élus : les polygames sont beaucoup plus nombreux parmi eux que dans l'ensemble de la population.

RÉPARTITION PAR STATUT MATRIMONIAL

	Conseillers municipaux	Échantillon de la population totale de la zone Bondoro et Beti (1)
	%	%
Polygames	43	23
Monogames	43	63
Célibataires	3	14

Les conseillers sont souvent polygames, ce qui s'explique compte tenu de leur âge relativement élevé et de leur fortune.

Vieux détenteurs des richesses, polygames, les élus incarnent-ils toutes les façons traditionnelles, en opposition avec la jeunesse évoluée ? L'examen des professions, du niveau d'instruction, de la religion montre que la réalité est plus complexe.

RÉPARTITION PAR PROFESSION

	Conseillers municipaux	Population mâle adulte de la région du Nyong-et-Dondge (2)
	%	%
Chefs	30	1,8
Planteurs	30	85
Fonctionnaires	14	0,5
Employés de commerce	3	1
Commerçants	10	7
Artisans	5	7
Catéchistes, moniteurs des Missions	9	2,5

Si l'on établit un indice de la puissance électorale tenant compte du pourcentage dans les conseils et du pourcentage dans la population totale, on constate que les fonctionnaires viennent en tête de fort loin (70). Les chefs viennent ensuite (17), puis les employés de commerce (3) et les commerçants (1,4). La répartition par degré d'instruction confirme cette influence des intellectuels que l'on pouvait pressentir à travers le classement professionnel.

(1) Échantillon pris au hasard pour l'étude des budgets familiaux, 1954, op. cit.
(2) Selon rapport administratif annuel. Il s'agit d'approximations, Yaoundé-Ville est exclue.

RÉPARTITION PAR DEGRÉ D'INSTRUCTION

	Conseillers municipaux	Population mâle adulte du Nyong-et-Sanaga
	%	%
Illettrés	10	75
Lettrés en langue locale	9	?
Lettrés en français	60	17
Titulaires du C.E.P.	10	8 (1)
Titulaires de diplômes supérieurs	2,4	0,3
Fiches inutilisables	8	

L'énorme influence des titulaires des diplômes supérieurs est évidente, et les illettrés sont pratiquement éliminés, bien qu'ils restent nombreux.

Ainsi cette élite nouvelle, qui se dégage des élections municipales, paraît constituée d'hommes à la fois traditionalistes et modernes. Les hommes qui la composent, hommes âgés, riches, tenants de l'ancienne polygamie, ont reçu une formation scolaire. Il ne faut pas s'y tromper, en effet, dans ce pays il n'y a pas entre fonctionnaires et chefs un véritable fossé.

Ainsi les conseils municipaux peuvent permettre à une élite de se dégager et de prendre des responsabilités.

2) Le Pahouin et l'avenir

Modelés par leur histoire, les Pahouins lui doivent leurs qualités et leurs défauts.

D'avoir été conquérants, ou plus précisément d'avoir pu s'installer sur des terres nouvelles, ils ont gardé un certain orgueil, une certaine confiance en eux-mêmes. Sans être brutalement xénophobes, ils gardent devant les étrangers une attitude amicale mais un tantinet méprisante, tant ils ont l'impression d'être supérieurs.

Ils ont eu la chance d'être évangélisés et scolarisés très tôt, du moins au Cameroun. Intelligents (les tests faits au Cameroun sur la population scolaire montrent que les Boulou viennent en tête, avec les Bamoun), ils ont fourni à l'administration et au commerce une fraction importante de ses cadres et, lorsqu'ils émigrent, ils ne fournissent pas une main-d'œuvre non spécialisée mais du personnel qualifié, souvent des employés. C'est dire leur influence.

Enfin, grâce au cacao, ils ont acquis une certaine richesse et vivent dans un certain confort. C'est dire leur rôle essentiel dans la vie économique. C'est dire aussi leur influence sur les finances locales. Au Cameroun comme au Gabon, le pays pahouin est une région riche dont les exportations et les importations alimentent une fraction impor-

(1) La statistique régionale indique « primaire complet » et non pas « C.E.P.». La nuance peut être grande. Une étude de la population urbaine d'Ebolowa donne un taux inférieur : 6,4 % de certifiés.

6: Alexandre and Binet FH9 Fang

tante des budgets. Les Pahouins jouent donc un rôle essentiel dans la vie des territoires et peuvent obtenir pour leur pays un équipement privilégié. Routes, écoles, dispensaires sont déjà nombreux.

Mais leur défaut traditionnel d'organisation les gêne dans certains métiers. Ils méprisent le commerce et y réussissent médiocrement parce que leur anarchie naturelle ne les prédispose pas à saisir l'intérêt de l'association, de l'organisation du marché. L'absence de noyaux urbains est plus gênante encore, la ville est une nouveauté où les immigrés sont nombreux et ont pu se créer des situations solides puisque rien n'existait avant eux.

Il est vrai que leur défaut de structure ancienne les laisse libres d'adopter sans gêne et sans remords les structures modernes. Pour eux, la démocratie n'est pas comme pour une société féodale, un germe de révolution. Elle va dans leur sens. On peut donc espérer que ce système pourra permettre chez eux la naissance de nouvelles élites.

J. B.

[p. 136 is blank]

BIBLIOGRAPHIE ANALYTIQUE SOMMAIRE

Outre les ouvrages signalés ci-dessous, se reporter, entre autres, aux périodiques suivants :

Africa.
African Abstracts.
Anthropos.
Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos (A.I.E.A.).
Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N., série « Populations » *(B.I.F.A.N.P.).*
Bulletin de la Société d'Études camerounaises, actuellement section Cameroun de l'I.F.A.N. *(B.S.E.C.).*
Bulletin de la Société de Recherches congolaises (B.S.R.C.).
Bulletin de l'Institut d'Études centrafricaines (B.I.E.C.).
Journal de la Société des Africanistes (J.S.A.).
Journal de la Société des Missions évangéliques de Paris.

Et à la presse locale, entre autres :

Radio-Presse du Cameroun : a publié des contes et, en 1949-50, une tribune libre sur les questions matrimoniales.
Cameroun catholique (Le).
Guinea española (La).
Journal des villages de Nyong-et-Sanaga.
Journaux officiels du Cameroun, du Gabon et de l'A.E.F., *Notices officielles*, espagnoles.
Mefoé.
Niob Bekristen.

Pour le Cameroun, les *Rapports annuels* à la S.D.N. puis à l'O.N.U., contiennent de nombreux renseignements, en particulier sur l'évolution sociale, politique et économique ; voir aussi les publications de l'O.M.S.

Beaucoup des ouvrages cités contiennent des bibliographies, partiellement reprises ci-après : voir notamment Trilles (n° 166), Dugast (n° 133), Balandier (n° 175), Baumann et Westermann (n° 5), Leroi-Gourhan et Poirier (n° 25), *Encyclopédie de l'Union française* (n°s 37 et 38).

Les archives administratives, tant dans les postes que dans les bureaux politiques des chefs-lieux, constituent une source très riche, partiellement exploitée au Gabon par Balandier, au Cameroun par Binet, Mme Dugast et la sœur Marie-André du Sacré-Cœur. En outre, J.-P. Nicolas a pu microfilmer pour l'I.F.A.N. certains documents conservés à Yaoundé.

I. — Bibliographie

1. *Bibliographie ethnographique du Congo belge et des régions avoisinantes*, Musée royal du Congo belge, Tervueren, Belgique (dernier volume, 1953, paru en 1956).
2. Bruel (G.), *Bibliographie de l'A.E.F.*, Paris, Larose, 1915, 326 p.
3. Sanner (P.), *Bibliographie ethnographique de l'A.E.F.*, Paris, 1949.

[p. 137]

6: Alexandre and Binet FH9 Fang

II. — Géographie, explorations ouvrages généraux sur l'Afrique

4. Baguena Corella (L.), *Manuales del Africa española* : I. *Guinea*, Madrid, C.S.I.C., 1950, 176 p., ill., cartes.
5. Baumann (H.) et Westermann (D.), *Les peuples et civilisations de l'Afrique*, Paris, Payot, 1948, 605 p., ill.

Pour Baumann, les « Fan » sont un peuple d'origine soudanaise, venu de la Haute Sangha et fondu avec les habitants Bantu de la région envahie. Linguistiquement bantu. Culturellement rangés dans cercle « Congolais du Nord ».

6. Bonifacce (G.), *Géographie du Cameroun*, Yaoundé, Imprimerie du Gouvernement, s. d., 80 p.
7. Bouchaud (J.), *Histoire et géographie du Cameroun sous mandat français*, Douala, Mission catholique, 1944.
8. Briault (M.), *Dans la forêt du Gabon, études et scènes africaines*, Paris, B. Grasset, 1920.
9. Briault (M.), *Sous le zéro équatorial*, Paris, Bloud & Gay, 1928, 247 p.
10. Brunel (G.), *La France équatoriale africaine*, Paris, Larose, 1935, 545 p., ill.
11. Chavannes (Charles), *Les origines de l'A.E.F. Avec Brazza, souvenirs de la mission de l'Ouest africain (mars 1883-janvier 1886)*, Paris, Plon, 1936, 380 p., ill., cartes.
12. Chazelas (V.), *Les territoires africains sous mandat de la France*, Paris, Société d'Éditions géographiques, maritimes et coloniales, 1921, 240 p.
13. Compiègne (marquis de), *L'Afrique équatoriale* : I. *Gabonais, Pahouins, Galloia* ; II. *Okanda, Bangouens, Ogyéba*, Paris, Plon, 1875, 2 vol. de 360 p., ill.

M. de Compiègne ironise sur « Duchaillu » dont la particule lui fait soupçonner la sincérité. Il a tort.

14. Curnau (Ad.), *Les sociétés primitives de l'Afrique équatoriale*, Paris, A. Colin, 1912, 420 p., ill.
15. Delafosse (M.), *Les civilisations négro-africaines*, Paris, Stock, 1925, 142 p.
16. Delafosse (M.), *Les noirs de l'Afrique*, Paris, Payot & Cie, 1922, 180 p.
17. Du Chaillu (P.), *Explorations and adventures in equatorial Africa*, Londres, J. Murray, 1861.

A côté d'exagérations, parfois proches de la galéjade, contient des observations très précises et très précieuses sur l'invasion fang.

18. Froelich (J. C.), *Cameroun-Togo*, Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1956, 217 p., ill.
19. Froelich (J. C.), *Carte des populations de l'Afrique noire (A.O.F. et A.E.F.)*, Paris, Documentation française, 1955, 1 carte avec catalogue de 113 p.
20. Haug (Ernest), Notice géographique et ethnographique sur le Bas Ogooué, *Annales de Géographie*, mars 1903, 12 p., carte.
21. Horn (A.), *Trader Horn. La Côte-d'Ivoire* (sic) *aux temps héroïques*, Paris, Stock, 1933, 303 p.

Le vieux M. Horn était un menteur beaucoup plus audacieux que Du Chaillu ; ses souvenirs restent cependant intéressants parce que ce sont, justement, ceux d'un « trader ».

22. Kingsley (M. H.), *Travels in West Africa*, Londres, McMillan & Co., 1897, 541 p.
23. Kingsley (M. H.), *West african studies*, Londres, 1901 (3e éd.).
24. Lembezat (B.), *Le Cameroun*, Paris, Éditions coloniales et maritimes, 1954, 350 p., ill., cartes.
25. Leroi-Gourhan (A.) et Pucheu (J.), *Ethnologie de l'Union française*, Paris, P.U.F., 1953.

Font venir les Fang du Bahr-el-Ghazal (d'après Bowdich, Gautier et Vallois).

26. Mauvis (Casimir), *A travers l'Afrique centrale. Du Congo au Niger (1892-1893)*, Paris, Hachette, 1895, 307 p., cartes.
27. Nassau, *My Ogowe*, New York, Neale Publishing Co., 1914.
28. Nicod (H.), *Sur les sentiers de l'Afrique équatoriale*, Paris, Société des Missions évangéliques, 1921.
29. Passarge (S.), Gababrika und Kamerun, in Meyer (H.), *Das Deutsche Koloniale Reich*, Leipzig, Verlag des Bibliographischen Instituts, 1909, vol. I, pp. 419-450, ill.
30. Richard-Molard (J.), Groupements ethniques et civilisations nègres d'Afrique, *Cahiers d'Outre-Mer*, 1952, n° 17.

Brève et très bonne analyse de la réaction de « regroupement des ayang ».

31. Roche (J. B.), *Au pays des Pahouins, du rio Mouny au Cameroun*, Paris, Lavauzelle, 1904, 198 p., ill.
32. Schweinfurth (G.), *Im Herzen von Afrika*, Leipzig, 1878.

Rapprocherait les Fang des Zandé et Mangbetou.

33. Trezenem (Édouard), *L'A.E.F.*, Paris, Éditions maritimes et coloniales, 1955, 208 p., cartes.
34. Valdi (F.), *L'homme et la forêt : le Gabon*, Paris, Rodier, 1931.
35. Wilbois (J.), *Le Cameroun*, Paris, Payot, 1934, 254 p.
36. Zeigle (H.), *L'Afrique équatoriale française*, Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1952, 199 p., ill.
37. X..., *Encyclopédie de l'Union française*, tome *A.E.F.*, Paris, Encyclopédie coloniale et maritime, 1950, 300 p., ill.
38. X..., *Encyclo...ie de l'Union française*, tome *Cameroun-Togo*, Paris, Éditions de l'Union française, 1951, 574 p.

III. — Ouvrages d'ensemble

39. Alvès, Monographie des Dzem, *B.S.R.C.*, 1930, n° 11.
40. Avelot (R.), Recherches sur l'histoire des migrations dans le bassin de l'Ogooué et la région littorale adjacente, in *Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive*, vol. XX, 1905, n° 3, pp. 357-412, ill.
41. Cottes (A.), *La mission Cottes au Sud-Cameroun (1905-1908)*, Paris, Larose, 1911, 254 p., ill.

Quelques renseignements anthropologiques, photos.

42. Cottes (A.), Pahouins et Pygmées, *La géographie*, 1908, t. XVIII, pp. 64-72.
43. Curault (capitaine), Monographie du secteur de N'Djolé au Gabon, *Revue des troupes coloniales*, 1908, pp. 186-209.
44. Dark (Ph.), *Notes on the Eton of the southern French Cameroons*, Man, 56, n° 132, sept. 1956.

6: Alexandre and Binet FH9 Fang

45. Faure (F.), *En plein pays pahouin*, Paris, Société des Missions évangéliques, 1931, 15 p., ill.
46. Gerbert (F.), *Au Gabon*, Paris, Société des Missions évangéliques, 1948 (3e éd.), 227 p., ill.

Concerne surtout les Fang de l'Ogooué ; bons dessins.

47. Gomez López (E.), *En el país de los Pamues*, Madrid, C.S.I.C., 160 p., ill.
48. Largeau (V.), *Encyclopédie pahouine*, Paris, E. Leroux, 1911, 700 p.

En dépit des critiques du P. Trilles qui reproche à Largeau d'ignorer le fang et d'avoir un key non initié, *L'Encyclopédie* est encore une mine de renseignements précieux, parfois plus exacts que ceux du R.P.

49. Lorcerreux, Notes sur les Pahouins, Paris, *Bulletin de l'Agence générale des Colonies*, février 1925, pp. 167-178.
50. Maunan (lieutenant), Études sur le pays Pahouin (1912), *Revue des troupes coloniales*, 1912, pp. 547-562 et 697-715.
51. Perrault (D. P. pères), L'origine des Fang, *Tripiques*, 1952, 50 vol., n° 348.

Versions de l'histoire traditionnelle recueillies auprès de notables du Sud Cameroun — dont certains ont été parmi nos propres informateurs. Difficilement utilisable en raison de la transcription fautive de certains noms.

52. Perrault (G.), Les Fang du pays Yaoundé, *Cahiers d'Outre-Mer*, 1949, n° 8.
53. Tessmann (G.), *Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns*, Gotha, Petermann's geogr. Mitteilg., 1932, nos 5-6 et 7-8.
54. Tessmann (G.) et Wagner (E.), *Die Pangwe, Volkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes*, Berlin, Hansa verlag für mod. Literatur, 1913, 2 vol., xxi + 275 et 402 p., ill.

La grande somme sur l'ensemble du groupe, y compris les « pahouinisés » voisins. Vaudrait la peine d'être traduit, même après un demi-siècle.

55. Trilles (Édouard), Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan du Moyen Ogooué, *J.S.A.*, 1936, t. VI.

Un des meilleurs travaux récents sur les Fang gabonais ; malheureusement, la transcription de certains mots les rend méconnaissables.

56. Trilles (H.), Au pays Isu, *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Lille*, 1901.
57. Trilles (H.), Les Fan, où ils vont, d'où ils viennent, *Bulletin des Missions catholiques*, 1906.
58. Trilles (H.), Les Fang, croyances et religions, *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Lille*, 1907, XLVIII.
59. Trilles (H.), *Quinze ans au pays Fan*, Paris, Desclée, 1912.
60. Zenker (G.), Das Jaundeland, *Mittel. v. Forschungsr. Gel. Deutsche Schutzgeb.*, 1895, pp. 149-157.
61. X..., Les tribus du Gabon, *B.S.R.C.*, 1924, n° 3, pp. 55-101.

IV. — Linguistique

62. Alexandre (P.), *Manuel élémentaire de langue bulu*, Paris, Peyronnet, 1956, 237 p.
63. Baguena-Corella (L.), *Toponimia de la Guinea continental española*, Madrid, C.S.I.C., 500 p.

6: Alexandre and Binet FH9 Fang

64. Bates (G. L.) et Johnson (S. F.), *Handbook of Bulu*, Elst, Halsey Memorial Press, 1926, 176 p.

65. Echegaray (L. G.), Bibliografía lingüística de los territorios españoles de Guinea, *A.I.E.A.*, 1958, VI, n° 27.

66. Echegaray (L. G.), Hacia la unificación ortográfica de la lengua pamúe, *A.I.E.A.*, 1956, V, n° 19.

67. Echegaray (L. G.), Los sistemas de numeración y los numerales en los pueblos de la Guinea española, *A.I.E.A.*, 1956, IV, n° 12.

68. Good (A. I.), *Bulu handbook supplement*, Elst, Halsey Memorial Press, 1934, 131 p.

Seul ouvrage à donner un glossaire des exclamatifs — descriptifs en *ne* qui jouent un rôle important dans la littérature orale.

69. Grappin (R.) et Pichon (F.), *Grammaire ewondo*, Paris, Procure des Pères du Saint-Esprit, s. d., 215 p.

70. Greenberg (J.), Étude sur la classification des langues africaines, *B.I.F.A.N.F.*, t. XVI, n°s 1-2, janvier-avril 1954, pp. 63-142 ; t. XVII, n°s 1-2, janvier-avril 1955, pp. 59-108 ; ill.

Aucune référence spécifique au groupe pahouin, qui semble entrer dans la famille nigéro-congolaise.

71. Guillemin (L.), Le tambour d'appel des Ewondo, *B.S.E.C.*, 1948, n°s 21-22, pp. 69-84.

Indispensable pour l'étude du *nkul* ; contient plusieurs notations de *mindan* (indicatifs), paroles et musique.

72. Guthrie (Malcolm), *The classification of Bantu languages*, Londres, Oxford University Press, 1948.

Classe les langues pahouines dans la zone A, groupe 60 des parlers bantu. Les caractérise par l'absence de genre de taille (inexact : classe *di/a* pour les petits objets, *a/me* pour les ensembles et objets de grande taille), et l'absence de corrélation des genres avec une idée (inexact).

73. Haarpaintner, Grammatik der Jaundé sprache, *Anthropos*, IV, 1909, pp. 684-701, 919-930.

74. Herpe (M.), *Jaundé texte von K. Atangana und P. Messi*, Abhandl. des Hamburg Kol. Inst., Hamburg, 1919, XXIV, 335 p.

75. Herpe (M.) et Nekes (P. H.), *Jaundé Wörterbuch*, Hamburg, Abhandl. des Ham. Kol. Inst., XXII, 1926, 257 p.

76. Homburger (Lysias), Les langues bantou, in Meillet, *Les langues du monde*, Paris, E. Champion, 1924, pp. 561-589.

77. Homburger (Lysias), *Le langage et les langues*, Paris, Payot, 1951, 256 p.

Décrit l'avance en « seul de mouton » des Pahouins. Classe leurs langues dans une famille à part, proche mais différente de celle des parlers bantu côtiers du Nord-Congo.

78. Homburger (Lysias), *Les langues négro-africaines et les peuples qui les parlent*, Paris, Payot, 1941, 350 p.

Classe les langues pahouines dans un groupe intermédiaire entre les langues soudanaises et bantu.

79. Lejeune (R. P.), *Dictionnaire français-fang, précédé de quelques principes grammaticaux sur cette même langue*, Paris, Faivre & Teillard, 1892, 347 p.

Comme presque tous ceux de cette époque, suit de trop près la grammaire et la syntaxe française et latine.

80. Martrou (L.), La langue fan et ses dialectes, *J.S.A.*, 1936, vol. 6, n° 2.
81. Martrou (L.), *Lexique fân-français*, Paris, Procure générale, s. d.

Transcription « fân catholique », impossible à reproduire sur clavier universel ; ne donne pas les tons ; 2 500 mots environ.

82. Mathieu (Ch.), *Petit vocabulaire français-boulou*, Paris, Geuthner, 1931, 81 p.
83. Nekes (P. H.), *Lehrbuch der Jaunde Sprache*, Berlin, G. Reimer, 1911, 303 p.
84. Stoll (A.), *La tonétique des langues bantu et semi-bantu du Cameroun*, Paris, s. d., Mémorandum n° IV du Centre I.F.A.N., Cameroun, 1955, 172 p., 2 tabl.

Outre une nouvelle théorie des tons, intéressantes indications sur les rites *sô* et *mvôan*, avec exposé du principe de double symétrie, qui serait à la base de la cosmogonie pahouine.

85. Tessmann (G.), Sprichwörter der Fangwe, *Anthropos*, 1913, VIII, pp. 402-436.
86. Trilles (H.), Au sujet de la langue des Fang et de ses lointaines origines, *Revue d'Anthropologie*, juin 1935, t. LIII.

Toujours l'Égypte...

87. Trilles (H.), *Exercices de lecture et d'écriture fân-français*, Libreville, Mission catholique, 1902.
88. Tronje von Hagen (G.), *Lehrbuch der Bulu Sprache*, Berlin, Radetzki, 1914, VII + 402 p.
89. Walker (A. R.), Les idiomes gabonais, similitudes et divergences, *B.I.E.C.*, 1955, n° 10, pp. 211-236.
90. X..., *English-Bulu vocabulary*, Elat, Halsey Memorial Press, s. d., 181 p.

V. — Économie, technologie, art

91. Balandier (G.), Problèmes politiques et économiques au niveau du village Fang, *B.I.E.C.*, 1950, n° 1, pp. 49-64.
92. Binet (J.), Budget familial du planteur de cacao, *Archives inédites du C.H.E.A.M.*, 1954.
93. Binet (J.), *Budgets familiaux des planteurs de cacao au Cameroun*, Paris, C.S.R.S.O.M., collection « L'Homme d'outre-mer », n° 3, 1956, 154 p., ill.

Enquête faite au Sud-Cameroun en 1955-1956. A comparer avec les travaux de Sautter et Balandier sur le Nord-Gabon.

94. Brunhes (J.), Exploitations de primitifs : type complexe de dévastation végétale et animale dans la forêt équatoriale : les Fang, in *La Géographie humaine*, édition abrégée, Paris, P.U.F., 1947, pp. 199-204.
95. Delaroziere (S.) et Luc (G.), Une forme peu connue de l'expression artistique africaine : l'abbia, jeu ou dé des populations forestières du Sud-Cameroun, *B.I.E.C.*, n°s 49-50, sept.-déc. 1955.
96. Perves (M.), Parmi les Fang de la forêt équatoriale : le jeu de l'abbia, *Revue de géographie humaine et d'ethnologie*, Paris, 1948, n° 3, pp. 26-41.
97. Grebert (F.), L'art musical chez les Fang du Gabon, Genève, *Archives suisses d'Anthropologie générale*, 1928, t. V, n° 1, pp. 75-86.
98. Grebert (F.), *Monographie ethnographique des tribus Fang, Bantous de la forêt du Gabon*, Genève, manuscrit, 36 pl., 719 dessins.

Cet ouvrage, malheureusement inédit, constitue la meilleure iconographie sur les Pahouins. Un seul des six exemplaires peut être consulté en France, à la Bibliothèque des Missions évangéliques.

99. Mouoo (Th.), *L'industrie des pêches au Cameroun*, Paris, S.E.G.M.C., 1958, 509 p., ill.
100. Panyella (A.), Notas de tipología cultural : la casa y el poblado « fang », *A.I.E.A.*, 1951, V, n° 16.
101. Pavá (J. E.), Algunos aspectos de la casa en la Guinea continental española, *A.I.E.A.*, 1950, IV, n° 15.
102. Sautter (G.), La casa dans l'économie rurale du Woleu-Ntem, *B.I.E.C.*, 1956, n° 1, pp. 7-24.
103. Sautter (G.), Les paysans noirs du Gabon septentrional. Essai sur le peuplement et l'habitat au Woleu-Ntem, *Cahiers d'Outre-Mer*, 1951, n° 14.
104. Tafay (R.), Casa menor y mayor in Guinea, *A.I.E.A.*, n° 24.
105. X... (O.R.S.T.O.M.), *L'habitat au Cameroun*, Paris, Éditions de l'U.F., 1952, 166 p., phot.
106. X..., *Resumenes estadísticos del censo general de población de Guinea al 31 de diciembre de 1950*, Madrid, C.S.I.C., 157 p.
107. X..., *Resumenes estadísticos de Guinea, 1945-1949, 1950-1951*, Madrid, C.S.I.C., 2 vol., 250 et 248 p., ill.

VI. — Organisation sociale, droit

108. Alcobe (S.) et Panyella (A.), Estudio cuantitativo de la exogamia de los Pamúes (fang) de la Guinea continental española, *A.I.E.A.*, n° 18, 1951.
109. Beaute, Le neig-n'lo, ancienne coutume Bane, *Tego-Cameroun*, janvier 1950, pp. 215-222, ill.

Ce *neig-nlo*, grand juge, était peut-être un haut dignitaire du *ngil*.

110. Bertaut (M.), *Le droit coutumier des Boulou*, Paris, Domat-Montchrestien, 1935, 208 p.

En dépit de son titre, concerne non seulement les Boulou mais encore leurs voisins du Nord, Éwondo compris ; description détaillée du cérémonial du *Sé* ; bonne étude des coutumes juridiques, mais aussi des genres de vie.

111. Binet (J.), Aspects actuels du mariage dans le Sud-Cameroun, Paris, *Recueil Penant*, 1952, 29 p.
112. Binet (J.), Droit foncier coutumier au Cameroun, *Le monde non chrétien*, 1951, n° 18.
113. Binet (J.), *Le mariage dans le Sud-Cameroun*, Archives inédites du C.H.E.A.M., 1952.
114. Binet (J.), *Problèmes fonciers africains : trois groupes d'intérêt s'affrontent*, Archives inédites du C.H.E.A.M., 1953.
115. Corella (L. B.), Algunas costumbres pamúes, *A.I.E.A.*, 1949, III, 11.
116. Delafosse (Maurice) et Poutrin (M.), *Enquête coloniale... sur l'organisation de la famille indigène*, etc., Paris, S.E.G.C.M., 1930.
117. Evita (L.), *Cuando los combes luchaban (novela de costumbres de la Guinea española)*, Madrid, C.S.I.C., 101 p., ill.
118. Gerbert (F.), La famille pahouine en 1931, *Africa*, 1932, 2.
119. Koch (H.), Le petit bétail chez les Badjoué et Bikélé de Mouamédza, *B.S.E.C.*, 1946, 13-14.

Donne des exemples précis de la « pahouinisation » progressive des tribus bordières (ici sous influence bulu).

6: Alexandre and Binet F319 Fang

120. Mba (L.), Essai de droit coutumier pahouin, *B.S.E.C.*, 1958, n° 25, 46 p.

Intéressant essai d'un des leaders politiques Fang du Gabon.

121. Marchou (L.), Le nomadisme des Fang, *Revue de géographie*, n. s., III, 1899, pp. 497-524.

122. Pantella (A.) et Sabater (J.), Esquema de la antroponimia Fang de la Guinea española desde el punto de vista etnológico, *A.I.E.A.*, 1955, VIII, n° 34.

La plus récente étude sur l'anthroponymie et les règles d'imposition du nom; observations intéressantes sur la désignation des fractions et lignées par le nom d'un ancêtre humain.

123. Sautter (G.), Le régime des terres et ses modifications récentes aux environs de Brazzaville et au Woleu-Ntem, *B.I.E.C.*, 1954, n°s 7-8.

124. Zimmermann (Alfred), Das Gebiet der Ntem und Mwer, *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 1914, pp. 439-441.

125. Zoll'Owanne (Ch.), Visage africain d'une coutume indienne et mélanésienne, *B.S.E.C.*, 1957, n°s 19-20, pp. 55-60.

Description du potlatch « bilaba », peut être entachée de confusions dans la traduction des points cardinaux.

126. X..., Tribu de palabre, *B.S.E.C.*, 1957, n°s 19-20, pp. 141-146.

Extrait des archives de la subdivision d'Ambam; opinions de notables mâles et mixtes sur les coutumes matrimoniales et leur évolution.

VII. — Anthropologie physique, démographie

127. Alcobe (B.), Los pamúes en el complejo racial del Africa negra, *A.I.E.A.*, 1950, IV, n° 13.

128. Bayodo (Dr), Le nouveau-né et la femme enceinte aux environs d'Ayos, *B.S.E.C.*, 1948, n°s 21-22.

129. Cabrera (F.), *La persona pamue desde el punto de vista biotipológico*, Madrid, C.S.I.C., 111 p., ill.

130. Capelle (Dr), Notes sur l'état sanitaire des populations métisses du Woleu-Ntem (1924-1932), *B.S.E.C.*, XII, octobre 1938.

131. Chenevol (J.), Un essai de fichier démographique au Cameroun, Paris, *Bulletin mensuel de statistique outre-mer*, série « Études », n° 20, 1951, 39 p., et annexes.

132. Dugast (Idelette), Essai sur le peuplement du Cameroun, *B.S.E.C.*, 1948, n°s 21-22, pp. 19-24.

133. Dugast (I.), Inventaire ethnique du Sud-Cameroun, 1949, *Mémoires de l'I.F.A.N.* (centre Cameroun), série « Populations », n° 1, 150 p., ill.

La plus récente synthèse sur le sujet. Il est regrettable que le même travail n'ait pu être fait pour le Gabon et la Guinée.

134. Iradolla (B.), Aportación al estudio del nivel mental de los indígenas de Guinea, *A.I.E.A.*, 1951, V, n° 18.

135. Olivier (G.), etc., Documents anthropométriques pour servir à l'étude des principales populations du Sud-Cameroun, *B.S.E.C.*, 1946, 15-16, pp. 17-86, 1 carte.

136. Olivier (G.), Étude anthropologique comparée des principales tribus de la région de Yaoundé, *B.S.E.C.*, 1945, n° 10, pp. 55-76.

137. Olivier (G.) et Aujoulat (L. P.), L'obstétrique en pays yaoundé. Étude d'ethnologie médicale et d'anthropologie somatique, *B.S.E.C.*, 1945, n° 12, pp. 7-71.

6: Alexandre and Binet F319 Fang

138. Pandaan (D. P. H. ed), Contribution à l'établissement d'un inventaire ethnique du Cameroun, *B.S.E.C.*, 1946, n°s 15-16.

139. Pons (J.), Hueles dentifores en negros de la Guinea española, *A.I.E.A.*, 1951, V, n° 18.

140. Pons (J.), *Impresiones dermopapilares en indígenas de la Guinea ecuatorial* : I. *Muestras dentifores* ; II. *Impresiones palmares*, Madrid, C.S.I.C., 1951-52, 2 vol., 68 et 57 p., ill.

141. Poutrin (M.), Esquisse ethnologique pour servir à l'étude des principales tribus des territoires du Cameroun sous mandat français, *B.S.E.C.*, 1943, n° 3.

142. Poutrin (M.), *Esquisse ethnologique des principales populations de l'A.E.F.*, Paris, Masson, 1944, 139 p., ill.

143. Poutrin (M.), Notes anthropologiques sur les négres africains du Congo français, *Bulletin et Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, t. I, série VI, 1946.

144. Sautter (G.), L'utilisation des documents administratifs pour l'étude numérique de la population en Moyen-Congo et au Gabon, *B.I.E.C.*, 1954, n°s 7-8, pp. 23-32.

145. Thiery (Y.) et Delaroche (R.), *Densité de population au Gabon*, Paris, 1944, Mémoires inédits de l'I.N.F.O.M.

146. X... (Poutrin, etc.), Esquisse ethnologique pour servir à l'étude des principales tribus du Cameroun sous mandat français..., *B.S.E.C.*, 1943, n° 3, pp. 9-66.

VIII. — Religion, magie, traditions

147. Allegret (R.), Les idées religieuses des Fang, *Revue d'histoire des Religions*, vol. 50, 1904, pp. 214-232.

Note intéressante sur le « sentiment d'abandon » religieux qu'auraient éprouvé les Fang surtout après la rencontre des Européens.

148. Alvarez (R. H.), *Leyendas y mitos de Guinea*, Madrid, C.S.I.C., 177 p., ill.

149. Atangana (Ch.), Abem So (le rite So) chez les Yaoundé-Beane, *Anthropos*, XXXVII-XL, 1942-1945, pp. 119-137.

150. Courbaris (P.), Notes sommaires sur les pratiques divinatoires des populations de la circonscription de Yaoundé, *J.S.A.*, VI, 1936.

151. Gardier (C.) et Fallon (N.), *Le fétichisme en Afrique noire*, Paris, Payot, 1951.

Quelques notes sur les rites des Pahouins du Cameroun.

152. Guillebeau (H. P.), Le rite « Seye », *B.S.E.C.*, 1948, n°s 23-24, p. 71.

Excellente description d'un rite de purification dans les tribus du Nord. Indications intéressantes sur les pratiques divinatoires.

153. Jemba Mbou, *Nsango Kôn*, Eliot, Halsey Memorial Press, s. d.

Ce roman, malheureusement épuisé, est une mine de renseignements ethnologiques et linguistiques. Rédigé dans une langue plutôt archaïque et savante, il est assez difficile à lire aujourd'hui. Il faut souhaiter qu'un jeune Boulou en donne la traduction.

154. Lamblin, Contes fang, *B.S.R.C.*, 1935, n° 7.

155. Lavignotte (H.), *L'âme, croyance des Pahouins du Gabon*, Paris, Société des Missions évangéliques, 1936, 118 p.

Note très complète sur la sorcellerie ngbwel et les moyens de protection contre elle.

134. Lebouc (L. G.), Étude sur le ngil, coutume fan, *B.S.R.C.*, 1925, n° 4.

L'auteur, tout en ayant bien compris la fonction judiciaire et guerrière du ngil, conclut à sa suppression, dans l'intérêt de l'ordre public.

137. Maguan (lieutenant), Notes sur le fétichisme pahouin, *B.S.R.C.*, 1925, n° 8.

138. Martrou (L.), L'âme fang après la mort, *Anthropos*, VI, 1911.

A comparer avec les traditions recueillies par Largeau ; Martrou connaissait mieux le pays et la langue, mais, comme Trilles, il semble parfois avoir interprété sous l'influence de ses préoccupations sacerdotales.

159. Martrou (L.), Les éki des Fang, Münster, *Anthropos*, I, 1906.

Bonne étude sur les interdits, mais qui est loin d'épuiser le sujet.

160. Moreno Moreno (J. A.), Formas de antropofagia en los territorios españoles del Golfo de Guinea, *A.I.E.A.*, 1951, V, n° 17.

161. Nassau, *Fetishism in West Africa*, New York, Young Peoples' Missionary Mvt., 1904.

Peu de renseignements intéressant les Fang. L'auteur connaissait surtout les populations côtières.

162. Tessmann (G.), Ritzel der Pangwe, *Anthropos*, 1915-16, X-XI, pp. 675-725.

163. Tessmann (G.), Religiöse formen der Pangwe, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1909, XLI.

164. Tessmann (G.), Ueber das Verhältnis der Fangnegur zur umgebenden Tierwelt, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1907, XXXIX.

165. Trilles (H.), Proverbes, légendes et contes fang, Neufchâtel, *Bulletin de la Société neufchâteloise de géographie*, t. XVI, 1905, 247 p.

Transcriptions phonétiques et traductions « écartant le gravelleux » *(sic)*. Malgré cette castration reste le recueil le plus complet.

166. Trilles (H.), *Le totémisme chez les Fân*, Münster i. w., Bibliothèque Anthropos, 1912, 453 p.

C'est le *magnum opus* du P. Trilles. Comme dans tous les ouvrages de cet auteur, on y trouve à côté d'observations fines et exactes, des conclusions parfois hasardeuses et des lacunes inattendues, provenant peut-être d'une certaine déformation professionnelle. En dépit de quoi, le P. Trilles reste la grande autorité sur les Fang.

167. X..., Le bouiti, *B.S.R.C.*, 1924, n° 3.

IX. — Sociologie, évolution

168. Alexandre (P.), *Le mouvement Fang ou regroupement pahouin*, Archives inédites du C.H.E.A.M., 1955.

169. Alvarez (H. R.), Enseñanza en la Guinea, española, *A.I.E.A.*, n° 22 (1954).

170. Alvarez (H. R.), *Historia de la acción cultural en Guinea española*, Madrid, C.S.I.C., s. d., 556 p., ill.

171. Aubame (J.), *Renaissance gabonaise*, Brazzaville, 1947.

Programme de regroupement clanique des villages fan préconisé par le député du 2e collège.

172. Balandier (G.), Aspects de l'évolution sociale chez les Fang du Gabon, *Cahiers internationaux de Sociologie*, IX, 1950.

173. Balandier (G.), Les Fan, conquérants en disponibilité, *Tropiques*, décembre 1949, pp. 23-24.

174. Balandier (G.), *Rapport préliminaire de la mission d'information scientifique en pays fang*, inédit (ronéotypé), Archives de l'A.E.F., 1948.

175. Balandier (G.), *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire, dynamique des changements sociaux en Afrique centrale*, Paris, P.U.F., 1955, 510 p.

La première partie de cet ouvrage, consacrée aux Fang du Gabon, apporte une explication neuve du malaise social qui les frappe et des tentatives de re-structuration sociale fondées sur le regroupement tribal et les cultes syncrétistes. C'est le meilleur livre sur les Fang depuis Trilles, Largeau et Tessmann.

176. Balandier (G.), *Afrique ambiguë*, Paris, Plon, 1957, 293 p., ill.

Complète en partie le précédent.

177. Balandier (G.) et Pauvert (J. C.), Les villages gabonais, Brazzaville, *Mémoires de l'Institut d'Études centrafricaines*, 1952, 86 p., ill.

178. Binet (J.), Condition de la femme dans le Sud-Cameroun, *Cahiers internationaux de sociologie*, 1956, XX.

179. Bonelli (J. M.), Diferencia del concepto económico en la colonización de Fernando Poo y Guinea continental, *A.I.E.A.*, 1949, VII, 7.

180. Céline (L. F.), *Voyage au bout de la nuit*, Paris, Denoël, 1932.

A rapprocher de 187 et 195.

181. Ebouna (Y. R.), Le Wolou-Ntem veut se regrouper, *Bulletin d'information de l'A.E.F.*, n° 63, mai-juin 1950.

182. Eza Boto, *Ville cruelle*, Paris, Éditions africaines, s. d., 219 p.

Bonne étude sur la jeunesse contemporaine, l'attrait et la crainte des villes et le conflit des générations.

183. Faure (F.), *Le diable dans la brousse*, Paris, « Je sers », 1953, 165 p., Société des Missions évangéliques.

Ces contes édifiants contiennent d'assez nombreuses observations exactes sur l'organisation sociale et familiale des Fang gabonais.

184. Iglesias de La Riva (A.), *Politica indígena en Guinea*, Madrid, C.S.I.C., 264 p.

185. Lancrey-Laval (L.) et Pauvert (J. C.), Problèmes socio-économiques dans le « pays du cacao » (Cameroun-Gabon), *Information*, 3, janv. 1955.

186. Lopez-Morin (C.), Aspectos de la lucha sanitaria en Guinea, *A.I.E.A.*, 1949, III, n° 9.

187. Marie-André du Sacré-Cœur (sœur), *La condition humaine en Afrique noire*, Paris, Grasset, 1953, 260 p., ill.

Notes sur le mariage au Sud-Cameroun, parfois forcées.

188. Marie-André du Sacré-Cœur (sœur), *Évolution juridique et sociale de la famille africaine*, Archives inédites du C.H.E.A.M., 1951.

189. Marie-André du Sacré-Cœur (sœur), La loi d'airain du mariage dotal au Cameroun français, revue *Études*, octobre 1950.

190. Matilla (V.), Pasado, presente y porvenir de la sanidad en Guinea, *A.I.E.A.*, 1949, III, n° 11.

6: Alexandre and Binet FH9 Fang

191. MONGO BETI, *Le pauvre Christ de Bomba*, Paris, R. Laffont, 1956, 370 p.

Roman sur les résultats de l'action des Missions catholiques. Souvent injuste mais indispensable à la compréhension de l'évolution contemporaine la plus récente.

192. OYONO (F.), *Une vie de boy*, Paris, Julliard, 1956, 183 p.

193. OYONO (F.), *Le vieux nègre et la médaille*, Paris, Julliard, 1957, 209 p.

M. Oyono est dans la tradition des joueurs de *mvet*, conteurs satiriques toujours cruels, souvent injustes.

194. ROLLAND (Pierre), *Le mouvement fang au Moyen-Congo*, Archives inédites du C.H.E.A.M., 1955.

195. SCHWEITZER (A.), *A l'orée de la forêt vierge*, Paris, Payot, 1929, 231 p.

Notations intéressantes, mais assez sommaires, sur la désorganisation sociale des Pahouins de l'Ogooué et leurs réactions au choc d'acculturation.

196. X..., *Ekomi, histoire d'un petit Pahouin racontée par lui-même aux enfants d'Europe*, Paris, S.M.E., 1921.

Édifiant.

[p.149]

INDEX DES NOMS CITÉS

Allegret : 63, 89, 98, 107.
Allys : 63.
André : 9, 16.
Aubame : 41, 129.

Balandier : 12, 31, 33, 36, 37, 41, 61, 66, 67, 89, 129.
Bates : viii, 21, 22, 23, 24, 61.
Baudre (de) : 120.
Baumann : 8.
Bearth : 63.
Bertaut : 16, 24, 48, 51, 60, 63, 97.
Binet : 32, 39, 75, 81, 122.
Botti : 58.
Bourdier : 62.
Braeza : 14.

Cambon : 27.
Chabeuf : 120.
Christol : 9, 62.
Compiègne (de) : 13, 14, 27, 88.
Cournarie : 45.

Delafosse : 26.
Dominik : 58.
Du Chaillu : 13, 14, 88.
Dugast : 4, 7, 84.

Éboué : 67.
Eza Boto : 49, 90, 101, 126.

Gascon : 120.
Gaulle (de) : 67, 93.
Good : viii, 15, 21, 110.
Granier : 62.
Grebert : 17, 88, 107.
Greenberg : 26.
Guilbot : 33, 38.
Guillemin : 64.
Gutherie : 19, 20, 25.

Hagen (von) : 15.
Homburger : 26.
Horn : 14, 88.

Janot : 8.
Jemba Medu : 126.
Johnson : 24, 112.

Kingsley : 37.
Koch : 18.

Langle (de) : 14, 88.
Largeau : 4, 5, 13, 14, 15, 17, 33, 47, 56, 58, 60, 63, 67, 88, 89, 96, 101, 105, 107, 108, 124.
Lavignotte : 117.
Lecoq : 124.
Leroux : 63.

Marche : 13.
Martrou : 4, 63, 107, 121.
Masseyeff : 27.
Mba : 58.
Meinhof : 25.
Monewoso : 42, 89, 124.
Mongo Beti : 126.

Nekes : 6, 19.

Oyono : 126.

Pascaley : 15, 93.
Pauvert : 31, 36, 129.

Sautter : 9, 32, 38, 73.
Schebe : 5.
Schweinfurth : 13.
Soret : 38.

Soupault : 30.
Stoerkel : 89.
Stoll : 13, 24, 25, 63, 97, 98, 100, 115.

Tessmann : 4, 13.
Trezenem : 107, 114.
Trilles : 4, 5, 13, 16, 17, 26, 43, 44, 46, 56, 64, 66, 67, 88, 89, 93, 95, 97, 101, 105, 106, 107, 108, 112, 113, 115, 117, 119, 120, 125.

Walker : 21, 26.
Weber : 120.
Westermann : 26.

Zieglé : 9.
Zoll'Owambe : 47, 60.

[p.151]

TABLE DES MATIÈRES

	Pages
Avant-propos	v
Transcription phonétique	viii
Chapitre Premier. — **Situation géographique et climatique**	1
Chapitre II. — **Situation ethnique et historique**	4
1) Nomenclature	4
2) Groupes divers et répartition territoriale	5
A) Les envahisseurs ou Pahouins proprement dits	5
B) Les tribus assimilées ou pahouinisées	6
3) Populations voisines	7
4) Aperçu démographique	8
5) Histoire et origine traditionnelles	13
Chapitre III. — **La langue**	18
1) Diffusion	18
2) Dialectes	19
3) Caractéristiques de la langue	21
4) Classification	25
Chapitre IV. — **Vie économique** (J. Binet)	27
1) Alimentation	27
2) Agriculture	28
3) Commerce	33
4) Les villes	36
Chapitre V. — **Organisation sociale**	40
1) Formes d'établissement, habitat	40
2) Groupements et parenté	43
a) La tribu	44
b) Le clan	45
c) La famille-étendue ou famille-villageoise	48
d) Famille restreinte ou foyer, parenté	49
e) Mariage, filiation	51
3) Classes d'âge	56
4) Esclavage, castes, classes, chefferies	58
5) Associations	62
6) Droit et propriété	69
a) Sources	69
b) Pouvoir judiciaire	70
c) Peines	71
d) Délinquance (J. Binet)	72
e) Droit foncier (J. Binet)	73
f) Propriété mobilière	76
g) Successions, tutelle	76
h) Contrats et quasi-contrats divers	78
7) Situation des femmes (J. Binet)	81

6: Alexandre and Binet FH9 Fang

PAGES

CHAPITRE VI. — **Principaux éléments de la culture** 84
1) Caractéristiques physiques, mentalité 84
a) Données anthropologiques 84
b) Vêtements, parures, marques corporelles 85
c) Caractéristiques psychologiques 88
2) Cycle de la vie d'un individu 90
a) Conception, gestation, naissance 90
b) Enfance 92
c) Adolescence 95
d) Passage à l'âge adulte 97
e) Vieillesse 100
f) La mort et l'au-delà 101
3) Religion et magie 106
a) Conception de Dieu, création 107
b) Culte des ancêtres, totem, esprits 110
c) Eléments de cosmogonie 114
d) Sorcellerie, possession 116
e) Magie licite, divination, médecine 119
f) Interdits 121
g) Evolution actuelle de la sorcellerie et de la magie 123
4) Arts et littérature 124

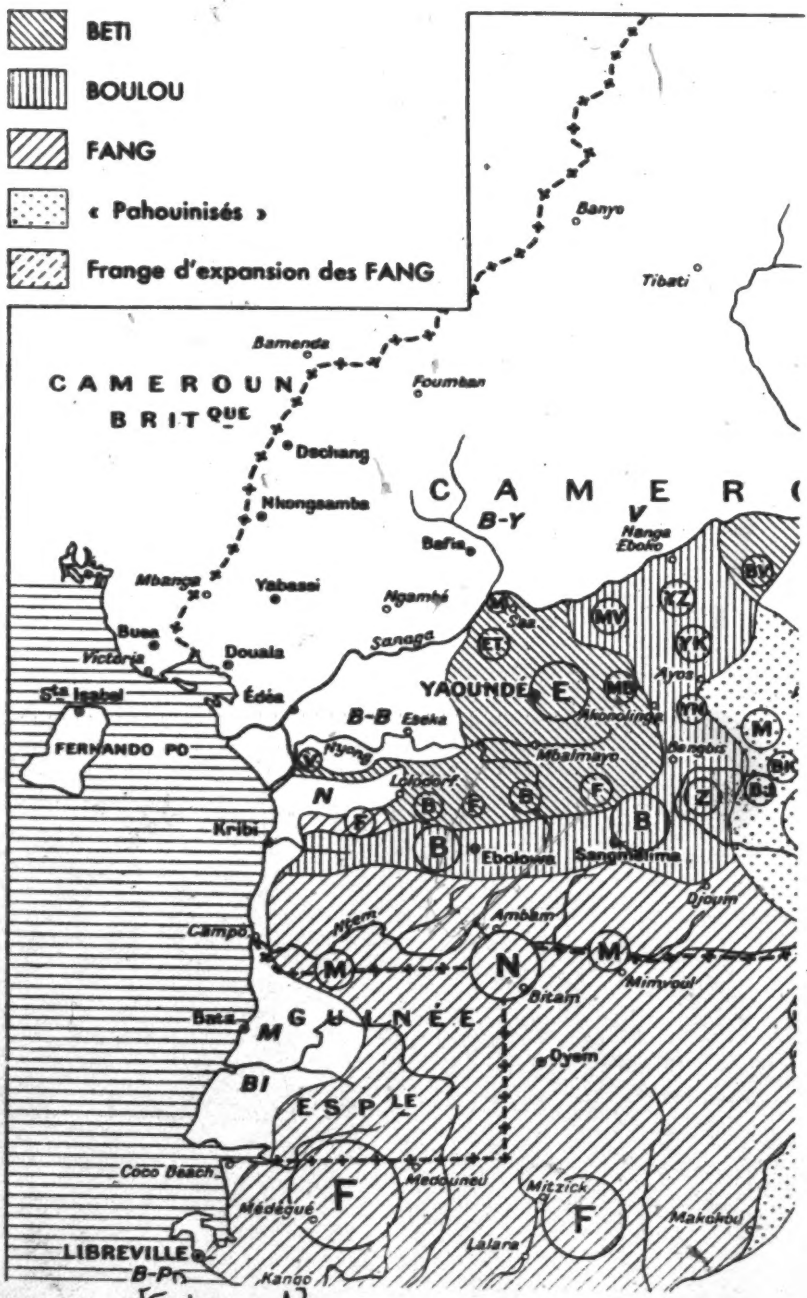
CHAPITRE VII. — **L'évolution** (J. BINET) 128
1) Organes de gouvernement local 128
2) Le Pahouin et l'avenir 134

BIBLIOGRAPHIE ANALYTIQUE SOMMAIRE 137
Périodiques 137
I. — Bibliographie 137
II. — Géographie, exploration, ouvrages généraux sur l'Afrique 138
III. — Ouvrages d'ensemble 139
IV. — Linguistique 140
V. — Economie, technologie, art 142
VI. — Organisation sociale, droit 143
VII. — Anthropologie physique, démographie 144
VIII. — Religion, magie, traditions 145
IX. — Sociologie, évolution 146

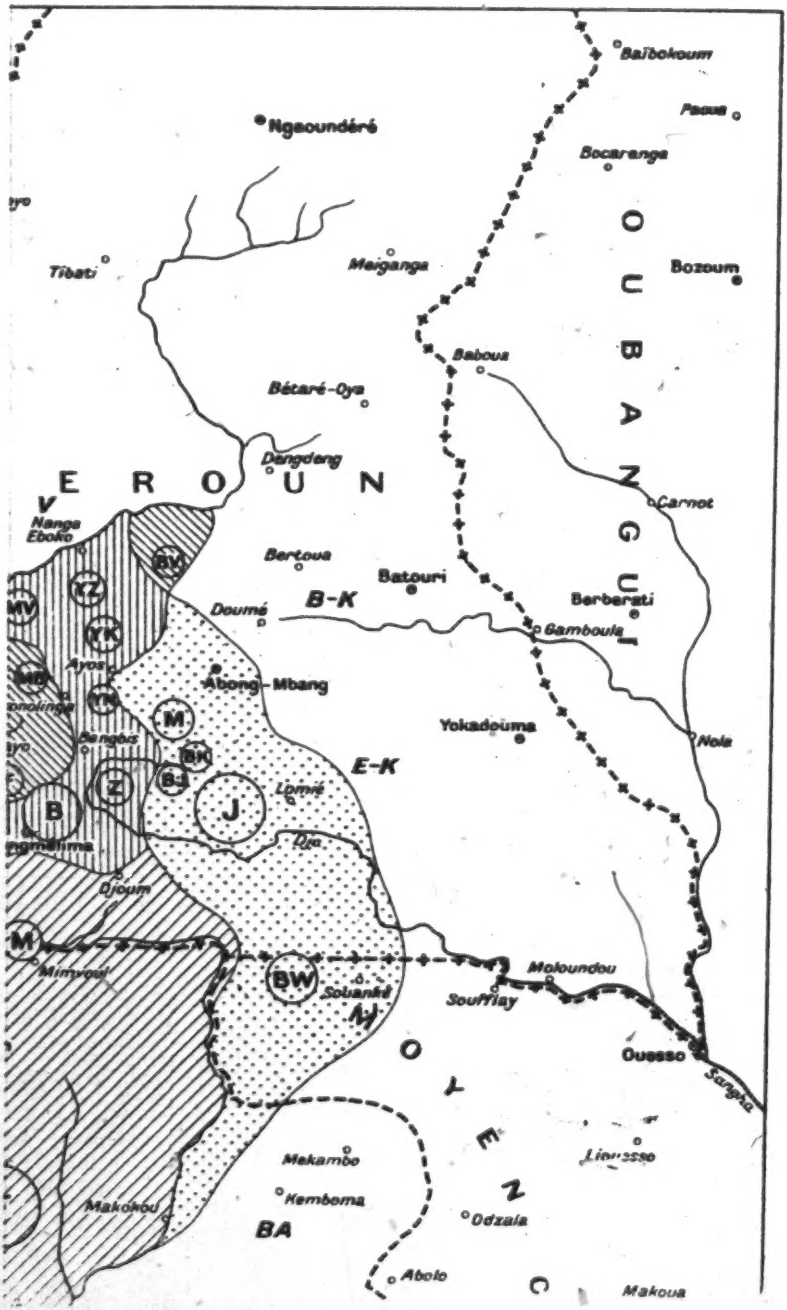
INDEX DES NOMS CITÉS 149

1958. — Imprimerie des Presses Universitaires de France. — Vendôme (France)
ÉDIT. N° 24 893 IMPRIMÉ EN FRANCE IMP. N° 15 211

LE GROUPE PAH



ɔUPE PAHOUIN

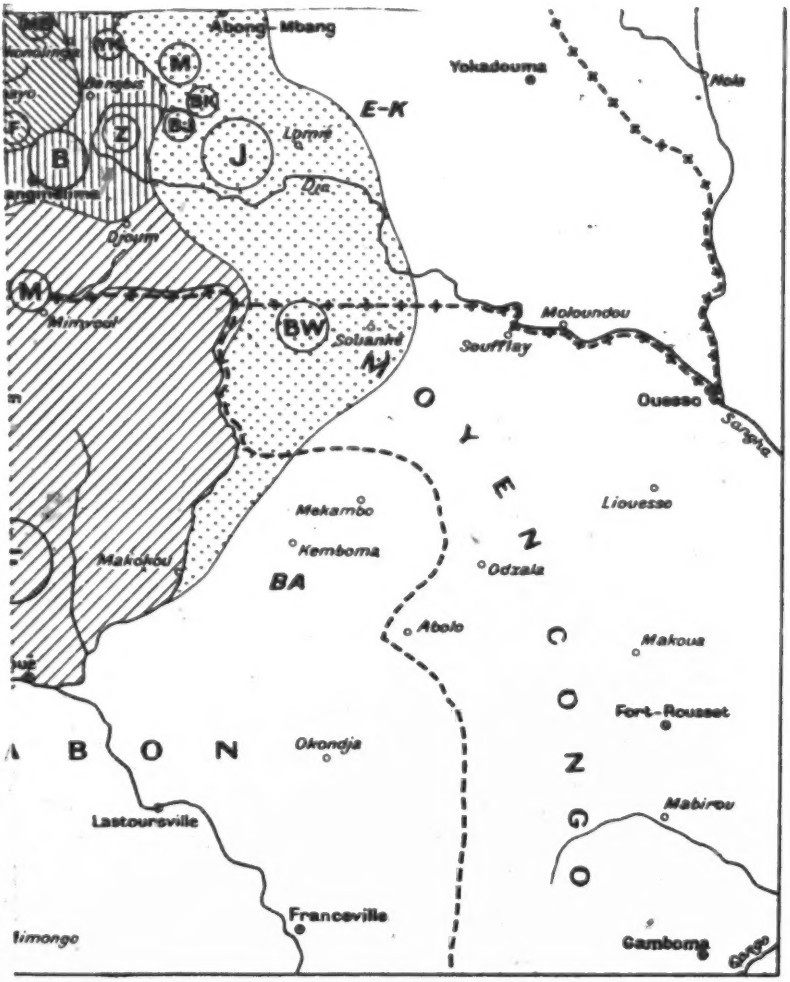


[End map B]

PEUPLES VOISINS :

B-B : Bassa-Bakoko ; **B-Y** : Bafia-Yambasa ; **V** : Babouté (Vutéré) ; **B-N**
M-O : Mitshogo-Okandé ; **BU** : Bapounou ; **NK** : Nkomi ; **B-P** : Benga-Pongwe

[End map-C]



uté (Vutéré) , B-K : Baya-Kaka , E-K : Essel-Konabembé , BA : Bakota
I-P : Benga-Pongwé , BI : Balengi ; M : Mabéa ; BT : Batenga ; N : Ngoumba

[End map-D]

7: Trilles M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9

Totemism Among the Fang
[Le Totémisme chez les Fân]

R. P. H. Trilles

Bibliothéque-Anthropos, Vol. 1

Münster i. W., 1912

Translated from the French by Isabella Athey

Human Relations Area Files

1959

[title page]

[11] Chapter I

The Fan Tribe

000 1. Divisions of the Fan Nation. "Fan" and "Pahouin" are two words not only synonymous but identical. The four Fan groups. Tribe, clan, and family (elementary cell).

2. Allied Tribes. Likenesses and differences between the Fan and related and so-called related tribes.

3. Size of Population. Errors in official statistics.

1. Divisions of the Fan Nation

101 Before beginning this study, a word ought first to be said about the Fan [Fang] nation and its divisions into groups, tribes, and clans. [Footnote omitted. --Translator]

The Fan or Pahouin [Pàhuin] or Mpawin [Mpangwe] (2) --

101 197 2. The word "Fân" is the truly native word to designate this tribe. Strange as it may seem at first glance and in spite of the great change, "Pahouin" is another form of the same word. The first tribes on the coast with whom we were in contact called the Fân "Mpân," or mu-pân (pân, man), abbreviated to mpân by a process common among these African languages. Thus mpira, powder, in Mpongwé becomes efira in Fan; mpilato, tray, becomes filato; epélé plate, from Spanish "plata," becomes mfil by way of plata, epilata, épila, épèle, efèl, mfèle, mfil, etc. Out of "Mpân," a word which only the tribes

101
197

of the Nsex branch pronounce this way, the northern tribes -- Kombé, Banoko, and others belonging to the Mpongwé branch -- have made "Mpangwé, as none of the languages of the Gabon or Mpongwé group let a word end with a consonant but always require a vowel. "Mpangwé" became "Mpangwen" for the French and soon thereafter "Mpangwin"; it has now turned into "Mpawin," "Pawin," and finally "Pahouin," in which form it is indeed difficult to recognize the original.

101 because these three words [12] refer to the same people -- are the most important tribe of the French Congo and the German [now French] Cameroons.

101 The Fan proper are divided into four distinct families
197 with respect to dialects: Bétsi [Betsi], Méké [Mekei], Fôn, and Bulé [Boale] (in manners and customs they are all absolutely alike). These four groups do not speak such different dialects that they cannot understand one another unless at first meeting; they certainly do so after several days of association.

[Five paragraphs in pp. 12-13 deleted here. --Translator]

101 [13][Of the four groups] the first two are by far the best known, having made the first migrations or at least having been the first in contact with the white man. Everything that has been written about the Fan relates to these [two], particularly to the Bétsi.

The Bulé group is often considered to be connected with either the Fan or the Yaundé, through whom it would form the intermediary link with the Méké. The Fôn (1), or people of the

1. Fôn, bamboo pith, dark depths of the forest.

interior, as the etymology of their name indicates, have remained up to the present time altogether inland beyond the Bétsi and
[197 194] Méké. Their dialect relates them to the Bétsi, differing in being more guttural. The tribes live closely intertwined in the same

101 territory, though each keeps its own autonomy without intermingling.

101 Each of the four Fan groups are divided into tribes, each
619 with its own chief, territory, and autonomy; none is subordinate
727 to another, all the more so because slaves are not taken in war,
266 for unredeemed captives are promptly eaten.

619 The tribes vary in importance according to the level of
614 development, the kind of chiefs they have had, and the size of
174 their territory. Thus, the Yenkwax possess no more than three sparsely populated villages, and at the most they can muster 300 warriors; the Yengon, [14] though a long-established tribe, have only one village and a few warriors; while the Yemvi, on the contrary, inhabit several hundred villages and number thousands of warriors. But about this term "tribe," let me here mention a very important point: at present, and since a migration which, according to my own research, should be dated 32 or 33 generations back, no more tribes are being formed, only clans. Existing tribes (and we shall see in a moment how they may be distinguished from clans) may be said to have been established about ten centuries ago in our reckoning, which clearly does not mean that they did not exist before that time. Their origin must certainly go back much earlier.

619 A tribe rarely remains homogeneous for long. Many factors
614 contribute to its splitting up, such as a series of migrations, family disputes, and the activities of heads of families who are ambitious or eager to throw off excessive authority. The steady growth of a tribe at the same time leads to the overpopulation of villages and the necessity of looking elsewhere for new hunting and agricultural lands; hence, after an indefinite period, a tribe splits into clans composed of an unspecified and highly variable number of families. Some clans are very large, such as the Esingi, and make up hundreds of villages, while others, either because they are very recent or because of the same disintegrating forces as exist for the tribes, number only a few families.

Clans in turn, as a result of the same circumstances that made tribes split into clans, split into subclans, also of varying importance.

From what I have just said, a fact may be immediately deduced which runs counter to the usual generalizations accepted by Europeans and superficial observers. In the view of the latter the

619 distribution of the nation and its division into tribes and clans is
614 based upon an arbitrary and highly variable standard; the number of individuals.

In my view on the contrary -- and this is certainly that of the Fan -- the different concepts of nation, tribe, clan, and subclan have a unique, immutable basis, the family, [15] which constitutes the kernel or, of one prefers, the primary cell or even the pivot on which the whole organization turns.

Thus we have the following structural table:

Family or Ndzǎn	Family
Clans and subclans (phratries) or Ayum	Clans and subclans
Tribe or Ayǒn	Tribe
Group or Mfulana méyon	Group

Fan Nation

This structure has an important consequence, one whose development will not, however, be dealt with here but must be postponed until after discussion of the idea of the totem. The consequence is this: among clans some bear the totem name, others do not. Although some, in fact nearly all, writers consider that bearing the totem name is a condition sine qua non of totemism in clans, we shall see that this idea is exaggerated and that clans, with or without a totem name, are all totemic.

2. Allied Tribes

101 Not only do these four large divisions -- Bétsi, Méké,
619 Bulé, and Fôñ -- make up the Fan nation proper, but a certain number of other tribes revolve within their circle and are connected to the same branch. I say "a certain number" because the interior of the German Cameroons and the hinterland lying between the Woleu, N'tem, and upper Sanga rivers has been little explored. Before our arrival the existence of the Dzèm [Njem] was barely known; the Dzandzama had never been mentioned. These tribes form the intermediary link connecting the Fan to the Batéké branch and through this to the Kanioka and other central Congo tribes, [16] whose folklore has analogies with that of the Fan as I recently pointed out. (1)

1. See Anthropos, Vol. 4, pp. 945-971; Vol. 5, pp. 163-180.

A Yaundé grammar was published not long ago in Anthropos; (2) these people are without doubt an offshoot of the

2. See Anthropos, Vol. 4, pp. 684-701, 919-930.

Bétsi branch. The Bosyéba dialect is somewhat different and is nearer that of the Bubi of Fernando Po; the group also belongs to the Fan nation. Finally, deviating from the primitive stock in progressive order, there are the Dzèm, Dzimu [Ndsime], and Dzandzama, nowadays scarcely leaving the jungle and the country of the Nyamnyam [Niam-Niam, Azande]. In spite of what has
197 been said of them in the past, their language is only distantly related to that of the last tribe. (3)

3. Since certain observers and explorers -- such, for instance, as Allegret, a former Protestant missionary in Gabon, who connects them with the Nyamnyam, Fulah,

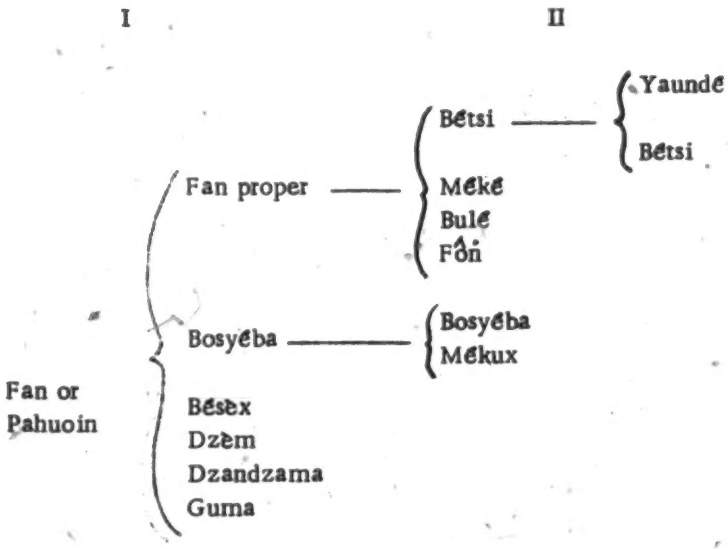
197

Azande groups -- insist on this relationship based only on apparent ethnographic characters, let me simply give this table of the four languages, Fan, Osyeba [Osieba], Dzèm (unpublished), and Nyamnyam (after Schweinfurth and Colombaroli):

	Fan	Osyeba	Dzèm	Nyamnyam
Man	Mur	Muri	Murum	Combâ
Woman	Munga	Mura	Muma	Dè
Girl	Ngon	Šyè	Lêsi	Dégudè
Old man	Ntôl	Ntôli	Tuma	Binzâ
Sister	Kal	Kali	Kalo	Bèwili
Father	Sa	Sôn	Da	Ba (éba in Fan méké)
Name	Džu	Džina	Ndžè	Limô
Body	Ñul	Mulé	Ñulo	Kuô
Skin	Eko	Kundé	Kuro	Kuôto
Head	Nlô	Nlô	Nlô	Li
Forehead	Mvabal	Bandé	Nbalopum	Vu
Tongue	Dèm (pl. Mèm)	Gimi	Gyèm	Mirassè
Village	Džal	Kware	Kwor	Lingara
Door	Mbi	Mbié	Lébaa	Ngwadumo (lit., house door; duma, nest in Fan)

As the footnote shows, the differences between Fan and Nyamnyam are tremendous. Scarcely 150 words could be found with the same root, and even those would prove nothing, for the Fan have certainly [17] been in contact with the Nyamnyam during their migrations and therefore could, and must have, borrowed a number of words.

101 619 To sum up, the Fan may be divided as follows:



197 The Fan, Bosyéba, Bésèx, Dzèm, Dzandzama, and Guma tribes may be assumed to speak separate languages not dialects of one. These languages are, however, closely related; they have very nearly the same principles and are cognates.

Bétsi, Méké, etc., merely represent dialects.

[One paragraph deleted, repititive. --Translator]

101 619 161 The Dzèm, whose hitherto unpublished language I hope to make known soon, are grouped in the upper N'tem region; their population should not be more than 100,000.

The Dzandzama border them on the southeast and provide a linguistic link to the Batéké, southern neighbors; their population is about that of the Dzèm.

The Bésèx, or Bulu, who occupy a large part of the region to the north of the Ogooue, are a widely dispersed tribe, formerly very powerful, now almost extinct through poison, practitioners [feticheurs], and pressure from the Pahuoin. Their population is not likely to be greater than a few thousand. [18]

101 The Bosyéba ... are no more numerous than the Bésex.
619 They have been classed perhaps wrongly as a separate people
161 and in my opinion are basically only tribes long detached from the Méké branch, whose distinctive tattooing and little altered language they have preserved. In 1889 when Fourneau reached
[114] the Bosyéba country to the north of the Campo, he saw his porters, recruited in Méké country on the banks of the Ogooué, immediately fraternizing with the Bosyéba and delighted to discover their own tongue after crossing through Bétsi territory. (1)

1. Cf. A. Fourneau, "De l'Ogooué au Campo" [From the Ogooué to the Campo], Bull. Ste. Geogr. Vol. 12 (1891), pp. 190-215.

[One paragraph deleted about an etymology which author considers "incorrect."--Translator]

The Guma, nowadays very few in number, have been driven back towards the Cameroons; they also are related to the Méké branch. Europeans often refer to the people of this whole group by the term "Makina" from ma ki na, "I say that..."; they have, in fact, a habit of starting all their remarks with these words. The Bétsi are called "Mazuna" for the same reason.

3. Size of the Fan Population

161 The Fan are by far the most important branch. It is extremely difficult to estimate their number. Officially they are only a few hundred thousand. But the official figure is far from accurate, for government statistics only count the man who pays taxes. Furthermore, more than half of the French Congo is unexplored except by a few, infrequent

161 travelers. Thus in 1901-02 we were the first to explore the whole of the north Congo, which Crampel had only crossed before, and then the Dzèm and Dzandzama country; after us the boundary commission for the Cameroons came into a small part of the same country, and that was all. Thus a recent publication [19] gives the number of Fan warriors at about 40,000, a figure that is not even worth discussing. (1) What is certain is that the

[614]

1. One clan, the Amvom, exceeds this figure. The Bulé are larger; there are more than 400 Fan clans, at least that we know of. In terms of the official estimate each clan would have only about 100 armed men. In many cases this would barely be the number of villages.

total population of the French Congo, of which the Fan possibly compose half, may be estimated at a figure varying from three to ten million, and it is impossible to be more accurate at the present time. In my view we should estimate the Fan at five million at least, tehito twelve at the most. The Woleu basin alone, where we have determined the location of all the villages, includes more than a million Fan.

144 The Fan belong to the great Bantu family, but they represent an outer link or, rather, they are situated at the boundary separating the Bantu from the populations and languages of the northeast, those of Libya, Sudan, etc. They are, as Reclus says, the least Bantu of all the Bantu.

[pp.20-397 not translated. -Analyst]

Chapter XII

The Ministers of the Mvamayôn

[Summary omitted. --Translator]

779 The mvamayôn, or totem, has "rights" by the very fact of its existence.

779 These rights may be summed up in the three following points: the totem has a right to ministers, to rites or a cult, to laws. These last include duties, prohibitions, and penalties. ...

The first problem that arises concerns the totem's ministers. Who is the minister of the mvamayôn, that is, what sort of person has the right, first to choose it, then to assign it [399] either to an isolated individual or to an organized collectivity, then to decide on its cult and observances, to see that its rites are respected, to declare penalties or at least to impose them?

According to the structure of the tribe and the formation of the family ... this role falls by right to the father of a family to the exclusion of all other persons whatsoever, but the father of a family taken in the most general sense, that is, as father of a clan or, better, of a tribe.

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

The individual person, as a single and isolated individuality; the father of a family; the chief of a clan or tribe; the council of warriors, who have gone through initiation tests and have been admitted to the assembly that regulates vital village interests; the practitioner [feticheur] entrusted with public and recognized worship; the sorcerer [sorcier] with whom he is often confused -- these are the only distinct categories to which this role could be ascribed.

We must immediately exclude "the individual person," who has no rights over the mvamayôn, which belongs to the whole tribe and existed before him; the same applies to the clan and family totem.

[400] [Five paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [401]

...It is easy to understand that the guardians of the totem's authority, and only they, are entitled to decide where, when, how, and in what circumstances or with what preliminaries, the totem must be found. It is for them to say what marks it ought to show and for them to reject it if the necessary conditions are not existent. Finally, it is they who set up and preserve the cult and the form of ancestral traditions.

The role can only belong to the sole guardian of totemic authority, that is, to the chief or, if one prefers, to the existing esayôn, the living representative and trustee of the spirit of the founding ancestor of the tribe or clan.

779 [Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [402]

791 Sometimes in very important tribes, especially in those that make up large, compact groups, this role of minister to the mvamayôn has developed temporarily upon the practitioner.

Sometimes practitioners take on the role themselves and hold it by their personal importance or ability.

In both cases a kind of usurpation is always involved or a mixing up of powers, rarely a substitution. The practitioner then acts not in his own name by virtue of his role and his own authority, but as a delegated power. ...

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator] [403]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

779 Thus in certain specific cases the political chief of the clan
791 leaves the exercise of religious worship to the practitioner even
614 with regard to the totem. Yet this is only a delegated role to the
769 extent that when the totem has to be questioned in a critical situation, the practitioner disappears and the chief resumes his rights: it would then be up to him to carry out ritual acts and make sacrifices. A chief may not be able to do this, [404] for instance, if he were very ill. A sacrifice is then offered to the totem directly concerned. Does the practitioner now come to the fore? Not at all. He first sacrifices to the tutelary spirits and spirits of the dead, and then he interrogates the spirits in order to find out what evil influences have caused the illness and to discover the person who, in the sacred phrase, has "made a fetish" against the sick man. The consanguineous heir appears in his turn to invoke the family's guardian spirits in favor of the sick man and to invoke his totem. In this case, invocations and sacrifice have a dual purpose: first, to invoke the direct ancestors represented by their skulls preserved in the biéri box -- this is the cult of the esayôn; secondly, to invoke the totem represented by a real or symbolic fragment -- this is the cult of the mvamayôn.

[Four paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [405]

791 There are two distinct characters: practitioner [feticheur]
757 and sorcerer.

The practitioner takes several forms: he may be soothsayer, physician, priest -- all different manifestations of the same ministry and all legal. In a word, the practitioner is the agent of the acknowledged cult.

791 754 The sorcerer also assumes several forms: he may be soothsayer, physician, priest, etc., but none of these different manifestations are either legal or accepted; they will always operate in a secret manner, and the sorcerer will be the agent of the secret and unacknowledged, the extralegal, cult. [406]

575 754 791 Just as we find two distinct persons nearly always in opposition, so we observe them presiding over two distinct types of association. And, unfortunately, just as practitioner and sorcerer have almost always been confused, so have the true secret societies directed by the former been confused with the secret societies (organized also within the tribe) that are quite different, often antagonistic, and under the authority of sorcerers, who create them and without whom they do not operate. The former are established to work for the well-being of the tribe, at least they were so originally and they still are on the whole at the present time. The others, on the contrary, are set up for the specific benefit of members and against the tribe.

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

The principal point at issue here is that the totems of secret societies directed by practitioners and the totems of secret societies directed by sorcerers are utterly different. We shall see later on how incorrect the term "totem" is in connection with sorcerers. While the first kind of totem are chosen entirely for the benefit of the individual who acquires them with no concern about the effect on others, the second are chosen by the owner with a view to the evil he can do with them to others. [407] Hence a profound difference in their selection: the first, like the totems of clan and tribe, can legally be any kind of living thing and are in fact, animals, birds, insects, trees, but only useful things, because the point is to benefit from their good qualities. There is nothing of this in connection with the second kind of totem: to injure others is the point, the unique purpose, the raison d'être; therefore, harmful animals like panthers, reptiles, and wild boars will be the first choice.

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [408-414 omitted]

[415] The practitioner's business is to have an effect upon good and bad "spirits." To call up good spirits as we see for

515 instance in the invocations of marriage songs; to fend off bad
757 spirits, departed shades, ghosts, or apparitions and force them
791 out of the village so they they will go far away and leave the living in peace; in brief, to protect in some manner those who invoke them -- this is the practitioner's role. The end is achieved through appropriate homage and sacrifices, either directly, by protecting the suppliant from bad luck and accidents, or indirectly, by making it impossible for the enemy -- whether spirit, shade, man, or object -- to do harm. All this is worship, religion, the practitioner's role.

But, on the other hand, to be master of these spirits, preferably of the malevolent ones, to seize the spirits, and to force both to do evil, is no longer worship or religion, but magic, and this is the sorcerer's business.

[Four paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [416]

We make the following generalizations:

The practitioner is the agent of the acknowledged cult, which is sometimes public, sometimes secret.

The sorcerer is the agent of the unacknowledged cult, which is always secret.

Both practitioner and sorcerer are leaders or members of secret societies. (1)

1. In place of "secret societies," which leads to confusion, it would be better to reserve this term, as has been proposed, for the societies set up by sorcerers and to use "confraternities" for those directed by practitioners.

Secret societies controlled by practitioners are within the tribe.

Secret societies controlled by sorcerers are marginal to, or directed against, the tribe.

791 Finally, the practitioner is priest, physician, healer, seer, according to whatever function his rank has him perform. Under this title he consults the fates, calls up spirits, etc. In ceremonies of the public cult, for instance, he is priest, seer, rain maker, the acknowledged intermediary between the world of the living and the other world. To sum up, he acts for the welfare of the tribe or of some of its members. In the last capacity he is seen as sacrificer at a child's birth, and as the principal agent in circumcision and in the ceremonies connected with puberty, the initiation of warriors, marriage, and death. He is called in for all illnesses so as to drive away the malevolent spirits who alone cause disease. [419] As physician he first uses magical formulae designed to liberate the good "influences" contained in the remedies he will administer. Next, he dispels evil "spirits" and calls upon favorable spirits, the ancestors of the race, to help him. Only after this does he proceed to give the remedy; then he again calls upon the aid of propitious spirits and dispels the bad ones. ...

Our Fan give the practitioner a special name; he is the ngâǹ, a name common to the whole of Bantu Africa, where the phoneme [sic] may be found throughout the tribes, variously modified as m-gâna, n-gâna, m-hâna, gâna, ngâǹ. ...

[Last paragraph on p. 417 omitted; pp. 418 to mid-420 omitted. --Translator] [420]

754 The sorcerer's social position is easily defined; not only does he have neither rank nor position in the tribe but even to apply the word "sorcerer" ... to a native is more than an insult, it is extremely imprudent. To call a Fan ngâǹ or ngenngâǹ is doing him an honor; if he is not a practitioner, he will give you credit for your good intentions and courtesy. Call him nlèm [he who casts bait] and the situation is quite different. First, he will peer around to see if anyone has overheard. If you are alone with him and [421] the stronger, or if he fears retaliation, you will be lucky to escape the gunshot or knife stab he will gladly give you, or the poison he might give you as soon as he has a chance. If there are people around in the village, it [683] would constitute a serious accusation, which might cost him his life....

754 In fact, the sorcerer is the person hated and feared above all others, the evildoer, whom one consults only when forced to it, because he controls occult forces and his power is recognized. ...

Nevertheless, in spite of this, sorcerers exist and will continue to do so for a long time for two reasons:

1. their social position in the tribe, not as sorcerers -- for I have just said that they have none on that score -- but because of their own personalities;

2. the fear they inspire, which will eventually lead to their death, but which does help them to maintain their positions.

754 791 Clearly, in everyday life and through the course of events, practitioner and sorcerer are often combined in the same person. A certain man, a religious minister respected by his family, a physician, and practitioner esteemed publicly, may also be a sorcerer, but then in the greatest secrecy, unless his position allows him to proclaim this attribute. In that case he will be universally feared and hated and will only keep going through terror and murder, and he will always fear for his life.

[Pp. 422, 423, omitted. --Translator] [424]

791 The practitioner carries on the cult and is the totem's minister only by a sort of delegation, a handing over of power from the head of a family. He has been seen in this capacity performing his part in important totemic ceremonies alongside the tribal chief, regulating ritual under his direction, in short, acting as his organizer, master of ceremonies, sacrificial assistant. In practice he often comes to supplant the chief and afterwards to transmit to his descendants the religious power usurped.

Even this predominant role will not be thought sufficient by the ngâña [practitioner]. He wants complete ascendancy and he attains it through the secret societies in which he alone is master, which have little by little encroached on the tribal organization and tend to supplant the family power of former times. In this way he is the true and sole minister of the totem of these societies.

754 But alongside the ngâña and the secret societies he organizes and controls, hidden as it were in their underworld, are the sorcerers, or bɛ̂yèm, who are similarly ministers of totems which they have given to the secret societies they control -- ministers,

754 societies, and totems that are basically actually spurious copies of the first.

From this we are led to a study of the secret societies
754 directed by both and of the very different, though often undif-
791 ferentiated, role that practitioners [bəŋgan] and sorcerers [bəyəm] play in them.

Chapter XIII

Practitioners and Sorcerers

Their Secret Societies

[Pp. 425-433 omitted, being mainly taken up with the theories of others. --Translator]

[434[[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

575 In my opinion the secret society is derived from the tribal organization itself. The dominating position which the practitioner has been able to assume [in the secret society] comes from the role he has necessarily been called upon to play in the ordinary course of events. Similarly, the new totems given to initiates after initiation are only imitations of those bestowed upon them by their fathers at birth.

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

575 Before youths are admitted to membership with warriors,
791 it seems quite natural to put them through a series of tests designed to prove whether they are really fit to play their part and to perform the services which the tribe demands of them. Consequently, girls and women are immediately eliminated, for the benefit of the male population. The series of tests cannot take place in the village in front of everyone; the compulsory elimination of some would, aside from other considerations, arouse violent resentment against the leaders and be followed by inevitable revenge. Hence the necessity for withdrawing to the background. The chief may appoint a representative, for instance an outstanding warrior, but there is no one better [435] fitted than the practitioner for this role and for taking a leading and soon

575 exclusive position. Religion must, in fact, be an important
791 and necessary element in these gatherings. For is it not necessary for the ancestral spirits to be consulted, to be made interested in their young descendants and their spirits made to enter into them; and is it not necessary to attract good influences and keep away harmful ones? All this is the work of the agent of worship, who alone is proficient. Also, throughout the time during which the young warriors are under his supervision, he has complete control over them, and this power he will indeed want to keep. But with their return to the village, the youths, now warriors, fall back under the authority of the tribal chief. But this is no obstacle. The practitioner easily recruits neophytes from among those who have been most devoted to him, and with these he forms a society more closed than the previous one and which is, above all, permanent, because of its objective and the manner of its establishment. The tribal chief will have to bow to and obey this group whose control has inevitably escaped him. He almost always agrees to enter it himself, mistakenly hoping therein to recapture his partially lost authority. . . .

575 Such, reduced to the simplest terms, is the origin of the secret society. It has gradually become legal and, in the natural course of things,one of the tribe's most lively organizations. Obviously, it has been greatly modified through time and as a result of changing forms. It has nevertheless remained just as it was in its general structure.

In imitation of the tribe, clan, and family, from which it has been copied, the secret society also has totems: totems of society, of subdivisions, [436] of chiefs, and of individuals. Having taken over the tribal chief's role, the practitioner has replaced him in everything that has to do with these particular totems. Yet it must be observed that since the principal power of these totems lies in secrecy, they will not encroach upon the tribe nor fight against either tribal or other totems. A person entering a secret society is simply seeking additional strength and power or a further guarantee of personal security.

Not only do individuals have totems, but just as the tribe is subdivided into clans and families, so the secret society is divided into classes, each of which has its totem.

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

575 We are dealing here with a recognized though secret cult,
769 an accepted cult, addressed to spirits and -- of especial importance -- to the spirits of ancestors. On this subject the practitioner is entirely in agreement with the chief and the tribal traditions.

154 But in addition to natural magic to which the practitioners
575 are confined, so to speak, "there is another," says Mgr. Le Roy, (1) [437] "which claims to borrow its power and methods

1. La Religion des Primitifs [The Religion of Primitive Peoples], p. 340, "La Magie [Magic]."

from beings of the invisible world, from the disembodied ancestral spirits of men and even of animals, from independent spirits ....

"This anti-Religion has, like Religion, its worship, incantations, evocations, rites, fetishes, offerings, sacrifices, ministers, feast days, places of assembly."

First of all, it has its ministers, who are none other than the sorcerers. For this reason in the preceding pages [cf. Chap. 12--Translator] I have already tried to give a sketch of the sorcerer and to make a clear distinction between him and the practitioner by, describing the main traits of his personality, by sorting out a complicated whole in which many points meet and many lines cross and interpenetrate.

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

Leaving out everything not directly bearing on the subject under discussion, let us examine only the following points, which will show both the great similarities and considerable differences that, from the totemic point of view, exist between these two orders of phenomena.

1. Like the practitioners ... [438] sorcerers have united in secret societies for the purpose of assuring their vitality and power.

2. The feast days and initiation ceremonies have numerous points of resemblance. However, those of the sorcerers' cult exhibit a much more marked character of horror, cruelty, and especially an extreme immorality, and a hideous obscenity, dominated by a perverted cult of blood descent and procreation.

515
791
754

3. The practitioners' secret societies all have their own totems. Each group has a guardian totem which carries out for them the role of the étotore or the mvame of tribe, clan, or phratry. Yet, while tribal, clan, or phratry mvame may belong to any of the three kingdoms, animal, vegetable, or mineral, or even occasionally to the sidereal or the spiritual world, the secret society's totem is always an animal, a real animal, sometimes a reptile or fish, often a bird.

Sorcerers' secret societies, however -- and this constitutes an essential difference -- never have this kind of totem. Their mvame or guardian is always a spirit, a being that belongs to the spiritual or disembodied world. That spirit may, and often does, manifest itself (we are speaking from the native's point of view) in animal form, though it will not be a true animal, a fact about which sorcerers unanimously agree. The "spirit" manifests itself, they all will say.

4. Every "practititioner" on the day of his initiation and admission into the secret society, receives a particular, individual totem, usually an animal or a bird. But no physical link connects them; as with the personal mvame received at birth, there is simply a spiritual, mystical kinship between the two.

575
754
825

Every "sorcerer," on the day of his initiation and admission into the secret society, also forms an alliance with an animal, but that union has quite a special character. There is a real, physical kinship acquired by an exchange of blood, and a real alliance so that from that day onward the animal obeys the man and the man the animal: their lives are bound together. [439]

Strictly speaking, that animal is therefore not really a totem in the sence I have defined. The natives give it a special name: the élâñéla. European writers, ethnographers, and others, have referred to it as a nagual, and all the phenomena connected with the nagual is called nagualism. It has almost always been confused with the individual totem; nothing could be more unsuitable or actually more untrue.

[Two paragraphs and tables omitted on pp. 439-450. --Translator] [451]

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

575
754

1. Sorcerers, following the example of practitioners, have and still do set up secret societies:

a) throughout the entire Fan tribe;

b) in neighboring Bantu tribes.

I might here point out that I have never come across such associations among other African peoples, such as the Pygmies.

2. These secret societies meet at night in very mysterious fashion.

[786] 3. They are always essentially licentious to such a degree that, according to many writers, unbridled obscenity is the main objective. In my opinion, it is primarily an accompanying circumstance, aimed at controlling and binding the initiates by means of highly erotic and degrading pleasures.

However -- and this is my final point here -- there is one fact which has many a time misled the most conscientious observers, the most eager to learn the truth, and which, combined with the rule of secrecy, curiously complicates the problem. Just as practitioners have ranks and a hierarchy in their secret societies, so sorcerers have instituted ranks and a highly organized hierarchy. Hence there are several kinds of gatherings. Sometimes there is a sort of general assembly for all who belong to the association, in which case the purpose is a celebration, almost always of revolting obscenity and cruelty. All the witnesses clearly agree on this point.

But beside these "general" celebrations for the whole membership, there are others of a much more secret character to which only sorcerers, the true and sole leaders of these assemblies, are invited. Notified by a password to which I shall shortly refer, they gather at the appointed place and there [452] a very particular kind of feast takes place about which it is difficult to give precise details. It can well be imagined that those who belong to these associations keep silent. The rule of secrecy is absolute and inexorable; moreover, their own interest is at stake. It will always be very hard, if not impossible, to throw light on many facts and factors whose disclosure would nevertheless be extremely valuable from the religious point of view.

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

754 575 828 Sorcerers meet on certain days at a specified place. In most cases this meeting has been decided upon in advance at the previous gathering. But it may also happen that the high chief wants to convene his followers unexpectedly. How then is this done?

The manner is most mysterious.

A chief whom I once questioned on this subject told me that he heard the call during his sleep, that a "voice" informed him of the day, hour, and spot, and that this happened quite often. What is to be made of this reply? I must admit that I do not know. It can be stated definitely that certain sorcerers [453] are very clever at thought transmission even over long distances; such difficulties do not bother them.

One day I observed the following: I was chatting freely in a hut with a Fan who considered himself a friend of ours and who did, in fact, do us many services. I was sitting on his bamboo bed and he on a stool facing me. Suddenly I noticed a little bundle of sticks, some painted red, the others white, a few pointed, the rest not. What was most astonishing was that it seemed to me that the fairly large bundle had not been there a moment before. I hastily called it to our friend's attention because he could not have seen it, having his back turned. ...

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

"It's nothing, don't pay any attention," he said. He picked up the bundle and hid it carefully, adding, "Above all, don't mention it to anyone -- you would do me a great deal of harm!"

As his reply did not satisfy me, I wanted a further explanation.

"No, no!" he kept repeating, "It's a deep secret (endzǎ̂ndzǎ̂n ɛki, lit., the forbidden mystery)."

754 575 828 203 At last after much urging, he decided to admit, after making me promise never to say anything to anyone, that he was a sorcerer of the Ngil rite and that this was the way of convening the next meeting.

"According to the color painted on the sticks," he said, "I know where I'm to go; the number of sticks tells me how many days until my departure for the meeting; the white ones indicate

754 the leaders who will be there, as each has his private mark.
575 That's all."

828 "But why are some pointed and others not?"

203 "Oh, that! No, that's a deep secret. If I were to tell you that I'd be punished by death at the next meeting."

[Pages 454-462 omitted. --Translator] [463]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

791 All practitioners' societies recognize ritual sacrifice. In
754 many cases a human victim is slain and eaten. These sacrifices
575 are often characterized by what seems to us revolting cruelty and
782 horror. I shall have occasion to deal with this point more fully
266 when discussing sacrifice.

These are ritual sacrifices: immolation is not done for the pleasure of killing any more than consuming the victim is for the pleasure of eating human flesh. This is so much the case that a woman is never sacrificed: "Munga ké dzamadzam, ké kie ve
[562 nsissim: A woman is of no importance (from the sacrificial point
774] of view)," runs a Fan proverb, "She has no power over spirits because she has no soul."

At sorcerer's feasts, on the contrary, and in the societies they organize, men are eaten for the pleasure of eating human flesh.

754 According to all the Fan and all Africans, sorcerers leave their boeies in order to go and feed on the hearts of other men while asleep. Hence their name, bendzi bur, eaters of men. Sometimes they do this themselves, sometimes it is done by a spirit that possesses them. I willingly admit, of course, that there is nothing true in these accusations, at least as regards the way in which the sorcerers work. But one thing is undeniable, the fact of cannibalism.

[One paragraph omitted; p. 464 omitted. --Editor]

Chapter XIV

Totems of Sorcerers and of their Secret Societies

The Nagual and Nagualism

[Summary omitted--Translator] [466]

754 The foregoing pages have shown the close connections and also the great differences between practitioners and sorcerers. The connections arise from what is often identity of person; the differences are due to entirely unlike and often contrary purposes.

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

... A major cause of confusion ... derives, it seems to me, from the various totems that can belong to the same sorcerer, for several different reasons. Furthermore, the transformation of a sorcerer into an animal, often attributed to him, rightly or wrongly, plays a large part.

Hence the following points may be usefully made:

The different totems of any sorcerer belong to three distinct categories corresponding to:

1. his being a member of a tribe;

2. his ability to be a practitioner at the same time as a sorcerer;

3. his being a real sorcerer.

1. In belonging to a tribe, like any warrior each sorcerer has the following totems: a) tribal, b) clan, c) phratry, d) family, e) individual.

I have dealt with these different totems and pointed out that they can be, and often are, embodied in one and the same totem. [467]

2. From his ability to be a practitioner, a sorcerer possesses two totems: an individual totem and a class totem.

There is nothing to prevent these totems from being similar, or even the same as, the totems of the first category. In such a case they reinforce one another; power is thereby increased and, though the totemic prohibitions may be more strict, their observance is also easier. In fact, practitioners often give the clan or family totem as individual totems to novices provided that it be an "animal" totem. The class totem, already in existence, is thus independent of the particular will of the "admitting" practitioner or initiator, as well as of the "candidate."

3. As a sorcerer:

a) The sorcerer has no individual totem but a "dedicated animal." I shall indicate the great differences between "totem" and "dedicated animal."

154 b) Imitating the classes of practitioners, the classes of initiates controlled by sorcerers have class totems. These classes are recruited each within his own tribe.

154 515 c) The societies composed only of sorcerers are recruited from many different tribes, as the need arises, whatever may be the political relations, hostile or not. The societies embrace the whole nation. A sorcerer is always allied to every other sorcerer, at least from the point of view of organization, for often their struggle for influence is implacable.

These sorcerer's societies do not have totems but obey a spirit.

154 825 I have already mentioned the various changes of form assumed by sorcerers, and I shall return to this briefly in order to show that the different forms must not be confused, as has often been done, with the nagual, or sorcerer's "dedicated animal."

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

[Page 468 and three paragraphs on p. 469 omitted. --Translator] [469]

Having eliminated all totems that do not belong to the sorcerer as such, the following points confront us:

1. At first glance each sorcerer appears to have his totem -- animal, bird, reptile -- to which he pays particular tribute. [470]

The majority of writers apply the word nagual, nyarong, etc., to this familiar animal, and the group of facts connected with the nagual is naturally called nagualism. Now these writers see in the nagual, nyarong, etc., and in nagualism nothing but a special form of totem and totemism. Is this opinion justified -- is the nagual a totem?

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [471] [Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

The nagual, according to Van Gennep, following Lang, is the local name of the individual totem.

As regards the Fan I should not agree, and all the investigations we have been able to make among neighboring tribes as well as in Madagascar (to whom Van Gennep refers) bear out this opinion. The nagual is not the local name of the individual totem but of "an" individual totem, or better still -- for I do not

757
825

admit to there being a "totem" involved -- of an animal "dedicated" to certain persons, few in number, who, in the case in point, are the sorcerers. I therefore make the following proposals:

1. The nagual is not the local name of the individual totem but the local name of the animal guardian of "certain" individuals -- two different conceptions corresponding to different purposes. And I write, not "totem," but -- which is not the same -- "animal guardian." ... [472]

2. Nagual and nagualism closely "approximate" totem and totemism in the sense that in both there is an animal guardian and a group of facts connected with this guardian, but they are differentiated completely in the sense that:

a) The totem in its basic form, that is, as a family or tribal totem, is not alive at the present time, but had lived formerly and handed down its attributes and especially the efficacy of its alliance to all its descendants, but actually only to its descendants now alive.

The nagual, on the other hand, has no existence as a family or tribal nagual. The nagual that would seem to be the protector of a group (like a secret society) is the protector of "the chief" of the group and not the whole group.

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

b) Since the nagual constitutes a unit not a group, it could not be a totem, and therefore nagualism is entirely different from totemism.

Finally, in line with what has been said, individual totems cannot disappear: the actual death of such or such panther [473] may or may not affect tribe, clan, family, or individual, of which it is, not the but a totem. But the death of that panther will in no way be the death of the totem, since the panther totem is a group just as much for the tribe as for the individual.

On the other hand, the death of such or such panther, the nagual of a certain sorcerer, will profoundly affect him, because, not a collective group, but an individual unit is concerned. A dead nagual can never be replaced. It is bad luck for the sorcerer, who loses by the death of his dedicated animal the most active agent of his authority and power. His own life is often linked with

757 that of his nagual and vice versa. If he is ill or if he dies, his
575 nagual suffers or dies; if the nagual dies or suffers, so the man dies or suffers.

[Pp. 474-480 omitted. --Translator] [481]

Initiation of the Practitioner

575 The practitioner at the time of his initiation undergoes a
791 different kind of test from that which young [ordinarily] men do. These tests are distinguished by a more marked degree of cruelty and especially by the offering of a victim. The victim will first be dedicated in special rites. After the tests and when the neophyte has been judged fit to enter the priestly company, then only is the totem chosen. But the choice is not left to the candidate; the "admitting" practitioner gives it to him. He must first of all undergo a severe fast of at least seven days. During this time he is forbidden absolutely, under any pretext, to leave his hut, which is set apart in a portion of the forest reserved to practitioners and called éli bengan. No person is allowed to ap-
[362 proach. Any intercourse with women, even a mere glance,
688] would bring about permanent exclusion. Moreover, the woman would be put to death, and her father or husband would have no right to compensation, pecuniary or other.

During the neophyte's seclusion his "admitting" [practitioner] has chosen the totem; avoiding many complications, he almost always chooses the class totem to which the confraternity is already dedicated.

What kind of totems are they? They never belong to the mineral realm, nor are they ever celestial phenomena, nor spirits of any sort, materialized or not, as happens with clan or tribal totems.

575 The class totem is usually a bird [or] a swiftly moving
791 animal, rarely a fierce one when the choice would be made be-
825 cause of the animal's positive qualities and not for its power to harm. Indeed the secret society prefers to seek as protecting totems, those that will guarantee swift and sure retreat in case

515 791 825 of danger. Hence the symbolic choice of fast birds: the river swallow, the koulyebe that flies like an arrow, the eagle or the vulture whose powerful flight protects it from enemies, the turtledove or the wood pigeon that knows how to conceal a nest so as to escape all attention. Or it might be an antelope with nimble legs and acute hearing, [482] which is especially difficult to capture. Finally, the crocodile sometimes appears as a totem not because it is bad tempered and devours men, but because it is always on the watch and at the slightest disturbance submerges itself and disappears in the river or because its scaly covering makes it invulnerable to arrows and javelins.

Such are the qualities that a secret society demands for itself.

515 791 782 The "consecrator" has chosen the totem, generally that of a class. He must now procure one himself but catch it "alive." He brings it into the hut of the "consecrated" one, who keeps it, at least as much as possible, on his chest throughout a whole night. In the morning the totem is led with great ceremony to the middle of a clearing and sprinkled with lustral water: the attending practitioners dance around it, then sing the hymn to the totem; the candidate sings it along with them. This hymn extols the totem's strength, valor, and swiftness, and especially thanks it for the protection given the society. Then, after this hymn, the candidate fetches the victim, whom he must offer, and leads him [567 562] before the totem. Ordinarily, the victim is a foreign slave, because he should not belong to the Fan nation, in order to avoid any possible ritual offense. (1) It is, however, permissible --

> 1. A foreign slave or a woman is chosen because neither possesses a totem and therefore no ritual offense is to be feared.

and this often happens -- to take a Fan woman. The slave or [278] woman is tightly gagged. Usually no resistance is offered, especially since the victim is given alewané to drink the evening before, a decoction of herbs and woody mushrooms that have the property of suppressing memory. The neophyte forces the victim to walk in front of him, or pushes him, going around the totem

575 791 782 three times. He then pulls him down to the ground, binds him in front of the totem, and with one stroke of the mfor cuts the carotid arteries. The blood is collected in a clay pot, which is carefully broken after the ceremony and buried. When the blood has stopped flowing, the practitioners approach. The leader, the others next, and the neophyte last, dip their hands into the pot and sprinkle the totem while they dance around it. [483]

575 791 782 266 Right after this the head practitioner approaches the totem and smears its neck with the victim's blood, then with one stroke cuts its arteries. The spouting blood is collected with care because no drop must fall on the ground, to avoid any profanation. The victim's blood is mixed with the totem's, and everyone dips his hand into the pot and stirs; when the contents have been thoroughly mixed, the pot is put on a fire that has been prepared and, as soon as the blood starts to coagulate, each person present approaches and drinks a bit. The neophyte takes his turn last and has to drink all that is left no matter how much.

The victim and the totem are then placed on a special pyre. Often the victim's body is opened and the heart removed and the totem's body put in its place. When the fire has pretty well roasted both bodies, they are taken off and the victim's is put aside for eating. The totem is put back on the fire and entirely consumed, except that its burnt and pulverized bones are preserved. The victim's bones are also kept and reduced to ash so that they may be mingled with the totem's. These ashes are eventually divided among all those present; the larger share going to the new practitioner to form his "totemic" fetish, which he will make use of whenever he appeals to his totem. In particular, when he takes part in the "consecration" of a new practitioner, he will, after the immolation of the totem as just described, put a pinch of these ashes on the totem's body: all his colleagues will do the same, in order to mystically unite all the totems in a common sacrifice.

[789]

At the end of the ceremony, the new practitioner must get rid of all signs of it before he returns to the village. He must see to it that no drop of blood, no trace of ash, be profaned. He breaks up the pyre, buries the pot for blood at a distance, and goes home only then, invested with a new dignity.

515
791
688

The ceremony is altogether secret in the sense that no layman may be present, but it remains a legal ceremony, and [484] everyone in the village -- if only through having had to stay away -- knows where and when it takes place. However, it must not be mentioned by anyone. Anyone doing so would have to pay a fine, usually of a fowl or its equivalent in value.

Thus the totem initiation of practitioner belongs to the ordinary scheme of things.

That of the sorcerer is quite different.

Initiation of the Sorcerer; the Nagual

154
515

In a book (1) published several years ago, the author, Mgr.

1. Sous le Ciel d'Afrique, Recits d'un Missionaire [Under the African Sky. A Missionary's Account], by the Rev. Father Buléon, Congregation of the Holy Ghost, pp. 88 ff.

Buléon ... gives an eyewitness account of the sorcerer's initiation. ...

[Footnote omitted. --Translator]

"To be initiated as a sorcerer means being initiated by secret ceremonies into certain rites through which one may gain some signal favor from a spirit whose power one recognizes. ...

"Motivated by revenge, avarice, or ambition, an African one day leaves his village, to which he only expects to return when armed with the mysterious and terrible power that will allow him to satisfy his desires. His journey's end may be distant; often he has excellent reasons for seeking, far away and usually outside his tribe, someone who will confer marvelous privileges upon him. His absence sometimes lasts [485] several months. ...

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

"The candidate is seated on the ground, wearing only a loincloth and tattooed more than the others. Undermined by severe privations made more hazardous by being uninterrupted,

515 subjected to skillfully graduated demands, participating in cere-
154 monies that arouse his imagination while exhausting him by their length, he gradually grows weaker and feels overwhelmed by the somber and mysterious aspect of initiation and falls into a kind of hallucination.

"In the depths of the hut [where the initiation takes place], there is a crudely sculptured image. Beneath that has been put a bundle containing the bones of a man long dead, and in front a mirror has been hung with its face towards the spectators. In all initiation proceedings the candidate is brought before the mirror and asked: 'What do you see?' For a long time he has to reply: 'I don't see anything.' As long as the reply is negative the initiation has not been successful. But finally the expected sign appears; he sees the likeness of a man in the mirror. Then he is led aside and made to describe the man whose face he has just seen. He had never seen him before [486] and cannot have known him, yet he describes him with great precision, giving all the facial traits. No cheating is possible in this. From the description given, the initiator, who is able to judge the likeness, identifies the man whose bones are beneath the image. This proof allows him to decide that the initiation is proceeding on the right track.

"Sometimes the initiator demands more personal and more active cooperation from the person seeking initiation. ... he may require that he bring the skull and a few bones of a relative of the first degree. ...

"Only when he brings in the material proofs of his crime are the final rites carried out. The bones are thrown into a
[266] cauldron with herbs and other ingredients that are unsavoury. When the horrible mixture has been sufficiently cooked, the unfortunate man is made to drink a cup while the audience sings. Then what is left in the pot is divided, and everyone has a share.
[789] The small bones are wrapped in old rags, and this bundle is given to the initiate: it constitutes his talisman, which he will wear and which will protect him from the dangers he fears and obtain for him the favors he desires.

575 "There would seem to be nothing further except to pay
757 the initiator and to carry away the treasure so dearly and
825 criminally bought. But there is still a final ceremony. Initiator and initiate both are actors and witnesses in a strange scene which I should not describe were it not as authentic as it is apparently unbelievable. The new initiate's life is to be united through a bloody rite to that of an animal, who will thereafter be his personal animal, not a domestic or tame animal, but a wild beast living in the depths of the forest or the bed of a river. The initiator has made the necessary arrangements; he gives a signal: [487] at first no sound is heard in reply but soon in the bright moonlight an unknown participant is seen approaching the spot in the forest where it is awaited -- sometimes an enormous mass with a monstrous head, sometimes a feline form that crawls rather than walks, sometimes a long body that unwinds and undulates. Whatever the animal -- hippopotamus, panther, or snake -- it forgets the timidity or ferocity felt in the presence of man and submits docilely to the desired operation. Then the exchange of blood takes place. How this is done is not our concern. But what is beyond any doubt is the fact that blood is let, of the animal and of the initiate, and that each is inoculated with the other's blood. The animal's ear is slit (a corresponding cut is made upon a snake) as a mark
[304] of the link established with the man, in whose arm an incision is made so that he in turn is marked with the sign of the beast. (1)

1. [The footnote, referring to mediaeval witchcraft practices, is omitted. --Translator]

A real link henceforth exists between them. The animal will be at the beck and call of the person who has been made his master. I could name ... a certain Black man who at night receives a vulture or a panther with slit ear, and another who allows into his hut and even his bed (ikoko) a python that recognizes his authority. When day comes, and the tasks have been

575 754 825 performed, the animals return to lake or bush, just as dangerous, often more so, to all whose blood they have not received.

"This union is so close between animal and man that the life of one depends upon that of the other.

"How many examples I could give! Should you kill a panther that bears the mark, you will not long afterwards learn of the death of some sorcerer. Should the sorcerer be the first to die, don't be surprised at finding near the village the dead body of his personal animal."

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator] [488]

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

In contrast [to the position with regard] to totems, both men and women can have a nagual, since both can be sorcerers. Yet those naguals are not the same for both sexes.

Among the Fan, the naguals that belong to men, with rare exceptions, are:

1. panther, incorrectly called tiger, nze; and by far the most frequent.

2. black snake, elom, sometimes the python, mvom.

3. crocodile, nkôm, rarely the ngân or cayman, never the earth saurians.

4. hippopotamus, ngube or nguve.

5. wild boar, ngü.

6. vulture, nkôn, but very rarely.

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

The naguals belonging to women are:

1. black snake, kagélakagéla, different from the mvom.

2. vulture, nkôn. [489]

3. earth saurians; rarely the crocodile.

4. a kind of owl or night bird, akûn.

5. green snake found in banana trees, fôl.

6. a kind of horned viper, fî.

[Nine paragraphs omitted on p. 489. --Translator] [Page 490 omitted. --Translator] [491]

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

The élânéla, may quite well also belong to the animal clan to which individual, clan, or tribal totems are related, and this

575 754 825 can lead to much confusion. Sorcerers are people particularly eager to conceal themselves and at the same time to assert their power, and they are often clever at doing so. They succeed in disguising the real nature of their nagual: "It's my totem," they will say, if someone surprises them with their ɛlầnɛ̂la. To be able to make their supposed totems appear at will often gives them special authority, which they can make good use of in certain circumstances. Indeed, one can imagine the prestige gained by a sorcerer who during a ritual ceremony thus calls on his totem, in reality his nagual. But ordinarily he restrains himself, for he would then unmask his sorcerer's character, and, unless he is all-powerful and protected from revenge, that is not at all what he has in mind. ...

[614] According to certain chiefs, especially among the Bɛ̂kwɛ, the totem of the founder of the race or clan was originally his ɛlầnɛ̂la. This is perfectly admissible. If by one or another means the founder of tribe or clan was able to bind an animal to his will, to make it obedient, or at least to persuade his followers that this was so -- which amounts to the same thing -- these men may very readily, after his death, choose his ɛlanɛ̂la for their totem. But this choice, which is determined by circumstances or the wish of the dying chief, does not imply that it remains an ɛlầnɛ̂la. On the contrary, this characteristic [492] disappeared by the very fact of its becoming a totem and ceasing to be a unit in order to become a collective group through its descendants.

[Two paragraphs omitted--Translator]

In a certain number of cases it has happened that the nagual is confused with the sorcerer himself. In fact, according to the Africans, sorcerers often transform themselves into animals. ...

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [493]

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

Almost always, I am convinced, these [phenomena] may be attributed to men being disguised as animals, either to safely satisfy their murderous impulses or to obtain victims for feasts of human flesh.

In some cases these men act under the mysterious influence of unknown agents. This perhaps involves a kind of unconscious

675 754 825 possession. They believe and declare themselves to be really transformed into animals. ...

Finally, when it is not a question of the [sorcerer] in disguise (which is nearly always the case), one often deals with his nagual, obedient to his instructions and prompting, at least in the beginning. After the animal has tasted human flesh [494] it is eager to return of its own accord. I remember that in a village in the interior, a panther had devoured 37 persons within a year. A sorcerer was accused of having the animal under his command and, as a result, after confession he was killed. The next day the panther was found dead in the forest. A coincidence? Perhaps the sorcerer had made use of the panther the first time, but in connection with the other killings, I have my doubts. In any case, this panther had an ear slit by human hand, as I was able to verify. Without passing judgement on the outcome, this was an obvious sign that it was "dedicated."

In their main outlines, the sorcerers' confraternities [sic] are modeled on those of practitioners. Both, therefore, possess two distinct categories of confraternity, or secret society, one set composed of initiates directed and controlled by practitioners and sorcerers, the other composed solely of practitioners or sorcerers.

1. Societies composed of initiates directed by sorcerers each has its totem, as do the similar societies directed by practitioners. This totem is always an animal -- a custom found almost universally and made necessary by the very concept of the totem.

575 754 776 2. Secret societies composed solely of sorcerers do not have totems; they obey a spirit.

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [495]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

This spirit bears the name, engungure. It is also the name of the khun, or ghosts, or even of the souls of the dead after the postmortuary exercises and the final transformations.

Chapter XV

The Totem in Fan Life: General Rites

000 Summary: Religion gives form to Fan life.

1. Totemic claim to worshipping rites. Sir Harry Johnston's view.
   The totem's rights as mvamayôñ, eponymous father
   This cult derived from that of the esayôñ, real father and founder of the race.
2. General totemic rites, or rites of the mvamayôñ.
   Common factor in all totemic rites of worship.
   1) Totemic sacrifice. Views of Smith, Hubert, and Mauss. a) Sacrifice of the totem: In principle the totem may not be killed. When is sacrifice allowed? How is the sacrifice made? What constitutes sacrifice? Immolation and exchange of blood, communion through the victim. b) Sacrifice to the totem. The various sacrifices.
   2) Lustral water: its qualities. How to consecrate it. Its totemic uses.
   3) Fasting: practices. Duration. Reason for fasting.
   4) Totemic dances. Religious dances, for circumcision, funerary, totemic. Their common characteristic of decency.
   Rhythm.
3. General totemic rites: details.
   1) Circumcision. a) Is it a religious rite? Circumcision not to be attributed essentially to hygienic causes. View of Renan. Medical views. b) Is circumcision a totemic rite? Frazer, Father Lagrange, Abbé Bros. Relevance for the Fan.
   c) The circumcision itself. Fan view of it. (1) Event and name. 2) Age of circumcision. 3) Time of the ceremony. 4) Preparations. 5) The ceremony.

* [Obvious misprint here: au for du. --Translator]

7: Trilles--36 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9

000

d) Consequences of circumcision. Mgr. Le Roy's opinion of circumcision. The writer's view. [497]
2) Initiation of the young man. Tests before admission to warrior rank. Consecration and song connected with the rifle, the hymn to the sun.
3) Consecration of the chief. a) The ceremony. The consecration song. Sacrifice and victim. b) Rite of the spear among Marundi and Fan. Purpose of these ceremonies. c) Rites of initiation and consecration of the chief compared with the religious role of the Pharaoh. d) Mistakes made by European administration in appointing chiefs outside the main lineage.
e) Change of the clan totem. Examples.
4) War and palavers. War sacrifice and the victim. The ceremony. The sacrificer. Communion through the victim.
5) Large hunting expeditions. Sacrifice; the motive.
6) Founding a new village. Reasons. Preparatory rites.
Establishment.
7) Ordeals. Various kinds. Occasions for ordeals. Fire and boiling water tests. The poison test.
8) Blood exchange. How it is practiced among the Fan and among various African tribes.

[Beginning of Text]

111 The whole of the Fan's life, like that of every African, whether Bantu or other, is deeply imbued with religion.

Sometimes it gives form to and determines the principal actions of family and social life, sometimes it constitutes their very essence and raison d'être. It is then, strictly speaking, religious life.

These acts of worship are performed by special ministers, by the father of the family in the case of family rites, by the clan or tribal chief for public phenomena, and by the practitioner

T71 or true minister for religious life. Often, however, the practitioner actually, though not lawfully, replaces the father and especially the clan or racial chief. Alongside the practitioner, struggling against him in the background, appears the sorcerer, the agent of the extra- or contra-legal cult.

The religious act is addressed to spirits, to souls of the departed, to ancestors, to unknown forces of nature, etc. It is also addressed to the totem, as we have defined it. The totem is connected with religion by close ties which, at least for the Fan, link it inseparably with ancestor worship and determine the worshipping rites that are its due. [498]

1. Totemic Claim to Worshipping Rites

T19 The claims of the true totem to worshipping rites is clearly defined by virtue of its being the father of the tribe and founder of the race.

In using these two words, "father" and "founder," as I have pointed out before, I in no way mean that the eponymous animal is the real father of the face, the actual progenitive founder. I am using these words as the natives do, so as to adopt their own terms. Frequently, they have been misunderstood. (1)

1. Cf. S. Reinach, Orpheus (under the word "totem"), p. 20 and passim.

Real kinship has often been confused with kinship based on sentiment, mode of speech, or custom. Moreover, some writers have been in doubt, even with firsthand evidence:

"I have never been able to ascertain from Banyoro or Baganda that their forefathers at any time believed the clan to be descended from the object chosen as a totem. The matter remains very obscure. It may be remotely connected with ancestor-worship, which is certainly the foundation of such religious beliefs as are held by the Banyoro, as by most other Negro races." (2)

2. Sir H. Johnston, The Uganda Protectorate, Preface.

779 As may be seen from these remarks of Sir Harry Johnston, the resemblance between mvamayôn and esayôn was more the consequence of a writer's preconceived idea or of a native's misinterpreted statement than of the words themselves and the crux of the matter.

What, then, are the totem's rights, according to this view of kinship; are they real in the exact sense of the word or simply the result of blood exchange?

As father of the tribe, mvamayôn, and founder of the race, the totem has a claim to a cult and, consequently, to special rites, determining the circumstances, place, and manner of worship.

But the mvamayôn may and should be considered from two points of view: it is the protector of clan and tribe, and thereby, strictly speaking, the mvamayôn; it consequently has a right to public worship, national or tribal. But it is also the protector of the family [499] and the individual, and thereby, the étotore; it consequently has a claim to family and individual worship. In order to apprehend and understand the significance of many totemic phenomena, it is absolutely necessary to make this distinction.

The mvamayôn therefore ought to receive ritual worship, and not just any kind; this presupposes the intervention of a practitioner representing the chief, or the head of the family or even the tribal chief. And not only does the mvamayôn have a right to collective public worship in special circumstances laid down by law, such as the establishment of a new village, but further, as étotore, to private, individual worship, which requires the intervention of a private person and a head of a family, not of a practitioner or tribal chief.

779 But, let me emphasize that this totemic worship, whether
771 private and individual or tribal and general, does not in certain respects fit into the wider framework of religious life per se, or, if one prefers, does not constitute the religion of the nation or tribe. Indeed the practitioner is the rightful representative, guardian, and recognized sacrificial ministrant of religion, not by choice but by his function itself.

770 In totemic worship, on the other hand, which is not re-
771 ligion but a collection of religious phenomena, this role belongs to the family or tribal head and if, in an exceptional case, it is performed by the practitioner, he does so as a delegate only.

The cult of the mvamayôn is in fact a derived cult, pri-
779 marily based upon the esayôn cult without which it would have no
769 raison d'être. Indeed, the esayôn is the true father of the tribe and without the esayôn there could be no mvamayôn; one evidently cannot exist without the other. But the esayôn, or ancestral worship, is independent of what is strictly a religious cult or recognition of the divine being and worship of spirits. The esayôn cult is connected with religion per se in the sense of drawing upon it as a source and, according to the Fan, of deriving from it its ultimate origin and fundamental rationale. The esayôn cult is therefore primarily and in principle a family cult, if one takes each tribal ancestor separately. It is national if the first ancestor or ancestors of the tribe are viewed together. The cult, then, is definitely connected with the genuine religious cult of deities, [500] in the sense that in many Bantu tribes, and probably among the Fan, the first ancestor or ancestors of the tribe are now deified and raised to the rank of national gods, or at least, spiritual protectors of the tribe.

779 Totemism therefore has only relative importance as a basis
[771] for Fan religious conceptions and takes, one might say, only third place, after the leading cult of spirits and then after ancestor worship, of which it is but a derivative.

Totemic rites will, as I have said, be general or particular according to whether they are connected with the mvamayôn or the ètotore. The first rites relate to the race itself and what bears upon its continuance and preservation, the others relate to the individual, not as a particular person but as a member of the race. From this we come quite naturally to recognizing among them those of the family and those of society, with religion entering to a greater or lesser extent into the second.

779 2. General Totemic Rites, or Rites of the mvamayôn

To list and then discuss all the general rites connected directly or indirectly with Fan totemism, and those in which traces of totemism might be discovered or questioned, would carry us far beyond the necessary limits set for this study. Moreover, I shall take up later, in a work on Fan religion, those rites that are more closely connected with religious phenomena and that could not be separated without some previous explanation of the latter.

Among general totemic rites, I shall refer briefly to those that primarily concern the continuation and preservation of the race. These are:

1. Circumcision, by which a person is received into tribal life

2. Initiation, which places him among the warriors

3. Consecration of the chief, which links the tribe with its ancestors [501]

4. Warfare, which preserves the tribe

5. Hunting and fishing expeditions, which provide subsistence

6. Establishment of a new village, which is a part of the tribe's social life

7. Ordeals and the poison test, which eliminate and punish rebellion against the tribe

8. Exchange of blood, which admits a stranger into the tribe and enlarges the family or links two tribes in common alliance through the chiefs who personify them

In all general totemic rites, and often in particular ones, there are several elements to which we should first pay attention so as to avoid repetition. These are:

1. Sacrifice, which appears to be basic to all rites, general and particular

2. Fasting, which takes place before major sacrifices

3. Lustral water, which is associated with almost every sacrifice

4. Totemic dances, which are an integral part of the rites

119 Of these, sacrifice is by far the most important. It is required; without it, in one form or another, there would be no rite, no cult ceremony.

I. Totemic Sacrifice

119 182 Sacrifice is the basis of all totemism. Totemic activities, whatever they may be, depend upon sacrifice, as do all the religious activities of the African.

At first glance, there appears to be considerable variety in sacrifices. Various authors have attempted to classify them. (1)

1. Cf. Hubert and Mauss, Le sacrifice, Mélanges d'histoire des Religions [Sacrifice, Miscellany on the History of Religion] (Paris, 1909), pp. 16 ff., Lagrange, Études sur les Religions sémitiques [Studies in Semitic Religion], pp. 249; Reinach, Cultes, Mythes, Religions [Cults, Myths, Religions] Vol. 1, pp. 2-3 ff.; Bros, op. cit. [Religion des peuples non civilisés (Religion of Noncivilized People)], p. 143; Le Roy, op. cit., [La Religion des Primitifs (The Religion of Primitives), (Paris, 1909), pp. 322 ff. [502]

We shall discuss only two kinds here, without being concerned about distinctions:

1. Sacrifice to the totem
2. Sacrifice of the totem (1)

1. W. R. Smith (article on "Sacrifice" in the Encyclopedia Britannica) acknowledges sacrifice as a totemic rite; in his opinion, it is a blood covenant, a communal meal at which the faithful eat their totem god so as to assimilate his

779
782

power, to make or renew their covenant with him. The slaughter has no other purpose except to permit communion. This is not found in all sacrifice, because, through the evolution of ideas, the notion of the "sacred" has acquired such importance that the god is merely a surviving rite, whose origin is inevitably explained by mythology.

In the view of Hubert and Mauss, sacrifice is based on belief in a vague, divine power which one can master by magical sacrifices. The purpose of sacrifice is to establish communication between the sacred world possessing these powers and the profane world, through a victim, that is, an object destroyed in the course of the ceremony. To fulfill this purpose, the victim is consecrated; by means of magic all the divine powers are concentrated in the victim and they are increased by being liberated by the immolation. The religious agent, the person offering the sacrifice, and the faithful are made partakers of this power. The victim's approach must be prepared for, hence the purifying rites.

Father Lagrange's theory acknowledges animism and gods, instead of magical forces.

a) Sacrice of the totem

The totem is "sacred" in itself. Mvame a ne éki. It is forbidden to offend it, even in speech, and that under severe penalties, all the more so to wound and, above all, to kill it. Should this happen, the act always entails punishment and expiation, two completely separate things, to which we shall return when discussing the sacrifice made to the totem.

779 How can these facts be reconciled with the sacrifice of
782 the totem itself?

Sacrifice of a totem animal belongs to a special order of ideas. First of all, observe that we may use the term "animal." In fact, a totem is generally a living being. When this is not the case, the practitioner or religious agent of the sacrifice, the "sacrificing one," has the right to make a substitution, that is, to "animalize in another living being" the totem that is a spirit, a celestial phenomenon or a mineral, etc. [503]

779 "The totem animal is the one with whom, or rather with
782 whose tribe, a man, representing his own person and his
675 descendants, has made a covenant, in order to obtain services in return. This agreement usually (and we have seen that this was always the case among the Fan) "was sealed by an exchange of blood in such a way that animal and man, the family of the one and of the other, the tribe uof the first and the tribe of the second, are individuals, families, or tribes of the same blood. They are allied. From time to time it is a good thing to renew this covenant, and that is done by sacrificing a representative of the animal family, a sacrifice in which man takes part as a communicant: there is a new blood exchange, a revival of the first covenant. In addition, it is a reinforcement of the special virtues of the totem, virtues which are perhaps strengthened by the presence or influence of the ancestral spirit in the animal or vegetable so consecrated, sacrificed, and eaten." (1)

1. Le Roy, op. cit., pp. 324-325.

779 In what circumstances, how and why, will the totem ani-
782 mal be thus sacrificed? For it is probably not enough to say, with the distinguished author just quoted, "From time to time it is a good thing to renew this covenant."

There will be a sacrifice of the totem:

1. Whenever a new totem is to be chosen.

This happens, first, at each "birth" in the most inclusive sense of the word or, again, at each "beginning of a new life." Such would be the establishment of a new clan, at which time the chief's totem becomes the clan totem instead of merely the

719 family one. Likewise, in the case of an individual, there will
782 be sacrifice of the totem after birth, when the child has been accepted by his father and admitted for the first time into the tribe and receives his personal totem. And there will be another sacrifice of the totem upon his initiation as a warrior, his entry into a secret society, at each stage in initiation, in short, upon each change of totem or introduction to a totem.

2. Whenever the tribe, the clan, or the secret society, sometimes the family and even the individual, undergoes a critical experience [504] involving danger to life and needs to call upon totemic aid in a special way. The religious head of the group in danger, after the necessary sacrifices, will have to decide whether or not this offering and new exchange of blood is expedient.

3. In certain cases it may happen that the "materialized" totem has been lost: if, for instance, in battle or any kind of fighting, the akaméyôn, (1) the materialized totem representing

1. Akaleméyôn and akaméyôn are both used.

the actual covenant of the tribe with its real totem, falls into the enemy's hands. Sometimes the victors may even demand the surrender of the akaméyôn. Or the loss may be casual, the result of accident, shipwreck, etc. In all such cases, the akale or materialized totem will have to be replaced, whether it pertains to the nation, clan, family, or individual. The ceremony will vary in elaborateness according to the occasion or the organized group. It will not be very important when a single person is involved, but more so for a clan or tribe, and especially so when there is danger or when the totem has fallen into enemy hands.

Whatever the case may be, the ceremony follows the same broad lines. First of all, there will be an offering or sacrifice to the totem, sometimes a simple gift of fruit, oil, or first fruits, sometimes the sacrifice of an animal, occasionally even the sacrifice of a human being. We have given several

779 examples. After the victim has been offered to the totem,
782 the latter will itself be immolated, with all the prescribed ritual; then comes the eating or partaking of the totem itself. In this way the ancient covenant is renewed, though on a new basis. It means binding the present to the past and making certain in clear and recognizable fashion, the continuance of the totemic agreement concluded by the first ancestor of the race.

The sacrifice of the totem therefore gives us the basic idea which must have guided primitive sacrifice. First of all, it was an "offering," not a "tax" granted to a recognized master, as Le Roy puts it, for totemic sacrifice does not admit of this notion at all, but rather as the expiation of ritual but necessary murder. This notion is confirmed [505] by the fact that the [682] sacrifice offered "beforehand" to the sacrificed totem is the same as that which ought to be offered as ritual compensation for accidental murder. The totem having been appeased in advance, the "offering" proper is then made. After a series of consecutive consecrations, the "sacrificing person," the chief or practitioner representing the organized group over which he presides, calls "into himself" the genius of the race, the power of the ancestors. But this power rests in, and inhabits, an invisible world, the world of spirits; the actual totem must be carried into that world and put to death in order that it may penetrate it. So, before the ceremony, the "sacrificing person," as representative of that world of spirits, will take care to paint himself with liturgical colors; [with] red, the color of sacrifice, and white, the color of funerals but especially of spirits, deified souls of the dead, ghosts, of all disembodied forces.

Thus totem and victim will be adorned in the same colors, and only then will the "immolation" take place.

After the immolation comes the exchange of blood.

The totem's blood has been carefully collected; those taking part make slight incisions in their arms, squeeze out a little blood, put some on a leaf, take a few drops of the totem's blood and mix it with their own on the leaf. Finally, they apply the leaf to the cuts on their arms and rub energetically so as to make the mixture of bloods penetrate to the depths of the

719
782

wound. Only after this ceremony do the "participants" renew their covenant by drinking the totem's blood.

"Communion" follows the exchange of blood. This does not always take place; often only the victim that has been offered is shared by everyone, after it is roasted. If the totemic animal is very small, only the future possessor of this totem will receive it as a sacrament. Sometimes, instead of communion based on the totem, the participants only divide the ashes. The totem is burnt to a cinder, but the large bones are preserved intact, pulverized and mixed with the ashes of the previous sacrifice. Then each participant carefully takes [506] the portion due him and keeps it for himself. The sacrificer's portion is always much the largest.

Finally, "substitution" of totems occasionally takes place. It may be that some kinds of totem are very hard to procure, especially in an emergency. This would be the case with a panther, an elephant, or certain rare plants. The procedure, then, is one of substitution, either by simply making a figure in clay or wood, an effigy roughly reproducing the totem, or by making merely a head. But with this image the consecrator will use the same formulae and ritual and will represent symbolically those that cannot actually be performed, like blood exchange. The effigy is always first painted with the symbolic colors, then, after an offering is made, sprinkled with the victim's blood.

b) Sacrifice to the totem

These are of various kinds.

German writers often place sacrifices in different categories, such as expiation (Sühnopfer), thanksgiving (Dankopfer), and petition (Bittopfer). This division is more specious than real, at least as far as totemic sacrifice is concerned. Therefore, with Max Müller [Footnote omitted. --Editor], I prefer to look upon them as regular and occasional sacrifices.

Occasional sacrifices I consider, with Mauss [Footnote omitted. --Editor], to be, first, the sacramental sacrifices associated with the solemn events of life, votive sacrifices, and finally curative and expiatory sacrifices.

779 782 Regular or periodic sacrifices are associated with certain fixed occasions, independent of man's will and of chance. These are: the daily sacrifice, that to the new moon, and that of first fruits.

Occasional sacrifices are usually blood offerings, accompanied by rites that have earned the name "communional." [507] In almost all these, there is communion through the victim, and all present partake in the sacrifice.

Periodic totemic sacrifices are, on the other hand, rarely bloody or "communional."

In general, the African considers his own interests first. He usually pays rather little attention to his totem, except for certain rites laid down by custom, from which he would not dare to deviate. Thus, every morning, the first wife or most [788] important woman, in the name of the head of the family, anoints with oil the figure upon the box (évora biéri) that contains both the ancestral skulls and the materialized totem. Also, at the time of the new moon, an offering is made to this same Biéri, to the ancestors and totem together, the two cults being united in a common gift.

But when a Fan has some favor to ask, wants to acquire something, like a wife, an object, etc., he will hasten to make a sacrifice to the totem. The more urgent the need, and the more important the object, the more substantial will be the sacrifice, ranging from a hen to a human victim, sometimes even to the ritual sacrifice of the chief himself or at least of one of his children.

The sacrifice of thanksgiving does not exist for the Fan; he would view it as "give and take" and he would be astonished if asked to give thanks: he has offered a sacrifice to his totem, the latter has granted his prayer, which means that the totem is satisfied. Why do any more? If a new need arises, then only will it be time to have recourse again to his totem. Meanwhile he had best leave things alone. Each is satisfied with the other.

As for expiatory sacrifice, it is one of the most common. Every time an African has an accident, a misfortune, a calamity, perhaps merely lack of success, he attributes it to his totem's

779 having been offended by some nsem or ritual impurity, by the
782 violation of an éki, etc., whence the necessity of appeasing the totem. The greater the misfortune, the more serious must have been the cause or the fault, even though involuntary, and the more to be expiated by a larger sacrifice. [508]

At the basis of all general rites concerned with the race, we find sacrifice in one form or another, either bloody "communional," or bloody and not "communional," or not bloody, or simply as an offering.

In these sacrifices the victim is often the totem itself. But in that case there will always have been a previous offering of another victim. That victim may sometimes be the officiant himself, as in circumcision, when the sacrificer or operator is but an agent.

II. Lustral Water; médzim akum

779 In almost all totemic sacrifices, lustral water is used. The
782 practitioner boils water in a clay pot, making an infusion with
783 various plants. The most commonly used are: ava, a sort of
[824] fragrant labiate; asèp, a strong-smelling mint; esun (hua gabonensis), a tree with a garlicky smell; esèp (monodora myristica), with an equally strong scent; and in addition, the leaves of elun, ombien, and several others. Nearly always eleven plants are used, which must have been picked at the new moon. To these are added a few pieces of meteorite and the remains of a sacrifice offered to the tribal totem, consisting of ashes, bone, and a few bits of horn or hoof, also a little dried blood.

Before beginning, the practitioner or head of the family dips his hands in the lustral water. With this he sprinkles the participants, using a dè, (1) a kind of fly swatter usually made

[442] 1. The dè is the insignia of chiefs. In former times, only they were allowed to use an elephant's tail as a fly swatter, when they themselves had killed the animal.

779 from an elephant's tail. He then sprinkles the victim, the
782 ancestral skulls, and finally the totem.
783 Upon returning from battle, warriors wash their weapons in lustral water so as to ward off the malevolent spirits of the dead.

Lustral water is also used in sacrifices made in expiation of violations of éki.

Afterwards the water is emptied in a remote spot. The chief often carries it back to the village and uses it to water the
[824] tree, usually a fig tree, that was planted over the remains of his umbilical cord. This tree is an emblem of his own life, and the lustral water is in this case a sort of sacrifice. [509]

III. Fasting; nzè akhu

779 All important totemic ceremonies are preceded by fasts.
785 They are very strict, and the least infraction entails grave penalties.

They always take place in seclusion: those who are fasting are kept apart in the forest far from the village, shut up in small huts. During the fast it is strictly forbidden to drink or eat before sundown and to wash with water, although rubbing one's body with ashes is allowed. Furthermore, certain meats and fruits are prohibited, such as boiled food or fruit; fermented drinks, except on certain sacred days and before initiations, when, on the contrary, it is obligatory; and drinking from any kind of pot. If someone takes a drink inadvertently, the pot must be broken right away; nevertheless this act involves a ritual fault and requires expiation. One is supposed to drink from a brook, using
[834] a leaf rolled into a cone (oké ésaga). Finally, throughout the fast all intercourse with women is absolutely prohibited (évek).

779 The duration of the fast varies with the ceremony and the
785 initiation. For circumcision, for instance, it lasts usually a
821 lunar month (ngon). Other initiations rarely exceed seven days, let us say a lunar quarter, aŝôñ ngon; the last quarter is usually chosen (mété méngon). The moon plays an important role in all

779 totemic ceremonies, or in even just religious ones. None may
785 be performed while the moon is dark or when it is full (ngon
821 éto ndzuge: the moon is closed). In the ceremonies at which the chief performs alone, the fast lasts three and a half days, a half lunar quarter; the fast begins at nearly full moon (nsolo ngon) and ends at full moon (nduge ngon).

IV. Totemic Dances: adzém ba dzém akhu

779 Dance plays such a large part in Fan life, as it does in
535 that of every African, that it would be very unlikely to be absent from religious and totemic life. Besides, we know that dancing has always been associated with [510] religious phenomena among all peoples and in all epochs. David danced before the Ark of the Covenant; Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans had their sacred dances; and even in our day, in quite recent times, have we not seen in Madrid the seises, the altar boys of Seville, performing their graceful dances before the blessed sacrament?

The Fan have their religious dances, and special ones for each rite. We may divide them into several classes: purely religious dances, with which we are not concerned; those that accompany totemic rites; and, finally, purely totemic dances.

Among the dances accompanying totemic rites, the principal ones are dances of sacrifice and of circumcision and mortuary dances.

779 As the name indicates, dances of sacrifice accompany all
782 sacrifices and are danced before and after, and each has it
535 characteristic features.

The dance taking place before a sacrifice is serious. The chief, then all the participants, circle slowly around the victim to a tom-tom beating out a solemn rhythm. The movements of this dance are all slow and restrained, knees are bent slightly, elbows pushed back, with hands near the hips. It is more a rhythmic march than a true dance.

The dance taking place after a sacrifice is of quite another character. The rhythm is very fast, arms are raised into the air,

779
782 legs are flung to right and left alternately; two very lively steps,
535 a pause, two successive jetés to the right and left, and a swaying of the body above the hips make up this dance, which has real beauty and does not lack a certain style.

779
881 The circumcision dance is entirely different. The young
535 candidates, painted white from head to foot and dressed in garments of leaves, are led by the initiator before the assembled
304 participants, as soon as the preparatory rites have ended and the operation is to be performed. Grown, circumcised men stand on one side, the ritual experts in the middle, those to be circumcised [511] on the other side. The dance begins. First of all, it consists of an immense circle, which spreads out and turns around the area; then the movement quickens, hands are dropped, and each person leaps and shimmies about on his own, still keeping time, which is marked out by the tom-tom. Moreover, in spite of what appears to be disorder, one soon sees that all movements are regular, perfectly conceived and executed without a hitch, without mistake, without getting out of step. Soon sweat is pouring down the dancers' arms and legs; one after another they go back to their places; only the candidates continue and their dance turns into a spinning in almost one place, on the toes, with hands stretched horizontally. Then, suddenly, at a signal from the tom-tom, the dance stops abruptly: the young dancers rush to their places, sit down, and the operations begin.

Each time the practitioner circumcises a boy, he stands up, holding in his hand proof of the operation, then does a quick dance step consisting of a few merry leaps, to the accompaniment of a special song, which everyone sings together.

When the operations are over, the youths who have been circumcised perform a short dance intended to show their fortitude; it is of just a few steps, done any old way. Then the boys quickly return to their huts, held up by their friends.

764 The funeral dance is much more beautiful. Far from
535 being dignified and solemn, the fanki is exceedingly lively and complicated, representing, theoretically, the soul of the dead man leaving his body and later reaching the world of spirits.

764 The soul looks everywhere for a new dwelling; it is repulsed on
535 all sides, but at last finds its rightful place. This dance has only a distant connection with totemic performances and so we do not need to be concerned with it.

Genuinely totemic dances are infrequent and are only
TA performed on important occasions, such as war and above all
535 after a victory. However, they are also part of burial rites and are put on after the fanki at the death of a chief. [512]

The totemic dance expresses the link between the head [chef] of the race and his totem. It depicts the totem, sometimes in a symbolic, sometimes in a representational, manner. If, as often happens, the totem is an animal, the dance will be really lively; these are the finest examples. In addition, the dancer's talent should go to copying as closely as possible the animal's pace, habits, way of life, in a word, to mime it as accurately as possible.

I have seen some of these totemic dances performed with extraordinary skill. Out of many occasions, there was once one, among the Yemvi, whose totem is a kind of flower called mvi: the dancer, moving to a very fast tempo, first outlined the shape of the flower, imitated its appearance by gestures, by an extraordinary swaying of the hips, which involved sometimes bending so far backward that his head would touch the ground without for a second losing the rhythm; from time to time, his arms and head would sweep the ground to the right and the left with incredible swiftness. Then came the blossoming: growth from bud to flower, soon to full bloom. Finally he portrayed the symbolic covenant between the father of the race and the flower, which was brought to him by a spirit. The same dancer presented a really striking contrast between the slow, weighed down, ponderous bearing of the racial chief and the light, elusive, airy, as it were, movements of the spirit approaching, retreating, and approaching again. This entirely symbolic dance has sometimes been quite erroneously interpreted by explorers as being erotic.

When the totem is an animal, the dance is obviously much simpler and more representational. The dancer mimes an animal

779 that everyone will recognize by its gait, pace and typical
535 mannerisms; then, one by one, he will act out scenes of pursuit and capture, of alliance, finally of actual assistance. Some dancers thus acquire a great reputation, which they certainly deserve.

These totemic dances have much in common with certain character dances at which the African excels, representational dances. For example, I remember having seen the dance of the bees, of the wild boar, and of the elephant, done with truly remarkable agility and realism.

Totemic dances are distinguished above all by the fact that they are accompanied, one might say rhythmically measured, by the totemic song. Furthermore, while character dances depend to a great extent upon the dancer's inspiration, totemic dance steps are more regulated and have certain invariable features. [513]

779 A common trait of all religious dances is decency, at
535 least relative decency. They are performed only by men, and
831 women are not admitted except at circumcisions, and even then they do not mingle with the men. There is rarely any sex in them, in contrast to the purely recreational dances, especially those performed in the evening, at which at times license seems to be given to the greatest obscenity.

779 Religious dances always have a very marked quality of
831 antiquity, and the majority are very beautiful, in the precise meaning of the word.

In order to give an approximate idea of totemic dances, I have transcribed two of them which seem the most expressive, that of the flower, mvi, and that of the elephant, nzoǒ.

These dances are sung, danced, and mimed at the same time. Each note represents a tom-tom beat, a different bodily position and foot movement, whether a glissade, a leap, a heavy beat, or a rapid weaving in and out.

Totemic dance of the mvi flower:
Musical score, pp. 513-514 of text.]

[515] 3. General Totemic Rites: Details

779 In order to establish some logical order for totemic rites, we may take a man at his coming into the world, follow him through his principal activities, and leave him only at death. In this way we shall include the complete series of general or particular rites which he must observe. However, we shall obviously have to discuss them from the totemic point of view only.

By general rites I mean those concerned with the race or tribe. Among particular rites, on the other hand, I place all those concerned more specifically with the individual.

General rites are as follows:

1. Circumcision, akèle
2. Initiation, evôm
3. Consecration of a chief, elôga
4. War, abal
5. Hunting or fishing expeditions, miyèn
6. Establishment in new territory, edzal mfifi
7. Ordeals, elun, ému mélan
8. Covenants or blood exchange, abvuna

Particular rites to be noted are:

1. Birth and name giving, abiené, edzü
2. Adoption, anôn mohè
3. Marriage, ahüx
4. Hunting, fishing, farming, mveñe, ayü kos, bifax
5. Trade, okira
6. Death, awu

The totemic character is sometimes strongly marked in these rites, sometimes it is almost obscured, barely perceptible. At times that character is underlined merely by a gesture, a call, a prayer. But it is never absent. [516]

I. Circumcision

881 304 Circumcision cannot be considered a universal rite among Bantu tribes: some practice it, some do not, either because they have never done so or because the custom has been lost in the course of centuries and repeated migrations.

881
304

The Fan and all the tribes of their group have preserved it. In all clans, at a time decided upon by the chief, youths must be circumcised. This rule is also accepted by all the related tribes, Dzèm and Dzandzama, Bulu, Shéké, Batéké, etc.

During my many journeys I never met a single Fan who had [583] not been circumcised. No young girl would agree to marrying an uncircumcised man, under any conditions. This by the way indi- [584] cates the value, even in terms of Fan custom, of the temporary marriages contracted with Europeans. The Fan look upon these unions simply as concubinage and designate them by the same word, évex.

Although the Fan group has kept circumcision, others have not, so that it cannot be said to now be a general rite among the Bantu. The custom is not the result of Semitic infiltration; some Bantu tribes like the Kavirondo, among whom the Arabs have penetrated, do not practice it, while the Fan, who have never been in contact with Moslems, do so.

a) Is circumcision a religious rite?

We shall take up the subject [circumcision] first from the general, then from the particular, point of view.

The first question to be raised is: Is circumcision a religious rite by nature and origin, consecrating a person to a deity, as by a sort of sacrament? (1)

1. Cf. Lagrange, Études sémitiques [Studies in Semitic Religion], p. 242.

According to certain writers, Renan in particular, circumcision is a purely hygienic custom: "In the beginning," he says, "this custom had neither the widespread character nor the religious significance that was given it later. Without the operation, certain Oriental peoples would be condemned to semi-impotence and dangerous impurities."

Arcin also wrote: "Circumcision is the most important religious ceremony of the black peoples. This practice has probably been made necessary by a special physiological

881
304

structure. (2) But at present any memory of this cause has been

2. From the medical point of view, this statement is a complete invention.

entirely effaced and these rites are seen only as an offering to fertility gods."

Let me say right here that, as regards the Fan and the Bantu tribes, this physiological rationalization appears of slight value. In fact, though the Fan and other tribes of their group have adopted circumcision, this is far from being the case among all Bantu, certain of whom, like some in Uganda, have even a horror of it. Yet physiological requirements are identical among tribes of the same race and habitat.

We do not have to discuss here the natural advantages of circumcision. Were they even more considerable, it would be wrong to give a rationalistic explanation derived from hygiene, without taking into account the sum of institutions of which it is a part and of which it represents the moderate component, a very temperate practice compared with others. These institutions are the consecration rites of youths at puberty, and it is precisely because circumcision had a hygienic and moderating quality that it spread so widely and prevailed over other, more barbarous, practices. Circumcision has in fact [518] been practiced throughout the whole world among the greatest variety of populations and races, mostly as part of the initiation ceremonies that link a youth more closely with his tribe and his god or gods.

I agree with the majority of writers that this is an operation that is essentially religious in origin; necessary from the hygienic point of view, (1) but never for physiological reasons.

1. From the purely hygienic point of view: "It is impossible to give a raison d'être for circumcision, except as a religious requirement. It is in no way indicated anatomically (in spite of what Niebuhr, Déscription

881
304

de l'Arabie [Description of Arabia] and Winer say); and from the point of view of sexual activity, it has no effect upon a man's potency; hygienically, circumcision is insufficiently effective." Colonial Despatch, Medical Report, Sept. 3, 1907.

I should also say, with Father Lagrange -- adding to circumcision the tribal mutilations to be discussed, such as the knocking-out or filing of teeth, scarifications, etc. -- "the religious character of these ceremonies cannot any longer be disputed."

881
304
779

b) Is circumcision a totemic rite?

Granted that circumcision is a religious rite, is it also a totemic one?

According to Frazer, (1) circumcision is part of the initiation rites.

1. Totemism, p. 47

tion rites that link a youth with his tribe and his god; these initiations have a specific character, that of uniting the young man and the animal life of the totem through an exchange of souls. (2)

2. In Australia the neophyte is anointed with blood drawn from a warrior's arm or may even drink some of it. A few magical passes are added, which convey to the candidate the corresponding spiritual powers and gifts. He must sleep on the tombs of his ancestors so as to absorb their virtues. Sometimes he is reputedly killed by a certain Thurembul, who returns him to life, and removes one of his teeth. In this, says Frazer, there may have been an idea of

881
304
779

rebirth, or of the neophyte's starting a second life; that is why he acquires a new name as soon as he is circumcised, or when the tooth is removed or when he sheds the blood of his family.

I am quite ready to admit with Father Lagrange that circumcision is not restricted to totemic tribes. Among fully totemic tribes, like the Baganda, it is not only not permitted but is even viewed with disgust. [519] I look upon it as basically a religious rite, derived from ancestor worship, and what Frazer says confirms me in this opinion. Nevertheless, I freely admit and even believe that alongside these rites connecting circumcision with ancestor worship there are others, which, coming from the same source, also connect circumcision with the totemic cult; for in many religious phenomena the mvamayɔ̀n cult and that of the esayɔ̀n are closely and inseparably related.

In outlining below the practice of circumcision among the Fan, we shall point to the rites that derive from the mvame. Our reply to the initial question will then be:

Circumcision among the Fan is certainly a religious rite; it is not a purely totemic phenomenon, but the totem enters into it.

Bros agrees with these conclusions, at least in part. In his opinion, circumcision is a test of puberty, a first-fruits offering to the gods; a purification made to release an evil spirit which vanishes with the blood: above all, it is a pact by which a part of one's blood is given to the tribal god (1) and

1. In my opinion, the term "tribal god" ought not to be used; the Bantu tribes recognize only a single Creator, under different names, and not a god for each tribe.

881 304 779 one thereby becomes incorporated in him and in the tribe. Finally, the taboo surrounding this organ of the body, to which the origin of circumcision may be traced -- either because of the social function of the organ or of the danger of its premature use, or even because of its independence of volition -- allows circumcision to be considered as a desecration that has to precede the stage of virility, in order that use may be made of it. (2)

2. Bros, Religion des peuples non-civilisees [Religion of Non-civilized Peoples], "Circoncision" [Circumcision].

881 304 779 778 [844] Some of these statements hold good for the Fan; some are less applicable. Let me use as an example one of the things that illustrates very well the close connection between circumcision as a religious rite and childbirth rituals, the fact that pieces of cloth used to staunch blood are in both cases carefully kept to be used for the same purpose. [520]

Ordinary warriors place them with their personal totem in the mfek or pineapple-fiber bag which never leaves them. These pieces of cloth,or fragments of them, are always part of totemic sacrifices. The sons of chiefs, on the contrary, are not allowed to keep them; they bury them deep at the base of the sacred fig tree planted when they were born over the remains of the umbilical cord. This custom certainly goes back to remote antiquity. Among the Egyptians, the fig tree was considered sacred and dedicated to the Egyptian Venus, Hathor. From this perhaps comes the word éthu, designating a garment made from the bast of the fig tree. The same word, éthu, has remained in the Fan language with the same meaning, "garment," and the [287 inland Fan always make vegetable-fiber cloth from the fig tree, 822] which they still dye red; this was formerly the color dedicated to Hathor, and it has remained the color of betrothal garments. For the same reason, before marriage, young men and women stain themselves red from head to foot. It is a color "set apart."

881
304
779

c) The Circumcision Itself

The Fan use the term akéla for circumcision, at least as regards boys. The root of the word is clearly in the verb ekèl, of which the radical element expresses the idea of "cutting" and "removing." For girls the word atsingéla is used, which denotes at once ligature, extension, and excision.

We shall examine:

1) The phenomenon itself
2) The age of the candidate
3) The operation
4) The participants -- patient and operator
5) The instrument

1) The phenomenon itself

Circumcision is universal throughout the Fan nation and no male is exempt. Besides, he would be disgraced, and he would not be able to enter into marriage without having first had this operation. Even children brought up in missions do not escape; as soon as they go back to their villages, [521] they submit with good grace if they have remained uncircumcised.

If old people are questioned about the "why" of the ceremony, it is hard to get an answer from them, and they nearly always fall back on custom, "We've always done it," or propriety, "It's better that way." Both answers, especially the second, are of real value. Yet one day I got a much more interesting reply from a chief in the interior, who told me, "It marks the beginning." And when I insisted on further explanation, he replied, "It is the mark that sanctifies manhood; afterwards one is no longer an animal, one is 'sacred.'" ("E ne ndèm ǒsu, ndèm a bo fam: ni vale, tsit é séra, mur a ne éki," lit., "It is the mark of the first beginning, the mark which sanctifies virility; after the operation, the animal has disappeared, and there is a man, and he is sacred.") As the chief did not want to say anything more, he fell back upon the rules of secrecy. It was difficult, if not impossible, in the tribe with which I then was, to attribute a Christian or Moslem origin to this reply; the chief has never heard of either of them. It would be much simpler to

881 look at it as a vestige of primitive tradition.
304 To the Fan mind, circumcision is altogether a religious,
779 never a secular, act; everything that I shall have to say about it will illustrate this further.

2) The age of circumcision

The age at which Fan boys are circumcised usually varies from seven to ten. I have never seen a baby circumcised. However, there is nothing prescribed by law or custom on this point. Yet in the interior, the age of ten is far exceeded, and it is not unusual for the operation to take place between sixteen and twenty. Old men are unanimous in saying that this was the ancient custom, and that the time for the operation was made earlier in recent times because of the many casualties that occurred. It is impossible to determine precisely what they mean by "recent times." However, according to all the evidence I could gather, one should hardly go back [522] more than 200 to 300 years, that is, to the time of the great Fan migrations. We can see how unlikely it would have been during that period of confusion to perform the operation successfully at so late an age.

Formerly, circumcision must have closely preceded entering the warrior stage. Certain Fan songs seem to indicate this, and many African tribes have preserved the custom.

All the children of a village are circumcised at the same time at the tribal chief's command; the operation only takes place at certain times, when there appear to be enough children, yearly in some villages, at longer intervals in small ones.

[291] Until circumcision, children may go naked; afterwards a bit of cloth bark of the fig tree will always be worn.

The seven-to-ten-year limit is appreciably exceeded in
881 the following case: a father may, out of pride, make a solemn
304 vow to his akaméyôn that his son will not be circumcised until
779 he [the son] has killed an enemy. Under those conditions the
782 youth may go naked for a long time; nor can he have any relations with a woman or even live with the one his father may have bought for him as a future wife. Consequently, he will

881 do all he can to end this state. As soon as he has killed an
304 enemy, he hurries with the victim's hand to his father. Cir-
779 cumcision then solemnly takes place before all the warriors, and
782 his marriage is celebrated as soon as the wound has healed.

3) Time of the ceremony

881 The chief first decides upon the date, which is almost
304 invariably in the eight days before a full moon.
779

As soon as the chief has announced that circumcision will shortly take place, he indicates all the children who are to be included; they, under his direction, go off into the forest not
[342] far from the village. After a large space has been cleared, they build open little huts or mere shelters, where they live all together.

Their food is left at the beginning of the path leading to the huts, for no one is supposed to approach; access [523] is above all strictly forbidden to women. The food is plentiful,
[264] and nothing must be thrown away or hidden; everything must be eaten, and the chief supervises this rigorously. (1)

> 1. One of our missionaries observed the same custom among the more advanced populations of the interior. He even mentions this fact: the rule is so strict that one of the candidates was forced three times in succession to swallow the food that his stomach persistently rejected.

4) Preparations

[351] All around the place where the boys are confined, a fence of reeds (1) is erected, which no one dares jump over. This seclusion

> 1. The place of circumcision shows well enough that the rite is like a consecration, by blood sacrifice, of the sexual life to which the young man is thereafter admitted. Lagrange, op. cit., p. 244.

881
304
779
[82]

does not usually last longer than eight days, a lunar quarter. Every evening songs and dances are performed in honor of the moon, which is looked upon as a source of fertility. (2) In Fan,

> 2. The same belief exists in almost all African tribes; just as in Egypt, the moon presides over rain, which is the earth's source of fertility and thus of human fertility.

the same word, ngon, denotes "girl" and "moon," an ambiguity to be found nearly everywhere among African tribes, in varying degrees. These songs and dances are very special and repetition [533] of them is strictly prohibited outside the sacred enclosure. (3)

> 3. All I could discover on the subject from my young Christian converts who had already gone through the ceremony was that these songs were "bad" and had as their purpose procreation. There is no doubt that the Fan say things "crudely" in their songs. That is all I can say.

According to Lang, (4) this is the time when a youth is

> 4. The Making of Religion, Art.: "Circumcision."

taught about the existence of a beneficent god, a defender of morals, who condemns egoism and adultery. This is so among the Fan. In fact, it is during their retreat the chief teaches the children the mébara, or wisdom of the ancestors, and narrates the great deeds of the race. This is as much as we have been able to learn, for the rule of secrecy is scrupulously observed. During the final days the chief makes a point of mixing into the

881 During the final days the chief makes a point of mixing into the
304 boys' food certain aphrodisiac stimulants, cardamon seeds [524]
779 (Amomum citriodorum), a wonderful red fruit (Lavigeria), and
832 onzakôn̂ (Antrocaryon klaineanum) which, apart from these oc-
824 casions, only women may eat. They are even forbidden to say the name of that tree, because the word nkôn̂ denotes the male genital organ; they must say onzabili, the onza tree. In addition the fruit of the onzakôn̂ has a slight resemblance to a phallus.

Throughout their seclusion the children sleep stretched out
881 on the ashes of the hearths. They must tell the chief what they
304 have dreamt about; the family totem ought, in fact, to re-
779 veal itself to them at this time. Since the chief speaks to the
828 children frequently and since they know that they are supposed to have the totem in mind, the suggestion, intimate and strange at the same time, leads easily to the desired result. If, however, a different object from the family totem, animal or other, appears more vividly and repeatedly in their imaginations, it would be a sign that the totemic guardian spirit wants to adopt another medium and, consequently, the child's totem, if he has a personal one, has to be changed.

5) The ceremony

881 On the day of the operation, the practitioner, who has
304 been forewarned, goes to the enclosure, accompanied by the
779 fathers. Each child is questioned in turn; then there is a big dance performed in honor of the ancestors and guardian spirits of the clan. Each head of the family has brought along his mvamayôn̂ and now explains it to the child. A new dance is done after this initiation. Each father then stretches his son out on the ground, sits down beside him, and slips his legs beneath the child's body in such a way as to raise the middle of the body. The practitioner has a knife in hand kept specially for this purpose and carefully wrapped in a little sheath. The
[413] knife used to be made of stone, but that kind has become very rare. Knives are now usually made of copper and are curiously worked, one end being beak shaped, the other pointed; they are not hafted. These knives are called ekèlokèn̂.

881 304 779 The practitioner operates quickly, assisted by the chief of the tribe. Before operating on each child, he hands the knife [525] to the chief, without a word, and the latter accepts it, also in silence, without saying the usual "thank you" or "very good," abora or mvè.

With girls none of these ceremonies are observed. An experienced matron performs the operation, usually when the child is very young. It is nevertheless a religious act, accompanied by songs and dances, but since only women are present, it was impossible for me to learn the slightest detail.

The tribal chief immediately returns the knife to the practitioner, saying, "Take it and do what has to be done." (Nôñe n'ébo dzam ma yia n'ébo, lit., "Take it so as to do the deed which 'I' ought to do.") This proves that the practitioner is but the chief's delegate. Usually it is the latter who holds the penis firmly. First of all, the father pulls out the foreskin as far as possible and ties it with a bit of string. The penis, thus prepared, is then stretched out on a special board, and the practitioner cuts quickly. This is the most painful part of the operation. Ashes are then rubbed on the open wound. The head [778] of the family carefully collects the blood, which will constitute a powerful fetish after it has been offered in sacrifice to the mvamayôn and to the ancestors.

It is a point of honor for the children not to cry out, no matter what the pain. Besides, the pain must be very much lessened by the fact that the chief squeezes the flesh firmly and the operator works quickly. As soon as it is over, the child is taken to be bathed and is then laid on a bed of ashes. His scanty clothing is removed, if that has not already been done during the preceding days, and he is now dressed in a loose garment or a belt from which hangs a thick pad of raffia fiber or thin strips of finely cut banana tree bark, so as to protect him from being hurt. After the operation every father offers [431] the practitioner a present, often a sheep or at least several hens. [782 The latter then, according to the customary rites, offers one of the sheep to the spirits and has part of it burnt. The ashes of the 778] sacrifice, mixed with the collected blood, will constitute the child's fetish. Anything left over is carefully buried in a place

881
304
719

apart, and everyone then avoids letting them be seen. [526] The rest of the sheep is eaten by the children the next day.

They remain in seclusion for a few more days. At the end there is another ceremony, also accompanied by dances and songs. They show the reassembled heads of families that the operation has been successful. They then remove the circumcision belt, put back the ordinary loincloth, and return to the village, where they are feted.

d) The consequences of circumcision

"Everything that has to do with procreation," writes Father Lagrange (1) of these ceremonies (and I quite agree with his

1. Études sur les religions sémitiques [Studies in Semitic Religion], pp. 244 ff.

conclusions), "is eminently taboo, surrounded with restrictions and precautions imbued with a religious character and sanctioned by strict laws. Through circumcision a person is really affianced by blood. This may perhaps have been one condition which entitled the begotten child to become in turn a member of the both national and religious association, the community." (We have just seen that this is definitely so among the Fan, for an uncircumcised boy would neither be admitted to the first initiation tests for warriors nor be able to marry: both tribe and future wife would be opposed to it.) "Every time blood is shed, one might wonder whether it is in order to make use of its intrinsic power, in the sense of magic, or for expiation, or to link one person to another by exchange of blood and vitality. Here it would seem to be a question of union, since the rite is initiatory: life is to be transmitted by an organ linked to god through blood letting; at the same time, it represents the ending of a very sensible taboo, which saves the youth from premature indulgence, comparable to that which protects growing fruits and cereals and which ends with the first-fruits sacrifice."

Mgr. Le Roy (1) differs somewhat from Father Lagrange

1. La religion des primitifs [The Religion of Primitive Peoples], pp. 235 ff.

881 on the subject of circumcision: "Circumcision, in our view, is
304 connected with the institution of the taboo; it was originally the
779 lifting of a prohibition. Before having gone through this ceremony, a young man cannot marry; he is not acceptable [527] to any woman and he has no right to nuptial relations. And if these should nevertheless, occur -- and they do! -- the child of this forbidden intercourse is accounted 'bad' and must disappear."

848 Among the Fan such a child, without being considered exactly "bad," is thought of as not belonging to the tribe. Since the father has not the right to be a father, he cannot give the child a name; and if the child escapes the first vicissitudes of babyhood, it will soon die of neglect and hunger, scorned by all. This is especially the case with mulattoes, whose birth in itself places them outside the tribe. They are found on the coast and near European settlements, where, along with the decline in moral standards, the family has to a great extent disappeared, with the laws that used to guarantee its integrity and corresponding moral code. In the interior, in spite of the passage of numerous traders and explorers whose morals are no better than those of the coast, mulattoes are very rare, to say the least. We have just given the reason for this.

000 "Here," continues Mgr. Le Roy, "we have a typical and interesting illustration of the principle set forth above. The transmission of human life takes place in a mysterious realm where the activity of the Lord of Creation is manifest, or at least taken for granted, and to which man cannot be admitted except by a sort of authorization from God and with the help of an appropriate ceremony. At the indicated time the prohibition may be removed, but as always in such cases the 'use permit' must be bought back by a blood sacrifice, hence circumcision, the moral purpose of which is obvious, because the taboo or prohibition that it ends is a rigorous obstacle to sexual relations between children who have not reached puberty.

"This institution can be found everywhere; to be so widespread it must have a widely applicable raison d'être; this is

000 none other than the sacred prohibition in the interest of the family's moral welfare, which is lifted, when necessary, in the same interests."

304 881 779 Circumcision for Mgr. Le Roy is, therefore, in short, only "the lifting of a prohibition in the interest of family welfare." [528]

Although this explanation is neat and seems to satisfy all requirements, it still does not appear to me altogether correct. It takes the effect for the cause. Undoubtedly, a lifting of a prohibition in the interest of family welfare does follow circumcision, but the lifting, and the prohibition itself, seems to me very much an effect, a consequence, not the cause, and I believe that the objective is above all the sacrifice, admittedly a sacrifice for the welfare of the race. As Father Lagrange points out, "this system" (initiations, tests, and especially circumcision) "implies a close religious relationship within a social group at a low stage of development. It would seem to be a matter of religious unity. In the great Assyro-Babylonian civilization, there is no evidence of circumcision, but then, as now, among widely scattered peoples, some had adopted it, some had not." Is it then enough to say, as for the Bantu tribes, that those who no longer have it have either abandoned it or never possessed it? If in fact all Bantu tribes come from a single stock, as we believe, all have been familiar with circumcision, and we are dealing with a much more ancient rite.

177 304 881 We have already mentioned the Egyptian infiltration into Fan manners and customs and the influence of their beliefs. Therefore circumcision might go back to them. Herodotus had already pointed out that circumcision came from Egypt and had, by way of Egypt, spread throughout the Mediterranean world (Her. II, 104). "It may well be," writes Father Lagrange on this subject, "that circumcision among Egyptians was not exactly borrowed from an ethical system, but was a tradition from their origins, going back to the time when they started coming down the Nile Valley, according to contemporary opinion.

177 We also find the tradition among the Arabs as far back in their
304 history as we can go."
881 Therefore -- and Johnston is of the same opinion -- circumcision is not a rite devised to meet specific needs but one that dates back to the origins of the human race. From the beginning, man has offered first fruits to God. From this to offering the first fruits of human beings and of life, the step was inevitable, and it was quickly made. [529]

304 In the Fan group at least, circumcision is thus based upon
881 the idea of sacrifice itself and not, as Mgr. Le Roy says, upon
779 the simple lifting of a prohibition that is very useful and very moral. It is based not only on the idea of sacrifice itself but on that of an offering by desecration, which is the very foundation of sacrifice. "Especially at the first use of things it is important to give the gods their share," to renew the covenant with the Master of life. From the beginning, man presented the "first fruits" of things to the deity, above all in order to truly acknowledge his realm. Is not man's life that which is most precious? And the basis of life is certainly the procreative act. Furthermore, the basic concept of clan and tribe is based on the family, so that again from that point of view, procreation is the most important act of life. It is the first fruits of the generative process that will be offered to the Lord of the clan and to the ancestors, deified or not, but supposedly standing by. Therefore this will be a religious act, carried out by the practitioner with the help of the tribal chief and the head of the family, that is, the three clan authorities. So that the ceremony may be more solemn, the remains of the ancestors and of the eponymous animal will be included; finally, as in every sacrifice, blood will be shed. These terms make the sacrifice totemic.

But so that the first fruits may be pure and the shed blood acceptable and effective, they must be truly first fruits. It is therefore very important that they be preserved as such; the means is simple and effective and consists of the éki, that is, the prohibition of certain foods and especially of sexual relations before the set time. The law is not even concerned with the

881 "fruit" that might result from transgressing the prohibition. The
304 fault, nsem, must be expiated ritually as a fault, but the law
779 would not consider the child as "bad" or guilty; the law does not take it into account at all, but ignores it: the child is "outside the law," res nullius, and is not killed but left to die. It is therefore important that they be really first fruits. Then, too, when the appointed time comes, when a Fan begins to feel himself ready to procreate in his turn, when he can take his place along with the young warriors, the sacrifice will be performed with all formality; once this has been accomplished, [530] but only then, will the prohibition be lifted. The sacrifice ought to be not only carried out but accepted too, because if, for one reason or another -- and this happens -- after circumcision has been performed according to the rules, the practitioner still considers that the spirits of the real or totemic ancestors are not satisfied, an additional sacrifice will be necessary in order to make the first acceptable.

Thus it is clear in what ways our notion of circumcision differs considerably from that of Mgr. Le Roy. In his opinion, it consists of the lifting of a prohibition in the interest of the family's moral welfare a "use permit," that must be bought back by a sacrifice; in our opinion, in agreement with Father Lagrange's, the lifting of the prohibition is not the cause but a natural consequence. The prohibition's objective is circumcision, the "use permit" is the inevitable result, not the cause, of the sacrifice, and circumcision (1) is the very sacrifice of the

1. Lagrange, Études sur les religions sémitiques [Studies in Semitic Religion], "Le Sacrifice" [Sacrifice"], pp. 255 ff.

procreative first fruits, the most important act from the point of view of clan unity and the perpetuation of the family.

II. Initiation

779 The second totemic rite that we come upon in the life of
884 a Fan youth is his initiation.

779 This rather complicated rite includes, first, the tests I
884 have already mentioned, which make a warrior of the young man, then initiation into the rites, and finally the consecration of weapons.

The young warrior's years of childhood and adolescence have been entirely carefree and completely outside any religious cult. He may have just been taught the name of his personal totem, and perhaps not even that. All he knows is that he is forbidden under rather severe penalties to do certain things, to eat certain kinds of food. He observes these prohibitions rigidly, because he is sure that any infringement will be immediately punished, for isolated éki are never pardoned and must always be expiated. [531]

a) Tests

779 When he has reached the age for taking his place among
884 the warriors, a young man has first of all to undergo tests designed to show his strength and courage. Severe as they may be very
626 few youths evade them. Besides, it would mean utter dishonor, and the young man who out of weakness or cowardice is either overcome by or doesn't dare face them, would have no choice but to exile himself. This does happen, though rarely, and especially among those few young people who have grown up from childhood as servants of the Europeans. The Fan stigmatize them by a special phrase meaning "men-women good-for-anything," and this expression tells a great deal about the special role they play and the peculiar morals of too many Europeans.

b) Initiation into rites

779 After he has passed these preliminary tests, a young man
884 undergoes totemic initiation along with initiation into the ancestor cult. He is first taught the name of the family, clan and tribal totem. For this purpose, on a day chosen as favorable by the practitioner during the initiation already described above, the candidate is conducted in front of a sort of platform covered with dry leaves. First of all, the head of the family brings his évora biéri, which, as we know, encloses the ancestral skulls and the materialized totem. The neophyte will learn to distinguish the various objects and to identify the different skulls without a moment's hesitation being permitted.

779 Only then will he be allowed to know about the laws and
887 rights of the totem. He will then receive his personal totem,
778 as we have described it, will make it the prescribed sacrifice, and will preciously keep the remains of this offering on his own person, enclosed in an antelope horn. Already as a child he wore this horn which now contain the ashes of this sacrifice; it used merely to hang around his neck on a cord or, more often, before his genital organs. After the youth becomes a warrior, he hangs the horn among the other fetishes attached to a leather baldrick which crosses his chest and is hardly ever taken off. [532]

c) Consecration of weapons

779 A youth's childhood ends after the initiation. A whole
884 new era opens up before him, an era of work and fighting and
411 also of quite different pleasures from those of childhood. He is henceforth admitted to a place among warriors after these painful initiations the proof and marks of which are slashes cut into the back of his neck. Henceforth he may carry a gun; as a boy he had often tried to fire one so as to be ready when the time came. As a warrior with the right to fire it and to go to war, he must first "dedicate" the rifle to a spirit so that he may always shoot straight.

For an African all objects whatever they may be, have a life of their own; therefore, a rifle is a being. Alive with its own life, it will be dedicated to the spirit with the influence most favorable to it, that is, in the realm of space the sun, whose light and whose clear rays will enable it to hit the mark every time and will at the same time dissipate the shadows so that they will fail to conceal the enemy it is aimed at. The weapon will be dedicated to the sun and also to the clan's totemic guardian; in battle it is indeed important to be able to distinguish enemy from friend and not to run the risk of committing a totemic sacrilege. The rifle must be dedicated to both the totem and the sun.

However, it is worth noting that if nowadays a rifle is the only weapon to be dedicated, it is because it has become the

779 principal weapon and because there are very few Fan who do not
884 possess one. Actually, the word for "rifle" in the consecration
411 song mentioned below is sometimes nzali, which really means "gun," and sometimes mbène, which denotes the "crossbow." The crossbow used to be the Fan national weapon. One of the words has changed, but the song is no less ancient for that.

In the middle of the village, the young man, accompanied by an older friend, places his rifle so that the first rays of the rising sun will strike it; he arranges around the rifle his totemic fetishes, that is, his childhood totem, which he will hereafter abandon, and his new warrior totem. In order to cast a spell [533] on his rifle, he then performs the necessary incantations,
[533] among them a hymn or invocation to the sun, of such real beauty and poetic quality that it should be quoted here.

Hymn to the Sun

539

Sun, you who see all things,
You, whose radiant splendor
Pierces the dark mist,
Sun, to you this homage!

To you, sun, king of the sky, divine hunter,
Sun, to you this homage!

Before your flashing glance
And the swift arrows of your fiery quiver,
Into somber depths
Fearful night sinks aghast,
Beneath your blows sparkling with light,
You tear night's mantle,
A black cloak trimmed with fire,
Sprinkled with bright stars,
You tear night's black mantle.

Sun, you who see all things,
You, whose radiant splendor
Pierces the dark mist,
Sun, to you this homage!

779 When the required offerings have been made, before the
884 rifle is lifted, the actual consecration takes place. The tune and
441 words seem to me sufficiently remarkable to warrant quotation.
533 This song, in its melody and structure, recalls the antique airs which have come down to us from the Greeks and Romans. It is always sung by several voices:

539 Song of the Rifle

Anthem: Oh, all of you, listen, listen to the song,
the song of the rifle!
Chorus: Oh, let us all listen, listen to the song,
the song of the rifle!
Solo: For you, alone, O rifle! for you alone,
Far into the woods,
Far, far have I tramped long in the forest,
No longer hearing the barking dogs,
No longer hearing them,
No more than the noise-loving cocks,
No more than the cocks,
Leaving behind the chattering women,
Leaving them in their dark huts. [534]
Refrain: Yes, for you alone, O my rifle!
For your sake only, into the woods,
Into the woods have I gone,
O my rifle, for you alone.
Anthem: All of you, come, listen to the song of the fetish,
The beloved song of the fetish!
Chorus: Let us all come, listen to the song of the rifle,
The beloved song of the rifle! (Refrain: Yes,
for you alone . . .)
Anthem: Come all of you, come, listen well and without noise,
Listen!
Chorus: And silently, heedfully, let us listen.
Solo: For you alone, O rifle! for you alone,
Deep in the woods,
Leaving the village behind,

539

I took the men's large knife
With no one seeing me
The knife that hangs from a post hook,
I took the knife,
Fastened it at my side,
Hung it from my baldrick,
With no one seeing me.
I went into the woods,
O my rifle, for you alone.

Anthem: All of you, come, listen to the song of the fetish,
The beloved song of the rifle!

Chorus: Let us all come and listen,
He has taken the knife,
Without anyone seeing him.

Solo: For you alone, O rifle! for you alone,
On the paths of the hunt,
I've wounded my foot on the path,
I've climbed mountains, hills,
I've crossed the streams,
Struggling through a day, a whole day,
I've sought the eǩoñ,
The eǩoñ, evin, and vyo;
Then, laying bare their flesh,
Taken away their clothing,
Their bloody garments.
There the spirit of the forest dwells.

Anthem: Come, all of you, let us mix the eǩoñ, the evin, and vyo,
Let us put a spell on the rifle.

Chorus: Let us all come and mix the eǩoñ, the evin, and the vyo.
And put a spell on the rifle,
Stripping bare their flesh,
Stealing their clothes,
Their bloody garments,
So as to clothe this weapon.
Let us put a spell on the rifle. [535]

884 779 411 The young man is armed. He has undergone the initiation of the bawu and henceforth he has a right to speak in the council. He will not take advantage of this until the day he brings in the hand of an enemy he has killed and he is able to testify to his bravery in the presence of all by this striking proof of a daring exploit, yet often carried out by surprise.

[Pp. 535-536, 18 lines of music.] [537]

III. Consecration of the Chief

766 779 622 a) The ceremony

A tribal chief has died. After the customary lamentation and funeral feast, he has been buried in a temporary grave. Thirty days afterwards the warriors again reassemble for the solemn funeral dance, the fanki. Then the eldest son, surrounded by leading warriors, opens his father's grave, climbs down beside the corpse, and with the consecrated knife detaches the skull, which will soon be added to the skulls of earlier ancestors in the évora biéri. Then the corpse is carefully replaced in the grave, and the totemic sacrifices are completed. We shall go back to these sacrifices when discussing individual mortuary rites. The eldest son or the heir removes the akaméyòn or tribal totem, if he has not already done so. He then throws the earth back onto the corpse and everyone helps him in this dismal task, after he has thrown the first handfuls. All these rites belong to the social mortuary ceremonial.

622 779 The new chief returns to the village. Then begins strictly speaking, the totemic rite of consecration, which takes place at night, without any female observers.

Escorted by all the warriors, to the beating of a tom-tom, the chief takes the évora biéri containing the ancestral skulls and carries it into the forest. The ceremony is secret only as regards women; young boys may be present.

[824 778] The box of skulls is put on a sort of platform made of newly cut poles. These must come from a special tree, the éfirfira, and must all be alive and green. A bit of dead wood

779 would lead to a ritual offense. These branches are embedded
778 in the earth; they must also be straight, cut from the actual
622 trunk of the tree and not from a branch; upon these poles stuck into the ground, the chief arranges pieces of bamboo (1) which

[342 824]

1. Bamboo is the usual term given by analogy to the palm stems or raffia used in all Fan building, in place of real bamboo, which is unknown or a recent importation into Gabon.

[284] make a platform. They are tied together, not with the lianas usual for huts, but with lashings [538] made of mattan palm. When that work has been done, the chief places his évora biéri on the upper tier; the other family heads put their bivora bibiér to the right and left in order of precedence. When all the boxes of skulls have been lined up, each man, after having danced and sung around the altar, then approaches it again, opens his box, removes the ancestral skulls, and places them on the lower tier below the boxes. Upon his family skulls he places the family totem, then his own personal totem. There is another series of dances, accompanied by songs. The chief then advances again, alone, and puts the skull of his immediate ancestor above all the others, dances and sings, then puts the skull inside that of the first ancestor. He also takes his family totem, which by the very fact of his birth is the tribal or clan totem, and places it upon the two superimposed skulls, his father's and that of the clan father. Then there begins a special
533 song called the Song of Union. The archaic words are nowadays
622 for the most part very hard to understand, the general meaning,
779 on the other hand, is easy to grasp: it deals with the uniting of all the heads of families in direct line and consists of an invocation to the Spirit of the Race, who has passed down through all descendants from the first ancestor so as to produce a united and indivisible whole. The final words of the song express this idea quite clearly:

539

In you the last returns to the first,
The first returns to the last.
And in common accord,
Your breath that does not die reunites them all,
Your breath reunites them without ever wearying.

It makes an unending whole,
And future children, offspring of our race,
Will also be your children, O father!
As I today am your child.

The éfirfira grows and continues to grow.
New branches start from its gnarled trunk,
One after another,
They grow, yet remain always the éfirfira.

In you the last returns to the first,
The first returns to the last. [539]

779
622
782

A gelded goat or often a gelded dog is then brought to the wooden altar; it is immolated, and the blood is collected in a clay pot. The chief dips a green palm branch in the blood and then puts it on the altar in such a way as to cover both the totems and the ancestral skulls.

779
622
533

After this first "recognition" comes a second, which consists of a song called "Song of the Visit." The chief sings it, and all the participants repeat the refrain. Thus the Yendun tribe, for instance, the refrain is:

[539]

Bi'ne bibône bi Ndun,
Bi'ne fogo bisésé bibône bi Ndun
Ndun a ne Esa bie,
Ndun ve Esa bie bisé.

We are the children of Ndun,
Yes, we are all the children of Ndun,
And Ndun is our father,
Yes, Ndun is the father of us all.

779 622 At the same time, the chief has taken his father's and his first forefather's skulls; he approaches successively the évora biéri of each of the other heads of family and touches their ancestral skulls against those in his hands. He returns to the middle, takes the pot holding the victim's blood, dips his father's de, fly swatter, or into it, and then sprinkles the totems placed near the skulls. He takes his own totem, moves it alongside the clan or tribal totems, fastens them together with a liana and touches them successively against the totems of the other heads of family, while singing the totem song, everyone repeating the refrain after him:

[539] We are the children of Ndun,
And Ndun is our totem (mvamayôn),
Yes, we are the children of Ndun,
And Ndun is totem for us all.

After this ceremony there are several more dances and songs. Finally at the end, the tribal chief is the first to put the skulls back into the évora biéri, and everyone follows his example. He does the same thing with the totems, again followed by all the others. [540] All the boxes are then carefully put aside in a spot cleared in advance.

[778] All return to the open space. The rude altar, where the boxes, skulls, and totems had lain, is destroyed; the boxes are all heaped one upon the other; and great care is taken that no drop of the victim's blood that might have fallen on the ground be profaned by any touch at all. As soon as the victim itself has been immolated, it is laid on freshly cut green banana leaves -- it must never touch the ground -- and placed upon a pyre made from the altar wood, which is lighted. This task always falls to the new chief, never the practitioner. As soon as the victim has been cooked enough, it is put back on the banana leaves and cut up by the chief himself into as many pieces as there are persons present. No piece may be left over; no piece may be carried away. That would be a ritual offense of the gravest kind, and the Fan are convinced, or at least appear to be so, that the totem never fails to punish the wrongdoing by actual death of the

779 perpetrator. If necessary, the chief would take this upon him-
622 self. Such a case has sometimes occurred, according to certain legends.

The large bones are then again placed upon the pyre, for which the necessary wood has been carefully kept, because to cut or to add more is forbidden. When everything has been consumed, the bones and wood that are left in the form of cinders (1) are pulverized as finely as possible, and the chief

[137] 1. Éfirfira is a rather resinous wood, which burns up completely, leaving hardly any cinders.

scatters the powder on the recently covered grave of his father, accompanied by all the heads of family. The banana leaves that had been used to wrap up the victim are carefully folded into a bundle and thrown to the bottom of a spring or stream below the spot where water is usually drawn, so as to avoid profanation.

In contrast to all the other sacrifices, nothing must remain of this victim nor may anyone keep the slightest trace of it.

Before carrying the ashes of the sacrifice to his father's grave, the chief still has to go through another ceremony just as important, the rite of the spear.

779 The rite of the spear, or better of the assagais, asume
622 mékôn, the salute to the assagais, only occurs at the enthrone-
411 ment of tribal chiefs and then only if they have come of age, that is, have already been received as warriors bearing the marks or bawu.

779 b) The rite of the spear or the assagais. Asume mékôn.
776 From the other side of Africa, Father Van den Burgt, (1)
411
171

1. Dictionnaire français-rundi [French-Rundi Dictionary], article, "Kirâna."

of the White Fathers, recently pointed out a curious rite among the Barundi, the rite of the spear, the emblem of Kirâna, the

779 second high spirit. Among the Fan, we have found the same
776 emblem, consecrated to the spirit Ki-ndâña, he also being chief
411 of the lower spirits, of material things, and thus master and chief
171 of all beings on the earth. He is also invoked in time of war. This is the only information I have been able to obtain on the subject. But in comparing this fact with what we have seen among the Barundi, it certainly appears that a totemic rite is involved. Indeed among them, Imana, the Creator, is the lord of departed souls as, among the Fan, Nzame is also the Creator. Consequently he is foremost of all the ancestors and thus the keystone of the whole religious system. The Fan know this perfectly. When discussing genealogies I have already pointed out that a child or any warrior, when asked what his mébara is, will always end by invoking Nzame, saying: "And he (the first of the race) was created by Nzame, and before that I didn't belong to it, neither I nor anyone else." (Nge mur éto (the father of the race) Nzame émièn a nga bo ñe, ve 'sim ñi, mê mbe dia ve, ve ma, ve muramure.)

Among the Barundi the great rite of the spear consists of homage rendered to the sacred spear of Kirâña, the higher spirit of the Rundi triad, Imana, Ri-Kiramba, and Riangombi. Among the Fan, Kindâña does not belong to the divine triad, which they also recognize: Nzame, Mébère, Nkwa. Kindâña, lit., victorious Power, is chief of all beings under Nzame, and considered only as the principle of the power that animates everything and that is self-perpetuating. He is the opposite of inert matter. [542]

"The neighboring Pygmies," writes Mgr. Le Roy (1) in

1. Op. cit., p. 314.

connection with this Rundi rite, "have the same ceremony, which they appear to have originated." Perhaps, however, we ought to go further back to the very beginnings of the race, since we find the ceremony also among the Fan.

Among the Barundi the rite of the spear takes place in all critical situations. uThe usual form of that spear has one white and one black facet and it is said to bear the spirit Kirâña on its

779 point. At the time of the ceremony the guardian of the spear
776 appears with two assistants; he wears a sort of crown made of a
411 panther skin, part of which hangs down his back. The participants
171 form a semicircle around him, carrying small hollow calabashes filled with hard seeds (2) that rattle. Then a hymn is begun,

> 2. The seeds of the annata tree are used or, even more often, the round hard seeds of canna (canna spec.).

sung in an oddly impressive tone, deeply convincing and creating indescribable melancholy. During this evocation, each one picks up a bit of straw, bows down and presents it to the sacred spear, claps his hands together and asks the spirit dwelling on the spearhead for various favors. He then says: "To thee, Father, I make these demands, I offer my homage." Everyone then leaves the hut singing and goes to the resting place of the ancestral spirits.

Among the Fan the salute to the spear thus takes place at
779 the enthronement of the chief. After the victim has been divided
622 and eaten, the chief rises and plants his assagai in the earth, point
411 upwards; the point has been made to gleam by thorough careful
171 burnishing. The choice of spear is not unimportant: it must have the totemic tribal emblem incised in its hollow and must have already "drunk" enemy blood. The spear is thus planted in the ground so far as possible just where the altar stood; shortly after, at its foot, the chief places his baldrick usually of leopard-skin, holding the materialized totem, the akaméyôn. [543]

Having done this, he circles around the spear, singing, then picks up the baldrick and hangs it upon the lance, which usually has several small sharp hooks at the base.

The chief again circles the spear, sings a hymn in honor of Kindâña, then stands still. All the others then go to fetch their boxes of ancestral skulls and circle around the spear, singing. As each man passes the chief, he bows, puts his box on the ground, and claps his hands.

At the end of the ceremony the chief removes the spear, puts back the baldrick at his side, and takes everything to his hut.

779
622
411
171

He then returns to collect the remains of the sacrifice and carry them to his father's grave.

It is evident that the Fan ritual of the spear salute has many analogies to the Rundi ritual, and the same impulse would seem to motivate both.

174
171

c) Rites of initiation and consecration of the chief compared with the religious role of the Pharaoh

In all this it is easy to see a whole embryonic system or rather, as our linguistic research bears out, the vestiges, very corrupt and gradually shriveling away, of a religious system that is very old and goes back to the very beginnings of the race.

The legends, customs, and especially the language make it possible for us to see, with all the reservations necessary to such a hypothesis, a pale reflection, perhaps a decadent reminder, of Egyptian religion.

It would be of great interest in the first place to try to find out if the Fan word denoting "chief," nzue -- from n for agency and zue, to command, to order -- is not related to Egyptian (sy), to pray, adore,

> 1. There are other resemblances between the two languages, to which I shall refer later: kha (Eg.), crown, and khu (Fg.), chief; khala, a fortified place, and dzal, fortified village (kraal); ka, to leave, and ka, to go away, etc.; ko, hook, and lko, hook, whence akôñ, hooked, barbed spear.

sua, to pray, adore, which was originally the chief's main function, or again to Suten, meaning "king," which comes from the word seten [544], to determine by knife, which means "to kill." The king is thus in theory he who slays the sacrificial victim, the sacrificer.

The Pharaoh formerly acted in a general way as a Fan chief still does today, without, one must admit, any of the trappings of majesty -- as I have said, he is a pale reflection.

He used to go himself, at least fictitiously, to capture the victim, a wild bull. He immolated it, cut it up, and offered it to the deity whose son he was. He was not only the sacrificer

174
171

who offers the victim but also the priest who alone was authorized to make an offering, and without his intervention, his subjects could not expect heaven to accept their offerings, even the most modest. "Suten don hotep" -- The king gives the offering, can be read on innumerable votive monuments, from the most imposing to the humblest. The deity would not pay attention to the offering if it did not come from the king. I recall the prince of Khéta's words which I have already quoted: "God would not accept any offering of Khéta that had not been seen by Pharaoh, the emanation of heaven."

Mediator between heaven and earth, Pharaoh alone is qualified to give to the Deity or to receive His gifts. If another priest takes his place, as for practical reasons nearly always happens, that priest will be acting as a delegate of the king and will announce the royal order by which he has access to God: "It is the king who sends me to see the deity," says he upon opening the gates of naos [sic]. Even a priest of the highest rank may present himself only by virtue of that delegation. To penetrate all the way to the temple sanctuary is in fact like penetrating heaven, (1) for the deity is there as much as in

1. An inscription at Edfou, quoted by Rochemonteix, reads: "He who penetrates the temple penetrates heaven."

heaven: to approach the deity one must be divine oneself, like a son of Pharaoh or at least a representative of this divine Son. God's house, the temple, was built by Pharaoh himself, (2) the

2. Virey: Religion de l'ancienne Égypte [The Religion of Ancient Egypt] (ed. 1909), p. 125.

sole owner of Egyptian soil by a divine gift made at his coronation. (3)

Cf. Lefébure, Rites Egyptiens [Egyptian Rites], where one will find numerous points of comparison with the rites I have mentioned. [545]

171 We find further confirmation of the foregoing in the
174 following lines: "In archaic times, before the unification of Egypt into a single kingdom, it was no doubt the tribal chiefs who, as Pharaoh did later for the entire country, declared war, dispensed justice, and offered the sacrifices." (1)

1. The Life-Work of Sir Peter Le Page Renouf (Paris, 1902-07), Vol. 2, p. 351, "The Priestly Character of the Earliest Egyptian Civilization."

As religious leader the]Fan] tribal chief can thus delegate his authority only to the practitioner; as totemic chief, only to his direct consanguineal heir.

614 This is true to such a degree that if, for instance, the family should die out, the tribe would not come to an end or be destroyed, for the elders of the clan or of the mother tribe would trace genealogies back to the beginning or source of the race and find a secondary family related more closely to the founder of the race; that secondary family would in turn become the main lineage. This transfer comes about quite naturally, without hitch or conflict, merely by force of circumstances. In some cases, especially with a small clan, families will attach themselves to other clans; again, according to the formative law given earlier, new clans will be created, filials of the mother branch. If a mother clan is involved, then, on the contrary, families will attach themselves more willingly to the filial branch (branch in esa), where they will find the family totem (esamvèn, esamvùn, etc.).

d) Mistakes made by European administration in appointing
648 new tribal chiefs from outside the main lineage
622

Clearly the chief mistake, and hence the lack of success, of civil administrators or military leaders who for one reason or another depose the legitimate chief of a tribe and appoint another is clear from the totemic laws just enumerated and the very structure of the race. I willingly admit that sometimes such depositions and appointments may, and often should, be made,

648 622 [546] for perfectly legitimate reasons, in the interests of the conquering country and even of the administered peoples. Nevertheless, if European administrators knew more about the customs of the country, (1) as would be very desirable, they

> 1. Especially since the law permits native customs "in so far as they are not contrary to decency and morality."

would not leave themselves open to certain failure and sometimes to humiliating defeat by picking out a man who, though perfectly worthy, cannot be appointed chief according to the laws of the land.

As I myself have seen, it often happens that the legitimate chief, tired of endless trouble, reproaches, and quite justifiable fines, in some way agrees to the new state of affairs, which henceforth relieves him of responsibility and shelters him from the conqueror's laws, ordinances, and capriciousness, or what he takes to be such. Thus, in certain villages, there will be a chief "at the disposal" of Europeans, just as there are certain women, always supposedly virgins, at their disposal. Actually, these chiefs will have only factitious authority, dependent entirely upon the power of the white man. They will also be in constant danger of being poisoned or of disappearing in more or less occult fashion. They are obeyed out of fear, but only in matters that have to do with government, such as forced labor, requisitioned foodstuffs, auxiliary workers, and hardly mentionable favors, but as concerns everything else, their authority is nil, not only in fact but in principle. How, for instance, could they, when there is danger to clan or tribe, invoke a general totem which is not theirs and of which they are neither representatives nor custodians?

Thus we can see the source of the mistake of European administrations, who are very little concerned anyhow with the ideas underlying the indigenous structure and hence the very existence of the tribe, and who want to give it a code made up for Europeans, an impossible task. To apply the Napoleonic

648 Code to indigenous tribes, as has been decreed in Gabon, is one
622 of those governmental aberrations that reveals as profound an ignorance as possible of the people to be governed and the principles of government. [547]

For the same reasons, one can understand how impossible it is to elect a chief outside the established rules of succession. A chief appointed from outside the main lineage has not, and cannot have, authority.

e) Change of clan totem

779 When, for the above reasons, authority have passed to
622 another clan family, the public cult remains the same. But it
614 must be emphasized as of the greatest importance that the ancestral totem disappears, since it has no longer an eponymous representative of its own blood. It will be replaced by the family totem of the new chief, which then becomes the totem for the whole tribe or clan. Far from being hypothetical, this is, on the contrary, a repeated occurrence, of which the following is a typical illustration.

A certain Mba-Alame, of the Yebiken or Banana clan, left the tribe after a dispute with his clan chief and went to establish a village on a hill facing his old village. While remaining on fairly good terms with the people of his former clan, his first concern was to create a new family of his own and to cut himself off distinctly from his former companions. He therefore changed his name and took another, which happened to be Nzoge Nze, Elephant-son-of the Panther. The panther became his new totem and from then on, that of his sons and of the future clan. He was in the full sense of the term, the new father of the tribe, able to say more justifiably than Marshal Lefebevre once did: "We are the forefathers!"

In order to undertake this sort of action, a man must have a very resolute character, capable of breaking with his kin, friends, and clan without fearing the always fatal reprisals.

Moreover, such a happening is only possible if the tribe is small enough, because in a large tribe the chief would be very

719 622 614 [515] unlikely to allow such a flouting of his authority. It is also feasible if the chief is old and feeble, and the rebel held in awe for his physical strength and especially his notorious bad temper, based on substantial proof. Also the "deserter" or "uprooted" man must not belong to any secret "clan" society, because the initiates never pardon [548] desertion, this is a primary and always inviolable law.

And that is not all. It is imperative for the new founder to find a willing totem. The choice cannot be at random, as some people may imagine, and there must be a series of sacrifices during which the chosen animal indicates its acceptance. In such a case, the personal totem will receive this honor, for it cannot be changed and not to select it would be a gross insult that would unfailingly lead to significant revenge. But the personal totem must agree to become the tribal totem. In so doing, the spirit -- much more intelligent than man -- knows that it is agreeing to become his actual and titular guardian and it is not always anxious to do so. In similar circumstances, Nzoge Nze admitted to me one day that before finally acquiring an accepting totem he had had to wait for several months and to sacrifice a good many fowls and even kids. The practitioner also had to be satisfied.

It should be observed that following this acceptance all panthers did not become Nzoge Nze's totems, but only those who inhabited the country and were the offspring or descendants of his nze or particular totem panther. This proves the truth of our system. Furthermore, these panthers were sacred only to Nzoge Nze, for each particular totem is particular only to its owner, not to his next of kin. Thus, one of Nze's sons had the anteater, avil, for a totem: he was therefore not supposed to eat it, although his brothers and sons did so with impunity. But once Nzoge Nze's totem, nze, becomes the family and, therefore the tribal totem, his children will avoid killing any panther, on the chance that one might be related to that nze. However, should they happen to kill and eat one, the offense would be only hypothetical and before expiating it, they would make the

779 necessary investigation by sacrifices. And the totem, under
622 penalty of not receiving any expiation, should reveal its rela-
614 tionship. But as Nzoge Nze becomes more of a remote ancestor, the risk of relationship with every panther grows, for each panther may be related to the eponymous ancestor and consequently the law becomes more stringent. Should a panther enter villages and kill a few innocent people, [549] such as women and children, The men of the eponymous clan would be permitted to kill it, and only in such a case, but they would still be forbidden to eat it. When after a series of sacrifices for this purpose, it has been duly established that revenge for some unexpiated totemic offense is not involved, that is proof that the panther in question does not belong to the eponymous panther clan. It is a "foreigner" or "deserter", the latter being quite common in certain animal species, one of whose members may leave the group to go off on his own and become a "solitary," as do elephants, panthers, wild boars, gorillas. It is then perfectly lawful to attack it and kill it if possible. A trifling ritual expiation will suffice, proportionate to the very small likelihood of having killed an ally, an extremely slight probability, since actions are never taken without previous assent of the totem chief of the tribe. The responsibility will be his in case of mistake.

IV. War and Palavers

511 Life is easy for the Fan.

Close to his village, the great forest begins; it abounds in game, and he has not far to go to be able to shoot, at point-blank range, monkeys, antelopes, wild boars, even elephants. There are innumerable streams and rivers swarming with fish, especially carp; traps, weirs, nets, everything is good to catch them with -- everything succeeds. A Fan hunts and fishes when he feels like it; there are no laws interfering with his inclinations. Banana and manioc plantations, which provide the basic subsistence, give hardly any trouble. At the start of each season there are a few days of work at slashing-and-burning, the ashes providing fertilizer. After that, all the labor and care of the crops falls
517 upon the women. The Fan is therefore idle most of the day and

517 from this comes about the endless palavers about everything and nothing, for lack of anything else to do.

721 However, if for one reason or another war threatens the tribe or has to be declared, the Fan then seems to awaken from his lethargy.. Before the decision to fight, [550] there must be lengthy palavers. The totem has but a small part in these palavers, but no warrior would put in his word without having first taken his totem in hand and given it a brief scolding, often just one word, an exclamation, which only the most attentive would hear.

721 When all the warriors have had their say, the chief rises
537 and sums up everything that has been said, before beginning his own speech. During this report, he usually remains at his place. He then goes to the middle of the assembly, his chief's baton in his hand and across his chest the baldrick from which the akaméyòn always hangs. "I am so-and-so," he begins, "son of so-and-so, and my father was chief of the race. We are the sons of such-and-such totem, and our akaméyòn protects us." After
[201] these words, he stamps on the ground with his foot, or more often, with his baton, as if to testify to the truth of what he has said, and then gives his own opinion. When he has finished he holds up the tribal totem to bear witness to his words, then returns to his place.

779 If war is declared the totemic ceremonies are more pro-
721 nounced. At first they will be nearly like those described for the initiation and consecration of the chief. The same altar is
782 put up in the forest with the same rites; wood of the éfirfira is again used for construction. On the appointed day, all the warriors make their way into the forest, each head of a family carrying his évora biéri. The skulls are set out on the altar, and each totem at its place. The victim is then brought forward.

The scene at this point changes completely. Neither a dog nor a kid is immolated -- it must always be a man, either a prisoner of war or some captive bought back from a neighboring tribe. A woman may never replace a man. Nor may a man or child belonging to the tribe, nor one whose mother belonged either to the tribe or to an allied tribe, be used as victim; for

779 that would be against totemic law and would mean sacrilege.
721 In order to avoid this ritual offense, which would necessitate ex-
782 piation and would necessitate expiation and would furthermore wipe out all the efficacy of the sacrifice, the chief first of all approaches [551] the victim, and asks his name, race, and tribe. Is there no obstacle to the sacrifice? "A ne mvè," he cries, "a ne nwuba (he is good, he is 'dedicated')!" The man is then tied to the foot of the altar and very rarely does he re-
[76] sist. All Africans resign themselves to death with almost unconscious ease, when they see that it is inevitable. (1)

1. In certain villages I have sometimes met such men destined for sacrifice, because they are often kept for many weeks. They walked around in the villages, apparently free, well fed, and well treated; the only sign of their captivity was a rather light block of wood well fastened to one of their feet, which they dragged along. Within the village this shackle was not much of an encumbrance, but in the forest it would have been an almost insurmountable obstacle to flight. Countless times, I have offered either to help them escape or to have the colonial authority free them. "What for?" they used to reply; "I'm well fed and treated; death is going to come anyway. Awu nzu mbèmbè! (What's the use!)"

So as to prevent any possible struggle, the evening before,
[276] the victim is given an intoxicating beverage, containing mostly the juice of ebè and of yam (hemp). As soon as he has been
779 tied to the altar, and the chief has pronounced the ritual words,
721 the warriors start putting on their war dress. First they paint
782 their bodies red with baza (1) dye, and upon this first layer they
302
386

1. Pterocarpus angolensis: the wood is

779
721
782
302
386

mashed and mixed with oil and produces
a splendid, very lasting red dye.

draw white horizontal lines with white clay (mfem). A wide black circle is traced around the eyes; on the forehead each one draws the likeness or symbol of his tribal or clan totem, or instead, they sometimes draw it on their temples or cheeks. Thus the "axe" of the Amvom, actually the likeness of a boa, their totem serpent, winds over their cheeks and temples and ends near the eyes. To enliven this image, the juice of a grassy lily, the chlorophyton (ayǎn é si), is used, which gives a long-lasting, bluish color. On the chest each one then draws his individual totem in black with gardenia juice.

721
779
782

Once they have finished these preparations, the warriors pick up their weapons and fetishes and begin the war dance, which consists of two parts: a totemic dance and then the real war dance, [552] which has a stronger beat and is more lively. I have already described this before in connection with the war song, which here accompanies the dance.

After the war dance the chief approaches the victim. He is forced to his knees; the practitioner draws a white line on his neck, then violently pulls his head forward, while an assistant twists his arms behind his back. The practitioner cuts off his head at one quick blow with the sacrificial knife, and tosses it onto the altar. The chief collects the spouting blood in a pot kept for the purpose, a new pot which will afterwards be broken. As soon as the blood stops, the corpse is laid on fresh banana leaves and the practitioner, helped by the chief, opens his chest, taking care to use only two knife strokes: one across and one up and down. The heart is taken out and placed beside the skulls; then the lungs and liver are removed. According to the body's
[787] last twitching and the position of the organs, the practitioner predicts the outcome of the war. It will either be fortunate or cause the death of many warriors. "The funeral songs will last a long time," he may say, and the crowd will raise a cry of distress! If on the contrary the auguries are favorable, there will be shouts of joy, a song of triumph and gladness.

721 Everyone then comes near, the chief first, and dips a finger
779 into the pot of blood and tastes it. The practitioner also dips in
782 his finger and with it touches each warrior's totem to make the
266 so-called racial mark (ndem ayôb). "Adopted" warriors are ex-
608 cluded from this ceremony, perhaps the only occasion when a distinction is drawn between them and the tribe; in some smaller clans they are not excluded from this ceremony.

721 When a tribe is populous and a single victim would not be
779 enough, two, three, and sometimes ten or more are provided.

As soon as each warrior has thus "renewed the mark," the
782 sacred dances start again. During that time the chief joins in at first, then takes what remains of the blood, smears his ancestral skulls with it, and then sprinkles the tribal totems while the warriors sing the totem song. [553] The practitioner, helped by his acolytes makes a kind of large sticky ball from the sap of cer-
[824] tain rubber creepers (1) and a kind of gum (2) and knead it inside

1. Landolphia Klaineana and Thollonii of the Apocyneceae.

2. This gum is produced by the Acacia erubescens Wildm. of the acacia family.

the victim's thoracic cavity so that it becomes soaked with blood. At the end of the ceremony he takes a bit from this ball and ap-
[787] plies it to each warrior's chest. According to how long it sticks, it will give an augury about the warrior's life, death, and the wounds he will receive.

721 As soon as the ceremonies are completed the victims are
782 cut into thin strips, and each person receives his share. The feast
266 begins. This is the end of the actual totemic ceremony, to be followed from then on by purely religious and fetishist rites. I therefore need say no more on the subject.

721 After the meal, the dance, and the songs, the skulls and totems are put back in the évora biéri and carried back to the huts.

721 Everyone then prepares for battle.

V. Large Hunting Expeditions

224 Apart from war, the principal event in Fan life consists of large hunting and fishing expeditions, organized by the whole tribe, which are always an abundant source of riches. Since an event of this sort concerns the clan or tribe as a whole, the totem plays a part, but to a rather limited degree.

For individual, private hunts only the individual totem is invoked. The ceremony is very brief, if it can even be called such. It consists, not of homage rendered, but rather of what might be called a preventive ritual. In no case does the hunter want to kill his totem, for that might draw down upon him the gr gravest dangers and greatest misfortunes. Before going off to hunt, while loading his rifle, he will see to it that his totem is touched against the rifle. Furthermore, if he is undertaking a more important hunt, as for elephant, or a more dangerous one, as for panther, he will mix with his powder a bit of the ashes [554] from his totemic sacrifice. He will then invoke his hunting fetish, often merely by touching it. The main object of these ceremonies is to ask the totem's help and also to keep the totem out of the way so as not to be exposed to any ritual offense, either by unwittingly failing to respect it or by wounding or killing it.

For large hunts the ceremonies will be quite similar, though a bit more complicated. This, in brief, is how big hunting expeditions are arranged: The Fan begin by hemming in a whole forest. Several hundred -- sometimes many more -- men come together and begin by surrounding the chosen forest with a belt of rattan wattles; a creeper winds above the wattling, following the same route, and to the creeper the hunters tie here and there dry leaves of light reeds whose slight rustling when disturbed is enough to frighten the game. There is a break in the barrier at each path into the forest, where a deep ditch is dug and carefully camouflaged by boughs and sometimes so well covered with earth that even the most wary are deceived. A pointed stake is set in the bottom of the

224 ditch, its point in the air, so that any animal falling in will almost certainly be pierced. Having finished with these preliminaries, the hunters make ready to actually beat for game. First there will have been a large sacrifice. Suppose a tribe has the scaly anteater (ye-mvil) for its totem. The tribal chief is the first to start on the hunt after a preparatory fast of three days. During that time he has remained apart in a small reed hut in the midst of the forest, eating only the food he brought with him, which he must first have placed on the évora biéri. He drinks only from an aromatic leaf folded into a cone; further-
[834] more, he abstains from any relations with his wives, because contact with women is supposed at such times to be an offense against the totem (nsem éki). After these three days he makes a
[782] fetish, that is, a sacrifice to the tribal or clan totem, according to the usual practice; it consists of a goat at least or better a sheep. Formerly always and nowadays even occasionally, it was
[567] always a slave. After the sacrifice [555] the chief takes part of the victim -- the rest belongs to the practitioner -- and throughout the hunt, he must eat no other meat. He then leaves and returns to the village only when he has met with, captured alive if possible, or if not, slain, the totem animal. If he kills it he must take care that none of the animal's blood drips onto the path, thus risking being profaned, for that would be another ritual offense. Therefore the chief carefully closes the wound with dry leaves and the fluff from a banana tree.

While returning to the village the chief must be seen by no
[201] woman; he therefore takes care to announce his arrival by a special call, which is answered by a tom-tom, and then dashes into his hut. The women who happen to be in the village, outside their huts, must go inside quickly.

The totem animal is then placed on the évora biéri. If it is too large to fit, the chief opens it and puts on the évora the
[714] brains, lungs, and heart, the three parts which contain the life principle and the various souls. The carcass is offered in sacrifice in the accustomed manner and then divided among all the hunters.

224 Should the animal be inadvertently killed during the beat for game, it cannot take revenge for the offense, nor can the clan totem do so. By sacrifice and communion all the clan members have become sharers of the totem, which therefore would be taking revenge on itself:

"A séra né ki édjéze émièn émièn nièm wuia (He cannot eat his own heart)."

After the meal the hunters get on with the job. They leap over the wattles, then gradually tighten the circle around the forest by means of strong cords so as eventually to drive all the encircled animals into a large clearing, prepared in advance, where they are killed one by one. Sometimes also at this place, an enormous pit has been dug in advance, and the bewildered (1)

1. This beat for game is called ngol, especially when it is for elephants.

animals fall into it.

When they have all been killed, the flaying and disemboweling begins. However, first the chief makes sure that [556] no totem animals have by mischance got into the pit. If so they are carefully removed, placed on banana leaves, and tied up so as to be disguised; the next night they are secretly carried to a distant spot and deeply buried. Yet one animal may be kept out, taken back to the village by the chief, and offered in a further sacrifice. All the hunters partake of it so as to be protected from any ritual offense.

226 Large fishing expeditions are occasions for almost the same ceremonies. Before beginning to dam a river or change the course of a of a stream, a totemic sacrifice is first undertaken; a victim is offered and then the actual sacrifice is made. If by chance the clan totem is a fish, the ceremonies would be identical to those described above.

After the fishing another totemic sacrifice is performed with the customary rites; to neglect this prescription might lead to grave dangers for the tribe.

VI. The Establishment of a New Village

361 Various circumstances may lead to the setting-up of a new
621 village. Worked-out land, denuded hunting anf fishing grounds,
166 decaying huts, a disease decimating the children, the chief's
787 death, a defeat in war, sometimes merely the wish to push on, are the principal reasons.

The spirits are consulted before departure is considered. [Footnote omitted.] There is a triple sacrifice; to the spiritual guardians of the village, to the ancestors, and to the totem. If the three replies are favorable, plans may go ahead. Otherwise, a sacrifice producing an ill-omened interpretation will be undertaken again, after a few days, until a favorable result is obtained.

361 After this first test a suitable location is sought. As this
621 choice is made by delegates, the practitioner is called upon and he, with all the male inhabitants, combs the [557] surroundings of the new village, singing and dancing so as to drive away malignant spirits or any that might be injurious to the new establishment.

361 All the men then come together in the middle of what will
621 be the future village, and the chief picks out the spot where he
769 will build his own hut. A sacrifice is offered there, first to the
782 totem and then to the spirits of the ancestors. To do this a roof of leaves is hastily erected and roughly placed on a few stakes. The évora biéri is carried underneath the roof and the chief puts in front of the unopened box a black hen and a kid.

Before slaughtering the two victims, the chief removes the akaméyǒn from his baldrick and blows three times in the oviara, turning in three different directions. The objective of this ceremony is to dispel evil spirits. He then drags the akaméyǒn behind him over the entire site of the new village. After one round he does another, holding the akaméyǒn in his hand. Thus malignant spirits of earth and air will be dispersed. The akaméyon is then put on the évora biéri. The chief slaughters the hen by cutting off its head, grasps it by the feet, and sprinkles the akaméyǒn and box. He again traverses the village, sprinkling

361 the sites of future huts with blood. The hen is then opened up
621 and divided among the principal warriors and the chief's relatives.
769 This strictly, speaking, constitutes the totemic sacrifice. The
782 kid or sheep is then offered to the spirits of departed souls and to the ancestors.

After the sacrifice to ancestors the chief puts the akameyôn
361 back at his side. From the mfex or pouch, which is never re-
621 moved, he draws forth a small bundle of dirty material wrapped
769 around a bit of red wood, ashes, and a few bones. All this
778 comes from a sacrifice to the totem like that already described. To these he adds the remnants of the recent sacrifice and buries it all deep in a hole in which he drives a strong stake of élun
[824] or éfirfira wood; sometimes a young ebony tree is also used. At the top of the stake he fixes a ball of paste made of red wood,
[822 842] white chalk -- the colors of sacrifices and spirits, and manioc, the symbol of fertility. A part of the clan or tribal totem is also inserted. The practitioner, with many gestures, songs, and dances imprisons within it all the evil spirits of the air. [558]

The practitioner sows maize in the middle of the village, then plants a manioc root and particularly a euphorbia (euphorbia antiquorum), and puts a small fence around, so that the plants will not be desecrated. The village's prosperity depends upon their
[787] rapid growth. Should they wither, the chosen spot will be abandoned. Euphorbia has the power of averting thunder and evil
[824] spirits by means of its bristling points. Amaryllis and immortelles are often planted at the foot of the euphorbia, along with a few stalks of sugar cane. The amaryllis and immortelles ought to come from the old village, having issued from those which the chief's first wife had formerly brought from her
[842] native village at her marriage. Sugar cane is a symbol of fertility.

241 The women plant maize everywhere after these preliminaries, and its rapid growth ensures basic subsistence. Mean-
361 while the men build the huts. The first ears of maize will certainly be offered to the guardian totem. Dried and preserved in the form of a coronet, they will provide seed for the following year.

VII. Ordeals

695 In ordeals (1) or judicial tests the appeal to the totem's

> 1. Ordeals, from the Anglo-Saxon ordaal [ordál -dél], in modern German, Urteil, judgement.

intervention plays a fairly large part.

[171] These tests are very common in Bantu tribes; and we find the same thing on the other side of Africa, among the Jaluo at Kiviri.

The form of ordeal among these peoples is as follows and closely resembles that of the Fan. "A small pot of water is placed on the fire. A little wimbi-flour and a bit of 'medicine' are put into the water. If the water boils over, the man is guilty, if not, he is innocent.

"A gourd basin with a large hole cut in the bottom is placed on a flat stone. Water is poured into the calabash, the bottom of which being, of course, not close-fitting to the stone would permit ordinarily of a leakage [I have emended an obvious misprint here, "bakage."--Translator] But the medicine man who attends puts into the bottom of the calabash crushed-up leaves of a kind of mimosa [559] which, for a time at least, stop the leakage and enable the calabash to be filled up with water, the retention of the water by the calabash proving the man to be innocent.

"Dry flour is given to the suspected persons. If innocent, he can swallow it; if he is able to moisten the flour with his saliva and swallow it, he is shown to be guilty." (1)

> 1. Sir Harry Johnston, op. cit., "The Jaluo."

The Fan often resort to ordeals, especially in the following circumstances: accusations of theft, adultery, murder, sorcery, "sins" against the clan or village totem. Without going into details, I shall point out merely the part played by the totem.

[Errata; should be "unable". — Analyst]

685 If the offense is admitted, punishment follows immediately. With theft, for instance, the person who has committed larceny must make a restitution of double the value. In some tribes, the thief if condemned to lose an ear, a finger, a hand, sometimes a foot. Often he may be sold into slavery. Among the Fan he has merely to return twice the amount stolen.

684 In case of adultery, the culprit pays the value of the woman and is also often kept prisoner for a long time in the plaintiff's village; his head is shaved and he is exposed to the sun, covered with spices. If payment is not made, and even if it is, the woman's father or husband has the right -- and makes use of it -- to cut the joints of the culprit's fingers so that he is made almost powerless. Women are cruelly beaten and spices are rubbed into her wounds. She is also chastised with the [413] nkôn éki, (2) a kind of long iron shears used to pinch deeply and

2. This is the name of certain villages where the blacksmiths are found who are skilfull in making these instruments of torture.

cruelly burn the genital organs. At the second offense her nose and ears are cut off; a third brings death.

682 In case of murder, the murderer, when captured, is killed and eaten. Furthermore, his family must pay compensation with a woman or the equivalent value, that is, two lives for one.

695 For all other charges and for those just mentioned, when the acknowledged or presumed culprit denies his guilt, judicial trial is required. [560]

Whatever the ordeal, they may all be considered from two points of view, or even are of two degrees. The first ordeal is intended to "indicate" the likely culprit; the second, to decide whether or not he is really guilty. Punishment is immediate and strikes simultaneously at body and soul.

The first step is therefore to discover the culprit. With theft, murder, or sorcery, the ordeals vary according to the case.

695 The following are some of the principal kinds:

A man is accused of murder. He will first have to be
694 seized; if that is impossible, it does not much matter. Since
672 members of the tribe stick together, another man will be
619 seized, no matter whom. If this cannot be done, the Fan may
682 even take a man belonging to another tribe, who will be kept prisoner until his family and tribe, taking up the cudgels in their turn, capture either the culprit or a member of the culprit's tribe. One can see to what degree such solidarity may lead to retaliation.

Once a man has been caught, guilty or not, he undergoes
695 one of the following tests:
682 The dzismébiân is the eye ordeal. A person is brought before the chief, gagged and with his head pulled back. The practitioner takes a little pot made from the hard shell of a small gourd called ngon, which is filled with a certain liquid
[278] consisting of vegetable poisons with an atropine base. The presumed culprit has the right -- and often takes advantage of it -- to require his own totem to be dipped in the liquid. The contents of the pot are then poured into his eye. If the eye stays in its socket, the man is innocent; if the eye is destroyed or raised out of the socket, he is guilty. (1) In the latter case

[171] 1. The same test occurs among the Bangala and Barundi.

he is immediately killed by a knife stroke. He may nevertheless ask to drink the test poison, provided that he is buying back his life for the first time. This is often permitted.

A second and more generally used ordeal is the following, called médzim mé ne ayôn, burning water. [561]

The practitioner boils water in a pot. When it comes to a boil, he throws in a wire ring, and the presumed culprit must retrieve it without burning himself; if his hand is injured, he is declared guilty, but if not, he is adjudged innocent and is dismissed. In such a case, the plaintiff himself is punished and must drink the test poison. The accused man has the right to

695 boil his own totem in the pot, but so has the practitioner, in
682 order to counterbalance the power of the accused man's totem.

The red-hot iron test, éki biâǎ or biâǎ éki biâǎ, is the third ordeal.

The accused man's knife is heated red hot, then pressed to his cheek; if the cheek is burnt, he is guilty; otherwise, he is declared innocent. He has the right to throw into the fire, in which the iron is heated, the ashes of his individual totem; he also has the right to rub with this same totem that part of his body to which the red-hot iron will be applied.

There is no need to dwell on how easy subterfuges would be, all the more so since before each ceremony the presumed culprit is allowed to apply a few strong poultices or substances to harden his skin. The totem would then be only more effective!

If declared innocent, the accused man nevertheless owes a sacrifice to his mvane, a debt that will be readily discharged.

685 In case of theft there are also three tests used, as follows:
695 for the otura biâǎ, the practitioner lights a large fire in
787 the middle of the village, fed with special kinds of wood. When the fire has caught well, he throws an armful of wet leaves on it; he then moves back, having pronounced above the rising smoke certain magical words. The column of smoke at first rises straight up; suddenly, without wind (often there is not a breath), without any visible physical action on the part of the practitioner or anyone else (because they are all at a distance), it curves inward, we are told, eddies, and then advances towards a hut which it completely envelopes. The hut's owner is immediately seized and declared guilty [562]; however, he can insist on drinking the test poison, provided that he is buying back his life for the first time. One cannot redeem oneself from the test poison.

The smoke test has always seemed to me one of the most difficult to explain. I have witnessed it several times and in spite of the closest attention have not been able to perceive the least trickery.

685 A second test is the following: the practitioner lies on the
695 ground and appears to listen to mysterious voices which are heard,
787 in fact, as if coming out of the earth. Probably a simple effect of
198

685 ventriloquism is involved; certain practitioners are past masters
695 at it. The voices mention three names, which the practitioner
787 repeats aloud. Each of the presumed culprits must then bring a
198 fowl; these are slaughtered by the practitioner and their blood is poured on the ground. The first sign is deduced from the way in which the drops fall and the forms they take. The fowls are then cut open, and the position of the liver and the final contractions of nerves and muscles corroborate the first indications.

685 The totem plays only an inconspicuous part in this test,
695 which in any case is rarely used nowadays.

787 The most frequent test is the akala-nkal, thus called after the fetish nkal, which is kept in an antelope horn or large snail (ngôn). The practitioner heats water, mixing in different kinds of plants, and adds, to satisfy those who may think they are suspected, some of the ashes of their totemic sacrifice.

When evening comes, every man prepares a fire of wood and bamboo in front of his hut. The chief then goes through the brightly lit village, invoking guardian spirits and threatening the thief or thieves with terrible vengeance. Then he runs and jumps over all the bonfires, the men and women of the village following after him. If a man or woman should touch one of the brands with a foot so as to make it roll off the fire, that person is declared guilty. While undergoing the nkal test, the chief carries his totem in his hand. If all come through safely, the chief starts again on his own, this time holding the village totem, show everybody's innocence even more. [563]

After this first trial, which everyone usually gets through with the greatest ease, the one or more accused if such there be, if not, all the men of the village, take a drink of lustral water which the practitioner has just boiled; then they take a few steps and spit on the nkal, which has been put on the ground. Each person then steps over the nkal, swearing his innocence, and starts once more to leap over all the bonfires. If he is not hurt, he is declared innocent. It is extremely rare that, from the effects of the poison or for some other reason, one or another does not stumble over a brand and knock it out of the fire. He is thereupon declared guilty; if he denies it, he will have to drink the éłûń; if on the contrary, he saves his life but has to repay the theft twice over.

683 This is the most frequent test among the Fan.
787 Anyone accused of sorcery, or all those who have suc-
695 cumbed during the first tests, must drink the ordeal poison. This
278 ceremony has been described so often that there is no need to go into it at length.

In the Fan test-poison ordeal three different poisons are used, according to the case in question: the sap of the éłůn tree; the grated bark and roots of the oné or onaĩ; (1) the roots of the

[411]

> 1. Strychnos onaĩ: this shrub of the strychnine family, produces the poison used on arrowheads. Puncture is fatal if the poison is fresh, and death ensues within a few moments. If the poison is old, the wound slowly becomes gangrenous. Bromine is a good antidote.

shrub kwéa. (2) These roots are finely shredded, thrown into

> 2. Strychnos ikaja: this is a common test on the coast, where kwéa, the natives say, is called ikaja, nka, mbonde, ibonde, etc.

boiling water and a reddish liquid is obtained after a few hours of simmering. This highly dangerous brew contains in solution a considerable amount of strychnine and hyoscine.

683 The ngenngǎh, or practitioner, begins by sacrificing a she-
787 goat, with the formulae already indicated. Next, all the vil-
695 lagers assemble, and the practitioner appears in red and white paint, with red parrot feathers and black fish hawk plumes stuck into his hair to form a crown. His only garment consists of a skin tied around his loins, and he wears many bells on his hands and feet. [564] He invokes the protective fetishes of the village, leaps, skips, and howls frenetically. The tom-tom played by one of his acolytes is beaten faster and faster; the practitioner's movements increase in tempo; little by little he seems to move by preference toward a group, the sound of his bells directing him, so he says. Finally he halts abruptly and points in the crowd

68 695 781 to one or more culprits, who are immediately seized and led to the middle of the public square, where one of the practitioner's assistants is waiting with several cups of the liquid.

Those who, in previous ordeals, have asked to be given the poison to drink are also brought up at the same time.

Each in turn empties a cup: the effects vary according to the kind of poison.

Those who drink the élûn quickly develop a violent trembling, which convulses the whole body. They can hardly keep on their feet and would roll on the ground were they not supported by friends. If at this point they are able to urinate copiously, they will gradually recover and survive. However, for years they will have a persistent nervous tremor.

Those who drink the ikaja or the onaĩ seem, on the contrary, to be knocked out: they fall down, get up, and fall down again. They survive only if they can vomit the liquid.

Whatever the effect of the poison, all who have undergone the test are led before a log thrown like a bridge over a brook, or sometimes before a plank or a dead tree laid on the ground. They must tread it without help from one end to the other. If they teeter and fall, all the participants leap on them, [266] strike and kill them with clubs, tear them apart and eat them on the spot. However, the sorcerers or those who claim to be are never eaten but are burnt alive. Those who get through to the end of the plank have to pay a large fine. "There's no smoke without fire," seems to be the Fan proverb, translated [538] into their idom as, "Ké abi fo ve fo -- there's no rat hole without a rat!"

The totem enters to a fairly large extent into all these tests, either through the practitioner who invokes it or through the unfortunate accused who always have the right, quite illusory for them, to have a [565] piece of the totem boiled with the élûn (1) and to invoke it before drinking up the fatal

1. It is not for me to pass judgment on these ceremonies, or to show to what degree the practitioner plays the dominant role, often getting well paid

683
695
787

for administering an effective emetic along with the test poison. I shall evaluate these ordeals later when discussing religion.

potion.

683
695
787
562

Women are not subject to the tests I have just mentioned except sometimes to the nkal test. Among the Fan they do not drink the test poison; they are, in fact, considered as irresponsible and in a state of tutelage. Therefore in cases of serious accustion, a woman's father or husband has to take her place but does not invoke the totem, because it would not be able to act on her behalf since it does not acknowledge the woman.

Only for an accusation of sorcery does a woman have to submit to a test.

She is brought gagged to the middle of the village, two female relatives pull her head back, and the practitioner empties
[278] into her eye the sap of a euphorbia called ka. (2) If she comes

2. Euphorbia scandens, of the arboreal euphorbias.

through unhurt, she is innocent. If, on the contrary, as nearly always happens, the eye leaves the socket, she is immediately
[266] declared guilty, dragged away into the forest, burnt, and eaten. The accusation frequently arises, and punishment is never delayed.

VIII. Blood Exchange

608

" 'Brotherhood' (in America, totemisation)," says Mgr. Le Roy, (3) "is relationship through an exchange of blood; if

3. La religion des primitifs [The Religion of Primitive Peoples] op. cit., p. 120.

this is not quite totemism, it is very near to it."

608 All primitive man's interests lead him to extend his relationships and alliances, that is, briefly, to enlarge his family. Therefore the exchange of blood has two rather different aspects. "By means of certain mysterious practices, certain actions and words that are kept secret among the initiated but that always involve an exchange of blood, it is possible first of all to gain an animal's favor, to make him follow and obey, to assume his various aspects as a disguise if need be, and to take advantage of his strength, [566] cunning, and skill. In a word, one can make a 'brother' of him, and perhaps this constitutes the basis of all totemism." (1)

1. Le Roy, op. cit., p. 120.

Exchanging blood with an animal -- for all alliances with animals always include a blood exchange -- is therefore, in fact, the central, the first, and by far the most important of totemic rites. I went into this point at great length in discussing the origin of the totem and nagualism.

Yet if a man at the present time seeks above all a covenant with an animal, a temporary and personal alliance in the primitive sense, as Mgr. Le Roy properly points out, (2) by this

2. Op. cit., p. 122.

alliance "man not only wants to get hold of the animal such as it is and link its family with his own, but he also and especially seeks that animal's family, as strengthened by the presence and activity of a spirit from the invisible world -- the animal's own soul, the spirit of the ancestors, the tutelary genius. ..." In a word, blood alliance is a pact with the invisible world.

What a man achieves with an animal, he would all the more like to effect with another man. This will be a powerful means of extending his personal relationships, his alliances, his "family." He chooses by preference, therefore, one whose friendship, power, and loyalty he values, and he concludes a pact of alliance that will be sanctioned by an exchange of blood in a special ceremony and according to special rites. With the

608 rites completed, the two men become truly blood brothers, ndugu among the Swahili of the east coast, ndégo among the Mpongwe of the equator, angom among our Fan; these represent the same word, with the same root, the different forms resulting from differences in dialect.

608 Still, two conditions are necessary to blood exchange: in the first place, a real operation is performed. Only chiefs make
622 this exchange, and believe themselves to be completely bound and, if need be, ready to give their lives for their blood brothers. They are thus in a position to exact reciprocity. Only the chiefs, as we have said, make blood brothers; for they alone are representatives of their race and guardians of the totem, consequently masters of the intrinsic virtue and strength of the tribe. Anyone other than the chief is therefore disqualified, [567] and the chief himself cannot appoint a delegate to take his place. Nevertheless, this does happen from time to time! A white man who chances by, perhaps an explorer, anxious to obtain the good will of an influential chief, or often a trader pursuing his business, may ask a chief to make him a "blood brother." The chief sees his own advantage here and readily agrees, knowing perfectly well that he is certain to receive many presents. The ceremony takes place, but the white man, who believes that he has gained his ends, is really very naive, for in most cases the chief will have appointed a deputy and the rite means nothing legally.

However, a chief does sometimes go through the ceremony himself but in that case the basic rites are abbreviated, often omitted. An African knows too well what he is undertaking and has no desire for a white blood brother. Yet in certain circumstances, and well aware of what he is doing, an African chief does really make a blood brother. Thus, for instance, a chief of Kilimanjaro, named Tumba, is blood brother to Mgr. Le Roy, (1) who has left us an interesting and thorough account

1. Voyage au Kilima-Ndjaro [Journey to Kilimanjaro] by Mgr. Le Roy; Mame, Tours. See also Ann. Prop. Foi. 1882,

7: Trilles--109 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9
Buye F015

F
608
622

p. 369 ff. [Annuaire de la Propagation de la Foi, Yearbook of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith].

of the ceremony and associated ritual.

The second condition is that the parties concerned be of different tribes and not have the same totem. This condition is essential and proceeds from the very nature of totemism.

The process of blood alliance or blood exchange is rather curious. Among the Fan it is as follows and is found in precisely the same form in several Congo tribes somewhat related to the Fan, like the Wabuyu of the Upper Congo.

[171]

One of my mission colleagues recently described it thus: (1)

B
608
622

1. Bulletin des Pères Blancs d'Anvers [Bulletin of the White Fathers of Antwerp], n° de mai [May] 1910.

"In the evening there is a loud beating of drums; several rifle shots followed by shouts of joy announce a festival. Urged by curiosity, I went in the direction of the noise and discovered that two chiefs were to effect a blood exchange that day. They came forward solemnly . . . the participant crowded around and let out bloodcurdling howls. The protagonists solemnly sit down on special seats [568], face to face, with their knees touching. A white cloth is thrown over them, and the ceremony begins.

"The minister [practitioner] of one of the chiefs of the village where I am stationed takes a small thin knife and makes an incision in the leg of the foreign chief, while the latter's minister does the same to the village chief. Each one spreads on a leaf a paste that looks like butter, and simultaneously both ministers rub the two incisions. They keep exchanging the leaves so that their masters' blood is thoroughly mixed, the better to seal the mutual friendship.

"At the same time ivory horns are sounded and drums beat martial airs, rather unreasonably, it seems to me, at a 'peace conference.' The music arouses angry passions in the

608 hearts of the crowd, which are translated into wildly savage
622 cries.

"The ministers signal for silence with waves of the hand, and deliver short addresses to their masters, of which the gist is more or less: 'You have concluded a blood pact. Your reciprocal friendship will never end. Should one of you be false to your given word, may he be broken like this leaf!'

"Adding gesture to speech they tear in pieces the leaves used in the ceremony. The two chiefs then stand up and announce in loud voices: "Everything that I possess is yours -- children, slaves, subjects, cattle, and plantation. Should any man seek to harm you, I shall always be ready to avenge the injury.'

"Next, hand in hand they circle the group two or three times, at a slow and dignified pace. They are followed by about ten women ... dressed in native materials of wildly clashing colors. The women's hair has been elaborately braided,
[301] necklaces of pearls and glass beads adorn their bosoms, enormous copper bracelets cover their forearms, and heavy iron rings encircle their ankles. At a signal from one of them, all the
[481] women start to walk with swaying movements and a curious swinging of the hips [569], along with their most ingratiating gestures and enticing grins directed towards the delighted participants.

608 "Shortly afterwards, when the newly made friends have
622 returned to their seats, a group of men comes out of the ranks
535 of spectators, dressed in loincloths of many colors. The dancers salute the two majesties by giving three times a wild animal's roar, to which the crowd replies. The orchestra musicians madly compete on their instruments; dancers and spectators raise from powerful chests three more roars that would make the very lions tremble. This is the signal for the dance, the main attraction of the festival. Great and small leave their ranks and join the group. With feline flexibility they crawl, jump like leopards, rise up together, whirl around brandishing spears that gleam in the sun, leap upon an imaginary victim whom they trample in rage. Sweat pours down the naked, gleaming bronze bodies; to stave off their fatigue, the dances alternate with war

7: Trilles--111 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9
Buye F015

B 608 622 535

songs celebrating the achievements of the tribe's forefathers and teaching contempt for death.

"Then comes the feast, from which women are strictly excluded."

F 608 622

A ceremony identical to that of the Wabuyu is found among the Ozèm Fan, which I have seen several times, and is almost the same among the Dzandzama and Bakélé.

F 171

It is rather strange to find almost the same customs among the most ancient peoples. For instance, Herodotus wrote of the Scythians: "This is how the Scythians used to take an oath: they would pour wine into a large earthenware cup, and the parties to the oath would add their blood from slight cuts made on their bodies with knife or sword; a boar-spear, an axe, and a lance would then be dipped into the cup. They then recited long prayers and drank from the cup. The leading members of the court would drink after them." (1)

1. Herodotus, Book IV, Ch. 70.

F 779

Blood alliance is the last general totemic rite that we have to deal with. Next come particular rites. The totem usually plays a far less important part in these than in general rites, and we shall therefore be much less concerned with them. [570]

Chapter XVI

The Totem in Fan Life: Particular Rites

Summary:

1. Birth.
2. Adoption.
3. Marriage.
4. Hunting, fishing, husbandry.
5. Trade and palavers.
6. Diseases and death. The funeral dance and the fanki.

7: Trilles--112 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9

1. Birth and Name Giving

844 Only women, the village matrons, are allowed to help a mother in childbirth. Men are absolutely excluded, even husbands. A woman who gives birth on a journey prefers to go off by herself into the forest rather than ask for her husband's help.

As soon as the child is delivered, his umbilical cord is cut and he is carefully washed. The remnants of the cord are wrapped in a cloth and buried out of the way. In the case of a chief's son, especially that of the head chief, the remains are buried, as we have seen, at the foot of a sacred fig tree. (1)

[824 778]

1. Ficus elastica.

Great importance is given to the tree's growth, and to touch it is strictly forbidden. Any violation of the tree would be considered an attack upon the human being.

[688]

851 A few days after birth, the baby is carried to his father, who may accept it or refuse it. However, the latter [571] happens only if the child is deformed or crippled, in which case it is ruthlessly sacrificed. The religious rites (1) connected

847

553

1. See Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie [Bulletin of the Neuchâtel Geographical Society], 1910, "Les rites de la naissance chez les Fân" ("Ritual rites among the Fang"), by Father Trilles.

with birth are numerous, but the only ones that seem to me to be totemic are name giving and the choice of the baby's totem.

The name is solely the father's choice; it is often determined by attendant circumstances, atmospheric or other, or by some local happening, a hunt, a fishing expedition, the

553 arrival of a stranger. Hence, a certain number of names that at first would seem totemic, because they copy the names of animals and plants, are not so at all. In general, the eldest son's name is that of one of his forebears, a grandfather or ancestor, who is thought to come to life again in him. Twins, [845] however, always receive special names of matched things, which go in twos, like Sun and Moon, Wind and Rain, Storm and Thunder, etc.

851 As soon as the child has been given a name, his father 779 takes it in his arms and carries it into his hut, where he opens the évora biéri and puts the baby down on the lid. He then takes the ancestral skulls one by one and puts them on the child's head, then places the family totem in its hand. The father with his fingernail often scrapes a bit off of the antelope horn holding the remnants of his personal totemic sacrifice, and puts some of this into the child's mouth. This, strictly speaking, is the dedication to the totem. The father then takes the baby back to its mother so that she may anoint it with oil and rub it with red wood. After the mother, or any other woman present, has attended to this, the father again takes the child and puts another bit of the totem into its mouth. A she-goat, a sheep, or at least a fowl is then offered to the family totem and to the spirits of the departed, according to sacred ritual. The remains [779] of this sacrifice, the ashes, etc., are enclosed in a small antelope horn, which is hung around the baby's neck or above his genital organs; this will be his amulet. Finally, the father gives the baby his personal totem, which will be recalled to him later on when he is old enough to understand. At that same time he will be taught what are the family, clan, and tribal totems, and the duties and obligations they impose on him. This instruction is part of the méhara. [572]

2. Adoption

597 In certain cases, a few children are adopted by a head of 727 the family when given as ransom for murder or spared in the

597 727 sacking of a village. For, although in such cases all the men and able-bodied youths are ruthlessly killed and eaten, this does not apply to women and children, even to male children, who henceforth belong to the new tribe and will later be looked upon as warriors. There is no ceremony for women or female [562] children, since, as we have seen, the totem ignores them, and they have only one duty toward it, to hide in their huts as quickly as possible whenever there is talk of the totem, and never to mention it. Should this nevertheless happen, it would be an offense requiring expiation.

597 Male children are adopted by the various heads of a family. Tribal or village chiefs have first choice, the rest of the warriors come after. The one or more children chosen by a chief, however, may never succeed him.

597 Adoption ceremonies are like those at birth. The adopted child loses all his old totems in order to acquire those of the 344 tribe he joins. There is just one additional ceremony, blood-letting. So as to prove his definitive entry into the tribe, he undergoes the following operation when led before the totem. With the mfox knife, a small steel blade kept for this purpose, the adoptive father makes a few slight scarifications on the child's left arm, collects the blood that flows, and throws it on the ancestral skulls, then on the akaméyòn. He then takes a fragment of skull and some totemic sacrificial ashes and rubs these vigorously on the child's arm. This is the true sign of adoption, by which the boy definitively enters his new family and is recognized as belonging to it entirely. Later on he may even be allowed to take a wife from his former tribe, in spite of the [illegible] because adoption is so authentic.

[348 563] Often the same bloodletting and blood alliance occur with illegitimate children or with mulattoes, but the object is then different. Adoption never takes place at birth but much later, so as to ensure for the child the ancestors' protection.

The same act often occurs when a child is ill. [573]

7: Trilles--115 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9

3. Marriage

119 I do not know of any truly totemic act among the com-
562 plicated religious rites connected with marriage. This absence
583 must come from the fact that women are considered to be in themselves independent of the totem.

584 Before marriage, especially before starting to make the
119 rounds of the villages in order to pick out a future companion, a young man first builds a sort of triumphal arch in front of his hut. A creeper decorated with various bits of cheap finery, fabric, green leaves, flowering branches, and ava flowers, is stretched from his house to the one opposite, on the other side of the public square or the main street of the village. Before his hut two shrubs garnished in similar fashion have their tops bound together to form a triumphal arch. The young man opens the biéri box, removes his family totem and a skull and puts them before the statue of the biéri. Then for hours, endless songs and dances will be performed. When the young man is exhausted, one of his friends takes over. The songs and dances last far into the night and start again at dawn. No one may interrupt or even enter the hut, otherwise the entire ceremony would have to be begun all over again. A woman's glance at the biéri or totem, or that of a strange man, would be enough to bring this about. Therefore, one of the young man's friends is constantly on guard to prevent such an accident; he stands in front of the hut door and sees to it that people move along briskly.

[583] This rite only takes place when a youth is contemplating marriage by abduction. He wishes in this manner to gain the good will of the biéri, the ancestors, and the totem.

On the third day in the evening the ritual dances end.
[182] The young man immediately offers a final sacrifice, usually of a cock, a hen, and some maize, following the prescribed forms. Then, since he is not permitted to rest for even a moment, he starts out, carrying the cock, hen, and maize as his only provisions; he is not allowed to take along anything else.

595 Whatever the kind of marriage, the first wife is the only
585 one considered [574] as truly legitimate. As soon as she enters her new hut, her husband leads her by the hand before the évora biéri, which is kept tightly closed. Throughout her life, the wife will never be allowed to look into the box, as that would entail a very grave ritual offense. She now takes a bit of palm oil brought from her own village, mixes it with some from her husband's mother, and rubs this symbolic mixture on the statue
[842] on top of the évora. This is a symbol of the fertility she asks of the ancestors and the guardian spirits of the race. She next
[782] puts a few grains of maize in a small basket at the base of the statue, so that her future plantations may thrive. This sacrifice should be repeated every morning, but only by the principal wife -- and it is often omitted.

4. Hunting, Fishing, Husbandry

788 Before starting on a hunting or fishing expedition, like-
779 wise before going out to the first work on his plantation, every family head or warrior will be sure to invoke his totem. He does this first with an offering on the biéri box, then by touching his weapons, tools, or snares against the family totem.

788 In the case of hunting, the hunter, when charing his gun,
224 mixes some of the ashes of totemic sacrifice with his small shot,
779 puts his hand on his totem, and leaves confident of the outcome. Even if hunting does not come up to expectation, he would never dream of blaming his totem. He would think that he had had bad luck or, more likely, that he had committed some offense.

788 When going fishing, he carries some of the sacrificial ashes hidden in a rag. At the spot he thinks propitious, he al-
226 ways begins by throwing the ashes into the water, in order to
779 obtain his totem's good will.

Likewise, when a man starts farming, at the beginning of
788 each dry season, before giving the first ax blow to the trees to
224 be cut down, he places some ashes or remnants of sacrifice in
779 some kind of hole and sees to it that they are consumed by the

779
778 fire which he sets to the felled trees so as to make the necessary
241 fertilizer needed for his future crops. [575]

Returning from hunting or fishing, a man is always sure to
782 put an offering on the évora biéri: it may be a piece of the ani-
224 mal's heart and brain or part of the first fish caught, even the
226 whole fish if it is very small. The first fruits are also placed on
779 the évora. Any infraction of these rites leads to punishment that can only be atoned for by one or more sacrifices. A warrior will infallibly recognize punishment in the failure of hunting or fishing trips or in barren plantations.

The hunting or fishing offering is made by the head of the family, that of first fruits by the first wife.

5. Trade and Palavers

788 Whenever a Fan has to "talk," he is very careful to try
537 to gain his totem's good will beforehand. On such occasions
779 it is important that he be able to convince his fellow speakers or his adversaries.

The totem ceremony is very short. Before leaving for the palaver or on a trading trip, he removes from the biéri box some of the ashes of the last sacrifice and puts them into a rag, closes the box, and goes off contented.

Before beginning to "talk," he will open the package of ashes and put a bit on his forehead, lips, and throat. Thus the spiritual guardians of the race will aid his brain and inspire him with the best thoughts and the best phrases, and thus they will tell him the best words to use to convince his adversaries and obtain what he wants.

6. Disease and Death

755 The totemic ceremonies connected with disease and death
779 are of somewhat more consequence. As soon as a man falls gravely ill, the practitioner is called in. He demands in advance, to be on the safe side, the proper payment for his pains, and then

755 goes to the sick man's hut. A variety of remedies are used,
779 among them always a dance in honor of the totem. After the dance and the driving out of the evil spirits [576] that torment the sick man, a sacrifice is made, often of a she-goat, a sheep, or at least a fowl. The sick man always has to eat some of this sacrifice, and the practitioner mixes into it fragments of the patient's family totem, as he does into any potions administered. If the sick man recovers, he will have to offer a black hen on the évora biéri before he leaves his hut. The hen will then be burnt according to the sacred rituals.

764 If the man dies, his eldest son closes his eyes and
779 straightens the arms and legs before they become stiff, after which the corpse may not be touched, under grave penalties. The lamentations begin, but in an undertone; the dead man's wives gather around him, tear at their arms and legs, and with the blood that flows sprinkle the corpse. He is then covered with his fetishes and at his side is the mébup on which his family totem is hung. After the first lamentations are over, the commotion quiets down and only the dead man's wives continue to weep.

In the morning the eldest son and heir offers a sacrifice to the deceased's family totem so that it may continue to favor the survivors. He puts some of the victim's blood into the mouth of the corpse and also takes some in his own mouth. He then completes the sacrifice according to the customary rites.

Before the burial another sacrifice will be made in order to determine the location of the grave and to make sure that the dead man is satisfied. The corpse is made to partake of this sacrifice too.

At the appropriate time, the dead man is placed in the grave dug for him; his family totem lies beside him, and, if he is a tribal chief, the clan or tribal totem is also placed at his side. This is left to him for a few moments, then the heir removes it, so as to "take possession."

765 The same ceremonies are observed when the skull is re-
779 moved, 30 days after death.

765 This skull cannot, however, be put into the évora biéri
779 right away, it must first be "acknowledged." The rite is analogous to that of the chief's initiation, which has already been described. The skull [577] is carried into the forest, placed upon a kind of altar, and a victim is immolated in its honor. It is sprinkled with lustral water, then with blood. The chief's heir then takes the skull and makes it first "acknowledge" the ancestral skulls, then successively the family and clan totems, and ends with the tribal totem.

768 Thirty days after death the funeral dances or fanki also
779 take place, and then the division of the deceased's property, particularly his wives. His hut usually stays closed throughout this time, with the door barred and the roof covered with thorns so that the deceased's spirit cannot re-enter the house, which would mean making further sacrifices.

The mortuary rites are very complicated and very solemn among the Fan, especially for an important chief. I have here referred only to totemic rites. The totem will live again later in the person of one of the descendants, usually the grandson,
[557] who, in many cases, will have both the name and the totem of his grandfather.

[p. 578-663 not translated]

7:Trilles--120 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9

Fang Bibliography

A. French Authors

113 Rev. Allégret, La Religion des Fâ. Revue des Religions 1906.

Alexis, le Congo français. Tours 1899. Chez Mame et Challamel.

Alis (H.), Vers le Tchad. Paris 1896.

Mgr. Augouard, 28 Années au Congo. Paris 1906.

Avelot (lieutenant). Dans le Bassin de l'Ogowé. Bull. Sté de Géo Commer. Paris 1901.

— Recherches sur les migrations de la Gabonie. 1906.

Dr. Bayol, L'Afrique occidentale. Sénégambie et Guinée. La région gabonaise. Paris 1889. Challamel.

Bayrat, bulletin Sté de Géo. Paris 1896.

Bertou, le Lastourville à Samba. Paris 1899.

— Les races du Gabon. Bull. Sté Anthr. de Paris. T. XVI. 1895.

R. P. Bichet, Miss. Cathol. 1884.

Bohin, Nègres du Gabon. Bull. Sté Anthr. de Paris. T. IV. 1863.

Bouchaud, Le Congo français. Paris 1901.

— A la côte du Congo français. 1897.

Brazzaville, Bulletin Sté de Géo. Paris 1881.

de Brazza, Tour du Monde. 1887. 1890. 1893.

— Bulletin Sté de Géo. XVIII. Paris 1879.

Bruel, les populations de la Moyenne-Sangha. Revue d'ethnologie et de sociologie 1912.

R. P. Bullion, Ann. Prop. Fol. 1888.

Bulletin de la Société des Missions Evangéliques protestantes 1905, 1906, 1908.

du Chaillu, L'Afrique équatoriale. Paris 1868.

Chevalier (A.), L'Afrique centrale française. Paris 1904. Challamel.

Compiègne, L'Afrique équatoriale. Paris 1875.

Coppin, la Mission Cotton au Sud-Cameroun. Paris 1910.

— Pahouins et Pygmées. Le Géogie, Juillet 1909.

Cuny, Bulletin Sté de Géo. Paris 1896.

Decaen, bulletin Sté Normande. Rouen 1888.

Duparquet de Ranzay, Le Congo français. Paris 1888.

Duval, Les Nègres du Gabon. Bull. Sté Anthr. de Paris. 1863.

Dybowski, La Route du Tchad. Paris 1906.

7:Trilles--121 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9

113 Fleuriot de Langle, Le Tour du Monde. Paris 1877. Croisières sur les côtes de l'Atlantique.

Foret, Le Fernan-Vaz. Bulletin Sté de Gie. Paris 1898.

Fourneau, Bulletin Sté de Gie. De l'Ogowé au Campo. XVI. Paris 1891.

Frais, La Côte ouest du Gabon. Paris 1908.

Froment, Bulletin Sté de Gie. X. Lille 1889.

Gacon, Exercices de lecture français-fang.

Guillemin, Le Congo français. Paris 1889.

Guillemot, Notice sur le Congo français. Paris 1901.

Guiral, Le Congo français. Paris 1889.

Hallez d'Arros, Colonisation du Congo français. Paris 1899. Challamel.

Haug, Le Bas Ogowé. Ann. de Géogr. 1903.

Hebert, Bulletin Sté de Gie. Paris 1868—69.

— Notes sur les populations du Gabon. La Géogie 1874.

Jardon, Bulletin Sté de Gie. Rochefort 1883—84.

Jeanneret, Quatre années au Congo. 1893.

R. P. Lejeune, Miss. Cathol. 1896.

— Au Congo, la Femme et la Famille. Desclée. Lille 1900.

— Dictionnaire Français-Fang. Paris 1892.

Laloy, Anthropologie S. 13. Paris 1910. Challamel.

Marche, Journal L'Explorateur. 1876.

R. P. Martrou, Les Eki des Fâ. Anthropos I (1906).

Mion, Voyage de Crampel. Bulletin Sté de Gie. Paris 1890.

R. P. Neu, Lettres sur Lambaréné. Annales de la Prop. de la Foi. 1883.

Pavour-Diblot, Bull. Sté de Gie de Nancy. Trente mois au Gabon. mystérieux. 1898.

A. Pittard, Notes sur quelques crânes fâ. Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Neufchâtel 1898. (Supplément.) — Nouvelles Notes, même Bulletin 1910.

Poisel, La Hte Sangha. Bulletin Sté de Gie. Paris 1896 et 1899.

Du Quélio, Voyage dans l'Ogowé. Rev. Marit. et Col. 1874.

Reclus, Géogr. Universelle. — L'Afrique.

Reichmanhet, Revue Coloniale. 1906.

H. Rillot, J. de Brazza au Congo. Gazette Géogr. 1877.

Ricard, Notes sur le Gabon. Rev. Col. 1884.

Roche, Au pays des Pahouins. Paris 1904.

Rouget, L'Expansion coloniale au Congo français. 1899.

Mgr. Le Roy, La Religion des Primitifs. Paris 1909, p. 77, 113, 149, 198, 314 et passim.

[p. 121]

7:Trilles--122 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9

R. P. Trilles, Dans les Rivières de la Mondah. Miss. Cathol. 1894 — Desclée 1910. 113
— Au pays Fâ. Société de Géogr. de Lille 1902.
— Carte du Pays Fâ, déposée au Ministère des Colonies.
— Contes et Légendes fâ. Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Neuchâtel 1898.
— Exercices de lecture et écriture fang-français. Libreville 1902.
— Les Fâ, où ils vont, d'où ils viennent. Miss. Cathol. 1898.
— Les Fâ. Société de Géogr. de Bordeaux 1901.
— Mille Lieues dans l'Inconnu — Au pays des Fâ. Miss. Cathol. 1901.
— Quinze années au pays fâ. Desclée 1912.

Thivier, Bulletin Sté de Géo. Rochefort 1885—86.

Vocloge (Dr.), Le Congo français. Paris 1897.

Plus un certain nombre d'articles dans:
La Dépêche Coloniale — Revue indigène — Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique — Le Tour du Monde — Annales maritimes et coloniales — Questions diplomatiques — Annales spontaliques des Pères du St Esprit.

B. German Authors

Dr. Güssfeldt, Zeitschr. der Ges. für Erdkunde zu Berlin X. 1875.
Hartmann, Zeitschr. der Ges. für Erdkunde zu Berlin. 1902. (Les arts fétichiques chez les Fangs.)
Dr. Lenz, Geogr. Blätter I. 1877, p. 74.
— Der Ogo-wai, Peterm. Mitt. 1883.
— Zeitschr. d. Ges. für Erdkunde zu Berlin. 1875.

C. English Authors

Bennett, Journ. Anthr. Inst. London 1899.
Burton, A day among the Fans. Anthr. Review. I.
Miss Mary Kingsley, Travels in West Africa. Scott. Geogr. Mag. London 1896.
Marling, Dictionn. Fang-français. New-York 1872.
Nassau, Journ. Afric. Societ. 1903—04.
R. B. N. Walker, Proceed. of the Roy. G. Soc XVII. 1873.

D. Spanish Authors

Bulletin de la Sté Royale de Madrid. 1904. Le Muny espagnol.

[p.122]

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

COLLECTION INTERNATIONALE DE MONOGRAPHIES ETHNOLOGIQUES
BIBLIOTHÈQUE -BIBLIOTHEK
ANTHROPOS
TOME BAND I. DIRECTION P. W. SCHMIDT S. V. D. 4. FASC. HEFT
INTERNATIONALE SAMMLUNG ETHNOLOGISCHER MONOGRAPHIEN.

LE TOTÉMISME CHEZ LES FÂN

PAR LE

R. P. H. TRILLES, C. S. SP.

AVEC PRÉFACE DE MGR. A. LE ROY,
EVÊQUE D'ALINDA, SUP. GÉN. C. S. SP.

MÜNSTER i. W. 1912.
ASCHENDORFFSCHE VERLAGSBUCHHANDLUNG

EN VENTE

POUR LA FRANCE:
PICARD, FILS ET CIE.
PARIS VIe, 82, RUE BONAPARTE

POUR L'ANGLETERRE:
LUZAC AND CO.
LONDON WC. 46, GREAT RUSSELL STREET

[P-A]

TABLE DES MATIÈRES.

Quelques mots d'Introduction.

§ 1. Réalité de notre Étude 1
§ 2. Évolution des idées 2
§ 3. Premières recherches 6

Chap. I. La tribu fàn.

§ 1. Division de la Nation fàn 11
§ 2. Les tribus alliées aux Fàn 15
§ 3. Le nombre des Fàn 18

Chap. II. La notion du totem.

§ 1. Le mot «totem» et son origine 21
§ 2. L'extension du totem 22
§ 3. La définition du totem 24
Auteurs qui se sont occupés de la question du totem 25
1° Auteurs qui se sont occupés de la question d'une façon générale 27
2° Auteurs qui se sont occupés de la question du totem au point de vue africain 33
§ 4. Conditions requises pour qu'il y ait totémisme 38

Chap. III. Extension du totémisme dans la tribu fàn et dans les autres tribus bantoues.

§ 1. Le totémisme existe-t-il dans tous les clans de la tribu fàn 41
§ 2. Le totémisme dans les autres tribus bantoues 45
Bouiti 49
Le Woleu 52
§ 3. Le totémisme chez les peuples du Soudan occidental 54

Chap. IV. Le totem fàn.

§ 1. Définition et formes diverses 59
§ 2. Le totem réel. Le totem en lui-même, être réel et totémique . . . 61
a) Le nom générique 61
b) Les différents noms du totem d'après les différentes formes de totémisme 64
§ 3. Le totem matérialisé sous une forme tangible et effective 67
§ 4. Résumé de ce chapitre 71

[p. iii] [p. ii is blank] 1°

Chap. V. Le nom du totem fâñ.

§ 1. Difficulté de trouver le nom du totem 76
a) Par ignorance de la langue 76
b) Ignorance de l'interprète 77
c) Ignorance ou mauvaise volonté du Fâñ lui-même 78
§ 2. Spécification du totem 82
a) Le nom générique 82
b) Le nom propre 87
1° Le nom du totem dans la vie courante 88
2° Le nom du totem dans les chants et les légendes des aïeux . 90
3° Le nom du totem dans les appels directs au protecteur . . . 92
4° Le nom du totem dans les cérémonies et rites cultuels . . . 93

Chap. VI. Le totem réel, être tutélaire ou *mvamayôñ*.

§ 1. La notion du *mvamayôñ* 97
§ 2. Existence et nature du *mvamayôñ* ou totem tribal 100
a) Existence du *mvamayôñ* 100
b) Nature du *mvamayôñ* 101
1° Totem être vivant 101
2° Totem être inanimé 102
3° Totem phénomène naturel 103
§ 3. Les différents totems suivant les différentes collectivités organisées . 104
a) Le totem national 104
b) Le totem tribal 107
1° Différence entre clan et tribu 107
2° La formation de la tribu 108
3° Groupement des généalogies d'où sort le groupement des tribus 114
4° Comment reconnaître la «tribu» de façon précise 117
c) Le totem de clan 119
1° Désagrégation de la tribu, formation du clan 120
2° Exceptions à la forme habituelle de désagrégation 126
3° La formation du totem de clan 127
4° Conclusion 128
d) Le totem familial 131
e) Le totem individuel 136
f) Totems de confrérie et de société secrète 141

Chap. VII. Nature des divers totems.

§ 1. Etat de la question 144
§ 2. Nature des divers totems 147
a) Totem national 147
b) Totems de tribu 147
α) Les animaux proprement dits 148
β) Les autres animaux vivant sur terre 149
γ) Les êtres vivant en l'air 149
δ) Les êtres vivant dans l'eau 149

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

ε) Les végétaux 150
ζ) Les êtres inanimés 150
η) Les phénomènes naturels 152
c) Totems de clans 152
1° Clans strictement totémiques, ou clans primaires et filiaux . . 152
α) Des totems d'animaux 153
β) Des totems d'oiseaux 154
γ) Des totems reptiles, sauriens, etc. 154
δ) Des totems d'insectes, mollusques, etc. 154
ε) Parmi ces clans les totems végétaux seront plus nombreux 154
ζ) Les totems phénomènes naturels 154
2° Clans non strictement totémiques ou secondaires 155
3° Divers totems de clan 158
α) Portant le nom du *mvamgédé* 158
β) Clans ne portant pas le nom du totem 159
d) Totem familial 159
e) Totem individuel 160
1° Quelques remarques sur l'existence et le rôle du totem individuel 160
2° Circonstances qui déterminent le choix du totem individuel . 162
3° Circonstances fortuites déterminant le choix du totem individuel 163
4° Violation d'*ebi* totémique, ce qui en résulte 165
5° Qui choisit le totem individuel 166
6° Les seuls individus mâles ont un *mvamv* 167
7° Lois du *mvamv* 167
f) Totems de sociétés secrètes et de confrérie 169
§ 3. Conclusion 170

Chap. VIII. L'antiquité du totem fàn.

§ 1. Le totem fàn est-il un phénomène d'importation, ou bien remonte-t-il aux origines de la tribu 176
§ 2. Documents et raisons qui nous permettent de faire remonter le totémisme aux origines de la tribu 180
a) Les généalogies 180
b) Les légendes 183
1° La légende de *Nyamvyamvu*, le fils du Crocodile 184
I° Comment il était né, c'est la première chose 185
II° La Mort d'Ombaro 196
III° Le Culte du Crocodile 200
2° Survivances du culte totémique d'Ombaro 202
3° La légende totémique de l'Eléphant 205
c) Survivances actuelles du culte du crocodile et de l'Eléphant . . 213
1° L'Ekimo 219
2° Le *Nzui bôlum* 226
a) Préparation du *Nzui bôlum* 226
b) Un «étranger» est nécessaire comme victime 231

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

c) L'offrande du sang 232
d) La bénédiction des armes 234
e) La destruction du *Nsué* 234
3° Le *Nsué be kuje* 235
4° L'*Eléñ bitóre* 240
d) Les mutilations, tatouages et signes ethniques 242
1° Mutilations 242
a) Mutilations cultuelles 242
b) Mutilations plastiques 243
c) Mutilations de châtiment 243
2° Mutilations ethniques; mutilations proprement dites et tatouages 243
3° Les tatouages et signes ethniques 245
e) *Bégnus bitéñ* 245
f) Le sentiment populaire au sujet du totem 247

Chap. IX. L'origine du totem fáñ.

§ 1. L'origine du totem d'après les Fáñ 249
L'interrogation directe 250
§ 2. Origine du totem d'après les légendes 252
I° Légende de la Création 253
II° Légende de la Séparation 265
§ 3. L'origine du totem d'après les auteurs 282
I° Cause du totémisme: La Crédulité populaire 282
II° Cause du totémisme: Survivance de l'ancien culte familial . . 294
III° Cause du totémisme: La Métamorphoses 299
IV° Cause du totem: La Crainte 294
V° Cause: La Reconnaissance 299
VI° Cause: La Bienveillance de l'animal éponyme 302
Les influences antiques 309

Chap. X. Le totem «présent et tangible» et l'*akaméyób*.

I. Le totem présent et tangible.
§ 1. Nécessité du culte 319
§ 2. Objet du culte totémique 321
§ 3. Qui prendra le totem 328
§ 4. Dans quelles conditions ce totem sera-t-il pris 330
Les conditions du choix 330
a) Se procurer l'animal choisi 330
b) Les cérémonies rituelles 332
§ 5. Vertu du fragment choisi 344
§ 6. Où conserve-t-on le totem 349
II. L'*Akaméyób*.
Nature de l'*Akaméyób* 349

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Chap. XI. Le *mvamayôt* et l'*esayôt*.

Préliminaires 361
§ 1. L'objet du culte du *mvamayôt*, et l'objet du culte de l'*esayôt* diffèrent essentiellement 363
§ 2. Dans le culte totémique, on ne se préoccupe que du *mvamayôt* et de ses descendants actuellement existants; dans le culte mânique, les seuls descendants dénoncés de l'*esayôt* demeurent l'objet du culte 367
§ 3. Les cérémonies des deux cultes mânique et totémique sont différentes 371
I° Difficultés de la question 371
II° Exemple des différences entre les deux cultes 371
§ 4. Les ministres des deux cultes sont différents, sinon en fait, du moins en droit 388
§ 5. Les demandes au *mvamayôt* sont différentes des demandes à l'*esayôt* 391
§ 6. Les défenses du *mvamayôt* et de l'*esayôt* sont d'ordre différent . . 396
§ 7. Résumé de ce chapitre 397

Chap. XII. Les ministres du *mvamayôt*.

§ 1. Le ministre réel du *mvamayôt* est le chef (nsilla) 401
§ 2. Le Bôcheur ne peut être le ministre officiel du *mvamayôt* . . . 401
§ 3. Circonstances exceptionnelles où le Bôcheur est ministre du *mvamayôt* 402
§ 4. Seul, l'héritier de sang peut être délégué comme ministre de l'ancêtre réel et épouvante 404
§ 5. Le Bôcheur peut être délégué du *mvamayôt*: le sorcier ne le peut pas en tant que sorcier. Distinction nécessaire entre ces deux personnages 408
La position sociale du sorcier 409
Sentiments des Fâ à l'égard des sorciers et des Bôcheurs . . . 412
§ 6. Le Bôcheur et le sorcier sont ministres du totem dans les sociétés secrètes qu'ils dirigent 424

Chap. XIII. Féticheurs et sorciers. Leurs sociétés secrètes.

§ 1. Les sociétés secrètes des Bôcheurs 428
§ 2. Les sociétés secrètes de Bôcheurs sont distinctes de celles des sorciers 440
I° Le nom générique diffère pour les sociétés secrètes suivant qu'il s'agit de Bôcheurs ou de sorciers 440
II° Les sociétés secrètes de sorciers ont une existence absolument distincte de celles des Bôcheurs 441
§ 3. Sorciers et Bôcheurs ont des réunions secrètes distinctes 442
I° Le fait du nom 442
II° Les réunions des sorciers 443
a) Le temps et l'époque des réunions 443
b) L'endroit des réunions 446
c) Quelques témoignages au sujet de ces réunions 447
§ 4. Conclusions relatives à ces réunions 451

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

§ 5. Le mode de conversion aux assemblées de sorciers 452
§ 6. Le mode de transport des sorciers 454
§ 7. Les initiations 459
I° Le lui du secret 459
II° Les initiations proprement dites 460
III° L'anthropophagie des Bitchouers et des sorciers. Différence entre les deux actes 463

Chap. XIV. Les totems des sorciers et de leurs sociétés secrètes. Nagual et nagualisme.

§ 1. Les différents totems de sorciers 468
§ 2. Nagual et nagualisme 470
I° Notion du nagual 471
II° Notre première rencontre avec le nagual 473
III° L'origine du mot nagual. Le mot et la chose 475
§ 3. L'initiation au nagual 477
I° L'initiation du jeune guerrier 478
II° L'initiation du Bitchouer 481
III° L'initiation du sorcier et le nagual 484
IV° Résumé des différences entre le nagual et le totem 489
L'éléfa peut être un animal faisant partie du clan-totem . . 491
V° L'éléfa était primitivement le totem du fondateur de la race ou du clan 491
VI° Différence entre le nagual et le sorcier transformé en animal . 492
§ 4. Les ambitions des sorciers et leurs totems 494

Chap. XV. Le totem dans la vie fût. Les rites généraux.

§ 1. Le droit de totem aux rites initiatiques 498
§ 2. Les rites totémiques généraux ou rites du nouvelgnit 500
I° Le sacrifice totémique 501
a) Le sacrifice du totem 502
b) Le sacrifice -ne- totem 506
II° L'eau lustrale. *Mbôme ebum* 508
III° Le pétun. *Mal ebôn* 509
IV° Les danses totémiques. *Ndôm ba ôsôn ebôn* 510
§ 3. Les rites totémiques généraux. Détail de ces rites 515
I° La circoncision 516
a) La circoncision est-elle un rite religieux? 517
b) La circoncision est-elle un rite totémique? 518
c) Le fait même de la circoncision 520
α) Le fait lui-même de la circoncision 520
β) L'âge de la circoncision 521
γ) L'époque de la circoncision 522
δ) Les préparatifs 523
ε) La circoncision 524
d) Les résultats de la circoncision 526

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

II° L'Initiation 530
a) Les épreuves 531
b) L'initiation aux rites 531
c) La consécration des armes 532
III° La consécration du chef 537
a) La cérémonie 537
b) Le rite de la lance ou des engoim. *Ahamer mébôt* 541
c) Comparaison du rite de l'initiation et de la consécration du chef avec le rôle religieux du Pharaon 543
d) Erreur de l'administration européenne nommant de nouveaux chefs de tribu pris en dehors de la famille royale 545
e) Changement de totem de clan 547
IV° La Guerre et les Palabres 549
V° Les grandes chasses 553
VI° L'Etablissement d'un nouveau village 556
VII° Les Ordalies 559
VIII° L'Echange du sang 563

Chap. XVI. Le totem dans la vie fàn. Les rites particuliers.

§ 1. Naissance et imposition du nom 570
§ 2. L'adoption 572
§ 3. Le mariage 573
§ 4. Chasses, pêches, cultures 574
§ 5. Commerce et Palabres 575
§ 6. La maladie et la mort 576

Chap. XVII. Les lois du totem.

§ 1. Le droit à la crainte 579
I° La crainte du totem engendre le respect 579
II° Comment se manifeste la protection du totem. Faits qui expliquent cette protection 580
III° Le respect et la crainte engendrent le culte 584
IV° Intervention du totem 584
§ 2. Les *Ebi* ou défenses rituelles 585
I° La notion de l'*ebi* 585
II° *Ebi* totémiques 590
III° *Ebi* par rapport aux différentes situations sexuelles ou sociales . 591
§ 3. La loi d'exogamie 593
I° Nature de l'exogamie 593
II° Origine et but de l'exogamie 598
§ 4. Les tabous 601

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Chap. XVIII. Le totem symbole.

§ 1. L'emblème du clan 606
§ 2. Le nom du clan 608
§ 3. Les représentations symboliques ou effectives du totem 609
I° Figurines des ceaux 609
II° Dessins sur les ceaux 610
III° Gravures, incisions et marques 611
IV° Les piliers des ceaux 614
V° Les danses représentatives, les masques, coiffures, etc. 615
VI° Les mutilations ethniques et les tatouages corporels 616
a) Différentes mutilations 616
b) Le tatouage 617
α) Importance du tatouage 617
β) Différentes espèces de tatouages 617
γ) Figuration fictive des tatouages 620
δ) Le tatouage et la civilisation européenne 622

Chap. XIX. Totémisme et fétichisme.

§ 1. Ce qu'il faut entendre par fétichisme 624
§ 2. Distinction entre totem et fétiche 625
§ 3. L'ensemble du fétichisme 630
D'où provient le fétichisme? 630

Conclusion 636

Appendice I. La langue bantu du Mont Elgon 638
II. Calmeno et sorciers à Madagascar 641

Index 647

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

BIBLIOGRAPHIE DES FÂN.

A. Auteurs Français.

Rev. Allégret, La Religion des Fâ. Revue des Religions 1906.

Alexis, Le Congo français. Tours 1899. Chez Mame et Challamel.

Alis (H.), Vers le Tchad. Paris 1896.

Mgr. Augouard, 19 Années au Congo. Paris 1905.

Avelot (Lieutenant). Dans la Boucle de l'Ogowé. Bull. Sté de Géo Commer. Paris 1901.

— Recherches sur les migrations de la Gabonais. 1906.

Dr. Barat, L'Afrique occidentale. Sénégambie et Guinée. La région gabonaise. Paris 1889. Challamel.

Barrat, Bulletin Sté de Géo. Paris 1896.

Bertou, De Libreville à Samba. Paris 1899.

— Les races du Gabon. Bull. Sté Anthr. de Paris. T. XVI. 1895.

R. P. Bichet, Mission Catholi. 1884.

Bosia, Nègres du Gabon. Bull. Sté Anthr. de Paris. T. IV. 1863.

Bourdarie, Le Congo français. Paris 1901.

— A la côte du Congo français. 1897.

Braouezec, Bulletin Sté de Géo. Paris 1891.

de Brazza, Tour du Monde. 1887. 1890. 1895.

— Bulletin Sté de Géo. XVIII. Paris 1879.

Brunel, Les populations de la Moyenne-Sangha. Revue d'ethnologie et de sociologie 1910.

R. P. Bulédon, Ann. Prop. Fol. 1888.

Bulletin de la Société des Missions Evangéliques protestantes 1903, 1904, 1905.

du Chaillu, L'Afrique équatoriale. Paris 1863.

Chevalier (A.), L'Afrique centrale française. Paris 1904. Challamel.

Compiègne, L'Afrique équatoriale. Paris 1875.

Coffin, La Mission Coffin au Sud-Cameroun. Paris 1919.

— Pahouins et Fyguées. La Géogie, Juillet 1908.

Cupy, Bulletin Sté de Géo. Paris 1898.

Decazes, Bulletin Sté Normande. Rouen 1884.

Dutreuil de Rhins, Le Congo français. Paris 1886.

Duval, Les Nègres du Gabon. Bull. Sté Anthr. de Paris. 1863.

Dybowski, La Route du Tchad. Paris 1906.

[p. 76]

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

FLEURIOT DE LANGLE, Le Tour du Monde. Paris 1877. Croisière sur les côtes de l'Atlantique.
FOREST, Le Pavaan-Vas. Bulletin Sté de Géo. Paris 1898.
FOURNEAU, Bulletin Sté de Géo. De l'Ogowé au Congo. XVI. Paris 1891.
FRAIN, Le Côte ouest du Gabon. Paris 1908.
FROMENT, Bulletin Sté de Géo. X. Lille 1889.

GACON, Exercices de lecture français-fang.
GUILLEMIN, Le Congo français. Paris 1889.
GUILLEMOT, Notice sur le Congo français. Paris 1901.
GUIRAL, Le Congo français. Paris 1889.

HALLEZ D'ARGON, Colonisation du Congo français. Paris 1898. CHALLAMEL.
HAUG, Le Bas Ogowé. Ann. de Géogr. 1899.
HERBIN, Bulletin Sté de Géo. Paris 1888—89.
— Notes sur les populations du Gabon. La Géogie 1874.

JACOBS, Bulletin Sté de Géo. Rochefort 1883—84.
JEANNEST, Quatre années au Congo. 1882.

R. P. LEJEUNE, Mém. Cathol. 1886.
— Au Congo, la Femme et la Famille. DESCLÉE. Lille 1906.
— Dictionnaire Français-Fang. Paris 1892.
LALOU, Anthropologie 8. 13. Paris 1910. CHALLAMEL.
MARCHE, Journal L'Explorateur. 1878.
R. P. MARTRON, Les Eki des Fâ. Anthropos I (1906).
MOUNIN, Voyage de Crampel. Bulletin Sté de Géo. Paris 1890.

R. P. NIEL, Lettres sur Lambaréné. Annales de la Prop. de la Foi. 1883.

PAYNON-DUMOLOT, Bull. Sté de Géo de Nancy. Trente mois au Gabon, souvenirs. 1886.

A. PETTIARD, Notes sur quelques crânes fâ. Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Neuchâtel 1908. (Supplément.) — Nouvelles Notes, même Bulletin 1910.

PONEL, Le Haut Sangha. Bulletin Sté de Géo. Paris 1899 et 1900.

DU QUELAS, Voyage dans l'Ogowé. Rev. Marit. et Col. 1874.

RECLUS, Géogr. Universelle. — L'Afrique.
REICHHARDT, Revue Coloniale. 1906.
H. RILLOT, J. de Brazza au Congo. Gazette Géogr. 1877.
RICARD, Notes sur le Gabon. Rev. Col. 1855.
ROCHE, Au pays des Pahouins. Paris 1904.
ROCHET, L'Expansion coloniale au Congo français. 1903.
Mgr. LE ROY, La Religion des Primitifs. Paris 1909, p. 77, 113, 143, 198, 314 et passim.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

R. P. Trilles, Dans les Rivières de la Mondah. Mim. Catholi. 1894 — Desclée 1910.
— Au pays Fâ. Société de Géogr. de Lille 1901.
— Carte du Pays Fâ, déposée au Ministère des Colonies.
— Coutes et Légendes Fâ. Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Neuchâtel 1898.
— Exercices de lecture et dictées fang-français. Libreville 1902.
— Les Fâ, où ils vont, d'où ils viennent. Mim. Catholi. 1898.
— Les Fâ. Société de Géogr. de Bordeaux 1901.
— Mille Lieues dans l'inconnu — Au pays des Fâ. Mim. Catholi. 1901.
— Quinze années au pays Fâ. Desclée 1912.
Tryon, Bulletin Sté de Géo. Rochefort 1885—86.
Voulloz (Dr.), Le Congo français. Paris 1897.

Plus un certain nombre d'articles dans:
La Dépêche Coloniale — Revue indigène — Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique — Le Tour du Monde — Annales maritimes et coloniales — Questions diplomatiques — Annales apostoliques des Pères du St Esprit.

B. Auteurs Allemands.

Dr. Güssfeldt, Zeitschr. der Ges. für Erdkunde zu Berlin X. 1875.
Hartmann, Zeitschr. der Ges. für Erdkunde zu Berlin. 1902. (Les arts indigènes chez les Fangs.)
Dr. Lenz, Geogr. Mitter I. 1877, p. 74.
— Der Ogo-wai, Petern. Mitt. 1882.
— Zeitschr. d. Ges. für Erdkunde zu Berlin. 1876.

C. Auteurs Anglais.

Bennett, Journ. Anthr. Inst. London 1896.
Burton, A day among the Pans. Anthr. Review. I.
Miss Mary Kingsley, Travels in West Africa. Scott. Geogr. Mag. London 1896.
Marlow, Dictionn. Fang-français. New-York 1872.
Nassau, Journ. Afric. Sociét. 1903—04.
R. B. N. Walker, Proceed. of the Roy. G. Soc XVII. 1871.

D. Auteurs Espagnols.

Bulletin de la Sté Royale de Madrid. 1904. Le Mozy espagnol.

PRÉFACE.

Ces quelques lignes, qui me sont demandées pour figurer en tête de la présente Etude, n'ont pas pour but de la signaler à l'attention bienveillante du public, d'en montrer l'intérêt, d'en faire l'éloge: les travaux de ce genre ne peuvent se recommander que d'eux-mêmes à ceux, de plus en plus nombreux, qui s'attachent à la recherche des organisations sociales ou religieuses des «populations de culture inférieure».

Tout le mérite de ces essais, consacrés à l'un ou à l'autre des nombreux problèmes de l'éthnologie, consiste à fournir de surs éléments d'information, basés sur des matériaux de première main, à d'autres travaux d'ensemble. Leur valeur dépend de leur importance, de leur exactitude, de leur étendue, de leur sincérité —, toutes qualités, d'ailleurs, qui supposent la compétence et la probité de l'auteur.

* * *

Mais, précisément, les missionaires, parce qu'ils sont missionnaires, peuvent-ils, en ces matières, présenter toutes les garanties qu'on est en droit d'exiger d'un informateur? Envoyés pour convertir à leur propre foi les peuples sauvages, ne seront-ils pas portés soit à trouver abominable tout ce qui est «payen», soit à l'interpréter au mieux de leurs intérêts, à le tourner à leur profit, à y rechercher des données apologétiques, et, dans l'un comme dans l'autre cas, à déformer ce qu'ils touchent?

Ceux qui ont ces préventions inquiètes supposent évidemment au préalable qu'un missionnaire est nécessairement un fanatique aveuglé par sa foi, peut-être un malhonnête homme, à tout le moins un imbécile ou un impuissant, prisonnier dans son dogme . . .

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Que, de fait, parmi ceux qui traitent les questions religieuses, il y ait des hommes à qui ces épithètes conviennent assez bien, c'est possible! Mais est-il absolument nécessaire que ces hommes soient missionnaires? Il semblerait suffisant, en effet, que, docteurs infaillibles et parlant au nom de la Science, ils aient un système à soutenir, système dont ils sont les auteurs ou les interprètes, et qu'il leur faut défendre, propager, populariser, imposer, en vue d'un but déterminé qui les attire et — qu'on me pardonne! — les fanatise!

Le missionnaire digne de ce nom n'est pas de ceux-là. D'abord, il connaît l'indigène dont il parle, il s'entretient avec lui dans sa langue, il en est l'ami et le confident, souvent le protecteur, quelquefois le protégé, presque toujours l'allié. Il s'intéresse à la tribu, au milieu de laquelle il doit vivre et qui, parfois, l'a adopté comme l'un des siens. Sans doute, il veut son bien matériel et moral, il travaille à son amélioration, laquelle ne va pas sans quelque changement, il cherche même sa conversion. Mais il sait que ces résultats ne seront obtenus qu'à certaines conditions: la connaissance et le respect des traditions locales, la confiance, la libre discussion, la persuasion, et surtout qu'il y faudra cet élément essentiel qui lui est étranger et qui s'appelle la Grâce de Dieu . . .

Sa curiosité ne peut être que bienveillante; son témoignage sera sincère.

Le missionnaire, néanmoins, comme tout homme, porte avec lui son caractère, son tempérament, ses défauts, ses imperfections diverses. Il n'est pas toujours au courant — et il peut difficilement l'être — des études qu'il aborde dans ce domaine nouveau, il est peut-être mal doué pour l'observation patiente et attentive, il ne contrôlera pas toujours assez ses premières impressions, il jugera, interprétera, expliquera, généralisera trop tôt et trop vite . . . Et en cela, encore une fois, il sera semblable à quelques autres, qui ne sont ni missionnaires ni chrétiens — au contraire! — mais qui ont la même préoccupation de gagner à leurs conceptions, c'est-à-dire à leur foi, ceux qui les écoutent et ceux qui les lisent.

Sous ce rapport, la situation est donc pareille. Mais il reste à l'avantage des missionnaires que, du moins, ils connaissent par

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

une pratique personnelle et généralement assez longue les populations dont ils relatent ou interprètent les croyances.

Qu'est-ce à dire sinon que, en ces matières, il convient de se contenter avant tout d'exposer loyalement ce qu'on a vu et entendu, et que cela seul compte véritablement? Quant au reste, si les explications, interprétations et comparaisons ne peuvent être défendues à personne, elles n'ont plus la valeur du fait observé. Chacun en prendra ce qu'il en voudra prendre, en se rangeant aux conclusions qui lui sont suggérées ou en gardant les siennes propres.

C'est dans ces dispositions qu'on lira les pages qui suivent.

Le sujet qu'elles traitent, intéressant en lui-même, gagne ici être observé dans tous ses détails et en une tribu déterminée. De cette étude on sera reconnaissant au P. H. Trilles, et il est à souhaiter qu'il ait de nombreux imitateurs —, dussent-ils être missionnaires! Sous nos yeux, les masses jadis profondes des populations «sauvages» sont pénétrées de toutes parts par une invasion qui les découverte. Pressé par un besoin d'expansion qui ne fut peut-être jamais égalé et en tous cas jamais mieux servi, l'homme blanc a fait de la terre entière sa propre colonie, il a rapproché les distances, il a soumis les peuples de couleur à sa puissance ou il les enveloppe de sa civilisation: il est grand temps de recueillir ce qui reste d'original en chaque pays et en chaque groupement, noir, rouge ou jaune. Le P. Trilles a voulu le faire pour le Gabon, les Fân et le Totémisme: qu'il en soit félicité et remercié.

A. Le Roy,
Ev. d'Alinda, Sup. Gén. C. S. Sp.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

QUELQUES MOTS D'INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. Nécessité de cette Etude.

§ 2. Evolution des idées. — Pourquoi beaucoup d'auteurs n'ont pas connu le totémisme fâ. — Rapports entre certaines croyances fâ et égyptiennes. — Un moyen de pénétrer dans l'intimité noire: le mâbara. — Ce que le Noir pense du Blanc à propos de ses croyances.

§ 3. Premières recherches sur le Totémisme. — Mgr. Le Roy et la Religion des Primitifs.

---

§ 1. Nécessité de cette Etude.

En 1923, voilà tantôt vingt ans, nous arrivions jeune missionnaire chez les Fâ; dès qu'il nous fut donné d'assister à leurs cérémonies cultuelles et surtout d'en pénétrer le sens, un phénomène attira notre attention. A côté du culte officiel, du fétichisme proprement dit, et de ses innombrables manifestations, s'en dressait un autre, tout aussi important, mais dont on parlait beaucoup moins, peut-être tant il semblait naturel. Ancré au plus profond des institutions rituelles, il semblait faire corps avec elles, tout en conservant son individualité distincte.

C'était le culte de l'animal protecteur, identifié souvent avec le génie de la tribu, animal protecteur du clan, mais aussi de la famille, de l'individu.

En vain, j'interrogeai les missionnaires, mes aînés. Plus absorbés par les préoccupations d'un apostolat difficile, venus aussi, il faut l'avouer, à une époque où ces sortes de recherches étaient absolument laissées de côté, et même plus que cela, considérées comme inutiles, nul ne s'en était occupé et nul ne sut me répondre.

[p. 1]

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

§ 2. Evolution des idées.

Mais depuis cette époque, peu à peu les choses ont changé de face, et grâce à de puissantes impulsions, desquelles il n'est peut-être pas inutile de faire remarquer que Mgr. Le Roy fut un des principaux promoteurs, et l'«Anthropos» un savant et vaillant initiateur, on a compris que le missionnaire devait, lui aussi, s'initier à ces études, et ne pas en laisser le monopole aux divers explorateurs, pour s'occuper exclusivement de prosélytisme.

Catéchiser et moraliser le sauvage, c'était bien, mais le catéchiser et le moraliser au nom d'une morale supérieure en la lui imposant tout d'un bloc, sans se plier aux contingences nécessaires du lieu, du climat, des hommes et surtout de l'atavisme, c'était peut-être moins bien; c'était surtout marcher à un insuccès relatif, s'exposer à des difficultés sans cesse renaissantes et qui expliquent bien des défaites. Loin de nous encore, répétons-le, l'idée d'attaquer qui que ce soit! Mais nous sommes heureusement sortis, ou à peu près, du temps où l'on traitait de «singerie» et de «sottises» toute manifestation rituelle du culte noir!

Si les missionnaires, connaissant la langue et les coutumes du pays, n'étaient pas arrivés à saisir l'importance du totémisme, il ne faut pas s'étonner que d'autres, voyageurs et fonctionnaires, n'y soient pas parvenus non plus. Ainsi, on fait légitimement cette constatation générale: les auteurs qui jusqu'ici se sont occupés des Fân, tantôt ont laissé cette question complètement sous silence [1], tantôt l'ont à peine effleurée [2], tantôt l'ont simplement considérée

---

[1] Guiral, Le Congo français. 1889. Observateur consciencieux mais peu instruit. A cette époque, on ne soupçonnait guère le totémisme.

Jules Roche, Au pays des Pahouins. 1902.

Dr. Voulgre, Le Congo français. 1897.

Alexis (M. G.), Le Congo français. 1900.

A. Guillemot, Le Congo français. 1900.

A. Rouget, L'expansion coloniale au Congo français. 1902.

[2] Nassau, Fetichism in West Africa. London 1904.

Du Chaillu, Voyages. 1880.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

au point de vue des tatouages[1] ou des défenses rituelles[2], mais sans les rattacher au totémisme. Nous ne connaissons guère que trois auteurs qui en aient parlé[3], et encore très-brièvement.

Pour notre part, nous avons d'abord vécu, comme je l'ai dit déjà, plusieurs années au milieu des Fâh sans pouvoir constater de visu les cérémonies rituelles; plus tard, ce n'est que par hasard, à force d'instances, et dans des villages où le missionnaire catholique n'était pas connu en tant que tel, où il était plutôt considéré comme «revenant» ou *khun* et, par conséquent, appartenant jadis à la tribu, que nous avons pu d'abord être admis aux premières initiations, les plus difficiles en somme: ce premier point gagné, on pouvait avancer. Comme «revenant» mais appartenant à la tribu, disons-nous. En effet, partout où le Blanc n'a pas encore paru, où il n'est connu que de réputation, lorsqu'il arrive dans un village où sa couleur est extraordinaire, maintes fois ce fut notre cas, on le prend immédiatement pour un revenant, *khun*: c'est l'âme d'un mort, c'est un esprit réincarné. Mgr. Le Roy, dans son livre des «Primitifs», a employé, par analogie avec les croyances égyptiennes, le mot «double» pour désigner cet esprit. Ici, l'expression ne serait peut-être pas tout à fait juste. Il ne s'agit pas du «double» ou *nsisim*, l'âme ou l'ombre du défunt, mais bien de l'esprit lui-même, ou, si l'on préfère, des mânes du défunt réincarné[4].

---

[1] Fleurigny de Langle, Croisières à la côte d'Afrique. Tour du Monde. 1872.
Compiègne et Marche, Au pays des Pahouins. 1876.
Du Braila, passim. Tour du Monde. — Bull. Soc de Géo. Paris.

[2] Martrou, Les Eki. Anthropos I (1906), p. 745.
Trilles, Contes et Légendes. Revue de la Soc. de Géogr. de Neufchâtel. 1906.

[3] Mary Kingsley, West African studies. London 1901.
Hartmann, Les présages fatidiques chez les Pahouins. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Berlin 1902.
A. Bennett, Anthropological Notes on the Fâh. Journ. of the Anthropological Institute II 1899, pp. 90—95.

[4] Dans son livre de «La Religion de l'Ancienne Egypte», Mr. Virey dit que Mgr. Le Roy signale au sujet de l'âme considérée dans ses diverses manifestations, une curieuse analogie entre les croyances égyptiennes et les croyances bantoues. Pour nous, nous croyons, et nous le montrerons plus au

Le Blanc, pour le Noir ignorant, est donc un *khus*; c'est un esprit, revenant et réincarné dans un corps humain; ce corps est blanchi parce que, après le trépas, il lui a fallu traverser le fleuve des morts et la grande mer, et que dans l'eau, tout Noir a pu le

---

long en expliquant la Religion des Fâ, qu'il y a plus que de curieuses analogies, il y a dérivation et en même temps dégradation des dogmes primitifs.

Ainsi, pour n'en citer qu'un point, les Egyptiens ont

1° L'âme proprement dite, le *ba*, représenté en hiéroglyphe par un oiseau avec un signe devant la poitrine: de même les Fâ reconnaîtront dans l'âme l'*ebo* ou principe créateur, d'où le mot *ebo* planter, engendrer, *ebo*, père (en mâbâ), *ebo* faire etc.

2° Le «double» ou genius, *ka*, qui est créé en même temps que le corps matériel, qui est associé à ce corps et en fait la personnalité, invisible aux yeux des mortels. Ce double, croyons-nous, est pour le Fâ la lumière *(ngil)* qui réside dans la prunelle de l'œil *(ngil dzio)*, lumière qui constitue proprement la personnalité de l'âme, *qui ne s'éteint pas à la mort*, mais qui disparaît pour aller se mêler à la lumière des astres en gardant son individualité distincte.

3° L'esprit, figuré par un oiseau avec un signe derrière la tête, *khu*, qui représente ce que nous appelons les mânes, correspond selon DE HORRACH aux esprits auxquels s'adressent les évocations du spiritisme, et *joue souvent le rôle de revenant ou d'esprit pourvoyeur*. De même, le Fâ a le *khus*, qui joue exactement le même rôle, mânes, esprit évoqué dans les conjurations, revenant ou esprit pourvoyeur.

4° Le cœur, *haty*, qui représente l'âme comme personnalité morale et conscience. Le Fâ admettra également que c'est dans le cœur *(nlim)*, que réside le principe du bien et du mal, *nlim mol*, *nlim abi*, cœur bon et cœur mauvais, et c'est tout d'abord dans le cœur que l'on recherchera, au cours des autopsies, si le défunt était bon ou mauvais, s'il mangeait les autres ou non.

5° Le nom, *ren*, qui conserve et fait vivre la mémoire du défunt, de même qu'en Fâ, le nom, *edzû*, est impérissable et se transmet de préférence de petit-fils en petit-fils.

6° L'ombre ou *khaibit*, à laquelle répond *naisim* du Fâ, mot qui désigne à la fois l'ombre et l'âme invisible.

7° Puis, pour terminer, *sekhem*, les puissances, qui égaleront *ki* la force, chez le Fâ.

D'où nous aurons le curieux tableau suivant:

Ame Egyptienne.	*Ame Fâ.*
Ba Principe vital du corps.	*Eba* Principe créateur (*ba*, le cerveau).
Ka Double ou génius.	*Ngil* Le double.
Khu Les mânes, le revenant.	*Khus* Les mânes, le revenant.
Haty Le cœur conscience.	*Nlim* Le cœur conscience.
Ren Le nom qui perpétue le défunt.	*Edzû* Nom perpétuant le mort.
Khaibit L'ombre.	*Naisim* L'ombre.
Sekhem Les puissances formatrices.	*Ki* et *Nlim* La force et le signe.

constater, au bout de peu de jours, le cadavre perd sa pigmentation noire et devient d'un blanc livide.

Donc, pas de doute, nous appartenions à sa race. Mais aussi nous pouvions être d'une race ou plutôt d'une tribu ennemie. Comment s'en assurer avec un homme qui ne portait aucun tatouage distinctif? Il n'y avait qu'un moyen, le *mébara*, c'est-à-dire la «récitation de la liste des Ancêtres» [1].

Lorsque deux indigènes se rencontrent, et veulent savoir s'ils sont, étant d'une même tribu ou d'une tribu alliée, parents proches ou éloignés, ils récitent leur *mébara*, c'est-à-dire la liste de leurs ancêtres: Je suis fils d'un tel, qui l'était d'un tel etc. Remontant jusqu'à vingt générations et plus, ils en concluent immédiatement à leur parenté existant ou non.

Lors donc que j'arrivais dans un village inconnu, après les salutations d'usage, je m'empressais de demander au chef son *mébara*, car un esprit réincarné avait évidemment le droit d'interroger le premier un simple mortel. Comme j'avais déjà en ma possession un grand nombre de généalogies, dès que j'avais entendu ses premières générations, surtout connaissant sa tribu, je retombais bien vite dans son propre cycle. Quand, à mon tour, je devais réciter mon *mébara*, il se trouvait invariablement qu'à son grand étonnement, et par une innocente supercherie, non seulement nous nous retrouvions les mêmes ancêtres, mais encore j'étais toujours d'une famille plus proche apparentée que lui même à la souche primitive! Même lorsque j'arrivais à cette souche primitive, je remontais encore bien plus haut que mon interlocuteur dans la liste des ancêtres, grâce aux généalogies patriarcales de la Bible; et ainsi, tout doucement, m'appuyant à la fois sur ma mémoire et mes notes, nous arrivions à Adam, fils de Dieu, où il était bien nécessaire de s'arrêter!

Convaincu, grâce au *mébara*, le chef reconnaissait en moi un allié, un parent, et nous en profitions pour devenir amis. Entre parents, on se doit assistance. Il y avait bien un peu le revers de la médaille. Un ami revenu de si loin, et apportant avec lui tant de choses merveilleuses, devait évidemment un beau cadeau à ses frères demeurés pauvres ... Cela m'a rendu néanmoins de grands

[1] v. Anthropos IV, p. 946 et suiv.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

services, fait pénétrer dans l'âme du peuple, et surtout évité bien des coups de fusil! Si la crainte est le commencement de la sagesse, comme le dit l'Ecriture, ce fut souvent, à mon égard, le sentiment de mes noirs amis.

Sans ce moyen d'ailleurs, il m'eût été fort difficile d'approfondir et même de connaître les «mystères» de la théologie noire: et, je puis parler d'expérience pour affirmer qu'un voyageur qui passe ou qu'un «administrateur» blanc — c'est le terme reçu pour désigner ceux qui sont chargés de gouverner le pays — ne saura jamais que très peu de chose, et ce que les indigènes voudront bien lui montrer. Un de ceux qui ont le plus essayé de pénétrer l'âme noire, l'administrateur LANGEAT, disait un jour qu'il était beaucoup plus facile à un Européen de pénétrer dans l'âme arabe, pourtant si fermée, que de deviner l'âme noire.

Les indigènes, et surtout les chefs et sorciers, savent parfaitement que nous ne venons, en général, que pour détruire ou modifier tout au moins leur culte. Comme leur influence en dépend en grande partie, on conçoit facilement qu'ils ne se montrent pas très-enthousiastes pour nous admettre. De plus, par leur dédain ou leurs railleries, injustifiées parfois, les Blancs les ont souvent profondément blessés. Aussi ne pouvons-nous qu'applaudir à ces sages paroles de Mr. JEAN CAPART [1], dans son Introduction au Totémisme:

«Un des meilleurs connaisseurs de la mentalité du sauvage, un de ceux qui pénétrèrent le plus profondément dans cette psychologie intéressante, disait en parlant de l'Africain des côtes de Guinée: «Plus vous le connaissez, plus vous étudiez son droit et ses institutions, plus vous êtes contraint de reconnaître que le caractère principal de son intelligence, c'est d'être logique, mais étroite. Ce n'est pas un rêveur, il ignore le doute: pour lui, tout est réel, très réel, horriblement réel» [2].

«Cela est essentiellement vrai pour toute l'humanité sauvage [et certes nous avons pu le constater maintes fois chez nos Fáń], et lorsqu'on étudie les phénomènes de cette vie primitive, on est surpris et charmé tout à la fois de trouver une suite logique d'idées,

[1] JEAN CAPART, Le Totémisme. Bruxelles 1905.
[2] Miss KINGSLEY, West African studies, p. 62.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

un raisonnement serré, là où on ne semblait voir au début que les rêveries d'une imagination en délire. On se prend alors à croire que l'homme primitif est arrivé à donner à tous les problèmes qui se sont posés devant lui, des solutions si simples, si rigoureuses, que si sa pensée devait aujourd'hui faire à nouveau le même chemin, elle ne pourrait manquer d'arriver à un résultat identique.

«Ce qui s'impose à nous, lorsque nous abordons un problème relatif aux primitifs, c'est d'abord, et avant tout, de rejeter toutes les explications plus ou moins rationnelles qui ont été proposées, et nos façons de penser spéciales, pour en déduire des interprétations des rites et coutumes primitives.

«Ce qu'il faut, c'est, au contraire, travailler à faire «table rase» de nos idées modernes pour descendre de l'état primitif — s'il est possible de l'entrevoir — jusqu'au point spécial qui nous occupe.

«Mais pour cela, croyons-nous, il est à peu près indispensable d'avoir vécu longtemps parmi les Noirs, et non seulement d'avoir vécu, mais d'avoir pénétré dans leur mentalité particulière. Là, rien ne vaut ni ne remplace l'expérience personnelle.

«Il faut, de plus, ne pas perdre de vue cette «logique de sauvage» à laquelle je viens de faire allusion et rejeter toute explication qui n'y est pas conforme. Si le sauvage nous paraît en un point ridicule, insensé ou fou, c'est, le plus souvent, que nous avons passé à côté de la solution vraie sans nous y arrêter.

«Ou bien encore, nous nous sommes fiés, trop à la légère, aux explications obtenues par des voyageurs peu avertis[1]. Le sauvage ne donne pas toujours la véritable raison de ses croyances et coutumes, même quand il la connaît exactement[2], pas plus d'ailleurs que les anciens ne dévoilaient leurs mystères. Nous commençons

[1] [Nous avons souvent constaté que c'était surtout par crainte des railleries du Blanc, ou encore parce qu'il le croit aussi bien et mieux informé que lui-même.]

[2] [Signalons à ce point de vue particulier Largeau, Dictionnaire Français Pahouin. Cet ouvrage a été composé par l'auteur, administrateur colonial, au bout d'un an de séjour dans une colonie dont il ne parlait pas la langue, avec l'aide d'un seul interprète; il est rempli de nombreuses erreurs, mais dénote cependant chez son auteur un travail considérable et un désir vrai de se mettre en rapport avec ses administrés, deux choses trop rares aux Colonies pour ne pas être louées.]

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

seulement à entrevoir ce qui se cachait de profond et de réel sous les mythes qui passèrent trop longtemps pour la religion des anciens.

«Une autre conséquence importante de cette même logique, c'est que les croyances et les coutumes religieuses ou sociales des sauvages forment un corps de doctrine compact et important où tous les membres sont étroitement unis. Nul point ne peut être compris sans qu'on ait préalablement éclairci ce qui précède, et ce qui suit: c'est fort loin, bien souvent, qu'il faut remonter pour découvrir la source logique d'où découle un phénomène qui fixe l'attention en un moment donné.»

§ 3. Premières recherches.

Seul d'abord, puis avec quelques amis, nous continuâmes donc nos recherches, et c'est ainsi que peu à peu la religion des Fáñ ira se faisant connaître de plus en plus. Notre ancien collaborateur, le R. P. Martrou, aujourd'hui distingué supérieur de la Mission de l'Okano, y a contribué déjà largement pour sa part avec deux études remarquables: «Les Eki des Fáñ»[1] et «L'âme fáñ après la mort»[2].

A mesure que se précisaient nos recherches, localisées sur ce point particulier dont nous avons parlé plus haut, l'objet cependant, loin de s'éclairer, en paraissait de plus en plus obscur. Ce n'était plus simplement un animal qui devenait ou était le protecteur de la tribu, du clan, de la famille ou de l'individu, ce pouvait être une plante, un esprit, même parfois un phénomène purement extérieur, le vent, la tornade, la tempête, l'éclair. La transfusion du sang, toujours obligatoire, pensions-nous d'abord, devenait un mythe.

A cela, se joignait toute une autre classe de phénomènes: l'animal non plus protecteur, mais protégé par une alliance mystique, obéissant à son maître, lui rendant des services qui semblaient de prime abord répugner à sa nature, animal doué pour ainsi dire d'une seconde personnalité, dédoublé par l'échange et l'infusion du sang.

Ce n'était pas tout encore: à ces deux premières classes, s'en joignait une troisième, dont les sombres mystères, beaucoup plus

[1] Anthropos I (1906), p. 745. [2] A publier dans Anthropos VI (1911).

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

cachés, étaient et demeurent encore aujourd'hui des plus difficiles à pénétrer. Chaque société secrète, et non seulement chaque société secrète, mais chaque grade dans chaque société secrète, avait son animal protecteur, avec sa consécration, ses rites, son culte et ses défenses particulières.

De sorte que parfois un individu, un chef surtout, nous avouait dans un rare épanchement, que tel animal était son protecteur; il devait l'honorer, lui rendre un culte, ne jamais s'en nourrir ni le tuer, même dans un extrême besoin; il observait fidèlement cette loi, puis, à un moment donné, ne s'en préoccupait plus d'aucune sorte, s'en nourrissait à son gré. Et à nos interrogations sur cette dérogation à la loi:

«Ah! disait-il parfois, c'est que j'ai changé. *Mé mana vétéza!*»

«Ah! répondait-il en d'autres circonstances, ce n'est plus la même chose, *é sèn zum mbori!*»

Et peu à peu nous découvrîmes en effet que tout d'abord, en changeant de grade dans une société secrète, on changeait d'animal protecteur, et que parfois dans certaines circonstances données, dont nous aurons d'ailleurs à parler plus loin, il était permis et même ordonné de «consommer» l'animal protecteur, de participer à la communion de la victime.

Et ainsi, un fait éclairant l'autre, un détail venant préciser un autre détail, les observations s'accumulaient et dégageaient peu à peu un système fort compliqué au premier abord.

Depuis longtemps, nous reconnaissions dans ces faits tout un ensemble de phénomènes totémiques, lorsque en 1897, l'ouvrage de J. G. Frazer, «le Totémisme», puis un peu plus tard, les Etudes de Andrew Lang et de Salomon Reinach, puis de Durkheim vinrent nous donner une direction plus précise, nous aider à comprendre plus d'un point demeuré obscur, nous ancrer aussi parfois davantage dans nos idées, opposées en certains points à celles de ces auteurs [1].

En 1908, notre modeste Etude était terminée; l'«Anthropos» devait lui ouvrir ses portes, lorsque parut le savant ouvrage de Mgr. Le Roy: «La Religion des Primitifs». Il abordait également,

[1] Citons en particulier à ce point de vue: «Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar», par A. van Gennep. Paris 1904.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

mais avec la maîtrise qui lui est propre, ce même sujet du totémisme, et y consacrait de longues pages au point de vue général de la religion des peuples bantous. Dès lors, en bien des points, notre Etude n'eût été qu'une réédition inutile, une superfétation oiseuse. Aussi, sans hésiter, avons-nous dû nous remettre à l'œuvre pour élaguer mainte page d'un intérêt plus général, et nous restreindre plus spécialement à ce qui constituait le fond même de notre Etude. En plusieurs points, nous nous trouverons peut-être en contradiction avec l'éminent auteur. Nous avouerons franchement que planant de plus haut, il a dû voir plus vrai. Nous avons persisté cependant, non par une vaine outrecuidance ou attachement à nos idées, mais pour permettre des recherches ultérieures qui dégageront mieux la vérité. D'ailleurs, ce qui est vrai de l'ensemble des tribus, peut l'être beaucoup moins et même être faux, lorsqu'il s'agit d'une tribu particulière. Tel fait précis peut renverser une série d'hypothèses! D'un point controversé, jaillit souvent une série de phénomènes qui l'éclairent d'une lumière toute nouvelle. En maintenant des assertions qui pourront parfois sembler, à quelques-uns, téméraires ou hasardées, c'est à la fois notre but, notre espoir et par là même notre excuse.

[p.11]

LE TOTEMISME CHEZ LES FÂṄ.

CHAPITRE I.

LA TRIBU FÂṄ.

§ 1. **Division de la Nation fàṅ.** — «Fàṅ» et «Paboulu» sont deux mots non pas seulement synonymes, mais identiques. — Les quatre groupes fàṅ. — La tribu, le clan et la famille, cellule primordiale.

§ 2. **Les tribus alliées aux Fàṅ.** — Ressemblances et différences avec les tribus apparentées et soi-disant apparentées.

§ 3. **Le nombre des Fàṅ.** — Erreurs de la statistique officielle.

§ 1. Division de la Nation fàṅ.

Avant de commencer cette Etude, nous devons tout d'abord dire un mot de la Nation fàṅ et de sa division en groupes, tribus et clans[1].

Les Fàṅ ou Paboulus ou encore Mpawins[2], car ces trois mots

[1] Voir au titre de cet ouvrage, l'énumération des divers ouvrages que nous avons pu consulter.

[2] Notons en passant, que le mot «Fàṅ» est le mot vraiment indigène pour désigner cette tribu. Il bizarre que cela puisse paraître au premier abord, et malgré le changement profond, «Paboulu» est l'altération du même mot! Les premières tribus de la côte, en rapport avec nous, appelaient les Fàṅ «Mpàṅ» ou *mu-pàṅ*, homme *pàṅ*, par abrév. *mpàṅ*, par un procédé commun à ces langues africaines. Ainsi *mpiro*, la poudre, en Mpongwé, devient *efiro* en Fàṅ; *mpilata*, le plateau, *filato*; *epili*, une sandale, du mot espagnol «plata», *mfil*, par *plata*, *epilata*, *ipila*, *ipila*, *efil*, *mfilir*, *mfil* etc. De «Mpàṅ», mot que les tribus du rameau Nord prononçaient seules de cette façon, les tribus du Nord, Kombé, Bracko et autres, appartenant au rameau Mpongwé, avaient fait «Mpongwé», toutes les langues du groupe gabonais ou mpongwé n'admettant

7: Trilles FM9 Fang

désignent un même peuple, constituent la tribu la plus importante du Congo français et du Kamerun allemand.

Les Fôn proprement dits se partagent, non comme mœurs ou habitudes, car elles sont absolument les mêmes, mais au point de vue des dialectes, en quatre familles distinctes: *Bétsi*, *Mékè*, *Fôn* et *Balé*. Ces quatre familles ne parlent pas un dialecte tellement différent qu'elles ne puissent se comprendre, sinon à toute première vue, du moins après quelques jours de cohabitation.

Nous dirons volontiers qu'entre Bétsi et Mékè la différence dialectale est à peu près celle que l'on trouve entre divers dialectes ou patois du midi, par exemple entre Limousin et Provençal, tandisqu'au contraire la différence entre Mékè et Fôn est au moins celle qui, en France, existe entre langue d'oc et langue d'oïl, ou en allemand, entre haut et bas allemand.

A propos de ces deux branches Bétsi et Mékè, une tendance particulière à écrire «Bédzi» semble prévaloir chez certains écrivains, appartenant au monde officiel ou administratif, qui se sont occupés d'eux. Ainsi MM. Lamnaz, Avelot, Rocus etc. Nous ferons simplement remarquer que pas un de ces Messieurs ne parle la langue fôn, du moins de façon à pouvoir suivre une conversation sortant tant soit peu des nécessités de la vie courante. Nous n'avons d'ailleurs jamais rencontré un seul fonctionnaire capable de suivre et de résumer une palabre. Pour eux, «Bédzi» signifierait «Les mangeurs». Tous les missionnaires, au contraire, sont d'accord pour écrire «Bétsi», c'est-à-dire «les Hommes des plantations», dont je donnerai ailleurs l'étymologie. Et l'on trouve parmi eux des hommes qui ont toute leur vie étudié les langues indigènes. Tels le Docteur Nassau, chef des missions protestantes avec 45 ans de séjour, les PP. Delorme, Lecerf, Bessieux, Le Berre, avec 40 ans et plus etc. etc.

La nation fôn se compose donc, à l'époque actuelle, de quatre groupes différents, partagés eux-mêmes en tribus, lesquelles le sont à leur tour, en clans.

---

pas qu'un mot se termine par une consonne, mais toujours par une voyelle. Et «Mpangwé» devenu «Mpangwen» chez les Français, puis bientôt «Mpangwin», s'est aujourd'hui changé en «Mpawin», puis «Pawin» et enfin «Pahouin», où il est vraiment difficile de reconnaître la primitive origine.

7: Trilles F919 Fang

Ces groupes parlent tous une langue identique quant au fond, mais séparée en dialectes plus ou moins distincts. Les querelles civiques qui ont provoqué les premières scissions, comme en font foi les «Légendes des Aïeux», divisent plus ces quatre groupes que leurs différences dialectales.

Réservant à une autre Etude des notions plus complètes sur la tribu, nous ne donnerons ici que le strict nécessaire.

Les Fâ se partagent donc tout d'abord en quatre groupes:

Bétsi,
Mékè,
Bulu,
Fâ,

dont les deux premiers sont de beaucoup les plus connus, ayant effectué les premières migrations, ou du moins ayant été les premiers en contact avec les Blancs. A eux se rapportent, et encore surtout aux Bétsi, tout ce qui a été écrit sur les Fâ.

On rattache souvent le groupe Bulu, soit aux Fâ, soit aux Yaundé, dont il formerait avec les Mékè le chaînon intermédiaire. Les Fâ, ou hommes de l'intérieur, ainsi que l'indique l'étymologie de leur nom[1], sont demeurés, encore à l'heure actuelle, tout à fait dans l'intérieur, et derrière les Bétsi et les Mékè. Leur dialecte les rapproche des Bétsi, dont il diffère plutôt par l'accentuation plus gutturale. Leurs tribus sont fortement enchevêtrées dans le même territoire, tout en conservant chacune son autonomie propre et sans se mélanger.

Les quatre groupes Fâ se divisent chacun en tribus, ayant chacune son chef, son territoire et son autonomie propre: aucune n'est asservie à une autre, d'autant qu'en cas de guerre, on ne fait jamais d'esclaves, les captifs non rachetés étant aussitôt mangés.

Chaque tribu est d'une importance très variable, suivant le développement qu'elle a acquis, les chefs qu'elle a eus et la grandeur du territoire qu'elle occupe. Ainsi les Yenkwaï ne comptent plus que trois villages assez peu peuplés: ils peuvent tout au plus ranger trois cents guerriers sous les armes; les Yengon, une an-

[1] *Fâ*, moelle de bambou, intérieur très-sombre de forêt.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

cienne tribu cependant, n'ont plus qu'un village et quelques guerriers; les Yenvi, au contraire, habitent plusieurs centaines de villages et comptent des milliers de guerriers. Mais à propos de ce mot «tribu», notons ici un point très important: à l'heure présente, et depuis une migration qui doit remonter, d'après notre étude personnelle, à trente-deux ou trente-trois générations, il ne se forme plus de tribus, mais des clans. Les tribus actuelles, nous verrons tout à l'heure comment les reconnaître des clans, peuvent dater, pour nous, dans leur constitution, de dix siècles à peu près; ce qui ne veut pas dire évidemment qu'elles n'existaient pas auparavant. Leur origine est certainement beaucoup plus ancienne.

Il est rare que la tribu demeure longuement homogène: de nombreuses causes en amènent la désagrégation, telles, des migrations successives, des disputes familiales, des chefs de famille plus ou moins entreprenants ou désireux de secouer une autorité trop abusive. Le fait de son augmentation progressive amène en même temps la surpopulation des villages et la nécessité d'aller chercher ailleurs de nouveaux territoires de chasse et de culture; de là, au bout d'un temps plus ou moins long, la tribu se fractionne en clans composés d'un nombre indéterminé et très variable de familles. Certains clans sont très nombreux, tels les Esingi, et comptent des centaines de villages, tandis que certains autres, soit trop récents, soit par suite des mêmes causes dissolvantes de la tribu, ne comptent qu'un très petit nombre de familles.

Les clans, à leur tour, par suite des mêmes circonstances qui ont forcé les tribus à se partager en clans, se fractionnent eux-mêmes en sous-clans, également d'importance variable.

D'après ce que nous venons de dire, ressort tout d'abord une constatation qui semble aller à l'encontre des données généralement admises parmi les Européens et observateurs superficiels. Pour ces derniers, en effet, le partage de la nation et sa division en tribus et en clans repose sur une donnée arbitraire et très variable: le nombre des individus.

Pour nous, au contraire, et c'est certainement la conception fân, les différentes notions de nation, tribu, clan, sous-clan, repose uniquement sur une base unique et immuable, la famille, qui

constitue le noyau, ou si l'on préfère, la cellule primordiale, ou encore le pivot sur lequel roule toute l'organisation.

Et ainsi nous aurons le tableau suivant de formation:

Famille ou *Ndzâń*	Famille
Clans et Sous-Clans (Totems) ou *Ayum*	Clans et Sous-Clans
Tribu ou *Ayôń*	Tribu
Groupe ou *Mfulana mèyôń*	Groupe

Nation fâń.

De cette formation, résulte une conséquence importante, mais dont le développement ne trouverait pas sa place ici et doit être remis après la discussion de la notion du totem. Cette conséquence est la suivante: parmi les clans, les uns portent le nom du totem, les autres ne le portent pas. Mais bien qu'un certain nombre d'auteurs, presque tous même, fassent de cette condition: porter le nom du totem, une condition *sine qua non* de totémisme pour le clan, nous montrerons que cette conception est exagérée et que les clans, portant ou non le nom du totem, sont tous totémiques.

§ 2. Les tribus alliées aux Fâń.

Non seulement ces quatre grandes fractions, Bétsi, Méké, Bulé et Fôń, constituent la nation fâń proprement dit, mais dans leur cercle gravitent encore une certaine quantité d'autres tribus, en nombre plus ou moins grand, qui se rattachent au même rameau. Nous disons: en nombre plus ou moins grand, car jusqu'ici l'intérieur du Kamerun allemand d'une part, et de l'autre, l'Hinterland qui s'étend entre le Wole, le Ntém et la haute Sangha, a été peu exploré. A peine, avant notre passage, connaissait-on l'existence des Dzém. Les Dzandzama n'avaient jamais été cités. Ces tribus forment le chaînon intermédiaire qui relie les Fâń au rameau batéké, et par eux aux Kanioka et autres tribus du Centre Congolais,

dont nous signalions dernièrement les analogies de folklore avec le folklore fâñ [1].

Les Yaundé, dont l'Anthropos publiait récemment une grammaire [2], sont sans aucun doute une branche du rameau bétsi. Les Bosyéba, dont le dialecte, un peu plus éloigné, se rapproche davantage de celui des Bubi de Fernando-Po, sont également de la nation fâñ. Enfin, s'écartant de la souche primitive, et dans l'ordre progressif, les Dzèm, Dzimu et Dzandzama, sortant à peine aujourd'hui de la grande forêt et du pays des Nyamnyam; quoiqu'on en ait dit antérieurement, leur langue n'a qu'une parenté éloignée avec cette dernière tribu [3].

Ainsi qu'on le voit d'après la note publiée en bas de cette page, les différences entre le Fâñ et le Nyamnyam sont énormes. A peine trouverait-on cent cinquante mots ayant même radical, fait qui encore ne prouverait rien, car les Fâñ ont certainement

[1] V. Anthropos IV p. 945 à 971, V p. 163 à 180.

[2] V. Anthropos IV p. 684 à 701, 919 à 930.

[3] Comme un certain nombre d'observateurs et explorateurs (tels par exemple qu'ALLEGRET, ancien missionnaire protestant au Gabon qui les rattache aux groupe Nyamnyam, Fulah, Asandeh), s'en rapportant aux uniques caractères ethnographiques apparents, prétendent maintenir cette parenté, donnons simplement cet aperçu des quatre langues Fâñ, Osyeba, Dzèm (inédit) et Nyamnyam (d'après SCHWEINFURTH et COLOMBAROLI):

	Fâñ	Osyeba	Dzèm	Nyamnyam
Homme	*Mur*	*Muri*	*Murum*	*Combâ*
Femme	*Munga*	*Mura*	*Muma*	*Dè*
Fille	*Ngon*	*Śyè*	*Lézi*	*Dégudè*
Vieillard	*Ntôl*	*Ntôli*	*Tuma*	*Binzâ*
Sœur	*Kal*	*Kali*	*Kalo*	*Bécili*
Père	*Sa*	*Sôñ*	*Da*	*Ba* (*ôba* en Fâñ *mêkê*)
Nom	*Dźâ*	*Dźina*	*Ndźè*	*Limô*
Corps	*Ñul*	*Mulé*	*Ñûlo*	*Kuô*
Peau	*Eko*	*Kundé*	*Kuro*	*Kubto*
Tête	*Nlô*	*Nlô*	*Nlô*	*Li*
Front	*Mrabal*	*Bondé*	*Nbalopum*	*Vu*
Langue	*Dèm (plur. Mèm)*	*Gimi*	*Gyèm*	*Mirassè*
Village	*Dźal*	*Kware*	*Kwor*	*Lingarâ*
Porte	*Mbi*	*Mbié*	*Léboa*	*Ngwadumo* litt. porte de la maison (*duma* nid en fâñ).

coudoyé les Nyamnyam dans leurs migrations, et ont donc pu et dû leur emprunter un certain nombre de mots.

En somme, la tribu fâñ peut se diviser de la façon suivante:

	I.	II.	
Fâñ ou Pahouins	*Fâñ* proprement dits	*Bétsi*	*Yaundé*
			Bétsi
		Méké	
		Bulé	
		Fôñ	
	Bosyéba	*Bosyéba*	
		Mékux	
	Bésèx		
	Dzèm		
	Dzandzama		
	Guma		

On peut considérer les tribus Fâñ, Bosyéba, Bésèx, Dzèm, Dzandzama et Guma comme parlant chacune une langue, non un dialecte. Toutefois, ces langues sont très rapprochées, ayant à peu près les mêmes règles et une même langue racine.

Bétsi, Méké etc., constituent simplement des dialectes.

Comme nous l'avons dit un peu plus haut, la tribu fâñ, dans son ensemble, occupe le Congo français, le Kamerun et déborde légèrement sur le Congo belge, au sud.

Les Dzèm, dont nous espérons faire connaître prochainement la langue, encore absolument inédite, sont groupés dans le haut Ntèm; leur nombre ne doit guère dépasser une centaine de mille.

Les Dzandzama les bordent au sud-est, et leur langue fait la transition avec les Batéké, leurs voisins du sud. Leur nombre est sensiblement égal à celui des Dzèm.

Les Bésèx ou Bulu, qui occupent une grande partie de la région située au nord de l'Ogowé, constituent une tribu très disséminée, jadis fort puissante, aujourd'hui à peu près éteinte par le poison, les féticheurs, et l'étreinte des Pahouins. Leur nombre ne doit pas dépasser quelques milliers.

Les Bosyéba, auxquels les cartes du Congo français donnent une importance absolument exagérée, ne sont pas plus nombreux que les Bésèɣ.

Les Bosyéba, dont on a fait peut-être à tort un peuple distinct, ne sont au fond, à notre avis, que des tribus détachées depuis longtemps du rameau méké, dont ils ont conservé les tatouages distinctifs et la langue peu altérée. En 1889, Mr. Fourneau, en arrivant dans le pays des Bosyéba, au nord du Campo, vit ses porteurs, qu'il avait recrutés au pays des Méké sur les bords de l'Ogowé, fraterniser immédiatement avec les Bosyéba et heureux de retrouver leur langue, après avoir traversé tout le pays bétsi [1].

D'après Avelot, le nom de Bosyéba viendrait de *ošü é ba* «le fleuve les a engendrés», sobriquet qui leur serait appliqué par dérision, les Bosyéba craignant fort la navigation. Nous ne croyons guère à cette étymologie, d'autant qu'elle est incorrecte: on devrait dire *ošü o ba.*

Les Guma, aujourd'hui en très petit nombre, ont été refoulés vers le Kamerun: ils se rapportent également au rameau méké. Les Européens désignent souvent les individus de tout ce groupe sous le mot «Makina» de *ma ki na* «je dis que»; ils ont, en effet, l'habitude de commencer tous leurs discours par ces mots. Les Bétsi sont nommés «Mazuna» pour la même raison.

§ 3. Le nombre des Fâñ.

Les Fâñ sont de beaucoup le rameau le plus important. Il est fort difficile d'évaluer leur nombre. Officiellement, ils ne seraient que quelques centaines de mille. Mais le chiffre officiel est loin d'être réel. N'est compté en effet, pour la statistique de l'Etat, que celui qui paie l'impôt. Or, plus de la moitié du Congo français est inexploré, sauf par quelques rares voyageurs. Ainsi, en 1901—1902, nous avons été le premier à explorer tout le Congo Nord qu'avait jadis simplement traversé Crampel, puis le pays des Dzèm et des Dzandzama; après nous, est venue la commission de délimitation du Kamerun, sur une fraction de ce même pays, et c'est tout. Aussi un document

[1] Cf. A. Fourneau, De l'Ogôoué au Campo. Bull. Sté Géogr. t. XII 1891, p. 190—215.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

récent donne-t-il un nombre de 40000 guerriers fâñ environ, chiffre qui n'est même pas à discuter [1]. Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est que la population totale du Congo français, dont les Fâñ peuvent former la moitié, peut être évaluée à un chiffre variant de 3 à 10 millions, sans aucune précision possible à l'heure actuelle. Pour nous, nous évaluerions facilement les Fâñ à cinq millions au moins, dix à douze millions au plus. Le bassin du Wole à lui seul, dont nous avons relevé tous les villages, compte plus d'un million de Fâñ.

Les Fâñ font partie de la grande famille bantoue, mais en constituent un des chaînons externes, ou, si l'on préfère, ils sont placés sur la limite qui sépare les Bantous des populations et des langues du nord est, Lybie, Soudan etc. Ce sont, dit Reclus, les moins bantous de tous les Bantous.

[1] Un clan, celui des Amvom, dépasse ce chiffre. Les Bulé sont encore plus nombreux; le nombre des clans fâñ, tout au moins ceux que nous connaissons, se chiffre par plus de 400. A s'en tenir à l'évaluation officielle, chaque clan ne compterait guère qu'une centaine de guerriers. Pour beaucoup, c'est à peine le nombre de leurs villages.

[p.20]

CHAPITRE II.

LA NOTION DU TOTEM.

§ 1. **Le mot «totem» et son origine.**

§ 2. **L'extension du totem.** — Phénomènes religieux qui doivent être séparés du totem.

§ 3. **La définition du totem.** — Le totem à l'origine.

1° Auteurs qui se sont occupés de la question du totem d'une façon générale. — Définition du totem d'après FRAZER, REINACH, Mgr. LE ROY, LANG, CAPART etc. et discussion de ces définitions.

2° Auteurs qui se sont occupés de la question au point de vue africain. — MM. VIREY et FOUCART, discussion de leur opinion par rapport aux Fâñ. — Enumération des auteurs 1° qui se sont occupés du totémisme égyptien, 2° des autres peuples africains.

§ 4. **Conditions requises pour qu'il y ait totémisme:** existence du totem, rapport de nom, rapport de parenté, loi d'exogamie et interdictions.

En commençant cette Etude sur le totémisme fâñ, nous devons tout d'abord préciser la notion du totem, et le sens que nous attachons à ce mot; en effet, suivant les divers auteurs qui ont traité cette question, soit d'une façon générale, comme FRAZER, DURKHEIM, LANG[1] etc., soit d'une façon particulière ou pour un peuple particulier, comme LORET[2] et VAN GENNEP[3], ce sens a fortement changé.

---

[1] Voir plus bas, pp. 27 et suiv. les ouvrages de ces auteurs.

[2] LORET, L'Egypte au temps du Totémisme. Paris (Leroux) 1906.

[3] A. VAN GENNEP, Tabou et totémisme à Madagascar. Paris (Leroux) 1906.

§ 1. Le mot «totem» et son origine.

Avant de donner la définition proprement dite du totem, nous devons nécesssairement commencer par préciser ce que l'on entend par ce mot, surtout au point de vue africain, car, on le verra plus loin, il diffère en quelques points du totem indien et australien [1].

«Le totem, dit LORET est avant tout un attribut ethnique, la marque extérieure, l'enseigne d'un clan: le mot totem est même, s'il faut en croire les étymologistes, un nom commun signifiant simplement «marque», »signe distinctif» dans la langue des Indiens d'Amérique, chez lesquels on observa pour la première fois le totémisme . . .

«Le totem ne se borne pas à être la marque distinctive de la collectivité. C'est aussi le nom visible, le nom matérialisé du clan. Le clan qui a choisi le loup pour emblème, s'appelle le clan du loup . . . De là à se prendre pour de véritables loups à face humaine, il n'y a qu'un pas, qu'ont franchi tous les groupements totémiques que l'on connaît. Tous, en effet, considèrent leur animal totémique comme un parent, comme un ancêtre, fait de la même substance qu'eux-mêmes.»

En parlant du nagualisme, nous montrerons qu'à notre avis tout au moins, cette dernière assertion ne paraît pas juste, qu'il s'agisse du clan proprement dit, ou des sociétés secrètes portant un nom d'animal. Dans ce cas même, les «Loups» ne se croient guère des animaux à face humaine, mais à côté du «loup» humain, il y a le «loup» animal, obéissant et soumis. Et ainsi pour les autres animaux. Dans ces circonstances, il n'y a point filiation, mais transmission ou transfusion de sang, et cet acte s'applique non à une collectivité pour créer un ancêtre éponyme, mais à deux individus particuliers et se termine avec eux. Chaque individu de la société secrète doit avoir et a son initiation particulière, renouvelable à chaque degré nouveau conquis dans la société.

[1] Cf. Domestic Life of Tanganika, by father DUCHÊNE (Catholic Missions 1910): «But missionaries, who have lived long in Equatorial Africa, understand that there is no true connection between the totems of the American Indians and the *mviko* (totems) of the Tanganika tribes.»

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

A notre connaissance, aucun clan fân ne considère l'animal éponyme comme un ancêtre, fait de la même substance qu'eux mêmes. Ils sont parents parce qu'un même esprit les anime et que cet esprit anime le corps. Nous en rapporterons une preuve, à notre avis décisive. Un homme du clan de l'antilope *mvin* tue par hasard un animal de cette espèce: il a commis une faute et ne peut en manger. Un homme du même clan *mvin* rencontre par hasard cette antilope «morte» et n'a pas eu connaissance du meurtre; s'il en mange, il contracte une simple souillure rituelle, mais non la faute proprement dite: l'esprit éponyme ne l'habite plus. Ajoutons que cette règle a cependant des exceptions en ce sens que parfois il n'y a même pas souillure. Nous étudierons mieux cette distinction difficile en parlant des *éki* totémiques ou *éki* de race et des *éki* rituels, totalement différents.

«Cette expression de totem, qui a fait fortune, dit Mgr. Le Roy[1], est un barbarisme tiré d'un mot des Indiens Chippeway, (peut-être plutôt Algonquin) de l'Amérique du Nord, car c'est là surtout que l'institution fleurit (ou du moins qu'on l'a signalée tout d'abord et l'on sait combien aujourd'hui s'éteignent rapidement les tribus indiennes)[2]. — Selon l'abbé Thévenet, dit Frazer, le nom est proprement *ote,* famille, tribu, dont la forme possessive est *otèm, nind otèm* ma famille, *kit otèm,* ta famille etc. — De sorte que, si l'on tient absolument à se servir de cette expression qui a l'avantage d'avoir un aspect mystérieux et d'en imposer au vulgaire, on devrait dire tout au moins otéisme, ou otétisme.»

§ 2. L'extension du totem.

Ce n'est pas seulement dans l'Amérique du Nord que le totem est connu. On le retrouve, ne fût-ce qu'à l'état de survivance partielle, dans toutes les parties du monde. Il peut être familial, sexuel ou individuel, soit qu'il s'applique à toute une famille ou toute une tribu, qu'il appartienne exclusivement à un sexe de

[1] La Religion des Primitifs, p. 110.

[2] Voir également à ce sujet ce qu'en dit Reinach, Cultes, Mythes et Religions. Paris 1905. T. I, p. 9 et suiv. L'abbé Bros s'étend assez longuement sur ce sujet. Cf. Religion des peuples non civilisés, p. 217 et ss.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

ce groupe, ou qu'il soit particulier à un individu. On remarque également, et notamment en Afrique, des totems d'association secrète. C'est ainsi qu'au Loango il y a la société du Léopard, chez les Wanyika la société de l'Hyène etc. [1].

En examinant cette question dans la tribu fàn, nous aurons à passer en revue ces divers totems, et par là même, croyons-nous, à constater que:

1° Au fond, si dissemblables que paraissent tous ces différents totems, ils se rattachent tous par un même lien à un fondement commun, à une même origine.

2° Ces diverses sociétés citées plus haut ne sont pas des sociétés d'origine totémique, tout en ayant bien leur totem, mais bien d'origine fétichiste.

3° Après avoir étudié les phénomènes divers qui rentrent dans le totémisme et le totem, nous aurons à écarter un assez grand nombre de faits que certains auteurs ont voulu, à tort croyons-nous, y faire rentrer; ces faits ont néanmoins avec le totémisme une connexité étroite, et même y pénètrent assez parfois pour qu'on ait voulu y voir tantôt la cause efficiente, le fondement même du totémisme, tantôt une de ses principales sources. L'exogamie, sur laquelle plusieurs savants ont voulu faire reposer tout le totémisme, est dans ce cas.

Ces faits, tout en se rattachant au totem par des liens étroits, paraissent néanmoins devoir en être séparés comme ne venant pas de la même source, et ressortissant d'un autre ensemble cultuel. Et tels sont:

1° Le fétiche 2° Le tabou (objet) 3° Le nagual	qui sont différents du totem, considéré comme objet.

D'autres faits ou ensembles de faits se rattachent au totémisme par certains points communs, mais cependant n'ont point même origine. Et tels sont:

[1] La Religion des Primitifs, p. 11.

1° Le fétichisme 2° Le tabou (doctrine) 3° Le nagualisme 4° Les défenses rituelles ou *éki*[1] 5° L'exogamie et l'endogamie 6° Les sociétés secrètes	qui sont différents du totémisme considéré comme corps de doctrine.

§ 3. La définition du totem.

De l'exposé des faits que nous venons de reproduire plus haut et des divisions données, il ressort nettement que le totem se présente sous plusieurs aspects différents. Sous peine d'étranges erreurs, il importe donc de les soigneusement distinguer.

A l'origine, le totem a été évidemment personnel et individuel, ne s'appliquant qu'à un seul individu, au père de la race. Mais, par la force même des choses, ce totem est devenu rapidement familial, puis, par suite de l'extension de la famille devenue au cours des siècles clan, puis tribu, s'est fait totem de clan d'abord, puis totem tribal.

Nous aurons tout d'abord à nous préoccuper de ce dernier, le plus important de beaucoup, tout en constatant que, de fait, ces trois divisions demeurent toujours; chaque «mâle» reçoit en effet à sa naissance, sauf l'aîné, un totem particulier, qui, par suite de son mariage, deviendra totem familial. Chaque mâle reçoit, disons-nous, à sa naissance, un totem particulier; ce totem est bien différent du *nagual*, animal protecteur, donné seulement à certains individus et dans certaines circonstances données. Le fait de recevoir le totem est un fait général: celui de recevoir un *nagual*, un fait particulier.

Nous ne pouvons donc souscrire à l'opinion de VAN GENNEP écrivant: «Avec A. LANG, je réserve le nom de totem à l'allié animal, végétal etc. d'un groupe de parents, clan, phratrie etc. et préfère voir conservé aux alliés et protecteurs animaux etc. d'individus

[1] L'ensemble des *éki* ou des défenses rituelles, comme l'a montré le R. P. MARTROU dans son Etude sur les *éki* (Anthropos 1906), se rattache au fétichisme, ou, si l'on préfère, au culte religieux proprement dit, mais le culte du totem a également ses *éki* particuliers.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

leur nom local (*nyarong, nagual*[1] etc.); sinon, il n'y a plus moyen de s'entendre.» Cf. A. Lang, Social Origins. London 1903, p. 133—134[2].

Contre A. van Gennep, nous croyons pouvoir dire: le *nagual* n'est nullement le totem individuel; ce sont deux conceptions différentes répondant à des buts divers. Un de nos voisins, le chef des Esaméndum, avait ainsi pour *nagual* le serpent noir et pour totem individuel l'antilope *mvin*.

De plus, il est très important de remarquer avec l'abbé Bros[3], que le culte est totémique, lorsqu'il s'adresse non à un individu, mais à une collectivité. Or, le *nagual* est un individu, tandisqu'au contraire le totem individuel est une collectivité.

Nous disons «chaque mâle reçoit un totem à sa naissance, sauf l'aîné»; celui-ci, destiné à perpétuer la race, conserve évidemment le totem familial qui deviendra proprement sien à la mort du chef de famille.

Tout ce que nous dirons désormais, s'appliquera donc de préférence, sauf lorsque nous traiterons à part des totems dérivés, au totem tribal, sur lequel, en somme, repose tout le système.

C'est de même au totem tribal que s'appliquent généralement les définitions données par les auteurs qui se sont occupés plus particulièrement de la question du totémisme. Il faut passer en revue ceux-ci, avant d'entrer dans la question elle-même, afin qu'il ne reste aucune ambiguïté pour ce qui regarde la signification du mot «totem».

a) Auteurs qui se sont occupés de la question du totem.

Les différents auteurs qui depuis quelques années ont traité la question du totémisme, attribuent presque tous les premières recherches scientifiques sur ce sujet à l'Américain Mac-Lennan[4]. Ce fut cet ethnographe, disent-ils, qui attira, il y a trente ans à peine, l'attention des savants et de tous ceux qui s'occupent d'étude des

[1] [Voir à propos de ce mot *nagual* la note 4 de la page 34.]

[2] Van Gennep, Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar. Paris 1904, p. 305.

[3] Religion des peuples non civilisés. Paris 1908, p. 208.

[4] Primitive marriage. The worship of plants and animals (Fortnightly Review). New-York 1870, I, p. 207.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

religions et des sociétés, des ethnographes et des linguistes, sur les totems et leur importance dans les races, dites sauvages, de l'Amérique du Nord, au double point de vue social et religieux.

Depuis les premiers travaux de Mac-Lennan, la question s'est considérablement élargie: successivement, on a reconnu que le totémisme existait à la base de beaucoup de religions. On l'a signalé chez les Australiens, les tribus sud-américaines, les indigènes africains, et peu à peu la question a pris un développement que l'on ne soupçonnait guère tout d'abord.

Il conviendrait toutefois de rendre leur dû aux premiers savants qui se sont occupés du totémisme. Longtemps avant Mac-Lennan, et le fait n'a pas encore été signalé, un Jésuite français, Joseph Lafitau [1], missionnaire chez les Indiens Iroquois, avait décrit cette institution dans son livre «Mœurs des Sauvages américains comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps» [2].

Après lui, Long dans ses «Voyages and Travels» au pays des Indiens, publié en 1791 [3], parle également de cette institution. Puis, et longtemps encore avant Mac-Lennan, Emile Chevalier dans ses «Lettres sur l'Amérique du Nord» [4] employait le mot «totem» pour désigner les emblèmes des clans indiens. Egalement avant Mac-Lennan, le voyageur Paul Marcoy (1865) signalait l'existence des totems et des emblèmes totémiques dans les tribus péruviennes. «Chaque tribu, dit-il, en parlant en particulier des *Siriniris,* a son totem particulier et son emblème tatoué, grâce auquel on distingue à première vue les individus de chaque clan» [5]. Malgré leur valeur scientifique, surtout au point de vue botanique, les ouvrages de Paul Marcoy (pseudonyme de L. de St. Cricq, savant bordelais), n'ont pas atteint la notoriété qu'ils méritaient. Ecrits dans un style particulier et d'une façon très humoristique, accompagnés de dessins de l'auteur lui-même, ces ouvrages sont aussi intéressants que documentés.

---

[1] Reinach cite Lafitau, Cultes, Mythes et Religions, p. 9, T. I, mais sans indiquer les sources.

[2] Paris 1723, 2 vol. in 4° et Rouen 1724, 4 vol. in 8°.

[3] London 1791.

[4] Publié chez Wouters à Bruxelles 1844.

[5] Voir: De l'Atlantique au Pacifique. Voyage aux vallées de Quinquinas etc. Paris 1869—1872.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Nombreux sont à l'heure actuelle les auteurs qui ont étudié d'une façon spéciale le totémisme et ses dérivés, avec les faits y connexes. Dans l'impossibilité ou plutôt l'inutilité de les citer tous, nous nous contenterons d'énumérer les principaux.

Pour ce qui se rapporte à cette étude, ces auteurs se divisent en deux catégories: 1° Ceux qui ont traité la question soit d'une façon générale, soit d'une façon extra-africaine[1].

2° Ceux qui se sont spécialement occupés du totémisme chez les divers peuples africains.

1° Auteurs qui se sont occupés de la question d'une façon générale.

Parmi ces auteurs, pour ne citer que les plus récents, outre les articles plus ou moins développés des grands dictionnaires, tels que Larousse et surtout Déchelette (Manuel d'Archéologie préhistorique), nous aurons à citer tout d'abord Frazer; dans deux ouvrages spéciaux, il a étudié profondément la question, s'attachant toutefois de façon plus déterminée aux traces nombreuses de totémisme dans les clans australiens, chez lesquels on a ainsi constaté tout un ensemble religieux de culte rituel et ancestral, après les avoir longtemps tenus pour la race la plus dégradée du globe. Frazer définit le totem:

«Une classe d'objets matériels que le sauvage regarde avec un respect superstitieux, croyant qu'il existe entre lui et chaque membre de cette classe une relation intime et très-spéciale»[2].

Cette définition peut être adéquate à la conception du totem tel que l'admettent les tribus australiennes. Mais, d'une façon générale, elle nous paraît incomplète, et pour les Fâñ, il semble difficile de l'adopter. En effet, les mots «respect superstitieux», tout d'abord, ne nous paraissent pas justes. Nous ne croyons pas que le sauvage éprouve du respect pour le totem, pas plus que pour toute autre divinité, quelle qu'en soit la nature. Le mot «respect», tel au moins que nous, Européens, le comprenons, n'existe pas dans les langues bantoues. Ainsi, par exemple, en Fâñ, nous trouverons

[1] C'est-à-dire par rapport aux peuples américains et surtout australiens, en particulier les Aruntas.

[2] J. G. Frazer, Le Totémisme, trad. Dirr. Paris (Schleicher) 1898, p. 3.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

les mots: *esème Nzame,* que nous traduisons par «adorer Dieu», mais qui en réalité signifie accomplir les exercices rituels, non pas en l'honneur de Dieu, mais «ordonnés» par lui; ou encore: *egume mur,* «rendre à un supérieur les services nécessaires ou ordonnés». Mais le respect, tel que nous l'entendons, n'a aucune part dans ces ordres. Il s'y trouve simplement les rapports de supérieur à inférieur, l'un fort et puissant, l'autre faible, l'un ordonnant et l'autre obéissant, l'un punissant toute infraction, l'autre obéissant par crainte de cette punition. Ainsi, dans les rapports du Noir avec son totem ou avec la divinité, règne un seul lien, celui de la crainte: si le Noir n'obéit pas aux ordres, il sera puni. Et cela est tellement vrai que si, d'aventure, comme il arrive parfois, le Noir change de tribu, livré comme rançon de meurtre, par exemple, à une autre tribu, son premier totem lui deviendra absolument indifférent, il ne s'en préoccupera d'aucune façon, et cèdera sans aucun scrupule au Blanc qui voudrait l'acheter, l'image représentative de son ancien totem auquel il tenait tant naguère. Ce sera pour lui une chose sans valeur, et le totem de sa nouvelle tribu deviendra tout pour lui.

Il n'y a donc pas entre le Noir et son totem «respect», mais simplement «culte», et culte fondé sur la crainte.

Il est également difficile d'admettre le mot «superstitieux». Qui dit «superstitieux» implique superstition. Or, la superstition est une déviation du sentiment religieux par laquelle on est porté à se créer des obligations fausses, à craindre des choses qui ne doivent pas être craintes ou à mettre sa confiance en d'autres qui sont vaines — mais rien de semblable n'existe dans l'âme sauvage, considérée comme telle. Vraie peut-être pour nous, cette définition est fausse pour le sauvage qui, lui, admet comme réelles et prouvées la puissance de son totem, les obligations qu'elle lui crée. Loin d'être une déviation du système religieux, c'en est beaucoup plutôt le fondement, ou pour parler plus vrai, un des principaux fondements.

Salomon Reinach[1] précise avec plus de clarté ce qu'est le totem en disant: «On désigne sous ce nom l'animal, le végétal, ou

[1] Reinach, Cultes, Mythes et Religions. Paris 1905. Le Tome III en 1908. T. I, p. 81.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

plus rarement le minéral ou corps céleste en qui le clan reconnaît 1° un ancêtre, 2° un protecteur et 3° un signe de ralliement» [1].

Mgr. Le Roy, qui ne donne pas lui-même une définition du totem, mais seulement du totémisme, semble se rallier à ce dernier sentiment, et adopter cette définition [2].

Cependant, elle nous paraît pouvoir être complétée. En effet, elle mêle plusieurs points absolument distincts. Ainsi, par exemple, un clan éponyme d'un phénomène céleste qu'il regardera comme son totem, ne le considère pas pour cela comme son ancêtre. Tel le clan qui reconnaît le tonnerre comme totem, se dira volontiers «fils du tonnerre», mais c'est là une expression toute symbolique et c'est seulement d'une façon détournée que le tonnerre, en tant que cause déterminante, sera l'ancêtre éponyme du clan.

D'un autre côté, en disant que le clan reconnaît dans le totem un protecteur et un signe de ralliement, on doit faire observer qu'ici se mêlent deux ordres de phénomènes: le totem réel est protecteur, le totem figuratif seul est signe de ralliement. De plus, cette définition, vraie en partie, sous les réserves données, du totem général du clan, l'est déjà moins du totem familial ou des sociétés secrètes, elle ne l'est plus du totem individuel.

Dans un autre endroit, Reinach, en une définition plus courte, dit simplement: «Le totem n'est pas un individu, mais un clan animal affilié au clan humain» [3].

Nous ne pouvons admettre, pour le totémisme fân, cette définition. Le clan animal est bien affilié au clan humain, mais ce clan animal n'est, d'aucune façon, totem du clan humain, en tant que clan. Chaque animal du clan éponyme, en tant que participant à l'animal totem primitif, est relié à chaque homme du clan correspondant; c'est là un lien, non pas collectif, mais individuel,

---

[1] Dans son «Orpheus», Paris 1909, Reinach dit en parlant du totémisme: «Définir le Totémisme est très difficile. On peut dire, quitte à préciser ensuite, que c'est une sorte de culte rendu aux animaux et aux végétaux, considérés comme alliés et apparentés à l'homme.» Cette définition a en effet besoin d'être complétée et précisée pour être exacte.

[2] La Religion des Primitifs, p. 110. Mgr. Le Roy définit le totémisme, p. 122, de son ouvrage déjà cité.

[3] Cultes, Mythes et Religions, T. I.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

et si peu collectif, mais bien individuel, que sous l'influence de certaines circonstances données, dont nous avons déjà fourni des exemples (individu passant d'une tribu à une autre, v. plus haut p. 28), ce lien peut cesser par rapport à tel ou tel individu, ce qui ne pourrait arriver s'il était collectif.

En résumant, A. Lang[1] arrive à établir les points suivants:

a) Le totem donne à son nom la tribu. b) Il est considéré comme l'ancêtre commun des animaux actuellement vivants de la même espèce et des hommes[2] du clan. c) Chaque tribu ou clan a son totem particulier et respecte dans tous les descendants, animaux ou hommes, du dieu-ancêtre, les congénères indissolublement unis par «les liens du sang».

A son tour, M. Jean Capart, le distingué professeur de Louvain, dans une brochure sur le totémisme, a condensé brièvement les travaux de ses devanciers et donné une nouvelle définition du totem. Pour lui, le totem est: «Un objet sacré, généralement un animal, plus rarement une plante ou une chose inanimée, dont l'espèce entière est l'objet de la vénération d'une tribu ou d'un clan.»

Cette définition pèche peut-être en deux points.

Ecartons tout d'abord le mot «vénération», qui implique une idée d'estime, de respect, d'amour, et qui en somme se fonde uniquement sur ces sentiments. On vénère un saint, un aïeul, une relique, un endroit qui mérite de l'être par les souvenirs de celui qui y a vécu, mais le Noir ne vénère pas son totem: il a pour lui le culte rituel fondé sur la crainte dont nous avons précédemment parlé.

Le mot «espèce entière» n'est pas juste non plus dans la rigueur du terme; ainsi, telle tribu aura pour totem le serpent, non

---

[1] Lang, Cultes, Mythes et Religions, trad. Marillier. Paris 1896.

[2] Nous verrons que pour les clans bantous, cette assertion n'est pas juste: il y a alliance et transmission de sang entre l'ancêtre homme, et l'ancêtre éponyme animal; les deux clans ont une existence parallèle, alliée il est vrai, mais non identique. Il y a non pas un ancêtre unique, mais deux ancêtres unis par le sang et l'esprit. Nous verrons plus tard comment. De plus, le totem est loin d'être considéré «comme l'ancêtre commun des animaux actuellement vivants de la même espèce». Il est considéré comme l'ancêtre des animaux vivants de la même espèce, offrant certaines particularités bien déterminées de lieu, de taille, d'aspect etc.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

pas la classe entière des serpents, mais telle espèce de serpent. Les autres lui seront indifférents. Souvent, dans cette espèce, lui seront seulement totems ceux qui présentent telle variété, ou tel accident de forme, de couleur ou d'aspect. Dans cette espèce ou variété, quelle que soit la forme sous laquelle elle se présente, lui seront seulement totems les individus localisés dans telle ou telle région ou dans tel ou tel site particulier, ou encore dans telle ou telle situation; ainsi, pour préciser, lui seront seulement totem le serpent de la montagne, et non la même espèce de la plaine etc. etc.

Au point de vue fàn, cette définition n'est pas absolument exacte: il faudrait y ajouter, comme nous l'avons d'ailleurs fait plus loin, «certains phénomènes naturels, mais alors attribués à un animal totem». Ainsi, pour certains clans, le tonnerre est considéré comme totem. C'est la manifestation d'un esprit particulier, protecteur invisible du clan, ou même d'un animal, v. g. l'écureuil-volant; de même, l'arc-en-ciel qui se produit après la pluie et dans une certaine direction donnée, sera totem, mais non pas celui que l'on voit briller presque constamment au-dessus de certaines cascades, et qui serait vraiment trop banal! La raison est la même que pour le tonnerre. Le mica, considéré comme enfant du tonnerre, rentre alors pour ce clan dans cette catégorie. Egalement totem l'éclipse de lune, pour le clan protégé par l'animal qui mange la lune. Et ce que nous disons du totem bantou, nous n'hésiterions pas à le dire du totem en général. Les phénomènes naturels nous paraissent difficilement devoir être admis, en eux-mêmes, comme sujets totémiques. Nous croyons beaucoup plus simple et beaucoup plus conforme au génie de l'homme primitif, qui, si facilement, naturalise tous les phénomènes qu'il voit et qu'il ne peut expliquer *a priori* [1], beaucoup plus simple, disons-nous, d'admettre que ces phénomènes sont sujets du totem, en tant que manifestations d'un animal, ou apparitions d'un esprit sous une forme particulière et déterminée. Ainsi, le tonnerre, frappant le roc, y laissera, aux yeux du Noir, des parcelles de mica;

[1] Ainsi chez beaucoup de tribus, les éclipses sont considérées comme le fait d'un dragon qui veut manger la lune, d'où l'on s'efforcera de le chasser, à la fois, par l'attrait du sacrifice, et par la peur du bruit, à grand renfort de cris et de tamtam.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

elles seront le témoignage visible du totem, la manifestation tangible de son passage, par là-même le symbole figuratif qui permettra de lui décerner un culte objectif: ce culte serait difficile ou même impossible, sans cette condition, à ces hommes frappés avant tout par les phénomènes sensitifs et qui rentrent avec la plus grande difficulté dans le domaine de la spéculation pure.

Dans ses «Etudes sur les Religions Sémitiques», le P. Lagrange a également traité la question du totémisme, mais de façon incidente, à propos du totémisme en Israël; il en a donné la même définition que W. R. Smith dans son «Kinship» (p. 187), ouvrage fondamental que doivent connaître tous ceux qui s'occupent du totémisme général. Cette définition étant la même que celle de Lang, nous pouvons la laisser de côté, ainsi que celle de Marillier qui l'a également reprise dans les articles publiés par lui sur le totémisme [1]; ces articles peuvent être considérés comme une excellente réfutation des théories exposées par F. B. Jevons, «An Introduction to the history of Religion» (London 1896). D'accord avec une certaine Ecole, dont nous montrerons l'erreur, tout au moins pour les Fâñ, Jevons fait du totémisme le point de départ de l'évolution religieuse de toute l'humanité. Mr. Marillier [2], comme le note le P. Lagrange dans ses «Etudes» *(op. cit.)*, montre que la plupart des usages allégués sont susceptibles d'une autre interprétation, et que le totémisme, lié à un état social très particulier, est plutôt le terme d'une évolution religieuse et n'a pas les conditions nécessaires pour servir en quelque sorte de principe premier et de source générale.

Dans son livre: «La Religion des Peuples non civilisés» [3], Mr. l'abbé Bros a également donné un résumé du totémisme où nous aurions peut-être quelques points à relever. Ainsi, par exemple: le culte est totémique lorsqu'il s'adresse non à un individu mais à une collectivité, proposition qui sous sa forme générale a besoin d'être expliquée, comme le montrera plus loin la discussion du totem fâñ. — Les totems «couleurs» nous paraissent beaucoup plutôt se rapporter

[1] T. XXXVI, p. 402.

[2] Article Religion, G^de Encyclopédie, tome XXVIII. La place du Totémisme dans l'Evolution religieuse. Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, tome XXXVI—XXXVII, 1897—98.

[3] Paris (Lethielleux) 1908, p. 217 et ss.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

aux défenses rituelles, aux tabous, aux objets consacrés aux Dieux qu'au totem proprement dit. En tout cas, il en est certainement ainsi à la côte de Guinée. — Dans la suite de cette étude, nous montrerons également le «pourquoi» des différents totems. D'une façon générale, cependant, Mr. Bros a bien résumé et dégagé les lois du totémisme [1].

Assez récemment, le P. Zapletal a repris, par rapport à Israël cette étude du totémisme dans «Der Totemismus und die Religion Israels» [2]. Il y nie l'existence du totémisme.

Nous trouvons également: Sur le Totémisme, par Durkheim [3] et: Code of totemism, par Stanley Cook [4].

Enfin, pour clore cette longue liste d'auteurs ayant traité la question au point de vue général, citons encore en flamand et en hollandais «Over Totemvereering», naar J. Laenen [5] et «De Godsdeensten der Wereld, Totemvereering» naar Bettany I. 13—16, 69—493 et II. 82—167) [6].

2° Auteurs qui se sont occupés de la question du totem au point de vue africain.

Les auteurs qui se sont occupés de la question au point de vue des peuples africains, sont également nombreux. Tout d'abord, un point reste bien acquis chez tous les observateurs, certain et reconnu par tous: le respect de certaines familles, de certaines tribus africaines pour des animaux auxquels ces familles, ou ces tribus, se prétendent unies par des liens de parenté ou d'alliance, tantôt réelle, tantôt mystique. Mais tous ne sont pas d'accord sur l'explication à donner de ce phénomène. «Les uns, dit Mr. Virey [7], dont vient de paraître la savante étude sur la religion de l'ancienne Egypte, ont simplement reconnu du totémisme dans ce phénomène.

[1] Voir cependant à propos de Mr. Bros ce qu'en dit Mgr. Le Roy dans son livre sur la Religion des Primitifs, p. 81.

[2] Freiburg (Schweiz) 1906.

[3] L'Année Sociologique. V. 1900/01. Paris 1902, p. 82—121.

[4] Jewish Quarterly Review, April 1902, p. 413—448.

[5] Katholieke Vlaamsche Hoogschooluitbreiding (Etudes catholiques), no. 60.

[6] 's Graven Haag 1907.

[7] La Religion de l'ancienne Egypte, Etudes sur l'Histoire des Religions, leçons données à l'Institut Catholique de Paris, 1910.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

D'autres, comme Mr. Georges Foucart[1], ont répondu que le totémisme appartient exclusivement aux Indiens de l'Amérique du Nord; qu'aucun des faits observés ailleurs ne peut avec certitude être rapporté au totémisme; que si beaucoup de familles ou de tribus africaines croient à l'existence d'une parenté entre elles et des animaux, cette croyance n'est qu'une dégénérescence, une survivance déjà confuse de la zoolâtrie. C'est donc seulement dans le développement des idées animistes qu'il faudrait chercher l'origine de la zoolâtrie. Cette explication, continue Mr. Virey, paraît être en contradiction avec le témoignage des monuments archaïques que représentent les enseignes des anciens Egyptiens»[2].

En ce qui concerne le totémisme fâñ, elle nous paraît également fausse; nous aurons d'ailleurs à y revenir. Deux ordres de phénomènes paraissent avoir été souvent confondus par les auteurs qui se sont occupés de cette question: le totémisme proprement dit, et le nagualisme[3], qui en est totalement distinct. Quantité de faits qui se rapportent au nagualisme et par conséquent d'une certaine manière au culte de l'animal fétiche sont à rejeter complètement en dehors du totémisme, sans que d'ailleurs, de ces faits, on puisse conclure à la zoolâtrie. Un observateur superficiel, ou qui connaît mal la langue et le peuple, peut conclure à la zoolâtrie, d'un certain nombre de faits qui réellement ressortent beaucoup plus du pouvoir magique, de phénomènes d'hypnotisme ou de suggestion, dont nous aurons à nous préoccuper.

Mr. Georges Foucart n'a sans doute pas tort de vouloir rapporter à l'animisme[4] une bonne part des phénomènes de la

---

[1] La Méthode comparative dans l'Histoire des Religions, p. 74—75, 76—77.

[2] Virey, *op. cit.* p. 27.

[3] Nagualisme, d'un mot indien *nagual*. Comme nous aurons occasion de revenir sur cette doctrine dans le cours de cette Etude, disons rapidement que le nagualisme est l'ensemble des faits et des croyances qui se rapportent au *nagual*. Le *nagual* est l'animal qui, par des rites magiques et l'échange du sang, contracte avec un homme une parenté spirituelle et réelle qui les lie et les fait vivre d'une même vie, de sorte que l'animal obéit aux ordres de l'homme, même seulement pensés, obéit à ses volontés, souffre de ses maladies et meurt de sa mort. Les Fâñ appellent le *nagual*: *elâñéla*.

[4] On a nommé animisme, dit M. Virey la tendance de l'homme à supposer l'existence d'âmes analogues à la sienne, d'esprits analogues au sien, dans les

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

zoolâtrie égyptienne. Mais la zoolâtrie officielle et même la zoolâtrie populaire ont certainement aussi d'autres origines, entre autres le totémisme.

L'Egypte est, de beaucoup, le pays le mieux étudié au point de vue du totémisme, et cela, grâce aux très nombreux monuments, papyrus et hiéroglyphes que le temps a respectés. Nous avons tout d'abord à nous occuper du totémisme égyptien, non pour l'étudier, car cette question est réservée aux auteurs spéciaux, mais en citant ceux qui en ont traité et en renvoyant à leurs ouvrages. La question est, en effet, d'importance capitale pour l'étude de tout le totémisme bantou et des faits totémiques de chaque clan, car, pour notre part tout au moins, nous admettons que le totémisme bantou a une étroite affinité, si même il n'en est pas dérivé, avec le totémisme égyptien.

Rochemonteix [1] est le premier qui ait soupçonné l'existence du totémisme égyptien, sans pouvoir cependant l'étayer de preuves précises. D. Mallet [2], en 1893, avait indiqué conjecturalement la possibilité d'une origine totémique du culte des animaux. Maspéro [3] s'était servi, dans sa grande Histoire, du mot totem pour désigner le serpent qui personnifiait un des nomes de la H^te^ Egypte, le nome du Serpent, au sud-est de Siout. Mais ce sont les découvertes de monuments archaïques postérieurs à l'année 1895 qui ont amené M. Loret [4] à substituer à ces hypothèses un système appuyé sur des témoignages clairs et précis.

---

animaux, les végétaux, et même dans les objets qui nous paraissent absolument inanimés. Ainsi, si l'on voulait admettre pour réels les pensers des poètes, il y aurait une manifestation d'animisme dans ces vers de Lamartine:

Objets inanimés, avez-vous donc une âme
Qui s'attache à notre âme et la force d'aimer
(Milly, v. 15—16). Virey, *op. cit.* p. 27.

[1] Rochemonteix, Le Temple égyptien, Revue internationale de l'Enseignement, Juillet 1887; cité par Virey, p. 28.

[2] D. Mallet, Premiers établissements des Grecs en Egypte. Paris 1892, p. 392.

[3] Maspéro, Histoire I, p. 76; v. aussi Recueil de travaux, vol. II, 1880, p. 115 et ss.

[4] Loret, L'Egypte au temps du Totémisme. Paris (Leroux) 1906.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Aussi, à dater de ce moment, les études sur ce point particulier se sont-elles multipliées. Dans ce nombre considérable, ne citons que les plus importantes pour nous, dans le sujet actuel:

Wiedemann, Quelques remarques sur le culte des animaux en Egypte, où il traite après Strabon, des animaux *θεοί* et des animaux *ἱεροί* [1];

Amelineau, Le rôle des serpents, dans l'antique Egypte [2];

Moret, Du Sacrifice en Egypte [3];

Lefébure, Rites Egyptiens [4];

Kyle, Recueil de travaux, où se trouve discuté le caractère religieux des immolations de victimes humaines [5];

G. Jéquier, Le livre de ce qu'il y a dans l'Hadès [6].

Enfin nombre d'articles dans les Revues d'Egyptologie et Assyriologie, mais qui s'écartent déjà de notre sujet.

Après ces auteurs qui se sont livrés plus particulièrement à l'étude du totémisme égyptien, nous avons à en citer deux autres comme s'étant occupés du totémisme africain. Mgr. Le Roy, qui a traité la question au point de vue général, dans son livre: La Religion des Primitifs, et dont nous exposerons le sentiment en parlant de l'origine du totémisme, puis Mary Kingsley, West African Studies, London 1901, qui l'a étudié par rapport à la Côte Ouest Africaine du Sénégal au Congo.

Signalons ensuite les quelques auteurs qui ont traité du totémisme par rapport à un peuple déterminé. Ce sont:

Arcin, La Guinée française [7], où la question est longuement et bien traitée; ce livre constitue une des plus remarquables Etudes parues depuis longtemps sur les Colonies; nous regrettons seulement

---

[1] A. Wiedemann, Quelques remarques etc. Muséon VI, Louvain.

[2] Amélineau, Revue de l'Histoire des religions, 1905.

[3] Moret, Revue de l'Histoire des religions, 1908.

[4] Lefébure, Mémoires de la Mission archéologique française a Caire. T. III. La vertu du sacrifie funéraire. Sphinx v. VII, p. 185—209 et v. VII, 1—51.

[5] G. Kyle, Recueil de travaux, v. XXVII. Paris.

[6] Cf. Virey, *op. cit.* p. 272.

[7] Arcin, La Guinée française. Paris (Challamel) 1908.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

les théories matérialistes de l'auteur, et son évolutionisme depuis longtemps réfuté;

A. van Gennep, Tabou et totémisme à Madagascar[1], Etude également fort remarquable, et qui montre très bien en vertu de quelle idée les serpents sont vénérés dans la grande île africaine comme ancêtres et comme protecteurs.

En revenant au Congo, nous trouverons le R. P. Colle, qui dans le Bulletin des Pères Blancs[2] a publié une étude très-fouillée sur les sociétés secrètes des Congolais (pays Baluba) et leurs totems.

Sur les Mpongwés du Gabon et en même temps sur les Fâñ, le Dr. Nassau, qui pendant plus de quarante-cinq ans dirigea la mission protestante du Gabon, a donné une Etude très documentée[3], surtout au point de vue du fétichisme, mais où il parle peu des totems.

Nous ne saurions oublier les «Eki des Fâñ», publié dans l'Anthropos (1906), par le P. Martrou, A. L. Bennett[4] —, et enfin quelques autres, moins importants, qui ont seulement effleuré la question, tel Largeau[5] et du Chaillu[6]. Naturellement, de tous ces auteurs importants il y a quelque chose à apprendre, et il faut leur être reconnaissant de maintes observations justes et exactes[7].

En somme, comme on le voit par les quelques mots qui précèdent, entre les auteurs qui affirment l'existence du totémisme africain, et ceux qui la nient, tout au moins comme développement complet, bien que la question ne paraisse pas entièrement résolue, il semble néanmoins qu'elle soit bien près de l'être par l'affirmative. Nous nous efforcerons d'apporter à cette question notre contribution

---

[1] A. van Gennep, Tabou et totémisme à Madagascar. Paris (Leroux) 1906. — V. aussi du même auteur: Totémisme et méthode comparative. dto. 1908.

[2] P. Colle, Bulletin des Pères Blancs d'Anvers, 1907 et 1908.

[3] V. ci-bas p. 41 note.

[4] Ethnographical Notes on the Fâng (Journ. Anthrop. Inst. vol. XXIX, 1899, p. 66—98).

[5] Dictionn. franç.-pahouin, *op. cit.*

[6] Voyages à la côte d'Afrique, *op. cit.*

[7] Nous devons également des remerciments particuliers à Mr. le Dr. de Jonghe, professeur à l'Université de Louvain, dont on connait les beaux travaux sur les «Sociétés secrètes», les «Balumba», et les «Bayombe», et qui ayant fait une étude spéciale du totémisme sur lequel il se propose de publier une savante étude, a bien voulu nous prêter le concours de ses conseils et de sa science reconnue.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

en exposant les faits tels que nous avons pu les étudier sur place, non par interprète, mais par nous-même, faits dont nous avons été témoin, dans la très grande majorité des cas. Et de là, nous établirons notre croyance à l'existence du totémisme africain, nous gardant toutefois de lui attribuer une influence exagérée, en ce qui concerne tout au moins la tribu fâñ, et par là même, croyons-nous, l'ensemble des tribus bantoues.

§ 4. Conditions requises pour qu'il y ait totémisme.

Les différents auteurs qui ont traité la question au point de vue général, tels que Frazer, Lang, Reinach, Robertson, Smith, Durkheim et autres, réclament, pour qu'il y ait vraiment totémisme dans une tribu, les conditions ou caractères suivants:

1° Le clan aura un totem. C'est évidemment la condition primordiale et nécessaire. Dans le chapitre suivant, nous considérerons donc tout d'abord la notion du totem fâñ et comment il faut le comprendre.

2° Le clan ou la tribu prend ordinairement le nom du totem.

3° Le clan admet un rapport de parenté avec son totem quand ce totem est un objet animé, sinon, avec l'objet animé auquel a rapport le totem.

4° Le clan n'admet pas le mariage entre membres d'un même clan ou ayant le même totem. C'est la loi d'exogamie. Quelques-uns en ont fait le fondement de tout le totémisme.

5° Le clan défend à ses membres certaines pratiques par rapport au totem, et en première ligne, de s'en nourrir, sauf dans certains cas bien déterminés.

Nous étudierons successivement ces divers points, et tout d'abord l'existence du totem fâñ.

Mais, disons-le dès maintenant, supposant pour un temps la question résolue, ces cinq conditions se retrouvent chez nos Fâñ. D'où la conclusion facile à tirer:

Le totémisme existe chez les Fâñ, et à suivre les règles marquées par quelques auteurs, ce serait même le totémisme intégral.

Nous nous hâtons toutefois d'ajouter nos conclusions par rapport à ces cinq points:

1° Totem: il existe certainement.

2° Rapport de nom: il existe dans les cas que nous déterminerons et n'existe pas dans les autres cas, en vertu de règles spéciales.

3° Rapport de parenté: il est hors de doute.

4° Loi d'exogamie: elle existe, bien que ne devant pas être regardée chez les Fâñ, à notre avis du moins, comme une conséquence du totémisme, mais comme concomitante.

5° Interdictions: elles existent, d'une façon générale, non pas seulement par rapport à certaines aliments, mais encore à certaines pratiques, coutumes etc. Ce sont les *éki*.

Donc, en somme, le totémisme existe chez les Fâñ, avec toutes les conditions requises pour qu'il y ait vrai totémisme.

CHAPITRE III.

EXTENSION DU TOTÉMISME DANS LA TRIBU FÂŃ ET DANS LES AUTRES TRIBUS BANTOUES.

§ 1. **Le totémisme existe-t-il dans tous les clans de la tribu fâń?** — Réponse affirmative. — Pourquoi cette existence est-elle niée par quelques-uns. — L'extension actuelle du totémisme fâń.

§ 2. **Le totémisme dans les autres tribus bantoues.** — Le totémisme fâń n'est pas un fait isolé dû à la situation particulière du peuple fâń. — Le *Biéri* fâń comparé au *Bwiti* fiote. Similitude et origine communes des deux cultes. — Les autres tribus bantoues.

§ 3. **Le totémisme chez les peuples du Soudan occidental.** — Témoignages d'ARCIN et de BINGER. Le *ntèné*.

Après avoir résolu par l'affirmative, tout en en remettant à plus tard les preuves décisives, l'existence du totémisme dans la tribu fâń, considérée dans son ensemble, se pose, comme nous l'avons dit, une question subsidiaire qui a également sa grande importance, et que nous devons examiner sous trois raisons différentes:

1° Le totémisme existe-t-il dans tous les clans de la tribu fâń, clans fort nombreux comme nous l'avons vu, et qui dépassent le nombre de 400?

2° Le totémisme se retrouve-t-il dans les autres tribus de race bantoue?

3° Le totémisme existe-t-il dans les autres tribus africaines non bantoues?

[p. 40]

§ 1. Le totémisme existe-t-il dans tous les clans de la tribu fâṅ?

Nous avons parcouru de longues annés la nation fâṅ du nord au sud, et de l'est à l'ouest; on retrouve le totémisme avec tous les phénomènes y connexes dans tous les clans fâṅ; il est tellement semblable partout qu'il ne saurait y avoir aucune hésitation sur sa généralité; en même temps, par une conséquence nécessaire, cette diffusion est un indice de sa haute antiquité, puisque certains clans sont en guerre les uns contre les autres ou n'ont aucun rapport entre eux depuis des siècles.

Il faut néanmoins reconnaître que parmi ceux qui ont le plus vécu parmi ces clans et qui en connaissent le mieux la langue — les missionnaires sont dans ce cas — il s'en trouve et s'en trouvera certainement qui nieront l'existence même du totémisme. Cette négation tiendra à plusieurs raisons.

Tout d'abord, certains missionnaires, et ce sont souvent ceux qui connaissent le mieux la langue, sont venus à une époque où nul d'entre eux n'étudiait les problèmes ethnographiques, et où le seul souci était d'amener les indigènes à adopter la foi catholique ou protestante, non pas en s'efforçant de pénétrer l'âme noire, mais en présentant nos croyances avec tout ce que vingt siècles de christianisme y ont apporté de profondeur et d'éclat. Nous ne prétendons nullement ici blâmer tel ou tel, nous constatons simplement un fait, qui tient d'ailleurs au temps beaucoup plus qu'aux hommes.

D'autres, qui ont étudié l'âme noire et se sont efforcés d'en pénétrer les secrets et de connaître le culte rituel, mal préparés parfois par leurs études antérieures et surtout venus trop tôt, en un temps où ces connaissances étaient encore insoupçonnées, les ont devinées, mais n'ont pu les approfondir assez. Ainsi, nous montrerons plus tard la différence profonde entre totem et fétiche, totémisme et fétichisme souvent confondus. Le Dr. Nassau, chef des missions protestantes, évangélise le Congo depuis 1861 et vit au milieu des Mpongwé et des Fâṅ; il a écrit tout un livre sur le fétichisme [1],

[1] Dr. Nassau, Fetichism in West African. London 1901, p. 210.

où tous les faits totémiques, quelqu'ils soient, ne sont considérés que comme actes fétichistes. Il dit simplement du totem, dont il reconnaît cependant l'existence: «...this totem idea does not exist as a worship. Indeed, the animal (or part of an animal) is not sacred to an entire clan, but only to individuals, for whom it is chosen on some special occasion; and its use is only prohibited to that individual only in the sense that it may not be used for common purposes, it is sacred or holy to him.» D'où il nous paraît également évident que le Dr. Nassau a observé seulement le totem individuel, et non le totem familial et le totem tribal, soit que son attention n'ait pas été attirée sur ce point, soit qu'il n'en ait pas eu l'occasion.

D'autres missionnaires nient le totem pour une autre raison. Préoccupés avant tout de faire des chrétiens, ils négligent de parti pris et ignorent toutes manifestations rituelles, fêtes, danses, initiations etc. du culte noir. Pour eux, ce sont folies, sottises ou diableries dont il est parfaitement inutile, oiseux et souvent dangereux de se mêler. Leur siège étant fait, il serait également oiseux d'essayer de les détromper, et de leur montrer que souvent ils réussiraient mieux et plus vite en étudiant davantage, comme l'a si bien démontré Mgr. Le Roy, la Religion des Primitifs qui les entourent. Mais ce serait de notre part outrecuidance de les juger, car, après tout, nous les avons toujours rencontrés ne désirant qu'une chose: faire le plus de bien possible.

Souvent aussi, et à notre avis, c'est le cas du Dr. Nassau, le sentiment varie d'après les tribus au milieu desquelles on vit. Tantôt, on est, de par ses fonctions, en communication plus ou moins intime avec les indigènes, tantôt, et c'est le cas le plus fréquent, on rencontre dans les clans au milieu desquels on est appelé à vivre, des traces plus ou moins grandes de totémisme, et surtout un totémisme plus ou moins apparent. Le cas est surtout frappant pour les populations demeurant près de la côte ou des établissements européens groupés assez nombreux en un point particulier propice au commerce, sorte d'emporium où se presse une population cosmopolite noire et blanche. Là, toute trace de religion a presque disparu, aussi bien chez le Noir que chez le Blanc; il se passe

dans ces centres un phénomène assez analogue à nos vastes agglomérations urbaines où l'on voit des milliers d'individus qui ne connaissent la religion que de nom, ils en conservent seulement une crainte vague qui leur fait éviter le prêtre ou le pasteur, et ne retrouvent le chemin du temple ou de l'église qu'à la naissance ou à la mort.

Et dans ces agglomérations qui s'établissent au pays noir près de l'Européen, les faits deviennent identiques. Par une suite nécessaire du relâchement des mœurs, lorsque la femme apporte à la case un gain facile, et que d'elle vit la parenté avec les parasites groupés autour, les liens du sang se relâchent également, le père de famille perd son autorité antique, et les coutumes ancestrales disparaissent [1].

A cette raison, très importante par elle-même, ajoutons-en au moins deux autres: tout d'abord la compénétration de tribus de races différentes, n'ayant pas le même culte et les mêmes dieux, ou tout au moins les connaissant sous d'autres noms et observant d'autres rites, forcées par conséquent, par crainte de railleries, de sévices ou de violations du secret, de ne plus se montrer au grand jour, mais de se cacher dans la forêt et dans l'ombre de la nuit, pour accomplir les cérémonies cultuelles.

L'arrivée du Blanc est une autre raison: sa crainte, sa présence, son culte.

Sa crainte, d'abord. D'instinct, l'administration blanche est curieuse. C'est à la fois utile et nécessaire. Pour le bon ordre et au nom de la civilisation, elle tient à savoir ce qui se passe dans les assemblées et les sociétés secrètes, rempart le plus fort du totémisme. Elle tient à le savoir, car elle sait aussi d'expérience indubitable que souvent dans ces réunions nocturnes, outre d'affreuses orgies sexuelles où, au mépris de toute règle, la débauche la plus affreuse se donne libre carrière, elle sait que souvent ont lieu des sacrifices humains, et veut — qui l'en blâmerait? — les empêcher. Elle sait, par exemple, que jusqu'aux portes des villes européennes, les Fâń, pour ne citer qu'eux, n'ont pas renoncé aux sacrifices humains rituels. Sans doute, le Fâń

[1] C'est, par exemple, ce que le P. Martrou a fort bien fait remarquer dans ses «*Eki* des Fâń», Anthropos 1906.

n'est pas anthropophage comme son voisin des bords de l'Oubangui, le Bondjo. Le Bondjo mange la viande humaine par goût, et littéralement il pratique «l'élevage» du bétail humain; dans chaque village bondjo, nos missionnaires ne le savent que trop, on trouvera des hommes, des enfants, des jeunes filles destinés ainsi à la vente et à la boucherie, et résignés à leur sort. Rien de pareil chez le Fâń. Jamais, chez lui, on ne mangera de femme ou d'enfant, même d'homme, par goût, par désir de chair humaine, mais, et le fait est fréquent, et j'en ai été témoin, on mangera le prisonnier de guerre dans un sacrifice rituel, après les cérémonies d'usage; le festin sera d'abord la participation à la victime, pour s'assurer ses qualités; on le mangera surtout par vengeance, pour annihiler son corps, et là nous retrouvons une croyance égyptienne, la durée de la personnalité attachée au corps lui-même. Il arrivera aussi que des femmes, parfois des enfants, seront également immolés, ce sera alors par leurs propres parents, jamais par d'autres, et dans des cérémonies rituelles et prévues. Néanmoins, on conçoit parfaitement que l'administration européenne s'oppose à ces actes, malheureusement beaucoup trop fréquents.

La crainte de l'Européen force donc le Noir à se cacher; mais sa simple présence suffit également, car le Noir redoute fort qu'on se moque de lui; en présence de ces cérémonies qui, il faut bien le dire, offrent généralement un côté burlesque, surtout pour des yeux prévenus, le Blanc ne ménagera pas ses railleries; les oripeaux dont se couvre le sorcier lui sembleront ridicules, et il le dira, tandis que chaque pièce d'habillement, pour le Noir, représente une idée, un sacrifice, une épreuve parfois terrible.

Le Christianisme qui va progressant chaque jour et qui cependant gagne moins de terrain que nous ne voudrions, est aussi une cause puissante de désorganisation. Le Noir chrétien se fait volontiers apôtre: en tous cas, devant son abstention et surtout son prosélytisme, le culte ancestral perd vite de sa force. C'est un bien, qui est loin d'amener la désagrégation de la tribu; la famille se reconstitue au contraire vraiment forte, le clan se refait cellule par cellule.

Quoi qu'il en soit, le totémisme a aujourd'hui disparu presque complètement dans les clans fâń arrivés près de la mer, et surtout

aux environs le Libreville. Il a beaucoup diminué dans les clans disséminés sur l'Ogowé, de Ndjolé à l'Océan.

Toutefois, il ne faudrait pas s'exagérer déjà les résultats accomplis. En effet, si le totémisme a disparu en partie des endroits cités, il est encore profondément vivant dans l'intérieur du pays, à l'ombre des forêts immenses, sur les bords du Wole, du Ntèm, de l'Aïna et des hauts affluents du Congo et de l'Ogowé. Pour bien préciser les clans gagnés, prenons une comparaison. Le pays fâñ égale à peu près en superficie les $^3/_4$ de la France. Supposons pour un instant convertis au christianisme ou tout au moins le connaissant, les peuples habitant les bords de la Loire depuis Nantes jusqu'à Blois, et une zône côtière s'étendant à quelques cinquante kilomètres, de Nantes à Bordeaux; dans l'intérieur, une ou deux stations rayonnant à quelques vingt kilomètres autour d'elles: on voit ce qui resterait à faire!

Par rapport au Congo et aux Fâñ, la situation en est là.

La grosse, très grosse majorité des clans fâñ est donc totémiste.

Considérons maintenant les peuplades voisines alliées aux Fâñ. Nous en avons déjà énuméré une partie au commencement de cette étude. Les Bulu ou Bésex qui vivent au milieu des Fâñ, presque absorbés par eux, ont mêmes rites et mêmes croyances. Mêmes rites et mêmes croyances également chez les Dzèm et les Dzandzama à l'Est, les Bakélé et les Batéké au Sud, chez les populations de race mpongwée, chez les Galoa, Inenga, Benga, Banoko, Balengui et Batoko, qui vivent près de l'Atlantique.

§ 2. Le totémisme dans les autres tribus bantoues.

Lorsque les ethnographes ont voulu assigner au peuple fâñ sa place dans les nations africaines, la plupart se sont vus fort embarrassés. En effet, on se trouvait avoir affaire à un peuple migrateur, nullement autochtone, inconnu il y a trente ans dans les pays qu'il occupe actuellement.

Par ses mœurs, ses coutumes, ses habitudes, sa façon de construire et de cultiver, il se rapprochait fort des Asandeh et des Nyamnyam du centre africain, signalés par Schweinfurth. Par sa langue, au contraire, qui constitue au fond la plus forte marque

distinctive d'un peuple, il se rapportait plutôt à toutes les populations de race bantoue, avec lesquelles sa grammaire avait des règles communes; mais d'un autre côté, l'influence d'autres vocables appartenant aux races du nord s'y fait certainement sentir. Nous avons montré jadis, dans un autre ouvrage [1], que l'on pouvait encore actuellement retrouver dans la langue fâñ de nombreuses, racines qui paraissent dérivées de l'ancien égyptien. Il semble donc que deux sources bien différentes constituent cette langue. La pauvreté de sa syntaxe, la richesse de son vocabulaire [2] et l'extrême facilité de composer de nouveaux vocables l'assimilent, à ce point de vue, à l'anglais moderne, en tant que rôle joué par la langue en regard des autres dialectes.

La position du Fâñ l'a fait tantôt ranger parmi les populations bantoues, tantôt complètement à part dans un ilôt isolé, tantôt enfin dans le rameau semi-nilotique. Il ne serait donc nullement étonnant que, placé ainsi à cheval au milieu de plusieurs races, il ait emprunté son culte totémique à l'Egypte ancienne, ou à un autre peuple influencé par les idées égyptiennes, à l'exclusion des autres races bantoues. Ce serait là chez lui un accident isolé, dû à des circonstances exceptionnelles.

Mais tel n'est pas le cas. Bien que jusqu'ici les faits totémiques aient été rarement signalés chez les races d'origine bantoue, on les retrouve néanmoins chez toutes, tantôt à un état rudimentaire, tantôt à un état beaucoup plus développé d'avancement rituel. Et encore, lorsqu'on croit les trouver dans cet état rudimentaire, il faut beaucoup se défier d'un jugement hâtif, qui, dans bien des cas du moins, si non presque toujours, serait dû, non pas aux faits eux mêmes ou à l'existence plus ou moins développée du totémisme, mais beaucoup plutôt à l'observateur lui-même, peu ou mal renseigné, trompé par les indigènes, ou ne connaissant pas suffisamment la langue.

Il faut bien reconnaître aussi que parmi ceux qui ont le plus vécu parmi ces tribus et qui en parlent le mieux la langue, les missionnaires, pour les raisons données plus haut à propos des Fâñ,

[1] Les Fangs, d'où ils viennent et où ils vont. Missions Catholiques 1898.

[2] Le vocabulaire fâñ contient plus de 18000 mots, ensemble énorme pour une langue où les termes de sciences, d'art, de religion manquent presque absolument.

n'ont pas toujours signalé ces faits, les ont rangés sous d'autres dénominations ou bien encore n'en ont pas reconnu l'importance. Comparons, par exemple, le *Biéri* fâñ et le *Bwiti* fiot. On en verra l'identité.

Le fétiche national du Fâñ est le *Biéri*, nom qui désigne d'ailleurs tout un ensemble de rites, de sacrifices, d'objets et une société secrète. C'est en somme, pour le résumer rapidement, le «culte des ancêtres», bien qu'il s'y mêle encore beaucoup d'autres choses. Mais c'est aussi le culte du totem, et à côté des crânes ancestraux, on retrouvera, dans chaque clan et dans chaque famille, soit le crâne, soit un fragment de crâne, soit une griffe ou autre partie du corps de l'animal totémique ou de l'objet matérialisé du totem autre que l'animal, végétal etc. Pour mieux expliquer ce phénomène, examinons rapidement le *Biéri* dans un clan ayant le totem serpent, ou, ce qui est beaucoup plus fréquent, dans la grande société secrète ayant pour totem «général» le serpent; car il ne faut pas oublier qu'à côté de ce totem «général», il y a des totems «particuliers».

Or, cette société du *Biéri*[1] ou du *Biéti* se retrouve, à peu près exactement la même, chez les Ishogo, les Ivili, les Ivéa, les Eshira, les Akélé, les Apindji, les Ashango et les Ndjavi, tribus de la Ngounyé et du Haut-Ogowé[2], nullement apparentées aux Fâñ.

Plus loin, le *Biéri* ou *Biéti* est connu des peuples du rameau Ivili et Fiote sous le nom de *Bwiti*; elle comprend tout un ensemble de faits, de rites, de cultes, dont les uns sont totémiques, les autres non, mais qui cependant se rattachent de façon générale au «culte des ancêtres», si proche du culte de l'ancêtre totémique auquel il se mêle intimement. Pour montrer, en passant, combien parfois il est difficile de reconnaître ces phénomènes totémiques, citons en passant une page curieuse sur le *Bwiti* ou du moins un de ses aspects[3].

[1] Notons qu'en Fâñ, *r* est interchangeable avec *t*: ainsi *m(e)rara*, coffre, à la côte, *m(é)vata* plus haut, *alèr* ou *alèt*, dur, *ngèr* ou *ngèt* sucré etc.

[2] Mr. l'abbé André, aujourd'hui missionnaire sur le Ht Ogowé, a promis pour l'Anthropos une série de monographies de ces tribus assez différentes comme mœurs et langage, dont il parle couramment la langue. Sa qualité de prêtre indigène nous est garante de la valeur de son travail.

[3] Au pays des Ishogos, par Mr. l'abbé André, Messager du St Esprit, Lierre, Janvier 1910.

«1er Septembre. — Hier soir, je n'ai pas pu faire le catéchisme à Pingo. Un homme y était mort trois jours auparavant et il y avait grand Bouiti, en l'honneur du défunt. Heureusement, le village est grand et la danse a eu lieu tout à fait à l'extrémité opposée. De cette sorte le tamtam ne nous a pas trop incommodés, les enfants et moi, et nous avons pu dormir tout à notre aise.

«Les cérémonies des funérailles chez les Ishogos sont très curieuses à voir.

«Dès qu'un Ishogo a rendu le dernier soupir, tandis que les hommes tirent des coups de fusil, les femmes entonnent des chants lugubres, poussent les hauts cris, pleurent à chaudes larmes, se roulent à terre, le corps à demi-nu, les cheveux en désordre, simulant le chagrin le plus profond. Après cette première explosion de douleur, le corps du défunt est transporté par les hommes dans la *mbandja*, où il est rayé de larges bandes rouges et noires et tacheté d'une multitude de petits points blancs. Cette toilette terminée, on construit derrière la *mbandja* une petite cabane de feuilles de bananier, où le mort, assis sur un tabouret, un bras posé sur le genou et l'autre retenu en l'air par une ficelle, est exposé à la vue du public, à travers une ouverture pratiquée dans la cloison.

«Le jour, cette petite fenêtre est cachée par un pagne ou une natte. Mais la nuit, au moment de la danse, le voile est levé et alors chacun peut contempler à son gré l'horrible cadavre tuméfié, dont les exhalaisons méphitiques remplissent la *mbandja*. Car les Ishogos conservent souvent leurs morts, deux, trois et même quatre jours Quand l'odeur devient par trop insupportable, on brûle dans la *mbandja* de grandes brassées de *noundouvèlé* ou thé sauvage, pour en chasser les émanations fétides.

«Si le défunt n'est ni un chef ni un vieillard, le cadavre tenant une feuille de palmier à la main, est exposé dans la cour sur un piédestal faisant face à la *mbandja*, où il reçoit également les honneurs de la soirée. Les danseurs passent et repassent devant le mort, se baissent, se relèvent, font la pirouette, courent de ça de là avec des flambeaux allumés, le tout accompagné de gestes et de contorsions impossibles. Plus on dansera, plus l'entrée du défunt dans le séjour des mânes sera glorieuse et triomphante. De temps à autre, un danseur s'approche du défunt en brandissant sa torche. L'air déplacé par ce geste fait remuer la feuille de palmier que tient le mort. Aussitôt un même cri retentit dans la foule des assistants: «Voyez, voyez comme il est heureux des honneurs qu'on lui rend! voyez comme il exprime son contentement!» Et le tamtam résonne avec plus de force, les chants redoublent d'intensité, la danse est reprise avec plus d'ardeur et d'entrain que jamais . . .

«Dans certaines circonstances, pour donner aux profanes une plus haute idée du Bouiti, on simule une *marche du mort*. Un des initiés soulève le cadavre sur son dos, se couvre de la tête aux pieds de feuilles de palmier tressées, de manière à ne laisser voir que le visage du défunt, en se ménageant à lui-même une ouverture pour voir sans être vu. Et ainsi habillés, porteur et porté se promènent dans la cour du village au milieu des chants, des battements de mains et des *bravos* poussés par les femmes criant au prodige.

«D'autres fois, on fait *parler le mort*. Pendant la danse, un initié va se dissimuler dans la bananeraie ou à l'entrée du village . . . Tout d'un coup, les torches s'éteignent comme par enchantement. La nuit la plus épaisse règne

dans la *mbandja* et au dehors. Personne ne cause, personne ne bouge . . . Pendant ce temps un des danseurs entonne une mélopée aussi étrange que lugubre, moitié chant, moitié prière . . . qu'il termine en criant à haute voix le nom du défunt: Makita! Makita! Makita!!! Oh! oh! oh! répond le compère blotti dans les herbes à une bonne distance de la *mbandja*. — Plus de doute, le mort a parlé! il est satisfait et ne manquera pas de veiller sur le village.»

Cet exemple nous montre un aspect du *Biéri*: mais un second va le faire sous une autre face qui se rapproche beaucoup plus de ce que nous avons dit du *Biéri* fâñ.

Toutes les tribus du Congo français, au moins celles de la partie nommée Gabonie, sont totémistes. Descendons plus au sud: là, habite la grande tribu fiote, dont les divers clans s'étendent fort loin dans l'intérieur, envahissant le Congo portugais au sud, et se ramifiant également au nord sous le nom de *Ba-vili*.

Le *Biéri* fâñ est le même que le *Bwiti* fiot. Un article d'un missionnaire de ce pays, le R. P. Le Scao, un des trop rares missionnaires ayant étudié consciencieusement les fétiches, va nous parler du *Bwiti*, à un point de vue particulier, il est vrai, et dans une Etude destinée plutôt à une Revue religieuse: d'où certains termes et comparaisons [1].

Bouiti.

«Le Grand Fétiche du pays s'appelle Bouiti; il préside à la prospérité dans le village.

«Sa case est la plus belle de toutes. Elle occupe la place d'honneur, au fond du village, au bout de la cour. Les autres cases s'alignent respectueusement de chaque côté de la cour, en ligne droite. Quand on arrive dans un village, l'entrée sombre de la case de Bouiti frappe tout d'abord. Elle n'a en effet aucune fenêtre: une lumière faible y pénètre par le devant, le toit n'est pas à plus d'un mètre d'élevation au-dessus du sol. Au fond, il y a une issue cachée, par où, en cas de danger, on peut se sauver et sauver le fétiche. Au toit, sont suspendues en guise de guirlandes, des branches d'un arbre appelé «Mouamba-Tsangou». Le fétiche est dans une niche plus ou moins ornée, d'ordinaire grossièrement sculptée, au fond de la case. Entre cette niche et l'unique poteau qui soutient la toiture sur le devant, il y a un feu alimenté par trois belles bûches de bois. Ce feu ne doit jamais s'éteindre. C'est comme la lampe du sanctuaire. Un peu de tous les côtés, il y a des peaux de serpents ou des figures de serpents, tracées ou peintes sur des écorces.

[1] Au pays de Sette Cama, Le religion des habitants. Les fétiches: le Bouiti: par le R. P. Le Scao 1908—1909 Messager du St Esprit.

«A côté de la case, un sentier plus large et plus propre que d'ordinaire, mène au Nzimba. Gare au profane qui s'y engage! Si c'est un Blanc, les initiés n'oseront pas le toucher, mais si c'est un Noir, il risque de ne pas revenir. C'est là, au Nzimba, que les sectateurs de Bouiti tiennent leurs réunions secrètes. L'endroit, bien nettoyé, est au milieu de la forêt: de tous côtés courent des lianes en forme de reptiles ornées par ci par là de peaux de serpents. Sur les côtés et surtout à l'entrée, il y a des bâtons durs taillés en pointe, plantés en terre, un peu penchés. Si vous n'y prenez garde, ils vous blesseront, et la blessure sera facilement mortelle à cause du poison dont on les a frottés [1].

«La statue du Bouiti consiste en un bâton grossièrement taillé en figure humaine. A la place des yeux et du nez, on met des éclats de verre. Ce bâton s'enfonce dans un sac d'ordures de toutes sortes recouvert d'herbes. A la place du ventre est encastré un morceau de verre, ou plutôt de miroir. Au-dessous, une peau de chat-tigre.

«A côté, par terre, quelques clochettes, puis une corne de bœuf, pour appeler les initiés. Mais ôtez ces herbes, ouvrez le sac, et vous trouvez ce qui est vraiment le Fétiche, c'est-à-dire une tête de mort remplie de poudres diverses, d'herbes, de poisons [2], et une tête de serpent [3].

«La danse joue un grand rôle dans ce culte étrange, danse sauvage, qui ne ressemble en rien à ce que nous connaissons, et dont les femmes sont exclues. Le Ganga [4] préside, et sous sa direction les hommes se livrent à une sarabande endiablée. La figure barbouillée de rouge, ils chantent au son du tam-tam des paroles mystérieuses sur un rythme lent d'abord, puis accéléré. Un feu est allumé au milieu de la case et on brûle de l'encens. Le Ganga, les reins ceints d'une peau de tigre, lance des regards sinistres au fétiche et autour de lui; il saute comme une hyène, et tous à son exemple, pendant des heures, vont s'adonner avec frénésie à des sauts désordonnés.

---

[1] [On retrouve le même culte, beaucoup plus au Nord, chez les Fâń du Haut Congo. Le poison, dont les morceaux de bois sont imprégnés, est d'ordinaire extrait d'un strophantus, par écrasement des racines et ébullition du produit. Pour le rendre plus fort, on y ajoute de l'acide formique, obtenu en écrasant des fourmis, et des ptomaïnes, extraites de cadavres en putréfaction. Ce poison, lorsqu'il est frais, tue en quelques minutes. On le conserve ordinairement six mois. Ce poison est analogue, comme composition et comme effets, au curare des Indiens de l'Amazonie. Les Noirs en connaissent le contre-poison, mais la maladie ou les plaies causées par piqûre sont, à cause du poison animal, très longues et parfois impossibles à guérir. Le sang se corrompt et les chairs se décomposent progressivement.]

[2] [Chez les Fâń, on trouve de plus une fiole remplie d'un liquide noir et nauséabond. C'est le *nsou* ou sanie de cadavre. On le fait boire ou on l'inocule aux coupables présumés dans certaines circonstances.]

[3] [La tête de mort représente le culte ancestral ou mânique, et la tête de serpent le culte totémique.]

[4] Le *ganga* est le «féticheur». Ce mot *ganga* se retrouve avec des formes identiques dans toutes les populations bantoues. Cf. Mgr. Le Roy, Religion des Primitifs, p. 275—288.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

«La nuit se passera ainsi. Pendant ce temps, le Noir ne se connaît pas Le plus doux prend un air féroce: les vieillards se sentent rajeunis et recouvrent l'agilité de leurs vingt ans.

«Sur l'initiation, voici les détails que j'ai pu recueillir . . . Un homme est-il décidé à entrer dans le Bouiti? Le Ganga fixe une date, puis, pendant trois jours, il fait mâcher au postulant des racines provenant d'un arbuste appelé Diboha [1] et lui fait boire à doses répétées une décoction de ces mêmes racines. Le postulant ne tarde pas à s'assoupir et à tomber dans un état de léthargie et d'absorption complète; il est ivre-mort. On lui passe alors une liane autour du cou. Après trois jours seulement, il revient un peu à lui, à moins qu'il ne revienne jamais. Tel cet enfant de 14 ans, qu'on devait, cette année même, initier à Koja. Il avait bu le Diboha, et perdu connaissance; mais quand on voulut le ramener à lui, ce n'était plus qu'un cadavre! Celui qui a supporté plus vaillamment l'épreuve du Diboha, est alors invité par le Ganga à regarder dans le miroir dont il a été parlé, miroir encastré dans le ventre du fétiche. A ce moment, il doit y voir certaines choses et les détailler au Ganga. S'il dit bien, il est reçu dans le Bouiti [2]; s'il ne dit pas ce qu'il faut, c'est que le fétiche n'a pas voulu se montrer à lui, l'a refusé. Tout est à recommencer. Que doit-il voir? C'est là le secret du Ganga et des initiés. Il est impossible de démêler ce secret parmi les récits incohérents qui sont faits. Les convertis eux-mêmes sont pleins de réticences et quand on les met sur ce sujet, ils sont saisis de terreur. On raconte que l'initié voit dans le fétiche tantôt un boue, tantôt un éléphant, tantôt . . .!!! Qu'y a-t-il de vrai? Je n'ai pu, même des convertis, obtenir aucune révélation. Tous ont peur de parler. S'ils révélaient quelque chose, *c'est la mort certaine pour eux*!

«Les Noirs se plaisent à raconter divers prodiges qu'ils attribuent au Bouiti. Pour vous convaincre, ils vous conduiront à quelque «Dindimba». Le Dindimba est une liane qui relie par le sommet deux grands arbres à cette hauteur où les branches paraissent incapables de soutenir le poids d'un homme. Qui, sinon Bouiti, eût pu attacher cette liane si haut? Quand le Likoundou veut passer par là pour aller manger l'âme de quelqu'un, cette liane l'arrête . . .

«D'autres affirment avoir vu des initiés de Bouiti demeurer suspendus à un mètre de terre, pendant plus de dix minutes.

«On m'a cité des faits plus étranges encore [3] . . .

«Ni mes confrères ni moi n'avons été témoins de tels faits, mais tous comprendront que nous ne sommes jamais admis à ces cérémonies. Faut-il les admettre? Beaucoup le croient.

---

[1] *Strychnos Icaja*, des Strychnées. C'est un poison dangereux à haute dose. A dose faible, ses effets sont analogues à ceux du chanvre indien.

[2] [Les *Bouiti* désigne non seulement le fétiche de ce nom, mais encore l'association de ceux qui en connaissent les mystères. Les noms de fétiches désignent ainsi d'ordinaire le fétiche, l'association et le féticheur.]

[3] [Mgr. Le Roy cite également quelques faits analogues. Cf. Religion des Primitifs, p. 340—351.]

Le Mboïo.

«Le Mboïo [1] est un autre fétiche. Le sanctuaire où il réside consiste en deux petites moitiés de case se regardant l'une l'autre, et dressées au milieu de la cour du village. A l'un des côtés de la case est suspendu le fétiche. C'est une boîte ronde en écorce d'arbre et renfermant un crâne humain, et des matières rouges malpropres. Dans le couvercle de la boîte on a pratiqué un petit trou, par où le Mboïo est censé manger les poules! Dans l'autre case, il y a un paquet de lanières de peaux de bêtes enfilées dans un manche sculpté sous forme de figure humaine. C'est le «Ngendo», que les hommes de Mboïo agitent tour à tour pendant la danse.

«Non loin du village, dans la forêt, il y a aussi un endroit pour les réunions secrètes des partisans du Mboïo. C'est le «Boukoso», qui est au Mboïo ce que le Nzimba est au Bouiti. Le rite paraît être celui-ci. On frotte les yeux du postulant avec la sève d'un arbre appelé mounzanzi. Les yeux se ferment; pour les rouvrir, on emploie du piment mêlé à des bananes pourries. Puis, on va en pompe au Boukoso où l'on transporte le fétiche. On ouvre la boîte et l'initié regarde ce qu'il y a dedans. Là-dessus, on mange une poule, on frotte l'ouverture qui est dans le couvercle avec du sang de cette poule, et on revient au village. Tout le monde voit le sang sur la boîte et s'écrie: «Oui, oui, Mboïo est vraiment grand, car il mange des poules!»

«Et c'est tout. Gare à l'initié qui révèlerait à quelqu'un les choses de Mboïo! . . . Il pourrait lui arriver ce qui est advenu autrefois à une femme du nom de Boumba. Cette femme, moins crédule que les autres, refusa de donner une poule à Mboïo en disant que Mboïo n'était rien. Le soir même, on la chercha en vain. Mboïo l'avait enlevée, dit-on; la vérité c'est que les fidèles de Mboïo l'avaient tuée!

«Depuis ce temps, on ne jure que par «Mouna Boumba». Le Noir qui prête serment le fait en ces termes: «Ce que je dis est vrai, aussi vrai que Boumba a été enlevée par Mboïo».»

Cet exposé du *Bwiti* nous montre bien, une fois que l'on est au courant de la question et des phénomènes qui y rentrent, des faits purement totémiques, tels que figures ou emblèmes totémiques du serpent, auquel, ne l'oublions pas, est «consacrée» la société du *Bwiti* toute entière. En parlant du «fétiche» nous aurons d'ailleurs occasion de revenir sur ces faits.

Si, du pays fiot, nous descendons plus bas encore, presque au sud de l'Afrique, nous y retrouverons également le totémisme.

«In Southern Africa, it [totemism] exists among the Bechuanas (who, however, are not pure Bantu); not in the form of carving and setting up

[1] [Pour le Mboïo, cf. ce qu'en dit DENNETT, At the back of the black man's mind, p. 93. On verra les faits extraordinaires que l'auteur semble également parfaitement admettre.]

poles in their villages, but in the respect which different clans give to certain animals, e. g., one clan being known as «buffalo-men», another as «lion-men», a third as «crocodile-men», and so forth. To each clan its totem animal is sacred, and they will not eat of its flesh. In some parts, this sanctity is regarded as so great that actual prayer and sacrifice are made to it. But in most of the Bantu tribes this totem idea does not exist as a worship. Indeed, the animal (or part of an animal) is not sacred to an entire clan, but only to individuals, for whom it is chosen on some special occasion; and its use is prohibited only to that individual. Only in the sense that it may be not used for common purposes, is it «sacred», or «holy» to him» [1].

Pénétrons maintenant dans la grande forêt, tout à fait dans l'intérieur, au pays des Banda, des Asandeh, etc. ce qui nous rejette vers les hauts plateaux du Soudan et du Darfour. Nous y retrouverons le même totémisme. L'*orote* banda ressemble à l'*orunda* mpongwé, frère de l'*éki* fàñ, des *ilohi* du Sud, des *élègili* des Baḍuma.

Et si nous nous transportons aux rives du Tanganyika chez les Baganda, les mots auront changé, mais non les faits; suivons plutôt l'interrogatoire d'une femme chrétienne martyrisée dans l'Ouganda; il nous est rapporté par Mgr. Streicher, des Pères Blancs, Vicaire apostolique du Nyanza septentrional:

«Quel est ton père? demande le bourreau à l'héroïne.

— Mon père est mort.

— Quels sont tes frères?

— Tu les as tués!

— Quelle est ta famille?

— Je n'en ai pas.

— Alors quel est ton *mouziro*? [c'est-à-dire, nous apprend l'évêque en employant précisément le mot, ton animal totem, dont l'emblême est distinctif de la tribu].

— Je n'en sais rien!

— Il est impossible que tu ignores cela!

— Je suis une esclave.»

Le juge n'insiste plus, les esclaves n'ont pas de *mouziro*.

Dans une tribu voisine, chez les Wafipa, nous retrouverons mêmes croyances. «Each family, écrit le R. P. Duchêne [2], is

[1] Nassau, Fetichism in West Africa, p. 210.

[2] Domestic Life of Tanganyika, Catholic Missions, May 1910.

designated by the name of a certain animal or plant. This is the family *mwiko,* and the representation of the objet designates the family or tribe. No member of the tribe is permitted to eat of the plant or of the flesh of the animal that constitutes his ancestral *mwiko.* To him, this animal or plant is sacred» [1].

Beaucoup de tribus de race bantoue admettent donc l'existence et le culte du totem. Un ouvrage récent, et des plus étudiés, du R. P. Colle, sur les sociétés secrètes du Hᵗ Congo [2], et auquel nous renvoyons nos lecteurs, en donne des preuves surabondantes. Il est facile, entre autres constatations, d'y voir que toute société secrète, sans exception, y a son animal totem dont elle porte généralement le nom.

Nous avons donc ainsi constaté l'existence du totémisme non seulement dans la tribu fàñ, mais encore dans les populations de race bantoue.

§ 3. Le totémisme chez les peuples du Soudan occidental.

Nous voudrions montrer encore l'existence du totémisme, non pas chez tous les peuples africains, ce qui nous entraînerait hors des cadres de notre étude, mais chez les peuples du rameau guinéen; les Fàñ ont conservé avec eux certaines affinités, soit qu'ils les aient côtoyés dans leurs anciennes migrations, soit qu'à une époque fort reculée, ils soient sortis ensemble des plateaux de la Hᵗᵉ Egypte, et se soient séparés vers les rives du Tchad; les uns sont descendus franchement au sud, les autres ont continué vers l'ouest [3]. Donc

---

[1] D'après une note de Mgr. Le Roy, il y aurait confusion à propos de ces mots: «mouziro, mwiko» qui désignent, non pas le totem lui-même, mais la chose défendue, l'*ôlí* fàñ. — A la côte orientale, on emploie *Ndugu'* pour désigner le totem, c'est-à-dire l'ami, le frère, parent; de même chez les Mpongwé de la côte occidentale, est resté le mot *Ndépo* dans le même sens et *Angom* chez les Fàñ.

[2] Les Sociétés Secrètes de l'Urua, Bulletin des Pères Blancs d'Anvers, 1908.

[3] Voir ce que dit Avelot à ce sujet, Recherches sur les migrations en Gabonie. Paris 1905.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

le totémisme et le totem ne se sont pas restreints à la race bantoue: on les retrouve dans l'Afrique entière.

Ainsi, en Guinée, dans la race soso, la famille, dit ARCIN [1], a conservé en le modifiant le culte totémique . . . Le totem, ancêtre mythologique du clan, lui sert d'emblème et lui donne son nom. C'est un animal ou un objet. Le totémisme a perdu avec la désagrégation du clan, une partie de sa signification [2]. L'être animé ou inanimé adoré de cette société primitive a cessé parfois d'être considéré comme l'ancêtre. On s'est contenté de l'associer à la légende fabuleuse du premier patriarche de la phratrie qui a succédé au clan. Néanmoins, l'expression «c'est mon père», en parlant de certains animaux, s'emploie encore couramment.

Le mot employé par les Sosos pour désigner le totem est *nténé*. Au dire d'ARCIN, ce mot indique une idée de parenté éloignée et signifierait «sœur ainée du père», c'est-à-dire du patriarche primitif. Nous retrouvons le même mot avec quelques variantes ou ses équivalents dans les langues africaines de cette région. Ainsi

---

[1] Mr. ARCIN, auquel nous empruntons une longue citation, a consacré à la Guinée française un livre de haute valeur et qui mérite d'être connu et étudié. Mr. ARCIN connait à fond son sujet, et après lui, il y a bien peu de choses à dire. Pourquoi faut-il que, par un travers commun à trop d'écrivains, il se mêle de parler de la religion catholique et de ses dogmes d'une façon qui montre une ignorance profonde. Cueillons au hasard ces perles.

«Les Pères de l'Eglise ont tous admis la corporalité de l'âme, p. 396.

L'adoration des bœufs a légué à la religion chrétienne ses chérubins, p. 401.

St Dominique donne leur pouvoir aux charmeurs de serpents, p. 406.

Le mot «Dieu» dans les langues sémitiques suppose au début le principe mâle et femelle.

Les chrétiens, bien que monothéistes, ont cependant leur mystère de la Ste Trinité et leur croyance à la Vierge.» (Ils admettent donc quatre dieux!)

Nous ne savons si Mr. ARCIN est ou a été catholique: si oui, un enfant de douze ans lui en remontrerait sur le simple petit catéchisme. C'est regrettable, répétons-le, pour un ouvrage qui a de la valeur.

[2] «La Guinée française» par ARCIN, Paris (Challamel) a été publiée en 1906, à une époque où notre travail était déjà terminé; nous n'en avons eu connaissance que tout récemment et sommes d'autant plus heureux de nous rencontrer en nombre de points avec l'auteur sur le fait du totémisme, que son Etude corrobore nombre de nos observations et de nos affirmations. La religion de la Côte de Guinée avait fait déjà l'objet d'études approfondies, de la part du P. BAUDIN (Missions Catholiques) entre autres; or, le totémisme y était complètement passé sous silence.

tenné en malinké, *tana* en bamana, *namo* en baga, *woda* en fula, *kosé* en soninké etc. — Sous l'influence de l'islamisme, ces dogmes ou croyances commencent à disparaître [1].

Retenons de cet exposé deux conséquences assez curieuses. La première, c'est que pour les peuples guinéens, le totem ou *ntèné* est non pas l'ancêtre ou le parent fait de même substance que le père du clan, mais simplement l'animal éponyme de l'ancêtre du clan, l'un homme, l'autre animal, unis entre eux par un lien à la fois mystique et physique lorsqu'il y a eu, par exemple, échange de sang, mais non descendance directe, comme l'ont dit LORET et plusieurs auteurs. ARCIN et BINGER, qui ont eu l'avantage de parler d'après enquête faite sur place, partagent donc notre avis.

---

[1] Cf. Colonel BINGER, Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée T. II: «Ils conviennent à Kong que ceux qui ont imaginé les Tenné, étaient des gens bien simples, voir même des malins, disent-ils, car on ne trouve jamais comme tenné, le bœuf, le mouton, ou autre animal comestible, à moins qu'il ne soit d'une rareté telle qu'il soit introuvable [nous verrons plus tard que cette assertion est erronée], comme un bœuf absolument noir, n'ayant pas un poil blanc! Quelle douce privation, en effet, de se passer de la fantaisie de manger ou de toucher

Un merle métallique.

Un vautour Urubus.

Un petit sénégalais (oiseau).

Un boa.

Un trigonocéphale.

Un lion.

Une sorte de légume sauvage qui ne rentre jamais dans l'alimentation courante.

Du lait de fauve!

Une sorte de mouche.

Les Dioulas l'ont si bien compris qu'ils ont laissé tomber les tenné dans l'oubli.» —

Cette liste a du moins l'avantage de nous montrer les *ntèné* en usage au Golfe de Guinée (*ntèné* qui ressemblent fort aux *ntèn* fáń). Nous ne regretterons qu'une chose: l'oubli que les Dioulas font de leurs *ntèné* pour passer à l'islamisme. Progrès, dit plus loin le Colonel BINGER, qui considère l'islamisme comme un progrès nécessaire — et il n'est malheureusement pas le seul — progrès même supérieur au catholicisme, l'un relevant le niveau moral du Noir parce que à sa portée, l'autre pouvant le relever, mais de fait ne le faisant pas, parce que hors de sa portée. On nous permettra, à nous qui nous nous sommes voués au relèvement moral et social du Noir et considérons que seul, le Christianisme peut y arriver, de ne pas être du même avis.

Le mot *ntèné* nous paraît également digne d'attention. Sans en apporter d'ailleurs de preuves, Ancin croit pouvoir lui donner la signification de «sœur aînée de l'ancêtre». Soit, mais n'est-ce pas un sens dérivé? Nous aurons l'occasion de le redire en parlant du totem emblème, marque ethnique; les Fâñ désignent ce totem par un mot presque équivalent à *ntèné*, c'est le mot *ntèn*, qui désignera tout à la fois et le totem emblème qui est un signe ethnique et mieux d'après son sens propre, toute espèce d'écrit, de marque dessinée ou peinte. La «marque incisée», taillée, gravée, le tatouage par exemple, aura un tout autre mot pour la désigner.

Donc, en somme, si *ntèné* désigne «la sœur aînée de l'ancêtre», le *ntèn* fâñ, lui aussi, désigne: «la marque, le symbole représentatif, l'emblème ethnique, la figuration de l'ancêtre éponyme», et ces deux sens nous paraissent bien rapprochés.

Quelle en est la racine? Peut-être pourrait-on la chercher au pays d'où le totémisme fâñ aussi bien que le totémisme guinéen peuvent avoir trouvé leur source, et en égyptien, nous trouvons précisément: *tèn* couper, diviser, séparer, marquer. Le Fâñ[1] a conservé le même mot *tèn* avec une signification équivalente, marquer, séparer par des traits, diviser, d'où actuellement nous avons fait *tèn*, écrire, *ntèn* écrit, car pour le Fâñ, l'écriture, qu'il ignore ou plutôt qu'il a oubliée (ce n'est pas le moment de le démontrer), est un dessin et tout *ntèn*, toute écriture, est bien pour lui un simple dessin. Coïncidence fortuite, diront quelques-uns peut-être. Signalons donc dans le même ordre d'idées:

En égyptien	En fâñ
sèn, couper,	. . . . .
d'où *sèbe* circoncire	*sèle*, circoncire, *nsèla*[2] circoncis,
sèfe couteau	*fa, mfe, mfor*, sabre, couteau (avec un préfixe *m*).

[1] Non seulement les Fâñ, mais les Bantous, d'une façon générale, ont conservé la racine *téna* couper, inciser etc.

[2] Ailleurs *dèle*, et son dérivé *nèla*. Tous les dérivés fâñ qui expriment une action de couper, de partager, tels que *ekiż* couper, *eka* partager, *eko* faire une portion, *aka* morceau, *ekiñ*, raser, *ebiż* inciser, se retrouvent également en égyptien sous la même forme.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Et beaucoup de coïncidences pareilles pourraient être de nature à rapprocher le fàñ de l'égyptien, à une époque fort éloignée: elles indiqueraient aussi, avec toutes les réserves voulues, que le totémisme fàñ n'est point un fait isolé à la tribu, mais qu'il s'étend à toutes les tribus bantoues, les dépasse pour se retrouver avec les mêmes caractères chez les peuples guinéens, et se rattache par des mots identiques et des coutumes pareilles, à l'antique totémisme de la Terre de Ur, par conséquent aux âges primitifs du monde[1].

[1] Au Loango (et la même constatation est vraie du pays fàñ) sur les bâtons, les habits des demeures ainsi que sur des colliers ou des ceintures rituels, il y a des tribus qui figurent des signes où l'on peut reconnaître une véritable écriture hiéroglyphique. Cf. R. E. Dennett, *op. cit.* p. 71.

CHAPITRE IV.

LE TOTEM FÂŃ.

§ 1. **Définition et formes diverses, totem réel et totem symbole.**

§ 2. **Le totem réel. Le totem en lui-même, être réel et tutélaire.**
a) Le nom générique. — Ce que c'est l'*étotore*. — Comment on devient *étotore*.
b) Les différents noms du totem d'après les différentes formes de totémisme: tableau des formations totémiques.

§ 3. **Le totem matérialisé sous une forme tangible et effective.**

§ 4. **Résumé de ce chapitre.** — Tableau des différents totems. — Réfutation de quelques idées erronées. — Nos propositions.

---

§ 1. Définition et formes diverses.

Nous avons affirmé l'existence du totémisme chez les Fâń. Nous allons maintenant donner l'exposé des faits qui nous permettront de la justifier.

La question de l'existence même du totem fâń se pose tout d'abord: s'il existe, s'il a un nom: quel est ce nom, quelle est sa signification? Or, nous nous trouvons en face d'une première difficulté: la notion de totem embrasse tout un ensemble de phénomènes. En effet, nous avons vu précédemment, au Chapitre IIIe de cette Etude, les diverses définitions du totem.

Parmi celles que nous avons données, retenons, avec les réserves déjà faites, la définition de Loret [1] en la complétant par celle de Déchelette [2]; elle nous permettra d'étudier successivement les diverses parties du totémisme intégral chez nos Fâń.

---

[1] L'Egypte au temps du Totémisme. Paris 1906, p. 17.

[2] Manuel d'Archéologie préhistorique. Paris 1896, au mot «totémisme».

[p. 59]

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Le totem est donc, dit Mr. LORET, avant tout:

1° un attribut ethnique, l'enseigne d'un clan,

2° le nom matérialisé du clan,

et de là, par un pas que tous les groupements totémiques ont franchi,

3° l'ancêtre ou le parent (fait de la même substance qu'eux-mêmes).

Nous mettons entre parenthèse cette dernière partie qui nous paraît fausse pour les clans bantous.

Le totem, ajoute DÉCHELETTE, c'est l'être ancestral et tutélaire dont il faut se réserver les faveurs. Cet animal devient par la suite l'objet d'un culte constant, et parmi les superstitions antiques des peuples civilisés, un grand nombre, plus ou moins déformées au cours des âges, ont leur racine profonde dans ce culte totémique.

Le totem embrasse donc un ensemble de phénomènes distincts les uns des autres et que ces différents auteurs ne séparent peut-être pas assez. Afin de mettre plus de clarté dans un sujet fort difficile, nous essaierons d'étudier, en deux parties distinctes:

I° Le totem réel,
II° Le totem symbole.

Le totem réel comprendra
- 1° Le totem en lui-même, être réel et tutélaire,
- 2° Le totem concrétisé, matérialisé sous une forme tangible.

Le totem symbole comprendra
- 1° Le totem, attribut ethnique, enseigne du clan, ou matérialisé sous une forme figurative,
- 2° Le totem, nom matérialisé du clan.

Après avoir étudié le totem réel et avant d'étudier le totem symbole, nous devrons, dans un chapitre à part, nous préoccuper du nom du totem réel, d'où ressortiront d'importantes conclusions, puis du culte, du ministre, des lois etc.

Ces divers chapitres nous paraissent absolument nécessaires et répondent à autant d'idées distinctes qui doivent être étudiées successivement sous peine d'inextricables confusions. Prenons en effet le § 1, le totem en lui-même, être réel et tutélaire. Quel est cet être tutélaire? Cet «animal» devient par la suite, nous dit DÉCHELETTE, l'objet d'un culte constant. Tout d'abord, notons que souvent il ne s'agit pas d'un animal; comme le note l'abbé BROS [1],

[1] Religion des peuples non civilisés, p. 219.

tout être vivant ou inanimé a pu être regardé comme totem par les sauvages. De plus, cet être tutélaire est, non pas un être unique, mais une collectivité: ainsi, par exemple, pour le clan Amvom, le totem est **le** boa. pris d'une façon collective, et non pas **un** boa, divinité quelconque, représentée sous cette forme ou par cet attribut, et ayant eu une existence antérieure; pour ce clan, le boa est un animal sacré, non pas parce qu'il est consacré à la divinité comme on l'a dit parfois, mais parce que dans ses veines coule le même sang que celui de l'animal allié au père de la race. On voit immédiatement comme toutes ces notions se mêlent et s'embrouillent, combien il devient difficile de s'y reconnaître.

D'où les divisions précédentes.

§ 2. Le totem réel. Le totem en lui-même, être réel et tutélaire.

a) Le nom générique.

Le totem en lui-même est tout d'abord un être réel et tutélaire.

De là, deux choses à examiner: c'est un être, réel, ayant son objectivité propre et ne vivant pas seulement, aux yeux du sauvage, d'une vie symbolique ou figurée, simple fruit de son imagination, et purement imaginatif. C'est un être réel.

De plus, il est tutélaire: il faut se concilier ses faveurs; donc cette condition nécessite tout un culte totémique, afin d'obtenir ses bienfaits et d'écarter ou d'éviter sa haine et sa désapprobation. Et du culte, nécessairement, ressortira le sacrifice, seule façon pour le Noir, de «prier», de conjurer, d'obtenir et d'apaiser.

La première question qui se pose est celle-ci: les Fâñ admettent-ils de fait un totem, être réel et tutélaire?

Or, ils l'admettent si bien qu'ils lui donnent un nom et lui rendent un culte, avec ses lois, ses droits, ses rites et ses ministres.

En tant qu'être réel et tutélaire, et surtout parce que tutélaire, le totem peut se désigner, et dans la conversation courante se désigne souvent de fait sous un vocable général; ce vocable s'applique

non seulement à lui, mais encore à tout ce qui répond à l'idée générale de protection.

Ce vocable est *étotore,* c'est-à-dire le Protecteur, le gardien fort, le défenseur ferme. Nous devons noter toutefois que ce nom particularise parfois le nom matérialisé du clan.

Il est assez difficile de donner étymologiquement la signification de ce mot, surtout par rapport à la finale *ore* que nous retrouvons dans un certain nombre de noms de divinités, telle *Omore* [1], la personnalité *ore.* D'après le réduplicatif *etoto,* du verbe *eto,* se tenir là, ferme, il semblerait signifier la personne qui se tient ferme, le protecteur. Toutefois, nous n'insisterons pas davantage.

L'étymologie du mot *Omore* demeure jusqu'ici inconnue. Tout ce que l'on peut affirmer, c'est qu'*Omore* est une des plus anciennes divinités ou fétiches des Fâń. Bien que rechercher des étymologies plus ou moins douteuses, soit souvent une cause de profondes erreurs, peut-être n'est-il pas sans intérêt de rapprocher ce mot *Omore* de la déesse chaldéenne *Um-uruk* [2], en grec *Omoroca,* déesse de la Mort et du Chaos. De même que l'*Omore* des Fâń, *Um-uruk* est représentée dans les sculptures chaldéennes avec divers animaux devant elle, chèvre, lion, aigle etc. Il est au moins curieux de retrouver pareille similitude, peut-être complètement fortuite, dans le nom et les attributs des deux divinités.

Mais l'on ne saurait se contenter de ce mot générique. Il s'applique, en effet, non pas seulement au totem, mais encore, en embrassant l'universalité de son nom, à toute espèce de protecteur, quelque soit le degré d'influence de ce dernier. Il nous est ainsi arrivé nous-même, par exemple, de jouer ce rôle d'*étotore.*

Sur une rivière du bassin de la Mondah, la rivière Libi, nous arrivâmes, un jour, au temps où un village venait de se tout nouvellement

---

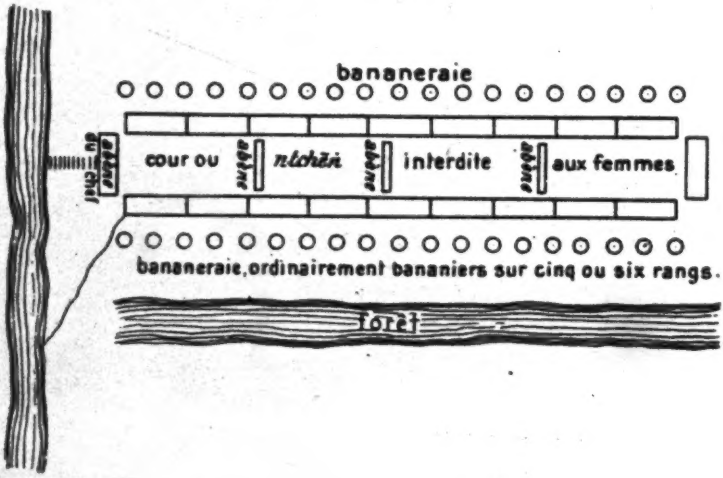
[1] *Omore* est un esprit féminin considéré comme étant la femme du *Ngil.* Dans les réceptions d'initiés dans la société secrète qui porte ce même nom de *Ngil,* les récipiendaires doivent accomplir devant la statue d'*Omore* un certain nombre d'actes se rapportant à la génération sur lesquels nous n'avons pas à insister ici. La statue d'*Omore* représente une femme nue ayant à ses pieds un serpent: elle est, dans le temple du *Ngil,* à la droite de son mari. Les initiés du *Ngil* sont considérés comme ses enfants.

[2] Fr. Lenormant, Essai de Commentaire de Bérose, p. 88.

construire. Les chefs des différentes *abèñe*[1] s'étaient réunis dans l'*abèñe* du chef principal et délibéraient sur une affaire toujours très-importante pour un chef Noir: le nom que devait recevoir le nouveau village. Bien que l'avis du chef principal doive toujours être définitivement prépondérant, les convenances le forcent à écouter avec attention les noms qui sont proposés, et les raisons que chacun apporte en vue de son opinion. La discussion fut vive et animée, chacun parlant à tour de rôle et proposant son appellation. Mais, à la fin, le chef se leva et après avoir résumé, suivant l'usage, les noms qui lui avaient été successivement proposés, il se tourna vers nous et nous invita à nommer le village.

«Ce sera, dit-il à ses hommes, le meilleur moyen de nous entendre et en même temps d'assurer à nos cases un puissant

[1] Nom que porte la maison commune où les guerriers se réunissent pour manger, causer et dormir pendant la journée. Un grand village comprend ordinairement plusieurs *abèñe*, dont chacune est le centre d'une petite agglomération qui pourrait répondre à ce que nous désignons par quartier. Chaque groupe de familles dont les chefs sont frères ou cousins germains, a son *abèñe*, et dans l'*abèñe*, chaque guerrier a droit à l'*éto* ou siège. Les *abèñe* de groupe sont placées à l'intérieur du village, et perpendiculairement à la ligne des cases: souvent, elles coupent complètement le village, ne laissant entre les deux rangées de maisons qu'un étroit passage, et constituant autant de quartiers distincts: l'*abèñe* du chef principal occupe l'extrémité la plus importante à défendre. La constitution normale du village fàñ est celle-ci:



étotore, car chacun sait que les esprits «blancs» l'importent de beaucoup sur les esprits «noirs» et qu'en particulier celui des *minissé* (missionnaires) est très-bon. J'ai dit.» Tous applaudirent du reste à cet avis, et le nom que nous proposâmes, après quelques instants de réflexion, fut adopté par l'assemblée. Rarement nous vîmes pareille unanimité. Le village porte toujours le même nom, et le chef n'a pas manqué chaque année de venir à la Mission apporter un petit cadeau, sûr d'ailleurs d'en recevoir un plus fort. Il recourt également à son *étotore* dans toutes ses difficultés d'ordre matériel et spirituel.

Mais toutefois, il ne faudrait nullement conclure de là, et de la similitude du nom, que nous sommes devenus le totem du village: nous verrons tout à l'heure que cette conception est toute autre. Etre le protecteur, même spirituel du chef, pas plus que devenir son frère de sang[1], ne font qu'on en devient le totem, comme quelques-uns l'ont pensé, à tort, semble-t-il.

b) Les différents noms du totem d'après les différentes formes de totémisme.

Si le totémisme était un fait unique et général, un seul nom aurait pu le désigner. Mais tous les auteurs, et avec raison, ont reconnu plusieurs formes de totémisme, d'où nécessairement autant de noms distincts.

Nous venons d'écarter, comme trop général, ce premier nom d'*étotore.*

---

[1] En disant «devenir son frère de sang», nous entendons le devenir de façon sérieuse et légale. Cette cérémonie n'a rien de commun avec celle qu'ont décrite maints voyageurs et sur laquelle nous aurons à revenir au cours de cette étude. Il arrive fréquemment que certains voyageurs ou commerçants contractent une alliance de sang avec les chefs des pays qu'ils traversent, et retracent ensuite la cérémonie de façon plus ou moins burlesque dans leurs récits. Ils peuvent de plus ajouter que si, à leurs yeux, la cérémonie a été burlesque et le chef noir naïf, la réciproque est exactement vraie. Le chef noir, beaucoup plus malin que ne le suppose le Blanc, consent facilement à cet échange de sang et au besoin le provoque, car pour lui c'est le moyen d'avoir un cadeau. Quant à se croire lié, c'est toute autre chose! Il est très rare que les missionnaires, qui pourtant savent mieux que personne à quoi s'en tenir, fassent ainsi l'échange de sang, mais quand ils le font, c'est sérieux!

Frazer, et à sa suite l'abbé Bros, qui le résume[1], admet seulement trois divisions de totem: le totem de clan, le totem de sexe, le totem individuel.

Pour les Fâñ et les Bantous, il est impossible d'admettre cette division sous une telle forme. Sans doute, on peut reconnaître en premier lieu le totem de clan, du moins quant à son essence. Toutefois, il semble bien préférable d'admettre le totem de «collectivité organisée». Nous disons «organisée» parce qu'une simple collectivité, un groupement quelconque ne saurait avoir son totem unique. Ainsi, par exemple, à Libreville, au Congo, des Fâñ de toutes tribus sont venus s'établir, surtout comme ouvriers, et un bon nombre y ont fondé une famille, conservant en partie leurs anciennes traditions et leurs rites: dans les villages ainsi formés, on trouve des familles appartenant à de nombreuses tribus différentes, parfois même ennemies. Sous l'égide du gouvernement, et surtout le bâton attentif du «policeman» noir, qui connaît ses hommes et les tient à l'œil, ces familles vivent dans une paix relative et constituent vraiment un seul village, mais nullement un groupement organisé, au sens ordinaire du mot. C'est pourquoi, au lieu du nom de totem de clan, nous préférons celui de totem de collectivité organisée, qui a l'avantage de renfermer à la fois la famille, le groupe familial ou clan, la tribu, la nation.

De plus, dans ce même totem de collectivité organisée se rangent tout naturellement les totems de sociétés religieuses, et les totems de sociétés secrètes, qui sont complètement différents du totem de clan.

Pour la plupart des Bantous, pour les Fâñ en particulier, le totem de sexe ne saurait non plus être admis.

En effet, de façon générale, la femme est toujours considérée comme être inférieur, dépendant; jeune fille: elle est en puissance du père; jeune femme: en puissance du mari; veuve: en puissance du fils aîné ou de l'héritier du mari. Mais l'idée de totem impliquant la liberté individuelle, il ne saurait y en avoir pour elle, pas plus que pour l'esclave. Le totem de sexe ne saurait donc être admis.

Nous avons dit «de façon générale». En effet, les femmes ont formé un peu partout des sociétés secrètes d'où les hommes

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 220.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

sont absolument exclus, sociétés par lesquelles elles s'efforcent de conserver leurs droits et surtout d'en acquérir de nouveaux. Dans ces sociétés, elles ont copié les sociétés secrètes masculines, et admis, comme celles-ci, des totems individuels, et des totems de société.

Donc, pour résumer clairement ce premier paragraphe de l'entité réelle d'un totem tutélaire, nous pouvons établir les propositions et le tableau suivant:

I° Le totem, en tant qu'être réel et tutélaire, et parce que tutélaire, prend le nom d'*étotore,* c'est-à-dire d'être protecteur.

II° Ce nom générique étant insuffisant, chaque totem spécifique prend un nom particulier.

III° Frazer et un certain nombre d'auteurs admettent seulement trois formes de totémisme, ou trois classes de totems. Cette classification étant inadmissible pour la tribu fàñ, et croyons-nous, pour beaucoup de tribus bantoues, nous proposons le tableau suivant qui permet d'embrasser toutes les classes, et tous les cas:

Totem générique: *Etotore.*

I° Totem individuel,
admet dans certaines tribus
1° Totem masculin,
2° Totem féminin.

II° Totem de collectivité sociale organisée.
1° Totem national,
2° Totem tribal,
3° Totem de clan, } qui se confondent souvent en pratique.
4° Totem de phratrie, }
5° Totem familial.

III° Totem de collectivité religieuse organisée.
1° Totem d'association ou de confrérie, n'admet pas de totem féminin.
2° Totem de société secrète, admet
1° les totems pour hommes,
2° les totems pour femmes.

Le totem de collectivité religieuse admet pour chaque individu:
1° Le totem individuel,
2° Le totem de grade,
3° Le totem de société.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Comme on le voit par le tableau précédent, nous distinguons entre le totem d'association religieuse ou confrérie, et le totem de société secrète. C'est qu'en effet la première est «légale», consacrée et publique, en ce sens au moins que tout en procédant par sélection d'adeptes, elle agit cependant au grand jour et sous la direction du féticheur; la société secrète, au contraire, est sous la direction du sorcier, ressort, non du culte religieux, mais du culte magique, et lutte dans l'ombre contre la véritable organisation de la tribu. C'est un Etat dans l'Etat.

De plus, la collectivité religieuse, dont la formation est calquée en quelque sorte sur le totem social, admet pour chacun de ses membres un totem individuel, pour chacun de ses grades un totem de grade, pour l'ensemble de la société un totem général de société.

§ 3. Le totem matérialisé sous une forme tangible et effective.

Suivant la personnalité, ou, en d'autres cas, la collectivité à laquelle on a affaire, le nom donné à ce qui représente pour nous l'idée de totem, est différent. Et ainsi le nom change suivant que nous nous trouvons en présence de la nation, prise dans son ensemble, ou mieux de la race, de la tribu, du village, du clan, de la famille ou de l'individu, ou encore en présence d'autres collectivités, telles que les sociétés secrètes et les confréries. De plus, il est encore nécessaire de distinguer entre totem réel et totem matérialisé. D'où il est facile, soit dit en passant, de voir combien les erreurs sont faciles ou même inévitables pour tous ceux qui étudient ces questions sans parfaitement connaître la langue de la tribu, et *a fortiori* pour ceux qui écrivent d'après les rapports des voyageurs, même bien intentionnés.

Nous avons donc tout d'abord à nous préoccuper du nom du totem, en distinguant soigneusement entre les différents totems qui se présentent, totem de tribu, totem de clan, totem de famille, totem individuel, totem de société secrète, tous différents

a) quant à l'individu ou à la collectivité à laquelle ils s'appliquent.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

b) quant à leur rôle, leurs attributions, leurs ministres et leur culte, bien que l'ensemble constitue le totem proprement dit, objet ou être tutélaire.

Donc, et cette observation est des plus importantes à retenir, tout totem quelqu'il soit, totem de race ou de tribu, de clan ou de famille, d'individu ou de société est: ***étotore,*** c'est-à-dire protecteur.

Et ce mot *étotore* est non seulement un terme générique, mais encore ce que l'on pourrait appeler un qualificatif, car on peut dire également de tout *biân* ou fétiche qu'il est *étotore,* en ce sens qu'il est protecteur. Mais comme cette protection est en général concrétisée, le terme *étotore* s'appliquera de préférence à l'objet «matérialisé» du totem, tout en n'excluant pas de façon absolue les autres sortes de totems.

Une deuxième observation est également aussi importante que nécessaire. Tout totem, quelqu'il soit, est à la fois être tutélaire avec son existence propre; et de plus il est matérialisé dans un objet; cet objet non seulement le représente aux yeux du possesseur, mais encore doit avoir appartenu en quelque sorte à l'être tutélaire lui-même, être une fraction réelle de cet être. Cette matérialisation ne doit pas être confondue avec le totem symbole ou attribut ethnique, qui est tout différent. Tout totem se présentera donc sous ces trois formes nettement séparées; si on ne les distingue pas soigneusement, naîtront les inévitables confusions que l'on remarque souvent.

Le totem est tout d'abord, disons-nous, un être tutélaire. En examinant plus loin la nature de cet être, on comprendra l'erreur de certains auteurs, admettant des objets ou êtres inanimés comme totem. Nous croyons que le totem réel et tutélaire est toujours un être animé; dans les cas, assez rares, où le totem semble au premier abord un être inanimé, par ex. un phénomène naturel, le tonnerre, l'éclair, c'est en réalité une «matérialisation» d'esprit. Cet esprit est alors le véritable totem de la tribu. Mais dans la plupart des cas, lorsqu'on parle d'objets matériels comme totem, ces objets sont, en réalité, non pas le totem réel de la tribu ou de la famille, mais la matérialisation de ce totem.

Tout totem se présente donc sous trois formes distinctes. Un exemple fera mieux sentir l'importance et la nécessité de cette distinction. Prenons une tribu dont le totem est la panthère: les Ebinze sont dans ce cas. Par un artifice de langage dont nous aurons à expliquer la signification exacte, les Ebinze admettent donc la panthère comme ancêtre, non pas réel, mais allié: ce sera le totem tribal, ou *mvamayôṅ*.

A proprement parler, le *mvamayôṅ* est la panthère ancêtre, contemporaine du père de la tribu ou *esayôṅ*, et ayant contracté avec ce dernier une alliance à la fois effective et mystique par un échange de sang créant un lien naturel et religieux. Tous les descendants de cette panthère ancestrale — mais, notons-le bien, les seuls descendants, et non pas toutes les panthères, quelqu'elles soient — sont, par le fait même de leur descendance, considérés comme protecteurs de la tribu qui porte leur nom. En fait, le culte du *mvamayôṅ* s'adressera donc bien à une collectivité, mais en réalité, ce culte ne s'adressera à cette collectivité qu'en vertu de la descendance du *mvamayôṅ* primitif, du même sang qui a coulé dans ses veines et qui coule encore dans ses descendants. Ce sang a été uni par l'échange avec l'ancêtre de la tribu, et l'échange se renouvelle encore de temps en temps pour fortifier l'alliance.

Nous reviendrons plus tard sur cette distinction nécessaire entre descendants de l'ancêtre éponyme et non-descendants: dire par exemple que les Ebinze, fils de la panthère, reconnaissent toute panthère comme ancêtre ou allié, n'est donc pas juste. Ils ne reconnaissent que certaines panthères: mais lesquelles? nous verrons également plus loin à qui il revient de les distinguer. Cette confusion a souvent été faite.

Le totem se présente donc sous ce premier aspect d'être réel et tutélaire: c'est le *mvamayôṅ*.

Mais ce *mvamayôṅ*, afin de pouvoir être l'objet d'un culte, se matérialise sous deux formes très différentes et distinctes l'une de l'autre: il se matérialise effectivement et symboliquement.

Tout d'abord, il se matérialise effectivement: c'est-à-dire que pour faciliter le culte, il sera représenté par un fragment quelconque

ayant appartenu — un os par exemple, si c'est un animal — au *mvamayôń* lui-même, et comme ce *mvamayôń* peut être, et est souvent de fait, fort éloigné dans la suite des âges, de temps à autre, dans des fêtes solennelles, et par des rites particuliers, on renouvelle l'alliance avec un descendant «authentique» du *mvamayôń* primitif, et toujours en supposant que ce soit un animal (le cas est d'ailleurs le même pour tout autre être), un fragment de ce *mvamayôń* renouvelé constituera la nouvelle matérialisation de l'ancêtre.

Cette matérialisation effective, cette réduction pour ainsi dire de l'ancêtre, prend, lorsqu'il s'agit de la tribu, le nom d'*akaméyôń,* nom qui comprend d'ailleurs non seulement l'objet matériel du *mvamayôń,* mais encore tout un ensemble d'objets étroitement reliés à celui-ci, ou destinés à accomplir les rites connexes.

Lorsqu'il s'agit d'un totem autre que le totem tribal, ce totem, être réel, conserve ce même nom de *mvame* (nous en verrons la signification), et on ajoute, en général (sauf pour les sociétés secrètes et les confréries) au nom *mvame* le nom de la fraction on de la collectivité auquel il s'adresse: ainsi nous aurons le *mvame* de famille, de clan, de village etc.

Ce totem, autre que le totem tribal, se matérialise de la même façon, mais au lieu de prendre le nom d'*akaméyôń,* réservé au seul totem tribal, il reçoit le nom générique de *biâń*; ce terme, dans son acception la plus générale, signifie «remède» et s'applique à la plupart des «fétiches» ou plutôt des fétiches également matérialisés ou concrétisés. Toutes ces «matérialisations» ou ce que l'on pourrait appeler «figurations réelles» sont bien en effet des «remèdes»: le Noir leur attribue une puissance telle et les invoque en vue d'un effet à produire, par conséquent, d'une façon large, d'un remède.

Enfin, le totem, être réel, se matérialise symboliquement, soit par un signe particulier et conventionnel, marque ethnique représentant plus ou moins le totem réel, soit par un tatouage, soit par un simple symbole, soit enfin par le nom de la tribu. Ce sera d'ailleurs l'objet d'un autre chapitre.

§ 4. Résumé de ce chapitre.

Une observation très importante ne doit pas être perdue de vue: c'est que, dans la grande majorité des cas, et à moins d'avoir besoin d'une désignation précise et expressse, le Fâń désignera toujours son totem par le nom matérialisé *(akamayôń* ou *mvame)*.

De plus, il faut ajouter que ce totem matérialisé renferme, outre le fragment de totem réel qui en forme toujours la partie principale, un certain nombre d'autres objets, fétiches ou autres, destinés à en augmenter la force et la puissance. Tout Noir, comme on l'a constaté bien des fois, se fie avant tout au nombre. Plus il aura de «gris-gris», plus sa confiance augmentera! Au secours du totem ancestral ou familial, le Fâń appellera donc d'autres esprits, leur fera les sacrifices nécessaires, et dans un sachet d'étoffe, conservera soigneusement le souvenir et la trace de ce sacrifice: ce sachet d'étoffe ira ensuite voisiner le totem matérialisé qui, à ses yeux, ne saurait en recevoir qu'un accroissement de puissance.

D'après tout ce que nous venons de dire, il est facile de voir combien se rangeront désormais sous un ordre parfaitement logique, et d'ailleurs nécessaire, les diverses fonctions du totem. Et ainsi se trouveront justifiées les propositions que nous donnions plus haut, d'après les définitions de Loret et de Déchelette.

Le totem est bien:

1° un attribut ethnique,

2° le nom matérialisé du clan,

3° l'ancêtre ou le parent,

4° l'être tutélaire dont il faut se réserver les faveurs.

Mais au lieu de constituer quatre propositions distinctes et indépendantes entre elles, nous venons de voir comment elles naissent, au contraire, les unes des autres et sont liées par une étroite connexité.

Le tableau qui suit fera à la fois mieux ressortir et mieux comprendre les distinctions qui viennent d'être établies.

TOTEM: nom générique: *étotore;* nom spécifique suivant chaque totem.

Totem être tutélaire réel.	Totem être tutélaire matérialisé.	Totem symbolisé.
Totem national *mvamayôṅ* (n'existe plus qu'à l'état de vestiges).	En fait, la nation n'existant pas comme corps constitué, mais chaque tribu ayant sa vie propre et indépendante, le totem national n'a aucune matérialisation.	*ndèm ayôṅ.*
Totem tribal *mvamayôṅ.*	*akameyôṅ.*	*edzû.*
Totem de clan *mvamayum* ou *mvamayôṅ* suivant l'importance du clan.	*akameyôṅ.*	
Totem de village *mvamedzal* (ordinairement le même que le totem de tribu).		
Totem de groupe ou phratrie *mvamayum.*	*biân ngit* ou *emanandum.*	
Totem de famille *mvamendzâṅ* ou souvent *mu-mvame.*	*biâṅ ayâṅ.*	
Totem individuel *mvamésa* ou plus souvent *étotore.*	*biâṅ bôme* ou *biâṅ meluÿe.*	
Totem d'association *mvame* (de confrérie religieuse).	*biâṅ.*	
Totem de société secrète *mvamakwa.*	*shole* (littér.: celui qui est caché).	

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

De ce qui précède, ressort également pourquoi il nous semble difficile d'adopter le sentiment de certains auteurs qui rangent tous les objets totems sous un même titre, sans aucune distinction. Par exemple, dans sa «Religion des peuples non civilisés» Mr. Bros écrit [1]:

«Les objets totems sont fort divers: toutefois les plus fréquents sont des animaux ou des plantes. Ainsi, chez les Iroquois, c'est la tortue, l'ours, le loup . . . etc. En certaines contrées, les divers membres d'un animal eux-mêmes sont totems. Ainsi, l'oreille au Bengale, les yeux de poisson à Samoa etc.»

Il nous semble bien y avoir plutôt là, soit une défense totémique: chez les Fâñ, le cœur de l'animal tué est le morceau réservé au chasseur avec la jambe droite, tandisque la gauche appartient au chef, et la cervelle, les poumons et parties molles aux vieillards etc.), ou bien encore la partie totémique représentant le tout.

«Outre les animaux et les plantes, d'autres objets peuvent être considérés comme totems. En divers endroits d'Australie, le tonnerre, la pluie, une étoile, le vent chaud, le soleil, le miel, l'averse, l'éclair sont des totems. En Amérique, la glace, le tonnerre, la terre, l'eau, le vent, le soleil, la neige, la mer, le sable et la pluie ont le même privilège. En Afrique, on trouve le soleil et la pluie comme totems, dans l'Inde, une constellation et l'écume de la rivière, à Samoa, l'arc-en-ciel et l'étoile filante.»

Ces totems se retrouvent également, sinon tous, du moins une bonne partie, en pays fâñ, mais alors on ne peut en aucune manière, et nous le verrons plus loin, les ranger sous le même titre que les autres totems. En effet, le clan du tigre, par exemple, se considérera bien comme relié par une double parenté, mystique et réelle, au tigre animal, mais jamais il ne viendra à l'esprit d'un Noir du clan de la pluie de se considérer comme lié par une parenté quelconque, mystique ou réelle, à la pluie qui tombe. Ces totems ne sont en réalité que la «matérialisation» du totem réel que l'on ne saurait atteindre autrement, des «matériali-

[1] Religion des peuples non civilisés. Chap. VIII: Totémisme, p. 218—219.

sations» d'un esprit supérieur qui est alors le véritable protecteur et allié du clan, tel par exemple l'esprit des eaux, de la pluie, du tonnerre etc.

«Il existe même des totems couleurs; le rouge est totem chez les Omahas... On trouve des totems plus singuliers encore, le filet par exemple, en Bengali, la tente chez les Kaws etc....»

Là encore, nous estimons qu'il y a confusion entre le totem lui-même et les «couleurs» ou les «objets» qui lui sont consacrés, mais qui ne sont en aucune façon le totem lui-même. Ainsi, à la côte de Guinée, chaque dieu a sa couleur qui est exclusivement réservée, à lui et à ses prêtres, sans qu'on puisse voir là un totem. De même, au Congo, le «bleu» est la couleur réservée au vêtement de deuil, le «blanc» aux funérailles, ce sont des couleurs «réservées», mais non des totems[1].

«De l'énumération de tous ces objets, il ressort que tout être vivant ou inanimé a pu être regardé comme totem par les Sauvages.»

Pour nous, au contraire, nous croyons que pour les Fâñ, et aussi pour tous les Bantous, cette conclusion, prise d'une façon aussi générale, ne saurait être admise, et en regard, nous formulerions volontiers les propositions suivantes, qui d'ailleurs résumeront tout ce chapitre:

I° Le totem est toujours un être vivant et tutélaire.

II° Cet être tutélaire se matérialise en un objet afin de pouvoir manifester sa protection.

III° Cet être tutélaire est ordinairement un animal, plus rarement une plante, plus rarement encore un minéral, auquel d'ailleurs est attribué une vie particulière.

IV° Lorsque le totem est un esprit, il se matérialise ou se concrétise soit dans un phénomène naturel, p. e. le tonnerre, soit dans une manifestation quelconque qui le symbolisera.

V° Le phénomène naturel, par ex. le tonnerre, la foudre, l'arc-en-ciel, se matérialiseront à leur tour, soit par un objet ayant un rapport immédiat avec eux-mêmes, par ex. le mica pour le

[1] Cf. Mgr. Le Roy, *op. cit.* p. 303.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

tonnerre, certaines «pierres du ciel» pour la foudre et l'éclair, soit par un objet déterminé par le féticheur, vg. certaines pierres tachées de façon déterminée.

Comme on le voit, la confusion entre les différents totems, et l'attribution de cette qualité à toute espèce d'objet, animé ou inanimé, a été surtout déterminée faute de distinguer

1° entre totem réel, et sa matérialisation,

2° entre la matérialisation de l'être vivant et celle de l'esprit qui est pour ainsi dire double.

Nous espérons avoir contribué à mettre un peu de clarté dans cet aperçu général.

CHAPITRE V.

LE NOM DU TOTEM FÂŃ.

§ 1. **Difficulté de trouver le nom qui désigne le totem:** a) à cause de l'ignorance de la langue, b) de l'ignorance de l'interprète, c) de la mauvaise volonté du Fâń lui-même ou de son ignorance.

§ 2. **Spécification du totem.**

a) Le nom générique. Tableaux divers de spécification.

b) Le nom propre. Divers cas où on l'emploie 1° dans la vie courante, 2° dans les chants et légendes, 3° dans les appels, 4° dans les cérémonies rituelles. Exemples à l'appui.

---

§ 1. Difficulté de trouver le nom du totem

a) Par ignorance de la langue.

Nous avons vu, d'après le tableau des différents totems, au chapitre précédent, que le nom fâń du totem change suivant que l'on a en vue tel ou tel totem, général ou individuel, de clan ou de société.

En donnant le nom de chacun dans le tableau de la page 72, nous avons, par le fait même, admis la question comme résolue. Mais afin de prouver notre postulat, et aussi de vérifier la vérité de nos assertions, interrogeons maintenant l'indigène lui-même, et faisons notre enquête au milieu des villages fâń. Adressons-nous à un indigène, de préférence à un chef de tribu, car, d'une façon générale, ce sont les chefs qui possèdent le mieux les traditions de la race aussi bien que les traditions de leur famille, et de plus, ils seront, moins que leurs hommes, soumis à une sorte de crainte révérentielle, et redouteront moins la colère des féticheurs.

[p. 76]

Si nous suivons, comme nous en avons été le témoin authentique non seulement pour les interrogations de cette nature, mais pour bien des enquêtes faites auprès des indigènes, si nous suivons, dis-je, la méthode dont on use parfois en pareil cas:

«Quel est, pourrions-nous d'abord demander au chef fâñ, le nom sous lequel tu désignes ton totem?»

A la question ainsi posée, brutalement pour ainsi dire, ou, si l'on préfère, sous sa plus simple expression, il est évident que le Fâñ ne répondrait que par la négative, car il ne comprendrait en aucune façon ce que l'on veut lui demander. Pour obtenir de lui une réponse à une telle question, il faut non seulement lui en traduire le sens, mais procéder par de longues explications, par des synonymes, par des allégories, en employant les mots, les images et les idées à la portée de son fruste interlocuteur.

Ainsi font les missionnaires, qui veulent réellement faire quelque chose de sérieux; pour ma part, j'ai souvent admiré avec quelle patience, avec quelle ténacité, avec quel soin ingénieux de ne blesser en rien leurs auditeurs, des hommes tels que le regretté P. Lejeune, un de ceux qui ont le mieux connu les Fâñ, ou encore le Dr. Nassau, causaient des heures entières dans les *abêñe* noires pour arriver à démêler la vérité et par là même à produire des livres tels que ceux qu'ils ont écrit.

b) Ignorance de l'interprète.

Mais lorsque ces interrogations sont faites par d'autres Européens, bien que quelques-uns, trop rares, aient déjà une teinte légère de la langue [1], elles le sont au moyen d'interprètes, généralement fort ignorants.

L'interprète, recevant à traduire le mot «totem», ne comprend pas ce que veut dire cette expression; il ne cherchera donc pas à l'expliquer, mais très simplement, il transposera, le mot d'une

[1] Signalons à ce propos, et ce n'est guère à l'honneur de la France, que les cours de langues coloniales africaines y sont des plus rares.

A l'Ecole Coloniale, on professe, il est vrai, le malgache, et une mairie de Paris a ouvert un cours de malinké: c'est tout. Aucune langue de notre immense possession congolaise n'est professée, tandisque, chez les peuples voisins, on trouve, soit à Bruxelles, soit à Berlin, des cours de langues congolaises.

langue dans l'autre sans le changer. Et l'interrogateur inscrira gravement la réponse du Noir, évidemment négative. Conclusion: ils n'ont pas de totem. Que l'on ne s'étonne pas de nous voir revenir sur ce point: par deux fois, j'ai vu des hommes, cependant sérieux, user de cette méthode, et écrire ensuite une relation soi-disant véridique!

Par un procédé analogue, on obtiendrait certes de curieuses réponses d'un Européen. Au Fáñ ainsi interrogé:

Nza a ne «totem» wûia?	Quel est totem tien?
Mè wux!	Je ne comprends pas.
W'à yèm dia totem, wé wuxe?	Tu ne connais pas totem, tu ne comprends pas?
Mà yèm mur ète! Zi a ne?	Je ne connais pas cet homme-là! Quel est-il?
A ne mur a bajele we.	C'est l'homme qui te garde.
Mé ne hamur, wé séra né mur a bajele ma.	Je suis un homme fait, je n'ai pas d'homme qui me garde (i. e. je ne suis pas en tutelle comme un enfant).

Conclusion: ce brave Fáñ n'a pas de totem! puisqu'il n'a aucun homme qui le garde!

Mais avec la même vérité et la même sûreté d'information, un prêtre pourrait demander à un petit chrétien, en l'interrogeant par exemple sur son ange gardien ou son saint protecteur.

«Dis-moi, mon petit ami, as-tu un *mvame*? — Je ne comprends pas. — Un *mvame,* c'est-à-dire quelqu'un qui te garde. — Oh! dans ce cas, monsieur, j'ai mon père, ou mon tuteur, ou une famille.»

La conclusions serait exactement la même. Ni ange gardien, ni saint protecteur.

c) Ignorance ou mauvaise volonté du Fáñ lui-même.

Interrogeons donc notre Fáñ en y adjoignant les explications absolument nécessaires pour qu'il comprenne.

«Quel nom porte le totem?» ou plutôt sous quelle périphrase pouvons-nous lui donner une idée approximative et générale du sujet sur lequel nous voulons des explications? Quelque claires que soient ces explications, la question est des plus épineuses et difficiles à résoudre, et cela pour trois raisons principales. En première ligne, et d'une façon générale, le Fáñ, de même que la plupart des

Noirs, n'aime pas à généraliser les choses individuelles, à moins qu'elles ne puissent se présenter, et elles se présentent parfois de fait, en masses confuses et pour ainsi dire indéterminées, telles que plantes, oiseaux, poissons, insectes etc. Il aura alors pour les désigner un nom collectif; pour les autres cas, presque toujours, chaque chose aura son nom qui la distinguera nettement, et exclura, pour le Fân, la nécessité et souvent même l'idée d'une dénomination générale. Ce fait, ou, si l'on préfère, cette tournure d'esprit, trouvera surtout son application dans les phénomènes ressortant du domaine de la religion, du culte ou de l'intellectualité pure. Ainsi, pour préciser, les «idoles» en général, au sens du moins que nous attachons à ce mot, n'auront point pour les désigner un mot collectif, mais chaque idole aura son nom particulier. Le Fân passera difficilement de l'idée particulière à l'idée collective. Ainsi, encore, dans sa conception de la création mondiale, *Nzame,* l'Etre créateur est unique et a seul agi. Donc *Nzame* est un, et n'étant pas multiple, le vocable qui le désigne ne saurait avoir de pluriel. Aussi, le Noir interrogé sur la formation du pluriel de ce nom, ne sait que répondre, et si on lui demande: «Faut-il dire *Bénzame,* ou *Ménzame,* quel est le préfixe à employer pour désigner «les» dieux?» il répond invariablement: «Mais il n'y a pas plusieurs Dieu!»

C'est qu'en effet, outre la difficulté de généraliser l'idée simple, le Noir éprouve encore une difficulté plus grande à la simple abstraction; cette forme si familière à notre esprit: «En supposant que», reste pour son esprit presque absolument fermée. Nous l'avons constaté maintes et maintes fois dans nos écoles. Comment supposer une chose qui n'existe pas! Le Noir est avant tout l'homme du fait, précis, actuel surtout, et non pas l'homme des abstractions, des possibilités. Si donc nous interrogeons le Noir sur le nom générique du totem, il sera tout d'abord difficile de s'entendre.

Puis, vient une deuxième raison: la grande diversité des appellations. Ce nom générique dont nous avons déjà parlé, *étotore,* le protecteur, s'applique à lui, mais aussi, en de nombreux cas, également à des idées assez différentes, ou du moins à d'autres sujets; nous trouvons à côté de ce premier vocable, d'autres noms

qui en certaines circonstances peuvent également lui convenir. Suivant «l'usage» auquel le Noir le destine en ce moment là, il pourra même lui donner un nom avec lequel il a été de fait souvent confondu: le mot *biâñ*, qui s'applique indifféremment à toute espèce de remède, de prescription médicale, de fétiche protecteur. Tout acte, toute prescription, toute chose même qui surpasse l'intellect du Fâñ, dont il ne peut saisir le sens, est pour lui *biâñ*. Par exemple, l'acte religieux accompli par l'Européen, le livre de prières du missionnaire, sa croix, les médailles qu'il distribue, en somme tout acte, ou tout objet auquel le Fâñ rattache une idée religieuse. Pour lui, elle tend toujours et ne peut tendre qu'à une seule chose, éloigner une influence bonne ou mauvaise, dégager et appliquer une vertu, bonne pour l'un, néfaste pour l'autre. Et dans ce sens, son totem qui a précisément ce but, est bien *biâñ* pour lui; nous avons vu précédemment qu'il désignait ainsi l'objet «matérialisé» du totem. Mais ce mot, bien qu'il s'applique au totem, ne le détermine que par rapport aux effets produits; ce n'est pas son nom, pas plus qu'en français le mot «remède» n'est le mot propre de chaque substance curative.

Si nous avons insisté sur ce point, c'est qu'en réalité on se contente trop souvent de ces vagues appellations qui s'appliquent à des choses fort diverses et parfois opposées, d'où d'étranges confusions d'idées. Ainsi, pour en citer encore un exemple, outre son nom général, chaque totem a de plus son nom propre; ce nom varie lui-même suivant qu'on l'emploie dans les chants et légendes des aïeux, ou bien dans les cérémonies cultuelles, au cours des invocations. De là, il est nécessaire de connaître profondément la langue, et non seulement la langue actuelle, mais encore la langue archaïque[1], presque toujours employée dans les chants; on y trouve nombre de mots et d'expressions

[1] Bien que, d'une façon générale, la langue des Fâñ se soit conservée avec une pureté remarquable, on retrouve cependant, dans les chants, les légendes, et surtout les proverbes, les restes de la langue archaïque, qui, à une époque fort éloignée de la nôtre, a été parlée par la race entière. En effet, un certain nombre de ces proverbes sont communs, avec les mêmes mots et les mêmes expressions dans les différents dialectes qui composent aujourd'hui la langue. Les mots de la langue archaïque tendraient, croyons-nous, à la rapprocher du baléké plus que de toute autre langue.

aujourd'hui tombés en désuétude; de plus, il faut savoir la langue hiératique[1], où un certain nombre de mots sont détournés de leur sens obvie afin d'échapper à la compréhension des non-initiés. Lorsqu'on ne réunit pas ces trois conditions, connaissance approfondie de la langue, connaissance de la langue archaïque, connaissance de la langue hiératique, il est facile d'ignorer nombre de faits cultuels, et par là quelquefois d'arriver à nier même leur existence, par un malentendu regrettable.

Enfin, la question reste complexe pour une troisième raison. Le Fâñ n'aime pas à parler de sa religion, de ses rites, de son culte. Si vous êtes «initié», vos questions sont oiseuses. Si vous ne l'êtes pas, à quoi bon? — Il se défiera; ce sera son premier mouvement, et presque toujours le seul. Comme Blanc, vous appartenez, tout au moins d'une façon générale pour tous ceux qui ont été en rapport déjà avec l'Européen, à une race qu'il supporte mal. Au reste, il n'a pas eu à s'en louer à bien des égards, et en particulier pour tout ce qui concerne sa religion et ses rites. Là où l'Européen n'a pas encore pénétré, sa réputation l'a cependant précédé, et le Noir admet parfaitement qu'il appartient, même au simple point de vue des idées, à un monde supérieur. Dès lors, pourquoi vouloir faire des questions que vous «devez» parfaitement connaître? La première pensée qui viendra à l'esprit du Fâñ sera qu'on veut lui tendre un piège; aussi, se contentera-t-il souvent de répondre dans les mêmes termes à la question que vous lui aurez posée, s'efforçant de le faire dans le sens qu'il espère

[1] La langue hiératique ne constitue pas une langue à proprement parler, en ce sens que, sauf certains mots, tous les vocables qu'elle emploie se retrouvent dans le langage ordinaire. Mais ces mots sont employés dans un sens tout autre que celui du langage courant; souvent encore, ils deviennent inintelligibles par suite de l'adjonction d'une simple lettre ou d'une particule. C'est un procédé enfantin que nos langues modernes ont parfois renouvelé, tel, par exemple, le »javanais» qui fit un moment fureur à Paris. Dans des langues comme le fâñ ou le nsez, où les monosyllabes jouent un grand rôle, on conçoit combien un tel procédé les rend vite inintelligibles; presque toujours, on ne se contentera pas d'une seule particule, mais on en prendre deux ou trois, par exemple *bo* pour les personnes, *ma* pour les choses, etc. Ainsi «le chef veut savoir qui a frappé ces hôtes du village» littéralement «*Khuma a yi yèm nza a nga yit byèdzal*» deviendra «*Khuma bo a yi bo yèmma nza bo a nga bo yit ma byèdzal bo*», dont le sens est tout différent.

pouvoir vous être agréable et répondre à votre idée. S'il ne le peut pas, il sourit et demeure coi, imitant

«De Conrart le silence prudent.»

Il se taira, ou s'il parle, ce sera bien pis, ce sera pour essayer de vous donner le change!

§ 2. Spécification du totem.

a) Le nom générique.

Dans le tableau des totems, au chapitre précédent, nous avons vu que l'on pouvait tout d'abord considérer le totem sous un point de vue extrêmement général, sans tenir compte des totems particuliers, ni des effets à obtenir: dans ce sens, il prenait le nom d'*étotore,* c'est-à-dire le protecteur. Ce mot s'appliquait à toute espèce de protecteur, de gardien, mais plus particulièrement à l'être tutélaire en lui-même.

Dans ce sens général donc, *étotore* signifiera:

1° toute espèce d'être tutélaire, de gardien;

2° le totem, soit national, soit plus particulièrement encore, individuel, parce qu'il est, par excellence, le gardien, le protecteur.

Si, au lieu de regarder l'essence, on a en vue les effets, les propriétés, ce ne sera plus le totem, être tutélaire, mais le totem matérialisé, concrétisé; il prendra alors un nom générique, *biâń,* qui, suivant chaque cas et chaque totem de collectivité, se spécifiera pour recevoir une appellation distincte; nous l'avons vu au tableau du chapitre précédent.

Nous aurons donc, au point de vue des noms, cette première distinction:

Etotore, nom généralisé

I.	II.
Considéré comme	Considéré comme
être tutélaire	effets de l'être tutélaire
mvame.	*biâń.*

D'une façon générale, l'*étotore,* considéré comme être tutélaire, prend le nom de *mvame*; nous en verrons tout à l'heure la signification. Considéré, au contraire, au point de vue des effets,

il prend le nom de *biâñ*, c'est-à-dire de remède, d'une façon très-générale.

Suivant la collectivité à laquelle il appartient, chaque *mvame* adjoint à son nom le nom de cette collectivité, sauf dans les trois cas suivants: la famille, l'individu, la société secrète; nous les indiquerons dans le tableau ci-dessous.

Au point de vue: effets, l'être tutélaire prend le nom de *biâñ*. Mais ce *biâñ* se compose de tout un ensemble qu'il importe d'expliquer.

Tout d'abord, suivant chaque *mvame*, individuel ou de collectivité, le *biâñ* change de nom. Mais quels que soient le nom qu'il porte et la collectivité à laquelle il appartient, le *biâñ* totémique se compose toujours de deux éléments distincts:

1° le totem, être tutélaire, matérialisé sous une forme sensible et tangible,

2° un ensemble d'objets qui se rapportent à ce totem matérialisé. Cet ensemble est destiné à le «renforcer», à augmenter l'effet produit.

D'une façon large, les rites qui se rapportent au culte, les paroles consacrées à ce totem, prendront également le même nom.

Chaque *mvame*, suivant la collectivité à laquelle il appartient, ajoute à son nom celui de cette collectivité. En effet, nous avons vu plus haut que la nation fañ ne se contente pas d'un seul et unique totem, recevant, tantôt les hommages de la nation entière à titre collectif et général, tantôt ceux de chaque individu, en son seul et unique nom, comme culte privé.

Loin d'en être ainsi, chaque fraction constitutive de la tribu aura son totem particulier: de là, outre le totem national, les trois grands totems: tribal, de clan, et familial.

Mais, à côté de ces trois totems, nous en trouvons trois autres encore: le totem individuel, le totem de société secrète et le totem de confrérie, qui en ressortent également.

En effet, le totem individuel ressort du totem familial[1], l'individu n'existant comme tel à ce point de vue qu'en fonction de la

[1] Cette assertion est contraire à la théorie de SPENCER; nous la retrouverons plus loin en parlant de l'antiquité du totem fañ.

famille, cellule qu'il est appelé à fonder lui-même plus tard. D'un autre côté, la confrérie, et sa contre-partie la société secrète, ne sont qu'un organisme, avoué ou non, du clan ou de la tribu; il reconstitue la famille sur une base à la fois plus large et plus étroitement unie, en accueillant les néophytes sans acception d'unité de sang, et en les resserrant sous une autorité plus grande.

L'individu est en fonction de la famille, mais en tant seulement que chef futur d'une nouvelle unité sociale; seul, le mâle aura donc son totem dans les circonstances que nous spécifierons plus loin. C'est en vertu de ce principe qu'il nous paraît difficile d'admettre la théorie de VAN GENNEP repoussant le totem individuel: «Je réserve le nom de totem à l'allié animal, végétal, etc. d'un groupe de parents (clan, phratrie etc.) et préfère voir conserver aux alliés et protecteurs animaux, etc. d'individus, leur nom local, *nyarong, nagual* etc.» [1] Le totem individuel tout différent est du *nagual* ou du *nyarong*.

Signalons rapidement les principales différences.

1° Tout individu mâle a son totem; au contraire ceux qui ont un *nagual* sont rares.

2° Une femme peut avoir et a parfois de fait un *nagual;* elle n'a jamais de totem (sauf dans le cas particulier de société secrète, mais c'est là un cas extra-légal).

3° Le totem peut être toute sorte d'être animal, végétal, ou minéral; le *nagual* est toujours un animal: il ne saurait en être autrement. De là également les noms particuliers des totems, suivant chaque fraction sociale, en conservant toutefois toujours le nom générique. *Mvame*[2] est le nom générique, c'est-à-dire l'ancêtre. Le nom de la tribu étant *ayôñ,* l'ancêtre de la tribu sera tout naturellement *mvam 'ayôñ,* et c'est en effet le nom du totem tribal.

Le clan c'est pour nos Fâñ une partie de la tribu, ou mieux la tribu elle-même, détachant en avant une fraction; il conserve donc le même nom d'*ayôñ.* Mais, dans l'origine, ainsi que nous l'expli-

---

[1] Cf. VAN GENNEP, Tabou et totémisme à Madagascar, p. 303, 1908; FRAZER, Social Origins. London 1903, p. 133.

[2] *Mvame,* dans son sens propre, signifie l'aïeul, l'ancêtre: mais comme, en pays fâû, et un peu partout, l'ancêtre garde les enfants, et veille sur sa famille, par extension *mvame* signifie également «protecteur, gardien».

querons un peu plus loin en parlant du développement normal de la tribu, et en fait également, toutes les fois que se fonde un nouveau clan, il se compose tout d'abord d'un seul village; le totem du clan sera en même temps celui du village, et nous aurons alors le protecteur ou l'ancêtre du village *(mvame dzal)*. C'est le nom du totem de clan, lorsque le clan à lui seul constitue un village; sinon ce sera *mvam 'ayum, ayum* étant le nom du clan.

La troisième division ou fraction de la nation est la famille, *ndzâń*. Le protecteur de la famille se nommerait donc tout naturellement *mvame ndzâń*. Mais en réalité, et c'est ce qui confirme bien ce que nous dirons plus tard, la famille étant la cellule sociale par excellence, son *mvame* est par là même le totem par excellence et n'a pas besoin d'autre appellation. Aussi, couramment, l'appellera-t-on *mvame,* ou *mu-mvama*[1], et ce sera, sans hésitation ni besoin d'autre appellation, «le protecteur de la famille». Tout au plus, emploiera-t-on ce terme «*mvame ndzâń*», lorsque, dans certaines circonstances rares, on voudra le spécifier, en l'opposant à celui d'autres familles. Nous aurons donc simplement *mu-mvama,* ou *mvame,* et ce sera le totem familial.

L'individu, avons-nous dit, est en fonction de la famille, et seul, par conséquent, le «mâle» aura son totem. Comme ce protecteur est le père de sa race, lorsque l'individu isolé devra désigner son totem, il n'oubliera pas non plus cette qualité essentielle, et le nommera: le protecteur père, *mvamésa*: c'est en effet le nom du totem individuel.

Reste enfin le totem de société secrète désigné souvent par le nom générique d'*akwa*; le protecteur de la société sera par conséquent: *Mvam 'akwa*; ce sera le nom du totem de société secrète, ou encore, aussi souvent, le nom de la société secrète elle-même.

Nous aurons donc, ainsi, pour tout résumer:

Mvame ayôń, totem de tribu, et de clan développé, c'est-à-dire faisant fonction de tribu, soit que la tribu mère ait disparu, qu'elle soit trop éloignée, ou que le clan comprenne plusieurs villages.

---

[1] *Mu-mvama* ou *mu-mvame,* c'est-à-dire la personnalité, l'entité gardienne.

Mvame dzal, totem de clan et de village,

Mvame ayum, totem de clan et de phratrie,

Mvame ou *mu-mvama,* parfois *mvame ndzâñ,* totem familial, c'est-à-dire de tous ceux qui se groupent au titre de parenté autour du «père» de famille,

Mvamésa, totem individuel, mais seulement du mâle,

Mvame akwa, totem de société secrète.

D'où nous établirons le tableau suivant:

Etotore ou Protecteur

I. Considéré comme être tutélaire *Mvame*	II. Considéré comme effet de l'être tutélaire *Biâñ*
de la nation *mvamayôñ*	. . *biâñ akameyôñ* ou simplement *akameyôñ*
de la tribu *mvamayôñ*	. . *akameyôñ*
du clan *mvamayum*	. . *d°*
du village *mvamedzal*	. . *d°*
de la phratrie *mvamayum*	. . *ngit* ou *emanandum*
de la famille *mvamendzâñ* . . . . . ou *mu-mvame*	. . *ayâñ*
individuel *mvamésa* . . . . . ou *étotore*	. . *biâñ bôme* ou *méluÿe*
d'association *mvame*	. . *biâñ*
d'où avec le nom de l'association *mvam 'akhûñ*	
de société secrète *mvamakwa* . . . . . ou *akwa*	. . *biâñ šole.*
d'où avec le nom de la société *akwa 'khûñ* [1].	

[1] Souvent, pour mieux se dissimuler, les sociétés secrètes portent le même nom que les associations «légales».

Nous résumons donc:

Le totem considéré comme être tutélaire prend le nom de *mvame*.

Chaque collectivité organisée a son *mvame* particulier, lequel *mvame* porte le nom de cette collectivité, afin de pouvoir se distinguer des autres: ainsi, par exemple, le *mvame* de la tribu, du clan etc.

Le totem considéré au point de vue matérialisé prend d'une façon générale le nom de *biâṅ*.

Chaque collectivité organisée a son *biâṅ* particulier, lequel porte un nom différent, suivant chaque collectivité.

Mais le totem considéré à ce point de vue particulier de *biâṅ*, comporte deux choses bien distinctes:

1° le *mvame* matérialisé,

2° ce qui se rapporte à cette matérialisation.

b) Le nom propre.

Nous avons vu plus haut qu'une des sources d'erreurs provient souvent du nom propre.

En effet, chaque collectivité organisée a son *mvame* ou totem particulier. Par conséquent, nous trouverons déjà autant de totems particuliers que la nation comprendra de tribus différentes; dans chaque tribu, il y aura autant de totems particuliers que de collectivités organisées, ou ce qui serait mieux encore, d'unités sociales; nous n'excluons pas ainsi l'individu, qui a son totem dans certaines circonstances déterminées par la loi.

De là, et c'est une conséquence nécessaire, chaque totem possède, d'après sa nature, un nom propre qui le spécifie, et le distingue de tous les autres totems.

Ce nom n'est pas employé d'une façon constante, loin de là! Il est ici très important de distinguer ces cas.

Nous pouvons compter 4 cas principaux:

1° la vie courante ou les circonstances ordinaires de la vie,

2° les chants et légendes des aïeux,

3° les appels directs au protecteur,

4° les cérémonies rituelles.

1° Le nom du totem dans la vie courante.

Dans la vie courante et dans les circonstances ordinaires de la vie, le totem est désigné sous deux noms, d'ailleurs synonymes, *esamvama* et *mu-mvama*[1], ou plus simplement *mvama* ou *mvame*, tous noms qui ont un même sens.

Mvama, c'est, en effet, le nom qui désigne l'ancêtre, d'une façon collective; il répond à notre mot français «aïeul», mais d'une façon plus générale encore, car il embrasse non seulement les lignes directes de génération ancestrale, mais encore, et plutôt, les lignes collatérales, grands'oncles, arrière grands'oncles etc.; il exclut en même temps la parenté féminine, qui ne compte, au point de vue fàñ, qu'à l'unique point de vue des tabous de race; nous aurons à l'examiner plus tard.

Ce nom *mvama* provient d'une racine *va* qui implique, non l'idée de génération, qui est *sa* ou *ba* «planter», mais celle de production, d'augmentation, de croissance. Le préfixe *m* qui s'y adjoint indique l'agent, celui qui fait; il provient originairement, soit d'un pronom personnel, soit du mot *mur* ou en construction *mu*, personnalité, être vivant ou ayant une existence similaire, ou encore être non vivant et inerte de sa nature, mais personnifié. C'est donc par une sorte de redondance, familière d'ailleurs au génie de la langue, que les Fàñ désignent souvent le totem par *mu-mvama*, littéralement la personnalité de celui qui fait croître, l'ancêtre.

Aussi fréquemment que *mu-mvama*, on dit encore *esamvama*, littéralement le père ancêtre; notons que si le mot *esa* désigne en fàñ le père, ce n'est pas nécessairement le père, au sens littéral de ce mot, car c'est alors *tare*, mais souvent, le père, soit au titre collectif, soit au titre d'honneur. Ainsi, dans ces divers sens, on dira que les missionnaires sont les pères des chrétiens, *bésa békré-*

---

[1] Dans les tableaux précédents, nous avons écrit *mvame*: le nom, sans changer aucunement de signification, varie en effet, suivant les tribus, de *mvama* à *mvame*. En réalité même, la première syllabe, très fortement frappée, rend la seconde assez indistincte. Comme on l'a fait observer, en fàñ *a* et *e* finals ont presque le même son, de même que *e* et *i* initiaux, d'où encore de très nombreuses confusions, d'autant que l'*o* bref a un son presque identique à l'*a* bref.

tyen, à plus forte raison que Dieu est notre Père, *esa waza,* que le plus gros des éléphants d'une horde, le plus gros arbre d'une forêt, est l'*esa* de la troupe, de la forêt.

Le mot *mvame* s'applique de préférence à la ligne collatérale, ou du moins à la lignée des ancêtres autre que la ligne directe; il repose donc au fond sur une idée toute semblable à celle qui a donné le mot *ntèné,* ou sœur aînée du grand père, dans le rameau malinké, ou encore le mot *otèm* lui-même, si nous remontons au mot qui a fait aujourd'hui fortune, puisque nous avons vu que ce mot représente en réalité la «famille».

Mvame, ntèné, otèm (et peut-être toutes les autres appellations que l'on retrouvera chez les autres peuples) proviennent donc au fond d'une seule et même idée et reposent sur le même fondement de parenté. Il est à remarquer que le mot *mvame* a, en fâñ, la même terminologie que *Nzame*[1], le nom du Créateur; rechercher ici si les deux racines ont quelque origine commune, nous entraînerait trop loin, et en dehors de notre sujet. Revenons donc au nom du totem et à *mvame.*

Notons également qu'en employant pour traduire le mot *mvame,* notre mot français «ancêtre», nous n'entendons nullement dire qu'il y a parenté directe entre l'animal et l'homme. Les pages suivantes indiqueront quelle est, aux yeux du Fâñ, la parenté existant entre lui et l'animal.

Le mot générique *mvame* est donc seul employé dans le langage usuel, à l'exclusion du nom propre réservé aux cérémonies cultuelles. Le Fâñ exclut délibérément de sa vie courante tout ce qui touche à sa religion et aux phénomènes cultuels, quelle que soit leur nature. Ainsi, prenons un clan dont le totem est le tonnerre qui se manifeste, *nzalâñ.* Les hommes sont réunis dans l'*abèñe,* ou maison publique: un coup de tonnerre éclate: «*nzalâñ za bam,* le tonnerre retentit», dira un homme du clan. «*Ah! mvam'o!* Ah! l'ancêtre, oh!» ajoutera souvent, et tout au plus, le chef du clan, en employant la particule *o,* indiquant que l'on s'adresse à la personne (telle: *o! nan'o!* oh! ma

[1] Voir dans Mgr. Le Roy, Religion des Primitifs, à l'appendice, ce qui est dit du mot *Nzame* et de son origine.

mère, sous-entendu «toi qui me vois, qui me protège»), et dans cette brève exclamation, tout au plus invocation, l'étranger non prévenu n'aura, même s'il l'a remarquée, qu'une vague idée d'interjection quelconque; il pourra croire à un sentiment de peur, tandis qu'au contraire les hommes du clan, et surtout le chef, représentant direct du totem, ne s'y seront pas trompés; ils auront vu là une exclamation rituelle, un appel et un merci à l'ancêtre, se manifestant ainsi à son clan. Plus apparente dans certains cas, beaucoup plus confuse la plupart du temps, nous l'avouons sans hésitation, cette interprétation n'en demeure pas moins certaine. Elle pourra même, et c'est une confirmation, passer à l'état d'habitude; telle est en somme l'exclamation familière à nos langues «mon Dieu», manifestation cultuelle dans l'origine, devenue familière et souvent, de fait, sans aucun sens.

2° Le nom du totem dans les chants et les légendes des aïeux.

Dans les chants et les légendes des aïeux, trois cas se présentent: a) le chanteur est dans sa propre tribu; b) il est dans une tribu étrangère; c) il parle d'une tribu étrangère.

A. Le chanteur retrace dans sa propre tribu, les hauts faits des aïeux et les légendes de la race: toutes les fois qu'il s'agit du totem protecteur de la tribu, il le désigne simplement sous le nom de *mvamayôn*, parfois d'*étotore*: il ne saurait en effet y avoir confusion. Cependant, s'il raconte un fait arrivé dans lequel un des héros invoque son totem familial, il appelle alors ce totem par son nom distinctif, c'est-à-dire d'après le nom de l'espèce animale, végétale ou minérale, à laquelle le totem a appartenu, ou encore d'après le phénomène auquel il se rapporte.

B. S'il est dans une tribu étrangère, ou encore s'il parle d'une tribu étrangère, ayant à mentionner son totem ou celui de cette tribu, il suivra la même ligne de conduite. Ainsi, par exemple, supposons que notre chanteur appartient à la tribu des Aigles, les *Ebindzü*. Dans sa propre tribu, il dira simplement: *Ane mvam' a nga bo ana,* Mais l'ancêtre agit de la sorte, ou bien encore: *An' a nga lè mvama n'évole avole dia,* Mais il appela l'ancêtre pour l'aider de son secours.

Dans une tribu étrangère, racontant le même fait, il dira: *Ane mvame ndzü a nga bo ana,* Mais l'ancêtre Aigle agit de la sorte, ou bien encore: *An' a nga lè mvam' ndzü n' évole avole dia,* Mais il appela l'ancêtre Aigle pour l'aider de son secours.

C. Si enfin un conteur étranger racontait le même fait (ce qui équivaut évidemment à notre même conteur parlant d'une tribu étrangère) il dirait: *Ane ndzü' to a nga lè ndzü n' évole ñe avole dia,* Mais cet homme (de la tribu de l')Aigle appela l'Aigle pour l'aider de son secours.

La plupart de ces différentes appellations se retrouvent dans les vieilles légendes de la race.

Ainsi, prenons la légende du Crocodile, légende ancienne à n'en pas douter par les mots employés:

Ngèṅ éto, Nzame a nga lè myèdzal bétshit n' été
Temps celui-ci, Dieu il a appelé le maître du village des bêtes pour
né ñe.
disputer avec lui.

Ye zè? Esim a mbe oshü, ngan myèdzal a mana
Et pourquoi? Quand il était à l'eau, le crocodile chef du village il a
bi mur édzal dia ve dzi ñe. Abi foÿo, toÿo na
attrapé un homme du village sien et mangé lui. Mauvais certes, parce que
mur a mbe né ñe angom, éñe foÿo mu-mvama.
l'homme il était avec lui ami, et lui-même certes ancêtre protecteur.

Ane Nzame a nga zu ñe na: O vaÿa bo ana ye zè? Mur
Mais Dieu il a dit lui (que): Tu auras fait ainsi pourquoi? Homme
éto a mbe foÿo angom né we mvam'ayôṅ. O mana
celui-ci il était certes ami avec toi le protecteur de la tribu. Tu as fini
bo nsèm.
faire faute.

Ñina: Me vaÿa wux nzè abi.
Celui-ci (que): J'ai senti faim méchante [1].

Minal! Kos o ne oshü: mé ké shuze we. Bur bévox
Mensonge! Le poisson il est dans l'eau; je vais punir toi. Hommes les autres
bésésé bé ké dzi we.
tous ils mangeront toi.

---

[1] C'est-à-dire violente.

Ane ñina: Koko, ké dzi ma, mé ne mvam'ayôñ.
Mais celui-ci: Non, ne pas manger moi, je suis protecteur de la nation.

Eki
C'est défendu.

Ane Nzame: Eti foÿo, nge nkus é ne mbèñ nkèl.
Mais Dieu: Vrai certes, mais la flèche elle est au carquois de l'arc [1].

Bur bê ntobe dia né we édzal dia bésésé, bê ké kure afan
Les hommes ne resteront plus avec toi ton village tous, ils te quitteront dans la

oya.
forêt loin.

Ane Ngan: Ah! ngongol, me bôñe na, mé tobege étam?
Mais le Crocodile: Ah! pardon, que ferai-je? demeurerai-je donc seul?

Ké bur abî né we, toÿo na mvam'ayôñ a bo abi né
Pas hommes nombreux avec toi, parce que protecteur il fait mal avec

bur bia, a dä bo bur nsèm abi.
hommes siens, il trop fait les hommes faute méchante.

Ane bur ye ngan bé mbe ésim ñi abî ké fe
Mais les hommes du crocodile ils étaient temps celui-là beaucoup que encore

yèm, bé mana lige édzal mvamayôñ. Mvè nale.
savoir, ils ont fini laisser le village du protecteur. Bien ainsi.

A mana.
C'est fini.

Et tout en nous donnant cette légende qui pourait remonter aux origines, le conteur avait soin d'ajouter: «Et c'est ainsi qu'ont commencé les autres tribus.»

C'est peut-être la réalité. Nous reviendrons sur cette question: elle trouvera tout naturellement sa place lorsque nous parlerons de l'origine du totem.

3° Le nom du totem dans les appels directs au protecteur.

Lorsqu'il y a lieu d'adresser un appel direct au protecteur, ce qui peut se présenter en cas de danger, l'exclamation habituelle est *mvame*; nous l'avons vu précédemment dans le cas que nous relations du tonnerre. Cependant, dans un cas pressant, le Fàñ désigne également son *mvame* sous son nom distinctif, c'est-à-dire d'après le nom de l'espèce animale, végétale, minérale etc. à

[1] C'est-à-dire j'ai d'autres moyens. Nous disons familièrement ainsi: Il a plus d'un tour en son sac, plus d'une corde à son arc.

laquelle il a appartenu. Ainsi un Ebifam (c'est-à-dire un homme de la tribu des Ebifam) invoquant dans les circonstances mentionnées le totem de sa tribu, qui est l'insecte coléoptère *fam,* ou Goliath [1], l'invoquera en disant: «*O wéni, o ne fam, o! fam' o!* Oh! toi qui es le Fam, oh! Fam, oh!» Presque toujours, dans les cas similaires, c'est ainsi que sera désigné, sous ce nom propre générique, le totem de la tribu. Ce cas se retrouve surtout lorsque le danger est prévu, et non immédiat. Ainsi, nous l'avons entendu bien des fois en pirogue, lorsqu'il s'agissait de franchir un passage dangereux. En guerre, comme on s'adresse alors, de préférence, au totem matérialisé, le nom change: nous le verrons plus loin.

4° Le nom du totem dans les cérémonies et rites cultuels.

Le totem, dans les cérémonies et rites cultuels est rarement isolé. En même temps qu'on s'adresse à lui, on s'adressera presque toujours en même temps à l'ensemble, ou mieux à tous les objets qui lui sont toujours joints, sans toutefois se mêler avec lui, ni se confondre: cet ensemble, nous l'avons vu plus haut, porte le nom d'*akamayôñ.* Nous devrons y revenir tout à l'heure afin d'en expliquer la nature, lorsque nous parlerons de l'objet «matérialisé» du totem, tel qu'il se présente pour les besoins du culte.

L'ensemble des objets entourant le totem, et le totem lui-même, porte donc le nom d'*akamayôñ,* celui qui accompagne la nation, et seul le chef a le droit de le porter. Mais, dans les cérémonies, il arrive fréquemment que l'on s'adresse uniquement à l'ancêtre de la tribu, ancêtre protecteur évidemment, et non père de la race; d'où pour le désigner, nécessité d'un nom propre. Ce nom sera, en principe, le nom de l'animal ou du phénomène, ou encore de l'objet qui le matérialise. Tel, par exemple, *khul ésa, nzoẋ ésa,*

[1] Goliath *(Chelorrhina polyphemes),* magnifique insecte d'un vert sombre à taches blanches sur les élytres. Deux autres espèces de Scarabéides voisines du Goliath, le *Mécynorrhina Savagei* rayé de brun et de vert, et le *Dicranorrhina Micans,* d'un vert métallique brillant, ne sont jamais considérées comme totems, mais cependant très recherchées des féticheurs, surtout le *Mécynorrhina;* ils les emploient dans la composition de plusieurs remèdes, en particulier contre la blennorrhagie, ou encore dans certaines circonstances préliminaires des initiations aux sociétés secrètes. Leur rôle est alors analogue à celui des Cantharides.

mvin ésa, la tortue mère, l'éléphant père, l'antilope père, et c'est le cas le plus fréquent.

Dans les cérémonies et rites cultuels, lorsqu'on ne désigne pas le totem sous son nom propre, on se sert d'une périphrase, *esa a ne ošu*, celui qui est devant, c'est-à-dire au commencement, qui est, car il demeure; *esa a mbe ošu*, celui qui était à l'origine, a une signification particulière; on l'emploie lorsqu'on veut désigner à part l'ancêtre primitif, cas fort rare, et qui arrive lorsqu'on veut, par exemple, préciser l'ancêtre éponyme choisi par *Nzame* lui-même. Presque toujours, on choisit le nom: *mvam'ayôń*, l'ancêtre de la tribu; le mot *ayôń* désigne la tribu avec l'ensemble des clans et familles qui la composent, et l'ensemble des tribus constitue la «nation» fàń; ce mot collectif n'a pas son équivalent en langue indigène; le mot *ayôń* désigne à la fois la tribu et le peuple, quelque soit d'ailleurs le nombre de tribus que le composent.

Dans les chants rituels, et nous en donnerons plus tard quelques-uns, on appelle au contraire le *mvamayôń* par son nom. Tel, le chant du *mvamayôń* dans la tribu ébifam: «*Wéni, Fam, o ne mvamayôń, mia lè we*, Toi, Goliath, qui est le protecteur de la tribu, je t'appelle.»

Dans les cérémonies, on emploie de préférence *ésa a ne ošů* et rarement *mvamayôń*. Ainsi, à la fin de l'initiation, le chef de la tribu appelle le jeune initié; il lui apprend les noms des crânes des aïeux, puis à les reconnaître les uns des autres sans hésiter; c'est chose parfois assez difficile, car seule la calotte crânienne est conservée; pour peu qu'il s'en trouve une vingtaine, les différences qui les distinguent ne sont pas tellement caractéristiques que les distinguer au premier abord soit facile; il ajoute ensuite, en montrant un fragment d'os ou fragment quelconque de végétal ou minéral, soigneusement placé près des crânes et recevant mêmes honneurs qu'eux:

Et ceci, comment l'appelles-tu?	*Dzam ěto, ba lè zo na zè?*
Je ne sais pas.	*Mâ yòm.*
Je vais te l'apprendre. Sois attentif.	*Mí ki yéyele we. Mélo.*
Je suis attentif (littér. oreilles).	*Mélo.*
Cette chose était avant, elle est et elle sera.	*Dzam ěto a mbe oshů, dzam ěto a ne, dzam ěto a ki tobe.*

Je suis attentif.	*Mélo.*
Ton père Sékuma[1] l'a vu, et le père de la race et je le vois.	*Eso Sékuma a nga yèn ve ésayôñ*[2], *ve mo.*
Je suis attentif.	*Mélo.*
Le père de la tribu est là, tu vois le protecteur, tu connais le mystère des choses.	*Esayôñ vana, mvamayôñ vana, wa yèm ewèmpôñ dzom.*
Je suis attentif.	*Mélo,*

Puis le chef tourne autour des crânes des ancêtres et les asperge de sang, ainsi que les fragments du *mvamayôñ* ou protecteur de la tribu, en ajoutant ces mots dont le sens me paraît très difficile:

Méki mé nduria obuɨ, ndèɨe ké vaɨa bo miduɨ,
Le sang est ? ? que le *ndèɨe?* ne fasse pas de tromperies,

mur a ne oshü a nga kèze bur mitshoɨèle ve yèm.
le protecteur a donné aux hommes ? pour connaître.

[1] *Sékuma* est dans la théogonie fàñ le premier de tous les hommes: Au commencement, Dieu a fait toutes choses, puis il a fait *Sékuma*, et *Sékuma* fut le père des hommes: *Mélu méshushus* (littér. les jours les tout premiers) *Nzame a nga vel mam méséé, an' a nga bo Sékuma, ans Sékuma a to ém bur béééé.* A ce sujet, il serait peut-être intéressant de remarquer que les Fàn, en parlant de la création de toutes choses, emploient le mot *vel* qui signifie exactement «créer», «faire avec rien», et en parlant de l'homme, *bo* qui signifie au contraire «faire avec quelque chose».

[2] Notons en passant ce mot *esayôñ*, le père vrai de la race; nous le retrouverons tout à l'heure.

CHAPITRE VI.

LE TOTEM RÉEL, ETRE TUTÉLAIRE OU *MVAMAYÔÑ*.

§ 1. **Notion du *mvamayôñ*.** — *Différence entre le mvamayôñ et l'ezogôñ.* — Discussion de cette théorie.

§ 2. **Existence et nature du *mvamayôñ*.** a) L'existence et ce qui en résulte. — b) Nature du *mvamayôñ*, animal, végétal, minéral, et phénomène naturel.

§ 3. **Les différents totems suivant les différentes collectivités organisées.**

a) Le totem national. — Eléphant et Crocodile. Une conversation indigène sur les «forces» respectives des divers totems.

b) Le totem tribal: ce qu'il faut entendre par ce mot: différence entre clan et tribu. — La formation de la tribu. Erreurs géographiques et leurs causes; le rôle important des généalogies. — Comment reconnaître de façon précise s'il y a «tribu».

c) Le totem de clan. — Désagrégation de la tribu, formation du clan. Exception à la forme habituelle de désagrégation. Formation du totem de clan. Confusion résultant des lois de cette formation.

d) Le totem familial. — La famille, cellule sociale de la tribu fâ. Les idées d'Arcin sur la formation de la famille.

e) Le totem individuel. Sa valeur. — Pourquoi nous n'admettons pas les idées de Frazer.

f) Le totem de confrérie et de société secrète. Différence entre fétiseur et sorcier. Explication de ces deux mots. — Raisons de l'établissement des sociétés secrètes de fétiseurs et de sorciers.

§ 1. La notion du *mvamayôñ*.

Dans le chant rituel qui termine le chapitre précédent nous avons vu apparaître deux mots qu'il importe absolument de spécifier: Le *mvamayôñ*, et l'*esayôñ*.

Le *mvamayôñ*, notons-le tout d'abord, est l'ancêtre de la tribu, mais non pas, au point précis, d'après la signification exacte que nous attachons à ce mot. En effet, pour cette signification exacte et précise, pour désigner l'ancêtre réel d'où la tribu descend tout entière, les Fâñ ont un autre mot, et pour désigner cette idée ce mot est absolument unique; c'est: *esayôñ*, le père de la race. Le *mvamayôñ*, lui, est non pas l'ancêtre direct, le père de la race au sens propre du mot, mais seulement l'ancêtre éponyme du père réel de la tribu.

Les Fâñ ont cette conception très nette[1], comme nous avons pu nous en assurer maintes fois, et ils ne confondent nullement *mvamayôñ* et *esayôñ*. Quand ils disent du *mvamayôñ*: «c'est le père, c'est la souche de notre tribu», et comme eux nous employons ce mot, ils n'entendent donc nullement dire par là qu'ils descendent du *mvamayôñ* par génération effective et réelle, mais bien qu'il y a parenté collatérale, parenté provenant de deux sources, l'une directe, en quelque sorte, par échange et transfusion de sang, comme nous aurons à nous en préoccuper plus loin, parenté réelle, donc, et l'autre, spirituelle, impliquant protection effective, mais d'ordre spirituel, résultat d'un lien à la fois corporel et mystique.

Il y aura donc, pour nous résumer, entre l'*esayôñ* et la tribu actuelle, descendance directe et lien du sang par transmission, d'où protection efficace, mais plutôt au point de vue particulier de protection effective de la tribu elle-même et de ses membres, ou, si l'on préfère, et ce sera plus juste encore, protection effective de la tribu quant à son existence en tant que tribu, de façon à lui garder sa place et son rang dans l'ensemble de la nation, à assurer sa prospérité matérielle, sa fécondité. Ce dernier but pourrait en

[1] Les tribus voisines des Fâñ, et dont quelques-unes ne sont que de très loin apparentées avec eux, tels les Bassêké, sont également très affirmatifs sur ce point.

somme être regardé comme le but principal du culte de l'*esayôñ*, puisque de là dépend à la fois la «perpétuité» de la tribu, et par là même, la «perpétuité» du culte et des honneurs rendus à l'*esayôñ*, honneurs qui le suivent de l'autre côté de la tombe et le préservent de l'anéantissement ou plutôt, de la fusion dans la masse anonyme et indéterminée des âmes privées de sépulture et d'honneurs funèbres, car les âmes, dans la conception fàñ, ne s'anéantissent pas au sens strict du mot [1].

Au contraire, entre le *mvamayôñ* et la tribu, il y aura lien réel résultat du sang, mais plutôt lien assurant l'existence de la tribu au point de vue «ensemble», «constitution», en établissant la perpétuité des rites et du culte par un ensemble de prescriptions et de défenses totémiques, destinées, pour la plupart, à assurer l'existence de la race, à en constituer un tout homogène, en ralliant toutes les prescriptions à un centre commun et en confirmant par là même un principe d'autorité que sa nature rend intangible, et surtout inchangeable et immuable, indépendant des hommes et des événements. C'est ce qui constitue même, nous le verrons, la différence entre tabou et totem, l'un invariable, l'autre dépendant des chefs existants, et de là, variable, l'un durable, l'autre au contraire transitoire.

De là également nous semble ressortir l'erreur ou l'exagération — tout au moins pour la tribu fàñ, et l'ensemble des tribus voisines, ce qui implique cependant une idée générale —, l'erreur ou l'exagération, disons-nous, de certaines idées émises par plusieurs auteurs qui ont voulu confondre l'existence parallèle de ces deux ordres de phénomènes collatéraux et coexistants, mais chacun avec leur existence propre et particulière, ancêtre réel et ancêtre éponyme, *esayôñ* et *mvamayôñ*. Nous avons d'ailleurs montré plus haut la grande difficulté de ces études, même pour ceux qui sont sur les lieux mêmes, et à fortiori pour ceux qui sont éloignés et n'ont que des documents à leur disposition.

[1] Nous verrons plus tard en parlant de la conception de l'âme fàñ que les âmes se fusionnent plus tard avec les étoiles, étant lumière comme celles-ci. C'est une conception analogue aux croyances égyptiennes. Voir à ce sujet Maspéro, Bibliothèque égyptologique, t. I, p. 156; t. II, p. 19, 20. — Conf. également Virgili, Géogr. IV 227 pour une époque plus récente.

Ainsi, en particulier, nous ne saurions souscrire à ce que dit l'abbé Baos[1] en parlant des caractères du totémisme: «Le totémisme est une alliance tantôt considérée comme provenant de l'origine, et assimilée par là même au lien familial. Ainsi le clan de la tortue chez les Iroquois descend de la tortue ... En Sénégambie chaque famille descend de l'animal totem, etc. Parfois, par delà l'animal totem, on conçoit une femme qui lui a donné le jour: cela compliqtue, mais ne change pas le lien de descendance (ce qui nous semble bien étrange). Chez les Moquis, le clan descend d'un serpent totem mis au monde par une femme. Dans l'Afrique occidentale le crocodile, le singe, le boa, le cochon sauvage ont même origine.»

C'est d'ailleurs également l'opinion de Reinach écrivant: «Soit, par exemple, un clan ayant pour totem le serpent: les membres de ce clan se qualifieront de «serpents», raconteront qu'ils descendent d'un serpent, s'abstiendront de tuer les serpents, élèveront des serpents familiers, s'en serviront pour interroger l'avenir etc.»[2]

Pour nous, qui avons habité longtemps l'Afrique occidentale et étudié spécialement ces matières, nous nous permettons de ne pas être du même avis. Ainsi, pour ne citer qu'un cas, dans leurs légendes sur la création, Fâñ, Mpongwé, Bésèx, et toutes les tribus alliées sont unanimes à admettre qu'en première ligne Dieu créa les hommes noirs, en commençant par la tribu à laquelle ils appartiennent eux-mêmes, puis il créa les singes, après les singes, les nains ou négrilles, puis enfin les autres animaux. Toutes les légendes cosmogoniques représentent les hommes de l'origine vivant dans leurs villages et également les animaux vivant en villages sous l'autorité du Créateur. Les légendes et les croyances totémiques sont certainement postérieures, mais toutes parlent d'alliance avec l'animal, et non de naissance. Toutes les tribus que nous venons de citer, et ce point est important à remarquer, vous diront, suivant le cas: «Nous sommes fils du serpent, de la tortue, etc.» et tout aussi bien: «C'est le Créateur qui nous a faits, nous autres hommes, nous sommes fils de *Nzame*.»

En parlant dans un chapitre spécial de l'origine du totémisme fâñ, nous aurons l'occasion de traiter plus à fond cette importante question.

[1] A. Baos, *op. cit.* p. 222. [2] S. Reinach, Cultes, Mythes et Religions I, p. 9.

§ 2. Existence et nature du *mvamayôñ* ou totem tribual.

a) Existence du *mvamayôñ*.

Nous avons vu que le totem, considéré comme être tutélaire, portait, d'une façon générale, le nom de *mvame*, quelque soit d'ailleurs la collectivité organisée dont il était le protecteur reconnu. Le *mvamayôñ* ou totem tribual peut à juste raison être considéré comme type, car la collectivité organisée qu'il représente, la tribu, est l'organisme social le plus en vue, et de plus, tout ce que nous dirons de lui peut, avec les restrictions nécessaires, s'adapter aux autres *mvame* de collectivité.

Nous avons tout d'abord à prouver son existence.

Le *mvamayôñ* ou totem ancêtre existe, au point de vue naturellement de l'opinion fañ. Cette existence résulte nécessairement du nom qui lui est donné et des fonctions de gardien, de protecteur, qui lui sont assignées, fonctions qui par là même lui assurent, non pas une existence d'autrefois, perdue dans les traditions de la race ou dans les légendes plus ou moins historiques de la tribu, n'existant en somme qu'à l'état de souvenir plus ou moins persistant, plus ou moins réel, en un mot de mythe jouissant seulement d'une existence vague et indéterminée, ou mêlée à d'autres existences —, mais au contraire, vivant actuellement de son existence propre et réelle, existence effective, mais dont la qualité principale et surtout importante est d'être agissante. En effet, de là résulte le culte et sa nécessité. *Nzame*, considéré comme créateur, n'agissant pas «actuellement», car son rôle est réservé au passé et à l'avenir, n'a pas par là même besoin de culte. Or, le Noir, que ce soit dans sa vie religieuse ou dans sa vie sociale, a toujours comme mobile de ses actes le grand principe «donnant, donnant», et la règle de ses actes est, on pourrait le dire, la réciprocité: *do ut des*. Pour lui, de même qu'en politique, la générosité est une vertu négative, plutôt nuisible qu'utile. Aussi, ses actes de générosité proprement dite seront, quoi qu'on en ait pensé, assez rares, et en tout cas des actes «individuels» dont il faudrait souvent, de plus, bien connaître le motif, et être au courant des usages reçus avant de se prononcer.

Nzame agit, nous venons de le dire, dans le passé et dans le futur. Par là même son culte sera réservé au passé et au futur. Le *mvamayôñ,* au contraire, agit dans le présent: il aura donc besoin d'un culte présent, et afin d'obtenir ses faveurs ou de détourner son courroux, le Fâñ ne le lui marchandera pas.

b) Nature du *mvamayôñ*.

Le totem — et il demeure bien entendu qu'en employant ce mot, nous désignons, non pas ce qui désigne l'ensemble du totem, être réel et être matérialisé, mais simplement l'être tutélaire vivant et agissant, que les Fâñ appellent *mvame* — le totem, disons-nous, se présente, à notre point de vue, sous trois aspects différents, ou encore appartenant à trois ordres distincts de phénomènes: il sera

être vivant,
être inanimé,
phénomène naturel.

En employant les deux dernières qualifications, nous ne contrevenons nullement à ce que nous disions plus haut: le totem est un être tutélaire, vivant. En effet, en parlant de ces trois aspects, nous nous plaçons uniquement à notre point de vue européen, à notre conception plus ou moins scientifique de l'ordre naturel. Pour le Fâñ, le minéral a tout aussi bien sa vie que le végétal: ce qui apparaît aux yeux n'est que le substratum, sa matière inerte et non agissante par elle-même, mais habitée et inspirée soit par un esprit, soit par une vertu quelconque, théorie que nous aurons l'occasion de développer en parlant du fétichisme. Quant au troisième cas, le phénomène naturel, c'est, nous l'avons déjà dit, un simple substratum ou, en d'autres cas, le moyen que prend un esprit supérieur pour se manifester à l'homme.

1° Totem être vivant.

Le *mvamayôñ* sera donc en première ligne un être vivant, c'est-à-dire un être manifestant sa vie au dehors, soit par des fonctions ressemblant aux nôtres, et tel sera l'animal, soit par des fonctions de simple croissance et aussi d'action sur l'organisme, et tel sera le végétal. Notons tout d'abord que dans l'immense

majorité des cas, il appartiendra au monde animal, et que par une conséquence naturelle, il aura son représentant dans les autres catégories en des cas infiniment plus rares.

Totem animal. — Il appartiendra donc d'abord au monde animal. Ce sera

1° un être vivant sur terre, animal au sens propre du mot, reptile ou insecte, mollusque, coquillage terrestre même,

2° un être vivant en l'air, comme les oiseaux, les insectes ailés,

3° un être vivant dans l'eau, comme les poissons et certains reptiles plutôt aquatiques.

Totem végétal. — Dans certains clans, le totem appartiendra au monde végétal, de préférence un arbre, très rarement une plante, encore plus rarement une portion d'arbre et de plante, feuille, rameau ou écorce, mais qui encore dans ce cas sera prise pour le végétal entier.

2° Totem être inanimé.

Le totem appartiendra parfois au monde minéral, tel le fer ou le mica, mais sous certains aspects et sous certaines conditions de lieu ou d'origine. Dans ce cas, de même que dans le suivant, il faut nécessairement observer tout d'abord s'il s'agit du *mvamayôn* lui-même ou de la simple matérialisation du totem, comme nous l'avons fait remarquer au II° des tableaux du chapitre précédent. Dans ce cas, qui se présente de temps à autre, il ne s'agit pas alors du *mvame* lui-même, mais du *biân étotore,* c'est-à-dire de sa matérialisation. En admettant au contraire que ce soit bien le *mvame* lui-même, c'est alors une matérialisation ou encore une manifestation transitoire d'un être animé appartenant à un monde supérieur, ou au monde de l'au-delà, et dans ce cas, on pourrait dire avec plus de raison peut-être que le totem est alors d'ordre spirituel.

Nous donnerons plus loin des exemples de ces cas.

Toutefois, il nous semble intéressant de noter dès maintenant qu'ils nous paraissent aller, aussi bien que les cas suivants du totem phénomène naturel, contre la théorie de Frazer [1], d'après lequel le

[1] Le Rameau d'or (Golden Bough) Trad. franç. T. II, p. 527 et ss.

totem serait l'animal, le végétal, ou l'objet inanimé dans lequel un individu pourrait déposer son âme afin de se rendre invulnérable; et cependant cette âme, ainsi enfermée dans un être, ou un objet extérieur et lointain, conserve des relations très étroites avec le corps auquel elle appartient. Si l'être ou l'objet où elle se trouve enfermée, subit quelque atteinte, l'individu à qui elle appartient, souffre; si cet être ou cet objet est détruit, l'individu meurt.

Vraie en la plupart des points du «nagualisme» fâñ, cette théorie ne l'est pas du «totémisme» fâñ. En effet, il attribue nettement aux esprits supérieurs certains totems, et les esprits supérieurs n'ont pas d'âme à y déposer: l'homme seul est composé d'un corps et d'une âme, *ñul né nsissim*: quant l'esprit agit, c'est par lui-même et effectivement, sans pouvoir pour ainsi dire se dédoubler car il est simple. Le Fâñ admet, au contraire, très bien ce dédoublement de l'homme, tout aussi bien d'ailleurs que de l'animal.

3° Totem phénomène naturel.

Parfois enfin le totem peut être, en fait, un phénomène naturel, mais de droit encore, dans ce cas, nécessairement matérialisé.

En parlant plus loin des différents totems de tribus et de clans, et en les énumérant, nous donnerons par là-même des exemples à l'appui.

Il faut d'ailleurs remarquer que c'est un cas plutôt rare, et que nous ne trouvons pas dans la «tribu» proprement dite, mais seulement dans le «clan» où la formation du totem est différente, du moins subordonnée davantage aux phénomènes naturels qui peuvent se produire.

On trouve également ce totem dans les totems individuels. Ainsi il pourra arriver que des jumeaux aient l'arc en ciel pour totem individuel, totem résultant de ce qu'ils sont considérés comme fils du ciel, de même d'ailleurs que dans de nombreuses tribus bantoues[1]. Cette question sera à étudier en parlant des *éki* ou défenses totémiques.

---

[1] Cf. JUNOD, Les Baronga. Neufchâtel 1898, p. 412 et ss.

§ 3. Les différents totems suivant les différentes collectivités organisées.

a) Le totem national.

Nous avons vu au commencement de cette étude que la nation fân se partageait à l'heure actuelle en un certain nombre de groupes, lesquels se subdivisent eux-mêmes en tribus, puis en clans et en sous-clans. Une première interrogation se pose alors: Existe-t-il un totem national, et dans ce cas, quel est-il?

A cette demande, la réponse est très simple: A l'heure actuelle, en tant que peuple, les Fân n'ont point de totem général, admis par toutes les tribus comme tel, ou du moins, malgré toutes nos recherches à ce sujet, nous n'avons pu en trouver. Donc, avec quelque certitude, et sous réserve de recherches ultérieures qui nous semblent très-problématiques, nous croyons pouvoir dire:

A l'heure actuelle le totem national n'existe pas.

Mais la question peut se poser sous une autre forme: A-t-il existé un totem national et dans ce cas, quel était-il? A cette question, nous croyons pouvoir répondre, en nous appuyant sur les légendes: Oui, il a existé un totem national.

Mais quel était-il? Cette question nous paraît difficile à résoudre dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances.

Nous voyons, en effet, maintenant chaque groupe fân composé de tribus en nombre fort variable: mais au moyen des généalogies, comme nous l'expliquerons plus loin, ces tribus se resserrent peu à peu, de façon à indiquer qu'à l'origine elles ont dû, et la chose est évidente, se réduire à un très petit nombre. Nos moyens actuels d'investigation les réduisent à une soixantaine environ, mais les légendes et les récits en remontant beaucoup plus haut, vers les origines de la race, en restreignent singulièrement le nombre, et le réduisent à deux seulement: les fils de l'éléphant et les fils du crocodile.

En traitant de l'origine du totem, nous traiterons tout naturellement de ces légendes.

A l'origine donc de la nation, ou tout au moins si haut que nous puissions remonter, nous rencontrons seulement deux totems,

Nzoẓ, l'éléphant, et *Ngan*, le crocodile. Auquel des deux appartient la priorité? Impossible de le préciser.

Nous rencontrons deux totems: *Nzoẓ* et *Ngan*. Ce choix parmi tous les animaux semble d'autant plus naturel et plus significatif que l'un, le *Ngan*, nous est donné par les légendes bétsi, et l'autre, *Nzoẓ*, par les légendes méké. Or, pour nous, et comme nous avons essayé de le démontrer en notre Etude précédente sur les Fâñ, les Bétsi, hommes des vallées du Haut Nil, devaient tout naturellement avoir beaucoup plus souvent affaire au crocodile, habitant des eaux, que les Méké, hommes des plateaux, qui y trouvaient l'éléphant en abondance. Les Fôñ, habitant le profond hinterland du pays fâñ, admettent également le *Nzoẓ* comme totem principal. On pourrait peut-être dire avec quelque raison que les Fâñ ont eu d'abord le *Ngan* comme totem principal; puis chassés des vallées du Hᵗ Nil, ils se sont réfugiés dans la forêt, où plus naturellement le *Nzoẓ* est devenu leur totem.

Quoiqu'il en soit de cette déduction que nous ne présentons nullement comme certaine ou démontrée, mais à l'état de simple proposition, il n'en reste pas moins acquis que chez les Bétsi, le *Ngan* est considéré comme le *mvamayôñ* par excellence ou père de la race, et chez les Méké, pareil rôle est joué par l'éléphant, tout aussi bien que chez les Fôñ.

Ainsi me le disait jadis le vieux chef bétsi Etûtû, un jour que nous parlions ensemble des origines lointaines de sa race, sur laquelle, grand voyageur, il me donnait de curieux détails.

«Ton *mvamayôñ*, lui demandai-je, est-il le plus fort de tous?

— Oh! les *mvamayôñ* ne se battent pas entre eux: le *mvamayôñ Mvul* (antilope) est aussi fort que le *mvamayôñ Nzoẓ* (éléphant).

— Mais protègent-ils de même façon?

— Oh! cela non! Le père de toute la race, tu comprends bien, protège davantage.

— Et quel est ce père de la race?

— Mais, tu le sais bien, c'est le plus vieux de tous.

— Et quel est ce plus vieux?

— Pourquoi veux-tu me tromper! Tu sais bien que le plus vieux de tous, c'est le père crocodile. Il est au dessus, beaucoup. Il pourrait «manger» tous les autres.

— Mais pourquoi n'avez-vous pas tous le même *mvamayôṅ*? vous seriez bien plus unis.

— Oh! cela n'est pas possible. Tous tes enfants, à toi, ont-ils la même tête? (i. e. même intelligence). Tous les arbres de la forêt sont-ils même chose? *Nzame,* le Créateur, a dit à l'un: Tu pousseras sans fruits (bons à manger). et à l'autre: Toi, tu en auras. Et tous sont des arbres! Ainsi des *mvamayôṅ.* Mais celui qui est tout à fait au devant *(ošušu),* c'est *Ngan Esa.* Mais il ne faut pas parler de cela ici: entre vieillards, c'est bien.»

Mézu méñamur[1] *mémvèye méñamur.*

Un homme fait ne doit parler de choses sérieuses qu'à un homme fait.

On trouve aussi chez les Méké pareilles croyances au sujet de l'éléphant. Mais ici cependant nous pouvons noter une différence. Tandisque les Bétsi ont également un grand respect pour l'éléphant, les Méké n'en ont aucun pour le crocodile, et nulle de leurs tribus, je crois, ne l'a pour totem. Peut-être néanmoins faudrait-il y voir, non pas une question de priorité, mais plutôt une haine de race, remontant à la séparation des deux groupes, aux origines de la race.

Donc, pour résumer:

A l'heure actuelle, il n'existe pas de *mvamayôṅ* national.

Le *mvamayôṅ* national a probablement existé: ce fut l'éléphant ou le crocodile: on ne peut dire avec certitude auquel remonte la priorité: la probabilité est pour le crocodile.

---

[1] *Ñamur,* que l'on traduit souvent à tort par vieillard, désigne au contraire l'homme dans la plénitude de sa force. *Mur* signifie «la personnalité», et la particule *ña* indique l'idée de plénitude ou de supériorité. Notre mot français «maître» répond assez bien à cette signification. Ainsi *ñamur,* un homme fait, un ancien, un maître homme, *ñanda,* une maison étonnante, *ñanzali,* un fusil supérieur, un maître fusil. Le vieillard à cheveux blancs est rarement estimé au pays fâñ. Dès qu'il n'a plus la force de porter un fusil, on ne lui prête aucune considération, et de lui-même d'ailleurs il se plie à ce rôle en plaisantant et en jouant à tout propos.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

b) Le totem tribual.

A l'époque actuelle nous trouvons dans la nation fâñ un grand nombre de tribus, différenciées par leur nom. Mais ces tribus sont souvent apparentées les unes aux autres, et quelques-unes, comme il est facile de s'en assurer en une courte interrogation, descendent les unes des autres.

Et ici survient une double difficulté.

Suivant que tel ou tel auteur en a écrit, et sans en donner d'ailleurs aucune raison, ces «fractions» de groupe — employons ce mot pour un instant — sont tantôt appelées clans, tantôt tribus, sans qu'au fond, pour beaucoup, on puisse assigner une raison ou une différence bien nette.

1° Différence entre clan et tribu.

Pour les uns, la différence entre clan et tribu reposera sur le nombre: le clan sera fraction de tribu, ou composé d'un nombre moindre d'individus que la tribu: le clan comportera plutôt une idée de petitesse.

Cette notion est-elle juste? Outre qu'elle est peu philosophique, nous la croyons de plus complètement fausse. En effet, où sera la limite qui distinguera le clan de la tribu! Il y a, par exemple, chez les Fâñ, des tribus réduites à un nombre infime d'individus. D'un autre côté, à côté d'eux, on trouve des tribus presque éteintes: telle, par exemple, les Batengé, ne comptent plus que trois familles. Est-ce tribu? Est-ce clan?

Nous rejetons donc cette idée: Le clan repose sur le nombre.

Le clan, nous dira une autre école, nous citons ici le P. Lagrange[1] qui d'ailleurs reproduit lui-même le texte de Marillier[2] traduisant ou s'inspirant de W. R. Smith[3]:

«Le clan est ce groupe de la tribu où tout le monde porte le même nom et se réclame d'un seul ancêtre.»

---

[1] P. J. Lagrange, Etudes sur les Religions sémitiques, 1905, p. 112.

[2] Marillier, Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, t. XXXVI.

[3] W. R. Smith, Kingship, p. 167. V. également le R. P. Zapletal, Der Totemismus und die Religion Israels. Freiburg 1901.

Malgré l'autorité de ces savants auteurs, nous ne croyons pas que cette définition soit juste. Appliquons-là en effet aux Fâñ. Qu'aurons-nous?

La tribu fâñ se partage tout d'abord en groupes, en quatre, avons-nous dit. Dans ce groupe de la tribu fâñ, par exemple, le groupe ou le rameau bétsi, tout le monde porte bien le même nom, Bétsi, et se réclame d'un seul ancêtre. Donc ce sera le clan bétsi. Nous verrons plus loin qu'aux termes de la définition de Mauillier ce clan, si clan il y a, ne serait pas totémique, ne portant le nom d'aucun animal, d'aucun végétal. Cependant, toutes ses fractions le sont: le tout, seul, ne le serait pas! Mais continuons. Le clan bétsi (pour nous, le groupe bétsi) se partage en tribus: là encore tous portent le même nom et se réclament d'un même ancêtre. Prenons par exemple la tribu Esingi: tous les individus de de cette tribu se nomment Esingi et se réclament d'un même ancêtre, *Ngi*, le chimpanzé. Ce serait donc le clan ésingi, partie du clan bétsi: et comme ce clan ésingi se subdivise encore en groupes distincts où tous encore portent le même nom que le chef du groupe, et se réclament d'un même ancêtre, nous aurions encore nouvelles subdivisions, nouveaux clans.

Le clan ne peut donc reposer sur le nom et la communauté d'ancêtre. Il l'a bien, il est vrai, mais c'est une résultante et non une cause, un effet et non la raison d'être de son existence.

Nous devons donc lui trouver une autre base, et cette base, disons-le immédiatement, ce sera la famille, cellule sociale.

Il nous faut donc ici, pour établir les différents totems de tribu et de clan, montrer tout d'abord ce que nous entendons par tribu et par clan, montrer aussi par là même comment l'un et l'autre se constituent, d'où leurs différences, et par là même encore montrer pourquoi et comment le totem de tribu diffère du totem de clan, la tribu et le clan étant deux formations différentes reposant l'une et l'autre sur la famille.

2° La formation de la tribu.

La tribu et le clan, disons-nous, sont deux formations différentes dont la famille est fonction. Comment s'opère ce développement,

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

qui amène d'ailleurs le totem familial à devenir totem tribual, les deux développements étant nécessairement parallèles?

Seules, à l'époque actuelle, les généalogies nous permettent d'arriver à ce résultat. Dans notre étude récente sur les rapports entre le folklore fâñ et le folklore kanioka [1], nous avons déjà traité ce point curieux. Comme cette étude ne comportait ce point que de façon incidente et ne peut non plus se trouver entre toutes les mains, nous devons la reprendre ici: cette explication est nécessaire.

Nous avons dit un mot déjà de ces généalogies en parlant du *mébara* [2] au commencement de cette étude; v. plus haut p. 5.

Lorsqu'on regarde la carte du Congo [3], on voit en effet le pays occupé par les Fâñ se partager entre quatre cents noms de tribus,

[1] Anthropos IV p. 946 et suiv.

[2] Généalogie des Ancêtres qui est le premier enseignement donné au jeune garçon. — Notons en passant que cet enseignement n'est jamais donné aux filles: la fille n'est pas considérée comme «membre» de la tribu, mais bien comme «objet» appartenant à la tribu, «objet» ayant certains droits, il est vrai, mais ne pouvant les exercer que sous la tutèle de son père ou de son oncle.

[3] Nous espérons pouvoir donner prochainement dans l'«Anthropos» avec une étude sur les Fâñ une carte de leur pays, aussi correcte que possible. Signalons en passant combien il serait utile pour ces cartes, et d'ailleurs pour tout renseignement géographique et ethnographique, d'adopter une fois pour toutes une orthographe uniforme, comme avait voulu le faire jadis le général Faidherbe, et comme le fera avec plus de succès, espérons-le, l'«Anthropos». Le système adopté aujourd'hui par la plupart des voyageurs et explorateurs est en effet celui-ci: écrire comme ils entendent! Et malheureusement, la plupart semblent convaincus que ce système est le seul vrai, sans se douter aucunement que le pays qu'ils traversent a une langue avec des règles précises et aussi que chacun n'entend pas de la même façon. Avec un pareil système, beaucoup trop généralisé, la carte du Congo français se couvre de noms orthographiés de la façon la plus fantaisiste, quand ces noms ne sont pas eux-mêmes absolument fautifs. Dans ce dernier cas, nous citerons entre autres perles, ceux de *Mâyèm*, de *Vum*, *Mvum* ou *Evum* etc. que l'on rencontre de temps en temps, et dont l'origine est tout simplement celle-ci: L'explorateur fait demander au guide le nom d'une localité: celui-ci répond parfois, et surtout s'il s'agit de localités un peu éloignées et que l'on aperçoit par exemple du haut d'une colline: *Mâyèm*, je ne sais pas, ou encore, *Vum*, *mvum*, etc. c'est un endroit. L'explorateur inscrit gravement: *Mâyèm*, *Vum*. D'un autre côté, il arrive fréquemment que l'interprète donne non pas le nom propre, mais le nom commun, ainsi *Otôñ*, un ruisseau, *Ototôñ* un petit ruisseau, *Nkol* une colline cet. Les dernières cartes du Congo, publiées à la suite des nombreuses expéditions qui ont, depuis dix ans, sillonné le pays, et ont en général été dirigées par des officiers, méritent souvent ce reproche. Il serait absolument à désirer

et au premier abord, il est impossible de savoir si l'on a affaire à une tribu proprement dite ou à une subdivision de tribu ou à un clan.

Comment les distinguer et les grouper?

A peine sorti de la première enfance, le jeune Fâñ, dès l'âge de 7 à 8 ans, apprend son *mébara* (et c'est son premier enseignement), c'est-à-dire les noms des aïeux dont il est issu, et c'est là en même temps la marque de sa filiation et de la noblesse de son origine. Interrogez n'importe quel bambin sur sa famille, et vous le verrez répondre: «Je suis fils d'un tel, fils d'un tel, fils d'un tel», jusqu'au premier ancêtre de la tribu, où il s'arrête pour dire: «Et celui-là était fils de *Nzame,* c'est-à-dire de Dieu, et avant, je n'y étais pas, ni moi, ni personne»![1] Et notons encore en passant que jamais, au grand jamais, il ne dira, dans ce cas, «je suis fils de tel ou tel animal», bien qu'il appartienne au clan de cet animal. Autre chose la filiation, autre chose le totem! — Et chemin faisant, il s'arrête, toutes les fois que deux frères ou davantage, s'étant séparés, ont constitué une autre tribu. L'exemple suivant fera d'ailleurs mieux ressortir ces généalogies où l'on serait tenté parfois de retrouver une infiltration sémite des temps patriarcaux ou mieux encore, comme nous l'avons déjà indiqué plusieurs fois, une filiation avec les peuples de l'antique Egypte.

---

qu'avant de partir faire une expédition, les chefs de missions fussent au moins légèrement initiés à la langue et à l'histoire des pays qu'ils traversent, et à quelques notions de transcription des noms, choses qu'ils ignorent assez souvent.

En suivant ce désir, on éviterait, par exemple, de trouver sur les cartes congolaises, pour ne citer que celles-là, Fâñ écrit de 14 façons différentes: Fang, Fan, Fans, Fâñ, Faons, Mfan, Mfangs, Mfaons, Pahouins, Mpahouins, Pawin, Mpawin, Paouën, Mpaouën, etc. On conviendra que c'est beaucoup pour un seul peuple!

On éviterait encore d'écrire des noms de clans pour des noms de peuples, ce qui amène une confusion inextricable, surtout vers la côte, où les tribus de langue différente se mêlent étrangement. Des travaux d'une réelle valeur au point de vue géodésique deviennent alors inutiles pour l'ethnographe!

[1] Comme on le voit, nos Fâñ sont nettement spiritualistes et n'admettent pas l'éternité de la matière. D'aucuns diront peut-être que c'est précisément parce qu'ils sont arriérés qu'ils repoussent le matérialisme. Leurs chants de mort, dont j'ai également recueilli de nombreux exemples (cf. La Religion des Primitifs, par Mgr. Le Roy, pp. 148, 198, 253) confirment absolument cette croyance à la vie de l'au-delà.

Vous êtes dans une tribu fâñ et rencontrez un individu quelconque. Vous désirez savoir son nom, inconnu de vous. Vous l'interrogez donc et il vous répondra par son nom patronymique. Et c'est ainsi, pour le dire en passant, qu'un Fâñ, par exemple, aura d'abord son nom patronymique. reçu au sortir de la première enfance; puis son nom familier, sous lequel ses parents et ses proches le connaissent, rôle joué dans nos races par le prénom ou le diminutif familier ou amical; son surnom ou nom de guerre, par lequel ses compagnons le désigneront; son nom de race ou de branche de tribu, et enfin son nom particulier lorsqu'il est reçu dans une société secrète. Il est facile donc de concevoir combien un tel système, pour compliqué soit-il, peut amener d'erreurs ou de confusions, d'autant que bien souvent encore, par mesure de précaution ou de prudence, ou s'il a quelque peccadille à se reprocher, quelques représailles à craindre, ou bien simplement par raillerie, amour de tromper ou passe temps, le Noir, interrogé, vous donnera un faux nom, avec une aisance parfaite, et tel un cambrioleur émérite, le soutiendra avec énergie. Mais avec le *mébara* [1], qui n'admet que les noms patronymiques, de tels subterfuges sont impossibles. Car, pour tout averti, il est facile de s'apercevoir bien vite si les ancêtres improvisés sont véritables ou non, si la filiation est authentique ou fabriquée de toutes pièces.

Rencontrant un individu et voulant savoir qui il est, vous lui demanderez donc:

«*O ne nza?* Tu es qui?»

---

[1] Ce *mébara*, ou enseignement des ancêtres, a pour les Fâñ un puissant intérêt et leur est même socialement nécessaire. En effet, il est interdit sous les peines les plus sévères et même de divorce immédiat, de se marier 1° avec une femme de son propre clan, 2° avec une femme du clan dont la mère est issue, 3° avec une femme d'un clan issu de la même souche commune, si éloignée que soit la parenté, et parfois elle remonte à plus de vingt ascendants. Leur *mébara* seul leur permet d'être renseigné sur ce point.

Le *mébara* concerne uniquement les générations masculines. La femme est ignorée; en l'appelant on mentionne rarement le nom de son père et seulement dans le cas où, par suite de contestations ou de mariage de ses fils, il serait nécessaire de connaître le nom de sa tribu.

Au point de vue ethnographique, le *mébara* offre de même un haut intérêt puisqu'il permet de grouper à la souche les diverses tribus ou clans fâñ.

Et il répond par exemple:

«*Mé ne Nze, mone Nkwax,* je suis Nze, fils des *Nkwax,*» c'est-à-dire du clan *Nkwax*[1].

«*O ne Nze nza?* Tu es Nze de qui?» c'est-à-dire: Quel est ton père?

«*Mé ne Nze Nzoÿo.* Je suis *Nze Nzoÿo,*» c'est-à-dire et sous entendu: Je suis *Nze,* fils de *Nzoÿo* et comme dans le clan. les *Nze* peuvent être nombreux, et ainsi des autres noms, dans la pratique, on dira couramment *Nze Nzoÿo.* Mais continuons notre interrogation.

«*Nzoÿo nza? — Nzoÿo Bitôma. — Bitôma binza*»[2].

Et ainsi de suite. Nous obtiendrons donc pour *Nze* la généalogie suivante:

Nze	*Otôñ*	*Ebias*
Nzoÿo	*Ndame* né *Mvi*	*Nsoÿe*
Bitôma	*Nkèle*	*Mvure* né *Ngol*
Ndama	*Mikvrè*	*Obiâñu*
Esoÿe	*Nkorele*	*Ndotuma*
Mikvrè	*Bikvras*	*Esoÿe*
Nkâñ	*Bikorele*	*Nkwax* né *Nduma* né *Nkvré*[3]
Ndotuma	*Esoÿe* né *Foÿe* né *Nkôñ*[3]	*Nzame*
Nzoÿo	*Mvas*	
Nkèle	*Nkâñe*	

Dans le même village, interrogeant un autre individu, j'obtiens la généalogie suivante:

Abure	*Esô*	*Esoÿe*	*Nkâñ*
Méndame	*Nkwax*	*Mikvrè*	*Ndotuma* etc.

et il m'est facile de m'apercevoir, ainsi que tous les assistants, du degré de parenté qui relie *Abure* et *Nze* dont l'ancêtre commun est *Esoÿe,* quatre générations auparavant

Dans un autre village *ye nkwax,* interrogeant le chef, j'obtiens la généalogie suivante:

---

[1] Le clan *Nkwax* dont fait partie ce Nze, habite un affluent du Komo.

[2] Remarquez ici que le préfixe de *nza,* simple adjectif, suivra l'accord du nom possessif et prendra, bien qu'au singulier, un préfixe pluriel parce que *Bitôma* est un nom pluriel (littéralement: les branches de palmier) — *Bitôma Béndama — Ndama nzá? — Ndam'Esoÿe — Esoÿe nza?*

[3] C'est-à-dire *Esoÿe* qui eut deux frères chefs de clans.

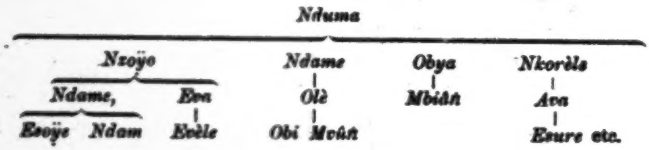
Ndotuma	*Nzuÿe*	*Nkèle*	*Nkorèle*
Nsoÿo	*Nzature*	*Mikwè*	*Bikwoas*
Nkwèl	*Nkoz*	*Esôñ*	*Bikorèle*
Anguma	*Mêbiâñ*	*Otore*	*Esoÿe* né *Foÿe* né *Nkôñ*

et par le même procédé que tout à l'heure, je reconnais immédiatement que la souche commune est *Nkorèle; Nze* descend de *Nkorèle* par *Mikwè*, et *Ndotuma,* le chef vivant actuellement, par *Otore Mikwè* et *Otore,* tous deux fils de *Nkorèle.*

Et en procédant ainsi, nous pouvons reconstituer peu à peu la généalogie de la tribu entière.

Mais ne nous en arrêtons pas là. Un autre procédé permettra d'aller plus loin et de savoir quelle est, dans la tribu, ou dans plusieurs familles, la branche aînée. En effet, dans l'*évora biéri,* ou boîte contenant les crânes des ancêtres, le fils aîné conserve le crâne de son père, de son aïeul, et ainsi de suite, de fils aîné en fils aîné, usage sur lequel nous aurons à revenir plus tard.

Nze possède les crânes de tous ses ancêtres jusqu'à et y compris *Nkwaz*; celui-ci est donc le représentant direct de la branche aînée. *Ndotuma,* au contraire, s'arrête à *Otore. Otore* était par conséquent un fils cadet de *Nkorèle.* Le tableau suivant montre ainsi comment, grâce aux crânes conservés, on peut reconstituer une famille.



Le crâne de *Nduma* sera possédé par *Esoÿe,* celui de *Ndame* par *Obi* etc. Au contraire *Ndam* second fils de *Ndame, Mvûñ,* fils d'*Olè,* ne posséderont aucun crâne, n'étant point héritiers directs, mais seulement cadets; en revanche, leurs propres crânes passeront à leur fils aîné.

Enfin, nous avons dit que, dans les généalogies, lorsque plusieurs noms étaient donnés sur une ligne parallèle, les Fâñ entendaient désigner par là les fondateurs d'un nouveau clan, parfois d'une nouvelle tribu.

Ainsi, dans la première généalogie ci-dessus, *Nze* nous donne *Otôñ,* fils de *Ndame,* et *Mvi.* Ceci nous indique immédiatement

que si *Nkèle,* père de *Ndame,* eut deux ou plusieurs fils (les autres généalogies renseigneront sur ce point), un seul de ces fils, *Ndame,* continua le lignage de la tribu. *Mvi* quitta sa tribu non pour une raison infamante, sans quoi il ne serait pas mentionné dans la liste, mais de son plein gré, et pour un autre motif, que souvent les légendes particulières nous indiqueront. Ainsi, dans ce cas, Mvi alla au loin fonder une tribu nouvelle dont il fut le chef, les Bémvi, encore existant aujourd'hui (villages sur l'Yé)[1]. Il sera donc facile d'établir la parenté entre la tribu *Bémvi* et la tribu *Yenkwax.*

En procédant de même, nous retrouverons les *Esoÿe* et les *Nkôñ,* les *Béndum* et les *Békwé*; toutes ces tribus, issues d'une même origine, et ayant le même sang, n'auront entre elles aucune alliance par mariage: la loi précédemment vue le leur défend, mais elles demeureront alliées au point de vue défensif et offensif à cause de la communauté d'origine.

Les généalogies actuellement conservées dans les tribus nous permettent de remonter à environ dix siècles en arrière, c'est-à-dire au temps de Charlemagne ou de Louis IX, à peu près; les générations les plus complètes que nous ayons pu recueillir comptent 32 ou 33 générations, telles celles des Yendum et des Yentsi, sur le haut Dzèm ou Ngoko, affluent de l'Ubangi.

3° Groupement des généalogies d'où sort le groupement des tribus.

Or, en réunissant toutes ces généalogies, il arrive ce fait curieux que peu à peu elles se resserrent, s'unissent, se groupent, et finalement se condensent en un certain nombre de tribus mères qui toutes commencent, pour le groupe Bétsi, par le mot *ye* «vallée». Dans une Etude parue jadis dans les «Missions Catholiques»[2] et à laquelle on peut se reporter pour plus amples renseignements, nous avions conclu finalement que les Fâñ, à une époque reculée de leur histoire, habitaient probablement sur les plateaux et les vallées qui limitent à l'Ouest le bassin du Bahr-el-Gazal; cette opinion concorde d'ailleurs avec ce que nous savons des Mombuttu, auxquels les Fâñ

[1] Karagwa de certaines cartes. Karagwa est le nom donné par les anciens maîtres du sol. Les Fâñ ont souvent conservé ces noms.

[2] «Les Fangs, où ils vont et d'où ils viennent». Miss. Cath. 1898.

sont unis, anthropologiquement parlant, d'une manière étroite. Dans un travail récent sur le Congo, AVELOT[1] s'est rallié à cette opinion.

Mais pour en revenir à notre sujet, à cette époque, les Fâñ étaient partagés déjà en un certain nombre de tribus; chacune habitait sa vallée ou son territoire, de préférence sa vallée, plus favorable aux cultures que les hauts plateaux: là devait en somme se trouver le groupement principal de la tribu. Or, comme nous l'avons déjà dit, le mot *ye* désigne la «vallée», et en groupant les généalogies, on arrive finalement à les réunir en un certain nombre de tribus, dont le nom commence également par *ye* «vallée». A *ye* se trouve adjoint nécessairement un qualificatif désignant, à la fois, et la tribu et la vallée, celle-ci ayant pris son nom de la tribu qui est venue l'habiter. Nous savons d'ailleurs, par d'autres témoignages historiques, que l'établissement des Fâñ sur les plateaux et vallées du Bahr-el-Gazal était postérieur à de premières migrations d'un pays plus éloigné encore; les légendes en ont conservé les traces.

Ce qualificatif adjoint au mot *ye* «vallée» est toujours, au moins autant que nous avons pu le constater, un nom de plante, d'animal, ou de phénomène céleste. Ainsi *Ye-Bikon,* vallée des Bananes, *Ye-Mvi,* vallée du *Mvi* (espèce de fleur), *Ye-Nzoχ,* vallée de l'Eléphant, *Ye-Ngü,* du Sanglier, *Ye-Mvé,* d'une sorte de petit quadrupède, *Ye-Mvéñ,* de la Pluie etc.

On pourrait, au premier abord, soutenir que les hommes des clans habitant ces vallées ont reçu leur nom de la vallée elle-même; dès lors, ce nom ne serait en somme qu'un sobriquet, ou encore une appellation géographique dûe à des circonstances climatériques à certaines plantes ou animaux qui habitaient de préférence ces vallées, ou encore à des faits qui se seraient produits. Ainsi, par exemple, quelques noms de villages que l'on retrouve aujourd'hui en pays fâñ sont dûs à ces circonstances[2]: tel *Nzoχ ébolia* ou

[1] Recherches sur l'histoire des migrations dans le bassin de l'Ogowé, 1906 (Bull. Sté de Géographie, Paris).

[2] Dans une brochure récente: Le Nomadisme chez les Fangs (Paris, Delagrave 1909) le P. MARTROU signale un certain nombre de noms de village se rapportant à cette origine. Tels *Alèn, Mélèn* du nom de l'Elaïs, palmier à huile, *Dzó, Adzáñ,* les arbres à graisse, *Akinétom,* on n'a pas peur des disputes, *Fula,* réunion d'une tribu etc. L'auteur fait remarquer à ce propos avec juste

Mbolenzox, l'éléphant pourri; on avait en effet trouvé là, à l'époque de la fondation du village, un éléphant pourri dans la brousse; telle encore *Atna*, la rivière noire etc. Mais il convient de remarquer que ce cas ne s'applique jamais à des noms de tribus ou de clans. Il serait, de plus, assez difficile à admettre que telle plante ou tel animal se soit ainsi rencontré à point nommé dans telle ou telle vallée. Mais, comme pareille chose serait encore possible, les deux preuves les plus fortes contre ce système nous paraissent être: 1° la formation actuelle des clans où on ne se préoccupe nullement de ces accidents; 2° le fait qu'avant d'habiter ces vallées, les clans étaient déjà formés et avaient, les légendes l'indiquent, accompli d'autres migrations. Aussi cette désignation du clan par le nom de l'animal ou de la plante totem ne nous semble pas, comme à Powell, l'origine du totémisme lui-même. Nous aurions peine encore à souscrire à l'opinion de Lang[1] disant dans «Social origins»: «Diverses circonstances (ressemblance physique réelle ou supposée) auraient provoqué la création spontanée de ces noms pour désigner aisément les groupes primitivement anonymes et d'abord vaguement distincts. Les totems seraient donc à l'origine de simples sobriquets. Sur ce nom se serait greffé un mythe d'où procéderait le système de rites et d'institutions religieuses que nous décrivons.» Ces groupes anonymes et d'abord vaguement distincts ne nous disent scientifiquement rien qui vaille. En tout cas, tel ne nous paraît pas le système fàñ.

Les Fàñ, disons-nous, seraient donc venus, à une époque impossible à préciser, d'un pays encore plus éloigné.

D'après la légende du crocodile, les Fàñ, à cette époque très reculée, auraient émigré en effet d'un pays situé sur le bord de grandes étendues d'eau, «avec des vagues», et le culte était alors, pour les Bétsi, celui du crocodile, auquel on offrait annuellement des victimes humaines. Nous aurons occasion de revenir à ce point en parlant de l'origine du totem.

Supposons donc ce point acquis: Les généalogies de tous les clans fàñ se groupent actuellement autour des généa-

raison que la confusion habituelle du nom du village avec celui de la tribu ou même du chef supposé du village est une erreur commune aux enfants de l'habitat fang.

[1] Cf. Baos, *op. cit.* p. 221.

logies des tribus commençant par *Ye*: dans ces dernières, quelques-unes donnent, par le même moyen, des preuves certaines de parenté qui d'abord les réduiraient en rameaux, puis finalement en une seule nation, composée à l'origine d'une seule tribu, puis d'une seule famille, d'où sort la nation actuelle.

Maintenant, donc, la nation fàñ se partage en quatre rameaux différents et chaque rameau en tribus.

Tout ce que nous venons de dire s'applique au rameau Bétsi, mais s'applique également, de fait, aux rameaux Méké et Fóñ, en observant toutefois que le nom de la tribu commencera généralement par *A* dans ces rameaux. Ainsi les *Amvom*, ou hommes du Boa. Les clans dérivés commenceront de même que dans les tribus Bétsi par *Es'* «père». Si la filiation est secondaire, le préfixe sera *O* ou *A*, tels les *Oyex*, ou plutôt par *Ebi*, synonyme de *Es'*, les *Angonavé*, les *Angonavel* etc. Ces clans seront facilement reconnaissables de la tribu; le mode de filiation étant le même que celui que nous avons donné pour les clans Bétsi, leur nom ne sera pas «totémique», mais reproduira celui du fondateur du clan. Là encore, seules, les généalogies pourront nous permettre cette constatation, puisque le nom du fondateur pourrait également être un nom d'animal et leur prêter une apparence totémique qui irait directement contre la loi énoncée: «se considérer comme étant de la lignée de l'animal éponyme.» Le totem du clan peut parfaitement bien en effet ne pas être le même que l'animal dont le fondateur porte le nom, ce qui n'empêche nullement le clan d'être totémique.

Cette constatation est importante à signaler.

4° Comment reconnaître la «tribu» de façon précise.

Nous réservons donc, indépendamment du nombre d'hommes ou de villages, le nom de «tribus» aux fractions organisées dont le nom commence par *Ye*. Ces fractions sont toutes totémiques, c'est-à-dire que la tribu porte bien le nom du totem auquel elle est vouée.

C'est ainsi, par exemple, que nous avons les:

Ye-ngol, jadis hommes de la vallée du *Ngol*, ou simplement les hommes du *Ngol*, les *Ngol*;

Ye-nkwax, Ye-bikon, Ye-ngôm, Ye-ngû etc. Hommes du *Nkwax* (esp. d'animal), des Bananes, du Porc épic, du Sanglier etc.

A l'époque actuelle, les tribus *Ye*, auxquelles, répétons-le encore, se rattachent tous les autres clans, sont au nombre de soixante à quatre-vingts, en tous cas ils ne dépassent certainement pas la centaine, chiffre déjà très considérable.

Ces tribus fáñ *Ye* sont nettement totémiques; ainsi:

Nom de la tribu.	Nom du totem.
Ye-ngol	*ngol*, espèce de poisson,
Ye-ngû	*ngû*, sanglier,
Ye-kwé	*kwé*, escargot,
Ye-mvin	*mvin*, esp. d'antilope,
Ye-mvux	*mvux*, animal nocturne,
Ye-ngi	*ngi*, chimpanzé,
Ye-ehôñ	*ehôñ*, espèce d'arbre etc. etc.
Ye-mvin	*mvin*, la pluie.

Non seulement ces tribus sont totémiques par le nom, mais elles répondent absolument à ce que W. R. Smith, et à sa suite, Marillier et les auteurs réclament du clan pour être totémique, à savoir:

1° Qu'il porte le nom d'une plante ou d'un animal [1].

2° Que ses membres fassent remonter leur origine à cet animal ou à cette plante et se considèrent comme étant de sa lignée. — En parlant plus loin de l'origine du totem, nous verrons comment se réalise cette condition.

3° Qu'ils attribuent aux animaux ou aux plantes de l'espèce à laquelle ils se rattachent par des liens de filiation, un caractère sacré, qui peut les conduire à les regarder comme des dieux, mais qui, en tout cas, les leur fait traiter avec vénération et n'en user point pour leur alimentation de chaque jour. — Nous verrons également comment les Fáñ réalisent cette condition.

De là, ressort également avec netteté cette conclusion que la tribu est totémique.

Il existe pour chaque tribu un totem différent, d'où nous concluons avec raison à l'existence du totem tribal. Dans un paragraphe suivant, nous examinerons ces différents totems.

[1] Parfois aussi, comme nous l'avons vu, d'un phénomène naturel.

c) Le totem de clan.

A l'exemple du totem de tribu, existe-t-il également un totem de clan, ou bien chaque clan, sorti de la tribu, garde-t-il avec lui le totem ancestral?

Il y a d'abord lieu ici à une très importante remarque. Certaines tribus ne portent pas le nom de leur totem «actuel», animal ou végétal. Si l'on en demande la raison aux chefs, souvent ils sont incapables de la donner: *Silege béñabur bémveye*, interroge les anciens qui savent, répondra-t-on. Le souvenir d'un totem plus ancien s'est conservé, et c'est tout. Cependant, grâce à quelques chefs plus intelligents ou plus soucieux des traditions de la race, nous pouvons donner la raison de ce fait, anormal à première vue.

Les tribus qui ne portent plus «actuellement» le nom de l'ancien totem, l'ont, non pas «perdu», mais «changé» au cours de leurs migrations successives, parce que le totem primitif, animal, végétal, ou autre, ne se retrouvait plus dans la région occupée plus tard. Ainsi, maintenant, tel est le cas pour le lion, le cheval, ou l'okapi, l'hyène, le lapin etc. et certaines plantes que l'on ne trouve pas dans la région équatoriale habitée par les Fáñ depuis leurs dernières migrations.

Les tribus ont donc changé de totem, car ne le trouvant plus dans leur pays, elles ne pouvaient continuer avec lui l'antique alliance qui doit, de temps à autre et dans les circonstances déterminées par les rites, être renouvelée par l'échange du sang. Qu'ont fait alors les tribus placées dans ce cas? Elles ont choisi un autre totem rappelant l'ancien autant que possible, mais elles ont soigneusement gardé le nom du totem primitif. Peu à peu, dans bien des cas, le souvenir de ce qu'était ce totem s'est à peu près perdu. Ainsi, les Ye-mbax, dont le totem est aujourd'hui une espèce d'antilope, ont eu un totem dont le signalement, aujourd'hui fantastique et en même temps fantaisiste, nous paraît cependant se rapporter, soit au cheval, à l'okapi ou à un autre solipède, comme on en retrouve dans le haut pays et dont le nom primitif pourrait bien être commun avec le *mbarta* ou solipède, des Banda [1]. De même, les Esi-Mara qui ont «changé» pour prendre le chat-tigre, ont probablement eu, d'après leurs traditions, le terrible

[1] Les Banda habitent les vallées de la Hte Kotto, du 4° au 10° Lat. N et du 18° au 23° de long E. Ce ne sont plus des Bantous. Une de leurs tribus, les Ndris, est assez connue.

«lion» que nous retrouvons en Banda sous un nom similaire: *bamara*. Par un phénomène inverse, mais qui semble bien confirmer notre opinion, les animaux ou végétaux localisés dans le territoire fân actuel ou encore que l'on retrouve bien au sud, mais non au nord, ne sont jamais totems, et surtout, fait beaucoup plus important, aucune tribu ne porte leur nom. Tels en particulier l'élais ou palmier à huile et le gorille, pourtant si remarquable, que les Fân craignent fort, et dont on retrouve souvent la main droite conservée dans la Maison publique comme fétiche de l'Esprit de la Force. —

Mais revenons à la demande que nous posions en tête de ce paragraphe: Existe-t-il un totem propre au clan, ou bien chaque clan garde-t-il le totem ancestral? Pour répondre à cette question, il faut nécessairement examiner d'abord ce qu'est le clan et s'en faire une idée nette. D'où nécessité d'en étudier la formation.

1° Désagrégation de la tribu, formation du clan.

Au cours des siècles, et aujourd'hui encore, sous l'influence des migrations ou du nombre croissant, les tribus continuent à se désagréger. La plupart du temps, cet événement se produira, soit à la suite de querelles familiales, soit à la mort du chef. Mais notons bien un phénomène remarquable et qui appuie notre thèse du totémisme: ce ne sera pas un individu «quelconque» qui se séparera ainsi de la tribu pour aller fonder ailleurs un nouveau clan: si, par hasard, le fait se produit, il demeure à l'état sporadique, et le clan ainsi formé sous l'influence d'un homme n'ayant ni autorité ancestrale, ni autorité totémique, ne tarde pas à disparaître.

Prenons le cas le plus fréquent, la mort du chef. D'après les lois constitutives de la tribu, le pouvoir, quelque soit le nombre des fils du défunt, ne passe pas au fils aîné, à moins qu'il ne soit déjà d'un âge avancé, mais au frère du défunt qui suit immédiatement par rang d'âge. A la mort de ce frère, la succession va successivement aux autres frères, jusqu'à extinction totale de la lignée, et le dernier frère étant disparu, alors seulement le pouvoir revient au fils aîné du frère aîné, et toujours ainsi. Si la branche aînée vient à disparaître, la branche cadette la remplace.

Mais on conçoit que dans bien des cas, les héritiers se soulent désireux et surtout pressés . . . d'hériter. Un frère puîné fera facile-

ment, s'il le peut sans inconvénients, disparaître un frère aîné. Le cas, il faut l'avouer, est cependant rare: une séparation à l'amiable est plus fréquente; elle l'a été surtout jadis, alors que dans les migrations continuelles de la tribu, la nécessité de rester unis était moins forte qu'une fois la tribu établie dans son territoire définitif, ou surtout dans un territoire à sa convenance. Très souvent aussi, le chef de la tribu envoyait en avant quelques-unes de ses hordes sous le commandement de ses frères ou de ses neveux. Le cas était légal: il a été de beaucoup le plus fréquent.

Quelles étaient alors les conséquences?

Un exemple le fera mieux saisir. Prenons, afin de préciser, la tribu des Yemvi, en remontant à quelque vingt générations. Le chef, à cette époque, est Bikwôñ[1]: il a trois frères puinés, Nture, Ngwa et Mikwé. De plus, il a des fils, Mvôñ et Mkwél. Pour une raison que nous ignorons, dispute familiale, manque de territoires de chasse, désir de conquêtes, de migration ou par esprit entreprenant, chacun des trois frères puinés se détache avec sa horde de la tribu principale. Nture et Ngwa s'en vont au loin, sans esprit de retour; Mikwé, au contraire, fonde un village dans les environs.

Qu'arrive-t-il? A la génération suivante, Nture et Ngwa ont fondé un «clan» nouveau: les villages de Nture et de Ngwa prendront leurs noms, et les enfants, remontant à leur ancêtre, dont les descendants en ligne directe conservent le crâne, preuve de la véracité de leur généalogie, diront: «Nous sommes les descendants de Nture, nous sommes les descendants de Ngwa, c'étaient nos pères: *Esa Nture, Esa Ngwa*, le père Nture, le père Ngwa», et désormais les hommes de ces deux fractions de la tribu Yemvi formeront deux nouveaux clans: les Esanture, les Esangwa. Les hommes de la tribu Yemvi continuant nécessairement leur existence, nous aurons donc à ce moment trois fractions sœurs, filles d'une même racine:

Ye-mvi

Yemvi *Esanture* *Esangwa*

et les Yemvi se trouveront ainsi groupés sous trois branches différentes, l'une étant la tribu proprement dite, les deux autres, des clans, et l'ensemble, la tribu Yemvi.

[1] Nouvelle preuve de l'utilité des généalogies. On pourrait étendre cet exemple à toutes les tribus.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Ce fait est très remarquable à signaler au point de vue du totem et de l'exogamie.

Un point important est à noter ici: c'est que ces hordes, ainsi lancées en avant, constituent plus tard les clans dont nous venons de parler, par suite même de leur mode de formation. Ce sont en effet les jeunes guerriers de la tribu qui partent ainsi en avant, mais ils n'emmèneront pas avec eux de femmes ou d'enfants, qu'ils n'ont d'ailleurs guère encore. Seul, le nouveau chef a la sienne ou les siennes, et parfois aussi ses frères qui l'accompagnent, ont également les leurs. On conçoit en effet que les femmes seraient plutôt un embarras pour ces hordes, surtout si elles étaient en nombre trop considérable, car ces nomades font parfois des randonnées fantastiques, se lançant à des centaines de kilomètres de la tribu-mère. De plus, une des principales raisons de ces migrations est surtout le désir et le besoin de se procurer des femmes. Les jeunes guerriers trouvent difficilement des épouses; ils sont liés d'un côté par les lois totémiques qui les empêchent de trouver femmes dans leur tribu ou dans les tribus alliées par le sang, quelque soit l'éloignement de la parenté; d'un autre côté, les chefs, par le fait même de leur puissance et de leur richesse plus grande, accaparent toutes les femmes. On comprend facilement que certains chefs pour eux seuls, par exemple, qui possèdent trois cents femmes, et plus, lesquelles travaillent toutes pour lui, puissent sans cesse augmenter encore ce nombre, soit par achat, produit du travail, soit par échange de leurs propres filles, ce que ne peuvent faire les jeunes guerriers.

Arrivée sur le territoire d'une tribu étrangère, après avoir obtenu libre passage chez les clans alliés, ou forcé sa route, soit de nuit, soit à main armée si les clans sont ennemis, la horde se construit, dans la forêt, un abri provisoire. Les ou le chef partent alors nouer quelques relations près de la tribu étrangère voisine, souvent près des Bésèy, Balengi, Bakélé etc. Ils s'établissent alors en un point qu'ils jugent favorable, puis commencent leurs déprédations. Ils attaquent les hommes isolés, qui sont presque toujours mangés afin d'éviter toute représaille ultérieure, ils volent les femmes qu'ils font leurs, et qui se soumettent à leur nouveau sort avec la passivité habituelle à la femme de ces races. Ainsi, peu à peu, de nouvelles familles se constituent à peu de frais, et se groupent dans

une forte organisation autour de la cellule-mère du clan, constituée par la famille du chef, elle, bien autochtone. Alors, la horde a disparu: un nouveau clan filial est constitué; il n'aura plus avec la branche-mère que de lointains rapports, tout en conservant toujours le souvenir et les lois de sa filiation. Il nous est arrivé ainsi de rencontrer des clans à plusieurs centaines de kilomètres de la branche-mère. Le village des Abè, sur la rivière Tsini, à quelques vingt kilomètres de Libreville, avait été ainsi conduit par son chef actuel, lors de sa jeunesse, depuis les sources de l'Alna jusqu'à l'emplacement actuel, à 500 kilomètres environ du lieu d'origine. Rien n'égale la stupéfaction et le contentement du vieillard, lorsque pour la première fois, au retour d'un long voyage, je lui donnai des nouvelles de ses frères et parents restés là bas, et avec lesquels il n'avait jamais eu depuis lors de communications. Il fut particulièrement heureux d'apprendre que l'arbre *Abé* dont son clan portait le nom, planté lors de sa naissance sur les restes de son ombilic était encore parfaitement vivace. C'est une curieuse cérémonie totémique dont nous aurons à parler, au sujet des rites de la naissance.

Ainsi se constitue un nouveau clan.

Ce mode de formation «radicale» explique en même temps pourquoi la grande tribu fàñ, ou mieux la nation, forme, au centre, un groupe compact et sans aucun mélange: aucune tribu étrangère n'habite au milieu d'eux: elle a été purement et simplement «mangée». De ce fait, ressort cette conséquence que la langue demeure intacte, tout aussi bien que le faisceau des croyances et traditions, et l'ensemble des rites. L'influence d'une tribu étrangère ne saurait agir, puisque cette tribu est «absorbée», littéralement. Les femmes et les enfants, qui seuls sont épargnés, sont transportés au loin; ils deviennent bien vite aussi «fàñ» que leurs vainqueurs, d'autant que les femmes sont mises sur le même pied que les autres femmes et nullement réduites en esclavage, et que les enfants mâles, adoptés, seront également tous reconnus comme de véritables Fàñ. J'ai vu des enfants Naèz ainsi capturés: à peine se souvenaient-ils de leur origine, et nul ne les en faisait souvenir: ils étaient absolument sur le même pied que les autres enfants. Toutefois, ces «importés» demeurent toujours simples guerriers. Adoptés par un chef, ils ne lui succèdent pas.

Le peuple fâñ gagne continuellement sur les tribus voisines, et deviendra dans un temps donné, car il est très prolifique, le maître du Congo. Seuls, les Négrilles ont absolument résisté à cette absorption, mais leur nombre est infime, et ils vivent à l'égard des Fâñ, dans un état de demi-domesticité, demi-esclavage.

Quand, au contraire, un ensemble de familles se sépare de la tribu pour aller s'établir à une distance généralement peu éloignée, ce n'est plus un clan, mais un village dépendant de la tribu et du village dont il se détache, qui s'établit. Ces villages sont presque toujours sous le commandement d'un frère ou d'un fils du chef principal; ils forment avec le village souche un groupe homogène. Nous avons rencontré de ces groupements comptant ainsi quarante villages et plus, et tendant sans cesse à s'accroître, puis à se disséminer, accroissement et dissémination nécessités par les besoins des cultures qui s'épuisent vite [1].

Reprenons maintenant le cas précédent. Mikwé, frère de Bikwôñ, s'est également séparé de son frère, emmenant avec lui quelques familles pour fonder un nouveau village. Il renonce par là même à la succession de Bikwôñ, mais demeure sous son autorité, et plus tard son village obéira de même au fils aîné de Bikwôñ, mais d'une obéissance toute relative, et seulement dans certains cas particuliers. En fait cependant, et dans les grands palabres la chose a son importance, le pouvoir suprême, chez les Yemvi [2] — car c'est chez eux que nous avons pris cet exemple — restera au descendant soit en ligne directe, soit en ligne collatérale de l'ancêtre Bikwôñ, dans les cas énumérés précédemment. Par le hasard ou l'enchaînement des circonstances, il pourra très bien se faire que le village du chef suprême devienne un misérable hameau, et que ce chef soit un bien pauvre hère: il n'en conservera pas moins son titre et son rang reconnu. Il nous souvient d'avoir ainsi rencontré le chef des Esawôñ, puissante tribu du centre. Ce chef vint à nous, vêtu de misérables haillons, mais très fier de son importance, reconnue d'ailleurs. Or, son village renfermait à peine une dizaine de cases et autant de guerriers proprement à lui.

---

[1] Voir: le Nomadisme des Fang par le P. Martrou, déjà cité (p. 115, n. 2).

[2] Ce qui est vrai des Yemvi, l'est aussi évidemment de toutes les autres tribus.

Bikwôñ a deux fils, Mvôñ et Mkwèl. Mvôñ lui succèdera; mais si du vivant de Bikwôñ, son fils aîné et successeur, ennuyé d'attendre l'héritage, ou pour toute raison, se détache de lui et part en avant fonder de nouveaux villages, un nouveau clan sera établi.

Mais là, intervient un fait nouveau: le fils aîné ne saurait avoir d'autre totem ancestral que celui de son père, et son clan sera la filiale directe de la tribu-mère. D'où le clan nouveau ne prendra pas le nom de son chef, père et fondateur, mais gardera le nom de l'ancêtre en le modifiant ou plutôt en le désignant de façon spéciale: *Esamvi*, le père *Mvi* ou si l'on préfère: *Mvi* est notre père, et nous sommes, nous, les hommes d'*Esamvi*: *Bur Esamvi*: dans la pratique, on dira simplement *Esamvi*, les Esamvi. Mais en réalité, et c'est ce qui confirme notre opinion, si l'on demande à un Fâñ de cette tribu:

— «Qui es-tu? *O ne nza?*» —

il ne répondra pas:

— »*Mé ne Esamvi*, je suis Esamvi»

ce qui n'aurait aucun sens, puisque c'est le nom du chef de la tribu, mais:

— «*Mé ne mone Esamvi*, je suis un enfant du père Mvi.»

Toutefois, dans la pratique, le clan prend forcément le nom de l'ancêtre, et l'on dira les villages des *Esamvi*, en sous-entendant »hommes».

Par suite de ce nouveau fractionnement, nous aurons donc:

Ye Mvi

Yemvi		*Esanture*	*Esangwa*
Yemvi	*Esamvi*	*Esanture*	*Esangwa.*

Si, pour une raison ou pour une autre, ces tribus viennent encore à se subdiviser, elles suivront les mêmes règles de filiation.

Le rameau Bêtsi se composera ainsi de tribus en *Ye*, et de clans en *Esa*, en notant que ce mot, qui veut dire «père» se transforme en *Esé*, *Esi*, *Eso*, dans certains cas, c'est-à-dire si le nom du fondateur du clan commence par une voyelle autre que *A*. Ainsi trouvons-nous les *Esamekos*, les *Esambun*, les *Esébékâñ*, les

Esisis, les *Esobam*, les *Esoké*[1], suivant que le père de la tribu est *Mekos* ou *Mbun*, *Ebekâñ*, *Isis*, *Obam*, *Oké* etc.

Dans le rameau Méké et le rameau Fâñ, le mot *Esa* père, sera remplacé par *Eba*, qui est le même en dialecte méké (et que l'on retrouve d'ailleurs comme racine en bétsi: *ébo* faire, *ébi* planter, *ébo* arranger etc.), et nous aurons ainsi les Ebikwé, des Yekwé, les Ebifill, des Ye fill, les Ebinayèl etc.

Parfois même, fait plus caractérisé, le premier clan filial de la tribu-mère conservera le mot *ye*, distinctif de la tribu, mais en l'ajoutant devant le mot *ébi* ou *ésa*, propres aux filiales. Ainsi nous trouvons ce cas dans les Yemvèñe, Yebimvèñe, Ebimvèñe, trois clans dont le premier est la tribu-mère, le second, sa première filiale, le troisième, une filiale suivante.

2° Exceptions à la forme habituelle de désagrégation.

Cette division serait on ne peut plus facile pour relier toutes les tribus si elle demeurait constante. Malheureusement, il n'en est pas toujours ainsi, ou plutôt, plusieurs cas se présentent. On trouve, en effet, des tribus dont le nom ne commence ni par *Ye*, ni par *Es'* ou *Eb'*, mais bien

par le préfixe *A*, tels les Angonavé, les Angonavel, les Abé,
par le préfixe *Bé*, signe du pluriel, Békwé, Bémvu, Bulé,
par le préfixe *O*, Oyex, Oshum.
par le préfixe *N*, Ntum.

Plusieurs explications se présentent pour ces tribus, d'ailleurs rares. Si elles appartiennent aux rameaux Bétsi ou Méké:

1° La dénomination Esa ou Ebi a disparu lorsque ces clans sont des clans séparatistes d'un autre clan constitué. Ainsi les Abé[2] de la Mondah se relient aux Esabé, demeurés aux sources du Ntém, les Békwé aux Esikwé etc.

[1] D'où l'on voit avec quelle raison (!) les explorateurs écrivent ce mot *Esa* «père», en l'orthographiant *Ess*, *Ezi* ou *Ci*, comme dans *Essisis* ou encore *Ezisis* ou simplement *Cisis*! C'est pure ignorance de la langue.

[2] Nous avons vu que ce clan a choisi son domicile actuel par suite de la proximité d'un arbre *Abé*. Quand un clan porte le nom d'un arbre voisin remarquable, il faut généralement en conclure qu'il s'est établi là à cause de cet arbre qui lui rappelle son totem et nullement que le clan a pris le nom de l'arbre. C'est un cas assez fréquent.

2° Ce sont des tribus aussi anciennes que les *Ye*, mais qui alors, au lieu d'habiter dans les vallées, seraient demeurés sur les collines ou les plateaux.

Elles peuvent également appartenir au rameau fôñ, peu nombreux, et dont l'organisation intérieure est très peu connue. Seules, les généalogies de la tribu ou du clan permettent de se prononcer.

Mais, et nous voulions en arriver à cette conséquence, la tribu et tous ses clans, quelque soit leur nombre, conservent en première ligne le totem tribal. Ainsi, pour la tribu Yemvi et tous ses clans dérivés, la plante *Mvi* demeurera le totem tribal.

3° La formation du totem de clan.

Toutefois, et cette constatation est des plus importantes, à côté du totem tribal, surgira un nouveau totem, le totem de clan. En effet, dans le cas cité plus haut, Nture et Ngwa avaient chacun, en tant que chefs de famille, leur totem familial. Mais ce totem, par là même qu'ils deviennent chefs de clan, devient non plus totem familial, mais totem de clan. A lui donc s'adresseront désormais les hommages du clan, qui, on le voit, ne portera plus le nom du totem, mais bien celui du fondateur, tout en restant nettement totémique; ainsi le totem de la phratrie sera, pour ainsi dire, promu à un rang supérieur. Est-ce à dire pour cela que disparaîtra le totem ancestral de la tribu? Nullement. Il ne disparaîtra pas, tout au moins de droit. En fait, il sera amoindri, car toutes les fois que l'on aura à invoquer le totem, dans les cas où le clan sera menacé ou bien aura besoin de son secours, ou encore dans les cérémonies cultuelles du totem, on invoquera le totem du clan, et non plus celui de la tribu. Cependant celui-ci subsistera néanmoins, et dans les circonstances où les clans se réuniront, par exemple si la tribu-mère est menacée, ou dans un cas d'assemblée solennelle *(ésama)*, le totem tribal reprendra son importance, et les totems de clan s'inclineront devant lui.

Enfin, le totem de la tribu, même oublié par suite de la longue séparation, soit en distance locale, soit en distance de la souche primitive, demeure cependant vivant, en tant que ses prescriptions demeurent, sans pouvoir jamais être abolies. Ainsi, pour n'en citer qu'un exemple, dans le cas précédent, un Yemvi

ne pourra épouser une femme Esangwa; cependant, à l'époque actuelle, les deux tribus sont séparées par vingt ou vingt-cinq générations, et la parenté, si le mariage se faisait par impossible, peut être beaucoup plus éloignée. Nous disons: si le mariage se faisait par impossible, car en fait, il ne se fait jamais, la loi d'exogamie étant une des plus solidement maintenues des lois totémiques. Pareille dérogation ne viendrait pas plus à l'esprit d'un Yemvi que pour un Européen, d'épouser sa sœur. L'un ou l'autre cas est possible, mais entraîne forcément une série de pénalités et aussi d'expiations nécessaires. La société s'en charge dans un cas; dans l'autre, le chef, représentant de l'autorité et ancêtre vivant, ne peut non plus le laisser passer sans les sanctions nécessaires.

Aussi la remarque de Mr. Baos[1] est-elle des plus justes: «Par la suite, les clans se subdivisent à l'infini et naturellement, peu à peu le premier totem qui lui a donné naissance s'évanouit pour faire place en importance aux sous-totems des subdivisions: il en reste au moins le lien clanique qui maintient quelque temps encore les prescriptions exogamiques.» C'est ce qui arrive chez les Fân. Le seul mot qui, pour eux, nous paraisse à reprendre est le mot «clanique», auquel doit être substitué le mot «tribal». Nous en avons donné les raisons.

De là encore, la différence entre les défenses totémiques et tabouales dont nous aurons à nous préoccuper.

4° Conclusion.

De tout ce que nous venons de dire, se détachent pour les Fân et tribus apparentées, et par là même peut-être pour l'ensemble bantou, deux règles qui semblent aller à l'encontre de ce que beaucoup d'auteurs ont écrit sur le totémisme et qui en plusieurs points, surtout par rapport à son importance, ne s'accordent pas avec leur système.

Ces deux règles sont:

1° De ce qu'un clan (tel que nous l'avons défini, et nous ne nous disons pas une tribu) ne porte pas le nom du totem, il ne faut pas se hâter de conclure qu'il n'est pas totémique;

2° Ce qu'on n'a pas toujours assez remarqué, un clan peut très bien

[1] Baos, op. cit. p. 238.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

porter le nom d'un animal, paraître ainsi au premier abord toténique, et cependant n'avoir aucune espèce de culte ou d'honneur pour l'animal dont il porte le nom, car il ne le reconnaît pas pour totem.

Le cas se présente ainsi pour les Esamvûñ, par exemple, pour ne citer que ceux-là, où le *mvûñ,* sorte d'antilope, ne reçoit aucun culte de clan. Ce fait n'empêche cependant en aucune façon ce clan d'être totémique: comment donc le démontrer?[1] Ici se place naturellement l'explication que nous avons donnée de l'origine du clan. Les Esamvûñ ont été fondés par Mvûñ, qui est le père du clan. Mais, dans toute la tribu fâñ, les individus portant un nom d'animal sont excessivement fréquents, et ce vocable n'implique en aucune façon qu'ils aient pour totem l'animal dont ils portent le nom. Les mêmes ethniques se reproduisent souvent dans la famille, le petit-fils porte fréquemment le nom du grand-père. Parfois encore, une circonstance toute fortuite détermine le nom de l'enfant: ce sera un animal tué ce jour-là, un événement survenu, un étranger qui passe, surtout s'il est extraordinaire, tel un Européen. Ainsi, dans nos explorations du Congo Nord, il nous est arrivé maintes fois le fait suivant: les enfants catholiques qui nous accompagnaient répondaient simplement aux gens des villages qui demandaient notre nom: «C'est le *Minissé*»[2] —, nom d'ailleurs plus facile à prononcer que le nôtre. Et nombreux sont les enfants, qui, d'aventure, nés en ce temps là, ont reçu le nom, très peu fâñ, de *Minissé.* On conçoit facilement qu'ils ne nous aient pas choisi pour totem! Nous avons fait cependant remarquer qu'à un certain point de vue, nous étions leur *étotore,* en signalant la différence entre les deux termes.

Donc, et la constatation est des plus importantes, si chez les Fâñ et nombre de tribus bantoues, nous trouvons un clan appelé le «Clan des Vautours», «des Serpents» etc., ne nous hâtons pas, comme certains auteurs qui ont plutôt étudié dans le silence du cabinet ou bien sur des documents de seconde main, d'en tirer la

[1] Nous avons donné en outre l'explication du totem «changé» par suite de la disparition de l'animal toténique primitif.

[2] *Minissé,* corruption du mot anglais «ministry». Les indigènes l'emploient partout pour désigner les missionnaires de tout culte.

déduction suivante: le clan des Vautours, des Serpents, des Tigres etc. s'assimile aux animaux dont il porte le nom, leur rend un culte totémique, ou s'il ne leur rend plus, en est à un stade postérieur d'évolution: dans beaucoup de cas, cette conclusion serait prématurée.

S'il s'agit d'une tribu, le fait a beaucoup de chances d'être vrai.

S'il s'agit d'un clan, le fait a beaucoup de chances d'être erroné. C'est pourquoi nous avons cru bon de nous appesantir assez longtemps sur ces notions assez confuses de «tribus» et de «clans», ordinairement singulièrement mêlées: pour les uns, le «clan» et c'est la définition de nombreux dictionnaires, est une tribu composée de familles, et la tribu «une division du peuple»: ces définitions n'apprennent rien et compliquent la question.

Pour nous donc, et on en a vu les conséquences au point de vue totémique, la nation est l'ensemble des tribus, la tribu est un ensemble de clans, dont deux seulement gardent le nom propre de la tribu, le clan du fondateur de la tribu et celui fondé par un de ses fils ou descendants en ligne directe; le clan est un ensemble de phratries, développement actuel d'une famille «une» à l'origine, gouvernée par le fondateur du clan; ce clan porte le nom du fondateur. Du clan, naîtront à leur tour, et sous l'influence des mêmes circonstances, des sous-clans. L'ensemble n'en continuera pas moins à se rattacher à la tribu-mère. En somme, la tribu constitue, dans son ensemble, un arbre aux branches plus ou moins ramifiées. La tribu-mère en forme le tronc: elle aura une pre*mière filiale, la branche maîtresse*, qui gardera encore son nom; mais encore, à côté de cette branche maîtresse, elle poussera d'autres branches, également sorties du tronc, et qui seront, elles, plus ou moins fortes, parfois plus fortes même que la branche maîtresse, mais toujours filles, comme elle, du tronc lui-même. Chaque branche à son tour se ramifiera, certains rejetons même, **telles des boutures** sociales, s'en iront fructifier au loin et constituer de nouvelles souches; ce n'en sera pas moins la même vie qui circulera dans toutes les branches, les rattachera toutes au vieux tronc; l'étranger qui passe pourra s'y tromper: le Noir, lui, fier de son origine antique, ne l'oubliera pas, et gardera précieusement les derniers lambeaux qui lui restent de son histoire nationale.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Lorsque, le soir, dans la maison commune, quelque chanteur attitré redira les hauts faits des aïeux, les guerres sanglantes d'autrefois, les victoires de l'épopée nationale, un souffle ardent fera vibrer les âmes des noirs guerriers: dans le vent qui passe, dans la brise qui agite les bananiers, ils croiront entendre les mânes des anciens qui viennent, dans la nuit sombre, retrouver leurs descendants et reconnaître si le sang vigoureux de jadis n'a point dégénéré!

Souvent, j'ai assisté à ce spectacle. Et tandis que dans la case, les feux s'éteignaient, on entendait les vieux chefs redire avec un orgueil mélancolique: «C'est nous qui avons fait cela!»

Mais aujourd'hui, ce ne sont plus guère, sauf là bas, bien loin, dans les profondeurs les plus reculées de la forêt immense, ce ne sont plus les âmes des morts qui viennent: ce sont les Blancs qui apparaissent...

Et les Dieux antiques s'en vont!

Si, à la place, s'élève un culte nouveau et fort, si le christianisme vient infuser un sang nouveau dans ces âmes viriles, c'est bien.

Si, au contraire, le Blanc n'apparaît, comme il le fait trop souvent, que pour détruire sous son souffle railleur les anciennes croyances et ne donner à la place que le culte de l'argent, si au lieu du social relèvement, il n'apporte au Noir que le désir et la vue de honteuses débauches, et le cas est journalier, alors, nous n'hésitons pas à le dire, mieux vaudraient, pour le Noir, ses antiques croyances. Malgré l'esclavage, malgré la barbarie, malgré un état social profondément inférieur, il conserverait au moins quelques notions de droit, de morale et de justice.

d) Le totem familial.

Continuant notre étude sur le développement du totémisme fàn, nous devons maintenant examiner à ce point de vue, la famille fàn en tant que cellule sociale.

La famille constitue donc, répétons-le encore, la cellule sociale, d'où dérive naturellement la tribu. Celle-ci en est le développement, en groupant sous l'autorité d'un même chef de famille, aîné et représentant du père de la race dont il descend, les autres familles issues successivement de la branche commune.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

De la tribu, augmentation ou développement normal de la famille, naîtront à leur tour les clans; bien que se groupant en filiales près de la branche mère et reconnaissant son autorité, ceux-ci n'en constitueront pas moins une sorte de désagrégation de la tribu.

Les clans, ensemble de familles à l'origine desquelles on trouvera souvent un apport de sang étranger dû au rapt ou à la guerre avec tribus ennemies, ne seront en réalité qu'une réunion de phratries, parfois divisées d'intérêt, mais toujours reliées par la grande loi du sang.

Telle est, à notre avis, la constitution de la tribu fâñ, et en cela nous nous rallions complètement à la doctrine de Le Play, continuée, au point de vue africain, par son disciple de Parville.

Toutefois, cette doctrine est loin, nous le savons, d'être admise par tout le monde, et Arcin, par exémple, dans son livre sur la Guinée française [1], propose un tout autre système qui peut également se défendre.

Pour lui donc, et pour plusieurs auteurs,

1° le clan, qui représente originairement la race, est la première forme sociale;

2° par suite de la désagrégation progressive du clan, et comme conséquence de la propriété individuelle que l'homme s'arroge sur la femme, se crée la forme familiale dont l'extension est la phratrie, puis la tribu;

3° cette tribu, en s'amalgamant à des tribus voisines, forme la sous-race;

4° chacune des tribus de la sous-race se divise à son tour en familles particulières;

5° enfin, en se répandant un peu partout, ces familles «particulières se sont agrégées à d'autres familles venant de tribus «étrangères, et bien que conservant encore leur nom tribal, ont «formé ensemble des nationalités, des Etats, placés sous le com-«mandement du chef d'une de ces familles.»

On voit combien cette conception, tout en laissant le clan sous l'autorité du totem, s'éloigne de la nôtre. Il nous paraît donc nécessaire de la reprendre en détail.

[1] Arcin, *op. cit.* La constitution de la famille.

La société noire, continue ARCIN [1], est patriarcale.

Le père est toujours le chef politique dont le pouvoir est absolu. C'est le *koroké*, le vieil homme. C'est également la conception fàñ, *ñamur*, disent-ils; ce nom que beaucoup traduisent par «vieillard», désigne en réalité, un homme vraiment homme, auquel l'expression s'applique dans toute sa force, un «maître» homme, pourrions-nous dire.

Mais tantôt les enfants sont reconnuus parents dans la ligne paternelle seule (les Fàñ), tantôt dans la seule ligne maternelle (leurs voisins les Mpongwé), suivant que le père est, ou non, le chef religieux de la famille. De là, d'un côté, la famille est dite agnatique, tels les Fàñ; de l'autre, cognatique, tels les Mpongwé.

On peut dire qu'en règle générale, après la dispersion des clans primitifs, la famille africaine a été cognatique à l'origine. Il semble certain, en effet, ajoute encore ARCIN, et si nous le citons, c'est qu'en somme, il reflète toute la pensée de l'école matérialiste anthropologique dont MORTILLET a été le chef, «il semble certain que les clans furent la première forme de la société.» Mais la seule preuve qu'il puisse en apporter est celle-ci que beaucoup trouveront, de fait, bien pauvre: «Les femmes, dit Hérodote en parlant de certains Lybiens, sont en commun chez ces peuples ... les enfants sont élevés par leurs mères.» «Tel est bien le clan primitif d'où dérive la famille cognatique.»

Loin d'accepter la valeur de cette citation, nous pourrions opposer immédiatement qu'il faudrait d'abord que le témoignage d'Hérodote fût prouvé. Or, beaucoup de témoignages de cet auteur à propos des Africains sont erronés, tels sur les Pygmées, les Hommes à queue, les Singes etc.! A supposer la vérité de l'observation citée, il peut très bien s'agir de quelque clan, par exemple, où les femmes auraient été en trop petit nombre, d'un fait isolé, ou encore d'un rapport de voyageur mal informé. Il est facile de ce tromper, surtout lorsque, comme Hérodote, on ne connait pas la langue indigène. CUNY [2], en parlant des Fàñ, au milieu desquels il a vécu, dit bien qu'ils sont monogames, erreur manifeste pour un peuple qui considère au

[1] Guinée, p. 345 et sq.

[2] Voir Bibliographie. — Les rapports de CUNY ont peu de valeur.

contraire la monoganie comme un déshonneur ou une marque de pauvreté! — A côté de ces Lybiens d'Hérodote, vivaient aussi les Egyptiens, d'une civilisation bien plus ancienne et dont, certes, le clan n'était pas ainsi constitué. Mais passons.

«Ce mode «cognatique» de formation entraîne des conséquences considérables. Les mariages sont exogamiques.» — Nous montrerons que l'exogamie est au contraire une conséquence totémique de la famille agnatique.

«L'enfant hérite, non du père, mais de l'oncle maternel» — ce que nous trouvons également dans la famille mpongwée, moins totémique cependant que la famille fân.

«Son fétiche éponyme [c'est-à-dire le totem: on voit combien il est utile de dstinguer, comme nous le ferons plus loin entre totem et fétiche; la conception de l'un est toute différente de la conception de l'autre] est celui de la famille de sa mère et du clan primitif dont cette fanille est un dérivé.»

Nous avons donc là en somme une constitution analogue, sauf la différence entre fmille cognatique et agnatique, avec ce que nous retrouvons dans la tribu fân.

«A côté de la fmille cognatique[1] se forma dans la période contemporaine une fmille agnatique, sous l'influence musulmane, et actuellement les deux types existent côte à côte suivant les peuplades, et suivant qu'elles sont musulmanes ou fétichistes. Sous l'influence européenne le mouvement s'est encore accentué en faveur du type agnatique.»

Cette remarque est vraie, d'autant qu'elle concorde avec ce que nous voyons de la faveur accordée malheureusement aux musulmans. Cependant, cette influence est utile au point de vue des mœurs, car s'il est irrationel que l'oncle maternel, le *mbalo* mpongwé, soit, à l'exclusion du père, maître de l'enfant auquel au fond il s'intéresse peu, autant il est juste que ce soit le père. Mais nous sommes loin d'accorder telle part à l'influence musulmane. D'un côté, les Fân et la plupart des tribus bantoues ignorent cette

[1] Bien des faits viendraient d'ailleurs contre cette théorie. Si d'un côté, par exemple, nous trouvons le même type de famille chez les Fân aussi haut que nous puissions remonter, nous trouvons le type exactement contraire chez les Mpongwé, leurs voisins, et dont la langue semble faire partie du même rameau.

influence; d'un autre, et c'est la raison principale, les généalogies fàñ sont là pour nous montrer qu'au contraire, si haut que l'on puisse remonter, le clan fàñ a toujours été agnatique. Et encore, au premier ancêtre, chef de la race, nommé, le Fàñ a grand soin d'ajouter: «Et celui-là était fils de beaucoup d'autres, et au devant de tous, il y avait le Créateur, et là, je n'étais pas présent.»

Eñi esayóñ.

Ane mur éto a mbe é mvus eñi mbox, ni vale, ni vale; ane oshu, Nzame a mbe; ésim éto, mé dia va.

Littéralement: «Mais celui-ci était le père de la race, mais cet homme était derrière un autre (allusion à la coutume fàñ: le frère aîné porte son frère sur le dos, d'où «celui qui est derrière», celui qui est sur le dos désigne le cadet) et ainsi, et ainsi, mais, devant tous, le Créateur chef était; en ce temps là, je n'étais pas présent.»

Et cette phrase que l'on retrouve dans toutes les tribus, même et surtout si elles n'ont jamais vu de «Blanc», ne montre-t-elle pas bien la famille fàñ, constituée ainsi sous l'autorité du père de famille, et remontant d'âge en âge, de siècle en siècle, jusqu'au grand père de la famille humaine, au Créateur — chef et père de la race! Et à Lui, le Fàñ, rejetant dédaigneusement la théorie qui ferait de ses ancêtres un conglomérat d'êtres vivant bestialement dans la forêt, sans règles de morale, adresse en somme un acte superbe de foi: *Ane, oshu, Nzame a mbe,* «Mais devant tous, père du premier homme de ma race, Dieu se tient!»

«Mais continue Arcin, il est bon de remarquer que la famille africaine n'est pas restreinte comme la famille européenne. Qu'elle soit cognatique ou agnatique, elle ne comprend pas seulement le père, la mère et les enfants, mais tous les descendants d'un même ancêtre. Voilà pourquoi les Noirs se disent frères de village, quoiqu'ils n'aient ni père ni mère communs.» — C'est vrai, mais il se disent frères parce qu'ils ont même origine, attestée par le totem tribal.

«Ce groupement, lorsqu'il est agnatique (et c'est le cas de nos Fàñ), correspond exactement à la «gens» romaine, et est basée sur le culte des ancêtres.» — Nous avons vu déjà et verrons plus loin encore, en parlant de l'origine du totem, combien ces deux idées,

culte du totem, culte de l'ancêtre, sont intimement liées, bien que distinctes.

«La famille cognatique a adopté, elle aussi, le culte des ancêtres à mesure que le souvenir du clan s'effaçait. Mais elle a conservé, en le modifiant, le culte totémique, que l'on trouve également à l'état de souvenir dans la famille agnatique.» — Tout ce que nous venons de dire montre, au contraire, combien le culte totémique demeure bien plus qu'un souvenir dans la famille agnatique, dont la famille fân peut être considérée comme un type presque pur, remontant fort loin dans les âges.

«Le «totem», ancêtre mythologique du clan, lui sert d'emblème, et lui donne son nom. C'est un animal ou un objet. Le totem a perdu, avec la désagrégation du clan, une partie de sa signification. L'être animé ou inanimé, adoré de cette société primitive, a cessé parfois d'être considéré comme l'ancêtre. Rome, dit André Lefèvre (La Religion p. 11) célébrait la louve nourrice de son fondateur. La plupart des tribus Yakoutes ont l'oie, le cygne, le corbeau pour ancêtres et pour signes distinctifs. Les Thibétains se croient issus d'un singe et d'une guenon. La postérité du chien est innombrable dans le Nord de l'Amérique et dans l'Asie Orientale [1]. Les Bohémiens nomades se nomment Kalia, c'est-à-dire les Noirs, comme descendants du «serpent démon» qui vainquit Krishna. Chez les Kalloches, les totems sont les loups blancs, le corbeau, le dauphin etc.»

«On s'est contenté d'associer le totem à la légende fabuleuse du premier patriarche de la phratrie qui a succédé au clan. Néanmoins, l'expression «c'est mon père» en parlant de certains animaux, s'emploie encore couramment.» — Nous avons dit comment devait s'expliquer cette phrase qui n'implique nullement l'idée de descendance réelle, et ainsi s'explique facilement l'historiette qu'Angas ajoute à l'appui de son dire.

«Etant chez un ami qui élevait une jeune panthère, je commandai au boy de la prendre et de me la porter. Il refusa de le

[1] Nous ne croyons guère, comme nous l'avons déjà dit, à ces auteurs interprétant les traditions d'un peuple dont ils connaissent peu, mal ou nullement la langue. Nous avons montré en parlant du *mvemapôñ* et de l'*ewapôñ* combien il est facile de se tromper et de croire à une dénomination réelle lorsqu'elle n'est que figurative.

faire. «C'est mon papa, me disait-il, et si je le touche, cela m'attirera de grands malheurs.»

«Un autre jour, ayant frôlé par inadvertance une peau de panthère, il fit un bond en arrière et sa figure prit une expression de terreur indicible.» — Un fân du clan *Nze* ou du Tigre aurait éprouvé la même terreur: il y aurait eu, en effet, faute rituelle, qui aurait dû être expiée, expiation ordonnée, soit après aveu du coupable, par le chef de la tribu, ou bien vengeance particulière du totem, comme nous l'avons déjà déclaré. Il ne s'agit donc nullement là de filiation réelle: le Blanc l'y a vue bien plus que le Noir!

Et ce trait montre également combien, même au contact des Européens, le totémisme a encore de force, tant ses racines sont profondes et à la base même de la tribu.

En résumé donc, pour certaine école:

Le clan, avec les femmes en commun, serait la cellule sociale.

La phratrie en serait le développement par main-mise de l'homme sur la femme.

La tribu serait une association de phratries.

La tribu formerait la race en s'amalgamant avec des tribus voisines.

La race, en se ramifiant, constituerait enfin des familles.

Pour nous, au contraire:

La famille — monogame — serait la cellule sociale, famille ayant son totem, dont nous verrons bientôt l'origine et le rôle.

La famille polygame serait une conséquence des guerres incessantes diminuant le nombre des guerriers. Cette raison remonte à l'origine de la race, et demeure toujours, même aujourd'hui, une des causes de la polygamie. Celle-ci est due encore à ce que bientôt la femme devient l'instrument de travail et de portage: être plus faible. Enfin les alliances, nécessitées par le besoin d'augmenter l'influence de la tribu et des chefs de famille, sont la troisième raison de la polygamie.

La tribu est le développement normal de la famille et prend nécessairement son totem.

Le clan est le filial de la tribu; il prend, avec ses sous-clans, le totem familial, mais il est filial de la tribu par son origine.

Le sous-clan est filial du clan.

L'émigration en avant des hordes, composées de jeunes gens qui doivent se procurer des femmes, donne les phratries, dont l'ensemble constituera le clan, en formation lui-même de tribu.

L'ensemble des tribus constitue la nation, groupement de toutes les familles issues d'une même famille, ou d'un même groupe de familles dont chacune aura créé sa tribu; aucun document ne nous permet d'assigner une date à l'origine de chaque famille. Au contraire, les généalogies nous permettent, à l'heure actuelle, de réduire à une centaine les groupements de familles, constituant autant de tribus différentes, et formant déjà nation. A cette époque assignée par les généalogies, ces groupements, composés probablement d'assez peu de familles pour pouvoir résider ensemble chacun dans sa vallée, étaient déjà partagés en quatre rameaux; ils remontent à trente-deux ou trente-trois générations environ, soit à peu près dix siècles. Selon toute probabilité, leur origine était beaucoup plus éloignée encore, car chaque groupe de familles avait déjà son totem familial, reconnu et honoré, tel que nous le retrouvons encore aujourd'hui.

e) Le totem individuel.

Chaque individu mâle, par le fait même de sa naissance, fait déjà partie d'une entité qui, dans l'espèce, est tout d'abord la famille, puis, de façon secondaire, le clan ou la tribu dont sa famille fait partie. En entrant dans la famille ou le clan, il a donc déjà son totem particulier auquel il ne peut rien changer, puisque ce totem ne dépend pas de lui. Toutefois, le père de famille, qui constate pour lui et sa famille les bons effets du totem familial, et estimant que deux sorcetés valent mieux qu'une, donnera souvent à son héritier un autre totem particulier, protecteur destiné à assurer vie, richesses et honneur à l'enfant.

Ce totem, qu'il ne faut pas confondre avec l'*éléélé* ou animal protecteur que nous examinerons plus loin, n'a pas toutefois, et à bien près, la valeur du totem de famille ou de clan.

En effet, il est essentiellement transitoire et personnel, et cessera à la mort de l'individu, qui ne saurait le transmettre à ses descendants. Cette transmission serait d'ailleurs inutile, puisque chacun peut avoir le sien.

Non seulement il est transitoire et personnel, mais encore, et c'est ce qui le distingue nettement des autres totems, il est révocable. Cette détermination est importante et des plus utiles à remarquer. Les divers totems de tribu, de clan, de famille, ne dépendent, en effet, ni du chef de la tribu, ni du chef de clan et de famille. Tel ils l'ont reçu de leurs aïeux, tel ils doivent le transmettre: la tribu peut s'éteindre, aussi bien que le clan ou la famille, mais son totem ne disparaîtra point, puisqu'il est lié intimement au chef de la race, du clan ou de la famille. Le totem personnel, au contraire, dépend de la volonté de celui qui l'a donné d'abord, puis, quand celui qui l'a reçu devient indépendant, *sui compos,* il en est maître à son tour. Si donc, pour une raison ou une autre, il n'en est pas satisfait, s'il croit avoir à s'en plaindre et pense mieux réussir avec un autre totem, il en changera facilement.

Du fait donc, et cela arrive, qu'un Fân vend son totem personnel, il n'en faut point conclure qu'il vend un objet sacré pour lui, et que, par conséquent, sa croyance au totem est limitée. Il vend, pour un prix qu'il estime bon, une chose qui a cessé de lui plaire, et qui, pour lui, n'a plus en somme aucune valeur, sinon une valeur vénale presque nulle. Il estime faire un bon marché, le fait avec raison, et en sera quitte pour se choisir, ou ne pas se choisir, s'il le veut, un autre totem.

Dans la réalité, une fois parvenus à l'âge d'homme, la plupart des Fân ne se préoccupent plus du totem individuel, et le totem de famille et de clan, qui conserve toute sa vitalité et tout son prestige, leur suffit largement. Et c'est ce qui appuie encore notre précédente démonstration: dans la constitution fân, l'homme n'est rien et ne compte pour rien, si ce n'est en tant qu'il fait partie de la famille, première cellule sociale.

Par suite de tout ce que nous venons de dire, on voit combien nous sommes éloignés des théories de Reinach et de Frazer sur l'origine du totem, malgré la notoriété du dernier auteur.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

D'après Frazer[1], en effet, le «totem du clan, par suite l'or-«ganisation sociale du clan totémique ne serait qu'une extension, «une généralisation du totem individuel. Dans certaines tribus «africaines, chez certains peuples indigènes de l'Amérique, chaque «individu se croit protégé par un individu qu'il appelle son *nagual*, «son *idhlozi* etc. Qu'au lieu de protéger un seul individu, l'animal «soit censé protéger un groupe tout entier, le totem individuel se «transforme aussitôt en totem de clan. Le clan s'impose à l'égard «de cet animal les mêmes devoirs que l'individu à l'égard de son «*nagual* et de son *idhlozi* etc.»

On a vu combien tout ce que nous avons dit s'oppose à cette formation, et comment c'est au contraire le totem de clan qui dérive, nous semble-t-il, du totem individuel. Aussi ne pouvons-nous que partager le sentiment de Mr. Toutain[2] écrivant: «Ainsi le totémisme proprement dit, le totémisme de clan serait logiquement et historiquement (d'après Frazer) postérieur au totémisme individuel. Or, l'idée qui se trouve au fond du totémisme individuel est aisée à retrouver chez les divers peuples de l'antiquité classique: c'est l'idée que chaque individu est placé sous la protection d'un être puissant et bienfaisant, qui se manifeste le plus souvent sous la forme d'un animal. Le «genius» latin, le δαίμων grec, n'étaient-ils pas, en général, représentés par un serpent? Si la théorie de Mr. Frazer est juste, si vraiment la forme la plus ancienne du totémisme est le totémisme individuel, nous sommes en droit de dire que les Grecs et les Latins ont connu celle-là à l'époque historique, mais qu'ils n'ont point connu le totémisme collectif parce que leur évolution sociale et religieuse s'est faite autrement, dans un autre sens, dans une direction différente.

Mais nous ne voulons rien affirmer en cette matière. Il serait contraire à notre méthode et à notre conception de l'histoire de substituer des affirmations hypothétiques aux affirmations que nous contestons précisément parce qu'elles sont hypothétiques. Nous

[1] Le Rameau d'or, trad. franc. t. II, p. 815.

[2] J. Toutain, L'Histoire des Religions et le Totémisme, dans Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions, v. II, p. 124—127. Oxford 1908.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

nous sommes seulement efforcés de montrer que le caractère primitif ou antérieur du totémisme n'est rien moins que prouvé. Il n'est pas non plus certain que les populations totémiques soient des populations primitives . . .»

Nous examinerons ce dernier point en parlant de l'antiquité du totem.

f) Totem de confrérie et de société secrète.

«Comme la Religion, dit Mgr. Le Roy dans sa Religion des Primitifs (p. 335), a pris chez les Primitifs la famille pour support, — et on remarquera en passant combien cette théorie si bien prouvée par l'éminent auteur confirme la nôtre du totémisme prenant également la famille pour support —, la magie n'a pas manqué de la suivre dans cet asile qui paraissait pourtant devoir lui rester fermé, puis, de là, étendue au village et à la tribu, elle s'est emparée du gouvernement de ces peuples rudimentaires.

«Sans parler de multiples interdits, superstitions et prescriptions magiques dont la famille primitive se trouve chargée, nous devons rapporter à la même action l'institution singulière du totémisme ou pacte d'alliance avec le monde animal.

«Il en faut dire autant de l'initiation de l'adolescence, laquelle, en soi, a parfaitement sa raison d'être, qui peut être utilement sanctionnée par la religion, mais que presque toujours la magie accapare, complique et déforme.

«Mais c'est surtout dans ce que nous appellerions aujourd'hui l'action politique et sociale, que, par de très curieuses organisations, la magie paraît avoir dirigé ses efforts; son but avoué et visible est ici de s'emparer du gouvernement du village et de la tribu. Elle le fait au moyen de sociétés secrètes ou fermées. Ces sociétés ne sont pas cependant les mêmes partout, quoique partout elles aient un air de parenté indéniable: là, plus lâches, plus ouvertes, elles sont ici plus resserrées, plus mystérieuses, plus actives.»

Bien que nous ne partagions pas entièrement toutes ces idées, nous avons cependant donné cette citation, car elle éclaire d'un jour singulier toute cette question des sociétés secrètes.

Comme on le voit, Mgr. Le Roy attribue à la magie l'institution de ces sociétés, dont le but, au fond, va pour lui contre l'insti-

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

tution primordiale de la famille; il rattache également à cette même magie le totémisme. Pour nous, nous sommes d'idée un peu différente, et croyons que le totémisme est une forme particulière du culte, née après la religion primitive, et bien inférieur à elle, tenant en somme dans la vie religieuse de la nation une place parallèle avec le culte des ancêtres, culte avec lequel il faut bien se garder de la confondre. Rites, ministres, objet, nature, origine, tout l'en sépare.

La magie, de son côté, comme le fait bien observer Mgr. Le Roy, a envahi la religion, mais loin d'envahir le totémisme, il pourrait bien se faire que le totémisme, ayant déjà sa place marquée dans la religion, a pris à son tour place dans les rites et cérémonies magiques. Si l'on préfère encore, la magie, trouvant le totémisme intervenant dans les nombreux actes religieux, par exemple dans le culte des ancêtres, où deux rites existent conjointement sans se mêler, l'a également adopté comme sien.

Les sociétés secrètes, avec les rites totémiques qu'elles adoptent, sont-elles, dit encore Mgr. Le Roy, d'institution magique? Il ne nous semble pas que ce soit le lieu de le discuter, car la question ne nous paraît, en cela, avoir aucun rapport avec le totémisme, mais ce qui n'a pas été fait, et ce que nous croyons très important, c'est de distinguer entre confrérie sociale et religieuse, et société secrète proprement dite.

On mêle trop souvent ces deux institutions, attribuant à l'une ce qui doit être attribué à l'autre, et les rangeant toutes les deux sous le titre unique, mais éminemment faux, de société secrète.

Or, il y a société secrète et société secrète, ou plutôt, comme nous l'avons écrit, société religieuse et sociale secrète, et société vraiment secrète, mais nullement sociale et plutôt anti-religieuse.

* * *

La société secrète sociale est sous la domination du féticheur: le chef y a son rang, mais subordonné à celui du féticheur qui dirige tout; en ce sens, et par les actes qu'il inspire, actes nécessairement religieux, on peut dire que la magie y joue son grand rôle.

En face de la famille, unité sociale parfaitement organisée, dont le père est le chef à la fois social et religieux, en face du

clan, union de familles issues d'une même souche dont le chef de clan est le chef de famille appartenant à la famille souche, se dresse le fétiseur. Le chef lui déléguait seulement l'autorité religieuse, absorbé qu'il était souvent par la question politique et sociale; le fétiseur a voulu, à son tour, créer une unité sociale dont il serait le chef parfaitement reconnu; il a essayé, il a réussi même à créer cet organisme, tantôt d'une façon complète, tantôt, quand l'autorité sociale était trop fortement constituée, d'une façon incomplète, mais en y prenant cependant la part la plus considérable. Telle, par exemple, l'admission des jeunes guerriers: cet acte, parfaitement légal dans l'origine, et sous l'autorité du chef de clan et des chefs de famille, est devenu peu à peu un ensemble de pratiques secrètes, où le chef n'a plus, devant le fétiseur, qu'un rôle secondaire: aujourd'hui, cette admission se réduit en somme à entrer dans une société secrète et fermée, sous le contrôle et sous l'obéissance absolue du fétiseur.

A leur tour, les fétiseurs, pour maintenir intacts leur prémance et leurs rites et assurer leur recrutement, ont fondé des sociétés secrètes calquées sur le modèle de la tribu et du clan, et où chaque grade nécessite, pour être admis, une série d'épreuves graduées.

En ce sens qu'elles sont «socialement» organisées, et que leur existence, bien que contre la constitution même de la tribu, est néanmoins admise par tous, de force ou autrement, nous rangeons ces deux types de sociétés secrètes sous la même rubrique: sociétés secrètes ou confréries proprement dites.

CHAPITRE VII.

NATURE DES DIVERS TOTEMS.

TOTEM DE TRIBU, DE CLAN, DE FAMILLE, D'INDIVIDU, DE SOCIÉTÉ SECRÈTE.

§ 1. Etat de la question. Erreurs possibles entre totem de clan et de famille. Pourquoi les renseignements sont difficiles à obtenir. — Enfants et Chrétiens. Un fait personnel.

§ 2. Nature des divers totems. a) Totem national. Son vestige. — b) Totems de tribu: ses causes. — Différentes espèces de totems, animaux, végétaux, minéraux, phénomènes naturels. — c) Totems de clan: 1° Clans strictement totémiques, ou clans primaires et leurs totems. — 2° Clans non strictement totémiques. Pourquoi certains clans portent le nom du totem, et d'autres pas. — 3° Divers totems de clans. — d) Totem familial. Sa nature. — e) Totem individuel. Quelques remarques sur son existence et son rôle. — Circonstances qui déterminent le choix du totem. — Circonstances fortuites. — Violation d'ôté totémique. — Qui choisit le totem individuel. — Les seuls enfants mâles ont un nomen. Loin du nomen. — f) Totems de société secrète. Ils sont les mêmes que ceux de la tribu.

§ 3. Conclusion. Quelques remarques à propos des nomenpiit. — Extension de ces croyances. Elles sont répandues dans toute l'Afrique, non seulement chez les Fôti, mais aussi bien chez les Sonikés au Nord que chez les Sawaga au Sud. — Exemples. — Conclusion.

---

§ 1. Etat de la question.

On comprit, d'après ce que nous avons vu plus haut, l'importance de la distinction entre totem de tribu et totem de clan, et pourquoi nous nous sommes attachés à bien distinguer ce que nous entendons par tribu et par clan. Le totem de tribu demeure en effet presque toujours le totem le plus important, car, en somme, il ne disparaît pas, quelque soit la fortune de la tribu, puisqu'il se retrouve dans les clans, ses filiales; au contraire, le totem de clan peut parfaitement disparaître, et cela, sans aucun inconvénient.

[p.144]

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Toutefois, nous devons, dès maintenant, faire une constatation et en même temps un aveu: nous ne prétendons nullement être infaillible en donnant les noms des totems de tribu et de clan, et il pourra probablement arriver que l'avenir, et des études plus complètes, montreront que nous nous sommes trompés, non sur le fond même de la question, mais sur tel ou tel point de détail. Il ne faut pas oublier, en effet, que la loi totémique est une loi de secret, et que, particulièrement dans les totems de sociétés secrètes, cette loi est très sévère. De plus, malgré nos recherches nombreuses, il peut arriver que pour un totem de clan, surtout dans les clans composés de peu d'individus, on puisse se tromper entre totem de clan et totem de famille. Le fait, on le voit, ne porte en tout cas que sur un point de peu d'importance, et nullement sur le fond même de la question: pour rétablir la vérité, il n'y aurait jamais qu'à remplacer un nom de totem par le nom d'un autre totem, un animal, un végétal ou un minéral, à la place d'un autre.

Dans l'intérieur, on arrive avec une facilité relative, surtout lorsqu'on a déjà pénétré les premiers secrets, à connaître ces totems, mais ces renseignements deviennent de plus en plus difficiles à obtenir des enfants des Missions, des villages où a pénétré le Christianisme, protestants ou catholiques, et même dans tous les villages en contact avec les Européens. Les chrétiens et les enfants élevés à la Mission les dissimuleront soigneusement, en nieront presque toujours même l'existence. Les raisons en sont celles-ci: ils connaissent ou ne connaissent pas l'existence et la nature du totem, connaissance qui fait partie de l'initiation. S'ils ne la connaissent pas, ils nieront simplement, et affirmeront la non-existence. S'ils la connaissent, ils nieront encore plus énergiquement, soit qu'ils ne veuillent plus passer pour des «sauvages», et répondront: «Tout cela, ce sont des sottises, c'est bon pour les hommes de la forêt», soit encore qu'ils ne veuillent pas passer pour des renégats, assistant malgré leur conversion, à des cérémonies fétichistes et prenant part à des initiations. Avec les hommes faits, c'est encore plus difficile. Soit qu'ils redoutent les moqueries et les sarcasmes dont ne se privent guère, il faut l'avouer, les Européens, soit par ennui, lassitude, ou crainte de s'engager trop loin, ils nient simplement. Souvent aussi,

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

en dévoilant des rites secrets dont ils savent fort bien que la divulgation amène la ruine, ils redoutent, et à bon droit, la vengeance des chefs et des féticheurs.

J'ai pour ma part été témoin du fait suivant. Un des administrateurs de notre région consacrait une partie de son temps à s'enquérir auprès des indigènes de leurs mœurs et coutumes. L'un des Noirs, ainsi interrogé[1], nia absolument l'existence de tout totem. Le soir même, je le surprenais dans sa case, au moment où, venant d'immoler une poule, il l'offrait à son totem en expiation du mensonge. Il voulut en vain me bâtir une explication quelconque, et demeura d'abord fort embarrassé, voyant que je connaissais son secret, mais également fort confiant depuis, en constatant que j'étais loin de m'en moquer, ou de paraître même le connaître devant les autres. Sûr de ma discrétion, il m'apprit ensuite bien des points plus ou moins secrets, et m'expliqua le sens de nombreux rites, difficiles à saisir.

Tous ceux qui se sont occupés de la question ont éprouvé ailleurs mêmes difficultés, et de la négation des indigènes, il ne faut pas surtout conclure à la non-existence, surtout dans les tribus déjà en contact avec les Européens. Ainsi, nous nous permettons à ce point de vue de citer un court passage d'Ancel[2], d'autant que bien des points peuvent se rapporter à nos Fân, et montrent ainsi l'extension du totémisme. «Sous l'influence de l'islamisme, certains indigènes commencent à rejeter ces croyances; j'ai connu les difficultés que signale Bazan pour arriver à mener à bien une enquête. Je me suis heurté à des dénégations formelles chez certains Foutadjalonké, fervents musulmans comme les gens de Kong [et pour ma part, même fait m'est arrivé maintes fois chez nos Fân]. Il est même très difficile d'obtenir d'eux des renseignements à ce sujet, et un grand nombre de musulmans prétend n'avoir jamais eu de *totém*.» — De même, tous les Fân en relations avec les Européens, nient l'existence de tout totem: nous en avons donné les raisons.

[1] C'était un nommé Christophe Ngwa, interprète. Chrétien ardent de nom, il avait été baptisé en danger de mort, et, depuis, n'avait jamais pratiqué la religion. C'était un garçon fort intelligent, de la tribu des Essendéban: je lui dois nombre de renseignements intéressants.

[2] La Guinée française, par Ancel, pp. 347 et ss.

§ 2. Nature des divers totems.

a) Totem national.

Les Fâh n'ont pas, comme nous l'avons vu, de totem national, au moins dans l'état actuel de la nation.

Nous avons indiqué plus haut que l'ancien totem national, si on peut l'appeler ainsi, puisque ce n'était en somme qu'un totem de tribu, a été primitivement le crocodile et l'éléphant. On retrouve principalement les traces de ce double totem dans les légendes; l'éléphant, surtout, y a laissé, une empreinte profonde. Cependant, à côté des légendes, les chants traditionnels, et encore certains rites sur lesquels nous aurons à revenir, conservent également les vestiges et donnent la preuve de ce totémisme primitif, d'ailleurs de loin postérieur à l'antique animisme et au culte des ancêtres dans la tribu. Ces vestiges sont d'autant plus intéressants qu'ils sont pour nous les seuls restes d'un passé disparu, auquel, sans eux, nous n'aurions aucune notion précise et certaine.

b) Totems de tribu.

En parlant, au commencement du chapitre précédent, de la nature du totem, ou pour employer un mot plus précis, du *mvamaydé*, nous avons vu qu'il se présentait sous trois aspects différents:

Etre vivant
Etre inanimé
Phénomène naturel.

Remarquons cependant qu'en employant ce mot «être vivant», «être inanimé», nous ne prétendons nullement dire que le *mvamaydé* soit actuellement un être vivant, mais seulement que le *mvamaydé* était, au temps de l'*esayôé*, un être, vivant ou inanimé; il est représenté actuellement par des êtres vivants ou inanimés issus de lui, ou tirant de lui leur origine (tout aux yeux du Noir étant considéré comme, «vivant», ayant son mode d'action, ses influences, aussi bien le végétal que le minéral). Nous avons déjà donné à ce sujet les explications nécessaires et n'y reviendrons pas.

La première catégorie comprend donc l'être vivant, et nous avons dit également que c'était là l'immense majorité des cas. Si

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

l'on admet en effet, et nous aurons à en parler dans le chapitre suivant, que l'origine du totem, d'après une opinion qui paraît vraisemblable, est due au désir de s'attribuer ou de conquérir des vertus et des qualités faisant en partie défaut à l'Espèce humaine, on conçoit facilement que ce soit l'animal qui ait frappé tout d'abord l'esprit du Noir. Il aura voulu être robuste, s'assimiler par exemple la force de l'éléphant, être rapide, et de là acquérir la vitesse de l'antilope, heureux à la guerre et avoir l'habileté et la souplesse du tigre; la crainte, causée peut-être par un événement tragique, aura pu le déterminer à choisir le tonnerre comme totem, surtout avec l'idée que le tonnerre était la manifestation extérieure d'un esprit puissant: de là mieux valait se faire un ami du plus fort.

Quelque soit la valeur de cette hypothèse, soit dit en passant, il est certain que c'est bien celle que m'ont maintes fois donné les Fân eux-mêmes. J'ai même vu un chef de famille changer son propre totem pour celui du tonnerre après avoir eu sa femme foudroyée à côté d'un arbre par la foudre. L'arbre était creux, il fut fendu par le tonnerre: en fouillant la cavité, on trouva les restes carbonisés d'un varan[1]: les os de l'animal constituèrent aussitôt le nouvel *ngôk*, ou totem familial matérialisé.

Aussi, si nous rencontrons aux plus anciennes tribus, celles en *yo*, d'après la marche que nous avons examinée plus haut, verrons-nous chez elles; de préférence, un totem animal vivant. Ce sera tout d'abord, en suivant non pas l'importance de la tribu, mais l'ordre tout arbitraire d'ailleurs indiqué plus haut

1° Les êtres vivant sur terre.

Ainsi nous aurons:

a) Les animaux proprement dits,

tels,

Nom de tribu	nom de totem
Les *Yenzok*	*zamb* ou éléphant
Les *Kus*[2]	*kus* ou panthère
Les *Yengô*	*ngô* ou sorbon sauvage
Les *Yélémvô*	*mvô* ou chat-tigre

[1] Varan du Nil.

[2] Tribu du groupe Bôô, par conséquent de la forêt, et ne dérivant du groupe *yo* exclusif aux Bôô.

Les *Youlip*	*ulip*, peut-être l'okapi[1]
Les *Bikwel*[2]	*kwé* ou singe noir
Les *Youlé*	*ulé* ou singe à nez blanc
Les *Youpim*	*upim* ou porc épic
Les *Yowoul*	*owul*, sorte d'animal nocturne sup. de lynx
Les *Youwul*	*uwul*, sup. d'antilope.

(tribu aujourd'hui éteinte et dont le clan filial reste seul: Les *Ekiowul*).

Et quelques autres tribus portent encore le *Aa* et l'*avil*, fourmilier et pangolin, diverses sortes d'antilopes etc.

f) Les autres animaux vivant sur terre,

tels que reptiles, coquillages terrestres, insectes terrestres même. Ainsi:

Nom de tribu	nom de totem
Les *Yowut*	*owut*, silurus ebeje ou varan
Les *Youbowut*	*ubowut*, sup. de scarabée terrestre
Les *Youpum* ou *Youpwé*	*upum* ou *upwé*, ou *gilil*, ou scolopendre
Les *Yéhokum*	*ékum* ou fourmi noire
Les *Youmum*	*umum* ou *kum*.
Les *Yofil*	*fil* ou fourmi noire

(tribu éteinte, dont le clan filial reste seul: Les *Ebofil*).

y) Les êtres vivant en l'air.

Certaines tribus, en nombre déjà plus restreint, auront les êtres vivant en l'air, tels que oiseaux et même insectes. Tels:

Nom de tribu	nom de totem
Les *Youdzé*	*udzé* ou aigle
Les *Youdzu*	*udzu* ou bulgore porte-lanterne
Les *Yofum* (presque éteinte: un seul petit village. Le clan filial, les *Ebofum* et ses concurrents poissons).	*fum* ou goliath ou plutôt le scarabée

d) Les êtres vivant dans l'eau.

Enfin, d'autres tribus emprunteront leur totem au monde aquatique, poissons ou amphibies, en faisant cette remarque, assez singulière au premier abord, que malgré sa force, nous n'avons jamais rencontré l'hippopotame comme totem de tribu. La seule raison, qui nous paraîtrait assez forte, est la suivante. Si, comme nous le croyons, les Fàn sont venus du Haut Nil pour aboutir à l'Ogowé en passant par le Congo, partout, aussi bien dans leur pays d'origine

[1] Nous disons l'okapi, sur les descriptions que nous ont faites les Fà du *ulip* paraissant se rapporter à cet animal. [2] Tribu du groupe Bulé.

que dans leurs migrations, ils ont trouvé abondance d'hippopotames, qui, même avec l'éléphant, a dû constituer souvent la base de leur nourriture animale: la privation de cette viande, d'après les prescriptions totémiques, eût été véritablement trop dure.

Nom de tribu	nom de totem
Les *Yengol*	*ngol*, esp. de silure

et encore cette tribu, étant aujourd'hui écrasée à la côte, a-t-elle presque perdu son totem. En tous cas, les enfants *yengol* que j'ai connus s'en souciaient fort peu: je n'ai pu interroger les vieillards.

e) Les végétaux.

Certaines tribus nous offrent également des exemples de totem appartenant au monde végétal. Tels:

Nom de tribu	nom de totem
Les *Ydiôm* auront pour totem	*ôdom* ebolo, esp. de banane
Les *Yeulum* " " "	*ulum*, esp. d'arbre très dévé, souvent frappé par la foudre. Comme cette tribu prend également comme totem les arbres sous frappés par la foudre et ne peut s'en servir pour faire du feu, peut-être aurait-elle plutôt le tamarre comme totem.
Les *Yemi* " " "	*mvi*, esp. de fleur du genre Amomobera
Les *Yendub* " " "	*ndub*, ou palmier rotang.

Pour ce totem, la défense totémique d'user du totem porte sur la moëlle des jeunes pousses qu'il est interdit de manger, comme le font beaucoup d'indigènes[1], mais non de se servir des fibres pour faire de la vannerie, suivant l'usage général[2].

f) Les êtres inanimés.

Nous ne voyons, dans ce groupe, parmi les totems de tribus que:

les *Yendôm* ayant pour totem	*ndôm* ou les Eaux, mais ce totem dont la défense totémique d'en user serait évidemment impossible, est restreint à certaines eaux et dans certaines conditions déterminées, surtout par rapport au temps et aux ablutions[3].

[1] Les Européens mangent également ces jeunes pousses, grillées sur les charbons et dépouillées de l'enveloppe extérieure. Le goût en est bon mais un peu amer.

[2] Les paniers, corbeilles, nasses etc. sont tous faits en fibres de rotang.

[3] Par exemple, les chefs de famille ne pourront se baigner à la pleine lune, ni boire avant de partir en voyage, ni se désaltérer en se servant du creux de la main, mais d'un cornet de feuilles etc.

D'après la légende de la tribu, l'*esayôé* ou père de la tribu aurait eu son totem ainsi constitué parce que, voulant se marier et ne trouvant aucune femme à son gré, il aurait un jour offert un sacrifice à *Nzame*.

Cette légende que nous résumons presque mot à mot, rapporte que pendant que le feu consumait l'animal, une pluie abondante vint l'éteindre, et l'homme entendit une voix qui disait:

«Va et jette les os à la rivière.»

Il les prit et alla les y jeter. Et pendant la nuit, une voix lui dit encore:

«Va à la rivière»

et il y alla. Et sur le bord, il trouva une jeune femme qui le salua en disant:

«Père, je te salue.»

Il reprit: «D'où viens-tu?»

Et elle répondit: «C'est le secret de l'eau, va le lui demander.»

Et il reprit: «Es-tu la fille du sacrifice?»

Et elle répondit: «C'est le secret de l'eau (c'est un mystère). L'eau est ma race: elle est mon père et ma mère: *Médzim mé ne ma oda* (litt. l'eau m'a portée sur le dos: nous avons vu le sens de cette expression). Et toi, tu seras mon époux.»

Et il lui dit: «C'est bien.» Il la prit, la ramena au village et l'épousa. De lui et d'elle descendent les *Yemédzim*, et l'eau est leur *mvamayôé* ou protecteur.

Cette légende se rapproche, on le voit, des légendes du dieu poisson, de la première femme sortie des eaux. — C'est également la seule légende que nous connaissons où le totem soit, à un certain point, reconnu comme père effectif de la race. Et encore ne l'est-il guère, car l'eau joue plutôt ici le rôle de Créateur, donnant un nouveau corps à l'animal immolé en sacrifice, dont les os se changent en femme; mais, en réalité, le vrai père de la race demeure bien le chef primitif, car l'animal offert en sacrifice est toujours, d'après les idées des Fâh, non pas un sacrifice quelconque, mais un sacrifice représentatif: il est substitué au sacrificateur lui-même et tient sa place.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

g) Les phénomènes naturels.

Les *Yengure* ont pour totem l'arc en ciel, bien qu'ils n'en portent pas actuellement le nom: *Ewje*, mais un nom très proche: *ngure*, qui signifie «nuage noir». Le *ngure* est un présagueur de l'arc en ciel.

L'origine de la tribu est attribuée à deux jumeaux, dont la naissance, dans presque toutes les tribus africaines [1], est considérée comme un présent du Ciel, d'où souvent leur immolation, pour les renvoyer à Dieu.

En pays fàn, lorsque naissent deux jumeaux, la mère n'en peut élever qu'un et doit donner l'autre à une femme qui l'accepte: dans le cas contraire, il est sacrifié. L'arc en ciel est le totem des jumeaux, et ils ont défense de le regarder.

c) Totems de clans.

1° Clans strictement totémiques, ou clans primaires et filieux.

Les clans primaires ou filieux sont tous strictement totémiques, ou, si l'on préfère, portent le nom du totem. Le clan est, comme nous l'avons vu, par rapport à la constitution de la tribu, en quelque sorte une dérivation de celle-ci. La horde détachée de la tribu, et marchant sous la conduite d'un chef sortant de la famille principale ou de la famille souche de la tribu, aura tout naturellement le totem de sa famille qui deviendra alors totem du clan. Ce chef est d'ordinaire, disons-nous, de la famille souche: il aura donc même totem que celle-ci; ainsi que nous l'avons expliqué plus haut en montrant comment la tribu se décompose ou se désagrège, ou pour employer peut-être une expression plus juste, se ramifie, le totem du clan proprement dit sera le même totem que celui de la tribu et portera le même nom, ce qui constitue à proprement parler le clan totémique. Ainsi d'ailleurs l'envisageraient également un certain nombre d'auteurs, pour lesquels le clan est en fonction de la tribu, constituant plutôt un petit groupe de familles réunies en un même village, et qui, plus tard, en s'augmentant, formera la tribu, fraction plus importante. C'est, croyons-nous, une notion plutôt géographique

[1] Voir l'Étude sur les Ba-ronga, par JUNOD, Bull. Soc. de Géogr. de Neuchâtel 1896.

qu'ethnographique. Pour nous, et le cas arrive souvent, le clan filial peut être plus nombreux que la tribu mère proprement dite; de fait, nous l'avons rencontré ainsi souvent, et la chose nous paraît pouvoir bien s'expliquer: les jeunes gens les plus entreprenants, force vitale de la tribu, ne demandent pas mieux que de s'en aller au loin chercher fortune et conquérir de nouveaux territoires. De là, affaiblissement progressif de la tribu proprement dite où restent seulement les anciens[1].

Les clans totémiques, si on peut les appeler ainsi, ou filiaux, portent donc le même nom que les tribus dont ils sont issus, avec cette différence que le mot *ye* est remplacé par *esa* ou *ebi* «père». Nous aurons donc les mêmes distinctions que tout à l'heure, totems vivants ou inanimés, totems du monde animal, végétal ou minéral.

Remarquons encore que, pour un certain nombre de clans, la tribu mère a disparu ou s'est éteinte, ou encore est demeurée en arrière dans les profondeurs de la forêt, d'où on ne l'a pas encore vue sortir; ce fait est parfaitement possible, d'après ce que nous avons étudié plus haut de la constitution du clan.

Nous trouverons donc, comme totems de clan:

a) Des totems d'animaux, très

Nom de tribu	nom de totem
Les *Ekingi*	*ngi*, chimpanzé ou parfois gorille[2]
Les *Ekwendé*	*ndé* ou éléphant
Les *Mvumu*[3]	*mvumu* ou roi royé
Les *Ekingui*	*ekingui* ou mandrillon.

[1] Cette formation particulière du clan, vivant sous la condaite de plusieurs chefs de famille, a donné lieu à l'opinion émise par plusieurs auteurs (Ed, par exemple, le P. DOMOUSILLET, dans une Étude d'ailleurs bien documentée sur l'Habitation Bâ) que les villages Bâ étaient régis par une simple autorité patriarcale des anciens. Ceux qui ont émis cette opinion n'ont évidemment jamais vu les grandes tribus de l'intérieur.

[2] Le *ngi* ou gorille paraît être, d'après les auteurs (cf. DU CHAILLU, l'Afrique sauvage, chez HACHETTE, Paris) un animal particulier à la Gabonie. Il est toutefois très adaptable que son aire d'habitat se soit étendue jadis beaucoup plus loin.

[3] Clan appartenant au groupe Bâ qui n'est pas, avons-nous dit, caractérisé par *Ebo* ou *Ebi*, tel le Fôn.

Les *Yengol* et les *Esingol* n'appartiennent pas à la même tribu. Les *Esingol* ont dû faire partie d'une tribu aujourd'hui disparue, les *Ye Zingol* (?). Le *zingol* ou caméléon inspire à tous les Fâh une crainte superstitieuse: il est considéré comme le messager des esprits.

β) Des totems d'oiseaux, tels

Nom de tribu	nom de totem
Les *Eméhane*	*Ikane* ou huppe
Les *Eéndé*	*ndé* ou aigle.

γ) Des totems reptiles, sauriens etc.

Nom de tribu	nom de totem
Les *Ekôôn*	*nôôn* ou crocodile.

δ) Des totems d'insectes, mollusques etc., tels

Nom de tribu	nom de totem
Les *Ekôwé*	*kwé*, ou gros colimaçon
Les *Ekôfil*	*fil*, sup. de fourmi noire
Les *Eenguen*	*nguen*, ou yale
Les *Eenwefon*	*fon*, ou goliath.

Parmi ces clans

ε) les totems végétaux seront plus nombreux.

Nom de tribu	nom de totem
Les *Eéneme*	*neme* ou palmier des marais.

De ce nom, en brûlant le tronc et en en levant les cendres on extrait des chlorures à base de potasse qui dans certaines tribus remplacent le sel. Ce sel particulier sera interdit aux *Eéneme*: ils le remplaceront d'ailleurs par sel extrait de la *Pistia stratiotes*, plante aquatique riche en azote.

Les *Ekôô*	*nôô*, espèce d'arbre
Les *Eéôôn*	*ôôn* ou pourpier
Les *Eéné*	*néné*, le moelle du bambou.

Il leur sera interdit de s'en servir en vannerie, objets etc.

ζ) Les totems phénomènes naturels.

Nom de tribu	nom de totem
Les *Eéôôn*	*ôôn* miroir.

Ils auraient comme totem le miroir, dont la surface brillante remonte au miroir. — Mais, d'après ce que nous avons dit, le miroir sera considéré comme fils du tonnerre.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Les *Eneningan* [illegible] *ngon*, la lune [1].

Nous ignorons absolument la figuration et les défenses rituelles de ce totem. Nous avons simplement entendu parler des fêtes en l'honneur de *ngon*, mais cependant sans pouvoir reconnaître l'objet matérialisé du culte, non plus que les rites, toujours fort secrets. Il nous aurait été d'ailleurs difficile d'y assister, étant, paraît-il, fort obscènes et se rapportant tous à la génération. C'est un trait commun à beaucoup de tribus africaines. Certaines danses, uniquement réservées aux femmes, ont également lieu en l'honneur de la lune, ou plutôt du principe fécondant, dont elle est la source.

2° Clans non strictement totémiques ou secondaires.

Nous entendons par ce mot «secondaires», suivant toujours la règle de filiation que nous avons donnée plus haut, les clans issus de la famille souche, mais après le clan principal, et constitués soit par des fils ou frères du chef, soit même en dehors de la famille souche, mais toujours par des guerriers de la tribu. Les clans secondaires ne sont pas tous considérés par les auteurs comme strictement totémiques. Cette opinion est basée sur ce fait que certains d'entre eux portent, et d'autres ne portent pas, le nom du totem. Pour nous, au contraire, et nous croyons avoir, sinon démontré notre avis, au moins en avoir montré la grande probabilité, cette appellation de totémique ou non, ne prouve nullement en faveur du totémisme du clan. Elle dépend, en effet, non pas du culte et de la formation, qui peuvent être, et sont de fait, dans ce cas, nettement totémiques, mais de la filiation. Nous avons déjà indiqué, et il nous semble inutile de revenir sur ce point, que la tribu, en elle-même, est totémique; toutes celles du moins que nous connaissons ont ce caractère. Le clan principal est également totémique, toujours en ce sens qu'il porte le nom de l'ancêtre totémique, ancêtre, notons-le bien, dont le nom est souvent le même que celui de l'animal [2], fait

[1] Le mot *ngon* a plusieurs acceptions; en Fâ: il désigne 1° une sorte de cucurbitacée dont les Fâ font grand usage (*ngondo* ou *mpongwé*), 2° la lune, 3° une jeune fille nubile. — On sait combien souvent, dans toutes les races noires, l'idée de lune et de génération sont étroitement liées.

[2] Il est à remarquer que de nombreux Fâ portent un nom d'animal, sans que celui-ci soit communément leur totem. Il y a là presque toujours coïncidence fortuite. Lorsque ce cas arrive l'enfant, a reçu souvent le nom d'un ancêtre.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

qui a dû amener d'assez nombreuses confusions. Quant aux autres clans, les uns porteront le nom du totem, les autres ne le porteront pas, suivant qu'ils ont été formés par un chef appartenant à la famille souche ou par un chef important, mais secondaire de la horde, ou encore qu'ils soient dus à une circonstance fortuite. Toutefois, même encore dans cette circonstance, on ne saurait se montrer trop prudent. Ainsi, pour notre propre part, nous avons été témoins du fait suivant.

Un chef du clan des Esingi, dont, nous l'avons vu plus haut, le totem ou *mvamayôt* est le gorille ou *ngi*, se sépara, pour des raisons de famille et d'intérêt, du village principal de sa tribu dont il faisait alors partie. — Notons, en passant, que rien ne distingue le village principal, sinon la présence du chef principal lui-même; en fait, ce village peut parfaitement être beaucoup moins fort que d'autres villages de la même tribu pour plusieurs raisons dont nous avons déjà parlé.

Ce chef n'appartenait pas à la famille souche ou du moins ne s'y rattachait que de fort loin. Son *mvamayôt* était une sorte d'arbre nommé *abé*. Il partit donc à la tête d'un petit groupe de jeunes gens de son clan, suivant la coutume que nous avons décrite plus haut en parlant de la formation du clan, et chercha un endroit favorable pour s'y établir. «Je marchai ainsi, me disait-il, plusieurs lunes», souvent chassé par les tribus qu'il rencontrait, et plus souvent encore, comme le fait se comprend aisément, bien accueilli, mais prié de s'en aller plus loin le plus vite possible [1]. Après avoir parcouru plusieurs centaines de kilomètres et affronté toutes sortes de

[1] Il est évident, en effet, que ces clans ou ces hordes aventureuses sont sans cesse repoussés par la force même des choses vers la périphérie du territoire Fâ, chaque tribu comptant une place qu'elle n'est facilement décidée à céder. Cette loi d'expansion est certainement la cause et la meilleure explication de ce mouvement qu'on a maintes fois constaté qui pousse les Fâ, comme tous les peuples de l'intérieur, vers l'ouest c'est-à-dire vers la mer. Ils ne peuvent, c'est évident, retourner vers l'est et la grande forêt, en voyant leurs propres tribus traversées de temps à autre par des hordes venant de l'est et cherchant à le fuir des compagnons et un territoire. Par suite de la même loi, en arrivant à la mer, les tribus ou les clans, ne trouvant pas l'idéal rêvé, ou l'Eldorado promis, se retournent vers l'intérieur, et sont dérangés par les nouveaux arrivants.

dangers, notre chef parvint aux confins de la tribu fàò, en plein pays noèy. Sur les bords de la rivière Tsini ou des mouches, il vit un jour, dans ses pérégrinations errantes, se dresser sur une sorte de petit promontoire, dans une fort belle situation d'ailleurs, un *abé* dont le port et l'aspect rappelaient absolument, me dit-il, celui auquel, après sa naissance, il avait été consacré comme enfant de la famille[1]. Le chef vit dans cette circonstance une manifestation évidente de la volonté du *mvumayèé*, et les sacrifices usuels ayant eu une issue favorable, comme il s'y attendait, il s'établit en cet endroit. Le clan changea immédiatement de nom et devint le clan des Abé. Depuis cette époque, peu reculée, le village primitif s'est déjà scindé en deux, mais chacun conserve son nom d'*abé*; le clan est fondé.

Une circonstance presque pareille, m'a-t-il été dit, a donné, mais à une époque beaucoup plus reculée, origine au clan aujourd'hui très nombreux de l'*Ámvom* ou du boa.

Les clans reconnaissent donc, et cela nécessairement, pour *mvumayèé*, les mêmes espèces que les tribus, non pas qu'ils adoptent le *mvumayèé* de la tribu mère, mais leur *mvumayèé* est également animal, végétal ou minéral.

Le *mvumayèé* du clan sera le même que celui de la tribu, si le chef de la horde appartient à la famille souche; sinon, son *mvumayèé* familial deviendra *mvumayèé* du clan, et c'est le cas que nous avons vu tout à l'heure pour les Abé.

Par suite de cette distinction, les clans, tout en restant totémiques, porteront le nom de leur *mvumayèé*, ou, suivant le cas, ne le porteront pas.

---

[1] Dans ce cas, lorsque le totem familial ou individuel est un arbre ou une plante, on va chercher un jeune plants de ce genre, graine ou rejeton du totem familial, on vient le planter près du village et on place sous la racine principale un fragment du cordon ombilical. Dans certaines circonstances, on peut-être toujours, m'a-t-il été affirmé, on verse également tout ou partie des eaux utérines; nous ne saurions absolument affirmer ce dernier point, tout ce qui touche à la naissance étant très mystérieux et toujours absolument interdit aux hommes et dans tous les détails. Celui qui a un tel arbre comme totem s'intéresse beaucoup à ce ombrage. En cas de mort de l'arbre, celui qui l'a comme totem, doit -rechercher- un propre vin.

3° Divers totems de clan.

Parmi ces totems de clans, nous trouverons:

a) Portant le nom du *mvamayôô*.

Nom de tribu	nom du totem
Les *Ebiaar*	*mvamayôô arbre (pentadesma grandiflora)*
Les *Ebôôm*	*ebôm, crocodile*
Les *Ekiememe*	*mvame, arbre (dichostachys)*
Les *Amvam*	*mvam ou bois*
Les *Abô*	*abô, esp. d'arbre*
Les *Eshôô*	*shôô ou pourpier.*

b) Clans ne portant pas le nom du totem.

Les clans ne portant pas le nom du totem seront beaucoup plus nombreux, comme le veut d'ailleurs la filiation, et dont nous croyons inutile de donner de nouveau les preuves.

Parmi eux, nous trouverons, par exemple, le fort clan des Eziolo et celui des Eiwôô, portant tous les deux le nom de leur fondateur, Eziô pour le premier, et Wôô pour le second, mais qui, n'appartenant pas à la branche souche, avaient un totem familial particulier.

Nom de tribu	nom de totem
Les *Eziolo*	*antilope mend (tout ou moins pour certains villages)*
Les *Eziôô*	*arbre cogôôbô (mvi-mvayôô-bôômmmm)* qui est également un arbre «fétiche»[1] pour les femmes, à cause de son fruit, objet d'un culte et tabou phallique.
Les *Ejiab*	*ezu, sorte de lézarde*
Les *Esoop*	*ngumbôô ou mante religieuse*
Les *Esumbôp*	*fum ou gélinôt*
Les *Eshôô*	*arbre mvu ou ankankana*
(pour une partie du clan)	
Les *Esôop*	*une fleur: pelinia pynaerti.*

Le sous-clan Essogôm, dont le clan principal a pour *mvamayôô* le *ngôm* ou porc épic, a pour *mvamayôô* l'*essogôm*, esp. d'arbre *(allanblackia floribunda)* probablement à cause du nom similaire.

En somme, nous venons de le voir, la plus grande variété règne pour le choix des *mvamayôô* de clan; toutefois, parmi eux, au contraire des *mvamayôô* de tribu, les *mvamayôô* «végétaux» sont plus fréquents: nous en étudierons les causes en traitant de l'origine du totem.

---

[1] Le mot *cogôôbô* employé pour le désigner est interdit aux femmes car c'est le nom du phallus. Elles disent ordinairement *cogôôbô*, l'arbre *cogô*.

4) Totem familial.

D'après ce que nous avons établi plus haut, nous en arrivons tout naturellement au *mvamayôô* familiel. Au lieu de ce nom, réservé au totem tribual et de clan, il prend le nom de *mvame ndabê*, c'est-à-dire protecteur de la famille, ou plus simplement de *mva-mvame*, c'est-à-dire le protecteur par excellence, litt. celui qui est le protecteur. Ce nom, soit dit en passant, confirme bien notre théorie, la base et la souche de tout le système. On pourrait peut-être objecter que le *mvamayôô* individuel est au contraire à la base du système, chaque individu mâle ayant le sien. Mais il est facile de voir que non. En effet, cette règle ne nous paraît pas absolument invariable: du moins, nous n'avons pas pu nous assurer que tout individu mâle, sans aucune exception, a toujours son totem particulier. Nous le croyons sans pouvoir l'affirmer: nous verrons plus loin combien facilement, sur ce point comme sur tant d'autres, les déclarations des Noirs sont plus ou moins intéressées ou tendancieuses. Mais, en supposant même que cette règle soit invariable, le *mvame* individuel n'en est pas moins en fonction du *mvame* familial; il sera, en effet, son plein développement et surtout sa seule raison d'être qui est la conservation de la race et non de l'individu en tant qu'individu, seulement alors que la famille sera établie. Et ce qui le montre bien, c'est que le *mvame*, familial aussi bien qu'individuel, ne sera invoqué que dans les circonstances intéressant la race, mais nullement dans les autres circonstances. Ainsi, l'*abuyôô*[1] ou «fétiche de la guerre», destiné à mettre le guerrier à l'abri des flèches, et aussi aujourd'hui des balles, fera partie du *mvame*; le *bôô ekôra* ou fétiche du commerce, qui n'intéresse nullement la conservation de la race, n'y rentrera jamais. En fera encore partie le *nkir* qui rendant invisible l'individu qui, le portant, traverse une tribu ennemie, et le *mvôl* qui guérit les maladies, mais nullement le *ndzu*, destiné à protéger des voleurs et autres larrons.

Le totem ou *mvamayôô* familial étant un totem de l'origine, et la base même des *mvamayôô* de tribu, est aussi varié que ceux-ci. Parmi eux, on trouvera donc totem animal, végétal, ou minéral,

[1] Litt. *mvôm*, force de la race.

les premiers beaucoup plus nombreux que les autres, d'après les remarques que nous avons faits à propos des totems de tribu, remarques qui s'appliquent toutes au totem familial.

Comme on a pu le remarquer, l'étude du totem de clan et de tribu n'est donc que le développement du totem familial. Ce totem familial resté isolé si la famille fân s'était bornée à une seule tribu: il a pris toute son extension par suite du développement considérable de cette même tribu.

e) Totem individuel.

1° Quelques remarques sur l'existence et le rôle du totem individuel.

Après tout ce que nous venons de développer, il nous reste en somme bien peu à dire sur le *mvamayôn* individuel. Cependant, quelques remarques sont utiles à faire.

1° Tout d'abord, ce point primordial. En principe, chaque individu mâle a son *mvame* individuel. Cette règle nous paraît générale. Dans les tribus de l'intérieur, où les croyances et les rites ancestraux se sont conservés beaucoup plus purs, elle se trouve aussi beaucoup mieux vérifiée. Là aussi, et c'est ce qui a favorisé le plus cette conservation, les Fân se maintiennent en masse compacte: devant les envahisseurs, toutes les autres tribus ont disparu: à peine, çà et là, quelque nom de village auquel les conquérants ont conservé l'ethnique primitif, rappelle-t-il encore le souvenir des anciens possesseurs. Sur les rives de l'Ogowé, au contraire, comme à la côte où les clans envahisseurs subissent plus ou moins le contact et l'influence des tribus conquises ou qu'ils envahissent, les Fân laissent tomber les anciennes croyances pour aboutir à une sorte de scepticisme railleur, ou, ce qui arrive également, les dissimulent plus profondément. Le R. P. Martrou, dans sa belle Etude sur les Eki des Fân[1], avait déjà fait cette constatation; c'est ce qui explique également pourquoi certains auteurs, d'ailleurs excellents observateurs, mais qui ont toujours séjourné parmi les tribus de la côte, ont si peu parlé de ces questions, et parfois en se méprenant sur leur signification ou en la raillant, faute de la comprendre. Tels le

[1] Anthropos I (1906) p. 764.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

R. P. Lejeune dans son Etude sur la femme au Gabon [1], A. Bennett, Notes Anthropologiques sur les Fâñ, Mary Kingsley, Nassau, Lenz et de Chaillu, dont nous avons cité d'ailleurs les noms au commencement de ce livre.

Ainsi le R. P. Lejeune:

— Eh! bien, Nzoyo, tu ne manges pas de la viande que je t'offre. Pourquoi? n'est-elle pas bonne?

— Oh! si, Minissé!

— Mais alors? —

— Je ne puis pas en manger, ma femme est enceinte. Alors, cette viande m'est défendue.

— Grand nigaud! (sic!) Alors, tu crois que cela peut faire quelque chose à ta femme! [2]

Manger de la viande est en effet défendu à l'homme dont la femme est enceinte, ou plutôt, ce que le P. Lejeune ne remarque pas, certaines viandes sont interdites. Mais il y a là une défense totémique, prise évidemment dans l'intérêt de la race, et de plus, une sorte de réversibilité de la conception sur le père considéré comme agent actif. Par une croyance pareille, dans les tribus Caraïbes des Antilles et également dans l'Amérique du Sud [3], lorsqu'une femme a mis un enfant au monde, elle reprend immédiatement ses travaux journaliers. Le père, au contraire, se couche, comme brisé de fatigue, et reçoit les félicitations des parents et amis. Bien nigaud (!) serait aussi celui qui penserait que ces Caraïbes croient à la réalité de la chose! Dans le cas cité par le R. P. Lejeune, au lieu de nous moquer de Nzoyo, qui se sent et s'estime, à tort ou à raison, lié pour son enfant, ne vaut-il pas mieux se servir de cette croyance pour établir, par exemple, la réversibilité des fautes, la nécessité de la surveillance paternelle, etc. Si nous nous raillons de cette idée, il nous semble difficile d'admettre que Nzoyo ne se moquera pas, tout aussi bien, et avec quelque raison, du péché originel, par exemple, et de ses suites, si le missionnaire lui en parle, ou mieux

[1] Missions Catholiques, la Femme au Gabon, 1898. — La même étude a paru dans le Correspondant. Cf. Bibliographie.

[2] Miss. Catholiques, dans la Forêt 1897.

[3] En Amazonie, chez les Indiens du Brésil, à la Terre de Feu.

encore de la punition qu'on pourra lui infliger, si, plus tard, ses fils sont coupables à cause des mauvais exemples ou leçons qu'il leur aura donnés. Pour lui, ces croyances qui nous semblent, à nous, si différentes entre elles, ressortiront au contraire du même principe de réversibilité commune.

2° Circonstances qui déterminent le choix du totem individuel.

Le mvame individuel est d'habitude un animal, très souvent un tigre, vautour, éléphant, rarement un végétal. On conçoit facilement en effet que le chef de famille voulant donner un protecteur à son descendant, choisira de préférence un animal dont il voudra lui assurer d'avance le bénéfice de quelques qualités, force, souplesse, endurance, bravoure, etc. Ce choix ne sera donc pas sans raison, et tel ou tel animal qui, au premier abord, nous semblera une vraie dérision, sera loin d'en être une dans l'esprit du Noir. Ainsi, un exemple: un des enfants de la Mission avait pour *mvame* le scarabée. Après bien des hésitations, et des demandes, j'en eus enfin l'explication: un jour, peu avant sa naissance, son père avait trouvé, sur la tombe de l'aïeul, sortant d'un trou creusé en terre, un gros scarabée noir. Il en avait conclu que l'animal était, pour une raison ou une autre, en communication avec l'ancêtre: à la naissance de l'enfant, il le lui avait donc donné comme totem, désirant ainsi faire revivre en lui les vertus guerrières de l'ancêtre. Pareil cas déterminera souvent le *mvame*: ce sera tel insecte, telle fleur rare même, poussée sur la tombe ou trouvée dans d'étranges circonstances. Tel animal d'ailleurs, qui, pour nous, ne dit «rien», dit au contraire «beaucoup» au Noir; ainsi la tortue, symbole de la ruse, le porc-épic, astutieux, ou la fourmi qui sait si bien trouver sa nourriture, qu'on n'a jamais vu mourir de faim, tout aussi habile à attaquer qu'à se défendre. Ce dernier totem est fréquent; et quiconque a vu les longues théories de fourmis noires qui envahissent parfois par millions un village, visitant case après case, ne laissant rien de comestible derrière elles, réduisant en moins d'une heure, comme nous avons été témoin, un malade abandonné et hors d'état de se défendre en un squelette admirablement nettoyé où ne restent que les os blanchis, quiconque, agitant par

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

mégarde l'arbre où gîte la fourmi noire *ntantal*, aura été piqué par une de ces terribles bêtes (morsure auprès de laquelle la piqûre de notre guêpe n'est rien), quiconque, pour une seule piqûre, aura eu le bras engourdi pendant des heures et verra se produire une fièvre intense, quiconque aura vu cela, disons-nous, comprendra facilement que le Noir envie pour son enfant pareilles qualités. Et ainsi de la ténacité avec laquelle le crabe *(kara)*, le pangolin *(ka)* ou le fourmilier *(avil)* saisiront leur proie sans que rien puisse leur faire lâcher prise, et nombre d'autres exemples qui pourraient allonger indéfiniment ces pages.

Un végétal, un arbre, une fleur, pour ses qualités bonnes ou mauvaises, souvent son emploi dans tel ou tel fétiche puissant, déterminera pareil choix, au premier abord paraissant insolite ou même ridicule, au fond très-observé.

La même raison mystérieuse pourra également déterminer le *zingol* ou caméléon, messager des Dieux, ou l'incompréhensible mante qui se tredresse sur ses pattes et semble songer[1]... Quelque esprit inconnu doit avoir passé par là!

Quelque soit la force de ces raisons, ce ne sont pas cependant les plus fréquentes. Presque toujours, on donnera à l'enfant, de même que le nom, le *mvame* particulier du grand-père, de l'aïeul, de l'oncle ou d'un frère mort, qu'il fera ainsi doublement revivre. Ce sera encore celui d'un autre homme du clan que l'on verra réussir en tout, famille, richesses, enfants, ou dont encore les qualités guerrières ou d'esprit frappent les yeux. Pour le faire ainsi prospérer, son *mvame* a dû être particulièrement bien choisi: l'enfant ne saurait qu'en bénéficier.

3° Circonstances fortuites déterminant le choix du totem individuel.

Enfin, deux autres sortes de circonstances peuvent déterminer le choix du totem: une circonstance due, semble-t-il, seulement au hasard, ou un *nsém* ou souillure morale.

Ce sera une circonstance due seulement au hasard: telles, pourrait-on dire encore, celles que nous avons relatées plus haut, telles surtout celles qui se produisent immédiatement avant, ou au

[1] D'où son nom scientifique de *Mantis religiosa*.

7: Trilles F969 Fang

moment de la naissance, indépendantes de l'enfant ou au contraire dépendant en quelque sorte de lui, volontairement ou non. Parmi les premières, les phénomènes naturels jouent le premier rôle. Ainsi, par exemple, un orage, un coup de tonnerre, un arc-en-ciel pourront facilement déterminer le totem de l'enfant.

Ce seront encore des circonstances parfaitement fortuites; telles seront, par exemple, une chasse heureuse où quelque animal rare ou particulièrement précieux au point de vue de la nourriture, tel l'éléphant, aura été tué, ou une chasse habituellement heureuse, mais absolument infructueuse ce jour-là. Ce sera un accident arrivé sur l'oncle au père ou à la mère, et tant d'autres qu'il serait facile de citer.

Il faut cependant noter que dans tous ces cas, pour notre seule mentalité européenne, tels faits paraissent dûs à un simple hasard. Mais pour le Noir, le hasard n'existe pas: tout a sa cause. Hasard la pierre qui blesse fortuitement notre pied, l'arbre qui vous écrase, le rapide qui engloutit une pirogue? En aucune façon! Mais ce sera un esprit supérieur offensé, un ancêtre qui déchaînera contre vous cette calamité ou cet accident, ce sera un féticheur ou surtout un sorcier qui aura suscité contre vous l'influence mauvaise, pour vous, cachée en cette plante ou cette pierre, qui aura excité l'Esprit des Eaux etc.

Si, au contraire, c'est un phénomène naturel qui s'est produit, c'est une manifestation d'esprit: dès lors, quoi de plus naturel que d'assurer à l'enfant le bénéfice d'une protection supérieure?

A Madagascar, chez les Bétsileos, Hazz[1] nous apprend une curieuse coutume. Pour cacher aux sorciers et aux esprits malfaisants la naissance d'un enfant, on donne à un enfant qui naît beau et fort, un nom qui puisse les dérouter. Ainsi porc, chatte, tas de fumier, personne. Si un enfant est chétif, on le fait manger avec un chien dont il devient l'enfant adoptif et prend le nom. Mais rien de totémique dans cette coutume, et rien de pareil dans la tribu fiti. — A propos de cette coutume, van Gennep[2] écrit: «On remarquera qu'en théorie les descendants de ce «fils de chien»

[1] J. H. Hazz, Some Betsileo Ideas, Art. Ann. 4° XXIV, 1900, p. 398—402.
[2] Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar, p. 266.

7: Trilles F319 Fang

formeront une famille de chiens, et l'on se trouvera ainsi en présence d'un groupement animal et à descendance canine sans intervention aucune de totémisme. Sans doute, au bout de plusieurs générations, alors que sera oblitéré le souvenir du fait primordial, leur nom et leur parenté sembleront étranges aux descendants de «Monsieur fils du chien.» — Mais qu'en savons-nous? Et si le fait, comme il le paraît, se reproduit souvent, pourquoi oublieraient-ils la cause du nom de l'ancêtre? — Puis, comme le nom change avec chaque individu . . . — «Ils inventeront, continue Mr. van Gennep, en guise d'explication, des légendes étiologiques qui pourront présenter une grande analogie avec des légendes totémistes vraies. Mais de là à conclure à une survivance totémique, il y aurait loin!» — C'est bien notre avis, mais la production de pareilles légendes est un fait «possible», que rien ne prouve, une simple supposition, et dans le domaine des suppositions, il y aurait aussi loin à aller!

Ce seront aussi parfois, avons-nous dit, des phénomènes dépendant en quelque sorte de la mère ou de la nature de l'enfant, tout au moins dans la pensée du noir. Ainsi la mère aura mis au monde deux jumeaux: souvent, comme nous l'avons remarqué, l'un sera sacrifié, l'autre au contraire sera épargné; son *mvame* sera l'arc-en-ciel et il en portera presque invariablement le nom: *Ñaje*. Nous verrons plus tard ses défenses totémiques. Si l'enfant naît également avec de petites dents pointant déjà, c'est toujours mauvais présage: en lui, revit l'esprit d'un ancêtre méchant. Si, grâce au sorcier, on retrouve cet ancêtre, il n'y a pas de mal; l'enfant sera épargné et aura le *mvame* de l'ancêtre. Si, au contraire, on ne peut le retrouver, il sera impitoyablement sacrifié: on l'enverra «rejoindre l'ancêtre au pays du froid» *ewuz anô nê mvame*. —

Une des causes également que nous avons signalée plus haut est le *nsim* ou souillure morale contractée par la violation d'un *êki* ou défense rituelle se rapportant au mariage. Cette violation, même si elle est involontaire, peut susciter de nombreuses difficultés au violateur.

4° Violation d'êki totémique, ce qui en résulte.

Dans un village Eisis (clan), j'assistai un jour à une grande palabre suscitée ainsi par la violation d'un *êki*. Un nommé Abiâô-

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Mbame s'était, pour une raison ou une autre, rendu au village de ses beaux-parents, éloigné du sien de plusieurs jours de marche. C'était, si je ne me trompe, pour leur apporter un supplément de dot. Il séjourna, comme c'est la coutume, assez longtemps dans ce village, puis revint chez lui, où il apprit à son grand contentement que sa femme était enceinte. Au temps voulu, celle-ci mit au monde un superbe garçon: malheureusement, quelques heures après sa naissance, et sans qu'aucune cérémonie pût être faite, l'enfant mourut. Les beaux-parents prévenus vinrent aussitôt. On recherchia quelles pouvaient être les causes de la mort; elles ne furent pas longues à découvrir: pendant le séjour chez les beaux-parents, on avait tué au village une antilope *mye*, le père de l'enfant en avait mangé, et cet animal est «interdit» au père aussi bien qu'à la femme enceinte pendant toute la durée de la gestation et de l'allaitement. Le père, bien qu'il ignorât la position de sa femme, avait donc commis un *ndem*. L'expiation était simple: comme l'enfant était le premier-né, la femme retournait chez ses parents, le divorce était prononcé, et le mari perdait tous ses droits sur la dot versée. Si au contraire l'enfant avait survécu, après avoir constaté la violation de l'*ekí*, le père eût payé une amende aux beaux-parents, et l'enfant eût été «voué» à l'antilope *mye*.

Pour un autre cas, ou une autre maladie, le totem individuel eût été un autre animal, souvent un arbre dont l'infusion l'aurait guéri. Ce dernier cas peut se rencontrer souvent.

8° Qui choisit le totem individuel.

Le chef de la famille a seul le droit de choisir le totem de l'enfant.

Ce droit ressort nettement de tout ce que nous avons dit de la constitution de la famille fáń, qui dépend uniquement de son chef, et non, comme dans beaucoup de tribus bantoues [1], de l'oncle

[1] Vg. les tribus voisines des Mpongwé, des Galoa, Ezenga, Bandko, Balengi Orungu, etc. Presque toutes les tribus voisines des Fáń, du côté de la mer, sont dans ce cas. Seuls, les Nzèk font exception, mais, comme nous l'avons dit, ils appartiennent à la famille fáń, et les autres peuples, soit à la famille Mpongwé, soit à de plus anciens envahisseurs se rapprochant du groupe Duala du Kamerun et Bubi de Fernando-Po.

maternel. Le *ngué* ou oncle maternel n'a aucun droit sur l'enfant dans la famille fàñ, tandis que tous les droits, au contraire, sont acquis au *mbalo* dans la famille ngongwèè voisine.

Seul, le chef de la famille aura donc ce droit; tout au plus demandera-t-il l'avis du *dzandà*, ou oncle paternel, son frère. Il exercera ce droit quelques jours après la naissance de l'enfant, qui recevra son nom totémique ou son totem individuel généralement en même temps qu'on lui donnera son nom d'enfant et son nom de race.

6° Les seuls individus mâles ont un mvame.

Seuls en effet, ils appartiennent à la race: la femme, une fois mariée, quitte sa famille avec laquelle elle n'a plus que de lointains rapports, et encore seulement d'amitié. On conçoit donc qu'elle n'ait rien à dévoiler avec l'ancêtre de la race, d'autant que son mariage l'oriente dans une tribu toute autre, à laquelle elle appartient désormais. Il faut cependant noter que le totem de la tribu de la mère de l'enfant conserve ses droits sur celui-ci. Ainsi, dans beaucoup de cas de divorce, la famille maternelle reprend la mère et l'enfant.

De plus, le fils ne peut aller prendre femme dans la tribu de sa mère. De même, un homme de la tribu de la mère ne peut épouser une fille de cette femme mariée dans une autre tribu. Mais la défense totémique s'arrête là: une fille connaît bien la tribu de sa mère, mais nullement celle de sa grand'mère, d'autant que bien souvent elle est vendue, puis élevée dans la tribu de son futur mari dès l'âge de quatre ou cinq ans.

7° Lois du mvame.

Comme nous l'avons déjà fait remarquer à diverses reprises, ce *mvame* individuel ne doit pas être confondu avec l'*éláñéla* ou animal «voué».

Il y a là deux concepts fort différents. Nous aurons à y revenir dans un article spécial, en parlant du nagualisme. Bien que ces deux concepts soient dissemblables, cependant l'enfant peut avoir comme *mvame*, soit personnel, soit de famille, de clan ou de tribu, le même animal que l'*éláñéla*. Mais il y a toujours cette

différence essentielle que le *mvame*, à quelque sorte qu'il appartienne, est toujours une espèce, ou mieux un être collectif (seul peut-être le soleil et la lune, et parfois Vénus, mais encore dans ce cas, comme l'a fait remarquer Spencer dans ses Etudes sur les Arunta d'Australie, on retrouve là encore une idée de pluralité, de collectivité) tandisque l'*élàbéla* (ailleurs *nagual*, *kebong*, *idhlosi*), est un individu isolé et jamais une collectivité. Ainsi un homme pourra avoir pour *élàbéla (nagual)* et pour totem de clan ou même totem individuel le crocodile ou caïman. Mais qu'arrive-t-il dans ce cas? C'est qu'il a pour totem «le» crocodile et non pas «un» crocodile: il a pour totem «le» crocodile de telle ou telle variété, qui réunira tel ou signe, mais tout crocodile rentrant dans cette catégorie sera son totem. Au contraire, il aura pour *élàbéla* «un» crocodile qui rentrera peut-être dans cette catégorie, ou n'y rentrera pas; en tout cas, ce sera un individu isolé. De plus, comme nous aurons occasion de le redire, entre totem et *élàbéla*, les rapports sont tout différents: le totem protège d'une façon toute spirituelle d'abord, puis souvent matérielle ensuite; l'*élàbéla*, au contraire, d'une façon toute matérielle et nullement spirituelle, tout au moins à certains points de vue.

Enfin, et c'est peut-être le point le plus important, le totem se relie au culte de la race et des ancêtres, l'*élàbéla* ne s'y relie en aucune façon, mais au culte des esprits. Le totem, et d'après ce que nous avons dit plus haut, on voit combien ce point est important, le totem ressort du féticheur, l'*élàbéla*, du sorcier. Ainsi supposons encore un enfant «voué» au serpent noir. Tout serpent noir, ou du moins tous les serpents noirs de telle région seront son *mvame*. Supposons au contraire que ce même enfant soit «voué» au serpent noir, son *élàbéla*. Il ne s'agira alors que d'un individu: celui-ci, venant à mourir, pourra être remplacé par un autre serpent noir, mais après toute une nouvelle initiation.

En fait même, il arrive très souvent que tous ces *mvame* se confondent: on pourrait dire se fortifient. Tel enfant «voué» au Tigre, à titre individuel, pourra parfaitement lui être également voué au titre «famille», «clan», «tribu» et même «société secrète». Avec toutes les réserves nécessaires, il y a là quelque chose de

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

semblable à ce qui se passe dans nos communautés chrétiennes. Un enfant, par exemple, recevra au baptême le nom de la Sainte Vierge Marie. Pour attirer davantage sur lui la protection de sa divine mère, il lui sera «voué» par sa mère terrestre. Plus tard, fortifiant encore ce lien, il pourra entrer dans une société vouée à la Ste Mère de Dieu, et encore la choisir comme patronne de religion, quatre concepts différents tendant tous au même but, mais ayant chacun un objet distinct et cependant semblable: la protection du «voué».

f) Totems de sociétés secrètes et de confréries.

Les sociétés secrètes, comme nous avons eu occasion de le dire précédemment en un paragraphe à part de cette Etude, sont constituées en somme à l'image du clan, et ont été primitivement établies pour resserrer davantage encore les limites de l'autorité dans un cercle où tous les membres sont liés par la loi d'une stricte obéissance.

Participant à la constitution de la tribu, modelées sur son image, elles ont, comme elle, les mêmes totems, des animaux protecteurs, et auront, pour se les concilier, des cérémonies presque identiques. Une seule différence les signalera. Tandis que, dans le clan ou la tribu, la femme est considérée comme être nul et n'a aucune importance sociale vis-à-vis de la race, dans la société secrète elle a su recouvrir sa personnalité, et à l'instar de son maître, constituer des associations dont elle excluera soigneusement les hommes, quitte à les écarter, s'ils ne veulent s'y soumettre, par le poison et la mort.

Toutes les sociétés secrètes, soit d'hommes, soit de femmes, ont leurs grades divers, et chaque grade a son totem. Nous aurons occasion d'y revenir à propos du nagualisme et de l'animal voué ou *ébéla*, qui, nous l'avons dit, est à proprement parler, le totem de ces sociétés secrètes, soit qu'il s'agisse d'individus pris isolément ou «initiés», soit de grades, soit de collectivités.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

§ 3. Conclusion.

Quelques remarques à propos des *mevumagôô*.

Extension de ces croyances.

En somme, dans la tribu ou les tribus Fâh, nous retrouvons comme on le voit, les différents totems appartenant aux différents règnes de la nature, analogues à ceux que l'on retrouve dans toutes les tribus africaines, hantonnes ou non, ce qui montre bien l'extension du système.

Ainsi, au Kamerun, dans des tribus apparentées d'ailleurs de près aux Fâh, on retrouvera même système, comme le note Dr. Mansfeld dans „Vier Jahre unter den Crokodilmenschen Kamerums" [1]: „Der Totemismus steht in voller Blüte. Gewöhnlich hat ein ganzes Dorf dasselbe Totem, und zwar ein Tier, das entweder sehr stark ist oder sich doch leicht verbergen kann, also Elephanten, Leoparden, Gorillas, Fische, Schlangen."

En remontant plus haut, nous avons vu que le Colonel Binger signale comme *totem* à la Guinée française:

Le merle métallique, le vautour Urubus, le petit oiseau dit sénégalais, le bœ, le trigonocéphale, le lion, certain légume sauvage, du lait de femme, une mouche.

A propos de la singularité de quelques-uns de ces totems, nous avons fait remarquer qu'il faut souvent y voir une idée toute autre de ce que nous pensions d'abord. Le Noir ne pense pas comme nous.

Au pays soninké, on retrouve mêmes idées. Dans une Etude récente de ce peuple par Mr. Fernand Daniel [2], nous pouvons lire ces lignes, en regrettant de ne pas leur voir une tournure plus scientifique:

«Les «superstitions» de tout genre sont aussi pratiquées par le Sarakolé. S'il part en voyage et qu'il rencontre des toucans sur sa route, il a bien soin de les faire envoler, car la journée pourrait mal finir pour lui.

[1] Cité par l'Anthropos V (1910), p. 289
[2] Anthropos V p. 38.

?: Trilles FH9 Fang

M'ayant vu tuer d'un coup de fusil un gros python de 4 m 70 qui attaquait un porteur, mon boy Sarakolé ayant le serpent pour totem, accourut aussitôt. Il se fit mettre par un camarade une goutte de sang du serpent mort entre les yeux, à seule fin d'empêcher la fièvre que n'aurait pas manqué d'occasionner la vue du python.»

Le geste du boy s'explique par ce fait que chaque famille a pris pour *tanna* un animal sous la protection duquel elle se place. Jamais cet animal ne sera tué ou mangé par un Sarakolé l'ayant pris pour éponyme; bien plus, le *tanna*[1] n'attaquera jamais un homme qui a contracté alliance avec lui[2].

En passant, remarquons également qu'il ne faut pas s'étonner si certains auteurs, même très compétents, et connaissant bien le peuple dont ils écrivent, ne parlent pas du totémisme et des totems. Le fait et la chose peuvent parfaitement leur échapper, ou se mêler à d'autres phénomènes sociaux. Ainsi, le P. Bazin[3] auquel on doit une Etude très complète et très documentée sur la religion de la Guinée, ne cite même pas le totem. D'ailleurs, comme le fait très bien remarquer van Gennep, l'étude scientifique et approfondie du totémisme en est encore à ses débuts, et Frazer[4] cite pour l'approuver, l'opinion de Haddon[5], disant: «Ce qui est décrit en un endroit comme du totémisme peut fort bien être essentiellement différent de ce qui est appelé totémisme ailleurs.»

---

[1] Notons à propos de ce mot que les Européens en employant ce mot le défigurent quelque peu. Comme l'a fait remarquer Arcin (la Guinée française, *op. cit.*) c'est *ndéd* et non *tanna*, qu'il faut dire. «*Ndéd* désigne» la sœur aînée du Père «tandisque *tanna* n'a aucun sens». D'une façon générale, les Européens ont tendance à enlever aux noms indigènes l'*n* ou *m* nasale qui commence beaucoup de mots indigènes. Tels pour le cas qui nous occupe, on dit couramment Pahouins et Pongwés au lieu de Mpawins et de Mpongwés. Ainsi encore Dakar, si connu, s'appelait jadis Ndakar.

[2] Voir Anthropos V (1910), p. 843 suiv. P. Brun, Le Totémisme chez quelques peuples du Soudan Occidental.

[3] Missions catholiques 1884.

[4] «Man», London, 1901, p. 138.

[5] Haddon, Proceedings of the British Association, 1902. Ceux que cette théorie intéresserait la retrouveront dans Lang, Origin of Totem Names and Beliefs. Folk-Lore 1903. Consulter également van Gennep, Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar, p. 321 et Revue de l'Hist. des Religions 1903, p. 406.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Nous n'avons plus à remonter vers le nord, où, en dépassant le Sénégal, les races diffèrent totalement, mais si nous descendons plus bas que le pays des Fâh en suivant la ligne des tribus bantoues, partout nous rencontrerons mêmes totems, un peu différents suivant l'organisation de la famille. Le totem serpent, par exemple, pour ne citer que celui-là, sera aussi respecté à Porto-Novo ou Whyda où nous trouverons ses temples, qu'à Madagascar, où VAN GENNEP nous a fait récemment connaître son culte, et dans l'antique Egypte où ce culte totémique a été si répandu jadis et subsiste encore aujourd'hui. On les rencontre tout aussi bien chez les tribus bantoues du sud, au sujet desquels SIDNEY HARTLAND[1] a pu écrire que l'étude de la vie sociale et religieuse des tribus de langue bantoue *Zulous*, Basutos, Ovaherero, Baroungas etc.) montre qu'elles ont dû passer par le totémisme . . . Chacun désigne l'animal dont il porte le nom comme son *siboko*[2], et se gardera non seulement de le tuer ou de le manger, mais même de toucher sa peau ou d'entrer en contact avec lui, s'il peut faire autrement.

De tous ces témoignages, résulte également que nous ne saurions souscrire à cette opinion de Mr. TOUTAIN[3]: «En Afrique, il y a très peu de clans totémiques.»

Nous venons précisément de montrer combien le totémisme était répandu dans toutes les tribus bantoues. Nous l'avons prouvé pour les Fâh[4].

---

[1] E. SIDNEY HARTLAND, Totemism and some recent discoveries, Presidential address: dans Review of Folk-Lore Society, XI. London 1906, p. 25—27.

[2] *Siboko*, allerte *ovilo*, comme sur les bords du Tanganyika, nous paraît plutôt signifier défense totémique que l'animal totem. Ainsi *ôsi* chez les Fâh, *pilula* en Xôma.

[3] L'Histoire des Religions et le Totémisme, p. 129 — op. cité.

[4] On peut également rapprocher de ces témoignages celui de Mr. JOHNSTON qui dans son livre: The Uganda Protectorate, examine successivement toutes les tribus du centre Africain. Il n'en est peut-être pas une seule où il ne montre l'existence du totémisme. Un des points où son témoignage nous paraît

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Toutefois, et nous ne saurions trop insister sur ce point, le totémisme chez les Bantous, et, en particulier, chez les Fân, malgré le développement du système dans cette tribu, n'a nullement l'importance qu'ont voulu lui attribuer certains ethnologues; mais cette question est trop capitale pour pouvoir se résoudre ici en quelques lignes. Elle mérite les honneurs d'un chapitre particulier.

---

des plus intéressants, est celui où il parle du totémisme chez les tribus bantoues du Mont Elgon qu'il estime se rapprocher le plus de la tribu-mère de tous les Bantous.

D'après cet auteur, le bantou parlé au Mont Elgon aurait le véritable bantou archaïque. Le fân s'en éloigne déjà considérablement.

Voir Notes justificatives à la fin du volume.

CHAPITRE VIII.

L'ANTIQUITÉ DU TOTEM FÁÑ.

§ 1. Le totem fàñ est-il un phénomène d'importation, ou bien remonte-t-il aux origines de la tribu?

§ 2. Documents et raisons qui nous permettent de faire remonter le totémisme aux origines de la tribu.

a) Les Généalogies. — Exemples divers.

b) Les légendes totémiques. — 1° Légende de *Nyevengoronor*, le fils du crocodile. — 2° Survivances totémiques de ce rite. — 3° Légende totémique de l'éléphant.

c) Survivances actuelles du culte du crocodile et de l'éléphant. — 1° L'*Ekiem*. 2° Le *Nnué bêtum*. — 3° Le *Nnué du bojo*. — 4° L'*Ebéñ bêtum*.

d) Survivances dans les tatouages et signes ethniques.

e) Sentiment populaire au sujet du totem.

Dans le chapitre précédent: «Le totem réel», nous avons donc constaté dans chaque tribu, clan ou famille fàñ, un totem, appartenant soit au règne animal, soit au règne végétal ou minéral, soit encore, mais rarement, aux phénomènes célestes. Toutes nos constatations se sont appuyées sur des faits précis, de façon à établir d'une manière indubitable l'existence de ce totem.

Avant de déterminer «l'objectivité» du totem, ou, si l'on préfère, l'objet «matérialisé» ou «concrétisé» auquel s'adressera le «culte» totémique, si ce culte existe, ce que nous aurons à étudier ensuite, il nous faut maintenant poser la question de l'antiquité du totem, et par là même du rôle qu'il joue dans l'économie de la tribu.

Le fait du totem existe, soit totem tribal, soit totem de clan, soit totem familial ou d'individu. Ce fait d'existence implique deux ordres de questions auxquelles nous avons à répondre maintenant. La question primordiale est celle-ci:

[p. 174]

7: Trilles F119 Fang

1° Le totem est-il seulement un phénomène d'importation ou rencontre-t-il comme tout ce que nous avons dit jusqu'ici tend à le faire supposer, une origine autane de la tribu?

Cette première question étant résolue, on passe la seconde:

2° D'après les documents que nous trouvons dans la tribu fàn elle-même, pouvons-nous assigner une origine au totem?

Question qui nous amène à étudier successivement ces documents qui se rattachent à cinq sources différentes:

a) Les généalogies[1], dont nous retrouvons ici l'importance;

b) Les légendes totémiques ou la tradition, tradition orale puisque les Fàn ne connaissent pas l'écriture, telle au moins que nous la comprenons, mais tradition orale conservée fidèlement par les «chanteurs» et les chefs[2];

c) Les survivances artefiles des rites totémiques dans certains phénomènes de culte;

d) Les survivances dans les tatouages, ombrèmes, langue etc.;

e) Le sentiment ou la croyance du peuple lui-même au sujet de l'origine du totem;

---

[1] A propos des noms des généalogies, faisons encore cette remarque que le nom est attaché au crâne présent ou'que tout ou moins la famille a en sa possession et surtout, par conséquent, les honneurs funéraires ont été rendus. Tous ceux qui sont morts par accident ou,étés à la guerre et dont on n'a pu retrouver les crânes sont laissés de côté, comme n'ayant pas reçu les honneurs funéraires, ou, de ce fait, ne pouvant être compris dans la ligne des ancêtres. Ce fait a dû souvent se reproduire dans des tribus aussi batailleuses que les hordes fàn. Joint au fait de l'oubli inévitable, et des oublieuses involontaires, il explique que les généalogies pouvent ne comme remonter beaucoup plus haut en réalité qu'on ne serait tenté de le croire à première impression. Cependant, dans certains cas, par exemple si on a pu se procurer un os du défunt, on se pourra remédier les honneurs ennemiens au lieu du crâne lui-même. Il faudra alors une cérémonie spéciale. Ce cas peut arriver pour les prisonniers de guerre mangés: à prix d'or, les parents s'en procurent subrepticement un reste quelconque.

[2] Les Fàn ne connaissent pas l'écriture proprement dite, mais ils savent cependant exprimer un nombre assez grand d'idées par certains signes, sortes de hiéroglyphes, que l'on retrouve souvent dessinés sur les parois des cases, et surtout par un système assez compliqué de nœuds et de cordelettes qui rappellent les «quipus» péruviens. Les femmes en particulier sont très habiles à se servir de ce système particulier.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Nous rejetterons à deux chapitres subséquents:

1° L'explication de l'origine du totem, telle qu'elle ressort du totem lui-même, ou d'après le système des différents auteurs qui ont traité la question, mais en l'appliquant d'une manière particulière aux Fàn.

2° L'importance du totem dans le système religieux des Fàn, question subsidiaire qui eût pu trouver sa place ici, mais à laquelle nous amènera naturellement un paragraphe suivant: le respect du totem.

Tels sont donc les deux ordres de questions qui forment l'ensemble de ce chapitre, questions qui sont toutes les deux d'une importance considérable dans cette Etude du totémisme.

§ 1. Le totem fàn est-il un phénomène d'importation, ou bien remonte-t-il aux origines de la tribu?

Les Fàn, tels les anciens Romains, sont loin d'être exclusifs dans leur culte. Ils adoptent avec une certaine facilité, au moins de surface, sinon les rites religieux des peuples ou des tribus qu'ils rencontrent sur leur chemin, tout au moins les fétiches qu'ils estiment puissants. Soit, et c'est en somme le plus commun, qu'ils incorporent à leur propre masse ces tribus plus faibles ou moins guerrières, et le fait alors d'accepter tout au moins leurs croyances, paraît alors très naturel, soit que par leurs rapports constants, leur pénétration au cœur même de ces tribus, ils croient au contraire constater la présence de «fétiches» plus forts, et là encore, par un sentiment fort compréhensible, se trouvent désireux de conquérir une force nouvelle et nullement à dédaigner pour leur propre nation.

Le fétiche principal actuel, par exemple, celui que l'on pourrait presque appeler le Dieu national, si ce mot «Dieu» n'avait pas une conception absolument étrangère aux Fàn qui n'adressent aucun culte à la divinité [1], le fétiche principal actuel, le *Biéri*, me semble bien importé, au moins dans sa forme actuelle de culte. Le fond demeure cependant fàn: il est probablement pris aux nations voisines, peut-être aux Bulus et aux Fiotes qui le connaissent sous le nom de *Bwiti*

[1] Nous avons vu plus haut que les Fàn n'admettent pas ces noms abstraits: divinité, humanité etc. Pour eux, il y a seulement des «entités» distinctes, dieux, hommes etc.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

(*Bitti* en fâ mékè). Tout au moins, on ne le trouve plus dans les tribus du nord, mais beaucoup plutôt dans les tribus de l'Ogowé et de la côte. Pour le *mvumayôt*, au contraire, on retrouve actuellement son culte et ses rites dans toutes les tribus fâ, du nord au sud, de l'est à l'ouest, plus vivant dans les tribus éloignées de tout contact européen, s'affaiblissant déjà, et pour des causes multiples que nous reverrons d'ailleurs, en parlant des tatouages, dans les tribus ayant subi l'influence ou l'infiltration européenne. Le fait de rencontrer ainsi le totem dans toutes les tribus fâ actuellement existantes, et de le retrouver également dans les tribus qui leur sont apparentées semble bien prouver, croyons-nous, que le totémisme n'est pas chez eux un fait importé, tout au moins à une époque récente: il n'aurait pu en effet pénétrer ainsi et se faire adopter dans toutes les tribus. Aussi serons-nous complètement opposé à la théorie de Lasseau[1], qui prétend, mais sans aucune preuve, à l'importation du culte du Crocodile, sans dire où, ni comment, ni pourquoi. Au contraire, le fait de l'existence actuelle du totem dans toutes les tribus et même dans les autres nations apparentées aux Fâ est un fait apparent, qu'il est facile de constater. On l'a noté dernièrement chez les Yaundé. De même, le P. Martrou l'a constaté, en en notant toutefois l'affaiblissement progressif, dans les tribus environnant sa mission de l'Ogowé. Ainsi encore l'ai-je remarqué pour ma part chez les Bosyebas; là, un de mes fidèles catéchistes, Fidèle Bézalé, fils du chef des Mékurk, la plus forte tribu des Bosyebas, m'a donné de curieux renseignements, surtout sur les sociétés secrètes de femmes, dont sa mère faisait partie; elle y occupait un haut grade. Je l'ai également vu chez les Dzém, et dans toutes les tribus fâ où il m'a été donné de pénétrer, c'est-à-dire dans presque toutes.

Cette universalité est donc bien de nature à nous faire conclure que le totémisme est vraiment un rite national.

On trouve également, il est vrai, le totémisme dans certaines nations qui habitent aussi le Congo. Tels, par exemple les Balengi,

[1] Dictionnaire français-fang, à l'article: Origines. Nous avons déjà dit à propos de ce dictionnaire que l'auteur ne parlait pas le fâ, et a composé son livre à l'aide de plusieurs interprètes.

aujourd'hui repoussés à la côte du Muny et réduits à rien: le chef d'un de leurs rares villages me disait un jour, non sans mélancolie:

«Nous avions pourtant un puissant protecteur (c'était le tigre), nos ennemis n'avaient que le sanglier, et pourtant le sanglier a vaincu le tigre; comment expliquer cela! Ils nous ont mangés! —

C'est bien facile, lui répondis-je: depuis quand un tigre, si tigre soit-il, peut-il lutter contre mille sangliers! —

C'est bien vrai, reprit-il! Ah! si nous étions plus!»

Le totémisme existe également dans divers autres clans ou peuples. Ainsi, complètement en dehors de leur race et des clans bantous, mais à leurs côtés, vivant avec eux et souvent dans une sorte de servage, les Fân trouveront les Pygmées ou Négrilles dont la religion est fondée en partie sur le totémisme, tout au moins pour ceux qui habitent la Gabonie, et que nous connaissons. Or, ils reconnaissent trois totems principaux, le fourmi-lion, la chauve-souris et le *modama*[1].

Le *modama*, en fân *olum* (?), est encore assez mal déterminé; les Fân désignent sous ce nom deux arbres d'essence différente, bien que de la même famille des Sapotacées: le *Baillonella toxisperma*, qui me semble douteux, et l'*Ibete latifolia* (Mueil), qui me paraît plus probable. Les Pygmées se nourrissent de ses fruits qui contiennent 70°/₀ de matières grasses et sont par conséquent très-nutritifs, mais assez amers. Le latex, d'agréable odeur, est en réalité une gutta-percha. Le *modama* pourrait également être un autre arbre appartenant au genre Parinarium, des Rosacées, par exemple l'excelsum, très bel arbre à fût droit et lisse, rare au Gabon, mais fréquent au Sénégal et à l'intérieur. L'embryon renferme une huile grasse qui est employée dans l'alimentation, et les drupes fournissent une chair juteuse et un peu âpre. Ce qui semble confirmer la possibilité du choix de cet arbre, c'est que Sir H. Johnston le

[1] Le *modama*, dit Mgr. Le Roy, dans son beau livre des Pygmées, appelé en mpongwé *olumi*, d'une racine idéotique qui signifie avoir de la renommée, être célèbre, être grand *(dama)*, est un arbre magnifique et assez rare dont je n'ai vu que trois spécimens. Très gros, très grand, il s'élève tout droit, près des eaux, et porte à vingt ou trente mètres une tête superbe. Son écorce répand une odeur agréable, et quand on le frappe, disent les indigènes, il résonne comme pour répondre. Beaucoup de chansons le célèbrent: *Olumi n'agondje* . . . Cf. Les Pygmées p. 190.

signale également comme recevant un culte des Pygmées et des peuples du Centre-Africain.

Les Fâñ n'ont aucun de ces trois totems. De plus, le culte que leur rendent les Pygmées est tout différent: leur principale façon d'honorer ces totems est de prendre un fragment, ou un peu de sang, ou de sève du totem, de se faire une incision à la cheville, de le mêler au sang qui coule, et de le faire entrer dans la plaie. Ainsi auront-ils la force du *moduma,* la marche silencieuse et nocturne de la chauve-souris, l'habileté à saisir sa proie du fourmi-lion.

Les Pygmées ont encore un souverain mépris pour les totems et pour tous les fétiches des Fâñ qu'ils exècrent, bien que, et probablement parce qu'ils vivent sous leur domination. La réciproque est exactement vraie. Chacun se traite d'abominable sauvage.

Pour tous ces clans, bantous ou autres, s'oppose une même raison: les Fâñ les ont tous repoussés devant eux; seuls, sont restés les Pygmées, autochtones d'ailleurs[1], mais bien peu nombreux, quelques milliers au plus. Le totémisme des races vaincues n'aurait donc pû s'imposer aux envahisseurs que par «rayonnement» de la périphérie au centre, mais ce rayonnement est évidemment impossible du centre jusqu'aux extrémités de la masse, restées dans l'extrême intérieur, et tel le totémisme des clans arrivés maintenant à la côte, tel exactement, cependant avec les mêmes rites et les mêmes croyances, le totémisme des clans de l'intérieur, à plusieurs milliers de kilomètres les uns des autres[2].

La conclusion est donc évidente:

1° Le totémisme fâñ ne nous paraît pas d'importation récente.

2° Il n'est pas dû davantage à un phénomène d'infiltration, aux tribus voisines ou subjuguées.

Mais ici se présente une objection: le totémisme, pour n'être pas d'importation récente, pourrait néanmoins ne pas remonter aux origines de la tribu. Quelles sont donc les raisons ou les documents qui nous permettront de lui assigner une origine très-reculée? C'est ce qui fera l'objet d'un second paragraphe.

[1] Autochtones, en ce sens seulement qu'ils habitaient déjà le pays lors de l'arrivée des Fâñ. Ceux-ci les reconnaissent parfaitement comme «Maîtres» du sol, mais, en fait, les traitent en esclaves.

[2] Les Fâñ sont répandus sur une aire d'environ 7 degrés, près de 3000 kilomètres.

§ 2. Documents et raisons qui nous permettent de faire remonter le totémisme aux origines de la tribu.

Les documents et raisons qui nous permettent d'assigner au totémisme fàñ une origine très-reculée, appartiennent, avons-nous dit, à cinq sources différentes:

a) les généalogies, dont nous constaterons ici une fois de plus l'importance,

b) les légendes totémiques,

c) les survivances actuelles des rites totémiques dans les phénomènes du culte,

d) les survivances dans les tatouages, dessins, emblèmes,

e) le sentiment ou la croyance du peuple lui-même au sujet de l'origine du totem.

a) Les généalogies.

Les généalogies nous donneront tout d'abord un précieux moyen d'investigation, surtout dans les tribus mieux constituées de l'intérieur, où elles ont conservé toute leur force. Par elles, outre les noms qu'elles nous ont conservés des ascendants des guerriers et des chefs actuels, nous savons de plus, par raisonnement, que tel chef de famille, tel ou tel fondateur de clan ou de tribu, avait tel ou tel totem, précieusement transmis aux descendants. Ainsi, par exemple, m'adressant au chef du clan Ebinze, si je lui demande: «Pourquoi, vous autres, vous appelez-vous: les hommes du clan Ebinze?» — Il me répondra sans hésiter (et même souvent il ajoutera avec un sourire moqueur):

«Comment ne sais-tu pas cela, toi qui es de notre peuple, veux-tu donc m'éprouver? Tu sais bien que notre père, l'*esayôñ* du clan, était Nze. Voici d'ailleurs mon *mébara* [1].

— Mais ton *mvamayôñ* est également Nze (le tigre). Etait-il donc en même temps *esayôñ*?

— *Wa kwerele me!* (Tu te moques de moi!)

— Mais enfin? Pourquoi Nze *mvamayôñ*, et Nze *esayôñ*?

[1] Nous avons déjà dit plus haut que le *mébara* comprenait l'enseignement traditionnel et surtout la liste individuelle des ancêtres.

— Parce que les choses se sont trouvées ainsi! C'est que le père de Nze lui avait donné ce *mvama*!»

Et dans les interrogations que vous aurez ainsi l'occasion de faire, vous constaterez que le souvenir du totem du fondateur du clan, ou du premier ancêtre connu de la tribu, se sera toujours conservé, mais aussi toujours invariablement uni au souvenir du *mvamayôñ*; aujourd'hui, comme au temps du premier ancêtre, ce *mvamayôñ* est toujours le *mvamayôñ* de la tribu.

A combien, pour préciser les choses, remontent ces souvenirs? Il est difficile d'assigner une date précise. Dans les très nombreuses généalogies que j'avais naguère recueillies, travail précieux qui m'avait permis d'identifier et de grouper un grand nombre de clans, et qui s'est trouvé malheureusement perdu au cours d'un long voyage, les plus complètes, ou mieux celles qui comptaient le plus grand nombre d'ascendants en ligne directe, arrivaient à 33. Je n'ai jamais dépassé ce chiffre, mais celles de 20 générations et plus étaient fréquentes. En outre, les vieux chefs étaient unanimes à m'affirmer que dans les premières générations, peu à peu le souvenir se perdait, et il m'est en effet arrivé plus d'une fois d'en compléter par des renseignements ultérieurs ou dans des tribus plus éloignées. Les clans du nord ont conservé plus fidèlement ces souvenirs. Il est facile d'ailleurs de concevoir combien ces généalogies peuvent omettre de noms, puisque très fréquemment le fils aura le nom de son grand-père, et qu'à l'origine, cette coutume était plus fidèlement observée encore. Ainsi, Etûtû-Ovum, un chef Amvom, me donnait comme ses premiers ascendants, avec un ancêtre nommé Etûtû comme lui:

Etûtû Mison
fils de
Nson Etûtû
fils de
Etûtû Biyère
Eyère-Bikwé
Nkwé-Etûtû
Etûtû Mison
Nson-Biyère
Eyère-Mitôñe
Ntôñe etc.

On conçoit combien la répétition de ces noms, revenant identiquement ou presque identiquement les mêmes, peut facilement amener de confusions. Faisons en passant une remarque curieuse: le nom du père, dans les généalogies, est souvent mis au pluriel. Ainsi Etûtû-Mison, c'est-à-dire Etûtû — fils de Mison. En réalité Mison se nommait Nson, comme le montre la généalogie suivante: Nson-Etûtû. De même Etûtû-Biyère, lequel est en réalité Eyère. Nous signalons cette particularité, que nul de ceux que nous avons jusqu'ici interrogés n'a pu nous expliquer. Un seul chef (car c'est toujours à ceux-là qu'on s'adresse, comme possédant mieux les secrets de la famille) m'a un jour répondu:

«Mais tu le sais bien, c'est parce qu'ils sont deux.

— Cependant, un seul (Eyère, par exemple) a vécu. Pourquoi dis-tu donc Biyère?

— Tu le sais bien: ils sont deux.»

Et je n'ai pu en tirer d'autre réponse. Je ne pense pas qu'il y ait là quelque raison grammaticale[1]; ce serait plutôt une raison en quelque somme théologique, une croyance à un double existant; je n'ai pu le constater.

Les plus anciennes généalogies, et par conséquent l'ancêtre totémique le plus éloigné, dont nous puissions retrouver la trace, remontent donc à environ trente générations. Si l'on veut appliquer une date à cette époque, il est relativement facile de le faire. Si la femme fàñ est mariée jeune, il n'en est pas ainsi de l'homme qui aime conserver beaucoup plus longtemps sa liberté, et aussi en jouir. Aussi, en fait, bien que souvent le jeune homme possède sa femme depuis longtemps, le mariage n'est-il consommé que beaucoup plus tard, entre vingt et vingt-cinq ans. Par une coutume même particulière aux fils de chefs et qui s'étend à leurs filles, ceux-ci ne sont souvent mariés que beaucoup plus tard; cette coutume a dû peut-être s'établir par raison d'utilité publique, pour sauvegarder l'unité et la pureté de la race, ou plutôt encore, et, à mon avis,

[1] Cette façon de procéder est au contraire formellement opposée aux règles: le «possesseur» impose son «préfixe» au «possédé». Ainsi *e-li e-tax*, un arbre petit, *bi-li bi-tax*, des arbres petits. Etûtû-Eyère, Etûtû-Ekyé serait conforme à la règle, mais ne se dit jamais. Le père prend le préfixe du pluriel.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

c'est la vraie raison, par suite de la loi même de succession. Ainsi le père n'aura aucun compétiteur possible. Peu importe d'ailleurs au fond ici la cause: le fait est que nous pouvons assigner à chaque génération une durée comprise entre vingt-cinq et trente-cinq ans, soit trois par siècle, ou sept pour deux siècles. Nous atteindrons donc, par ce moyen des généalogies, une limite de neuf siècles environ. Aucune ne dépasse cette limite, mais il faut bien remarquer les deux causes qui peuvent les faire remonter en fait beaucoup plus haut: 1° Les oublis dûs au temps; 2° l'omission de certains noms, par suite des crânes n'ayant pas reçu les honneurs funèbres, guerriers disparus ou pris par l'ennemi. Cette raison est très-importante.

b) Les légendes.

Si la durée assignée par les générations ne peut dépasser neuf siècles au maximum, il n'en est pas ainsi des légendes qui permettent de remonter à une époque beaucoup plus reculée.

Quelle est cette époque? Il est impossible de l'assigner: tout ce que l'on peut affirmer, c'est qu'elle est très lointaine. Au temps, en effet, où les généalogies nous font remonter, et que permet d'assigner le fondateur de nombreux clans, on trouve déjà la nation divisée en quatre rameaux distincts et quatre-vingt tribus environ, ce qui laisse supposer déjà une haute antiquité. Quoiqu'il en soit, rien ne permet d'assigner une date certaine. Seul, le folklore, en rapprochant les tribus aujourd'hui dispersées d'un bout à l'autre de l'Afrique, et la linguistique comparée, permettront quelques données nouvelles.

Nous avons dit plus haut que d'après les traditions que nous avons pu recueillir, les Bétsi et les Méké, au temps où ils ne formaient qu'une tribu chacun, ne reconnaissaient que deux totems, le Crocodile et l'Eléphant. Auquel des deux faut-il assigner la priorité, ou bien ont-ils eu, comme aujourd'hui, une existence parallèle? Il est absolument impossible de le dire, tout autant que de donner une date avec une approximation, même quelconque.

La légende du Crocodile présente de curieux détails au point de vue qui nous occupe; nous la transcrivons donc ici, telle que nous l'avons recueillie dans plusieurs tribus.

1° La légende[1] de *Ngurangurane*, le fils du Crocodile.

«Il y avait autrefois, il y a de cela bien longtemps, bien longtemps[2], un très-grand *nganga* (féticheur), et c'était Ngurangurane[3], le fils du Crocodile.

(Notons ici que ce nom de Ngurangurane, le premier chef connu des Fâñ, comme nous le verrons d'après la légende, n'est pas donné partout sous cette forme. Au mont Khumenzox,[4] le chef m'affirma que c'était une erreur, et que le vrai nom était celui qu'il lui donnait: *Nganengane*, qui s'en rapproche d'ailleurs: Caïman fils du Caïman (*ngan*: caïman).

Au pays des Dzèm, le nom variait encore: *Nkômengane*, Crocodile fils du Caïman. Tout en assignant deux noms au Crocodile et au Caïman, *Nkôm* et *Ngan*, les Fâñ leur donnent cependant une origine commune. D'après la contexture de la légende, Nganengane nous semblerait plus probable. Tous les Fâñ Bétsi que j'ai

---

[1] Cette légende m'a été contée par *Henri Etuÿe*, habitant un village de la rivière Ebè, affluent du fleuve Mondah. *Etuÿe* appartient à la tribu Yemvux. Ce récit m'a été répété à deux reprises différentes, et dans des termes presque identiques, la première fois par le chef du village Ebole-Nzox, près du mont Khumenzox, dans le Kamerun allemand, au village précisement où jadis Crampel avait enlevé une petite fille, Ñarinze, qu'il ramena avec lui en France. Cet incident faillit d'ailleurs amener le massacre de toute notre expédition. La seconde fois, il nous fut redit dans un village limitrophe des Dzèm. Plusieurs centaines de kilomètres séparent ces trois villages, d'où nous concluons à la très haute antiquité de la légende, comme tout d'ailleurs le fait remarquer.

[2] Lorsqu'un conteur fâñ rapporte à ses auditeurs un récit qui remonte aux origines de la tribu, il a coutume d'employer au commencement une sorte de phrase assez curieuse: «*An'a nga to a mbe ngẽñ éto mê mbe dia ve ve betôl.* Or il arriva qu'il arriva en ce temps-là, je n'y étais pas ni mes ancêtres non plus, mais seulement les Anciens . . .»

[3] Nous donnons ici ce nom de Ngurangurane, le premier qui nous fut donné dans l'Ebè, et dont l'étymologie est la suivante: Il y a vengeance complète: *Ngura*, représailles, vengeance, dont le réduplicatif donne une idée de plénitude, de complet. Ainsi *akox*, une pierre, *akokox*, une très-grosse pierre. *Ngura é ne* la vengeance est, Ngurangurane, la vengeance est pleinement satisfaite.

[4] Notons en passant que ce mont Khumenzox, c'est-à-dire le Mont du Père Eléphant, du Chef de la Horde (nom dû à la fois à sa forme et à sa hauteur, car il domine tous les autres) est orthographié sur les cartes «Gouméndzoko», qui n'a aucun sens! Nouvelle preuve de la nécessité pour les voyageurs de ne pas ignorer la langue.

interrogés sur ce point, ont toujours été unanimes à me déclarer: «Ngurangurane, ou Nganengane, est le père des tous les Fâñ».

Les Méké ont une autre légende qui attribue leur origine à l'éléphant, d'où le culte totémique rendu à cet animal: nous la donnerons et discuterons plus loin.)

«Donc, il y avait à cette époque, il y a de cela bien longtemps, bien longtemps, un très grand féticheur nommé Ngurangurane, le fils du Crocodile. Et voici comment il était né, c'est la première chose: ce qu'il fit et comment il mourut, c'est la seconde. Dire toutes ses actions, c'est impossible, et d'ailleurs qui se les rappellerait? [1]

1° Comment il était né, c'est la première chose.

A cette époque-là, les Fâñ demeuraient au bord d'un grand fleuve, grand, si grand, qu'on ne pouvait apercevoir l'autre rive; ils pêchaient sur le bord, mais ils n'allaient pas sur le fleuve; nul encore ne leur avait appris à creuser des canots: celui qui le leur apprit, ce fut Ngurangurane: Ngurangurane apprit cet art [2] aux hommes de sa famille, et sa famille, c'étaient «les hommes» (*bé ne béfam, bé ne béfâñ,* c'étaient les hommes, c'étaient les Fâñ).

Dans le fleuve vivait un énorme crocodile (*ngan esa,* un maître crocodile, ou le chef des crocodiles). Sa tête était plus longue que cette case, ses yeux plus gros qu'un cabri tout entier, ses dents coupaient un homme en deux comme je coupe une banane, cris! Il était couvert d'énormes écailles: un homme le frappait de ses javelots, tô, tô. Mais pfut, le javelot retombait, et celui qui faisait cela, ce pouvait être l'homme le plus robuste: pfut, le javelot retombait. C'était un animal terrible.

---

[1] Nous traduisons presque littéralement le texte indigène. Dans notre livre «Contes et Légendes» nous avons déjà donné ce récit, mais en l'abrégeant. Nous le rétablissons ici en entier.

[2] Il faut reconnaître que les Fâñ n'ont pas beaucoup profité des leçons de Ngurangurane. Encore aujourd'hui, dans tout l'intérieur, ils ne savent creuser que d'informes canots, et encore se servent-ils beaucoup plus souvent de mauvais radeaux en bois d'ambach *(Musantha Smithonii)* à peine assemblés par quelques lianes. A la côte, les populations riveraines, toutes très hardies à la mer, les raillent en disant: «Les Fâñ ont des canots faits comme des auges à piler le manioc, et ils se servent de leurs pagaies comme un colimaçon de ses cornes.»

Or, un jour, il vint dans le village de Ngurangurane, mais celui-ci n'était pas encore né. Et celui qui commandait les Fâñ était un grand chef, et il commandait à beaucoup d'hommes. Il commandait aux Fâñ et à d'autres encore [1]. Ngan Esa vint donc un jour dans le village des Fâñ et il appelle le Chef:

«Chef, je t'appelle.»

Le chef accourt aussitôt [2]. Et le chef crocodile dit au Chef homme:

«*Bège mélo* (Ecoute attentivement).

Et le chef homme répondit: ««Mélo.» (Oreilles: C'est-à-dire J'écoute bien).»

«Ce que tu feras à partir d'aujourd'hui, le voici. Chaque jour, j'ai faim, et je pense que la chair de l'homme me vaut mieux que la chair du poisson. Chaque jour, tu attacheras un esclave [3] et tu me l'apporteras sur les bords du fleuve, un homme un jour, une femme un jour, et le premier de chaque lune, une jeune fille bien peinte avec le *baza* [4] et bien luisante de graisse [5]. Tu feras ainsi. Si tu oses ne pas obéir, je mangerai tout ton village. Voilà, c'est fini. Tais-toi.»

Et le chef crocodile, sans ajouter un mot, retourna au fleuve. Et au village, on commença les Lamentations funèbres. Et chacun

---

[1] J'interromps ici le conteur pour demander: Ces autres étaient-ils Fâñ? — Tout le monde me répond: C'étaient les esclaves des Fâñ. — Evidemment! D'après une légende qu'on retrouve dans chaque tribu et qui s'explique facilement, *Nzame*, l'être suprême, créa d'abord les Fâñ, puis les autres nations. Chaque nation a l'orgueil d'en dire autant.

[2] J'interromps encore: Nzue (chef) était-il son nom? — On me regarde de travers, et on me répond: Nzue, c'est Nzue. *Tobege evôvô*: tâche de garder le silence. Je me le tiens pour dit, le conteur étant intéressant.

[3] A noter qu'aujourd'hui les Fâñ n'ont pas d'esclaves. D'ailleurs, le mot employé *nsaja* qui signifie «attaché», désigne plutôt un captif.

[4] *Baza*, poudre de bois rouge (santal pterocarpa, et plusieurs espèces voisines). On tire de l'arbre une magnifique teinture rouge, par simple écrasement du bois. Les femmes réduisent le cœur de l'arbre en poudre très fine, la mélangent avec de l'huile, et s'en parfument tout le corps. Dans l'intérieur, pour recevoir honorablement un étranger, la maîtresse de maison oint d'huile et de bois rouge le lit de bambous qui lui sera offert, et s'en peint elle-même la figure.

[5] Cette graisse est spéciale. On la tire, soit du fruit de l'aza *(Teighemella africana)*, soit des fruits du palmier des marais *(Raphia vinifera)*. Cette dernière a une odeur forte et est beaucoup moins estimée.

dit: «Je suis mort.» Chacun le dit, le chef, les hommes, les femmes. Le lendemain, au matin, quand le soleil se lève, le crocodile chef était sur le bord du fleuve. Wah! Wah! sa gueule était énorme, plus longue que cette case, ses yeux gros comme un cabri tout entier. Les crocodiles que l'on voit aujourd'hui, ne sont plus des crocodiles! Ce crocodile chef était comme le *ndžin* [1]. Et l'on se hâta d'apporter au crocodile chef ce qu'il avait demandé, un homme un jour, une femme un jour, et le premier de chaque lune, une jeune fille ornée de rouge et d'huile, toute luisante de graisse. L'on fit ce que le crocodile chef avait ordonné, et nul n'osait désobéir, car il avait partout ses guerriers, les autres crocodiles.

Et le nom de ce crocodile, c'était *Ombure*: les eaux obéissaient à Ombure, les forêts obéissaient à Ombure, ses «hommes» étaient partout, il était chef de la forêt, mais il était surtout chef de l'eau. Et chaque jour il mangeait soit un homme, soit une femme, et il était très content, et très ami avec les Fáñ. Mais ceux-ci avaient fini de donner tous leurs esclaves, et le chef avait livré tout ce qu'il avait comme richesses pour en acheter. Il n'avait plus un coffre [2], plus une dent d'éléphant! Il lui fallait fournir un homme, un homme fáñ! — Et le chef des Fáñ réunit tous ses hommes dans son *abéñe* [3]: il leur parla longtemps, longtemps, et après lui, les autres guerriers parlèrent aussi longtemps. Quand la palabre fut terminée, tout le monde était d'accord et pensait avec un seul cœur: on devait partir. Le chef dit alors: «Voilà cette question de départ réglée: nous irons loin, loin d'ici par delà les montagnes. Quand nous serons loin, bien loin du fleuve, par delà les montagnes, Ombure ne pourra plus nous atteindre, et nous

[1] Ce mot *ndžin*, ou *džin*, n'a rien de commun avec les djinns ou diables musulmans. Le *džin* est un animal monstrueux, qui, disent les Fáñ, habite les fleuves profonds, de préférence au pied des cataractes. Il se nourrit de chair, entraîne les femmes, les enfants, lutte au besoin avec l'éléphant, est très-méchant, très-redouté. Il est très-rare, et je le crois assez légendaire. D'après cependant une griffe et un fragment de peau que j'ai vus, je l'assimilerais, s'ils sont bien de lui, à une loutre énorme. Mr. Chevallier pense qu'il s'agit du petit hippopotame des marais, espèce rare et très-peu connue.

[2] Exemple d'adaption: les coffres sont d'importation récente.

[3] Nous avons déjà dit que l'*abéñe* était la case où se réunissent les hommes seuls, sous la présidence du chef, pour y «palabrer».

serons heureux.» Et il fut décidé que l'on ne renouvellerait plus les plantations, et qu'à la fin de la saison, toute la tribu quitterait les bords du fleuve. Et ainsi fut fait.

Au commencement de la saison sèche, lorsque les eaux sont basses, et qu'il fait bon voyager, la tribu se mit en marche. Le premier jour, on alla vite, vite, aussi vite que l'on put marcher. Chaque homme pressait ses femmes, et les femmes, hâtant le pas, marchaient en silence, ployant sous le faix des provisions et des ustensiles de ménage, car on emportait tout, marmites, plats, pilons, corbeilles, sabres et houes, tout, chaque femme avait sa charge et elle l'avait lourde. Elle l'avait, lourde, car avec tout cela, on avait encore fait sécher du manioc et on l'emportait. Elle l'avait lourde, car il lui fallait encore porter les enfants, les petits qui ne savaient pas marcher, et ceux qui ne marchaient pas longtemps.

Et il fallait demeurer silencieux: les hommes se taisaient, les femmes se taisaient, et les enfants pleuraient, mais les mères disaient: Taisez-vous. Le grand chef était en tête: il conduisait la marche, car c'était lui qui connaissait le mieux le pays: il avait été souvent à la chasse, et au cou, il portait un collier de dents de grand singe.

C'était en effet un grand chasseur. —

Le premier jour, beaucoup regardaient derrière eux, croyant entendre le crocodile: Wah! Wah! et le dernier (!) avait froid dans son cœur! Mais on n'entendit rien. Et le second jour, la marche fut la même, et l'on n'entendit rien. Et le troisième jour, la marche fut la même, et l'on n'entendit rien [1].

Le conteur.

Bé nwux dia, ké wu - ỹe zum á zum, eh! yé - lè.

Ils n'entendirent pas, sans entendre aucune chose, eh! yé lè.

[1] Comme nous l'avons fait remarquer déjà, si le conteur voit que l'attention de ses auditeurs commence à se lasser, vite il en arrive à un endroit où le récit est coupé d'un chant, saisit son *mvex* à 7 cordes et prélude par un accord vif, puis le fait suivre d'un *Eh! yélè*, crié très fort dans le haut de la voix. Tous les dormeurs, réveillés du coup, répondent aussitôt sur le même ton: *Eh! yélè.* Puis le chanteur continue sa phrase musicale, et reprend ensuite le récit, qu'il raconte sans se lasser, jusqu'au moment où il y a besoin d'un nouveau «coup de fouet»; le récit est coupé encore d'un chant, avec le *mvex* à 7 cordes. Tous les auditeurs reprennent en chœur.

Les auditeurs.

Bé nwux dia, ké wu - ÿe zum à zum, eh! yé - lè[1].

Le premier jour, cependant, le crocodile chef était sorti de l'eau suivant son habitude pour venir à l'endroit où l'on avait coutume de mettre l'esclave qui lui était destiné. Il vient: Wah! Wah! Rien. Qu'est ce ceci? Il prend aussitôt la route du village.

«Chef des hommes, je t'appelle.»

Rien! Il n'entend aucun bruit; il entre, toutes les cases sont abandonnées; il va aux plantations, les plantations sont abandonnées: Wah! Wah! Il parcourt tous les villages, tous les villages sont abandonnés; il parcourt toutes les plantations, toutes les plantations sont abandonnées.

Ombure entre alors dans une fureur épouvantable, et se replonge dans le fleuve pour consulter son fétiche, et il chante:

Vous qui commandez aux eaux, esprits des eaux.
Bur ba zue médzim, bétwa médzim.
Vous tous qui m'obéissez, c'est moi qui vous appelle.
Bur ba wux méfex, maye ma lè mine mvèye.
Venez, venez à l'appel de votre chef.

---

[1] A propos de ce mot *yélè* que l'on retrouve également dans les tribus du nord et en Guinée, signalons une curieuse étymologie, d'après les recherches du Dr. Bertholon sur la langue archaïque, d'origine grecque ou phrygienne, parlée dans l'Afrique du Nord, avant l'invasion phénicienne. Ce dialecte aurait, par infiltration, influé sur quelques tribus africaines qui y auraient puisé un certain nombre de mots, plus ou moins déformés. C'est ainsi que les Soso, Mandé et les Malinké, qui sont aujourd'hui en Guinée française, y auraient trouvé quelques mots comme *guné*, la femme (γυνή), *gémé*, le caillou et *yé* la montagne (γῆ la terre), *koro*, vieillard (γέρων), *don*, manger (δδειν), *fara*, apporter (φέρειν), *noma*, la coutume (νόμος), *kori*, cercle (γυρος), *fila*, la feuille (φυτον), *yélè* et *yélè*, rire (γέλαος). Nous donnons évidemment cette origine à titre de simple curiosité: *yélè*, serait le cri de joie, *oh! yélè*, oh! rire.

Peut-être aussi pourrait-on y voir une simple onomatopée; de même que *yi*, pleurer, exprime bien le cri de douleur de l'enfant et se reproduit dans toutes les langues, *yè* serait le cri de joie, analogue du *yó*, *yô* des Grecs, l'exclamation de l'homme satisfait. Cependant, quelques-uns de ces mots se retrouvent en Fâń.

Nzaÿa, nzaÿa, nzue a lè mine.
Répondez sans tarder, répondez aussitôt.
Yèbega ke yane, ke yane voréye.
J'enverrai l'Eclair qui passe en fendant le ciel.
Ma yi lè Endèndâñ za sale minkure midzô.
J'enverrai le Tonnerre qui passe en brisant tout.
J'enverrai le Vent de la Tempête qui passe en arrachant les bananiers.
J'enverrai l'Orage qui tombe de la nuée et balaie tout devant lui.
Tous répondront à la voix de leur chef.

Vous tous qui m'obéissez, indiquez-moi le chemin.
Le chemin qu'ont pris ceux qui se sont enfuis.
Esprits des eaux, répondez.

. . . . . .

Mais à son grand étonnement, les esprits des eaux ne répondent pas, pas un seul ne répond!

Qu'était-il donc arrivé? Ceci. Avant de quitter son village. le chef des hommes avait offert de grands sacrifices. Il avait offert un grand sacrifice aux esprits des eaux, en leur demandant de rester muets, et ils avaient promis. Ils avaient promis: Nous ne dirons rien.

Ombure recommence une conjuration plus forte encore:

Vous qui commandez aux eaux, esprits des eaux.
Vous tous qui m'obéissez, c'est moi qui vous appelle . . . etc.

Et les esprits des eaux, forcés d'obéir, comparaissent devant Ombure:

«Où sont les hommes, ont-ils passé par vos chemins?
— Nous n'avons rien vu, ils ne sont pas passés par nos chemins.»

Et Ombure dit: «Ils ne sont pas passés par les chemins de l'eau: les esprits des eaux ne peuvent me désobéir.»

Et il appelle les esprits des forêts:

Vous qui commandez aux forêts, esprits des forêts.
Vous tous qui m'obéissez, c'est moi qui vous appelle.
Venez, venez à l'appel de votre chef.
Répondez sans tarder, répondez aussitôt.

J'enverrai l'Eclair qui passe en fendant le ciel.
J'enverrai le Tonnerre qui passe en brisant tout,
J'enverrai le Vent de la Tempête qui passe en arrachant les bananiers.
J'enverrai la Pluie d'Orage qui tombe de la nuée et balaie tout devant elle.
Tous doivent répondre à la voix de leur chef.

Vous tous qui m'obéissez, indiquez-moi le chemin.
Le chemin qu'ont pris ceux qui se sont enfuis.
Esprits des forêts, répondez.

. . . . . .

Mais à son grand étonnement, de tous les esprits des forêts, pas un esprit ne répond, tous se taisent.

Qu'était-il donc arrivé? Ceci. Avant de quitter son village, le chef des hommes avait offert de grands sacrifices. Il avait offert un grand sacrifice aux esprits des forêts, en leur demandant de rester muets, et ils avaient promis. Ils avaient promis: Nous ne dirons rien.

Ombure recommence une conjuration plus forte encore:

Vous qui commandez aux forêts, esprits des forêts.
Vous tous qui m'obéissez, c'est moi qui appelle.

Et les esprits des forêts, forcés d'obéir, comparaissent devant Ombure.

«Où sont les hommes, ont-ils passé par vos chemins?
Et les esprits des forêts répondent: Ils ont passé par nos chemins.»

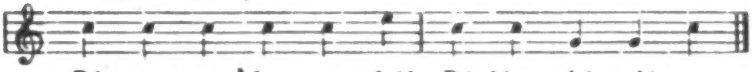
Et successivement, Ombure appelle les esprits du jour, les esprits de la nuit, et grâce à eux, apprend où sont passés les Fâń. (Comme ces conjurations se répètent sous une forme identique, nous croyons inutile de les énumérer successivement. L'esprit du Noir se complaît à ces répétitions sans fin qui lui permettent de se laisser bercer sans attention soutenue par la lente mélopée du rythme, d'autant plus que lorsque l'appel des esprits est terminé, le conteur a soin de réveiller son auditoire quelque peu assoupi par un vibrant appel, relevé par les accords du *mvex*.)

Le Conteur.

Bé - khun bé ma - na lè! Bé - khun bé nlé - a.

Les esprits sont finis appeller; Les esprits sont appelés!

Les Assistants.



Bé ma - na bu - me fyè! Bé - khun bé nlé - a.

Ils ont annoncé la nouvelle!

Et quand Ombure eut terminé son enchantement, il connaissait le chemin qu'avaient pris les Fàń fugitifs. En vain ceux-ci avaient-ils dissimulé leurs traces. Ombure connaissait leur chemin. Qui le lui avait appris? L'Eclair, le Vent, la Tempête le lui avaient dit, l'Eclair le Vent, la Tempête le lui avaient appris.

Les Fàń continuèrent leur marche longtemps, bien longtemps. Ils franchirent enfin les montagnes, et le grand chef consulta son fétiche. «Nous arrêterons-nous ici?» Et le fétiche qui depuis longtemps, depuis le premier jour, obéissait aux ordres d'Ombure, mais cela le chef ne le savait pas, le fétiche répondit: «Non, vous ne vous arrêterez pas ici, ce n'est pas un bon endroit.»

Ils franchirent les plaines, et lorsqu'elles furent franchies, et que l'on eût retrouvé la grande forêt, la forêt qui ne finit pas, le grand chef consulta son fétiche: «Nous arrêterons-nous ici?» Et le fétiche, une fois de plus, répondit: «Plus loin encore.»

Ils arrivèrent enfin dans une vaste plaine, devant un immense lac qui fermait tout passage, et le grand chef consulta son fétiche: «Nous arrêterons-nous ici?» Et le fétiche qui obéissait à Ombure, répondit: «Oui, vous vous arrêterez ici.»

Et les Fàń avaient marché bien des jours et bien des lunes, les petits enfants étaient devenus adolescents, les adolescents étaient devenus jeunes guerriers, et les jeunes guerriers, hommes mûrs. Ils avaient marché bien des jours et bien des lunaisons. — Ils s'arrêtèrent sur les bords du lac; on construisit les nouveaux villages, les plantations furent faites, et partout le maïs donna son grain nouveau. Le chef réunit alors ses hommes pour donner un nom au village, et on l'appella: «*Akurengan* (la délivrance du Crocodile).»

Or, cette nuit-là même, vers minuit, un grand bruit se fait entendre et une voix crie: «*Nzaÿa, Nzaÿan'oh* (venez, venez ici).» Et tous sortent, fort effrayés. Que voient-ils? Car la lune éclairait bien! Ombure était au milieu du village! Il était devant la case du grand chef. Que faire! Où fuir? Où se cacher? Nul n'osait y songer! Et quand le grand chef sortit de sa case pour voir ce qui se passait, yû, ce fut le premier pris! D'un coup de dent, Ombure le cassa en deux: Krô, krô, kwas: «Voilà Akurengan», dit-il seulement.

Et il retourna vers le lac.

Les guerriers, tremblants, élirent aussitôt un autre chef, le frère de l'ancien, suivant la loi, et le matin, on prit la femme de l'ancien chef, et on vint l'attacher sur les bords du lac, en offrande à Ombure. Et celui-ci vint; la femme pleurait. Krô, krô, il la mangea. Mais le soir, il revint au village, et appela le chef:

«Chef, je t'appelle.»

Et celui-ci tout tremblant, répondit: «J'écoute.» —

«Voici ce que je vous ordonne, moi, Ombure, et vous le ferez. Tous les jours, vous m'apporterez deux hommes, un homme le matin, un homme le soir, et le lendemain, vous m'apporterez deux femmes, une femme le matin, une femme le soir. Et le premier de chaque lunaison, deux jeunes filles, bien parées et ornées de rouge et luisantes d'huile. Allez, c'est moi, Ombure, le roi de la forêt, c'est moi, Ombure, le roi des eaux.»

Et il en fut ainsi pendant de longues années [1]. Chaque matin, chaque soir, Ombure avait son repas, deux hommes un jour, deux

[1] La légende fàń a plus d'une analogie avec les anciennes légendes grecques. Ainsi, un compagnon d'Ulysse, Politès, ayant été tué à Témèse, et et n'ayant pas reçu les honneurs funèbres, exigea des habitants de cette ville le sacrifice d'une jeune vierge, mais moins cruel qu'Ombure, il en réclamait seulement une chaque année: la jeune fille devait être amenée sur le bord de la mer, et Politès, transformé par Neptune en monstre marin, venait l'emporter. Ce sacrifice dura jusqu'au jour où l'athlète lacrien Euthymos se présenta pour combattre le monstre, et après une lutte terrible, le rejeta dans la mer ionienne.

En Afrique, une légende analogue se retrouve au Bambouk (légende rapportée par Béranger-Féraud). Là, dans les temps reculés, un serpent gigantesque vivait dans un marigot et exigeait des habitants qu'on lui donnât chaque année une jeune fille choisie parmi les plus belles; en échange, il pro-

femmes un jour, et deux jeunes filles le premier du mois. Il en fut ainsi longtemps. Pour payer Ombure, les Fâñ faisaient la guerre, loin, loin, et ils étaient partout vainqueurs, car Ombure, le chef crocodile, les protégeait, et ils devinrent grands guerriers.

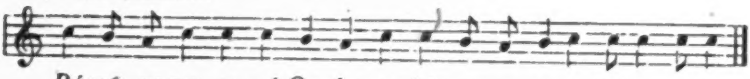
Mais les années passèrent, l'une faisant tomber l'autre, et longtemps les Fâñ avaient renouvelé leurs plantations. Et ils étaient fatigués avec Ombure. Comment il les avait rattrapés dans leur fuite, cela, ils l'avaient oublié. Et ils étaient très fatigués avec Ombure.

Le Conteur.

Bé ma-na vo-re né Om-bu-re, bé ma-na vo-re ké fe yème.

Ils sont finis fatigués avec Ombure, ils sont finis fatigués à ne plus savoir encore!

Les Assistants.



Bé mâ-na vo-re né Om-bu-re, bé ma-na vo-re ké fe yèma.

Et ils avaient oublié. Et les jeunes gens dirent: «Nous sommes fatigués: partons.» Et les jeunes gens partirent en avant: les guerriers suivirent, et les femmes portaient les paquets derrière les guerriers.

Ombure vient le lendemain matin au bord du lac, chercher comme d'habitude sa provende journalière. Il regarde, il cherche,

---

mettait aux habitants de les protéger contre tous leurs ennemis et de leur assurer la paix la plus profonde. Un jour, une belle et douce jeune fille, Kumba, fut choisie; elle était déjà fiancée. Malgré les pleurs et les supplications de son ami, elle fut conduite au bord du lac, et attachée à un poteau. Elle attendait le monstre pendant que la foule hurlait et que les coups de tamtam retentissaient pour étouffer sa voix. Le monstre sort du lac et s'avance vers la jeune fille: il allait la saisir quand soudain le fiancé, monté sur un cheval fougueux, fend la foule, et armé d'un long sabre, bondit sur le serpent. Celui-ci se dresse contre l'agresseur: la foule pousse des cris d'effroi, mais le jeune homme, sans se laisser intimider, court droit au monstre qui enlace déjà la jeune fille, et après une courte lutte, le renverse mort. Il prend aussitôt la jeune Kumba en croupe et s'enfuit avec elle. On ne le revit jamais, dit la légende, et il fit bien: les anciens, sans aucun doute, eussent immolé le couple pour détourner les malheurs qui devaient fondre sur la tribu: ils se multiplièrent de fait si bien qu'elle dut abandonner le pays.

rien. Il arrive au village. Rien. Que fait-il? Il prend son fétiche, et appelle aussitôt les esprits de la forêt. «Voici ce que vous ordonne votre chef, Ombure, votre chef, leur dit-il. Mes esclaves se sont enfuis, ils sont dans votre domaine: que tout chemin se ferme devant eux. Vent de la tempête, brise les arbres devant eux, esprit du tonnerre, esprit de l'éclair, aveuglez leurs yeux! Allez, c'est Ombure qui vous commande.»

Et ils vont.

Les chemins se ferment: devant les Fâñ, les grands arbres tombent, l'obscurité envahit tout: désespérés, il leur faut revenir au lac et sur la place. Ombure les attend. Mais Ombure est vieux, au lieu de deux hommes, il exige maintenant: «Vous me donnerez chaque jour deux jeunes filles en sacrifice.»

Et les Fâñ durent obéir et chaque jour amener deux jeunes filles à Ombure, deux jeunes filles peintes en rouge, reluisantes et frottées d'huile. C'est leur fête de mariage.

Elles pleurent et se lamentent, les filles des Fâñ; elles pleurent et se lamentent: c'est la fête des tristes fiançailles.

Elles pleurent et se lamentent le soir: le matin, elles ne pleurent ni se lamentent: d'elles n'entendent plus parler leurs mères: elles sont au fond du lac, dans la grotte où demeure Ombure: elles le servent et il en fait sa nourriture.

Mais un jour, il arriva ceci. La jeune fille qui devait être exposée le soir sur le bord du fleuve, la jeune fille dont le tour était venu, c'était l'enfant du chef, elle était jeune et elle était belle. Et, le soir, elle fut attachée sur le bord du lac avec sa compagne: la compagne ne revint pas, mais le lendemain, lorsque reparut le jour, la fille du chef était encore là. Ombure l'avait épargnée.

Aussi on l'appela: *Aléna kiri* (l'aurore a paru).

Mais neuf mois après, la fille du chef eut un enfant, un enfant mâle. En souvenir de sa naissance, ce garçon fut appelé *Ngurangurane,* le fils du crocodile.

Ngurangurane (Nganengane) était donc fils d'Ombure, le crocodile chef: ceci est la première histoire. Ngurangurane était né ainsi.

IIe La Mort d'Ombure.

Ngurangurane, l'enfant du crocodile Ombure et de la fille du chef, grandit, grandit, grandit chaque jour: d'enfant, il devient adolescent, d'adolescent il devient jeune homme. C'est alors le chef de son peuple. C'était un chef puissant et un très savant féticheur. Dans son cœur, il avait deux désirs: venger la mort du chef de sa race [1], du père de sa mère, et délivrer son peuple du tribut que levait sur lui le crocodile.

Ce qu'il fit dans ce but, le voici.

Dans la forêt, on trouve un arbre sacré, cela, vous le savez, et cet arbre, on l'appelle «palmier». Coupez un palmier: la sève coule, coule abondante, et si vous attendez deux ou trois jours, après l'avoir enfermée dans les vases de terre, vous aurez le *dzâñ,* la boisson qui rend le cœur joyeux. Cela, nous le savons maintenant, mais nos pères ne le savaient pas. Celui qui le leur a appris, c'est Ngurangurane, et le premier qui a bu le *dzâñ,* c'est Ombure, le crocodile chef. Qui avait fait connaître le *dzâñ* à Ngurangurane? C'était *Ngonomane,* la pierre fétiche que lui avait donnée sa mère [2].

---

[1] Ce point mériterait une note spéciale, car il pourrait amener à une constatation importante: en effet, si Ngurangurane reconnait comme chef de sa race le père de sa mère, on pourrait en arguer qu'à un moment donné de leur histoire, et précisément aux origines de la race, les Fâñ admettaient la famille maternelle comme la souche de la famille. Toutefois, à notre avis, cette conception serait fausse. Ngurangurane admet son grand'père maternel comme chef de sa race, parce que sa mère, de fait, n'a point été mariée dans une autre tribu. Il arrive fréquemment aujourd'hui encore que des jeunes filles ont un enfant. Loin d'être un déshonneur, c'est au contraire un honneur qui augmerte le prix de la jeune fille, en prouvant sa fécondité. Mais lorsqu'elle se marie, son enfant ne la suit pas; il appartient toujours à la tribu du père de la jeune fille, qui est considéré alors comme le vrai père de l'enfant. A défaut d'un père connu, c'est l'oncle maternel qui possèdera l'enfant, et tel est le cas pour Ngurangurane.

[2] Il est assez rare chez les Fâñ de trouver les pierres fétiches qui donnent ainsi certaines connaissances magiques. Cette croyance, signalée surtout dans les légendes, est assez curieuse. Il est à remarquer qu'on la trouve également chez les Indigènes de la Nouvelle Calédonie, avec les mêmes détails. Cf. Les Hypogées de l'Ile des Pins, par le R. P. Lambert, M. (M. C. et Imprimerie de la Mission — Nouméa).

Or, d'après l'avis de *Ngonomane* (= la fille a cessé d'être vierge: ce devait être un surnom d'Aléna kiri après son aventure), Ngurangurane fit ceci: «Apprêtez tous les vases de terre que vous possédez, tous, apportez-les dans ma case.» Il dit cela aux femmes: elles apportèrent donc tous les vases de terre qu'elles possédaient, et il y en avait beaucoup, beaucoup. «Allez toutes dans la forêt, leur dit-il encore, près du ruisseau de la terre à poterie et faites encore d'autres vases.» Et elles allèrent au ruisseau de la terre à poterie et firent des vases, beaucoup.

«Allons dans la forêt, dit-il aux hommes, allons, et vous couperez les arbres que je vous indiquerai.» Et ils allèrent tous ensemble avec les haches et les couteaux, et ils coupèrent les arbres que leur montra Ngurangurane. Ces arbres, c'étaient des palmiers. Et quand tous furent coupés, on recueillit la sève qui coulait abondante des blessures de la hache. Les vases furent apportés: ce furent les femmes qui firent cela, les vieux vases et les nouveaux, et quand tous furent là, tous on les remplit du *dzâñ*, et les femmes les rapportèrent au village. Tous les jours, Ngurangurane goûtait la liqueur: les hommes voulurent faire comme lui, mais cela il le leur interdit par un grand *éki* (défense). Un homme dit: «Mais Ngurangurane le fait: j'en boirai.» Et il en but, mais en secret, et la tête lui tourna aussitôt. Ngurangurane vint près de lui, et le tua d'un coup de fusil [1]. On jeta son corps sans sépulture pour avoir enfreint la défense et méprisé l'*éki*.

Trois jours après, Ngurangurane réunit ses hommes, les hommes et les femmes, et leur dit: «C'est le moment, prenez les vases et venez avec moi au rivage près du lac.» Ils prirent les vases et ils allèrent avec lui. Quand on fut sur les bords du lac, Ngurangurane ordonne ceci à ses hommes: «Traînez sur le bord tous les vases», et ils le firent. «Apportez l'argile que je vous ai envoyé chercher», dit-il encore aux femmes, et ainsi firent-elles. Et sur le bord du lac, avec l'argile fraîche, on construisit deux grands bassins, soigneusement battus avec les pieds, soigneusement lissés

[1] Exemple d'adaptation propre au conteur indigène: les fusils sont évidemment d'importation toute récente. Mais on n'y regarde pas de si près. Nul ne signala l'invraisemblance qui parut au contraire toute naturelle.

avec la paume des mains. Alors, dans les deux bassins, on verse tout le *dzáń* contenu dans les vases, sans en laisser une goutte: Ngurangurane commence un grand fétiche, et tous les vases sont ensuite brisés et jetés au lac, les deux captives attachées près des bassins, et tout le monde se retire au village.

Ngurangurane demeure seul, caché près des bassins.

A l'heure accoutumée, le Crocodile sort de l'eau. Il se dirige vers les captives tremblantes de frayeur; mais, tout d'abord:

«Qu'est-ce ceci, dit-il en arrivant près des bassins, qu'est-ce ceci?»

Il goûte un peu du liquide. La liqueur lui paraît bonne, et il s'écrie à haute voix:

«Ceci est bon: dès demain j'ordonnerai aux Fáń de m'en fournir chaque jour.»

Et le Crocodile Ombure but le *dzáń*. Il le but jusqu'à la dernière goutte, oubliant les captives.

Lorsqu'il eut terminé, il chanta:

Mé mana ñu dzáń, dzáń za bo nlèm mvé,
Mé mana ñu dzáń.
Mé mana ñu dzáń, ma ñéÿe zo é nlèm wam,
Mé mana ñu dzáń.

J'ai bu le *dzáń*, la boisson qui rend le cœur content,
J'ai bu le *dzáń*.
J'ai bu le *dzáń*, mon cœur se réjouit,
J'ai bu le *dzáń*.

Nzue a zue bur bésésé, digéga, ézo ñi,
Mé ne nzue ošu osésé, mé ne Nzue Ombure.
Ngan ézo ñi, Nzue é ne ma,
Ombure wa zue médzim éti,
Ombure wa zue afan éti.
Nzue bur ba wux bésésé,
Ngan Ombure.

Le chef auquel tous obéissent, c'est moi,
Moi, le grand chef, moi, Ombure.
C'est moi, Ngan, c'est moi le chef,
Ombure est maître des eaux,
Ombure est maître des forêts.
C'est moi le chef auquel tous obéissent,
C'est moi, le chef.

J'ai bu le *dzâń*, la boisson qui rend le cœur content,
J'ai bu le *dzâń*.
J'ai bu le *dzâń*, mon cœur se réjouit,
J'ai bu le *dzâń*.

Il chante, et sur le sable, sans plus songer aux captifs, il s'endort, le cœur joyeux.

Ngurangurane s'approche aussitôt d'Ombure endormi; avec une forte corde, aidé des captives, il l'attache au poteau, puis brandissant avec force son javelot, il frappe l'animal endormi: sur les écailles épaisses, le javelot rebondit en arrière sans entamer le crocodile, et celui-ci, sans se réveiller, se secoue en disant: «Qu'est-ce ceci? un moustique m'a piqué.»

Ngurangurane prend sa hache, sa forte hache de pierre[1]; d'un coup formidable, il blesse l'animal endormi: la hache rebondit sans blesser l'animal; celui-ci commence à s'agiter: les deux captives s'enfuient épouvantées. Ngurangurane fait alors un puissant fétiche:

«Tonnerre, dit-il, Tonnerre, c'est toi que j'appelle, apporte-moi tes flèches.»

Et le tonnerre vient en éclatant. Mais quand il apprend qu'il doit tuer Ombure: «C'est ton père, s'écrie-t-il, et c'est mon maître,» et il s'enfuit épouvanté. Mais Aléna kiri vient au secours de son fils, et elle apporte *ngonémane*, la pierre fée. Et au nom de Ngonémane, Ngurangurane dit:

«Eclair, je t'ordonne de frapper.

Et l'éclair frappe, car désobéir, il ne le pouvait pas. A la tête, entre les yeux, il frappe Ombure, et Ombure demeure sur la place, foudroyé, mort. Celui qui l'a tué, c'est Ngurangurane, mais Ngurangurane ne l'a tué que grâce au secours de Ngonémane.

Et la fin de ce récit, la voilà. Ngurangurane retourne en hâte au village. «Vous tous, hommes du village, dit-il, vous tous, venez.» Et ils viennent tous sur les bords du lac Ombure est là gisant mort, immense. «Celui qui a tué le Crocodile Ombure, c'est moi, Ngurangurane, celui qui a vengé le chef de sa race, c'est moi; celui qui vous a délivrés, c'est moi, Ngurangurane.»

[1] Ici, le conteur reproduit évidemment l'ancien texte. Les Fáń n'ont plus aucun instrument de pierre, sinon le couteau cultuel de circoncion, et seulement dans les tribus du centre.

Tous se réjouirent, et autour du cadavre, on dansa le *Fanki*[1], la grande danse des funérailles: on dansa le *Fanki* pour apaiser l'esprit d'Ombure.

Et ceci, c'est la fin.

III° Le Culte du Crocodile.

Sur le bord du lac, le crocodile Ombure est étendu, et le lendemain, au matin, ce que fait Ngurangurane, le voici.

Il prend son grand couteau, le *mfor akoż*[2] qui ne sert qu'aux funérailles pour les sacrifices, et il ordonne à ses hommes de retourner le cadavre. Ils obéissent et retournent le cadavre. Ngurangurane fend alors la peau: il la fend depuis la gueule jusqu'à l'anus, il la fend en long, et par deux fois, il la fend en largeur: il la rabat encore de chaque côté; la chair est enlevée, mise sur le feu, tous les hommes ont leur part, chacun son morceau. A Ngurangurane, le cœur et la cervelle; aux chefs et aux vieillards, les parties nobles, et la langue, et les yeux; aux femmes et aux enfants les entrailles; chacun a son morceau, chacun a sa part. Ainsi nul ne pourra craindre[3].

Dans la peau desséchée et soigneusement recousue là où il le faut, Ngurangurane dispose alors des morceaux de bois pour en maintenir la courbure, et quand tout est prêt, Ngurangurane ordonne de la mettre sur le lac: elle flotte à la surface. Ngurangurane y monte, les pattes lui servent de pagaies, la queue flexible de gouvernail. Cà et là, il marche: à droite, à gauche, en arrière, en avant. Jusque là, les Fàń ne savaient pas ce que c'était qu'une pirogue. Comme Ngurangurane, le premier, avait fait avec la peau du crocodile, tel ils firent dans la suite en creusant des troncs d'arbre, mais celui qui leur apprit cet art, ce fut Ngurangurane, et les premières pirogues qui furent faites, on les fit et on les creusa comme il avait creusé le crocodile. A partir de ce moment, les Fàń allèrent sur

---

[1] On danse encore aujourd'hui le *Fanki* aux funérailles des chefs.

[2] *Mfor akoż*, c'est-à-dire couteau de pierre. On s'en sert encore pour la circoncision.

[3] En s'incorporant ainsi un morceau de la victime, on en devient partie intégrante, et l'esprit ne peut plus se venger sur un membre de la famille. Nous étudierons cette question en parlant du sacrifice.

le lac[1] et commencèrent à pêcher les gros poissons, car jusque là ils avaient peur d'Ombure et ne prenaient que le poisson des ruisseaux.

Mais ce n'est pas tout. Ngurangurane avait vengé sa race, et c'était son premier devoir. Mais il était aussi fils du crocodile, et pour cela, il ordonna les grandes fêtes des funérailles, le *Fanki*, les grandes fêtes qui apaisent les esprits des morts. Pendant trente fois trente jours, les femmes ont pleuré Ombure: pendant trente fois trente jours, soir et matin, elles ont fait retentir l'air des lamentations funéraires: pendant trente fois trente jours, les cheveux dénoués et remplis de terre, la figure et la poitrine striées de terre blanche[2] *(mféma)*, elles ont chanté les louanges du père de Ngurangurane, Ombure.

Pendant trente lunaisons, l'esprit irrité d'Ombure a parcouru les villages, cherchant sa vengeance et poursuivant les vivants, mais partout il a trouvé sa propre chair[3]. *(A mana yèn ñul zia.)* Il ne peut se venger.

Tous les jours, le tamtam de mort retentit, les danseurs se succèdent, Ngurangurane préside à la cérémonie. Quand enfin le dernier jour a lui, de toutes parts, les hommes et les femmes sont réunis. Près du village, dans le bois voisin, Ngurangurane a fait enlever les arbres et disposé une place circulaire: les femmes apportent l'argile, et lui-même, le grand chef, de ses propres mains, il reproduit l'image de l'ancêtre: il façonne un énorme Ombure. On l'orne de blanc et de noir, de jaune et de rouge, et quand il est entièrement préparé, dans la tête, Ngurangurane introduit les os d'Ombure: autour de l'ancêtre, les danses ont recommencé, les danses circulaires. Toute la nuit, elles durent: jusqu'au matin, le tamtam retentit. Alors Ngurangurane s'approche seul: près d'Ombure, il a placé deux hommes, et l'un après l'autre il les immole, et le sang arrose Ombure. Près d'Ombure, il a placé deux femmes: il les immole, et le sang arrose Ombure. Les chairs sont placées près d'Ombure: près de sa tête, les têtes, près de son corps, les

[1] Le mot *eshû* employé par le conteur pour désigner le lac signifie tout aussi bien marais, amas d'eau, débordement du fleuve.

[2] Le blanc et la terre blanche sont les couleurs du deuil.

[3] Allusion à la manducation du sacrifice: il ne pouvait donc se venger (v. note 3 p. 197).

corps, près de ses pieds, les pieds. Et chacun prend sa part et se retire.

A tous, Ngurangurane offre le cadeau des funérailles.

Quand tout est terminé, Ngurangurane ordonne ceci:

«Ainsi nous ferons chaque année, ainsi chaque année nous honorerons Ombure.»

Et les Fâñ, depuis ce temps-là, ont ainsi fait.

Et c'est pour cela que Ombure, sous la figure de Ngan, est encore aujourd'hui le *mvamayôñ*[1] des fils de Ngurangurane.

Ceci est la fin de cette histoire.

Dans une quatrième reprise, le conteur nous fait assister aux transformations, et à la mort de Ngurangurane mis à mort par un traître, mais cette partie ne se rapportant pas à notre cadre actuel, il serait inutile de la donner ici.

2° Survivances du culte totémique d'Ombure.

Avant de passer à la légende ou au mythe méké de l'Eléphant, notons que le mythe d'Ombure est encore aujourd'hui conservé. Indépendamment de la tribu Ebingan qui rend au crocodile un culte totémique, Ombure est reconnu dans toutes les tribus comme «génie des eaux». On l'appelle *Mbure* et *Omure,* parfois *Omore*: sous ce dernier nom, il est personnifié dans l'épouse du Ngil, dont nous aurons à nous préoccuper en parlant des sociétés secrètes.

Ce qui montre bien l'antiquité de ce mythe, c'est qu'on le rencontre également chez les nations voisines, Bésèx et Mpongwé, entre autres, ainsi que dans celles du groupe Ivili, il porte alors le nom d'Omwiri et est fort redouté comme génie des eaux.

Les Ivili lui attribuent une histoire qui se rapproche en bien des points de celle des Fâñ, et que, croyons-nous, ils leur ont empruntée. Tout au moins, on ne la retrouve pas chez les autres nations apparentées aux Ivili. Nous reviendrons à cette légende en parlant des origines lointaines du totem aquatique.

---

[1] Cette dernière phrase avait été omise jadis, faute de pouvoir en comprendre bien le sens, d'ailleurs fort obscur. Littéralement: Ngan (le crocodile) Mystère d'Ombure, se cache *mvamayôñ* Ngurangurane.

Il nous semble certain qu'on retrouve dans cette histoire d'Ombure des traces évidentes de culte totémique, et peut-être une des causes qui ont déterminé en bien des cas le culte du totem, à savoir la crainte, et en même temps le désir de s'assurer un puissant protecteur. Ce mythe ne nous paraît pas être un récit fictif ou inventé.

La légende de Ngurangurane nous semble en effet présenter trop de caractères historiques pour être rangée parmi les faits et récits de pure invention. Nous pensons bien, par l'ensemble des détails et la contexture du texte, avoir affaire à un récit vraiment historique, et, ce qui est bien à compter, l'opinion des Fâñ est unanime sur ce point. Ngurangurane, disent-ils tous, fut un de leurs ancêtres, un de leurs principaux chefs. Ce qu'il y a de singulier et ce qui démontre peut-être sa haute antiquité, c'est que nous n'avons retrouvé son nom dans aucune généalogie: il pourrait se faire aussi que Ngurangurane fût un simple surnom, donné en mémoire de la mort du Crocodile, car ce cas est fréquent. Les Fâñ qui portent de tels surnoms, soit glorieux, soit ironiques, ne le transmettent point à leurs descendants, et leur *mébara* n'en fait pas plus tard mention. Le nom est en effet pour eux une entité réelle, mais jamais le surnom ou même le nom d'adoption.

Quant à la légende d'Ombure, elle a été évidemment grossie à distance, soit que tout d'abord il s'agisse d'un crocodile monstrueux, et on en trouve dans les grands fleuves africains qui mesurent 7 mètres de long et plus, soit qu'il s'agisse d'une autre espèce de crocodile, de loutre ou de monstre, que les Fâñ m'ont affirmé exister encore et qu'ils nomment *dżin*. Nous en avons parlé plus haut. Quoiqu'il en soit de son existence, il paraît plus admissible d'admettre que cet Ombure fut tout simplement quelque monstre énorme, comme les eaux des grands Lacs ou du Nil ont dû en renfermer jadis. Les crocodiles d'aujourd'hui, avec leur carapace invulnérable aux balles, sont déjà très redoutés des Fâñ, dont les sagaies sont de peu d'effet sur pareille cuirasse, et l'approcher assez pour le tuer en l'atteignant à l'œil est le fait d'un chasseur particulièrement audacieux. Quant à l'attaquer dans son élément, comme les nègres de la Guyane ou de certains parties de l'Afrique le font sans hésiter, pas un Fâñ n'oserait s'y risquer.

Autour du mythe d'Ombure, se sont groupés beaucoup d'autres faits similaires, les uns de pure invention, les autres considérablement grossis: pareils mythes se retrouvent chez tous les peuples. et le Minotaure de Crète n'est pas au fond tellement différent d'Ombure avec la même offrande requise de jeunes gens et de jeunes filles. Autour des ravages exercés dans la tribu par quelque animal, se sont réunies peut-être les traditions de quelque conquérant célèbre, vainqueur des Fàń et qui leur aurait imposé le lourd tribut dont parle la légende. Certains faits presque contemporains sembleraient bien appuyer ce sentiment. Les voyageurs sont unanimes à rapporter les coutumes barbares de quelques potentats du Centre africain qui chaque jour ainsi faisaient servir sur leurs tables quelques esclaves immolés. Encore aujourd'hui le fait est fréquent au pays des Bondjos et dans les Sultanats du Haut Oubangui.

Mais plusieurs points plus intéressants sont à relever dans cette légende; ils nous prouvent qu'à une époque reculée, avant l'ère actuelle des généalogies, aux temps légendaires de la nation, celle-ci était déjà totémique: on mange le crocodile pour s'en incorporer la substance, et afin que son esprit errant, rencontrant sa propre chair, la protège, et contracte ainsi, même malgré lui, une parenté corporelle et spirituelle avec la tribu. On lui rend les sacrifices et les honneurs funèbres, mais Ngurangurane aura eu soin de «matérialiser» le crocodile esprit en plaçant les os d'Ombure dans la figuration en argile du même Ombure. On accomplit les rites d'expiation, mais aussi ceux-ci le font considérer comme un ancêtre de la tribu, et la parenté spirituelle du totem avec les hommes du clan est bien acquise par ce rite.

Non seulement la parenté spirituelle est acquise, mais bien encore la vraie parenté, puisque la naissance de Ngurangurane est attribuée au crocodile. De là le culte qui lui est rendu par ses descendants: le chef et sa famille auront les vrais liens de parenté: le clan aura la parenté spirituelle, d'où parenté totémique, comme elle est requise par les auteurs.

La légende d'Ombure, le crocodile chef, semble donc prouver l'existence du culte totémique à une époque très reculée de l'histoire des Fàń, et en réduisant le mythe à ses simples proportions,

peut-être faudrait-il voir — et nous disons «peut-être», car on ne saurait être assez prudent dans ces déductions — peut-être faudrait-il y voir: 1° une des causes du culte totémique rendu au crocodile: à savoir l'abondance dangereuse de cet amphibie dans les fleuves des plateaux du Hᵗ Nil, première patrie des Fâñ.

2° Les causes de leurs premières migrations, c'est-à-dire le désir de trouver un pays plus propice, et peut-être aussi, après une première migration, les ravages causés de nouveau dans la tribu par les mêmes animaux, non moins abondants dans les lacs du Centre africain, ou les lacs du nord, Tchad et autres.

Au chapitre suivant, nous nous préoccuperons de l'origine possible du totémisme chez les Fâñ. Nous passons donc immédiatement des Bétsi aux Méké, chez lesquels nous trouvons à propos de l'éléphant une légende totémique d'un genre différent. Là, ce n'est pas l'Homme qui contracte une alliance avec l'Animal, et se crée une parenté nouvelle, mais bien l'Animal lui-même qui se place en maître de l'Homme et lui impose son pouvoir. Nous avons dit plus haut que cette légende existe dans le groupe méké: on la retrouve également, mais beaucoup plus dénaturée, dans le rameau bétsi; elle y est plutôt passée à l'état de fabliau que l'on raconte le soir, pour amuser les enfants. C'est du moins sous cette forme que nous l'avons entendue chez les Ye-vẽñ de la Rivière Tsini (affluent de la Mondah, au nord de Libreville). L'Eléphant y joue alors le rôle de l'ogre dans les contes de fées.

3° La légende totémique de l'Eléphant.

Parmi les légendes du cycle de l'Eléphant, il en est une qui paraît plutôt se rapprocher de celle du Crocodile et se rapporter également aux origines de la race. Elle me fut d'ailleurs donnée pour telle dans la tribu des Esingon, dans les lacs de l'Ogowé. Je l'ai également retrouvée dans la tribu Ebimvul, et ces deux tribus, toutes les deux du rameau méké, la donnaient pour expliquer le culte tribal du *mvamayôñ*. Nous en donnons ici une transcription littérale.

En ce temps-là, et ce temps-là est très-loin, on ne saurait penser plus loin, les hommes (c'est-à-dire les Fâñ) habitaient tous

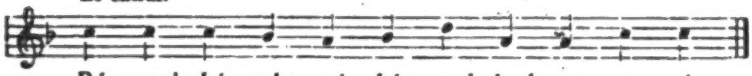
ensemble dans un grand village, et les animaux faisaient de même, chacun dans son village, chacun suivant sa race; les antilopes étaient avec les antilopes, les sangliers avec les sangliers, les tigres avec les tigres, les singes avec les singes:

Le narrateur.

Bém - vul bé mbe né bém - vul dzal a - vo - ri.

Les antilopes elles étaient avec les antilopes village unique.

Le chœur.



Bé - mvul bé mbe né bé - mvul dzal a - vo - ri.

Mais dans chaque village, pour les commander, il y avait un éléphant, et les éléphants étaient ainsi dispersés, chaque famille d'éléphants commandant un village différent: le chef pour eux tous, le père éléphant[1], habitait seul dans la forêt, mais quand il y avait palabre, tous comparaissaient devant lui et il jugeait bien. Quand le père éléphant pensait que son temps était venu, il remettait son esprit à son successeur et disparaissait. Jamais, jamais plus on ne le revoyait, mais son esprit demeurait vivant: *Nsissim ñniñéa.*

Les hommes habitaient à part, loin, loin dans la forêt, et pas un animal ne demeurait avec eux, pas un, même le chien. Pour les poules, je n'en sais rien, mais je pense que les poules étaient aussi avec les autres oiseaux.

Les hommes étaient à part: ils mangeaient les fruits de la forêt, mais souvent aussi ils tuaient des animaux pour en manger la chair, et c'étaient alors des palabres qui ne finissaient jamais. Les animaux venaient se plaindre à l'éléphant: celui-ci ordonnait aux hommes de venir, mais ils ne venaient point et continuaient à tuer les animaux.

Il y eut tant de plaintes contre les hommes que l'éléphant dit à la fin: «Puisqu'ils ne peuvent pas venir, j'irai à leur village.» Il fit ses provisions de voyage, et partit pour aller au village des hommes. Mais il fallait d'abord trouver ce village, car les hommes

[1] Ainsi, dans le Peuple de la Jungle, de RUDYARD KIPLING, Tha, le Premier Eléphant, est roi et maître des animaux.

l'avaient bien caché, et c'était difficile. L'éléphant était en marche: sur son chemin, il rencontre d'abord le village des tigres:

«Où vas-tu, père éléphant? —

Je vais au village des hommes pour juger leur palabre avec vous. —

C'est une très bonne idée. Nous irons avec toi. —

Non, ils seraient trop effrayés: j'aime mieux y aller seul.» —

Et l'éléphant disait cela parce qu'il savait bien que *Nzame* a créé les hommes et que le chef des hommes était fils de *Nzame* comme lui.

«Eh! bien, tu iras seul, père éléphant, mais repose-toi un jour à notre village.»

Et l'éléphant accepta, parce qu'il était bien reçu, et il demeura deux jours entiers au village des tigres. Il serait même resté trois jours et plus, mais il n'y avait plus rien à manger.

Il continue donc son chemin, et arrive au village des antilopes. Là encore, on lui fait une grande fête.

«Et où allez-vous ainsi, père éléphant? —

Je vais au village des hommes, pour juger leurs palabres, car je suis fatigué «avec» eux. —

C'est une très bonne idée: nous irons avec vous. —

Non, je préfère y aller seul, car peut-être, pendant la nuit, ils vous tueraient!

Et les antilopes répondirent: «C'est bien, mais au moins reposez-vous deux jours avec nous.»

Et le père éléphant accepte volontiers, car les antilopes étaient très-bonnes pour lui, et il resta deux jours entiers au village des antilopes. Il serait même resté trois jours et plus, mais il ne restait plus rien à manger, et il avait faim.

Le narrateur.

E-sa Nzoẋ a wuẋ nzè, nzè ndèn ab'm é-ti, oh! E-sa Nzoẋ' oh!

Père éléphant il sent faim, faim grande ventre dans, oh! Père éléphant oh!

Le chœur.

E-sa Nzoẋ a wuẋ nzè, nzè ndèn ab'm é-ti, oh! E-sa Nzoẋ' oh!

Père éléphant se rend donc au village des sangliers [1].

Et ainsi de village en village, l'éléphant restait en route.

Depuis longtemps cependant, le chef des hommes, qui souvent consultait l'*eyèn mvul* (sorte de fétiche, corne d'antilope avec un miroir enchâssé au bout), avait appris le voyage de l'éléphant, et pourquoi il voulait venir au village des hommes. Cela, lui, ne le voulait pas. Et dans tous les sentiers qui aboutissaient à son village, depuis bien loin, bien loin, avec tous les hommes, et avec les femmes pour emporter la terre, il creuse de grandes fosses, avec des pieux pointus au fond; trois, quatre, cinq pièges se suivaient, à une heure, deux heures, trois heures de marche. Et quand le plus éloigné fut fini, il dit à ses hommes:

«Allez couper du manioc.»

Et les hommes allèrent couper du manioc.

«Jetez les tiges pour recouvrir bien la fosse.»

Et les hommes disposèrent bien les tiges, et quelques jours après, elles repoussaient, et on ne voyait plus le bois. Et à une heure de marche de là, sur le même sentier, le chef des hommes fait creuser une autre fosse. Et il dit à ses hommes:

«Allez me chercher des tiges de patates.»

Ils y allèrent, et ils revinrent avec beaucoup de tiges de patates. Et le chef leur dit:

«Disposez ces tiges sur la fosse.»

Ils les disposèrent bien, de sorte que l'on ne voyait plus rien de la fosse.

Et il fit ainsi creuser sur le sentier cinq fosses différentes, chacune avec une plante différente. Et sur chaque sentier qui conduisait à son village, il fit ainsi creuser cinq fosses. Et ce n'est pas tout encore: il y a bien autre chose. Le chef des hommes était très malin! Il avait pensé ainsi dans son esprit: «Si l'éléphant

[1] Comme nous l'avons déjà noté, le Noir semble estimer davantage la quantité que la qualité ou la variété des incidents. Le père éléphant visite ainsi un grand nombre de villages d'animaux et le même dialogue se reproduit sans variantes dans le récit. Dans le récit, mais non dans le conteur, car, et c'est là son grand succès, dès qu'il arrive à un autre village d'animaux, son ton et son allure changent et il imite de son mieux l'animal qu'il dépeint: les rires approbateurs de l'assistance ou leur silence dédaigneux témoignent de son succès, ou de son peu de talent.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

voit un tas de manioc dans le chemin, il se défiera, car il est rusé!» Et dans le sentier, loin, loin, à quatre, cinq places différentes, il fait jeter du manioc, mais, dessous, il n'y avait pas de fosse; et puis plus loin, après la première fosse, il fait jeter du manioc encore, et puis des patates, et puis les autres plantes. Il y en avait tout le long du chemin!

Père éléphant était donc en route pour aller au village des hommes. Et voici que sur le chemin, il rencontre un tas de manioc: il le retourne avec sa trompe, le retourne encore, car il était très rusé: mais il ne trouve rien de suspect. «C'est, dit-il, un cadeau de mes enfants: ils ont voulu me préparer de la nourriture dans le chemin: ils sont très bons.» — Et comme il se défiait encore un peu, il mange seulement un petit morceau de manioc. Il était excellent: il en mange un second, puis tout le tas, il n'y en avait pas beaucoup, et Père éléphant était très gros, bien plus gros que les éléphants de maintenant. Un peu plus loin, nouveau tas de manioc. Père éléphant s'en approche encore avec précaution, puis en croque un petit morceau: rien de suspect. «Ah! dit-il, les excellents enfants!» et il mange tout le tas, car Père éléphant était gros, et le tas petit. Et Père éléphant avait beaucoup, beaucoup marché! Et le soir venait, quand, dans le sentier, il voit un nouveau tas de manioc; comme il avait grand faim, il se précipite.

Kah! C'était juste le trou de la fosse! Et comme Père éléphant courait bien vite, il tombe la tête la première sur le pieu pointu. Et ce fut bon pour lui! Car, sans cela, le pieu lui eût percé le ventre, et il était mort. Mais sa tête brisa le pieu. Et toute la nuit, Père éléphant demeura au fond du trou, criant et gémissant: «Je suis mort! *Mé mvua.*» Mais au matin, le Chef des hommes, qui était là tout près avec ses guerriers, vient sur le bord du trou:

«Tiens, *Imè!* qu'est-ce ceci, dit-il! Comment? c'est Père éléphant! Oh! qui a pu le faire tomber ici!» Et prompt, il jette la terre et les branches dans le trou; mais quand il voit que la fosse est presque comblée, et que l'éléphant est près de sortir, au plus vite, il s'esquive avec tous ses hommes. Le Père éléphant cependant sort de son trou, et tout meurtri, tout froissé, il continue son chemin, mais la tête lui faisait très mal, et ses yeux étaient remplis de terre,

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

et il avait peine à marcher! Aussi, quelques pas plus loin, quand il rencontre les patates douces, il s'arrête et regarde, puis s'avance avec précaution; il regarde et fait un pas, il regarde et fait un pas, il arrive tout près, rien, et comme il avait grand faim, il mange . . .

(Nous ne suivrons pas le conteur noir dans le long développement des aventures de Père éléphant. Comme on le conçoit facilement, il tombe successivement dans chaque piège, et chaque fois l'homme l'en retire. C'est quand il arrive au dernier, qu'il a surmonté l'obstacle des fosses que, juste, il s'arrête, découragé, et veut se rendre au village des hommes par un autre sentier . . . où il rencontre immédiatement les mêmes obstacles, les mêmes chutes et les mêmes péripéties. Aussi, finalement, retourne-t-il à son village pour essayer des moyens magiques. Ce n'est pas la partie la moins curieuse de son épopée, si l'on peut employer ce mot: dans ce terrain des «fées», le conteur noir laisse libre cours à son imagination et s'en donne à cœur joie. Mais, disons-le en passant, ce qu'il y a de plus intéressant à observer, c'est le conteur, identifié avec son récit, et qui, si bien, sait reproduire la mimique de ce pauvre Père éléphant, empêtré dans sa fosse. Enfin, après maints détails, Père éléphant, ayant fait à la fois appel à ses grands fétiches et à tous les autres éléphants, renverse les obstacles et parvient enfin au village des hommes. Il arrive sur la grande place; il n'y avait plus personne! Mais, sur son ordre, tous les autres animaux se mettent en campagne et sont chargés de ramener les hommes. Les singes les poursuivent dans les arbres, les sangliers et les tigres dans la forêt, les oiseaux dénoncent leur retraite, les serpents les mordent dans les herbes, il faut revenir se faire juger. La palabre est longue et l'homme se défend habilement: on croirait parfois entendre maître Renard de notre roman du Moyen âge. Enfin, Maître éléphant prononce la sentence: on laissera vivre les hommes, mais on les punira.

Reprenons le récit du conteur noir, en l'abrégeant cependant, car c'est ici, pour le point spécial qui nous occupe maintenant, l'endroit le plus typique).

Les hommes étaient donc devant Père éléphant, et le Chef des

hommes avait grande frayeur en son cœur, car il voyait venir la mort. Il avait «froid», car qui a vu derrière la mort?

La mort est comme la lune. Qui a vu l'autre côté?

Le Chef des hommes avait froid! Mais Père éléphant dit: «Tu avoues donc ton péché?» —

Et le Chef des hommes répondit: «Je l'avoue! —

Alors, maintenant, tu vois la mort? —

Oh! Père éléphant, je suis petit et tu es fort. Pardon! *Esa Nzoẋ, oh! ngongol, oh!*» —

Et le Père éléphant répondit: «C'est vrai, je suis fort et tu es faible, mais *Nzame* t'a créé chef. Je te pardonnerai donc.»

Et le Chef des hommes répondit: «Merci (*abora* = grâce).» Et il sentit son cœur content.

Mais le Chef des tigres s'avance furieux: «Père éléphant, tu ne parles pas bien. Les hommes ont tué mon frère: je veux ma vengeance.» Et le Père éléphant répondit: «C'est vrai: il te doit payer vengeance.» Et l'homme paya les cadeaux au tigre. Et l'éléphant dit alors: «Maintenant, vous allez «faire frères» et la dispute sera finie.» Le Chef des hommes appela son frère et lui dit: «Fais l'échange du sang avec le tigre.» Et le Chef des tigres dit à son frère: «Fais l'échange du sang avec l'homme.» L'homme fit l'échange du sang, et le tigre fit l'échange du sang, et ils demeurèrent frères dans un même village.

Mais le Chef des aigles s'avança à son tour et fit la même palabre, et le Chef des sangliers, et celui des gorilles, et beaucoup d'autres, mais ils firent l'échange du sang, et la palabre fut terminée.

Et quand toutes les palabres furent ainsi réglées, le Chef éléphant dit à son tour: «Je veux faire frère avec le Chef des hommes.» On tua donc un *cabri,* car celui-là n'avait pas fait frère: il était esclave de l'homme; on tua un gros *cabri* mâle *(miaẋ),* et Père éléphant et Père des hommes firent frères. Père éléphant connut les fétiches de Père des hommes, et Père des hommes connut les fétiches de Père des éléphants. Et depuis ce temps-là, Père éléphant est devenu *ototore* des hommes, et c'est pour cela qu'on l'honore beaucoup. Ceux qui ne le font pas, ce sont les «sauvages». *Amana.* Ceci est la fin.

Et mon interprète Fidèle Békale, de la tribu des Mékux, entendant avec moi ce récit que sa mémoire étonnante lui permettait de me redire presque textuellement le lendemain, ajoutait: «Père, dans ma tribu (rameau Osyeba), c'est la même chose. Tous les «païens» disent que lorsque le chef de nos tribus vient à mourir, son âme *(khun)* erre pendant quelque temps, puis elle va «s'incarner» dans un éléphant, et le fait vivre longtemps, longtemps. Ces éléphants-là, on les reconnaît bien, parce qu'ils sont plus blancs que les autres, et souvent aussi, ils viennent près des villages. Pendant la nuit, leurs âmes s'échappent et viennent trouver l'âme d'un de leurs enfants restés au village, et elles lui disent de venir bien vite à tel endroit, qu'il trouvera des éléphants. Et le chef se lève, appelle ses hommes, et ils partent vers l'endroit désigné, et ils tuent les éléphants que »l'ancêtre» leur a amené, mais ils ont bien soin de ne pas blesser *Esa nzoẋ*[1]: ce serait tuer la tribu.»

Mon Fidèle, bien que chrétien, mais assez ignorant, avouons-le, m'avait l'air encore quelque peu convaincu de la réalité de ces faits; pour lui, me disait-il, il ne voyait pas pourquoi l'âme d'un païen n'irait pas commencer son enfer dans le corps d'une bête! — J'ai pu m'assurer que cette croyance actuelle, sorte de métempsycose, était en effet générale: après leur mort, dans certaines circonstances données, quelques hommes devenaient ainsi éléphants, mais surtout tigres, serpents ou vautours; c'était alors dans un but malfaisant, soit qu'ils fussent morts «sorciers» ou «mangeurs de cœur, vampires», soit qu'ils eussent été privés des sacrifices funéraires[2].

Pour en revenir à notre légende de l'éléphant, bien qu'elle diffère de celle du crocodile, elle s'en rapproche cependant comme idée et comme dénouement. On pourrait dire en somme que, dans un cas, c'est malgré tous les efforts de Ngurangurane, la prédominance de l'animal sur l'homme, jusqu'à la dernière épreuve, où l'animal est enfin vaincu; dans l'autre cas, au contraire, c'est la prédominance de l'homme sur la bête, de l'homme des forêts réduit à ses propres forces, jusqu'au résultat final où il est à peine vaincu, mais prend aussitôt sa revanche. Et la fin en définitive

[1] C'est-à-dire l'Eléphant ancêtre.

[2] Nous verrons ce point en parlant du *Nagual*.

est la même: l'alliance étroite entre l'homme et l'animal, alliance de parenté réelle dans un cas, de parenté fictive dans l'autre; elle crée pour les descendants une parenté réelle, et aussi une protection réelle, et non pas feinte. Nous verrons un peu plus loin ce point particulier, en parlant du respect du totem.

D'après les légendes et récits de la race, telle serait donc l'origine du totem chez nos Fâñ; il semblerait bien qu'ils se montreraient ainsi partisans d'une filiation réelle, et non pas seulement spirituelle. Ces légendes paraissent au premier abord contredire ce que nous avons dit plus haut de la différence essentielle entre l'*ésayôñ* et le *mvamayôñ*. Cependant, on voit malgré tout la dissemblance qui, d'après les légendes, s'établit entre les deux ancêtres: l'*ésayôñ* est le père direct: le *mvamayôñ* est pour ainsi dire «introduit». Dans cette alliance ou échange de sang, le Fâñ recherche surtout à s'assimiler des qualités qu'il sent bien ne pas posséder lui-même, et à s'assurer une protection efficace contre les dangers mystérieux de la grande forêt. Mieux que personne, il en connaît les embûches et craint les pièges qui sans cesse se creusent sous ses pas. Il voit l'animal les éviter sans peine, il le croit tout au moins, et il envie leur sort. De là, à tenter de s'assimiler leurs qualités, il n'y a qu'un pas; l'échange du sang le réalisait pour l'homme: pourquoi ne pas essayer aussi bien avec l'animal? il l'a fait, et il a confiance en la protection de son *mvamayôñ*. A-t-il toujours tort? Souvent, au contraire, nous croyons qu'il a raison, et bien des cas sont là pour le prouver. Au respect du totem, nous examinerons cette question.

c) Survivances actuelles du culte du crocodile et de l'éléphant.

Nous avons parlé précédemment du totem national, et exposé comment on pourrait en quelque sorte reconnaître comme tel, soit le crocodile, soit l'éléphant, l'un plus spécial aux Méké, l'autre aux Bétsi. Nous avons dit, en même temps, comment, dans la pratique, chaque tribu et chaque clan, voir même chaque famille et chaque individu, ayant son *mvame* tutélaire, c'est celui-ci qui l'emporte et reçoit les hommages cultuels, suivant les différentes circonstances. C'est même ce qui a dû déterminer peu à peu la

déchéance du totem national: chaque chef s'adressant de préférence à son totem de tribu ou de clan. Lorsqu'il s'agissait de guerres intestines, le fait était d'ailleurs très naturel; chaque chef accordait d'instinct beaucoup plus de désir de lui être utile, sinon de force vraiment intrinsèque, à son propre *mvamayôń* tribal, qu'au *mvamayôń* de la nation entière. Chaque clan pouvait en effet invoquer celui-ci avec des chances égales et des droit égaux à être protégé, ce qui ne pouvait laisser que de mettre le *mvamayôń* tribal dans un cruel embarras!

Dans une légende ou fabliau d'allure assez ironique, un conteur fâń mettait ainsi le *mvamayôń* national dans cette situation délicate; c'est une preuve, en passant, que tout en ayant grand peur, au fond, de son totem, et en accomplissant scrupuleusement, lorsque la chose est requise, les prescriptions du rite, le Fâń n'a nulle crainte de se montrer, en paroles, assez irrespectueux de son *mvamayôń*. S'il le faut, on l'apaisera par les sacrifices nécessaires.

Afin de ne pas allonger indéfiniment le cadre de cette Etude, nous donnons simplement l'esquisse de ce fabliau, en retranchant tous les détails inutiles et ne laissant que les plus caractéristiques.

«Ce jour-là donc, nous disait le conteur, le vieil Etûtû, chef des Esamvuń, aux sources de l'Aïna, ce jour-là donc, l'éléphant était dans sa case, et son cœur était très content, parce que, depuis deux jours, aucun de ses enfants n'était venu devant lui pour faire régler des palabres. Aussi il avait même un peu peur qu'ils ne fussent tous morts (sic!).

Il était donc assis tranquillement devant sa case et n'avait aucune pensée dans son cœur, quand soudain parurent à la fois devant lui l'envoyé du clan des tigres et l'envoyé du clan des léopards; parlant tous les deux à la fois, ils s'écrièrent: «Père éléphant, père éléphant, ouvre tes oreilles.» Et père éléphant répliqua: «Mes oreilles sont ouvertes, je vous entends fort bien, mais ne faites pas tant de «misères.» Toi, tigre, parle, et toi, léopard, tais-toi.»

Mais le tigre et le léopard, sans tenir aucun compte des paroles de l'éléphant, et se regardant avec des yeux terribles, s'écrièrent tous deux ensemble:

«Le tigre-clan veut faire la guerre et nous manger tous.»

«Le léopard-clan veut faire la guerre et nous manger tous.» Mais nous ne le souffrirons pas, car certainement, c'est nous qui avons raison, et toi, père éléphant, toi qui es notre *étotore* (c'est-à-dire *mvamayôñ*), tu ne peux souffrir pareille injustice.»

Mais le père éléphant leur donnant à chacun un grand coup de trompe, leur imposa silence à tous deux, puis dit:

«Toi, tigre, parle le premier: qu'y a-t-il?»

Et le tigre prend la parole, après avoir mis la poudre sur son front [1].

«Voici donc, père éléphant, dit le tigre; nous étions en paix avec ces gens-là! Mais comment garder la paix avec des sauvages! Impossible. *Akoẋ da tobe akoẋ, Mvul mvul, ké yire munga.* = La pierre demeure pierre, l'antilope, l'antilope. Ne frappe pas ta femme [2]. Dans le chemin que nous suivions pour aller à la chasse, ils ont donc creusé une fosse profonde, avec un pieu pointu au milieu, et nos chasseurs, en voulant courir après le gibier, sont tombés dans la fosse et s'y sont empalés. Deux des nôtres sont ainsi tombés.

---

[1] Allusion à un usage que l'on retrouve encore aujourd'hui: lorsque, dans une palabre particulièrement importante, un Fâñ veut mettre de son côté toutes les conditions de succès, il a soin de se prémunir d'avance, dans un petit sachet, d'un peu de poudre blanche provenant des os calcinés d'un sacrifice fait aux ancêtres. Cette poudre contient également un petit fragment d'os du crâne de l'ancêtre immédiat. Avant de parler, l'orateur touche la cendre du doigt et s'en met sur le front, sur la bouche et sur la gorge. Il veut s'assurer ainsi, pour bien parler, bien penser, et bien dire, la protection des ancêtres. Un Administrateur du district devant lequel, en ma présence d'ailleurs accidentelle, comparaissaient ainsi deux Fâñ qui lui apportaient un litige à juger, remarqua ce geste; il demanda à celui qui venait de le faire s'il était Chrétien, et s'il faisait son signe de croix, ajoutant d'ailleurs avec une raillerie non déguisée: «Ton signe de croix, mon garçon, n'y fera ni chaud ni froid. Si tu as raison, tu auras raison; si tu as tort, tu auras tort. Et gare à toi!» J'expliquai à l'Administrateur que l'individu, loin d'être un Chrétien, invoquait au contraire les mânes de ses ancêtres. Et les railleries redoublèrent devant un acte, en somme parfaitement compréhensible, et ne prêtant, ce me semble, nullement à rire! Ceci soit dit en passant pour faire comprendre combien, avec raison, les Noirs se montrent réservés sur leur religion devant les Européens, quand ils ont subi leurs moqueries ou entendu seulement parler de leur esprit . . . douteux.

[2] C'est-à-dire ne la frappe pas pour la faire changer de nature, tu n'y arriverais pas.

Nze a dige é yô, khul' a si. Le tigre regarde en haut, la tortue à terre[1], interrompt le léopard.

Le tigre veut se jeter sur le léopard, mais père éléphant, qui veille, lui donne un bon coup de trompe: Tô! tô: — puis:

«Continue, tigre, et sois calme.»

«Donc, père éléphant, deux de nos «hommes» sont tombés dans les fosses, où ils sont morts, et pendant la nuit, les léopards sont venus, et ils les ont enlevés, portés à leur village: les femmes leur ont arraché les moustaches, et après les avoir grillés, on les a mangés. Ceci se passait hier. Justice. (Coupe la palabre.) D'ailleurs, voici que j'ai apporté avec moi un cabri . . .»

«Bien, dit père éléphant, j'ai compris ton affaire.» Et appelant sa femme: «Prends ce cabri, lui dit-il, et réunis-le au troupeau.» Et sa femme vint, et fit comme père éléphant avait commandé.

«Bien, dit père éléphant, à ton tour, léopard, et dis-moi ton affaire.»

«Voici donc, père éléphant, dit le léopard; nous étions en paix avec ces gens-là! Mais comment garder la paix avec des sauvages! Impossible. *Abo né akhul, méki, faÿelege.* Mets ta main dans la patte d'un tigre, il t'en cuira[2]. Gare à toi.

Dans le chemin que nous suivions pour aller à la chasse, ces tigres ont donc creusé des fosses profondes: ils ont placé au fond des pieux pointus, et bien couvert la fosse: nos hommes sont passés par là, mais ils ne sont pas comme les tigres: ils regardent à terre, ils ont aperçu les pièges, et ils les ont évités. Mais les tigres, voyant que la ruse ne servait de rien avec nous, ont attendu nos hommes dans le chemin, et ils en ont tué un; puis la nuit, ils sont venus en se cachant dans notre village, ils ont brisé la porte d'une case, et se sont sauvés en nous emportant deux femmes.»

«Où sont ces femmes? dit père éléphant.

«Au village des tigres.

«Est-ce vrai, tigre?

---

[1] C'est-à-dire le tigre est sans réflexion; la tortue, au contraire, médite. Dans tout le folklore fàñ, la tortue représente les personnes sensées, et le tigre, les étourdis.

[2] Littér. Main et patte, sang, c'est-à-dire, évite ce voisinage.

«Oui, père éléphant, mais nous avons pris ces femmes à cause de nos morts.

«Bien, dit père éléphant, les léopards ont donc tué deux hommes; les tigres, un homme et pris deux femmes. C'est la même chose. Qu'ils les gardent. Mais il reste une chose. Quel est celui qui a commencé?

«Les léopards, c'est clair, dit le tigre.

«Les tigres, c'est clair, dit le léopard! Mais j'avais oublié une chose, père éléphant, je t'apporte un cabri . . .

«C'est bien, dit père éléphant, je pensais justement que tu «faisais menteur!» [1]

«Mais voici également une poule, père éléphant, dit le tigre.

«Voici de plus une poule, père éléphant, dit le léopard.

Et les cadeaux continuèrent encore; père éléphant était très content dans son cœur! Et quand ils eurent donné, l'un et l'autre, tout ce qu'ils avaient apporté et promis bien d'autres choses encore, père éléphant leur parla ainsi:

«Ecoutez, toi, tigre, et toi, léopard. Vous m'avez donné beaucoup de choses, et c'est bien. Vous m'en avez promis beaucoup, et c'est mieux. Maintenant, je vais «couper votre palabre». Vous autres, tigres, vous avez eu tort de tuer un homme aux léopards et de leur prendre deux femmes: vous autres, léopards, vous avez eu tort de tuer deux hommes aux tigres. Mais moi, je suis votre père protecteur *mvamayôñ*. Si je vous tue, vous tigres, je tue mes enfants: si je vous tue, vous léopards, je tuerai mes enfants. Cela n'est pas possible. Qui donc m'apporterait encore des cadeaux! Allez-vous en tous les deux: dites aux gens de votre village de ne pas aller dans les mêmes chemins, et partez. Je suis très content de vous, je suis votre père.»

Et le père éléphant leur donna un coup avec sa trompe, en répétant: «*Kâña mvoÿe,* allez sains et saufs.»

Et le vieil Etûtû me tirait bien la morale de cette histoire: «Un *mvamayôñ* comme cela et une pierre, c'est la même chose!» Mais ajoutait-il philosophiquement: *Ntè, ntè*! les palabres sont les palabres! (Il en faut pour nourrir les juges!)

[1] Idiotisme du fañ, c'est-à-dire: tu disais des mensonges.

Quant à parler ainsi de son propre *étotore*, mon vieil Etûtû ne l'aurait jamais osé: il eût craint un châtiment immédiat; il n'aurait d'ailleurs pas manqué de le voir dans le premier accident qui lui serait arrivé.

Ce fabliau, dont nous avons seulement esquissé les principaux traits, en élaguant tous les détails inutiles, montre bien, au fond, la déchéance nécessaire du totem national. A l'invoquer tous, chacun des implorants perd son temps . . . et son argent! Néanmoins, le culte du crocodile et de l'éléphant est resté vivace dans la nation, tout au moins en certaines circonstances. Evidemment, nous mettons ici complètement de côté les circonstances ordinaires de la vie de tribu ou de clan, où pour des raisons particulières ou intrinsèques, ces deux *mvamayôñ* sont invoqués; tels sont, en première ligne, les deux tribus ou clans où, soit l'éléphant, soit le crocodile, sont restés comme totem tribal. Ils rentrent alors dans la condition ordinaire du totem tribal dont nous avons parlé plus haut. Les sociétés secrètes qui ont adopté ces deux totems comme *mvamayôñ* particuliers sont également hors de cause.

Parmi les traces aujourd'hui survivantes du culte général ancien de l'éléphant et du crocodile, nous en choisirons cinq qui sont demeurées beaucoup plus vivaces et plus cultuelles. Elles sont intimement liées au phénomène religieux dont elles forment une manifestation, et on les retrouve dans toutes les tribus fàñ. Il est cependant assez difficile de les pénétrer, et surtout d'en saisir le sens, non pas en lui-même à proprement parler, car il est assez clair, mais surtout parcequ'il demeure profondément mêlé ou uni avec les cérémonies du culte des ancêtres. Presque toutes les manifestations totémiques, de quelque genre qu'elles soient, sont dans ce cas.

Les pages qui vont suivre eussent peut-être été mieux à leur place en parlant du totem national. Nous les avons rejetées cependant ici à cause des deux légendes que nous avons données, la légende du crocodile Ombure, et la légende de l'éléphant; elles permettront de les mieux comprendre; de plus, dans ces survivances,

le totem national, bien qu'on en retrouve les vestiges, n'existe pas en tant que tel. La nation n'est pas constituée en nation: chaque tribu forme un tout homogène[1] et autonome; elle vit de sa vie propre, n'ayant avec les autres tribus d'autres liens que ceux assez vagues d'une origine et d'une langue communes.

De ces cinq traces, les trois premières se rapportent au culte du crocodile et de l'éléphant. Ces trois «survivances» du culte général sont: l'*ékima*, le *nzoɔ́ békun*, et le *nzoɔ́ ba kuŷa*.

L'*ékima* et le *nzoɔ́ békun* se rapportent au culte de l'éléphant, et le *nzoɔ́ ba kuŷa* au culte du crocodile.

Les deux autres, l'*Edzû bitotore* et les Tatouages, se rapportent au culte général totémique.

Nous ajouterons enfin un sixième paragraphe, le *biyéma bétshit*, qui ne fait pas partie de ces survivances, mais avec lequel il importe de ne pas les confondre, non plus qu'avec les rites du totem.

1° L'*Ekima*.

Lorsque nous aurons terminé la longue question de l'antiquité du totem, nous devrons envisager le totem «matérialisé» ou concrétisé en une représentation effective et surtout portative. Ce totem matérialisé est réuni avec un certain nombre d'objets qui se rapportent au culte des ancêtres, car les deux cultes se présentent presque toujours mêlés et unis. Il porte dans son ensemble le nom suggestif d'*akamayôñ*, c'est-à-dire «ce qui va avec la tribu», et constitue l'objet abrégé, mais nécessaire, auquel s'adresse le culte tribal.

En parlant de l'*akamayôñ* ou réunion des objets qui accompagnent le *mvamayôñ* ou en font partie intégrante, nous remarquerons la présence d'une sorte de sifflet nommé *ékima*. Le chef

[1] Soit dit en passant, c'est cette solitude de chaque tribu qui assure le pouvoir européen. Le jour où les Fân seront groupés sous un seul chef, la domination européenne se verra balayée du coup; un chef du Congo nord a essayé, il y a une dizaine d'années, de réaliser cette union. Il avait déjà entraîné à sa suite de nombreuses tribus quand il fut tué par une de ses femmes.

le porte suspendu à l'extrémité du baudrier de peau de tigre qui lui barre la poitrine. Il ne se sert de l'*ékima* que dans des cas spéciaux et particulièrement graves.

Ainsi, dans le combat, le chef voit ses guerriers se débander ou prendre la fuite; il saisit aussitôt d'une main le *mvamayôń*, et de l'autre l'*ékima*, et siffle par trois fois: par là il appelle les esprits protecteurs de la tribu et ranime le courage de ses guerriers effrayés. Quand l'*ékima* résonne ainsi, l'appel s'adresse bien au *mvamayôń* ou au protecteur de la tribu, protecteur actuel. Cependant, d'après les dires assez contradictoires des indigènes, nous ne saurions affirmer s'il en est toujours de la sorte, et si l'*ékima* ne continue pas, comme jadis, à faire appel au secours de l'éléphant protecteur, dans le corps duquel réside l'esprit des anciens chefs de la race.

Du moins, un très vieux chant, que l'on retrouve dans toutes les tribus, semble en faire foi. C'est, en tout cas, un témoin précieux, et à ce point de vue, il trouve ici sa place toute naturelle. Ce morceau est connu sous le nom de «Chant de l'*ékima*».

Lorsque parfois, dans les villages, un conteur le donne, il le chante ainsi:

Chant de l'*ékima*.

Chanteur:	*Ekima kom*	Le sifflet de guerre retentit,
	Nzoż akom [1]	Appel de l'éléphant,
	Wôń amare	L'effroi de la fuite [2],
	Amare wôń	Fuite de l'effroi [3],
	Abora nzoż, oh!	Merci à l'éléphant.
Chœur:	*Abora nzoż, oh! Yô, yô.*	

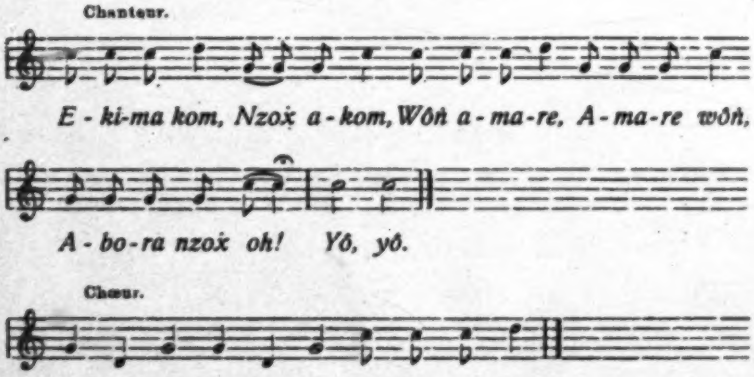
[1] J'ai entendu souvent aussi *nzoż ékom*, l'éléphant protège. Je croirais bien plutôt à ce sens qui est tout naturel, et attribuerais *nzoż akom* au mot précédent qui revient ainsi fautivement. Dans ces chants très-anciens, il arrive forcément qu'un certain nombre de mots se dénaturent et deviennent ainsi inintelligibles.

[2] C'est-à-dire l'effroi s'enfuit, ou les guerriers se reprennent.

[3] Les ennemis fuient à leur tour.

Chanteur:	*Ekima kom*	Le sifflet de guerre retentit,
	Nzoȯ ȯkom	L'éléphant vient,
	Akurè bɛ̄kun	Arrivée des mânes,
	Bitotore [1]	Les mânes protecteurs,
	Abora nzoȯ oh!	Merci à l'éléphant.
Chœur:	*Yô, yô, Abora nzoȯ oh! Yô, yô.*	
Chanteur:	*Ekima kom*	Le sifflet de guerre retentit,
	Nzoȯ ȯkom	L'éléphant vient,
	Adzi bur	Festin des hommes [2],
	Ewume kiri	Réapparition de l'aube [3],
	Abora nzoȯ oh!	Merci à l'éléphant.
Chœur:	*Yô, yô yô, Abora nzoȯ oh! Yô, yô.*	
Chanteur:	*Ekima kom*	Le sifflet de guerre retentit
	Nzoȯ ȯkom	L'appel de l'éléphant
	Nzoȯ aba	? Nom d'un grand fétiche de guerre
	Eba kuǧa	? litt. dépeçage de l'éléphant
	Abora nzoȯ oh!	Merci à l'éléphant.
Chœur:	*Yô, yô yô, Abora nzoȯ oh! Yô, yô.*	

Chant de l'*ékima*.

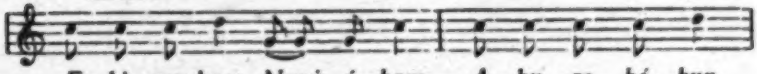


[1] C'est le festin qui termine la victoire et où on mange les ennemis prisonniers.

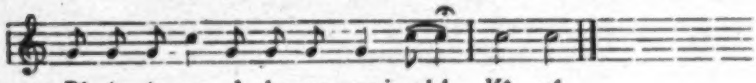
[2] Probablement: Nous avions craint la mort, nous revoyons le matin.

[3] Nous retrouverons ce mot qui est synonyme de *mvamayôṅ*, l'*ètotore* est le protecteur, mais signifie plutôt l'animal protecteur individuel.

Chanteur.

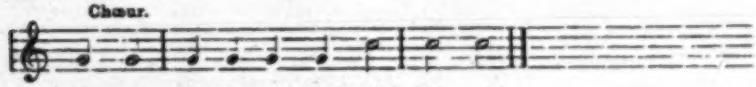


E - ki - ma kom, Nzoẋ é - kom, A - ku - re bé - kun,



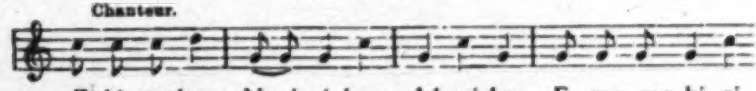
Bi - to - to - re, A - bo - ra nzoẋ oh! Yô, yô.

Chœur.

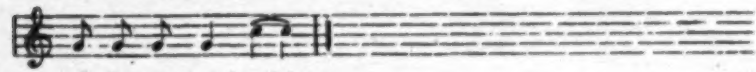


Yô, yô, A - bo - ra nzoẋ oh! Yô, yô.

Chanteur.

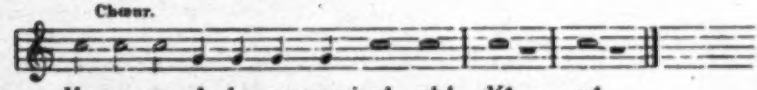


E - ki - ma kom, Nzoẋ é - kom, Ad - zi bur, E - wu - me ki - ri,



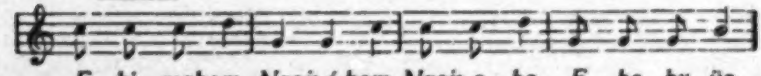
A - bo - ra nzoẋ oh!

Chœur.

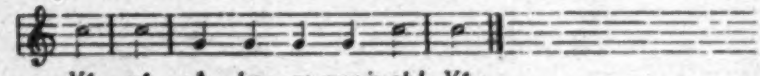


Yo, yo, yo, A - bo - ra nzoẋ oh, oh! Yô, yô.

Chanteur.

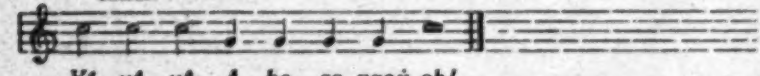


E - ki - makom, Nzoẋ é - kom, Nzoẋ a - ba, E - ba ku - ŷa



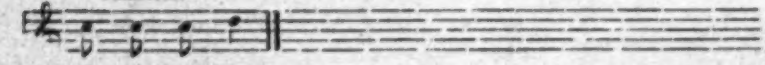
Yô, yô, A - bo - ra nzoẋ oh! Yô.

Chœur.



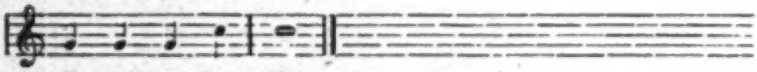
Yô, yô, yô, A - bo - ra nzoẋ oh!

Chanteur.



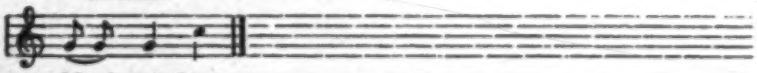
E - ki - ma kom.

Chœur.



E - ki - ma kom, Yô.

Chanteur.



Nzoẋ é - kom.

Chœur.

Nzoẋ é - kom, Yô, yô.

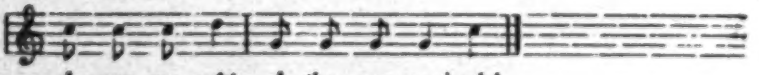
Chanteur.

Wôṅ da ma - re, A - bo - ra nzoẋ oh!

Chœur.

Wôṅ da ma - re, A - bo - ra nzoẋ oh! Yô, yô.

Chanteur.



A - ma - re wôṅ, A - bo - ra nzoẋ oh!

Chœur.

A - ma - re wôṅ, A - bo - ra nzôẋ oh! Yô, yô.

Chanteur.

A - bo - ra nzoẋ oh!

Chœur.

A - bo - ra nzoẋ oh! Yo, yo.

Le Chanteur:	*Ekima kom*	Le sifflet retentit
Le Chœur:	*Ekima kom, yô, yô*	Le sifflet retentit, oui, oui.
Le Chanteur:	*Nzaż ékom*	L'éléphant vient
Le Chœur:	*Nzaż ékom, yô, yô*	L'éléphant vient, oui, oui.
Le Chanteur:	*Wôñ da mare, Abora nzaż oh!*	La frayeur disparaît, merci à l'éléphant, oh!
Le Chœur:	*Wôñ da mare, Abora nzaż oh!*	La frayeur disparaît, merci à l'éléphant, oh!
Le Chanteur:	*Amare wôñ, Abora nzaż oh! yô, yô*	L'ennemi s'enfuit, merci à l'éléphant, oh! oh!
Le Chœur:	*Amare wôñ, Abora nzaż oh! yô, yô*	L'ennemi s'enfuit, merci à l'éléphant, oh! oh!
Le Chanteur:	*Abora nzaż oh!*	Merci à l'éléphant, oh!
Le Chœur:	*Abora nzaż oh! yô, yô*	Merci à l'éléphant, oh! yô, yô!

Et chacun des couplets est ainsi repris successivement et par phrase, lorsque, une première fois, il a été chanté par tous les assistants. Le rythme, comme il est facile de le voir, est des plus simples, mais ne manque cependant pas d'une certaine grandeur. C'est celui des invocations; il ne diffère pas sensiblement, au moins comme idée musicale, du rythme des litanies, surtout des plus anciennes, que l'on retrouve parfois dans un coin perdu de nos campagnes, écho affaibli de quelques antiques traditions. Ce qui constitue surtout la grandeur de ce chant, vraiment parfois saisissante, c'est son exécution. Nous l'avons entendu maintes fois répété par quelque chanteur dans les villages, et repris en chœur par les assistants, mais sans aucune conviction: c'était un simple passe-temps, un intermède à quelque long récit. Nous l'avons entendu également répété par nos enfants dans leurs jeux, et nul, pas plus que nous, n'aurait alors soupçonné ce que peut donner ce chant dans son «cadre».

Mais il nous fut également donné de l'entendre dans de tout autres circonstances. Au cours de nos pérégrinations dans le nord, nous reçûmes un jour la visite de tous les guerriers d'un clan. Au

plaisir de venir voir des «Blancs», chose si remarquable que pas un d'entre eux ne pouvait encore se vanter d'avoir eu pareille chance, se mêlait l'ivresse d'une victoire récente: la veille même de notre arrivée, ce clan avait complètement battu un clan voisin et fait de nombreux prisonniers; presque tous étaient destinés à être mangés, et le furent. Les vainqueurs arrivèrent donc pour nous voir dans le village où nous étions campés. Un peu avant d'entrer au village, ils reprirent leurs rangs, rompus par les chemins difficiles de la forêt où ils étaient bien forcés de passer seulement un à un, l'un derrière l'autre. Derrière la grande *abéñe* du chef du village, ils se reformèrent donc en masse serrée, puis, par six de front, ils parcoururent une première fois le village entier, en une marche cadencée très rapide, presque une course, mais en marquant très fortement le pas. Ils marchaient, brandissant tous d'une main leur fusil, de l'autre, agitant leurs longues sagaies au dessus de leurs têtes, et en même temps, avec un ensemble parfait, à l'unisson, et sans une note discordante, ils criaient à pleine voix le chant de l'*ékima*. Par trois fois, ils parcoururent ainsi le village, s'arrêtant parfois brusquement, tous ensemble, sur un *yô* final, plus strident que les précédents. Si, pris individuellement, leur accoutrement de guerre, avec les peintures hideuses qui cachaient leurs traits pouvait paraître ridicule, l'ensemble, loin de l'être, était vraiment terrifiant. Ainsi exécuté, le chant de l'*ékima* était d'un effet imposant: jamais nous ne l'avons mieux senti.

Ces remercîments adressés à *Nzoẋ, Abora nzoẋ oh!* (Merci à toi, éléphant!) pourraient cependant paraître à quelques-uns s'adresser à quelque héros légendaire qui eût porté ce nom et ainsi laissé sa trace dans les souvenirs populaires. Toutefois, cette explication est impossible, car outre que ce nom ne se retrouve dans aucune autre légende (fait qui à lui seul ne prouverait pas assez), un ensemble de faits particuliers montre bien qu'il s'agit là de l'éléphant totem ou *étotore*. C'est en effet le chant qui est exécuté avec beaucoup d'autres, dans le *Nzoẋ békun* dont nous aurons à nous occuper maintenant.

2° Le *Nzoẋ békun.*

Plus encore que l'*ékima* et son chant, le *Nzoẋ békun* nous paraît bien une survivance, et même une survivance toujours active et vivace, du culte de l'éléphant, en tant que culte jadis national. Ce *Nzoẋ békun* dont le nom signifie littéralement: «L'éléphant des âmes désincarnées ou revenants» nous apparaît d'autant plus curieux qu'il semble être la contre-partie du *Nzoẋ ba kuÿa* dont nous nous occuperons ensuite.

Voici en quoi il consiste.

a) Préparation du *Nzoẋ békun.*

Lors donc qu'un village se prépare à la guerre, ou encore, mais le cas est plus rare, que le village va commencer de grandes chasses, surtout celles de l'éléphant, il fait le «fétiche», ou plutôt comme ce mot nous paraît impropre, bien qu'il soit tombé malheureusement dans le langage courant, le village fait le «rite de l'éléphant des revenants».

Dans le premier cas, c'est-à-dire si le clan se prépare au combat, le chef, assisté de ses guerriers, désire attirer ainsi sur son village et sur ses hommes la protection des ancêtres, concrétisée comme nous l'avons vu, dans le *Nzoẋ étotore* ou éléphant protecteur. Dans le second cas, au contraire, c'est-à-dire celui des grandes chasses, il exécute le même rite afin d'attirer la protection des ancêtres sur la chasse; en même temps, il veut éviter que, par un regrettable malentendu, on ne vienne à tuer un éléphant où s'est réincarné pour un temps un des ancêtres. Nous avons déjà parlé plus haut de ce fait et devrons y revenir en parlant du rôle de l'âme dans la théogonie fàñ.

Pour procéder au rite du *Nzoẋ békun,* on agit ainsi.

Tout près du village, généralement à une des extrémités, mais en dehors des cases, le chef du clan convoque ses hommes. Les femmes sont soigneusement exclues et invitées à se tenir strictement renfermées dans leurs cases avec leurs petits enfants. Un manquement à cette prescription serait puni par un très sévère châtiment. Jadis, c'était la mort; aujourd'hui, la peine est atténuée: le chef, aidé de quelques hommes, parmi lesquels doit figurer l'époux, si c'est une femme mariée, le père, si c'est une jeune fille, ligote

fortement la coupable; puis, avec le couteau *(mfor)*, on lui trace de longues et profondes entailles sur la poitrine et sur le dos; on introduit ensuite dans la plaie béante de la poudre de piment recouverte de bois rouge, ce qui cause de terribles souffrances, et pendant un certain temps, on entretient la plaie ouverte au moyen de petites éclisses de bois d'*ésŭn* [1]. La plaie suppure et ne se referme que lentement: comme la femme doit continuer de se livrer à ses occupations habituelles, le soleil et les mouches causent de cruelles douleurs. La plaie se cicatrice en bourrelets indélébiles, qui témoignent publiquement du châtiment et de la faute [2].

Les hommes se sont donc tous réunis à l'extrémité du village, en dehors des cases. Tous, sabre en main, sous la direction du chef, commencent par couper tous les arbustes, enlever les herbes et nettoyer soigneusement le sol, où la terre doit apparaître nette de toute végétation et de toute plante. Dès que ce premier travail est terminé, on entoure ce même espace, généralement de forme elliptique, de branchages et de roseaux afin d'en intercepter complètement la vue à tout profane. Comme cette barrière doit plus tard être consumée, elle est généralement faite avec les tiges légères d'une sorte d'amome [3], fortement serrées les unes contre les autres, et liées avec des lanières fournies par les tiges de bananier. Les

[1] *Hua gabonensis.* L'*ésŭn* exhale une forte odeur alliacée.

[2] On désigne cette épreuve sous le nom de *ètsile*, graver: *Emunga ñi é ne ntsilia*, cette femme est stigmatisée. C'est également la peine des femmes adultères à la première faute.

[3] L'amome comprend trois espèces distinctes. C'est une espèce de grand roseau de la famille des Zingibéracées. A la base de la plante, se développe en épi une masse de fleurs blanches qui passent, suivant les espèces, au rose et au bleu, et dont l'aspect rappelle les fleurs de glaïeul. De ces fleurs naît un fruit oblong, gros comme une prune et recouvert d'une épaisse peau rouge. La pulpe, blanche et acide, est très agréable au goût et rafraîchissante dans deux espèces, l'amome Granum Paradisi et l'amome Meleguetta. Les graines de ces deux espèces renferment un principe âcre (paradol) et une essence. Les Noirs s'en servent comme condiment après les avoir écrasées. C'était autrefois, avant l'introduction du poivre en Europe, l'objet d'un commerce important. Ce poivre, connu sous le nom de poivre de Malaguette, a donné son nom à une partie des côtes de Guinée (Côte de Malaguette). Il entre dans la composition de plusieurs fétiches, et les graines en sont offertes souvent aux mânes. La troisième espèce, encore mal déterminée, donne des fruits douceâtres et non comestibles. C'est cette espèce qui est consacrée à l'éléphant.

interstices sont soigneusement fermés avec les feuilles d'un carludovica[1]. On n'emploie pas pour cet usage l'amome dont le fruit est comestible, mais un autre, très semblable d'aspect, dont les fleurs sont d'un bleu plus intense, et les fruits d'un goût insipide. Cet amome est consacré de façon spéciale à l'éléphant et porte le nom d'*alâñ nzoɔ̀*. On emploie cet amome de préférence à toute autre tige, car elle doit disparaître ensuite par le feu. Or, les tiges d'amome, remplies d'une espèce de résine qui s'attache fortement aux doigts, brûlent rapidement, une fois sèches, avec une flamme claire et brillante, mais qui ne dure que quelques instants. C'est dans quelques tribus, le seul luminaire connu.

L'espace ainsi renfermé dans la barrière d'amomes peut égaler deux cents mètres environ de pourtour, souvent un peu davantage, mais jamais beaucoup plus.

On ne laisse qu'une étroite entrée, surmontée d'une sorte de draperie en longues lanières de feuilles de bananier qui tombe jusqu'à terre et voile complètement le passage; pour pénétrer à l'intérieur, on doit l'écarter et elle retombe naturellement. Il est interdit à tout autre qu'aux guerriers d'y toucher. Dans un des angles, on édifie une petite case avec les mêmes éléments qui ont servi à construire l'enceinte, tiges d'amome et couverture en feuilles de carludovica. Dans les contrées où cette plante est moins abondante, on la remplace par les feuilles d'une sorte de borassus, repliées les unes sur les autres et imbriquées.

Cette première opération terminée, le chef va prendre dans sa case la boîte du *biéri* où sont renfermés l'*akamayôñ*, c'est-à-dire l'ensemble des objets qui se rapportent au totem, et les crânes des ancêtres. Sans les sortir de leur boîte, il les dépose dans la petite case préparée dans un des angles; la boîte du *biéri* est surmontée d'une statue de bois noir, représentation du fétiche

[1] Le *Carludovica*, très voisin du Pandanus, est une plante à port de palmier, de la famille des Cyclanthacées. Une espèce voisine, le *Carludovica palmata*, fournit la paille très fine qui sert à fabriquer les chapeaux de Panama. C'est cette feuille que les Fâñ emploient pour recouvrir les toits des cases de fétiche. Elles ont, disent-ils, la propriété d'éloigner les revenants, grâce aux petites épines dont elles sont munies. Tout objet piquant éloigne les *bêkun* ou esprits errants.

inclus, ou symbole de la tribu. Cette statue porte entre ses mains une sorte de coupe grossière qu'elle semble offrir. Et telle est bien en effet l'idée de tout sacrifice: une part est mise dans cette coupe, la statue représente la famille ou le clan faisant l'offrande aux mânes des ancêtres. Le chef prend ensuite une poule, lui coupe le cou et parcourt l'enceinte, suivi de tous ses hommes, en aspergeant le sol de sang sur tout son parcours; il chante en même temps un chant magique destiné à éloigner les esprits malfaisants.

Voici les premières paroles de ce chant:

Avec tous mes hommes, j'ai construit cette enceinte,
Avec tous mes hommes, je l'ai placée loin des regards,
Avec tous mes hommes, nous avons préparé le sol.

Que les esprits mauvais s'éloignent,
Que nul esprit malfaisant n'ose entrer,
Que les *béyèm* (sorciers) restent au dehors.

Avec mes hommes, j'offre cette poule dont le sang coule etc.

Il rentre alors dans la case où est la statue, et fend la poule par le milieu avec un petit couteau renfermé dans une gaîne spéciale. Ce couteau sert aux sacrifices et aussi aux autopsies humaines. Il examine les entrailles, la position et l'aspect du cœur et surtout de la vésicule du fiel, et d'après leur position, prononce si le sacrifice a été accepté, et si l'endroit choisi est bon. Dans le cas où le sacrifice indiquerait que l'endroit est néfaste, on brûlerait immédiatement l'enceinte de façon à enlever toute trace de sang, puis, la nuit venue, le chef transporterait de nouveau son *biéri* dans sa case, et on recommencerait une autre enceinte à l'extrémité opposée du village, en prenant soin d'observer toutes les cérémonies rituelles, et après expiation préalable du chef. Cette expiation serait nécessaire, car le chef ayant seul agi jusqu'ici, à lui doit être imputé l'insuccès qui résulterait d'un *nsèm* ou souillure morale contractée par quelque faute, soit contre le totem, soit contre les ancêtres. Dans certains cas, le féticheur est alors appelé pour offrir un sacrifice au nom de tous.

Mais si la première cérémonie a été heureusement conduite, on pourra continuer sans crainte. Le chef prend alors du sang de

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

la poule et en barbouille la statue du *biéri* (c'est une manière de l'offrir aux ancêtres), puis se retire en emportant la poule. Il n'est nullement nécessaire que celle-ci soit jetée dans la forêt ou brûlée; elle n'a plus aucune valeur, tout au moins au point de vue religieux, sa chair ne représente aucune idée hiératique et n'a contracté aucune importance rituelle par le fait du sacrifice; le chef s'en nourrira le soir même sans aucun scrupule: il ne faut rien laisser perdre.

Le lendemain, les guerriers, toujours conduits par le chef, reviennent de nouveau à l'enceinte désormais consacrée, la foulent bien en frappant du pied, et en marchant en tous sens. Ils quittent alors l'enceinte, et vont, le plus près possible, l'endroit n'a aucune importance, dans un endroit où ils trouveront de l'argile en abondance. On creuse une fosse, et les femmes sont ensuite convoquées; à elles de transporter toute l'argile retirée du trou et de l'apporter dans leurs paniers à côté de l'enceinte. Les guerriers surveillent cette opération. Les femmes apportent la quantité d'argile jugée suffisante par le chef, puis l'eau également nécessaire pour bien la pétrir et en faire une masse compacte et facile à travailler. Les hommes font passer l'argile de l'autre côté de l'enceinte. Dans les petites tribus où le culte est moins strict, et quand surtout les guerriers, moins nombreux, veulent s'éviter de la peine, ce travail est accompli par les femmes; mais, dans ce cas, comme le terrain serait souillé sous leurs pieds, lorsque toute la terre est transportée, le sacrifice de la poule est seulement alors consommé.

L'argile une fois transportée dans l'enceinte, on la recouvre de feuilles fraîches de bananiers, afin d'éviter sa dessication trop rapide. Il s'agit alors de se procurer un prisonnier. Dans certaines tribus qui ne sont entourées que de clans alliés, ce n'est pas toujours facile. De plus, ce prisonnier ne doit pas appartenir à la nation fàn, et les guerriers sont parfois obligés d'aller assez loin pour se le procurer. Ceux qui habitent non loin des frontières de la tribu se le procurent facilement, soit par achat, soit par vol. L'achat est facile du côté de l'ouest où chez les Bondjo, Batéké, Batélé et autres, on trouve presque dans chaque village des marchés de chair humaine, des esclaves mis en vente, morts ou vivants. Facile également l'achat vers le sud, soit au pays Aduma,

Shéké, et surtout Eshira, grand producteur et exportateur d'esclaves. Facile, encore, vers l'est, où, par vol, cette fois, et non plus par achat, le Fâñ a vite fait de se procurer quelque Bulu ou quelque membre des faibles tribus de la Côte. Près des centres et sur le bord de l'Ogowé, il est plus difficile. de se procurer la victime. Aussi, dans ce cas, on remplace l'homme par un cabri. Un jour que je reprochais à un chef fâñ de la Tsini, aux environs de Libreville, cette horrible coutume de verser en ces circonstances le sang humain:

«— Oh! me répondit-il, ce sont les «sauvages» de l'intérieur qui agissent ainsi. Nous autres qui donnons nos fils aux Blancs, nous ne le faisons pas, et c'est toujours un cabri qui est employé. Mais ajoutait-il plus doucement, en regardant ses hommes et avec un soupir de regret, ce n'est plus la même chose!»

Et je n'étais pas très-convaincu!

b) Un «étranger» est nécessaire comme victime.

On s'est donc procuré l'esclave[1] ou l'étranger destiné au sacrifice. Cette loi de se procurer un étranger à la tribu est nécessaire. Comme il s'agit en somme d'un sacrifice à un totem national, protecteur par conséquent de chacun des membres de la tribu, lui offrir le sang d'un membre de la tribu ne pourrait, au contraire, que l'irriter: pareil sacrifice peut, il est vrai, être fait, et l'est effectivement dans certaines circonstances graves, mais alors ce n'est plus l'offrande, mais le sacrifice proprement dit. Ce cas arrive, par exemple, si la tribu est en grand danger; le chef, d'accord avec les guerriers de la tribu, sacrifie alors le plus âgé de ses frères. Naturellement, si celui-ci a vent de la chose, il préfère s'enfuir au plus vite.

Chez tous les peuples, on rencontre pareille coutume: telles les femmes carthaginoises offrant leurs enfants au Moloch, tels les

[1] Quand nous disons «l'esclave» c'est toujours un homme étranger à la race: les Fâñ ne se laissent pas réduire en esclavage, ils se tueraient plutôt, et ils n'admettent pas non plus d'esclaves étrangers chez eux, ce que font toutes les tribus voisines: «*Ayôñ afâñ é ne ngâña, ba ñèÿe tobe nsisi ké ñèÿe wuż élzü nsaÿa*, la nation fâñ est une nation brave qui veut demeurer libre et n'aime pas entendre le mot esclave.» Ce sentiment fait réellement plaisir dans cette Afrique où il semble que l'esclavage soit inné!

chefs romains, aux temps héroïques de leur histoire, s'immolant eux-mêmes sur l'autel des dieux de la patrie.

Le prisonnier est gardé à vue, les pieds entravés par une énorme pièce de bois, près de la petite case du fétiche, dans l'enceinte consacrée.

Lorsqu'il s'agit seulement de se procurer une chasse heureuse, il faut noter cependant qu'on n'immole jamais qu'un cabri, à moins que, par suite de leur abondance, les captifs ne soient moins précieux que l'animal.

c) L'offrande du sang.

Au jour déclaré propice par les conjurations — et le soin de choisir ce jour revient au féticheur, car c'est là un fait de son domaine religieux particulier —, les guerriers se réunissent de nouveau dans l'enceinte consacrée, où ils entrent, l'un derrière l'autre, avec leurs armes. Le chef pénètre le dernier. On va droit à la case du fétiche: le prisonnier est désentravé et conduit au milieu de l'enceinte; là, est planté un fort piquet, mais dont la taille ne dépasse pas celle du captif. On l'attache à ce piquet par les pieds, les mains et le milieu du corps, de façon à ce que tout mouvement lui soit impossible. D'ailleurs, il est rare qu'il oppose de la résistance: on a pris soin de lui faire boire la veille, de gré ou de force, une décoction de fleurs de *yam* [1] et de sève d'*élun* [2]; elle amène une sorte d'ivresse suivie de prostration complète. Dès que le captif est attaché, le chef, ou à sa place un des principaux guerriers, et plutôt, de préférence à tout autre, son frère ou son fils aîné,

[1] Le *yam* est une sorte de chanvre. Les fleurs sont disposées en cymes courtes à l'aisselle de bractées foliacées. Ce sont en réalité ces bractées qui donnent le poison. Elles sont couvertes de poils sécréteurs qui fournissent un produit semblable au haschich oriental. Ce produit composé d'une résine, la Haschichine et d'une essence, la Cannabène, est un excitant du système nerveux: il produit une sorte d'ivresse, mais que suit une dépression profonde de l'organisme (BEILLE). C'est pour cette raison, bien remarquée des Fâñ, qu'on fait boire le poison à la victime la veille au soir.

[2] *Elun Erythrophlæum sp.* Afz., des Légumineuses. On a signalé un alcaloïde dans l'écorce, l'Erythrophlæine. C'est un des poisons d'épreuve le plus dangereux. Il agit sur le cœur par arrêt, et donne des convulsions tétaniques. On le mélange au *yam* à très petite dose, et en employant seulement la sève.

commence autour de la victime une danse sacrée, nommée: *Adzèm Nzoẋ békun,* sur un rythme lent et solennel scandé par les coups du tamtam de guerre. Dès que cette danse a pris fin, le chef s'approche de la victime, et avec la pointe du couteau des sacrifices lui pique, en les tranchant, les artères carotides. Le sang ne jaillit pas violemment, car l'*élun,* qui agit fortement sur le cœur, en a ralenti considérablement le cours, et c'est peut-être pour cette simple raison qu'on en fait boire à la victime. Le sang est aussitôt recueilli avec soin dans un vase de terre et mélangé au suc du *ka* [1], sorte d'Euphorbiacée en arbre, nommée aussi *biloẋ bikèle* ou plante des circoncis. On le met alors en réserve. Le corps de la victime est ensuite désossé, les chairs mises à part, et les os, soigneusement replacés, étendus à terre dans leur ordre naturel, mais à une assez grande distance les uns des autres. Sur les os ainsi disposés, le chef fait jeter l'argile mise à part précédemment; on l'amoncelle en tas énorme, de façon à simuler grossièrement un énorme éléphant. On le représente couché à terre, de manière à ce que sa tête recouvre la tête de la victime, le corps sur les os de la poitrine, et les jambes repliées sur les mains et les pieds. Dès qu'il a pris une certaine apparence de la bête, le chef va à la case du fétiche, ouvre seul la boîte du *biéri,* prend un fragment du totem et vient l'introduire dans la tête de l'éléphant d'argile, en chantant:

Ma kum we nlô, étotore	Je te façonne la tête, ô protecteur,
Nzoẋ békun wôñ esoğele	Eléphant des ancêtres *wôñ* (pour) *esoğele !*
Béngan oyo ke kure	(Les sorciers sommeil sans se sauver)
N'étar dzôm amare	Pour faire le paquet (que l'on mange) de la crainte.

Ces paroles, très anciennes, ne sont plus comprises aujourd'hui des Fân, qui répondent simplement: On disait ainsi autrefois.

Le chef retourne ensuite à la case du *biéri,* prend les crânes de deux ou trois de ses ancêtres, gratte avec le couteau quelques parcelles de la poudre de bois rouge ou du sang qui les couvre. referme la boîte, et vient mettre cette poudre ainsi obtenue, d'abord sur la tête du *Nzoẋ békun,* puis dans l'intérieur. Il a soin également

[1] *Dichostemma glaucescens,* des Euphorbiacées.

d'y ajouter une partie de sa propre substance[1]. On recouvre de terre l'endroit où gîtent ainsi les fragments de l'*étotore* et des ancêtres, puis on façonne mieux l'animal de façon à l'amener au point de perfection voulue.

Quelques-uns des hommes ont, pendant ce temps-là, fait cuire sur la cendre les restes de la victime par petits paquets enfermés dans des feuilles de banane. Tous en reçoivent une portion et la mangent assis en rond tout autour de l'éléphant. Le chef prend alors le sang, en met une partie à part dans un vase, puis, avec le reste, asperge l'animal, en commençant par la tête, et en tournant tout autour. On observe avec soin comment et où tombent les gouttes, la forme qu'elles prennent à terre, et on en tire des pronostics pour la guerre et son heureuse issue.

Dès que ce rite est terminé, le chef prend le sang renfermé dans le vase mis à part, et marque tous ses hommes à la poitrine. Ainsi le *Nzoẋ békun* reconnaîtra les siens et les mettra à l'abri du danger. Chacun garde de plus un petit morceau des os de la victime, calcinés et réduits en cendres, et les renferme soigneusement dans un petit sachet de linge qu'il conservera toujours sur lui.

d) La bénédiction des armes.

Les guerrierrs prennent ensuite leurs sagaies et les lancent avec force sur l'animal: c'est une «bénédiction» des armes qui ne sauraient manquer ainsi de causer de mortelles blessures. C'est aussi un présage, d'après la façon dont les sagaies atteignent l'animal et s'enfoncent dans sa chair d'argile. Quand les sagaies sont épuisées, on enfonce également de longs éclats de bambou qui simulent les lances et rendent le même service. Un guerrier est alors constitué gardien du *Nzoẋ békun*: les autres partent, soit à la chasse, soit en guerre.

e) La destruction du *Nzoẋ*.

Au retour seulement, le *Nzoẋ békun* sera détruit, ce qui donne lieu à une nouvelle cérémonie. Devant tous ses guerriers, le chef enlève d'abord soigneusement les fragments de l'*étotore* et

[1] Fragments d'ongles, de cheveux, de sang, ou mieux encore de semen virile.

les replace dans l'*akamayôñ*, puis ceux des ancêtres qu'il enferme dans un sachet; ils serviront en d'autres circonstances pareilles. Ceci fait, on prend un cabri, on lui coupe le cou, et on asperge encore de sang le *Nzoẋ békun*; la chair, mise à part, sera mangée sans aucune cérémonie et comme tout mets ordinaire. Souvent même, pour épargner ses cabris, marchandise précieuse, le chef va à la chasse et s'efforce de tuer une antilope, un sanglier ou même un singe. Le sang sert alors de la même manière, mais dans tous ces cas, la chair, quelque soit l'animal, est absolument interdite aux femmes et aux enfants, et même aux étrangers. Après cette cérémonie, on ouvre le *Nzoẋ békun* pour retirer les os de la victime et on les dispose à part dans une marmite de terre où on les calcine séance tenante, après les avoir d'abord bien desséchés sur les charbons: chaque guerrier reçoit sa part des cendres. L'argile qui constituait le corps est alors dispersée à terre, de façon à ne plus offrir aucune forme (souvent même, et surtout dans les petits villages, cette dernière cérémonie est omise, et on laisse le *Nzoẋ békun* s'effondrer peu à peu), on met le feu aux clôtures et les femmes viennent enlever la terre.

La cérémonie est terminée.

Les Fâñ sont tous unanimes sur la signification de ce rite: honorer le protecteur de la tribu, à la manière des anciens, par le sacrifice à son image figurée. Il y a donc bien là, nous semble-t-il, tout en y reconnaissant également une manifestation mânique, survivance du culte totémique de l'éléphant.

3° Le *Nzoẋ ba kuïja*.

Le *Nzoẋ ba kuÿa*[1] est un fétiche d'un genre analogue au *Nzoẋ békun*, mais beaucoup plus redouté. On le retrouve beaucoup plutôt dans les tribus du rameau méké, et également, pour quelques cas, dans les clans qui ont subi son influence, tels certains clans

[1] Ainsi, un serpent aquatique monstrueux a été l'objet de l'adoration des Mandé primitifs. Le grand géographe arabe du XIe siècle, El Edrizi, rapporte qu'au temps où les tribus nigritiennes étaient païennes, Dieu leur apparaissait sous la forme d'un serpent aquatique et qu'ils l'adoraient. Mais un étranger tua ce serpent et devint leur roi. De même, la plupart des peuples lybiens ont des dieux aquatiques.

du rameau bétsi, noyés dans les tribus méké: l'opposé est également vrai.

Le *Nzoẋ ba kuÿa* est, on pourrait le dire, la contre-partie du *Nzoẋ békun,* et demeure une survivance du culte totémique du crocodile. C'est, à proprement parler, le grand fétiche de guerre. En parlant précédemment d'*Ombure,* nous avons indiqué que son culte était demeuré vivace encore, non seulement dans son clan éponyme, mais encore, comme culte national, dans certaines circonstances données intéressant la nation entière. Tel est le *Nzoẋ ba kuÿa.*

Un «chanteur» bien au courant des mœurs de sa nation, attribuait un jour devant moi les formes essentielles de ce rite à Ngurangurane, le héros national. Qu'elles se soient transmises à travers les âges, le fait est parfaitement possible: c'est tout ce qu'il nous est possible d'affirmer aujourd'hui. La meilleure preuve serait encore celle-ci, c'est que, dans un peuple, difficilement disparaissent les traces des anciens cultes, et notre religion catholique garde ainsi encore certaines coutumes provenant des rites ancestraux. Les mots, très-archaïques, employés dans le *Nzoẋ ba kuÿa* sont également une preuve indéniable de sa haute antiquité [1].

Quelle est tout d'abord l'étymologie de ce nom? Si, comme on peut l'admettre, il signifie: «On met en fuite l'éléphant», elle serait curieuse et demeurerait une trace de l'ancien antagonisme entre les deux mythes. Toutefois, nous la signalons sans en garantir la certitude, l'étymologie pouvant bien causer quelques erreurs. Quoiqu'il en soit, voici en quoi consiste le *Nzoẋ ba kuÿa.*

A une grande distance des habitations, au plus profond de la forêt, on réserve un bosquet sacré où il est absolument interdit à tout non-initié de pénétrer [2]. Ce bosquet porte le nom d'*éli béngan,* ou bois des féticheurs, car les *béngan* ou féticheurs y accomplissent également d'autres cérémonies cultuelles secrètes. Il

[1] Voir le chant cité page 238.

[2] Ce n'est pas cependant un fétiche de société secrète, car les guerriers font partie de droit de cette société dès qu'ils ont subi la première initiation à la vie des guerriers, et dont les marques consistent en incisions sur le cou, nommées *bawu.*

y a pour les femmes qui se permettraient d'y entrer peine de mort portée, et le chef des féticheurs aurait, en cas de besoin, grand soin d'assurer l'exécution de la sentence, mais en veillant toutefois à ce que cette mort parût inopinée. De cette façon, outre que l'odieux n'en retombe pas sur lui, on peut l'attribuer au fétiche lui-même, jaloux de confirmer ses droits et prérogatives.

Au jour dit, les guerriers se réunissent au lieu indiqué, et avec les mêmes cérémonies, ou du moins presque identiques à celles que nous avons retracées pour le *Nzoẋ békun,* on édifie avec de l'argile, non plus un éléphant, mais un énorme crocodile. De même, on immole en son honneur une victime humaine, mais au lieu d'être consommée séance tenante, et d'avoir ses os enfermés sous la masse d'argile, la victime doit être jetée au fleuve; les crocodiles, frères éponymes de la statue, et protecteurs de la tribu, ou plutôt des tribus, se chargent de consommer eux-mêmes la victime.

Il y a donc bien là sacrifice totémique, d'autant que dans ce cas, ce n'est pas une tribu qui accomplit ce rite, mais bien plusieurs tribus, et pour cause de guerre générale, donc d'utilité publique. On ne saurait donc alors s'adresser à un totem tribal: les autres se trouveraient lésés, à moins de leur attribuer un rôle égal. C'est d'ailleurs ce qui a lieu en pratique, car chaque tribu apporte son totem, et tous les *akamayôn* sont tout d'abord déposés autour de la statue, semblant lui rendre ainsi un hommage de respect et de soumission, comme au temps où, simples totems de phratrie, ils devaient s'incliner devant le totem de clan.

La victime est donc immolée. Quelle est cette victime? Ce sera souvent un prisonnier de guerre; mais parfois, surtout dans les circonstances graves, le chef devra fléchir plus efficacement le protecteur en lui immolant ce qu'il a de plus cher, un de ses enfants; le sacrifice sera d'autant plus cruel pour lui que, d'une façon générale, le Fân aime beaucoup ses enfants, et que jamais, chez lui, on ne verrait, comme chez ses voisins, les Eshira, une mère vendre son enfant pour un sac de sel ou quelques verroteries.

On envoie donc l'âme du petit être rejoindre aux pays lointains les âmes des ancêtres, leur rappeler l'ancienne alliance mystique avec l'animal éponyme, leur redire combien leurs descendants ont

besoin de leur secours. Pour mieux le signifier, leur sang innocent a coulé de toutes parts sur la hideuse statue, cependant que les guerriers, dansant et chantant tout autour, étouffent sous leurs hurlements forcenés les gémissements des victimes qui s'en vont vers l'Hadès, pâles ulves du fleuve des ombres, où il semble qu'on les voit et qu'on les entend avec le poëte:

> Continuo auditæ voces, vagitus et ingens
> Infantumque animæ flentes in limine primo:
> Quos dulcis vitæ exsortes et ab ubere raptos
> Abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo [1].

Pauvres petits qui s'en vont, victimes d'une religion barbare à l'heure où le Christianisme s'avance chez eux avec ses immortelles espérances!

Pendant quatorze jours, c'est-à-dire une demi-lunaison, les guerriers se réunissent et exécutent autour du crocodile sacré des danses et des chants qui doivent le rendre favorable à la tribu. De tous ces chants, très variés, et dont l'inspiration est diverse, nous n'en citerons qu'un seul qui nous semble d'ailleurs en résumer l'esprit. Il exalte la défaite de l'éléphant qui s'est refusé à protéger les siens, et le triomphe du crocodile.

Le Chant du Crocodile.

Nzoż é sélléa añim.	L'éléphant a glissé, a glissé avec un refus.
Eli zi é vire:	Cet arbre penche [2]:
Bélege zo é gô,	Relèvez le en haut,
A ngen é vire va,	Il penche encore ici,
Tsinege zo méyal,	Poussez le à gauche,
A ngen vire va,	Il penche encore là,
Tsinege zo meyôm,	Poussez le à droite.
Ki zi zâ ntobe mmmne.	Que ta force ne demeure point silencieuse (inerte)
Nzila wi zilega wi.	Tournons ici, tournons à reculons.
Afon di é ne alèt.	Cette terre est dure (ne produit rien pour nous).
Mrame bésu, ké dhuge mélo,	Protecteur de nos pères, ne ferme pas tes oreilles.
Ebobôñe mrame.	Sois le protecteur de tes enfants.

[1] Enéide de Virgile.

[2] C'est-à-dire notre nation est menacée.

Nzila wi, zilepa wi,	Tournons ici et tournons là,
Nbos o mans lambo	Le piège est fini d'apprêter.
Bia kóme we bidzi,	Nous t'avons préparé des aliments,
Eourega é tsinée.	La pierre du foyer est repoussée.
Ké yane volege, Ngan Eza,	Ne fais pas attendre ton secours, ô père crocodile,
Ma yi tobe é usaz oõã.	Je veux rester au bord du rivage.
Bõãabur bètol ba kindbe.	Nos ancêtres ont eu la victoire.
Mélan me sojia ashé bépina.	Les fêtes d'initiation ont eu lieu pour les successeurs (?) [1].

Pendant tout le temps que durent les danses, dix hommes armés veillent constamment sur le fétiche dont la destruction serait considérée comme une menace des plus grands malheurs. Aussi, à la moindre alerte, le tamtam de guerre retentit; les guerriers accourent, et certainement mauvais parti serait fait à l'étranger qui se hasarderait en ces occasions près de l'*éli béngan,* surtout s'il y venait accompagné de forces armées, indubitable indice de fort perfides desseins. Egalement, si les éléments menacent, orage, tonnerre, pluie diluvienne qui arrive parfois et qui tombe des journées entières avec une violence que ne peuvent admettre ceux qui n'en ont pas été témoins, on met tout en œuvre encore pour éviter un désastre et conjurer un danger gros de malheurs certains.

Au bout des quatorze jours, on rappelle les gardes et après les conjurations et sacrifices nécessaires, les hommes vont au combat, sûrs de vaincre. La guerre une fois terminée, les combattants se réunissent de nouveau autour du crocodile, s'ils ont remporté la victoire. Ils exécutent encore de longues danses accompagnées de chants, puis tous les prisonniers qu'on a pu se procurer sont massacrés sans qu'il soit permis d'en épargner un seul. On les fait cuire dans de grandes marmites, mais hors de la présence des femmes et des enfants qui sont absolument exclus de ce festin, et on les dévore séance tenante en demeurant assis en

[1] Ce vers est très obscur: le mot *mélan* désigne les fêtes d'initiation auxquelles sont soumis les jeunes guerriers, et où on mange l'écorce narcotique de l'*alan,* sorte de strychnos. Les femmes stériles sont également vouées à cette épreuve destinée à montrer ce qui dans leur corps peut causer la stérilité, et par là même à y remédier.

rond autour du fétiche. Il ne doit en rester aucun morceau, et il est strictement interdit d'en emporter aucune portion au village: ce serait assurément attirer sur ce dernier les plus grands malheurs. Ce festin porte le nom d'*adzi bur,* manducation des hommes.

Pour être complet, ajoutons un point qui montre jusqu'à quel point cette loi est stricte: pendant les neuf jours qui suivront le festin, il est défendu sous les peines les plus sévères d'aller dans la forêt pour satisfaire aux besoins les plus urgents: tout doit aller à la rivière, et être ainsi emporté au loin; c'est afin d'éviter la vengeance des mânes des hommes mangés.

4° L'*Edzû bitotore.*

L'*Edzû bitotore* est également une survivance du culte totémique à laquelle cependant il est impossible d'assigner une origine. Malgré son importance, nous ne nous y arrêterons pas longuement.

Voici en quoi elle consiste.

Le mot *Edzû bitotore* signifie: le nom des ancêtres protecteurs. Lorsque dans un village, on voit que pour une raison inconnue, la mortalité infantile croît dans d'inquiétantes protections, qu'une épidémie meurtrière les décime ou encore que les femmes n'ont plus d'enfants, le chef, car c'est toujours à lui que ce rôle revient, procède à l'*Edzû bitotore,* c'est-à-dire au changement de nom des enfants. On attribue en effet le malheur qui arrive à la tribu à une faute totémique, à quelque manque de respect envers les aïeux, et il importe d'y remédier au plus tôt.

On réunit donc au milieu du village tous les petits enfants qui ne portent pas un nom d'animal protecteur d'une famille du clan. Ils sont placés sur une feuille de bananier et dépouillés de tous leurs vêtements. On semble ainsi vouloir les faire rompre avec leur passé et leur imposer une individualité nouvelle. Ils sont lavés d'une eau lustrale dans laquelle on a fait bouillir certaines herbes, puis on apporte près de chacun d'eux successivement l'*akamayôñ* du chef, et le totem particulier du chef de famille, de façon à les faire entrer pour ainsi dire de nouveau sous la protection des ancêtres du clan, et de les relier à la fois à l'ancêtre réel et à l'ancêtre éponyme du clan. Après cette première opération,

a lieu l'imposition du vocable nouveau sous lequel ils seront désormais désignés. Il est interdit à tous, et plus particulièrement à l'enfant, de jamais prononcer plus tard son ancien nom: ce serait indubitablement attirer sur lui les plus grands malheurs, les désirer même à moins qu'un sacrifice immédiat au *mvamayôñ* ne vienne conjurer le danger.

Nous apprîmes cette dernière condition par notre expérience personnelle. Dans un petit village, situé sur une rivière affluent de l'estuaire de la Mondah, aux pieds des monts Laval, nous avions baptisé, un jour que nous passions par là, un petit enfant en danger de mort; comme il arrive toujours en ces cas, nous avions soigneusement relevé sur notre carnet de baptême son nom indigène, celui de son village et de ses père et mère. A un an de là, nous repassions par le même village, et nous attendant bien à une triste réponse: «Où est le jeune Amôñe?»[1] disions-nous, en nous adressant au père et à la mère de l'enfant. Personne ne répond: on se regarde interdit; la mère, tout à l'heure si accueillante, prend la fuite vers sa case et le père me dit d'un air furieux: «Amôñe est mort.» Je m'explique alors la fuite de la mère et l'attribue au chagrin. Mais, rentré dans une case, voici bien une autre histoire. Le chef vient me trouver et me réclame une poule.

«Mais, mon ami, pourquoi une poule? Je viens dans ton village; il me semble que c'est à toi de m'apporter le premier un cadeau!

— Oh! cela, je le ferai; attends seulement un peu; mais si je te réclame une poule, c'est à cause de l'*Edzû bitotore*.»

Et comme je le regardais, étonné:

«Comment, tu ne connais pas l'*Edzû bitotore*!» Et il m'expliqua alors la cérémonie dont nous venons de parler. —

Après que le changement de nom est opéré, le chef amène un cabri au milieu des cases et l'immole solennellement en offrande au protecteur du village; puis, après avoir mis un peu de sang sur chaque enfant, il ouvre le corps de l'animal et met le cœur en réserve. Le cabri est partagé entre les familles de chaque enfant, et, en retour, chaque mère doit une poule au chef. Le cœur, mis à part, est brûlé en offrande aux esprits protecteurs de la race et

[1] Nom significatif: l'amôñe est une sorte de patate amère.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

du village. Quand il est réduit en cendres, on partage ces restes du sacrifice en autant de portions qu'il y a d'enfants, et on les leur suspend au cou dans un petit sachet d'étoffe.

Si la mortalité continue, le village doit être évacué: c'est le seul moyen d'éviter les esprits malfaisants acharnés à la perte de la race. Le village, transporté dans un autre endroit, échappera à leur influence, surtout si le chef a soin de mettre plusieurs ruisseaux ou rivières entre son ancien village et le nouveau. Les esprits des eaux ne laissent point passer les âmes errantes.

Les filles sont évidemment exemptes de cette cérémonie, puisqu'elles ne peuvent porter de nom totémique.

d) Les mutilations, tatouages et signes ethniques.

1° Mutilations.

Les mutilations corporelles ont été signalées par la plupart des auteurs comme survivances totémiques. Mais il importe, tout d'abord, en parlant de ces mutilations, d'en soigneusement déterminer le motif.

Il y a lieu d'écarter:

a) les mutilations cultuelles,

b) les mutilations particulières que nous proposerions d'appeler «plastiques»,

c) les mutilations de châtiment.

a) Mutilations cultuelles.

Bien que «religieuses», un certain nombre de mutilations ne sauraient évidemment être rangées comme totémiques. Ainsi, il arrive fréquemment que pour obtenir un résultat quelconque, les Fàñ sacrifient aux mânes des ancêtres une portion de leur individu, sorte de messager vivant qu'ils enverront ainsi aux esprits des premiers de la race. Pour obtenir un fils, par exemple, après la naissance successive de plusieurs filles, le Fàñ se fera faire par le féticheur de profondes incisions sur le corps, particulièrement sur les bras. De même, en certains cas d'impuissance, aura-t-il également recours à une mutilation volontaire. Mais nous n'insisterons ici sur aucun de ces points qui nous semblent se

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

rattacher au culte des ancêtres, beaucoup plus qu'au culte totémique. Nous en parlerons encore dans le chapitre suivant en traitant de la circoncision.

b) Mutilations plastiques.

Nous entendons par ce mot les mutilations accomplies dans un but de beauté corporelle, réelle ou cherchée. Ainsi les déformations de lèvres, d'oreilles, de nez etc. Dans cette catégorie, rentrent les tatouages exécutés dans un simple but d'ornementation.

Rien dans cette sorte de mutilations ne nous paraît totémique, sauf peut-être, dans certains cas, la perforation de la cloison médiale du nez, permettant d'y introduire certains objets, par exemple, le cas est fréquent, des poils ou des épines de porc épic.

C'est afin de ressembler davantage à l'animal éponyme, d'imiter les moustaches raides de la panthère etc. Mais, presque toujours, dans ce cas, de même que dans celui des masques de guerre, l'idée religieuse se confond avec l'idée d'ornementation. Il s'agit d'abord d'«effrayer» l'adversaire.

c) Mutilations de châtiment.

Les mutilations de châtiment, pour fréquentes qu'elles soient, ne sauraient rentrer à aucun titre dans ce chapitre. Telles, par exemple, pour les femmes adultères, l'ablation des oreilles ou du nez etc. Nous ne nous en préoccuperons donc pas ici.

2° Mutilations ethniques; mutilations proprement dites et tatouages.

Nous rangeons également les mutilations ethniques au nombre des survivances totémiques. Ces mutilations peuvent se ranger sous deux formes distinctes: les mutilations proprement dites et les tatouages.

Les mutilations proprement dites sont de deux sortes 1° la circoncision, 2° la mutilation des dents.

Nous parlerons plus loin de la circoncision.

La mutilation des dents nous paraît également un reste totémique. Tout d'abord, il convient de remarquer que les dents ne sont pas limées en pointe comme on l'a dit souvent: les dents

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

ne sont nullement «limées»: c'est au couteau qu'on les façonne ainsi en pointe; l'opération est d'ailleurs peu douloureuse; le patient étant couché à terre, le féticheur s'approche de lui, place son couteau de façon à ce qu'il porte de biais sur la dent à couper, et d'un coup sec, frappé avec un morceau de bois dur, fait sauter l'angle de la dent.

Il convient de remarquer, à l'appui de notre thèse d'ailleurs, que le féticheur, seul, a le droit de procéder à l'opération des dents. Un camarade ou un ami du patient ne saurait lui rendre ce service: l'opération est donc bien d'ordre religieux. De plus, les débris de dents sont soigneusement conservés et remis à l'opéré qui s'en sert dans certains «fétiches». Mais rien de totémique dans ce dernier point: pareil usage existe pour toutes les parties ou fragments ayant appartenu au corps à un titre quelconque, sang, cheveux, dents, ongles etc. Aussi prend-on toujours un soin tout particulier de les cacher loin de tout regard. Le sang menstruel, par exemple, est toujours dissimulé avec un soin extrême, et jamais une femme n'oserait l'exposer à être vu: ce serait à la fois commettre une faute des plus graves, et encourir les plus grands dangers.

Pourquoi les Fân se font-ils couper ainsi les dents en pointe?

Quelques voyageurs ou écrivains en ont donné une raison qui leur paraît très-simple: «Pour mieux déchirer la viande, car ils sont tous cannibales.» La raison peut être vraie; mais nous en doutons fortement. En tout cas, lorsque, interrogeant les anciens sur cette question de l'origine de la race, nous leur proposions cette explication, toujours nous les avons vus en rire à gorge déployée: «C'est vrai, me répondait un jour un vieux chef narquois, nous autres, nous taillons nos dents pour mieux déchirer, vous autres, vous les gardez donc larges pour mieux couper!»

Et les deux explications se valent!

Cependant, d'après les indigènes les mieux informés, la réponse a souvent été celle-ci: Nos ancêtres ont toujours agi ainsi, et c'est pour ressembler au crocodile, notre père.

J'admettrais volontiers cette interprétation, d'autant qu'elle m'a été donnée par les féticheurs eux-mêmes. En tout cas, la mutilation des dents est certainement une manifestation d'ordre religieux.

3° Les tatouages et signes ethniques.

En parlant du totem considéré comme emblème, signe figuratif, nous aurons à étudier plus longuement cette question du tatouage. Aussi, en ce moment, est-ce plutôt une simple remarque que nous faisons. Tout autant que les généalogies et au même titre qu'elles, les signes ethniques que l'on rencontre dans les différentes tribus nous paraissent être une marque de la haute antiquité du totem. Ainsi, dans certains clans de la même tribu aujourd'hui séparés par de vastes espaces, et qui, d'après des traditions parfaitement authentiques se sont détachés de la branche mère à des époques remontant à plusieurs centaines d'années, on retrouve sur les cases, sur les instruments de travail, sur les armes, sur les corps, la même figure et sous les mêmes traits, de l'animal totémique. Ce fait est particulièrement frappant pour le crocodile ou le lézard qui semble figé dans la même pose hiératique, et sous des lignes immuables; est d'autant moins surprenant ce phénomène tout d'abord que le lézard ou le crocodile est le totem de quelques tribus et se retrouve alors dans tous leurs clans; de plus, ainsi que nous le verrons en parlant de l'origine du totem, l'homme fut d'abord créé, disent les Fáń, sous forme de lézard; ce fait explique peut-être bien des points que nous avons rapidement esquissés plus haut.

Cette question des tatouages totémiques étant donc réservée pour plus tard, nous passons aux *biyéma bétshit*[1] qu'il ne faut pas confondre, ainsi que nous l'avons dit, avec les survivances totémiques.

e) Biyéma bétshit.

Après avoir traité des diverses survivances totémiques, nous avons déclaré plus haut qu'il était un cinquième ordre de faits avec lequel il ne fallait pas les confondre, bien qu'au premier abord ils puissent se mêler avec eux ou semblent devoir s'y rattacher. Ce cinquième ordre de faits porte le nom de *biyéma bétshit,* les représentations d'animaux, du verbe *eyém,* connaître, d'ou *eyéma,*

[1] Il ne faut pas confondre avec les *biyéma bétshit* certaines figures d'animaux que l'on rencontre parfois soigneusement dissimulées dans les cases ou dans la boîte du *Biéri.* Il y a bien là alors des fétiches totémiques et des représentations du totem ancestral.

(pl. *biyéma*) image, statue, représentation. Le mot *eyèm* a sa racine dans *nlèm,* le cœur, considéré par les Fâñ comme source de l'entendement, tandis que l'action repose dans le cerveau *bo,* d'ou *ebo,* faire, *eba,* sculpter, *ebà,* planter, *ebi,* planter, d'ou *ebi,* père, en méké.

Dans les villages de l'intérieur, on trouve très fréquemment dans les *abèñe* une quantité de petites statues d'animaux et d'oiseaux. Ces petites statues, confectionnées d'une façon grossière avec la moëlle du raphia, sont excessivement légères. On les suspend au toit de l'*abèñe,* et le vent, en passant, les fait balancer et semble leur donner une vie factice Nulle esthétique dans ces figurations, nul sentiment de la grandeur: un perroquet y sera plus grand qu'un éléphant, un tigre, de la taille d'un rat, et réciproquement. Il ne faudrait pas voir dans ces figurines, comme on serait peut-être tenté de le croire au premier abord, des vestiges de culte totémique. Ce sont simplement, soit des «ex-voto», pourrait-on dire, des preuves, de reconnaissance, ou encore de simples marques de désir, des souhaits. Avant de partir à la chasse, le Fâñ ne manquera pas de s'incliner devant son *Biéri* et tout au moins de le toucher, en manière d'offrande, de sacrifice aux ancêtres et aux mânes, leur demandant de faire une chasse heureuse. Tout au plus, pourrait-on voir également dans cette action un fait totémique, en ce sens que le chasseur demande aux ancêtres de ne pas tuer son animal protecteur, acte qui attirerait sur lui de grands malheurs. En revenant de la chasse, comme remercîments à son fétiche[1], et aussi peut-être pour apaiser la colère des esprits qui auraient pu résider dans l'animal qu'il a tué, le Fâñ lui assure une nouvelle demeure en en façonnant une grossière image.

Dans quelques villages de l'intérieur, on attribuait à ces représentations une grande valeur, nous interdisant strictement d'y toucher; dans d'autres, au contraire, on nous laissait toute latitude de les palper et de les prendre: *Bivi bibôñe,* nous disait-on, «ce sont jeux d'enfants».

Ce ne sont pas en tout cas, et c'était ici, le point essentiel

[1] Fétiche de la chasse, et non fétiche protecteur individuel.

manifestations totémiques, tout au moins avec les restrictions des indiquées et les réserves nécessaires que nécessiteront d'autres études plus complètes [1].

f) Le sentiment populaire au sujet du totem.

Nous arrivons enfin à la cinquième et dernière source d'information au sujet de l'antiquité du totem fàñ, le sentiment ou la croyance du peuple lui-même au sujet de cette antiquité.

Ici, nous n'avons besoin évidemment d'aucun développement, puisque ce sentiment ressort avec netteté de tout ce que nous avons dit jusqu'ici du totem. Chaque totem est aussi antique que le fondateur de la fraction à laquelle se rapporte ce totem, comme le prouve d'ailleurs ce qui se passe encore aujourd'hui. De là, les propositions suivantes:

Le totem particulier n'a qu'une existence éphémère et révocable, et ne peut remonter plus loin que son détenteur actuel.

Le totem de clan remonte au fondateur du clan.

Le totem de tribu remonte au fondateur de tribu qui lui-même l'aura emprunté à un totem familial antérieur.

Ce totem familial antique, devenu, jusqu'à un certain point, totem national pour disparaître ensuite en partie devant les totems locaux, aura également pour antiquité, l'antiquité elle-même de la nation. Nous avons vu plus haut quelle époque nous pouvions, dans une certaine mesure, lui asseigner. Par le même moyen, nous connaissons l'ancienneté du totem de clan et souvent de famille. Tous ces points nous paraissent donc d'accord et marchent d'un pas simultané vers un but commun.

L'antiquité du totem, particulier à la race, et non rite importé ou emprunté à d'autres peuples, semble établie.

Par là même que le rite est écarté comme d'importation, mais doit être attribué au fondateur de la race lui-même, nous en arrivons tout naturellement à rechercher l'origine du totem.

---

[1] Dans certaines tribus du Centre-africain, ces *biyéma*, que l'on retrouve également, seraient bien totémiques. Ce serait alors, pour nos Fàñ, une rectification de détail à faire.

CHAPITRE IX.

L'ORIGINE DU TOTEM FÂṄ.

Comment étudier l'origine du totem fâṅ. — Le seul totem national ou tribal est à examiner.

§ 1. **L'origine du totem d'après les Fâṅ.** — Procédé d'interrogation; les diverses questions à poser.

§ 2. **L'origine du totem d'après leurs légendes.** — Légende du Créateur. — Légende de la séparation.

§ 3. **L'origine du totem d'après les auteurs.** — Diverses causes qu'ils donnent au sujet de l'origine du totémisme. — Opinions de quelques auteurs, tels ARCIN, REINACH, Mgr. LE ROY. — Discussion de ces opinions. — Notre propre opinion sur l'origine du totem.

En abordant ce chapitre, nous devons tout d'abord faire une remarque essentielle: il est nécessaire d'envisager uniquement l'origine du totem national ou tribal, qui seul est ancien. Comme nous l'avons fait remarquer, les totems de famille, les totems individuels et les totems de société secrète surtout, ne sont que des «dérivations» de ce dernier.

Nous avons essayé, dans le chapitre précédent, d'établir la haute antiquité des phénomènes totémiques, et de montrer qu'ils remontaient aux origines de la race. Le fait du totem étant ainsi posé comme fait «original», comment peut-on expliquer, ou à quelles influences peut-on attribuer, ce phénomène religieux? Telle est la question que nous avons à résoudre dans ce chapitre.

Le totémisme est un phénomène religieux que l'on retrouve dans la plupart des tribus africaines. Aussi a-t-il été étudié à ce point de vue de l'origine par quelques rares auteurs dont nous exposerons l'opinion, en tant qu'elle peut être applicable à nos Fâṅ.

[p. 248]

Ces auteurs peuvent se ranger sous deux catégories distinctes d'après le sujet qu'ils ont traité:

a) les peuples africains actuels,

b) les peuples africains du passé.

Nous les verrons donc successivement. Mais tout d'abord, nous envisagerons l'origine du totem animal, dont l'explication est plus facile et plus rationelle, pour atteindre ensuite les totems végétaux et minéraux.

Continuant le procédé que nous avons déjà employé pour «l'antiquité du totem», nous demanderons d'abord aux Fâñ eux-mêmes leurs données sur l'origine du totem; puis, passant de là aux autres peuples africains totémiques, nous suivrons la même marche, en donnant toutefois seulement ce qui peut convenir aux Fâñ; enfin, toujours avec les mêmes réserves, nous étudierons les auteurs dont nous venons de parler, tels Mgr. Le Roy, Arcin, Reinach etc.

§ 1. L'origine du totem d'après les Fañ.

On ne saurait, en cette matière, trouver meilleurs informateurs que les Fâñ eux-mêmes; pour arriver à identifier l'origine de leur totem, c'est à eux que nous nous adresserons en première ligne, en recourant, comme nous avons fait précédemment pour «l'antiquité» du totem, à leurs légendes religieuses et à l'interrogation directe. Nous nous efforçons de gagner leur confiance, chose difficile en pareille matière qui est d'un *éki*[1] absolu avec les non initiés, et d'une réserve très grande avec les initiés eux-mêmes. Mes meilleurs renseignements ont toujours été obtenus lorsque nous étions seuls à seuls, que nulle oreille indiscrète, pas même celle de nos enfants, n'était là pour recueillir des paroles dont le secret trahi (bien peu de chose souvent) eût pu néanmoins attirer de sérieux désagréments sur les contempteurs d'un sévère *éki* totémique.

Nous nous occuperons d'abord du totem tribal, car c'est en somme le plus important, puisque, de la façon que nous avons indiquée, découlent de lui les autres totems, et que l'origine de l'un expliquée, les autres en découlent tout naturellement.

[1] Défense rituelle.

L'interrogation directe.

Avant de passer aux légendes de la race, recourons à l'interrogation directe. Pour plus sûrs renseignements, entrons dans une tribu qui réunisse bien tous les caractères totémiques requis par les auteurs, c'est-à-dire portant le nom d'un animal, le reconnaissant comme ancêtre éponyme, et lui rendant un culte.

Nous sommes chez les Békwé, puissante tribu dont les ramifications et clans s'étendent fort loin; leurs principaux villages sont aux environs du nœud orographique d'où partent, dans quatre directions opposées, autant de grandes rivières, l'une, vers le nord, l'autre, vers l'ouest et l'Oubanghi, la troisième directement à la mer avec le Ntèm, la dernière enfin vers l'Ogowé avec l'Aïna, son principal affluent. De ce poste élevé, retranchés dans leurs montagnes, les Békwé semblent prêts à se jeter de l'un ou l'autre côté, suivant leur inspiration capricieuse, le gré de leurs fétiches, l'espoir d'un gain problématique, ou une occasion qui leur semble favorable.

Comme nous l'avons fait dans plusieurs villages [1], conversons avec les chefs, puis résumons leurs réponses, d'ailleurs identiques aux mêmes questions, sans aucunement les discuter. Interrogeons-les d'abord, comme si nous ignorions complètement le totem.

«Quelle est votre race, le nom des hommes de votre tribu?

— Tu le sais, puisque tu demeures depuis plusieurs jours dans nos villages; nous sommes les Békwé [2].

— Que veut dire ce mot?

— Rien. Cela veut dire: «Békwé» [3], c'est-à-dire: «Nous.»

— Mais ce nom dans votre langue, signifie également «les singes».

— Cela est vrai: ce nom signifie également «les singes».

---

[1] Villages d'Akurenzam, Elibéngon, Afurengon, Oyômetan etc. (Ht Ivindo).

[2] *Békwé*, corruption du mot: *Ebikwé*, comme dans les autres tribus méké.

[3] Ce nom signifie également, suivant l'accent, colimaçon. — Le *kwé* est un gros colimaçon dont les femmes emploient la coquille entière comme fétiche protecteur des récoltes. On le pique alors au bout d'une perche placée à l'orée du champ, et malheur au violateur.

On emploie également la coquille du *kwé* pour faire de jolies cuillers nacrées.

— Mais alors, vous êtes «frères des singes»? [1]

— Pourquoi viens-tu ici nous insulter! Nous ne sommes pas des singes, mais des hommes.

— Je ne veux pas vous insulter, loin de là. Je sais bien que vous n'êtes pas des singes, vous autres, mais des «hommes». Mais pourquoi vous nommez-vous ainsi Békwé?

— Nous ne le savons pas. Nos pères s'appelaient Békwé, nous nous appelons Békwé, nos enfants s'appelleront Békwé.

— Mais si votre famille se scinde, le clan séparé sera-t-il encore Békwé?

— Oui, ce seront toujours des «Békwé».

— Cependant ils prendront peut-être un autre nom?

— Oui, certainement, mais ils seront encore Békwé.

— Quel nom prendront-ils?

— Le père de la nouvelle tribu lui donnera son nom.

— Donnera-t-il toujours son nom?

— Cela dépendra de celui qui sera le père de la nouvelle nation.»

Ici, nous constatons donc un fait sur lequel nous avons déjà donné les explications nécessaires, le père du clan attribuant un nom au nouveau clan.

«Vous n'êtes pas frères des *békwé* (singes), dites-vous. Cependant, vous ne mangez pas la chair des *békwé*?

— Non, certes, nous ne mangeons pas la chair des *békwé*.

— Et pourquoi cela?

— Nous autres, Fâń, nous ne tuons pas les *békwé*.

— Non, cela n'est pas juste. J'ai connu beaucoup de Fâń qui tuaient et mangeaient des *békwé*... En voici près de vous!» Et en même temps je montrais les enfants qui étaient venus avec moi.

«Ces Fâń ne sont pas des Békwé!»

Cette réponse, qui leur échappe, leur déplaît évidemment, car ils veulent prendre congé de moi: je les retiens avec peine et continue:

---

[1] *Bobeńáń békwé* (alliés des singes). Ce mot *bobeńáń* indique une parenté ou filiation réelle et non d'adoption ou de frère de sang.

«Donc, vous, Békwé, vous ne mangez pas de singes, comme vos pères l'ont observé avant vous, et vous avez raison de leur obéir. *Môñe a wùk mvèfie mézu béñabur*: l'enfant doit écouter les paroles des vieillards.»

Cette approbation hautement manifestée de leurs usages, et en citant une de leurs maximes favorites, leur plaît évidemment beaucoup. Ils en concluent, et je me hâte de confirmer ce sentiment, que je suis loin de vouloir me moquer d'eux ou les railler en quoique ce soit. Ils deviennent immédiatement beaucoup plus ouverts. Seul, le carnet, où je prends des notes, les intrigue encore.

«Mais pourquoi vos ancêtres ne mangeaient-ils pas la chair des *békwé*? C'est assurément une très bonne viande!

— Très bonne!» est leur courte réponse.

Et les anciens gardent le silence, puis veulent parler d'autre chose, ce qui est loin de faire mon affaire; j'insiste donc.

«Mais oui, pourquoi vos ancêtres ne mangeaient-ils pas cette excellente viande?»

On se décide alors à me répondre. Mais tout d'abord, on me demande encore: «N'es-tu pas *mvôma* (initié)?

— Oh! comment ne le serais-je pas! *Mé mana yèn Evôm!* (phrase légèrement amphibologique qui signifiait aussi bien: je suis initié, que: j'ai vu l'initiation).

— Alors, puisque tu es *mvôma*, pourquoi cette demande?

— Mais parce que je suis Blanc. Je veux savoir si vous autres, Békwé, vous avez bien conservé les «mots» de l'ancêtre» [1].

Les chefs font alors éloigner les enfants.

«Eh! bien, voici pourquoi nous ne mangeons pas les singes *(békwé)*.

C'est parce que la tribu singe est «vouée» avec la tribu «Hommes-nous». *Bi ndzige di Békwé, édo é ne na ayôñ afan Békwé da tobe énâñéla né ayôñ bie Békwé.*

— Bien, je vois que vous savez les «mots». Mais alors, les singes sont vos *bénâñéla*?»

---

[1] C'est-à-dire les mots sacrés que l'on ne doit pas dire. Ainsi, dans le «Livre de la Jungle», Mowgli, le petit d'homme, apprend de l'ours Baloo et de la panthère Baghéra, les «mots» sacrés.

Et la constatation serait importante, car l'*énâńéla* n'est autre que le *nagual,* ou animal voué.

«Oh! non, ce n'est pas cela du tout: les Békwé ne sont pas, tu le sais bien, nos *bénâńéla*: c'est l'*ayôń afan Békwé* (la nation des Békwé de la forêt), qui est *énâńéla* avec l'*ayôń méfan Békwé* (la nation des Békwé des plantations, c'est-à-dire hommes).»

Et avant de continuer, notons cette constatation qui est des plus importantes, car, en effet, il ne s'agit plus dans ce cas (et ce cas s'applique à tous les clans totémiques similaires), d'*énâńéla* particulier, ce que j'avais toujours cru jusqu'ici. En effet l'*énâńéla* esttou jours un «fait» particulier, l'animal isolé, «voué» à un homme, mais à titre particulier et faisant avec lui l'échange du sang. Il s'agit ici d'un *énâńéla* collectif: chaque *kwé* homme n'est pas l'*énâńéla* de chaque *kwé* singe, mais c'est l'*ayôń kwé,* d'une façon générale et collective, qui est *énâńéla* avec l'*ayôń kwé* de la forêt: il y a pas parenté particulière, mais parenté collective. Nous reviendrons tout à l'heure sur ce point, qui fait ici d'une race entière, dans l'un et l'autre cas, un tout unique et non divisible.

«Les *békwé* ne sont pas nos *bénâńéla* (animaux familiers obéissants), mais ils sont nos *bitotore*[1] (aides soutiens).

— Dans ma tribu, on n'emploie pas ce mot: *bitotore.* Nous disons: *bémvamayôń.* Est-ce la même chose?

— C'est la même chose, mais ce n'est pas tout à fait la même chose (!). Ta tribu ne parle pas bien. Voici ce que c'est qu'un *mvamayôń* et qu'un *étotore.* Le *mvamayôń,* c'est pour toute la nation. l'*étotore,* au contraire, c'est pour un seul individu »

Et comme il ne serait pas facile de faire comprendre la distinction assez subtile d'après les réponses du Noir, voici, en substance, ce qu'il en est, et que nous étudierons plus loin à fond.

Le *mvamayôń* est le totem collectif, considéré dans son ensemble, au point de vue parenté mystique, et également réel; l'*étotore,* au contraire, est le même totem, mais considéré au point de vue particulier, pour l'intérêt propre de chacun, et non

[1] *Etotore,* de la racine *eto,* se tenir là, être. *Etotore,* celui qui se tient tout à fait là: c'est en somme la même idée que *mvame ayôń,* l'un signifiant le Protecteur, l'autre: Celui qui se tient là pour aider.

plus au point de vue collectif. C'est, et ce qui peut tromper souvent, le totem individuel de chaque homme, mais en tant que cet homme fait partie d'une collectivité, et que ce totem fait partie également du totem collectif, mais alors considéré au point de vue particulier. Ce n'est donc pas le totem «particulier» qui peut, lui, être tout différent. Ainsi, car des exemples feront mieux saisir cette distinction, le crocodile est le totem de toute une tribu: ce sera le *mvamayôñ* de la tribu. On lui adressera des hommages: ces hommages, étant collectifs, seront donnés au *mvamayôñ*: le chef de la tribu rendra également son culte au *mvamayôñ,* car il représente, comme chef, une idée collective. Au contraire, un guerrier adressera ses demandes personnelles à son *étotore,* c'est-à-dire à ce même totem, mais alors considéré au point de vue particulier. Ces demandes au crocodile lui seront faites en tant qu'*étotore*: réussir à la chasse, par exemple, faire un heureux voyage. Elles seront adressées au contraire au *mvamayôñ,* si le guerrier agit ou invoque, non plus en son nom personnel, mais au nom d'une collectivité, par exemple, dans une fête de *Nzoẋ ba kuÿa,* telle que celle que nous avons décrite, ou bien encore si sa demande est faite en tant que chef de famille. Cette requête pourra même sembler au premier abord «individuelle» ou regarder les intérêts de l'individu, et s'adresser cependant au *mvamayôñ,* si, au fond, elle concerne la race, par exemple si un guerrier sollicite la naissance d'un fils.

En un mot, le guerrier, en tant qu'individu, prie l'*étotore* comme parent réel et individuel. Il prie le *mvamayôñ,* au contraire, comme parent de race, ce qui peut avoir de beaucoup plus strictes obligations en certains cas. Un homme de la tribu du crocodile rencontrant un animal de cette espèce ne lui fera pas de mal, bien au contraire, car c'est peut-être un *mvamayôñ,* un descendant de celui en lequel s'est reposé l'esprit de l'ancêtre; mais ce n'est pas un *étotore* pour le cas présent.

En résumé, le *mvamayôñ* représente à la fois, dans ce cas du crocodile, et tous les autres cas peuvent lui être assimilés:

1° Le crocodile primitif en lequel est entré pour un temps l'esprit de l'ancêtre, ou avec lequel il a contracté une alliance effective de sang et de parenté.

2° L'ensemble des crocodiles issus de ce crocodile primitif et qui se sont succédés depuis ce temps, et qui ont contracté avec la descendance du père de la nation éponyme une parenté a) d'origine b) renouvelée par de fréquentes alliances (nous verrons plus tard comment). Notons bien ce point important, cet ensemble est alors considéré comme force ou comme essence. Si l'on préfère, la vie de la tribu crocodile humaine est alliée à la vie de la tribu crocodile animal: c'est un ensemble, une collectivité impersonnelle qui doit assistance à une autre collectivité, à un autre ensemble éponyme. Mais comme **le** crocodile, et non pas «**un**» crocodile, toujours s'il fait partie de la descendance du premier, n'est pas seulement *mvamayôṅ*, et en cela tenu à venir en aide à la nation parente et alliée, mais qu'il est encore *étotore*, **un** crocodile, disons-nous, s'il est de cette descendance, doit assistance particulière à son éponyme. Celui-ci, dans le doute, rendra ses devoirs à tout crocodile, rencontré en particulier, et l'invoquera, non comme *mvamayôṅ*, mais comme *étotore*.

En somme, et pour le cas le plus fréquent, on peut dire que le *mvamayôṅ* est le totem collectif si on le considère à ce point de vue général; il devient au contraire *étotore*, si on envisage l'intérêt particulier.

Ainsi, pour **les** Békwé, l'*ayôṅ kwé* est leur *mvamayôṅ*. Pour **un** homme des Békwé, un *kwé* (animal) est son *étotore*.

Reprenons maintenant notre conversation.

«Ainsi, tous les *békwé* animaux sont vos *bitotore*?

— Oh! non, quelques-uns seulement. Pas un, peut-être, de tous ceux qui sont dans la forêt autour de nos villages. Nos *bitotore* étaient loin. Qui sait s'ils ont suivi!

— Mais lesquels pourraient être vos parents?

— Comment poses-tu cette question, puisque tu es «initié»! Evidemment, il n'y a comme *bitotore* que ceux qui descendent du *mvamayôṅ*.

— Oui, je sais bien cela. Mais ce *mvamayôṅ*, qu'était-il avec votre *ésayôṅ*? ce ne pouvait être son *mvamayôṅ* à lui, puisque d'abord, à ce moment, votre *ayôṅ* (tribu) n'était pas formée, et qu'elle ne pouvait donc avoir ni *ésayôṅ* ni *mvamayôṅ*?

— Certainement, ce n'était pas son *mvamayôñ,* puisqu'il n'était pas encore notre *ésayôñ*!

— Mais ce n'était pas non plus son *étotore,* car l'*étotore* de chacun est forcément *mvamayôñ* de tous, et il est *mvamayôñ* pour pouvoir devenir *étotore.* Est-ce bien cela?

— Oui, c'est bien cela. Ce n'était pas certainement son *étotore,* puisqu'il n'y avait pas de *mvamayôñ.* Mais c'était son *énâñéla.*»

Je suis d'autant plus heureux de cette réponse qu'elle me confirme dans mes idées précédentes. L'*énâñéla,* en effet, nous l'avons déjà vu et l'étudierons mieux plus tard, en le distinguant du totémisme, est l'animal voué à un homme, mais à titre individuel. Par conséquent, le totémisme reposerait, à son origine, sur un rite fétichiste, ou, si l'on veut, sur un rite animiste, destiné à assurer à un homme la protection et les vertus d'un animal, protection et vertu qui de l'homme et de l'animal éponyme auraient passé à la race de l'animal et de l'homme. Par reconnaissance ou par hasard de naissance, ou simplement comme il se pratique encore aujourd'hui, pour porter «chance», l'homme aurait pris le nom de son *énâñéla.*

Dans l'origine, le chef de famille aura contracté lui-même le pacte d'alliance et l'échange du sang; aujourd'hui, ce rôle est, non pas dévolu, mais appartient au féticheur, ce qui confirme bien ce que nous avions dit précédemment en parlant des rôles divers de chaque ordre social: au féticheur, les rites fétichistes, au père de famille, les rites «domestiques», au chef de race, les rites «totémiques», ces derniers plus étendus, en tant au moins qu'ils concernent la race ou le clan.

Naturellement, il ne faut pas conclure de ce que nous avons dit que, seuls, les *bitotore* peuvent être choisir comme *binâñéla.* Ils peuvent l'être ou ne pas l'être; cela dépend beaucoup de l'*étotore.* Un *élâñéla* appartient toujours au règne animal: c'est, nous l'avons vu, indifférent pour l'*étotore.* Mais, une fois de plus, réservant cette question, constatons seulement ce qui seul a une importance pour nous, c'est que les Fâñ, comme je crois avoir pu le constater, tout au moins dans la majorité des tribus, admettent que le *mvamayôñ* était primitivement l'*énâñéla* du chef de race.

Toutefois intervient cette difficulté: l'*étotore* actuel est souvent un être inférieur, par exemple un végétal, un phénomène naturel. Comment l'expliquer? — Dans certains cas, il y a eu alors substitution; ou, encore, d'autres raisons sont intervenues, dont nous nous occuperons en parlant de la zoolâtrie, litholâtrie etc.

Après cette longue mais nécessaire digression, nous revenons à notre interrogatoire.

«Vos *bitotore* actuels sont donc les descendants de l'*énâńéla* de votre père, devenu votre *mvamayôń*?

— Oui, c'est bien ainsi, nos *bitotore* sont *mvamayôń*, et nos *bitotore* sont les fils de l'*énâńéla* du *(ésayôń)* père de la race. Mais, à toi, ton *étotore* n'est-il point le fils de l'*énâńéla* de ton père?

— Non, nous autres, nous n'avons pas tout à fait la même chose. Le père de notre race avait le Créateur, Dieu lui-même, pour frère de sang. Ou mieux, Dieu était son Père, et le Fils de Dieu était le frère de notre Père de race. Comme vous le savez, Dieu a eu ce seul fils comme descendant. Mais Dieu vit toujours et aussi son fils; il reste donc, non pas notre *mvamayôń*, mais notre *ésayôń*, et son fils est le frère de chacun de nous. Pour vous, c'est également votre frère. Je vous apprendrai cela plus tard.

— C'est très beau, mais pour nous, c'est cependant la même chose.

— Comment est-ce la même chose? Je ne le comprends pas très bien. Voulez-vous me l'expliquer?

— C'est facile. Notre Père à nous tous, c'est aussi *Nzame*, comme pour toi; mais *Nzame* a voulu rester avec ses enfants noirs; c'est pour cela qu'il a donné un *élâńéla* au chef de la race, et que les chefs de tribu et les chefs de famille font comme le chef de la race. Ils ont tous un *énâńéla*, pour que cet *énâńéla* devienne l'*étotore* de chacun; comme cela, le père de la race demeure avec nous; l'*ésayôń* demeure toujours avec son peuple *(ayôń)* puisque sa vertu et sa force sont passées après sa mort avec le *mvamayôń*.

— Mais pourquoi l'*ésayôń* ne donne-t-il pas sa vertu et sa force à ses fils, au lieu du *mvamayôń*? Il serait ainsi bien plus avec eux.

— Non, parce que lorsqu'un homme meurt, ses enfants ont déjà leur *khun* (âme) à eux, et aussi leur force et leur puissance; si le père les léguait à ses enfants, cela leur ferait deux *khun* et aussi deux forces et deux puissances, et à la fin, ils auraient beaucoup de *khun*s pour un seul homme. C'est impossible. Et il ne peut pas non plus les donner à ses enfants qui ne sont pas nés, puisqu'ils ne sont pas là! Tout cela, c'est un mystère *(énzâñdzam)* que nos pères savaient mieux, mais enfin les choses sont «ainsi au milieu»[1]. Et au fond, c'est *Nzame,* qui a donné tous les *mvamayôñ.*

— Tout à l'heure, je vous demanderai de me dire comment, parce que, à nous autres, nos pères nous ont aussi laissé les «récits d'autrefois», les mystères *(énzâñdzam)*[2] que vous avez également et les généalogies *(mébara)* de vos ancêtres. Mais dites-moi, le père de votre race, c'est Nkure-kwé, n'est-ce-pas? (C'est-à-dire *Ekure,* fils de *kwé,* celui qui a quitté le singe, ou encore *Nkure,* fils du singe)[3].

— Oui, c'est Nkure-kwé, le père de toute notre race.

— Mais Nkure était-il fils de *kwé,* ou seulement *Kwé* de la forêt était-il son *énâñéla*?

— *Kwé afan*[4] était son *énâñéla.* Nkure était fils de *Nzame* (c'est-à-dire descendant du premier homme, créé par *Nzame,* mais père de la tribu Békwé). *Nzame* a donné *kwé* à Nkure comme *énâñéla* pour en faire son *étotore.*

— Mais pourquoi cela?

— Ah! *Mézu ménzame*: ce sont les choses de Dieu!

— Et comment *kwé,* le singe, est-il votre *étotore*?

— Il est notre *étotore* à cause de ceci: il communique avec *Nzame* puisqu'il est *mvamayôñ.*»

J'aurais voulu continuer, mais lorsqu'on en arriva là, mes hommes, fatigués et peu habitués à tant raisonner ou «disséquer» leurs croyances, s'étaient peu à peu éclipsés doucement pour ne

---

[1] Traduction du mot indigène *énzâñdzam* qui signifie «mystère».

[2] *Enzâñdzam,* mot à mot «le milieu de la chose», la chose ultime, le pourquoi d'une chose, que l'on ne peut comprendre.

[3] Nous verrons plus loin, quand nous parlerons des fondateurs de tribu, pourquoi cette interrogation.

[4] *Kwé afan,* c'est-à-dire: Le singe de la forêt.

laisser en face de moi qu'un seul interlocuteur; il ne demandait, lui aussi, qu'à partir au plus vite et à cesser un entretien qui le fatiguait considérablement [1].

Il résulte donc, en somme, d'après cet interrogatoire, résumé de plusieurs tribus et de plusieurs chefs dans chaque clan, qu'aux yeux des Fâń, le totem tribal ou général n'est nullement l'ancêtre divinisé du clan, comme il a été avancé par certains auteurs pour d'autres peuples. Mais, pour notre part, il nous semblerait étrange que le système des Fâń fût unique et d'y trouver un fait particulier, quand, au contraire, leur langue, leurs coutumes, leurs traditions les rallient étroitement aux autres peuples bantous, et que, de plus, ils ont dû subir l'influence égyptienne.

D'après leur sentiment actuel, le totem ou *mvamayôń* n'est donc pas l'ancêtre divinisé ou héroïcisé du clan. Sans doute, on pourra parfois attribuer aux ancêtres un ensemble de faits plus ou moins merveilleux; nous avons vu ce cas avec Ngurangurane, et Ndôń-mba et autres sont dans la même situation; mais le *mvamayôń*, c'est-à-dire, le totem, est nettement séparé du héros, et on lui assignera une origine toute autre, ainsi que nous l'avons constaté avec le mythe d'Ombure.

Le totem est donc un être à part, généralement un animal. C'est en effet l'idée la plus naturelle; pour notre part, nous croyons que dans les autres cas de totem végétal, minéral ou céleste, ce choix a dû être inspiré par un autre sentiment, crainte, reconnaissance, désir, dont nous parlerons tout à l'heure. De cette conception de l'*élâńéla* devenant *étotore*, il ressort nettement que l'*élâńéla* ne peut être un autre homme, puisque *Nzame* le donne précisément au fondateur de la race afin que son âme, et surtout sa vertu et sa force, informant la race entière, demeure protectrice de tous les descendants. Les deux races éponymes forment ainsi une entité toujours vivante, car elle est indépendante de la mort d'un membre quelconque.

L'alliance de sang, la parenté réelle, a été contractée non pas avec un animal en tant qu'animal, mais avec un animal

[1] Notre renommée était si bien faite à cet égard, qu'en certains villages, nous étions désignés sous le nom de *Nsile*, le Questionneur, et qu'on s'empressait, en nous voyant, de . . . parler d'autre chose!

en tant que race. La parenté réelle résulte de l'échange du sang. Mais à côté de cette parenté, il y en a une autre, une véritable parenté spirituelle; de là, la race de l'animal éponyme doit aider la race humaine éponyme. Celle-ci doit respect et assistance à la race de son animal éponyme.

D'où vient cette parenté? La plupart des auteurs pense qu'elle provient de l'alliance primitive, et que les animaux actuels éponymes sont parents, parce que descendants. Nous ne croyons pas que ce sentiment soit complètement vrai, au moins dans son ensemble.

L'opinion de ceux qui voient, dans le totem, le fondateur de la race divinisé, et dont les descendants animaux seraient, par conséquent, les descendants réels absolument au même titre que les hommes est donc écartée. Au fond, on s'explique fort mal cette dualité, car pourquoi le héros divinisé se transformerait-il en animal, c'est-à-dire en race inférieure, pour protéger mieux sa race, et aurait-il, ainsi transformé, procréé des descendants également protecteurs?

Nous préférons la conception fàn qui voit au contraire le père de la race contracter, sur l'ordre de *Nzame*, avec l'animal désigné par lui, une double alliance, mystique et réelle. Elle est réelle pendant la vie surtout du père de la race, pour mettre à son service des forces qu'il voit bien lui manquer, réelle, mais avant tout mystique, pour se perpétuer près de ses descendants. Ce n'est pas la métempsycose, rien n'est plus éloigné des conceptions fàn, c'est une *réviviscence* spirituelle. Le père de la race ne se transforme pas en l'animal allié, mais son âme errante y entre pour un temps, y vit et dirige alors l'intelligence de l'animal vers des actes spéciaux, mais sans aucunement détruire sa propre personnalité. L'ancêtre ne peut plus habiter son corps, tout au moins d'une façon active, bien qu'une partie de lui-même y reste attachée: il trouve un substrateur différent, et pour un temps seulement. Ce temps sera très variable, suivant que l'animal, où l'ancêtre a établi pour ainsi dire son logement temporaire, est choisi comme totem ou non. S'il est choisi comme totem par un clan ou une famille, son âme quittera seulement l'animal à la mort de celui-ci; elle n'émigrera pas alors dans un autre animal; désormais elle va

quitter toute habitation ou substatum inférieur, animal ou autre; elle commence sa vraie vie d'âme, mais cependant elle ne s'éloigne pas de sa race, elle ne s'en désintéresse pas de façon complète, elle y demeure encore à l'état d'influence; et elle y reste tant que cette famille, ou cette tribu, demeure, puis rentre ensuite dans la condition ordinaire quand le clan s'éteint.

Dans le cas contraire, c'est-à-dire si l'animal «allié» n'est pas choisi comme totem, l'âme s'éloigne après un temps déterminé, sur lequel les Fàñ ne s'expliquent guère; il dépend surtout des sacrifices funéraires: s'ils sont suffisants, l'ancêtre récompense largement la tribu, puis s'éloigne vers les séjours heureux: dans les cas contraires, *loin de récompenser la tribu, il* cherchera de tout son pouvoir à lui faire du mal.

Cette conception de la crainte, que nous verrons tout à l'heure donner également naissance à certains totems, relie étroitement le totémisme par un de ses côtés, au mânisme et au culte des ancêtres.

Nous avons affaire, on le voit, dans ces conceptions, à un système fort embrouillé et surtout obscur, d'autant plus difficile à pénétrer que l'on a affaire à des gens peu habitués à raisonner. Par caractère, l'on a toujours remarqué cette tournure de l'esprit noir, et par désir de se débarrasser de vous, ou encore de vous plaire, ils sont toujours enclins à «dire comme vous», à approuver vos idées. Aussi, arriverait-on à des conclusions diamétralement opposées à la vérité en leur posant des interrogations directes. A une phrase posée ainsi: «Ce tigre est rouge, cette route est longue, n'est-ce-pas?» — infailliblement le Noir répondra neuf fois sur dix: «Certainement.» Et une minute après, demandez: «Ce tigre est bleu, ou cette route est courte?» — la réponse sera la même: «Certainement.» Tous les rapports militaires ou d'exploration signalent ce fait, en concluant que le Noir est un «fieffé» menteur. Pour nous, oui, mais pour lui, certes non, car il estime simplement que le Blanc désire une réponse affirmative, et il lui fait ce plaisir, qui lui est parfaitement égal. Mais nullement, dans son idée, il n'a répondu ce qu'il croit vrai, lui-même, et ne s'imagine pas qu'on réclame de lui la vérité telle qu'il la voit.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Aussi, dans ces interrogations, c'est le Noir lui-même qu'il faut «faire» parler, c'est sa propre pensée qu'il lui faut faire exprimer, et non un reflet de la nôtre.

La difficulté de ces concepts religieux ressort également de ce qu'ils peuvent varier de village à village, suivant les individus plus ou moins instruits des traditions. Peu à peu cependant, on arrive à dégager de toutes les réponses un ensemble que l'on ne s'attendait guère d'abord à trouver concordant. Ce manque de renseignements exacts, provenant de tribus et d'individus fort variés, est le défaut de certains auteurs, très méritants cependant, mais qui n'ont pu étudier l'âme noire que dans un faible rayon.

Après avoir constaté l'origine du totem d'après les réponses elles-mêmes des Noirs, passons maintenant à celles de leurs légendes[1] qui se rapportent à se sujet.

§ 2. Origine du totem d'après les légendes.

Nous avons donné précédemment, et il est évident que nous n'y reviendrons pas, la légende totémique du crocodile Ombure, à laquelle il est possible, avec quelque raison, de faire remonter l'origine du culte du crocodile. Bien que ce mythe puisse en être un des facteurs, il doit cependant remonter plus haut encore, tout à fait à l'origine de la race.

Sur la création de l'homme lui-même, les Fâñ ont en effet une légende curieuse, que nous donnons très-abrégée.

Au commencement, disent-ils, quand rien n'était encore, Dieu tira l'homme de l'argile. Bien qu'au premier moment, on puisse croire à une infiltration chrétienne[2] ou à l'influence des dogmes apportés par les missionnaires, nous ne le pensons cependant pas; outre que l'on trouve cette légende dans des clans où il est

[1] Nous n'avons pas donné ces légendes fort curieuses dans nos Etudes précédentes. La première, celle de la Création, a été également recueillie à Ndjolé par Mr. Largeau, et la seconde, celle de la Séparation, par Mr. Forêt, mort depuis administrateur de Porto-Novo, presque dans les mêmes termes que nous-même. Mr. Forêt l'avait transcrite chez les Pahouins du Sud.

[2] Par l'Ethiopie, ou au hasard des migrations à travers le Congo inférieur.

difficile de supposer cette influence, la suite semble démontrer qu'il n'y a là qu'une ressemblance fortuite ou un souvenir survivant des traditions primitives.

Voici cette légende:

I° Légende de la Création.

Esim bium bi mbé dia fe, Mébère a nga vel mur né
Quand les choses elles n'étaient pas encore, le Créateur il a fait l'homme avec
mètex ékon; a nga nôñ ékon, a nga vel zô né mur. Mur éto,
les terres d'argile; il a pris l'argile, il a créé cela en homme. Homme celui-ci,
ashuméga dia, a nga shum ñe ane nsüé. Nsüé éto, an'a nga
commencement son, il a commencé lui comme lézard. Lézard celui-ci, mais il a
bi ñe mélu métan, étam médzim oshü. Mélu métan ve lôn, an'a nga
placé lui jours cinq, bassin d'eau la mer. Jours cinq mais passés, et il a
ké né ñe étam médzim, an'a nga size ñe éti; mélu nzangwal a to
été avec lui bassin les eaux, et il a mis lui dedans; jours sept il fut
éti. Alu édi onwam, an'a nga ké dige ñe. Ñina: küge! An'a
dedans. Jour le huitième, mais il a été regarder lui. Celui-ci: sors. Et il est
nga kü, a to mur. An'a nga zu Mébère na: Abora.
sorti, mais c'était un homme. Et il dit au Créateur que: Merci.

Au commencement donc, avant qu'il n'y eût rien, disent les Fâñ, Dieu seul était là, sans commencement ni fin. Comment était ce Dieu: les Fâñ disent simplement que sa Force remplissait tout.

Nous expliquerons dans notre Etude sur la Religion cette doctrine très spiritualiste, et qu'on croirait à tort, croyons-nous, d'infiltration ou d'influence européenne. Ces traditions, qui nous rappellent les sept jours de la Genèse, sont néanmoins fort curieuses. Dieu s'ennuyait d'être seul: c'est pourquoi il fit d'abord la terre; puis prenant de l'argile, il façonna un être informe. Cet être informe est un lézard, un saurien terrestre. Pendant cinq jours, il le laisse dans une sorte de lente incubation, préparant les «autres choses», et «faisant la mer», me disait un autre récit, qui s'accorde d'ailleurs avec celui-ci, pendant cinq jours, creusant le bassin des eaux. Puis, le cinquième jour passé, la terre et la mer étant terminées (et c'est en somme le premier jour génésiaque), le Créateur plonge le saurien d'argile dans les eaux; il y séjournera sept jours

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

avant d'en sortir à l'appel divin, et d'en sortir «homme». Le Fâñ, dans sa concision extrême, nous semble vraiment très beau: «Celui-ci: Sors! et il sortit et il était homme, et il dit à Dieu: Merci!»

Exprimer en moins de mots et dépeindre plus nettement une scène aussi belle nous paraît difficile! L'ordre absolument impératif: Sors!, l'obéissance immédiate, et le premier sentiment qui s'échappe de l'homme: Merci!, sentiment de reconnaissance, mais aussi sentiment profondément humain: c'était un homme, ce n'était plus une bête.

Dans ces lointaines traditions, l'école évolutionniste et matérialiste pourra trouver peut-être une confirmation de ses idées, en montrant combien ces idées de transformisme datent de loin dans l'humanité. Nous y verrons pour nous, au contraire, une nouvelle trace des souvenirs antiques: Dieu tirant l'homme de la terre. Mais sans entrer ici dans ces considérations qui alourdiraient notre Etude, constatons simplement, à l'origine primitive de l'humanité, l'existence du saurien; et de là au crocodile, il n'y a qu'un pas: *nsüé*, en fâñ, désigne en effet le crocodile terrestre, vulgairement le grand lézard. De cette existence primitive, à lui rendre un culte, puisque en somme c'était l'être primitif, le prototype de l'homme, et, qu'à côté de la race humaine, la race du crocodile subsistait, la transition était facile. En tout cas, les Fâñ l'ont faite, et volontiers, à ce souvenir et à cette tradition qui a dû laisser des traces plus profondes que Ombure, j'attribuerais le culte primitif du crocodile remontant ainsi aux origines mêmes de la race. Le mythe d'Ombure ne serait qu'une confirmation de ce même mythe antique: le totem de la race qui, négligé pour une raison ou une autre, ou abandonné, se serait vengé de terrible façon.

Ce culte des animaux aquatiques se retrouve également dans la plus grande partie des peuples africains, aussi bien que jadis, avec nos Tarasques, dans les traditions européennes. Dans l'Afrique entière, on parle de redoutables amphibies des grands fleuves «qui n'existent probablement que dans l'imagination» [1]. Je serais beaucoup moins affirmatif à ce sujet, ayant de fortes raisons d'être moins sceptique [2]. De fait, le lamentin, l'hippopotame, le crocodile, sont

[1] Opinion de plusieurs explorateurs et savants . . . en chambre.

[2] Voir article publié à ce sujet dans le Bull. de la Sté de Bordeaux en 1902.

regardés comme ancêtres par un grand nombre de tribus. Les Fáñ, eux, reconnaissent simplement le crocodile [1]. Nous admettons volontiers pour ce mythe les antiques traditions dont nous avons parlé.

IIe Légende de la Séparation.

«Autrefois, il y a longtemps, me raconta un jour Esun-mbé, chef d'Akule Nzam (la sortie du Marais), au pays de la rivière Karagwa [2], le Créateur venait de faire les hommes. Cette histoire, je ne l'ai pas inventée, mon père me l'a fait apprendre, et ce n'était pas lui qui l'avait imaginée. Les hommes de ma race la racontent à leurs enfants, et leurs enfants la tiennent de leurs pères: c'est Ndun, notre *ésayóñ*, qui nous l'a donnée. Et voici ses paroles.

Le Créateur avait fait les hommes, puis après eux le gorille, et puis le singe, et puis les Nains de la forêt, et puis les autres animaux, et tous vivaient ensemble dans de grands villages: la paix régnait parmi eux, et c'était Ndun qui les commandait tous. Lorsqu'il y avait une palabre, soit entre les hommes, soit entre les animaux, on comparaissait devant lui et il jugeait avec sagesse, car il était vieillard et prudent, et ses frères l'aidaient: *Mézu béñabur, mvéye* = Bonnes sont les paroles des anciens [3]. Souvent, le Créateur descendait au village, et on lui rendait l'honneur qui lui était dû,

---

[1] Nous avons trouvé une seule fois le lamentin, *mońa*, comme totem de clan.

[2] Importante rivière et affluent de la Hte Alna, près du pays des Dzèm.

[3] Bien plus tard, à deux cents lieues de là, on me contait ainsi la même légende dans une toute autre tribu. Nous ne citons que le commencement: il prouve assez l'antiquité de ce récit, presque identique, malgré l'éloignement des deux conteurs. «Et en ce temps là, il arriva» que les hommes n'étaient pas encore nombreux sur la terre. Non, ils n'étaient pas nombreux, et toutes les familles de la tribu habitaient le même grand village. Chaque matin, toutes les femmes prenaient la grande jarre de terre séchée au soleil, la mettaient sur leur épaule et descendaient à la fontaine pour chercher l'eau. Pour les premières, la difficulté n'existait pas: ayant rempli leur jarre dans l'eau qui courait rapide et claire, elles la reposaient vite au bord de la rive, puis s'accrochant aux racines des arbres penchés sur l'eau, elles trempaient leurs jambes, et riant et folâtrant, se baignaient à loisir. Mais quand les dernières arrivaient, car elles étaient dix et dix et dix au village et même encore beaucoup plus (je n'étais pas là et je ne les ai pas comptées, mon père tient de son grand'père, et encore bien avant, l'histoire que je vous raconte), les premières riant de toutes leurs forces, ne voulaient point céder la place, et elles se moquaient des autres etc.

et il s'entretenait avec Ndun. La paix régnait aux villages, et le Créateur était content.

Mais la dispute vint bientôt. Elle vint lorsque parmi les femmes, il y eut beaucoup de vieilles, et qu'il y eût aussi beaucoup de jeunes. En allant aux plantations, les vieilles femmes marchaient vite, vite, et les jeunes devaient suivre: et arrivant aux plantations, il fallait travailler, travailler beaucoup, les vieilles femmes chargeaient les jeunes, et celles-ci se plaignaient, mais leurs maris leur donnaient tort, et Ndun également: La femme doit travailler: *Bisé bunga, bunga bésé* = Travail pour les femmes, et pour toutes les femmes. Mais chaque matin, ce n'était plus la même chose. Dès que le vieux chef était sorti de sa case, lorsque le coq avait dressé ses plumes sur le haut du toit des cases et lancé son appel, toutes les femmes, suivant l'ordre qu'elles en avaient reçu, prenaient les vases et allaient à la fontaine chercher de l'eau. Cette fontaine était placée au fond de la vallée, car Ndun avait établi son village sur le haut de la colline, tout à fait comme celui-ci, pour être plus près du soleil qui réchauffait son corps déjà vieux. Le soleil est une très bonne chose: *Dzô da fè*[1], *nzoẋ za byè* = Le soleil brille, l'éléphant vient au monde.

Toutes les femmes allaient chercher de l'eau, les jeunes et les vieilles: les jeunes allaient vite, vite, et les plus vieilles, doucement, doucement (car elles craignaient de tomber). Dès qu'elles arrivaient à la fontaine[2], les jeunes femmes et les filles se hâtaient de puiser

[1] Dicton familier. On le dit souvent quand le soleil brille, et l'interlocuteur répond: *Mveñ ze sôñ*, la pluie vient et féconde.

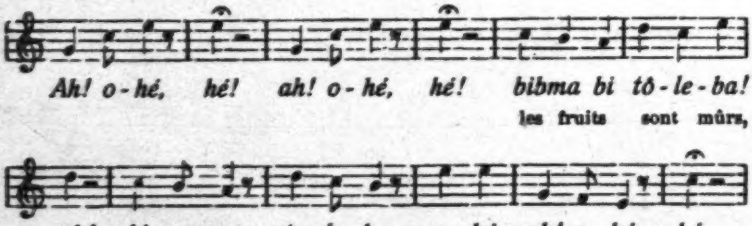
[2] Ce qu'on désigne par fontaine en fàñ se rendrait plus exactement par mare. C'est en effet une dépression remplie d'eau, alimentée par une source, et bien éclairée par le soleil. Toute la journée, le soleil l'échauffe à loisir. Matin et soir, les femmes viennent à la fontaine puiser l'eau nécessaire à la journée, et pour ce faire, entrent dans l'eau jusqu'à mi-corps, écartent de la main les impuretés de la surface et prennent de l'eau. Elles reportent ensuite leurs vases sur le bord et continuent leur bain qui est beaucoup moins un souci de propreté qu'un agréable rafraîchissement.

Toute la journée, les enfants sont aussi à la fontaine et à la rivière. Mais les Fàñ ne sont nullement difficiles sur la qualité de l'eau. Pourvu qu'elle ne soit pas absolument polluée, ils se préoccupent assez peu qu'elle soit fraîche et pure. Peut-être leur opinion a-t-elle une certaine base: on a constaté, en effet, maintes fois, que les eaux froides, ou cachées dans la forêt à l'abri du soleil, sont dangereuses et remplies de microbes, souvent empoisonnées par les racines des arbres et détritus végétaux.

de l'eau plein leurs vases, puis entrant dans l'eau, elles se baignaient et dansaient dans l'eau; quand les vieilles femmes arrivaient, l'eau de la fontaine était trouble; comme elles étaient pressées de remonter, il fallait puiser l'eau et la terre; quand le mari voulait boire, il ne trouvait qu'une eau vaseuse, et il criait très fort. Les vieilles femmes avaient beau dire, il criait, et après quelques reproches aux jeunes femmes, tout continuait comme par le passé. Les vieilles femmes étaient méchantes le soir, et les jeunes encore plus le matin. Or, un matin, les jeunes femmes s'étaient plus hâtées que les autres jours; cette nuit-là, il avait beaucoup plu, et les vieilles femmes allaient doucement, doucement car le sol était glissant. Quand elles arrivèrent à la fontaine, les jeunes femmes avaient déjà puisé leur eau, elles avaient fini de se baigner; quand les vieilles survinrent, les jeunes chantaient[1] pour se moquer d'elles.

Et elles chantaient:

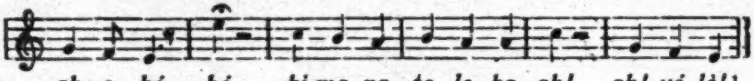
Bowa, Bowa, mur a ne oshua	Allez, allez, celui qui est le premier,
A dige bur bé mvuza	Qu'il regarde celui qui est le dernier,
Mvulléga, maréga	Courez-vite, hâtez-vous,
Bivès bilaréga ba wuż kważ, kważ[2]	Les jointures des os crient kwark, kwark[3]
Ah, ohé, hé, bibma bi tôleba	Ah! ohé, hé, les fruits sont mûrs.



[1] Les femmes fàñ ont l'esprit très caustique: dans leurs chants, elles savent dire les choses les plus piquantes sans en avoir l'air.

[2] L'air de cette chanson est demeuré encore aujourd'hui fort connu, et fournit même un rythme de danse.

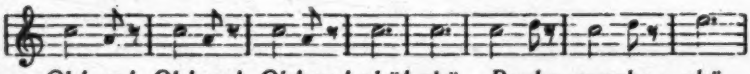
[3] Les jeunes filles, arrivées les premières, se moquent des vieilles, plus lentes, et dont les jointures craquent.



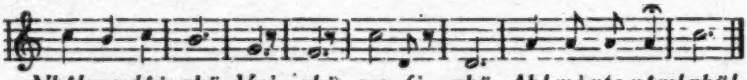
[1]

ils ont fini de mûrir!

Elles se moquaient des autres, et elles chantaient: *Bvwa, bvwa!* Les vieilles femmes étaient furieuses! Elles avaient beau se hâter, elles étaient toujours les dernières, et quand enfin elles pouvaient descendre puiser l'eau, les jeunes femmes étaient déjà parties, l'eau était toute boueuse. Ah! les vieilles femmes n'étaient pas contentes! Et alors, elles remontaient au village:



Soulevez la charge



La colline est dure, Le soleil est chaud, je suis vieille!

Et quand les pauvres vieilles arrivaient en haut, tout essouflées, tout haletantes, au seuil des cases, les jeunes femmes, assises sur le *kwa*[2], se gaussaient d'elles, et chantonnaient l'ironique refrain:

Ah! ohé, hé, bibma bi toleba, ha! Ah! ohé, oh!
les fruits ont fini de mûrir, ah! ohé, oh!

Endurer pareil affront, subir journellement pareils outrages, les matrones s'en sentaient incapables, et bientôt les coups pleuvaient: *Yi, yi, yi, kwas, kwas, yi, yi!*[3] et les cruches cassaient, le sang coulait, les unes pleuraient, et les autres boitaient . . . la situation

---

[1] Cette danse ressemble à notre polka, mais le deuxième temps est beaucoup plus rapide, le pied gauche partant le premier, et au deuxième temps, le pied droit exécutant un rapide jeté, avant de rejoindre le pied gauche: le danseur frappe des mains au premier pas de chaque mesure, et le tamtam frappe la première note fortement, laisse la deuxième, et donne deux petits coups à la troisième. Le *hé* isolé est «glissé» sur le tamtam.

[2] Sorte d'escabeau à trois pieds, taillé d'un seul morceau dans un bloc de bois, et qui fait partie intégrante du mobilier de toute case de Fâń.

[3] *Yi*, c'est-à-dire «les pleurs», *kwas*, les coups.

ne pouvait durer ainsi! Chaque jour, nouvelles disputes, chaque jour, nouveaux coups, et bientôt naturellement, les hommes se mirent de la partie. Les jeunes prenaient parti pour les jeunes, les vieux prenaient parti, qui pour les vieilles, qui pour les jeunes. Le chef du village dit: «Cela ne peut pas durer ainsi!» Tous les guerriers furent du même avis: «Cela ne pouvait durer ainsi», d'autant que les femmes, jeunes ou vieilles, perdaient maintenant tout leur temps à faire de nouvelles jarres, tant on en cassait! Pour aller chercher de la terre à poterie il y avait loin: les hommes n'étaient pas contents. Les femmes étaient encore plus fâchées.

Le vieux chef du village appelle donc le sonneur de trompe:

«Prends ton *élana,* lui dit-il, et parcours le village, en appelant les hommes.»

Le sonneur prit son *élana* d'ivoire et parcourut tout le village, en appelant les hommes. Ils vinrent tous dans la case du grand chef (maison commune) [1] et prirent place sur les bancs: les femmes vinrent aussi, mais on les fit rester dehors, comme c'est la loi, et elles regardaient par les fentes des bambous: elles écoutaient aussi.

La délibération fut longue: chacun prenait parti pour les siens; finalement il fut décidé ceci: à tour de rôle, chaque parti descendrait à son tour chercher de l'eau le premier. Le premier jour, les vieilles femmes devaient descendre d'abord, les jeunes ensuite; le second jour, les jeunes d'abord, les vieilles après. Et là-dessus, on se sépara.

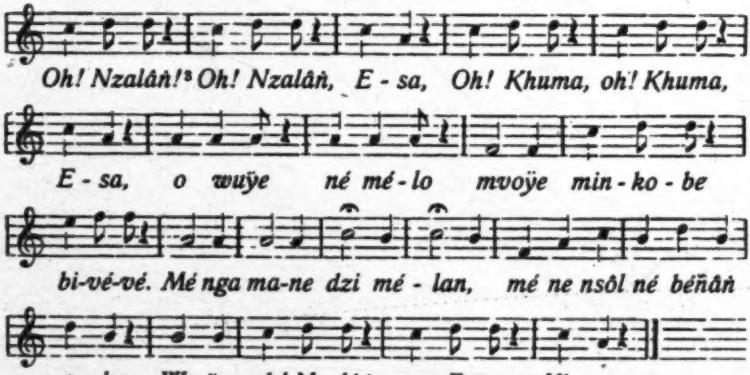
Le lendemain matin, les jeunes femmes, jarre sur le dos, attendaient impatiemment . . . Au tour des vieilles d'abord . . . Et voilà bien une autre affaire . . . les jeunes attendaient, attendaient, et personne ne voulait plus être vieille! . . .

---

[1] Nous avons été témoins d'une scène toute semblable dans un village fáń du Ht Nùm: à notre arrivée dans ce village, le chef venait de faire appeler tous ses hommes dans la grande case centrale qui sert partout de maison communale dans nos tribus. Sept à huit cents hommes étaient ainsi groupés, assis sur des bancs, et écoutaient dans un profond silence l'orateur qui développait ses raisons. Il s'agissait d'une guerre à déclarer. A notre arrivée, nul ne sembla faire attention: nous prîmes place au milieu d'eux, et la séance continua sans que l'orateur se fût interrompu. Quand la délibération eut pris fin seulement, on nous demanda «rudement» ce que nous voulions et pourquoi nous étions venus troubler l'assemblée.

Et les disputes recommencèrent . . .

Si bien, que ne pouvant arranger la chose, le vieux chef résolut d'aller au village du Chef de la Race, du Créateur universel, pour lui exposer la palabre. Il ordonne donc à sa femme de lui faire cuire des bananes, les enveloppe dans les feuilles d'amome, y joint un morceau de sanglier, relève son pagne . . . le voilà parti. Bvé [1], bvé, il marche, bvé, bvé, il marche longtemps, et content dans son cœur, car les présages ont été favorables; en partant, l'oiseau *mbva* a chanté à sa droite [2], et les cigales *fifé* l'ont salué au passage de leur cri strident. Bvé, bvé, il marche: le soleil a dépassé le milieu du ciel; il monte la grande colline, il monte à grand'peine, car le chemin est dur, et il arrive enfin à la grande caverne du Tonnerre. Dans sa main, il tient le fétiche protecteur, et en même temps, il chante le chant consacré, le chant qui met à l'abri des fureurs de l'Esprit *Nzalâń* (Tonnerre):



[1] Imitation de sa marche pénible.

[2] Les Fâń attribuent une très grande importance aux présages et interprètent les cris de beaucoup d'oiseaux. Si, par exemple, partant en voyage, ils entendent le cri du grand-duc (ou d'un grand oiseau de nuit semblable à ce dernier) ils rentreront chez eux et interromperont leur voyage. De même, si en partant du village, ils voient un petit oiseau noir, c'est présage de mort. La cigale, au contraire, porte bonheur.

[3] Le Tonnerre n'est pas en général redouté des Fâń, et dans la forêt, ils s'en moquent plutôt, car ils se croient bien à l'abri de ses attaques. De fait, dans les bois, avec le nombre infini de grands arbres, qui attirent et déchargent vite la foudre, il y a peu de danger pour les hommes qui circulent dans les sentiers; il en est tout autrement dans la montagne dénudée.

«O Tonnerre, o Tonnerre, Père et Seigneur, Seigneur et Père, écoute favorablement les prières et accueille les dons. J'ai mangé le *mélan*[1] (= je suis initié) et je suis consacré avec les prêtres de la nuit. Ecoute, ô Tonnerre, ô Père, ô Seigneur.»

Ce refrain est repris par l'assemblée: le narrateur continue ensuite par un chant assez long dont les termes archaïques échappent en partie aujourd'hui à la compréhension des indigènes, évocation au Tonnerre, fils du Ciel et de la Nuit, roi de la Foudre et des Eclairs, chef des Morts au sombre visage.

Le vieux chef a dépassé la caverne: il arrive au village du Dieu Créateur, et le voici en sa présence.

«Ah! Mbola, lui dit-il[2].

Et *Nzame* lui répond: «Mbola, chef des Hommes. Tu es venu?

— Oui, je suis venu, et voici ma requête. Dans mon village, la paix s'est enfuie, les femmes ne veulent plus obéir, les hommes n'écoutent plus ma voix. Que faire?

Et *Nzame* lui demande: «Pourquoi les femmes ne veulent-elles pas obéir? pourquoi les hommes n'écoutent-ils plus ta voix?»

Et le vieux chef, appuyé sur son bâton, déroula sa barbe tressée[3] et commença son discours:

---

[1] Dans la fête d'Initiation *(evôm)* ceux qui doivent être initiés mangent encore aujourd'hui le *mélan*, écorce de l'*Erythrophlœum Guineense*, qui cause, à faible dose, une sorte d'ivresse extatique, et à haute dose, la mort. Deux espèces très différentes fournissent le *mélan*. Dans les fêtes d'initiation proprement dites, aux premières épreuves, on fait absorber aux patients une assiette pleine d'écorce râpée de *mélan*. C'est alors l'écorce du Tabernanthe Iboga (Baillon), arbuste de 1—2 mètres, dont l'alcaloïde, l'Ibogaïne est somnifuge et aphrodisiaque. Au contraire, dans les «épreuves» et initiations du 2e degré, sous le même nom de *mélan*, on emploie l'écorce de l'*Erythrophlœum guineense*, qui renferme un poison dangereux, l'Erythrophlœine; il provoque des convulsions, suivies de l'arrêt du cœur. L'Erythrophlœum est un bel arbre de 30—40 mètres aux belles fleurs blanches. En Casamance, il est connu sous le nom de *deli* et *teli*, et sert également de poison d'épreuve. A Madagascar, on trouve l'Eryth. Conminga, avec les mêmes usages et propriétés.

Le chant que nous venons de citer prouve l'antiquité de ces coutumes.

[2] C'est-à-dire: Puisses-tu devenir vieux. C'est le salut ordinaire des Fâû.

[3] Encore aujourd'hui, dans les tribus de l'intérieur, tous les chefs portent la barbe tressée en fines cordelettes réunies ensemble à l'extrémité par un fil de cuivre. Les Fâû ont souvent une barbe majestueuse. Nous avons ainsi pu photographier deux chefs différents: à l'un, une superbe barbe s'étalait à flots

«O Dieu, Créateur, Maître de tout, tu m'as créé chef du village des hommes, cela, c'est bien. Tu as créé les hommes, c'est bien; mais tu as créé les femmes, ce n'est pas bien. Les hommes gardent la paix entre eux, mais avec les femmes, le moyen n'existe pas. Femme et porc-épic, c'est une seule et même chose: *Munga né ngôm, nga! biyô* [1]. C'est toi qui nous as créés, à toi de nous rendre la paix.»

Et *Nzame* répondit: «Je te la rendrai.»

«Bien, répondit le chef, tu le peux car tu es le tout Puissant, mais sans cela . . .»

Et ce jour là, *Nzame* et le vieux chef des hommes demeurèrent ensemble. Ce qu'ils se dirent, il serait trop long de vous le raconter ce soir . . . et puis, je n'y étais pas.

Le lendemain, le vieux chef des hommes vint dire à *Nzame*: «Je m'en vais.»

Et celui-ci: «Je vais avec toi.»

Et ils partirent ensemble. Longtemps, longtemps, ils descendirent, et le soir enfin ils arrivèrent au village des hommes, et tout le monde y dormait.

Et *Nzame* dit au chef: «Ne réveille personne, n'annonce ma présence à personne, demain, je veux juger par moi-même des querelles des femmes.»

Et ainsi que *Nzame* l'avait ordonné, ainsi le fit le vieux chef.

Et ils dormirent.

Au matin, les femmes descendirent à la rivière chercher de l'eau. Les jeunes, ce jour-là, étaient descendues les premières, et les disputes recommencèrent bien vite.

Du haut de la colline, *Nzame* considérait le spectacle. Et le vieux chef lui dit: «Que feras-tu?»

---

pressés au dessous des genoux; à l'autre, la barbe, moins fournie, dépassait les pieds, lorsqu'il était debout, de plus de 15 cm. De pareils faits ne sont pas rares: cependant, d'une façon générale, les Fâñ ont soin de s'épiler le menton et la lèvre supérieure. C'est un sacrifice rituel sur lequel nous aurons occasion de revenir. Les descendants directs de familles princières ont seuls le droit de porter ainsi la barbe.

[1] Proverbe fâñ dont la signification littérale est celle-ci: Une femme et un porc-épic, n'est-il pas vrai? (a. e. sont même chose). Des épines. Le proverbe joue sur le mot *nga* qui signifie à la fois «n'est-ce pas» et «femelle».

Mais *Nzame* répondit: «*Aké khu à ñhère ña!* L'œuf de poule n'en remontre pas à sa mère[1]. C'est moi qui suis l'Ordonnateur de toutes choses.»

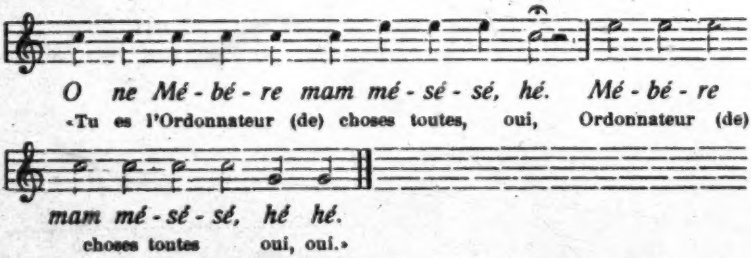
Et quand les femmes furent remontées au village, *Nzame* fit appeler le sonneur d'*élana*.

«Parcours le village, lui dit-il, et fais comparaître tous les hommes devant moi. Appelle toutes les femmes, et fais-les comparaître devant moi.»

Et tous les hommes vinrent, et toutes les femmes vinrent aussi. Et *Nzame*, apparaissant tout à coup au milieu de l'assemblée, le vent tomba, et chacun sentit le froid de la mort dans son cœur. Tous eurent très-peur.

Nzame prit la parole: «C'est moi, Ordonnateur de toutes choses.»

Et l'assemblée, toute entière, reprit: «C'est toi, l'Ordonnateur de toutes choses.»



«C'est bien, dit *Nzame*, et je suis venu mettre la paix au milieu de mes enfants.

— Tu es venu mettre la paix au milieu de tes enfants.

— Voici donc ce que vous allez faire.

— Voici donc ce que nous allons faire.

— Vous êtes devenus trop nombreux pour vivre sur la même colline, et vous m'avez désobéi: je vous avais dit: «Vous vivrez en paix et sans faire de disputes, vous n'avez pas obéi.»

Les hommes interrompirent en criant: «Ce sont les femmes qui ont désobéi.»

[1] C'est-à-dire un enfant n'interroge pas son père pour savoir ce qu'il fera: il doit obéir en silence.

Mais Dieu leur imposa silence: «Restez silencieux, c'est vous qui êtes les maîtres: *Fam a ne fam, munga munga.* L'homme est l'homme, la femme est la femme. Vous allez donc vous séparer, les uns iront à droite, les autres iront à gauche. Les uns iront en avant, les autres iront en arrière, et vous resterez en paix.»

Mais le vieillard Ndun, le chef de la race, eut beaucoup de peine dans son cœur en entendant ces paroles, et il tomba en arrière, et il était comme mort. Les femmes crièrent, et commencèrent les lamentations funèbres, et Dieu dit: «J'ai pris Ndun avec moi; parce qu'il est votre père, il doit rester avec vous: c'est moi, le Maître de la vie et de la mort.»

Et tous reprirent: «C'est toi, le Maître de la vie et le Maître de la mort.»

Mais le Créateur: «Ndun est encore vivant; mais il ne peut rester ainsi avec vous.»

Les Hommes ne comprirent pas. Le Créateur répéta: «Les uns iront à droite, les autres iront à gauche et ce sera la séparation: *Akane bé kanege.* Les uns iront droit devant eux et les autres s'en iront en arrière, et vous resterez en paix.»

Et les hommes répondirent: «C'est bien. Mais les animaux, que feront-ils? Resteront-ils aux villages?»

Et le Créateur: «Prenez avec vous ceux que vous voudrez.»

Et ils choisirent le chien et la poule. Et le chien et la poule restèrent avec eux. Pour les autres, le Créateur dit: «Je vais les renvoyer dans leurs forêts.»

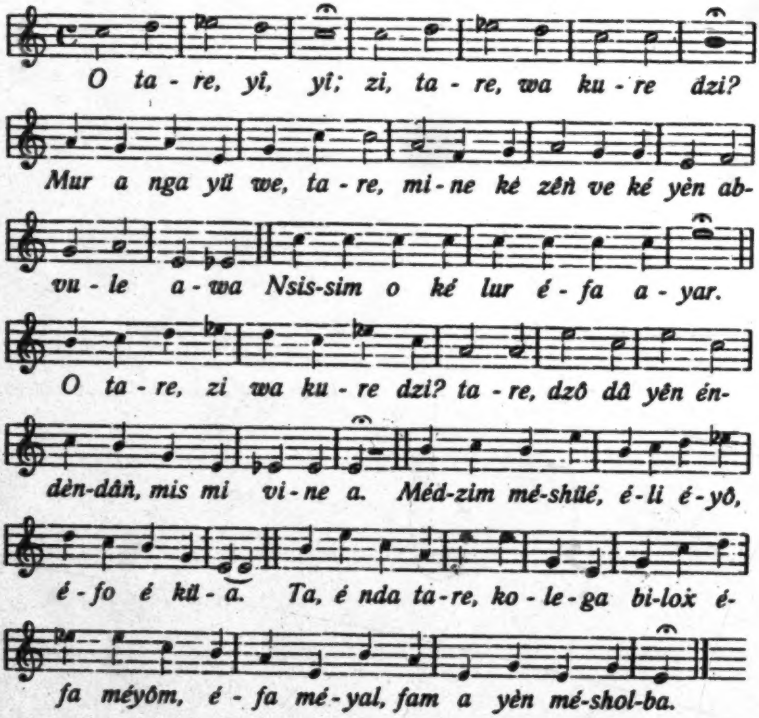
Les hommes réclamèrent: «Ils nous feront du mal.»

Mais le Créateur répondit: «Allez dormir dans vos cases, car voici que la nuit est venue. Demain, vous verrez «les choses».»

Et le lendemain, ils virent ces choses, et elles étaient deux. La première, c'est celle-ci: Ndun, le père de la race, en rentrant dans sa case, eut froid dans son cœur, car son peuple allait le quitter, et il dit à sa femme préférée: «Je suis mort.» Il se couche sur son lit. Le lendemain, il était froid partout et les femmes dirent: «Il est mort.» Nzame dit: «Je le sais, c'est moi, le Maître de la vie, c'est moi, le Maître de la mort. J'ai pris Ndun. Faites les funérailles.»

On fit les funérailles. Les femmes commencèrent les lamentations et le chant de mort [1]. Ce chant de mort, vous le connaissez, nous l'avons gardé.

Chant des derniers moments.



O Tare, yi, yi! zi tare, wa kure dzi?	O Père, hélas, hélas, pourquoi, ô Père, abandonnes-tu ton foyer?
Mur a ngâ yü we, tare!	Un homme t'a tué, ô père!
Mine ké zèn ve ké yèn abhule [2] *awn.*	Vous chercherez la vengeance de sa mort . . .
Naissim o ké lur éfa ayar . . .	Ton ombre va passer sur la rive opposée [3].

[1] Mgr. Le Roy a également reproduit ce chant de mort dans la «Religion des Primitifs». C'est un des plus beaux que nous connaissions, au point de vue des idées.

[2] Le chant est adressé par les femmes aux hommes présents, d'où l'adjonction.

[3] Allusion au fleuve que les morts doivent passer.

O Tare, zi wa kure dzi, tare?	O Père, pourquoi abandonnes-tu ton foyer, ô père!
Dzô da yèn éndèndâń, mis mi vinéa.	Le ciel s'est éclairé[1], les yeux se sont obscurcis.
Médzim méshûé éli é yô, éfô za kûa	L'eau (la vie) est tombée de l'arbre[2] goutte à goutte, le rat est sorti de son trou.
Ta! é nda tare.	Voyez, c'est la maison du père.
Kolega bilox	Cueillez les herbes funéraires.
Efa méyôm, éfa méyal.	(Aspergez) du côté droit, (aspergez) du côté gauche . . .
Fam a yèn méshol'ba! . . .	Un homme voit maintenant les choses invisibles.

Après le chant de mort, le Créateur ordonna: «Prenez deux femmes, une vieille et une jeune.»

Et on les prit. Et le Créateur dit: «Faites couler leur sang, car c'est moi, le Maître.» On fit couler leur sang et elles moururent. (Maintenant, on ne fait plus ainsi.) Et quand elles furent mortes, le Créateur dit: «Creusez une grande fosse.»

On creusa une grande fosse. Puis le Créateur ordonna: «Mettez Ndun au fond.»

Et quand il y fût étendu: «Maintenant, brûlez les deux femmes.» Et on les brûla. Et quand elles furent brûlées, le Créateur dit: «Cela, c'est le sacrifice, *zô to é ne atâń.*» Et ainsi vous ferez encore quand je l'ordonnerai: «Je suis le Maître.»

Ils répondirent: «Tu es le Maître.»

Nzame dit encore: «C'est bien: prenez les cendres et gardez-les avec vous: c'est le signe du mystère *(ndèm endzèndâń).* Je vous protégerai. Prenez ce qui reste des femmes et jetez-le sur le corps de Ndun.» Et on le jeta. «Exécutez maintenant les danses funèbres.» Quand elles furent dansées, le Créateur dit encore: «La nuit où Ndun est mort, à quel animal avez-vous songé?» Et chacun avait songé un animal. *Nzame* l'avait ainsi voulu.

Et chaque homme nomma un animal. *Nzame* dit: «C'est bien.» Il leva le doigt et dit seulement: «Je veux.» Et les animaux vinrent, un de chaque espèce, comme chaque homme avait pensé,

[1] Allusion à la croyance des Fǎń: la vie est la flamme qui illumine l'œil: à la mort, celui-ci se ternit, et la flamme de la vie qui est immortelle, reste dans l'atmosphère, d'où encore la croyance aux feux follets.

[2] La vie est comparée à un rat qui s'enfuit de sa retraite.

et il y en avait une grande quantité. Chaque animal vint près de chaque homme, comme il avait songé.

Le Créateur dit: «Que le sang coule.» Chaque homme prit son couteau de sacrifice et trancha le cou de l'animal: le sang coula et couvrit la colline.

Mais les enfants de Ndun réclamèrent: «Pourquoi, nous autres, n'avons-nous pas d'animal?» Le Créateur leur répondit: «Votre tête est vide. N'êtes-vous pas les fils de Ndun et mes enfants? Votre père était le lézard que j'ai fait au commencement des choses, quand il n'y avait rien encore! Que réclamez-vous encore? Je suis fatigué!»

Et les fils de Ndun se turent, car le Créateur était très en colère, et parce qu'ils avaient les cendres de leur Père Ndun. Ils ne dirent plus un mot. Le sang des animaux coula et couvrit toute la colline. Mais des hommes se tenaient là, sans avoir eu aucun animal pour faire répandre le sang. Le Créateur leur dit: «C'est bien. Allez couper les arbres que vous avez vus en songe.» Ils allèrent les couper et revinrent avec le bois. Le Créateur dit: «C'est bien.»

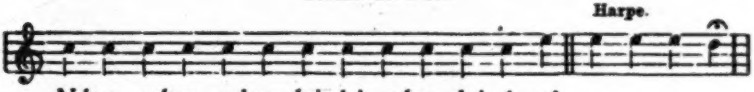
Et ces hommes, en effet, n'avaient pas vu d'animal dans leurs songes, mais ils avaient vu des arbres, chacun un arbre, chacun un arbre. Et l'on mit tout ce bois l'un sur l'autre, un arbre sur un arbre, un arbre sur un arbre. Ainsi fut fait par les hommes, et les autres animaux étaient là, venus des villages. Puis le Maître de la vie dit encore: «Mettez les animaux sur le bois.»

On fit comme il avait ordonné, et tout d'un coup, la chose que nous appelons maintenant «feu» s'éleva, et voici comment. Lorsque tous les animaux furent placés sur le bois, et il y en avait beaucoup, le Créateur fit un signe, et le Tonnerre vint: il éclata, et l'Eclair vint aussi: l'Eclair brilla, et aussitôt on vit une grande flamme s'élever; et le bois brûla. Et le Maître dit: «C'est le Feu.» Les Hommes dirent: «Oui, c'est bien. Le Feu est bon», et le fils aîné de Ndun chanta le chant du feu, le chant que vous connaissez. C'est le fils de Ndun qui chanta le feu le premier[1].

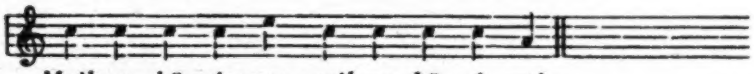
[1] On chante encore ce chant, non pour s'amuser, mais seulement dans les cérémonies de *ngola* ou d'expiation. C'est surtout un chant après les funérailles, pour procurer le repos à l'âme errante. On le chante encore dans une cérémonie particulière, l'*adzi nôme*. Lorsque un vieillard est fatigué de la vie, ou accablé d'infirmités incurables, il déclare qu'il veut être brûlé. On

Chant du Feu.

Harpe.

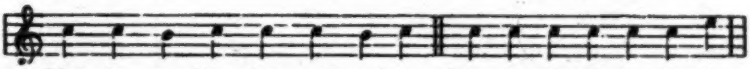


Ndua, ndua, ndua dzi ési, ndua dzi é - yô,
Feu, feu, feu du foyer d'en bas, feu du foyer d'en haut,



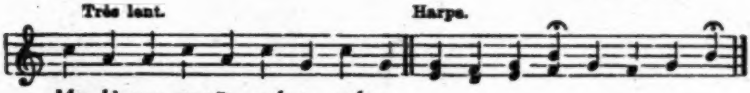
Myèl wa kũ é ngon, myèl wa kũ é vyè,
Lumière qui brille dans la lune, lumière qui brille dans le soleil,

Otiti wa lamba aluse, otiti wa sale éndèndâñ,
Etoile qui étincelle la nuit, étoile qui fend la lumière (étoile filante),



Nsissim nzalâñ, dzis mvès o-kôs, Ndua dzô da yô én-dèndân.
Esprit du tonnerre, œil brillant de la tempête, Feu du soleil qui nous donne la lumière,

Très lent. Harpe.



Ma lè we ngoĩa, ndua, ndua.
Je t'appelle pour l'expiation, feu, feu.

Ndua wa lur, méwua é mébo,
Feu qui passe, et tout meurt derrière tes traces,

Ndua wa lur, méñlña é mébo,
Feu qui passe, et tout vit derrière toi,

Bili bi dziga, ašu né ašu,
Les arbres sont brûlés, cendres et cendres,

Biloẋ bi nga fa, biloẋ bi nga wum,
Les herbes ont grandi, les herbes ont fructifié.

Ndua angom né bur, ma lè we ndua, ngoĩa.
Feu ami des hommes, je t'appelle, feu pour l'expiation.

---

construit alors un bûcher avec certaines essences d'arbres, dont l'une surtout brûle en donnant une chaleur extrême, et le cadavre, placé au dessus du bûcher, est vite consumé. Pendant que le cadavre brûle, on exécute au son du tamtam les danses funéraires et on chante en même temps le chant du feu que nous reproduisons ici. Ce chant est exécuté en chœur, le soliste donnant d'abord chaque phrase.

Ndua ma lè we, ndua nkam édzi,
Feu je t'appelle, feu protecteur du foyer,

Wa lur, bé kébana, ké mur édâñ édâñ,
Tu passes, ils sont vaincus, nul ne te surpasse,

Ndua dzi, ma lè we ndua ngoła.
Feu du foyer, je t'appelle pour l'expiation [1].

Lorsque tous les animaux eurent été consumés, les hommes, selon l'ordre qu'ils avaient reçu, recueillirent les os calcinés, et après les avoir broyés en poudre, les gardèrent avec les cendres de Ndun, chacun sa part, chacun sa part. Et le Créateur leur dit: «Cela, c'est l'Alliance de l'Union.» Tous les hommes dirent: «Nous l'aimons ainsi. Nous sommes frères de race.»

Après cela, on jeta les cendres sur le corps de Ndun, et quand la fosse fut comblée, le Créateur ajouta: «Allez chercher des pierres.»

On alla chercher des pierres, et on les mit sur la fosse, et les pierres s'élevèrent très haut, très haut. Le Créateur dit: «Voilà le signe. Quand, en voyage, vous verrez l'endroit où repose un homme, vous jetterez une pierre ou une branche ou une feuille, et vous ferez ainsi.»

Les hommes répondirent: «Nous ferons ainsi.»

Et le vieux chef ajoutait: «Nous avons toujours fait ainsi depuis lors, et c'est pour cette raison que nous agissons comme cela.»

Et quand les pierres furent montées très haut, très haut, le Créateur dit aux hommes: «C'est ainsi la Séparation où il faut se séparer: *Akane bé karége.*» Les Hommes partirent donc après, les uns à droite, les autres à gauche, les uns partirent en avant, les autres en arrière, et nul ne resta.

Et ceci est la première chose.

La deuxième, la voici. Elle arriva au moment où les hommes allaient se séparer. La deuxième chose, la voici donc:

---

[1] Les chants de *ngoła* ou d'expiation sont parmi les plus beaux sinon, toujours comme musique, du moins comme élévation poétique de sentiments et d'idées. Le chant du feu est un des plus remarquables.

Récit.

Le Créateur dit aux hommes. «C'est fini. Je ne m'occuperai plus de vous.»

Ils répondirent: «Pardon, oh! Pardon. Tu es notre Père et notre Gardien.»

Mais le Créateur leur répliqua: «L'Esprit de la Race demeurera avec vous, fort et puissant: il vous gardera.»

Tous dirent:

«Mais la nuit est venue.

— Vous irez donc dans vos cases et vous dormirez.»

Tous les hommes allèrent dans leurs cases et dormirent. Le lendemain au matin, ils revinrent dans l'*abéñe*, et le Créateur demanda:

«Vous avez eu les songes?»

Ils répondirent: «Nous avons eu les songes.»

Et le Créateur demanda: «Quel animal avez-vous vu dans votre songe?»

Et chaque homme avait vu le même animal qu'il avait immolé à Ndun; le Créateur l'avait voulu ainsi, car il dit: «C'est bien, je suis le Maître de la vie et le Maître de la mort. Sortez dans la cour du village.» Ils sortirent donc, et voici que les animaux vinrent aussi, chacun près de chaque homme, comme il avait rêvé. Les autres restèrent dans leurs villages.

Le Créateur dit: «Prenez vos couteaux de sacrifice et faites couler votre propre sang.»

Chacun prit son couteau de sacrifice et fit couler son sang.

Et il dit encore: «Prenez vos couteaux de sacrifice et faites couler le sang de l'animal.» Et ils firent ainsi.

«Prenez le sang de l'animal et mêlez-le au vôtre.» Et ils firent ainsi.

«Prenez votre sang et mêlez-le au sang de l'animal». Et ils firent ainsi.

Mais beaucoup n'étaient pas satisfaits[1]. Tous auraient voulu le tigre comme frère de sang. Mais le Créateur ajouta: «*Ké dige*

[1] Evidemment, comme la suite le montre, parce qu'ils avaient pris des animaux inférieurs comme frères de sang.

ékô, mur éki zia, mur éki zia. Ne regardez pas l'enveloppe: chaque chose a sa vertu particulière. Je suis votre Père.»

Et ainsi fut fait.

Et le lendemain, tous se séparèrent, chacun avec son animal particulier. Les autres animaux partirent dans la forêt, abandonnant le village où ils vivaient tous ensemble, et chacun fonda sa famille.

Chaque homme partit, emmenant avec lui sa famille, et personne ne resta au village, et chaque famille eut son *mvamayôt*[1]; c'est en lui qu'entre, après la mort, la Vertu de la Race, *ékiayôt.*—

Et voilà pourquoi, nous autres Ndun, nous avons le crocodile.»

La fin de ce récit fut bien un peu écourtée! Quand il touchait à son dénouement, à peu près tous les assistants s'étaient retirés, le connaissant déjà. Les autres dormaient, le vieux chef était fatigué, et ne demandait pas mieux que de s'en aller. Pour moi, de temps à autre, surtout aux interminables et monotones couplets qui de temps en temps émaillaient le récit et le prolongeaient de façon bien inutile, je ne jurerais pas de n'avoir pas été quelque peu inattentif. J'avais heureusement avec moi mon fidèle interprète Békalé, content de collectionner pour plus tard des récits qu'il ne connaissait pas encore dans sa race bosyeba; il se promettait bien de les redire plus tard dans la case, le soir, près des grands feux . . .

Nous n'insisterons pas sur ce récit, qui, entre plusieurs autres de même genre, montre cependant clairement l'idée de l'origine du totem d'après les Fàn.

C'est un échange de sang pour s'assurer la protection d'un animal donné pendant la vie, protection qui ne doit pas être mesurée à l'apparence de l'animal. Ce n'est pas un échange de sang pour que l'esprit de la race trouve, après la mort, un nouveau corps qui lui permette de se mouvoir et d'agir: ce serait la métempsycose: les Fàn ne l'admettent pas. C'est, après la mort de l'ancêtre, l'esprit de la famille ou de la race, ou, si l'on préfère, la vertu de la race allant reposer dans un animal, où le

[1] Le *mvamayôt* a donc seul fait alliance avec le tribu. C'est un parent humain, les autres restent animaux. Et voilà pourquoi aussi, comme nous le disions, on répète de temps à autre cet échange de sang pour «sacrifier» la parenté.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

rejoignent ensuite les émanations de cette vertu ou de cette force pour veiller efficacement sur la race qu'ils ont fondée, ou dont ils ont fait partie.

Aussi, quand Mgr. Le Roy[1] écrit en parlant des «frères de sang»: «Si cette parenté par échange du sang n'est pas tout à fait le totémisme, elle en est du moins «voisine», et nous aidera à le comprendre», nous le croyons plus près encore de la vérité qu'il ne le pense: la parenté par échange du sang, si nous nous en fions au sentiment des Fân, est plus que «voisine» du totémisme: c'en est un dérivé.

§ 3. L'origine du totem d'après les auteurs.

L'étude de l'origine du totem, d'après l'opinion actuelle des Fân, et d'après leurs légendes, relie le présent et le passé. Nous avons ainsi donné à l'origine du totem une cause qui pour être moins répandue que les motifs habituellement assignés, n'en offre pas moins des probabilités aussi grandes.

Les causes de l'origine du totem, ou ce qui est équivalent, du totémisme sont fort diverses, suivant les auteurs: les énumérer toutes serait impossible. Nous nous contenterons donc des principales, et encore seulement en tant qu'elles peuvent se rapporter au système fân. Les unes, nous les combatterons absolument. Pour les autres, nous indiquerons la part de vérité ou de vraisemblance qui peut s'y rattacher.

I° Cause du totémisme: La Crédulité populaire.

La première cause assignée que nous examinerons est celle-ci: la crédulité.

Pourquoi les Noirs ont-ils un totem?

Le totem est né de la simple crédulité des gens, disent les uns.

C'est la réponse la plus facile: ce n'est pas la plus scientifique.

C'est d'ailleurs la doctrine de ceux qui n'admettent aucun sentiment religieux chez les Noirs, et il y a de ces gens. C'est également la pensée de ceux qui, rejetant tout examen critique, attribuent, à priori,

[1] La Religion des Primitifs, op. cit.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

toute croyance religieuse à la pure naïveté des gens. Un croyant n'est autre chose qu'un naïf, un abusé, quelque soit sa religion. Ainsi dira au sujet du totem des indigènes du Niger, le Colonel Bruce[1] en s'appuyant sur le témoignage plus ou moins autorisé et assez peu probant des indigènes musulmanisés, c'est-à-dire, dit-il, déjà civilisés (ou dégagés de la superstition, ce qui est équivalent).

Ainsi, un homme qui a vécu longtemps parmi les Hottentots, Levaillant, par ailleurs naturaliste de valeur, écrit: «L'usage qu'on prête aux Hottentots de consulter les entrailles d'un mouton . . . et tous les contes de cette espèce, sont tout au plus dignes d'amuser le peuple. Là où il n'y a ni religion ni culte, il ne peut exister de superstition. Il n'y a ni médecins, ni prêtres, et dans l'idiome hottentot, aucun mot n'exprime aucune de ces choses. Il serait étonnant que ces peuples que j'ai si souvent fréquentés, avec lesquels j'ai vécu si longtemps, eussent été assez adroits ou assez faux pour se cacher de moi, au point que je ne me fusse jamais aperçu, ni par leurs discours, ni dans leur pratique de vivre, d'aucun signe ou d'aucun acte de superstition. Je me garderai bien de donner comme des usages religieux certaines privations qu'ils s'imposent d'eux-mêmes; par exemple, ils ne mangent jamais de lièvre, ni de la gazelle nommée duykers . . .»

Et si l'on en recherche la raison, Levaillant n'est pas embarrassé pour la trouver:

«Le lièvre est un animal informe (?) qui les dégoûte, la viande du duykers est trop noire, et ces animaux sont trop maigres.»

En somme, le Hottentot, sans aucun culte ni religion, mais «dans l'état de nature, est essentiellement bon» tandisque les Blancs n'ont que «des vertus factices dont les noms nous sont à peine connus, et le régime consenti par personne». On s'étonne que de semblables voyageurs puissent même noter un acte de superstition! Nous ne nous attarderons pas à réfuter Levaillant. Depuis longtemps, on a fait justice de ces assertions, et aujourd'hui, non-seulement on a reconnu une religion aux Hottentots, mais on l'a étudiée à fond. Nous sommes loin d'ailleurs de vouloir paraître même assimiler Bruce, qui est un savant de valeur, à Levaillant, voyageur remar-

[1] Bruce, du Niger au Golfe de Guinée, t. II, Le totem.

quable, mais observateur médiocre, et surtout prévenu, en sa qualité de philosophe, hostile avant tout à n'importe quelle idée religieuse.

«Ils conviennent à Kong, dit Bouza, que ceux qui ont imaginé la coutume des *tewé* [totem — *nlèvé*, et non *téwé*] étaient des gens bien simples, voir même des malins, disent-ils, car on ne trouve jamais comme *tewé* le bœuf, le mouton ou autre animal comestible, à moins qu'il ne soit d'une rareté telle qu'il soit introuvable, comme un bœuf absolument noir, n'ayant pas un poil blanc!»

De même, nous pouvons remarquer chez nos Fâñ, pareille restriction pour les totems qui au premier abord sembleraient trop communs, tel le sanglier, l'antilope, le mica, l'iguane: ils doivent alors réunir un ensemble de conditions qui les rendent vraiment dignes de leur qualité, et du respect que leur témoignera la tribu.

«Quelle douce privation en effet de se passer de la fantaisie de manger ou de toucher:

Un merle métallique.
Un vautour urubon.
Un petit sénégalais (merle d'oiseau).
Un bœ.
Un trigonocéphale.
Un lion.
Un légume sauvage qui ne rentre jamais dans l'alimentation courante.
Du lait de fauve.
Une certaine variété de mouches!

Les Dioula l'ont si bien compris qu'ils ont laissé tomber les *tewé* dans l'oubli.»

IIe Cause de totémisme: Survivances de l'ancien culte familial.

En rapportant le passage de Bouza, Ancze[1] propose une opinion diamétralement opposée, que nous ne pouvons d'ailleurs adopter pour les Fâñ, pas plus que la précédente. Pour lui, ce sont les restes de l'ancien culte familial; à la rigueur, on pourrait l'admettre, mais ces restes sont aussi le souvenir de l'ancien état de l'humanité errant par bandes dans les forêts, animaux plus ou moins perfectionnés, évoluant vers l'état actuel. Cette théorie évolutionniste place l'homme auprès, sinon au dessous du singe.

Evidemment nous ne saurions admettre, ni d'ailleurs discuter et réfuter ici cette opinion.

Mais laissons parler Ancze, bien que cette citation soit un peu longue; nous la donnons cependant, car à d'autres points de vue, elle est intéressante et, par certains endroits, pourrait s'appliquer à nos Fâñ.

[1] La Guinée française, *op. cit.*, p. 249. Art.: Les Tewé.

«Les Dioula [1] l'ont si bien compris qu'ils ont laissé tomber les *tonsi* dans l'oubli, dit Bouche. Nous dirons plutôt que ces Dioula (Soninké) ne comprennent plus les touchantes légendes de leurs ancêtres, nous montrant l'animal humain errant par bandes, comme le chimpanzé actuel, et trouvant parmi les autres créatures, bestioles ou fauves, reptiles ou poissons, des ennemis ou des alliés. Ils sont, hélas, déjà trop civilisés. Comment ces marchands pour qui Allah représente la création entière (Allah! mot qui explique tout), comment ces marmotteurs de patenôtres peuvent-ils saisir les mystères étranges de la brousse! Il leur est désormais interdit de pénétrer les arcanes de cette nature, de communier avec elles. Plus jamais, ils ne vivront ce temps où «les bêtes parlaient», plus jamais ils ne connaîtront les secrets des plantes et des minéraux.

«Mais s'ils ne comprennent plus, ils savent que le *ntiné* existe dans leur famille, et il ne faut pas en croire leur renoncement. C'est la seule manière d'arriver à obtenir une réponse, à condition d'user d'une patience inaltérable. Il faut tenir compte aussi de la crainte superstitieuse qui s'attache à l'énonciation du *ntiné*. Car non seulement il ne faut pas toucher, ni manger l'être animé ou inanimé qui sert d'emblème à la famille, mais encore il est très souvent dangereux de le regarder, et il faut en parler le moins possible.

«Lorsque ces Dioula de Kong disaient que les emblèmes éponymes ont été choisis parmi des objets presque introuvables et lorsqu'ils donnaient comme unique conséquence de cette croyance la défense de manger le *tiné*, ils trompaient volontairement leur interlocuteur. Ainsi les Bamana ne construisent pas leurs toitures avec la paille qui est un *ntiné* pour eux. Or, la paille n'est pas rare, et de plus, ils se soumettent, ce faisant, à une gêne incontestable.»

Pareil fait existe chez les Fân: c'est ainsi que nous avons rencontré dans un village les cases faites en vannerie, en bambous entrelacés, au lieu de l'être comme partout ailleurs, en bambous ou en écorces d'arbres. Recherches faites, les bambous étaient en

[1] Les Dioula sont une fraction des Soninké, la grande tribu de la Guinée française dont le totem éponyme est le *sané* ou lamantin. La légende nous les montre sacrifiant au peuple des rivières.

La réflexion des Dioula citée par Bouche nous paraît d'autant plus fausse que nombre de leurs tribus ont, non pas des totems rares, mais des totems très que l'on se rencontre partout. *Ainsi la famille des tribus Fofana* s, d'après Bouche, les totems suivants: l'éléphant, le lion, la panthère, le serpent (sup.) et le bœ. Les Dioula ont eux-mêmes «la tête de chèvre». Les Soninké ont le lion et le caïman, les Bangoura le léopard, les Kamara le mange mil, les Touré l'éléphant et le serpent à deux têtes. Les Samoura, l'éléphant, dont ils portent le nom: Samou. La grande tribu des Malinké, l'hippopotame; ils se divisent en trois fractions ayant le rat palmiste, la panthère et l'iguane comme *ntiné*, le bœ, le campagnol et le serpent trigonocéphale. Les Bamana ou Bambara ont le caïman comme *ntiné* collectif et leurs subdivisions, les chiens *Sidés*, le chien, le lion, le lait de fauve *(berlaba)* le piment, le singe vert, le chien.

On voit la grande variété de ces totems ou *ntiné*.

effet rares dans le pays, mais en pleine forêt, rien de plus facile à trouver que l'écorce de l'arbre qui est toujours employé à cet effet, à cause de sa facilité à se détacher d'un seul morceau. A nos interrogations, le chef répondit simplement: C'est *éki*, c'est défendu pour nous, et il détourna la conversation, car on ne doit pas parler des *éki*, de même qu'au pays soso. Je sus plus tard que cet arbre était son *niéné*: il ne pouvait donc en employer l'écorce.

«Au contraire, s'il était défendu seulement aux Bamana de ne pas manger de paille, ce ne serait pas une cruelle privation, et les gens de Kong auraient parfaitement raison dans leurs conclusions.

«C'est donc une conception erronée que de représenter les croyances au *niéné* uniquement comme une défense de manger l'être symbolique. Elles sont basées sur des idées d'un ordre plus élevé qui ont peu à peu perdu une partie de leur signification» [1].

Nous retrouvons la syllabe *ma* dans la plupart des peuples de l'Afrique occidentale: Mandé, hommes de *ma*, Mandingo (Mandingues), Enfants de *ma*, Malara (hommes de *ma*).

«*Ma* est, à n'en pas douter, un terme qui désigne l'ancêtre commun divinisé. Cet ancêtre, Garama, a donné son nom aux Garamantes, peuples de Lybie, ancêtres de nos Africains actuels [2]. Garama était un homme blanc, venu par mer. Aussi, comme le Viracucha péruvien, ce Dieu paraît avoir été d'origine marine et nous savons que les Grecs prirent en Lybie le culte d'Okéanos. Là également, et non loin du pays des Garamantes, ils avaient fait naître le peuple des Tritons, Amphitrite etc. Or le terme *ma* désigne chez les Mandé les puissants animaux qui sillonnent les eaux des fleuves africains, animaux dont ils se disent parents, *ma*, le lamentin (*mâba* en fâ), *bama*, le caïman [*ngan*], *mali* l'hippopotame [*nzok mâdzim*, éléphant d'eau], d'où les Malinké et les Bamana qui forment la souche Mandé . . . En définitive . . . Garamantes signifie à notre avis Hommes de *ma*, tout comme *ma-ndé*, et *ma-ndi-ké* [3].»

Pour Ancin, le *niéné* n'est donc que l'ancêtre commun divinisé. C'est relativement facile à admettre lorsqu'il s'agit d'un animal ou

[1] Ancin, pp. 248, 249.

[2] Voir chez Ancin, *l. c.*, p. 250 et m. la série de preuves.

[3] Ancin, p. 190.

ou d'un oiseau, voir d'un poisson ou d'un arbre, plus difficile lorsqu'il s'agit, par exemple, d'une calebasse brisée. Il est vrai que les Noirs l'expliquent alors par une punition infligée à l'ancêtre.

L'origine du totem pour cet auteur est donc assez simple: c'est l'ancien état de la tribu perpétué à travers les âges, avec les modifications nécessaires du temps. «Il semble que la société ait universellement débuté sous la forme du clan, qui représente la race[1]. Ainsi le clan aryen qui s'appelait *gôtra*, la vacherie. En se désagrégeant au profit d'associations plus restreintes, il a produit les différents types de familles. Le *nténé* du clan devint l'origine des cultes domestiques[2], les familles identifiant l'être éponyme à leur premier patriarche, puis à la longue l'associant seulement à l'existence de ce dernier. Le premier père de famille, la première mère de famille, suivant que la famille était agnatique ou cognatique devinrent des héros divinisés, et tous ceux qui pouvaient se rattacher en ligne directe à ces demi-dieux devinrent des patrons, chargés de perpétuer le culte de la famille et la famille elle-même.»

Nous avons déjà fait ressortir, en parlant de la formation du clan, que nous étions absolument opposés à ce mode d'origine. Quant à l'ancêtre divinisé, tout au plus pourrait-on concilier que *Nzame*, mot que nous employons pour désigner Dieu, fût le premier de la race fân, divinisé dans la suite des âges. Ce point fort douteux sera discuté plus tard en parlant de la religion des Fân.

Nous ne saurions donc admettre l'opinion de ces premiers auteurs et de toute l'école évolutionniste, lorsqu'elle dit par exemple: «Nous croyons qu'il y a dans ces légendes (totémiques) *une tradition aussi vieille que l'homme, qui rattache son origine à* l'espèce animale[3], d'où un grand respect pour les animaux.

---

[1] C'est-à-dire, comme l'explique l'auteur, les hommes ont commencé par errer en bandes, comme les animaux.

[2] Nous avons montré en temps et lieu le mal-fondé de cette opinion: le culte domestique est alors plus ancien, et le premier des cultes, au moins contemporain du culte de l'ancêtre éponyme.

[3] Cf. *Les idées d'évolution dans l'Antiquité et dans le Moyen Age*, par Fréd. Houssaye.

«Les théories évolutionnistes n'ont fait que revêtir cette antique doctrine d'apparences scientifiques, et nous cherchons à leur lumière, dans les Iles de la Sonde, les traces du Pithécanthrope. Ce que nous avons observé dans les croyances nègres nous permet d'être affirmatif sur ce point: l'homme pour le Noir est le parent des animaux: ceux-ci sont les ancêtres de celui-là.»

Ce point est complètement faux pour les Fàń qui distinguent nettement. *Nzame* créa d'abord les hommes, puis les singes, puis les animaux. Les animaux ont une âme, *nsissim*, mais non pas le *khun*, en qui est la partie essentielle avec le *ki*[1].

On leur prête les sentiments et les pensées humaines. Le singe est, toujours, le plus rapproché de nous. C'est un homme dégénéré, non en ce sens qu'il ait d'abord été homme, mais parce que *Nzame* l'a créé après l'homme. C'est le vieil homme, «l'ancêtre», traduirait un Darwinien. Il a, comme l'homme normal, sa famille et sa nation.

Le cynocéphale était pour les Egyptiens l'emblème de l'éloquence, de la sagesse de la raison. Le Nègre a les mêmes idées: pour lui, le singe est un «malin». Il sait très bien parler, mais il sait aussi que l'usage de la parole est funeste et que c'est une des causes de l'asservissement de l'homme. Aussi refuse-t-il de parler pour ne pas être obligé de travailler! Cette explication, on le voit, ne manque pas de saveur[2].

[1] Cf. 1ère partie: l'âme fàń.

[2] L'on se garde bien d'ailleurs de troubler la quiétude de ces heureux singes. Mais si par hasard l'un d'eux s'est laissé attraper et se trouve prisonnier d'un *Blanc, tout en lui donnant à manger des bagatelles, ce sont des sarcasmes sans* fin de toute la marmaille des environs. «Travaille, travaille», crie-t-on à la pauvre bête qui essaie de tromper sa nostalgie en allées et venues, aussi loin que sa chaîne le lui permet. «Nous savons bien pourquoi vous voulez tous ces chimpanzés, disaient les Noirs aux demandes qui leur étaient adressées d'en capturer pour les expériences de l'Institut Pasteur, nous savons bien pourquoi vous voulez tous ces chimpanzés. C'est pour les faire travailler à votre chemin de fer!» Il est certain que lorsqu'on a remarqué ce que ces animaux arrivent à faire quand on les éduque et même en observant leur genre de vie à l'état sauvage, on ne peut s'empêcher d'être surpris.

Une légende au sujet des singes est encore rapportée par Mr. Cuonier: Au début du monde, Dieu avait défendu d'aller à la pêche le samedi, mais une partie des anciens hommes dédaigna les ordres divins, et celui-ci les punit en les changeant en singes. De là, les fidèles observent fidèlement le samedi.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

«Beaucoup d'animaux possèdent plus ou moins les qualités que l'on reconnaît au singe. Non seulement le chien crie, mais il parle quand il aboie.

«La hyène est un «ancien esprit». C'est le *Nama koro,* le vieux Nama.

«Le respect du pasteur pour ses bœufs est très grand. On ne tue un bœuf que lorsqu'il est à toute extrémité: il est interdit de toucher à la vache. Jamais non plus un veau n'est immolé.»

De toutes ces traditions, et de beaucoup d'autres que l'on retrouve aussi bien chez les Fân que dans les autres tribus, l'école évolutionniste infère l'origine animale de l'homme; le totémisme n'en serait qu'une survivance. Nous y voyons bien souvent, au contraire, des lois d'utilité publique ou toute autre raison, et nullement l'origine totémique.

Mais passons à une autre cause, qui réunit également une certaine quantité de partisans, et que certains d'entre eux ont appelé le Métamorphosisme.

III° Cause du totémisme: Le Métamorphosisme.

Deux causes déjà de totémisme ont été étudiées: la naïveté des gens, puis la survivance ou le souvenir de ces temps anciens où l'évolution de l'homme n'étant pas achevée, le laissait encore au rang des animaux de la forêt, dont il partageait à la fois les instincts et la vie. Cette doctrine n'est, en aucun point, celle des Fân.

Une troisième cause se présente à nous: ce que nous pourrions appeler le «métamorphosisme».

Mgr. Le Roy[1] *l'a décrit ainsi:*

«Il est possible et probable que, en bien des cas, il [le totémisme] se soit rattaché, par assimilation, à d'autres origines.

«Si, par exemple, un ancêtre respecté ou craint comme sorcier émérite a annoncé, fait comprendre, ou manifesté d'une façon quelconque que, à sa mort, son âme passerait en telle ou telle créature, cette déclaration suffira pour créer le culte totémique chez ses descendants.»

[1] Cf. Religion des Primitifs, *op. cit.* Le Primitif et la Famille, p. 121.

Pour nous, malgré l'autorité du savant auteur, nous ne croyons pas que cette manifestation ou cette parolé de l'ancêtre crée le culte totémique chez ses descendants; il nous semble y avoir là une certaine erreur dans les termes, en ce qui s'applique tout au moins à la tribu fàñ et, par là, aux tribus bantoues. Il y a là confusion à la fois entre le totem tribal et le totem individuel, et c'est pourquoi nous avons beaucoup insisté sur cette distinction essentielle; il y a également confusion entre le culte totémique, et un culte totémique. Prenons, en effet, les faits, avec les circonstances les plus favorables. Un ancêtre, respecté ou craint, meurt après avoir annoncé à ses descendants qu'il renaîtra dans tel animal qu'il désigne: il arrive qu'après sa mort, par hasard ou par toute autre influence, un animal de l'espèce désignée apparaisse près du village: rien de surprenant à la chose.

Ainsi, nous avons été témoins du fait suivant. Dans la tribu des Ebifill, mourut un chef dont le totem individuel était le serpent noir. Or, deux jours après, une de ses femmes, allant aux plantations cultiver son champ, fut piquée au sein par un serpent noir en serrant une gerbe de tiges de manioc. Elle se traîna au village et mourut. On en conclut immédiatement que le totem du défunt était irrité par la violation d'un *éki*, et on fit les sacrifices requis. De peur qu'il ne restât encore quelque chose d'inexpié, il y eût immédiatement cette «substitution de nom» dont nous avons déjà parlé, et «changement de totem».

De même, il pourra parfaitement arriver, et il arrive de fait qu'après la mort d'un homme, tel ou tel animal, bienfaisant et utile, par exemple l'éléphant ou le sanglier, ou dangereux, comme le tigre, apparaisse et soit signalé près du village. Chez les Fàñ, il n'y aura pas pour ce fait changement de totem individuel, mais cela peut arriver dans d'autres tribus. Les Fàñ se contenteront de donner ce totem particulier aux enfants qui viendront à naître dans ces moments. De là, beaucoup d'hommes s'appelleront *Nze*, le tigre, ou *Ngü*, le sanglier. Dans ces noms, il n'y aura rien de totémique, rien non plus de dû à la parenté.

Mais, dans tous ces cas et tous les autres du même genre, qu'arrive-t-il? Y a-t-il établissement ou fondation du totémisme?

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Nous ne le croyons pas. C'est un nouveau totem individuel qui s'établit: ce totem ne deviendra même pas totem familial, sauf dans des cas rares, jamais tribal car il existe déjà, et de plus, ce serait un totem «double»: il y aura continuation et confirmation du culte, nouvelle manifestation totémique, et ce sera tout. Mais dire que la parole ou la crainte de l'ancêtre, confirmée par les faits, donnera naissance au culte totémique jusque là ignoré dans la tribu, et que ce serait là seulement «créer le culte totémique chez ses descendants» au vrai sens du mot, il nous paraît impossible de l'admettre.

De fait, et c'est là l'important, nous nous trouvons en face d'un phénomène patent. Dans toutes les tribus bantoues, dès qu'elles sont étudiées à fond, on trouve le totémisme existant, d'une façon plus ou moins développée. Il est ici très atténué comme le remarque Sir H. Johnston[1] à cause des guerres incessantes, là, au contraire, très étroitement maintenu. On le retrouve non-seulement existant actuellement, mais encore remontant, comme nous l'avons montré, aux origines mêmes de la race. Aussi, est-ce là seulement qu'il faut en chercher l'explication, et non dans un fait ou une série de faits, même comme en cite Mgr. Le Roy. Après ces faits, on se demanderait toujours comment une tribu aurait eu d'abord l'idée d'une telle protection animale. Cette idée serait l'explication même d'un totémisme antérieur dont il faudrait toujours ensuite donner les raisons. La difficulté se verrait simplement reculée. Il resterait encore à faire admettre qu'un clan, une famille ou une tribu acceptât ainsi un culte jusqu'alors inconnu, créât tout un ensemble de rites et de prescriptions, et les fît agréer par tous. Cela nous paraît difficile.

D'ailleurs, les Fân admettent déjà les faits de ce genre, et c'est bien là un développement du totémisme, ou mieux encore, un phénomène qui lui est connexe, et même étroitement joint. En particulier, les tribus Osyeba admettent une sorte de métamorphose, dont nous avons déjà parlé: les âmes des chefs, satisfaites des sacrifices funéraires reçus et désireuses de faire encore du bien à leurs descendants, iront, avant d'aller habiter définitivement l'au delà heureux, séjourner, pour un temps, dans le corps d'un éléphant (séjourner dans,

[1] The Uganda Protectorate. Voir ce qui est dit de chaque tribu différente au sujet de son totémisme.

mais non «animer») et procurer ainsi à leurs descendants, en amenant d'autres éléphants à leur portée, des chasses fructueuses, abondance de nourriture et de biens, c'est-à-dire d'ivoire, source de marchandises. Comme nous l'avons dit, l'âme s'échappe alors de sa demeure provisoire pour avertir pendant la nuit l'âme des descendants.

Cette sorte de métamorphose de l'ancêtre en animal est quelquefois une cause de sa transformation en totem, ou plutôt, ce qui sera beaucoup plus vrai, en animal totémique, c'est-à-dire en totem particulier. Elle explique alors tout naturellement la vénération dont certains représentants de l'espèce sont l'objet lorsqu'ils portent les marques spéciales et nécessaires. Encore faut-il remarquer que ce «métamorphosisme» n'en est pas un véritable, mais une simple «cohabitation». L'homme n'est pas transformé en animal, mais son âme dirige un animal. De plus, cette croyance est particulière aux seuls Bosyeba, dans la nation fàń [1].

Ces marques expliquent la vénération dont on entoure ensuite les animaux de cette espèce ainsi désignés. Il faut cependant bien remarquer que, seules, les âmes des chefs de famille ou de tribu s'enferment ainsi (car on ne peut dire: «s'incarnent»), dans certains animaux pour y réaliser une vraie cohabitation.

Cette sorte de cohabitation d'une partie agissante de l'âme de l'ancêtre dans le corps d'un animal peut être une cause de sa transformation en totem. Ce sera encore, d'une façon plus vraie et surtout plus fréquente, sa transformation en animal totémique ou en totem particulier. Par là, s'explique tout naturellement le respect dont les représentants de l'espèce sont l'objet. Encore ne s'applique-t-il pas à l'espèce toute entière, mais aux seuls individus offrant certains signes particuliers, signes permettant de les apparenter de façon certaine à l'ancêtre.

Il n'est d'ailleurs nullement nécessaire que l'animal où va pour un temps reposer l'ancêtre, soit le totem du défunt ou de la tribu. Pendant notre séjour dans le nord, un chef mort deux ans auparavant s'était ainsi «reposé» dans un porc-épic, bien que son propre totem fût, comme je m'en étais assuré, le serpent d'eau. Mais

[1] On retrouve même croyances dans les tribus de l'Est-africain. L'âme du roi défunt va «habiter» chez un lion.

c'était un excellent chef: rien que de très naturel à ce qu'après sa mort, il voulût encore faire du bien à sa tribu en lui donnant occasion de faire de fructueuses chasses. Il se «reposa» donc en corps de porc-épic, et on le reconnaissait, disaient les gens, à ce signe que ce porc-épic avait la tête entièrement blanche. Naturellement, on se fût bien gardé de le tuer! C'eût été attirer sur la tribu les plus grands malheurs. Il avait entraîné à sa suite de véritables bandes de porc-épics. De là, des chasses merveilleuses! Il s'agissait évidemment d'un fait tout accidentel et absolument indépendant de la mort du chef. Mais, pour ce cas, et pour bien d'autres similaires, la croyance des Noirs est toute différente de la nôtre!

Les Fân avaient donc attribué au vieux chef cette abondance de gibier; pour lui montrer leur reconnaissance, tous les enfants mâles nés dans les six premiers mois qui avaient suivi la mort du chef, avaient reçu le nom de *Ngôm*, porc-épic. La chose ne laissait pas d'amener une certaine confusion lorsque le nom du père était déjà le même: de plus, quelques enfants avaient le nom du père accolé à celui du grand-père encore pareil, Ngômengôm-ngôme! Ce gibier extraordinaire avait même causé la seule dérogation que j'aie vue à la loi totémique qui défend aux femmes, entre autres viandes, la viande de porc-épic, et elles s'en étaient donné à cœur joie. Cependant, au bout de deux ans de ce régime, tout le monde était fatigué!

«Mais pourquoi, leur disais-je en réponse à leurs plaintes, mangez-vous encore de cette viande dont vous vous prétendez lassés, écœurés! Mangez autre chose!»

«Et comment faire? me répondirent-ils, il n'y a plus rien dans nos plantations, plus de manioc, plus de patates, plus de bananes. Rien que des trous pour les porc-épics qui ont tout dévoré!»

Et lorsque nous nous éloignâmes, on commençait toutes sortes de danses et de sacrifices pour tâcher de persuader à l'ancêtre de s'en aller ailleurs, ou de quitter son séjour temporaire. Abondance de bien nuit! dit le vieux proverbe.

Et ainsi était née, mais se mourait aussi, une manifestation de culte totémique.

Ces mêmes traces de transformations temporaires, se retrouvent dans le mythe de Ngurangurane prenant la forme d'un aigle, du

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

ndzü, bien qu'à sa mort, il n'y ait pas eu métempsycose. Ainsi en est-il, chez les Malinké, de leur grand chef Sundiata transformé par la légende en hippopotame, un jour qu'il se baignait dans le Niger. Tout probablement, il y avait simplement disparu noyé. Tel, nous rapporte encore la Chronique d'Eusèbe, le roi égyptien Ménès qui, en conduisant son peuple hors du royaume, fut changé en hippopotame et prit le nom d'Isp.

Les mythes fabuleux des races blanches abondent en ces sortes de transformations. Ovide et Virgile nous en ont laissé des exemples devenus familiers. On les trouve au contraire rarement dans la race noire, et dans les récits même merveilleux de nos Fâñ, je ne pourrais citer que très peu de faits de ce genre. L'âme d'un mort, en quelques circonstances particulières, vient bien habiter un animal, comme nous venons de le voir pour les tribus Osyeba à l'égard de l'éléphant, mais ce ne sera que pour un temps, et dans un certain but. Ni l'animal, ni l'âme, ne perdent pour cela leur individualité particulière.

Si, après sa mort, un homme ne se transforme pas en animal, le cas au contraire est fréquent pour les vivants. Les légendes fâñ abondent en faits merveilleux de ce genre, et les transformations des héros voulant échapper à leurs ennemis et prenant la forme d'animaux sont innombrables. De même, beaucoup de sorciers jouissent, paraît-il, de la faculté de se transformer à leur gré en animaux, et l'homme-tigre, ou l'homme qui se transforme en tigre pour mieux exécuter ses vengeances ou conquérir des richesses, se retrouve dans toutes les tribus. Mais, en ce moment, nous n'avons pas à discuter la réalité ou la non-réalité de ces transformations. C'est là le cas d'hommes vivants et, par conséquent, ne ressortissant pas de l'origine du totémisme. Nous les retrouverons en parlant des sorciers.

IV° Cause de totem: La Crainte.

«Dans certains cas, un sentiment très naturel, la crainte, donne également une cause de «totémisation». Le totem n'est plus alors cet animal éponyme choisi par l'ancêtre et considéré comme être bienveillant. On l'a au contraire choisi précisément parce que

c'était un ennemi, dont on redoutait la colère, et dont on voulait éviter les représailles» [1].

Ainsi Ngurangurane, après avoir tué le Crocodile Ombure, lui offre des sacrifices, et ordonne qu'un culte lui soit rendu. Pour les totems de tribu, ce cas est beaucoup plus rare que pour les totems de famille ou surtout d'individu: il est fréquent pour les totems particuliers, mais alors il faut remarquer que nous sortons un peu du système général. Aussi sommes-nous assez peu de l'avis d'Arcin qui donne cette cause comme fréquente pour l'origine du totem parmi les peuples guinéens:

«On ne représente plus toujours le totem comme l'ancêtre. C'est au contraire quelquefois un ennemi. Le trigonocéphale, chez les Koaté, tua le fils aîné du patriarche de la famille pendant que la mère était aux champs. De là, on choisit le trigonocéphale comme totem. Ce choix nous paraît bien inspiré par la crainte. Une légende analogue que l'on met sur le compte du boa et de la panthère est racontée chez certains Kamara.»

Le choix est parfaitement compréhensible pour qui connaît la mentalité noire. J'ai entendu également la même légende racontée dans un clan fâñ. Fatigué des ravages causés par un tigre, me fut-il raconté en substance, tel de nos ancêtres du clan, et on me le citait comme fort éloigné, résolut de prendre ce tigre comme *mvamayôñ*. Il lui fit donc un grand sacrifice, lui offrit beaucoup de cabris, et devint son frère de sang [2]. Après cela, le tigre fut tellement satisfait qu'il ne causa plus jamais aucun mal au village. «Nous l'avons toujours depuis ce temps gardé comme *étotore*, ajoutaient-ils, et nous en sommes fort contents.»

La crainte, dans un certain nombre de cas, a donc pu déterminer le choix de quelques totems, soit végétaux soit animaux, particulièrement les plus dangereux; une fois le totem tribal établi, c'est ensuite probablement la cause de nombreux totems de famille ou de clan. Pour le totem tribal primitif lui-même, à supposer qu'il soit bien établi que ce soit le crocodile, la crainte a bien pu être, sinon le motif déterminant, tout au moins un des facteurs principaux de

[1] Arcin, *op. cit.*

[2] Il ne me fut pas dit comment. C'eût été le point intéressant avec un tigre «adulte».

ce choix. Pour celui-là, comme pour les autres totems animaux, nous admettrions assez facilement ce motif. Ainsi encore, chez les Fâñ, comme un peu partout, on retrouve le serpent comme totem. Les Gaulois avaient déjà leurs serpents sacrés et les Kymris honoraient le dieu Uther à la tête de serpent.

Rien de plus compréhensible que ce dernier choix en voyant d'une part, la grande abondance et la variété de ces animaux, et de l'autre, le danger de les rencontrer, dans la forêt, dans la plantation, dans la case même, où ils aiment à se glisser, quittes à mordre à la première menace. Or, la morsure de beaucoup de ces serpents, serpent noir, serpent fil, serpent des bananiers, vipère cornue ou céraste, est souvent mortelle, toujours dangereuse. De là, à s'efforcer de se les concilier, il n'y a qu'un pas, car pour le Fâñ, le serpent qui vous mord ne le fait pas de lui-même, pour son plaisir ou sa défense: il le fait à cause de vous, et c'est une influence maligne, vertu méchante, esprit, âme d'ancêtre ou d'ennemi qui détermine ainsi son acte à votre grand détriment. D'où nécessité de se le concilier. Le sorcier et le féticheur le feront par des procédés à eux particuliers: ils sauront le charmer, comme jadis les Psylles lybiens, qui, au dire d'Ovide, connaissaient l'art de les conjurer et de les rendre inoffensifs:

> Spargere qui somnos cantuque manuque solebat
> Mulcebatque iras et morsus arte levabat.

Mais le pauvre Noir qui n'a point à son service les chants magiques:

> Nec mediæ Marsis finduntur cantibus angues,

s'efforcera de se concilier ces visiteurs dangereux. Il les prendra comme totem, et leur prodiguera un respect qui les touchera moins, peut-être, que les marques effectives de sa reconnaissance, traduites en plantureux festins.

Par un sentiment semblable, la crainte a également contribué à la formation des totems appartenant aux règnes végétal, minéral, et aux phénomènes naturels.

Pour le Noir, nous l'avons fait déjà remarquer, la nature entière est, non pas vivante, comme l'ont dit quelques-uns, mais toujours agissante, sous l'empire de forces cachées ou d'esprits.

Ainsi, dans le règne végétal, certains arbres sont-ils sacrés: c'est la demeure d'un esprit, et non seulement quelques arbres, mais parfois des portions de forêts, de petits bois; tel l'*Eli béngan,* dont nous avons déjà parlé à propos du *Nzoẋ békun,* tels les bosquets où se cachent les temples d'initiation. Ainsi jadis chez les Romains l'antique forêt que nous dépeint Ovide:

Stat vetus et densa praenubilus arbore lucus.
Adspice: concedas numen inesse loco;
Accipit ara preces votivaque thura piorum,
Ara per antiquas facta sine arte manus.

Un Fâñ y reconnaîtrait son temple!

Aucun étranger au culte n'y est admis. Celui qui y pénètrerait est mis à mort, et si les Fâñ, redoutant de justes représailles ou la vengeance de l'autorité, ne le font pas toujours ouvertement, ils essaient bien d'arriver au même but par le poison.

Certains arbres sont reconnus comme méchants, non encore une fois qu'ils le soient par eux-mêmes, mais parce que, jusqu'ici, le Fâñ, comme tout Noir, a constaté les vertus mauvaises qui y sont renfermées. Les arbres qui produisent le poison d'ordalie sont dans ce cas: le malheureux condamné à boire la décoction n'est au fond qu'un sujet «d'épreuve». On lui fait avaler une substance, inoffensive en elle-même [1], mais dont l'esprit du mort, qu'il s'agit de venger, développera la vertu mauvaise et annihilera la bonne. Si le sujet est innocent, ses esprits protecteurs et le totem tribal qu'il ne manque pas d'invoquer, paralyseront la force mauvaise et développeront les bonnes qualités. Toutefois, l'influence nocive ne manquera pas de produire quelques petits inconvénients, étant absorbée avant que l'effet heureux ne puisse intervenir. Mais ce rôle néfaste, à peine commencé, n'aura que peu d'action. On conçoit donc que le Fâñ, désireux de se concilier ces forces mauvaises, de s'en mettre à l'abri et peut-être encore plus, de pouvoir s'en servir contre ses ennemis, ait choisi un «méchant» arbre comme totem. Ces influences demeurent, à un autre point de vue, si persistantes, que certaines écorces empoisonnées, jadis fétiches des flèches et des

[1] Evidemment, cette substance n'est inoffensive en elle-même qu'au seul dire du Noir: en réalité, tous les poisons d'épreuve renferment de dangereux alcaloïdes.

coutelas, chose très compréhensible, sont devenues aujourd'hui protectrices des fusils sur lesquels, à notre point de vue, leur action est nulle.

Les minéraux, comme les végétaux, subissent également des influences intimes. Si, dans le sentier où passe le Fân, se détache un rocher qui le blesse et le tue, un esprit mauvais, un ancêtre qu'il aura offensé, peut-être sans le savoir, ou l'ancêtre d'une tribu ennemie de la sienne, ce sont trois cas possibles, aura détaché ce rocher, mais ce ne peut être un accident. De méchants cailloux se dressent partout, prêts à couper ses pieds nus, et Dieu sait si ces cailloux ferrugineux sont aiguisés! Aussi une entaille au pied est-elle considérée comme un mauvais présage. Si elle se produit au premier moment du départ, mieux vaut retarder son voyage. Le caillou a blessé. A qui la faute? Nullement au caillou, mais bien à l'esprit au totem offensé.

«Quel enfant, dit Mr. André Lefèvre dans son livre «La Religion» n'a pas été séduit et attiré par la forme ou la couleur d'un caillou? Qui n'a ramassé et conservé plus ou moins longtemps une pierre bizarre ou polie? L'impression du sauvage a été plus vive, mais du même genre. Qui de nous, buttant contre une pierre, n'a pas maudit, comme s'il pouvait l'entendre, le silex ou le granit malveillant? Le sauvage n'a pas seulement maudit, il a redouté. Qui enfin, dans le crépuscule, na pas pris certain rocher suspect pour un voleur embusqué au tournant du chemin? L'homme primitif n'a pas senti autrement.»

Toutefois, nous ne devons pas exagérer, par rapport au totémisme, la portée de pareils faits, d'autant qu'ils dépendent, pour la très grande partie, du culte des génies et des esprits. C'est là que plus tard nous retrouverons les pierres si redoutées des rivières, de même qu'au culte des ancêtres, et non au totémisme, nous rattachons les symboles phalliques et les traces laissées sur certains minéraux et certaines montagnes, vestiges d'animaux incrustés dans la pierre, ou empreintes vaguement humaines.

Parmi les totems que les phénomènes célestes ont pu inspirer et dûs à la crainte, le tonnerre est assurément le principal. Chez les Fân, ce totem, particulier d'ailleurs à un seul clan, a dû naître par suite d'une circonstance fortuite, peut-être une mort d'homme.

Dans tous les cas, les Fâñ d'aujourd'hui ne voient aucun mauvais présage et ne sont nullement effrayés en entendant les éclats de la foudre. Ce sont, disent-ils à la côte, les salves de coups de fusil tirés là haut pour fêter l'arrivée d'un mort illustre. Dans l'intérieur, c'est le résonnement d'un tamtam monstre frappé par les génies.

Les pierres qui tombent parfois du ciel sont désignées sous le nom de haches[1] divines et très vénérées. Elles passent pour jouir d'un pouvoir fécondant extraordinaire. Je n'ai jamais pu voir de hache de ce genre, bien qu'il en existe, paraît-il, un certain nombre. Il est défendu de les montrer.

Nous devons toutefois noter ici à propos du tonnerre une particularité spéciale: le tonnerre et l'éclair sont une arme aux «mains» des totems outragés, et ils s'en servent contre les violateurs et contempteurs de leur puissance. Ceux qui meurent frappés du tonnerre donnent lieu à une cérémonie curieuse: avant de les enterrer, il faut apaiser le totem et pour cela immoler une victime, généralement une victime humaine. Elle doit être brûlée sur un bûcher de bois provenant d'un arbre desséché, frappé lui-même par la foudre. Au contraire de tout sacrifice, les cendres n'en sont pas recueillies, mais jetées au vent.

V° Cause: La Reconnaissance.

En parlant toujours des clans de formation secondaire, puisque nous avons déjà vu le totem national, un sentiment plus noble que la crainte, la reconnaissance, a pu, dans certains cas, être l'origine de quelques totems, végétaux ou animaux.

Pour les végétaux utiles, particulièrement ceux qui dans certains cas de maladie grave ont guéri un chef influent, la chose se conçoit d'elle-même, mais encore avec cette restriction indiquée plus haut que ce totem a dû d'abord être particulier, pour passer ensuite familial et de clan: il ne peut donc s'agir que de cas vraiment exceptionnels. Une famille, un clan, une tribu ne peuvent jamais changer leur totem pour en adopter un autre: il faudrait pour cela le consentement du fondateur lui-même dont la «vertu» subsiste seule, mais non la volonté, puisqu'il est mort depuis longtemps.

[1] On retrouve les mêmes croyances en Guinée.

Là encore, en constatant chez une tribu un culte pour certains végétaux, il ne faut pas se hâter d'en conclure à un culte totémique: au contraire, ce sera presque toujours un ensemble de faits se rapportant au culte des esprits.

A la suite de certaines circonstances, on signale chez quelques peuplades l'adoption de totems animaux par reconnaissance. Le Dr. Rançon nous en rapporte un curieux exemple, recueilli de la bouche d'un indigène. «Les Sidibé, disait ce Noir, ont le mange-mil, une sorte de passereau, comme *nténé*. Un jour, mon grand-père (c'est-à-dire l'ancêtre) étant allé à la chasse de l'éléphant, s'égara dans la forêt, et malgré toutes les recherches, ne put retrouver sa route. Il arriva ainsi dans un désert au milieu duquel il marcha pendant trois jours sans rencontrer d'eau où se désaltérer. Mourant de soif, il s'était couché un soir, se demandant s'il serait encore vivant le lendemain. Au point du jour, il fut réveillé par un petit oiseau qui chantait sur l'arbre au pied duquel il s'était étendu. C'était un petit «mangeur de mil». A peine mon grand-père fut-il debout que l'oiseau se mit à voltiger autour de lui et devant lui, essayant de lui faire comprendre qu'il devait le suivre. Mon grand-père ne douta pas un seul instant que l'oiseau était venu là pour le sauver. Il le suivit donc partout où il voulait le conduire, et vers le milieu du jour, ils arrivèrent sur les bords d'un ruisseau où tous les deux se désaltérèrent. Puis l'oiseau reprit son vol et le conduisit jusque dans son village, où il le quitta dès qu'il l'eût vu en sûreté. C'est depuis cette époque que les Sidibé sont parents du petit «mangeur de mil», car, sans lui, notre père serait infailliblement mort. Aussi nous est-il interdit à tous de le tuer, de manger sa chair ou de souffrir qu'on lui fasse du mal en notre présence.»

Pareille légende est rapportée par les Fàñ, mais le mangeur de mil est remplacé chez eux par le *mal* ou oiseau indicateur du miel, sorte de coucou qui indique aux chasseurs le miel sauvage, sûr qu'ils lui laisseront sa part[1]. Nous n'avons pas rapporté cette légende fàñ afin de varier nos témoignages.

[1] *Cuculus indicator*. Cet oiseau existe également en Amérique. Il se nourrit de miel mais redoute les piqûres des abeilles. Aussi, lorsqu'il voit un chasseur, semble-t-il l'inviter par ses cris à venir prendre le miel. Les Fàñ, ainsi que les autres Noirs, ne manquent jamais dans ce cas de lui laisser une part abondante.

G. Tellier[1] rapporte également que d'après les légendes kamisokho, Santigi, l'ancêtre de la tribu, sur le point de mourir de soif, fut sauvé par un iguane; chez les Kanté, une lutte fratricide fut terminée par la mort de l'aîné des Kanté, grâce aux ergots d'un poulet blanc, animal vénéré depuis dans toute la famille.

L'on connaît l'histoire du célèbre conquérant Dénianké Koli Tenguéla, conduit sur les bords du Sénégal, aux pays du mil, par une perruche, d'où le choix de son totem. De même, les Fân sont unanimes à déclarer que telle ou telle de leurs migrations fut déterminée et conduite par un de leurs totems, souvent par un éléphant, parfois par un sanglier dont ils n'avaient qu'à suivre les traces dans la forêt. Le fait s'expliquerait facilement pour nous d'une façon toute naturelle avec l'éléphant qui laisse dans la brousse la plus épaisse une percée si nette et si franche, en se sauvant effrayé devant la horde. Mais, pour le Fân, cette fuite est-elle si naturelle, quand il croit que l'âme d'un ancêtre réside en cet animal!

On retrouve universellement ces traditions. Ainsi le Gaulois Sigovèse envahit la Germanie, guidé par le vol des oiseaux. Les Mexicains, rapporte le P. Petitot, furent conduits dans l'Anahuac par l'aigle Quetzal Cahuacl; dans mes «Contes et Légendes» des Fân, j'ai rapporté que, de même, Ngurangurane, d'après la légende fân, se changeait en *ndzû* (aigle) pour conduire ses guerriers à la victoire, d'où en certaines familles, le *ndzû* comme totem. Les Esquimaux suivent la mouette, et de nombreux peuples du Nord-Asie, Ostiaks, Samoyèdes et autres se laissent de même guider par le goéland ou par le pétrel-tempête. «Chez les Latins, dit Assier[1], qui nous ont cependant laissé le type le plus parfait de la famille agnatique, on *observe les mêmes traditions. Les Picénins furent conduits par un* pîcus (pivert), les Hirpins par un loup (Hirpinus), enfin les Samnites par un taureau sauvage jusque dans la montagne de Bénévent.»

A Rome, nous voyons des traces de ces croyances. «Le flamine de Jupiter, écrit Fabius Pictor, ne touche, ni ne nomme jamais, une chèvre, de la chair crue, les fèves . . .

[1] G. Tellier, Auteur de Rita, cité par Arcin: le Totem.

[1] Arcin entend ici que le totémisme est intimement lié à la famille agnatique et au clan, à défaut de la famille agnatique, ce qui est loin, et bien au contraire, de se trouver vérifié par les cas gabonais.

VI° Cause: La Bienveillance de l'animal éponyme.

Après la crainte et la reconnaissance, c'est parfois la bienveillance de l'animal éponyme qui donne naissance au totem.

L'animal éponyme a donné généreusement, attribué ou cédé à la tribu une partie du territoire dont il était maître. «Et cette opinion n'est pas complètement dénuée de raison, ajoute un auteur[1] car là où la nature vierge est dans toute sa vigueur, l'homme semble un étranger, et les propriétaires du terrain sont les arbres contemporains de la création et les bêtes fauves qui se reproduisent au milieu d'eux comme dans leur propre domaine.» Admettons-le volontiers, mais cette opinion a dû être vraie seulement alors, au temps où les bêtes parlaient. Dans ce temps lointain, au rapport également des Fàn, les bêtes et les hommes habitaient un même village et formaient une même famille, *dual avori, dàà avori, nsama mbori!* Mais c'était l'âge d'or, combien loin!

Un autre auteur a groupé à peu près toutes ces opinions, puis donné son avis personnel: reproduisons d'abord la citation entière, nous réservant de la discuter ensuite, de présenter nos objections, et d'établir notre propre opinion.

«Représentons-nous, dit Mgr. Le Roy dans sa Religion des Primitifs[2], l'homme primitif, marchant devant lui, et poussant toujours plus loin ses explorations dans un monde mystérieux qui s'étend davantage à mesure qu'il s'y enfonce. Nulle part, aucune créature qui lui ressemble, qui ait son attitude, son aspect, son langage, mais partout des êtres divers, qui rampent, qui marchent, qui volent, qui nagent, qui creusent la terre, et qui l'ont devancé dans la conquête du monde.

«Si, en beaucoup de rapports, il leur est supérieur, il sont vis-à-vis d'eux, en beaucoup d'autres, son infériorité. Ah! s'il avait l'agilité du singe, la force de l'éléphant, la ruse du léopard, la finesse du serpent, s'il était petit oiseau! . . .

«Cette idée qui naturellement se présente à l'intelligence infantile, l'homme-enfant l'a eue, il la conserve à l'époque actuelle, et mieux encore, il prétend l'avoir réalisée . . .

[1] Lemoyne, Histoire antique del Pérou, p. 44.
[2] Religion des Primitifs, p. 181 et ss.

«Mais il ne s'agit pas ici, seulement, de se transformer en un animal[1] de son choix, par fantaisie et curiosité. Comme l'homme primitif est poussé, autant par la nécessité du milieu dangereux dans lequel il vit que par l'instinct de sa propre nature, à se serrer contre sa famille, il est également porté par tous ses intérêts à étendre ses relations et ses alliances. Plus il en a, plus sa famille est forte.

«Or, ce qui, avant tout, constitue la famille, c'est la communauté du sang.

«On pourra donc, avec tels ou tels hommes dont on apprécie l'amitié, la puissance et la fidélité, faire un pacte d'alliance sanctionné par l'échange du sang[2] et consacré par un cérémonial approprié, après quoi on est de la même parenté, *ndugu*, dira le Noir de la côte orientale, *ndégô*, celui de la côte opposée, mots identiques qui témoignent à la fois de l'usage et de la communauté d'origine.

«Mais l'homme n'est pas le seul être avec lequel on puisse faire pareil pacte. Grâce à des pratiques mystérieuses qui sont le secret des initiés, mais qui comportent toujours échange de sang, il est possible d'appeler à soi un animal, chef d'un troupeau ou d'une bande, de se concilier ses faveurs, de bénéficier de ses forces comme de ses secrets, de se déguiser sous ses apparences, de se transformer, de s'en faire un «frère», de conclure une alliance avec lui et sa race . . .

«Ne nous y trompons pas néanmoins. Par cette alliance, l'homme n'a pas pour but seulement d'atteindre l'animal tel quel et d'associer sa famille à la sienne: il vise aussi et surtout cette famille animale, renforcée par la présence et l'action d'un esprit du monde invisible — âme de l'animal lui-même, esprit des ancêtres,

[1] Nous parlerons de cette transformation de certains hommes en animaux et de ce qu'il faut en croire ou en rejeter dans une Etude prochaine sur les «Fétichismes et Sorciers». Nous en emprunterons quelques traits plus loin à propos du cannibalisme.

[2] A propos de ce curieux usage, que l'on retrouve dans l'Afrique toute entière, nous dirons plus loin, en parlant des rites totémiques, comment l'alliance du sang, tout en ayant de nombreux points de contact avec le totem et en procédant souvent, se relie cependant de façon plus étroite aux rites sanguinaires.

on génie tutélaire d'origine extraordinaire. De sorte que ce pacte est par le moyen d'une créature visible, un pacte avec le monde invisible.

«Et lorsque, après avoir ainsi longtemps vécu, à la faveur d'un pacte magique, en relations intimes avec un animal, un chef va mourir, s'il rassemble ceux de ses enfants qui peuvent le comprendre, s'il leur communique son secret, s'il leur prescrit de maintenir le pacte conclu et s'il leur fait entendre que son esprit au sortir de son enveloppe humaine, aimera à revenir parmi eux sous le support de son animal-frère, voilà, pour les descendants de cet homme, le totémisme ou la parenté animale constituée.» Que cette famille s'étende, se multiplie, se disperse, ses représentants emporteront avec eux, sinon toujours le souvenir précis, du moins la trace de cette origine, par l'effet des divers interdits ou tabous qui se seront imposés vis-à-vis de la famille de la bête devenue sacrée: cette bête sera leur «parent». Souvent, ils en porteront le nom et la marque, ils lui rendront leurs hommages, ils croiront que, après leur mort, leurs âmes prendront place dans sa société mystérieuse, et cette croyance entretiendra la piété de leurs propres descendants.

Ce serait là, selon nous, le totémisme véritable.

«Mais il est possible et probable, que, en bien des cas, cette institution, une fois acceptée, se soit rattachée, par assimilation, à d'autres origines.

«Si, par exemple, un ancêtre respecté ou craint comme sorcier émérite, a annoncé, fait comprendre ou manifesté d'une façon quelconque que, à sa mort, son âme passerait en telle ou telle créature, cette déclaration suffira pour créer le culte totémique chez les descendants.

Nous avons vu, dans un fait précédemment cité, un cas qui va précisément à l'encontre de cette théorie, par rapport aux Fâ. L'ancêtre de la tribu, le père, demeure, après sa mort, dans un porc-épic, afin de faire du bien à ses descendants. Cependant, le culte totémique du porc-épic ne s'établit pas le moins du monde pour cela dans cette tribu. C'est précisément le contraire, car le père a adopté pour un temps seulement ce substratum, afin d'assurer le ravitaillement de sa tribu. Le ravitaillement fini, tout cesse.

Pareil fait arrive encore chez les chefs ayeba entrant après leur mort dans le corps d'un éléphant pour procurer d'heureuses chasses à la tribu. Nous avons vu précédemment, à un autre point de vue, que le totem individuel était

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

strictement particulier: le pommeur une fois mort, on ne se fait nullement scrupule de céder ce totem à n'importe qui. Il n'a que sa mince valeur intrinsèque.

De là naîtra souvent en effet le totem individuel, et transitoire.

«D'autres fois, on aura remarqué la familiarité d'un animal, son assiduité à fréquenter un endroit, sa manière de se présenter, et mille incidents pareils; on consultera le «voyant» et l'on conclura que ces manifestations viennent d'une sympathie particulière et surnaturelle à laquelle il faut répondre.

«En d'autres circonstances encore, une société secrète qui se forme, une famille qui se fonde, un individu qui veut arriver à percer, se choisit un totem qui devient un emblème et un symbole.

«On pourrait multiplier ces exemples. Mais toujours l'alliance totémique suppose, à sa base, un pacte explicite ou implicite, et un pacte implique réciprocité d'égards et de services. Or, de fait, l'animal allié, habitué aux soins de sa famille humaine, est pour ainsi dire «domestiqué» chez elle, et il lui témoigne souvent une familiarité étonnante, bien faite pour impressionner ces gens simples et les confirmer dans leur foi.»

L'autre besoin, qui, selon Mgr. Le Roy, aurait poussé l'homme primitif au développement du totémisme, aurait été la nécessité de se constituer en communauté séparée, puis de donner un nom spécial à cette communauté. Souvent, le meilleur qu'ils aient trouvé a été celui d'un animal dont ils avaient remarqué la force, l'adresse, l'agilité ou la beauté, d'une plante qui leur était utile ou qui affectionnait leur pays, d'un objet ou d'un phénomène qui les avait frappés. Et ainsi a pu naître l'usage de l'ancêtre éponyme, auquel une famille, un clan, une phratrie, une tribu, fait remonter son origine et son nom.

Ce nom aurait alors servi à fixer les généalogies et les mariages; le même but aurait été rempli par les différents tatouages, mutilations, danses, armes, en un mot par tout ce qui constitue un groupement social organisé et le différencie des autres groupements, amis, rivaux, jaloux, ou ennemis.

«Ainsi, d'un côté, besoin de se distinguer, et, de l'autre, besoin de s'allier. Voilà les deux instincts naturels qui ont poussé l'homme dans la voie du totémisme. Lequel a précédé l'autre? Il

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

est difficile de le dire, et, du reste, il est inutile de le chercher. Qu'il nous suffise d'en constater la vraisemblance et la réalité.

* * *

«Nous n'insisterons pas non plus sur la préférence donnée à l'animal dans l'alliance totémique. Aux yeux des Primitifs, il a certains pouvoirs mystérieux: il peut se rendre invisible, il sait prévoir les changements de temps, les accidents, les coups heureux de la fortune, il trouve toujours à vivre où l'homme mourrait de faim, il est en relations avec le monde des esprits. Tous nos intérêts nous portent donc à nous unir à lui, et, par lui, aux êtres mystérieux avec lesquels il est en rapports.

«Mais, en somme, le totem végétal, minéral et autre n'est que l'extension du premier, et l'homme peut y trouver les mêmes avantages; obéissant à d'autres inspirations, il a fait une alliance sacrée avec un arbre ou un objet remarquable par quelque propriété.

«A tous les enfants de la famille, au moment où ils arrivent à l'adolescence et peuvent être réputés pour des hommes, des initiations savantes révèlent cette parenté mystique, avec les avantages qu'elle confère, les obligations qu'elle entraîne, les interdits qu'elle impose, et les sanctions qu'elle exige de qui la méprise.

«Alors, d'ordinaire, une cérémonie spéciale assure le renouvellement du pacte avec le nouvel initié: des marques, spéciales à la famille, lui sont données, qui consacrent cette initiation et lui deviennent son signe de ralliement; des interdits lui sont imposés, et d'autres, qu'il avait dû garder jusque là, sont alors levés. Son enfance est finie: c'est maintenant un homme, et c'est un homme de la «famille».

«Sans doute, l'institution ne se retrouve pas, partout, dans la totalité et la pureté des phases qui l'ont primitivement établie, mais on peut la reconstituer dans son ensemble avec les survivances qui nous en restent, et qui, toutes, se rattachent à des conceptions identiques.»

Malgré la longueur de cette citation, nous avons tenu à la donner en entier, d'autant qu'elle reflète le sentiment d'un écrivain qui a observé les faits, de vieu d'abord, et qui a pu ensuite les

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

étudier profondément. Mais le totémisme est un sujet tellement variable et complexe dans ses formes multiples qu'il semble échapper à toute appréciation d'ensemble: telle chose, tel détail, vrai ici, ne l'est pas plus loin. Cette note préliminaire donnée, nous ne saurions exposer ici tous les points qui, pour les Fân seulement, ne l'oublions pas, nous font parfois différer d'avis avec l'éminent auteur. Cependant, d'une façon générale, il nous semble que le totem particulier et le totem général ne sont peut-être pas assez différenciés: tout ce qui s'applique à l'un ne s'applique pas nécessairement à l'autre; au cours des pages précédentes, nous nous sommes efforcés de bien préciser la filiation, les détails et les différences de ces deux totems.

Une question plus grave se pose devant nous.

Est-ce bien l'homme dit primitif qui a inventé son totem? L'a-t-il fait parce qu'il voulait s'assurer les qualités de certains êtres dont il envialt pour lui-même la force, l'agilité, la ruse? L'a-t-il choisi pour d'autres motifs, sous l'empire de la crainte ou tout autre sentiment?

Pour nous, nous avons peine à le croire, tout au moins pour les totems généraux, ou, si l'on préfère, pour l'origine même du totem. Que, bien des fois, pareils totems aient été créés sous de telles préoccupations, qu'ils se créent même encore, non seulement nous l'admettons, mais nous l'avons vu faire et l'avons montré au cours de cette Etude. Mais le fait même du totémisme existait déjà: il y avait filiation ou imitation. Là, pour nous, ne serait pas l'origine proprement dite du totem, et l'homme primitif ne serait nullement celui que l'on veut si souvent nous présenter sous de si riantes couleurs, homme encore enfant, mais en marche vers la civilisation. Pour nous, le primitif est au contraire un dégénéré, un dégradé, perdant peu à peu le souvenir d'un ensemble antérieur de dogmes plus perfectionnés ou plus élevés.

En s'enfonçant dans les mystères de la grande forêt pour s'étendre progressivement sur toute l'Afrique, cette humanité dite primitive emporterait avec elle la mémoire de plus en plus effacée de ses croyances antiques, et s'efforcerait de les faire revivre sous la forme nécessitée par les diverses contingences.

En parlant de l'influence des doctrines anciennes sur la formation de ces dogmes, nous développerons plus longuement cette idée qui nous paraît d'ailleurs fondamentale.

L'alliance de sang nous semble également être plutôt un rite fondé soit sur l'intérêt de l'individu, soit sur l'amitié, cela peut dépendre des cas; nous hésitons à en faire résulter l'alliance avec l'animal qui nous paraît un rite similaire, et non dérivé. En tout cas, nous y verrions plutôt, comme le note d'ailleurs Mgr. Le Roy, un rite particulier de l'animisme, ou un rite du culte des ancêtres, plutôt qu'un rite totémique, avec lequel il a cependant de nombreuses similitudes. Nous en reparlerons à propos du nagual et du naguelisme, qui est bien «un pacte contracté par le moyen d'une créature visible avec le monde invisible» mais qui n'est pas le totem. Une grande différence les sépare essentiellement: le pacte naguelisté est transitoire, révocable à la volonté de l'individu, et meurt avec lui; le pacte totémique est durable, ne meurt pas avec l'individu, mais se transmet à la race. Un Fàn ne peut transmettre à ses descendants, comme totem, l'animal familier avec lequel il aura fait pacte de sang, car sa postérité a déjà son totem familial, aussi bien que tribal, héritage des ancêtres. Aussi, dans tous les cas, faudrait-il toujours remonter à l'origine même de la tribu pour retrouver le totem ancestral; là, après avoir écarté tous les faits connexes, incidents ou dérivés, il faudra toujours en arriver au fait primordial, base lui-même du totémisme. Mgr. Le Roy y parvient d'ailleurs également: c'est le pacte magique, explicite ou implicite: un chef ayant conclu un pacte mystérieux avec un animal et en ayant expérimenté le bien résultant, ordonne à ses descendants de faire de même, en leur promettant que son esprit restera dans cet animal et dans ses descendants. Pourquoi a-t-il cette croyance? Parce qu'il y a, avec cet animal, échange de sang, d'où communauté de sang qui implique communauté de vie. L'homme a cette idée de faire alliance de sang avec l'animal, et croit que les effets passeront à ses descendants, parce qu'il a fait auparavant alliance de sang avec un homme étranger à sa race: il a vu que les effets de cette alliance passaient à ses descendants.

Et pourquoi encore cette alliance de sang avec un étranger?

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Pour étendre sa famille, servir ses intérêts, fortifier sa puissance, et surtout se défendre contre ses ennemis nombreux.

Se défendre, défense personnelle, défense de la famille et défense du clan, serait donc en définitive la raison ultime du totémisme. On en revient finalement à ce que nous disions tout à l'heure: l'homme primitif, se sentant isolé et faible en face de dangers sans cesse renaissants, et cherchant un appui.

Et la question demeure entière, comme question de fait: cet homme primitif, dont nous admettons bien l'existence au point de vue de la situation, était-il bien un primitif? Ou bien, en s'avançant de plus en plus pour conquérir la terre, ces hordes errantes des premiers temps n'étaient-elles pas bien semblables au fond aux clans guerriers qui, aujourd'hui encore, se séparent de la tribu mère pour aller conquérir au loin, et emportent avec eux un faisceau de traditions, de légendes, de dogmes et de croyances qui vont s'altérant de plus en plus?

Les influences antiques.

Pour nous, en ce qui concerne au moins les Fàn, et peut-être par là-même toutes les tribus bantoues, l'influence antique de la religion égyptienne, ou celle d'un peuple ayant habité l'ancienne Egypte, paraît avoir joué un rôle assez considérable dans la formation des idées religieuses: ce que nous disons des Fàn, d'autres auteurs[1] l'ont encore constaté pour des peuples africains de race autre que les Bantous. Aujourd'hui encore, on peut constater cet apport dans la langue fàn. Sans doute, et surtout à priori, nous ne voudrions affirmer en aucune façon que la langue fàn est dérivée de l'égyptien: nous constatons simplement qu'il paraît y avoir eu, sinon infiltration,

[1] Aacin fait la même remarque pour les peuples du Guinée. «Le serpent est très vénéré. Etre bizarre, changeant de peau chaque année, il est le symbole du renouvellement continuel de la vie. L'admiration des peuples lui a donné une place au ciel: la Voie lactée. Il en est de même pour le taureau et la vache dont les noms chez les Peuls servent à désigner le soleil, souvenir évident des croyances égyptiennes, où l'immense Ptah était symbolisé par le taureau Apis, et où le taureau Osiris portait, entre les cornes, le disque solaire, tandisque les cornes et les oreilles d'Isis reproduisaient le croissant lunaire. La plupart des peuples lybiens reconnaissent des dieux equidiques, et les Egyptiens symbolisaient la déesse Hathor par un poisson du Nil.» La Guinée française, *op. cit.*

du moins influence. S'il y a eu apport pour la langue, il peut également y avoir eu influence pour la religion. Mais, pourra-t-on dire, il s'agit de ressemblances fortuites, ainsi qu'il s'en trouve dans toutes les langues? Signalons quelques-unes de ces ressemblances: il sera ensuite facile de juger.

Egyptien [1]:		Fâ:	
Ebo	période du débordement des eaux où tout est ravagé	*Ebo*	ravager (*E* est la marque de l'infinitif) piller
Bôl	détruire	*Ebole*	voler, cacher après avoir volé.
Ba-ba	honorer	*Bame*	honorer, *Abame Nzame* le respect dû à Dieu
Sole	couper	*Sole*	couper
Sam	herbe	*Sam*	fleur
Smi	ail	*Ami*	ail
Smam	poule de Pharaon	*Khama*	huppe, faisan bleu
Sole	effacer	*Ebole*	effacer
Sam	joindre, réunir	*Nzame*	(a agrégé) troupe
		Ezame	unir
		Ezame	réunion
Sôbe	circoncision	*Bolle*	circoncision
Sôfe	couteau	*Mfe*	couteau, *mfor, fe* etc. sortes de couteaux
Gaôf	reptile	*Fi*	vipère, céraste à cornes
Bôl	pourrir	*Ebôle*	pourrir et tous ses dérivés
		Abôle	pourriture, odôlée pourri etc.
Fa	élever	*Efa*	grandir
Fab	lien	*Mfab*	sac en cordes tressées et nouées
Abôe	celui qui plonge en mer	*Nbôle*	vague de la mer
Abôl	rainée	*Abole*	papaye, fruit à gros grains
Amen	main	*Me*	mains
Ae	doigt	*Aen*	le doigt
Ksor	parler	*Eksor*	parler,
		Abôô	flèche
Mabo	crocodile	*N-kôm*	crocodile
Nbo	rendre petit	*Ebôor*	affaiblir
Ksb	pierre	*A-kob*	pierre
Kob	écorser	*Ekob*	écorser les écorces pour les spécier
		Ebo	écorce
Zobor	danser	*Dzôm*	danse
Ebo	fleur	*Ebo*	vêtement (fourni jadis par le fleur du fromagier).

Soit 26 mots, pris parmi ceux dont les rapports sont plus grands entre eux, et qu'il serait facile de multiplier. Nous pourrions

[1] Egyptien, d'après le dictionnaire de Pierret.

ainsi atteindre environ cent ethniques et plus. En les comparant, il semble plus facile d'admettre «infiltration», «influence» que hasard.

Parlant de l'origine[1] des Fân, nous avons montré que le plus ancien habitat qu'on puisse leur assigner, est la région des hauts plateaux du Nil; le L[r] Avmlot qui, depuis[2], a fait une étude approfondie de la question, partage le même avis.

Avant de peupler cette contrée, où habitaient les Fân?

Aucun monument écrit, aucune légende ne nous permettent d'élucider ce point. Il paraît tout au plus probable qu'ils demeuraient depuis longtemps dans ces régions, soit comme peuple constitué, soit comme restes d'anciennes tribus, soit comme clans en formation. Si cette hypothèse est réelle, rien d'étonnant, on peut nous l'accorder, à ce qu'ils aient subi l'empreinte des Egyptiens, dont les arts, les sciences, la religion et la civilisation leur étaient si supérieures. Or, précisément chez ces Egyptiens, nous trouvons, et en remontant à une époque très-reculée, des phénomènes religieux analogues à ceux dont nous voyons les vestiges, plus ou moins bien conservés, non seulement chez les Fân[3], mais encore, comme nous l'avons montré à dessein au cours de cette Etude[4], parmi les autres populations bantoues.

Nous ne sommes d'ailleurs pas le seul à proposer cette opinion. Un savant autorisé, Mr. Gaston Foucart[5], vient d'écrire (1909) ces lignes plus formelles encore que les nôtres:

«Au Congo, par exemple, il [un égyptologue] peut vérifier cette assertion [influence égyptienne] par des rapprochements avec tout ce que l'on sait de la vieille Egypte, expliquer les raisons du rituel de fondation d'un village, avec la plantation du pieu, la chasse aux esprits etc., alors que ni les indigènes, ni leurs traducteurs n'en dégagent aucun rapprochement, aucune preuve d'une loi générale. Il comprend l'importance du nom secret donné au nouveau-né; il définit

---

[1] Voir Bim. Cath. 1898. «Les Fân; d'où ils viennent et où ils vont.»

[2] Recherches sur les Migrations des peuples de la Guinée, Bull. Soc de Géo, Paris 1904.

[3] Cf. Ouvrage déjà cité de Dennett.

[4] Voir en particulier les rites de la naissance, des armes, du nouveau chef, de la mort.

[5] G. Foucart, Méthode comparative, p. 81.

les principes — ce dont les indigènes sont incapables —, sur lesquels leur magie fonde les cérémonies d'envoûtement, d'exorcisme, d'envoi ou d'enlèvement de la maladie, le pourquoi de la nécessité d'avoir, pour une incantation, des parcelles de l'individu enchanté . . .» etc.

Cette courte citation montre combien, pour Mr. Foucart, l'influence égyptienne a été prépondérante dans tous ces actes religieux des populations congolaises, actes que nous retrouvons identiques chez nos Fâô.

On la retrouve également, plus marquée peut-être encore, en se rapprochant du Nil et de la Hte Egypte; dans l'Ouganda, par exemple, et dans l'enclave de Lado, les totems de clan, aussi bien que les clans, seront précisément les mêmes que chez les Fâô[1]. Ainsi: «The Banyoro are divided into many clans which would appear to have «totems» as sacred symbols [c'est notre *mvamayôô*] or ancestral emblems [c'est le totem emblème que nous étudierons ensuite] like the similar clans in Uganda. This institution, however, like so many other customs connected with the Banyoro, has lately been much defaced and obscured by the appaling depopulation.

«The people of Unyoro are divided into clans which have as their totems — these totems being sacred [totem réel] or horrible objets [totems emblèmes] — beasts, birds, reptiles, fishes, insects, or vegetables which in some way or other are identified with the original founders of the clan.

«In Uganda there are twenty-nine clans with the following totems:

Nanzee	Green-hopper	*Nyengi*	Widow bird *(Vidua chaca)*
Mondo	Land-fish *(Protopterus)*	*Mbwa*	Dog
Fumbi	Lyncus dog	*Kasimbe*	Serval cat
Njovu	Elephant	*Lubindo*	Wild date palm
Ndiga	Otter	*Kibe*	Jackal
Ngo	Leopard	*Kobobo*	Small fish
Mpurugume	Lion	*Endiga*	Sheep
Butiko	Nightjar	*Ŝoli*	Crowned crane
Mwa	Ground-rat *(Thryonomys swinderianus)*	*Ŝambe*	Ox
		Lugurwe	Mantis (the only ant-eater)

[1] Sir H. Johnston, The Uganda Protectorate, T. I, où nous trouvons l'énumération ci-jointe.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Kubiane	Whitenosed monkey (*Cercopithecus nefandrida*)	*Engeje*	Colobus monkey
Mvulu	Hippopotamus	*Kotamvuma*	A small shrub or flowering bush
Kulu	Plant like a potato	*Mjinefi*	Harlent beans
Mpwo	Orbi antelope		
Nkulungunge	*Cephalophus antelope*		
Nyubi	Bushbuck (*Tragelaphus*)		
Mbogo	Buffalo		

The name for clan is *Kiko*
for totem is *Mazive*
for place of origin *Kiolo*
(*dual* on Sic)-[1].

Chez les Fàn, comme chez les Egyptiens, nous trouvons à la fois comme bases religieuses: le culte des ancêtres, le culte des animaux, le totémisme. Or, comme nous allons le voir, du culte des ancêtres sont nés, mais sans se confondre avec lui, le totémisme et son dérivé, le culte des animaux. Si telle a été chez ce peuple la progression religieuse, passant ainsi, d'un culte et de notions plus élevées, à un culte et des notions plus ravalées, pourquoi n'en serait-il pas de même pour le Noir, à supposer même qu'il n'ait subi aucune influence et qu'il soit bien l'homme primitif réduit à ses propres forces en face de la nature?[2] Sans doute, et nous ne faisons pas difficulté de l'avouer, ce sentiment a pour lui de grandes chances de probabilités par lui-même, et comme a essayé de le démontrer Mgr. Le Roy. Toutefois, nous préférons nous rallier au totémisme égyptien, et aux causes qui l'ont amené, suivant en cela Vinay dans son dernier livre sur «la Religion de l'ancienne Egypte», dont, plus bas, nous analyserons rapidement les quelques pages qui s'y rapportent à l'origine du totémisme égyptien, mais en cela seulement qu'elles peuvent s'appliquer aux Fàn.

Cette opinion ne nous est d'ailleurs pas entièrement personnelle. Avant nous, en parlant de la race bantoue, Sir H. Johnston disait déjà[3]: «The Negro, in short, owes what little culture he possessed, before the advent of the modern Arab and the Christian white man, to the civilising influence of ancien Egypt; but this influence, (except a small branch of it in the Bahr-el-Gazel) travelled to him, not

[1] Un certain nombre de ces noms de la langue de l'Ogande se retrouvent en Sic avec le même signification et à peine changés. *Ainé Njaro* = *Yaub*, *Nye* = *Nye*, *Kubiane* = *Ekiane*, *Mvulu* = *Mvulu*, *Mbwo* = *Mbwo*, *Nyungi* = *Gnuo* etc.

[2] Cf. Mgr. Le Roy, les Primitifs, passim.

[3] The Uganda Protectorate (1904), v. I, Preface.

directly up the White Nil, but indirectly, through Abyssinia and Somaliland; and Hamites, such as the stock from which the Galla and Somali sprang, were the middlemen whose early traffic between the Land of Punt and the countries round the Victoria Nyanza was the main, almost the sole, agency by which the Negro learnt the industries and received the domestic animals of Egypt».

Sir H. JOHNSTON favorise également ce que nous croyons être l'origine du totémisme chez le Noir lorsqu'il dit encore: «The negro race certainly is originated in Southern India, possibly in India».

En parlant de l'origine du totémisme égyptien, Mr. VIREY[1] écrit donc:

«Les tribus constituant les confédérations qui se dispersèrent et se partagèrent la possession du territoire égyptien étaient en fort grand nombre, et chacune avait son signe particulier de ralliement.

«Ce signe, emblème distinctif du clan, élevé sur une hampe ordinairement munie de deux banderoles, représentait soit un des outils ou une des armes plus spécialement en honneur dans ce clan, soit surtout un animal (ou encore un arbre) caractéristique du pays qu'il occupait ou du pays dont il était originaire.

«Comme exemples, nous mentionnerons l'enseigne dont le signe se compose de deux flèches croisées; celle dont le signe est un harpon; celle dont le signe est un épervier ou un faucon; celle dont le signe est un ibis; celle dont le signe est un chacal ou un chien; celle dont le signe est, d'après Mr. LOMET, un lévrier d'Asie; celle dont le signe est un éléphant. Nous pourrions en mentionner d'autres encore, mais il n'est pas nécessaire d'en considérer davantage pour constater qu'un grand nombre de ces emblèmes ont été des dieux officiels du panthéon égyptien. Le faucon ou l'épervier a été le dieu *Horus*; l'ibis a été le dieu *Thot*; le chien ou le chacal, le dieu *Anubis*; le lévrier d'Asie a été le dieu *Set*; le scorpion a été la déesse *Selkit*. Les flèches croisées ont été *Neit*, déesse de *Sais*, et la déification de cet emblème montre que ce n'est pas comme animaux, que bien des animaux furent divinisés en Egypte, mais comme personnifications des clans, ou comme totems, dit Mr. LOMET, comme emblèmes totémiques des clans...

[1] Religion de l'ancienne Egypte, p. 24 et ss.

«On a récemment protesté contre l'emploi fait depuis quelques années du mot «totémisme» pour définir un des phénomènes que nous a révélés l'étude de la zoölatrie égyptienne: le respect de certaines familles, de certaines tribus africaines pour des animaux auxquels ces familles ou ces tribus se prétendent unies par des liens de parenté. Le fait est bien certain ... Les uns y ont simplement reconnu du «totémisme». D'autres ont répondu ... «que cette croyance est, non du totémisme, mais une dégénérescence, une survivance déjà confuse de la zoölatrie. C'est donc seulement dans le développement des idées animistes qu'il faudrait chercher l'origine de la zoölatrie» [1]. Mr. Foucart n'a sans doute pas tort de vouloir rapporter à l'animisme une bonne part des phénomènes de la zoölatrie égyptienne. Mais ... elle a certainement aussi d'autres origines et d'abord ... le totémisme ... Ainsi l'image de l'animal ou de l'emblème totémique, dressée au sommet de la hampe à banderoles, dont nous avons parlé tout à l'heure, est le signe de ralliement de la collectivité, l'attribut ethnique du clan ... L'animal totémique devint dieu du clan lorsqu'il se confondit avec l'ancêtre patriarcal du clan, lorsqu'il fut le corps où s'incarna l'esprit de l'ancêtre. Mais jusque là il ne fut probablement que l'image de la collectivité».

Tout le reste du chapitre consacré à cette question serait à citer, mais nous entraînerait trop loin. Contentons-nous donc de cet extrait qui montre bien la question sous un nouveau jour.

Peut-être est-ce là la véritable origine du totémisme, et pour nous, en ce qui concerne les Fân, nous ne voyons aucune difficulté de nous y rallier. A l'origine de la tribu, l'influence égyptienne nous paraît probable, soit par conquête — et l'on sait combien à ce point de vue les Egyptiens étaient envahisseurs, comme tous leurs monuments le montrent dans leurs inscriptions —, soit par voie de commerce, d'infiltration ou tout autre moyen. En tout cas, il nous paraît tout naturel que les hommes d'un clan, indépendamment de l'ancêtre, aient désignés d'abord par un animal, ou par un arbre caractéristique de leur région. De là ils ont ensuite choisi comme totem par une association très facile et très compréhensible d'idées.

[1] G. Foucart, Méthode comparative dans l'Histoire des Religions, p. 74.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Cette opinion nous paraît d'autant plus digne d'être prise en très-sérieuse considération que le fait se reproduit encore de nos jours chez les Fân. Nous l'avons constaté, par exemple, en parlant du clan actuel des Abé.

* * *

Nous n'avons pas entrepris de discuter ici les autres opinions si diverses données de l'origine du totémisme. Disons seulement rapidement que pour HERBERT SPENCER, qui a intimement lié le culte totémique au culte des ancêtres, c'est le résultat d'une simple méprise. — D'après ROBERTSON SMITH, le culte a d'abord été familial, et par l'animisme, le dieu considéré comme ancêtre a été identifié à un animal, puis à une espèce, devenant protectrice du clan, quand celui-ci se développe. — JEVONS suppose que l'animisme seul a inspiré le culte des animaux: la fusion des clans et des totems donne naissance au polythéisme; les totems individuels sont des imitations des totems de clans et leur sont postérieurs. — Mr. S. REINACH admet le contrat comme essentiel. — Pour FRAZER, le lien entre totem et clan consiste dans un échange d'âmes. — Pour Mr. l'abbé BACO enfin, le totémisme suppose l'animisme: c'est une idée religieuse ayant un fondement social. — Nous avons déjà exposé et discuté plus haut la théorie de Mgr. LE ROY; nous n'y reviendrons donc pas ici.

Pour notre part, nous nous sommes efforcés plutôt de faire l'exposé impartial des faits que de présenter des théories plus ou moins hasardées et qui, d'ailleurs, vraies pour une tribu, peuvent, par suite de circonstances multiples, être fausses pour une autre. La seule remarque que nous nous permettons en finissant est celle-ci. A très peu d'exceptions près[1], tous les auteurs[2] qui

[1] Par exemple Mgr. LE ROY, qui a vécu plus de vingt ans au milieu des tribus africaines.

[2] On consultera avec fruit pour ce chapitre ce que Mr. l'abbé BACO dit du totémisme dans le chapitre de son ouvrage consacré à ce sujet, et peut-être mieux encore l'article de MARILLIER: La place du totémisme dans l'évolution religieuse, dans la Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, t. XXXVI, p. 224 et ss. (1897). L'auteur y analyse surtout les idées de ROBERTSON SMITH.

Voir également DURKHEIM, Année sociologique 1910, t. V, p. 92 et ss. — Mr. DURKHEIM base toutefois ses déductions sur un certain nombre de faits rapportés par des voyageurs peu intuitifs ou assez mal documentés. On peut en dire tout autant des opinions de Mr. S. REINACH.

ont jusqu'ici traité du totémisme l'ont fait d'après des documents plus ou moins certains, et plutôt en interprétant des phénomènes rapportés de façon généralement peu exacte, par des voyageurs ou écrivains assez peu au courant de la langue, des mœurs et de la religion indigène. Dans l'exposé du totémisme fâ, nous avons eu le double avantage de pouvoir tout d'abord connaître les ouvrages de ces auteurs, et en second lieu, de pouvoir vérifier et étudier sur place pendant longues années un peuple dont nous connaissions intimement la langue et les habitudes. Nous avons déjà montré fréquemment, au cours de cette Etude, et montrerons encore des causes multiples d'erreurs inévitables pour nos devanciers. Nous ne voulons en aucune manière nous prétendre plus sages qu'eux tous: nous espérons, grâce seulement à un favorable concours de circonstances, avoir été plus heureux, ou tout au moins apporter notre contingent de faits certains et intéressants. C'est plus que ce que nous aurions espéré jadis.

* * *

Ayant ainsi donné notre idée sur l'origine, sinon probable, du moins possible du totémisme, nous revenons au totem actuel, tel qu'il existe aujourd'hui dans la tribu, et à sa «concrétisation matérielle» représentée par l'*okamèyôô*. Nous en avions déjà dit quelques mots: il importe maintenant de l'étudier à fond.

CHAPITRE X.

LE TOTEM «PRÉSENT ET TANGIBLE» ET L'*AKAMÉYÔŃ*.

I. LE TOTEM PRÉSENT ET TANGIBLE.

§ 1. Réunaité du culte.

Le culte matériel est abomaniée au Bûri: il concrétise mais ne spiritualise pas.

§ 2. Quel sera l'objet du culte totémique?

Les fragments choisis servent ceux qui rétrocèdent le mieux à l'idée charnelle. Sous ce forme matérielle, cette idée est cependant toute spirituelle.

§ 3. Qui recueillera le totem?

Ce rôle est réservé, non au Bûlûmor, chef du culte officiel, mais au chef de la famille, chef du culte familial en même temps que principal.

§ 4. Dans quelles conditions le totem sera-t-il pris?

Les conditions ne sont pas indifférentes, mais déterminées par la loi. Le totem n'est valable que pour le possesseur. — Peu d'importance de la vente d'un totem. — Les conditions du choix: *A*) Se procurer l'animal désigné. *B*) Les cérémonies rituelles. Le chant de présentation. — Rôle du Bûlûmor et du chef de famille. — Cérémonies semblables dans l'Oyono.

§ 5. Vertu du fragment choisi.

Conditions requises pour la valeur du choix.

§ 6. Où conserve-t-on le totem?

Le *Nlé*. — L'*Ebuere*. — Le *Bûri*. — L'*Akamébôń*.

II. L'*AKAMÉYÔŃ*.

Nature de l'*Akamébôń*.

Ce qui le constitue. — Les différents objets qui s'y rapportent sans en faire partie essentielle.

[p. 318]

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

I. LE TOTEM PRÉSENT ET TANGIBLE.

§ 1. Nécessité du culte.

Nous avons passé en revue dans un chapitre précédent les divers totems et constaté que suivant la diversité des familles, des clans et des tribus, ces totems ressortissaient des trois règnes de la nature. Ils donnent toutefois une place très prépondérante au règne animal. Cette constatation, loin d'être particulière aux Fân, est au contraire universelle: nous en avons cité plus haut de nombreux exemples. L'origine du totem nous fournira un peu plus loin les raisons de ce choix.

Ici se pose d'abord à l'égard du totem une question de fait. Les totems que nous avons examinés démontraient simplement l'existence de l'institution. Mais, pour pouvoir subsister, l'institution totémique, comme toutes les autres institutions religieuses, requiert nécessairement le culte. Or, ce culte ne peut, en réalité, être adressé d'une manière précise et toujours actuelle au totem, tel que nous venons de le voir. L'objet du culte, en effet, doit parler aux yeux, ou, si l'on préfère, revêtir une forme tangible et tomber dans le domaine des sens. Ainsi, même dans les religions chrétiennes, entièrement spiritualistes par leur objet, et où le culte et la prière s'adressent à un Être invisible et immatériel, il a fallu nécessairement recourir à des symboles figuratifs, à des images, à des tableaux qui mettent, pour ainsi dire, la chose spirituelle sous les yeux et sous les sens. Ils la matérialisent, pour pouvoir de là reprendre la pensée, et l'élever à l'idée et au culte spirituel.

Pour le Noir, les raisons sont les mêmes. Elles sont plus fortes encore avec une race qui vit surtout par les sens, et à laquelle les idées uniquement spéculatives échappent en grande partie.

Son totem, il est vrai, est purement matériel, sauf quelques exceptions dont nous nous préoccuperons ensuite, mais ce totem ne peut toujours non plus être sous sa main, sous ses yeux, à sa portée, quand il en a besoin. Il a un totem, surtout pour recourir à lui dans les cas de danger, car ce totem est en somme, au point de vue pratique, une alliance: c'est une force à son service. Il

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

faudrait donc qu'il l'eût à sa portée immédiate toutes les fois qu'il est nécessaire. Pour certains totems, ce sera possible: pour d'autres, au contraire, ce ne le sera en aucune façon. Et si cette impossibilité est fréquente pour le totem de clan ou de tribu, elle l'est encore beaucoup plus pour le totem particulier. Il est évident, et nous ne nous attarderons pas sur ce sujet, que le Noir ne peut se faire accompagner partout de son totem. Si c'est un végétal, un arbre par exemple, c'est lui, au contraire, qui devra aller le trouver; si c'est un animal, un tigre par exemple, le spectacle, dans ce cas, serait assez singulier. De plus, le Fân aurait souvent fort à faire pour prémunir son totem contre les convoitises ou les craintes des autres guerriers pour lesquels ce totem n'est rien, sinon une proie, un gibier, ou un ennemi. Il lui serait tout aussi difficile de garder les autres contre les appétits de son totem, ce qui reviendrait pour lui au même point: la mort nécessaire de son protecteur.

Mais si le Fân, comme on le conçoit aisément, ne peut se faire suivre de son totem pour y recourir toutes les fois qu'il en aura besoin, un moyen bien simple semble s'offrir à lui: l'invocation, la prière, la simple pensée, l'appel mental. Ainsi, en cas de besoin, recourons-nous nous-mêmes au secours divin. Cette réflexion est très vraie pour le Blanc; elle ne l'est nullement pour le Noir qui a besoin de concrétiser, de matérialiser pour ainsi dire sa pensée et l'objet de son culte: il ne saurait s'adresser à un être immatériel qui ne tombe en aucune façon sous ses sens, et comme le Créateur, par exemple, est pour lui dans ce cas, il ne lui demande aucun concours, il ne lui rendra non plus aucun culte. Que fera-t-il donc avec son totem? La réponse est bien simple, il le concrétisera de manière sensible et tangible: pour cela, il aura recours au moyen le plus facile, et qui répond d'ailleurs à toutes ses idées religieuses sur l'animisme, idées que nous ne pouvons développer ici, mais qui sont suffisamment connues: il prendra avec lui et gardera soigneusement un «fragment» de son totem.

Nous devons tout d'abord noter ici qu'il s'agit ici seulement du totem réel, existant et vivant: ce fragment en est la réalité tangible. Le totem *symbole* et *emblème* sera ensuite examiné.

* * *

Par suite, cinq questions se posent:

1° Ce fragment sera-t-il quelconque, et n'importe quelle fraction, quel reste ou morceau de l'animal ou du végétal totem? auront-ils la même vertu?

2° Qui «prendra» ce fragment de totem? sera-ce n'importe qui, un indifférent, un parent, le possesseur du totem lui-même, ou un homme «sacré», le fétiseur?

3° Dans quelles conditions spéciales de temps, de lieu, de circonstances, sera choisi d'abord, puis ensuite recueilli ce fragment de totem? Le prendra-t-on sans se préoccuper des circonstances extrinsèques?

4° Ce fragment de totem aura-t-il la même vertu intrinsèque et la même puissance extérieure que le totem tout entier?

5° Où sera conservé ce totem et recevra-t-il des honneurs spéciaux?

§ 2. Objet du culte totémique.

La première question à laquelle nous avons à répondre est celle-ci:

«Ce fragment sera-t-il quelconque?»

La réponse à cette question nous amène à préciser l'objet du culte totémique.

Ce fragment ne peut être un fragment «quelconque», pris n'importe, où n'importe quand, et dans n'importe quelle partie du totem. Cette nécessité d'un choix particulier est la suite même de la conception du totem.

Cette conception repose en effet sur un pacte d'alliance conclu entre l'homme et l'animal. Nous disons l'animal, car c'est de beaucoup le cas le plus fréquent. Les conséquences sont les mêmes s'il s'agit d'un végétal ou tout autre être. L'homme ira, après sa mort, habiter, pour un certain temps et seulement d'une certaine manière, dans la race de son totem.

Nous employons à dessein ce terme indéterminé de «certaine manière», car les idées des Fâh sont assez confuses sur ce point.

Il est également difficile de les démêler de façon exacte au milieu des réticences des fétiseurs.

Tout d'abord, ce n'est évidemment pas le «corps» de l'homme qui ira se mêler avec celui de l'animal, ou de sa substance putréfiée donner naissance à un autre animal qui serait alors sa continuation sur la terre. Cette conception peut être celle de certaines tribus: ainsi M. van Gennep nous signale qu'à Madagascar, en particulier, les indigènes admettent que certains serpents «sortent» ainsi du cadavre humain[1]. Elle n'est assurément pas celle des Fân et de toutes les tribus voisines: tous savent parfaitement que le corps de l'homme disparaît assez rapidement sans laisser aucune trace; quand, après un mois environ, le fils aîné ou l'héritier du chef de famille enlève le crâne du défunt, il n'a aucun respect et ne témoigne aucune déférence pour les vers, fourmis, et autres insectes qui grouillent dans le cadavre presque décomposé. Les assistants, tous membres de sa famille, n'auront également aucune considération pour ces restes: tantôt on les laissera, le crâne enlevé, sur le bord même de la fosse, sans souci des animaux qui pourraient venir rôder autour; tantôt, on les rejettera sans aucune cérémonie dans la fosse qui sera ensuite comblée. Ce cas arrive lorsque la sépulture est placée près des habitations, et que la laisser ouverte pourrait amener des accidents, par suite des émanations. Si, dans certains cas, on peut voir un ou plusieurs des assistants respecter les fourmis, vers, ou serpents qui pourraient se trouver dans la fosse ou le cadavre, il ne faut pas en conclure à un culte général de ces animaux, mais bien que l'animal en question, ver ou fourmi par exemple, est le totem particulier de celui ou de ceux qui leur rendent alors un certain culte. Pareils faits superficiellement observés ont pu faire conclure, à tort, du particulier au général.

Nous pouvons cependant faire remarquer ici que les Fân, malgré leur anthropophagie bien constatée, se refusent absolument à manger les animaux qui se repaissent de cadavres humains. Mais il n'y a là rien de totémique.

Ce n'est donc pas le corps de l'homme qui se mêle au corps de l'animal. Ce n'est pas non plus le «principe de vie» qui

[1] Du moins dans l'Ouyoro et l'Uganda.

7: Trilles F319 Fang

l'anime. Ce principe est indépendant de l'esprit lui-même, bien que tous deux disparaissent ensemble au moment de la mort. Ce principe de vie est également lumineux par lui-même; après la mort, suivant que l'homme aura été bon ou mauvais, au sens de la théologie noire, il ira, soit dans le séjour lumineux d'en haut, soleil, étoiles et en particulier Vénus, pour y être toujours heureux, soit dans le séjour douloureux d'en bas, dans l'*ekoloane*, pour y souffrir toujours dans le feu.

L'âme proprement dite, ou *mvore* ce que l'on a appelé parfois la «larve», unie ou y appliquant alors un sens restrictif d'esprit méchant, ne se mêle pas davantage au corps ou à l'âme de l'animal totémique. D'après les Fàn, en effet, l'âme a plusieurs formes distinctes: comme le dit bien Mgr. Le Roy [1], c'est . . . «une sorte de substance éthérée qui pendant le sommeil du corps, reçoit la visite d'autres esprits, qui va les voir, qui s'occupe, qui rêve. C'est la voix intime qui nous parle à nous-mêmes, nous inspire de bons et mauvais sentiments, nous porte au bien ou au mal, nous cause de la joie, ou du remords. — Elle est enfin, peut-être, représentée par cette extériorisation de notre personne qui s'appelle l'ombre, qui repose dans l'homme endormi et qui le suit dans la mort.»

Toutefois, et on ne l'a pas jusqu'ici remarqué, croyons-nous, cette âme n'est pas simple et ne constitue pas une seule entité. Nous examinerons plus tard d'une façon détaillée «l'âme» d'après la pensée fàn. Contentons-nous ici de quelques brèves indications.

Dans «l'homme», sans parler du corps, nous trouvons d'abord:

1° le principe de vie, principe lumineux par lui-même, qui accompagne l'âme proprement dite, soit pendant la vie, soit plus tard après la mort. Ce principe est indépendant, et l'âme peut s'en séparer quand elle le désire. Ainsi, dans certains cas, le rêve par exemple, ce principe de vie demeure lumineux et attaché au corps, tandisque l'âme peut l'avoir quitté momentanément.

2° L'âme *nginwanto*, qui réside dans le cerveau, détermine les actes intelligents et aussi la respiration. Cette âme demeure dans le corps, d'une façon permanente ou non, jusqu'à la mort.

[1] Mgr. Le Roy, Religion des Primitifs, p. 141.

3° L'âme que l'on pourrait appeler consciente, qui dicte les actes bons à faire, les actes mauvais à éviter, mais ne peut les exécuter, cette âme peut être enlevée à l'homme par une volonté supérieure, v. g. dans la folie ou la possession, sans que l'âme agissante disparaisse.

L'âme agissante s'extériorise dans l'ombre vivante et mouvante, ombre qui accompagne le corps et épouse sa forme. Certains auteurs[1] prétendent que les Noirs ne sont pas arrivés à s'expliquer l'ombre comme résultant de l'interception de la lumière par un corps opaque. Tous les Noirs, Fâh ou autres, que nous avons interrogés, savent parfaitement que l'ombre est dûe à la lumière, mais ils n'en croient pas moins que l'ombre est également l'image extériorisée de l'âme; ils le croient d'autant plus qu'ils en donnent une raison: les sorciers et les fétiseurs peuvent à volonté, dans certaines initiations, faire grandir, diminuer ou disparaître leur ombre; ce fait est indéniable, il arrive au moment où le sorcier est «possédé par l'esprit».

Après la mort, l'âme consciente accompagne le principe de vie. L'âme agissante, elle, a une autre destinée.

Cette destinée dépend tout d'abord de sa conduite pendant qu'elle a été dans le corps. Suivant cette conduite, bonne ou mauvaise, elle sera récompensée ou punie par *Nzame*. Mais, de plus, cette destinée est également «indépendante» de cette conduite bonne ou mauvaise, en ce sens qu'elle dépend en première ligne des sacrifices funéraires, accomplis ou non.

De là, deux sortes d'ombres, de larves si l'on préfère, bien différentes: 1° les âmes punies par *Nzame* et 2° les âmes ou les esprits qui attendent les sacrifices funéraires. Ces sacrifices pour les atteindre doivent passer par leur cadavre, tout au moins représenté.

Les âmes qui attendent les sacrifices funéraires se rappellent aux vivants soit par de bons, soit par de mauvais procédés, afin d'obtenir plus vite satisfaction. Elles agissent de préférence pendant la nuit.

---

[1] Voir à ce sujet Mgr. Le Roy, *l. c.*, p. 148.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Les âmes punies se rappellent également aux vivants, ou plutôt s'efforcent de se venger d'eux, par de mauvais procédés. La durée de leur punition est vague: elles finissent par s'anéantir.

Mais, outre ces âmes diverses, ce principe de vie et cette extériorisation de l'âme comme ombre, système déjà si compliqué, il reste encore autre chose. Les Fân le désignent parfois, car ils n'aiment pas à en parler, sous le nom de *bo,* qui signifie également le cerveau matériel. Ce *bo,* matériel pendant la vie, devient «immatériel» après la mort: il constitue: «l'essence de la nature humaine». A son gré, il accompagne ou non l'âme, sort du tombeau quand il veut ou plutôt du crâne où il demeure. Souvent, il est alors suivi par «l'oiseau de la mort». Après le décès de son possesseur, il demeure, non pas éternel, mais avec une durée indéfinie: par des charmes puissants, et c'est là précisément le but des sacrifices totémiques, on le «fixe» dans le crâne qui lui a appartenu. Parfois encore, on le retient dans un crâne «représentatif» par des sacrifices appropriés. Le *bo* est ce que l'on peut appeler l'esprit de la race, l'esprit protecteur, d'autant plus puissant qu'au *bo* de l'ancêtre primitif, seront venus s'adjoindre d'autres *bo* de ces descendants.

Nous sommes loin, comme on le voit, du culte mânique, s'adressant aux mânes, aux âmes désincarnées, aux ombres. Loin également du culte des esprits. Nous nous rapprochons du culte des ancêtres, mais à un point de vue particulier.

Dans la conception totémique de l'alliance conclue entre l'homme et l'animal, alliance persistant dans les descendants après la mort des premiers contractants, il n'y a donc pas «identification» comme quelques-uns l'ont compris. En admettant l'identification, la personnalité humaine persiste après la mort, et se substitue, pour se survivre, à la personnalité animale dont la forme demeure seule. C'est donc, en ce sens, un homme réel à figure animale. Il y en a d'ailleurs véritablement, d'après la croyance noire, analogue à nos contes de fées. Les sorciers, par exemple, jouiraient de ce pouvoir de transformation, soit sur les autres, soit sur eux-mêmes. Telle encore la métempsycose des anciens, transformation de l'homme en bête, par un acte magique indépendant de sa volonté, acte révocable ou non, s'étendant à la race ou à l'individu. Les singes,

qui au dire des Noirs sont des hommes véritables, rentreraient dans cette catégorie.

Dans cette alliance, il n'y a ni transformation, ni annihilation de l'animal, il y a cohabitation d'une part, et de l'autre, direction de la volonté, des facultés, des qualités diverses, dans un but donné: la protection de la race humaine. Il n'y a en aucune façon destruction de la personnalité de l'animal: il y a seulement ce que l'on pourrait peut-être appeler «surhabitation», toute différente, on le voit, des cas que nous venons de donner, et aussi de la «possession» au sens chrétien du mot, où un esprit vient habiter un corps et le diriger à son gré.

Il faut bien remarquer qu'en somme, dans cette union, l'animal ou le végétal gagne bien peu de chose, au moins à notre point de vue: en regard d'une sujétion, il aliène en quelque sorte sa personnalité et sa volonté, les fait servir à l'usage de l'homme et ne reçoit en échange qu'une certaine protection et immunité.

Nous disons «au moins à notre point de vue». Mais en est-il de même au point de vue noir? Nous ne le croyons pas. Maintes fois, nous avons interrogé les Noirs à ce sujet: ils s'en sont presque toujours tirés par des réponses évasives suivant leur habitude, ou souvent négatives. Un seul a bien voulu me donner leur sentiment à cet égard. C'était le chef des Esaméndoun, dans la rivière Abanga. «Ce que le clan animal gagne à cette alliance, me répondit-il, c'est de demeurer *(A tobe tobe. Emién a wus ké wuwu né bo wuia.* Il demeure toujours. L'animal lui-même meurt, mais sans que sa personnalité agissante périsse).»

C'est-à-dire, en somme, que de même que chaque homme disparaît ici bas en tant qu'individu, mais que sa personnalité demeure agissante dans la race qui lui survit, de même l'animal disparaît comme individu, mais sa personnalité lui survit, agissant dans la race inféodée à un clan humain. Sans cette inféodation, tout disparaît en lui sans laisser de traces.

L'esprit de l'ancêtre, sous cette forme particulière de force procréatrice de la race, réside dans l'animal totem et l'anime tout entier; mais certaines parties sont plus aptes à cette fonction, mieux reconnues pour telles: ainsi le cœur, en premier rang, car il est le

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

séjour et le siège non seulement des affections, mais surtout de la volonté et des sentiments; puis le cerveau, siège de l'intellect actif; l'esprit de l'ancêtre y résidera de préférence, tandisque la vertu de la race affectionnera le cœur.

Viendront ensuite les os, et d'abord les os du crâne, car les os sont en effet ce qui demeure dans l'animal, et ce qui également, au dire des Fàn, constitue son être; dans ces os, ceux du crâne seront choisis en première ligne, car la tête est la partie la plus noble du corps, celle où réside la vie, et c'est pour cette raison que l'on gardera seulement le crâne des ancêtres, pour leur offrir les sacrifices funéraires. Sur cette enveloppe crânienne, où jadis résidait son *moi*, l'ancêtre défunt, dont l'esprit assiste invisible aux délibérations de ses descendants, saura trouver les sacrifices expiatoires, et de là veiller à l'avenir de la race.

Cependant, certains os seront parfois gardés de préférence au crâne: tels ceux qui expriment le mieux les qualités que le totem doit mettre au service de son possesseur, ou encore ceux qui symbolisent davantage l'animal. Ainsi, dans le tigre, on choisira d'abord les griffes ou les dents qui montrent mieux que toute autre chose la qualité que l'on désire se voir attribuer, la force, l'ardeur au combat, servie par de terribles instruments. Du serpent, on réservera les dents, et particulièrement celles qui lui servent à inoculer son venin, dents que les Fàn connaissent parfaitement bien[1]. De l'éléphant, on gardera encore les dents, et particulièrement celles de petit volume, surtout si elles sont creuses, car alors il sera plus facile d'y adjoindre ou faire entrer d'autres puissants fétiches. De l'éléphant, encore, on gardera les crins de la queue, qui seront portés en anneaux et en bracelets, d'ailleurs d'un assez joli effet. Dans l'antilope, au contraire, on préfèrera les os des jambes, par exemple l'osselet du genou, plus portatif, et dans lequel est censé résider la force de la jambe; ce sera en effet surtout la vitesse, l'agilité qui seront prisées dans ce totem, vertus dont le salut du guerrier dépend souvent dans le combat. Dans un totem végétal, on prisera davantage

[1] Dans bien des cas, on se gardera avec soin d'enlever le venin encore adhérent à ces dents, et il arrivera alors qu'au besoin leur morsure sera encore très dangereuse. Ce sera la preuve, pour le Fàn, que l'esprit, au sens que nous avons déterminé, y réside toujours.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

l'écorce où, de fait, réside le plus souvent la vertu active: dans certains cas, ce sera cependant le bois, et ce choix dépendra toujours de la qualité spécialement cherchée.

Lorsque le totem, au contraire, est de taille suffisamment réduite pour qu'on puisse le porter entier, on ne manquera pas de le faire, car, alors, il n'est pas permis de le partager en fragments.

Dans tous ces cas, l'usage et la coutume sont les grandes lois qui régissent la matière, beaucoup plus que la volonté propre de l'individu. Agir à sa guise ne lui viendrait pas à l'idée pour tout ce qui regarde un phénomène religieux, qui ne dépend de lui en aucune façon: son choix n'aurait aucune valeur, et ne pourrait qu'irriter le totem contre le violateur de lois précises et existant avant lui et sans lui.

§ 3. Qui prendra le totem?

Le fragment de totem, auquel s'adressera le culte, ne dépend donc pas de la volonté et du choix libre, spontané, et quelconque, du possesseur ou destinataire de ce totem. Celui-là seul qui en a le droit pourra prendre ce totem, et dans des circonstances et avec un cérémonial donné et prescrit dans ses moindres détails.

De là, suivant le totem lui-même, variera l'agent du culte. Toutes les fois qu'il s'agira du totem tribal, ce rôle reviendra au chef de la tribu qui, seul, représente le culte totémique, ou le culte de la race. Dans certains cas, par usurpation de pouvoirs parfois, ou encore dans les tribus trop nombreuses, l'agent cultuel sera le fétichéur en titre: là encore, presque toujours, il y aura cependant usurpation de sa part, et empiètement dans un domaine qui ne lui appartient pas. Lorsque, pour une raison politique ou autre, le chef ne peut remplir ce rôle, il est naturellement dévolu au frère qui vient immédiatement après lui en ligne successorale, et à défaut de frère, au fils aîné. Il est vrai que souvent le frère du chef, afin de mieux mettre dans sa main les deux pouvoirs civil et religieux, est également le fétichéur de la tribu, ce qui explique les empiètements de fonction dont nous avons parlé. En principe donc, toutes les fois qu'il s'agira du totem tribal, le rôle de choisir le fragment reviendra au chef de tribu.

De même, s'il s'agit d'un totem familial (rappelons bien qu'il s'agit du choix d'un «fragment» du totem et non de totem nouveau), ce choix reviendra au chef de famille qui, seul, a qualité dans l'affaire.

S'il s'agit enfin du totem individuel, ce sera à l'individu en tant que tel.

Quelque soit cependant l'agent cultuel et le cas, totem tribal, familial, ou individuel, chef de tribu, de clan, de famille ou simple particulier, ce choix aura lieu d'après des règles précises et déterminées, et sous le regard attentif du fétiseur. Si, en effet, le totem lui-même ne tombe pas sous son autorité et contrôle directs, en tant que personnage religieux, chargé d'ordonnancer les choses du culte et de veiller à leur observance minutieuse, il doit néanmoins surveiller les phénomènes religieux; ceux du totem sont utiles si étroitement aux autres actes religieux de toute nature, et particulièrement à ceux qui regardent le culte des ancêtres, que sa stricte surveillance s'impose, et par là même se justifie.

§ 4. Dans quelles conditions ce totem sera-t-il pris?

Le totem ne peut être pris indifféremment et à n'importe quel moment, de même qu'il ne peut être pris par n'importe qui, mais par celui-là seulement qui a droit et pouvoir de le faire. Là encore la loi est intervenue, et les rites de la cérémonie sont parfaitement déterminés. Le totem ne peut être pris qu'après un sacrifice où intervient, comme sacrificateur, le futur possesseur du totem, et, comme sacrifié, l'animal lui-même où réside l'esprit totémique. Si, au lieu d'un animal, c'est un végétal, la cérémonie est semblablement la même: le végétal remplacera simplement l'animal, les détails seront identiques.

Le futur possesseur du totem est le sacrificateur: de là, résulte une conséquence importante, et que l'on n'a pas toujours assez remarquée:

Le totem n'a de valeur que pour le possesseur seul.

Celui-ci vient-il à mourir, son totem n'a plus aucune valeur: elle disparaît avec le propriétaire et, au besoin, les héritiers le céderont très facilement. En parlant bientôt d'un fétiche tribal, l'*akumáyôê*, nous constaterons un fait de ce genre: un chef éingi,

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

le chef même du clan, vend sans difficulté à l'explorateur A. Bennett le totem de son prédécesseur, également chef comme lui. Par le fait même de la mort du possesseur et de l'achat subséquent, ce totem est de nulle valeur.

L'explorateur ou le voyageur achète donc le totem d'un décédé ou encore se le fait donner en cadeau. Il l'exhibe ensuite comme un «puissant fétiche». Rien de plus erroné! il n'est puissant que dans l'opinion du seul voyageur. De plus, celui-ci pourra s'étonner de la facilité relative avec lequel le Noir l'aura cédé; il en conclura, comme le fait se présente encore tous les jours et avec nombre de voyageurs, que le Fân, ou tout autre Noir, n'a en son fétiche qu'une foi très mince et qui cède à la plus faible considération d'argent ou de tout autre mobile. La conception du voyageur s'explique fort bien par l'ignorance presque absolue où il est de la religion et des croyances de ceux qui l'entourent et qu'il visite. Quand il les décrit, c'est avec la compétence d'un Chinois (et ce livre a été fait), qui, ne connaissant rien à nos dogmes et à nos croyances, entre dans une église, contemple les cérémonies du culte et en explique ensuite le sens à ses compatriotes d'Extrême Orient. On n'est pas surpris de trouver alors, en ce livre, une extrême fantaisie. Et ainsi en va-t-il de notre voyageur et de notre écrivain. En réalité, le sacrifice ne vaut que pour celui qui l'offre ou pour celui en faveur de qui il est offert: dans cette circonstance particulière, le totem n'a de valeur que pour ce dernier: vient-il à mourir, ce n'est plus **son** totem ni **un** totem: c'est simplement un fragment d'animal totémique, sans aucune valeur, si c'est un totem individuel, de valeur mince, si c'est un totem de tribu. En effet, avec la mort du possesseur, l'esprit de la tribu qui y avait été spécialement appelé, cesse d'y résider.

Les conditions du choix.

a) Se procurer l'animal choisi.

La première condition pour procéder à la cérémonie sera tout d'abord évidemment de se procurer le sujet requis. Nous avons, en effet, déjà dit que tout animal, même s'il appartient à la race du totem, n'était pas pour cela totémique. Prenons par exemple

le clan des Yemvûû dont le totem est l'antilope: ce n'est pas la race entière des antilopes qui, dans ce clan, sera l'objet du culte: ce sera telle espèce précise d'antilope. Est-ce tout? Non; encore dans cette espèce, surtout lorsqu'elle est particulièrement nombreuse, on choisira, on sera désignée depuis longtemps, telle variété, offrant tels caractères distinctifs. Pour les connaître, et ne pas se risquer à des démarches et à des peines inutiles, un homme de ce clan consultera donc d'abord le «voyant», le dépositaire des secrets du culte, qui lui prescrira les démarches préliminaires, les sacrifices qu'il faut offrir, la ligne de conduite qu'il doit adopter pour obtenir une heureuse issue. L'importance et le prix de cette consultation, aussi bien que les démarches nécessaires, varieront étrangement avec la chose à obtenir. Ainsi, par exemple, pour déterminer quelle antilope doit être choisie, le «voyant» demandera une poule. Une deuxième poule sera requise pour déterminer l'endroit favorable à l'affût, car celui-ci ne saurait être indifférent; une poule encore pour désigner le jour convenable, car il y a des jours «heureux» comme il y a des jours «malheureux» et en ces jours-là, le totem ne saurait être choisi sous peine d'insuccès. Trois poules, quelques perles, un peu de poudre suffiront généralement pour ces premières démarches, s'il s'agit d'un totem individuel. Si le totem doit être familial, les prix augmentent immédiatement, et les poules seront remplacées par des cabris; poudre et perles devront aussi être données en quantités plus considérables. Si enfin il s'agit d'un totem tribal, et si, chose très importante également à considérer, le chef est riche, il faudra bien qu'il s'exécute: trois moutons, un fusil et parfois plus, deux ou trois tonnelets de poudre, trois pagnes, et trois masses de perles, tel sera le prix normal, mais qui admet, comme toute valeur raisonnable, la hausse et la baisse. Tout aussi bien qu'en pays blanc, le féticheur fûû sait faire rendre au client tout ce qu'il peut donner! et là-dessus le proverbe noir est charmant:

Abo nzox *fo ve yèn mbil.*

«Pris sous le pied de l'éléphant, le rat sait encore rentrer dans son trou.» Le client échappe aussi au féticheur.

Mais en quel état, souvent!

* * *

b) Les cérémonies rituelles.

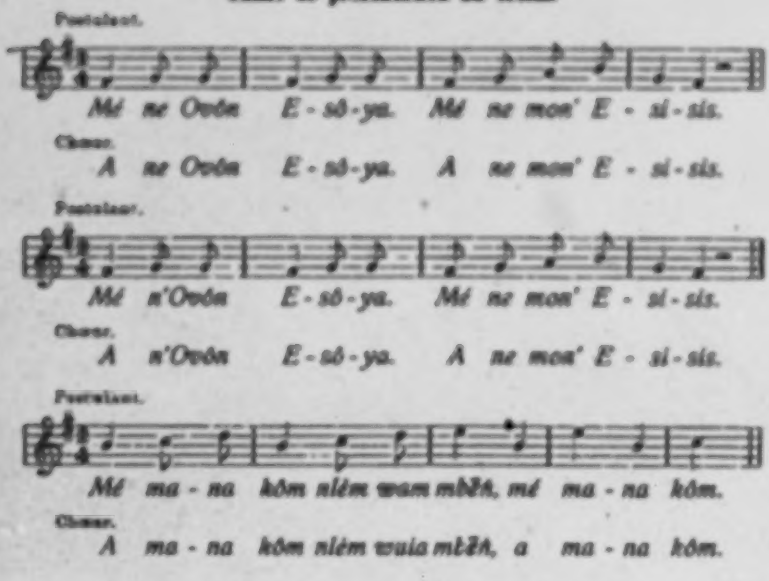
Ces premières démarches une fois terminées, et l'animal désigné heureusement trouvé et mis à mort, un premier sacrifice est offert à la victime elle-même pour que ses frères et parents ne vengent pas ce meurtre nécessaire. Là encore, une poule ou un mouton font d'ordinaire les frais de la cérémonie. Une partie, la plus faible, la tête, le cœur, les pattes, est brûlée, et les cendres sont soigneusement mises à part: le reste est gardé par le fétiheur comme paiement particulier. Les cendres sont données à celui qui offre: elles lui seront nécessaires, et il les réunira, en entier ou en partie, au totem lui-même: c'est la preuve effective et formelle que le sacrifice a été offert.

Après cette cérémonie préliminaire, le postulant, s'il agit d'un totem individuel, se rend seul en un endroit désigné de la forêt: il y retrouve le fétiheur; si, au contraire, il s'agit d'un totem clanique, tous les hommes du clan, armés et portant leur propre totem, accompagneront leur chef: l'animal totem sera étendu à terre, ouvert avec le couteau des sacrifices, et l'intestin partagé en trois parties: suivant la quantité de matières contenues dans chaque partie et la position particulière de chaque fragment, on présagera bon succès ou malheur: même dans ce dernier cas, on ne doit cependant pas s'arrêter: la cérémonie totémique une fois commencée doit toujours s'achever, la laisser interrompue pour quelque cause que ce soit attirerait les plus grands malheurs sur les assistants. La conviction indigène est fortement établie sur ce point; ainsi, nous avons entendu raconter qu'une tribu étant un jour réunie dans la forêt autour de son chef apprit soudain qu'un clan ennemi venait de faire irruption dans son village, pillait les cases et emmenait les femmes captives. On continua cependant la cérémonie comme si rien ne se passait d'anormal. Quand tout fut terminé seulement, me disait le chef qui me répétait cette histoire, les guerriers, sautant sur leurs armes, coururent à l'ennemi. Leur confiance fut bien récompensée: non seulement ils remportèrent la victoire, mais encore reprirent leurs femmes et firent de nombreux prisonniers. Ce fut, ajoutait-il, un fameux festin!

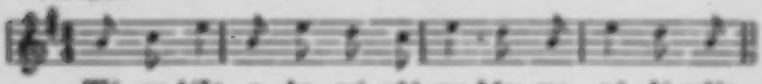
On comprend combien ce fait était de nature à rendre indestructible leur confiance au totem.

Le cœur de la bête est également inspecté avec un soin minutieux pour en tirer d'heureux ou de funestes présages: il est détaché, mis à part, et enveloppé dans des feuilles d'amome, la plante consacrée. Après ces premiers préliminaires, la danse commence, scandée par les coups de tamtam, et se déroule tout autour du corps de la victime. Cette danse est accompagnée de chants qui tendent tous à attirer la bienveillance du totem sur celui qui va en recevoir la marque: ils sont toujours précédés, à chaque reprise de danse, du chant d'invocation à l'*ahamɛ́yɔ́ŋ* dont voici un exemple. Les premières paroles sont consacrées à une sorte de présentation ou d'introduction. Le postulant y décline ses noms et qualités; puis il a grand soin d'ajouter qu'il a le *nlɛ́m mbɔ̀n*, c'est-à-dire le cœur purifié, qu'il a accompli d'abord les sacrifices nécessaires et les rites préparatoires. Le chœur répète chaque phrase sur le même air, et quand le chant est terminé, le postulant termine en reprenant une dernière fois la présentation du commencement.

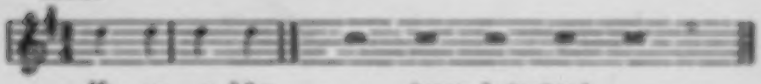
Chant de présentation au totem.

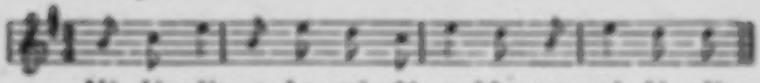


Postulant.

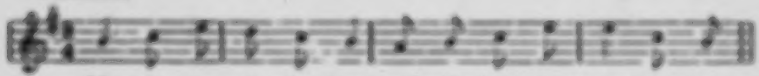


Chœur.





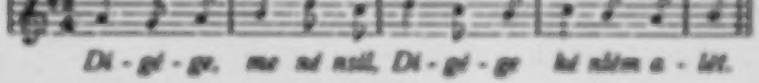
Postulant.



Chœur.

A he ve é - hé - kwé, é - hé - kwé mvi né ngu - re.

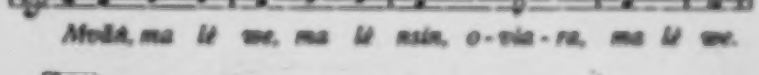
Postulant.



Chœur.

Di - gé - ge bie, né ntil, Di - gé - ge hé nôm a - lit.

Postulant.



Chœur.

Mvôô, a lé we, a lé ntin, o - via - ra, a lé we.

Le Postulant:	*Mé ne Ovôn Elôye*	Je suis Ovôn fils d'Elôye
	Mé ne mon' Eleie	Je suis un fils des Eleie.
Le Chœur:	*A ne Ovôn Elôye*	C'est Ovôn fils d'Elôye
	A ne mon' Eleie	C'est un fils des Eleie.

Le Postulant:	*Mî mewu bôm ellim ewu mbîjî* *Mî mewu bôm*	J'ai fini de bien disposer mon cœur.
Le Chœur:	*A mewu bôm ellim ewu mbîî.* *A mewu bôm.*	Il a fini de bien disposer son cœur, Il a fini de le disposer.
Le Postulant:	*Ô'ôm, bôîî okumîpôî,* *Ma bôm ne ne bî mdîn.*	Maintenant, remède de l'okumîpôî, je te prépare avec grande force.
Le Chœur:	*Yô, yô, a bôm.*	Yô, yô, il prépare.

Ici, tous les assistants, après avoir tourné en cercle, exécutent une danse rituelle, accompagnée de tamtam, sur un rythme lent et solennel. De temps en temps, on chante: *Yô, yô, a bôm*, puis le chœur reprend. Au bout d'un certain temps, la danse cesse, et le chœur reprend:

Le Chœur:	*Nî bî mdîn, okumîpôî,* *A bôm ne nî bî mdîn.*	Avec grande force, okumîpôî, Je te prépare avec grande force (c'est-à-dire: pour que tu aies une grande force).
Le Postulant:	*Ma ne ne ekôwî,* *Ekôwî mwî nî ngwe.*	Je te donne un crâne, Un crâne d'albinos[1] et de chimpanzé.
Le Chœur:	*A ke ne ekôwî,* *Ekôwî mwî nî ngwe.*	Il lui donne un crâne, Un crâne d'albinos et de chimpanzé.
Le Postulant:	*Dîpîgo, mî ne mîî,* *Dîpîgo, bî ellim ellî.*	Regarde, je suis pur, Regarde, mon cœur est docile.
Le Chœur:	*Dîpîgo bîr nî mîî,* *Dîpîgo bî ellim ellî.*	Regarde-nous avec complaisance, Regarde-nous nous calme.
Le Postulant:	*Mvôô, ma lî ne,* *Ma lî ne, mîî,* *Oviaru, ma lî ne.*	Mvôô, il t'appelle, Il t'appelle, ô mîî, Oviaru, il t'appelle.
Le Chœur:	*Mvôô, a lî ne* *A lî ne, mîî* *Oviaru, a lî ne*	Mvôô[2], il t'appelle, Il t'appelle, ô mîî[3], Oviaru[4], il t'invoque.
Le Postulant:	*Mî ne Ovôn Eelyn,* *Mî ne mon' Eeiele.*	Je suis Ovôn Eelyn, Je suis un fils des Eeiele.
Le Chœur:	*A ne Ovôn Eelyn* *A ne mon' Eeiele*	C'est bien Ovôn Eelyn, C'est un fils des Eeiele.

[1] Le crâne d'albinos est considéré comme un puissant fétiche: l'esprit des ancêtres de la race est censé y résider de préférence.

[2] *Mvôô*, peau de chat-tigre, où résidera le fétiche de l'astuce et de la finesse.

[3] *Mîî*, peau de chat-sauvage, où viendra le fétiche de la bravoure dans les combats.

[4] *Oviaru*, sifflet de guerre: il met en fuite les esprits malfaisants.

Ce rite solennel une fois terminé, le féticheur a fini son rôle, et le chef procède seul désormais à toutes les opérations.

Avec une torche d'*okoumé*[1], il met le feu au bûcher sur lequel repose le corps de la victime; les chants et les danses continuent, tandis que les chairs crépitent sur les charbons ardents.

Pendant ce temps, on a préparé à terre un lit de feuilles de bananiers. Le choix de ces feuilles, non plus que du bananier lui-même, n'est aucunement indifférent. Tout autour du village, derrière la ligne des cases, règne toujours une ceinture assez large de bananiers. Quand les cadavres des femmes ne sont pas jetés à l'eau, comme la loi l'ordonne en certaines circonstances, ils sont enterrés dans cette plantation. On doit veiller avec soin à ce qu'aucun cadavre n'ait été enseveli près du bananier désigné. Si ce cas arrivait, même involontaire et insoupçonné, le totem perdrait de sa valeur et exigerait de nombreux sacrifices pour racheter la faute matérielle commise. Le bananier doit être choisi tout près de la case de celui auquel est destiné le totem. Les feuilles nécessaires seront coupées par un homme et avec un couteau servant à son usage: les faire couper par une femme et avec un sabre d'abatis appartenant à une femme constituerait des fautes rituelles graves. Seuls encore les hommes doivent emporter les feuilles au lieu désigné: il est interdit aux femmes d'y toucher. Les hommes désignés doivent être «de même sang» que le destinataire du totem. Enfin, les feuilles ne doivent pas toucher terre et de plus demeurer entières pour ne contracter aucune souillure rituelle. Chaque infraction à ces rites, même involontaire, entraîne des peines graves.

Près de ce lit de feuilles, on place la peau écorchée de la bête, si elle est petite, telle un rat ou un singe: on dépose également à côté une peau de chat-sauvage ou *asié* que le chef suspendra ensuite à son baudrier. Si c'est un tigre, ou autre animal de ce genre, on placera seulement la queue. Le reste de la peau, y compris la tête, sera brûlé avec l'animal. Dès que les chairs sont suffisamment cuites, on les enlève du bûcher et on les place sur le lit de

[1] *Okoumé blanneau*, des Térébinthacées. On en recueille la sève résineuse pour la fabrication des torches.

7: Trilles F319 Fang

feuilles de bananier; elles ne doivent à aucun moment toucher la terre. Elles sont ensuite séparées en autant de morceaux qu'il y a d'assistants. S'ils sont trop nombreux, chacun s'approche tour à tour mais prend seulement un petit morceau. Quand tous ont passé, s'il reste encore de la viande, les principaux guerriers l'achèvent. Aucun morceau ne doit être jeté à terre: il y aurait là une sorte de profanation; tout doit être mangé, sauf les gros os, qui sont rejetés d'abord un à un sur les feuilles de bananier, en l'ordre qu'ils occupaient dans le corps de l'animal. Tous les os sont soigneusement nettoyés et replacés. On les enferme ensuite en tas dans les feuilles, après que le chef a détaché la boîte crânienne, ou un morceau de cette boîte, si l'animal est de trop grosse espèce.

Le même cérémonial est suivi pour un végétal ou un minéral, en omettant évidemment les rites impossibles à observer.

S'il s'agit d'un totem ressortissant d'un phénomène naturel, les cérémonies sont alors complètement différentes. Ainsi, le tonnerre est «matérialisé» par le *mica*, ou *mébi mémandé* (excréments du tonnerre). Pour la spécialisation de ce genre particulier de totems, phénomènes célestes et autres, il en est tout d'abord de même que pour les animaux et végétaux parmi lesquels ce n'est pas indifféremment tout animal ou tout végétal de l'espèce qui peut être totem, mais bien tel animal ou tel végétal en particulier. Des notes distinctives, des marques spéciales les font reconnaître comme appartenant bien à la famille de l'ancêtre ou du *mvamaydé*, et dépositaires par conséquent de la vertu de la race. C'est au fétiseur, à l'homme du culte, de déterminer, dans ces cas, si les conditions sont bien réalisées. Tout morceau de mica, par exemple, ne sera donc pas totem, mais seulement le morceau présentant telles ou telles conditions. Dans ce cas de phénomènes naturels, l'esprit protecteur, car en cette circonstance, il nous semble bien y avoir véritablement croyance à l'esprit se manifestera parfois à son clan d'autre façon plus frappante, plus expressive. Si nous employons ce mot «esprit», c'est qu'il y a alors extension du totem ordinaire, même dégénérescence du système lui-même. Il est bien évident en effet que l'esprit de la race ne vient ni se reposer ni habiter dans l'esprit du tonnerre sur lequel il ne saurait avoir aucune espèce d'action, car ils ne sont pas de même monde!

Mais s'il ne peut habiter en lui, il repose cependant dans des objets qui lui sont «voués», et par lesquels il peut néanmoins avoir influence sur lui. Par là, le principe même du totémisme est conservé. Mais il se présente des cas où l'esprit du tonnerre lui-même se choisit un autre «représentant» qui, étant alors beaucoup plus directement en communication avec lui, remplace immédiatement le totem matériel dont nous avons parlé tout à l'heure. Ainsi, c'est ce qui arrive lorsque pendant un orage violent, la foudre éclate et frappe un arbre, un animal et surtout un homme. Tout d'abord, pour les tribus qui n'ont aucun rapport totémique avec le tonnerre, l'arbre, l'animal ou l'homme frappé, constitueront en eux-mêmes de puissants fétiches, et même, par analogie, ou parallélisme, entreront dans la composition du «fétiche» de guerre, afin de détourner les balles et les flèches. On emploiera de plus leurs restes dans la confection d'un autre fétiche destiné à protéger le village contre le feu, la foudre, les cataclysmes divers qui peuvent le menacer: dans ce but, si l'objet frappé a été un arbre, il y aura tout d'abord un grand sacrifice. On offrira un captif, ou à défaut de victime humaine infiniment préférable, un cabri, une chèvre. Si l'hostie est un homme ou un animal, après une cérémonie particulière que nous allons décrire, certaines parties du corps, particulièrement les os avoisinant la partie frappée, ou les os qui seraient déjà brûlés par le passage de la foudre constitueront le fétiche. Ce rite doit être déjà fort ancien dans la tribu des Fân, d'autant que nous le voyons presque textuellement décrit dans le livre déjà cité de Junker, à propos d'autres tribus bantoues de l'Est. Ce serait donc un rite de l'origine. Voici d'ailleurs, d'après cet auteur, la cérémonie telle qu'elle se pratique dans l'Unyoro, à l'autre extrémité de l'Afrique: telle ressemblance est particulièrement typique. Nous signalons toutefois quelques dissemblances entre les deux manières de procéder.

Une remarque s'impose d'abord. Dans l'Unyoro comme chez les Fân, nul n'admet que l'homme frappé ainsi par la foudre, le soit par accident. Dans aucun cas, et là moins qu'ailleurs, «l'accident» n'est considéré comme tel. Il est toujours une vengeance particulière d'un autre homme qui vous en veut et qui alors agit, soit par lui-même, soit par les esprits. Il est dû encore à un

esprit outragé qui punit personnellement, par exemple les mêmes des sorciers irrités, ou enfin à la violation d'un *dki*. Si c'est le tonnerre qui frappe, cette violation est presque toujours la cause du malheur au dire des indigènes. Avant donc que le corps de l'homme frappé puisse être enseveli ou servir de fétiche, il faut tout d'abord que le fétiseur recherche les causes de cette mort et déclare quel *dki* a été violé, pourquoi cet homme a été frappé. Cette première constatation faite, deux sanctions s'imposent, une pour l'individu, et une autre pour la tribu, le clan et particulièrement la famille du mort. La tribu en effet n'est pas une réunion d'êtres vivant isolément et simplement unis par un lien de sang, d'affection et d'intérêts communs: au point de vue religieux comme au point de vue politique, tribu, clan ou famille constituent une «unité». Ce fait confirme bien ce que nous avons dit précédemment: la famille, et non l'individu, est la cellule sociale. Dans ce cas, en effet, la sanction n'est pas individuelle en ce sens que le plus proche parent du mort paiera pour la faute, et à son défaut un autre ascendant; la sanction n'est pas individuelle, mais familiale et tribale. La famille paiera, toute entière et également solidaire, représentée par son chef; la tribu paiera également, toute entière et également solidaire, représentée par le chef de la tribu.

Une deuxième sanction s'impose contre le mort. Puisqu'il a violé un *dki*, il doit être puni: déjà l'esprit a appliqué la sanction la plus forte qui puisse être infligée à un vivant; la conclusion est évidente: le crime ne pouvait être expié que par la mort. La tribu, à son tour, solidairement responsable, infligera la plus forte punition qu'elle puisse infliger à un mort, la privation des sacrifices funéraires d'abord, la privation des honneurs posthumes ensuite. Aucune danse, aucun chant n'auront lieu pour cet homme, seul les lamentations funèbres des femmes dans l'intérieur de la case. Son cadavre sera porté dans la forêt, sans aucune cérémonie funéraire spéciale le concernant, puis on l'ensevelira sous une fourmilière, afin que les fourmis détachent les chairs au plus vite. Parfois même, on ira le mettre sur le chemin de ces fourmis voyageuses qui parcourent la forêt en troupes innombrables[1], et qui en deux heures tout au

[1] Il nous est arrivé de voir ainsi de ces colonnes de fourmis défiler sous nos yeux pendant plusieurs heures, cinq ou six consécutives, sans qu'une minute,

plus se chargeront de rendre un squelette parfaitement nettoyé. Son crâne ne sera pas conservé non plus avec ceux de ses ascendants, et son souvenir, par conséquent, périra peu à peu. Tous ceux qui meurent par accident et dont on ne peut retrouver les crânes, subissent ordinairement le même sort. Aussi, dans le combat, le parti qui se sent vaincu, n'hésite-t-il pas à prendre la fuite au plus vite afin d'éviter un pareil sort. Le guerrier vaincu a deux alternatives à redouter: tomber au pouvoir de l'ennemi, mourir dans quelque fourré où on ne le retrouvera pas. Dans ces deux cas, privé des honneurs funèbres, il ne saurait prendre place parmi les ancêtres, à moins d'une cérémonie longue, coûteuse et compliquée. Aussi prend-il la fuite, non par lâcheté ou peur de la mort, mais par crainte de l'au delà.

Examinons maintenant comment, dans l'Unyoro, et de même chez les Fân, on commence par détourner la colère de l'esprit ou du totem irrité. Le Fân croit d'autant plus à cette nécessité que certains faits, paraissant accidentels pour nous, mais non pour ces hommes éminemment superstitieux, semblent l'appuyer. Ces faits dont la renommée répand aussitôt le bruit au loin, viennent confirmer ou fixer ou dissiper ses doutes. Ainsi, il y a quelques années, un Fân avait été frappé par la foudre tout près de son village. Afin d'éviter des frais d'expiation fort onéreux, le chef du clan, lequel se

---

en tenant, la marche fut interrompue. Les fourmis «défilaient» par sept ou huit de front, marchant bien les unes derrière les autres, sans désordre. Trois ou quatre soldats, des fourmis surveillantes, beaucoup plus fortes, se tenaient sur les bords de la troupe, et immobiles pendant un quart d'heure ou un peu plus, veillaient à ce que la marche ne fût pas interrompue, et que telle fourmi ne s'écartât à droite ou à gauche. Après ce temps, elles continuaient leur marche en reparaissant sur les flancs de la colonne. Un ruisseau, même assez large n'arrête pas ces fourmis, et elles savent fort bien le franchir. Elles montent pour cela en haut d'un arbrisseau de la rive, et s'efforcent d'atteindre une branche du bord opposé. Ne peuvent-elles y arriver, elles s'accrochent les unes aux autres, se laissent pendre en long cordon, et se balancent, soit par leur propre effort, soit au gré du vent. La ligne s'allonge jusqu'à ce que la dernière fourmi ait réussi à saisir une feuille, un brin d'herbe, une branche de la rive opposée. Aussitôt le cordon est doublé, triplé et plus, le pont aérien est bâti et le passage continue.

On comprend qu'une proie quelconque, morte ou vive, placée sur le passage de ces bandes, soit vite dévorée. C'était jadis un supplice réservé aux esclaves. On les jetait vivants et attachés au milieu des fourmis en marche.

réduisait à deux petits villages, renonça à consulter le féticheur, et quelque peu avare, ou ménager de ses moutons, fit disparaître secrètement pendant la nuit le corps du défunt. Quand, le lendemain, on voulut procéder aux cérémonies d'usage, le cadavre ne se retrouva point, et le chef fit répandre le bruit que l'esprit l'avait emporté, et qu'une telle expiation suffisait aux ancêtres irrités. Pour la forme, il offrit cependant une poule ou deux, et comme il était chef, toute la famille l'approuva, heureuse au fond d'être débarrassée à si bon compte. Mais, à quelques jours de là, divers malheurs, tous imprévus, semblèrent s'acharner sur le malheureux clan: deux hommes et une femme chavirèrent en pirogue sur la rivière et se noyèrent, le feu prit dans une case et brûla un enfant, enfin la petite vérole se mit de la partie. Le féticheur, consulté, déclara qu'il y avait certainement là une violation d'*éki* totémique, car tous ces malheurs affectaient la race, et que les ancêtres, irrités, retiraient leur protection au clan. De point en point, sans que nul ne lui eût rien dit, le féticheur découvrit non seulement la vérité, mais dans une sorte d'accès de somnambulisme, conduisit le clan tout entier à l'endroit où l'homme frappé par la foudre avait été jeté. On fit alors les sacrifices nécessaires, la renommée du féticheur augmenta considérablement, d'autant qu'il s'empressa de relater partout l'accident, la punition et sa propre habileté, le chef et la tribu furent entièrement ruinés[1], la maladie cessa pourtant, et les totems furent satisfaits: tout est bien qui finit bien!

Chez les Fân, comme dans l'Unyôro, la première partie de la cérémonie est «l'apaisement» de l'esprit irrité. Dans les clans «vomis» au tonnerre, la cérémonie totémique de consécration est exactement semblable.

[1] Il ne faut pas s'étonner si, dans les divers sacrifices dont nous avons déjà parlé, les Fâ immolent seulement une chèvre, un cabri ou un mouton dans les plus grandes circonstances. Les Fâ, peuple chasseur avant tout, n'ont presque aucun bétail. Le bœuf et la vache ne sont pas domestiqués, et tout le bétail d'un village se borne à quelques moutons ou cabris. Souvent le chef aura seul un troupeau, et quand dans un grand village, on peut compter 30 têtes de bétail, le fait mérite d'être signalé. Les bêtes errent la nuit à l'aventure dans le village et couchent près des cases: les bergeries sont inconnues. Pour les grandes occasions, on engraisse dans l'obscurité d'une case fermée un bouc châtré *(nyaé)*.

«The ferocious thunder storms which occur in Unyoro, are not unnaturally associated somewhat specially with the manifestation of spiritual power. Cases of people being struck by lightning are far from uncommon, and whenever such an event occurs, it is a signal among the Banyoro for a great ceremony connected with the worship of the *bachwezi* (worship of ancestral spirits who is sometimes confused with the totem). The individual killed by lightning is not moved from where he fell dead, but nine witches or old women are sent for[1]. Then old women surround the body on all sides, each of there holding a spear[2] which is pointed, downwards towards the earth. The women take up a crouching position, squatting on the ground with their backs to the body. Then the special *machwezi* or priest of the tribe to which the dead man belonged is summoned. When he arrives, he brings with him a small gourd basin full of water. The crowd which has by this time assembled draws near, and the priest sprinkles most of the people with water as a sign of purification[3]. Then he announces, in a loud voice, that the *bachwezi* are angry because some wrong-doing has occurred either on the part of the dead man or on the part of members of his clan[4]. For this wrong-doing, the ancestral spirits have demanded a victim.

«The dead body is then wrapped up in the bark-cloth or skins carried out into the long grass. Amidst the grass, an anthill is sought for, and when one of the right shape is found, the corpse is placed on the top of it and left there unburied[5]. When this is done, the old women-witches together with the priest assemble to investigate the cause of the spirit's anger. If they can arrive at no clear decision as to the cause (and if they do, measures

[1] C'est la seule différence entre la cérémonie fàn et la cérémonie unyoro: chez les Fàn, toutes les vieilles femmes du village doivent aller à la cérémonie, et non pas neuf seulement.

[2] Chez les Fàn, chacun porte un bâton pointu.

[3] Chez les Fàn, le sorcier ne prend pas d'eau, mais une poule noire; il lui coupe la tête et asperge le peuple avec le sang.

[4] Le sorcier fàn dit à haute voix: «L'*ôsi* est blessé. *Mvomeyôt* (et non *ôsoyôt*) est fâché. Craignez, craignez.»

[5] Chez les Fàn, le cadavre est enseveli dans la fourmilière, et non placé dessus. Le résultat et identique.

are to be taken to remedy the wrong-doing) the priest of the clan demands as a sacrifice a cow without blunish and a sheep, a goat and a fowl which are one-coloured, without a spot [1]. These animals are then placed in the centre of a circle formed by the witches, after which the hags dance round the sacrifice, chanting a chorus to the effect of «O Bachwezi, accept these our offerings and let your wrath cease». It is scarcely necessary to add that the ceremonies conclude by the priest and the witches making a hearty meal of the sacrificial offering».

Au bout de quelques heures, on revient, chez les Fâń, chercher ce corps de l'homme auquel à ce moment il ne reste que les os. On l'emporte dans le bois sacré *(éli béngan)* et on procède comme nous avons déjà indiqué précédemment: le feu est également allumé, puis le corps, réduit à l'état de squelette, est complètement brûlé, puisque dans ce cas il ne saurait y avoir manducation. Pendant qu'il se carbonise, on jette en même temps dans le foyer l'ancien totem tribal qui va être renouvelé plus puissant. L'ancien, dès lors, n'aurait plus aucune importance. Dès que les os commencent à se carboniser, le chef s'avance et enlève la tête du cadavre, la pose sur le lit de feuilles, détache la boîte crânienne, en sépare autant de petits morceaux qu'il y a d'assistants présents et les distribue à chacun: il garde pour lui le fragment le plus considérable et le met avec les autres objets qui constituent l'*akaméyôń*, rejette soigneusement dans le feu, ce qui reste de débris avec les feuilles de bananier qui ont touché le fétiche. Pendant que le tout, soigneusement attisé, achève de se consumer, on exécute encore des danses et des chants en l'honneur du «protecteur», du *mvamayôń*. Ces chants et ces danses durent tant que les os ne sont pas complètement calcinés et le foyer lui-même réduit en cendres.

Lorsque ce résultat est obtenu, on creuse en terre un trou profond et on y jette toutes les cendres sans en laisser aucune trace. On repousse alors la terre dans le trou, et on laisse la végétation envahir et dissimuler toute trace de ce qui a été fait. La cérémonie terminée, chacun rentre au village sans autre chant et sans aucune autre cérémonie.

[1] Chez les Fâń, le féticheur demande un mouton et deux poules blanches sans aucune tache.

§ 5. Vertu du fragment choisi.

Le fragment de totem a-t-il la même vertu que le totem entier?

Lorsque toutes les cérémonies et consécrations successives ont été scrupuleusement suivies et bien observées, le fragment de totem est considéré comme entier, et, en cette qualité, est le siège de la vertu et de la puissance du totem réel.

Mais il faut noter qu'il n'a cette vertu et cette puissance qu'en participation, et encore en participation actuelle et transitoire, en vertu du sacrifice personnel qui le lui a, non pas conféré, mais attiré.

Il n'a cette puissance qu'en participation, c'est-à-dire que le totem de la tribu reste évidemment le même; c'est toujours, par exemple, telle variété de serpent, non en tant qu'animal particulier, mais en tant que race, qui conserve la qualité de totem. Mais, en vertu du sacrifice offert, le fragment ayant appartenu à un animal de la race, en revêt la personnalité toute entière, jouit des prérogatives qui y sont attachées, sert en quelque sorte de transmetteur, de support attitré, d'intermédiaire entre le totem visible et le totem invisible qui n'est autre que l'esprit et la force de la race. Ce n'est en somme, et nous l'avons déjà indiqué plus haut, que le totem spirituel matérialisé, concrétisé sous une forme visible, effective, et surtout apte à pouvoir recevoir le culte.

Toutefois, par le fait même du sacrifice personnel, cette qualité ne peut durer qu'autant que l'individu l'ayant offert peut invoquer la force du sacrifice. Le possesseur mort, la valeur du sacrifice par là même disparaît avec lui et, comme conséquence, la valeur de tous ses fétiches, y compris l'objet totémique qui en était le complément. Ce fait explique pourquoi nous verrons tout à l'heure, dans la description de l'*akaméyôñ*, un Fâñ se dessaisir facilement en faveur d'un étranger, d'un Européen, du «médicament ou *biâñ*» de son prédécesseur[1]. Ce cas est fréquent.

[1] Le mot *biâñ* est employé par les Fâñ d'un façon collective pour désigner soit les remèdes, soit les fétiches auxquels sont attachés des remèdes, dans un sens très large. Ainsi, on «guérit», au moyen de certaines plantes, un fusil qui tire mal.

§ 6. Où conserve-t-on le totem.

L'endroit où l'on conserve le totem varie d'après les différents totems, individuel, de famille, ou de tribu.

Le totem individuel, presque toujours de petite taille, et consistant en quelques fragments de l'animal ou du végétal choisi, ou encore d'un peu de cendres provenant du sacrifice de la victime, est renfermé dans une petite corne d'antilope, scellée par un peu de résine et portant le nom de *nkô*. Les enfants la portent, suivant les maladies que l'on craint pour eux, ou les esprits et influences mauvaises que l'on veut écarter d'eux, soit au cou, soit le plus souvent devant les parties génitales. C'est fréquemment, jusqu'à l'âge de sept ans, leur seul habillement.

Le *nkô* est spécial aux garçons qui, seuls, peuvent avoir le *mvamayôñ* ou l'*étotore*.

Ce mot que nous retrouverons plus tard, en parlant de l'antiquité du totem, désigne le totem individuel. Si l'on redoute pour l'enfant certains accidents auxquels il est particulièrement sujet, si, par exemple, il tombe souvent et se blesse, ou encore s'il a les pieds ulcérés, il portera le *nkô* suspendu par un cordon qui lui entoure la jambe droite, car c'est de ce côté que vient ordinairement la chance. Les jeunes gens, après l'âge de puberté, laissent presque toujours le *nkô* de côté, jusqu'au jour où, avec les premières initiations, ils auront de nouveau un autre *étotore*. Ils le renfermeront dans une corne plus grande, celle de la première antilope que le jeune chasseur aura tuée lui-même; comme en tout pays, il n'en sera pas peu fier. Parfois même, et ce sera grand honneur, on placera le *nkô* dans une petite dent d'éléphant si le jeune homme a eu la chance de tuer un de ces animaux, ou de contribuer à sa mort. Mais ordinairement, il reçoit plutôt cette dent ou défense pa rhéritage. Si la corne est toute petite, elle se porte suspendue au cou, à un collier de crins d'éléphants ou parfois de dents d'animaux tués à la chasse, parfois même de dents humaines, restes de sanglants sacrifices. On rencontre particulièrement ces derniers chez les Dzèm ou dans les clans des frontières de la tribu. Lorsque la corne est de grande taille, elle se porte sur le côté

gauche, soit suspendue par un cordon, soit plus ordinairement soutenue par le baudrier.

Les Fâñ se dessaisissent très difficilement de ces cornes. Il m'est arrivé, pour les tenter, de leur en proposer un haut prix: ils ont toujours refusé; si parfois, particulièrement pour celles d'ivoire, ils semblaient enfin consentir, ils demandaient toujours à «exsécrer» au préalable l'objet, en enlevant soigneusement le contenu. Si on refusait, ils refusaient également. Toutefois, si le possesseur primitif est mort, même si l'intérieur du fétiche n'a pas été changé, on peut assez facilement se procurer ces cornes, surtout en n'ayant pas l'air d'y attacher un grand prix: sinon, le Fâñ, très habile commerçant, vous tient la dragée haute, et préfère ne pas vendre que de vendre à vil prix ce qu'il n'estime que très peu pour lui mais auquel il pense que le «client» tient beaucoup. Si l'occasion passe, peu importe: une seconde viendra bien avec un autre Blanc.

Lorsque l'*étotore* est plus précieux, plus difficile à se procurer ou de taille plus forte, par exemple un crâne d'animal, singe, écureuil, serpent ou autre et qui doit parfois, pour avoir toute son action, être conservé entier, on le dépose alors dans la boîte d'écorce qui renferme les crânes des ancêtres, retirée soigneusement dans un endroit spécial de la case du chef de famille, placée ordinairement sur une sorte d'escabeau ou de banc et surmontée d'une statue de bois. Il est absolument interdit aux profanes d'ouvrir cette boîte; les femmes doivent, sous les peines les plus sévères, en ignorer le contenu (que naturellement elles connaissent d'ailleurs parfaitement bien, ayant toutes cette curiosité de pénétrer le secret que l'on veut leur cacher) et même elles ne doivent pas en prononcer le nom. Le totem faisant alors partie de l'ensemble des objets renfermés dans la boîte, a également sa part des légères offrandes qui lui sont offertes presque journellement, mais qui ressortissent plutôt du culte familial des ancêtres. Nous ne nous en occuperons donc ici que pour les mentionner en passant.

Le totem du chef de famille et celui du chef de tribu sont conservés en temps habituel dans la boîte du *biéri* et reçoivent, à proprement parler, lorsqu'ils sont isolés, et considérés individuellement, le nom d'*étotore* ou protecteur. En fait, ils sont

toujours joints à un certain nombre d'objets du culte familial ou religieux dont l'ensemble porte le nom d'*akaméyôṅ*, celui qui accompagne la nation. Cet ensemble est ainsi nommé, parce que le chef ne s'en sépare jamais lorsqu'il entreprend une expédition importante. Cette expédition peut concerner la guerre: c'est le cas le plus fréquent; elle peut également se rapporter à une palabre de mariage, chose fort grave, surtout pour les chefs, car c'est question d'alliances entre tribus et souvent de traité de paix après une longue période de dissensions et de guerre qui est alors en jeu. Ce peut être encore une question de commerce, lorsqu'on va vendre l'ivoire, affaire considérée à bon droit comme fort importante[1] par les Fäṅ.

De fait, l'*akaméyôṅ* est plutôt par sa destination le «fétiche» protecteur du combat; aussi l'appelle-t-on encore souvent le fétiche de la guerre. L'*akaméyôṅ* contient toujours le fragment représentant ou personnifiant le *mvamayôṅ*, dont il a été question dans les paragraphes précédents. Ce fragment est joint à de nombreux autres objets que nous allons énumérer et dont chacun joue dans l'ensemble son rôle particulier.

L'*akaméyôṅ* est renfermé, sans grand soin d'ailleurs, dans le *mfeẋ*. Le *mfeẋ* est un sac en cordelettes d'ananas finement tressées, à mailles très serrées faites avec une navette ressemblant beaucoup à la nôtre. Le point est cependant différent. Le *mfeẋ* ressemble beaucoup au «cabas» de nos grands'mères, mais l'ouverture est beaucoup plus étroite. Il va ensuite en s'évasant: la longueur totale est d'environ 60 à 80 cm. On le porte suspendu à l'épaule par deux bandoulières tressées avec le sac lui-même, dont elles font partie intégrante. Les guerriers seuls portent le *mfeẋ*; à côté du *mfeẋ*, avec le *mfor* ou *fa*, large couteau qui se porte sous le bras gauche, toujours prêt à être tiré en cas de danger, ils ont également un large baudrier, en peau de loutre ou de tigre, et qu'ils estiment à très haut prix. Le baudrier supporte diverses peaux d'animaux, représentant des fétiches de chasse dont nous n'avons pas à nous occuper ici.

[1] Un renseignement confirme ce fait: dernièrement encore, l'ivoire était vendu par les Fäṅ sur le pied de 15 à 18 francs le kilo, et ce prix augmente: une défense de 30 kilos équivaut donc à 4 ou 500 francs, à peu près le prix d'une femme.

Dans le *mfex*, le Fâñ enferme une quantité d'objets usuels, poudre, capsules, lime; toutefois il n'y met ni linge ni provisions de bouche. Le totem, enfermé dans son enveloppe grossière, ne saurait s'offenser de ce voisinage: le respect de l'objet, en tant qu'objet matériel, fût-il représentatif du fétiche le plus redouté, n'existe pas; le culte ne ressort pas des marques de respect telles que nous les connaissons, mais des faits eux-mêmes. C'est ce qui explique comment, en ne montrant aucune marque extérieure d'estime, de respect ou de crainte, le Fâñ ne craint nullement de vous offenser: c'est une chose qu'il ignore; pour lui, ces sentiments doivent se traduire en actes effectifs, non en paroles et en démonstrations passagères qu'il ne comprend ni n'apprécie. Aussi, est-ce avec grand tort qu'on le juge néanmoins, lui et bien d'autres Noirs, comme si ses sentiments et sa manière d'agir répondaient aux nôtres. Bien des guerres, de sanglantes rencontres et de sévères répressions ont été le simple résultat de l'ignorance européenne à l'égard des races noires, de leurs mœurs et de leurs usages [1].

[1] Ainsi un Fâñ ne comprend nullement pourquoi il lui faudrait se découvrir devant un supérieur, attendre ses interrogations etc.

II. L'AKAMÉYÔṄ.

Nature de l'*Akaméyôṅ*.

L'*Akaméyôṅ* [1] comprend l'ensemble des objets qui constituent le totem et qui se rapportent à lui.

Ici, transcrivons simplement une »interview» de chef fâṅ que nous rapporte un observateur consciencieux, Bennett, dans Journ. Anthropological 1899 déjà cité.

«*Biâṅ-akaméyôṅ.*

«This *biâṅ* is the protector of the tribe or nation (*éyôṅ* = tribe) [2]. Told me by Esôya-ovum, the headman of Fulabifôṅ [3] on the *Nkomo* [*Komo* des Européens] River [clan des Esisis], who told me the complete set of the *biâṅ-akaméyôṅ* belonging to the dead headman «Commisan» [4]. I present this *biâṅ* for your [5] inspection this evening. The tin canister was obtained from a white man and is used in place of usual basket [*e biéri*] to carry bones in. It contains portions of the skull of an albino (male), portions of the skulls of a mone «nguri», young chimpanze, red powder and a variety of native medicine.

«This *biâṅ-akaméyôṅ* is always carried by the headman of a town during war. A bell hangs from the bottom of the canister containing the bones: it rings when the headman walks.

«*Nko.*

«The small horn belonging to the *biâṅ-akaméyôṅ* has *ngom* (porcupine tail) in it, also native medicine. It is used to cure people having witches. A bowl of medicine is made. The *ngom* is dipped in the medicine bowl and the sick person sprinkled with the medicine. Then the witch departs.

---

[1] On dit indifféremment *akaméyôṅ* ou *akamayôṅ*, *méyôṅ* étant le pluriel de *ayôṅ*, nation.

[2] Bennett traduit comme nous littéralement le mot *meame* par protecteur, ou, si l'on veut, en fâṅ: *Biâṅ-akaméyôṅ*. *Biâṅ éto é ne meam'ayôṅ*.

[3] Littér. où les Fôṅ se réunissent. Nous avons déjà vu que les Fôṅ étaient le rameau fâṅ de l'intérieur.

[4] En réalité *Ekomison* ou *Exo* fils de *Nson*. Nouvel exemple de la défiguration fréquente des noms indigènes par les observateurs même consciencieux.

[5] Présenté à la Société royale de Géographie de Londres.

«At this point, the headman Esôya stopped talking. He said: «The children who have gathered around your house must go away; no real man dare talk about the *biâń-akaméyôń* before women or children.» I told the children to go; and Esôya continued.

«The whistle *Ekima*.

«This is part of *biâń-akaméyôń*; it has been cooked (boiled) in the medicine bowl and has great power when used by the head man in calling the men together after a fight.

«*Mvul*.

«This is the large horn with a piece of looking on top. This horn contains much medicine and next to the bones is the most important part of the *biâń-akaméyôń*.

«The two antelops horns, and the small bundles of medicine, are *biâń e soli* (hiding medicine); it makes the person carrying the *biâń-akaméyôń* invisible to the enemy.

«The skin of a bush cat is part of the *biâń-akaméyôń*, called *nsîń*.

«The *mvâń*.

«A triangular piece of iron filled with medicine used to keep away witches is also the part of the *biâń-akaméyôn*.

«*Biâń-akôń* or *biâń-abal* (war medicine).

«This is also part of the *biâń-akaméyôń*, and the shots from the guns of an enemy are of no avail.

«One other important fetish hangs with the *biâń-akaméyôń*. A piece of very hard wood. Only a certain kind of woman is selected to find this wood; she is called a special or selected woman on account of certain peculiarities connected with her, e. g. she always fails to catch fish, the husband of such a woman, after intercourse with her, fails to catch fish the next day, he also fails to work. This is the kind of woman always selected to find this wood; it is hard wood, she is a hard woman and she is called *Emunenga a ne alert* (the woman who is hard). This medicine is also called *biâń-akôń*, and shot from the guns of an enemy will not harm.

«This is the *biâń-akaméyôń*.»

Malgré la précision apparente de cette description, en réalité Esôya aurait très bien pu ne pas faire éloigner les enfants et les femmes comme l'y obligeait la loi du secret, car de ce qui constitue vraiment le totem réel il n'a rien dit. Reprenons toutefois cette description. Il s'agit là d'un totem de clan, appartenant à l'ancien chef des Esisis dont le *mvamayôṅ* est l'antilope *mvul.* Aussi y verrons-nous figurer un fragment d'antilope, pour «matérialiser» le totem comme nous venons de l'examiner dans les pages précédentes.

L'ensemble du *biâṅ-akaméyôṅ* comprendra donc:

I° Tous les «fétiches» les plus puissants destinés à assurer l'avenir ou la protection de la race. Ce seront:

1° La clochette ou *alêṅe.*

2° La petite corne, *nkô.*

3° Le sifflet, *ekima.*

4° La grande corne d'antilope, *mvul.*

5° Une peau de chat sauvage, *nsiñ.*

6° Une pièce de fer triangulaire, *mvâṅ.*

7° Un petit paquet renfermant le *biâṅ-akôṅ* ou fétiche de guerre.

8° Un morceau de bois dur, *biâṅ abal.*

9° Le *nšu,* oublié ou ignoré par Bennett.

Et enfin, II° le *mvamayôṅ* lui-même qui est renfermé dans la grande corne.

Neuf objets entourent donc le *mvamayôṅ,* tous destinés à en renforcer la puissance. En les reprenant rapidement, complétons ce que n'a pas dit l'auteur anglais ou ce qu'il n'a peut-être pas su.

1° *Alêṅe,* la petite clochette.

Elle est destinée surtout à écarter par sa vertu et son bruit les influences des esprits mauvais qui voudraient faire du mal au porteur du fétiche ou nuire à la tribu, en particulier en cas de guerre, et encore aux enfants, l'avenir de la race. Elle doit appeler en même temps les esprits protecteurs et leur rappeler par son tintement continuel que leur attention doit toujours être en éveil. Un dicton usuel rappelle ce devoir de la clochette: «*Alêṅe da dhûṅ, éburebûṅ za lîṅ.* La clochette retentit, l'esprit méchant s'enfuit.» Persuadés de ce résultat, les chefs aiment beaucoup entendre en

marchant ce bruit continuel de leur clochette. Je demandais un jour à un chef si ce grelot incessant ne le fatiguait pas quelquefois. Il me regarda avec étonnement, puis finit par me répondre:

«*Mé ne Nzue, mé ne mur akaméyôń.* Je suis Chef, je suis gardien du totem de ma tribu, [ne dois-je pas le conserver!]»

On suspend également devant les petites filles un grelot de ce genre destiné à écarter les mauvais esprits.

2° *Nkô*, la petite corne.

C'est ordinairement une petite corne d'antilope: on y renferme les cendres de l'animal offert en sacrifice dont nous avons parlé plus haut, et l'extrémité est fermée par un peu de résine ou de cire noire qui y retient fixée une queue de porc-épic. Dans de nombreuses tribus, la queue de porc-épic passe pour un puissant remède ou préservatif contre les âmes méchantes qui errent la nuit afin de faire du mal. (Tout ce qui pique a ce pouvoir; ainsi, la maison où vient de mourir quelqu'un est recouverte d'épines afin que l'esprit du mort ne puisse y rentrer.) Le *nkô* sert également à guérir les personnes que l'on croit possédées par un mauvais esprit. Dans ce cas, on fait bouillir de l'eau dans laquelle on a fait infuser de la menthe *(asep)*, une herbe odoriférante *(esim)*, une labiatée *(ava)*, un champignon à franges *(duna)*, un tubercule de canna, et de l'écorce de deux arbres *(sèp = Monodora Myristica)* et *ešôń*. On plonge la corne d'antilope dans l'eau, et on y mêle une pincée des cendres qu'elle renferme; s'il y en a très peu, on introduit seulement dans la corne le piquant de porc-épic et on l'en retire aussitôt; on égorge une poule noire en lui arrachant la tête et on mêle le sang à l'eau bouillante. On asperge ensuite le malade avec cette eau, et on lui fait avaler la pâte qui s'est agglomérée au fond du vase, en y ajoutant le bec concassé de la poule (regardé également comme remède). L'esprit qui assiège le malade ne peut résister à ce traitement et s'enfuit aussitôt. Le chef qui me donnait ces détails m'assurait qu'il n'avait jamais eu d'insuccès. Je le crois d'autant mieux que les gens qui m'ont été signalés comme possédés par un esprit méchant, avaient en général un accès de fièvre pernicieux qui les faisait trembler et s'agiter fortement. Il est fort possible que

la suggestion, la persuasion qu'ils vont être guéris, la boisson chaude et sudorifique qu'ils avalent, jointe à la vertu des plantes, effectue leur guérison. Toutefois, dans cet ordre d'idées, on ne saurait être trop prudent; on ne doit rien affirmer ou nier à priori, touchant les guérisons et les esprits: il est certain qu'il y a des cas fort curieux et qui défient toute explication actuelle.

On pend aussi de ces petites cornes au cou des garçons, ou parfois devant les parties génitales, pour éloigner également les esprits méchants. Le père de famille a soin, au préalable, d'y enfermer des cendres du totem protecteur de l'enfant, fétiche qui lui a été donné en même temps que son nom, aux premiers jours de sa vie.

Portant ainsi l'*alêñe,* spécial aux filles, et le *nkô,* spécial aux garçons, le chef réunit en un même symbole les éléments constitutifs de la famille future et de la race.

3° Le sifflet ou *Ekima.*

Le sifflet est le complément obligé de l'*alêñe*; tandis que celle-ci, par son tintement continuel, rappelle aux esprits protecteurs de veiller, et met en fuite les influences mauvaises, le sifflet ou *ékima* est surtout destiné à appeler le *mvamayôñ* en cas de danger. Il ne doit pas être confondu avec un autre sifflet, l'*oviara,* également destiné à des opérations magiques, mais qui ne concernent nullement le totem. L'*oviara* est en os, parfois en ivoire. Au moyen de trous diversement placés et que l'on bouche avec l'extrémité du doigt, il donne trois sons différents, du grave au très aigü. Lorsqu'il est en os, il est confectionné avec le tibia d'un ennemi vaincu et mangé. J'en ai vu cependant quelques-uns fabriqués[1] avec des os d'antilope. D'après les gens que j'ai interrogés, ces *oviara* n'ont jamais aucun rapport avec le *mvamayôñ,* mais servent à appeler les esprits dans le cas de certaines maladies.

L'*ékima* n'est jamais en os ou en ivoire, mais toujours en fer: il ne rappelle que de loin le sifflet que nous connaissons, sifflet

[1] Les enfants, de même que les hommes, ne savent pas fabriquer des sifflets avec du bois ou des écorces, comme le font tous nos enfants blancs. Lorsqu'on le leur apprend ou qu'on leur en donne de facture européenne, ils ne s'en amusent pas. En revanche, tout comme nos enfants, ils ne se lasseront pas de battre du tambour sur leurs tamtams pendant des heures entières, ou de sonner du cor dans leurs trompettes de bois ou d'os.

rond avec un bec à l'extrémité pour laisser passer le souffle et tel que chacun de nous en a usé plusieurs pendant son enfance. L'*ékima* est ordinairement d'un seul morceau ou composé de deux plaques de fer artistement[1] soudées, réunies à leur sommet et qui vont ensuite s'évasant. Le son produit est d'une tonalité assez basse, dans le genre du sifflement des sirènes, mais s'entend de fort loin. Jadis les Fâñ forgeaient eux-mêmes l'*ékima* avec le fer natif qu'ils savent fort bien travailler. Aujourd'hui, ils se servent plutôt des vieux canons de fusil qu'ils ont facilement à leur disposition. Pour faire un *ékima,* on coupe un tronçon de canon de fusil d'environ dix centimètres. Une des extrémités est chauffée au fer puis écrasée au marteau de façon à se fermer et à se souder; dans cette partie écrasée, on perce un trou au poinçon afin de pouvoir le suspendre. L'autre extrémité est souvent laissée dans son état normal, et l'*ékima* est fabriqué. Souvent aussi, afin qu'il ressemble davantage à l'*ékima* authentique, ils forcent l'extrémité demeurée libre à s'aplatir et à s'évaser, à coups de marteau, et en à introduisant l'intérieur un poinçon trempé. Nous retrouverons encore l'*ékima* en parlant des survivances des rites totémiques chez les Fâñ.

Il est assez difficile de donner l'étymologie de ce mot *ékima.* Celle qui semble à première vue probable, ce n'est toujours pas la plus vraie en étymologie, est celle-ci. Le mot *ma* désigne «les richesses» et nous semble une abréviation du mot *mam,* les choses, les affaires. On dit, dans ce sens, d'un riche Fâñ: «A ne *khuma,* il a beaucoup de choses.» Ce mot *ma,* avec ce sens certain, entre dans la composition d'un certain nombre de mots fâñ, tels des noms de villages: *Atarama,* l'endroit où se réunissent les richesses (*atar* réunion), des noms de lieux: *Ebirama,* le rapide dangereux où se perdent les choses (*ébira,* gâter), de dignités, *Khuma,* un chef de village, un riche, celui qui est maître *(khu)* des choses. *Ekima* pourrait donc signifier: l'*éki* des richesses, la «chose sacrée» qui procure les richesses. C'est en effet le rôle de la guerre, et de l'*ékima* qui permet d'y être victorieux.

Notons enfin que pour être vraiment l'*ékima,* et jouir des privilèges qui y sont attachés, l'*ékima* doit tout d'abord être

[1] Les Fâñ connaissent fort bien la soudure autogène du fer et l'emploient souvent.

«voué» à l'esprit de l'*akaméyôñ,* ce qui nécessite un premier sacrifice. Il est ensuite bouilli pendant de longues heures avec une mixture composée des mêmes plantes que celles employées pour le *nkô*. On profite ordinairement d'une circonstance où cette dernière mixture est employée pour consacrer en même temps l'*ékima.* Malgré cette «consécration», la valeur de l'*ékima* n'est pas très considérable aux yeux du possesseur, car s'en procurer un autre est uniquement une question de travail. Pour le sacrifice et les préparatifs, l'*ékima* utilise une autre cérémonie, même faite dans un autre but, et enfin il ne renferme aucun *biâñ* particulier. On peut donc s'en faire céder un par le possesseur sans grandes difficultés.

4° *Mvul,* la grande corne d'antilope.

Comme le dit Bennett, le *mvul* est avec les os de *ngure* et de *mvi* la partie la plus importante de l'*akaméyôñ.* Le chef Esôya ne lui en avait cependant pas dévoilé le secret. Le voici. L'extrémité du *mvul* est fermée par un miroir, *éyèn* ou *éyèna,* qui est d'ordre purement fétichiste. Nous n'avons donc pas à nous en préoccuper ici: disons rapidement que c'est dans ce miroir que le chef. après les cérémonies et rites prescrits, regarde «les figures qui passent», soit qu'il s'agisse d'une initiation, soit de découvrir les voleurs, ou tout autre fait caché. Il sert dans de très-nombreuses circonstances, et on y a une grande confiance, bien que la plupart du temps ce miroir soit en si mauvais état ou si épouvantablement terni que l'imagination, violemment surexcitée par l'absorption de certaines substances ou alcaloïdes végétaux (ibogaïne, onabaïne, strophantine etc.), puisse seule permettre d'y voir quelque chose. Les Fâñ peuvent se procurer facilement les miroirs, grâce aux petites boîtes de pommade recouvertes d'une glace qui se vendent en masses à la côte. Ces miroirs ont partout remplacé les feuilles de mica qui servaient jadis, et dont j'ai pu me procurer seulement un unique exemplaire.

Dans l'intérieur de la corne, sont renfermés:

1° Un fragment de crâne d'un des ancêtres. Ces crânes sont très-respectés, et les briser porte malheur; aussi prend-on souvent, à la place de ces fragments de crâne, afin d'éviter tout accident, un peu de la poudre de bois rouge avec laquelle on les a enduits dans les grandes cérémonies de sacrifice ou d'initiation.

2° Un fragment du *mvamayôń*, ordinairement un morceau de crâne; ce fragment est celui qui a été pris au cours du sacrifice dont nous avons parlé.

3° Une partie des cendres provenant du sacrifice offert en cette même cérémonie.

4° Quelques fragments appartenant au porteur lui-même de l'*akaméyôń*, rognures d'ongles, cheveux et poils, sang et mucus spécial desséché. C'est afin de le mettre en communication intime et continuelle avec tout ce qui constitue l'*akaméyôń*. La perte de ces substances, surtout si elles tombaient entre les mains d'un ennemi, serait un grand malheur pour le possesseur. Il serait alors très facile de lui faire beaucoup de mal, et il ne pourrait en aucune façon échapper au mauvais sort qui lui serait infailliblement jeté. C'est également à cause de ces sorts que les Fáń ont grand soin de ne jamais rien laisser perdre de ce qui a appartenu à leur corps.

5° Un fragment d'écorce d'un arbre spécial, vulgairement nommé à cause de son fruit: le «saucissonnier». Dans des circonstances que je n'ai pu encore nettement définir, on enterre sous un jeune arbre de cette espèce, à la naissance d'un fils de chef, l'extrémité du cordon ombilical. Le fruit de cet arbre passe pour rendre invisible celui qui le porte, lorsque les cérémonies nécessaires ont été faites. Il est évident qu'en ajoutant foi à cette propriété les Noirs ne croient pas que le porteur devienne «réellement» invisible. Ils pensent simplement que cet homme, pendant une marche de nuit, par exemple, échappera à tous les dangers et qu'il saura, de jour, passer au milieu des villages ennemis sans se faire remarquer. Ce fait sera dû aussi à la vertu protectrice de l'*étotore*.

En raison de cette qualité, la corne d'antilope, dont nous venons d'exposer le contenu, porte souvent le nom de *biáń ésole*, nom qui pourrait aussi bien se traduire par «remède qui rend invisible» que par «remède qui permet de voler sans être pris». Les deux buts sont souvent dans l'idée du porteur.

Assez souvent, ce qui constitue le n° 5, ou autres écorces du même genre, est renfermé dans de petits paquets d'étoffe, cachés dans le *mfex*, près de l'*akaméyôń*.

5° *Nsiñ,* ou peau de chat-sauvage.

La peau d'un chat-sauvage accompagne l'*akaméyôñ.* Souvent aussi les queues d'un certain nombre de petits animaux de la forêt, écureuils, singes, lynx etc., y sont jointes. Le tout est attaché en faisceau au baudrier et porté sous le bras de façon à retomber jusqu'à terre. C'est une partie peu importante de l'*akaméyôñ,* et plutôt un acte de remercîment envers lui pour les heureuses chasses qu'il a procurées et procurera encore. C'est également afin de détourner les colères possibles des esprits qui auraient pu séjourner en ces divers animaux, et bien leur montrer que si le chasseur les a tués, c'est grâce à son *étotore* et que, par conséquent, lui-même n'étant pas responsable, on ne peut s'en prendre à lui.

6° Le *Mvâñ.*

Le *mvâñ* est une pièce de fer affectant une forme triangulaire, un peu supérieure à la taille d'une pièce de cinq francs, mais plus grosse, car elle est en réalité formée de deux pièces de fer soudées et réunies ensemble par le bas et les côtés. Comme ces côtés sont ordinairement arrondis, elle forme plutôt en réalité une sorte de cœur. Les deux extrémités supérieures sont percées ou aplaties en anneau, de façon à pouvoir être suspendues. Deux cordons retiennent le *mvâñ* sur le milieu de la poitrine, où il repose entre les seins. L'intérieur du *mvâñ* pourrait renfermer à peu près un objet de la taille d'une pièce de cinq francs. En fait, on y place les cendres provenant du sacrifice, et la plupart du temps, des cendres de victimes humaines. C'est un souvenir commémoratif, et à proprement parler, il ferait plutôt partie du culte des ancêtres. L'extrémité supérieure est fermée par un peu de résine noire dans laquelle sont souvent fixés de petits cauris. C'est un ornement, en même temps qu'un symbole et un désir de richesses à conquérir. Toutes les pensées des Fâñ sont tournées vers ce but.

Le *mvâñ* est également un signe distinctif des chefs et des féticheurs. Son but est de tenir à l'écart les esprits méchants qui voudraient nuire au porteur. Lorsque celui-ci se trouve en un danger quelconque, il prend le *mvâñ* en main en invoquant l'esprit au nom du sacrifice qu'il a offert.

7° Le *Biâñ-akôñ* ou fétiche de guerre.

Le *biâñ-akôñ* fait partie intégrante du *mvamayôñ*. Il l'accompagne toujours et le porteur ne s'en dessaisit à aucun prix. Il doit mettre son possesseur à l'abri non seulement des balles, mais encore de toute espèce d'atteinte d'arme de guerre. Les Fâñ y ont une grande confiance qui n'est dépassée peut-être que par celle des Sénégalais en leur «gri-gri». Il arrive néanmoins que le *biâñ-akôñ* remplit mal son office et que son possesseur est blessé; sa confiance n'en est nullement ébranlée. S'il a été blessé, c'est que le sacrifice de la victime dont les restes sont enfermés dans le *biâñ-akôñ*, a été mal fait: les rites ont été mal observés, la victime a été mal choisie, le sacrifice n'a pas eu la valeur suffisante, donc le *biâñ-akôñ* ne valait rien, et l'*étotore* n'avait contracté aucune obligation. Il faudra recommencer.

Dans le *biâñ-akôñ* sont renfermés: un peu de poudre rouge provenant d'une offrande aux ancêtres, un fragment de l'*étotore*, et des cendres d'un sacrifice spécial.

8° Un morceau de bois dur, *Abîñ*.

Ce morceau de bois dur provient, à la côte, d'un mimusops (Sapotacées) *abîñ*, dont le bois est en effet très dur. C'est d'ailleurs la seule qualité qu'on lui demande, et c'est plutôt un «figuratif». Dans l'intérieur du pays, où l'*abîñ* n'existe pas, il est remplacé par plusieurs autres espèces de bois durs *(mbimn, akiñ, élax, mtex)*[1]. Bennett a donné les notes essentielles sur le choix et le but de cette partie de l'*akaméyôñ*. Nous n'avons donc pas à y insister davantage. Notons toutefois qu'à notre connaissance du moins, l'*abîñ* ne reçoit aucune consécration particulière.

9° *Nšu* ou poison de cadavre (ptomaïnes).

Cette dernière partie de l'*akaméyôñ*, omise par Bennett, en fait cependant toujours partie, mais elle n'est pas mise dans le *mfex*, et n'accompagne pas le chef du clan à la guerre. Elle demeure renfermée dans une petite bouteille soigneusement fermée, ou encore dans

[1] *Dyospiros Dendo*, Welw. des Ebénacées *(akiñ)*, *Khaya Klainii*, Pierre, des Méliacées *(élax)*, *Pterocarpus erinaceus*, des Légumineuses *(mtex)*.

une petite calebasse, là où les bouteilles de verre n'ont pas encore pénétré. Le *nšu* est la sanie de cadavre recueillie du corps de l'ancêtre ou du chef de la famille. Après la mort, le cadavre est déposé dans une fosse simplement recouverte de branchages, afin que les chairs puissent se détacher, et que trente jours après, le fils aîné puisse enlever sans peine le crâne du défunt qui sera désormais conservé dans le «chartrier» familial.

Sous le cadavre, on place des feuilles fraîches de bananier, et quand, au bout de quelques jours, la sanie commence à découler, on en recueille une partie qui est ensuite exposée au soleil afin de se concentrer davantage. On a grand soin de l'exposer en un endroit où ni bêtes ni chiens ne puissent y toucher. Après quelques jours, elle forme une épaisse et infecte bouillie noire où les vers pullulent. On la renferme alors avec soin dans la bouteille ou la calebasse citée, et on la place dans la boîte qui contient déjà les crânes des ancêtres. Les feuilles qui l'ont contenue sont brûlées avec soin sur un feu spécial, et les cendres, au lieu d'être jetées comme les autres dans la bananeraie, sont recueillies et enterrées dans un endroit désert.

Le *nšu* constitue un poison dangereux: on en mêle une petite partie au poison d'épreuve, et on s'en sert dans le cas suivant. Si un individu meurt de mort inexpliquée, la famille est aussitôt rassemblée, le féticheur est appelé, et après les cérémonies ordinaires en pareil cas, le coupable présumé est désigné. Pour se justifier, il doit boire le poison des ordalies: la famille a soin de joindre au poison quelques gouttesde *nšu* afin que le défunt lui-même puisse encore agir.

Suivant son degré de fraîcheur, le *nšu* est plus ou moins virulent. A l'état complètement frais, ce qui arrive assez souvent, il offre, au dire des Noirs, de graves dangers d'empoisonnement ou de corruption de sang. Une huile végétale extraite des fruits de l'*aza*[1] serait, paraît-il, son contre-poison. Mais un bon cadeau au féticheur chargé d'administrer le poison, est encore la meilleure manière d'y échapper!

[1] *Teighemella africana.* Cette huile, blanche et de bel aspect, est très âpre au goût.

CHAPITRE XI.

LE *MVAMAYÔṄ* ET L'*ESAYÔṄ*.

Préliminaires. — Les différences entre *mvamayôṅ* et *esayôṅ*. — Les deux cultes se compénètrent sans se mêler, et sont complètement différents l'un de l'autre. — Ces différences proviennent des points suivants:

§ 1. **L'objet du culte diffère essentiellement, l'un s'adresse au *mvamayôṅ*, et l'autre à l'*esayôṅ*.**

§ 2. **Dans le culte totémique, on ne se préoccupe que du *mvamayôṅ* et de ses descendants actuellement existants; dans le culte mânique, les seuls descendants désincarnés de l'*esayôṅ* demeurent l'objet du culte.** — Le culte totémique s'adresse donc aux «vivants», le culte mânique les exclut. — Tableau résumant ces différences.

§ 3. **Les cérémonies des deux cultes mânique et totémique sont différentes.** I° Difficultés de la question. II° Exemples des différences entre les deux cultes. — Une cérémonie d'initiation. — Le chant totémique des *Ye-mvuż*. — Le chant totémique des *Ebifam*. — L'initiation en d'autres contrées du Congo. — Le Vwala des Inkimba chez les Baluba.

§ 4. **Les ministres des deux cultes sont différents, sinon en fait, du moins en droit.** — En fait, il y a dualité d'opérateur, unité de ministre.

§ 5. **Les demandes sont d'ordre différent, les unes intéressant la «race» et tout ce qui s'y rapporte, les autres plus spécialement «l'individu» mais seulement comme individu, abstraction faite de tout ce qui pourrait se rapporter à la race.**

§ 6. **Les défenses sont d'ordre différent.** — Les défenses tabuales ne sont pas les défenses totémiques.

§ 7. **Résumé de ce chapitre.** — L'*esayôṅ* agit surtout en vue de la vie future, le *mvamayôṅ*, pour la vie présente.

[p. 360]

Préliminaires.

«Each tribe or clan has its own ancestral spirit who is sometimes confused with the totem», dit Sir H. JOHNSTON, dans «Uganda Protectorate». Cette confusion est la raison de ce chapitre.

Nous avons dégagé dans les chapitres précédents la notion du totem «réel», son origine, son antiquité, son existence actuelle dans ses diverses modalités; et nous avons vu que ce totem prenait le nom de *mvamayôń*, c'est-à-dire Protecteur de la Nation.

De son ensemble complexe de propriétés, naissent pour lui des «droits». Mais avant de les étudier, nous devons encore faire ressortir les différences qui existent entre le *mvamayôń* et l'*esayôń*. Ces deux entités, les traditions, les chants, les légendes nous les ont presque toujours montrées ensemble, paraissant vivre toutes les deux dans la mémoire du peuple, et surtout dans le culte, d'une vie unie par des liens indissolubles. Et cependant *mvamayôń* et *esayôń*, si unis qu'ils paraissent au premier abord, sont en réalité profondément dissemblables. Nous avons vu en effet que l'un, l'*esayôń*, était le père «vrai» de la tribu, l'autre, le *mvamayôń*, le père «spirituel». De là, également, le culte différent rendu à l'un et à l'autre. A l'*esayôń*, s'adressera le culte ancestral, au *mvamayôń*, le culte totémique. Mais de même que dans la plupart des cas, tout au moins lorsque le *mvamayôń* a joui d'une existence terrestre, cette existence, tout en demeurant parallèle à celle de l'*esayôń*, et indépendante, lui est restée cependant profondément unie par des liens presque indissolubles: de même le culte ancestral et le culte totémique sont demeurés intimement attachés. Ils ne marchent guère l'un sans l'autre: toutes les fois que l'on s'adresse au *mvamayôń*, on ne manquera guère de s'adresser ensuite à l'*esayôń*. Si dans une cérémonie, le culte rendu à l'*esayôń* est venu le premier, celui qui sera rendu au *mvamayôń* le suivra immédiatement. En ne s'adressant pas à l'un après s'être adressé à l'autre, on craindrait fort de les offenser. De fait, si pour une circonstance quelconque, une cérémonie a été omise, tous les assistants, et surtout le chef, contractent une faute rituelle, un *nsem*, qu'il faudra expier, toute faute entraînant réparation. De même, si pour une cause qui peut même être involontaire, un sacrifice ou une réunion rituelle ont dû être

interrompus, il y a également *nsem*, et par là même, réparation nécessaire. Dans une attaque subite de l'ennemi, par exemple, troublant une cérémonie totémique, le Noir ne verra pas une circonstance indépendante de sa volonté, mais bien une punition de son propre totem, irrité d'une négligence quelconque: plus le dommage qu'il aura subi sera grave, plus la négligence aura été grave, et par là même également, plus la réparation devra être considérable. Mais, dans aucun cas, le Noir n'aura à s'en prendre à son totem ou à l'*esayôñ*; cette pensée ne lui viendra même pas à l'esprit.

Les manifestations des deux cultes sont donc étroitement unies, et ne marchent guère les unes sans les autres.

Toutefois, de par le fait même de leur objet, les cérémonies qui se rapportent au culte de l'*esayôñ* sont plus visibles, plus tangibles, et par là même sont plus facilement remarquées des observateurs étrangers à la nation. De là, tandisque les unes étaient parfois soigneusement notées, les autres, demeurées incomprises, étaient purement et simplement laissées de côté et passées sous silence. Parfois aussi, elles disparaissaient, englobées dans les autres.

Ces différences sont en effet d'autant plus difficiles à saisir que presque toujours elles se compénètrent étroitement. Dans une même cérémonie rituelle, dans le même sacrifice, les «ministres» des deux cultes seront les mêmes, et s'adresseront tantôt au totem réel, tantôt au totem matérialisé; tantôt aussi ils invoqueront l'*esayôñ*, puis, à sa suite, les mânes des ancêtres, personnifiés, ou pour ainsi dire retenus et matérialisés dans les crânes présents, leur habitat actuel, tantôt enfin les esprits invisibles, désincarnés, et libres de toute attache matérielle. Ce sera toujours en somme la même dualité de culte, d'un côté l'*esayôñ* et ses descendants, de l'autre le *mvamayôñ* et ses descendants, avec l'union primitive et la parenté spirituelle et réelle des ancêtres transmise à tous leurs descendants, soit ayant déjà quitté la vie actuelle pour entrer dans le monde des esprits, soit vivant encore leur existence terrestre. Quelque soit l'objet auquel s'adressera le culte, que ce soit l'*esayôñ* ou le *mvamayôñ*, le ministre sera le même, mais seulement en tant que personne humaine. En fait, pour le sacrifice et pour tous les participants, il revêtira deux personnalités distinctes. Lorsqu'il s'adressera à l'*esayôñ*, il agira et opèrera comme représentant direct de la race, et ce

sera alors le culte totémique. Dans ce cas, le chef de famille, de clan, ou de tribu, officiera toujours par lui-même, et si, à ses côtés, on voit apparaître le féticheur, celui-ci jouera simplement le rôle de maître des cérémonies, d'ordonnateur, de gardien des rites. — Nous excluons évidemment le cas où le chef de la race est en même temps le féticheur de la tribu: le rôle ne change pas, mais en devient plus complexe. — Le chef de race agira en d'autres circonstances comme sacrificateur et intercesseur, et ce sera alors soit le culte totémique, soit le culte mânique, successivement mis en cause. De cette dualité, résulte la nécessité de bien exposer, tout au moins autant qu'il sera possible, les différences essentielles qui se manifestent entre les deux cultes.

Ces différences peuvent se ramener aux paragraphes suivants.

§ 1. L'objet du culte du *mvamayôn*, et l'objet du culte de l'*esayôn* diffèrent essentiellement.

Dans le totémisme, le culte s'adresse tout d'abord à l'ancêtre éponyme de la tribu, ancêtre qui porte le nom de *mvamayôn*, ou «gardien» de la nation. Dans le mânisme, au contraire, ou culte ancestral, le culte s'adresse en première ligne à l'*esayôn*, ou ancêtre vrai, «père» de la tribu.

Les deux cultes ont leurs représentants actuels en quelque sorte matérialisés: dans l'un, ce seront les restes, ce que l'on aura pu conserver de l'animal éponyme, ou de tout autre être qui aura joué ce rôle à l'origine de la race. Ces restes n'appartiendront pas nécessairement à l'être éponyme lui-même: nous avons vu précédemment, au tableau des totems, la diversité très grande des *mvamayôn*: pour une partie d'entre eux, soit par suite de leur fragilité, soit par suite de leur entité particulière, il est impossible d'en avoir les représentants réels: tel est le cas, par exemple, pour une fleur, et surtout pour un phénomène naturel, un astre etc. Nous avons vu comment, dans ce cas, on «matérialisait» le totem. Il n'est pas nécessaire non plus que ces «restes» appartiennent effectivement au *mvamayôn* ou ancêtre éponyme lui-même. Nous avons vu également que si pour une raison ou une autre, antiquité, usure du temps et de l'âge, perte fortuite (par exemple dans le

fleuve, dans un précipice etc.), le *mvamayôñ* vient à disparaître, on le «retrouve», au moyen de sacrifices et de cérémonies appropriés, dans la personne de ses descendants. Notons en passant qu'en parlant de perte, nous disons «perte fortuite», car si le *mvamayôñ* est perdu à la guerre, enlevé par l'ennemi, le cas devient tout différent: il ne peut, en aucun cas, être «remplacé», il doit être reconquis ou racheté.

Ces restes, enfin, sont ordinairement les os du crâne lorsque le *mvamayoñ* a appartenu à un être vivant. Les raisons de ce choix sont la noblesse plus grande de ces parties du squelette, considérées comme séjour principal de l'âme *(bo* et *khun),* et aussi une simple raison de durée plus grande. Toutefois, dans bien des cas, on s'attachera plutôt à la partie du corps qui réalise le mieux l'idée symbolique recherchée. Ainsi, de l'antilope, rapide ou prompte à l'attaque comme à la défense, on conservera de préférence la corne ou le pied; de l'éléphant, les défenses ou les poils de la quene, rares et que l'on ne peut conquérir que par la mort de l'animal; du tigre et des animaux carnassiers, les griffes; du fourmilier, de la tortue, du pangolin, les dents avec lesquelles ils mordent si fortement.

Ce culte totémique s'adressera donc à ces restes qui formeront, constitueront en somme, la matérialisation effective du totem. Mais à côté de ce totem matérialisé, il y aura encore tous les animaux ou êtres actuellement vivants et descendants de l'ancêtre éponyme, dépositaires de sa «force», de son «esprit», de sa «personnalité».

Dans le mânisme, au contraire, le culte s'adressera toujours en première ligne à l'*esayôñ,* ou premier ancêtre, personnification même de la race. Elle est en effet toute entière issue de lui, et ne peut en être indépendante: il l'a d'abord primitivement contenue dans ses flancs, de même qu'un arbre est le père de tous les fruits qu'il porte et des autres arbres nés de ces fruits. La «race» est sortie de lui; chaque descendant jouit d'une personnalité distincte pendant sa vie terrestre, mais cette vie n'est en somme qu'un épisode, un fragment de la vie de la race, de même encore que le fruit qui se développe continue à appartenir à l'arbre; une fois la vie présente terminée, l'être continue dans le monde des esprits son existence commencée ici-bas.

En même temps qu'à l'ancêtre primitif, le culte mânique s'adressera à tous ses descendants qu'il englobera dans un même ensemble de rites, de cérémonies, de prescriptions. Mais où sont ces descendants? Leur corps est aujourd'hui disparu, réduit en poussière. Que reste-t-il d'eux? Il reste «ce qui constitue à proprement parler notre personnalité spéciale, individuelle et distinctive; c'est ce qui, dans les langues de l'Afrique orientale surtout, est connue sous le nom de *m-zimu, n-zimu, w-simo, mu-zimu, umu-d-zimu, mo-dimo, mu-limo* etc.» [1].

Tous ces mots proviennent d'ailleurs d'une racine unique, *ima* «être vivant», que nous retrouvons plus ou moins modifiée dans toutes les langues bantoues. Nos Fâñ l'ont également conservée [2], et ces «mânes», car ce mot rend bien l'idée bantoue, portent chez eux le nom de *n-sisim* [3], très-voisin des *m-zimu,*

[1] Cf. Mgr. Le Roy, Religion des Primitifs, p. 154.

[2] Ainsi dans le mot *a-mana*, fin, terminaison, et dans beaucoup d'autres dérivés.

[3] Une des caractéristiques de la langue fâñ est de «raccourcir», d'abréger tous les mots qu'elle emprunte aux langues voisines. On dirait que ces rudes et sauvages enfants de la forêt n'ont jamais le temps de terminer leurs phrases. Ainsi, pour n'en citer que quelques exemples, les Fâñ raccourciront tous les vocables suivants pris dans les langues voisines:

De:		ils feront:
Añambyé	Dieu	*Añam*
Nzambi	Créateur	*Nzâme*
Atangani	Européen	*ntâñe*
Elénlé	canot	*elèn*
Nkori	pagale	*nkop*
Biali	pirogue	*bial*
Epélé	assiette	*efèl*
Nago	maison	*nda*
Mbaza	cabane	*mba*
Falansi	Un Français	*fañ*
Putu	Un Portugais	*put*
Ingèsi	Un Anglais	*ngès*
Bikondo	bananes	*bikon*
Nganga	féticheur	*ngâñ*

La chose ressort surtout dans les noms de nombre:

mbori	un	*fo*
mbani	deux	*bè*
ilali	trois	*la*
inaï	quatre	*nè*
itani	cinq	*tan*
isamu	six etc.	*sam*

Impossible d'être plus bref!

Le procédé est sensible même dans les mots d'im portation très-récente: la phrase fâñ finit comme le mot, le geste, et presque toujours la danse elle-même, sur une terminaison brusque et vivement arrêtée. C'est une des caractéristiques du fâñ.

Un Pygmée qui venait de voir un jour une de ses réclamations, pourtant parfaitement motivée, rejetée avec dédain par le chef fâñ, son protecteur, me définissait ainsi les Fâñ:

«Les Fâñ, ce sont des gens qui coupent brutalement: *Fâñ, mur a kiz kruk*», et comme idée, geste, expression, impossible de trouver mieux!

w-simu, n-simo etc. des autres tribus, des *imizimu* des Kirundi, habitant les animaux et les bosquets sacrés.

Où habite cette personnalité? Elle demeure dans un monde qui n'est plus le nôtre et que nous ne connaissons pas, qui est sombre et noir, où l'on vit au milieu des ténèbres, dans le froid. «*Ba wux avô, avô.* Ils endurent le grand froid«. croyance toute naturelle d'ailleurs en voyant le cadavre refroidi et glacé.

Mais les mânes des chefs, des principaux de la race, des ancêtres honorés qui ont reçu les sacrifices funéraires et les offrandes expiatoires échappent à ce sort. Ayant conquis des pouvoirs supérieurs à l'homme, dégagés de la matière, ils peuvent s'intéresser à ceux qu'ils ont connus, prendre part à leur prospérité, la vouloir et y aider, en un mot vivre encore de la vie de leur tribu. A côté du principe obscur qui va se perdre dans la nuit, il en est un autre lumineux qui va, plus tard, rejoindre la lumière de l'étoile du soir. Et ce monde invisible où vont les âmes ayant rempli sur terre leur devoir, c'est le monde du Créateur suprême [1].

Mais au lieu de s'en aller dans ce monde, où elles n'ont plus d'action sur les vivants. ces âmes peuvent être retenues sur terre, et elles en sont d'ailleurs contentes, à condition:

1° D'avoir eu à leur mort, les sacrifices funéraires, les fêtes de la mort, les grandes danses funèbres, le *fanki* [2];

2° De trouver, grâce à leurs descendants, un habitat qui remplace leur corps détruit, et auquel on pourra encore adresser les sacrifices prescrits. Tant que cet habitat demeurera, l'âme désincarnée y restera attachée, pour le plus grand bien des descendants, pour l'honneur et la force de la race.

Ces croyances ne sont pas d'ailleurs absolument particulières aux Fâñ. On les retrouve, très-peu modifiées. chez tous les Bantous. Ainsi, chez un peuple voisin, les Baluba, les idées religieuses concernant les âmes paraissent au premier abord un peu différentes de celles des Fâñ, mais s'en rapprochent beaucoup cependant comme fond:

[1] Ainsi au Nyassa: «*Le mzimu* reste vivant quand l'homme meurt; l'âme vole, vole, elle va là où sont allées les âmes de tous les hommes etc.» Cf. Mgr. Le Roy, p. 158.

[2] Très probablement, un reste d'un culte ancien rendu au grand Esprit chef des morts, *Fankita*, dont le culte est encore existant au Bas Congo. Les Fâñ l'auront emprunté dans une de leurs nombreuses migrations.

«Que devient l'âme au moment de la mort? Je crois être dans le vrai en disant que l'âme continue à résider, vivante, dans le cadavre, avec la possibilité de s'en dégager, non pas librement et à découvert, mais associée à quelque chose d'indéterminé, d'impalpable, une sorte de fantôme, de spectre, qui est l'apparence exacte du corps décédé, mais n'en a pas la réalité. C'est sous cette forme macabre, qui est en somme le corps immatérialisé, que l'âme vivra désormais dans l'empire des morts. Pour nos Noirs, l'âme est un principe distinct du corps, et doué d'une nature plus subtile, mais inapte à subsister seul, indépendamment d'un fantôme quelconque. Ce fantôme n'a pas toujours la forme exacte d'un corps humain: les malheureux dont les chairs ont servi aux festins des anthropophages (et ils sont nombreux) auront l'apparence d'un squelette desséché; ceux dont le corps aura été réduit en cendres, auront éternellement la forme d'un peu de fumée mêlée à de la cendre» [1].

Ces fantômes, spectres ou ombres, ne sont pas loin des âmes désincarnées de nos Fân, et l'idée qui semble les avoir inspirées provient bien d'un fonds commun à toute la race bantoue.

D'où l'a-t-elle reçu, où l'a-t-elle trouvé? La question est plus complexe, et ne ressort pas d'ailleurs du cadre de notre présente Etude. Ce qu'il est important de constater, c'est cette croyance générale à l'existence après la mort des âmes désincarnées, leur influence bonne ou nocive, sur les vivants, la nécessité pour elles d'un «support» quelconque, la relation étroite, en un mot, et nécessaire entre le monde des vivants, transitoire, et le monde de l'au-delà, durable.

§ 2. Dans le culte totémique, on ne se préoccupe que du *mvamayôn* et de ses descendants actuellement existants; dans le culte mânique, les seuls descendants désincarnés de l'*esayôn* demeurent l'objet du culte.

L'objet du culte mânique diffère donc déjà, au simple point de vue «objet», du culte totémique.

Mais nous devons noter une seconde et essentielle différence. Dans le mânisme, le culte s'adressera donc aux mânes désincarnés,

[1] Revue «Le Congo» 1906, p. 226, art. du R. P. Colle, des Pères Blancs.

mais en tant qu'ayant conservé leur habitat terrestre dans les crânes ou fragments qui sont soigneusement gardés. Cet habitat est déterminé par un ensemble de sacrifices et de rites accomplis par les féticheurs. Ce rôle constitue une de leurs principales fonctions. Toutefois, il est à noter ici que par suite de leur pouvoir occulte, les sorciers, et non plus les féticheurs, peuvent également retenir à leur service les âmes désincarnées pour les employer à leurs mauvais desseins. Dans ce cas, ce ne seront pas les âmes des morts ayant reçu les honneurs funèbres qui pourront ainsi leur être asservies, mais seulement celles de tous ceux qui n'ont point reçu cet honneur, et qui errent à l'aventure, âmes de disparus, de captifs, pauvres hères dont personne ne s'occupe, descendants isolés de familles éteintes, vagabonds etc. Toutes ces âmes désincarnées portent le nom général de *békhun,* mânes ou revenants. Les Fâñ en ont une peur horrible, car dans les apparitions qu'ils ont ou croient avoir, ils ne sont jamais sûrs à quels *békhun* ils ont affaire. En effet, si ces *békhun* sont de leur race, ils leur seront propices; si, au contraire, ces *békhun* sont d'une race ennemie, ils chercheront à leur faire du mal. Et «en fait de *békhun,* comme me le disait un jour un brave chef, comme ni sabre ni fusil ne peuvent «rien» contre un être qui n'est «rien», le mieux est de se sauver à toutes jambes. D'autant qu'au lieu d'avoir devant soi de simples *békhun,* chose déjà très désagréable si l'on a affaire à des ennemis de son sang, il peut fort bien arriver que ces «fantômes» soient non plus des *békhun,* mais des *engungur,* c'est-à-dire des ogres, avides de chair humaine, ou tout simplement des âmes tombées au pouvoir de «sorciers» malfaisants.

Et, au fond, *békhun* ou *engungur* ne valent guère mieux les uns que les autres. Les vivants avec les vivants, les morts avec les morts.»

Le mânisme envisage donc les seuls mânes désincarnés, ayant conservé leur habitat terrestre.

Dans le totémisme, au contraire, on ne se préoccupera évidemment pas des mânes désincarnés des descendants du *mvamayôñ.* Ces mânes, à la mort du corps terrestre qu'ils habitaient, retournent à la terre et meurent comme lui. Leur trace disparaît, et rien d'eux ne demeure, au point de vue matériel.

Ce qui reste, cependant, c'est la personnalité même, c'est la force du *mvamayôn*, et cette personnalité, au lieu d'être localisée dans les restes de ses descendants disparus, sera perpétuée et conservée dans ses seuls descendants vivant actuellement, et qui reproduiront, intacte, la personnalité de l'ancêtre. Ainsi un arbre reproduira exactement, dans ses qualités nocives ou salutaires, ce que l'arbre qui l'a lui-même produit, renfermait avant lui. Si le *mvamayôn* «matérialisé» a disparu ou a été détruit pour une cause quelconque, sa force, sa personnalité protectrice n'est pas perdue pour cela. Les êtres qui descendent de lui et sont actuellement vivants l'ont conservée intacte et vivante. On ira donc, sur les indications du ministre du culte, chercher un de ses descendants et on l'offrira en sacrifice à l'ancêtre: c'est un des cas particuliers où il est permis de sacrifier le totem; par là, on le reliera à celui-ci, et on localisera de nouveau la personnalité ancestrale dans le nouvel habitat qui lui est offert. Si, au contraire, le crâne de l'ancêtre primitif, de l'*esayôn*, a disparu, peu importe: ses descendants ne font qu'un avec lui; au lieu d'être offert au crâne réel, les honneurs et sacrifices seront offerts au nom qui perpétue, lui aussi, non seulement le souvenir du défunt, mais encore le défunt lui-même. D'ailleurs, comme nous l'avons indiqué, même celui-ci disparu, et son âme désincarnée étant allée vers le séjour heureux, faute d'habitat terrestre localisé, sa «personnalité» n'en reste pas moins vivante et agissante, tant que sa race, sa tribu, son clan demeurent constitués, vivant et agissant. Ce qui démontre une fois de plus combien, dans toute la conception bantoue du système mondial, l'individu n'est rien, la collectivité organisée, au contraire, demeure l'être proprement dit, ayant seul sa véritable existence. L'un est l'être, l'autre l'accident; le premier demeure, le second, passe.

Pour résumer rapidement cette différence dans l'objet honoré, le culte mânique s'adressera donc en première ligne à l'*esayôn* ou premier ancêtre et aux âmes désincarnées de ses descendants. Ces âmes *(békhun)* seront localisées dans leurs crânes *(bikwékwé)* soigneusement conservés dans la boîte du biéri *(evora biéri)*. Le

culte s'adressera enfin à la force, à l'esprit, à la personnalité de la race elle-même, perpétuée dans les descendants. Cette dernière notion demeure toutefois fort confuse et assez mal définie.

Un court tableau fera mieux ressortir cette idée, très-complexe, et qu'il est toujours difficile de distinguer dans les cérémonies cultuelles:

Le totémisme ou culte du *mvamayôñ* s'adresse donc	1° Au ***mvamayôñ***, ancêtre éponyme de la tribu ou du clan, au sens que nous avons indiqué. 2° A l'***akamayôñ***, matérialisation du *mvamayôñ* nécessitée par les besoins du culte. 3° Aux seuls **descendants** en ligne directe du *mvamayôñ*, en excluant à la fois 1° tous les descendants morts, 2° tous les êtres semblables et appartenant à la même race, mais «non» descendants de l'ancêtre éponyme. Ainsi, par exemple, tous les tigres animaux ne seront pas totems du clan «homme» Ebinze, mais seulement le clan «tigre» issu de l'ancêtre éponyme. 4° A la force, à la **personnalité** du *mvamayôñ*, perpétuée dans ses descendants directs, et y demeurant localisée, dans chacun d'eux.
Le mânisme ou culte de l'*esayôñ* s'adresse	1° A l'***esayôñ***, père de la race. 2° Aux **mânes** désincarnés. 3° A l'**habitat** de ces mânes, mais en tant que simple objet matériel, localisation temporaire de ces mânes désincarnés. 4° A la force, à la **personnalité** de l'*esayôñ*, perpétuée dans ses descendants directs, et y demeurant localisée, pour en faire un tout, agissant et vivant, en tant que collectivité organisée ou organisme social, mais non en tant qu'individu.

L'objet du culte totémique et celui du culte mânique diffèrent donc essentiellement, comme on vient de le voir, et se rattachent à deux idées de marche **parallèle** mais d'origine complètement autre. Par suite de cette divergence d'objet, les cérémonies qui accompagnent le culte, les rites qui le déterminent, les sacrifices qui seront offerts

à l'un ou à l'autre de ces objets, diffèreront également de façon complète.

Mvamayôṅ et *esayôṅ,* descendants éponymes de l'ancêtre également éponyme, descendants directs mais aujourd'hui désincarnés, auront droit chacun à des honneurs divers, à des rites particuliers, à des ministres différents.

§ 3. Les cérémonies des deux cultes mânique et totémique sont différentes.

I° Difficultés de la question.

Il est d'autant plus difficile de reconnaître les différences, pourtant essentielles, entre ces deux ordres de cultes, que dans la plupart des cas, pour ne pas dire presque toujours, les cérémonies totémiques sont le «prélude» ou la «suite» des cérémonies relatives au culte des ancêtres. Ce phénomène est d'ailleurs nécessité par tout ce que nous avons déjà dit dans les pages précédentes de l'union intime et nécessaire qui existe entre *mvamayôṅ* et *esayôṅ,* et également entre leurs descendants.

De plus, une seconde difficulté se joint à cette première. Tout autant que le culte des ancêtres, le culte du *mvamayôṅ* demeure très fermé aux non-initiés. Cette ignorance en fait la force; la loi du secret est une des plus fidèlement observées, et les féticheurs surtout y tiennent très fortement. Presque toujours la violation en est punie de mort. Nous en avons déjà parlé.

Ces deux ordres de cérémonies totémiques et mâniques ont donc entre eux un rapport très étroit de parenté qui les pourrait facilement faire mêler ou prendre l'un pour l'autre. Ce serait néanmoins un grand tort. Un exemple fera mieux ressortir comment parfois ils semblent ainsi se confondre, sans que toutefois il n'en soit rien.

II° Exemple des différences entre les deux cultes.

Dans les cérémonies particulières qui célèbrent la fin de l'adolescence et l'initiation des jeunes hommes au rang des guerriers de la tribu, le néophyte subit tout d'abord, dans la forêt, en un endroit écarté, et sous la direction du féticheur, une réclusion

sévère. Privé pendant ce temps d'une foule d'aliments qui lui sont habituels, soumis à un régime à la fois excitant et débilitant, il commencera par subir les premières épreuves. Puis, au jour reconnu favorable par les présages, tous les chefs de famille, ainsi que les guerriers reconnus comme tels et ayant subi les épreuves, se réunissent dans la forêt en un endroit déblayé d'avance. Au centre à peu près, s'élève une cabane grossièrement construite, et dont le devant est caché par un rideau de feuillage. Le néophyte est amené devant cette cabane, et assis sur un siège de bois creusé dans un tronc d'arbre, presque toujours un Musantha, ou Parasolier [1]. Le tamtam fait rage. Tous les assistants exécutent une danse spéciale. Puis, soudain, le rideau s'écarte et trois masques apparaissent. Le jeune homme subit une série de demandes concernant son âge, ce qu'il désire, ce qu'il a fait pour le mériter, ses «rêves» précédents, les animaux on autres êtres qu'il aurait vus en songe. A peine a-t-il terminé ses réponses que le rideau se referme; le tamtam se tait; devant le néophyte, le chef de la famille apporte la boîte d'écorce, *evora biéri,* où sont renfermés, avec divers objets et ingrédients (la plupart amulettes ou fétiches familiaux, et encore le *nsu* ou poison de cadavre), les crânes des ancêtres, de père en fils aîné, à l'exclusion de tout autre. Devant les guerriers du clan, avant d'ouvrir la boîte des crânes, on commence par une longue invocation à l'esprit protecteur de la race, ou mieux encore à la personnalité toujours vivante de l'*esayôñ*.

Toi, père, qui ne meurs pas,	*Wéni, Esa, wâ yèm dia awu,*
Qui ne connais jamais la mort,	*Wa tobe ké yèméyèm awuwu,*
Et dont la vie est toujours vivante,	*Wa ñiñ ké yème fe éniñ,*
Sans jamais voir le froid du sommeil,	*Ké wuże avô, ke wuże oyô,*
Tes enfants sont venus tous ici.	*Ebo bia bé mana sho va.*
Ils sont rassemblés autour de toi;	*Bé nsulana ésama we,*
Enveloppe-les de ta force, o père,	*O ké ve bie ki zia, wéni, Esa,*
Que ton «ombre» pénètre en eux,	*O ké tobe né bo né nsissim,*
Toi, père qui ne meurs pas,	*Wéni, Esa, wâ yèm ké yèm awu,*
Toi, père de notre race.	*Wéni, Esa ayôñ dia.*

[1] Il y a à ce choix une double raison. Tout d'abord, le bois du Parasolier est très-tendre, et se laisse tailler facilement. De plus, la sève est employée dans les opérations magiques. Très-abondante, elle remplace l'eau pure, et est assez agréable à boire.

Après cette invocation, suivie de beaucoup d'autres, du chef en l'honneur toujours de la race, on commence les chants et les cérémonies en l'honneur des ancêtres. Leurs crânes, préalablement frottés d'huile et de bois rouge, sont tous étalés au grand jour.

Les chants et les cérémonies sont toujours accompagnés de danses d'un caractère tout particulier; à l'encontre des danses du soir qui sont toujours de pur amusement, les danses en l'honneur des ancêtres ne sont presque jamais lascives: du moins elles ne le sont pas au regard des Fân, et si parfois on y remarque des cérémonies ou attitudes phalliques, c'est uniquement pour rappeler le culte de la génération. Bien à tort, quelques voyageurs ont voulu y voir une idée de mariage ou de culte obscène: il n'y est en rien question, comme quelques-uns l'ont prétendu, d'amour plus ou moins lascif, de poursuite de la fiancée ou de la femme, ou toute autre chose en ce genre. L'esprit de la cérémonie y est complètement opposé: pour peu que l'on connaisse la religion et la langue, il est facile de voir combien ces idées sont loin, dans cette occasion, de l'esprit du Noir.

Ces danses sont toujours des danses de jour: d'ailleurs, la plupart des cérémonies qui se rapportent au culte des ancêtres se passent ainsi en pleine lumière, à l'encontre des cérémonies des sorciers et des assemblées de sociétés secrètes. Celles-ci sont toujours nocturnes.

Après les danses et les chants, les crânes sont aspergés d'eau lustrale; le féticheur l'a préparée lui-même auparavant avec un rite tout spécial: onze espèces différentes de plantes, d'écorces d'arbres ou végétaux y ont bouilli. Parmi eux, on remarque l'*asèp*, sorte d'arbrisseau à odeur de menthe, le champignon *(vyo)*, l'écorce de l'*esün (Hua gabonensis)*, et plusieurs autres, de préférence ceux qui sont employés comme substances stupéfiantes, soit pour empoisonner le gibier, soit pour prendre le poisson, soit plus souvent encore dans les ordalies. A ce titre figure en première ligne l'*élun* et l'*iboga*, dont nous parlerons plus tard.

Après l'aspersion d'eau lustrale, le chef, suivi de tous les guerriers, tourne lentement tout autour de l'enceinte, en scandant sa marche sur les coups rythmés du tamtam; puis il rétrécit le

cercle de plus en plus de façon à le terminer en ellipse autour des estrades où sont étalés les crânes. A ce moment, le chef fait une nouvelle aspersion d'eau lustrale, et commence un nouveau chant que tous les assistants reprennent après lui. Cette partie de la cérémonie est ordinairement fort longue et semble assez fastidieuse, même pour les assistants. Aucun n'ose cependant s'asseoir pour se reposer, mais plusieurs ne se gênent nullement pour quitter l'enceinte, quitte à revenir quelque temps après.

Lorsque ces chants sont terminés, les suit une seconde danse à rythme très-rapide et beaucoup plus accentué, une sorte de battement de pied, presque sur place. Le chef s'approche alors de l'estrade, prend chaque crâne dans sa main, l'invoque par son nom, énumère en quelques mots sa vie et ses hauts faits, puis passe au suivant. Quand la série est terminée, les crânes sont placés sans ordre devant le néophyte, et il doit les distinguer tous les uns des autres, et, sans se tromper jamais, les appeler par leur nom. Une erreur serait de très mauvais augure. Aussi est-il aisé de concevoir qu'ils ne s'y exposent point. Jusqu'à ce moment, le culte comme on le voit, est exclusivement mânique. Tout s'y rapporte au culte des ancêtres. Lorsque le jeune homme a terminé l'énumération des crânes, le chef de la famille les remet tous dans la boîte destinée à les contenir, la transporte un peu plus loin devant une sorte d'établi ou d'étagère grossièrement constitué avec des branches d'arbre, et range de nouveau, dans leur ordre respectif, les crânes des ancêtres. Quand il arrive au premier, c'est-à-dire au crâne du premier ancêtre, soit du clan, soit de la tribu, il le prend dans ses mains et invoque alors le *mvamayôn* ou ancêtre éponyme; l'ancêtre réel porte souvent le même nom. Nous avons dit précédemment les circonstances où ce fait se réalise.

Cette invocation est ordinairement précédée ou accompagnée d'une cérémonie particulière, le *baza*. Avec une épaisse bouillie rouge, obtenue en broyant le bois du *mbèl (Pterocarpus angolensis)* dans l'huile extraite du fruit du palmier des marais, on peint en rouge le crâne du premier ancêtre. C'est le symbole ou le souvenir des sacrifices sanglants d'autrefois. Jadis, en effet, un prisonnier de guerre était toujours immolé dans ces circonstances, et son sang

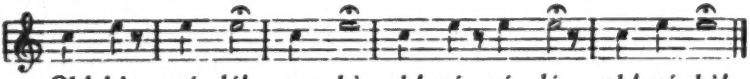
coulait pour «réjouir le cœur du premier ancêtre». «*Méki ma béra biè ve bo nlèm nayoa esayôṅ,* me disait un jour un chef», le sang régénère et réjouit le cœur de l'*esayôṅ*. D'ailleurs, dans certaines circonstances plus solennelles, mort du chef principal par exemple ou calamité publique, morts successives etc., cette coutume des sacrifices humains est toujours suivie, et le sang coule encore sur les crânes des ancêtres.

L'invocation est accompagnée d'un chant particulier, au rythme lent et solennel. Tel celui des *Ye-mvuẋ*, tribu jadis puissante mais aujourd'hui fort réduite, établie près des sources de la *Mvûṅ*. C'est un cri plaintif, dans le genre de celui de la hyène. La fourrure du *mvuẋ* aux poils rudes et d'un jaune sombre, est remarquable par une touffe de poils blancs, située juste au milieu du dos.

Le *mvuẋ* est un animal nocturne, dans le genre de l'AÏ ou Paresseux. Il gîte dans les creux et il est fort difficile de le trouver, car il a soin de choisir une retraite qui lui offre plusieurs issues. La nuit, il rôde autour des villages, et son cri lugubre et caractéristique est des plus faciles à reconnaître.

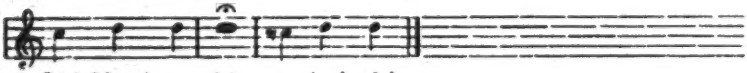
Chant des *Ye-mvuẋ*.

Tout le chœur.



Oh! hè, yé - lé! o - hè oh! yé yé - lé, oh! yé, hè!

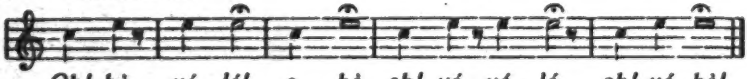
Chef de la tribu.



Oh! Mvuẋ, o hè, o tar' oh!

Oh! oh! Mvuẋ, o hè, o tar' oh, oh!

Tout le chœur.

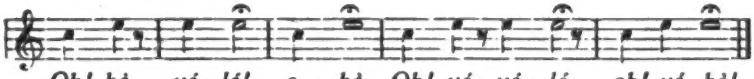


Oh! hè, yé - lé! o - hè oh! yé yé - lé, oh! yé, hè!

Chef de la tribu.

Mvuẋ a - fan, yè Mvuẋ a - tan yè.

Tout le chœur.

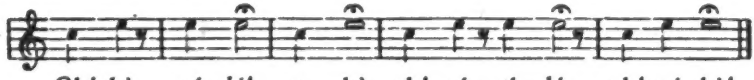


Oh! hè, yé - lé! o - hè Oh! yé yé - lé, oh! yé, hè!

Chef de la tribu.

Mvuẋ é - ti, Mvuẋ é - li, Mvuẋ é - ti, Mvuẋ é - li yè.

Tout le chœur.



Oh! hè, yé - lé! o - hè oh! yé yé - lé, oh! yé, hè!

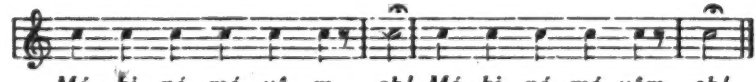
Chef de la tribu.

O Mbar' o oh! Khum' oh! oh! Mbar' o né Khum' oh!

Tout le chœur.

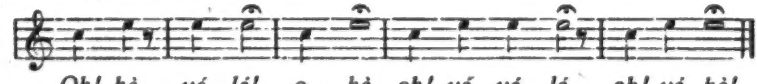
Oh! hè, yé - lé! o - hè oh! yé yé - lé, oh! yé, hè!

Chef de la tribu.



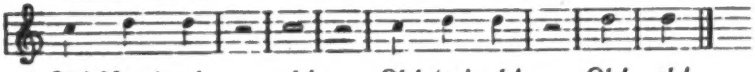
Mé - ki né mé - yô - m oh! Mé - ki né mé - yôm oh!

Tout le chœur.



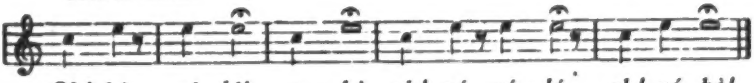
Oh! hè, yé - lé! o - hè oh! yé yé - lé, oh! yé, hè!

Chef de la tribu.



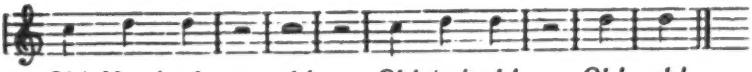
Oh! Mvuẋ, oh oh! Oh! tar' oh! Oh! oh!

Tout le chœur.



Oh! hè, yé - lé! o - hè oh! yé yé - lé, oh! yé, hè!

Tout le chœur.



Oh! Mvuẋ, oh oh! Oh! tar' oh! Oh! oh!

Traduction [1].

Le chœur: Oh! hè, yélé (cri de joie et d'appel)! ohè oh! yé, yélé, oh! yé hè!

Le chef: Oh! Mvuẋ, o hè, ô père, oh! Oh! Mvuẋ, ô père, oh! oh!

Le chœur: Oh! hè, yélé! ohè oh! yé, yélé, oh! yé, hè!

Le chef: Mvuẋ dans la forêt, oui, Mvuẋ dans l'interieur (s-e: de cette boîte).

Le chœur: Oh! hè, yélé! ohè oh! yé, yélé, oh! yé, hè!

Le chef: Mvuẋ à l'intérieur, Mvuẋ dans l'arbre et ici, Mvuẋ vraiment ici et là bas[2].

Le chœur: Oh! hè, yélé! ohè oh! yé, yélé, oh! yé, hè!

Le chef: O Gardien (s-e: de la race). Oh! Chef suprême, Gardien et Chef.

Le chœur: Oh! hè, yélé! ohè oh! yé, yélé, oh! yé, hè!

Le chef: Sang et semence humaine, oui.

Le chœur: Oh! hè, yélé! ohè oh! yè, yélé, oh! yè, hè!

Le chef: Sang et semence humaine, oui.

Le chœur: Oh! hè, yélé! ohè oh! yè, yélé, oh! yé, hè!

Le chef: O Mvuẋ, ô père de la race, oui, oh!

---

[1] Dans ce chant, nous avons tenu à reproduire de notre mieux la mesure indigène. On n'y recherchera donc pas la mesure de notre musique «blanche».

[2] Le sens des mots *éti* et *éli* est double.

Cette traduction m'a été donnée par le chef des *Ye-mvux̌, Ovôñ-Esula,* dont les villages s'étendent entre l'Aïna et la Karagwa, affluents de l'Ogowé.

* * *

Ce chant s'exécute en tournant tout autour du crâne de l'ancêtre. Le chef regarde successivement la forêt, où est censé résider le mvux animal totem, et la boîte où est le crâne de l'ancêtre; il en s'adresse, suivant le cas, à l'un ou à l'autre.

Le chef actuel de la race chante le premier en s'adressant d'abord au crâne de **l'ancêtre**: «O Mvux, ô père», puis en s'adressant au Mvux **totem**: «O Mvux, ô père.» Celui-ci était représenté, non seulement d'unemanière figurative par l'invocation tournée vers la forêt, sa résidence, mais encore d'une manière expressive et réelle par des ongles et un os du crâne, provenant d'un mvux, très ancien, m'assura le chef (même à son dire, contemporain du crâne de l'ancêtre [?]), et renfermé avec de la poudre de bois rouge dans un petit sachet, déposé tout près des ossements.

Nous avons donc là affaire à une cérémonie totémique nettement caractérisée, et néanmoins mêlée intimement au culte des ancêtres.

* * *

Souvent, dans des circonstances analogues, nous avons ainsi rencontré dans les boîtes renfermant les crânes *(evora biéri)* de petits ossements d'animaux soigneusement enveloppés dans des linges ordinairement fort sales. Il ne faudrait pas, croyons-nous, y voir le fétiche particulier du chef, mais bien comme nous avons pu nous en assurer souvent, et comme dans le cas précédent, le totem de la tribu. Ce qui d'ailleurs tend à le prouver est que, si par hasard ce totem est perdu ou détruit, le chef le remplacera lui-même. Si c'est au contraire un autre fétiche qui a disparu, c'est au sorcier de le remplacer.

Il pourra par exemple être perdu dans un combat. C'est toujours un très grand malheur: pour le recouvrer, s'il est tombé aux mains de l'ennemi, le prix ordinaire est d'une jeune femme. Néanmoins les enfants de celle-ci appartiendront à son ancienne

tribu, même si le père est de la tribu vainqueur. S'il veut les garder, il devra payer. Pour les garçons, la somme sera assez minime. Mais, souvent, devenus grands, ils retourneront néanmoins à leur tribu primitive, car ils n'occupent jamais qu'un rang inférieur dans leur nouvelle tribu. Pour les filles, c'est le même prix que si on les achetait pour femmes.

* * *

Ce chant, et tous les autres semblables qu'il serait facile de multiplier, remonte certainement, croyons-nous, à une haute antiquité, et très probablement tous dérivent d'un chant unique, composé à l'origine de la race, et avant l'ère des migrations. Ainsi, à 400 km. des Ye-mvux̌, dans la tribu des Ebifam, sur les affluents de la Ngoko, nous trouvons un chant presque semblable. Or, les Ebifam appartiennent au rameau Méké de la tribu fân, tandis que les Ye-mvux̌ ressortent du rameau Bétsi. La séparation est donc très-lointaine.

Les Ebifam, nous l'avons vu au tableau des différents totems de clan et de tribu, reconnaissent le *fam* comme totem. Ce mot *fam,* qui désigne également un homme *(vir),* s'applique dans le cas présent à un coléoptère des plus remarquables du genre Lucane, de la famille des Lamellicornes. Il est très-voisin du Goliath [1] *(mvame)* et, après lui, les plus gros des coléoptères congolais. On pourrait se demander à quel titre le *fam* peut être totem d'une tribu?

D'après une curieuse légende que m'a rapporté un des anciens de la tribu, *Sube,* fils [2] de *Nzame,* le Créateur, et ancêtre de la tribu, était un jour poursuivi par ses ennemis. Pour leur échapper, il se réfugia dans le désert, et après y avoir longuement erré, il était sur le point d'y mourir de faim et de soif. Tout à coup, un *fam* vint s'abattre lourdement près de lui. *Sube* veut s'emparer de cette pauvre proie, mais le *fam* lui échappe. Il le poursuit: l'insecte s'envole plus loin; de vol en vol, il parvient à un arbre desséché et se cache dans une cavité du tronc. *Sube*

---

[1] *Goliathus micans.*

[2] Fils dans un sens très-large, c'est-à-dire «descendant».

creuse le bois mort, l'arbre tombe, une caverne s'ouvre, *Sube* y pénètre, et au fond découvre une source souterraine qui lui sauve la vie. De ce jour, il prit le *fam* sauveur pour totem, et ses descendants l'ont conservé.

Au pays des Soninké (Soudan), un certain nombre de tribus ont ainsi adopté un totem à la suite de circonstances semblables. De même que *Sube,* elles ont pu parfaitement y voir une manifestation de l'esprit protecteur. C'est ainsi que nous lisons dans Arcin [1].

Les Sidibé ont le «petit sénégalais», appélé quelquefois «mange mil» (sorte de passerau), comme *ntêné.* «Un jour mon grand-père [2], le premier des Sidibé, étant allé à la chasse à l'éléphant, s'égara dans la forêt et malgré toutes ses recherches ne put retrouver sa route. Il arriva ainsi dans un désert au milieu duquel il marcha pendant trois jours sans pouvoir trouver d'eau pour se désaltérer. Mourant de soif, il s'était couché un soir se demandant s'il serait encore vivant le lendemain. Au point du jour, il fut réveillé par un petit oiseau qui chantait sur l'arbre à l'ombre duquel il s'était étendu.

«C'était un petit sénégalais. A peine mon grand-père fut-il debout qu'il se met à voltiger autour de lui et devant lui, essayant de lui faire comprendre qu'il devait le suivre. Mon grand-père ne douta pas un seul instant que l'oiseau était venu là pour le sauver. Il le suivit donc partout ou il voulait le conduire et vers le milieu du jour ils arrivèrent sur le bord d'un ruisseau où tous les deux se désaltérèrent. Puis l'oiseau reprit son vol et le conduisit jusque dans son village où il le quitta dès qu'il l'eut vu en sureté. C'est depuis cette époque que les Sidibé sont parents des petit sénégalais, car sans lui notre père serait infailliblement mort.

«Aussi nous est-il interdit à tous de le tuer, de manger sa chair ou de souffrir qu'on lui fasse du mal en notre présence.»

«Ce récit naïf rapporté par le Docteur Rançon se retrouve plus ou moins modifié dans certaines familles.»

* * *

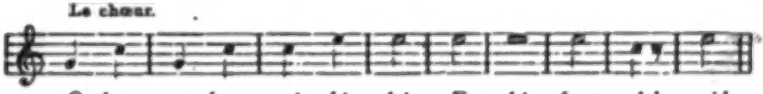
[1] A. Arcin, La Guinée Française. Organisation sociale. Les Familles p. 248 § 5um et p. 249.

[2] Mon grand-père, c'est-à-dire un des ancêtres.

Mais revenons au chant totémique des Ebifam, un des plus caractéristiques que nous connaissions. Les parties différentes s'exécutent de la même manière que celui des Ye-mvuɨ, en s'adressant successivement à l'insecte et au crâne, c'est-à-dire au *mvamayôn* et à l'*esayôn*.

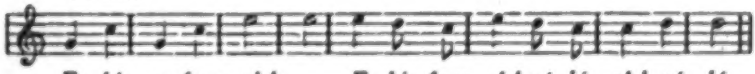
Chant des Ebifam.

Le chœur.



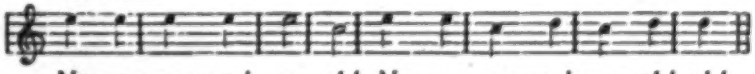
O bur, o bur, yé - lé, hè E - bi - fam oh! yè!

Le chef.



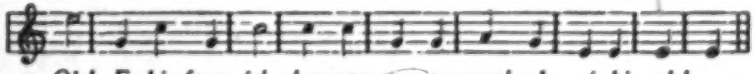
E - bi, o fam, oh! E - bi - fam, oh! yé - lé, oh! yé - lé.

Le chœur.



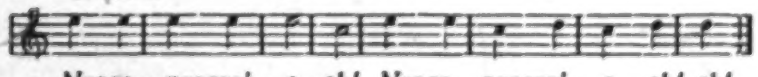
Nzaga, nzagan' - o, oh! Nzaga, nzagan' - o, oh! oh!

Le chef.



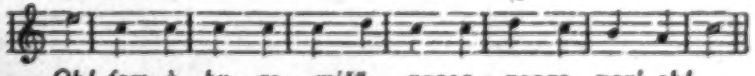
Oh! E - bi - fam, és'-o! nzage, nzage van' oh, é - bi, oh!

Le chœur.



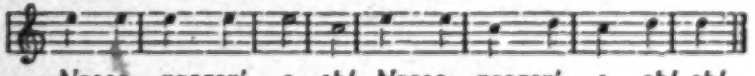
Nzaga, nzagan' - o, oh! Nzaga, nzagan' - o, oh! oh!

Le chef.



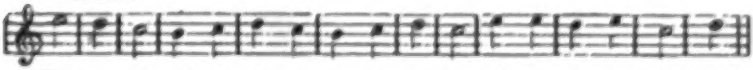
Oh! fam à ku - re mišū, nzaga, nzaga van' oh!

Le chœur.



Nzaga, nzagan' - o, oh! Nzaga, nzagan' - o, oh! oh!

Le chef.

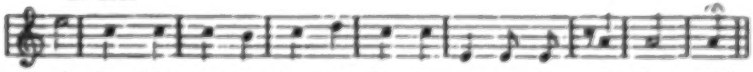


Fam a to é-to-to-re, a to ayong é-to-to-re, oh! oh!

Le chœur.

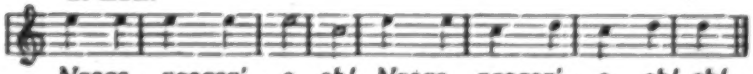
Nzaga, nzagan'-o, oh! Nzaga, nzagan'-o, oh! oh!

Le chef.



A to khu-ma né bur n'-éb-wa mi-vo-re, oh, fam, oh!

Le chœur.

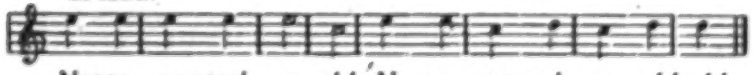


Nzaga, nzagan'-o, oh! Nzaga, nzagan'-o, oh! oh!

Le chef.

A to é-bi né bye, ve ye esa né bur E-bi-fam, oh!

Le chœur.



Nzaga, nzagan'-o, oh! Nzaga, nzagan'-o, oh! oh!

Le chœur: *O bur, o bur, yélé, hé, Ebifam, oh, yé.*
O hommes, o hommes, chantez, hé! voici le père Fam, oh! oui vous autres Ebifam [1].

Le chef: *Ebi, o fam, oh! Ebifam, oh! yélé, oh! yélé.*
O Père, o fam, oh! Ebifam, oh! chantez, oh! chantez!

Le chœur: *Nzaga, nzagan'oh! Nzaga, nzagan'o, oh! oh!*
Venez, venez ici oh! Venez, venez ici, oh! oh!

Le chef: *Oh! Ebifam, és'o, nzage, nzage van'oh, ébi, oh!*
Oh! Père fam, père [2], viens, viens ici, oh! protecteur, oh!

---

[1] Double signification.

[2] Dans la première invocation.

Le chœur: *Nzaga, nzagan'oh! Nzaga, nzagan,o, oh! oh!*
Venez, venez ici oh! Venez, venez ici, oh! oh!

Le chef: *Oh! fam à kure miśü, nzaga, nzaga van'oh!*
Oh! le fam a quitté l'intérieur des bois, venez, venez ici, oh!

Le chœur: *Nzaga, nzagan'oh! Nzaga, nzagan'o, oh! oh!*
Venez, venez ici oh! Venez, venez ici, oh! oh!

Le chef: *Fam a to étotore, a to ayong étotore, oh, yé.*
Le fam est demeuré le protecteur, il est le soutien de la nation, oh! oui.

Le chœur: *Nzaga, nzagan'oh! oh! nzaga, nzagan'o, oh!*
Venez, oh! venez, oh! venez, venez ici, oh!

Le chef: *A to khuma né bur n'ébwa mivore, oh! fam, oh!*
Il est le chef des hommes pour chasser les soucis, oh! homme, oh!

Le chœur: *Nzaga, nzagan'oh! Nzaga, nzagan'o, oh! oh!*
Venez, venez ici oh! Venez, venez ici, oh! oh!

Le chef: *A to ébi né bye, ve ye esa né bur Ebifam, oh!*
Celui-ci est le père de notre race, et celui-là le fondateur des fils de fam, oh!

Le chœur: *Nzaga, nzagan'oh! Nzaga, nzagan'o, oh! oh!*
Venez, venez ici oh! Venez, venez ici, oh! oh!

Les rites purement totémiques sont donc mêlés de très près avec les rites du culte des ancêtres, et il n'est pas toujours aisé de les distinguer. D'autant qu'après ce chant, commence pour le récipiendiaire, les interrogations sur le *mébara* ou généalogie de ses ancêtres, *mébara* qu'il doit connaître et réciter sans aucune hésitation. S'il est chef ou fils de chef, il doit de plus connaître les généalogies des autres chefs alliés à sa race.

Tous ces chants et cérémonies doivent, croyons-nous, provenir d'un fonds commun à toute la race, plus ou moins déformé par le temps, les circonstances, et aussi peut-être, tout au moins pour les points secondaires, par la fantaisie des féticheurs.

Un récit curieux et peu connu du P. Colle[1] nous fait assister à ce qui se passe tout près des Fân, au Bas-Congo, lors de la cérémonie semblable de la première initiation. Il est intéressant de rapprocher les deux ordres de faits.

[1] Le «Congo», 26 Mai 1907, p. 182 et ss.

«Sur tout le territoire du Congo, sous des noms divers, ***nkimba*** ou ***nkisi*** dans le Bas-Congo, ***ndembo*** chez les Batéké, ***sikita*** dans l'arrière-pays du Moyen-Congo, ***lukundu*** chez les Baluba, ***bugabo*** dans l'Urua, il existe des association secrètes qui, dans leurs grandes lignes, semblent organisées de même chez les diverses peuplades. — Nous les retrouvons tout aussi bien en Gabonie, sous le nom de ***yasi***, chez les Mpongwé, très voisin du ***nkisi***, ***ngil*** ou ***ngit*** chez les Fâñ, plus près du Sikita qui peut-être signifierait mieux «les choses défendues», comme ***éki*** en fâñ, ***orunda*** en Mpongwé, ***orote*** en Banda, ***gebisi*** en Ndumu, tous mots ayant une origine commune. — Dans le Bas-Congo, le recrutement des initiés du ***nkimba*** se fait une fois par an, parfois tous les deux ans, par le féticheur qui désigne impérativement, parfois à la suite d'incantations, les jeunes gens de 12 à 18 ans destinés à faire partie du ***nkimba***. Seuls, des membres du sexe mâle peuvent être initiés, et les jeunes adeptes désignés doivent se trouver la nuit, un peu avant le lever du soleil, au rendez-vous fixé. Dès leur arrivée, on leur fait avaler un stupéfiant [chez les Fâñ, ce stupéfiant est obtenu au moyen d'une décoction d'***emblen***]. Pour les réveiller, on leur fait boire une infusion de salsepareille ***(smilax)***. Quand ils se réveillent, le féticheur leur déclare qu'ils étaient morts et qu'il les a ressuscités: il leur ordonne de dépouiller leurs vêtements, d'oublier leur langue natale et toute leur vie passée. On leur rase la tête et on enduit tout leur corps d'argile blanche. Ils ceignent ensuite leurs reins d'une sorte de jupe faite d'un cerceau en osier auquel pendent de larges franges de fibres végétales ou de nervures de feuilles de palmier. Ils ne peuvent revêtir cette sorte de crinoline que lorsqu'ils sortent du quartier du ***nkimba***; à l'intérieur de celui-ci, ils doivent être nus, mais badigeonnés de blanc. L'initiation absorbe une période qui varie entre trois mois et deux ans. Pendant tout ce temps, le jeune homme vit retiré dans un endroit secret de la forêt, désormais réputé «fétiche» — c'est-à-dire interdit à tout autre qu'aux initiés — et où des huttes spéciales ont été construites.

«Il porte sur lui une clochette dont le son avertit les indigènes d'avoir à s'écarter. En effet, pendant la période d'initiation, les profanes ne peuvent voir les ***inkimba*** — membres du ***nkimba*** —

ni leur parler. Ceux-ci apprennent une langue nouvelle, perdent jusqu'à leur nom, car le maître leur en impose un nouveau, et semblent réellement sous l'influence de la suggestion du féticheur.

«Le siège de l'association du *nkimba* se trouve toujours à proximité d'un village, ou d'une forêt: dans le Bas-Congo, les chemins qui y conduisent sont tracés de façon à se couper en angle droit au point de former une grande croix. Le haut de la croix est formé par le quartier général proprement dit de la secte, lequel s'appelle le *vwala*. (Une des associations fàn porte le nom de *bwala*.) Au bras gauche est le village, au bras droit se trouve la partie de la forêt réservée aux initiés, laquelle est appelée *zinkimba*. Au bas de la croix est l'endroit où on célèbre la première initiation . . .

«Le postulant arrive avant le lever du soleil au lieu du rendez-vous, au bas de l'espèce de carrefour en croix. Dès qu'il s'est dépouillé de ses vêtements, le maître-féticheur l'étend par terre, et le frappe trois fois du poing en le roulant trois fois par terre. Se penchant au dessus du récipiendaire, il prononce ensuite dans la langue secrète du *nkimba*, et en scandant chaque syllabe, le nouveau nom de l'initié.

«Le postulant se relève alors et s'assied. Se tournant ensuite du côté d'où l'adepte s'est levé, le sorcier (non le sorcier, mais le féticheur) prononce une nouvelle suite de paroles inintelligibles (pour l'Européen ou le non-initié!). Après quoi, ses aides enduisent et frottent tout le corps de l'aspirant avec de la terre blanche, si bien que ce corps noir devient bientôt aussi blanc qu'un mur badigeonné. Toute cette cérémonie d'initiation au bas de la croix s'appelle *dibandugulu*.

«Tous les novices étant badigeonnés, on entoure leurs reins du jupon de fibres ou de feuilles: cela fait, le féticheur leur indique brièvement quelques points essentiels du règlement de vie à suivre au *vwala*, et il les initie aux mêmes secrets de l'association. Ensuite, il saisit un des élèves par une feuille de sa ceinture de verdure, et tous se tenant par la main, en silence et les yeux baissés, il conduit processionnellement les jeunes gens au village voisin. Pendant le trajet, pour lequel on a attendu les premières clartés du soleil

levant, les candidats-initiés, aidés de leurs aînés, rompent de temps à autre le silence pour chanter un hymne à l'esprit:

Eseke eseke zingangu zavuila vana ntima,
Amingwa la kebelenda zo wa ko,
Ano befwa enkimba, bezai zignangu za nkimba.

«Les petits oiseaux ont de l'esprit plein le cœur. Les *mingwala* (c'est-à-dire ceux qui n'ont pas passé par l'école du *nkimba*) ne peuvent comprendre est esprit. Mais les Inkimbas reçoivent l'esprit du *nkimba*.

«Arrivés au village où toutes les femmes sont accourues et se tiennent strictement silencieuses, le féticheur s'adresse solennellement aux assistants et leur dit: «Voyez, ils étaient morts, et ils sont ressuscités: les voilà qui arrivent.»

«Alors le *nganga* serre successivement son petit doigt autour du petit doigt de chaque novice et élevant ainsi leur bras, il prononce leur nom nouveau. Il prend ensuite du sel mêlé avec du piment, et à l'aide du pouce, il dépose un peu de ce mélange sur leur langue. Alors seulement, c'est-à-dire vers onze heures, ils peuvent prendre de la nourriture, car jusque-là ils étaient à jeun.

«Pendant toute cette cérémonie, la moindre familiarité avec les femmes est défendue: le premier qui aurait le malheur de lever les yeux sur une personne du sexe faible serait immédiatement tué.

«Du village, les Inkimbas se rendent au *vwala*, où est établie la salle d'initiation du *nkimba*. C'est un grand chimbeck (case) en paille où trône contre une des parois, et dans un panier, le fétiche des Inkimbas. Y étant arrivés, les novices jettent leur robe de verdure, car le fétiche ne veut pas qu'on se permette d'entrer dans son sanctuaire à moins d'être en état complet de nudité. Là, le *nganga* leur apprend enfin l'entièreté du règlement qu'ils auront à suivre: pendant tout le temps de leur séjour au *vwala*, il leur interdit de consommer viande, poisson et manioc sous peine d'être tués; ils ne pourront user d'eau que pour se rincer la bouche, mais ils sont libres de boire du *malafu* (vin de palme); tous les jours, avant leur repas, ils doivent enduire leur corps de terre blanche: parfois il leur est permis de manger seulement tous les

deux jours; il leur est strictement défendu de parler à aucune femme, ni d'en regarder, fût-ce même leur mère, sous peine de mort; ils ne peuvent même pas parler entre eux de femmes sous peine de mort; en passant dans le village ou devant des personnes étrangères, ils doivent parler la langue du *nkimba,* cela toujours sous peine de mort.

«L'habitant du village apportant la nourriture aux novices doit être un ancien Inkimba, ceint d'une crinoline en verdure. Aucune femme ne peut s'approcher du *vwala* ou parler à un de ses pensionnaires, sinon le *nganga* la fait immédiatement étrangler, à moins d'être désintéressé par une forte indemnité.

«Le temps laissé libre par l'étude, les novices le consacrent à la fabrication de menus objets qui sont vendus. La grosse part du prix est remise au féticheur, le reste sert à acheter des étoffes, et de quoi célébrer dignement la fête de clôture.

«Les jeunes gens sont très durement traités au *vwala,* mais on considère comme une honte de rester un *mingwala,* un profane n'ayant pas passé par l'école du *nkimba.*

«La cérémonie de clôture de la session du *nkimba* se célèbre avec solennité. De grand matin on met le feu au *vwala* au moyen d'immenses bûchers d'herbes sèches. C'est le signal de la fête. Aussitôt les Inkimbas courent à l'eau, se lavent soigneusement jusqu'à ce que leur peau reprenne sa couleur sombre naturelle. Ils mettent des anneaux brillants à leurs jambes et à leurs bras et s'entourent les reins d'un nouveau pagne. On les conduit ensuite en grande pompe à leur village, les fils de chefs transportés dans des hamacs, les autres montés sur le dos d'anciens Inkimbas. Le village est en fête. Les femmes, assises par terre, se cachent la face dans leur pagne ou derrière une feuille, car elles ont encore peur de rencontrer le regard d'un habitant du *vwala.*

«Les Inkimbas prétendent venir d'un autre monde et en paraissent persuadés. Ils ne veulent d'abord reconnaître que les indigènes précédemment initiés aux mystères du *nkimba.* Ils semblent ignorer leur propre mère, feignent de ne pouvoir marcher, de ne pas connaître les usages de la vie, mangent par terre, font des grimaces, mordent. Le public pousse des exclamations de pitié et les excuse. Ne

viennent-ils pas d'un autre monde? Enfin, on se reconnaît: on présente le fils à sa mère, le frère à sa sœur, le fiancé à sa promise! La joie devient frénétique, le vin de palme coule en abondance; partout on allume des feux de joie, puis a lieu un festin suivi de danses qui se prolongent plusieurs jours. Après quoi, chacun regagne son logis emmenant son fils, son frère, devenus Inkimbas. Ceux-ci se font porter et restent comme paralysés pendant plusieurs mois, sous prétexte de réparer les forces perdues au *vwala*!» —

Comme nous retrouvons ces mêmes cérémonies dans la plupart des tribus bantoues, aussi bien aux bords de l'Ogowé que sur les rives du Tanganyika, il nous semble inutile d'insister davantage. Toutes ces initiations, quelqu'elles soient, ont toujours pour but de renouveler l'esprit de la race dans les nouveaux initiés, et de les rattacher à la source commune par un ensemble serré de rites et de prescriptions toujours très-sévères. La peine de mort, en particulier, souvent prononcée et appliquée, est toujours là pour bien rappeler à «l'individu» que sa vie, loin de lui appartenir, est toujours domaine de la collectivité.

§ 4. Les ministres des deux cultes sont différents, sinon en fait, du moins en droit.

Par le fait même que les deux cultes, adressés l'un au *mvamayôn* et l'autre à l'*esayôn* différent comme objet, comme rites et comme cérémonies, les ministres seront également différents, sinon en fait, du moins en droit. Souvent, ce sera seulement en droit. En fait, comme la plupart du temps les deux cultes se mêlent intimement, ayant lieu au même endroit, dans le même lieu, et pour un but qui tout en restant double, conservation de la race, conservation des individus, s'adresse cependant à une même entité collective, les ministres seront les mêmes. Suivant qu'ils s'adresseront à l'un ou à l'autre des ancêtres primitifs, réel ou éponyme, ils joueront un double rôle. Ce dualisme de fonctions dans le même personnage se représente dans d'autres rites et n'a rien d'étrange.

Ainsi, le *nganga* (féticheur-médecin) appelé près d'un malade, entrera dans la case, se revêtira des oripeaux nécessaires, puis, tout

d'abord, commencera par les invocations et incantations rituelles: viendront ensuite l'appel aux esprits, puis la consécration des remèdes. Ayant achevé la partie religieuse de l'opération et joué son rôle de ministre du culte, le *nganga* opérera alors à proprement parler comme médecin, préparera le remède, fera bouillir les herbes salutaires, procédera à l'administration du remède; puis, immédiatement après, cessant son rôle de médecin, il reprendra celui de ministre du culte pour appeler à l'aide du remède naturel les influences des esprits favorables, et écarter au contraire les esprits méchants, désireux de le contrecarrer. Nos missionnaires ne procèdent pas autrement: avant d'être prêtres, et dans le même cas de maladie, bien souvent, ils sont médecins!

De même, le ministre du culte totémique, l'*esa* de la famille ou de la tribu, s'adressera à l'ancêtre vrai de sa tribu, agissant en vertu de son rôle de père de famille; en vertu du même rôle encore, il invoquera les esprits des ancêtres localisés dans leurs crânes: comme féticheur, il procédera aux sacrifices, aux incantations; changeant alors d'objet, il s'adressera ensuite à l'ancêtre éponyme, appellera ses descendants, déterminera s'ils sont vrais ou faux: il y aura «unité» de personnage, mais «dualité» de culte, et «dualité» d'opérateur. Et cette dualité existera sans que les assistants y prennent attention aucune. Les phénomènes religieux sont si étroitement mêlés que souvent, en fait, il est fort difficile de les distinguer pour tous ceux qui sont non-initiés. Les adeptes, au contraire, savent parfaitement, à n'importe quel moment de la cérémonie, s'ils s'adressent au *mvamayôn* ou à l'*esayôn*, et c'est tout ce qui est nécessaire. Les distinctions que nous venons d'établir n'ont en effet pour eux aucun but d'utilité pratique.

Nous aurons donc, suivant qu'il s'agira de l'ancêtre vrai de la tribu ou bien de l'ancêtre éponyme, c'est-à-dire de l'*esayôn* ou du *mvamayôn*, un double culte; chaque culte, ses rites particuliers, forcément aussi ses sacrifices particuliers, sanglants ou non sanglants autour desquels converge le culte, et par là même également ses ministres particuliers.

Dans le premier cas, celui de l'*esayôn*, ce sera au chef de la tribu en tant que chef, c'est-à-dire au point de vue de l'autorité

familiale que reviendra ce droit d'exercer. En fait, ce droit sera délégué au féticheur, représentant rituel et subrogé au chef, homme du culte public et gardien des traditions rituelles de la race.

Dans le second cas au contraire, celui du *mvamayôn*, ce sera au père de la tribu en tant que représentant direct du père du clan que reviendra ce rôle d'invoquer l'ancêtre éponyme; il devra l'exercer lui-même, car il ne pourrait d'aucun droit, comme il est évident, le transmettre au féticheur. Dans le premier cas, en effet, celui de la puissance ou de l'autorité, il s'agit tout d'abord d'un pouvoir que l'on peut déléguer et que, de fait, on délègue souvent, car l'autorité est essentiellement transmissible par son essence même. De plus, il ne faut pas oublier que le chef actuel est, en somme, l'incarnation vivante du chef de la race, mais non pas d'une façon effective comme chez d'autres peuples. Ainsi, par exemple, au Thibet, le Dalaï-Lama sera considéré comme la réincarnation vivante de Boudhha. De même encore dans l'Unyoro. Chez les Fân, le chef a sa personnalité propre qu'il ne perdra même pas après la mort, mais il est animé et inspiré réellement par l'esprit des ancêtres. L'autorité est donc essentiellement transmissible, et l'esprit ou le dieu invoqué ne fera aucune différence entre le chef et celui que le chef aura revêtu transitoirement de son autorité.

Dans le second cas, au contraire, il s'agit non plus de l'autorité, mais du sang; c'est pourquoi, si le chef ne peut alors accomplir lui-même les rites, il ne pourra pas se faire remplacer par le féticheur, car si l'autorité se délègue à un étranger, le sang n'est pas dans le même cas; mais il pourra et devra se faire remplacer par un héritier direct, de même sang que lui-même, son frère ou son fils, et il le fera dans toutes les circonstances exigées par la loi. Dans ce cas, il confiera à son délégué la boîte où sont renfermés, avec les crânes de la famille, les fragments du totem primitif qui peuvent encore subsister; cette possession sera de la plus grande importance pour le délégué, comme preuve de son autorité et aussi de sa délégation.

Tels sont donc les deux autorités en présence, le chef de famille ou de tribu agissant de sa propre autorité familiale ou faisant agir un délégué de son sang; dans l'autre cas au contraire,

le féticheur, délégué du chef, mais pouvant parfaitement n'être pas du même sang. En fait, nous avons vu que dans bien des cas le chef est lui-même le féticheur de sa tribu, on tout au moins tient à conserver ce pouvoir dans sa famille.

Principe du sang, et délégation en vertu de ce principe d'autorité, et délégation en vertu du sang, telles sont donc les deux causes qui créent les deux ministres que nous venons d'étudier sommairement.

§ 5. Les demandes au *mvamayôn* sont différentes des demandes à l'*esayôn*.

Le culte adressé soit à l'*esayôn* soit au *mvamayôn* se rapporte à un double objet, suivant les cas, ou, si l'on préfère, à une double cause. Culte, sacrifices, chants, danses et prières ont pour but «l'expiation» ou bien «la demande».

Le Fân comme tout Noir bantou, ne connaît pas le sacrifice, le chant ou la prière offerts aux êtres supérieurs ou désincarnés sans but «pratique» pour lui-même. Aussi le culte exclue-t-il ce grand principe que nous retrouvons dans nos communions chrétiennes: le respect au Créateur. Pour le noir, «respect» est un mot vide de sens: le Bantou ne regarde pas l'Etre supérieur en lui-même; il ne s'adresse à lui qu'en regard de sa propre personne, et en somme, l'expiation elle-même converge vers la demande, car il s'agit au fond moins «d'expier», d'effaçer une souillure, que surtout d'éviter pour lui-même un châtiment, une punition. Offrons donc ce sacrifice, se dit-il, pour obtenir rémission de cette faute.

Mais pour le point qui nous occupe présentement, les demandes que les adeptes adressent sont d'ordre plus important que la différenciation des ministres. Ces demandes sont faites, soit au cours des grandes cérémonies rituelles qui constituent le culte public, qu'il soit en secret pour les seuls initiés, ou à découvert pour toute la tribu, soit simplement dans le culte familial de la

case et du foyer domestique. Là, il s'agira de la prospérité de la famille, des champs, des plantations, des pêches et des chasses. Dans le premier cas, ce sera la vie sociale, dans le second, la vie familiale. Par là même aussi, ces demandes seront beaucoup plus faciles à différencier.

S'adressant à deux entités dont le but et les prérogatives sont tout dissemblables, il demeure évident que les demandes adressées à l'*esayôñ* ne seront pas les mêmes que celles adressées au *mvamayôñ*.

L'un en effet se préoccupe beaucoup plus de la race en elle-même que de l'individu: l'autre, au contraire, beaucoup plus de l'individu que de la race elle-même. Tout ce qui intéresse la race, sa puissance, sa vitalité sera demandé à l'*esayôñ*. C'est à lui que le chef de famille ou de village s'adressera pour que ses femmes soient fécondes, que sa famille s'accroisse. Tous les sacrifices, les «fétiches» faits dans ce but se dirigeront vers le père de la race. Une part de tout sacrifice lui sera offerte; toutes les fois que le père de famille s'adressera aux esprits, il aura grand soin d'invoquer tout d'abord le père de sa race, ou tout au moins d'en rappeler le souvenir. Dans toutes les questions qui regardent l'enfantement, l'*esa* ne sera pas oublié. Qu'il s'agisse d'obtenir des enfants, de prévenir la femme de tout danger quand elle est enceinte, d'avoir un heureux accouchement, d'écarter tout malheur ou accident qui pourrait arriver aux enfants tant qu'ils sont encore jeunes, cela est affaire de l'*esayôñ*, se rapporte à lui, soit directement, soit par les esprits de la race, âmes de ses descendants, qui, demeurant à ses côtés, ne font plus avec lui qu'une seule et même entité. Aussi, à lui s'adresseront encore les fiancés pour voir arriver le terme de leurs désirs: à lui, ils demanderont que leur demande soit agréée. Avant de partir de leur village pour aller trouver leur futur beau-père, les jeunes gens tendront une corde en travers de la grande allée, au long de laquelles sont bâties toutes les cases. Afin de ne pas porter malheur à leur dessein, nul ne devra passer dessous, mais faire un détour par un autre chemin. Ils tapisseront ensuite l'extérieur de leur propre case avec de longues lanières fournies par les feuilles desséchées des bananiers voisins. Puis, à l'abri de

tout regard indiscret, pendant de longues heures, ils danseront en l'honneur des ancêtres, autour de la boîte contenant leurs crânes. Leurs longues, interminables mélopées, seront toujours adressées dans ce cas à l'esprit de la race, au père de leur famille, au fondateur du clan.

A l'*esayôń* s'adressera le chef du clan ou de tribu pour tout ce qui regarde la prospérité du village, du clan ou de la tribu. Il s'agira, par exemple, de déterminer l'emplacement d'un nouveau village. Ce sera à lui de voir si le lieu choisi est propice, et il le dira après qu'on lui aura immolé une poule noire, sans aucune tache, et surtout, point important, qui n'ait pas encore pondu d'œufs. De la position du foie, des entrailles, de la façon dont le sang sera tombé à terre, on concluera au choix bon ou mauvais, et ce sera toujours, non pas le féticheur, mais le père de famille qui aura à déterminer ce point.

Les anciens territoires de chasse ou de pêche sont-ils épuisés? Faut-il aller à la recherche d'un pays plus giboyeux, plus poissonneux? — A l'*esayôń*, seront offerts le dernier animal pris, le dernier poisson pêché, à l'*esayôń* encore le premier gibier capturé dans les nouveaux territoires, le premier poisson enlevé du fleuve, du ruisseau ou du lac: cette offrande tombe sous la loi du totem, et il est défendu d'y toucher, d'en manger, sinon les plus grands malheurs menaceront la tribu. Tout contrevenant à cet ordre serait impitoyablement sacrifié. Il nous souvient d'avoir vu ainsi empoisonner dans un nouveau village une jeune femme coupable d'avoir mangé un poisson de sa pêche avant que la première offrande eût été faite.

S'il faut quitter le village par suite de la mort d'un grand chef, ou encore parce que les décès d'enfants y sont trop fréquents, tout cela ressort de son pouvoir.

A lui encore, et c'est le cas le plus grave pour la tribu, on s'adressera avant une guerre, afin d'obtenir qu'elle soit heureuse, qu'on fasse beaucoup de prisonniers, et surtout qu'on n'en laisse pas soi-même aux mains de l'ennemi. Enfin, à la mort du guerrier, c'est encore l'*esayôń* que l'on invoquera pour que les présages soient favorables et que l'esprit du mourant aille rejoindre les âmes des ancêtres.

Tel le demande le chant des pleureuses au lit de la mort:

Chant des pleureuses.

Chœur	Le fils est allé aux champs voir si les arbres ont fini de mûrir[1]. Il est allé.
Répons I	Les arbres ont mûri. Les esprits des ancêtres sont errants. Ils viennent et cherchent (s-e. le mourant). La nuit commence, le prisonnier est libre.
Reprise	Le fils est allé aux champs voir si les arbres ont fini de mûrir. Il est allé.
Répons II	Le prisonnier est libre. Il passe sur la rive opposée, sans regarder derrière lui, il retrouve les siens.
Reprise	Le fils est allé aux champs voir si les arbres ont fini de mûrir. Il est allé.
Répons III	L'ombre a frôlé le foyer de la case . . . Je vois une étincelle qui passe comme une luciole, qui tourne, qui vole autour d'un rotang . . . L'ombre a retrouvé les siens.
Reprise	Le fils est allé aux champs. Les arbres sont mûrs[2].

Au *mvamayôṅ*, au contraire, on s'adressera de préférence pour tout ce qui regarde «l'individu» ou les «individus», pris d'une façon générale. Ainsi, dans les cas les plus importants d'abord, pour la guerre, on invoquera solennellement le *mvamayôṅ* de la tribu afin qu'il garde de tout danger, non pas la tribu elle-même, collectivité organisée, ou ensemble d'hommes, de femmes, d'enfants, mais les guerriers combattants, pour qu'il donne à chacun d'eux la force, le courage, l'agilité. Le chef de la famille invoquera le totem de sa famille surtout pour conserver les individus mâles qui en constituent l'essence. Chaque individu enfin s'adressera à son totem pour qu'il lui donne les qualités nécessaires pour bien s'acquitter de son rôle, de ses fonctions. En un mot, on s'adresse à l'*esayôṅ* pour ce qui regarde la «race», soit dans la vie présente, soit dans la vie de l'au delà, où on ira un jour le retrouver, et constituer désormais, à l'exemple de ce qui se passait sur cette terre, une autre collectivité, dégagée cette fois et pour toujours des liens de la matière.

Au contraire, le *mvamayôṅ* n'a rien à voir en cette vie future dans laquelle il n'intervient en aucune façon: il s'intéresse

[1] C'est-à-dire voir si la vie du père est mûre.

[2] Les pleureuses chantent cet appel sur un ton strident, le plus élevé possible. La première femme du mort n'y prend pas part et se couche sur le cadavre.

seulement aux «individus», à leur conservation, à leur prospérité. On ne l'appellera donc que pour les faits qui se rapportent à cet ordre d'idées. Une fois mort, le guerrier n'a plus rien à voir personnellement avec son *mvame* individuel, pas plus qu'avec le *mvame* de sa tribu ou de son clan: tous n'étaient destinés qu'à lui assurer la protection nécessaire durant sa vie terrestre. Son esprit désincarné n'éprouve plus aucun besoin de cette protection. Nous avons d'ailleurs vu que le *mvame* cesse, quand l'être lui-même qui en est dépositaire vient à mourir. Il n'y a plus de *mvame* dans l'autre vie. Tout *mvame,* quelqu'il soit, nation, clan, famille ou individu, n'existe, et n'agit qu'en fonction de la collectivité ou de l'individu pour lequel il a été consacré. Il est de la vie **présente.**

A la mort, au contraire, l'*esa* de tribu, de clan, ou de famille, conserve tout son pouvoir.

Le *mvame* se transmet et meurt, définitivement, dans la vie présente et pour la vie future. L'*esa* se transmet, et ne meurt qu'à la vie présente: il demeure dans la vie future.

§ 6. Les défenses du *mvamayôṅ* et de l'*esayôṅ* sont d'ordre différent.

Les défenses rituelles du *mvame,* et c'est un des points les plus importants, ne sont enfin pas les mêmes que celles qui concernent l'*esa.* Dans un cas, nous aurons les défenses **totémiques,** qui sont immuables, et ne changent pas, car nul n'a le pouvoir d'y toucher, et elles se perpétuent depuis l'origine de la race. Dans l'autre cas au contraire, nous aurons les défenses **tabuales,** prises dans l'intérêt de la race, soit par les chefs anciens, soit par le chef actuel. Dans ce dernier cas, elles sont révocables, soit à la volonté du chef, soit, nécessairement, lorsqu'il vient à mourir.

Nous aurons à revenir sur ce dernier point; disons dès maintenant que totem et tabou, défenses totémiques et défenses tabuales diffèrent entre elles en ce point essentiel que les premières ressortent du *mvamayôṅ* ou ancêtre éponyme de la race, les autres de l'*esayôṅ,* ou ancêtre primitif, et également de ses descendants.

C'est un point que peut-être on n'a pas assez distingué: presque toujours on prend défenses tabuales et défenses totémiques les unes

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

pour les autres: c'est pourquoi nous aurons à les examiner plus longuement en un paragraphe spécial. Ce qui probablement a amené le plus de confusion est que les défenses totémiques peuvent souvent être les mêmes que les défenses tabuales: chaque défense sera par là même renforcée par un double lien: dans l'esprit du noir, il n'y aura pas confusion.

Le fait se passe exactement le même dans nos communions chrétiennes. Ainsi, dans l'Eglise catholique, il est interdit aux fidèles de manger de la viande le vendredi: cette défense pourra être renouvelée et sanctionnée, soit pour une raison personnelle, ou encore en vertu d'une défense particulière, par exemple une règle d'ordre religieux. La défense, restant identique et unique, sera cependant sanctionnée par un double lien d'origine différente. De même, en vertu du totem de la tribu à laquelle il appartient, tel Yebikon, par exemple, ne pourra jamais manger telle espèce de bananes: en vertu du totem de sa famille, il ne pourra pas manger les autres espèces de bananes si elles sont seulement bouillies ou cuites à l'étuvée: elles devront toujours être rôties. En vertu de son totem particulier, il ne pourra manger ces bananes rôties que dans certaines circonstances particulières, ou encore après avoir prononcé certaines paroles.

De même, tel Noir aura défense totémique de manger de l'antilope, défense tabuale d'en manger, défense de par la société secrète dont il est membre d'en manger. Il enfreint cette triple prescription: il a par là même contracté un triple *nsèm* ou souillure effective dont il devra se laver par une triple expiation envers qui de droit. Remarquons le bien, sa faute sera triple, mais non pas triplée: la gravité résultera pour chaque faute, non pas de «l'acte», mais de «l'objet» lésé, soit dans le cas, totem de clan, de famille, de société secrète. Une de ces prescriptions levée n'entraînera pas évidemment la permission pour les autres.

Dans la vie courante, ces prescriptions se mêlent par la force même des choses. En droit, elles sont parfaitement distinctes, et le demeurent, de fait, quand il s'agit d'effacer la souillure contractée. Les Noirs s'en plaignent, mais n'osent pas pour cela en soulever le joug; tout s'y oppose. Comme me le disait un jour un chef que j'interrogeais sur ces matières: «Il y a beaucoup de

défenses, on fait beaucoup de *misèm* [1] (souillure): mais comment y échapper!»

Quand il s'agit d'expiations, au fond, le féticheur y trouve toujours son compte, et il est toujours là!

§ 7. Résumé de ce chapitre.

En somme, malgré cette complexité apparente, il est facile de résumer assez rapidement tout ce que nous venons de dire de l'*esayôṅ* et du *mvamayôṅ*.

Nous avons affaire à deux entités complètement distinctes. Elles diffèrent tout d'abord par l'objet de leur culte, puisque les deux ont une existence entièrement séparée, parfaitement distincte l'une de l'autre, tout en demeurant unie par des liens très-étroits.

L'objet du culte, étant différent, entraîne, par là-même, diversité de cérémonies. Chaque rite a sa fonction propitiatoire distincte, étant toujours ordonné pour un effet à obtenir, effet déterminé d'avance. Tel sacrifice doit procurer tel ou tel effet et non pas tel autre.

Les ministres seront également différents par suite de cette dualité de culte et de ces cérémonies de but tout autre. De même, les demandes et les défenses, suite nécessaire du culte, seront totalement dissemblables.

D'une façon générale, on peut affirmer le point suivant, qui ressort de tout ce que nous venons de dire et qui constitue la différence capitale entre le *mvamayôṅ* et l'*esayôṅ*.

L'*esayôṅ* s'intéresse à tout ce qui regarde la race, et embrasse à la fois les vivants et les morts pour les relier en une seule et même famille.

L'*esayôṅ* agit surtout en vue de la vie **future.**

Le *mvamayôṅ* s'intéresse à tout ce qui regarde les individus: il ne se préoccupe que de leur conservation actuelle, de leur prospérité, de les mettre à l'abri de tout danger, et cela qu'il soit *mvame* de tribu, de clan, de village ou d'individu.

Le *mvame* agit en vue unique de la vie **présente.**

[1] Les livres religieux ont traduit le mot «péché» par *nsèm*. — Ce n'est pas très-exact. *Nsèm* est l'infraction à une défense, ce n'est pas toujours une faute.

CHAPITRE XII.

LES MINISTRES DU *MVAMAYÔŃ*.

Les droits du totem lui donnent des ministres, des rites et des lois.

Le chef de famille est le ministre du *mvamayôń* à l'exclusion de tout autre. Catégories distinctes ou individualités qui pourraient revendiquer ce rôle. On doit écarter 1° l'individu, 2° le conseil des guerriers, 3° le chef de tribu, 4° le féticheur, 5° le sorcier.

§ 1. Le ministre réel du *mvamayôń* est le chef familial.

§ 2. Le féticheur ne peut être ministre du *mvamayôń* dans le culte public tout au moins d'une façon générale.

Il peut l'être dans certaines circonstances exceptionnelles.

§ 3. Circonstances exceptionnelles où le féticheur exerce ce rôle.

§ 4. Seul, l'héritier de sang peut être «délégué».

§ 5. Le féticheur peut être délégué du *mvamayôń*: le sorcier ne le peut pas en tant que sorcier. Distinction nécessaire entre ces deux personnages.

§ 6. Le féticheur et le sorcier sont ministres du totem dans les sociétés secrètes qu'ils dirigent.

Le *mvamayôń* ou totem, de par le fait même de son existence, a des «droits».

Ces droits peuvent se résumer dans les trois points suivants: le totem a droit à des ministres, à des rites ou à un culte, à des lois. Ces dernières comprendront devoirs, défenses, pénalités. Chacun de ces trois points donnera lieu à un chapitre distinct.

La première question qui se pose est celle des ministres du totem.

Quel est le ministre du *mvamayôń*, c'est-à-dire quel est l'homme qui a tout d'abord le droit de le choisir, puis de l'attribuer

soit à un individu isolé, soit à une collectivité organisée, puis d'en déterminer le culte et les observances, d'en faire respecter les rites, de porter les pénalités ou tout au moins de les appliquer.

En vertu de la constitution même de la tribu et de la formation de la famille telle que nous l'avons développée précédemment, nous avons vu que ce rôle revient de droit au père de famille, à l'exclusion de tout autre individu, quelqu'il soit, mais au père de famille pris d'abord d'une façon généralisée, c'est-à-dire au père du clan et mieux encore de la tribu.

Ce rôle revient de droit au père de famille. Pour examiner d'où lui vient ce droit, et prouver en même temps qu'il ne revient et ne peut revenir qu'à lui, examinons quelles sont les catégories distinctes auxquelles, dans la tribu, pourrait être attribué ce rôle.

L'individu, en tant qu'individualité distincte et isolée, le père de famille, le chef de clan ou de tribu, le conseil des guerriers ayant subi les épreuves de l'initiation et admis à siéger pour régler les intérêts vitaux du village, le féticheur chargé du culte public et reconnu, le sorcier avec lequel on le confond si souvent, telles sont les seules catégories distinctes auxquelles pourrait être attribué ce rôle.

Nous devons immédiatement écarter «l'individu». Il n'a en effet aucun droit sur le *mvamayôñ* qui appartient à toute la tribu, et existe avant lui: de même pour le totem de clan et de famille. Tout au plus l'individu pourrait-il se choisir son propre totem, et ce choix ne pourrait encore se réduire en somme qu'à une simple «élection». Il lui faudrait encore la consécration officielle et religieuse. En outre, comme nous l'avons déjà vu, le totem, même individuel, de par le fait même de son existence propre, et antérieure à l'individu, ne peut être soumis à l'élection de son «protégé». C'est, au contraire, à lui «protecteur», de choisir, et à la suite de son choix, déterminé par les offrandes du futur «protégé», de se manifester à lui, ou à l'agent du culte, quand, de la manière, et dans les circonstances qu'il préfère lui-même.

Le conseil des guerriers n'est, en somme, qu'un conseil délibératif. Son autorité est toute déléguée; elle ressort complètement du chef de clan ou de tribu. Le conseil des guerriers a, en définitive,

une autorité semblable aux fils majeurs dans une famille: le père les consulte, ils discutent ensemble, puis le père se range à leur avis, s'il le veut, le juge bon, ou bien prend une décision diamétralement opposée à leur avis, et à laquelle cependant ils seront forcés de se soumettre.

Le père de famille, le chef de clan, le chef de tribu, représentent, pour le cas qui nous occupe une seule et même autorité. Nous l'avons vu, en effet, le chef de tribu n'a de pouvoir qu'en tant que chef de la famille primitive, première cellule sociale, noyau du clan ou de la tribu, successivement développé, et formant actuellement la tribu entière. Dans la tribu, les chefs de clans et de famille, dans le clan les chefs de famille ont exactement le même rôle et le même pouvoir délégué que les fils dans la famille sous l'autorité du père.

Restent donc trois autorités possibles: le père de famille ou chef de tribu, le féticheur, le sorcier.

Ecartons pour un moment le sorcier, nous aurons à y revenir plus loin, en notant toutefois déjà que féticheur et sorcier sont deux êtres complètement distincts au point de vue des fonctions, des prérogatives et surtout du rang social dans la tribu. Voyageurs, explorateurs, écrivains, missionnaires même emploient couramment ces deux mots l'un pour l'autre. Or, rien n'est plus faux. Pourquoi et comment, c'est ce que nous dirons tout à l'heure brièvement, et en tant que cette distinction se rapporte au *mvamayôn*.

Seuls, donc, le père de famille, ou plutôt le père de la tribu, et le féticheur restent en présence. Des deux, quel sera le ministre du *mvamayôn*?

D'une façon générale, seul, le «père de la tribu» peut être ministre du *mvamayôn*, déterminer l'objet précis du totem.

Ce rôle pourra-t-il également être dévolu au «féticheur»? Dans certaines circonstances, par exception, le féticheur pourra parfois exercer cette fonction. De façon permanente, et en quelque sorte officielle, en vertu de son. De rang et de ses attributions parfaitement localisées et déterminées, il lui est impossible d'assumer ce rôle.

§ 1. Le ministre réel du *mvamayôṅ* est le chef familial.

D'après tout ce que nous avons dit précédemment, il est facile de concevoir que c'est aux dépositaires de l'autorité du totem, et aux seuls dépositaires de cette autorité, qu'il appartiendra toujours de déterminer où, quand, comment, et dans quelles circonstances ou dispositions préalables doit être trouvé le totem. A eux de dire les marques qu'il doit présenter, à eux de le rejeter si les conditions nécessaires ne sont pas réalisées, à eux enfin d'établir et surtout de garder le culte et la forme des traditions ancestrales.

Or, ce rôle ne peut appartenir qu'au seul dépositaire de l'autorité totémique, c'est-à-dire au chef, ou, si l'on préfère, à l'*esayôṅ* actuel, représentant vivant et dépositaire de l'esprit de l'ancêtre fondateur de la tribu ou du clan.

Ce rôle appartient donc au chef familial. Nous disons à dessein chef «familial» afin d'écarter tout d'abord les autres chefs de différentes sortes qui pourraient se rencontrer dans la tribu. Tel est, par exemple, le chef de guerre, que ses hauts faits ont distingué et qui ménera les hommes au combat. Le chef de guerre ne sera pas nécessairement le chef de la tribu. Il pourra l'être: en fait, souvent ce sera un chef secondaire, un fils du chef principal. Son titre ne lui conférera aucun rang, ne lui donnera aucune prérogative par rapport au *mvamayôṅ*.

§ 2. Le féticheur ne peut être le ministre officiel du *mvamayôṅ*.

De même que le chef de guerre, le féticheur, chef du culte, ne peut être le ministre officiel du *mvamayôṅ*. Ce rôle sort en effet complètement de ses attributions. Le féticheur est l'homme du culte public, des mânes et des esprits, l'homme chargé de démêler les influences bonnes ou mauvaises des agents extérieurs, mais ce n'est jamais l'homme du culte familial. Toutes ses prérogatives s'y opposent. Seul, le chef de famille peut remplir ce rôle.

§ 3. Circonstances exceptionnelles où le féticheur est ministre du *mvamayôñ*.

Parfois cependant, dans les tribus très importantes, dans celles surtout qui sont restées groupées en masse compacte par suite de circonstances géographiques spéciales (île, presqu'île, montagne, situation isolée), ou encore par suite de l'autorité d'un chef plus énergique, et qui par là même a su s'assujettir les tribus voisines, Ce rôle de ministres du *mvamayôñ* est dévolu transitoirement aux féticheurs.

Quelquefois encore, ils l'ont pris d'eux-mêmes et le gardent en raison de leur valeur ou habileté personnelle.

Dans les deux cas, c'est toujours par une sorte d'usurpation, ou de confusion de pouvoir, rarement par substitution. Le féticheur agit alors, non pas en son nom propre, en vertu de son rôle et de sa propre autorité, mais comme pouvoir délégué. Il agit au nom, au lieu et place du chef de famille, c'est-à-dire du chef de tribu, puisque le chef de tribu est nécessairement le descendant et représentant direct de la famille souche. Si celle-ci est éteinte en transmission directe, il l'est, tout au moins, de la famille secondaire. Nous avons étudié plus haut ce point en traitant de la constitution et de l'organisation de la tribu.

Dans les tribus très importantes, où le chef se trouve absorbé par les soins de la politique générale, ce rôle peut être dévolu par substitution au féticheur, ministre officiel du culte. Mais c'est plutôt là une sorte d'accaparement, de transmission par héritage. Le chef suprême, en effet, est pris par les nombreuses affaires temporelles qui occupent son temps. Ce cas est très rare dans la tribu fàñ, très républicaine ou même très socialiste et égalitaire sous une apparence de constitution hiérarchique développée. Au point de vue «autorité», le chef y joue un rôle fort effacé, sauf dans certaines tribus où il a su conserver son rang par son prestige ou valeur personnelle; son influence est fort diminuée, en présence de guerriers dont chacun se prétend son égal en force et en courage, et ne lui rend que la déférence dûe au chef de la famille. C'est là le fondement unique de son pouvoir, et les guerriers ont soin parfois de le lui rappeler.

Toutefois, bien que cette influence soit diminuée par le fait même des circonstances, elle n'en reste pas moins incontestée. Il nous souvient d'avoir vu ainsi dans une grande palabre des Amvom un fait typique. Un individu refusait de se rendre aux ordres du chef. Il s'agissait d'une guerre, acceptée par l'ensemble de la réunion: le chef se leva, et ayant pris son fusil, tira à bout portant sur le guerrier qui bravait son autorité. L'homme tomba, la tête en bouillie, et nul ne réclama. A la côte, où la famille et la tribu sont très affaiblies aujourd'hui au point de vue de l'autorité du chef, de tels actes seraient impossibles, et d'ailleurs seraient aussitôt réprimés énergiquement par les autorités compétentes.

Mais si, à la côte et dans un rayon déjà assez étendu [1], l'autorité du chef de tribu a subi une forte diminution, ce pouvoir au contraire augmente, à mesure que l'on se rapproche de l'intérieur et de l'hinterland du Kamerun. Là, encore, le pouvoir du féticheur semble plus fortement constitué, surtout en raison de la puissance qu'il a su acquérir dans les sociétés secrètes. Ainsi, nous avons vu précédemment le pouvoir absolu, sans contrôle et sans conteste, qu'il exerce chez les Baluba tout le temps que les Inkimba sont dans le *vwala*. Ce pouvoir se continue évidemment, après les épreuves, sur tous les initiés, mais alors d'une façon plus mitigée, plus restreinte, et surtout plus occulte. La situation est la même chez les Fân et les autres tribus bantoues.

Dans un certain nombre de cas déterminés, le chef politique du clan laisse donc au féticheur le soin d'exercer le culte religieux, même à l'égard du totem. Toutefois ce rôle n'est qu'un rôle dévolu, et cela est si vrai que lorsqu'il s'agit d'interroger le totem, dans les circonstances graves, le féticheur disparaît, et le chef reprend son droit: à lui alors d'accomplir les actes rituels, à lui de faire les sacrifices. Même, et l'on voit combien notre thèse se trouve confirmée, il pourra arriver que pour une raison ou une autre, le chef ne puisse remplir son rôle, en cas de très-grave

[1] Jusqu'à ces dernières années, l'autorité française ne s'exerçait, au Gabonais, que sur les rives de l'Ogowé, et ne s'étendait guère en profondeur, à plus d'une vingtaine de kilomètres, et encore, de chacune de ses rives. Aujourd'hui, on commence l'occupation de la partie nord, du bassin du Woleu et du Ntem.

maladie par exemple. Un sacrifice sera alors offert au totem qui est intéressé directement à la question. Dans cette occurrence, sera-ce le féticheur qui sera mis en cause? Nullement. Le féticheur sacrifiera d'abord aux génies et aux mânes; puis il interrogera les esprits pour savoir les influences mauvaises qui ont déterminé la maladie et connaître l'homme qui, suivant l'expression consacrée, aura fait «fétiche» contre le malade. L'héritier de sang interviendra à son tour pour invoquer les esprits protecteurs de la famille en faveur de ce même malade, pour invoquer son totem, et dans ce cas, les invocations et le sacrifice auront un double objet: invoquer d'abord les ancêtres directs, représentés par leurs crânes conservés dans la boîte du *biéri*, et c'est le culte de l'*esayôñ*, puis, en second lieu, le totem représenté lui aussi par un fragment réel ou symbolique, et c'est le culte du *mvamayôñ*.

§ 4. Seul, l'héritier de sang peut être délégué comme ministre de l'ancêtre réel et éponyme.

Seul donc, l'héritier de sang peut exercer ce double culte envers l'ancêtre réel et l'ancêtre éponyme. Ce droit lui est acquis par suite de sa filiation avec l'ancêtre, droit qui, par là-même, exclut le féticheur.

Cet héritier est tout d'abord le frère puîné du malade. A son défaut, les autres frères, puis son fils aîné, et enfin les autres fils, d'après la loi du matriarcat, qui régit la nation fâñ. On conçoit facilement combien un tel état de choses entraîne de difficultés. Pour peu que le frère ou le fils désire prendre la place du défunt, hériter de son pouvoir, de ses richesses et surtout de ses femmes, le totem, avec la plus grande facilité, répondra qu'il est temps pour le malade de rejoindre ses pères. Cette constatation une fois faite et rendue bien publique, qui donc alors pourrait rendre l'héritier responsable de la mort! Elle devient toute naturelle! Mais, d'un autre côté, pour peu que le chef vivant soupçonne de tels desseins chez ses héritiers, il s'empressera, soit de les faire disparaître par le poison, soit, et c'est ce qu'il préfère dans la plupart des cas, les envoyer en avant avec quelques guerriers, de préférence des jeunes gens, fonder un nouveau clan. Si le

premier cas nuit à la vitalité de la race, le second lui est éminemment favorable. En effet, la horde dissidente ne se compose presque toujours que de guerriers non mariés: il leur faudra bien trouver femmes. Ils le feront aux dépens des tribus voisines, mais rarement, par une sorte de solidarité farouche, aux dépens des tribus fàñ de même race qu'eux. Les tribus voisines sont attaquées, les hommes mangés sans autre forme de procès, et les femmes captives deviennent les femmes des vainqueurs.

Ainsi vient sans cesse à la grande tribu un apport de sang nouveau, qui explique à la fois et la vitalité profonde de la race, lançant sans cesse en avant de nouveaux envahisseurs, et aussi les traces de croisements successifs. Il est aisé de les reconnaître, surtout dans les villages arrivés près de la côte et des Blancs, villages fondés par les premiers envahisseurs. A la côte d'ailleurs, les anciennes populations ont aujourd'hui presque complètement disparu devant le flot envahisseur. De certaines tribus, on ne retrouve plus que quelques femmes, ayant à peu près oublié leur langue primitive. Tels les Banoko, Balengi etc.

§ 5. Le féticheur peut être délégué du *mvamayôñ*: le sorcier ne le peut pas en tant que sorcier. Distinction nécessaire entre ces deux personnages.

Le féticheur, dans certaines circonstances données, par exemple par usurpation, délégation ou dévolution, peut donc exercer ce rôle de ministre du *mvamayôñ*. En tant que sorcier, le sorcier ne le peut jamais.

Nous avons en conséquence ici deux personnages distincts: le féticheur et le sorcier.

Le féticheur revêt plusieurs formes: il sera devin, médecin, prêtre: ce seront diverses modalités d'un même sacerdoce, et toutes ces modalités seront légales. En un mot, le féticheur est l'homme du culte reconnu.

Le sorcier revêtira également plusieurs formes, les mêmes d'ailleurs que le féticheur: il sera devin, médecin, prêtre etc., mais ces diverses modalités ne seront ni légales, ni admises: elles seront toujours exercées de façon secrète, et le sorcier sera l'homme du culte secret et non-reconnu, du culte extra-légal.

De même que nous trouvons deux personnages distincts, et presque toujours opposés l'un à l'autre, de même nous les voyons présider à deux formes très distinctes de sociétés. Malheureusement, de même que l'on a confondu presque toujours «féticheurs et sorciers», de même on a confondu les sociétés secrètes proprement dites placées sous la direction des féticheurs, et les sociétés secrètes également constituées dans la tribu, très-différentes des premières, luttant souvent contre elles, et placées sous l'autorité des sorciers, créées par eux, et n'agissant que par eux. Les premières seront fondées en vue du bien de la tribu, tout au moins à leur origine, et encore actuellement dans leurs principales dispositions. Les autres, au contraire, seront établies pour l'avantage particulier des membres et contre la tribu.

D'une part, donc, on voit combien ces notions et ces diverses formes de réunions peuvent amener, et amènent de fait, de profondes et regrettables confusions si l'on ne les distingue avec grand soin; d'autre part, combien elles peuvent causer d'erreurs sur le véritable esprit d'une tribu. Ainsi, pour n'en citer qu'un fait, maintes fois au cours de nos voyages, nous avons eu affaire à la secte des Akhûñ, ou Mangeurs de chair humaine: nous avons dû nous défendre, nous et nos hommes, contre leurs attaques. Or, elles ont toujours eu lieu dans les petits villages. Terrorisés et eux-mêmes victimes, les habitants n'osaient rien dire et demeuraient complices forcés. Cependant, nous avions là uniquement affaire à une société secrète dirigée par les sorciers: en conclure à l'anthropophagie habituelle des sociétés secrètes dirigées par les féticheurs et attribuer à toutes ce qui n'est le fait que de quelques-unes, inspirées par les sorciers, serait absolument faux.

De même, et c'est là surtout ce qui nous occupe ici, les totems de sociétés secrètes dirigées par les féticheurs, et les totems de sociétés secrètes dirigées par les sorciers sont complètement différents. Nous verrons même plus loin combien ce terme de totem est impropre quand il s'agit des sorciers. Tandis que les premiers sont institués pour le bien seul de l'individu qui les acquiert, sans se préoccuper de leur effet sur les autres, les seconds, au contraire, seront choisis en vue du possesseur par rapport au mal qu'il peut

avec eux faire aux autres. D'où une différence profonde dans leur choix: les premiers pourront, comme ceux du clan ou de la tribu, appartenir en droit à toute espèce d'être vivant: en fait, ce seront des animaux, des oiseaux, des insectes, des arbres, mais seulement des êtres utiles, car il s'agit de bénéficier de leurs bonnes propriétés. Rien de semblable pour les seconds: il s'agit de faire du mal aux autres: c'est le but unique, la raison d'être: aussi on choisira des êtres malfaisants: le tigre, le serpent, le sanglier seront en première ligne.

Pour démêler cette question difficile, nous avons donc à examiner d'abord les féticheurs et les sorciers, comment les reconnaître et les différencier. Une deuxième question en découle naturellement: celle des sociétés secrètes fondées par les uns et par les autres. Enfin la question des totems suit d'elle-même celle des sociétés secrètes.

Dans certaines circonstances données, avons-nous dit, le féticheur peut exercer le rôle de ministre du *mvamayôn*. Partout, et toujours, ce rôle sera interdit au sorcier.

Nous distinguons donc nettement, on le voit, entre ces deux termes: féticheur et sorcier: loin d'être deux synonymes, ce sont deux antithèses. Or, d'une façon générale, les Européens s'y trompent constamment. Cette erreur est possible et très compréhensible chez les divers voyageurs ou explorateurs qui passent, sans connaître la langue des peuples qu'ils traversent, ou ne la connaissent que très imparfaitement. Ils ne peuvent en effet expliquer les cérémonies dont ils sont témoins, sinon avec l'aide de leurs interprètes. Ceux-ci sont souvent ignorants, et toujours désireux d'en finir au plus vite avec ces conversations qui les fatiguent et les rebutent. Si c'était ici le lieu, combien nous pourrions dire de jolies choses sur ces explications ultra-fantaisistes, pourtant imprimées aujourd'hui![1] Mais les Blancs, même les plus sérieux, confondent

[1] Signalons à ce propos un article fort judicieux publié par le Commt. Lemaire dans Le Congo (13 Mai 1906, p. 146) sous le titre «Baptêmes géographiques». Il y déplore les noms absolument fantaisistes dont nos cartes regorgent. Ce qui est vrai de la Géographie l'est encore bien plus de la Religion, plus difficile à atteindre.

également ces deux termes. Ainsi, dans une Etude d'ailleurs très recommandable sur l'Uganda, Sir H. JOHNSTON commence tout d'abord par bien distinguer entre *mvamayôñ* et *esayôñ*, ancêtre vrai et ancêtre éponyme. C'est un de ceux qui ont le mieux étudié cette question. «Each tribe, dit-il, or clan, has its own ancestral spirit [l'*esayôñ*] who is sometimes confused with the totem [le *mvamayôñ*].» Mais, ensuite, il semble bien mêler quelque peu ces deux notions, pourtant si différentes, de «sorcier», et de «féticheur».

«Each tribe or clan has its own *muchwezi*. This word is translated by the missionaries as «High priest». *Muchwezi*, however, really seems to mean two things, or the same thing with two meanings. It indicated originally both the ghost of an ancestor or chief, and the individuals of the superior, light-coloured Gala race of almost Caucasian stock, which entered the lands at different periods in remote and relatively recent times, and which in the modified and more negroid form of the Bahima constitutes the aristocracy to-day of all the lands between the Victoria Nile, on the North, and the Tanganika on the south. The *muchwezi* or priest, who conduits this worship of ancestral spirits (each tribe or clan has its own ancestral spirit, who is sometimes confused with the totem) [nous nous sommes efforcés d'en bien faire ressortir la différence] is **equivalent** to the **sorcerer** or medicine man, or witch doctor so common everywhere in Negro Africa. But besides the accredited priest of the clan, many individuals may set up to be doctors in white or black magic.»

Ces mots «féticheur» ou «sorcier» sont donc impropres et fautifs quand on les applique indistinctement à toutes sortes de personnages, et pour nous, nous ne pouvons admettre, comme Sir H. JOHNSTON, nous allons le démontrer plus loin, que le *muchwezi* ou prêtre «is equivalent to the sorcerer or medicine man, or witch doctor».

Si les Blancs s'y trompent, les Noirs ne s'y trompent pas. Ils leur donnent des noms différents, et savent fort bien que le sorcier n'est point le féticheur, ou que, s'il l'est, c'est par suite de circonstances exceptionnelles que nous mentionnerons plus loin. Arguer de ces circonstances pour les confondre et en faire un même personnage, ce n'est point œuvre de critique. De ce qu'un juge, par exemple,

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

peut devenir, parfois, un criminel, dira-t-on que les deux rôles se confondent habituellement?

Entre féticheur et sorcier, la différence et la relation sont les mêmes.

La grande majorité des erreurs commises sur ce sujet et bien d'autres, provient souvent de connaître insuffisamment les langues africaines. Surtout, elles sont le résultat de n'avoir pas vécu assez intimement au milieu de ces peuples[1]. Ainsi, après avoir donné le sentiment de Sir H. Johnston, ne pouvons-nous davantage nous rallier à celui de l'abbé Bros[2]. «Il serait extrêmement difficile de distinguer le prêtre sous le sorcier[3]; la plupart du temps, il y est caché, comme la religion est enveloppée de magie: c'est le même individu qui accomplit les obligations du sacerdoce et de la sorcellerie. Ce n'est guère que dans certains aspects des fonctions du sorcier que l'on retrouve le prêtre.» Nous comprenons parfaitement cette difficulté de Mr. l'abbé Bros à démêler entre sorcier et féticheur d'après les documents mis à sa disposition. Nous espérons, pour plus tard, lui avoir facilité la tâche.

M. Marillier ferait plutôt de la dignité sacerdotale, une spécialisation de l'office du sorcier: «Lorsque la société a acquis des organes assez nombreux et assez perfectionnés pour que le sorcier soit confiné dans son ministère, à ce moment cette charge devient sacerdotale. Il n'y aurait donc pas de distinction radicale entre les deux ministères... Le prêtre est pour nous celui qui dirige les cérémonies religieuses et inspire les croyances, le sorcier exerce la magie. Ce sont là deux ordres d'idées bien différents auxquels correspondent des modes d'action dissemblables. Bien qu'en réalité, chez le sauvage, le sorcier et le prêtre n'aient pas d'existence

[1] Nombre d'Européens, même parmi ceux qui écrivent plus tard leurs impressions, n'ont que très-peu de rapports avec les indigènes. Dans tous les fonctionnaires du Congo, nous ne croyons pas qu'il y en ait un seul parlant correctement et couramment la langue de ses administrés. Ils en savent parfois quelques mots, parlant «petit-nègre». Ce qu'ils écrivent est le résultat de ce qu'ils ont vu, traduit par leurs boys ou leurs femmes. Or, en particulier pour la religion, boys et femmes ne sont pas «initiés»!

[2] Bros, Religion des peuples non-civilisés, p. 170 et ss.

[3] Prêtre désigne ici l'homme du culte religieux, celui que nous avons appelé «le féticheur», et «sorcier» le médecin, le devin, le voyant etc.

séparée, la confusion naturelle chez eux de ces concepts ne saurait nous empêcher de découvrir les linéaments de deux organisations différentes et de deux idées distinctes. En fait, le sacerdoce se greffe sur la sorcellerie lorsqu'elle est devenue une organisation permanente, un office social . . . Ces deux fonctions ne sont distinctes que pour notre esprit.»

A s'en tenir à ces lignes, on voit combien il serait difficile de distinguer réellement entre prêtre, féticheur, médecin, sorcier, devin etc.! En réalité, il n'est pas juste de dire que «ces fonctions ne sont distinctes que pour notre esprit.» Loin de là! certaines tribus les ont, au contraire, conservées parfaitement distinctes. Ainsi, chez les Barundi, les devins constituent une caste particulière. Ils ne sont pas au rang des prêtres, et le pouvoir est héréditaire dans la famille. Lorsqu'un devin n'a pas d'enfants, il se choisit un successeur dans une autre famille, et l'initie à son art pendant de longues années avant d'en faire son successeur. Les devins ont pour fonctions principales de prédire l'issue d'une guerre entreprise, de trouver les voleurs, et surtout de déterminer les «sorciers». On voit par là combien sorciers et féticheurs sont différents! Chez les Fâñ, nous trouvons de même des féticheurs spéciaux pour prédire l'issue de la guerre, et surtout ceux qui seront tués ou blessés; ils opèrent au moyen d'une sorte de glu qui s'attache fortement: avant le combat, ils passent devant les hommes rangés en longue ligne, s'arrêtent devant quelques guerriers qu'ils considèrent plus attentivement, murmurent quelques invocations, puis lancent la glu. Si la boule retombe à terre, sans s'attacher, l'homme mourra. Maintes fois, nous avons vu confirmation de ce fait. Il peut d'ailleurs s'expliquer tout naturellement. Sûr de sa mort, le guerrier s'expose aux coups avec indifférence.

De même le fétiche *Asiléfira* doit déceler les voleurs, et le *Nkal*, les sorciers.

Le devin des Barundi donne également des fétichés pour préserver des maléfices des sorciers: ils consistent en une poudre spéciale et une amulette. Celui qui les a achetées porte alors le remède près de la maison, sur le chemin par où le sort est venu; il met trois piquets en terre, place un vase de terre dessus, fait

bouillir le contre-sort dans l'eau, et jette le tout à terre; il laisse le pot en place. Les passants se gardent bien d'y toucher, de peur que le sort ne se retourne alors contre eux-mêmes.

De même encore, chez les Fâñ, tous les féticheurs n'ont pas le même pouvoir. Ceux, en particulier, qui ont le pouvoir de circoncire les enfants, sont assez rares. Il faut les faire venir de loin et les payer cher!

Nous sommes heureux d'ailleurs de n'être point seul à nous élever contre cet abus des mots «féticheur» et «sorcier» pris ainsi l'un pour l'autre, par suite d'une certaine ignorance des choses africaines.

M. H. Junod est certainement, dans ces dernières années, un des écrivains les plus compétents et les plus consciencieux en matière de sciences bantoues. Dans une des meilleures Etudes d'Ethnographie africaine qui aient paru, et des plus fouillées, celles des Baronga, cet auteur est absolument de notre avis, et s'élève avec force contre l'abus du mot «sorcier».

Nous le citons, car il décrit de façon très précise les diverses modalités du féticheur et du sorcier.

«Je viens de faire allusion à la confusion que l'on fait constamment dans le parler ordinaire entre devin, thaumaturge, médecin, exorciste, jeteur de sorts etc. Tous ces différents personnages sont uniformément qualifiés de «sorciers» par le public et même par des écrivains sérieux dans des ouvrages scientifiques. A mon avis, c'est une grave erreur, et l'ethnographie africaine doit se garder avec soin de cette confusion. Sans doute le même individu peut être à la fois prêtre, médecin, devin etc. mais la langue indigène leur attribue à chacun un nom spécial.

«Le terme le plus général, c'est celui de *mongoma,* qui désigne le médecin mais surtout en tant que thaumaturge, et particulièrement les possédés guéris qui ont obtenu l'initiation et peuvent en soigner d'autres [*ngengâñ* en fâñ].

«*Ngâña,* c'est le médecin *[ngâña* en fâñ, ou *ngâñ]* mais en tant que soignant avec les drogues plus ou moins secrètes qu'il détient. C'est l'homme des médecines, *wa-mori [mimbiâñ].* A lui

la charge de préparer aussi les herbes miraculeuses qui rendront invulnérables à la guerre. *Ngâña* et *mongoma,* médecin et magicien, sont fortement apparentés, comme on le voit [1].

«*Gobela,* c'est l'exorciste, celui qui expulse les esprits.

«*Wa-bula* [*a-va* en fâñ], c'est le détenteur des osselets, le devin par excellence, le conseiller des familles, l'interprète du sort.» [Chez les Fâñ où les osselets sont peu connus, on devine surtout avec les *nkwé* ou coquilles d'escargots, suivant qu'elles tournent et retombent dans tel ou tel sens. Un peu haut dans l'intérieur, tout en continuant à se servir des *mikwé* (pl. de *nkwé*), les devins se servent plutôt de jetons particuliers. Dans un livre récent, «La Mission Cottes au Sud-Cameroun» (Paris 1911), l'auteur dit à ce sujet: «Ces jetons semblent être les cartes à jouer d'un jeu spécial aux Fâñ, le *bélo* (cf. avec *wa-bula*). Ce sont des fragments du

[1] [Comme le fait remarquer l'auteur, si la confusion entre médecin et thaumaturge est générale chez les indigènes, cela provient de ce que la notion de *m-biâñ,* médecine, remède, est elle-même très large. Le *m-biâñ,* ce n'est pas seulement la racine médicinale, le «simple» qui guérit, ce sont aussi les moyens magiques de toute sorte, et c'est aussi l'ensemble des deux. Un *ngâña* qui donne un *m-biâñ* à son malade, en augmente la force par des moyens magiques, des incantations, des chants; tout cela, c'est *m-biâñ.* Aussi, dans nos postes militaires, un des grands étonnements des malades qui se font soigner est-il de voir que le médecin, le *ngâña nitâñe,* le médecin blanc, administre simplement le remède, sans employer ni chants, ni exorcismes, ni conjurations d'aucune sorte. «Rien d'étonnant à ce qu'un pareil remède n'agisse pas, me disait un jour un brave homme de Noir, qui comprenait un peu de français, le médecin n'a rien dit, ni avant, ni après. Ou plutôt si, ajoutait-il, il n'a dit qu'un mot: Avale, sale Nègre. Alors, tu comprends, çà n'a pas produit d'effet!»

Bien des fois, les Européens se sont étonnés et indignés de voir les Indigènes qu'ils avaient ainsi soignés, loin de leur en être reconnaissants, leur en demander au contraire le paiement. Malade et médecin ont raison, chacun à leur manière; le médecin, avec nos idées européennes et chrétiennes, s'indigne avec raison de voir son dévouement, presque toujours désintéressé, ainsi méconnu; le malade, lui, a également raison: il croit avoir été, dans la circonstance, un simple sujet d'expériences! Alors! . . .

Nous avons connu et eu pour ami un brave médecin qui donnait toujours ses consultations et opérait ses malades en chantant quelque gai refrain. Cela les amuse, disait-il. Les Noirs avaient en lui grande confiance! «Celui-là, au moins, me disait un jour l'un d'entre eux, n'est pas comme les autres! Il chante comme nos féticheurs!» Si le médecin avait su la cause de la popularité dont il s'enorgueillissait et qu'il attribuait à sa science! Pour nous, c'était mérité, mais pour les Noirs!]

péricarpe d'une graine de grandes dimensions analogue comme couleur à nos marrons d'Inde, mais plus allongée. Sur ces jetons de forme plus ou moins régulièrement ovalaire et dont le grand axe a de 0.03 à 0.04 centimètres, sont gravées au couteau des figurines diverses. Ce sont des hommes debout ou accroupis, des groupes de personnages, des indigènes armés de leurs sagaies et de leurs boucliers, des antilopes, des éléphants, des léopards, des crocodiles. Ce sont aussi des ornements de forme nettement géométrique, des croix de Malte, des cercles concentriques, des losanges etc.» En réalité, il ne s'agit là ni de jeu, ni de cartes à jouer d'aucune espèce. Ces jetons portent le nom de *mbélœ* (et non *bélo*) et sont faits avec les graines de l'Ogagumé ou Tétrapleura [1]. Le Tétrapleura est très-commun dans la forêt, et son écorce ainsi que l'embryon des graines sont employés comme narcotique pour tuer le poisson. Les féticheurs dessinent en effet sur les graines les figures des différents totems des familles du clan ou de la tribu (et non des cartes à jouer). Suivant les différentes formes, places ou manières que prennent ces graines en rotombant, ils en augurent bien ou mal pour les consultants. Ainsi la figure tombant à plat du côté de la terre est signe de malheur; de même si elle se présente la tête en bas etc. On consulte également les *mbélœ* pour la chasse.]

«Le *Tčinusa*, c'est celui qui devine par hallucination ou par extase. Quant au mot «sorcier», il faut le réserver pour indiquer les *baloyi*, les jeteurs de sorts, les ensorceleurs, si l'on veut, ceux qui vont, de nuit, répandre leurs charmes, tuer par leurs maléfices. Ces individus n'ont aucun rapport avec les précédents. Ces *baloyi* ont un chef, le *hosi wa baloyi*.

«Enfin, le prêtre, c'est le *muhahli*. Chaque père de famille l'est pour le compte des siens. Il peut n'être que cela, mais il est possible aussi qu'il joigne occasionnellement d'autres fonctions à la sienne. En tout cas, il n'est pas juste de prétendre d'une manière générale, comme le fait Mr. Réville dans son Histoire des Religions, que le sorcier dérive du prêtre. Il n'y a aucune relation nécessaire entre ces deux personnages [2].»

---

[1] *Tetrapleura Thonnjngii* Benth., de la famille des Légumineuses Mimosées.

[2] Les Ba-Ronga, par H. Junod, Neufchâtel 1898, p. 145 et ss.

Pour conserver le mot «sorcier», qui leur paraissait nécessaire, quelques-uns ont proposé de désigner les sorciers de magie noire par les noms de théurges ou de goëtes. Ces noms répondraient peut-être mieux en effet à la chose, et seraient, nous n'en disconvenons pas, d'allure plus scientifique, et surtout plus rébarbative. En attendant qu'ils soient admis par la généralité des auteurs, nous croyons beaucoup plus simple et plus conforme à l'usage reçu de réserver le nom de «féticheur» à l'homme du culte reconnu et public, celui de «sorcier», pris déjà en mauvaise part dans nos langues européennes, à l'homme du culte non-reconnu et secret.

Sorcier et féticheur ne peuvent donc être pris comme termes synonymes. Le prêtre et le féticheur proprement dit peuvent à la rigueur se confondre, parce que souvent le même homme remplit successivement les deux fonctions dans une même cérémonie. Il n'en est pas ainsi du féticheur et du sorcier, tel au moins que nous l'entendons.

Quelle en est la raison?

Comme l'a fort bien fait remarquer Mgr. Le Roy dans sa Religion des Primitifs (p. 340 et ss.), il y a magie et magie! Il y a la magie naturelle, reconnue, et il y a la magie noire que l'on pourrait appeler magie anti-naturelle. Or, si parfois le même individu peut être magicien de magie naturelle, c'est-à-dire féticheur, et en même temps sorcier de magie noire, c'est-à-dire goëte, jamais, et c'est une note essentielle, il n'exercera les deux rôles dans une même cérémonie. Le fait est absolument impossible: les deux rôles s'excluent mutuellement. Aussi ne peut-on donner le même nom à l'un et à l'autre, et comprendre leur rôle et leurs opérations sous le même nom de sorcier et de sorcellerie.

Afin de bien comprendre le rôle joué dans la tribu par le féticheur et le sorcier, il importe donc de bien saisir la différence entre ces deux personnages, ou encore, le cas arrive, entre les deux rôles joués par le même personnage. Cette dualité dans un être unique se représente assez souvent chez nos Fân, nous l'avons déjà vu, et dans le cas présent, complique fort les difficultés.

Pour distinguer entre ces deux rôles, nous devons, c'est le seul moyen, examiner leurs fonctions.

Agir sur les «esprits» bons et mauvais, c'est l'affaire des féticheurs. Appeler les bons, comme on le voit par exemple dans les invocations des chants de mariage, écarter au contraire les méchants esprits, mânes, larves ou fantômes, les forcer à quitter le village, pour s'en aller au loin et laisser par conséquent les vivants tranquilles, en somme protéger, d'une façon quelconque, ceux qui s'adressent à eux, c'est le rôle des féticheurs. Ce résultat sera obtenu par des honneurs et des sacrifices appropriés, soit directement, en protégeant l'intercesseur, en le mettant à l'abri des mauvais coups et des mauvaises rencontres, soit indirectement, en mettant l'ennemi hors d'état de nuire, qu'il soit esprit, mâne, homme ou chose. Tout cela, c'est le culte, c'est la religion, c'est le féticheur.

Mais, en revanche, s'emparer de ces esprits et de préférence des mauvais, capturer les mânes et forcer les uns et les autres à commettre le mal, ce n'est plus le culte, ce n'est plus la religion, c'est la magie, et c'est l'affaire du sorcier.

De même, et nous aurons à le développer en parlant du fétichisme et des fétiches, tandisque le féticheur opère en public, et de façon reconnue, au moyen des fétiches tutélaires et des fétiches mânistes ou familiaux, le sorcier, lui, se sert des fétiches magiques.

D'une façon générale, le père de famille est le premier ministre du culte: à lui de s'adresser aux mânes des ancêtres, à lui de leur rendre les honneurs nécessaires. Mais en même temps qu'il sera le prêtre de la famille, il en sera aussi forcément le «médecin», dépositaire des secrets de jadis, des rites ancestraux.

Par là même qu'il est en même temps prêtre et médecin, le père de famille entourera l'exercice du culte d'un rite plus ou moins compliqué: le costume, les chants, les actes revêtiront une forme particulière, destinée à attirer et à retenir l'attention, à frapper l'imagination des assistants, du malade. Nos docteurs du moyen âge ne procédaient pas autrement.

Mais à mesure que la famille s'étendra et deviendra tribu, à mesure aussi que grandira la renommée du médecin, grâce à ses connaissances spéciales, à son habileté réelle ou feinte, à ses succès,

ou tout simplement au hasard, de plus en plus son cercle d'action s'élargira. On l'appellera au dehors. Mais toujours le féticheur restera l'homme du culte public, avoué, officiel. Et ce culte demeurera «officiel», même dans les sociétés secrètes constituées par les féticheurs, car, et il est très important de le noter, ces sociétés secrètes sont constituées, non pas en marge, en dehors de la société, mais dans la tribu. C'est le culte avoué, reconnu, bien que secret. Il en est tout autrement des sorciers et des sociétés secrètes fondées par eux, en dehors, en marge, et contre la société.

De là, nous pouvons établir les propositions suivantes:

Le féticheur est l'homme du culte reconnu: le culte reconnu est tantôt public, tantôt secret.

Le sorcier est l'homme du culte non-reconnu: le culte non-reconnu est toujours secret.

Tous les deux, féticheur et sorcier, sont chefs ou membres de sociétés secrètes[1].

Les sociétés secrètes dirigées par les féticheurs sont dans la tribu.

Les sociétés secrètes dirigées par les sorciers sont en marge de la tribu ou dirigées contre elle.

Enfin, le féticheur, suivant qu'il exerce telle ou telle fonction de son rang, est prêtre, médecin, guérisseur, voyant. A ce titre encore, il consulte les sorts, appelle les esprits etc. Dans les cérémonies du culte public, par exemple, il sera prêtre, voyant, faiseur de pluie: il sera l'intermédiaire reconnu entre le monde des vivants et le monde de l'au-delà: il agira en somme pour le bien de la tribu ou de quelques-uns de ses membres. A ce dernier titre, on le verra opérer comme sacrificateur à la naissance de l'enfant; il sera agent principal dans la circoncision, les fêtes de la puberté, de l'initiation des guerriers, du mariage, de la mort. On l'appellera dans toutes les maladies, afin d'écarter les esprits méchants qui, seuls, les peuvent causer: aussi,

[1] Au lieu de ce mot: **société secrète**, qui prête à confusion, il serait beaucoup mieux, comme quelques-uns l'ont proposé déjà, de réserver cette dénomination aux sociétés constituées par les sorciers, et de réserver celle de confréries aux sociétés dirigées par les féticheurs.

comme médecin, commencera-t-il d'abord par les incantations magiques destinées à dégager les «influences« bonnes contenues dans les remèdes qu'il va administrer; ensuite, il écartera les «esprits» méchants; il appellera à son aide les esprits favorables, ancêtres de la race; alors seulement, il procèdera à l'administration du remède; puis il appellera de nouveau à son aide les esprits propices, et chassera les mauvais. Cette façon d'opérer se retrouvera dans tous les actes de ses fonctions, mais qu'il agisse comme médecin, voyant etc., c'est toujours, on le voit, l'homme du culte reconnu, le féticheur. Dans beaucoup de ces cas, par exemple lorsqu'il opère comme médecin, guérisseur, consulteur des sorts, les Européens l'ont appelé «sorcier»: c'est un tort, et un mot absolument impropre, comme nous l'avons dit plus haut.

Nos Fâñ donnent au féticheur un nom particulier: c'est le *ngâñ*: ce nom est commun à toute l'Afrique bantoue; on retrouve le même phonème dans toutes les tribus avec ses diverses modifications, *m-gâña, n-gâña, m-hâña, gâña, ngâñ,* et à peu près partout il est conservé presque intact. Tandisque le nom du Créateur est variable[1], celui de *n-gâña* se retrouve partout, marque indéniable de l'influence profonde qu'il exerce et a toujours exercé sur la race. Un autre vocable lui correspond: *biâñ, m-biâñ* etc., remède, et un verbe de même racine, qui, lui, signifiera réparer, voir, raccommoder.

«Selon[2] les régions, ce mot *n-gâña* possède plusieurs synonymes qui tous affirment la haute considération dont jouit le médecin. Dans plusieurs pays, on lui donne un titre qui est l'équivalent de celui de «chef», *mfume, mu-fume*[3] etc., l'homme à la lance, celui qui a la lance du commandement. Ailleurs, on l'appelle guérisseur. Parfois aussi sa fonction de «devin» ou voyant est attestée par des épithètes spéciales».

---

[1] Le nom du Créateur varie non comme vocable, mais comme sens. Ce sera «le Créateur, Celui qui anime, le Grand Esprit, l'Esprit d'en haut etc.»

[2] Cf. Mgr. Le Roy. Les Primitifs, *op. cit.*

[3] Chez les Swahili, les Barundi, et d'une façon générale, les tribus de l'Afrique orientale. En Afrique équatoriale et occidentale, c'est généralement «l'homme des remèdes».

D'une façon générale, le féticheur porte donc le nom de *ngâñ*, c'est-à-dire «l'homme au remède». Parfois aussi, de même que chez les Swahili il est désigné sous le nom de *m-fumu*, l'homme à la lance, chez les Fâñ, on l'appelle *nkôñe*[1], qui a la même signification. Ce nom, dit Mgr. Le Roy signifie «celui qui a la lance, c'est-à-dire qui a le commandement».

Cette explication n'est peut-être pas très juste pour les Fâñ et tout au moins pour certaines tribus bantoues. Nous traduirions plus volontiers encore *m-fumu* «l'homme à la lance», par «l'homme du culte«. Chez les Fâñ, en effet, le féticheur porte presque toujours une lance ou une sagaie, sinon dans tout l'exercice du culte, au moins au commencement et à la fin de l'acte religieux. Faut-il y voir une arme d'attaque ou de défense? Nous ne le pensons pas, bien que souvent il ait besoin de s'en servir dans ses fréquentes et souvent dangereuses opérations nocturnes. Tous les Fâñ que j'ai pu interroger sont unanimes sur ce point: c'est, disent-ils, l'arme sacrée, il est défendu d'en parler. Ainsi cette conversation que j'eus jadis, après avoir assisté à une cérémonie fétichiste, avec le chef des Monts Ntembo, aux sources de la Mvûñ:

«Dis-moi, ami, pourquoi le *ngâñ* portait-il une lance *(akôñ)*?

-- C'est le signe *(ndèm)* de sa fonction.

— Est-ce pour s'en servir? pour tuer les gens?

— Oui, s'ils le méritent.»

De fait, dans certains cas, par exemple lorsque le féticheur rencontre sur son chemin, dans l'exercice de son culte, des non-initiés, par exemple des femmes, qui n'ont pas le droit d'y assister, souvent il les tue d'un coup de cette lance, et nul n'a le droit de toucher au cadavre, avant qu'il ait été racheté[2].

«Mais alors, c'est son arme?

— Oh! non, je t'ai dit déjà que c'était son «signe». C'est le signe sacré *(ndèm éki)*. Il est défendu d'en parler. *Ndèm é ne éki.*

— Mais à quoi cette lance lui sert-elle?

— C'est pour honorer l'Esprit — *ésème Ndâña* — et l'empêcher de nous tuer.»

[1] Celui qui porte la lance ou *A-kôñ* (*N* désigne l'agent).

[2] Dans ce cas, le cadavre doit être racheté comme si la femme était vivante.

Quel est ce *Ndâňa*? Le chef n'a pas su ou voulu me le dire, non plus qu'aucun Fâň. Littéralement, le mot signifie: celui qui surpasse. — J'y verrais volontiers un reste de culte oublié. La lance, au lieu d'être l'insigne du commandement est, en réalité, l'insigne du culte. Or, et c'est ce qui confirme bien cette idée, nous retrouvons ce même culte chez un peuple bantou du centre africain, les Kirundi, et non seulement chez eux, mais encore dans nombre d'autres tribus. *Murungu,* l'Esprit d'en Haut, a créé *Imana,* le premier des esprits, chef des mânes. *Kirâňa,* le deuxième esprit-chef créé, roi des esprits subalternes, a la garde des objets matériels: ses prêtres portent le même nom que lui et sont possédés par lui. *Ryangambe* est le troisième des esprits-chefs. C'est un esprit méchant, protecteur des Watwa ou Pygmées. Il est de plus le protecteur des sociétés secrètes, ou confréries religieuses, les *Awawandwa* qui le vénèrent sous l'arbre *Umuko.*

Or, *Kirâňa,* des Barundi, a pour symbole une lance, de même que *Ndâňa* des Fâň. Son culte est d'ailleurs également conservé chez les Watwa sous le nom de *Kumomeka,* qui est d'origine bantoue. Toutes les fois que le grand rite est célébré en l'honneur de *Kirâňa,* le prêtre apporte la lance sacrée, et lui rend les honneurs dûs au Créateur. En parlant des rites du *mvamayôň,* nous aurons à revenir sur cette curieuse ressemblance entre les deux peuples, et nous verrons le féticheur fâň commencer également les cérémonies rituelles du culte des ancêtres par le rite de la lance.

Le *ngâň* est donc l'homme des remèdes, le féticheur. Le sorcier, l'homme de la magie noire, porte un nom tout différent, tantôt général, tantôt désignatif de ses fonctions, de ses rites, de ses actes. Suivant les différentes races, et différentes langues, le sorcier sera le *m-logi, m-rogi, m-lozi, mo-lo, mo-loki, m-loo, e-loroĭ, wa-swazi* [1] etc.

Suivant Mgr. Le Roy, tous ces mots seraient dérivés d'un verbe correspondant dont le sens général est «ensorceler, jeter un sort». Bien que cette signification soit acceptable, nous préférons, et peut-être au fond en est-elle dérivée, nous rallier à la significa-

[1] Ce dernier mot en ki-rundi; la sorcellerie ou théurgie noire s'y appelle *uwu-rozi.* C'est la même racine.

tion donnée par le P. VAN DEN BURGT (Dict. Kirundi). Pour lui, *wa-swazi* signifie ceux qui se polluent ensemble (qui coïtum habent). Les langues noires sont coutumières de ces mots plutôt énergiques. Les Fâñ désignent souvent les sorciers, ou tout au moins une catégorie de sorciers, sous un nom absolument équivalent: *bézüa,* ceux qui sont pollués, dont le verbe racine est *é-zü* forniquer, ce qui tendrait bien à prouver l'universalité de cette coutume. La pollution solitaire, puis mutuelle, est une des conditions de l'initiation.

Un autre verbe primitif, *loa,* prendre à l'hameçon, se rapproche de celui-ci. Les Fâñ l'ont également conservé, et pour eux le sorcier est surtout le *nlèm* (plur. *béyèm*) celui qui jette l'hameçon. Ce vocable est encore mieux gardé chez leurs voisins, les Musoko, où nous trouvons le verbe *ku-loka,* jeter un sort, et le sorcier désigné sous le nom de *mu-loke,* l'homme aux sorts, dérivé très proche de *u-ako,* l'hameçon [1].

Le nom du «sorcier» a des synonymes: *m-chwawi* litt. «le veilleur mauvais», *m-wanga* «le rôdeur de nuit», *mo-lemba* l'empoisonneur. Les Fâñ lui ont donné un surnom tout aussi énergique. Pour eux, le *nlèm* est surtout le *ndzi bur,* le mangeur d'hommes, le détrousseur de cadavres, celui qui s'en va la nuit, dans l'ombre, et y entraîne sa proie pour la dévorer tout à l'aise.

La position sociale du sorcier.

Avec ces données, il est facile de répondre à la question suivante: Quelle est la position sociale du sorcier?

La position sociale du sorcier est facile à déterminer: non seulement il n'a ni rang ni place, dans la tribu, mais donner simplement, soit le nom de sorcier, soit une des épithètes que nous avons énumérées à un indigène est plus qu'une insulte, c'est une grave imprudence. Appelez un Fâñ: *ngân* ou *ngenngâñ,* féticheur, vous lui ferez honneur: s'il ne l'est pas, il vous tiendra cependant compte de votre bonne intention et de votre politesse. Appelez-le *nlèm*: la situation change. Tout d'abord, il regardera autour de lui pour voir si quelqu'un ne vous a pas entendu: si

[1] Même racine en fâñ: *Nyop,* ou *nyô* hameçon, dérivé de *é-yô,* épine. Les Fâñ se servaient autrefois d'une épine d'acacia pour pêcher. Aujourd'hui, ils ont ont des hameçons, mais le mot *a-kó,* crochet, a conservé la vieille racine bantoue.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

vous êtes seul avec lui et si vous êtes le plus fort, ou s'il craint des représailles, vous aurez chance d'échapper au coup de fusil ou de couteau qu'il vous donnerait bien volontiers, ou encore au poison qu'il vous administrera, s'il le peut, le plus vite possible; si c'est en compagnie de plusieurs, dans le village, c'est une grave accusation qui peut lui coûter la vie, le moins qui puisse lui arriver est d'être forcé à boire le poison d'épreuve, on y échappe rarement, surtout quand on a des ennemis.

Le sorcier, en effet, est l'être détesté et craint par excellence, l'être malfaisant, que l'on consulte seulement quand on y est forcé, car il détient les pouvoirs occultes, et on connaît sa puissance. Le mieux encore, car on en trouve toujours assez, est de s'en débarrasser quand on le peut sans danger. Aussi, on n'y manque pas! Tantôt le sorcier meurt dans la forêt, comme par hasard: c'est une vengeance particulière. Tantôt il est tué et brûlé dans le village: c'est la vengeance de la tribu. Et comme on veut être sûr que non seulement il ne réchappera pas, mais encore que son âme errante ne viendra pas tourmenter les vivants, on a soin que nulle partie de son corps ne subsiste: aussi on emploie pour le bûcher le bois d'ébène ou celui d'éfirfira, ce sont ceux qui brûlent le mieux et le plus complètement.

Cependant, malgré tout, le sorcier existe: bien longtemps encore, il saura se maintenir. Et cela tient à deux raisons:

1° la position sociale qu'il occupe dans la tribu, non pas comme sorcier, nous venons de dire qu'il n'en a pas à ce titre, mais par sa propre personnalité;

2° la crainte qu'il inspire, crainte qui amène finalement sa mort, mais aussi l'aide à se maintenir.

Evidemment, dans la vie courante, et par la force même des choses, féticheur et sorcier se confondent souvent dans un même personnage. Tel ou tel individu, ministre religieux respecté dans sa famille, médecin et féticheur estimé dans le public, sera également sorcier, mais alors dans le plus grand secret, à moins que sa position ne lui permette d'afficher cette qualité, mais alors il sera universellement craint, haï, ne se maintiendra que par la terreur et le meurtre, et tremblera sans cesse pour sa vie.

Mais comment un féticheur, un chef, peut-il ainsi «descendre», le mot n'est pas trop fort, à ce rôle de sorcier? Par une pente très facile à saisir. Les sorciers dressent en effet dans l'ombre autel contre autel, culte contre culte, défenses rituelles contre défenses rituelles, et leur influence grandissante ne tient à rien moins qu'à ruiner l'autorité légitime du chef de tribu et du féticheur. Aussi, pour peu qu'ils aient l'ambition de dominer, ceux-ci se feront-ils facilement initier, et une fois dans l'engrenage, il faut bien marcher. Leurs engagements et leur puissance demeurent jusqu'à un certain point inconnus pour les non-initiés, mais c'est là en somme secret facile à percer! On les soupçonne, mais on n'ose rien dire: ce serait se révolter contre l'autorité des chefs, et ceux-ci n'hésitent pas à punir. D'ailleurs, peu à peu, les mécontents disparaissent, et s'ils ne veulent le faire de bonne grâce, on les y aide «un peu»; on les invite à aller voir ce qui se passe de l'autre côté . . . et à vivre et laisser vivre en paix les vivants!

Et par là même, le sorcier, ainsi revêtu d'une position sociale qui le met à l'abri des particuliers, inspire une terreur très justifiée. Dénué de toute espèce de scrupule, il se débarrasse successivement de tous les gêneurs, élimine sans pitié tous ceux qui lui portent ombrage par leur fortune et leur influence, et arrive ainsi, toujours craint et redouté, au but de ses désirs.

Si, au contraire, le sorcier n'occupe point une situation personnelle ou sociale qui le mette à l'abri, son sort est vite réglé. Dans tout pays d'Afrique, nous l'avons vu, traiter quelqu'un de sorcier est lui faire une grosse injure. L'en accuser ouvertement est presque toujours son arrêt de mort: parfois, si l'accusé a des amis «puissants», il sera seulement invité à boire le poison d'épreuve, et le cas est très fréquent: il est si facile de se débarrasser ainsi d'un ennemi! Ayant bu le poison, à moins d'accommodements avec la justice, on a bien des chances d'y laisser sa peau!

Mais dans la plupart des cas, la justice noire est plus expéditive: l'accusé est tout simplement brûlé vif. S'il était sorcier, tant pis pour lui, c'est bien fait; s'il ne l'était pas . . . tout homme est faillible, et si nuisible bête est le sorcier qu'il faut bien hasarder quelque chose!

C'est la justice noire!

Sentiments des Fâń à l'égard des sorciers et des fétiheurs.

De là, également, le sentiment que les Fâń et tous les Noirs éprouvent pour les fétiheurs et les sorciers.

Dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions religieuses, les chefs de famille ou de tribu, les fétiheurs, leurs remplaçants ou délégués, jouiront du respect universel. Les vêtements dont ils se revêtent, leurs oripeaux, leurs masques ne sont bizarres ou ridicules que pour nous: le Noir, lui, n'y voit rien de risible, et nos railleries, la plupart du temps, ne proviennent que de notre ignorance. Le fétiheur, dans l'exercice de son culte et presque toujours dans la vie habituelle de la tribu, est respecté; il le mérite la plupart du temps par la place qu'il occupe: nous savons que ce rôle sort rarement de la famille du chef. Il le mérite également par le sérieux avec lequel il opère, la gravité imperturbable dont il ne se départit jamais dans l'exercice de ses fonctions.

Est-il réellement convaincu lui-même? C'est toute une autre question. Dans beaucoup de cas, nous n'hésiterions nullement à l'affirmer. Dire que parfois, intérieurement, il n'est pas très convaincu, nous le croyons volontiers. La question est d'ailleurs peu importante: le fait même du respect qui entoure ses actes, l'exercice rituel de son culte et, en dehors de là, sa personne elle-même, demeurent acquis.

Quant au sorcier, la question est toute autre, et ne soulève aucune difficulté: nous avons vu qu'à son égard un seul sentiment se manifeste: la crainte. Celle-ci lui est presque toujours funeste; à moins d'une situation sociale éminente, il est bien rare que le sorcier finisse autrement que par le feu. Si sa position lui épargne cette mort, il est presque sans exemple que le sorcier meure chez lui, tranquillement. Malgré les précautions minutieuses dont il s'entoure, les vengeances particulières savent bien l'atteindre, et dans les sentiers de la forêt, la flèche empoisonnée passe sans laisser aucune trace. Elle ne pardonne pas. Le sorcier le sait, et avec la résignation habituelle des races noires, content du présent, il envisage l'avenir, sinon sans effroi, du moins sans chercher à y échapper.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

§ 6. Le féticheur et le sorcier sont ministres du totem dans les sociétés secrètes qu'ils dirigent.

Le féticheur n'exerce donc son culte et n'est ministre du totem qu'en vertu d'une sorte de dévolution, de transmission de pouvoir du chef de famille. Nous l'avons vu à ce titre, dans les grandes cérémonies totémiques, agir aux côtés du chef de la tribu, régler les rites sous sa direction, en un mot être son ordonnateur, son maître de cérémonies, son aide-sacrificateur. Souvent, en pratique, il arrivera à le supplanter, et à transmettre ensuite à ses descendants le pouvoir religieux qu'il aura usurpé.

Si prédominant que soit ce rôle, le *ngôôa* ne s'en estimera pas encore assez satisfait. Il lui faudra dominer de façon complète: il y arrive par les sociétés secrètes, où il est seul maître, sociétés qui peu à peu ont envahi l'organisation de la tribu et tendent à en évincer le pouvoir familial d'autrefois. Là, il est bien ministre et unique ministre du totem de ces sociétés.

Mais à côté du *ngôôa*, à côté des sociétés secrètes qu'il dirige et gouverne, nous trouvons, cachés pour ainsi dire dans les bas-fonds de ces sociétés, les sorciers ou *béyém* également ministres des totems qu'ils ont donnés aux sociétés secrètes qu'ils dirigent, ministres, sociétés et totems qui ne sont, au fond, que la contrefaçon des premiers.

De là, nous sommes amenés à étudier les sociétés secrètes dirigées par les uns et par les autres, et le rôle profondément différent, bien que souvent confondu, qu'y jouent féticheurs et sorciers, *béngôô* et *béyém*.

CHAPITRE XIII.

FÉTICHEURS ET SORCIERS. LEURS SOCIÉTÉS SECRÈTES.

§ 1. Les sociétés secrètes des féticheurs.

Question à étudier. Sentiment de M. DE JONGHE. Auteurs qui ont traité la question au point de vue général, FROBENIUS et SCHMITZ. Ce que nous pensons de leurs idées. L'origine des sociétés secrètes d'après notre propre opinion. Totems de sociétés secrètes. A côté des féticheurs, on trouve les sorciers. Différences entre ces deux ordres. Les initiations, les réunions, les totems ne sont pas les mêmes. Tableau de ces différences.

§ 2. Les sociétés secrètes de féticheurs sont distinctes de celles des sorciers.

1° Le nom générique diffère.

2° Les sociétés secrètes des sorciers ont une existence absolument distincte de celle des féticheurs.

§ 3. Sorciers et féticheurs ont des réunions secrètes distinctes.

1° Les réunions de sorciers et celles de féticheurs ont chacune un nom distinct: *Fanno* et *l'efefola*. Signification de ces deux noms.

2° Les réunions des sorciers. a) Le temps et l'époque des réunions. b) L'endroit des réunions. c) Quelques témoignages au sujet de ces réunions chez les FÁ. d) On retrouve ces réunions chez les autres peuples bantous, souvent avec des noms analogues, ainsi chez les Mpongwé, Benika, Balsha etc.

§ 4. Conclusions relatives à ces réunions.

Le loi du secret est un grave obstacle à la divulgation.

§ 5. Le mode de convocation aux assemblées de sorciers.[1]

Différents modes de convocation. Témoignage d'un chef noir.

§ 6. Le mode de transport des sorciers.

Divers témoignages, MACDONALD, Mgr. LE ROY, JUNOD, Mgr. BULÉON. Notre propre sentiment.

§ 7. Les initiations.

1° Le loi du secret.

2° Les initiations chez les féticheurs et les sorciers. Témoignages divers.

[p. 425]

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Au commencement de cette Etude, nous mentionnions parmi les faits, phénomènes, et corps de doctrine étroitement connexes au totémisme, mais devant cependant en être nettement séparés, les «sociétés secrètes» Quelques auteurs, en effet, ont voulu y voir le fondement même du totémisme, la source originaire d'où cette doctrine ou cet ensemble de faits sont sortis tout entiers. Cette opinion nous paraît difficilement soutenable. En tout cas, ce que nous voyons chez les Fân s'y oppose formellement. Nous avons montré par ailleurs l'union étroite qui relie nos Fân aux autres tribus bantoues, et l'origine lointaine du totémisme. Mais cette opinion nous amène à nous préoccuper ici, tout au moins de façon assez sommaire, de la grande question des sociétés secrètes, considérées surtout au point de vue de leurs totems.

Nous avons d'abord à étudier les sociétés secrètes dirigées par les féticheurs. Plus loin viendront celles des sorciers.

§ 1. Les sociétés secrètes des féticheurs.

La première question qui se pose devant nous est celle-ci:

Nous devons traiter tout d'abord des causes qui ont déterminé l'établissement des sociétés secrètes, le fait même de leur existence étant indubitable et reconnu par tous.

Quand il s'agit des sociétés secrètes, «on se heurte, dit Mr. DE JONGHE dans son Etude des sociétés secrètes au Bas-Congo, au silence obstiné sur tout ce qui touche à l'éducation religieuse des jeunes générations, et cette éducation elle-même s'entoure généralement d'une mise en scène qui déroute les recherches et donne l'impression d'une initiation dans une société secrète. Mais, s'il existe un certain rapport entre les rites de la puberté, d'une part, l'éducation religieuse, les sociétés secrètes d'autre part, au Congo le lien entre ces diverses institutions devient très étroit . . .»

Deux auteurs ont traité, à un point de vue général, la question des sociétés secrètes, et nous y renvoyons pour plus amples développements. Ce sont FROBENIUS dans ses „Masken und Geheim-

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

bünde Afrikas" [1], et SCHURTZ dans ses „Altersklassen und Männerbünde" [2].

SCHURTZ, et nous nous inspirons ici de l'analyse qu'en a donnée M. DE JONGHE, a voulu exquisser une théorie nouvelle de l'origine des sociétés. A la base de toute évolution des formes sociales, il place une opposition radicale entre les instincts de l'homme et de ceux de la femme. Le mobile principal de l'activité de la femme et qui inspirera la plus grande partie de ses actes est l'amour: la femme constitue le centre de la famille, et tout, à ce point de vue repose sur elle. L'homme, au contraire, tend plutôt à vivre en dehors, et se laisse entraîner par une sorte de penchant à la vie extra-familiale, que SCHURTZ désigne sous le nom de „Geselligkeitstrieb". De ce penchant, est née la vie sociale. Le développement de ces penchants a créé le développement des formes sociales.

Mais ces penchants existent-ils bien réellement, et ce „Geselligkeitstrieb" suffit-il pour expliquer l'évolution sociale? Y a-t-il vraiment «opposition» d'instincts entre l'homme et la femme, la vie familiale et la vie sociale? Pour nous, et avec beaucoup d'autres, nous croyons que l'une est au contraire le développement tout naturel de l'autre.

Il n'en est pas ainsi pour SCHURTZ: pour lui, le groupement le plus primitif est l'association humaine dirigée par le „Geselligkeitstrieb". Il rattachera à ces associations primitives les classes d'âge considérées par quelques-uns comme les formes les plus antiques de classification sociale. Elles seront placées au même rang que les rites de la puberté, les groupements à caractères de clubs, les sociétés secrètes. La forme la plus simple dérivée du „Geselligkeitstrieb" est la forme des rites de puberté: les sociétés secrètes en sont le développement ultérieur. Au sujet des coutumes de la puberté et autres, SCHURTZ a des idées moins arrêtées. Tantôt, ce sont pour lui des sociétés secrètes en voie de formation: «La plupart des sociétés secrètes africaines se rattachent aux rites de la puberté dont elles constituent un développement ultérieur» (p. 102), tantôt ce sont des sociétés en décadence. «Aux environs de Boma,

[1] Berlin, G. Reimer 1902.

[2] Dans Abhandlungen der K.-L.-C. Deutschen Akademie der Naturforscher zu Halle, LXXIV, n° 1, 1898.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

les circoncis emploient entre eux une langue secrète, ce qui montre déjà une tendance vers la société secrète» [1].

Pour nous, les sociétés secrètes africaines, en particulier celles des Fâñ, ne se rattachent que de façon incidente aux rites de la puberté.

Elles n'en constituent le développement ultérieur que par ce que les fétiheurs admettent seulement dans leurs sociétés les jeunes guerriers ayant subi les premières épreuves. Chez les Fâñ, celles-ci sont d'ailleurs assez indépendantes des rites de la puberté. A la base de toutes ces cérémonies, Schurtz admet un fait d'ordre psychologique, le besoin naturel de célébrer les grands actes de la vie, et, pour cela, de transformer une joie d'un moment en une fête de plusieurs jours. De là, à établir pour les fêtes de la puberté une série de fêtes destinées à montrer au jeune homme qu'il a traversé une époque importante de sa vie, qu'il est soustrait désormais à l'influence de sa mère, n'est plus un enfant, et qu'admis au rang des jeunes guerriers, il doit désormais faire acte de guerrier: il n'y a qu'un pas.

De là encore, ayant vécu pendant quelque temps uniquement avec les jeunes gens de son âge, et goûté pendant un temps plus ou moins long les joies de la liberté, il ne désire qu'une chose: les renouveler de temps à autre, d'où l'institution des sociétés secrètes.

La circoncision qui se pratiquera souvent au même moment, rite de reproduction en même temps que d'hygiène et les épreuves que subira le jeune homme pour entrer dans la société secrète, constituent autant de signes destinés à lui montrer qu'il fait partie désormais de la classe des guerriers.

De même, lorsque l'enfant se présente aux cérémonies de la puberté revêtu d'un costume de femme qu'il changera à la sortie pour un costume d'homme, Schurtz y voit un symbolisme marqué: l'enfant échappant à la tutelle de sa mère pour devenir véritablement homme. Pour nous, nous croyons que c'est bien loin chercher

[1] Ce sentiment provient d'un renseignement erroné. En réalité, la langue secrète fait partie de l'initiation aux sociétés secrètes. Ce point est aujourd'hui hors de doute. V. p. e. l'ouvrage du Commt Lenfant, La découverte des Grands Lacs du Centre de l'Afrique, Paris 1900, sur la langue des *Lobi*.

un symbolisme auquel, peut-être, le Noir n'a jamais pensé. Lorsque le petit Fâñ, dans les cérémonies de la puberté, porte pendant quelque temps une sorte de jupon fait avec les lanières d'écorce desséchée de bananier [1], il porte bien en effet un vêtement de femme. Mais faut-il y voir du symbolisme? A notre avis, c'est tout simplement que ce vêtement ample et flottant ne lui blesse pas les parties génitales: le vêtement collant des hommes les irriterait, une fois guéri, le jeune homme reprend les vêtements de son sexe, c'est tout naturel. Lorsque Schurtz admet le même symbolisme et voit un commencement de société secrète dans la retraite des jeunes gens au fond des bois, loin de tout regard féminin, nous croyons également qu'il va trop loin.

Pour Schurtz, loin d'être en opposition avec le régime social de la tribu, la société secrète en est au contraire le développement nécessaire: l'enfant y acquiert un esprit nouveau, entre en communication avec les esprits des ancêtres, s'initie aux traditions de la tribu, et reçoit toute la culture intellectuelle, morale et physique qu'il lui faut pour exercer dignement les droits d'un bon citoyen et en accomplir les devoirs. Ces sociétés secrètes seront donc une garantie de l'unité ethnique, une force de cohésion sociale de premier ordre.

Nous ne ferons ici aucune critique détaillée de ces interprétations: elles nous paraissent exister plutôt dans l'esprit du savant que dans la réalité. Elles méconnaissent de plus le rôle très important joué par le féticheur, et les totems donnés à cette occasion, qui en sont peut-être en définitive la dernière raison d'être.

Schurtz nous paraît bien encore se tromper en cherchant la cause du manque de sociétés secrètes chez les femmes dans les raisons suivantes. Chez elles, les rites de la puberté sont moins compliqués, moins importants que chez l'homme, le temps de l'instruction plus court, les épreuves plus courtes si elles existent, pâles imitations de celles des jeunes gens. L'explication est toute trouvée. Les rites de la puberté symbolisent moins le fait de la puberté que son importance sociale. Or, le nerf de tout développement social véritable est le „Geselligkeitstrieb", et celui-ci est le

[1] Même coutume, non-seulement chez les Fâñ, mais chez tous les peuples congolais.

privilège exclusif de l'homme. Dans le domaine social, la femme est dépourvue de toute initiative: elle ne saurait rien créer, elle imite, et s'adapte.

Ces considérations toutefois nous paraissent reposer sur des bases bien fragiles. Un fait fondamental semble tout au moins s'y opposer dans toutes les tribus bantoues que nous connaissons. Si partout, ou à peu près, nous trouvons la circoncision des jeunes gens ou des jeunes filles, partout aussi nous voyons que les jeunes gens, seuls, sont tenus à l'écart pendant les rites en question. La circoncision des jeunes filles se fait sans préparation, sans éducation préalable, sans séquestration, et une fois l'opération faite, la jeune fille rentre dans la case maternelle.

En outre, on trouve des sociétés secrètes de femmes: comme celles des hommes, elles ont leurs rites et leurs totems, mais on n'y admet que les femmes mariées et pas de jeunes filles. Aussi les rites de la puberté n'y jouent-ils aucun rôle. Ces deux constatations, circoncision des jeunes filles sans séquestration ni retraite, et sociétés secrètes de femmes, vont donc droit à l'encontre des idées de Schurtz.

Schurtz s'est contenté pour résumer les sociétés secrètes africaines de résumer les idées et les renseignements contenus dans le livre de Frobenius, „Die Masken und Geheimbünde Afrikas".

Pour Frobenius, trois éléments se retrouvent dans la civilisation africaine: au fond, le mânisme, ou culte des morts, qui deviendra ici ou là culte de l'eau, des arbres, des crânes etc.; puis des survivances d'un passé lointain, totémisme, mythes, fables d'animaux; enfin, des produits d'une époque plus récente, mythologie solaire et cosmogonique.

De même que pour Schurtz, nous ne nous étudierons pas à réfuter ces doctrines, bien que parfois ingénieuses: nous avons exposé, d'après les faits recueillis sur place et d'après les indigènes, leurs croyances à ce sujet, et également les nôtres.

D'après cet auteur, les sociétés secrètes se trouvent en germe dans la séparation des sexes qui a lieu à la puberté. Chaque groupement est soumis à un tabou déterminé: tous les membres sont égaux, et c'est le lien qui les réunit. Le serment des sociétés

secrètes s'accompagnait autrefois de sacrifices humains, remplacés aujourd'hui par des offrandes de tortues, d'oiseaux etc. Mr. DE JONGHE a prouvé que le renseignement sur lequel s'avançait FROBENIUS pour établir ce point était controuvé: nous avons vu également que les sacrifices humains existaient toujours chez les Fâñ.

L'initiation, dit encore FROBENIUS, se fait au fond des bois parce que les ancêtres sont ensevelis dans les bois, que les esprits habitent la forêt et la hantent: le culte des arbres est du mânisme. Rien de moins prouvé! Chez les Fâñ, et chez beaucoup de Bantous, les morts sont enterrés près des habitations[1]. Ainsi, beaucoup de chefs sont enterrés à la porte ou devant l'entrée de la case principale du village. D'ailleurs, l'endroit de la sépulture est de peu d'importance: le cadavre ne compte pas. Seul, le crâne, où repose l'esprit de la race, est important, et il est détaché du squelette pour être gardé dans la famille. Quant au culte des arbres, nous avons montré qu'il avait un double objet: totémique, quand l'arbre était un totem, mânique quand y résidait un esprit ou une vertu mystérieuse. Cet esprit n'est toutefois pas l'esprit d'un mort, sauf dans quelques tribus. Tels les Mpongwé.

Enfin, le phénomène le plus important serait la „Vergeistigung" ou transformation en esprit. Ceux qui se masquent sont possédés par les esprits, et ne dispose de leur puissance que celui qui est „vergeistigt", transformé en esprit, par des tabous, la privation d'aliments, de femmes etc. pour ressembler davantage aux êtres spirituels. Pour nous, cette conception nous paraît bien trop élevée pour le Noir, sensuel et matériel. La vérité nous paraît beaucoup plus simple. Si l'on se masque dans les sociétés secrètes, tout au moins chez les Fâñ et tribus voisines, tous ne se masquent pas, mais seulement les chefs. Pourquoi cela? A notre avis, pour ne pas être reconnus, pour éviter des vengeances ultérieures. Nombreuses en effet sont les déprédations et nombreux aussi les meurtres perpétrés par les chefs contre les initiés récalcitrants ou les non-initiés. — Une deuxième raison, peut-être la principale, est

[1] Quelques tribus les enterrent dans le lit des ruisseaux après en avoir détourné pour un moment le cours. La raison de cette coutume est d'éviter toute profanation ultérieure et surtout l'enlèvement du cadavre.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

celle-ci: chaque société est gouvernée par un esprit supérieur: il s'agit de le matérialiser, de lui donner une forme tangible et corporelle: de là, le masque. Aussi, quand de tels individus masqués parcourent les villages, tous les initiés les accompagnent à visage découvert, mais ont grand soin de chasser, à renfort de coups parfois mortels, ceux qui ne sont pas initiés. surtout les femmes et les enfants [1].

Il nous souvient d'une aventure de ce genre, où je n'échappai que par miracle. Le *Ngil,* un des chefs de sociétés secrètes était un jour entré dans un village lorsque j'étais en train de causer avec mes catéchistes. Ses acolytes me sommèrent de fuir et de me cacher: je ne voulus pas y consentir, et par trois fois le *Ngil,* masqué, me lança ses flèches empoisonnées. Plus tard, dans la soirée, je le reconnus parfaitement parmi mes assistants; le dénoncer eût été inutile et dangereux.

Toutefois, de tous ces faits, et avant de donner, telle que nous la croyons vraie, l'origine et la constitution des sociétés secrètes, ressort une constatation évidente: leur existence. Elle n'est d'ailleurs niée par aucun auteur sérieux.

Mais ici se dresse un fait des plus importants, et qu'à notre avis, on n'a pas encore signalé, sauf toutefois, en quelques mots, Mgr. Le Roy [2]: «De même qu'il y a féticheur et sorcier, et que ce sont deux individualités distinctes, souvent confondues par les voyageurs, et par les savants européens, de même il y a deux sortes de sociétés secrètes; les unes ressortent des féticheurs, les autres, des sorciers.»

Ces deux sortes de sociétés sont souvent confondues, et pourtant sont fort dissemblables. Très souvent, on attribue aux unes ce qui appartient aux autres: ainsi, par exemple, les sacrifices humains, en

---

[1] Lorsque Frobenius a écrit son livre «Die Masken», il ne connaissait encore que les travaux d'un seul missionnaire protestant, le Rd Bentley, de la Sté Baptiste de Londres. Il ignorait sur ce sujet les travaux nombreux et importants des missionnaires catholiques dont Mr. de Jonghe donne une bonne énumération dans son livre des Sociétés secrètes. Frobenius s'est ainsi privé, mais certainement sans aucun parti pris, de documents intéressants, qui, peut-être, l'auraient amené à modifier profondément sa thèse.

[2] La Religion des Primitifs, *op. cit.* p. 343.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

général, appartiennent aux deux rites, mais dans les sociétés secrètes dirigées par les féticheurs, ils sont réservés à certains cas d'expiation, de calamité publique, de mort du chef ou de guerre: ils font également partie de l'initiation des féticheurs, et parfois revêtent un caractère particulier d'horreur. Dans ces derniers temps, au Gabon, il y a eu ainsi, particulièrement au pays Eshira et Apindji, plusieurs meurtres d'Européens: c'était une vengeance de tribu, un meurtre imputable aux féticheurs, non aux sorciers.

D'un autre côté, on signale souvent des disparitions d'individus, que l'on sait ensuite avoir été mangés, on parle d'hommes-tigres (nous les verrons plus loin) qui se jettent sur les passants pour les déchirer: ces faits sont imputables aux sorciers et à leurs sociétés, et non aux féticheurs. Pour ceux-ci, les sacrifices humains sont un acte rituel, accompli devant tous, et suivi de la communion à la victime. Pour les sorciers, au contraire, l'anthropophagie est presque toujours (sauf dans certaines initiations calquées sur celles des féticheurs), un acte de pur cannibalisme, sans aucun rite ou cérémonie religieuse.

De même qu'il y a des sociétés secrètes dirigées par les féticheurs, et d'autres dirigées par les sorciers, de même chaque société, et chaque individu en y entrant a son totem (ou mieux son animal protecteur, du moins quant aux sorciers), totem qui joue à son égard exactement le même rôle que le *mvame* dans la famille, le clan, la tribu et pour l'individu.

Enfin, et ce dernier point complique étrangement la difficulté, très-souvent les sociétés secrètes fondées et commandées par les sorciers, portent le même nom que les sociétés secrètes commandées par les féticheurs: les rites et les observances diffèrent du tout au tout, mais le nom reste le même. On conçoit que les sorciers usent fréquemment de ce stratagème. Pour eux, c'est une sûreté de plus qui leur permet de dissimuler à la fois leur existence et surtout leurs déprédations, plus souvent leurs crimes, sous le couvert de sociétés puissantes, reconnues, et ayant pour ainsi dire une existence légale.

Donc, pour nous résumer rapidement, lorsqu'il s'agit de sociétés secrètes, il faut toujours, tout d'abord, savoir de quelle

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

société il s'agit: société secrète de féticheurs ou société secrète de sorciers.

Dans les faits qui leur sont imputés, il faudra encore examiner si ces faits se rapportent à une société secrète «vraie» de féticheur, ou une société secrète de sorciers, dissimulée sous un nom identique.

Sèules, une très longue pratique de ces peuples, une attention très particulièrement dirigée sur ces points, permettent d'y parvenir. Et encore, les erreurs doivent-elles être fréquentes. Les indigènes s'y trompent, à plus forte raison les Européens. Nos successeurs feront mieux que nous.

* * *

Nous avons vu au sujet de l'origine et de la cause des sociétés secrètes, les idées de Schurtz et de Frobenius. Faut-il voir avec eux dans cette institution une suite nécessaire des rites de la puberté? Nous avons démontré le contraire et indiqué qu'agir ainsi était attribuer, peut-être, la cause à l'effet, et expliquer les phénomènes après coup.

A notre avis, la société secrète dérive de l'organisation même de la tribu. La place prépondérante qu'a su y prendre le féticheur est née du rôle qu'il a été nécessairement appelé à y jouer par la force même des choses. De même, les nouveaux totems qui y sont donnés aux adeptes après l'initiation ne sont qu'une imitation de ceux qui leur ont été attribués par le père de famille lors de leur naissance.

La société secrète dérive de l'organisation même de la tribu.

En effet, avant d'admettre les jeunes gens à faire partie des guerriers, il semble tout naturel de les éprouver par une suite d'épreuves destinées à montrer si réellement ils sont aptes à jouer leur rôle et à rendre les services que la tribu leur réclame. Par suite déjà, élimination des jeunes filles et des femmes, au profit de l'élément masculin. Cette série d'épreuves ne peut se faire au village, devant tous: les éliminations forcées, pour ne pas donner d'autres raisons, susciteraient contre les chefs de terribles rancunes suivies d'inévitables vengeances. De là, nécessité de se retirer à l'écart. Le chef pourrait déléguer un représentant quelconque, un guerrier renommé par exemple, mais nul mieux que le féticheur

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

n'est apte à exercer ce rôle et à y prendre une place prépondérante et bientôt exclusive. La religion en effet doit jouer, dans ces réunions, un rôle important, nécessaire. Ne faut-il pas consulter les mânes des ancêtres, les intéresser à leurs jeunes continuateurs, faire entrer leur esprit en eux, attirer les influences bonnes, écarter les nocives! Tout cela est l'affaire de l'homme du culte, lui seul s'y entend. Aussi, tout le temps que les jeunes guerriers seront sous sa direction, il aura sur eux un pouvoir absolu. Ce pouvoir, il ne demandera qu'à le conserver dans la suite. Mais, de retour au village, les jeunes gens, devenus guerriers, retomberont sous l'autorité commune du chef de tribu. Qu'à cela ne tienne! Parmi ceux qui lui ont été le plus dévoués, le féticheur recrutera facilement de nouveaux adeptes: avec eux, il constituera une société plus fermée que la précédente, surtout permanente par son but même et par le fait de son institution. Devant cette société dont le gouvernement lui échappe forcément, le chef de tribu devra s'incliner et obéir. Presque toujours, il se résignera à y entrer lui-même, espérant, mais à tort, y reconquérir l'autorité en partie perdue. Cette tentative de main-mise du pouvoir civil sur les sociétés secrètes n'est pas seulement africaine: elle est de tous les temps et de tous les pays. Ainsi, au siècle dernier, pour n'en citer qu'un exemple, Napoléon III nommait le maréchal Maignan grand-maître de la franc-maçonnerie française. Les sociétés secrètes, africaines aussi bien qu'européennes, acceptent ces nominations ou ces tentatives de main-mise plus ou moins forcées, mais évidemment le chef occulte n'en reste pas moins le véritable chef. Dans les tribus bantoues, les chefs ont maintes fois tenté de réagir, tantôt par la ruse tantôt, et le plus souvent, par la violence et le poison. Ils ont toujours échoué.

Telle est, réduite à sa plus simple expression, l'origine de la société secrète. Peu à peu, elle est devenue légale, et par la force même des choses, un des organismes les plus vivants de la tribu. Evidemment, au cours des âges, et par suite des diverses modalités, elle subit de profondes modifications. Elle n'en reste pas moins constituée telle quelle dans ses grandes lignes.

A l'imitation de la tribu, du clan, de la famille sur laquelle elle est calquée, elle aura aussi ses totems de société, de subdivisions,

de chefs, d'individus: le féticheur aura pris le rôle du chef de tribu; il le remplacera pour tout ce qui regarde ces totems particuliers. Toutefois, notons-le bien, comme la principale force de ces totems réside dans le secret, ils n'envahiront point la tribu, ne lutteront ni contre le totem tribal, ni contre les autres totems. L'individu qui entre dans la société secrète y cherche simplement une augmentation de force et de pouvoir ou un gage de sécurité personnelle de plus.

Non seulement les individus auront leur totem, mais de même que la tribu se subdivise en clans et en familles, de même la société secrète se subdivisera en classes qui auront chacune leur totem.

Cet usage existe chez les Fân, et aussi chez les autres tribus bantoues. Ainsi, chez les Baluba que nous avons déjà cités, une des sociétés secrètes, les Bahayo, se subdivisent en cinq classes ayant chacune leur totem:

1° Ceux qui sont désignés sous le nom de *Mulumba*; ils ont pour totem l'oiseau *kasozo*;

2° ceux appelés *Kileme*, qui ont pour totem l'oiseau *kiminga*;

3° les nommés *Tundulu* dont le totem est l'antilope *tundu*;

4° les nommés *Mulenda*, qui ont pour totem l'oiseau *tuba*;

5° ceux enfin qui portent le nom *Luhele*[1] dont le totem est la tourterelle ou le crocodile. Chacun d'eux honore son totem, et ne consentira jamais à se nourrir de sa chair[2]. Cette loi est universelle.

De tous ces totems, le ministre naturel est évidemment le féticheur. C'est lui qui en a déterminé les rites, à l'imitation des rites similaires pré-existant dans la tribu.

Nous avons là affaire à un culte reconnu, bien que secret, culte admis, qui s'adresse aux esprits, et surtout, ce qui est fort important, aux esprits des ancêtres. Sur ce point, le féticheur marche parfaitement d'accord avec le chef et les traditions de la tribu.

Mais à côté de la magie naturelle où se cantonnent à proprement parler les féticheurs, «il en est une autre, dit Mgr. Le Roy[3]

[1] Ces totems sont, on le voit, en général des totems d'oiseaux: nous dirons pourquoi plus tard. V. p. 485.

[2] Bulletin des Pères Blancs d'Anvers. 15 Août 1908.

[3] La Religion des Primitifs, p. 340, la Magie.

qui prétend emprunter sa puissance et ses moyens d'action aux êtres du monde invisible, aux mânes désincorporées, mânes des hommes et même des animaux, aux esprits indépendants . . .

«Cette anti-Religion a, comme la Religion, son culte, ses incantations, ses évocations, ses rites, ses fétiches, ses offrandes, ses sacrifices, ses ministres, ses fêtes, ses lieux de réunion.»

Tout d'abord, elle a ses ministres, et ces ministres ne sont autres que les sorciers. C'est pourquoi, dans les pages précédentes, nous nous sommes efforcés déjà de tracer la figure du sorcier, et de le distinguer nettement du féticheur en délimitant les principaux traits de sa personnalité, en démêlant un ensemble complexe où bien des points se touchent, bien des lignes se croisent et se pénètrent mutuellement.

A l'exemple des féticheurs, les sorciers ont fondé des sociétés secrètes. Ces sociétés secrètes sont nombreuses; toutefois, elles ne sont nullement constituées sur un plan uniforme ou similaire: elles sont au contraire hiérarchisées, et divisées, non-seulement en grades dans chaque société, mais encore en sociétés distinctes, dépendantes toutefois les unes des autres. L'on n'entre dans les sociétés supérieures, plus fermées et plus secrètes, qu'après avoir passé par les grades et sociétés inférieurs et subi les épreuves nécessaires. Chaque société a un nom particulier.

Calquées sur le modèle de la société proprement dite ou société constituée par les féticheurs, ces sociétés particulières lui ont emprunté une grande partie de ses rites et de ses cadres: souvent elles tendent à l'envahir.

Toutefois, entre ces deux espèces de sociétés secrètes, les différences sont grandes.

Laissant de côté tout ce qui n'intéresse pas le sujet que nous traitons spécialement ici, nous aurons seulement à examiner les points suivants, qui montreront à la fois les ressemblances très grandes et aussi les différences notables qui existent entre ces deux ordres de faits, au point de vue totémique.

1° De même que les féticheurs ont établi, pour se relier entre eux et consolider leur puissance, un certain nombre de sociétés

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

secrètes, de même les sorciers se sont groupés en sociétés secrètes destinées à assurer leur vitalité et leur pouvoir.

2° Les fêtes et cérémonies d'initiation ont de nombreux points de contact. Toutefois, celles du culte des sorciers présentent un caractère beaucoup plus marqué d'horreur, de cruauté, et surtout d'immoralité profonde, de hideuse obscénité. Le culte du sang et de la génération détournée de son but primordial y dominent.

3° Les sociétés secrètes de féticheurs ont toutes un totem particulier, totem protecteur de leur association. Ce totem remplira à leur égard le rôle de l'*étotore* ou du *mvame* de tribu, de clan et de phratrie. Toutefois, tandis que le *mvame* de tribu, de clan ou de phratrie appartient indifféremment aux trois règnes animal, végétal ou minéral, ou même parfois au monde sidéral et des esprits, le totem de société secrète sera toujours un totem animal. Ce sera un animal proprement dit, parfois un reptile ou poisson, souvent un oiseau.

Les sociétés secrètes de sorciers, au contraire, et c'est là une différence essentielle, n'auront jamais de totem de cette espèce. Leur *mvame* ou protecteur sera toujours un esprit, un être appartenant au monde spirituel ou désincarné. Cet esprit pourra se manifester, et le fera souvent de fait (nous parlons au point de vue indigène) sous une forme animale, mais ce ne sera pas un animal véritable, et tous les sorciers sont unanimes à affirmer ce fait. «L'esprit» se manifeste, diront-ils tous.

4° Chaque «féticheur» reçoit, le jour de son initiation et de sa réception dans la société secrète, un totem particulier et individuel. Ce totem est en général un animal ou un oiseau. Mais aucun lien physique ne les relie l'un à l'autre: de même qu'avec le *mvame* individuel qu'il a reçu à sa naissance, il y a simplement, entre les deux, parenté spirituelle et mystique.

Chaque «sorcier», au jour de son initiation et de sa réception dans la société secrète, contracte également alliance avec un animal. Mais cette alliance est d'un caractère tout particulier, il y a parenté réelle et physique, contractée par échange de sang, et alliance réelle, de sorte qu'à partir de ce jour l'animal obéit à l'homme et l'homme à l'animal: leur vie est liée l'une à l'autre.

A proprement parler, cet animal n'est donc pas vraiment un totem, au sens que nous avons défini: les indigènes le désignent d'un nom particulier; c'est un *élâñéla*. Les auteurs européens, ethnographes ou autres, ont désigné cet animal sous le nom de «nagual». L'ensemble des phénomènes qui se rapportent au nagual porte le nom de «nagualisme». On l'a confondu presque toujours avec le totem individuel: rien de plus impropre, et même de plus faux [1].

En somme, pour tout résumer, et avant de passer à l'étude plus détaillée de chacun de ces points, nous pouvons établir le tableau suivant qui fera mieux ressortir ce que nous venons d'énumérer:

Féticheurs.	**Sorciers.**
Béngâñ — Ngâñu.	*Béyèm — Ndzi bur.*
1° Sociétés secrètes de féticheurs.	Sociétés secrètes de sorciers.
Akôza Béngâñ.	*Mfûñ Béyèm.*
2° Réunions secrètes en ce sens que les non-initiés n'y sont pas admis, mais réunions connues dans la tribu.	Réunions secrètes soigneusement dissimulées à tous les non-initiés, peine de mort pour ceux qui les surprennent. Réunions obscènes.
Esama.	*Efufula* (litt. mélange de semence) *Azüa.*
3° Initiation secrète non obscène.	Initiation secrète toujours obscène.
Ayème mindzâñdzâñ.	*Azüa mimfûñ.*

Les initiations comprennent: a) les épreuves, b) le sacrifice, c) le choix du protecteur ou totem, d'où, par rapport à ces initiations:

4° Anthropophagie proprement dite inconnue.	Anthropophagie ordinaire. Souvent on déterre les cadavres pour s'en repaître. Cannibalisme sans aucune idée religieuse.

[1] Par exemple M. van Gennep, comme nous le dirons plus loin en traitant du nagual.

5° Sacrifices humains rituels. Communion à la victime, dans un intérêt général. *Athune.*	Sacrifices humains pour composer des maléfices, jeter des sorts etc. *Adzi bur.*
6° Totems généraux de classes et de sociétés semblables aux totems de tribu et de clan. *Bémvame — Bétotore.*	Totems généraux de classe et de sociétés semblables aux féticheurs pour les sociétés dirigées par les sorciers. Pas de totems pour les sociétés composées exclusivement de sorciers. Esprit protecteur invisible. *Engungure.*
7° Totems individuels en tant que féticheurs. Un animal ou un oiseau de préférence. *Mvame.*	Pas de totems individuels en tant que sorciers. Ils sont remplacés par le nagual ou animal voué. *Elâñéla.*

§ 2. Les sociétés secrètes de féticheurs sont distinctes de celles des sorciers.

I° Le nom générique diffère pour les sociétés secrètes suivant qu'il s'agit de féticheurs ou de sorciers.

Chaque société constituée, qu'il s'agisse de féticheurs, ou de sorciers, a un nom spécifique distinct. Mais ce qui est important, c'est que le nom générique diffère, suivant qu'il s'agit de féticheurs ou de sorciers.

Tandis que les féticheurs portent le nom de *béngâñ* ou *ngâña,* les sorciers ont celui de *béyèm,* ceux qui savent, ou encore celui de *béndzi bur,* les mangeurs d'hommes.

Ce dernier nom est plutôt un qualificatif, un surnom que leur donne le peuple d'après leur coutume de «manger les hommes», qu'il leur attribue d'ailleurs avec raison. Leur vrai nom est *Béyèm*: Ceux qui ont pénétré (v. *éyèm,* connaître), qui devinent le secret des choses. Le mot *ngâña,* qui désigne les féticheurs proprement dits, signifie littéralement, d'après une vieille racine bantoue, ceux qui ont appris. Les ignorants, au contraire, sont les les *Vanga,* ceux qui ne connaissent pas. Ces ethniques se retrouvent encore aujourd'hui dans plusieurs langues du Congo belge. Batéké et autres.

De même, pour désigner les assemblées de féticheurs, et celles de sorciers, le nom est complètement différent. L'*akôza bengâń,* assemblée des féticheurs, est un terme générique qui peut s'appliquer à toutes sortes de réunions, quelles qu'elles soient. On dira aussi bien par exemple *akôza bisoze,* une réunion de soldats, *akôza békrétyen,* une assemblée de chrétiens. L'*akôza* est une simple assemblée, sans but déterminé, sans idée préconçue, répondant ou non à une convocation. Parfois, on désigne encore les sociétés secrètes constituées dans la tribu sous le nom du totem général. Ainsi, chez les Fâń, la société du *Ngil,* qui s'appellera simplement *Ngil,* par abréviation, du *Ngil,* leur totem général. Dans beaucoup de tribus, ainsi que nous l'avons vu chez les Baluba (p. 435), les sociétés secrètes portent des noms distincts, mais sans aucune signification obscène. C'est presque toujours le nom du fondateur.

Au contraire, le mot qui désigne les associations secrètes de féticheurs, *mfûń,* emporte une idée d'obscénité particulière et implique l'idée de certaines réunions ou contacts sur lesquels il nous est difficile d'insister: le *mfûń* comporte la communauté sexuelle et l'union temporaire, surtout nocturne. On voit immédiatement la différence qui sépare les deux vocables.

II° Les sociétés secrètes de sorciers ont une existence absolument distincte de celles des féticheurs.

Nous venons de voir que dans la tribu elle-même, les féticheurs ont partout fondé des sociétés secrètes destinées à consolider leur pouvoir; ils y jouent, en somme, le rôle du père de famille, du chef de clan, et de tribu.

Mais afin de mieux dissimuler leur existence, et surtout de consolider leur puissance occulte, les sorciers ont imité cet exemple, et calqué leur propre organisation sur celle de la tribu. Si, à l'imitation des féticheurs, les sorciers opèrent individuellement pour lancer leurs maléfices, ils se sont donc aussi organisés en sociétés secrètes, qui ont leurs réunions et leurs conseils. Toutefois, et c'est ce qui les distingue d'abord des premières, ces sociétés sont beaucoup plus secrètes. Les Fâń, et tous les autres Noirs les désignent, nous venons de le dire, sous deux noms différents. Pour éviter des

confusions fréquentes et très-graves [1], il serait fort à désirer que la science anthropologique, après avoir distingué entre féticheurs et sorciers, distinguât également entre confréries et sociétés secrètes de l'une et l'autre espèce, au lieu de les désigner sous un ethnique similaire.

Le fait de l'existence des sociétés secrètes est prouvé non pas seulement par le nom et la chose, mais surtout par les réunions qui en sont la démonstration évidente. Aussi passons-nous sans tarder à cet ordre de phénomènes.

§ 3. Sorciers et féticheurs ont des réunions secrètes distinctes.

I° Le fait du nom.

De même que les sorciers et féticheurs fân ont leurs sociétés secrètes distinctes, de même ils ont leurs réunions parfaitement séparées. Ces réunions, à l'exemple des sociétés, portent un nom particulier.

L'*esama* est la réunion des féticheurs et de leurs adeptes: elle est secrète, en ce sens que les non-initiés, les femmes surtout, n'y sont pas admis: mais elle est connue dans la tribu: les jours de réunion sont fixés d'avance, tous les connaissent, et en somme, on peut dire qu'elle est légale.

Rien de pareil pour l'*azüa* ou l'*efufula* des sorciers. Là, tout demeure secret, se passe dans l'ombre, connu des quelques rares initiés, et le nom lui-même *azüa*, ou *efufula*, mélange de semence, démontre immédiatement à quel genre de fête et d'occupations on entend bien se livrer. Le mot *efufula* désigne bien toute espèce de «mélange», mais non de réunion comme le *esama*. Il faut un mélange de «liquide», et le mot *azüa* qui signifie également fornication vient enlever toute chance d'erreur ou de fausse interprétation.

[1] Ainsi, par exemple, dans sa brochure, d'ailleurs à tout point de vue fort remarquable, sur les «sociétés secrètes au Bas-Congo» Mr. DE JONGHE confond souvent féticheurs et sorciers, et sociétés secrètes de féticheurs et de sorciers. Il est fort excusable d'après les documents mis à sa disposition. Le R. BENTLEY fait la même confusion.

De même encore, le mot *ayème mindzâñdzâñ* qui désigne les initiations secrètes de féticheurs signifie simplement «la connaissance des mystères», des choses qui sont au milieu, au centre.

Au contraire, le mot *azila mimfûñ* qui désigne les initiations secrètes de sorciers signifie littéralement la fornication des choses associées. On désigne encore parfois ces associations sous le nom de *nkûñ méyal* qu'il nous est difficile de traduire, mais qui implique un acte particulièrement obscène.

Certaines réunions de sorciers se désignent aussi parfois sous un nom temporaire qu'il ne faut pas confondre avec le nom général. Ainsi l'on dira *adzèm bikwékwé,* la danse des crânes, *adzile mvi,* l'approche de l'albinos etc. Ces noms indiquent plutôt ce qui se fera dans la réunion: *adzèm bikwékwé,* la danse des crânes: il y aura plusieurs morts à manger, *adzile mvi,* il y aura un noyé à manger. *Mvi,* l'albinos, désigne souvent dans ce cas particulier les noyés, car on sait qu'après deux ou trois jours de séjour au fond de l'eau, le Noir devient d'un blanc livide par suite de la disparition du pigment. Souvent aussi *mvi* désigne, dans le langage secret des sorciers, l'homme que l'on aura tué pour le manger plus tard mais que l'on aura d'abord caché dans l'eau pour attendrir la chair. C'est un mets très recherché.

Le but des deux réunions est donc bien résolu par les appellations elles-mêmes, et il ne saurait y avoir erreur.

Mais, du nom, passons à la chose.

II° Les réunions des sorciers.

Les féticheurs ont leurs réunions secrètes; les sorciers, à leur exemple, ont aussi les leurs. Le but est double: tantôt ils se réunissent pour une fête proprement dite, tantôt pour discuter des intérêts de leur société. On conçoit, en effet, parfaitement que les sorciers, sans cesse menacés dans leur vie individuelle, aient cherché à fuir cette hantise perpétuelle par l'association de leurs forces occultes.

a) Le temps et l'époque des réunions.

Chez les sorciers fâñ, comme dans de nombreuses tribus, ces réunions ont toujours lieu la nuit, et au moment de la nouvelle lune. La raison de ce choix est double. Tout d'abord,

les sorciers adressent un culte particulier à la lune, considérée comme principe de la fécondité sexuelle. Au début de la réunion, un chant particulier lui est adressé, et une danse exécutée en son honneur. On la supplie de consacrer et de favoriser les unions temporaires qui vont tout à l'heure être faites dans le secret, et d'aider, par sa puissante intercession, aux efforts de ses adorateurs.

Nous ne pouvons donner ici ce chant à cause de son immoralité profonde. On y parle à la lune «absente», puisque nous sommes en nouvelle lune, et on la compare à une jeune fille qui quitte furtivement la case maternelle pour aller, dans le secret de la nuit et des bois, retrouver le jeune homme qui l'attend. Le halo lunaire, fréquent à cette latitude, y est comparé à la ceinture qui se dénoue. On nous permettra de ne pas en citer davantage. Le Fàñ ne recule devant aucun tableau, aucune explication [1].

Les féticheurs rendent également un culte particulier à la lune, mais à un point de vue différent, la considérant plutôt comme protectrice. Rappelons ici qu'en fàñ, *Ngon*, la lune, désigne également une jeune fille nubile et dont la poitrine est déjà formée. Dans toutes les tribus africaines, la lune est considérée comme le principe fécondant et reçoit un culte spécial.

Le moment de la nouvelle lune est encore choisi par les sorciers à cause de l'obscurité profonde de la nuit à cette époque,

---

[1] Ces chants sont fort difficiles à comprendre, car presque tous les mots y sont détournés de leur véritable signification, et changent leur accord et leur préfixe. Ainsi *Bi bé yèn mimeul bédzol*, au lieu de *Bi bé yèn bémeul mèdzul*, littéral.: Nous irons voir les antilopes de la plaine, signifie en réalité: Nous ferons l'amour avec les jeunes filles du village. Tous ceux qui ne sont pas initiés ne peuvent évidemment comprendre ce langage. Cet usage n'est pas seulement réservé aux Fàñ. On retrouve une langue secrète chez tous les peuples africains, et une même langue secrète sert souvent à plusieurs peuples de race et d'origine fort différentes. Nous attirons dans cet égard l'attention de nos lecteurs à l'ouvrage du Commt Lenfant «La découverte des Grands Bourns du Centre de l'Afrique», Paris, Hachette 1909.

Cette langue, disons-nous, est comprise des seuls initiés. Il est curieux, à ce propos, de voir la traduction littérale d'un chant de *Ngola*, donné par Mr. Largeau dans son Encyclopédie fàñ, ouvrage d'ailleurs rempli d'inexactitudes et d'erreurs. L'interprète de Mr. Largeau, un bòy nommé Christophe, que nous avons bien connu, était non seulement d'une ignorance profonde, mais certainement non-initié. La traduction est fausse d'un bout à l'autre!

et par là même du secret plus grand qui enveloppera les réunions. Tandisque la lune brille à l'horizon et déverse sur nos contrées équatoriales sa vive et blanche lumière, tous les villages sont en fête. A peine le repas du soir est-il fini que les jeunes gens disposent tout pour la danse. Les femmes remportent en hâte les corbeilles où elles ont offert aux hommes réunis dans l'*abéle*, les mets préparés depuis la chute du jour, bananes et manioc, poisson, gibier, sauces diverses. Dans leurs cases, elles revêtent leurs pagnes multicolores, leurs bracelets de cuivre soigneusement fourbis, à leurs pieds elles ajustent les grelots de bois où tintinnabulent les cailloux ronds, et les graines dures des cannas[1]. Bientôt, sur la place publique, le tamtam fait rage, les danseurs succèdent aux danseurs, et il en sera ainsi jusqu'au matin, tant qu'au ciel brillera la blonde Phœbé, tant que dans le village, il y aura, pour illuminer les coins sombres, les torches d'*okumé*[2] ou les tiges d'*amome*[3].

S'absenter dans ces conditions serait particulièrement dangereux, car on serait immédiatement remarqué, et pour peu qu'ensuite une fête de sorciers fût signalée dans les environs, les soupçons s'élèveraient vite. Du soupçon à l'épreuve, de l'épreuve à la mort, nous l'avons vu, il n'y a souvent qu'un pas!

Au contraire, dans les nuits sombres, sans lune, les Noirs redoutent fort les ténèbres et les esprits errants qui vaguent autour des villages, à la recherche d'une proie, d'un mauvais coup à faire, d'un maléfice à lancer. Aussi ne se hasardent-ils pas volontiers hors des cases et surtout des villages: le hameau, dans ces nuits, dort tranquille, sans que l'on y entende le moindre bruit. Les sorciers peuvent alors s'esquiver facilement de leurs cases solitaires[4], courir à leurs réunions, répondre au cri de ralliement que donnera

---

[1] *Canna* ou *Balisier*, plante aujourd'hui acclimatée et très-répandue dans tous nos jardins. (*Canna coccinea*, *guineensis* etc. des Marantacées.)

[2] *Okumé blanchâtre*, des Térébinth. Le résine abondante de cet arbre sert à faire les torches.

[3] *Amomum cibratum*. La tige séchée brûle avec une vive lumière.

[4] Dans la famille polygame, chaque femme a sa case où le mari va dormir de temps à autre. Chaque chef de famille a sa case particulière où ne dorment pas les femmes. Il peut donc s'absenter sans être remarqué.

le cri de la chouette, l'hululement du hibou, ou l'appel strident du *mouk* [1]. Pourvu qu'au matin ils soient de retour, nul ne remarquera leur absence nocturne.

b) L'endroit des réunions.

Les lieux de réunions des sorciers, choisis dans des sites déserts, souvent presque inaccessibles, sont ordinairement fort éloignés de toute habitation.

Parfois, c'est au plus profond de la forêt, dans les parties où les défrichements n'ont jamais pénétré.

Les Noirs désignent ces endroits sous le nom d'*avil abi*, litt. trou de pangolin, et ont grand soin de s'en écarter, si par aventure, ils s'aperçoivent, au cours d'un voyage, qu'ils en sont arrivés tout près. Ces mêmes réunions ont aussi lieu sur quelques montagnes. Le Mont *Khamendzok* [2] par exemple, et surtout le Mont *Nsas* [3], du sommet duquel, d'après les traditions fân, *Nzame* s'envola après avoir créé le monde, sont entre tous réputés comme lieu de réunion. Le Chef des Esénaran, dont le village-capitale est le plus rapproché du pied du *Nsas*, me disait avoir compté une nuit sur le haut du mont plus de deux cents feux, représentant autant de sorciers ou de réunions de sorciers. Ayant eu au matin la curiosité de monter, il ne trouva que l'herbe rare brûlée, le roc calciné ici et là et aucune autre trace. Le lendemain, l'aîné de ses fils mourut, puis pendant six jours consécutifs, six de ses parents. Non sans quelque raison peut-être, il attribuait ces morts successives et inexplicables à quelque sorcier, désireux de prévenir pour une autre fois une curiosité qui aurait pu devenir dangereuse. De fait, le bruit de l'événement s'était répandu dans tout le pays, et les sorciers n'avaient plus certes à craindre aucune intrusion indiscrète.

Les endroits où les sorciers se réunissent sont ordinairement éloignés des habitations: ils ne peuvent guère partir de leur village

---

[1] Nous avons déjà cité le *mouk*, sup. de mammifère.

[2] *Khamendzok*, littéralement Chef éléphant, Père de la horde. Les cartes françaises portent *Gamindzoque*, orthographe absolument fautive et fantaisiste.

[3] Du haut du Mont Nsas, on découvre une vaste étendue circulaire de pays, de plus de 70 km de rayon. De là, probablement, la légende du Dieu créateur.

avant une heure assez avancée de la nuit: ils doivent être rentrés, pour éviter tout soupçon au premier chant du coq. Comment concilier ces deux faits qui paraissent bien contradictoires: d'un côté l'éloignement souvent fort grand, d'un autre, le peu de temps dont ils disposent?

c) Quelques témoignages au sujet de ces réunions.

Notre unique témoignage pourrait paraître insuffisant; faisons donc appel à d'autres écrivains. Leur propre récit apportera au nôtre leur confirmation.

Nous marchons ici en effet sur un terrain mouvant, particulièrement difficile, au milieu d'une série de phénomènes encore mal expliqués, et où le magnétisme, le somnambulisme conscient ou inconscient, la dissociation de la matière, la téléphonie et les divers phénomènes de gravitation et de transport à distance jouent un rôle important.

L'Evêque protestant Nassau qui demeura au Gabon plus de 40 ans, consignait naguère le résultat de ses études et de son expérience dans un livre profondément étudié, et où, en général, il se montre plutôt sceptique. Le premier, il nous apporte son témoignage précis, à la fois sur le fait même de l'existence des sociétés secrètes de sorciers, et sur le mode étrange employé par ceux-ci pour se rendre à leurs réunions nocturnes.

«Ces réunions, dit Nassau[1], en parlant des assemblées des sociétés secrètes de sorciers, se tiennent de préférence au fond des bois, à quelque distance des villages, pendant la nuit. On est persuadé que les sorciers laissent leurs formes corporelles dormir dans leur case, et qu'ils s'en échappent sans être retenus par les murs, les toits ou tout autre obstacle matériel. Ils peuvent ainsi passer rapidement dans les airs, au dessus des arbres. A leurs réunions, ils sont en communication avec les esprits mauvais, qu'ils voient, qu'ils entendent, qu'ils touchent. Ceux-ci (souvent sous la forme d'animaux) partagent leurs fêtes et leurs festins. Le morceau de choix est le cœur de quelque être humain qui, en

[1] R. H. Nassau, Fetichism in West Africa, p. 133.

conséquence, tombe malade à ce moment même, et ne tardera pas à mourir, à moins que le maléfice ne soit conjuré. Le premier chant du coq est le signal de leur dispersion. L'apparition de l'étoile du matin les force à se hâter pour rentrer dans leurs corps; si le soleil se lève sur eux avant qu'ils aient regagné leurs demeures, leurs plans échoueront, et eux-mêmes tomberont malades.»

A ce témoignage si net sur l'existence des réunions secrètes de sorciers chez les Fâñ, il est facile d'en ajouter d'autres pour les peuples voisins. Ce qui se passe chez les Fâñ se retrouve dans les autres tribus bantoues.

Nous ne nous trouvons pas en effet en face d'un phénomène isolé, propre aux Fâñ: cette organisation se retrouve également chez les nations voisines, et souvent sous le même nom: ces peuples sont aussi bien à l'est qu'à l'ouest des Fâñ, au nord ou au sud: nous nous trouvons par là même en face d'une vaste association. Comme ces sociétés n'ont cependant aucun rapport entre elles (du moins nous n'avons pu le constater jusqu'ici), peut-être serait-il plus vrai de dire qu'elles se sont copiées mutuellement les unes sur les autres, ou plutôt qu'elles remontent à une haute antiquité, à l'origine de la race bantoue.

Ainsi, parmi les diverses sociétés secrètes de sorciers, nous en trouvons une, chez nos Fâñ, particulièrement immorale. Elle porte le nom de *ndjém*. Or, la même, avec des rites similaires, se voit également chez leurs voisins de l'ouest, les Mpongwé, où elle fleurit sous le nom de *ndjémbwé*. La danse, très-caractéristique, qui commençait toute réunion, est même aujourd'hui fort connue, et malgré son degré de lascivité très marqué, plutôt peut-être précisément à cause de cela, tombée dans le domaine public. On la danse très fréquemment à Libreville et à la côte.

Si nous allons à l'autre extrémité du pays fâñ, vers l'est, nous trouvons encore une société semblable, et avec un nom similaire, dans la tribu des Bateké. Un de nos confrères, qui vient malheureusement de mourir prématurément, le R. P. Le Gouay, nous avait transmis sur cette secte et sur ce peuple une foule de faits curieux qui corroborent de la façon la plus formelle tout ce que nous avons dit sur les Fâñ.

Cette société porte chez les Batéké le nom de *ndembo*. «Les rites, lisons-nous dans une Etude publiée sur cette question [1], y sont les mêmes que dans une autre secte identique, celle des *nkita* [2] (cf. avec *éki* des Fàn, ailleurs *nkila*) répandue assez loin dans l'arrière-pays du Stanley-Pool. Les adeptes du *ndembo* sont amenés par les magiciens, (!) au moyen d'une sorte de suggestion, à se croire tombés dans un prétendu état spécial d'accès frénétique. Ils sont alors portés en dehors du village dans un enclos spécial et sont dits «mourants *ndembo*». Contrairement au *nkimba*, les femmes peuvent faire partie des pratiquants du *ndembo*. Celui-ci forme ainsi peu à peu un groupe où dominent les filles et les garçons, mais où l'on voit aussi souvent des hommes et des femmes. Le magicien réunit ainsi de vingt à cinquante sujets. Parmi les candidats à l'initiation, les uns feignent naturellement d'éprouver l'accès frénétique, mais d'autres atteints réellement de contagion, ressentent des attaques d'hystérie. Ceux qui sont convaincus de n'être pas tombés dans l'attaque d'hystérie, sont renvoyés.

«Leur quartier général porte le nom de *vela* [3]. Dans la croyance populaire, les «mourants *ndembo*» meurent réellement et s'en vont en poussière. Il ne reste de leur corps qu'un os que le féticheur conserve pour les ressusciter au moment voulu.

«Bien qu'on les suppose morts, leurs parents et amis fournissent les aliments qui leur sont nécessaires, et après une période variant, d'après les coutumes, de trois mois à cinq ans, le magicien se prépare à leur «rendre la vie». Les honoraires de ce docteur ayant été payés, avec un bon surplus pour une fête, les gens du *ndembo* sont rappelés à l'existence, et, vêtus de neuf, ramenés au village natal au milieu de fêtes et de réjouissances publiques.»

---

[1] Journal «Le Congo», 26 Mai 1907, n° 137, p. 166 et m.

[2] Rappelons une fois encore que dans cette Etude, comme dans les autres travaux similaires, l'auteur confond les diverses sociétés secrètes de féticheurs et de sorciers.

[3] En Fàn, nous trouvons un mot presque analogue pour désigner ces lieux de réunion, *mvila*. Un certain nombre de villages portent aussi ce nom dont le radical est peut-être *éela*, l'éléaier, lieu abondant en éléaiers. Plus probablement, rapprocherions-nous ce mot d'*evil*, que nous avons déjà signalé comme donné aux lieux de réunions des sorciers: *evil ebi*, trou de pangolin.

Sur les confins orientaux de l'Etat du Congo belge, aux abords du lac Tanganyika, les Pères Blancs ont réussi en partie à percer le mystère de l'existence d'une autre société occulte, ayant ses initiations, ses rites, ses réunions, sa hiérarchie. Elle s'appelle *bugabo*, ou *bukabo, (bubabo)*, mot à mot «compagnonnage», et la licence est ici, encore, un des principaux éléments de cette association... Les affiliés ont des réunions dans les bois, la nuit, et jamais un mot de ce qui s'y passe ne transpire au dehors.

Dans le sud de l'Etat, chez les Baluba, sévit une secte mystérieuse, plus nocive encore. Elle porte le nom de *lubuku*. Elle se réunit à certains moments de la lune nouvelle (comme l'*akhûñ* des Fâñ). Dans ces convents, on fume le chanvre *(lhiamba)*. — En Fâñ, nous trouvons même coutume, et presque même nom pour le chanvre: *yam*[1]. — Sous l'influence de cette coutume dégradante, on se livre à des orgies sans nom. La première règle des adeptes est la communauté des femmes et des hommes, et le communisme. Tous les biens des membres de la secte sont communs. Les hommes peuvent se marier, mais les trois premières nuits, leur femme doit être livrée en public à celui qui le premier la réclame...

Dans le Bas et le Moyen-Congo, d'autres associations dont le nombre d'adeptes est maintenu à un chiffre très restreint, existent dans le plus grand secret. Leurs membres sont voués tantôt au crocodile, tantôt au léopard. — Nous retrouverons ces animaux en parlant des naguals. — Ce sont de véritables sociétés d'assassins. A certains jours, les initiés se réunissent et désignent celui d'entre eux qui est obligé de mériter le nom d'homme crocodile ou d'homme léopard. Le membre désigné doit tâcher de saisir à l'improviste un être humain à la manière de l'animal auquel il est voué et rapporter aux initiés la preuve de son forfait. On n'a pu surprendre l'existence de ces sociétés que par les actes de leurs membres.

---

[1] Rappelons l'habitude des Fâñ que nous avons déjà signalée, de «recouvrir» tous les mots qu'ils empruntent aux autres langues: *Nnemi* = *Nnemi*, *Bhiamba* = *yam*.

§ 4. Conclusions relatives à ces réunions.

De tout ce que nous venons de dire, et d'après d'autres témoignages nombreux qu'il serait oiseux de reproduire ici, ressortent nettement les points suivants:

1° Les sorciers, à l'exemple des féticheurs, ont constitué et constituent encore des sociétés secrètes:

a) dans la tribu fàn toute entière,

b) dans les tribus voisines de race bantoue.

Nous devons signaler ici que nous n'avons jamais rencontré ces associations dans les tribus d'autres races, telles les Négrilles.

2° Ces sociétés secrètes se réunissent la nuit, dans le plus grand mystère.

3° Elles sont toujours licencieuses au premier chef, au point que, pour plusieurs, auteurs, l'obscénité la plus effrenée en serait le but principal. A notre avis, c'est surtout une circonstance concomitante, destinée à mieux retenir et enchaîner leurs adeptes par les plaisirs les plus érotiques et les plus dégradants.

Toutefois, et c'est le dernier point que nous signalerons ici, un fait se présente, qui maintes fois déroute les observateurs les plus consciencieux et les plus désireux de connaître la vérité. Joint à la loi absolue du secret, il complique étrangement la question. De même que les féticheurs, dans leurs sociétés secrètes, admettent des grades et une hiérarchie, de même les sorciers ont constitué, eux aussi, des grades et une hiérarchie parfaitement organisée. De là, plusieurs sortes de réunions. Tantôt, c'est une sorte de réunion générale où sont conviés tous ceux qui font partie de l'association, et le but est alors une fête, presque toujours d'une obscénité et d'une cruauté révoltante. Nous avons vu combien tous les témoignages concordent sur ce point.

Mais à côté de ces fêtes «générales» où sont conviés tous les associés, il en est d'autres d'un caractère beaucoup plus secret, où sont appelés les seuls sorciers, les uniques et vrais chefs de ces réunions. Convoqués par un mot d'ordre dont nous allons parler rapidement, ils se rendent à l'endroit désigné, et, là, a lieu une fête

d'un genre tout particulier, sur laquelle il nous est difficile de donner des détails très précis. On conçoit en effet combien ceux qui font partie de ces associations se tiennent sur la réserve. La loi du secret est absolue et inexorable; de plus, leur propre intérêt est en jeu: il sera toujours très difficile, sinon impossible, d'éclaircir nombre de faits et de points dont la divulgation serait cependant des plus importante, au point de vue de la religion.

§ 5. Le mode de convocation aux assemblées de sorciers.

Les sorciers proprement dits se réunissent à certains jours. A ces assemblées prennent part les sorciers de différentes tribus, et aussi de diverses sociétés qui, au premier abord, paraissent ennemies. Au fond, il n'en est rien. Il peut y avoir entre elles lutte d'influence, parfois divergence d'intérêts, mais lorsqu'il s'agit d'atteindre le but commun, immédiatement tous les efforts convergent au même point. Bien des soulèvements contre la domination européenne pourraient et doivent ainsi être expliqués.

Si même, dans certains cas, les tribus sont ennemies les unes des autres, et se font une guerre acharnée, il n'en est point ainsi des sorciers appartenant à ces tribus: ils lutteront peut-être les uns contre les autres en tant que guerriers du clan, mais en tant que sorciers, ils resteront unis pour un effort commun.

A certains jours donc, les sorciers se réunissent à un endroit déterminé. Dans la plupart des cas, cette convocation a été décidée d'avance à la précédente réunion. Mais il peut arriver aussi que le chef suprême veuille à l'improviste convoquer ses sujets. Comment le fait-il alors?

Le mode est des plus mystérieux.

Un chef que j'interrogeais un jour à ce sujet me répondait qu'il entendait l'appel pendant son sommeil, qu'une «voix» l'avertissait du jour, de l'heure et de l'endroit, et qu'il en était ainsi très souvent. Que faut-il penser de cette réponse? Nous devons avouer que nous n'en savons rien. Ce que l'on peut affirmer, c'est qu'en fait de transmission de pensée, même à longue distance,

certains sorciers sont très forts: pareille difficulté n'est pas faite pour les surprendre.

Un autre jour, je fus témoin du fait suivant. Je causais familièrement dans une case avec un Fâñ qui se disait de nos amis, et nous rendait, de fait, beaucoup de services. J'étais assis sur son lit de bambous, et lui, sur une escabelle devant moi. Tout à coup, j'avise un petit paquet de bûchettes, les unes peintes en rouge, les autres en blanc, quelques-unes épointées, les autres pas. Ce qui m'étonnait le plus, c'est qu'il me semblait bien que ce paquet, assez volumineux d'ailleurs, n'était pas là un instant auparavant. Je m'empresse de le faire remarquer à notre ami qui ne pouvait l'avoir vu, car il lui tournait le dos.

«Qu'est ceci? lui dis-je en montrant le faisceau de bûchettes. Jamais je n'avais encore vu cela chez toi.

Mon homme détourne la tête, et se montre évidemment fort contrarié.

— Ce n'est rien, me dit-il enfin, ne fais pas attention.» Et prenant le paquet, il le dissimule avec soin, ajoutant: «Surtout, n'en parle à personne, tu me ferais avoir beaucoup de mal!»

Sa réponse ne me satisfaisait pas beaucoup. Aussi voulais-je avoir plus amples explications.

— Non, non, me répondait-il sans cesse, c'est un grand secret! (*endzâñdzâñ éki,* litt. le mystère défendu).

Enfin, après beaucoup d'instances, il se détermina à m'avouer, me faisant promettre de n'en jamais rien dire à personne, qu'il était sorcier du rite *Ngil,* et que c'était là le mode de convocation pour la prochaine réunion.

— D'après la couleur peinte sur les bûchettes, me dit-il, je sais où je dois aller: le nombre de morceaux de bois m'indique combien de jours je dois compter avant de me rendre à la réunion, les morceaux blancs désignent les chefs qui y assisteront, chacun ayant sa marque spéciale. C'est tout.

— Mais pourquoi, parmi ces bois, les uns sont-ils pointus et les autres pas?

— Oh! ceci, non, c'est un grand secret: si je te le disais, je serais puni de mort à la prochaine réunion.

— Mais qui le saurait?

— L'esprit connait tout: je ne pourrais le regarder en face; il saurait tout et me tuerait.

— Et qui t'a apporté ces bois: ils n'y étaient pas à mon entrée dans la case.

— Non, ils n'y étaient pas.

— Alors?

— Je ne puis te le dire. Et puis, parlons d'autre chose. Tout cela est défendu.»

Je n'obtins pas d'autres explications. Tout ce que j'appris, c'est que ce mode de convocation est souvent usité, du moins au dire de mon individu. Je n'ai jamais été témoin d'autre fait semblable, obtenu aucune autre explication, ni de mon homme, ni d'aucun autre. Cependant, maintes fois encore, j'ai eu connaissance de semblables convocations. Plusieurs de mes confrères m'en ont également parlé.

§ 6. Le mode de transport des sorciers.

Le fait de l'existence des sociétés secrètes, et de leurs réunions à certains jours désignés, est ainsi hors de doute pour les Fâñ. Il l'est non-seulement pour eux, mais encore pour toutes les autres tribus qui leur sont apparentées.

Reste le phénomène curieux que nous avons signalé: l'éloignement, souvent fort grand, des lieux de réunion.

Comment les sorciers se transportent-ils ainsi loin de leurs demeures?

Notons bien encore que nous ne parlons ici que des sociétés composées de «seuls» sorciers, et non de celles qu'ils dirigent, et où sont admis, après les épreuves nécessaires, de nombreux initiés, non sorciers eux-mêmes.

Au Moyen-Age, on admettait sans difficulté que les sorciers d'alors étaient transportés au travers des airs, soit par les esprits infernaux eux-mêmes, soit en vertu d'un pacte magique. Chez nos Fâñ, chez tous les Noirs, nous retrouvons mêmes croyances, mêmes procédés attribués aux sorciers. D'après leurs dires universels, les sorciers jouissent du pouvoir, plus ou moins étendu, de pouvoir

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

ainsi se transporter rapidement à de grandes distances, soit avec leur propre corps, soit sous des formes mystérieuses et étranges: feu follet, globe de feu, oiseau, animal. En retranchant de ces faits les fortes exagérations de la crédulité populaire, et aussi, pour une part peut-être encore plus considérable, l'intérêt que les sorciers eux-mêmes avaient à les amplifier et à les accréditer, faut-il, pour cela, les nier d'une façon absolue? Pour notre part, nous le ferions volontiers. Cependant, nous avouons sans peine avoir été témoin d'un certain nombre de faits qui nous laissent fort perplexe. En abandonnant à tous les facteurs différents d'erreur la part qui leur revient dans ces phénomènes, il faut bien avouer qu'il en reste encore un certain nombre d'inexplicables, tout au moins dans l'état actuel de la science et de nos connaissances.

Mais recourons à d'autres témoignages.

«Pendant que le sorcier se promène ainsi sous une forme ou sous une autre, dit Mgr. Le Roy[1], globe de feu, oiseau, animal quelconque, si on le frappe, si on le perce d'un fer pointu[2], si on tire sur lui, le sorcier se trouve roué de coups dans sa case, si même il se réveille jamais: en atteignant son âme excorporée, on a frappé son corps. Nombre de faits et de noms nous sont cités par les indigènes à l'appui de ces dires.»

Nous avons donné plus haut le témoignage de l'Evêque protestant Nassau: «Les sorciers laissent leurs formes corporelles dormir dans leurs cases, et ils s'en échappent sans être retenus par les murs, les toits ou tout autre obstacle matériel. Ils peuvent ainsi passer rapidement dans les airs, au dessus des arbres.»

Pour notre part, nous n'avons jamais été témoin de pareils faits. Mais, plusieurs fois, des indigènes nous ont rapporté avoir *assisté la nuit précédente à des fêtes fort éloignées sur lesquelles* ils nous donnaient des détails très circonstanciés. La science actuelle traite tous ces phénomènes, soit de subterfuges, soit de simples hallucinations. Il n'est pas toujours possible de les expliquer ainsi.

---

[1] *op. cit.* p. 343.

[2] A rapprocher des faits que l'on rapporte s'être passés au presbytère de Clérville, dans la Manche. Cf. de Mirville, dans son livre sur les Esprits et leurs manifestations fluidiques.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Nous avons relaté quelques faits de ce genre dans notre livre: «Fleurs noires» [1].

A l'appui de ces dires, nous pouvons encore donner le trait suivant que nous tenons de Mgr. Buléon, notre ancien confrère et ami au Gabon, mort récemment Evêque du Sénégal. Ce récit, dont il nous garantissait l'authenticité matérielle, confirme bien les paroles de Mgr. Le Roy.

Un soir, Mgr. Buléon, alors supérieur de la Mission du Fernan-Vaz, prenait le frais, assis sur la vérandah avec tous ses confrères. Tout à coup les enfants accoururent vers lui, montrant un globe de feu qui s'approchait des toitures de pailles de la Mission. Tous étaient unanimes à déclarer que c'était un des sorciers voisins qui avait pris cette forme pour venir incendier la maison. Le P. Buléon, bien que très peu convaincu, prit son fusil et l'ayant chargé soigneusement, tira à tout hasard sur le globe de feu. Celui-ci disparut aussitôt. Le lendemain, de grand matin, les hommes du village voisin venaient chercher le Père pour aller voir un mourant et tâcher de le guérir. Il le trouva en piteux état, criblé de grains de plomb, suites évidentes d'un coup de feu reçu tout récemment. Or, les grains de plomb étaient exactement pareils à ceux dont s'était servi le Père. Au Fernan-Vaz, le plomb de chasse n'est pas précisément commun! L'individu mourut presque aussitôt, au grand regret du Père, qui aurait bien voulu plus amples explications. Les Noirs, eux, n'hésitèrent pas. Tous déclarèrent que le globe de feu était bien un sorcier, et que c'était lui qui avait reçu le coup de fusil du P. Buléon.

Evidemment, le fait n'est pas absolument probant. Mais quoiqu'il en soit, il est assez curieux de retrouver à l'autre extrémité de l'Afrique et sur le versant de l'Océan Indien, chez les Ba-rongu, les mêmes croyances au sujet des sorciers qu'en Gabonie.

«Ainsi, écrit Mr. H. Junod [2], la théorie d'après laquelle un être humain, encore vivant, peut jeter un sort, un maléfice à un autre, repose sur une doctrine psychologique étrange, mais dont les Ba-rongu sont absolument convaincus. La voici: Il est

[1] Fleurs noires et Ames blanches, par le P. Trilles, chez Desclée 1911. Voir en particulier le récit intitulé «Une aventure stupéfiante» p. 200 et ss.

[2] Les Ba-rongu, *op. cit.* p. 438.

certains individus qui ont la faculté de se dédoubler, pour ainsi dire, durant leur sommeil. Tandis que leur tête repose sur leur oreiller de bois, dans leur hutte, et que leur corps est endormi, leur esprit ou plutôt l'esprit malin qui est en eux et que l'on nomme *noyi* (pl. *ba-loyi*, ce sont les jeteurs de sort), se détache d'eux, sort de la hutte en traversant la couronne tressée qui se trouve au sommet du toit et s'en va commettre le crime de sorcellerie *(ku-loya, bu-loyi)* durant les heures ténébreuses de la nuit. D'après les uns, ces *ba-loyi* volent avec de grandes ailes, et un homme de Chérindja me disait qu'on les entendait passer au dessus des sentiers, dans l'obscurité. Ils portent avec eux des drogues mortelles *(psidjuédjué, miri)*, qu'ils vont administrer nuitamment à leurs victimes, en leur inoculant ainsi les maladies graves *(tchéla tingati)*. D'après d'autres, ils se couchent comme des vampires sur ceux qu'ils ensorcellent, leur causent ainsi la sensation angoissante d'être écrasés et leur donnent des cauchemars affreux. Enfin on dit aussi qu'ils apparaissent au sommet des arbres, dans des flammes de feu. Quand ils se sont attaqués à un enfant, celui-ci commence à être plein de la vermine qu'ils lui ont jetée[1] et on ne peut plus l'en débarrasser.

«L'esprit malin, ayant tué enfin sa victime, emporte sa chair, va la cacher dans des endrois retirés, et durant les nuits suivantes, il s'en repaît, il s'en régale car les *ba-loyi* sont avant tout des mangeurs d'hommes: c'est pour se procurer de la chair humaine qu'ils accomplissent ces ténébreuses pratiques. Vers le matin, ils rentrent dans leur enveloppe corporelle, et quand ils se réveillent, ils ne savent absolument rien des horreurs qu'ils ont commises la nuit. Tous leurs crimes se perpétuent dans l'inconscience la plus complète.

«Une énigme populaire, fort expressive dans sa brièveté, rend bien cette idée du sorcier-flamme:

Njito bo?
Noyi lwe.
Ce feu?
Le sorcier-feu.»

[1] Cette croyance était commune encore en Champagne au siècle dernier. Les bergers passaient pour avoir ce don!

Il est curieux de rencontrer le même sentiment chez les Fâñ: *Ndua béyèm,* le feu des sorciers, disent-ils; ce sont les feux follets que l'on voit errer çà et là et qui accompagnent parfois les sorciers dans leurs courses nocturnes, mais ce ne sont pas les sorciers eux-mêmes, mais *Béyèm ndua,* ce sont les sorciers en feu. D'où le dicton:

Ndua béyèm, otsha béyèm,
Béyèm ndua, béyèm ndua,

littéralement: Le feu follet, c'est la torche des sorciers.

Les sorciers qui sont feu, ce sont les sorciers-feu [1], et ce sont deux choses différentes.

Pour nous, quelque soit la réalité ou la non-réalité de ces apparitions ou transformations, illusion, fantasmagorie ou autre, nous n'avons pas à les discuter ici. Très-probablement, à un peu de vrai, s'y mêle beaucoup de faux . . . Mais avant que nous ne connaissions tous les mystères de l'au-delà et du monde supranaturel! . . .

Quelle que soit cependant l'explication que l'on veuille donner de ces transports à distance, fêtes, apparitions etc., il ne reste que trois explications possibles.

1° Les nier purement et simplement. — Cela nous paraît aussi anti-scientifique qu'imprudent. Nous marchons, en cet ordre de choses, sur un terrain difficile et peu exploré encore.

2° Admettre ces faits, au moins pour une certaine part et avec les réserves nécessaires. — C'est possible.

3° Les attribuer, avec plusieurs, non pas aux sorciers eux-mêmes, mais à des esprits qui les possèderaient et se sépareraient d'eux à volonté, les réduire en un mot à une sorte de possession. — La chose pourra, à quelques-uns, paraître admissible.

Aussi, en attendant un contrôle nécessaire, et des faits plus nombreux et mieux étudiés, réserver son opinion, c'est bien probablement le plus sage.

---

[1] C'est-à-dire: Les feux follets sont les torches qui éclairent les sorciers dans leurs courses nocturnes, mais certains autres feux fétiches sont des sorciers changés en feux, et non des feux follets.

§ 7. Les initiations.

Aussi bien chez les sorciers que chez les féticheurs, nous trouvons l'initiation. Elle est évidemment nécessaire. Pour les uns comme pour les autres, elle comporte une série d'épreuves. Nous avons peu à nous en occuper ici: elles concernent plus spécialement la «Religion», qui doit faire partie d'une autre Etude.

Dans les sociétés secrètes, nous rencontrons tout d'abord, pour les unes comme pour les autres, un point commun, la loi du secret.

I° La loi du secret.

Une loi est commune aux initiations soit de féticheurs, soit de sorciers, c'est la loi du secret. Toutefois, cette loi n'a pas la même gravité pour les deux ordres. Beaucoup plus sévère pour les chefs, elle l'est beaucoup moins pour les simples initiés. De même, elle est beaucoup plus stricte pour les sorciers que pour les féticheurs. Dans les sociétés organisées par ces derniers, ce sont surtout les chefs qui y tiennent, pour mieux maintenir leur autorité. Les manquements à la loi du secret y sont sévèrement punis, mais pas toujours de mort. Au contraire, la violation du secret des sorciers entraîne toujours la mort, donnée soit par eux-mêmes, soit par l'esprit qui les commande. Il y a là en effet une question d'intérêt vital: nous avons vu qu'à part certaines circonstances dûes à la position de l'homme lui-même, presque toujours le sorcier découvert est condamné à mort et brûlé. On conçoit que dans ce cas, la loi soit beaucoup plus stricte, que tous soient profondément intéressés à la maintenir de la façon la plus rigoureuse, et de plus à veiller les uns sur les autres. Toutefois, dans certains pays et dans plusieurs tribus, à mesure que le clan se désagrège, et que la civilisation pénètre, les vieilles institutions s'effondrent, et la loi du secret disparaît. Il y a trente ans, par exemple, le *Yasi* gabonais était en pleine prospérité. Une femme osant prononcer ce mot, un enfant imitant dans ses jeux le geste de reconnaissance des initiés du *Yasi*, auraient été immédiatement massacrés. Ce geste consistait à placer la main droite étendue, les doigts réunis, sur le haut du bras gauche, en disant en même temps *Yasi*. Les premiers,

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

les enfants de la mission catholique osèrent imiter ce geste et prononcer le mot rituel. Les anciens de la tribu se fâchèrent: il y eut des coups et même des morts. Aujourd'hui, tout est oublié, et si l'on danse encore la danse sacrée du *Yasi,* c'est par manière de jeu ou de distraction: le *Yasi* a disparu, et pour le retrouver dans sa force, il faut maintenant aller loin dans l'intérieur. Ainsi en arrivera-t-il un jour de toutes les institutions païennes à mesure que gagneront la civilisation et le christianisme.

II° Les initiations proprement dites.

Pour les deux ordres de féticheurs et de sorciers, existent des initiations, composées d'une certaine série d'épreuves. Presque semblables à certains égards, elles diffèrent surtout en ce sens que les initiations de sorciers présentent un caractère beaucoup plus marqué, soit d'obscénité révoltante, soit de pratiques qui nous paraissent répugnantes au premier chef.

Les initiations de féticheurs ou les initiations dans les sociétés secrètes dirigées par les féticheurs comportent toujours des épreuves successives et graduées. Tous les Fâñ, parvenus à l'âge viril, doivent affronter ces épreuves qui les consacreront guerriers. Elles portent le nom de *bawu,* et la preuve qu'elles ont été subies consiste en cinq entailles tracées sur le cou *(bawu béñabur).*

Une de ces épreuves consiste à passer nu au travers d'une longue fosse creusée dans le sable, remplie d'épines, et recouverte de terre. On conçoit dans quel état et combien déchiré se trouve le jeune homme au sortir de la fosse.

Les épreuves des sociétés secrètes de sorciers sont d'un ordre différent. Citons-en une, par exemple, que nous trouvons chez les Baluba et que nous rapporte le P. Colle, des Pères Blancs [1]. Une épreuve presque similaire se retrouve chez les Fâñ.

Nous prenons le récit au moment où l'auteur nous décrit la 2° initiation, et dans cette initiation, la deuxième épreuve: le *bakayv,* ou *bahayo*:

«L'aspirant glisse à travers une ouverture, pratiquée préalablement dans le toit à l'aide d'une hache, d'une houe et d'une

[1] Bulletin des Pères Blancs, Anvers, 15 Août 1908, p. 229 et ss.

lance, et tombe derrière le foyer. Les confrères y pénètrent par la porte, pendant que l'un d'eux s'en va demander des perles à la famille du jeune Muhabo, et vient les lui remettre. Ce dernier demande alors la permission de se laver, et pour cela paie dix perles; puis à ce qu'on lui rase la tête, et paie encore dix perles. Il rachète ensuite ses habits, laissés dans la cabane avant d'aller dans sa fosse. Enfin le chef lui frotte le front de poudre rouge et blanche prise dans Kabwelulu. Ainsi remis à neuf, il réclame à son tour un cadeau; chaque confrère, voire même chaque membre de sa famille lui donne alors un objet quelconque, et il sort avec la troupe, au milieu des spectateurs qui ne manquent jamais d'accourir, tout en se tenant prudemment à une certaine distance. Le chef initiateur se badigeonne à son tour le bas du dos avec de la terre blanche, saisit des dents une peau de genette, met aux reins une chaînette de perles, et s'avance en se dandinant, le corps penché en avant. Le jeune Muhabo saisit les perles, et imite en tout l'initiateur, mais recouvert d'une natte. A ses côtés marche une petite fille qui a pour office principal de lui adresser les insultes les plus grossières. C'est sa Kaïambi, généralement sa parente. Ils s'avancent ainsi en chantant: «*Mulumyangulungu, nyemene lubilo kayeba* — Fils d'antilopes (boschbok) fuyez vite le *kayeba*», c'est-à-dire la scène qui se déroule. Après avoir fait un tour de la sorte, l'aspirant jette sa natte, s'assied sur un siège renversé, prend entre ses genoux le fétiche Kabwelulu, et se penchant au-dessus, il le regarde fixement. Près de lui, le chef se tient debout, tenant de la main un pilon planté dans le sol, et fait tournoyer tout autour une poule en disant:

— Fils du buhabo, quel nom choisis-tu?

— Je ne connais pas les noms du buhabo.

— Veux-tu le nom de . . . (et le chef cite un nom, propre aux membres de la secte).

«Ceux-ci répondent à la place du récipiendaire: Non, non, jusqu'à ce que soit prononcé le nom convenu d'avance. A ce moment le chef fracasse sur le pilon la tête de la poule, puis le jeune muhabo va embrasser celui des confrères qui porte le même nom, et lui fait un léger cadeau. Ce sera désormais son *nguli*

(*angom* en fàn). Les autres au contraire se mettent aussitôt à l'importuner:

«— Quels sont les objets de ta maison dont nous puissions user à notre guise?

«Le jeune muhabo leur détermine ce sur quoi ils auront droit: sa hache, sa lance, ses flèches etc. C'est le communisme en tout: dès ce jour, tous les bahabo ont droit de se servir de tout ce qui lui appartient. Malheur au récipiendaire qui se montrerait trop chiche: le poison ou d'autres moyens peu avouables l'auraient vite envoyé dans l'autre monde. On cite encore le fait de plusieurs récipiendaires trop avares, brûlés sous la fausse inculpation d'avoir lancé le mauvais sort. Si le cas se présente, la famille du malheureux est elle-même condamnée, sans recours, à payer un esclave qui deviendra membre de la secte à la place du défunt.

«Vient ensuite une cérémonie que j'ai quelque peine à vous décrire. Mais enfin, puisqu'il est convenu de démontrer par le menu détail la honte de cet esclavage diabolique, je vous prie de faire un petit effort sur votre délicatesse. Le chef donc apporte un pot neuf, où des écorces de *musye* et de *kifombe* nagent dans un liquide composé de farine et de bière. Chaque confrère se penche à tour de rôle au dessus du vase, et . . . y dépose un crachat. Le chef en dernier lieu saisit gravement ce répugnant breuvage, et dit au récipiendaire: «A présent, bois!» Et celui-ci de s'exécuter, non sans faire la grimace. Après quoi le chef reprend: «Tu as bu quelque chose de nous-mêmes. Sache que désormais tu ne saurais nous atteindre de tes maléfices, attendu qu'après notre mort nous aurons le pouvoir de nous venger et de venir te saisir.» Il brise ensuite le pot, prend la poule dont il a fracassé la tête sur le pilon susdit, et la mange avec ses confrères. Les tessons, les plumes, le bois du foyer qui a fourni le feu pour la cuisson, tout est porté dans le trou d'une termitière, sur laquelle on pique une corne sacrée.

«On prépare ensuite un copieux repas dont le jeune muhabo paiera d'ailleurs les frais, et les tambourins font rage pendant plusieurs jours et plusieurs nuits. L'aspirant est initié, il est *muhabo sorti*».

Nous avons cité à dessein cet article, car dans une des sectes fâñ nous retrouvons exactement même coutume; seulement, en plus de la salive, on ajoute un tout autre liquide.

Mais souvent, au lieu d'une pratique révoltante, nous en trouvons d'absolument obscènes. Ainsi, pour n'en citer qu'une, parmi les épreuves du *Ngil*, nous voyons celle-ci. Chaque néophyte doit successivement se coucher nu sur la statue d'argile d'*Omoreu*, femme du *Ngil*. La scène qui se passe ensuite, lorsque tous les récipiendaires ont accompli l'acte obscène, répond à ce que nous venons de dire des *bakayo*. On nous permettra de ne pas insister.

III° L'anthropophagie des féticheurs et des sorciers.

Différence entre les deux actes.

Toutes les sociétés de **féticheurs** admettent le sacrifice rituel. Dans de nombreux cas, il y a immolation de victime humaine, participation à cette victime. Ces sacrifices revêtent souvent un caractère de cruauté et d'horreur qui nous paraissent révoltants. Nous aurons occasion de traiter plus amplement ce point en parlant du sacrifice.

Ces sacrifices sont rituels: on n'y immole pas pour le plaisir de tuer, pas plus qu'on ne mange la victime pour le plaisir de manger de la viande humaine. Cela est si vrai que jamais on n'y immolera une femme. «*Munga hé dzamadzam, hé kie ve nsissim*: une femme n'a pas d'importance (au point de vue sacrifice), dit le proverbe fâñ, elle est sans force sur les esprits, car elle est sans âme.»

Dans les fêtes de **sorciers**, au contraire, et dans les sociétés constituées par eux, on mange de l'homme pour le plaisir de manger de la viande humaine.

Tout d'abord, au dire de tous les Fâñ, et de tous les Noirs, les sorciers s'excorporent pour aller manger le cœur des autres hommes pendant leur sommeil. De là, leur nom de *bendzi bur*, les mangeurs d'hommes. Tantôt ils le font directement, par eux-mêmes, tantôt par un esprit qui les possède. Nous admettons volontiers qu'il n'y a rien de vrai dans ces accusations, tout au moins au point de vue de la façon dont ils s'y prennent. Mais un point reste indéniable, le fait de cannibalisme.

Ces coutumes sont communes aux peuples voisins.

«Chez les Balubu [1], dès qu'un chef est mort, en attendant le jour des funérailles, le cadavre est placé sous un petit toit de chaume. Cela peut durer quatre, cinq jours et plus; le cadavre en décomposition exhale une odeur insupportable, mais cela ne gêne guère nos Noirs ... Au soleil couchant, la famille députe deux hommes pour procéder à l'enterrement; l'un reçoit une houe, l'autre une hache. Ils suspendent le cercueil à une longue perche, et l'emportent en silence, suivis seulement de quelques proches parents; ils s'en vont ainsi dans la brousse ou la forêt, au milieu des ténèbres, évitant de tout leur pouvoir les regards étrangers. Là, à la lumière indécise d'un feu de paille, ils creusent prestement la tombe, et après y avoir déposé leur fardeau, ils égalisent soigneusement le sol afin que l'on remarque au premier coup d'œil si la tombe est intacte ou violée. Cette précaution n'est pas inutile. Les anthropophages, en effet, sont toujours aux aguets pour découvrir une sépulture récente et en ravir le corps à la faveur des ténèbres. Mais malheur à celui qui se laisserait surprendre dans son harcin ... les parents peuvent le mettre à mort sans crainte de représailles.»

Il nous serait facile de donner d'autres témoignages, et même en nombre considérable. On peut affirmer avec vérité que l'on retrouve ces coutumes et ces sociétés chez tous les peuples bantous.

Chez les Fân, la principale secte, ou société de mangeurs d'hommes, porte le nom d'*Akhûâ*. Ce nom est tiré de celui d'un oiseau nocturne, l'*akhûâ*. C'est une sorte de chouette ou de hibou, au cri strident: les affidés s'appellent la nuit au moyen de ce cri qui leur sert de ralliement pour se réunir et se reconnaître. Ainsi, jadis, faisaient les Chouans de Bretagne.

Maintes fois, dans nos courses au Congo-Nord, mon confrère le P. Tessmann et moi avons été exposés à leurs attaques. Souvent il nous a fallu les écarter de vive force.

[1] Bulletin mensuel des Pères Blancs, p. 434 année 1903, p. 114 année 1904.

CHAPITRE XIV.

LES TOTEMS DES SORCIERS ET DE LEURS SOCIÉTÉS SECRÈTES.

NAGUAL ET NAGUALISME.

Sommaire. Les causes des nombreuses confusions entre Bûcheurs et sorciers. Points à-traiter dans ce chapitre. La constitution des totems.

§ 1. Les différents totems de sorciers.

§ 2. Nagual et nagualisme.

1° Notion du nagual. Le nagual d'après Mr. van Gennep. — Pourquoi nous n'adoptons pas sa définition. — La véritable notion du nagual.

2° Notre première rencontre avec un nagual.

3° L'origine du mot nagual. Le mot et la chose. Les auteurs qui ont traité les premiers du nagual. Quelques faits rapportés par ces auteurs.

§ 3. L'initiation au nagual.

1° Initiation du jeune guerrier.

2° L'initiation du Bûcheur. Le choix du totem. La cérémonie d'initiation.

3° L'initiation du sorcier et le nagual. L'initiation au nagual.

4° Résumé des différences entre le nagual et le totem.

5° Le totem du fondateur d'une tribu est souvent son nagual.

6° Différence entre le nagual et le sorcier transformé en animal. Ce qu'il faut penser de cette transformation.

§ 4. Les confréries des sorciers et leurs totems.

[p. 465]

Les pages précédentes ont montré les relations étroites mais aussi les différences profondes qui existent entre féticheurs et sorciers. Les relations proviennent d'un personnage souvent identique, les différences sont dûes à un lot complètement différent et souvent opposé.

Si nous avons autant insisté sur ce point, ce n'est pas en vue d'une étude plus ou moins approfondie de ces deux ordres: elle n'aurait pas sa place indiquée ici. Ces observations étaient nécessaires à cause de leurs totems, très différents d'esprit et de nature, et sur lesquels on nous paraît avoir fait souvent quelques erreurs, les prenant à tort indifféremment les une pour les autres. Or, rien n'est moins juste que cette conception.

Ces erreurs sont dûes d'abord à la confusion entre féticheurs et sorciers, termes pris à tort l'un pour l'autre. Nous ne nous en préoccuperons plus désormais. Elles sont attribuables ensuite à une connaissance imparfaite du sujet, sur lequel nous nous efforcerons d'apporter quelques données nouvelles. Une grande source des confusions qui surgissent ainsi sans cesse, provient, nous semble-t-il, des divers totems qui peuvent appartenir à un même sorcier, à plusieurs titres différents. De plus, cette transformation du sorcier en animal qu'on lui prête souvent, à tort ou à raison, joue un grand rôle.

De là, les points suivants, utiles à faire remarquer:

Les différents totems de tout sorcier appartiennent à trois catégories distinctes:

1° En tant qu'il fait partie d'une tribu.

2° En tant qu'il peut, en même temps que sorcier, être aussi féticheur.

3° En tant que sorcier proprement dit.

* * *

1° En tant qu'il fait partie, comme tout guerrier, de la tribu, chaque sorcier a les totems suivants: 1° totem tribal, 2° de clan, 3° de phratrie, 4° de famille, 5° individuel.

Nous avons déjà étudié ces divers totems et fait remarquer qu'en somme ils peuvent se résumer et se résument souvent, de fait, en un même totem.

II° En tant qu'il peut être féticheur, le sorcier aura par là même deux totems: 1° un totem individuel, 2° un totem de classe.

Rien n'empêche que ces totems soient encore similaires, ou également les mêmes que les totems de la première catégorie. Dans ce cas, ils se fortifient les uns les autres: la puissance augmente d'autant, et si les défenses totémiques sont plus strictes, l'observance est aussi plus facile. En fait, les féticheurs donnent souvent aux nouveaux adeptes comme totem individuel le totem de clan ou de famille, à condition que ce soit un totem «animal». Le totem de classe, existant déjà, est par là même indépendant de la volonté individuelle du féticheur «recevant», ou initiateur, aussi bien que du «récipiendaire».

III° En tant que sorcier:

1° le sorcier n'a pas de totem individuel, mais «un animal voué». Nous donnerons les différences profondes qui existent entre «totem» et «animal voué».

2° à l'imitation des classes de féticheurs, les classes d'initiés dirigées par les sorciers ont des totems de classes. Ces classes se recrutent chacune dans leur tribu.

3° les sociétés exclusivement formées de sorciers, se recrutent dans plusieurs tribus différentes, et au besoin, quelque soit l'état politique des tribus, ennemies ou non. Elles englobent la nation toute entière. Un sorcier est toujours l'allié de tout autre sorcier, ou moins au point de vue de la fédération, car souvent la lutte, au point de vue influence, est implacable entre eux.

Ces sociétés de sorciers n'ont point de totem, mais obéissent à un esprit.

Enfin, nous avons déjà parlé des diverses transformations de sorciers. Nous y reviendrons rapidement pour montrer qu'il ne faut pas les confondre, comme on l'a fait souvent, avec le nagual ou «animal voué» au sorcier.

Nous avons traité suffisamment des totems nationaux et autres pour n'avoir pas besoin d'y revenir ici en parlant du sorcier. Il les possède seulement en tant que guerrier faisant partie d'une collectivité organisée.

En tant que féticheur, il peut avoir deux totems, un totem individuel, un totem de classe. Nous les avons déjà étudiés. Quelques-uns méritent donc ici.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

§ 1. Les différents totems de sorciers.

Les féticheurs, ayant calqué leur organisation sur celle de la tribu, et élevé en quelque sorte pouvoir contre pouvoir, ont tout d'abord chacun leur totem individuel, qu'ils reçoivent à leur entrée dans la société. Ils ont également donné des totems à leurs collectivités organisées.

A son entrée dans la société, le jeune homme recevra donc un totem. Ce totem, nous le savons déjà, sera généralement un animal ou un oiseau dont les qualités sont de nature à être utiles au protégé.

De même que chaque individu reçoit son totem, de même chaque classe de féticheurs possède son totem: pour les mêmes raisons que nous avons déjà citées, c'est également un animal ou un oiseau. Ce protecteur porte le nom de *mvame* ou d'*ètotore*.

Pour les sorciers, la situation est toute différente.

A l'imitation des féticheurs, pour mieux se dissimuler, ou encore unir leurs efforts en vue d'un but commun, ils ont donc, eux aussi, constitué des sociétés. Mais, chose très importante à remarquer à ce point de vue du totémisme, ces sociétés sont pour ainsi dire «doubles».

Tout d'abord, dans les sociétés secrètes dirigées par les féticheurs, il y a les chefs, qui sont féticheurs, et les adeptes ou initiés, ayant subi les épreuves, qui, eux, ne sont nullement féticheurs. De même, dans les sociétés fondées et dirigées par les sorciers, nous trouvons deux grades ou deux sortes différentes d'individus: 1° les sorciers: ils se recrutent en dehors de la société, au moyen d'enfants longuement formés dans ce but; 2° les initiés, obéissant aux ordres des sorciers, et participant aux fêtes anthropophagiques.

Cette formation est calquée sur celle de la tribu ou sur les formations similaires des féticheurs. De là, chaque société aura son totem particulier de «classe». Ce totem sera encore un animal; on lui rendra d'ailleurs les honneurs habituels; le culte sera le même; en somme, rien de changé. Ainsi, chez les Baluba, où l'organisation des sorciers, beaucoup plus forte, tend à envahir les confréries de féticheurs, et à les dominer en se mêlant avec elles,

nous trouvons les sorciers Bahayo partagés en cinq classes, ayant chacune leur totem protecteur: 1° les Mulumba avec l'oiseau *kasozo*, 2° les Kileme avec l'oiseau *kinnga*, 3° les Tundulu avec l'antilope *tundu*, 4° les Mutendu avec l'oiseau *tuba*, 5° les Lubele avec la tourterelle et le crocodile.

De même, chez les Fàn, les *Ngil* auront le poisson *ngil*, les *Akkàà*, l'oiseau *akkàà* ou chouette, les *Wòè* le crocodile, les *Voda*[1] le serpent noir. Tous ces totems rentrent dans la loi générale, c'est-à-dire que, par exemple, si dans une tribu où les *Wòè* n'existaient pas encore, une société de ce genre se fonde, par le fait même, elle aura le crocodile pour totem. Ce ne sera pas tout crocodile, mais seulement les crocodiles, issus et parents des crocodiles déjà totems de la société mère dont la nouvelle société ne sera qu'une filiale. Dans ce cas, au fondateur de déterminer à quels signes et de quelle manière on pourra reconnaître le totem crocodile protecteur de la nouvelle secte. Dans cette formation, nous ne trouvons donc rien qui déroge à la loi générale.

Si les sorciers étaient ainsi restés constitués, il n'y aurait là en somme qu'une lutte d'intérêts et de pouvoirs. Mais de même que les féticheurs se sont constitués en associations où les seuls féticheurs sont admis, de même les sorciers se sont constitués en sociétés, en associations, d'où tout initié non sorcier est soigneusement exclus. Là, nous entrons dans un domaine beaucoup plus mystérieux.

Lorsque, plus haut, nous parlions de ces réunions de sorciers, où, venus de loin par des moyens inconnus, ils se rassemblaient en quelque lieu écarté, nous parlions des seules réunions de sorciers proprement dits, qui excluent les simples adeptes.

* * *

Ayant ainsi écarté tous les totems qui n'appartiennent point au sorcier en tant que tel, nous restons en présence des points suivants:

1° Au premier abord, chaque sorcier paraît avoir son totem: c'est un animal, un oiseau, un reptile, auquel il rend des honneurs particuliers.

[1] Cf. avec les l'endroit des Antilles, société noire secrète adorant le serpent.

La plupart des auteurs désignent cet animal familier sous le nom de nagual, nyarong etc. L'ensemble des faits qui se rapportent au nagual prendra naturellement le nom de nagualisme. Or, ces auteurs ne voient dans le nagual, nyarong etc. et dans le nagualisme, qu'une forme particulière de totems et de totémisme. Cette opinion est-elle fondée? Le nagual est-il un totem?

Nous sommes d'une opinion complètement opposée.

Nous entrons ici dans un domaine tellement particulier que nous serons forcés de nous étendre assez longuement.

2° Si les confréries ou associations dirigées par les sorciers ont des totems protecteurs, animaux ou oiseaux, les associations de sorciers proprement dites n'en ont pas. Tous sont unanimes à le dire: ils obéissent à un esprit que les Fân désignent sous le nom *d'engangore*.

3° L'animal voué, ou nagual, ne doit pas être confondu avec le sorcier lui-même, si tant est que ce dernier ait le pouvoir, comme les Noirs l'affirment, de se transformer lui-même en animal, oiseau etc.

§ 2. Nagual et nagualisme.

En parlant de la notion du totem[1], nous avions mentionné le nagual et le nagualisme, comme devant être différenciés du totem et du totémisme. «Ce sont, disions-nous, des faits qui tout en se rattachant au totem par des liens étroits, paraissent néanmoins devoir en être séparés comme ne venant pas de la même source et ressortissant d'un autre ensemble culturel»[2]. Et plus loin[3]: «Quantité de faits qui se rapportent au nagualisme et, par conséquent, d'une certaine manière au culte de l'animal fétiche sont à rejeter complètement en dehors du totémisme . . .» Ailleurs encore[4]. «Nous ne pouvons souscrire à l'opinion de VAN GENNEP écrivant: «Avec A. LANG, je réserve le nom de totem à l'allié animal, végétal etc., d'un groupe de parents, clan, phratrie etc., et préfère voir conservé aux alliés et protecteurs animaux etc. d'individus leur nom local (nyarong, nagual etc.). Sinon, il n'y a plus moyen de s'entendre.»

[1] Chap. II, p. 34, en note, et p. 34 et 35.

[2] p. 34. [3] p. 34. [4] p. 34.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

I° Notion du nagual.

Dans les pages précédentes, nous avons examiné la genèse du totem, et montré comment, pour nous, totem individuel, totem de famille, de phratrie, de clan, de tribu et de nation ressortissaient d'un même corps de doctrine: comment ils avaient tous, pour même origine, le totem du fondateur de la tribu, du premier père de la première famille, cellule sociale qui par examination successive avait donné la nation avec toutes les collectivités que nous y trouvons aujourd'hui.

Il est évident qu'à la rigueur, s'il ne s'agissait que d'une «question de mots», d'une appellation à donner à un ensemble de faits, on pourrait parfaitement appeler nagualisme l'ensemble des faits se rapportant au nagual, et conserver le nom local de nyarong, nagual etc., pour désigner l'allié et le protecteur animal des individus.

Malheureusement, il n'en est pas ainsi. Le mot nagual a déjà son appellation reconnue: ce n'est pas un totem individuel: c'est «l'animal voué».

Le nagual, dit VAN GENNEP [1], après LANG [2] est le nom local du totem individuel.

Nous ne saurions, pour les Fâh, admettre cette opinion, et toutes les recherches que nous avons pu faire, tant dans les tribus voisines que pour celles de Madagascar, dont parle VAN GENNEP, nous confirment dans notre idée. Le nagual n'est pas le nom local du totem individuel, mais «d'un» totem individuel, ou bien mieux encore, car nous n'admettons même pas qu'il y ait là «totem», d'un «animal voué» à certains individus, peu nombreux qui, dans l'espèce, sont les sorciers. De là, les propositions suivantes:

1° Le nagual n'est pas le nom local du totem individuel: c'est le nom local du protecteur animal de «certains» individus: ce sont deux conceptions différentes répondant à des buts divers. Et nous ne disons pas «totem», mais «protecteur animal», ce qui n'est pas la même chose. Profonde est la distinction entre ces deux mots: le totem individuel et le totem de certains individus, distinction qui, au premier abord, paraît si peu importante.

[1] VAN GENNEP, Tabou et Totémisme à Madagascar, p. 300.
[2] A. LANG, Social Origins, p. 133—134.

2° Nagual et nagualisme se «rapprochent» étroitement du totem et du totémisme, en ce que, dans les deux, nous trouvons un protecteur animal et un ensemble de faits se rapportant à ce protecteur, mais ils sont «différenciés» complètement en ce sens que:

a) Le totem, considéré dans sa forme essentielle, c'est-à-dire comme totem familial ou tribal, n'est pas un être vivant actuellement, mais un être ayant vécu autrefois, ayant transmis ses qualités, et surtout la vertu de son alliance, à tous ses descendants, ou fait à ses seuls descendants vivant actuellement.

Le nagual, au contraire, n'existe pas en tant que nagual familial ou tribal. Le nagual qui semble protecteur d'une collectivité (telle une société secrète) est le protecteur «du chef» de cette collectivité, et non de la collectivité.

Si l'on veut admettre avec Lang et van Gennep que le nagual est le totem individuel, on nie par là même le totémisme. En effet, au dire de tous les auteurs[1], le culte est totémique, lorsqu'il s'adresse, non pas à un individu, mais à une collectivité. Nous nous rallions pleinement à cette opinion. Or, l'animal protecteur, ou plutôt, puisque ce peut être toute autre chose qu'un animal, l'être donné comme protecteur, à tout individu ou du moins à la plupart des individus à leur naissance, représente une collectivité, et non pas un être isolé. Un individu qui aura pour totem individuel le tigre, aura pour totem non pas tous les tigres, mais seulement «les» tigres offrant telle particularité, donc une collectivité. L'individu, au contraire, qui aura «un» tigre comme nagual aura «ce» tigre-là «seul» comme nagual: il n'en pourra changer, et les autres tigres ne lui servent rien. Ce tigre, comme tous les autres naguals, quelqu'ils soient, constituera donc une unité, et non pas une collectivité. Donc, il n'y aura pas totémisme.

D'où cette deuxième conclusion:

b) Le nagual constituant une unité, et non pas une collectivité, ne saurait être totem, et le nagualisme est par là même tout différent du totémisme.

Enfin, par suite même de ce que nous avons dit, le totem individuel ne saurait disparaître: la mort en effet de tel ou tel tigre

[1] cf. Frazer, Religion des peuples non civilisés, p. 288.

peut affecter, ou non, la tribu, le clan, la famille, ou l'individu dont il est, non pas le totem, mais un totem. Mais la mort de ce tigre ne sera en aucune façon la mort du totem, puisque le totem tigre est une collectivité, aussi bien pour la tribu que pour l'individu.

Au contraire, la mort de tel ou tel tigre, nagual de tel sorcier, l'affectera profondément. Là, en effet, il n'y a pas collectivité, mais unité. Jamais le nagual mort ne peut être remplacé. Tant pis pour le sorcier! il perd par cette mort de son animal voué l'agent le plus actif de son autorité et de sa puissance. Souvent, sa propre vie est liée à celle de son nagual et réciproquement: s'il est lui-même malade ou s'il meurt, son nagual meurt ou souffre: de même, si le nagual meurt ou souffre, l'homme également meurt ou souffre.

Donc, en résumé, si un sorcier a pour totem individuel, le tigre, c'est le clan-tigre, c'est telle ou telle collectivité tigre offrant telles ou telles particularités qu'il a pour totem et non une unité. De là, peu importe pour lui que tel ou tel tigre de cette collectivité vienne à mourir. S'il n'y a eu aucune faute de sa part, il ne s'en préoccupera en aucune façon. Si, au contraire, il y a faute, ce sera une faute rituelle qu'il devra expier par des sacrifices déterminés d'avance.

Mais si un sorcier a pour nagual un tigre, ce tigre est une unité: ce n'est pas le clan tigre qui est nagual, ce n'est pas la collectivité. Le totem individuel se remplace: le nagual ne se remplace pas.

II° Notre première rencontre avec le nagual.

Ce fut en 1896 que nous rencontrâmes pour la première fois chez les Fâ̂t, un nagual et son «propriétaire». Nous nous trouvions alors dans un village de la rivière Tsini[1], nommé Ongek.

Voici ce que j'écrivais quelque temps après:

«En ce village d'Ongek, nous avions été reçus par un vieux chef qui, très libéralement du reste, nous avait offert la moitié de sa case, se réservant un seul coin de la grande chambre d'entrée.

[1] Cette rivière coule au nord de Libreville, et va se jeter dans le Mondah. Le territoire qu'elle arrose est assez peuplé: on y trouve les Fâ̂t des tribus Tsaverbé, Ekangi, Abé etc., les Bulu, les Benga et plusieurs autres peuples, mêlés à la mer et presque détruits.

Nos catéchistes couchaient, les uns près de lui, les autres avec moi, dans la petite chambre où reposait ordinairement le vieillard.

La nuit s'écoulait tranquille quand, soudain, vers les deux heures du matin, je suis réveillé par un froissement de feuilles sèches tout près de moi. J'écarte les plis de ma moustiquaire; j'écoute: rien, je me serai trompé. Je referme la moustiquaire et me dispose à dormir de nouveau: le même bruit se renouvelle; n'y tenant plus, je saute à bas de mon lit et allume ma torche. Horreur . . . Jugez de mon effroi: un énorme serpent noir, long de près de trois mètres, de l'espèce la plus dangereuse, se tenait immobile, lové dans un coin, la tête dressée, les yeux brillants, sifflant de fureur, prêt à s'élancer. Instinctivement, je bondis sur mon fusil, mettant l'animal en joue. Le coup va partir: déjà les enfants, réveillés en sursaut, ont poussé un cri de terreur folle; mais, au même instant, la torche est éteinte, mon arme relevée d'un coup sec: la charge s'est perdue en l'air.

«— Ne tire plus, *minizé*[1]; ne tire plus, je t'en prie, s'est écrié le vieillard, qui soudain a surgi à mes côtés, car c'est lui qui a relevé mon fusil, ne tire plus. En tuant le serpent, c'est moi que tu aurais tué: ne crains rien; le serpent est mon *éléélé*.»

Cette scène s'était passée bien plus vite que je ne saurais le retracer ici. Et déjà, le chef s'était jeté à genoux près du reptile, l'entourait de ses bras, le serrait sur sa poitrine. L'animal se laissait faire tranquillement, sans révolte, ne manifestant ni colère ni frayeur. Le vieux chef l'emporta ainsi, le coucha près de lui dans l'autre case, me recommandant bien de ne plus avoir peur, et surtout de ne jamais parler de la chose.

Cependant, les enfants et moi, fortement impressionnés, nous ne dormîmes plus de cette nuit-là, et j'attendais le jour avec impatience pour demander à mon hôte de plus amples explications.

«— C'est mon *éléélé*! s'était-il écrié, et les enfants me disaient, de leur côté: «Prends bien garde, *minizé*, c'est le bon Dieu qui nous a protégés tous. Le vieux coquin avait envoyé son animal pour nous tuer: sois-en sûr. C'est son *éléélé*.!

Sur le moment, j'avoue que je restai assez sceptique! Malgré mes instances, le vieux chef ne voulut me donner aucune explica-

[1] *Minizé*, corruption du mot anglais «minister» = missionnaire.

tion, prétextant la loi absolue du secret de l'*éléméla*. Plus tard, je compris d'autant mieux son mutisme que, n'ayant pu me tuer une première fois, il essaya, avec un certain succès, il faut le lui reconnaître, de m'empoisonner. J'étais cependant sur la voie: après maintes recherches ultérieures, il me fut facile de constater, à bien des reprises, l'existence des *éléméla* et d'étudier leur initiation. *Éléméla* et nagual étaient une seule et même chose.

Mais avant de revenir à notre *éléméla*, commençons par transcrire de nouveau ce que nous écrivions en 1898 [1], au sujet du nagual, longtemps avant que Mr. van Gennep ne se fût à son tour occupé de la question.

III° L'origine du mot nagual. Le mot et la chose.

Le mot nagual, aujourd'hui assez fréquemment employé, est dû aux langues indiennes caraïbes des Antilles. Dans sa forme première, *nakual*, il désigne un animal devenu frère de sang d'un homme par inoculation réciproque; c'est là le sens primitif. D'autres auteurs ont voulu y voir le génie familier. C'est un tort, à notre avis. Le nagual se rapproche, à certains points de vue, du nyarong malgache. Le premier auteur, pensons-nous, qui ait parlé du nagualisme, date du XVII° siècle. C'est Barroso de Mendoza, évêque missionnaire de l'Amérique centrale, cité dans la Carta pastoralis, de Nuez de la Vega, évêque de Chiapas. Vient ensuite le P. Benzoni, dans sa «Description géographique de S° Domingue», plus tard, l'abbé Brasseur dans ses «Antiquités mexicaines». Actuellement, ce mot est devenu d'usage courant.

Ouvrons le livre publié par l'abbé Brasseur, sous le titre *d'Antiquités mexicaines*. Nous y trouverons le récit de cérémonies qui ressemblent étrangement aux nôtres et complètent admirablement les lignes précédentes.

«Les missionnaires, dit-il, ont trouvé un grand obstacle à la conversion des indigènes dans le nagualisme (*nakual*, génie familier, Satan). Tout enfant recevait le nom correspondant au jour astrologique qui l'avait vu naître. On le voyait au protecteur visible ou invisible de toute sa vie, à celui qu'il devait regarder, selon l'expression de l'évêque de Chiapas, comme les catholiques regardent

[1] Voir Missions Catholiques 8 Juillet 1898.

leur ange gardien. Le maître ouvrait à l'enfant une veine derrière l'oreille ou sous la langue, en tirait, à l'aide d'une lancette d'obéidienne, quelques gouttes de sang qu'il offrait au démon comme une marque de servage et le signe d'un pacte contracté avec le nagual. Ensuite, le maître désignait au père de l'enfant la caverne où, arrivé à l'âge de raison, celui-ci devait se rendre, afin de ratifier en personne, avec son nagual, le contrat tenu en son nom.»

«A son entrée dans la vie, dit à son tour le P. Benoa (*Description géographique de Saint-Domingue*, p. 222), le néophyte est voué à un animal quelconque. Au jour désigné, l'initiateur vient chercher son disciple pour lui présenter l'animal qui lui a été indiqué au jour de sa naissance et dont il doit partager le sort et la fortune. Au milieu de la nuit, il offre un sacrifice au démon qui fait venir son nagual sous la forme de l'animal dont il porte le nom, lion, serpent, crocodile, mais qui se montre alors si doux, si privé, si docile, que le jeune homme ne peut s'empêcher de le caresser et de lui parler comme à un ami intime. Cette entrevue, pleine de tendresse, est comme le sceau du pacte conclu avec le démon. Dès ce moment, leur sort est tellement lié que, par une permission de Dieu et par un châtiment positif du Ciel sur ces hommes aveugles, ils sont abandonnés entièrement à l'ennemi du salut: ils se livrent à lui avec une volonté si complète que Satan leur fait sentir le contre-coup des blessures reçues par l'animal, leur ami et nagual.»

«Le P. Dénoe, dit plus loin Benoa, était un religieux de beaucoup de courage et de sang-froid. Malgré son âge avancé, rien ne l'intimidait. Il reprenait sans crainte, quand ils commettaient quelque chose de répréhensible, tous ceux qui l'entouraient. De ce nombre fut un Indien coupable d'une faute très grave. L'indigène en éprouva un vif ressentiment. Pour se venger, il alla se poster dans une rivière qui sort du lac et que le religieux devait traverser pour aller confesser un moribond. Le P. Dénoe prit un des chevaux du couvent et partit tranquillement en récitant son office; à peine fut-il entré dans la rivière avec sa monture qu'il se sentit arrêté, son cheval faisant de vains efforts pour avancer. Ayant baissé la tête pour reconnaître la cause de cette résistance, il aperçut un caïman qui cherchait à entraîner l'animal au fond de l'eau.

«A cette vue, le P. Dáso lança son cheval avec tant de vigueur qu'il entraîna le caïman hors de la rivière. Les ruades de la monture et quelques coups d'un bâton ferré sur la tête de l'animal le forcèrent à lâcher prise et le religieux continua son chemin, laissant la bête étendue sur le rivage. En arrivant au lieu où il était attendu, son premier soin fut de raconter ce qui venait d'arriver. Mais, au moment où il achevait de confesser son malade, on lui annonça que l'Indien, puni quelques jours auparavant, venait de mourir «des suites, avait-il dit, des coups qu'il avait reçus du cheval du P. Dáso». Le religieux alla aux informations: on trouva le caïman mort sur les bords de la rivière et l'on constata que l'Indien portait effectivement les marques des blessures dont son nagual avait dû périr.»

De son côté, un autre écrivain du XVIIIe siècle, Nunez de la Vega, évêque de Chiapas, écrit dans sa *Carta pastoralis* ces mots bien significatifs:

«Outre les communications particulières avec leurs naguals, les maîtres pouvaient à leur gré se transformer sous la figure de l'animal qu'ils avaient pris pour génie tutélaire. Les démons revêtaient également toutes les formes qui plaisaient à leurs amis pour la satisfaction de leurs désirs» [1].

Non seulement ces coutumes existent en Amérique, mais on les retrouve aussi bien dans les autres parties de l'Afrique, à Madagascar, par exemple, où le crocodile-nagual est fréquent [2], chez les Baluba et dans les nombreuses tribus du Centre africain. Nos Annales apostoliques du St Esprit ainsi que le Bulletin des Pères Blancs d'Afrique ont cité à maintes reprises de nombreux faits se rapportant à cet ordre de phénomènes.

Les explications varient: la chose demeure certaine. Il est étrange de retrouver mêmes croyances, mêmes transformations en Amérique et en Afrique.

§ 3. L'initiation au nagual.

L'initiation qui donne un animal voué au nagual à certains individus (sorciers), est et ne peut être que toute différente de l'initiation habituelle au totem, soit de guerrier, soit même de fétiseur.

[1] Nous n'insistons pas sur ces «formes» particulières.
[2] Voir aux Notes justificatives la Note III.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Ainsi, lorsque le jeune homme, arrivé à l'âge viril, est appelé à faire partie des guerriers, il subira une série d'épreuves, en même temps qu'on lui fera «connaître» le totem de la tribu; bien souvent, il recevra après les épreuves le totem qui sera désormais, à proprement parler, son totem individuel. Nous avons déjà vu quelques-unes de ces initiations. Décrivons brièvement, pour mieux en faire ressortir la différence avec le nagual, l'initiation du jeune guerrier et l'initiation du féticheur, puis le choix de leurs totems.

F' L'initiation du jeune guerrier.

Par suite de l'esprit qui a présidé à leur formation, les premières initiations du jeune guerrier constituent pour ainsi dire une sorte de seconde naissance. En en retraçant les principales cérémonies, on pourra donc y retrouver facilement une partie des rétrogressements dûs de la naissance[1].

Lorsque le temps de l'initiation est arrivé pour les jeunes gens, le chef du village ou de la tribu réunit ses guerriers dans l'*abéke* et appelle tous ceux qui doivent prendre part aux épreuves. Chacun s'approche tour à tour et remet un cadeau dans une corbeille préparée d'avance. Cette corbeille est ensuite pendue dans l'*abéke* en l'honneur des esprits[2].

Ce cadeau consiste en un pagne, un anneau de cuivre, deux bracelets et un collier du même métal, parfois de fer, et deux colliers de perles, de la poudre, des balles, une provision de bois rouge écrasé destiné à la toilette du chef le jour de l'initiation, et un peu d'huile. Le féticheur aura les mêmes cadeaux et de plus, il recevra de chaque associé, ou tout au moins de plusieurs, s'ils sont pauvres, un fusil par tête, un cabri et deux poules noires. Dans l'intérieur du pays on doit y ajouter un chien châtré destiné au repas final et spécialement engraissé à ce sujet. Le don du fusil et du cabri est facultatif, mais l'omettre serait s'exposer à la colère du féticheur: on s'en garde bien. Le jour de l'épreuve arrivé, les jeunes gens sont emmenés dans la forêt et y restent

[1] Voir pour plus amples informations: Les Rites de la Naissance chez les Fân, par le P. Trilles. Bull. Soc. de Géo. de Neuchâtel, vol. XX, 1919—11.

[2] Cf. Sacquepée, Notes ethnographiques sur les Fân, op. cit., p. 2.

pendant un mois sous la direction du féticheur pour y recevoir les enseignements nécessaires. Les chefs de famille y sont également admis pour transmettre les traditions du clan. Les épreuves diverses, destinées à voir si le jeune aspirant est vraiment apte à subir les fatigues inhérentes à sa nouvelle position, durent un mois. Lorsque la lune est nouvelle, les épreuves prennent fin. Les jeunes gens sont alors conduits dans une clairière au milieu de laquelle on a creusé de vastes et profondes fosses. On les a ensuite comblées avec des épines, feuilles de rotangs acérées, régimes de palmiers privés de leurs noix et dès lors fort piquants. On les piétine, on les recouvre de sable, en y laissant seulement une étroite ouverture. Ces fosses portent le nom de *bibi bjyô*. Au signal donné, tous les jeunes gens s'y précipitent en se tenant par la main. S'il y a un ou plusieurs fils de chefs, ils ont droit à l'honneur (!) de se frayer les premiers un passage à travers ces fosses, longues au moins de 8 ou 10 m. Aussi est-il facile de concevoir en quel état les jeunes gens en sortent. On les conduit au bain. Le féticheur leur entaille *(etsile)* alors sur le cou, avec un instrument spécial *(mfor)*, cinq marques parallèles, nommées *bawu*. Dès lors, les jeunes gens ont le droit de manger la chair du sanglier *(ngâ)* et de l'antilope rouge *(mvin)* qui leur était jusqu'alors interdite.

Après cette cérémonie, les jeunes gens sont ramenés dans la forêt pour y recevoir leur totem. Chacun est alors renfermé dans sa case. Pendant la première soirée toute entière, on lui donne à boire la sève fermentée du raphia dans laquelle on a fait infuser une écorce amère et excitante, l'*owalé*. En même temps, il fume le chanvre *(yam)*[1].

Bientôt, le jeune homme s'endort comme abruti. On l'étend alors sur sa natte, et le lendemain, au réveil, il déclare au féticheur qu'il a vu en songe tel animal ou arbre, minéral etc. Il doit le décrire soigneusement, avec toutes ses marques, son aspect, l'endroit où il l'a vu etc. Cette épreuve recommence trois jours de suite. Le troisième jour, le féticheur qui a présidé à l'initiation l'appelle de nouveau, et lui fait répéter ses trois songes. Il l'envoie ensuite chercher l'un des trois objets, à son choix rêvés, en employant les paroles suivantes:

---

[1] Voir dans Missions catholiques (mai 1896) notre article: L'initiation au *Bwiti*.

Va chercher cet objet (ou cet animal),
Va le chercher avec confiance!
L'esprit de tes pères t'accompagne[1],
C'est lui qui guidera tes pas
Et te préservera de tout danger.
Que le soleil, père des choses, soit ta lumière,
Que nul ne se dérobe devant toi!
Va, et sois plein de confiance.

Le féticheur bénit alors le jeune homme avec le *miam* rituel, c'est-à-dire en mâchant l'amome *(miam)*, et en crachant ensuite sur la tête du jeune homme.

Si le rêve du jeune néophyte lui a représenté un animal, oiseau ou reptile, la «bénédiction» solennelle du fusil ou de l'arc doit précéder cette cérémonie. Cette «bénédiction» est plutôt une «consécration» au soleil qui l'aidera à découvrir sa proie. Le jeune homme part alors en chasse ou à la recherche de l'objet: il ne doit pas revenir au campement de la forêt sans rapporter l'objet exact qu'il a rêvé. Défense à lui d'emporter aucune provision, de quelque nature qu'elle soit, de pénétrer dans un village, de boire autrement que dans sa main, d'absorber une liqueur fermentée, de manger le fruit de l'*asia*[2], de parler à qui que ce soit dans le chemin.

Lorsqu'il a rapporté au féticheur l'objet rêvé, celui-ci l'examine attentivement, et s'il est conforme de tout point au rêve, cet animal ou cet objet sera désormais le totem du jeune homme. Toutefois, par un sacrifice spécial, il devra tout d'abord être «consacré». Le jeune initié, devenu guerrier, conservera soigneusement par devers lui les restes calcinés (s'il est possible) de ce premier sacrifice. Ce sera pour lui un puissant préservatif qui interviendra dans une foule de circonstances rituelles. Très à tort, on dit parfois que c'est son «fétiche» personnel. Ce n'est nullement son fétiche: nous aurons occasion de revenir sur ce mot, c'est son totem, son *mvame* particulier, qui répond exactement au *mvamayôô* général de la tribu.

[1] Preuve, soit dit en passant, de l'union intime entre le totémisme et le culte des ancêtres.

[2] *Asia* = *Pachylobus edulis*, des Térébinthacées. Le fruit, de la grosseur d'une prune est de couleur violette et de saveur très-amère, qui disparaît à la cuisson. Son goût devient alors fort agréable. L'huile est très-connue des Mpongwés, Fiotis etc. sous le nom de *safo*.

II° L'initiation du féticheur.

Le féticheur, lors de son initiation, subit des épreuves d'un autre genre que le jeune homme. Ces épreuves se distinguent par leur degré plus marqué de cruauté et surtout par l'offrande d'une victime. Cette victime sera tout d'abord consacrée par des rites spéciaux. Puis, seulement après les épreuves, et lorsque le féticheur, néophyte a été jugé capable d'entrer dans le corps sacerdotal, a lieu le choix du totem. Mais ce choix ne revient pas au récipiendaire. C'est le féticheur «recevant» qui le donne au nouvel adepte. Celui-ci est tout d'abord soumis à un jeûne sévère, de sept jours au moins. Pendant ce temps, il lui est absolument interdit, sous aucun prétexte, de sortir de sa case. Cette case est à l'écart, dans un coin de forêt réservé aux féticheurs, et nommé *dli bingue*. Nul ne doit en approcher. Tout rapport avec une femme, même un simple regard, déterminerait l'exclusion perpétuelle. De plus, la femme serait elle-même mise à mort, sans que le père ou l'époux ait droit à aucune compensation, pécuniaire ou autre.

Pendant la réclusion du néophyte féticheur, son «recevant» a choisi le totem. Presque toujours, ce qui évite bien des complications, il prend le totem de classe, auquel est déjà consacré la confrérie.

De quelle nature sont ces totems? Jamais ils n'appartiendront au règne minéral; jamais, non plus, ce ne sera un phénomène céleste, un esprit quelconque, matérialisé ou non, ainsi qu'il arrive dans les totems de clan ou de tribu.

Le totem de classe est en général un oiseau, un animal rapide à la course, rarement un animal redoutable, et encore ce dernier sera-t-il pris par rapport à ses propres qualités et non en vertu de son pouvoir nocif. La société secrète, en effet, recherchera plutôt, comme totems protecteurs, ceux qui lui assureront en cas de danger, une bonne, prompte et sûre retraite: d'où choix symbolique d'oiseaux rapides, l'hirondelle de fleuve, le koulyèbe qui file comme une flèche, l'aigle ou le vautour que leur vol puissant met à l'abri de leurs ennemis, la tourterelle ou le ramier qui savent si bien dissimuler leur nid, de sorte qu'il échappe à tous les regards. Ce sera encore l'antilope aux jambes agiles et à l'ouïe fine, celle qui surtout sera

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

la plus difficile à saisir. Enfin, parfois on verra figurer le crocodile comme totem, non parce qu'il est méchant et mange les hommes, mais parce qu'à la moindre alerte, sans cesse aux aguets, il plonge et disparaît au fond du fleuve, ou, encore que sa carapace d'écailles le rend invulnérable aux flèches et aux javelots.

Telles sont les qualités que requiert pour elle la société secrète.

Le «consécrateur» a donc choisi le totem, généralement celui de la classe. Il doit alors s'en procurer un lui-même, mais le prendre «vivant». Il l'amène dans la case du «consacré», et pendant une nuit entière, celui-ci doit le conserver sur sa poitrine, au moins autant qu'il est possible. Au matin, dans une cérémonie solennelle, le totem est amené au milieu de la clairière, aspergé d'eau lustrale; les fétiheurs présents tournent en dansant autour de lui, puis chantent l'hymne au totem. Le récipiendaire le répète avec eux. Cet hymne exalte la force du totem, sa vaillance, sa rapidité à la course, et surtout le renverse de la protection qu'il apporte à la société. Puis, après cet hymne, le futur fétiheur va prendre la victime qu'il doit offrir. Il la conduit devant le totem. C'est ordinairement un esclave étranger, car pour éviter toute faute rituelle possible, il ne doit pas faire partie de la nation fàn[1]. Toutefois, il est permis, et le cas est fréquent, de prendre une femme fàn. L'esclave, ou la femme, est solidement garotté. En général, il n'oppose d'ailleurs aucune résistance, d'autant plus que la veille au soir, on a eu soin de lui faire boire l'*alèmand*, décoction d'herbes et de champignons ligneux qui ont la propriété d'abolir la mémoire. Le néophyte le fait marcher ou le pousse, devant lui, et par trois fois tourne autour du totem. Puis il le renverse à terre, l'attache devant le totem, et, avec le *mfor*, lui tranche d'un coup sur les carotides: le sang est recueilli dans un vase de terre qui sera religieusement brisé après la cérémonie et enfoui dans le sol. Dès que le sang a fini de couler, les fétiheurs s'avancent. Le chef le premier, les autres ensuite, le néophyte le dernier, tous trempent la main dans le vase et aspergent le totem en dansant tout autour.

[1] On choisit un esclave étranger ou une femme parce que l'un ou l'autre n'ont pas de totem, et dès lors aucun offenser ritualité n'est à craindre.

Immédiatement après, le chef fétiseur s'en approche à son tour, lui barbouille le cou du sang de la victime, puis, d'un coup sec, lui tranche également les carotides: le sang qui jaillit est soigneusement recueilli, car pour éviter toute profanation, aucune goutte ne doit tomber à terre. Le sang de la victime est ensuite mêlé à celui du totem: chacun plonge la main dans le vase et l'agite; quand le mélange est bien opéré, on place le vase sur le feu préparé à cet effet, et dès que le sang commence à se coaguler, chaque assistant s'approche et en boit une partie. Le néophyte passe le dernier et doit absorber tout ce qui reste, quelque soit la quantité.

La victime et le totem sont alors transportés sur un bûcher spécial. Souvent, on commence par ouvrir le corps de la victime; on lui enlève le cœur, et à la place, on introduit le totem. Dès que le feu a suffisamment rôti les deux corps, on les prend, et la victime est mise à part pour être consommée. Le totem est replacé sur le feu et entièrement détruit. On met seulement à part les cendres des os calcinés et broyés. De même, on garde les os de la victime, et on les réduit en cendres pour les mêler à celles du totem. Ces cendres sont ensuite partagées entre tous les assistants: la plus grosse part est donnée au nouveau fétiseur: elle constituera son fétiche «initiatique», et il s'en servira dans toutes les occasions où il aura recours à son totem. En particulier, lorsqu'il assistera à la «consécration» d'un nouveau fétiseur, après l'immolation du totem dont nous venons de parler, il déposera une pincée de ces cendres sur le corps du totem; tous ses confrères, l'imiteront, afin d'unir, dans une alliance mystique, tous les totems au sacrifice commun.

La cérémonie est achevée. Avant de rentrer au village, le nouveau fétiseur doit en faire disparaître tout vestige, veiller avec soin à ce qu'aucune goutte de sang, aucune parcelle de cendres ne soit profanée. Il dispersa le bûcher, enlève le vase du sang à l'écart, et revient alors seulement chez lui, honoré d'une dignité nouvelle.

La cérémonie a été absolument secrète en ce sens que nul profane ne doit y assister, mais elle reste cérémonie légale, et tout

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

le monde, au village, ne fût-ce que pour s'en abstenir, sait où et quand elle a lieu. Toutefois, il est interdit à quiconque d'en parler. Celui ou celle qui le ferait devrait payer une amende, généralement une poule ou une chose d'une valeur équivalente.

L'initiation au totem rentre donc, pour le fétiheur, dans les conditions ordinaires.

Toute autre est celle du sorcier.

III° L'initiation du sorcier, et le pagnai.

Dans un livre[1] publié il y a déjà quelques années, l'auteur, Mgr. Buléon, mort récemment Evêque du Sénégal, retrace ainsi de vive l'initiation du sorcier[2]. A cette époque, le futur évêque construisait une nouvelle mission dans une des parties les plus fétichistes de la Gabonie, et la plus soumise à l'empire des sorciers, le Fernan-Vaz. Ce qu'il y a vu, c'est ce que nous avons vu nous-même plusieurs fois, et son témoignage vient singulièrement corroborer le nôtre.

«Se faire initier sorcier, c'est se faire initier, par des cérémonies secrètes, à certains rites au moyen desquels on doit obtenir quelque faveur insigne d'un esprit dont on reconnaît la puissance. Les grâces qu'on demande sont aussi signalées que les conditions qu'on impose sont parfois monstrueuses: on devient fétiheur[2] pour se débarrasser de ses ennemis, vivre longtemps, acquérir de la puissance et des richesses... On comprend que la tentation soit puissante et que plus d'un s'y laisse entraîner.

«Guidé par la vengeance, l'avarice ou l'ambition, un Noir quitte un jour son village, où il ne compte revenir qu'armé du pouvoir mystérieux et redoutable, qui lui permettra de donner satisfaction à ses désirs. Le lieu de son voyage peut être éloigné: il n'a souvent que trop raison d'aller chercher au loin, et très ordinairement en dehors de sa tribu, celui qui doit lui conférer les merveilleux privilèges. Son absence se prolonge quelquefois plusieurs

[1] Sous le Ciel d'Afrique, Récits d'un Missionnaire, par le R. P. Buléon, de la Congr. du St Esprit, p. 99 et s.

[2] Par une confusion déjà plusieurs fois remarquée, l'auteur emploie indifféremment sorcier et fétiheur. Observons toutefois à ce désavantage que dans ce contrée, beaucoup de fétiheurs sont également sorciers.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

mois: car la longueur de l'initiation dépend de la nature du fétiche et de l'importance de la faveur à obtenir.

«Les cérémonies se font toujours pendant la nuit, dans une case qui n'a été construite que pour abriter les scènes de fétichisme. Tout y prend, les personnages et les actes, un aspect grotesque, quand l'horrible ne s'y ajoute pas, avec je ne sais quoi en plus de cabalistique et d'infernal.

«L'initiateur est debout: revêtu d'une peau de singe et de feuillage, tatoué de rouge et de blanc, la tête surmontée d'une immense coiffure, il exécute des danses en chantant. La musique est très belle et on y sent respirer un souffle puissant, quoique mélancolique: mais comme les paroles ne sont pas très variées et qu'elles reviennent toujours les mêmes à brefs intervalles, on comprend que le chant puisse produire une impression de monotonie, surtout (ce qui peut arriver) quand il dure la nuit entière. Quelquefois, d'ailleurs, on varie les airs. — Les autres initiés présents chantent toujours le refrain.

«Le patient est assis par terre, un simple pagne autour des reins et plus tatoué encore que les autres. Souffrant de privations cruelles dont la continuité augmente le danger, soumis à des exigences graduées avec un art savant, prenant part à des cérémonies qui frappent son imagination, tout en le fatiguant par leur longueur, il s'affaiblit graduellement, il se sent envahir par le côté sombre et mystérieux de l'initiation, il devient une sorte d'halluciné.

«Au fond de la case, il y a une statue grossièrement sculptée. Sous la statue, on a déposé un paquet contenant des ossements d'un homme mort depuis longtemps, et devant elle on a accroché un miroir dont la face réfléchissante est tournée vers les spectateurs. Toutes les fois que l'on procède aux cérémonies de l'initiation, on amène le postulant fétichiseur devant le miroir et on lui demande: «Que vois-tu?» Pendant longtemps il est obligé de répondre: «Je ne vois rien.» Tant que sa réponse est négative, l'initiation n'a pas réussi. Mais un beau jour le signe attendu apparaît: devant lui, dans le miroir de l'instrument, il aperçoit l'image d'un homme. Aussitôt on l'amène à l'écart, on lui fait décrire l'homme dont il vient de contempler la figure. Jamais il ne l'avait vu, il n'avait

pas pu le connaître, et pourtant il en fait le portrait avec une netteté parfaite et il peut donner toutes les particularités de sa physionomie. Il n'y a pas là de supercherie possible. Au portrait qu'on lui trace, et il en peut juger la ressemblance, l'initiateur reconnaît l'homme dont les ossements sont recouverts par la statue. Cette épreuve lui permet de conclure que l'œuvre de l'initiation est en bonne voie.

«Quelquefois l'initiateur demande une coopération plus personnelle et plus active de la part de celui qui veut se faire initier. S'il s'agit de quelque grand fétiche, il exigera qu'il lui apporte le crâne et quelques ossements d'un de ses parents au premier degré. Libre à lui de choisir les moyens d'action, l'heure et le moment de son crime. On comprend du reste qu'il prenne toutes ses précautions pour écarter de lui tout soupçon; seulement on entend parfois dire qu'un oncle ou un autre parent de l'absent a mystérieusement disparu au même qu'il a été nommé.

«Ce n'est que lorsqu'il apporte les preuves matérielles de son crime qu'on accomplit les dernières cérémonies. Les ossements sont jetés dans une marmite avec des herbes et d'autres objets fort malpropres. Quand cet horrible mélange a reçu une cuisson suffisante, on en fait boire un verre au malheureux; tous les assistants chantent en même temps. On se partage ensuite ce qui est resté dans la marmite; chacun en a son lot. On enferme les petits os dans de vieux lambeaux d'étoffe et on remet ce paquet à l'initié; c'est le talisman qu'il portera sur lui, qui le préservera des dangers qu'il redoute et lui procurera les faveurs qu'il désire.

«Il n'a plus, semble-t-il, qu'à payer l'initiateur et à emporter son trésor si cher et si criminellement acheté. Il reste encore pourtant une dernière cérémonie à remplir. L'initiateur et l'initié y sont tous deux acteurs et témoins d'une scène étrange que nous ne voudrions pas décrire si elle n'était aussi véridique qu'elle paraît incroyable. La vie du nouvel initié sera unie, dans un rite sanglant, à la vie d'un animal qui sera désormais sa bête familière. Il ne s'agit pas d'un animal domestique ou apprivoisé, mais d'un de ces fauves dangereux qui peuplent l'épaisseur de la forêt ou les eaux des fleuves. L'initiateur a pris son serment; il donne un signal;

d'abord aucun bruit n'y répond, mais bientôt à la vive clarté de la lune, on voit s'avancer un nouveau personnage vers l'endroit de la forêt où il est attendu: tantôt c'est une masse énorme avec une tête monstrueuse; tantôt une forme fêlée qui rampe plutôt qu'elle ne marche; parfois aussi un corps long qui se déroule et ondule: l'animal, quel qu'il soit, hippopotame, panthère ou serpent, oublie la timidité ou la ferocité qu'il ressent en présence de l'homme, et se prête docilement à l'opération à laquelle on veut qu'il prenne part. Alors a lieu l'échange du sang. Comment se fait-il? nous n'avons pas à le chercher. Mais ce qui est hors de doute, c'est qu'on fait couler le sang de l'animal et le sang de l'initié, et qu'on inocule à chacun d'eux le sang de l'autre. L'oreille de la bête est fendue (ou serpent on fait une blessure équivalente), pour être le signe du lien qu'elle contracte avec l'homme; à celui-ci on ouvre le bras, et il est à son tour marqué du signe de la bête[1]. Une véritable union existera désormais entre eux. L'animal sera à la disposition de celui qu'on lui a donné pour maître. Nous pourrions nommer (serait-ce une indiscrétion?) tel Noir qui reçoit chez lui, la nuit, un vautour et une panthère à l'oreille fendue, et un autre qui admet le soir dans sa case et jusque dans son *ekuka*, (lit.) un serpent boa qui reconnaît son autorité. Le jour venu, et leurs œuvres achevées, les animaux rentrent dans le lac ou dans la brousse, aussi terribles, plus terribles souvent pour tous ceux dont ils n'ont pas reçu le sang.

«Cette union est tellement étroite, entre la bête et l'homme, que la vie de l'un dépend de la vie de l'autre.

«Que d'exemples on pourrait citer! Avez-vous tué une panthère qui porte le signe, vous ne tarderez pas à apprendre la mort de quelque fétichseur. Le fétichseur a-t-il succombé le premier, ne soyez point surpris de trouver près de son village, le cadavre de son familier.

«Le fétichseur rentre enfin dans son village. Mais combien sa situation est devenue différente! Combien de privilèges il apporte

[1] Ici nous n'avons pas à tout dire: sur bien des points, le fétichisme rappelle la sorcellerie du moyen âge et de l'époque qui a suivi; les marques qu'il imprime sont vraisemblement celles que portait Urbain Grandier, le grand sorcier de Loudun, du moins nous dirons de certaines pièces du procès.

avec lui, et avec quelle facilité il peut donner satisfaction à tous ses désirs. Il se croit invulnérable, et les faits les plus invraisemblables seraient de nature à faire penser qu'il ne se trompe pas; il acquiert bien vite de l'influence et des richesses, et il voit disparaître ceux dont il désirait la mort ou convoitait les biens.»[1]

Depuis mon aventure avec le vieux chef et son serpent, bien souvent j'ai été témoin de faits pareils. Dans les cases des Noirs, à la veillée, on m'a redit plus d'une fois ces scènes sauvages d'initiation; on m'a montré du doigt, tout en se cachant, tel ou tel qui était soupçonné de porter les marques des sorciers. Et, peu à peu, j'ai senti mon scepticisme diminuer et disparaître, surtout en voyant d'un hémisphère à l'autre, des faits pareils, des observations identiques, preuves d'une religion, multiple sans doute en ses formes, en ses aspects, mais unique au fond en son essence.

* * *

Au contraire des totems, hommes et femmes peuvent avoir leur nagual, puisque les uns comme les autres peuvent être sorciers. Cependant ces naguals ne sont pas les mêmes pour les deux sexes.

Chez les Fân, les naguals des hommes sont, à de très rares exceptions près:

1° la panthère, improprement appelée tigre, *nze*;

2° le serpent noir, *ekom* et parfois le serpent python, *mvom*;

3° le crocodile, *nkôm*; rarement le *ngôô* ou caïman, jamais le sauriens de terre;

4° l'hippopotame, *ngube* ou *ngube*;

5° le sanglier, *ngô*;

6° le vautour *nkôô*, mais très-rarement.

La panthère est le nagual de beaucoup le plus fréquent; on pourrait dire 90 fois sur 100. Vient ensuite le serpent noir, puis les autres animaux dans l'ordre indiqué.

Les naguals féminins sont:

1° le serpent noir, *Angôlakagôlo*, différent du *mvom*;

2° le vautour, *nkôô*;

[1] Sous le Ciel d'Afrique, par le R. P. Bulcioni, pp. 88 et ss.

3° le saurien de terre, rarement le crocodile;
4° une sorte de chouette ou d'oiseau nocturne, *akûñ*;
5° le serpent vert des bananiers, *fôl*;
6° une sorte de vipère cornue, (eéraste à cornes) *fl*.

IV° Résumé des différences entre le nagual et le totem.

Pour résumer rapidement les faits qui se rapportent au nagual et le différencient du totem, nous pouvons donc maintenant établir les points suivants, en comparant de préférence le sorcier au féticheur.

Chaque féticheur a un totem, presque toujours animal. Mais ce totem est une collectivité, et jamais une unité. De là, toute unité appartenant à son totem-clan est bien son totem, mais la mort d'une unité n'entraîne en aucune façon la mort ou la perte du totem, pas plus que la mort du féticheur.

Le féticheur n'a aucun pouvoir sur son totem: celui-ci ne lui obéit en aucune façon.

L'alliance du féticheur avec son totem est une alliance toute mystique; c'est une simple parenté spirituelle.

En général, ce totem est un animal, mais de préférence, un animal léger à la course, habile à saisir sa proie, un animal en un mot doué de certaines qualités que le féticheur tient à s'assimiler.

Les lois du totem des féticheurs sont les lois générales du totem.

Au contraire, le sorcier a pour totem un animal familier nommé *éléñéla* (nagual). Cet animal est toujours une unité, jamais une collectivité.

La mort du nagual entraîne la perte définitive de cette alliance. Dans bien des cas, elle entraîne en même temps la mort du propriétaire.

Le sorcier a tout pouvoir sur son nagual; celui-ci lui obéit, répond à son appel, exécute les ordres donnés. Au dire de quelques-uns, le nagual obéirait même à une simple transmission de pensée, à un appel secret de son maître. Pour nous, nous ne croyons guère à ce pouvoir, tout au moins nous n'en avons jamais été témoin. Un jour même, un sorcier qui exerçait tout pouvoir dans le petit village dont il était chef, furieux du baptême de sa femme,

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

nous menaça ouvertement de son *éléléfa*, une panthère, et nous déclara qu'il allait l'appeler pour nous faire dévorer. Il se retira, et bientôt le tamtam résonnait de coups particuliers. La panthère vint en effet la nuit au village, mais probablement satisfaite du rapt d'un chien et d'un mouton, ne nous fit aucun mal. Ce fut peut-être une simple coïncidence, mais tel n'était l'avis ni des gens, ni du sorcier, furieux contre son *éléléfa* et déclarant hautement que c'était la première fois que pareille chose lui arrivait!

Le nagual, au lieu d'être un animal rapide à la course ou habile à se cacher est toujours un être méchant, et le sorcier s'en sert pour nuire à ses ennemis et les faire périr. Ainsi la panthère, le serpent noir, le crocodile. L'hippopotame fait chavirer les pirogues dans l'eau et écrase sous ses pieds les malheureux voyageurs. Comme certains sorciers ont pour nagual l'hippopotame, il paraît difficile d'admettre qu'ils n'ont pas au moins un certain pouvoir sur lui. Vient enfin le sanglier. Celui-ci ravage les récoltes des ennemis du sorcier. Dans son livre des Primitifs [1], Mgr. Le Roy cite un fait de ce genre, en l'attribuant, non sans un certain scepticisme, d'ailleurs très-fondé, à une transformation d'homme en animal. Si la chose est bien réelle, nous l'attribuerions plus volontiers à un nagual.

Les naguals féminins sont plutôt des serpents ou êtres venimeux. Jamais on n'y trouve la panthère; nous ne savons pourquoi. Nous ignorons également la raison du choix d'une sorte d'oiseau nocturne. Nous l'avons constaté chez la mère d'un de nos catéchistes [2]. Elle se refusa toujours obstinément à nous en donner aucune explication; même, d'après ses dires, si nous en avions parlé à ses voisines, elle se serait tuée immédiatement!

Si l'alliance du féticheur avec son totem est une alliance purement mystique, contractée à la suite d'un sacrifice, l'alliance du sorcier avec son nagual est réelle et effective: il y a échange de sang. Lorsqu'il s'agit d'un serpent, on lui prend du sang un peu au dessous de l'oreille, on fait de même pour l'homme, et on mêle ensuite les deux liquides, de même que pour les autres animaux.

[1] p. 344 La Magie.
[2] Fidèle Bikalé, fils du chef des Fié Mékuk, à Bénito.

Le sorcier porte, de plus, certaines marques spéciales au bras et aux parties génitales.

Si, au premier abord, et par suite de rapports erronés, on a pu confondre *nagual*, *idhiosi*, *nyarong*, *ôlôéla*, en un mot, animal vrai, avec le totem individuel, il est facile de voir maintenant les différences profondes qui séparent ces deux ordres de faits.

L'*ôlôéla* peut être un animal faisant partie du clan-totem.

L'*ôlôéla* peut parfaitement faire en même temps partie du clan animal auquel appartient soit le totem individuel, soit le totem classique ou tribal, ce qui peut amener de nombreuses confusions. Les sorciers, gens particulièrement désireux de se cacher, et en même temps d'affirmer leur puissance, ont souvent cette habileté. Par là, ils peuvent en effet dissimuler la qualité réelle de leur nagual: c'est mon totem, disent-ils, si quelqu'un les surprend avec leur *ôlôéla*. Savoir ainsi faire venir leur soi-disant totem au gré de leurs désirs leur donnera souvent une autorité particulière, et ils pourront s'en servir utilement en certaines circonstances. On conçoit en effet le prestige obtenu par un féticheur, qui, au cours d'une cérémonie rituelle, fait ainsi appel à son totem, en réalité son nagual. Mais, d'habitude, il s'en garde bien: par là même, en effet, il dévoile sa qualité de sorcier: à moins d'être tout puissant, et à l'abri de toutes représailles, il n'y tient nullement! Qui peut répondre de l'avenir!

V° L'*ôlôéla* était primitivement le totem du fondateur de la race ou du clan.

D'après certains chefs, en particulier chez les Békwé, le totem du fondateur de la race ou du clan était primitivement son *ôlôéla*. Le fait est parfaitement admissible. Si par un moyen ou par un autre, le fondateur d'une tribu ou d'un clan a su réussir jadis à plier ainsi un animal à ses volontés, à s'en faire obéir, ou tout au moins à le persuader à ses hommes, ce qui est presque la même chose, très facilement ceux-ci, après la mort du fondateur, auront choisi son *ôlôéla* pour totem. Mais ce choix, dicté par les circonstances ou la volonté du chef mourant, n'implique en aucune façon qu'il soit demeuré *ôlôéla*. Au contraire, cette qualité dispa-

réussit par le fait même qu'il devenait totem et cessait d'être une unité pour devenir collectivité en ses descendants.

En effet, dans aucun cas, les descendants du nagual ne sont eux-mêmes nagualo pour l'homme par le fait de leur naissance. Un sorcier, dont l'*ébéélé* était le serpent noir, nous avouait une fois qu'à certaines époques il laissait toute facilité à son «ami» de s'occuper, mais que s'il pouvait, sans être vu, détruire la compagne et les petits de son «ami», il le faisait sans aucune hésitation: ils seraient été aussi dangereux pour lui que pour tout autre. Toutefois, dans ce cas, il avait grand soin de dissimuler toute trace ou toute odeur: «Mon «ami», me disait-il, me tuerait, s'il me soupçonnait!»

Le métier de sorcier a bien ses petits désagréments, même avec les nagualo!

VI° Différence entre le nagual et le sorcier transformé en animal.

Dans un certain nombre de cas, il a pu arriver que le nagual ait été confondu avec le sorcier lui-même. En effet, au dire des Noirs, il arrive fréquemment que les sorciers se transforment en animaux. «La puissance mystérieuse des sorciers leur vient d'un pacte qu'ils ont fait avec les esprits dans les formes rituelles et secrètes, connues des seuls initiés.

«Souvent, pour accomplir leurs mauvais dessins et exercer leurs vengeances, ils se transforment en animaux et deviennent un objet de véritable terreur pour le pays. C'est ainsi qu'au Gabon, «l'homme-tigre» est assez souvent signalé. Le soir, après le coucher du soleil, on l'aperçoit rôder autour des villages, dans les chemins isolés, ou sur le bord des champs. Qu'un enfant ou une femme vienne à passer, il se jette dessus et l'égorge. On a vu ainsi dix, vingt et trente personnes disparaître à Bata dans l'espace de quelques mois. Ailleurs, c'est l'homme-chacal, l'homme-caïman etc.

«Ces meurtres sont réels, et absolument constatés.

«D'où proviennent-ils? Parfois d'une bête véritable, qui a pris le goût de la chair humaine et devient bientôt un redoutable fléau. Parfois aussi d'un homme qui se revêt de la peau d'un léopard ou d'un autre animal: les traces de ses pattes (et aussi de ses griffes sur le corps de la victime) restent sur le sol et donnent l'illusion

du passage de la bête. Cet homme, alors, obéissant à une sorte de diabolique impulsion, saisit les gens sans défense, et tue . . .

«Parfois, enfin, ces séries de meurtres sont restées sans explication.

«D'autres sorciers, sous une forme ou sous une autre, se contentent de causer des dommages matériels. C'est ainsi que pendant mon séjour au Gabon, je fus appelé un jour au Cap Estérias par toute une population dont les plantations de manioc étaient ravagées par une bande mystérieuse de sangliers, commandés par une sorte de capitaine, sanglier lui-même. Ce fantastique animal était insensible aux balles, évitait tous les pièges, et n'était autre, d'après les découvertes qu'on avait faites, qu'une vieille sorcière qu'on me désigna, et qu'on voulait décharger. Ce ne fut pas sans peine que je lui sauvai la vie . . .[1]»

On retrouve dans tout le Continent africain, tout au moins dans les tribus bantoues, cette croyance aux transformations d'hommes en animaux. Ainsi, au Moyungu, l'homme qui se change en lion porte le nom de Kimungoko. Que faut-il en penser? Dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, et jusqu'à plus ample informé, il est plus sage de dire avec l'éminent auteur cité plus haut: «Parfois ces séries de meurtres sont restées sans explication.»

Presque toujours, croyons-nous, on peut les attribuer à des hommes déguisés en animaux, soit pour satisfaire sans danger leurs instincts de meurtre, soit pour se procurer des victimes destinées aux festins de chair humaine.

Dans certains cas, ces hommes agissent sous l'influence mystérieuse d'agents inconnus. Il y a là, peut-être, une sorte de possession inconsciente. Ils se croient et se disent véritablement transformés en animaux. Ce sont des cas analogues aux loupsgarous du Moyen Age, et l'explication demeure la même.

Souvent enfin, et quand ce n'est pas l'homme lui-même déguisé ce qui est presque toujours le cas, on a affaire, non pas au sorcier transformé en animal, mais à son nagual lui-même, obéissant à ses instructions et à son impulsion, tout au moins les premières fois. Après que l'animal a goûté à la chair humaine, il

[1] Mgr. Le Roy, op. cit., p. 242.

y revient facilement de lui-même. Il nous souvient que dans un village de l'intérieur, une panthère[1] avait ainsi dévoré en l'espace d'une année trente-sept personnes. Un sorcier fut accusé de l'avoir à ses ordres et, en conséquence, après aveux, exécuté lui-même. Le lendemain, la panthère fut trouvée morte dans la forêt. Simple coïncidence? Peut-être le sorcier l'avait-il envoyée lui-même la première fois, mais pour le reste des meurtres, nous avons bien quelques doutes. En tout cas, cette panthère avait cependant l'oreille fendue, de main d'homme, comme nous pûmes le constater. C'était, sans préjuger des résultats, la marque évidente qu'il était «tué».

§ 4. Les confréries de sorciers et leurs totems.

Dans leur ensemble, les confréries de sorciers sont calquées sur celles des fétiseurs. De là, pour les uns comme pour les autres, deux catégories distinctes de confréries ou sociétés secrètes, les unes composées d'adeptes dirigés et gouvernés par les fétiseurs et les sorciers, les autres composées uniquement de fétiseurs ou de sorciers.

I. Les sociétés composées d'adeptes dirigés par les sorciers, ont de même que les sociétés similaires dirigées par les fétiseurs chacune leur totem. Ce totem est toujours animal. On retrouve à peu près partout[2] cette coutume, nécessitée d'ailleurs par la conception même du totem.

II. Les sociétés secrètes uniquement composées de sorciers n'ont pas de totem: elles obéissent à un esprit.

«A leurs réunions, dit Nassau en parlant des sorciers[3], ils se mettent en communication avec les méchants esprits, qu'ils voient, qu'ils entendent, qu'ils touchent. Ceux-ci (souvent sous la forme d'animaux) partagent leurs fêtes et leurs festins.»

Sur ce dernier point, nous croyons qu'il s'agit souvent de leurs nagualz. Que faut-il penser de ces réunions et de cette

[1] On connaît à ce sujet les tristes ravages causés dans l'Inde chaque année par les tigres man-eaters.

[2] Cf. Bulletin des P. Blancs, Les Baluba par le R. P. Colle, Avril 1908.

[3] R. Hamill Nassau, Fetichism in West Africa, p. 123.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

communion avec les esprits apparaissant aux sorciers sous une forme visible? Tous les sorciers l'affirment: jusqu'à ce que leurs témoignages soient sévèrement et scientifiquement contrôlés, on est forcé de s'en rapporter à leurs dires et d'y ajouter foi ou non. Mais jamais, on peut en être sûr, ni les sorciers, ni les esprits ne se prêteront à ce contrôle scientifique. D'après nos renseignements personnels, voici ce qui arriverait alors. Parfois, le ou les esprits apparaissent sous une forme vague et indéterminée. C'est, nous disait une fois un sorcier, lorsque nous sommes réunis tous ensemble, que l'esprit apparaît. On sent alors une sorte de vent froid qui passe et qui vous souffle au visage, c'est une lueur qui brille et qui disparaît. On entend sa voix, tout le monde sait qu'il parle, on le comprend, mais on ne sait pas où il est. A sa lumière, nous nous voyons tous, et on est content, content . . .

D'autres fois, l'esprit se transforme, paraît-il, en animal. Un sorcier de Batz, converti, nous affirmait un jour avoir maintes fois assisté à des fêtes de ce genre. A un signal donné, tout l'intérieur de la case où il se tenait avec ses confrères s'illuminait, et l'esprit apparaissait sous la forme d'un bouc. Chacun allait l'adorer à tour de rôle, lui offrir ses présents, et recevoir la «marque» . . .[1]

Nous pourrions nous étendre longuement sur ce sujet, mais il ne rentre qu'indirectement dans le cadre de cette Etude. Il nous suffit de constater que, à l'inverse des sociétés de fétiseurs, les sociétés de sorciers n'admettent pas de totem protecteur: elles obéissent à un esprit, souvent transformé en animal.

Cet esprit porte alors le nom d'*engangure*. C'est aussi le nom des *Akan* ou revenants, ou encore des âmes des morts après les épreuves post-funéraires, et leurs dernières transformations.

[1] Il nous est impossible de décrire ici l'adoration et la marque: elles sont abominables.

[p. 496]

CHAPITRE XV.

LE TOTEM DANS LA VIE FÁŃ.

LES RITES GÉNÉRAUX.

Sommaire. La vie fáń est imbrouée par la religion.

§ 1. **Le droit du totem aux rites cultuels.** L'opinion de Sir H. Johnston. Le totem a droit au culte en tant que *mvumgbó*, père éponyme de la race. — Ce culte est dérivé de celui de l'*evungbó*, père et ancêtre réel de la race.

§ 2. **Les rites totémiques généraux ou rites du *mvumgbó*.** Partie commune à tous les rites cultuels totémiques.

1° Le sacrifice totémique. — Opinion de MM. Smith, Hubert et Mauss. a) Le sacrifice «au» totem. — Tuer le totem est interdit en principe. Quand est-il permis de faire le sacrifice? Comment se fait le sacrifice. — Quand y a-t-il sacrifice? L'immolation et l'échange de sang, la communion à la victime. b) Le sacrifice «du» totem. — Les divers sacrifices.

2° L'eau lustrale: son qualité. — Comment on la conserve. Son usages totémiques.

3° Le jeûne: comment il se pratique. — Sa durée. — Le pourquoi du jeûne.

4° Les danses totémiques. — Danses religieuses, de circoncision, funéraires, totémiques. Cette danse est un caractère commun de diverses. Le rythme de la danse.

§ 3. **Les rites totémiques généraux. Détail de ces rites.**

1° La Circoncision. — Le fait de la circoncision. a) Est-ce un rite religieux? La circoncision n'est pas dûe, au moins essentiellement, à une cause hygiénique. Opinion de Renan. Opinions médicales. — b) La circoncision est-elle un rite totémique? Frazer, le R. P. Lagrange, Mr. l'abbé Bacq. — Ce qui peut s'appliquer aux Fáń. — c) Le fait même de la circoncision. Ce qu'en disent les Fáń. *α)* Le fait et le nom. *β)* L'âge de la circoncision. *γ)* L'époque de la cérémonie. *δ)* Les préparatifs. *ε)* La cérémonie. — d) Les résultats de la circoncision. — L'opinion de Mgr. Le Roy sur la circoncision. Notre propre sentiment.

3° L'Initiation du jeune homme. — Les épreuves avant d'être admis comme guerrier. La consécration et le chant du feuil, l'épreuve au soleil.

4° La Consécration du Chef. a) La cérémonie. — Le chant de consécration. Le sacrifice et la victime. — b) Le rôle de la tasse chez les Mavandi et chez les Fâ. Le but de ces cérémonies. — c) Comparaison entre les rites de l'initiation et de la consécration avec le rôle religieux du Pharaon. — d) Erreur de l'administration européenne nommant un chef en dehors de la famille souche. — e) Changement de totem de clan. Quelques exemples.

5° La Guerre et les Palabres. — Le sacrifice de guerre et la victime. La cérémonie. Le sacrificateur. La consécration à la victime.

6° Les Grandes chasses. — Le sacrifice. La raison de ce sacrifice.

6° L'Etablissement d'un nouveau village. — Pourquoi on construit un nouveau village. Les rites préparatoires. L'établissement du village.

7° Les Ordalies. — Différentes espèces d'ordalies. Quand a-t-on recours aux ordalies. Epreuves du feu, de l'eau bouillante. Le poison d'épreuve.

8° L'Echange du sang. — Comment se fait l'échange du sang chez les Fâ et dans diverses tribus africaines.

Toute la vie du Fâ, comme la vie de tout Noir, Bantou ou autre, est intimement pénétrée par la religion.

Tantôt elle informe ou détermine les actes principaux de sa vie familiale et sociale, tantôt elle en constitue l'essence même et la raison d'être. C'est alors la vie religieuse proprement dite.

Ces actes cultuels sont exercés par des ministres spéciaux, le père de famille pour les rites de la vie familiale, le chef de clan ou de tribu pour les phénomènes sociaux, le fétiseur ou ministre proprement dit pour la vie religieuse. Souvent, toutefois, le fétiseur s'est substitué, en fait mais non en droit, au père de famille, et surtout au chef de clan et de race. Aux côtés du fétiseur, luttant dans l'ombre contre lui, s'est élevé le sorcier, l'homme du culte extra ou contra-légal.

L'acte religieux s'adresse aux esprits, aux mânes, aux ancêtres, aux forces inconnues de la nature etc. Il s'adresse également au totem, tel que nous l'avons défini. Ce totem est rattaché à la religion par des liens étroits qui l'unissent, pour les Fâ tout au moins, de façon indissoluble au culte des ancêtres, et déterminent son droit aux rites cultuels.

7: Trilles F319 Fang

§ 1. Le droit du totem aux rites cultuels.

Le totem réel a ses droits aux rites cultuels parfaitement déterminés, en tant que père de la tribu, souche de la race.

En employant ces deux mots «père» et «souche», nous ne voulons nullement dire, ainsi que nous l'avons fait remarquer déjà, que l'animal éponyme est le véritable père de la race, la souche par génération effective. Nous employons ces mots comme le disent les indigènes, pour nous servir de leurs propres expressions. Elles ont été fréquemment mal comprises[1].

On a souvent confondu parenté réelle et parenté de sentiment, de parole, d'usage. Toutefois, certains auteurs, étudiant sur place, ont hésité:

«I have never been able to ascertain from Banyoro or Baganda that their forefathers at any time believed the clan to be descended from the object chosen as a totem. The matter remains very obscure. It may be remotely connected with ancestor-worship, which is certainly the foundation of such religious beliefs as are held by the Banyoro, as by most other Negro races»[2].

Comme on le voit, d'après ces paroles de Sir H. Johnston, l'assimilation entre *mvumaydé* et *ntaydé* résultait beaucoup plus de l'opinion préconçue de l'écrivain ou des paroles mal comprises de l'indigène, que des paroles elles-mêmes et du fond de la question.

Par suite de cette reconnaissance de parenté, qu'elle soit réelle au vrai sens du mot, ou résulte simplement de l'échange du sang, quels sont les droits du totem?

En tant que père de la tribu, *mvumaydé*, et de souche de la race, le totem a droit au culte et, par conséquent, à des rites spéciaux, déterminant les circonstances, les lieux, et la manière de lui rendre ce culte.

Mais le *mvumaydé* peut et doit être considéré sous un double aspect: il est protecteur du clan et de la tribu, c'est alors, à proprement parler, le *mvumaydé*; en cette qualité, il a droit à un culte public, national ou tribal. Mais il est également protecteur de la famille

[1] Cf. S. Reinach, Orpheus en mat totem, p. 39 et pass.

[2] Sir H. Johnston, The Uganda protectorate, préface.

et de l'individu, et c'est sous l'*éfotore*, et en cette qualité, il a droit à un culte familial et particulier. Pour saisir et comprendre la signification de nombreux faits totémiques, cette distinction est absolument nécessaire.

Le *mvamayôô* aura donc droit au culte rituel, et non à un culte quelconque, ce qui suppose l'intervention du *fétiche*ur représentant du chef, ou du chef de famille ou de tribu lui-même; et non seulement il aura droit au culte collectif public dans les circonstances déterminées par la loi, tels la fondation d'un nouveau village, mais encore, en qualité *d'éfotore*, il aura droit à un culte privé particulier, ce qui nécessite l'intervention de l'individu et du chef de famille, et non plus du fétiche*ur* ou chef de tribu.

Mais, remarquons-le bien, ce culte du totem, qu'il soit privé et particulier, ou qu'il soit tribal et général, ne rentre pas, à certaines égards, dans le cadre général de la vie religieuse, en tant que religion, ou, si l'on veut, il ne constitue pas la religion de la nation ou de la tribu. De la religion, en effet, le fétiche*ur* est, de droit, le représentant, le gardien, et le sacrificateur *attitré*, non par choix mais de par sa fonction même.

Dans le culte totémique, au contraire, qui n'est pas la religion, mais un ensemble de faits religieux, ce rôle revient au chef de famille ou de tribu, et si, par exception, le fétiche*ur* l'exerce, c'est par simple délégation.

Le culte du *mvamayôô* sera en effet un culte dérivé, fondé en principe sur le culte de l'*esayôô*, sans lequel il n'aurait aucune raison d'être. L'*esayôô*, en effet, est le vrai père de la tribu, et sans l'*esayôô*, il ne saurait y avoir *mvamayôô*: l'un ne peut évidemment aller sans l'autre. Mais le culte de l'*esayôô*, ou culte ancestral, est indépendant du culte religieux proprement dit ou reconnaissance de la divinité et culte des esprits. Il s'y rattache simplement en ce sens qu'il y puise sa source, et, au sentiment des Fâh, en tire son origine ultime et sa raison primordiale. Le culte de l'*esayôô* est donc avant tout un culte familial dans le principe, si l'on considère l'ancêtre de chaque tribu prise en particulier. Il est national si l'on considère le ou les ancêtres primitifs de la tribu entière; il se rattache enfin définitivement au culte vraiment religieux et divin,

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

en ce sens que dans beaucoup de tribus bantoues, et très probablement chez les Fâ, le ou les ancêtres primitifs de la tribu entière sont aujourd'hui divinisés et élevés au rang de dieux nationaux, ou tout au moins d'esprits protecteurs de la tribu.

Le totémisme n'a donc au fond dans les conceptions religieuses des Fâ qu'une importance relative, et ne marche, si l'on peut s'exprimer ainsi, qu'en troisième ligne, après le culte des esprits d'abord, puis le culte des ancêtres, dont il n'est qu'une dérivation.

Les rites du totem, suivant qu'ils se rapporteront au *mvumayôô* ou à l'*ôtôtore*, seront donc, d'après ce que nous avons dit, généraux ou particuliers. Les premiers concernent la race elle-même, et ce qui a rapport à sa durée et à sa préservation, les autres concernent l'individu, non pas en tant que particulier, mais encore en tant que se rapportant à la race. De là, nous en arrivons tout naturellement à y reconnaître les rites familiaux, et les rites curieux où la religion, interviennent surtout dans ces derniers d'une façon plus ou moins large.

§ 2. Les rites totémiques généraux ou rites du *mvumayôô*.

Énumérer, et développer ensuite tous les rites généraux qui se rattachent de façon directe ou indirecte au totémisme fâ, et ceux dans lesquels il serait possible de retrouver ou de discuter des traces de totémisme, nous entraînerait à des considérations qui dépasseraient de beaucoup les limites nécessaires que nous nous sommes tracées pour cette Étude. De plus, nous retrouverons plus tard, en une Étude sur la «Religion des Fâ», ceux de ces rites qui se mêlent plus intimement aux phénomènes religieux et ne pourraient être séparés sans que ceux-ci fussent déjà expliqués.

Dans les rites totémiques généraux, nous étudierons rapidement ceux qui intéressent davantage la continuation et la préservation de la race. Ce sont:

1° la circoncision qui fait entrer l'individu dans la vie de la tribu;

2° l'initiation qui le range parmi les guerriers;

3° la consécration du chef qui relie la tribu aux ancêtres;

7: Trilles F319 Fang

4° la guerre qui est la préservation de la tribu;

5° les grandes battues de gibier, chasses ou pêches qui la font vivre;

6° l'établissement d'un nouveau village, qui fait partie de sa vie sociale;

7° les ordalies et le poison d'épreuve qui éliminent et punissent les attentats contre la tribu;

8° l'échange de sang qui fait pénétrer l'étranger dans la tribu et élargit les rangs de la famille, ou réunit deux tribus dans une alliance commune, au moyen des chefs qui les personnifient.

* * *

Dans tous les rites totémiques généraux, et souvent dans les rites totémiques particuliers, on rencontre plusieurs éléments dont nous avons d'abord à nous préoccuper. Nous éviterons ainsi de continuelles répétitions.

Ce sont:

1° le sacrifice qui se retrouve à la base de tous les rites, généraux ou particuliers;

2° le jeûne qui précède les grands sacrifices;

3° l'eau lustrale qui les accompagne presque tous,

et enfin:

4° les danses totémiques qui en font partie intégrante.

De ces éléments, le sacrifice est de beaucoup le plus important: il est nécessaire; sans lui, sous une forme ou une autre, pas de rites, pas de cérémonies cultuelles.

1° Le sacrifice totémique.

Le sacrifice constitue le fond et la base de tout le totémisme. Les actes totémiques, quelqu'ils soient, reposent sur lui, de même que tous les actes religieux du Noir.

Au premier abord, la variété des sacrifices pris d'une façon générale, paraît considérable. De nombreux auteurs se sont efforcés de les classifier [1].

[1] Cf. Hubert et Mauss, Le Sacrifice, Mélanges d'histoire des Religions, Paris 1909, p. 16 et s. — R. P. Lagrange, Études sur les Religions sémitiques, p. 269 et s. — Reinach, Cultes, Mythes, Religions, I, p. 203 et s. — Bros, op. cit., p. 161. — Mgr. Le Roy, op. cit., p. 323 et s.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Pour nous, nous nous occuper de ces distinctions, nous n'avons à traiter ici que deux sortes de sacrifices:

1° Le sacrifice du totem.

2° Le sacrifice au totem[1].

a) Le sacrifice du totem.

Le totem, en lui-même, est «sacré». *Ntsamer a ne dki.* Il est interdit de l'offenser, même en paroles, et cela sous peines sévères, à plus forte raison de le blesser et surtout de le tuer. Pareil fait, quand il arrive, entraîne toujours une pénalité et une expiation, deux choses absolument distinctes: nous y reviendrons en parlant du sacrifice au totem.

Comment peut-on accorder ces faits avec le sacrifice du totem lui-même?

Le sacrifice de l'animal totem répond à tout un ordre particulier d'idées. Remarquons tout d'abord que nous pouvons employer ce terme «animal». D'une façon générale, en effet, le totem est un être vivant. Quand il échappe à cette règle, le fétiheur ou l'agent religieux du sacrifice, le «sacrifiant», aura le droit de substitution, c'est-à-dire d'«animaliser» en un autre être vivant» le totem esprit, phénomène céleste, minéral etc.

---

[1] W. R. Smith (art. «Sacrifice» dans Encyclopædia britannica) admet le sacrifice comme rite totémique; pour lui, c'est une alliance par le sang, un repas pris en commun dans lequel les fidèles mangeraient leur dieu totem pour s'unifier au-lieu, maintenir ou renouveler alliance avec lui. Le meurtre n'aurait d'autre objet que de permettre la communion. Cette dernière ne se retrouve pas dans tout sacrifice; c'est que, par suite de l'évolution des idées, le concept de «sacré» a pris une telle importance que le dieu n'est plus alors qu'un rite survivant dont la mythologie ne manque pas d'expliquer l'origine.

Pour M. M. Hubert et Mauss, le sacrifice repose sur la croyance à une force vague et divine dont on peut se rendre maître par des sacrifices magiques. Le but du sacrifice est d'établir une communication entre le monde sacré qui contient ces forces, et le monde profane, par l'intermédiaire d'une victime, c'est-à-dire d'une chose détruite au cours de la cérémonie. Pour remplir ce but, la victime est rendue sacrée: par la magie, on concentre en elle toutes les forces divines, on les augmente ou les libère par l'immolation; on rend participants de cette force, sacrifiant, sacrificateur et fidèles. L'approche de la victime doit être préparée: de là, les rites purificatoires.

La théorie du P. Lagrange admet, au lieu de forces magiques, l'animisme et les dieux.

«L'animal totem est celui avec lequel on pactise avec la tribu dont un homme, représentant sa personne et ses descendants, a fait alliance en vue de services réciproques. Ce pacte, généralement [et nous avons vu que c'était toujours le cas pour les Fân], a été scellé par l'échange du sang, de sorte que l'animal et l'homme, la famille de l'un et la famille de l'autre, la tribu du premier et la tribu du second, sont des individualités, des familles, des tribus de même sang. Elles sont alliées. De temps à autre, il est bon de renouveler cette alliance. Il est la renouvelle par le sacrifice d'un représentant de la famille animale, sacrifice auquel on participe en y communiant: c'est un nouvel échange, c'est un rappel de l'alliance première. C'est, en plus, un renforcement des vertus spéciales au totem, vertus fortifiées peut-être par la présence ou l'influence de l'esprit de l'ancêtre dans l'animal ou le végétal ainsi consacrés, sacrifiés et mangés»[1]. »

Dans quelles circonstances, comment et pourquoi l'animal totem sera-t-il ainsi sacrifié? Car il n'est peut-être pas suffisant de dire, avec l'éminent auteur que nous venons de citer: «De temps à autre, il est bon de renouveler cette alliance.»

Il y aura sacrifice du totem:

1° Toutes les fois qu'il y aura choix d'un nouveau totem.

Ce cas arrive tout d'abord à chaque «naissance» dans la plus large acception du mot, ou encore à chaque «commencement de vie nouvelle». Ainsi, un clan nouveau qui s'établit, et dont le totem du chef devient par là-même totem classique, en lieu de simple totem familial. — Pour l'individu, de même, il y aura sacrifice du totem après sa naissance, lorsque l'enfant, reconnu par son père, aura sa première admission dans la tribu et recevra son totem individuel. De même, il y aura nouveau sacrifice de totem à son initiation dans la vie guerrière, à son entrée dans une société secrète, à tout pas en avant qu'il fera dans ses initiations, en un mot, à chaque changement ou initiation de totem.

2° Toutes les fois que la tribu, le clan, la société secrète, parfois la famille et même l'individu, étant dans des circonstances

[1] Mgr. Le Roy, op. cit. p. 324—325.

graves et de nature à mettre en péril leur existence, auront besoin de recourir d'une façon spéciale au service du totem. Le chef religieux de la collectivité en danger, après les sacrifices nécessaires, aura à se prononcer lui-même sur l'opportunité de cette oblation en sang et de ce suprême échange de sang.

2° Dans certains cas, il peut arriver que le totem «matérialisé» se perde. Ainsi, par exemple, dans une bataille, dans une lutte quelconque, l'*akuméyébé*[1], c'est-à-dire le totem matérialisé qui représente l'alliance effective de la tribu avec son totem réel, tombe en pouvoir de l'ennemi. Parfois, notons, celui-ci, vainqueur, exige la remise de l'*akuméyébé*. La perte peut aussi être fortuite, provenir d'accidents, de naufrage etc. Dans tous ces cas, l'*akuié*, ou totem matérialisé, que on soit celui de la nation, du clan, de la famille ou de l'individu, doit être remplacé. Suivant le cas ou la collectivité organise, la cérémonie aura plus ou moins d'éclat. Peu importante pour l'individu, elle le sera davantage pour le clan ou la tribu: elle le sera surtout dans les cas de danger, ou bien lorsque le totem est tombé au pouvoir de l'ennemi.

Quelque soit le cas, la cérémonie est la même dans ses grandes lignes. Tout d'abord, il y aura offrande ou sacrifice au totem, tantôt simple offrande, fruits, huile, prémices des récoltes, tantôt sacrifice d'animal, parfois même sacrifice de victime humaine. Nous en avons donné plusieurs exemples. Après l'offrande de la victime au totem, celui-ci sera lui-même immolé avec tous les rites ordonnés: puis viendra la manducation ou participation au totem lui-même. Ainsi sera renouvelée l'alliance antique, mais sur de nouvelles bases. C'est relier le présent au passé, et prouver, de façon claire et perceptible, la continuation de l'alliance totémique conclue par le premier ancêtre de la race.

Le sacrifice du totem nous donnera donc bien l'idée-mère qui a dû présider aux sacrifices primitifs. Tout d'abord, c'est «l'offrande», non pas toujours comme «impôt» consenti à un maître reconnu comme tel, ainsi que le dit Mgr. Le Roy, car le sacrifice totémique n'admet point cette idée, mais plutôt comme expiation d'un meurtre rituel, mais nécessaire. Ce qui confirme bien cette idée,

[1] On dit indifféremment *akuméyébé* ou *ekuméyébé*.

c'est que le sacrifice offert «avant» au totem sacrifié, est le même que celui qui doit être offert en cas de meurtre accidentel, comme satisfaction rituelle. Le totem étant ainsi apaisé d'avance, vient alors «l'offrande» proprement dite. Après une série de consécrations successives, le «sacrifiant», chef ou féticheur, représentant de la collectivité organisée à laquelle il préside, appellera «en lui» le génie de la race, la vertu des ancêtres. Mais cette vertu repose et habite dans un monde invisible, le monde des esprits: il lui faudra donc y transporter le totem présent, et pour l'y faire pénétrer, lui donner la mort. Aussi le «sacrifiant», représentant de ce monde des esprits, aura-t-il soin, avant la cérémonie, de se peindre des couleurs liturgiques, le rouge, couleur des sacrifices, et le blanc, couleur des funérailles, mais avant tout, couleur des esprits, des mânes, des larves, de toutes les formes désincarnées.

Le totem, ainsi que la victime, seront revêtus des mêmes couleurs, et c'est seulement alors qu'aura lieu «l'immolation».

Après l'immolation, viendra l'échange du sang.

Le sang du totem a été précieusement recueilli: à l'aide de leurs couteaux, les assistants se font de légères entailles sur les bras, expriment un peu de sang, le recueillent sur une feuille, puis prenant quelques gouttes du sang du totem, le mêlent d'abord sur la feuille à leur propre sang: ils appliquent ensuite cette feuille sur le bras à l'endroit de l'entaille, et frottent énergiquement afin de faire pénétrer le mélange jusqu'au fond de la plaie. Après cette cérémonie seulement, tous les «participants» renouvellent encore l'alliance en buvant le sang du totem.

Le «communion» succède à l'échange du sang. Cependant, cette communion n'a pas lieu dans tous les cas: souvent, la seule victime offerte est partagée entre tous, après avoir été rôtie. En particulier, si l'animal totémique est trop petit, seul, le possesseur futur de ce totem y communiera. Parfois, au lieu de la communion au totem, il y a simple partage des cendres. Le totem est calciné, mais les gros os sont conservés intacts. On les broie et on les mélange aux cendres du sacrifice qui a eu lieu préalablement. Puis chaque assistant prend précieusement, et garde par devers lui, la

7: Trilles F119 Fang

part qui lui est réservée. Celle du sacrifiant est toujours de beaucoup la plus forte.

Dans quelques occasions, enfin, il y a «substitution» du totem. Il peut arriver, en effet, que certains totems soient trop difficiles à se procurer, surtout s'il y a urgence. Un tigre, un éléphant, quelques végétaux rares sont dans ce cas. On procède alors par substitution, soit en façonnant simplement une statue de terre ou de bois, une effigie qui reproduira de façon plus ou moins grossière le totem, soit même en figurant une simple tête. Mais, sur ce simulaire, le consécrant emploiera les mêmes formules et les mêmes rites, représentera ceux qui ne pourraient être réellement exécutés, tel l'échange du sang. Dans tous les cas, l'effigie sera tout d'abord peinte aux couleurs symboliques; puis, après l'offrande de la victime, arrosée de son sang.

b) Le sacrifice «au» totem.

Les sacrifices au totem sont de diverses natures.

Les auteurs allemands rangent fréquemment les sacrifices en catégories distinctes, tels les sacrifices expiatoires (Sühnopfer), les sacrifices d'actions de grâces (Dankopfer), et les sacrifices de demandes (Bittopfer). Cette division est plus spécieuse que réelle, tout au moins pour les sacrifices totémiques. Aussi, préférerons-nous, avec MAX MÜLLER[1], reconnaître seulement les sacrifices constants et les sacrifices occasionnels.

Les sacrifices occasionnels, dirons-nous encore avec M. MAUSS[2], seront d'abord les sacrifices sacramentaires, qui accompagnent les moments solennels de la vie, les sacrifices votifs, puis les sacrifices curatifs et expiatoires.

Les sacrifices constants ou périodiques seront attachés à certains moments fixes, indépendants de la volonté des hommes et du hasard des circonstances. Tels le sacrifice journalier, le sacrifice de la nouvelle lune, des prémices de plantations.

Les sacrifices occasionnels sont en général sanglants et accompagnés de rites qui leur ont valu le nom de «communiels». Presque

[1] Zeitschr. der Deutschen Morgenländ. Gesellschaft IX, p. LXIII.
[2] op. cit., p. 17.

toujours, en effet, dans ces sacrifices, il y a communion à la victime et participation de tous les assistants au sacrifice.

Les sacrifices totémiques périodiques sont au contraire rarement sanglants et communiels.

* * *

D'une façon générale, le Noir regarde avant tout son intérêt. En temps ordinaire, il se préoccupera assez peu de son totem, sauf pour certains rites déterminés par l'usage et dont il ne s'oserait pas s'écarter. Ainsi, chaque matin, au nom du chef de famille, la première épouse ou la femme principale oindra d'huile la statue qui surmonte la boîte *(évora Biéri)* où sont à la fois renfermés les crânes des ancêtres et le totem matérialisé. Ainsi, encore, au moment de la nouvelle lune, une offrande sera faite à ce même *Biéri*, à la fois aux ancêtres et au totem, les deux cultes restant unis dans un don commun.

Mais lorsque le Fâñ aura quelque faveur à demander, désirera une acquisition quelconque, femme, objets ou autres, il s'empressera alors de présenter un sacrifice au totem: plus le besoin sera pressant, et l'objet important, plus le sacrifice sera considérable, variant depuis la simple poule jusqu'à la victime humaine, parfois même dans certains cas jusqu'au sacrifice rituel du chef lui-même, ou tout au moins d'un de ses enfants.

Le sacrifice de remerciments n'existera point chez le Fâñ: pour lui, c'est «donnant, donnant», et on l'étonnerait fort en lui demandant ce sacrifice d'actions de grâces: il a offert un sacrifice à son totem, celui-ci l'a exaucé; c'est qu'il était satisfait, dès lors, pourquoi faire davantage? Si un nouveau besoin surgit, alors seulement il sera temps de recourir de nouveau à son totem. En attendant, il pense qu'il doit rester tranquille. Chacun est satisfait de l'autre.

Quant au sacrifice expiatoire, il est des plus fréquents: chaque fois, en effet, que notre Noir éprouve un accident, un malheur, une calamité, même un simple insuccès, il l'attribuera à son totem offensé par quelque *nsèm* ou souillure rituelle, par la violation d'un *éki* etc., d'où nécessité de l'apaiser. Plus le malheur sera grand, plus la cause ou la faute aura dû être forte, et plus aussi, elle devra être même involontaire, être expiée par un sacrifice plus grand.

A la base de tous les rites généraux qui concernent la race, nous retrouverons donc sous une forme ou sous une autre, le sacrifice soit sanglant et communiel, soit sanglant mais non communiel, soit enfin non sanglant, ou simple offrande.

Dans ces sacrifices, la victime sera souvent le totem lui-même. Mais dans ce cas, l'offrande d'un autre victime aura toujours précédé. Cette victime sera parfois, comme dans la circoncision, l'officiant lui-même, le sacrificateur ou opérateur n'étant qu'un agent.

II° L'eau lustrale. *Mèdzim akum.*

Dans presque tous les sacrifices totémiques, on emploie l'eau lustrale.

Dans un vase de terre, le féticheur fait bouillir de l'eau en y infusant diverses plantes. Les plus employées sont l'*ava,* sorte de labiatée odorante, l'*asèp,* menthacée à odeur forte, l'*esun (Hua gabonensis)* arbre à odeur alliacée, l'*esèp (Monodora myristica),* dont l'odeur est également très forte, on y adjoint les feuilles de l'*elun,* de l'*ombień* et plusieurs autres. Presque toujours, onze plantes en font partie: elles doivent avoir été cueillies à la lune nouvelle. Aux plantes, on ajoute quelques fragments de pierre du tonnerre et un reste de sacrifice offert au totem de la tribu. Ce reste consiste en cendres, en os, et quelques fragments de corne; un peu de sang desséché y figure également.

Avant de procéder au sacrifice, le féticheur ou le chef de famille trempe ses mains dans l'eau lustrale. Il en asperge également les assistants en se servant du *dè* [1], espèce de chasse-mouches constitué ordinairement par une queue d'éléphant. Il asperge ensuite la victime, les crânes des ancêtres et enfin le totem.

Au retour du combat, les guerriers lavent leurs armes dans l'eau lustrale afin d'éloigner les esprits des morts malfaisants.

On se sert encore d'eau lustrale dans les sacrifices qui expient les violations d'*éki.*

Après usage, l'eau est versée dans un endroit écarté. Souvent, le chef la remporte au village et arrose avec cette eau l'arbre, généralement un ficus, planté sur les restes de son cordon ombilical. Cet arbre est l'emblème de sa propre vie, et dans ce cas, l'eau lustrale est une sorte de sacrifice.

[1] Le *dè* est l'insigne des chefs. Jadis, eux-seuls avaient droit de se servir d'une queue d'éléphant comme chasse-mouches, après avoir tué eux-mêmes la bête.

III° Le jeûne. *Nzè akhu.*

Toutes les grandes cérémonies totémiques sont précédées de jeûnes. Ces jeûnes sont fort sévères et la moindre infraction entraîne de graves pénalités.

Ils se font presque toujours à l'écart; les jeûneurs sont isolés dans la forêt, loin du village, enfermés dans des cases étroites. Pendant la durée du jeûne, il est strictement défendu de boire ou de manger avant le coucher du soleil, de se laver le corps avec de l'eau mais il est permis de se frotter avec des cendres. Il est encore interdit de manger certaines viandes et certains fruits, les aliments ou les fruits bouillis entre autres, de boire des liqueurs fermentées, sauf à certains jours consacrés et avant les initiations, où elles sont au contraire de rigueur et de boire dans un vase quelconque. Si on y a bu, on doit le briser immédiatement si on s'en est servi par inadvertance, cas qui entraîne toutefois faute rituelle et expiation nécessaire. On doit boire au ruisseau en se servant d'une feuille roulée en cornet *(oké ésaga)*. Enfin, pendant la durée du jeûne, tout commerce avec les femmes est absolument interdit *(évex)*.

La durée du jeûne est variable suivant les cérémonies ou les initiations. Pour la circoncision, par exemple, la durée est généralement d'un mois lunaire *(ngon)*. Les autres initiations dépassent rarement sept jours, soit un quart de lunaison *(asôñ ngon)*. On choisit ordinairement le dernier quartier de la lune *(métè méngon)*. La lune joue un grand rôle dans toutes les cérémonies totémiques ou même simplement religieuses. Il n'est permis d'en faire aucune lorsque la lune est absente ou lorsqu'elle est pleine (*ngon éto ndzuge*, la lune est fermée). Dans les cérémonies où le chef opère par lui-même, la durée du jeûne est de trois jours et demi, un demi-quart de lunaison: elle commence à la lune presque pleine *(nsoso ngon)*, et se termine à la pleine lune *(nduge ngon)*.

IV° Les danses totémiques. *Adzèm ba dzèm akhu.*

La danse fait à tel point partie de la vie du Fâñ, comme de tout Noir, qu'il serait bien difficile de la voir absente de la vie religieuse et totémique. On sait d'ailleurs combien chez tous les peuples et dans tous les temps, la danse fut toujours associée à

tous les phénomènes religieux. David dansait devant l'Arche, Hébreux, Grecs et Romains avaient leurs danses sacrées, et de nos jours encore, tout récemment, n'avons-nous pas vu à Madrid, les *seises*, les enfants de chœur de Séville, exécuter leurs gracieuses danses devant le St Sacrement?

Les Fáń ont leurs danses religieuses; ces danses sont particulières suivant les rites qu'elles accompagnent. Nous pouvons ici les partager en plusieurs classes: les danses purement religieuses, dont nous n'avons pas à nous préoccuper, les danses qui accompagnent des rites totémiques, les danses enfin purement totémiques.

Parmi les danses qui accompagnent des rites totémiques, les principales sont les danses de sacrifice, les danses de circoncision, les danses mortuaires.

Les danses de sacrifice, comme le nom l'indique, accompagnent tous les sacrifices. Elles se dansent avant et après le sacrifice, et ont chacune leur caractère différent.

La danse avant le sacrifice est grave. Le chef, puis tous les assistants, tourne lentement autour de la victime tandis que le tamtam scande les pas et qu'un rythme solennel les accompagne. Dans cette danse, les mouvements sont également lents et peu marqués, les genoux sont légèrement pliés, les coudes rejetés en arrière, et les mains près des hanches. C'est plutôt en somme une sorte de marche rythmée qu'une danse proprement dite.

La danse après le sacrifice est d'un tout autre caractère. Le rythme est très rapide, les bras sont élevés en l'air, les jambes sont jetées à droite et à gauche l'une après l'autre; deux pas très vifs, un arrêt, deux jetés successifs à droite et à gauche, un balancement sur les hanches constituent cette danse qui a une réelle beauté et ne manque pas de cachet.

La danse de circoncision est complètement différente. Les jeunes circoncis peints de blanc des pieds à la tête et revêtus d'un habit de feuillage sont conduits par le féticheur devant toute l'assemblée, dès que l'opération est sur le point d'être exécutée, et que les cérémonies préparatoires ont pris fin. Les hommes faits et déjà circoncis se mettent d'un côté, les féticheurs au milieu, les futurs

circoncis de l'autre. La danse commence. Tout d'abord, c'est une immense ronde qui se déploie et tourne tout autour de la place: puis le mouvement s'accélère, les mains se quittent, et chacun saute et se trémousse pour son propre compte, mais en suivant toujours la mesure qui lui est donnée par les coups de tamtam. Aussi, malgré un désordre apparent, on s'aperçoit bien vite qu'au contraire tous les mouvements sont mesurés, parfaitement compris, et exécutés sans un accroc, sans une faute, sans aucun désaccord. Bientôt, la sueur ruisselle sur tous les membres des danseurs: l'un après l'autre, les hommes reprennent leur place; seuls, les jeunes néophytes continuent: leur danse devient un tournoiement presque sur place, exécuté sur la pointe des pieds, les mains étendues horizontalement. Puis, tout à coup, au signal donné par le tamtam, la danse s'arrête brusquement: tous les jeunes danseurs se précipitent à leur place, s'asseoient et l'opération commence.

Chaque fois que le féticheur a opéré un des enfants, il se relève, portant à la main la preuve de l'opération, et exécute un rapide pas de danse, consistant plutôt en quelques sauts joyeux, accompagnés d'un chant particulier que tous répètent en chœur.

L'opération terminée, les jeunes hommes opérés exécutent encore une courte danse destinée à montrer leur endurance. Elle ne consiste d'ailleurs qu'en quelques pas, exécutés vaille que vaille, puis ils regagnent leurs cases au plus vite, soutenus par leurs amis.

La danse funéraire est beaucoup plus belle. Loin d'être une danse noble et grave, le *fanki* est au contraire une danse excessivement prompte et difficile: elle représente, en principe, l'âme du défunt, quittant son corps mortel, puis arrivant au monde des esprits. Elle cherche çà et là une nouvelle demeure, est repoussée de partout, puis trouve enfin la place qu'elle doit occuper. Cette danse n'a qu'un rapport lointain avec les danses totémiques; aussi n'avons-nous pas à nous en occuper ici.

Les danses totémiques, à proprement parler, sont peu fréquentes et ne s'exécutent que dans les grandes circonstances, la guerre, par exemple et surtout après une victoire remportée. Elles font toutefois également partie des rites funéraires, et à la mort d'un chef, s'exécutent après le *fanki*.

La danse totémique représente l'union du chef de la race avec son totem. D'une manière symbolique en certains cas, d'une manière vraiment expressive en d'autres, elle représentera donc le totem; si, comme le cas arrive souvent, et ce sont d'ailleurs les plus belles danses, le totem est un animal, la danse sera vraiment vivante. La talent du danseur sera d'ailleurs de serrer, au plus près, la marche de l'animal, ses habitudes, sa façon de vivre, en un mot, de le mimer le plus exactement possible.

Nous avons vu de ces danses totémiques exécutées avec un rare talent. Une fois entre autres, chez les Yemvi, dont le totem est une sorte de fleur nommée *mvi*, le danseur, sur un rythme excessivement rapide, dessinait d'abord par ses attitudes la forme de la fleur; il imitait son port par ses gestes, ses déhanchements presque incroyables, parfois renversé complètement en arrière; sa tête touchait le sol, sans que pour cela le rythme de la danse fût perdu un instant, tantôt les bras et la tête balayant le sol à droite, à gauche, avec une promptitude inconcevable. Puis venait la naissance de la fleur; elle grandissait, de bouton devenait fleur, épanouie bientôt. Enfin était figurée l'alliance symbolique du Père de la race avec la fleur que lui apportait un esprit. C'était vraiment, avec le même danseur, un contraste saisissant entre la démarche lente, affaissée, pesante, du chef de la race, et les mouvements légers, insaisissables, aériens pour ainsi dire de l'esprit qui s'approchait, reculait, s'approchait encore . . . Cette danse, toute symbolique, a été parfois, bien à tort, prise par des explorateurs, par une danse érotique.

Lorsque le totem est un animal, la danse est évidemment beaucoup plus facile et plus caractéristique. Le danseur mimera l'animal que chacun devra reconnaître, avec son port, sa démarche, ses allures caractéristiques; puis, tour à tour, les scènes de poursuite, de prise, d'alliance, enfin de secours effectif. Quelques danseurs acquièrent ainsi une très grande renommée, et il faut convenir que parfois ils la méritent bien.

Ces danses totémiques se rapprochent beaucoup de certaines danses de caractère où les Noirs excellent, les danses représentatives. Ainsi, il nous souvient d'avoir vu danser la danse des Abeilles, du Sanglier, de l'Eléphant. C'était vraiment merveilleux de souplesse et de réalisme.

Ce qui distingue surtout les danses totémiques, c'est qu'elles sont accompagnées et pour ainsi dire scandées par le chant du totem. De plus, tandis que les danses de caractère dépendent beaucoup de l'inspiration du danseur, les pas des danses totémiques sont plus réglés, et certains traits demeurent invariables.

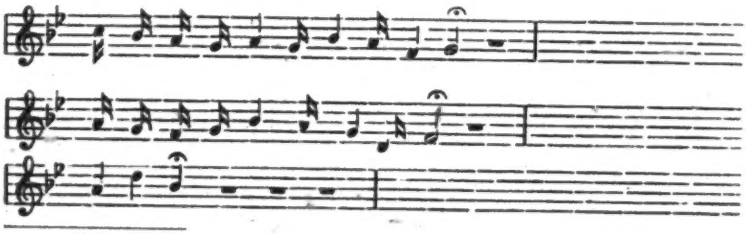
Le caractère commun à toutes les danses religieuses est d'observer la décence, tout au moins une décence relative. Elles se dansent entre hommes seuls, et les femmes n'y sont pas admises, excepté pour la circoncision, et encore dans cette dernière danse, ne se mêlent-elles pas aux hommes. L'amour n'y figure que rarement, au contraire des danses purement récréatives, danses du soir surtout, où parfois l'obscénité la plus grande semble cherchée pour se donner libre carrière.

Les danses religieuses ont toujours un cachet très-marqué d'antiquité et la plupart du temps sont vraiment belles, au sens strict du mot.

Afin de donner une idée approximative de ces danses totémiques, nous en transcrivons deux qui nous ont paru plus expressives, la danse de la fleur *Mvi* et celle de l'Eléphant, *Nzoẋ*.

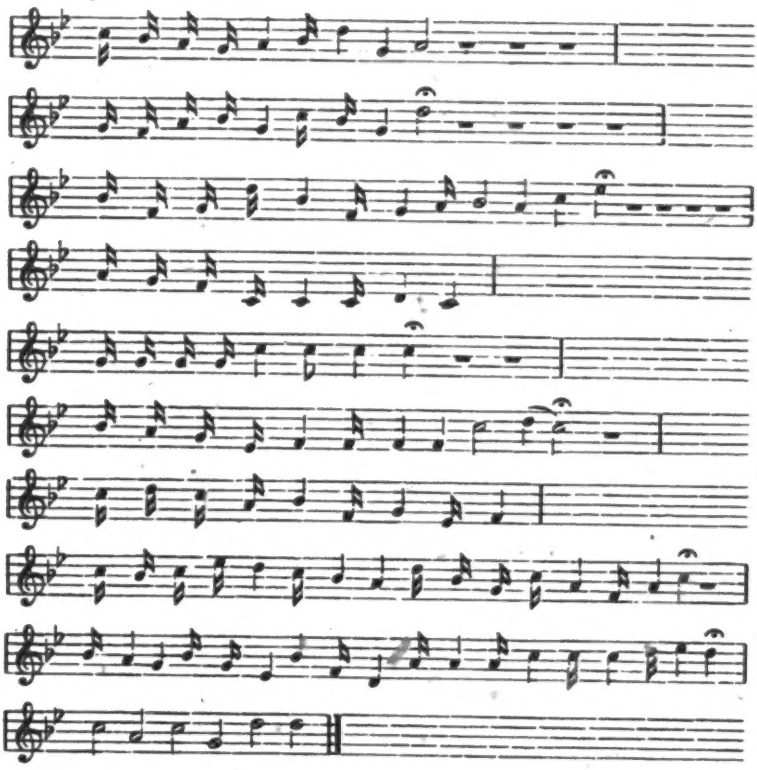
Ces danses sont à la fois chantées, dansées et mimées. Chaque note représente un coup de tamtam, une attitude de corps différente et un mouvement de pied, soit un glissé, soit un saut, un battu ou un passement des plus rapides.

Danse totémique de la fleur *Mvi*[1].

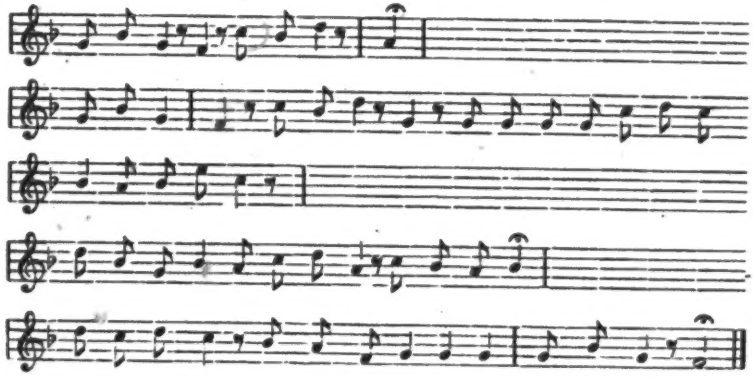


[1] Chaque portée représente un ensemble scandé de mouvements plastiques et de chants, séparé de l'ensemble suivant par un léger arrêt, une suspension à la fois dans le chant et dans le mouvement.

Ces danses, comme plusieurs autres chants, ont été recueillies et notées par notre ami, Mr. José Lubodinski, dans la Hte Abanga.



Danse totémique du *Nzok*, ou de l'Eléphant.



§ 3. Les rites totémiques généraux. Détail de ces rites.

Afin de suivre un ordre logique pour déterminer les rites totémiques, nous pouvons prendre l'individu dès son entrée dans la vie, l'accompagner dans ses actes principaux, et ne le quitter qu'à la mort. Nous aurons par là même la série complète des rites soit généraux, soit particuliers, qu'il doit observer. Toutefois, nous n'aurons évidemment à les étudier qu'au point de vue totémique.

Par rites généraux totémiques, nous entendons ceux qui concernent la race ou la tribu elle-même. Dans les rites particuliers, au contraire, nous rangeons tous ceux qui concernent plus particulièrement l'individu.

Les rites généraux sont les suivants:

1° la circoncision, *akèle*,

2° l'initiation, *evôm*,

3° la consécration du chef, *elôga*,

4° la guerre, *abal*,

5° les grandes chasses ou pêches, *miyêñ*,

6° l'établissement sur un nouveau territoire, *edzal mfifi*,

7° les ordalies, *elun, éñu mélan*,

8° les alliances ou échange du sang, *abvuna*.

Les rites particuliers que nous avons à voir, sont:

1° la naissance et l'imposition du nom, *abiéné, édzü*,

2° l'adoption, *añôñ moñe*,

3° le mariage, *alux*,

4° la chasse, la pêche, les cultures, *mveñe, ayü kos, bifax*,

5° le commerce, *okira*,

6° la mort, *awu*.

Dans ces rites, tantôt l'empreinte totémique est fortement marquée, tantôt, au contraire, elle est presque effacée, difficilement perceptible. Seuls, un geste, un appel, une invocation la soulignent parfois. Elle n'est cependant jamais absente.

I° La circoncision.

Parmi les tribus bantoues, la circoncision ne peut être considérée comme un rite universel: les unes la pratiquent, les autres non, soit qu'elles ne l'aient jamais eue, soit que l'usage s'en soit perdu au cours des siècles ou des migrations successives.

Les Fâñ, et toutes les tribus de leur groupe, l'ont conservée. Dans tous les clans, à une époque déterminée par le chef, les jeunes gens doivent se faire circoncire. Cette loi est également adoptée dans toutes les tribus apparentées, Dzèm et Dzandzama, Bulu, Shéké, Batéké etc.

Au cours de nos nombreux voyages, nous n'avons jamais rencontré un seul Fâñ qui ne fût circoncis. Aucune jeune fille ne consentirait, à aucun prix, à épouser un incirconcis. C'est dire, en passant, la valeur, même au point de vue des coutumes fâñ, des mariages temporaires contractés par les Européens. Les Fâñ considèrent ces unions comme un simple concubinage, et les désignent par le même mot, *évex*.

Si le groupe fâñ a conservé la circoncision, d'autres ne l'ont plus: on ne peut donc dire que la circoncision soit actuellement rite général chez les Bantou. Cette coutume n'est pas dûe à des infiltrations sémitiques: certaines tribus bantoues, telles les Kavirondo, où ont pénétré les Arabes, ne la pratiquent pas, tandis que les Fâñ qui n'ont jamais connu les Musulmans, l'observent[1].

---

[1] The Bantu Kavirondo do not practise the circumcision. They usually pull out the two middle incisor teeth in the lower jaw. Both the men and women do this. It is thought that if a man retains all his lower incisor teeth, he will be killed in warfare, and that if his wife has failed to pull out her teeth, it might cause her husband to perish. For the same reason of averting ill fortune a women cuts number of vertical slits in the skin of her forehead which leave small scars. The women also, as a means of obtaining good fortune for themselves and their husbands, make a number of small incisions (usually in patterns) in the skin of abdomen, into which they rub an excitant, so that huge weals rise up into great lumps of skin. A Kavirondo husband, before setting out to fight or starting on a journey attended with great risks, will make a few extra incisions on his wifes body as a « porte-bonheur ». The Mbumba and the Bantu-speaking Negroes of the Congo-forest are all circumcised [cette assertion est loin d'être fondée] but the Baganda never circumcise. Cf. Sir H. J. Johnston, The Uganda protectorate, *op. cit.* Art. Kavirondo.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

a) La circoncision est-elle un rite religieux?

Le fait de la circoncision étant ainsi établi comme existant dans de nombreuses tribus bantoues, nous prendrons la question au point de vue général d'abord, puis au point de vue particulier.

La première question qui se pose est celle-ci: La circoncision est-elle un rite religieux de sa nature, et dès l'origine, consacrant une personne à la divinité comme par une sorte de sacrement?[1]

D'après certains auteurs, RENAN en particulier, c'est un usage purement hygiénique: « A l'origine, dit ce dernier, cet usage n'eut ni la généralité ni la signification religieuse qu'on lui donna plus tard. Sans cette opération, certaines races de l'Orient seraient condamnées à une demi-impuissance et à de fâcheuses impuretés. »

De même ARCIN: « La circoncision est la cérémonie religieuse la plus importante des peuples noirs. Il est probable que ces pratiques ont été nécessitées par une conformation physiologique spéciale[2]. Mais actuellement ce souvenir est complètement effacé, et l'on ne voit dans ces rites qu'une offrande à la divinité fécondante. »

Nous dirons tout d'abord que, par rapport aux Fân et aux tribus bantoues, cette raison physiologique nous paraît de mince valeur. En effet, si les Fân et autres tribus de leur groupe ont adoptée la circoncision, il est loin d'en être ainsi dans toutes les tribus bantoues, et certaines mêmes, telles les tribus de l'Uganda, l'ont en horreur. Les nécessités physiologiques sont cependant identiques entre tribus de même race et de même habitat.

Nous n'avons pas à discuter ici les avantages naturels de la circoncision. Ils seraient encore plus considérables qu'on aurait cependant tort d'en donner une explication rationaliste, tirée de l'hygiène, sans tenir compte de l'ensemble des institutions dont elle fait partie et qu'elle représente dans leur élément moyen, très sobre si on la compare à d'autres pratiques. Ces institutions sont les rites de consécration des jeunes gens au moment de la puberté, et c'est précisément parce que la circoncision avait un caractère hygiénique et modéré qu'elle s'est étendue si universellement et qu'elle a prévalu sur d'autres pratiques plus barbares. La circoncision, en effet, a été

[1] Cf. LAGRANGE, Etudes sémitiques p. 242.

[2] Cette assertion est absolument controuvée au point de vue médical.

observée dans le monde entier, chez les populations et les races les plus diverses, et le plus souvent comme faisant partie des cérémonies d'initiation qui unissent plus intimement le jeune homme à sa tribu, à son dieu ou à ses dieux.

Avec la plupart des auteurs, nous admettons que c'est une opération d'origine essentiellement religieuse, nécessitée par un point de vue hygiénique [1], et jamais par raison physiologique.

Aussi nous dirons avec le R. P. LAGRANGE, en ajoutant à la circoncision les mutilations ethniques dont nous aurons à nous occuper, telles que: dents brisées ou limées, scarifications etc.: «Le caractère religieux de ces cérémonies ne peut plus être contesté.»

b) La circoncision est-elle un rite totémique?

La circoncision étant admise comme rite religieux, est-ce également un rite totémique?

D'après FRAZER [2], la circoncision fait partie des rites d'initiation qui unissent le jeune homme à sa tribu et à son dieu: ces initiations ont un caractère particulier: il s'agit d'unir par un échange d'âmes le jeune homme à la vie animale du totem [3].

Nous ne faisons aucune difficulté d'admettre avec le P. LAGRANGE que la circoncision n'est pas réservée aux seules tribus totémiques. Dans des tribus absolument totémiques, telles les Baganda, non seulement on ne l'admet pas, mais on la regarde avec dégoût.

---

[1] Au point de vue purement hygiénique: Il est impossible de donner la raison d'être de la circoncision, autrement que comme une nécessité religieuse. Au point de vue anatomique, elle n'est nullement indiquée (quoiqu'en disent NIEBUHR, Description de l'Arabie, et WINER); au point de vue passionnel, elle n'influe guère sur le tempérament; au point de vue hygiénique, elle est insuffisante. — Dépêche coloniale, rapport médical, 3 Sept. 1907.

[2] Totemism p. 47.

[3] En Australie, on oint le récipiendaire du sang qu'on a tiré du bras des guerriers, même on lui fait boire leur sang. On ajoute certaines passes magiques qui communiquent à l'initié les vertus et les dons spirituels correspondants. Il doit dormir sur les tombes des ancêtres pour absorber leurs vertus. Quelquefois, il est censé tué par un certain Thurembul qui le rend à la vie et lui enlève une dent. Ici, dit FRAZER, l'idée paraît être celle d'une seconde naissance, ou le commencement d'une seconde vie pour le novice: c'est pourquoi il reçoit un nom nouveau au moment où il est circoncis, ou quand la dent est extraite, ou quand il répand le sang de ses parents.

Nous la regardons en principe comme un rite religieux, ressortissant du culte des ancêtres, et ce qu'en dit FRAZER nous confirme encore dans cette opinion. Cependant, nous admettons volontiers, et nous croyons même qu'à côté des rites qui rattachent la circoncision au culte des ancêtres, il en est aussi d'autres qui, par suite de cette même origine, la rattachent également au culte du totem: en effet dans beaucoup de faits religieux, le culte du *mvamayôn* et celui de l'*esayôn* ont entre eux une étroite connexité et d'inséparables relations.

En retraçant tout à l'heure comment, chez les Fân, se pratique la circoncision, nous noterons par là même au passage les rites qui ressortent du *mvame*. La réponse à la question posée sera donc celle-ci:

Chez les Fân, la circoncision est bien un rite religieux: ce n'est pas un fait purement totémique, mais le totem y a sa part.

Mr. BROS se rallie également, au moins en partie, à ces conclusions. Pour lui, en effet, la circoncision est une épreuve de puberté, une offrande prémice aux dieux, une purification par laquelle on met en liberté le mauvais esprit qui s'enfuit avec le sang; elle est surtout un pacte par lequel on donne au dieu[1] de la tribu une partie de son sang, et par là même, on s'incorpore à lui et à la tribu. Enfin, le tabou dont ce membre est entouré, et dont l'origine peut provenir, soit de l'utilité sociale de l'organe, soit des dangers d'un usage prématuré, soit même de son indépendance à l'égard de la volonté, peut faire considérer la circoncision comme une désécration qui précéderait l'époque de la virilité afin d'en permettre l'usage[2].

De ces considérations les unes sont vraies pour les Fân: les autres s'y appliquent beaucoup moins. Citons un des faits qui montrent bien la connexion intime de la circoncision comme rite religieux avec les rites de la naissance: les linges qui ont servi à étancher le sang sont soigneusement gardés dans l'un et l'autre cas pour servir aux mêmes usages.

[1] A notre avis, on ne peut employer cette expression: dieu de la tribu; sous différents noms, les tribus bantoues ne reconnaissent qu'un seul Créateur, et non pas un dieu pour chaque tribu.

[2] BROS, *op. cit.* Art. Circoncision.

Les simples guerriers les mettent avec leur totem individuel dans le *mfek* ou sac de cordes d'ananas qui ne les quitte guère. Ces linges, ou leurs fragments, figureront toujours dans les sacrifices totémiques. Les fils de chefs, au contraire, n'ont pas le droit de les garder: ils les enterrent profondément au pied du ficus sacré qui a été planté lors de leur naissance sur les restes de leur cordon ombilical. Cette coutume remonte certainement à une très haute antiquité. Chez les Egyptiens, le ficus était considéré comme sacré et voué à la Vénus égyptienne, Hathor. De ce nom, peut-être, était venu le mot *éthu* qui désignait le vêtement fourni par le liber du ficus. Ce même mot, *éthu*, est demeuré en fân, avec la même signification «vêtement», et les Fân de l'intérieur extraient toujours du ficus un vêtement végétal, qu'ils teignent encore de rouge; c'était jadis la couleur consacrée à Hathor, et elle demeure encore la couleur des vêtements de fiançailles; de même, toujours, avant le mariage, jeunes gens et jeunes filles se teignent de rouge des pieds à la tête. C'est la couleur «réservée».

c) Le fait même de la circoncision.

Les Fân désignent la circoncision sous le nom d'*akéla*, tout au moins en ce qui concerne les garçons. La racine de ce mot est évidente, du verbe *ekèl*, où le radical exprime l'idée de couper et d'enlever. Pour les filles, on emploie le mot *atsingéla*, qui signifie à la fois ligature, extension, excision.

Il y a lieu dans cette question de la circoncision d'examiner:

α) le fait lui-même,

β) l'âge du circoncis,

γ) l'opération,

δ) les participants, sujet et opérateur,

ε) l'instrument.

α) Le fait lui-même de la circoncision.

La circoncision est universelle dans la tribu fân tout entière, et aucun individu mâle n'en est exempt. Ce serait d'ailleurs un déshonneur pour lui, et il lui serait impossible de contracter ensuite mariage, sans s'être soumis d'abord à cette opération. Même les enfants élevés dans les missions n'y échappent pas: aussitôt rentrés

dans leurs villages, ils s'y soumettent de bonne grâce, s'ils sont demeurés incirconcis.

Si l'on interroge les anciens sur le «pourquoi» de la cérémonie, il est difficile d'en obtenir une réponse, et presque toujours ils se rejetteront sur la coutume: «On a toujours fait comme cela», ou sur les convenances: «C'est mieux ainsi.» Les deux raisons, surtout la dernière, ont leur réelle valeur. Toutefois, j'ai obtenu un jour une réponse beaucoup plus intéressante d'un chef de l'intérieur: «C'est, me répondit-il, la marque du commencement.» Et comme j'insistais pour avoir de plus amples explications: «C'est, me répondit-il, la marque qui consacre l'homme: après cela, on n'est plus animal, mais on est «sacré.» *E ne ndèm ošu, ndèm a bo fam: ni vale, tšit é séra, mur a ne éki.»* Littér.: C'est la marque du premier commencement, la marque qui consacre la virilité; après l'opération, l'animal a disparu, on a un homme, et il est sacré.» Sans vouloir dire autre chose, il se rejeta ensuite sur la loi du secret. — Il était difficile, sinon impossible d'attribuer à cette réponse, dans la tribu où je me trouvais alors, une origine d'ordre chrétien ou d'infiltration musulmane; jamais ce chef n'en avait entendu parler. Il est beaucoup plus simple d'y voir un reste de traditions primitives.

Dans l'idée du Fàñ, la circoncision est absolument un acte religieux, jamais un acte profane: tout ce que nous allons en dire le démontrera mieux encore.

β) L'âge de la circoncision.

L'âge où les jeunes Fàñ sont circoncis varie ordinairement de sept à dix ans; jamais je n'ai vu circoncire un enfant en bas âge. Ni la loi ni la coutume ne prescrivent cependant rien sur ce point. Toutefois, dans l'intérieur, cet âge de dix ans est largement dépassé, et il n'est pas rare que l'opération ait lieu entre seize et vingt ans. Les vieillards sont unanimes à dire que tel était l'usage ancien, et que l'époque a été avancée à une époque récente, à cause des accidents nombreux qui survenaient. Quant à déterminer quelle est cette époque récente, il est impossible de la préciser. Toutefois, d'après tout ce que j'ai pu apprendre, on ne doit guère la faire

remonter à plus de 2 ou 300 ans en arrière, c'est-à-dire au moment des grandes migrations des Fâñ. On conçoit en effet combien il était impossible, en ces temps troublés, de mener à bien l'opération dans un âge aussi tardif. —

Autrefois, la circoncision a dû précéder de près l'entrée dans la vie des guerriers. Quelques chants fâñ semblent l'indiquer, et de nombreuses tribus africaines ont encore conservé cet usage.

Tous les enfants d'un village sont circoncis en même temps, sur l'ordre du chef de tribu; cette opération n'a lieu qu'à certaines dates, lorsque le nombre des enfants paraît suffisant, tous les ans dans les grands villages, à intervalles plus éloignés dans les petits.

Jusqu'au moment de la circoncision, les enfants peuvent aller nus: après cette opération, un lambeau d'étoffe ou d'écorce de ficus voilera toujours leur nudité.

L'âge de sept à dix ans est notablement dépassé dans le cas suivant. Un père peut faire, par orgueil, promesse solennelle à son *akaméyôñ*, que son fils ne sera circoncis que lorsqu'il aura tué un ennemi. Dans ces conditions, il arrive que le jeune homme reste nu encore très longtemps: il ne peut non plus avoir aucune relation avec une femme, ni même habiter avec celle que son père aurait pu lui avoir déjà achetée comme future épouse. Aussi fera-t-il tous ses efforts pour amener la fin de cet état. Dès qu'il aura pu tuer un ennemi, il s'empressera d'aller porter à son père la main de la victime. La circoncision a lieu alors solennellement devant tous les guerriers, et le mariage se célèbre aussitôt la cicatrisation faite.

γ) L'époque de la cérémonie.

Le chef détermine tout d'abord l'époque: c'est presque invariablement dans les huit jours qui précèdent la pleine lune.

Dès que le chef a déclaré que la circoncision aurait lieu prochainement, il désigne tous les enfants qui en feront partie. Ceux-ci, sous la direction du chef, s'en vont alors, non loin du village, mais dans la forêt; après avoir débroussé un large espace, ils y construisent de petites huttes ouvertes ou simples hangars et y demeurent tous ensemble.

Les aliments qui leur sont destinés sont déposés à l'entrée du chemin conduisant aux cases, car nul ne doit y aller: l'accès est

surtout sévèrement interdit aux femmes. Ces aliments sont abondants, et rien ne doit en être jeté ni dissimulé. Tout doit être consommé, et le chef y veille strictement [1].

δ) Les préparatifs.

Tout autour du lieu où les enfants sont ainsi renfermés, on élève une clôture de roseaux [2] et nul ne se hasarde à la franchir. Cette réclusion ne dépasse pas ordinairement une durée de huit jours, le quart d'une lunaison. Chaque soir, des chants et des danses ont lieu en l'honneur de la lune, regardée comme principe fécondant [3]. Jeune fille et lune portent d'ailleurs en Fâñ le même nom: *Ngon,* similitude que l'on retrouve un peu partout dans les tribus africaines, à des degrés divers. Ces chants et ces danses sont particuliers, et il est strictement défendu de les répéter en dehors de l'enceinte sacrée [4].

D'après Lang [5], c'est à ce moment que le jeune homme est instruit de l'existence d'un dieu bon, défenseur de la morale, qui condamne l'égoïsme et l'adultère. Ce fait se réalise chez les Fâñ. C'est en effet pendant cette retraite que le chef apprend aux enfants le *mébara* ou enseignement des ancêtres, et raconte les hauts faits de la race. C'est tout ce que nous avons pu en apprendre: la loi du secret est religieusement observée. Pendant les derniers jours, le chef a soin de mêler aux aliments des enfants certaines substances aphrodisiaques très-excitantes, les graines de l'amôme

[1] Un de nos missionnaires constatait la même coutume dans des populations beaucoup plus avancées dans l'intérieur. Il citait même ce fait: la loi est si stricte qu'un des futurs circoncis fut par trois fois successives forcé d'absorber de nouveau les aliments que son estomac rejetait avec persévérance.

[2] Le lieu où se fait la circoncision marque assez que c'est comme une consécration, par un sacrifice sanglant, de la vie sexuelle à laquelle le jeune homme est désormais admis. Lagrange, *op. cit.* p. 244.

[3] Même croyance dans presque toutes les tribus africaines: de même qu'en Egypte, la lune préside à la pluie, qui est le principe fécondant de la terre et de là à la fécondation humaine.

[4] Tout ce que j'ai pu obtenir à ce sujet de mes jeunes Chrétiens ayant passé jadis par cette cérémonie, c'est que ces chants étaient «mauvais» et qu'ils avaient pour but la génération. Il est certain que dans leurs chants les Fâñ disent les choses «crûment». C'est tout ce que nous pouvons dire.

[5] The Making of Religion, Art. Circoncision.

(amomum citriodorum), un fruit d'un rouge superbe *(Lavigeria)*, et l'*onzakôñ (Antrocaryon klaineanum)*, dont les femmes peuvent seules manger le fruit, en dehors de cette circonstance. Il leur est même interdit de prononcer le nom de cet arbre, à cause du mot *nkôñ* qui désigne le membre génital de l'homme. Elles doivent dire *onzabili*, l'arbre *onza*. Le fruit de l'*onzakôñ* a de plus une vague analogie avec le phallus.

Pendant toute la durée de leur réclusion, les enfants couchent étendus sur les cendres des foyers. Ils doivent déclarer au chef quel est le sujet de leurs rêves: le totem de la famille doit en effet se révéler à eux pendant ce temps: comme le chef les en entretient souvent, et qu'ils savent qu'ils doivent y penser, cette suggestion, à la fois personnelle et étrangère, amène sans peine le résultat désiré. Si toutefois un autre objet que le totem familial, animal ou autre, se présentait plus vivement et à plusieurs reprises à leur imagination, ce serait un signe que l'esprit protecteur totémique désire adopter un autre substratum, et, en conséquence, le totem de l'enfant, s'il en a un particulier, devrait être changé.

c) **La cérémonie.**

Lorsque le jour de l'opération est arrivé, le féticheur, prévenu d'avance, se rend dans l'enceinte: les pères de famille l'accompagnent. Chaque enfant est successivement interrogé, puis une grande danse est faite en l'honneur des ancêtres et des esprits protecteurs du clan. Chaque chef de famille a apporté son *mvamayôñ* et l'explique alors à l'enfant. Après cette initiation, a lieu une nouvelle danse. Chaque père de famille étend alors son enfant à terre, s'assied lui-même et glisse ses jambes sous le corps de l'enfant, de manière à relever le milieu du corps. Le féticheur a en main un couteau spécialement réservé à cette fonction et soigneusement renfermé dans une petite gaine. Ce couteau était jadis en pierre, mais ceux de cette espèce sont devenus fort rares: ils sont ordinairement en cuivre et assez curieusement travaillés, en forme de bec d'un côté et pointus de l'autre: ils ne sont pas emmanchés. Ces couteaux portent le nom d'*ekèlokèñ*.

Le féticheur pratique rapidement l'opération, aidé du chef de tribu. Avant d'opérer chaque enfant, le féticheur remet le couteau

au chef de tribu sans dire un mot, et celui-ci le reçoit de même en silence sans dire le mot habituel de «merci» ou de «bien», *abora* ou *mvé*. Pour les filles, aucune de ces cérémonies n'est observée. C'est une experte matrone qui pratique l'opération, généralement quand l'enfant est fort jeune. C'est néanmoins un acte religieux, accompagné de chants et de danses, mais les femmes y assistent absolument seules, et il m'a été impossible d'apprendre le moindre détail. Le chef de tribu redonne aussitôt le couteau au féticheur, en lui disant: «Prends et fais ce qui doit être fait: *Nôñe n'ébo dzam ma yia n'ébo*», litt. Prends pour faire l'acte que «je» dois accomplir. Ce qui prouve bien que le féticheur n'est que le délégué du chef. Ordinairement, c'est ce dernier qui tient fortement le membre. Au préalable, le père a extendu le plus possible le prépuce et l'a lié d'une mince ficelle. On étend ensuite le membre ainsi préparé sur un bois spécial, et le féticheur tranche rapidement. C'est la partie la plus douloureuse de l'opération. On met ensuite des cendres sur la plaie vive. Le chef de famille recueille soigneusement le sang qui constituera un puissant fétiche après avoir été offert en sacrifice au *mvamayôñ* et aux ancêtres.

C'est un point d'honneur pour les enfants de ne pas crier, quelque soit la douleur éprouvée. Elle doit d'ailleurs être fortement diminuée du fait que le chef comprime énergiquement les chairs et que l'opérateur agit prestement. Dès que l'opération est terminée, l'enfant est conduit au bain, puis étendu sur un lit de cendres. Tous ses vêtements, fort légers, lui sont enlevés, si cela n'a pas été fait pendant les jours précédents, et on le revêt d'un vêtement flottant ou d'une ceinture à laquelle est suspendu un épais bourrelet de tiges de raphia ou de lanières de bananier finement découpées, de manière à ne pouvoir le blesser en rien. Quand l'opération est terminée, chaque père de famille offre un cadeau au féticheur, souvent un mouton, au moins quelques poules. Le féticheur prend alors un des moutons, et suivant les rites habituels, l'offre aux esprits, et en fait brûler une partie. Ce sont les cendres du sacrifice qui, mêlées au sang recueilli, constitueront le fétiche de l'enfant. Ce qu'il y a de trop est soigneusement enterré en un endroit écarté, et chacun évite alors de se laisser voir.

Les restes du mouton sont mangés le lendemain par les enfants. Ils demeurent encore quelques jours dans leur retraite. A leur sortie, a lieu une autre cérémonie également accompagnée de danses et de chants. Ils montrent aux chefs de famille de nouveau rassemblés que l'opération a bien réussi. Ils dépouillent alors la ceinture de circoncision, revêtent le pagne ordinaire et rentrent au village où on leur fait fête.

d) Les résultats de la circoncision.

«Tout ce qui regarde la génération, dit à propos de ces cérémonies le P. Lagrange[1], aux conclusions duquel nous nous rallions entièrement, est éminemment tabou, entouré de restrictions et de précautions investies d'un caractère religieux sanctionnées par des lois sévères. Par la circoncision, on est vraiment un fiancé de sang. Peut-être était-ce une condition pour que l'enfant engendré fût apte à devenir à son tour membre de l'association à la fois nationale et religieuse de la communauté.» [Nous venons de voir qu'il en est absolument ainsi chez les Fân: un enfant incirconcis ne pourrait ni être admis aux premières épreuves de l'initiation des guerriers, ni contracter mariage: la tribu et la future femme s'y opposeraient également.] Toutes les fois que le sang est versé, on peut se demander si c'est pour exercer sa vertu propre, dans le sens de la magie, ou en expiation, ou pour s'unir à quelqu'un par l'échange du sang et des vies. Ici, il semble que c'est d'union qu'il s'agit, puisque le rite est un rite d'initiation: la vie se transmettra par un organe uni au dieu par l'effusion du sang: c'est en même temps le terme d'un tabou très sage qui préserve le jeune homme d'excès prématurés, semblable à celui qui protège la croissance des fruits et des céréales, et qui cesse par le sacrifice des prémisses.»

Au sujet de la circoncision, Mgr. Le Roy[2], donnant une idée un peu différente du P. Lagrange, écrit: «La circoncision, croyons-nous, se rattache à l'institution du tabou: c'est originairement le relevé d'un interdit. Avant d'avoir passé par cette cérémonie, en effet, le jeune homme ne peut se marier: il n'est reçu par aucune

[1] Etudes sémitiques, p. 244 et sq.

[2] La Religion des Primitifs, p. 235 et sq.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

femme; il n'a pas le droit d'avoir des relations matrimoniales. Et si, néanmoins, le cas arrive — et il arrive! —, l'enfant qui vient à naître de ce commerce prohibé est réputé «mauvais» et il doit disparaître.»

Chez les Fâñ, cet enfant, sans être précisément considéré comme «mauvais», est regardé comme n'étant pas de la tribu: le père, n'ayant pas le droit d'être père, ne pourra lui donner un nom, et si l'enfant échappe aux premiers dangers de la vie enfantine au bout de peu de temps, il mourra de misère et de faim, méprisé de tous. C'est, en particulier, le cas des mulâtres, que le fait même de leur naissance place hors de la tribu. On en trouve à la côte, et près des établissements des Européens, car, là, par suite du relâchement des mœurs, la famille a disparu en grande partie avec les lois qui en garantissaient jadis la stricte intégrité et la morale relative. A l'intérieur, malgré le nombre de commerçants et d'explorateurs qui passent et dont les mœurs ne sont pas meilleures qu'à la côte, les mulâtres sont excessivement rares, pour ne pas dire plus. Nous venons d'en dire la raison.

«Or, continue Mgr. Le Roy, nous avons là une illustration typique et intéressante du principe établi plus haut. La transmission de la vie humaine s'exerce dans un domaine mystérieux où l'action du Maître souverain de la Création est manifeste, ou tout au moins insoupçonnée, et où l'homme ne peut être admis qu'avec une sorte d'autorisation de sa part et moyennant une cérémonie appropriée. Au temps marqué, l'interdit pourra être levé, mais comme toujours en pareil cas, le «permis d'user» devra être racheté par un sacrifice avec effusion de sang, d'où la circoncision, dont le but moral est évident, puisque le tabou ou interdit auquel elle met fin, empêche rigoureusement les rapports sexuels entre enfants non arrivés à l'âge de puberté.

«On retrouve cette institution partout: pour être aussi répandue, il lui faut une raison d'être générale: sa raison d'être générale n'est pas autre que celle de l'interdit sacré, porté dans l'intérêt moral de la famille, et levé, quand il le faut, en vertu du même intérêt.»

La circoncision, pour Mgr. Le Roy, n'est donc en somme que «le relevé d'un interdit porté dans l'intérêt de la famille.»

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Bien que cette solution soit élégante et semble répondre à tout, elle ne nous paraît cependant pas entièrement juste. C'est prendre l'effet pour la cause. Sans doute, le relevé d'un interdit porté dans l'intérêt de la famille suit la circoncision, mais ce relevé, et l'interdit lui-même, nous paraît bien un effet, une suite, mais non pas la cause, et nous croyons que c'est tout d'abord le sacrifice qui est en vue, sacrifice, il est vrai, dans l'intérêt de la race. Comme le fait remarquer le P. Lagrange, «ce système [initiations, épreuves et circoncision en particulier] suppose une étroite union religieuse dans un corps social peu développé. Ce qui paraît être en jeu, c'est l'unité religieuse. Dans la grande civilisation assyro-babylonienne, on ne trouve point trace de circoncision, mais alors, comme aujourd'hui, parmi les peuples divers, les uns l'ont adoptée, les autres pas.» Suffit-il donc de dire, comme pour les tribus bantoues, que celles qui ne l'ont plus, l'ont abandonnée ou ne l'ont jamais connue? Si, en effet, toutes les tribus bantoues descendent, comme on le croit, d'une souche unique, toutes ont connue la circoncision, et il s'agit d'un rite beaucoup plus antique.

Nous avons déjà signalé les infiltrations des Egyptiens dans les mœurs et coutumes des Fâñ et l'influence de leurs doctrines. Aussi pourrait-on également faire remonter jusqu'à eux cette coutume. Hérodote avait fait déjà remarquer que la circoncision vient d'Egypte et que c'est par l'Egypte qu'elle s'est répandue dans le monde méditerranéen (Hér. II, 104). «Il se pourrait fort bien, dit à ce sujet le R. P. Lagrange, que la circoncision soit chez les Egyptiens non pas précisément un emprunt fait à l'Ethique, mais une tradition de leurs origines, du temps où ils ont commencé à descendre la vallée du Nil, selon l'opinion qui tend à prévaloir aujourd'hui. De même, nous la trouvons chez les Arabes aussi haut que nous remontons par l'histoire.»

Ce n'est donc pas, et Johnston est également de notre avis sur ce point, un rite inventé pour les besoins de la cause, mais un rite qui remonte aux origines mêmes de l'humanité. Dès le commencement, l'homme a offert à Dieu les prémices des choses. De là, à offrir les prémices des êtres et de la vie, la progression était nécessaire, et elle fut vite franchie.

La Circoncision, tout au moins chez le groupe Fâñ, repose donc, non pas comme le dit Mgr. Le Roy sur le simple relevé d'un interdit, très utile et très moral, il est vrai, mais sur l'idée même du sacrifice. Elle se fonde non pas seulement sur l'idée même du sacrifice, mais sur l'offrande par désécration qui est à la base même du sacrifice. «Mais c'est surtout au début de l'usage des choses qu'il importe de faire la part des dieux», de renouveler l'alliance avec le Maître de la vie. Dès le commencement, l'homme a offert à la divinité les «prémices» des choses, surtout afin de bien reconnaître son domaine. Ce qu'il y a de plus précieux, n'est-ce pas sa vie? Or, le fondement de sa vie, c'est bien l'acte générateur. De plus, l'idée fondamentale du clan et de la tribu repose sur la famille; c'est donc encore la génération qui est l'acte le plus important de la vie à ce point de vue. Ce seront les prémices de la génération qui seront offertes au Maître du clan, et aux ancêtres, divinisés ou non, mais réputés présents: aussi cet acte sera-t-il religieux, accompli par le féticheur, avec l'aide du chef de la tribu et du père de famille, c'est-à-dire les trois autorités du clan. Pour que la cérémonie soit plus solennelle, les restes des ancêtres et de l'animal éponyme y figureront; enfin, comme dans tout sacrifice, le sang coulera. C'est en cela que ce sacrifice sera totémique.

Mais pour que ces prémices soient pures, et que le sang versé soit agréable et efficace, il faudra que ce soient véritable-ment des prémices. Il importe donc absolument de les conserver telles; le moyen est simple et efficace: ce sera l'*éki*, c'est-à-dire la défense de certains aliments et surtout de tout rapport sexuel avant l'époque fixée. La loi ne se préoccupera même pas du «fruit» qui pourrait résulter d'un manquement à l'interdit: la faute, le *nsèm*, devra avoir son expiation rituelle en tant que faute, mais quant à l'enfant, la loi ne le considère pas comme «mauvais», ou coupable: elle ne le regarde pas du tout, elle l'ignore: il est «hors la loi», res nullius; on ne le tue pas, on le laisse périr. Il importe donc que ce soit vraiment des prémices. Aussi quand vient le temps fixé, le temps où le Fâñ commence à se sentir en état de procréer à son tour, quand il pourra prendre place parmi les jeunes guerriers, le sacrifice aura lieu dans toute sa plénitude; une fois qu'il aura été consommé,

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

mais seulement alors, l'interdit sera levé. Le sacrifice ne devra pas seulement être consommé, mais encore accepté: car si, pour une raison ou une autre, et cela arrive, la circoncision ayant été bien effectuée selon les règles, le féticheur juge néanmoins que les esprits des ancêtres réels ou totémiques ne sont pas satisfaits, il faudra un sacrifice supplémentaire pour faire accepter le premier.

On voit donc en quoi notre sentiment de la circoncision diffère notablement de celui de Mgr. Le Roy. Pour l'éminent auteur, c'est le levé d'un interdit porté dans l'intérêt moral de la famille, un «permis d'user» qui doit être racheté par un sacrifice; pour nous, d'accord en cela avec le P. Lagrange, le levé de l'interdit est, non pas la cause, mais une simple conséquence: l'interdit est porté en vue de la circoncision, le permis d'user est la suite nécessaire et non la cause du sacrifice, et la circoncision[1] est le sacrifice même des prémices de la génération, l'acte le plus important au point de vue de l'union du clan et de la perpétuité de la famille.

II° L'Initiation.

Le deuxième rite totémique que nous rencontrons dans la vie du jeune Fâñ est son initiation.

Ce rite, assez complexe, comprendra d'abord les épreuves dont nous avons déjà parlé et qui font, du jeune homme, un guerrier, puis l'initiation aux rites et enfin la consécration des armes.

Les premières années d'enfance et d'adolescence du jeune guerrier se sont passées dans une insouciance complète de toutes choses, et absolument en dehors de tout culte religieux. C'est à peine si on lui a appris le nom de son totem personnel. Tout ce qu'il en sait, c'est qu'il lui est interdit, sous des peines plus ou moins sévères, de faire telle ou telle chose, de manger tel ou tel aliment. Il s'en tient d'ailleurs strictement à ces défenses, certain que s'il les enfreignait, la punition serait immédiate. Les *éki* isolés, en effet, ne comportent jamais de pardon et doivent toujours être expiés.

[1] Cf. Lagrange, Etudes sur les Religions sémitiques, le sacrifice, p. 255 et ss.

a) Les épreuves.

Arrivé à l'âge de prendre place parmi les guerriers, le jeune homme doit au préalable affronter les épreuves destinées à montrer sa force et son courage. Quelques dures qu'elles soient, il est très peu de jeunes gens qui y renoncent. Ce serait d'ailleurs le déshonneur complet, et le jeune homme qui par faiblesse ou par lâcheté y succomberait ou n'oserait les affronter, n'aurait plus qu'à s'expatrier. Le cas, bien que très-rare, se rencontre néanmoins, et en particulier chez quelques enfants qui ont grandi comme domestiques chez les Européens. Les Fâñ les stigmatisent alors d'un nom particulier qui signifie: «hommes-femmes bons à tout», et ce mot en dit long sur leur rôle tout particulier et les mœurs spéciales de trop nombreux Européens.

b) L'initiation aux rites.

Après qu'il a surmonté ces premières épreuves, le jeune homme reçoit l'initiation totémique, en même temps que l'initiation au culte des ancêtres. Tout d'abord, on lui apprend le nom du totem familial, clanique et tribal. Pour cela, au jour déclaré favorable par le féticheur, durant l'initiation telle que nous l'avons déjà décrite plus haut, on amène le récipiendaire devant une sorte de tréteau voilé par des feuilles sèches. Tout d'abord, le chef de famille apporte son *évora Biéri*, renfermant, comme nous savons, les crânes des ancêtres et le totem matérialisé. Le néophyte apprendra à distinguer les uns et les autres, à nommer ces divers crânes sans qu'aucune hésitation lui soit permise.

Alors, seulement, on lui laissera connaître les lois et les droits du totem. Il recevra ensuite son propre totem tel que nous l'avons décrit, lui offrira le sacrifice ordonné par la loi, et conservera précieusement sur lui les restes de cette offrande, renfermés dans une corne d'antilope. Enfant, il portait déjà sur lui cette corne contenant les cendres de ce sacrifice, et elle était simplement suspendue par une ficelle à son cou, ou plus souvent encore devant ses parties génitales. Le jeune homme, devenu guerrier, suspendra désormais cette corne au milieu des autres fétiches déjà attachés au baudrier de peau qui lui barre la poitrine et le quitte bien rarement.

c) La consécration des armes.

Après l'initiation, l'enfance du jeune homme a pris fin. C'est devant lui toute une ère nouvelle qui s'ouvre, ère de travail, de luttes, et aussi de plaisirs tout différents de ceux de l'enfance. Il est désormais admis à faire partie des guerriers après ces initiations fort pénibles, et dont la preuve et la marque sont de profondes entailles incisées à l'arrière du cou. Désormais, il a le droit de porter le fusil; enfant, il s'est essayé déjà bien des fois à tirer cette arme, afin d'être prêt au moment voulu. Et lorsque devenu guerrier, il aura dès lors le droit officiel de tirer le fusil et d'aller au combat, cette arme devra tout d'abord être «vouée» à l'esprit, afin de lui permettre de tirer toujours juste.

Pour le Noir, tout objet, quelqu'il soit, jouit de sa vie propre; le fusil, par conséquent, est un être. Vivant de sa vie particulière, il sera consacré à l'esprit dont l'influence peut lui être le plus favorable, c'est-à-dire, dans l'espèce, au soleil, dont la lumière et les clairs rayons lui permettront de diriger à coup sûr tous ses coups et en même temps dissiperont les ténèbres qui dès lors, en vain, s'efforceraient de dissimuler l'ennemi visé. L'arme sera consacrée au soleil, et également au totem protecteur du clan: dans le combat, il importe en effet beaucoup qu'il sache distinguer l'ennemi de l'ami et ne pas s'exposer à commettre un sacrilège totémique. Le fusil doit donc être consacré à la fois au totem et au soleil.

Toutefois, il importe de remarquer que si le fusil est aujourd'hui la seule arme qui reçoive cette consécration, c'est qu'il est devenu l'arme principale, et que bien rares sont les Fân qui n'en sont pas possesseurs. En réalité, dans le chant de la consécration que nous citons plus loin, le mot qui désigne le fusil est tantôt *nzali* qui signifie proprement fusil, et tantôt *mbêñe*, qui désigne l'arbalète. Jadis l'arbalète était l'arme nationale. Un des mots du chant a changé, mais celui-ci n'en demeure pas moins antique.

Au milieu du village, le jeune homme, assisté d'un ami plus âgé, place son fusil de façon à ce qu'il soit frappé par les premiers rayons du soleil levant; il dispose autour de l'arme ses fétiches totémiques, c'est-à-dire son totem d'enfant qu'il va désormais laisser, et son nouveau totem de guerrier. Pour charmer l'arme, il accomplit

alors les incantations nécessaires; parmi elles se trouve un hymne ou appel au soleil d'une si réelle beauté et d'une telle poésie que nous devons le citer ici:

Hymne au Soleil.

Soleil, toi qui vois toutes choses,
Toi, dont la radieuse splendeur
Transperce le nuage obscur,
Soleil, à toi cet hommage!

A toi, soleil, roi du ciel, divin chasseur,
Soleil, à toi cet hommage!

Devant ton regard étincelant,
Et les traits rapides de ton carquois de feu,
Dans les sombres profondeurs,
La nuit craintive s'enfonce éperdue,
Sous tes coups, étincelants de lumière.
Tu déchires son manteau,
Manteau noir vêtu de feu,
Parsemé d'étoiles brillantes,
Tu déchires son noir manteau.

Soleil, toi qui vois toutes choses,
Toi, dont la radieuse splendeur,
Transperce le nuage obscur,
Soleil, à toi cet hommage!

Lorsque les offrandes nécessaires ont été faites, avant d'enlever le fusil, a lieu la consécration proprement dite. L'air et les paroles nous en paraissent assez remarquables pour que nous les reproduisions. Ce chant rappelle par l'air et la contexture les antiques mélodies qui nous ont été léguées par les Grecs ou les Latins. Il se chante toujours à plusieurs voix.

Le Chant du fusil.

Invitatoire: Oh!, vous tous, écoutez, écoutez le chant, le chant du fusil.

Chœur: Oh! nous tous, écoutons, écoutons le chant, le chant du fusil.

Chant: Pour toi seul, ô fusil, pour toi seul,
Au loin dans les bois,
Loin, loin, j'ai longtemps marché dans la forêt,
Sans plus entendre les chiens criards,
Sans plus les entendre,
Non plus que les coqs amoureux du bruit,
Non plus que les coqs.
M'éloignant des mégères,
M'éloignant de leurs cases sombres.

Reprise: Oui, pour toi seul, ô mon fusil,
Pour toi seul, dans les bois,
Dans les bois je suis allé,
Oh! mon fusil, pour toi seul.

Invitatoire: Vous tous, venez, écoutez tous le chant du fétiche,
Chant aimé du fusil.

Chœur: Nous tous, venons, écoutons tous le chant du fusil,
Chant aimé de l'esprit. (Reprise: Oui, pour toi seul . . .)

Invitatoire: Venez, venez tous, écoutez bien, et sans bruit écoutez!

Chœur: Et sans bruit écoutons, attentifs.

Chant: Pour toi seul, ô fusil, pour toi seul,
Avant dans les bois,
M'éloignant toujours du village,
J'ai pris le grand couteau des hommes,
Sans que nul ne me vit,
Couteau pendu au crochet du pilier,
J'ai pris le couteau,
L'attachai à mon côté,
Le pendant au baudrier.
Sans que nul ne me vit.
Dans les bois je suis allé,
Oh! mon fusil, pour toi seul.

Invitatoire: Vous tous, venez, écoutez tous le chant du fétiche,
Chant aimé du fusil.

Chœur: Nous tous venons, écoutons tous,
Il a pris le couteau,
Sans que nul ne le vit.

Chant: Pour toi seul, ô fusil, pour toi seul,
Aux chemins de chasse,
J'ai blessé mon pied dans le chemin,
J'ai franchi les monts, les collines,
J'ai passé les ruisseaux,
Peinant tout un jour, tout un jour entier,
J'ai cherché l'*ešoñ*,
L'*ešoñ*, l'*erin* et le *ryo*;
Puis mettant leur chair à nu,
Ravi leur vêtement,
Leur habit au sang rouge.
Là vit l'esprit des forêts.

Invitatoire: Vous tous venez, mêlons l'*ešoñ*, l'*erin* et le *ryo*,
Enchantons le fusil.

Chœur: Nous tous venons, mêlons l'*ešoñ*, l'*erin* et le *ryo*,
Enchantons le fusil,
Dépouillant leur chair à nu,
Pilons leur vêtement,
Leur habit au sang rouge,
Pour en vêtir cette arme.
Enchantons le fusil.

Le jeune homme est armé. Il a subi l'initiation du *bawu* et il a droit désormais de parler dans le conseil. Il n'en usera qu'au jour où, apportant dans l'assemblée la main coupée d'un ennemi tué de sa propre main, il pourra témoigner devant tous de sa bravoure par ce témoignage frappant d'un haut fait, accompli néanmoins souvent par surprise.

Solo de Basse.

Oh! vous tous, é - cou - tez, é - cou - tez le chant,

le chant du fu - sil.

Chœur.

Oh! nous tous, é - cou - tons, é - cou - tons le chant,

le chant du fu - sil.

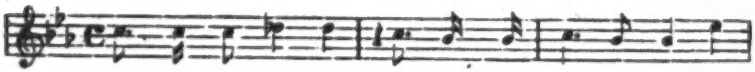
Solo.

Pour toi seul, ô fu - sil, pour toi seul. Au loin

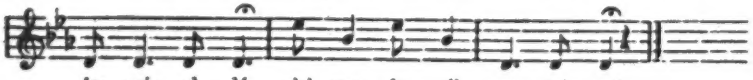
dans les bois, loin, loin j'ai longtemps mar - ché dans la fo - rêt.

Sans plus en - ten - dre les chiens criards, sans plus les

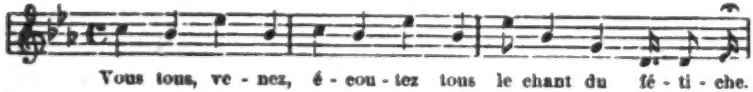
en - ten - dre. Non plus que les coqs a - mou - reux du bruit.

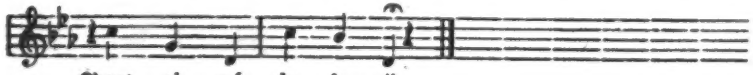


Reprise.

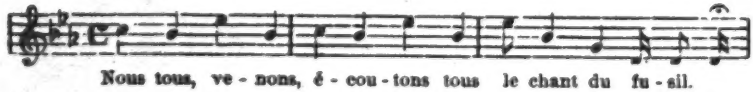


Solo.



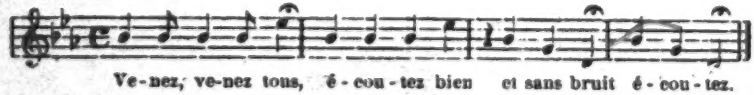


Chœur.



Reprise.

Solo.



Chœur.

III° La consécration du chef.

a) La cérémonie.

Le chef de la tribu est mort. Après les lamentations d'usage et le repas funéraire, on l'a enterré dans sa tombe provisoire. Trente jours après, les guerriers sont de nouveau rassemblés pour le *fanki,* la danse solennelle des funérailles. Puis, le fils aîné, entouré des principaux guerriers, découvre la tombe de son père, descend près du cadavre, et avec le couteau consacré, détache la boîte crânienne qui ira, tout à l'heure, rejoindre dans l'*évora biéri,* les crânes des ancêtres précédents. Le cadavre est ensuite replacé avec soin dans la tombe, et les sacrifices totémiques sont accomplis. Nous les retrouverons en parlant des rites particuliers de la mort. Le fils aîné ou l'héritier enlève l'*akaméyôṅ* ou totem de la tribu, s'il ne l'a pas encore été. Il rejette alors la terre sur le défunt et tous l'aident dans cette tâche funèbre, après qu'il a lancé les premières poignées de terre. Tous ces rites appartiennent au cérémonial particulier de la mort.

Le nouveau chef revient au village, et alors commence à proprement parler le rite totémique de la consécration, qui se passe la nuit, en dehors de tous les regards féminins.

Escorté de tous les guerriers, le chef prend l'*évora biéri,* contenant les crânes des ancêtres et la porte dans la forêt au son du tamtam. La cérémonie n'est secrète que pour les femmes; les enfants mâles peuvent y assister.

La boîte des crânes est déposée sur une sorte de tréteau, fait avec des perches coupées fraîchement. Ces perches doivent provenir d'un arbre spécial, l'*éfirfira,* et toutes doivent être vivantes et vertes. Un morceau de bois mort entrainerait une faute rituelle. Ces branches sont enfoncées dans le sol: elles doivent également être droites, prises au tronc même de l'arbre, et non à une fourche, ou à une branche: sur ces perches ainsi piquées en terre, le chef dispose des bambous[1] qui forment tréteau. Ces bambous sont reliés les uns aux autres, non par des lianes comme c'est l'habitude pour les cases, mais avec des lanières extraites du

[1] Bambou est le nom usuel donné par analogie aux stipes de palmiers ou de raphias employés dans tous les travaux de construction des Fân pour remplacer les vrais bambous, inconnus ou d'importation récente en Gabonie.

palmier rotang. Une fois ce travail terminé, le chef dispose son *évora biéri* sur le gradin supérieur: à droite et à gauche, suivant l'ordre de préséance, les autres chefs de famille disposent également leurs *bivora bibiéri*. Quand toutes sont alignées, chacun, s'avançant de nouveau, après avoir dansé en chantant autour de l'autel, ouvre la boîte, tire les crânes des ancêtres et les dispose sur le gradin inférieur, au dessous de la boîte des crânes. Sur les crânes de sa famille, il place le totem familial, puis son propre totem personnel. Une nouvelle série de danses a lieu, accompagnée de chants. Le chef s'avance alors de nouveau: seul, et prenant en main le crâne de son ancêtre immédiat, il le place au dessus de tous les autres, chante et danse, puis l'introduit dans la calotte crânienne du premier ancêtre. Il prend également son totem familial, qui, par le fait même de sa naissance, est totem tribal ou clanique et le place sur les deux crânes superposés de son propre père et du père de tout le clan. Alors commence un chant particulier, nommé le chant de l'Union. Les termes, archaïques, sont aujourd'hui pour la plupart fort difficiles à comprendre: le sens général, en revanche, est facile à saisir: c'est la réunion de tous les chefs de famille en ligne directe et l'invocation à l'Esprit de la Race, qui du premier ancêtre a passé en tous ses descendants pour en former un tout compact et indivisible. Les dernières paroles de ce chant expriment cette idée de façon assez claire:

En toi le dernier revient au premier,
Le premier revient au dernier.
Et dans un accord commun,
Ton souffle qui ne meurt pas les réunit tous,
Ton souffle les réunit sans jamais se lasser.

Il en compose un tout qui ne cesse pas,
Et les enfants qui viendront, fils de notre race,
Seront aussi tes enfants, ô père,
Comme aujourd'hui je suis ton enfant.

L'*éfirfira* grandit, grandit toujours.
Sur son tronc noueux les branches naissent,
Elles naissent les unes après les autres,
Elles grandissent, mais demeurent toujours l'*éfirfira*.

En toi le dernier revient au premier,
Le premier revient au dernier.

Un bouc châtré, ou souvent un chien également castré, est alors approché de l'autel de bois; il est immolé, et le sang est recueilli dans un vase de terre. Le chef plonge une branche verte de palmier dans le sang, puis la pose sur l'autel, de manière à ce qu'elle couvre à la fois les totems et les crânes de sa famille.

Après cette première «reconnaissance», vient la seconde, que célèbre un chant nommé «Chant de la Visite».

Le chef le chante et tous les assistants en répètent le refrain après lui. Ainsi, par exemple, dans la tribu des Yendun, le refrain sera:

Bi'ne bibôñe bi Ndun,
Bi'ne fogo bisésé bibôñe bi Ndun
Ndun a ne Esa bie,
Ndun ve Esa bie bisé.
Nous sommes les enfants de Ndun,
Oui, nous sommes tous les enfants de Ndun,
Et Ndun est notre Père,
Oui, Ndun est notre père à tous.

En même temps, le chef a pris en main le crâne de son père et celui de son premier ancêtre: il s'approche successivement de l'*évora biéri* de chacun des autres chefs de famille et fait toucher les crânes des ancêtres de ces familles à ceux qu'il tient dans la main. Il revient au milieu, prend le vase où est conservé le sang de la victime, y plonge le *dè* ou chasse-mouches de son père et asperge alors les totems qui sont placés près des crânes. Il prend son propre totem, le place près du totem clanique ou tribal, les réunit par une liane et leur fait toucher successivement tous les autres totems des chefs de famille, en chantant le chant du totem dont tous répètent après lui le refrain:

Nous sommes les enfants de Ndun,
Et Ndun est notre totem *(mvamayôñ)*,
Oui, nous sommes les enfants de Ndun,
Et Ndun est notre totem à tous.

Après cette cérémonie, plusieurs danses et chants ont encore lieu. Quand le tout a pris fin, le chef de la tribu remet le premier les crânes dans l'*évora biéri* et tous imitent son exemple. Il fait la même chose pour les totems, encore également imité de tous. On

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

place alors toutes les boîtes soigneusement à l'écart dans un endroit débroussé d'avance.

Tous reviennent au milieu de la clairière. L'autel primitif où les boîtes, les crânes et les totems ont reposé est détruit, tous les bois sont amoncelés les uns sur les autres, et on veille avec grand soin à ce qu'aucune goutte de sang de la victime qui aurait pu jaillir à terre ne soit profanée par un attouchement quelconque. La victime elle-même, aussitôt immolée, a été déposée sur des feuilles vertes de bananier, fraîchement coupées: elle ne doit jamais toucher le sol: on la dépose sur le bûcher construit avec les bois de l'autel, et on y met le feu. Ce soin revient toujours au nouveau chef, et jamais au féticheur. Dès que la victime est suffisamment cuite, on la dépose sur les feuilles de bananier qui ont déjà servi, et le chef découpe lui-même le corps en autant de morceaux qu'il y a d'assistants. Aucun morceau ne doit rester, aucun morceau ne doit être emporté au dehors. Ce serait une faute rituelle des plus graves, et les Fàñ sont convaincus, ou du moins paraissent l'être, que le totem ne manquerait jamais de punir cette faute par la mort même du coupable. Au besoin, le chef s'en chargerait lui-même. Le fait, au dire de certaines légendes, est parfois arrivé.

Les gros os sont alors de nouveaux remis sur le bûcher: on a eu soin à cet effet de conserver le bois nécessaire, car il est interdit d'en couper ou d'en apporter d'autres. Quand tout est consumé, on réduit en poudre aussi fine que possible les os et le bois qui resterait encore en charbon [1], et le chef va la répandre, suivi de tous ses chefs de famille, sur la tombe de son père nouvellement fermée. Les feuilles de bananier qui ont servi à envelopper la victime sont soigneusement repliées, attachées en paquet, et jetées au fond de la fontaine ou de la rivière au dessous de l'endroit où on prend de l'eau. On évite ainsi toute profanation.

Au contraire de tous les autres sacrifices, rien ne doit demeurer de cette victime, et nul n'en doit conserver la moindre trace.

Avant d'emporter les cendres du sacrifice sur la tombe de son père, le chef doit encore procéder à une autre cérémonie, également importante, le rite de la lance.

[1] L'*éfirfira* est un bois assez résineux qui brûle complètement sans laisser presque aucun charbon.

Le rite de la lance, ou mieux des sagaies, *aśume mékôń*, le salut aux sagaies, n'a lieu que pour l'intronisation des chefs de tribu, et encore seulement s'ils sont majeurs, c'est-à-dire déjà reconnus comme guerriers et en portant les marques ou *bawu*.

b) Le rite de la lance ou des sagaies. *Aśume mékôń*.

A l'autre extrémité de l'Afrique, le Père Van den Burgt [1], des Pères Blancs, a récemment signalé chez les Barundi, un rite curieux, le rite de la lance, l'insigne de *Kirâńa*, deuxième esprit supérieur. Chez les Fâń, nous avons retrouvé ce même insigne, consacré à l'esprit *Ki-ndâńa*, chef, lui aussi, des esprits inférieurs, des choses matérielles, et à ce titre maître et chef de tous les êtres de la terre. On l'invoque également pour la guerre. C'est le seul renseignement que j'ai pu obtenir sur son compte. Mais en rapprochant ce fait de ce que nous voyons chez les Barundi, il semble bien qu'il y ait là un rite totémique. En effet, chez eux, *Imana*, le Créateur, est chef des mânes, de même que chez les Fâń, *Nzame*, est également le Créateur. A ce titre, c'est lui qui est le premier de tous les ancêtres, la clef de voûte par conséquent de tout le système religieux. Les Fâń le connaissent parfaitement. Nous avons déjà dit, en parlant des généalogies, que lorsqu'on demande son *mébara* à un enfant ou à tout guerrier il termine toujours par l'invocation à *Nzame* en disant: «Et celui-là (le premier de la race), c'est *Nzame* qui l'a fait, et avant, je n'y étais pas, ni moi, ni personne.» *Nge mur éto* (le père de la race), *Nzame émièn a nga bo ñe, ve 'sim ñi, mê mbe dia ve, ve ma, ve muramure.*»

Chez les Wa-rundi, le grand rite de la lance consiste dans l'hommage rendu à la lance sacrée de *Kirâńa*, esprit supérieur de la triade rundi *(Imana, Ri-kiramba* et *Riangombi)*. Chez les Fâń, *Kindâńa* ne fait pas partie de la triade divine qu'ils reconnaissent également: *Nzame, Mébère, Nkwa.* — *Kindâńa*, littér. la Force victorieuse, est le chef des êtres au dessous de *Nzame*: il est seulement considéré comme principe de la Force qui les anime tous et qui se perpétue. C'est l'opposé de la matière inerte.

[1] Dictionnaire français-rundi, art. *Kirâńa*.

«Les Négrilles voisins, dit Mgr. Le Roy [1], à propos de ce rite rundi, ont la même cérémonie dont ils semblent même avoir été les initiateurs.» Peut-être cependant faudrait-il remonter beaucoup plus haut, aux origines mêmes de la race, puisque nous la retrouvons également chez les Fâñ.

Le rite de la lance, chez les Barundi, se fait dans toutes les circonstances graves. Cette lance, de forme ordinaire, a la moitié d'une de ses facettes blanche et l'autre noire, et elle est censée porter sur sa pointe l'esprit *Kirâña*. Quand la cérémonie doit se faire, le gardien de la lance se présente avec deux assistants; il est coiffé d'une sorte de diadème fait d'une peau de chat-tigre dont la peau lui retombe sur le dos. Les assistants se rangent en demi-cercle autour de lui, portant à la main de petites calebasses évidées et remplies de grains durs [2] formant crécelle. Ensuite on commence un hymne chanté sur un ton singulièrement impressionnant, avec un accent profondément convaincu, et produisant une indicible mélancolie. Pendant ce chant évocateur, chacun ramasse un peu de paille, l'offre en s'inclinant devant la lance sacrée, frappe les mains l'une contre l'autre et demande à l'esprit qui réside sur la pointe les différentes grâces qu'il désire. Puis il dit: A toi, mon Père, j'offre ces demandes, j'offre mes hommages. Chacun sort ensuite de la case en chantant et se dirige vers le lieu de repos des mânes des ancêtres . . .

Chez les Fâñ, le salut de la lance a donc lieu à l'intronisation du chef. La victime ayant été partagée et mangée, le chef se lève et enfonce en terre sa sagaie, la pointe en l'air. Au préalable, cette pointe a été rendue brillante par un fourbissage soigné. Le choix de la lance n'est pas indifférent: elle doit porter en creux l'insigne totémique de la tribu, marqué au ciseau, et avoir déjà «bu» le sang de l'ennemi. La lance est donc piquée dans le sol, autant que possible à l'endroit où l'autel se dressait: tout à l'heure le chef dépose au pied le baudrier, ordinairement de peau de tigre, qui supporte le totem matérialisé, l'*akaméyôñ*.

---

[1] *op. cit.*, p. 214.

[2] On emploie les graines de rocou ou plus souvent encore les graines rondes et dures du baliklier (*canna spec.*).

Après l'avoir déposé, il tourne autour de la lance en chantant, puis relève le baudrier, et l'accroche à la lance. Généralement, en effet, celle-ci porte à sa base plusieurs petits crochets aigus.

Il tourne de nouveau autour de la lance, chante un hymne en l'honneur de *Kindâña,* puis reste immobile. Chacun alors va chercher la boîte des crânes de ses ancêtres et tourne en chantant autour de la lance. Toutes les fois qu'il passe près du chef, il s'incline, pose la boîte à terre, et frappe dans ses mains.

Quand cette cérémonie a pris fin, le chef enlève la lance, replace le baudrier à son côté et va porter le tout dans sa case.

Il revient alors pour prendre les restes du sacrifice et les porter sur la tombe de son père.

Comme on le voit, le rite fâñ du salut à la lance a de nombreuses analogies avec le rite rundi, et la même inspiration semble bien les animer.

c) Comparaison du rite de l'initiation et de la consécration du chef avec le rôle religieux du Pharaon.

Nous avons, dans toutes ces conceptions, et il est facile de le voir, tout un embryon de système religieux, ou plutôt comme le confirment nos recherches sur la langue, des restes fort dégradés et qui vont s'effritant peu à peu d'un système religieux extrêmement ancien et remontant aux origines mêmes de la race.

Les légendes, les coutumes, la langue surtout, peuvent nous permettre d'y voir, en y mettant évidemment toutes les réserves nécessitées par une telle hypothèse, un pâle reflet, peut-être un souvenir dégénéré de la religion égyptienne.

Il serait d'abord fort intéressant de rechercher si le mot qui désigne, en fâñ, le «chef» *nzue* — de *n* agent et *zue* commander, ordonner — ne se rapprocherait pas de l'égyptien[1] *sua,* prier, adorer, qui à l'origine était la grande fonction du chef ou encore de *Suten* qui signifie «roi» et a pour origine le mot *seten,* déter-

[1] Signalons en passant entre les deux langues ces autres similitudes de noms sur lesquelles nous aurons à revenir: *khu* (ég.), couronne et *khu* (fâñ), chef, *khola* lieu fortifié, et *dźal,* village fortifié (kraal) *ku* quitter, et *ku* s'en aller etc., *ku,* crochet et *lku,* même signification, d'où *akôñ* lance à crochets, barbelée.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

miné par le couteau, qui signifie «tuer». Le roi serait donc en principe celui qui tue la victime offerte en sacrifice, le sacrificateur.

Et le Pharaon agissait en somme jadis comme agit encore aujourd'hui le chef fâñ, mais, il faut bien le reconnaître, dans un appareil dénué de toute majesté. C'est un pâle reflet, avons-nous dit.

Il allait lui-même, au moins fictivement, capturer la victime, le taureau encore en liberté. Il l'immolait, le dépeçait et l'offrait à la divinité dont il était le fils. Mais il n'était pas seulement le sacrificateur qui offre les victimes: il était le prêtre seul autorisé à présenter l'offrande, et ses sujets ne pouvaient, sans le faire intervenir, espérer que le ciel agréât leurs oblations, même les plus humbles. «*Sutten don hotep*», le roi donne l'offrande, lit-on sur d'innombrables monuments votifs, des plus importants aux plus modestes. Si l'offrande ne venait pas du roi, la divinité n'y ferait pas attention. Je rappelle ces paroles du prince de Khéta que j'ai déjà citées: «Dieu n'accepterait pas l'offrande de Khéta qui n'aurait pas été vue par Pharaon, l'émanation du ciel.»

Médiateur entre le ciel et la terre, Pharaon seul a qualité pour donner à la Divinité ou pour recevoir les dons de la Divinité. Si un autre prêtre le remplace, comme pratiquement cela devait presque toujours se faire, ce prêtre agit par délégation du roi, en mentionnant l'ordre royal grâce auquel il a accès près du Dieu: «C'est le roi qui m'envoie pour voir la divinité, dit-il en ouvrant les portes du naos: même le prêtre du rang sacerdotal le plus élevé ne peut se présenter qu'en vertu de cette délégation. Pénétrer jusqu'au sanctuaire du temple, c'était en effet comme pénétrer dans le ciel [1]; car la divinité y pénétrait aussi bien que dans le ciel: pour s'approcher d'elle, il fallait être divinité soi-même, comme son fils Pharaon ou du moins comme représentant de ce divin Fils. Le temple, maison de Dieu, avait été construit par Pharaon lui-même [2], seul propriétaire du sol de l'Egypte par donation divine faite lors de son couronnement [3].

[1] Celui qui pénètre dans le temple pénètre dans le Ciel. — Inscription d'Edfou, citée par DE ROCHEMONTEIX.

[2] VIREY, Religion de l'Ancienne Egypte, p. 125. Ed. 1909.

[3] Cr. LEFÉBURE, Rites Egyptiens. On y trouvera de nombreux points se rapportant aux rites que nous avons cités.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

D'ailleurs, nous trouvons encore confirmation de ce que nous avons dit dans les lignes suivantes: «Aux temps archaïques, avant l'unification de l'Egypte en un seul royaume, c'étaient sans doute les chefs de tribus qui, de même que Pharaon le fit plus tard pour le pays entier, commandaient à la guerre, rendaient la justice et offraient les sacrifices [1].

En tant que chef religieux, le chef de la tribu ne peut donc déléguer son autorité qu'au féticheur; en tant que chef totémique, qu'à son héritier direct de sang.

Et cela est tellement vrai que si, par exemple, la famille souche vient à s'éteindre, la tribu ne finira pas pour cela; elle ne sera pas détruite, mais les anciens du clan ou de la tribu mère, remontant à l'origine ou à la souche de la race, par l'examen des généalogies, retrouveront la famille secondaire apparentée de plus près au fondateur de la race; cette famille secondaire deviendra à son tour la famille-chef. Cette transmission se fera tout naturellement, sans heurt et sans secousse, par la force même des choses. Dans certains cas, particulièrement s'il s'agit d'un clan peu nombreux, les familles iront s'adjoindre à d'autres clans; encore, suivant la loi de formation que nous avons donnée plus haut, elles formeront de nouveaux clans, filiaux de la branche mère. S'il s'agit de la branche mère, les familles se réuniront au contraire plus volontiers à la branche filiale (branche en *esa*) où elles retrouveront le totem familial (*esamvêñ, esamvûn,* etc.).

d) Erreur de l'administration européenne nommant de nouveaux chefs de tribu pris en dehors de la famille souche.

De toutes les lois totémiques que nous venons d'énumérer, et de la constitution même de la race, ressort évidemment l'erreur capitale, et par là même l'insuccès des Administrateurs civils ou des Chefs militaires qui, pour une raison ou une autre, déposent le chef légitime d'une tribu et en nomment un autre. Nous accordons sans peine que cette déposition et ce choix peuvent et parfois doivent être faits, pour des raisons parfaitement légitimes, dans

[1] The life-work, v. II, p. 351 by Le Page Renouf, The priestly character of the earliest Egyptian civilisation.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

l'intérêt du pays conquérant et même des administrés. Cependant, si les administrateurs européens connaissaient mieux, comme il serait si désirable, les coutumes du pays [1], ils ne s'exposeraient pas à un insuccès certain, et parfois à un échec humiliant en faisant porter leur choix sur un homme qui peut être parfaitement méritant, mais qui ne peut être nommé chef d'après la loi du pays.

Il arrivera assez souvent, nous l'avons vu nous même, que le chef légitime, fatigué de vexations continuelles ou de reproches et d'amendes parfaitement justes d'ailleurs, accepte en quelque façon ce nouvel état de choses qui le rend désormais irresponsable et le met à l'abri des lois et ordonnances du conquérant, de ses caprices ou de ce qu'il prend pour tels. Et ainsi, dans certains villages, y aura-t-il un chef «à l'usage» des Européens, de même qu'à leur usage aussi on réserve des femmes, toujours soi-disant vierges. En réalité, ces chefs n'auront qu'une autorité toute factice, reposant uniquement sur la force du Blanc. Ils seront, de plus, en grand danger continuel d'être empoisonnés ou de disparaître de façon plus ou moins occulte. On leur obéit par crainte, mais seulement dans les choses qui concernent le gouvernement, soit corvées, nourriture à fournir, auxiliaires, services plus ou moins avouables, mais, pour tout le reste, leur autorité est, non seulement nulle de fait, mais encore forcément nulle en principe. Comment, par exemple, pourraient-ils, en cas de danger tribal ou clanique, invoquer un totem général qui n'est pas le leur, et dont ils ne sont ni représentants ni dépositaires?

On voit donc d'où provient l'erreur des gouvernements européens, très peu préoccupés d'ailleurs des notions sur lesquelles repose la constitution et par là même l'existence de la tribu, et voulant lui donner, ce qui est impossible, les observances d'un code fait pour des Européens. Appliquer, comme il a été décrété en Gabonie, le Code Napoléon à des tribus indigènes est une de ces aberrations gouvernementales qui démontre une ignorance aussi profonde que possible du peuple à gouverner, et des principes de gouvernement.

[1] D'autant que la loi approuve les coutumes indigènes «en tant qu'elles ne sont contraires ni aux bonnes mœurs ni à la morale.»

Pour les mêmes raisons, on juge combien l'élection d'un chef est impossible en dehors des règles de transmission établies. Pris hors de la famille souche, un chef élu n'a et ne peut avoir d'autorité.

e) Changement de totem de clan.

Par une nouvelle conséquence, l'autorité ayant passé à une autre famille du clan pour les raisons énumérées plus haut, le culte public restera le même. Mais, et notons-le bien, car ce dernier point est des plus importants, le totem ancestral disparaîtra, n'ayant plus de représentant éponyme de son propre sang. Il sera remplacé par le totem familial du nouveau chef qui deviendra alors le totem de toute la tribu ou du clan. Ce fait, loin d'être hypothétique, est au contraire un cas qui se reproduit assez souvent. En voici un assez typique.

Un nommé Mbo-Alame, du Clan Yebikon ou des Bananes, s'était, à la suite d'une dispute avec le chef du clan, séparé de la tribu pour aller fonder un établissement à part sur la colline qui faisait face à son ancien village. Bien que restant en assez bons termes avec les hommes du clan, son premier soin fut de créer lui-même une nouvelle famille et de se séparer nettement de ses anciens compagnons. — Il changea donc de nom et en adopta un autre qui fut dans la circonstance Nzoge Nze, l'Eléphant fils du Tigre. Le tigre devint son nouveau totem et, dès lors, celui de ses fils et du futur clan: il était, dans toute la force du terme, le nouveau père de la tribu, pouvant, plus justement encore que jadis le Maréchal Lyautey, redire: «C'est nous qui sommes les ancêtres!»

Il faut pour se résoudre à cet éclat un homme d'un caractère extrêmement résolu qui puisse briser avec sa parenté, ses amis, son clan, sans craindre les représailles toujours fatales.

Le fait n'est d'ailleurs possible que si la tribu est suffisamment petite, car dans une forte tribu, le chef laisserait bien difficilement passer un tel abus d'autorité. Il est encore faisable si le chef est vieux et débile, et le récalcitrant très redouté pour ses qualités physiques et surtout sa méchanceté notoire, appuyée sur de solides preuves. Il faut encore que le «déserteur» ou le «déraciné» ne fasse partie d'aucune société secrète du «clan», car ses adeptes ne

pardonneraient jamais une désertion: c'est la première loi toujours inviolée.

Ce n'est pas tout encore. De toute nécessité, le nouveau fondateur doit trouver un totem consentant. Pour cela, car on ne peut choisir à tout hasard, comme d'aucuns se l'imagineraient, il faut que dans une suite de sacrifices, l'animal choisi marque sa volonté acceptante. Dans un cas semblable, cet honneur revient au totem personnel, car il ne peut être changé, et ne pas le choisir serait lui faire une sanglante injure dont il ne manquerait pas de tirer une vengeance significative. Mais il faut qu'il accepte de devenir le totem de la tribu. Ce faisant, l'esprit, beaucoup plus intelligent que l'homme, sait qu'il s'engage à devenir son protecteur effectif et attitré: il ne s'en soucie pas toujours. Dans la circonstance, Nzoge Nze m'avoua un jour qu'il avait dû, avant d'avoir son totem définitif et acceptant, attendre plusieurs mois et sacrifier nombre de poules, et même de cabris. Le féticheur y trouvait bien aussi son compte.

Notons encore que par suite de cette acceptation, tous les tigres ne devenaient pas les totems de Nzoge Nze, ce qui prouve bien la vérité de notre système, mais ceux là seulement qui vivaient dans le pays et étaient fils ou descendants de son *nze* ou tigre totem particulier. Encore ceux-ci n'étaient-ils sacrés que pour lui-même, chaque totem particulier demeurant particulier à celui qui le possède, sans l'être pour ses proches. Ainsi un des fils de ce *Nze* avait le «fourmilier» *avil*, pour totem: il n'en pouvait donc manger, ce que faisaient impunément ses frères et ses fils. Mais le *nze*, totem de Nzoge Nze, devenant totem familial et, par là même, tribal, ses enfants éviteront de tuer tout tigre, car il pourrait être parent de ce *nze*: toutefois, s'ils en tuent et en mangent, la faute n'étant qu'hypothétique, avant de l'expier, on fera, au moyen des sacrifices, les recherches nécessaires, et le totem, sous peine de ne recevoir aucune expiation, devra manifester sa parenté. Mais plus Nzoge Nze deviendra un ancêtre éloigné, plus les chances de parenté augmenteront avec tout tigre qui, lui aussi, pourrait bien être parent de l'ancêtre éponyme, et, par conséquent aussi, plus la loi deviendra stricte. Si un tigre vient dans les villages tuer quelques

innocents, femmes ou enfants, il sera alors permis aux hommes du clan éponyme de le tuer, et ce sera le seul cas, mais il sera toujours interdit de le manger. Lorsque, par une suite de sacrifices ad hoc, on aura dûment constaté qu'il ne s'agit pas là de représailles pour quelque faute totémique non expiée, il sera prouvé que le tigre en question n'appartient pas au clan tigre éponyme. C'est un «étranger» ou un «déserteur», et ce dernier cas est assez fréquent dans certaines espèces d'animaux où l'un ou l'autre fait bande à part et devient «solitaire», tel l'éléphant, le tigre, le sanglier, le gorille. Il est désormais parfaitement licite de lui courir sus et de le tuer, si possible. On en sera quitte pour une légère expiation rituelle proportionnée à la probabilité très faible d'avoir tué un allié, probabilité très faible, puisqu'on ne marche jamais sans l'assentiment préalable du chef totem de la tribu. A lui la responsabilité, s'il y a eu erreur.

IV° La Guerre et les Palabres.

La vie est facile pour le Fâñ.

Auprès de son village, la grande forêt commence: elle regorge de gibier, et il ne lui faut pas aller loin pour abattre presque à bout portant le singe, l'antilope, le sanglier, même l'éléphant. Ruisseaux et rivières sont innombrables: le poisson y est abondant, le cyprin en particulier y fourmille: pièges, barrages, filets, tout est bon pour le prendre, et tout réussit. Le Fâñ pêche et chasse quand il le veut: aucune loi n'arrête son bon plaisir. Les plantations de bananes et de manioc, qui assurent le fond de sa nourriture, ne le préoccupent guère. Il a quelques journées de travail au commencement de chaque saison pour abattre les grands arbres, les brûler et assurer ainsi par leurs cendres à la terre l'engrais fertilisateur; puis, tout le labeur et le soin des cultures revient à ses femmes. Aussi le Fâñ est-il oisif la plupart de ses journées. De là, plutôt pour occuper le temps que pour toute autre chose, d'interminables palabres, à propos de tout, à propos de rien.

Toutefois, si pour une raison ou une autre, la guerre menace la tribu ou doit être déclarée, le Fâñ semble alors se réveiller de sa torpeur léthargique. Avant de se décider au combat, il faut

palabrer, et longuement. Dans toutes ces palabres, le totem n'a qu'une toute petite part. Toutefois aucun guerrier ne prendrait la parole, sans avoir, au préalable, pris son totem en main et lui avoir adressé une courte objurgation, souvent un simple mot, une exclamation, que seul perçoit l'auditeur attentif.

Quand tous les guerriers ont parlé, le chef se lève à son tour et résume tout ce qui a été dit, avant de commencer son propre discours. Pendant cet exposé, il reste ordinairement à sa place. Puis il va au milieu du cercle. A la main, il a pris son bâton de chef; son baudrier lui ceint la poitrine: l'*akaméyôñ* y est toujours suspendu: «Je suis un tel, commence-t-il, fils d'un tel, et mon père était chef de la race. Nous sommes les fils de tel totem, et notre *akaméyôñ* nous protège.» Après ces paroles, il frappe le sol du pied, ou plus souvent de son bâton, comme pour attester la vérité de ce qu'il a dit, et donne ensuite son propre avis. Lorsqu'il a terminé, il élève le totem de la tribu pour le prendre à témoin de ses paroles, puis retourne à sa place.

Si la guerre est déclarée, les cérémonies totémiques sont plus marquées. Elles seront tout d'abord à peu près semblables à celles que nous avons décrites pour l'initiation et la consécration du chef. Le même autel sera dressé dans la forêt, avec les mêmes rites. On emploiera de nouveau l'*éfirfira* comme bois de construction, et au jour marqué, tous les guerriers se dirigeront vers la forêt. Chaque chef de famille porte son *évora biéri*. Les crânes sont déposés sur l'autel, et chaque totem à sa place. On amène alors la victime.

Ici, la scène change complètement. Ce n'est plus un chien ou un cabri qui sera immolé: ce doit toujours être un homme, soit un prisonnier de guerre, soit un captif quelconque racheté à une tribu voisine. Il n'est jamais permis de le remplacer par une femme. De même un homme ou un enfant appartenant à la tribu, ou dont la mère aurait appartenu soit à la tribu, soit à une tribu alliée, ne peuvent servir de victime: les lois du totem s'y opposent: il y aurait alors sacrilège. Pour éviter cette faute rituelle, dont l'expiation serait nécessaire et qui, de plus, enlèverait toute l'efficacité du sacrifice, le chef s'approche tout d'abord de la

victime et lui demande son nom, sa race, sa tribu. Rien ne s'oppose-t-il au sacrifice? «*A ne mvè,* s'écrie-t-il, *a ne nwuba,* il est bon, il est «consacré». — On attache alors l'homme au pied de l'autel: il est très rare qu'il régimbe. Tous les Noirs se résignent avec une facilité presque inconsciente lorsqu'ils voient la mort inévitable [1].

Afin de prévenir toute lutte possible, la veille au soir, on a eu soin de faire boire au captif un breuvage enivrant, où le suc de l'*ebé* et le *yam* (chanvre) entrent pour la plus grande part. — Dès que l'homme est attaché et que le chef a prononcé les paroles consacrées, les guerriers procèdent à leur toilette de guerre. Ils se peignent d'abord le corps en rouge avec la teinture de *baza* [2], puis sur ce premier fond, tracent des lignes blanches transversales avec de l'argile blanche *(mfem).* Autour des yeux, un large cercle noir est dessiné; sur le front, chacun marque l'image ou le symbole de son totem de tribu ou de clan: ce signe, au lieu d'être tracé sur le front, l'est parfois sur les tempes ou sur les joues. Ainsi la «hache» des Amvom, en réalité l'image du boa, leur serpent totem, se déroule sur les joues, les tempes, et finit près des yeux. Pour raviver cette image, on emploie le suc d'une liliacée gazonnante, le Chlorophyton *(ayâṅ é si),* qui donne une couleur bleuâtre fort tenace. Sur la poitrine, avec le suc d'un Gardenia, chacun trace ensuite en noir l'image de son totem particulier.

Une fois la toilette achevée, chaque guerrier prend ses armes et ses fétiches; la danse de guerre commence; elle se compose de deux parties: la danse totémique, puis la danse de guerre pro-

[1] Il nous est arrivé dans certains villages de rencontrer ainsi des hommes destinés au sacrifice, car parfois on les garde pendant de longues semaines. Ils se promenaient dans le village, libres en apparence, bien nourris, et bien traités: la seule marque de leur captivité était une bûche de bois, d'ailleurs assez légère, fortement attachée à leur pied, et qu'ils traînaient derrière eux. Dans le village, cette entrave était peu encombrante, mais dans la forêt, elle eût apporté à leur fuite un obstacle presque insurmontable. Maintes fois, je leur ai proposé, soit de les faire évader, soit de les faire délivrer par l'autorité. «A quoi bon, me répondaient-ils, je suis bien nourri, bien traité: la mort vient toujours: *Aku azu mbèmbè*! A quoi bon!»

[2] *Pterocarpus angolensis*: le bois est écrasé, et mêlé avec de l'huile; il donne une magnifique teinture rouge, très tenace.

prement dite, beaucoup plus accentuée, plus énergique. Nous l'avons déjà décrite plus haut en parlant du chant de guerre. Celui-ci accompagne la danse.

La danse de guerre étant terminée, le chef s'approche alors de la victime. On la force à s'agenouiller: le féticheur marque une ligne blanche sur son cou, puis lui ramène violemment la tête en avant, tandis qu'un aide force les bras à se replier en arrière. Avec le couteau des sacrifices, le féticheur tranche rapidement la tête d'un seul coup, et la rejette sur l'autel: le chef reçoit le sang, qui jaillit avec force, dans un vase destiné à ce seul usage, vase neuf qui sera ensuite brisé. Dès que le sang a cessé de couler, le cadavre est étendu à terre sur des feuilles fraîches de bananier, et le féticheur, assisté du chef, ouvre la poitrine en ayant soin de ne donner que deux coups de couteau, un en long et l'autre en large: le cœur est enlevé, et déposé près des crânes; puis les poumons et enfin le foie. D'après les derniers tressaillements et la place des organes, le féticheur augure de l'issue de la guerre: elle sera heureuse ou causera la mort de beaucoup de guerriers: «les chants funèbres seront longs, dit-il parfois», et un cri de tristesse s'élève dans la foule! Si, au contraire, les présages sont favorables, c'est une clameur de joie, un chant de triomphe et d'allégresse.

Chacun s'approche alors, le chef le premier, trempe le doigt dans le vase du sang, et goûte. Le féticheur trempe également le doigt et le pose sur le totem du guerrier: c'est ce que l'on appelle le signe de la race: *ndem ayôñ*. Les guerriers «adoptés» sont exclus de cette cérémonie: c'est peut-être le seul cas où on les distingue de la tribu, et encore, dans les clans moins nombreux, ne sont-ils pas exonérés de cette cérémonie.

Lorsque la tribu est nombreuse, et qu'une seule victime ne serait pas suffisante, on a soin d'en avoir deux, trois, parfois une dizaine et même davantage.

Dès que chaque guerrier a ainsi «renouvelé le signe», les danses sacrées recommencent: pendant ce temps, le chef, après y avoir d'abord participé lui-même, prend ce qui reste de sang, en barbouille les crânes de ses ancêtres, puis asperge les totems de la tribu, pendant que les guerriers chantent le chant du totem. Le

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

féticheur, aidé de ses acolytes, prépare avec la sève de certaines lianes caoutchouc[1] et une espèce de gomme[2], une sorte de grosse boule gluante, la pétrit dans l'intérieur de la cavité thoracique des victimes de façon à ce qu'elle soit bien imprégnée de sang. A la fin de la cérémonie, il prendra une parcelle de cette boule et l'appliquera sur la poitrine de chaque guerrier. Suivant le temps qu'elle s'y maintiendra, il augurera de la vie, de la mort ou des blessures que recevra le guerrier.

Dès que ces cérémonies ont pris fin, les victimes sont partagées en fines lanières; chacun a son morceau, et le festin commence. Mais ici se terminent les cérémonies totémiques proprement dites pour laisser place désormais aux purs rites religieux et fétichistes. Nous n'avons donc plus à insister.

Après le repas, la danse et les chants, crânes et totems seront remis dans l'*évora biéri*, reportés dans les cases, et chacun se préparera au combat.

V° Les grandes chasses.

Après la guerre, l'événement principal de la vie fân est certainement les grandes chasses et aussi les grandes pêches, organisées par toute la tribu. Elle y trouve toujours une source abondante de richesses. Comme cet événement intéresse le clan ou la tribu entière, le totem y a sa part, mais assez restreinte.

Dans les chasses particulières, c'est-à-dire de chaque individu, le totem particulier est seul invoqué. La cérémonie est d'ailleurs des plus courtes, si toutefois on peut l'appeler cérémonie. Ce ne sera pas un hommage, mais plutôt ce que l'on pourrait appeler une cérémonie préventive: le chasseur ne voudrait, à aucun prix, tuer son totem, ce qui pourrait attirer sur lui les plus graves dangers et les plus grands malheurs. Avant de partir en chasse, en chargeant son fusil, il aura soin de lui faire toucher son totem: même, s'il part à une chasse plus importante, celle de l'éléphant par exemple, ou plus dangereuse, comme celle de la panthère, il mélangera à la poudre un peu de cendres provenant de son sacrifice

[1] *Landolphia Klaineana* et *Thollonii* des Apocynacées.

[2] Cette gomme est fournie par l'*Acacia erubescens* WILDM. des Acaciés.

totémique. Il invoquera ensuite son fétiche de chasse, souvent par un simple attouchement: ces cérémonies auront surtout pour but de demander le secours du totem, et aussi de l'écarter de son chemin afin de n'être exposé à aucune faute rituelle soit en lui manquant involontairement de respect, soit en le blessant, ou en le tuant.

Dans les grandes chasses, les cérémonies seront presque semblables, toutefois un peu plus compliquées. Ces grandes chasses se font, pour le dire très-brièvement, de la façon suivante. Les Fân commenceront par cerner une forêt toute entière. Se réunissant plusieurs centaines d'hommes, parfois bien davantage, ils commencent par entourer la forêt désignée d'une ceinture de clayonnages en rotangs: au dessus de ce clayonnage, une liane court en suivant le même chemin: à la liane, les chasseurs attachent de place en place des feuilles sèches de légers roseaux qui s'agitant au moindre bruit suffisent à effrayer le gibier. A chaque sentier qui entre dans la forêt ou en sort, la barrière est interrompue, et le sentier coupé par une fosse profonde soigneusement dissimulée sous des branchages, parfois si bien recouverte de terre que les plus avisés s'y trompent. Au fond de la fosse, un pieu pointu est disposé, la pointe en l'air: tout animal qui y tombe, est presque sûr d'être transpercé. Ce premier travail achevé, les chasseurs se disposent à la battue proprement dite: auparavant, aura lieu le grand sacrifice. Supposons une tribu dont le totem est le pangolin *(ye-mvil)*. Le chef de la tribu se met en chasse le premier, après un jeûne préparatoire de trois jours. Pendant ce temps, il se tiendra à l'écart, retiré dans une petite case de roseaux, en pleine forêt: il ne pourra manger que les aliments qu'il aura apportés avec lui, et qu'il aura eu soin tout d'abord de faire reposer sur l'*évora biéri*. Il ne boira d'eau qu'en se servant d'une feuille d'amome disposée en cornet; de plus, il s'abstiendra de toute relation avec ses femmes, car le contact avec la femme est réputé alors faute contre le totem *(nsem éki)*. Ces trois jours passés, il fera fétiche, c'est-à-dire sacrifice au totem tribal ou clanique, suivant le mode habituel; ce sacrifice sera au moins une chèvre, et mieux une mouton. Autrefois, et même encore maintenant de temps à autre, c'était toujours un esclave. Le sacrifice

achevé, il prend une part de la victime; le reste appartenant au féticheur: pendant toute la chasse, il n'aura pas droit de manger d'autre viande. Il part alors, et ne rentre au village que lorsqu'il aura rencontré, pris vivant s'il est possible, sinon tué, l'animal totem. S'il l'a tué, il devra veiller à ce que le sang de l'animal ne tombe pas goutte à goutte sur le sentier et par conséquent exposé à être profané: sinon, il y aurait encore faute rituelle. En conséquence, il ferme soigneusement la plaie avec des feuilles sèches et de la bourre de bananier.

En rentrant au village, il ne doit être aperçu par aucune femme. Il aura donc soin de prévenir de son arrivée par un appel spécial, puis d'entrer précipitamment dans sa case. A cet appel, répond un coup particulier de tamtam. Les femmes qui se trouveraient d'aventure dans le village, hors de leurs cases, doivent y rentrer précipitamment.

L'animal totem est alors placé sur l'*évora biéri*: dans le cas où il serait trop gros pour y tenir, le chef l'ouvre et pose sur l'*évora* la cervelle, les poumons et le cœur, les trois endroits où sont contenus la vie agissante et les diverses âmes. Le corps est ensuite partagé entre tous les chasseurs après avoir été offert en sacrifice, suivant la manière accoutumée.

Si dans la battue qui suivra, l'animal totem est tué par mégarde, il ne pourrait se venger de la faute, ni lui, ni le totem clanique; par le fait du sacrifice et de la communion, tous les membres du clan sont devenus participants du totem: celui-ci se vengerait sur lui-même:

«*A séra né ki édjéze émièn émièn nlèm wuia*: il ne peut manger son propre cœur.»

La manducation achevée, les chasseurs se mettent à l'œuvre: ils franchissent les claies; puis, à l'aide de fortes cordes, ils resserrent peu à peu le cercle de la forêt, de manière à amener enfin tous les animaux cernés dans une vaste clairière aménagée d'avance, et où ils les tuent un à un. Parfois aussi, dans cet endroit, une immense fosse a été creusée d'avance; les animaux y tombent affolés [1].

Quand tout est tué, la curée commence. Toutefois, au préalable, le chef a grand soin d'examiner si par hasard quelques

[1] Cette battue se nomme *ngol*, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit d'éléphants.

animaux totémiques ne se sont pas aventurés par malheur daus la fosse. S'il y en a, ils sont soigneusement enlevés, déposés sur des feuilles de bananier, ficelés en paquet de façon à être dissimulés à tous les regards: la nuit suivante, on les porte furtivement dans un coin écarté et on les enterre profondément. Toutefois, on en garde un, que le chef ramène au village, et offre de nouveau en sacrifice: tous les chasseurs y participeront pour être à l'abri de toute faute rituelle.

Les grandes pêches donnent lieu à des cérémonies presque semblables. Avant de commencer un barrage de fleuve ou un détournement de rivière, on procédera d'abord au sacrifice totémique: une victime sera offerte, puis aura lieu le sacrifice proprement dit. Si, par hasard, le clan avait un poisson pour totem, les cérémonies seraient identiques à ce que nous avons déjà décrit plus haut.

La pêche achevée, a lieu également un sacrifice totémique avec les rites accoutumés: manquer à cette prescription amènerait de graves dangers pour la tribu.

VI° L'Etablissement d'un nouveau village.

Les circonstances qui peuvent déterminer l'établissement d'un nouveau village sont multiples. La terre épuisée, les chasses ou les pêches devenues peu fructueuses, les huttes qui tombent en ruines, une maladie qui décime les enfants, la mort du chef, une guerre malheureuse, parfois même le simple désir de pousser en avant, telles en sont les principales raisons.

Avant de songer au départ, une première consultation des esprits aura lieu[1]. On offrira un sacrifice triple: aux esprits protecteurs du village, aux ancêtres, au totem. Si les trois réponses sont favorables, on pourra aller de l'avant. Sinon, le sacrifice qui aura donné lieu à une interprétation néfaste sera recommencé, après plusieurs jours d'intervalle, jusqu'à ce qu'un résultat favorable soit obtenu.

Après cette première épreuve, on se met à la recherche d'un endroit convenable. Le choix étant fait par les délégués, on appelle le féticheur. Celui-ci, accompagné de tous les hommes, parcourt

[1] Voir plus haut (p. 184 suiv.) la légende de *Ngurangurane*.

tous les environs du nouveau village en chantant et en dansant pour écarter les esprits méchants ou qui pourraient nuire à la nouvelle fondation.

Tous les hommes se réunissent ensuite au centre du futur village, et le chef choisit l'endroit où il bâtira sa propre case. Là, un sacrifice est offert au totem d'abord, puis aux esprits des ancêtres. Pour faire cela, on a élevé à la hâte un toit de feuilles, grossièrement posé sur quelques simples piquets. L'*évora biéri* est apportée sans ce toit, et, sous l'ouvrir, le chef place devant une poule noire et un cabri.

Avant d'égorger les deux victimes, le chef détache l'*akaméyôṅ* du baudrier et siffle par trois fois dans l'oviara, en se tournant de trois côtés différents. Le but de cette cérémonie est d'écarter les mauvais esprits. Puis, saisissant l'*akaméyôṅ,* il le traîne derrière lui en parcourant tout l'emplacement du nouveau village. Ce premier tour terminé, il le prend en main, et refait le même voyage. Ainsi seront écartés les esprits de la terre et de l'air. L'*akaméyôṅ* est alors déposé sur l'*évora biéri*; le chef égorge la poule en lui tranchant la tête: il la prend par les pattes, et asperge l'*akaméyôṅ,* puis la boîte. Il parcourt de nouveau le village en aspergeant de sang les emplacements des futur cases. La poule est ensuite ouverte et partagée entre les principaux guerriers et parents du chef. C'est là, à proprement parler, le sacrifice totémique. Le cabri ou le mouton est ensuite offert aux mânes et aux ancêtres.

Après le sacrifice aux ancêtres, le chef prend de nouveau l'*akaméyôṅ* à son côté. Du *mfex* ou sac qui ne le quitte jamais, il tire un petit paquet d'étoffe sale où sont renfermés un peu de bois rouge, des cendres, et quelques os. Le tout provient d'un sacrifice au totem tel que nous l'avons décrit. Il y ajoute les restes du sacrifice nouveau qui vient d'être fait, et enterre le tout profondément. Dans ce trou, il enfonce un fort pieu de bois d'*élun* ou d'*éfirfira.* Un jeune ébénier est aussi parfois choisi. Au sommet du pieu, il fixe une boule faite avec une pâte composée de bois rouge, de craie blanche, couleurs des sacrifices et des esprits, et de manioc, symbole de fécondité. Une partie du totem clanique ou tribal y est également insérée: le féticheur, avec force gestes, chants et danses y enferme tous les méchants esprits de l'air.

Au centre du village, le féticheur sème du maïs, plante ensuite un pied de manioc, et surtout une euphorbe *(euphorbia antiquorum)* qu'il entoure d'une petite clôture, de façon que ces plantes ne soient pas profanées. De la rapide croissance de ces plantes dépend la prospérité du village. Si elles venaient à se faner, l'emplacement choisi serait abandonné. L'euphorbe a le pouvoir d'écarter le tonnerre et les esprits méchants: les pointes dont elle est hérissée lui valent cette propriété. — Des amaryllis et des immortelles sont aussi souvent plantées au pied de l'euphorbe avec quelques pieds de canne à sucre. Les amaryllis et les immortelles doivent être prises dans l'ancien village et provenir de celles que la première femme du chef a jadis emportées de son village lors de son mariage. Les cannes à sucre sont un symbole de fécondité.

Après ces préliminaires, les femmes plantent partout le maïs, dont la production rapide assurera la première nourriture, et les hommes commencent à bâtir les cases. On aura toujours soin encore d'offrir au totem protecteur les premiers épis de maïs. Séchés et conservés en couronne, ils serviront pour les semailles de l'année suivante.

VII° Les Ordalies.

L'appel à l'intervention du totem joue un assez grand rôle dans les ordalies[1] ou épreuves judiciaires.

Ces épreuves sont très-usitées dans les tribus bantoues. Ainsi, nous les retrouvons semblables à l'autre extrémité de l'Afrique, chez les Jaluo, au Kiviri.

Chez ce peuple, les ordalies ont lieu de la manière suivante qui ressemble fort à celle des Fân. «A small pot of water is placed on the fire. A little wimbi flour and a bit of «medicine» are put into the water. If the water boils over, the man is guilty, if not, he is innocent.

«A gourd basin with a large hole cut in the bottom is placed on a flat stone. Water is poured into the calabash, the bottom of which being, of course, not close-fitting to the stone, would permit ordinarily of a bakage. But the medicine man who attends puts into the bottom of the calabash crushed-up leaves of a kind

[1] Ordalies, de l'anglo-saxon «ordaal», en allemand moderne „Urteil", jugement.

of mimosa which, for a time at least, stop the bakage and enable the calabash to be filled up with water, the retention of the water by the calabash proving the man to be innocent.

«Dry flour is given to the suspected persons. If innocent, he can swallow it; if he is able to moisten the flour with his saliva and swallow it, he is shown to be guilty» [1].

Les Fâñ ont fréquemment recours aux ordalies. C'est surtout dans les circonstances suivantes: accusation de vol, d'adultère, de meurtre, d'être sorcier, d'avoir «péché» contre le totem du clan ou du village. Sans les décrire en détail, nous indiquerons simplement la part qu'y prend le totem.

Si la faute est avouée, la punition suit immédiatement: en cas de vol, par exemple, celui qui a commis le larcin doit restituer le double de la valeur. Dans certaines tribus, le voleur est condamné à la perte d'une oreille, du doigt ou de la main, parfois du pied. Souvent même, il est vendu comme esclave: chez les Fâñ, il doit simplement rendre le double.

En cas d'adultère, le coupable paie la valeur de la femme, et souvent de plus est longtemps gardé prisonnier dans le village de l'offensé; on lui rase la tête et on l'expose au soleil, couvert de piment. En cas de non-paiement, et même sans cela, le père ou le mari de la femme ont le droit, et ils en usent, de lui couper les articulations des doigts et de le rendre ainsi presque impotent. La femme est cruellement frappée, et dans les plaies on introduit du piment. Elle est également châtiée avec le *nkôñ éki* [2], sorte de longue cisaille en fer avec laquelle on pince profondément et on brûle cruellement les parties génitales. A la seconde récidive, on lui coupe le nez et les oreilles; une troisième faute entraîne la mort.

En cas de meurtre, l'assassin, lorsqu'il est pris, est tué et mangé: de plus sa famille doit rembourser une femme ou sa valeur, soit deux vies pour une.

Pour toutes les autres accusations, et pour celles que nous venons d'énumérer, lorsque le coupable, accusé ou présumé, nie, l'épreuve judiciaire est de rigueur.

---

[1] Sir H. Johnston, *op. cit.*, art. Jaluo.

[2] Certains villages portent même ce nom du fait qu'on y rencontre certains forgerons habiles à faire ces instruments particuliers en torture.

Les ordalies, quelqu'elles soient, peuvent être considérées sous deux aspects, ou encore sont à deux degrés. La première ordalie a pour but de «désigner» le coupable possible, la seconde de déterminer si oui ou non il est vraiment coupable. Le châtiment suit immédiatement et ce châtiment l'atteindra à la fois dans son corps et dans son âme.

Tout d'abord, il s'agit donc de désigner le coupable. Ainsi, il y a vol, meurtre, accusation de sorcellerie. Les ordalies sont différentes suivant le cas. Parmi les principales, on peut remarquer celles-ci.

Un homme est accusé de meurtre. On commencera par s'emparer de lui. Si on ne peut le faire, peu importe d'ailleurs: toute la tribu étant solidaire, on tâchera de saisir un homme de la tribu, n'importe lequel. Si on ne peut y arriver, les Fâñ s'empareront même d'un homme appartenant à une autre tribu, et on le gardera prisonnier jusqu'à ce que sa famille et sa tribu, se mettant en campagne à leur tour, aient capturé, soit le coupable, soit un homme de sa tribu. On conçoit combien pareille solidarité peut amener de représailles.

Une fois pris, l'homme, coupable ou non, subira une des épreuves suivantes.

Le *dzismébiâñ* est l'épreuve de l'œil. Pour la subir, l'homme est amené garrotté devant le chef. On lui renverse la tête en arrière, et le féticheur prend en main un petit vase, fait avec la coque dure d'une petite citrouille, nommée *ngon*. Ce vase est rempli d'un certain liquide, composé de poisons végétaux à base d'atropine. Le patient a le droit d'exiger, et il en use, que son propre totem soit plongé dans le liquide. Le contenu du vase lui est alors versé dans l'œil. Si l'œil demeure dans l'orbite, il est innocent: si, au contraire, l'œil est détruit ou exorbité, il est coupable [1]. Dans ce cas, il est tué immédiatement d'un coup de couteau. Il peut cependant demander encore à boire le poison d'épreuve, à condition de se racheter une première fois. On le lui accorde souvent.

Une deuxième épreuve est la suivante, plus générale. Elle est nommée *médzim mé ne ayôñ*, l'eau brûlante.

[1] Même épreuve chez les Bangala et les Barundi.

Le féticheur fait bouillir de l'eau dans un pot. Quand cette eau est bouillante, il y jette un anneau de fil de fer, et le coupable présumé doit l'en retirer sans se brûler; si la main est atteinte, l'accusé est déclaré coupable; si au contraire sa main est intacte, il est réputé innocent et renvoyé. Dans ce cas, l'accusateur est lui-même puni et doit boire le poison d'épreuve. L'accusé a le droit de faire bouillir son propre totem dans le pot, mais le féticheur a le même droit, afin de contrebalancer la force du totem de l'accusé.

L'épreuve du fer rouge, *éki biâñ*, ou *biâñ éki biâñ*, est la troisième ordalie.

On fait rougir au feu le couteau de l'accusé, puis on le lui applique sur la joue; si la joue est brûlée, il est coupable; sinon, il est déclaré innocent. Il a le droit de jeter dans le feu où rougit le fer de l'épreuve, des cendres de son totem individuel: il a également le droit de frotter avec ce même totem la partie de son corps où sera appliqué le fer rouge.

Sans qu'il nous soit besoin d'insister, on sent combien, dans toutes ces épreuves, les subterfuges sont faciles, d'autant qu'avant chaque cérémonie le patient a le droit de s'appliquer quelques bons cataplasmes ou substances qui endurciront sa peau. Le totem n'en aura ensuite que plus d'action!

Déclaré innocent, l'accusé devra cependant un sacrifice à son *mvame*. Nous croyons sans peine qu'il s'en acquitte facilement.

Dans les cas de vol, on emploie les épreuves suivantes, également au nombre de trois.

Pour l'*otura biâñ*, le féticheur allume au milieu du village un grand feu, alimenté de bois spéciaux. Quand le feu est bien pris, il jette dessus une brassée d'herbes mouillées, puis se retire à l'écart, après avoir prononcé au dessus de la fumée, lorsqu'elle commence à s'élever, quelques paroles magiques. Soudain, on voit la colonne de fumée, droite d'abord, s'incurver; puis, sans que le vent (souvent il n'y en a aucun souffle), sans que le féticheur ni personne ne puissent exercer une action physique et visible, car tous se tiennent loin, on voit, disons-nous, la colonne s'incurver, tournoyer sur elle-même, puis se diriger vers une case et l'envelopper tout entière. Le propriétaire de la demeure est aussitôt saisi et déclaré coupable: il

peut cependant demander à boire le poison d'épreuves, à condition toutefois de racheter une première fois sa vie. On ne se rachète pas du poison d'épreuve.

L'épreuve de la fumée m'a toujours paru des plus difficiles à expliquer. Plusieurs fois, j'en ai été témoin, et malgré une attention soutenue, je n'ai pu y voir la moindre supercherie.

Une deuxième épreuve est celle-ci: le féticheur se couche à terre et semble écouter des voix mystérieuses que l'on entend en effet comme sortir du sol. C'est très probablement un simple effet de ventriloquie: certains féticheurs y sont passés maîtres. Les voix désignent trois noms: le féticheur les répète à haute voix. Chacun des coupables présumés doit alors apporter une poule. Le féticheur égorge les malheureux volatiles et en répand le sang à terre. Un premier indice est tiré de la position qu'occupent entre elles les gouttes de sang en tombant à terre, et de la forme qu'elles affectent. Les poules sont ensuite ouvertes: la position du foie, les dernières contractions des nerfs et des muscles appuient les premières désignations.

Le totem ne joue qu'un rôle effacé dans cette épreuve, d'ailleurs rarement usitée aujourd'hui.

L'épreuve la plus fréquente est l'*akala-nkal,* ainsi nommée du fétiche *nkal*; celui-ci est renfermé dans une corne d'antilope ou dans un gros escargot *(ngôń).* Le féticheur fait bouillir de l'eau en y mêlant diverses espèces de plantes. Il y ajoute, à la demande de ceux qui pourraient se croire soupçonnés, une partie des cendres de leur sacrifice totémique.

Le soir venu, chacun dispose devant sa case un feu de bois et de bambous. Le chef parcourt alors le village vivement éclairé, en invoquant les esprits protecteurs et en menaçant le ou les voleurs des plus terribles vengeances. Puis, lui-même le premier, suivi de tous les hommes et de toutes les femmes, franchit en courant tous les foyers allumés. Si un homme ou une femme touche du pied un des tisons et le fait rouler hors du foyer, il est déclaré coupable. En subissant l'épreuve du *nkal,* le chef porte à la main son totem. Si tous ont réussi l'épreuve, il recommence seul, ayant alors en main le totem du village, pour mieux encore démontrer l'innocence de tous.

Après cette première épreuve, que tous surmontent généralement avec la plus grande facilité, le ou les accusés, s'il y en a, sinon, tous les hommes du village, boivent une gorgée de l'eau lustrale que le féticheur vient de faire bouillir, puis font quelques pas, et crachent sur le *nkal* qui a été déposé à terre. Chacun le franchit ensuite en jurant de son innocence, et recommence à sauter au dessus de tous les foyers. S'il est indemne, il est déclaré innocent. Il est bien rare que sous l'action du poison ou par toute autre cause, l'un ou l'autre ne vienne à heurter du pied un des tisons et le faire rouler hors du foyer. Par là-même, il est aussitôt déclaré coupable. S'il nie, il devra boire l'*élûñ*; si, au contraire, il avoue, il a la vie sauve, mais paie le double du vol.

Cette épreuve est la plus fréquente chez les Fâñ.

Tout homme accusé d'être sorcier ou encore tous ceux qui ont succombé à ces premières épreuves, doivent boire le poison d'ordalies. On a assez souvent décrit cette cérémonie pour que nous n'ayons pas besoin d'insister longuement.

Dans l'ordalie fâñ du poison d'épreuve, trois poisons différents sont employés suivant les cas: la sève de l'arbre *élûñ*, l'écorce râpée et les racines de l'*oné* ou *onal*[1], les racines de l'arbuste *kwéa*[2]. Ces racines sont finement râpées, jetées dans l'eau bouillante, et une liqueur rougeâtre est obtenue après plusieurs heures d'ébullition. Cette liqueur, très-dangereuse, contient en dissolution une notable proportion de strychnine et d'hyosciamine.

Le *ngenngâñ*, ou féticheur, commence par sacrifier une chèvre en employant les formules que nous avons déjà signalées. Puis tous les habitants du village sont réunis. Le féticheur paraît, peint de rouge et de blanc; des plumes rouges de perroquet et des plumes noires d'aigle pêcheur sont piquées dans ses cheveux et lui forment un diadème. Son seul vêtement consiste en une peau de bête roulée autour de ses reins. Aux mains et aux pieds, il porte de

[1] *Strychnos onal*; cet arbuste, de la famille des Strychnées, donne le poison dont on enduit la pointe des flèches. Leur piqûre est mortelle si le poison est frais, et la mort survient en quelques minutes. Si le poison est vieux, la plaie se gangrène lentement. Le brome est un bon contre-poison.

[2] *Strychnos ikaja*, cette épreuve est très commune à la côte où le *kwéa*, selon les tribus, est nommé *ikaja*, *ukn*, *mbonde*, *ibonde* etc.

nombreuses sonnettes. Il invoque les fétiches protecteurs du village, saute, gambade, hurle avec des contorsions frénétiques. Le tamtam que frappe un de ses acolytes bat de plus en plus vite, les mouvements du féticheur se précipitent en même temps: peu à peu, il semble se diriger de préférence vers un groupe: le bruit de ses sonnettes le guide, déclare-t-il. Enfin, il s'arrête brusquement et désigne dans la foule le ou les coupables: ceux-ci sont aussitôt arrêtés et amenés au milieu de la place publique où se tient un des assistants du féticheur tenant plusieurs coupes remplies de liqueur.

Ceux qui, dans les ordalies précédentes, ont demandé à boire le poison, sont également amenés à ce moment.

Chacun à son tour vide une coupe. Suivant le poison employé, les effets sont différents.

Ceux qui ont bu l'*élûñ* sont rapidement saisis d'un fort tremblement qui agite convulsivement leur corps tout entier. On les voit se tenir avec peine sur leurs jambes: ils rouleraient à terre si des amis ne les soutenaient; à ce moment, s'ils peuvent uriner abondamment, ils se remettent peu à peu et sont sauvés. Cependant il leur en reste souvent, pendant des années, une sorte de tremblement nerveux.

Ceux qui ont bu l'*ikaja* ou l'*onaï* paraissent, au contraire, comme assommés: ils tombent, se relèvent, puis retombent: ils ne peuvent échapper qu'en vomissant le liquide.

Quelque soit l'effet du poison, on amène tous ceux qui ont affronté l'épreuve devant une perche jetée en guise de pont sur un ruisseau, parfois devant un simple madrier ou arbre sec placé à terre. Ils doivent, sans soutien, le parcourir d'un bout à l'autre. S'ils chancellent et tombent, tous les assistants se précipitent sur eux, les frappent, les tuent à coups de bâton, les déchirent et les mangent séance tenante. Toutefois, les sorciers ou prétendus tels ne sont jamais mangés: on les brûle tout vivants. Ceux qui ont échappé et franchi l'arbre doivent payer une grosse amende. «Il n'y a pas de fumée sans feu», semble dire le proverbe fâñ, traduisant d'ailleurs à sa manière: «*ké abi fo ve fo*», pas de trou de rat sans rat! —

Dans toutes ces épreuves, le totem joue un assez grand rôle, soit de la part du féticheur qui l'invoque, soit de la part des malheureux accusés qui ont toujours le droit, bien illusoire pour

eux, d'en faire bouillir un fragment avec l'*élûñ*[1], et de l'invoquer avant d'absorber la funeste potion.

Les femmes ne sont pas admises aux épreuves que nous venons de citer, sauf parfois à l'épreuve du *nkal*. Chez les Fâñ, elles ne boivent pas le poison d'épreuve: la femme est en effet considérée comme irresponsable et en état de tutelle. Aussi, dans les accusations graves, son père ou son mari devront-ils la remplacer, et encore, n'auront-ils pas alors à invoquer le totem: il ne saurait agir en faveur d'une femme: il ne la connaît pas.

Dans le seul cas où elle est accusée de sorcellerie, elle doit subir une épreuve.

On l'amène garrottée au milieu du village, et deux femmes de sa parenté lui renversent la tête en arrière: le féticheur lui verse alors dans un œil la sève d'une euphorbe nommée *ka*[2]. Si l'accusée se relève indemne, elle est innocente. Si, au contraire, comme il arrive presque toujours, l'œil éclate, l'accusée est aussitôt déclarée coupable, entraînée dans la forêt, brûlée et mangée. L'accusation est fréquente, et le châtiment ne tarde jamais.

VIII° L'Echange du sang.

«La «fraternisation» (en Amérique: totémisation), dit Mgr. Le Roy[3], est la parenté par échange de sang: si ce n'est pas tout à fait le totémisme, elle en est du moins voisine.»

Tous les intérêts de l'homme primitif le portent en effet à étendre ses relations et ses alliances, c'est-à-dire en somme à étendre sa famille. Aussi l'échange du sang comprendra-t-il deux aspects assez différents. «Grâce à certaines pratiques mystérieuses, à certains actes et paroles qui demeurent le secret des initiés, mais qui comportent toujours l'échange du sang, on peut tout d'abord se concilier les faveurs d'un animal, s'en faire suivre et obéir, au besoin se déguiser sous ses apparences, profiter de sa force, de sa

[1] Notre rôle n'est évidemment pas ici de juger ces cérémonies, et de montrer combien le féticheur y joue le rôle principal, se faisant souvent grassement payer pour administrer un bon vomitif en même temps que le poison d'épreuve. Nous aurons plus tard en parlant de la Religion à apprécier ces ordalies.

[2] *Euphorbia scandens*, des Euphorbiacées arborescentes.

[3] La Religion des Primitifs, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

ruse, de son habileté. En un mot, on peut s'en faire un «frère», et là peut-être est la base de tout le totémisme»[1].

L'échange du sang avec l'animal, car toute union avec l'animal comporte toujours échange du sang, est donc en somme le principal, le premier des rites totémiques, de beaucoup le plus important. Nous nous sommes longuement étendu sur ce point en parlant de l'origine du totem et du nagualisme.

Toutefois, si l'homme, dans l'état actuel, recherche avant tout l'alliance de l'animal, alliance temporaire et personnelle, primitivement, comme le fait bien remarquer Mgr. Le Roy[2], par cette alliance, «l'homme n'a pas eu seulement pour but d'atteindre l'animal tel quel et d'associer sa famille à la sienne, il vise aussi et surtout cette famille animale, renforcée par la présence et l'action d'un esprit du monde invisible — âme de l'animal lui-même, esprit des ancêtres, génie tutélaire . . .» En un mot, l'alliance de sang est un pacte avec le monde invisible.

Ce que l'homme réalise avec l'animal, à plus forte raison voudra-t-il le faire avec l'homme lui-même: ce sera un puissant moyen d'étendre ses relations personnelles, ses alliances, sa «famille». De préférence, il choisira donc celui dont il apprécie l'amitié, la puissance, la fidélité, et concluera un pacte d'alliance que sanctionnera l'échange du sang dans une cérémonie particulière et par des rites spéciaux. Ces rites accomplis, les deux hommes seront vraiment frères de sang, *ndugu* chez les Swahilis de la Côte orientale, *ndégo* chez les Mpongwés de l'Equateur, *angom* chez nos Fân; c'est même mot et même racine, avec les diverses modalités apportées par les dialectes différents.

Toutefois, deux conditions sont nécessaires pour cet échange du sang. Il s'agit en première ligne d'une opération sérieuse. Après la cérémonie, le chef noir, car seuls les chefs se prêtent à cet échange, se croient parfaitement liés, et, au besoin, sauront donner leur vie pour leur frère de sang. Ils sont donc en droit d'exiger la réciproque. Les chefs, seuls, disons-nous, font frères de sang: seuls, en effet, ils sont représentants de la race, dépositaires du totem et, par conséquent, maîtres de la vertu et de la force de la tribu. Tout autre que le chef est donc nul de plein

[1] Mgr. Le Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 120. [2] Mgr. Le Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

droit, et le chef lui-même ne peut déléguer personne à sa place. De temps à autre, cependant, le fait arrive! Quelque Blanc qui passe, explorateur ou autre, désireux de se concilier les faveurs de quelque chef influent, souvent des négociants, dans l'intérêt de leur commerce, demandent à un chef de faire «frère de sang» avec lui. Le chef y voit son intérêt propre, il y consent facilement, sachant bien devoir y gagner de nombreux cadeaux. La cérémonie a lieu, mais bien naïf au fond le Blanc qui croit avoir réussi: dans la grande majorité des cas, le chef noir a député à sa place quelque remplaçant, et la cérémonie est nulle de plein droit.

Parfois, cependant, le chef s'y prête lui-même, mais alors les rites essentiels sont écourtés, souvent omis; le Noir sait trop bien à quoi il s'engage et ne tient nullement à avoir des frères blancs de la sorte. Toutefois, dans certaines circonstances et sachant bien à qui il a affaire, le chef noir fait vraiment frère de sang. Ainsi l'est, par exemple, de Mgr. Le Roy, un chef du Kilima-Ndjaro, nommé Tumba, et l'éminent auteur[1] nous a laissé de la cérémonie et de tous les rites adjoints un récit aussi intéressant que complet.

Une deuxième condition est que les contractants soient de tribu différente et que leur totem ne soit pas le même. Cette dernière condition est essentielle et ressort du totémisme lui-même.

L'opération de l'alliance ou échange du sang est assez curieuse. Elle se fait, chez nos Fâñ, de la façon suivante: et on la retrouve exactement la même dans plusieurs tribus congolaises, d'ailleurs assez apparentées aux Fâñ, tels les Wabuyu, du Hᵗ Congo.

Ainsi, chez ce peuple, la retraçait dernièrement un missionnaire de nos amis[2].

«Dans la soirée, les tambours battent avec force: des coups de feu répétés, suivis de cris de joie annoncent une fête. Piqué par la curiosité, je me dirige vers l'endroit d'où vient tant de bruit. J'apprends que deux chefs doivent aujourd'hui faire «l'échange du sang». Ils s'avancent avec gravité . . . les assistants se pressent et poussent des hurlements à faire frémir. Solennellement, les héros du jour prennent place sur des sièges disposés à cet effet.

[1] Voyage au Kilima-Ndjaro par Mgr. Le Roy, chez Mame, Tours. Voir également Ann. Prop. Foi. 1892, p. 369 et ss.

[2] Bulletin des Pères Blancs d'Anvers, n° de mai 1910.

Après s'être assis l'un en face de l'autre, ils mettent genoux contre genoux, une étoffe blanche est jetée sur leurs personnes, et la cérémonie commence.

«Le ministre d'un des chefs du village où je suis, saisit un petit couteau effilé et fait une entaille à la jambe du chef étranger, pendant que le ministre de celui-ci opère de la même façon sur le chef du village où se passe la scène. Chacun étend sur une feuille d'arbre une pâte qui a l'apparence du beurre, et simultanément les deux ministres frottent délicatement les deux entailles. A plusieurs reprises, ils échangent réciproquement leurs feuilles, afin de bien mélanger le sang de leurs maîtres et ainsi de mieux sceller leur mutuelle amitié.

«Au même instant, les cornes d'ivoire résonnent, les tambours battent des airs guerriers, hors de raison, il me semble, dans une «conférence de la paix» [1]. Cette musique souffle dans les cœurs une folie de colère traduite par la foule en des cris d'une extrême sauvagerie.

«Les ministres imposent silence d'un signe de la main, et adressent à leurs seigneurs un petit discours dont voici à peu près le sens: «Vous avez conclu le pacte du sang. Votre amitié réciproque ne verra point de fin. Si l'un de vous vient à trahir la parole donnée, qu'il soit brisé comme cette feuille.»

«Joignant le geste à la parole, ils mettent en morceaux les feuilles qui ont servi à la cérémonie. Puis les deux chefs, debout, prononcent à haute voix ces mots: «Tout ce que je possède est à toi, enfants, esclaves, sujets, bétail et plantation. Si quelqu'un cherche à te faire du mal, je serai toujours prêt à venger l'injure.»

«Ensuite, la main dans la main, ils font deux ou trois fois le tour de l'assemblée d'une allure lente et digne. Les illustres personnages sont suivis d'une dizaine de négresses . . . Vêtues d'étoffes indigènes où les couleurs les plus disparates se contrarient, se heurtent avec audace. Leurs cheveux sont tressés avec art, des rivières de perles et de verroteries ornent leurs poitrines, d'énormes bracelets de cuivre couvrent l'avant bras, et de lourds anneaux de fer cerclent les chevilles. Sur un signe de l'une d'elles, toutes se mettent à marcher avec des balancements, des déhanchements bizarres qu'accompagnent

[1] C'est une erreur du missionnaire. On fait «frère du sang», surtout en vue, de s'aider en cas de guerre.

leurs plus aimables gestes et leurs plus sympathiques grimaces, à l'adresse des assistants qui trépignent de joie.

«Un instant après, quand les nouveaux amis ont regagné leurs places, une bande de Noirs sort des rangs des spectateurs, vêtus de pagnes multicolores. Le groupe des danseurs vient saluer les deux majestés en poussant par trois fois un rugissement de fauve auquel répond la foule. Les musiciens de l'orchestre s'escriment avec fureur sur leurs instruments: danseurs et spectateurs tirent encore de leurs robustes poitrines trois rugissements à faire trembler les lions eux-mêmes. C'est le signal de la danse, le clou de la fête. Grands et petits se joignent à la bande sortie de leurs rangs. Avec une souplesse féline, ils rampent, sautent à la façon du léopard, se relèvent avec ensemble, tournent en brandissant des lances qui étincellent au soleil, bondissent sur une victime imaginaire qu'ils piétinent avec rage. La sueur ruisselle le long de ces torses nus aux reflets de bronze; pour tromper la fatigue, les danses alterneront avec les chants de guerre, qui célèbrent les prouesses des anciens de la tribu et qui apprennent à mépriser la mort.

«Vient ensuite le banquet dont les femmes sont soigneusement exclues.»

Cette cérémonie des Wabuyu se retrouve identique chez les Fân Dzèm où nous avons pu y assister plusieurs fois, presque semblable chez les Dzandzama et les Bakélé.

Il est assez curieux de retrouver presque les mêmes coutumes chez les peuples les plus anciens. Ainsi, parlant des Scythes, Hérodote écrivait jadis: Lorsque les Scythes prêtent un serment, voici comment ils s'y prennent: ils versent du vin dans une grande coupe de terre, et les contractants y versent de leur sang en se faisant de légères incisions sur le corps avec un couteau ou un glaive: ils trempent ensuite dans cette coupe un épieu, une hache et une lance. Ils prononcent ensuite de longues prières et boivent à la coupe: les personnes les plus distinguées de leur cour boivent après eux» [1].

L'alliance du sang est le dernier rite totémique général dont nous ayons à nous préoccuper. Viennent ensuite les rites particuliers. Le totem y joue, d'habitude, un rôle beaucoup moins important que dans les rites généraux. Aussi, aurons-nous beaucoup moins à nous en préoccuper.

[1] Hér. Liv. IV, ch. 70.

CHAPITRE XVI.

LE TOTEM DANS LA VIE FÂṄ. LES RITES PARTICULIERS.

Sommaire.

§ 1. **Naissance et imposition du nom.** Cérémonies diverses. Le père et l'enfant.
§ 2. **L'adoption.**
§ 3. **Le mariage.**
§ 4. **Chasses, pêches, cultures.**
§ 5. **Commerce et Palabres.**
§ 6. **Maladies et Mort.** La danse des funérailles et le *Fouki*.

---

§ 1. Naissance et imposition du nom.

Pendant l'enfantement, les femmes seules, les matrones du village, ont le droit d'assister la mère. Les hommes sont absolument exclus, même le mari: une femme qui viendrait à mettre son enfant au monde au cours d'un voyage préférerait même s'en aller seule dans la forêt que de réclamer le secours de son mari.

Dès que l'enfant est venu au monde, on lui coupe le cordon ombilical et on le lave avec soin. Les restes du cordon enveloppés dans un linge sont enterrés à l'écart. S'il s'agit d'un fils de chef, surtout du chef principal, ces restes sont enterrés, comme nous l'avons vu, au pied d'un figuier sacré[1]: on attache dès lors une grande importance à la croissance de l'arbre: il est strictement défendu d'y toucher. Tout attentat à l'arbre serait considéré comme une attaque à l'être humain lui-même.

Quelques jours après la naissance, l'enfant est apporté au père, qui est libre de l'accepter ou de le refuser: toutefois, ce

[1] *Ficus Sycomorus.*

[p.570]

dernier cas n'a lieu qui si l'enfant est contrefait ou infirme et alors il est impitoyablement sacrifié. Les rites religieux[1] de la naissance sont nombreux, mais les seuls qui nous paraissent toténiques, sont l'imposition du nom, et le choix du totem de l'enfant.

Le nom est uniquement choisi par le père: il dépendra souvent des circonstances présentes, atmosphériques ou autres, ou de quelque événement local, chasse, pêche, arrivée d'étranger. De là, un certain nombre de noms qui au premier abord sembleraient totémiques parce que reproduisant des noms d'animaux ou végétaux, ne le sont nullement. En général, le nom du fils aîné est celui d'un des ancêtres, grand-père ou ancêtre, qui est alors censé revivre en lui. Toutefois les jumeaux reçoivent toujours un nom spécial de choses appareillées, qui vont deux par deux; ainsi: Soleil et Lune, Vent et Pluie, Orage et Tonnerre etc.

Dès que l'enfant a reçu son nom, le père le prend entre ses bras, le conduit dans sa case, ouvre l'*évora biéri* et dépose l'enfant sur le couvercle: il prend alors successivement chaque crâne des ancêtres et le lui place sur la tête; puis il met dans sa main son totem familial et souvent, grattant de l'ongle la corne d'antilope ou autre qui renferme les restes de son propre sacrifice totémique, lui en met une parcelle dans la bouche. C'est là, à proprement parler, la consécration au totem. Il rend alors l'enfant à sa mère afin qu'elle l'oigne d'huile et le frotte de bois rouge. La mère, ou une commère quelconque, s'étant acquittée de ce soin, le père reprend l'enfant et lui met de nouveau dans la bouche une parcelle de totem. Une chèvre, un mouton ou au moins une poule sont alors offerts au totem familial et aux mânes des ancêtres, suivant le rite consacré. Les restes de ce sacrifice, cendres etc. sont renfermés dans une petite corne d'antilope que l'on suspend ensuite soit au cou de l'enfant, soit devant ses parties génitales; ce sera son préservatif. Le père donne enfin à l'enfant son totem personnel, qui lui sera rappelé plus tard lorsqu'il sera en âge de comprendre. On lui apprendra alors en même temps le totem familial, clanique et tribal, et les devoirs et obligations qui en résultent pour lui. Cet enseignement fait partie du *mébara*.

[1] Voir «Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie» 1910: Les rites de la Naissance chez les Fâ̂, par le P. Trilles.

§ 2. L'adoption.

Dans certains cas, quelques enfants sont adoptés par un chef de famille. Ce sera, par exemple, un enfant livré comme rançon d'un meurtre, ou souvent des enfants épargnés lors du sac d'un village. Dans ce cas, en effet, si tous les hommes et jeunes gens valides sont impitoyablement sacrifiés et mangés, il n'en est pas ainsi pour les femmes et les enfants, même mâles. Ceux-ci feront désormais partie de la nouvelle tribu et seront considérés plus tard comme guerriers. Aucune cérémonie n'a lieu pour les femmes et enfants du sexe féminin: nous l'avons vu, le totem ne les regarde pas et elles n'ont envers lui qu'un devoir: se sauver au plus vite dans leurs cases toutes les fois qu'il en est question, et n'en jamais parler. Si le cas arrive, c'est une faute qui réclame expiation.

Les enfants mâles sont adoptés par les divers chefs de famille. Le chef de tribu ou de village choisit le premier: les autres guerriers après lui. Le ou les enfants choisis par le chef ne pourront cependant jamais lui succéder.

Les cérémonies de l'adoption sont les mêmes que celles de la naissance. L'enfant adopté perd tous ses anciens totems pour prendre ceux de la tribu où il entre. Une seule cérémonie est ajoutée: l'effusion du sang. Afin de bien montrer qu'il entre définitivement dans la tribu, il subit l'opération suivante au moment où il est conduit devant le totem. Avec le couteau *mfor*, petite lame d'acier réservée à cet usage, le père adoptif lui fait quelques légères scarifications sur le bras gauche, recueille le sang qui coule, et le jette sur les crânes des ancêtres, puis sur l'*akaméyôn*. Il prend alors une parcelle d'un crâne, quelques cendres de sacrifices totémiques et en frotte vigoureusement le bras de l'enfant. C'est le signe distinctif de l'adoption: il entre par là définitivement dans sa nouvelle famille et est bien considéré comme lui appartenant. Plus tard, il pourra même prendre femme dans son ancienne tribu, malgré la loi très stricte d'exogamie, tant l'adoption est au fond réelle.

Souvent, cette même effusion et alliance de sang a également lieu avec les enfants vraiment naturels, ou avec les mulâtres, mais alors le but est différent. Il ne se fait jamais à la naissance, mais beaucoup plus tard, pour assurer à l'enfant la protection des ancêtres.

Cet acte est fréquent en cas de maladie de l'enfant.

§ 3. Le mariage.

Nous ne connaissons aucun acte vraiment totémique dans les rites religieux pourtant si compliqués du mariage. Cette abstention doit tenir à ce fait que la femme, en elle-même, est considérée comme indépendante du totem.

Avant le mariage, avant surtout de se disposer à aller dans les villages choisir celle qui sera sa future compagne, le jeune homme commence par bâtir devant sa case une sorte d'arc de triomphe. Une liane, garnie d'oripeaux divers, étoffes et feuilles vertes, branches fleuries et fleurs d'*ava,* court de sa maison à celle qui lui fait face, de l'autre côté de la cour publique ou grande allée du village. Devant sa case, deux arbrisseaux, ornés de même, et réunis par la tête, dessinent l'arc de triomphe. Le jeune homme ouvre la boîte du *biéri,* enlève son totem familial et un crâne et les dépose devant la statue du *biéri.* Puis, pendant de longues heures, ce seront alors d'interminables chants accompagnés de danses. Dès que le jeune homme est fatigué, un de ses amis le remplace. Ces danses et chants se prolongent bien avant dans la nuit et recommencent à l'aube. Nul n'a le droit de les interrompre et même d'entrer dans la case: sinon, la cérémonie serait tout entière à recommencer. Il suffirait même pour cela qu'un regard féminin ou d'homme étranger à la tribu regardât le *biéri* ou le totem. Aussi, pour éviter cet accident, un des amis du jeune homme est-il constamment de garde: il se tient devant la porte pour faire circuler vivement les passants.

Ce rite n'a lieu que lorsque le jeune homme médite un mariage par enlèvement. Il veut ainsi se concilier les faveurs du *biéri,* des ancêtres et du totem.

Le troisième jour, au soir, les danses consacrées prennent fin: aussitôt le jeune homme offre un dernier sacrifice, généralement un coq, une poule, et du maïs, suivant les formes consacrées. Puis, sans avoir le droit de se reposer un seul instant, il se met en route, emportant coq, poule, et maïs comme seules provisions de voyage. Il lui est interdit d'en prendre d'autres.

Quelque soit la forme du mariage, dès que la première femme est épousée, elle est la seule considérée comme vraiment

légitime. Dès qu'elle est entrée entre dans sa nouvelle case, son mari la prend par la main et la conduit devant l'*évora biéri*. La caisse reste soigneusement fermée. Jamais, dans toute sa vie, la femme n'aura le droit de jeter un coup d'œil à l'intérieur: ce serait une faute rituelle des plus graves. Elle prend à ce moment un peu d'huile de palme apportée de son village, la mêle avec de l'huile que lui donne la mère de son mari, et frotte de ce mélange symbolique la statue qui surmonte l'*évora*. C'est le symbole de la fécondité qu'elle demande aux ancêtres et aux esprits protecteurs de la race. Elle dépose ensuite quelques grains de maïs dans une petite corbeille et la place aux pieds de la statue, afin que ses futures plantations soient prospères. Ce sacrifice sera ensuite renouvelé chaque matin, mais seulement par la femme principale. Encore lui arrive-t-il souvent d'y manquer.

§ 4. Chasses, pêches, cultures.

Avant de commencer une chasse ou une pêche, avant également de partir pour les premiers travaux des plantations, chaque chef de famille ou même chaque simple guerrier aura soin d'invoquer son totem. Il le fera d'abord par une offrande sur la boîte du *biéri*, puis en faisant toucher ses armes, outils ou engins au totem familial.

S'il s'agit de chasse, le chasseur, en chargeant son fusil, aura soin de mêler à la grenaille un peu de cendres du sacrifice totémique: il touchera ensuite son totem de la main, et partira confiant, sûr du résultat. Même si la chasse ne répond pas à ses désirs, il ne songera jamais à accuser son totem. Il pensera qu'il a eu malchance, ou plutôt commis quelque faute.

S'il part pour la pêche, il emportera avec lui, dissimulées dans un chiffon, quelques cendres du sacrifice. Arrivé à l'endroit qu'il croit propice, il commencera toujours par jeter ces cendres dans l'eau, afin de se concilier les faveurs du totem.

De même, lorsqu'il commencera les cultures, au début de chaque saison sèche, avant de donner aux arbres qu'il doit abattre, le premier coup de hache, il déposera quelques cendres ou restes du sacrifice dans une cavité quelconque, et veillera à ce que ces restes soient bien détruits par le feu, lorsqu'il brûlera les arbres abattus, afin de fournir aux récoltes futures l'engrais nécessaire.

En revenant de la chasse ou de la pêche, il aura toujours soin de faire une offrande sur l'*évora biéri*: ce sera un morceau du cœur de la bête et un peu de cervelle, ce sera une partie du premier poisson pris ou même le poisson entier, s'il est trop petit. Les prémices des récoltes seront également placées sur l'*évora*. Toute contravention à ces rites entraînerait une punition qui ne pourrait être ensuite rachetée que par un ou plusieurs sacrifices. Cette punition, le guerrier la verrait infailliblement dans la non-réussite d'une chasse ou d'une pêche suivante, dans la stérilité de ses plantations.

L'offrande de chasse ou de pêche est faite par le chef de famille, celle des prémices par la première femme.

§ 5. Commerce et Palabres.

Toutes les fois que le Fân doit «parler», il a grand soin auparavant de se concilier les faveurs de son totem. Il importe, dans ces occasions, qu'il puisse convaincre ses interlocuteurs ou ses adversaires.

La cérémonie totémique sera fort courte. Avant de partir à la palabre ou pour un voyage de commerce, il ouvrira la boîte du *biéri*, prendra dans un chiffon un peu de cendres du dernier sacrifice, et refermant sa boîte, s'en ira heureux.

Avant de commencer à «parler», il ouvrira le paquet des cendres, et en mettra un peu sur son front, ses lèvres, son gosier. Ainsi les esprits protecteurs de la race favoriseront son cerveau et lui inspireront les meilleures pensées et les meilleures choses à dire. Ainsi encore lui diront-ils les meilleures paroles à prononcer pour convaincre ses adversaires et obtenir un heureux résultat.

§ 6. La maladie et la mort.

Les cérémonies totémiques de la maladie et de la mort sont un peu plus importantes. Dès qu'un homme est gravement atteint, on fait appel au féticheur. Celui-ci, après avoir exigé, d'avance, c'est beaucoup plus sûr, une rémunération suffisante de ses peines futures, se rend à la case du malade. Les remèdes employés sont des plus variés. Parmi eux, figure toujours la danse en l'honneur du totem. Après la danse et l'expulsion des esprits méchants qui

tourmentent le malade, a lieu le sacrifice. C'est souvent une chèvre, un mouton, au moins une poule. Le malade aura toujours a en absorber une partie: dans ce morceau, de même que dans les potions administrées au malade, le féticheur aura soin de déposer quelques fragments du totem familial du malade. Si celui-ci vient à en réchapper, il devra encore, avant de sortir de sa case, offrir une poule noire sur l'*évora biéri*. Cette poule sera ensuite brûlée selon les rites consacrés.

Supposons que le malade aie succombé. Le fils aîné lui ferme les yeux, étend les bras et les jambes du défunt pendant qu'ils sont encore flexibles, car ensuite il n'est plus permis de toucher au cadavre, sous peine de souillure grave. Les lamentations commencent, mais à mi-voix: les femmes du défunt se groupent près de lui, se déchirent les bras et les épaules, et avec le sang qui coule aspergent le défunt. Celui-ci est alors recouvert de ses fétiches; à son côté, repose le *mébup* où est suspendu le totem familial. Après les premières lamentations, le tumulte cesse, et seules les femmes du défunt continuent à le pleurer.

Au matin, le fils aîné et successeur offre un sacrifice au totem familial du défunt afin qu'il demeure favorable aux vivants: il place un peu de sang de la victime dans la bouche du défunt, puis en prend également dans sa propre bouche et accomplit ensuite le sacrifice suivant les rites accoutumés.

Avant d'enterrer le défunt, un nouveau sacrifice sera offert afin de déterminer l'emplacement de la tombe, et que le mort soit satisfait. On le fait également participer à ce sacrifice.

Le moment venu, le défunt est déposé dans la tombe creusée pour le recevoir: son totem familial repose près de lui; quand c'est le chef de la tribu, on place également à son côté le totem clanique ou tribal: on le lui laisse quelques instants, puis l'héritier le reprend pour «entrer en possession».

Les mêmes cérémonies sont observées lors de l'enlèvement du crâne, trente jours après la mort.

Ce crâne ne peut cependant figurer aussitôt dans l'*évora biéri*: il doit tout d'abord être «reconnu». Ce rite est analogue au rite de l'initiation du chef que nous avons déjà décrit. Le crâne est

porté dans la forêt, placé sur une sorte d'autel, et on lui immole une victime. Il est aspergé d'eau lustrale, puis de sang. L'héritier du chef prend alors le crâne et lui fait successivement «reconnaître» les crânes des aïeux d'abord, puis les totems familiaux et claniques pour finir par le totem de la tribu.

Trente jours après la mort, ont également lieu les danses funéraires, le *fanki*, puis le partage des biens du défunt, en particulier de ses femmes. La case reste ordinairement fermée pendant ce temps; la porte est barricadée, et le toit recouvert d'épines afin que l'esprit du défunt ne puisse rentrer dans sa demeure, ce qui nécessiterait de nouveaux sacrifices.

Les rites mortuaires sont très compliqués chez les Fân et très solennels, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit d'un grand chef: nous n'avions à nous préoccuper ici que des seuls rites du totem. Celui-ci revivra plus tard dans la personne d'un des descendants, généralement le petit-fils, qui, dans de nombreux cas, aura à la fois le nom et le totem de son grand-père.

CHAPITRE XVII.

LES LOIS DU TOTEM.

Sommaire. Le droit du totem au respect et à la crainte.

§ 1. Le droit à la crainte.

1° La crainte du totem engendre le respect.

2° Comment se manifeste la protection du totem. — Faits qui expliquent cette protection.

3° Le respect ou la crainte engendrent le culte.

4° Intervention du totem.

§ 2. Les *éki* ou défenses rituelles.

1° La notion de l'*éki*.

2° *Éki* totémiques.

3° *Éki* par rapport aux différents situations sexuelles ou sociales.

§ 3. La loi d'exogamie.

1° Nature de l'exogamie.

2° But et origine de cette loi. — Est-ce une loi totémique? — Opinions diverses: M. Reinach, Mgr. Le Roy.

§ 4. Les tabous. — Différence avec les *éki*.

Le totem, comme tout système religieux organisé, a ses ministres et ses rites qui constituent le culte. De plus, il doit être respecté, ou mieux encore, l'idée de respect étant peu familière à l'esprit du Noir, il a droit à la crainte. Ce droit est fondé sur l'assistance réelle qu'il apporte à la tribu, au clan, famille ou individu, qu'il protège, qu'il garde, auquel il donne l'appui des vertus et des forces d'une race.

La crainte qu'il réclame ressort de sa puissance même. Il a donc droit à la crainte. En vertu de ce pouvoir, et pour maintenir sa puissance et son autorité, les ministres du totem, ses représen-

tants, ont établi une série de lois ou de prescriptions destinées à maintenir son intégrité. Ces lois comportent des pénalités qui doivent châtier toute infraction.

De là, nous avons à traiter dans ce chapitre le droit du totem à la crainte, comment le Fân observe ce droit, les défenses diverses ou *éki* avec les pénalités qu'elles comportent, et enfin la loi d'exogamie, toutes choses qui constituent en somme les lois du totem.

De plus, comme on a souvent confondu défenses totémiques et défenses tabuales, ce sera également le lieu d'exposer leurs différences et leurs points communs.

§ 1. Le droit à la crainte.

I° La crainte du totem engendre le respect.

Dans son alliance avec l'animal ou, à un degré moindre, avec un végétal, le Fân admet facilement l'idée des services qu'il en attend, et que, dans nombre de circonstances, il croit en recevoir.

Souvent, le nagualisme, avec ses faits indéniables, est là pour le fortifier dans cette croyance et lui faire voir dans certains animaux une protection, un secours, au besoin un ami. Près de lui, n'a-t-il pas le chien qui remplit déjà ce rôle, le perroquet [1], qui pense-t-il, lui dévoilera les voleurs qui en voudraient à ses richesses, et combien d'autres? La mante religieuse le rappelle à ses devoirs, le caméléon est messager de *Nzame*; tel oiseau, le *mal*, le conduit droit à la ruche de miel; pourquoi le *khu* ne serait-il pas aussi bien le messager de mort prochaine? De même encore le coq qui, soudain, la nuit, chante à une heure indue, ne le fait pas sans motif, mais bien pour annoncer à son maître, l'approche de l'étranger ou de l'ennemi. Aux yeux du Fân, l'animal jouit de certains pouvoirs mystérieux, prévoyant les changements de temps, les orages, vivant là où l'homme mourrait de faim, et, par conséquent, en relations avec le monde des esprits, des forces mystérieuses de la nature. L'homme reconnaît sans peine que l'animal est ainsi doué de qualités supérieures: il

[1] Au dire de beaucoup de Noirs, un esprit protecteur de la famille habite souvent les perroquets gardés captifs dans les cases. C'est lui qui parle par leur bouche.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

l'envie, il cherche à s'en faire un ami, mais de même qu'alors, sachant qu'en blessant un ami, on s'en fait un ennemi, il le craint, et s'efforce de ne pas l'irriter, ou s'il croit l'avoir fait, essaie aussitôt de l'apaiser.

Il y a d'ailleurs réciprocité: si l'homme craint et respecte son frère animal, «celui-ci [1] à son tour devra être utile à son frère humain: c'est ainsi qu'en Sénégambie les membres du clan des Serpents prétendent pouvoir guérir, rien qu'en les touchant, les personnes mordues par un serpent.»

Pareilles croyances se retrouvent chez les Fâñ et toutes les tribus apparentées à leur groupe. C'est ainsi qu'entre autres cas, j'ai été témoin du fait suivant. En récoltant des tiges de manioc, une femme avait été piquée au sein par un serpent vert, dit serpent des bananiers. On s'empressa d'abord de laver la plaie avec du lait de femme récemment accouchée, ce qui est le remède usité en pareille occurrence; puis, en hâte, le mari alla chercher un féticheur dont le totem était précisément le serpent vert. Le féticheur accourut, fit les incantations d'usage, et comme la femme fut ensuite guérie, il ne manqua pas de s'en attribuer tout l'honneur. Toutefois, à la suite de cet incident, la femme fut consacrée au serpent, et dès lors eut le pouvoir de guérir également les personnes mordues par cet animal [2]. Elle devait, dans ce cas, se procurer un *fol* ou serpent vert, lui broyer la tête entre ses dents, la mâcher et en composer un onguent que l'on appliquait sur la blessure.

II° Comment se manifeste la protection du totem. Faits qui expliquent cette protection.

Nombre de faits viennent affirmer la croyance à la protection effective du totem, et on ne peut nier que, parfois, certains de ces phénomènes ne deviennent presque inexplicables. Ainsi, le clan tigre totem respectera son clan allié humain: un tigre passera près d'un homme de son clan sans lui faire de mal: au besoin même,

---

[1] Le Totémisme par J. Capart, p. 17.

[2] Consulter à ce sujet «Animaux totems et animaux médicinaux», par Giuffrida-Ruggieri, Atti della Soc^ta Romana di Antropologia, Roma 1903, T. IX. — Cf. Reinach, Anthropologie 1903, t. XIII, p. 355 et ss.

on m'en a cité bien des cas, il laissera une partie de la proie qu'il vient de tuer à son éponyme: il le respectera non seulement dans sa personne, mais encore dans ses biens, épargnera ses troupeaux, même ses chiens, dont il est en général si friand.

Sans hésiter, le Fân, comme tout Noir, attribuera cette protection aux effets du totémisme. Pour nous, loin de rejeter des faits, d'ailleurs patents, nous y verrons plutôt une manifestation d'instinct. Le tigre, par exemple, a constaté que son éponyme humain, reconnaissable à certains tatouages, à certaines marques, détails de coiffure, d'habillement, ne lui faisait jamais de mal, au contraire, l'épargnait toujours au besoin le soignait. Pourquoi, alors, une sorte d'instinct ne se serait-il pas créé, de même que le lion se laisse apprivoiser et reconnaît son maître, de même que le chien démêle entre mille les traces de son propriétaire?

Quoiqu'il en soit de la raison qui a donné lieu à ces faits, il est certain que plusieurs d'entre eux sont véridiques, mais le Fân en croit encore bien plus qu'il n'en existe. Il ajoute tellement foi à la science de l'animal que tout fait contraire le déroute et l'irrite. Il nous souvient qu'un jour nous étions en pirogue à la chasse. D'un coup de fusil, nous abattons un superbe aigle-pêcheur qui planait au dessus de nous. L'animal tombe et est déposé dans notre canot. Dans les dernières convulsions de l'agonie il saisit, de son bec crochu, le talon d'un de nos rameurs et serre avec force: «Pourquoi me fais-tu du mal, s'écrie Jean-Félix, tu sais pourtant bien que ce n'est pas moi qui ai tiré le coup du fusil!» Et il veut l'achever! Mais se reprenant tout à coup: «Comme cet oiseau est malin tout de même! Après tout, j'étais dans la barque d'où est parti le coup, j'ai aidé à ta mort, pauvre!» Et il se dégage doucement.

Le respect de tous les Noirs pour leurs totems est fort grand: Arcin en cite, pour la Guinée, de nombreux exemples[1], et il ne serait pas difficile d'en accumuler les exemples. Dans toutes nos missions, les enfants ne consentent qu'avec peine, même devenus chrétiens, à manger la chair de leur totem. A moins de plusieurs années de christianisme, ils ne le font que si le missionnaire a «changé» leur totem, ce qui est d'ailleurs bien difficile, et encore,

[1] Arcin, Guinée Française, pp. 246 et 421.

la première fois, qu'ils mangent sa chair, demeurent-ils pleins d'appréhensions. Au village, on a tellement insisté sur ce point! Si souvent on leur a cité des faits de représailles où le totem offensé joue un terrible rôle qu'ils finissent par en avoir grand peur, et cette crainte du châtiment certain, qu'ils verraient dans le premier malheur, le premier accident qui leur arriverait ensuite est le meilleur fondement du respect qu'ils témoignent en toute occasion à leur *mvame*.

Ce sentiment s'explique encore assez facilement, le *mvamayôṅ* étant d'ordinaire un objet, un être si l'on préfère, appartenant au monde animal ou végétal. Dans ce cas, la conception du secours matériel qu'il peut donner à la tribu de façon effective entre facilement dans l'esprit du Fâṅ, et la conception du secours spirituel qu'il donne dans certains cas donnés, plus facilement encore, car l'animal et même le végétal n'est en somme qu'un «support» vivant de l'être spirituel, véritable totem de la tribu.

Mais le cas offre plus de difficulté si le totem réel n'appartient pas aux règnes de la nature, mais ressort au contraire des phénomènes naturels. Même dans ce cas, il continuera dans la pensée du Noir à montrer son existence et prouver sa force à la tribu dans certaines circonstances données. Prenons par exemple le cas le plus difficile, celui de l'arc-en-ciel. Tout d'abord, pour le Fâṅ, cet arc-en-ciel sera si bien un être vivant qu'il en fera un être sexué, se présentant sous la forme mâle et femelle, la femelle, comme il convient, beaucoup plus pâle et plus terne que le mâle. Mais pourrait-on objecter, l'arc-en-ciel se montre souvent. D'autant mieux, répondra le Fâṅ, c'est une preuve de plus de sa vitalité, de son amitié avec le clan, du désir qu'il a de le protéger. Mais comment cette protection se manifestera-t-elle? Le chef du clan ne sera nullement embarrassé! Par un objet qui plus ou moins rappellera l'arc-en-ciel par sa forme elliptique, sa couleur, son aspect[1]. Ce sera donc en somme le phénomène céleste matérialisé. De fait, étant donné que ses ancêtres lui ont transmis ce totem, qu'il ne peut laisser de côté, comme il le ferait d'un simple fétiche, il faut bien que

[1] Au besoin par un morceau de verre taillé, qui reproduit l'arc-en-ciel, d'où, par dérivation, une glace, un miroir.

l'homme du clan le matérialise, et par là même, les lois fondamentales ou défenses totémiques se retrouveront, au moins dans leur essence.

Prenons un autre cas de phénomène naturel, le tonnerre. En dehors des paillettes de mica qui, ainsi que nous l'avons vu, constituent à proprement parler les «objets» réels de ce totem, il peut arriver que de fait il s'en choisisse d'autres, car si le totem appartenant au monde végétal ou animal est nécessairement lié à un représentant de ce règne, il en va tout autrement avec ces phénomènes naturels qui ne sauraient être astreints à pareille sujétion. Nous en avons vu dans le clan *Nzalân* ou du tonnerre un exemple frappant. Par un jour de violent orage, le tonnerre tombant tout près de leur village était venu fracasser un arbre. Comme il n'y avait pas eu mort d'homme, c'était un heureux présage[1]. D'ailleurs, si, comme nous l'avons vu également une fois, il y avait eu mort d'homme, il ne faudrait pas autrement s'en émouvoir: le totem aurait pris soin de venger lui-même une dérogation secrète à un de ses rites, une offense à lui faite, offense particulière: c'est un cas que nous avons examiné plus haut.

La foudre étant donc tombée sur un arbre, c'était pour le clan un heureux présage. Chacun courut pour voir de près l'arbre frappé, en couper un morceau, lequel devait évidemment être doué de grandes vertus. En coupant l'arbre, on découvrit un varan, *nkaÿa,* qui avait été foudroyé: l'animal étant d'essence supérieure à l'arbre fut immédiatement proclamé «marque effective» du passage du totem, preuve de sa venue, et le chef recueillit précieusement le corps calciné pour en faire un totem ou renouveler le sien. On voit combien dans un cas pareil, il ne faut pas confondre ce vestige totémique avec le fétiche lui-même, qui est tout autre chose, comme nous aurons à l'examiner ensuite.

C'est là cependant un cas accidentel: d'une façon générale, le totem, dans ce cas particulier du tonnerre, est constitué par les paillettes de mica qui brillent, soit dans les rochers attachés aux

[1] Il n'y avait par là même aucun reproche totémique à adresser au clan.

[2] Varan du Nil; on l'appelle souvent, mais à tort, iguane, et familièrement gueule tapée. Il se cache dans les trous d'arbres.

flancs de la montagne, soit dans le sable désagrégé de la rivière: ce sont là les preuves matérielles, visibles et tangibles du passage du totem tribal. Mais encore il faut bien remarquer que, dans ce cas, ce ne sont pas toutes les pierres où brille un fragment quelconque de mica qui constituent le totem de la tribu. Pareille conception serait burlesque, et les hommes du clan seraient les premiers à s'en moquer: d'ailleurs, comme tous leurs concitoyens, ils désignent le mica par un mot en somme assez irrévérencieux: c'est pour lui *mébi ménzalân*, les excréments du tonnerre.

Pareille conception, disons-nous, serait burlesque, et dans les pays surtout ou le mica est abondant, le Noir de la tribu qui l'aurait pour totem, aurait fort à faire d'éviter toutes les occasions d'offenser le Protecteur, en heurtant par exemple du pied son image, en le détruisant par mégarde, en le souillant, particulièrement au bord de la rivière, toutes fautes rituelles qui entraîneraient nécessairement une punition! Dans le pays d'origine, le mica a dû être choisi précisément à cause de sa rareté, en faisant un objet de valeur, surtout lorsqu'il se présente par fragments considérables, et surtout évitant par là même la faute trop fréquente. Mais au cours des migrations incessantes d'un peuple aussi nomade que le Fân, la question change complètement d'aspect.

III° Le respect et la crainte engendrent le culte.

Le totem a donc droit au respect, et ce respect, fondé sur la crainte, engendrera nécessairement un culte.

Le totem a droit au culte: par une conséquence nécessaire, si ce culte ne lui est pas rendu, il y aura pénalité et punition. Le Fân ne comprend pas en effet la puissance sans manifestation. Il y aura donc pénalité portée, et ce seront les défenses de toute sorte, les défenses totémiques.

IV° Intervention du totem.

Il y aura non seulement pénalité portée, mais encore en cas de non-observance, punition effective. Le totem s'en chargera lui-même, soit de façon occulte, en agissant directement sur l'individu coupable, soit de façon sensible, en opérant au moyen de son

représentant vivant, c'est-à-dire par le chef de la tribu, ou son délégué, le féticheur. Dans la grande majorité des cas, le totem agira de cette dernière façon, c'est-à-dire que toutes les fois que la faute sera publique et connue, le totem interviendra par le moyen de son représentant. Au contraire, il agira par lui-même et de façon occulte pour punir le coupable si la faute est cachée, de même encore si la faute est tribale, devant être attribuée à la tribu ou au clan, ou encore si elle doit être attribuée au chef. Ainsi, par exemple, les malheurs survenant à la tribu, en cas de guerre, ou par suite de maladies trop fréquentes, seront attribués soit aux mânes irrités, soit au totem offensé.

§ 2. Les *éki* ou défenses rituelles.

I° La notion de l'*éki*.

Le culte du totem est fondé sur le respect inspiré par la crainte. Il comprend des ministres et un ensemble de rites que nous avons étudiés. Ces rites sont appuyés en certains cas, complétés en d'autres, par les «défenses rituelles», ou défenses que l'on retrouve à peu près les mêmes sous des noms différents chez toutes les tribus bantoues.

Les Fâñ désignent ces défenses sous le nom de *éki* que nous traduisons par «chose défendue» mais dont la racine est probablement le mot *ki*, qui désigne: «force, puissance», et par extension, «chose qu'on ne peut briser», d'où «fer, métal».

On appelle *éki*, dit le P. Martrou[1], un acte ou un aliment prohibé. Cette définition, juste quant au fond, n'est cependant peut-être pas assez exacte, en ce sens qu'elle embrasse deux ordres de faits complètement distincts, suivant que l'*éki* porte sur un acte ou sur une chose matérielle.

[1] Le R. P. Martrou, Sup. de la Mission de l'Okano sur le Moyen-Ogowé, et ancien élève de l'université internationale de Fribourg (Suisse), vit depuis treize ans au milieu des Fâñ, habitant leurs villages, sachant à fond et parlant couramment leur langue et très au courant de leurs usages et coutumes. Il a publié, il y a quatre ans, dans la Revue «Anthropos», vol. I, p. 743 ss., une Etude très-documentée et très-remarquée sur les *éki* ou défenses rituelles et religieuses des Fâñ, qui nous dispense de plus longs commentaires.

L'*éki* embrasse en effet deux objets distincts et qu'il ne faut pas confondre: 1° «un aliment, une boisson, un liquide» qu'il est défendu de s'incorporer, un mets qu'il est interdit de manger, et 2° un acte qu'il est défendu de faire, tel par exemple tuer tel ou tel animal, manger ou boire à telle ou telle heure déterminée.

L'infraction à l'*éki* constitue le *nsém éki* ou faute contre l'*éki*, le mot *nsém*[1] désignant toujours en fàn la faute rituelle, la non observance d'un rite, d'une prescription religieuse, et devant toujours également être expiée.

D'après certains auteurs, les *éki*, c'est-à-dire les défenses rituelles, constituent, sinon le totémisme tout entier, du moins sa partie nécessaire et principale. Nous pensons avoir suffisamment indiqué que ce n'en est qu'une partie et encore une partie assez minime. Non seulement nous n'admettons guère l'opinion de ceux qui font des *éki* ou défenses rituelles la partie principale du totémisme, mais tous les *éki* ne font même partie du totémisme. Un certain nombre de défenses rituelles se rapportent uniquement, soit au tabou, soit au fétiche, qui sont bien différents du totem. D'autres défenses également sont purement transitoires et préservatrices. Faire des *éki* le fondement du totémisme serait commettre une erreur égale à celui qui dirait que les lois tant civiles et sociales que religieuses, avec les pénalités qu'elles comportent, soit en cette vie, soit dans l'autre, constituent la base de la religion. On voit combien ce serait mêler des ordres de faits très différents les uns les autres.

Parmi les *éki* les plus fréquents et surtout d'importance plus grande, on peut ranger en première ligne les *éki* que l'on a appelés *éki* de maladie. Voici en quoi ils consistent. Lorsqu'un individu est atteint de telle ou telle maladie, ou encore lorsqu'il la veut prévenir, il y a pour lui défense de faire telle ou telle chose, par exemple se baigner dans certains rivières ou endroits, de poser tel ou tel acte, par exemple palabrer, participer à un sacrifice rituel, ou encore de boire telle ou telle boisson, de manger tel ou tel aliment. Cette classe d'*éki*, la plus nombreuse et surtout la plus importante dans la vie familiale et sociale, fait-elle partie du

[1] *Nsém*, faute, de *n*, négative et *sèmè* adorer, respecter, observer.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

totémisme? Nous ne le croyons pas, tout au moins comme partie intégrante.

A peine pourrait-on l'y rattacher, et de façon très indirecte, d'après la conception des Noirs, qu'aucune maladie ne peut être naturelle, mais au contraire est toujours dûe à l'influence d'un esprit, qui peut agir sur le patient de deux façons différentes. Ou bien il agira par lui-même de façon directe, ou bien il agira de façon indirecte. S'il agit de façon directe, c'est, de beaucoup, le cas le moins fréquent. D'après les idées fân, peu d'esprits ont en effet ce pouvoir d'agir par eux-mêmes sur les hommes, et encore ceux qui jouissent de ce pouvoir ne le font-ils guère dans la crainte de représailles. En effet, l'homme atteint par l'esprit méchant peut toujours, en s'adressant au sorcier, savoir qui l'a frappé, où et comment. Par les conjurations et les sacrifices ad hoc, il peut, ce premier résultat obtenu, susciter à son tour un esprit plus fort, plus méchant, qui non seulement chassera le premier, mais lui infligera un châtiment: de même qu'il existe entre les hommes une hiérarchie, de même également il en existe une chez les esprits.

Mais ordinairement l'esprit agira sur l'homme de façon ndirecte en se servant de la force mauvaise incluse dans tel ou tel objet. Toute chose, en effet, a sa force et sa vertu: nulle n'est indifférente aux yeux du Noir. Prenons par exemple ce qui pourrait passer pour le type du genre: un rocher dans la rivière. Avez-vous déplu à un esprit mauvais? Il pourra, au besoin, profitant de l'occasion, du moment, exciter contre vous la force mauvaise de ce rocher, d'où, comme conséquence, résultera un heurt qui vous fera chavirer, brisera votre pirogue, vous blessera vous-même ou tout au moins causera quelque avarie.

Mais avez-vous, avant le départ, invoqué les esprits protecteurs du fleuve et offert les sacrifices nécessaires, eux, à leur tour, sauront développer la vertu bonne incluse en ce rocher, et même si vous venez à y fracasser votre pirogue, il vous prêtera un appui sauveur. De même la pierre que vous rencontrez dans le chemin, ou bien vous laisse passer indemne en vertu de sa force bonne, ou vous blesse en vertu de sa force mauvaise, mais répétons-le encore, car ce point est très important au point de vue du fétiche, la pierre

n'agit pas par elle-même, mais sous une influence étrangère qui sait la faire agir, développe une des deux forces bonnes ou mauvaise, en elle incluse.

Et ainsi de tout objet, car pour le Noir, rien donc d'indifférent. Mais aussi il en remort cette conséquence qui influera sur tous ses actes. Nul objet ne pouvant agir par lui-même, tout objet qui vous blesse, vous tue, vous empoisonne, agit, non comme agent actif, mais simplement comme agent passif, développant dans un autre être et sous l'influence d'une volonté à lui étrangère les principes mauvais existant en lui.

Toutefois cette maladie, cet accident pourra provenir non d'un esprit directement offensé et agissant soit directement par lui-même, soit indirectement comme nous venons de l'exposer, mais en vertu d'un autre *éki*, ou plutôt en punition d'un autre *éki*, mal ou point observé. Tout *éki* ouïs, en effet, entraîne avec lui son *nsém* ou faute rituelle, qui exige réparation; cette réparation ne peut se faire que par la *ngola*, ou expiation prononcée par le féticheur qui en a le pouvoir, car là encore tout féticheur n'a point le pouvoir d'opérer. Et d'un autre côté, si ce *nsém* n'a point été racheté pendant que l'homme est vivant, il en supportera la peine, quand son âme aura transmigré, par une série d'épreuves qui peuvent aller jusqu'à l'anéantissement total.

Quoiqu'il en soit, avant de s'étendre davantage sur ces *éki* de maladie, il faudrait rechercher si vraiment ils rentrent dans le système totémique. Or, nous ne le croyons pas. Pour nous, ils se rattachent tout naturellement au fétiche et rentrent de plein droit dans son domaine. En effet, les *éki* de maladie sont portés, d'une façon générale, contre ceux qui sont atteints de telle ou telle maladie. Par là-même, on tombe sous le coup de défenses que nul ne voudrait enfreindre de plein gré; une bonne partie de ces *éki*, pour ne pas dire tous, paraît avoir une raison purement hygiénique, sinon toujours maintenant, au point de vue actuel, mais tout au moins dans le passé. Avant de leur attribuer une origine totémique, même lorsqu'ils concernent un animal, il y a donc à rechercher attentivement les causes. Ainsi, par exemple, il sera défendu à une femme enceinte de manger

la chair de porc-épic. Cette loi est générale, mais à l'origine a été purement hygiénique. Il a suffi de constater que dans un cas arrivé, la viande de porc-épic avait été nuisible à la femme d'un chef, ou soi-disant nuisible, pour que celui-ci portât et fît porter par les autres chefs un *éki* de ce genre, avec d'autant plus d'empressement d'ailleurs que c'était à la fois augmenter sa propre part de viande, en cas d'abondance, se dispenser aussi d'aller à la chasse pour satisfaire à un désir de sa femme. Un grand nombre de ces *éki* de maladie sont en somme assez conformes, par exemple, à l'interdiction chez les juifs de manger de la viande de porc, prescription tout à la fois religieuse, en tant que privation et ordonnée par Jahwé, donc rituelle, mais aussi sanitaire, en tant que le porc étant très souvent trichiné en Orient et par là-même malsain, on évitait ainsi un danger probable de contagion.

Et ainsi, car il nous semble inutile d'insister davantage, de bien d'autres «*éki* de maladie».

Toutefois, il ne fîut pas perdre de vue que parfois ces *éki* pourront sembler totémiques, non en tant qu'ils se rattachent précisément à l'animal totem, mais parce qu'ils se confondent avec un autre *éki* d'origine nettement totémique. Ainsi, par exemple, prenons la tribu fàn des Ebingôm. Son animal totem est le *ngôm* ou porc-épic. Donc, interdiction de manger sa chair, tout au moins de façon générale.

Dans cette tribu Ebingôm, une femme enceinte manifeste à son mari le désir de manger du *ngôm*, chose qui lui est interdite par son état. Son mari, par faiblesse, va en tuer un, en mange et en donne à sa femme (notons bien que le cas est presque fantastique, car il est excessivement rare qu'un Noir viole un *éki* totémique). Agissant ainsi, il a donc violé un *éki* totémique. De ce fait résulteront les *mizém* ou fautes rituelles suivantes, dont chacune nécessitera sa *ngolz* ou expiation rituelle, également nécessaire, au besoin ordonnée par le chef de clan ou tribu.

1° La femme aura un premier *mzem* pour avoir manifesté un désir contre un *éki* de maladie. Elle en aura un second pour l'avoir manifesté à son mari, un troisième pour lui avoir fait violer un *éki* totémique, un quatrième pour avoir violé elle-même un *éki*

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

de maladie. Mais, n'appartenant pas au clan Ebingôm, car, même étant mariée, elle demeure en possession de son père, et non en celle de son mari et, par conséquent, demeure dans son ancien clan, elle ne contracte pas pour sa part d'*éki* totémique. Sa faute est donc en somme de gravité minime.

II° Le *nsém* du mari est infiniment plus grave.

En effet:

1° Il aura violé, dans la personne de sa femme, dont il est responsable[1] devant le clan, un *éki* de maladie.

2° Il aura violé lui-même un *éki* totémique.

3° Par cette violation, il aura offensé la tribu entière, lésée dans son totem.

D'où nécessité pour lui d'une triple expiation:

1° Au nom de sa femme dont il était responsable devant la tribu.

2° En son propre nom, en tant que doublement coupable, comme ayant tué et mangé l'animal totémique, soit deux actes distincts.

3° Au nom de la tribu, offensée dans son totem.

D'où, comme résultante nécessaire, autant d'«expiations» particulières dont il ne saurait se tirer à bon compte. Et s'il ne le fait de bonne grâce, l'esprit, soit par lui-même, soit par la vertu des choses, soit le plus souvent par l'entremise du féticheur, qui aura eu vent de la chose, saura bien tirer de ces fautes la vengeance nécessaire et complète.

II° *Éki* totémiques.

Ces *éki* de maladie ne se rapportent donc au système totémique que d'une façon, sinon toujours nulle, tout au moins fort incomplète, ainsi que nous venons de l'exposer. Il n'en est pas de même d'autres *éki*, concernant de façon absolue le clan, la famille, l'individu en tant que futur guerrier, ou guerrier, au père et à la mère

[1] Le mari est responsable, devant le clan, de la conduite de sa femme, bien que celle-ci continue d'appartenir au clan paternel. Si la femme en question avait mangé, par exemple, un animal éponyme du clan paternel, il y aurait faute rituelle dont le clan éponyme et le mari seraient également responsables.

par rapport à l'enfant né ou à naître, à l'enfant lui-même. Ces *ékí* ont déjà été étudiés dans l'ouvrage du R. P. Martrou signalé plus haut[1].

Ce sont les seuls *ékí* totémiques. Outre ceux qui ont été cités par le P. Martrou, il existe encore un certain nombre de défenses générales totémiques, telles que: boire toute l'eau gardée dans une case: on doit toujours en laisser. Cette eau doit être répandue le matin.

Si l'on ne prend qu'un poisson, il faut le rejeter à l'eau.

Le père n'a pas le droit d'entrer dans la maison de sa belle-fille.

Il est défendu d'entrer dans la case d'un Pygmée, de boire ou de manger avec lui, dans sa case ou en voyage, de se servir de ses ustensiles.

Avant d'occuper une nouvelle maison, le féticheur doit en chasser les mauvais esprits, et suspendre lui-même au dessus de la porte le fétiche *ékure*.

Par rapport aux cultures, il est interdit d'abattre le fétiche *ngôô* qui protège chaque champ. Par rapport aux plantations, défense de manger le premier fruit, graine etc. On doit les offrir aux esprits. Par rapport aux morts, interdiction de finir un travail commencé par eux de leur vivant, tel que case, canot, plantation, dont doit être abandonné.

Les arbres, par eux plantés, doivent être abattus et brûlés.

III° *Ékí* par rapport aux différentes situations sexuelles ou sociales.

Un premier *ékí* totémique est général et concerne tous les individus, sans aucune exception, quèlque soit leur sexe, leur âge ou leur rang. C'est celui qui concerne le totem lui-même. Tout totem a droit au respect absolu. Sauf dans les cas que nous avons

[1] Nous avons également jadis effleuré ce sujet en parlant de la Religion chez les Fâ, du Nagualisme et du Culte des Animaux (cf. Missions catholiques: Les Fâ 1897—1898). Allegret, dans son article sur la Religion des Fâ, a également touché ce sujet. (Revue des Religions, 2ème année.)

Les nombreux articles ou ouvrages, publiés sur les Pahouins, et dont on pourra voir la nomenclature assez longue dans Vivien de St Martin et dans les Annales de Géographie (Bibliographie annuelle) n'en parlent même pas.

signalés plus haut, il est interdit de le blesser, de le tuer et surtout de s'en nourrir. Toute contravention entraine faute et expiation.

Par rapport à elle-même, la femme a défense sur tout ce qui touche au domaine religieux et guerrier: d'où interdiction d'assister aux palabres de guerre, aux sacrifices, quelqu'ils soient, d'y prendre part à n'importe quel titre, d'en préparer le bois ou l'eau, de toucher aux vases qui contiendront le sang.

Défense de préparer ou de manger la viande humaine, de prendre part aux danses d'*akôma*, de sacrifice.

Elle a le droit de voir les danses funéraires, mais sans y participer.

Par rapport à la tribu, la femme a défense d'en porter les signes, les tatouages, de dire à un étranger la tribu où elle est née.

Par rapport à son mari, il lui est défendu de cohabiter avec lui le premier jour des noces.

Par rapport à l'enfant né ou à naître, il est défendu à la mère de manger du cochon, de l'antilope noire, du serpent, de l'antilope *mye*, de l'antilope cheval, viandes qui donneraient des convulsions à l'enfant, de l'antilope *vyôñ* et du rat *ntori* qui lui causeraient la diarrhée. Etant enceinte, il lui est strictement interdit de cohabiter avec un homme, de manger de la viande, des haricots, des patates ou du sel. Comme on le voit, ces prescriptions rentrent dans les ordonnances utilitaires et ont dû être portées dans l'intérêt de l'enfant.

Si la mère voit mourir son enfant, on en recherche immédiatement la cause. Le féticheur attribue-t-il la mort à un *éki* violé par la mère ou même le père, cette mort doit être payée aux beaux-parents. Ceux-ci peuvent même réclamer leur fille et la reprendre sans rendre la dot.

Après la mort du père, la femme et les enfants doivent s'abstenir de sel pendant trente jours, jusqu'à la danse funéraire ou *fanki*.

Pour les enfants, les principaux *éki* sont les suivants: Défense de blesser, tuer ou manger le totem.

Défense de manger de l'antilope ou du sanglier avant les épreuves d'initiation.

Pour les jeunes gens, défense de se servir d'un fusil ou d'une arme qui n'a pas été «vouée». Défense d'épouser une jeune fille avant

d'avoir subi les épreuves des guerriers. Défense d'enlever une jeune fille en vue du mariage. Défense également de manger certains poissons.

Pour les jumeaux.

Défense pour la mère d'en nourrir plus d'un: le second est recueilli par une voisine ou une parente du mari. Défense de regarder l'arc-en-ciel: si, par hasard, un des jumeaux l'a regardé, il lui faut se raser les sourcils, s'en peindre un de rouge avec de la poudre *baza* (Santal) et l'autre en noir avec le charbon d'étãñ *(Musantha Smithonii)*. Défense pour eux de manger de tout animal rayé ou zébré, de poisson à écailles, de crocodile, d'iguane (varan). Défense de manger le martin-pêcheur.

Pour l'homme et la femme mariés.

Quand la femme est enceinte, défense de toucher un mort, d'assister aux obsèques, de creuser la fosse, de pleurer le mort, de manger du gibier trouvé mort dans le chemin ou dans une fosse, de manger du serpent, de tout animal qui se nourrit habituellement du totem.

En tout temps, défense de manger le totem ou tout animal qui attaque le totem ou s'en nourrit.

Pour le chef.

Défense de quitter sans sacrifice préalable le territoire de sa tribu, d'omettre les sacrifices ordonnés.

Toutes ces défenses sont toujours portées dans l'intérêt de l'individu, de la famille ou de la race.

Mais la principale défense totémique portée dans l'intérêt de la tribu est la loi d'exogamie dont l'importance nécessite une étude spéciale.

§ 3. La loi d'exogamie.

I° Nature de l'exogamie.

La loi d'exogamie est une simple loi rituelle, un interdit, ou un *ekî*, dérivé des lois totémiques. Toutefois, elle en est indépendante: il peut y avoir exogamie sans totémisme, mais quand il y a totémisme, il y a exogamie!

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Tel est le sentiment de Mgr. Le Roy[1], auquel nous nous associons pleinement en ce qui concerne les Fâń, et d'une façon générale, les tribus bantoues. Aussi, n'admettons-nous guère le sentiment de Mr. Reinach: «Il est peu scientifique de dire que l'exogamie soit un caractère du totémisme»[2].

L'exogamie est la règle qui oblige à prendre femme en dehors de son clan. Elle est très stricte dans la tribu fâń. Ainsi un homme ne peut jamais épouser une femme, non-seulement de son clan, mais même de sa tribu. Il ne peut davantage épouser une femme d'une tribu ou d'un clan allié au sien. La tribu Esingi, par exemple, s'est partagée, depuis 25 générations au moins, en trois tribus distinctes, les Yengi, les Esingi et les Esisis, qui, à leur tour, se sont fractionnés en clans.

Les Esikwôń, pour ne citer que ceux-là, forment un clan esisis, séparé lui-même de cette branche mère depuis 20 générations environ. Or, un Esikwôń ne peut pas plus épouser une fille esikwôń, ce qui serait considéré comme inceste, qu'une fille esisis, ye-ngi ou esingi. Cette deuxième loi ne souffre pas d'exception.

Non seulement l'homme ne peut épouser une fille d'une tribu alliée: il ne peut davantage épouser une femme dans la tribu de sa mère. Cette règle est inviolable.

Si sa femme ou une de ses femmes vient à mourir, il ne peut épouser une seconde femme de la même tribu. Cette loi souffre aujourd'hui quelques exceptions, surtout quant il s'agit de chefs puissants.

Enfin, si après la mort d'un homme, un héritier se voit adjuger quelques-unes des femmes du défunt, bien qu'elles soient considérées comme simples concubines, il ne peut non plus prendre une nouvelle femme dans leurs tribus. Cette loi commence à tomber en désuétude dans les tribus qui se rapprochent de la côte.

Toute infraction à ces lois entraîne par le fait même la nullité du mariage, la perte de la dot qui reste acquise aux beaux parents, la reddition de la femme et le rachat des enfants qui seraient nés du mariage. Une double amende égale au prix de la femme, payable à chaque tribu, tribu de l'homme, tribu de la femme également lésées,

[1] *op. cit.*, p. 106. [2] L'Anthropologie, 1899, p. 65.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

le sacrifice d'un mouton et parfois bien davantage, au totem protecteur de la tribu, punissent également cette infraction.

Dans l'opinion du Fâń, en effet, d'accord avec les théories des savants européens, c'est bien le totem qui est lésé.

La loi d'exogamie est donc des plus strictes, et elle est toujours strictement observée.

II° Origine et but de l'exogamie.

Quel est l'origine et le but de la loi d'exogamie?

Durkheim [1], Reinach [2] et beaucoup d'autres auteurs admettent que le totémisme est caractérisé par deux faits essentiels. C'est d'abord le respect de la vie du totem; on se garde bien de le blesser ou de le tuer, et on ne mange jamais sa chair, sinon dans certaines circonstances exceptionnelles, fêtes religieuses où les assistants communient à la victime totémique pour s'imprégner de sa puissance et de sa vie, et renouveler l'alliance antique. Le second caractère essentiel est ensuite, d'après ces auteurs, la loi d'exogamie, c'est-à-dire la défense pour tout individu mâle d'épouser une fille ou une femme ayant avec lui communauté d'origine ou d'alliance clanique.

Définir avec Mgr. Le Roy l'exogamie comme «la règle qui oblige à prendre femme en dehors de son clan ou, plus généralement, de sa parenté» n'est vrai qu'à condition de l'entendre dans un sens très étendu et encore avec certaines restrictions. En effet, dans de nombreuses tribus bantoues, et en particulier chez les Fâń, non-seulement il est interdit de prendre femme dans son propre clan, ce qui constitue ce que l'on pourrait appeler l'exogamie stricte ou restreinte, mais encore dans tout l'ensemble de la tribu, quelque soit le nombre de clans et l'éloignement de la souche commune.

La loi, nous l'avons vu, va plus loin encore, et c'est à cause de cette extension que nous préférons aux mots «de sa parenté» ceux «d'alliance clanique». En effet, le Fâń ne pourra prendre femme ni dans sa propre tribu, ni dans la tribu où sa mère a été épousée. Cette dernière clause confirme bien ce que nous avons

[1] E. Durkheim, Sur le Totémisme, Année sociologique, Paris, Alcan 1902, t. V, p. 82—121.

[2] S. Reinach, L'Anthropologie, 1899, p. 65.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

dit précédemment au sujet du totem par rapport à la femme. Le totem clanique ou tribal n'a rien à démêler avec la femme; il ne la concerne pas; aussi le Fâñ pourra-t-il parfaitement se marier avec une femme appartenant à la tribu de sa mère; il n'y a pas là alliance totémique: au contraire, il ne pourra épouser une femme de la tribu où sa mère s'est mariée, car par le fait même il y a désormais alliance totémique. Il faut toutefois noter qu'un Fâñ ne peut épouser une femme de la tribu de sa mère si elle appartient à la même famille.

Jadis, la loi d'exogamie était encore plus stricte: un Fâñ n'aurait pu épouser une femme dans le clan où il avait déjà pris une première femme. Toutefois, cette loi, aujourd'hui tombant en désuétude, nous paraît plutôt une loi politique.

On voit donc pourquoi nous aurions préféré les mots «d'alliance clanique» pour définir l'exogamie.

La loi d'exogamie subit une seule exception. Si un Fâñ vient à mourir, ses frères et ses fils se partagent ses femmes, quelque soit leur tribu d'origine et la tribu de celles qu'ils ont déjà eux-mêmes épousées. Ces femmes d'héritage prennent rang après les autres.

La loi d'exogamie a-t-elle l'importance que lui enseigne Reinach? est-elle le fondement du totémisme?

Comme le dit fort bien Mgr. Le Roy[1], si le totémisme entraîne l'exogamie, l'exogamie ne suppose pas toujours le totémisme.

Pour nous, c'est également attacher beaucoup trop d'importance à l'exogamie, sinon comme loi, ce qui ne serait pas juste, mais par rapport au totémisme. Nous avons suffisamment démontré les racines profondes de ce système religieux, intimement lié à tous les actes de la vie cultuelle, sociale ou civile, inséparable du mânisme et du culte des ancêtres. L'exogamie en est une suite, elle existe même partout là où il y a totémisme, mais en faire un des fondements du totémisme, et lui attacher une importance extraordinaire nous paraît exagéré. Tout ce que nous avons déjà exposé du totémisme le démontre, et le Fâñ comme tous les

[1] Religion des Primitifs, p. 106.

Bantous attache à beaucoup d'autres points religieux tout autant d'importance sinon plus qu'à l'exogamie.

D'autant que cette règle de conduite ne suppose pas toujours le totémisme, et existe en dehors de lui. Elle n'en est donc pas dépendante. On retrouve une certaine exogamie dans toutes les sociétés primitives. Ce fait va droit à l'encontre des idées de quelques sociologues; au lieu de ces bandes errantes d'individus, accouplés pour les besoins de la cause et admettant la communauté de femmes qui auraient, au dire d'Arcin[1] et de l'école matérialiste, peuplé les premiers, nous trouvons au contraire dans les populations qu'on nous dépeint comme les plus dégradées, les alliances entre parents défendues, et surtout l'inceste en horreur. Aujourd'hui encore, chez les Négrilles, les Bulu, les Mpongwé, les Fâñ, toutes les tribus gabonaises, la femme incestueuse est enterrée vivante avec son enfant, et l'homme coupable sacrifié sans rémission. Chez les Fâñ, il est mangé, et les restes jetés aux latrines publiques. C'est le pire châtiment qu'on puisse imposer à son âme errante.

Quelle est la raison de la loi d'exogamie?

Le respect de la vie du «clansman», l'horreur de répandre son sang, répond Reinach[2], d'accord avec Durkheim: le totem est le membre par excellence du clan, et «pour le sauvage totémiste, tuer son totem est un crime plus grave que de tuer un des siens. D'autre part, l'union sexuelle, impliquant une effusion de sang, a été également interdite lorsque ce sang était celui d'une fille du clan, versé par le fait d'un homme du clan.»

Cette idée est-elle bien fondée en principe?

Pour les Fâñ, et leurs tribus alliées (et ce sera par là même pour tous les Bantous), car chez eux, la femme, au point de vue totémique, n'existe pas et ne peut avoir de totem: si elle est tenue à certaines défenses totémiques, c'est uniquement en regard de son père, de son mari, de ses enfants. La femme fâñ est à peine considérée comme appartenant à l'espèce humaine. Tout Fâñ vous le dira parfaitement comme il me l'a été dit en propres termes: un jour, ennuyé par un chien qui me mordillait les talons et aboyait à

[1] Arcin, La Guinée française, *op. cit.*
[2] L'Anthropologie, 1899, p. 65.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

mes trousses, je lui lançais un coup de pied: «Si tu veux te fâcher, frappe ma femme, ne frappe pas mon chien!» Frapper une femme n'entraine aucune pénalité: s'il plait à un père ou à un mari de battre sa fille ou sa femme, de la châtier, même sans raison, personne n'a rien à y voir. Le sang peut couler: n'importe. Elle appartient si peu à la tribu que la loi ne la protège en aucune façon. Au contraire; si un Fâñ tue ou blesse un homme de sa tribu, il doit double réparation: à la famille, à la tribu. C'est vie pour vie. S'il blesse sa femme, c'est son droit, il ne doit rien. On pourrait objecter que s'il tue sa femme, il doit réparation à la famille. Tout d'abord; cela dépend des cas. Pour adultère, par exemple, il ne doit rien. De plus, ce paiement ultérieur dépend de ce que, d'après la loi, la femme ne lui appartient pas au point de vue des enfants. Il doit racheter ses enfants à la tribu de la femme, ou tout au moins faire un cadeau à l'occasion de la naissance. Il doit donc racheter les enfants qui, peut-être, seraient nés. — De plus, il est très rare que la dot de la femme soit complètement payée: elle appartient donc encore en partie à sa famille.

Aussi, dire que par l'effusion du sang dans l'union sexuelle on verse le sang d'une fille du clan, nous paraît bien une idée de savant européen. Un Fâñ n'admettrait en tout cas jamais pareille conception! Une femme n'appartient à aucun titre au totem. Nous avons montré au contraire qu'il doit lui rester strictement fermé: elle ne doit jamais en prononcer le nom, aussi bien tout ce qui s'y rapporte. Une fille ou une femme qui demanderait à son père ou à son mari quel est son totem, serait aussitôt sévèrement châtiée. Non seulement il lui est interdit de prononcer aucun nom de totem, mais encore d'oser en porter le tatouage. Une femme qui, même par jeu, se ferait tatouer le totem clanique serait immanquablement sacrifiée.

Comment donc concilier ces faits avec la théorie de M. Reinach? Cela nous paraît absolument impossible.

Mgr. Le Roy voit plutôt dans l'exogamie une loi de préservation sociale, de «tabou» sur la femme à diverses époques de sa vie, surtout de «moralité de la famille».

Et cette raison est peut-être beaucoup plus vraie qu'elle ne le semble d'abord. Le sauvage, fût-il Fâñ, n'est pas du tout l'être

bestial, livré à toutes ses passions, que l'on se plait parfois, surtout dans une certaine école, à se figurer. Tous les missionnaires seront unanimes à dire que les enfants, dans nos établissements, sont plus moraux que dans beaucoup d'écoles et de pensionnats européens. Ce qui pourrait sembler exagéré en parlant de ces enfants encore païens, et encore ne l'admettons-nous pas, est certainement vrai des enfants après leur entrée dans la vie chrétienne. Certaines fautes contre la pudeur y sont infiniment plus rares, et les Européens ont apporté avec eux bien des habitudes vénériennes et des raffinements dans le vice que les Noirs ne connaissaient pas. La famille fàñ est morale: la femme fàñ l'est peut-être plus qu'elle ne le paraît. Sinon, pourquoi ces interdits si complexes portant sur le mystère de la génération? Interdit à une femme de traverser une rivière en se mettant nue. Maintes fois, nous avons vu en voyage les femmes se dépouiller de leurs vêtements pour traverser l'eau, mais les remplacer aussitôt par un paquet d'herbes ou de fougères. Interdit de sortir nue dans le village: de se montrer nue à un autre homme qu'à son mari. Interdit de sortir de sa case au moment de ses époques. Interdit de rester sans vêtements à partir de la puberté. Interdit de montrer à quiconque le sang menstruel, même au mari. Interdit même de prononcer les mots se rapportant à la génération, tel le mot *akôñ* (membre viril), et cette interdiction va si loin qu'elle s'étend aux composés. Ainsi une femme ne pourra nommer l'arbre *onzakôñ*, dont la signification est cependant autre; elle devra dire *onzabili*, l'arbre *onza*.

Outre la moralité, l'intérêt et le besoin d'alliance nous paraissent les sources de l'exogamie.

L'intérêt: le père vendant ses filles, ne pourra en tirer un réel parti qu'en les cédant à des étrangers. Dans sa tribu, en effet, il est déjà propriétaire de tout; aucune augmentation de capital ne lui proviendrait de la vente de ses filles; dès lors, désir très naturel de les placer au loin.

Mais outre l'intérêt et encore beaucoup plus que lui, le désir et le besoin de se créer de nouvelles alliances, de consolider la force de la tribu, nous paraît bien en définitive la dernière raison de l'exogamie.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Le primitif a essayé d'augmenter sa propre force par l'alliance avec l'animal et de se mettre en relations par ce moyen avec les forces mystérieuses du monde invisible: c'est la raison d'être du totémisme.

De là, à essayer d'augmenter cette influence dans le monde visible, chez ses voisins, par des alliances réelles, il n'y a qu'un pas, et au fond, les deux choses marchent de pair; de là, les frères de sang: échanger son sang pour devenir frère, n'est-ce pas, entre hommes, le meilleur moyen possible de créer une nouvelle parenté?

Puis, pour consolider encore cette alliance, entrer vraiment dans la famille l'un de l'autre en épousant la sœur ou la fille, c'était une suite toute naturelle, parfois un précédent des plus utiles, et absolument dans la nature de l'homme.

Mais cette alliance de sang, comme frère de sang, ou comme allié naturel, le Fân, comme tout primitif, n'a pas à la chercher dans son clan, où le secours de tous ses «frères» lui est déjà acquis: il la cherchera donc tout naturellement en dehors. Ce sera là, croyons-nous, la vraie raison de l'exogamie: une fois la loi portée, admise, sanctionnée par un long usage, d'elle-même elle se sera perfectionnée, imposée comme loi sociale, d'autant que l'on aura vite reconnu que dans les cultures humaines, il faut, comme dans les cultures vivrières, changer les sols et les plantes sous peine de les appauvrir. Mais, de cette dernière raison, que nous empruntons à Mgr. Le Roy, n'est-ce pas trop d'en faire comme lui la raison «principale» de l'exogamie: c'en est alors tout au plus une conséquence, démontrée par l'usage.

* * *

En résumé, totémisme, alliance de sang, exogamie, sont trois institutions indépendantes les unes des autres, mais reliées cependant en ce sens que le totémisme entraîne avec lui alliance de sang et exogamie sans que la réciproque soit vraie.

Ce sont trois institutions remontant à la plus haute antiquité. Elles sont fondées sur le besoin naturel et légitime qu'éprouve le primitif d'augmenter son influence, d'élargir le cercle de ses alliances

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

en l'étendant hors de sa parenté, de son clan, de sa tribu, d'atteindre le monde animal et même le monde mystérieux où s'agitent et règnent les forces inconnues de la nature. Le primitif les voit et les sent agir: de là à vouloir se les asservir, il n'y a qu'un pas: il a tenté de le faire. Sa tentative a-t-elle toujours été infructueuse?

§ 4. Les tabous.

Une des choses qu'on a le plus habituellement confondue avec le totémisme est certainement le tabou. Défenses tabouales et défenses totémiques en particulier ont été étrangement mêlées.

«Le totémisme n'a pas créé le tabou, dont la raison d'être part d'un autre principe, mais il a été l'occasion de la création de nombreux tabous» [1].

D'après cette opinion, tabous et défenses totémiques ne seraient au fond qu'une seule et même chose. Est-ce complètement vrai? Peut-être y a-t-il quelques distinctions à faire. Tabous et défenses totémiques n'ont ni la même origine, ni la même étendue prohibitive, ni surtout la même durée.

Le sens ordinaire du mot «tabou» est «sacré», non pas comme nous l'entendons d'ordinaire, mais comme «approprié aux choses et aux êtres considérés comme sacrés». Le tabou est essentiellement religieux, dépend des chefs, des prêtres, des féticheurs, et comme le fait remarquer Frazer, ces tabous sont généraux ou particuliers, permanents ou temporaires.

Tout peut être tabou, un homme aussi bien qu'une chose, un acte aussi bien qu'un mot. Ainsi, un chef est tabou: défense d'y toucher, un lieu est tabou: défense d'y pénétrer, le feu est tabou: défense d'en allumer, tel mot est proclamé tabou: défense de le prononcer. Le tabou s'étend donc à tous les domaines, aussi bien politiques que religieux, moraux qu'humains. En fait, il devient surtout pour les chefs un puissant moyen de domination en ajoutant au pouvoir civil toute la force du pouvoir religieux.

La défense totémique est loin d'avoir une telle extension. Tout d'abord, et c'est une première différence, elle n'est pas générale et

[1] Mgr. Le Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

ne concerne pas tous les objets: elle n'est portée que dans l'intérêt de la race, et ne regarde que la race et le totem. Ainsi, un chef, au pays fâñ, ne sera nullement considéré comme sacré: rien ne motive une défense à son égard.

De plus, le tabou, tout au moins plusieurs tabous, dépend de la volonté d'un chef: s'il le veut, dans son propre intérêt, pour satisfaire même sa passion, il déclarera tel objet ou telle personne «tabou». Rien de semblable pour le totem: ses défenses sont déjà portées: elles sont permanentes: nul chef, nul féticheur n'a le droit de porter de lui-même, en vertu de sa propre autorité, des défenses totémiques.

Enfin le tabou peut être levé par la volonté de celui qui l'a porté: il peut l'abroger, le suspendre, le changer à son gré. Rien de pareil pour le totem. Les défenses totémiques sont immuables et ne dépendent en aucune façon de la volonté du chef. Elles ont été portées, disent les Fâñ, par le père de la race: lui seul peut les changer. Et comme il n'est plus là!

CHAPITRE XVIII.

LE TOTEM SYMBOLE.

Sommaire. La symbolisation du totem. Le totem symbole en Egypte. Principaux phénomènes qui symbolisent le totem.

§ 1. L'enseigne du clan. — Les chants qui en ont gardé le souvenir.

§ 2. Le nom du clan. — Le clan totémique.

§ 3. Les représentations symboliques ou effectives du totem.

1° Les figurines et statuettes des cases.

2° Les dessins sur les parois des cases.

3° Les gravures, incises et entailles sur les armes et instruments de travail. — Les dessins ordinaires et marques de tribu. — Les marques dessinées ou gravées sur les boucliers. — Le chant du bouclier.

4° Les piliers des cases.

5° Les danses représentatives, les masques, coiffures etc.

6° Les mutilations ethniques et les tatouages corporels: a) Différentes mutilations. b) Le tatouage. *α)* Importance du tatouage. *β)* Différentes espèces de tatouages. *γ)* Figuration fictive des tatouages. *δ)* Le tatouage et la civilisation européenne.

«Le totem, dit Mr. Loret [1] en parlant du totem égyptien, est avant tout un attribut ethnique, la marque extérieure, l'enseigne d'un clan; le mot totem est même, s'il faut en croire les étymologistes, un nom commun, signifiant simplement «marque, signe distinctif» . . . Le totem ne se borne pas à être la marque distinctive de la collectivité: c'est aussi le nom visible, le nom matérialisé du clan. Le clan qui a choisi le loup pour emblème s'appelle le clan du loup. Ainsi, ajoute Mr. Virey [2], l'image de l'animal ou de l'emblème totémique, dressée au sommet de la

[1] L'Egypte au temps du Totémisme, p. 26—28.

[2] Religion de l'ancienne Egypte, Paris 1910, p. 30.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

hampe à banderolles, est le signe de ralliement du clan de la collectivité, l'attribut ethnique du clan.»

C'est en un mot la symbolisation du totem. On conçoit, en effet, facilement que les guerriers aient besoin d'un signe élevé qui au milieu du tumulte de la bataille, leur indique à la fois leur place et l'endroit où ils peuvent rallier leurs compagnons de lutte. Cette idée s'est conservée jusqu'à nos jours; et comme le fait bien remarquer Mr. Vmey, c'est la raison du culte que nous rendons au drapeau, parce qu'il est un symbole sacré, une personnification de la nation dans son passé, son présent et son avenir; c'est ainsi que nous avons été accoutumés à entendre célébrer les hauts faits des aigles victorieuses de la Grande Armée.

Aussi bien que nos monuments commémoratifs, que notre arc de triomphe de l'Etoile, par exemple, ou que les célèbres monuments du forum romain, un monument archaïque[1] de la Hte Egypte nous rapportera les hauts faits du faucon totémique, vainqueur des ennemis du Pharaon Boëthos, de la IIe Dynastie.

Tous les clans égyptiens ont ainsi adopté leur enseigne différente, représentant leur propre totem, animal ou végétal.

Mais cette coutume des enseignes n'était pas particulière aux seuls Egyptiens: elle s'était étendue aux peuples qui les avoisinaient.

«Most of the ensigns of the nomes of Egypt represent the fetishes, totems, or cult-objets of the early inhabitants of the districts of which, in historic times, they are the standards. Thus we have the Falcon of Hieraconpolis, the bolt-like object of Ekhmim, the Crossed Arrows or the Crossed Arrows and Shield of Sais, the Harpoon of the North-West Delta. On the analogy of these, the Oryx was the totem-animal of the early people of the Minieh district, the Hare of those of the region of Hermopolis in middle Egypt, the Tree of the people of Heracleopolis and Siut, and the Knife of the inhabitants around Aphroditopolis. Thus we see that the Ibis on this theory was not the primitive divinity of Hermopolis in Middle Egypt, but of the people of the Nord-East Delta, of which district the Ibis was in historic times the ensign. The

[1] Hiéraconpolis I 29, par Quibell.

Set-cult also would thus be located in predynastic times to the region about Shashotep to the south of Siut.

«Several of these cult-objects go back to prehistoric times: we find them figured at the masthead of boats painted on the decorated pottery of the prehistoric period. If we apply what may be called ‚the proof of continuity', to these ensigns, we gain a remarkable insight into the prehistoric political divisions of the Delta and Nile Valley. That we are right in applying this ‚proof of continuity' to the nome ensigns is proved by our finding many vases with representations of two or three standards on the same vase, and these standards are nearly always of *contiguous* states . . .

«Now it is important to note that nearly all the prehistoric ensigns represent inanimate objects, the two animate ones, — the falcon and the elephant — being on the extreme south. From this the inference may be drawn that the fetish worshippers, as distinct from the animal or totem worshippers, belong to an earlier stratum, and perhaps different element of the population of the Nile Valley. This inference is supported by several facts in the later history of the Nile Valley and Delta. An important monument in this connexion is the Slate Palette of Nar Mer, which records the conquest of the Harpoon Chieftain of the North by the Horus Chieftain of the South. The racial type of these Harpoon people is very different from that of their conquerors, whose characteristic features are exemplified in the portrait of Nar Mer and his attendants. Herodotus (II. 18) speaking of the inhabitants of that part of Egypt bordering on Lybia (i. e. to the west of the Canopic branch of the Nile), says that they deemed themselves Libyans and not Egyptians, and did not even speak the same language» [1].

Ces enseignes de clan n'étaient donc pas réservées aux Egyptiens: les peuples qui les bordaient au sud les avaient également. L'usage en a persisté, et aujourd'hui encore nous les retrouvons dans de nombreux peuples africains, tels les M[illegible] sur le Tchad, les Zulu

[1] Newberry, Remarks on some early Egyptian cults. Transactions of the Third International Congress of the History of Religions, Oxford 1908, vol. I, p. 211.

au Sud. Les Fân l'ont conservé sous d'autres formes, empruntées à ces antiques usages ou dérivés d'eux.

D'après ce que nous venons de citer, le principal phénomène qui symbolise le totem sera donc l'enseigne du clan, portant de façon plus ou moins réelle l'image ou la figuration du totem.

A côté de l'insigne ou enseigne, nous trouverons également le nom du clan: les représentations symboliques ou effectives du totem; les danses représentatives; les mutilations ethniques, les coiffures, et les tatouages corporels.

§ 1. L'enseigne du clan.

Dans tous les clans égyptiens, avant l'unification du pays, l'enseigne du clan était le principal signe totémique, le «palladium» de la tribu. C'est donc l'enseigne qui a dû marquer la trace la plus profonde dans les traditions et les chants.

Vivant dans un pays d'immenses plaines, les Zulus, formés en bataillons guerriers, en «régiments», conservent aujourd'hui encore la tradition antique. Ils se groupent autour des enseignes totémiques qui les précèdent, et leur rendent un culte sacré: c'est l'emblème du clan. Le pays leur a permis de conserver leurs traditions.

Les Bantous, au contraire, les Fân, en particulier, ont occupé depuis des siècles l'immense sylve équatoriale. Là, il est impossible de suivre le même mode de combat. Sans cesse, il faut se glisser dans les halliers presque impénétrables, tailler son chemin à coups de hache et de sabre.

L'ennemi, pour être aperçu, doit être à quelques pas. La lutte entre les tribus devenait par là même une guerre de surprise et d'embuscades, souvent un combat corps à corps. L'enseigne du clan (la lance porte-insigne) ne pouvait subsister dans ces conditions, elle a donc disparu. Toutefois le souvenir en est resté: ce n'est pas sans surprise que dans certains chants, j'en ai retrouvé les traces. Un jour, entre autres, dans une *abéñe* des Ebifill, un chanteur redisait à ses auditeurs charmés les hauts faits des guerriers d'autrefois, des premiers ancêtres de la race. Il retraçait un combat du guerrier Ndôñ-Mba contre les Négrilles. Ndôñ-Mba est un des héros mythiques les plus connus, et tout un cycle d'épopée s'est développé autour de sa mémoire et de ses hauts faits.

«Tout à coup, dit le conteur, Ndôñ-Mba s'arrête. Les arbres de la forêt étaient derrière lui, et devant ses yeux s'ouvrait la plaine immense, la plaine de sable où ne pousse aucun arbre, aucun arbrisseau, où seul le *ntâñ*[1] arrête le pied et le blesse de ses arêtes épineuses.

«Semblables à des sauterelles qui volent, se réunissent en grappes serrées, puis s'envolent plus loin, les Nains s'étaient enfuis. Ndôñ-Mba ordonne à ses hommes de marcher en avant: il les déploie comme le nuage noir qui envahit le ciel. Ils marchent, et Ndôñ-Mba est à leur tête, il marche le premier, plus grand, plus fort que ses fils, et ses fils sont les plus grands de la tribu. Près de lui, le suivant immédiatement, marche son porteur de javelots, et devant lui, son fils aîné porte la lance signe de la tribu, celle où il a fait graver sur le fer l'image de son animal protecteur. La lance ne le quitte jamais, et en la voyant briller au dessus de sa tête, les guerriers se répétent: Ndôñ-Mba est avec nous, le *mvame* nous précède.»

Si, par la force des choses, l'usage de la lance porte-totem s'est perdu, le souvenir en est resté dans les légendes et les récits, dans les chants héroïques surtout, et c'est la meilleure preuve de son antiquité. Il en est demeuré peut-être plus que le souvenir: sur leurs javelots, sur le fer de leurs sagaies, aujourd'hui encore les chefs de clan et de tribu, souvent même les chefs de famille, gravent au burin l'image du totem protecteur de la tribu. Plus souvent encore, sur les armes, les haches, les lances, c'est l'animal totem par excellence qui apparaît gravé, le crocodile, jadis totem national. Et si l'on demande aux Fâñ, la raison de cette coutume, ils vous répondront invariablement: «Nos pères faisaient ainsi: c'est le signe protecteur.»

Peut-être, dans cette coutume que l'on retrouve dans toutes les tribus, faut-il voir le souvenir de l'ancienne enseigne du clan. C'est certainement, en tout cas, la symbolisation matérielle du totem.

---

[1] Le *ntâñ* est-il un cactus ou toute autre plante? Ni le conteur, ni mes auditeurs ne le savaient. Où était ce pays de sable? Bien loin vers le nord-est! C'était tout.

§ 2. Le nom du clan.

«Le totem, c'est aussi le nom visible, le nom matérialisé du clan» [1].

Nous avons déjà longuement développé cette idée, tout au moins sous une autre forme, en parlant des divers totems fân. Souvent, le clan porte le nom du totem, surtout si le clan remonte à une haute antiquité; la tribu le porte d'une manière presque invariable. Dans certains cas, cependant, par suite de circonstances particulières, le totem actuel est un totem «substitué». Nous en avons donné des exemples. Il ne faudrait pas évidemment en conclure que la tribu n'est pas totémique.

Le nom du clan est une chose sacrée: c'est, avant tout, la marque de reconnaissance. Aussi passe-t-il avant le nom propre, avant le nom de village. — Qui es-tu? demandera-t-on à un Fân. *O ne nza?* Il vous répondra invariablement par le nom de sa tribu. Tel par exemple: *Mé ne mone Esingi* ou *Ye-mvên* ou tout autre nom: Je suis un fils du clan *Esingi*, de la tribu *Ye-mvên*. Son propre nom ne viendra qu'après, et encore si on le lui demande expressément.

Insulter le nom du clan est toujours une offense grave pour tout membre de la tribu: elle entraîne pour l'insulteur la même pénalité que s'il avait, non pas insulté, mais blessé effectivement le «chef» du clan, et elle doit se racheter au même prix. Si l'insulte est grave, elle entraîne mort d'homme pour l'insulteur.

Le nom est «sacré». Aussi, dans certaines circonstances, sera-t-il défendu de le prononcer: ce cas arrive toutes les fois que le nom du totem est lui-même interdit, par exemple dans de nombreuses initiations ou cérémonies religieuses. Il est en particulier interdit aux femmes, toujours considérées comme êtres inférieurs. Une femme ne peut ni le porter elle-même, ni l'appliquer, surtout par dérision, aux choses à son usage: ce serait une insulte des plus graves. Le mari, par crainte de représailles certaines l'en punirait lui-même le premier.

---

[1] Loisy, L'Egypte au temps du Totémisme, p. 98.

§ 3. Les représentations symboliques ou effectives du totem.

Les représentations symboliques ou effectives du totem sont de plusieurs espèces. On peut les ranger sous les formes suivantes:

1° Figurines et statuettes des cases;

2° Dessins sur les parois des cases;

3° Gravures, incises et marques sur les armes et instruments de travail;

4° Piliers des cases;

5° Danses représentatives, masques, coiffures, etc.;

6° Mutilations ethniques et tatouages corporels.

1° Figurines des cases.

Souvent, dans les cases communales où se discutent les intérêts du village, on voit suspendues au toit une quantité de figurines. Elles représentent les animaux les plus divers: l'éléphant y coudoie le sanglier, et le sanglier la mante religieuse ou le caméléon. Peu d'art dans ces figurines: parfois un mouvement bien observé ou bien rendu, et c'est tout. Les proportions manquent absolument: le Fân ne s'en soucie pas. Pourvu que l'on reconnaisse l'animal, il est content. Ces figurines, taillées dans le bois léger du mosantha ou encore en moëlle de raphia, sont tantôt de simples jeux enfantins, tantôt des représentations totémiques ayant figuré dans un sacrifice ou à ce destinées. Suivant les cas, les Fân y ajoutent une importance plus ou moins grande.

A l'orée de la forêt, à la croisée des chemins qui se dirigent vers le village, on trouve souvent une petite hutte de terre, grossièrement construite, recouverte de roseaux. A l'intérieur, un petit guerrier de bois brandit un sabre d'un air plus ou moins menaçant. C'est le fétiche protecteur du village, auquel, en passant, on ne manque pas d'offrir un sacrifice, fût-ce un simple souvenir, une pensée. Tout au moins, on détache une feuille d'arbre et on la dépose sur la case. L'offrande est minime, mais l'intention est tout! Il est rare qu'aux pieds ou aux côtés du fétiche protecteur, on ne trouve quelque animal grossièrement figuré, un oiseau, une plante: c'est le symbole totémique du chef.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Dans les cases particulières, on voit souvent un autre genre de fétiches totémiques. Si, dans un combat, une guerre, le propriétaire de la case a vaincu son ennemi, il se plaira à rappeler ce haut fait d'une manière symbolique. Il figurera alors son propre totem monté sur le totem de son ennemi et lui déchirant, par exemple, l'oreille. Nous avons ainsi en notre possession plusieurs représentations curieuses: un serpent enroulé autour d'un tigre, une tortue mordant l'oreille d'un sanglier, etc. Autant de symbolisations totémiques. Nombre de voyageurs les ont prises pour de simples fantaisies plus ou moins artistiques: il n'en est rien. Le Fân ne fait jamais rien pour l'art.

Enfin, nous avons déjà parlé de certaines figurations totémiques qui se font encore aujourd'hui pour les grands sacrifices, tels l'éléphant et le crocodile fabriqués avec de la terre. Souvent encore, dans ces sacrifices, près de l'autel où sera immolée la victime, on reproduit en argile grossièrement modelée le totem de la tribu.

II° Dessins sur les cases.

Beaucoup de populations primitives ont exprimé leurs idées par des représentations figuratives dessinées ou peintes sur les parois des maisons, des cavernes où ils habitaient. Ces peintures brillent souvent par un art réel, et on est surpris d'y trouver un sentiment exact des proportions, un rendu étonnant des expressions et des attitudes. Les Fân se sont peut-être distingués jadis dans cet art: aujourd'hui, ils ont absolument dégénéré. Presque toujours les dessins des cases sont complètement informes.

Parfois cependant, grâce au talent inné de quelque artiste indigène, mieux doué que ses compatriotes, certains de ces dessins sont plus intéressants. Les parois des cases, faites d'écorces d'arbres, lisses et blanches lorsqu'elles sont neuves, se prêtent à l'illustration: les enfants surtout s'y livrent à cœur joie, et leurs dessins grossiers couvrent les murs. Un charbon leur sert de crayon: souvent un peu de couleur rouge rehausse le trait: rien de plus simple, de moins prétentieux. Les scènes de chasse et de guerre dominent: il est rare que le totem de la tribu ou de la famille n'y figure pas. Généralement, il est traité avec plus d'art: ses attitudes sont mieux

connues et mieux observées. On ne le mettrait jamais dans une position ridicule ou obscène: ce serait une faute rituelle, et le chef de village ferait immédiatement détruire la case. Tout dessin renferme en effet avec lui une partie de la personnalité de celui qu'on représente, et sa vie y est attachée. Les Fân, comme tous les Noirs, pratiquent l'envoûtement et en connaissent les effets désastreux: ils savent fort bien qu'on peut ainsi faire du mal à quelqu'un et ne se privent pas de le lui faire. Aussi, est-ce toujours avec un sentiment de défiance profonde qu'ils voient dessiner leurs traits, faire leur photographie. Ce qu'ils soupçonnent tout d'abord, c'est une idée hostile: le procédé leur est suspect. Il nous est ainsi arrivé souvent de dessiner ou de photographier des Noirs: si on leur donnait le dessin, ils étaient satisfaits, mais c'était toujours avec ennui et crainte qu'ils nous voyaient le remettre en portefeuille: «Surtout, nous disaient-ils, ne le laisse pas perdre, et prends bien garde qu'il ne soit blessé.»

Ces sentiments expliquent la rareté des dessins chez les Fân. Toutefois, l'emblème du totem est souvent figuré sur les boucliers.

III° Gravures, incisions et marques.

Si les représentations figuratives du totem sont assez rares au point de vue dessin, il n'en est pas de même comme gravure sur les armes. Très habiles forgerons, remarquables fondeurs de fer, les Fân savent fort bien décorer leurs armes et instruments de travail. Au moyen d'un simple poinçon et d'une masse de fer formant un grossier marteau, ils martèlent leurs outils et leurs armes, et savent y dessiner des figures assez compliquées et de jolies arabesques. Les armes en particulier sont presque toujours ornées de signes divers. Les plus fréquemment décorées de marques totémiques sont les haches de guerre, les sabres ou larges couteaux qui ne les quittent presque jamais, suspendus au baudrier de peau de tigre ou passés dans la ceinture, et enfin les sagaies au large fer poli.

Il est remarquable que les armes où le bois domine, tels le fusil et l'arbalète, ne portent jamais d'incisions ni d'insignes totémiques. Le bois se prête cependant beaucoup mieux que le fer aux dessins hiératiques ou simplement ornementaux: on les revêt de clous *dorés*,

mais on ne les incise pas. Si l'on demande aux Fàn la raison de cette abstention: «Cela ne se fait pas, cela leur ferait du mal, nos pères ne le faisaient pas», telles sont les réponses habituelles.

Les signes les plus ordinaires sont les anciens totems de tribu, réduits parfois à quelques simples lignes. Parmi les totems les plus fréquemment représentés, le crocodile ou saurien, *nzié*, est de beaucoup le plus fréquent. Viennent ensuite le serpent, la tortue, la hache etc.

Sur les sagaies des chefs, quel que soit le totem de la tribu, c'est presque toujours la figuration du crocodile qui est représentée. Nous verrions là sans difficulté, une nouvelle preuve de l'antiquité de ce totem national, perpétué ainsi dans toutes les tribus. Au dessous de ce totem national, figure souvent le totem tribal, clanique, ou familial. Mais tandis que le saurien ou crocodile est parfaitement reconnaissable, ces divers totems sont plutôt marqués par quelques simples lignes figuratives. Il ne saurait toutefois y avoir erreur sur leur signification, et les Fàn sont les premiers à le déclarer: *Ndém é ne, ndém ayôô*, c'est notre signe, le signe de notre tribu.

Les marques des boucliers doivent également figurer parmi les signes totémiques. Chaque tribu, chaque clan a sa marque distinctive, et ces dessins ne sont pas, comme on pourrait le croire au premier abord, livrés à la fantaisie de chacun.

Dans quelques tribus, les boucliers sont en bois dur, bois de fer ou de *mpana* qui offre une énorme résistance. Les balles fàn ne les percent pas et les balles européennes les déchirent au passage sans y découper leur trou rond habituel. Le blason est incisé sur ces sortes de boucliers.

La plupart des bouliers sont en cuir d'hippopotame ou d'éléphant. Taillés en ovale, ils représentent exactement nos boucliers européens d'autrefois et sont suffisamment grands pour que le guerrier, en se courbant un peu, soit complètement à l'abri des coups. Sur les bouliers de peau, le blason est peint en lignes rouges et noires, parfois bleues. Un champignon qui pousse sur les arbres fournit cette dernière couleur. Les figures des bouliers sont entièrement symboliques, et le totem y est représenté par une série de traits et de lignes. Ce sont de véritables hiéroglyphes qui

n'offrent aucun sens aux non-initiés et ne peuvent être interprétés que par les indigènes. Encore beaucoup en ont-ils complètement perdu la signification, particulièrement à la côte. Dans les tribus de l'intérieur, j'ai trouvé quelques chefs qui me donnaient de courtes explications, mais jamais sur le propre «signe» de leur tribu. Ce signe en effet tombe sous la loi de l'*éki*, et il est strictement interdit d'en parler.

Nous avions présenté à la dernière Exposition de Bruxelles une collection d'armes, d'instruments et de boucliers fàn portant tous le signe totémique.

On retrouve la preuve du blason totémique dans quelques chants de guerre, où le *mvumu* symbolique est invoqué. Ainsi, ce chant que nous entendions une fois sur les rives de l'Yé[1] et dont nous regrettons de n'avoir pas noté la pénétrante mélodie, ou plutôt l'ardeur guerrière:

Chant du bouclier.

Prenez vos armes, ô guerriers,
Que nul ne s'attarde en vains discours!
La forêt a couvert nos chemins sombres,
Prenez vos armes, ô guerriers,
Et que l'effroi précède vos pas.

Prenez vos lances en fer acéré,
Prenez vos haches avides de sang,
Prenez vos larges boucliers!
Sur eux marche le totem protecteur,
Le totem rouge des guerriers valeureux,
Le totem blanc des morts qui nous ont précédé.

Prenez vos larges boucliers,
Sur eux a coulé le sang des victimes,
C'est un guerrier qui les brandit,
Le *mvumu* les possède, le *mvumu* vous protège.
Prenez vos armes, ô guerriers.

Nous pourrions citer de nombreux chants symboliques où la gloire du *mvumu* est ainsi célébrée, soit au point de vue des armes, soit au point de vue des représentations totémiques quelconques.

[1] Yé ou Karagua, affluent du Bas Ivindo, lequel est à son tour le principal affluent de l'Ogowé. L'Yé sépare en sud-est la tribu nation fàn du groupe apparenté des Dzendzama.

IV° Les piliers des cases.

Le pilier central qui soutient chaque case joue un rôle fort important dans les tribus de l'intérieur. C'est lui qui supporte les armes du guerrier, le baudrier où est suspendu l'*akaméyôñ*, les fétiches du propriétaire de la case. Aussi est-il très souvent sculpté avec un art particulier: le milieu représente d'ordinaire une tête, et sur les côtés, ou au chapiteau, les têtes du totem familial et clanique. Par un usage qui rappelle singulièrement une coutume égyptienne analogue, la tête totémique animale est souvent accompagnée de pieds et mains humains et d'attributs phalliques. Ainsi, en Egypte «l'enseigne composée primitivement d'une hampe surmontée d'un ibis devient un corps d'homme avec une tête d'ibis, et ce sera le dieu Thot. L'enseigne composée d'une hampe surmontée d'un chien noir ou d'un chacal devient un corps d'homme avec une tête de chien ou de chacal, et ce sera le dieu Anubis. L'enseigne composée d'une hampe surmontée de deux flèches croisées, et ce sera Neit, bien connue comme déesse de Sais. Chacune de ces divinités semble en effet être devenue le «patron officiel» de la contrée où s'était fixé le clan dont elle avait été primitivement l'enseigne totémique» [1].

Il ne serait peut-être pas très-étonnant que l'enseigne du clan ayant disparu par la force des choses, elle ait été remplacée par le pilier central auquel, en temps de paix, elle était adossée. De l'une à l'autre, la transition était facile, et chaque clan gardait ainsi avec lui, de façon permanente, l'image de son totem.

De là, peut-être encore, cet usage qui demeure aujourd'hui. Quand deux clans se font la guerre, les clans vainqueurs, non contents de manger leurs prisonniers, brûlent les piliers de cases. Est-ce bien seulement pour les empêcher de les reconstruire? Le résultat serait nul, et les Fâñ sont les premiers à vous dire le contraire! C'est une destruction symbolique des totems. De même encore, en Egypte, les descendants des clans qui s'étaient fait la guerre avant l'unification du pays n'avaient pas pour cela oublié les antiques querelles. Hérodote [2] raconte que le crocodile, adoré

[1] Virey, op. cit., p. 34. [2] Livre II, p. 69.

dans le Fayoum et la région de Thèbes, était tué et mangé par les gens d'Eléphantine. De même, dans le traité de Iside et Osiride (ch. LXXIV), il est dit que les habitants du nome Cynopolite mangeaient le poisson Oxyrynchite, et qu'en représailles ceux de ce nome sacrifiaient et mangeaient les chiens, pour se venger des gens du nome Cynopolite, qui adoraient Anubis: il en résultait de véritables guerres entre les gens des deux nomes [1].

V° Les danses représentatives, les masques, coiffures etc.

Dans tous les sacrifices, les danses représentatives du totem sont de rigueur. Nous les avons déjà décrites. Afin de mieux figurer l'animal totem, le danseur ou les danseurs, non contents d'imiter ses mouvements, se revêtent de sa peau, simulent sa démarche, reproduisent son cri. L'imitation est parfois poussée fort loin: ainsi, dans certaines danses du tigre, le fétiseur chargé de ce rôle se jette sur la victime attachée, va, revient, la déchire peu à peu, puis enfin se précipite sur elle pour en boire le sang encore chaud.

Tout cet ensemble de cérémonies a pour but de rechercher, par tous les moyens possibles, à multiplier l'espèce animale éponyme du clan ou mieux encore de s'en assurer davantage la protection en lui montrant combien on cherche à lui ressembler.

Ces cérémonies ont été étudiées récemment par Spencer et Gillen, sous le nom qui caractérise chez les Australiens cet ensemble de rites, l'Intichiuma [2].

«L'Intichiuma, dit Mr. Cavart [3] — se base essentiellement sur ce qu'on appelle la magie imitative — en opposition avec la magie sympathique. Le sauvage croit que la représentation d'une action a pour résultat la réalisation de cette action.»

A ce désir de ressembler davantage à l'animal, se rattache encore, dans de nombreux cas, l'usage des masques usités dans les cérémonies totémiques, masques humains représentant sous une forme symbolique et extraordinaire les héros d'autrefois, les ancêtres de la tribu, masques d'animaux figurant les totems.

[1] Cf. Vasey, op. cit., p. 56 et Andrews, Prolégomènes, p. 242.
[2] Cf. Rennes, dans Anthropologie 1903, t. XIV, p. 241 et ss.
[3] Le Totémisme, op. cit., p. 18.

Ces figurations se traduisent non seulement par l'usage des masques, mais encore par les modifications symptomatiques de la coiffure. «Le clan des petits oiseaux chez les Omahas, dit Frazer, laisse toute une petite mèche de cheveux au-dessus du front pour figurer un bec; quelques-uns en laissent aussi à la partie postérieure de la tête pour représenter la queue de l'oiseau; des touffes de cheveux au dessus de chaque oreille imitent les ailes» [1].

Au cours de nos voyages, il nous est arrivé un jour de rencontrer un clan dont le totem était le gros escargot: dans une fête solennelle de mariage de la tribu, presque tous les jeunes gens et guerriers avaient tressé leurs cheveux de façon à figurer les spires de l'escargot, leur *mvame*.

A la côte, et dans toute la région de l'Ogowé, les coiffures ont perdu presque toute originalité et les hommes portent les cheveux courts. Dans l'intérieur, au contraire, elles sont demeurées très originales et fort compliquées. Elles représentent souvent le totem ou un de ses attributs.

VI° Les mutilations ethniques et les tatouages corporels.

a) Différentes mutilations.

Parmi les mutilations ethniques qui se rapportent au totem, la plus fréquente est la mutilation des dents. A de rares exceptions près, tous les Fân se font briser les angles des incisives supérieures et inférieures, ne laissant qu'une pointe acérée. D'après quelques-uns, c'est pour ressembler au tigre ou à l'animal totem. D'après d'autres, plus nombreux, ce serait une survivance du culte primitif du Crocodile.

Les féticheurs et souvent les sorciers ont également l'habitude de se traverser la cloison médiane du nez avec des poils de porc-épic. D'après leurs explications, il est certain que c'est pour simuler ainsi les moustaches raides du tigre. Ceux-là seuls qui l'ont pour totem de grade ou de société observent cette coutume.

Quant à l'épilation de la barbe, dont les grands chefs sont seuls exempts, il est bien difficile de dire si on peut voir là ou non

[1] Frazer, Le Totémisme, p. 141. Cf. également Reinach, Anthropol. 1903 t. XIV, p. 257.

un rite totémique. La raison n'en apparaît pas très évidente. En tout cas, bien que beaucoup de Fâñ puissent avoir une barbe abondante et admirent fort ceux qui en ont, il en est bien peu parmi eux qui la conservent.

b) Le tatouage.

α) Importance du tatouage.

Les tatouages sont de beaucoup plus importants au point de vue totémique, et il n'est point de Fâñ qui ne les porte. Seuls, ceux qui dès leur enfance, à la côte par exemple, vivent en contact avec les Européens, ont perdu cet usage, comme la plupart de leurs coutumes ancestrales et leur langue même, au moins en partie.

Cette coutume du tatouage est assez loin répandue: «Ce procédé d'imiter le dieu pour lui être agréable, dit l'abbé Bnos[1] ou le rendre présent de façon magique, se retrouve dans certains tatouages liturgiques qui sont de véritables consécrations et alliances avec le dieu»[2].

Toutefois Mr. Bnos méconnaît l'idée religieuse du tatouage. A notre avis, c'est aller beaucoup trop loin.

L'opération du tatouage totémique est ordinairement accompagnée de chants religieux et accomplie vers la puberté, après une série de jeûnes préparatoires. Aussi, en nier le caractère religieux, comme l'ont fait quelques auteurs, est, au moins pour ce qui concerne les Bantous, une preuve manifeste d'ignorance de leur langue et de leurs usages.

β) Différentes espèces de tatouages.

On peut distinguer trois espèces de tatouages, pratiquées à différentes époques de la vie. Le premier est un «remède», et se pratique après la naissance; le second est le tatouage que l'on pourrait appeler «tatouage de beauté» et qui se fait à toute époque de la vie; le troisième enfin, le tatouage totémique, le plus important ici pour nous.

Le premier tatouage a lieu lorsque, quelque temps après la naissance, on voit le bébé devenir joufflu, prendre de l'embonpoint,

---

[1] op. cit., p. 159.

[2] Cf. Letourneau, La Sociologie d'après l'Ethnographie, p. 71 et ss.

avoir ses petits bras et ses petites jambes bien dodus. Les mamans noires, au lieu de s'en réjouir comme le feraient les mamans européennes, croient immédiatement à un sort et font appel au sorcier. Celui-ci vient et fait aux tempes et aux bras du bébé de légères incisions et y insuffle un peu de bois rouge. L'enfant est désormais à l'abri du «sort», et le féticheur, pour sa peine, recevra une poule noire et le premier poisson que prendra la mère.

Le tatouage d'ornement se pratique à toute époque de la vie, mais surtout sur les enfants, jeunes gens et jeunes filles. Il consiste en dessins variés, lignes en bourrelet ou en creux, représentant parfois avec un art réel des oiseaux, des plantes, des lignes qui se croisent et s'enchevêtrent. Tantôt ces tatouages sont indélébiles, tantôt ce sont de simples peintures qui résistent plus ou moins longtemps. Les tatouages indélébiles sont obtenus par piqûres ou coupures dans lesquelles on introduit de la couleur; les peintures sont de circonstance et s'effacent vite. On les emploie pour les fêtes, les danses etc. Le bleu, le rouge, le blanc et le noir sont les couleurs presque exclusivement employées.

Le *nsam* ou *ntsile* est le tatouage du totem ou marque distinctive de la tribu. Le premier *ntsile* est fait à l'enfant lorsqu'il marche seul; il en recevra d'autres à chaque initiation. Le féticheur est seul chargé de la cérémonie. Après un jeûne d'un jour, l'enfant est arrosé d'eau lustrale et conduit devant la boîte des ancêtres. Il reste devant, debout, ou soutenu debout par son père, pendant quelques instants. Puis le féticheur le ramène dans la cour et le couche successivement sur le dos et sur la poitrine. Dans son matériel de médecin, le féticheur possède une grosse aiguille avec un roseau. Dans l'intérieur on emploie le roseau *énda*, sorte de papyrus, et plus haut le *ntutu*[1]. L'enfant étant couché sur le dos, le féticheur plonge et retourne son aiguille dans les cendres chaudes, saisit entre le pouce et l'index la peau de la partie du corps qu'il veut tatouer, la perce avec son aiguille, puis coupe le pli. Dans la plaie, il introduit alors soit le suc d'un champignon spécial, s'il veut obtenir une couleur bleue, la poudre de *baza* pour la couleur rouge, les cendres de *Musantha* pour la noire, soit les graines écrasées

[1] Surtout chez les Dzendzeme et chez les Bulubu.

du recoulier pour la jaune. Le fruit de l'*ebè* (*owala* des Gabonais)[1], donne également une belle couleur noire.

De nombreux arbres fournissent également d'assez bonne peinture, rouge ou noire. On s'en sert quand les couleurs précédentes sont interdites dans la tribu. Ainsi la résine *olum* et la sève du *Teighemella Jollyana* donnent une couleur noire, la sève de l'*Asia* ou *Canarium édule*, une bleuâtre, celle de l'*Erythrophlœum guineense*, une teinte brunâtre.

L'opération, pour peu que le sujet à graver soit compliqué, est trop douloureuse pour être achevée en une seule séance: certains tatouages, surtout lorsqu'ils approchent des parties délicates de l'œil, des paupières ou des ailes du nez sont beaucoup plus longs à guérir, et il faut toujours s'y remettre à plusieurs fois: la poudre de *baza* cause en particulier des ulcères parfois incurables.

Signe du *Mwiri* (tatouage en bourrelet).

Ikogo. *Eshira.* *Abéli.*

Les tatouages «d'initiation» sont un peu différents. Ainsi, chez les Fân, et leurs voisins et alliés, les Eshira, celui qui amène une nouvelle recrue au *Mwiri (biéri* fân), reçoit en récompense une seconde marque sur le bras droit. Cette marque consiste en un simple trait droit: ▬▬▬.

Au poignet du bras gauche, les initiés reçoivent une autre marque: ▬▬▬.

Pour l'opération du tatouage, on commence par celui du poignet. Mais comme il est interdit à l'initié de voir l'opérateur, la façon dont il procède, et les instruments dont il se sert pendant le temps de l'opération, l'initié a les yeux bandés. Pour le tatouage du coude, on lui laisse voir l'opération, parce qu'il est déjà initié. Pendant la première opération, il pourrait d'abord prendre peur à la vue du «rasoir». Mais on craint surtout qu'il ne révèle quelque particularité de l'initiation aux profanes. Or, ceux-ci doivent rester dans l'ignorance la plus absolue, et penser, à la vue des tatouages, que le nouvel adepte a été «mordu», tel est le terme consacré et

[1] *Pseudolachnostylis maprounefolia.*

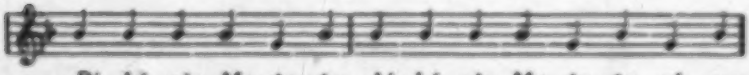
l'explication donnée, par *Mwiri* ou son représentant *Mañoño,* esprit inférieur au *Mwiri* mais tout aussi puissant et aussi redouté.

Tous les tatouages totémiques symbolisent plus ou moins l'animal type. En effet, le Fân ne se contentera pas de conserver dans sa case ou dans un temple particulier l'emblème du totem. Puisque cet emblème, gardé dans un temple, dans une case, protége le clan et la famille, a fortiori cette même image, incrustée dans la peau, marquée sur le corps de l'individu, sera-t-elle de nature à le faire reconnaître comme ami et le faire aussi protéger davantage. Et plus cette insertion aura été douloureuse, plus le totem sera reconnaissant, en vertu même de la loi de l'effort, et de la douleur subie pour lui: plus par conséquent sa protection sera efficace.

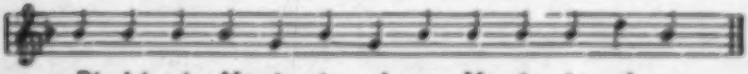
Le chant des initiés du *Mwiri,* autrefois fort secret, et réservé pour les seules cérémonies, est aujourd'hui tombé dans le domaine public et chanté très fréquemment. Son rythme rapide et entraînant le fait souvent choisir comme chant de pirogue. Rien de plus fréquent que d'entendre les pagayeurs chanter ensemble pour s'animer:

Bi ké yén Mañoño, oh! yo, bi ké yén Mañoño, oh yo!

Nous irons voir *Mañoño*, oh! yo, nous irons voir *Mañoño*, yo!



Bi ké yén Ma-ño-ño, bi ké yén Ma-ño-ño, oh, yo



Bi ké yén Ma-ño-ño, oh, yo, Ma-ño-ño, oh, yo.

Ce chant fân est d'ailleurs la traduction presque littérale du chant primitif mpongwé: *Mi bélé dyéna Mañoño, oh, yo, mi bélé dyéna* — je veux voir *Mañoño, oh, yo.*

7) Figuration fictive des tatouages.

Il ne sera pas nécessaire que cette figuration soit réelle: de fait, dans la plupart des cas, à cause même des difficultés contingentes, ce sera une figuration purement fictive, réduite à quelques signes faciles à réaliser, mais qui n'en auront pas moins aux yeux du Fân leur signification objective et réelle. Ainsi, par exemple, pour n'en

citer que deux cas, la tribu des Amvom, dont le *mvom* ou serpent python est le totem, portera la figuration totémique du *mvom* sur la tempe droite.

Mais s'il faut tout d'abord que cette figuration ait lieu au moyen de signes faciles à exécuter, il est également nécessaire, deuxième et essentielle condition, que ces signes soient partout les mêmes dans chaque clan de la même tribu, afin de permettre à chaque Amvom rencontrant un autre Noir de savoir immédiatement s'il appartient à son propre clan, à un clan allié, ou à une tribu ennemie. Chacun porte ainsi sur la figure sa propre marque de naissance.

Le signe adopté sera donc simple. Dans le cas présent du serpent, ce qui frappera le plus le Fân comme signe figuratif, ce sera évidemment la ligne ondulée que décrit le serpent dans sa marche. Aussi le signe qui se présentera le plus naturellement à son esprit sera-t-il celui que nous figurons ci-joint. Puis, peu à peu, ce signe primitif se modifiera, et aujourd'hui les Amvom ont un signe particulier, assez différent du signe primitif du serpent. D'après son aspect, les Européens l'ont désigné sous le nom de Hache des Amvom, car son dessin rappelle en effet la hache indigène; les anciens de la tribu les attribuent cependant toujours nettement l'origine dont nous avons parlé.

Le totem ancestral des Yemvi est la fleur *mvi*, manifestation visible d'un esprit particulier dont nous n'avons pas à nous préoccuper ici. Il eût été difficile de représenter une fleur avec ses pétales compliqués. On n'en prendra donc que les lignes essentielles, celles qui frappent l'imagination, et elle se trouvera ainsi réduite à de simples traits dont le moindre artiste indigène viendra à bout, *à savoir un simple point* dans un cercle que l'on portera sur la tempe droite.

Le *mvi*, fleur ressemblant à nos pâquerettes *(Bellis perennis)*, ou à nos immortelles est ainsi figuré dans ses lignes essentielles. Le point central se renfle en bourrelet; les deux cercles concentriques sont incisés dans la peau, et toutes les autres lignes, coupées primitivement, se rejoignent en anneaux. La grandeur du signe est d'environ une pièce de cinq francs.

Un des buts de cette figuration est donc de permettre la «reconnaissance» à première vue; de là, le signe totémique se portera d'une façon générale à la figure, rarement à la poitrine, au contraire de tous les tatouages de beauté, et de préférence sur les joues, les tempes ou le front. Les signes ronds seront gravés sur les tempes ou les joues; tous ceux dans lesquels entre une hampe ou des lignes allongées, le sont sur le front: les traits droits se continuent alors sur le nez.

Les Fáñ, comme tous les Noirs, se reconnaissent donc à leurs tatouages, mais il ne serait pas juste de dire, tout au moins pour les tatouages totémiques, que c'est dans le but unique de se reconnaître qu'ils ont été institués. C'est confondre d'une façon absolue la cause avec l'effet. La première raison du tatouage totémique est une raison de protection: se concilier le *mvame* dont on porte l'image gravée sur soi. Tous les phénomènes totémiques, qu'il s'agisse de danses ou de tatouages, ont la même raison initiale, l'*intichiuma* que nous avons signalé.

b) Le tatouage et la civilisation européenne.

Dans les populations qui s'approchent de l'Européen, les signes ou tatouages totémiques disparaissent de plus en plus, suivant en cela le sort de toutes les institutions antiques de la tribu. Les codes européens s'efforcent bien de donner une vie factice aux coutumes indigènes. Partout, on recommande de juger le Noir selon les coutumes indigènes, en tant, ajoutent les codes chrétiens, qu'elles ne sont contraires ni au droit ni à la morale. Mais, de fait, il est loin d'en être ainsi dans la grande majorité des cas. D'ailleurs, l'effort serait-il sincère et unanime qu'il n'en resterait pas moins inutile et vain. Au contact de la civilisation blanche, plus élevée et plus raffinée, la civilisation noire disparaît, et de plus en plus, la tribu, en contact avec le Blanc, s'émiette. La famille disparaît la première, car le père, par une suite de raisons économiques dont le développement n'a pas sa place ici, perd toute autorité, et quand la famille est disparue, la tribu ne peut se maintenir.

Pour en revenir à l'objet même que nous traitons ici, une distinction se fait très vite entre le sauvage tatoué, portant la marque de sa tribu, et celui qui pour une raison ou une autre ne

la porte pas. Souvent, presque toujours même, surtout dans la tribu fortement constituée, l'homme qui porte les tatouages est vraiment l'homme de la tribu: s'il fait partie d'une société secrète, dont au reste nous n'avons pas à apprécier ici le côté moral, très défectueux, il n'en reste pas moins vrai qu'il a montré son courage et sa vaillance en affrontant des épreuves ordinairement fort dures: une force d'âme peu ordinaire, un courage à toute épreuve lui ont seuls permis de les braver. C'est, en un mot, un guerrier, un homme intéressé au maintien de la tribu et de ses institutions.

Au contraire, celui qui ne porte aucun tatouage est un homme sans courage qui n'a pas osé affronter les difficultés de l'épreuve; c'est un homme que les chefs n'ont pas jugé digne d'être appelé au Conseil, ou bien encore il ne fait partie de la tribu qu'à titre transitoire ou de hasard: c'est un racheté par exemple, un adopté, un captif de case ou un homme livré comme prix du sang. C'est donc en somme un homme de qualité inférieure, dont la tribu ne tient aucun compte.

Or, devant l'Européen qui considère plutôt les marques corporelles volontaires comme une déchéance ou un signe d'infériorité sociale, car, de fait, seules les basses classes se font encore tatouer, le sauvage tatoué est regardé comme plus sauvage, comme inférieur à celui qui ne porte aucune marque. Ce fait renverse toutes les conceptions de famille et de tribu. Le sauvage, profondément orgueilleux, s'aperçoit immédiatement de ce dédain et en est cruellement blessé. Mais considérant toujours que le Blanc lui est supérieur à tout point de vue, il cherchera à l'imiter, sinon lui-même, au moins dans la personne de ses enfants. Les tatouages ancestraux disparaîtront, mais, en même temps et tout aussi bien, toutes les institutions familiales qui ne sauraient vivre au contact du Blanc. La famille et la tribu sont déracinées! C'est un nouvel état social qui se crée. Qu'en sera-t-il? A l'heure actuelle, il est impossible de le prévoir, mais si l'on en juge par ce qui existe dans les autres pays noirs envahis par la civilisation blanche, il semble bien que toutes ces institutions dont nous venons de parler ne disparaîtront pas, mais se réfugieront dans le mystère des sociétés secrètes. Tels les Vaudoux des Antilles.

C'est loin d'être à souhaiter!

CHAPITRE XIX.

TOTÉMISME ET FÉTICHISME.

Sommaire.

§ 1. Ce qu'il faut entendre par fétichisme. Ce qu'est le fétiche.

§ 2. Distinction entre totem et fétiche d'après A. Lang. Le totémisme, stade de l'évolution fétichiste. FRAZER et M. REINACH. — MARY KINGSLEY.

§ 3. L'ensemble du fétichisme. Mgr. LE ROY et sa définition du fétichisme. Les divers fétiches. — Comment le totémisme se distingue du fétichisme et s'y rattache.

---

§ 1. Ce qu'il faut entendre par fétichisme.

«J'entends par fétichisme la religion des Indigènes de l'Ouest Africain, dit MARY KINGSLEY [1], qui n'ont pas été influencés par le Christianisme et le Mahométisme.»

Sous une forme aussi vague et aussi générale, cette définition est assez vraie et comme le fait remarquer, non sans une certaine malice, Mgr. LE ROY, c'est précisément ce vague qui en constitue la justesse.

Le mot «fétichisme», vient du mot «fétiche» qui lui-même a été mis en vogue par le Président CH. DE BROSSES dans sa «Dissertation sur le culte des dieux fétiches, ou Parallèle de l'ancienne idolâtrie avec celle des peuples de la Nigritie [2]. «Fétiche» vient lui-même du mot portugais «feitiço», objet enchanté, charme, amulette. Dérivé du latin «factitium», artificiel, nous le retrouvons dans notre mot «fée», objet «fée» «féerie», dans l'anglais «fairy» etc. Les navigateurs du 15e siècle désignaient sous ce nom tous les objets que les Indigènes leur paraissaient adorer, toutes les choses ou êtres auxquels les Noirs rendaient un culte religieux. Depuis, et à leur exemple, sous le nom général de «fétiche», on a englobé tous les êtres, spirituels ou corporels, tous les animaux ou végétaux, toutes

[1] West African Studies, p. 96. [2] Paris 1760.

[p.624]

les choses matérielles, même les plus bizarres, auxquels le Noir rendait un culte quelconque.

En admettant une définition aussi large, tout le totémisme rentre bien dans le fétichisme, tout totem n'est plus qu'un fétiche. Cette conception peut sembler vraie à l'ethnologue européen: le Noir a-t-il la même idée? On s'en est très peu préoccupé. Cependant, et le cours de cette Etude l'a suffisamment montré, dans la religion si complexe, si touffue du Noir, le totémisme joue bien un rôle à part. S'il pénètre dans tous les actes religieux, si on le retrouve dans tous les phénomènes politiques, sociaux ou cultuels pour les marquer de sa profonde empreinte, il n'en demeure pas moins parfaitement distinct. De même que le chimiste décompose facilement tel ou tel corps dont la structure paraît simple et une à ceux qui ne sont pas initiés, de même dans tous ces rites compacts de la religion noire, il est relativement aisé d'«isoler» l'acte totémique, et d'en démêler la vraie signification.

§ 2. Distinction entre totem et fétiche.

Après tout ce que nous avons écrit, quelques pages nous suffiront désormais pour indiquer en quoi et comment le totem se distingue du fétiche.

Et déjà nous pouvons rejeter l'opinion de certains auteurs pour lesquels tous les actes religieux, quels qu'ils soient, se ramèneraient tous au totémisme. Dès lors, celui-ci ne serait plus qu'un vaste «animisme».

Au contraire il ne constitue, à notre avis, qu'une part de l'animisme, n'explique que certains faits sociaux ou religieux, et n'est en somme qu'une conséquence[1], et non la source, des

[1] «The earliest religious ideas of which we can find traces in the past and of which we have evidences in the present, are comprised in what is known, following Professor TYLOR, as Animism, along with which went, and goes, Totemism as the basis of the social arrangement . . .

«It is unnecessary to define either term here but, briefly stated, it will suffice to say that Animism represents man's earliest outlook upon Nature, and Totemism the earliest social arrangement by means of which, through the practice of exogamy, inbreeding was avoided through being made taboo.

«In Animism, two stages may be recognised: 1) the earliest, when man, knowing himself to be alive, concludes that all things are alive too, and ac-

autres, bien qu'il existe à la base primordiale de la plupart d'entre eux.

«Le totem, dit ANDREW LANG[1], se distingue du fétiche qui a des pouvoirs magiques dûs à une incantation ou à une vertu occulte, et qui est, le plus souvent, un objet inanimé.

«Le totem se distingue aussi des divinités conçues ultérieurement comme constituées par des pouvoirs mystérieux cachés dans les forces de la nature ou comme des héros survivant à titre d'ombres, ou comme des puissances psychiques surnaturelles.

«L'idée du totem est intimement liée à celle de génération. L'ancêtre commun est le protecteur: il représente enfin la forme sociale perpétuellement renouvelée.

«Dans beaucoup de clans, le sang de l'animal issu directement du totem est transfusé en grande pompe dans les veines des jeunes gens à la puberté, afin de rendre plus intime la communion de tous les êtres de la même société.

«La consanguinité d'origine fait souvent que les jeunes gens ne peuvent pas s'unir aux jeunes filles qui ont le même totem. L'exogamie en résulte.

«Le culte des animaux en Egypte est d'origine totémique, où chaque tribu semble bien avoir eu son totem spécial (crocodile, serpent, taureau etc.). On a signalé des mutilations ayant pour fin la ressemblance avec le totem, et en Egypte, la tête et la peau

---

dowed with a personality similar to his own; what 2) Professor TYLOR meant more particularly by the term, «the doctrine of souls». — It is when the «soul» becomes differentiated from the object, when, instead of the «living tree», or the «living stone», we think of the «tree-spirit», or the «stone-spirit», that metempsychosis becomes possible, and also that a further advance in the evolution of religions is made, and polytheism and fetichism with their attendant magic arise.

«By this time, too, Totemism is dying out» (H. J. DUNSFIELD ASTLEY, Traces of animism and Totemism in the old Testament).

«At corresponding stages of culture, man is always and everywhere the same, and in modern savage peoples to day we may see in various stages, the primitive ideas of the race, and there must have been a time when these ideas were of the same living significance among the ancestors of civilized peoples as they are among savages today (H. J. DUNSFIELD ASTLEY, Transaction of the third international congress for the history of religions, vol. II, Oxford 1908, p. 261.

[1] op. cit.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

de l'animal totémique ont été prises parfois pour coiffure et vêtement par les prêtres officiants.»

Le totémisme aurait donc existé chez tous les peuples, comme très différent du fétichisme. Ce serait probablement le stade primitif de l'évolution religieuse. Mais cette explication constate un fait qui n'est à près tout que probable, au fond n'explique rien, et la question «d'où vient le totémisme?» reste toute entière.

Aux yeux de quelques-uns, le totémisme aurait eu en effet son fondement réel dans les faits eux-mêmes, et par une théorie chère aux transformistes avancés, les légendes, et le culte subséquent, qui font descendre telle ou telle tribu de tel ou tel animal, constateraient un fait réel, un fait d'évolution qui aurait laissé sa trace dans les mythes lointains, mythes qui apporteraient une confirmation précieuse au transformisme intégral. A ce compte, les Vautours hommes descendraient bien du Vautour oiseau primitif, les Ours de l'Ours. Quant à savoir pourquoi, à un moment donné, les Ours hommes se sont séparés du rameau Ours animal, la question est plus difficile. La trace des migrations manquerait encore. Pour notre part, nous ne verrions pas grande difficulté à cette théorie, si l'on veut bien nous concéder que le rameau Ours animal a pu, tout aussi bien, provenir du rameau Ours homme! Ce ne serait, après tout, que du transformisme retourné, de l'évolution descendante.

Sans vouloir ici discuter cette question, très discutable certes, du transformisme, disons simplement que cette preuve nous paraît de nulle valeur, car en réalité, si dans les légendes africaines, on retrouve le mythe de la tribu apparentée par les liens de la chair à l'animal totem, on retrouve aussi partout également le mythe du premier homme, sorti des mains d'un Créateur comme homme, et les deux ordres de faits sont difficilement conciliables. Les deux ordres de légendes se superposent.

Pour Reinach, le totémisme constitue donc un stade nécessaire dans l'évolution religieuse et indépendant de tout fétichisme. Tous les peuples y ont passé, à un moment donné de leur existence. Ce sont les premières alliances organiques et contractuelles d'un groupe humain et d'un protecteur surnaturel qui constituent le premier éveil du sentiment religieux. Ainsi les cultes animaux et végétaux tout

entiers auraient pour origine le totémisme. Mais, soit dit en passant, et pour ne pas donner trop d'importance à ce culte, à ce compte tout serait totémisme et rien n'existerait en dehors de lui. Sentiment fort exagéré, croyons-nous; aussi nous nous rallierons plutôt pleinement, pour nos Fân, à l'opinion de Mr. Marillier[1]: «Nulle part, le totémisme ne constitue la forme exclusive ou même la forme prépondérante du culte religieux, que partout, le culte des morts, des animaux dangereux ou utiles, des plantes, des fontaines, de la mer, des corps célestes, des rochers [et c'est absolument le cas chez nos Fân], subsiste à côté de lui, et que dans bon nombre de cas on se hâte, plus qu'il ne faudrait, d'assigner une origine totémique à un rite ou à une coutume, simplement parce qu'on les retrouve chez des peuples où existe l'organisation totémique, et tel en particulier nous paraît être le cas pour l'exogamie, ou même chez des peuples qui en sont à ce stade de l'évolution sociale qui caractérise le totémisme.»

Pour Reinach et son école, totem et fétiche ont entre eux cette différence essentielle que le fétiche désigne un objet individuel tandis que le totem est une classe d'objets qui sont considérés par les membres du clan ou de la tribu, comme tutélaires, au sens le plus large de ce mot. Soit, par exemple, un clan ayant pour totem le serpent: les membres de ce clan se qualifieront de «serpents» s'abstiendront de tuer les serpents, élèveront des serpents familiers, s'en serviront pour interroger l'avenir, se croiront à l'abri de leurs morsures etc.

En adoptant pour un moment cette différence, nous ferons remarquer cependant qu'un certain nombre de faits, ou d'ordres de faits cités comme se rapportant au totémisme, en sont au contraire absolument distincts et se rapportent au fétichisme en général.

De plus, comme nous l'avons fait déjà remarquer en parlant des *ékî*, ces deux ordres de faits, fétichisme et totémisme, pour différents qu'ils soient, ont néanmoins leurs points communs et empiètent facilement sur le domaine l'un de l'autre. Ainsi le totémisme, ou plutôt le totem, aura lui aussi ses fétiches particuliers qui n'appar-

[1] Revue de l'Histoire des Religions. Le place du Totémisme dans l'Evolution religieuse, tome XXXVI, 1897.

tiennent qu'à lui, et de plus, il se servira des fétiches généraux, rentrant dans le domaine commun du fétichisme.

Prenons pour donner un exemple qui éclaire notre pensée, le fait suivant.

Entre deux tribus, la guerre vient d'être déclarée. Chaque chef accomplit d'abord les cérémonies rituelles ordonnées en pareil cas, c'est-à-dire consultation du sort qui est toujours la cérémonie préliminaire, puis choix et immolation de la victime, consultation sur la guerre d'après l'état des viscères, et leur position, participation de tous au sacrifice par la manducation de la victime. Puis, ayant ainsi rendu au culte proprement dit la part qui lui est réservée, le chef prendra alors l'*akamèyôô*, «littéralement celui qui distingue les nations» ou totem de la tribu; nous avons vu que ce totem peut être purement figuratif, emblématique ou partie intégrante du vrai totem. Au totem il adjoint le *mbôôt oviaru* ou sifflet magique pour appeler les esprits protecteurs et effrayer l'ennemi, le *bôôt ebôle* qui le rendra invisible aux yeux de l'ennemi, l'*ewu* qui troublera leurs idées, le *bôôt amare* qui leur inspirera une frayeur intense et plusieurs autres. Ces fétiches, dans ce cas particulier, font obligatoirement partie du totem qui sans eux perdrait une grande partie de sa force tutélaire, et en conséquence, le même culte leur est «momentanément» rendu. C'est en ce sens donc que nous pourrons dire que ces fétiches, bien qu'en étant fort distincts du totem, en font néanmoins obligatoirement partie.

Comme on retrouve partout ces croyances fétichistes, à un stade quelconque d'évolution, Aug. Comte en a fait le premier stade religieux de l'humanité. Pour lui et pour son école, le polythéisme s'est tout d'abord dégagé du fétichisme. Puis est venu le monothéisme que la science remplacera à son tour.

La réalité est tout autre que cette conception, et le Noir est beaucoup moins simpliste.

Tout d'abord, le fétiche, en lui-même, n'est rien, quelqu'il soit, statuette ou objet quelconque, pierre ou arbre, crâne ou os quelconque: il n'est quelque chose que s'il est «influencé», habité par un esprit, dépositaire d'une force mystérieuse quelconque. Par conséquent, avant sa consécration, comme après son consécration,

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

le fétiche n'est rien. La grossière statue de bois que le Noir taille pour l'Européen, le fétiche même, qui a servi, mais qui, vendu au Blanc, pour ses musées ou ses collections, n'a plus aucune valeur religieuse, n'est plus même, à proprement parler, un fétiche. Il l'a été, ou a pu l'être. L'esprit n'y a pas paru ou l'influence mystérieuse n'existe plus; dès lors, ce sont, pour le Noir, des objets quelconques et indifférents.

Si on entend, avec MARY KINGSLEY, le fétichisme comme «religion des indigènes de l'Ouest Africain», il est évident que le totémisme tel que nous l'avons décrit et analysé, fait partie du fétichisme, mais une pareille définition n'en est évidemment pas une. Elle constate un simple fait, sans autres explications, et n'a aucune importance scientifique.

§ 3. L'ensemble du fétichisme.

1° D'où provient le fétichisme?

Le fétichisme trouve sa base au plus profond de la nature humaine elle-même, et, pour le Noir tout au moins, ressort de l'étude directe des phénomènes qu'il voit se produire en lui et autour de lui. De là, à vouloir leur assigner une cause, non seulement il n'y pas loin, mais c'est même répondre à un besoin constant et universel.

Le fétichisme, en effet, est né de la conviction où est l'homme que la nature tient en réserve des forces mystérieuses; il ne peut pas les voir, mais il en ressent les effets: il croit pouvoir les utiliser, et il le tente par les moyens en son pouvoir. Certains faits viennent lui donner raison et le confirmer dans sa croyance. Tels, par exemple, le tambour de guerre dont il voit tout d'un coup les baguettes frémir et s'agiter devant lui, sans qu'aucune main les touche. Telles, les statuettes que lui présentent les fétiseurs, et qui, après certaines paroles mystérieuses, s'agitent tout à coup d'elles-mêmes et exécutent la danse des morts *(ndzém bikhan)*. Telles encore les baguettes divinatoires qui s'échappent des mains du fétiseur et vont dénoncer le sorcier ou le voleur. Et ces faits sont tout aussi mystérieux pour le Noir que le sont pour le Blanc les tables tournantes, les maisons hantées et tant de phénomènes

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

inexpliqués de télépathie, de suggestion et d'hypnotisme, tous les faits en un mot qui sont «sur le bord», sur «l'Oberland», suivant l'expression aujourd'hui consacrée.

«Le fétichisme ne consiste pas seulement dans le culte rendu à l'objet matériel influencé par l'esprit: il faut lui rattacher encore tout ce qui constitue la sorcellerie ou magie, la mantique, la médecine comme elle l'est d'ordinaire en pays sauvage, les initiations, les sociétés secrètes, enfin les croyances et cérémonies diverses qui font de cette caricature de la religion un ensemble fort compliqué. Soit, par exemple, un esprit ou un génie, celui du tonnerre, de la mer ou des vents: il a, naturellement, son nom, son sexe (il peut être mâle, femelle, ou l'un et l'autre), son histoire, ses légendes, il a son fétiche matériel; une statuette, une plante, un animal, une pierre spéciale, un coquillage déterminé, une corne remplie de produits divers et dont chacun a sa signification; il a son symbole: un bracelet, un anneau, un collier, un tatouage, une marque que ses fidèles portent comme un signe de consécration ou de ralliement; il a une couleur spéciale qui lui est vouée, le rouge, le vert, le blanc etc.; il a son fétiseur attitré, seul autorisé pour composer et consacrer son fétiche, lui offrir les sacrifices acquis, lui agréger des fidèles, le conjurer et au besoin l'expulser, il a sa confrérie ou société secrète, ses fêtes qui le distinguent des autres, ses danses particulières, les offrandes ou sacrifices qu'il accepte, les oracles, sortilèges ou services qui sont de son ressort etc.» [1].

A l'égard d'un génie, voilà la part du fétichisme, mais si en même temps, et le cas se trouve, ce génie est totem d'un clan d'une tribu, d'une société secrète, par là-même cet ensemble, déjà si complexe, se reproduit une seconde fois, se trouve doublé: il aura sa couleur, par exemple, comme génie, il en aura une autre comme totem.

A cette conviction des forces cachées que la nature tient en réserve s'ajoute le désir qu'a le Noir, comme tout homme, de se garantir du mal, de se procurer du bien, n'importe par quel moyen. De là, il essaiera d'entrer en relations avec les esprits, avec les âmes des

[1] Mgr. Le Roy, Art. Fétichisme dans Dict. apolog. de la Foi Catholique. Paris. Beauchesne, 1911.

morts dont souvent il croira ressentir l'influence nocive ou heureuse. Le sacrifice, sous toutes ses formes, sera le meilleur moyen d'apaiser ces âmes ou ces esprits, de se les concilier, d'attirer sur lui leurs faveurs. Bien des faits, inexplicables pour lui, et même pour nous, nous en avons cité, confirmeront sa croyance. Sûr de l'efficacité de son sacrifice, il en gardera par devers lui non seulement le souvenir, mais la preuve. Il attribue, en effet, aux esprits comme aux forces de l'au-delà les mêmes sentiments, les mêmes impressions qu'il ressent. Ainsi, au moment du combat, par exemple, brandira-t-il son fétiche de guerre en criant: *Evaléga* (souviens-toi). A qui donc ce cri s'adresse-t-il? Au fétiche lui-même? A cette corne d'antilope qu'il élève? Le Noir serait le premier à rire de cette conception enfantine! Mais dans cette corne, il y a un peu de poudre noire, des os calcinés. Le Noir s'irrite si on y touche. Voilà le fétiche, s'écrie en riant l'Européen! *Evaléga*, répond le Noir, souviens-toi! Souviens-toi, ô Esprit des batailles, que je t'ai offert un sacrifice pour que tu me mettes à l'abri des balles ou des flèches, et en voici encore les restes, les cendres de la victime: souviens-toi!

Par suite des causes qui l'ont produit, le fétichisme est donc un ensemble de phénomènes religieux qui tient à la nature même de l'homme.

«Mais ce n'est pas[1] un fait primitif qui puisse être considéré comme la première manifestation de la religion. Loin d'en être la base, il suppose au contraire l'existence de forces, d'énergies, de pouvoirs ou d'êtres mystérieux qui sont captés par l'homme, fixés dans l'objet fétiche, et susceptibles de donner à celui-ci une valeur déterminée.

«Si le fétiche est censé influencé par une âme désincarnée, ou un esprit indépendant, il procède de l'animisme; si le fétiche tient sa valeur d'une force cachée de la nature ou est pris comme personnification de quelque phénomène naturel, c'est du naturisme.»

Nous avons vu, au cours de cette Etude, comment le totémisme par la diversité de ses totems et des objets qui le matériaux

[1] Mgr. Le Roy, Fétichisme, art. du Dict. apolog. de la Foi Catholique.

lisent rentre, à ce point de vue, tantôt dans l'animisme, tantôt dans le naturisme.

Le fétichisme est donc un ensemble d'idées et de faits religieux qui comprendra à la fois le culte des morts, le culte des mânes, le culte des ancêtres, le culte des esprits supérieurs ou inférieurs du monde invisible, le culte enfin des forces cachées et mystérieuses de la nature qui n'appartiennent point au domaine de ces diverses entités, mais dont parfois, elles peuvent être au nom des manifestations.

De sorte qu'en réalité le fétichisme ne sera pas seulement localisé ou matérialisé dans le fétiche, mais comprendra encore l'ensemble des idées religieuses qui président d'abord à la confection à la consécration et à l'énumération du fétiche proprement dit, puis, en dehors même du fétiche, ce même ensemble d'idées religieuses indépendantes de lui, croyances aux mânes, aux esprits, aux forces etc.

Le totémisme se distingue donc nettement du fétichisme, ou plutôt c'en est un des aspects, une des parties: comme lui, il comprendra d'abord un ensemble de phénomènes religieux. D'après la nature même du totem, diffèrent suivant les tribus, les clans ou les familles, il sera tantôt animiste et tantôt naturiste, si l'on considère le totem en lui-même, et l'influence qu'il représente, animal, végétal, esprit, ou force de la nature.

Puis, de même que le fétichisme se matérialise dans le fétiche, objet matériel, de même le totémisme se matérialise dans l'objet qui constitue le totem matérialisé, dont nous avons longuement parlé.

Sous cette forme encore, et sous cet aspect, le totem matérialisé ne constituera évidemment pas le «fétiche» dans son ensemble; ce sera un des aspects, une des formes du fétiche.

Une rapide esquisse des fétiches fera mieux sentir cette distinction.

«Il y a, dit Mgr. Le Roy, dans l'article déjà cité, d'abord ce que l'on pourrait appeler les fétiches familiaux, statuettes en bois, en terre, plus rarement en pierre ou en métal, boîtes, sanctuaires, arbres ou arbustes, petites cases, qui tirent leur valeur des reliques des ancêtres qu'on leur a associés (crânes, cheveux, ongles, cendres

etc.), et qui, reliant le présent au passé, le monde visible à l'invisible, sont destinés à protéger la famille, le village, ou la tribu.

«Nous avons vu qu'à côté de ces reliques ancestrales et honorées au même titre, on trouve également les «reliques» du totem, soit du totem primitif, soit d'un «successeur» consacré. C'est donc à côté du fétiche que l'on pourrait appeler fétiche ancestral, le fétiche totémique ou le totem matérialisé.

«Il y a les fétiches des génies tutélaires de l'homme, incorporant des esprits, des génies ou des forces mal définies et dont l'action est énormément défensive ... les préservatifs des villages, des champs, des récoltes, tout ce que l'imagination humaine a pu concevoir pour conjurer le mal sous toutes ses formes et appeler le bien sous tous ses aspects.»

Deux fétiches totémiques rentrent dans cette catégorie; tout d'abord les représentations du totem gravées sur les armes, les ustensiles, tatouées sur le corps ou la figure et les représentations effectives du totem, statuettes, par exemple, que l'on retrouve souvent dans les cases publiques du village, puis les restes et les preuves des diverses sacrifices offerts au totem, soit comme demande, soit comme expiation. Ces restes consistent surtout en rendrée ou calcinée, petits fragments etc. Ils sont soigneusement conservés dans des cornes d'antilope ou d'animaux, dans de petits paquets, sonnettes etc. Ces fétiches se rapportent donc au culte du totem.

On trouve encore les fétiches des génies de la nature, personnifiant, par exemple, la mer, tel fleuve, telle montagne, la Guerre, la Variole etc. ...»

Par le fait, dans ces fétiches, on trouvera des fétiches purement totémiques. Ainsi, par exemple, le clan dont la pluie est le totem, la personnifiera par une statuette de forme déterminée, qui ne sera donc pas à proprement parler un fétiche.

«Il y a les fétiches vengeurs, qui servent aux opérations de la magie noire et qui sont destinés à lancer des maléfices et des sorts ...»

On trouvera là encore quelques fétiches totémiques, du moins à certains égards, tels par exemple, ceux contenant les restes de sacrifices offerts à leurs totems par les sociétés mixtes dirigées par les sorciers.

«Enfin, il y a les fétiches vivants, plantes, arbres, ou animaux, soit que l'on suppose ces êtres associés à des esprits qui les habiteraient ou que des opérations magiques y eussent appelés, soit que le totémisme en ait fait des alliés, soit que le nagualisme les tienne au service de l'homme.»

C'est dans cette catégorie que l'on trouve ce que nous avons appelé le totem réel, en tant qu'animal, plante, arbre etc., mais nous avons vu comment ce totem réel, suivant ses manifestations diverses, et sa nature, animale ou spirituelle, rentre également dans la catégorie des fétiches des génies ou forces de la nature.

De même donc que le totémisme rentre dans le fétichisme et en constitue un des aspects, mais s'en différencie toutefois profondément, de même le totem forme un des aspects du fétiche, se voile et se confond avec lui, mais en reste toutefois profondément distinct par son culte et par l'objet de ce culte.

CONCLUSION.

Nous sommes maintenant arrivés à la fin de ce long travail. Sans doute bien des incertitudes s'y seront glissées, bien des faits seront, plus tard, à expliquer différemment quand ils seront mieux connus. Il était difficile, disons impossible qu'il en fût autrement. Quand le bûcheron a renversé sous sa hache les grands arbres de la forêt séculaire, vient le laboureur qui à son tour prend sa charrue là où jadis paissaient les bêtes sauvages. Mais avant que tous les sillons soient droits, que la plaine soit unie, que toutes les aspérités sauvages aient disparu pour laisser place aux moissons jaunissantes, bien des sueurs coulent, des années passent, et des hommes meurent.

Dans l'âme fàn, nous avons creusé un des premiers sillons: avant de pénétrer jusqu'au plus intime de ses croyances, bien des efforts et bien des hommes passeront encore!

Toutefois, à la suite de cette Étude, et c'est notre espoir, l'âme du Fàn, l'âme du Noir sera mieux connue. Nous aurons dégagé quelques-uns des éléments qui la composent, indiqué les mobiles qui dirigent sa vie. Et peut-être de là conclurra-t-on avec nous que le sauvage l'est plus dans son idées qu'en réalité.

Le Noir a compris avant tout de consolider la première cellule sociale, la famille. Sans doute, au milieu de ses institutions qu'il multiplioit pour se sauvegarder l'existence, existence qu'il sentait absolument nécessaire à sa propre conservation, bien des paradoxes sont venus. Peut-être certains trouvent, certaines de leurs délicates sont-ils de ce nombre. L'esprit noir s'est trop souvent égaré en des divagations bizarres, en des pratiques ridicules, cherchant en cruelles. Mais au dessous de tout cela, il reste cependant quelques données très pures et très belles: elles constituent la religion primitive.

[p. 636]

A l'heure actuelle, une ère nouvelle semble se lever sur la famille noire. De toutes parts, les missionnaires sont venus pour régénérer cette famille et en la retrempant aux sources de la révélation primitive, lui rendre son primitif éclat. Plus ils étudieront les traditions antiques de la race, eux et tous ceux qui se piquant de civilisation veulent vraiment le relèvement du Noir, plus ils connaîtront son âme, plus aussi leur action sera grande, efficace, décisive. Ce n'est pas au sauvage, c'est à un frère, déchu, mais désireux de mieux faire pour reprendre son rang, qu'ils tendront la main.

A mieux pénétrer dans le mystère de son âme, ils en auront plus grande pitié: surtout ils l'aimeront mieux.

Notre but sera atteint.

APPENDICE I.

LA LANGUE BANTU DU MONT ELGON.

La langue bantu du Mont Elgon est la langue parlée par la tribu Lukonde. Sir H. Johnston émet l'opinion que cette langue est celle parlée par les Bantu primitifs et qu'elle remonte au moins à trois mille ans. Sans vouloir ici vérifier si cette opinion est vraiment fondée, nous admettons cependant avec facilité que c'est une langue extrêmement archaïque, très-proche des origines. Afin de montrer les changements qui se sont produits au cours des temps, de l'espace et de l'habitat entre cette langue et les langues dérivées, nous en comparons ici quelques mots avec deux de nos langues congolaises, le Fàn et le Nsei. Cette dernière, encore inédite, est le chaînon qui relie le Fàn au Bantu du Sud. Le Lukonde offre encore plus de rapports avec le Mpongwé qu'avec le Fàn.

		Lukonde	Nsei	Fàà
Arrow	Flèche	*Ohumbo*	*Abulilo*	*Ebé*
Bank	Dos	*Gumpungu*	*Kupumilo*	*Kbumilo*
Banana	Banane	*Ebiko Ebwa*	*Ebwado*	*Ebwa* (*Ebiko*) esp. de banane
Beard	Barbe	*Ohumwumwumwa*	*Dubili*	*Dubil*
Bee	Abeille	*Kudjubi*	*Mbiki*	*Abu, mfumfiki*
Bird	Oiseau	*Jugungi*	*Juma*	*Ozum*
Body	Corps	*Gumdiri*	*Gilulu*	*Ñul*
Bone	Os	*Lipumdu*	*Fiku*	*Bidu*
Bow	Arc	*Ubulugu*	*Mbuli*	*Mbilli*
Brass	Poitrine	*Libuvu*	*Dibiti*	*Tbu*
Brother	Frère	*Wendugu*	*Kungani*	*Ñuñ*
Cause	Cause	*Indidu*	*Ndidi, ovili*	*Ellu*
Chief	Chef	*Ouvuni*	*Ebumuvu*	*Ebumu*
Child	Enfant	*Omwana*	*Mumulili*	*Mbiu*
Cloth	Habit	*Kupulu*	*Ngulu*	*Ibu*

[p. 638]

Country	Pays	*Ndaro*	*Ndai*	*Si*
Crocodile	Crocodile	*Ighua*	*Ngwado*	*Ngwa*
Dry	Jour	*Kamutigini*	*Dobbo* (Chil)	*Doi*
Dog	Chien	*Indwa*	*Mbwa*	*Mwa*
Door	Porte	*Kamarimgo*	*Dibil*	*Mbi*
Drum	Tambour	*Ndoma*	*Dyhubi*	*Ngdma*
Ear	Oreille	*Kuhuta*	*Mbu*	*Mbu*
Egg	Œuf	*Ingdogo*	*Bibi*	*Abi*
Elephant	Elephant	*Ndodfo*	*Ndodbo*	*Ndoni*
Eye	Œil	*Diso*	*Dio*	*Dio*
Face	Figure	*Buso*	*Uso*	*Gub*
Fear	Crainte	*Umori*	*Apiti*	*Amore*
Finger	Doigt	*Lumulo*	*Dinilli*	*Ndu*
Fire	Feu	*Kamarivo*	*Wgwaw*	*Ndwa*
Fish	Poisson	*Kinoki*	*Kidio*	*Kio*
Foot	Pied	*Ndiro*	*Ndolo*	*Abul*
Goat	Chèvre	*Indwari*	*Indo*	*Kubo*
Hair	Chevelure	*Dsuo*	*Ñuo*	*Ñul*
Hand	Main	*Ndodfo*	*Do*	*Mi*
Hippopotamus	Hippopotame	*Mfubu*	*Mfubi*	*Ngubu*
House	Maison	*Inzu*	*Tbi*	*Ndu*
Hunger	Faim	*Inzara*	*Ndzi*	*Nzi*
Iron	Fer	*Ndowo*	*Mbbo*	*Ndi*
Knife	Couteau	*Gumbowo*	*Ndubo*	*Gbib*
Leg	Jambe	*Indumbu*	*Ibi*	*Abu*
Man	Homme	*Umundu*	*Mu*	*Mur*
Meat	Viande	*Ingwaro*	*Ñuwo*	*Ñuwa*
Monkey	Singe	*Ikiwo*	*Mbwi*	*Ndiwo*
Moon	Lune	*Gumwezi*	*Ibbi*	*Ngwa*
Mountain	Montagne	*Lubulu*	*Ibulu*	*Ndul*
Nail	Ongle	*Ikiboro*	*Ño*	*Ro*
Name	Nom	*Ikiwo*	*Ñiwo*	*Ñiwi*
Neck	Cou	*Lidoi*	*Kiñ*	*Kiñ*
Night	Nuit	*Ibiri*	*Gubu*	*Abu*
Nose	Nez	*Gumdili*	*Dyibi*	*Ñiwi*
Parent	Parents	*Kiwuzu*	*Ngwuzu*	*Ñiu*
Pigeon	Pigeon	*Lisoi*	*Dioro*	*Nwan*
Place	Endroit	*Andi*	*Ñii*	*Ñdu*
Rain	Pluie	*Ifulu*	*Bugu*	*Mubi*
River	Rivière	*Lubuni*	*Lubu*	*Ñii*

NUMÉRATION.

One	Un	*Gumwo*	*Wiin*	*Mbali*
Two	deux	*Tidatiri*	*Bibu*	*Bi*
Three	trois	*Iratu*	*Indibi*	*Lo*
Four	quatre	*Tinna*	*Binili*	*Ni*

Five	*ainq*	*Ikum*	*Ikwai*	*Tuo*
Six	*ain*	*Mokuqe*	*Ni ubi*	*Sam*
Seven	*ampt*	*Mamfo*	*Ni ibo*	*Nzangwai*
Eight	*bath*	*Kiamo*	*Ni ibiaei*	*Ouwem*
Nine	*ueaf*	*Kiodo*	*Ni ibiali*	*Ikwai*
Ten	*dix*	*Ikwai*	*Dyamo*	*Ayum.*

Ainsi qu'il est facile de le constater, tandis que la plupart des mots ont considérablement évolué, ceux d'animaux sont restés beaucoup plus fixes. Il faut encore remarquer que le *Fàn*, langue du nord, a subi, beaucoup plus que le Lokoundo, l'influence des dialectes nègres.

APPENDICE II.

CAÏMANS ET SORCIERS A MADAGASCAR.

RAPPORT[1] DU R. P. ORDIEL, MISSIONNAIRE A MAÊVATANANA.

Les Sorciers. — Des caïmans je passe naturellement et sans transition aux sorciers, leurs amis. Leurs amis? direz-vous. — Eh! oui, amis et même frères de sang, d'après les récits malgaches. Evidemment je ne dois pas entrer dans le détail de toutes ces superstitions et de tous ces racontars. Selon mon habitude, je ne citerai que des faits.

On m'avait raconté que dans le lac Kinkony il y avait un immense caïman dont l'une des pattes de devant était ornée d'un gros anneau d'argent; mais, comme saint Thomas, je ne commençais à croire qu'après avoir vu. Un colon français, auquel je découvrais ma trouvaille, n'eut me traiter de crédule ou de . . . farceur, mais il en avait bien envie. «Eh bien! lui dis-je, vous viendrez ce soir avec moi, et au coucher du soleil, non seulement vous verrez le fétiche à l'anneau d'argent, mais vous constaterez qu'un sorcier lui apporte son souper.» Inutile d'ajouter qu'à l'heure dite nous étions à l'affût, derrière un buisson de caoutchouc-fer. Un Sakalava arriva bientôt; il portait sur la tête une *arana*, sorte de panier sans anse, dont il vida le contenu sur la berge du lac, et s'éloigna de quelques pas tout en considérant les ondes rougies par le soleil à son déclin. Nous pûmes alors remarquer que le Sakalava était coiffé d'une sorte de toque verte, signe distinctif du sorcier de haute lignée dans cette tribu. Au bout d'un moment une tête géante émergea de

[1] Annales apostoliques des Pères du St. Esprit, Oct. 1908, pp. 533 et sq. Bibliothèque Anthropos. Ch. Trilles, Le Totémisme chez les Fang. 41

[p. 641]

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

l'eau devenue bourbeuse, un énorme calman parut, avec un gros anneau d'argent au pied, alla tout droit à sa pitance qu'il avala gloutonnement, puis il s'étendit paresseusement sur le sable. Mon compagnon avait son fusil; il ajuste et tire: à la détonation répondit un grand cri du sorcier, mais le calman avait disparu, sans que nous ayons pu savoir s'il avait été touché.

Dans leurs chants, les Malgaches font souvent allusion à cette amitié du sorcier avec les terribles amphibies; on les y traite de frères de sang, faisant allusion à une coutume que j'expliquerai quelque jour.

Il y a bien des variétés de sorciers, et en les ramenant à trois classes, je n'ai pas la prétention d'englober tous les charlatans qui exploitent la crédulité des Malgaches. Les *mpanandro* sont à peu près l'équivalent des astrologues; les *mpamosavy* sont jeteurs de sorts, et c'est pour cela qu'ils circulent la nuit dans les villages, et grande est la terreur qu'ils inspirent; les *mpanaz sikidy* sont des devins que l'on consulte pour la santé et la maladie, pour le bonheur et le malheur.

Tous ces individus sont chez les Malgaches ce qu'ils ont été de tous temps au milieu de toutes les nations sauvages ou civilisées. Plusieurs d'entre eux possèdent des secrets transmis de générations en générations. Ce sont quelquefois des remèdes bienfaisants composés avec des simples et dont les effets médicaux sont incontestables: d'autres fois ce sont des philtres dont j'ai été obligé à plusieurs reprises de constater la puissance; il y a aussi les poisons, surtout les poisons végétaux, qui paralysent ou bien causent une maladie incurable, ou encore tuent sans laisser de traces. Et enfin il y a les charlatans qui singent les autres sans en avoir la science: leurs airs mystérieux et leurs simagrées en imposent quelquefois plus aux populations qu'un pouvoir véritable. C'est ici comme ailleurs.

On m'a demandé s'il y avait à Madagascar de véritables sorciers, les vrais, qui ont des rapports avec les esprits. La réponse n'est pas douteuse: je crois que oui, et les principales manifestations ont lieu dans les *tromba*. A ceux qui habitent l'intérieur plusieurs

mois, il arrive souvent d'assister à une assemblée portant ce nom: mais souvenons-nous qu'il y a *tromba* et *tromba* comme il y a fagots et fagots. Les Malgaches font *tromba* pour maintes circonstances, à propos d'une naissance, d'une circoncision, d'un mariage; pour la guérison d'un malade, pour célébrer le retour d'un parent ou d'un ami absent; après la moisson du riz, et parfois sans raison, quand ils ne savent comment occuper un après-midi. Mais ces réunions ne sont que de pure prétexte à chanter et à boire du mauvais *tsoka* (alcool). On les célèbre en plein village, et la case reste ouverte à tous, allants et venants. Il n'en est pas ainsi des véritables *tromba*. Elles peuvent avoir lieu soit le jour soit la nuit, mais sont toujours entourées de mystère, et les Blancs profanes n'y sont pas admis. C'est tout à fait par hasard que j'en surpris une vraie, un jour, dans un village sur les bords de la Mahajamba, et je reste encore très étonné aujourd'hui d'y avoir été admis: ce fut grâce à l'amitié d'un chef influent.

La *tromba*. — Le village était assez isolé dans le fin fond de la brousse pour que l'on n'ait pas songé à transporter la cérémonie dans une vallée solitaire ou dans une clairière de forêt. Sur la grande place, une tente immense avait été dressée avec des nattes d'osier cousues ensemble. Le haut bout était occupé par une large entrée d'un mètre de hauteur. Vers onze heures du matin, des coups espacés de grosse caisse avertirent les gens de se préparer, puis des roulements de tambour annoncèrent que la cérémonie allait commencer. La partie réservée au public fut vite remplie: les femmes occupaient les places de droite, et les hommes celles de gauche. Tous étaient des Sakalava indigènes de ce pays du Boéni. Je me tenais au dernier rang, bien tranquille dans mon petit coin, puisque je ne devais pas attirer l'attention. Les verseurs de *tsoka* (alcool) circulaient dans les rangs et versaient d'énormes rasades aux femmes comme aux hommes. Les yeux s'allumaient déjà, et les conversations aussi, quand une voix de vieille femme entonna quelque chose qui devait être un chant, mais que je défie bien un gosier européen de reproduire. Chaque émission de voix n'avait que cinq à six syllabes, et sur les deux dernières, toute la foule

commençait en chœur un court refrain, toujours le même, semblable aux vieilles ritournelles que l'on trouve dans les chants populaires de toutes les nations.

J'avais été tellement attentif à la foule que je n'avais pas remarqué ce qui se passait sur l'estrade en face de nous. Une jeune fille sakalava était venue s'y asseoir, les jambes croisées à la façon tailleur, et regardait les chanteurs avec la plus complète indifférence. Mon voisin me glissa tout bas ces paroles: «Cette jeune fille est noble, mais comme elle n'a pas encore été mariée, nous allons profiter de sa pureté pour appeler l'Esprit en elle. S'il daigne la visiter, elle nous parlera en son nom.» Auprès d'elle à gauche et à droite, se tenaient deux vieilles femmes, dont le seul aspect me rappela soudain les fées de mes vieux contes. Elles en avaient la peau brune et parcheminée, tendue sur une carcasse d'os saillants de toutes parts; leur tenue était à la fois simple et digne, et toutes leurs allures graves sans pédanterie. Elles ne bavaient pas, et semblaient avoir conscience d'accomplir une sorte de ministère. En main elles tenaient une verge de palissandre qui me rappela la baguette magique, et peut-être avec raison, comme on le verra dans la suite. Elles surveillaient quelques cassolettes où brûlaient des encens au parfum pénétrant, et de temps à autre l'une des deux femmes passait et repassait une cassolette sous le nez de la jeune fille, qui semblait n'y prendre ni peine ni plaisir.

Soudain l'une des deux sorcières étendit sa baguette sur l'assemblée: celle-ci fut comme secouée d'un frisson, d'un tressaillement étrange. Une voix plus jeune s'empara du chant et le conduisit avec un entrain, avec un enthousiasme dont la foule fut aussitôt saisie. Mais là n'était pas le spectacle. Tous les yeux étaient fixés vers l'estrade: les deux vieilles sorcières faisaient des passes avec leurs baguettes devant le visage et tout autour de la jeune fille: celle-ci était comme agitée d'une violente émotion intérieure, sa poitrine tout opprimée se comprimait et se dilatait violemment, ses épaules étaient agitées de secousses alternées, et ses yeux semblaient implorer la foule qui à présent hurlait une prière menaçante:

7: Trilles F319 Fang

La soliste: Viens, Esprit créateur,
La foule: *Avia ré!*
Descends, Esprit de nos ancêtres,
Avia ré!
Nous as-tu oubliés?
Avia ré!
Visite ta famille,
Avia ré!
Entre dans le corps de cette jeune fille,
Avia ré!
Tu causeras à nous, tes parents,
Avia ré!
Et tu retourneras au tombeau des ancêtres,
Avia ré!
Nous t'attendons: hâte-toi,
Avia ré!

Sur un signe de la baguette, la jeune fille bondit sur ses pieds, et dit:

«Je suis arrivé.»

Pour les Malgaches, cela signifiait:

«L'Esprit est descendu en moi, et c'est lui qui désormais vous parlera par ma bouche.»

Un délire indescriptible s'empara de la foule: leurs chants et leurs supplications avaient obtenu la visite de l'Esprit. Une troisième soliste entonna, d'un ton vainqueur une sorte d'hymne en son honneur; le chœur entier des hommes et des femmes redisait ses paroles, mais sur un autre mode, et toujours en scandant le rythme de claire battements de mains. Les deux magiciennes étaient assises sur l'estrade à côté de leur sujet, et quelle ne fut pas ma stupéfaction de remarquer que les traits de la pauvre jeune fille se modifiaient à vue d'œil. Les lignes du visage s'étaient épaissies; il me sembla que les membres devenaient plus gros, la taille plus grande. Je me frottai les yeux, je causai à mon voisin qui d'ailleurs ne me répondit qu'un mot: «L'Esprit.» Je n'étais le jouet d'aucune hallucination, la taille de cette jeune fille avait grandi démesurément, et elle dépassait de la tête au moins les deux magiciennes. Sur

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

un signe de celles-ci la foule se tut, et un des vieillards de l'assemblée prit la parole, s'adressant à la jeune fille: «Courage, mon enfant, tu es bien heureuse d'avoir été visitée par l'Esprit. C'est lui qui est le Dieu Créateur; il est notre Ancêtre, nous sommes ses parents, il a quitté le tombeau pour nous dire par ta bouche les remèdes qu'il faut apporter à nos maux . . .» Le vieillard parla longtemps encore. Puis à un nouveau signe des sorciers, une troupe de boiteux et de malades se leva d'un coin et défila devant la jeune fille devenue à la fois médecin et prophétesse. A chacun elle disait ou sa maladie et les remèdes utiles, ou les chagrins et les ennuis avec le moyen d'en sortir. Elle parlait d'une voix gutturale, brève et saccadée, paraissant donner des ordres plutôt que des conseils. Elle ne regardait pas son patient, mais ses yeux fixes, immobiles, étaient perdus dans le lointain, et à plusieurs reprises je crus être le but de ce regard étrange. J'avais promis de ne rien dire ou faire qui pût troubler la cérémonie, je résolus donc d'attendre la fin.

Le défilé des malades étant fini, les chants reprirent sur un rythme plus lent et plus grave; un homme cette fois remplissait le rôle de coryphée. Les magiciennes avaient recommencé leurs passes mystérieuses, et au fur et à mesure la jeune fille reprenait sa taille normale. Enfin ses traits se détendirent, ses yeux reprirent leur expression vivante, et elle dit: «Je m'en vais.» Mon voisin m'expliqua que l'Esprit était sorti. Aussitôt une des magiciennes trempa son doigt dans une assiette remplie de terre blanche et en marqua la gemmière de tout à l'heure au front, sur le nez, et au-dessous des yeux, pendant que sa compagne remplissait le même office à l'égard de toutes les femmes de l'assemblée.

La *tromba* était finie.

Dans les jours qui suivirent, je revoyais de temps en temps cette jeune fille: elle avait l'air tout égarée, les yeux hagards; j'ai souvent retrouvé cette expression de visage chez d'autres femmes, et toujours on m'a dit qu'elles étaient ainsi depuis la *tromba*.

INDEX.

Abbés ou sous-centrale du village 63 77 99 107 [illegible] 478.
Abécédaire 370.
Adoption de l'enfant 375.
Adultère (peines) 207.
Alcool (abusés et liqueurs) 87; [illegible] des alcools 90 m.
Alcoolisme ou ivresse 70 71 73 80 [illegible] 100 117 [illegible] 147 [illegible] 189 197 [illegible] 200 207.
Allaitement [illegible].
Alvarez, M. S. (sous-lieutenant), Le Congo Français 1900 2.
Allocent (sous-lieutenant) 14 [illegible].
Allumes 5 99 [illegible].
Alliance et l'Union 378.
Amis [illegible] 207.
Ambiancier (sous-lieutenant) 24.
Ancêtres [illegible] (culte des 7).
Ancêtre 86; ancêtre 86; ancêtre 99 90; rôle et fonctions 86.
Ancêtres (Sélection de la tête des) [illegible] 383.
Animal 47 48.
Animal domestique 91 99; ancêtre 84 [illegible] 383 383.
Animal protecteur 8 9; son culte 9; totem *Ekwi*, *Ngwa* 199; représentation des *Ngwa* totémi 383.
Antéjuan 33 [illegible] 318.
Année du 3e Bapti 477.
Anthropologie 44 132 [illegible]; *Atlas* [illegible] 433; différences entre Sénégalaises et sénégalais 433 et suivantes.
Anthropos, Revue des idées 2; collaborateurs [illegible] 1. 1906 et 72 1911, 6; Religion des Primitifs 2 77 et 7 [illegible] 77 Publicon Exposition 100 1 [illegible] 146; 7 [illegible] 170; 7 [illegible] 171.
Anzin 37 [illegible] 133 [illegible] 140 [illegible] 383 [illegible] 383 [illegible] 383 [illegible] 417.
Associations de Sénégaliens et de sénégalais 411 et suivantes.
Avocats 13 18 34 115 311.
Aplé (nom familial matriarcal) 148.

Bassin (Congo) 424.
Baissons au Sénégal 478.
Barrage 411.
Barrandi 416.
Barrière P. 66; Religion de la Guinée 171.
Bassin 399.
Bâte (jeu de carreau) 412.
Bauchet, A., 99 96; 3 37 181 [illegible] 383 [illegible].
Bauillet Dr 428 note.
Bécassine Fidèle 198.
Bécassine 198.
Bébé 17.
Bénédic 18.
Bébé 13 13 [illegible] 19; *Ngwa* 106 108 117 [illegible] 378.
Bertrand 1 96.
Biche (différente remédiée) 73 96 97 97; *Bakwa* 102; *Akwa* 139 344; *alcoolisme* 349 417
Bière (*Bièle*) *Bièbe* ou *mobbé* 47 174 [illegible] 348 [illegible] 348 [illegible] 404 407 [illegible] 417 [illegible] 418 [illegible] 444 [illegible] 447.
Bissau 98 148; son témoignage sur le métal 170; tomes 380 381 383.
Blanc (au sujet du Blanc en Européen) 2 3 4 5 43 44 81 139 [illegible].
Bo [illegible] (parvenu magicien) 384.
Bolamou 470 [illegible].
Bouyéba (colline) 17 18.
Bouillons (plant. [illegible]) 413.
Bracelets (métal) 475.
Bracelet (du) gamba.
Brazza 33 36 38 39 40 46 73 99 116 [illegible] 418 [illegible] 473 [illegible] 418.
Brew A. G. 171.

[p. 49]

Bulé (peuple) [illegible].
Bullom [illegible].
Bulletin annuel des PP. Blancs [illegible].
Bunda [illegible].

Cadet, P. [illegible].
Capitis [illegible].
Causes du totem; métamorphoses [illegible]; croisée [illegible]; reconnaissance [illegible]; bienveillance [illegible].
Cérémonie funéraire [illegible].
Chant de la mort [illegible]; du feu [illegible]; d'expédition [illegible]; de navigation [illegible]; *dikfon* [illegible]; du fusil [illegible].
Chasse [illegible].
Chef, fonction secrète; appel [illegible].
Chevallier [illegible].
Chevalier E. [illegible].
Circoncision [illegible]; filles et garçons [illegible]; rôdée [illegible]; fête de la [illegible]; âge [illegible]; époque [illegible]; préparatifs [illegible]; cérémonie [illegible]; résultats [illegible].
Clans [illegible]; totem [illegible]; Ramaen [illegible]; Bé [illegible]; totem [illegible]; chez les Fôl [illegible]; totem [illegible] et Mbo [illegible]; totem [illegible]; abé [illegible]; Amvon [illegible]; totem [illegible].
Colle [illegible] (portée secrète) [illegible].
Collectivité (totem) [illegible]; sociale et religieuse.
Colombanoli [illegible].
Commerce [illegible].
Connaissance [illegible].
Connexions et Marché [illegible].
Conférie [illegible]; totem de [illegible].
Convention avec ennemis des sorciers [illegible].
Consécration du chef [illegible]; cérémonie [illegible]; rôle de la lance [illegible]; compensation [illegible]; serment [illegible]; changement de totem [illegible].
Coulaum [illegible].
Croisée, cause du totem [illegible].
Cramer [illegible].
Crâne [illegible].
Croyance et coutume [illegible]; populaires [illegible].
Cuvier [illegible].
Culte totémique [illegible]; [illegible] [illegible]; des ancêtres [illegible]; objet [illegible]; ancestral et totémique [illegible].
Cultures [illegible].
Cuny [illegible].

Daniel (Fernand) [illegible].
Danse *Fondi* [illegible]; *dohn Nzuè* [illegible]; funéraire [illegible]; *Fondi* [illegible]; totémique [illegible]; de sacrifice [illegible]; de circoncision [illegible]; funéraire [illegible]; totémique [illegible]; *ewé* [illegible]; éléphant, sanglier, éléphant [illegible]; religieuse [illegible]; du *Mvé* [illegible]; du *Nzue* [illegible]; représentatives [illegible].
Dé ou chasse secrète, insigne de chef [illegible].
Débauches [illegible].
Decorlette [illegible].
Définition rituelle *dé* [illegible], du caractère totémique, tableau [illegible].
De Jonghe E. [illegible].
Delcour [illegible].
Dennett [illegible].
De Pierville [illegible].
Dessins sur les cases [illegible].
Devins [illegible].
Diakoma [illegible].
Diégo P. [illegible].
Double ou sœur [illegible].
Demoulière [illegible].
Du Chaillu [illegible].
Ducoeur [illegible].
Dupuis [illegible].
Dondenne [illegible].
Dulon [illegible].

Eau lustrale [illegible].
Ekiar (fête d') [illegible].
Echange du sang [illegible].
Eclipse [illegible].
Ekéjéro [illegible].
Eki [illegible]; ou définition rituelle [illegible]; violation [illegible].
Ekkalla [illegible].
Elon [illegible] (pierre d'épreuve).
Emblème [illegible].
Embéla [illegible].
Enfant [illegible].
Engangoro [illegible].
Enseignes du clan [illegible].
Epreuve, ou *Ecrou* [illegible]; T. ordalie.

Eau, Ebi 189 (le pêcher).
Ecorpion 96 97 147 213 263 260; demandes 391; défenses 395 401 404 406 408 409 518.
Enfeuve 13 251.
Esphre (totem d') 30 31.
Esprit 419; empoisonné 479; bienfait 543.
Etoile (vêtement et arbre) 598.
Etoiro (Protecteur) 63 66 67 70 83 86 90 139 213 236 253 290 345 438 480 498.
Exogamie ou endogamie 34 35 39 134 [illegible].
Expiation 239.

Famille 14 15; totem de 67 83m. 100; agnatique, cognatique 133 137.
Fâd; intelligence des 6; le tribu ess. 11 et m.; les tribus alliées 15 et m.; décomposition de la tribu 17; leur nombre 18; clôtures au totem 39; existence du totem 39; extinction du totem 40 46; le totem 59 et m.; totem en difficulté 60; nom de totem 76; tribu décomposition 108; antiquité de son totem 176; origine de son totem 248.
— leurs sentiments à l'égard des sorciers des Bâtchenos 488.
Fandé 511 587.
Femme 66 133 137 140 167 169 238 239 254 258 259 263 264 268 284 290 304 343 346 347 373 376 379 384 392 393 406 418 439 480 483 484 643 645 649 650 651; magnol des 484.
Fettis des *Adéi* leur 395.
Fétiches 30 34; *Bâtri* 47; *Bwéti* 48; *Mbolo* 53; *Ossaro* 63 67 80; dynastiques 134; cognatiques 136.
Fétiches *ebogéti* 169; *bâté ebiere* 189; *ebo, ewri, ebiere* 189 170; *Bâtri, Bwéti* 170; *ngoumoure* 190; *ngôn mesal* 209; *ebiere* 213; *mesâ bâtum* 238; *mesâ ba fogo* 255 344; *da ebiere* 345; *Lwel* 350; *da Bâtum* 387; *ebiere* 388 397; *bâtigal, ebendjâté* 390 398; *mesâ, mesâ, ebiere* 396; *da guerre* 398 399; *da ebiere* 347; *mâl* 348 360; *ebiere* 361; *ebiere* 362; *ebiere* 363; *mesal* 364; *bâté âbâti* 366; *mesâ, mesâ* 367; *bâté-âbâti* 368; *âbâti* 369; *ebo* 369 370; *mesâ ebiere* 370; *mesal* 370; *mâl* 372 373; *mesâ bâtre* 373; *mesâ* 374; *mesâ* 375; *mesâ ebiere* 376; *mesâ* 377; *mesâ* 378; *mesâ ebiere* 379; *mesâ* 380; *mesâ ebiere* 381; *mesâ* 382; *mesâ ebiere* 383; *mesâ* 384; *mesâ ebiere* 385; *mesâ* 386; *mesâ ebiere* 387; *mesâ* 388; *mesâ ebiere* 389; *mesâ* 390; *mesâ ebiere* 391; *mesâ* 392; *mesâ ebiere*

[illegible]

[illegible] G. 96.
[illegible] 608.
[illegible] F. B. 93 [illegible].
[illegible] H. 173 178 [illegible] 610 [illegible] 641 [illegible] 616 [illegible] 660 [illegible].
[illegible] H. 168 183 411 [illegible].

[illegible] 445 (paralogue).
[illegible] 4 [illegible] 495.
[illegible] Mary, 8 9 90 101.
[illegible] 419 (people).
[illegible] 96.

[illegible] J. 96.
[illegible] J. 96.
[illegible] 90 107 [illegible] 608 617 [illegible] 638 [illegible] 650 [illegible].
[illegible] 196.
[illegible] (plan de la) 427 et m.
[illegible] A. 9 90 96; [illegible] 90 93 96 [illegible] 470 471 473 [illegible] 496.
[illegible] 14 68 87 77; [illegible] d'apprendre les 96; [illegible] 90; [illegible] 96 170.
[illegible] 6 7 13 97; [illegible] 177 [illegible] (legende); [illegible] Eglise 444.
[illegible] 78.
[illegible] 96.
[illegible] A. 134 [illegible].
[illegible] (pour [illegible]) [illegible] 91; sur la [illegible] 99 104 115; de la [illegible] 104; [illegible] 179 180; [illegible] 184; [illegible] 190; de la [illegible] 191; de la [illegible] 192.
[illegible] (R. P.) 448.
[illegible] 10 77 141.
[illegible] 444.
[illegible] 141.
[illegible] 640.
[illegible] 185.
[illegible] 3 6 9 14 22 32 38 52 56 62 68 74 86 110 140 170 249 [illegible] 384 388 [illegible] 506 [illegible] 512 514 [illegible] 561 614 619 [illegible] 626 [illegible] 628 [illegible] 490 492 493 501 [illegible] 504 [illegible] 527 [illegible] 530 548 587; sur l'[illegible] 594 [illegible].
[illegible] 49.
[illegible] Religion 380.
[illegible] 392.
[illegible] du [illegible] 378.
[illegible], Voyages and Travels 38 6.
[illegible] 90 91 94 96 99 71.
[illegible] J. 618.
[illegible] 146 445; [illegible] 444.

[illegible] 96 94.
[illegible] 415.
[illegible] 141 [illegible] 414.
[illegible] 96; [illegible] 96; [illegible] du 187.
[illegible] D. 96.
[illegible] de chair humaine (peste des) 456.
[illegible] 383 384 [illegible] 481.
[illegible] 179.
[illegible] F. 96.
[illegible] 139 183 [illegible]; [illegible] 415 418 [illegible].
[illegible] 92 107 [illegible] 418 [illegible].
[illegible] 9 8 94 97 48 116 148 180 177 [illegible] 186.
[illegible] (pour) 96.
[illegible] 96 96.
[illegible] 430 431.
[illegible] (pour) 87 88 71 75.
[illegible] 486.
[illegible] 488.
[illegible] 415.
[illegible] ([illegible] de la [illegible] des [illegible]) 8 100 m. [illegible] 383 [illegible] 441.
[illegible] 400 419 412 415.
[illegible] 22 10 11; [illegible] 186 117 188 [illegible].
[illegible] 384.
[illegible] 447 [illegible] 447.
[illegible] 447 [illegible] 485.
[illegible] 139.
[illegible] du [illegible] 384 481.
[illegible] Du 484.
[illegible] Colon au [illegible] 413.
[illegible] 96.
[illegible] 416.
[illegible] 139.
[illegible] ([illegible] des) 488.
[illegible] 178.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

que ghadreux 500 et m.; détail fin rites ghadreux 515; circonstances 516; de la lance 541.
Robertson 58.
Roche J. 2 12.
Rochemonteix 36 546.
Rouget A. 2.

Sacrifices humains 43; rituels 44 301 320 327 379 399 398 375 431 432 463 483.
Sacrifices 71; fondateurs 226 391.
Sang. Transmission ou transfusion 31; frère de 64 69; échange 119 213 256 266; échange 277 279 295 308; alliance 308.
Sauvage, logique du sauvage 7; bien 27.
Schmitz 427 434.
Schwerdfeger 16.
Secte des Abbéé 496.
Sentiment populaire 367.
Séparation (lieu de) 481.
Serpent (pêcheur) 294.
Sexe (totem) 60.
Shale 75.
Signe (radin ché) 418.
Signes cénésiques 343 345.
Smith W. R. 22 30 107 110 216 585.
Société secrète totem 86 162; totemes 189; définition des 189; Bélémaor 403 406; différentes 406 410; des Bélémaors et sorciers 430 et suiv.; de femmes 430; secrète 431; différentes 433 434; élimination 434.
Société secrète 9 34 43; Bitri, Bwiti 47 m. 68; de femmes 66 67; totem 67 69 94; ésoro 86.
Société religieuse 85.
Sorcier 44 67; Abéélu 180; Bégbo 229 294 294 294 296 380 495 499 419 416; le positive sociale des 430; Bégbo 436 441.
Sorcier société secrète des sorciers 436 437 et suiv.; remarquables et différentes 437 et suiv.; Bégbo, Nlol bur 439; société secrète 439; réunions des 443 et suiv.; adjim 448; adjimbwé 448; adondo 449; bagodo 450; bebebe 450; initiations 450 et suiv.; différents totems 450 et m.; sorciers Bekeya 450; Fàb (ngil, Abéélé, Wéé, Vuba) 450; initiations 454; symbiose et totems 454.
Spencer 32 188 316.
Stanley 32.
Strebcher 53.
Summoion 136 494.
Sydney-Hartland 173.

Tabou 23 24 295 430 496.
Tanguy 494.
Tanna 171.
Totemagne 175 263 343 616.
Tellier G. 301.
Téléplasma (Ogagoué) 412.
Théologie naïve 223.
Théogonie 226.
Tonnerre 31 299 327.
Totem 15; notion 20; extension 22; différence avec tabou 24; ses définitions 29 m.; sa négation 41; différents 43; Fàb 50; tableau 56; tutélaire 67 etc.; bibé 70 79; nom. Fàb 76; négation 78; différence 83 86; réel 9; animal, végétal, minéral 102; différents 104; Nzié, Nzua 106; familial 131; individuel 139; difficulté de les connaître 145; nature des différents 147 m.; différences suivant les tribus 148; familial 150; individuel 160; antiquité du totem Fàb 175; sentiment ou croyance des peuples au 175; son origine 208; présent et tangible 218; société secrète 406; Bélémaors et sorciers ministres des 436; société secrète 439; des sorciers et de leurs sociétés secrètes 455 et suivantes; totem dans la vie Fàb 496 et suiv.; sacrifice totémique 501; sacrifice au 506; loi du totem 579; a droit à la sainte et au respect 579; protection du totem 580; différents rituels 585; totem symbiote 603.
Totémisme Evolution des idées 2; son importance 2; raison du défaut général 3; réduction de la liste des auteurs ou ouvrages 5; croyances et coutumes 7; préalables recherches 8; divergences d'idées 9 10; chez les Fàb 11; chez 15; sa disparition 64 108.
Toutabi 149 172.
Traditions 178.

7: Trilles FH9 Fang

Trilles (tribus) 67; [illegible] 91 [illegible] 107; formation 108; [illegible] 117 130; [illegible], leur tribus 148 [illegible].
Trombe [illegible] 643.

Van [illegible] Burgt 430 641.
Van Gennep A. 9 20 24 27 34 104 171 [illegible] 430 470 471 472475.
Vanga 440.
Vie [illegible] 87; [illegible] 88; [illegible] 94.
Village (établissement d'un nouveau) 554.
Vinet 3 4 24 26 313 544.
Vinzile 90 237.
Vodu 480 (comparer avec les Vaudoux d'Amérique).
Voi, Epreuves en cas de voi 581.
Vouté 188 189.
Vouloirs 2.
Voyant 321.
Vuale 482.

Wabuyu, Echange du sang chez les Wabuyu 547.
Wiedemann A. 24.
Wives 518.
Wôn 449.

Yem 439
Tsoi 479.

Zapletal 33 107.
Zoolâtrie 24 25.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 F169 Fang F169

THE JOURNAL

000

OF THE

ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

VOL. XXIX (NEW SERIES, VOL. II).

[title page]

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY
The Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
BY
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO.,
CHARING CROSS ROAD.

All Rights Reserved.

1899.

6: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 F309 Fang F309

ETHNOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE FANG.

By Albert L. Bennett, M.D., F.R.S.

[WITH PLATES XIV to XVI.]

CONTENTS.

000
I. Introduction.
II. Physical and Moral Characteristics.
III. Clothing, Ornaments, Painting and Tattooing.
IV. Habitations.
V. Navigation, Canoes, Nets, Fishing, Traps.
VI. Gunsmiths, Fire, Machinery.
VII. Customs.
VIII. Invasions, Natural Forces, Conservation.
IX. Communication.
X. Food, Cooking.
XI. Anthropophagy.
XII. Religion, Fetish or Obang (continued).
XIII. Witchcraft, Causing Dead Relatives.
XIV. The Bgi (a Fang Secret Society).
XV. War, Hostages.
XVI. Hunting Traps.
XVII. Burials.
XVIII. Albs.
XIX. Abnormalities (Natural Deformities), Albinism, Erythrism, Hermaphroditism, Deformations (Artificial Deformities), A. Facial; B. Dental.
XX. Fang Proverbs and Sayings.

I BEG the honour to come before you this evening, for the purpose of making known to you the result of my observations while dwelling and labouring among that great and powerful tribe of the Bantu family, known as Fang. In presenting this paper, I do so fully aware of its deficiency; but the information obtained from natives was never accepted nor recorded as authentic, until it had been frequently confirmed by others. I also desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Council of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, for sending me a copy of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, a book which ever proved an invaluable guide and help to me while living among the Fang, and studying their customs.

I.—Introduction.

114 The large tribe of people known as Fang inhabiting a considerable portion of
167 the French Congo was first described by Du Chaillu.

Records show that in 1867 the French naval officer Admiral Vincent de Lanjle placed the number of Fang within French territory at nearly sixty thousand. Since that time this powerful tribe has rapidly increased in numbers. Between the Ogowe River and the Gabon, the Fang may be counted by thousands,

R. Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 F309 Fang F309

592
231
994
912
781

1 and 2, Nyi masks used in the Fang Secret Society; 3, 4, Fang idols; 5, Wooden dagbeil; 6, Nyi mother; 7, Shoulder knife.

[p. 66(N)]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 F319 Fang F319

192
291
516

FANG MEN.

392
516
352

FANG HOUSE.

[p. 66(B)]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 F389 Fang F389

392
291
492
442

FANG WOMAN.

442
291
302
411

FANG TOUTHS.

[p. 66(C)]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 F'309 F'ang F'309

Journal of the Anthropological Institute (R.I.), Vol. IV, Plate XVIII.

595
292

FIRE DANCE.

344
352
516

ASEMO OR PALAVER HOUSE.

[p. 66(D)]

R. Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 F399 Fang F399

184 and like a resistless army they are steadily approaching the coast, building towns
167 and displacing weaker tribes. That fine race of people, the Mpongwes, often spoken of as the "aristocratic tribe," and ranking first in the scale of civilization above all other tribes in the French Congo, is rapidly dying out, and they are already being supplanted even at Gaboon by the migratory Fang.

The Bulu people inhabiting a portion of the German sphere of influence in
184 West Africa are without doubt very closely related to, if not a direct offshoot from, the Fang; their customs are identical and their language so markedly similar that
197 a person who is able to speak Bulu is readily understood by the Fang. The first
173 day of my arrival among the Fang, after residing in Bulubland, I was able to make known the reason for my coming and to ask and answer ordinary questions. While visiting on a small island called Nengo-nengo in the Ekomo River, a very old Fang man told me as follows: When a lad his grandfather had told him that, a long time ago, many of his tribe "changed their towns." These people first travelled far in canoes, and then after journeying for very many days through the forest, they "stopped walking and made new towns," and they did not return. My informant's father had told him later more about these people; they had been heard from, and their long absence from the original tribe had so changed them that "they spoke new words" (a new language).

Examples could be given almost without limit of the great similarity in the
197 language as spoken by the Bulu and Fang. A few will suffice; and I will select
519 from the proverbs of the people which are also identical. Tell a Bulu man to hurry with his work, he will often reply, "*Alo do dayi bel' nnak?*" (Will one day eat an elephant?). The Fang speak the same proverb thus: "*Alo ennti bel' nnak?*" Again, the Bulu use the words *Mbia ngwa* (the days that are past), *Mbia ene* (the days that are to come), *Mbia nnemo* (all the days). These sayings and numerous similar ones are in daily use among the Fang, the words used and the idiom being almost identically the same as in Bulu. I have wondered if the account given me by the old Fang man at Nengo-nengo about the people who years ago "changed their towns," might not be of more than passing interest as touching the genesis of the Bulu.

The Fang people are spread over an immense area of country, and when
101 questioned regarding their numbers they usually reply, "There are Fang and Fang; if you walk and sleep in towns and towns for many *nnemo* (months) you will find Fang." In the future it will be found that in the ethnography of equatorial Africa the Fang will hold a very important place. As before stated they are unquestionably closely related to the Bulu, and Compiègne recognized a marked similarity between them and the Oyeba, Mombotta and Nyemnyem people. There are
563 several scattered tribes of dwarfs among the Fang. Five of these pigmies live within two miles of my station, and they tell me that more of their people will soon "move their towns" and come to live on the banks of the Ekomo river. The Fang people look on the pigmies as a very clever and superior people, and not without good reason. An old headman told me that the *nnem ngwi* (dwarfs) first

8: Bennett D-9 (ca. 1898) 1899 F309 Fang F309

[287] discovered how to work iron (iron) and then taught others. They are also skilled hunters, and frequently succeed in killing game when others fail. In trade, it is almost impossible to cheat a dwarf, hence the Fang saying, "*Mbo ewi mudidi mole, mem ngwi ndidi ewili.*" (Two men cheat a Fang twice, a dwarf once.) In this proverb the word "*ewi*" equals Fang (see photographs and measurements of Fang dwarfs).

[288] The Fang are numerous and only fear of the authorities keeps them in check. In the autumn of 1899 a man was killed and eaten within ten miles of our mission station on the Ntem river. I heard of the affair two days after the man had been killed, and taking a boat hurried down to the place accompanied by one of the sons of King "Kelen" from Ronga-ronga, as guide. In the palaver house of the town was a captive boy in chains. The people of this town would not admit having eaten a man, yet did not deny it; they said that the human bones in a hole behind the palaver house were those of a man who had "died two days before." I afterward learnt that the captive boy had been killed and eaten a few days after my visit. Several Fang have admitted to me that "some Fang eat man meat," and they have been told that it is far more enjoyable to eat them great. My informants always added that they would not do such a thing—"only bad Fang did so." What I have learned from others and my own observations lead me to believe that an immense tract of country in West Africa from a little north of the equatorial line extending even as far northward as to include a portion of the German sphere of influence in the Cameroons, is occupied by numerous anthropophagous tribes all more or less closely related.

II.—*Physical and Moral Characteristics.*

[192] Physically the Fang are a fine people. They may be classed as of medium size. Many of the males are exceptionally large and well built. At Fwabidiking, the Fang village on the Ntem river, where I reside, there is a man belonging to the Bulu tribe who is the largest and finest specimen of humanity I have ever seen in Africa (photo shown on screen).

The skin colour of the Fang is sooty-black or dark reddish-brown, chocolate (numbers 2 and 3 Topinard's scale); coal-black skins (number 1, Topinard's scale), are in the minority. The skin is smooth and when well cared for, as it very often is, it feels soft and velvety. In the adult the skin is lighter in the axilla; the palm of the hand and sole of foot are permanently yellow. The average Fang eye has a dark iris (class 1, Topinard's scale), and the eye-balls are placed with their long axes nearly in one horizontal plane. I have occasionally noticed a compression of the outer angle of the opening, mostly in females, strongly suggestive of the "almond eye." The hair may be classed as black and woolly. It is uniformly scattered over the hairy scalp; the hairs are coarse in texture. The males seem to

[301] have an aversion to hair on the face and frequently pluck it out; only a small percentage grow beards.

In adult males hair is often quite abundant on the chest and forearms.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

The face is oval in form.* The average nose is of the negroid type (short, broad, nearly straight), Fig. 7, Topinard; or the Anatomical or Papuan (broad, with the lower part forming a flattened and depressed hook), Fig. 8, Topinard's scale. The skull is thick and strong. Very often the brows are depressed deeply, the cheek bones are prominent, and at the angle of the inferior maxillary bone there is an inclination to bulging outward. The alæ nasi are broad and thick, and the nasal bridge often much depressed giving the typical, flat, turned up nose of the negro. Yet I have observed among the Fang some handsome aquiline noses, and quite frequently the Anatomical or Papuan type. I have frequently noticed that the possessors of the aquiline, or Anatomical type of nose, showed a higher degree of intelligence and a more genuine desire to learn "the white man's ways." [142]

The ears are large and well developed, inclined to spread outward and having broad thick lobes. The teeth are good and symmetrical; Fang men and women file the upper and lower incisors to a fine point and give as their reason for so doing, that it is *mbeng* (beautiful). The head of an average Fang male sits well on the shoulders, the neck is strong and muscular. The "Adam's apple" is not highly developed. Very little attention is given to the cultivation of hair on the upper lip. [Illegible] [Illegible]

The breasts of Fang women are very pendulous after bearing children; and in some cases the breasts in males are very highly developed (photo on screen).

The muscles of the arms, back, buttocks and thighs are often splendidly developed, for cases so deep in the Mpongwe, Makoya and many other West African tribes. The Mpongwes are rapidly degenerating. In the male Fang the gluteal muscles are not highly developed. The gluteal muscles in the female are often developed to a very high degree, measuring round from 36½ inches to 39½ inches.

Fifteen Fang males were measured and averaged as follows: [114]

Height 5 feet 9 inches.
Chin to pubes 27½ inches.
Pubes to inner malleolus 32½ inches.
Inner malleolus to tip of great toe 8½ inches.
Shoulder to wrist 24½ inches.
Wrist to point of index finger 8½ inches.

In males the thumb is long and broad in the terminal phalanx; the nails of the hand are broad and flat. I have often seen a man use his great toe to pick up an object off the ground, and flexing the leg bring the object to his hand. When journeying through the bush with a caravan it is very interesting to notice how the native uses the great toe to aid him in climbing a steep hill. The sexual appetites is very highly developed, especially in the males. The women are the [491]

* It has not been possible for me to devote the time needed for a detailed study of Fang crania. The few Bubi and Fang skulls I have had opportunity for examining presented very little, if any, different characteristics. The skulls I examined were decidedly prognathous, but not large.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 F319 Fang F319

[192] head-winners and some are strong and muscular, while many more are weak and worn out from continuous toil.

The Fang make good carriers, and will do a splendid day's journey even in the
[48] wet season with bad forest trails, if not overloaded. A carrier's load should never
[147] exceed 25 kilogrammes, and 20 would pay better on a long journey. The first day out with a caravan the men usually drag along slowly, until their loads settle well down in the *bingi* and fit their backs. The *bingi* is a very ingenious contrivance for carrying a load in; it is usually made from a forest vine with a plaited head strap. To hurry carriers the first day is a bad mistake; poorly adjusted loads chafe and cause sore backs, and before night the whole caravan is tired out and sulky. It is a wise traveller in Africa as elsewhere who knows how to save his men.

[195] A very noticeable fact among the Fang is the scarcity of old men. I
[64] attribute this largely to the ravages of syphilis; the same terrible disease that has done so much towards the degeneration of numerous coast tribes, and which is already playing fearful havoc among the Fang. Indolent, untrustworthy and warlike, they are nevertheless a most companionable people.
[151] The slightest piece of drollery or a joke immediately causes laughter. It has been my privilege to visit many foreign lands including China, Japan and Korea, yet never in my life have I met such an absolutely good-natured, fun-loving people as the Fang.

The men are not fond of work. They frequently ask me for something to do
[64] to "earn a cloth." If I tell them to cut some palm or good clean bark in the forest, they decline. A male Fang's idea of work is to sit in the *Abong* (or palaver house) and make fish lines by rolling pineapple fibre along the upper
[113] portion of his thigh, or to manufacture *Abi* (roof thatch). At these occupations he can converse with all comers, hear the news and take his part in talking a palaver.
[67] They are a revengeful people and will keep up a palaver over a woman for many years. If they do not succeed in shooting a man during a palaver they do not
[111] hesitate to fire at and kill a woman, while captives held as hostages are often treated with great cruelty.

The women regard virtue very lightly. Before marriage a girl can do nearly
[56] as she pleases. It is absolutely safe to state that it would be almost impossible
[57] to find a maiden in a Fang village over sixteen years of age. Adultery is common,
[87] and one of the chief causes of "women palavers." Women rank first in value as
[102] goods for trade, next in value are grain, then guns and cloth. The greed for goods has a strong hold on the people. They learn quickly but have very little originality.
56 They have no cleanse rites. Their habits are very dirty; they will wash in a small pool of water and, while bathing, fill the gourds or imported jugs with the water in which they are washing and use it for domestic purposes. In many other ways they are absolutely filthy, and descend to the level of brute creation. They
[134] are not over-burdened with modesty, both sexes frequently bathe together in a perfectly nude condition. A male Fang passes a large percentage of his time in

G: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 F309 Fang F309

the palaver house, where he loves to sit and gossip around the log fire, or lounge on the *Bamy* (a native bed of poles). 517

Dancing is a favourite pastime, especially at the time of new moon, when the dance seems to have some religious significance. A Fang dance is a sight worth seeing; arrayed in long streaming scarlets of dried grass, and large bunches of forest leaves and mulberry shells tied around the ankles for castanets, they go through a series of rapid and graceful movements, some of which are not entirely free from obscenity. Flaming torches made of resin wrapped in plantain leaves are stuck in the ground and the dancers keep up a perfect fusillade, the whole making a weird and extremely interesting spectacle. With short intervals of rest the dance usually continues throughout the night until daybreak (photo of dance shown on screen). 535 [573]

III.—*Clothing, Ornaments, Painting and Tattooing.*

Fang men and women usually go about barebacked; some obtain imported straw and felt hats from the traders and are very proud of them. A red woollen night-cap sold at the factories is very popular and much worn. These head coverings are chiefly worn for ornament and not to afford protection from the sun or weather. Until the opening up of trade among the Fang people their clothing amounted to almost nothing. The men wore a waist cloth made of bark from certain trees, a strong, tough, fibrous material, and the women wore a girdle stripped from the plantain stem, with some leaves from the bush or a piece of the plantain leaf tucked through the girdle in front and passed downward, backward and upward between the limbs and fastened to the girdle behind. Very often the women wore a kind of bustle made of dried grass dyed black, or red. In sitting down the women are very careful to first arrange the bustle. The native bark cloth, the girdle and bustle, are still worn in the bush towns; the women often make the girdle of imported glass beads strung on string made from pineapple fibre, but people living in towns along the river banks wear imported clothes obtained in trade. As a general rule boys and girls run about without clothing until five or six years of age. Imported cloth is worn by both sexes and is often sewn together very skilfully and dyed red with pieces of different colours. There are no recognised peculiarities of dress restricted to the subdivision of tribes. The cloth is cut out and sewed by each individual owner unless it is a trade cloth previously sewn. Cloth is usually laminated and worn as a simple wrapper around the waist, and held in place by rolling in and tucking the upper border on itself. The upper portion of the body is not much covered by the cloth although some men and women wear it tied high up around the neck. There is no difference between the indoor and outdoor clothing. When imported needles and thread can be obtained they are used, but I have seen very skilful sewing done with a sharp piece of bamboo for a needle and thread made of pineapple fibre. Upon the death of parents, clothes descend to the children. In saluting a visitor it is not customary to remove a hat or cap, if one is being worn, or any other article of clothing. 291 [546] [547] [572] [576]

B: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 F319 Fang F319

291 clothing. The Fang do not use any coverings to protect the feet. Rank is not
[279] distinguished by the dress, very often the brightest and cleanest wrappers are worn
[271] by the young men while the *bonos* (headmen) is often clothed in a dirty old rag.
Very often the *bonos* wears an imported straw or felt hat obtained in trade,
and this alone distinguishes him as headman of the town. Next to the
possession of women and guns, a Fang man's great desire is to own "much
cloth."

Personal Ornaments.

Head.—The Fang dress their hair in the same manner as the Bulu, and the
302 way they build it up on the head over wooden shapes is often very remarkable
292 and shows considerable skill. Very often the hair is built up over these shapes
301 in ridges, the upper edge of the ridge having white shirt buttons fastened along
it or brass headed tacks driven in. Wigs are used and very skillfully made.
Very often the term wig would be a misnomer, for the ingenious contrivance
made to fit over the bald head is often entirely devoid of hair, being simply a
close-fitting skull cap knitted with string made from the pineapple fiber. The
wigs are usually decorated with shirt buttons or imported glass beads. The hair
is frequently plaited and twisted into ringlets by both sexes; dyeing the hair is
not practiced. Beads and white shirt buttons are worn on the hair in large
quantities, also large cowrie shells dyed with red wood powder. The beads and
buttons are often sewed on pieces of goat or deer skin, a separate portion
decorating each side of the head, connected by a string of beads passing across the
forehead.

Mustaches are seldom cultivated, beards when worn are allowed to grow
naturally; but both are frequently removed by depilation; shaving is not
301 practiced. Ornaments are frequently worn in the ears, and are usually suspended
by a small cord passed through a hole in the lobe. Women and young girls when
returning from work in the forest or gardens frequently cluster grasses, leaves of
vines and fragrant herbs around their ears; it is a rather pretty custom. Certain
fetish charms are worn suspended from the ear; women frequently use for an ear
fetish the small quills from a porcupine's tail, and they say it will bring them
children. Brass and iron ear-rings are also worn.

Males do not seem to feel inclined to ornament the nose, but many Fang
[309] women delight to do so. They pierce the triangular cartilage with a long slender
bamboo pin: the pins sometimes project out three inches on either side of the
nose. Very often a medium-sized porcupine quill is used as the ornament, in
place of bamboo; it certainly looks better. Some women thus decorated look very
repulsive. A female who is credited with considerable power as a medicine
woman will almost invariably have the nose pierced and decorated. Ornaments
are not worn in the lips or cheeks.

Body.—Men, women, and children wear necklaces of glass beads, the beads of
very small antelope, and certain forest beans, are strung and worn around the
neck. Bristles from the tail of an elephant are used for the same purpose. When

S. Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 F'99 Fang F'99

In mourning, a necklace is made from blanched grass plaited; it is worn by both sexes. A very favourite fetish charm to suspend from a necklace is a leopard tooth. I have frequently seen the two tusks of a wild boar or "Wart hog" worn around the neck as an ornament, and have succeeded in bringing specimens recently by the women. Imported thick brass wire wound around the forearm from wrist to elbow is a very favourite article; it is kept highly polished. Brass wire is often wound so tightly around the biceps as to seriously interfere with circulation. Broad pieces of beaten brass are worn on the arms, and ivory bracelets are much valued. Sometimes six or more rings of ivory are cut from a tusk, and all worn on one arm. Finger and thumb rings are usually worn by the women; they are made of brass, copper, or iron, and are usually very thick and heavy.

Rings are no indication of rank or marriage. It is not uncommon to see a woman with three heavy brass rings on one thumb, and eight or ten similar rings on the fingers. Narrow girdles of leopard, goat or deer skins are worn across the chest to support the native fighting knife and bunch of fetish charms. I have been visited by a bushman wearing no less than twenty-three charms.

Legs and feet.—Leglets and anklets of brass are much worn and sought after by women. Brass leg rings imported by traders are in great demand. These does not appear to be any special time set for commencing to wear anklets; some infants are frequently decorated with them. Some of the leglets are very heavy, and many women wear ten or more on one leg. These rings often fit very tightly and impede circulation, or chafe and cause nasty indolent ulcers. The ankles and feet often swell and become very painful as a result of insufficient blood supply. Toe-rings are of iron and brass largely worn, and fit so tightly that the ring is often deeply imbedded in the flesh. Usually only one ring is worn on a single toe.

Painting and Tattooing.

Painting.—The method of painting the body by smearing an reddened powder mixed with palm oil, so largely practised by the Bulu, is followed to the same manner but to a much less extent by the Fang. Both portions of the reddened tree are pulverised and mixed with oil into a thick paste, and the preparation smeared over the entire body. Occasionally a red band is painted across the forehead. When in mourning, dust, mud, or white clay is frequently rubbed over the entire body. Much more frequent is the practice of painting arrow heads, hearts, or dots. The pigment used is a dark blue colour, obtained I am told from a tree fungus. The *Ngi* or witch doctor, when at work, in addition to his other paraphernalia smears his body with white chalk. Except in the case of the *Ngi*, the only object in decorating the body by painting is to appear *ebong* (beautiful), and with the Bulu when asked the reason for smearing the body with red paint, they usually reply it is *ebong* (handsome). Imported pigments are not used for body decoration.

Tattooing.—The custom of tattooing is much in vogue. I have not been able

G. Bennett D-9 (no. 1098) 1899 FN9 Fang FN9

[129] to climate may account tending on the introduction, beyond the fact "we learnt it from our fathers." No ceremonies are connected with it. There are no professional tattooers, but the natives frequently employ a man known to be skilful to ornament them. It is practised by both sexes; young lads are anxious to be tattooed because it makes them feel "real men," but the practice is not indispensable as a sign of manhood. The same blue pigment obtained from a tree fungus used in painting is mixed with saliva and employed for tattooing. The instrument used is a sharp piece of bamboo, a piece of sharp iron or a knife. The practice does not appear to be in any way connected with pagan worship. Social or family rank does not affect the designs employed. Fang tattooing is not always symmetrical, is usually commenced with the face, and a favourite design on the cheeks somewhat resembles the bowl and stem of a straight pipe. Only one colour is employed. Tattoo marks and designs are mostly found on the face, chest, shoulders, arms and abdomen. Women frequently have the pipe pattern or a band across the cheeks, and occasionally upon the breasts.

Cicatrisation is largely practised. Small incisions are made in the skin with a sharp instrument, frequently a steel nail from an imported packing case obtained from the trade house, the nail being flattened out into a small knife blade; or a sharp piece of bamboo is used. The juice of a certain herb is rubbed into the incised wounds.

IV.—*Habitations.*

[132] The houses are built mostly of bark; beams and rafters are made from the strong branches of forest trees and bamboo; they are secured by bush rope. The entire structure rests on the ground. It is very rare to find a Fang house on poles, except near the coast. There is no regularity in size of houses, but the form and material used is common to all the tribes. The average Fang house or hut is a low dark building, 15 feet long by 10 wide, and with walls about 6 feet high; the roof angle increases the height inside. Each family has a house; it is used, day and night, by all members of the family. Travellers usually occupy [135] the *ebong* (palaver house), and the headman finds them sleeping quarters at night. When the owner dies he is usually buried close to the house, and the [134] grave levelled off and soon obliterated. The houses comprising a town are built together, end to end. Towns consist of two rows of houses, with the main road passing between them. The *ebong* (palaver house) is built across one end of the main road. A large place is often composed of several towns or villages in line, [141] the limits of each village being marked by its palaver house, and having its own [142] headman. The Fang method of conveying information regarding the size of a place is by stating the number of palaver houses it contains. Stockades are frequently used at the entrance to a town, especially if the people have a palaver (tribal war) with a neighbouring tribe. The palaver houses and dwellings are also frequently stockaded. The natives often show considerable foresight and shrewdness by making use of the natural advantages of a position in selecting a site for their villages.

B: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1699 F'169 Fang F'169

site for their villages. The houses can be readily taken down and erected elsewhere. The earth floor is often beaten very hard, no covering is used. The beds are made of bamboo poles resting upon end pieces, supported by four forked corner stakes. The bed is raised about one foot from the ground. In most houses are four beds, two at each end on opposite sides, having a log fire burning between, the smoke escaping through the thatch roof. The furniture is all movable, and consists of stools, camwa bowls and boards, drinking gourds, fish nets, water gourds, various baskets and hanging bamboo shelves for drying fish and corn over the fire. Food, grain and powder horns are hung up on wooden hooks suspended by bush rope; these hooks are made by cutting a suitable branch from a young tree, having a strong crotch. No separate portion of the dwelling is set apart for sleeping or eating. There are no windows to a Fang house; at night one or more pieces of bark are used for a door. All the domestic arrangements are exceedingly filthy. Refuse from meals is unknown, everything is eaten, including entrails and skin of animals and fish. Before occupying a new house the witch doctor (nganga) is usually called to perform the ceremony of propitiating the evil spirits (bayi spirits), and the *bieng Elowi* (fetish) is hung up and becomes the protecting fetish of the household. This fetish is hung up over the doorway outside. The houses are built entirely above ground, the roofs are made of split bamboo and covered with thatch made from the long tough blade of a swamp reed, or rush. This thatch makes a most excellent roof, and when well put on, it is able to withstand three years of the terrible rains which fall during the long wet season.

V.—*Navigation, Blades, Nets, Fishing, Traps.*

The Fang use long narrow canoes. A suitable tree having been found is felled and trimmed, then hollowed out with the small native wedge. All the boats are open and both sides of the canoe alike. The women use the same canoes as the men and paddle them very skilfully. War canoes are made large and strong, but are otherwise similar in construction to the canoes in daily use. A kind of bagger sail is used and the natives sail a thin canoe very close to the wind. The baler used is made of wood; it much resembles a large flat sugar scoop and is common among tribes along the west coast. This baler is used most skilfully and with great rapidity by both men and women. In paddling, no fulcrum whatever is used. The men and women either sit or kneel, grasping the paddle handle in the upper and lower thirds they plunge the blade deeply into the water, and force the canoe ahead with great rapidity. One man, woman, or a child steers, using an ordinary paddle; the time kept while paddling is excellent, and is usually kept by one man chanting a Fang song, not unlike a white sailor's shanty, the paddling taking on renewed vigour during the chorus. The sails are usually made now of imported trade cloth, but I have seen them made from the native bark cloth. Only one sail is used and the canoes are able to beat up well against the wind.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 F909 Fang F909

The mariner's compass is entirely unknown, and when I have shown one, it
[322] was always spoken of as "the white man's *bang-bad*" (*mawu fitiah*). The Fang
[321] shapes his course by his knowledge of the river banks; he never ventures more than three days' journey from his own town, and much dislikes the idea of losing sight of land; therefore he seldom, if ever, attempts it. Certain canoes belong to the headmen of the village, others to individuals. The canoes do not have houses;
[776] charms are frequently tied to the bow, to appease the water spirit, and frequently
[775] a traveller in a canoe will throw into the river at certain places he passes portions of his food to appease the local spirit which he believes dwells there. The place where this spirit dwells may be in some large tree or rock on the river bank. At night the canoes are hauled up on the river bank and usually left unprotected. Large war canoes, if painted, are occasionally covered with a few mats. No special portion of a canoe is set apart for a chief, he is usually seated near the bow. Watertight compartments for provisions are not provided, food and articles of trade being carried in high baskets. Upon arrival of a canoe from a neighbouring town, the visitors are frequently welcomed with shouts of joy; guns are fired and a dance given in the evening. I have seen canoes repaired by placing pieces of bark over the leaks inside and outside, the bark being secured with small hard wood plugs. No arrangement is made to prevent leaking.

Hooks for fishing are skillfully made of bamboo, the barb is long, very sharp
227 and notched on both sides. The hook is secured to the fishing-line with string made of pineapple fibre. Foreign-made fish-hooks are now largely used; these
[918] are much coveted, and considered a very simple article of trade.

Casting nets are used weighted with stones, iron, or lead, obtained in trade. The meshes are very fine and show much skilful and patient workmanship. A Fang will work well at anything which he can do while sitting in the palaver house. He can there work, smoke and talk; any work requiring much bodily exertion on his part or elsewhere is relegated to his wives. Fish traps are made of split bamboo and much resemble the lobster baskets used by our own fishermen. Small streams are often dammed at high water, the dam being made of split
[726] bamboo, fastened together with bush rope until a very large screen is made, 10 or 12 feet in height; this screen is staked across the stream at high water, when the tide falls the water passes readily through, leaving the fish in the river. The most disgusting sight among the Fang, is to see the women and children at low water walking in the mud, breast high, feeling for "mud fish." The large casting net is called *ewet*; a small round net used for dipping in pools and along the river bank at low water is called *ten*.

VI.—*Metallurgy, Fire, Machinery.*

Metallurgy among the Fang is limited to the working of iron. The native word
325 for iron is *Ebi*. The Fang among whom I lived did not possess the knowledge of
326 smelting, but I was told that "other Fang far away in the bush, especially the Ngui (dwarfs), dug the *mindah ebi* (stones of iron) out of the earth, melted it, and

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

traded with the *eki* (iron)." Iron is put to various uses. Long bladed knives of various shapes and patterns are made, also spear heads, armlets, anklets, finger and toe rings. Small pieces of iron are used for bullets in flint-lock muskets. One of the most important uses of money among the Fang is the making of *beki*. 325 326

Beki is made up in bunches ten *beki* in each bunch; a bunch of *beki* is called *ntet*. The amount of dowry paid in *beki* is usually counted in hundreds, *kuliki bi ki, ntet awom* (bring me one hundred *beki*). 326 [436]

A bundle of ten arrow heads is frequently used as an *ntet*.

A peculiar shaped adze is made of iron; it is used for working wood, especially hollowing trees intended for canoes.

Pieces of iron are forged into axe blades (*ovon*).

The *mfak* is a short handled spade made of iron, used for digging in the gardens.

The art of casting seems to be unknown.

The bellows (*akum*) used by Fang smiths are very ingenious (*specimen on table*). The feet are used to steady the bellows, whilst both hands work the goat skin covers and force air into the fire.

A block of iron is used for an anvil. Some of the natives are quite skilful at working iron. A Fang living near my residence often begged from me a round steel nail from a packing case. In a short time he would return with the nail transformed into a thin delicate knife or dagger, only the nailhead remaining intact. Very large fighting knife blades are made and beautifully fashioned, and ornamented with various punch marks.

I have never seen any native made wire. Imported brass wire is in great demand and mostly used as a continuous armlet. The coil usually reaches from wrist to elbow, and is considered extremely *mbung* (handsome), and kept highly polished. [439] [301]

Imported brass is obtained in trade and made into armlets, anklets, finger and toe rings. It is also used for ornamentation of guns.

Many of the natives are skilled workers of iron and fully aware of its value. I have never seen welding practised, but in working hot iron it is frequently plunged into cold water to make it *alert* (hard).

Fire.—In the far interior, fire is produced by friction, the simplest form of a drill being used, which is twisted rapidly between the hands. Along the rivers matches are obtained from the native traders, who bring up large quantities from the coast. The natives are always ready to trade for matches, which are again traded to interior tribes. Flints are only used on the hammer of the old flintlock musket imported for trade. Fires are almost constantly burning in the palaver houses. Two dry logs are kept constantly burning, they are placed end to end, when one log is nearly consumed it is replaced by another. 372 [439]

It is interesting to notice how the natives carry fire about. When on a journey in 1897 from Gross Batanga with a caravan to the Bulu country in the German sphere of influence, one of the men usually obtained a piece of burning 372 484

8: Bennett D-5 (ca.1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

372 log from the last town where the caravan rested. This man kept the piece of wood
484 burning by gently swinging it backward and forward, while marching along the path with his load. On one occasion I timed a native, and when we reached the next stopping place, after a three hours' tramp in the rain, the brand was still burning brightly, and it had been frequently passed from one end of the caravan to the other so that all who desired could light their pipes from it.

The Fang use fire in the ceremony of *going out of mourning*. I witnessed this
372 ceremony once at Foulabifong. The widows of an old headman had put in the
765 regular time of mourning and were now to be released. There were seven widows in all, three of middle age, and four young girls A small fire of leaves had been lighted in the centre of the street, and on each side of the fire stood several young men armed with switches. The widows wore a very slender loin cloth. At a given signal the widows rushed toward the fire and bounded through it, the young men switching them as they passed, but the switches were not used severely. Immediately after the switching, each widow seated herself on the ground holding a bunch of burning leaves under her feet, while a young man shaved their heads with a sharp trade knife. On inquiry regarding this ceremony, I obtained the
[783] following information: Passing the fire *cleans* them after mourning (evidently considered a means of purification). Switching reminds the widows of their duty to the man who inherits them as his wives. Burning has two meanings: firstly, the pain caused is endured as a last act of mourning for the departed; second, it signifies that henceforth the widows walk a new path (enter upon a new life).

Fire has a place in Fang religion or belief. The sun is considered the *tata*
372 (father) of all heat, and the original maker of all fire, whether by friction, matches,
821 powder, or lightning. When a severe thunderstorm is at its height, the natives say of the lightning, "that the sun has hid his face and is shooting fire, because he is angry." The native word for sun is *jo*. Although the palaver house fire is kept burning still, no special effort is made to keep it alight; should it go out, any person present is at liberty to rekindle it from newly produced fire.

VII.—*Customs.*

671 The Fang have no system of law, no judge or tribunal for punishment of crime. Theft, murder, offences against the person are all settled according to native custom.

Example: A Fang of the Esisis clan steals goods or a woman from a Fang of
628 the Nge clan. The Nge who has been wronged does not go to the offender for
691 settlement, he goes to another near town and shoots the first goat he sees in the street or if very angry, he may shoot a woman. The owner of the goat or woman demands of the Nge his reason for doing so. The Nge replies, "An Esisis" (giving the man's name) "has wronged me; I put the palaver (his offence) on you." The third party then goes to the Esisis and says, "An Nge" (giving the man's name) "has shot my goat (or woman) because you have made trouble with him; he has put your palaver (trouble) on me. You must pay me!" The original offender is

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

now responsible and liable to two parties; if he is reasonable they all meet and talk the palaver. If the palaver is serious, each party appoints his *ntol* (ambassador). The palaver is usually talked in the main street of the town, before all the representatives of the interested clans, and before all strangers in town. The Fang are born orators, and remarkable gestures and orations are made while talking the palaver. The speaker usually walks backwards and forwards grasping and leaning upon a "palaver stick." He commences with: *M'zona* (I say thus); when speaking for another he says *A'zona* (he says thus); when speaking for the people of his town, *Ba zona* (they say thus). Sometimes the *ntôls* (ambassadors) sit in a canoe in the middle of a river or a stream, and talk the palaver, the injured parties being on either side of the stream. The case is talked, the goods demanded in payment stated, and an effort made to *kik nseng* (cut or end the palaver). If they succeed, then the palaver is *cut* (ended), and a dance follows; if no agreement is come to, the meeting breaks up and a tribal war exists between these clans. 628 681 537

Salutations.

There are three salutations common to all. Two friends meet, they each grasp the arm of the other, high up on the biceps; a slight pause is made, then the hand is slipped down to clasp the wrist. This is also the customary salutation used by the Bulu. 576

Two friends meeting salute by embracing.

A traveller entering the *abeng* (palaver house) walks over to the headman and sits on his knee a moment, at the same time placing one arm around the headman's neck.

Hospitality demands that all strangers be served food by the town women to strangers in the *abeng*. [519]

Wives are loaned to guests. [837]

Coarse conversation is indulged in by old and young of both sexes. [521]

Considerable license prevails among the unmarried; less so among the married. [836]

VIII.—*Invention, Natural Forms, Conservatism.*

Invention.—The arts in use are common to all the different clans of the great Fang tribe. Any new discovery as the working of iron is credited to the dwarfs of *nqui*. The natives are always ready to admit that the *nqui* are very clever; they have a saying "no person knows like a *mon nqui* (dwarf) what is inside the forest." When obtainable the natives use an imported saw, or file, and admit its superiority over their own crude tools. A Fang may be impressed at the knowledge and power of the white man, but is not greatly surprised; the reason for this is that many white men are credited with possessing supernatural powers. 176 563 609

Some of the clubs, tools and weapons approximate to the natural forms of the branches or roots of trees. Axe handles and the handle of a certain kind of adze have 412

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

the natural curve of the branches. Stones are employed for rolling food, especially for crushing and rolling the *ngon* seed. Shells of large land mollusca are cut in half and used for spoons, small gourds being used for the same purpose. Large gourds are used for water dippers and bottles. Very many uses are found for the forest gourds, not the least ingenious being the use of a hollow stemmed gourd for administering a rectal injection. Gourds are used for the sounding boards of the musical instrument called *mvuk*. The people find many uses for bamboo. It is used in construction of houses, fish baskets and traps are made from it, fences to protect paths during tribal wars are made of sharp pointed bamboo poles; and small sharpened pieces of bamboo with poisoned tips are buried in the forest paths, point upward, to wound and poison the naked feet of an unsuspecting enemy. The teeth and claws of leopards and bush cats, elephant tail, antelope feet, horns and forest beans are used in their natural form as personal ornaments. Leopard teeth are always considered valuable as *biang* (fetish) and are much sought after; they are frequently imitated in ivory. I have not seen the defences of animals employed as artificial defences, except as fetish. Long tough forest thorns are often used as awls and needles for piercing and sewing skins. I once saw an *ngangan* (witch doctor) perform a post-mortem examination on a woman. After he had discovered the cause of death, which he announced to the expectant crowd as being due to "six witches eating her liver," he first pierced the abdominal walls with a long hard thorn, and then sewed up the body with a bamboo needle threaded with pineapple fibre. I have seen only one cave dwelling; it was used by an isolated sufferer of the dread disease called by the natives *nabata* (a kind of sloughing phagedina). When proper reed material for making thatch is scarce, large forest leaves are used, but they make very poor roofs, especially during the tornado season.

Conservatism.—The Fang are not quick to adopt reforms or to introduce new methods; they are more or less the slaves of custom, and have a superstitious dread of departing from ancestral habits. This refers to all the proceedings of life. Fang living in towns near Gaboon are almost daily coming in contact with white settlers, and to some extent, at least, appear to be changing their mode of living. It never appeared to me that a Fang had the same longing to be "just like a white man" as possesses the young Mpôngwe and Benga men.

IX.—*Ornamentation.*

The patterns mostly seen in Fang ornamentation consist of bands, incised lines, elliptical punch marks, herring bone, lozenge pattern and cross lines. The natives do not possess a natural aptitude for drawing, and seldom attempt it. The few drawings I have seen on the bark walls of houses, supposed to represent men and women, were very crude and exaggerated in proportion. They have no idea whatever of perspective. They seem to interpret foreign drawings very readily. The Fang show considerable skill in plain wood carving, using an ordinary native knife. I have noticed that their carving improves very considerably when an imported pocket knife is the instrument employed.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

X.—*Food. Cooking.*

Food used by the Fang is precisely similar to that of all other tribes inhabiting the great zone of palms and bananas as described by Humboldt. Added to these ordinary foods of the Fang is their liking for human flesh, indulged in to this day in spite of the law, which is often powerless to reach and punish the offenders. Cassava, *mbôe*, plantains, *bikon*, crushed gourd seeds, *ngongon*, corn; *mekobe*, a most nutritive tuber, sweet potatoes, yams, palm oil, bananas, snails and various molluscs. Fish is wrapped in plantain leaves and boiled, or set on hot ashes and fire piled on top of the *bundle* of food. All kinds of meat is eaten, from deer down to the smallest bush rat; snakes are considered very good meat. No portion is wasted, every morsel of skin and intestines are eaten. Goats and chickens are raised for food and trade. Corn or other cereals are not used for the purpose of making bread. Milk is not used. Preparations of milk such as butter and cheese are not made. There is a marked preference for meats. When an animal is slaughtered, women bring wooden bowls to collect the blood in. The blood is often cooked mixed with palm oil. A Fang will eat almost any kind of known food and at any time, providing it is not his *Eki* or taboo, given him during infancy, prohibiting the eating of a certain kind of food, unless partaken of under certain conditions. Except for the *Eki* men, women and children partake of the same food. The Fang are improvident. When on long journeys they often chew a piece of Kola nut, but more commonly chew pieces of a certain root; it has several different names. Palm oil is extensively used in cooking. Salt (*nku*) is much enjoyed and sought after in trade. Sugar is only used in the form of sugar cane and eaten uncooked. The chiefs, or rather headmen, have no special form of food. Eating earth is not indulged in. So far as I am aware, all fish, flesh and fowl is cooked before being eaten. Flesh is often extremely high, at times positively bad, before it is eaten, but not one morsel is ever wasted.

Fish, fowl, bush rats, snakes and all kinds of meats are smoked or sun-dried; food prepared thus is carried on journeys in the bush wrapped in leaves and eaten with *mbou* (cassava) without any further preparation. Permanent ovens for baking are not in use. Meat is roasted on small spits over the log fire or wrapped up in leaves and hot ashes banked around and on top of it. Native vegetables are frequently cooked with meats, plantains are usually boiled separately or roasted close to the fire. Most cooking utensils used by the Fang near the coast are iron or brass pots, imported by white traders; but farther inland the native pots are much more in vogue. These native pots are made of grey clay and sun-dried; they become harder and stronger by use, and vary in size and capacity from a pint to about three gallons.

Cooking vessels are not kept very clean, being simply rinsed out with a little water; but if the vessel is a brass trade pot or kettle, it is usually taken to the river or a near stream, and scoured bright; but I fear the chief reason for doing

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

264 this is, because, to a Fang eye, polished brass looks *mbung* (handsome) and is attractive for trade. Vessels are usually placed on top of the fire and not
262 suspended over it; vegetables are frequently placed in stews. No separate dwelling house exists for cooking, it is carried on in the dwelling house. The water used to
356 wash a dirty pot with is often thrown out on the earth floor of the dwelling, children playing in the wet dirt. In all domestic matters the Fang are very filthy.
[514] I have on more than one occasion when inside a native hut seen children micturate and defecate on the earth floor close to where the mother was cooking, the women
[854] and men present taking very little notice, and only occasionally placing the child
[462] outside the door. Cooking is exclusively the duty of women, a *real man* will not cook. Food is often highly seasoned with hot native red and green peppers, and
252 food thus prepared is much appreciated. The food is usually well cooked through, with the exception of plantains which are often only half boiled and served quite hard. Large round stones are used for rubbing and reducing to powder gourd seeds and various tubers. Smoking and salting are the only methods practised
251 for preserving food, and on account of the value of salt and the difficulty of transporting it inland, it is seldom thus employed.

Drinks.—Rum has been carried from the coast by white traders and natives
273 far inland and is used whenever obtainable, but the chief drink is cold water. Palm wine is made called *meyak*. Except in places where a trade factory existed I have seen very few cases of intoxication among the Fang, but when they can obtain rum it seems to completely demoralize them. Tea and coffee are known to
[272] people living near white settlers. When a party of headmen and others have taken a meal at the mission house, tea and coffee were greatly enjoyed and cups
264 frequently re-filled. The first meal is usually about eight or nine o'clock; the natives think the white man eats very early; a mid-day meal is served and the evening repast is usually about sunset.

Food is frequently brought to the men inside the *abeng* (palaver house); at other times an entire family eats together inside the dwelling house. No ceremonies whatever precede the commencement of meals. When a son is born, or on the
574 occasion of a wedding, and after some large palaver has been settled, a feast is usually given. Invited guests and strangers partake together with the town folk
264 of the food prepared; it is usually served on the earth floor of the palaver house, on plantain leaves, and in cooking pots, each person helping himself. The women do not eat with the men inside the palaver house.

Mode of preparing Mboa.

252 *Ba du mbóa osui, e vóm a ne ndátál: a kaga boma mēlu mēla, be keli tds: be sdli*
539 *ne nye: be ndā mbūk: be kēzi nye mbūk iti be nou ntum: beña tyūk: bènga vul: be kaga mana vul: be kēzi nye ē mvē: ockoba ji: ve telē mvè mboa: wena mboa abea.*

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

Translation.

They put cassava to soak in the river, in a place where there is (plenty of) mud. When it has lain there three days, they go and rub off the rind. They bring it (to the house). They take a trough, and put the cassava in it. They take the mashing stick. They mash the cassava. They wrap it up (in leaves). When they have finished that, they put it in the pot. Then they light the fire. They put the pot of iguma (on the fire). Then the iguma is *boiled.* 252 539

Azo Mfini: (Plantation).

Betata basa leua bo dia inifini (our fathers did not make plantain villages), *n'afan eto bè* (because their land was near at hand, *i.e.*, near the regular village). *Fañ b'anyege infini ne bo bidji binne* (Fañ likes plantain village to make good food, *i.e.*, because thus they get good food). *Bikon e djel ine, betok* (Plantains in town have (one) small). *Infini O ne djal moe afan bibè* (Plantain village is a good town (because) land (*i.e.*, good land) near). *Nson ane afan betata benga to bibè* (Like the land where the fathers were near). *B'angéye infini, ne dzi bidji binné. Mo'mbok a gouevi bityit: bevok benga sôm* (They like the plantain village (because) there they eat good food. One person kills game (meat) others buy). *Menda infini me vie bo abé* (Houses of plantain villages soon spoil).[1] *Fañ, Ba'dji asas mbôa kidiase* (Fañ they eat a meal of cassava in the morning). 539 262 311 361

Regarding the *Eki* tabooing certain foods or performance of certain actions as in vogue among the Fang, I learned from a friend and *confrère*, Rev. R. H. Nassau, D.D., M.D., of Gaboon, that the *Eki* of the Fang is precisely similar to the *Orunda* of the Mpôngwe. Dr. Nassau is a veteran missionary of thirty-seven years' African experience, and he is always ready to help others who are sufficiently interested in the natives to inquire about them. I know of no one on the West Coast more willing or eminently able than he for imparting information regarding the people among whom he has laboured. 262 114 171

XI.—*Anthropophagy.*

Cannibalism prevails among the Fang beyond question, and only fear of the law keeps him somewhat in check. I am able to speak of the Fang as anthropophagi; not alone from information gathered, but from having once had the opportunity of visiting a town two days after a victim had been killed and eaten. 266 114

This town, named Olunda, is on the right bank of the Nkomo river, about 60 miles from the seat of government in the Congo Français. Whilst visiting the town Nenge-nenge (the island of islands) in the autumn of 1898, a native trader named Arkendeagi, employed by a British trading house at Gaboon, informed me

[1] It is very true that houses having plantains growing near, soon rot; this is due to the dampness caused by loss of sunlight and heat

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

266 114 that a man had been killed and eaten only two days before at the town of Olunda two miles below Nenge-nenge. Old king Kelun at Nenge-nenge confirmed the report, and in compliance with my request, loaned me an interpreter to accompany me to the place.

The tide being favourable, I decided to start without telling my boat boys the reason for my hasty departure. Olunda is quite close to the river bank, but upon our arrival the water had fallen so low that the only way to reach the town was by wading knee deep in mud up the bank. The people eyed our boat and myself in particular with marked suspicion, and much talking was indulged in during our landing. The headman was the most villainous looking specimen of a Fang I have ever met; he was well built and very muscular, but his face was extremely ugly and brute-like: he had only one eye, and an evil-looking one it was. He wore on his head an old red worsted trade cap, and smoked a dirty native clay pipe.

The object of my visit was well hidden, and we chatted on various matters in the palaver house. When I expressed a desire to walk through the town and treat any of his sick people, the headman said, "No sick here, people all away, let us talk in the *abeng*" (palaver house). However, without giving him any notice I presently left the palaver house and walked out into the main road, and the crowd followed. The headman repeatedly assured me that the town was not worth seeing; but I strolled leisurely along. Half-way through the town I noticed a quantity of intestines strung out to dry on sticks, and to the great annoyance of the headman and people, I made an examination of them which convinced me that they had been removed quite recently from a human body. I was assured that thay were *entrails from a deer* and were being dried for the purpose of covering gourds to hold gunpowder. I then told the people the reports I had heard, also that I knew the intestines then drying were human, and accused them of cannibalism. They were very indignant, and declared, as all Fangs do, that their tribe never eat men. "Oh no, people in the far bush did, only bad Fang did so." A few moments later I picked up a human clavicle in the palaver house and took it away with me, threatening to report the matter to the Government.

In the palaver house of this same town was a boy of about sixteen years, in [727] chains, held as a hostage. I arranged to return in a few days and try to bring the lad to our mission station, but upon my return I again stopped at Nengi-Nengi, and then heard that the boy had been killed and eaten shortly after my departure.

I am inclined to believe that the reason for eating human flesh by the Fang 266 is the result of a craving for animal food. The victims are generally males captured either in war, or members of other tribes waylaid and killed while journeying in the bush.

A Fang man told me that once he ate "some man" because he was persuaded to, and that it "passed goat far" (much superior to goat). He added, "I never do

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

so now because I known it's wrong." His latter statement I gave very little credit to. 266

Fang who admitted to me that "bad Fang eat men, but not the people of their town or tribe," asserted that all parts of the body are eaten; that the victims are not considered as sacrifices to any gods, but that the bones are used for *biang* (medicine).

Human flesh does not form part of the regular food of the people, and to a certain extent the natives seem ashamed to admit that "other Fang eat men"; they never admitted to me that any of *their tribe* did so.

XII.—*Religion, Fetish or Biang (medicine).*

These anthropophagi have some idea of God, a superior being, their *Tata* (father) *a bo mam mesese* (he made all things). *Anyambi* is their *tata* and ranks above all other Fang gods, because *a'ne yôp* (he is above, *lit.* lives in heaven). The Fang have other or minor gods, the greatest of whom was *Sekôme*, and many Fang say *Sekôme* and *Anyambi* are one and the same god; hence the saying "*Sekôme anga kôm mam mesese*" (Sekôme he made (arranged) all things). The following is a list of Fang minor gods: 776

Nzame.
Mabeka.
Nkwa.
Sekôme (reported as being Anyambi).
Ube.
Nzame begat Mabeka.
Mabeka begat Nkwa.
Nkwa begat Sekôme.
Sekôme begat Ube.

The Fang have no religion in the generally accepted meaning of the word, for it is mostly made up of an unlimited and disconnected chain of superstitious beliefs. [771]

The key-note of the superstitious beliefs of the Fang is that the Present and Future is filled with innumerable numbers of spiritual beings. The great spirit *Tata* (father) *Anyambi* or *Sekôme* is considered indifferent to the wants and sufferings of men, women and children. I do not believe that worship is directed in any way whatever to the spirits of Present and Future, the natives seeming rather to consider propitiation, exhortation and supplication as the three things most essential and necessary. The spirits of Present and Future possess to a large degree the better human passions, and also the baser ones. The origin of these innumerable spirits of Present and Future is extremely vague: *Anyambi* or *Sekôme* is credited with having created many; others are the souls of dead relatives, still retaining after death human sensations and desires. The Fang have the same

8: Bennett D-5 (ca.1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

776 ideas as the Bulu regarding two great gods. The *Zambe* of the Bulu is the *Anyambi* or *Sekôme* of the Fang, the *tata* or father of all things; and another god of less power than *Anyambi* or *Sekôme*, who lives in the forests and is so tall that he gathers fruit from the highest trees. Some of the old men and women profess to have seen this god of the forests.

[775] Fang superstition includes transmigration; a departed human soul may enter any animal dwelling on top of the earth or in it. There are spirits of health and disease, also a protecting spirit belonging to a clan or tribe, in whose honour a 782 small basket is hung in the palaver house, containing portions of the skull of an 776 albino, whenever obtainable, also portions of the skulls of a relative and a chimpanzee, human hair, nails and bones. This fetish or *biang* is called the *Biang Akamayong*. Most Fang have a cabalistic word assigned to them by the *ngangan* (witch doctor), and this word is used as a prayer. During the new [535] moon, dances are nearly always indulged in, and the songs usually addressed to the spirits of Present and Future. Local spirits need constant propitiation; a native passing in his canoe a spot where a local spirit dwells, as a large rock, will pay his respects by casting a piece of his food into the river, or when in the forest a few stones or a piece of *mbôa* (cassava) is laid at the root of some great tree.

778 Wooden idols are not plentiful among the Fang tribes living along the rivers; they are seen more in the palaver houses of the bush towns.

Charms.—These may be only cabalistic words, and under this head of vocal charms must be included the incantations of the *ngangan* (witch doctor).

Material charms.—These are by far the most common; the belief in material charms, fetish, occupies the most prominent place in Fang religious contemplation.

Among the Fang, the English word Fetish, from the Portuguese word Feticio, is *Biang* (medicine). A Fang fetish is any material object which the *ngangan* (doctor) has consecrated and made a fit abiding place for a spirit. What may be consecrated? Anything, absolutely anything; a shell, rag, stone, twig of a tree, horns, nails, etc. The horns of small antelope and large deer are filled with resins, [754] nails, human hair, faeces, etc. To bewitch a person it is necessary to give the *ngangan* a piece of the hair, nail, a portion of the food or a drop of blood of the [826] person to be bewitched. A Fang is most careful if he cuts himself to see that only friends and relations approach him until the bleeding has ceased, and hair when cut is usually burnt without delay. As mentioned in the section of this 784 paper on food, every child during infancy is subjected to certain rites which 778 constitute his or her *Ebi*, prohibiting the child from eating a certain kind of food or performing a certain act. Thus far, the superstitious beliefs of the Fang and [771] Bulu are precisely similar, and I gathered from Dr. Nassau at Gaboon many facts connected with the people among whom he laboured, the Mpongwe, which showed that they also held superstitious beliefs very nearly, and in some cases precisely similar to those of the Bulu and Fang, the only difference being in the

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

name, the *Eki* of the Fang being the *Orunda* of the Mpongwe. One day when ou 784
a journey among the people, I asked an old headman to share with me a chicken 778
my boy had prepared for supper; the old man seemed pleased at my invitation,
but asked the boy if it was a hen or cock fowl. Upon being informed that it was
a cock, he declined to eat any of it: that was his *Eki*. As previously stated, I do 769
not believe the natives worship the spirits of Present and Future, but to a certain
degree ancestral worship does exist. A Fang places the skull of his father in a
curious receptacle of bark, worshipping it, killing fowls and making blood offerings
to it, and in many ways the whole matter somewhat resembles the worshipping
at graves and before ancestral tablets as practised in China. The natives often
pray to their father's skull before talking a large war palaver, or the purchase of a
new woman. As worshipping departed ancestors is the chief duty of a faithful
Chinaman, so making offerings and prayers to the departed father's spirit before
the skull constitutes the great Fang fetish, or *bieti*. Wooden idols, *biyeme*, of men [831]
and women are made in a manner which makes the sex extremely apparent; yet [532]
whenever I have seen these figures in towns, the people did not seem to regard
them as obscene, but as truthful representations of the sexes. I feel sure that to
some extent, at least, phallic worship is practised among the Fang. Spirits are 776
everywhere; in rocks, trees, forests, and streams; in fact, for the Fang, this life is
one continual fight against spirits corporal and spiritual.

A peculiar belief regarding dreams is that when a person sleeps the soul often 787
wanders away, and its experiences on these journeys are made known to the sleeper 928
by dreams. After death the soul may inhabit any kind of animal. [775]

Fetish Biang (medicine).—Fetish means anything; leopard teeth, human
finger nails, hair, wood, iron, herbs. The article used as *biang* or fetish, has no 778
intrinsic value, it is only valued because of connecting its owner with a spirit
which can aid him. The leopard tooth fetish is supposed to impart the bravery of
the leopard to its owner. Fetish is a spirit or combination of spirits manifested
in material things.

Dili Mbuk.—To murder a person and save his skull as a fetish, or use the
skull as medicine to bring women, guns, goats or goods. The people will make
offerings to the skulls calling them by the names of persons killed. It is said that
these prayers are always answered as desired.

Biang é Soli (hiding medicine).—A man goes and takes leaves of trees, and cuts 789
them up. He says, "I have cut up leaves of trees" (or high grass, bushes). The
women shell gourd seeds and mash them. They catch a fowl, kill it, and put it in
the pot. They also put in the pot the medicine leaves, and the mashed gourd
kernels. They put the pot on the fire, and boil (its contents). When they have
boiled it, the medicine is cooked. They take the medicine pot off (the fire). They
go and put it by the side of (*afuá*) the back of the *bieti*. The man who has put
it there says to the *bieti*, other people want to kill me. He takes away the
medicine pot. He opens the *bieti* basket. He takes a small piece of the bone
(instead of this say to the woman and children he takes the excrement of the

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

789 *bieti*). He brings it. He eats the fowl. When finished, he takes a bone of the fowl and the excrement of the *bieti*. He cuts his nails and his hair. He ties (all these things) up in a bundle or packs them inside the horn of a small deer and keeps it.

When a man goes on a journey he carries this medicine with him. Another person cannot see him as he journeys.

This is the *Biang e Soli*.

Biang-nkama.—The people get up and take machetes and cut a clearing. When they have finished the clearing is open and bright. If a man has died and been long in the grave, they take his bones, and lay them out on the ground. They cover them over with earth. They take other bones, and cut them up into small pieces. They put (these pieces) in a basket: they put in also red dye, and scrapings from the bark of trees. They close up the basket. If they go to war, they carry the basket (suspended by a cord from) the shoulder. They take the red dye which is in the basket and smear the body with it. If an enemy (literally, a person) [726] fires a gun (at them), they will not be pierced (by the pieces of iron pot used as bullets).

This is the *Biang-nkama*. Do not tell it to women or children; only to grown real men—for it is tabooed.

Nzake Bukun.—Fang make it thus. If a man makes witch medicine, he kills 754 his brother and other people. They say, let us make *nzake bukun*. They take a corpse, and go with it to the bush. They cut bush. The bush is clear and open. They sweep clear the place which they have cut. They lay down the corpse in the place which they have swept. They dig plenty of dirt, and make it in the shape of an elephant (over the corpse). They make the trunk, the tusks, the eyes, the legs, the tail, the ears. They finish and return to the town. They say, we have made *nzake bukun* (*nzake* means elephant). They say if a man goes out to kill by witchcraft, he will die. If a man wishes to kill another with poison, he will die. If a man lies with a woman in the daytime he will die. Let not a woman eat a pig. And so they say, they have made this fetish, the *nzake-bukun*. When they have done so, if a man lies with a woman in the daytime he gets sick. They go and scrape trees in the bush; they bring water from the river, and put the scrapings in the water. They catch a fowl outside and put it in the medicine-water. They touch the man's body over with the fowl. And so that man, they heal him from his fetish-sickness. Then he is well.

This is *Nzake bukun*.

Biang-abationg.—If a man has married two or three women, and loves one, but 832 dislikes the others, the latter feel badly. They make *biang abationg*. When they [514] go to pass their faeces, they take a very small piece of their faeces. They rub off the grease from their skin, and mix this grease with the small piece of dung. They put it (the mixture) on the drying-shelf (over the fire). When it is dry they mash it to powder, and put it in the neck of a gourd. They take also a shrub called *abatoñ* (known only by women) and put it in a small gourd (not the neck of

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

gourd mentioned above). They put oil in it. They keep it hidden. No one else 832
is allowed to see it.

When the woman cooks food for her husband, she takes the medicine, which she puts in the neck of the gourd, and puts it in her husband's food, then his heart is changed. In the evening the woman smears herself with the *abatong*, which she had put in the small gourd. When she and her husband lie down, if she touches her husband, the medicine which she has eaten makes his heart change. Though he liked her before, now he loves her on account of the *biang-abationg*.

This is the *Biang-abationg*.

Biang-mikal (adultery medicine).—People go and scrape medicine in the bush. 837
If they come with the medicine, they put it in the pot. They put water in the pot. 755
They go and catch a fowl. They cut the fowl's neck; they put the blood in the 695
medicine with the scrapings from trees. They take medicine that is in the water, they pour it on the person's head. They also take a certain medicine called *ngwcia* and rub it on the face of the sick person. They again rub it on his belly. Then they have cured the person of the *minkal*. The fowl used is not to be eaten by the sick person, others may do so. Then he is healed.

This is the same medicine used to detect adultery. If a person commits 837
adultery with another man's wife, and then speaks a lie denying the affair, the 795
person accused must drink the *biang-mikal* to show the people he is innocent. If he is guilty the medicine makes him sick, and he dies or trouble comes to his people. If guilty, medicine is made to call the curse back.

This is the *Biang-mikal*.

Biang-ndona (medicine for young men, eloping medicine).—If a person goes on 584
a journey and sees a virgin, he courts or loves her. Then the virgin accepts him. 832
He and she go and lie down. The young man says, "Let us go in my town." If the 583
virgin does not accept, then the young man tries to persuade her. The virgin says, "I go later." The young man says, "If you go later, give me hair for a souvenir." Then the virgin scratches over her heart. She takes the hair of her head and the blood from the scratch over her heart and gives it to the young man. He goes to his town, he says, "I'll first make medicine." He takes the hair and the blood. He takes a small piece of witch medicine. He also takes plenty of leaves. He puts the small piece of witch medicine with the leaves. The hair and the blood he also puts in the leaves. He mixes all in the leaves. He hangs them in the *bieti* basket. He says, "*Bieti*, I want to marry a woman. Take her for me." This eloping medicine hangs one day. In the morning he cuts medicine and puts it on top of a tree. He leaves the medicine on top of the tree. He goes again to the young virgin. He says, "I have come, I come to take you." The young virgin says, "I will go to-morrow." He sleeps. The young man when day breaks says, "Let us go." The young virgin says, "I will surely go." Then the young man elopes with the young virgin; he comes with her to his town. Father of the young virgin he comes vexed. The young man kills a goat for the father of the young virgin. They finish eating the goat. He (the father) sleeps one day. Next morning the young man

8: Bennett D-5 (ca.1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

832 584 583 gives him (the father) the *beki* (dowry). The father of the young virgin takes the goods to his town; the young man remains in possession of the woman.

They marry with *biang-ndoma*, eloping medicine thus.

This is *Biang-ndoma*.

Biang-akong (war medicine).—Told me by Fam-deu, a Fang, Esisis clan, at 721 Foulabifong, Nkomo river, April 19th, 1898. This *biang* was illustrated to me; a 789 leopard tooth is the *Biang-akong*.

Make a bowl of war medicine, of leaves, roots, and bark. Call all people of the town. Drop the leopard tooth into the medicine. If the point of the tooth *looks* toward the people we have a palaver (trouble) with, then we must go and fight and we will win. If the root of the tooth points toward the people we have a palaver with, then we must *tabe si* (sit down) or our enemies will win if we go to fight them.

This is the *Biang-akong*.

Biang-akamayong.—This *biang* is the protector of the tribe or nation (*ayông*, 789 tribe).

619 Told me by Esôya-ôvum, the headman of Foulabifong on the Nkomo river, 622 who sold me the complete set of the *Biang-akamayong* belonging to the dead headman "Commisan." I present this *biang* for your inspection this evening. The tin canister was obtained from a white man and is used in place of the usual basket to carry bones in. It contains portions of the skull of an albino (male), portions of the skull of a *mon nguri*, young chimpanzee, red powder and a variety of native medicine.

[726] This *biang-akamayong* is always carried by the headman of a town during war.

[534] A bell hangs from the bottom of the canister containing the bones; it rings when the headman walks.

Nka.—The small horn belonging to the *biang-akamayong* has *ngom* (porcupine tail) in it, also native medicine. It is used to cure people having witches. A bowl of medicine is made. The *ngom* is dipped in the medicine bowl and the sick person sprinkled with the medicine. Then the witch departs.

At this point the headman Esôya stopped talking. He said, "The children who have gathered around your house must go away; no real man dare talk about the *biang-akamayong* before women and children." I told the children to go and Esôya continued.

The whistle.—This is part of the *biang-akamayong*; it has been cooked (boiled) in the medicine bowl and has great power when used by the headman in calling the men together after a fight.

Moul.—This is the large horn with a piece of looking glass on top. This horn 789 contains much medicine, and next to the bones is the most important part of the 619 *biang-akamayong*.

The two small antelope horns, and the small bundles of medicine, are *biang e soli* (hiding medicine); it makes the person carrying the *biang-akamayong* invisible to the enemy.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

The skin of a bush cat is part of the *biang-akamayong* called "Nsin." 789

The Mvang.—A triangular piece of iron filled with medicine, used to keep away witches, is also part of the *biang-akamayong.* 619

Biang-akong or *biang-abal* (war medicine).—This is also part of the *biang-akamayong*, and the shots from the guns of an enemy are of no avail.

One other important fetish hangs with the *biang-akamayong.*

A piece of very hard wood. Only a certain kind of woman is selected to find this wood; she is called a special or *selected* woman on account of certain peculiarities connected with her, *e.g.*, she always fails to catch fish, she may try all day but will not succeed in catching fish. The husband of such a woman, after intercourse with her, fails to catch fish the next day, he also fails to work. This is the kind of woman always selected to find this wood; it is hard wood, she is a hard woman, and she is called *Emunega ane alert* (the woman who is hard). This medicine is also called *biang-akong*, and shot from the guns of an enemy will not harm. [177] [824]

This is the *Biang-akamayong.*

XIII.—*Witchcraft. Evus.* (*Witch.*)

If a person goes out to make witch (witch medicine, or play witch to harm others) he dies. The people take him to the backyard. Other people say, "We want to take the witch." If the corpse is a female, they open the belly. If the corpse is a male, they open the heart. They see the witch, they take it. If they bring the witch, they lay it on the smoke shelf. It dries. When finished drying they say, "We will use it as medicine." 754

This is *Evus* (witch).

Cursing dead Relations.—Written at Foulabifong, Nkomo river, April 13th, 1898. Told me by Ôvôn; fully confirmed by Ogandaga and Interpreter Roby.

E'kanesong (to curse dead relations).—This is a Fang custom. A man has a palaver with another, or goods stolen. He desires to get even with the thief. He calls a friend and curses his friend's dead relations, saying. 754 578

"Go and kill that person for me, or go and make him pay me goods; if you do so, I will then pay you for having cursed your dead relations." It is a serious matter to have dead relations cursed, and the friend feels very bad. He must do as bid, or he is branded as a coward, and after he has completed his task he then makes claim for payment. 626

Nge me bā jam dili, nge me ta minbin (If I do it, may I see the corpses [of my people]). A Fang way of swearing an oath. [539

Ami ye minbim mia, yinga me bat (My friend, by the corpses of your relations, kill those people for me).

Notes on *Ebômada* (a curse).

Ilong s'ayoge (a curse that kills).

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

754 *Vazege me ilong onga lóm me* (Take away the curse you have [sent] put
578 upon me).
626 *Vazege me bibomeda* (Take away the curse).
539 *Vazege me biyoge* (Take away the curse).
Bôt bene mbômeda eb Anyambe edjam é mam mebê móa (People are cursed of God on account of their sins).

XIV.—*The Ngi.* (*A Fang Secret Society.*)

To members (*Bemvon*) the following things or *bityi* are forbidden :—
575 *Bityi* :—

1. To go and make or play at witch (make *evus*).
2. A male fowl is not to be eaten (shared) by two men of different clans.
3. Fish called *ngole* must not be partaken of with a woman.
4. Only the initiated are permitted to eat the fish called *ngone*.
5. Only the initiated may witness the Ngi dances. A woman who attempts to witness an Ngi dance will sicken and die.
6. Only the initiated must know about the bones used by Ngi.
7. A member of the Ngi society is not permitted to sleep on his back.
8. Food refuse must not be destroyed by fire.
9. To spit in the fire is against the law of Ngi (not permitted).
10. An uninitiated person will die if embraced by an Ngi.
11. To kick over rotten wood, logs, or forest stumps, is forbidden.
12. To cut a stick half through in the bush, and then bring it to town and break it, is forbidden. It must be cut through and the two pieces carried.
13. To kick the feet together after getting in bed, for the purpose of removing dust, is forbidden.

The violation of any of these mentioned *bityi* will bring misfortune and death on the *bemvon* (member).

Ngi means gorilla among the Fang; Nji means gorilla among the Bulu. The Bulu have the Nji secret society, which is reported as being precisely similar to the Fang Ngi; it came to the Bulu from the Fang.

XV.—*War.*

During a tribal war all adults act as warriors. There is no regular organisation
726 of fighting men. It is a typical guerilla warfare. Parties of young men go forth at night to attack towns; others watch the forest paths to shoot men passing and
[18] women going to work in the gardens. The Fang are noted for their love of war; they are the most warlike people in all West Africa. When a tribal war is on, a headman frequently goes out with a raiding party to attack the town; he carries with him the *biang-akamayong* (protecting medicine of the tribe). The usual mode of attack is as follows: Having decided to attack a town, the party of men (usually ten or

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

fifteen) take their flint-lock muskets, heavily loaded with trade powder and 726
handful of broken iron pot (iron trade pots) or small stones, and creep up close to the town after dark. Two men try to enter the town unobserved; if they succeed, then they knock at the door of a hut and say, "We are strangers travelling; give us fire and food." Directly a person inside the house opens the door, both men discharge their guns into the house, and immediately run for the bush toward their comrades. The whole town is soon in pursuit, and unless careful they run into an ambuscade prepared for them. A fight may occur, but more often the attacking party return to their town in triumph, shouting: "We are real men, we are real men, we have been to town, we have shot a man (or woman), we are men 726
—real men." There is great rejoicing in their town, and a dance follows. If the 712
palaver is a serious one, the town is often stockaded with split logs placed vertically in the ground; huts are likewise stockaded. Poisoned bamboo spikes are buried in the forest paths to wound the feet of an enemy. The weapons used and relied on [411]
to-day are flint-lock muskets. Spears are rapidly falling into disuse. The cross-bow is only used for shooting birds and small bush cats. It is a mistaken idea that the arrows used with the cross-bow are poisoned. Shields are not used. The chief 721
causes of war are disputes over women, hence called "women palavers," and these 727
feuds may last for years. Prisoners are often permitted to starve to death, and are occasionally killed and eaten. Owing to a bitter feud it is often impossible for the women to work in the gardens or fish on the river, the consequence being a great scarcity of food. In Foulabifong, where I resided, a woman palaver lasted over ten months, and the three adjoining towns were in a state of famine. A prisoner was nearly starved to death, and I had to repeatedly plead for him. During these feuds many women are shot while walking the paths. The Fang think it quite [726]
correct to shoot a woman; they say, "It is always *safe* to shoot a woman because [562]
she cannot shoot back." Prisoners are frequently exchanged, others are held as hostages.

Abal (war). Translation.

If people are going to war they go in crowds. If they approach near the 726
town (of the enemy) they hold a council. An old man (one) he says thus: We 539
will go to fire when? Then the others say, We will go in the night. Then they stay (sit) there until night. Darkness comes, and they light a torch. Then two or three people go to the town, and the other people remain in the bush. If the people who went to the town find people sleeping, then they point their guns inside a house and fire. Then people die. Then they go back running to meet the other people. Then they all gather in one place and return singing to their own town. Then they beat the drum and rejoice. Then the people who remained in the town say: Tell us the news as you went. Then they tell the news. Then the headman sits down and tells all the people in town that a person must not go anywhere alone. Then all the people hear, and all sit down (remain around their town to await events).

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

Ngang (Doctor). Translation.

[787] The Ngang (witch doctor) prophesies war. If the war comes and is in the
726 bush, then the doctor takes medicine wrapped in bush cat skin called *mebup*, and
539 medicine in horns. He holds the horns in his hands. He counts the horns; he
789 hangs the *mebup*. He says to the *mebup*, I say thus: No person must go to the forest. If a person goes anywhere the enemy will kill him. If a person says, I will not listen to the doctors' talk, I will go and do my work; then if he goes, the enemy kill him. If they kill a person, they take the heart and put it in the *abup*. They take an old witch and put it in the *abup*. Then if the doctor prophesies, the witch speaks from inside the medicine. The heart of the person, it talks.

XVI.—*Hunting Traps.*

The Fang are skilful hunters, but they justly give the credit of the chase to
224 the *Nqui* (dwarfs). I have been told that a dwarf will go hunting in the bush and return with meat after a hunting party has returned unsuccessful from the same locality; the dwarfs have great patience. If while hunting in the forest a man sees a deer, he shouts for assistance: others come and help hunt. If the deer is killed, all claim a share, after one-third has been given to the man who first sighted the game. This is the custom when a man walking unarmed in the forest sights meat, and calls for aid. Meat killed by a regular hunting party is carried to their town and divided. Dogs are used to hunt game, the dogs wear wooden bells around the neck, sometimes the bells are made of iron. Flint-lock guns are used when hunting. Before a hunting party starts out it is the custom to make *biang nzali* (gun medicine), and to place the guns in it; this makes them shoot straight. The natives imitate very cleverly the calls of certain animals and birds for the purpose of decoy. Occasionally they drive game into an enclosure called *olam*. Spears are seldom used in the chase. The crossbow is used for shooting birds and small bush cats.

Poisoned arrows are not used with the crossbow. Pitfalls for game are dug and
[441] covered with small branches and leaves; pigs and small deer frequently fall into them. A Fang never attempts to hit a bird on the wing. In firing the flint-locks the gun is not carried to the shoulder, but held by the stock in front of the body, the butt being on a level with the waist. Game laws are unknown.

After a successful hunting expedition the whole town indulges in a feast, men, women, and children eat until gorged; after a period of rest dancing commences and is kept up throughout the night.

Olam (Trap). Translation.

224 They take small trees and bamboo leaves and bush rope, and make a long
539 fence. They leave holes for the traps and holes for the pitfalls (*i.e.*, opposite the

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

places where they are going to build these respectively), large bush rat, porcupine, 224
squirrels, die in the traps; deer, gazelle, antelope, large deer and pigs die in the 539
pitfalls. The animals which die in the *olam* are these. This is the *olam*.

XVII.—*Burials.*

Death is never considered as due to natural causes. Disease followed by death 764
is due to *evus* (witch). It is not considered unlucky to attend a dying person. [761]
The body is usually left in the house until burial. Embalming is not practised. Mourners smear white clay on their bodies and wear necklaces of pineapple fibre for one moon (month). A coffin is not used and the body is buried in the sitting posture. After burial the grave is levelled off as is the case almost throughout West Africa; the only difference between the burial of a headman and a common man is in the amount of visitors and mourning, and the quarrelling over his goods. Wives of a dead headman remain in mourning from one to three moons (months). 765
The witch doctor, *ngungan*, usually performs a post mortem to find the witch. I attended a post mortem on an old woman. The witch doctor ripped open the [763]
abdomen with an old rusty knife, grasped and cut away the uterus and holding it up to the crowd declared "Six witches!" The crowd passed the word "six witches," and spoke the praises of the witch doctor. Relations usually continue to mourn or wail for one moon while inside the house or at work in the gardens. The most common wail is *Ô nan Ô! Ô tat Ô!* (Oh mother! Oh father!).

XVIII.—*Akôm.*

This is a dance. It is not *biang* (medicine) nor is it *aki*. It is, however, 535
practised by men only. The women must not see it. The latter stay within doors, 534
and only hear the words which the men speak outside. The men speak with artificial voices, so that the women cannot recognise who it is that is speaking. (*Fam a kobo ne kiâ zie nkôt.*) To make the artificial sounds they use a membrane (*ism*) which encloses the young of the spider (*adembôa*). This they spread over a hole (about ¼ inch diameter) near the small end of an elephant tusk (*mbang nank*) from 1 to 2½ feet in length, attaching it with beeswax (*abê*) or a liquid which is obtained from a plantain stalk fresh cut. This juice is called *akirl*. It possesses an adhesive property. The man blows on the large end of the ivory. A curious sound then issues through the membrane so that the man's voice cannot be recognised. This instrument is called *mbang akôm*. The act of playing on the instrument is called *e kobe akôm* (*e kobe*, talk). The performer sings songs; the words are distinctly heard. He sings and all others sing responsively (*a ye be'bengeen b'aka*).

Many songs are used in *akôm*. Here are three specimens of them:— 533
(1) *Benas b'abete kobo? Bao benga ung med.* Who speaks any more? 539
(*i.e.*, Be silent, let no one speak.) Others are listening with pleasure (*i.e.*, to the performance).

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

533 Response by the audience: *Nangekobe.* This word seems to have no meaning but to be simply used as a responsive utterance.

539 (2) *Akôm ke yeye nnam.* Let not the *akôm* sing my song. This supposes that another similar performance (*akôm*) is going on in the neighbourhood, and the performers in it are urged not to make use of the song used by those in the first (*akôm*).

Response: *Ziazia, akôm ke yeye nnam.* The word *ziazia*, like *nangekobe*, appears to have no meaning, and to be simply used as a responsive utterance.

(3) *K'e bele me nnak nem ne mabata.* Do not catch hold of my instrument (tusk of elephant) with *mabata*, *i.e.*, because you have the sickness *mabata* (a kind of sloughing phagedina).

Response: *Ziazia*; *ke bele me nnak nem ne mabata.*

XIX.—*Abnormalities (Natural Deformities), Albinism, Erythrism.*

During my residence among the Fang I saw five albinoes (shown on lantern 732 slide). The natives say of these albinoes: "They are white, but *not real* white 143 people." They are treated fairly well; their ever restless eyes cause them much ridicule and annoyance. I know of only one being married. They are not long lived. After death the skull of an albino is greatly valued for medicine, especially for placing with the *Mang-ahamayong* (protector of the tribe).

Erythrism is occasionally met with. A red-haired Fang lived in the town of Jam-anen (large affair); his skin was chocolate colour, but his eyes had a pale pinkish colour. The first sight of a red-headed black man surprised me very much.

Hare lip is very rarely seen.

One case of hermaphrodism came under my notice, a Fang male; he was looked on as an *ngengum* (witch doctor) of great power, and was much reverenced.

Deformations (Artificial Deformities).

304 A. *Facial.*—The triangular nasal cartilage is frequently pierced. This practice is mostly indulged in by women. Bars of bamboo are inserted or porcupine quills. It is considered *mbang* (handsome).

The lips are not pierced or deformed in any way.

The ears are pierced and ear-rings worn.

Fetish is also suspended from the ears.

B. *Dental.*—Males file the upper and lower incisors to a sharp point. The only reason given is, "it is *mbang*" (handsome).

XX.—*Fang Proverbs and Sayings.*

539 *Me bôn nnam alem*, I think in my heart.

Me ka, I am gone, said in taking leave.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

A akubut ulem, he has a foolish heart.

A ngogi ngile nie, he likes his own body (is conceited). 539

Ant dili ŋyiada mewu, this matter (palaver or quarrel) is pushed back (*i.e.*, is to be forgotten).

Wyen ngil, w'yen ndi, mût ekige yen ewoben, you see your grandson and your great-grandson, but you cannot see the next generation.

Kunge ano a le ue ewabi, go; your father calls you down the street (a hint to leave).

Aseng aseti da bôl anu, one rotten tooth spoils all (a person once caught lying cannot be trusted).

Me si mone bul mayong mese, I am not sister's son to all tribes (*i.e.*, I am not everybody's servant).

Ejô ewage ane gîma, another day is beautiful (like our saying "Every dog has his day").

Mon ben a'yen aseti, mon mût meyen m'bei, you can see a ghost once but a person twice.

Mon mie medub m'bei, mon ngui adul: aserti, you can cheat a Fang twice, a dwarf once (here the word *mie* is used for *Fang*).

Jô side aseti, there is more than one day (my turn will come).

M'nidie menge, I am not a child.

Discussion.

Mr. Crooke, after acknowledging the value of Dr. Bennett's researches among a most interesting people, called attention to the attribution of the art of metallurgy to the dwarf race, which corresponded with European folk-belief. He dwelt on the respect paid to the Palaver House; he gathered that a fire was kept there perpetually burning, though the cult of the sacred fire seemed to have been forgotten. It would thus correspond to the early Aryan institution of the house where the sacred fire was tended, which survived in the Greek Prytaneum. The author of the paper seemed to have failed to appreciate the motive of the rites of passing widows through fire and flagellating them. Judging from the analogy of similar rites in India and elsewhere, the object was to free the woman from the ghost of her late husband, which was supposed to cling to and possess her. 171

Mr. FitzGerald Marriott asked whether the witch-doctor who wore the white mask was a *Ngi*, since in certain parts of West Africa the witch-doctor was independent of the tribal society, while in others he was a member. He also asked whether the dance, in which Dr. Bennett says is played the "Embankong" (?) musical instrument made from an elephant's tusk, is in reality a species of secret society; for women and children are not allowed to see it, and it takes place by torch-light after dark. Thus it might answer to the Zan-gbe-to of the Slave Coast, which is a species of police society for seeing that every one is in his house after 9 o'clock at night, or like the Ayaka society of a district near the Kwa Ibo river, which sees that all the fires are out by a certain time. These societies also dance, sing and shout; therefore, as there is usually something beneath West African dances, it is probable that the players and dancers are a secret society or that there is some explanation for the existence of the dance. He also remarked

8: Bennett D-5 (ca.1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

171 that the rules of the Ngi society, which Dr. Bennett had read them, were a great step to obtaining the secret ritual of the society. Dr. Bennett had mentioned various ibets or taboos peculiar to this society; Mr. MARRIOTT said that these were to be found in most secret societies. For instance, in the Kofôn(g) of the little-known Limba tribe of Sierra Leone, one of the taboos was that of sitting on an axe, or other sharp instrument; another prohibition was that of allowing any one to hold a glowing firebrand to their face. These actions were tabooed because they were included in the ceremony of initiation. He knew other instances, and therefore he concluded that the taboos mentioned by Dr. Bennett were probably actions that formed part of the ritual of initiation or progression in the secret grades.

ORDINARY MEETING.

000

MAY 30TH, 1899.

C. H. READ, Esq., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and passed.

List of books lately presented to the Institute was read, and the thanks of the Meeting was expressed. Mr. Ling Roth's *Aborigines of Tasmania* was mentioned more especially.

Elections of RICHARD J. A. BERRY, Esq., and F. SWYNNERTON, Esq., as Fellows of the Institute, were announced.

The PRESIDENT then introduced Colonel R. C. TEMPLE, who proceeded to read his paper, "On the Beginnings of Currency," which was well illustrated by lantern slides. He also exhibited a valuable collection of Agri beads.

Discussion was carried on by the PRESIDENT, Professor RIDGWAY, and Mr. GOWLAND, the latter exhibiting a collection of Japanese currency in support of Colonel Temple's views.

After a short reply from Colonel TEMPLE, the evening closed with a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES
on
THE FAN TRIBES OF THE MIDDLE OGOOUÉ (GABON)

by
Édouard Trézenem

Notice

121 The notes which we present here do not aim to be a monograph on the entire Fan [Fang] nation but only a purely objective description of the present life of the Fan tribes which inhabit the Ogooué region. This description, moreover, does not pretend to be without gaps.

121 194 On many points, particularly regarding the religious life, the customs of these tribes may appear to be quite different from those described by the authors who have spoken about the Fan and even about those tribes which live farther inland, towards the lands of the Woleu-N'tem or of the Ivíndo [River]. In the Ogooué [area], these differences seem to be due to continued contact with Europeans, to the influence of Christian missions which have a catechist in each village, and to the expansion of relations with neighboring peoples.

We will not discuss these in principle, nor will we attempt to follow the progressive evolution of the tribes, having in mind only a work of documentation.

The Country and Its Inhabitants

[131] 133 137 The region where we began our inquiry is situated below the equator, in Gabon, in the [area of the] middle Ogooué. In this, a land largely of forests, one finds in the west, on the banks of the river and its tributaries (the Abanga at the right, the Mbumi at the left) low, heavily forested areas, flooded in the rainy season, from which arise a few narrow ridges [66], some dozen meters in height at the most, where villages have been established. Many marshes, and lakes

shed with a roof low enough to /43/ give good protection from the sun. Some villages are placed at right angles to the road; others follow an L or Y plan, with several minseñ. Family "allotments" are separated by hedges of euphorbia, castor-oil plant, hibiscus, and bougainvillea. Sometimes one comes across sheepfolds, although in old-style (and most contemporary) villages small livestock roam at will. A village often includes a guesthouse (ayak).

In building operations the man generally takes charge of the framework and the laths, leaving to the women the preparation and application of the banco /clay daub?/. But European-style huts with their elaborate door frames and often cement floors are more and more the work of specialized artisans, who are paid to supervise the family labor provided by the owner. These men have nevertheless preserved, along with the English term "mason," the old name nloñ nda, literally, hut-weaver, which goes back to the time when huts were made of sewn bark (1).

1. The dwelling continues to evolve: framed doors, windows, and shutters are in general use today. The dimensions of the buildings lead to the construction of a real frame. Finally, to possess a sheet-iron roof is a sign of wealth. In recent years there has arisen a real passion for the improvement of dwelling: in the Cameroons we may estimate that 10 percent of the dwellings now built in the bush are the most modern type. (J.B.)

2. Groupings and Relationships

The main divisions of Pahouin society are both exactly defined in the minds of its members themselves and at the same time uncertain for the European observer, who is constantly tempted to state them clearly in organic forms accessible to his "logic" and who is hindered by the variations or the dialectal confusions of Pahouin terminology. Father Trilles, basing his observations on the Fang of Gabon alone, reached a sort of palaeontological reconstruction of the "Fang nation," extremely theoretical, yet not without basis

571 121 114 [165] however, since traces of it can be recognized in the contemporary movement for Pahouin Regrouping represented in the Cameroons by the U. T. N. K. party (N'Tem Kribi Tribal Union). Such /theoretical/ constructs are still rather risky in our present state of knowledge, and it is better to limit ourselves to a pure and simple description, resorting as little as possible to interpretation, which in any case should be done with hesitancy.

128 571 I shall therefore limit muself here to the attempt to perceive Pahouin society on three essential structural levels, while emphasizing again the necessarily arbitrary and incomplete nature of such a proceeding.

These three levels are the most easily perceptible to the European observer and at the same time the most significant, apparently, in the eyes of the Pahouin themselves. These are, what I shall call, for lack of anything better and because they are the terms particularly retained by the administration, the tribe, the clan, and the extended family or village family. Something will also have to be said about intermediate structures such as lineages, segments /fractions/, and village groups, and a little more on the subject of the household or limited family, whose importance is increasing. /44/

a. The Tribe

GA I designate as "tribe" what Trilles calls "group," while he keeps the term "tribe"—as do many observers in Gabon—for what I call "clan." This is because in southern Gabon there is only one "tribe" in the sense I understand, that of the true Fang, or Fang-Fang as Spanish writers call them.

I know of no Pahouin word specifically denoting tribe, Trilles uses the expression mfulane meyoñ, that is, "all of the clans together." In fact, and this is no doubt significant, the term most commonly used is ayoñ, which also denotes what I call clan. Mfulane meyoñ is used particularly when there is occasion to specify that one is referring to a higher structural level, sometimes also referred to as ngum ayoñ, "the clan as a whole," or meyoñ mese, "all the clans." (1) Nevertheless, the tribe is indeed a reality, in spite of this

1. American translators of the Bible have used ayoñ for "people" as well as for "tribe" and "realm."

6:Alexandre and Binet--; G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

/v/ Preface

Since 1945 the International African Institute has been engaged in the preparation and publication of a series of ethnographic studies of Africa, with the purpose of presenting in convenient form a summary of contemporary knowledge about the various African peoples, as to natural environment, economy and industries, social structure, political organization, religious beliefs and rituals. The material that has already been published provides a basis for these studies, and numerous unpublished documents derived from administrative reports and from the archives of missionary societies are being put to use in the same way as are field observations and special communications by ethnologists and qualified persons. Each volume in this series is devoted to a people, or group of related peoples, and contains a detailed bibliography and a map.

The committee for the series was set up under the chairmanship of /the late/ Professor Radcliffe-Brown; the director of the Institute is in charge of editorial organization. The generous cooperation of many research institutes and administrative officers in Europe and in the African countries has been promised, as have the services of experienced ethnologists.

The work was undertaken with the aid of a subsidy from United Kingdom Colonial Development and Welfare Funds on the recommendation of the Social Science Research Council /of the Colonial Office/. This subsidy has been employed mainly, but not entirely, to finance studies dealing with countries under United Kingdom jurisdiction. An additional subsidy from the government of the /former/ Anglo-Egyptian Sudan contributed to the preparation and publication of the volumes devoted to that territory.

The Ministry of Oversea France and the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire /French Institute of Black Africa/ have shown interest in this undertaking, and thanks to their good offices subsidies have been granted by the governments of French West Africa and the French Cameroons toward the preparation and publication of volumes pertaining to those regions. These volumes have been edited by French ethnologists, with the assistance and advice of Professor Griaule of the Sorbonne and of Father Th. Monod, director of the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire.

751 A preventive device consists of a brass ring worn on the left thumb, the ring having first been given curative powers by the medicine man through certain ceremonies, for instance, by boiling it in medicines.

752 278 If someone is stung by a scorpion, his urine is applied to the spot, something that the Pangwe ordinarily do not do with wounds. Later, they attempt to dispel the morbid matter by evil smells; [826] for instance, a leaf with vaginal slime is placed on the wound. The explanation by the informant ran as follows in the best coastal English (1):

[124] 1. In order to avoid misunderstandings it should be emphasized that my Pangwe people gave their reports in their own language, but that their statements were checked with the help of an English-speaking interpreter.

Bumbo	be	bad	ting,	dem	smell,	he
Vagina	is	bad	thing, (namely,)	the	smell,	it

come de!
comes out.

An injured foot is put in water in which stalks of Palisota preussiana (epfúpfū́ŋ) have been pounded to bits, or heated leaves of the calabash (ndǒk IV), together with oil, are rubbed on the injury, "because the calabash has a bad smell."

The very painful puncture made by the spiny-finned sheatfish (kō'meǰūm IV), for instance, Auchenoglanis balayi (Sauv.) (nsǰń I) pictured on Plate 9 of Volume I, for whose dorsal /183/ spikes the fisherman has great respect, is made harmless by tying a rope tightly around the arm and then holding the spot over the fire.

The Pangwe combat wasp and bee stings with Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth (abǒ'medzǎ'ń).

Bullets, that is, the pieces of iron with which the rifle is loaded and which, due to the aimless firing practiced by the Pangwe

114 ethnic groups in the same region, the Boulou subjects being classed
153 first on these points among the Pahouin tribes. Intelligence tests and mental-age evaluations made among school children and lycée students gave similar results in comparison with Africans of the same age. On the other hand, a comparison with European children living in the Cameroons showed a certain inferiority, from which it is still impossible to draw definitive conclusions because of the scarcity of "culture-free tests" used at the time. Projective tests administered
114 under the same conditions revealed schizoid tendencies with rather
157 marked aggression and a fairly high frequency of the Oedipus fixation with some transference /assimilation/ from father to white man. The difference in level from neighboring tribes was less clear among the lycée students than among school children, and less clear among the latter than among the laborers at Edéa. It must be emphasized
● [125] that these tests, especially the projective ones, involved a limited number of persons in particular situations outside the village milieu, that remains the background of the majority of their fellow tribesmen. I am not acquainted with the results of later research.

156 With regard to social psychology, we are also largely restricted to subjective evaluations in the same class as those mentioned at the beginning of this section. Allégret a half century ago remarked upon a defeatism more bitter since the Fang had come in contact with Europeans, and certain legends reported by Trilles and Largeau on the Jacob and Esau theme, with the white man in the role of the usurping younger brother, go some way to confirming this. Balandier has given a good description of contemporary expressions of this feeling of collective frustration, both in his Sociologie actuelle and in various articles, one of them with the significant title, "Les Fang, conquérants en disponibilité" /The Fang, Unattached Conquerors/, (nos. 175 and 173).

One striking trait, also emphasized by Balandier, is that of collective mistrust of successful persons. This may appear to contradict the previous statement about Pahouin individualism, but in fact it is precisely /90/ this individualism that produces a good share of the suspicion of the other individual (cf. in Ezo Boto, Ville cruelle, no. 182, the reactions of the hero Banda vis-à-vis the rebel Koumé).

556 We must also point out the psychological and social importance
156 of akum, wealth, and of biôm, possessions, especially imported possessions. Combined with the as yet little-studied concept of the

6: Alexandre and Binet--11 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

4. Survey of Demography

114 ●127 161

In addition to the usual reasons for lack of precision in demographic data, common to all the African territories (absence or inadequacy of a registery office, weak administrative structure, especially in the medical branch), there is in relation to the Pahouin group the fact of their belonging politically to four territories, of which one is not French.

For the southern Cameroons we have at our disposal good census returns and competent, up-to-date medical information issued periodically as a result of the obligation to furnish reports at regular intervals to the League of Nations and then to the United Nations. The heads of mobile teams of the S. H. M. P. /?/, which have been especially well staffed since Dr. Jamot's campaigns, collect during each tour anthropological information /9/ as satisfactory as their multiple duties and the intellectual and social level of the surveyed areas allow. The military personnel provided in varying proportions by the territorial administration permitted many colonial officials, particularly before and during the last war, to make individual studies, often detailed, such as those of E. André on the demographic development of the Ntoumou of Ambam.

The situation is less satisfactory in French Equatorial Africa. First of all the Federation government has never, like that of the Cameroons, had to arrange for regular reports to be submitted to international agencies. Furthermore—and especially—meager budgets have often forced the administration to assign territorial commands—whose headquarters and location have many times been changed—to junior officers or to subordinate civil servants lacking the necessary training for profitable work in this field and hampered, moreover, by the very size of the thinly populated districts. For a long time only approximate estimates were available for Gabon and the Middle Congo, erring mostly on the side of administrative optimism, in no way motivated by scientific considerations. The situation has greatly improved since 1946, but the imaginary character or inadequacy of earlier data may well falsify the conclusions to a considerable extent(1).

1. Cf. Sautter, L'utilisation des documents administratifs pour l'etude de la population du Moyen-Congo et du Gabon /Utilization of

114
127
161

administrative documents for population study in the Middle Congo and Gabon/, Bulletin de l'Institut d'Études centrafricaines, 1954, Nos. 7-8; Ziegle, Afrique équatoriale française /French Equatorial Africa/, Berger-Levrault, Paris, 1952, p. x; Christol, Un essai de fichier demographique au Cameroun /An Attempt at Demographic Classification in the Cameroons/, Bulletin mensuel de statistique d'Outre-mer, 1951, No. 20.

Finally, for Spanish Guinea the sources are rather inaccessible and of very uneven value. The best are probably the reports submitted by the scientific expedition of 1948 organized by the /Spanish/ Department for Morocco and the Colonies, of which the Anthropological Commission apparently made a study of demographic development in collaboration with the colony's health service: these reports I have not been able to obtain. The fiscal census carried out by Civil Guard officers in command of the "Demarcaciones /Demarcations/" seems to be considered a state secret; the census returns prepared by the Roman Catholic missions appear unreliable. If one accepts the total population figure given by official statistics, supposedly 172, 000 persons, it would be necessary to put the number of "Pamue" (the Spanish form of mpangwé) at about 50 percent of that total. Estimates made during the recent war by civil administrators and frontier officers of Gabon and the Cameroons are much lower, giving a total of about 130, 000 inhabitants, 50, 000 to 60, 000 of whom were Pahouin. Likewise, Spanish medical reports seem to be colored with a possible excessive optimism, attributing specially to biological causes a rise in population that results mainly from immigration.

In conclusion, the lack of agreement about even the composition of the Pahouin group makes the figures vary greatly, whether round estimates /10, table on pp. 12a-12e/ or genuine demographic indices. Thus we meet with totals that vary from 650, 000 to 1, 500, 000 Pahouin, with the differential index clearly positive or clearly negative according to the writer.

161
163

My own estimate of about 820, 000 takes account of Pahouin only in the strict sense and leaves out the tribes whose affiliation is debatable (1). This group as a whole is growing slightly (the differential

128 I am using the concept "medicine" in the sense used by the Pangwe /Ed., the author uses Pangwe [Fang] as the name for a group of tribes in which the Fang are one tribe; the others are the Eton, Mwele [Mvele], Jaunde [Yaunde], Bene [Bane], Bulu, Ntum, Mwai [Mvae], and Mokuk (Oschüeba)/, who have a much broader conception of it than we do and unite under the term bią̌n, "medicine," various things which we are accustomed to separate, namely, charms, means for bringing luck and avoiding misfortune, remedies for cult sicknesses, and healing remedies in our sense of the term. In addition, I shall include the food taboos (eki).

759 The knowledge of medicines is fairly widespread among the Pangwe. Each Pangwe man -- and /144/ even each Pangwe woman -- is familiar with half a dozen or at least a few. However, only a person who is an extraordinarily good observer, who does not stay at home as does the average Pangwe, and who has gained experience and knowledge is designated as a medicine man, ngěṅgǎ'ṅ I. As was observed in an earlier section /Ed., Vol. I, Section 8/, extreme specialization of all knowledge and skills is found among the Pangwe. This is no less the case with medicines. One man may be familiar with cult medicines, another with ewu medicines; others specialize in the opening of corpses for the detection of ewu, still others specialize in skin diseases, etc. Within these areas specialization goes still farther. Individual medicine men may be specialists for a particular disease (e.g., leprosy) or for a particular method of treating this disease. Such a specialist is called ongěṅgǎ'ṅ. He is frequently sought from a great distance by patients who do not have a specialist for their case or one of sufficient repute in their own villages.

424 759 461 Medical knowledge is not guarded as a legacy in certain families, but is the property of individuals and is imparted to others by the expert in return for cash payment. This is a business deal of such great importance that a father seldom or never instructs his own son in medical knowledge, as he could not accept much payment from him -- particularly since it is in a sense a matter of his own money -- and he would not do it for nothing

CHAPTER 6

THE BETI AND THE PAHOUIN

THE BETI OR BATI

128 /Pp. 1-56 not translated/ In the introductory section devoted to the peopling of the area, we have spoken of the Beti, or Bati, who certainly comprised a large group with many branches. They have been subject to many upheavals and, consequently, it is impossible to determine which of them have remained pure Beti and which—according to G. Tessmann's expression—have become "Pahouinized," and to what extent they have become "Pahouinized." Therefore, we will first devote a short paragraph to the Beti, and then another to the Pahouin /Pahuin/.

In the discussion which follows we will speak first of the populations which the authors have grouped under the name of Beti, and then, imperceptibly, we will move on to the Pahouin, but we are not able to decide exactly where the dividing line should be placed.

173 131 It is certain that the various branches of the Beti, or Bati, spread over a large area. According to the oral traditions of a number of these peoples, their original habitat was north of the Sanaga River, and near its tributary the Mbam /M'Bam/. /Map 1/ A tiny group of these Bati remained there, and they may still be found southwest of Bafia, on the right bank of the Lihoua, a tributary of the Sanaga. Their little territory of barely 20 square kilometers is wedged in between the Yambasa /Yambassa/ in the east, the Lemande in the north, [161] and the Baso in the west and to the south. There are only 800 persons altogether in the villages of Keleng (on the route from Bafia to Ngambe) and the hamlets of Mpouke and Nyambat.

167 Others of the Beti remained north of the Sanaga and divided into a scattering of small groups; when the Germans found them they had not united /58/ and were still migrating. They did not become settled until the Babute had been pushed back to their former habitat by the new occupants.

192 Maka-Ngumba, from Jem-Dzimu, and from coastal Bantu. The European contributions would come more from Coast English for Ewôndo and Boulou, from Portuguese "sabir"* for Fang, but Coast

[198] /* A mixture of Arabic, French, Italian, Spanish, etc., used in the Levant and Africa. —Tr./

English is increasing its influence on the whole group, as French is doing. The Abbé Walker mentions Arabic influences, but the only authentic examples are extremely rare: I only know of banga (Indian hemp) and arki (alcohol).

3. Characteristics of the Language

193 Sentence structure follows the order: subject, verb, attributive complement, objective complement.

Thus: M'aboté évet zel = I moisten chief beard (I grease the chief's palm).

The qualifier, adverb or epithet, is usually but not always placed before the word modified:

abeñ minga = pretty woman; mbia môt = wicked man; ôbe anen = rather large; but

anen abui = very large; bôte bela = three people.

192 Trilles, in Totemism among the Fang (no. 166) (1), estimates

[199] 1. The numbers inside parentheses refer to corresponding numbers in the Bibliography, p. 179.

the vocabulary at 18,000 words, undoubtedly counting as separate words certain derivatives, especially verbal inflections, which could as well be classed with the radical form, as to Bates and Good; they obtained a Boulou vocabulary of about 7,000 words, which is far from being complete. The correct number must be near 10,000 to 12,000 at least. While the language has been enriched by European and non-Pahouin African loan words, it appears at the same time to have been impoverished by the loss of certain nuances of meaning, of technical or religious terms, of older literary or poetical figures

however, since traces of it can be recognized in the contemporary movement for Pahouin Regrouping represented in the Cameroons by the U. T. N. K. party (N'Tem Kribi Tribal Union). Such /theoretical/ constructs are still rather risky in our present state of knowledge, and it is better to limit ourselves to a pure and simple description, resorting as little as possible to interpretation, which in any case should be done with hesitancy.

I shall therefore limit muself here to the attempt to perceive Pahouin society on three essential structural levels, while emphasizing again the necessarily arbitrary and incomplete nature of such a proceeding.

These three levels are the most easily perceptible to the European observer and at the same time the most significant, apparently, in the eyes of the Pahouin themselves. These are, what I shall call, for lack of anything better and because they are the terms particularly retained by the administration, the tribe, the clan, and the extended family or village family. Something will also have to be said about intermediate structures such as lineages, segments /fractions/, and village groups, and a little more on the subject of the household or limited family, whose importance is increasing. /44/

a. The Tribe

I designate as "tribe" what Trilles calls "group," while he keeps the term "tribe"—as do many observers in Gabon—for what I call "clan." This is because in southern Gabon there is only one "tribe" in the sense I understand, that of the true Fang, or Fang-Fang as Spanish writers call them.

I know of no Pahouin word specifically denoting tribe, Trilles uses the expression mfulane meyõ̃, that is, "all of the clans together." In fact, and this is no doubt significant, the term most commonly used is ayõ̃, which also denotes what I call clan. Mfulane meyõ̃ is used particularly when there is occasion to specify that one is referring to a higher structural level, sometimes also referred to as ngum ayõ̃, "the clan as a whole," or meyõ̃ mese, "all the clans." (1) Nevertheless, the tribe is indeed a reality, in spite of this

1. American translators of the Bible have used ayõ̃ for "people" as well as for "tribe" and "realm."

1: Tessmann--xiii E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

The Pangwe Region

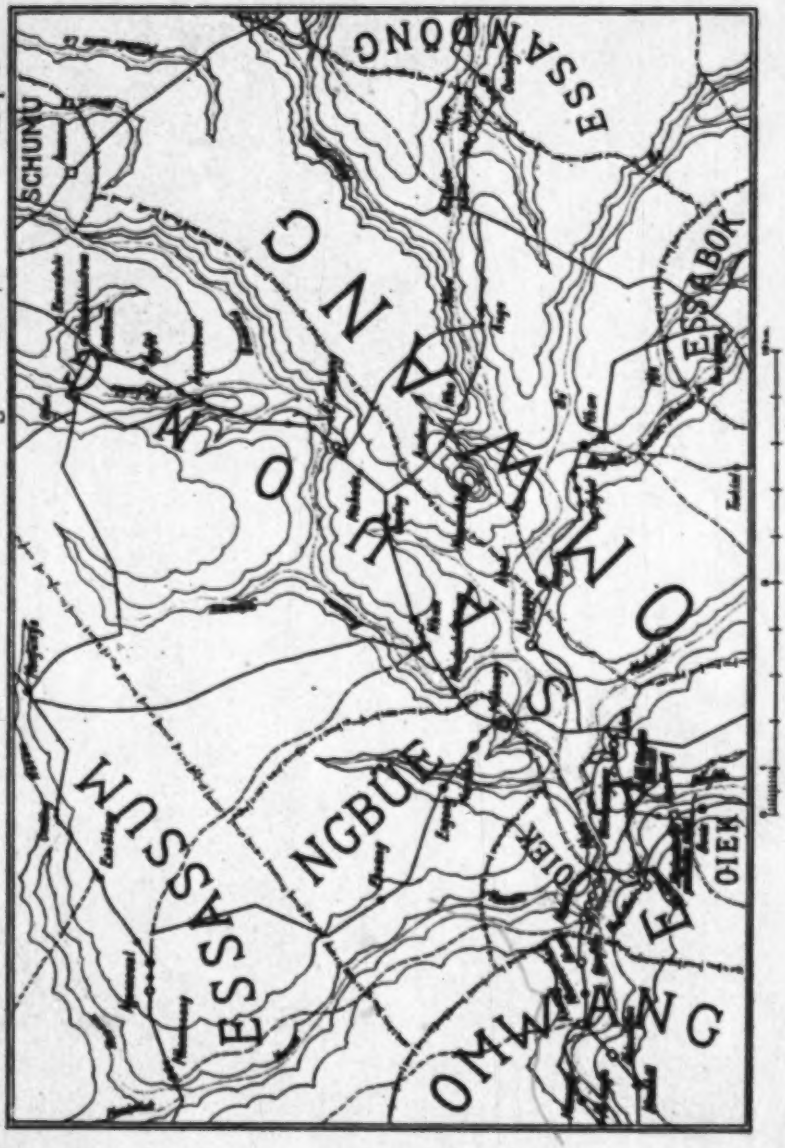
B1
496

Map 1.

●131
133
361
619

Map 2

Families and Settlements in the Pangwe Area.



ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES
on
THE FAN TRIBES OF THE MIDDLE OGOOUÉ (GABON)

by
Édouard Trézenem

Notice

121 The notes which we present here do not aim to be a monograph on the entire Fan [Fang] nation but only a purely objective description of the present life of the Fan tribes which inhabit the Ogooué region. This description, moreover, does not pretend to be without gaps.

121 194 On many points, particularly regarding the religious life, the customs of these tribes may appear to be quite different from those described by the authors who have spoken about the Fan and even about those tribes which live farther inland, towards the lands of the Woleu-N'tem or of the Ivindo [River]. In the Ogooué [area], these differences seem to be due to continued contact with Europeans, to the influence of Christian missions which have a catechist in each village, and to the expansion of relations with neighboring peoples.

We will not discuss these in principle, nor will we attempt to follow the progressive evolution of the tribes, having in mind only a work of documentation.

The Country and Its Inhabitants

[131] 133 137 The region where we began our inquiry is situated below the equator, in Gabon, in the [area of the] middle Ogooué. In this, a land largely of forests, one finds in the west, on the banks of the river and its tributaries (the Abanga at the right, the Mbumi at the left) low, heavily forested areas, flooded in the rainy season, from which arise a few narrow ridges [66], some dozen meters in height at the most, where villages have been established. Many marshes, and lakes

CHAPTER 6

THE BETI AND THE PAHOUIN

THE BETI OR BATI

128 /Pp. 1-56 not translated/ In the introductory section devoted to the peopling of the area, we have spoken of the Beti, or Bati, who certainly comprised a large group with many branches. They have been subject to many upheavals and, consequently, it is impossible to determine which of them have remained pure Beti and which—according to G. Tessmann's expression—have become "Pahouinized," and to what extent they have become "Pahouinized." Therefore, we will first devote a short paragraph to the Beti, and then another to the Pahouin /Pahuin/.

In the discussion which follows we will speak first of the populations which the authors have grouped under the name of Beti, and then, imperceptibly, we will move on to the Pahouin, but we are not able to decide exactly where the dividing line should be placed.

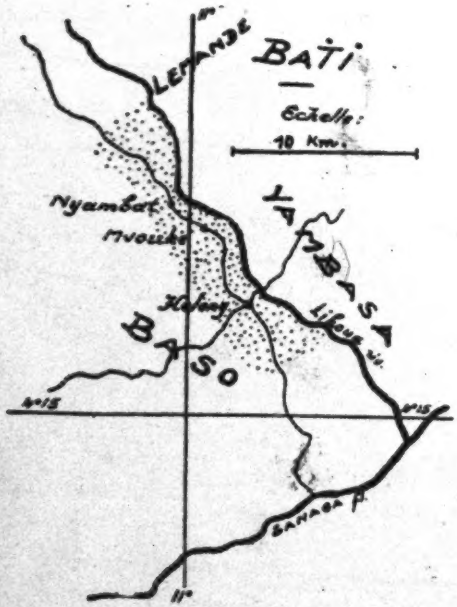
173 It is certain that the various branches of the Beti, or Bati, spread
● 131 over a large area. According to the oral traditions of a number of these peoples, their original habitat was north of the Sanaga River, and near its tributary the Mbam /M'Bam/. /Map 1/ A tiny group of these Bati remained there, and they may still be found southwest of Bafia, on the right bank of the Lihoua, a tributary of the Sanaga. Their little territory of barely 20 square kilometers is wedged in between the Yambasa /Yambassa/ in the east, the Lemande in the north,
[161] and the Baso in the west and to the south. There are only 800 persons altogether in the villages of Keleng (on the route from Bafia to Ngambe) and the hamlets of Mpouke and Nyambat.

167 Others of the Beti remained north of the Sanaga and divided into a scattering of small groups; when the Germans found them they had not united /58/ and were still migrating. They did not become settled until the Babute had been pushed back to their former habitat by the new occupants.

4:Dugast--1a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Beti

101
31

[Map 1]



101 This group of Beti, or Bati, north of the Sanaga, whom the Ger-
●131 mans—being good linguists—recognized easily by their language, were all those whom the French administration later called by the general name "Sanaga." They included the Tsinga, the Mvele /Mvelle/ (contrary to Nekes' opinion), the Bavek, the Mangisa, the Ngoro, and the Kombe.

114 What is the origin of these Bati? G. Tessmann thinks that they may
114 be related to the peoples he has named "Mittelkamerun Bantu /Middle Cameroons Bantu/" (Bafia, Banen /Banend/, Yambasa, etc.). But he does not confuse the two groups. He believes that the Bati came from the north, where they first lived on the left bank of the M'Bam. Then, pushed by the Babute, some of them moved to the right bank. He notes that from that point on two tendencies are apparent: Some of the Bati were attracted by the civilization of the northeast (Babute), others by that of the southeast (Pahouin). Thus the Bavek and the Yangafuk (the Fök and the Fuk) migrated and scattered in a direction that differed from the one taken by groups such as the Betsinga and the Mangisa, who were moving toward the Pahouin. The latter two let themselves be assimilated quite rapidly.

According to G. Tessmann, the Bati are not Pahouin but rather a population encountered by the latter in their migrations. These people were attracted or influenced by the Pahouin and, in turn, influenced the invaders, just as they influenced, or were influenced by, the central Bantu. In the course of influences and counter influences, the intermingling of Pahouin and Bati, as much in culture as in language, has been so great that it is now difficult to untangle the threads of their various ramifications. Some threads have been lost, others broken, and those that remain have taken on a variety of hues.

Lang

113 Language. See:

Johnston, H.H. A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Language (Oxford University Press, Vol. 1, 1919, Vol. 2, 1922), Vocabulary No. 216, and his reference to the study by Carl Meinhof, "Die Sprachverhältnisse in Kamerun /Linguistic Relationships in the Cameroons/," Zeitschrift für afrikanische und oceanische Sprachen (Berlin, 1895).

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe /The Fang/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes, Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und Früherer

113 Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe/, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (2 vols.) (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), p. 34 (a short vocabulary).

-----. "Die Volker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of the Cameroons/," Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen, 1932, pp. 185-86.

197 We wonder whether G. Tessmann knew the following three lines written by von Stein zu Lausnitz: "The Bati languages show certain resemblances to those of the Baya and the Bangandu of the eastern end of the colony." (1)

113 1. von Stein zu Lausnitz, "Eine Erkundungs-Expedition zwischen Wuri und Sanaga /An Exploratory Expedition between the Wuri and the Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1908, p. 523.

Bibliography

von Stein zu Lausnitz. Op. Cit., pp. 522, 523, 527.

Thorbecke, (Mrs.). Auf der Savanne /On the Savanna/, (1913), pp. 206-1 206-18.

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe, I Op. Cit., historical portions.

-----. "Die Bafia und die Kultur der Mittelkamerun-Bantu /The Bafia and the Culture of the Middle-Cameroons Bantu/," Ergebnisse der 1913w. Reichs-Kolonialamt ausges andte Forschungsreise nach Kamerun /Results of the 1913 Research Expedition to the Cameroons Sponsored by the Colonial Office/ (Stuttgart: Strecker and Schröder, 1914), historical portions.

Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Bati."

Bulletin de la Societe d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 25-26 and No. 10 (June 1946).

Moisel map, G2, Jaunde, April, 1913. /59/

THE PAHOUIN

101 It has seemed necessary to us to employ the term "Pahouin,"
131 generally used by the French to designate a group of peoples who,

101 barely a century and a half ago, invaded and took over more than
131 176, 000 square kilometers of land in the western part of Equatorial Africa. For a century these peoples have occupied the huge forest area which stretches from 1° south of the equator to 4° 30 in the north, and from 9° 30 to 14° meridian in longitude.

101 Poutrin uses the term "Fan" to designate these peoples. Tessmann
114 uses the term "Pangwe /Mpangwe/."

We have rejected Poutrin's term "Fan" for the same reason that Tessmann did. There exists in the Cameroons a subgroup of Pahouin known as Fang, and it seems to us that using the same term to designate two different entities—on the one hand, a large group occupying a vast territory, and on the other, a very small unit comprising 12, 583 persons within this group—could lead to confusion and misunderstanding.

114 The penetration of the area by the Germans, which brought them into contact with the Pahouin of the southern part of the territory, had to be carried out slowly. The first expeditions started from Grand-Batanga near Kribi. It was possible to explore quite rapidly the lower part of the Sanaga River as far as Edea Falls. At that time the river was called "Grand (Big) Nyong," and the present-day Nyong was "Petit (Little) Nyong." The natives on the coast said at that time that in the interior there flowed a great river whose waters moved from west to east. This detail posed a great problem for the Germans: Did the separation of the waters reaching the Congo and Grand-Nyong basins occur so near the coast? The first expedition was led by Lieutenant R. Kund, who was accompanied by Lieutenant Tappenbeck, the zoologist Weissenborn, and the botanist Braun. On October 15, 1887, they left Grand-Batanga, traveled through the Ngumba country and the valley of the Nyong, and, going northeast, reached the Sanaga on January 19, 1888. According to the reports they were "at least 300 kilometers from the coast," but it is not possible to locate the exact spot.

Within a few years from that date nearly the whole forest region had been explored, opened up to commerce, and studied both from ethnographic and economic viewpoints.

114 The first observations were based on linguistic notations, and the
174 extension of the Pahouin invasion above the second parallel was easily perceived when it was investigated also from the south through Gabon.

Pahouin
Bundju
Kombe

113 Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Fang."

Cournarie, P. Essai sur les coutumes des populations de la Circonscription de Yaoundé /Essay Concerning the Customs of the Peoples of the Yaoundé District/ (1933) (unpublished).

Bruel, G. La France équatoriale africaine /French Equatorial Africa/ (Paris: Larose, 1935).

Bulletin de la Société d'Études Camerounaises, No. 3, (July 3, 1943).

de Pedrals, H. "Contribution à l'établissement d'un inventaire ethnique du Cameroun /A Contribution toward Setting up an Inventory of the Peoples of Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept-Dec. 1945), pp. 7-15.

Baumann, H. and Westermann, D. Des peuples et les civilisations de l'Afrique, suivi de: Les langues et l'éducation /Peoples and Cultures of Africa, followed by: Languages and Education/. (Translated by L. Homburger) (Paris: Payot, 1948), pp. 199-201.

THE BUNDJU AND THE KOMBE

131 Location: 11°25 to 11°50 long.
101 4°30 to 4°35 north lat.

We cannot silently skip over these minute groups whose names are known only to administrators working in the region of M'Bam, east of Bafia. As a matter of fact, they are essentially a part of the Beti group.

Physical and Human Geography

161 Population: Bundju—about 550 inhabitants
Kombe—about 1, 126 inhabitants

361 The Kombe are settled in three villages in the valley of the
131 M'Bam, on the right bank of that river and on the highway from Bafia to Yaoundé, from the 16th kilometer to the 22nd kilometer southeast of Bafia. /Map 2/

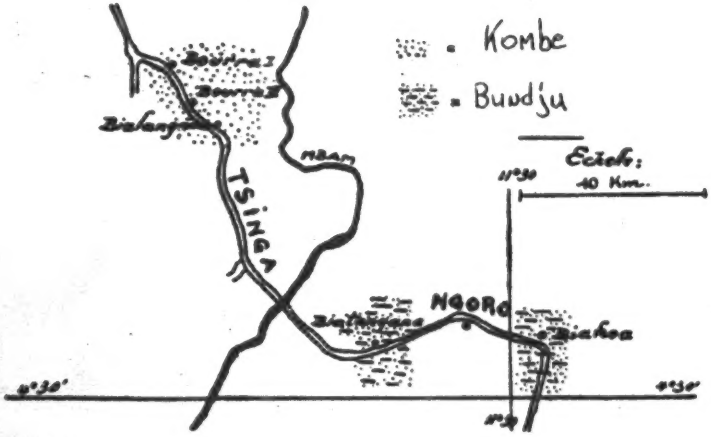
The Bundju occupy two villages, also on the vehicular road, southeast of the Kombe but between the M'Bam and the Sanaga rivers. The two villages are separated by a Ngoro village which is wedged in between them. /62/

131 According to the Moisel map of April, 1913 (G2, Jaunde), these
101 two peoples occupied far greater territories at that time. The Kombe (then known as the Nkombe) were found all the way to the borders of

4:Dugast--8a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Bundju
Kombe

101
●131

[Map 2]



Bundju
Kombe
Ngoro

101 present-day Bafia, in numerous villages all along the right bank of
131 the M'Bam, meeting the Tsinga at the Owama or Afama River and reaching as far as the vicinity of the Yambasa. Others, known as Kombe, were located much farther east on the Maloko River and are probably under the jurisdiction of the Kombe villages, now claimed to be Mvele and Bavek villages (on the vehicular road in the north).

On this Moisel map, the Bundju occupied the whole vast territory, triangular in shape, which lies between the M'Bam and the Sanaga rivers.

173 According to the reports of the administrator Cournarie, resumed by the administrator Relly, these peoples lost all cohesionn after the Babute invasion in the middle of the last century. According to their traditions, the Kombe were enslaved and consequently dispersed. The Bundju, said to be related to the Mangisa, first crossed the Sanaga. Later, when the Germans pushed the Babute back towards the north, the Bundju, greatly reduced in numbers, recrossed the Sanaga and returned to their former lands.

000 It would be interesting to investigate these former Beti from the linguistic viewpoint and to find out how much of their former language remains with them. The study should not be made on the basis of entire zones; rather it should be carried out almost village by village throughout a whole area where these peoples may be found juxtaposed and overlapping one another all along a vehicular road. No doubt the study will /sic/ shed but little light on the problem of origins, but it will clearly show what G. Tessmann calls the "Bati-Mbam" languages.

THE NGORO

131 Location: 11°15 to 11°30 long.
101 4°30 to 4°55 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography. The Ngoro are widely dispersed on the left bank of the M'Bam, in the valley of its tributary, the
133 Ngoro. This little river has a minimal water supply during the dry season, but during the rainy months, on the contrary, it swells beyond the river bed and floods the banks, sometimes for a considerable distance. This is a prairie region adorned with thin shrubs. Near branches of the river, a few clumps of raffia palms can be seen.

Ngoro
Bafok-Yangafuk

361 The several Ngoro villages are stretched over 70 kilometers of trails. A single one may be found on the right bank of the M'Bam, in the immediate vicinity of Bafia, on the vehicular road. Another is located about 30 kilometers to the southeast, also on the vehicular road but on the left bank of the M'Bam; it is Goura, inhabited by the Ngoro who moved down toward fertile land.

173 The Ngoro say that they descended from the Mangisa a long time ago—perhaps during the time when the latter still lived north of the Sanaga. The traditions of the Ngoro also say that their original ancestor was the same as that of the Betsinga, the Kombe, and the Bundju. Is this myth or history? This extended kinship brings together all the Beti.

The folk history of the Ngoro begins only with the war against the Babute in the last century. At that time they were dispersed, and most of them clustered around the Ngoro River. When attacked by the Babute, those nearest the M'Bam crossed the river and settled among the Bafia, whom they pushed back. /63/ Others, the Yasakunu, were driven all the way back to the Yambasa. The people of the village of Ngoro submitted and were enslaved. They were deported north to Linte and Tibati and south to Goura. /Map 3/

175 167 At Goura the young slave Ndenge was born of a Ngoro father and a Djanti mother, both deported there. As an adult, Ndenge enlisted in the native army of the Germans and attracted the attention of his superiors by his intelligence and zeal. They assigned him the task of reuniting all the exiles, and little by little turned over to him all those who were freed through their wars—first the exiles found among the Yambasa, then those among the Bafia. These migrations are the explanation for the wide scattering of Ngoro villages and for the frequent moves. Fortunately, the appearance of the cacao tree has begun to stabilize a number of these settlements.

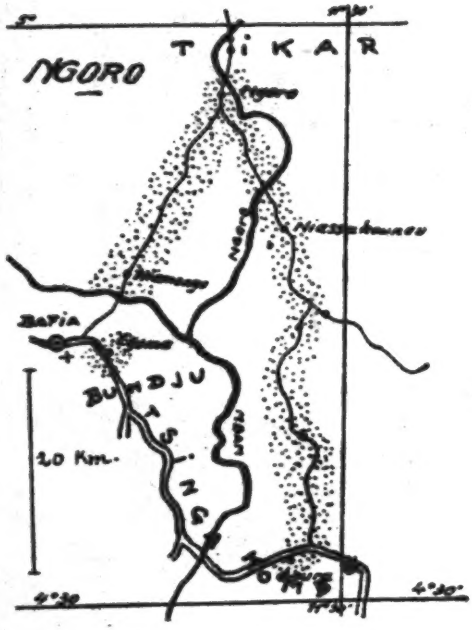
THE BAFÖK-YANGAFUK

101
●131
361

Location: widely scattered, to be found in several settlements sometimes very far from each other
Between 11°15 and 12°30 long.
and 4°30 and 5°50 north lat.

4:Dugast--10a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Ngoro

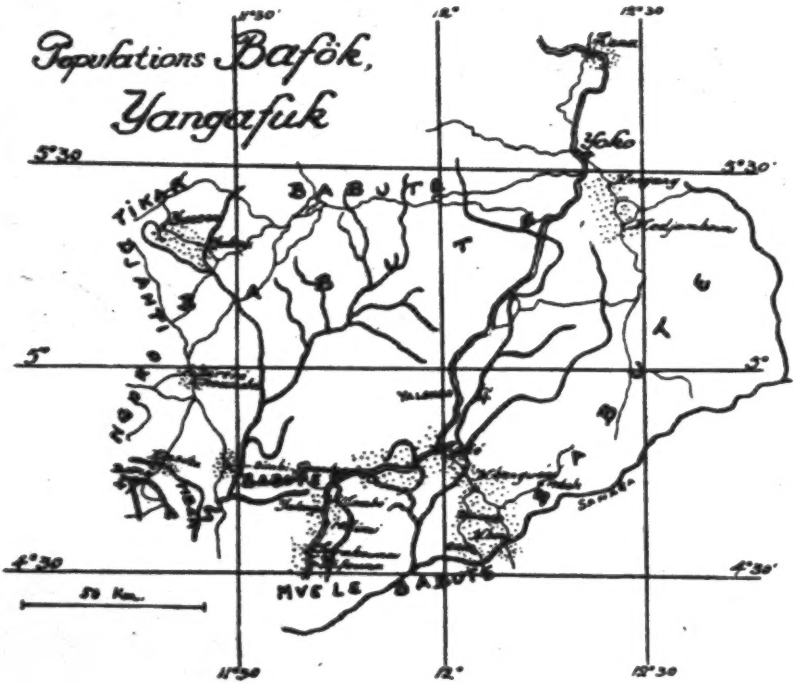
101
131



[MAP 3]

4:Dugast--11a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Bafök, Yangafuk

101
131



[Map 4]

Bafok-Yangafuk
Tsinga-Betsinga

174 The recognized kinship among the various groups clearly permits us to assert that their extraordinary dispersion is quite recent, going back no further than to the historical period when the Tikar and the Babute made their last advances and were driven back by the advancing Fulbe. Before that time these peoples probably inhabited the entire plain south of the Ndomé. Ndoumba was their most important center.

197 Language. The linguistic unity among the various groups of Bafok and Yangafuk confirms our impression. Dialect differences among them are minimal; they all understand each other.

G. Tessmann classifies their language as falling between that of the Bamvele and the group of Pahouin languages. As we have already mentioned, a passing observer at Lena, the Reverend Good of the American Mission, noticed a very great similarity between the language spoken there and that of the Bulu in the south.

Bibliography

113

Thorbecke, Mrs. Auf der Savane /On the Savanna/, (1913), p. 152.

Thorbecke, Fr. Im Hochland von Mittelkamerun /In the Highlands of the Middle Cameroons/, Abhandlungen der Hamburgischen Kolonial-Institut 1919-1924 (L. Friedrichsen & Co.), Vol. 1, p. 43, Vol. 2, p. 20.

Bulletin de la Société d'Études Camerounaises, No. 3, (July 1943).

Unpublished reports by administrators Delteil and Coquereaux.

TSINGA - BETSINGA

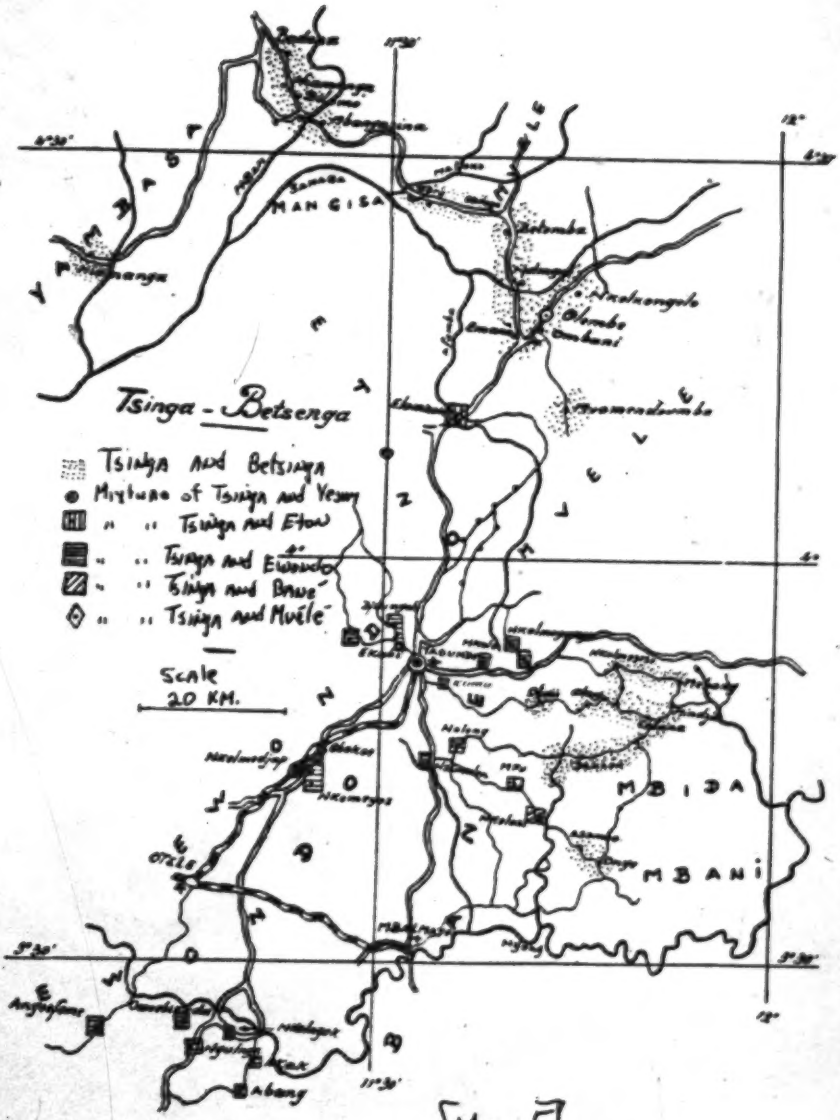
●131 Widely scattered habitat: 11°20 to 11°50 long.
and from south to north: 3°35 to 3°50 north lat. near Yaoundé
4°15 to 4°40 north lat. on the two banks of the Sanaga.

101 Physical and Human Geography. Like the administrator Cournarie in the past, we have grouped together under one term the peoples generally designated as Tsinga, Betsinga, Betchenga, or Batchenga. One name is probably a transformation of another. Since the traditions of the various groups are the same, it seems inappropriate to draw distinctions among them.

361 The Tsinga are so widely dispersed that their territory does not form a unit. They are located on both banks of the Sanaga (there known as

4:Dugast--13a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Tsinga-Betsinga

101
931
563



[MAP 5]

Tsinga-Betsinga
Mangisa

113 Von Stein zu Lausnitz. "Eine Erkundungs-Expedition zwischen Wuri und Sanaga /An Exploratory Expedition Between the Wuri and the Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1908, pp. 522-23.

MANGISA

131 Location: 11°15 to 11°30 long.
4°25 to 4°30 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: about 316 square km.
161 Population: 14, 588 inhabitants
Density: 46.2 per square km.

131 The Mangisa occupy the right bank at the bend of the Sanaga, a land of wooded hills.

173 They were probably among the peoples who crossed the Sanaga rather early, for their traditions say that, in later times, when the Eton also crossed the river, they found the Mangisa occupying the territory. /Map 6/ Fairly intensive struggles followed; then the two peoples formed an alliance which enabled them to live in peace side by side.

361 Like the Eton, the agricultural Mangisa live in large villages. Be-
311 cause of the density of the population, the entire /68/ woodland has to a large extent been cleared for their plantations, and palm trees have been planted.

197 But what is the exact origin of the Mangisa?

174 Language. The question has been raised in linguistics.

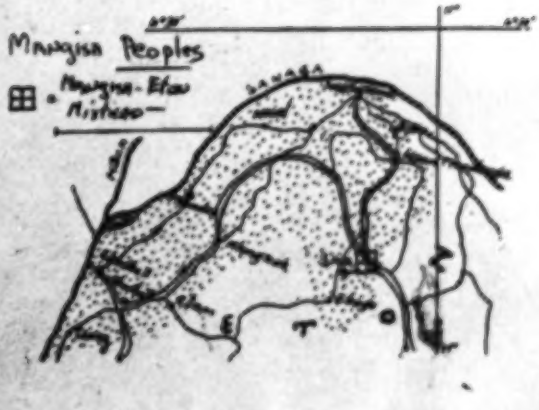
G. Tessmann has written: "In the classification of the Pahouin tribes of the north, the situation is not yet clear. One thing is certain: all the tribes—at least all those of the northeast—contain a more or less pronounced component derived from the Bati-Mbam. Thus, a few decades ago, the Eton and the Mangisa spoke a pure Bati; they have therefore become Pahouinized only in recent times, at least as regards language (1)."

1. Günter Tessmann, "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and

4:Dugast--14a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Mangisa

101
131
863

[Map 6]



197 Languages of the Cameroons/, "
174 Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen,
1932, p. 184, note 4.

On the other hand, on the basis of a personal communication from Dr. Aujoulat, who worked among the Mangisa for several years, Dr. Olivier makes the following statement: "However, on the basis of differences (from the Pahouin) in language and physical type, Aujoulat has hypothesized a different, more northern origin and contact with tribes whom he calls Sudano-Bantu, namely the Yambasa and the Sanaga (2)." On the basis of the classifications that we our-

2. Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16, p. 55.

selves propose in this work, would not a Beti origin be possible? This great question is raised once again here.

141 Physical Anthropology. The /anthropometric/ indexes have been calculated by the Drs. Olivier and Aujoulat as follows:

	OLIVIER	AUJOULAT	
	Men	Men	Women
Cephalic	76.0	76.7	76.3
Facial	81.4	77.7	77.9
Nasal	88.7	86.0	90.5
Cormique	50.4	50.9	50.6
Envergure/T	104.8	105.0	103.8

143 Their blood-group ratios show a greater proportion of AB type than is present among other Pahouin, and a predominance of type A over type B. The percentages are as follows:

O: 52 percent; A: 21.9 percent; B: 10.9 percent; AB: 15.2 percent;—index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$: 1.44.

ETON

131 Location: 11°10 to 11°45 long.
3°45 to 4°30 north lat.

131 Physical Geography. Area: 2,520 square km.

133 The country of the Eton is made up of hills and plateaus; it drifts
137 gently down from the heights of the country of the Ewondo to the valley of the Sanaga River. The border of the great southern forest crosses the territory from south to north; the westerly two-thirds of the area are covered with forest, and the last third is prairie. The Sanaga borders the country only in the northwest and northeast, for the greater part of the loop [misprint in French text: bouche for boucle. See map] of the river is occupied by the Mangisa. /69/

161 Human Geography. Population: 111,738 inhabitants
Density: 44.3 persons per square km.

173 It is impossible to say whether the Eton should be counted among the Beti populations who were dislodged and crossed the Sanaga or whether they were among the first Pahouin to cross the Sanaga at the time of the invasion. Their traditions do not go back very far; they only tell of their departure from the fork of the M'Bam and the Sanaga. /Map 7/ The Eton say that after crossing the river in the direction of the present-day village of Nkolbogo, they fell upon the Mangisa who had already arrived, and then spread themselves throughout the territory which they occupy to this day.

361 The Eton are settled in large villates, whose hamlets line the length
487 of their many trails. At present their country is traversed by several roads on which heavy trucks can travel so that their products can reach Yaoundé and the railroad.

197 Language. With reference to this subject it seems best to refer the reader to the paragraph on linguistics in the chapter on the Mangisa, since the same question is raised for the two peoples. /70/

142 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Eton are above average in height, mesocephalic, and platyrrhin.

143 Their blood-group ratio is typically Negro, with a relatively high proportion of the AB type:

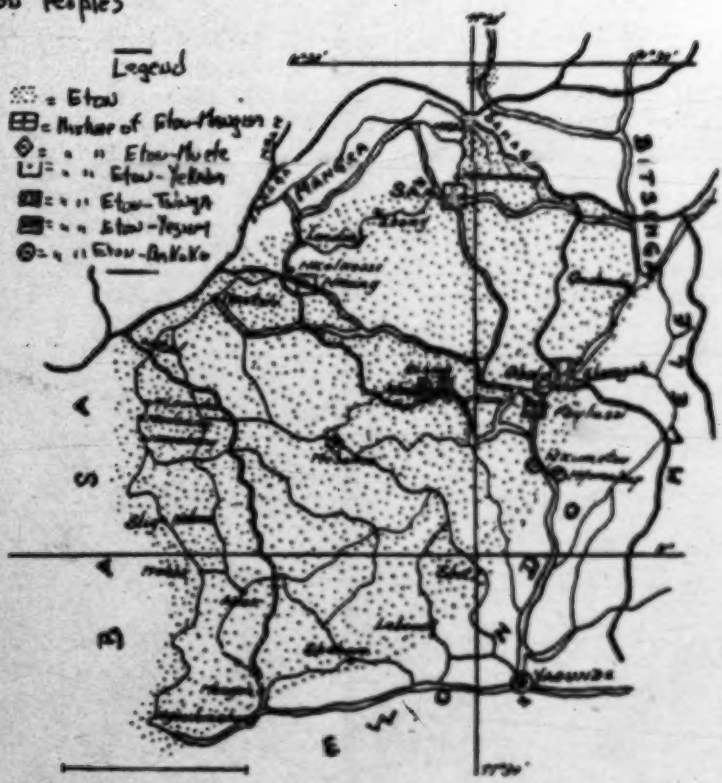
O: 55.7 percent; A: 13.8 percent; B: 17.5 percent; AB: 12.9 percent;—index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$: 0.878.

141 Their height is /for the/ average: men 167.8 cm.; women 159.9 cm.

[MAP 7]

101
B1
563

Etou Peoples



113 worth on the subject of the "Rite SSO" as it is practiced among the Eton and the Mangisa. The film was made in an Eton village in 1955.

THE EWONDO

101 These people are called Yaoundé (1) by the Europeans, but they

> 1. The etymology of this name is given nowhere. According to tradition, the name Ewundu is that of the original ancestor of the people; the prefixes ya, ye, and e occur frequently in Pahouin languages.
>
> According to Nekes, the name means "peanut"; it would therefore be a nickname, because, they say, "They are as numerous as peanuts."

call themselves Ewondo.

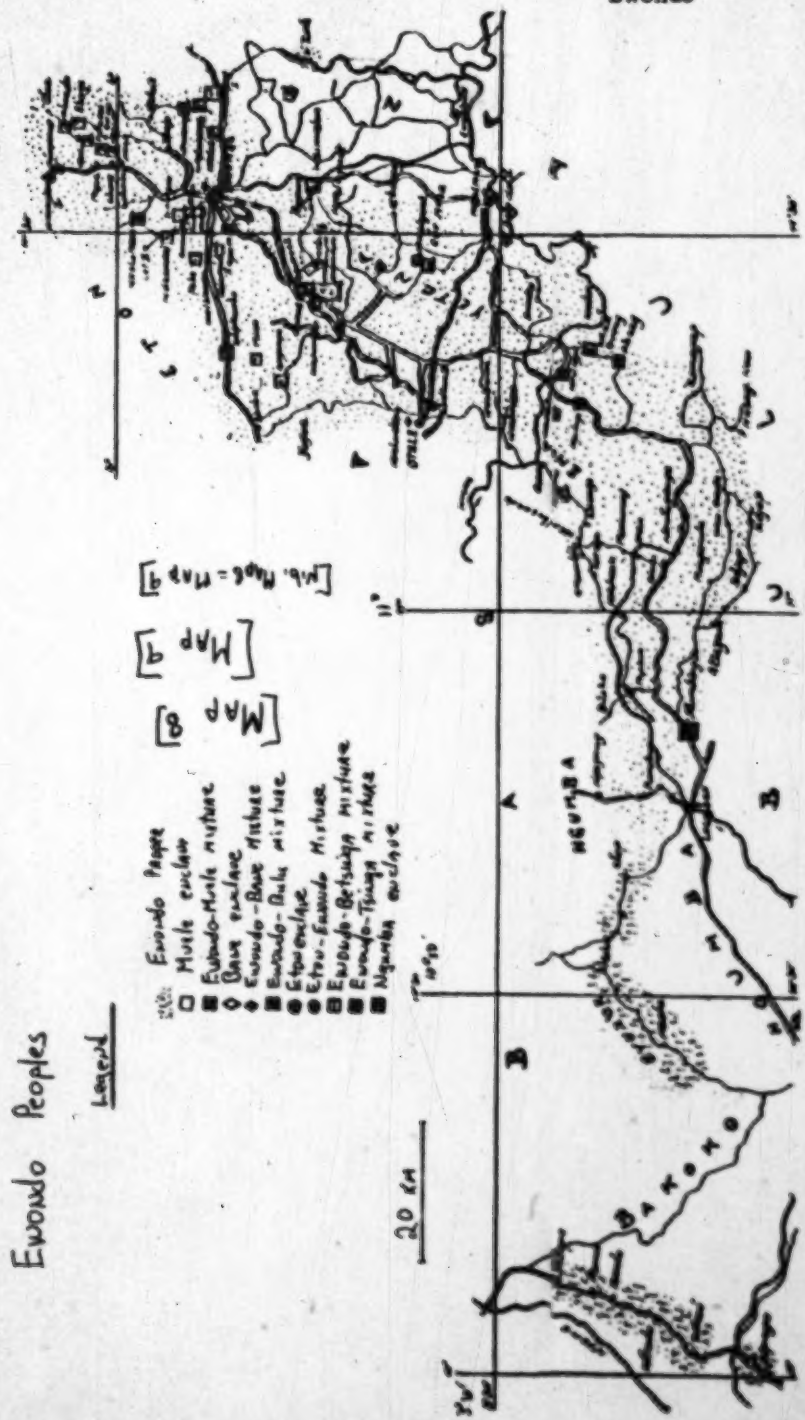
131 Location: 10°40 to 11°40 long.
3°10 to 4°05 north lat.
The Evuzok branch on a north-south trail at 10°05 long.
on an east-west trail 10°25 to 10°40 long.
3°10 to 3°25 north lat.

Physical Geography. Area: approximately 4,320 square km.

133 The territory occupied by the Ewondo is a high plateau broken by
137 little valleys. In its northern section may be found several high hills which divide the waters of the Sanaga Basin from those of the Nyong. The entire territory is within the great forest zone, but much of the land has been cleared because of the density of the population. /71/ The dividing line between forest and prairie runs east to west about 10 kilometers north of Yaoundé.

133 The river Nyong, at 3°30 north latitude, first borders the Ewondo country north to south and then crosses it from east to west before flowing into the territory of the neighboring Basa. Much further downstream it flows north to south by the settlement of the Evuzok before reaching its mouth at the ocean.

101
131
563


Ewondo Peoples
Legend
Ewondo Proper
Mvele enclave
Ewondo-Mvele mixture
Bane enclave
Ewondo-Bane mixture
Ewondo-Bulu mixture
Etumenclave
Etou-Ewondo mixture
Ewondo-Betsimja mixture
Ewondo-Tsinga mixture
Ngumba enclave
20 km
BAKOKO
NGUMBA
[Map 8]
[Map 9]
[Map 9 = Map 9]

113 Divinatory Practices of the Peoples in the District of Yaoundé/, " Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 1936, No. 1, pp. 35-39.

Frazer, James George. "The Native Races of Africa and Madagascar, " Anthologia Anthropologica (London: Percy Lund Humphries and Co., 1938), pp. 175-76.

Numerous unpublished studies on customs (by Cournarie, Joubert, and others), reports to the Bureau des Affaires Politiques (Bureau of Political Affairs) and among the documents of the S.E.C. /Société d'Etudes Camerounaises/, unpublished investigations on the subjects of shelter and subsistence.

Moisel map, G2, Jaunde.

THE BANE

●131 Location: 11°15 to 11°55 long.
3°05 to 3°55 north lat.

Physical Geography. Area: about 2,736 square km.

The territory of the Bane borders on the Western side of the Ewondo country and stretches north to south from the vicinity of Yaoundé to 25 kilometers northeast of Ebolowa and northwest of Sangmélima.

[137] The country is located entirely within the forest zone, which is quite thinned out because of the density of population.

133 At 3°30 north latitude the river Nyong crosses the country from east to west. At that point it is a navigable canal. Further down, the river turns south and marks the boundary between the territories of the Bane and the Ewondo.

161 Human Geography. Total population: 58,309 inhabitants.

More than half of the total number of inhabitants in Bane territory live in the small area located north of the Nyong, where the population density is 40.1 per square kilometer. South of the Nyong, the density is 14.1 persons per square kilometer. /74/

174 History. Like their neighbors of the same Pahouin family, the Bane lived north of the Sanaga in the past before the last invasion. Their southward migration occurred at about the same time as that of the Ewondo, and was brought about by the same cause. The Bane crossed the Sanaga rather late, and found the Eton already settled on the other side. Therefore, they infiltrated little by little from north to south among the people who preceded them /Map 10/ They were not completely pacified until 1897.

101
131
563

Bane Peoples
Legend

= Bane Proper
Ewondo-Bane mixture
Tsinga-Bane mixture
Tsinga enclave
Ewondo enclave
Mbida-Mbani-Bane mixture
Bane-Mvele mixture

Scale
20 KM

[Map 10]

Bane
Fong

113 The oldest sketch map on which the Bane are shown is a map without scale, but where the distances are calculated in terms of "hours on foot"; it appears in Von Stein's report entitled "Ueber die geographische Verhältnisse des Bezirkes Lolodorf (Sudkamerun Gebiet), speziell die dort wohnenden Volkstämme /The Geographic Relationships of the Lolodorf District (South Cameroons), especially the Resident Tribes/," in Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutgebeiten, 1899, pp. 120-41. This report also contains an extensive geneological table which includes the Bane; ethnographic details on pp. 135-38 should be especially noted.

Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Bane."

Moisel maps, G2, Jaunde, and H 1-2, Kribi.

Bearth. "Le Nsig N'to, ancienne coutume Bane /The Nsig N'to, an Ancient Bane Custom/," Togo-Cameroun, January 1930, pp. 19-22.

Important unpublished documents exist on the subject of customs, shelter, and subsistence among the Bane.

THE FONG

131 Location: 11° and 11°15 long.
3°15 north lat.
and 11°30 to 12° long.

101 Physical and Human Geography. The Fong /Fang/ are not all settled in a single area. They constitute a very small population divided into three separate clusters, lined up from west to east; the total area of the different small zones occupied by these settlements is about 1,152 square kilometers, and in the largest and most easterly, the enclaves of Bulu villages are to be found.

101 563 Bertaut has written: "The territory is occupied by Bane and Fong without any geographical unity. Fong, Bulu, and Bane are intermingled, and one passes from a Bane area /76/ to a Fong area without noticing. This situation is the result of a mingling of tribes which must have occurred when the Bane and the Fong, who came from the north, encountered the Fang and the Bulu, who were also not yet permanently settled." (Report of May, 1932)

113 The Fong may be considered the southernmost participants in the recent invasion which brought the Ewondo and the Bane to the south

Fong
Fang

173 of the Nyong. According to their traditions they come from an area north of the Sanaga, as do the other groups which preceded them. They settled in the forest, where there are at present 12,783 of them [161] (a density of 6.9 persons per square km.).

231 262 The Fong are an agricultural people. They seem to have little inclination to hunt so that their diet consists chiefly of vegetables, although they have a fairly large number of domesticated animals. /Map 11/

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. Average height: men 169.7 cm.; women 162 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	80.8	81.5
Nasal	95.21	84.01

161 163 The population balance is slightly positive, the ratio of birth to deaths being + 0.77. The rate of sterility is high, 25.6 percent, but is fortunately compensated for by the fertility rate, 5.3 pregnancies per woman.

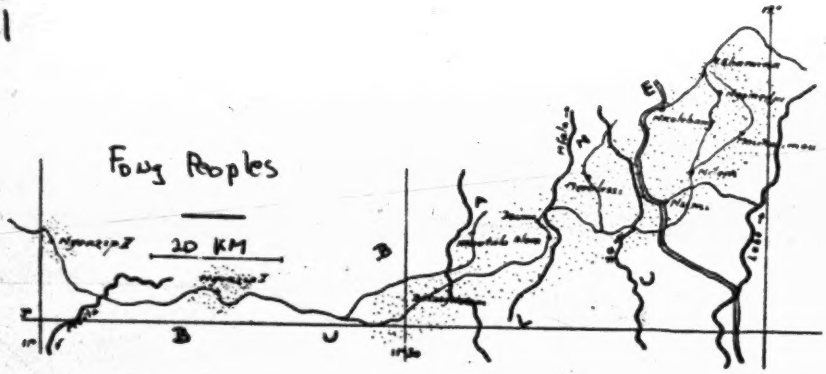
Bibliography

113 Cottes, A. La mission Cottès au Sud-Cameroun (1905-1908). Exposé des résultats scientifiques, d'après les travaux des divers membres de la section française de la Commission de delimitation entre le Congo français et le Cameroun (frontière méridionale) et les documents étudiés au Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. (The Cottes Mission to South Cameroun 1905-1908. A Presentation of the Scientific Results of the Mission Based on the Work of Various Members of the French Section of the Commission to Set the Boundaries Between the French Congo and the Southern Frontier of the Cameroons, and on Documents Examined at the Museum of Natural History) (Paris: Leroux, 1911), pp. 125-31.

THE FANG, THE MVAE, THE NTUMU

● 131 Location: 10°45 to 12°45 long.
and a few islands between 10° and 10°30 long.

101
●131



[Map 11]

101
131

Mvae Branch: 9°45 to 10°45 and 11°20 to 11°40 long.
2°15 (at the frontier of the South Cameroons) to 2°55 north lat.
and a few islands at 3° north lat.

Ntumu branch: 10°25 to 11°35 long.
2°15 (on the frontier of the South Cameroons) to 2°35 north lat. /77/

Physical and Human Geography

131 Total area: about 11, 500 square km.
Population and density of each group:
161 Fang: 12, 583 inhabitants; 2 persons per square km.
Mvae: 5, 287 inhabitants; 5.8 persons per square km.
Ntumu: 16, 236 inhabitants; 9.8 persons per square km.

137 The whole territory of the Fang is within the great equatorial forest, in the basin of the N'Tem and those of its tributaries that flow to the right of it. /Map 12/

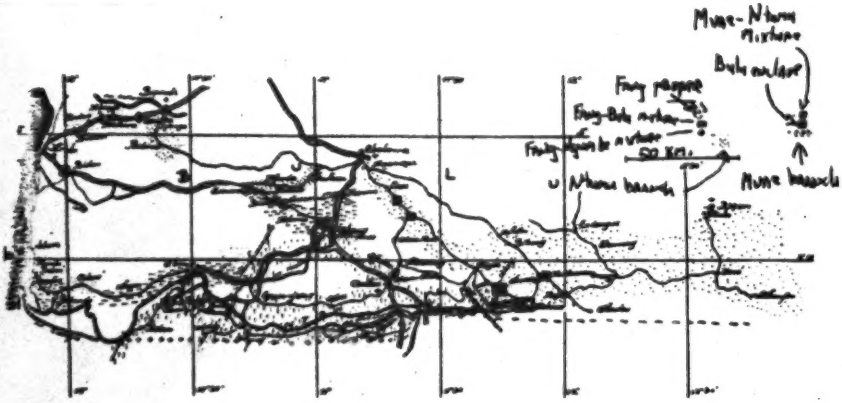
361 563 The Fang villages which are to be found furthest west in the direction of the ocean are situated near Bipindi and on the road from Bipindi to Kribi. Some of them alternate with Bulu villages, others are composed of mixed populations consisting, for example, of Fang and Bulu, Fang and Ngumba, or Mvae and Ntumu /Ntum?/. Nor are the villages and trails south of Ebolowa in the great forest inhabited by homogeneous populations. Enclaves from one group are settled with another, and intermingle with each other. The transition from the somewhat educated Bulu to the primitive inhabitants of the great forest occurs imperceptibly. Because of the inhospitable territory which they occupy, the Fang are dispersed in the enormous forest all the way to the ocean and are to be found here and there among the Mvae. They 313 lead the unstable existence of lumbermen in order to force from the land the bare means of subsistence.

The settlements of the Mvae are scattered. Some are located on the periphery of Ambam to the east and north, others are south-southeast of Ebolowa, and still others are to be found on the lower part of the N'Tem, from a point east of Nyabessan as far as the ocean.

4:Dugast--28a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Fang

101
131
563

Fang Peoples



[Map 12]

113 Frazer, James George. "The Native Races of Africa and Madagascar," Anthologia Anthropologica (London: Percy Lund Humphries and Co., 1938), pp. 165-66.

Numerous unpublished reports by Bertaut, André Raynaud, E. André, and H. Richard, members of the administration, are to be found in the archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs (Bureau des Affaires Politiques) and among the documents of the S.E.C. /Société d' Etudes Camerounaises/.

Moisel Map, H 1 and 2, Kribi.

THE BULU

131 The actual Bulu inhabit an area which stretches from east to west
101 in a thin band from 10° to 13°10 longitude and extends from 2°35
to 3°15 north latitude toward the east. Toward the west their villages
[36] only extend along two parallel trails, then go in a single line to within 30 kilometers of the ocean.

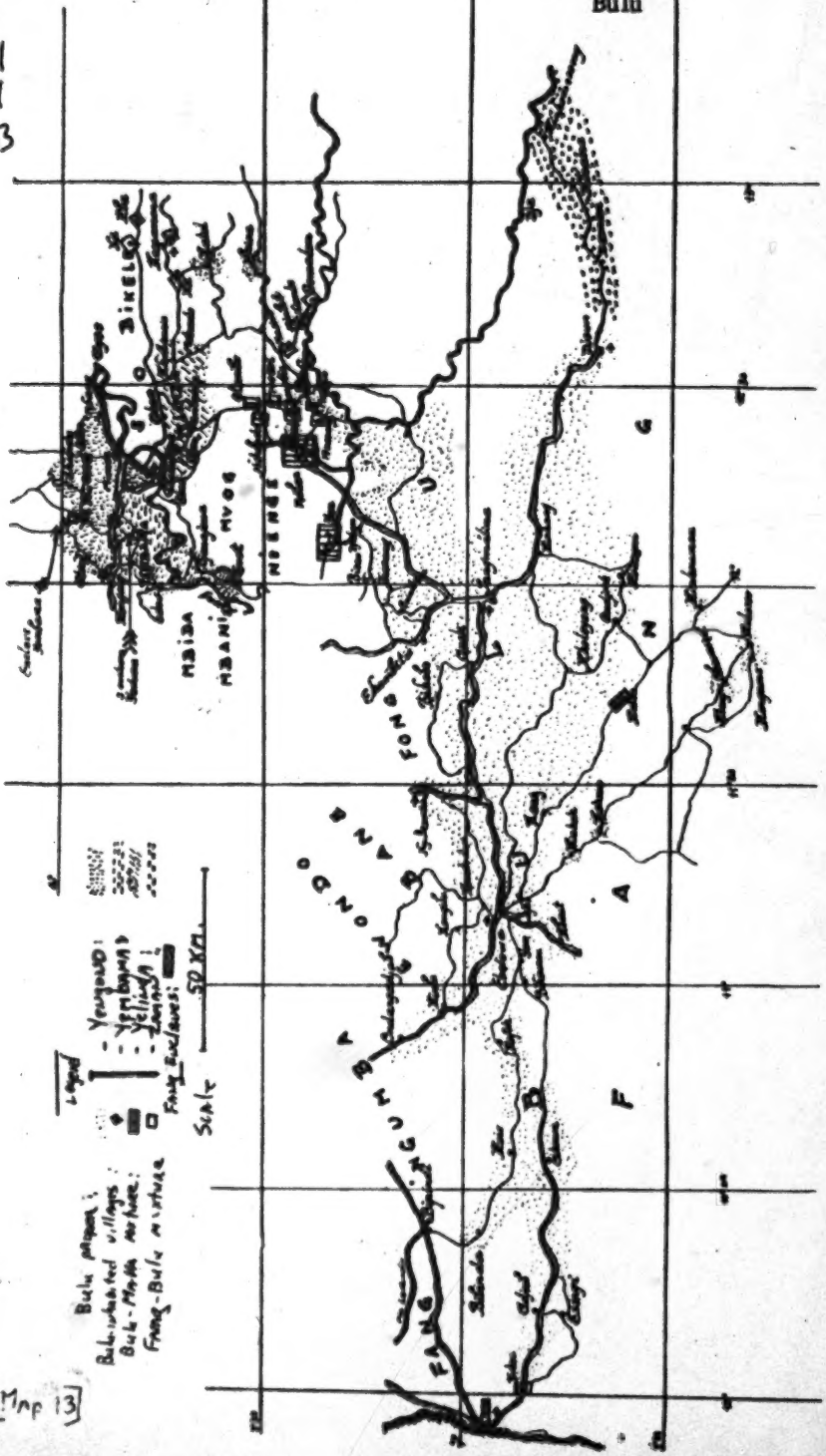
North of this horizontal band, in an area which extends from 12° to 12°35 longitude and from 3°35 to 4°30 north latitude, are to be found the Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda. We are including these groups among the Bulu on the authority of their traditions.

133 Physical Geography. The Bulu territory is a huge, very monotonous plateau covered with forest. It is situated at an altitude of 600 to 650 meters on the average, with a few hills rising 150 to 200 meters at most above the rest. The hills are round or conical in shape and generally wooded.

The actual Bulu country (an area of about 9,936 square km.) is watered, on the one hand, by little tributaries which flow from the left bank of the Nyong and form valleys going from southeast to northwest. In the east the branch called the Zaman flows for 60 kilometers, touches the only trail in the thickness of the forest at a distant spot, and meets the Dja River, a tributary of the Sanga /sic/, beyond 13° longitude.

361 The Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda are settled on a
133 strip of land going from north to south in an area which is part prairie and part forest. From the plain of the Sanaga the country rises gradually, and in the northern part of the Yengono country a chain of hills separates thewaters of the Sanaga and the Nyong basins. The three peoples are settled south of this line in the Nyong Basin

101
131
563



[Map 13]

113 Sud-Cameroun /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/, " Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept.-Dec. 1946), pp. 40-41.

General Bibliography

Von Kamptz. "Ueber den nach Jaunde ausgeführten Zug /The Expedition to Yaounde/, " Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1904, pp. 288-91.

Zimmermann, Haupt. "Reisebericht des Chefs des Verwaltungsbezirkes Ebolowa /Travel Report of the Regional Head of the Ebolowa District/, " Deutsches Kolonialblatt, pp. 232-34.

Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Bule."

The annual report of the French government concerning the administration of the mandated territories of the South Cameroons, for the year 1923, pp. 72-76.

Bertaut, M. Le droit coutumier des Boulous. Monographie d'une tribu du Sud-Cameroun /The Customary Law of the Bulu. Monograph on a South Cameroons Tribe/, " (Paris: 1935).

"Esquisse othnologique pour servir a l'étude des principales tribus des Territoires du Cameroun sous mandat français, d'après les documents allemands, les études du Dr. Poutrin en A.E.F., et les archives du Bureau des Affaires Politiques (1935-1937)." /An Ethnographic Sketch for the Study of the Principal Tribes of the Cameroons Territories under French Mandate, Based on German Documents, the Studies of Dr. Poutrin in A.E.F. (French Equatorial Africa) and the Archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs for 1935-37/., Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 28-29.

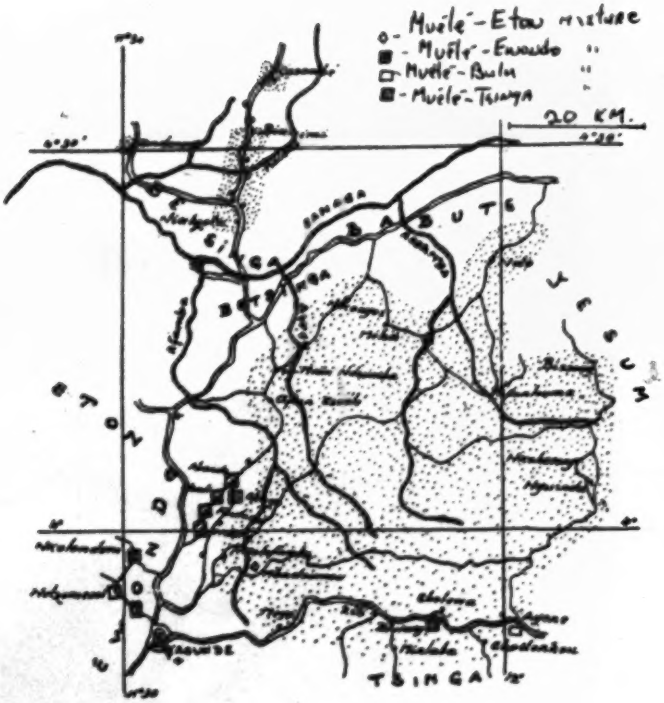
THE MVELE

131 Location: 11°40 to 12°10 long.
3°45 to 4°20 north lat. south of the Sanaga River
Also from south to north at 4°20 to 4°35 north lat. and 11°40 long.

133 Physical Geography. Area: 2, 304 square kilometers south of the

101
● 131
563

Mvélé Peoples



[Map 14]

197 latter. Father Nekes, however, is of a different opinion; he stresses a very great resemblance to the Bulu language of the Ebolowa district. In his opinion the Mvele language represents a more archaic form than those of the Ewondo or the Bane.

See:

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe /The Fangs/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), pp. 30-31 (a short vocabulary).

-----. "Die Volker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of Cameroons/," Petermans geographische Mitteilungen, 1932, p. 184, note 40.

Nekes. Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, pp. 469-70. /84/

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Mvele are slender, slightly platyrrhinian; they have the features of the Sudan in attenuated form.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.5	78.4
Facial	81.3	82.1
Nasal	90.0	85.5
Cormique	51.5	52.1
Envergure/T	104.1	103.1

143 Their blood group ratios are typically Negro, although the proportion of group AB is slightly greater than in the classical formula. O: 51 percent; A: 14.3 percent; B: 16.3 percent; AB: 18.4 percent;—index $\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}$: 0.942.

161 The population balance is not being maintained: the index of births to deaths is -0.21 percent.

See:

●131 Olivier, G. "Etude anthropologique comparée des principales tribus de la region de Yaoundé /A Comparative Study in the Physical Anthropology of the Principal Tribes of the Yaoundé Region/,"

113 Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 10 (June 1945), pp. 55-76.

Olivier, G., with the collaboration of the Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Grenier. "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du Sud-Cameroun /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Populations of the South Cameroons/, " Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept.-Dec. 1946), pp. 59-60.

Bibliography

Engelhardt, Hauptmanns. "Bericht über seine Reise von Bertua nach Yaunde /Report on a Trip from Bertua to Yaoundé/, " Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1903, pp. 389-91 and 419-21.

Von Oertzen. "Die Oeffnung des direkten Weges Nanga-Eboko-Dengdeng /Opening of a Direct Route to Nanga-Eboko-Dengdeng/, " Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1907, pp. 625-27.

"Esquisse ethnologique pour servir à l'étude des principales tribus des Territoires du Cameroun sous mandat français d'après les documents allemands, les études du Dr. Poutrin en A.E.F. et les archives du Bureau des Affaires Politiques (1935-1937) /An Ethnographic Sketch for the Study of the Major Tribes of the Cameroons Territories under French Mandate, on the Basis of German Documents, the Studies of Dr. Poutrin in A.E.F. (Fr. Equat. Africa) and the Archives in the Bureau of Political Affairs for 1935-37/, " Bulletin de la Societe d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 9-66.

Important unpublished reports of the administrators Cournarie and Chauleur.

THE YESUM AND THE YEBEKANGA

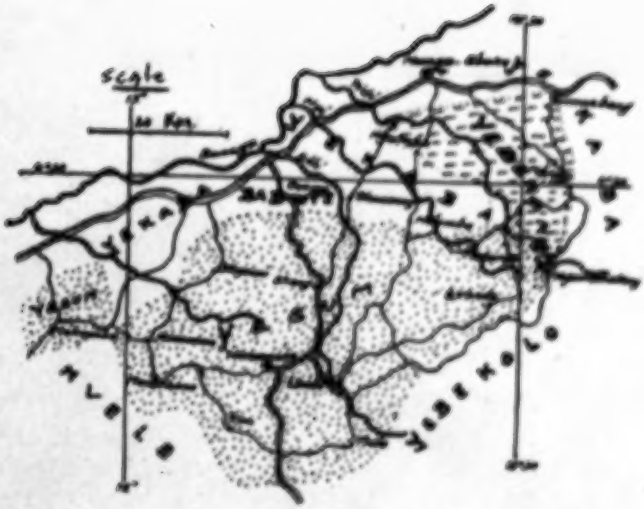
●131 Location: 11°55 to 12°30 long.
5°05 to 5°35 north lat.

Physical Geography. Area: Yesum: about 1,296 square km.
Yebekanga: about 315 square km.

133 The country of the Yesum appears on a map as an irregular four-sided figure. The territory stretches through the plain of the Sanaga

4:Dugast--40a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Yesum
Yebekanga

101 Yesum and Yebekanga
131



[MAP 15]

931 Physical and Human Geography

Area: about 1, 602 square km.

161 Population: 14, 500 inhabitants

Density: 9.2 persons per square km.

133 All of the Yekaba country is located on the prairie which extends through the plain on the right bank of the Sanaga River. The country has few valleys; it is watered by tributaries of the Sanaga, the Tédé and the Nyé, which are bordered by forest.

101 The information provided by various observers (the administrators Chauleur, Cournarie, and Boudineau) gives no clear indication as to the general grouping in which we should place this group of peoples settled on the right bank of the Sanaga. All French maps give the general name of Badjia, and under it are classed several groups not all of whom are known to have a common origin. The name "Badjia" may be but a nickname (according to Boudineau). German maps use only the name "Yekaba, " concerning which Chauleur also says: "Among these tribes (of the Badjia group), the most important is the Yekaba, and it gives it's name to the region. " (1)

1. Unpublished report of February 28, 1933.

174 According to Cournarie, the Yekaba and several kindred groups originate among the Yalongo who live on the northern bank of the Sanaga, directly north of their present habitat. Under pressure from the Babute, who were themselves pushed back by the Fulbe, these peoples fled south and crossed the Sanaga River. It is possible that at first they occupied all of the territory north of the Nyong, together with their neighbors the Bamvele. Later they were pushed back toward the Sanaga by the migration of the Yenum-Yebekanga coming from the south. (2) These two waves moving in opposite directions clashed and interpenetrated, producing the present confusion. The Yekaba found themselves split in two by the Yebekanga, who formed /87/ an enclave in their midst. The peoples of the left bank of the Sanaga (in the administrative subdivision of Nanga-Eboko) are thus composed of two different elements: the somewhat older inhabitants who came originally from the north, went south, and were pushed back, and the more recent arrivals who came from the south and pushed back the former.

These two groups, one coming from the north, the other from the south, and arriving at different times, are probably both part of the

Yekaba
Bamvele, Bobili

long migration of the Pahouin—although the name "Yalongo" spoken of in their geneologies is reminiscent of the Beti. Once again we are aware of the complexity of the Beti-Pahouin intermixture.

The villages and huts spread through the bush give an impression of poverty, although in 1903 the Germans noted that the great trade route from Bertoua to Yoko passed through Yekaba territory. /Map 16/ At the present time the whole length of the territory is serviced by the great eastern highway (Yaoundé—Nanga-Eboko—Bertoua).

Language. The fact that the Yekaba form part of the Pahouin migration is apparent from G. Tessmann's tribal map, where they are shown in the large Pahouin blot—under the general heading of "Mvele." We will return to this subject later in the chapter on the Bamvele.

Demography. The Yekaba are definitely decreasing in number. The infant mortality rate among them is 34.3 percent. The sterility rate is 33.93 percent; the fertility rate is 4.3 pregnancies per woman, but with about 10 percent stillbirths.

The population balance shows a ratio of -4.4 percent births to deaths.

Bibliography

Thierry. "Dienstreise nach Esum-Sanaga /Official Trip to Esum-Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1903, p. 522.

Sieber, J. "Die Wute /The Wute/," Lebenshaltung, Kultur und religiöse Weltanschauung eines Afrikanischen Volkstammes /Attitude toward Life, Cultural and Religious Attitudes of an African Tribe/ (Berlin: Reimer, Vohsen, 1925), pp. 112-13.

Unpublished reports of the administrators Cournarie, Chauleur, Gatan, and Boudineau.

Moisel map, G3, Dume. /88/

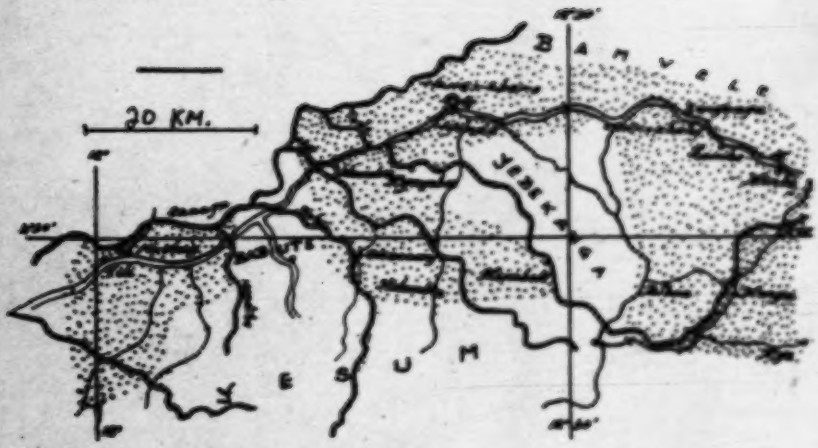
THE BAMVELE AND THE BOBILI

Location: 12°30 to 13°30 long.
4°35 to 4°50 north lat.

On all German maps the people we call Bamvele are designated by the name of Bele (see the Moisel map and Tessmann's tribal map).

4:Dugast--43a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Yekaba

101
131 YeKaba Peoples



[Map 16]

101 We connect the Bobili with the Bamvele because, on the one hand, they do not appear separately from the Bele on the Moisel map (Dume, G3), and, on the other, the traditions pertaining to their origins are not precise enough to permit us to draw a conclusion differing from that of the Germans.

Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: 2,472 square km.

161 Population: Bamvele—18,452 inhabitants
Bobili—6,247 inhabitants

Density: 10 persons per square km.

133 The Bamvele are close neighbors of the Yekaba and the Yebekolo in the north; they occupy a large homogeneous territory on the border between forest and prairie. The country is almost flat, extending into the Sanaga plain and borders the river for about 30 kilometers. The territory is watered by several broad tributaries of the Sanaga. In the east, one of these tributaries, the Long, serves as a frontier between the Bamvele and the Babute, who surround them everywhere except in the south. A few Bamvele villages have been established [361] on the right bank of the Long, and they border the Bertoua road for a few kilometers.

174 Like their neighbors, the Yekaba, the Bamvele in their traditions tell that their origins are to be sought among the Yalongo north of the Sanaga. They too were pushed by the Babute who were under pressure from the Fulbe; they fled south and crossed the Sanaga a little more than a hundred years ago. Their history is identical with that of their neighbors, the Yekaba. /Map 17/ /89/

173 The Bobili believe that they are native to the territory, but they say that in former times their country extended west, beyond the Long. Therefore, the impact upon them of the Babute and Fulbe movements would have been very slight. (1)

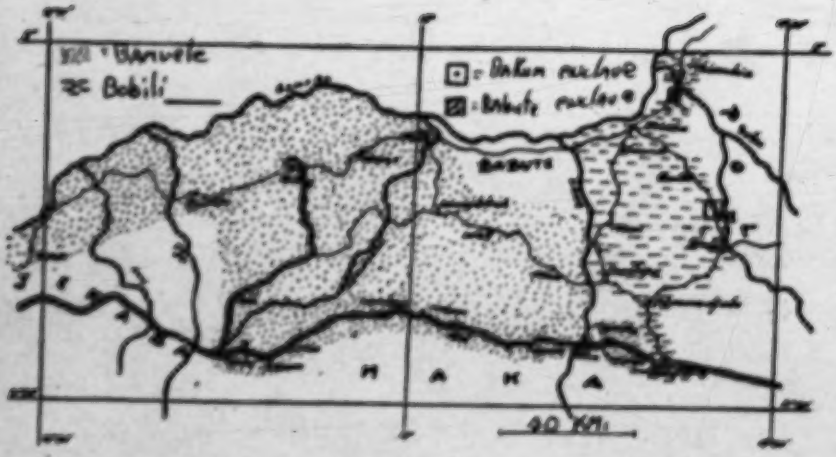
1. Unpublished report of Mr. Brothier-Oubre for May, 1945.

114 The administrator Chauleur carried out prolonged research in an attempt to untangle the network of peoples on the banks of the Sanaga. He does not feel that he can make a statement about the remote origins of the Yalongo, but he poses the following problem: "Could they be related to the Ba-yoka of the Congo who emigrated south

4:Dugast--44a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Bamvele
Bobili

101
●131
563

[Map 17]



THE YEBEKOLO

131 Location: 12°08 to 12°45 long.
3°50 to 4°20 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography.

Area: about 1, 950 square km.
161 Population: 23, 291 inhabitants
Density: 11. 9 persons per square km.

133 The territory of the Yebekolo, in the form of a cornucopia laid on its side, is all to be found in the basin of the Nyong. The river forms its southern boundary. The tributaries on the right bank have broad beds and, in the vicinity of the Nyong, often overflow so that the valleys are frequently flooded. /90/ This is a large territory, covered with forest and quite marshy.

361 Large villages are found here. While the food crops are not poor,
262 they are not very abundant. The people who live near the Nyong supplement their food supply by fishing and hunting.

174 It is difficult to say what may be the remote origins of this people. Their oral traditions (as reported by Mr. Tremesaygues) speak of their ancestor as being of Yambasa stock and, therefore, as having lived about 200 kilometers west of their present settlement, north of the Sanaga. /Map 18/ Moving eastward, the Yebekolo met first the Omvang and then the Maka, whom they pushed back to their present habitat.

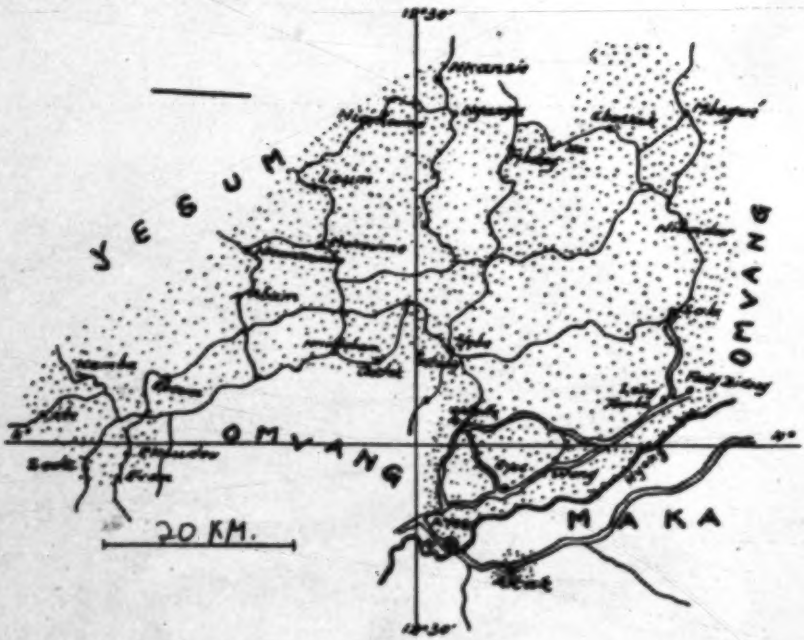
The German maps, however, do not confirm these traditions. Also based on traditions, upon which linguistic data is often superimposed, they show all the Yebekolo as part of the "Mvele complex" (see detailed maps in Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1907) under the name "Pangwe." It is possible that a borrowing of language occurred here —for a linguistic fact provides clues rather than permanent solutions to ethnographic problems.

648 When the Germans arrived in the territory of the Yebekolo (1904-
489 1905), the latter submitted to them without resistance. The new occupants found them settled on the big eastern trials leading to Doumé. From that time on the trails were improved, and the Yebekolo thus found themselves situated on the big trade routes by which the products of the eastern forest were taken to the coastal regions. /91/

4:Dugast--46a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Yebekolo

101
●131

Yebekolo Peoples



[Map 18]

THE OMVANG

131 Location: the Omvang are split into two sections
One section: 12°15 to 12°50 long.
3°55 to 4°05 north lat.
Other section: 12°45 to 13° long.
4°05 to 4°28 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

Area: in the west—about 390 square km.
in the east—about 660 square km.

161 Population: in the west—4, 852 inhabitants
in the east—7, 520 inhabitants

Density: in the west—12.4 persons per square km.
in the east—11 persons per square km.

131 The Omvang inhabit a forest country which is quite poor in the west but rich in the east. Those who are furthest west, northwest of Ayos, are on the banks of the Nyong, and that is the only place where they have access to a road. The territory of the eastern Omvang is 133 in the valley of the Ayong, a tributary from the right of the Nyong, but their country does not reach as far as the river itself. However, the stream is navigable everywhere so that the river can be easily reached. Ayong flows first of all through a forest which thins out toward the south and is replaced by beautiful clusters of raffia palms.

173 The Omvang know little of their history. They know only that less then a century ago they still occupied the entire territory north of the Nyong; they were in constant contact with the Yebekolo and were sometimes their masters, sometimes their slaves. They were warriors trained in guerrilla warfare, and in the end they attacked the neighboring Maka and wrested from them the land which is their present habitat. The advance of the Yebekolo /92/ split them into two sections. Only the intervention of the Germans in 1904-1905 reestablished peace in the area.

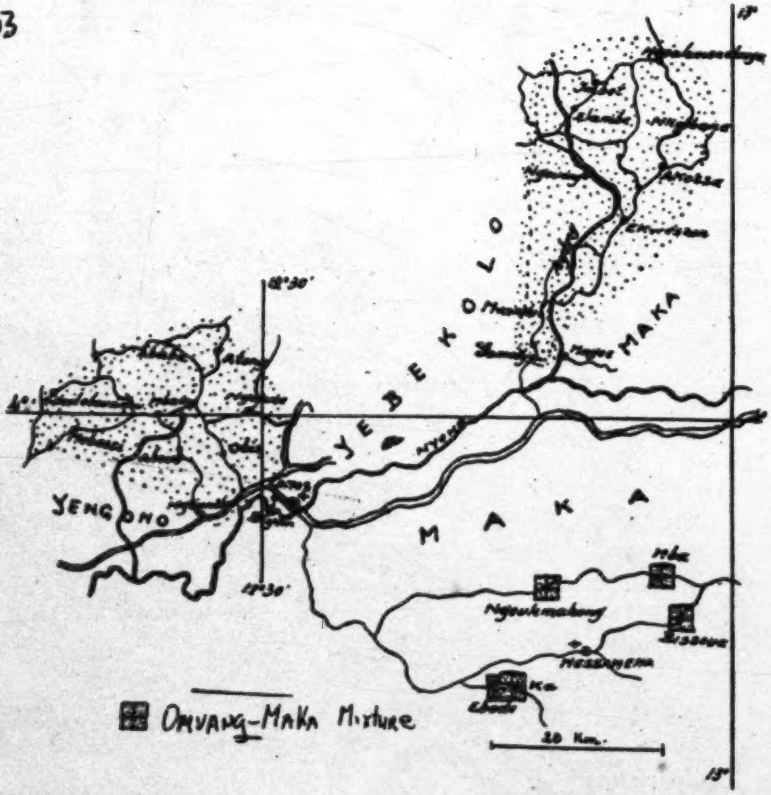
174 P. Chauleur does not agree with the view that the Omvang are a people of the Pahouin group. His arguments, based only on data concerning local migrations, seem to be no more valid than those he opposes.

241 The eastern Omvang, settled in a fertile region are hard-working and good farmers. In addition to their food crops they care for large

4:Dugast--49a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Omvang

101
●131
563

OMVANG Peoples.



[MAP 19]

THE MBIDA-MBANE AND THE MVOGO-NIENGE

●131 Location: Mbida-Mbane—11°40 to 12°15 long.
4°20 to 4°50 north lat.
Mvogo-Nienge—12° to 12°28 long.
4°20 to 4°45 north lat.

Physical Geography. Areas: Mbida-Mbane—1, 548 square km.
Mvogo-Nienge—710 square km.

101 The origins of the Mbida-Mbane and the Mvogo-Nienge seem to be similar enough for us to discuss them together here.

Geographically they are neighbors. The Mbida-Mbane are located on both sides of the Nyong River, in two sections of about equal size in the north and in the south.

The Mvogo-Nienge are their neighbors to the east, south of the Nyong.

133 Both peoples occupy fertile forest regions. The river Nyong flows northeast to southwest through the middle of Mbida-Mbane country. The Mvogo-Nienge inhabit its banks for only a few kilometers, upstream from Akonolinga.

Human Geography

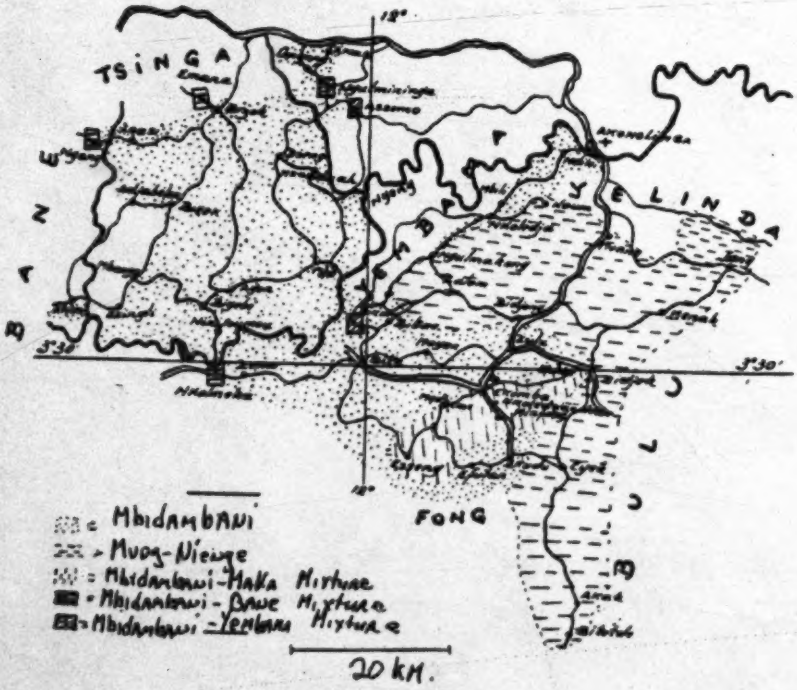
161 Population: Mbida-Mbane—19, 707 inhabitants
Mvogo-Nienge—7, 291 inhabitants
Densities: Mbida-Mbane—12.8 persons per square km.
Mvogo-Nienge—10.26 per square km.

174 History. The traditions of the Mbida-Mbane as well as those of the Mvogo-Nienge tell of ancestors living on the right bank of the Sanaga, as do those of the Yeduma, the Yengono, and the Yembama (the last two groups have been classified by Tessmann among the Bulu). It is said that three slaves of the same master, whose lives were in danger as a consequence of a great palaver, escaped and crossed the Sanaga. Since they were slaves, naturally no mention is made of their ethnic family. Their descendants comprise a number of the peoples who live in the environs of the Nyong at the present time.

241 Both groups live in a fertile country where the cultivation of food crops may be found adjacent to prosperous cacao and coffee plantations. The inhabitants on the banks of the Nyong supplement their diets with fish.

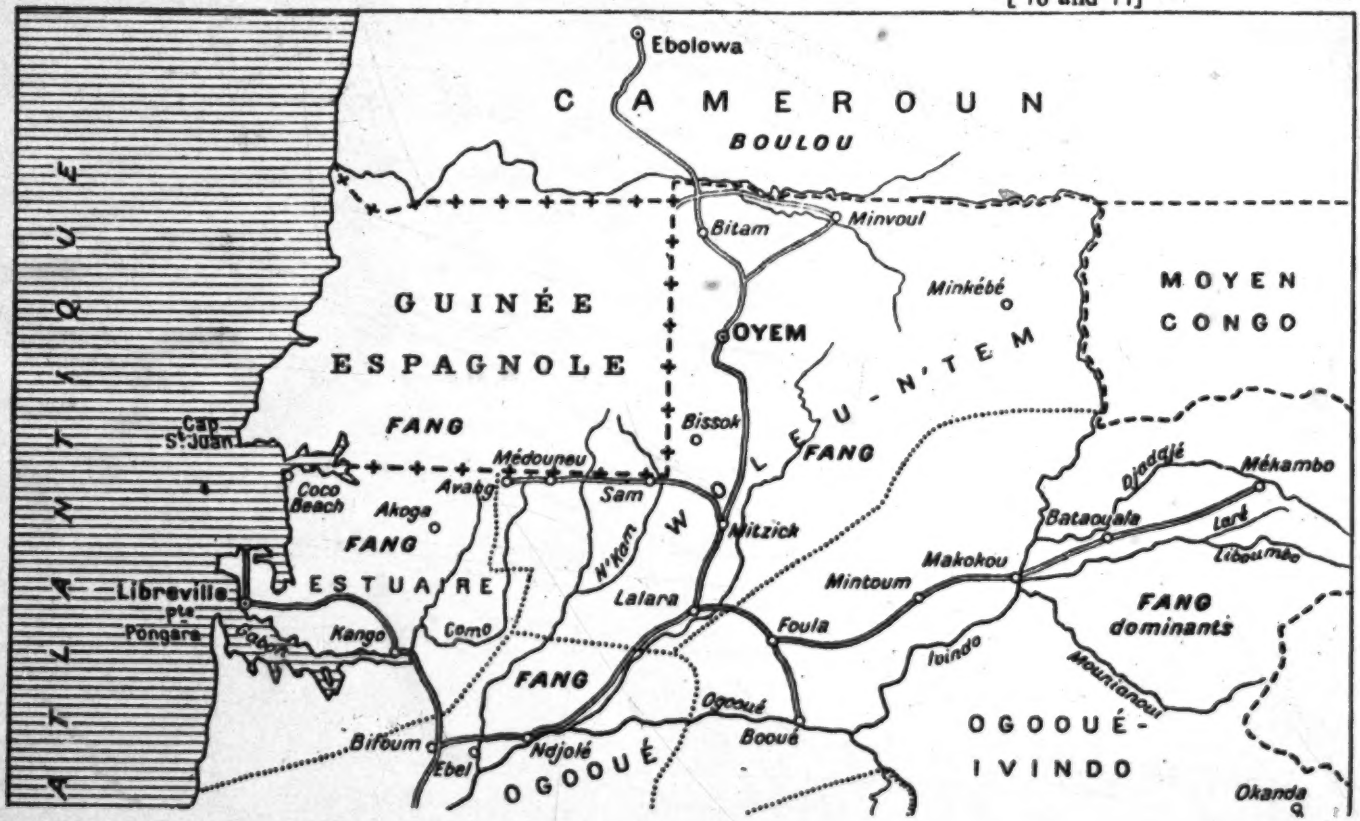
4:Dugast--51a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Mbida-Mbane
Mvogo-Nienge

101 Mbidambani and
131 Muog-Nienge Peoples
563



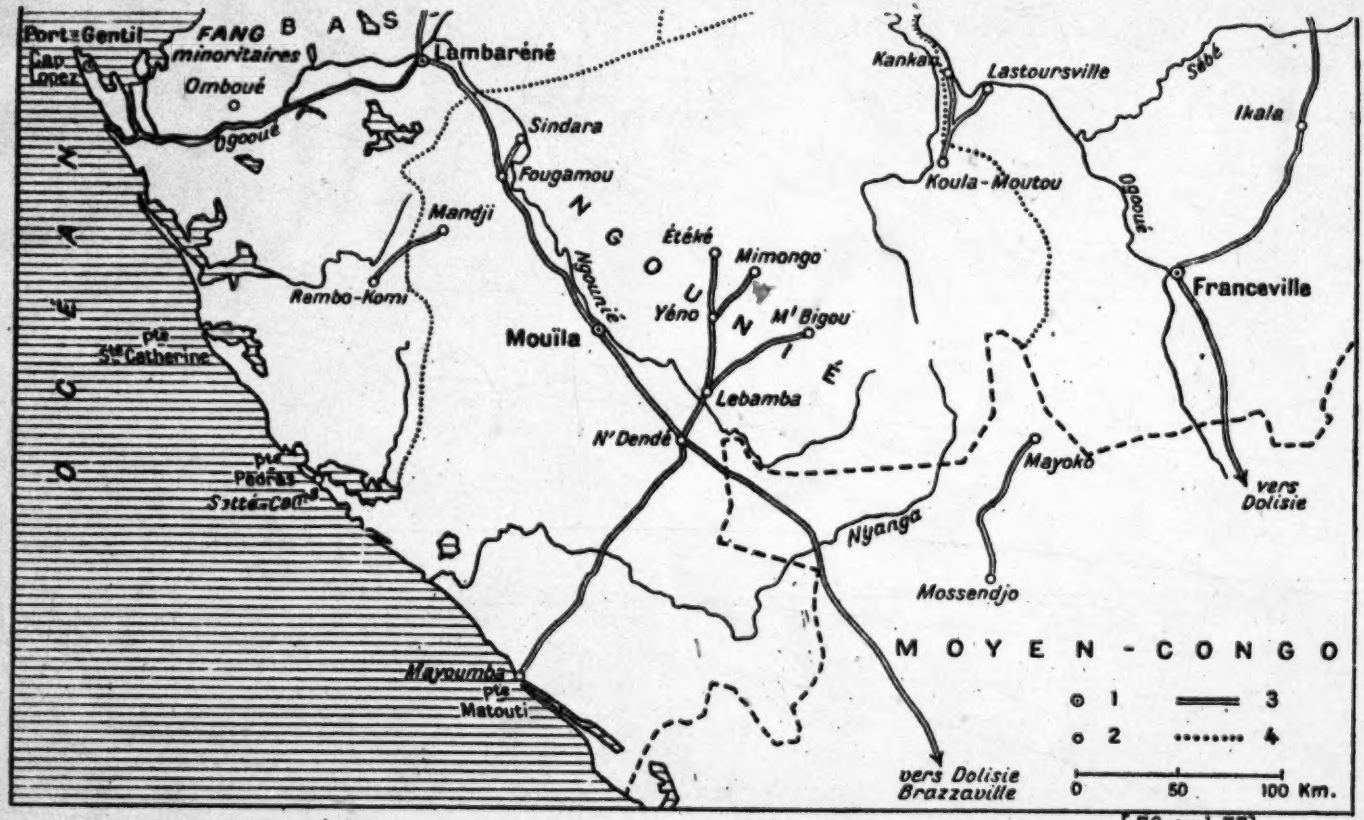
[Map 20]

[76 and 77]



Legend: 1. Important centers. 2. Minor centers. 3. Roads. 4. Frontiers of regions.

GABON



[76 and 77]

Legend: 1. Important centers. 2. Minor centers. 3. Roads. 4. Frontiers of regions.

/1/

Chapter 1

Geographical Location and Climate

131 The Pahouin country covers about 180, 000 square kilometers, from the middle Sanaga (4° 30' N) to the mouth of the Ogooué (1° 20' S) in latitude, from the Atlantic (9° 30' E) to the middle Sanga (14° E) in longitude. The inhabitants are politically under the jurisdiction of the Cameroons, Spanish Guinea, and French Equatorial Africa (Gabon and Middle Congo).

636

133 The country appears essentially as a plateau of rocks, crystalline in the north, metamorphic in the south, with somewhat worn, intrusive domes, separated from the sea by a worn mountain range of rarely more than 1, 000 meters cut by the gorges of coastal rivers. The mean altitude varies from 500 to 700 meters up to the deep fault of the lower Ogooué Valley.

The watershed between the Congo and the coastal river basins bends toward the southeast from the Nkolomendim (the mountain-of-the-waters) massif in the Sangmélima subdivision. The principal tributary of the Congo, by way of the Sanga, is the Dja (N'Goko). The principal coastal rivers are the Sanaga and the Nyong, the N'Tem (Campo), the Muni, and the Ogooué.

132 The climate is of the humid equatorial type, modified by the altitude and characterized by a double alternation of dry and rainy seasons. The time measure of the Pahouin is the mbu, about six lunar cycles (ngon), and the solar year is divided as follows: (1)

805

1. The dates are approximately valid for the Cameroons-Gabon border. The terms are in Boulou; in Fang they would be: oyum, sugha, or sughé.

mid-June to mid-December: ôyôn (little dry season) and su'u (great rainy season)

mid-December to mid-June: ésep (great dry season) sometimes characterized by bikone (small rains)

Mean temperatures and rainfall are indicated on the table on page 3.

Mean Temperatures and Rainfall

Stations (1)	Coordinates (2)		I		II		III		IV		V		VI	
	Latitude	Longitude	T (3)	R (3)	T	R	T	R	T	R	T	R	T	R
Yaoundé ...	3°52' N	11°32' E	24.1	35	24.5	44	24.4	122	24.1	173	23.8	182	23.1	129
Ebolowa....	2°54' N	11°10' E	24.5	50	24.5	63	24.7	154	24.8	200	24.4	212	24.1	149
Oyem	1°45' N	11°41' E		75		94		189		202		210		129
N'Djolé....	0°11' S	10°45' E		81		138		225		194		215		46
Lambaréné .	0°42' S	10°13' E	26.6	136	26.7	197	27.1	268	27.5	193	26.6	180	24.6	16
Libreville ..	0°25' S	09°27' E	27.0	206	27.3	291	27.4	264	27.3	395	27.0	244	25.8	40

Stations (1)	VII		VIII		IX		X		XI		XII		Total Annual Rainfall (4)	Temperature Extremes (5)			
														Maxima		Minima	
	T	R	T (3)	R (3)	T	R	T	R	T	R	T	R		Months	Degrees	Months	Degrees
Yaoundé ...	22.3	37	22.4	97	22.8	206	23.0	283	23.5	119	23.8	11	1 138	Feb.	29.6	Aug.	18.6
Ebolowa ...	23.1	47	23.0	70	23.5	186	23.6	272	24.1	175	24.4	61	1 639	April	30.9	Oct.	18.2
Oyem		41		76		194		338		194		101	1 843				
N'Djolé....		3		6		63		334		271		133	1 709				
Lambaréné .	23.3	2	23.7	5	25.2	75	25.9	363	26.0	404	26.2	142	1 981	April	32.2	July	19.7
Libreville ..	24.7	1	25.2	11	25.9	106	26.4	359	26.5	416	26.9	260	2 593	March	31.4	July	21.6

/3/

131 (1) Names of stations.
132 (2) Geographical co-ordinates of the stations.
(3) T: mean monthly temperature in degrees (general mean for the last 10 years). R: mean monthly rainfall in millimeters (general mean for the last 10 years).
(4) Total annual rainfall in millimeters, 1946-1955.
(5) Temperature extremes: maxima and minima during the year (mean for the last 10 years, months and degrees) (Oyem and N'Djolé, have only pluviometric posts).

/4/

Chapter 2

Ethnological and Historical Position

1. Nomenclature

101 The term "Pahouin" is undoubtedly incorrect, but it is convenient. There exists in fact no African designation applicable to the whole of the group of peoples studied here. Some writers (Martrou, Trilles...) prefer to speak of the Fang or Fan group, which has the drawback of creating a confusion with the tribes properly called Fang, which constitute but a fraction of this group. That is why, along with Largeau, Tessmann, Madame Dugast, and others, I prefer to speak of the Pahouin.

It should be observed that this term, long taken amiss by the Africans, in recent years tends to be adopted by them in connection with the political regrouping of tribes, for the very reason that it does not give prominence to any one of them. Thus the Mitzic
101 Conference in 1947, bringing together the Fang, Boulou /Bulu/,
64 Ntoumou /Ntum/, Mvaé, and Fong, took the name Pahouin Conference, Ntoumou, Boulou, Mvaé, and Fong declining to be lumped together under the designation "Fang."

101 Even the origin of the word "Pahouin" is debatable. The most plausible hypothesis is that of Father Trilles, who derives it from m-fañ (radical fañ plus the singular classifier m/be) by way of Pongoué /Mpongwe/, which changes the F to P and is averse to ending

6: Alexandre and Binet
101, 131, 563, 619

Fang FH9

[Chart for sections of end map.]

A	B
C	D

6;Alexandre and Binet-- 182 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 F119 Fang F119

101
131
523
49

The Pahouin Group

Beti

Boulou

Fang

"Pahouinized"

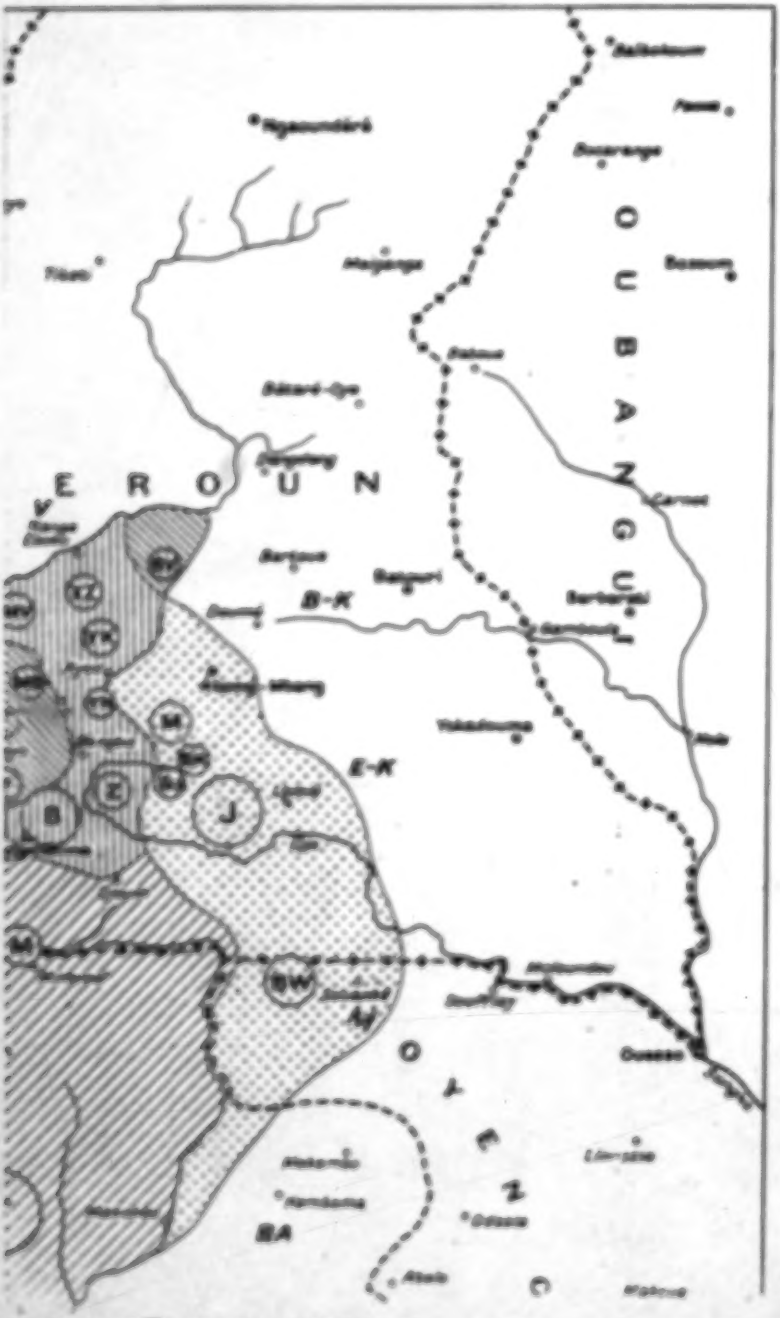
Fringe of Fang expansion

[End Map (N)]

6: Alexandre and Binet-- 183 G-S (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

The Pahouin Group

101
131
523
69



[Ewd Map (B)]

6; Alexandre and Binet--184 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

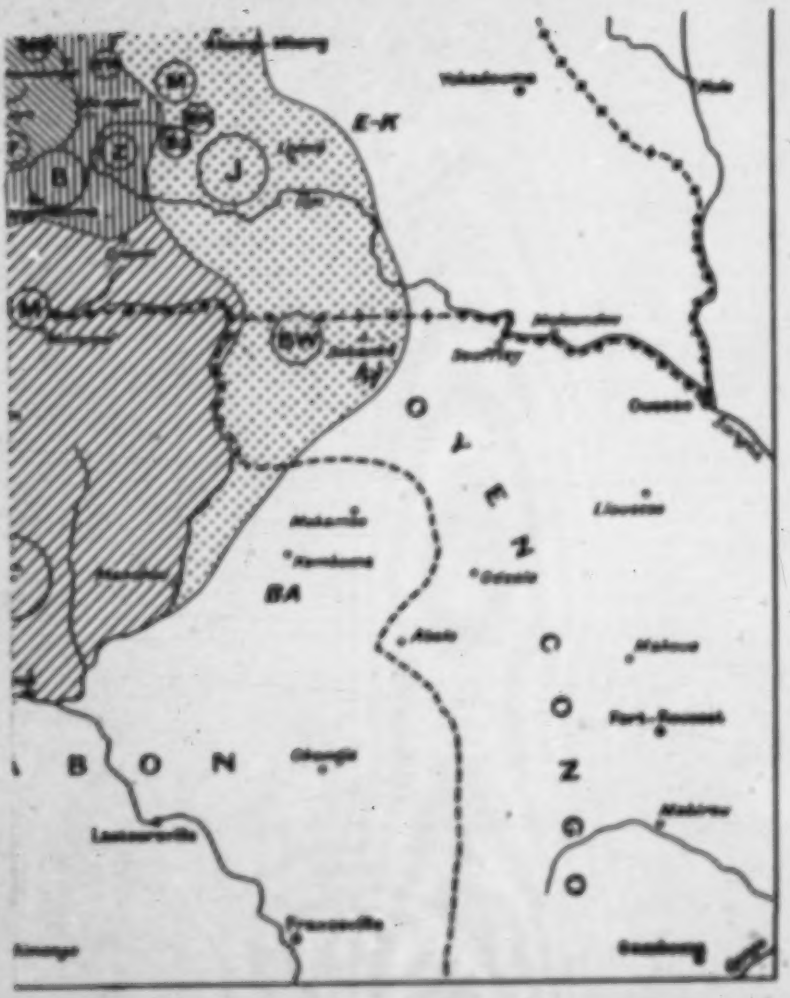
101
131
563
49

Neighboring Peoples

B-B : Bassa-Bakoko , B-Y : Bafia-Yambassa , V : Babouté (Vutéré) , B-K
M-O : Mitshogo-Okandé ; BU : Bapounou , NK : Nkomi , B-P : Benga-Pongwé

[End Map (C)]

101
131
923
69



[illegible] (Yaoundé) ; B-K : Bayo-Kako ; E-K : Essel-Komabombé ; BA : Bakoko
B-P : Bangu-Pongué ; BI : Bulungi ; AI : Mabéo ; BT : Bulungu ; N : Ngumba

[Fwd Map (D)]

244 and for that reason yams, especially the air tuber yam, are frequently planted with ngon. In general, the only edible part of the yam is the rhizome, and in the case of the air tuber yams, only the air tubers which all fall off at the same time when they are ripe. This has given rise to a symbolic custom practiced when the children eat yams. [188] For instance, when the three sons of one mother eat yams, the first nudges the second, and the latter nudges the third, as a sign that they wish to die after one another, as is natural, and not all on the same day, like the air tubers.

Considerably less can be said of the third group than of the first and second groups. The chief plant belonging to it is cassava or manioc, Manihot utilissima Pohl (mbǔn I). The times for /Fig. 54 appears here in the original text/ the cultivation of cassava are as follows:

Fig. 54. Cassava Shoot.

[190] vǔ̄n esób - long dry season (December to February), felling the trees on the farm;
ló gō esób - short rainy season (March to May), planting the shoots;
ofǔn - the rainy half of the year.

In the following esób, in other words, from January of the following year on, that is, seven months after transplanting, harvesting may begin, and it may extend over an arbitrary period of time since the plant is a perennial.

[189] There are no medicines for the growth of cassava as there are for the groundnut and ngon. The prayer of the Pangwe -- an ancient one in new guise -- would be: "Dear God, let the groundnut and ngon flourish, cassava grows by itself!" Cassava has comparatively few enemies; only goats and sheep like to eat the leaves. There is a species of grasshopper (mbǎǎsǎn III) which descends in

133 full of fish, hold water during the worst of the dry season.

137 In going up the Ogooué one meets, a little before the island of Talagouga, the first spurs of the north-south oriented African plateau, still low (N'Djolé has an altitude of 63 meters), the elevation of which increases rapidly as one goes towards the interior. Upstream from N'Djolé, the Ogooué ceases to be navigable. Broken by rapids, it is no longer passable except for specially equipped dugout canoes. About a dozen kilometers beyond the influx of the Okano, the aspect of the country changes: the large forest gives way to great stretches of prairie dotted with wooded groves, on the hillsides formations of quartz blocks are seen and oil palms, which were not present downstream, begin to appear. Mt. Otoumbi dominates the landscape from its 700 meters, and the rounded hillsides of the ranges bordering the river recall some features of the Voiges.

133 In the N'Djolé region, the Ogooué receives as its chief tributaries: to the right, the Bingola, Okano, and Abanga; to the left, shorter rivers of less volume, the Leledi, Lebe, and Mbumi. Only Abanga is navigable, and this for only about 70 kilometers.

132 133 The climate is hot and humid, with alternating dry and rainy seasons: from October to January, the rainy season; from January to March, a very hot, dry season, the ripening time of almost all the forest fruits; from March to June, again violent rains, great tornadoes, and severe heat; and from June to October, a comparatively cool, dry season, with cessation of growth for some varieties of forest vegetation. At this time the waters are very low; sand banks can be seen everywhere in the Ogooué some of whose tributaries, like the Misanga, have only a trickle of water. The seasons are obviously not as strictly demarcated as this, and one season often encroaches on the other.

101 563 Today this whole region is almost entirely inhabited by the Fan who, since their arrival, probably at the beginning of the nineteenth century, have either driven out or decimated the [other] inhabitants, the Okata and Bapinji [Bapindji] up the N'Djolé (of the Okata there is now only one village left, and the Bapinji have completely disappeared) and the Bakele [Bakale, Bakelle (?)] downstream. The latter still have some villages in the interior on the left bank, but only one on the edge of the river.

101 Fan is the name they give themselves. Pahouin [Pahuin] is the one by which they are commonly known and which, according to Haug (1)

1. Ernest Haug, "Notice géographique et ethnographique sur le Bas-Ogooué"

/1/

Chapter 1

Geographical Location and Climate

131 The Pahouin country covers about 180,000 square kilometers, from the middle Sanaga (4° 30' N) to the mouth of the Ogooué (1° 20' S) in latitude, from the Atlantic (9° 30' E) to the middle Sanga (14° E) in longitude. The inhabitants are politically under the jurisdiction 636 of the Cameroons, Spanish Guinea, and French Equatorial Africa (Gabon and Middle Congo).

133 The country appears essentially as a plateau of rocks, crystalline in the north, metamorphic in the south, with somewhat worn, intrusive domes, separated from the sea by a worn mountain range of rarely more than 1,000 meters cut by the gorges of coastal rivers. The mean altitude varies from 500 to 700 meters up to the deep fault of the lower Ogooué Valley.

The watershed between the Congo and the coastal river basins bends toward the southeast from the Nkolomendim (the mountain-of-the-waters) massif in the Sangmélima subdivision. The principal tributary of the Congo, by way of the Sanga, is the Dja (N'Goko). The principal coastal rivers are the Sanaga and the Nyong, the N'Tem (Campo), the Muni, and the Ogooué.

132, 105 The climate is of the humid equatorial type, modified by the altitude and characterized by a double alternation of dry and rainy seasons. The time measure of the Pahouin is the mbu, about six lunar cycles (ngon), and the solar year is divided as follows: (1)

1. The dates are approximately valid for the Cameroons-Gabon border. The terms are in Boulou; in Fang they would be: oyum, sugha, or sughé.

mid-June to mid-December: ôyôn (little dry season) and su'u (great rainy season)

mid-December to mid-June: ésep (great dry season) sometimes characterized by bikone (small rains)

Mean temperatures and rainfall are indicated on the table on page 3.

/3/
/3A

Mean Temperatures and Rainfall

Stations (1)	Coordinates (2)		I		II		III		IV		V		VI	
	Latitude	Longitude	T (3)	R (3)	T	R	T	R	T	R	T	R	T	R
Yaoundé ...	3°52' N	11°32' E	24.1	35	24.5	44	24.4	122	24.1	173	23.8	182	23.1	129
Ebolowa....	2°54' N	11°10' E	24.5	50	24.5	63	24.7	154	24.8	200	24.4	212	24.1	149
Oyem	1°45' N	11°41' E		75		94		189		202/		210		129
N'Djolé....	0°11' S	10°45' E		81		138		225		194		215		46
Lambaréné .	0°42' S	10°13' E	26.6	136	26.7	197	27.1	268	27.5	193	26.6	180	24.6	16
Libreville ..	0°25' S	09°27' E	27.0	206	27.3	291	27.4	264	27.3	395	27.0	244	25.8	40

Stations (1)	VII		VIII		IX		X		XI		XII		Total Annual Rainfall (4)	Temperature Extremes (5) Maxima		Minima	
	T	R	T (3)	R (3)	T	R	T	R	T	R	T	R		Months	Degrees	Months	Degrees
Yaoundé ..	22.3	37	22.4	97	22.8	206	23.0	283	23.5	119	23.8	11	1 138	Feb.	29.6	Aug.	18.6
Ebolowa ...	23.1	47	23.0	70	23.5	186	23.6	272	24.1	175	24.4	61	1 639	April	30.9	Oct.	18.2
Oyem		41		76		194		338		194		101	1 843				
N'Djolé....		3		6		63		334		271		133	1 709				
Lambaréné .	23.3	2	23.7	5	25.2	75	25.9	363	26.0	404	26.2	142	1 981	April	32.2	July	19.7
Libreville ..	24.7	1	25.2	11	25.9	106	26.4	359	26.5	416	26.9	260	2 593	March	31.4	July	21.6

/3/

131 (1) Names of stations.
132 (2) Geographical co-ordinates of the stations.
(3) T: mean monthly temperature in degrees (general mean for the last 10 years). R: mean monthly rainfall in millimeters (general mean for the last 10 years).
(4) Total annual rainfall in millimeters, 1946-1955.
(5) Temperature extremes: maxima and minima during the year (mean for the last 10 years, months and degrees) (Oyem and N'Djolé, have only pluviometric posts).

/4/

Chapter 2

Ethnological and Historical Position

1. Nomenclature

101 The term "Pahouin" is undoubtedly incorrect, but it is convenient. There exists in fact no African designation applicable to the whole of the group of peoples studied here. Some writers (Martrou, Trilles...) prefer to speak of the Fang or Fan group, which has the drawback of creating a confusion with the tribes properly called Fang, which constitute but a fraction of this group. That is why, along with Largeau, Tessmann, Madame Dugast, and others, I prefer to speak of the Pahouin.

It should be observed that this term, long taken amiss by the Africans, in recent years tends to be adopted by them in connection with the political regrouping of tribes, for the very reason that it does not give prominence to any one of them. Thus the Mitzic Conference in 1947, bringing together the Fang, Boulou /Bulu/, Ntoumou /Ntum/, Mvaé, and Fong, took the name Pahouin Conference, Ntoumou, Boulou, Mvaé, and Fong declining to be lumped together under the designation "Fang."

101 641

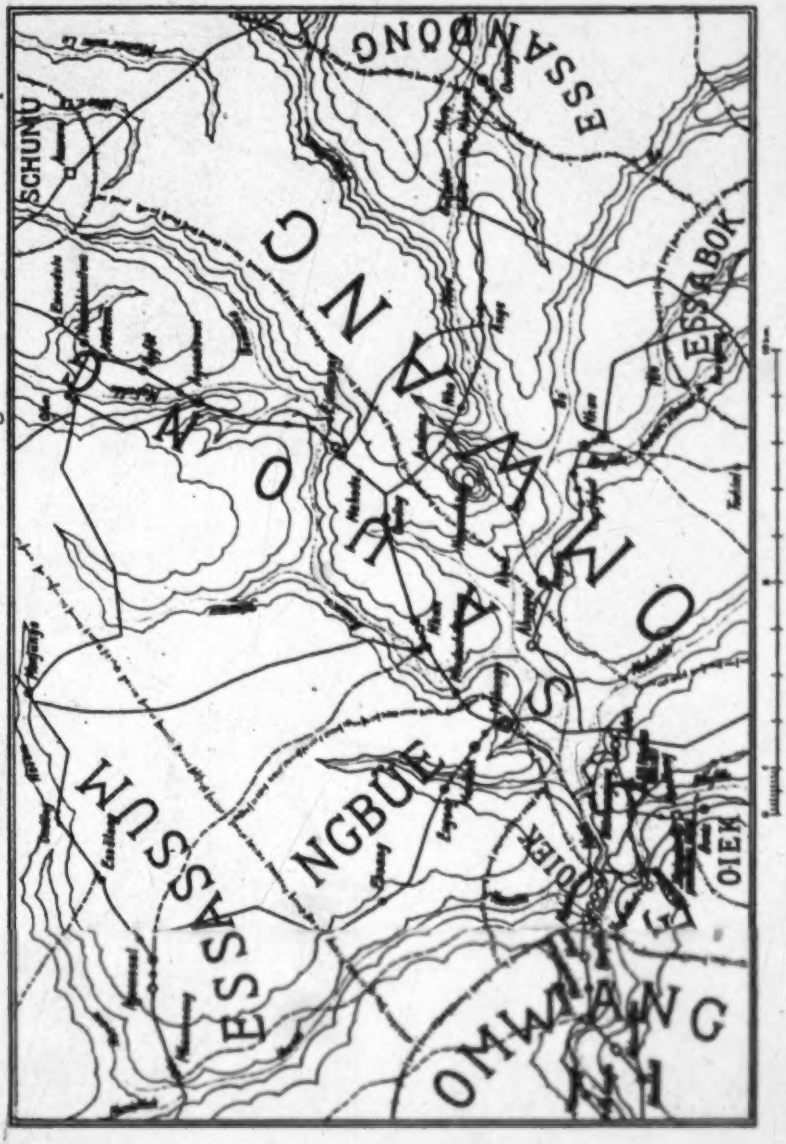
101 Even the origin of the word "Pahouin" is debatable. The most plausible hypothesis is that of Father Trilles, who derives it from m-faŋ (radical faŋ plus the singular classifier m/be) by way of Pongoué /Mpongwe/, which changes the F to P and is averse to ending

1: Tessmann--xiv E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

131
133
361
619

Map 2

Families and Settlements in the Pangwe Area.



252 (a) Cassava rolls or cassava loaves (mbǒm I-mbǒm, ebōbō).

These require more time to prepare, from four to five days. The roots are placed in water holes just as they come from the plantation, that is, with the rind and without being cut into pieces (with the exception of very large roots which are cut in two). /Fig. 98 appears here in the original text./ /154/ /Figs. 99, 100, and 101 appear here in the original text./ This is done in order to draw the poison out of them. Ntum and Fang women attach no importance to the kind of water in which they place the roots; indeed, they seem to prefer swampy areas, such as raffia swamps. In those places one often sees the remains of the cassava on the thoroughly muddy water and along the edge of the puddle; over [76] the remains an enormous number of butterflies floats like a cloud, especially blue and white Pieridae, varieties of Papilio, among them the large blue Zalmoxis. These holes, which have a strong odor of both mud and cassava, are valuable places of discovery for the collector. In the northern region, on the other hand, among the Jaunde, Bene, and many Bulu, cassava is not placed in the swamp but on the sandy bottom of clear, flowing streams, near the bank where the water flows more slowly. Also they take the trouble to block off a stream so that only a little water can run through. Then the roots are placed on the bottom downstream from the dam. Perhaps the reason for placing the cassava roots in clear, running [33] water in the northern region is that there are few raffia swamps in that area. The cassava has to lie in the still or very gently flowing water for a period of from three to four days, three days in the case of younger roots and four days in the case of older, strong roots. After this period the woman takes the roots out and by hand pulls off the bark together with the firmer fibrous layer underneath. This job presents no difficulties. Then she lightly washes the roots on the spot and pulls out the center rib. With both hands she presses the cassava into a ball in the water -- during this process it exudes a whitish sap -- and places the balls in a basket lined with leaves. 253 Further preparation is done in the house; there the cassava is pul- 254 verized on the grindstone, and the powder is poured on leaves which the woman picked on her return from the swamp. In the south these

3: Trézenem--1 E-5 (ca. 1935) 1936 FH9 Fang FH9

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES
on
THE FAN TRIBES OF THE MIDDLE OGOOUÉ (GABON)

by
Édouard Trézenem

Notice

121 The notes which we present here do not aim to be a monograph on the entire Fan [Fang] nation but only a purely objective description of the present life of the Fan tribes which inhabit the Ogooué region. This description, moreover, does not pretend to be without gaps.

121 184 On many points, particularly regarding the religious life, the customs of these tribes may appear to be quite different from those described by the authors who have spoken about the Fan and even about those tribes which live farther inland, towards the lands of the Woleu-N'tem or of the Ivindo [River]. In the Ogooué [area], these differences seem to be due to continued contact with Europeans, to the influence of Christian missions which have a catechist in each village, and to the expansion of relations with neighboring peoples.

We will not discuss these in principle, nor will we attempt to follow the progressive evolution of the tribes, having in mind only a work of documentation.

The Country and Its Inhabitants

[131] 133 137 The region where we began our inquiry is situated below the equator, in Gabon, in the [area of the] middle Ogooué. In this, a land largely of forests, one finds in the west, on the banks of the river and its tributaries (the Abanga at the right, the Mbumi at the left) low, heavily forested areas, flooded in the rainy season, from which arise a few narrow ridges [66], some dozen meters in height at the most, where villages have been established. Many marshes, and lakes

133 full of fish, hold water during the worst of the dry season.

137 In going up the Ogooué one meets, a little before the island of Talagouga, the first spurs of the north-south oriented African plateau, still low (N'Djolé has an altitude of 63 meters), the elevation of which increases rapidly as one goes towards the interior. Upstream from N'Djolé, the Ogooué ceases to be navigable. Broken by rapids, it is no longer passable except for specially equipped dugout canoes. About a dozen kilometers beyond the influx of the Okano, the aspect of the country changes: the large forest gives way to great stretches of prairie dotted with wooded groves, on the hillsides formations of quartz blocks are seen and oil palms, which were not present downstream, begin to appear. Mt. Otoumbi dominates the landscape from its 700 meters, and the rounded hillsides of the ranges bordering the river recall some features of the Vosges.

133 In the N'Djolé region, the Ogooué receives as its chief tributaries: to the right, the Bingola, Okano, and Abanga; to the left, shorter rivers of less volume, the Leledi, Lebe, and Mbumi. Only Abanga is navigable, and this for only about 70 kilometers.

132 133 The climate is hot and humid, with alternating dry and rainy seasons: from October to January, the rainy season; from January to March, a very hot, dry season, the ripening time of almost all the forest fruits; from March to June, again violent rains, great tornadoes, and severe heat; and from June to October, a comparatively cool, dry season, with cessation of growth for some varieties of forest vegetation. At this time the waters are very low; sand banks can be seen everywhere in the Ogooué some of whose tributaries, like the Misanga, have only a trickle of water. The seasons are obviously not as strictly demarcated as this, and one season often encroaches on the other.

101 563 Today this whole region is almost entirely inhabited by the Fan who, since their arrival, probably at the beginning of the nineteenth century, have either driven out or decimated the [other] inhabitants, the Okata and Bapinji [Bapindji] up the N'Djolé (of the Okata there is now only one village left, and the Bapinji have completely disappeared) and the Bakele [Bakale, Bakelle (?)] downstream. The latter still have some villages in the interior on the left bank, but only one on the edge of the river.

101 Fan is the name they give themselves. Pahouin [Pahuin] is the one by which they are commonly known and which, according to Haug (1)

1. Ernest Haug, "Notice géographique et ethnographique sur le Bas-Ogooué"

Bundja
Kombe
Ngoro

101 present-day Bafia, in numerous villages all along the right bank of
131 the M'Bam, meeting the Tsinga at the Owama or Afama River and reaching as far as the vicinity of the Yambasa. Others, known as Kombe, were located much farther east on the Maloko River and are probably under the jurisdiction of the Kombe villages, now claimed to be Mvele and Bavek villages (on the vehicular road in the north).

On this Moisel map, the Bundju occupied the whole vast territory, triangular in shape, which lies between the M'Bam and the Sanaga rivers.

173 According to the reports of the administrator Cournarie, resumed by the administrator Relly, these peoples lost all cohesion after the Babute invasion in the middle of the last century. According to their traditions, the Kombe were enslaved and consequently dispersed. The Bundju, said to be related to the Mangisa, first crossed the Sanaga. Later, when the Germans pushed the Babute back towards the north, the Bundju, greatly reduced in numbers, recrossed the Sanaga and returned to their former lands.

080 It would be interesting to investigate these former Bet from the linguistic viewpoint and to find out how much of their former language remains with them. The study should not be made on the basis of entire zones; rather it should be carried out almost village by village throughout a whole area where these peoples may be found juxtaposed and overlapping one another all along a vehicular road. No doubt the study will /sic/ shed but little light on the problem of origins, but it will clearly show what G. Tessmann calls the "Bat-Mbam" languages.

THE NGORO

131 Location: 11°15 to 11°30 long.
101 4°30 to 4°55 north lat.

<u>Physical and Human Geography</u>. The Ngoro are widely dispersed on the left bank of the M'Bam, in the valley of its tributary, the
● 133 Ngoro. This little river has a minimal water supply during the dry season, but during the rainy months, on the contrary, it swells beyond the river bed and floods the banks, sometimes for a considerable distance. This is a prairie region adorned with thin shrubs. Near branches of the river, a few clumps of raffia palms can be seen.

131 Physical Geography. Area: 2, 520 square km.

133 137 The country of the Eton is made up of hills and plateaus; it drifts gently down from the heights of the country of the Ewondo to the valley of the Sanaga River. The border of the great southern forest crosses the territory from south to north; the westerly two-thirds of the area are covered with forest, and the last third is prairie. The Sanaga borders the country only in the northwest and northeast, for the greater part of the loop [misprint in French text: bouche for boucle. See map.] of the river is occupied by the Mangisa. /69/

161 Human Geography. Population: 111, 738 inhabitants
Density: 44.3 persons per square km.

173 It is impossible to say whether the Eton should be counted among the Beti populations who were dislodged and crossed the Sanaga or whether they were among the first Pahouin to cross the Sanaga at the time of the invasion. Their traditions do not go back very far; they only tell of their departure from the fork of the M'Bam and the Sanaga. /Map 7/ The Eton say that after crossing the river in the direction of the present-day village of Nkolbogo, they fell upon the Mangisa who had already arrived, and then spread themselves throughout the territory which they occupy to this day.

361 487 The Eton are settled in large villates, whose hamlets line the length of their many trails. At present their country is traversed by several roads on which heavy trucks can travel so that their products can reach Yaoundé and the railroad.

197 Language. With reference to this subject it seems best to refer the reader to the paragraph on linguistics in the chapter on the Mangisa, since the same question is raised for the two peoples. /70/

142 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Eton are above average in height, mesocephalic, and platyrrhin.

143 Their blood-group ratio is typically Negro, with a relatively high proportion of the AB type:

O: 55.7 percent; A: 13.8 percent; B: 17.5 percent; AB: 12.9 percent;—index $\frac{[A+AB]}{[B+AB]}$: 0.878.

141 Their height is /for the/ average: men 167.8 cm.; women 159.9 cm.

113 worth on the subject of the "Rite SSO" as it is practiced among the Eton and the Mangisa. The film was made in an Eton village in 1955.

THE EWONDO

101 These people are called Yaoundé (1) by the Europeans, but they

> 1. The etymology of this name is given nowhere. According to tradition, the name Ewundu is that of the original ancestor of the people; the prefixes ya, ye, and e occur frequently in Pahouin languages.
>
> According to Nekes, the name means "peanut"; it would therefore be a nickname, because, they say, "They are as numerous as peanuts."

call themselves Ewondo.

131 Location: 10°40 to 11°40 long.
3°10 to 4°05 north lat.

The Evunok branch on a north-south trail at 10°05 long.
on an east-west trail 10°25 to 10°40 long.
3°10 to 3°25 north lat.

Physical Geography. Area: approximately 4,320 square km.

133 137 The territory occupied by the Ewondo is a high plateau broken by little valleys. In its northern section may be found several high hills which divide the waters of the Sanaga Basin from those of the Nyong. The entire territory is within the great forest zone, but much of the land has been cleared because of the density of the population. /71/ The dividing line between forest and prairie runs east to west about 10 kilometers north of Yaoundé.

133 The river Nyong, at 3°30 north latitude, first borders the Ewondo country north to south and then crosses it from east to west before flowing into the territory of the neighboring Basa. Much further downstream it flows north to south by the settlement of the Evunok before reaching its mouth at the ocean.

133 The southeastern part of Ewondo territory is also watered by the high stream of the little river Lokoundje.

The whole country is very fertile, rich with food crops and beautiful groves of cacao trees.

Human Geography

161 Population: Ewondo (in the Yaounde subdivision)—70, 994 in 1946
" " " M'Balmayo ")—15, 359
" " " Lolodorf ")— 6, 674 in 1947
93, 027

Evunok: 4, 273 inhabitants

The population density varies greatly in the different zones: the region north of the Nyong is most densely populated, 49.3 persons per square kilometer; south of the Nyong there are 13.1 persons per square kilometer; in Evunok, 5 persons per square kilometer.

173 History. The Ewondo settled in their present habitat quite recently —one hundred and fifty years ago at most. According to their traditions, they began the last stage of their migrations somewhere on the right bank of the Sanaga near its junction with the M'Bam. They crossed the Sanaga about five generations ago, at the time when all the peoples north of the Sanaga suffered the consequences of pressure by the Fulbe. They spread southward, and some of them even crossed the Nyong and traveled in the "low" direction (west) toward the commercial roads.

It is believed that German expeditions first reached the Ewondo in about the year 1887 (during the exploration by Kund, Tappenbeck, and Weissenborn). The administrative "station" of Yaoundé was created in 1888, and its direction was placed in the hands of G. Zenker, a man of science whose name is not likely to be forgotten in the Cameroons.

According to most of the traditions, the Evunok (1) were the last

[10] 1. Their name is said to be nothing but a nickname meaning "elephant's stomach," which was given them by the other Ewondo after a hunt which was followed by an unforgettable feast.

of the Ewondo to arrive during the last migration, and they were

113 Divinatory Practices of the Peoples in the District of Yaoundé/," Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 1936, No. 1, pp. 35-39.

Frazer, James George. "The Native Races of Africa and Madagascar," Anthologia Anthropologica (London: Percy Lund Humphries and Co., 1938), pp. 175-76.

Numerous unpublished studies on customs (by Cournarie, Joubert, and others), reports to the Bureau des Affaires Politiques (Bureau of Political Affairs) and among the documents of the S.E.C. /Société d'Etudes Camerounaises/, unpublished investigations on the subjects of shelter and subsistence.

Moisel map, G2, Jaunde.

THE BANE

131 Location: 11°15 to 11°55 long.
3°05 to 3°55 north lat.

Physical Geography. Area: about 2,736 square km.

The territory of the Bane borders on the Western side of the Ewondo country and stretches north to south from the vicinity of Yaoundé to 25 kilometers northeast of Ebolowa and northwest of Sangmélima. [107] The country is located entirely within the forest zone, which is quite thinned out because of the density of population.

●133 At 3°30 north latitude the river Nyong crosses the country from east to west. At that point it is a navigable canal. Further down, the river turns south and marks the boundary between the territories of the Bane and the Ewonds.

161 Human Geography. Total population: 58,909 inhabitants.

More than half of the total number of inhabitants in Bane territory live in the small area located north of the Nyong, where the population density is 40.1 per square kilometer. South of the Nyong, the density is 14.1 persons per square kilometer. /74/

174 History. Like their neighbors of the same Paloulin family, the Bane lived north of the Sanaga in the past before the last invasion. Their southward migration occurred at about the same time as that of the Ewonds, and was brought about by the same cause. The Bane crossed the Sanaga rather late, and found the Eton already settled on the other side. Therefore, they infiltrated little by little from north to south among the people who preceded them /Map 10/ They were not completely pacified until 1897.

113 Frazer, James George. "The Native Races of Africa and Madagascar," Anthologia Anthropologica (London: Percy Lund Humphries and Co., 1938), pp. 165-66.

Numerous unpublished reports by Bertaut, André Raynaud, E. André, and H. Richard, members of the administration, are to be found in the archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs (Bureau des Affaires Politiques) and among the documents of the S.E.C. /Société d' Etudes Camerounaises/.

Moisel Map, 31 1 and 2, Kribi.

THE BULU

31 The actual Bulu inhabit an area which stretches from east to west
31 in a thin band from 10° to 12°10 longitude and extends from 2°35
to 3°15 north latitude toward the east. Toward the west their villages
36 only extend along two parallel trails, then go in a single line to within 30 kilometers of the ocean.

North of this horizontal band, in an area which extends from 12° to 12°35 longitude and from 3°35 to 4°30 north latitude, are to be found the Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda. We are including these groups among the Bulu on the authority of their traditions.

13 Physical Geography. The Bulu territory is a huge, very monotonous plateau covered with forest. It is situated at an altitude of 600 to 650 meters on the average, with a few hills rising 150 to 200 meters at most above the rest. The hills are round or conical in shape and generally wooded.

The actual Bulu country (an area of about 9,936 square km.) is watered, on the one hand, by little tributaries which flow from the left bank of the Nyong and form valleys going from southeast to northwest. In the east the branch called the Zaman flows for 60 kilometers, touches the only trail in the thickness of the forest at a distant spot, and meets the Dja River, a tributary of the Sanga /sic/, beyond 13° longitude.

36 The Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda are settled on a
33 strip of land going from north to south in an area which is part prairie and part forest. From the plain of the Sanaga the country rises gradually, and in the northern part of the Yengono country a chain of hills separates the waters of the Sanaga and the Nyong basins. The three peoples are settled south of this line in the Nyong Basin

361 in a country full of valleys and woods. The territory covers about
133 1,728 square kilometers. /Map 13/

Human Geography

161 Population and density of each group:

True Bulu: 96,216 inhabitants; 9.59 persons per square km.

Yengono, Yembama, Yelinda: 12,987 inhabitants; 7.5 persons per square km.

Zaman: 1,407 inhabitants.

173 History. The Bulu say that they come from the east. Indeed, those who have surveyed the area with care say that "old natives can mark the sites of the villages in which they were born and those of their fathers. Going back generation by generation the track leads east." (1)

1. Bertaut, Droit coutumier des Boulous (The Customary Law of the Bulu), p. 40.

174 By bringing together linguistic and ethnographic data it has been possible to determine that, during the first wave of the Pahouin invasion, the Bulu first followed the high valley of the Sanaga and then took a direction from north to south, which it has been possible to set at 12° to 12°30 longitude. They swamped the Maka, who were settled there before them, and chased them out of the entire territory. Traditions describe them as dividing into two groups once they reached present-day Sangmélima. One group spread throughout that section and moved toward the west; those who went furthest reached almost to the ocean, from which they were separated by only a few coastal populations.

The other group went toward the east into the great forest, and the Zaman pushed all the way to the Dja, 120 kilometers away.

But considering the assertion of B. Struck and Father Nekes that the Fang language influenced that of the Ewondo, we would seem justified in placing the Bulu settlement between the Ewondo and the Fang at a very recent time, for this influence was only possible through constant and direct contacts and intermingling, not by crossing over the Bulu to reach each other. In this case does linguistics enable us to date history?

113 Sud-Cameroun /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept.-Dec. 1946), pp. 40-41.

General Bibliography

Von Kamptz. "Ueber den nach Jaunde ausgeführten Zug /The Expedition to Yaounde/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1904, pp. 288-91.

Zimmermann, Haupt. "Reisebericht des Chefs des Verwaltungbezirkes Ebolowa /Travel Report of the Regional Head of the Ebolowa District/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, pp. 232-34.

Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Bule."

The annual report of the French government concerning the administration of the mandated territories of the South Cameroons, for the year 1923, pp. 72-76.

Bertaut, M. Le droit coutumier des Boulous. Monographie d'une tribu du Sud-Cameroun /The Customary Law of the Bulu. Monograph on a South Cameroons Tribe/," (Paris: 1935).

"Esquisse ethnologique pour servir a l'étude des principales tribus des Territoires du Cameroun sous mandat français, d'après les documents allemands, les études du Dr. Pourin en A.E.F., et les archives du Bureau des Affaires Politiques (1935-1937)." /An Ethnographic Sketch for the Study of the Principal Tribes of the Cameroons Territories under French Mandate, Based on German Documents, the Studies of Dr. Pourin in A.E.F. (French Equatorial Africa) and the Archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs for 1935-37/., Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 28-29.

THE MVELE

131 Location: 11°40 to 12°10 long.
3°45 to 4°20 north lat. south of the Sanaga River
Also from south to north at 4°20 to 4°35 north lat. and 11°40 long.

133 Physical Geography. Area: 2,304 square kilometers south of the

153 Sanaga. The northern part of the Mvele territory is a high plateau which is covered by prairie interspersed with strips of forest. It is very well watered by tributaries and subtributaries of the Sanaga which flow calmly on broad river beds. Toward 4° north latitude a row of hills marks the dividing line between the waters of the Nyong and the Sanaga basins. Thus the entire southern portion of the Mvele country is part of the Nyong Basin. The last vestiges of the forest are to be found there, in addition to crops and many palm trees.

Human Geography

161 Population: south of the Sanaga: 35,340 inhabitants in 1945
north of the Sanaga: 1,655 inhabitants
density south of the Sanaga: 15.3 persons per square km.

117 History. The movement of the Bebute was also responsible for pushing the Mvele back to the left bank of the Sanaga in the middle of the last century. A few enclaves remained wedged in between the various small groups who sought refuge in the area between the M'Bam and the Sanaga Valley. Therefore, the Mvele of the north and those of the south are really part of the same group.

The various authors are not in agreement on the question of a kinship between the Mvele and the large group called Yezum. According to Engelhardt, these are two separate groups. G. Tessmann, on the contrary, believes that the Yezum must be considered part of the Mvele "complex."

34 When the Germans first reached the Mvele they were struck by the unusual appearance of their villages. Engelhardt describes them as follows: "Unlike the rest of the Fang, who place their huts in rows on both sides of trails, /82/ the Mvele build theirs in a star-shape around a central square or with no regard for symmetry." (Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1902, p. 421.)

487 From the beginning of the German occupation, the trails in the
489 territory served as trade routes to the south over which the products of the east were transported toward Yaoundé and to the coast. At the present time these products are carried both on the road that crosses the Mvele country in the south (from Akonolinga to Yaoundé) and on the eastern highway (from Nanga-Eboko to Yaoundé). /Map 14/

197 Language. According to Engelhardt the Mvele tongue is very similar to that of the Bwondo and seems to be but a dialect of the

[3] Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 10 (June 1945), pp. 55-78.

Olivier, G., with the collaboration of the Drs. Aujoulat, Chaleuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Grenier. "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du Sud-Cameroun /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Populations of the South Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept.-Dec. 1946), pp. 59-60.

Bibliography

Engelhardt, Hauptmann. "Bericht über seine Reise von Bertua nach Yaunde /Report on a Trip from Bertua to Yaounde//," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1903, pp. 389-91 and 419-21.

Von Oertzen. "Die Oeffnung des direkten Weges Nanga-Eboko-Dengdeng /Opening of a Direct Route to Nanga-Eboko-Dengdeng/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1907, pp. 625-27.

"Esquisse ethnologique pour servir à l'étude des principales tribus des Territoires du Cameroun sous mandat français d'après les documents allemands, les études du Dr. Pouzin en A.E.F. et les archives du Bureau des Affaires Politiques (1935-1937) /An Ethnographic Sketch for the Study of the Major Tribes of the Cameroons Territories under French Mandate, on the Basis of German Documents, the Studies of Dr. Pouzin in A.E.F. (Fr. Equat. Africa) and the Archives in the Bureau of Political Affairs for 1935-37/," Bulletin de la Societe d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 9-68.

Important unpublished reports of the administrators Cournarie and Chaslaux.

THE TESUM AND THE TEBEKANGA

[3] Location: 11°55 to 12°30 long.
5°05 to 5°35 north lat.

Physical Geography: Area: Tesum: about 1,296 square km.
Tebekanga: about 315 square km.

[33] The country of the Tesum appears on a map as an irregular four-sided figure. The territory stretches through the plain of the Sanaga

Yebekanga

133 River and is watered by its tributaries and subtributaries. Throughout the northern region these flow through thick strips of forest in the prairie. The southern part of the country is still within the forest zone.

The Yebekanga are neighbors of the Tesum to the east. They occupy a triangular area in the valley of the Téké; the land is flat and monotonous, a prairie broken by thickets and strips of forest.

161 Human Geography. Population: Tesum: 8,075 inhabitants
Yebekanga: 747 inhabitants

Densities: Tesum: 6.1 persons per square km.
Yebekanga: 2.37 persons per square km.

174 We have noted that the first German ethnologists were not agreed on the origin of the Tesum or their ethnic relationship to other Pahouin /85/ peoples. Some saw a Tesum-Mvele complex, others, on the contrary, a complex of Tesum-Bulu.

Lastly, the administrator Chaulour states in a 1933 report that among the peoples of "Fang" origin in the subdivision of Nanga-Eboko, "the chief nucleus is comprised of the Tesum .... According to their oral traditions they are descended from the ancestor Ngombe who lived in the country of Djoum." According to this new version of their origin the Tesum came from the south, having been separated quite late from the Bulu; according to the two German versions, on the other hand, they entered the country from the north at the time of the Pahouin arrival.

To go back to G. Tessmann's classification—which may be only provisional, since future studies may reveal new data—we note that there is no absolute contradiction between the Mvele-Tesum and Bulu-Tesum theses except as regards the direction of migration, for both hypothetical complexes are Pahouin, regardless of whether the migration occured at a later or earlier date, in one direction or the other. /Map 11/

In the midst of the Tesum is the settlement of the Tembeng, comprised of no more than a few hundred persons. The administrator Chaulour was able to determine that the latter group also came from the south and that they are closely related to the people of the Bulu region.

Mr. Bertaut, for his part, notes the presence of the Tesum among peoples living in the Bulu territory, and we find them listed in his nomenclature. (1)

Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: about 1, 602 square km.

161 Population: 14, 500 inhabitants

Density: 9.2 persons per square km.

133 All of the Yekaba country is located on the prairie which extends through the plain on the right bank of the Sanaga River. The country has few valleys; it is watered by tributaries of the Sanaga, the Téé and the Nyé, which are bordered by forest.

131 The information peovided by various observers (the administrators Chauleur, Cournarie, and Boudineau) gives no clear indication as to the general grouping in which we should place this group of peoples settled on the right bank of the Sanaga. All French maps give the general name of Badjia, and under it are classed several groups not all of whom are known to have a common origin. The name "Badjia" may be but a nickname (according to Boudineau). German maps use only the name "Yekaba, " concerning which Chauleur also says: "Among these tribes (of the Badjia group), the most important is the Yekaba, and it gives it's name to the region. " (1)

1. Unpublished report of February 28, 1933.

134 According to Cournarie, the Yekaba and several kindred groups originaw among the Yalongo who live on the northern bank of the Sanaga, directly north of their present habitat. Under pressure from the Bebum, who were themselves pushed back by the Fulbe, these peoples fled south and crossed the Sanaga River. It is possible that at first they occupied all of the territory north of the Nyong, together with their neighbors the Bamvele. Later they were pushed back toward the Sanaga by the migration of the Yesum-Yebekanga coming from the south. (2) These two waves moving in opposite directions clashed and interpenetrated, producing the present confusion. The Yekaba found themselves split in two by the Yebekanga, who formed /87/ an enclave in their midst. The peoples of the left bank of the Sanaga (in the administrative subdivision of Nanga-Eboko) are thus composed of two different elements: the somewhat older inhabitants who came originally from the north, went south, and were pushed back, and the more recent arrivals who came from the south and pushed back the former.

These two groups, one coming from the north, the other from the south, and arriving at different times, are probably both part of the

(8) We connect the Bobili with the Bamvele because, on the one hand, they do not appear separately from the Bele on the Moisel map (Dume, G3), and, on the other, the traditions pertaining to their origins are not precise enough to permit us to draw a conclusion differing from that of the Germans.

Physical and Human Geography

(3) Area: 2,472 square km.

(6) Population: Bamvele—18,452 inhabitants
Bobili—6,247 inhabitants

Density: 10 persons per square km.

(133) The Bamvele are close neighbors of the Yekaba and the Yebekolo in the north; they occupy a large homogeneous territory on the border between forest and prairie. The country is almost flat, extending into the Sanaga plain and borders the river for about 30 kilometers. The territory is watered by several broad tributaries of the Sanaga. In the east, one of these tributaries, the Long, serves as a frontier between the Bamvele and the Babute, who surround them everywhere except in the south. A few Bamvele villages have been established on the right bank of the Long, and they border the Bertoua road for a few kilometers.

(64)

(114) Like their neighbors, the Yekaba, the Bamvele in their traditions tell that their origins are to be sought among the Yalongo north of the Sanaga. They too were pushed by the Babute who were under pressure from the Fulbe; they fled south and crossed the Sanaga a little more than a hundred years ago. Their history is identical with that of their neighbors, the Yekaba. /Map 17/ /89/

(173) The Bobili believe that they are native to the territory, but they say that in former times their country extended west, beyond the Long. Therefore, the impact upon them of the Babute and Fulbe movements would have been very slight. (1)

1. Unpublished report of Mr. Brothier-Oubre for May, 1945.

(114) The administrator Chauleur carried out prolonged research in an attempt to untangle the network of peoples on the banks of the Sanaga. He does not feel that he can make a statement about the remote origins of the Yalongo, but he poses the following problem: "Could they be related to the Ba-yoka of the Congo who emigrated south

THE YEBEKOLO

Location: 12°08 to 12°45 long.
3°50 to 4°20 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

Area: about 1,950 square km.
Population: 23,291 inhabitants
Density: 11.9 persons per square km.

The territory of the Yebekolo, in the form of a cornucopia laid on its side, is all to be found in the basin of the Nyong. The river forms its southern boundary. The tributaries on the right bank have broad beds and, in the vicinity of the Nyong, often overflow so that the valleys are frequently flooded. /90/ This is a large territory, covered with forest and quite marshy.

Large villages are found here. While the food crops are not poor, they are not very abundant. The people who live near the Nyong supplement their food supply by fishing and hunting.

It is difficult to say what may be the remote origins of this people. Their oral traditions (as reported by Mr. Tremesaygues) speak of their ancestor as being of Yambasa stock and, therefore, as having lived about 200 kilometers west of their present settlement, north of the Sanaga. /Map 18/ Moving eastward, the Yebekolo met first the Omvang and then the Maka, whom they pushed back to their present habitat.

The German maps, however, do not confirm these traditions. Also based on traditions, upon which linguistic data is often superimposed, they show all the Yebekolo as part of the "Mvele complex" (see detailed maps in Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1907) under the name "Pangwe." It is possible that a borrowing of language occurred here —for a linguistic fact provides clues rather than permanent solutions to ethnographic problems.

When the Germans arrived in the territory of the Yebekolo (1904-1905), the latter submitted to them without resistance. The new occupants found them settled on the big eastern trails leading to Dume. From that time on the trails were improved, and the Yebekolo thus found themselves situated on the big trade routes by which the products of the eastern forest were taken to the coastal regions. /91/

THE OMVANG

131 Location: the Omvang are split into two sections
One section: 12°15 to 12°50 long.
3°55 to 4°05 north lat.
Other section: 12°45 to 13° long.
4°05 to 4°28 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

Area: in the west—about 390 square km.
in the east—about 660 square km.

161 Population: in the west—4, 852 inhabitants
in the east—7, 520 inhabitants

Density: in the west—12.4 persons per square km.
in the east—11 persons per square km.

131 The Omvang inhabit a forest country which is quite poor in the west but rich in the east. Those who are furthest west, northwest of Ayos, are on the banks of the Nyong, and that is the only place where they have access to a road. The territory of the eastern Omvang is 133 in the valley of the Ayong, a tributary from the right of the Nyong, but their country does not reach as far as the river itself. However, the stream is navigable everywhere so that the river can be easily reached. Ayong flows first of all through a forest which thins out toward the south and is replaced by beautiful clusters of raffia palms.

173 The Omvang know little of their history. They know only that less than a century ago they still occupied the entire territory north of the Nyong; they were in constant contact with the Yebekolo and were sometimes their masters, sometimes their slaves. They were warriors trained in guerilla warfare, and in the end they attacked the neighboring Maka and wrested from them the land which is their present habitat. The advance of the Yebekolo /92/ split them into two sections. Only the intervention of the Germans in 1904-1905 reestablished peace in the area.

177 F. Chaulet does not agree with the view that the Omvang are a people of the Pahouin group. His arguments, based only on data concerning local migrations, seem to be no more valid than those he opposes.

241 The eastern Omvang, settled in a fertile region are hard-working and good farmers. In addition to their food crops they care for large

THE MBIDA-MBANE AND THE MVOGO-NIENGE

131 Location: Mbida-Mbane—11°40 to 12°15 long.
4°20 to 4°50 north lat.
Mvogo-Nienge—12° to 12°28 long.
4°20 to 4°45 north lat.

Physical Geography. Areas: Mbida-Mbane—1, 548 square km.
Mvogo-Nienge—710 square km.

101 The origins of the Mbida-Mbane and the Mvogo-Nienge seem to be similar enough for us to discuss them together here.

Geographically they are neighbors. The Mbida-Mbane are located on both sides of the Nyong River, in two sections of about equal size in the north and in the south.

The Mvogo-Nienge are their neighbors to the east, south of the Nyong.

●133 Both peoples occupy fertile forest regions. The river Nyong flows northeast to southwest through the middle of Mbida-Mbane country. The Mvogo-Nienge inhabit its banks for only a few kilometers, upstream from Akonolinga.

Human Geography

61 Population: Mbida-Mbane—19, 707 inhabitants
Mvogo-Nienge—7, 291 inhabitants
Densities: Mbida-Mbane—12.8 persons per square km.
Mvogo-Nienge—10.26 per square km.

171 History. The traditions of the Mbida-Mbane as well as those of the Mvogo-Nienge tell of ancestors living on the right bank of the Sanaga, as do those of the Yedoma, the Tengoos, and the Tembama (the last two groups have been classified by Tessmann among the Bulu). It is said that these slaves of the same master, whose lives were in danger as a consequence of a great palaver, escaped and crossed the Sanaga. Since they were slaves, naturally no mention is made of their ethnic family. Their descendants comprise a number of the peoples who live in the environs of the Nyong at the present time.

241 Both groups live in a fertile country where the cultivation of food crops may be found adjacent to prosperous cacao and coffee plantations. The inhabitants on the banks of the Nyong supplement their diets with fish.

/1/ Chapter 1

Geographical Location and Climate

[3] The Pahouin country covers about 180, 000 square kilometers, from the middle Sanaga (4° 30' N) to the mouth of the Ogooué (1° 20' S) in latitude, from the Atlantic (9° 30' E) to the middle Sanga (14° E) in longitude. The inhabitants are politically under the jurisdiction of the Cameroons, Spanish Guinea, and French Equatorial Africa (Gabon and Middle Congo).

[33] The country appears essentially as a plateau of rocks, crystalline in the north, metamorphic in the south, with somewhat worn, intrusive domes, separated from the sea by a worn mountain range of rarely more than 1, 000 meters cut by the gorges of coastal rivers. The mean altitude varies from 500 to 700 meters up to the deep fault of the lower Ogooué Valley.

The watershed between the Congo and the coastal river basins bends toward the southeast from the Nkolomondim (the mountain-of-the-waters) massif in the Sangmélima subdivision. The principal tributary of the Congo, by way of the Sanga, is the Dja (N'Goko). The principal coastal rivers are the Sanaga and the Nyong, the N'Tem (Campo), the Mooni, and the Ogooué.

The climate is of the humid equatorial type, modified by the [illegible] altitude and characterized by a double alternation of dry and rainy [illegible] seasons. The time measure of the Pahouin is the mbo, about six lunar cycles (ngon), and the solar year is divided as follows: (1)

> 1. The dates are approximately valid for the Cameroons-Gabon border. The terms are in Benkoro; in Fang they would be: oyum, ngôn, or ngôñ.

mid-June to mid-December: ñ̀ñ (little dry season) and su'n (great rainy season)

mid-December to mid-June: ñwy (great dry season) sometimes characterized by bikome (small rains)

Mean temperatures and rainfall are indicated on the table on page 3.

133 The humidity promotes vigorous forest vegetation throughout almost the whole area under consideration: on the plateau, primary forest (afan) giving way to secondary forest of softwood and dense undergrowth (ékotok) (2); in the valley of the Ogooué there is swamp forest

[311 146]

2. In my view ékwotola or ékotok clearly denote secondary forest but of the brushwood variety, and, if I understand correctly, ékotok is used to describe fallow, land that has been cultivated and that is still more or less in use.

Secondary forest would be called afan, in which the nuance of cleared forest is lost.

Primary forest would be called mfun afan. (J.B.).

at Poto-poto /2/ and mangrove in the estuary. Only north of Yaoundé, in Beti country, is there park-savanna with gallery forest along the
134 tributaries of the Sanaga. Black earth with thick humus (évindisi) is found in the valley bottoms, with red earth in process of rapid lateritization (évelesi) predominating, especially in the north.

135 The minerals are: a medium grade of lateritic iron, which is fairly common; rutile /an ore of titanium/; a little placer gold; perhaps a little copper.

136 Wild fauna is still quite abundant in the less populated regions and is extremely varied. There are anthropoids (gorilla, chimpanzee, and perhaps a third species, éhôt, not described by French writers but listed by Du Chaillu and by certain German zoologists); elephant; hippopotamus (becoming extinct); manatee (nearly extinct); buffalo; many kinds of antelope, among which the great Cephalophus (ôl) plays an important role in social and religious life; flying squirrels; earth hog; pangolins; river hog and forest pig; rock badger in the south; panthers; tiger cats; civet cat; otter, and parpaua /?/; various reptiles, among them python, Dendraspis, Bitis gabonica, and cobra; numerous diurnal and nocturnal birds of prey; touraco, toucan; Buceros; francolin; grey parrot; giant snail and fresh-water bivalves; fresh-water crabs and prawns; abundant siluroids; crocodiles; various insects, among them the goliath beetle, etc.

137 There are many parasites and insect vectors: dysenteric amoeba;
136 ankylostoma; microfilaria; plasmodia, Trypanosoma (especially in the east); jigger flea; forest ticks and leeches are rather uncommon.

137 The humidity promotes vigorous forest vegetation throughout almost the whole area under consideration: on the plateau, primary forest (afan) giving way to secondary forest of softwood and dense undergrowth (ébébé) (2); in the valley of the Ogooué there is swamp forest

[31 MC]

2. In my view ékwoola or ékotok clearly denote secondary forest but of the brushwood variety, and, if I understand correctly, ékotok is used to describe fallow, land that has been cultivated and that is still more or less in use.

Secondary forest would be called afan, in which the nuance of cleared forest is lost.

Primary forest would be called mfun afan. (J.B.)

at Poto-poto /2/ and mangrove in the estuary. Only north of Yaoundé, in Beti country, is there park-savanna with gallery forest along the
134 tributaries of the Sanaga. Black earth with thick humus (évindzi) is found in the valley bottoms, with red earth in process of rapid lateritization (évelesi) predominating, especially in the north.

135 The minerals are: a medium grade of lateritic iron, which is fairly common; rutile /an ore of titanium/; a little placer gold; perhaps a little copper.

136 Wild fauna is still quite abundant in the less populated regions and is extremely varied. There are anthropoids (gorilla, chimpanzee, and perhaps a third species, ébéh, not described by French writers but listed by Du Chaillu and by certain German zoologists); elephant; hippopotamus (becoming extinct); manatee (nearly extinct); buffalo; many kinds of antelope, among which the great Cephalophus (ékon) plays an important role in social and religious life; flying squirrels; earth hog; pangolin; river hog and forest pig; rock badger in the south; panthers; tiger cats; civet cat; otter, and porpoise /?/; various reptiles, among them python, Dendroaspis, Bitis gabonica, and cobra; numerous diurnal and nocturnal birds of prey; touracos, toucan; Buceros; francolin; grey parrot; giant snail and fresh-water bivalves; fresh-water crabs and prawns; abundant siluroids; crocodiles; various insects, among them the goliath beetle, etc.

137 There are many parasites and insect vectors: dysenteric amoeba;
138 onchocerca; microfilaria; plasmodia; Trypanosoma (especially in the east); jigger flea; forest ticks and leeches are rather uncommon.

252 Everybody rushes to gather up the seeds; even hobbling old men and little naked children eagerly take part. Great care is taken, however, to get none of the dust which covers the village square in great quantities, no matter how much sweeping is done. Ordinarily, however, the seeds are gathered very quietly and slowly in the late afternoon, all the more slowly since the loam of which I have already spoken is carefully removed from the seeds. The fear of surprise downpours, incidentally, has produced all kinds of preventive medicines which I shall describe in another place (Section 14). /97/

244 B6 Ngon suffer from pests more than the groundnut. Among these are beetles and caterpillars, but above all a species of bug which feeds on the leaves and a number of mammals which feed on the fruit. Among these mammals should be mentioned especially the red-tailed monkey, Cercopithecus buccalis Lecomte (okôk), and, wherever it occurs, the baboon, Maimon planirostris Elliot (esi'ge); furthermore, from the family of squirrels there are Sciurus eborivorus Du Chaillu (mvok) and Sciurus lemniscatus Lecomte (okôh); among the mice, the worst pest is Dendromys mesorius Thomas (njas); and there are also other species, such as Mus pusillulus Pts. (okôn). In places elephants and buffaloes, which likewise eat the fruit, create a great deal of destruction. The gulb (nkôk) eats the leaves. Fruit rot (nti' ngon, that is "diarrhea of the ngon"), the result of an 244 789 overabundant rainfall, likewise reduces the harvest, at times to a considerable extent. Against all these enemies there is not much to be done since they do not pay much attention to preventive medicines; nonetheless, Pangwe women believe that they can influence the seeds and the young plants by all kinds of means, as in the case of the groundnut. One such means, be-aya, has already been described in connection with the groundnut. A second method consists of sprinkling the seeds themselves in the bush plate where they are kept for sowing with red wood that has been ground to a powder (red wood as a symbol of growth, joy, and reproduction). Another procedure to encourage the growth of the ngon plants and to make them 244 789 produce an abundance of fruit is called emil ndob, that is, squirting 224 of (the medicine in the) banana leaf vessel. For this purpose a vessel made of banana leaves is buried in the middle of the farm or set up there, and the following things are put into it.

235 As regards poultry, only the hen (kub IV) is native. Only its
262 meat, not the eggs, is used for food, and even that rarely and on special occasions. At the proper place I shall return to the significance of the hen in the religious conceptions of the natives.

For the hens, small pens of logs are constructed behind the
235 house. In addition, baskets are hung for them on the outside and
447 inside walls of the house where they can brood. Finally, the brood hen is /108/ not refused a resting place in the house on some unused bed if she should consider it the safest and most suitable place for herself and her chicks. A hole at the bottom of the wall serves as an exit for the hen's family.

During the 1880's and 1890's ducks with a red band around
235 the eyes were introduced. Around 1890 they arrived in the Fang
177 region and were called eli (wild duck = eli'); later they were called ... III.

231 Like other primitive peoples, the Pangwe cannot be called animal lovers. Except for parrots, one sees practically no tamed forest animals, not even monkeys. The Pangwe "tire" (a ...) of looking after and feeding them, and under such circumstances one cannot blame the freedom-loving quadrupeds and birds for seeking to escape or lying down to die. Gray parrots, which immediately introduce themselves to every stranger by their name, for instance, as ... a kite, are quite common. They usually find their food on the garbage heaps or among the leftovers in the house. Now and then one sees wild boars that were caught when young. Once I was brought a young leopard which a woman had tried to keep alive by feeding it from her breast; the animal badly scratched the helpful woman, and she quickly abandoned her voluntary maternal role.

231 The bee, Apis mellifica L. var. adamoni (myóñ) IV, ... IV
222 Fang), is not kept, but wild honey (wi; plural, ...), which for the most part is to be found in tree trunks, is gathered and consumed raw.

III. Fishing

226 West Africa is one of the areas of the world richest in fish.
136 Hence, the numerous rivers and streams of the Pangwe region possess great quantities of different kinds of fish. Some of the most

1: Tessmann--79 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

226 •136 outstanding and most typical representatives of the fish world of the Campo-Uelle region are shown on Plate 9. Here the family of the sheatfish (Siluridae) is especially abundantly represented. Of these fish we should mention: Eutropius bangueleensis Rgr. (ekīda Fang, kīda IV Nsum; young = ondīb): the spiny-finned sheatfish, Auchenoglanis balayi (Sauv.) var. gravoni Pellegr., that is the catfish of the Pangwe, mīn I (1); Clarias submarginatus Pzr.

> 1. mīn I, the civet cat Genetta, because the fish is spotted in exactly the same way.

(mvā' IV Fang, mvā' IV Nsum); and Clarias walkeri Gthr. (mā' IV), as well as a new Synodontis species, Synodontis tessmanni Papph. (ebū'), and a new Clariallabes species, Clariallabes longicaudatus Papph. (ndōge I, ondōge III). Furthermore, species were gathered from the genera Doumea, Parauchenoglanis, and Anaspechilus. Of the Mormyridae the following should be mentioned: Gnathonemus monnii (Gthr.), anīn, which is to be found everywhere and is notable because of its peculiar /109/ tail fin equipped with an electrically charged organ; and, secondly, Marcusenius ephelcodes (Sauv.), ombīn I. Both of these are smaller species and of no importance for the Pangwe. Of the family of the Characinidae, the following are especially noteworthy: Sarcodaces odoë (Bl.), mā I); Distichodus hypomonatus Pellegr., mbīl I; and the newly discovered Alestes tessmanni Papph. (ekīda Fang, kīda IV Nsum). From the family of the Cyprinidae there are species of Barbus, such as Barbus guirali Thomin (mvā III, endōma mvā), and the new Barbus malacanthus Papph., as well as several species of the genus Garlina. In addition, I have collected species from the families Cyprinodontidae, Anabantidae, Cichlidae, and Mastacembelidae, which I shall not describe in detail here.

226 561 The wealth of fish in the larger streams is exploited to a relatively minor degree because the Pangwe feel themselves too unsafe with their ill-made rafts on the many rapids. Moreover, the small number of dugouts, which must also handle the traffic at river crossings, is insufficient for a satisfactory exploitation of the abundance of fish, as well as totally unsuited for a regular fishing industry

238 Only where there is great profit to be had, namely, in the hunting of elephants, do they take more trouble and hence achieve results that are notable in view of the simplicity of their hunting weapons (flintlock with pieces of iron or a spear, Figure 85, as ammunition). For the rest, the Pangwe do not accomplish much even with better hunting rifles. For example, of the many Fang hunters equipped with modern rifles whom I had in my service in the course of three years, only one ever shot an antelope. Later, on the other hand, a Pygmy shot five antelopes in one week, and on one occasion two were shot in one day. The beautiful crown eagle, Lophoaetus occipitalis Daud. (ebé'ñ), and many other animals which because of their sly nature require a real huntsman were never laid low by my gentlemen hunters. Usually too easygoing to go into the forest alone, they love to carry on a loud, uninhibited conversation and laugh gaily on a hunting expedition, which of course soon gives them away to the game. Not just once, but many times it happened that my hunting companions, at the sight of the game that I was plainly observing, shouted with a voice that could be heard far and wide: "e ne nie!" = "he be him!" there he is!). Even today I will recall with amusement how my faithful Ajong Boka roused an unsuspecting long-tailed monkey -- I was just waiting for it to move into a position where I could get a better shot at it -- with a shout: "kiama, mmb, mmb!" (mmb = red-tailed monkey), and how the frightened animal raced off in mad leaps.

Completely unaffected as the Pangwe are by principles of sportsmanship, their lack of success in hunting is of course the fault of the rifle or -- the woman (see Section 18, "Sexual Life"). Innumerable hunting and rifle medicines, to which I shall return in Section 13, force themselves upon us in confusing abundance. In addition to the major medicines (mvíñ, nlangge) /Fig. 85 appears here in the original text/ associated with cult activities and carried out by the entire village, /137/ I have recorded about 100 minor medicines intended to put the individual man back on his "hunter's feet."

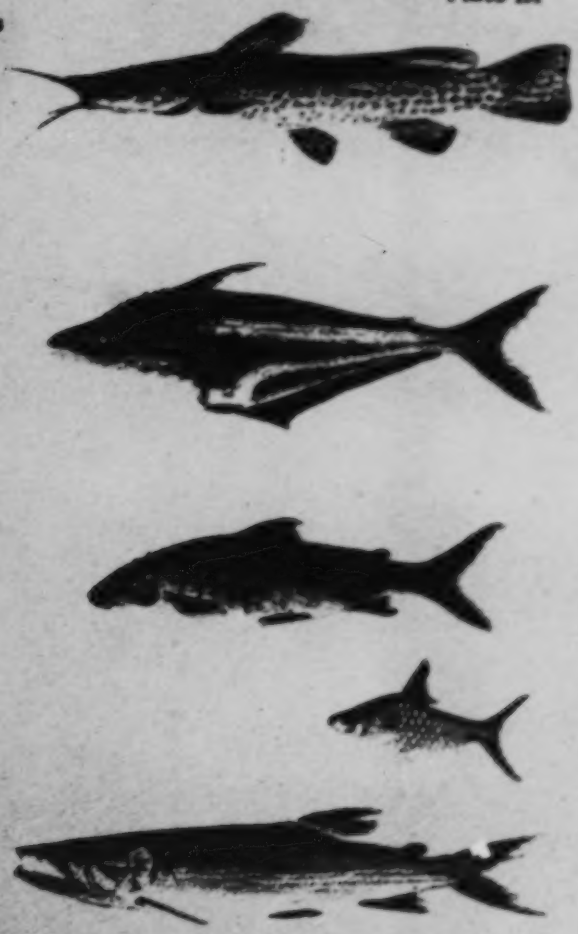
Among the various forms of the hunt to be discussed here, the lowest, the hunting drive, which after all entails nothing more than chasing the prey into traps, is the most highly developed. We must distinguish:

(*) Cassava rolls or cassava leaves (mbɔ́m I-mbɔ́m, ebɔ́bɔ́).

These require more time to prepare, from four to five days. The roots are placed in water holes just as they come from the plantation, that is, with the rind and without being cut into pieces (with the exception of very large roots which are cut in two). /Fig. 98 appears here in the original text./ /154/ /Figs. 99, 100, and 101 appear here in the original text./ This is done in order to draw the poison out of them. Ntum and Fang women attach no importance to the kind of water in which they place the roots; indeed, they seem to prefer swampy areas, such as raffia swamps. In these places one often sees the remains of the cassava on the thoroughly muddy water and along the edge of the puddle; over the remains an enormous number of butterflies floats like a cloud, especially blue and white Pieridae, varieties of Papilio, among them the large blue Zalmoxis. These holes, which have a strong odor of both mud and cassava, are valuable places of discovery for the collector. In the northern region, on the other hand, among the Jaunde, Bene, and many Bulu, cassava is not placed in the swamp but on the sandy bottom of clear, flowing streams, near the bank where the water flows more slowly. Also they take the trouble to block off a stream so that only a little water can run through. Then the roots are placed on the bottom downstream from the dam. Perhaps the reason for placing the cassava roots in clear, running water in the northern region is that there are few raffia swamps in that area. The cassava has to lie in the still or very gently flowing water for a period of from three to four days, three days in the case of younger roots and four days in the case of older, strong roots. After this period the woman takes the roots out and by hand pulls off the bark together with the former fibrous layer underneath. This job presents no difficulties. Then she lightly washes the roots on the spot and pulls out the center rib. With both hands she presses the cassava into a ball in the water -- during this process it exudes a whitish sap -- and places the balls in a basket lined with leaves. Further preparation is done in the house; there the cassava is pulverized on the grindstone, and the powder is poured on leaves which the woman picked on her return from the swamp. In the south these

1: Tessmann--334 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

136



Fish from the Campo and Uelle Rivers.

a. Auchenoglanis balayi (Sauv.) var. gravoti Pellegr. (Fam. Siluridae).

b. Eutropius banguelensis Blgr. (Fam. Siluridae).

c. Distichodus hypostomatus Pellegr. (Fam. Siluridae).

d. Barbus guirali Thomin. (Fam. Cyprinidae).

e. Sarcodaces odoë (Bl.) (Fam. Characinidae).

757 resin of Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl. (ábǔ), which kills the
278 parasites that might have stayed in the flesh, is smeared on them.

The medicines for lice (ndǔ) were given in Volume I, page 188.

An effective emetic, which, however, is rarely used, is supplied by Microglossa volubilis D.C. (mvūvē' I). The leaves are ground and steeped in water, and the water is then drunk.

An infusion of the bark of the Olacacea Stromboiopsis congolensis de Wildem. (edǐib, from dǐib, "to close") is supposed to have a constipating effect; it is used cold as an enema. An infusion of avǒm is supposed to have the same effect.

As a laxative Cassia occidentalis L. (ebǐ[ʃ] ǔ) is used, the leaves being ground and put in cold water, and this is drunk; furthermore, young shoots from the Rubiacea Urophyllum /182/ callicarpoides H. (mbǒ̄ʒ' III) are ground in water, and this liquid is used as an enema; finally the root of Physedra longipes Hook f. (ebǐ'i) is steeped in cold water, and the liquid used as an enema.

752 One rarely hears anything about snake bites in the Pangwe
136 region. Despite the fairly large number of species of these reptiles, there are only a few whose bite is almost always deadly. These include Bitis nasicornis Shaw (fē[ʃ]' IV Ntum) and Naja melanoleuca Hall. (eyindi nyō', "black snake"). Those whose bite frequently leads to death include Naja guentheri Blgr. (okǒm), Atheris squamiger Hall. (yiǒt IV), and two Thrasops species, Thrasops flavigularis Hall. (nkō'ō-nīīt III) and Thrasops aethiops Günth. (nkō'ō-fǐm III). All other species, even if some of them are poisonous, are little if at all feared since their poison is not fatal and can be made ineffectual by medicines. The varying effect of snake bites has given rise to the belief that those who die from them had been engaged in sorcery the night before (nwū̄ǎn I, that is, one who must die), whereas the others did not (nnīǎn I, that is, one who shall live).

752 In the treatment of snake bites the principal role is played by a
278 stone concerning which I was unable to discover any further details. In addition, the leaves of the Urticacea Pouzolzia guineensis Benth (mbǒanē' III) or of Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (avǐ, e si) are ground in water, and with this the wounds are washed; or the sap of the Guttifera Haronga paniculata (Pers.) Lodd. (atū[ʃ]) -- which is also used when goats are castrated -- is dripped into the wounds.

157 The humidity promotes vigorous forest vegetation throughout almost the whole area under consideration: on the plateau, primary forest (afan) giving way to secondary forest of softwood and dense undergrowth (ɛ̃kɔ̃kɔ) (2); in the valley of the Ogooué there is swamp forest

134 142

2. In my view ɛ̃kwonola or ɛ̃konok clearly denote secondary forest but of the brushwood variety, and, if I understand correctly, ɛ̃konok is used to describe fallow, land that has been cultivated and that is still more or less in use.

Secondary forest would be called afan, in which the nuance of cleared forest is lost.

Primary forest would be called mfun afan. (J.B.)

at Poto-poto /2/ and mangrove in the estuary. Only north of Yaoundé, in Beti country, is there park-savanna with gallery forest along the
134 tributaries of the Sanaga. Black earth with thick humus (ɛ̃vindisi) is found in the valley bottoms, with red earth in process of rapid lateritisation (ɛ̃vɛlesi) predominating, especially in the north.

135 The minerals are: a medium grade of lateritic iron, which is fairly common; rutile /an ore of titanium/; a little placer gold; perhaps a little copper.

136 Wild fauna is still quite abundant in the less populated regions and is extremely varied. There are anthropoids (gorilla, chimpanzee, and perhaps a third species, ɛ̃bɔ̃, not described by French writers but listed by Du Chaillu and by certain German zoologists); elephant; hippopotamus (becoming extinct); manatee (nearly extinct); buffalo; many kinds of antelope, among which the great Cephalophus (ɔ) plays an important role in social and religious life; flying squirrels; earth hog; pangolins; river hog and forest pig; rock badger in the south; panthers; tiger cats; civet cat; otter, and parpassa /?/; various reptiles, among them python, Dendraspis, Bitis gabonica, and cobra; numerous diurnal and nocturnal birds of prey; touraco, toucan; Buceros; francolin; grey parrot; giant snail and fresh-water bivalves; fresh-water crabs and prawns; abundant siluroids; crocodiles; various insects, among them the goliath beetle, etc.

164 There are many parasites and insect vectors: dysenteric amoeba;
136 ankylostoma; microfilaria; plasmodia; Trypanosoma (especially in the east); jigger flea; forest ticks and leeches are rather uncommon.

the lengthened pin of the back legs.

In some meeting houses the front legs project to form a semicircle which covers up the narrow sides of the head room. The outer surface of these semicircles is either carved to look like a face or else inclined and provided with decorative surfaces which are painted red and white (Fig. 29). /Fig. 29 appears here in the original text./ /67/

Next to the benches, the most important part of the furnishings of the meeting house consists of a number of logs which are placed together to form a fireplace (see Fig. 27). During the day the fire burns constantly, and during the night the logs are placed together so skillfully that the fire often keeps going until the next morning. /Fig. 29 appears here in the original text./ The importance of the cheering fire in the tropics is greater than one might believe; not only does it serve as a protection against the frequently severe morning chill and warm the room on days when the weather is rainy and cold, but it is also the only means of protection against the exceedingly annoying sand flies, Culicoides (efige), tiny, scarcely visible insects whose sting causes an unpleasant itch like that of stinging nettles.

For the rest, the furnishings of the meeting house consist only of such items as drums (wooden and skin drums), a whetstone, and, suspended from the roof, the large hunting net which the inhabitants use communally on drives. In some cases I also found gun racks (tkub e ngs). Figure 30, which are attached to the wall in the same way as we attach clothes hooks. Guns are placed on these racks so they are handy in case of a sudden attack. Another form of this rack (Fig. 31), likewise not common, consists of a board which is pointed at the bottom and provided with a hole at the top. This gun rack (efa(k) -e-ngs) is planted in the ground in front of the meeting house. The butt end of the rifle is placed on the ground and the barrel is put in the hole in the board.

The skulls of hunted animals are frequently kept in the meeting house as hunting trophies. Either they are held under the roof mats by means of poles, or they can be seen lying around on the roof; only large skulls, like those of elephants, are sometimes placed in front of the house. /Fig. 30 appears here in the original text./

1: Tennessee--96 E-S (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

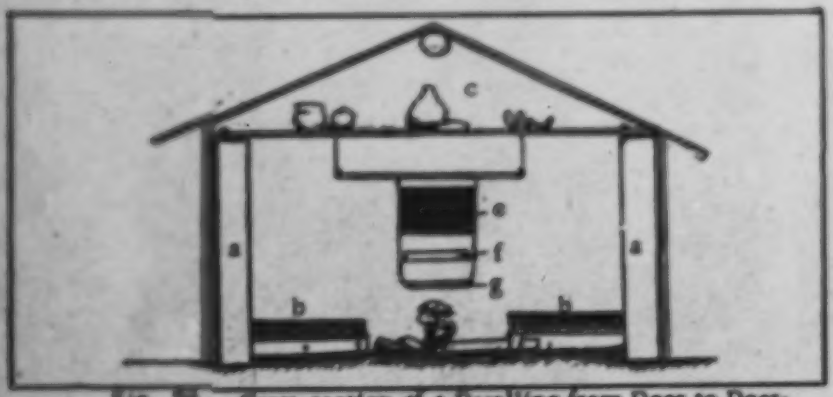
342 352 353

its edge with ornamental chip carving. It is placed on the ground, often in the vicinity of the door posts, and is considered, so to speak, as a place of honor -- for strangers and the paterfamilias -- like our sofa.

As a final household implement the sweeper should be mentioned. It appears in various forms, depending on whether it is used in the dwelling, for the benches of the meeting house, for the meeting house floor, or for the village square. 402 356

For the house a broom evi'a(k), Figure 41 a, is used, made of raffia leaves tied together in the shape of a fan. "More elegant" brooms are used by the Jaunde for the benches of the meeting houses. These are made of pieces of liana stalks, Ertela scandens Benth., Leguminosae, called ntif' (b), or of the flowers of the oil palm (c). The pieces of liana stalk are slit so that they form something like a brush; these brooms therefore correspond more or less to our dusters. A third form of broom (Fig. 42) consists of two little wooden boards tied with strips to a handle. /Fig. 39 appears here in the original text./ /76/ It resembles our snow shovels, but it is by no means to be found in every village, and even where it is found it is infrequently used. [p4]

In the preceding descriptions the reader will have been struck by the frequency with which the raffia palm is mentioned as construction material. It is indeed true that this palm, called "bamboo" in Negro English, is by far the most important and most valuable plant 87 124



[342 353]

Fig. 38. Cross-section of a Dwelling from Door to Door: a, door posts; b, sleeping benches; c, pot loft; d, loft for drying groundnuts; e, pantry; f and g, roasting boards.

for the Pangwe. Where it is scarce, as in Yaoundé /Ger., Jaunde/ it is imported from great distances whenever necessary.

In the Campo-Uelle region there are four species of raffia. Of these, Raffia hookeri M. (esa) is to be found only along the banks of the larger rivers; Raffia regalis M. et Wendl. (andjim), on the other hand, grows only on hilly terrain and even there very sparsely. The following appears in swamps (1) and may

1. Hence, ndjen = swamp and raffia palm (collective name).

Fig. 40. Fang Stool.

be designated as the true raffia palm: Raffia vinifera P.B. (nis dibh = true, authentic raffia), the common species. Finally, there is a species (abo'dé), recognizable by the fact that its leafstalks are tinged with blue, which is frequently found scattered among the above species. The general name for raffia, dié-h, indicates its importance; it means "the mother of the village," /Fig. 40 appears here in the original text/ dia (n, see "Suffixes" /not translated/), because the whole village is made of raffia, and indeed no name would be more fitting considering all that is produced and constructed from it. The following list will give an idea of its multiple uses.

I. Foodstuffs

1. Palm cabbage.
2. Pulp.

271 more leaves folded together in the form of a bag, like the leaf
415 spoon, or his right hand with which he scoops up the water and
414 throws it into his mouth with rapid swinging motions.

In dense forest where no stream is known to be nearby -- this,
271 to be sure, is a rare occurrence, for instance, when they have lost
137 the way or if suddenly somebody falls ill from thirst, or the like --
124 one can, at times, open a hidden source of water in the water liana Dichapetalum bokoericeum Engl. (ngŋ̄ŋ̄ŋ̄-ndik III Nsum, ngŋ̄-ndik III Fang). Unfortunately, however, this plant does not occur everywhere; it grows straight up from the ground to the highest tree tops and can attain the thickness of the upper thigh, but usually it measures only 40 centimeters in circumference. In order to get water, one only needs to cut off the liana as high as one can reach, something that can be done with one blow, and then cut off a piece from the lower half. This is held vertically so that the water cannot run out, and it is then gradually inclined over a drinking vessel, for instance, leaves folded together in the form of a bag. The water, which -- as the Negroes assert -- is supposed to be good for the stomach, now flows out of the stem in a strong stream, hissing all the while. It is quite astonishing what quantities of water the liana contains. A piece as long as one's arm suffices to quench the most violent thirst and, according to my estimates contains one and a half liters. If one needs more, he simply cuts off additional pieces, and since the water cannot flow out of the cut liana because of the air pressure, one always has enough, even for large caravans.

272 As regards indulgents, the Pangwe have sugarcane sap, banana
273 wine, palm wine, and tobacco. In their use of these they are, on the whole, quite moderate. In this respect, the importation of rum would certainly have created a change for the worse if in 1906 the prohibition against the sale of intoxicating liquors had not intervened.

1. Sugarcane sap.

272 The sap contained in sugarcane is extracted in the following manner. The bark of the sugarcane is splintered off with a knife, and its meat is sucked out, or one presses out the sap and then drinks it as "sugar wine (mayŋ̄[k] me nkŏ'k)." The latter method of

273 are regarded as a curiosity. Wine made from the raffia palm, supposed to have a bitter and not very pleasant taste, is known by hearsay to the southern Pangwe. It may even be that they produce it in isolated places, but I never saw or drank it. On the other hand, the
• [137] wine made from the Doleb palm, Borassus flabellifer var. aethiopum Mart. (Mwele, awul), which in very isolated patches extends into the northernmost part of the Pangwe region (I have observed it myself between Elondi and Abendakodi) has a superb taste and is justifiably valued very highly even though it does not possess the characteristic bouquet of oil palm wine. On my journey through Mwele territory I was told that the palm tree dies if one cuts off its blossoms to make wine, and indeed I saw a whole number of gigantic trunks reaching into the sky, leafless as usual. At the same time I must confess that when I was able to refresh my thirsty throat with this beverage in Simekoa, I hardly considered the price -- the dead palm tree -- too high.

For the Pangwe Yaoundé /Ger., Jaunde/ is the classical land of palm wine or mimla, as it is called in pidgin English. If one travels through the Jaunde region at the right time of year, he will find a number of calabashes hanging from almost every oil palm, which indicates: "There is palm wine here." /166/

The quality of the wine depends on various circumstances. One very rarely finds the really first-rate wine, which can well stand comparison with inferior champagnes.

Aside from the method of obtaining the wine, the age of the tree plays a certain role. One cannot get good wine from the flowers of young palms. Similarly, only old calabashes, in which palm wine has often been kept, may be used to catch the wine. I am unable to say what other factors determine the superior or inferior taste of their wine. It is certain that, as in the case of our wines, soil and climate are important. My Jaunde in the south, for instance, took all kinds of trouble to serve me with good "stuff," but it was all -- as they themselves admitted -- a beverage of which one could but say: "It looks like wine, but it isn't; it doesn't make you sing, it doesn't make you happy." In any case a person who, after the first trial of a perhaps only moderately successful wine, condemns palm juice in general does it an injustice. One must first get used

1. Tennessee--Bio E-S (1904-1969) 1913 F169 Fang F169

491
137

Fig. 1. In the Forest near Mahosanden, Spanish Guinea.
In the foreground, a tree trunk and bridge (left) over a swampy place.

1. Tennessee--Bot E-S (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

137

Plate II

Entering the Forest near Mikonanfm,
Spanish Guinea.
In the foreground, an umbrella tree, Musanga; in the middle under a banana tree, a Fang youth.

1: Tessmann--351 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate VI

●137

Groundnut, Arachis hypogaea.

a. Section of a shoot
b. Male blossom
c. Same in cross-section
d. Female blossom
e. Same in cross-section
f-h. Fruit
i. Transverse cross-section
k. Kernel

1: Tennsam--333 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 P119 Feng P119

Plate VIII

Ngon. Cucumeropsis edulis Cogn.

Plate X

Plants providing Salt.

a. Halopegia azurea K. Sch., Fam. Zingiberaceae.

b. Cyrtosperma senegalense (Schott) Engl., Fam. Araceae.

I: Tennemann--Bot. E-6 (1904-1909) 1913 P919 Pang P919

Plate XI

137

Sarcophrynium velutinum (Bak.) K. Schum.,
Fam. Marantaceae.

1: Tessmann--341 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F109 Faug F119

Plate XVI

137

Rattan Palms providing Braiding Material.
Drawing 1. a-q. Oncocalamus Mannii Wendl.

a. Piece of mem with leaf and fruit cluster.
b. Cross-section of the leaf vein at the base of a pinna.
c. Upper part of the flagellum of an older leaf.
d. Inflorescence.
e. Upper part of a blossom spray, from the side.
f. Part of a blossom spray, from above.
g. Small blossoms.
h. The same after removal of a corner of the husk.
i. The same in cross-section.
k. Large blossom.
l. The same in cross-section
m. Upper part of a fruit spray.
n. Fruit.

(continued)

1. Tennessee--342 E-6 (1904-1909) 1813 F919 Fang F919

137 Caption for Plate XVI (continued)

o. Fruit, cross-section.
p. Three scales from the shell of the fruit.
q. Cross-section of a pinna.

Drawing 2. r-w. Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc.

r. Upper part of the palm with leaf and terminal fruit cluster (greatly reduced in size).
s. Fruit (actual size).
t. Fruit, cross-section.
u. Piece from the leaf vein with apophyses of two pairs of pinnae (from above).
v. Cross-section of the leaf vein.
w. Cross-section of a pinna.

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES
on
THE FAN TRIBES OF THE MIDDLE OGOOUÉ (GABON)

by
Édouard Trézenem

Notice

121 The notes which we present here do not aim to be a monograph on the entire Fan [Fang] nation but only a purely objective description of the present life of the Fan tribes which inhabit the Ogooué region. This description, moreover, does not pretend to be without gaps.

121 194 On many points, particularly regarding the religious life, the customs of these tribes may appear to be quite different from those described by the authors who have spoken about the Fan and even about those tribes which live farther inland, towards the lands of the Woleu-N'tem or of the Ivindo [River]. In the Ogooué [area], these differences seem to be due to continued contact with Europeans, to the influence of Christian missions which have a catechist in each village, and to the expansion of relations with neighboring peoples.

We will not discuss these in principle, nor will we attempt to follow the progressive evolution of the tribes, having in mind only a work of documentation.

The Country and Its Inhabitants

[131] 133 137 The region where we began our inquiry is situated below the equator, in Gabon, in the [area of the] middle Ogooué. In this, a land largely of forests, one finds in the west, on the banks of the river and its tributaries (the Abanga at the right, the Mbumi at the left) low, heavily forested areas, flooded in the rainy season, from which arise a few narrow ridges [66], some dozen meters in height at the most, where villages have been established. Many marshes, and lakes

133 full of fish, hold water during the worst of the dry season.

137 In going up the Ogooué one meets, a little before the island of Talagouga, the first spurs of the north-south oriented African plateau, still low (N'Djolé has an altitude of 63 meters), the elevation of which increases rapidly as one goes towards the interior. Upstream from N'Djolé, the Ogooué ceases to be navigable. Broken by rapids, it is no longer passable except for specially equipped dugout canoes. About a dozen kilometers beyond the influx of the Okano, the aspect of the country changes: the large forest gives way to great stretches of prairie dotted with wooded groves, on the hillsides formations of quartz blocks are seen and oil palms, which were not present downstream, begin to appear. Mt. Otoumbi dominates the landscape from its 700 meters, and the rounded hillsides of the ranges bordering the river recall some features of the Vosges.

133 In the N'Djolé region, the Ogooué receives as its chief tributaries: to the right, the Bingola, Okano, and Abanga; to the left, shorter rivers of less volume, the Leledi, Lebe, and Mbumi. Only Abanga is navigable, and this for only about 70 kilometers.

132 The climate is hot and humid, with alternating dry and rainy seasons:
133 from October to January, the rainy season; from January to March, a very hot, dry season, the ripening time of almost all the forest fruits; from March to June, again violent rains, great tornadoes, and severe heat; and from June to October, a comparatively cool, dry season, with cessation of growth for some varieties of forest vegetation. At this time the waters are very low; sand banks can be seen everywhere in the Ogooué some of whose tributaries, like the Misanga, have only a trickle of water. The seasons are obviously not as strictly demarcated as this, and one season often encroaches on the other.

101 Today this whole region is almost entirely inhabited by the Fan who,
563 since their arrival, probably at the beginning of the nineteenth century, have either driven out or decimated the [other] inhabitants, the Okata and Bapinji [Bapindji] up the N'Djolé (of the Okata there is now only one village left, and the Bapinji have completely disappeared) and the Bakele [Bakale, Bakelle (?)] downstream. The latter still have some villages in the interior on the left bank, but only one on the edge of the river.

101 Fan is the name they give themselves. Pahouin [Pahuin] is the one by which they are commonly known and which, according to Haug (1)

1. Ernest Haug, "Notice géographique et ethnographique sur le Bas-Ogooué"

131 Physical Geography. Area: 2, 520 square km.

133 The country of the Eton is made up of hills and plateaus; it drifts
137 gently down from the heights of the country of the Ewondo to the valley of the Sanaga River. The border of the great southern forest crosses the territory from south to north; the westerly two-thirds of the area are covered with forest, and the last third is prairie. The Sanaga borders the country only in the northwest and northeast, for the greater part of the loop [misprint in French text: bouche for boucle. See map.] of the river is occupied by the Mangisa. /69/

161 Human Geography. Population: 111, 738 inhabitants
Density: 44.3 persons per square km.

173 It is impossible to say whether the Eton should be counted among the Beti populations who were dislodged and crossed the Sanaga or whether they were among the first Pahouin to cross the Sanaga at the time of the invasion. Their traditions do not go back very far; they only tell of their departure from the fork of the M'Bam and the Sanaga. /Map 7/ The Eton say that after crossing the river in the direction of the present-day village of Nkolbogo, they fell upon the Mangisa who had already arrived, and then spread themselves throughout the territory which they occupy to this day.

361 The Eton are settled in large villates, whose hamlets line the length
487 of their many trails. At present their country is traversed by several roads on which heavy trucks can travel so that their products can reach Yaoundé and the railroad.

197 Language. With reference to this subject it seems best to refer the reader to the paragraph on linguistics in the chapter on the Mangisa, since the same question is raised for the two peoples. /70/

142 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Eton are above average in height, mesocephalic, and platyrrhin.

143 Their blood-group ratio is typically Negro, with a relatively high proportion of the AB type:

O: 55.7 percent; A: 13.8 percent; B: 17.5 percent; AB: 12.9 percent;—index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$: 0.878.

141 Their height is /for the/ average: men 167.8 cm.; women 159.9 cm.

113 worth on the subject of the "Rite SSO" as it is practiced among the Eton and the Mangisa. The film was made in an Eton village in 1955.

THE EWONDO

101 These people are called Yaoundé (1) by the Europeans, but they

> 1. The etymology of this name is given nowhere. According to tradition, the name Ewundu is that of the original ancestor of the people; the prefixes ya, ye, and e occur frequently in Pahouin languages.
>
> According to Nekes, the name means "peanut"; it would therefore be a nickname, because, they say, "They are as numerous as peanuts."

call themselves Ewondo.

131 Location: 10°40 to 11°40 long.
3°10 to 4°05 north lat.
The Evuzok branch on a north-south trail at 10°05 long.
on an east-west trail 10°25 to 10°40 long.
3°10 to 3°25 north lat.

Physical Geography. Area: approximately 4, 320 square km.

133 The territory occupied by the Ewondo is a high plateau broken by
137 little valleys. In its northern section may be found several high hills which divide the waters of the Sanaga Basin from those of the Nyong. The entire territory is within the great forest zone, but much of the land has been cleared because of the density of the population. /71/ The dividing line between forest and prairie runs east to west about 10 kilometers north of Yaoundé.

133 The river Nyong, at 3°30 north latitude, first borders the Ewondo country north to south and then crosses it from east to west before flowing into the territory of the neighboring Basa. Much further downstream it flows north to south by the settlement of the Evuzok before reaching its mouth at the ocean.

113 Divinatory Practices of the Peoples in the District of Yaoundé/, " Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 1936, No. 1, pp. 35-39.

Frazer, James George. "The Native Races of Africa and Madagascar, " Anthologia Anthropologica (London: Percy Lund Humphries and Co., 1938), pp. 175-76.

Numerous unpublished studies on customs (by Cournarie, Joubert, and others), reports to the Bureau des Affaires Politiques (Bureau of Political Affairs) and among the documents of the S.E.C. /Société d'Etudes Camerounaises/, unpublished investigations on the subjects of shelter and subsistence.

Moisel map, G2, Jaunde.

THE BANE

131 Location: 11°15 to 11°55 long.
3°05 to 3°55 north lat.

Physical Geography. Area: about 2,736 square km.

The territory of the Bane borders on the Western side of the Ewondo country and stretches north to south from the vicinity of Yaoundé to 25 kilometers northeast of Ebolowa and northwest of Sangmélima. [137] The country is located entirely within the forest zone, which is quite thinned out because of the density of population.

133 At 3°30 north latitude the river Nyong crosses the country from east to west. At that point it is a navigable canal. Further down, the river turns south and marks the boundary between the territories of the Bane and the Ewondo.

161 Human Geography. Total population: 58,309 inhabitants.

More than half of the total number of inhabitants in Bane territory live in the small area located north of the Nyong, where the population density is 40.1 per square kilometer. South of the Nyong, the density is 14.1 persons per square kilometer. /74/

174 History. Like their neighbors of the same Pahouin family, the Bane lived north of the Sanaga in the past before the last invasion. Their southward migration occurred at about the same time as that of the Ewondo, and was brought about by the same cause. The Bane crossed the Sanaga rather late, and found the Eton already settled on the other side. Therefore, they infiltrated little by little from north to south among the people who preceded them /Map 10/ They were not completely pacified until 1897.

101
131

Mvae Branch: 9°45 to 10°45 and 11°20 to 11°40 long.
2°15 (at the frontier of the South Cameroons) to 2°55 north lat. and a few islands at 3° north lat.

Ntumu branch: 10°25 to 11°35 long.
2°15 (on the frontier of the South Cameroons) to 2°35 north lat. /77/

Physical and Human Geography

131 Total area: about 11, 500 square km.

161 Population and density of each group:

Fang: 12, 583 inhabitants; 2 persons per square km.
Mvae: 5, 287 inhabitants; 5.8 persons per square km.
Ntumu: 16, 236 inhabitants; 9.8 persons per square km.

●137 The whole territory of the Fang is within the great equatorial forest, in the basin of the N'Tem and those of its tributaries that flow to the right of it. /Map 12/

361 563 The Fang villages which are to be found furthest west in the direction of the ocean are situated near Bipindi and on the road from Bipindi to Kribi. Some of them alternate with Bulu villages, others are composed of mixed populations consisting, for example, of Fang and Bulu, Fang and Ngumba, or Mvae and Ntumu /Ntum?/. Nor are the villages and trails south of Ebolowa in the great forest inhabited by homogeneous populations. Enclaves from one group are settled with another, and intermingle with each other. The transition from the somewhat educated Bulu to the primitive inhabitants of the great forest occurs imperceptibly. Because of the inhospitable territory which they occupy, the Fang are dispersed in the enormous forest all the way to the ocean and are to be found here and there among the Mvae. They 313 lead the unstable existence of lumbermen in order to force from the land the bare means of subsistence.

The settlements of the Mvae are scattered. Some are located on the periphery of Ambam to the east and north, others are south-southeast of Ebolowa, and still others are to be found on the lower part of the N'Tem, from a point east of Nyabessan as far as the ocean.

137 The humidity promotes vigorous forest vegetation throughout almost the whole area under consideration: on the plateau, primary forest (afan) giving way to secondary forest of softwood and dense undergrowth (ékôtôk) (2); in the valley of the Ogooué there is swamp forest

[311 196]

2. In my view ékwotola or ékotok clearly denote secondary forest but of the brushwood variety, and, if I understand correctly, ékotok is used to describe fallow, land that has been cultivated and that is still more or less in use.

Secondary forest would be called afan, in which the nuance of cleared forest is lost.

Primary forest would be called mfun afan. (J.B.)

at Poto-poto /2/ and mangrove in the estuary. Only north of Yaoundé, in Beti country, is there park-savanna with gallery forest along the
134 tributaries of the Sanaga. Black earth with thick humus (évindisi) is found in the valley bottoms, with red earth in process of rapid lateritization (évelesi) predominating, especially in the north.

135 The minerals are: a medium grade of lateritic iron, which is fairly common; rutile /an ore of titanium/; a little placer gold; perhaps a little copper.

136 Wild fauna is still quite abundant in the less populated regions and is extremely varied. There are anthropoids (gorilla, chimpanzee, and perhaps a third species, ébôt, not described by French writers but listed by Du Chaillu and by certain German zoologists); elephant; hippopotamus (becoming extinct); manatee (nearly extinct); buffalo; many kinds of antelope, among which the great Cephalophus (sô) plays an important role in social and religious life; flying squirrels; earth hog; pangolins; river hog and forest pig; rock badger in the south; panthers; tiger cats; civet cat; otter, and párpassa /?/; various reptiles, among them python, Dendraspis, Bitis gabonica, and cobra; numerous diurnal and nocturnal birds of prey; touraco, toucan; Buceros; francolin; grey parrot; giant snail and fresh-water bivalves; fresh-water crabs and prawns; abundant siluroids; crocodiles; various insects, among them the goliath beetle, etc.

164 There are many parasites and insect vectors: dysenteric amoeba;
136 ankylostoma; microfilaria; plasmodia; Trypanosoma (especially in the east); jigger flea; forest ticks and leeches are rather uncommon.

779 perpetrator. If necessary, the chief would take this upon him-
622 self. Such a case has sometimes occurred, according to certain legends.

The large bones are then again placed upon the pyre, for which the necessary wood has been carefully kept, because to cut or to add more is forbidden. When everything has been consumed, the bones and wood that are left in the form of cinders (1) are pulverized as finely as possible, and the chief

[137]

1. Éfirfira is a rather resinous wood, which burns up completely, leaving hardly any cinders.

scatters the powder on the recently covered grave of his father, accompanied by all the heads of family. The banana leaves that had been used to wrap up the victim are carefully folded into a bundle and thrown to the bottom of a spring or stream below the spot where water is usually drawn, so as to avoid profanation.

In contrast to all the other sacrifices, nothing must remain of this victim nor may anyone keep the slightest trace of it.

Before carrying the ashes of the sacrifice to his father's grave, the chief still has to go through another ceremony just as important, the rite of the spear.

779 The rite of the spear, or better of the assagais, ašume
622 mékôn, the salute to the assagais, only occurs at the enthrone-
411 ment of tribal chiefs and then only if they have come of age, that is, have already been received as warriors bearing the marks or bawu.

779 b) The rite of the spear or the assagais. Ašume mékôn.
776 From the other side of Africa, Father Van den Burgt, (1)
411
171

1. Dictionnaire français-rundi [French-Rundi Dictionary], article, "Kirâna."

of the White Fathers, recently pointed out a curious rite among the Barundi, the rite of the spear, the emblem of Kirâna, the

197 Languages of the Cameroons/, "
174 Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen,
1932, p. 184, note 4.

On the other hand, on the basis of a personal communication from Dr. Aujoulat, who worked among the Mangisa for several years, Dr. Olivier makes the following statement: "However, on the basis of differences (from the Pahouin) in language and physical type, Aujoulat has hypothesized a different, more northern origin and contact with tribes whom he calls Sudano-Bantu, namely the Yambasa and the Sanaga (2)." On the basis of the classifications that we our-

2. Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16, p. 55.

selves propose in this work, would not a Beti origin be possible? This great question is raised once again here.

141 Physical Anthropology. The /anthropometric/ indexes have been calculated by the Drs. Olivier and Aujoulat as follows:

	OLIVIER	AUJOULAT	
	Men	Men	Women
Cephalic	76.0	76.7	76.3
Facial	81.4	77.7	77.9
Nasal	88.7	86.0	90.5
Cormique	50.4	50.9	50.6
Envergure/T	104.8	105.0	103.8

143 Their blood-group ratios show a greater proportion of AB type than is present among other Pahouin, and a predominance of type A over type B. The percentages are as follows:

O: 52 percent; A: 21.9 percent; B: 10.9 percent; AB: 15.2 percent; —index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$: 1.44.

ETON

131 Location: 11°10 to 11°45 long.
3°45 to 4°30 north lat.

131 Physical Geography. Area: 2, 520 square km.

133 The country of the Eton is made up of hills and plateaus; it drifts
137 gently down from the heights of the country of the Ewondo to the valley of the Sanaga River. The border of the great southern forest crosses the territory from south to north; the westerly two-thirds of the area are covered with forest, and the last third is prairie. The Sanaga borders the country only in the northwest and northeast, for the greater part of the loop [misprint in French text: bouche for boucle. See map.] of the river is occupied by the Mangisa. /69/

161 Human Geography. Population: 111, 738 inhabitants.
Density: 44.3 persons per square km.

173 It is impossible to say whether the Eton should be counted among the Beti populations who were dislodged and crossed the Sanaga or whether they were among the first Pahouin to cross the Sanaga at the time of the invasion. Their traditions do not go back very far; they only tell of their departure from the fork of the M'Bam and the Sanaga. /Map 7/ The Eton say that after crossing the river in the direction of the present-day village of Nkolbogo, they fell upon the Mangisa who had already arrived, and then spread themselves throughout the territory which they occupy to this day.

361 The Eton are settled in large villates, whose hamlets line the length
481 of their many trails. At present their country is traversed by several roads on which heavy trucks can travel so that their products can reach Yaoundé and the railroad.

197 Language. With reference to this subject it seems best to refer the reader to the paragraph on linguistics in the chapter on the Mangisa, since the same question is raised for the two peoples. /70/

142 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Eton are above average in height, mesocephalic, and platyrrhin.

143 Their blood-group ratio is typically Negro, with a relatively high proportion of the AB type:

O: 55.7 percent; A: 13.8 percent; B: 17.5 percent; AB: 12.9 percent;—index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$: 0.878.

141 Their height is /for the/ average: men 167.8 cm.; women 159.9 cm.

141

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	76.2	76.4
Facial	85.1	84.2
Nasal	83.8	81.6
Cormique	50.8	51.0
Envergure/T	104.4	102.3

163 The birth rate is gradually dropping.

Bibliography of Physical Anthropology

113

Olivier, G. "Etude anthropologique comparée des principales tribus de la région de Yaoundé /A Comparative Study of the Physical Anthropology of the Principal Tribes in the Yaoundé Region/, " Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 10 (June 1945), pp. 55-76.

Olivier, G. and Aujoulat, L. "L'obstétrique en pays Yaoundé. Etude ethnologique medicale et anthropologie somatique. /Obstetrics in Yaounde Country. A Study in Medical Ethnology and Physical Anthropology/, " Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 12 (Dec. 1945), pp. 7-71.

Olivier, G., in collaboration with Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Greiner. "Documents anthropométriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations de Sud-Cameroun /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/, " Bulletin de la Société d'études Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Dec. 1946), p. 45.

General Bibliography

On the subject of the settlements, subsistence, and customs of the Eton, only unpublished sources are available.

We also want to mention an important demographic report by Dr. Aujoulat of the "Ad lucem" Foundation at Efok (Subdivision of Saa). The work was carried out in 1944 (Archives du Service de Santé).

Finally, we must not neglect to mention that at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris there is a film of great ethnographic and artistic

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Ewondo are people
142 of above average height (men 168.4 cm; women 158.6 cm.), fairly slender, mesocephalic, barely platyrrhinian.

143 Their blood-group ratio is that of typical Negroes:
O: 55.5 percent; A: 14.1 percent; B: 17.4 percent; AB: 11.5 percent; —index $\frac{A+AB}{A+AB}$: .885.

141

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.0	77.6
Facial	85.7	85.6
Nasal	82.3	78.2
Cormique	50.5	50.4
Envergure/T	105.3	104.0 /73/

/Map 9, Ewondo Peoples, facing p. 72./

161 The population balance is fair. the differential index (ratio of births to deaths) is + 0.2 percent.

163 A slight increase in the birth rate has been noted; at the same time infant mortality is very low: 3 percent.

The fertility rate is 3.06 pregnancies per woman.

Bibliography of Physical Anthropology

113 Virchow. "6 Schädel von Yaunde aus Kamerun /Six Skulls of Yaunde from the Cameroons/," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1897.

Olivier, G. "Etude anthropologique comparée des principales tribus de la region de Yaoundé /A Comparative Study of the Physical Anthropology of the Major Tribes of the Yaoundé Region/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 10, pp. 55-76.

Olivier, G. and Aujoulat, L. "L'obstetrique en pays Yaoundé. Etude ethnologique medicale et d'anthropologie somatique. /Obstetrics in Yaoundé Country. A Study in Medical Ethnology and Physical Anthropology/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 12 (Dec. 1945), pp. 9-72.

Olivier, G. with the collaboration of the Drs. Ajoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Grenier. "Documents anthropométriques pour servir a'letude des principales populations du Sud-

174 At that time they were already situated along one of the principal commercial routes of the south, used to ship from the east many sought-after products, especially ivory.

361 The Bane are settled in large villages and hamlets. The population in these settlements is no more homogenous /75/ than the Ewondo's. The major intermixtures are shown on our map.

491 497 The road from Yaoundé to Ebolowa now crosses the Bane country from north to south. Another road, south of the Nyong, is the terminal point of the trade routes coming from the southeast. Because of these roads and the connection with the railroads at M'Balmayo, all the wealth of this country of great food crops, rich farmlands (cacao and coffee), and forests is easily brought to market.

000 Language. The subject is discussed in the paragraph on the linguistics of the Ewondo.

141 142 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Bane are of above-average height, fairly slender, mesocephalic, and only slightly platyrrhinian.

143 Their blood-type ratios are as follows:
O: 49 percent; A: 18 percent; B: 14 percent; AB: 19 percent—index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$: 1.121.

141

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.3	77.0
Facial	81.8	80.8
Nasal	85.2	86.0
Cormique	50.9	51.8
Envergure/T	104.9	103.9

161 163 The population balance is stable: the ratio of births to deaths is ÷ 0.2. The fertility rate is 4.7 pregnancies per woman. See the studies in physical anthropology in Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, Nos. 10, 12, 15-16.

Bibliography

173 Von Stein. "Bericht ü ber die Bane-Buli-Expedition /Report on the Bane-Buli Expedition/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1898, pp. 173-75.

Fong
Fang

173 of the Nyong. According to their traditions they come from an area north of the Sanaga, as do the other groups which preceded them. [161] They settled in the forest, where there are at present 12, 783 of them (a density of 6.9 persons per square km.).

231 262 The Fong are an agricultural people. They seem to have little inclination to hunt so that their diet consists chiefly of vegetables, although they have a fairly large number of domesticated animals. /Map 11/

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. Average height: men 169.7 cm.; women 162 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	80.8	81.5
Nasal	95.21	84.01

161 163 The population balance is slightly positive, the ratio of birth to deaths being + 0.77. The rate of sterility is high, 25.6 percent, but is fortunately compensated for by the fertility rate, 5.3 pregnancies per woman.

Bibliography

113 Cottes, A. La mission Cottès au Sud-Cameroun (1905-1908). Exposé des résultats scientifiques, d'après les travaux des divers membres de la section française de la Commission de delimitation entre le Congo français et le Cameroun (frontière méridionale) et les documents étudiés au Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. (The Cottes Mission to South Cameroun 1905-1908. A Presentation of the Scientific Results of the Mission Based on the Work of Various Members of the French Section of the Commission to Set the Boundaries Between the French Congo and the Southern Frontier of the Cameroons, and on Documents Examined at the Museum of Natural History) (Paris: Leroux, 1911), pp. 125-31.

THE FANG, THE MVAE, THE NTUMU

131 Location: 10°45 to 12°45 long.
and a few islands between 10° and 10°30 long.

113 See:

Tessmann, Gunter. Die Pangwe /The Fang/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), pp. 30-31, (short Ntum and Fang vocabularies), and pp. 45-48.

Johnston, H. H. A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, (Oxford University Press, 1922), Vocabulary 218: Pangwe; (The Ntum vocabulary is included in Vocabulary 219: Bulu).

Tessmann, Günter. "Sprichwörter der Pangwe, Westafrica /Fang Proverbs/," Anthropos, Vol. 8, (1913), pp. 402-26.

-----. "Rätzel der Pangwe (West Zentralafrika) /Riddles of the Fang (West Central Africa)/," Anthropos, Vol. 10-11 (1915-1916), pp. 675-725.

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Fang are barely above average in height, platyrrhinian, and mesocephalic.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.0	76.6
Facial	83.2	87.0
Nasal	91.3	88.7
Cormique	51.2	50.9
Envergure/T	105.3	103.4

161 Their population balance is hardly favorable. The ratio of births over deaths is + .03 percent.

163 The population is therefore stationary: the rate of sterility is 7 percent; the fertility rate is 3.8 pregnancies per woman.

141 The Mvae are tall and mesocephalic.

Indexes	Men	(measurements of women were not made)
Cephalic	78.8	
Nasal	104.6	
Cormique	50.4	
Envergure/T	103.9	

161 There is a slight rise in population: ratio of births over deaths is + .69 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 15.2 percent; the fertility rate, 4.3 pregnancies per woman.

141 The Ntumu are above average in height, mesocephalic, and platyrrhinian.

Indexes	Men	(measurements of women were not made)
Cephalic	77.4	
Nasal	102.3	
Cormique	50.6	
Envergure/T	101.6	

161 The population balance remains favorable in spite of an extremely
165 high rate of infant mortality, reaching 58.91 percent of children born alive. The ratio of births over deaths is + 1.53 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 12 percent; the fertility rate, 4.6 pregnancies per woman.

113 See G. Olivier, with the collaboration of Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André Dayid, and Grenier, "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du Sud-Cameroun /Anthropometric Documents for a study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept-Dec. 1946), pp. 48-49 and 62.

General Bibliography

Foerster. "Bericht über eine Erkundung des mittleren Kampoflusses /Report on an Exploration of the Middle Campo River/," (with a Moisel map), Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1902, pp. 123-28.

"Expedition des Stabsarztes Hoesemann längs der Südgrenze von Kamerun /Expedition of the Staff Physician Hoesemann along the Southern Border of the Cameroons/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1902, pp. 291-93 and 313-15.

Zimmerman, O. "Das Gebiet der Ntum und Mwei /The Ntum and Mwei Region/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1910, pp. 459-65.

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe, Op. Cit., pp. 7, 40, 43, 49.

361 The settlements of these peoples vary in appearance. The villages and hamlets of the Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda are located in relatively open country and they stretch out along numerous trails. The Bulu in the south, situated in a land of parallel valleys through which flow the tributaries of the Nyong and by thick forest, can only build their villages along the valleys. This whole area, es-
241 pecially in the Nyong Basin, is very fertile. The natives have fine fields of food crops and many palm trees. Many prosperous enterprises, lumber yards, and fine groves of cacao trees can also be found. /81/[Map 13]

489 All the products are transported to the railroad at M'Balmayo along a large network of roads and the navigable parts of the Nyong.

181 The Bulu are intelligent and hard working, and are capable of becoming excellent craftsmen.

197 Language. We have seen that Father Nekes and G. Tessmann see a very close relationship between the language of the Bulu and that of the Mvele. The Bulu language includes a number of dialects with only slight variants, and falls between the speech of the Ewondo and that of the Gabon Pahouin, which are almost identical.

Linguistic Bibliography

113 von Hagen, Gunther Tronje. Lehrbuch der Bulu Sprache /Handbook of the Bulu Language/ (Berlin: Radetzki: 1914), Vol. 7, 402 pages.

Johnston, H. H. A Comparative Study of Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, (Oxford University Press, 1922), Vocabulary No. 219.

Bates, George L. Handbook of Bulu (Revised Edition; with the vocabulary revised and much enlarged by the author and Silas F. Johnson) (Ebolowa: The Halsey Memorial Press, 1926).

Good, A. I. Bulu Handbook Supplement. Supplementary Facts in Bulu Grammar. Appendix to Vocabulary in Bulu. Vocabulary of Exclamatory Words. (Ebolowa: The Halsey Memorial Press, 1934).

English-Bulu Vocabulary (Ebolowa, undated).

Physical Anthropology and Demography

141 Bulu: average height, men 165.4 cm.; women 157.6 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.8	79.2

141

Facial	86.5	85.1
Nasal	85.7	82.0
Cormique	51.2	52.2
Envergure/T	103.7	102.9

161 The population is barely increasing: the ratio of births over deaths is + 0.30 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 7 percent; the fertility rate is 4.12 pregnancies per woman.

184 Yengono. Sleeping sickness has been rampant in this area in the past but now seems to have been conquered.

143 Their blood group ratios are as follows:
O: 50.1 percent; A: 15.7 percent; B: 29.5 percent; AB: 4.7 percent; —index $\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}$: 0.59.

161 The population balance is slightly favorable; the excess of births over deaths is .63 percent.

163 Sterility rate 9 percent; fertility rate, 3.47 pregnancies per woman.

161 Yelinda. The population balance is not being maintained; the index of births over deaths is -0.1 percent.

163 Sterility rate 18 percent; fertility rate, 3.30 pregnancies per woman.

164 Yembama. Sleeping sickness has been very prevalent among these people, but it is continually decreasing.

161 The population balance is favorable: the excess of births over death is .72 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 16 percent; the fertility rate, 3.97 pregnancies per woman. /82/

Bibliography of Physical Anthropology

113 Virchow. "Rothgefarbter Schädel eines Bulu Negers von Kamerun /Painted Red Skull of a Bulu Negro in the Cameroons/," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1900.

Poutrin. "Contribution a l'Etude des Pygmées d'Afrique /A Contribution to the Study of the Pygmies of Africa/," L'Anthropologie, 1910, pp. 443-46 and 500 (the Bulu group).

Olivier, G., with the collaboration of Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Grenier. "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du

197 latter. Father Nekes, however, is of a different opinion; he stresses a very great resemblance to the Bulu language of the Ebolowa district. In his opinion the Mvele language represents a more archaic form than those of the Ewondo or the Bane.

See:

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe /The Fangs/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), pp. 30-31 (a short vocabulary).

-----. "Die Volker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of Cameroons/," Petermans geographische Mitteilungen, 1932, p. 184, note 40.

Nekes. Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, pp. 469-70. /84/

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Mvele are slender, slightly platyrrhinian; they have the features of the Sudan in attenuated form.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.5	78.4
Facial	81.3	82.1
Nasal	90.0	85.5
Cormique	51.5	52.1
Envergure/T	104.1	103.1

143 Their blood group ratios are typically Negro, although the proportion of group AB is slightly greater than in the classical formula.

O: 51 percent; A: 14.3 percent; B: 16.3 percent; AB: 18.4 percent; —index $\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}$: 0.942.

161 The population balance is not being maintained: the index of births to deaths is -0.21 percent.

See:

131 Olivier, G. "Etude anthropologique comparée des principales tribus de la region de Yaoundé /A Comparative Study in the Physical Anthropology of the Principal Tribes of the Yaoundé Region/,"

114 from the Masai territory during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? The presence of Ba-yoka in the midst of the tribe is, of course, insufficient evidence. In order to give a satisfactory answer to this question we would have to be able to make a comparison between the languages."

245 The country of the Bamvele and the Bobili is enriched by the presence of beautiful palm trees which are the sole source of prosperity for these peoples.

491 The country is serviced in the south by the eastern highway and also by a central road which runs from the Yekaba frontier to the north of their district.

197 Language. Although the traditions of the Yekaba and the Bamvele state that the ancestors of both peoples fled from among the Yalongo north of the Sanaga, the linguistic map of G. Tessmann clearly distinguishes between the two.

As we have seen, he says that the Yekaba speak a Pahouin tongue. The Bamvele (Bele in the German terminology) are said to have brought from their land of origin a language which is different from, although related to, the Pahouin languages, but mixed with that of the Beti. This observation is interesting and plausible. The Yekaba of the same origin as the Bamvele may thus have borrowed their language.

See Günter Tessmann, "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /People and Languages of the Cameroons/," Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen (Gotha, 1932), pp. 117 and 184.

●141 Physical Anthropology. The people are almost all tall and strong, with flat noses and a marked prognathism. The trunk of the body is proportionately long.

Average height: men 169.7 cm.; women 158.9 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	79.3	78.7
Facial	84.7	84.9
Nasal	87.0	81.8
Cormique	51.5	52.5
Envergure/T	104.5	104.2

197 Language. The linguistic map of G. Tessmann shows without comment, the Yebekolo, under the category of "Mvele."

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The average height of the Yebekolo is 165.5; the average cephalic index is 78.8.

143 Their blood-group ratios are as follows:
O: 69.3 percent; A: 13.1 percent; B: 12.1 percent; AB: 5.35 percent;—index $\frac{A+AB}{A+AB}$: 1.197.

165 The extremely high rate of infant mortality (58.64 percent) is due
164 to malaria. The disease is fostered by the marshiness of the region, which is likely to remain a source of sleeping sickness as well.

161 The population balance is stationary; the ratio of births to deaths is + 0.09 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 5 percent; the fertility rate is 3.98 pregnancies per woman.

See:

113 Olivier, G., with the collaboration of Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Greiner, "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du Sud-Cameroun, /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept.-Dec. 1946), p. 65.

Brygoo. "Le nouveau-né et la femme enceinte aux environs d'Ayos /The Newborn Child and the Pregnant Woman in the Vicinity of Ayos/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 21-22 (1948), pp. 49-68.

Bibliography

Scheunemann. "Die Unruhen in Südbezirk von Kamerun 1904 bis 1906 /Unrest in the Southern Area of the Cameroons/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1907, pp. 349-51, and 396.

Tremesaygues. Unpublished report on the geneologies and the origins of the peoples in the subdivision of Akonolinga (1930).

Numerous reports in the Archives du Service de Santé /Archives of the Health Service/ from the medical station at Ayos.

Moisel map, G3, Dume

423 continues to have rights over her old garden plots and may gather the
522 harvest from them. Among the Bané and the Boulou the position of divorced women is not the same, but the tendency is so, for when fallow land is cleared, every woman goes back to the plots she used to work four or five years before, and sons may demand plots that have been cultivated by their mothers.

Cacao plantations raise other problems. A man concerned for his children's future may turn over a plantation to a wife or encourage her to make one for their son. In other cases childless women start
[513] plantations as a means of providing for old age. Women with children do not have to fear, for their children will look after them. Finally, there is an even more important /83/ change appearing: a matrimonial system of community of property is developing. When a woman has collaborated with her husband to set up a plantation, she has the right upon his death to keep the usufruct. Even if her son inherits the plantation and sells the produce, it is she who collects the proceeds. This is an important development, because it is evidence of a kind of equality between spouses who are keen and efficient in harvesting the produce of the same piece of land. It furthermore shows that the
[512] household is a legal reality vis-à-vis the two individuals, on the one hand, the patriarchal family, on the other. (J. B.)

Chapter 6

Principal Elements of Culture

1. Physical and Mental Characteristics

a. Anthropological Data

● 141 The first travelers describe the Fang as very tall, well built, and with a formidable appearance. This opinion certainly contained a good deal of subjective evaluation, because the figures given, for instance by I. Dugast, some of which are cited below, indicate simply an above-average height:

141

Tribe	Height		Cephalic Index		Trunk Index /Indice cormique/	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mangisa	above average		76.7	76.3	?	?
Eton	167.8	157.9	76.2	76.4	60.8	51.0
Ewôndo	168.4	158.6	77.0	77.6	50.5	50.4
Boulou	165.4	157.6	77.8	79.2	51.2	52.2
Fang	above average		77.0	76.6	51.2	50.9

143

Tribe	Blood Group (in %)					Facial Index		Width/Height /Envergure s/taille/	
	O	A	B	AB	Index	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mangisa	52	21.9	10.9	15.2	1.44	?	?	?	?
Eton	55.7	13.8	17.5	12.9	0.878	85.1	84.2	104.4	102.5
Ewôndo	55.5	14.1	17.4	11.5	0.885	85.7	85.6	105.3	104.0
Boulou	?	?	?	?	?	86.5	85.1	103.7	102.9
Fang	?	?	?	?	?	83.2	87.0	105.3	103.4

It is inevitable, in any case, that a population of this numerical size should present fairly obvious extreme variations, but my own observation, also subjective, thrown into relief a larger proportion of short and very short persons than of tall and very tall: interbreeding
144 with Pygmies (the Bekoé ayoñ especially) would explain this to a great extent. The Beti in the north, who have had much less contact with Pygmies, seem taller and slenderer.

142 The group as a whole may be considered mesocephalic with a /85/
144 slight tendency to dolichocephaly (1), with not very obvious Negroid

304 856

1. Midwives, bebialé binga, still continue the practice of shaping newborn skulls by lengthening. On the other hand, the custom of binding babies' heads with a bark band is dying out.

facial traits, rather light chocolate brown skin, although some groups have a reddish tinge to the skin and green eyes (the Ndoñ ayoñ of
143 Sangmélima). Pectoral hair is common. There is fairly common 224 albinism, some polydactylism (the subjects are supposedly sorcerers).

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

The face is oval in form.[1] The average nose is of the negroid type (short, broad, nearly straight), Fig. 7, Topinard; or the Australoid or Papuan (broad, with the lower part forming a flattened and depressed hook), Fig. 8, Topinard's scale. The skull is thick and strong. Very often the brows are depressed deeply, the cheek bones are prominent, and at the angle of the inferior maxillary bone there is an inclination to bulging outward. The alæ nasi are broad and thick, and the nasal bridge often much depressed giving the typical, flat, turned up nose of the negro. Yet I have observed among the Fang some handsome aquiline noses, and quite frequently the Australoid or Papuan type. I have frequently noticed that the possessors of the aquiline, or Australoid type of nose, showed a higher degree of intelligence and a more genuine desire to learn "the white man's ways." 142

The ears are large and well developed, inclined to spread outward and having broad thick lobes. The teeth are good and symmetrical; Fang men and women file the upper and lower incisors to a fine point and give as their reason for so doing, that it is *mbung* (beautiful). The head of an average Fang male sits well on the shoulders, the neck is strong and muscular, the "Adam's apple" is not highly developed. Very little attention is given to the cultivation of hair on the upper lip. [3044] [826]

The breasts of Fang women are very pendulous after bearing children; and in some cases the breasts in males are very highly developed (photo on screen).

The muscles of the arms, back, buttocks and thighs are often splendidly developed, far more so than in the Mpôngwe, Mabeya and many other West African tribes. The Mpôngwes are rapidly degenerating. In the male Fang the gluteal muscles are not highly developed. The gluteal muscles in the female are often developed to a very high degree, measuring round from 36½ inches to 39½ inches.

Fifteen Fang males were measured and averaged as follows: [141]

Height 5 feet 9 inches.
Chin to pubes 27¼ inches.
Pubes to inner malleolus 32½ inches.
Inner malleolus to tip of great toe 8½ inches.
Shoulder to wrist 24½ inches.
Wrist to point of index finger 8½ inches.

In males the thumb is long and broad in the terminal phalanx; the nails of the hand are broad and flat. I have often seen a man use his great toe to pick up an object off the ground, and flexing the leg bring the object to his hand. When journeying through the bush with a caravan it is very interesting to notice how the native uses the great toe to aid him in climbing a steep hill. The sexual apparatus is very highly developed, especially in the males. The women are the [481]

[1] It has not been possible for me to devote the time needed for a detailed study of Fang crania. The few Bulu and Fang skulls I have had opportunity for examining presented very little, if any, different characteristics. The skulls I examined were decidedly prognathous, but not large.

1: Tessmann--167 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
291
481

Fig. 111. Men from Angónneuai (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.

080

of metal). -- Breast ornaments. -- Arm ornaments. -- Finger ornaments. -- Leg ornaments. -- Toe ornaments. -- Profusion of ornaments.

3. Care of the body. -- Cleanliness. -- Parasites and their removal. -- Care of head hair. -- Underarm and pubic hair. -- Care of the teeth. -- Salves with oil: reasons, oil plants, oil from the raffia palm, oil from the oil palm (distribution, varieties, production of pressed, boiled, and washed oil, and of palm seed oil). -- Smearing with dyes: occasions, red dye (preparation, vessels for storing it), white and black dye.
4. Adornment of the body. Origin. -- Kinds. -- Scars by burning. --

292
142

Fig. 117. Assoko from Alén (Essáuong Family), Spanish Guinea.

294
357
516

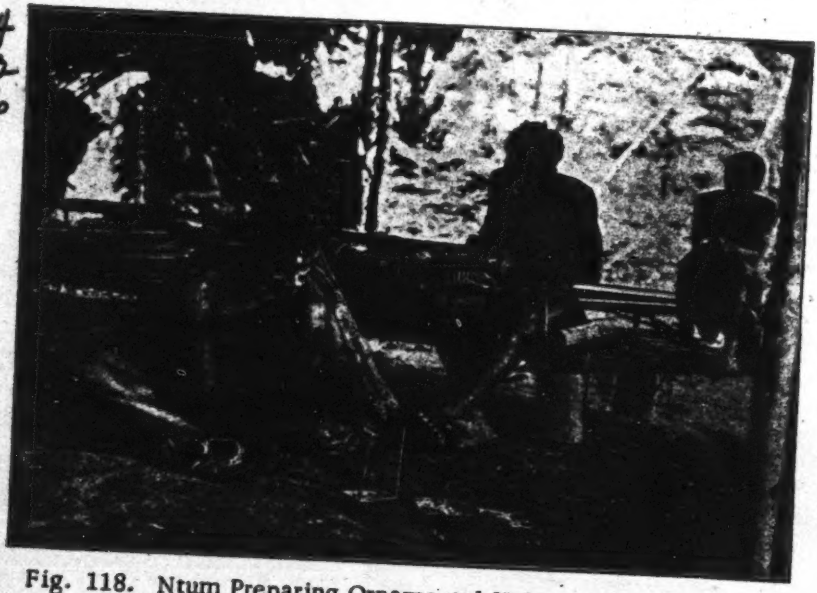
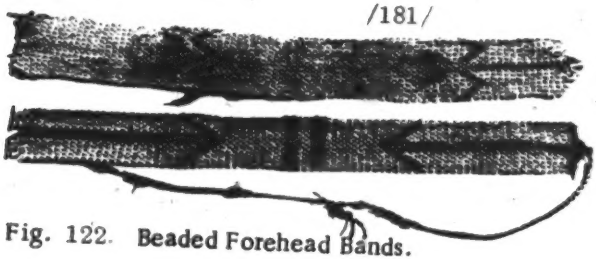


Fig. 118. Ntum Preparing Ornamental Helmet Crests, Akonangí, South Cameroons.

/181/



301
531

Fig. 122. Beaded Forehead Bands.

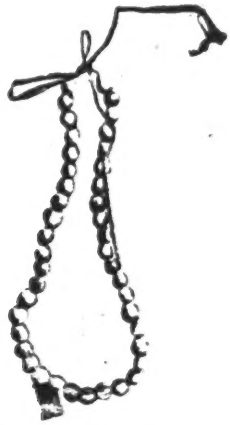


Fig. 123. Necklace of the Fruit of Coix lacryma (Job's-tears).

142
291
301
516

Fig. 124. Ntum Woman from Alén (Essandun Family).

301
•142
291

Fig. 132. Fang (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.

301 Breast ornaments are to be found chiefly among women in the form of strings of beads and rough brass chains that hang very low. As one might imagine, these can be recommended only for older ladies.

Especially among women, the arms and legs are just as profusely covered with ornaments. The upper and lower arm or both are adorned with spirals of imported brass wire or with hoops from imported brass tubing (Fig. 133). For the upper arm, the spirals are shorter, while for the lower arm they are usually so long that they completely cover it. The less common upper arm rings made of strips of Laccosperma or Trachyphrynium are placed close together and joined by a pretty braid of Rhectophyllum (Fig. 134). Only men wear strips of black sheepskin on their upper arms; these match the forehead bands of the same material. Rings or bands around the /185/ wrist are among the most popular ornaments. Even children put the stalks of the Rubiacea Megalopus mannii K. Sch. (ngône III) in spirals around their arms. Adults -- men and women -- wear rings made from liana stalks, braided palm bands (Fig. 135), the hairs of an elephant's tail, cast brass or brass wire whose

1: Tessmann--314 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
302

Fig. 3. Ntum from Akonang: (Essándun Family), South Cameroons.

1: Tessmann--315 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
291

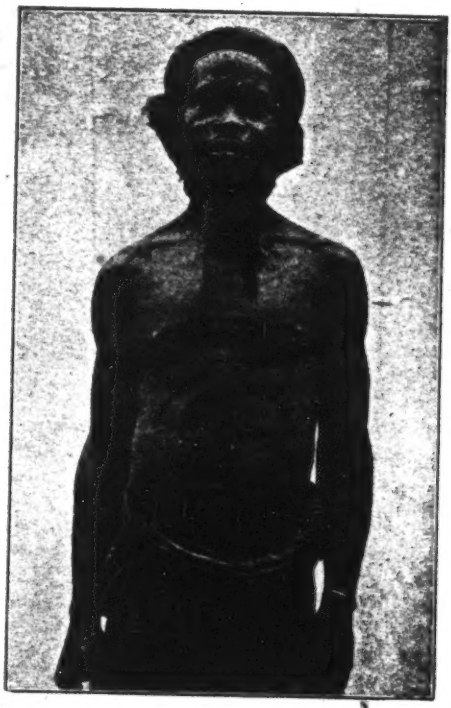


Fig. 4. Ntum from Bébai (Esseng Family).

1: Tessmann--316 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142

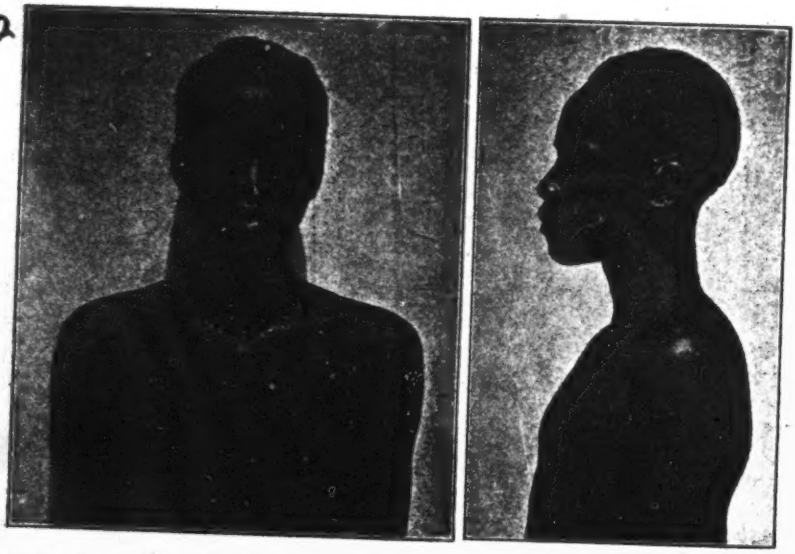


Fig. 5. Essun (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--317 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

●142
301

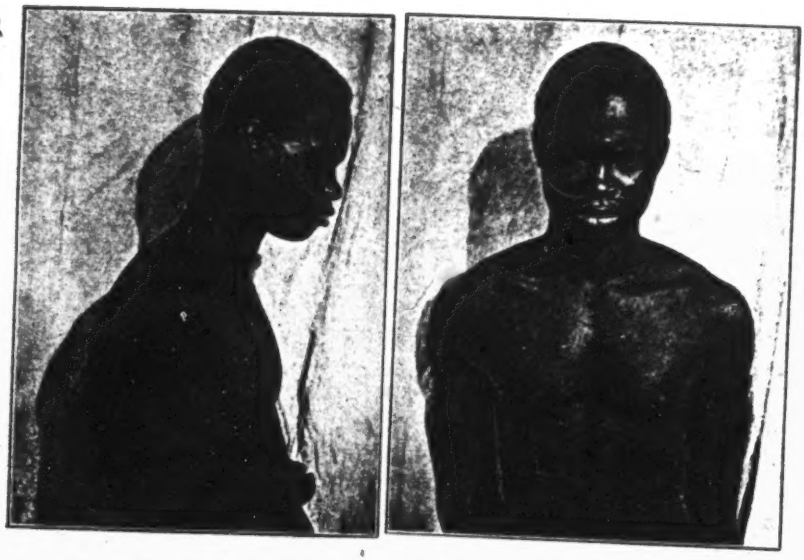


Fig. 6. Ondo from Angónneuai (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--318 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

●142
302

Fig. 7. Ntum (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--319 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142 ●
301

Fig. 8. Ndong-Alogo (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--320 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
292

Fig. 9. Essún-Meko from Alén (Essáuong Family), Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--321 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
292

Fig. 10. Otschâa-Kénsoo (Ojek Family).
Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--322 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

•142
301

Fig. 11. Fang (Essâtop Family), Spanish Guinea.

Fig. 12. Medicine Man from Ebâangon (Esseng Family), Southern Cameroons.

1: Tessmann--323 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

•142
301
302

Fig. 13. Ajíngon, a Fang Girl from Alén (Essáuong Family).

1: Tessmann--324 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
292
301

Fig. 14. Fang Woman from Alén (Essâuong Family).

1: Tessmann--326 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate I

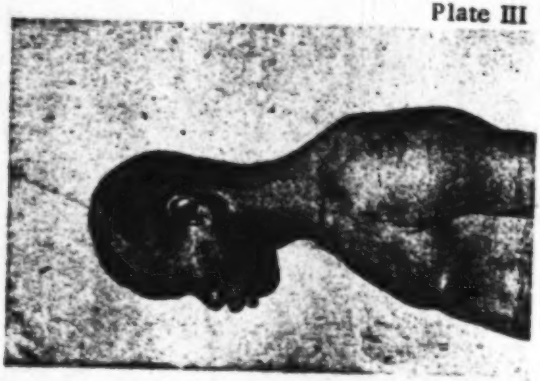
0142
292
411
301

A Fang Youth from Owöng.

1: Tessmann--328 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
302

Plate III



Ajông Boka (Essauong Family). Fang.

1: Tessmann--338 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

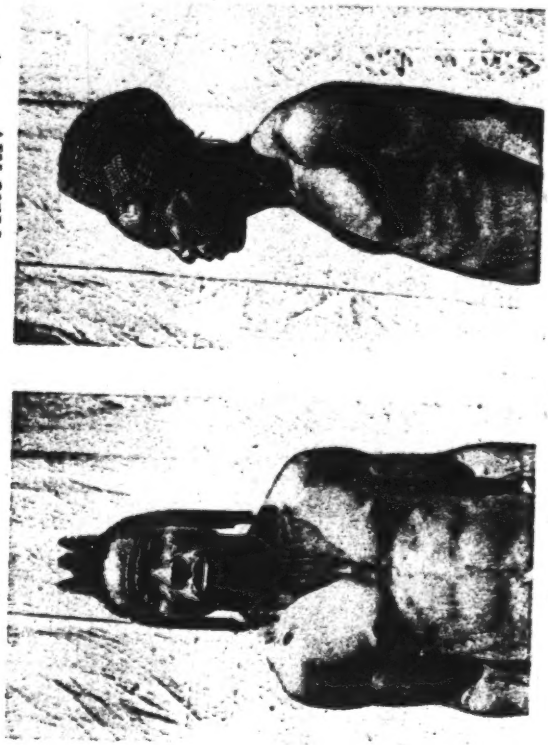
142
302

Man from Angónneuai (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--339 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
292
301

Plate XIV



Fang (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--340 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate XV

142
29
30
415

Woman from Bebai (Esseng Family), Ntum Region.

/Facing 184/ Plate XXV

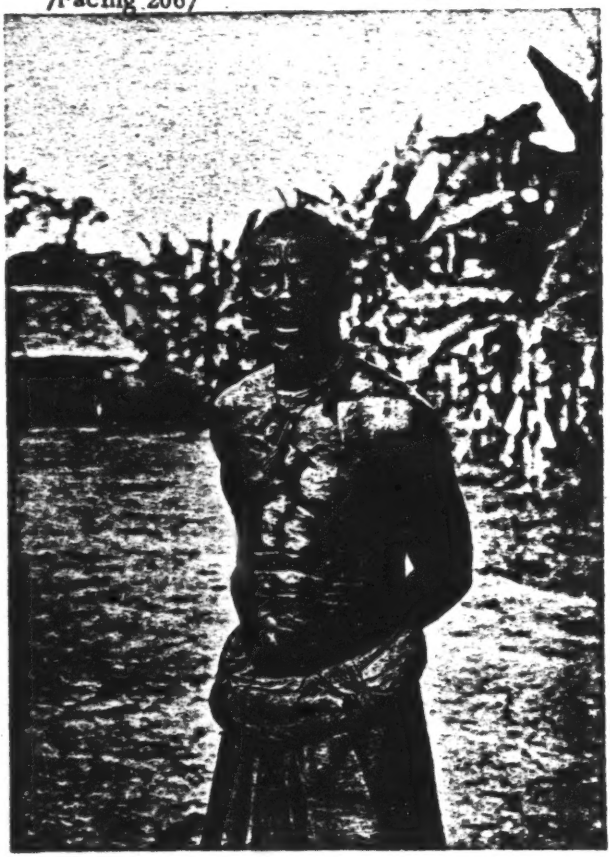
341
752
291
142

Fang with a "cover" on his Toe.

2: Tessmann--91 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/Facing 206/ Plate XXVI

142
291
301



Chief of Nschûggebot (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

[857]
[854]
[291]
[142]

Fig. 87. Boy about Seven Carrying a Child, Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

861 everything that is on his mind. Also, any kind of influence in
593 the family unit is wielded only by the chief wife and /291/ even by her only to a limited extent. In all problems of life the father, as head of the family, remains the real friend and counselor of his son, as does the mother for her daughter.

861 In this way the love of the parents gently leads the child
593 through the realm of youth. However, once the boy has matured
578 into a young man, the obstinacy with which nature has to a spe-
626 cial degree endowed the Pangwe, sometimes asserts itself even in the face /Fig. 88 appears here in the original text/ of paternal authority. In such a case, it is sometimes only the most effective and most feared means of education that helps to lead the

[Text continues on page 163]

2: Tessmann--161 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
411

Fig. 88. Little Boy Five to Seven Years Old, Nssälang (Essauong Family), Spanish Guinea.

2: Tessmann--162 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/Facing 290/ Plate XXVII

854
301
142
291

Woman from Alen (Essauong Family) with a Child.

131 Physical Geography. Area: 2, 520 square km.

133 The country of the Eton is made up of hills and plateaus; it drifts
137 gently down from the heights of the country of the Ewondo to the valley of the Sanaga River. The border of the great southern forest crosses the territory from south to north; the westerly two-thirds of the area are covered with forest, and the last third is prairie. The Sanaga borders the country only in the northwest and northeast, for the greater part of the loop [misprint in French text: bouche for boucle. See map.] of the river is occupied by the Mangisa. /69/

161 Human Geography. Population: 111, 738 inhabitants
Density: 44. 3 persons per square km.

173 It is impossible to say whether the Eton should be counted among the Beti populations who were dislodged and crossed the Sanaga or whether they were among the first Pahouin to cross the Sanaga at the time of the invasion. Their traditions do not go back very far; they only tell of their departure from the fork of the M'Bam and the Sanaga. /Map 7/ The Eton say that after crossing the river in the direction of the present-day village of Nkolbogo, they fell upon the Mangisa who had already arrived, and then spread themselves throughout the territory which they occupy to this day.

361 The Eton are settled in large villates, whose hamlets line the length
487 of their many trails. At present their country is traversed by several roads on which heavy trucks can travel so that their products can reach Yaoundé and the railroad.

197 Language. With reference to this subject it seems best to refer the reader to the paragraph on linguistics in the chapter on the Mangisa, since the same question is raised for the two peoples. /70/

142 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Eton are above average in height, mesocephalic, and platyrrhin.

143 Their blood-group ratio is typically Negro, with a relatively high proportion of the AB type:

O: 55.7 percent; A: 13.8 percent; B: 17.5 percent; AB: 12.9 percent;—index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$: 0.878.

141 Their height is /for the/ average: men 167.8 cm.; women 159.9 cm.

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Ewondo are people
142 of above average height (men 168.4 cm; women 158.6 cm.), fairly slender, mesocephalic, barely platyrrhinian.

143 Their blood-group ratio is that of typical Negroes:
O: 55.5 percent; A: 14.1 percent; B: 17.4 percent; AB: 11.5 percent; —index $\frac{A+AB}{A+AB}$: .885.

141

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.0	77.6
Facial	85.7	85.6
Nasal	82.3	78.2
Cormique	50.5	50.4
Envergure/T	105.3	104.0 /73/

/Map 9, Ewondo Peoples, facing p. 72./

161 The population balance is fair. the differential index (ratio of births to deaths) is + 0.2 percent.

163 A slight increase in the birth rate has been noted; at the same time infant mortality is very low: 3 percent.

The fertility rate is 3.06 pregnancies per woman.

Bibliography of Physical Anthropology

113 Virchow. "6 Schädel von Yaunde aus Kamerun /Six Skulls of Yaunde from the Cameroons/," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1897.

Olivier, G. "Etude anthropologique comparée des principales tribus de la region de Yaoundé /A Comparative Study of the Physical Anthropology of the Major Tribes of the Yaoundé Region/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 10, pp. 55-76.

Olivier, G. and Aujoulat, L. "L'obstetrique en pays Yaoundé. Etude ethnologique medicale et d'anthropologie somatique. /Obstetrics in Yaoundé Country. A Study in Medical Ethnology and Physical Anthropology/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 12 (Dec. 1945), pp. 9-72.

Olivier, G. with the collaboration of the Drs. Ajoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Grenier. "Documents anthropométriques pour servir a'letude des principales populations du Sud-

174 At that time they were already situated along one of the principal commercial routes of the south, used to ship from the east many sought-after products, especially ivory.

361 The Bane are settled in large villages and hamlets. The population in these settlements is no more homogenous /75/ than the Ewondo's. The major intermixtures are shown on our map.

491 497 The road from Yaoundé to Ebolowa now crosses the Bane country from north to south. Another road, south of the Nyong, is the terminal point of the trade routes coming from the southeast. Because of these roads and the connection with the railroads at M'Balmayo, all the wealth of this country of great food crops, rich farmlands (cacao and coffee), and forests is easily brought to market.

000 Language. The subject is discussed in the paragraph on the linguistics of the Ewondo.

141 142 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Bane are of above-average height, fairly slender, mesocephalic, and only slightly platyrrhinian.

143 Their blood-type ratios are as follows:
O: 49 percent; A: 18 percent; B: 14 percent; AB: 19 percent—index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$: 1.121.

141

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.3	77.0
Facial	81.8	80.8
Nasal	85.2	86.0
Cormique	50.9	51.8
Envergure/T	104.9	103.9

161 163 The population balance is stable: the ratio of births to deaths is + 0.2. The fertility rate is 4.7 pregnancies per woman. See the studies in physical anthropology in Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, Nos. 10, 12, 15-16.

Bibliography

173 Von Stein. "Bericht über die Bane-Buli-Expedition /Report on the Bane-Buli Expedition/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1898, pp. 173-75.

614 are, besides, meyoñ that are outside the system.

614 Among the latter I shall mention the Ndôñ and the Bekôé or Bekwi,
563 to be found under these names in all, or nearly all, the Pahouin tribes.
184 The ethnic substantive Bekôé is simply the plural of a common noun, nkôé, "dwarf." These people are, it seems, descendants of aborigines, undoubtedly Pygmies, "adopted" by the tribes at the time of invasion. Although looked upon as an ayoñ and calling one another brother, they do not practice exogamy and seem to attach their genealogies to those of other clans, to which nevertheless they do not belong.

614 The case of the Ndôñ is quite different. They crossed the Sanaga
184 with the other Pahouin, and they are certainly "active" Pahouin. But they observe endogamy among their three mvôk (Ndôñ Mvu, Ndôñ Bibak, and Ndôñ Bikoé), which no other Pahouin ayoñ does, at least to my knowledge. Besides, I believe I noticed /48/ among those of the southern Cameroons and northern Gabon morphological traits setting them sharply apart from those of neighboring clans—reddish
[142] color of the skin, frequency of green or greenish-blue eyes—which
[144] might be explained by the inbreeding consequent upon endogamy, but also perhaps by a different ethnic origin. Another piece of evi-
[326 dence, as insufficiently attested as the foregoing, is that among the
791] Ndôñ I met the last of the smiths and the most feared magicians among the Boulou and Fang tribes of the Cameroons.

The Ngoé ayoñ also is found under this name in nearly all the Pahouin tribes and, according to Bertaut, among the neighboring Bakoko. The Esel, who are similarly spread throughout the tribes, have non-Pahouin homonyms: /for instance/ the Bantu Esel tribe of the southeastern Cameroons (Moloundou). The name could, however, be a contraction of ésa (ésa-el?). Ngoé and Esel are usually exogamic.

c. The Extended Family or Village Family

596 The term "village family" is no doubt more accurate than the
621 classic "extended family," both because the nda bôt (house of the people) is the only social group that corresponds exactly to a geographical form of settlement (the jal or hamlet), and because without the geographical criterion it is difficult to distinguish this /kind of/ family from the intermediate structures between it and the clan, such as segments or lineages (mvôk, bisa). And finally, it is on this

141

Tribe	Height		Cephalic Index		Trunk Index /Indice cormique/	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mangisa	above average		76.7	76.3	?	?
Eton	167.8	157.9	76.2	76.4	60.8	51.0
Ewôndo	168.4	158.6	77.0	77.6	50.5	50.4
Boulou	165.4	157.6	77.8	79.2	51.2	52.2
Fang	above average		77.0	76.6	51.2	50.9

[143]

Tribe	Blood Group (in %)					Facial Index		Width/Height /Envergure s/taille/	
	O	A	B	AB	Index	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mangisa	52	21.9	10.9	15.2	1.44	?	?	?	?
Eton	55.7	13.8	17.5	12.9	0.878	85.1	84.2	104.4	102.5
Ewôndo	55.5	14.1	17.4	11.5	0.885	85.7	85.6	105.3	104.0
Boulou	?	?	?	?	?	86.5	85.1	103.7	102.9
Fang	?	?	?	?	?	83.2	87.0	105.3	103.4

It is inevitable, in any case, that a population of this numerical size should present fairly obvious extreme variations, but my own observation, also subjective, thrown into relief a larger proportion of short and very short persons than of tall and very tall: interbreeding [144] with Pygmies (the Bekoé ayoñ especially) would explain this to a great extent. The Beti in the north, who have had much less contact with Pygmies, seem taller and slenderer.

142 The group as a whole may be considered mesocephalic with a /85/ [145] slight tendency to dolichocephaly (1), with not very obvious Negroid

[304 856]

1. Midwives, bebialé binga, still continue the practice of shaping newborn skulls by lengthening. On the other hand, the custom of binding babies' heads with a bark band is dying out.

facial traits, rather light chocolate brown skin, although some groups have a reddish tinge to the skin and green eyes (the Ndôñ ayoñ of [143 804] Sangmélima). Pectoral hair is common. There is fairly common albinism, some polydactylism (the subjects are supposedly sorcerers).

142 The group displays powerful shoulder girth, rather well-developed calf, pronounced arch, ungual phalanges that cannot be pulled back.

The explorers of the last century were one and all struck by the difference in physical appearance between the Pahouin and their neighbors, much less evident today, particularly to a European (the Pahouin themselves often recognize a stranger from quite a distance). It is possible that at the time of conquest the Pahouin may have had a
26 heavier meat diet than did the coastal populations or do their present-day descendants: the hippopotamus has been exterminated, and the rest of the wild fauna has been greatly reduced, while even animal breeding and rearing is on the decline.

b. Clothing, Ornaments, Body Marks

291 The traditional clothing as described by explorers hardly exists any more. One sometimes meets in remote villages the beaten fig-bark breechcloth, ɔbɔ̂m, and the monkeyskin hat-wig, afɔ́·ɔlɔ̂, which was the men's everyday dress, with a wide belt of antelope skin, ases, holding a sort of sporran as well as a saber sheath. Battle dress and
292 full dress have become very rare; they included, in addition to a red-dyed ɔbɔ̂m, a tailpiece /sɛ́ant/ of tiger-cat skin or of drill or any animal with bright fur, fringed leggings of the same fur, and a sort of cloak made of leopard or gorilla skin with the head sometimes forming a hood; there was a headdress of beads hanging down to the shoulders or arranged in the hair, with a tuft of touraco or juggler-eagle /aigle-
411 bateleur/ feathers. Weapons consisted of the saber, fa, the dagger, otyen —both double bladed, the spear, ɛ́kɔ̃ɔ̃, or rifle, ngal (the cross-bow, mfan, was more a hunting weapon, and the bow, ngale, a toy). Defensive armor included an oblong shield, ngu or ɛ́ndeɛ̃, of plaited lianas or of leather, sometimes made of an elephant ear. Even today men do not like to leave home without a weapon, at least in the
301 villages; formerly, they were always armed. Men's jewelry comprised copper bracelets and teeth necklaces—of either animal's or men's
75 teeth—chains of copper, iron, ivory, or elephant hair. Protective
293 "medicaments" mebiaɛ̃, were usually carried in an antelope horn (Cephalophus sylviculrix), nla' zip, hung around the neck or wrist on a strip of leather or snakeskin—a practice that still survives. The
292 ceremonial costumes for the different rites /86/ included masks, mantles of dried grass, beads, or cowries.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

Journal of the Anthropological Institute (N.S.), Vol. II, Plate XV.

142
291
516

FANG MEN.

342
516
352

FANG HOUSE.

[p. 66(B)]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

342
291
492
142

FANG WOMAN.

142
291
302
411

FANG TOUTHS.

[p. 66(C)]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

563 discovered how to work *eki* (iron) and then taught others. They are also skilful hunters, and frequently succeed in killing game when others fail. In trade, it is almost impossible to cheat a dwarf, hence the Fang saying, "*Mon mei meduk mele,* [539] *mon nqui aduk avoti.*" (You can cheat a Fang twice, a dwarf once.) In this proverb the word "*mei*" equals Fang (see photographs and measurements of Fang dwarfs). 266 The Fang are cannibals and only fear of the authorities keeps them in check. In the autumn of 1898 a man was killed and eaten within ten miles of our mission station on the Nkomo river. I heard of the affair two days after the man had been killed, and taking a boat hurried down to the place accompanied by one of the sons of King "Kelun" from Nenge-nenge, as guide. In the palaver house of the town was a captive boy in chains. The people of this town would not admit having eaten a man, yet did not deny it; they said that the human bones in a hole behind the palaver house were those of a man who had "died two days before." I afterward learnt that the captive boy had been killed and eaten a few days after my visit. Several Fang have admitted to me that "some Fang eat man meat," and they have been told that it is far more enjoyable to eat than goat. My informants always added that they would not do such a thing—"only bad Fang did so." What I have learned from others and my own observations lead me to believe that an immense tract of country in West Africa from a trifle north of the equatorial line extending even as far northward as to include a portion of the German sphere of influence in the Cameroons, is occupied by numerous anthropophagous tribes all more or less closely related.

II.—*Physical and Moral Characteristics.*

● 142 Physically the Fang are a fine people. They may be classed as of medium size. Some of the males are exceptionally large and well built. At Foulabifong, the Fang village on the Nkomo river, where I reside, there is a man belonging to the Esisis tribe who is the largest and finest specimen of humanity I have ever seen in Africa (photo shown on screen).

The skin colour of the Fang is sooty-black or dark reddish-brown, chocolate: (numbers 2 and 3 Topinard's scale); coal-black skins (number 1, Topinard's scale), are in the minority. The skin is smooth and when well cared for, as it very often is, it feels soft and velvety. In the adult the skin is lighter in the axilla; the palm of the hand and sole of foot are permanently yellow. The average Fang eye has a dark iris (class 1, Topinard's scale), and the eye-balls are placed with their long axes nearly in one horizontal plane. I have occasionally noticed a compression of the outer angle of the opening, mostly in females, strongly suggestive of the "almond eye." The hair may be classed as black and woolly. It is uniformly scattered over the hairy scalp; the hairs are coarse in texture. The males seem to have an aversion to hair on the face and frequently pluck it out; only a small [302] percentage grow beards.

In adult males hair is often quite abundant on the chest and forearms.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

The face is oval in form.[1] The average nose is of the negroid type (short, broad, nearly straight), Fig. 7, Topinard; or the Australoid or Papuan (broad, with the lower part forming a flattened and depressed hook), Fig. 8, Topinard's scale. The skull is thick and strong. Very often the brows are depressed deeply, the cheek bones are prominent, and at the angle of the inferior maxillary bone there is an inclination to bulging outward. The alæ nasi are broad and thick, and the nasal bridge often much depressed giving the typical, flat, turned up nose of the negro. Yet I have observed among the Fang some handsome aquiline noses, and quite frequently the Australoid or Papuan type. I have frequently noticed that the possessors of the aquiline, or Australoid type of nose, showed a higher degree of intelligence and a more genuine desire to learn "the white man's ways." 142

The ears are large and well developed, inclined to spread outward and having broad thick lobes. The teeth are good and symmetrical; Fang men and women file the upper and lower incisors to a fine point and give as their reason for so doing, that it is *sabang* (beautiful). The head of an average Fang male sits well on the shoulders, the neck is strong and muscular, the "Adam's apple" is not highly developed. Very little attention is given to the cultivation of hair on the upper lip. [304] [826]

The breasts of Fang women are very pendulous after bearing children; and in some cases the breasts in males are very highly developed (photo on screen).

The muscles of the arms, back, buttocks and thighs are often splendidly developed, far more so than in the Mpôngwe, Mabeya and many other West African tribes. The Mpôngwes are rapidly degenerating. In the male Fang the gluteal muscles are not highly developed. The gluteal muscles in the female are often developed to a very high degree, measuring round from 36½ inches to 39½ inches.

Fifteen Fang males were measured and averaged as follows: [141]

Height 5 feet 9 inches.
Chin to pubes 27½ inches.
Pubes to inner malleolus 32½ inches.
Inner malleolus to tip of great toe 8½ inches.
Shoulder to wrist 24½ inches.
Wrist to point of index finger 8½ inches.

In males the thumb is long and broad in the terminal phalanx; the nails of the hand are broad and flat. I have often seen a man use his great toe to pick up an object off the ground, and flexing the leg bring the object to his hand. When journeying through the bush with a caravan it is very interesting to notice how the native uses the great toe to aid him in climbing a steep hill. The sexual apparatus is very highly developed, especially in the males. The women are the [481]

[1] It has not been possible for me to devote the time needed for a detailed study of Fang crania. The few Bulu and Fang skulls I have had opportunity for examining presented very little, if any, different characteristics. The skulls I examined were decidedly prognathous, but not large.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca.1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

142 bread-winners and some are strong and muscular, while many more are weak and worn out from ceaseless toil.

The Fang make good carriers, and will do a splendid day's journey even in the 482 wet season with bad forest trails, if not overloaded. A carrier's load should never 147 exceed 25 kilogrammes; and 20 would pay better on a long journey. The first day out with a caravan the men usually drag along slowly, until their loads settle well down in the *kingi* and fit their backs. The *kingi* is a very ingenious contrivance for carrying a load in; it is usually made from a forest vine with a plaited head strap. To hurry carriers the first day is a bad mistake; poorly adjusted loads chafe and cause sore backs, and before night the whole caravan is tired out and sulky. It is a wise traveller in Africa as elsewhere who knows how to save his men.

145 A very noticeable fact among the Fang is the scarcity of old men. I 164 attribute this largely to the ravages of syphilis; the same terrible disease that has done so much towards the degeneration of numerous coast tribes, and which is already playing fearful havoc among the Fang. Indolent, untrustworthy and warlike, they are nevertheless a most companionable people. 181 The slightest piece of drollery or a joke immediately causes laughter. It has been my privilege to visit many foreign lands including China, Japan and Korea, yet never in my life have I met such an absolutely good-natured, fun-loving people as the Fang.

The men are not fond of work. They frequently ask me for something to do 461 to "earn a cloth." If I tell them to cut fence poles or good clean bark in the forest, they decline. A male Fang's idea of work is to sit in the *Abeng* (= palaver house) and make fish lines by rolling pineapple fibre along the upper [783] portion of his thigh, or to manufacture *Abi* (roof thatch). At these occupations he can converse with all comers, hear the news and take his part in talking a palaver. 627 They are a revengeful people and will keep up a palaver over a woman for many years. If they do not succeed in shooting a man during a palaver they do not [771] hesitate to fire at and kill a woman, while captives held as hostages are often treated with great cruelty.

The women regard virtue very lightly. Before marriage a girl can do nearly 836 as she pleases. It is absolutely safe to state that it would be almost impossible 517 to find a maiden in a Fang village over sixteen years of age. Adultery is common, [831] and one of the chief causes of "women palavers." Women rank first in value as [932] goods for trade, next in value are goats, then guns and cloth. The greed for goods has a strong hold on the people. They learn quickly but have very little originality. They have no obscene rites. Their habits are very dirty; they will wash in a 515 small pool of water and, while bathing, fill the gourds or imported jugs with the water in which they are washing and use it for domestic purposes. In many other ways they are absolutely filthy, and descend to the level of brute creation. They [834] are not over-burdened with modesty, both sexes frequently bathe together in a perfectly nude condition. A male Fang passes a large percentage of his time in

761 in the etok and stays there for a certain length of time. While she is
789 in this bath, she eats a soup made of the rest of the bark gathered by the practitioner, together with a pumpkin, a piece of the heart, liver, and some blood of the sacrificial animal, all cooked in a pot. This remedy is intended to satisfy the evur and prevent it from eating the blood of the woman or of the child which she may carry in her womb in the future.

761 The death of the child may also arise from an akaǧa given to its mother, which predicted that one of her children would not live.

761 Finally, if there is neither evur nor akaǧa, this mishap is believed
784 to be caused by the violation of a prohibition or, more likely, by
837 adultery committed by the woman during her pregnancy. To make her denounce her accomplice, she is beaten until she has named him. This man must then pay to the husband an indemnity equal to half the dowry which he spent to get his wife, an indemnity which represents the price of the adultery and the price of the child's corpse. The woman is subjected from then on to the prohibition of awos until the the birth of her next child.

854 The child (mon). Until it talks, the child is called nkañele. We We have seen that after its birth it is washed in cold water and not fed until the following morning. The breast is first given it by another woman rather than by the mother, whose milk is not good at first.

At the age of eight days, the child is smeared with ba. If the cord dries up by itself without trouble, it is enough to moisten it with saliva.

845 Anomalies such as the birth of an albino or of twins are considered normal. The natives have stated that albinos are reproduced in the
[143] same family at an interval of three generations. As to twins, they are forbidden later on to take part in the ngwel. If the twins are boys,
[55] the first is called Nzugo, the second Dzima; if they are girls, they are given the names respectively of Bela and Nzua.

551 A name is not given a child until several months after birth, when one is almost certain that it will live. A child receives several names. The father chooses the first name from among his ancestors. For example, a boy will be called Osene from the name of a paternal ancestor, to this name of Osene has been added the name of his father Ekomi, and so the child is called Osene Ekomi; but he also has a sort of first name chosen by the parents, which in the present case is [84] Andzang. The complete name thus is Andzang Osene Ekomi. The mother's

197 Languages of the Cameroons/, "
174 Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen,
1932, p. 184, note 4.

On the other hand, on the basis of a personal communication from Dr. Aujoulat, who worked among the Mangisa for several years, Dr. Olivier makes the following statement: "However, on the basis of differences (from the Pahouin) in language and physical type, Aujoulat has hypothesized a different, more northern origin and contact with tribes whom he calls Sudano-Bantu, namely the Yambasa and the Sanaga (2)." On the basis of the classifications that we our-

2. Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16, p. 55.

selves propose in this work, would not a Beti origin be possible? This great question is raised once again here.

141 Physical Anthropology. The /anthropometric/ indexes have been calculated by the Drs. Olivier and Aujoulat as follows:

	OLIVIER	AUJOULAT	
	Men	Men	Women
Cephalic	76.0	76.7	76.3
Facial	81.4	77.7	77.9
Nasal	88.7	86.0	90.5
Cormique	50.4	50.9	50.6
Envergure/T	104.8	105.0	103.8

143 Their blood-group ratios show a greater proportion of AB type than is present among other Pahouin, and a predominance of type A over type B. The percentages are as follows:

O: 52 percent; A: 21.9 percent; B: 10.9 percent; AB: 15.2 percent;—index $\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}$: 1.44.

ETON

131 Location: 11°10 to 11°45 long.
3°45 to 4°30 north lat.

131 Physical Geography. Area: 2, 520 square km.

133 The country of the Eton is made up of hills and plateaus; it drifts
137 gently down from the heights of the country of the Ewondo to the valley of the Sanaga River. The border of the great southern forest crosses the territory from south to north; the westerly two-thirds of the area are covered with forest, and the last third is prairie. The Sanaga borders the country only in the northwest and northeast, for the greater part of the loop [misprint in French text: bouche for boucle. See map.] of the river is occupied by the Mangisa. /69/

161 Human Geography. Population: 111, 738 inhabitants
Density: 44. 3 persons per square km.

173 It is impossible to say whether the Eton should be counted among the Beti populations who were dislodged and crossed the Sanaga or whether they were among the first Pahouin to cross the Sanaga at the time of the invasion. Their traditions do not go back very far; they only tell of their departure from the fork of the M'Bam and the Sanaga. /Map 7/ The Eton say that after crossing the river in the direction of the present-day village of Nkolbogo, they fell upon the Mangisa who had already arrived, and then spread themselves throughout the territory which they occupy to this day.

361 The Eton are settled in large villates, whose hamlets line the length
487 of their many trails. At present their country is traversed by several roads on which heavy trucks can travel so that their products can reach Yaoundé and the railroad.

197 Language. With reference to this subject it seems best to refer the reader to the paragraph on linguistics in the chapter on the Mangisa, since the same question is raised for the two peoples. /70/

142 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Eton are above average in height, mesocephalic, and platyrrhin.

●143 Their blood-group ratio is typically Negro, with a relatively high proportion of the AB type:

O: 55. 7 percent; A: 13. 8 percent; B: 17. 5 percent; AB: 12. 9 percent;—index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$: 0. 878.

141 Their height is /for the/ average: men 167. 8 cm.; women 159. 9 cm.

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Ewondo are people
142 of above average height (men 168.4 cm; women 158.6 cm.), fairly slender, mesocephalic, barely platyrrhinian.

143 Their blood-group ratio is that of typical Negroes:
O: 55.5 percent; A: 14.1 percent; B: 17.4 percent; AB: 11.5 percent; —index $\frac{A+AB}{A+AB}$: .885.

141

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.0	77.6
Facial	85.7	85.6
Nasal	82.3	78.2
Cormique	50.5	50.4
Envergure/T	105.3	104.0 /73/

/Map 9, Ewondo Peoples, facing p. 72./

161 The population balance is fair. the differential index (ratio of births to deaths) is + 0.2 percent.

163 A slight increase in the birth rate has been noted; at the same time infant mortality is very low: 3 percent.

The fertility rate is 3.06 pregnancies per woman.

Bibliography of Physical Anthropology

113 Virchow. "6 Schädel von Yaunde aus Kamerun /Six Skulls of Yaunde from the Cameroons/," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1897.

Olivier, G. "Etude anthropologique comparée des principales tribus de la region de Yaoundé /A Comparative Study of the Physical Anthropology of the Major Tribes of the Yaoundé Region/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 10, pp. 55-76.

Olivier, G. and Aujoulat, L. "L'obstetrique en pays Yaoundé. Etude ethnologique medicale et d'anthropologie somatique. /Obstetrics in Yaoundé Country. A Study in Medical Ethnology and Physical Anthropology/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 12 (Dec. 1945), pp. 9-72.

Olivier, G. with the collaboration of the Drs. Ajoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Grenier. "Documents anthropométriques pour servir a'letude des principales populations du Sud-

174 At that time they were already situated along one of the principal commercial routes of the south, used to ship from the east many sought-after products, especially ivory.

361 The Bane are settled in large villages and hamlets. The population in these settlements is no more homogenous /75/ than the Ewondo's. The major intermixtures are shown on our map.

491 497 The road from Yaoundé to Ebolowa now crosses the Bane country from north to south. Another road, south of the Nyong, is the terminal point of the trade routes coming from the southeast. Because of these roads and the connection with the railroads at M'Balmayo, all the wealth of this country of great food crops, rich farmlands (cacao and coffee), and forests is easily brought to market.

000 Language. The subject is discussed in the paragraph on the linguistics of the Ewondo.

141 142 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Bane are of above-average height, fairly slender, mesocephalic, and only slightly platyrrhinian.

143 Their blood-type ratios are as follows:
O: 49 percent; A: 18 percent; B: 14 percent; AB: 19 percent—index $\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}$: 1.121.

141

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.3	77.0
Facial	81.8	80.8
Nasal	85.2	86.0
Cormique	50.9	51.8
Envergure/T	104.9	103.9

161 163 The population balance is stable: the ratio of births to deaths is + 0.2. The fertility rate is 4.7 pregnancies per woman. See the studies in physical anthropology in Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, Nos. 10, 12, 15-16.

Bibliography

173 Von Stein. "Bericht über die Bane-Buli-Expedition /Report on the Bane-Buli Expedition/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1898, pp. 173-75.

141

Facial	86.5	85.1
Nasal	85.7	82.0
Cormique	51.2	52.2
Envergure/T	103.7	102.9

161 The population is barely increasing: the ratio of births over deaths is + 0.30 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 7 percent; the fertility rate is 4.12 pregnancies per woman.

164 Yengono. Sleeping sickness has been rampant in this area in the past but now seems to have been conquered.

143 Their blood group ratios are as follows:
O: 50.1 percent; A: 15.7 percent; B: 29.5 percent; AB: 4.7 percent; —index $\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}$: 0.59.

161 The population balance is slightly favorable; the excess of births over deaths is .63 percent.

163 Sterility rate 9 percent; fertility rate, 3.47 pregnancies per woman.

161 Yelinda. The population balance is not being maintained; the index of births over deaths is -0.1 percent.

163 Sterility rate 18 percent; fertility rate, 3.30 pregnancies per woman.

164 Yembama. Sleeping sickness has been very prevalent among these people, but it is continually decreasing.

161 The population balance is favorable: the excess of births over death is .72 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 16 percent; the fertility rate, 3.97 pregnancies per woman. /82/

Bibliography of Physical Anthropology

113 Virchow. "Rothgefarbter Schädel eines Bulu Negers von Kamerun /Painted Red Skull of a Bulu Negro in the Cameroons/," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1900.

Poutrin. "Contribution a l'Etude des Pygmées d'Afrique /A Contribution to the Study of the Pygmies of Africa/," L'Anthropologie, 1910, pp. 443-46 and 500 (the Bulu group).

Olivier, G., with the collaboration of Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Grenier. "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du

197 latter. Father Nekes, however, is of a different opinion; he stresses a very great resemblance to the Bulu language of the Ebolowa district. In his opinion the Mvele language represents a more archaic form than those of the Ewondo or the Bane.

See:

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe /The Fangs/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), pp. 30-31 (a short vocabulary).

-----. "Die Volker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of Cameroons/," Petermans geographische Mitteilungen, 1932, p. 184, note 40.

Nekes. Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, pp. 469-70. /84/

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Mvele are slender, slightly platyrrhinian; they have the features of the Sudan in attenuated form.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.5	78.4
Facial	81.3	82.1
Nasal	90.0	85.5
Cormique	51.5	52.1
Envergure/T	104.1	103.1

●143 Their blood group ratios are typically Negro, although the proportion of group AB is slightly greater than in the classical formula. O: 51 percent; A: 14.3 percent; B: 16.3 percent; AB: 18.4 percent; —index $\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}$: 0.942.

161 The population balance is not being maintained: the index of births to deaths is -0.21 percent.

See:

131 Olivier, G. "Etude anthropologique comparée des principales tribus de la region de Yaoundé /A Comparative Study in the Physical Anthropology of the Principal Tribes of the Yaoundé Region/,"

197 Language. The linguistic map of G. Tessmann shows without comment, the Yebekolo, under the category of "Mvele."

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The average height of the Yebekolo is 165.5; the average cephalic index is 78.8.

143 Their blood-group ratios are as follows:
O: 69.3 percent; A: 13.1 percent; B: 12.1 percent; AB: 5.35 percent; —index $\frac{A+AB}{A+AB}$: 1.197.

165 The extremely high rate of infant mortality (58.64 percent) is due
164 to malaria. The disease is fostered by the marshiness of the region, which is likely to remain a source of sleeping sickness as well.

161 The population balance is stationary; the ratio of births to deaths is + 0.09 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 5 percent; the fertility rate is 3.98 pregnancies per woman.

See:

113 Olivier, G., with the collaboration of Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Greiner, "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du Sud-Cameroun, /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/, " Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept.-Dec. 1946), p. 65.

Brygoo. "Le nouveau-né et la femme enceinte aux environs d'Ayos /The Newborn Child and the Pregnant Woman in the Vicinity of Ayos/, " Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 21-22 (1948), pp. 49-68.

Bibliography

Scheunemann. "Die Unruhen in Südbezirk von Kamerun 1904 bis 1906 /Unrest in the Southern Area of the Cameroons/, " Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1907, pp. 349-51, and 396.

Tremesaygues. Unpublished report on the geneologies and the origins of the peoples in the subdivision of Akonolinga (1930).

Numerous reports in the Archives du Service de Santé /Archives of the Health Service/ from the medical station at Ayos.

Moisel map, G3, Dume

141

Tribe	Height		Cephalic Index		Trunk Index /Indice cormique/	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mangisa	above average		76.7	76.3	?	?
Eton	167.8	157.9	76.2	76.4	60.8	51.0
Ewôndo	168.4	158.6	77.0	77.6	50.5	50.4
Boulou	165.4	157.6	77.8	79.2	51.2	52.2
Fang	above average		77.0	76.6	51.2	50.9

[143]

Tribe	Blood Group (in %)					Facial Index		Width/Height /Envergure s/taille/	
	O	A	B	AB	Index	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mangisa	52	21.9	10.9	15.2	1.44	?	?	?	?
Eton	55.7	13.8	17.5	12.9	0.878	85.1	84.2	104.4	102.5
Ewôndo	55.5	14.1	17.4	11.5	0.885	85.7	85.6	105.3	104.0
Boulou	?	?	?	?	?	86.5	85.1	103.7	102.9
Fang	?	?	?	?	?	83.2	87.0	105.3	103.4

It is inevitable, in any case, that a population of this numerical size should present fairly obvious extreme variations, but my own observation, also subjective, thrown into relief a larger proportion of short and very short persons than of tall and very tall: interbreeding [144] with Pygmies (the Bekoé ayoñ especially) would explain this to a great extent. The Beti in the north, who have had much less contact with Pygmies, seem taller and slenderer.

142 The group as a whole may be considered mesocephalic with a /85/ [145] slight tendency to dolichocephaly (1), with not very obvious Negroid

[304 856]

1. Midwives, bebialé binga, still continue the practice of shaping newborn skulls by lengthening. On the other hand, the custom of binding babies' heads with a bark band is dying out.

facial traits, rather light chocolate brown skin, although some groups have a reddish tinge to the skin and green eyes (the Nôñ ayoñ of [143 824] Sangmélima). Pectoral hair is common. There is fairly common albinism, some polydactylism (the subjects are supposedly sorcerers).

775 subterranean abode of the dead, where they were the prey of flames. A tradition reported by Largeau tells of the dead man arriving at the bridge over the river-of-the-west to meet there the judges, Oyem-Bôt (He-Who-Knows-Men) and Oka'Bot (He-Who-Divides-Men /Repartit-les-Homme/), who question him and allow him to cross the bridge leading to Mon-Anen (Great Being), who questions him in the presence of the dead and makes sure that he has "left his name" (that he has forgotten it in the land of the living). He is then turned over to the Divider-of-Men /Partageur-des-Hommes/, who cuts him in two, one half staying among the living, while the other, having been given a new name, goes to the dead. It is difficult to decide what precise part of the person remains with his descendants; in my view it is name-authority; in any case I do not believe it to be the nsisim. It might be the kôn but, in such a case, the result of an accident, for a ghost is a disturbing neighbor, if not a dangerous one, in any case very fearsome, often malevolent. Its appearance is that of a living [143] person, except that it is white /106/, whence the belief that albinos are the children of ghosts. The nsisim, on the other hand, who can turn up during a person's lifetime in a place distant from where he is (witches' and sorcerers' power of bilocation), is immaterial but absolutely identical in appearance with the body. The kôn might be the ghost of a person whose funeral rites had not been correctly performed, of an imperfectly exorcised sorcerer or, if one wishes, one imperfectly sterilized (for instance, if the corpse had not been burned), or even of a person who died without being purified of a nsem (1).

1. Among the Ewôndo, the dead who have not yet crossed the bridge leading to ésam nzigi, the abode of the dead, are called ngudu. (J. B.)

775 825 It also may happen that a dead man becomes embodied in a wild animal living near a village, and that, henceforth, "cannot" be killed. I have not been able to find out exactly whether this is a matter of actual impossibility or of a respect taboo. The animal may be benevolent, like the old gorilla, a former Mvaé chief, who protected the Nyabisan village gardens against the depredations of "real" gorillas in 1948, or, on the contrary, malevolent, like one Zaman, turned panther, who ravaged his affinal family's flocks in the Boucle

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

533 Response by the audience: *Nangekobe.* This word seems to have no meaning but to be simply used as a responsive utterance.

539 (2) *Akôm ke yeye zazam.* Let not the *akôm* sing my song. This supposes that another similar performance (*akôm*) is going on in the neighbourhood, and the performers in it are urged not to make use of the song used by those in the first (*akôm*).

Response: *Ziazia, akôm ke yeye zazam.* The word *ziazia*, like *nangekobe*, appears to have no meaning, and to be simply used as a responsive utterance.

(3) *Ke bele me nzok zam ne mabata.* Do not catch hold of my instrument (tusk of elephant) with *mabata*, i.e., because you have the sickness *mabata* (a kind of sloughing phagedina).

Response: *Ziazia*; *ke bele me nzok zam ne mabata.*

XIX.—*Abnormalities (Natural Deformities), Albinism, Erythrism.*

During my residence among the Fang I saw five albinoes (shown on lantern 732 slide). The natives say of these albinoes: "They are white, but *not real* white ● 143 people." They are treated fairly well; their ever restless eyes cause them much ridicule and annoyance. I know of only one being married. They are not long lived. After death the skull of an albino is greatly valued for medicine, especially for placing with the *biang-akamayeng* (protector of the tribe).

Erythrism is occasionally met with. A red-haired Fang lived in the town of Jam-anen (large affair); his skin was chocolate colour, but his eyes had a pale pinkish colour. The first sight of a red-headed black man surprised me very much.

Hare lip is very rarely seen.

One case of hermaphrodism came under my notice, a Fang male; he was looked on as an *ngangan* (witch doctor) of great power, and was much reverenced.

Deformations (Artificial Deformities).

304 A. *Facial.*—The triangular nasal cartilage is frequently pierced. This practice is mostly indulged in by women. Bars of bamboo are inserted or porcupine quills. It is considered *mbung* (handsome).

The lips are not pierced or deformed in any way.

The ears are pierced and ear-rings worn.

Fetish is also suspended from the ears.

B. *Dental.*—Males file the upper and lower incisors to a sharp point. The only reason given is, "it is *mbung*" (handsome).

XX.—*Fang Proverbs and Sayings.*

539 *Ma kôm wam nlem*, I think in my heart.

Me ka, I am gone, said in taking leave.

614 are, besides, meyoñ that are outside the system.

614 Among the latter I shall mention the Ndôñ and the Bekôé or Bekwi,
563 to be found under these names in all, or nearly all, the Pahouin tribes.
184 The ethnic substantive Bekôé is simply the plural of a common noun, nkôé, "dwarf." These people are, it seems, descendants of aborigines, undoubtedly Pygmies, "adopted" by the tribes at the time of invasion. Although looked upon as an ayoñ and calling one another brother, they do not practice exogamy and seem to attach their genealogies to those of other clans, to which nevertheless they do not belong.

614 The case of the Ndôñ is quite different. They crossed the Sanaga
184 with the other Pahouin, and they are certainly "active" Pahouin. But they observe endogamy among their three mvôk (Ndôñ Mvu, Ndôñ Bibak, and Ndôñ Bikoé), which no other Pahouin ayoñ does, at least to my knowledge. Besides, I believe I noticed /48/ among those of the southern Cameroons and northern Gabon morphological traits setting them sharply apart from those of neighboring clans—reddish
[142] color of the skin, frequency of green or greenish-blue eyes—which
[144] might be explained by the inbreeding consequent upon endogamy, but also perhaps by a different ethnic origin. Another piece of evi-
[326 dence, as insufficiently attested as the foregoing, is that among the
791] Ndôñ I met the last of the smiths and the most feared magicians among the Boulou and Fang tribes of the Cameroons.

The Ngoé ayoñ also is found under this name in nearly all the Pahouin tribes and, according to Bertaut, among the neighboring Bakoko. The Esel, who are similarly spread throughout the tribes, have non-Pahouin homonyms: /for instance/ the Bantu Esel tribe of the southeastern Cameroons (Moloundou). The name could, however, be a contraction of ésa (ésa-el?). Ngoé and Esel are usually exogamic.

c. The Extended Family or Village Family

596 The term "village family" is no doubt more accurate than the
621 classic "extended family," both because the nda bôt (house of the people) is the only social group that corresponds exactly to a geographical form of settlement (the jal or hamlet), and because without the geographical criterion it is difficult to distinguish this /kind of/ family from the intermediate structures between it and the clan, such as segments or lineages (mvôk, bisa). And finally, it is on this

141

Tribe	Height		Cephalic Index		Trunk Index /Indice cormique/	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mangisa	above average		76.7	76.3	?	?
Eton	167.8	157.9	76.2	76.4	60.8	51.0
Ewôndo	168.4	158.6	77.0	77.6	50.5	50.4
Boulou	165.4	157.6	77.8	79.2	51.2	52.2
Fang	above average		77.0	76.6	51.2	50.9

[143]

Tribe	Blood Group (in %)					Facial Index		Width/Height /Envergure s/taille/	
	O	A	B	AB	Index	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mangisa	52	21.9	10.9	15.2	1.44	?	?	?	?
Eton	55.7	13.8	17.5	12.9	0.878	85.1	84.2	104.4	102.5
Ewôndo	55.5	14.1	17.4	11.5	0.885	85.7	85.6	105.3	104.0
Boulou	?	?	?	?	?	86.5	85.1	103.7	102.9
Fang	?	?	?	?	?	83.2	87.0	105.3	103.4

It is inevitable, in any case, that a population of this numerical size should present fairly obvious extreme variations, but my own observation, also subjective, thrown into relief a larger proportion of short and very short persons than of tall and very tall: interbreeding [144] with Pygmies (the Bekoé ayoñ especially) would explain this to a great extent. The Beti in the north, who have had much less contact with Pygmies, seem taller and slenderer.

142 The group as a whole may be considered mesocephalic with a /85/ [141] slight tendency to dolichocephaly (1), with not very obvious Negroid

[304 856]

1. Midwives, bebialé binga, still continue the practice of shaping newborn skulls by lengthening. On the other hand, the custom of binding babies' heads with a bark band is dying out.

facial traits, rather light chocolate brown skin, although some groups have a reddish tinge to the skin and green eyes (the Nôñ ayoñ of [143 821] Sangmélima). Pectoral hair is common. There is fairly common albinism, some polydactylism (the subjects are supposedly sorcerers).

161 travelers. Thus in 1901-02 we were the first to explore the whole of the north Congo, which Crampel had only crossed before, and then the Dzèm and Dzandzama country; after us the boundary commission for the Cameroons came into a small part of the same country, and that was all. Thus a recent publication [19] gives the number of Fan warriors at about 40,000, a figure that is not even worth discussing. (1). What is certain is that the

[614]

1. One clan, the Amvom, exceeds this figure. The Bulé are larger; there are more than 400 Fan clans, at least that we know of. In terms of the official estimate each clan would have only about 100 armed men. In many cases this would barely be the number of villages.

total population of the French Congo, of which the Fan possibly compose half, may be estimated at a figure varying from three to ten million, and it is impossible to be more accurate at the present time. In my view we should estimate the Fan at five million at least, tehmo twelve at the most. The Woleu basin alone, where we have determined the location of all the villages, includes more than a million Fan.

144 The Fan belong to the great Bantu family, but they represent an outer link or, rather, they are situated at the boundary separating the Bantu from the populations and languages of the northeast, those of Libya, Sudan, etc. They are, as Reclus says, the least Bantu of all the Bantu.

[pp.20-397 not translated. -Analyst]

Chapter XII

The Ministers of the Mvamayôn

[Summary omitted. --Translator]

779 The mvamayôn, or totem, has "rights" by the very fact of its existence.

304 of the neck for the sô; a (secret) design on the sacrum for the ngil; three horizontal marks on the nape for the ndôngô; a line of "vaccination marks" on the inner surface of the arms, forearms, and thighs, and along the carotid arteries, for the serpent /associations/, etc.

309 Men wore their hair braided, or else they shaved the temples and parietal bones, leaving a sort of comb on the top of the skull, suggesting a gorilla's crest. There were special ways of dressing the hair appropriate for the different initiations. The moustache was worn only by the benya bôtô; the beard, a goatee, by a few aged men, often diviners. In our day men usually wear their hair short and merely combed; a central part, in the Lower Nigerian fashion, was very common around 1948 among factory hands, while former recruits went in for a crew cut with a frill beard /barbe en collier/. Many students wear a little goatee, and this style is now growing among the rest of the younger generation. Since up to now wearing a beard was a sign of mourning, a political implication has sometimes been [765] attributed to this fashion—but mourning beards are not trimmed. /88/

Women have many ways of doing their hair, in plaits, checker [765] board, "horns," etc. As a sign of mourning their heads are shaved, and they are not allowed to comb the hair that grows out before the end of mourning. The growth of beard or moustache that often [145] follows menopause is considered a sign of sorcery. Stylish women 764 pluck their armpits, and a few also remove their pubic hair, for reasons perhaps of elegance and hygiene, perhaps of ritual (is there a relationship between the name of the important female rite mevungu and mevul, meaning "female pubic hair?"). Padouk powder, baa, is still used in the way that henna is for both magical and aesthetic reasons, but European make-up, mainly lipstick, has taken its place among young fashionable women.

55 Bodily cleanliness is much in favor: men and women often bathe several times a day with plenty of soap. But it is common to see them put back on their well-scrubbed bodies perfectly filthy clothes, no doubt because bodily cleanliness is a much older practice than that of wearing clothes made of cloth.

c. Psychological Characteristics

181 Like the majority of known peoples, the Pahouin have a very flattering opinion of themselves, and the curious thing is that this

881 youths in the aba and prepared for further initiations, while beginning
883 to participate fully in masculine activities, work and games. The bekungu (Fang, bekhun?) initiation that came directly after circumcision was not a general practice. My own impression is that this was not a tribal or clan rite like sô, but that of an association of diviners or seers involving only specially endowed individuals, perhaps related to the ndôngô rite restricted to grown men, which appears to have identical ritual tattoo marks.

881 For the mo'minga reaching puberty there is no stage equivalent to circumcision. In spite of what Trilles says, excision has apparently never been used except as a punishment for certain kinds of adultery or mild incest. It must not be forgotten that a little girl very soon went to live with her affinal family and that she was deflowered as soon as she reached puberty. She very rarely remained ôlenan, that is, pubescent and unmarried, and then for a very short time. One might almost say that her adolescence was telescoped into the period between childhood and the arrival of puberty marked by the mevungu rite.

This adolescent phase is now prolonged by the law fixing the
[882] marriageable age at fourteen (puberty usually comes during the
[145] twelfth year), by school attendance, and by the change in the bride-price system. Most of my friends of a certain age see in these facts the reasons for a crisis in immorality which they probably to some extent exaggerate.

Nevertheless, first menstruation was apparently acknowledged in a ceremony in which only women took part, but this may have been merely a preliminary to the mevungu initiation, about which hardly anything is known. Otherwise /as regards female adolescence/ coition is forbidden to immature girls, while unmarried girls who have begun menstruating have actually great sexual freedom, even in Christian circles. It must, however, be realized that only too often, especially in schools, there are girls deflowered before puberty, whereas boys seem to wait for circumcision /97/ before their first exploits — there
[883] are parents, worried about their sons' "good behavior," who give
884 them aphrodisiacs as encouragement.

d. Transition to Adulthood

882 The ndoman is not yet a real person, nya mômô; undoubtedly he participates in men's work, in hunting and clearing the land, but he

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

142 bread-winners and some are strong and muscular, while many more are weak and worn out from ceaseless toil.

The Fang make good carriers, and will do a splendid day's journey even in the 492 wet season with bad forest trails, if not overloaded. A carrier's load should never 147 exceed 25 kilogrammes; and 20 would pay better on a long journey. The first day out with a caravan the men usually drag along slowly, until their loads settle well down in the *bingi* and fit their backs. The *bingi* is a very ingenious contrivance for carrying a load in; it is usually made from a forest vine with a plaited head strap. To hurry carriers the first day is a bad mistake; poorly adjusted loads chafe and cause sore backs, and before night the whole caravan is tired out and sulky. It is a wise traveller in Africa as elsewhere who knows how to save his men.

145 A very noticeable fact among the Fang is the scarcity of old men. I 144 attribute this largely to the ravages of syphilis; the same terrible disease that has done so much towards the degeneration of numerous coast tribes, and which is already playing fearful havoc among the Fang. Indolent, untrustworthy and warlike, they are nevertheless a most companionable people. 181 The slightest piece of drollery or a joke immediately causes laughter. It has been my privilege to visit many foreign lands including China, Japan and Korea, yet never in my life have I met such an absolutely good-natured, fun-loving people as the Fang.

The men are not fond of work. They frequently ask me for something to do 146 to "earn a cloth." If I tell them to cut fence poles or good clean bark in the forest, they decline. A male Fang's idea of work is to sit in the *Abeng* (= palaver house) and make fish lines by rolling pineapple fibre along the upper [213] portion of his thigh, or to manufacture *Abi* (roof thatch). At these occupations he can converse with all comers, hear the news and take his part in talking a palaver. 627 They are a revengeful people and will keep up a palaver over a woman for many years. If they do not succeed in shooting a man during a palaver they do not [777] hesitate to fire at and kill a woman, while captives held as hostages are often treated with great cruelty.

The women regard virtue very lightly. Before marriage a girl can do nearly 836 as she pleases. It is absolutely safe to state that it would be almost impossible 517 to find a maiden in a Fang village over sixteen years of age. Adultery is common, [831] and one of the chief causes of "women palavers." Women rank first in value as [822] goods for trade, next in value are goats, then guns and cloth. The greed for goods has a strong hold on the people. They learn quickly but have very little originality. They have no obscene rites. Their habits are very dirty; they will wash in a 515 small pool of water and, while bathing, fill the gourds or imported jugs with the water in which they are washing and use it for domestic purposes. In many other ways they are absolutely filthy, and descend to the level of brute creation. They [834] are not over-burdened with modesty, both sexes frequently bathe together in a perfectly nude condition. A male Fang passes a large percentage of his time in

1: Tessmann--135 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

258 this drips fairly rapidly through the filter into a vessel placed under it. The whole thing is left standing one night; in the morning a little fresh water is added in order to draw out the last of the salt, and then the yellowish-brown brine so obtained is dried until all the salt (nkū I) is out (2). /149/

263
146

2. An examination of the salt, on which Mr. W. Lenz of the Pharmaceutical Institute of the University of Berlin gives us a report, yielded the following results: "The bush salt itself had a brown color and a moist, granular appearance. It had a strong salty taste; its solution reacted strongly alkaline. The chemical analysis carried out by Mr. Regenstein yielded the following composition:

43.33% KCl (potassium chloride)
27.50% K_2SO_4 (potassium sulphate)
16.26% K_2CO_3 (potassium carbonate)
0.85% NaCl (sodium chloride)
8.72% H_2O (evaporation at 180° Centigrade)
3.34% insoluble (difference)
100.00%

The potassium was separated from the sodium as potassium platinic chloride. In the insoluble residue the following were detected: calcium, magnesium, iron, aluminum, manganese, phosphates, silicates, and carbonates, and 0.7% of the salt SiO_2 (silicon dioxide) was determined.

The high content of chlorides and sulphates in the bush salt is striking, as well as the use of the salt mixture consisting predominately of potassium salts, for spicing the food, in other words, its use in place of cooking salt."

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

142 bread-winners and some are strong and muscular, while many more are weak and worn out from ceaseless toil.

The Fang make good carriers, and will do a splendid day's journey even in the 482 wet season with bad forest trails, if not overloaded. A carrier's load should never 147 exceed 25 kilogrammes; and 20 would pay better on a long journey. The first day out with a caravan the men usually drag along slowly, until their loads settle well down in the *kingi* and fit their backs. The *kingi* is a very ingenious contrivance for carrying a load in; it is usually made from a forest vine with a plaited head strap. To hurry carriers the first day is a bad mistake; poorly adjusted loads chafe and cause sore backs, and before night the whole caravan is tired out and sulky. It is a wise traveller in Africa as elsewhere who knows how to save his men.

145 A very noticeable fact among the Fang is the scarcity of old men. I 164 attribute this largely to the ravages of syphilis; the same terrible disease that has done so much towards the degeneration of numerous coast tribes, and which is already playing fearful havoc among the Fang. Indolent, untrustworthy and warlike, they are nevertheless a most companionable people. 181 The slightest piece of drollery or a joke immediately causes laughter. It has been my privilege to visit many foreign lands including China, Japan and Korea, yet never in my life have I met such an absolutely good-natured, fun-loving people as the Fang.

The men are not fond of work. They frequently ask me for something to do 461 to "earn a cloth." If I tell them to cut fence poles or good clean bark in the forest, they decline. A male Fang's idea of work is to sit in the *Abeng* (= palaver house) and make fish lines by rolling pineapple fibre along the upper [783] portion of his thigh, or to manufacture *Abi* (roof thatch). At these occupations he can converse with all comers, hear the news and take his part in talking a palaver. 627 They are a revengeful people and will keep up a palaver over a woman for many years. If they do not succeed in shooting a man during a palaver they do not [777] hesitate to fire at and kill a woman, while captives held as hostages are often treated with great cruelty.

The women regard virtue very lightly. Before marriage a girl can do nearly 836 as she pleases. It is absolutely safe to state that it would be almost impossible 517 to find a maiden in a Fang village over sixteen years of age. Adultery is common, [831] and one of the chief causes of "women palavers." Women rank first in value as [562] goods for trade, next in value are goats, then guns and cloth. The greed for goods has a strong hold on the people. They learn quickly but have very little originality. They have no obscene rites. Their habits are very dirty; they will wash in a 515 small pool of water and, while bathing, fill the gourds or imported jugs with the water in which they are washing and use it for domestic purposes. In many other ways they are absolutely filthy, and descend to the level of brute creation. They [834] are not over-burdened with modesty, both sexes frequently bathe together in a perfectly nude condition. A male Fang passes a large percentage of his time in

754 It is not the bark container known to us from Malan that is
777 used to keep the Mekuk skulls, but rather a chamber dug under the floor of the house (Fig. 53). I saw a bark box used only once, placed on tall props reaching almost to the roof. The chest is divided into two sections by means of a dip in the bottom, and it is carefully leveled and smeared with red wood (hence, the name atum from atŭm, "section, /151/ /Fig. 53 appears here in the original text/ room," which refers to the entire medicine); it is covered up by a piece of bark and a thin layer of dirt and thus remains hidden from strangers' eyes. Frequently a chest is placed over it also, or the little underground chamber is located under a bed. On the step-like raised part the medicines (b) are kept inside a circle made of plantain pieces (a); these medicines include nsŭ, above all, and furthermore bark scraped off the Passifloraceae
[278] Ophiocaulon cissampeloides Hook f. and Adenia lobata (Jacq.) Engl. (undŏndŏle a ndžik) (1), leaves of evŭlĕme or ayŏne-bevu,

1. Also used as fish poison (see Vol. I, p. 83).

important because of the nodules in the leaves which make them look perforated like the ewu of a dead magician, and other things. Below the step the skulls (c) are set up in a semicircle so that they face the medicine.

[769] The skulls are cared for in a manner similar to the customary manner of treating the Malan skulls. Unlike the latter, they are not served food every day, but nevertheless frequently; sometimes chickens are slaughtered for them, and they are bathed in chicken blood and have chicken meat set before them.

[184] This medicine, which is unknown in the northern region (Jaunde), is quite widespread among the Fang and is the subject of many tales and stories which make all light men /Ed., men with light skin color?/ break out in a cold sweat. My boys were so excited by the
[852] stories that they maintained they could not sleep if they kept thinking of these hideous Mekuk. Thus it is told, among other things, that the Mekuk walk up and down in their little room at night and make a hullabaloo or even come out of their room and thrash

821 to penetrate into houses. To be sure, this lightning is a disobedi-
775 ent fellow who has already caused his primeval mother Alonkok a great many difficulties, and he does not always heed the command of the souls. If it should happen at any time that in his willfulness he strikes the houses -- incidentally, I never heard of such a thing happening -- the natives do not assume that there was malice on the part of the souls. Possibly, as is only human, they aimed wrong. For this reason the Pangwe, who like all primitive people are quite apprehensive in other respects, are not afraid of thunder
[152] storms. A momentary fright, however, caused by the brightness of the lightning and the violence of the thunder, can very often be observed in the case of nervous temperaments.

There is only one more question: "Why is it that the souls make use of their 'lightning rifles' only when it rains; they could surely strike down the trees just as well without it?" To this my Pangwe has a ready answer: "It doesn't work so well, because rain and storms make a passage through the air for the lightning bolt, and then the souls have an easier time of it." /198/

Rain medicines are infrequent in the Pangwe region; rain does
789 not need to be summoned for there is enough of it -- God knows --
821 in tropical West Africa. They would sooner fend it off, for instance, during the drying of ngon, at cult festivals, sometimes during the harvest, and on journeys. For this reason, unnecessary beating of drums is avoided because it invites rain, in accordance with the view, which, incidentally, also prevails outside the Pangwe region, that (rumbling) thunder is produced by rain.

During the drying of ngon, women sometimes place an inverted pot covered with leaves on the village square. Next to it they plant a little stick with a plantain dyed red speared on it,
[824] and they perhaps plant a twig of Petersia minor Niedenzu (abiń) near it. The pot is supposed to represent the vessel in the sky in which the rain is enclosed (mvē, "pot," mvǒ-ṅ, "rain"). Covering the pot indicates that they wish to have the heavenly pot closed in the same manner. The plantain is a plant of the moon which determines the seasons and thus also the rain, and the red coloration is, as it were, a courtesy paid to the moon. I was unable to discover the relationship of the Petersia to rain, but in the

524 The stone game of the children is a simpler form of the
857 same game played by adults. It is called sō'no and consists of a halved raffia leafstalk whose pith is hollowed out into 12 compartments, arranged in two rows. To the right and left of the ends there is a compartment, twice as big as the others, for captured stones. /302/

The procedure of the game corresponds precisely to that of the adults and is differentiated from the latter only by the fact that in each compartment there are four canna seeds as playing stones, instead of five palm nuts or other large fruit seeds.

524 The bowling game, mbǎh (mbǎh = bowling ball), in which
857 the extraordinarily well-developed observational powers of the
153 Negroes are triumphantly displayed, is quite noteworthy. The average European would probably cut a poor figure in this "child's play"; I at least declined to engage in it. For the bowling game
[824] one must have about 30 of the pill-shaped Canna indica seeds. The game leader, A, takes these seeds in his hand; previously, he has already agreed upon a number, let us say 18, with a fellow player, B. This number must now be discovered by the players, or, as the Negro says, it must be "shown." A throws the balls out rapidly and gives each of them, by way of a name, as it were, the numbers from one to 30 as he throws them. Once all thirty balls are at rest -- having of course rolled every which way, in no particular order -- A points to the aforesaid eighteenth ball while B shuts his eyes as he does so, in order to point to the ball himself afterwards. Thereby A is prevented from cheating or -- as happens more frequently -- from making a mistake. In other words, it is a counter-test. In the subsequent throws, in which the same number counts, the players must indicate the aforesaid ball. This often happens with the second or third throw. The one who recognizes the ball first becomes the leader in the next game, in which another number is chosen.

As the final group game, we shall mention a memory game which is popular with boys six to seven years old. It is called bolō'mo, a name which is also applied to the main player and memory artist who must go to one side or outside the door and then answer. The questioner, seated in the circle of players, has ten

524 peppers, likewise called bolō'mo (from olō'mo = vegetable), in
857 front of him and a banana leaf (okiā,ī) is inserted between each
153 fruit. The questioning each time comes to an end at one of the
bolō'mo which is then taken away, and the questioning begins all over again, until all the bolō'mo have been removed by this process of question and answer. The questions are as follows:

(a) a bolō'mo? = Oh Bolomo? (b) ē or assimilated ō = Yes! (c) ižū,a a dšǒ o yǎ? = Your father, he said something to you? (d) ta(d)a (a) džǒ ma na: kaa yǐ, ndǒ'ngo (or džam) = My father, he said to me thus: not to fail in skittles (or affairs), that is, you are not to have any failures (in play or in seriousness). (e) dzidzi? = What is that? (f) bolō'mo = vegetable.

Now the questioner takes away the bolomo (the vegetable) and again asks: (a)-(d), then (e) dzidzi? (f) (o)kiǎ,ī = Leaf! (g) dzidzi? (h) bolō'mo. In the next round of questions the answers are: Leaf, leaf, vegetable, then leaf, leaf, leaf, vegetable, and so forth. /303/

All ten questions are uttered in very rapid tempo, usually to the accompaniment of rhythmical handclapping by the fellow players, in order to confuse the one answering as much as possible.

The simplest games of skill consist of fashioning droll figures
524 out of a leaf (bǒn), Figure 105; braiding together strips of stalk of
857 the Sarcophrynium in a special form (esǒn), Figure 106; and carving birds and other figures from raffia pith (onon-eśūsū), Figure 107.

Another group of skilled games includes the universally known rope games, which undoubtedly had their origin in the making of rope. Altogether, I am familiar with no less than 40 different figures among the Fang, of which different ones are developed from each other in series.

The highly developed, ingenious "patience games" probably had their origin in the rope games. The aim here is either to separate two objects that are joined (or to put together two separate objects), or to take apart apparently indivisibly conjoined parts.

A widespread game illustrated in Figure 108 is included in the first group. It could be called the two-string bow patience game (atśin ebe). It consists of a stick of the bark of a raffia stalk with

[Text continues on page 179]

524 plantain leafstalk whose hollow, in addition, was plugged with
957 "medicine," that is, pulverized leaves. The stalk with the ring lies on the ground, and the conjurer binds across his hand a piece of plantain leaf in which he has previously placed an identical leafstalk plugged with leaves, but without a ring. He then playfully strikes the ground with the leaf-covered hand and in so doing exchanges with lightning speed the two plantain leafstalks /307/. Then he invites the spectators to convince themselves that the ring has now been conjured out of it. While the spectators comply with this suggestion, the artist quickly puts the ring on his finger and also removes the plantain stalk.

4. Games of Adults

The Memory Game of the Dwarf Antelope

524 To my knowledge, this game occurs only in the southern
153 Pangwe region. Like the memory game of the children, it con-
[184] sists of reciting sentences which in this case, however, are not elicited by questions but are uttered by a single player. The sentences are particularly difficult, because they contain many words with guttural sounds whose pitch varies extraordinarily so that even the Pangwe easily makes a slip of the tongue.

To aid their memory, my boys made use of a long raffia stick
[211] on which were strung a whole series of little transverse sticks carved out of raffia pith in such a way that first three pieces, each singly, then two, three, four transverse pieces, and so on, were ranged in groups, in a manner similar to balls on an abacus (Fig. 112).

In reciting each sentence -- there are 12 in all -- the previous sentences must be repeated backwards, and together they form a group which in each instance is introduced by the following verse:

sǒ' gbwē" , mvǒ̰n kḭ̄n = Sso antelope's horn: "gbuä" (onomatopoetic, in German, tü); rain: "king" (that is, distant thunder, onomatopoetic, in German, bum). The horn of the Sso antelope whistles: "tü," and behold, the rain answers with thunder: "bum."

524 153 As we know, the Sso antelope is the animal of the moon, while the moon is mistress of the seasons and thus of rain; if one blows [825] on the horn, the rain, which according to the Pangwe produces [821] thunder, will answer.

Once the twelfth group of sentences is finished, all previously 524 recited groups of sentences must be recited backwards.

153 539 Sentence 1: nǔm okbǔ,ṅ a ke a
Man of the dwarf antelope, he goes to

dzǎ́ngan a nkǒ[k] etě
fall in love in the lying trunk inside,

b(a) asǎngǒ'n-ogbwō.
with Assangon-Ogbwo.

The dwarf antelope man goes inside the prone tree trunk (which is hollow, so that the little antelope can use it as a hiding place) to fall in love with Assangon-Ogbuo, literally, the eldest daughter of the magician.

Sentence 2:

ngbūē'ne ogbǔ,ṅ a ke a
Offspring of dwarf antelope, it goes to

bě nǔ'm okbǔ,ṅ.
follow man antelope. /308/

Sentence 3:

ngá-ogbǔ,ṅ a ke a
Wife of dwarf antelope, she goes to

be ngbūē'ne ogbǔ,ṅ.
follow (the) little antelope.

Sentence 4: agbǔ,ṅ abai (two antelopes) d'a ke a be nga agbǔ,ṅ.
Sentence 5: agbǔ,ṅ ala (three antelopes) d'a ke a bě agbǔ,ṅ abai (two).
Sentence 6: agbǔ,ṅ ani (four antelopes) d'a ke a bě agbǔ,ṅ ala (three).
Sentence 7: agbǔ,ṅ atan (five antelopes) d'a ke a bě agbǔ,ṅ ani (four).
Sentence 8: agbǔ,ṅ asiēmen (six antelopes) d'a ke a bě agbǔ,ṅ atan (five).

524
153
539

Sentence 9: agbǔ,ń zāngbwā' (seven antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbǔ,ń asiē'men (six).

Sentence 10: agbǔ,ń mūóm (eight antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbǔ,ń zāngbwā'(seven).

Sentence 11. agbǔ,ń ebū, (nine antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbǔ,ń mūóm (eight).

Sentence 12. agbǔ,ń avǔ'm (ten antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbǔ,ń ebū, (nine).

[832]

Young lovers like to play the game with their girls, as may be surmised from the somewhat romantic text. Jokingly, the girl says that she will give herself only to the one who can go through the entire game without making a mistake.

The Memory Game (nkū́k ondūle or endělе)

153
524
211

This game is known only among the Fang and a number of adjoining Ntum kin groups, and it is supposedly indigenous. A flat staff with short, paired transverse extensions and vertically inserted knobs is used in the game. The end of the staff usually has a head carved on it (Fig. 113). Each pair of transverse extensions, along with the knob and the adjacent lower part of the staff, forms a segment on which eleven different points are designated for the answers (see Fig. 114).

The game may have developed from an older, simpler one in which the individual parts of the human body were enumerated. This notion is suggested by the designation of the staff as the body, of the carved end -- even when it is not a regular head -- as neck and head, by the tripartite arrangement of the transverse extensions -- absent in Figure 113 -- (corresponding to the upper arm, the

[822]
[831]

Fig. 112. Stick with Pieces of Raffia used as Mnemonic Device in the Memory Game of the Dwarf Antelope. About one-fourth actual size.

Memory Game, nkuk-ondüle, made of Wood, Southern Ntum Region. A little over one-fifth actual size.

Fig. 113

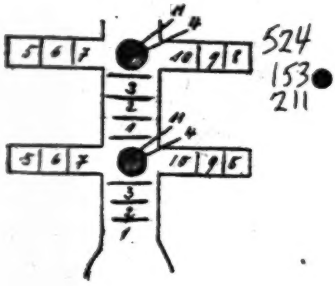


Fig. 114
Two Sections of the Memory Game nkuk-ondüle.

lower arm, and the hand), and finally by the upright knob, called tsǎngetsǎ́ngе (the red one; red as the color of reproduction, of life), by which originally the male sex organ was doubtless understood. The implement is thus unquestionably supposed to represent a human body whose members are multiplied. [822] [631]

The game is played by two people, one questioning, the other answering. The former, seated in the circle of listeners, holds the implement in his hand and indicates the various points that /309/ must be answered. At each one he calls out: "zě zě?=- What is that?" (phonetically assimilated and corrupted from dzě dzě). The principal player sits farther away and answers the questions in rhythmic song while the others stamp their feet or clap their hands in time. He is, of course, not allowed to make any marks to aid his memory, such as dividing a little stick into the corresponding number of sections. This is brainwork. 524 153 [533]

The 11 questions, which are the same for each segment, go as follows: 153

1, 2, 3. (see the corresponding numbers in Fig. 114) 524

nkūk ondüle wō'le. 539

Body (of the) ondüle here. That is the body of the ondüle.

153
524
539

4. tsǎngetsǎ'nge nie a tele ni(l) i, a mō,mendöge.
Red one, he, he stands here, o Momendöge!
There stands the red one, oh Momendöge (inventor of the game)!

5. mekǐ,e me ntǎm e nieli.
Breaking of the twig, it (is) here

6. mejidan me ntǎm e nieli.
Sawing off of the twig, it (is) here.

7. bi a ke a buman (or a siēen) a
We, we go to meet each other at the
mbuman a nzěn, a tade mō,mendöge.
meeting point of the road, oh father Momendöge
(that is, perhaps, joint of the femur).

8. kǔ,lǔ a būma.
Go away to Buma (supposedly an Essamongun village).

9. ye ma ke a būma.
(Interrogative:) I go to Buma? = Am I going to Buma by any chance?

10. = 7.
11. = 4.

When all the segments -- usually from eight to 10 -- have been answered from bottom to top, the questioner points to the neck piece:

zǎ zǎ = What is that? /310/

Answer: kǐ'n ondū'le e nieli
Neck (of the) ondüle it here,

and then he points to the head piece:

zǎ zǎ = What is that?
Answer: nnǒ' ondū'le a wǒ'le.
Head (of the) ondüle it here.

The main thing for the player, therefore, is always to remember how many segments he has answered, so that at the end he does not make a mistake and, instead of answering the two questions concerning neck and head, begins a new segment.

181 opinion is quite widely shared by foreign observers. "Much more intelligent and... more active and harder working than the average Negro... they also have more forethought... they compare with other Negroes as do Aryans with Semites and the red men /Rouges/ ... capable of acquiring a certain amount of intellectual cultivation and of performing all sorts of industries," wrote Largeau in 1900. Before him, Du Chaillu /had written/: "Proud and fierce warriors... clever and industrious... that will supersede... the degenerate tribes (of the Ogooué)," while Horn, who did not like the French at all, thought the "Mpangwe" of 1875 to be the "Prussians of Africa," which, considering his attitude and the period, was a compliment. Later, Trilles favorably compares their moral standards with those of Europeans; his Protestant colleague Grebert speaks of their "individualism," their "fierce love of liberty." The portrait admits, it is true, of some reservations: "brusqueness," "brutal frankness," along with "unreliability," "malice," and "greed for gain" for Largeau, "pride," "tendency to hoard," "stubbornness," for Grebert, "cruelty," "avarice" for Du Chaillu, "superstition" for Horn, while Compiègne thinks they "disappointed Admiral de Langle's hopes (for their ability to become assimilated)." It is a remarkable fact that these "defects" may just as well appear aspects of their "good qualities," just like the strictures on "anarchy" and "rebelliousness" that often turn up in the official reports.

All these evaluations still hold good, clearly subjective and /89/ nonscientific as they are, just as are those I have been able to make myself and which lead me to say that I have actually met among the Pahouin I associated with a large proportion of intelligent, energetic, high-spirited /fiers/ people, endowed with a sarcastic humor well illustrated in many recent novels and also in the giving of nicknames, especially to government officials, and in the celebrated caricatures of Monewoso among the Boulou.

114 153 The only scholarly work on this subject that I know is some research done in the Cameroons by Stoerkel, head of the Service de Psychotechnie et d'Orientation professional /Psychotechnical and Vocational Guidance Service/, which does not seem to have been published. This research was done in 1949-50 at the beginning of the construction of the Edéa dam. The studies revealed, among the Pahouin of the southern Cameroons, motor adaptability, concentration, and capacity for integration superior on the whole to those of other

114 ethnic groups in the same region, the Boulou subjects being classed
153 first on these points among the Pahouin tribes. Intelligence tests and mental-age evaluations made among school children and lycée students gave similar results in comparison with Africans of the same age. On the other hand, a comparison with European children living in the Cameroons showed a certain inferiority, from which it is still impossible to draw definitive conclusions because of the scarcity of "culture-free tests" used at the time. Projective tests administered
114 under the same conditions revealed schizoid tendencies with rather
157 marked aggression and a fairly high frequency of the Oedipus fixation with some transference /assimilation/ from father to white man. The difference in level from neighboring tribes was less clear among the lycée students than among school children, and less clear among the latter than among the laborers at Edéa. It must be emphasized
[125] that these tests, especially the projective ones, involved a limited number of persons in particular situations outside the village milieu, that remains the background of the majority of their fellow tribesmen. I am not acquainted with the results of later research.

156 With regard to social psychology, we are also largely restricted to subjective evaluations in the same class as those mentioned at the beginning of this section. Allégret a half century ago remarked upon a defeatism more bitter since the Fang had come in contact with Europeans, and certain legends reported by Trilles and Largeau on the Jacob and Esau theme, with the white man in the role of the usurping younger brother, go some way to confirming this. Balandier has given a good description of contemporary expressions of this feeling of collective frustration, both in his Sociologie actuelle and in various articles, one of them with the significant title, "Les Fang, conquérants en disponibilité" /The Fang, Unattached Conquerors/, (nos. 175 and 173).

One striking trait, also emphasized by Balandier, is that of collective mistrust of successful persons. This may appear to contradict the previous statement about Pahouin individualism, but in fact it is precisely /90/ this individualism that produces a good share of the suspicion of the other individual (cf. in Eno Boto, Ville cruelle, no. 182, the reactions of the hero Banda vis-à-vis the rebel Koumé).

156 We must also point out the psychological and social importance
156 of akum, wealth, and of biôm, possessions, especially imported possessions. Combined with the as yet little-studied concept of the

114 ethnic groups in the same region, the Boulou subjects being classed
153 first on these points among the Pahouin tribes. Intelligence tests and mental-age evaluations made among school children and lycée students gave similar results in comparison with Africans of the same age. On the other hand, a comparison with European children living in the Cameroons showed a certain inferiority, from which it is still impossible to draw definitive conclusions because of the scarcity of "culture-free tests" used at the time. Projective tests administered
114 under the same conditions revealed schizoid tendencies with rather
157 marked aggression and a fairly high frequency of the Oedipus fixation with some transference /assimilation/ from father to white man. The difference in level from neighboring tribes was less clear among the lycée students than among school children, and less clear among the latter than among the laborers at Edéa. It must be emphasized
[125] that these tests, especially the projective ones, involved a limited number of persons in particular situations outside the village milieu, that remains the background of the majority of their fellow tribesmen. I am not acquainted with the results of later research.

156 With regard to social psychology, we are also largely restricted to subjective evaluations in the same class as those mentioned at the beginning of this section. Allégret a half century ago remarked upon a defeatism more bitter since the Fang had come in contact with Europeans, and certain legends reported by Trilles and Largeau on the Jacob and Esau theme, with the white man in the role of the usurping younger brother, go some way to confirming this. Balandier has given a good description of contemporary expressions of this feeling of collective frustration, both in his Sociologie actuelle and in various articles, one of them with the significant title, "Les Fang, conquérants en disponibilité" /The Fang, Unattached Conquerors/, (nos. 175 and 173).

One striking trait, also emphasized by Balandier, is that of collective mistrust of successful persons. This may appear to contradict the previous statement about Pahouin individualism, but in fact it is precisely /90/ this individualism that produces a good share of the suspicion of the other individual (cf. in Ezo Boto, Ville cruelle, no. 182, the reactions of the hero Banda vis-à-vis the rebel Koumé).

152 We must also point out the psychological and social importance
156 of akum, wealth, and of biôm, possessions, especially imported possessions. Combined with the as yet little-studied concept of the

556 relations between the sexes, this emphasis to a great extent explains
156 why no true peasantry has developed, but rather a class of nonpeasant planters, comparable in the last analysis to some of the European settlers. The Pahouin remain very much strangers and travelers on the land, whence the importance of personal property (in the legal sense) in their eyes. Nevertheless, a further development is in the making in this connection—described above (p. 96) which is leading to a strengthening of land ownership, /so that/ certain collective reactions in the way of procedure concerning land and domain suggest that we are witnessing, at least in the Cameroons, a genuine putting down of roots.

619 Tribal pride is still considerable, to the point of hostility between different branches of the group, but ethnic cohesion is found vis-à-vis outsiders and gives real unity to the Pahouin as a solid group.

2. The Individual Life Cycle

a. Conception, Gestation, Birth

843 A woman is considered pregnant, a nyoñeya abum, she has got a belly, when she has passed through four menstrual cycles, a nji yene
[842] ngon, without seeing the moon. Conception is supposed to be the result of the mixture of sperm, meyôm (with the same root as nnôm, pl. beyôm = male) and of menstrual blood, metyi me ngon, girl's blood or lunar blood; the length of pregnancy is calculated from the date when the last menstruation should have begun. Nowadays a pregnancy of nine months is considered normal, but some of my informants mentioned normal terms of eight or ten ngon (lit., moon or girl), a word that can as well refer to a calendar month as to a lunar month or a menstrual cycle. It is difficult for a man to obtain more precise information on this point since the subject is restricted to women. Besides, longer pregnancies are considered possible,
[857] though sometimes suspect; amenorrhea due to a fibroid growth is a proof of sorcery, the tumor being considered an évu. The fetus (for which the term is secret, forbidden, étyi, in any case for men, and probably for women uninitiated into mevungu) is thought at the beginning of gestation to take the form of a lizard, like the first man at the moment of the creation /of the universe/.

114 ethnic groups in the same region, the Boulou subjects being classed
153 first on these points among the Pahouin tribes. Intelligence tests and mental-age evaluations made among school children and lycée students gave similar results in comparison with Africans of the same age. On the other hand, a comparison with European children living in the Cameroons showed a certain inferiority, from which it is still impossible to draw definitive conclusions because of the scarcity of "culture-free tests" used at the time. Projective tests administered
114 under the same conditions revealed schizoid tendencies with rather
157 marked aggression and a fairly high frequency of the Oedipus fixation with some transference /assimilation/ from father to white man. The difference in level from neighboring tribes was less clear among the lycée students than among school children, and less clear among the latter than among the laborers at Edéa. It must be emphasized
[125] that these tests, especially the projective ones, involved a limited number of persons in particular situations outside the village milieu, that remains the background of the majority of their fellow tribesmen. I am not acquainted with the results of later research.

156 With regard to social psychology, we are also largely restricted to subjective evaluations in the same class as those mentioned at the beginning of this section. Allégret a half century ago remarked upon a defeatism more bitter since the Fang had come in contact with Europeans, and certain legends reported by Trilles and Largeau on the Jacob and Esau theme, with the white man in the role of the usurping younger brother, go some way to confirming this. Balandier has given a good description of contemporary expressions of this feeling of collective frustration, both in his Sociologie actuelle and in various articles, one of them with the significant title, "Les Fang, conquérants en disponibilité" /The Fang, Unattached Conquerors/, (nos. 175 and 173).

One striking trait, also emphasized by Balandier, is that of collective mistrust of successful persons. This may appear to contradict the previous statement about Pahouin individualism, but in fact it is precisely /90/ this individualism that produces a good share of the suspicion of the other individual (cf. in Eso Boto, Ville cruelle, no. 182, the reactions of the hero Banda vis-à-vis the rebel Koumé).

152 We must also point out the psychological and social importance
156 of akum, wealth, and of bôm, possessions, especially imported possessions. Combined with the as yet little-studied concept of the

776 852 and he must take ten spoonfuls of soup. Similarly, he will eat a spoonful for each child wished for. As to the other wishes, wealth, strength, courage, esteem, etc., these necessitate eating all that is left in the pot. This large quantity of soup signifies that the wish made is for an immeasurable amount of whatever is desired.

776 The night following the ceremony of akaga, the bivur of the beyem who have been present leave the bodies of their possessors in order to hold an invisible meeting called ngwel. This is the only time that the ngwel does not have a completely malevolent action, since otherwise the bivur never meet except to do evil. The ngwel which follows the akaga confirms the wishes made for the child and promises to protect his evur until it is strong enough; in fact, the evur grows with the child and does not reach its full vitality until the child is an adult. The ngwel [70] also shows the new member what part of the body he must remove from the person he will later sacrifice, in order to make a fetish. This sacrifice is made in gratitude to the bivur who concerned themselves with him during the akaga.

776 784 Every time an evur leaves the body for a ngwel, it is injured and fatigued, and can only be restored with human blood. After the ngwel, which follows the akaga, the bivur who have taken part in this weakened state and, when they have finished attending to the wishes made for the child, they ask the evur of the person who invited them to point out the victim they must eat for their recovery. An old man of the paternal or maternal family is usually designated for this purpose. Lacking such a person, the nem who bestowed the evur may sacrifice himself. If he does not consent, the assembled bivur place a prohibition (eki) on the child. For example, if ten wives have been wishes for him, he is forbidden on pain of death to take an eleventh; or else he is forbidden, always on pain of death, to eat certain foods or to do, or allow such and such a thing to be done. When the prohibition is of little importance, death in case of infraction may be replaced by the good evur transforming into an evil one.

Respect for the prohibitions and faith in their power is so firmly fixed in the minds of all the Pahouins that one who has violated a prohibition of akaga is sure to die, and without external intervention.

784 158 A Protestant missionary of the Samkita station cited to us the case of a twelve-year-old child, a boarding pupil of the mission, who was

784 forbidden by akaga to eat manioc. He had never eaten any and had
157 lived on bananas. One evening he cooked his bananas in a pot which had been used by other pupils, without having taken the precaution of washing it. During the night he learned that before he had used it, manioc had been cooked in it. Thinking that his bananas might thus have been contaminated by the remains of manioc caught on the edges of the pot and that he had broken his eki, he died in a few hours with horrible suffering, as none of the cares lavished on him was able to alleviate his condition. It is to be noted that none of the children who had eaten the manioc cooked in the pot was ill, and that the one who died was in excellent health up to the moment when he learned that he had broken his eki.

The same missionary also cited to us the case of a woman of the Ngone village, near the station, who had as eki not to be hit on the back. A district guard supervising the work of brush clearance in the village and seeing that she was not working hard enough, gave her a very light tap on the shoulder blade. Immediately the woman started rolling on the ground. She was carried in terror to the mission, eyes rolling, foam at the mouth, muscles contracted, and unable to utter [71] a sound. The missionary, believing this to be an epileptic seizure, tried in vain by every possible means to quiet her. Later when he had heard the story and learned that he was in the presence of a Protestant Christian woman, he explained to her that since she was a Christian the bivur could no longer have power over her, and in any case, if she believed them to be strong enough to make her die, she would not fail to go to hell after death. Was this fear of hell stronger than the ancestral one of the bivur? After long religious exhortations by the missionary, the woman returned to her normal condition.

776 In order to avoid the eki, the child may give a part of his body to the bivur. At the place where the removal has been performed -- invisible because performed by spirits -- an incurable wound is incurred. But usually, if it is a boy, he gives his testicles to the bivur, who take them and eat them. Only their image remains on the child, and it is this image which everyone takes for reality. In this case the bivur predict for him an accumulation of wealth when this image of the testicles swells.

When the child for whom the bivur worked in the ngwel after the akaga has become a man, and some of the wishes that were made have

776 The evil evur concerns itself only with eating people in the course of the ngwel and with waging war against the good bivur. It is almost always the evil evur which is the victor.

(3) Activities of the evur. The manifestations of the evur are many, and itis the evur which acts in everything instead of, and in place of, its owner.

It is essential for one who wishes to be a practitioner to have an evur. Moreover, this profession is assigned to a child, should the occasion arise, at the time of the ceremony of akaǧa.

Except in the case of an activity favorable to its owner, or at the time of the akaǧa, the evur is always malevolent. The only aim of the ngwel meetings is to assure the life of the bivur through the death of the persons whom they eat.

776 When the good evur of a nem has worked in full daylight for its
155 owner, the latter falls ill at the same time as his evur. He can be
824 treated only with a thick medication made of water, a cooked egg, and crushed leaves of ebele beyem. Ebele beyem is the name of a poisonous vine whose leaves and blossoms resemble those of the sweet potato.

776 The malevolent activity of the evur is always manifested in a death.
761 It may also be the cause of abortion, or the death of a newborn the moment it sees daylight.

776 The evur also allows its possessor to change himself into an animal.
762 For example, a man who wishes to die causes his evur to go out and take the form of an animal (usually a black antelope, nzip, or a red
158 antelope, nkoǧ), and to walk at the edge of the village. The animal is noticed at once by the inhabitants who hunt and kill it. The evur then immediately returns to the man who sent it, and it is the man who is killed instead of the animal. The transformation is simultaneous with the blow which causes death, and it is the man, transported by his evur, who is found dead at the spot where the animal fell. [73]

776 An example of this faculty of transformation was reported to us in
158 March, 1934. Two hunters landed on a small island in Lake Mangueigne to hunt a monkey which they had seen in a tree. They separated at the landing spot, after having decided that each should go around the island from his side. One of them saw a large black antelope in the thickets, fired, and when he drew near found his comrade riddled with shot, gasping his last and dying shortly afterwards. The inhabitants of the neighboring village, aroused by the cries, arrived in time to hear

776 158 the victim exonerate the murderer, admitting that what happened was his own fault and that he had changed himself into an antelope so as not to frighten the hunted monkey. Not for an instant did the Pahouin of the district dream of doubting the truth of the story, and each recalled the exploits of the dead man who, thanks to his ability to change himself, had several times lived among gorillas and panthers, whose young he had brought back as proof of his double existence.

In September, 1933, in the village of Ebabara on the Abanga, a woman, Ningone Obame, told us how her husband, Obiang Abugo, transformed into an elephant, killed her little daughter: One day she saw Obiang come into the hut in the form of a bird, and he asked her to give him the little girl to look after him. Ningone refused. To punish her, Obiang caused her to have an abscess on her breast. A few days after this, she went fishing in a side channel of the river, Obiang staying in camp with the child. Suddenly Ningone felt her head get heavy and her heart beat fast. She was frightened and returned to the camp where she found her husband lying asleep. The little daughter was not there. Ningone went out, called her, and suddenly saw her dead, trampled by Obiang in the shape of an elephant. At this point Obiang, the elephant, promised to give her a boy in place of the little girl. Ningone went back to the camp. Obiang was still lying down and continued to sleep. She waked him up and accused him of the death of her daughter. Obiang did not deny it and said he had to kill her so that his own evur would not die. Nevertheless, he died two or three days afterwards.

Ningone told us this story in the presence of all the inhabitants of the village and numerous listeners from neighboring villages, all of whom considered the incident normal and only discussed the question of whether, because of the crime committed by Obiang's evur, Ningone should, or should not, pay back the dowry to her dead husband's family.

778 776 (4) Protection against the bivur. In spite of all the acknowledged power of the evur, the Pahouin seek to protect themselves against it. For this there is an essential fetish called mvul, or byah bivur. Upon the death of a person suspected of having had an evur which fed upon human blood, the abdomen of the corpse is opened and a search is made for the evur. [74] This, it seems, is like a crab; it has a small mouth with little teeth; its claws form long veins that go into every part of the body. Once the evur is found, its belly is opened, and if it

562 shown by most observers as the principal agent of production in the midst of a slavery-free society and, for that reason, as a factor in becoming rich. These are the generally accepted opinions; what are they worth?

562 842 It appears to us that the stress falls primarily on the capacity for fecundity of the woman who is acquired legally. The wife allows the man to manifest himself as a begetter (ésa); she assures his posterity, which for a Fang is the prime property. Through her he not only proves himself fully male but he obtains a true social promotion, acquiring influence which grows in proportion to the growth of his family group, participating fully in the pre-eminent social stratum, that of the generation of "fathers." In a conquering society, as Fang society was up until recent times, a man's influence was determined more by the number of the warriors attached to him (4) (the wife properly giving him male

4. Let us quote an unequivocal proverb: "a relative is a gun."

descendants and relatives by marriage) than by his personal warlike valor. One might say his importance was in proportion to his aggressive and defensive potential.

The man without posterity is a lesser being, an inferior Fang, because he is powerless. It is significant that the word ki means at the same time "strength, virility, and power." This explains [149] the position held by the magic for fecundity, by the "techniques" to check the causes of sterility, and the fact that sterility is the sanction linked to the most serious offenses (especially incest). In a well-known formula, this state of affairs indicates the pre-eminence of the "production of human beings" over the production of means of existence." The chance discovery of a notebook in which a young man of the Oyem region had written down some of his dreams and the rules of conduct he followed has shown us the level of obsession which the pursuit after future descendents may attain.

562 842 159

We give as an example the most "direct" of these dreams: "I dream that a lady speaks to me in my dream so that my wife may have a child. I should roast a banana, go near a river, cut

562 this banana, and give half to my wife, after we have both drunk
842 some water. Then I should go and embrace my wife. Then I
159 should dip her (?) in water saying: who is this woman from whom you come?" Another text, given as a "dream," hardly deserves this name, or is only part of a richer dream (and it is still very revealing). It consists of a recipe for fecundity: "I dream that the devil recommends three herbs for a sterile woman, that she may bear a child...." The meaning is clear, all the more as various precepts collected under the title The Individual Will confirm it clearly. "I shall find means not to live any longer without leaving a child; what pursuits will permit a man not to die without leaving a child?; to choose oneself 'what is needed' to marry a woman who bears children (1) ...." One could call

1. Cahier de Daniel Ngema Ondo
[Notebook of Daniel Ngéma Ondo].

it a regular "complex of the man without posterity." The search for numerous future descendants is still the most important undertaking. If the reasons for "power" just referred to have for the moment disappeared, others have been substituted or have appeared: the fear of breaking a line of descent, of being only a "deceased one" and not an ancestor (mvam) revered by his posterity, the fear of abandoned old age, and now the desire to enrich the family grouping, which is an economic unit, by having at one's disposal the greatest possible number of active elements. Elsewhere we have pointed out that the possession of a large grouping is a guarantee of greater liberty because of the increased influence it entails.

562 Besides being the instrument for reproduction — and hence subject [150] as soon as she is married to the most complete control — the woman is also the instrument of production. While the man builds the huts, clears the plantations, and (in the past) was essentially in charge of "defending the women and children," (1)

1. In 1890, A. Fourneau observed in the Estuary region "long files of women loaded like mules" who

Demographic Situation

Territory		Tribe	Habitat	Number	Density	Demographic Data
Cameroons	(Beti)	Ewondo	Nyong-and-Sanaga region (S.)	95, 000	20.1	D.I. : + 0.2 %. I.M. : 30 %. G.C. : 3.06.
		Bané	S. Nyong-and-Sanaga N. N'Tem and Dja-and-Lobo	60, 000	21.5	D.I. : + 0.2 %. G.C. : 4.7.
		Fong	N. N'Tem-Dja-and-Lobo	13, 000	6.9	D.I. : 0.77 %. S. : 25.6 %. G.C. : 5.3.
		Eton	N. Nyong-and-Sanaga	112, 000	44.3	No recent accurate data. D.I. : > + 1 %. Population on the increase.
		Mbida Mbané.	S.E. Nyong-and-Sanaga	20, 000	12.8	D.I. : + 0.68 %. S. : 7 %. G.C. : 5.20 %.
		Mvog Nyengé.	S.E. Nyong-and-Sanaga	7, 000	10.6	D.I. : + 0.39 %. S. : 9 %. S.B. : 26.9 %. G.C. : 4.25.

Cameroons	Mangisa. . .	N. Nyong-and-Sanaga	15, 000	46.2	No recent accurate data. D. I. : positive.
	Yekaba . . .	N. Nyong-and-Sanaga	14, 000	9.2	D. I. : —4.4 %. I. M. : 34.3 %. S. : 33.9 %. G. C. : 4.5. S. B. : 10 %.
	(Probable Beti) Bamvelé . . (Belé)	E. Nyong-and-Sanaga W. Lom and Kadéï (Nanga, Bertoua)	25, 000	10	No data.
	Evuzok . . .	Scattered (Lolodorf)	5, 000	?	No data.
	Tsinga . . .	Scattered (M'Bam, Nyong-and-Sanaga)	16, 000	?	D. I. : +1.4 %.
	Miscellaneous		20, 000		
	Total Cameroons Beti		401, 000		
	Boulou	N'Tem, Dja-and-Lobo, Kribi	100, 000	9.9	D. I. : +0.30 %. S. : 7 %. G. C. : 4.12.

Cameroons		Zaman . . .	E. Dja-and-Lobo (Dja Valley)	1, 500		D. I. : negative. S. : > 25 %.
	(Bulu)	Yengono . .	S. E. Nyong-and-Sanaga (Akonolinga)			D. I. : + 0. 63 %. S. : 9 %. G. C. : 3. 47.
		Yembama .				D. I. : 0. 70 %. S. : 16 %. G. C. : 3. 97.
				13, 000	7. 5	
		Yelinda. . .				D. I. : —0. 1 %. S. : 18 %. G. C. : 3. 30.
	(Supposedly related to the Boulou)	Yesoum . .	N. Nyong-and-Sanaga			D. I. : —2. 6 %. S. : 25. 53 %. G. C. : 3. 4.
				9, 000	4. 2	
		Yebekanga .				
		Yebekolo. .	E. Nyong-and-Sanaga (Akonolinga)	23, 000	11. 9	D. I. : faintly positive.
		Mvelé . . .	E. Yaoundé	37, 000	15. 3	D. I. : —0. 21 %.
		Total Cameroons Boulou . . .		184, 000		

(Fañ)	Fang.	Kribi, N'Tem, Dja and Lobo (scattered)	13, 000	2	D. I. : + 0. 03 %. S. : 7 %. G. C. : 3. 8.
	Ntum		17, 000	9. 8	D. I. : 1. 53 %. S. : 12 %. G. C. : 4. 6.
	Mvaé		6, 000	5. 8	D. I. : + 0. 69 %. S. : 15. 2 %. G. C. : 4. 3.
	Total Fañ		36, 000		
	Total Cameroons . . .		623, 000	Not including "assimilated" tribes in the east (Mekaé-Kozimé).	
Spanish Guinea	Ntum	Along N. border (Ebebiyín)	20, 000	4	Approximate estimate based on French colonial archives. According to some reports, to this should be added about 6, 000 Pahouin emigrants from French colonial territories, especially Gabon. The given numbers represent the minima.
	Mvaé	N. border (Minkomesen)	1, 000		
	Fang	S. E.	30, 000		
	Okak	Center	4, 000		
	Total Spanish Guinea		55, 000		

Gabon	Ntum . . .	Woleu-N'Tem (especially Bitam)	15, 000	5 to 1	D. I. : slightly positive. High sterility rate. Proportion of children: about 20%.
	Bakwélé . .	Makokou	3, 000		
	Fang	Woleu-N'Tem estuary, Ogooué-Ivindo, Ogooué	110, 000		
	Total Gabon		128, 000		
Middle Congo	Miscellaneous assimilated	Souanké Ouesso	8, 000	2	?
	Total Middle Congo		8, 000		
General Total.			814, 000		Not including neighboring peoples in process of being assimilated.

D. I. : differential index. S. : sterility rate. G. C. : genital capacity. S. B. : stillbirth rate.
I. M. : infant mortality.
The figures, from I. Dugast, Inventaire, No. 130, refer, on the average, to ten years ago.

163 [164]

1. As an indication, the numerical strength of the Mekaf and Kozimf of the Cameroons may be put at about 80,000 persons.

index is a little less than ½ 1%, more, apparently, from a fall in the death rate than from a rise in the birth rate, which is rather inclined to decrease a bit. The table on pages 12a-12e gives a succinct survey in detail.

This table calls for some comments. First, the known rate of genital capacity*, nearly always around 4, like the sterility indices

16

/* According to another source, Georges Balandier /5/, "the genital capacity /is/ the mean number of pregnancies in women by the time of the menopause....." Sociologie Actuelle de l'Afrique Noire, Changements sociaux au Gabon et au Congo /Contemporary Sociology of Black Africa: Social Changes in Gabon and the Congo/, p. 96, Paris, 1955.--Ed./

that reach 30 percent, forms a contrast to the accounts of the first explorers as well as to tribal traditions, which uniformly speak of high fertility and a large proportion of children. Even taking into account the undoubted exaggeration that colors these statements, it remains likely that a demographic decline took place in the second quarter of the twentieth century, offset by a lowering of mortality, at least in certain areas. The difficulties of adaptation to forest life are an explanation for the south. Undoubtedly, one must add factors like the spread of syphilis (ndo) along the highways and especially around settlements, and the outbreak of sleeping sickness, which seems to have followed pacification and to have affected particularly northern and northeastern Pahouin country. In the south there was also the great Gabon famine of 1924-27, as well as sociological causes such as heavy recruiting for the timber industry and perhaps psychological factors arising from the impact of colonization (Balandier). In the north where the precocious rise of an agricultural economy based on cacao stabilized the villages rather early, the change in the form of the bride price and the individual appropriation

164 [165] 166 167

/61 [Geographic and Ethnographic Comment on the Lower Ogooué], Ann. de Géogr., No. 62, March 15, 1903.

" is a [67] corruption of the word mpawe by which the tribes of the coast refer to the Fan." Among them are found the tribes of three great parent branches, the Betsi and the Nzaman of the Madzouna dialect, and the Make of the Mekina dialect. Their number has a strong tendency to decrease due to continuous migration towards the sea, and above all due to lack of births and to stillbirths. There are actually no villages except on the banks of the Ogooué and the Abanga, and in the valley of the Okano along the route that joins the river at Oyem; and a few hamlets of the Make in the interior near small Bakele settlements on the left bank. The whole region of the right bank is depopulated, and one finds no more than frequent patches of short, thick brush without trees, except for some banana trees which are traces of vanished former villages.

[6]

3/61

Beliefs

/73 1. Concerning the origin of man, the elements. Whenever a Paluoin recites his genealogy (every child is used to this from his early years, a survival of the need while traveling to make oneself known as a member of a tribe), he ends the list of his ancestors with: "X... son of Nzame," and adds a formula meaning "and the rooster crowed and I was not there." All the Paluoin now living thus claim a common ancestor, Nzame, to whom they attribute supernatural powers but whom they do not worship. This Nzame himself has four known ancestors: Mebere, Nkwa, Sokuma, and Mba Angwe. We have not been able to obtain any information about these, nor about the formula in which the rooster is mentioned [sic]. It seems that this is due to the ignorance of the natives rather than their ill will (many traditions were lost through contact with peoples met in the westward migration and especially through contact with Europeans), since the natives questioned quite voluntarily gave accounts of the life of Nzame as their fathers had described it to them.

[73]

CHAPTER 6

THE BETI AND THE PAHOUIN

THE BETI OR BATI

[12] /Pp. 1-56 not translated/ In the introductory section devoted to the peopling of the area, we have spoken of the Beti, or Bati, who certainly comprised a large group with many branches. They have been subject to many upheavals and, consequently, it is impossible to determine which of them have remained pure Beti and which—according to G. Tessmann's expression—have become "Pahouinized," and to what extent they have become "Pahouinized." Therefore, we will first devote a short paragraph to the Beti, and then another to the Pahouin /Pahuin/.

In the discussion which follows we will speak first of the populations which the authors have grouped under the name of Beti, and then, imperceptibly, we will move on to the Pahouin, but we are not able to decide exactly where the dividing line should be placed.

[13] It is certain that the various branches of the Beti, or Bati, spread
[31] over a large area. According to the oral traditions of a number of these peoples, their original habitat was north of the Sanaga River, and near its tributary the Mbam /M'Bam/. /Map 1/ A tiny group of these Bati remained there, and they may still be found southwest of Bafia, on the right bank of the Libous, a tributary of the Sanaga. Their little territory of barely 20 square kilometers is wedged in between the Yambasa /Yambama/ in the east, the Lemande in the north, [14] and the Baso in the west and to the south. There are only 800 persons altogether in the villages of Keleng (on the route from Bafia to Ngambe) and the hamlets of Mpouki and Nyambet.

[15] Others of the Beti remained north of the Sanaga and divided into a scattering of small groups; when the Germans found them they had not united /50/ and were still migrating. They did not become settled until the Babute had been pushed back to their former habitat by the new occupants.

Bakoum
Bundju
Kombe

113 Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Fang."
Cournarie, P. Essai sur les coutumes des populations de la Circonscription de Yaoundé /Essay Concerning the Customs of the Peoples of the Yaoundé District/ (1933) (unpublished).
Bruel, G. La France équatoriale africaine /French Equatorial Africa/ (Paris: Larose, 1935).
Bulletin de la Société d'Études Camerounaises, No. 3, (July 3, 1943).
de Pedrals, H. "Contribution à l'établissement d'un inventaire ethnique du Cameroun /A Contribution toward Setting up an Inventory of the Peoples of Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept-Dec, 1945), pp. 7-15.
Baumann, H. and Westermann, D. Des peuples et les civilisations de l'Afrique, suivi de: Les langues et l'éducation /Peoples and Cultures of Africa, followed by: Languages and Education/. (Translated by L. Homburger) (Paris: Payot, 1948), pp. 199-201.

THE BUNDJU AND THE KOMBE

131 Location: 11°25 to 11°50 long.
101 4°30 to 4°35 north lat.

We cannot silently skip over these minute groups whose names are known only to administrators working in the region of M'Bam, east of Bafia. As a matter of fact, they are essentially a part of the Beti group.

Physical and Human Geography

•14 Population: Bundju—about 550 inhabitants
Kombe—about 1,126 inhabitants

361 The Kombe are settled in three villages in the valley of the
131 M'Bam, on the right bank of that river and on the highway from Bafia to Yaoundé, from the 16th kilometer to the 22nd kilometer southeast of Bafia. /Map 2/

The Bundju occupy two villages, also on the vehicular road, southeast of the Kombe but between the M'Bam and the Sanaga rivers. The two villages are separated by a Ngoro village which is wedged in between them. /62/

131 According to the Meinel map of April, 1913 (GE, Jaunde), these
101 two peoples occupied far greater territories at that time. The Kombe (then known as the Nkombe) were found all the way to the borders of

Bafɔk-Yangafuk

101 The peoples who are the subject of this chapter have been given several names spelled in a variety of ways by Europeans. On German maps they appear as "Fuk," "Fɔk," or "Fu." In French reports and maps they are called "Baveuk," "Bafeuk," or "Yangafouk." All these words seem to resemble each other, and, in reality, they are identical.

[161] Physical and Human Geography. Total population: 5, 352 inhabitants.

361 Three little enclaves of these people a few kilometers long may be
461 found on the Yoko road east of Bafia. They are settled in eight villages all told and inhabit an area of very fertile soil and forest. Cacao, palmettoes, or food crops could bring them prosperity, were it not for
[161] their laziness. (The people of these villages number 1, 556.)

173 The five southernmost villages of the eight say that their members
361 come from the southeast, from the plain of the Sanaga, or from the east, from the plain of Djerem.

The two neighboring villages to the northeast are called Yalongo (see the chapter on the Yekeba and the Bamvele). It is thought that the Yalongo conquered the Bafɔk and /64/ adopted their language. Finally, the eighth village is said to be related to the first five and to have come also from Djerem.

[161] To the southeast of Yoko is an enclave whose two villages, in the middle of the prairie (445 inhabitants), claim to be related both to the Yalongo and the southern Bafɔk.

[161] About 50 kilometers north of Yoko, in the Bebute country, is the enclave of Lena consisting of 260 inhabitants. It is said that they came from the south and reached their present habitat by traveling an arc of 250 kilometers via Tibati. /Map 4/

[161] The 380 inhabitants of the enclave of Yasem, in the midst of the Tikar country, 120 kilometers west of Yoko, say that they sprang from the Bamvele. We would be more inclined to say that they share a common origin with the latter. The wars among the tribes brought them to the Tikar country where they isolated themselves on their mountain. They differ from other Bafɔk in that they have adopted the
[747] Islamic religion of the Tikar and that they recognize no kinship with the southern Bafɔk.

361 A single village may be found on the banks of the M'Bam, a few
161 kilometers from the town of Bafia. (It has 313 inhabitants.)

And lastly, on the right bank of the Sanaga, there are several Yangafuk villages (containing 2, 418 inhabitants) which are related to those found in the south on the Yoko road but separated from them by a thick forest. /65/

361 the Betsenga) as far north as its tributary the Maloko and, toward the south, for about a dozen kilometers inland. Another Tsinga zone exists in the northwest on both sides of the M'Bam. Another fairly homogeneous center may be found much farther south, east of Yaoundé. Finally, there are several Tsinga villages just south of the Nyong in the vicinity of the southern road.

It is impossible to calculate the area of their various habitats except near the M'Bam (75 square km.), among the Betsenga of the Sanaga (180 square km.), and for the few purely Tsinga villages east of Yaoundé (189 square km.). Elsewhere these people appear only together with other populations.

[61] The total population comes to 15,562 persons.

361 Near the M'Bam, as well as on the Sanaga and its little tributaries,
113 the Tsinga are settled in a land of small hills and valleys, on a prairie broken by groves and by clumps of forest. According to their traditions they originally lived north of the Sanaga, but the Babute advanced upon them. Many of them crossed the river. It appears that as soon as the Germans came and /67/ stopped the Babute, some of the Tsinga returned to the north of the Sanaga. /Map 5 covers p. 66./

197 Some say that the Tsinga are related to the Eton, and this statement
113 seems to be confirmed by the similarity between the two languages (See Nekes) /"Jaunde und seine Bewohner (Sudkamerun)"/Yaoundé and its inhabitants (South Cameroons/," Koloniale Rundschau, 1912/. See a few words of vocabulary in G. Tessmann's Die Pangwe /The Fang/, Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), p. 34, under the name "Bati (Betjenga)," as well as H. H. Johnston, A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, (Oxford University Press, Vol. 1, 1919, Vol. 2, 1922), Vocabulary No. 216, under "Bati (Bacenga)."

161 Demography. Their population balance is favorable; the ratio of births to deaths is + 1.14 percent.

Bibliography

113 Dominik. "Bericht über eine Strafexpedition gegen den Betschengastamm /Report on a Punitive Expedition Against the Betsenga Tribe/." Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1898, pp. 14-15.

Tsinga-Bekwye
Mangisa

113 Von Stein zu Lausnitz. "Eine Erkundungs-Expedition zwischen Wuri und Sanaga /An Exploratory Expedition Between the Wuri and the Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1908, pp. 522-23.

MANGISA

131 Location: 11°15 to 11°30 long.
4°25 to 4°30 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: about 316 square km.
161 Population: 14,588 inhabitants
Density: 46.2 per square km.

131 The Mangisa occupy the right bank at the bend of the Sanaga, a land of wooded hills.

113 They were probably among the peoples who crossed the Sanaga rather early, for their traditions say that, in later times, when the Eton also crossed the river, they found the Mangisa occupying the territory. /Map 6/ Fairly intensive struggles followed; then the two peoples formed an alliance which enabled them to live in peace side by side.

361 311 Like the Eton, the agricultural Mangisa live in large villages. Because of the density of the population, the entire /68/ woodland has to a large extent been cleared for their plantations, and palm trees have been planted.

197 But what is the exact origin of the Mangisa?

174 Language. The question has been raised in linguistics.

G. Tessmann has written: "In the classification of the Pahouin tribes of the north, the situation is not yet clear. One thing is certain: all the tribes—at least all those of the northeast—contain a more or less pronounced component derived from the Beti-Mbam. Thus, a few decades ago, the Eton and the Mangisa spoke a pure Beti; they have therefore become Pahouinized only in recent times, at least as regards language (1)."

1. Günter Tessmann, "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and

131 Physical Geography. Area: 2,520 square km.

133 The country of the Eton is made up of hills and plateaus; it drifts
137 gently down from the heights of the country of the Ewondo to the valley of the Sanaga River. The border of the great southern forest crosses the territory from south to north; the westerly two-thirds of the area are covered with forest, and the last third is prairie. The Sanaga borders the country only in the northwest and northeast, for the greater part of the loop [misprint in French text: bouche for boucle. See map.] of the river is occupied by the Mangisa. /69/

141 Human Geography. Population: 111,738 inhabitants
Density: 44.3 persons per square km.

173 It is impossible to say whether the Eton should be counted among the Beti populations who were dislodged and crossed the Sanaga or whether they were among the first Pahouin to cross the Sanaga at the time of the invasion. Their traditions do not go back very far; they only tell of their departure from the fork of the M'Bam and the Sanaga. /Map 7/ The Eton say that after crossing the river in the direction of the present-day village of Nkolbogo, they fell upon the Mangisa who had already arrived, and then spread themselves throughout the territory which they occupy to this day.

361 The Eton are settled in large villages, whose hamlets line the length
367 of their many walls. At present their country is traversed by several roads on which heavy trucks can travel so that their products can reach Yaoundé and the railroad.

191 Language. With reference to this subject it seems best to refer the reader to the paragraph on linguistics in the chapter on the Mangisa, since the same question is raised for the two peoples. /70/

192 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Eton are above average in height, mesocephalic, and platyrrhin.

193 Their blood-group ratio is typically Negro, with a relatively high proportion of the AB type:

O: 55.7 percent; A: 13.8 percent; B: 17.5 percent; AB: 12.9 percent;—Index $\left[\frac{(A+AB)}{(B+AB)}\right]$: 0.878.

194 Their height is /for the/ average: men 167.8 cm.; women 159.9 cm.

133 The southeastern part of Ewondo territory is also watered by the high stream of the little river Lokoundje.

The whole country is very fertile, rich with food crops and beautiful groves of cacao trees.

Human Geography

Population: Ewondo (in the Yaounde subdivision)—70,994 in 1946
" " " M'Balmayo ")—15,359
" " " Lolodorf ")— 6,674 in 1947
93,027

Evuzok: 4,273 inhabitants

The population density varies greatly in the different zones: the region north of the Nyong is most densely populated, 49.3 persons per square kilometer; south of the Nyong there are 13.1 persons per square kilometer; in Evuzok, 5 persons per square kilometer.

173 History. The Ewondo settled in their present habitat quite recently —one hundred and fifty years ago at most. According to their traditions, they began the last stage of their migrations somewhere on the right bank of the Sanaga near its junction with the M'Bam. They crossed the Sanaga about five generations ago, at the time when all the peoples north of the Sanaga suffered the consequences of pressure by the Fulbe. They spread southward, and some of them even crossed the Nyong and traveled in the "low" direction (west) toward the commercial roads.

It is believed that German expeditions first reached the Ewondo in about the year 1887 (during the exploration by Kund, Tappenbeck, and Weimenhorr). The administrative "station" of Yaoundé was created in 1888, and its direction was placed in the hands of G. Zenker, a man of science whose name is not likely to be forgotten in the Cameroons.

According to most of the traditions, the Evuzok (1) were the last

[10] 1. Their name is said to be nothing but a nickname meaning "elephant's stomach," which was given them by the other Ewondo after a hunt which was followed by an unforgettable feast.

of the Ewondo to arrive during the last migration, and they were

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Ewondo are people
142 of above average height (men 168.4 cm; women 158.6 cm.), fairly slender, mesocephalic, barely platyrrhinian.

143 Their blood-group ratio is that of typical Negroes:
O: 55.5 percent; A: 14.1 percent; B: 17.4 percent; AB: 11.5 percent; —index $\frac{[A+AB]}{[A+AB]}$: .885.

141

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.0	77.6
Facial	85.7	85.6
Nasal	82.3	78.2
Cormique	50.5	50.4
Envergure/T	105.3	104.0 /72/

/Map 9, Ewondo Peoples, facing p. 72./

161 The population balance is fair. the differential index (ratio of births to deaths) is + 0.2 percent.

163 A slight increase in the birth rate has been noted; at the same time infant mortality is very low: 3 percent.

The fertility rate is 3.06 pregnancies per woman.

Bibliography of Physical Anthropology

183 Virchow. "6 Schädel von Yaunde aus Kamerun /Six Skulls of Yaunde from the Cameroons/." Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1897.

Olivier, G. "Etude anthropologique comparée des principales ethnies de la region. de Yaoundé /A Comparative Study of the Physical Anthropology of the Major Tribes of the Yaoundé Region/." Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 10, pp. 55-76.

Olivier, G. and Aujoulat, L. "L'obstetrique en pays Yaoundé. Etude ethnologique medicale et d'anthropologie somatique. /Obstetrics in Yaoundé Country. A Study in Medical Ethnology and Physical Anthropology/." Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 12 (Dec. 1945), pp. 9-72.

Olivier, G. with the collaboration of the Drs. Ajoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Grenier. "Documents anthropométriques pour servir a l'etude des principales populations du Sud-

113 Divinatory Practices of the Peoples in the District of Yaoundé/," Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 1936, No. 1, pp. 35-39.

Frazer, James George. "The Native Races of Africa and Madagascar," Anthologia Anthropologica (London: Percy Lund Humphries and Co., 1938), pp. 175-76.

Numerous unpublished studies on customs (by Cournarie, Joubert, and others), reports to the Bureau des Affaires Politiques (Bureau of Political Affairs) and among the documents of the S.E.C. /Société d'Etudes Camerounaises/, unpublished investigations on the subjects of shelter and subsistence.

Moisel map, 02, Jaunde.

THE BANE

131 Location: 11°15 to 11°55 long.
3°05 to 3°55 north lat.

Physical Geography. Area: about 2,736 square km.

The territory of the Bane borders on the Western side of the Ewondo country and stretches north to south from the vicinity of Yaoundé to 25 kilometers northeast of Ebolowa and northwest of Sangmélima. 107 The country is located entirely within the forest zone, which is quite thinned out because of the density of population.

133 At 3°30 north latitude the river Nyong crosses the country from east to west. At that point it is a navigable canal. Further down, the river turns south and marks the boundary between the territories of the Bane and the Ewondo.

161 Human Geography. Total population: 58,309 inhabitants.

More than half of the total number of inhabitants in Bane territory live in the small area located north of the Nyong, where the population density is 40.1 per square kilometer. South of the Nyong, the density is 14.1 persons per square kilometer. /74/

174 History. Like their neighbors of the same Paluuin family, the Bane lived north of the Sanaga in the past before the last invasion. Their southward migration occurred at about the same time as that of the Ewondo, and was brought about by the same cause. The Bane crossed the Sanaga rather late, and found the Eton already settled on the other side. Therefore, they infiltrated little by little from north to south among the people who preceded them /Map 10/ They were not completely pacified until 1897.

114 At that time they were already situated along one of the principal commercial routes of the south, used to ship from the east many sought-after products, especially ivory.

361 The Bane are settled in large villages and hamlets. The population in these settlements is no more homogenous /75/ than the Ewondo's. The major intermixtures are shown on our map.

491 497 The road from Yaoundé to Eholowa now crosses the Bane country from north to south. Another road, south of the Nyong, is the terminal point of the trade routes coming from the southeast. Because of these roads and the connection with the railroads at M'Balmayo, all the wealth of this country of great food crops, rich farmlands (cacao and coffee), and forests is easily brought to market.

000 Language. The subject is discussed in the paragraph on the linguistics of the Ewondo.

141 142 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Bane are of above-average height, fairly slender, mesocephalic, and only slightly platyrhinian.

143 Their blood-type ratios are as follows:
O: 49 percent; A: 18 percent; B: 14 percent; AB: 19 percent—index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$: 1.121.

141

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.5	77.0
Facial	81.8	80.8
Nasal	85.2	[illegible]
Cormique	50.9	[illegible]
Sawyer/T	104.9	103.9

144 143 The population balance is stable; the ratio of births to deaths is +0.2. The fertility rate is 4.7 pregnancies per woman. See the studies in physical anthropology in Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, Nos. 10, 12, 15-16.

Bibliography

173 Von Stein, "Bericht ü ber die Bene-Boli-Expedition /Report on the Bene-Boli Expedition/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1898, pp. 172-75.

Fang
Fang

173 of the Nyong. According to their traditions they come from an area north of the Sanaga, as do the other groups which preceded them. They settled in the forest, where there are at present 12,783 of them (a density of 6.9 persons per square km.).

231 The Fang are an agricultural people. They seem to have little
242 inclination to hunt so that their diet consists chiefly of vegetables, although they have a fairly large number of domesticated animals. /Map 11/

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. Average height: men 169.7 cm.; women 162 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	80.8	81.5
Nasal	95.21	84.01

161 The population balance is slightly positive, the ratio of birth to
163 deaths being 4:0.77. The rate of mortility is high, 25.6 percent, but is fortunately compensated for by the fertility rate, 5.3 pregnancies per woman.

Bibliography

113 Cornet, A. La mission Cornet au Sud-Cameroun (1905-1908). Exposé des résultats scientifiques, d'après les travaux des divers membres de la section française de la Commission de delimitation entre le Congo français et le Cameroun (frontière méridionale) et les documents étudiés au Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. (The Cornet Mission to South Cameroun 1905-1908. A Presentation of the Scientific Results of the Mission Based on the Work of Various Members of the French Section of the Commission to Set the Boundaries Between the French Congo and the Southern Frontier of the Cameroons, and on Documents Examined at the Museum of Natural History) (Paris: Lesoux, 1911), pp. 125-31.

THE FANG, THE MVAE, THE ITUMU

131 Location: 10°45 to 12°45 long.
and a few islands between 10° and 10°30 long.

[8] Mvae Branch: 9°45 to 10°45 and 11°20 to 11°40 long.
[3] 2°15 (at the frontier of the South Cameroons) to 2°55 north lat. and a few islands at 3° north lat.

Ntumu branch: 10°25 to 11°35 long.
2°15 (on the frontier of the South Cameroons) to 2°35 north lat. /77/

Physical and Human Geography

[3] Total area: about 11, 500 square km.
Population and density of each group:
[6] Fang: 12, 583 inhabitants; 2 persons per square km.
Mvae: 5, 287 inhabitants; 5.8 persons per square km.
Ntumu: 16, 236 inhabitants; 9.8 persons per square km.

[3] The whole territory of the Fang is within the great equatorial forest, in the basin of the N'Tem and those of its tributaries that flow to the right of it. /Map 12/

[3] [6] The Fang villages which are to be found furthest west in the direction of the ocean are situated near Bipindi and on the road from Bipindi to Kribi. Some of them alternate with Bulu villages, others are composed of mixed populations consisting, for example, of Fang and Bulu, Fang and Ngumba, or Mvae and Ntumu /Ntum?/. Nor are the villages and trails south of Ebolowa in the great forest inhabited by homogeneous populations. Enclaves from one group are settled with another, and intermingle with each other. The transition from the somewhat educated Bulu to the primitive inhabitants of the great forest occurs imperceptibly. Because of the inhospitable territory which they occupy, the Fang are dispersed in the enormous forest all the way to the ocean and are to be found here and there among the Mvae. They [6] lead the unstable existence of lumbermen in order to force from the land the bare means of subsistence.

The settlements of the Mvae are scattered. Some are located on the periphery of Ambam to the east and north, others are southsoutheast of Ebolowa, and still others are to be found on the lower part of the N'Tem, from a point east of Nyabessan as far as the ocean.

See:

113 Tessmann, Gunter. Die Pangwe /The Fang/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), pp. 30-31, (short Ntum and Fang vocabularies), and pp. 45-48.

Johnston, H. H. A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages. (Oxford University Press, 1922), Vocabulary 218: Pangwe; (The Ntum vocabulary is included in Vocabulary 219: Bulu).

Tessmann, Günter. "Sprichwörter der Pangwe, Westafrica /Fang Proverbs/." Anthropos, Vol. 8, (1913), pp. 402-26.

-----. "Rätsel der Pangwe (West Zentralafrika) /Riddles of the Fang (West Central Africa)/." Anthropos, Vol. 10-11 (1915-1916), pp. 675-725.

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Fang are barely above average in height, platyrrhinian, and mesocephalic.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.0	78.6
Facial	83.2	87.0
Nasal	91.3	88.7
Cormique	51.2	50.9
Sowergass/T	105.3	103.4

161 Their population balance is hardly favorable. The ratio of births over deaths is + .03 percent.

163 The population is therefore stationary: the rate of sterility is 7 percent; the fertility rate is 3.8 pregnancies per woman.

141 The Mvae are tall and mesocephalic.

Indexes	Men	(measurements of women were not made)
Cephalic	78.8	
Nasal	104.6	
Cormique	50.4	
Sowergass/T	103.9	

(4) There is a slight rise in population; ratio of births over deaths is 4.69 percent.

(5) The sterility rate is 15.2 percent; the fertility rate, 4.3 pregnancies per woman.

(6) The Ntumu are above average in height, mesocephalic, and platyrhinian.

Indexes	Men	(measurements of women were not made)
Cephalic	77.4	
Nasal	102.3	
Cormique	50.6	
Sovergnre/T	101.6	

(6) The population balance remains favorable in spite of an extremely
(16) high rate of infant mortality, reaching 58.91 percent of children born alive. The ratio of births over deaths is 4 1.53 percent.

(5) The sterility rate is 12 percent; the fertility rate, 4.6 pregnancies per woman.

(13) See G. Olivier, with the collaboration of Drs. Anjoulat, Chabeuf, Chaguoux, André David, and Gernier, "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du Sud-Cameroun /Anthropometric Documents for a study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept-Dec. 1949), pp. 48-49 and 62.

General Bibliography

Foerster. "Bericht über eine Erkundung des mittleren Kampoflusses /Report on an Exploration of the Middle Campo River/," (with a Motel map), Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1902, pp. 123-28.

"Expedition des Stabsarztes Hoenemann längs der Südgrenze von Kamerun /Expedition of the Staff Physician Hoenemann along the Southern Border of the Cameroons/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1902, pp. 291-93 and 313-15.

Zimmerman, O. "Das Gebiet der Ntum und Mwei /The Ntum and Mwei Region/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1910, pp. 410-11.

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe, Op. Cit., pp. 7, 44, 45, 48.

361 in a country full of valleys and woods. The territory covers about
(33) 1,728 square kilometers. /Map 13/

Human Geography

•161 Population and density of each group:

True Bule: 96,216 inhabitants; 9.59 persons per square km.

Tengous, Tembems, Telinde: 12,987 inhabitants; 7.5 persons per square km.

Zaman: 1,407 inhabitants.

173 History. The Bule say that they come from the east. Indeed, those who have surveyed the area with care say that "old natives can mark the sites of the villages in which they were born and those of their fathers. Going back generation by generation the track leads east." (1)

1. Bertaut, Droit coutumier des Boulous
(The Customary Law of the Bule), p. 40.

174 By bringing together linguistic and ethnographic data it has been possible to determine that, during the first wave of the Pahouin invasion, the Bule first followed the high valley of the Sanaga and then took a direction from north to south, which it has been possible to set at 12° to 12°30 longitude. They swamped the Maka, who were settled there before them, and chased them out of the entire territory. Traditions describe them as dividing into two groups once they reached present-day Sangmélima. One group spread throughout that section and moved toward the west; those who went farthest reached almost to the ocean, from which they were separated by only a few coastal populations.

The other group went toward the east into the great forest, and the Zaman pushed all the way to the Dja, 120 kilometers away.

But considering the assertion of R. Struck and Father Nekes that the Fang language influenced that of the Ewondo, we would seem justified in placing the Bule settlement between the Ewondo and the Fang at a very recent time, for this influence was only possible through constant and direct contacts and intermingling, not by crossing over the Bule to reach each other. In this case does linguistics enable us to date history?

Facial	86.5	85.1
Nasal	85.7	82.0
Cormique	51.2	52.2
Envergure/T	103.7	102.9

The population is barely increasing: the ratio of births over deaths is 4 0.30 percent.

The sterility rate is 7 percent; the fertility rate is 4.12 pregnancies per woman.

Tengmo. Sleeping sickness has been rampant in this area in the past but now seems to have been conquered.

Their blood group ratios are as follows:
O: 50.1 percent; A: 15.7 percent; B: 29.5 percent; AB: 4.7 percent; —index [illegible] : 0.59.

The population balance is slightly favorable; the excess of births over deaths is .63 percent.

Sterility rate 9 percent; fertility rate, 3.47 pregnancies per woman.

Yelinda. The population balance is not being maintained; the index of births over deaths is -0.1 percent.

Sterility rate 18 percent; fertility rate, 3.30 pregnancies per woman.

Yembema. Sleeping sickness has been very prevalent among these people, but it is continually decreasing.

The population balance is favorable: the excess of births over death is .72 percent.

The sterility rate is 16 percent; the fertility rate, 3.97 pregnancies per woman. /82/

Bibliography of Physical Anthropology

Virchow. "Rothgefarbter Schädel eines Bulu Negers von Kamerun /Painted Red Skull of a Bulu Negro in the Cameroons/," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1900.

Pouyin. "Contribution a l'Etude des Pygmées d'Afrique /A Contribution to the Study of the Pygmies of Africa/," L'Anthropologie, 1910, pp. 443-46 and 500 (the Bulu group).

Olivier, G., with the collaboration of Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Grenier. "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du

133 Sanaga. The northern part of the Mvele territory is a high plateau which is covered by prairie interspersed with strips of forest. It is very well watered by tributaries and subtributaries of the Sanaga which flow calmly on broad river beds. Toward 4° north latitude a row of hills marks the dividing line between the waters of the Nyong and the Sanaga basins. Thus the entire southern portion of the Mvele country is part of the Nyong Basin. The last vestiges of the forest are to be found there, in addition to crops and many palm trees.

Human Geography

● 161 Population: south of the Sanaga: 35, 340 inhabitants in 1945
north of the Sanaga: 1, 655 inhabitants
density south of the Sanaga: 15.3 persons per square km.

174 History. The movement of the Babute was also responsible for pushing the Mvele back to the left bank of the Sanaga in the middle of the last century. A few enclaves remained wedged in between the various small groups who sought refuge in the area between the M'Bam and the Sanaga Valley. Therefore, the Mvele of the north and those of the south are really part of the same group.

The various authors are not in agreement on the question of a kinship between the Mvele and the large group called Yesum. According to Engelhardt, these are two separate groups. G. Tessmann, on the contrary, believes that the Yesum must be considered part of the Mvele "complex."

361 When the Germans first reached the Mvele they were struck by the unusual appearance of their villages. Engelhardt describes them as follows: "Unlike the rest of the Fang, who place their huts in rows on both sides of trails, /83/ the Mvele build theirs in a star-shape around a central square or with no regard for symmetry." (Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1902, p. 421.)

487 From the beginning of the German occupation, the trails in the
489 territory served as trade routes to the south over which the products of the east were transported toward Yaoundé and to the coast. At the present time these products are carried both on the road that crossed the Mvele country in the south (from Akonolinga to Yaoundé) and on the eastern highway (from Nanga-Eboko to Yaounde). /Map 14/

197 Language. According to Engelhardt the Mvele tongue is very similar to that of the Ewondo and seems to be but a dialect of the

191 latter. Father Nekes, however, is of a different opinion; he stresses a very great resemblance to the Bulu language of the Ebolowa district. In his opinion the Mvele language represents a more archaic form than those of the Ewondo or the Bene.

See:

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe /The Fangs/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), pp. 30-31 (a short vocabulary).

-----, "Die Volker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of Cameroons/," Petermans geographische Mitteilungen, 1932, p. 184, note 40.

Nekes. Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, pp. 469-70. /84/

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Mvele are slender, slightly platyrrhinian; they have the features of the Sudan in attenuated form.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.5	78.4
Facial	81.3	82.1
Nasal	90.0	85.5
Cormique	51.5	52.1
Envergure/T	104.1	103.1

143 Their blood group ratios are typically Negro, although the proportion of group AB is slightly greater than in the classical formula. O: 51 percent; A: 14.3 percent; B: 16.3 percent; AB: 18.4 percent;—index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$: 0.942.

●164 The population balance is not being maintained: the index of births to deaths is -0.21 percent.

See:

131 Olivier, G. "Etude anthropologique comparée des principales tribus de la region de Yaoundé /A Comparative Study in the Physical Anthropology of the Principal Tribes of the Yaoundé Region/,"

133 River and is watered by its tributaries and subtributaries. Throughout the northern region these flow through thick strips of forest in the prairie. The southern part of the country is still within the forest zone.

The Yebekanga are neighbors of the Yesum to the east. They occupy a triangular area in the valley of the Téél; the land is flat and monotonous, a prairie broken by thickets and strips of forest.

•161 Human Geography. Population: Yesum: 8,075 inhabitants
Yebekanga: 747 inhabitants
Densities: Yesum: 6.1 persons per square km.
Yebekanga: 2.37 persons per square km.

174 We have noted that the first German ethnologists were not agreed on the origin of the Yesum or their ethnic relationship to other Pahouin /85/ peoples. Some saw a Yesum-Mvele complex, others, on the contrary, a complex of Yesum-Bulu.

Lastly, the administrator Chauleur states in a 1933 report that among the peoples of "Fang" origin in the subdivision of Nangs-Eboko, "the chief nucleus is comprised of the Yesum .... According to their oral traditions they are descended from the ancestor Ngombe who lived in the country of Djoum." According to this new version of their origin the Yesum came from the south, having been separated quite late from the Bulu; according to the two German versions, on the other hand, they entered the country from the north at the time of the Pahouin arrival.

To go back to G. Tessmann's classification—which may be only provisional, since future studies may reveal new data—we note that there is no absolute contradiction between the Mvele-Yesum and Bulu-Yesum theses except as regards the direction of migration, for both hypothetical complexes are Pahouin, regardless of whether the migration occured at a later or earlier date, in one direction or the other. /Map 15/

In the midst of the Yesum is the settlement of the Yemfang, comprised of no more than a few hundred persons. The administrator Chauleur was able to determine that the latter group also came from the south and that they are closely related to the people of the Bulu region.

Mr. Bertaut, for his part, notes the presence of the Yesum among peoples living in the Bulu territory, and we find them listed in his nomenclature. (1)

Yeke Kaaga
Ye Eeke

17 1. Bertaut, Le droit coutumier des Boulous. Monographie d'une tribu du Sud-Cameroun (The Customary Law of the Bulu. A Monograph Concerning a South Cameroon Tribe)," (Paris, 1935), p. 45.

As for the Yebekanga, the administrator Chaulaur says that "it is impossible to show a common origin for the Yebekanga and the Yesum. It seems likely, however, that this tribe climbed from the shores of the Nyong at a fairly recent time." (2)

2. Unpublished report on February 28, 1933. /96/

Here we have grouped the Yesum and the Yebekanga together despite contradictions in our sources. We have done so simply because of the possibility that they migrated in the same direction. According to their accounts, it would seem that their migration took place quite recently, just a few years before the coming of the Europeans. In the course of it they clashed with peoples of the same Pahouin origin who had come from the north about a hundred years ago, and pushed them back toward their present habitats.

16 Demography. The population of the Yesum is decreasing in spite of apparently good conditions. At present the ratio of births to deaths is -2.6 percent.

16 The sterility rate rises as high as 25.53 percent, and the fertility rate is 3.4 pregnancies per woman.

Bibliography

13 Thierry. "Dienstreise nach Esum-Sannaga. /Official Trip to Esum-Sanaga/." Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1903, pp. 821-23.

THE YEKABA

10 Location: 12° to 12°50 long.
5°20 to 5°45 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

[31] Area: about 1,602 square km.

[32] Population: 14,500 inhabitants

Density: 9.2 persons per square km.

[33] All of the Yekaba country is located on the prairie which extends through the plain on the right bank of the Sanaga River. The country has few valleys; it is watered by tributaries of the Sanaga, the Tdéé and the Nyé, which are bordered by forest.

[34] The information provided by various observers (the administrators Chaulour, Courmarie, and Boudineau) gives no clear indication as to the general grouping in which we should place this group of peoples settled on the right bank of the Sanaga. All French maps give the general name of Bedjia, and under it are classed several groups not all of whom are known to have a common origin. The name "Bedjia" may be but a nickname (according to Boudineau). German maps use only the name "Yekaba," concerning which Chaulour also says: "Among these tribes (of the Bedjia group), the most important is the Yekaba, and it gives it's name to the region." (1)

1. Unpublished report of February 28, 1933.

[35] According to Courmarie, the Yekaba and several kindred groups originate among the Yalongo who live on the northern bank of the Sanaga, directly north of their present habitat. Under pressure from the Bobum, who were themselves pushed back by the Fulbe, these peoples fled south and crossed the Sanaga River. It is possible that at first they occupied all of the territory north of the Nyong, together with their neighbors the Banvele. Later they were pushed back toward the Sanaga by the migration of the Yenum-Yebekanga coming from the south. (2) These two waves moving in opposite directions clashed and interpenetrated, producing the present confusion. The Yekaba found themselves split in two by the Yebekanga, who formed /87/ an enclave in their midst. The peoples of the left bank of the Sanaga (in the administrative subdivision of Nanga-Eboko) are thus composed of two different elements: the somewhat older inhabitants who came originally from the north, went south, and were pushed back, and the more recent arrivals who came from the south and pushed back the former.

These two groups, one coming from the north, the other from the south, and arriving at different times, are probably both part of the

Yekeke Bassek, Bull:

long migration of the Pahouin—although the name "Yalongo" spoken of in their genealogies is reminiscent of the Beti. Once again we are aware of the complexity of the Beti-Pahouin intermixture.

The villages and huts spread through the bush give an impression of poverty, although in 1903 the Germans noted that the great trade route from Bertoua to Yoko passed through Yekaba territory. /Map 16/ At the present time the whole length of the territory is serviced by the great eastern highway (Yaoundé—Nanga-Eboko—Bertoua).

Language. The fact that the Yekaba form part of the Pahouin migration is apparent from G. Tessmann's tribal map, where they are shown in the large Pahouin blot—under the general heading of "Mvele." We will return to this subject later in the chapter on the Bamvele.

Demography. The Yekaba are definitely decreasing in number. The infant mortality rate among them is 34.3 percent. The sterility rate is 33.93 percent; the fertility rate is 4.3 pregnancies per woman, but with about 10 percent stillbirths.

The population balance shows a ratio of -4.4 percent births to deaths.

Bibliography

Thiery. "Dienstreise nach Esum-Sanaga /Official Trip to Esum-Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1903, p. 822.

Sieber, J. "Die Wute /The Wute/," Lebenshaltung, Kultur und religiöse Weltanschauung eines Afrikanischen Volkstammes /Attitude toward Life, Cultural and Religious Attitudes of an African Tribe/ (Berlin: Reimer, Vohsen, 1925), pp. 112-13.

Unpublished reports of the administrators Cournarie, Chauleur, Gatau, and Boudineau.

Moisel map, G2, Dume. /88/

THE BAMVELE AND THE BOBILI

Location: 12°30 to 13°30 long.
4°35 to 4°50 north lat.

On all German maps the people we call Bamvele are designated by the name of Bele (see the Moisel map and Tessmann's tribal map).

[8] We connect the Bobili with the Bamvele because, on the one hand, they do not appear separately from the Bele on the Meisel map (Dume, G3), and, on the other, the traditions pertaining to their origins are not precise enough to permit us to draw a conclusion differing from that of the Germain.

Physical and Human Geography

[3] Area: 2,472 square km.

[6] Population: Bamvele—18,452 inhabitants
Bobili—6,247 inhabitants

Density: 10 persons per square km.

[33] The Bamvele are close neighbors of the Yekaba and the Tebekolo in the north; they occupy a large homogeneous territory on the border between forest and prairie. The country is almost flat, extending into the Sanaga plain and borders the river for about 30 kilometers. The territory is watered by several broad tributaries of the Sanaga. In the east, one of these tributaries, the Long, serves as a frontier between the Bamvele and the Bakute, who surround them everywhere except in the south. A few Bamvele villages have been established [34] on the right bank of the Long, and they border the Bertoua road for a few kilometers.

[17] Like their neighbors, the Yekaba, the Bamvele in their traditions tell that their origins are to be sought among the Yalongo north of the Sanaga. They too were pushed by the Bakute who were under pressure from the Fulbe; they fled south and crossed the Sanaga a little more than a hundred years ago. Their history is identical with that of their neighbors, the Yekaba. /Map 17/ /89/

[173] The Bobili believe that they are native to the territory, but they say that in former times their country extended west, beyond the Long. Therefore, the impact upon them of the Bakute and Fulbe movements would have been very slight. (1)

1. Unpublished report of Mr. Brothier-Oubre for May, 1945.

[114] The administrator Chauleur carried out prolonged research in an attempt to untangle the network of peoples on the banks of the Sanaga. He does not feel that he can make a statement about the remote origins of the Yalongo, but he poses the following problem: "Could they be related to the Ba-yoka of the Congo who emigrated south

THE YEBEKOLO

Location: 12°08 to 12°45 long.
2°50 to 4°20 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

Area: about 1,950 square km.
Population: 23,291 inhabitants
Density: 11.9 persons per square km.

The territory of the Yebekolo, in the form of a cornucopia laid on its side, is all to be found in the basin of the Nyong. The river forms its southern boundary. The tributaries on the right bank have broad beds and, in the vicinity of the Nyong, often overflow so that the valleys are frequently flooded. /90/ This is a large territory, covered with forest and quite marshy.

Large villages are found here. While the food crops are not poor, they are not very abundant. The people who live near the Nyong supplement their food supply by fishing and hunting.

It is difficult to say what may be the remote origin of this people. Their oral traditions (as reported by Mr. Tremesaygues) speak of their ancestor as being of Yambasa stock and, therefore, as having lived about 200 kilometers west of their present settlement, north of the Sanaga. /Map 18/ Moving eastward, the Yebekolo met first the Omvang and then the Maka, whom they pushed back to their present habitat.

The German maps, however, do not confirm these traditions. Also based on traditions, upon which linguistic data is often superimposed, they show all the Yebekolo as part of the "Mvele complex" (see detailed maps in Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1907) under the name "Pangwe." It is possible that a borrowing of language occurred here —for a linguistic fact provides clues rather than permanent solutions to ethnographic problems.

When the Germans arrived in the territory of the Yebekolo (1904-1905), the latter submitted to them without resistance. The new occupants found them settled on the big eastern trials leading to Doumé. From that time on the trails were improved, and the Yebekolo thus found themselves situated on the big trade routes by which the products of the eastern forest were taken to the coastal regions. /91/

197 Language. The linguistic map of G. Tessmann shows without comment, the Yebekolo, under the category of "Mvele."

191 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The average height of the Yebekolo is 165.5; the average cephalic index is 78.8.

193 Their blood-group ratios are as follows:
O: 69.3 percent; A: 13.1 percent; B: 12.1 percent; AB: 5.35 percent;—index $\frac{[A+AB]}{[A+AB]}$: 1.197.

165 The extremely high rate of infant mortality (58.64 percent) is due
164 to malaria. The disease is fostered by the marshiness of the region, which is likely to remain a source of sleeping sickness as well.

161 The population balance is stationary; the ratio of births to deaths is + 0.09 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 5 percent; the fertility rate is 3.98 pregnancies per woman.

See:

113 Olivier, G., with the collaboration of Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Greiner, "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du Sud-Cameroun, /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept.-Dec. 1946), p. 65.

Brygoo. "Le nouveau-né et la femme enceinte aux environs d'Ayos /The Newborn Child and the Pregnant Woman in the Vicinity of Ayos/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 21-22 (1948), pp. 49-68.

Bibliography

Scheunemann. "Die Unruhen in Südbezirk von Kamerun 1904 bis 1906 /Unrest in the Southern Area of the Cameroons/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1907, pp. 349-51, and 396.

Tremesaygues. Unpublished report on the geneologies and the origins of the peoples in the subdivision of Akonolinga (1930).

Numerous reports in the Archives du Service de Santé /Archives of the Health Service/ from the medical station at Ayos.

Moisel map, G3, Dume

THE OMVANG

[3] Location: the Omvang are split into two sections
One section: 12°15 to 12°30 long.
3°55 to 4°05 north lat.
Other section: 12°45 to 13° long.
4°01 to 4°18 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

Area: in the west—about 390 square km.
in the east—about 660 square km.

●[6] Population: in the west—4, 852 inhabitants
in the east—7, 920 inhabitants

Density: in the west—12.4 persons per square km.
in the east—11 persons per square km.

[3] The Omvang inhabit a forest country which is quite poor in the west but rich in the east. Those who are furthest west, northwest of Ayos, are on the banks of the Nyong, and that is the only place where they have access to a road. The territory of the eastern Omvang is [3] in the valley of the Ayong, a tributary from the right of the Nyong, but their country does not reach as far as the river itself. However, the stream is navigable everywhere so that the river can be easily reached. Ayong flows first of all through a forest which thins out toward the south and is replaced by beautiful clusters of raffia palms.

[173] The Omvang know little of their history. They know only that less than a century ago they still occupied the entire territory north of the Nyong; they were in constant contact with the Yebekolo and were sometimes their masters, sometimes their slaves. They were warriors trained in guerrilla warfare, and in the end they attacked the neighboring Maka and wrested from them the land which is their present habitat. The advance of the Yebekolo /92/ split them into two sections. Only the intervention of the Germans in 1904-1905 reestablished peace in the area.

[174] P. Chauleur does not agree with the view that the Omvang are a people of the Pahouin group. His arguments, based only on data concerning local migrations, seem to be no more valid than those he opposes.

[241] The eastern Omvang, settled in a fertile region are hard-working and good farmers. In addition to their food crops they care for large

261 fields of peanuts and maintain beautiful palm groves and coffee and cacao plantations.

197 Language. G. Tessmann is no more definite as regards the language of the Omvang than other authors concerning their folk history. His tribal map shows the two Omvang sections stand out clearly on the large Pahouin area /Map 19/ His only comment on the subject is the following: "Probably they should be grouped with the Neo-Bantu, perhaps with the Pahouin, " ("Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of the Cameroons/, " Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen, 1932, p. 190).

164 Demography. The western Omvang have one of the highest incidences of sleeping sickness.

164 Nevertheless, their population balance is slightly favorable; the ratio of births to deaths is + 0.83 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 8 percent; the fertility rate is 3.97 pregnancies per woman.

164 The eastern Omvang also have suffered greatly from sleeping sickness. /93/

164 Their population balance also shows a slight increase; the ratio of births to deaths is 0.92 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 9 percent; the infant mortality rate is very low.

Bibliography

113 "Esquisse ethnologique pour servir a l'étude des principales tribus des Territoires du Cameroun sous mandat francais, d'après les documents allemands, les Études de Dr. Poutrin en A.E.F. et les archives du Bureau des Affaires Politiques (1935-1937) (An Ethnographic Sketch for a Study of the Major Tribes in the Cameroons Territories under French Mandate, on the basis of German Documents, the Studies by Dr. Poutrin in French Equatorial Africa, and the Archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs for 1935-1937), "Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 18-19.

Unpublished reports of the administrators Bertaut and de Villedeuil in the Archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs /Archives du Bureau des Affaires Politiques/ and in the documents of the S.E.C. /Société d'Etudes Camerounaises/.

Motsel map, G3, Dume.

THE MBIDA-MBANE AND THE MVOGO-NIENGE

131 Location: Mbida-Mbane—11°40 to 12°15 long.
4°20 to 4°50 north lat.
Mvogo-Nienge—12° to 12°28 long.
4°20 to 4°45 north lat.

Physical Geography. Areas: Mbida-Mbane—1, 548 square km.
Mvogo-Nienge—710 square km.

101 The origins of the Mbida-Mbane and the Mvogo-Nienge seem to be similar enough for us to discuss them together here.

Geographically they are neighbors. The Mbida-Mbane are located on both sides of the Nyong River, in two sections of about equal size in the north and in the south.

The Mvogo-Nienge are their neighbors to the east, south of the Nyong.

133 Both peoples occupy fertile forest regions. The river Nyong flows northeast to southwest through the middle of Mbida-Mbane country. The Mvogo-Nienge inhabit its banks for only a few kilometers, upstream from Akonolinga.

Human Geography

161 Population: Mbida-Mbane—19, 707 inhabitants
Mvogo-Nienge—7, 291 inhabitants
Densities: Mbida-Mbane—12.8 persons per square km.
Mvogo-Nienge—10.26 per square km.

174 History. The traditions of the Mbida-Mbane as well as those of the Mvogo-Nienge tell of ancestors living on the right bank of the Sanaga, as do those of the Yeduma, the Yengono, and the Yembama (the last two groups have been classified by Tessmann among the Bulu). It is said that three slaves of the same master, whose lives were in danger as a consequence of a great palaver, escaped and crossed the Sanaga. Since they were slaves, naturally no mention is made of their ethnic family. Their descendants comprise a number of the peoples who live in the environs of the Nyong at the present time.

241 Both groups live in a fertile country where the cultivation of food crops may be found adjacent to prosperous cacao and coffee plantations. The inhabitants on the banks of the Nyong supplement their diets with fish.

505 The wealth of all this region is easily transported by way of the river, which is navigable to M'Balmayo, where it connects with the railroad by way of the eastern road (Abong-M'Bang—Akonolinga—Yaoundé) /94/ and finally by way of the southern road (Sangmélima-M'Balmayo).

Kof Demography. The Mbida-Mbene have not suffered greatly from sleeping sickness except in the Akonolinga group, and even here the disease was quickly checked. However, congenital syphilis accounts for 22.2 percent of the cases of infant mortality. /Map 20/

164 The ratio of births to deaths is slightly favorable: + 0.68 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 7 percent; the fertility rate is 5.20 pregnancies per woman.

511 The living conditions of the population as a whole are good, and it is growing slowly.

Kl Among the Mvogo-Niengo the number of births barely exceeds the deaths; the ratio is + 0.20.

163 The sterility rate is 9 percent; the fertility rate is 4.25 pregnancies per woman. However, there is a very high proportion of stillbirths—26.9 percent—which explains the fact that this population remains stationary.

their own penetrating movement, and in a way coming to meet them.

101 [74] The Fang -- or Pahouin [Pahuin] -- occupy in an oblique direction, southeast to southwest, the upper part of Gabon, with the line of the Ogooué roughly forming their southern frontier. They represent 127,000 inhabitants out of the 415,000 living in this territory. They are separated by the Cameroons frontier from a collection of related and particularly active peoples numbering more than 500,000 individuals. (1) They are divided by the

1. Cf. I. Dugast, Inventaire ethnique du Sud-Cameroun [Ethnical Inventory of the South Cameroons], I.F.A.N., Douala, 1949; or "Esquisse ethnologique pour servir à l'étude des principales tribus du Cameroun français... [Ethnological Sketch to Serve for the Study of the Principal Tribes of the French Cameroons]," Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Camerounaises, pp. 21-22, 1948.

frontiers of Spanish Guinea which, with an essentially Fang population (of nearly 100,000 individuals), isolates closely related groups. The hazards of colonial expansion have led to this partition into three "blocs" which were subject to different policies and condemned for a long time to ignorance of each other.

174 As to the arrival of the Fang in Gabon, we possess a few guide marks. According to our investigations in Woleu-N'Tem, the settlement goes back in this region eight or nine generations, which corresponds to the second half of the eighteenth century. According to E. Tresenem the Fang reached the Middle Ogooué at the beginning of the nineteenth century, (2) and their arrival at the estuary

2. E. Tresenem, "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan du Moyen-Ogooué [Ethnographic Notes on the Fang Tribes of the Middle Ogooué]," Journal de la Société des Africanistes, Vol. 6, f. I, 1936.

162 Pahouin." (1) They occupy the districts of Kango and Cocobeach

1. Archives de Libreville [Archives of Libreville], 1900-1910.

(8,000 and 7,000 inhabitants); they represent more than 90 percent of the district of Libreville, if one discounts the foreign "workers" hired under contract. They have imposed themselves on Libreville (to the detriment of the aboriginal Mpongwé), where they form nearly 40 percent of the population and are dominant in 15 out of 23 sections of the town. This hold over the chief town of the territory is proof of their conquering activity.

361 In the district of Cocobeach, more than 30 clans or tribal
619 fragments are present, especially Oyéh (a tribe found also at Médouneu and particularly in Spanish Guinea) and Effak. This region, which in the past was important as a commercial center, is without any trade, and the administrative reports show the
[illegible] depopulation movement which is taking place. (2)

2. Cf. especially Rapport politique [Political Report] 1937, Department of the Estuary, giving a special analysis of the causes of the very high infant mortality.

162 Kango District at the tip of the Estuary is one of those where the
361 demographic decline is the most marked. If the census of 1936 is
619 accepted, there are 25 clans and fragments. The most numerous
619 group, that of the Yéngô, accounts only for about 10 percent. Libreville District, having incorporated the former subdivision of Chinchoua, exhibits a Fang population divided to the maximum. This last region is characterized by a [86] veritable crumbling of the group. The 1943 census shows 54 clans and tribal fragments (with 3,500 inhabitants), of which only 8 contain more than 150 persons. This is also the region which has been most emptied for the benefit of the capital, where the natives of the former subdivision of Chichoua represent nearly 7 percent of the population.

S: Bulletin--26 E-5 (1946-1951) 1945 F919 Fang F919

II. The Demographic Situation of the Fang

Not only the administrators of the Fang country but also the villagers themselves are aware of an unfavorable demographic situation. For more than twenty-five years the administrative and medical reports have stressed the "seriousness of the demographic problem." The Fang, alarmed by the numerical [91] decline of their groupings, show us their anxiety by asking that their women be treated medically so as "to have a great many children, as in the past." This feeling of demographic deficiency, added to fragmentation and the lack of power in the groupings, constitutes one of the characteristics of the various Fang "crises." Unfortunately, not all the documents necessary for a detailed study exist. Census taking has only been accurate in the last few years, and the administrative limits which form the framework of the census have changed frequently.

The only study of the whole to which we can refer is that of a physician, Dr. Le Dentu. It is based on information furnished by the local health reports and applies to more than 84,000 individuals. (1) It draws attention to the "great local differences."

> 1. Gal Le Dentu, "Démographie de l'A.E.F. [Demography of French Equatorial Africa]," Archives du Service de Santé [Archives of the Health Service], Brazzaville, 1937.

The Fang race, which shows a deficit in the regions of the Maritime Ogooué and of the Estuary — where the replacement indices are 0.5 and 0.7, respectively — displays a "much greater vitality" among the Woleu Fang and the Bakwélé of the Sangha, whose indices are 1.05 and 1.08. The author tends to explain these differences by the very different degrees of evolution [sic] of each of these groups. Such an opinion requires interpretation. One must take into account not only the methods of evolution (the present-day peasantry of Woleu-N'Tem is one of the healthiest of French Equatorial Africa while being wide open to modern

[influences] but also the conditions of nature affecting each of these groups. These conditions as well as economic factors (intensive forestry exploitation) and factors of social disorganization have created in Lower Gabon the most unfavorable demographic situation (the highest degree of mortality and the lowest "genital capacity"). The whole ethnic condition of the Fang remained stationary during the decade 1930-40 (2.3 percent births for 2 percent deaths). How can this feeling of a demographic crisis be explained?

One must consider a disequilibrium which, combined with colonial establishment and exploitation (or aggravated by them), was only very recently broken. It is difficult to be sure, for we have at our disposal only fragmentary information of unequal value. The first calculations of population density [92] made about 1910 by G. Bruel (1) and Périquet (2) give much higher results than those

1. G. Bruel, Notes géographiques sur le Bassin de l'Ogooué [Geographic Notes on the Ogooué Basin], Paris, 1911.

2. Captain Périquet, Mission d'Etude du chemin de fer du Nord [Mission for the Study of the Northern Railroad], Archives Brazzaville.

obtained at the present time. Concerning the Woleu-N'tem the geographer G. Sautter was able to make precise comparisons and was convinced that "from the time of the French penetration until about 1930 population ... has diminished considerably." He recalls that "where Périquet estimated the population density as 4.5 inhabitants per kilometer (2) ...., twenty years later [a figure of] less than 2 [illegible]"

2. Captain Periquet, Mission d'etude du chemin de fer du Nord [Mission for the Study of the Northern Railroad], Archives Brazzaville.

less than 2 is found," and that such a divergence cannot be wholly

S; Balandier--Sé E-5 (1946-1951) 1955 F919 Fang F919

[161] attributed to the optimism of this observer who "seems to have been conservative." (3) G. Sautter thinks that such a population,

3. G. Sautter, "Essai sur le peuplement et l'habitat au Woleu-Ntem" [Essay on the Population and Habitat in Woleu-Nt'Tem], Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 14, April-June, 1951.

"itself deficient" (for causes which appear in part of a natural order since they occur "from one end to the other of the equatorial forest bloc"), has been sorely tried by endemic diseases and famine as well as by emigration and recruiting. Stabilization, which has asserted itself during the last two decades along with the equipment and enrichment of the region, is still tenuous. Because of this G. Sautter will not risk making any forecast on the future evolution of the Woleu-N'Tem population. He recognizes that the Fang of this region are a "flourishing population when compared to their congeners of the Ivindo, the Ogooué, and the coast, who are in a far worse position."

The fragility of this equilibrium was apparent at the time of the "war effort." The political report of Woleu-N'Tem (1946) pays particular attention to the problem of depopulation. It shows [163] a large excess of deaths over births (22.1 percent versus 15.9), and it stresses the serious recrudescence of the migratory movement — an official estimate gives 4,500 adult men (that is more [164] than 20 percent of the adult male population) who at that time had gone to Spanish Guinea. That is to say, that the results obtained since 1930 by [our] population policy have remained eminently precarious. While still one of the most vigorous ethnic groups of Gabon, the Fang have a handicap which makes them sensitive to any critical situation, as was apparent during the last years of the war. There is no medical report that [93] still boasts, as did the early observers, of the robustness and prolicacy of the Pahouin.

162 With the help of precise investigations made in Woleu-N'Tem, we have been able to study the structure of the Fang population in this relatively favorable region. The most apparent fact is the

4. Survey of Demography

114
127
161

In addition to the usual reasons for lack of precision in demographic data, common to all the African territories (absence or inadequacy of a registery office, weak administrative structure, especially in the medical branch), there is in relation to the Pahouin group the fact of their belonging politically to four territories, of which one is not French.

For the southern Cameroons we have at our disposal good census returns and competent, up-to-date medical information issued periodically as a result of the obligation to furnish reports at regular intervals to the League of Nations and then to the United Nations. The heads of mobile teams of the S. H. M. P. /?/, which have been especially well staffed since Dr. Jamot's campaigns, collect during each tour anthropological information /9/ as satisfactory as their multiple duties and the intellectual and social level of the surveyed areas allow. The military personnel provided in varying proportions by the territorial administration permitted many colonial officials, particularly before and during the last war, to make individual studies, often detailed, such as those of E. André on the demographic development of the Ntoumou of Ambam.

The situation is less satisfactory in French Equatorial Africa. First of all the Federation government has never, like that of the Cameroons, had to arrange for regular reports to be submitted to international agencies. Furthermore—and especially—meager budgets have often forced the administration to assign territorial commands—whose headquarters and location have many times been changed—to junior officers or to subordinate civil servants lacking the necessary training for profitable work in this field and hampered, moreover, by the very size of the thinly populated districts. For a long time only approximate estimates were available for Gabon and the Middle Congo, erring mostly on the side of administrative optimism, in no way motivated by scientific considerations. The situation has greatly improved since 1946, but the imaginary character or inadequacy of earlier data may well falsify the conclusions to a considerable extent (1).

1. Cf. Sautter, L'utilisation des documents administratifs pour l'etude de la population du Moyen-Congo et du Gabon /Utilization of

114
127
161

administrative documents for population study in the Middle Congo and Gabon/, Bulletin de l'Institut d'Études centrafricaines, 1954, Nos. 7-8; Ziegle, Afrique équatoriale française /French Equatorial Africa/, Berger-Levrault, Paris, 1952, p. x; Christol, Un essai de fichier demographique au Cameroun /An Attempt at Demographic Classification in the Cameroons/, Bulletin mensuel de statistique d'Outre-mer, 1951, No. 20.

Finally, for Spanish Guinea the sources are rather inaccessible and of very uneven value. The best are probably the reports submitted by the scientific expedition of 1948 organized by the /Spanish/ Department for Morocco and the Colonies, of which the Anthropological Commission apparently made a study of demographic development in collaboration with the colony's health service: these reports I have not been able to obtain. The fiscal census carried out by Civil Guard officers in command of the "Demarcaciones /Demarcations/" seems to be considered a state secret; the census returns prepared by the Roman Catholic missions appear unreliable. If one accepts the total population figure given by official statistics, supposedly 172, 000 persons, it would be necessary to put the number of "Pamue" (the Spanish form of mpangwé) at about 50 percent of that total. Estimates made during the recent war by civil administrators and frontier officers of Gabon and the Cameroons are much lower, giving a total of about 130, 000 inhabitants, 50, 000 to 60, 000 of whom were Pahouin. Likewise, Spanish medical reports seem to be colored with a possible excessive optimism, attributing specially to biological causes a rise in population that results mainly from immigration.

In conclusion, the lack of agreement about even the composition of the Pahouin group makes the figures vary greatly, whether round estimates /10, table on pp. 12a-12e/ or genuine demographic indices. Thus we meet with totals that vary from 650, 000 to 1, 500, 000 Pahouin, with the differential index clearly positive or clearly negative according to the writer.

161
163

My own estimate of about 820, 000 takes account of Pahouin only in the strict sense and leaves out the tribes whose affiliation is debatable (1). This group as a whole is growing slightly (the differential

163
[161]

1. As an indication, the numerical strength of the Mekaé and Kozimé of the Cameroons may be put at about 80,000 persons.

index is a little less than ½ 1%), more, apparently, from a fall in the death rate than from a rise in the birth rate, which is rather inclined to decrease a bit. The table on pages 12a-12e gives a succinct survey in detail.

16 This table calls for some comments. First, the known rate of genital capacity*, nearly always around 4, like the sterility indices

/* According to another source, Georges Balandier /5/, "the genital capacity /is/ the mean number of pregnancies in women by the time of the menopause....." Sociologie Actuelle de l'Afrique Noire. Changemants sociaux au Gabon et au Congo /Contemporary Sociology of Black Africa: Social Changes in Gabon and the Congo/, p. 96, Paris, 1955. --Ed./

that reach 30 percent, forms a contrast to the accounts of the first explorers as well as to tribal traditions, which uniformly speak of high fertility and a large proportion of children. Even taking into ac-
161 count the undoubted exaggeration that colors these statements, it remains likely that a demographic decline took place in the second quarter of the twentieth century, offset by a lowering of mortality, at least in certain areas. The difficulties of adaptation to forest life are an explanation for the south. Undoubtedly, one must add factors
[164] like the spread of syphilis (kôto) along the highways and especially around settlements, and the outbreak of sleeping sickness, which seems to have followed pacification and to have affected particularly
[173] northern and northeastern Pahouin country. In the south there was also the great Gabon famine of 1924-27, as well as sociological
161 causes such as heavy recruiting for the timber industry and perhaps
178 psychological factors arising from the impact of colonization (Balandier). In the north where the precocious rise of an agricultural economy based on cacao stabilized the villages rather early, the change in the form of the bride price and the individual appropriation

of land by "elder sons" (mintôl) have certainly had an unfavorable demographic effect by upsetting the family structure—41 percent of adult males were unmarried in the Oyem subdivision in 1948. Finally, the wide-scale introduction of trade alcohol before 1914 and since 1946 has most certainly made things worse.

However, the magnitude of the crisis, which has primarily affected the Fang of Gabon, must not be exaggerated. The general demographic development might be summed up as follows:

Temporary increase in general mortality immediately after pacification, owing to greater spread of epidemics, particularly of smallpox and sleeping sickness, as a result of new means of mobility; possible rise of sterility rates with slight fall in the genital capacity /13/ owing to venereal infection, alcoholism, labor recruitment (above all in Gabon), and changes in family and village economic organization.

On the other hand, rapid and continuous fall in general mortality resulting from pacification; since about 1930 a falling-off of epidemics and general improvement in hygiene initiated; at present a decline in infant mortality. The universal application of wide-scale antimalarial prophylaxis (in the Cameroons) already allows us to anticipate a spectacular increase in the population.

Viewed as a whole, the balance between favorable and unfavorable factors appears to be on the positive side, in any case in areas not affected by the great Gabon famine of 1924. Moreover, awareness of demographic malaise must have partly resulted from the halting of migration, which made a sort of inventory possible. This awareness is especially perceptible in Gabon, where the situation seems to have been in fact more serious.

5. History and Traditions of Origin

The known history of the Pahouin group is that of a migration toward the sea, a migration in process of completion before our eyes.

Whence did it start? This is a very controversial question. Stoll, following Schweinfurth, speaks of Upper Egypt, as does Trilles, basing this opinion on linguistic and cultural arguments such as the use of the military crossbow and the shape of the saber (fa). It is this same shape that leads Tessmann to speak of Roman influence. Marche and

423 2. Sautter, Bulletin d'Études centrafricaines, 1950 (no. 102).

[166] Migrations and conquests still belong to the recent past. Besides, /74/ the movement of peoples was effected without organization or authority: different clans, tribes, and peoples overlap, family by family, so that it is not possible to determine the territorial base of a collective group.

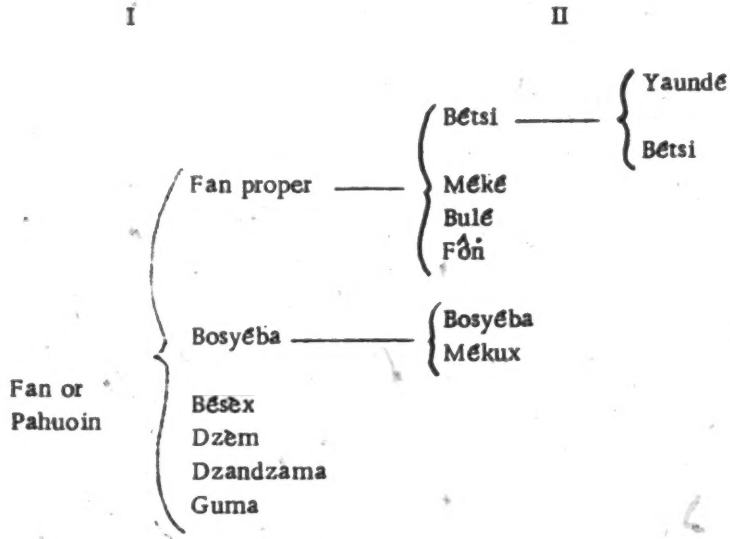
Among the Ewondo and Eton the situation is slightly different: the clans, probably better organized, preserved a certain amount of cohesion and carried out their conquest without becoming scattered. Therefore we find that they have boundaries between villages and collective rights over land. "Once plots of land have been cleared, they are not abandoned for good. A village looks upon them as a [241] reserve." In fact population density very much limits shifting cultivation.

[178] In the past forty years customs have changed a great deal and, among these peoples where land tenure was embryonic or nonexistent, ideas are arising that approximate Western rights of ownership.

[166] Population is now pretty nearly stable. It would be quite logical for rights over crops within a fixed boundary to arise, and in this direction some development is making itself felt. In certain areas 423 anyone may still cut wood, lianas, gather wild fruits, or hunt, to 241 satisfy his personal needs, but if he makes a profit from the sale of these things, he must obtain the consent of the family /occupying/ the area in which he carries on this activity. Elsewhere, the use of certain produce even for private requirements is subject to permission or to sharing the harvest. Thus the customary principle of the free use of natural goods is being restricted, at least in certain particular cases. With increase in population comes the idea of a virtual right over uncultivated forest lands. Families consider that they alone have the right to clear the land on which they depend. Men with experience state clearly that "formerly everyone cleared forest land without asking anyone's permission. Now that the country is becoming populous, permission must be asked." In less populated cantons clearing in the great forest goes on without restriction.

In conformity with ancestral customs, the harvest belongs to the cultivators: a right over personal property rather than a right over land. Nevertheless, a tendency toward a right of land ownership is

101 619 To sum up, the Fan may be divided as follows:



197 The Fan, Bosyéba, Bésɛx, Dzɛm, Dzandzama, and Guma tribes may be assumed to speak separate languages not dialects of one. These languages are, however, closely related; they have very nearly the same principles and are cognates.

Bétsi, Méké, etc., merely represent dialects.

[One paragraph deleted, repititive. --Translator]

101 619 The Dzɛm, whose hitherto unpublished language I hope to make known soon, are grouped in the upper N'tem region; their population should not be more than 100,000.

161 The Dzandzama border them on the southeast and provide a linguistic link to the Batéké, southern neighbors; their population is about that of the Dzɛm.

The Bésɛx, or Bulu, who occupy a large part of the region to the north of the Ogooue, are a widely dispersed tribe, formerly very powerful, now almost extinct through poison, practitioners [feticheurs], and pressure from the Pahuoin. Their population is not likely to be greater than a few thousand. [18]

101 The Bosyéba ... are no more numerous than the Bésex.
619 They have been classed perhaps wrongly as a separate people
161 and in my opinion are basically only tribes long detached from the Méké branch, whose distinctive tattooing and little altered language they have preserved. In 1889 when Fourneau reached
[114] the Bosyéba country to the north of the Campo, he saw his porters, recruited in Méké country on the banks of the Ogooué, immediately fraternizing with the Bosyéba and delighted to discover their own tongue after crossing through Bétsi territory. (1)

1. Cf. A. Fourneau, "De l'Ogooué au Campo" [From the Ogooué to the Campo], Bull. Ste. Geogr. Vol. 12 (1891), pp. 190-215.

[One paragraph deleted about an etymology which author considers "incorrect."--Translator]

The Guma, nowadays very few in number, have been driven back towards the Cameroons; they also are related to the Méké branch. Europeans often refer to the people of this whole group by the term "Makina" from ma ki na, "I say that..."; they have, in fact, a habit of starting all their remarks with these words. The Bétsi are called "Mazuna" for the same reason.

3. Size of the Fan Population

161 The Fan are by far the most important branch. It is extremely difficult to estimate their number. Officially they are only a few hundred thousand. But the official figure is far from accurate, for government statistics only count the man who pays taxes. Furthermore, more than half of the French Congo is unexplored except by a few, infrequent

161 travelers. Thus in 1901-02 we were the first to explore the whole of the north Congo, which Crampel had only crossed before, and then the Dzèm and Dzandzama country; after us the boundary commission for the Cameroons came into a small part of the same country, and that was all. Thus a recent publication [19] gives the number of Fan warriors at about 40,000, a figure that is not even worth discussing. (1) What is certain is that the

[614]

1. One clan, the Amvom, exceeds this figure. The Bulé are larger; there are more than 400 Fan clans, at least that we know of. In terms of the official estimate each clan would have only about 100 armed men. In many cases this would barely be the number of villages.

total population of the French Congo, of which the Fan possibly compose half, may be estimated at a figure varying from three to ten million, and it is impossible to be more accurate at the present time. In my view we should estimate the Fan at five million at least, tehito twelve at the most. The Woleu basin alone, where we have determined the location of all the villages, includes more than a million Fan.

144 The Fan belong to the great Bantu family, but they represent an outer link or, rather, they are situated at the boundary separating the Bantu from the populations and languages of the northeast, those of Libya, Sudan, etc. They are, as Reclus says, the least Bantu of all the Bantu.

[pp. 20-397 not translated. -Analyst]

Chapter XII

The Ministers of the Mvamayôn

[Summary omitted. --Translator]

779 The mvamayôn, or totem, has "rights" by the very fact of its existence.

174 contaminated, so that the linguistic map is no longer indicative
101 of these ancient distributions.

From these facts two conclusions can definitely be drawn. The Fang population is not represented in Gabon by large homogeneous zones as in the Cameroons (where the Evondo country, the Boulou country, etc., can be clearly distinguished). The diverse Fang groups have become interdispersed and in the course of their almost incessant migrations since the second half of the eighteenth century have "digested" the foreign traits peculiar to the peoples they have met. And it is in the Lower Gabon, at the end of their journeyings that the Fang groups present a state of maximum confusion.

●162 Administrative documents permit one to get a present-day
178 picture of the distribution of the Fang, a precise picture — at least so it seems. The weakening (indeed the near disappearance) of distinctions between tribes and clans, the breaking up, the scattering, and half autonomy of the various groups, have led to the confusion of these two types of grouping and to placing them on the same plane. The administration cannot be blamed for this, for these two notions are no longer always precise in the minds of the present-day Fang. Let us discuss, first of all, the two zones by which this people reached Gabon, Woleu-N'Tem, and Ogooué-Ivindo.(2)

2. Cf. G. Balandier, Rapport préliminaire de la Mission d'information scientifique en Pays Fang [Preliminary Report of the Mission of Scientific Information on Fang Country], Brazzaville, 1949, étude mimiographiée [mimeographed study], pp. 5-10.

162 Region of the Woleu-N'Tem
361

This region presents a certain physical unity and a true ethnic unity. It is inhabited exclusively by Fang, a relatively preferable demographic situation. In 1949 there were over 71,000 inhabitants. It is surrounded only by either identical or related Fang groups; it

162 was explored and then occupied only at a late date. These condi-
361 tions delayed "contaminations" and permitted the maintenance of a certain unity. It now has a viable economic structure, thanks to its cacao production, which has finally created a true peasant state. [79]

1. Bitam and Minvoul Districts

These two districts are wedged between the Cameroons to the north, Spanish Guinea to the west, and a true "no man's land" to the east. The inhabitants, numbering 27,500, are the most active
[133 and prosperous elements (producing three quarters of the cacao
511] grown in the region) on the roads serving the Cameroons and the center of Oyem. They have built modernized villages "tied" to the cacao plantations. Their inhabitants belong to groupings found in the Cameroons and in Spanish Guinea, and some of the villagers have relatives in one or the other territory — like so many links favoring traffic in "merchandise" and ideas.

619 According to the census of 1936, the only detailed document,
615 27 clans or tribal fragments (clans that have maintained the tribal name) are now there. The most numerous clan is that of the Effak
[162 (Yénzòk tribe), (1) which has more than 15 percent of the population,

1. We give the tribal dependencies with all reservation. The near ignorance and "cheating" allied to the movement of clan regroupment render all certainty impossible, except when we have access to early documents, more particularly to a mention in the notes of Monsignor Martrou, which were kindly lent to us at the Libreville Mission.

followed by that of the Eba (Yémisèm tribe), which has 10 percent. The other groups may go down to a few tens of individuals. In this region are found the following tribes (ayog): Yénzòk, Yémvôg, Yémisèm. These are the most important in the Cameroons in the

619 Ebolowa and Sangmélima regions (2). The whole of Upper Woleu-
615

2. Documents relating to "ethnic groupings," Administrative Archives of Ebolowa.

N'Tem is oriented toward the Cameroons with which it has not
[439] only economic ties (it exports its cacao there and imports its goods) but also political ties (which explains why it served to relay the directives and their implementations that appeared in this territory).

2. Oyem District

162 This district, with 30,000 inhabitants, has a long frontier with
361 Spanish Guinea, and is crossed by the Woleu River, an important
439 means of access to this possession. The major part of the population (more than two thirds) is "stuck" to the frontier. This is understood because related groups exist on each side of the frontier; [80] [Fig. 1] [81] Guinea has always exerted an economic attraction (it is the center of trade and exchange of labor which is much in demand), she serves occasionally as a place of refuge. The vil-
[433 lagers are fairly well-to-do because of the cacao cultivation (one
511] fourth of the Woleu-N'Tem production) and because of the trade with Guinea (peanuts, coffee, palmetto). This is shown particularly by an improvement in housing.

162 Kyé-Nyé Canton, a meeting place of two migratory streams
619 coming from the Lower Cameroons, contains by itself nearly
615 12,000 inhabitants who again are distributed by clans (Fig. 1). The dominant groupings are the Esèngi (Yémvòg tribe), who account for more than 40 percent, the Kojé for about 25 percent, and the Yéngwi for over 15 percent. In the canton of Woleu, the villages of the Ozip tribe are dominant, accounting for 33 percent of the population. Then the Bökwé (Ndòg tribe) account for about 12 percent, and the Esamökos (Yéngól tribe) (1) for more than 10

1. Only confirmed by the notes of L. Martrou.

162 percent. Only the Koǰe (more than 90 percent of the population)
619 and the Ožip form the Canton of Oyem. In Bissok Canton, the
614 population is dominated by the Yéngwi and Yémisèm tribes, while Ellelem Canton is characterized by a sprinkling of groups: 17 clans or tribal fragments for 3,200 inhabitants, where the Bökwé (allied to the Ndôg tribe) alone assert themselves, although apparently numbering less than 25 percent.

361 Oyem District shows a great homogeneity, which is found
184 nowhere else in Fang country in Gabon. Its greater population density, its relative prosperity, the fact that it is centered on Oyem, an important administrative and market town, these facts explain the prestige it exerts on Fang villagers and its present-day political vitality.

3. Mitzic District

162 With 11,000 inhabitants belonging stricto sensu to the Fang
361 group (2) this district occupies a position which lends itself badly to

> 2. We designate as Fang the restricted whole which bears this sole name — a migratory group according to us.

the stabilization of a population. It opens on three zones of attraction: the Ogooué, the coast, and Spanish Guinea. It has played the role of thoroughfare and was profoundly disturbed during the famine years (1922-23, 1925-26). It is barely beginning to modernize its economy by the installation of cacao plantations. [82] Besides being the least populated district, it has the worst demographic situation, the lowest birth rate, and the smallest child population. Although the people have settled along the roads (as is clearly shown when present-day maps are compared to early ones), the villages have remained unstable and very small, consisting of
361 composite groupings. An investigation of 50 villages spread along
614 the two roads show that they have in their midst 30 clans or tribal
619 fragments. At the time of the recent regrouping of clans, the most

361 active tribes were the Yémvóg, the Yémõdâg, the Ndôg, the
614 Yéngwi, and the Yémisèm. They are also the ones which reveal a
619 tendency to dominate. If Mitzic could have been considered the "geographic center" of Fang country, it would be difficult now to find for it any other significance.

4. Médouneu District

162 Reduced to a single canton this cistrict has less than 3,500
361 inhabitants It is maintained because of its position on the
619 frontier and because of the network of tracks used by traders which run directly to Lower Gabon and Libreville. The Oyék and the Effak are the most numerous groups, making up 13 out of the 37 villages scattered throughout the district.

361 We have applied ourselves with great precision to this whole region not only because our investigation was carried out chiefly in the Woleu-N'Tem villages, but because it plays a primary role in the development of Gabon. Its chief town, Oyem, competes with Libreville in imposing its directives on the whole Fang country. Its richer economy and better demography (the population density is more than 6.5 inhabitants per kilometer (1) make

1. Map of Captain Roussel (completed in 1912) and surveys of itineraries in the Oyem District

it a center of vitality. Closely allied to the Cameroons (from whom it receives suggestions of policy) and opening onto Spanish Guinea, it nevertheless preserves a sense of unity and a certain special spirit.

Region of the Ogooué-Ivindo

162 This region has neither the ethnic unity (it is a zone of
361 multiple contacts) nor the demographic importance (35,600 inhabitants scattered throughout three districts) of the preceding one. It is isolated and without [83] economic development; its isolation has made it a zone of refuge in a period of uncertain peace.

162 Dominated by the great and often marshy forest, this country is
361 characterized by a very localized population indicated on a map by "strips" linked to the system of rivers. In the two districts which they occupy, Booué and Makokou, the Fang are the dominating ethnic group, forming about 45 percent and 40 percent of the total population. They are in the neighborhood of ethnic groups which are considered to be related to them, the Shaké and the
[177] Bakwélé. By their migrations they have disordered the population of this region and created contacts resulting in great cultural contaminations. If one can believe Father Trilles, who noted an "archaic language" used in the legends, proverbs, and songs, and similar to Batéké, (1) the relations with the peoples of the Congo

1. Father H. Trilles, op. cit

and Gabon borders would be early.

173 According to tradition, the Fang-Maké (or Bisibé) were the first to reach the Ivindo. De Brazza finds them on the Ogooué (on the island of Zabouré). Their largest tribe is Mékuk, specifically
619 referred to by Father Trilles and specially mentioned by Tessmann on his distribution map. Outside of the Maké, the Fang of this region are in two distinct groups – Bétsi and Nzaman – the latter representing, according to early authors, the "true Pahouin of the Ogooué." (2) In Booué District the villages, although without clan

2 Cf. Captain Curault, "Monographie du secteur de N'Djolé au Gabon [Monograph on the N'Djolé section of Gabon]," Revue des Troupes Coloniales, 68, 1908.

homogeneity, showed at the time of the "regrouping movement" the predominance of the three great tribes, Yémödâg, Yémvâg, and Yémisèm.

511 The Ogooué-Ivindo seems to be one of the poorest regions of
702 Gabon. Not having any economic equipment, it was only precariously active during the war effort. On the other hand, frequent recruiting has seriously affected this country (which along with

511 N'Gounié and Woleu-N'Tem was a "reservoir of manpower") by
702 upsetting its demographic equilibrium. Consequently, most of the administrative reports stress the poverty and mediocrity of the villages, the political instability and "indiscipline," and the eagerness with which all innovations are greeted in the hope of improving conditions. [84]

Region of the Maritime Ogooué

175 During the second half of the nineteenth century the Fang descended the Ogooué in order to reach the trading centers established on the river, and the counting houses of the coast. They pushed back the Bakèlè, imposed themselves on the Galwa and the Nkomi. Since 1880 the Fang have settled in large numbers along
361 the Ogooué as a result of a penetration which organized convoys on the river, created posts, and made possible the settlement of traders.

361 The Fang are settled in the four districts forming this adminis-
● 162 trative region, but in that of Omboué, the extreme point of their advance, they represent less than 5 percent of the population. Ninety-five percent of the 9,300 inhabitants of N'Djolé District are Fang who have taken the place of the ancient Bakélé people. They belong to the Maké, Nzaman, and Bétsi groups; the first of these was located downstream from N'Djolé before 1865 (1).

1. Captain Curault, op. cit.

They came largely from the Lower Ivindo, but also from the Woleu-N'Tem, where the villagers soon sought to obtain commercial out-
[316] lets on the Ogooué. Outside of a small mine exploitation at N'Djolé, this district is extremely bare. Consequently, the very scattered villages have a miserable appearance, and the male
[164] population has been canvassed (or recruited) by the neighboring lumber works and by the coastal centers.

563 Lambaréné District, which is very important because of its
[361 forest exploitations (and also because it is an old commercial
313] center, still has a largely Fang population. These are in opposition to the aboriginal group of the Galwa (less than 2,200 individuals)

563 who, being related to the coastal minorities, constitute the "aristocratic race" of the country, and, having become relatively hierarchical, has known how to "preserve its position." (2)

2. Rapport Ogooué-Maritime [Maritime Ogooué Report], 3e trimestre [Third Quarter], 1935.

162 Though the Fang "have settled in a haphazard manner and a little everywhere," they have nevertheless formed two important centers of population, on the Ogooué above Lambaréné and in the area around the southern lakes. (3) They represent more than 35 percent

3 Rapport. Ogooué-Maritime [Maritime Ogooué Report], 4e trimestre [Fourth Quarter], 1935.

of the population (17,500 inhabitants) in this district of multiple ethnic groups, which in 1936 had one fifth of its inhabitants settled at the lumber works. The Fang villages here consist of 35 clans or 621 fragments, about half of the population forming a homogeneous 619 clan, while the other [85] half is composite. Apart from the Yémvôg, most of the existing tribes are not found (or are unimportant) in the Woleu-N'Tem [region]. The most numerous elements seem to originate from the Ivindo. Although they reached the region forming the present-day district of Port-Gentil at the end of their push, the Fang have not succeeded in evicting the dominant ethnic groups, the Ouroungou and the Nkomi.

Region of the Estuary

162 We have already stated that the date of the arrival of the Fang at the Estuary can be set at 1850. At that time they replaced the residual coastal groupings, particularly the Bakélé who, after abandoning the Ogooué, had to leave the Como. Since 1900 the population of this region has been "nearly entirely composed of

●162 Pahouin." (1) They occupy the districts of Kango and Cocobeach

1. Archives de Libreville [Archives of Libreville], 1900-1910.

(6,000 and 7,500 inhabitants); they represent more than 95 percent of the district of Libreville, if one discounts the foreign "workers" hired under contract. They have imposed themselves on Libreville (to the detriment of the aboriginal Mpongwé), where they form nearly 40 percent of the population and are dominant in 15 out of 23 sections of the town. This hold over the chief town of the territory is proof of their conquering activity.

361 In the district of Cocobeach, more than 20 clans or tribal
619 fragments are present, especially Oyèk (a tribe found also at Médouneu and particularly in Spanish Guinea) and Effak This region, which in the past was important as a commercial center, is without any trade, and the administrative reports stress the
[161] depopulation movement which is taking place. (2)

2 Cf. especially Rapport politique [Political Report] 1937, Department of the Estuary, giving a special analysis of the causes of the very high infant mortality.

162 Kango District at the tip of the Estuary is one of those where the
361 demographic decline is the most marked. If the census of 1936 is
619 accepted, there are 25 clans and fragments The most numerous
619 group, that of the Yéngü, accounts only for about 10 percent Libreville District, having incorporated the former subdivision of Chinchoua, exhibits a Fang population divided to the maximum This last region is characterized by a [86] veritable crumbling of the group. The 1943 census shows 54 clans and tribal fragments (with 3,500 inhabitants), of which only 8 contain more than 150 persons. This is also the region which has been most emptied for the benefit of the capital, where the natives of the former subdivision of Chichoua represent nearly 7 percent of the population.

162 361 614 619 In the part of the district that corresponds to the former subdivision of Libreville, the Fang group is much more homogeneous. The Oyek are dominant with 45 percent of the villagers, then come the Ntum numbering 20 percent, and the Effak (Yénzok tribe) with about 12 percent. Nine other groupings represent from 4 5 percent (Esisis) to 1. 5 percent (Omvâg) of the population of this former division. Like Chinchoua it has suffered under the attraction of Libreville.

361 614 If the Estuary region has been affected demographically during the last fifty years, it does not seem to have changed from the point of view of clan composition. The archives of the former Como Circle [administrative unit] (1) show that the groupings now

1. For which very precise reports were drawn up in 1905 and 1909.

considered the most important constituted villages known during the years 1900-10. However, two essential differences appear: these groupings at that time existed almost isolated and not at the level of dozens of little groups. They were localized rather definitely along the banks of the rivers, whereas they are now scattered. The villages they formed were larger than those of the present day. We have thus an indication of the process of atomization which took place during the first half of this century.

One is at first astonished at the complexity of the Fang country Outside the Upper Woleu-N'Tem, clan groupings do not appear within the limits of even small regions; they form villages which are often far apart from one another; they are scattered and intermixed. As a matter of fact, only the village grouping and the land it uses can be located on the terrain. Moreover, it is necessary to specify that the latter was stabilized, and a limit set on its mobility only at a very recent date. The fragmentation is at its maximum at the extreme end of the Fang migration, in the coastal districts and in the "zone of contact" [87] created in the surroundings of the Middle and Lower Ogaoué. An average volume by clan could be calculated for each region which would give figures between

161 attributed to the optimism of this observer who "seems to have been conservative." (3) G. Sautter thinks that such a population,

3. G. Sautter, "Essai sur le peuplement et l'habitat au Woleu-Ntem" [Essay on the Population and Habitat in Woleu-Nt'Tem], Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 14, April-June, 1951.

"itself deficient" (for causes which appear in part of a natural order since they occur "from one end to the other of the equatorial forest bloc"), has been sorely tried by endemic diseases and famine as well as by emigration and recruiting. Stabilization, which has asserted itself during the last two decades along with the equipment and enrichment of the region, is still tenuous. Because of this G. Sautter will not risk making any forecast on the future evolution of the Woleu-N'Tem population. He recognizes that the Fang of this region are a "flourishing population when compared to their congeners of the Ivindo, the Ogooué, and the coast, who are in a far worse position."

The fragility of this equilibrium was apparent at the time of the "war effort." The political report of Woleu-N'Tem (1944) pays particular attention to the problem of depopulation. It shows [165] a large excess of deaths over births (22.1 percent versus 15.9), and it stresses the serious recrudescence of the migratory move- [167] ment — an official estimate gives 4,500 adult men (that is more than 20 percent of the adult male population) who at that time had gone to Spanish Guinea. That is to say, that the results obtained since 1930 by [our] population policy have remained eminently precarious. While still one of the most vigorous ethnic groups of Gabon, the Fang have a handicap which makes them sensitive to any critical situation, as was apparent during the last years of the war. There is no medical report that [93] still boasts, as did the early observers, of the robustness and prolicacy of the Pahouin.

● 162 With the help of precise investigations made in Woleu-N'Tem, we have been able to study the structure of the Fang population in this relatively favorable region. The most apparent fact is the

162 disproportion between the number of men and women, which becomes accentuated at the level of age groups called "adult" (according to present-day administrative census, these begin at

WOLEU-N'TEM

District of Oyem
11 villages, 1,570 inhabitants.

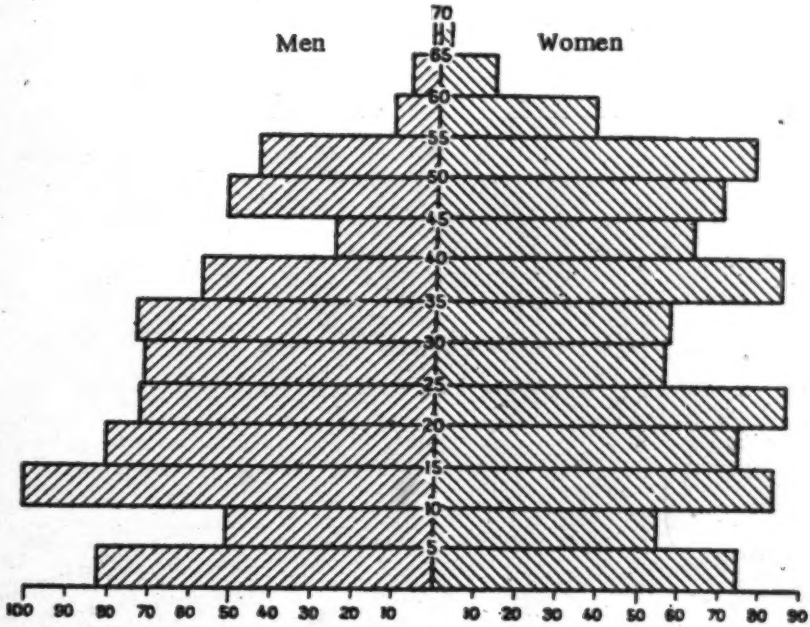


Fig. 2
Distribution by Age and by Sex.

fifteen years of age). The censuses of 1936 and of 1950 show this clearly, although there has been a reduction in the disequilibrium during the last fifteen years.

Table I

•162 Distribution of the Sex Ratio [Woleu-N'Tem Region]

		Entire Region	Bitam-Minvoul	Oyem	Mitzic	Médouneu (1)
Number of women per 1,000 men (total population)	1936	1,283	1,170	1,239	1,241	
	1951	1,147	1,184	1,142	1,161	1,125
Number of women per 1,000 men (population called adult)	1936	1,521	1,443	1,598	1,523	
	1951	1,373	1,443	1,337	1,323	1,300

1. Médouneu did not belong administratively to the Woleu-N'Tem region in 1936.

In order to make these general indications more specific, we took the census of eleven villages in Oyem District, where we made our investigation and which have a [total] population of 1,570 inhabitants. The distribution of these by age group and by sex (Fig. 2) confirms the preceding observation. In the eleven villages there are 838 women for 732 men, that is, a ratio of 1,144, for 1.142 for the whole district. The disequilibrium between the sexes is very different according to the age considered.

Table II

Age Group	0	10	20	30	40	50	60 years
Number of women per 1,000 men	955	868	996	1,083	1,728	2,127	

●162 If one excludes the drop revealed for the group from ten to twenty years of age (which can be explained partly by mistakes. in estimating ages of the women, who are usually made older by the census takers), (1) it can be seen that the number of women

1. The census takers simply estimate the age when the birth date is either contested or forgotten; there are practically no vital statistics recorded.

increases [95] going from one age group to the next, the increase being particularly marked over 40 years of age. One must consider first of all a higher male mortality, which is apparent by comparing the figures obtained in the census taking. Thus the census of 1936 shows a male mortality of over 60 percent of the total mortality, with a maximum of 66.6 percent in Oyem District. But this alone does not explain the disproportions observed. Keeping in mind the date of 1930 which marks the slowing up of emigration and the end of recruiting on a large scale, (1)

1. Cf. G. Sautter, op. cit.

one notes that the men of over twenty at this time are those who are now over forty; the deficit in men of the oldest age group represents especially those emigrants who did not return and those who died in the lumbering operations. The reduction in the disequilibrium from 1936 to 1951 tends to confirm this statement. One must also bear in mind a factor arising from the social organization. The young women (from ten to twenty years of age) are given in marriage to foreign groups before being compensated for by foreign women, [who are eventually] brought into the local group in marriage, through the brice-prices received for the former.

Dr. Le Dentu's report made it apparent that in 1936 the whole Fang nation showed an insufficient child population. The groups from zero to fifteen years amounted to 28.4 percent, while among other Gabon peoples, the Eschira for example, they represent

162 nearly 36 percent of the population. The figures furnished by the census of 1950 do not indicate any improvement, at least so far as the districts of Bitam-Minvoul and Mitzic are concerned.

Table III

District	Bitam-Minvoul	Oyem	Mitzic	Médouneu
Percentage of child population	29. 3%	35. 3%	25. 4%	32. 3%

[96] The most unfavorable situation is at Mitzic; this partially explains the loss of 2,092 inhabitants in this district from 1936 to 1940, which is more than 20 percent of its present population and about half the loss suffered by the Woleu-N'Tem region during the same period. The demographic state seems to be at its best in Oyem District. However, since 1936 the population to within a hundred units has remained merely stationary. Our investigation covering eleven villages shows to what extent this situation is affected by the changes in economic and political circumstances. The years of the war effort (1940-45) are shown by a lacuna at the level of the five- to ten-year-old group, while the return to normal conditions and the relative prosperity due to the increase in cacao production entail a broadening of the demographic base at the level of the children from zero to five years old (Fig. 2). Accurate census taking in nine villages in the neighborhood of Oyem in 1945, 1946, and 1948 show an increase from 1,090 to 1,133 inhabitants with a replacement index of 1. 32. In addition, while the excess of births is only 13 units, the increase in population is 43 units. This increase implies above all a return of former emigrants.

These facts confirm the extreme demographic sensitivity and indicate the quick reaction to changes in local politics. But this sensitivity is only apparent because of a poor situation. In spite of normal fertility (the genital capacity, the mean number of

In spite of normal fertility (the genital capacity, the mean number of
162 pregnancies in women by the time of menopause, is 4.2 for the
163 whole district), the number of children is not sufficient because
165 of the high infant mortality (see the following table), and also apparently because of the aging of the female population. Serious malarial diseases affecting 78 percent of the children from two to five years old are the reasons for this mortality as well as intestinal parasitosis.

[97] Table IV

(Based on the medical report of the 4th quarter of 1944)

District	Birth Rate	Rate of mortality from 0 to 1 year	Rate of infant mortality	Percentage of child population with reference to total population
Bitam	1.3%	7.1% of deaths	27% of deaths	29%
Minvoul	1.3%	7.3% of deaths	13% of deaths	25%
Oyem	1.7%	10% of deaths	26% of deaths	34%
Mitzic	0.8%	6.7% of deaths	18% of deaths	25%

These figures should be completed by stating that infant mortality which is very high from zero to one year diminishes from one to five years and drops meaningfully only from this age on. Dr. Le Dentu in 1936 gave for the whole Fang people, for each of these categories, the following percentages: 16.5 percent, 12 percent, and 8.9 percent of deaths, which indicates the catastrophic situation in certain parts of the Pahouin country

Such are the figures as they appear in the privileged region of the Woleu-N'Tem. They are still higher when the whole

162 administrative division is taken into account, especially at the end
163 of a period of crisis, as is shown by the health study of 1944, or
165 when one considers only the most restricted village groupings that are the most affected. The diagrams for the three villages of Oyem (Fig. 3) are characteristic.

However this demographic situation appears excellent when it is compared to that of the Fang of other regions. In this respect we give as an example the Fang of the Ogoué-Ivindo about whom we have information gathered during the year 1947: [98] [Fig. 3.]

[99]

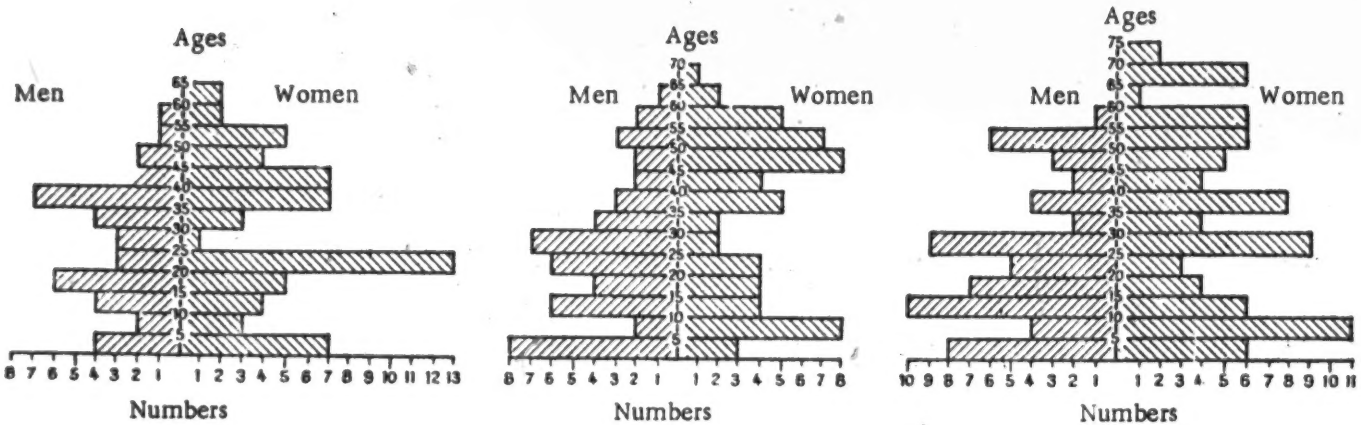
Index of replacement: 0.43.
Birth rate: 0.77 percent.
Percentage of child population: 24.7 percent.
Total mortality rate: 1.79 percent.
Infant mortality rate: 25 percent of deaths.(1)

1. Economic report of the Ogooué-Ivindo; chapter on "Demography."

163 And a slightly earlier report (1946) on the essentially Fang district of Booué shows complementary percentages which are still more significant: a genital capacity of 2.7 and for the young women a fertility rate (mean number of reported pregnancies) of 1.2, these figures being far below those obtained from the Fang of the Woleu-N'Tem. Incidentally, "35 to 40 percent of the young women remain sterile while the percentage of sterility in the older women does not exceed 8 to 12 percent." (2) The Fang

2. Population Commission, Official Report of the Meeting of August 8, 1946.

of the Ogooué-Ivindo are registered in a region where all the ethnic groups show a demographic decline and which has lost a seventh of its population from 1934 to 1947. Their situation is comparable to that of their congeners of Lower Gabon who, as Dr. Le Dentu pointed out, show a marked deficit.



Akok Village
100 inhabitants

Yosse Village
111 inhabitants

Nto Village
142 inhabitants

Fig. 3
Age Pyramids of Three Kǒjé Villages
(Villages numerically reduced)

● 162 We have been able to define the characteristics of this demographic crisis, of which the Fang as a whole are aware. These are a drop in the population, which is more or less checked according to the region and circumstances; a lack of balance between the number of men and of women — the sex ratio rising rapidly at the level of the oldest age groups — and a more marked aging of the feminine population; an insufficient demographic basis and at the same time a high infant mortality. And it is
168 the lack of children and the sudden importance acquired by women
578 (conditioned by their number as well as by the general movement of social evolution) of which the villagers complain, far more than they criticize the inadequacy of sanitary equipment. In a society where the number [that is, the size of the groups] differentiates the groupings in a hierarchical system, and permits personal preeminence, the acute phases of this demographic crisis arouse great anxiety; the decline of fecundity in the women is one of the reasons, the most important one perhaps, for the hostility of the men toward the women.

168 The grounds given for such a situation [100] have a double aspect, modernist and traditionalist. The grounds of the former were displayed at the time of the Pahouin Congress of 1947 and also by certain groupings at the time of the movement for regrouping clans. They are expressed by definite claims, such as demanding a health program and education in hygiene, a desire to control and then limit prostitution, to consolidate the "family" by limiting divorce and curbing adultery, a need for rich crops "that can be sold in order to support the family," (1) etc. The grounds of the
168
186

1. Statement by a Dignitary of the Yémödâg Tribe, Mitzic, 1949.

traditionalists without doubt compel recognition and represent the opinion of the greatest number. They reveal a strong reaction to the present state of Fang society and a desire to return to a past when everything was better, when there were "a great many men and a great many children"; they express a tendency toward "counter-acculturation." The upheavals that have occurred in

4. Towns

361 This lack of vitality in the bush is understandable if we turn to
621 conditions of settlement: the scattered pattern of settlement is very obvious. There are no villages properly speaking, just a dusting of hamlets. In the Cameroons, the villages are very small, with an average of 230 inhabitants. Furthermore, we are dealing with units in a system of control: their village is divided into many hamlets of from 5 to 20 huts grouped around that of the family head /chef de famille/.

178 In Gabon, Fang leaders are worried about this crumbling apart of the
361 population and have issued slogans for regrouping the villages.
621 Amongst them, indeed, the scattering is perhaps even more marked.
[12] "The average number of inhabitants per village varies from 42 (territory of Mitzic) to 105 around Oyem and to nearly 138 in the Fang canton of Makokou." (1)

1. Balandier and Pauvert, Les villages gabonais /Gabonese Villages/, Mémoir, I.E.C.A. /Institut d'Études centrafricaines/, Brazzaville, 1952.

This is not the place for a study of whether scattered settlement is natural in a country where no centralized authority has been imposed, in which the only certain /37/ power was that of the family head, or whether, on the contrary, it evidences a new kind of anarchy, an intensified individualism. We shall merely point out that the
[184] hamlets are larger in Boulou country than in Ewôndo or Bané country, although the former political institutions of the Ewôndo and Bané seem to have given tribal chiefs some political powers and marks of rank, of which there seems to have been no question among the Boulou. The first appearance of centralized political power would seem to coincide with a greater dispersion in settlement.

The fact remains that no center of concentration forced any crystallization whatsoever of an amorphous mass. This fact, closely connected with the absence of trade, clearly indicates the new and artificial character of the towns. They are all of recent origin, and yet they have become a necessity.

463 but most of the artisans live in towns; there it is that they learned their trades, more easily find materials and tools, there also they believe the multitude will enable them to collect a large number of orders.

Certain crafts are long established, such as tailoring, masonry, and carpentry. But while Pahouin are numerous in the woodworking and building trades, as tailors they frequently have to compete with immigrants. New professions arise, often controlled by foreigners also—photographers, mattress makers, and mechanics. This brief list of the most widespread trades allows one to infer the rise in the standard of living: doors and windows, tables, chairs, wardrobes, beds, mattresses are now in quite general use.

319 The towns plan an essential role and are completely integrated
166 into the country, since it is there that the rural people go to have the things made which they need. The mixed character of town populations is astonishing. Immigrants from all regions of the Cameroons or French Equatorial Africa give them a cosmopolitan character, while the bush has not sustained such a complex intermixture.

Nevertheless, we must not exaggerate the antithesis between country people and townsfolk: many countrymen have resided a few years in town and have kept up connections there. Migration away from centers was quite active thirty years ago, and certain Pahouin tribes were largely represented in the timber industry. There has been just as decided a movement toward the towns: "The development of cacao plantations along the Woleu-N'Tem by changing the living conditions of the villagers certainly seems to have been the principal cause of the halt in emigration in 1930." This remark by Sautter about the Fang is also true of the Boulou and —to a lesser degree, perhaps—of the Béti and assimilated tribes more closely pressed together in their habitat.

463 Béti, Boulou, or Fang form a petty bourgeoisie rather than a
162 proletariat without resources. The following figures show the relatively small proportion of unskilled laborers (1):

1. M. Soret, Démographie et problèmes urbains en A.E.F. /Demography and Urban Problems in French Equatorial Africa/, I.F.A.N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noir/, 1954.

463
162

Occupational Distribution of Pahouin Emigrants in Douala

	Laborers	Artisans	Intellectual Occupations	Traders and Licensed Dealers
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Beti	37	55	1.9	6
Boulou		60	40	

A study of Dolisie, Baronga, and Poto-Poto makes it possible to establish similar facts for occupations (2). /39/

2. According to J. Guilbot, Petite étude sur la main-d'oeuvre à Douala /A Brief Study of Manpower at Douala/, I. F. A. N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noir/, the Cameroons, 1947.

162 The proportion among them of persons who have education is about 40 percent and, what is even more important, that of the well-educated 871 is relatively high.

Poto-Poto: Cultural Level of "Coastal Forest Dwellers"

Illiterates	Educated	Holders of the C.E.P.*	Holders of the "Brevet"
610	390	111	56

/*Certificat d'etudes primaires, certificate of primary education. /

369 After spending some time in town, some emigrants return to their 166 native villages, thus diminishing the separation between the two places. The bush folk, in turn, often come to the urban centers (1) and in

1. A set of figures gives the exact number of these trips: in 480 budgets relative to a total of 2, 000 persons, 1, 116 trips were listed (J. Binet, op. cit., p. 112).

such a case we gather that each principal town of a subdivision is a genuine center of attraction. Although new these towns are not artificial. There is another piece of evidence for this, the social-occupational distribution of the urban population is almost constant from one town to another, a proof that it corresponds to needs that are also constant.

Out of 100 inhabitants one generally finds: laborers 16.5, employees 12, traders 8.3, chauffeurs 6.9 (and "motor boys" 4.3), public service employees 6.7, domestic servants 5.8, carpenters 4.9, masons 4, farmers 3.5, tailors 3.2, mechanics 2.9, photographers 0.8, herders 0.5, catechists 0.1, without occupation 9, etc.

This in general outline is the present-day distribution. Let it simply be kept in mind that, with the diffusion of a new culture, the whole society becomes modified. The techniques and tools in use have been increased and diversified at the same time as social conditions.

Chapter 5

Social Organization

1. Forms of Settlement, Habitat

The basic social group is the patriarchal family (nda bot = lit., house of the people), to which corresponds the hamlet or elementary village, the jal (Boulou, pl. mal; Fang, Ewôndo, dzal), generally called by the name of the patriarch (ésa = father; ntôl = eldest, senior), but sometimes, when isolated, carrying a special toponym (éyôlé = proper name, designation; a person's name is rather jôé; Fang, édzoé). These mal are usually arranged into multifamily, sometimes multi-clan, villages, minlam (sing. nlam), the latter term designating both the group of dwellings and the soil appertaining to them. The nlam always has a place name of its own, which may refer to its geographical situation: nkôlayôp = on the hill; to a topographical or botanical peculiarity: ako'abete = dressed stone, ajap = the name of a tree, ma'an = crossroads; or to an incident connected with the founding: ébolewo'o (Ebolowa) = decayed chimpanzee, because the village was

888
162
561
623

Distribution by Age

Age Group	Elected Municipal Councilors	Total Adult Male Population (1) (Nyong-and-Sanaga)
	Percent	Percent
20 to 30 years	9	26
30 to 40	33	29
40 to 50	37	28
Over 50	20	15

1. Evaluation made according to censuses established by the subdivisions; the documentation is not faultless but nevertheless is indicative.

556
162
623

The figures given below for the whole population are not definitive, but as they have been taken from a recent complete census they may be considered good approximations.

Distribution of External Signs of Wealth
(for 100 persons)

	Masonry Houses	Bicycles	Automobiles
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Municipal councilors	27	50	11
Adult male population of Ebolowa	1.4	21	0.3

[622] Not for nothing do the Pahouin use the word nkukuma (rich) to designate a chief. The chosen leaders are the rich men. /133/

545
623

A study of the matrimonial situation enables us to be more specific about the personal characteristics of elected men. Polygamy is much more common among them than among the population as a whole.

141

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	76.2	76.4
Facial	85.1	84.2
Nasal	83.8	81.6
Cormique	50.8	51.0
Envergure/T	104.4	102.3

163 The birth rate is gradually dropping.

Bibliography of Physical Anthropology

113

Olivier, G. "Etude anthropologique comparée des principales tribus de la région de Yaoundé /A Comparative Study of the Physical Anthropology of the Principal Tribes in the Yaoundé Region/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 10 (June 1945), pp. 55-76.

Olivier, G. and Aujoulat, L. "L'obstétrique en pays Yaoundé. Etude ethnologique medicale et anthropologie somatique. /Obstetrics in Yaounde Country. A Study in Medical Ethnology and Physical Anthropology/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 12 (Dec. 1945), pp. 7-71.

Olivier, G., in collaboration with Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Greiner. "Documents anthropométriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations de Sud-Cameroun /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Études Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Dec. 1946), p. 45.

General Bibliography

On the subject of the settlements, subsistence, and customs of the Eton, only unpublished sources are available.

We also want to mention an important demographic report by Dr. Aujoulat of the "Ad lucem" Foundation at Efok (Subdivision of Saa). The work was carried out in 1944 (Archives du Service de Santé).

Finally, we must not neglect to mention that at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris there is a film of great ethnographic and artistic

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Ewondo are people
142 of above average height (men 168.4 cm; women 158.6 cm.), fairly slender, mesocephalic, barely platyrrhinian.

143 Their blood-group ratio is that of typical Negroes:
O: 55.5 percent; A: 14.1 percent; B: 17.4 percent; AB: 11.5 percent; —index $\frac{A+AB}{A+AB}$: .885.

141

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.0	77.6
Facial	85.7	85.6
Nasal	82.3	78.2
Cormique	50.5	50.4
Envergure/T	105.3	104.0 /73/

/Map 9, Ewondo Peoples, facing p. 72./

161 The population balance is fair. the differential index (ratio of births to deaths) is + 0.2 percent.

●163 A slight increase in the birth rate has been noted; at the same time infant mortality is very low: 3 percent.

The fertility rate is 3.06 pregnancies per woman.

Bibliography of Physical Anthropology

113 Virchow. "6 Schädel von Yaunde aus Kamerun /Six Skulls of Yaunde from the Cameroons/," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1897.

Olivier, G. "Etude anthropologique comparée des principales tribus de la region de Yaoundé /A Comparative Study of the Physical Anthropology of the Major Tribes of the Yaoundé Region/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 10, pp. 55-76.

Olivier, G. and Aujoulat, L. "L'obstetrique en pays Yaoundé. Etude ethnologique medicale et d'anthropologie somatique. /Obstetrics in Yaoundé Country. A Study in Medical Ethnology and Physical Anthropology/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 12 (Dec. 1945), pp. 9-72.

Olivier, G. with the collaboration of the Drs. Ajoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Grenier. "Documents anthropométriques pour servir a'letude des principales populations du Sud-

174 At that time they were already situated along one of the principal commercial routes of the south, used to ship from the east many sought-after products, especially ivory.

361 The Bane are settled in large villages and hamlets. The population in these settlements is no more homogenous /75/ than the Ewondo's. The major intermixtures are shown on our map.

491 497 The road from Yaoundé to Ebolowa now crosses the Bane country from north to south. Another road, south of the Nyong, is the terminal point of the trade routes coming from the southeast. Because of these roads and the connection with the railroads at M'Balmayo, all the wealth of this country of great food crops, rich farmlands (cacao and coffee), and forests is easily brought to market.

000 Language. The subject is discussed in the paragraph on the linguistics of the Ewondo.

141 142 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Bane are of above-average height, fairly slender, mesocephalic, and only slightly platyrrhinian.

143 Their blood-type ratios are as follows:
O: 49 percent; A: 18 percent; B: 14 percent; AB: 19 percent—index $\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}$: 1.121.

141

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.3	77.0
Facial	81.8	80.8
Nasal	85.2	86.0
Cormique	50.9	51.8
Envergure/T	104.9	103.9

161 163 The population balance is stable: the ratio of births to deaths is ÷0.2. The fertility rate is 4.7 pregnancies per woman. See the studies in physical anthropology in Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, Nos. 10, 12, 15-16.

Bibliography

173 Von Stein. "Bericht ü ber die Bane-Buli-Expedition /Report on the Bane-Buli Expedition/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1898, pp. 173-75.

Fong
Fang

173 of the Nyong. According to their traditions they come from an area north of the Sanaga, as do the other groups which preceded them. They settled in the forest, where there are at present 12,783 of them (a density of 6.9 persons per square km.).

[161]

231 262 The Fong are an agricultural people. They seem to have little inclination to hunt so that their diet consists chiefly of vegetables, although they have a fairly large number of domesticated animals. /Map 11/

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. Average height: men 169.7 cm.; women 162 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	80.8	81.5
Nasal	95.21	84.01

161 163 The population balance is slightly positive, the ratio of birth to deaths being + 0.77. The rate of sterility is high, 25.6 percent, but is fortunately compensated for by the fertility rate, 5.3 pregnancies per woman.

Bibliography

113 Cottes, A. La mission Cottès au Sud-Cameroun (1905-1908). Exposé des résultats scientifiques, d'après les travaux des divers membres de la section française de la Commission de delimitation entre le Congo français et le Cameroun (frontière méridionale) et les documents étudiés au Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. (The Cottes Mission to South Cameroun 1905-1908. A Presentation of the Scientific Results of the Mission Based on the Work of Various Members of the French Section of the Commission to Set the Boundaries Between the French Congo and the Southern Frontier of the Camerouns, and on Documents Examined at the Museum of Natural History) (Paris: Leroux, 1911), pp. 125-31.

THE FANG, THE MVAE, THE NTUMU

131 Location: $10^{\circ}45$ to $12^{\circ}45$ long. and a few islands between 10° and $10^{\circ}30$ long.

113 See:

Tessmann, Gunter. Die Pangwe /The Fang/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), pp. 30-31, (short Ntum and Fang vocabularies), and pp. 45-48.

Johnston, H. H. A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, (Oxford University Press, 1922), Vocabulary 218: Pangwe; (The Ntum vocabulary is included in Vocabulary 219: Bulu).

Tessmann, Günter. "Sprichwörter der Pangwe, Westafrica /Fang Proverbs/," Anthropos, Vol. 8, (1913), pp. 402-26.

-----. "Rätzel der Pangwe (West Zentralafrika) /Riddles of the Fang (West Central Africa)/," Anthropos, Vol. 10-11 (1915-1916), pp. 675-725.

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Fang are barely above average in height, platyrrhinian, and mesocephalic.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.0	76.6
Facial	83.2	87.0
Nasal	91.3	88.7
Cormique	51.2	50.9
Envergure/T	105.3	103.4

161 Their population balance is hardly favorable. The ratio of births over deaths is + .03 percent.

● 163 The population is therefore stationary: the rate of sterility is 7 percent; the fertility rate is 3.8 pregnancies per woman.

141 The Mvae are tall and mesocephalic.

Indexes	Men	(measurements of women were not made)
Cephalic	78.8	
Nasal	104.6	
Cormique	50.4	
Envergure/T	103.9	

161 There is a slight rise in population: ratio of births over deaths is 4.69 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 15.2 percent; the fertility rate, 4.3 pregnancies per woman.

141 The Ntumu are above average in height, mesocephalic, and platyrrhinian.

Indexes	Men	(measurements of women were not made)
Cephalic	77.4	
Nasal	102.3	
Cormique	50.6	
Envergure/T	101.6	

161 The population balance remains favorable in spite of an extremely
165 high rate of infant mortality, reaching 58.91 percent of children born alive. The ratio of births over deaths is + 1.53 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 12 percent; the fertility rate, 4.6 pregnancies per woman.

113 See G. Olivier, with the collaboration of Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Grenier, "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du Sud-Cameroun /Anthropometric Documents for a study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept-Dec. 1946), pp. 48-49 and 62.

General Bibliography

Foerster. "Bericht über eine Erkundung des mittleren Kampoflusses /Report on an Exploration of the Middle Campo River/," (with a Moisel map), Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1902, pp. 123-28.

"Expedition des Stabsarztes Hoesemann längs der Südgrenze von Kamerun /Expedition of the Staff Physician Hoesemann along the Southern Border of the Cameroons/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1902, pp. 291-93 and 313-15.

Zimmerman, O. "Das Gebiet der Ntum und Mwei /The Ntum and Mwei Region/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1910, pp. 459-65.

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe, Op. Cit., pp. 7, 40, 43, 49.

141

Facial	86.5	85.1
Nasal	85.7	82.0
Cormique	51.2	52.2
Envergure/T	103.7	102.9

161 The population is barely increasing: the ratio of births over deaths is + 0.30 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 7 percent; the fertility rate is 4.12 pregnancies per woman.

164 Yengono. Sleeping sickness has been rampant in this area in the past but now seems to have been conquered.

143 Their blood group ratios are as follows:
O: 50.1 percent; A: 15.7 percent; B: 29.5 percent; AB: 4.7 percent; —index $\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}$: 0.59.

161 The population balance is slightly favorable; the excess of births over deaths is .63 percent.

163 Sterility rate 9 percent; fertility rate, 3.47 pregnancies per woman.

161 Yelinda. The population balance is not being maintained; the index of births over deaths is -0.1 percent.

163 Sterility rate 18 percent; fertility rate, 3.30 pregnancies per woman.

164 Yembama. Sleeping sickness has been very prevalent among these people, but it is continually decreasing.

161 The population balance is favorable: the excess of births over death is .72 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 16 percent; the fertility rate, 3.97 pregnancies per woman. /82/

Bibliography of Physical Anthropology

113 Virchow. "Rothgefarbter Schädel eines Bulu Negers von Kamerun /Painted Red Skull of a Bulu Negro in the Cameroons/," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1900.

Poutrin. "Contribution a l'Etude des Pygmées d'Afrique /A Contribution to the Study of the Pygmies of Africa/," L'Anthropologie, 1910, pp. 443-46 and 500 (the Bulu group).

Olivier, G., with the collaboration of Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Grenier. "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du

Yesum
Yebekanga
Yekaba

174 1. Bertaut, Le droit coutumier des Boulous. Monographie d'une tribu du Sud-Cameroun (The Customary Law of the Bulu. A Monograph Concerning a South Cameroon Tribe), " (Paris, 1935), p. 45.

As for the Yebekanga, the administrator Chauleur says that "it is impossible to show a common origin for the Yebekanga and the Yesum. It seems likely, however, that this tribe climbed from the shores of the Nyong at a fairly recent time. " (2)

2. Unpublished report on February 28, 1933. /86/

Here we have grouped the Yesum and the Yebekanga together despite contradictions in our sources. We have done so simply because of the possibility that they migrated in the same direction. According to their accounts, it would seem that their migration took place quite recently, just a few years before the coming of the Europeans. In the course of it they clashed with peoples of the same Pahouin origin who had come from the north about a hundred years ago, and pushed them back toward their present habitats.

161 Demography. The population of the Yesum is decreasing in spite of apparently good conditions. At present the ratio of births to deaths is -2.6 percent.

●163 The sterility rate rises as high as 25.53 percent, and the fertility rate is 3.4 pregnancies per woman.

Bibliography

113 Thierry. "Dienstreise nach Esum-Sannaga. /Official Trip to Esum-Sanaga/, " Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1903, pp. 521-23.

THE YEKABA

101 Location: 12° to 12°50 long.
5°20 to 5°45 north lat.

Yekaba Bamvele, Bobili

174 long migration of the Pahouin—although the name "Yalongo" spoken of in their geneologies is reminiscent of the Beti. Once again we are aware of the complexity of the Beti-Pahouin intermixture.

361 491 The villages and huts spread through the bush give an impression of poverty, although in 1903 the Germans noted that the great trade route from Bertoua to Yoko passed through Yekaba territory. /Map 16/ At the present time the whole length of the territory is serviced by the great eastern highway (Yaoundé—Nanga-Eboko—Bertoua).

197 Language. The fact that the Yekaba form part of the Pahouin migration is apparent from G. Tessmann's tribal map, where they are shown in the large Pahouin blot—under the general heading of "Mvele." We will return to this subject later in the chapter on the Bamvele.

161 Demography. The Yekaba are definitely decreasing in number.

165 The infant mortality rate among them is 34.3 percent. The sterility rate is 33.93 percent; the fertility rate is 4.3 pregnancies per woman, ● 163 but with about 10 percent stillbirths.

161 The population balance shows a ratio of -4.4 percent births to deaths.

Bibliography

113 Thierry. "Dienstreise nach Esum-Sannaga /Official Trip to Esum-Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1903, p. 522.

Sieber, J. "Die Wute /The Wute/," Lebenshaltung, Kultur und religiöse Weltanschauung eines Afrikanischen Volkstammes /Attitude toward Life, Cultural and Religious Attitudes of an African Tribe/ (Berlin: Reimer, Vohsen, 1925), pp. 112-13.

Unpublished reports of the administrators Cournarie, Chauleur, Gatau, and Boudineau.

Moisel map, G3, Dume. /88/

THE BAMVELE AND THE BOBILI

131 Location: 12°30 to 13°30 long.
4°35 to 4°50 north lat.

101 On all German maps the people we call Bamvele are designated by the name of Bele (see the Moisel map and Tessmann's tribal map).

197 Language. The linguistic map of G. Tessmann shows without comment, the Yebekolo, under the category of "Mvele."

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The average height of the Yebekolo is 165.5; the average cephalic index is 78.8.

143 Their blood-group ratios are as follows:
O: 69.3 percent; A: 13.1 percent; B: 12.1 percent; AB: 5.35 percent; —index $\frac{A+AB}{A+AB}$: 1.197.

165 The extremely high rate of infant mortality (58.64 percent) is due
164 to malaria. The disease is fostered by the marshiness of the region, which is likely to remain a source of sleeping sickness as well.

161 The population balance is stationary; the ratio of births to deaths is + 0.09 percent.

● 163 The sterility rate is 5 percent; the fertility rate is 3.98 pregnancies per woman.

See:

113 Olivier, G., with the collaboration of Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Greiner, "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du Sud-Cameroun, /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/, " Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept.-Dec. 1946), p. 65.

Brygoo. "Le nouveau-né et la femme enceinte aux environs d'Ayos /The Newborn Child and the Pregnant Woman in the Vicinity of Ayos/, " Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 21-22 (1948), pp. 49-68.

Bibliography

Scheunemann. "Die Unruhen in Südbezirk von Kamerun 1904 bis 1906 /Unrest in the Southern Area of the Cameroons/, " Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1907, pp. 349-51, and 396.

Tremesaygues. Unpublished report on the geneologies and the origins of the peoples in the subdivision of Akonolinga (1930).

Numerous reports in the Archives du Service de Santé /Archives of the Health Service/ from the medical station at Ayos.

Moisel map, G3, Dume

241 fields of peanuts and maintain beautiful palm groves and coffee and cacao plantations.

197 Language. G. Tessmann is no more definite as regards the language of the Omvang than other authors concerning their folk history. His tribal map shows the two Omvang sections stand out clearly on the large Pahouin area /Map 19/ His only comment on the subject is the following: "Probably they should be grouped with the Neo-Bantu, perhaps with the Pahouin, " ("Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of the Cameroons/, " Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen, 1932, p. 190).

164 Demography. The western Omvang have one of the highest incidences of sleeping sickness.

161 Nevertheless, their population balance is slightly favorable; the ratio of births to deaths is + 0.83 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 8 percent; the fertility rate is 3.57 pregnancies per woman.

164 The eastern Omvang also have suffered greatly from sleeping sickness. /93/

161 Their population balance also shows a slight increase; the ratio of births to deaths is 0.92 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 9 percent; the infant mortality rate is very low.

Bibliography

113 "Esquisse ethnologique pour servir a l'étude des principales tribus des Territoires du Cameroun sous mandat francais, d'après les documents allemands, les études de Dr. Poutrin en A.E.F. et les archives du Bureau des Affaires Politiques (1935-1937) (An Ethnographic Sketch for a Study of the Major Tribes in the Cameroons Territories under French Mandate, on the basis of German Documents, the Studies by Dr. Poutrin in French Equatorial Africa, and the Archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs for 1935-1937), "Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 18-19.

Unpublished reports of the administrators Bertaut and de Villedeuil in the Archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs /Archives du Bureau des Affaires Politiques/ and in the documents of the S.E.C. /Société d'Etudes Camerounaises/.

Moisel map, G3, Dume.

505 The wealth of all this region is easily transported by way of the river, which is navigable to M'Balmayo, where it connects with the railroad by way of the eastern road (Abong-M'Bang—Akonolinga—Yaoundé) /94/ and finally by way of the southern road (Sangmélima-M'Balmayo).

164 Demography. The Mbida-Mbane have not suffered greatly from sleeping sickness except in the Akonolinga group, and even here the disease was quickly checked. However, congenital syphilis accounts for 22.2 percent of the cases of infant mortality. /Map 20/

161 The ratio of births to deaths is slightly favorable: + 0.68 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 7 percent; the fertility rate is 5.20 pregnancies per woman.

511 The living conditions of the population as a whole are good, and it is growing slowly.

161 Among the Mvogo-Nienge the number of births barely exceeds the deaths; the ratio is + 0.39.

163 The sterility rate is 9 percent; the fertility rate is 4.25 pregnancies per woman. However, there is a very high proportion of stillbirths—26.9 percent—which explains the fact that this population remains stationary.

In spite of normal fertility (the genital capacity, the mean number of
162 pregnancies in women by the time of menopause, is 4.2 for the
163 whole district), the number of children is not sufficient because
165 of the high infant mortality (see the following table), and also apparently because of the aging of the female population. Serious malarial diseases affecting 78 percent of the children from two to five years old are the reasons for this mortality as well as intestinal parasitosis.

[97] Table IV

(Based on the medical report of the 4th quarter of 1944)

District	Birth Rate	Rate of mortality from 0 to 1 year	Rate of infant mortality	Percentage of child population with reference to total population
Bitam	1.3%	7.1% of deaths	27% of deaths	29%
Minvoul	1.3%	7.3% of deaths	13% of deaths	25%
Oyem	1.7%	10% of deaths	26% of deaths	34%
Mitzic	0.8%	6.7% of deaths	18% of deaths	25%

These figures should be completed by stating that infant mortality which is very high from zero to one year diminishes from one to five years and drops meaningfully only from this age on. Dr. Le Dentu in 1936 gave for the whole Fang people, for each of these categories, the following percentages: 16.5 percent, 12 percent, and 8.9 percent of deaths, which indicates the catastrophic situation in certain parts of the Pahouin country

Such are the figures as they appear in the privileged region of the Woleu-N'Tem. They are still higher when the whole

162 administrative division is taken into account, especially at the end
163 of a period of crisis, as is shown by the health study of 1944, or
165 when one considers only the most restricted village groupings that are the most affected. The diagrams for the three villages of Oyem (Fig. 3) are characteristic.

However this demographic situation appears excellent when it is compared to that of the Fang of other regions. In this respect we give as an example the Fang of the Ogoué-Ivindo about whom we have information gathered during the year 1947: [98] [Fig. 3.]

[99]

Index of replacement: 0.43.
Birth rate: 0.77 percent.
Percentage of child population: 24.7 percent.
Total mortality rate: 1.79 percent.
Infant mortality rate: 25 percent of deaths.(1)

1. Economic report of the Ogooué-Ivindo; chapter on "Demography."

163 And a slightly earlier report (1946) on the essentially Fang district of Booué shows complementary percentages which are still more significant: a genital capacity of 2.7 and for the young women a fertility rate (mean number of reported pregnancies) of 1.2, these figures being far below those obtained from the Fang of the Woleu-N'Tem. Incidentally, "35 to 40 percent of the young women remain sterile while the percentage of sterility in the older women does not exceed 8 to 12 percent." (2) The Fang

2. Population Commission, Official Report of the Meeting of August 8, 1946.

of the Ogooué-Ivindo are registered in a region where all the ethnic groups show a demographic decline and which has lost a seventh of its population from 1934 to 1947. Their situation is comparable to that of their congeners of Lower Gabon who, as Dr. Le Dentu pointed out, show a marked deficit.

114
127
161

administrative documents for population study in the Middle Congo and Gabon/, Bulletin de l'Institut d'Études centrafricaines, 1954, Nos. 7-8; Ziegle, Afrique équatoriale française /French Equatorial Africa/, Berger-Levrault, Paris, 1952, p. x; Christol, Un essai de fichier demographique au Cameroun /An Attempt at Demographic Classification in the Cameroons/, Bulletin mensuel de statistique d'Outre-mer, 1951, No. 20.

Finally, for Spanish Guinea the sources are rather inaccessible and of very uneven value. The best are probably the reports submitted by the scientific expedition of 1948 organized by the /Spanish/ Department for Morocco and the Colonies, of which the Anthropological Commission apparently made a study of demographic development in collaboration with the colony's health service: these reports I have not been able to obtain. The fiscal census carried out by Civil Guard officers in command of the "Demarcaciones /Demarcations/" seems to be considered a state secret; the census returns prepared by the Roman Catholic missions appear unreliable. If one accepts the total population figure given by official statistics, supposedly 172, 000 persons, it would be necessary to put the number of "Pamue" (the Spanish form of mpangwé) at about 50 percent of that total. Estimates made during the recent war by civil administrators and frontier officers of Gabon and the Cameroons are much lower, giving a total of about 130, 000 inhabitants, 50, 000 to 60, 000 of whom were Pahouin. Likewise, Spanish medical reports seem to be colored with a possible excessive optimism, attributing specially to biological causes a rise in population that results mainly from immigration.

In conclusion, the lack of agreement about even the composition of the Pahouin group makes the figures vary greatly, whether round estimates /10, table on pp. 12a-12e/ or genuine demographic indices. Thus we meet with totals that vary from 650, 000 to 1, 500, 000 Pahouin, with the differential index clearly positive or clearly negative according to the writer.

161
163

My own estimate of about 820, 000 takes account of Pahouin only in the strict sense and leaves out the tribes whose affiliation is debatable (1). This group as a whole is growing slightly (the differential

163
[161]

1. As an indication, the numerical strength of the Mekaé and Kozimé of the Cameroons may be put at about 80, 000 persons.

index is a little less than ⅟ 1%), more, apparently, from a fall in the death rate than from a rise in the birth rate, which is rather inclined to decrease a bit. The table on pages 12a-12e gives a succinct survey in detail.

16 This table calls for some comments. First, the known rate of genital capacity*, nearly always around 4, like the sterility indices

/* According to another source, Georges Balandier /5/, "the genital capacity /is/ the mean number of pregnancies in women by the time of the menopause. . . . ." Sociologie Actuelle de l'Afrique Noire. Changemants sociaux au Gabon et au Congo /Contemporary Sociology of Black Africa: Social Changes in Gabon and the Congo/, p. 96, Paris, 1955. --Ed. /

that reach 30 percent, forms a contrast to the accounts of the first explorers as well as to tribal traditions, which uniformly speak of high fertility and a large proportion of children. Even taking into ac-
161 count the undoubted exaggeration that colors these statements, it remains likely that a demographic decline took place in the second quarter of the twentieth century, offset by a lowering of mortality, at least in certain areas. The difficulties of adaptation to forest life
[164] are an explanation for the south. Undoubtedly, one must add factors like the spread of syphilis (kôto) along the highways and especially around settlements, and the outbreak of sleeping sickness, which seems to have followed pacification and to have affected particularly
[731] northern and northeastern Pahouin country. In the south there was also the great Gabon famine of 1924-27, as well as sociological
161 causes such as heavy recruiting for the timber industry and perhaps
178 psychological factors arising from the impact of colonization (Balandier). In the north where the precocious rise of an agricultural economy based on cacao stabilized the villages rather early, the change in the form of the bride price and the individual appropriation

273 522 times as powerful as usual, and the entire mixture was so strong that it caused violent dizziness and headache.

273 The palm wine which is obtained from the pith of a tree trunk that is cut down /169/ (mayǒ́[k]-nkōk) keeps for 24 hours in the house. On the other hand, the wine made from the inflorescences keeps at most half a day, and in great heat it spoils very rapidly, as I observed; it does the same if one takes it along on a trip. For this reason I followed the rule in the palm wine region of always finishing a good wine immediately or at least as soon as possible.

As I have said, the Pangwe are, generally speaking, moderate drinkers, but among them there are also heavy drinkers who regu-
[164] larly get drunk on palm wine. I shall leave undecided the question as to whether the widespread epilepsy (okū,būk) in the northern Pangwe region is a phenomenon resulting from excessive indulgence in palm wine on the part of the parents.

4. Tobacco.

276 249 Four varieties of tobacco, Nicotiana tabaccum L. (tǎ̄ǎ̄ III) (1)

1. The native term may have arisen from tabaco.

are found in the Pangwe region. Formerly there was a fifth variety, but its cultivation has been given up. /Fig. 109 appears here in the original text./ With the exception of two that are very similar, the tobacco varieties are easily distinguished by their leaves. The key for determining each is as follows.

A. Leaves are not alated, and the leafstalk is long and clearly defined: esǎ́ń (esǎ́ń because of the similarity of the leaves to those of the Hibiscus sabdariffa L.)

B. Leaves are alated

(a) Leaves are narrow, lanceolated: sǒmǒ IV

(b) Leaves are broad, ovate

1. Blossoms are a bright pink, almost whitish, the leaves being comparatively wider than in the case of the following: nsōdebǒ́no I

3. Care of the body.

515 539 By and large, the Pangwe may be called a very clean people, cleaner than many European peoples. The majority wash and bathe very frequently, and the following proverb shows how a person who does not wash is judged:

otū[k]-mfŏŏ	a	dżŏnā:	kā	mvŏ́ń
Old pocket (1)	she	said thus:	if now there is	rain

[195] 1. A common term of abuse for men, similar to our "old hag" for women.

a	bō'de	ma,	ngbǎna	a	wŏ'ban	e	madżi'm	a
it	wets	me,	time	to	wash	in the	water,	it

bē	ma	anǎ
was	for me	just!

That is: "The rain came just in time, it was high time for a bath."

●164 515 The many skin diseases, from which younger people suffer with special frequency, seem to have causes other than uncleanliness, /187/ although it must be admitted that among many Negroes there is an incredible indifference with respect to the care of the body, treatment of wounds, and parasites. In general, however, one can only praise the Pangwe for their cleanliness.

515 388 824 Formerly, even soap, made from a Rubiacea (ogbwǎ'm Fang, ogbwē'mē Ntum), was customarily used for washing bark cloth.

515 278 824 There are no fleas, but on the other hand there are vast numbers of lice which are picked off and killed by biting them -- the women swallow them at the same time. They are also killed by special medicines. These medicines are made with raffia palm oil which is rubbed on the skin and which the lice do not like to begin with. To the oil is added charred and ground plantain skins or the ground and subsequently dried roots of the Apocynacea Doacanga diplochlamys K. Sch. (ojē metūē Ntum), ground leaves and blossoms of the Simarubacea Quassia africana Baill. (isūǎ-elī'), and ground leaves of the Malpigiacea Heteropteris africana A. Juss.

302 824 of wood (Fig. 139, b-d) and those put together from short sticks of raffia leafstalk bark (Fig. 139, a). Frequently a fragrant hair powder (akūt), used by members of either sex but made only by women, is added to the oil. In preparing it, the roots of the following four plants are mixed together:

1. Cyperacea Cyperus articulatus L. (andǎk);
2. Moracea Dorstenia scabra (Bureau) Engl. (azǒ'm Fang);
3. Urticacea Trymatococcus africanus H. Baillon (ngō'nǎ III);
4. An undetermined grass called niasǎda.

/Figs. 139 and 140 appear here in the original text./ /189/ /Fig. 141 appears here in the original text./ In any case, they mix two or three of these roots if they cannot get all four of them. The roots have to dry for two months in the hut and are then completely ground to a powder -- in the case of the Trymatococcus this is done only with the bark -- and they are then sifted through a basketwork plate by tapping it with a knife (a kūt, "to tap"). The roots produce an agreeably scented yellowish powder.

302 827 The Pangwe dislike hair on the rest of the body as much as they dislike it on the face. Underarm hair is shaved off with a razor (Fig. 140) "because of the bad smell"; pubic hair is shaved off -- again by both sexes -- because it is believed to cause itching. /Fig. 142 appears here in the original text./ There are, of course, always people, like good old Otu-Mfōō, who will not bother with this kind of attention to the body.

412 Just as we use pocket knives, the native uses /190/ one-edged or two-edged knives (okǒń), Figures 141 and 142, which he forges himself and carries in sheaths made of brass, leather, hide, etc. at his belt.

515 ●164 The farther north one goes in the region, the more industriously do the Pangwe brush their teeth. This is done with a stick spliced at the top (Fig. 143) which at times is attractively wound with brass and wire and often serves as a walking stick. Nevertheless the Pangwe do not have nearly such good teeth as one might imagine. Among the Fang at least I never once saw an immaculate set of teeth among adults. The molars are often astonishingly poor, but the front teeth, on the other hand, which are commonly chipped to a point, are better preserved, perhaps because they alone are properly brushed.

4. Medical Knowledge.

753 164 All internal afflictions which the Pangwe do not recognize -- especially malaria, as has been mentioned, as well as migraine (evū-nlǒ', that is, ewu in the head), and sudden, quickly passing cramps (elū'ma) -- are conceived by them as ewu. That is to say, he thinks of them as illnesses caused by sorcery and fights them with all kinds of mystical remedies that for lack of space I cannot discuss in detail here.

The Pangwe have, however, more or less correctly identified and named a large number of illnesses, especially such as have externally visible symptoms. He names them in the order of their seriousness as follows:

1. zǎm IV = leprosy;
2. ojǔń = elephantiasis of the scrotum;
3. tīt IV (1) = serious form of dysentery, distinguished

1. But tít IV = meat, animal.

by a swollen belly (nkǒ'm I);

4. kōélǒ III kōdō III = syphilis, only among the Jaunde (2);

2. As recently as 1891 Zenker was unable to observe any syphilis.

5. mabā'da I = frambesia (3);

3. The pockmarks are designated by the Pangwe as mbādа-mǎnīě (plural).

6. bendūmejǎń (plural = elephantiasis of the legs;
7. fō, pfō I = festering boils;
8. ekié, ekō, mvǐ'm IV = furuncles;
9. nkǒk I, edžō, okōn maňū'lǔk = gonorrhea; /170/
10. nkǎša = swelling of the inguinal glands, bubo;

753
164

11. ntšǎǹ I = eczema, Krokro /Ed., ?/;
12. ewǒnǎ = scabies;
13. akǒ = herpes on the head;
14. tǒn IV = herpes on the skin.

Towards less serious internal ailments, such as intestinal disturbances, stomach pains, toothaches, and so forth, the Pangwe behave with comparative equanimity. Although they have come to realize that some of these are caused by immoderate eating, spoiled food, and so forth, they do not give up their accustomed way of life. Instead of following a sensible diet, they try to cure themselves by medicines.

Of internal illnesses the Pangwe have terms for the following: okū,bū́k, apfǎ́s, akū = epilepsy; okǒn-nkǎle = back pains (of a nervous origin); okǒn nnɛ̄m = heart disease actually, then mental illnesses because it is believed that nervous ailments proceed from the heart; okǒn nlǒ′ = headaches; sǒ = lung ailments (consumption?); ekɛ̄ma, mbǒ′mǎn I = common cold; okǒn kī′n = neck pains; nsǭn I, usually used in the plural = stomach aches, intestinal pains (when shooting pains are felt); okǒn masǔn, okǒn anū = toothache; nnǎ I = rheumatic and nervous ailments; nnǎ-abǭm = stomach-aches (when twitching pains are felt); nnǎ-nkǔk = rump pains; nnǎ-uwǒ′ = arm pains; okǒn makjī′-elǎ′n = hemorrhoids; okǒn mīs = eye diseases; nnāk I, mvǫ̂s = inflammation of the eye; dʒǒt VII = sty in the eye.

The principal parasites are: evǎ′ = eye worms; aǒ̂ = sand fleas; and nǐn IV = lice.

754
159

As regards the origin of these afflictions, elephantiasis of the scrotum and the legs is attributed to sorcery; all other serious illnesses are attributed to the cult powers which impose them as a penalty for sins committed. At the head of this list is leprosy, whose name zǎm should therefore be derived from the root a sǎm (see page 13 /Ed., not translated/), "to extend one's hands to punish, to punish." After that come frambesia and incurable festering boils. The cult powers cause these afflictions either independently and on their own initiative, or the cult powers are utilized in the performance of certain symbolic ceremonies with objects connected with their cult. If the Ngi is invoked, for

757 Whether these medicines really are effective will have to be
278 investigated by doctors. The Pangwe themselves, at any rate,
164 assert that they can cure leprosy in its early stages, and I was shown cases with healed areas that had left lighter spots from which all symptoms of inflammation had disappeared. Frequent repetition of the treatment is presupposed. Leprosy is one of the most terrible and common diseases of the southern Pangwe region. At a Sso festival in Akonangi, for example, I counted seven lepers among approximately 30 men present. With the primitive living conditions and the carelessness of the Negroes, the disease is all too readily communicated. It is true that prophylactic methods
[714] are used; indeed, lepers are even segregated, but only in the advanced stages of the disease and then very incompletely since, for example, they are admitted to all the dance festivals. The
[837] women even seek out lepers by preference for extramarital sexual intercourse. In the north leprosy does not occur so severely; according to the statement of one Jaunde, this is because they use medicines as soon as the illness appears.

757 The explanation of the effect of the medicine, if one is given at all, is always a mystical one, although it should by no means be concluded from this that the plants concerned would not be worth scientific investigation. In the case of leprosy, for instance, the blackish color or the blackening property of the plants is usually declared to be the cause of their effectiveness. The skin is supposed to become black, and therefore the medicine is usually made at night when everything is black: hence, the choice of ojǎ̌n e
[824] ndžǐk (Microglossa afzelii) and of ojǎ̌ḥ (Xylopia aethiopica), from a jǎ̌n, "to roast, to blacken"; hence, efífídí (Diospyros), from fídi, "coal," because the tree is black as coal; hence, ovǐna ekǒn (black plantains), from a vǐn, "to become black"; hence, ošǔṭǔ elǒk (Phaulopsis) from nšūt, "black." /174/

Elephantiasis of the scrotum (ojǔ̌n, mbǎ̌n).

Elephantiasis of the scrotum is not too frequent among the Pangwe, but it is greatly feared by them, probably only because

Frambesia (mabā'da).

757 278 [164] Next to leprosy, frambesia is the most widespread of the dangerous diseases of the Pangwe region. As various infected Europeans assert, the natives' manner of treatment was markedly successful with them.

The most usual medicine is the following. The diseased areas are cleansed with a decoction, as hot as possible, made from the bark of Heisteria parvifolia Smith (žōebê III) and leaves of Claoxylon africanum Muell. Arg., Euphorbiacea (bešōbešōo III), Costus littoralis K. Sch. (2) (zēlǎnǎ' mīēm), "so the illness will go

2. Or Costus aff. ligulatus Gagnep.

around one like the leaves around the plant," and a species of Aneilema, "because the leaves are cold and supposed to lessen the heat of the pain." Then the contents of the red fruit (esŭn) of the Cardamom are heated on a potsherd and pressed on the areas. If blood spurts forth, it is washed off with the hot water. Then /176/ the dried roots of a species of Dioscorea (minutiflora Engl.?), awū'nūk, are charred, and the affected areas are sprinkled with the ashes. Finally, the principal medicine is sprinkled on the ashes; this is the milky sap of the nyǎmǎ ndžīk, two Apocynaceae, Olafia multiflora Stpf. and Oncinotis glandulosa Stpf. Instead of the Dioscorea ashes, fine bark scraped off the Apocynaceae mentioned may also be used. The milky sap is often mixed with ground leaves of the Ochnacea Ouratea nigro-violacea Gilg (okūm-afǎ'n), and the bark of Ouratea spinuloso-serrata Gilg (abōnežōk Ntum) is often added to the water.

Elephantiasis of the legs (bendūmejǎn).

[164] This disease is quite frequent in the Pangwe area and is supposed to be prevalent chiefly among women. It is curable only in the initial stages, when only the foot is swollen. If the swelling has spread to the shank, all efforts are in vain. The treatment that the afflicted person must submit to is a regular horse cure.

833 to be, in part at least, effective. Thus, the most common of
278 these, derived from the Rubiacea Corynanthe yohimbe K. Sch.,
[824] has recently been incorporated in our medications under the name "yohimbin." The natives produce an extract from the bark and wood of the tree and drink this. They conceive the manner of its effect as similar to the one mentioned above, and they reason as follows: the wood of the tree is especially hard in relation to that
[825] of other trees, say, like the penis of a pig in relation to that of other animals (something which one notices if one boils it and tries to eat it), and I shall acquire this characteristic of the wood if I partake of some of the wood. Hence the tree also bears the name nkŭn e ngūī, "pig's penis."

Aside from the Corynanthe yohimbe, we should mention here
824 two other trees which possibly also give physiological effects:
833 Leguminosa Baphia buettneri Harms (mfǎ I, mfǎn I), and the
278 Flaccourtiacea Homalium africanum Bth. (ejŭm, supposedly from a jŭme nkŭn, "to erect the penis," an expression that I never again encountered. In my opinion, the root contained in ejŭm is the same as in nnŭm, plural bojŭm = masculine gender; thus, the tree would be called ejŭm for (e) the man; majŭm, plural = seed). /267/ The leaves of the Baphia buettneri are gathered, ground on stones, and placed in the sun in sugar wine. The mixture is drunk while it is warm. From the Homalium, on the other hand, the bark is scraped off and ground; then it is boiled with spices and the liquid drunk while it is hot.

Finally, three more plants were mentioned to me as belonging in the category of biǎn eje, among these, the Solanum duplosinuatum U.D. (etūīn) because of its spikes.

Venereal diseases (see Section 13) are prevalent only in those
164 areas where European influence has existed for some time, especially
684 in Yaoundé and Gabon, from where syphilis has been spread. The
[177] Negroes seem to consider frambesia a kind of sexual disease, for the man who has communicated this disease to a girl or a wife must pay her or her father the same penalty (500 to 1,000 spears) he would pay if he had infected her with syphilis. If, on the other hand, the lover becomes infected through the woman, he can claim no damages.

In the case of gonorrhea, the infected woman can demand
164 damages only if she notices the misfortune before she has been
684 paid for the favor rendered. The damages amount to 400 spears if the disease came from a person of the same kin group, and 1000 spears if it came from a person of another kin group. With the payment the "temporary marriage contract" is terminated, and thereby any claim for damages is nullified. In other words, it is always a good idea to pay one's debts as soon as possible:

[539] a bǐle, a bǐle, a kǒn abě mayǒk.
Keeping, keeping, it strikes (a) poor bargain.

The person who always keeps his money to himself runs into an unfavorable price situation.

Their unrestrained sexual intercourse has a highly deleterious
831 effect upon the Negroes; it weakens and stupefies them. Smaller
461 boys are often quite useful as servants, but once they reach sexual maturity and become acquainted with women, they can simply no longer be used. The Pangwe recognize this bad influence, and intelligent ones among them did not hesitate to confess frankly to me that their sexual practices corrupted them and made them incapable of strenuous physical or intellectual work. We do not need the testimony of individuals, however -- popular customs demonstrate this insight sufficiently. I believe that, aside from
[834] being based upon the original religious conception concerning the sinfulness of sexual intercourse and its incarnation in the woman, the abstinence rules for war and hunting expeditions and for iron smelting are based on the experience that sexual intercourse weakens the man's physical and intellectual capacities. Naturally, the man is inclined to heap the blame on women /268/
[196] and bebǒn, "vaginas," as he contemptuously calls them (1).

171 1. "Terms which originally only signified 'vulva' or 'cunnus' but were then generalized into the concept 'wenches,'" exist everywhere in Europe, too; see Anthropophyteia, Jahrbücher für folkloristische Erhebungen und Forschungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der geschlechtlichen

845 informants had never heard of such a thing. Similarly, it very rarely happens that women die immediately after delivery from the consequences (bleeding, a weak heart) -- death by puerperal [164] fever, on the other hand, is more frequent. In cases of such a death, the Pangwe speak of a kiɛ̃'ɛ̃, which is as much as to say that a strange woman brought about the death through sorcery.

Once the child (in the case of a normal birth) has passed out 844 of the birth canal, it is received by one of the women assisting and the umbilical cord (ngɔ̃'b IV, not to be confused with ngɔ̃b IV, "caul, sheath") is squeezed off with a raffia splinter at a distance of from eight to ten centimeters from the little one's body. The rest of the umbilical cord drops off of its own accord after five to six days and is then casually thrown away; by then the navel (dɔ̃b, plural mɔ̃b) is healed. In other cases, the umbilical cord is cut off one centimeter from the belly, thereby causing an umbilical rupture (edɔ̃dɔ̃b = navel par excellence) which is regarded as particularly beautiful. Now the child is washed and placed on a layer of leaves on the bed next to the mother. /276/

The afterbirth (akɔ̃'nan) soon follows of its own accord. It is usually placed in a leaf bundle and hidden in the refuse pile or buried in a pit in the plantain grove behind the house. If this precautionary measure is not observed, the child will die or the mother will no longer be able to bear children.

Finally a medicine is made for the mother: the herb Ocimum [278] gratissimum L. (asɔ̃'b) is dipped in hot water and pressed on the genitals.

During the delivery, the husband waits in the meeting house. 851 Once the child is born, he is told the news by one of the women assisting. Formerly, shots were fired as an expression of joy, but now the custom is no longer practiced, especially in the north, for lack of powder.

On the very first day, the mother gives her breast to the child. 853 If no milk flows, it is assumed that the mother has had lovers who are still in her "belly" and exercise an impeding influence. Therefore, out with them! Argument is of no avail; one after another, all the lovers must be named before those present, in 000 other words, the women, if the milk is to flow. On the second

Facial	86.5	85.1
Nasal	85.7	82.0
Cormique	51.2	52.2
Envergure/T	103.7	102.9

161 The population is barely increasing: the ratio of births over deaths is + 0.30 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 7 percent; the fertility rate is 4.12 pregnancies per woman.

184 Yengono. Sleeping sickness has been rampant in this area in the past but now seems to have been conquered.

143 Their blood group ratios are as follows:
O: 50.1 percent; A: 15.7 percent; B: 29.5 percent; AB: 4.7 percent; —index $\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}$: 0.59.

161 The population balance is slightly favorable; the excess of births over deaths is .63 percent.

163 Sterility rate 9 percent; fertility rate, 3.47 pregnancies per woman.

161 Yelinda. The population balance is not being maintained; the index of births over deaths is -0.1 percent.

163 Sterility rate 18 percent; fertility rate, 3.30 pregnancies per woman.

164 Yembama. Sleeping sickness has been very prevalent among these people, but it is continually decreasing.

161 The population balance is favorable: the excess of births over death is .72 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 16 percent; the fertility rate, 3.97 pregnancies per woman. /82/

Bibliography of Physical Anthropology

113 Virchow. "Rothgefarbter Schädel eines Bulu Negers von Kamerun /Painted Red Skull of a Bulu Negro in the Cameroons/," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1900.

Poutrin. "Contribution a l'Etude des Pygmées d'Afrique /A Contribution to the Study of the Pygmies of Africa/," L'Anthropologie, 1910, pp. 443-46 and 500 (the Bulu group).

Olivier, G., with the collaboration of Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Grenier. "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du

197 Language. The linguistic map of G. Tessmann shows without comment, the Yebekolo, under the category of "Mvele."

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The average height of the Yebekolo is 165.5; the average cephalic index is 78.8.

143 Their blood-group ratios are as follows:
O: 69.3 percent; A: 13.1 percent; B: 12.1 percent; AB: 5.35 percent; —index $\frac{A+AB}{A+AB}$: 1.197.

165 The extremely high rate of infant mortality (58.64 percent) is due
●164 to malaria. The disease is fostered by the marshiness of the region, which is likely to remain a source of sleeping sickness as well.

161 The population balance is stationary; the ratio of births to deaths is + 0.09 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 5 percent; the fertility rate is 3.98 pregnancies per woman.

See:

113 Olivier, G., with the collaboration of Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Greiner, "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du Sud-Cameroun, /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept.-Dec. 1946), p. 65.

Brygoo. "Le nouveau-né et la femme enceinte aux environs d'Ayos /The Newborn Child and the Pregnant Woman in the Vicinity of Ayos/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 21-22 (1948), pp. 49-68.

Bibliography

Scheunemann. "Die Unruhen in Südbezirk von Kamerun 1904 bis 1906 /Unrest in the Southern Area of the Cameroons/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1907, pp. 349-51, and 396.

Tremesaygues. Unpublished report on the geneologies and the origins of the peoples in the subdivision of Akonolinga (1930).

Numerous reports in the Archives du Service de Santé /Archives of the Health Service/ from the medical station at Ayos.

Moisel map, G3, Dume

241 fields of peanuts and maintain beautiful palm groves and coffee and cacao plantations.

197 Language. G. Tessmann is no more definite as regards the language of the Omvang than other authors concerning their folk history. His tribal map shows the two Omvang sections stand out clearly on the large Pahouin area /Map 19/ His only comment on the subject is the following: "Probably they should be grouped with the Neo-Bantu, perhaps with the Pahouin, " ("Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of the Cameroons/, " Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen, 1932, p. 190).

164 Demography. The western Omvang have one of the highest incidences of sleeping sickness.

161 Nevertheless, their population balance is slightly favorable; the ratio of births to deaths is + 0.83 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 8 percent; the fertility rate is 3.57 pregnancies per woman.

164 The eastern Omvang also have suffered greatly from sleeping sickness. /93/

161 Their population balance also shows a slight increase; the ratio of births to deaths is 0.92 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 9 percent; the infant mortality rate is very low.

Bibliography

113 "Esquisse ethnologique pour servir a l'étude des principales tribus des Territoires du Cameroun sous mandat francais, d'après les documents allemands, les études de Dr. Poutrin en A.E.F. et les archives du Bureau des Affaires Politiques (1935-1937) (An Ethnographic Sketch for a Study of the Major Tribes in the Cameroons Territories under French Mandate, on the basis of German Documents, the Studies by Dr. Poutrin in French Equatorial Africa, and the Archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs for 1935-1937), "Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 18-19.

Unpublished reports of the administrators Bertaut and de Villedeuil in the Archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs /Archives du Bureau des Affaires Politiques/ and in the documents of the S.E.C. /Société d'Etudes Camerounaises/.

Moisel map, G3, Dume.

505 The wealth of all this region is easily transported by way of the river, which is navigable to M'Balmayo, where it connects with the railroad by way of the eastern road (Abong-M'Bang—Akonolinga—Yaoundé) /94/ and finally by way of the southern road (Sangmélima-M'Balmayo).

164 Demography. The Mbida-Mbane have not suffered greatly from sleeping sickness except in the Akonolinga group, and even here the disease was quickly checked. However, congenital syphilis accounts for 22.2 percent of the cases of infant mortality. /Map 20/

161 The ratio of births to deaths is slightly favorable: + 0.68 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 7 percent; the fertility rate is 5.20 pregnancies per woman.

511 The living conditions of the population as a whole are good, and it is growing slowly.

161 Among the Mvogo-Nienge the number of births barely exceeds the deaths; the ratio is + 0.39.

163 The sterility rate is 9 percent; the fertility rate is 4.25 pregnancies per woman. However, there is a very high proportion of stillbirths—26.9 percent—which explains the fact that this population remains stationary.

137 The humidity promotes vigorous forest vegetation throughout almost the whole area under consideration: on the plateau, primary forest (afan) giving way to secondary forest of softwood and dense undergrowth (ékôtôk) (2); in the valley of the Ogooué there is swamp forest

[311 196]

2. In my view ékwotola or ékotok clearly denote secondary forest but of the brushwood variety, and, if I understand correctly, ékotok is used to describe fallow, land that has been cultivated and that is still more or less in use.

Secondary forest would be called afan, in which the nuance of cleared forest is lost.

Primary forest would be called mfun afan. (J.B.)

at Poto-poto /2/ and mangrove in the estuary. Only north of Yaoundé, in Beti country, is there park-savanna with gallery forest along the
134 tributaries of the Sanaga. Black earth with thick humus (évindisi) is found in the valley bottoms, with red earth in process of rapid lateritization (évelesi) predominating, especially in the north.

135 The minerals are: a medium grade of lateritic iron, which is fairly common; rutile /an ore of titanium/; a little placer gold; perhaps a little copper.

136 Wildlife fauna is still quite abundant in the less populated regions and is extremely varied. There are anthropoids (gorilla, chimpanzee, and perhaps a third species, ébôt, not described by French writers but listed by Du Chaillu and by certain German zoologists); elephant; hippopotamus (becoming extinct); manatee (nearly extinct); buffalo; many kinds of antelope, among which the great Cephalophus (sô) plays an important role in social and religious life; flying squirrels; earth hog; pangolins; river hog and forest pig; rock badger in the south; panthers; tiger cats; civet cat; otter, and parpassa /?/; various reptiles, among them python, Dendraspis, Bitis gabonica, and cobra; numerous diurnal and nocturnal birds of prey; touraco, toucan; Buceros; francolin; grey parrot; giant snail and fresh-water bivalves; fresh-water crabs and prawns; abundant siluroids; crocodiles; various insects, among them the goliath beetle, etc.

164 There are many parasites and insect vectors: dysenteric amoeba;
136 ankylostoma; microfilaria; plasmodia; Trypanosoma (especially in the east); jigger flea; forest ticks and leeches are rather uncommon.

163 [161] 1. As an indication, the numerical strength of the Mekaé and Kozimé of the Cameroons may be put at about 80,000 persons.

index is a little less than ½ 1%), more, apparently, from a fall in the death rate than from a rise in the birth rate, which is rather inclined to decrease a bit. The table on pages 12a-12e gives a succinct survey in detail.

16 This table calls for some comments. First, the known rate of genital capacity*, nearly always around 4, like the sterility indices

/* According to another source, Georges Balandier /5/, "the genital capacity /is/ the mean number of pregnancies in women by the time of the menopause....." Sociologie Actuelle de l'Afrique Noire. Changemants sociaux au Gabon et au Congo /Contemporary Sociology of Black Africa: Social Changes in Gabon and the Congo/, p. 96, Paris, 1955. --Ed./

that reach 30 percent, forms a contrast to the accounts of the first explorers as well as to tribal traditions, which uniformly speak of high fertility and a large proportion of children. Even taking into ac-
161 count the undoubted exaggeration that colors these statements, it remains likely that a demographic decline took place in the second quarter of the twentieth century, offset by a lowering of mortality, at least in certain areas. The difficulties of adaptation to forest life are an explanation for the south. Undoubtedly, one must add factors
[164] like the spread of syphilis (kôto) along the highways and especially around settlements, and the outbreak of sleeping sickness, which seems to have followed pacification and to have affected particularly
[173] northern and northeastern Pahouin country. In the south there was also the great Gabon famine of 1924-27, as well as sociological
161 causes such as heavy recruiting for the timber industry and perhaps
178 psychological factors arising from the impact of colonization (Balandier). In the north where the precocious rise of an agricultural economy based on cacao stabilized the villages rather early, the change in the form of the bride price and the individual appropriation

161 178 of land by "elder sons" (mintôl) have certainly had an unfavorable demographic effect by upsetting the family structure—41 percent of adult males were unmarried in the Oyem subdivision in 1948. Finally, the wide-scale introduction of trade alcohol before 1914 and since 1946 has most certainly made things worse.

However, the magnitude of the crisis, which has primarily affected 161 the Fang of Gabon, must not be exaggerated. The general demo- 164 graphic development might be summed up as follows:

Temporary increase in general mortality immediately after pacification, owing to greater spread of epidemics, particularly of smallpox and sleeping sickness, as a result of new means of mobility; possible rise of sterility rates with slight fall in the genital capacity /13/ owing to venereal infection, alcoholism, labor recruitment (above all in Gabon), and changes in family and village economic organization.

On the other hand, rapid and continuous fall in general mortality resulting from pacification; since about 1930 a falling-off of epidemics and general improvement in hygiene initiated; at present a decline in infant mortality. The universal application [75] of wide-scale antimalarial prophylaxis (in the Cameroons) already allows us to anticipate a spectacular increase in the population.

161 Viewed as a whole, the balance between favorable and unfavorable factors appears to be on the positive side, in any case in areas not affected by the great Gabon famine of 1924. Moreover, awareness of demographic malaise must have partly resulted [164] from the halting of migration, which made a sort of inventory possible. This awareness is especially perceptible in Gabon, where the situation seems to have been in fact more serious.

5. History and Traditions of Origin

174 The known history of the Pahouin group is that of a migration toward the sea, a migration in process of completion before our eyes.

Whence did it start? This is a very controversial question. Stoll, following Schweinfurth, speaks of Upper Egypt, as does Trilles, basing this opinion on linguistic and cultural arguments such as the use of the military crossbow and the shape of the saber (fa). It is this same shape that leads Tessmann to speak of Roman influence. Marche and

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

142 bread-winners and some are strong and muscular, while many more are weak and worn out from ceaseless toil.

The Fang make good carriers, and will do a splendid day's journey even in the 482 wet season with bad forest trails, if not overloaded. A carrier's load should never 147 exceed 25 kilogrammes; and 20 would pay better on a long journey. The first day out with a caravan the men usually drag along slowly, until their loads settle well down in the *kingi* and fit their backs. The *kingi* is a very ingenious contrivance for carrying a load in; it is usually made from a forest vine with a plaited head strap. To hurry carriers the first day is a bad mistake; poorly adjusted loads chafe and cause sore backs, and before night the whole caravan is tired out and sulky. It is a wise traveller in Africa as elsewhere who knows how to save his men.

145 A very noticeable fact among the Fang is the scarcity of old men. I 164 attribute this largely to the ravages of syphilis; the same terrible disease that has done so much towards the degeneration of numerous coast tribes, and which is already playing fearful havoc among the Fang. Indolent, untrustworthy and warlike, they are nevertheless a most companionable people. 181 The slightest piece of drollery or a joke immediately causes laughter. It has been my privilege to visit many foreign lands including China, Japan and Korea, yet never in my life have I met such an absolutely good-natured, fun-loving people as the Fang.

The men are not fond of work. They frequently ask me for something to do 461 to "earn a cloth." If I tell them to cut fence poles or good clean bark in the forest, they decline. A male Fang's idea of work is to sit in the *Abeng* (= palaver house) and make fish lines by rolling pineapple fibre along the upper [723] portion of his thigh, or to manufacture *Abi* (roof thatch). At these occupations he can converse with all comers, hear the news and take his part in talking a palaver. 627 They are a revengeful people and will keep up a palaver over a woman for many years. If they do not succeed in shooting a man during a palaver they do not [777] hesitate to fire at and kill a woman, while captives held as hostages are often treated with great cruelty.

The women regard virtue very lightly. Before marriage a girl can do nearly 836 as she pleases. It is absolutely safe to state that it would be almost impossible 517 to find a maiden in a Fang village over sixteen years of age. Adultery is common, [837] and one of the chief causes of "women palavers." Women rank first in value as [862] goods for trade, next in value are goats, then guns and cloth. The greed for goods has a strong hold on the people. They learn quickly but have very little originality. They have no obscene rites. Their habits are very dirty; they will wash in a 515 small pool of water and, while bathing, fill the gourds or imported jugs with the water in which they are washing and use it for domestic purposes. In many other ways they are absolutely filthy, and descend to the level of brute creation. They [834] are not over-burdened with modesty, both sexes frequently bathe together in a perfectly nude condition. A male Fang passes a large percentage of his time in

161 There is a slight rise in population: ratio of births over deaths is + .69 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 15.2 percent; the fertility rate, 4.3 pregnancies per woman.

141 The Ntumu are above average in height, mesocephalic, and platyrrhinian.

Indexes	Men	(measurements of women were not made)
Cephalic	77.4	
Nasal	102.3	
Cormique	50.6	
Envergure/T	101.6	

161 The population balance remains favorable in spite of an extremely
165 high rate of infant mortality, reaching 58.91 percent of children born alive. The ratio of births over deaths is + 1.53 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 12 percent; the fertility rate, 4.6 pregnancies per woman.

113 See G. Olivier, with the collaboration of Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Grenier, "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du Sud-Cameroun /Anthropometric Documents for a study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept-Dec. 1946), pp. 48-49 and 62.

General Bibliography

Foerster. "Bericht über eine Erkundung des mittleren Kampoflusses /Report on an Exploration of the Middle Campo River/," (with a Moisel map), Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1902, pp. 123-28.

"Expedition des Stabsarztes Hoesemann längs der Südgrenze von Kamerun /Expedition of the Staff Physician Hoesemann along the Southern Border of the Cameroons/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1902, pp. 291-93 and 313-15.

Zimmerman, O. "Das Gebiet der Ntum und Mwei /The Ntum and Mwei Region/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1910, pp. 459-65.

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe, Op. Cit., pp. 7, 40, 43, 49.

Yekaba
Bamvele, Bobili

174 long migration of the Pahouin—although the name "Yalongo" spoken of in their geneologies is reminiscent of the Beti. Once again we are aware of the complexity of the Beti-Pahouin intermixture.

361 The villages and huts spread through the bush give an impression
491 of poverty, although in 1903 the Germans noted that the great trade route from Bertoua to Yoko passed through Yekaba territory. /Map 16/ At the present time the whole length of the territory is serviced by the great eastern highway (Yaoundé—Nanga-Eboko—Bertoua).

197 Language. The fact that the Yekaba form part of the Pahouin migration is apparent from G. Tessmann's tribal map, where they are shown in the large Pahouin blot—under the general heading of "Mvele." We will return to this subject later in the chapter on the Bamvele.

161 Demography. The Yekaba are definitely decreasing in number.
165 The infant mortality rate among them is 34.3 percent. The sterility
163 rate is 33.93 percent; the fertility rate is 4.3 pregnancies per woman, but with about 10 percent stillbirths.

161 The population balance shows a ratio of -4.4 percent births to deaths.

Bibliography

113 Thierry. "Dienstreise nach Esum-Sannaga /Official Trip to Esum-Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1903, p. 522.

Sieber, J. "Die Wute /The Wute/," Lebenshaltung, Kultur und religiöse Weltanschauung eines Afrikanischen Volkstammes /Attitude toward Life, Cultural and Religious Attitudes of an African Tribe/ (Berlin: Reimer, Vohsen, 1925), pp. 112-13.

Unpublished reports of the administrators Cournarie, Chauleur, Gatau, and Boudineau.

Moisel map, G3, Dume. /88/

THE BAMVELE AND THE BOBILI

131 Location: 12°30 to 13°30 long.
4°35 to 4°50 north lat.

101 On all German maps the people we call Bamvele are designated by the name of Bele (see the Moisel map and Tessmann's tribal map).

197 Language. The linguistic map of G. Tessmann shows without comment, the Yebekolo, under the category of "Mvele."

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The average height of the Yebekolo is 165.5; the average cephalic index is 78.8.

143 Their blood-group ratios are as follows:
O: 69.3 percent; A: 13.1 percent; B: 12.1 percent; AB: 5.35 percent; —index $\frac{A+AB}{A+AB}$: 1.197.

165 The extremely high rate of infant mortality (58.64 percent) is due
164 to malaria. The disease is fostered by the marshiness of the region, which is likely to remain a source of sleeping sickness as well.

161 The population balance is stationary; the ratio of births to deaths is + 0.09 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 5 percent; the fertility rate is 3.98 pregnancies per woman.

See:

113 Olivier, G., with the collaboration of Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Greiner, "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du Sud-Cameroun, /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept.-Dec. 1946), p. 65.

Brygoo. "Le nouveau-né et la femme enceinte aux environs d'Ayos /The Newborn Child and the Pregnant Woman in the Vicinity of Ayos/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 21-22 (1948), pp. 49-68.

Bibliography

Scheunemann. "Die Unruhen in Südbezirk von Kamerun 1904 bis 1906 /Unrest in the Southern Area of the Cameroons/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1907, pp. 349-51, and 396.

Tremesaygues. Unpublished report on the geneologies and the origins of the peoples in the subdivision of Akonolinga (1930).

Numerous reports in the Archives du Service de Santé /Archives of the Health Service/ from the medical station at Ayos.

Moisel map, G3, Dume

161 attributed to the optimism of this observer who "seems to have been conservative." (3) G. Sautter thinks that such a population,

3. G. Sautter, "Essai sur le peuplement et l'habitat au Woleu-Ntem" [Essay on the Population and Habitat in Woleu-Nt'Tem], Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 14, April-June, 1951.

"itself deficient" (for causes which appear in part of a natural order since they occur "from one end to the other of the equatorial forest bloc"), has been sorely tried by endemic diseases and famine as well as by emigration and recruiting. Stabilization, which has asserted itself during the last two decades along with the equipment and enrichment of the region, is still tenuous. Because of this G. Sautter will not risk making any forecast on the future evolution of the Woleu-N'Tem population. He recognizes that the Fang of this region are a "flourishing population when compared to their congeners of the Ivindo, the Ogooué, and the coast, who are in a far worse position."

The fragility of this equilibrium was apparent at the time of the "war effort." The political report of Woleu-N'Tem (1944) pays particular attention to the problem of depopulation. It shows [165] a large excess of deaths over births (22.1 percent versus 15.9), and it stresses the serious recrudescence of the migratory movement — an official estimate gives 4,500 adult men (that is more [167] than 20 percent of the adult male population) who at that time had gone to Spanish Guinea. That is to say, that the results obtained since 1930 by [our] population policy have remained eminently precarious. While still one of the most vigorous ethnic groups of Gabon, the Fang have a handicap which makes them sensitive to any critical situation, as was apparent during the last years of the war. There is no medical report that [93] still boasts, as did the early observers, of the robustness and prolicacy of the Pahouin.

162 With the help of precise investigations made in Woleu-N'Tem, we have been able to study the structure of the Fang population in this relatively favorable region. The most apparent fact is the

In spite of normal fertility (the genital capacity, the mean number of
162 pregnancies in women by the time of menopause, is 4. 2 for the
163 whole district), the number of children is not sufficient because
● 165 of the high infant mortality (see the following table), and also apparently because of the aging of the female population. Serious malarial diseases affecting 78 percent of the children from two to five years old are the reasons for this mortality as well as intestinal parasitosis.

[97] Table IV

(Based on the medical report of the 4th quarter of 1944)

District	Birth Rate	Rate of mortality from 0 to 1 year	Rate of infant mortality	Percentage of child population with reference to total population
Bitam	1. 3%	7. 1% of deaths	27% of deaths	29%
Minvoul	1. 3%	7. 3% of deaths	13% of deaths	25%
Oyem	1. 7%	10% of deaths	26% of deaths	34%
Mitzic	0. 8%	6. 7% of deaths	18% of deaths	25%

These figures should be completed by stating that infant mortality which is very high from zero to one year diminishes from one to five years and drops meaningfully only from this age on. Dr. Le Dentu in 1936 gave for the whole Fang people, for each of these categories, the following percentages: 16. 5 percent, 12 percent, and 8. 8 percent of deaths, which indicates the catastrophic situation in certain parts of the Pahouin country

Such are the figures as they appear in the privileged region of the Woleu-N'Tem. They are still higher when the whole

162 administrative division is taken into account, especially at the end
163 of a period of crisis, as is shown by the health study of 1944, or
● 165 when one considers only the most restricted village groupings that are the most affected. The diagrams for the three villages of Oyem (Fig. 3) are characteristic.

However this demographic situation appears excellent when it is compared to that of the Fang of other regions. In this respect we give as an example the Fang of the Ogoué-Ivindo about whom we have information gathered during the year 1947: [98] [Fig. 3.]

[99]

Index of replacement: 0.43.
Birth rate: 0.77 percent.
Percentage of child population: 24.7 percent.
Total mortality rate: 1.79 percent.
Infant mortality rate: 25 percent of deaths.(1)

1. Economic report of the Ogooué-Ivindo; chapter on "Demography."

163 And a slightly earlier report (1946) on the essentially Fang district of Booué shows complementary percentages which are still more significant: a genital capacity of 2.7 and for the young women a fertility rate (mean number of reported pregnancies) of 1.2, these figures being far below those obtained from the Fang of the Woleu-N'Tem. Incidentally, "35 to 40 percent of the young women remain sterile while the percentage of sterility in the older women does not exceed 8 to 12 percent." (2) The Fang

2. Population Commission, Official Report of the Meeting of August 8, 1946.

of the Ogooué-Ivindo are registered in a region where all the ethnic groups show a demographic decline and which has lost a seventh of its population from 1934 to 1947. Their situation is comparable to that of their congeners of Lower Gabon who, as Dr. Le Dentu pointed out, show a marked deficit.

621 groupings, whatever their size, settled in a definite spot and occupying a limited area. Referring to observations made in the past, the Fang apparently distinguished definitely two types of these units: the ʒal, "inhabited only by the family of the ésa (chief or patriarch) his kin and his clients [dependents]" and the mfaġ, "where several families gather together without mingling together ...," the different parts being "separated by guardhouses built in the center of the single street...." (2) It is easy to see

2. V. Largeau, op. cit., article: Village.

by this statement that the nd'è bòt (minor lineage) formed the fundamental element, as is seen by sections or quarters definitely marked out. The numerous concentrations were most often conditioned by reasons of security (they were mostly found on the frontiers [129] of the Fang country at the period of conquest) or by the power of aggregation of a strong personality. (1) They repre-

1. Maignan in his Études sur le Pays Pahouin [Studies of the Pahouin Country], op. cit., refers to such a power held by "him who, by his age, his experience, his eloquence, his wealth ... is the most capable of protecting the interests of all."

sented more or less extended lineages. L. Martrou points out that all the members of these villages "go back through four or five ancestors to a common paternal founder." (2)

2. Father L. Martrou, "Le nomadisme des Fangs [Nomadism of the Fangs]," Revue de Géographie, Vol. 3, 1909.

621 Early works and documents show the village grouping to be an
● 166 eminently mobile unit. Father Trilles gives the example of a village

621 166 that accomplished a migration of 500 kilometers with the same chief (1910), and Dr. Aujoulat mentions a grouping which in twenty years moved over 200 kilometers (1935). These are characteristics of a seminomadic people and not of a peasant people. For a long time the government ran up against what it called the "migratory mania" of the Fang. The law in Gabon manifests a lack of attachment to cultivated land which underlines this instability. L. Martrou points out that there is no definite appropriation of the places for cultivation, hunting, or fishing; there exist only "zones of influence" with uncertain boundaries. (3)

3. Father L. Martrou, "Le nomadisme des Fangs [Nomadism of the Fangs]," op. cit.

166 The geographer, J. Bruhnes, basing his judgment on these facts, made of the Fang a type of Naturvoelker [nature folk] and claimed that "the most general causes of the migrations... resulted from destructive occupation." (4) It is essential to correct

4. J. Bruhnes, La Geographie Humaine [Human Geography], abridged edition, Paris, 1942, pp. 199-204.

here an opinion based on insufficient information, which will lead us to observations valuable for our analysis. At various times we have specifically stated that there exist some Fang centers settled a long time ago in a limited region (in Woleu-N'tem). (5) We

5. Confirmed by Captain Maignan, op. cit., who draws attention to villages "occupying the same land for more than a century," (study dated 1912).

have shown how echeloning took place, starting from regular "migratory centers," and have indicated the manner in which the

● 166 social organization favored (or gave rise to) the breaking up of groupings. These facts lead to the idea of relative instability and to the recognition of internal causes responsible for this instability.

Moreover, recent geographic studies assert that the "system of agriculture adopted by the Fang (could not by) the destruction of the forest, [130] (determine) the displacement of a whole population." These studies recall the existence of a "true and early settlement" in the heart of the Fang country in the South Cameroons.(1) This is certified by the existence of landed property

1. G. Sautter, "Les paysans noirs du Gabon septentrional" [The Black Peasants of Northern Gabon], op. cit., pp. 126-128, 158.

among the Cameroons Pahoun. (2) The migrations through Gabon

2. Cf. M. Bertaut, op. cit., chapter: Les Biens [Property].

must be the most recent (representing no doubt the point of departure of a new phase of expansionism), and the Ogooué represents the frontier of the Fang country (actually the advanced front of this people) only because of French occupation. The Fang have only recently given up a policy of conquest at which they excelled because of their fighting valor and their assimilating capacity. Until the eve of 1914 the administration ran up against warlike organizations, the Bizima, operating in the neighborhood of the Okamo River, and a report of 1922 specifically states that "the native is not easily handled." There is no doubt that for a long time the Fang have made every effort to secure and control the trade routes and trading centers early established in this part of central Africa. This is confirmed by legends which connect a trek toward the west with the discovery of great riches. (3) As

3. Cf. Legends quoted by L. Mba, op. cit., and V. Largeau, op. cit.

166 early as the middle of the last century the explorer Du Chaillu noted how this warlike pressure was completed by peaceful conquest by means of "alliances" created by marriage with foreighers. (4) Dr. Cureau, fifty years later, pointed out that the

> 4. Father Du Chaillu, op. cit., "... for their part the Fang, far away from the European commerce much coveted by them, are happy to acquire a son-in-law nearer the coast. So I suspect that in a few years they will succeed in contracting marriages with other tribes on a very large scale."

control of the Ogooué trade had passed into the hands of the Fang peoples. (5) With settlement in Gabon, the economy of the Fang

> 5. Dr. A. Cureau, op. cit., p. 294.

groupings takes on a double orientation: it comes in contact with the forest peoples who are essentially hunters and collectors of trading produce, and it transforms its movement of expansion into an attempt to seize the trade of Lower Gabon. One might say that French colonization has prevented a sort of Fang colonization in this region. While this double task of conquest and trade depends on the men, the economy of subsistence is to all intents and purposes left to the women. On this basis [131] the division of labor is established, leaving to the men alone the means of acquiring wealth and capital.

166 621 361 Such elements help us to understand the relative mobility of the groupings. A people that has no concern for agriculture would have no strong attachment for land that is equally fertile in any part of the forest. (1) In another respect the characteristic of a

> 1. See what was still said in 1934 by the administrator Le Testu (one of the best observers of the men and the country): "Lacking any taste for working the

● 166
621
361

> land, which the Pahouin will never acquire, for he considers it humiliating, he will perhaps develop a taste for the profit resulting from this work."

conquering society has imposed on the old Fang village an appearance which has often been mentioned: two uninterrupted rows (nkara) of huts surrounding a kind of courtyard closed at each end [712] by a "guardhouse" (abɛ̃nɔ̃); sometimes a palisade of posts enclosing a banana plantation serves as a protection in the rear. Inside the huts there is only a limited amount of things which are easily transportable: "goods" of value are stored in chests, the ancestors' [352] altars (biéri) are kept in large cylindrical boxes. (2) There is no

> 2. Very similar to the "baskets of ancestors" carried by the Ba-kongo during their great migrations.

doubt that the grouping lived for a long time in a state of insecurity. This was primarily the factor which intervened to maintain a minimum size without which there was no real security. The causes contributing to the breaking up of groups, the organization of Fang society itself, the search for women and goods, and, finally, the agricultural methods, were dominated and largely impeded by this necessity. It appears certain that really large villages existed at the beginning of French occupation. V. Largeau refers to mfaǵ with eight or ten "guardhouses"; F. Grébert speaks of ten to twenty of these "guardhouses," (3) and F. Meyé asserts

> 3. F. Grébert. Au Gabon [In the Gabon], Paris, 1932.

that "the normal population of a village was from 80 to 170 warriors, exclusive of women and adolescents." (4) According to estimates

> 4. Quoted by G. Sautter, op. cit., p. 124.

166 made fifty years ago, such a whole represented from 350 to 700
621 or 800 persons — while present-day villages rarely average more
361 than 100 inhabitants. With peace restored, the grouping has relaxed and divided into its constituent elements which have broken away to form neighboring hamlets. A special word, ngòra, is the name given to these hamlets which are considered as still forming the same whole.

621 Linked with the virile character of Fang society is certainly
562 [132] the accent on the separation of sexes as shown in daily
571 life. For the woman, the living place is the hut; for the man it
344 is essentially the "guardhouse." M. H. Kingsley writes: "The men spend most of their time in palaver houses built at each end of the street, while the women bring bowls of food the whole day
[784] long," (3) without being able to enter the abèñõ, which is absolutely

3. Travels in West Africa, p. 154.

forbidden them. H. Trilles defines this abèñõ as the place "where the men assemble to deal with community affairs, war, marriage,
[574] lawsuits, etc...," and where strangers are welcomed. In addition it is the place where the young men receive a large part of their education, where they learn, according to L. Mba, the most im-
621 portant interdicts (éki). Males of the same nd'è bòt assemble in
562 the abèñõ, which forms a virile grouping and one of kinship. In
571 its midst the authority of the "eldest" is expressed. He is both the symbol and the regulator of the life of the group, and the intermediary between it and the ancestors. Here not only are important transactions regulated, but work is also organized. The life of each one is subject to the control and the nearly constant censure of all. In it is created a cohesion so that this group is the most resistant element of Fang society. It is through the medium of this group, that the traditional Fang is assessed, is isolated as an individual, by the foreigner; he is not known in the first place as X but as a man attached to the abèñõ of Y. Such a grouping therefore represents a strong "community": the fusion, which favors effective kinship to the maximum (it is based on immediate filiation and "fraternity"), worship of the same ancestors, and joint

of land by "elder sons" (mintôl) have certainly had an unfavorable demographic effect by upsetting the family structure—41 percent of adult males were unmarried in the Oyem subdivision in 1948. Finally, the wide-scale introduction of trade alcohol before 1914 and since 1946 has most certainly made things worse.

However, the magnitude of the crisis, which has primarily affected the Fang of Gabon, must not be exaggerated. The general demographic development might be summed up as follows:

Temporary increase in general mortality immediately after pacification, owing to greater spread of epidemics, particularly of smallpox and sleeping sickness, as a result of new means of mobility; possible rise of sterility rates with slight fall in the genital capacity /13/ owing to venereal infection, alcoholism, labor recruitment (above all in Gabon), and changes in family and village economic organization.

On the other hand, rapid and continuous fall in general mortality resulting from pacification; since about 1930 a falling-off of epidemics and general improvement in hygiene initiated; at present a decline in infant mortality. The universal application of wide-scale antimalarial prophylaxis (in the Cameroons) already allows us to anticipate a spectacular increase in the population.

Viewed as a whole, the balance between favorable and unfavorable factors appears to be on the positive side, in any case in areas not affected by the great Gabon famine of 1924. Moreover, awareness of demographic malaise must have partly resulted from the halting of migration, which made a sort of inventory possible. This awareness is especially perceptible in Gabon, where the situation seems to have been in fact more serious.

5. History and Traditions of Origin

The known history of the Pahouin group is that of a migration toward the sea, a migration in process of completion before our eyes.

Whence did it start? This is a very controversial question. Stoll, following Schweinfurth, speaks of Upper Egypt, as does Trilles, basing this opinion on linguistic and cultural arguments such as the use of the military crossbow and the shape of the saber (fa). It is this same shape that leads Tessmann to speak of Roman influence. Marche and

463 but most of the artisans live in towns; there it is that they learned their trades, more easily find materials and tools, there also they believe the multitude will enable them to collect a large number of orders.

Certain crafts are long established, such as tailoring, masonry, and carpentry. But while Pahouin are numerous in the woodworking and building trades, as tailors they frequently have to compete with immigrants. New professions arise, often controlled by foreigners also—photographers, mattress makers, and mechanics. This brief list of the most widespread trades allows one to infer the rise in the standard of living: doors and windows, tables, chairs, wardrobes, beds, mattresses are now in quite general use.

309 166 The towns plan an essential role and are completely integrated into the country, since it is there that the rural people go to have the things made which they need. The mixed character of town populations is astonishing. Immigrants from all regions of the Cameroons or French Equatorial Africa give them a cosmopolitan character, while the bush has not sustained such a complex intermixture.

Nevertheless, we must not exaggerate the antithesis between country people and townsfolk: many countrymen have resided a few years in town and have kept up connections there. Migration away from centers was quite active thirty years ago, and certain Pahouin tribes were largely represented in the timber industry. There has been just as decided a movement toward the towns: "The development of cacao plantations along the Woleu-N'Tem by changing the living conditions of the villagers certainly seems to have been the principal cause of the halt in emigration in 1930." This remark by Sautter about the Fang is also true of the Boulou and —to a lesser degree, perhaps—of the Béti and assimilated tribes more closely pressed together in their habitat.

463 162 Béti, Boulou, or Fang form a petty bourgeoisie rather than a proletariat without resources. The following figures show the relatively small proportion of unskilled laborers (1):

1. M. Soret, Démographie et problèmes urbains en A.E.F. /Demography and Urban Problems in French Equatorial Africa/, I.F.A.N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noir/, 1954.

463
162

Occupational Distribution of Pahouin Emigrants in Douala

	Laborers	Artisans	Intellectual Occupations	Traders and Licensed Dealers
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Beti	37	55	1.9	6
Boulou		60	40	

A study of Dolisie, Baronga, and Poto-Poto makes it possible to establish similar facts for occupations (2). /39/

2. According to J. Guilbot, Petite étude sur la main-d'oeuvre à Douala /A Brief Study of Manpower at Douala/, I.F.A.N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noir/, the Cameroons, 1947.

112
871

The proportion among them of persons who have education is about 40 percent and, what is even more important, that of the well-educated is relatively high.

Poto-Poto: Cultural Level of "Coastal Forest Dwellers"

Illiterates	Educated	Holders of the C.E.P.*	Holders of the "Brevet"
610	390	111	56

/*Certificat d'etudes primaires, certificate of primary education./

369
166

After spending some time in town, some emigrants return to their native villages, thus diminishing the separation between the two places. The bush folk, in turn, often come to the urban centers (1) and in

1. A set of figures gives the exact number of these trips: in 480 budgets relative to a total of 2,000 persons, 1,116 trips were listed (J. Binet, op. cit., p. 112).

such a case we gather that each principal town of a subdivision is a genuine center of attraction. Although new these towns are not artificial. There is another piece of evidence for this, the social-occupational distribution of the urban population is almost constant from one town to another, a proof that it corresponds to needs that are also constant.

Out of 100 inhabitants one generally finds: laborers 16.5, employees 12, traders 8.3, chauffeurs 6.9 (and "motor boys" 4.3), public service employees 6.7, domestic servants 5.8, carpenters 4.9, masons 4, farmers 3.5, tailors 3.2, mechanics 2.9, photographers 0.8, herders 0.5, catechists 0.1, without occupation 9, etc.

This in general outline is the present-day distribution. Let it simply be kept in mind that, with the diffusion of a new culture, the whole society becomes modified. The techniques and tools in use have been increased and diversified at the same time as social conditions.

Chapter 5

Social Organization

1. Forms of Settlement, Habitat

The basic social group is the patriarchal family (nda bot = lit., house of the people), to which corresponds the hamlet or elementary village, the jal (Boulou, pl. mal; Fang, Ewôndo, dzal), generally called by the name of the patriarch (ésa = father; nnôl = eldest, senior), but sometimes, when isolated, carrying a special toponym (éyôlé = proper name, designation; a person's name is rather jôé; Fang, édzoé). These mal are usually arranged into multifamily, sometimes multi-clan, villages, minlam (sing. nlam), the latter term designating both the group of dwellings and the soil appertaining to them. The nlam always has a place name of its own, which may refer to its geographical situation: nkôlayôp = on the hill; to a topographical or botanical peculiarity: ako'abete = dressed stone, ajap = the name of a tree, ma'an = crossroads; or to an incident connected with the founding: ébolewo'o (Ebolowa) = decayed chimpanzee, because the village was

103 set up at a spot where the body of a chimpanzee had been found; menjikôm = from me nji kômbo, I did not want to, the founding family not having wanted to go any further. /Or the nlam may take its place name/ from a nickname or whimsical name: mañ = sea, the site being considered "as beautiful as the sea"; kamelôn = Kamerun, "because a white man told us that the country would be called thus henceforward; évuzok = elephant's stomach, because of the appetite of its inhabitants, etc. It may also happen that a village name repeats that of its founder's native village, sometimes coupled with an indication like baa = second, mfefé = new, or with the name of its founder or chief, Méyo me Nkulu, the Méyo of Nkulu.

166 The leapfrog advance of small Pahouin groups at the time of the
621 invasion has already been described. Each of these groups generally
178 corresponded to a hamlet—jal—or to a village—nlam—or, rather, to the corresponding family units, nda bôt or mvôk. The migrating group retained rights to the abandoned site (bilik). Today the migration of whole villages is much less common. Rather, we are witnessing either a "swarming off" of villages that are overpopulated in relation to the amount of land available for plantations (in particular land near a vehicular road, especially in Cameroons), or a kind of explosion or social disintegration, /41/ the latter phenomenon being particularly noticeable among the Fang, where it has been well described by Balandier. Administrative action has often been a prime mover in the latest migrations: in Gabon, for instance, there has been an attempt to move whole villages for administrative, economic, or hygienic reasons, but in doing so collective groups have been broken up that had already been weakened by the disappearance of ancient defense needs and by the economic changes resulting from colonization. The new villages, often reconstituted without taking into account previous clan or family structures, no longer had any cohesion and split up into small rootless hamlets, poorly populated, continually moving their sites in disorderly fashion and usually seeking to escape contact with the administration. Since 1946, especially at the instance of the deputy, Aubame, himself a Fang, there has come into existence in Gabon a movement to regroup villages by clans, the results of which do not seem to have corresponded to the hopes of its promoters.

166 The situation is perceptibly different in the Cameroons, where the
621 early introduction of the cultivation of cacao (before 1914 in Ewôndo

166 country and in the north of Boulou country) has put a considerable
621 brake upon village nomadism, the planters not liking to move away from their plantations. When there is migration, the activity consists rather in the "swarming off" of a portion of the inhabitants, who go to found a new hamlet in a site favorable for cultivation, without there being from then on any necessary correspondence between family structure and settlement pattern. The new jal will no longer necessarily correspond to one family but may gather together several families from different and unrelated lineages (mvam).

361 The Pahouin village of former times was planned for defense.
712 Situated in an oblong clearing, usually within reach of the nearest village (3 to 4 kilometers) by drum-telephone (nkul), it comprised
[202] two lines of contiguous rectangular huts, gable to gable, on either side of a courtyard or main street (nseñ), blocked at either end by a guardhouse /men's house/ (aba, abeñ) allowing only a narrow entrance, often oblique, which was barricaded every evening. All doors gave onto the nseñ; the outer walls having merely a few loopholes. Sometimes the village was encircled by a moat (ésalak) and traps, sometimes also by a stockade /akak). The most important subsistence plots (mefup) were in the forest, often quite far away, but near the village behind the huts were banana groves and kitchen gardens, while medicinal plants (bilok bi mebiañ) as well as tobacco were grown in
342 the central nseñ. The hut walls were made of bark (particularly of certain kinds of Ficus /fig/) which was wetted, then beaten flat and dried to form boards; these are the "carbotes" (from the English word "cardboard") still in use on the coast. These boards were fastened by lianas and pegs to posts set in a rectangle. The double pitched roof was of "tiles" made of raffia folioles (ôbaé, pl. abaé) folded in two and pinned with wooden splinters to the scantlings made of /42/ strips of the main leaf rib set parallel to the ridgepole. This ridgepole
[531] rested on forked posts, of which the two central ones had magical significance and were usually carved or at least painted. The dimensions of these dwelling huts rarely exceeded 6 by 3 meters, while those of the guardhouses (meba) might reach twice this. In each
[352] household the man had his private hut where he kept his most valuable possessions (biôm): chests containing loincloths, etc., weapons, drums, "medicaments" (mebiañ), his own seat, masks, and magical equipment. The women's huts, side by side with his and where the young children slept, were used as kitchens and contained carrying

level that the agencies of authority, of social control, are most in evidence.

The head of the family is the senior, ntôl or ntôle môt, of the adult and active men, benya bôtô, "the true men." He is not necessarily the oldest in age, because infirm old men suffer a genuine capitis diminutio /a loss of status/. The founder of the hamlet or his eldest son can still, even if infirm, preserve a certain moral authority as father, ésa, of the family, but actual authority will then be delegated to a nya môtô chosen from his brothers, sons, or nephews, the éfo'olo (Bertaut). In principle, a jal is composed of the founder, his old relatives /parents/, his younger brothers, his children and those of his sisters, his unmarried sisters, their illegitimate children and those of his daughters. Wives do not belong to the jal; their village is referred to as jañ. Of a divorced woman one would say, a keya jañ, "she has gone back to her village." The size of the nda bôt depends upon different factors: security, the /family/ head's authority, the fertility of the soil, etc. I have already pointed out how several mal can be gathered into a nlam, a proper village. Nowadays the menda me bôt are tending to decrease numerically and no longer to correspond to the jal, which can from now on combine several /menda me bôt/. The limited or household family is becoming more and more important, while the government-sponsored institution of village chiefship /chefferie/, although it is often only an imperfect substitute for the authority of the ntôl or the ésa, undermines that none the less. The size of an average nda bôt may be calculated at twenty /49/ persons (including the wives who do not belong to the jal), less in the towns and among the less prosperous people, more among large planters and the influential (minkukum).

The nda bôt used to be a religious, military, and economic unit. On the religious plane, the father, ésa, was the custodian of the biéti (Fang, biéri), the portable altar or ark of the ancestral cult containing the skulls of the ancestors; he made the decisions about initiations and bore their expense. The initiations have died out, and the missions have burned dozens, if not hundreds, of biéri. Security and colonial order have removed any interest in the ésa's military function. Only his economic role survives to some extent. He used to be the sole owner of the family goods (biôm), sole treasurer of income, and sole regulator of expenditures, of which the most important was the payment of "bride prices" (minsuba) for his younger brothers and his

sons. When cacao was introduced, cultivation was done collectively by the nda bôt, with the ésa selling the produce and taking charge of the money. The younger generation quickly tired of this state of affairs and left their families in order to have plantations of their own. In addition, the inflation of land values from the growing of export crops led to division upon the death of the ésa and brought on the splintering of the nda bôt. This had never been very stable, even before the colonial period, but the cessation of military needs made possible a precocious "swarming off," which had not occurred before except when a new nda bôt was large enough to provide for its own defense.

In spite of this disintegration, jal and nda bôt remain the basic units of Pahouin life, more so than the ayoñ. Development of private property notwithstanding, there does exist a juridical community with collective responsibility and obligatory self-help among its members. Many young people denounce this (cf. Eza Boto, Ville cruelle /Cruel City/, no. 182) and partly leave the jal in order to escape. But that is futile because the ties spread throughout the country become closer at a distance /from the jal/ and because the solidarity of the extended family is probably even stronger among emigrants than among stay-at-homes.

d. The Limited or Household Family; Kinship

The limited or household family, composed of an economically independent man, his wife, his children, sometimes old relatives /parents/, unmarried brothers and sisters, is becoming more and more important, both within the nda bôt framework and outside it. The missions have contributed a good deal to this, especially at the outset of evangelical activity, in order to separate the catechumens from their still animistic mintô mi bôt (they incline to react in the opposite direction nowadays to fight against "destructive individualism"). But economic changes have also played an important part. The household family is the unit of the migrant petty official, of the small-scale planter. There is no word for it; people say either mone nda bôt, "little extended family," or simply nda, "house."

Purely for convenience I shall discuss kinship on this level, in terms of an adult married man. /50/

423 2. Sautter, Bulletin d'Études centrafricaines, 1950 (no. 102).

[166] Migrations and conquests still belong to the recent past. Besides, /74/ the movement of peoples was effected without organization or authority: different clans, tribes, and peoples overlap, family by family, so that it is not possible to determine the territorial base of a collective group.

Among the Ewondo and Eton the situation is slightly different: the clans, probably better organized, preserved a certain amount of cohesion and carried out their conquest without becoming scattered. Therefore we find that they have boundaries between villages and collective rights over land. "Once plots of land have been cleared, they are not abandoned for good. A village looks upon them as a [241] reserve." In fact population density very much limits shifting cultivation.

[178] In the past forty years customs have changed a great deal and, among these peoples where land tenure was embryonic or nonexistent, ideas are arising that approximate Western rights of ownership.

[161] Population is now pretty nearly stable. It would be quite logical for rights over crops within a fixed boundary to arise, and in this direction some development is making itself felt. In certain areas 423 anyone may still cut wood, lianas, gather wild fruits, or hunt, to 241 satisfy his personal needs, but if he makes a profit from the sale of these things, he must obtain the consent of the family /occupying/ the area in which he carries on this activity. Elsewhere, the use of certain produce even for private requirements is subject to permission or to sharing the harvest. Thus the customary principle of the free use of natural goods is being restricted, at least in certain particular cases. With increase in population comes the idea of a virtual right over uncultivated forest lands. Families consider that they alone have the right to clear the land on which they depend. Men with experience state clearly that "formerly everyone cleared forest land without asking anyone's permission. Now that the country is becoming populous, permission must be asked." In less populated cantons clearing in the great forest goes on without restriction.

In conformity with ancestral customs, the harvest belongs to the cultivators: a right over personal property rather than a right over land. Nevertheless, a tendency toward a right of land ownership is

VI. The Establishment of a New Village

361 621 166 787 Various circumstances may lead to the setting-up of a new village. Worked-out land, denuded hunting anf fishing grounds, decaying huts, a disease decimating the children, the chief's death, a defeat in war, sometimes merely the wish to push on, are the principal reasons.

The spirits are consulted before departure is considered. [Footnote omitted.] There is a triple sacrifice; to the spiritual guardians of the village, to the ancestors, and to the totem. If the three replies are favorable, plans may go ahead. Otherwise, a sacrifice producing an ill-omened interpretation will be undertaken again, after a few days, until a favorable result is obtained.

361 621 After this first test a suitable location is sought. As this choice is made by delegates, the practitioner is called upon and he, with all the male inhabitants, combs the [557] surroundings of the new village, singing and dancing so as to drive away malignant spirits or any that might be injurious to the new establishment.

361 621 769 782 All the men then come together in the middle of what will be the future village, and the chief picks out the spot where he will build his own hut. A sacrifice is offered there, first to the totem and then to the spirits of the ancestors. To do this a roof of leaves is hastily erected and roughly placed on a few stakes. The évora biéri is carried underneath the roof and the chief puts in front of the unopened box a black hen and a kid.

Before slaughtering the two victims, the chief removes the akaméyôn from his baldrick and blows three times in the oviara, turning in three different directions. The objective of this ceremony is to dispel evil spirits. He then drags the akaméyôn behind him over the entire site of the new village. After one round he does another, holding the akaméyôn in his hand. Thus malignant spirits of earth and air will be dispersed. The akaméyon is then put on the évora biéri. The chief slaughters the hen by cutting off its head, grasps it by the feet, and sprinkles the akaméyôn and box. He again traverses the village, sprinkling

CHAPTER 6

THE BETI AND THE PAHOUIN

THE BETI OR BATI

128 /Pp. 1-56 not translated/ In the introductory section devoted to the peopling of the area, we have spoken of the Beti, or Bati, who certainly comprised a large group with many branches. They have been subject to many upheavals and, consequently, it is impossible to determine which of them have remained pure Beti and which—according to G. Tessmann's expression—have become "Pahouinized," and to what extent they have become "Pahouinized." Therefore, we will first devote a short paragraph to the Beti, and then another to the Pahouin /Pahuin/.

In the discussion which follows we will speak first of the populations which the authors have grouped under the name of Beti, and then, imperceptibly, we will move on to the Pahouin, but we are not able to decide exactly where the dividing line should be placed.

173 It is certain that the various branches of the Beti, or Bati, spread
131 over a large area. According to the oral traditions of a number of these peoples, their original habitat was north of the Sanaga River, and near its tributary the Mbam /M'Bam/. /Map 1/ A tiny group of these Bati remained there, and they may still be found southwest of Bafia, on the right bank of the Lihoua, a tributary of the Sanaga. Their little territory of barely 20 square kilometers is wedged in between the Yambasa /Yambassa/ in the east, the Lemande in the north,
[161] and the Baso in the west and to the south. There are only 800 persons altogether in the villages of Keleng (on the route from Bafia to Ngambe) and the hamlets of Mpouke and Nyambat.

●167 Others of the Beti remained north of the Sanaga and divided into a scattering of small groups; when the Germans found them they had not united /58/ and were still migrating. They did not become settled until the Babute had been pushed back to their former habitat by the new occupants.

Ngoro
Bafok-Yangafuk

361 The several Ngoro villages are stretched over 70 kilometers of trails. A single one may be found on the right bank of the M'Bam, in the immediate vicinity of Bafia, on the vehicular road. Another is located about 30 kilometers to the southeast, also on the vehicular road but on the left bank of the M'Bam; it is Goura, inhabited by the Ngoro who moved down toward fertile land.

173 The Ngoro say that they descended from the Mangisa a long time ago—perhaps during the time when the latter still lived north of the Sanaga. The traditions of the Ngoro also say that their original ancestor was the same as that of the Betsinga, the Kombe, and the Bundju. Is this myth or history? This extended kinship brings together all the Beti.

The folk history of the Ngoro begins only with the war against the Babute in the last century. At that time they were dispersed, and most of them clustered around the Ngoro River. When attacked by the Babute, those nearest the M'Bam crossed the river and settled among the Bafia, whom they pushed back. /63/ Others, the Yasakunu, were driven all the way back to the Yambasa. The people of the village of Ngoro submitted and were enslaved. They were deported north to Linte and Tibati and south to Goura. /Map 3/

175 At Goura the young slave Ndenge was born of a Ngoro father and a
● 167 Djanti mother, both deported there. As an adult, Ndenge enlisted in the native army of the Germans and attracted the attention of his superiors by his intelligence and zeal. They assigned him the task of reuniting all the exiles, and little by little turned over to him all those who were freed through their wars—first the exiles found among the Yambasa, then those among the Bafia. These migrations are the explanation for the wide scattering of Ngoro villages and for the frequent moves. Fortunately, the appearance of the cacao tree has begun to stabilize a number of these settlements.

THE BAFÖK-YANGAFUK

101
131
361

Location: widely scattered, to be found in several settlements sometimes very far from each other
Between 11°15 and 12°30 long.
and 4°30 and 5°50 north lat.

361 a minimum of 64 in the former subdivision of Chinchoua and a
614 maximum of 1,000 in Kyé-Nyé Canton, (Oyem District), and in the villages situated on Bitam-Minvoul. Thus the reality and effectiveness of the clan groupings are very different according to different sections of the Fang country. Hence, it can be understood that attempts to renew the clans could only take place in regions where such a grouping still has vitality. It should also be noted that the highest average volume by clan occurs in the regions where the Fang population is greatest and where the demographic
184 situation is the most favorable. The centers of vitality are located in in the Woleu-N'Tem [area] (a large part of the district of Mitzic being excluded) and in a small zone in the neighborhood of Libreville. These two regions compete to extend their influence over the whole of the Fang country, the rivalry appearing in the elections when a candidate from Libreville is opposed by one from the Upper Gabon (legislative elections of 1951). And it can be understood that the Fang country as a whole does not show everywhere the same degree of change in the traditional social structure nor the same capacity to adapt itself to present-day conditions.

●167 By transferring to a map the groupings estimated in each of the
178 districts, other facts become clear. The direction in which the dis-
614 persal took place becomes manifest. Thus the Effak coming from the frontier of the Cameroons passed by the outskirts of Spanish Guinea to reach the coast near Cocobeach and Libreville; the Angonâmvé coming from the Woleu-N'Tem reached the Ogooué (they were found in the section of N'Djolé at the beginning of this century), then Lower Gabon beyond Lambaréné, etc. Moreover, some groupings did not spread out and were found only in relatively definite regions: the Oyèk in Spanish Guinea and in the French districts south of this territory (Médouneu, Cocobeach, and Libreville), the Kojé at Bitam and Oyem, the Ožip only at Oyem, etc. Finally, certain minor groupings existed only on the frontiers of the Fang country and had an independent existence. The Yengwi of Oyem remember that one of their fragments emigrated towards Kango (without knowing either the exact name or place), but none of the groupings taken by the census in this district claim a common

167 origin with the Yengwi of the Woleu-N'Tem. Thus [88] this last
178 link has disappeared — the only link observed at the beginning of
619 this century by an administrator who claimed there was an "extreme" breakup of groupings which were scattered "hundreds of kilometers from one another." (1)

1. Captain Maignan, "Etudes sur le Pays Pahouin [Studies of the Pahuin Country]," dated 1912 and published in the Bulletin de la Société des Recherches Congolaises, 14, 1931.

This fragmentation and entanglement of Fang groupings can be explained by the recent character of the migrations across Gabon and the search for economically advantageous spots, and by the pacification which makes the cohesion of numerically strong groupings no longer necessary. These were also noted by the first observers: Maignan speaks of "families camped near the Ivindo" who "have felt the need to unite in order to defend themselves from the attacks of their neighbors and who have remained united, forming uninterrupted lines of villages." (2) Finally, the role of

2. Op. cit.

the administration must be stressed; a policy of recruitment in order to have manpower at hand in the administrative centers; the reaction of certain groupings which consisted in running away from administrative ascendency ("as soon as a position is created in a populated region, a vacuum occurs in the twinkling of an eye around it," writes Périquet in a Mission report) (3); a policy of stabilizing

3. Captain Périquet, Mission d'étude du chemin de fer du nord [Mission to Study the Northern Railroad], 1910-1911.

the population for purposes of road building and regrouping of villages (1930). The nomadism of the Fang has been the despair of the

167 178 619 administrators. But outside these most evident causes, others of an internal nature giving rise to this fragmentation must be considered. We must retain the idea of a maximum capacity of village grouping which we will enlarge upon in the study of the social structure.

The successive ruptures of the groupings and the multiple migrations make it difficult to understand precisely the nature of the present-day groupings scattered throughout the Fang country. As for the several large groups usually recognized, we have suggested that they were migratory groups which moved at different periods after having been subject to different cultural influences, and having been the first to have occupied the Fang country in Gabon (which would explain the attempts of earlier observers to define a division into "lands"); and we have shown how their significance has become blurred. (See pp. 4-8 .) We have the proof that these names are subsequent to [89] the tribal and clan names (at least those of the oldest clans). In the Ožip there are collected groupings calling themselves Ntumu, Fang, and Maké (1); Tessman places the Ntumu and Fang in two different

1. Tradition des Ožip [Tradition of the Ožip], Administrative Archives of Oyem.

groups, the Ndôg and the Bökwé, (2) According to our investiga-

2. Tessmann, op. cit.

tion (confirmed by various observers), it is a question of a Ndôg tribe of which the Bökwé (a corruption of the word Ebikwe) are a clan. Curault gives another example of this: at the beginning of the century a tribe, Okana, at N'Djolé had "produced" clans called Bétsi, Maké, and Nzaman. (3)

3. Captain Curault, "Monographie du secteur de N'Djolé au Gabon [Monograph on the Section of N'Djolé in Gabon]," op. cit.

967 178 619 If we go by the names taken in the census, we note that names of different formation designate groupings that are apparently identical: some of the names begin with Yé or a consonant, the others begin with Esa (ésé, isi) or Eba (ébi), the names in the form of ésà or éba being the most numerous. The word ye (meaning "valley") is accompanied by a qualifier often referring to a plant, an animal, or a natural phenomenon (yé-ngwi (the boar), yé-mvâg (the rain), etc.). The prefix ésa or éba (meaning "begetter") is used to designate the posterity of a more or less remote human ancestor We must therefore surmise that in this last case we are dealing with names designating more recent groupings of secondary formation: clans and lines of descent, The other names refer to ancient groupings whose origin is legendary, who in the past were localized, and who split up and scattered due to multiple migrations; that is, they refer to tribes. The first to observe the Fang, Trilles and Martrou, are positive about these facts. So are the tribal traditions: that of the Yénǯɔk has preserved the memory of the first division into four clans which occurred after crossing the Sanaga River (4) (principal halting place of the

4. Traditions des Yéndǯɔk [Traditions of the Yéndǯɔk], Administrative Archives of Ebolowa, the French Cameroons.

migrations which distributed the Fang throughout the South Cameroons and Gabon). Each important halting place of the migrations accentuated the fragmentation and created new pre-eminences. Such is the case of the Yénǯɔk. The crossing of the Sanaga led to a division of the groupings which are still called Yénǯɔk; the crossing of the N'Tem (which gives access to Gabon) resulted in the establishment of the large Effak grouping, [90] which divided to reach the coast in subgroupings who call themselves only Effak. (1)

1. Table of the "tribes and subtribes" set up by the Fang of Lower Gabon for the Commission of the Historical Investigation of Libreville.

167 178 179 Relations between groupings resulting from such successive ruptures have fallen off and finally disappeared in many cases. This is because of the conflicts which were often the origin of the fragmentation, because of the distance between fragments, and because of the situation resulting from colonial occupation which brought about peace so that "strong tribal solidarity" was no longer essential. (2) Other reasons are control of collective movement

2. L. Martrou, "La langue Fan et ses dialectes [Fang Language and Dialects]," Journal de la Société Africanistes, Vol. 6, p. 2, 1936.

and establishment in the interior of administrative districts which have finally brought about very localized associations. A proof of this falling off is found by comparing the tribal compositions established by L. Martrou (on the Ogooué in the first decade of the century), by those responsible for the movement of clan regrouping (in Upper Gabon after 1945), and by the investigators of the "Commission of Historical Investigation" (in Lower Gabon in 1949). These documents show great divergences which can be accounted for by local circumstances. Taking advantage of this confusion the leaders of the clan movement have been able to set up regroupings which are very questionable from the point of view of clan logic. In addition, the fact that the groupings in the course of their migrations have changed their names (affirmed by L. Martrou, Maignan, and L. Mba) (3) tends to accentuate this con-

3. L. Martrou, op. cit.; Captain Maignan, op. cit.; and L. Mba, "Essai de droit coutumier pahouin [Essay on Pahouin Common Law]," Recherches Congolaises, 25, 1938.

fusion. It can therefore be understood that the limited and definitely located groupings have been for many years the only ones that are truly effective — and, at the same time, which enjoy a kind of independence.

161 attributed to the optimism of this observer who "seems to have been conservative." (3) G. Sautter thinks that such a population,

> 3. G. Sautter, "Essai sur le peuplement et l'habitat au Woleu-Ntem" [Essay on the Population and Habitat in Woleu-Nt'Tem], Cahiers d'Outre-Mer, 14, April-June, 1951.

"itself deficient" (for causes which appear in part of a natural order since they occur "from one end to the other of the equatorial forest bloc"), has been sorely tried by endemic diseases and famine as well as by emigration and recruiting. Stabilization, which has asserted itself during the last two decades along with the equipment and enrichment of the region, is still tenuous. Because of this G. Sautter will not risk making any forecast on the future evolution of the Woleu-N'Tem population. He recognizes that the Fang of this region are a "flourishing population when compared to their congeners of the Ivindo, the Ogooué, and the coast, who are in a far worse position."

The fragility of this equilibrium was apparent at the time of the "war effort." The political report of Woleu-N'Tem (1944) pays particular attention to the problem of depopulation. It shows [165] a large excess of deaths over births (22.1 percent versus 15.9), and it stresses the serious recrudescence of the migratory move- [167] ment — an official estimate gives 4,500 adult men (that is more than 20 percent of the adult male population) who at that time had gone to Spanish Guinea. That is to say, that the results obtained since 1930 by [our] population policy have remained eminently precarious. While still one of the most vigorous ethnic groups of Gabon, the Fang have a handicap which makes them sensitive to any critical situation, as was apparent during the last years of the war. There is no medical report that [93] still boasts, as did the early observers, of the robustness and prolicacy of the Pahouin.

162 With the help of precise investigations made in Woleu-N'Tem, we have been able to study the structure of the Fang population in this relatively favorable region. The most apparent fact is the

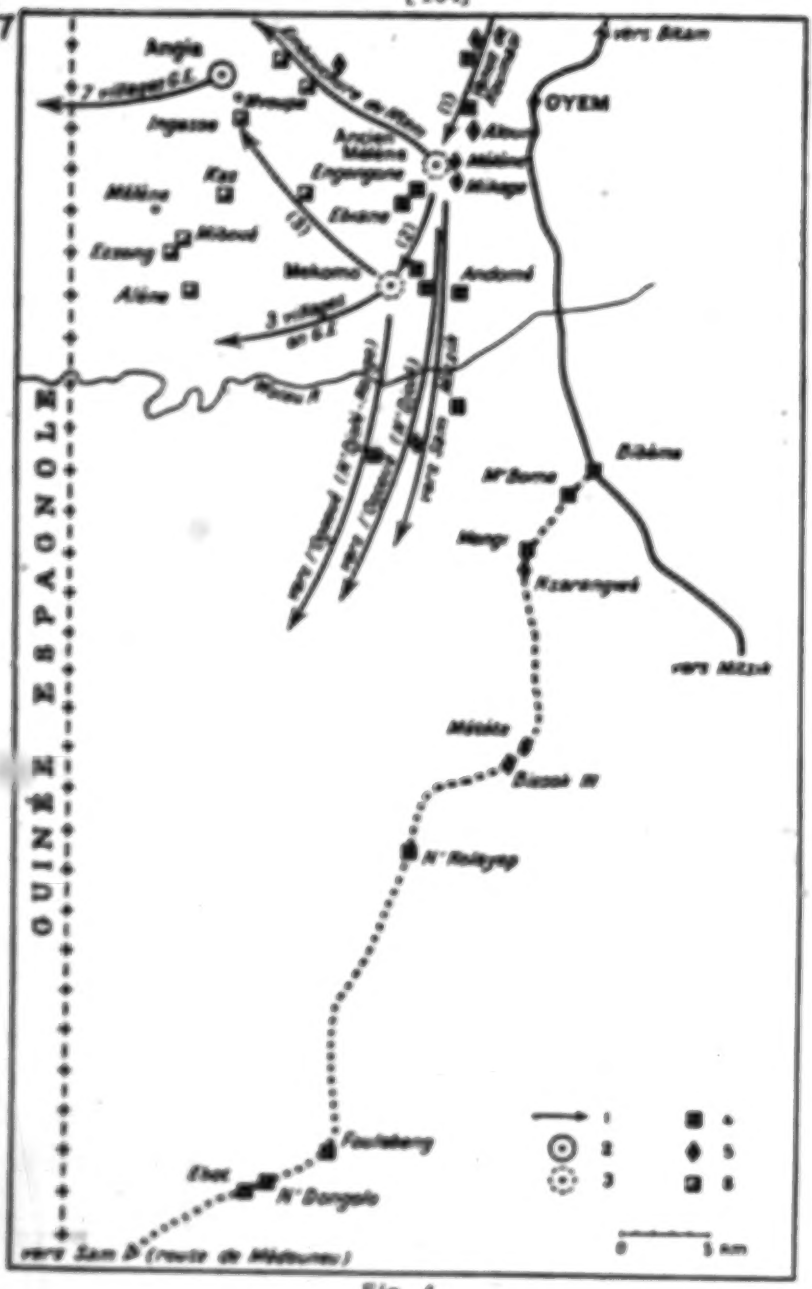


Fig. 4

Dispersal of the Yengwi around Oyem.
(Esónó Angó lineage)

Legend: 1. Important displacements; 2. Center of Dispersal; 3. Vanished Center of dispersal; 4. Group of Mbomvbgo Esbnb; 5. Groups of Naim Esbnb; 6. Groups of Efwana Mbmomvbgo.

829
773

> Bingo) and possess his secret, they killed him and took the green stone, the green stone he would have left us. Since then men from beyond the mountains possess the riches of the earth, but we have kept the laws of Bingo...."

wealth, they are mitâgō, those who count. They have even been proclaimed by mythology. They have the physical appearance of ghosts, and they have at their disposal all the goods accumulated in the country of the ancestors. One can see therefore the powerful impression made by the arrival of the white man who was rich in merchandise, and the value, reinforced by the whole meaning of the myth, placed on this wealth. At the time of the clan regrouping movement, certain teachings in the form of question and answer continued to associate the two terms, power of the white man's example and pursuit of riches:

"--What life should we lead?
--We should lead the European life.
--What is the example we should give to lead the European life?
--We should work in order to earn money...." (4)

4. Cahier des réunions [Notebook of Gatherings], Yémisèm of Oyem.

141
[167] At the beginning of this chapter we stressed the attraction of the economically strong centers -- the coast, the Lower Ogooué, Spanish Guinea. A map of the migrations makes [158] them appear like meeting points. At first the Fang settled in the outskirts of these centers or attracted the trading stations to themselves with a feeling of real appropriation. Du Chaillu and Cureau observed this phenomenon, the former by showing how "having become the white man of such-and-such a chief, " he "obtained well-being and security" but was obliged to give

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

ETHNOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE FANG.

By Albert L. Bennett, M.D., F.R.S.

[WITH PLATES XIV TO XVII.]

CONTENTS.

000 I. Introduction.
II. Physical and Moral Characteristics.
III. Clothing, Ornaments, Painting and Tattooing.
IV. Habitations.
V. Navigation, Hooks, Nets, Fishing, Traps.
VI. Metallurgy, Fire, Machinery.
VII. Customs.
VIII. Inventions, Natural Forces, Conservations.
IX. Ornamentation.
X. Food, Cooking.
XI. Anthropophagy.
XII. Religion, Fetish or Bieng (medicine).
XIII. Witchcraft, Carving Dead Relations.
XIV. The Ngi (a Fang Secret Society).
XV. War, Hostages.
XVI. Hunting Traps.
XVII. Burials.
XVIII. Albos.
XIX. Abnormalities (Natural Deformities), Albinism, Erythrism, Hermaphrodism, Deformations (Artificial Deformities), A. Facial; B. Dental.
XX. Fang Proverbs and Sayings.

I have the honour to come before you this evening, for the purpose of making known to you the result of my observations while dwelling and labouring among that great and powerful tribe of the Bantu family, known as Fang. In presenting this paper, I do so fully aware of its deficiency; but the information obtained from natives was never accepted nor recorded as authentic, until it had been frequently confirmed by others. I also desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Council of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, for sending me a copy of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, a book which ever proved an invaluable guide and help to me while living among the Fang, and studying their customs.

I.—*Introduction.*

114 The large tribe of people known as Fang inhabiting a considerable portion of the French Congo was first described by Du Chaillu.

167 Records show that in 1867 the French naval officer Admiral Fleurist de Langle placed the number of Fang within French territory at nearly sixty thousand. Since that time this powerful tribe has rapidly increased in numbers. Between the Ogowe River and the Gabon, the Fang may be counted by thousands,

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

114 and like a resistless army they are steadily approaching the coast, building towns
167 and displacing weaker tribes. That fine race of people, the Mpongwes, often spoken of as the "aristocratic tribe," and ranking first in the scale of civilisation above all other tribes in the French Congo, is rapidly dying out, and they are already being supplanted even at Gaboon by the migratory Fang.

The Bulu people inhabiting a portion of the German sphere of influence in
114 West Africa are without doubt very closely related to, if not a direct offshoot from,
197 the Fang; their customs are identical and their language so markedly similar that a person who is able to speak Bulu is readily understood by the Fang. The first
173 day of my arrival among the Fang, after residing in Bululand, I was able to make known the reason for my coming and to ask and answer ordinary questions. While visiting on a small island called Nenge-nenge in the Nkomo River, a very old Fang man told me as follows: When a lad his grandfather had told him that, a long time ago, many of his tribe "changed their towns." These people first travelled far in canoes, and then after journeying for very many days through the forest, they "stopped walking and made new towns," and they did not return. My informant's father had told him later more about these people; they had been heard from, and their long absence from the original tribe had so changed them that "they spoke new words" (a new language).

Examples could be given almost without limit of the great similarity in the
197 language as spoken by the Bulu and Fang. A few will suffice; and I will select
539 from the proverbs of the people which are also identical. Tell a Bulu man to hurry with his work, he will often reply, "*Alu da dayi bel' nank!*" (Will one day rot an elephant?). The Fang speak the same proverb thus: "*Alu anti bel' nank!*" Again, the Bulu use the words *Mdu ngna* (the days that are past), *Mdu ene* (the days that are to come), *Mdu nnam* (all the days). These sayings and numerous similar ones are in daily use among the Fang, the words used and the idiom being almost identically the same as in Bulu. I have wondered if the account given me by the old Fang man at Nenge-nenge about the people who years ago "changed their towns," might not be of more than passing interest as touching the genesis of the Bulu.

The Fang people are spread over an immense area of country, and when
101 questioned regarding their numbers they usually reply, "There are Fang and Fang; if you walk and sleep in towns and towns for many *moons* (months) you will find Fang." In the future it will be found that in the ethnography of equatorial Africa the Fang will hold a very important place. As before stated they are unquestionably closely related to the Bulu, and Compiègne recognised a marked similarity between them and the Oyela, Monbutta and Nyamnyam people. There are
563 several scattered tribes of dwarfs among the Fang. Five of these pigmies live within two miles of my station, and they tell me that more of their people will soon "move their towns" and come to live on the banks of the Nkomo river. The Fang people look on the pigmies as a very clever and superior people, and not without good reason. An old headman told me that the *nom ngni* (dwarfs) first

162 We have been able to define the characteristics of this demographic crisis, of which the Fang as a whole are aware. These are a drop in the population, which is more or less checked according to the region and circumstances; a lack of balance between the number of men and of women — the sex ratio rising rapidly at the level of the oldest age groups — and a more marked aging of the feminine population; an insufficient demographic basis and at the same time a high infant mortality. And it is
168 578 the lack of children and the sudden importance acquired by women (conditioned by their number as well as by the general movement of social evolution) of which the villagers complain, far more than they criticize the inadequacy of sanitary equipment. In a society where the number [that is, the size of the groups] differentiates the groupings in a hierarchical system, and permits personal preeminence, the acute phases of this demographic crisis arouse great anxiety; the decline of fecundity in the women is one of the reasons, the most important one perhaps, for the hostility of the men toward the women.

168 The grounds given for such a situation [100] have a double aspect, modernist and traditionalist. The grounds of the former were displayed at the time of the Pahouin Congress of 1947 and also by certain groupings at the time of the movement for regrouping clans. They are expressed by definite claims, such as demanding a health program and education in hygiene, a desire to control and then limit prostitution, to consolidate the "family" by limiting divorce and curbing adultery, a need for rich crops "that can be sold in order to support the family," (1) etc. The grounds of the
168 186

1. Statement by a Dignitary of the Yémödzg Tribe, Mitzic, 1949.

traditionalists without doubt compel recognition and represent the opinion of the greatest number. They reveal a strong reaction to the present state of Fang society and a desire to return to a past when everything was better, when there were "a great many men and a great many children"; they express a tendency toward "counter-acculturation." The upheavals that have occurred in

168 186 the social and cultural organizations are directly blamed: the breaking up and dispersal of the groupings resulting in the rupture of fundamental interdictions (especially that of exogamy: with the [835] present confusion each man risks marrying his "sister" and being condemned to a sterile union); the abandonment of traditional religious observances, especially the Biéri worship rendered to [169 842] ancestors — so that the Biéri "revenges" itself, "according to certain informants, by making the women sterile. Borrowing from European civilization and from their neighbors has altered "Fang manners" and resulted in behavior that is not valid for the Fang and puts their social existence in danger. These are the principal reasons brought forth. We have already in this chapter paid particular attention to these facts, because they show the subjective aspect of the demographic crisis and how much the search for fertility and for power, both linked together, still plays a part in the present reactions of this people, how it takes effect in an ambiguous manner by having recourse at the same time to modern foreign methods and to traditional Fang methods. For the Fang villagers the crisis is the most serious consequence of a situation created by colonization — by "civilization," as some of them curiously say. This is sufficient indication that these facts must be integrated in the whole we have undertaken to analyze.

[101] III. The Type of Social Structure (1)

1. A study carried out with the help of documents collected especially among the Fang of the Woleu-N'Tem, and principally in Oyem region where Fang vitality is the most authentic.

Tribes, Clans, and Lineages

596 The recent clan renewal to which we have often referred has shown the still fundamental importance of the groupings established as a function of "kinship." This was immediately grasped by the first observers and administrators of the Fang country, who insisted on the "family" nature of the Pahouin groupings and came to the

304 465 same time, it should be noted that because of his tattooing mania some people considered him "as not quite normal." In true Negro fashion, the absence of a charge for tattooing is explained by saying that the tattooed person does not feel the pain so strongly if he does not have to pay. These conditions, however, vary greatly from place to place. Among the Jaunde payment is customary, and often it is comparatively steep.

304 825 Mutilation of the teeth occurs everywhere among members of both sexes. It is done mainly to the four upper incisors. Aside from decorative considerations, this mutilation doubtless also has a deeper religious basis which is very ancient and still alive in the Negroes. They -- as I was once told -- do not want their teeth to look like animal teeth (2). Since it is indeed a fact that

[171] 2. See also the same attitude among the Malays and the Negroes of the Sudan (according to Frobenius).

no /202/ large mammals have pointed front teeth (for it is with these that we are concerned)(1), this reason seems credible even

[192] 1. See the expressions for tooth chipping below, in which the expression for tooth is always asŭń "front tooth." There is no word for teeth in general; on the other hand there are terms for canines, incisors of animals (fə̰ III), and molars (ekŏ́k).

though to us pointed teeth look precisely like animal teeth since when we think of the gaping jaw of an animal, the prominent incisors are the dominant feature. The Pangwe thinks first of the animal's front teeth, and, especially in the case of horned animals, he finds a surprising similarity to his own. In making this comparison, he is not disturbed by the fact that the similarity extends only to the front teeth of the lower jaw, which resemble the front teeth of his lower jaw, since ruminants usually have no

Fig. 209. Patterns on Stools.

a combination of the patterns of a diamond and a parallel line (Fig. 211, b), and this suggested a string of cowrie shells. The similarity of the two is shown by Figure 210. It seems possible to me that in this case a further relationship between the cowrie shell and the diamond pattern plays a role. The Togo Negroes, for instance (according to an oral communication from the missionary, C. Spiess), recognize in the cowrie shell an image of the vulva; since ancient times the diamond pattern has been viewed in the same way by the Pangwe. After the introduction of the cowrie shell, the Pangwe immediately recognized its similarity to the diamond and transferred to the former the symbolism of the latter. As in Togo, the cowrie shell is regarded among the Pangwe as a symbol that brings good fortune, and, as such, it is applied to medicine horns or hung on anchored nets as a hunting medicine. Another symbol that likewise /Fig. 210 appears here in the original text/ brings good luck is the diamond which they paint onto their skins with redwood (a color that brings luck!) or tattoo onto their skins as a permanent pattern. We find

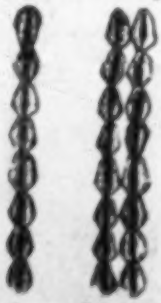


Fig. 210. Strings of Cowrie Shells.

here a remarkable contradiction in their conceptions. As we have seen, the sexual act was performed in connection

In the case of gonorrhea, the infected woman can demand
164 damages only if she notices the misfortune before she has been
684 paid for the favor rendered. The damages amount to 400 spears if the disease came from a person of the same kin group, and 1000 spears if it came from a person of another kin group. With the payment the "temporary marriage contract" is terminated, and thereby any claim for damages is nullified. In other words, it is always a good idea to pay one's debts as soon as possible: :

[539] a bĕle, a bĕle, a kŏn abĕ mayŏk.
Keeping, keeping, it strikes (a) poor bargain.

The person who always keeps his money to himself runs into an unfavorable price situation.

Their unrestrained sexual intercourse has a highly deleterious
831 effect upon the Negroes; it weakens and stupefies them. Smaller
461 boys are often quite useful as servants, but once they reach sexual maturity and become acquainted with women, they can simply no longer be used. The Pangwe recognize this bad influence, and intelligent ones among them did not hesitate to confess frankly to me that their sexual practices corrupted them and made them incapable of strenuous physical or intellectual work. We do not need the testimony of individuals, however -- popular customs demonstrate this insight sufficiently. I believe that, aside from
[834] being based upon the original religious conception concerning the sinfulness of sexual intercourse and its incarnation in the woman, the abstinence rules for war and hunting expeditions and for iron smelting are based on the experience that sexual intercourse weakens the man's physical and intellectual capacities. Naturally, the man is inclined to heap the blame on women /268/
[196] and bebŏn, "vaginas," as he contemptuously calls them (1).

171

1. "Terms which originally only signified 'vulva' or 'cunnus' but were then generalized into the concept 'wenches,'" exist everywhere in Europe, too; see Anthropophyteia, Jahrbücher für folkloristische Erhebungen und Forschungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der geschlechtlichen

2: Tessmann--127 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

171

Moral /Anthropophyteia, Yearbooks for Folkloristic Inquiries and Explorations into the Historical Development of Sexual Morality/, edited by Dr. Friedrich S. Krauss (1912), Vol. 9, p. 31.

833 Over against the great mass of women, the bebŏbǎń, who
777 through sexual intercourse bring the man misfortune, there is the exceptional phenomenon of the woman who among the Ntum is called ayūē' III and among the Fang ayǎ. Union with her brings both parties, the woman as well as the man, good fortune. At the same time her influence is more important for the man, for instance, during military and hunting expeditions. If, for instance, the man goes hunting on the day after having had intercourse with such a woman, he is bound to see a wild animal soon and to kill it. If he goes to war, "his rifle will hit its mark," whereas the enemy's will not. For this eventuality, moreover, he has the woman give him a medicine, namely red wood that she has ground in a certain way (bā-ayǎ, nfumu-bā). The woman, too, is lucky on this day if she goes "hunting" for fish, that is, if she goes on a fish drive (a lŭk), or works on the farm (see Vol. I, p. 56).

But -- as was said -- such women who bring good fortune are a rarity; the majority of women bring misfortune. If a man goes hunting on the day after coition, all the animals evade him in a wide arc (a bǎń), hence the name ebŏbǎń.

In the peculiar custom of the miak consecration I see proof of
[833] the fact that the Pangwe know the harmful effect of excessive sexual
785 intercourse. The word miak actually means the castrated animal,
784 in particular the buck goat (see Vol. I, p. 76), and here it is
831 applied symbolically to a person who through a public and solemn declaration is for a time excluded from sexual intercourse. After a successfully concluded war, more rarely upon some other occasion, somebody (usually the chief) decides to consecrate his son or his daughter to purity. Naturally, neither of the latter may as yet be acquainted with sexual matters, in other words, they will only be

785 from four to six years old. They are thus consecrated so that
554 one day they will surpass all others in insight and understanding;
831 then, through their spiritual superiority, they will acquire influence, power (knowledge is power!), and especially wealth. In the case of the son, this will be to his own advantage; in the case of the daughter, it will benefit the father who can get a higher purchase price for her than for a girl with the usual loose way of life. In other words, the "savages" know well the value of moral purity. /269/

831 The custom of miǎk consecration was formerly practiced
785 throughout the Pangwe region. Nowadays, however, since warlike
[184] times have ceased, it is to be encountered only among the Fang of the central Uelle region. I should like to compare the custom
[171] to the practice found among us during the Middle Ages, whereby the heads of important families (especially princes), after some lucky success (for instance, in war), destined one child for the clergy and consecrated it to the pure life dedicated to God, frequently not without calculating the advantages that could accrue to them from such an action.

785 The procedure of the consecration feast is as follows. The
789 child, clothed in a small loincloth, is led to the medicine man
556 and is washed by him with a medicine water. The medicines used
831 for this are barks of various trees that bear ample fruit, such as
[824] the Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofǒs), so that the child's understanding may bear fruit as abundantly as these trees or, in other words, so that wealth may fall to its lot in the same abundance as the fruit of these trees falls to the ground beneath them. The various barks are placed in a container made of banana leaves, and hot water is poured over them. After the ablution, the child must swallow the principal medicine, a bundle of ngon
[824] with the chopped leaves of certain "weak" plants, such as Hibiscus moschatus (Roxb.) (tège III, from a těk, "weak," because the fruit is cooked in a short time), in order to make the child
[833] equally weak, that is, sexually incapable. Furthermore, the ngon
[825] is mixed with chicken meat -- the chicken is the bird of day, of the good and the pure, and at the same time it is supposed to point symbolically to the wealth that is desired for the child (the chief, the "Very Rich One," is regarded as the privileged son of the

2: Tessmann--188 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

The Stone Game

524 Of all adult games, the most popular is the stone game which
is spread over almost the entire world. It involves placing stones
[171] in a number of adjoining concavities, and then distributing these
stones among the concavities according to definite rules.

In more recent times, according to informants, the stone game has come to the Jaunde and Bulu from the Bene (who in turn
[177] became acquainted with it through eastern tribes), and from the former it was introduced into the Ntum and Fang region around the years 1895-98. These statements appear to be confirmed by the fact that the most skillfully fashioned playing boards, provided with legs (as in Fig. 115), are to be found among the Jaunde and Bene. They have one of these in each meeting house and eagerly and frequently play with it. It is played more rarely by the Ntum
[184] and only very rarely by the Fang, who in any case have too many other, less harmless things in their heads to be able to devote themselves to the game with any kind of passion.

The playing board (Fig. 115) consists of two halved raffia leaf-stalks tied to each other. By cutting out the pith, each of the leaf-stalks is divided into seven compartments (ndǎ = house; plural, mandǎ). Only in the southern part of the Fang region (and among the
[184] Bassá) did I see such a board made of wood, which then, in most cases, had one additional compartment for the "prisoners" (Fig. 116) at each end. The playing stones (ngǒ'k IV) are put into the compartments, five in each one. Originally, and sometimes even today, actual pebbles were used, from which the game was named sō'ngo (alleged: small pebble). This name, however, is current only among the Jaunde and Bene; in the south it designates the corresponding children's game, while that of the adults is called akŭ̱n because of the large black beads (akŭ̱n) that were at one time used as playing stones but today have gone completely out of fashion.
[824] Instead of these beads, the natives like to take the kernels of the
[194] oil palm or of Rhicinodendron /311/ africanum; in the north and in various other places they like to take the pebble-like kernels of a species of tree unknown to me and, more rarely, stones.

554 It should be noted, however, that pre-eminence "based on
622 filiation," as Cureau puts it, is maintained without too much
769 difficulty — being durable while power born of events is temporary — so long as the worship of ancestors by each clan fragment remains in force. Seniority determines this pre-eminence, justified and made effective by the possession of the basket containing the ancestors' skulls. This power of the "eldest," who is at the same time "first among his equals" and priest of the biéri cult organized within the cadre of "kinship," has not however allowed the implantation of effective chefferies comparable to those based on the same principles in the Ba-kongo country (2).

2. Cf., Third part of this work.

An early government report stressed the fact that one became chief, specifying that the nyamòrò (eldest) "became chief in his zone of influence when his fairness and the effectiveness of his power were recognized." (3) Thus neither the villages nor the

3. Customs regulating the attributes of chiefs and their designation in Rapport politique du Djouah [Political Report of Djouah], 1938.

localized clan fragments, nor still less the extended clan and the tribe, reveal the existence of a true hierarchy. We see the pre-eminence of the ésa (which may only be shown by some deferential attitudes) or the provisional pre-eminence of a man who has known how to expand his "zone of influence."

554 What are the reasons for such a situation? Taking as an
622 example Ba-kongo, which will be studied later, one sees that the
[7] fundamental social relationship is that which exists between the ancestors (masters and guardians of the sod), the land, and the lineage; it implies necessary relations between related lineages and limits the mobility of groupings. There is nothing like this in the Fang country, where the relation with land has no such importance and the whole economy, until very recently, remained oriented toward warlike and economic conquest. Even in the

794 one — tends to re-establish this elementary order, it is a rein-
769 statement, a pledge of fertility and power. Apparently the Ngil
resembles a great many other "associations" that have existed in
[171] Gabon, especially the Mwiri of the Ngounié people. (2) It con-

2. Cf. A. Maclatchy, "Organisation sociale des populations de la region de Mimongo [Social Organization of the Peoples of the Mimongo Region]," Bulletin de l'Institut d'Etudes Centrafricaines, I, I, 1945.

stitutes primarily an instrument of struggle against the sorcerers (böyêm), to the extent that they attempt to interfere with the normal order. But it is much more than that: it is the indication of a power superior to that based on kinship, a grouping with a great capacity for control (doubtless the most powerful).

794 The Fang have known other associations of men with spe-
cialized functions — or rather those that create "specialists,"
[535] such as the akûm, who directs the ceremonies linked with the
male dance called makuma. The akûm, who appears also as a
sort of chronicler-singer, intervening especially at the time of
[847] funerals and affairs concerning fertility (search for the "sorcerer"
responsible for an abortion that might result in permanent sterility.(3)

3. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., p. 79.

ceremonial intended to lift the incest which creates sterile mar-
riages). The akûm in daily life is distinguished from the non-
initiates by being subject to a number of special interdicts. He
is a "respected, or rather a feared, person," for to him is sttributed
"great power." "In order to reach this situation he must have been
[535 taught by another akûm; he must have learned the interminable
674 songs that last a whole night long, and then with his own hand kill
one of his close relatives...." (4) This brief description is

4. Father L. Martrou, "Les Éki

794

des Mfang [The Éki of the Fang]," Anthropos, Vol. 1, 1906.

interesting for the last point it brings up; it indicates a test, it shows above all with unquestionable brutality that all power existing outside the clan and the kinship is acquired only after making the more or less symbolic gesture of "killing the kinship." It is by the interplay of [145] such groupings that the logic of the system of kinship and of alliance by marriage is transcended.

"Associations" have a function whose import varies according to particular circumstances. They intervene to create a better cohesion between clan fragments, as is shown by the grouping of [171] initiates at the Bièri (Gabon cult) or at the Ssò (Cameroons cult known to the frontier villages); this at a time when insecurity demands a minimum of union among related villages. In other circumstances, they attempt to reinforce the inherent power of functions whose importance is affirmed: as in the case of groupings that controlled the ancient "dance of justice" (sòmana) at the time when peaceful settlement of conflicts remained the only one possible, and when the role of "peacemaker" was of primary importance. As is shown by the feminine "associations," they may also act as a curb on the domination to which a social group of inferior status is subjected. This is all the more marked as the decay of these groupings has been paralleled by the change in the relations between the sexes. We have pointed out, in connection with the Ngil, that "associations" have acted as the mechanism for higher appeal for the purpose of pacification. We must now stress the fact that some of them assume an almost permanent role of opposition to the social order.

754 776 782 Such is the case of the "association" of men known as sorcerers (pl. bòyèm), who endeavor to acquire permanently, and in their own personal right, "wealth, strength, and power." Each one has been admitted in terms of an absolute differentiation — the possession of a "spirit" called évu(r) (1) which is physically distinguishable (1) — and with a special initiation, the latter entails the

1. Cf. H. Lavignotte, L'évur, Société

882 is not yet admitted to the essential functions of full manhood: ritual, warfare, and marriage. Formerly, he was not until after the great
881 tribal initiation, sô. Sô is the name of a large red antelope, Cephalophus castoneus, found in great quantity in the forest and in
[825] the galleries of the park-savanna. The meat is taboo, étyi, to the
262 uninitiated (bibis) and, a fortiori, to women. It may seem strange that Trilles does not mention it in Le totemisme chez les Fang, although the sô seems to be one of the most important tribal totems.
[17] It should be observed in this connection that the sô rite, widespread among the Cameroons Pahouin, including the Beti, and among those of the Woleu-N'Tem, seems to vanish somewhere between Mitzic and N'Djolé, while some of its features are to be found in the initiation to the biéri, which is basically merely an adjunct. It would therefore appear to have gone to pieces at the same time as the structure of the meyoñ, to be revived in the extreme south by the bwiti, reported by Trilles, which is at present moving northward. Nevertheless, I must point out that what Trilles describes under the name of bawu may well be sô.

Initiation ceremonies were filmed among the Eton of Saa in 1935;
[114] the film is kept at the Musée de l'Homme. Bertaut (no. 110) gives a very full description of the outward forms of the initiation, Stoll (no. 84) an interpretation of its symbolism.

Initiation took place about every three years (every seven mimbu?); Bertaut states that a ceremony might be arranged after some serious happening in a village. It lasted three months (one year, according to Stoll, who counts in the preliminary ceremonies for the initiation proper and the period following) and entailed great expense for sacrifices on the part of the parents of initiates and especially the initiation leader, the nkpwé sô (judge of the sô; lit., butcher of the sô), a senior chosen from the most wealthy and respected. From this point
[181] of view, one may believe that the rite coincided with the desire for levelling of wealth which appears to have been so constant in Pahouin society. The nkpwé sô did not himself lead the ceremony; he was the instigator and the person responsible, but the celebrant was a diviner, a mfek sô, "sô wise man" or "sô measurer" or "sô pouch," if the tone is changed (vek = to take aim, to compute, to divine, to measure).

The main theme of the rite, of which the following description is quite incomplete, was the death of the sô, awu sô, afterwards eaten

779 622 perpetrator. If necessary, the chief would take this upon himself. Such a case has sometimes occurred, according to certain legends.

The large bones are then again placed upon the pyre, for which the necessary wood has been carefully kept, because to cut or to add more is forbidden. When everything has been consumed, the bones and wood that are left in the form of cinders (1) are pulverized as finely as possible, and the chief

[137] 1. Éfirfira is a rather resinous wood, which burns up completely, leaving hardly any cinders.

scatters the powder on the recently covered grave of his father, accompanied by all the heads of family. The banana leaves that had been used to wrap up the victim are carefully folded into a bundle and thrown to the bottom of a spring or stream below the spot where water is usually drawn, so as to avoid profanation.

In contrast to all the other sacrifices, nothing must remain of this victim nor may anyone keep the slightest trace of it.

Before carrying the ashes of the sacrifice to his father's grave, the chief still has to go through another ceremony just as important, the rite of the spear.

779 622 411 The rite of the spear, or better of the assagais, aŝume mékôn, the salute to the assagais, only occurs at the enthronement of tribal chiefs and then only if they have come of age, that is, have already been received as warriors bearing the marks or bawu.

779 776 411 ●171 b) The rite of the spear or the assagais, Aŝume mékôn.

From the other side of Africa, Father Van den Burgt, (1)

1. Dictionnaire français-rundi [French-Rundi Dictionary], article, "Kiŝna."

of the White Fathers, recently pointed out a curious rite among the Barundi, the rite of the spear, the emblem of Kiŝna, the

779
776
411
171

second high spirit. Among the Fan, we have found the same emblem, consecrated to the spirit Ki-ndâña, he also being chief of the lower spirits, of material things, and thus master and chief of all beings on the earth. He is also invoked in time of war. This is the only information I have been able to obtain on the subject. But in comparing this fact with what we have seen among the Barundi, it certainly appears that a totemic rite is involved. Indeed among them, Imana, the Creator, is the lord of departed souls as, among the Fan, Nzame is also the Creator. Consequently he is foremost of all the ancestors and thus the keystone of the whole religious system. The Fan know this perfectly. When discussing genealogies I have already pointed out that a child or any warrior, when asked what his mébara is, will always end by invoking Nzame, saying: "And he (the first of the race) was created by Nzame, and before that I didn't belong to it, neither I nor anyone else." (Nge mur éto (the father of the race) Nzame émiên a nga bo ñe, ve 'sim ñi, mê mbe dia ve, ve ma, ve muramure.)

Among the Barundi the great rite of the spear consists of homage rendered to the sacred spear of Kirâña, the higher spirit of the Rundi triad, Imana, Ri-Kiramba, and Riangombi. Among the Fan, Kindâña does not belong to the divine triad, which they also recognize: Nzame, Mébere, Nkwa. Kindâña, lit., victorious Power, is chief of all beings under Nzame, and considered only as the principle of the power that animates everything and that is self-perpetuating. He is the opposite of inert matter. [542]

"The neighboring Pygmies," writes Mgr. Le Roy (1) in

1. Op. cit., p. 314.

connection with this Rundi rite, "have the same ceremony, which they appear to have originated." Perhaps, however, we ought to go further back to the very beginnings of the race, since we find the ceremony also among the Fan.

Among the Barundi the rite of the spear takes place in all critical situations. The usual form of that spear has one white and one black facet and it is said to bear the spirit Kirâña on its

T19 T16 411 171 point. At the time of the ceremony the guardian of the spear appears with two assistants; he wears a sort of crown made of a panther skin, part of which hangs down his back. The participants form a semicircle around him, carrying small hollow calabashes filled with hard seeds (2) that rattle. Then a hymn is begun,

> 2. The seeds of the annata tree are used or, even more often, the round hard seeds of canna (canna spec.).

sung in an oddly impressive tone, deeply convincing and creating indescribable melancholy. During this evocation, each one picks up a bit of straw, bows down and presents it to the sacred spear, claps his hands together and asks the spirit dwelling on the spearhead for various favors. He then says: "To thee, Father, I make these demands, I offer my homage." Everyone then leaves the hut singing and goes to the resting place of the ancestral spirits.

T19 622 411 171 Among the Fan the salute to the spear thus takes place at the enthronement of the chief. After the victim has been divided and eaten, the chief rises and plants his assagai in the earth, point upwards; the point has been made to gleam by thorough careful burnishing. The choice of spear is not unimportant: it must have the totemic tribal emblem incised in its hollow and must have already "drunk" enemy blood. The spear is thus planted in the ground so far as possible just where the altar stood; shortly after, at its foot, the chief places his baldrick usually of leopard-skin, holding the materialized totem, the akamdyôô. [543]

Having done this, he circles around the spear, singing, then picks up the baldrick and hangs it upon the lance, which usually has several small sharp hooks at the base.

The chief again circles the spear, sings a hymn in honor of Kindôôa, then stands still. All the others then go to fetch their boxes of ancestral skulls and circle around the spear, singing. As each man passes the chief, he bows, puts his box on the ground, and claps his hands.

At the end of the ceremony the chief removes the spear, puts back the baldrick at his side, and takes everything to his hut.

He then returns to collect the remains of the sacrifice and carry them to his father's grave.

It is evident that the Fan ritual of the spear salute has many analogies to the Rundi ritual, and the same impulse would seem to motivate both.

c) Rites of initiation and consecration of the chief compared with the religious role of the Pharaoh

In all this it is easy to see a whole embryonic system or rather, as our linguistic research bears out, the vestiges, very corrupt and gradually shriveling away, of a religious system that is very old and goes back to the very beginnings of the race.

The legends, customs, and especially the language make it possible for us to see, with all the reservations necessary to such a hypothesis, a pale reflection, perhaps a decadent reminder, of Egyptian religion.

It would be of great interest in the first place to try to find out if the Fan word denoting "chief," nzue -- from n for agency and zue, to command, to order -- is not related to Egyptian (1).

1. There are other resemblances between the two languages, to which I shall refer later: kha (Eg.), crown, and khu (Fg.), chief; khala, a fortified place, and dzal, fortified village (kraal); ka, to leave, and ka, to go away, etc.; ko, hook, and iko, hook, whence akôô, hooked, barbed spear.

nza, to pray, adore, which was originally the chief's main function, or again to Suten, meaning "king," which comes from the word seten [544], to determine by knife, which means "to kill." The king is thus in theory he who slays the sacrificial victim, the sacrificer.

The Pharaoh formerly acted in a general way as a Fan chief still does today, without, one must admit, any of the trappings of majesty -- as I have said, he is a pale reflection.

He used to go himself, at least fictitiously, to capture the victim, a wild bull. He immolated it, cut it up, and offered it to the deity whose son he was. He was not only the sacrificer

174
171

who offers the victim but also the priest who alone was authorized to make an offering, and without his intervention, his subjects could not expect heaven to accept their offerings, even the most modest. "Suten don hotep" -- The king gives the offering, can be read on innumerable votive monuments, from the most imposing to the humblest. The deity would not pay attention to the offering if it did not come from the king. I recall the prince of Khéta's words which I have already quoted: "God would not accept any offering of Khéta that had not been seen by Pharaoh, the emanation of heaven."

Mediator between heaven and earth, Pharaoh alone is qualified to give to the Deity or to receive His gifts. If another priest takes his place, as for practical reasons nearly always happens, that priest will be acting as a delegate of the king and will announce the royal order by which he has access to God: "It is the king who sends me to see the deity," says he upon opening the gates of naos [sic]. Even a priest of the highest rank may present himself only by virtue of that delegation. To penetrate all the way to the temple sanctuary is in fact like penetrating heaven, (1) for the deity is there as much as in

1. An inscription at Edfou, quoted by Rochemonteix, reads: "He who penetrates the temple penetrates heaven."

heaven: to approach the deity one must be divine oneself, like a son of Pharaoh or at least a representative of this divine Son. God's house, the temple, was built by Pharaoh himself, (2) the

2. Virey: Religion de l'ancienne Égypte [The Religion of Ancient Egypt] (ed. 1909), p. 125.

sole owner of Egyptian soil by a divine gift made at his coronation. (3)

Cf. Lefébure, Rites Egyptiens [Egyptian Rites], where one will find numerous points of comparison with the rites I have mentioned. [545]

171 174 We find further confirmation of the foregoing in the following lines: "In archaic times, before the unification of Egypt into a single kingdom, it was no doubt the tribal chiefs who, as Pharaoh did later for the entire country, declared war, dispensed justice, and offered the sacrifices." (1)

1. The Life-Work of Sir Peter Le Page Renouf (Paris, 1902-07), Vol. 2, p. 351, "The Priestly Character of the Earliest Egyptian Civilization."

As religious leader the]Fan] tribal chief can thus delegate his authority only to the practitioner; as totemic chief, only to his direct consanguineal heir.

64 This is true to such a degree that if, for instance, the family should die out, the tribe would not come to an end or be destroyed, for the elders of the clan or of the mother tribe would trace genealogies back to the beginning or source of the race and find a secondary family related more closely to the founder of the race; that secondary family would in turn become the main lineage. This transfer comes about quite naturally, without hitch or conflict, merely by force of circumstances. In some cases, especially with a small clan, families will attach themselves to other clans; again, according to the formative law given earlier, new clans will be created, filials of the mother branch. If a mother clan is involved, then, on the contrary, families will attach themselves more willingly to the filial branch (branch in esa), where they will find the family totem (esamvên, esamvàn, etc.).

d) Mistakes made by European administration in appointing new tribal chiefs from outside the main lineage

648 622 Clearly the chief mistake, and hence the lack of success, of civil administrators or military leaders who for one reason or another depose the legitimate chief of a tribe and appoint another is clear from the totemic laws just enumerated and the very structure of the race. I willingly admit that sometimes such depositions and appointments may, and often should be made,

VII. Ordeals

695 In ordeals (1) or judicial tests the appeal to the totem's

1. Ordeals, from the Anglo-Saxon ordaal [ordâl -dêl], in modern German, Urteil, judgement.

intervention plays a fairly large part.

These tests are very common in Bantu tribes; and we find the same thing on the other side of Africa, among the Jaluo at Kivûri.

The form of ordeal among these peoples is as follows and closely resembles that of the Fan. "A small pot of water is placed on the fire. A little wimbi flour and a bit of 'medicine' are put into the water. If the water boils over, the man is guilty, if not, he is innocent.

"A gourd basin with a large hole cut in the bottom is placed on a flat stone. Water is poured into the calabash, the bottom of which being, of course, not close-fitting to the stone would permit ordinarily of a leakage [I have emended an obvious misprint here, "bakage."--Translator] But the medicine man who attends puts into the bottom of the calabash crushed-up leaves of a kind of mimosa [559] which, for a time at least, stop the leakage and enable the calabash to be filled up with water, the retention of the water by the calabash proving the man to be innocent.

"Dry flour is given to the suspected persons. If innocent, he can swallow it; if he is able to moisten the flour with his saliva and swallow it, he is shown to be guilty." (1)

1. Sir Harry Johnston, op. cit., "The Jaluo."

The Fan often resort to ordeals, especially in the following circumstances: accusations of theft, adultery, murder, sorcery, "sins" against the clan or village totem. Without going into details, I shall point out merely the part played by the totem.

[Errata; should be "unable". — Analyst]

695 The following are some of the principal kinds:

A man is accused of murder. He will first have to be
694 seized; if that is impossible, it does not much matter. Since
672 members of the tribe stick together, another man will be
619 seized, no matter whom. If this cannot be done, the Fan may
682 even take a man belonging to another tribe, who will be kept prisoner until his family and tribe, taking up the cudgels in their turn, capture either the culprit or a member of the culprit's tribe. One can see to what degree such solidarity may lead to retaliation.

Once a man has been caught, guilty or not, he undergoes
695 one of the following tests:

682 The dzimébiñ is the eye ordeal. A person is brought before the chief, gagged and with his head pulled back. The practitioner takes a little pot made from the hard shell of a small gourd called ngon, which is filled with a certain liquid [278] consisting of vegetable poisons with an atropine base. The presumed culprit has the right -- and often takes advantage of it -- to require his own totem to be dipped in the liquid. The contents of the pot are then poured into his eye. If the eye stays in its socket, the man is innocent; if the eye is destroyed or raised out of the socket, he is guilty. (1) In the latter case

[171] 1. The same test occurs among the Bangala and Barundi.

he is immediately killed by a knife stroke. He may nevertheless ask to drink the test poison, provided that he is buying back his life for the first time. This is often permitted.

A second and more generally used ordeal is the following, called médzim mé ne ayón, burning water. [561]

The practitioner boils water in a pot. When it comes to a boil, he throws in a wire ring, and the presumed culprit must retrieve it without burning himself; if his hand is injured, he is declared guilty, but if not, he is adjudged innocent and is dismissed. In such a case, the plaintiff himself is punished and must drink the test poison. The accused man has the right to

7: Trilles--109 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 F119 Fang F119
B4ye F015

F
608
622

p. 369 ff. [Annuaire de la Propagation de la Foi, Yearbook of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith].

of the ceremony and associated ritual.

The second condition is that the parties concerned be of different tribes and not have the same totem. This condition is essential and proceeds from the very nature of totemism.

The process of blood alliance or blood exchange is rather curious. Among the Fan it is as follows and is found in precisely the same form in several Congo tribes somewhat related to the Fan, like the Wabuyu of the Upper Congo.

•[17]

One of my mission colleagues recently described it thus: (1)

B
608
622

1. Bulletin des Pères Blancs d'Anvers [Bulletin of the White Fathers of Antwerp], n° de mai [May] 1910.

"In the evening there is a loud beating of drums; several rifle shots followed by shouts of joy announce a festival. Urged by curiosity, I went in the direction of the noise and discovered that two chiefs were to effect a blood exchange that day. They came forward solemnly . . . the participants crowded around and let out bloodcurdling howls. The protagonists solemnly sit down on special seats [568], face to face, with their knees touching. A white cloth is thrown over them, and the ceremony begins.

"The minister [practitioner] of one of the chiefs of the village where I am stationed takes a small thin knife and makes an incision in the leg of the foreign chief, while the latter's minister does the same to the village chief. Each one spreads on a leaf a paste that looks like butter, and simultaneously both ministers rub the two incisions. They keep exchanging the leaves so that their masters' blood is thoroughly mixed, the better to seal the mutual friendship.

"At the same time ivory horns are sounded and drums beat martial airs, rather unreasonably, it seems to me, at a 'peace conference.' The music arouses angry passions in the

7: Trilles--111 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9
Buye F015

B 608 622 535

songs celebrating the achievements of the tribe's forefathers and teaching contempt for death.

"Then comes the feast, from which women are strictly excluded."

F 608 622

A ceremony identical to that of the Wabuyu is found among the Ostem Fan, which I have seen several times, and is almost the same among the Dzandzama and Bakélé.

F 711

It is rather strange to find almost the same customs among the most ancient peoples. For instance, Herodotus wrote of the Scythians: "This is how the Scythians used to take an oath: they would pour wine into a large earthenware cup, and the parties to the oath would add their blood from slight cuts made on their bodies with knife or sword; a boar-spear, an axe, and a lance would then be dipped into the cup. They then recited long prayers and drank from the cup. The leading members of the court would drink after them." (1)

1. Herodotus, Book IV, Ch. 70.

F 779

Blood alliance is the last general totemic rite that we have to deal with. Next come particular rites. The totem usually plays a far less important part in these than in general rites, and we shall therefore be much less concerned with them. [570]

Chapter XVI

The Totem in Fan Life: Particular Rites

Summary:

1. Birth.
2. Adoption.
3. Marriage.
4. Hunting, fishing, husbandry.
5. Trade and palavers.
6. Diseases and death. The funeral dance and the fanki.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

Translation.

They put cassava to soak in the river, in a place where there is (plenty of) 252
mud. When it has lain there three days, they go and rub off the rind. They bring 539
it (to the house). They take a trough, and put the cassava in it. They take the mashing stick. They mash the cassava. They wrap it up (in leaves). When they have finished that, they put it in the pot. Then they light the fire. They put the pot of iguma (on the fire). Then the iguma is *boiled*.

Ano Mfini: (Plantation).

Bétete bene lenu le dia inifini (our fathers did not make plantain villages). 539
n'ifun eto lé (because their land was near at hand, *i.e.*, near the regular village). 262
Fuñ l'ongoge inifini ne le bidji bieme (Fuñ likes plantain village to make good food, *i.e.*, 311
because thus they get good food). *Bikon e djil ine, betok* (Plantains in town have 761
(one) small). *Inifini O ne djil nne afun bilé* (Plantain village is a good town (because) land (*i.e.*, good land) near). *Nnon ane afun bétete benge to bilé* (Like the land where the fathers were near). *B'ongoge inifini, ne dai bidji bieme. Mé'nbak a gnuni bétyil: benk benge ném* (They like the plantain village (because) there they eat good food. One person kills game (meat) others buy). *Mendo inifini ne vic lo ném* (Houses of plantain villages soon spoil).[1] *Fuñ, Bé'dji anu nbin bidiene* (Fuñ they eat a meal of cassava in the morning).

Regarding the *Eki* tabooing certain foods or performance of certain actions as 262
in vogue among the Fang, I learned from a friend and *confrère*, Rev. R. H. 114
Nassau, D.D., M.D., of Gaboon, that the *Eki* of the Fang is precisely similar to the 711
Orundo of the Mpongwe. Dr. Nassau is a veteran missionary of thirty-seven years' African experience, and he is always ready to help others who are sufficiently interested in the natives to inquire about them. I know of no one on the West Coast more willing or eminently able than he for imparting information regarding the people among whom he has laboured.

XI.—*Anthropophagy.*

Cannibalism prevails among the Fang beyond question, and only fear of 266
the law keeps him somewhat in check. I am able to speak of the Fang as 114
anthropophagi; not alone from information gathered, but from having once had the opportunity of visiting a town two days after a victim had been killed and eaten.

This town, named Olanda, is on the right bank of the Nkomo river, about 60 miles from the seat of government in the Congo Français. Whilst visiting the town Nengo-nengo (the island of islands) in the autumn of 1898, a native trader named Arkendengi, employed by a British trading house at Gaboon, informed me

[1] It is very true that houses having plantains growing near, soon rot; this is due to the dampness caused by loss of sunlight and heat.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

776 ides as the Bulu regarding two great gods. The *Zambe* of the Bulu is the *Anyambé* or *Sókóe* of the Fang, the *tate* or father of all things; and another god of less power than *Anyambé* or *Sókóe*, who lives in the forests and is so tall that he gathers fruit from the highest trees. Some of the old men and women profess to have seen this god of the forests.

[775] Fang superstition includes transmigration; a departed human soul may enter any animal dwelling on top of the earth or in it. There are spirits of health and 782 disease, also a protecting spirit belonging to a clan or tribe, in whose honour a 776 small basket is hung in the palaver house, containing portions of the skull of an albino, whenever obtainable, also portions of the skulls of a relative and a chimpanzee, human hair, nails and bones. This fetish or *bieny* is called the *Bieny Akomepong*. Most Fang have a cabalistic word assigned to them by the *nganga* (witch doctor), and this word is used as a prayer. During the new [535] moon, dances are nearly always indulged in, and the songs usually addressed to the spirits of Present and Future. Local spirits need constant propitiation; a native passing in his canoe a spot where a local spirit dwells, as a large rock, will pay his respects by casting a piece of his food into the river, or when in the forest a few stones or a piece of *ndoko* (cassava) is laid at the root of some great tree.

778 Wooden idols are not plentiful among the Fang tribes living along the rivers; they are seen more in the palaver houses of the bush towns.

Charms.—These may be only cabalistic words, and under this head of vocal charms must be included the incantations of the *nganga* (witch doctor).

Material charms.—These are by far the most common; the belief in material charms, fetish, occupies the most prominent place in Fang religious contemplation.

Among the Fang, the English word Fetish, from the Portuguese word Feitiço, is *Bieny* (medicine). A Fang fetish is any material object which the *nganga* (doctor) has consecrated and made a fit abiding place for a spirit. What may be consecrated? Anything, absolutely anything; a shell, rag, stone, twig of a tree, bones, nails, etc. The horns of small antelope and large deer are filled with resins, [798] nails, human hair, faeces, etc. To bewitch a person it is necessary to give the *nganga* a piece of the hair, nail, a portion of the food or a drop of blood of the [826] person to be bewitched. A Fang is most careful if he cuts himself to see that only friends and relations approach him until the bleeding has ceased, and hair when cut is usually burnt without delay. As mentioned in the section of this 784 paper on food, every child during infancy is subjected to certain rites which 778 constitute his or her *Eki*, prohibiting the child from eating a certain kind of food or performing a certain act. Thus far, the superstitious beliefs of the Fang and [771] Bulu are precisely similar, and I gathered from Dr. Nassau at Gabon many facts connected with the people among whom he laboured, the Mpongwe, which showed that they also hold superstitious beliefs very nearly, and in some cases precisely similar to those of the Bulu and Fang, the only difference being in the

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

A ekobet ndem, he has a foolish heart.

A ngogi ngele nie, he likes his own body (is conceited).

Ant dibi tyindu mvus, this matter (palaver or quarrel) is pushed back (*i.e.*, is to be forgotten).

Wyen ngil, ofyen ndi, mit ekiga yen ewdon, you see your grandsons and your great-grandsons, but you cannot see the next generation.

Kwapo ne a le ne mandi, go; your father calls you down the street (a hint to leave).

Anang mmiti du bifi ewu, one rotten tooth spoils all (a person once caught lying cannot be trusted).

Me ni mvus bad mapong mvus, I am not sister's son to all tribes (*i.e.*, I am not everybody's servant).

Ejil mapo ewu ejiem, another day is beautiful (like our saying "Every dog has his day").

Mim ban ofyen mmiti, mvu mit mayen m'lei, you can see a ghost once but a person twice.

Mim mie mmbad m'lei, mvu ngwi ebiti ewutti, you can chase a Fang twice, a dwarf once (here the word *mie* is used for *Fang*).

Ji ndo mmiti, there is more than one day (my turn will come).

M'ndin mmapo, I am not a child.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. CHOWER, after acknowledging the value of Dr. Bennett's researches among a most interesting people, called attention to the attribution of the art of metallurgy to the dwarf race, which corresponded with European folk-belief. He dwelt on the respect paid to the Palaver House; he gathered that a fire was kept there perpetually burning, though the cult of the sacred fire seemed to have been forgotten. It would thus correspond to the early Aryan institution of the house where the sacred fire was tended, which survived in the Greek Prytaneum. The author of the paper seemed to have failed to appreciate the motive of the rites of passing widows through fire and flagellating them. Judging from the analogy of similar rites in India and elsewhere, the object was to free the woman from the ghost of her late husband, which was supposed to cling to and possess her.

Mr. FITZGERALD MARRIOTT asked whether the witch-doctor who wore the white mask was a *Ngi*, since in certain parts of West Africa the witch-doctor was independent of the tribal society, while in others he was a member. He also asked whether the dance, in which Dr. Bennett says is played the "Eshwa-bong" (?) musical instrument made from an elephant's tusk, is in reality a species of secret society; for women and children are not allowed to see it, and it takes place by torch-light after dark. Thus it might answer to the *Ere-gbe-to* of the Slave Coast, which is a species of police society for seeing that every one is in his house after 9 o'clock at night, or like the *Ayuka* society of a district near the Kwa Ibo river, which saw that all the fires are out by a certain time. These societies also dance, sing and shout; therefore, as there is usually something beneath West African dances, it is probable that the players and dancers are a secret society or that there is some explanation for the existence of the dance. He also remarked

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

●[7] that the rules of the Ngi society, which Dr. Bennett had read them, were a great step to obtaining the secret ritual of the society. Dr. Bennett had mentioned various *ibets* or taboos peculiar to this society; Mr. MARRIOTT said that these were to be found in most secret societies. For instance, in the Kofin(g) of the little-known Limba tribe of Sierra Leone, one of the taboos was that of sitting on an axe, or other sharp instrument; another prohibition was that of allowing any one to hold a glowing firebrand to their face. These actions were tabooed because they were included in the ceremony of initiation. He knew other instances, and therefore he concluded that the taboos mentioned by Dr. Bennett were probably actions that formed part of the ritual of initiation or progression in the secret grades.

ORDINARY MEETING.

000

MAY 30TH, 1899.

C. H. READ, Esq., F.S.A., *President, in the Chair.*

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and passed.

List of books lately presented to the Institute was read, and the thanks of the Meeting was expressed. Mr. Ling Roth's *Aborigines of Tasmania* was mentioned more especially.

Elections of RICHARD J. A. BERRY, Esq., and F. SWINNERTON, Esq., as Fellows of the Institute, were announced.

The PRESIDENT then introduced Colonel R. C. TEMPLE, who proceeded to read his paper, "On the Beginnings of Currency," which was well illustrated by lantern slides. He also exhibited a valuable collection of Agri beads.

Discussion was carried on by the PRESIDENT, Professor RIDGEWAY, and Mr. GOWLAND, the latter exhibiting a collection of Japanese currency in support of Colonel Temple's views.

After a short reply from Colonel TEMPLE, the evening closed with a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

---

161 [Geographic and Ethnographic Comment on the Lower Ogooué], Ann. de Géogr., No. 62, March 15, 1903.

" is a [67] corruption of the word mpanwe by which the tribes of the coast refer to the Fan." Among them are found the tribes of three great parent branches, the Betsi and the Nzaman of the Madzouna dialect, and the Make of the Maekina dialect. Their number has a strong tendency to decrease due to continuous migration towards the sea, and above all due to lack of births and to stillbirths. There are actually no villages except on the banks of the Ogooué and the Abanga, and in the valley of the Okano along the route that joins the river at Oyem; and a few hamlets of the Make in the interior near small Bakele settlements on the left bank. The whole region of the right bank is depopulated, and one finds no more than frequent patches of short, thick brush without trees, except for some banana trees which are traces of vanished former villages.

[161] 361

Beliefs

173 [167] I. Concerning the origin of man, the elements. Whenever a Pahouin recites his genealogy (every child is used to this from his early years, a survival of the need while traveling to make oneself known as a member of a tribe), he ends the list of his ancestors with: "X... son of Nzame," and adds a formula meaning "and the rooster crowed and I was not there." All the Pahouin now living thus claim a common ancestor, Nzame, to whom they attribute supernatural powers but whom they do not worship. This Nzame himself has four known ancestors: Meboere, Nkwa, Sokuma, and Mba Angwe. We have not been able to obtain any information about these, nor about the formula in which the rooster is mentioned [sic]. It seems that this is due to the ignorance of the natives rather than their ill will (many traditions were lost through contact with peoples met in the westward migration and especially through contact with Europeans), since the natives questioned quite voluntarily gave accounts of the life of Nzame as their fathers had described it to them.

●173 In the past Nzame lived a life which his children still live today,
773 proceeding westward as he abandoned villages in which he had lived with his wives and which he vacated after the fields had been exhausted. The number of his wives was so great that it was not known, and his villages were so important that at their sites the forest could not grow back, and this is why there are now plains in the midst of the forest in the Pahouin country.

Nzame arrived at the end of the earth, which is flat, and came up against the sky barring his way, an iron roof covering the earth as a roof covers a hut, and held up at its center by an invisible stake which [68] has since been held up by Ningone Maboere, sister of Nzame. He went to the other side of the sky after having crossed a very wide river, Endam, into which all the rivers empty and which flows all around the earth and under it, bursting through at the thinnest points so as to emerge in the form of springs. Then Nzame stopped and established the village Dzo, which he has not left since.

It is in this village that Nzame still lives with his wives and children. His life is the same as on earth, and there he welcomes the dead and keeps the elements imprisoned, the sun, moon, rain, etc...

773 Every morning, when Okwal the wild fowl calls, Nzame goes to
824 open the door of the hut where the sun sleeps. The sun wakes up, gets on its way, goes around the sky, and returns in the evening when everyone is in bed, to rest in the hut which it left in the morning. The sun is a large ball of fire which gives heat and light as it burns.

The moon also is imprisoned in the village Dzo. It is a large white stone which Nzame regularly shows to the people at night in different phases: small, larger, entirely round, then smaller and smaller, until he hides it for a few days. Because of its whiteness, the moon also gives light.

The rainbow is a big snake which is seen when Nzame gives it permission to go out and drink water from the river.

Sometimes Nzame also opens the door of another hut, and rain comes out, preceded by wind. Rain falls through holes pierced in the sky, which allow the lights of the Dzo village, or the shining eyes of the dead which look at the earth, to be seen at night. These luminous holes are the stars. Sometimes lightning comes out of the hut at the same time as the rain. The former is a little animal that falls on the trees and breaks them, making a noise. In the dry season the rain goes back to the hut, and it is seen at night or in the morning in the form of great white mists rising above the lakes and rivers.

CHAPTER 6

THE BETI AND THE PAHOUIN

THE BETI OR BATI

128 /Pp. 1-56 not translated/ In the introductory section devoted to the peopling of the area, we have spoken of the Beti, or Bati, who certainly comprised a large group with many branches. They have been subject to many upheavals and, consequently, it is impossible to determine which of them have remained pure Beti and which—according to G. Tessmann's expression—have become "Pahouinized," and to what extent they have become "Pahouinized." Therefore, we will first devote a short paragraph to the Beti, and then another to the Pahouin /Pahuin/.

In the discussion which follows we will speak first of the populations which the authors have grouped under the name of Beti, and then, imperceptibly, we will move on to the Pahouin, but we are not able to decide exactly where the dividing line should be placed.

• 13 B1 It is certain that the various branches of the Beti, or Bati, spread over a large area. According to the oral traditions of a number of these peoples, their original habitat was north of the Sanaga River, and near its tributary the Mbam /M'Bam/. /Map 1/ A tiny group of these Bati remained there, and they may still be found southwest of Bafia, on the right bank of the Libous, a tributary of the Sanaga. Their little territory of barely 20 square kilometers is wedged in between the Tambasa /Tambaua/ in the east, the Lemande in the north, and the Baso in the west and to the south. There are only 800 persons [16] altogether in the villages of Keleng (on the route from Bafia to Ngambe) and the hamlets of Mpouka and Nyambet.

16 Others of the Beti remained north of the Sanaga and divided into a scattering of small groups; when the Germans found them they had not united /58/ and were still migrating. They did not become settled until the Babute had been pushed back to their former habitat by the new occupants.

Bundja
Kombe
Ngero

10| present-day Bafia, in numerous villages all along the right bank of
13| the M'Bam, meeting the Tsinga at the Owama or Afama River and reaching as far as the vicinity of the Yambasa. Others, known as Kombe, were located much farther east on the Maloko River and are probably under the jurisdiction of the Kombe villages, now claimed to be Mvele and Bavek villages (on the vehicular road in the north).

On this Moisel map, the Bundju occupied the whole vast territory, triangular in shape, which lies between the M'Bam and the Sanaga rivers.

●13 According to the reports of the administrator Cournarie, resumed by the administrator Relly, these peoples lost all cohesion after the Babute invasion in the middle of the last century. According to their traditions, the Kombe were enslaved and consequently dispersed. The Bundju, said to be related to the Mangisa, first crossed the Sanaga. Later, when the Germans pushed the Babute back towards the north, the Bundju, greatly reduced in numbers, recrossed the Sanaga and returned to their former lands.

(20) It would be interesting to investigate these former Beti from the linguistic viewpoint and to find out how much of their former language remains with them. The study should not be made on the basis of entire zones; rather it should be carried out almost village by village throughout a whole area where these peoples may be found juxtaposed and overlapping one another all along a vehicular road. No doubt the study will /sic/ shed but little light on the problem of origins, but it will clearly show what G. Tessmann calls the "Beti-Mbam" languages.

THE NGERO

(3) Location: 11°15 to 11°30 long.
10| 4°30 to 4°55 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography. The Ngero are widely dispersed on the left bank of the M'Bam, in the valley of its tributary, the
13| Ngero. This little river has a minimal water supply during the dry season, but during the rainy months, on the contrary, it swells beyond the river bed and floods the banks, sometimes for a considerable distance. This is a prairie region adorned with thin shrubs. Near branches of the river, a few clumps of raffia palms can be seen.

Ngoro
Bafok-Tangafuk

361 The several Ngoro villages are stretched over 70 kilometers of trails. A single one may be found on the right bank of the M'Bam, in the immediate vicinity of Bafia, on the vehicular road. Another is located about 30 kilometers to the southeast, also on the vehicular road but on the left bank of the M'Bam; it is Goura, inhabited by the Ngoro who moved down toward fertile land.

●173 The Ngoro say that they descended from the Mangisa a long time ago—perhaps during the time when the latter still lived north of the Sanaga. The traditions of the Ngoro also say that their original ancestor was the same as that of the Bettinga, the Kombe, and the Bundju. Is this myth or history? This extended kinship brings together all the Beti.

The folk history of the Ngoro begins only with the war against the Bakute in the last century. At that time they were dispersed, and most of them clustered around the Ngoro River. When attacked by the Bakute, those nearest the M'Bam crossed the river and settled among the Bafia, whom they pushed back. /63/ Others, the Tanakum, were driven all the way back to the Tambasa. The people of the village of Ngoro submitted and were enslaved. They were deported north to Linte and Tibati and south to Goura. /Map 2/

175 167 At Goura the young slave Ndengo was born of a Ngoro father and a Djanti mother, both deported there. As an adult, Ndengo enlisted in the native army of the Germans and attracted the attention of his superiors by his intelligence and zeal. They assigned him the task of reuniting all the exiles, and little by little turned over to him all those who were freed through their wars—first the exiles found among the Tambasa, then those among the Bafia. These migrations are the explanation for the wide scattering of Ngoro villages and for the frequent moves. Fortunately, the appearance of the cacao tree has begun to stabilize a number of these settlements.

THE BAFOK-TANGAFUK

101 Location: widely scattered, to be found in
131 several settlements sometimes
361 very far from each other
Between 11°15 and 12°30 long.
and 4°30 and 5°50 north lat.

Bafɔk-Yangafuk

101 The peoples who are the subject of this chapter have been given several names spelled in a variety of ways by Europeans. On German maps they appear as "Fuk," "Fɔk," or "Fu." In French reports and maps they are called "Baveuk," "Bafeuk," or "Yangafouk." All these words seem to resemble each other, and, in reality, they are identical.

[161] Physical and Human Geography. Total population: 5, 352 inhabitants.

361 Three little enclaves of these people a few kilometers long may be found on the Yoko road east of Bafia. They are settled in eight villages
461 all told and inhabit an area of very fertile soil and forest. Cacao, palmettoes, or food crops could bring them prosperity, were it not for
[161] their laziness. (The people of these villages number 1, 556.)

173 The five southernmost villages of the eight say that their members
361 come from the southeast, from the plain of the Sanaga, or from the east, from the plain of Djerem.

The two neighboring villages to the northeast are called Yalongo (see the chapter on the Yekaba and the Bamvele). It is thought that the Yalongo conquered the Bafɔk and /64/ adopted their language. Finally, the eighth village is said to be related to the first five and to have come also from Djerem.

[161] To the southeast of Yoko is an enclave whose two villages, in the middle of the prairie (445 inhabitants), claim to be related both to the Yalongo and the southern Bafɔk.

[161] About 50 kilometers north of Yoko, in the Babute country, is the enclave of Lena consisting of 260 inhabitants. It is said that they came from the south and reached their present habitat by traveling an arc of 250 kilometers via Tibati. /Map 4/

[161] The 360 inhabitants of the enclave of Yassem, in the midst of the Tikar country, 120 kilometers west of Yoko, say that they sprang from the Bamvele. We would be more inclined to say that they share a common origin with the latter. The wars among the tribes brought them to the Tikar country where they isolated themselves on their mountain. They differ from other Bafɔk in that they have adopted the
[197] Islamic religion of the Tikar and that they recognize no kinship with the southern Bafɔk.

361 A single village may be found on the banks of the M'Bam, a few
161 kilometers from the town of Bafia. (It has 313 inhabitants.)

And lastly, on the right bank of the Sanaga, there are several Yangafuk villages (consisting 2, 418 inhabitants) which are related to those found in the south on the Yoko road but separated from them by a thick forest. /65/

361 the Betsenga) as far north as its tributary the Maloko and, toward the south, for about a dozen kilometers inland. Another Tsinga zone exists in the northwest on both sides of the M'Bam. Another fairly homogeneous center may be found much farther south, east of Yaoundé. Finally, there are several Tsinga villages just south of the Nyong in the vicinity of the southern road.

It is impossible to calculate the area of their various habitats except near the M'Bam (75 square km.), among the Betsenga of the Sanaga (180 square km.), and for the few purely Tsinga villages east of Yaoundé (189 square km.). Elsewhere these people appear only together with other populations.

[61] The total population comes to 15, 562 persons.

361 Near the M'Bam, as well as on the Sanaga and its little tributaries, the Tsinga are settled in a land of small hills and valleys, on a prairie
●113 broken by groves and by clumps of forest. According to their traditions they originally lived north of the Sanaga, but the Babute advanced upon them. Many of them crossed the river. It appears that as soon as the Germans came and /67/ stopped the Babute, some of the Tsinga returned to the north of the Sanaga. /Map 5 covers p. 66./

197 Some say that the Tsinga are related to the Eton, and this statement
113 seems to be confirmed by the similarity between the two languages (See Nekes) /"Jaunde und seine Bewohner (Südkamerun)"/Yaoundé and its Inhabitants (South Cameroons/, " Koloniale Rundschau, 1912/. See a few words of vocabulary in G. Tessmann's Die Pangwe /The Fang/, Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), p. 34, under the name "Bati (Batjenga)," as well as H. H. Johnston, A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, (Oxford University Press, Vol. 1, 1919, Vol. 2, 1922), Vocabulary No. 216, under "Bati (Bacenga)."

/161 Demography. Their population balance is favorable; the ratio of births to deaths is + 1.14 percent.

Bibliography

113 Dominik. "Bericht über eine Strafexpedition gegen des Betschengastamm /Report on a Punitive Expedition Against the Betsenga Tribe/." Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1899, pp. 14-15.

Tsinga-Bekaya
Mangisa

113 Von Stein zu Lausnitz. "Eine Erkundungs-Expedition zwischen Wuri und Sanaga /An Exploratory Expedition Between the Wuri and the Sanaga/." Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1908, pp. 822-23.

MANGISA

131 Location: 11°15 to 11°30 long.
4°25 to 4°30 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: about 316 square km.
161 Population: 14,588 inhabitants
Density: 46.2 per square km.

131 The Mangisa occupy the right bank at the bend of the Sanaga, a land of wooded hills.

173 They were probably among the peoples who crossed the Sanaga rather early, for their traditions say that, in later times, when the Eton also crossed the river, they found the Mangisa occupying the territory. /Map 6/ Fairly intensive struggles followed; then the two peoples formed an alliance which enabled them to live in peace side by side.

361 311 Like the Eton, the agricultural Mangisa live in large villages. Because of the density of the population, the entire /68/ woodland has to a large extent been cleared for their plantations, and palm trees have been planted.

197 But what is the exact origin of the Mangisa?

174 Language. The question has been raised in linguistics.

G. Tessmann has written: "In the classification of the Pahouin tribes of the north, the situation is not yet clear. One thing is certain: all the tribes—at least all those of the northeast—contain a more or less pronounced component derived from the Bati-Mbam. Thus, a few decades ago, the Eton and the Mangisa spoke a pure Bati; they have therefore become Pahouinized only in recent times, at least as regards language (1)."

1. Günter Tessmann, "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and

131 Physical Geography. Area: 2,500 square km.

133 The country of the Eton is made up of hills and plateaus; it drifts
137 gently down from the heights of the country of the Ewondo to the valley of the Sanaga River. The border of the great southern forest crosses the territory from south to north; the westerly two-thirds of the area are covered with forest, and the last third is prairie. The Sanaga borders the country only in the northwest and northeast, for the greater part of the loop [misprint in French text: bouche for boucle. See map.] of the river is occupied by the Mangisa. /69/

161 Human Geography. Population: 111,738 inhabitants
Density: 44.3 persons per square km.

173 It is impossible to say whether the Eton should be counted among the Beti populations who were dislodged and crossed the Sanaga or whether they were among the first Pahouin to cross the Sanaga at the time of the invasion. Their traditions do not go back very far; they only tell of their departure from the fork of the M'Bam and the Sanaga. /Map 7/ The Eton say that after crossing the river in the direction of the present-day village of Nkolbogo, they fell upon the Mangisa who had already arrived, and then spread themselves throughout the territory which they occupy to this day.

361 The Eton are settled in large villages, whose hamlets line the length
481 of their many walls. At present their country is traversed by several roads on which heavy trucks can travel so that their products can reach Yaoundé and the railroad.

197 Language. With reference to this subject it seems best to refer the reader to the paragraph on linguistics in the chapter on the Mangisa, since the same question is raised for the two peoples. /70/

142 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Eton are above average in height, mesocephalic, and platyrrhin.

143 Their blood-group ratio is typically Negro, with a relatively high proportion of the AB type:

O: 55.7 percent; A: 13.8 percent; B: 17.5 percent; AB: 12.9 percent;—index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$: 0.878.

191 Their height is /for the/ average: men 167.8 cm.; women 150.9 cm.

[53] The southeastern part of Ewondo territory is also watered by the high stream of the little river Lokoundje.

The whole country is very fertile, rich with food crops and beautiful groves of cacao trees.

Human Geography

[54] Population: Ewondo (in the Yaounde subdivision)—70, 994 in 1946
" " " M'Balmayo ")—15, 359
" " " Lolodorf ")— 6, 674 in 1947
93, 027

Evunok: 4, 273 inhabitants

The population density varies greatly in the different zones: the region north of the Nyong is most densely populated, 49.3 persons per square kilometer; south of the Nyong there are 13.1 persons per square kilometer; in Evunok, 5 persons per square kilometer.

[173] History. The Ewondo settled in their present habitat quite recently —one hundred and fifty years ago at most. According to their traditions, they began the last stage of their migrations somewhere on the right bank of the Sanaga near its junction with the M'Bam. They crossed the Sanaga about five generations ago, at the time when all the peoples north of the Sanaga suffered the consequences of pressure by the Fulbe. They spread southward, and some of them even crossed the Nyong and traveled in the "low" direction (west) toward the commercial roads.

It is believed that German expeditions first reached the Ewondo in about the year 1887 (during the exploration by Kund, Tappenbeck, and Weimenhoer). The administrative "station" of Yaoundé was created in 1889, and its direction was placed in the hands of G. Zenker, a man of science whose name is not likely to be forgotten in the Cameroons.

According to most of the traditions, the Evunok (1) were the last

[104] 1. Their name is said to be nothing but a nickname meaning "elephant's stomach," which was given them by the other Ewondo after a hunt which was followed by an unforgettable feast.

of the Ewondo to arrive during the last migration, and they were

173 therefore forced to settle in the most westerly area. (See the unpublished report of Father Sohler.) Others say (according to the report of X. Béliard) that they are only brothers of the Ewondo, who crossed the Sanaga, entered the southern forest as far as the present-day region of Ebolowa, stayed there a few years, and, step by step, took the northwest route, crossing the Lokoundje River. Then they infiltrated among the Basa tribes and settled in their present habitat. What we know for certain is that not until 1910 did they occupy the three villages on the road between Kribi and Edéa, and that their migration was still in full swing when the German occupation forced them to settle in one spot.

184 The population in the vast territory occupied by the Ewondo is not
563 culturally homogeneous. In many villages and even in the hamlets, the Ewondo live side by side with members of neighboring groups. On our map we have indicated the most important enclaves and mixed settlements /Map 8, facing p. 72/, namely those where the strangers are as numerous as the Ewondo or even more so. /72/ The actual situation is more complex than this, but on a map of this scale it has not been possible to show the minorities. (1)

[114]

1. A remarkable large-scale diagrammatic map of the administrative subdivision of Yaoundé should be mentioned here. It was set up in 1944 by the administrator J. Christol and shows even the smallest intermixtures, with proportional strengths, for every village and hamlet.

361 The Ewondo live in sizable villages which stretch along the many
511 roads in the area. The villages are well maintained and show evidence of a comfortable standard of living which is largely the result of the prosperity of their cacao trees and their trade.

181 The Ewondo are robust and muscular, skillful and intelligent. They emigrate readily, and their workers are valued in all enterprises.

497 The shipment of their products is facilitated by a major branch of the railway which crosses their territory between Yaoundé and Otélé, and transportation on their roads plays an important role in getting the various foodstuffs and the cacao from the great markets in the bush to the railroad.

113 The oldest sketch map on which the Bane are shown is a map without scale, but where the distances are calculated in terms of "hours on foot"; it appears in Von Stein's report entitled "Ueber die geographische Verhältnisse des Bezirkes Lolodorf (Sudkamerun Gebiet), speziell die dort wohnenden Volkstämme /The Geographic Relationships of the Lolodorf District (South Cameroon), especially the Resident Tribes/," in Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebeiten, 1899, pp. 120-41. This report also contains an extensive geneological table which includes the Bane; ethnographic details on pp. 135-38 should be especially noted.

Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Bane."

Moisel maps, G2, Jaunde, and H 1-2, Kribi.

Bearth. "Le Nsig N'to, ancienne coutume Bane /The Nsig N'to, an Ancient Bane Custom/," Togo-Cameroun, January 1930, pp. 19-22.

Important unpublished documents exist on the subject of customs, shelter, and subsistence among the Bane.

THE FONG

131 Location: 11° and 11°15 long.
3°15 north lat.
and 11°30 to 12° long.

101 Physical and Human Geography. The Fong /Fang/ are not all settled in a single area. They constitute a very small population divided into three separate clusters, lined up from west to east; the total area of the different small zones occupied by these settlements is about 1, 152 square kilometers, and in the largest and most easterly, the enclaves of Bulu villages are to be found.

101 563 Bertaut has written: "The territory is occupied by Bane and Fong without any geographical unity. Fong, Bulu, and Bane are intermingled, and one passes from a Bane area /76/ to a Fong area without noticing. This situation is the result of a mingling of tribes which must have occurred when the Bane and the Fong, who came from the north, encountered the Fang and the Bulu, who were also not yet permanently settled." (Report of May, 1932)

113 The Fong may be considered the southernmost participants in the recent invasion which brought the Ewondo and the Bane to the south

Fang
Fang

173 of the Nyong. According to their traditions they come from an area north of the Sanaga, as do the other groups which preceded them. They settled in the forest, where there are at present 12,783 of them (a density of 6.9 persons per square km.).

231 The Fong are an agricultural people. They seem to have little
262 inclination to hunt so that their diet consists chiefly of vegetables, although they have a fairly large number of domesticated animals. /Map 11/

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. Average height: men 169.7 cm.; women 162 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	80.8	81.5
Nasal	95.21	84.01

NJ The population balance is slightly positive, the ratio of birth to
163 deaths being +0.77. The rate of sterility is high, 25.6 percent, but is fortunately compensated for by the fertility rate, 5.3 pregnancies per woman.

Bibliography

113 Cottes, A. La mission Cottes au Sud-Cameroun (1905-1908). Exposé des résultats scientifiques, d'après les travaux des divers membres de la section française de la Commission de delimitation entre le Congo français et le Cameroun (frontière méridionale) et les documents étudiés au Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. (The Cottes Mission to South Cameroun 1905-1908. A Presentation of the Scientific Results of the Mission Based on the Work of Various Members of the French Section of the Commission to Set the Boundaries Between the French Congo and the Southern Frontier of the Cameroons, and on Documents Examined at the Museum of Natural History) (Paris: Leroux, 1911), pp. 125-31.

THE FANG, THE MVAE, THE NTUMU

131 Location: $10^{o}45$ to $12^{o}45$ long, and a few islands between 10° and $10^{o}30$ long.

361 The Ntumu make up a fairly homogeneous group falling between the Fang and the Mvae.

173 History. According to the oral traditions of the Fang, the last stage of their journey to their present habitat brought them from the south. Therefore, it is possible that they formed a part of the ancient Fang migration which came from the north /78/ and reached Gabon by way of the Ivindo Valley. It is thought that the few groups under discussion then moved slightly north, where they encountered the Bulu who arrived somewhat later.

The Mvae are an offshoot of the Fang, who arrived with the latter. At first they were dispersed throughout the whole N'Tem basin but were later displaced by the arrival of the Ntumu.

It is impossible to separate the arrival of the Ntumu in the N'Tem Basin from that of the Fang, since they were a part of the same invasion. But their oral traditions say that they occupied the country in two waves which came from different directions. It is thus possible to distinguish in their history two branches of migration: One came from the northeast, passed through the Ebolowa region, and went down to the south. Other Ntumu came from the present-day territory of Sangmélima with the Fang and went south with them, through Mimvoul, Bitam, and Oyem. Like some of the Fang, they then went back north and west through the valleys of the Woleu Benito, the N'Tem, and the Kyé. The fusion of the two branches occurred either on the banks of the N'Tem (in the Eba region) or between the Kye and the N'Tem, between 1905 and 1910. Their villages became mixed. It was during these local migrations that the Mvae branch is thought to have been N'Tem pushed out of the Basin.

197 Language. The Fang speak the language that they brought with them from the more southern region (present-day Gabon) when their migration moved back from south to north. Struck believes that they are the ones who, coming from the south, introduced their neo-Bantu language among peoples somewhat further to the west, and that the Bane and the Ewondo, who until that time had spoken "Ati," were also reached in this movement from south to north. (Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, p. 220.)

If this assertion is plausible it forces us to think that the arrival of the Bulu, who are also Pahouin, was not the end of a migration, for their presence in their current habitat would have prevented a direct contact between the Fang and the Ewondo, the only condition under which such a far-reaching linguistic influence would have been possible.

361 in a country full of valleys and woods. The territory covers about
(33 1,728 square kilometers. /Map 13/

Human Geography

161 Population and density of each group:

True Bulu: 96,216 inhabitants; 9.59 persons per square km.

Yengono, Yembama, Yelinde: 12,987 inhabitants; 7.5 persons per square km.

Zaman: 1,407 inhabitants.

•173 History. The Bulu say that they come from the east. Indeed, those who have surveyed the area with care say that "old natives can mark the sites of the villages in which they were born and those of their fathers. Going back generation by generation the track leads east." (1)

1. Bertaut, Droit coutumier des Boulous (The Customary Law of the Bulu), p. 40.

174 By bringing together linguistic and ethnographic data it has been possible to determine that, during the first wave of the Pahouin invasion, the Bulu first followed the high valley of the Sanaga and then took a direction from north to south, which it has been possible to set at 12° to 12°30 longitude. They swamped the Maka, who were settled there before them, and chased them out of the entire territory. Traditions describe them as dividing into two groups once they reached present-day Sangmélima. One group spread throughout that section and moved toward the west; those who went furthest reached almost to the ocean, from which they were separated by only a few coastal populations.

The other group went toward the east into the great forest, and the Zaman pushed all the way to the Dja, 120 kilometers away.

But considering the assertion of B. Struck and Father Nekes that the Fang language influenced that of the Ewondo, we would seem justified in placing the Bulu settlement between the Ewondo and the Fang at a very recent time, for this influence was only possible through constant and direct contacts and intermingling, not by crossing over the Bulu to reach each other. In this case does linguistics enable us to date history?

[8] We connect the Bobili with the Bamvele because, on the one hand, they do not appear separately from the Bele on the Moisel map (Dunne, G3), and, on the other, the traditions pertaining to their origins are not precise enough to permit us to draw a conclusion differing from that of the Germans.

Physical and Human Geography

[3] Area: 2,472 square km.

[4] Population: Bamvele—18,452 inhabitants
Bobili—6,247 inhabitants

Density: 10 persons per square km.

[33] The Bamvele are close neighbors of the Yekaba and the Yebekolo in the north; they occupy a large homogeneous territory on the border between forest and prairie. The country is almost flat, extending into the Sanaga plain and borders the river for about 30 kilometers. The territory is watered by several broad tributaries of the Sanaga. In the east, one of these tributaries, the Long, serves as a frontier between the Bamvele and the Babute, who surround them everywhere except in the south. A few Bamvele villages have been established [34] on the right bank of the Long, and they border the Bertoua road for a few kilometers.

[17] Like their neighbors, the Yekaba, the Bamvele in their traditions tell that their origins are to be sought among the Yalongo north of the Sanaga. They too were pushed by the Babute who were under pressure from the Fulbe; they fled south and crossed the Sanaga a little more than a hundred years ago. Their history is identical with that of their neighbors, the Yekaba. /Map 17/ /89/

[13] The Bobili believe that they are native to the territory, but they say that in former times their country extended west, beyond the Long. Therefore, the impact upon them of the Babute and Fulbe movements would have been very slight. (1)

1. Unpublished report of Mr. Brothier-Oubre for May, 1945.

[11] The administrator Chauleur carried out prolonged research in an attempt to untangle the network of peoples on the banks of the Sanaga. He does not feel that he can make a statement about the remote origins of the Yalongo, but he poses the following problem: "Could they be related to the Ba-yoka of the Congo who emigrated south

THE OMVANG

131 Location: the Omvang are split into two sections
One section: 12°15 to 12°50 long.
3°55 to 4°05 north lat.
Other section: 12°45 to 13° long.
4°05 to 4°28 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

Area: in the west—about 390 square km.
in the east—about 660 square km.

161 Population: in the west—4, 852 inhabitants
in the east—7, 520 inhabitants

Density: in the west—12.4 persons per square km.
in the east—11 persons per square km.

131 The Omvang inhabit a forest country which is quite poor in the west but rich in the east. Those who are furthest west, northwest of Ayos, are on the banks of the Nyong, and that is the only place where they have access to a road. The territory of the eastern Omvang is 133 in the valley of the Ayong, a tributary from the right of the Nyong, but their country does not reach as far as the river itself. However, the stream is navigable everywhere so that the river can be easily reached. Ayong flows first of all through a forest which thins out toward the south and is replaced by beautiful clusters of raffia palms.

173 The Omvang know little of their history. They know only that less then a century ago they still occupied the entire territory north of the Nyong; they were in constant contact with the Yebekolo and were sometimes their masters, sometimes their slaves. They were warriors trained in guerrilla warfare, and in the end they attacked the neighboring Maka and wrested from them the land which is their present habitat. The advance of the Yebekolo /92/ split them into two sections. Only the intervention of the Germans in 1904-1905 reestablished peace in the area.

174 P. Chauleur does not agree with the view that the Omvang are a people of the Pahouin group. His arguments, based only on data concerning local migrations, seem to be no more valid than those he opposes.

241 The eastern Omvang, settled in a fertile region are hard-working and good farmers. In addition to their food crops they care for large

K2 Dominated by the great and often marshy forest, this country is
861 characterized by a very localized population indicated on a map by "strips" linked to the system of rivers. In the two districts which they occupy, Booué and Makokou, the Fang are the dominating ethnic group, forming about 45 percent and 40 percent of the total population. They are in the neighborhood of ethnic groups which are considered to be related to them, the Shaké and the
[170] Bakwélé. By their migrations they have disordered the population of this region and created contacts resulting in great cultural contaminations. If one can believe Father Trilles, who noted an "archaic language" used in the legends, proverbs, and songs, and similar to Baréké, (1) the relations with the peoples of the Congo

1. Father H. Trilles, op. cit

and Gabon borders would be early.

●173 According to tradition, the Fang-Maké (or Bisibé) were the first to reach the Ivindo. De Brazza finds them on the Ogooué (on the island of Zabouré). Their largest tribe is Mékuk, specifically
619 referred to by Father Trilles and specially mentioned by Tessmann on his distribution map. Outside of the Maké, the Fang of this region are in two distinct groups -- Bétsi and Nzaman -- the latter representing, according to early authors, the "true Pahouin of the Ogooué." (2) In Booué District the villages, although without clan

2 Cf. Captain Curault, "Monographie du secteur de N'Djolé au Gabon [Monograph on the N'Djolé section of Gabon]," Revue des Troupes Coloniales, 68, 1908.

homogeneity, showed at the time of the "regrouping movement" the predominance of the three great tribes, Yémŏ̂ág, Yémvâg, and Yémisem.

511 The Ogooué-Ivindo seems to be one of the poorest regions of
702 Gabon. Not having any economic equipment, it was only precariously active during the war effort. On the other hand, frequent recruiting has seriously affected this country (which along with

who were settled among them and the Boulou. The last Beti groups to cross the Sanaga, blocked by those who had preceded them, have turned perpendicularly or obliquely to the general axis of migration.

The total migration was made exclusively by land, even when its axis followed the course of a navigable river. The Fahouin are not users of the pirogue, and the customary trails followed along ridges rather than valleys. Settlement is mainly linear, stretched along trails and, now, roads, in long ribbons, separated by empty areas.

The traditions dealing with this exodus are of three kinds: the collective tradition of the group, varying in detail from tribe to tribe but always agreeing in the broad outlines of the same theme; family traditions, consisting of a commentary on genealogies, the majority of which have not been collected and are by way of being lost due to the abandonment of the customary training of boys; finally, a pseudo tradition of contemporary invention, which is far from the least interesting. I shall here give an account only of the principal features of these traditions and, first, of the collective tradition.

According to this, the ancestors used to live in a country called mvo' ékanga or mvo' ékaña'a (Largeau: mvõgh ẽtangha), which means something like "cloudy country" or "honorable country," depending on the tone, or perhaps both at the same time (1). I have

1. a) Radical kañ • to honor, to respect, whence ékañã'a • honor, respect, veneration; b) radical kañ • to mark, to design, whence ékanga • mark, design, cloud; c) verb kañele • to lash, to shape /timber/, whence ékanga • bridge.

pointed out previously the legendary features of this land in the east, the details of which vary according to the informants. It should be observed in passing that they differ as to whether or not this land was the actual cradle of the ancestors and whether the latter came from a place located even more to the east, as the present pseudo tradition asserts (2).

2. The last of the Ntoumou storytellers sing to the accompaniment of a guitar, mvet, the exploits of the bikañ or bo'bikañã,

•173 [533 534]

> superhuman heroes, who include not only their ancestors but also the earliest well-known Europeans: Ngôô Zambe (Rev. Good), Mendômô (Hauptmann von Hagen), Aloûa (Marius Pascalet), etc., thus are found to be naturalized as it were and incorporated into tradition.

Driven out of this country by red giants (or by a red giant), the ancestors, fleeing to save their lives, were brought to a standstill at the Sanaga, incapable of crossing it until the intervention of the guardian of the waters, a python according to Beti and Boulou, a crocodile according to /16/ the Fang (1). By stretching himself across

> 1. Bertaut gives the names as mot yom and nga medja or ngan meja. Discounting a mistake in transcription, these expressions could mean "a being to be supplicated," "crocodile to be supplicated," from môt (Fang, môk, mur) = person; ngan = crocodile; ja'd (Boulou) daak, daghd (Ewondo, Fang) = to ask, to supplicate; yom = to beg, to implore.

the river this animal formed a bridge which the ancestors crossed family by family, in order of primogeniture, until the moment when a child (or woman) wounded the animal's back by letting fall a weapon (or a torch). The animal dived below, abandoning on the right bank the Beti group that is still there today.

[105] Osoe Nsanga, whence Europeans have derived "Sanaga," means [172] "white river" or "river of the albino." White is the color of death; [174] ghosts (bekôn) are white; albinos are thought to be offspring of incubi. [175] Lastly, the land of the dead has always been situated in the west, toward the sea (man), even though the Pahouin could not have known the sea except by hearsay. Considered in connection with some of the legends collected by Trilles, these facts may lead us to think that the Pahouin in crossing the Sanaga were entering, at least symbolically, the land of the dead.

When they had reached the left bank, they found their road blocked by an impenetrable forest, with the single path obstructed by an

173 enormous ajap (Mimusops djave), the tree symbolic of power and of physical and spiritual vigor. They made their way through it by means of a narrow tunnel, the niom ajap, and were able from then on to go forward unimpeded. But after this passage a quarrel broke out between the brothers, over women according to some, over precedence and inheritance according to others, and they separated into four groups, of which one remained on the spot, the others heading toward the sea by the three routes described above.

Thereafter we have to refer to family traditions in order to follow the wanderings of each group, which are impossible to describe in detail.

The most interesting contribution from recent pseudo tradition is without doubt the genealogy collected among the Ntoumou by the administrative officer André, which is particularly widespread among the Fang linguistic division of the Pahouin group. It starts with the ancestor Afiri Kara, leader of the migration at the time of the crossing of the Sanaga, who died after the passage through the niom ajap. Afiri Kara, "who gave his name to Africa," was the son of Kara Kuba, son of Kuba Ta, son of Ta Ma'a, son of Ma'a Ngɛ̂, "who is the father of the Negro race." The sons of Afiri Kara are the ancestors of the present tribes, to whom they have given their names, names which are in fact nicknames derived from puns. For instance, Ntumu Afiri, the ancestor of the Ntoumou, walked with a stick (ntum). Ewɔ̂ndɔ̂ Afiri was fond of groundnuts (ewɔ̂ndɔ) or had as many offspring as the seed of a groundnut; Bulu Afiri was especially hard working or serious (bulu: from the root bo, to do = to do seriously, really). (2) etc.

2. Cf. the verb fall = to do well, to do really, on purpose.

Largeau and Tessmann seem to be entirely unacquainted with this legend, whose origin probably does not go back beyond the First World War. /17/

The contribution of pseudo tradition is harder to ascertain in the legends collected by Largeau, Trilles, and Grebert concerning the actual origin of the human race. The theme is that of Jacob and Esau: a younger son of Zobeyo Mebe'e (in Fang: Nzame Mebeghe, Nzame Mebere) takes advantage of the stupidity of his elder brother to become heir to this world's riches (biom, bium = wealth, goods,

173 as against the fruits of the earth) and flees to the west, land of the dead or the ancestors, where the frustrated elder son pursues him (1).

[92] 1. This association of the west with material goods, of the east with the produce of the land, is found again in the potlatch (bilaba), described further on.

Largeau and Grebert make of the usurping younger son the ancestor of the Whites, but Trilles has collected versions which he considers older, in which the younger son is the ancestor of the Bantu of the coast; these versions, moreover, exist side by side with Largeau's. It is possible that the association of the younger son with the Whites dates from the first trade contacts. /18/

Chapter 3

The Language

1. Distribution

197 The group as a whole is characterized by an unquestionable linguistic unity, which spreads across cultural and anthropological boundaries. I have earlier indicated the existence of Pahouinized tribes or tribes [92] becoming Pahouinized, especially the Maka and the Kozimé. To these must be added the Pygmies living symbiotically with the Pahouin, and whose language they appear to have adopted to a very great extent, to a point where it is difficult to know for certain if they still possess a language of their own.

[191] Moreover, Pahouin dialects tend to be used as a trade language in areas where, on the one hand, the Pahouin are but a minority, often as emigrants, or, on the other, in regions less advanced economically and socially than is their own habitat.

There are therefore:

a) A true Pahouin linguistic area: this is Pahouin country as described in the first chapter. There Pahouin is spoken as a mother tongue by the Pahouin themselves and in all probability by the Pygmies.

533 skits, often satirical, sometimes to the accompaniment of European tunes that have been adapted to the instrument. Choral song, finally, is very popular, using imported tunes that are often considerably improved by the native interpretation which makes extensive use of fugue and counterpoint. Unfortunately, these modern airs are not suited to the tonal system of the language, which they tend to impair when words are adapted to them.

538 Chronicles, minkaffere, of which the salutations, mehatan, were in a way summaries, were part of traditional training and were recited only on solemn occasions. They are falling into oblivion because of the considerable demands they made upon the memory and because of the time necessary for learning them by heart, without mentioning the fact that they contained incomprehensible passages, perhaps borrowed from tribes that were neighbors of the Pahouin before their great migration. /126/

177 The systems of transcription introduced by missionaries were first used to translate the Scriptures and to compose hymns, which have not always had a good effect upon the language but have nonetheless become classics in spite of the mistakes and improprieties they often contain. After these works produced by Europeans in the native language, there have appeared in rapid succession works composed by Pahouin writing in their own language. The most remarkable is without doubt Ninanga kôn by the Boulou, Jemba Medu, which describes Boulou life at the time of the arrival of the first white men (nnanga kôn = phantom albino). This, to my knowledge, is the only novel composed in one of the languages of the group; its popularity is prodigious, to such a degree that its characters have entered into contemporary Boulou folklore.

204 There is a missionary press in Gabon and in the Cameroons. The papers with the largest circulation are Nleb Bekristen (Christians' Guide) (Ewôndo, Catholic) and Mefoé (News) (Boulou, Protestant), which is read as far afield as Gabon. The lay press in French is not of much importance and its publications moreover are usually short lived.

536 A Pahouin literature in the French language is a recent — and significant — phenomenon. Oyono and Eza Boto-Mongo Beti are both from the Cameroons; neither Gabon nor Spanish Guinea have up to now produced a novelist.

535 The dance has lost a great deal in being deprived of its old ritual character. Formerly there was a specific dance for every ceremony,

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 F319 Fang F319

184 and like a resistless army they are steadily approaching the coast, building towns
167 and displacing weaker tribes. That fine race of people, the Mpongwes, often spoken of as the "aristocratic tribe," and ranking first in the scale of civilisation above all other tribes in the French Congo, is rapidly dying out, and they are already being supplanted even at Gaboon by the migratory Fang.

The Bulu people inhabiting a portion of the German sphere of influence in
184 West Africa are without doubt very closely related to, if not a direct offshoot from, the Fang; their customs are identical and their language so markedly similar that
197 a person who is able to speak Bulu is readily understood by the Fang. The first
173 day of my arrival among the Fang, after residing in Bululand, I was able to make known the reason for my coming and to ask and answer ordinary questions. While visiting on a small island called Nongo-ongo in the Nkomo River, a very old Fang man told me as follows: When a lad his grandfather had told him that, a long time ago, many of his tribe "changed their towns." These people first travelled far in canoes, and then after journeying for very many days through the forest, they "stopped walking and made new towns," and they did not return. My informant's father had told him later more about these people; they had been heard from, and their long absence from the original tribe had so changed them that "they spoke new words" (a new language).

Examples could be given almost without limit of the great similarity in the
197 language as spoken by the Bulu and Fang. A few will suffice; and I will select
539 from the proverbs of the people which are also identical. Tell a Bulu man to hurry with his work, he will often reply, "*Alo ko dapi ba'* nnak?" (Will one day eat an elephant?). The Fang speak the same proverb thus: "*Alo ewei ba'* nnak?" Again, the Bulu use the words *Mbo ngwa* (the days that are past), *Mbo ene* (the days that are to come), *Mbo nnane* (all the days). These sayings and numerous similar ones are in daily use among the Fang, the words used and the idiom being almost identically the same as in Bulu. I have wondered if the account given me by the old Fang man at Nongo-ongo about the people who years ago "changed their towns," might not be of more than passing interest as touching the genesis of the Bulu.

The Fang people are spread over an immense area of country, and when
101 questioned regarding their numbers they usually reply, "There are Fang and Fang; if you walk and sleep in towns and towns for many *mwan* (months) you will find Fang." In the future it will be found that in the ethnography of equatorial Africa the Fang will hold a very important place. As before stated they are unquestionably closely related to the Bulu, and Compiègne recognised a marked similarity between them and the Oyelo, Mombutta and Nyamnyam people. There are
563 several scattered tribes of dwarfs among the Fang. Five of these pigmies live within two miles of my station, and they tell me that more of their people will soon "move their towns" and come to live on the banks of the Nkomo river. The Fang people look on the pigmies as a very clever and superior people, and not without good reason. An old headman told me that the *mon ngwi* (dwarfs) first

1: Tessmann--308 E-6 (1904-1909) 1913 F109 Fang F89

8. Drawing and Painting.

532 Drawings are scribbled on the exterior bark walls of the
365 houses especially by children or adolescents. More rarely drawings are made on special bark strips that are attached to the inside walls of the meeting houses.

532 The drawing motifs are taken from secular life and frequently
111 from a foreign culture (Fig. 223). Most frequently, tobacco pipes, /272/ /Fig. 226 appears here in the original text/ smoking men, and riders on horseback are represented in the drawings. The riders are regularly placed with both feet on their horses in the manner of Buffalo Bill. The horses themselves are always badly drawn; they might as well belong to the family of lizards (Drawing 6), or for that matter they might be identified as cats or centipedes (Drawing 9). At best they are equipped with a long, fishbone-shaped tail (Drawings 11 and 14), so that one immediately suspects that the artist has never seen a horse. This suspicion is strengthened when one observes a preponderant number of drawings of horses even in the remotest villages where it is certain that none of the inhabitants has as yet been to the coast. /274/ /Fig. 226 appears here in the original text./ It is therefore probable that the an-
• [114] cestors of the present-day draftsmen saw horses among the equestrian peoples of Adamawa or other African peoples in an earlier era before the Pangwe moved to their present location. The knowledge of this animal would then have been transmitted to their descendants by means of pictures that were copied again and again.

In villages affected by European culture -- primarily those along the caravan routes -- we frequently find drawings of Europeans. Often, to correspond with their skin color, these are painted white; some drawings show them by themselves, others have them being carried in a hammock and accompanied by servants; others again show them on horseback riding ahead of the soldiers who are accentuated by red caps. The rider's legs are drawn behind the animal (Drawing 14), just as in the drawings of our children.

531 Otherwise we find people frequently represented with spears or rifles, but that is about the extent of artistic ideas. Drawings of

181 This group of Beti, or Bati, north of the Sanaga, whom the Ger-
131 mans—being good linguists—recognized easily by their language, were all those whom the French administration later called by the general name "Sanaga." They included the Tsinga, the Mvele /Mvelle/ (contrary to Nekes' opinion), the Bavek, the Mangisa, the Ngovo, and the Kombe.

114 What is the origin of these Bati? G. Tessmann thinks that they may
179 be related to the peoples he has named "Mittelkamerun Bantu /Middle Cameroons Bantu/" (Bafia, Banen /Banend/, Tambasa, etc.). But he does not confuse the two groups. He believes that the Bati came from the north, where they first lived on the left bank of the M'Bam. Then, pushed by the Babute, some of them moved to the right bank. He notes that from that point on two tendencies are apparent: Some of the Bati were attracted by the civilization of the northeast (Babute), others by that of the southeast (Pahouin). Thus the Bavek and the Yangafuk (the Fök and the Fuk) migrated and scattered in a direction that differed from the one taken by groups such as the Betsings and the Mangisa, who were moving toward the Pahouin. The latter two let themselves be assimilated quite rapidly.

According to G. Tessmann, the Bati are not Pahouin but rather a population encountered by the latter in their migrations. These people were attracted or influenced by the Pahouin and, in turn, influenced the invaders, just as they influenced, or were influenced by, the central Bantu. In the course of influences and counter influences, the intermingling of Pahouin and Bati, as much in culture as in language, has been so great that it is now difficult to untangle the threads of their various ramifications. Some threads have been lost, others broken, and those that remain have taken on a variety of hues.

Lang

113 Language. See:

Johnston, H.H. A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Language (Oxford University Press, Vol. 1, 1919, Vol. 2, 1922), Vocabulary No. 216, and his reference to the study by Carl Meinhof, "Die Sprachverhältnisse in Kamerun /Linguistic Relationships in the Cameroons/," Zeitschrift für afrikanische und oceanische Sprachen (Berlin, 1895).

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe /The Fang/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes, Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und Früherer

101 barely a century and a half ago, invaded and took over more than
113 176,000 square kilometers of land in the western part of Equatorial Africa. For a century these peoples have occupied the huge forest area which stretches from 1° south of the equator to 4° 20 in the north, and from 9° 30 to 14° meridian in longitude.

101 Poutrin uses the term "Fan" to designate these peoples. Tessmann
114 uses the term "Pangwe /Mpangwe/."

We have rejected Poutrin's term "Fan" for the same reason that Tessmann did. There exists in the Cameroons a subgroup of Pahouin known as Fang, and it seems to us that using the same term to designate two different entities—on the one hand, a large group occupying a vast territory, and on the other, a very small unit comprising 12,583 persons within this group—could lead to confusion and misunderstanding.

114 The penetration of the area by the Germans, which brought them into contact with the Pahouin of the southern part of the territory, had to be carried out slowly. The first expeditions started from Grand-Batanga near Kribi. It was possible to explore quite rapidly the lower part of the Sanaga River as far as Edea Falls. At that time the river was called "Grand (Big) Nyong," and the present-day Nyong was "Petit (Little) Nyong." The natives on the coast said at that time that in the interior there flowed a great river whose waters moved from west to east. This detail posed a great problem for the Germans: Did the separation of the waters reaching the Congo and Grand-Nyong basins occur so near the coast? The first expedition was led by Lieutenant R. Kund, who was accompanied by Lieutenant Tappenbeck, the zoologist Weissenborn, and the botanist Braun. On October 15, 1887, they left Grand-Batanga, traveled through the Ngumba country and the valley of the Nyong, and, going northeast, reached the Sanaga on January 19, 1888. According to the reports they were "at least 300 kilometers from the coast," but it is not possible to locate the exact spot.

Within a few years from that date nearly the whole forest region had been explored, opened up to commerce, and studied both from ethnographic and economic viewpoints.

114 The first observations were based on linguistic notations, and the
114 extension of the Pahouin invasion above the second parallel was easily perceived when it was investigated also from the south through Gabon.

Pahouin

114 The great explorer Schweinfurth was the first to present the theory
174 that the invasion must have begun far to the east among the Azande, south of Bahr el Ghazal (approximately 23° long., and 5° north lat.). Dr. Poutrin, R. P. Trilles, Largeau, and Avelot accepted his conclusions, but Baumann and Westermann rejected them as greatly exaggerated. According to them, the Pahouin came only from the high Sanaga and had reached the western part of Equatorial Africa through a series of successive westward migrations, avoiding the great equatorial forest by going around it in the north and going through the valleys of the Lom and the Adamawa. "The advance of the subgroups," write Baumann and Westermann, "was made in successive leaps, as each group pushed the other ahead or passed them by. The migration was made by kin groups, about thirty to a tribe, which constituted the only political and social unit. These kin groups (agon) moved continuously westward, often passing one another; the last comers settled beyond their predecessors for a generation or two and then departed again."

The last push was made quite recently, /60/ in the southern part of the plateau of the Adamawa, by the Mbum and the Baya, who subsequently had to yield to the Fulbe /Fulani/. This last move from the right bank of the Sanaga to the forest dates back no more than about a hundred years. When the Europeans came, they in turn stabilized the positions of all these peoples.

114 In spite of the linguistic investigations quickly undertaken by the
101 Germans, whose great specialist was Father Nekes, and the study of
197 oral traditions carried out to a greater extent by the French, the conclusions arrived at concerning the distribution of the Pahouin in the Cameroons are not entirely in agreement with one another. They are as follows:

Father Nekes is the authority on the subject, but his classification is chiefly linguistic. According to him there are two major groups, the Beti and the Mvele. In the first he includes the Ewondo, the Bane /Bene?/, the Yetenga, the Yetudi, the Eton, and the Betsenga; in the second, the Mvele, the Yebekolo, the Yebekanga, the Bulu, the Ntumu /Ntum?/, the Okak, the Omvang, and the Fang. Tessmann connects the Yesum with the Bulu.

114 According to Dr. Schnee, the "Fang" are divided into two large
101 groups, the Betschi /Betsi/ (established in the northwest) and the Makei /Mekei/ (settled in the southwest). His division is based on whether they pronounce the phrase, "I say that," as Mekima or Matsina. The groups are divided into an infinite number of tribes,

Bafok-Yangafuk
Tsinga - Betsinga

174 The recognized kinship among the various groups clearly permits us to assert that their extraordinary dispersion is quite recent, going back no further than to the historical period when the Tikar and the Babute made their last advances and were driven back by the advancing Fulbe. Before that time these peoples probably inhabited the entire plain south of the Ndomé. Ndoumba was their most important center.

197 Language. The linguistic unity among the various groups of Bafok and Yangafuk confirms our impression. Dialect differences among them are minimal; they all understand each other.

G. Tessmann classifies their language as falling between that of the Bamvele and the group of Pahouin languages. As we have already mentioned, a passing observer at Lena, the Reverend Good of the American Mission, noticed a very great similarity between the language spoken there and that of the Bulu in the south.

Bibliography

113

Thorbecke, Mrs. Auf der Savane /On the Savanna/, (1913), p. 152.

Thorbecke, Fr. Im Hochland von Mittelkamerun /In the Highlands of the Middle Cameroons/, Abhan dlungen der Hamburgischen Kolonial-Institut 1919-1924 (L. Friedrichsen & Co.), Vol. 1, p. 43, Vol. 2, p. 20.

Bulletin de la Société d'Études Camerounaises, No. 3, (July 1943).

Unpublished reports by administrators Delteil and Coquereaux.

TSINGA - BETSINGA

131 Widely scattered habitat: 11°20 to 11°50 long. and from south to north: 3°35 to 3°50 north lat. near Yaoundé 4°15 to 4°40 north lat. on the two banks of the Sanaga.

101 Physical and Human Geography. Like the administrator Cournarie in the past, we have grouped together under one term the peoples generally designated as Tsinga, Betsinga, Betchenga, or Batchenga. One name is probably a transformation of another. Since the traditions of the various groups are the same, it seems inappropriate to draw distinctions among them.

361 The Tsinga are so widely dispersed that their territory does not form a unit. They are located on both banks of the Sanaga (there known as

Tsinga-Betanga
Mangisa

113 Von Stein zu Lausnitz. "Eine Erkundungs-Expedition zwischen Wuri und Sanaga /An Exploratory Expedition Between the Wuri and the Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1908, pp. 522-23.

MANGISA

131 Location: 11°15 to 11°30 long.
4°25 to 4°30 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: about 316 square km.
161 Population: 14, 588 inhabitants
Density: 46.2 per square km.

131 The Mangisa occupy the right bank at the bend of the Sanaga, a land of wooded hills.

113 They were probably among the peoples who crossed the Sanaga rather early, for their traditions say that, in later times, when the Eton also crossed the river, they found the Mangisa occupying the territory. /Map 6/ Fairly intensive struggles followed; then the two peoples formed an alliance which enabled them to live in peace side by side.

361 311 Like the Eton, the agricultural Mangisa live in large villages. Because of the density of the population, the entire /68/ woodland has to a large extent been cleared for their plantations, and palm trees have been planted.

197 But what is the exact origin of the Mangisa?

174 Language. The question has been raised in linguistics.

G. Tessmann has written: "In the classification of the Pahouin tribes of the north, the situation is not yet clear. One thing is certain: all the tribes—at least all those of the northeast—contain a more or less pronounced component derived from the Bati-Mbam. Thus, a few decades ago, the Eton and the Mangisa spoke a pure Bati; they have therefore become Pahouinized only in recent times, at least as regards language (1)."

1. Günter Tessmann, "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and

197 Languages of the Cameroons/, "
174 Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen,
1932, p. 184, note 4.

On the other hand, on the basis of a personal communication from Dr. Aujoulat, who worked among the Mangisa for several years, Dr. Olivier makes the following statement: "However, on the basis of differences (from the Pahouin) in language and physical type, Aujoulat has hypothesized a different, more northern origin and contact with tribes whom he calls Sudano-Bantu, namely the Yambasa and the Sanaga (2)." On the basis of the classifications that we our-

2. Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16, p. 55.

selves propose in this work, would not a Beti origin be possible? This great question is raised once again here.

141 Physical Anthropology. The /anthropometric/ indexes have been calculated by the Drs. Olivier and Aujoulat as follows:

	OLIVIER	AUJOULAT	
	Men	Men	Women
Cephalic	76.0	76.7	76.3
Facial	81.4	77.7	77.9
Nasal	88.7	86.0	90.5
Cormique	50.4	50.9	50.6
Envergure/T	104.8	105.0	103.8

143 Their blood-group ratios show a greater proportion of AB type than is present among other Pahouin, and a predominance of type A over type B. The percentages are as follows:

O: 52 percent; A: 21.9 percent; B: 10.9 percent; AB: 15.2 percent; —index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$: 1.44.

ETON

131 Location: 11°10 to 11°45 long.
3°45 to 4°30 north lat.

113 Divinatory Practices of the Peoples in the District of Yaoundé/, " Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 1936, No. 1, pp. 35-39.

Frazer, James George. "The Native Races of Africa and Madagascar, " Anthologia Anthropologica (London: Percy Lund Humphries and Co., 1938), pp. 175-76.

Numerous unpublished studies on customs (by Cournarie, Joubert, and others), reports to the Bureau des Affaires Politiques (Bureau of Political Affairs) and among the documents of the S.E.C. /Société d'Etudes Camerounaises/, unpublished investigations on the subjects of shelter and subsistence.

"Moisel map, G2, Jaunde.

THE BANE

131 Location: 11°15 to 11°55 long.
3°05 to 3°55 north lat.

Physical Geography. Area: about 2, 736 square km.

The territory of the Bane borders on the Western side of the Ewondo country and stretches north to south from the vicinity of Yaoundé to 25 kilometers northeast of Ebolowa and northwest of Sangmélima.

[137] The country is located entirely within the forest zone, which is quite thinned out because of the density of population.

133 At 3°30 north latitude the river Nyong crosses the country from east to west. At that point it is a navigable canal. Further down, the river turns south and marks the boundary between the territories of the Bane and the Ewondo.

161 Human Geography. Total population: 58, 309 inhabitants.

More than half of the total number of inhabitants in Bane territory live in the small area located north of the Nyong, where the population density is 40.1 per square kilometer. South of the Nyong, the density is 14.1 persons per square kilometer. /74/

174 History. Like their neighbors of the same Pahouin family, the Bane lived north of the Sanaga in the past before the last invasion. Their southward migration occurred at about the same time as that of the Ewondo, and was brought about by the same cause. The Bane crossed the Sanaga rather late, and found the Eton already settled on the other side. Therefore, they infiltrated little by little from north to south among the people who preceded them /Map 10/ They were not completely pacified until 1897.

174 At that time they were already situated along one of the principal commercial routes of the south, used to ship from the east many sought-after products, especially ivory.

361 The Bane are settled in large villages and hamlets. The population in these settlements is no more homogenous /75/ than the Ewondo's. The major intermixtures are shown on our map.

491 497 The road from Yaoundé to Ebolowa now crosses the Bane country from north to south. Another road, south of the Nyong, is the terminal point of the trade routes coming from the southeast. Because of these roads and the connection with the railroads at M'Balmayo, all the wealth of this country of great food crops, rich farmlands (cacao and coffee), and forests is easily brought to market.

000 Language. The subject is discussed in the paragraph on the linguistics of the Ewondo.

141 142 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Bane are of above-average height, fairly slender, mesocephalic, and only slightly platyrrhinian.

143 Their blood-type ratios are as follows:
O: 49 percent; A: 18 percent; B: 14 percent; AB: 19 percent—index $\frac{[A+AB]}{[B+AB]}$: 1.121.

141

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.3	77.0
Facial	81.8	80.8
Nasal	85.2	86.0
Cormique	50.9	51.8
Envergure/T	104.9	103.9

161 163 The population balance is stable: the ratio of births to deaths is ÷ 0.2. The fertility rate is 4.7 pregnancies per woman. See the studies in physical anthropology in Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, Nos. 10, 12, 15-16.

Bibliography

173 Von Stein. "Bericht über die Bane-Buli-Expedition /Report on the Bane-Buli Expedition/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1898, pp. 173-75.

361 in a country full of valleys and woods. The territory covers about
133 1, 728 square kilometers. /Map 13/

Human Geography

161 Population and density of each group:

True Bulu: 96, 216 inhabitants; 9. 59 persons per square km.

Yengono, Yembama, Yelinda: 12, 987 inhabitants; 7. 5 persons per square km.

Zaman: 1, 407 inhabitants.

173 History. The Bulu say that they come from the east. Indeed, those who have surveyed the area with care say that "old natives can mark the sites of the villages in which they were born and those of their fathers. Going back generation by generation the track leads east." (1)

1. Bertaut, Droit coutumier des Boulous (The Customary Law of the Bulu), p. 40.

174 By bringing together linguistic and ethnographic data it has been possible to determine that, during the first wave of the Pahouin invasion, the Bulu first followed the high valley of the Sanaga and then took a direction from north to south, which it has been possible to set at 12° to 12°30 longitude. They swamped the Maka, who were settled there before them, and chased them out of the entire territory. Traditions describe them as dividing into two groups once they reached present-day Sangmélima. One group spread throughout that section and moved toward the west; those who went furthest reached almost to the ocean, from which they were separated by only a few coastal populations.

The other group went toward the east into the great forest, and the Zaman pushed all the way to the Dja, 120 kilometers away.

But considering the assertion of B. Struck and Father Nekes that the Fang language influenced that of the Ewondo, we would seem justified in placing the Bulu settlement between the Ewondo and the Fang at a very recent time, for this influence was only possible through constant and direct contacts and intermingling, not by crossing over the Bulu to reach each other. In this case does linguistics enable us to date history?

133 Sanaga. The northern part of the Mvele territory is a high plateau which is covered by prairie interspersed with strips of forest. It is very well watered by tributaries and subtributaries of the Sanaga which flow calmly on broad river beds. Toward 4° north latitude a row of hills marks the dividing line between the waters of the Nyong and the Sanaga basins. Thus the entire southern portion of the Mvele country is part of the Nyong Basin. The last vestiges of the forest are to be found there, in addition to crops and many palm trees.

Human Geography

161 Population: south of the Sanaga: 35, 340 inhabitants in 1945
north of the Sanaga: 1, 655 inhabitants
density south of the Sanaga: 15. 3 persons per square km.

174 History. The movement of the Babute was also responsible for pushing the Mvele back to the left bank of the Sanaga in the middle of the last century. A few enclaves remained wedged in between the various small groups who sought refuge in the area between the M'Bam and the Sanaga Valley. Therefore, the Mvele of the north and those of the south are really part of the same group.

The various authors are not in agreement on the question of a kinship between the Mvele and the large group called Yesum. According to Engelhardt, these are two separate groups. G. Tessmann, on the contrary, believes that the Yesum must be considered part of the Mvele "complex."

361 When the Germans first reached the Mvele they were struck by the unusual appearance of their villages. Engelhardt describes them as follows: "Unlike the rest of the Fang, who place their huts in rows on both sides of trails, /83/ the Mvele build theirs in a star-shape around a central square or with no regard for symmetry." (Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1902, p. 421.)

487 489 From the beginning of the German occupation, the trails in the territory served as trade routes to the south over which the products of the east were transported toward Yaoundé and to the coast. At the present time these products are carried both on the road that crossed the Mvele country in the south (from Akonolinga to Yaoundé) and on the eastern highway (from Nanga-Eboko to Yaounde). /Map 14/

197 Language. According to Engelhardt the Mvele tongue is very similar to that of the Ewondo and seems to be but a dialect of the

133 River and is watered by its tributaries and subtributaries. Throughout the northern region these flow through thick strips of forest in the prairie. The southern part of the country is still within the forest zone.

The Yebekanga are neighbors of the Yesum to the east. They occupy a triangular area in the valley of the Tédé; the land is flat and monotonous, a prairie broken by thickets and strips of forest.

161 Human Geography. Population: Yesum: 8,075 inhabitants
Yebekanga: 747 inhabitants

Densities: Yesum: 6.1 persons per square km.
Yebekanga: 2.37 persons per square km.

174 We have noted that the first German ethnologists were not agreed on the origin of the Yesum or their ethnic relationship to other Pahouin /85/ peoples. Some saw a Yesum-Mvele complex, others, on the contrary, a complex of Yesum-Bulu.

Lastly, the administrator Chauleur states in a 1933 report that among the peoples of "Fang" origin in the subdivision of Nanga-Eboko, "the chief nucleus is comprised of the Yesum .... According to their oral traditions they are descended from the ancestor Ngombe who lived in the country of Djoum." According to this new version of their origin the Yesum came from the south, having been separated quite late from the Bulu; according to the two German versions, on the other hand, they entered the country from the north at the time of the Pahouin arrival.

To go back to G. Tessmann's classification—which may be only provisional, since future studies may reveal new data—we note that there is no absolute contradiction between the Mvele-Yesum and Bulu-Yesum theses except as regards the direction of migration, for both hypothetical complexes are Pahouin, regardless of whether the migration occured at a later or earlier date, in one direction or the other. /Map 15/

In the midst of the Yesum is the settlement of the Yemfang, comprised of no more than a few hundred persons. The administrator Chauleur was able to determine that the latter group also came from the south and that they are closely related to the people of the Bulu region.

Mr. Bertaut, for his part, notes the presence of the Yesum among peoples living in the Bulu territory, and we find them listed in his nomenclature. (1)

Yesum
Yebekanga
Yekaba

174

1. Bertaut, Le droit coutumier des Boulous. Monographie d'une tribu du Sud-Cameroun (The Customary Law of the Bulu. A Monograph Concerning a South Cameroon Tribe)," (Paris, 1935), p. 45.

As for the Yebekanga, the administrator Chauleur says that "it is impossible to show a common origin for the Yebekanga and the Yesum. It seems likely, however, that this tribe climbed from the shores of the Nyong at a fairly recent time." (2)

2. Unpublished report on February 28, 1933. /86/

Here we have grouped the Yesum and the Yebekanga together despite contradictions in our sources. We have done so simply because of the possibility that they migrated in the same direction. According to their accounts, it would seem that their migration took place quite recently, just a few years before the coming of the Europeans. In the course of it they clashed with peoples of the same Pahouin origin who had come from the north about a hundred years ago, and pushed them back toward their present habitats.

161 Demography. The population of the Yesum is decreasing in spite of apparently good conditions. At present the ratio of births to deaths is -2.6 percent.

163 The sterility rate rises as high as 25.53 percent, and the fertility rate is 3.4 pregnancies per woman.

Bibliography

113 Thierry. "Dienstreise nach Esum-Sannaga, /Official Trip to Esum-Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1903, pp. 521-23.

THE YEKABA

101

Location: 12° to 12°50 long.
5°20 to 5°45 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: about 1, 602 square km.

161 Population: 14, 500 inhabitants

Density: 9. 2 persons per square km.

133 All of the Yekaba country is located on the prairie which extends through the plain on the right bank of the Sanaga River. The country has few valleys; it is watered by tributaries of the Sanaga, the Tédé and the Nyé, which are bordered by forest.

101 The information provided by various observers (the administrators Chauleur, Cournarie, and Boudineau) gives no clear indication as to the general grouping in which we should place this group of peoples settled on the right bank of the Sanaga. All French maps give the general name of Badjia, and under it are classed several groups not all of whom are known to have a common origin. The name "Badjia" may be but a nickname (according to Boudineau). German maps use only the name "Yekaba, " concerning which Chauleur also says: "Among these tribes (of the Badjia group), the most important is the Yekaba, and it gives it's name to the region. " (1)

1. Unpublished report of February 28, 1933.

174 According to Cournarie, the Yekaba and several kindred groups originate among the Yalongo who live on the northern bank of the Sanaga, directly north of their present habitat. Under pressure from the Babute, who were themselves pushed back by the Fulbe, these peoples fled south and crossed the Sanaga River. It is possible that at first they occupied all of the territory north of the Nyong, together with their neighbors the Bamvele. Later they were pushed back toward the Sanaga by the migration of the Yesum-Yebekanga coming from the south. (2) These two waves moving in opposite directions clashed and interpenetrated, producing the present confusion. The Yekaba found themselves split in two by the Yebekanga, who formed /87/ an enclave in their midst. The peoples of the left bank of the Sanaga (in the administrative subdivision of Nanga-Eboko) are thus composed of two different elements: the somewhat older inhabitants who came originally from the north, went south, and were pushed back, and the more recent arrivals who came from the south and pushed back the former.

These two groups, one coming from the north, the other from the south, and arriving at different times, are probably both part of the

Yekaba
Bamvele, Bobili

174 long migration of the Pahouin—although the name "Yalongo" spoken of in their geneologies is reminiscent of the Beti. Once again we are aware of the complexity of the Beti-Pahouin intermixture.

361 The villages and huts spread through the bush give an impression
491 of poverty, although in 1903 the Germans noted that the great trade route from Bertoua to Yoko passed through Yekaba territory. /Map 16/ At the present time the whole length of the territory is serviced by the great eastern highway (Yaoundé—Nanga-Eboko—Bertoua).

197 Language. The fact that the Yekaba form part of the Pahouin migration is apparent from G. Tessmann's tribal map, where they are shown in the large Pahouin blot—under the general heading of "Mvele." We will return to this subject later in the chapter on the Bamvele.

161 Demography. The Yekaba are definitely decreasing in number.

165 The infant mortality rate among them is 34.3 percent. The sterility
163 rate is 33.93 percent; the fertility rate is 4.3 pregnancies per woman, but with about 10 percent stillbirths.

161 The population balance shows a ratio of -4.4 percent births to deaths.

Bibliography

113 Thierry. "Dienstreise nach Esum-Sannaga /Official Trip to Esum-Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1903, p. 522.

Sieber, J. "Die Wute /The Wute/," Lebenshaltung, Kultur und religiöse Weltanschauung eines Afrikanischen Volkstammes /Attitude toward Life, Cultural and Religious Attitudes of an African Tribe/ (Berlin: Reimer, Vohsen, 1925), pp. 112-13.

Unpublished reports of the administrators Cournarie, Chauleur, Gatau, and Boudineau.

Moisel map, G3, Dume. /88/

THE BAMVELE AND THE BOBILI

131 Location: 12°30 to 13°30 long.
4°35 to 4°50 north lat.

101 On all German maps the people we call Bamvele are designated by the name of Bele (see the Moisel map and Tessmann's tribal map).

101 We connect the Bobili with the Bamvele because, on the one hand, they do not appear separately from the Bele on the Moisel map (Dume, G3), and, on the other, the traditions pertaining to their origins are not precise enough to permit us to draw a conclusion differing from that of the Germans.

Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: 2,472 square km.

161 Population: Bamvele—18,452 inhabitants
Bobili—6,247 inhabitants

Density: 10 persons per square km.

133 The Bamvele are close neighbors of the Yekaba and the Yebekolo in the north; they occupy a large homogeneous territory on the border between forest and prairie. The country is almost flat, extending into the Sanaga plain and borders the river for about 30 kilometers. The territory is watered by several broad tributaries of the Sanaga. In the east, one of these tributaries, the Long, serves as a frontier between the Bamvele and the Babute, who surround them everywhere except in the south. A few Bamvele villages have been established [361] on the right bank of the Long, and they border the Bertoua road for a few kilometers.

174 Like their neighbors, the Yekaba, the Bamvele in their traditions tell that their origins are to be sought among the Yalongo north of the Sanaga. They too were pushed by the Babute who were under pressure from the Fulbe; they fled south and crossed the Sanaga a little more than a hundred years ago. Their history is identical with that of their neighbors, the Yekaba. /Map 17/ /89/

173 The Bobili believe that they are native to the territory, but they say that in former times their country extended west, beyond the Long. Therefore, the impact upon them of the Babute and Fulbe movements would have been very slight. (1)

1. Unpublished report of Mr. Brothier-Oubre for May, 1945.

114 The administrator Chauleur carried out prolonged research in an attempt to untangle the network of peoples on the banks of the Sanaga. He does not feel that he can make a statement about the remote origins of the Yalongo, but he poses the following problem: "Could they be related to the Ba-yoka of the Congo who emigrated south

THE YEBEKOLO

131 Location: 12°08 to 12°45 long.
3°50 to 4°20 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

Area: about 1,950 square km.
161 Population: 23,291 inhabitants
Density: 11.9 persons per square km.

133 The territory of the Yebekolo, in the form of a cornucopia laid on its side, is all to be found in the basin of the Nyong. The river forms its southern boundary. The tributaries on the right bank have broad beds and, in the vicinity of the Nyong, often overflow so that the valleys are frequently flooded. /90/ This is a large territory, covered with forest and quite marshy.

361 Large villages are found here. While the food crops are not poor,
262 they are not very abundant. The people who live near the Nyong supplement their food supply by fishing and hunting.

174 It is difficult to say what may be the remote origins of this people. Their oral traditions (as reported by Mr. Tremesaygues) speak of their ancestor as being of Yambasa stock and, therefore, as having lived about 200 kilometers west of their present settlement, north of the Sanaga. /Map 18/ Moving eastward, the Yebekolo met first the Omvang and then the Maka, whom they pushed back to their present habitat.

The German maps, however, do not confirm these traditions. Also based on traditions, upon which linguistic data is often superimposed, they show all the Yebekolo as part of the "Mvele complex" (see detailed maps in Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1907) under the name "Pangwe." It is possible that a borrowing of language occurred here —for a linguistic fact provides clues rather than permanent solutions to ethnographic problems.

648 When the Germans arrived in the territory of the Yebekolo (1904-
487 1905), the latter submitted to them without resistance. The new occupants found them settled on the big eastern trials leading to Doumé. From that time on the trails were improved, and the Yebekolo thus found themselves situated on the big trade routes by which the products of the eastern forest were taken to the coastal regions. /91/

THE OMVANG

131 Location: the Omvang are split into two sections
One section: 12°15 to 12°50 long.
3°55 to 4°05 north lat.
Other section: 12°45 to 13° long.
4°05 to 4°28 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

Area: in the west—about 390 square km.
in the east—about 660 square km.

161 Population: in the west—4, 852 inhabitants
in the east—7, 520 inhabitants

Density: in the west—12.4 persons per square km.
in the east—11 persons per square km.

131 The Omvang inhabit a forest country which is quite poor in the west but rich in the east. Those who are furthest west, northwest of Ayos, are on the banks of the Nyong, and that is the only place where they have access to a road. 133 The territory of the eastern Omvang is in the valley of the Ayong, a tributary from the right of the Nyong, but their country does not reach as far as the river itself. However, the stream is navigable everywhere so that the river can be easily reached. Ayong flows first of all through a forest which thins out toward the south and is replaced by beautiful clusters of raffia palms.

173 The Omvang know little of their history. They know only that less then a century ago they still occupied the entire territory north of the Nyong; they were in constant contact with the Yebekolo and were sometimes their masters, sometimes their slaves. They were warriors trained in guerrilla warfare, and in the end they attacked the neighboring Maka and wrested from them the land which is their present habitat. The advance of the Yebekolo /92/ split them into two sections. Only the intervention of the Germans in 1904-1905 reestablished peace in the area.

174 P. Chauleur does not agree with the view that the Omvang are a people of the Pahouin group. His arguments, based only on data concerning local migrations, seem to be no more valid than those he opposes.

241 The eastern Omvang, settled in a fertile region are hard-working and good farmers. In addition to their food crops they care for large

Mbida-Mbane
Mvogo-Nienge

THE MBIDA-MBANE AND THE MVOGO-NIENGE

131 Location: Mbida-Mbane—11°40 to 12°15 long.
4°20 to 4°50 north lat.
Mvogo-Nienge—12° to 12°28 long.
4°20 to 4°45 north lat.

Physical Geography. Areas: Mbida-Mbane—1, 548 square km.
Mvogo-Nienge—710 square km.

101 The origins of the Mbida-Mbane and the Mvogo-Nienge seem to be similar enough for us to discuss them together here.

Geographically they are neighbors. The Mbida-Mbane are located on both sides of the Nyong River, in two sections of about equal size in the north and in the south.

The Mvogo-Nienge are their neighbors to the east, south of the Nyong.

133 Both peoples occupy fertile forest regions. The river Nyong flows northeast to southwest through the middle of Mbida-Mbane country. The Mvogo-Nienge inhabit its banks for only a few kilometers, upstream from Akonolinga.

Human Geography

161 Population: Mbida-Mbane—19, 707 inhabitants
Mvogo-Nienge—7, 291 inhabitants
Densities: Mbida-Mbane—12.8 persons per square km.
Mvogo-Nienge—10.26 per square km.

174 History. The traditions of the Mbida-Mbane as well as those of the Mvogo-Nienge tell of ancestors living on the right bank of the Sanaga, as do those of the Yeduma, the Yengono, and the Yembama (the last two groups have been classified by Tessmann among the Bulu). It is said that three slaves of the same master, whose lives were in danger as a consequence of a great palaver, escaped and crossed the Sanaga. Since they were slaves, naturally no mention is made of their ethnic family. Their descendants comprise a number of the peoples who live in the environs of the Nyong at the present time.

241 Both groups live in a fertile country where the cultivation of food crops may be found adjacent to prosperous cacao and coffee plantations. The inhabitants on the banks of the Nyong supplement their diets with fish.

114 their own penetrating movement, and in a way coming to meet them.

101 [74] The Fang -- or Pahouin [Pahuin] -- occupy in an oblique direction, northeast to southwest, the upper part of Gabon, with the line of the Ogooué roughly forming their southern frontier. [161] They represent 127,000 inhabitants out of the 415,000 living in this territory. They are separated by the Cameroons frontier from a collection of related and particularly active peoples numbering more than 550,000 individuals. (1) They are divided by the

1. Cf. I. Dugast, Inventaire ethnique du Sud-Cameroun [Ethnical Inventory of the South Cameroons], I.F.A.N., Douala, 1949; or "Esquisse ethnologique pour servir à l'étude des principales tribus du Cameroun français... [Ethnological Sketch to Serve for the Study of the Principal Tribes of the French Cameroons]," Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Camérounaises, pp. 21-22, 1948.

frontiers of Spanish Guinea which, with an essentially Fang population (of nearly 100,000 individuals), isolates closely related groups. The hazards of colonial expansion have led to this partition into three "blocs" which were subject to different policies and condemned for a long time to ignorance of each other.

● 174 As to the arrival of the Fang in Gabon, we possess a few guide marks. According to our investigations in Woleu-N'Tem, the settlement goes back in this region eight or nine generations, which corresponds to the second half of the eighteenth century. According to E. Trezenem the Fang reached the Middle Ogooué at the beginning of the nineteenth century, (2) and their arrival at the estuary

2. E. Trezenem, "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan du Moyen-Ogooué [Ethnographic Notes on the Fang Tribes of the Middle Ogooué]," Journal de la Société des Africanistes, Vol. 6, f. I, 1936.

174 must have been about 1850. (3) At the extreme end of their push

3. Rapport de la Commission d'Enquête Historique [Report of the Commission of Historical Inquiry], Libreville, 1949.

they reached the Setté-Cama region (near Sounga Lagoon) about 1890, (4) having been attracted by the trading stations that were

4. Archives de Gabon, rapports du Poste de Setté-Cama [Archives of Gabon, Reports of the Setté-Cama Post].

then there.

Originally, this great human movement occurred as a repercussion of the push of the victorious Peul (pl. Foulbé) into the Cameroons during the second half of the eighteenth century, (5)

5. Dugast, op. cit. and a general survey: "Essai sur le peuplement du Cameroun [Essay on the Population of the Cameroons]," Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Camerounaises, 21-22, 1948.

which forced the savanna population toward the forest zone. (6)

6. J. Despois, "Les genres de vie des populations de la forêt dans le Cameroun oriental [Types of Life of the Peoples of the Forest of the Eastern Cameroons], "Annales de Géographie, 297, 1946.

Most of the legends place the original country inhabited by the Fang very far to the northeast, a country which has an entirely different fauna from that of Gabon and which is peopled by white men using horses and skilled in iron work. (7) The arrival in the

7. Cf. Trezenem, op. cit.

174 forest region was symbolized by the legend told of the adzap (aža mbura) hole, referring to the obligation of all migrating groups [75] to pass through a hole dug in the adžap tree. Some of the educated Fang of the present day lay stress on the origins as reported by tradition, stressing the linguistic kinship between the Fang and Zandé dialects, (1) thus linking them to the civilizations of the

1. Kinship recognized by L. Homburger, Les Langues negro-africaines [Negro-African Languages], Paris, 1941, p. 35.

Upper Nile (and from there perhaps to Egypt), recalling the period when their ancestors were dressed "exactly like the Haoussa." (2)

2. In the modern version of the legend relating to the Ndong tribe (dispersed in Woleu-N'Tem).

This more or less explicit desire to give themselves "noble" origins corresponds to the more or less conscious desire of the Fang to force themselves on the forest populations of Gabon.

174 It is necessary to examine precisely the distribution of the
101 Fang throughout Gabon, and to recall their relations with the neighboring territories of the Cameroons and Spanish Guinea. The first classification attempted by early authors (3) was a division into

3. Captain Maignan, "Etudes sur le pays Pahouin [Studies on the Pahouin Country]", (dating from 1912), Bulletin de la Société des Recherches Congolaises, No. 14, 1931; and L. Mba, "Essai de droit couturnier pahouin [Essay on Pahouin Common Law]," Bulletin de la Société des Recherches Congolaises, June 25, 1938.

"lands": Betsi land (region north-northwest of the Estuary, overlapping Spanish Guinea); Maké land (region southwest of the

174 Estuary and Ogooué-Ivindo), Ntoum land (region north of Woleu-
101 N'Tem, overlapping the Cameroons). This simplified division does not take into account all the groups existing in Gabon, and does not indicate the overlappings between tribes which occur in each of the "lands" where there is constant migratory movement. Moreover, these names have barely survived. (4) They have been

4. Maignan, nearly fifty years ago, considered such a division fictitious.

obliterated by the general designation of "Fang" and by specific names (of tribe or clan, especially of family lines) representing local reality. One might think from certain statements of G. Tessmann and I. Dugast (5) that these names have mostly denoted

5. G. Tessmann, Die Pangwe [The Pangwe], 2 vols., Berlin, 1913; I. Dugast, Inventaire ethnique [Ethnical Inventory], chapter devoted to the Pahuin.

migratory groups that have dominated and assimilated various foreign groups and have thus acquired certain distinctive cultural characteristics.

Father Trilles asserts in a study published in 1912 that similar distinctions can be explained "from the point of view of dialects [78] and not from that of the customs or habits (which) are exactly the same." (1) But the dialectal variants themselves which appear

1. Father H. Trilles, Le Totémisme chez les Fan [Totemism among the Fang], Bibliothèque Anthropos, Vol. 1, fasc. 4, 1912, p. 12.

notably at the level of the names of clans (beginning with Esa, Esé, Esi, ... in the case of the Betsi; with Eba, Ebi ... in the case of the Maké) have become blurred. At the time of the migrations several groups changed their clan name, having become

174 contaminated, so that the linguistic map is no longer indicative
101 of these ancient distributions.

From these facts two conclusions can definitely be drawn. The Fang population is not represented in Gabon by large homogeneous zones as in the Cameroons (where the Evondo country, the Boulou country, etc., can be clearly distinguished). The diverse Fang groups have become interdispersed and in the course of their almost incessant migrations since the second half of the eighteenth century have "digested" the foreign traits peculiar to the peoples they have met. And it is in the Lower Gabon, at the end of their journeyings that the Fang groups present a state of maximum confusion.

162 Administrative documents permit one to get a present-day
178 picture of the distribution of the Fang, a precise picture — at least so it seems. The weakening (indeed the near disappearance) of distinctions between tribes and clans, the breaking up, the scattering, and half autonomy of the various groups, have led to the confusion of these two types of grouping and to placing them on the same plane. The administration cannot be blamed for this, for these two notions are no longer always precise in the minds of the present-day Fang. Let us discuss, first of all, the two zones by which this people reached Gabon, Woleu-N'Tem, and Ogooué-Ivindo. (2)

2. Cf. G. Balandier, Rapport préliminaire de la Mission d'information scientifique en Pays Fang [Preliminary Report of the Mission of Scientific Information on Fang Country], Brazzaville, 1949, étude mimiographiée [mimeographed study], pp. 5-10.

162 Region of the Woleu-N'Tem
361

This region presents a certain physical unity and a true ethnic unity. It is inhabited exclusively by Fang, a relatively preferable demographic situation. In 1949 there were over 71,000 inhabitants. It is surrounded only by either identical or related Fang groups; it

101 a word with a consonant. One would thus have *Mpa'ngwen, from which Europeans have made mpawen, then Pahouin.

About the term "Fang" itself it should be remarked that the regular form m-fañ (Class I or personal, m/be) is in actual fact hardly ever used by the Pahouin themselves, who prefer their usual ethnical constructions, that is, the radical preceded by mon (son, descendant). Thus one says mone fañ, bo' be fañ, like mon éwôndô, mone bulu (1), etc. The meaning of the word is obscure. It does not mean "man"

[104]

1. I usually employ current Boulou orthography, except for words that have an official spelling in general use, like the names of places (Ebolowa, Ambam, not ébolewo'o, mbam) and certain Gallicized names of tribes (the Boulou, the Ntoumou, but Bulu /adjectival use/ Ntum /adjectival use/; the Fang, but the Fañ group). /The last phrase is meaningless for English, because there is no English equivalent for the distinction between capitalized French nouns of "nationality" and the corresponding noncapitalized substantive adjectives. Hence, in the English translation this distinction will be ignored, the official spelling being used for tribal names whether used as noun or adjective. —Ed./

It should be observed, by the way, that bulu and éwôndo are plurals of which the singular (*mulu, *ówôndo) is not used.

(vir), which is fam, a mistake rightly /5/ noticed by Father Trilles, who nevertheless connects it with a root FA connoting the idea of virility, of violence (fa = machete, fañe = to do on purpose, intentionally, etc).

2. Various Groups and Territorial Distribution

174 563 It is not easy to define the exact boundaries of the Pahouin group. The lists given by different authors include up to ten tribes, one way or another—thousands of individuals. At the end of the nineteenth century, penetration in extended order* prevented ascertaining

174
523

/• Ordre disperse (Military conception) = extended order. —Ed./

definite relationships. Later, on the other hand, the Pahouinization of neighboring tribes, subjugated or merely influenced, brought about assimilations that were often misleading.

Broadly speaking, we may say that a large body of invaders, rather recently come from the northeast—the Pahouin properly so called—assimilated through contacts on the one hand, some of the inhabitants of the invaded area, on the other hand, likewise assimilated other invaders who followed in their wake. What is certain is that this assimilation or Pahouinization of foreign tribes is going on at the present day, partly due to the mere fact of colonization.

We shall distinguish in this study between the invaders—Fang, Boulou, Beti—on the one hand, and, on the other, the neighboring populations that have been or are being Pahouinized.

A. The Invaders or True Pahouin

101 Theories as to their boundaries are too many and contradictory for all me to expatiate on here.

In Father Trilles' view they are divided into two branches: b-Osyéba /Osieba/ in the east, Fang in the west. The Mekuk are connected with the first, the Méké, Betsi, "Mvègne" (Mvaé?), and "Boulé" (Boulou) with the second. Largeau like Schnee bases his division between Bedzi (betschi) and Mekei (makei) on linguistic considerations; the first, in the west, tend to begin their remarks with the formula ma zô na, the second, in the east, with me ki na. Here there appears to be a partial confusion between the Pahouin properly speaking, and the Pahouinized Maka (Mekaé) (1). Madame Dugast

[197]

1. There are indeed two Fang dialects, corresponding to the zô/ki (or jô/ki) criterion, but the people who speak them, all call themselves Fang. Besides, there is a Maka or Mekaé tribe whose language is close to eastern Fang, which it has perhaps influenced.

[177]

101 very rightly points out that the problem is visibly complicated by the existence of reciprocal influences. I therefore suggest, with many reservations, an empirical classification based on the geographical position of the various tribes, the dialectical differences, and the reconcilable portions of traditions and genealogies, all together.

Thus there may be distinguished:

in the south: a Fang group, in the rather broad sense

in the north: a Beti group, perhaps more Pahounized than Pahouin

between the two: a Boulou group /6/

a) The Fang group in the south would include:

the Fang, properly so called, of the Ogooué Valley in the southern Cameroons

the Ntoumou (or Ntum) in northern Gabon (Woleu-N'Tem), Spanish Guinea and the southern Cameroons (Ambam subdivision)

the Mvaé, split into two blocks, to the east and west of the Ntoumou

perhaps the Osyéba of the Ogooué-Ivindo region, nowadays merged with the eastern Fang

b) The Boulou group would include:

the Boulou of the Sangmélima, Kribi, and Ebolowa (Cameroons) regions

no doubt the Zaman of the valley of the Dja

probably the Yengono, Yembama, and Yelinda of the Nyong Valley and the Okak of Spanish Guinea

perhaps the Yesum, Yebekanga, Yebekolo /misprinted in text as Yekebolo/, and Mvélé (1)

1. The last, in spite of the similarity of name, are to be distinguished from the Bamvele or Bele and are to be connected with the Beti.

[MH] The situation of the Beti is more obscure. They may perhaps have had a different origin from the true Pahouin, whom they would have followed in their migration toward the southwest. A striking cultural and linguistic likeness to the Fang is observed among certain tribes who are nevertheless separated from them geographically by the Boulou. This likeness disappears progressively as one moves northward. It might therefore be a question of some sort of intermediary

101 grouping between the Bantu of the central Cameroons and the Pahouin.

However that may be, certain tribes cannot be studied except in connection with the true Pahouin:

the Ewôndo of the Nyong-and-Sanaga region
the Bané of Nyong-and-Sanaga, N'Tem, and Dja-and-Lobo
the Fong of the Dja-and-Lobo and N'Tem (the last, moreover, influenced by the Boulou)
the Mbida-Mbané and Mvog-Nyenge, east of Yaoundé, who are probably descendants of prisoners-of-war of the preceding

The Eton of Saa and Obala may also be associated, but already with more difficulty, with the Ewôndo, for instance. On the other hand, the other Beti tribes ought rather to be classed with the Pahouinized peoples discussed below.

B. Assimilated or Pahouinized Tribes

101 Among these we must distinguish those who were in the country at
174 the arrival of the Pahouin from those that followed.
563 a) Tribes that followed the Pahouin invasion. These are fundamentally, as pointed out above, the Beti. According to Nekes, some
[197] of the tribes already mentioned still spoke an ati dialect at the time of the German conquest. At the present time one can point out as in the process of "Pahouinization" (Ewôndo dialect):

The Mangisa, Yekaba, Bamvele, Evuzok, Batchanga /Betchenga/ (Tsinga), /7/ Omvang, and Yetudi of the Sanaga. On the other hand, the Beti of the right bank (Bati, Kombe, Bundju, etc.), also few in number, are more drawn toward the Babouté /Wute/, Bafia /Fia/, etc.

b) Aboriginal tribes or tribes established before the Pahouin invasion. There is reason to treat separately the Pygmy groups (Bibaya, Babinga, Beye'ele) and mixed populations (Bekoé) who live symbiotically with the Pahouin without by this fact being really absorbed.

The Pahouin invasion seems to have come on a country occupied by two Bantu groups come from the east several centuries before, which it drove back either toward the sea or toward the present eastern boundary of the Cameroons.

The first of these would have been the Maka and Ngoumba /Ngumba/ group, which was cut in half by the invasion, Maka on the

101
114
553

east, Ngoumba and Mabéa /Bea/ on the west. The Maka (more correctly Mekaé) have been to a large extent absorbed by the invaders, to the point of being confused with them by several authors.

The second group would have been the Kozimé-Njem (or Jem) /Dzem/, Dzimou /Nzimu/, Bajoué /Badjue/ of nearby origin and likewise absorbed to the point of being confused with the true Pahouin group.

3. Neighboring Populations

As I have already pointed out in connection with the Pahouinized peoples, the Pahouin are literally submerged in a Bantu mass.

Their neighbors to the north, on the right bank of the Sanaga, are those whom Madame Dugast calls the Bantu of the central Cameroons. This represents an extremely heterogeneous group, including tribes that claim to be aboriginal along with others that say they are immigrants, with a linguistic, anthropological, and cultural network that effectively prevents any exact classification. The two main tribes contiguous with the Beti-Pahouin are the Bafia and Yambasa /Yambassa/.

Immediately to the east of the above tribes, still in the Sanaga Valley, are the Wutéré (sing. Wuté) /Wute/ known to the colonial administration by their Bantu name of "Baboutè /Bafute/." They are Sudanese, and it seems likely that it was on account of direct pressure from them that the Pahouin crossed the Sanaga.

To the west of the Yambasa-Bafia, the Sanaga Valley is occupied by the Basa-Bakoko group on both banks. These tribes are difficult to classify. They must certainly be Bantu. Some writers group them under the name Baso; others connect the Basa /Bassa/ with the central Cameroons, Bantu and the Bakoko with the Beti, even with the Pahouin, to whom they in fact show some cultural resemblances.

Along the coast there are Bantu groups: on the coastal range the Ngumba and Mabéa related to the Mekaé mentioned above; on the coastal plain the Duala group, with the Duala (Dawala /Diwala/), properly speaking, the Batenga, and the Kumbé. The Balengi /Lengi (Balenge) ?/ in Spanish Guinea are probably related either to the Mabéa or to the /8/ Duala. In Gabon the Pongoué (Mpongwé) are a residual Bantu-Myéné group, entirely isolated in the midst of the Fang.

To the east of the Cameroons Pahouin, on the left bank of the Dja, the Mekaé, Badjué, Dzimu /Nzimu/, and Jem are, I repeat,

101 Pahouinized to the point of finding themselves mixed with the Pahouin of the Middle Congo. This mingling is still going on at the present time among the other tribes of the Kozimé group and specifically among the Konabembé /Konambembe/, Esel (1), and Medzimé

[197]

1. The Esel require two comments: first, they appear to speak a language very close to Duala; second, they have the same name as one of the principal Pahouin clans.

/Ndsime (Medjimi, Mendsime)?/. All these tribes, coming from the northeast (Mekaé) or southeast (Kozimé), and Bantu-speakers, formerly had a much more extensive habitat to the west and north, whence they were driven back toward the south by the Baya and Kaka, and toward the east by the Pahouin.

The Bakwelé /Kwele/ of the Middle Congo apparently may also be connected with the Kozimé and, like them, may be considered Pahouinized. They were pushed back onto the left bank of the Ivindo at a comparatively recent date, like their neighbors to the south, the Bakota /Kota/ and the Okandé /Kanda/. The Séké and Akélé /Kalai (Akalle)?/ of the lower Ogooué are probably related to them.

Finally, the Pongwé /Mpongwe/—already mentioned—the Ouroungou /Rungu (rungu)/, Bapounou /Puno (Bapuno)?/, Galoa, and Nkomi of the lower Ogooué probably belong to an intermediary group between the Bantu of the northwest (Duala and coastal group) and the Vili-Kongo in the south (Baumann), the Myéné group. These tribes not long ago occupied most of the territory of the true Fang, whence they have been forced back for a century by the Pahouin invasion, which did not reach the sea until 1890-1900. The Benga (coastal Bantu) and Pongwé of Libreville, isolated in the midst of the Fang, the Ouroungou, Séké, Asembé, Galoa, and Bapounou of Port Gentil and Lambaréné are the last non-Pahouin peoples in existence on the right bank of the Ogooué. The Fang have, it must be added, a solid bridgehead on the left bank in N'Djolé District.

We must remember that throughout Pahouin country there are groups of Pygmies, whose status will be discussed further on.

161 178 of land by "elder sons" (mintôl) have certainly had an unfavorable demographic effect by upsetting the family structure—41 percent of adult males were unmarried in the Oyem subdivision in 1948. Finally, the wide-scale introduction of trade alcohol before 1914 and since 1946 has most certainly made things worse.

However, the magnitude of the crisis, which has primarily affected 161 the Fang of Gabon, must not be exaggerated. The general demo- 164 graphic development might be summed up as follows:

Temporary increase in general mortality immediately after pacification, owing to greater spread of epidemics, particularly of smallpox and sleeping sickness, as a result of new means of mobility; possible rise of sterility rates with slight fall in the genital capacity /13/ owing to venereal infection, alcoholism, labor recruitment (above all in Gabon), and changes in family and village economic organization.

On the other hand, rapid and continuous fall in general mortality resulting from pacification; since about 1930 a falling-off of epidemics and general improvement in hygiene initiated; at present a decline in infant mortality. The universal application [75] of wide-scale antimalarial prophylaxis (in the Cameroons) already allows us to anticipate a spectacular increase in the population.

161 Viewed as a whole, the balance between favorable and unfavorable factors appears to be on the positive side, in any case in areas not affected by the great Gabon famine of 1924. Moreover, awareness of demographic malaise must have partly resulted [164] from the halting of migration, which made a sort of inventory possible. This awareness is especially perceptible in Gabon, where the situation seems to have been in fact more serious.

5. History and Traditions of Origin

174 The known history of the Pahouin group is that of a migration toward the sea, a migration in process of completion before our eyes.

Whence did it start? This is a very controversial question. Stoll, following Schweinfurth, speaks of Upper Egypt, as does Trilles, basing this opinion on linguistic and cultural arguments such as the use of the military crossbow and the shape of the saber (fa). It is this same shape that leads Tessmann to speak of Roman influence. Marche and

174 the Marquis de Compiègne, and later Largeau, speak more moderately of a relationship with the Zandé /Azande/ and Mangbetu of the upper Ubangi, which remains hypothetical.

In fact, the only reasonable certainty we have on this subject, based on traditions, genealogies (for 15 to 20 generations, becoming more or less mythical at the tenth or twelfth), and the observations of the first travelers (notably Du Chaillu) and of European and American missionaries, is that the migration which is now coming to a close must have begun toward the end of the eighteenth century in a savanna area on the right bank of the Sanaga, somewhere to the northeast of the group's present habitat. Would this have been on the upper Sangha, toward Bouar, the region of Baïbokoum, more to the north, or on the Adamawa toward N'Gaoundéré? In our present state of knowledge it is impossible to determine this. Traditions simply speak of an area "toward the east" (mfa' ôku) in a high region of lakes, where there were lions (ngbwemgbwem) and, according to Trilles, rhinoceros (abvi —?), near a "red" people.

The ancestors of the Pahouin were driven from this habitat by an invasion. Did this involve the Fulbé /Fulani/ of Othman dan Fodio or one of his successors? Some points in the tradition allow us to think so, but the present distribution of tribes north of the Sanaga and their /14/ own traditions would indicate rather that those in question were the Baboute (Wutéré) and perhaps the Mboum /Mbum/, themselves fleeing before the Fulbé.

However that may be, the ancestors of the Pahouin must have crossed the Sanaga in several waves, approximately between Nanga-Eboko and the confluence of the M'Bam, on one side and the other of the Nachtigal Falls. The first waves must have included the ancestors of the Fang and Boulou who went deep into the forest under pressure from the Beti, of whom a handful remained on the right bank.

The spearhead of the migration seems to have divided into three columns somewhere near Bengbis (subdivision of Sangmélima). It was perhaps at this time that the present tribal divisions were determined. A Fang column headed southward, doubtless penetrating into Gabon following the Dja, then the Ivindo. A second column, mainly Boulou, headed westward, parallel to the course of the Nyong, while a third, Ntoumou and Fang, reached into northern Gabon, following an axis that pretty nearly bisected the angle of the other two.

174 This penetration was not at all peaceful: the echo of battles with the Bantu of the interior reached as far as the trading posts on the coast, and the terror spread by the invaders did not fail to hinder commercial relations. Du Chaillu met the Fang and the Ntoumou near Mitzic, the Osyéba on the Ivindo at the beginning of the Second Empire /1852-54/. In 1869, Admiral de Langle reported them in contact with the trading stations of the upper Ogooué, estimating their numbers at about 50,000. In 1875, the Marquis de Compiègne and Aloysius Horn met them at Lambaréné and in the immediate neighborhood of Libreville. Brazza was to aid their march toward the coast and the lower Ogooué, which they would reach in 1893 (Largeau). Since then their advance has continued at a slower pace, partly on the left bank of the Ogooué, to the south off N'Djolé, partly along the coast as far as the Fernan-Vaz lagoon.

For their part, the Boulou have had less luck; they were halted in their progress toward the sea by the Germans around 1890, when they were not more than 30 kilometers from the coast, to the southeast of Kribi. A last war—the ôban, still living in present-day memory—faced them, between 1885 and 1895, with the Bané who sought to spread toward the south. After 1895, they were practically fixed in their present area (but not in the exact sites of contemporary villages) just like the Beti.

Although I have spoken of columns, it is not necessary to represent these migrations as the exodus of the children of Israel across the desert. They were rather by successive leaps, following a general axis, by small family or/and village groups. One could speak of their design of migration as leapfrog: family A is settled; family B establishes a village further south; family C occupies the former territory of B; /a part of/ A then breaks off and /sets up/ a village, A; south of B; next B would act in the same way when A, under pressure from C, /15/ would again move mfa'a mañ, "toward the sea," which is left the final goal. This, multiplied hundreds of times, brings about the extreme scattering of family groups, extended families, and clans, at the same time as /did/ the eddies and whirlpools which explain the present confusion. Whole groups have turned back on their steps, after a military defeat or to avoid contact with the European administration; thus, the Ntoumou of northern Gabon have in part been driven back to the north of the N'Tem by a recoil of the Fang, driving back toward the east and west, along the valley, the Mvaé

174 who were settled among them and the Boulou. The last Beti groups to cross the Sanaga, blocked by those who had preceded them, have turned perpendicularly or obliquely to the general axis of migration.

The total migration was made exclusively by land, even when its [505 487] axis followed the course of a navigable river. The Pahouin are not users of the pirogue, and the customary trails followed along ridges rather than valleys. Settlement is mainly linear, stretched along trails and, [361] now, roads, in long ribbons, separated by empty areas.

173 The traditions dealing with this exodus are of three kinds: the collective tradition of the group, varying in detail from tribe to tribe but always agreeing in the broad outlines of the same theme; family traditions, consisting of a commentary on genealogies, the majority of which have not been collected and are by way of being lost due to the abandonment of the customary training of boys; finally, a pseudo tradition of contemporary invention, which is far from the least interesting. I shall here give an account only of the principal features of these traditions and, first, of the collective tradition.

According to this, the ancestors used to live in a country called mvo' ékanga or mvo' ékañ'a (Largeau: mvôgh étangha), which means something like "cloudy country" or "honorable country," depending on the tone, or perhaps both at the same time (1). I have

[192] 1. a) Radical kañ = to honor, to respect, whence ékanâ'a = honor, respect, veneration; b) radical kañ = to mark, to design, whence ékanga = mark, design, cloud; c) verb kañele = to lash, to shape /timber/, whence ékanga = bridge.

pointed out previously the legendary features of this land in the east, the details of which vary according to the informants. It should be observed in passing that they differ as to whether or not this land was the actual cradle of the ancestors and whether the latter came from a place located even more to the east, as the present pseudo tradition assets (2).

[533 538] 2. The last of the Ntoumou storytellers sing to the accompaniment of a guitar, mvet, the exploits of the bikañ or bo'bikañ,

101 territory, though each keeps its own autonomy without intermingling.

101 Each of the four Fan groups are divided into tribes, each
619 with its own chief, territory, and autonomy; none is subordinate
727 to another, all the more so because slaves are not taken in war,
266 for unredeemed captives are promptly eaten.

619 The tribes vary in importance according to the level of
614 development, the kind of chiefs they have had, and the size of
174 their territory. Thus, the Yenkwax possess no more than three sparsely populated villages, and at the most they can muster 300 warriors; the Yengon, [14] though a long-established tribe, have only one village and a few warriors; while the Yemvi, on the contrary, inhabit several hundred villages and number thousands of warriors. But about this term "tribe," let me here mention a very important point: at present, and since a migration which, according to my own research, should be dated 32 or 33 generations back, no more tribes are being formed, only clans. Existing tribes (and we shall see in a moment how they may be distinguished from clans) may be said to have been established about ten centuries ago in our reckoning, which clearly does not mean that they did not exist before that time. Their origin must certainly go back much earlier.

619 A tribe rarely remains homogeneous for long. Many factors
614 contribute to its splitting up, such as a series of migrations, family disputes, and the activities of heads of families who are ambitious or eager to throw off excessive authority. The steady growth of a tribe at the same time leads to the overpopulation of villages and the necessity of looking elsewhere for new hunting and agricultural lands; hence, after an indefinite period, a tribe splits into clans composed of an unspecified and highly variable number of families. Some clans are very large, such as the Esingi, and make up hundreds of villages, while others, either because they are very recent or because of the same disintegrating forces as exist for the tribes, number only a few families.

Clans in turn, as a result of the same circumstances that made tribes split into clans, split into subclans, also of varying importance.

From what I have just said, a fact may be immediately deduced which runs counter to the usual generalizations accepted by Europeans and superficial observers. In the view of the latter the

779
622
411
171

He then returns to collect the remains of the sacrifice and carry them to his father's grave.

It is evident that the Fan ritual of the spear salute has many analogies to the Rundi ritual, and the same impulse would seem to motivate both.

174
171

c) Rites of initiation and consecration of the chief compared with the religious role of the Pharaoh

In all this it is easy to see a whole embryonic system or rather, as our linguistic research bears out, the vestiges, very corrupt and gradually shriveling away, of a religious system that is very old and goes back to the very beginnings of the race.

The legends, customs, and especially the language make it possible for us to see, with all the reservations necessary to such a hypothesis, a pale reflection, perhaps a decadent reminder, of Egyptian religion.

It would be of great interest in the first place to try to find out if the Fan word denoting "chief," nzue -- from n for agency and zue, to command, to order -- is not related to Egyptian (1), to pray, adore,

1. There are other resemblances between the two languages, to which I shall refer later: kha (Eg.), crown, and khu (Fg.), chief; khala, a fortified place, and dzal, fortified village (kraal); ka, to leave, and ka, to go away, etc.; ko, hook, and lko, hook, whence akõn, hooked, barbed spear.

sua, to pray, adore, which was originally the chief's main function, or again to Suten, meaning "king," which comes from the word seten [544], to determine by knife, which means "to kill." The king is thus in theory he who slays the sacrificial victim, the sacrificer.

The Pharaoh formerly acted in a general way as a Fan chief still does today, without, one must admit, any of the trappings of majesty -- as I have said, he is a pale reflection.

He used to go himself, at least fictitiously, to capture the victim, a wild bull. He immolated it, cut it up, and offered it to the deity whose son he was. He was not only the sacrificer

174 171 who offers the victim but also the priest who alone was authorized to make an offering, and without his intervention, his subjects could not expect heaven to accept their offerings, even the most modest. "Suten don hotep" -- The king gives the offering, can be read on innumerable votive monuments, from the most imposing to the humblest. The deity would not pay attention to the offering if it did not come from the king. I recall the prince of Khéta's words which I have already quoted: "God would not accept any offering of Khéta that had not been seen by Pharaoh, the emanation of heaven."

Mediator between heaven and earth, Pharaoh alone is qualified to give to the Deity or to receive His gifts. If another priest takes his place, as for practical reasons nearly always happens, that priest will be acting as a delegate of the king and will announce the royal order by which he has access to God: "It is the king who sends me to see the deity," says he upon opening the gates of naos [sic]. Even a priest of the highest rank may present himself only by virtue of that delegation. To penetrate all the way to the temple sanctuary is in fact like penetrating heaven, (1) for the deity is there as much as in

1. An inscription at Edfou, quoted by Rochemonteix, reads: "He who penetrates the temple penetrates heaven."

heaven: to approach the deity one must be divine oneself, like a son of Pharaoh or at least a representative of this divine Son. God's house, the temple, was built by Pharaoh himself, (2) the

2. Virey: Religion de l'ancienne Égypte [The Religion of Ancient Egypt] (ed. 1909), p. 125.

sole owner of Egyptian soil by a divine gift made at his coronation. (3)

Cf. Lefébure, Rites Egyptiens [Egyptian Rites], where one will find numerous points of comparison with the rites I have mentioned. [545]

171 We find further confirmation of the foregoing in the
174 following lines: "In archaic times, before the unification of Egypt into a single kingdom, it was no doubt the tribal chiefs who, as Pharaoh did later for the entire country, declared war, dispensed justice, and offered the sacrifices." (1)

1. The Life-Work of Sir Peter Le Page Renouf (Paris, 1902-07), Vol. 2, p. 351, "The Priestly Character of the Earliest Egyptian Civilization."

As religious leader the]Fan] tribal chief can thus delegate his authority only to the practitioner; as totemic chief, only to his direct consanguineal heir.

614 This is true to such a degree that if, for instance, the family should die out, the tribe would not come to an end or be destroyed, for the elders of the clan or of the mother tribe would trace genealogies back to the beginning or source of the race and find a secondary family related more closely to the founder of the race; that secondary family would in turn become the main lineage. This transfer comes about quite naturally, without hitch or conflict, merely by force of circumstances. In some cases, especially with a small clan, families will attach themselves to other clans; again, according to the formative law given earlier, new clans will be created, filials of the mother branch. If a mother clan is involved, then, on the contrary, families will attach themselves more willingly to the filial branch (branch in esa), where they will find the family totem (esamvèn, esamvùn, etc.).

d) Mistakes made by European administration in appointing
648 new tribal chiefs from outside the main lineage
622

Clearly the chief mistake, and hence the lack of success, of civil administrators or military leaders who for one reason or another depose the legitimate chief of a tribe and appoint another is clear from the totemic laws just enumerated and the very structure of the race. I willingly admit that sometimes such depositions and appointments may, and often should be made,

Ngoro
Bafok-Yangafuk

361 The several Ngoro villages are stretched over 70 kilometers of trails. A single one may be found on the right bank of the M'Bam, in the immediate vicinity of Bafia, on the vehicular road. Another is located about 30 kilometers to the southeast, also on the vehicular road but on the left bank of the M'Bam; it is Goura, inhabited by the Ngoro who moved down toward fertile land.

173 The Ngoro say that they descended from the Mangisa a long time ago—perhaps during the time when the latter still lived north of the Sanaga. The traditions of the Ngoro also say that their original ancestor was the same as that of the Betsinga, the Kombe, and the Bundju. Is this myth or history? This extended kinship brings together all the Beti.

The folk history of the Ngoro begins only with the war against the Babute in the last century. At that time they were dispersed, and most of them clustered around the Ngoro River. When attacked by the Babute, those nearest the M'Bam crossed the river and settled among the Bafia, whom they pushed back. /63/ Others, the Yasakunu, were driven all the way back to the Yambasa. The people of the village of Ngoro submitted and were enslaved. They were deported north to Linte and Tibati and south to Goura. /Map 3/

175 167 At Goura the young slave Ndenge was born of a Ngoro father and a Djanti mother, both deported there. As an adult, Ndenge enlisted in the native army of the Germans and attracted the attention of his superiors by his intelligence and zeal. They assigned him the task of reuniting all the exiles, and little by little turned over to him all those who were freed through their wars—first the exiles found among the Yambasa, then those among the Bafia. These migrations are the explanation for the wide scattering of Ngoro villages and for the frequent moves. Fortunately, the appearance of the cacao tree has begun to stabilize a number of these settlements.

THE BAFÖK-YANGAFUK

101 131 361 Location: widely scattered, to be found in several settlements sometimes very far from each other
Between 11°15 and 12°30 long.
and 4°30 and 5°50 north lat.

511 N'Gounié and Woleu-N'Tem was a "reservoir of manpower") by
702 upsetting its demographic equilibrium. Consequently, most of the administrative reports stress the poverty and mediocrity of the villages, the political instability and "indiscipline," and the eagerness with which all innovations are greeted in the hope of improving conditions. [84]

Region of the Maritime Ogooué

175 During the second half of the nineteenth century the Fang descended the Ogooué in order to reach the trading centers established on the river, and the counting houses of the coast. They pushed back the Bakèlè, imposed themselves on the Galwa and the Nkomi. Since 1880 the Fang have settled in large numbers along
361 the Ogooué as a result of a penetration which organized convoys on the river, created posts, and made possible the settlement of traders.

361 The Fang are settled in the four districts forming this adminis-
162 trative region, but in that of Ombooué, the extreme point of their advance, they represent less than 5 percent of the population. Ninety-five percent of the 9,300 inhabitants of N'Djolé District are Fang who have taken the place of the ancient Bakélé people. They belong to the Maké, Nzaman, and Bétsi groups; the first of these was located downstream from N'Djolé before 1865 (1).

1. Captain Curault, op. cit.

They came largely from the Lower Ivindo, but also from the Woleu-N'Tem, where the villagers soon sought to obtain commercial out-
[316] lets on the Ogooué. Outside of a small mine exploitation at N'Djolé, this district is extremely bare. Consequently, the very scattered villages have a miserable appearance, and the male
[164] population has been canvassed (or recruited) by the neighboring lumber works and by the coastal centers.

563 Lambaréné District, which is very important because of its
[361 forest exploitations (and also because it is an old commercial
313] center, still has a largely Fang population. These are in opposition to the aboriginal group of the Galwa (less than 2,200 individuals)

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

now responsible and liable to two parties; if he is reasonable they all meet and talk the palaver. If the palaver is serious, each party appoints his *ntol* (ambassador). The palaver is usually talked in the main street of the town, before all the representatives of the interested clans, and before all strangers in town. The Fang are born orators, and remarkable gestures and orations are made while talking the palaver. The speaker usually walks backwards and forwards grasping and leaning upon a "palaver stick." He commences with: *M'sona* (I say thus); when speaking for another he says *A'sona* (he says thus); when speaking for the people of his town, *Ba sona* (they say thus). Sometimes the *ntôls* (ambassadors) sit in a canoe in the middle of a river or a stream, and talk the palaver, the injured parties being on either side of the stream. The case is talked, the goods demanded in payment stated, and an effort made to *kik nsang* (cut or end the palaver). If they succeed, then the palaver is *cut* (ended), and a dance follows; if no agreement is come to, the meeting breaks up and a tribal war exists between these clans.

628 681 537

Salutations.

There are three salutations common to all. Two friends meet, they each grasp the arm of the other, high up on the biceps; a slight pause is made, then the hand is slipped down to clasp the wrist. This is also the customary salutation used by the Bulu.

576

Two friends meeting salute by embracing.

A traveller entering the *abeng* (palaver house) walks over to the headman and sits on his knee a moment, at the same time placing one arm around the headman's neck.

Hospitality demands that all strangers be served food by the town women to strangers in the *abeng*. [579]

Wives are loaned to guests. [837]

Coarse conversation is indulged in by old and young of both sexes. [521]

Considerable license prevails among the unmarried; less so among the married. [836]

VIII.—*Invention, Natural Forms, Conservatism.*

Invention.—The arts in use are common to all the different clans of the great Fang tribe. Any new discovery as the working of iron is credited to the dwarfs or *nguí*. The natives are always ready to admit that the *nguí* are very clever; they have a saying "no person knows like a *mon nguí* (dwarf) what is inside the forest." When obtainable the natives use an imported saw, or file, and admit its superiority over their own crude tools. A Fang may be impressed at the knowledge and power of the white man, but is not greatly surprised; the reason for this is that many white men are credited with possessing supernatural powers.

1760 563 609

Some of the clubs, tools and weapons approximate to the natural forms of the branches or roots of trees. Axe handles and the handle of a certain kind of adze have

412

824 39. Plectrum for the musical bow, elém (stalk strips).
40. Strings for the harp (fiber).
41. Sticks for the war drum, ngómo (made of pith).
42. Sticks for the signaling drum, nkū (stalk pieces). /78/
43. Children's zither (halved stalks; plectrum; stalk pieces).

VIII. Toys

44. Children's rattle stick (pith, stalk pieces).
45. Bow and arrows (stalks).
46. Rifle made of pith, newer model (pith).
47. Trigger and upper part of rifles, old model (stalk strips).
48. Pickaxes, knives, tools (pith).
49. Trap for gadflies (pith, stalk pieces).
50. Food stealer (piece of stalk).
51. Memory game, nkūk endélě (pith).
52. Stone game, akǔn (stalk pieces).

IX. Clothing, Ornaments

53. Straw hats (pith).
54. Chenille for decorative caps, edǒbǎn (pith).
55. Women's tailpieces (bast).
56. Strips of bast for sewing materials (bast).
57. Head adornment, akūt (bast).
58. Arm adornment (bast).
59. Neck adornment (bast).
60. Belts (bast).
61. Ropes for stringing heavy beads (fiber).
62. Walking sticks, better ones made of Raphia hookeri M. (esa).

343 In addition to the meeting and dwelling houses already described, the Pangwe build a number of other huts designed for special purposes, namely, storage houses, houses for strangers, field huts, and houses for the sick.

The storage houses have a variety of forms. Some are merely dwellings from which the furniture has been removed; [177] others are similar to these but have a wooden door, often copied from the European models; still others, like the temporary

343 dwellings, stand with the gabled side facing the village square and look just like them except that they are firm and durable. [536] Storage houses are to be found only in the villages of wealthier chiefs.

344 The houses for strangers (esǎ'bǎd) are built following exactly the same pattern and ground plan as the ordinary dwelling, but they are very hastily constructed: the walls are usually only plaited palm leaves; the door extends to the ground with no threshold; and the sleeping benches are those of the simple kind (kū'dū III), often made only of umbrella tree trunks split lengthwise down the middle and placed on top of two casters of the same wood. They are constructed especially on the occasion of the festival for departed souls when greater numbers of strangers are expected; at the conclusion of the festive period they are pulled down.

342 In the forests or on very isolated plantations, refuge huts are frequently built. These are often no more than mere protective roofs (myō e ngī III = gorilla home), while others resemble the simplest temporary meeting houses, that is, huts in which the gabled sides are open and the long walls are either absent or consist only of a few tree trunks (angǒ́n e ngī = gorilla crown, that is, the strip which juts out like a comb on the top of the gorilla's skull). /79/

344 Special houses are built next to or behind the dwellings or just outside the village for persons with contagious diseases 744 (frambesia, leprosy) (see Fig. 16). Because they are designed for only one person, they are usually smaller than the dwellings; they have the same shape but are carelessly constructed and soon deteriorate because nobody takes the trouble to repair them.

343 Here and there I found stables; in the next section I shall come back to these. /Fig. 42 appears here in the original text./

Finally, it should be mentioned that in some villages 342 especially those close to the coast, there are houses on piles. 177 These are copied from the European settlements and are almost completely useless for the natives since their construction requires greater care and trouble than that of ordinary houses. Consequently, the houses on piles built by the Pangwe are veritable caricatures of human dwellings.

351 grass, Andropogon schoenanthus L. (ǒšimentǎ'ngan = ǒšim
247 [Ocimum] of the Whites), a plant which has likewise been imported.

487 The roads are often scarcely visible paths which are first trodden by hunters and used by elephants and later become wider through increased traffic. Naturally, however, one must always proceed along them in single file. Wherever small brooks happen to flow in the direction of travel, they are used as trails.

491 For the crossing of larger bodies of water, a few stems of the
499 umbrella tree are tied together to form a raft or dugouts (bēǎ; plural, mǎ; Fig. 45), otherwise employed for fishing purposes, are used. Bridges (ndžēi I) are built only in rare cases, primarily in situations where the plantations and the village are situated on opposite banks of a river, thus necessitating regular and rapid passage between them. These bridges consist /84/ (Fig. 46 and 47) of several piers, each made up of two tree trunks planted into the ground in the form of a St. Andrew's cross and firmly tied together. One or more transverse beams are then placed over these piers. To serve as a railing, either ropes are tied to the upper ends of the piers, or sticks split lengthwise down the middle are fastened to them. When a bridge beam decays, a new one is placed on top of it, but no one thinks of restoring the framework which cannot support the greater weight, and for this reason the bridge soon collapses as it gets older.

[177] More recently bridges have been built according to the European model (kǎža III), consisting of two rows of supporting piles and transverse beams over which logs are placed very close together, like our corduroy roads. These bridges are even more dangerous to life and limb than the older form, since supporting posts often collapse, the bridge frequently lists to one side, and it is possible to have a bad fall on the slippery log ends. /85/

Section 5

000

Economic Activities

First Part. Agriculture. General matters: tools, preparation of the soil, division of labor. The

195 The curious locutions of the Pangwe language, such as a bē
241 bidžǐ = to plant "food," that is, to plant, and a nyŏn bidžǐ = to take "food," that is, to harvest, seem to indicate that the cultural level of the farmer followed that of the primitive collector. That is to say, the expression suggests that the conscious cultivation of plants developed from the observation and exploitation of edible leaves, fruit, and the like found wild in nature. The Pangwe have wholly risen above the latter stage, and they revert to it only occasionally in periods of distress.

241 Their agriculture is hoe culture, that is, the soil is loosened by means of the hoe and digging stick. The hoe (ebā'k, Ntum; ebāk, Fang), Figure 48, consists of a piece of iron tied to a wooden handle bent in the form of a hook; the digging stick (evīē'n Ntum, Fang; tŏń, Jaunde) is a wooden stick with the end shaped like an incisor. The hoe is used by the women, the digging stick by the men /86/. Other agricultural implements are the ax (oyū'n), Figure 49, and the bush knife (fā-tsī IV), Fig. 50. The latter, which today has been almost completely replaced [177] by the European cutlass, nkpwēdā' I, is used to dig tubers, such as yams, and to level the soil. For the latter purpose I also observed the use of wooden spades attached to a handle.

Tillage begins with the clearing of the ground (a lī tsī). First, the lianas, undergrowth, and thinner trees are cut down with the cutlass. In this way some elbow room is created, and the larger trees can be felled with an ax. /Fig. 48 appears here in the original text. / Ordinarily a whole group of trees is tackled at one time in the following manner. The lianas are severed first so that they can no longer hold up the trees. The majority of the thinner tree trunks are merely notched, and then only one fairly massive tree is cut down. This tree when it falls brings down virtually the entire group of trees, together with its network of lianas. As a result, very little remains to be done. The very large trees are usually left standing to provide shade. They are removed, by setting fire to the roots, only if it is absolutely necessary to do so. Without the help of fire, it would require a number of days to cut down such a giant tree, and the Pangwe rarely have time for this in the brief dry

524 "star," "sun," and was later carried over for people and used as a /Fig. 55 appears here in the original text/ personal name, and kŏt - bent; we would perhaps say: "Your Excellency Von Bent."

244 I now turn to the second part of the cultivated plants, those that are cultivated in gardens, that is, in small operations and for the most part behind or close to the dwelling. To be sure, the difference between field and garden cultivation is not everywhere sharply defined. For instance, the garden plant taro is often planted at a distance from the village in fields, and plantains are frequently grown on cassava farms and other farms.

Taro, Colocasia antiquorum Schott (atú), and Macabo, Xanthosoma violaceum Schott (ekǎbe)

The taro or Colocasia is -- as the Latin name indicates -- a cultivated plant of some antiquity even for the Pangwe; hence they have no ready explanation for the name atú. The macabo, [177] on the other hand, which stems from /101/ America, has only recently been introduced and, according to the natives, was

[249]

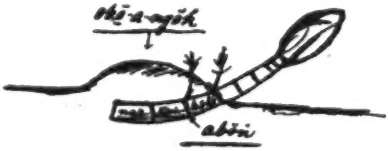


Fig. 55. Sugar Cane Shoot.

taken over by the coastal peoples about thirty years ago (1);

[805]

1. As soon as one has become familiar with the Negroes' ability to estimate time, one becomes very cautious with respect to the preciseness of historical dates.

hence its name ekǎbe from a kǎb-an, "to hand over, to divide, to take possession of." Both plants belong to the Araceae family. Taro is distinguished from macabo by the fact that its leaves are

245

Fig. 56. Plantains (Negro Bananas) and Bananas near Nssälang (Essáuong Family)

[524] Riddle: mŏnĕnga e ne m' okō, a wṓle
woman she is to me there, she many

bē' bŏn, kaa nŭm
gives birth to children, no (without) man.

Answer: ekṓn = plantain.

That is precisely the ideal: reward without labor, fruit without effort, food which without the work of hands grows into one's mouth. In this sense the plantain, like its sister, the banana, is really the most deserving of all the cultivated plants of the name "paradisiaca." Of the banana, Musa paradisiaca var. sapientum L., there are two species: the bush banana (adžüi, adžüi-ekṓn); and the noble banana (etăt, etăt-ekṓn). As is apparent from /103/ /Fig. 56 appears here in the original text / the name, even among the Pangwe the banana is regarded as a variety of plantain. The noble banana, the one we know, was introduced from the coast, according to the Pangwe. At first it was called madžüi

245
177

245 [177] mentăngan, "bananas of the Whites." Later it was given the name etăt, from the stem a tăt, "to moan." "One" ate too much of it; "one" could not digest so much; "one" became weak; "one" could not catch anything during the hunt, which among the Pangwe is always the chief source of worry, and so forth.

244 I can only give a brief account at this point of the less important vegetables. The sweet potato, Ipomoea batatas L. (dŭgŭ III), is not cultivated; it thrives like a weed in the vicinity of the villages and chokes out every other weed, so that one can speak of miniature potato fields. It is not a very popular food. Other vegetables are sown and planted either in the vicinity of the houses or on the farms. 244 824 Of these vegetables we should name first Cucurbita maxima Duch. (abō'k), which belongs to the Cucurbitaceae family and of which there are four varieties. The flesh of the fruit is eaten, as is the interior of the seeds, and small unripe fruit is also added whole to the groundnut bundle. Its young leaves are cut into small pieces and eaten as vegetables. The skin of the fruit cannot be removed, otherwise one would be wounded in battle. The men must avoid the [833] seeds if they do not want to lose their virility the /104/ following night; hence it is regarded as tactless if the women serve the fruit with the seeds to the men at mealtime.

244 Of the Malvaceae and the Tiliaceae, Hibiscus and Corchorus (tĕgĕ III - fruit, etĕ'tăm) are planted. The name is derived from a tĕk, "weak," for the leaves are cooked in a short time on the fire; the fruit is called etĕ'tam from a tĕbĕ etăm, "to stand alone," for they stand alone at the tip of the stalk when the leaves are withered or have been picked off. Both fruit and leaves are eaten. The following varieties are distinguished: Hibiscus moschatus Roxb. (nia tĕge - true hibiscus); and the Tiliaceae Corchorus olitorius L. (ngbăbelŏ'mo IV). The name esăn includes three plants of different families, namely, Hibiscus sabdariffa L. (engā'ne-esăn), the Polygonacea Rumex abessynicus Jacq. (ebŭbŭ'dŏ-es), and the Melastomatacea Dissotis decumbens (P. B.) Trian. (esĭsăn-bongō'n-b'oyek).

All these plants are sown, and their leaves are eaten.

Other cultivated plants are the following:

417

Fig. 58. Pen for Sheep and Goats in Massóm (Ndong Family), South Cameroons.

This favorable influence on the physical development of the animal increases its value from about 14 marks to 35 marks (500 spears), a capital increase which is certainly desirable to the Pangwe. Even greater, however, is his joy at the beautiful appearance of the castrated animals. /107/ /Fig. 58 appears here in the original text./ The effect of castration is the basis for the comparison between symbolically, not physically, castrated people (see Section 18, "Sexual Life") and the castrated goats and also for designation by the same name; these people -- up to a certain point in time, at least -- are supposed to undergo conspicuous mental development. The fact that the flesh of animals also improves as food through castration plays only a secondary role. 232 [435]

Magnificent old specimens, including uncastrated goats and sheep, sometimes receive a human name, and their owner would never sell such an animal; indeed, he would not even give it away as a marriage portion. 231 552

Of other domestic animals there is only the cat (pfū's IV Fang, esi'nǎ), very recently introduced from the coast. 231 177

235 As regards poultry, only the hen (kub IV) is native. Only its
262 meat, not the eggs, is used for food, and even that rarely and on special occasions. At the proper place I shall return to the significance of the hen in the religious conceptions of the natives.

For the hens, small pens of logs are constructed behind the
235 house. In addition, baskets are hung for them on the outside and
417 inside walls of the house where they can brood. Finally, the brood hen is /108/ not refused a resting place in the house on some unused bed if she should consider it the safest and most suitable place for herself and her chicks. A hole at the bottom of the wall serves as an exit for the hen's family.

During the 1880's and 1890's ducks with a red band around
235 the eyes were introduced. Around 1890 they arrived in the Fang
●177 region and were called elǭ (wild duck = elǭ't); later they were called sōǭ' III.

231 Like other primitive peoples, the Pangwe cannot be called animal lovers. Except for parrots, one sees practically no tamed forest animals, not even monkeys. The Pangwe "tire" (a vǫ̂t) of looking after and feeding them, and under such circumstances one cannot blame the freedom-loving quadrupeds and birds for seeking to escape or lying down to die. Gray parrots, which immediately introduce themselves to every stranger by their name, for instance, as esǎ'sǎ' = kite, are quite common. They usually find their food on the garbage heaps or among the leftovers in the house. Now and then one sees wild boars that were caught when young. Once I was brought a young leopard which a woman had tried to keep alive by feeding it from her breast; the animal badly scratched the helpful woman, and she quickly abandoned her voluntary maternal role.

231 The bee, Apis mellifica L. var. adansoni (mvūfūh IV, hūi' IV
222 Fang), is not kept, but wild honey (wūi' ; plural, mūi'), which for the most part is to be found in tree trunks, is gathered and consumed raw.

III. Fishing

226 West Africa is one of the areas of the world richest in fish.
136 Hence, the numerous rivers and streams of the Pangwe region possess great quantities of different kinds of fish. Some of the most

224

flintlock, this motive for hunting buffaloes has disappeared, and the chase is too dangerous to hunt them only for the meat. The hunting of gorillas and chimpanzees is just as unprofitable, and with very few exceptions the people are unacquainted with hunting as pure sport. The Pangwe find it too difficult and onerous to stalk antelopes without fixed nets. Long-tailed monkeys, squirrels, and smaller birds are shot with the crossbow. Hunting long-tailed monkeys is an undertaking filled with variety, not too difficult -- even though many of the monkeys have very sharp eyes and ears -- and profitable (2).

Fig. 87. Dog Bell.

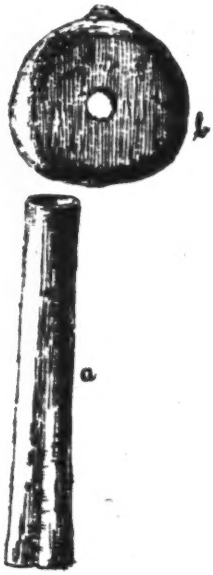
[104]

2. The monkeys are lured by blowing on a perforated fruit, the monkey lure (elṍń, elõ̌ɛ̃), Figure 88, b; birds are lured with an instrument like a reed pipe, Figure 88, a, called zõ̌le IV, zõ̌.

I consider it a mistake to assume that the crossbow is an imitation of European models. How would a Negro hit upon the idea of transforming the model to such an extent and furthermore, as is done by the Bassá along the Sanaga, of continuing the front end into a shaft-like extension and at times putting on it a genuine spear head with a socket? I incline to the notion that the natives combined spear and bow and in this way independently created a new weapon. Finally, it is impossible to prove, except for the last decades of the nineteenth century, that any European influence 411 177

411
177 at all penetrated as far as the Pangwe from the west coast of Africa. /140/

411
824



[224
534] Fig. 88. Lure Pipes: (a) for monkeys (instrument like a reed pipe); (b) for birds (drilled seed)

The crossbow (mbǎn I), Figure 89, consists of two parts, the shaft (ngpwǎ(s)-mbǎn) (1) and the bow (endžiǎ-mbǎn) (2)

1. For the shaft the wood of the following three Anonaceae are preferred: Mesocarpidium lepidotum Engl. and Diels (amvim); Xylopia striata Engl. (mvǔ'ma IV); and Hexalobus salicifolius Engl. (mepfǎ'ne III).

2. For the bow, because of their strong wood, the following are used: (1) Olax tessmannii Engl., Icacinaceae (elō'm); (2) Sapindaceae, Pancovia pedicellaris Radlk. and Gilg and Placodiscus opacus Radlk. (zǒk); (3) Violaceae Rinorea longisepala Engl. (zǒk-o-si) and R. welwitschii (Oliv.) O. Kze. (enō'ežǒk); (4) Rubiaceae Randia acuminata Bth. and micrantha K. Sch. (ajī'ē); (5) Anacardiacea Trichoscypha spec. (žǒk e mekum); (6) Rubiacea Gardenia lateriflora K. Sch. (ebǎm) does not seem to be as suitable; (7) Polygalacea Carpolobia alba Don. (onǒn); (9) a Rubiacea (oyǒ'). /(8) is omitted by the author. /

411 with the bowstring. The shaft is a piece of wood between one and one and a half meters long, ovoid in cross-section. At the

266
184

[673]

the other hand, fallen enemies are consumed by some of them on exceptional occasions. The accounts have it that this form of cannibalism does not by any means for religious reasons, but rather represents an act of revenge carried to its extreme; the enemy is degraded to the level of an animal and is consumed like an animal. I have never heard it said that relatives or members of the same kin group are killed and eaten; indeed, in the eyes of the Fang this would constitute an incredible crime. Far to the south, especially toward the southeast where the Pangwe have been fundamentally modified through mixture with neighboring tribes, anthropophagy may be somewhat more

[412] Fig. 91. Spearhead Knife for cutting up a Slain Person.

frequent. It is most likely, in any case, that the practice /144/ [177] /Fig. 91 appears here in the original text/ was taken over in the first place from the eastern border tribes, especially the Njem who are notorious in this respect.

262 Thus, meat is principally supplied by animals, and here the Pangwe does not even stop at the thick skin of the elephant; he finds almost everything edible. Among mammals, only the shrew, house rat, and the dwarf squirrel Sciurus pumilio Leconte (mvūkesŏn) are not eaten. Also, the following are not eaten: among reptiles, the chameleon, the lizard Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (ebŭmekūkūī), and the Agama colonorum Daud. (ngŏdŏ III); similarly, among amphibians, the toads Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (mvŭn IV) and Bufo latifrons Blgr. (dzŭn; plural, biŭn, mŭń), as well as the frog Rana mascareniensis D. and B. (nkŏń I). The reasons why these animals are never eaten I shall discuss in conjunction with the general food prohibitions in Section 13 /Ed., Vol. II/.

415 The eating or serving spoons, with which the woman tastes the food during cooking and ladles it out of the pot at mealtime, are kept above the fireplace. /151/ /Fig. 95 appears here in the original text./ Such spoons have various shapes; the simplest is a Sarcophrynium leaf folded in the form of a spoon and used only once. This leaf spoon is called ntṍno I. The calabash spoon (egbwǎ́s) represents a higher stage of spoon, as does the snail spoon (ebṍna, ekökṍe), Figure 101. The calabash spoon is made from a small fruit of the calabash gourd (Fig. 99 and 100) which has been cut in half through the middle; the snail spoon is made from the large Achatina marginata Sw. (kȭĩ́) by cutting out a piece of its shell. These are the women's spoons for everyday use, and as such they correspond to the men's wooden eating spoon (tõk). Women never use ladling spoons made of wood.

[321]

The most important kitchen utensil is the cooking pot (mvẽ́ I, vĩõk; plural, lõk) made of clay (vĩõk), of which each woman keeps a number of larger ones (mvẽ́, vĩõk) and smaller ones (obẽ́bẽ́) on the pot loft (akǎn e mvẽ́). Through the trading companies, iron pots with three feet (mẽkṍne III) have already spread throughout the land. /Fig. 96 appears here in the original text./

[177]

262 After these general preliminary /152/ observations, I shall go on to a description of the methods of preparing /Fig. 97 appears here in the original text/ the principal food plants. Those of greatest importance as staple foods will once more be listed here in order: cassava, plantain, groundnut, ngon, maize, taro, yams (1) (Fang region).

1. Smaller repetitions cannot be entirely avoided for the sake of clarity in the individual sections. The reader will be so kind as to excuse them.

1. Cassava

252 Aside from insignificant variations, the cassava root is prepared in five different ways. Two of these are chiefly women's food: pulverized cassava, cooked in a leaf roll bent into the shape of a stirrup

264
415 put the leaf on a basketwork plate or to serve the food on such a plate with nothing under it.

The men's spoon is made of wood (tǭk; plural, IV or, irregular, matǭk), Figure 105, and occurs in four different forms, each with two subvarieties. The first form resembles our salad spoons; it has either a circular or broad egg-shaped bowl and a flat handle which begins just below its outer surface (a-c). This first form [177] has come from the north, perhaps from the Jaunde and Bene, among whom it is very widespread and popular, and perhaps from tribes located even farther north; in the south it is to be seen quite frequently among the Bulu, quite a lot among the Ntum, and rather more rarely among the Fang. The spoon may have (d) a pear-shaped bowl and a wider handle which starts farther down (I have seen this only among the Fang).

The second form (e-f) consists of a more or less circular, deep bowl and a broad handle attached to the edge of the bowl and bent in the shape of a gable. The handle usually broadens out at the end and is decorated with carved patterns or covered with stamped brass plate. The latter is to be found only among the Fang and, because of the circular shape of the bowl, is called dū̃ma-gǭdǭvǭ'dō̃, "nest of the bulbuls (Pycnonotus)."

A form representing a transition between the first and second forms is exemplified by g where the narrow, unadorned handle of the first form is bent in the form of a gable like the second form. This is found only among the Jaunde. /162/

/Fig. 105 appears here in the original text./ The third form (h-k) has a narrow, oval, shallow bowl which more or less gradually extends into the short, usually flat, more rarely round handle; this form is to be found only among the Fang.

A fourth form (l-n) really consists only of a trough-shaped bowl on which the handle is indicated merely by a gradual depression (accordingly, the form is called kiãi-adzǎb = leaf of the Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl.); it is found only among the Fang.

The women's spoons, that is, leaf spoons, calabash spoons, and snail spoons, have been mentioned above. It may be added at this point that the man also uses these spoons on occasion, especially when he has no wooden spoon at hand or when he is on a journey.

2. Blossoms are dark pink to red, and the plants grow closer to the ground: mbǭ'mekūnă I 276 249

Originally, the Pangwe were not passionate smokers, as a rule, although in every village one encounters old people who cannot live without their pipes. Over the whole region, especially in the north where the influence of the Whites is more predominant (for instance, among the Jaunde), the use of tobacco is rapidly increasing. The quality of imported tobacco and the great variety of pleasing shapes of the pipes for sale in the trading posts may be strong /170/ /Fig. 110 appears here in the original text/ contributing factors. 276 [177]

Fig. 109. Clay Tobacco Pipes.

Next to salt, "trade tobacco" is one of the principal trade articles. [439]

Tobacco is exclusively smoked in pipes; chewing or taking snuff is unknown. The Pangwe distinguish three forms of pipes. First there are short wooden pipes carved out of one piece (only among the Fang), ekūk-mvıŏk (Fig. 107), and secondly, banana leafstalk types (ntǭn I; bowl, obǎ'k). The latter consist of a piece of banana leafstalk or leaf ribbing, more than a meter long, and a bowl stuck on top of it which is made of the kernel of the raffia fruit, brass plate, or clay (Fig. 108). The stalk needs to be replaced from time to time. In almost every meeting house this form of pipe can be seen on the wall resting on two hooks, and it frequently goes the rounds among the men, on which occasion the chief is the first to draw from one to three deep puffs and then passes it on to his neighbor. The last man puts the pipe back on its rack. The third type of pipe

000

Ornamental scars. -- Painting. -- Tattooing /Ed., in the German, Tätowierung/ (1): origin; purpose;

1. The Lübeck Museum for Anthropology writes Tatanierung.

parts of the body tattooed; execution; varieties; payment of the tattoo artist. -- Mutilation of the teeth: reason; execution.

1. Dress.

291 The native dress of the men is a strip of material drawn between the legs and folded in the back and the front over a belt. The strip is about 90 centimeters long, 70 centimeters wide, and made of the bark of various fig /173/ trees (Fig. 111). The bark cloth is left either in its natural color and in that case shows all [386] gradations from almost pure white to a dark reddish brown, or it is dyed a resplendent red by means of red wood and is often so magnificently prepared that one can distinguish it from European cloth only by looking at it closely.

291 177 Nowadays European cloth is to be found everywhere as a result of trade, and it is supplanting the original dress which is so becoming. European cloth is sometimes worn just like the bark cloth, but usually it is wrapped smoothly around the loins with or without a belt (see Fig. 111).

291 281 Only once did I see in place of the bark cloth a narrow loin apron made of monkey skin, which at the upper end was drawn over the hip string and the rest fell down in long strips (etō'b-mabǎ,s).

291 The belt (kǎ'na IV) consists of fiber strings with or without beads, a braided palm band (Fig. 112), or hide. The simple strings are to be seen only on boys or people who pay little attention to their appearance; the beaded belts, in contrast to those of the /Figs. 112 and 113 appear here in the original text/ women,

294 end in a knot (2). Twelve such longitudinal braids are placed

2. In braiding, one frequently greases
his fingers and twists the strips slightly.

close to one another. The space between these and the edge of the cap is filled by pigtails made in the same way but running at right angles to the others; at the edge they are covered by three rows of pigtails all the way around and are sewed to the hide. /179/ For this one requires a needle made of bark, whose tip has been hardened in the fire and whose other end has a slit for the fiber thread. The pigtails jutting out over the edge are cut off. A fringe (mbǭm), made of a piece of raffia pith, is put over the crown of the cap. The piece of pith is cut into on both its narrow sides so that it will bend more readily, and over it is sewn a piece of material on which is set a stirrup of the same width, made of palm strips and studded with brass nails -- these stirrups have been described above in connection with the inner surface of the cap. On either side of the fringe there are a few longitudinal rows of red beads strung on raffia fiber. Another decoration on the caps consists of pieces of leather sewn on at the sides, which have cowrie shells or white buttons stitched on them and from which are hung tassels of pineapple strings strung with beads (see Fig. 118, foreground).

The ornamental caps of the Fang are not made of hides but of palm strips, parallel to each other, which are braided with blackened Triumfetta fiber in such a way that one strip is always skipped, and thus a chessboard pattern is created.

302 Older people for the most part do not wear bead ornaments in their hair -- insofar as they still have any -- but on the contrary wear simpler hair arrangements which, incidentally, are supposed to have been more fashionable at one time.

291 Among head coverings we need only mention caps made from the hide of monkeys, civet cats, or of the ichneumon, Bdeogale nigripes Puch., as well as imported red caps which are worn by chiefs and other elderly "notables." Hats made from leaves of grass (Paspalum) sewn together resemble our ordinary straw hats in shape

291 177

291 177 and, according to one informant, are supposed to be imitations of European models.

302 Dressing the beard is rare among the Pangwe, since most of them -- like many other Negroes -- pluck out such hair. In isolated instances there are men with beautiful full beards (Fig. 11) or with pointed beards whose tip has been twisted into a little pigtail and covered with cowrie shells or beads. Still others make two or quite a number of pigtails from their beards (Fig. 12); mustaches are rarely to be seen and are quite insignificant.

2. Ornaments.

301 Among the Pangwe the urge to beautify oneself dominates man and woman equally to a considerable degree. All kinds of ornamental pendants are attached to every possible part of the body. In their hair (Fig. 120) they stick a feather which is often cut out in patterns (a, b), a porcupine's tail (c), a wooden arrow, bones /180/ /Fig. 120 appears here in the original text/ (d), brass coiled in a spiral (e), a comb (see Fig. 139), and also, in rare cases -- usually on the occasion of a dance -- flowers, for instance, those of Costus (miẽn), and attractive or fragrant leaves, such as those of the Leguminosa Cryptosepalum aff. staudtii Harms (andũ̃n) and of the herb called afuñ. The latter two are worn only by women and usually in two bundles behind the ear. The ear lobe is pierced and provided with an ornament only among a few Mwai. [304]

301 304 Nose ornaments (Fig. 121), on the other hand, enjoy great popularity; they are attached in a hole pierced through the septum and not to the side of the nose. The requisite operation is carried out on children between six and eight years of age. /Fig. 121 appears here in the original text. / First the person concerned presses the leaves of the Aframomum (adžõm), which have been warmed in the fire, to the septum in order to make it softer. Then the medicine man takes a stick of raffia stalk, a quill from the porcupine, or any other pointed tool and drills a hole through the septum with it after he has picked out the right place with the index finger of his other hand. He now pushes a small piece of stalk [304]

301 transferred to the oblong red beads. Nowadays, however, since the introduction of glass beads which now predominate, they have long been out of favor as not elegant enough. Among other neck [304] ornaments we find among the women the fruit of the Mucuna flagellipes Vogel (kǒndǒ/ǒ'-zǎm III); they are a symbol of faithfulness, although they are probably worn without the definite intention of winning faithfulness or keeping it (1). Other neck

1. This liana is the symbol of faithfulness because it twines around a single tree and does not, like the majority of tropical lianas and climbing plants, overrun all the trees and shrubs within its reach.

ornaments are: the strung incisors of long-tailed monkeys and dogs (Fig. 124 and 125); also used as pendants, the strung incisors of leopards and the tusks of boars (Fig. 127); simulated teeth made of the white, slightly pointed seeds of the palm Podococcus barteri Mann et Wendl. (niamvǐne), Figure 126, or from pieces of bone, as pendants; simulated horn made of /Fig. 127 appears here in the original text/ appropriately carved pieces of ebony (Diospyros varieties) and wound with brass wire, Figure 128; and finally a talon of the large fighting eagle Spizaetus (ndū.ī' IV), Figure 129 (2). Neck bands, as attractive as they are simple to produce,

[177] 2. European trinkets are also to be found as pendants among the Pangwe. These include cartridges, keys, and padlocks.

are made from strips of Oncocalamus mannii Wendl. (nlon) or Trachyphrynium violaceum (nkǒmokǒ/mo), held together by a graceful braid of Rhectophyllum threads. /Figs. 128 and 129 appear here in the original text./ There is a noteworthy neck ornament made of the fragrant roots of the Urticacea Trymatococcus africanus H. Baillon (ngǒ/na IV), which among the Ntum is worn

301 only by women but among the Fang by members of either sex. It is called /183/ egbwè ī, ngō na IV Fang, or azōm-e-sī Ntum (see Plate 12). Halved lengthwise and dried, the roots are bound by a double string to form a neckband (Fig. 131, a) or are twined together to form a tassel-shaped pendant (Figure 131, b), the whole being dyed usually with red wood. A neck ruff made of bast and worn by members of either sex is not very common. Because of its appearance, the ruff is called etū ga-ntīma, "sheep's mane" (Fig. 131, c). Similarly, a bast neck ornament for little girls (ngōne) is rarely worn. /Figs. 130 and 131 appear here in the original text. /

301 326 Iron neck rings are very rare nowadays; correspondingly, neck rings made of brass (mvōt I) are all the more frequent. These are cast in heavy and light varieties. The former, that is, the heavy brass rings, have two different forms. The first has edges that project like a cornice and no ornamentation (Fig. 132). The other one is triangular in cross-section and in the middle of the two front surfaces, as well as frequently along the upper edge, is provided with engraved patterns (mvōte zāh; see Fig. 14). The manufacture of these rings will be described in connection
301 with brass founding. It is not easy to wear such a ring, which weighs up to three pounds, nor is it easy to put it on, for it is softened anew in the fire and bent apart so that its lucky owner can force his neck into it, and then it is tapped together again on the anvil. It is even harder to take the ring off. To do this, the person concerned lies down on his back; one end of the ring is secured to a tree stump while the other end is connected to a lever by means of a liana, and the ring is forced off with the lever. Prior to this, one must not forget to rub the neck thoroughly with oil or with sap from the leaves of the Clerodendron /184/ /Fig. 132 appears here in the original text/ büttneri Gürke (mavūlu-
[177] ndzīk III). By way of a popular, quick, and cheap substitute, servants of Europeans use tin cans which they transform into a neck ring by taking off the lid and the bottom. Similarly, European collars are to them an extremely welcome cultural acquisition which they make their own, frequently before they acquire trousers and shirts.

304 Nowadays only children and half-grown boys or girls make simple burned scars (ndʊ̌tʊ́lʊ̌ III) arranged in rows on their lower arm, more rarely on other parts of the body. A small, slightly charred splinter of bark from a raffia leafstalk is pressed with its tip against the skin /197/ and set on fire at the top; it then slowly burns a hole into the hand, which leaves behind it a slightly raised, roundish scar smooth at the top.

Decorative scars among the Fang, where they are found most frequently and in the most artistic forms, seem to be of great antiquity. At the same time, they do not seem to have spread very far north. They are still found quite frequently among the Ntum, but only rarely among the Bulu, among the Bene only on some older people, and not at all among the Jaunde. More recently, they have also begun to disappear in the southern Pangwe region since people prefer to undergo the recently introduced and far less painful tattooing process. The decorative scars are called /Fig. 149 appears here in the original text/ mvǎ̰ǎ̰ (plural) by the Ntum, endʊ̌ʊ̌n by the Fang, and they occur on members of either sex. To make them, a small iron hook (tsǎǎ̰ III Ntum, endʊ̌ʊ̌n Fang) is needed; with it the skin is pulled slightly upwards, and then the raised fold of skin is incised with a knife, Figure 149 (okʊ̌ʊ̌n e mvǎ̰ǎ̰n), held at right angles to the hook (Fig. 150 and 151). The wound is left to heal without anything being rubbed into it or any bandage being placed on it. These decorative scars are to be found only on the body and on the upper arm, rarely on the face and then only on the forehead.

Body painting is confined to the Ntum and Fang region and is completely absent in the Jaunde region, supposedly because the tree from which the dye is obtained does not occur there. This tree is the Randia malleifera (Hook) Benth. which among the Fang is called obɛ̌ndɛ̌m (1) or fi̱na IV (2), as well as mfi̱na; among

1. Derived from abɛ̌, Cola acuminata P.B., and ndɛ̌m, "long, swaying," because of the slenderness of the tree.

2. From the stem yǐn, "dark, black"; e-yǐn-di mʊ̌t, "Black (man), Negro."

304 Tattooing, which was introduced about 20 years ago, replaced body painting; from it tattooing derived its names, fi'na and kūdemǎn, and among the Fang it also received the name for decorative scars, myǎ'n. Among the Ntum, furthermore, it is called ekǎ'n (see above), and among the Jaunde,

Fig. 151. Decorative Scar Artist at Work, Bébai, Spanish Guinea.

otū (from otū, "resin," which is rubbed into the wounds and brings out the permanent pattern). According to the Fang, 304 tattooing came to them from the north between the early and 177 middle 1890's. Among the Bene, who probably acquired tattooing from the east, only younger people are tattooed. It follows from this that the art must have spread throughout the

304 entire Pangwe region with extraordinary rapidity. In part, this
● 177 spread may have been facilitated by the influence of military events. It is related that the /199/ Ntum, in their battles with the Bulu, saw tattooing on the corpses of dead enemies and made their prisoners show them the art.

304 Tattooing occurs among members of both sexes, but espe-
832 cially among males. It serves very much the same purposes that were formerly served by body painting. The young people adorn themselves with it in order to outstrip others in courtship. Ornaments and courtship are one, "one and the same" (a ne dzám eda eda), as the Pangwe says. It is certainly true that attractive patterns can charm the eyes so much that one involuntarily comes to find its (male or female) owner more attractive than would have been the case without such an influence upon the sense of beauty.

304 Even small boys have themselves tattooed. Usually a half-moon pattern is made on their foreheads, but for the most part it is only faintly scratched in and therefore fades again so that scarcely anything remains visible under the patterns later applied. From the period of puberty on, the Pangwe have themselves tattooed more frequently, and at the age of 25 years, by which time this decoration has just about reached its climax, the number of patterns is quite considerable. Normally, face, shoulder, chest, and the belly down to the navel are tattooed. Frequently, tattoos are also applied to the back -- usually only on the upper half -- and to the arm down to below the elbow joint, rarely to the hands and lower arm or to the belly below the navel (1).

1. On the neck only among the Jaunde and infrequently among them.

304 For reasons of modesty, the seat and upper thigh remain free of
571 tattooed adornment, since it would, after all, be too indecent to draw attention by means of the patterns to these parts of the body which, with the original mode of dress, "unfortunately" often remain uncovered. Only in exceptional cases does one see women among the Jaunde, Bulu, and coastal Mwai who have tattooed

Fig. 169. Men's Small Basket with Decorations of Hide and Strings of Beads.

Ancistrophyllum. In the latter case, I found them strengthened from the outside by little sticks of the same material braided in diagonally. 285 415 482.

5. Rattle baskets (ngōt). /217/ These appear in two forms: the first and larger one consists of the same material as the carrying basket; the second and smaller one has the same reinforcing sticks in its wall as the previous baskets and a piece of calabash shell for the bottom (concerning their use, see Section 20 /Ed., this section in Vol. II is not translated/ and the illustration there). 285 415

(6) Basketwork bowls of the Mwele (ekátă).

For these (Fig. 170), there are likewise active braiding strips and one passive /Fig. 169 appears here in the original text/ braiding strand wound in a spiral, as in the true baskets of the second series. In contrast to the latter, however, the spiral begins in the middle of the bottom and thus forms the bottom and the wall, and it is held together by braiding strips woven in at right angles. These bowls, which perhaps are the result of northern influence (Haussa /Hausa/?), are used by the Mwele to store maize meal and as plates for finer foods. [77 251]

531
304 The situation was exactly the same with the swallow whose characteristic forked tail gave rise to the pattern, and we shall observe the same with the leopard whose spots have given the pattern its name, as well as with the hornbill whose beak did the same. /264/

6) Leopard spots (zö), Fang, or parrot claws (biē'ī, be kŭs), Ntum, a number of half-moons placed over and next to each other, h, 1-2.

7) Hornbill beak (ngūń, "hornbill," Ceratogymna atrata Temm.), a curve (incomplete arc) with a triangle attached to it, i, 1-4.

8) Frog's legs (enăm edžǫ́) (1), a series of juxtaposed arcs

1. edžǫ́ - Rana zenkeri Ndn.

with vertical lines between them, k, 1-7.

9) Fish, Barbus guirali Thomin (myǎ), developed from arc and triangle, as row l, 1-4, shows, but observed only once in its perfect form.

10. Spider (abŭb), originated from isosceles triangles set inside a circle. As in the case of the corresponding stool patterns, the triangles are in part halved lengthwise, m, 1-4.

Among patterns which I only observed once each we should mention the following.

The double iron bell (nkŏn) consists of an arc with two triangles attached to it (Fig. 219, a). I saw this pattern on a coastal Mwai, [177] and it is probably a borrowed one, since a double bell does not occur among the Pangwe.

The knife (okŏń) probably originated from the rectangle (box pattern), perhaps together with the triangle. It is possible that the pattern is intentionally made to resemble a European knife (Fig. 218, b).

The sea fish (kŏ[s] a măń) originated from a circle and lines. It is probably meant to portray a sea fish, a sea turtle, or the like. The artist here has placed it inside a whirlpool consisting of concentric circles (Fig. 219, c).

B. Drawing and Painting.

532 353 Drawings are scribbled on the exterior bark walls of the houses especially by children or adolescents. More rarely drawings are made on special bark strips that are attached to the inside walls of the meeting houses.

532 177 The drawing motifs are taken from secular life and frequently from a foreign culture (Fig. 225). Most frequently, tobacco pipes, /273/ /Fig. 225 appears here in the original text/ smoking men, and riders on horseback are represented in the drawings. The riders are regularly placed with both feet on their horses in the manner of Buffalo Bill. The horses themselves are always badly drawn; they might as well belong to the family of lizards (Drawing 6), or for that matter they might be identified as cats or centipedes (Drawing 9). At best they are equipped with a long, fishbone-shaped tail (Drawings 11 and 14), so that one immediately suspects that the artist has never seen a horse. This suspicion is strengthened when one observes a preponderant number of drawings of horses even in the remotest villages where it is certain that none of the inhabitants has as yet been to the coast. /274/ /Fig. 226 appears here in the original text. / It is therefore probable that the an- [174] cestors of the present-day draftsmen saw horses among the equestrian peoples of Adamawa or other African peoples in an earlier era before the Pangwe moved to their present location. The knowledge of this animal would then have been transmitted to their descendants by means of pictures that were copied again and again.

In villages affected by European culture -- primarily those along the caravan routes -- we frequently find drawings of Europeans. Often, to correspond with their skin color, these are painted white; some drawings show them by themselves, others have them being carried in a hammock and accompanied by servants; others again show them on horseback riding ahead of the soldiers who are accentuated by red caps. The rider's legs are drawn behind the animal (Drawing 14), just as in the drawings of our children.

531 Otherwise we find people frequently represented with spears or rifles, but that is about the extent of artistic ideas. Drawings of

757 in its later stages it makes sexual intercourse impossible. In the Pangwe region I never encountered the gigantic scrotums that one finds in the Northern Cameroons, for instance. The natives be-
[753] lieve that the disease is caused by worms that ordinarily live in the stomach and are the cause of stomach pains. From the stomach they are supposed to migrate into the scrotum and cause it to swell. Allegedly from the example of the Whites (perhaps
[177] from Nkomakak?), people in a few places have hit upon the idea
[752] of opening the scrotum and cutting out the swellings. The original treatment, which is still practiced today, is to use the medicines for stomach worms. Recipes for these medicines are as follows.

757 1. beyūĕ' a ndžīk III, scraped bark boiled with raffia palm
278 resin, the water being in part carefully poured off, the rest injected as an enema. At the same time, pieces of bark of Cylicodiscus gabonensis Harms (edūm) and Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekūk) are placed in a leaf vessel with water; then somebody blows into it with a reed until foam rises. The patient must sit down in the vessel. Both plants contain an acrid sap supposed to drive away the "worms."

2. Illigera pentaphylla Welw. (matū,lū mesiň III), ground leaves eaten with salt and pepper.

3. Citrus limonum Risso (alō's), "because it is bitter and evil-smelling, and so drives away the worms," together with Plagiostyles klainei Pierre (ešŭlă', from a šŭlăn, "to loosen" knots), "so that the disease will likewise be loosened," Oncinotis tessmannii Gilg (njĕm osō'k IV), "because the worms fear the hairs (= the itching)," Brillantaisia lamium Bth. (džibe elō'k III), "because the plant is bitter," and Stenochlaena guineensis (Kuhn) Unt. (nkădena' III), all boiled together in a pot with water and then used as an enema. In addition, pieces of bark of Mesocarpidium lepidotum Engl. et Diels (amvĭm) slightly boiled and pressed on the stomach.

4. Dioscorea preussii Pax (abă'n), Xylopia zenkeri Engl. et Diels (odžūē), and an herb osă; leaves or pieces of bark ground together, then boiled a little, and the water used as an enema.

When the healing starts, Maesobotrya (mbă'n-afă'n I) dried, ground, and eaten.

8. Cucurbitacea Lepistemon owariensis (Spreng.) Hallierf.
757 (nkōmbwō̰le III): leaves ground together with red wood and some
278 water and smeared on the affected places /178/; "a bwō̰le (buḛ̄le), break open, the fruit breaks open of its own accord, and in the same way the boil is supposed to break open."

9. Ophiocaulon gracile Harms, Passifloracea (ejǒk): the leaves are heated over the fire and then pressed on the affected places. The fruit of Ophiocaulon are hollow and burst easily, making a slight noise. "In the same way the boils are supposed to burst open."

10. Conopharyngia brachyantha Stpf. (etṵ̄ē): the sap of the plant is sprinkled on the boils, "so they run like the milky sap from the Conopharyngia."

11. Desplatsia subericarpa Bocq. (ukū'kūt a mfǒ'nǒk III): the contents of the fruit are smeared on with red wood, so the swelling will become as small as the fruit of the Desplatsia subericarpa in comparison to the Desplatsia dewevrei (mfǒ'nǒk I).

12. Euphorbiacea Tragia cordifolia Benth (otṵ̄m): the leaves are pressed on with resin. The leaves burn, and it is hoped thereby to dispel the swelling.

Finally, attempts are also made to remove the swellings by
[752] means of external treatments. Thus, the boils are beaten, for example, with the sharp-spiked Acanthus montanus until the blood pours out, and then the wound is covered with the leaves of Dioscorea dumetorum (Kunth) Pax (andēǎ), or the boils may be cut open with a knife.

Gonorrhea (nkǒk I).

Gonorrhea is supposed to be indigenous to the Pangwe region,
[177] but it is quite infrequent in the untouched interior. In Yaoundé /Ed., in German, Jaunde/, on the other hand, and in the vicinity of the coast, under the influence of "civilization," it is very widespread. The cure of gonorrhea is attempted mainly by internal medicines. For instance, a watery solution of the Conopharyngia (etṵ̄ē) is drunk so the gonorrhea will "flow out," or one may drink a bark extract from Heisteria parvifolia Sm., Flacourtiacea

843
262 supposed to be hollow inside. I knew a Jaunde man who refused to
784 eat anything when two pots were set next to each other on his
[845] hearth fire. He was afraid this would cause his wife to have twins (mvé, "pot," and mvŏ, "vagina").

In view of the many hairsplitting distinctions among the food
262 taboos, it is hardly surprising that they are frequently violated by accident. They are also transgressed knowingly, however, if the desire for meat is greater than the fear of the evil consequences of its enjoyment. In these cases, it is again medicines (biǎ,ń ekī) which help and which are often even taken beforehand or simultaneously by way of prophylaxis. It is probably scarcely necessary
[177] for me to mention that food taboos are the first to be relinquished under the influence of a foreign civilization, not all at once, but nonetheless gradually and totally. The religious taboos are clung to most tenaciously of all. Nor need I emphasize that the Pangwe, even at the age of 20, still like to count themselves among the boys if there is a delectable piece of meat to be had. Accordingly, I saw my "boys," who were from ten to 20 years old, consuming without pangs of conscience the parasite kites I had shot. /194/

Section 14

Soothsaying and Science

000

1. Soothsaying. Extent and area of practice. -- The soothsayer's tool. -- Master and pupil. -- Fee. -- Distrust of soothsayers. -- Soothsaying in times of war.
2. Meteorology. Rain, lightning, and thunder. -- Appearance and effect of lightning. -- Rain medicines at the time of drying ngon, at cult festivals, at the time of harvest, and on journeys; their evaluation. -- Rainbows: their origin, tale concerning their origin. -- Storms: their origin, counter-medicines.
3. Astronomy. General observations. -- View of the earth as a heavenly body. -- The vault of heaven:

First half year (mbū́)

805 esĕ́b = farming season (summer), from December to May, consisting of:

1. yūē'n esĕ́b = great dry season (December to February);
2. šō,gō, esĕ́b = short rainy season (March to May). /206/

Second half year (mbū́)

oju̇̆n = rainy season (winter) from June to November, consisting of:

1. yūē'n oju̇̆n = short dry season (June to August);
2. šō,gō, oju̇̆n = great rainy season (September to November).

A division of the half years into months is unknown to the Pangwe; he only knows the time span of the individual month (ngō'n, "moon"), and he has great difficulty in understanding that about six to seven of his months correspond to the Whites' half year and about 12 to 13 of his months correspond to the Whites' year.

To divide the month into weeks is something that the Pangwe
●[177] has learned from the Whites and has wholeheartedly adopted on account of the four Sundays (sŏ'nŏ III). He himself has marked off the first one to two days after the new moon as days of leisure, as has already been mentioned. He also observes the first seven
[841] days of the month as something special, since the menstrual flow of the women supposedly lasts for seven days, but these days do not constitute a special segment of the month designated by a name of its own (1). Nor is there any such time segment in the rest of

[539] 1. It is merely said, for instance:
avŏ̆j' ngō'n a sŏ̆ malū' mală or zăngbă'
Cold moon, it came days three or seven.

the month.

We have the same picture with the day as we do with the month. Here, too, only the beginning is sharply defined, while

584 innocent and anxiously avoid anything that might give rise to
836 gossip. Thus, if we speak with the Pangwe about sexual matters, we constantly hear the word oson, "shame," oson this and oson that. Admittedly, wherever European influence is spreading, the
[177] use of oson decreases, for together with this influence the religious conceptions upon which shame is based are disappearing (as we saw in the case of sin, nsöm); at the same time, moral sensibilities are becoming laxer, and there are no longer any self-imposed restraints.

With free love universally prevalent, it naturally happens
836 also that several lovers find their way to the same girl in one night, especially when she is no longer a beginner, and she takes "pity" -- as the Pangwe themselves say mockingly -- on them all (1). With such nžila, especially the older ones, the

[802]
[211]

1. Even to keep track of their number is too difficult a task for her memory; for that reason the Jaunde girls count the number of their friends on little sticks of raffia (see Zenker).

men also permit themselves the use of offensive expressions and crude jokes, such as would be unheard of and strictly prohibited with a young girl -- especially the future wife. As an example,
[831] phalli are sometimes made of wood and then displayed wrapped in a leaf.

As has already been indicated, liaisons of the heart based on
831 genuine love are by no means uncommon. Nobody, on the other hand, will be surprised to learn that for the most part they are of limited duration and are incapable of bearing the burden which we expect of them. Thus I did not learn of a single case of a person
[762] committing suicide because of unrequited love or a spurned courtship, even though women hang themselves because somebody stole a few of their miserable hens, and men shoot themselves because their father sold a daughter in order to buy a wife, instead of leaving her to the son, the girl's brother. Generally speaking, the power of Negro love is not as great as that of the love of the Whites.

833 to be, in part at least, effective. Thus, the most common of
278 these, derived from the Rubiacea Corynanthe yohimbe K. Sch.,
[824] has recently been incorporated in our medications under the name "yohimbin." The natives produce an extract from the bark and wood of the tree and drink this. They conceive the manner of its effect as similar to the one mentioned above, and they reason as follows: the wood of the tree is especially hard in relation to that
[825] of other trees, say, like the penis of a pig in relation to that of other animals (something which one notices if one boils it and tries to eat it), and I shall acquire this characteristic of the wood if I partake of some of the wood. Hence the tree also bears the name nkǔn e ngūī, "pig's penis."

Aside from the Corynanthe yohimbe, we should mention here
824 two other trees which possibly also give physiological effects:
833 Leguminosa Baphia buettneri Harms (mfǎ I, mfǎn I), and the
278 Flaccourtiacea Homalium africanum Bth. (ejǔm, supposedly from a jǔme nkǔn, "to erect the penis," an expression that I never again encountered. In my opinion, the root contained in ejǔm is the same as in nnǔm, plural bojǔm = masculine gender; thus, the tree would be called ejǔm for (e) the man; majǔm, plural = seed). /267/ The leaves of the Baphia buettneri are gathered, ground on stones, and placed in the sun in sugar wine. The mixture is drunk while it is warm. From the Homalium, on the other hand, the bark is scraped off and ground; then it is boiled with spices and the liquid drunk while it is hot.

Finally, three more plants were mentioned to me as belonging in the category of biǎn ejē, among these, the Solanum duplosinuatum U.D. (etūin) because of its spikes.

Venereal diseases (see Section 13) are prevalent only in those
164 areas where European influence has existed for some time, especially
684 in Yaoundé and Gabon, from where syphilis has been spread. The
[177] Negroes seem to consider frambesia a kind of sexual disease, for the man who has communicated this disease to a girl or a wife must pay her or her father the same penalty (500 to 1,000 spears) he would pay if he had infected her with syphilis. If, on the other hand, the lover becomes infected through the woman, he can claim no damages.

831
785 sun) -- or with elephant's meat, in which case the child is sup-
556 posed to become spiritually great and important, just as the ele-
[825] phant surpasses the other animals physically, or, finally, with the meat of the hedgehog -- the child is to get as many things as the hedgehog has quills (1).

[539] 1. A well-known proverb, to be intelligible, would have to be translated into Pangwe something like this: He is as full of stupidities as the hedgehog is full of quills.

785 Thus, the child becomes miǎk. Its loincloth is taken off
831 and from now on -- be it male or female -- it must go about completely naked. Here is another significant fact regarding
[834] the moral-religious view of the Pangwe: clothing, that is, the
[291] covering of the sex organs, arose because the sense of shame (o-so-n) which started with the first sin (n-sö-m, root so), that is, sexual intercourse, demanded it. If the innocent state (ignorance of sexual matters) is artificially restored, clothing becomes unnecessary.

The miǎk are generally respected. People are careful not to speak to them about sexual matters or to seduce the girls, espe-
[684] cially since /270/ the protection which they are accorded by custom is effectively strengthened through the right of the father or the relatives to shoot down the seducer without further ado wherever they find him. Nowadays, however, the old customs have been somewhat relaxed; the miǎk are not always what they ought to be.

Annulment of the chastity obligation takes place in the same solemn manner when the consecrated person is fully grown, in other words, not before the age of 20 years. In the case of the man, it is required that he prove himself the bravest in war or at least that he has shot an enemy (1). In the case of the girl, it is

[177] 1. Today, in the regions influenced by the Whites, this decree has had to be moderated.

[583] required of the suitor that, contrary to the usual custom, he pay

2: Tessmann--188 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

The Stone Game

524 Of all adult games, the most popular is the stone game which
[171] is spread over almost the entire world. It involves placing stones in a number of adjoining concavities, and then distributing these stones among the concavities according to definite rules.

In more recent times, according to informants, the stone game has come to the Jaunde and Bulu from the Bene (who in turn became acquainted with it through eastern tribes), and from the
[177] former it was introduced into the Ntum and Fang region around the years 1895-98. These statements appear to be confirmed by the fact that the most skillfully fashioned playing boards, provided with legs (as in Fig. 115), are to be found among the Jaunde and Bene. They have one of these in each meeting house and eagerly and frequently play with it. It is played more rarely by the Ntum
[184] and only very rarely by the Fang, who in any case have too many other, less harmless things in their heads to be able to devote themselves to the game with any kind of passion.

The playing board (Fig. 115) consists of two halved raffia leaf-stalks tied to each other. By cutting out the pith, each of the leaf-stalks is divided into seven compartments (ndǎ = house; plural, mandǎ). Only in the southern part of the Fang region (and among the
[184] Bassá) did I see such a board made of wood, which then, in most cases, had one additional compartment for the "prisoners" (Fig. 116) at each end. The playing stones (ngǒ'k IV) are put into the compartments, five in each one. Originally, and sometimes even today, actual pebbles were used, from which the game was named sō'ngo (alleged: small pebble). This name, however, is current only among the Jaunde and Bene; in the south it designates the corresponding children's game, while that of the adults is called akǔ.ń because of the large black beads (akǔ.ń) that were at one time used as playing stones but today have gone completely out of fashion.
[824] Instead of these beads, the natives like to take the kernels of the
[194] oil palm or of Rhicinodendron /311/ africanum; in the north and in various other places they like to take the pebble-like kernels of a species of tree unknown to me and, more rarely, stones.

524 defeat an average player (in the comparison, the Sso antelope)?
539 After all, just yesterday I defeated a totally inferior player (in the
578 comparison, the dwarf antelope)! That has given my father sufficient revenge for the time being (in the comparison, enough to eat).

We see a cornucopia of ridicule poured forth here. Magnificent comparisons! Pithy expressions! Negro poetry with an elemental force!

Game of Chance (abia, Jaunde, Bulu)

525 Like the stone game, the game of chance was not an indigenous cultural possession of the Pangwe. From the Maka (Makie in
● 177 Jaunde) in the east through the mediation of the Mwogenianga kin
184 group (probably Bene) on the upper Nyong it came to the core of the Bene, who transmitted it to the Jaunde and Bulu. In only the most recent times, the Ntum have become acquainted with it through Jaunde and Bene traders who came to them in the service of the Whites. Nonetheless, I myself have seen people engaged in this game only once, in 1907 in the vicinity of the northern Ntum region. Among the Fang the game is unknown.

The game of chance is played with small circular playing
525 disks (sǎ; plural, besǎ, derived from esá "goods," because, according to the Pangwe, they decide whether the players are winning or losing and hence, as it were, bring in the money in the form of goods, trade items) which are simply cut out of calabash rinds (Fig. 117, a). Furthermore, the game requires counters (mvi ɔ̌' I),
[831] of which each player must bring his own. They are produced from
[824] the hard rinds of the fruit from a tree called abǎm by the Jaunde, and on their smooth upper surface (outerside of the fruit) they bear attractive patterns of various kinds, animal forms, or human figures, which, like the edge, are carved in relief (Fig. 117, b-d). /Fig. 117 appears here in the original text. / /316/

The number of players that can participate is unlimited, but there must be at least four.

To play (a dɔ̌ abia), a basketry plate is also needed, into which are placed once and for all seven playing disks (seven again as a

551 family has given him a second name, Ekure Nzork (elephant hide), which corresponds to the wish made by the grandparents that their grandson may be as tough as elephant hide. Still other names may be given by other relatives, each of these corresponding to an affectionate feeling or a wish for the child. Andzang [misprinted Andang in original] has a third name given by the wife of one of his uncles, Nzul Weya (young civet), that is to say "as handsome as a civet," [301 832] civet skin formerly having been worn as an ornament by young Pahouin wanting to make female conquests.

When a man has had several children who have died at an early age, in order that the newborn may not die like the others he gives him the name of an animal: Ngi (gorilla), Waġa (chimpanzee), Nze (panther), Mvina (antelope), etc...

Sometimes the child receives a name referring to an incident of his birth. A child may be called: Mefan (from afan, the forest), if he is born in the forest; Bemvaṅ (from mvaṅ, rain), if he was born in the rain or on a rainy day; or Biteġé (from eteġ, mourning), if he was born after the death of his father, during his mother's mourning, etc...

[177] Actually in all the N'Djolé region children are given a Christian name in addition to their native names, even if neither the parents nor the child have any contact with the missions. It is also quite usual to see children bearing European proper names, names which were given them because the parents thought them pretty. Similarly, one meets children called Captain, Major, Militiaman, etc... , and always the parents give as reason for their choice that the name taken for the child is beautiful.

851 The child belongs to its father and cannot be dependent on the mother unless she has been repudiated and the father has waived his claim to reimbursement.

853 Nursing continues until eighteen months or two years, but at about the age of six months, in addition to the breast, the child gets the same food as its parents except for fish, meat, and salt, which are forbidden him.

855 The physical care given the child is reduced to the minimum: he lives naked until the age of about ten years and is bathed every day. When he can walk, he is put on his own and plays with the other children of the village, boys and girls together. While he is still rather

162 Dominated by the great and often marshy forest, this country is
361 characterized by a very localized population indicated on a map by "strips" linked to the system of rivers. In the two districts which they occupy, Booué and Makokou, the Fang are the dominating ethnic group, forming about 45 percent and 40 percent of the total population. They are in the neighborhood of ethnic groups which are considered to be related to them, the Shaké and the Bakwélé. By their migrations they have disordered the population
[177] of this region and created contacts resulting in great cultural contaminations. If one can believe Father Trilles, who noted an "archaic language" used in the legends, proverbs, and songs, and similar to Batéké, (1) the relations with the peoples of the Congo

1. Father H. Trilles, op. cit

and Gabon borders would be early.

173 According to tradition, the Fang-Maké (or Bisibé) were the first to reach the Ivindo. De Brazza finds them on the Ogooué (on the island of Zabouré). Their largest tribe is Mékuk, specifically
619 referred to by Father Trilles and specially mentioned by Tessmann on his distribution map. Outside of the Maké, the Fang of this region are in two distinct groups – Bétsi and Nzaman – the latter representing, according to early authors, the "true Pahouin of the Ogooué." (2) In Booué District the villages, although without clan

2 Cf. Captain Curault, "Monographie du secteur de N'Djolé au Gabon [Monograph on the N'Djolé section of Gabon]," Revue des Troupes Coloniales, 68, 1908.

homogeneity, showed at the time of the "regrouping movement" the predominance of the three great tribes, Yémödâg, Yémvâg, and Yémisèm.

511 The Ogooué-Ivindo seems to be one of the poorest regions of
702 Gabon. Not having any economic equipment, it was only precariously active during the war effort. On the other hand, frequent recruiting has seriously affected this country (which along with

769 number of prohibitions (with regard to the uninitiated and the
794 women) and obligations. It "separates" the initiated men, thus giving a privileged position — justified by the right to commune with the ancestors and to "see the Bièri" — to the most active elements of Fang society.

The initiation is particularly characterized (the culminating
[276] moment of the series of ceremonies) by drunkenness produced by the plant alan, (1) which may result in long-lasting unconscious-

1. Strychnos icaja.

ness.(2) The newly initiated man at this juncture becomes certain

2. E. Trezenem, op. cit., III, Le Bièri, pp. 74-76.

that he has enjoyed a revelation and from then on is in communication with the ancestors. He experiences the fervor of a communion that binds him to the whole society whose effectiveness he discovers at the same time: he has in fact become the object of predictions that are always realized. (3) He asserts himself, if we

3. Cf. idem., p. 75: "All the Pahouins whom we questioned assert that predictions made to people drunk on alan by the bièri have always been realized.

may use the expression, as a full-fledged Fang. The Bièri cult assumes therefore the highest function of aggregation. We stress the fact that initiation is carried out in the same place for several of the nd'è bòt belonging to the same clan, thus strengthening the ties of kinship existing between closely related clan fragments, and tending to reconstitute, to make real, units larger than the individual groupings. On the other hand, initiation to this cult,
[304 177] like circumcision (which takes place apart and appears to be a recent acquisition of the Fang), creates groupings of young men who belong appreciably to the same age group. It emphasizes a link between generations (the "fathers" or "eldest" being

829 soon developed a feeling of subjection and inferiority in wisdom
773 and riches. This is attributed to a decision of Nzamō (God), to a veritable curse. A text collected by Largeau mentions two children of Nazmō – Ekouagha (subjected) and Ndan'gho (ruler) – and the wishes expressed for each of these:

For Ndan'gho, the father says: "Riches! authority! wisdom!" [159] He adds: "All these things are in yourself!" Again he says: "You will beget white children." For Ekouagha, he cries out: "Alas! my other son has taken everything with the fortune ... There are no riches left for you ... you will beget black men ... you will be miserable..." (1) This is a theme comparable to that

1. Op. cit., article, Instruction.

of the "Legend of the Nsas" given by Father Trilles, in which Nazmō [sic] ends by saying: "You, black man, rise and go and find your wives and populate the earth ... you will always remain naked as now ... You, white man, you will be rich, richer even than you were in your dream. You, the white man, will always be the white man, the black man will always be the black man, the white man will always be rich, the black man always poor..." (2)

2. Op. cit., Légende du Nsas
[Legend of Nsas].

829 The curse motif indicates the effective potentialities attached
773 to imported riches and their acquisition. Also there appears per-
177 haps the first awareness of the racial question and above all a technical insufficiency allied to a social organization that is wholly preoccupied with the production of human beings, (in the legend quoted, "go and find your wives and populate the earth" is part of the curse). The illusion of direct participation in riches was quickly destroyed, and the ascendancy of the agents of colonization became more specific and more complete. The theme of the curse attached to the race shows the extent of the deception. It is no longer possible to return to methods of violence. Witchcraft techniques then increase in number; recourse is had to knowledge revealed during fits brought on by the absorption of certain forms

829 of strychnine, and the idea, borrowed from Christianity, of a
773 better life after death becomes more specific. The effort at
177 adaptation dealt first with religious and magical techniques; in these fields much was borrowed from neighboring peoples (for example, the Bwiti cult of which we will speak later); customs are altered not in order to assimilate for purposes of conquest but simply for means of defense. The Fang people, reduced to a state of unemployed conquerors, lose the essential part of their moral strength. As we will show in the next chapter the Fang are one of those peoples that have most keenly suffered from crises due to the colonial situation and one of those that have reacted most to this threat.

/• Ordre disperse (Military conception) = extended order. —Ed./

definite relationships. Later, on the other hand, the Pahouinization of neighboring tribes, subjugated or merely influenced, brought about assimilations that were often misleading.

Broadly speaking, we may say that a large body of invaders, rather recently come from the northeast—the Pahouin properly so called—assimilated through contacts on the one hand, some of the inhabitants of the invaded area, on the other hand, likewise assimilated other invaders who followed in their wake. What is certain is that this assimilation or Pahouinization of foreign tribes is going on at the present day, partly due to the mere fact of colonization.

We shall distinguish in this study between the invaders—Fang, Boulou, Beti—on the one hand, and, on the other, the neighboring populations that have been or are being Pahouinized.

A. The Invaders or True Pahouin

101 Theories as to their boundaries are too many and contradictory for all me to expatiate on here.

In Father Trilles' view they are divided into two branches: b-Oyéba /Osieba/ in the east, Fang in the west. The Mekuk are connected with the first, the Mékè, Betsi, "Mvègue" (Mvaé?), and "Boulé" (Boulou) with the second. Largeau like Schnee bases his division between Bedzi (betschi) and Mekei (makei) on linguistic considerations; the first, in the west, tend to begin their remarks with the formula ma nǒ na, the second, in the east, with me ki na. Here there appears to be a partial confusion between the Pahouin properly speaking, and the Pahouinized Maka (Mekaé) (1). Madame Dugast

1. There are indeed two Fang dialects, corresponding to the nǒ/ki (or ɓ/ki) criterion, but the people who speak them, all call themselves Fang. Besides, there is a Maka or Mekaé tribe whose language is close to eastern Fang, which it has perhaps influenced.

of speech, and this to a large extent owing to European influence, in particular compulsory schooling. The teaching of rhetoric played a great part in the traditional education of boys (njôô, nzoé = speaker, orator = chief), and initiation into various rites gave the initiates the right to use certain words forbidden to the uninitiated (2). Con-

> 2. I was never able to learn the real word for "skull" reserved for biéri initiates; I was only told the paraphrase, ékokoé nlo môt, "shell of a man's head."

version to Christianity and instruction in colonial schools have brought about a definite deterioration in the language, by forcing traditional education to retreat or by destroying it. It is thus that the novel Nnanga kôn (no. 153), written after the war of 1914, is nowadays arduous reading for young Boulou.

The majority of the words in the language are formed from /22/ a bilitteral root (consonant-vowel) or triliteral (consonant-vowel-consonant) to which affixes are added. There are thus series such as:

KI (Fang) or TYI (Boulou), radical—kié, tyé = power; éki, étyi = prohibition; tyik = to cut, to decide; tyi = to be under a prohibition; tyili = to lay under a prohibition, to forbid; étyé, ékié = iron, pl. bityé, bikie = sacramental money; ôtyeñ, ôk(i)eñ = knife; metyi, meki = blood, etc.

The most important affixes are the nominal classifiers, which permit the division of nouns and pronouns into nominal classes or semantic genders; sexual gender does not exist. There are five or six of these classes or genders, according to different writers. Semantic implication /sic/ is not always clear in true substantives, but it is much more so for verbal substantives. I give here the Boulou classes according to Bates:

I. nominal classifiers: m, n, n/be, b; pronominal classifiers: a, ny, w/be, b. —Personal class, names of persons, of personified animals; names of European origin. Verbal derivatives indicating the agent.

Ex: mot, bot = person; ngal, beyal = wife, female;
metoa, bemetoa = conveyance /voiture/;
mbo, bebo = he who does /makes/, from bo = to do /make/;
ndi = he who eats, from di = to eat.

224 262 Hunting on foot: Practiced especially by the Pygmies, without dogs. Some Pahouin still hunt down buffalo and forest pig and kill them with boar spears, but they are few. (P. A.)

222 262 are men who call themselves hunters (3). Income from the sale of

3. In some Boulou villages one finds foreign professional hunters, Baya or Kaka usually. Besides, Pygmies are regular hunters for their "landlords." (P. A.)

game meat appears to be practically negligible in family budgets. But, according to the work quoted above, hunting provides about a fifth of the total consumption of meat. Fishing is not unknown, but 221 262 the techniques are of the simplest. Women sometimes /28/ dam streams to dry up the beds where the fish can be caught. Sometimes fishing with poison is done, and children like to fish with line. But none of the methods is really productive; there are no large weirs, no nets, no canoes. Nutritionists estimate the ration of locally caught fish to be 1 gram per person per day—which is a simply way of underlining the feeble nautical talents of the Pahouin.

262 Agriculture furnishes the basic subsistence. Manioc is used in countless dishes: manioc rolls made from the crushed and boiled tubers, smothered manioc, or manioc fritters; even the leaves are often eaten. The use of leaves for food is perhaps a peculiar trait of Ewôndo and Boulou diet. Thirteen kinds of leaves are used in cooking, either as seasoning or as a purée, often to thicken sauces. Along with manioc, the plantain banana provides the basic food. Next comes macabo, Xanthosema sagittefolia /malanga/. Various kinds of yams are much liked. This gastronomic pattern of the Fang, and [177] in particular of the Beti, should be enough to prove their foreign origin, because yams, which are tropical rather than equatorial, do not grow at all well in the present habitat of the Pahouin.

Maize is the only cereal currently used as food. It is often served as a dough, as gruel, and even on the cob. Maize beer, outside [279] certain urban centers, seems to be drunk less than palm wine, (the sap of the Elaeis guineensis). The oil palm, moreover, plays an important part in the diet. A source of lipoids /lipides/ and Vitamin A,

palm oil is the basis of sauces and stews eaten with tubers and cereals. Groundnuts are widely used (do not the Ewôndo owe their name to them?). The dough obtained after cooking and pounding goes toward the making of numerous dishes and provides the main part of the needed protein. One article of food ought finally to be mentioned because it is very much liked and also because its consumption seems absolutely uneconomical—pumpkin seeds. The seeds are preserved, dried, and cleaned one by one, then put to boil, and mashed. The skill required for, and the time spent in, shelling the seeds appears subject to scanty return (1).

> 1. But fritters made of pumpkin-seed dough are delicious .... There is quite a good trade in these seeds for town consumption. (P. A.)

2. Agriculture

Before broaching the description of present-day agriculture, we must see what it used to be like and what it still is in certain traditionalist sections. In fact, methods do not appear to have changed at all; new crops have simply been added to the old ones. It is likely that because of the influence of these new crops /29/ the whole technology (material techniques, legal techniques, etc.) will develop further. But that trend is only starting, and at present the cultivation of groundnuts, maize, and other long-familiar foodstuffs remains nearly what it was forty years ago, before the advent of the cacao tree.

Traditional agriculture

Formerly, each family produced everything it needed and confined its efforts. There were no cash crops, there was no article of food suitable for maintaining an exchange system, but all sorts of crops were cultivated. As to clothes, elderly Bané and Ewôndo state that the cultivation and weaving of cotton was practiced by their ancestors; there could be no question of this in their present habitat, and the tradition is valuable merely as evidence, either for those who believe that the Pahouin come from regions further north, or for those who see in the Beti not true Pahouin but a Pahouinized people (1). Each

3. Trade

431 Planters command few sources of income; beside their tool equip-
556 ment a thousand new needs have arisen, which trade must satisfy.
437 There is, oddly, no commercial tradition at all among the Pahouin. For bride-price payments previous generations used ivory tusks or pieces of wrought iron in the shape of arrows. But was this a form of money? Nothing was bought, nothing sold. And yet, according to Balandier, the pursuit of wealth represented the men's principal activity (2) aside from routine work, perhaps, moreover, because

> 2. Cf. Largeau (no. 48) for the mythical role of the spider in producing merchandise "among the dead." (P. A.)

there was no trade or exchange. From the accounts, it appears that previous generations could only obtain goods from distant countries by bilaba and not by purchase. The bilaba approximates the potlatch in being a contest. During a visit a host gives his guest all kinds of presents, defying him to do the like. Later the guest will have to offer even more than he received. Thus, exchange and a struggle for prestige are involved at the same time (3). Bilaba apparently were

> 3. J. Guilbot, Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 1951, Vol. 21; G. Balandier, Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire /Contemporary Native African Sociology/, P.U.F. /Presses Universitaires de France/, 1955, p. 182.

means of distributing objects of European origin (salt, weapons, clothes) and of exchanging them for ivory collected in the interior, game, or the dogs that some tribes /34/ eat. In general, it is to such exchanges as these that the old accounts refer. But one can scarcely speak of trade for such ritualized gifts and countergifts. And nothing else warrants the assumption of an economy based on exchange. Between
443 Yaoundé and Brazzaville there are no markets, or, more correctly,
● 177 the markets that now exist were started by Europeans or at their instigation (1).

177
443

1. This lack is also pointed out by Balandier, op. cit., p. 544.

A careful study of village names in several subdivisions has not turned up a name that seems connected with ideas of market, exchange, or trade. Moreover, vocabularies for such subjects are very limited.

And, into this land so unprepared for an economic /sic/ life, world economy is penetrating with all its complexity, setting a purchase price for the total output, which has fluctuations the planters obviously cannot understand. Their dismay is natural, since they have not even been able to become familiar with ideas about price, demand, or bargaining through traditions of trade.

It goes without saying that the time when salt was the item most
431 in demand is long since past. However, bags of salt appear among
258 traditional wedding presents, and the manufacture of salt from lye-
585 washed palm ash is still known, though the product is only sold —
278 and moreover very rarely—for its medicinal properties.

511 Expenditures have become extremely diversified, as shown by the analysis of an average family budget: (2)

2. These figures drawn from Budgets familiaux au Cameroun /Family Budgets in the Cameroons/, p. 150, do not take into account, we must remember, auto consumption.

Food	14	percent	Household articles	1.9	percent
Textiles	17.4	-	Equipment	7.7	-
Bride price	13	-	Taxes	8.5	-
Housing and furniture	7.5	-	Medicaments	1.3	-
Bedding	1.5	-	Education	0.9	-
Lighting and upkeep	3	-	Gifts and miscellaneous	.6	-
Trips	2	-			

517
177
511
291
[264]

Food now includes, even in the bush, imported items like stockfish or like the bread, sardines, sugar, and condensed milk that are used less regularly. Clothes are the main item of expense. The desire to follow Paris fashions is perhaps not a national trait peculiar

517
177
511 to Pahouin women, but it is certainly a geographical characteristic of
[291] the southern Cameroons, consequently, the textiles for sale are to a great extent those sold in Europe. Specifically African prints, such as "wax-prints," are dying out. Underclothes, stockings, and shoes reflect the sophistication that goes with wealth. The purchase of durable goods that go under the heading "Equipment," (bicycles, phonographs, pressure lamps) is another symptom, as is the changing
[445] demand for household articles. /35/ While the saucepan is still the basic kitchen utensil, enamelware is in strong competition with
[513] crockery and glass. Blankets are used everywhere, but the use of sheets is also on the increase.

A mere list of commodities shows the present-day importance of
439 trade. The native populations have not always realized this, owing
441 to their lack of inclination for it. They have not started businesses and have often left this to immigrants, coastal people long familiar with European ways, particularly the Bamiléké or "Haoussa," /Hausa/ who for their part have a solid trading tradition and great capacities in this field. The Boulou especially despise trade and refuse to have anything to do with it. Other Pahouin peoples are not so strongly antipathetic, but their business activity remains very limited.

Is it this bankruptcy on the part of the indigenous people and this
443 taking over by "foreigners" which explains the organization and the
184 location of trade in the region? The villages are in fact very badly
441 served; markets are few and far between and so are rural shops. Perhaps we ought to note differences between the various Pahouin and Pahouinized groups. While a village trader is always most uncommon in Boulou country in spite of the relative affluence of the planters, he is not unknown in Ewondo districts and is quite often to be met with among the Eton, where resources are, nevertheless, more limited. Without local trade the collecting of crops and specifically of cacao posed quite a problem, to which the coming of buyers brought a solution. Business houses advance money to the buyers and buy what they are able to bring back. From hut to hut along the trails buyers negotiate purchases with planters. With these "purchases by peddling" it might seem logical for sales by peddling to develop. Yet this phenomenon is quite recent, being tied up with the development of transportation by car and bicycle. But while the buyers are generally native to the region, the pedlars are nearly always foreign.

[654] As house-to-house buying creates countless disadvantages, the administration has endeavored to create rural markets so that the public

352 baskets, storage baskets (binaan), crockery (viek), or imported "negro pots" /sic/ (minkeñ), the drying rack, shrimp nets, mortars, and other feminine implements. The young unmarried men slept in
361 the guardhouse; the girls slept with the women. A jal occupied by an average-sized family might be 50 meters long. Large minlam reached half a kilometer, in which case the nseñ was divided into sections by the secondary meba of each family. The chief lived in the middle and had a larger aba than those of other families.

177 342 This kind of village has almost entirely disappeared. Bark huts
[178] are still extant in a few isolated villages in Gabon, but they are increasingly rare. In actual fact, one finds almost everywhere the hut of reinforced banco /wattle and daub?/ (the wattle consists of laths made of the main ribs of raffia, incorrectly called bamboo), imposed on Boulou country around 1925 by an administrator called Nkulu (meaning "the Tornado"), which has left its mark throughout Pahouin country. These huts are usually rectangular but tend, in prosperous villages, to be influenced by European forms, with T-, U-, or H-shapes, with verandas and lean-to showers. They are often plastered with kaolin (fem) sometimes mixed with red or green ocher or with imported laundry blueing. The roof is still usually of raffia tile, but it may have four slopes or be even more complicated, copied
[514] from European roots. Each family has its own privy (éduk).

361 The layout of villages has likewise changed. The most prevalent plan keeps the single central nseñ /street/, but the huts are in four lines on either side and are separate, no longer contiguous. The men's huts are nearest the road, the women's, now called kisin (cuisines /kitchens/), are laid out behind, or sometimes around, the
[631] husband's. The plaster is often painted in fresco with various subjects —copies of pictures in magazines, religious subjects, in Boulou country illustrations from the novel Nnanga kôn (1), portraits of

1. The best Boulou painter of recent years was David Monewoso, a Yemfek from Sangmélima, who not only established the iconography of Nnanga kon but is also a good portraitist and a remarkable painter of animals.

Europeans famous locally or internationally. The aba /guardhouse/ has lost its defensive character and often take the form of an airy

have his wife initiated so as to ward off bad luck. This is not the only example of the indirect intervention of one sex in a rite of the opposite sex. Allégret points out that it is a "woman who has had bad luck fishing" who "finds the ironwood for making the war fetish." It certainly seems that he has mixed up ngil with sô, but the example remains valuable. Therefore, though traditional rites and the associations of initiates of these rites were strictly masculine or feminine, this does not altogether exclude the intervention of the opposite sex. No more can be said in our present state of knowledge (2).

2. The other important women's rite, ngômbô, was more especially limited to old women. The participants built a sort of basin out of four banana trunks and their leaves, in which a vegetable biañ /medicament/ was prepared that gave protection against theft. (J.B.)

Contemporary cults and associations, on the other hand, are open to both sexes, whether religious or politico-religious societies or mutual-aid associations.

The two principal politico-religious associations are the bwiti (or mbuti) and the ngôl, well described by Balandier (no. 175). They have spread to the north from Gabon and the Middle Congo and are not of Pahouin origin. They are beginning to penetrate Boulou country, where they have not been as successful as among the Fang of the south, undoubtedly because of the lesser degree of social destruction.

Bwiti was originally a "tyogo" ancestor cult, comparable to the Pahouin biéri, if one accepts Trilles. It must have first appeared among the Pahouin at the beginning of the century, probably among Pahouin families cut off from their clans and thus from the biéri and sô rites, whose significance is primarily ethnic and familial. Libreville was an important point of contact, not only between African peoples of different stock, but also with European religious systems. Modern bwiti borrows a great deal from Christianity and also from freemasonry, which was fairly widespread in Gabon before the war, especially in half-caste circles and on the periphery of principal towns. In assuming this syncretist character, bwiti appears at the same time as a nationalist—or Africanist—movement and as a progressive movement abandoning the old cults or rather modernizing them. It is the

575 object of official suspicion /67/ and rightly so, since it has free re-
668 course to human sacrifice and to physical liquidation of apostates; it has assumed the traits of a secret, often surreptitious, society. The liberal character of the administration since the 1946 reforms has aided the spread of bwiti by giving emphasis to the frankly political side of its activities: the municipal elections of 1956 were in large measure a bwiti triumph.

575 Bwiti, like the old rites, first of all works to protect its members against the beyem (bearers of évu), and its whole purely African side recalls those ancient rites. As in ngil, members have to bring in to the society the bones of their ancestors; as in prohibited /criminels/ societies, they often have to agree to the putting-to-death or mutilation of a close relative; as in the melan, they drink a brew based on narcotic herbs that enables them to "see the bwiti." There is a sacred musical instrument, the ngomi harp, sculptured figures or reliefs, especially on hut poles, recalling the biéri cult, a special language, prohibitions, etc. But the weekly ceremonies are influenced by the
[177] Mass; the progressive degrees of initiation probably derive from free-masonry, as does the lodge organization; finally, the Bible is used and interpreted in a manner, often political, that can only come from Protestant influence.

575 Balandier has shown how bwiti is trying to effect a reorganization of Pahouin society in Gabon, by providing it with an ideological
668 basis, a total collective weltanschauung permitting an integration of customary forms of behavior with those resulting from the colonial situation. It would be interesting to carry his investigation into the Cameroons and into Spanish territory in order to study the reaction of very similar societies in quite different politico-administrative and economic contexts.

177 Ngôl is much more recent than bwiti and represents, perhaps, an even more striking example of politico-religious syncretism. Its
575 source is an African interpretation, a mythology based upon Free
668 French propaganda in French Equatorial Africa from 1940 to 1944. Nzela me Ngol—General de Gaulle—has become a "white" hero, sent to liberate the black man by revealing the white man's (1)

1. "Logically" one might have expected this role to be ascribed to Governor General Eboué.

177 secrets and powers (power-ngul, to be related to ngôl?). There is thus
575 a "cargo-cult" side, already observable in certain traditions and
668 pseudo traditions mentioned by Trilles and Largeau. The mixture of Christian and traditional elements in the ritual suggests bwiti, with definitely a greater ceremonial elaboration in terms of modern technology, such as representations of aircraft, submarines, etc. The liberating-hero cycle involves a putting to death (by his white brothers) and a return by parachute, plane, or submarine—there are different versions, sometimes co-existing. The society's hierarchy copies that of the /68/ administration: the master of the lodge, wearing a kepi with star, is the nzela me ngôl; he is accompanied by "presidents, " "presidents in chief, " "commanders, " "inspectors general, " "governors" and "governers general, " "militiamen, " doctors, " etc. (1). There is

1. One of the highest officers is the "adjutant of the guard, " who is in charge of the police and of carrying out legal decisions.

a parallel female hierarchy, having, in particular, a "douane" /possibly "duenna"?—Tr./, who is supposed to have an eye on good relations between households. The political purpose is clear: the ngôl hierarchy has often replaced that recognized by the administration, sometimes with positive practical results, thus connecting up with the movement for Pahouin regrouping in its Gabonese form.

575 In the Cameroons this regrouping has in fact quite a different
797 aspect. It appears to be essentially a tentative social and political
668 revival of clans rather than a tribal regrouping, which is not felt to be as necessary as in Gabon. It leans especially, on the religious level, more toward disciplinary /sic/ schism than towards syncretism, at least for the time being. Some of its leaders have left or wish to leave the missions to set up national churches that would allow, for instance, polygamy, but they do not oppose Christian dogma, which they proclaim that they accept, constantly maintaining that it is rather the missionaries who have altered it, consciously or not. Here the influence of the American Presbyterian Mission is predominant. It might be said that the Cameroons clans, especially the Boulou ones, have been organized into a pattern of Presbyterian synods. The movement has been less successful among the Beti, where Catholic

695 was in other respects common. They were administered either by the ntyi'i mejo —esa, ntol, njoo bot, or officer of the ngil or another association—or by a diviner, mvimvi'i, sometimes a specialist in this category of bitom, palavers. The true ordeal had several forms: by a curse uttered over the ancestral grave or the bieti basket; by bitter herbs, alan; by pimento or ants; by boiling water or fire. /72/ Initiations and particularly that for ngil all involved a collective ordeal intended to ward off beyem who might have tried to push their way in. In addition to the ordeal proper, the mvimvi'i could make [787] use of various forms of divining in order to discover presumed culprits. Except for a serious crime, the culprit thus revealed was not forced to undergo an ordeal if he admitted his guilt. Physical ordeals are [671] on the decline; they are considered crimes or delicts in the Penal Code. And ordeal by oath has lost a great deal of its force. Divining remains much in use and is sometimes highly effective (1).

> 1. An oath may be sworn on a nzo'okak—a little elephant shield containing various medicines, equipped with a strap and worn under the arm. The nzo'okak is not an insignia of authority. Upon the death of its holder it does not pass automatically to the man who becomes head of the family but goes to the one who has a flair for magic. To leap over a nzo'okak laid on the ground means swearing that one has told the truth. The nzo'okak is a guarantee of treaties: [728] after a battle it is placed between the belligerents, who jump over it to vouch for their peaceful intentions. (J. B.)

177 681 Among modern punishments, fines and imprisonment are well recognized by the Pahouin and have a definite intimidating power. On the other hand, the subtleties of setting up a public prosecutor /la constitution de partie civil/ are beyond many peasants, who thus lose the possibility of receiving damages that custom would have given them. Above all, the Napoleonic interpretation of crimes and delicts remains pretty well foreign to Pahouin norms, for example, in judging an insult as a mere transgression even when directed to an

177 ascending relative. These /factors/ explain the success and persis-
681 tence of parallel judicial processes, which are illegal from the point of view of European law, although sometimes tolerated by the administration.

d. Delinquency

674 If the older people are to be believed, delinquency offenses used to be rare: secret societies with their ordeals and swift punishments prevented delicts by the fear they inspired. At present the jail books and the judicial statistics make it possible to gauge the dimensions of the phenomenon, but there is no proof that all delinquents are prosecuted. Some affairs never reach the ears of the law: for instance, fathers of families often deplore the immorality of their sons or their wives, whom they accuse of stealing from them, but since no complaint is lodged, these facts are not recorded.

It is usual in Africa to complain of the rise in juvenile delinquency. The figures at my disposal do show an increase:

	18 yrs.	18 - 20 yrs.	20 - 25 yrs.	25 - 30 yrs.	30 - 35 yrs.	Over 35 yrs.	Total
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
1936	3	3.5	19	32	18	25	100
1946	-	10	21	35	15	14	100
1956	7	7.2	25	22	15	24	100

/73/ But this increase is not as great as might have been feared. A study of the statistics allows another conclusion: delinquency is
[369] an urban phenomenon. In fact, only people following city occupations are found in the jails. In a region of primarily agricultural activity, a relatively low number of rural delinquents is remarkable. Admittedly we must recognize that in towns law enforcement is easier, also that the more Westernized townsmen do not hesitate so much to make use of the courts. Nevertheless, the differences between the delinquency rates of different occupations deserve to be pointed out, al-
674 though the figures below are, of course, only approximate. They
463 were obtained by a study of the census returns for three towns in the southern Cameroons and by a comparison of the jail books for the same localities.

301 Women wore only a sort of double apron of grass or leaves, azem
[291] or abui, fastened to a belt of cylindrical steatite beads, nsanga; brace-
lets, mekom, of ivory or copper shaped like spools; ankle chains,
bibat, of cast copper, very heavy; and an enormous necklace of cast
copper, nkembé, which was put on a little girl when she entered her
[764] affinal household and which could not be removed until after death,
by cutting apart the body or melting the necklace or awaiting decom-
position. All this jewelry belonged to, and remained in, the husband's
[422] family, even in case of divorce; the ésa was the person who distributed
it among his wives and daughters-in-law. Flat bracelets were made of
306 "neptunes" or "benares" /?/ imported from the coast; later on they
made, and still make, rings and bracelets from cartridge cases and
telegraph wire. But the origin of the cast minkembé /plural/ is still
a mystery; the technique of metal casting is unknown or forgotten;
placer or lode copper is very rare, not only in the present Pahouin
[325] habitat but also where they seem to have come from. Furthermore,
these very old necklaces resist corrosion and have a very pale patina
indicating some kind of alloy; moreover, the nearest workers in bronze
the Bamum, do not make this kind of necklace.

291 Men's dress at the present time is usually of the European type,
[177] from shorts and sports shirt to the surplus American cap; those who
wear shoes have European footwear, leather or canvas according to
their income, or in the style of the Arabic—silifa, from English
"slipper" = babouche, of Hausa or Peul manufacture. Mention should
be made of the helmets and kepis of umbrella-tree wood and the fake
spectacles of slivers of raffia "bamboo." In the villages or at home,
imported loincloths are rolled around a belt or tied behind the neck.

Women also wear a loincloth, éndelé, tied at the neck or rolled
tight above the breasts when they have nothing else on, rolled at the
waist when wearing the "mission jacket," éwoman (apparently from
"woman"). The favorite head covering is still the kerchief, éyañese
(from "handkerchief"). More and more women are also wearing cut
and sewn European-style dresses, bizingi; often a kind of slip; no
[841] panties except for a few young modernists (who call them caleçons,
"drawers"); and internal sanitary napkins made of medicinal plants.
[717] Mission activity has spread notions of prudery; formerly only those
past puberty were obliged to cover their sexual parts. Women did so
834 with great care in spite of the casual nature of their clothing; the
greatest insult to a woman was to uncover her vulva in public; she never

834 uncovered it except when uttering a curse. Nowadays most women
292 cover their breasts (1) with almost equal vigilance. /87/ In old-

[177]

1. The aesthetic standard in this connection is changing, especially in towns, as a result of European (cinema?) influence; one only rarely sees girls binding their breasts with strips of bark or cloth to make them fall.

fashioned villages widows still go back to the traditional dress after their seclusion: for eight days, sometimes longer, they wear the ébui made of leaves, which is then replaced by an old ôbôm or a jute sack that leaves the head and shoulders and thighs bare, then by a sack or an old khaki dress shaped like a sack with holes for head and arms.

291 Boys and girls used to run around naked until the first signs of puberty appeared, usually the pubic hair (Boulou, afañ /"h." in the text must be a misprint for "b."—Tr./; Fang, avul). Boys wore a special breechcloth of a special vegetable /material/ after circum-
[304] cision while waiting for the wound to heal and afterwards had to wear a covering only if they had already started to grow hair. At present they wear clothes from the beginning of school age and even before that in militant Christian families and the urban bourgeoisie.

304 Body marks have fallen out of use with the exception of circumcision. First the men stopped filing their incisors to a point. Tattooing persisted longer, in Gabon until just before the Second World War. At present tattooing is being revived among urban pickpockets and syncretist associations. The face was tattooed, usually between the eyes but sometimes on the cheeks, with blue markings made of soot mixed with vegetable ash, or in red with padouk /?/ powder, baa. These marks could indicate clan or association affiliation, or even were imposed during or after a course of medico-magical treatment, or even to satisfy aesthetic demands. It was the same for cicatrices engraved in relief on chest or abdomen, which are nowadays described as being "to make nyanga" (!pretty," Coast English—of Hausa origin?). It is quite possible that some of the magic significance has been forgotten. The most important marks were the dorsal scarifications made at initiations: a triple row of incisions along the vertebral column, widening into a v at the nape

551 may serve as atinan to the next generation and after that becomes the éyôlé: thus, a chief with the cognomen Atyaminlam, destroyer of villages, will have a son called Mbutu Atyaminlam and grandson Atyaminlam Mbutu.

551 177 Influenced by French customs there has been, since the establishment of regulations for native citizenship, a stabilizing of patronymics, especially in official circles. A new patronymic may have begun as the father's atinan or éyôlé or mebatan systematically given to all his children as an éyôlé. Furthermore, conversion to Christianity has led to adding a Christian name to the jôé, which may serve in place of an éyôlé or be joined with a native éyôlé. Thus, for example, Ze Mvondo, with the cognomen Mebianga (man of drugs, because of a sickly childhood), is baptized Solomon in a Christian mission and becomes by contraction Solomon Mebianga. He may give his mebatan as an atinan to all his children and we should then have Menge Mebianga, Oyônô Mebianga, etc., with a Christian name besides, or he may give them his mebatan as éyôlé, without atinan, with only a Christian name. There are other solutions besides, often the result of a vogue, from the names of men famous internationally or locally, dead or living (De Gaulle, Pascalet, Victor Hugo) to the orthographic Gallicizing of the jôé chosen as patronymic (Aubame, Minguet, etc.).

551 I have referred to the old rules controlling the choice of elements of a name. The éyôlé could be connected with some event at birth or during gestation; could have been suggested by a dream or a diviner; be deprecatory so as to break an evil spell; could result from a prohibition imposed on the father or mother, etc. It could also reflect the genealogical rank of the bearer, though this function was restricted more to the atinan chosen from the biyolé of the male and female forebears of both lineages. Nowadays the trend is to give as atinan always the father's éyôlé, sometimes the mother's, especially in the case of illegitimate children. According to Trilles, a name also had a totemic significance, also connecting it with genealogy. All this has by now pretty well passed into oblivion.

From the linguistic point of view, the majority of proper names are common nouns, occasionally heightened: mvôm (python), Mvômô; /94/ afan (forest), Afana; zok (elephant), Zo'o, etc.; or else phrases: Ebéndeñ (e bee éndeñ), "shield-bearer;" Atyaminlam (a tyam minlam), "destroyer of villages," etc. They are usually

764 in neighboring villages were informed. The dead man's fellow initiates came to lift the corpse onto a stretcher-coffin of bark (1)

[177]

1. The fig-bark coffin recalls the custom, borrowed from the Pygmies, of putting the body of a chief in a hollow tree or between the buttresses of certain large trees.

[824] The fig has an important magic role. A fig tree was planted at the founding of a new village, and slips were carried away upon migration. (J. B.)

and danced around him the funeral dance proper to their association, at which women were not allowed to be present but were shut into their huts, where they wailed in a shrill key. The grave was narrow and quite deep, with a plank or "bamboo" bed at the bottom on which the dead man was placed on his back, feet toward the west (near a river, the grave was dug parallel to the course and the feet were placed downstream, nké = downstream or west). Above was built a platform of round logs on which were piled — after having been "killed" by breaking — all the personal possessions of the dead man that did not belong to the family patrimony, his weapons, tools, and jewelry. Now and then, only rarely, one of his wives would be sacrificed to keep him company (it is possible that the execution of wives convicted of having killed their husbands has been confused with a sacrifice of this kind). The grave was filled in and covered with a mound, which was sometimes provided with a flue at the head end by which "to feed" the dead man. The graves of prominent men were dug in, or in front of, their huts, those of ordinary people outside the village on the edge of the forest. Graves of family heads were guarded so as to prevent outsiders from carrying off the skull; [778] this was cut off by the privileged heir, njian, the replacement, who placed it with the other ancestral skulls in the biéti shrine, after dye- [386] ing it with baa. A statuette in umbrella-tree wood was carved and painted white, and inside it were enclosed some of the hair and a phalanx of the dead man; this was placed upon the biéti altar. The tibia of the dead man had previously been removed for the ngil rite.

Matrons, benya binga, were buried by mevungu initiates in a ceremony which men did not attend. Ordinary women /femmes du

177 764 Obviously this has now changed, but perhaps not so much as one would imagine: every year the courts are aware of several ordeals after a death, of mutilations of corpses which are really autopsies, of sums of money extorted which are customary compensation payments imposed on the "person responsible" for a death. And we may assume that in this connection three-quarters of the cases never reach the European courts. Funeral rites have, however, been lightened and colored by Christian influence, even when the deceased had remained to the end attached to the old beliefs: his wives or children usually call in a nkat foé (news-announcer = catechist) to say the prayers for the dead and to sing psalms or hymns. The old-fashioned cylindrical bark litter has been replaced by a European plank coffin, gradually even for women and children. The graves of the well-to-do have masonry walls and are covered with a concrete slab bearing name, date of death, and a pious text, or even with a small flower bed framed with bricks or bottle necks, with a grave stone or cross at the head. The dead man's hut is no longer destroyed, especially if made of "solid" material, nor are his personal effects broken. Often the body is washed and dressed in European clothes instead of being anointed with baa; the white shroud remains. In Christian families women take part in wakes for men and attend their burials; men attend the burials of women but rarely take part in their wakes. In [795] /104/ many villages the different /Christian/ sects have separate cemeteries.

765 177 Mourning is less rigorous and is often expressed by the European black arm band and tie worn by men. In the villages widows are still rather ill-treated (cf. above, pp. 128-129), but their sequestration has been reduced to a week, and they are allowed to wash after a month or two. Most of the prohibitions of the mourning period have fallen out of use, and the end of mourning is marked by a family gathering which has more about it of a certain kind of French provincial New Year's Eve party than of the old purificatory rites.

761 Death in the traditional concept is not so much the cessation of life as the dissociation of the personality. Enyiñ, life, comes from the verb nyiñ meaning "to [illegible]ive" rather than "to be alive"; /thus life represents/ a kind of dynamism opposed to the static to, tabe = to be, exist, remain, etc.

826 774 The body, nyul or nyɔ̂l, is perishable and corruptible; it supports the other elements of the personality, above all the nsisim or nsisiñ,

784 Some bityi appear to be connected with totemism: these are the bityi mekam, protective prohibitions, forbidding members of certain clans to kill certain animals or to eat certain plants. Others are undoubtedly connected with the social structure, like sex or age-grade prohibitions, the breaking of which strike at the family hierarchy. Others may be described as hygienic prohibitions, like those connected with pregnancy, illness, or convalescence. There are prohibitions connected with magic: personal taboos vis-à-vis some animal seen in a dream after a family initiation, or imposed when joining an association; prohibitions pronounced by a magician, often out of revenge; prohibitions undertaken as vows to obtain a specific result. Among the Beti, Binet has known women to impose on themselves certain [431] food etyi for a year, at the end of which time there is a party where they collect many presents from their relatives and friends. This [177] seems to be an innovation and perhaps represents a deviation from certain Catholic practices.

[614] It seems that in former times, following a war or an alliance, or in connection with an awusô relationship, two clans might undertake to respect one another's clan taboo. Besides, married women, although they did not enter the husband's clan, were supposed to some extent to respect its bityi.

783 Minsem can be expiated by redemption, ngôtô, according to
784 different rites (étyi, melan among men, évôtô among women), including public confession and sacrifice (for women, the sacrifice is made by father or husband, the woman undergoing severe corporal punishment). /123/

Some personal bityi can be raised (kui étyi = to emerge from a taboo) by a process similar to that of redemption for a nsem. This is never possible in cases of general sexual, age-grade, or clan prohibitions.

787 The first Christian converts must have shown genuine heroism in
784 giving up their bityi, since they had to overcome, not only personal fear, sometimes at the cost of real psycho-physiological crises, but also unanimous public obloquy and often the vengeance of their family, which attributed to their minsem all its misfortunes. One might say that only that first generation of Christians succeeded in abandoning the bityi almost completely. The following generations, in much greater numbers, continued to observe quite a few /bityi/, certainly all those that did not openly conflict with the practice of the /new/

religion. For several years, exogamic taboos have even been observed to take on new life with a strictness that runs counter to canonical ideas about marriage (cf. above, p. 63).

g. Sorcery and Magic at the Present Time

Even in the areas longest converted to Christianity, contemporary Pahouin continue to believe in magic and sorcery, which is, moreover, not contrary to the teaching of the Scriptures. Mbibiañ compete with European or African bedôkita, mingengañ compete with exorcists, mvimvi'i with the police, and so on. Once in a while beyem still kill in order to feed their évu, and I knew a kôn practitioner who tried to make use of his skill so as to win an election.

However, since the coming of the Europeans, magic and sorcery have developed in the direction of a syncretism that is sometimes baroque. Ecclesiastical schisms do not bring about a complete return to ancient practices, but a sort of grafting of what remains onto a Christian stem, to which is often added a facile /à bon marché/ esotericism borrowed from mages and fakirs of metropolitan France. Talismans, perfumes guaranteed to inspire love, and magical jewelry arrive by the hundredweight in each mail from France. Initiations that had died out are being revived in the form of parodies of the Mass or of ordination, or even of hazings often obscene. What was most valuable in the native pharmacopoeia is being more and more neglected in favor of modern preparations used at random, with only the magical aspect surviving, emptied of its old meaning and therefore of its functional character.

Admittedly, Christianity has "caught on" in the country, just as European medicine has—the question is, just how deeply. In any event it is certain that old practices, overthrown as they may have been, survive nonetheless in new forms, fluid and changing and still far from stabilized. The result is a continual uneasiness, a crisis in adaptation, of which the outcome is unpredictable.

Leaving aside any religious or ideological position, /124/ it does, however, seem possible to say as of now that one of the most revolutionary contributions of the missions has been to make women participate in the same religious cult as men.

4. Arts and Literature

531 The principal form of plastic art used to be sculpture, in wood or steatite. Aside from masks for associations, especially for the ngil, figures of ancestors, full-length figures or simply masks, and figures for ritual ceremonies were carved. Drums, seats, crossbows, sometimes imported chests, were decorated in demirelief. The features of a mask were only slightly indicated, the attitude of figures was rather stiff, while subjects in demirelief, particularly animals, were often very lively.

531 177 The sculptors were initiates of the different rites and with the decline of the latter, traditional sculpture has largely disappeared, to be replaced by work in wood or ivory in the Barbes /?/ or Saint-Sulpice style /the implication of the second is of the commercial religious art sold in shops near the St.-Sulpice in Paris. —Tr./, thanks to the work of schools and missions. An interesting project at the professional school in Ebolowa, under the director, Lecoq, between 1946 and 1950, has had no sequel. However, there are a few indications that allow hope for the rise of a Christian art that will perhaps be original, alongside the commercial sculpture for tourists, which is extremely flourishing.

This conclusion holds good for painting, since some frescoes in Catholic chapels, particularly in Ewondo country, appear to be manifestations of a new art. Furthermore, painting is at present the popular art par excellence, in the form of frescoes inside and outside houses. Aside from religious subjects, one often sees paintings of animals, family scenes, portraits of local or world celebrities. A Boulou from Sangmélima, David Monewoso, has established the features of the heroes of the novel Nnanga Mbn in numerous frescoes throughout Boulou country. All this constitutes something new, because traditional art made little use of painting in this form. Huts were more likely to be decorated with geometrical figures with an esoteric meaning, in nothing but the three traditional colors, red, black, and white. Drawing was mostly represented by engraved designs, made with burin or red-hot iron on wooden objects, sometimes by charcoal drawings done on walls or rocks.

212 Literature was solely oral until the colonial period. It is not, however, accurate to say that the Pahouin were completely ignorant of writing. Aside from the quipu (biaff nenghe —? —, according to

533 skits, often satirical, sometimes to the accompaniment of European tunes that have been adapted to the instrument. Choral song, finally, is very popular, using imported tunes that are often considerably improved by the native interpretation which makes extensive use of fugue and counterpoint. Unfortunately, these modern airs are not suited to the tonal system of the language, which they tend to impair when words are adapted to them.

538 173 537 Chronicles, minkalete, of which the salutations, mebatan, were in a way summaries, were part of traditional training and were recited only on solemn occasions. They are falling into oblivion because of the considerable demands they made upon the memory and because of the time necessary for learning them by heart, without mentioning the fact that they contained incomprehensible passages, perhaps borrowed from tribes that were neighbors of the Pahouin before their great migration. /126/

177 538 The systems of transcription introduced by missionaries were first used to translate the Scriptures and to compose hymns, which have not always had a good effect upon the language but have nonetheless become classics in spite of the mistakes and improprieties they often contain. After these works produced by Europeans in the native language, there have appeared in rapid succession works composed by Pahouin writing in their own language. The most remarkable is without doubt Nnanga kôn by the Boulou, Jemba Medu, which describes Boulou life at the time of the arrival of the first white men (nnanga kôn = phantom albino). This, to my knowledge, is the only novel composed in one of the languages of the group; its popularity is prodigious, to such a degree that its characters have entered into contemporary Boulou folklore.

204 There is a missionary press in Gabon and in the Cameroons. The papers with the largest circulation are Nleb Bekristen (Christians' Guide) (Ewondo, Catholic) and Mefoé (News) (Boulou, Protestant), which is read as far afield as Gabon. The lay press in French is not of much importance and its publications moreover are usually short lived.

538 A Pahouin literature in the French language is a recent — and significant — phenomenon. Oyono and Eza Boto-Mongo Beti are both from the Cameroons; neither Gabon nor Spanish Guinea have up to now produced a novelist.

535 The dance has lost a great deal in being deprived of its old ritual character. Formerly there was a specific dance for every ceremony,

535 rite, and event in life, of which the orchestral element as well as the dance movements and costumes had a very precise symbolical meaning. Many of these dances have died out, either because they have lost their raison d'être (as with war and initiation dances, etc.) or because they have been prohibited by the administration and especially by the missions as obscene or pagan (fertility, funeral, medical dances, etc.). Those that survive have now a recreational or purely artistic character, which was only secondary before. It is [562 171] significant that the number of dances in which both sexes take part has considerably increased and that nearly all are now open to the public and may be seen by spectators of any age or sex.

In spite of this falling off, there is still a large number and variety of dances. Among the most widespread may be mentioned:

ôzila, an old fertility dance, especially among the Fang and [534] Ntoumou; an orchestra of vertical drums, mbae and ngom, with "spoken" accompaniment of the drum-telephone, nkul; it is danced by professionals (women initiates of mevungu?) with bare torso, vegetable rattles at the ankles, unsewn wildcatskin skirts, wooden masks on the left arm; the leading dancer, ôsua njem, inserts a horn into her vagina during the dance; the dancers [276] apparently drug themselves with a decoction containing (notably) Indian hemp; the missions have forbidden this dance, and this has provoked several incidents.

menjall, called thus because the dance is accompanied by an orchestra of balafos; it is widespread except, perhaps, among the Boulou; it is performed by the young girls and little girls of a village; each village has its own tune and special costume consisting of a belt of raffia fiber, skirt and cap in "pastry-cook" style in the village colors, with a brassière worn in Christian villages.

535 1777 ènyengè, sometimes called njeman fulutita, a Protestant dance (it must have been inspired by Swedish gymnastics used by a German-American M. P. A. /American Presbyterian mission?/ missionary to provide a substitute for "immoral" dances; si non è vero...), found especially among the Boulou but extending into northern Gabon under the aegis of the Movement for Regrouping Pahouin; it is a dance performed by young women and girls with a male leader, nlebe njeman, who conducts with a whistle; an orchestra of drums, nkul, mbae, and ngom, rattles

535 177 and flutes; chorus sung by the dancers; white dresses, a uniform headkerchief and foulard sash; the musical themes are those belonging to village, association, and clan; it is danced at civil or religious festivals, mebɔ̂k, mevak, and at bisulan (ayõ meetings), etc.; the words are sometimes satirical.

535 anyẽ, a men's or (more rarely) a women's dance, similar to the above, perhaps inspired by it, but more lively. The words are often obscene, the gestures scatological (in the men's version); probably of ritual origin; one of the few male dances surviving today.

akɔ̂ma mba, danced by one or two young women; a chorus of women, with the large vertical drum, mbaé; raffia fiber skirt and bare torsos; an ancient ritual (marriage?) dance; it is looked at askance by the missions and is becoming rare.

asiko, a modern mixed dance, quite erotic; no costumes; percussion instruments and rattles; a mixed chorus; it is forbidden by the missionaries.

[177] In towns, European or American dances are current under the generic name "tangɔ̂," although the rhythm, when they are not danced to a phonograph, is rather that of a /West Indian/ beguine, often fugual.

536 The theatre, unknown in the past, is beginning to develop, partly under the influence of youth organizations introduced from outside. At bisulan, short farces are often put on, like morality plays, or satirical sketches related to our cabaret revues, in which there is no hesitation in scoffing at the authorities.

Chapter 7

The Process of Change

1. Local Government Organs

631 177 The disintegration characteristic of Pahouin clans makes it difficult to establish a coherent organization. The conflict between the system of personal rights and that of territorial rights is clear-cut:

63 177 insofar as he accepts an authority higher than that of the head of the family a Pahouin is dependent upon the head of his ayoñ, who may live several hundred kilometers away. This authority had a sacred character and was based on laws of consanguinity. In addition, there were, even before the coming of the Europeans, other influences at work, tending to group people no longer on a basis of kinship but on that of local relations. Among the Fong of the Cameroons, for instance, as early as 1880, a chief had brought together under his control families that belonged to different clans and involved them in expeditions against Maka villages. From among the conquered he chose some young children for himself, brought them up, and saw them settled, creating thus, outside his consanguineal family, and even outside his tribe, a group of people devoted to his person.

Therefore, upon the power of the clan there was superposed an authority that assumed an interclan and even intertribal character. Among the Beti peoples of the Yaoundé region nearly the same system was in effect. The clans had more coherence than among the Fang or the Boulou. But the chief controlled, in addition to his own mvog, conquered families, belos or belos bitos, to whom he assigned land along the margins of his domain.

The transition from a system of authority based on the law of consanguinity to a territorial one is already apparent.

In the face of Pahouin lack of political order, which nullified all attempts at organization, Europeans unconsciously tried to reinforce the trend toward a territorial system of authority.

[67] Since the period of the great invasions, in fact, the jus soli has been authenticated as a basis of authority, while /the application of/ the jus sanguinis involves a thousand difficulties and makes it almost impossible to govern.

By a curious paradox, nevertheless, the presence of Europeans favored legal principles opposed to those they might have desired. The tribal wars brought about a regrouping around the victor and enabled him to carve out a domain /seigneurie/. The chaotic Pahouin migrations strained clan ties; what family relationships can survive a lengthy separation, /129/ particularly when journeys are rare and dangerous? These factors would have brought about the creation of territorial entities. Peace, on the other hand, which allowed the resumption of relations, improved mobility, and permitted individual freedom, favored a return to the law of consan- [68] guinity; the individual person, whether young man or head of a

177 631 631 family, had a profound sense of being a member of a community scattered over several thousand square kilometers, whereas he did not feel strongly bound to his neighbor who belonged to another ayoñ.

648 631 The German colonial administration divided the country up into large chiefdoms as a solution to this difficult problem, a possible solution if the country had not been an ethnic as well as a clan maze. If the territory of the large tribes—Boulou, Bané, Ewôndo, etc.—had been a little more homogeneous, it would have been conceivable to entrust each region to a chief, at a higher level than that of clan allotments. But the confusion of peoples and their wide dispersion made any solution precarious. Authority was not always accepted without demur, and among populations with anarchistic tendencies it is not easy to build up a ruling class /aristocratie/ sufficiently sure of itself not to perpetrate abuses. There was no time for the system of large appanages to take root. Chiefs of cantons and village chiefs both rule over more limited but clear-cut territories; as representatives of the principle of jus soli their influence view with that of the clan movements embodying the jus sanguinis.

631 668 In Gabon, Pahouin leaders had the idea of mingling the two tendencies. Starting with the assumption that the villages were too small, they sanctioned a regrouping which would have allowed both stronger chiefdoms and a beginning of reassembling of clans.

The regrouping of the meyoñ does not seem to have been planned as a whole, nor does it seem that a territorial base had been thought of for each clan, which would have resolved, for the time being at least, the conflict between the law of things /droit réel/ and the law of persons /droit personnel/. Only a partial solution was considered: the establishment of large, single-clan villages (1). In

1. J. Aubame, Renaissance gabonaise /Renaissance in Gabon/, Brazzaville, 1947 (no. 171); Balandier and Pauvert (no 177).

fact, and in spite of the endless difficulties connected with the transfer of population, the regrouping was able to give to the chiefdom a new prestige, by confirming its character as a territorial power on the one hand, and by binding it, on the other hand, to the meyoñ traditions. In the present state of affairs, cantons and even villages

080 none other than the sacred prohibition in the interest of the family's moral welfare, which is lifted, when necessary, in the same interests."

304 881 779 Circumcision for Mgr. Le Roy is, therefore, in short, only "the lifting of a prohibition in the interest of family welfare." [528]

Although this explanation is neat and seems to satisfy all requirements, it still does not appear to me altogether correct. It takes the effect for the cause. Undoubtedly, a lifting of a prohibition in the interest of family welfare does follow circumcision, but the lifting, and the prohibition itself, seems to me very much an effect, a consequence, not the cause, and I believe that the objective is above all the sacrifice, admittedly a sacrifice for the welfare of the race. As Father Lagrange points out, "this system" (initiations, tests, and especially circumcision) "implies a close religious relationship within a social group at a low stage of development. It would seem to be a matter of religious unity. In the great Assyro-Babylonian civilization, there is no evidence of circumcision, but then, as now, among widely scattered peoples, some had adopted it, some had not." Is it then enough to say, as for the Bantu tribes, that those who no longer have it have either abandoned it or never possessed it? If in fact all Bantu tribes come from a single stock, as we believe, all have been familiar with circumcision, and we are dealing with a much more ancient rite.

177 304 881 We have already mentioned the Egyptian infiltration into Fan manners and customs and the influence of their beliefs. Therefore circumcision might go back to them. Herodotus had already pointed out that circumcision came from Egypt and had, by way of Egypt, spread throughout the Mediterranean world (Her. II, 104). "It may well be," writes Father Lagrange on this subject, "that circumcision among Egyptians was not exactly borrowed from an ethical system, but was a tradition from their origins, going back to the time when they started coming down the Nile Valley, according to contemporary opinion,

177 304 881 We also find the tradition among the Arabs as far back in their history as we can go."

Therefore -- and Johnston is of the same opinion -- circumcision is not a rite devised to meet specific needs but one that dates back to the origins of the human race. From the beginning, man has offered first fruits to God. From this to offering the first fruits of human beings and of life, the step was inevitable, and it was quickly made. [529]

304 881 779 In the Fan group at least, circumcision is thus based upon the idea of sacrifice itself and not, as Mgr. Le Roy says, upon the simple lifting of a prohibition that is very useful and very moral. It is based not only on the idea of sacrifice itself but on that of an offering by desecration, which is the very foundation of sacrifice. "Especially at the first use of things it is important to give the gods their share," to renew the covenant with the Master of life. From the beginning, man presented the "first fruits" of things to the deity, above all in order to truly acknowledge his realm. Is not man's life that which is most precious? And the basis of life is certainly the procreative act. Furthermore, the basic concept of clan and tribe is based on the family, so that again from that point of view, procreation is the most important act of life. It is the first fruits of the generative process that will be offered to the Lord of the clan and to the ancestors, deified or not, but supposedly standing by. Therefore this will be a religious act, carried out by the practitioner with the help of the tribal chief and the head of the family, that is, the three clan authorities. So that the ceremony may be more solemn, the remains of the ancestors and of the eponymous animal will be included; finally, as in every sacrifice, blood will be shed. These terms make the sacrifice totemic.

But so that the first fruits may be pure and the shed blood acceptable and effective, they must be truly first fruits. It is therefore very important that they be preserved as such; the means is simple and effective and consists of the *ékí*, that is, the prohibition of certain foods and especially of sexual relations before the set time. The law is not even concerned with the

386 302 the Ntum it is called abe̋ndĕm or kūdemǎ'n IV.

The names fĭna (mfĭ'na) and kūdemǎ'n also designate the painting of the body itself. /Fig. 150 appears here in the original text./

The Randia is a slender tree belonging to the Rubiaceae and grows especially in the vicinity of rivers. Its large whitish blossoms hang from the ends of the twigs or from the forks in the

[412 304]

Fig. 149. Knife for Making Decorative Scars.

branches; its fruit is a berry covered with a number of protuberances running from top to bottom. To obtain the dye a short stick of bark from a raffia leafstalk is drilled into the base of the fruit and stirred about in the contents of the fruit. When the stick is pulled out, a whitish, fairly thick juice sticks to its tip, and with the same stick this is painted directly onto the body in the desired patterns; /198/ after a brief period of time the dye

[304]

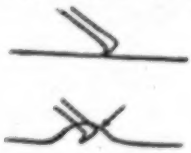


Fig. 150. Making the Incision for a Decorative Scar.

takes on a deep blue-black coloring. The paint stays on the skin from three to four days; in cases of more frequent washing, only two. Afterwards it simply disappears.

302 178 Nowadays only small or half-grown boys paint themselves for sport. In former times, however, young people of both sexes did it in order to be conspicuous and in this way to make an impression upon the opposite sex. In those days, therefore, great care was taken with the patterns. Today, only smeared patterns result from the children's lack of skill. /Fig. 151 appears here in the original text./

304 the teeth are splintered off and not filed. In Pangwe another expression, aside from a sǎman /203/ masǔń, is a sǎ-ń masǔń, which is derived from a sǎ-ń, "to carve, to chip, to adorn"; zǎ-ń IV means "carving, carving patterns," from the root sa (1).

1. On the other hand, to put a point on a stick (as an example, etc. is a sǒno (Fang) and a sūō'ne, a sūē'ne (Ntum); the root is so!

The operation is performed in the following manner. The "patient" lies down on his back and bites firmly into a wooden roll with his front teeth. The artist places a small iron chisel (zǎń e masǔń IV, Fig. 157) on the tooth, takes a piece of wood for a hammer, and splinters off the edges in small pieces. The pain of this operation is not inconsiderable, and for that reason the old custom is being abandoned here and there. This is a development which is speeding up under European influence. /204/

[178]

Section 8

Craftsmanship and Tools

General observations.
First Part. Bark work. (a) Raw bark. Utilization: bark for house construction, decorative barks, bark containers (their production, significance of names), coffin. (b) Bark cloth. Beaters -- Types of trees supplying bark for cloth. -- Manufacture.
Second Part. (a) Thread and sewing. Fibers of the Recthophyllum, of the pineapple. (b) Ropes and knotting. Ropes made from pineapple and banana fibers, raffia fiber and its

789 opinion of one Fang, the word a binǎn, which is contained in the
821 name abin, has the sense of "moving about and rumbling," and they want the stormy weather just to move about and rumble.

The help of the ancestors is employed in another method of
769 combatting Jupiter Pluvius, one that is used chiefly for cult festivi-
789 ties. The ancestral figures, festively smeared with oil and red
821 wood, are placed in front of the house where they would be drenched "to the skin" if they did not see to it that no rain fell on this particular day. At the same time the ancestral skulls are frequently painted with a salve made of red wood and ground bark of
824] Pentaclethra macrophylla, whose pods, when they are ripe, burst open with a pop and fling the fruit a great distance; in this way the natives indicate that the rain should be flung to one side in the same fashion.

789 When women are in the fields harvesting -- especially at the harvest of ngon -- and rain threatens, they put a little water and a
821 stone in a leaf bundle and hang this up in the field. In the same manner the rain is supposed to remain suspended in the sky, be as heavy as the stone, and stay in its place just like a Negro whose "heart is heavy" and who shows no inclination for any kind of undertaking.

Medicines with a similar effect are used on journeys. A leaf
484 of Trachyphrynium violaceum Radl. (tsědékilǐ, IV Fang) is twisted
789 into a bag, filled with a little water, and then fastened to one
824 finger. By doing this, the rain is held fast. Another medicine consists of hanging up old pieces of wood saturated with water, so that the rain will likewise be absorbed up in the sky. Furthermore, a person will take a Petersia twig or a fern leaf dipped in water in his hand, /199/ so that the rain will be broken up into as many little parts as the small pinnules of the fern. Finally, there is the familiar Selaginella, the herb of "missing" (zǐlǎnǐ, from á zǐlǎn, "to miss"), that is to say, the rain is supposed to miss man.

It should be emphasized that the Pangwe no longer regard
789 these medicines seriously and even ridicule them as "superstition";
178 they have long since noticed that none of them helps. Hence, medicines against rain are no longer used today, except as a joke. A possible exception may be the cooking pot medicine of the women,

789 but even that seems to be dying out for its meaning is frequently
178 no longer understood. Thus I once (on an earlier occasion) found an open cooking pot set up as rain medicine; I simply could not understand this until I saw the authentic medicine and was informed that in the first case a mistake had been made.

821 According to one conception, the rainbow is the handiwork of a great sorcerer who wanted to show the others what he was capable of performing. Other natives think the rainbow is water vapor or smoke, and when it appears in the east, late in the afternoon, people say jokingly that one end is standing in the Campo and the other end in the Uelle. A third notion concerning the rainbow -- and this one is probably based on its iridescent colors -- is that it represents a water snake. The word for rainbow is, accordingly, nyū-ñ III, from nyŏ', "water snake." In addition, there is ntūtǎ'm I, derived from the onomatopoetic expression tǔmetǔmetǔm, a designation for a flickering in front of the eyes.

The Tale concerning the Origin of the Rainbow

821 Once upon a time the grandmother of Ekute Essamniǎmabōge
539 said to her grandson: "Go and show me the place where your mother
773 always catches fish." Thereupon Ekute went along with her and showed her a good place along the river, but his grandmother said: "No, this was not the place." Then her grandson showed her another place, but here, too, the grandmother said: "This is not the place where I am going to fish." They went together this way to four other places, but at none did the grandmother want to fish. Finally, the grandson said: "There are no more places for fishing; after this there is only the large river left." The grandmother replied: "All right, that is where we shall go." But her grandson said: "Oh, the places where everybody fishes are here, but in the big river the fishing is poor." However, the grandmother answered: "But I want to take a look at the place; come along, we shall leave right away." Thereupon the grandson went along with her, and when they came to the spot where the river widened, the grandmother said: "Here is where I want to fish." The grandson

174 contaminated, so that the linguistic map is no longer indicative
101 of these ancient distributions.

From these facts two conclusions can definitely be drawn. The Fang population is not represented in Gabon by large homogeneous zones as in the Cameroons (where the Evondo country, the Boulou country, etc., can be clearly distinguished). The diverse Fang groups have become interdispersed and in the course of their almost incessant migrations since the second half of the eighteenth century have "digested" the foreign traits peculiar to the peoples they have met. And it is in the Lower Gabon, at the end of their journeyings that the Fang groups present a state of maximum confusion.

162 Administrative documents permit one to get a present-day
178 picture of the distribution of the Fang, a precise picture — at least so it seems. The weakening (indeed the near disappearance) of distinctions between tribes and clans, the breaking up, the scattering and half autonomy of the various groups, have led to the confusion of these two types of grouping and to placing them on the same plane. The administration cannot be blamed for this, for these two notions are no longer always precise in the minds of the present-day Fang. Let us discuss, first of all, the two zones by which the people reached Gabon, Woleu-N'Tem, and Ogooué-Ivindo (2

2. Cf. G. Balandier, Rapport préliminaire de la Mission d'information scientifique en Pays Fang [Preliminary Report of the Mission of Scientific Information on Fang Country], Brazzaville, 1949, étude mimiographiée [mimeographed study], pp. 5-10.

162 Region of the Woleu-N'Tem
361

This region presents a certain physical unity and a true ethnic unity. It is inhabited exclusively by Fang, a relatively preferable demographic situation. In 1949 there were over 71,000 inhabitants. It is surrounded only by either identical or related Fang groups; it

361 a minimum of 64 in the former subdivision of Chinchoua and a
614 maximum of 1,000 in Kyé-Nyé Canton, (Oyem District), and in the villages situated on Bitam-Minvoul. Thus the reality and effectiveness of the clan groupings are very different according to different sections of the Fang country. Hence, it can be understood that attempts to renew the clans could only take place in regions where such a grouping still has vitality. It should also be noted that the highest average volume by clan occurs in the regions where the Fang population is greatest and where the demographic
184 situation is the most favorable. The centers of vitality are located in in the Woleu-N'Tem [area] (a large part of the district of Mitzic being excluded) and in a small zone in the neighborhood of Libreville. These two regions compete to extend their influence over the whole of the Fang country, the rivalry appearing in the elections when a candidate from Libreville is opposed by one from the Upper Gabon (legislative elections of 1951). And it can be understood that the Fang country as a whole does not show everywhere the same degree of change in the traditional social structure nor the same capacity to adapt itself to present-day conditions.

167 By transferring to a map the groupings estimated in each of the
178 districts, other facts become clear. The direction in which the dis-
615 persal took place becomes manifest. Thus the Effak coming from the frontier of the Cameroons passed by the outskirts of Spanish Guinea to reach the coast near Cocobeach and Libreville; the Angonâmvé coming from the Woleu-N'Tem reached the Ogooué (they were found in the section of N'Djolé at the beginning of this century), then Lower Gabon beyond Lambaréné, etc. Moreover, some groupings did not spread out and were found only in relatively definite regions: the Oyek in Spanish Guinea and in the French districts south of this territory (Médouneu, Cocobeach, and Libreville), the Kojé at Bitam and Oyem, the Ožip only at Oyem, etc. Finally, certain minor groupings existed only on the frontiers of the Fang country and had an independent existence. The Yengwi of Oyem remember that one of their fragments emigrated towards Kango (without knowing either the exact name or place), but none of the groupings taken by the census in this district claim a common

167 origin with the Yengwi of the Woleu-N'Tem. Thus [88] this last
178 link has disappeared — the only link observed at the beginning of
619 this century by an administrator who claimed there was an "extreme" breakup of groupings which were scattered "hundreds of kilometers from one another." (1)

1. Captain Maignan, "Etudes sur le Pays Pahouin [Studies of the Pahuin Country]," dated 1912 and published in the Bulletin de la Société des Recherches Congolaises, 14, 1931.

This fragmentation and entanglement of Fang groupings can be explained by the recent character of the migrations across Gabon and the search for economically advantageous spots, and by the pacification which makes the cohesion of numerically strong groupings no longer necessary. These were also noted by the first observers: Maignan speaks of "families camped near the Ivindo" who "have felt the need to unite in order to defend themselves from the attacks of their neighbors and who have remained united, forming uninterrupted lines of villages." (2) Finally, the role of

2. Op. cit.

the administration must be stressed; a policy of recruitment in order to have manpower at hand in the administrative centers; the reaction of certain groupings which consisted in running away from administrative ascendency ("as soon as a position is created in a populated region, a vacuum occurs in the twinkling of an eye around it," writes Périquet in a Mission report) (3); a policy of stabilizing

3. Captain Périquet, Mission d'étude du chemin de fer du nord [Mission to Study the Northern Railroad], 1910-1911.

the population for purposes of road building and regrouping of villages (1930). The nomadism of the Fang has been the despair of the

167 administrators. But outside these most evident causes, others of
●178 an internal nature giving rise to this fragmentation must be con-
614 sidered. We must retain the idea of a maximum capacity of village grouping which we will enlarge upon in the study of the social structure.

The successive ruptures of the groupings and the multiple migrations make it difficult to understand precisely the nature of the present-day groupings scattered throughout the Fang country. As for the several large groups usually recognized, we have suggested that they were migratory groups which moved at different periods after having been subject to different cultural influences, and having been the first to have occupied the Fang country in Gabon (which would explain the attempts of earlier observers to define a division into "lands"); and we have shown how their significance has become blurred. (See pp. 4-8 .) We have the proof that these names are subsequent to [89] the tribal and clan names (at least those of the oldest clans). In the Ožip there are collected groupings calling themselves Ntumu, Fang, and Maké (1); Tessman places the Ntumu and Fang in two different

1. Tradition des Ožip [Tradition of the Ožip], Administrative Archives of Oyem.

groups, the Ndǒg and the Bökwé, (2) According to our investiga-

2. Tessmann, op. cit.

tion (confirmed by various observers), it is a question of a Ndǒg tribe of which the Bökwé (a corruption of the word Ebikwe) are a clan. Curault gives another example of this: at the beginning of the century a tribe, Okana, at N'Djolé had "produced" clans called Bétsi, Maké, and Nzaman. (3)

3. Captain Curault, "Monographie du secteur de N'Djolé au Gabon [Monograph on the Section of N'Djolé in Gabon]," op. cit.

167 178 619 If we go by the names taken in the census, we note that names of different formation designate groupings that are apparently identical: some of the names begin with Yé or a consonant, the others begin with Esa (ésé, isi) or Eba (ébi), the names in the form of ésà or éba being the most numerous. The word ye (meaning "valley") is accompanied by a qualifier often referring to a plant, an animal, or a natural phenomenon (yé-ngwi (the boar), yé-mvâg (the rain), etc.). The prefix ésa or éba (meaning "begetter") is used to designate the posterity of a more or less remote human ancestor We must therefore surmise that in this last case we are dealing with names designating more recent groupings of secondary formation: clans and lines of descent. The other names refer to ancient groupings whose origin is legendary, who in the past were localized, and who split up and scattered due to multiple migrations; that is, they refer to tribes. The first to observe the Fang, Trilles and Martrou, are positive about these facts. So are the tribal traditions: that of the Yénzǒk has preserved the memory of the first division into four clans which occurred after crossing the Sanaga River (4) (principal halting place of the

4. Traditions des Yéndǒk [Traditions of the Yéndǒk], Administrative Archives of Ebolowa, the French Cameroons.

migrations which distributed the Fang throughout the South Cameroons and Gabon). Each important halting place of the migrations accentuated the fragmentation and created new pre-eminences. Such is the case of the Yénzǒk. The crossing of the Sanaga led to a division of the groupings which are still called Yénzǒk; the crossing of the N'Tem (which gives access to Gabon) resulted in the establishment of the large Effak grouping, [90] which divided to reach the coast in subgroupings who call themselves only Effak. (1)

1. Table of the "tribes and subtribes" set up by the Fang of Lower Gabon for the Commission of the Historical Investigation of Libreville.

167 Relations between groupings resulting from such successive
178 ruptures have fallen off and finally disappeared in many cases.
619 This is because of the conflicts which were often the origin of the fragmentation, because of the distance between fragments, and because of the situation resulting from colonial occupation which brought about peace so that "strong tribal solidarity" was no longer essential. (2) Other reasons are control of collective movement

2. L. Martrou, "La langue Fan et ses dialectes [Fang Language and Dialects]," Journal de la Société Africanistes, Vol. 6, p. 2, 1936.

and establishment in the interior of administrative districts which have finally brought about very localized associations. A proof of this falling off is found by comparing the tribal compositions established by L. Martrou (on the Ogooué in the first decade of the century), by those responsible for the movement of clan regrouping (in Upper Gabon after 1945), and by the investigators of the "Commission of Historical Investigation" (in Lower Gabon in 1949). These documents show great divergences which can be accounted for by local circumstances. Taking advantage of this confusion the leaders of the clan movement have been able to set up regroupings which are very questionable from the point of view of clan logic. In addition, the fact that the groupings in the course of their migrations have changed their names (affirmed by L. Martrou, Maignan, and L. Mba) (3) tends to accentuate this con-

3. L. Martrou, op. cit.; Captain Maignan, op. cit.; and L. Mba, "Essai de droit coutumier pahouin [Essay on Pahouin Common Law]," Recherches Congolaises, 25, 1938.

fusion. It can therefore be understood that the limited and definitely located groupings have been for many years the only ones that are truly effective — and, at the same time, which enjoy a kind of independence.

614 issued from the lines which originally constituted them may be separated by great distances or may even be in foreign territory (in Gabon and in Spanish Guinea, for example). Nevertheless, whatever their average size, depending on the location, there remain a few groupings which are imposed on individuals in a specific way: particularly by belonging (one is an Esibil, Esakora, etc.) and by "fraternity" (expressed by the title mwananayôg), which they imply. The word ayôg is also used today to designate the clan. This seems to be its true original meaning; it has only taken on the nonspecific meaning to the extent that tribal reality became blurred at the time of recent migrations, resulting in the near disappearance of the word characterizing it (ayom). The value of this interpretation becomes obvious when one refers to the observations made by Tessmann, who, at the beginning of the century, pointed out the existence of groupings called ayôg who were more or less united at the higher level to constitute [104] [Fig. 4.] [105] the largest grouping, which he calls "tribe" (ayam). This confusion is significant of the profound upheavals that have occurred and explains the uncertainties shown by Father Trilles in this respect

614 776 178 This author, besides, has stressed the existence of a Fang totemism which could be seen [to extend] from the tribe to the individual, and extended out to the various groupings. But he also took care to point out that this was in the process of disappearing at the beginning of the century on the Ogooué and in the coastal regions. A valuable estimate has been made of this fantastic theory by Van Gennep, who writes: "All our efforts to limit the terms totem and totemism to a well-defined category are nonexistent for Father Trilles, who manages to make of the totem the equivalent of the Latin genius or of any other protecting spirit of any individuals or groups whatsoever." (1) We cannot discuss now an absolete

1. A. Van Gennep, L'Etat actuel du problème totémique [The Present State of the Totem Problem], Paris, 1920, p. 35.

quarrel — more especially as rapid changes during the last fifty years have changed or destroyed the elements necessary for any

614 opinion – but we can remember from the facts reported by Father
776 Trilles the indication that a protecting being, a body of religious
178 material (akamayon), a collection of symbols, and a body of beliefs and legends gave a uniformity, other than a genealogical one, to the Fang clans.

614 The agnate lines of descent with a more or less limited num-
621 ber of generations have played, and still play, an important role. Around them are organized the groupings forming the village or village groups which were established by the nomadic groups noted by the first observers. In this respect the history of progressive distribution throughout Gabon is significant. We will give the example of the Yéngwi, of which a fragment represented by twenty-five villages is established in the Oyem region in the Woleu-N'Tem. They are all attached to an ancestor called Esbob Angb, who is said to have come from the legendary place Adża Mbura and to have led the first journeys through the South Cameroons. He is still considered the founder (abial) of the groupings existing today. These, consisting of about 3,500 individuals, are especially concentrated in the southern part of Kyé-Nyé, Canton, north of the Woleu River. Starting from this region where the first Yéngwi villages were established and where a compact nucleus of more than [106] 1,500 individuals is still in existence, a great migration took place in the direction of present-day Spanish Guinea (in to villages) from the mouth of the N'Tem, the Ogooué, and the Gabon. The large grouping thus formed by the lines issued from Esbob Angb and settled at the level of a demarcated region constitutes an abial e bot, or major linage. Although these lines are spread out through ten generations, there exist real bonds between members of the grouping, even if their "kinship" goes back to Esbob Angb, and which are sufficient to make possible the aggregation of dissident elements from one village to another.

The word abial implies an idea of localization. It may signify "place of birth," "place of origin." (1) The groupings called

1. Cf. Mgr. L. Martrou, Lexique Fân-Français [Fang-French Lexicon], Paris, Procure Générale, not dated.

163 [167]

1. As an indication, the numerical strength of the Mekaé and Kozimé of the Cameroons may be put at about 80,000 persons.

index is a little less than ½ 1%), more, apparently, from a fall in the death rate than from a rise in the birth rate, which is rather inclined to decrease a bit. The table on pages 12a-12e gives a succinct survey in detail.

16 This table calls for some comments. First, the known rate of genital capacity*, nearly always around 4, like the sterility indices

/* According to another source, Georges Balandier /5/, "the genital capacity /is/ the mean number of pregnancies in women by the time of the menopause. . . . ." Sociologie Actuelle de l'Afrique Noire. Changemants sociaux au Gabon et au Congo /Contemporary Sociology of Black Africa: Social Changes in Gabon and the Congo/, p. 96, Paris, 1955. --Ed. /

that reach 30 percent, forms a contrast to the accounts of the first explorers as well as to tribal traditions, which uniformly speak of high fertility and a large proportion of children. Even taking into ac-
164 count the undoubted exaggeration that colors these statements, it remains likely that a demographic decline took place in the second quarter of the twentieth century, offset by a lowering of mortality, at least in certain areas. The difficulties of adaptation to forest life are an explanation for the south. Undoubtedly, one must add factors [169] like the spread of syphilis (kîto) along the highways and especially around settlements, and the outbreak of sleeping sickness, which seems to have followed pacification and to have affected particularly [170] northern and northeastern Pahouin country. In the south there was also the great Gabon famine of 1924-27, as well as sociological
171 causes such as heavy recruiting for the timber industry and perhaps
• 172 psychological factors arising from the impact of colonization (Balandier). In the north where the precocious rise of an agricultural economy based on cacao stabilized the villages rather early, the change in the form of the bride price and the individual appropriation

of land by "elder sons" (minkôl) have certainly had an unfavorable demographic effect by upsetting the family structure—41 percent of adult males were unmarried in the Oyem subdivision in 1948. Finally, the wide-scale introduction of trade alcohol before 1914 and since 1946 has most certainly made things worse.

However, the magnitude of the crisis, which has primarily affected the Fang of Gabon, must not be exaggerated. The general demographic development might be summed up as follows:

Temporary increase in general mortality immediately after pacification, owing to greater spread of epidemics, particularly of smallpox and sleeping sickness, as a result of new means of mobility; possible rise of sterility rates with slight fall in the genital capacity /13/ owing to venereal infection, alcoholism, labor recruitment (above all in Gabon), and changes in family and village economic organization.

On the other hand, rapid and continuous fall in general mortality resulting from pacification; since about 1930 a falling-off of epidemics and general improvement in hygiene initiated; at present a decline in infant mortality. The universal application of wide-scale antimalarial prophylaxis (in the Cameroons) already allows us to anticipate a spectacular increase in the population.

Viewed as a whole, the balance between favorable and unfavorable factors appears to be on the positive side, in any case in areas not affected by the great Gabon famine of 1924. Moreover, awareness of demographic malaise must have partly resulted from the halting of migration, which made a sort of inventory possible. This awareness is especially perceptible in Gabon, where the situation seems to have been in fact more serious.

5. History and Traditions of Origin

The known history of the Pahouin group is that of a migration toward the sea, a migration in process of completion before our eyes.

Whence did it start? This is a very controversial question. Seoli, following Schweinfurth, speaks of Upper Egypt, as does Trilles, basing this opinion on linguistic and cultural arguments such as the use of the military crossbow and the shape of the saber (fa). It is this same shape that leads Tessmann to speak of Roman influence. Marche and

and a middle tone. Father Stoll, raising the problem again in a recent work, turns it upside down by describing two fundamental tones, symmetrically contrasted, two dominant tones, and eight compound /composés/ or gliding ones, all of them together classed as eight principal (four simple and four gliding) and four secondary ones. He connects this symmetrical system with the cosmogony, proving his point with an illustration from the sɔ̃ rite. The battle among specialists is too violent for me to express an opinion. I shall restrict myself /25/ to pointing out that the nkul and the nkeñ only give two tones, and that in sending a message by one of these methods rhythm plays as important a part as do the tones (1).

1. But the balafo, mejeñ, consist of five xylophones of different tonality, each having six notes.

In the spoken language, and especially in formal speech, rhythm is just as important, and even those missionaries who possess a fine enough ear to avoid involuntary puns through tone usually do not succeed in mastering rhythm as can the last of the poet-storytellers. Current transcriptions do not, moreover, take rhythm or tone into account, the meaning of homographs emerging from their context. I think I observed here as elsewhere that the younger generation is inclined to forget the fine points of the language and no longer distinguish more than two tones, high and low, while the use of the nkul is daily losing ground.

A final important element in the language, especially in the oral literature, is represented by exclamative-descriptives, a series of locutions based on onomatopoeias or derived from verbs or modified nouns, reduplicated and often introduced by an exclamative particle or a click (2). Some of them are sufficiently accepted to be used in

2. Bertaut is one of the rare authors, if not the only one, to point out these clicks. I know of three in general use: one of approval, one of denial, one of warning. Others exist, used in hunting and still little known, which were perhaps borrowed from the Pygmies.

erosion and preserve the fertility of the soil. At present it would be a definite exaggeration to speak of an enclosure system, as may be done about the Bamiléké in the western Cameroons. Did such a system ever exist in Pahouin country, and are the humble hedges sometimes to be found encircling villages or plantations traces of it? However that may be, the practice could be very beneficial, and its development is much to be desired.

The raising of animals is now on the decline, especially in villages removed from the main roads. Are sacrifices requiring goats and hens passing into disuse? /31/ Have vehicular traffic and the number of fowls run over prevented the renewal of the leasing out of domestic animals /?/ /cheptel/. These various causes may have been simultaneously at work, but the reason most often given is the development of cacao plantations. Without fences, the raising of goats and the planting of cacao trees are incompatible. To protect their plantations or to avoid endless quarrels, owners of herds have had to limit their undertakings.

Modern agriculture

Cacao is indeed the symbol and the essential component of a modern economy. From this crop and from the agricultural, juridical, and economic practices which it entails, a thousand improvements or seeds of progress appear throughout the society.

It would, however, be unfair not to mention the other economic activities of the Pahouin districts, although their influence and financial return are far behind that of cacao. Timber, though its importance has decreased, played an essential role a few decades ago. African entrepreneurs are rare in this industry where equipment is complicated and expensive. A fairly large tonnage of palmetto is sold when the market is good, although the best soil and climate for palms is not to be found here (1).

1. The Pahouin of the southern Cameroons, the Boulou and Ntoumou particularly, dislike climbing trees and often sell the bunches of dates to Mekaé on the tree. (P. A.)

But cacao remains the master crop. Its cultivation has become a part of the mores and has left its mark on psychological patterns.

4. Towns

36] This lack of vitality in the bush is understandable if we turn to
(2] conditions of settlement: the scattered pattern of settlement is very obvious. There are no villages properly speaking, just a dusting of hamlets. In the Cameroons, the villages are very small, with an average of 230 inhabitants. Furthermore, we are dealing with units in a system of control: their village is divided into many hamlets of from 5 to 20 huts grouped around that of the family head /chef de famille/.

78 In Gabon, Fang leaders are worried about this crumbling apart of the
36] population and have issued slogans for regrouping the villages.
(2] Amongst them, indeed, the scattering is perhaps even more marked.
[a] "The average number of inhabitants per village varies from 42 (territory of Mitsic) to 105 around Oyem and to nearly 138 in the Fang canton of Makokou." (1)

1. Balandier and Pauvert, Les villages gabonais /Gabonese Villages/, Mémoir, I.E.C.A. /Institut d'Etudes centrafricaines/, Brazzaville, 1952.

This is not the place for a study of whether scattered settlement is natural in a country where no centralized authority has been imposed, in which the only certain /37/ power was that of the family head, or whether, on the contrary, it evidences a new kind of anarchy, an intensified individualism. We shall merely point out that the
[b] hamlets are larger in Boulou country than in Ewondo or Bané country, although the former political institutions of the Ewondo and Bané seem to have given tribal chiefs some political powers and marks of rank, of which there seems to have been no question among the Boulou. The first appearance of centralized political power would seem to coincide with a greater dispersion in settlement.

The fact remains that no center of concentration forced any crystallization whatsoever of an amorphous mass. This fact, closely connected with the absence of trade, clearly indicates the new and artificial character of the towns. They are all of recent origin, and yet they have become a necessity.

103 set up at a spot where the body of a chimpanzee had been found; menjikôm • from me nji kômbo, I did not want to, the founding family not having wanted to go any further. /Or the nlam may take its place name/ from a nickname or whimsical name: mall • sea, the site being considered "as beautiful as the sea"; kamelôn • Kamerun, "because a white man told us that the country would be called thus henceforward; évunok • elephant's stomach, because of the appetite of its inhabitants, etc. It may also happen that a village name repeats that of its founder's native village, sometimes coupled with an indication like baa • second, mfefé • new, or with the name of its founder or chief, bévo me Nkulu, the bévo of Nkulu.

166 The leapfrog advance of small Pahouin groups at the time of the
62 invasion has already been described. Each of these groups generally
78 corresponded to a hamlet—jal—or to a village—nlam—or, rather, to the corresponding family units, nda bôt or mvôk. The migrating group retained rights to the abandoned site (bilik). Today the migration of whole villages is much less common. Rather, we are witnessing either a "swarming off" of villages that are overpopulated in relation to the amount of land available for plantations (in particular land near a vehicular road, especially in Cameroons), or a kind of explosion or social disintegration, /41/ the latter phenomenon being particularly noticeable among the Fang, where it has been well described by Balandier. Administrative action has often been a prime mover in the latest migrations: in Gabon, for instance, there has been an attempt to move whole villages for administrative, economic, or hygienic reasons, but in doing so collective groups have been broken up that had already been weakened by the disappearance of ancient defense needs and by the economic changes resulting from colonization. The new villages, often reconstituted without taking into account previous clan or family structures, no longer had any cohesion and split up into small rootless hamlets, poorly populated, continually moving their sites in disorderly fashion and usually seeking to escape contact with the administration. Since 1946, especially at the instance of the deputy, Aubame, himself a Fang, there has come into existence in Gabon a movement to regroup villages by clans, the results of which do not seem to have corresponded to the hopes of its promoters.

166 The situation is perceptibly different in the Cameroons, where the
62 early introduction of the cultivation of cacao (before 1914 in Ewôndo

baskets, storage baskets (binaan), crockery (vick), or imported "negro pots" /sic/ (minkell), the drying rack, shrimp nets, mortars, and other feminine implements. The young unmarried men slept in the guardhouse; the girls slept with the women. A jal occupied by an average-sized family might be 50 meters long. Large minlam reached half a kilometer, in which case the mell was divided into sections by the secondary metba of each family. The chief lived in the middle and had a larger aba than those of other families.

This kind of village has almost entirely disappeared. Bark huts are still extant in a few isolated villages in Gabon, but they are increasingly rare. In actual fact, one finds almost everywhere the hut of reinforced banco /wattle and daub?/ (the wattle consists of laths made of the main ribs of raffia, incorrectly called bamboo), imposed on Boulou country around 1925 by an administrator called Nkula (meaning "the Tornado"), which has left its mark throughout Pahouin country. These huts are usually rectangular but tend, in prosperous villages, to be influenced by European forms, with T-, U-, or H-shapes, with verandas and lean-to showers. They are often plastered with kaolin (kom) sometimes mixed with red or green ocher or with imported laundry blueing. The roof is still usually of raffia tile, but it may have four slopes or be even more complicated, copied from European roofs. Each family has its own privy (dduk).

The layout of villages has likewise changed. The most prevalent plan keeps the single central mell /street/, but the huts are in four lines on either side and are separate, no longer contiguous. The men's huts are nearest the road, the women's, now called kisin (cuisines /kitchens/), are laid out behind, or sometimes around, the husband's. The plaster is often painted in fresco with various subjects —copies of pictures in magazines, religious subjects, in Boulou country illustrations from the novel Hisange bôo (1), portraits of

> 1. The best Boulou painter of recent years was David Mouewono, a Tembek from Sangmélima, who not only established the iconography of Hisange bôo but is also a good portraitist and a remarkable painter of animals.

European famous locally or internationally. The aba /guardhouse/ has lost its defensive character and often takes the form of an airy

level that the agencies of authority, of social control, are most in evidence.

The head of the family is the senior, nnôl or nnôle mbe, of the adult and active men, beaya bôôl, "the true men." He is not necessarily the oldest in age, because infirm old men suffer a genuine capitis diminutio /a loss of status/. The founder of the hamlet or his eldest son can still, even if infirm, preserve a certain moral authority as father, ésa, of the family, but actual authority will then be delegated to a nya mbôô chosen from his brothers, sons, or nephews, the ésa'ola (Bertaut). In principle, a jal is composed of the founder, his old relatives /parents/, his younger brothers, his children and those of his sisters, his unmarried sisters, their illegitimate children and those of his daughters. Wives do not belong to the jal, their village is referred to as jall. Of a divorced woman one would say, a bova jall, "she has gone back to her village." The size of the nda bôt depends upon different factors: security, the /family/ head's authority, the fertility of the soil, etc. I have already pointed out how several mal can be gathered into a nlam, a proper village. Nowadays the mvada me bôt are tending to decrease numerically and no longer to correspond to the jal, which can from now on combine several /mvada me bôt/. The limited or household family is becoming more and more important, while the government-sponsored institution of village chiefship /chefferie/, although it is often only an imperfect substitute for the authority of the nnôl or the ésa, undermines that none the less. The size of an average nda bôt may be calculated at twenty /40/ persons (including the wives who do not belong to the jal), less in the towns and among the less prosperous people, more among large planters and the influential (minkukum).

The nda bôt used to be a religious, military, and economic unit. On the religious plane, the father, ésa, was the custodian of the bôôt (Fang, bieôt), the portable altar or ark of the ancestral cult containing the skulls of the ancestors; he made the decisions about initiations and bore their expense. The initiations have died out, and the missions have burned dozens, if not hundreds, of bôôt. Security and colonial order have removed any interest in the ésa's military function. Only his economic role survives to some extent. He used to be the sole owner of the family goods (bôôm), sole treasurer of income, and sole regulator of expenditures, of which the most important was the payment of "bride prices" (minombe) for his younger brothers and his

an old man, nnôm mɔ̂t, who lived too long lost his prestige as he became decrepit. It seems probable that during the great migrations old people, particularly feeble old women, were abandoned in the forest when a village moved its site. Certainly death must often have come before the infirmities of age, from fighting, hunting, or the first serious illness. My informants were always unanimous in telling me that the skull of an infirm or senile old man could not be used in the biéri cult.

With the second generation of descendants, a man, alive or dead, inevitably becomes émvam, a forefather, in the double sense of grandfather and ancestor.

An age grade covers about three years: this is about the longest possible stretch of time during which two children born on different dates can both be at the breast together, and it was approximately the interval separating two large collective initiation ceremonies. Classificatory kinship groups people by generation: all those of one generation are bobenyaⁿ, brothers, as mentioned above. Within an age grade the term éjula, "comrade," is more apt to be used. The succession of age grades created an internal hierarchy within the generation and strengthened the clan and tribal ties between the bijula. This strengthening was even more marked between the bo'bewɔ̂ of the same time of initiation.

Modern life alters these ties, as much from the dying out or transformation of the initiations as from the loosening of ties in the extended family and also from the greater mobility of individuals and limited families. The little Fang boy born at Fort-Lamy, where his father is postal agent, scarcely feels himself to be the éjula of his clan monyaⁿ born on the same day at Libreville. Economic and political development tends more and more to set up hierarchies founded more on occupation, wealth, even education, rather than on age and rank in the family. /58/

4. Slavery, Castes, Classes, Chiefdoms

Largeau spoke of the Pahouin as of a "people who have no synonym for our words 'king,' 'master,' 'servant,' 'workman,' 'slave.'" It is a fine phrase, but it only partially corresponds to reality. Largeau himself, in his encyclopedia, translates the word "slave" as nsaghe, a loan word from Gabonese (Mpongwé), he says. Further north, people

G71 The sources of law are at present custom and the European legal system brought in from outside. Each obviously affects the other: custom is modified by the written code, while the application of the latter is bent by the influence of custom. Law is continually evolving. It is quite difficult to understand, even though often written. The decisions of courts, the minutes of reconciliation proceedings, the "covenants between natives" established by the 1920 decree, the minutes of discussion sessions (1), and even some private contracts are

1. Bulletin de la Société d'Études camerounaises, 1947, No. 19-20, p. 141, (no. 126).

filed in the administrative archives, but they have only rarely been systematically collated.

G71 The general term for custom is biyem (from yem = to know), connoting at the same time habits and modes of life and the laws that regulate them and qualify them as good or bad. Forms of behavior are rather mebo, from bo, to do. Methods and general practices are mam (sing. jam) or mefô (afô = speech, from fô = to say), the second also meaning "business" in a litigious sense. One often hears, almost always with a tone of regret: Nnôm éyem, bimvam bi nga wôô bo mebo mete, melu mvus; nale a nga'ane kik, "The old ways, as our ancestors used to do things, they don't exist any longer." The whole "Pahouin regrouping" movement is characterized by this antithesis between regret for the biyem bimvam and yearning for progress. The result has been the growth of pseudo traditions attempting to connect contemporary ways with customary norms.

G71 Since 1944 we have witnessed a trend in public opinion in favor of written codification of the law. Most clan groups /70/ have drafted their customary laws, which are revised periodically at the bisulan and which serve as legal basis for the decisions of the civil courts. It is probably too early for a final codification on a territorial scale, which would most likely involve an intertribal unification of the law (already stimulated by the colonial legal system), but periodic publication of local customary law by a committee of high-ranking men and assessors is often demanded and has already been sporadically carried out, as much by fsulan chairman as by certain government officials

423 2. Sautter, Bulletin d'Études centrafricaines, 1950 (no. 102).

[144] Migrations and conquests still belong to the recent past. Besides, /74/ the movement of peoples was effected without organization or authority: different clans, tribes, and peoples overlap, family by family, so that it is not possible to determine the territorial base of a collective group.

Among the Ewondo and Eton the situation is slightly different: the clans, probably better organized, preserved a certain amount of cohesion and carried out their conquest without becoming scattered. Therefore we find that they have boundaries between villages and collective rights over land. "Once plots of land have been cleared, they are not abandoned for good. A village looks upon them as a [244] reserve." In fact population density very much limits shifting cultivation.

[178] In the past forty years customs have changed a great deal and, among these peoples where land tenure was embryonic or nonexistent, ideas are arising that approximate Western rights of ownership.

[14] Population is now pretty nearly stable. It would be quite logical for rights over crops within a fixed boundary to arise, and in this direction some development is making itself felt. In certain areas 423 anyone may still cut wood, liana, gather wild fruits, or hunt, to 244 satisfy his personal needs, but if he makes a profit from the sale of these things, he must obtain the consent of the family /occupying/ the area in which he carries on this activity. Elsewhere, the use of certain produce even for private requirements is subject to permission or to sharing the harvest. Thus the customary principle of the free use of natural goods is being restricted, at least in certain particular cases. With increase in population comes the idea of a virtual right over uncultivated forest lands. Families consider that they alone have the right to clear the land on which they depend. Men with experience state clearly that "formerly everyone cleared forest land without asking anyone's permission. Now that the country is becoming populous, permission must be asked." In less populated cantons clearing in the great forest goes on without restriction.

In conformity with ancestral customs, the harvest belongs to the cultivators: a right over personal property rather than a right over land. Nevertheless, a tendency toward a right of land ownership is

The female rite corresponding to *dê* is *mevungu*, about which little is known, for the reasons mentioned earlier. It was not a clan rite, since the women of a village would, in consequence of exogamy, belong to different clans. Like *sê*, its function was to make of the initiates accomplished women, *benya bengono* or *benya binga*, fertile, free of *évu*, and disciplined, and perhaps, in addition, to set up a community bond between the women of a village in place of the missing clan bond among them.

Initiates of both sexes were exempt from numerous general food taboos. They were bound together by an obligation of mutual aid reinforcing and even transcending that of clan fraternity. The dying out of initiations has definitely left a void which contemporary Pahouin are trying to fill; the new syncretist rites seem to have succeeded better in this than the churches and political parties.

e. Old Age

The *nya mbê* and the *nya minga* are people in full possession of their faculties, quite capable of fulfilling their social roles. Their prestige is in proportion to their abilities; when they are no longer "true" men or "true" women, society is inclined to low interest in them and to push them aside. An old man can mitigate his loss of physical power by his wealth or his skill in magic; an old woman owns nothing and easily incurs the risk of an accusation of sorcery. Her decline begins earlier than a man's, when she ceases to bear children or to be physically attractive, while a man reaches his prime when /101/ he has grandsons living with him and accepting his authority. But this authority lasts only so long as a man can "stand up for himself" /*se défendre*/ in the semi-colloquial sense of the word. Nowadays the ease with which villages and extended families burst their bounds geographically often accelerates this decline, which some *minkukum* palliate thanks to the polygamy on a large scale that enables them to retain economic power.

Old people without children have a very hard time of it, even in regions converted to Christianity, especially widows, who in their affinal family do not benefit from the clan obligation of mutual aid. In times past old people were abandoned in the forest during migrations; they are still left in *bilik*, deserted villages, when the main body of the village moves, for instance, to establish itself along a

526 rite, and event in life, of which the orchestral element as well as the dance movements and costumes had a very precise symbolical meaning. Many of these dances have died out, either because they have lost their raison d'être (as with war and initiation dances, etc.) or because they have been prohibited by the administration and especially by the missions as obscene or pagan (fertility, funeral, medical dances, etc.). Those that survive have now a recreational or purely artistic character, which was only secondary before. It is 562 significant that the number of dances in which both sexes take part 171 has considerably increased and that nearly all are now open to the public and may be seen by spectators of any age or sex.

In spite of this falling off, there is still a large number and variety of dances. Among the most widespread may be mentioned:

ôzila, an old fertility dance, especially among the Fang and 509 Nkoumou; an orchestra of vertical drums, mbae and ngom, with "spoken" accompaniment of the drum-telephone, nkul; it is danced by professionals (women initiates of mevungu?) with bare torso, vegetable rattles at the ankles, unewn wildcatskin skirts, wooden masks on the left arm; the leading dancer, ôwu ngem, inserts a horn into her vagina during the dance; the dancers 274 apparently drug themselves with a decoction containing (notably) Indian hemp; the missions have forbidden this dance, and this has provoked several incidents.

mengôk, called thus because the dance is accompanied by an orchestra of balafon; it is widespread except, perhaps, among the Boulou; it is performed by the young girls and little girls of a village; each village has its own tune and special costume consisting of a belt of raffia fiber, skirt and cap in "pastry-cook" style in the village colors, with a brassière worn in Christian villages.

526 dzengô, sometimes called ngemen fulutta, a Protestant dance 177 (it must have been inspired by Swedish gymnastics used by a German-American M. P. A. /American Presbyterian mission?/ missionary to provide a substitute for "immoral" dances; ô nem ô wem...), found especially among the Boulou but extending into northern Gabon under the aegis of the Movement for Regrouping Palmain; it is a dance performed by young women and girls with a male leader, nlebe ngemen, who conducts with a whistle; an orchestra of drums, nkul, mbae, and ngom, rattles

82] far from its hole, it naturally falls down. We call that a shooting star; the Negro says: "otɨ̃ɛ̃i, a ke a bɔ̃n (the star goes forth to get a bride)."

It is a cause for some surprise that many, even older people have not yet noticed that the stars apparently move from east to west. When I made such a statement, it was steadfastly contested, and when I offered proof, the phenomenon was new and striking to all.

Constellations or names of stars, it seems, are totally unknown to the Pangwe; if there have been reports about these from the Jaunde, they are borrowed plumage with which the easygoing [181] little Jaunde people have once more adorned themselves. The Pangwe calls comets bɔtɨ̃ɛ̃ from tɨ̃ɛ̃o III, and he sees monitor lizards in them. A quite subordinate group of stars in the vicinity of Orion was pointed out to me several times and designated as tɨ̃ɛ̃o, but I consider this a mistake, since in 1902 a comet disappeared in the vicinity of this area.

Extremely eager students may like to know the Pangwe's idea of the size of the heavenly bodies. Well, I hope their expectations are not too great! -- "Sun and moon," said my Pangwe, whom I /204/ /Fig. 64 appears here in the original text/ asked in the presence of his comrades, "are of the same size, and about -- let us say -- as large as one of the large tin plates sold on the coast." At this answer by the aspiring scholar, there was, however, a general shaking of heads, and in reply to my objection that even people in the distance look as small as ants and that the sky is so infinitely much farther away, the native questioned had to admit that he had underestimated. They finally agreed that the sun is as large as the area in front of my station (about ten meters wide). With that I had to content myself. In the case of the stars they obliged me from the outset, after this experience, by stating that they are as large as the space enclosed by the extended thumbs and index fingers of both hands, but the narrator evidently felt the need to justify his exaggeration to himself, and went on to remark: "They seem smaller, because they are far away!" /205/

As regards the color of the stars, the sun according to my Pangwe is red and hot like fire, the moon and the stars are white

2. Sexual Life between Maturity and Marriage

After reaching maturity, the girl is called ngɔ̄h III, and the young man nkɔ̄ I; for both there is also the term bendɔ̄man, plural of ndɔ̄man = young man or girl at the age of being in love. Thus the name itself shows under what sign the subsequent period of life is lived. Free love in the boldest sense of the word prevails. The girl may give away her favors without inhibition to whom and whenever she desires to do so, and she need only observe the religious rule that prohibits sexual intercourse during the day and the social rule that prohibits intercourse between blood relatives. Otherwise there is no barrier; members of the same age group come together and make thorough use of their freedom. In the initial period after maturity, to be sure, sexual desire is dampened by the moral admonitions of the cults with their proclamation of the sinfulness of sexual intercourse. This sinfulness, combined with physical satiety and psychic revulsion, produces a "moral hangover"; however, such considerations and feelings are soon overcome. As in eating, so in their love life, the Pangwe knew no moderation. They empty the cup of joy to the lees. Later on, especially when the Pangwe has acquired several wives, he tends to develop a more business-like attitude towards sexual love, in place of the youthful amours which alternate unsteadily between ungoverned passion and its aftereffects, psychic unease.

In view of this extensive free love, it goes without saying that the virginity of his future wife plays no role in the man's choice. Indeed, the presence of a hymen (ayɔ̄dehɔ̄) is usually scarcely noticed and /254/ to some is totally unknown. Around the age of 15 years it is supposed to be destroyed by boys of the same age.

As for their libidinal drive, the girls are generally not inferior to the boys. However, we may say that for the girls potency alone is as a rule the deciding factor in the choice of a friend. This fact is well expressed in the various dance songs at the bbele (which, incidentally, were brought to the Fang and Ntum by the sexually loose Jaunde) as, for example, in the following complaint.

means: Balinge, son of Ekore."

551 [113] The custom of the Bane of adding the mother's name to one's own, as reported here, is found also among the Jaunde according to Zenker (Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, Vol. 8, p. 50).

Family names in our sense are unknown to the Pangwe. Towards strangers they use the name of the kin group, which is after all to be understood as a "family" in the Pangwe sense; to this, at the same time, is added the name of the mother's familial group. My faithful factotum, Ayong, who has already been presented to the reader in the picture on Plate 3 /Ed., Vol. 1/, would, for instance, introduce himself as follows:

[539] me ne ayõn-bokã, mõne eslwõ'ã,
I am Ajong-Boka, child (of the family) Essoong,

mone ngõ'ã esengõ.
child (of a) girl (of the) Emsang.

551 [167] To learn this complete name by heart is the child's first task. Once the child can recite it without a mistake, the father, proud of the cleverness of his offspring, proceeds to the further task of acquainting the little one with the names of his grandfather and great-grandfather (naturally on the father's side). Let us again take an example.

The child is called Ndongo, his father Essoo, from the Abai family, in other words: ndõngo-esõ'ã, mõne abai, etc., Ndongo of Essoo from the Abai family. -- "But from whom am I, Essoo, descended?" asks the father. "esõ'ã-nsõma, that is, Essoo from Nsoma," is the answer. "And from whom is Nsoma descended ? nsõma nse?" "nsõma-ngõ'ã." -- The child learns it all very [16] quickly, because as regards its ability to grasp things /186/, the Negro child is far superior to white children. -- The Pangwe, however, does not stop with the grandfather. Each of these black gentlemen has all his ancestors in his head, just like our feudal lords. To be sure, none of them knows more about them than

therefore forced to settle in the most westerly area. (See the unpublished report of Father Sohier.) Others say (according to the report of X. Béliard) that they are only brothers of the Ewondo, who crossed the Sanaga, entered the southern forest as far as the present-day region of Ebolowa, stayed there a few years, and, step by step, took the northwest route, crossing the Lokoundje River. Then they infiltrated among the Basa tribes and settled in their present habitat. What we know for certain is that not until 1910 did they occupy the three villages on the road between Kribi and Edéa, and that their migration was still in full swing when the German occupation forced them to settle in one spot.

The population in the vast territory occupied by the Ewondo is not culturally homogeneous. In many villages and even in the hamlets, the Ewondo live side by side with members of neighboring groups. On our map we have indicated the most important enclaves and mixed settlements /Map 8, facing p. 72/, namely those where the strangers are as numerous as the Ewondo or even more so. /72/ The actual situation is more complex than this, but on a map of this scale it has not been possible to show the minorities. (1)

1. A remarkable large-scale diagrammatic map of the administrative subdivision of Yaoundé should be mentioned here. It was set up in 1944 by the administrator J. Clément and shows even the smallest intermixtures, with proportional strengths, for every village and hamlet.

The Ewondo live in sizable villages which stretch along the many roads in the area. The villages are well maintained and show evidence of a comfortable standard of living which is largely the result of the prosperity of their cacao trees and their trade.

The Ewondo are robust and muscular, skillful and intelligent. They emigrate readily, and their workers are valued in all enterprises.

The shipment of their products is facilitated by a major branch of the railway which crosses their territory between Yaoundé and Ombé, and transportation on their roads plays an important role in getting the various foodstuffs and the cacao from the great markets to the bush to the railroad.

The settlements of these peoples vary in appearance. The villages and hamlets of the Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda are located in relatively open country and they stretch out along numerous trails. The Bulu in the south, situated in a land of parallel valleys through which flow the tributaries of the Nyong and by thick forest, can only build their villages along the valleys. This whole area, especially in the Nyong Basin, is very fertile. The natives have fine fields of food crops and many palm trees. Many prosperous enterprises, lumber yards, and fine groves of cacao trees can also be found. /81/[illegible]

All the products are transported to the railroad at M'Balmayo along a large network of roads and the navigable parts of the Nyong.

The Bulu are intelligent and hard working, and are capable of becoming excellent craftsmen.

Language. We have seen that Father Nekes and G. Tessmann see a very close relationship between the language of the Bulu and that of the Mvele. The Bulu language includes a number of dialects with only slight variants, and falls between the speech of the Ewondo and that of the Gabon Paloueie, which are almost identical.

Linguistic Bibliography

von Hagen, Gunther Tronje. Lehrbuch der Bulu Sprache /Handbook of the Bulu Language/ (Berlin: Radetzki: 1914), Vol. 7, 402 pages.

Johnson, H. H. A Comparative Study of Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages. (Oxford University Press, 1922), Vocabulary No. 219.

Bates, George L. Handbook of Bulu (Revised Edition; with the vocabulary revised and much enlarged by the author and Silas F. Johnson) (Ekelowa: The Halsey Memorial Press, 1926).

Good, A. I. Bulu Handbook Supplement. Supplementary Facts in Bulu Grammar. Appendix to Vocabulary in Bulu. Vocabulary of Exclamatory Words. (Ekelowa: The Halsey Memorial Press, 1934).

English-Bulu Vocabulary (Ekelowa, undated).

Physical Anthropology and Demography

Bulu: average height, men 165.4 cm.; women 157.6 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.8	79.2

Given Pahouin interest in a political system based on election, which pretty well corresponds both with their individualism and with their mistrust of individuals, it may be that such a system has some chance of success if it is allowed to become Pahouinized.

5. Associations

Traditional associations were undoubtedly less developed among the Pahouin than among other African societies with more closely knit or more stable hierarchical structures. The social groups at the core of clans or villages grew and decayed in accordance with migrations and "swarmings-off." They showed a kinship rather than an associational character.

Nevertheless, there existed within kinship as well as outside it associations not based on descent, voluntary and not de facto /discretionary?/. These were often characterized by initiations and had a magical or religious basis, with varying purposes.

The minsamba, "societies," were temporary, organized for a military operation (ôban, mvôle) or for a trade journey to the coast or to the "trading-posts" of the Ogooué. The men who took part often came from different villages or even from different clans bound by an alliance (ôlat). They swore an oath of loyalty and mutual assistance, involving a ritual sacrifice followed by a communion meal; for a war enterprise, there might be a human victim, especially if it were a matter of avenging the death, kum mbim, of a monyall (brother) and if there were a prisoner of war available to sacrifice. The association was dissolved once its end had been accomplished, but a bond persisted between its members.

Similar temporary associations could be formed for large elephant hunts; they were moreover often confused with the mamba dulu or mamba ayak (traveling society, trade society) afterward organized for the sale of the ivory.

The most important permanent associations were those among the initiates of different rites. But what was most often involved in these was a kind of relationship by way of a rite, which was not the rite's real purpose, or was so only adventitiously. When, for instance, all the inhabitants of a village took part in the ôeye purification rite, a strengthening of the fraternal ties among them certainly ensued, but the prime purpose was purification (1). /63/

of the neck for the ngi; a (secret) design on the sacrum for the ngil; three horizontal marks on the nape for the nsingh; a line of "vaccination marks" on the inner surface of the arms, forearms, and thighs, and along the carotid arteries, for the serpent /associations/, etc.

Men wore their hair braided, or else they shaved the temples and parietal bones, leaving a sort of comb on the top of the skull, suggesting a gorilla's crest. There were special ways of dressing the hair appropriate for the different initiations. The moustache was worn only by the beayo bhub; the beard, a goatee, by a few aged men, often diviners. In our day men usually wear their hair short and merely combed; a central part, in the Lower Nigerian fashion, was very common around 1948 among factory hands, while former recruits went in for a crew cut with a frill beard /barbe en collier/. Many students wear a little goatee, and this style is now growing among the rest of the younger generation. Since up to now wearing a beard was a sign of mourning, a political implication has sometimes been attributed to this fashion—but mourning beards are not trimmed. /88/

Women have many ways of doing their hair. In plaits, checker board, "horns," etc. As a sign of mourning their heads are shaved, and they are not allowed to comb the hair that grows out before the end of mourning. The growth of beard or moustache that often follows menopause is considered a sign of sorcery. Stylish women pluck their armpits, and a few also remove their pubic hair, for reasons perhaps of elegance and hygiene, perhaps of ritual (is there a relationship between the name of the important female rite mevungu and mevul, meaning "female pubic hair?"). Padouk powder, bas, is still used in the way that henna is for both magical and aesthetic reasons, but European make-up, mainly lipstick, has taken its place among young fashionable women.

Bodily cleanliness is much in favor; men and women often bathe several times a day with plenty of soap. But it is common to see them put back on their well-scrubbed bodies perfectly filthy clothes, no doubt because bodily cleanliness is a much older practice than that of wearing clothes made of cloth.

c. Psychological Characteristics

Like the majority of known peoples, the Pahouin have a very flattering opinion of themselves, and the curious thing is that this

● [81] opinion is quite widely shared by foreign observers. "Much more intelligent and...more active and harder working than the average Negro... they also have more forethought... they compare with other Negroes as do Aryans with Semites and the red men /Rouges/ ... capable of acquiring a certain amount of intellectual cultivation and of performing all sorts of industries," wrote Largeau in 1900. Before him, Du Chaillu /had written/: "Proud and fierce warriors... clever and industrious... that will supersede... the degenerate tribes (of the Ogooué)," while Hern, who did not like the French at all, thought the "Mpangwe" of 1875 to be the "Prussians of Africa," which, considering his attitude and the period, was a compliment. Later, Trilles favorably compares their moral standards with those of Europeans; his Protestant colleague Gerbert speaks of their "individualism," their "fierce love of liberty." The portrait admits, it is true, of some reservations: "brusqueness," "brutal frankness," along with "unreliability," "malice," and "good for gain" for Largeau, "pride," "tendency to hoard," "stubbornness," for Gerbert, "cruelty," "avarice" for Du Chaillu, "superstition" for Hern, while Compiègne thinks they "disappointed Admiral de Langle's hopes (for their ability to become assimilated)." It is a remarkable fact that these "defects" may just as well appear aspects of their "good qualities," just like the strictures on "anarchy" and "rebelliousness" that often turn up in the official reports.

All these evaluations still hold good, clearly subjective and /81/ nonscientific as they are, just as are those I have been able to make myself and which lead me to say that I have actually met among the Pahouin I associated with a large proportion of intelligent, energetic, high-spirited /fiers/ people, endowed with a sarcastic humor well illustrated in many recent novels and also in the giving of nicknames, especially to government officials, and in the celebrated caricatures of Monsewoo among the Boulou.

The only scholarly work on this subject that I know is some research done in the Cameroons by Fourtel, head of the Service de Psychotechnie et d'Orientation professional /Psychotechnical and Vocational Guidance Service/, which does not seem to have been published. This research was done in 1949-50 at the beginning of the construction of the Edéa dam. The studies revealed, among the Pahouin of the southern Cameroons, more adaptability, concentration, and capacity for integration superior on the whole to those of other

is not yet admitted to the essential functions of full manhood: ritual, warfare, and marriage. Formerly, he was not until after the great tribal initiation. *ɔ́*, *sɔ́* is the name of a large red antelope, *Cephalophus castaneus*, found in great quantity in the forest and in the galleries of the park-savanna. The meat is taboo, *ɛ́yi*, to the uninitiated (*bibiɛ*) and, *a fortiori*, to women. It may seem strange that Trilles does not mention it in *Le totémisme chez les Fang*, although the *ɔ́* seems to be one of the most important tribal totems. It should be observed in this connection that the *sɔ́* rite, widespread among the Cameroons Pahouin, including the Bati, and among those of the Wolou-N'Tem, seems to vanish somewhere between Mitzic and N'Djolé, while some of its features are to be found in the initiation to the *bɔ́ɔ́ɛ́*, which is basically merely an adjunct. It would therefore appear to have gone to pieces at the same time as the structure of the *meyɔ́ɔ́*, to be revived in the extreme south by the *bwiti*, reported by Trilles, which is at present moving northward. Nevertheless, I must point out that what Trilles describes under the name of *bawu* may well be *sɔ́*.

Initiation ceremonies were filmed among the Eton of Sae in 1935; the film is kept at the Musée de l'Homme. Bertaut (no. 110) gives a very full description of the outward forms of the initiation, Stoll (no. 84) an interpretation of its symbolism.

Initiation took place about every three years (every seven *mimbu?*); Bertaut states that a ceremony might be arranged after some serious happening in a village. It lasted three months (one year, according to Stoll, who counts in the preliminary ceremonies for the initiation proper and the period following) and entailed great expense for sacrifices on the part of the persons of initiates and especially the initiation leader, the *ɔ́kɔ́wɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́* (judge of the *ɔ́ɔ́*, lit., butcher of the *ɔ́ɔ́*), a senior chosen from the most wealthy and respected. From this point of view, one may believe that the rite coincided with the desire for levelling of wealth which appears to have been so constant in Pahouin society. The *ɔ́kɔ́wɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́* did not himself lead the ceremony; he was the instigator and the person responsible, but the celebrant was a diviner, a *mɔ́ɔ́k ɔ́ɔ́*, "*ɔ́ɔ́* wise man" or "*ɔ́ɔ́* measurer" or "*ɔ́ɔ́* pouch," if the tone is changed (*vɔ́k* = to take aim, to compute, to divine, to measure).

The main theme of the rite, of which the following description is quite incomplete, was the death of the *ɔ́ɔ́*, *awu ɔ́ɔ́*, afterwards eaten

The men who compose it, older men, rich, practicing old-fashioned polygamy, have had an academic training. We must not be deceived —in this country there is no real gulf between office-holders and chiefs.

Thus municipal councils can allow an élite class to rise to the surface and assume responsibilities.

2. The Pahouin and the Future

Shaped by their history, the Pahouin owe to it their positive qualities and their defects.

From having been conquerors, or more accurately, from having been successful in establishing themselves in new lands, they have retained a certain pride and self-confidence. Without being violently xenophobic, they preserve toward foreigners a friendly but the least bit contemptuous attitude, such is their feeling of superiority.

They had the good fortune to have been exposed very early to Christianity and to schools, at least in the Cameroons. Because they are intelligent—tests given to school pupils in the Cameroons show that the Boulou come out on top, along with the Bamoun—they have provided the administration and trade with a large part of their personnel and, when they emigrate, they do not join the unskilled labor force but provide specialized personnel, often salaried workers. This indicates the power of the Pahouin.

Finally, thanks to cacao, they have acquired a certain amount of wealth and live in some degree of comfort. This indicates their basic role in the economy. It also indicates their influence upon local finance. In the Cameroons as in Gabon, the Pahouin country is a rich area, whose exports and imports supply a significant portion of the economy. /135/ The Pahouin, therefore, play an essential role in the life of these territories, and they are able to obtain superior services for their region. There are already many roads, schools, and dispensaries.

But their traditional lack of organization impedes them in certain occupations. They despise trade and are only moderately successful in it, because their natural anarchy does not dispose them toward taking advantage of partnership or of market organization. The absence of urban centers is even more of an obstacle: the town is a new phenomenon, where immigrants are numerous and have been able to create stable situations for themselves, since there were no precedents.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

142 bread-winners and some are strong and muscular, while many more are weak and worn out from ceaseless toil.

The Fang make good carriers, and will do a splendid day's journey even in the 482 wet season with bad forest trails, if not overloaded. A carrier's load should never 147 exceed 25 kilogrammes; and 20 would pay better on a long journey. The first day out with a caravan the men usually drag along slowly, until their loads settle well down in the *Isiapi* and fit their backs. The *Isiapi* is a very ingenious contrivance for carrying a load in; it is usually made from a forest vine with a plaited head strap. To hurry carriers the first day is a bad mistake; poorly adjusted loads chafe and cause sore backs, and before night the whole caravan is tired out and sulky. It is a wise traveller in Africa as elsewhere who knows how to save his men.

145 A very noticeable fact among the Fang is the scarcity of old men. I 164 attribute this largely to the ravages of syphilis; the same terrible disease that has done so much towards the degeneration of numerous coast tribes, and which is already playing fearful havoc among the Fang. Indolent, untrustworthy and warlike, they are nevertheless a most companionable people. 181 The slightest piece of drollery or a joke immediately causes laughter. It has been my privilege to visit many foreign lands including China, Japan and Korea, yet never in my life have I met such an absolutely good-natured, fun-loving people as the Fang.

The men are not fond of work. They frequently ask me for something to do 461 to "earn a cloth." If I tell them to cut fence poles or good clean bark in the forest, they decline. A male Fang's idea of work is to sit in the *Abeng* (= palaver house) and make fish lines by rolling pineapple fibre along the upper [713] portion of his thigh, or to manufacture *Abi* (roof thatch). At these occupations he can converse with all comers, hear the news and take his part in talking a palaver. They are a revengeful people and will keep up a palaver over a woman for many 627 years. If they do not succeed in shooting a man during a palaver they do not [722] hesitate to fire at and kill a woman, while captives held as hostages are often treated with great cruelty.

The women regard virtue very lightly. Before marriage a girl can do nearly 836 as she pleases. It is absolutely safe to state that it would be almost impossible 517 to find a maiden in a Fang village over sixteen years of age. Adultery is common, [851] and one of the chief causes of "women palavers." Women rank first in value as [862] goods for trade, next in value are goats, then guns and cloth. The greed for goods has a strong hold on the people. They learn quickly but have very little originality. They have no obscene rites. Their habits are very dirty; they will wash in a 515 small pool of water and, while bathing, fill the gourds or imported jugs with the water in which they are washing and use it for domestic purposes. In many other ways they are absolutely filthy, and descend to the level of brute creation. They [834] are not over-burdened with modesty, both sexes frequently bathe together in a perfectly nude condition. A male Fang passes a large percentage of his time in

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 F319 Fang F319

X.—*Food. Cooking.*

Food used by the Fang is precisely similar to that of all other tribes 252
inhabiting the great zone of palms and bananas as described by Humboldt. Added
to these ordinary foods of the Fang is their liking for human flesh, indulged in to 262
this day in spite of the law, which is often powerless to reach and punish the
offenders. Cassava, *ndole*, plantains, *bikou*, crushed ground nuts, *agangan*, corn;
ondole, a most nutritive tuber, sweet potatoes, yams, palm oil, bananas, snails and
various molluscs. *Fish* is wrapped in plantain leaves and boiled, or set on hot
ashes and fire piled on top of the bundle of food. All kinds of meat is eaten, from
deer down to the smallest bush rat; snakes are considered very good meat. No
portion is wasted, every morsel of skin and intestines are eaten. Goats and
chickens are raised for food and trade. Corn or other cereals are not used for
the purpose of making bread. Milk is not used. Preparations of milk such as
butter and cheese are not made. There is a marked preference for meats. When
an animal is slaughtered, women bring wooden bowls to collect the blood in. The
blood is often cooked mixed with palm oil. A Fang will eat almost any kind of
known food and at any time, providing it is not his *Bhi* or taboo, given him during
infancy, prohibiting the eating of a certain kind of food, unless partaken of under
certain conditions. Except for the *Bhi* men, women and children partake of the
same food. The Fang are improvident. When on long journeys they often chew 271
a piece of Kola nut, but more commonly chew pieces of a certain root; it has 276
several different names. Palm oil is extensively used in cooking. Salt (ndw) is 263
much enjoyed and sought after in trade. Sugar is only used in the form of sugar
cane and eaten uncooked. The chief, or rather headmen, have no special form of
food. Eating earth is not indulged in. So far as I am aware, all fish, flesh and 222
fowl is cooked before being eaten. Fish is often extremely high, at times 261
positively bad, before it is eaten, but not one morsel is ever wasted.

Fish, fowl, bush rats, snakes and all kinds of meats are smoked or sun-dried; 251
food prepared thus is carried on journeys in the bush wrapped in leaves and eaten
with ashes (cassava) without any further preparation. Permanent ovens for baking 284
are not in use. Meat is roasted on small spits over the log fire or wrapped up
in leaves and hot ashes banked around and on top of it. Native vegetables are
frequently cooked with meats, plantains are usually boiled separately or roasted
close to the fire. Most cooking utensils used by the Fang near the coast are iron 439
or brass pots, imported by white traders; but farther inland the native pots are 415
much more in vogue. These native pots are made of grey clay and sun-dried; they
become harder and stronger by use, and vary in size and capacity from a pint to 323
about three gallons.

Cooking vessels are not kept very clean, being simply rinsed out with a little 264
water; but if the vessel is a brass trade pot or kettle, it is usually taken to the
river or a near stream, and scoured bright; but I fear the chief reason for doing

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 F319 Fang F319

754 *Vungu ne ziang ongo bin ne* (Take away the curse you have [sent] put upon me).
578
626 *Vungu ne bikwendo* (Take away the curse).
579 *Vungu ne bigogo* (Take away the curse).
Bili bene mbiwendo ch Anyambe ofjum e mom mobi mole (People are cursed of God on account of their sins).

XIV.—*The Nji.* (*A Fang Secret Society.*)

575 To members (*Bowom*) the following things or *bitji* are forbidden :—

Bitji :—

1. To go and make or play at witch (make *ewu*).
2. A male fowl is not to be eaten (shared) by two men of different clans.
3. Fish called *ngolo* must not be partaken of with a woman.
4. Only the initiated are permitted to eat the fish called *ngwa*.
5. Only the initiated may witness the Ngi dance. A woman who attempts to witness an Ngi dance will sicken and die.
6. Only the initiated must know about the bones used by Ngi.
7. A member of the Ngi society is not permitted to sleep on his back.
8. Food refuse must not be destroyed by fire.
9. To spit in the fire is against the law of Ngi (not permitted).
10. An uninitiated person will die if embraced by an Ngi.
11. To kick over rotten wood, logs, or forest stumps, is forbidden.
12. To cut a stick half through in the bush, and then bring it to town and break it, is forbidden. It must be cut through and the two pieces carried.
13. To kick the feet together after getting in bed, for the purpose of removing dust, is forbidden.

The violation of any of these mentioned *bitji* will bring misfortune and death on the *bowom* (member).

Ngi means gorilla among the Fang; Nji means gorilla among the Bulu. The Bulu have the Nji secret society, which is reported as being precisely similar to the Fang Ngi; it came to the Bulu from the Fang.

XV.—*War.*

726 During a tribal war all adults act as warriors. There is no regular organisation of fighting men. It is a typical guerilla warfare. Parties of young men go forth at night to attack towns; others watch the forest paths to shoot men passing and women going to work in the gardens. The Fang are noted for their love of war; they ●[181] are the most warlike people in all West Africa. When a tribal war is on, a headman frequently goes out with a raiding party to attack the town; he carries with him the *bieng-akumapong* (protecting medicine of the tribe). The usual mode of attack is as follows: Having decided to attack a town, the party of men (usually ten or

revolutionary part of Fang magic. One may see a kind of "fixation" of feelings of aggressiveness and individuality which are thwarted by the sentiments imposed by tradition (1) (the nsem is

1. The English anthropologist G. Lienhardt analyses the Dinka magic in "Some Notions of Witchcraft among the Dinka," Africa, Vol. 21, No. 4, October, 1951.

tolerated so long as there is no evidence of his harmful activity). One must also recognize in the nsem a means of differentiation, an internal source of profound changes (2). The bîyém are the

2. For the role of differentiation played by witchcraft, cf. G. Davy, La Foi jurée [Sworn Faith], 1922. On this role and on the transformations of the social organization, "the margin of liberty," born of the conflicts between the religious clan and magic brotherhoods, cf. G. Gurvitch, La Vocation actuelle de la Sociologie [Real [or Present-day] Vocation of Sociology], ch. 7, especially pp. 412, 436, 503, 523-524.

elements that carry on the most violent and the most lasting disputes with the total society. However, the attitude of this society toward them is ambiguous. The distinction between a "good" and a "bad" évur, while both are dangerous to a normal man, proves this. They create a necessary threat.

IV. Relations between the Sexes and the Generations, and the System of Interdicts

182 The present-day study of Fang society, as we will show in the next chapter, reveals two types of outstanding problems, those connected with the change in relations between men and women

561 (symbolized by the expression "our women have become unruly"), and those connected with the change of typical relations between generations. There is no doubt that the morphological changes affecting the groupings – splintering, mobility of individuals, abnormal sex ratio – and the process of economic development have conditioned these phenomena. Nevertheless, it is equally true that specifically Fang internal conditions explain the acuteness of the resulting problems.

562 Oral tradition is significant on the traditional relations between the sexes. According to this, woman appears to be primarily regarded in terms of her fertility: "Go find your women and populate the earth," [148] says Nzame to the first man; (1) and in terms of

1. H. Trilles, "Proverbes, Légendes et Contes Fang [Fang Proverbs, Legends, and Tales]," Legend of the Nsas, op. cit.

her usefulness: "Old woman, worn out calabash," asserts a proverb. She is shown to be subject to man ("I am nothing before a man, I am as stupid as a hen," says another proverb) and protected by him, who remains essentially "a warrior" in the ancient society. The few extant ethnographic studies have emphasized this lesser position. In his works dating from the beginning of the century, Father Trilles writes: "The girl is not considered as a "member" of the tribe." (2) E. Trezenem confirms this in a more recent account:

2. Father H. Trilles, Le totémisme chez les Fang [Totemism Among the Fang], note, p. 109.

The woman "is considered hardly more than a domestic animal..."(3)

3. Op. cit., p. 89.

At the same time, in an apparently contradictory manner, most of the early documents express surprise at the inordinate importance which seems to be placed on the woman, who is found at the source of numerous palavers, Let us add that the Fang woman was

561 them various interdicts that testify to his new state and remind
578 him of the obligation to submit to those who have made him a
885 man, a complete Fang. (1)

1. Cf. M. Briault, op. cit., pp. 183-184.

561 For a long time he submits to this superiority of his elders,
885 who intervene with the ancestors, the source of prosperity and
888 power, who permit him to fulfill and increase himself by marriage and the possession of posterity, by controlling the circulation of bride prices and women. Thus the male life curve reaches a maximum which corresponds to the social influence of the nyambɔb, decreases as old age approaches (we have already stressed the tendency in the past to discard the "grandfather," mvam), and increases infinitely after death, which gives him the quality of "ancestor" with limitless power on behalf of the living. Childhood and old age, representing the "low" points of this curve, are preparation for the two "high" states which are characterized by an increase in power and autonomy.

561 In ancient Fang society dependence guaranteed material
578 and spiritual security. It was centered on the relation between
● 182 the begetter (ɛsa) and the begotten (ɛmɔ̀ wɔ̀m) rather than on that between the dominating one and the one dominated. We have frequently stressed the leveling tendency existing in the heart of the nd'ɛ̀ bɔt and the dangers threatening any pre-eminence acquired by personal right. The just distribution of women, wealth, and tasks is expected from the "eldest," not any domination. In another respect, during the period of conquest, attempts at domination and the establishment of excessive personal power were limited by the important role of the "warrior" (who best incarnates the qualities which caused Dr. Cureau to compare the Fang to "modern Spartans") and the threats of rupture in the heart of a grouping which needed to remain sufficiently large and coherent. An equilibrium may arise between the power of the "eldest ones" (religious and political pre-eminence) and the power of the young men (martial pre-eminence). It involves particularly the rigid regulation of the circulation of the women, the possibility for these

561 young men to go beyond the level of simple dependence to be-
578 come, in their turn, creators of dependence, and the possibility
162 [154] of "capitalizing" human lives (women and descendants).
This equilibrium has been upset and competition disorganized by the passage from warlike to economic conquest, then to an agricultural economy in which the women plays a fundamental part, and the pacification which no longer permits the lack of women to be remedied by raids. Capitalization of women and capitalization of property are then bound together, the former becoming to a great extent the condition of the latter. The role of the "rich" man (nkumakuma) is increasing; (1) relations be-

1. To such an extent that Bertaut notes that among the Cameroons Boulou, who have been longer subject to a modern economy, there is only one word nkuma to designate the chief of village groupings.

tween generations, between "eldest sons" and "younger sons," may become that between possessors (women, property, and political role) and nonpossessors. Dependence tends to take on the characteristics of a domination creating tensions and conflicts.

784 We have been able to define a certain number of points of
626 equilibrium in the heart of ancient Fang society. We must now specify the important position held by the system of interdicts (biki) in social control. According to M. Briault the word éki (plural, biki) comes from the root ki meaning: "force, restraint, virility, power"; it expresses a ritual prohibition, an interdict or taboo; it designates "a person or thing marked with a sacred character with whom or with which contact or use are forbidden." This author considers the éki essentially from the point of view of the restraint they exercise and of the social order which they help to maintain. He writes: "They give rather the idea of an effective means of keeping youth, women ... in short, all in the society who are made to obey, in a spirit of subjection to those whose will is of importance ... political interest is doubled and made

245 distribution of cacao plantations is neither the only nor perhaps the principal cause of inequality. Cacao production is on a considerable scale; around 50, 000 tons in the Cameroons, 3, 000 tons in Gabon(4).

4. Almost the whole of the Gabon output comes from the Woleu-N'Tem region and especially the Nnoumou cantons. (P. A.)

It is easy to understand that this crop is an essential factor in the evolution /sic/ of Fabouin society.

245 In the field of common law, for example, cacao has affected the orientation of land law. By giving each person the possibility of making /32/ private profits, cacao has increased the independence of men and even of women from family authority. Because it allows the accumulation of durable and transferable goods, cacao has raised, in a new form, the problem of successional devolution /inheritance/.

To consider only the realm of technology: settling on the land during several generations has apparently put an end to real nomadism; villages are no longer moved about. But a certain amount of shifting cultivation will remain inevitable if some method of rapid reclamation of fallow land is not adopted.

245 The stock of tools has increased considerably. An axe with a small, narrow head ending in a tongue was fastened into the large end of a wooden handle, a daba similarly made but with a rounder head and lighter handle (1) and a machete were formerly the basic implements.

1. The tongue of the hoe, driven into a branch like a spike, is also bound to it with liana. Old women still use the digging stick, which has or had some ritual significance. (P. A.)

To these must now be added pruning shears, caterpillar destroyer or a local copy, and cacao spear.

245 Boxes or baskets provide vats for fermenting the /cacao/ beans, a roof shades the trays on which they are put to dry. Some men have thought of buying Vermorel vaporizers for spraying the cacao trees; others dream of mowing machines for clearing the land.

Gabon have given priority to recreating, the regrouping of villages being supposed, in their view, to take place as a function of the regrouping of the meyɔ̃.

The ayɔ̃ includes all the patrilineal descendants of a common ancestor, the illegitimate children of girls belonging to the ayɔ̃, and adopted ones. The ayɔ̃ has a name, a tattoo mark (ndzo), often certain prohibitions (bityi, biki), and perhaps a totem. The most strict exogamy is the rule. All members call themselves brothers (bubeayɔ̃).

Although there was, properly speaking, no real political division corresponding to the ayɔ̃, nor any organized chieftship—explicable particularly in view of the very scattered settlement pattern of the members—clan sentiment was, and still is, very strong. Periodical meetings, binulan, bring ayɔ̃ members together, presided over by the eldest (ndɔ̃) of the senior lineage (mvɔ̃k, ayɔ̃m) (3). The custom

3. Ayɔ̃m probably has the same root as ndɔ̃m, pl. beyɔ̃m = male; it should be remarked that the ayɔ̃m is often designated by the name of a female ancestor.

of these binulan has recently been revived /46/; first in the Cameroons, where the native authority was reorganized in 1945-48 along clan lines, then in Gabon, where the meyɔ̃ are in an advanced state of disintegration, above all in the south.

An ayɔ̃, whose villages separated one from the other by villages of other clans sometimes extend over several hundred kilometers, is divided into segments (mvɔ̃k) that include the descendants of the brothers, or rather the sons, of the clan ancestor, then /is divided/ into lineages (bisa, meyɔ̃m) derived from the descendants of the sons of the ancestor of the segment. The longer the genealogy (mvam, nlaɔ̃ bimvam; meba'a), the more vague these categorical differences become: in one place mvɔ̃k is used for what is called ɛ̃sa nearby and ayɔ̃m further away. But, except in southern Gabon, the genealogies are still well preserved, and the majority of adults can trace their relationship, if not to the clan ancestor himself, at least to his lineage. The teaching of these genealogies, which was the core of the traditional training of boys, is dying out with the spread of schooling, but children still know at least the genealogy of their village-family (jal, dzal; nda bɔt).

level that the agencies of authority, of social control, are most in evidence.

The head of the family is the senior, nnɔ̂l or nnɔ̂le mɔ̂t, of the adult and active men, bɛnya bɔ̂nɔ̂, "the true men." He is not necessarily the oldest in age, because infirm old men suffer a genuine capitis diminutio /a loss of status/. The founder of the hamlet or his eldest son can still, even if infirm, preserve a certain moral authority as father, ésa, of the family, but actual authority will then be delegated to a nye nnɔ̂l chosen from his brothers, sons, or nephews, the ésɔ'ɔlɔ (Bertaut). In principle, a jal is composed of the founder, his old relatives /parents/, his younger brothers, his children and those of his sisters, his unmarried sisters, their illegitimate children and those of his daughters. Wives do not belong to the jal; their village is referred to as jal. Of a divorced woman one would say, a bɛya jal, "she has gone back to her village." The size of the nda bɔt depends upon different factors: security, the /family/ head's authority, the fertility of the soil, etc. I have already pointed out how several mal can be gathered into a nlam, a proper village. Nowadays the menda me bɔt are tending to decrease numerically and no longer to correspond to the jal, which can from now on combine several /menda me bɔt/. The limited or household family is becoming more and more important, while the government-sponsored institution of village chiefship /chefferie/, although it is often only an imperfect substitute for the authority of the nnɔ̂l or the ésa, undermines that none the less. The size of an average nda bɔt may be calculated at twenty /49/ persons (including the wives who do not belong to the jal), less in the towns and among the less prosperous people, more among large planters and the influential (minkukum).

The nda bɔt used to be a religious, military, and economic unit. On the religious plane, the father, ésa, was the custodian of the biéti (Fang, biéri), the portable altar or ark of the ancestral cult containing the skulls of the ancestors; he made the decisions about initiations and bore their expense. The initiations have died out, and the missions have burned dozens, if not hundreds, of biéri. Security and colonial order have removed any interest in the ésa's military function. Only his economic role survives to some extent. He used to be the sole owner of the family goods (biɔ̂m), sole treasurer of income, and sole regulator of expenditures, of which the most important was the payment of "bride prices" (minsuba) for his younger brothers and his

sons. When cacao was introduced, cultivation was done collectively by the nda bôt, with the ɗsa selling the produce and taking charge of the money. The younger generation quickly tired of this state of affairs and left their families in order to have plantations of their own. In addition, the inflation of land values from the growing of export crops led to division upon the death of the ɗsa and brought on the splintering of the nda bôt. This had never been very stable, even before the colonial period, but the cessation of military needs made possible a precocious "swarming off," which had not occurred before except when a new nda bôt was large enough to provide for its own defense.

In spite of this disintegration, jal and nda bôt remain the basic units of Pahouin life, more so than the ayom. Development of private property notwithstanding, there does exist a juridical community with collective responsibility and obligatory self-help among its members. Many young people denounce this (cf. Eza Boto, Ville cruelle /Cruel City/, no. 182) and partly leave the jal in order to escape. But that is futile because the ties spread throughout the country become closer at a distance /from the jal/ and because the solidarity of the extended family is probably even stronger among emigrants than among stay-at-homes.

d. The Limited or Household Family; Kinship

The limited or household family, composed of an economically independent man, his wife, his children, sometimes old relatives /parents/, unmarried brothers and sisters, is becoming more and more important, both within the nda bôt framework and outside it. The missions have contributed a good deal to this, especially at the outset of evangelical activity, in order to separate the catechumens from their still animistic minto mi bôt (they incline to react in the opposite direction nowadays to fight against "destructive individualism"). But economic changes have also played an important part. The household family is the unit of the migrant petty official, of the small-scale planter. There is no word for it; people say either mone nda bôt, "little extended family," or simply nda, "house."

Purely for convenience I shall discuss kinship on this level, in terms of an adult married man. /50/

C7I The sources of law are at present custom and the European legal system brought in from outside. Each obviously affects the other: custom is modified by the written code, while the application of the latter is bent by the influence of custom. Law is continually evolving. It is quite difficult to understand, even though often written. The decisions of courts, the minutes of reconciliation proceedings, the "covenants between natives" established by the 1920 decree, the minutes of discussion sessions (1), and even some private contracts are

1. Bulletin de la Société d'Études camerounaises, 1947, No. 19-20, p. 141, (no. 126).

filed in the administrative archives, but they have only rarely been systematically collated.

C7I 103 The general term for custom is biyem (from yem = to know), connoting at the same time habits and modes of life and the laws that regulate them and qualify them as good or bad. Forms of behavior are rather mebo, from bo, to do. Methods and general practices are mam (sing. jam) or mo'ô (ajô = speech, from ô = to say), the second also meaning "business" in a litigious sense. One often hears, almost always with a tone of regret: Nôôm ôyem, bimvam bi nga wô'ô bo mebo mem, melu mvun, nale a nga'ane kik, "The old ways, as our ancestors used to do things, they don't exist any longer." The whole "Pahouin regrouping" movement is characterized by this antithesis between regret for the biyem bimvam and yearning for progress. The result has been the growth of pseudo traditions attempting to connect contemporary ways with customary norms.

C7I 104 Since 1944 we have witnessed a trend in public opinion in favor of written codification of the law. Most clan groups /70/ have drafted their customary laws, which are revised periodically at the bisulan and which serve as legal basis for the decisions of the civil courts. It is probably too early for a final codification on a territorial scale, which would most likely involve an interwibal unification of the law (already stimulated by the colonial legal system), but periodic publication of local customary law by a committee of high-ranking men and assessors is often demanded and has already been sporadically carried out, as much by ésulan chairman as by certain government officials

1: Tennessee--127 E-9 (1904-1909) 1912 F119 Fang F119

arrangement of the kitchen. Kitchen and cooking implements (grindstone, grinding board, plantain peeler, basket-work plate, stirring spoons and other spoons used by the women, cooking pots). Preparation: 1) cassava (cassava rolls, cassava cutlets, boiled cassava roots, pulverized cassava boiled in a leaf bent in the shape of a stirrup, steamed cassava); 2) plantain; 3) groundnut (groundnut sauce, groundnut bundle, groundnut mush, groundnut soup); 4) yam; 5) maize (corn on the cob, maize soup, maize bread, maize mush). Other vegetables and meat. Meals. Eating. Tableware, eating spoon and its forms.

2. Beverages and indulgents. Beverages: water, drinking vessels, water liana. Indulgents: sugarcane juice, banana wine, palm wine (distribution of the palms used for making palm wine, quality of palm wine, appearance and taste, methods of obtaining it and keeping its quality). Indulgence. Tobacco (varieties of the tobacco plant, smoking, tobacco pipes, care of the tobacco plant, treatment of the leaves).

262 One of the greatest physical pleasures for the Pangwe is to eat meat (tit; "boiled meat," mitit, man e tit, from a nitm, "to boil"). From man down to the smallest termite, scarcely anything seems inedible to him.

266 It is considered a fact that the southern Pangwe occasionally eat
● 124 human flesh (Fig. 91). The Pangwe as a whole, however, cannot be called anthropophagous. Among the northern subgroups there is nowhere any report of cannibalism, and the natives maintain that even in former times cannibalism was unknown among them. Among the central Fang in Spanish Guinea and in the French region, on

266
184

the other hand, fallen enemies are consumed by some of them on exceptional occasions. The accounts have it that this form of cannibalism does not by any means for religious reasons, but rather represents an act of revenge carried to its extreme; the enemy is degraded to the level of an animal and is consumed like an animal. I have never heard it said that relatives or members of the same kin group are killed and eaten; indeed, in the eyes of the Fang this would constitute an incredible crime. Far to the south, especially toward the southeast where the Pangwe have been fundamentally modified through mixture with neighboring tribes, anthropophagy may be somewhat more

[673]

[412] Fig. 91. Spearhead Knife for cutting up a Slain Person.

frequent. It is most likely, in any case, that the practice /14ā/ /Fig. 91 appears here in the original text/ was taken over in the first place from the eastern border tribes, especially the Njem who are notorious in this respect.

[177]

262 Thus, meat is principally supplied by animals, and here the Pangwe does not even stop at the thick skin of the elephant; he finds almost everything edible. Among mammals, only the shrew, house rat, and the dwarf squirrel Sciurus pumilio Lecomte (mvūk-esōn) are not eaten. Also, the following are not eaten: among reptiles, the chameleon, the lizard Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (ebōmekōkōnī), and the Agama colonorum Daud. (ngōdō III); similarly, among amphibians, the toads Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (mvǔn IV) and Bufo latifrons Blgr. (dǔǔn; plural, bǔǔn, mǔǔn), as well as the frog Rana mascareniensis D. and B. (nkǔǔn I). The reasons why these animals are never eaten I shall discuss in conjunction with the general food prohibitions in Section 13 /Ed., Vol. II/.

Nowadays only children and half-grown boys or girls make simple burned scars (ndiñ̃ III) arranged in rows on their lower arm, more rarely on other parts of the body. A small, slightly charred splinter of bark from a raffia leafstalk is pressed with its tip against the skin /197/ and set on fire at the top; it then slowly burns a hole into the hand, which leaves behind it a slightly raised, roundish scar smooth at the top.

Decorative scars among the Fang, where they are found most frequently and in the most artistic forms, seem to be of great antiquity. At the same time, they do not seem to have spread very far north. They are still found quite frequently among the Ntum, but only rarely among the Bulu, among the Beme only on some older people, and not at all among the Jaunde. More recently, they have also begun to disappear in the southern Fangwe region since people prefer to undergo the recently introduced and far less painful tattooing process. The decorative scars are called /Fig. 149 appears here in the original text/ myāh (plural) by the Ntum, endō̃h by the Fang, and they occur on members of either sex. To make them, a small iron hook (nsī III Ntum, endō̃h Fang) is needed; with it the skin is pulled slightly upwards, and then the raised fold of skin is incised with a knife, Figure 149 (okō̃ e myāh), held at right angles to the hook (Fig. 150 and 151). The wound is left to heal without anything being rubbed into it or any bandage being placed on it. These decorative scars are to be found only on the body and on the upper arm, rarely on the face and then only on the forehead.

Body painting is confined to the Ntum and Fang region and is completely absent in the Jaunde region, supposedly because the tree from which the dye is obtained does not occur there. This tree is the Randia malleifera (Hook) Benth. which among the Fang is called obēndēm (1) or fīha IV (2), as well as mfīha; among

1. Derived from abē, Cola acuminata P.B., and ndēm, "long, swaying," because of the slenderness of the tree.

2. From the stem yīn, "dark, black"; e-yīn-di mōt, "Black (man), Negro."

754 It is not the bark container known to us from Malan that is
777 used to keep the Mekuk skulls, but rather a chamber dug under the floor of the house (Fig. 53). I saw a bark box used only once, placed on tall props reaching almost to the roof. The chest is divided into two sections by means of a dip in the bottom, and it is carefully leveled and smeared with red wood (hence, the name atum from atum, "section, /151/ /Fig. 53 appears here in the original text/ room," which refers to the entire medicine); it is covered up by a piece of bark and a thin layer of dirt and thus remains hidden from strangers' eyes. Frequently a chest is placed over it also, or the little underground chamber is located under a bed. On the step-like raised part the medicines (b) are kept inside a circle made of plantain pieces (a); these medicines include nsŭ, above all, and furthermore bark scraped off the Passifloraceae
[278] Ophiocaulon cissampeloides Hook f. and Adenia lobata (Jacq.) Engl. (undŏndŏle a ndžik) (1), leaves of evŭlĕme or ayŏne-beyu,

1. Also used as fish poison (see Vol. I, p. 83).

important because of the nodules in the leaves which make them look perforated like the ewu of a dead magician, and other things. Below the step the skulls (c) are set up in a semicircle so that they face the medicine.

The skulls are cared for in a manner similar to the customary
[769] manner of treating the Malan skulls. Unlike the latter, they are not served food every day, but nevertheless frequently; sometimes chickens are slaughtered for them, and they are bathed in chicken blood and have chicken meat set before them.

[184] This medicine, which is unknown in the northern region (Jaunde), is quite widespread among the Fang and is the subject of many tales and stories which make all light men /Ed., men with light skin color?/ break out in a cold sweat. My boys were so excited by the
[152] stories that they maintained they could not sleep if they kept thinking of these hideous Mekuk. Thus it is told, among other things, that the Mekuk walk up and down in their little room at night and make a hullabaloo or even come out of their room and thrash

832 days and the establishment of a sacred place, on which the Fang even set up a female figure of clay. During the seven days of preparation, the necessary medicines are obtained.

[824] These are bark, scraped off the Anonacea Monodora tenuifolia Bth. (fǒb IV) and the Olacacea avǒm, and a small elephant's

[825] tooth into which are put the following /159/ things.

1. The most important is the larynx (engǒn) of a famous

[826] singer, especially of one who was versed in love songs, or the larynx of a woman who before the payment of the bride price allowed herself to be abducted by her lover. The aim is to obtain the power of the singer, who was loved on account of his voice (famous tenors even in other countries are, after all, not only popular but also loved), and to be loved as he was, or one desires to have the woman consent (with her larynx = voice) to follow the call of love as quickly as did the woman whose larynx has been placed inside the elephant's tooth. The name engǒnezǒk was chosen because of the desire to pretend that only the throat of an elephant (zǒk) was involved and to avoid naming the real contents, the human throat. As a name for the whole thing, engongeschok is intended to veil the meaning of the feast just as the animal names conceal the purpose of the cults. In other words, whatever you do, don't call a spade a spade.

2. Sex organs of a mother-in-law, the one who has given birth to the daughter and loved one.

3. The bones of an albino (mvēi-mōt), preferred by women

[826] because of the skin color (1).

1. Opinions concerning an albino vary
● [194] a great deal; in other areas an albino is less highly regarded (Jaunde).

4. The bones of twins, because of the desire to be united with the loved one just as twins are united in the mother's womb.

5. Fulgurites (abī-zǎlǎn), so the love will be as powerful

[821] as the lightning that throws down the tallest trees.

6. nsǔ, so that the sorcerous beings (= evil persons) will not

[or possibly "tusk"; see figure 55, page 26.-Analyst]

754 example, in the case of the theft of some food, a bit of the remains of the food, such as chewed sugarcane, is put in a rifle and fired off, or the chewed sugarcane is put in the smithy pit in place of iron and belabored with the bellows. In still other cases, this same sugarcane is placed with a pepper twig in the burrow of [825] a Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (the scincoid lizard), and a fire is lighted under them. In all /171/ these cases the fire is a symbol of the Ngi (fire cult). Another time the Sso is called upon. If, for example, someone has stolen a wild animal from a trap, the hairs still sticking to the trap are placed in a halved Negro banana (the plant sacred to the Sso) or on a halved piece of the [824] Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becco. nkāne I (likewise a cult plant, but its significance is unknown to me), and the thief will then contract leprosy. Furthermore, the remnants of the stolen goods merely need to be placed on the path to a frambesia patient's toilet in order to cause the thief to contract frambesia. Such a manner of wishing an illness upon someone is called a pfū̄ i'di, from a pfūde, "to do, to lay, to do something to someone, to impose (lay) something on someone, to throw upon."

753 As the third cause of illness, the natives are familiar with the simple communication of diseases, infection (substantive, nkū̌ bǎn I; verb, a kū̌ bǎn), and the Pangwe know very well that frambesia is more contagious, whereas leprosy is less so.

In the case of less serious illnesses, some people may get the idea that the illness was invoked in some way by offended or harmed companions. In general, however, people do not think about causes; the illness simply comes by itself.

Among the Jaunde the a pfū̄ i'di is unknown because the cults [184] are not so highly developed as they are among the southern Pangwe. [754] The Jaunde often blame sorcerous beings.

The fee for treatment of disease is variously handled. In the 759 case of leprosy the medicine man receives 110 spears (seven marks) or a small goat, if his art has been of some help -- otherwise he receives nothing. In the case of frambesia and illnesses of the ewu he receives in advance a chicken, as well as the head and heart of the goat that is slaughtered so that the patient may drink the blood. If the cure was successful, he is paid 50 spears. In the case of less

4. Not taboo.

262 Domestic hen; Guttera plumifera (Cass.) (nkǎ'ń I) among the Ntum; Francolinus squamatus Cass. (ogbwǎ); Agapornis pullarius (L.) (kǔ' o kiǎ'i IV); Dryotriorchis batesi Sharpe (gbǎwǔǎ III); Urotriorchis, Baza among others; Falconidae (obǎmedžū,i Fang); Ceutmochares and Clamator (nsǒ'mentǔ't I); Cuculus species (owū'a III) and Chrysococcyx (avē vē'abǒbe III); Lophocerus camurus (Cass.) (nkūkū'e I Ntum); Meropidae (otsidambū,i'), and Hirundinidae, such as Hirundo (mvā,i' IV) and Psalidoprocne species (kǔlejē'be III), but not eaten because of their small size; Tschitrea species (abǒbǒge III, mekō'ǔǒgō III); Campephaga (mbūī'ǒm I); Malaconotus gabonensis Shell. (ekō); Dryoscopus senegalensis (Hartl.) (evǔ'gǔ); Oriolus species (mvū,i'n); Malimbus species (ngǎ e nkǎn IV); Spermospiza guttata (Vieill.) (kǔ o sī IV); Quelea erythrops (Hartl.) (sělěkō'ō III Ntum), but not eaten because of their small size; Nigrita species (makūmašū,bo III), likewise; all Pycnonotidae and Nectariniidae (esī'sǒ' Ntum); Cisticola (ekūī'ni-otō,k) and Turdus pelios saturatus Cab. (etī'tǒ').

C. Reptiles

1. Never eaten.

Chamaeleon cristatus Stutsch (džingbwō' Fang); Lygosoma reichenowi Ptrs. (nšūē' III) and Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (ebǒ'makūkūī'); Agama colonorum Daud. (ngǒdǒ III) (1). /189/

[114] 1. Eaten only among the Jaunde by boys.

2. ekī, bondúman.

Varanus niloticus L. (nkǎā'k III); Cinixys erosa Schw. (kǔ IV); Mecistops cataphractus Cuv. (ngǎn IV) and Crocodilus niloticus

262 (Laur.) (nkŭm I); the majority of snakes, with the exception of those species mentioned below.

3. ekī-abŭm or ekī-mŏn.

[843] Phython sebae Gmel. (mvŏ'm IV), until the birth (1); Grayia

[754] [154] 1. Among the Jaunde taboo for all those not initiated into the Sso cult.

smythii Leach (nsŏk I), likewise.

4. No taboo.

Tree snakes (ajă'ń).

D. Amphibia

1. Never eaten.

Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (mvŭń IV); Bufo latifrons Blgr. (dzŭn VII); Rana mascareniensis D. and B. (nkŭń I).

2. ekī bonduman.

Rana zenkeri Ndn. (edzŏ); Hylambates species (akăbĕ III Ntum).

3. Not taboo, but eaten only by women.

Rappia species (obă't); Xenopus calcaratus Bchh. and Ptrs. (mĕ'nezŏk IV).

E. Fish

1. ekī bonenga.

Large specimens of Clarias walkeri Gthr., since the women

411 and a wooden handle well-shaped for the hand. The handle is partly bound with an iron band or brass wire. The sword is placed inside a wooden sheath, consisting of two halves and frequently covered with monitor lizard skin, or in a brass sheath which has two brass eyelets for the hide strip worn over the shoulder from which the weapon hangs /246/ /Fig. 79 appears here in the original text/ (see Fig. 80). After the appearance of the chopping knives or choppers imported from Europe, the latter displaced the sword for a while and were then carried about in sheaths (Fig. 81); however, these are no longer in use today.

The battle-ax, called ovunebokui, "axe of the Pygmies" [184] (Fig. 82), is of lesser importance and is to be found only among the Fang, especially the southern ones, but even among them only in small numbers. It can be used only for short-range fighting. Its wedge-shaped blade with a convex cutting edge and /247/ corners curved inward, is fitted into the handle, the short lower half of which is round while the upper half is flattened out.

As a protective weapon, three kinds of shields are in use: the wooden shield, the shield made of buffalo hide (Fig. 83), and the shield made of an elephant's ear. The latter two are supposed to protect an individual man. They have lost their importance since the appearance of the firearm, and today they have /Fig. 80 appears here in the original text/ become quite rare. The wooden shield (stationary shield, Fig. 84), on the other hand, protects the entire troop of warriors and is, as it were, a portable rampart carried ahead by one man, while the others hide behind it. When the enemies clash, they shoot from behind the wooden guard, and in case it becomes necessary to flee, the shield is simply abandoned. It is made from a slab of wood from the umbrella tree and is approximately 145 centimeters long and 37 centi- [53] meters wide. The outer surface is covered with patterns carved in relief, such as we have seen in Section 9 /Ed., Vol. I/.

The battles of the Pangwe are usually only to settle hostilities 726 between neighboring villages and hence are limited to small-scale warfare, that is, to a series of surprise attacks in which the attacker naturally has the advantage and thus "wins." Such encounters, however, give the tribe their warlike reputation; the

[Text continues on page 97]

411

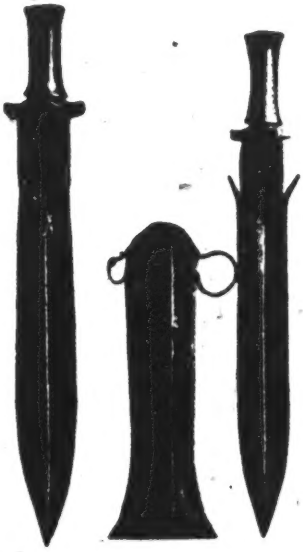


Fig. 80. Swords and Sheath made of Brass. One-fifth actual size.

726 Fang especially are extremely warlike and quarrelsome and not at all disinclined to military expeditions that promise to yield booty. At the same time, they know how to take full advantage of their forested land. They surprise the enemy at impassable [184] places, lie in ambush in the dense bush, and sometimes carry out night raids when the occasion is favorable, whereas generally the Pangwe is loath to undertake nocturnal expeditions. Furthermore, they impede the advance of the enemy through "chevaux-de-frise," that is, pointed sticks made of the bark of raffia leafstalks and planted in the ground, as well as through pitfalls which are well covered like the traps for game, but wider and [725] deeper, and similarly spiked on the floor. In hand-to-hand combat they throw the spiked stems of Macaranga ledermanniana Pax [824] (asas) between the legs of their enemies. /248/

/Figs. 81 and 82 appear here in the original text./

722 In unsettled times, women, children, and -- insofar as this is possible -- movable property are taken to safety, that is, to 712 hiding places in the forest or to friendly villages. Fortifications

836 entirely as the husband's own. If the mother runs away with a
848 man -- which sometimes happens -- without taking the child along, it is fed by the grandmother whose name it also usually bears if it is a girl. It is by no means a disgrace for the girl if her sexual relations with young men have consequences.

3. Marriage

835 We have already seen that sexual intercourse within blood
184 relationship is taboo (ekī). Such relationship includes:

1. one's own familial group;
2. the mother's familial group;
3. the familial group of the father's mother.

Formerly this taboo was observed by all Pangwe with uniform strictness, but today it is frequently circumvented. The Jaunde do not always observe it, and the Fang -- of all people, the Fang with their constantly emphasized oson -- have dropped it for the own familial group, but retain it for the other familial groups. To the Ntum and all the other Pangwe this shocking occurrence has been a great irritant, and they never let an opportunity pass of making fun of the immorality of the Fang who "cohabit with their own sisters" or of speaking indignantly about it, without failing at the same time to stress their own great respect for morality and decency. This is done despite the fact that the Ntum themselves have at least in part been corrupted by the bad example of the Fang, and in other respects, too, transgressions against the taboo are not infrequent. The custom of having sexual relations with women of one's own kin group (sisters in the Pangwe sense) is called zǎmadulu III or simply zǎma III, the verb being a dulu zǎma. As can be seen by the prefix class, the name has been derived entirely unchanged from the name for God (zǎma) and signifies "to act like Sama," because, as can be seen from the creation story (Vol. II, p. 16 ff. /Ed., not translated/), Sama (Nsambe) had sexual intercourse with his own sister.

835 Where zǎmadulu is still taboo, a payment must be made to
684 the girl's father in case of a violation. The payment varies depending upon the gravity of the offense: a number of goats

585 After the wedding, the young bride is allowed a certain period
595 of rest (up to one month), during which she does not need to work. Every day, newly painted with red wood, she struts around the village. After this honeymoon she then proceeds to the diurnal work in the field, while the man may possibly already be on the lookout for a second wife. Incidentally, there are not many who can afford the luxury of several wives; usually these are only the chief, his brothers, and a number of other people. The great majority must content themselves with a single wife. In former
[589] times there were even people who, for lack of money, were condemned to permanent bachelorhood because the opportunities for earning money were not as favorable as they are today with European commerce. In the account of the belief in souls (Vol. II, p. 102 /Ed., not translated/), we mentioned how a loving father procures a wife for his son by transforming himself into a leopard.

The number of wives that the individual chief calls his own
622 decreases from north to south, precisely in the same proportion
595 as his power as a ruler decreases towards the south. The most
184 respected and greatest chiefs of the Mwele and Jaunde sometimes possess up to 100 wives; similarly, Bulu chiefs with 50 wives are not a rarity. Among the Fang, on the other hand, the chiefs have only from 16 to 20 wives, at most 30, while in smaller villages they may have as few as five or even fewer, since, as we have seen /Ed., not translated/, anybody can become a chief (nkūkūma) by founding a new village because in this village he will be the "wealthiest."

The statement sounds harsh, but it must be made: the
837 woman's sexual life is basically a continuation of that of the girl, perhaps in even more artful forms, in other words, a higher form of prostitution. Marital fidelity is a great rarity, even though my Blacks steadfastly maintained that this is not so. I myself was only once shown a woman, as a "curiosity," who did not permit herself to be seduced by other men, and this was not even in the Pangwe region, but on my travels in Bassá country. I do not wish to deny that even among the Pangwe there are women who remain faithful to their husbands without being compelled

785 from four to six years old. They are thus consecrated so that
554 one day they will surpass all others in insight and understanding;
831 then, through their spiritual superiority, they will acquire influence, power (knowledge is power!), and especially wealth. In the case of the son, this will be to his own advantage; in the case of the daughter, it will benefit the father who can get a higher purchase price for her than for a girl with the usual loose way of life. In other words, the "savages" know well the value of moral purity. /269/

831 The custom of miǎk consecration was formerly practiced
785 throughout the Pangwe region. Nowadays, however, since warlike
[184] times have ceased, it is to be encountered only among the Fang of the central Uelle region. I should like to compare the custom
[171] to the practice found among us during the Middle Ages, whereby the heads of important families (especially princes), after some lucky success (for instance, in war), destined one child for the clergy and consecrated it to the pure life dedicated to God, frequently not without calculating the advantages that could accrue to them from such an action.

785 The procedure of the consecration feast is as follows. The
789 child, clothed in a small loincloth, is led to the medicine man
556 and is washed by him with a medicine water. The medicines used
831 for this are barks of various trees that bear ample fruit, such as
[824] the Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofǒs), so that the child's understanding may bear fruit as abundantly as these trees or, in other words, so that wealth may fall to its lot in the same abundance as the fruit of these trees falls to the ground beneath them. The various barks are placed in a container made of banana leaves, and hot water is poured over them. After the ablution, the child must swallow the principal medicine, a bundle of ngon
[824] with the chopped leaves of certain "weak" plants, such as Hibiscus moschatus (Roxb.) (tǒge III, from a tǒk, "weak," because the fruit is cooked in a short time), in order to make the child
[833] equally weak, that is, sexually incapable. Furthermore, the ngon
[825] is mixed with chicken meat -- the chicken is the bird of day, of the good and the pure, and at the same time it is supposed to point symbolically to the wealth that is desired for the child (the chief, the "Very Rich One," is regarded as the privileged son of the

524 plantain leafstalk whose hollow, in addition, was plugged with
857 "medicine," that is, pulverized leaves. The stalk with the ring lies on the ground, and the conjurer binds across his hand a piece of plantain leaf in which he has previously placed an identical leafstalk plugged with leaves, but without a ring. He then playfully strikes the ground with the leaf-covered hand and in so doing exchanges with lightning speed the two plantain leafstalks /307/. Then he invites the spectators to convince themselves that the ring has now been conjured out of it. While the spectators comply with this suggestion, the artist quickly puts the ring on his finger and also removes the plantain stalk.

4. Games of Adults

The Memory Game of the Dwarf Antelope

524 To my knowledge, this game occurs only in the southern
153 Pangwe region. Like the memory game of the children, it con-
[184] sists of reciting sentences which in this case, however, are not elicited by questions but are uttered by a single player. The sentences are particularly difficult, because they contain many words with guttural sounds whose pitch varies extraordinarily so that even the Pangwe easily makes a slip of the tongue.

To aid their memory, my boys made use of a long raffia stick
[211] on which were strung a whole series of little transverse sticks carved out of raffia pith in such a way that first three pieces, each singly, then two, three, four transverse pieces, and so on, were ranged in groups, in a manner similar to balls on an abacus (Fig. 112).

In reciting each sentence -- there are 12 in all -- the previous sentences must be repeated backwards, and together they form a group which in each instance is introduced by the following verse:

sǒ' gbwē'' , mvǒ̀n kīn = Sso antelope's horn: "gbuä" (onomatopoetic, in German, tü); rain: "king" (that is, distant thunder, onomatopoetic, in German, bum). The horn of the Sso antelope whistles: "tü," and behold, the rain answers with thunder: "bum."

2: Tessmann--188 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

The Stone Game

524 Of all adult games, the most popular is the stone game which
is spread over almost the entire world. It involves placing stones
[171] in a number of adjoining concavities, and then distributing these
stones among the concavities according to definite rules.

In more recent times, according to informants, the stone game has come to the Jaunde and Bulu from the Bene (who in turn became acquainted with it through eastern tribes), and from the
[177] former it was introduced into the Ntum and Fang region around the years 1895-98. These statements appear to be confirmed by the fact that the most skillfully fashioned playing boards, provided with legs (as in Fig. 115), are to be found among the Jaunde and Bene. They have one of these in each meeting house and eagerly and frequently play with it. It is played more rarely by the Ntum
[184] and only very rarely by the Fang, who in any case have too many other, less harmless things in their heads to be able to devote themselves to the game with any kind of passion.

The playing board (Fig. 115) consists of two halved raffia leaf-stalks tied to each other. By cutting out the pith, each of the leaf-stalks is divided into seven compartments (ndǎ = house; plural, mandǎ). Only in the southern part of the Fang region (and among the
[184] Bassá) did I see such a board made of wood, which then, in most cases, had one additional compartment for the "prisoners" (Fig. 116) at each end. The playing stones (ngǒ'k IV) are put into the compartments, five in each one. Originally, and sometimes even today, actual pebbles were used, from which the game was named sō'ngo (alleged: small pebble). This name, however, is current only among the Jaunde and Bene; in the south it designates the corresponding children's game, while that of the adults is called akŭ̱n because of the large black be[illegible] (akŭ̱n) that were at one time used as playing stones but today have gone completely out of fashion.
[824] Instead of these beads, the natives like to take the kernels of the
[194] oil palm or of Rhicinodendron /311/ africanum; in the north and in various other places they like to take the pebble-like kernels of a species of tree unknown to me and, more rarely, stones.

524 defeat an average player (in the comparison, the Sso antelope)?
539 After all, just yesterday I defeated a totally inferior player (in the
578 comparison, the dwarf antelope)! That has given my father sufficient revenge for the time being (in the comparison, enough to eat).

We see a cornucopia of ridicule poured forth here. Magnificent comparisons! Pithy expressions! Negro poetry with an elemental force!

Game of Chance (abia, Jaunde, Bulu)

525 Like the stone game, the game of chance was not an indigenous
177 cultural possession of the Pangwe. From the Maka (Makie in
184 Jaunde) in the east through the mediation of the Mwogenianga kin group (probably Bene) on the upper Nyong it came to the core of the Bene, who transmitted it to the Jaunde and Bulu. In only the most recent times, the Ntum have become acquainted with it through Jaunde and Bene traders who came to them in the service of the Whites. Nonetheless, I myself have seen people engaged in this game only once, in 1907 in the vicinity of the northern Ntum region. Among the Fang the game is unknown.

525 The game of chance is played with small circular playing disks (sǎ; plural, besǎ, derived from esǎ "goods," because, according to the Pangwe, they decide whether the players are winning or losing and hence, as it were, bring in the money in the form of goods, trade items) which are simply cut out of calabash rinds (Fig. 117, a). Furthermore, the game requires counters (mvi ɓ̌' I),
[831] of which each player must bring his own. They are produced from
[824] the hard rinds of the fruit from a tree called abǎm by the Jaunde, and on their smooth upper surface (outerside of the fruit) they bear attractive patterns of various kinds, animal forms, or human figures, which, like the edge, are carved in relief (Fig. 117, b-d). /Fig. 117 appears here in the original text. / /316/

The number of players that can participate is unlimited, but there must be at least four.

To play (a dǒ abia), a basketry plate is also needed, into which are placed once and for all seven playing disks (seven again as a

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES
on
THE FAN TRIBES OF THE MIDDLE OGOOUÉ (GABON)

by
Édouard Trézenem

Notice

121 The notes which we present here do not aim to be a monograph on the entire Fan [Fang] nation but only a purely objective description of the present life of the Fan tribes which inhabit the Ogooué region. This description, moreover, does not pretend to be without gaps.

121 On many points, particularly regarding the religious life, the cus-
● 184 toms of these tribes may appear to be quite different from those described by the authors who have spoken about the Fan and even about those tribes which live farther inland, towards the lands of the Woleu-N'tem or of the Ivindo [River]. In the Ogooué [area], these differences seem to be due to continued contact with Europeans, to the influence of Christian missions which have a catechist in each village, and to the expansion of relations with neighboring peoples.

We will not discuss these in principle, nor will we attempt to follow the progressive evolution of the tribes, having in mind only a work of documentation.

The Country and Its Inhabitants

[131] The region where we began our inquiry is situated below the
133 equator, in Gabon, in the [area of the] middle Ogooué. In this, a
137 land largely of forests, one finds in the west, on the banks of the river and its tributaries (the Abanga at the right, the Mbumi at the left) low, heavily forested areas, flooded in the rainy season, from which arise a few narrow ridges [66], some dozen meters in height at the most, where villages have been established. Many marshes, and lakes

173 therefore forced to settle in the most westerly area. (See the unpublished report of Father Sohler.) Others say (according to the report of X. Béliard) that they are only brothers of the Ewondo, who crossed the Sanaga, entered the southern forest as far as the present-day region of Ebolowa, stayed there a few years, and, step by step, took the northwest route, crossing the Lokoundje River. Then they infiltrated among the Bàsa tribes and settled in their present habitat. What we know for certain is that not until 1910 did they occupy the three villages on the road between Kribi and Edéa, and that their migration was still in full swing when the German occupation forced them to settle in one spot.

184 563 The population in the vast territory occupied by the Ewondo is not culturally homogeneous. In many villages and even in the hamlets, the Ewondo live side by side with members of neighboring groups. On our map we have indicated the most important enclaves and mixed settlements /Map 8, facing p. 72/, namely those where the strangers are as numerous as the Ewondo or even more so. /72/ The actual situation is more complex than this, but on a map of this scale it has not been possible to show the minorities. (1)

[114]

1. A remarkable large-scale diagrammatic map of the administrative subdivision of Yaoundé should be mentioned here. It was set up in 1944 by the administrator J. Christol and shows even the smallest intermixtures, with proportional strengths, for every village and hamlet.

361 511 The Ewondo live in sizable villages which stretch along the many roads in the area. The villages are well maintained and show evidence of a comfortable standard of living which is largely the result of the prosperity of their cacao trees and their trade.

181 The Ewondo are robust and muscular, skillful and intelligent. They emigrate readily, and their workers are valued in all enterprises.

497 The shipment of their products is facilitated by a major branch of the railway which crosses their territory between Yaoundé and Otélé, and transportation on their roads plays an important role in getting the various foodstuffs and the cacao from the great markets in the bush to the railroad.

162 percent. Only the Koǰe (more than 90 percent of the population)
619 and the Ozip form the Canton of Oyem. In Bissok Canton, the
614 population is dominated by the Yéngwi and Yémisòm tribes, while Ellelem Canton is characterized by a sprinkling of groups: 17 clans or tribal fragments for 3,200 inhabitants, where the Bókwé (allied to the Ndôg tribe) alone assert themselves, although apparently numbering less than 25 percent.

361 Oyem District shows a great homogeneity, which is found
184 nowhere else in Fang country in Gabon. Its greater population density, its relative prosperity, the fact that it is centered on Oyem, an important administrative and market town, these facts explain the prestige it exerts on Fang villagers and its present-day political vitality.

3. Mitzic District

162 With 11,000 inhabitants belonging stricto sensu to the Fang
361 group (2) this district occupies a position which lends itself badly to

> 2. We designate as Fang the restricted whole which bears this sole name — a migratory group according to us.

the stabilization of a population. It opens on three zones of attraction: the Ogooué, the coast, and Spanish Guinea. It has played the role of thoroughfare and was profoundly disturbed during the famine years (1922-23, 1925-26). It is barely beginning to modernize its economy by the installation of cacao plantations. [82] Besides being the least populated district, it has the worst demographic situation, the lowest birth rate, and the smallest child population. Although the people have settled along the roads (as is clearly shown when present-day maps are compared to early ones), the villages have remained unstable and very small, consisting of
361 composite groupings. An investigation of 50 villages spread along
614 the two roads show that they have in their midst 30 clans or tribal
619 fragments. At the time of the recent regrouping of clans, the most

361 a minimum of 64 in the former subdivision of Chinchoua and a
614 maximum of 1,000 in Kyé-Nyé Canton, (Oyem District), and in the villages situated on Bitam-Minvoul. Thus the reality and effectiveness of the clan groupings are very different according to different sections of the Fang country. Hence, it can be understood that attempts to renew the clans could only take place in regions where such a grouping still has vitality. It should also be noted that the highest average volume by clan occurs in the regions where the Fang population is greatest and where the demographic
●184 situation is the most favorable. The centers of vitality are located in in the Woleu-N'Tem [area] (a large part of the district of Mitzic being excluded) and in a small zone in the neighborhood of Libreville. These two regions compete to extend their influence over the whole of the Fang country, the rivalry appearing in the elections when a candidate from Libreville is opposed by one from the Upper Gabon (legislative elections of 1951). And it can be understood that the Fang country as a whole does not show everywhere the same degree of change in the traditional social structure nor the same capacity to adapt itself to present-day conditions.

167 By transferring to a map the groupings estimated in each of the
178 districts, other facts become clear. The direction in which the dis-
614 persal took place becomes manifest. Thus the Effak coming from the frontier of the Cameroons passed by the outskirts of Spanish Guinea to reach the coast near Cocobeach and Libreville; the Angonâmvé coming from the Woleu-N'Tem reached the Ogooué (they were found in the section of N'Djolé at the beginning of this century), then Lower Gabon beyond Lambaréné, etc. Moreover, some groupings did not spread out and were found only in relatively definite regions: the Oyèk in Spanish Guinea and in the French districts south of this territory (Médouneu, Cocobeach, and Libreville), the Kojé at Bitam and Oyem, the Ožip only at Oyem, etc. Finally, certain minor groupings existed only on the frontiers of the Fang country and had an independent existence. The Yengwi of Oyem remember that one of their fragments emigrated towards Kango (without knowing either the exact name or place), but none of the groupings taken by the census in this district claim a common

361 erosion and preserve the fertility of the soil. At present it would be a definite exaggeration to speak of an enclosure system, as may be done about the Bamiléké in the western Cameroons. Did such a system ever exist in Pahouin country, and are the humble hedges sometimes to be found encircling villages or plantations traces of it? However that may be, the practice could be very beneficial, and its development is much to be desired.

231 The raising of animals is now on the decline, especially in villages 178 removed from the main roads. Are sacrifices requiring goats and hens passing into disuse? /31/ Have vehicular traffic and the number of fowls run over prevented the renewal of the leasing out of domestic animals /?/ /cheptel/. These various causes may have been simultaneously at work, but the reason most often given is the development of cacao plantations. Without fences, the raising of goats and the planting of cacao trees are incompatible. To protect their plantations or to avoid endless quarrels, owners of herds have had to limit their undertakings.

Modern agriculture

245 Cacao is indeed the symbol and the essential component of a modern economy. From this crop and from the agricultural, juridical, and economic practices which it entails, a thousand improvements or seeds of progress appear throughout the society.

It would, however, be unfair not to mention the other economic activities of the Pahouin districts, although their influence and financial return are far behind that of cacao. Timber, though its [313] importance has decreased, played an essential role a few decades ago. African entrepreneurs are rare in this industry where equipment is complicated and expensive. A fairly large tonnage of palmetto is sold when the market is good, although the best soil and climate for palms is not to be found here (1).

[481] 184 1. The Pahouin of the southern Cameroons, the Boulou and Ntoumou particularly, dislike climbing trees and often sell the bunches of dates to Mekaé on the tree. (P. A.)

But cacao remains the master crop. Its cultivation has become a part of the mores and has left its mark on psychological patterns.

517
177
511 to Pahouin women, but it is certainly a geographical characteristic of
[29] the southern Cameroons, consequently, the textiles for sale are to a great extent those sold in Europe. Specifically African prints, such as "wax-prints," are dying out. Underclothes, stockings, and shoes reflect the sophistication that goes with wealth. The purchase of durable goods that go under the heading "Equipment," (bicycles, phonographs, pressure lamps) is another symptom, as is the changing
[45] demand for household articles. /35/ While the saucepan is still the basic kitchen utensil, enamelware is in strong competition with
[513] crockery and glass. Blankets are used everywhere, but the use of sheets is also on the increase.

A mere list of commodities shows the present-day importance of
438 trade. The native populations have not always realized this, owing
441 to their lack of inclination for it. They have not started businesses and have often left this to immigrants, coastal people long familiar with European ways, particularly the Bamiléké or "Haoussa," /Hausa/ who for their part have a solid trading tradition and great capacities in this field. The Boulou especially despise trade and refuse to have anything to do with it. Other Pahouin peoples are not so strongly antipathetic, but their business activity remains very limited.

Is it this bankruptcy on the part of the indigenous people and this
443 taking over by "foreigners" which explains the organization and the
● 184 location of trade in the region? The villages are in fact very badly
441 served; markets are few and far between and so are rural shops. Perhaps we ought to note differences between the various Pahouin and Pahouinized groups. While a village trader is always most uncommon in Boulou country in spite of the relative affluence of the planters, he is not unknown in Ewondo districts and is quite often to be met with among the Eton, where resources are, nevertheless, more limited. Without local trade the collecting of crops and specifically of cacao posed quite a problem, to which the coming of buyers brought a solution. Business houses advance money to the buyers and buy what they are able to bring back. From hut to hut along the trails buyers negotiate purchases with planters. With these "purchases by peddling" it might seem logical for sales by peddling to develop. Yet this phenomenon is quite recent, being tied up with the development of transportation by car and bicycle. But while the buyers are generally native to the region, the pedlars are nearly always foreign.

[658] As house-to-house buying creates countless disadvantages, the administration has endeavored to create rural markets so that the public

nature of the transactions and competition would correct them. These markets represent an attempt at introducing trade into the rural milieu, and they are not restricted to the purchase of cacao and palm trees; some African traders try to sell textiles, hardware, and food products. But the markets are still too new for the custom to have become firmly established, for them to have an existence of their own. It may be that here too we should except certain Eton cantons, where there seem to be some genuinely native rural markets.

Although of European origin, the markets held each day in the main towns of the subdivisions have become entirely a part of the way of life. Originally they were set up to provide food supplies for the settlements that grew up around administrative posts /36/ or missions. Then, professional traders came to offer imported merchandise to villagers come to sell their garden produce. Nowadays these markets are routine affairs, drawing their clientèle from a radius of 20 kilometers. Their importance depends upon that of the particular subdivision. As an illustration, we may use the following figures from a study of the market at Sangmélima: 200 women come to sell vegetables, maize, or fruit grown in their gardens. Some women dealers in palm oil, after having bought it liter by liter in the bush, come here with from 10 to 20 liters to sell. Young boys sell cigarettes, pieces of sugar, sandwiches, or cups of coffee, while women bring fritters. Side by side with these petty tradesmen others transact business on a larger scale: about 20 sell dried, smoked fish prepared on the coast or stockfish (dried and salted) imported from Europe, while in their stalls 20 "market boys" /sic/ offering textiles, enamelware, or hardware wait for customers.

The number of craftsmen grouped around the market, the number of cars, lorry-buses /camions amenages/, or bicycles which have brought customers show clearly that this is not an artificial institution. The market is now tending to become one of the elements of the town.

It shares this role with the shops. European and African traders do business along Western lines, both wholesale and retail at the same time. They try to keep on good business terms with the African small dealers who know very well how to go from supplier to supplier to compare merchandise, price, and terms. At the same time they sell directly to the public. Such shops are uncommon outside towns — in this connection as with markets, the villages are little touched by economic activity.

4. Towns

361 This lack of vitality in the bush is understandable if we turn to
621 conditions of settlement: the scattered pattern of settlement is very obvious. There are no villages properly speaking, just a dusting of hamlets. In the Cameroons, the villages are very small, with an average of 230 inhabitants. Furthermore, we are dealing with units in a system of control: their village is divided into many hamlets of from 5 to 20 huts grouped around that of the family head /chef de famille/.

178 In Gabon, Fang leaders are worried about this crumbling apart of the
361 population and have issued slogans for regrouping the villages.
621 Amongst them, indeed, the scattering is perhaps even more marked.
[142] "The average number of inhabitants per village varies from 42 (territory of Mitzic) to 105 around Oyem and to nearly 138 in the Fang canton of Makokou." (1)

1. Balandier and Pauvert, Les villages gabonais /Gabonese Villages/, Mémoir, I.E.C.A. /Institut d'Études centrafricaines/, Brazzaville, 1952.

This is not the place for a study of whether scattered settlement is natural in a country where no centralized authority has been imposed, in which the only certain /37/ power was that of the family head, or whether, on the contrary, it evidences a new kind of anarchy, an intensified individualism. We shall merely point out that the
[184] hamlets are larger in Boulou country than in Ewôndo or Bané country, although the former political institutions of the Ewôndo and Bané seem to have given tribal chiefs some political powers and marks of rank, of which there seems to have been no question among the Boulou. The first appearance of centralized political power would seem to coincide with a greater dispersion in settlement.

The fact remains that no center of concentration forced any crystallization whatsoever of an amorphous mass. This fact, closely connected with the absence of trade, clearly indicates the new and artificial character of the towns. They are all of recent origin, and yet they have become a necessity.

614 are, besides, meyoñ that are outside the system.

614 Among the latter I shall mention the Ndôñ and the Bekôé or Bekwi,
563 to be found under these names in all, or nearly all, the Pahouin tribes.
184 The ethnic substantive Bekôé is simply the plural of a common noun, nkôé, "dwarf." These people are, it seems, descendants of aborigines, undoubtedly Pygmies, "adopted" by the tribes at the time of invasion. Although looked upon as an ayoñ and calling one another brother, they do not practice exogamy and seem to attach their genealogies to those of other clans, to which nevertheless they do not belong.

614 The case of the Ndôñ is quite different. They crossed the Sanaga
184 with the other Pahouin, and they are certainly "active" Pahouin. But they observe endogamy among their three mvôk (Ndôñ Mvu, Ndôñ Bibak, and Ndôñ Bikoé), which no other Pahouin ayoñ does, at least to my knowledge. Besides, I believe I noticed /48/ among those of the southern Cameroons and northern Gabon morphological traits setting them sharply apart from those of neighboring clans—reddish
[142] color of the skin, frequency of green or greenish-blue eyes—which
[144] might be explained by the inbreeding consequent upon endogamy, but also perhaps by a different ethnic origin. Another piece of evi-
[326 dence, as insufficiently attested as the foregoing, is that among the
791] Ndôñ I met the last of the smiths and the most feared magicians among the Boulou and Fang tribes of the Cameroons.

The Ngoé ayoñ also is found under this name in nearly all the Pahouin tribes and, according to Bertaut, among the neighboring Bakoko. The Esel, who are similarly spread throughout the tribes, have non-Pahouin homonyms: /for instance/ the Bantu Esel tribe of the southeastern Cameroons (Moloundou). The name could, however, be a contraction of ésa (ésa-el?). Ngoé and Esel are usually exogamic.

c. The Extended Family or Village Family

596 The term "village family" is no doubt more accurate than the
621 classic "extended family," both because the nda bôt (house of the people) is the only social group that corresponds exactly to a geographical form of settlement (the jal or hamlet), and because without the geographical criterion it is difficult to distinguish this /kind of/ family from the intermediate structures between it and the clan, such as segments or lineages (mvôk, bisa). And finally, it is on this

437
431
557 connection that the points of the compass have a sexual implication,
565 which is not well understood. The bilaba sets up a sort of joking re-
[623 lationship between the families of the participants, which may con-
631] tinue after their death.

The institution seems to be dying out, though it was still flourishing between the two /World?/ wars and often involved considerable amounts of money (1).

> 1. Balandier (no. 175 and in a personal communication) stresses the economic importance of the bilaba which, in a society without a money or trade economy, constituted one of the principal means of circulating goods and, especially, of diffusing imported commodities.

556 In spite of the fear his success inspires, and perhaps because of
622 this fear, the rich man enjoyed undoubted authority in his village and sometimes beyond it. Nkukuma, the absolute form of nkukum, is used to translate "chief" (it probably means, more precisely, "person of note").

554 The word évet, also applied to subchiefs or government "capitas"
622 is likewise used —a correct nuance if, as Bates says, évet is a corruption of headman applied originally to the chiefs of trade caravans. These men were chosen for their business astuteness, diplomacy, authority, and courage, but they were only deputies of a clan or village, not true political chiefs. To convey the latter implication the preferable term is still njôô bôt (Fang, nzoé mur) from jô = to say, to command, a term indicating a de facto state, /état de fait/ rather than a legal notion. It should be recalled that there were no political leaders other than the seniors, mintôl, of the extended families. Their authority was further limited by the ease with which their brothers could leave the village to establish another nearby (2).

164
554
622

> 2. But among some Pahouinized peoples the existence of royal insignia shows that chiefship /chefferie/ is an institution: among the Ewôndo and Yanda the head of the clan designated his successor or, if he

184
554
622

had not done so, the clan chose its chief, and the neighboring populations each sent him a spear in token of recognition.

[534]

The power of the Fong chief is on an even more personal level. The chief conveys his commands by means of an enormous drum; his pipe is preserved like a relic; his musicians play special instruments, among them the nkeñ (percussion double bell), quite rare in that region but a classical instrument in the western Cameroons with the Bamiléké or Bamoum /Mum/. The chief's installation is marked by the tradition of the spears and the donning of a headpiece of parrot plumes. (J. B.)

[293
297]

Any more extensive authority was founded on personal prestige, which always aroused resentment. Authority was never conferred except temporarily, and it was quite often withdrawn from the holder before term.

631
636

French, German, and Spanish administrations have attempted to set up a hierarchical system of authority that it has never been possible really to impose upon the country. The three administrations all made the initial mistake of trying to establish this authority on a territorial basis, which is completely—or nearly—foreign to these nomadic people. Only village chiefship had some resemblance to a customary institution, provided that the choice of chief fell upon a nt̂ol mt̂ot, a genuine senior, and that his brothers accepted his authority. Canton and higher chiefdoms had no cohesion except insofar as the incumbent had authority or administrative support. At the beginning of the colonial period, however, these functions were very often entrusted to genuine bejôô bôt, /62/ well-known war chiefs, high initiates of societies like the ngil, or celebrated magicians. Later on, it became more difficult to find, even among opposition ranks, chiefs possessed of real authority. After 1945 there was an attempt in the Cameroons to reorganize the system of authority on a clan basis (the Bourdier-Granier reform), then on village lines (the Christol system), finally ending up with a municipal type of system.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

412 the natural curve of the branches. Stones are employed for rolling food, especially for crushing and rolling the *ngon* seed. Shells of large land mollusca are cut in half and used for spoons, small gourds being used for the same purpose. Large gourds are used for water dippers and bottles. Very many uses are found for the forest 824 gourds, not the least ingenious being the use of a hollow stemmed gourd for [757] administering a rectal injection. Gourds are used for the sounding boards of the musical instrument called *mvuk*. The people find many uses for bamboo. It is used in construction of houses, fish baskets and traps are made from it, fences to protect paths during tribal wars are made of sharp pointed bamboo poles; and small sharpened pieces of bamboo with poisoned tips are buried in the forest paths, point upward, to wound and poison the naked feet of an unsuspecting enemy. The 825 teeth and claws of leopards and bush cats, elephant tail, antelope feet, horns and forest beans are used in their natural form as personal ornaments. Leopard teeth are always considered valuable as *biang* (fetish) and are much sought after; they are frequently imitated in ivory. I have not seen the defences of animals employed as artificial defences, except as fetish. Long tough forest thorns are often used as awls [412] and needles for piercing and sewing skins. I once saw an *ngangan* (witch doctor) 763 perform a post-mortem examination on a woman. After he had discovered the cause 787 of death, which he announced to the expectant crowd as being due to "six witches eating her liver," he first pierced the abdominal walls with a long hard thorn, and then sewed up the body with a bamboo needle threaded with pineapple fibre. I have seen only one cave dwelling; it was used by an isolated sufferer of the dread 342 disease called by the natives *mabata* (a kind of sloughing phagedina). When 734 proper reed material for making thatch is scarce, large forest leaves are used, but they make very poor roofs, especially during the tornado season.

Conservatism.—The Fang are not quick to adopt reforms or to introduce new 185 methods; they are more or less the slaves of custom, and have a superstitious dread 186 of departing from ancestral habits. This refers to all the proceedings of life. Fang living in towns near Gaboon are almost daily coming in contact with white settlers, and to some extent, at least, appear to be changing their mode of living. It never appeared to me that a Fang had the same longing to be "just like a white man" as possesses the young Mpôngwe and Benga men.

IX.—*Ornamentation.*

The patterns mostly seen in Fang ornamentation consist of bands, incised 531 lines, elliptical punch marks, herring bone, lozenge pattern and cross lines. The natives do not possess a natural aptitude for drawing, and seldom attempt it. The few drawings I have seen on the bark walls of houses, supposed to represent men and women, were very crude and exaggerated in proportion. They have no idea whatever of perspective. They seem to interpret foreign drawings very readily. [322] The Fang show considerable skill in plain wood carving, using an ordinary native knife. I have noticed that their carving improves very considerably when an imported pocket knife is the instrument employed.

162 We have been able to define the characteristics of this demographic crisis, of which the Fang as a whole are aware. These are a drop in the population, which is more or less checked according to the region and circumstances; a lack of balance between the number of men and of women — the sex ratio rising rapidly at the level of the oldest age groups — and a more marked aging of the feminine population; an insufficient demographic basis and at the same time a high infant mortality. And it is
168 the lack of children and the sudden importance acquired by women
578 (conditioned by their number as well as by the general movement of social evolution) of which the villagers complain, far more than they criticize the inadequacy of sanitary equipment. In a society where the number [that is, the size of the groups] differentiates the groupings in a hierarchical system, and permits personal preeminence, the acute phases of this demographic crisis arouse great anxiety; the decline of fecundity in the women is one of the reasons, the most important one perhaps, for the hostility of the men toward the women.

168 The grounds given for such a situation [100] have a double aspect, modernist and traditionalist. The grounds of the former were displayed at the time of the Pahouin Congress of 1947 and also by certain groupings at the time of the movement for regrouping clans. They are expressed by definite claims, such as demanding a health program and education in hygiene, a desire to control and then limit prostitution, to consolidate the "family" by limiting divorce and curbing adultery, a need for rich crops "that can be sold in order to support the family," (1) etc. The grounds of the
168
186

1. Statement by a Dignitary of the Yémödâg Tribe, Mitzic, 1949.

traditionalists without doubt compel recognition and represent the opinion of the greatest number. They reveal a strong reaction to the present state of Fang society and a desire to return to a past when everything was better, when there were "a great many men and a great many children"; they express a tendency toward "counter-acculturation." The upheavals that have occurred in

168 the social and cultural organizations are directly blamed: the
166 breaking up and dispersal of the groupings resulting in the rupture of fundamental interdictions (especially that of exogamy: with the
[835] present confusion each man risks marrying his "sister" and being condemned to a sterile union); the abandonment of traditional religious observances, especially the Biéri worship rendered to
[769 ancestors — so that the Biéri "revenges" itself, "according to cer-
842] tain informants, by making the women sterile. Borrowing from European civilization and from their neighbors has altered "Fang manners" and resulted in behavior that is not valid for the Fang and puts their social existence in danger. These are the principal reasons brought forth. We have already in this chapter paid particular attention to these facts, because they show the subjective aspect of the demographic crisis and how much the search for fertility and for power, both linked together, still plays a part in the present reactions of this people, how it takes effect in an ambiguous manner by having recourse at the same time to modern foreign methods and to traditional Fang methods. For the Fang villagers the crisis is the most serious consequence of a situation created by colonization — by "civilization," as some of them curiously say. This is sufficient indication that these facts must be integrated in the whole we have undertaken to analyze.

[101] III. The Type of Social Structure (1)

1. A study carried out with the help of documents collected especially among the Fang of the Woleu-N'Tem, and principally in Oyem region where Fang vitality is the most authentic.

Tribes, Clans, and Lineages

596 The recent clan renewal to which we have often referred has shown the still fundamental importance of the groupings established as a function of "kinship." This was immediately grasped by the first observers and administrators of the Fang country, who insisted on the "family" nature of the Pahouin groupings and came to the

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

412 the natural curve of the branches. Stones are employed for rolling food, especially for crushing and rolling the *ngon* seed. Shells of large land mollusca are cut in half and used for spoons, small gourds being used for the same purpose. Large gourds are used for water dippers and bottles. Very many uses are found for the forest 824 gourds, not the least ingenious being the use of a hollow stemmed gourd for [757] administering a rectal injection. Gourds are used for the sounding boards of the musical instrument called *mvuk*. The people find many uses for bamboo. It is used in construction of houses, fish baskets and traps are made from it, fences to protect paths during tribal wars are made of sharp pointed bamboo poles; and small sharpened pieces of bamboo with poisoned tips are buried in the forest paths, point upward, to wound and poison the naked feet of an unsuspecting enemy. The 825 teeth and claws of leopards and bush cats, elephant tail, antelope feet, horns and forest beans are used in their natural form as personal ornaments. Leopard teeth are always considered valuable as *biang* (fetish) and are much sought after; they are frequently imitated in ivory. I have not seen the defences of animals employed as artificial defences, except as fetish. Long tough forest thorns are often used as awls [412] and needles for piercing and sewing skins. I once saw an *ngangan* (witch doctor) 763 perform a post-mortem examination on a woman. After he had discovered the cause 787 of death, which he announced to the expectant crowd as being due to "six witches eating her liver," he first pierced the abdominal walls with a long hard thorn, and then sewed up the body with a bamboo needle threaded with pineapple fibre. I have seen only one cave dwelling; it was used by an isolated sufferer of the dread 342 disease called by the natives *mabata* (a kind of sloughing phagedina). When 734 proper reed material for making thatch is scarce, large forest leaves are used, but they make very poor roofs, especially during the tornado season.

Conservatism.—The Fang are not quick to adopt reforms or to introduce new 185 methods; they are more or less the slaves of custom, and have a superstitious dread 186 of departing from ancestral habits. This refers to all the proceedings of life. Fang living in towns near Gaboon are almost daily coming in contact with white settlers, and to some extent, at least, appear to be changing their mode of living. It never appeared to me that a Fang had the same longing to be "just like a white man" as possesses the young Mpôngwe and Benga men.

IX.—*Ornamentation.*

The patterns mostly seen in Fang ornamentation consist of bands, incised 531 lines, elliptical punch marks, herring bone, lozenge pattern and cross lines. The natives do not possess a natural aptitude for drawing, and seldom attempt it. The few drawings I have seen on the bark walls of houses, supposed to represent men and women, were very crude and exaggerated in proportion. They have no idea whatever of perspective. They seem to interpret foreign drawings very readily. [322] The Fang show considerable skill in plain wood carving, using an ordinary native knife. I have noticed that their carving improves very considerably when an imported pocket knife is the instrument employed.

2. Dialects

197 Guthrie lists seven dialects, including three principal ones: "YAUNDE,
797 BULU, Ntum, Meka, Zimu /Nzimu/, FAN, Make." It would probably be better to speak of three dialect areas corresponding to the three groups—Beti, Fang, Boulou—already defined, each area containing a predominant speech, which is always the one transcribed by missionaries. The importance of this sociological phenomenon is underlined by the fact that the transcribed dialects tend sometimes to extend beyond and sometimes to shrink within the corresponding ethnological area, in conjunction with nonlinguistic factors, the principal one being the religious affiliation of the speakers. Likewise, it is established that in certain areas a mother tongue coexists with a written dialect learned at mission schools and spoken by Christian converts.

The predominant dialect in the Beti area is Ewôndo, the working language of the Catholic mission, which is rapidly supplanting the Beti (Ati) dialects properly so called of the Sanaga Valley. The Eton dialect, for instance, which was more Ati than Pahouin on the eve of the 1914 war (Nekes), is today completely assimilated; Tsinga and Mangisa are on the way to being so. Finally, Ewôndo as a trade language is gaining ground in the north and east, as already indicated. In the south, on the contrary, though it may be replacing Bané and Fong and even be making superficial inroads into the Catholic cantons of the Boulou-speaking area; it is losing out to Boulou in the districts
[191] evangelized by the American Presbyterian Mission. Thus the Bané, the Fong, and certain Protestant Ewôndo are in fact bilingual; they speak as their mother tongue a dialect close to Ewôndo, while they write, pray, or sing in Boulou.

197 Boulou is therefore gaining in the Ewôndo linguistic area in the north. Toward the east, it is gaining among the Mekaé and Kozimé, has supplanted Fang among the isolated Fang groups of the north, and serves as the cultivated language among the /20/ Cameroons Ntoumou
[198] and Mvaé (except for Catholics) and as a trade language at Kribi and in Spanish Guinea. It even competes with Fang as a written language in northern Gabon. In the Catholic sectors it is putting up quite a good resistance to Ewôndo, except where it comes in contact with Bané and Fong.

Fang has supplanted Ntoumou in the Woleu-N'Tem region—except in Bitam District, where it is in competition with Boulou—and

A few words should be said about lighting. In the houses, which, as we have seen, are windowless and hence quite dark, the hearth fire /Fig. 43 appears here in the original text/ is at the same time a much needed source of light. As the Pangwe relate in their legends, it was Mode-Sama, one of the first human beings, who fetched fire (ndūǎn) from God (Sama); according to other versions, the fire was given to him by God, and since Mode's time the fire has not been extinguished. This useful element is carried from one house to another and, when worst comes to worst, from one village to another. The Pangwe does not need to rekindle his fire, since it burns all day in the meeting house where it serves as a protection against cold, moisture, and sand flies, while in the dwellings it is kept going day and night for cooking and heating purposes. When the women go to the plantations, the logs are so carefully arranged (for this action alone, there are four different expressions!) that they continue to glow; or the youngest daughter may be given the task of guarding the vestal altar. In case the fire should actually go out in one house, fire is obtained from a neighboring house, and it is only in exceptional cases that a smaller village has no fire. In such an emergency fire is sent for from the nearest settlement.

Better lighting than the hearth fire is provided by the torch light with which /80/ /Fig. 44 appears here in the original text/ the village square is illuminated at night when, for instance, dances are held. The flickering of the torches causes the strange and wild movements of the dancers to appear even more fantastic than they really are. The torches are composed of dried stalks of the cardamom Aframomum alboviolaceum K. Sch. (adžǒm; stalk, kō'mō IV Fang, kūū'me IV Ntum), Plate 21 in Section 11 /Vol. 2/, or finely spliced raffia stalk strips (ekǎ'ba), which — when they are well dried — burn very brightly but, on the other hand, are rather rapidly consumed.

The finest but an infrequently used source of light at festivities or other events in the village square is the resin lamp (otu = resin), Figure 43, a little tub of bark containing the fragrant resin of the Anacardiacea Canarium schweinfurthii Engl. (1) (abê Ntum, obê Fang; resin = otu).

1. According to the communication of Doctor Mildbraed who has likewise collected this tree.

•192
262

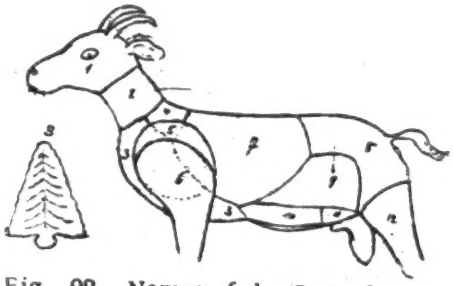


Fig. 92. Names of the Cuts of Meat in a Slaughtered Animal:
(1) head = nlo; (2) neck = kiń; (3) breast = ekokob; (4) lower neck = engut; (5) joint = aba; (6) blade and front leg = enam; (7) back piece = epfa-ebok; (8) rump = oduk; (9) flank = mvöbe; (10) belly = abum; (11) pieces above the genitals = ekila; (12) shank and hind leg = abo.

222 Among palms, we should mention especially the oil palm,
223 the raffia palm, and above all Ancistrophyllum, whose innermost leaves (palm cabbage) are eaten; of Begoniaceae we should mention Begonia poggei Wrbg. (esǎń e kōǭě Ntum) and Begonia ciliobracteata Wrbg. (esǎ́ń e kā́ʼdja); of Amaranthaceae Celosia argentea L. (num engǒ́n, num afǫ̀n), Celosia laxa Schum., etc. (num e fǭʼlǫ́m), and Pupalia lappacea L. (num e kǭlǭʼt); of Acanthaceae Justicia insularis T. And. (fē̄i), Endosiphon obliquus Clke. (num ndzē̄i, masǎ̄mengǭmo III), and Pseuderanthemum nigritianum (T. And.) Radlk. (ndzē̄i I); of Urticaceae Urera laurentii de Willd. (mfǭs I) and Fleurya aestuans (L.) Gand. (ngǭkǭʼn IV); of Euphorbiaceae Micrococca mercurialis (L.) Benth. (otē̄k); of Tiliaceae Corchorus olitorius L. (ngbǎ̄be-lǭʼmo IV); of Melastomataceae Dinophora spenneroides Bth. (esǎń-eli) and Dissotis decumbens (P.B.) Tr. (osisǎ́ń-bongǭʼn-bʼojě̄ʼk); of Moraceae Myrianthus arboreus P.B. (mangǎ́me III Fang, engukǭʼm Ntum, Jaunde); of Araceae Rhektophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (ndě̄ʼs IV, klē̄s IV); of Dioscoreaceae Dioscorea prehensilis Bth. (esǎ́ń); and finally, of ferns (zǒ́ń IV), in particular Dryopteris

304 465 same time, it should be noted that because of his tattooing mania some people considered him "as not quite normal." In true Negro fashion, the absence of a charge for tattooing is explained by saying that the tattooed person does not feel the pain so strongly if he does not have to pay. These conditions, however, vary greatly from place to place. Among the Jaunde payment is customary, and often it is comparatively steep.

304 825 Mutilation of the teeth occurs everywhere among members of both sexes. It is done mainly to the four upper incisors. Aside from decorative considerations, this mutilation doubtless also has a deeper religious basis which is very ancient and still alive in the Negroes. They -- as I was once told -- do not want their teeth to look like animal teeth (2). Since it is indeed a fact that

[171] 2. See also the same attitude among the Malays and the Negroes of the Sudan (according to Frobenius).

no /202/ large mammals have pointed front teeth (for it is with these that we are concerned)(1), this reason seems credible even

[192] 1. See the expressions for tooth chipping below, in which the expression for tooth is always asǔn "front tooth." There is no word for teeth in general; on the other hand there are terms for canines, incisors of animals (fõ III), and molars (ekǒ'k).

though to us pointed teeth look precisely like animal teeth since when we think of the gaping jaw of an animal, the prominent incisors are the dominant feature. The Pangwe thinks first of the animal's front teeth, and, especially in the case of horned animals, he finds a surprising similarity to his own. In making this comparison, he is not disturbed by the fact that the similarity extends only to the front teeth of the lower jaw, which resemble the front teeth of his lower jaw, since ruminants usually have no

551 VII. Names that report an event before or during the time of the child's birth.

A. Boys' names

I. Names of religious origin.

1. nsǒm, from nsǒ'm = cult, sacred act, Ntum (Fang);
[825] 2. ngī = gorilla, as the animal of purity, symbol of the Ngi cult; the name Ngi, freely translated, means "the pure one" (S.);
3. estǔ'n = fruit of the Cardamom, chief food of the lemurs, used in the Ngi cult in like manner (1). /279/

● 192 551 824

1. At least that is what I suspect, even though it is not quite certain, because it may be that Cardamom fruit is chosen because of its shiny red appearance, and in that case it would belong in the next section. On the whole I do not believe that in the case of names an immediate origin from religious institutions or conceptions is to be assumed. In this instance I simply followed the natives who told me that nsǒm came from nsǒ'm, "cult." Now it is true that the Pangwe themselves are frequently mistaken in their explanation of words, but in the second place the name (nsǒm) was given to me with a mediate high pitch; with the name for cult I hear a high pitch, while ichneumon (nsǒm) has a mediate low pitch. But since the mediants are readily substituted (see Vol. I, p. 16 /Ed., not translated/), I assume that here the ichneumon and not the cult served as the root from which the name was derived. This assumption fits perfectly with the fact that the ichneumon,

192 551 825

192
551
825

Herpestes melanurus Gray, which is called nsǒm, has a gray color which may well have given rise to the designation of a person by the name nsǒm. The name ngī, "gorilla," may also be meant as a symbol of strength, or, perhaps like esǔ'n, it may have been chosen because of the red color.

551 II. Names which allude to an attractive skin color and are for the most part derived from fauna or flora that the Pangwe finds especially beautiful.

According to the color, the following were mentioned to me.

(a) Red.

4. mbǎ' = Turacus, actually the shiny red one;
[292] 5. ndūno, from andūn = dancing cap made of touraco feathers (S.);
6. mvē' = redwood tree, Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub., because it is red.

(b) White.

7. mfūmū, from mfūm = white (S.);
8. asǒn = umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br., because of its white trunk (S.);
9. akǒ'm = bracelet made of ivory (Fang).

(c) Gray.

10. edǔ = African rat (in the Pangwe region displaced by the domestic rat) (S.);
11. tǔlo = domestic rat, Mus rattus L.;

174 who were settled among them and the Boulou. The last Beti groups to cross the Sanaga, blocked by those who had preceded them, have turned perpendicularly or obliquely to the general axis of migration.

The total migration was made exclusively by land, even when its [505] axis followed the course of a navigable river. The Pahouin are not users 487 of the pirogue, and the customary trails followed along ridges rather than valleys. Settlement is mainly linear, stretched along trails and, [361] now, roads, in long ribbons, separated by empty areas.

173 The traditions dealing with this exodus are of three kinds: the collective tradition of the group, varying in detail from tribe to tribe but always agreeing in the broad outlines of the same theme; family traditions, consisting of a commentary on genealogies, the majority of which have not been collected and are by way of being lost due to the abandonment of the customary training of boys; finally, a pseudo tradition of contemporary invention, which is far from the least interesting. I shall here give an account only of the principal features of these traditions and, first, of the collective tradition.

According to this, the ancestors used to live in a country called mvo' ékanga or mvo' ékañ'a (Largeau: mvôgh étangha), which means something like "cloudy country" or "honorable country," depending on the tone, or perhaps both at the same time (1). I have

[192] 1. a) Radical kañ = to honor, to respect, whence ékanâ'a = honor, respect, veneration; b) radical kañ = to mark, to design, whence ékanga = mark, design, cloud; c) verb kañele = to lash, to shape /timber/, whence ékanga = bridge.

pointed out previously the legendary features of this land in the east, the details of which vary according to the informants. It should be observed in passing that they differ as to whether or not this land was the actual cradle of the ancestors and whether the latter came from a place located even more to the east, as the present pseudo tradition assets (2).

[533 538] 2. The last of the Ntoumou storytellers sing to the accompaniment of a guitar, mvet, the exploits of the bikañ or bo'bikañ,

197 in Spanish Guinea. It is advancing to east and south and tending to replace Pongwé as a trade language. Its progress remains handicapped by the existence of several transcriptions that borrow simultaneously from different dialects, a fact which hinders standardization of the dialect. It seems however that the dialect of the west—Mazouna or Betsi—is gaining on that of the east—Mekina or Maké—which, moreover, has provided fewer elements in the transcriptions.

The differences between Ewôndo, Boulou, and Fang are unmistakable, but not such, however, as to prevent communication. The syntax is practically identical, the grammatical differences unimportant. The distinctions between different kinds of speech are chiefly related to pronunciation and vocabulary.

As for pronunciation, there is a striking resemblance between
194 Fang and Ewôndo, which is rather surprising, since the two groups are
197 separated by the Boulou enclave and do not have, or no longer have, direct contacts. Ewôndo is a little less harsh, a little less guttural than Fang, while Boulou is neither in any way. Above all, Boulou is quite without r, ordinary or fricative (r, x), replacing it with t or, more recently, with a velar l:

arki (Ew.), arigi (F.) = ahlki (B.)
kalara (Ew.), kalaghë (F.) = kalat (B.)

Boulou usually avoids hard or emphatic intervocalic occlusives (g, k, gh, kh) and replaces them with a vocalic plosive /attaque vocalique/ or a rough aspirate:

saghele (F.), sakélé (Ew.) = sa'ale (B.)
afôghele (F.) = afô'ôlo (B.)

It omits many of the initial nasals of Fang:

Nzame (F.) = Zambe (B.);

and uses j (ʒ) in preference to dz:

zé (F., Ew.) = jé (B.);

likewise ty (tʃ) in preference to, or together with, k:

ôkeñ (F.) = ôtyeñ (B.).

192 From the point of view of vocabulary the three kinds of speech differ chiefly in their borrowings from neighboring languages. Guthrie estimates these loan words at not more than 5 percent of the vocabulary of the Pahouin group, but the proportion is greater in Ewôndo and in Fang, in the latter reaching 20 percent. The borrowings come from the Myéné group for Fang, from Ati for Ewôndo. Boulou borrows indirectly /21/ from Myéné and Ati, directly from

192 Maka-Ngumba, from Jem-Dzimu, and from coastal Bantu. The European contributions would come more from Coast English for Ewôndo and Boulou, from Portuguese "sabir"* for Fang, but Coast

[198] /* A mixture of Arabic, French, Italian, Spanish, etc., used in the Levant and Africa. —Tr./

English is increasing its influence on the whole group, as French is doing. The Abbé Walker mentions Arabic influences, but the only authentic examples are extremely rare: I only know of banga (Indian hemp) and arki (alcohol).

3. Characteristics of the Language

193 Sentence structure follows the order: subject, verb, attributive complement, objective complement.

Thus: M'aboté évet zel = I moisten chief beard (I grease the chief's palm).

The qualifier, adverb or epithet, is usually but not always placed before the word modified:

abeñ minga = pretty woman; mbia môt = wicked man; ôbe anen = rather large; but

anen abui = very large; bôte bela = three people.

192 Trilles, in Totemism among the Fang (no. 166) (1), estimates

[129] 1. The numbers inside parentheses refer to corresponding numbers in the Bibliography, p. 179.

the vocabulary at 18,000 words, undoubtedly counting as separate words certain derivatives, especially verbal inflections, which could as well be classed with the radical form, as to Bates and Good; they obtained a Boulou vocabulary of about 7,000 words, which is far from being complete. The correct number must be near 10,000 to 12,000 at least. While the language has been enriched by European and non-Pahouin African loan words, it appears at the same time to have been impoverished by the loss of certain nuances of meaning, of technical or religious terms, of older literary or poetical figures

172 of speech, and this to a large extent owing to European influence, in
[869] particular compulsory schooling. The teaching of rhetoric played a great part in the traditional education of boys (njôô, nzoé = speaker, orator = chief), and initiation into various rites gave the initiates the right to use certain words forbidden to the uninitiated (2). Con-

> 2. I was never able to learn the real word for "skull" reserved for biéri initiates; I was only told the paraphrase, ékokoé nlo môt, "shell of a man's head."

[177] version to Christianity and instruction in colonial schools have brought about a definite deterioration in the language, by forcing traditional
[538] education to retreat or by destroying it. It is thus that the novel Nnanga kôn (no. 153), written after the war of 1914, is nowadays arduous reading for young Boulou.

173 The majority of the words in the language are formed from /22/ a biliteral root (consonant-vowel) or triliteral (consonant-vowel-consonant) to which affixes are added. There are thus series such as:

KI (Fang) or TYI (Boulou), radical—kié, tyé = power; éki, étyi = prohibition; tyik = to cut, to decide; tyi = to be under a prohibition; tyili = to lay under a prohibition, to forbid; étyé, ékié = iron, pl. bityé, bikie = sacramental money; ôtyeñ, ôk(i)eñ = knife; metyi, meki = blood, etc.

The most important affixes are the nominal classifiers, which permit the division of nouns and pronouns into nominal classes or semantic genders; sexual gender does not exist. There are five or six of these classes or genders, according to different writers. Semantic implication /sic/ is not always clear in true substantives, but it is much more so for verbal substantives. I give here the Boulou classes according to Bates:

I. nominal classifiers: m, n, n/be, b; pronominal classifiers: a, ny, w/be, b. —Personal class, names of persons, of personified animals; names of European origin. Verbal derivatives indicating the agent.

Ex: mot, bot = person; ngal, beyal = wife, female;
metoa, bemetoa = conveyance /voiture/;
mbo, bebo = he who does /makes/, from bo = to do /make/;
ndi = he who eats, from di = to eat.

614 Trilles listed about 80 meyoñ among the Fang of Gabon, and com-
619 parable figures may be set for the Boulou or the Ewôndo, which would tend to cross-check the theory according to which clan ties extend across tribal boundaries to include the whole Pahouin group. The phenomenon does not seem open to question as regards those clans that are to be found under the same name throughout all, or in many, tribes; it is perhaps more questionable for certain Gabon segments that have been more or less arbitrarily absorbed into Cameroons clans at the time of "Pahouin regrouping." Even in the latter case, however, there exists for the pseudo tradition a precedent genuinely rooted in custom, that of tribes like the Yebekolo or the Yembama, whose names suggest that we are dealing with former clans, which became detached from a tribe (the Boulou, in actual fact) and took to practicing endogamy. An analgous process of "clanification" may be imagined of Fang segments too long isolated from their ayoñ.

Be that as it may, this intertribal community of meyoñ is more apparent between the Boulou and Fang tribes, that is, in the south, than between them and the Beti tribes of the north, certain of which, moreover, call the clan mvôg, not ayoñ, a phenomenon perfectly explicable if we admit that the Eton and Mangisa, for instance, are Pahouinized rather than true Pahouin.

Each ayoñ has a proper name, which, according to Trilles, would
614 be that of the clan totem preceded by the prefix ésa or ye (segments and lineages are called by the name of the ancestor). Some meyoñ, however, have a name that does not include these particles, but they are generally those groups that possess a particular kind of structure
614 to which we shall refer later on (1). The particle ésa derives from the
192

1. The ébi clans in Gabon are related in the opinion of some writers to the ésa clans; but there is a noun ébi, ébé, meaning hole, ditch.

verb sak /47/, a transitive verb meaning "to perform coition" (sa' minga = to copulate with a woman), by extension meaning "to impregnate;" the regular derivative, ésa/bisa, means "lineage," while the irregular form, ésa/beséa, means "father." The particle ye might come from yee, "valley," "hollow," "fissure," perhaps connected with a root Y./YI connoting ideas of moisture, feminity, or maternity

614 [192] (yii = to weep; yek = to make a fish dam of wet earth; nyia = mother; nyin = four; enyin = life). Sometimes the differences in name have been explained by geographical origin: the ésa clans would be those in the west, the ye clans those in the east. Actually, we find ye clans and ésa clans in all tribes, in the east as well as the west. Yet the geographical explanation should perhaps not be altogether rejected but rather associated with a sexual interpretation.

823 571 614 The Pahouin do, in fact, seem to have ascribed their system of directions to the apparent movement of the sun or, perhaps, to the line of their migration. The west would then be associated with the right, mbo nnôm = male side, the east to the left, mbo ngal = female side (1). This polarity would indicate a series of little-known insti-

1. According to Largeau, north is on the right (male), south on the left (female), which is understandable if directions are based on an E-W line of march. See below.

In Zoll'Owambe's description of the bilaba (no. 125) imported merchandise (male?) comes from the north, local merchandise (female) from the south, while he uses to designate the south the term nsak, meaning "interior," "upstream," or "east," a meaning comparable with that of nké, west or downstream.

tutions, first of all, the joking relationship, awusô, derived in turn from the great national sô rite. In fact, I think I observed that the awusô relationship existed almost always between an ésa clan and a ye clan: Esakoé-Yekomba, Esaébeñ-Yenjôk, Esel-Yembôff, etc. Certain points may also suggest a link with the former marriage custom and a kind of potlatch called bilaba (2).

2. Another explanation makes the ésa clans originally segments of the ye clans; this interpretation could also account for the joking relationship.

614 The problem is not made easier by the knowledge that certain ésa clans identify themselves with ye clans in other tribes and that there

192 Maka-Ngumba, from Jem-Dzimu, and from coastal Bantu. The European contributions would come more from Coast English for Ewôndo and Boulou, from Portuguese "sabir" * for Fang, but Coast

[198] /* A mixture of Arabic, French, Italian, Spanish, etc., used in the Levant and Africa. —Tr./

English is increasing its influence on the whole group, as French is doing. The Abbé Walker mentions Arabic influences, but the only authentic examples are extremely rare: I only know of banga (Indian hemp) and arki (alcohol).

3. Characteristics of the Language

193 Sentence structure follows the order: subject, verb, attributive complement, objective complement.

Thus: M'aboté évet zel = I moisten chief beard (I grease the chief's palm).

The qualifier, adverb or epithet, is usually but not always placed before the word modified:

abeñ minga = pretty woman; mbia môt = wicked man; ôbe anen = rather large; but

anen abui = very large; bôte bela = three people.

192 Trilles, in Totemism among the Fang (no. 166) (1), estimates

[128] 1. The numbers inside parentheses refer to corresponding numbers in the Bibliography, p. 179.

the vocabulary at 18,000 words, undoubtedly counting as separate words certain derivatives, especially verbal inflections, which could as well be classed with the radical form, as to Bates and Good; they obtained a Boulou vocabulary of about 7,000 words, which is far from being complete. The correct number must be near 10,000 to 12,000 at least. While the language has been enriched by European and non-Pahouin African loan words, it appears at the same time to have been impoverished by the loss of certain nuances of meaning, of technical or religious terms, of older literary or poetical figures

172 of speech, and this to a large extent owing to European influence, in particular compulsory schooling. The teaching of rhetoric played a [869] great part in the traditional education of boys (njôô, nzoé = speaker, orator = chief), and initiation into various rites gave the initiates the right to use certain words forbidden to the uninitiated (2). Con-

2. I was never able to learn the real word for "skull" reserved for biéri initiates; I was only told the paraphrase, ékokoé nlo môt, "shell of a man's head."

[177] version to Christianity and instruction in colonial schools have brought about a definite deterioration in the language, by forcing traditional education to retreat or by destroying it. It is thus that the novel [538] Nnanga kôn (no. 153), written after the war of 1914, is nowadays arduous reading for young Boulou.

• 173 The majority of the words in the language are formed from /22/ a biliteral root (consonant-vowel) or triliteral (consonant-vowel-consonant) to which affixes are added. There are thus series such as:

KI (Fang) or TYI (Boulou), radical—kié, tyé = power; éki, étyi = prohibition; tyik = to cut, to decide; tyi = to be under a prohibition; tyili = to lay under a prohibition, to forbid; étyé, ékié = iron, pl. bityé, bikie = sacramental money; ôtyeñ, ôk(i)eñ = knife; metyi, meki = blood, etc.

The most important affixes are the nominal classifiers, which permit the division of nouns and pronouns into nominal classes or semantic genders; sexual gender does not exist. There are five or six of these classes or genders, according to different writers. Semantic implication /sic/ is not always clear in true substantives, but it is much more so for verbal substantives. I give here the Boulou classes according to Bates:

I. nominal classifiers: m, n, n/be, b; pronominal classifiers: a, ny, w/be, b. —Personal class, names of persons, of personified animals; names of European origin. Verbal derivatives indicating the agent.

Ex: mot, bot = person; ngal, beyal = wife, female;
metoa, bemetoa = conveyance /voiture/;
mbo, bebo = he who does /makes/, from bo = to do /make/;
ndi = he who eats, from di = to eat.

A3 II. m, ñ, n/mi; ô, w/mi. —Various names, without specific semantic connotation; verbal derivatives indicating the result of action, under some sort of passive aspect; derivatives of nouns of other classes indicating quality or state.

Ex: mbu, mimbu = season; nsoñ, minsoñ = point;
mboan (1) = action (what is done), from bo = to do /make/;

1. The forms of the verb in -ban and -an correspond to passive and reciprocal aspects.

ñyeman = sapience, understanding, from yem = to know;
ndiban (1) = closed, from dip = to close; ñwuan = deceased, from wu = to die;
mbe'e = burden, cargo, from be'e = to carry;
nkôbo = speech, from kôbo = to speak;
mintaé = pain, suffering, from taé = to hurt;
ndindim = a blind man, from ndim = blindness;
ñwuwup = a thief, from wup = theft.

III. no nominal classifier; pronominal classifiers e, ny, j. — Words of this class may be used in the plural with I and IV classifiers (be, b; me, m) according to the sense; no words derived from verbs; the corresponding form of the verb is the simple or elementary form.

Ex: zok, optional plural bezok = elephant;
kal, optional plural bekal = sister;
fa, optional plural mefa = saber /23/

N.B. —This class is perhaps peculiar to Boulou and Ewôndo; in Fang most of the corresponding words take a regular classifier in the singular. Ex: ze, zok, kal (B.) = nze, nzok, nkal (F.).

IV. a, d, j/me, m, e, d/me, m. —Odd nouns, including however many anatomical terms; words derived from verbs, indicating a verb's action in itself, corresponding either to an infinitive or to a substantive infinitive (drinking /le boire/, eating /le manger/), names of trees derived from names of fruit.

Ex: jam, mam = thing, matter, question;
jôé, môé = name, nose, authority; abo, mebo = paw;
abum, mebum = belly, uterus, pregnancy;
ake = the fact of going, the going; mevak = rejoicing, from vak = to rejoice;
ayôñ = heat, from yôñ = to be hot.

193 V. é, j/bi; é, j/bi. —Names of tools or instruments, often found in the next class; names of qualities used as adjectives; various nouns, some of them European words; words derived from verbs, indicating the object of an action, its objective result; words derived from nouns, with an idea of strengthening or increase.

Ex: jôm, biôm = thing, merchandise; évele = red, the fact of being red, redness; ébak, bibak = hoe;
bidi = food, what is eaten, from di = to eat;
éto = state, situation, meeting, session, from to = to be seated;
élik = inheritance, legacy, what one leaves, from lik = to leave;
ékotôkot = cheating, from nkot = crooked;
éseñ = forest, copse of umbrella trees /musanga Smithii, R. Br., used for paper pulp, — Tr. /, from aseñ = umbrella.

VI. ô, vi, w/a, l; ô, vi, w/e, d. —Various nouns, including names of tools and instruments; names of elusive, transitory things; names of small things and diminutive derivatives; words derived from verbs, apparently indicating intellectual qualities.

Ex: ôdiba'a, adiba'a = key (also exists in Class V: édiba'a);
ôsoé, asoé = river; ôtita = smoke; ôyo = sleep;
vioé, loé = laughter; viek, lek = cooking pot;
ôlé = stick (élé = tree); ônon = bird; ôbe, abe = small, a bit of, a small quantity;
ôfifis = small piece, from éfus = piece; ôkukut = fool, from akut = mad;
ôsimsan = good memory, from simsan = to remember; ôvuan = memory, from vuan = to forget.

Bates adds to these six classes a fossil class of names of liquids, which is well represented in the Bantu languages but in Pahouin only includes words identical with plurals of Class IV, with rare exceptions. I must also mention certain words that belong /24/ to classes or genders that differ according to whether they are in the singular or the plural (1).

1. Certain morphological irregularities have semantic implications. Ex: ésa, in the sense of "father," becomes in the plural beésa (Class I, personal); in its normal class (V, augmentative,

193 pl. bisa) it means "extended family." The two words (which have different tones) come from sak, to ejaculate, to f.... /sic: probably foutre/ which would have led to *nsak, besak = genitor, father.

The pronominal classifiers have an important and typical role, that of connecting a noun and its complement or a noun-subject and its verb. Nevertheless, this rule does not seem to be absolute, and Boulou especially is quite ready to omit the connective in the genitive, particularly in the singular:

jôm é ntañgan or jôm ntañgan, biôm bi ntañgan or biôm ntañgan = thing or things of whiteness;

mon a fañ, bo' be fañ = a or some Fang;

alu e ne dibi, melu me ne dibi = the night (s) is (are) dark;

mvu j'adi, bemvu b'adi = the dog (s) eats (eat).

Fundamentally, verbs are divided into verbs of state or position and verbs of action, which are not conjugated the same way. One type is derived from another by affixation to the radical, which makes it possible to complete the defective conjugation of verbs of state by recourse to their active derivatives. Tense, mood, voice, and aspect are indicated either by affixation or inflection, or by using auxiliary verbs, some of which have a meaning by themselves, while others may only be used with another verb (the last are perhaps simple affixes).

Pronouns and pronoun-adjectives are well represented, while qualifying adjectives are rare, especially in Boulou, and are most frequently replaced by nouns of quality or state that do not agree. The same is to be observed concerning tool-words /mots-outils/: aside from a few adverbs, the invariable conjunction and preposition, nouns are mainly used:

éyoñ = time, circumstance = when; mfa'a = direction, orientation = toward; ajô te = this matter = thus, therefore, consequently, etc.

194 From the phonetic point of view the outstanding trait of the group is undoubtedly the use of tones, which is the basis of telephony by drum (nkul), bell (nkeñ), or modulated cry (ékiga). Bates and Johnson recognize five tones, plus the glissando of the negative. Bertaut, following the German scholars, distinguishes two fundamental tones, high and low; two derived ones, ascending and descending;

244 is today; instead, women gathered its fruit in the bush. Once
773 upon a time, there was a man who had no sister he could sell to obtain a wife for himself, nor did he have any other person who could help him to get married. He hit upon the idea of starting a huge ngon farm, and when the ngon was ripe many people came and bought the kernels. In this way he finally earned so much money that he had the purchase price for a girl. When other people, who likewise had no wives, heard about this, they began to imitate him and also married through the aid of the plant. Hence, it is said: "Oh, I see this plant like a girl (ngõ'n), and therefore it shall be called ngõn also, for if the man had had no ngon (ngǒn), he would not have been able to marry a girl
[194] (ngõ'n)." It should be noted that the two words differ in pitch; the word for the plant has falling pitch in Fang (ngôn), rising pitch in Jaunde (ngǒn), whereas the word for girl has only high pitch (ngõ'n). A narrative in the creation story is very similar.

244 Ngon is planted only once a year since its cultivation requires the period from April to December. In April, frequently long before, the bush is cut and burned. The ground, however, is not cleared, and everything is left lying just as it fell; at most the largest brushwood is removed from the connecting paths. Walking through a farm, especially along the plantation paths, is therefore quite a gymnastic feat. A ngon farm is often cleared
[476 communally by the inhabitants of two neighboring villages who
602] belong to the same kin group. To the uninitiated, however, the boundaries are not discernible. They are indicated by trees that have been left standing or have fallen over and more rarely by lianas tied to the branches of tree trunks lying on the ground. It is astonishing that no boundary disputes arise.

244 In April, once the farm area has been burned over, the
462 women go into the fields, and with their universal tool, the hoe, they plant the ngon seeds in the ground. The seeds must first have been soaked in water for a day, and two or three of them are planted in the same hole. Because of the tree trunks and the brush lying about, planting is hard work, and for this reason the men usually assist at the task, at least on the first day, equipped with /95/ /Fig. 53 appears here in the original text/ hoes and digging

197 in Spanish Guinea. It is advancing to east and south and tending to replace Pongwé as a trade language. Its progress remains handicapped by the existence of several transcriptions that borrow simultaneously from different dialects, a fact which hinders standardization of the dialect. It seems however that the dialect of the west—Mazouna or Betsi—is gaining on that of the east—Mekina or Maké—which, moreover, has provided fewer elements in the transcriptions.

The differences between Ewôndo, Boulou, and Fang are unmistakable, but not such, however, as to prevent communication. The syntax is practically identical, the grammatical differences unimportant. The distinctions between different kinds of speech are chiefly related to pronunciation and vocabulary.

● 194 As for pronunciation, there is a striking resemblance between
197 Fang and Ewôndo, which is rather surprising, since the two groups are separated by the Boulou enclave and do not have, or no longer have, direct contacts. Ewôndo is a little less harsh, a little less guttural than Fang, while Boulou is neither in any way. Above all, Boulou is quite without r, ordinary or fricative (r, x), replacing it with t or, more recently, with a velar l:

arki (Ew.), arigi (F.) = ahlki (B.)
kalara (Ew.), kalaghe (F.) = kalat (B.)

Boulou usually avoids hard or emphatic intervocalic occlusives (g, k, gh, kh) and replaces them with a vocalic plosive /attaque vocalique/ or a rough aspirate:

saghele (F.), sakélé (Ew.) = sa'ale (B.)
afôghele (F.) = afô'ôlo (B.)

It omits many of the initial nasals of Fang:

Nzame (F.) = Zambe (B.);

and uses j (ʒ) in preference to dz:

zé (F., Ew.) = jé (B.);

likewise ty (tʃ) in preference to, or together with, k:

ôkeñ (F.) = ôtyeñ (B.).

192 From the point of view of vocabulary the three kinds of speech differ chiefly in their borrowings from neighboring languages. Guthrie estimates these loan words at not more than 5 percent of the vocabulary of the Pahouin group, but the proportion is greater in Ewôndo and in Fang, in the latter reaching 20 percent. The borrowings come from the Myéné group for Fang, from Ati for Ewôndo. Boulou borrows indirectly /21/ from Myéné and Ati, directly from

193 pl. bisa) it means "extended family." The two words (which have different tones) come from sak, to ejaculate, to f.... /sic: probably foutre/ which would have led to *nsak, besak = genitor, father.

The pronominal classifiers have an important and typical role, that of connecting a noun and its complement or a noun-subject and its verb. Nevertheless, this rule does not seem to be absolute, and Boulou especially is quite ready to omit the connective in the genitive, particularly in the singular:

jôm é ntañgan or jôm ntañgan, biôm bi ntañgan or biôm ntañgan = thing or things of whiteness;

mon a fañ, bo' be fañ = a or some Fang;

alu e ne dibi, melu me ne dibi = the night (s) is (are) dark;

mvu j'adi, bemvu b'adi = the dog (s) eats (eat).

Fundamentally, verbs are divided into verbs of state or position and verbs of action, which are not conjugated the same way. One type is derived from another by affixation to the radical, which makes it possible to complete the defective conjugation of verbs of state by recourse to their active derivatives. Tense, mood, voice, and aspect are indicated either by affixation or inflection, or by using auxiliary verbs, some of which have a meaning by themselves, while others may only be used with another verb (the last are perhaps simple affixes).

Pronouns and pronoun-adjectives are well represented, while qualifying adjectives are rare, especially in Boulou, and are most frequently replaced by nouns of quality or state that do not agree. The same is to be observed concerning tool-words /mots-outils/: aside from a few adverbs, the invariable conjunction and preposition, nouns are mainly used:

éyoñ = time, circumstance = when; mfa'a = direction, orientation = toward; ajô te = this matter = thus, therefore, consequently, etc.

194 From the phonetic point of view the outstanding trait of the group is undoubtedly the use of tones, which is the basis of telephony by drum (nkul), bell (nkeñ), or modulated cry (ékiga). Bates and Johnson recognize five tones, plus the glissando of the negative. Bertaut, following the German scholars, distinguishes two fundamental tones, high and low; two derived ones, ascending and descending;

and a middle tone. Father Stoll, raising the problem again in a recent work, turns it upside down by describing two fundamental tones, symmetrically contrasted, two dominant tones, and eight compound /composés/ or gliding ones, all of them together classed as eight principal (four simple and four gliding) and four secondary ones. He connects this symmetrical system with the cosmogony, proving his point with an illustration from the sô rite. The battle among specialists is too violent for me to express an opinion. I shall restrict myself /25/ to pointing out that the nkul and the nkeñ only give two tones, and that in sending a message by one of these methods rhythm plays as important a part as do the tones (1).

1. But the balafo, mejeñ, consist of five xylophones of different tonality, each having six notes.

In the spoken language, and especially in formal speech, rhythm is just as important, and even those missionaries who possess a fine enough ear to avoid involuntary puns through tone usually do not succeed in mastering rhythm as can the last of the poet-storytellers. Current transcriptions do not, moreover, take rhythm or tone into account, the meaning of homographs emerging from their context. I think I observed here as elsewhere that the younger generation is inclined to forget the fine points of the language and no longer distinguish more than two tones, high and low, while the use of the nkul is daily losing ground.

A final important element in the language, especially in the oral literature, is represented by exclamative-descriptives, a series of locutions based on onomatopoeias or derived from verbs or modified nouns, reduplicated and often introduced by an exclamative particle or a click (2). Some of them are sufficiently accepted to be used in

2. Bertaut is one of the rare authors, if not the only one, to point out these clicks. I know of three in general use: one of approval, one of denial, one of warning. Others exist, used in hunting and still little known, which were perhaps borrowed from the Pygmies.

194 written texts, but the majority remain current only in the spoken language, the speaker moreover not hesitating to invent as need arises.

4. Classification

197 114 Most writers, from Meinhof to Guthrie, class the languages of the Pahouin group with the Bantu. In his general classification of Bantu languages (1948), Guthrie puts them in his area A, under the decimal number 60, including Ewondo, Bulu /Boulou/, Ntum /Ntoumou/, Mekaé, Zimu, Fañ /Fang/ (the so-called Betsi or Mazouna dialect, although he does not specify this) and Maké (doubtless eastern Fang, the dialect called Makina). Stoll includes Ewondo in his work on the Bantu and semi-Bantu languages of the Cameroons, without specifying whether he classes it with one or the other (3).

3. In its reports to the United Nations, the Cameroons government qualifies the Pahouin of the southern Cameroons as "neo-Bantu."

197 Yet it seems certain that, if these languages are really to be included in the Bantu family, they form a special category, which cannot be likened purely and simply to the unquestionably Bantu languages of adjacent populations. Besides, there is discussion as to whether the Pahouin invaders brought their language with them or have adopted and changed that of the peoples established before them on the Cameroons-Gabon plateau. There has also been some hesitation about classing the languages /26/ of the border tribes, notably Mekaé and Kozimé, either with the Pahouin group or with the adjacent Bantu groups. For instance, while it is agreed to put Ngumba beside the Bantu languages of the coast, Mekaé, which is certainly related to it, is classed sometimes with the Pahouin tongues, sometimes with those of the Bantu of the eastern Cameroons.

197 114 The existence of a nominal gender (Bates' Class III) lacking a classifier prevents our putting the group among "agglutinating languages with a perfect class system having a special pronoun for each class," where Delafosse places Bantu. Mademoiselle Homburger (Le langage et les langues /Speech and Language/, p. 69) makes of it a separate family, close both to coastal Bantu and to semi-Bantu. In the chapter she devotes to Bantu in Les langues du monde /Languages of the World/

772 the two opposite angles and would represent the axis of migration,
823 mfa'a mañ, "toward the sea." The masculine direction seems to have been the place of origin of the ye (feminine?) clans, the feminine direction, that of the ésa clans. Trilles places with the latter the ébi clans, which are, geographically, from eastern clans; I wonder if they ought not rather to be connected with the ye clans since ébi means "hole," "chasm" (yee = valley, ravine). In the bilaba, masculine commodities come from the female sector, and vice versa.

772 These apparent contradictions would be resolved by applying the principle of double symmetry, or of sexual complementarity, similar
[601] to that which makes paternal, nonuterine half brothers called bobenyañ, "my mother's sons." This principle might be expressed somewhat as follows: every being capable of life must, in order to exist and be complete, include the opposite sex. In other words, bisexuality, a universal vital principle, should be found in every part of the universe /création/. Stoll finds proof of this in the language, where the tone
[194] levels in his view constitute genuine differentiation by grammatical sex genders, and especially in the rites whose purpose appears to be not to make men entirely masculine or women entirely feminine, but rather to give to each sex the necessary complement of the opposite sex.

Whatever may be thought of this theory, it is a fact that, because
[114] of the apparent or real absence of grammatical sex gender in the language, the majority of the early writers, even Trilles, did not attach enough importance to real gender, to the sex actually attributed to objects, particularly to magical and ritual materials. We know that spear, akoñ, saber, fa, and probably the large drum, mbaé, are male; calabashes and cooking pots, rattles (mengoñ), the double bell (nkeñ) are female; the drum-telephone, nkul, is androgynous; horns for medicaments, minlak, are male at the pointed end, female at
801 the hollow end, and the same with the rifle. As to numbers, my conclusions are diametrically opposed to those of Stoll, who believes even numbers to be male, and odd, female, though admittedly he advances as proof the large part played by odd numbers in feminine rites, which runs directly counter to his theory of double symmetry.

The numerical system is in any event only imperfectly known.
[802] Counting is based on 10, with traces of an 8:10, (awôm), basis /116/ and of 8, mwom, /having?/ perhaps the same root as different classifiers. The so number is 9. Nyin, 4, seems related to a YI

101
197

of the Nsex branch pronounce this way, the northern tribes -- Kombé, Banoko, and others belonging to the Mpongwé branch -- have made "Mpangwé, as none of the languages of the Gabon or Mpongwé group let a word end with a consonant but always require a vowel. "Mpangwé" became "Mpangwen" for the French and soon thereafter "Mpangwin"; it has now turned into "Mpawin," "Pawin," and finally "Pahouin," in which form it is indeed difficult to recognize the original.

101 because these three words [12] refer to the same people -- are the most important tribe of the French Congo and the German [now French] Cameroons.

101 The Fan proper are divided into four distinct families
197 with respect to dialects: Bétsi [Betsi], Méké [Mekei], Fôn, and Bulé [Boale] (in manners and customs they are all absolutely alike). These four groups do not speak such different dialects that they cannot understand one another unless at first meeting; they certainly do so after several days of association.

[Five paragraphs in pp. 12-13 deleted here. --Translator]

101 [13][Of the four groups] the first two are by far the best known, having made the first migrations or at least having been the first in contact with the white man. Everything that has been written about the Fan relates to these [two], particularly to the Bétsi.

The Bulé group is often considered to be connected with either the Fan or the Yaundé, through whom it would form the intermediary link with the Méké. The Fôn (1), or people of the

1. Fôn, bamboo pith, dark depths of the forest.

interior, as the etymology of their name indicates, have remained up to the present time altogether inland beyond the Bétsi and
[197 Méké. Their dialect relates them to the Bétsi, differing in being
194] more guttural. The tribes live closely intertwined in the same

195 The curious locutions of the Pangwe language, such as a bē
241 bidžǐ = to plant "food," that is, to plant, and a nyǒn bidžǐ = to take "food," that is, to harvest, seem to indicate that the cultural level of the farmer followed that of the primitive collector. That is to say, the expression suggests that the conscious cultivation of plants developed from the observation and exploitation of edible leaves, fruit, and the like found wild in nature. The Pangwe have wholly risen above the latter stage, and they revert to it only occasionally in periods of distress.

241 Their agriculture is hoe culture, that is, the soil is loosened by means of the hoe and digging stick. The hoe (ebǎ'k, Ntum; ebǎk, Fang), Figure 48, consists of a piece of iron tied to a wooden handle bent in the form of a hook; the digging stick (eviē'n Ntum, Fang; tǒń, Jaunde) is a wooden stick with the end shaped like an incisor. The hoe is used by the women, the digging stick by the men /86/. Other agricultural implements are the ax (oyū'n), Figure 49, and the bush knife (fǎ-tsi IV), Fig. 50. The latter, which today has been almost completely replaced [177] by the European cutlass, nkpwēdǎ' I, is used to dig tubers, such as yams, and to level the soil. For the latter purpose I also observed the use of wooden spades attached to a handle.

Tillage begins with the clearing of the ground (a lī tsi). First, the lianas, undergrowth, and thinner trees are cut down with the cutlass. In this way some elbow room is created, and the larger trees can be felled with an ax. /Fig. 48 appears here in the original text. / Ordinarily a whole group of trees is tackled at one time in the following manner. The lianas are severed first so that they can no longer hold up the trees. The majority of the thinner tree trunks are merely notched, and then only one fairly massive tree is cut down. This tree when it falls brings down virtually the entire group of trees, together with its network of lianas. As a result, very little remains to be done. The very large trees are usually left standing to provide shade. They are removed, by setting fire to the roots, only if it is absolutely necessary to do so. Without the help of fire, it would require a number of days to cut down such a giant tree, and the Pangwe rarely have time for this in the brief dry

Another
244 fertility medicine consists of the following mixture: 1) bark
789 of the Simarubacea Irvingia barteri Hook. f. (andǒk; 2) bark
[824] bark of the Anacardiacea Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl.
(ofǒs); 3) elephant manure; 4) sand from the Campo or the
Uelle; 5) salt. On the eve of sowing this mixture is added to the
nuts. This, too, must be understood as a direct transfer of power:
the groundnuts are to be as numerous as the fruits of the two
plants named; they are to become as enormous as the pile of
elephant manure; as numerous as sand in the Campo — we would
say, as the sands of the ocean; and as innumerable as the grains
[824] of salt. Finally, certain Liliaceae (ayǎn) are planted between
the groundnuts so that their leaves may become as green as the
lilies in the field. As can be seen, there is no lack of friendly
encouragement and good examples.

The fruit, illustrated in cross-section by Plate 6, Draw-
244 ings a and b, usually has two seeds, more rarely three, and still
more rarely one. Something reminiscent of our love feast occurs
when a boy at work finds a fruit with three seeds in his mother's
basket or in the field, calls his friends, and shares the seeds with
• [195] them. This is called euphemistically: bi kī kǎbǎd, "we dissect a
goat." Thus, we have here the doctrine: Do not forget to do good
and to share with your fellow man when you are living in abun-
dance! It is probably more by way of a game that the Pangwe,
[352] especially the children, sometimes eat the nuts raw. Otherwise
raw nuts are prepared principally for soup or compote. It is also
customary to boil the whole fruit and then eat the seeds. The
[357] nuts are stored in large, tall baskets of raffia pith, which are hung
under the roof or placed on a bed, or the nuts may be placed
loose on the groundnut loft, akǎn owǔnǒ.

433 As a result of their laziness and indifference, the Pangwe
435 seldom have enough groundnuts, so there is always a period of
244 time when they have to do without them until the next harvest has
been brought in and is sufficiently dried. This is the reason that
in the Ntum and Fang regions at these times the price for a "plate"
(2)

[804] 2. The flat plate-shaped baskets called bush plates are a unit of measurement.

3. Care of the body.

515 539 By and large, the Pangwe may be called a very clean people, cleaner than many European peoples. The majority wash and bathe very frequently, and the following proverb shows how a person who does not wash is judged:

otũ[k] -mfõõ	a	dzõnã:	kã		mvõh
Old pocket (1)	she	said thus:	if now there is		rain

[195] 1. A common term of abuse for men, similar to our "old hag" for women.

a	bõde	ma,	ngbãna	a	wõban	e	madzĩm	a	
it	wets	me,	time	to	wash	in the	water,	it	

bẽ	ma	anã
was	for me	just!

That is: "The rain came just in time, it was high time for a bath."

164 515 The many skin diseases, from which younger people suffer with special frequency, seem to have causes other than uncleanliness, /187/ although it must be admitted that among many Negroes there is an incredible indifference with respect to the care of the body, treatment of wounds, and parasites. In general, however, one can only praise the Pangwe for their cleanliness.

515 389 324 Formerly, even soap, made from a Rubiacea (ogbwã'm Fang, ogbwẽ'mẽ Ntum), was customarily used for washing bark cloth.

515 278 324 There are no fleas; but on the other hand there are vast numbers of lice which are picked off and killed by biting them -- the women swallow them at the same time. They are also killed by special medicines. These medicines are made with raffia palm oil which is rubbed on the skin and which the lice do not like to begin with. To the oil is added charred and ground plantain skins or the ground and subsequently dried roots of the Apocynacea Doacanga diplochlamys K. Sch. (oõ metũõ Ntum), ground leaves and blossoms of the Simarubacea Quassia africana Baill. (iõõ-eli'), and ground leaves of the Malpigiacea Heteropteris africana A. Juss.

821 there is a thunderstorm; actually,
"the rain is roaring."

mother, and, as a sign of a certain season, it is dependent upon the moon which, like all other celestial bodies, was assigned its course by the same primeval force. /197/

As we saw in the creation stories /Ed., not translated/, 821 775 lightning also existed from the beginning (in the egg!). Later, however, the souls subdued lightning, and they now use it for two different purposes. The first is to warn their descendants on earth of a threatening storm, that is, sheet lightning and atmospheric lightning (yǒ'yǒs IV Fang or fǒ'leyǒs IV Ntum). "There is lightning" is then expressed by fǒ'leyǒs a yǒ's or fǒ'leyǒs a lǔd, "the atmospheric lightning lights up," or "it passes by"; the root yǒs means "to open suddenly with a bang, to light up, to appear suddenly and disappear again." Secondly, the souls use lightning to strike down large trees that bar their view of the earth and the activities of human beings -- that is, lightning that strikes, zǎ'n IV Ntum, zǎ'lǎn IV Fang, or zɛ̄'yǎn IV. The fǒlevǒs is thought of as like the igniting of powder when it lights up briefly and suddenly; the zǎ'n is like the firing of a rifle, and just as in the case of the latter, one says: ngɛ́ a kǒbo, "the rifle is talking," so in the case of the former, one says: zɛ̄'yǎn a kǒbo, "the lightning rifle is speaking," that is, "it is thundering" (the cracking thunder accompanying lightning, in contrast to the distant rolling thunder of which we spoke above).

Lightning that strikes is conceived as a black bullet that strikes [195] the trees and splinters them. The "turd of the lightning" (abī' [278] zɛ̄'yǎn) -- this presumably refers to molten and conglomerated masses of resin -- is believed by the natives to have curative powers, as does the bark of trees struck by lightning.

Although the "lightning cartridge" is intended solely for purposes of blasting, it can also be dangerous for human beings if they happen to be in the neighborhood of the trees affected, and it is believed that death is caused by the tremendous roar. Hence it is advisable to withdraw into the house during thunder storms, because, by strict command of the souls, lightning is not allowed

539 tǭbǒ nale, adzǭ a n'abě
833 remain thus, affair it is bad.
836 Chorus:

A ta ma vū or a na ma
Oh, my father, I am dying, Oh, my mother, I

vū.
am dying (4).

[195] 4. The Negro dies on every occasion when something unpleasant happens to him; the chorus thus speaks from the point of view of the woman who is in such despair concerning this "bad affair" that she would almost like to die.

836 Although there are no actual prostitutes, a number of the
548 women enjoy the free life of a girl and up to the age of 30 or 35 years remain ngǭ'n, "girls." This kind of "girl," to whom every man, boy or adult, whatever his name, whether he is handsome or not, is equally /255/ welcome, is called a ñzīla. The fact that people have no better opinion of her than we have of a loose woman is shown by a song sung at a festival for the
[533] souls. In its own way this song represents a delightful satire and, for the Pangwe, an extraordinarily witty, poetic achievement. I have reproduced it in Section 20 ("Music") /Ed., not translated/.

In spite of the great sensuality, relations between the sexes
831 do have finer traits; tactful behavior, precise observation of prescribed forms, and profound spiritual sensibility are not absent. The ingenuous conduct of the young man toward the girl's parents and the naturalness with which the young people enjoy their love, without obligations, without social prejudices, have something almost ideal about them.

In the case of gonorrhea, the infected woman can demand
164 damages only if she notices the misfortune before she has been
684 paid for the favor rendered. The damages amount to 400 spears if the disease came from a person of the same kin group, and 1000 spears if it came from a person of another kin group. With the payment the "temporary marriage contract" is terminated, and thereby any claim for damages is nullified. In other words, it is always a good idea to pay one's debts as soon as possible:

[539] a bělé, a bělé, a kǒn abě mayǒk.
Keeping, keeping, it strikes (a) poor bargain.

The person who always keeps his money to himself runs into an unfavorable price situation.

Their unrestrained sexual intercourse has a highly deleterious
831 effect upon the Negroes; it weakens and stupefies them. Smaller
461 boys are often quite useful as servants, but once they reach sexual maturity and become acquainted with women, they can simply no longer be used. The Pangwe recognize this bad influence, and intelligent ones among them did not hesitate to confess frankly to me that their sexual practices corrupted them and made them incapable of strenuous physical or intellectual work. We do not need the testimony of individuals, however -- popular customs demonstrate this insight sufficiently. I believe that, aside from
[834] being based upon the original religious conception concerning the sinfulness of sexual intercourse and its incarnation in the woman, the abstinence rules for war and hunting expeditions and for iron smelting are based on the experience that sexual intercourse weakens the man's physical and intellectual capacities. Naturally, the man is inclined to heap the blame on women /268/
● [196] and bebǒn, "vaginas," as he contemptuously calls them (1).

171 1. "Terms which originally only signified 'vulva' or 'cunnus' but were then generalized into the concept 'wenches,'" exist everywhere in Europe, too; see Anthropophyteia, Jahrbücher für folkloristische Erhebungen und Forschungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der geschlechtlichen

839 [824] In the case of members of the female sex, masturbation by means of a plantain fruit is widespread, something which is to be foreseen in view of the bad situations arising from polygyny. A proverb states:

[539] o kūe ma zā (sā[k]) ebôn onū,
you find me satisfying vagina (with the) finger (1)

1. Probably a circumlocution since one did not want to mention the real object. Moreover, in coastal English the clusters of fruit growing alternately in a "plantain bunch," are called a "plantain hand," and the individual fruits making up the hand are called "fingers."

[196]

oa bele nkŭn,
you have (the) penis,

and this is used whenever someone does not part with something of which he has a superabundance, even when he sees that another person is short of it and makes shift with a poor substitute.

838 We have spoken above of homosexual relations among "children." In adults such conduct is regarded as something immoral and unnatural, simply as unheard of. In reality, however, it is frequently "heard of" that young people carry on homosexual relations with each other and even of older people who take boys -- who, as is well known, "have neither understanding nor shame" -- and readily console them by saying: "bia bŏ pfiăⁿga (we are having fun, playing a game, joking)." The children are excused with the well-known assertion, which in its deeper sense can rarely be defended: bŏ ne bŏⁿgo = they are ignorant, that is, they know not what they do. Adults are excused with the corresponding assertion: a bele nnēm e bŏⁿgo = he has (the) heart (that is, the aspirations) of boys, which is, of course, by no means flattering to them.

Publicly, of course, homosexuals are treated with the greatest contempt, and they were therefore forced, as a matter of course,

621 all future progress to the extent to which it allows (or does not allow)
571 the maintenance of sufficiently large and stable village units.
614

Political Authority and Judicial Authority

554 Taking Fang society as an example, Dr. Cureau speaks of
622 "a phenomenon of a stretching ... of the social bloc into a hierarchy based either on filiation or on intellectual and particularly moral superiority, both of which principles have their practical value according to the times." (1) He insists on a fact we have

1. Work already quoted, p. 332.

pointed out, the lack of a hierarchical organization, [with only] the simple existence of pre-eminences. The language itself gives
●[196] proof of this fact by not having a special word to designate the chief, using ésa when the pre-eminence is in a way genealogical, nkuma when it is based on wealth, ǩoé (from ǩu, to say) when it justified by eloquence and the ability to command. By magnifying this statement, A. Cureau contrasts the Fang groupings with those of other peoples as being "anarchical tribes" as opposed to "organized tribes." He writes: "Authority is occasional and momentary ... Edvoughe has carried the votes in such-and-such a difficult palaver, the whole assembly obeys for a moment this ephemeral chief; tomorrow Nzokh will have succeeded Edvoughe in the leadership of opinion; here then the struggle against one and all takes place between constantly changing and constantly renewed contestants." (2)

2. Ibid., p. 326.

In a similar sense the informants of the Commission for [137] Historical Investigation assert that the chief was "in a word the one from whom the community expected the greatest services." (1)

1. Official report of the fifth session.

In the same vein there are continual complaints from administrators incapable of reviving the powerful traditional chefferies and of acting through their medium.

137 The humidity promotes vigorous forest vegetation throughout almost the whole area under consideration: on the plateau, primary forest (afan) giving way to secondary forest of softwood and dense undergrowth (ékôtôk) (2); in the valley of the Ogooué there is swamp forest

[311 •196]

2. In my view ékwotola or ékotok clearly denote secondary forest but of the brushwood variety, and, if I understand correctly, ékotok is used to describe fallow, land that has been cultivated and that is still more or less in use.

Secondary forest would be called afan, in which the nuance of cleared forest is lost.

Primary forest would be called mfun afan. (J.B.)

at Poto-poto /2/ and mangrove in the estuary. Only north of Yaoundé, in Beti country, is there park-savanna with gallery forest along the
134 tributaries of the Sanaga. Black earth with thick humus (évindisi) is found in the valley bottoms, with red earth in process of rapid lateritization (évelesi) predominating, especially in the north.

135 The minerals are: a medium grade of lateritic iron, which is fairly common; rutile /an ore of titanium/; a little placer gold; perhaps a little copper.

136 Wild fauna is still quite abundant in the less populated regions and is extremely varied. There are anthropoids (gorilla, chimpanzee, and perhaps a third species, ébôt, not described by French writers but listed by Du Chaillu and by certain German zoologists); elephant; hippopotamus (becoming extinct); manatee (nearly extinct); buffalo; many kinds of antelope, among which the great Cephalophus (sô) plays an important role in social and religious life; flying squirrels; earth hog; pangolins; river hog and forest pig; rock badger in the south; panthers; tiger cats; civet cat; otter, and parpassa /?/; various reptiles, among them python, Dendraspis, Bitis gabonica, and cobra; numerous diurnal and nocturnal birds of prey; touraco, toucan; Buceros; francolin; grey parrot; giant snail and fresh-water bivalves; fresh-water crabs and prawns; abundant siluroids; crocodiles; various insects, among them the goliath beetle, etc.

164 There are many parasites and insect vectors: dysenteric amoeba;
136 ankylostoma; microfilaria; plasmodia; Trypanosoma (especially in the east); jigger flea; forest ticks and leeches are rather uncommon.

113 Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe/, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (2 vols.) (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), p. 34 (a short vocabulary).

-----. "Die Volker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of the Cameroons/," Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen, 1932, pp. 185-86.

●197 We wonder whether G. Tessmann knew the following three lines written by von Stein zu Lausnitz: "The Bati languages show certain resemblances to those of the Baya and the Bangandu of the eastern end of the colony." (1)

113 1. von Stein zu Lausnitz, "Eine Erkundungs-Expedition zwischen Wuri und Sanaga /An Exploratory Expedition between the Wuri and the Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1908, p. 523.

Bibliography

von Stein zu Lausnitz. Op. Cit., pp. 522, 523, 527.

Thorbecke, (Mrs.). Auf der Savanne /On the Savanna/, (1913), pp. 206-1 206-18.

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe, I Op. Cit., historical portions.

-----. "Die Bafia und die Kultur der Mittelkamerun-Bantu /The Bafia and the Culture of the Middle-Cameroons Bantu/," Ergebnisse der 1913 w. Reichs-Kolonialamt ausges andte Forschungsreise nach Kamerun /Results of the 1913 Research Expedition to the Cameroons Sponsored by the Colonial Office/ (Stuttgart: Strecker and Schröder, 1914), historical portions.

Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Bati."

Bulletin de la Societe d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 25-26 and No. 10 (June 1946).

Moisel map, G2, Jaunde, April, 1913. /59/

THE PAHOUIN

101 It has seemed necessary to us to employ the term "Pahouin,"
131 generally used by the French to designate a group of peoples who,

Pahouin

114 The great explorer Schweinfurth was the first to present the theory
174 that the invasion must have begun far to the east among the Azande, south of Bahr el Ghazal (approximately 23° long., and 5° north lat.). Dr. Poutrin, R. P. Trilles, Largeau, and Avelot accepted his conclusions, but Baumann and Westermann rejected them as greatly exaggerated. According to them, the Pahouin came only from the high Sanaga and had reached the western part of Equatorial Africa through a series of successive westward migrations, avoiding the great equatorial forest by going around it in the north and going through the valleys of the Lom and the Adamawa. "The advance of the subgroups," write Baumann and Westermann, "was made in successive leaps, as each group pushed the other ahead or passed them by. The migration was made by kin groups, about thirty to a tribe, which constituted the only political and social unit. These kin groups (agon) moved continuously westward, often passing one another; the last comers settled beyond their predecessors for a generation or two and then departed again."

The last push was made quite recently, /60/ in the southern part of the plateau of the Adamawa, by the Mbum and the Baya, who subsequently had to yield to the Fulbe /Fulani/. This last move from the right bank of the Sanaga to the forest dates back no more than about a hundred years. When the Europeans came, they in turn stabilized the positions of all these peoples.

114 In spite of the linguistic investigations quickly undertaken by the Germans, whose great specialist was Father Nekes, and the study of
101 oral traditions carried out to a greater extent by the French, the con-
●197 clusions arrived at concerning the distribution of the Pahouin in the Cameroons are not entirely in agreement with one another. They are as follows:

Father Nekes is the authority on the subject, but his classification is chiefly linguistic. According to him there are two major groups, the Beti and the Mvele. In the first he includes the Ewondo, the Bane /Bene?/, the Yetenga, the Yetudi, the Eton, and the Betsenga; in the second, the Mvele, the Yebekolo, the Yebekanga, the Bulu, the Ntumu /Ntum?/, the Okak, the Omvang, and the Fang. Tessmann connects the Yesum with the Bulu.

114 According to Dr. Schnee, the "Fang" are divided into two large groups, the Betschi /Betsi/ (established in the northwest) and the
101 Makei /Mekei/ (settled in the southwest). His division is based on whether they pronounce the phrase, "I say that," as Mekima or Matsina. The groups are divided into an infinite number of tribes,

Bafok-Yangafuk
Tsinga - Betsinga

174 The recognized kinship among the various groups clearly permits us to assert that their extraordinary dispersion is quite recent, going back no further than to the historical period when the Tikar and the Babute made their last advances and were driven back by the advancing Fulbe. Before that time these peoples probably inhabited the entire plain south of the Ndomé. Ndoumba was their most important center.

●197 Language. The linguistic unity among the various groups of Bafök and Yangafuk confirms our impression. Dialect differences among them are minimal; they all understand each other.

G. Tessmann classifies their language as falling between that of the Bamvele and the group of Pahouin languages. As we have already mentioned, a passing observer at Lena, the Reverend Good of the American Mission, noticed a very great similarity between the language spoken there and that of the Bulu in the south.

Bibliography

113
Thorbecke, Mrs. Auf der Savane /On the Savanna/, (1913), p. 152.
Thorbecke, Fr. Im Hochland von Mittelkamerun /In the Highlands of the Middle Cameroons/, Abhan dlungen der Hamburgischen Kolonial-Institut 1919-1924 (L. Friedrichsen & Co.), Vol. 1, p. 43, Vol. 2, p. 20.
Bulletin de la Société d'Études Camerounaises, No. 3, (July 1943).
Unpublished reports by administrators Delteil and Coquereaux.

TSINGA - BETSINGA

131 Widely scattered habitat: 11°20 to 11°50 long.
and from south to north: 3°35 to 3°50 north lat. near Yaoundé
4°15 to 4°40 north lat. on the two banks of the Sanaga.

101 Physical and Human Geography. Like the administrator Cournarie in the past, we have grouped together under one term the peoples generally designated as Tsinga, Betsinga, Betchenga, or Batchenga. One name is probably a transformation of another. Since the traditions of the various groups are the same, it seems inappropriate to draw distinctions among them.

361 The Tsinga are so widely dispersed that their territory does not form a unit. They are located on both banks of the Sanaga (there known as

361 the Betsenga) as far north as its tributary the Maloko and, toward the south, for about a dozen kilometers inland. Another Tsinga zone exists in the northwest on both sides of the M'Bam. Another fairly homogeneous center may be found much farther south, east of Yaoundé. Finally, there are several Tsinga villages just south of the Nyong in the vicinity of the southern road.

It is impossible to calculate the area of their various habitats except near the M'Bam (75 square km.), among the Betsenga of the Sanaga (180 square km.), and for the few purely Tsinga villages east of Yaoundé (189 square km.). Elsewhere these people appear only together with other populations.

[161] The total population comes to 15, 562 persons.

361 Near the M'Bam, as well as on the Sanaga and its little tributaries, the Tsinga are settled in a land of small hills and valleys, on a prairie
173 broken by groves and by clumps of forest. According to their traditions they originally lived north of the Sanaga, but the Babute advanced upon them. Many of them crossed the river. It appears that as soon as the Germans came and /67/ stopped the Babute, some of the Tsinga returned to the north of the Sanaga. /Map 5 covers p. 66./

197 Some say that the Tsinga are related to the Eton, and this statement seems to be confirmed by the similarity between the two languages
113 (See Nekes) /"Jaunde und seine Bewohner (Sudkamerun)"/Yaoundé and its Inhabitants (South Cameroons/, " Koloniale Rundschau, 1912/. See a few words of vocabulary in G. Tessmann's Die Pangwe /The Fang/, Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), p. 34, under the name "Bati (Batjenga), " as well as H. H. Johnston, A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, (Oxford University Press, Vol. 1, 1919, Vol. 2, 1922), Vocabulary No. 216, under "Bati (Bacenga). "

161 Demography. Their population balance is favorable; the ratio of births to deaths is + 1. 14 percent.

Bibliography

113 Dominik. "Bericht über eine Strafexpedition gegen des Batschengastamm /Report on a Punitive Expedition Against the Betsenga Tribe/, " Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1899, pp. 14-15.

Tsinga-Betsinga
Mangisa

113 Von Stein zu Lausnitz. "Eine Erkundungs-Expedition zwischen Wuri und Sanaga /An Exploratory Expedition Between the Wuri and the Sanaga/, " Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1908, pp. 522-23.

MANGISA

131 Location: 11°15 to 11°30 long.
4°25 to 4°30 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: about 316 square km.
161 Population: 14, 588 inhabitants
Density: 46.2 per square km.

131 The Mangisa occupy the right bank at the bend of the Sanaga, a land of wooded hills.

173 They were probably among the peoples who crossed the Sanaga rather early, for their traditions say that, in later times, when the Eton also crossed the river, they found the Mangisa occupying the territory. /Map 6/ Fairly intensive struggles followed; then the two peoples formed an alliance which enabled them to live in peace side by side.

361 Like the Eton, the agricultural Mangisa live in large villages. Be-
311 cause of the density of the population, the entire /68/ woodland has to a large extent been cleared for their plantations, and palm trees have been planted.

197 But what is the exact origin of the Mangisa?

174 Language. The question has been raised in linguistics.

G. Tessmann has written: "In the classification of the Pahouin tribes of the north, the situation is not yet clear. One thing is certain: all the tribes—at least all those of the northeast—contain a more or less pronounced component derived from the Bati-Mbam. Thus, a few decades ago, the Eton and the Mangisa spoke a pure Bati; they have therefore become Pahouinized only in recent times, at least as regards language (1)."

1. Günter Tessmann, "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and

197
174

Languages of the Cameroons/, "
Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen,
1932, p. 184, note 4.

On the other hand, on the basis of a personal communication from Dr. Aujoulat, who worked among the Mangisa for several years, Dr. Olivier makes the following statement: "However, on the basis of differences (from the Pahouin) in language and physical type, Aujoulat has hypothesized a different, more northern origin and contact with tribes whom he calls Sudano-Bantu, namely the Yambasa and the Sanaga (2)." On the basis of the classifications that we our-

2. Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16, p. 55.

selves propose in this work, would not a Beti origin be possible? This great question is raised once again here.

141 Physical Anthropology. The /anthropometric/ indexes have been calculated by the Drs. Olivier and Aujoulat as follows:

	OLIVIER	AUJOULAT	
	Men	Men	Women
Cephalic	76.0	76.7	76.3
Facial	81.4	77.7	77.9
Nasal	88.7	86.0	90.5
Cormique	50.4	50.9	50.6
Envergure/T	104.8	105.0	103.8

143 Their blood-group ratios show a greater proportion of AB type than is present among other Pahouin, and a predominance of type A over type B. The percentages are as follows:

O: 52 percent; A: 21.9 percent; B: 10.9 percent; AB: 15.2 percent;—index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$: 1.44.

ETON

131 Location: 11°10 to 11°45 long.
3°45 to 4°30 north lat.

131 Physical Geography. Area: 2, 520 square km.

133 The country of the Eton is made up of hills and plateaus; it drifts
137 gently down from the heights of the country of the Ewondo to the valley of the Sanaga River. The border of the great southern forest crosses the territory from south to north; the westerly two-thirds of the area are covered with forest, and the last third is prairie. The Sanaga borders the country only in the northwest and northeast, for the greater part of the loop [misprint in French text: bouche for boucle. See map.] of the river is occupied by the Mangisa. /69/

161 Human Geography. Population: 111, 738 inhabitants
Density: 44.3 persons per square km.

173 It is impossible to say whether the Eton should be counted among the Beti populations who were dislodged and crossed the Sanaga or whether they were among the first Pahouin to cross the Sanaga at the time of the invasion. Their traditions do not go back very far; they only tell of their departure from the fork of the M'Bam and the Sanaga. /Map 7/ The Eton say that after crossing the river in the direction of the present-day village of Nkolbogo, they fell upon the Mangisa who had already arrived, and then spread themselves throughout the territory which they occupy to this day.

361 The Eton are settled in large villates, whose hamlets line the length
487 of their many trails. At present their country is traversed by several roads on which heavy trucks can travel so that their products can reach Yaoundé and the railroad.

●197 Language. With reference to this subject it seems best to refer the reader to the paragraph on linguistics in the chapter on the Mangisa, since the same question is raised for the two peoples. /70/

142 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Eton are above average in height, mesocephalic, and platyrrhin.

143 Their blood-group ratio is typically Negro, with a relatively high proportion of the AB type:

O: 55.7 percent; A: 13.8 percent; B: 17.5 percent; AB: 12.9 percent; —index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$: 0.878.

141 Their height is /for the/ average: men 167.8 cm.; women 159.9 cm.

●197 Languages. Father Nekes, who is an authority on the subject, was the first to show the very close relationship which exists between the Ewondo language and the languages spoken by the Pahouin of Gabon and of Spanish Guinea, despite the wide Bulu zone that separates them. The people of Gabon and the Ewondo readily understand each other.

Nevertheless, in the same year B. Struck and Nekes pointed out that in the past the Ewondo and the Bane spoke "Ati," and that they only recently adopted the Pahouin language (See Koloniale Rudschau, 1912, p. 220 and H. Nekes, "Jaunde und seine Bewohner (Sudkamerun) /Yaoundé and Its Inhabitants (South Cameroons)/, "Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, p. 469). In 1913, when Father Nekes published his book, Die Sprache der Jaunde in Kamerun /The Language of the Yaunde in the Cameroons/, he actually wrote in his introduction: "The old Ewondo today still speak 'Ati'."

Although the evolution of the language was probably completed under the eyes of Nekes a few years before World War I, at the present time the new language has been adopted entirely.

On this subject see also Gunter Tessmann, Die Pangwe. /The Fang/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/, (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), pp. 30-31.

Bibliography on Linguistics

113 Meinhof, C. "Die Sprachverhältnisse in Kamerun /Linguistic Relationships in the Cameroons/," Zeitschrift für afrikanische und oceanische Sprachen, (Berlin, 1895), pp. 138-63.

Haarpainter, M. "Grammatik der Yaoundesprache /Yaunde Grammar/," Anthropos, 1909, pp. 684-701 and 919-30.

Nekes, H. Die Sprache der Jaunde in Kamerun /The Language of the Yaunde in the Cameroons/, (Berlin, 1913).

Roussel. Eléments de grammaire ewondo /Elements of Ewondo Grammar/ (1918).

M. von Heepe. Jaunde-Wörterbuch /Yaunde Dictionary/.

Johnston, H.H. A Comparative Study of Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, (Oxford University Press, 1922), Vocabulary No. 217.

Graffin, R. and Pichon, F. Grammaire ewondo /Ewondo Grammar/ (Paris, 1930), 215 pages.

361 The Ntumu make up a fairly homogeneous group falling between the Fang and the Mvae.

173 History. According to the oral traditions of the Fang, the last stage of their journey to their present habitat brought them from the south. Therefore, it is possible that they formed a part of the ancient Fang migration which came from the north /78/ and reached Gabon by way of the Ivindo Valley. It is thought that the few groups under discussion then moved slightly north, where they encountered the Bulu who arrived somewhat later.

The Mvae are an offshoot of the Fang, who arrived with the latter. At first they were dispersed throughout the whole N'Tem basin but were later displaced by the arrival of the Ntumu.

It is impossible to separate the arrival of the Ntumu in the N'Tem Basin from that of the Fang, since they were a part of the same invasion. But their oral traditions say that they occupied the country in two waves which came from different directions. It is thus possible to distinguish in their history two branches of migration: One came from the northeast, passed through the Ebolowa region, and went down to the south. Other Ntumu came from the present-day territory of Sangmélima with the Fang and went south with them, through Mimvoul, Bitam, and Oyem. Like some of the Fang, they then went back north and west through the valleys of the Woleu Benito, the N'Tem, and the Kyé. The fusion of the two branches occurred either on the banks of the N'Tem (in the Eba region) or between the Kye and the N'Tem, between 1905 and 1910. Their villages became mixed. It was during these local migrations that the Mvae branch is thought to have been N'Tem pushed out of the Basin.

●197 Language. The Fang speak the language that they brought with them from the more southern region (present-day Gabon) when their migration moved back from south to north. Struck believes that they are the ones who, coming from the south, introduced their neo-Bantu language among peoples somewhat further to the west, and that the Bane and the Ewondo, who until that time had spoken "Ati," were also reached in this movement from south to north. (Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, p. 220.)

If this assertion is plausible it forces us to think that the arrival of the Bulu, who are also Pahouin, was not the end of a migration, for their presence in their current habitat would have prevented a direct contact between the Fang and the Ewondo, the only condition under which such a far-reaching linguistic influence would have been possible.

361 The settlements of these peoples vary in appearance. The villages and hamlets of the Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda are located in relatively open country and they stretch out along numerous trails. The Bulu in the south, situated in a land of parallel valleys through which flow the tributaries of the Nyong and by thick forest, can only build their villages along the valleys. This whole area, es-
241 pecially in the Nyong Basin, is very fertile. The natives have fine fields of food crops and many palm trees. Many prosperous enterprises, lumber yards, and fine groves of cacao trees can also be found. /81/[Map 13]

489 All the products are transported to the railroad at M'Balmayo along a large network of roads and the navigable parts of the Nyong.

181 The Bulu are intelligent and hard working, and are capable of becoming excellent craftsmen.

●197 Language. We have seen that Father Nekes and G. Tessmann see a very close relationship between the language of the Bulu and that of the Mvele. The Bulu language includes a number of dialects with only slight variants, and falls between the speech of the Ewondo and that of the Gabon Pahouin, which are almost identical.

Linguistic Bibliography

113 von Hagen, Gunther Tronje. Lehrbuch der Bulu Sprache /Handbook of the Bulu Language/ (Berlin: Radetzki: 1914), Vol. 7, 402 pages.

Johnston, H. H. A Comparative Study of Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, (Oxford University Press, 1922), Vocabulary No. 219.

Bates, George L. Handbook of Bulu (Revised Edition; with the vocabulary revised and much enlarged by the author and Silas F. Johnson) (Ebolowa: The Halsey Memorial Press, 1926).

Good, A. I. Bulu Handbook Supplement. Supplementary Facts in Bulu Grammar. Appendix to Vocabulary in Bulu. Vocabulary of Exclamatory Words. (Ebolowa: The Halsey Memorial Press, 1934).

English-Bulu Vocabulary (Ebolowa, undated).

Physical Anthropology and Demography

141 Bulu: average height, men 165.4 cm.; women 157.6 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.8	79.2

133 Sanaga. The northern part of the Mvele territory is a high plateau which is covered by prairie interspersed with strips of forest. It is very well watered by tributaries and subtributaries of the Sanaga which flow calmly on broad river beds. Toward 4° north latitude a row of hills marks the dividing line between the waters of the Nyong and the Sanaga basins. Thus the entire southern portion of the Mvele country is part of the Nyong Basin. The last vestiges of the forest are to be found there, in addition to crops and many palm trees.

Human Geography

161 Population: south of the Sanaga: 35, 340 inhabitants in 1945
north of the Sanaga: 1, 655 inhabitants
density south of the Sanaga: 15. 3 persons per square km.

174 History. The movement of the Babute was also responsible for pushing the Mvele back to the left bank of the Sanaga in the middle of the last century. A few enclaves remained wedged in between the various small groups who sought refuge in the area between the M'Bam and the Sanaga Valley. Therefore, the Mvele of the north and those of the south are really part of the same group.

The various authors are not in agreement on the question of a kinship between the Mvele and the large group called Yesum. According to Engelhardt, these are two separate groups. G. Tessmann, on the contrary, believes that the Yesum must be considered part of the Mvele "complex."

361 When the Germans first reached the Mvele they were struck by the unusual appearance of their villages. Engelhardt describes them as follows: "Unlike the rest of the Fang, who place their huts in rows on both sides of trails, /83/ the Mvele build theirs in a star-shape around a central square or with no regard for symmetry." (Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1902, p. 421.)

487 From the beginning of the German occupation, the trails in the
489 territory served as trade routes to the south over which the products of the east were transported toward Yaoundé and to the coast. At the present time these products are carried both on the road that crossed the Mvele country in the south (from Akonolinga to Yaoundé) and on the eastern highway (from Nanga-Eboko to Yaounde). /Map 14/

● 197 Language. According to Engelhardt the Mvele tongue is very similar to that of the Ewondo and seems to be but a dialect of the

●197 latter. Father Nekes, however, is of a different opinion; he stresses a very great resemblance to the Bulu language of the Ebolowa district. In his opinion the Mvele language represents a more archaic form than those of the Ewondo or the Bane.

See:

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe /The Fangs/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), pp. 30-31 (a short vocabulary).

-----. "Die Volker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of Cameroons/," Petermans geographische Mitteilungen, 1932, p. 184, note 40.

Nekes. Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, pp. 469-70. /84/

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Mvele are slender, slightly platyrrhinian; they have the features of the Sudan in attenuated form.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.5	78.4
Facial	81.3	82.1
Nasal	90.0	85.5
Cormique	51.5	52.1
Envergure/T	104.1	103.1

143 Their blood group ratios are typically Negro, although the proportion of group AB is slightly greater than in the classical formula. O: 51 percent; A: 14.3 percent; B: 16.3 percent; AB: 18.4 percent; —index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$: 0.942.

161 The population balance is not being maintained: the index of births to deaths is -0.21 percent.

See:

131 Olivier, G. "Etude anthropologique comparée des principales tribus de la region de Yaoundé /A Comparative Study in the Physical Anthropology of the Principal Tribes of the Yaoundé Region/,"

Yekaba Bamvele, Bobili

174 long migration of the Pahouin—although the name "Yalongo" spoken of in their geneologies is reminiscent of the Beti. Once again we are aware of the complexity of the Beti-Pahouin intermixture.

361 The villages and huts spread through the bush give an impression
491 of poverty, although in 1903 the Germans noted that the great trade route from Bertoua to Yoko passed through Yekaba territory. /Map 16/ At the present time the whole length of the territory is serviced by the great eastern highway (Yaoundé—Nanga-Eboko—Bertoua).

197 Language. The fact that the Yekaba form part of the Pahouin migration is apparent from G. Tessmann's tribal map, where they are shown in the large Pahouin blot—under the general heading of "Mvele." We will return to this subject later in the chapter on the Bamvele.

161 Demography. The Yekaba are definitely decreasing in number.

165 The infant mortality rate among them is 34.3 percent. The sterility
163 rate is 33.93 percent; the fertility rate is 4.3 pregnancies per woman, but with about 10 percent stillbirths.

161 The population balance shows a ratio of -4.4 percent births to deaths.

Bibliography

113 Thierry. "Dienstreise nach Esum-Sannaga /Official Trip to Esum-Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1903, p. 522.

Sieber, J. "Die Wute /The Wute/," Lebenshaltung, Kultur und religiöse Weltanschauung eines Afrikanischen Volkstammes /Attitude toward Life, Cultural and Religious Attitudes of an African Tribe/ (Berlin: Reimer, Vohsen, 1925), pp. 112-13.

Unpublished reports of the administrators Cournarie, Chauleur, Gatau, and Boudineau.

Moisel map, G3, Dume. /88/

THE BAMVELE AND THE BOBILI

131 Location: 12°30 to 13°30 long.
4°35 to 4°50 north lat.

101 On all German maps the people we call Bamvele are designated by the name of Bele (see the Moisel map and Tessmann's tribal map).

114 from the Masai territory during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? The presence of Ba-yoka in the midst of the tribe is, of course, insufficient evidence. In order to give a satisfactory answer to this question we would have to be able to make a comparison between the languages."

245 The country of the Bamvele and the Bobili is enriched by the presence of beautiful palm trees which are the sole source of prosperity for these peoples.

491 The country is serviced in the south by the eastern highway and also by a central road which runs from the Yekaba frontier to the north of their district.

497 Language. Although the traditions of the Yekaba and the Bamvele state that the ancestors of both peoples fled from among the Yalongo north of the Sanaga, the linguistic map of G. Tessmann clearly distinguishes between the two.

As we have seen, he says that the Yekaba speak a Pahouin tongue. The Bamvele (Bele in the German terminology) are said to have brought from their land of origin a language which is different from, although related to, the Pahouin languages, but mixed with that of the Beti. This observation is interesting and plausible. The Yekaba of the same origin as the Bamvele may thus have borrowed their language.

See Günter Tessmann, "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /People and Languages of the Cameroons/," Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen (Gotha, 1932), pp. 117 and 184.

141 Physical Anthropology. The people are almost all tall and strong, with flat noses and a marked prognathism. The trunk of the body is proportionately long.

Average height: men 169.7 cm.; women 158.9 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	79.3	78.7
Facial	84.7	84.9
Nasal	87.0	81.8
Cormique	51.5	52.5
Envergure/T	104.5	104.2

197 Language. The linguistic map of G. Tessmann shows without comment, the Yebekolo, under the category of "Mvele."

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The average height of the Yebekolo is 165.5; the average cephalic index is 78.8.

143 Their blood-group ratios are as follows:
O: 69.3 percent; A: 13.1 percent; B: 12.1 percent; AB: 5.35 percent; —index $\frac{A+AB}{A+AB}$: 1.197.

165 The extremely high rate of infant mortality (58.64 percent) is due
164 to malaria. The disease is fostered by the marshiness of the region, which is likely to remain a source of sleeping sickness as well.

161 The population balance is stationary; the ratio of births to deaths is + 0.09 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 5 percent; the fertility rate is 3.98 pregnancies per woman.

See:

113 Olivier, G., with the collaboration of Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Greiner, "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du Sud-Cameroun, /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept.-Dec. 1946), p. 65.

Brygoo. "Le nouveau-né et la femme enceinte aux environs d'Ayos /The Newborn Child and the Pregnant Woman in the Vicinity of Ayos/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 21-22 (1948), pp. 49-68.

Bibliography

Scheunemann. "Die Unruhen in Südbezirk von Kamerun 1904 bis 1906 /Unrest in the Southern Area of the Cameroons/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1907, pp. 349-51, and 396.

Tremesaygues. Unpublished report on the geneologies and the origins of the peoples in the subdivision of Akonolinga (1930).

Numerous reports in the Archives du Service de Santé /Archives of the Health Service/ from the medical station at Ayos.

Moisel map, G3, Dume

241 fields of peanuts and maintain beautiful palm groves and coffee and cacao plantations.

197 Language. G. Tessmann is no more definite as regards the language of the Omvang than other authors concerning their folk history. His tribal map shows the two Omvang sections stand out clearly on the large Pahouin area /Map 19/ His only comment on the subject is the following: "Probably they should be grouped with the Neo-Bantu, perhaps with the Pahouin, " ("Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of the Cameroons/, " Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen, 1932, p. 190).

164 Demography. The western Omvang have one of the highest incidences of sleeping sickness.

161 Nevertheless, their population balance is slightly favorable; the ratio of births to deaths is + 0.83 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 8 percent; the fertility rate is 3.57 pregnancies per woman.

164 The eastern Omvang also have suffered greatly from sleeping sickness. /93/

161 Their population balance also shows a slight increase; the ratio of births to deaths is 0.92 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 9 percent; the infant mortality rate is very low.

Bibliography

113 "Esquisse ethnologique pour servir a l'étude des principales tribus des Territoires du Cameroun sous mandat francais, d'après les documents allemands, les études de Dr. Poutrin en A.E.F. et les archives du Bureau des Affaires Politiques (1935-1937) (An Ethnographic Sketch for a Study of the Major Tribes in the Cameroons Territories under French Mandate, on the basis of German Documents, the Studies by Dr. Poutrin in French Equatorial Africa, and the Archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs for 1935-1937), "Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 18-19.

Unpublished reports of the administrators Bertaut and de Villedeuil in the Archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs /Archives du Bureau des Affaires Politiques/ and in the documents of the S.E.C. /Société d'Etudes Camerounaises/.

Moisel map, G3, Dume.

174
53

/• Ordre disperse (Military conception) = extended order. —Ed./

definite relationships. Later, on the other hand, the Pahouinization of neighboring tribes, subjugated or merely influenced, brought about assimilations that were often misleading.

Broadly speaking, we may say that a large body of invaders, rather recently come from the northeast—the Pahouin properly so called—assimilated through contacts on the one hand, some of the inhabitants of the invaded area, on the other hand, likewise assimilated other invaders who followed in their wake. What is certain is that this assimilation or Pahouinization of foreign tribes is going on at the present day, partly due to the mere fact of colonization.

We shall distinguish in this study between the invaders—Fang, Boulou, Beti—on the one hand, and, on the other, the neighboring populations that have been or are being Pahouinized.

A. The Invaders or True Pahouin

101 Theories as to their boundaries are too many and contradictory for all me to expatiate on here.

In Father Trilles' view they are divided into two branches: b-Osyéba /Osieba/ in the east, Fang in the west. The Mekuk are connected with the first, the Méké, Betsi, "Mvègne" (Mvaé?), and "Boulé" (Boulou) with the second. Largeau like Schnee bases his division between Bedzi (betschi) and Mekei (makei) on linguistic considerations; the first, in the west, tend to begin their remarks with the formula ma zɔ̂ na, the second, in the east, with me ki na. Here there appears to be a partial confusion between the Pahouin properly speaking, and the Pahouinized Maka (Mekaé) (1). Madame Dugast

[177]

1. There are indeed two Fang dialects, corresponding to the zɔ̂/ki (or jɔ̂/ki) criterion, but the people who speak them, all call themselves Fang. Besides, there is a Maka or Mekaé tribe whose language is close to eastern Fang, which it has perhaps influenced.

[177]

101 grouping between the Bantu of the central Cameroons and the Pahouin.

However that may be, certain tribes cannot be studied except in connection with the true Pahouin:

the Ewôndo of the Nyong-and-Sanaga region
the Bané of Nyong-and-Sanaga, N'Tem, and Dja-and-Lobo
the Fong of the Dja-and-Lobo and N'Tem (the last, moreover, influenced by the Boulou)
the Mbida-Mbané and Mvog-Nyenge, east of Yaoundé, who are probably descendants of prisoners-of-war of the preceding

The Eton of Saa and Obala may also be associated, but already with more difficulty, with the Ewôndo, for instance. On the other hand, the other Beti tribes ought rather to be classed with the Pahouinized peoples discussed below.

B. Assimilated or Pahouinized Tribes

101 Among these we must distinguish those who were in the country at
174 the arrival of the Pahouin from those that followed.
523 a) Tribes that followed the Pahouin invasion. These are fundamentally, as pointed out above, the Beti. According to Nekes, some
• [197] of the tribes already mentioned still spoke an ati dialect at the time of the German conquest. At the present time one can point out as in the process of "Pahouinization" (Ewôndo dialect):

The Mangisa, Yekaba, Bamvele, Evuzok, Batchanga /Betchenga/ (Tsinga), /7/ Omvang, and Yetudi of the Sanaga. On the other hand, the Beti of the right bank (Bati, Kombe, Bundju, etc.), also few in number, are more drawn toward the Babouté /Wute/, Bafia /Fia/, etc.

b) Aboriginal tribes or tribes established before the Pahouin invasion. There is reason to treat separately the Pygmy groups (Bibaya, Babinga, Beye'ele) and mixed populations (Bekoé) who live symbiotically with the Pahouin without by this fact being really absorbed.

The Pahouin invasion seems to have come on a country occupied by two Bantu groups come from the east several centuries before, which it drove back either toward the sea or toward the present eastern boundary of the Cameroons.

The first of these would have been the Maka and Ngoumba /Ngumba/ group, which was cut in half by the invasion, Maka on the

101
FH
83

Pahouinized to the point of finding themselves mixed with the Pahouin of the Middle Congo. This mingling is still going on at the present time among the other tribes of the Kozimé group and specifically among the Konabembé /Konambembe/, Esel (1), and Medzimé

[197]

1. The Esel require two comments: first, they appear to speak a language very close to Duala; second, they have the same name as one of the principal Pahouin clans.

/Ndsime (Medjimi, Mendsime)?/. All these tribes, coming from the northeast (Mekaé) or southeast (Kozimé), and Bantu-speakers, formerly had a much more extensive habitat to the west and north, whence they were driven back toward the south by the Baya and Kaka, and toward the east by the Pahouin.

The Bakwelé /Kwele/ of the Middle Congo apparently may also be connected with the Kozimé and, like them, may be considered Pahouinized. They were pushed back onto the left bank of the Ivindo at a comparatively recent date, like their neighbors to the south, the Bakota /Kota/ and the Okandé /Kanda/. The Séké and Akélé /Kalai (Akalle)?/ of the lower Ogooué are probably related to them.

Finally, the Pongwé /Mpongwe/—already mentioned—the Ouroungou /Rungu (rungu)/, Bapounou /Puno (Bapuno)?/, Galoa, and Nkomi of the lower Ogooué probably belong to an intermediary group between the Bantu of the northwest (Duala and coastal group) and the Vili-Kongo in the south (Baumann), the Myéné group. These tribes not long ago occupied most of the territory of the true Fang, whence they have been forced back for a century by the Pahouin invasion, which did not reach the sea until 1890-1900. The Benga (coastal Bantu) and Pongwé of Libreville, isolated in the midst of the Fang, the Ouroungou, Séké, Asembé, Galoa, and Bapounou of Port Gentil and Lambaréné are the last non-Pahouin peoples in existence on the right bank of the Ogooué. The Fang have, it must be added, a solid bridgehead on the left bank in N'Djolé District.

We must remember that throughout Pahouin country there are groups of Pygmies, whose status will be discussed further on.

173 as against the fruits of the earth) and flees to the west, land of the dead or the ancestors, where the frustrated elder son pursues him (1).

[823] 1. This association of the west with material goods, of the east with the produce of the land, is found again in the potlatch (bilaba), described further on.

Largeau and Grebert make of the usurping younger son the ancestor of the Whites, but Trilles has collected versions which he considers older, in which the younger son is the ancestor of the Bantu of the coast; these versions, moreover, exist side by side with Largeau's. It is possible that the association of the younger son with the Whites dates from the first trade contacts. /18/

Chapter 3

The Language

1. Distribution

● 197 The group as a whole is characterized by an unquestionable linguistic unity, which spreads across cultural and anthropological boundaries. I have earlier indicated the existence of Pahouinized tribes or tribes [56] becoming Pahouinized, especially the Maka and the Kozimé. To these must be added the Pygmies living symbiotically with the Pahouin, and whose language they appear to have adopted to a very great extent, to a point where it is difficult to know for certain if they still possess a language of their own.

[199] Moreover, Pahouin dialects tend to be used as a trade language in areas where, on the one hand, the Pahouin are but a minority, often as emigrants, or, on the other, in regions less advanced economically and socially than is their own habitat.

There are therefore:

a) A true Pahouin linguistic area: this is Pahouin country as described in the first chapter. There Pahouin is spoken as a mother tongue by the Pahouin themselves and in all probability by the Pygmies.

197 There it is spoken as a main language though not really a mother tongue by permanent or semipermanent immigrants, of whom the greatest number are the Bamiléké in the Cameroons and, in Gabon, the "Gabonese" of the Myéné linguistic group.

b) A Pahouinized area, including in the Cameroons the left bank of the middle Sanaga (Beti country, with Mangisa and Eton especially), Maka country around Abong-M'Bang, the left bank of the Dja in Jem and Dzimou country (1); in the Middle Congo, part of Ouesso District

1. Koch, in "Le petit bétail chez les Badjoué et Bikélé de Messaména /Small livestock among the Bajoué and Bikélé of Messamena/," Bulletin de la Société de Recherches congolaises, 13-14, March-June, 1946, gives striking examples of the penetration of Boulou into this region.

(in the west), that of the Souanké; in Gabon the left bank of the Ivindo, among the Bakwelé. Differences between the languages spoken in these areas and the Pahouin dialects are rapidly disappearing.

198 c) Areas in which Pahouin dialects serve as trade language, either
197 between tribes with different languages, or for administrative and commercial relations, even for political and /19/ religious propaganda. In the Cameroons, Ewôndo serves this purpose on the right bank of the middle Sanaga, in the M'Bam region, as well as on the left bank toward the Ubangi border in the Lom-and-Kadei region, especially in the Bertoua subdivision. Boulou has become the trade language of the Kribi region. In Spanish Guinea, Fang and Boulou are used as a common language by immigrants from the French territories. In Gabon the Myéné dialects are giving way to Fang, which is coming more and more into use, as far as the Congo-Ocean railway. In the large towns—Douala, Yaoundé, Libreville, Port-Gentil, and even Dolisie—Pahouin dialects are used by immigrants belonging to other linguistic groups.

197 The vigor of the major dialects—Boulou, Ewôndo, Fang—comes not only from the enterprising character of the Pahouin but also from
[197 the work of missions which distribute a good deal of literature in these
2H] dialects, while the languages of some of the neighboring populations have not been transcribed or have only given rise to scanty publications.

2. Dialects

197 Guthrie lists seven dialects, including three principal ones: "YAUNDE, 197 BULU, Ntum, Meka, Zimu /Nzimu/, FAN, Make." It would probably be better to speak of three dialect areas corresponding to the three groups—Beti, Fang, Boulou—already defined, each area containing a predominant speech, which is always the one transcribed by missionaries. The importance of this sociological phenomenon is underlined by the fact that the transcribed dialects tend sometimes to extend beyond and sometimes to shrink within the corresponding ethnological area, in conjunction with nonlinguistic factors, the principal one being the religious affiliation of the speakers. Likewise, it is established that in certain areas a mother tongue coexists with a written dialect learned at mission schools and spoken by Christian converts.

The predominant dialect in the Beti area is Ewôndo, the working language of the Catholic mission, which is rapidly supplanting the Beti (Ati) dialects properly so called of the Sanaga Valley. The Eton dialect, for instance, which was more Ati than Pahouin on the eve of the 1914 war (Nekes), is today completely assimilated; Tsinga and Mangisa are on the way to being so. Finally, Ewôndo as a trade language is gaining ground in the north and east, as already indicated. In the south, on the contrary, though it may be replacing Bané and Fong and even be making superficial inroads into the Catholic cantons of the Boulou-speaking area; it is losing out to Boulou in the districts [191] evangelized by the American Presbyterian Mission. Thus the Bané, the Fong, and certain Protestant Ewôndo are in fact bilingual; they speak as their mother tongue a dialect close to Ewôndo, while they write, pray, or sing in Boulou.

197 Boulou is therefore gaining in the Ewôndo linguistic area in the north. Toward the east, it is gaining among the Mekaé and Kozimé, has supplanted Fang among the isolated Fang groups of the north, and serves as the cultivated language among the /20/ Cameroons Ntoumou [198] and Mvaé (except for Catholics) and as a trade language at Kribi and in Spanish Guinea. It even competes with Fang as a written language in northern Gabon. In the Catholic sectors it is putting up quite a good resistance to Ewôndo, except where it comes in contact with Bané and Fong.

Fang has supplanted Ntoumou in the Woleu-N'Tem region—except in Bitam District, where it is in competition with Boulou—and

197 in Spanish Guinea. It is advancing to east and south and tending to replace Pongwé as a trade language. Its progress remains handicapped by the existence of several transcriptions that borrow simultaneously from different dialects, a fact which hinders standardization of the dialect. It seems however that the dialect of the west—Mazouna or Betsi—is gaining on that of the east—Mekina or Maké—which, moreover, has provided fewer elements in the transcriptions.

The differences between Ewôndo, Boulou, and Fang are unmistakable, but not such, however, as to prevent communication. The syntax is practically identical, the grammatical differences unimportant. The distinctions between different kinds of speech are chiefly related to pronunciation and vocabulary.

As for pronunciation, there is a striking resemblance between
194 Fang and Ewôndo, which is rather surprising, since the two groups are
197 separated by the Boulou enclave and do not have, or no longer have, direct contacts. Ewôndo is a little less harsh, a little less guttural than Fang, while Boulou is neither in any way. Above all, Boulou is quite without r, ordinary or fricative (r, x), replacing it with t or, more recently, with a velar l:

arki (Ew.), arigi (F.) = ahlki (B.)
kalara (Ew.), kalaghë (F.) = kalat (B.)

Boulou usually avoids hard or emphatic intervocalic occlusives (g, k, gh, kh) and replaces them with a vocalic plosive /attaque vocalique/ or a rough aspirate:

saghele (F.), sakélé (Ew.) = sa'ale (B.)
afôghele (F.) = afô'ôlo (B.)

It omits many of the initial nasals of Fang:

Nzame (F.) = Zambe (B.);

and uses j (ʒ) in preference to dz:

zé (F., Ew.) = jé (B.);

likewise ty (tʃ) in preference to, or together with, k:

ôkeñ (F.) = ôtyeñ (B.).

192 From the point of view of vocabulary the three kinds of speech differ chiefly in their borrowings from neighboring languages. Guthrie estimates these loan words at not more than 5 percent of the vocabulary of the Pahouin group, but the proportion is greater in Ewôndo and in Fang, in the latter reaching 20 percent. The borrowings come from the Myéné group for Fang, from Ati for Ewôndo. Boulou borrows indirectly /21/ from Myéné and Ati, directly from

194 written texts, but the majority remain current only in the spoken language, the speaker moreover not hesitating to invent as need arises.

4. Classification

197 114 Most writers, from Meinhof to Guthrie, class the languages of the Pahouin group with the Bantu. In his general classification of Bantu languages (1948), Guthrie puts them in his area A, under the decimal number 60, including Ewondo, Bulu /Boulou/, Ntum /Ntoumou/, Mekaé, Zimu, Fañ /Fang/ (the so-called Betsi or Mazouna dialect, although he does not specify this) and Maké (doubtless eastern Fang, the dialect called Makina). Stoll includes Ewondo in his work on the Bantu and semi-Bantu languages of the Cameroons, without specifying whether he classes it with one or the other (3).

> 3. In its reports to the United Nations, the Cameroons government qualifies the Pahouin of the southern Cameroons as "neo-Bantu."

197 Yet it seems certain that, if these languages are really to be included in the Bantu family, they form a special category, which cannot be likened purely and simply to the unquestionably Bantu languages of adjacent populations. Besides, there is discussion as to whether the Pahouin invaders brought their language with them or have adopted and changed that of the peoples established before them on the Cameroons-Gabon plateau. There has also been some hesitation about classing the languages /26/ of the border tribes, notably Mekaé and Kozimé, either with the Pahouin group or with the adjacent Bantu groups. For instance, while it is agreed to put Ngumba beside the Bantu languages of the coast, Mekaé, which is certainly related to it, is classed sometimes with the Pahouin tongues, sometimes with those of the Bantu of the eastern Cameroons.

197 114 The existence of a nominal gender (Bates' Class III) lacking a classifier prevents our putting the group among "agglutinating languages with a perfect class system having a special pronoun for each class," where Delafosse places Bantu. Mademoiselle Homburger (Le langage et les langues /Speech and Language/, p. 69) makes of it a separate family, close both to coastal Bantu and to semi-Bantu. In the chapter she devotes to Bantu in Les langues du monde /Languages of the World/

197 114 she connects it with Delafosse's West African group, harking back to its non-Bantu character in Les langues africaines et les peuples qui les parlent /African Languages and the Peoples Who Speak Them/.

Father Trilles and Abbé Walker believe that they have found Semitic and Hamitic influences in Fang. A borrowing from Sudanese appears more likely. Westermann classes "Bati" in the semi-Bantu group, pointing out that the term "Sudanese languages possessing classes" seems to him more appropriate. Now, we know that Beti (Ati), which is losing ground today to Ewondo, is itself very close to Fang (Betsi-Mazouna) and recently reached to the northern limits of Boulou, which it has influenced.

We may therefore come to the conclusion that the Pahouin linguistic group, at present very close to Bantu, ought probably to be considered intermediate between the true Bantu tongues and the semi-Bantu or Sudanese class languages, historical circumstances and contact with neighboring peoples having accentuated the Bantu traits in such a way that it is proper, from the methodological point of view especially, to classify it as a special family of the Bantu group (1).

1. In the absence of specific mention, it seems that Greenberg (no. 70) would classify it in his Nigero-Congo group. [i.e., Niger-Congo.-Analyst]

Chapter 4

Economic Life

1. Subsistence

222 262 The diet of the Pahouin peoples would be enough to prove that their attachment to the land is quite recent. In fact the importance of collected produce is striking. According to a study carried out in Eton country (region of Yaoundé) by Dr. Masseyeff, the consumption of mushrooms amounts on Eton average to 4.1 grams per day per person (1). Snails, termites, caterpillars, palm larvae, and crickets

1. R. Masseyeff, A. Cambon, Enquête sur l'alimentation au Cameroon, Rapport à l'Office

[11] Chapter I

The Fan Tribe

000 1. Divisions of the Fan Nation. "Fan" and "Pahouin" are two words not only synonymous but identical. The four Fan groups. Tribe, clan, and family (elementary cell).

2. Allied Tribes. Likenesses and differences between the Fan and related and so-called related tribes.

3. Size of Population. Errors in official statistics.

1. Divisions of the Fan Nation

101 Before beginning this study, a word ought first to be said about the Fan [Fang] nation and its divisions into groups, tribes, and clans. [Footnote omitted. --Translator]

The Fan or Pahouin [Pahuin] or Mpawin [Mpangwe] (2) --

101 197 2. The word "Fân" is the truly native word to designate this tribe. Strange as it may seem at first glance and in spite of the great change, "Pahouin" is another form of the same word. The first tribes on the coast with whom we were in contact called the Fân "Mpân," or mu-pân (pân, man), abbreviated to mpân by a process common among these African languages. Thus mpira, powder, in Mpongwe becomes efira in Fan; mpilato, tray, becomes filato; epélé plate, from Spanish "plata," becomes mfil by way of plata, epilata, épila, épèle, efèl, mfèle, mfil, etc. Out of "Mpân," a word which only the tribes

101
197

of the Nsex branch pronounce this way, the northern tribes -- Kombé, Banoko, and others belonging to the Mpongwé branch -- have made "Mpangwé, as none of the languages of the Gabon or Mpongwé group let a word end with a consonant but always require a vowel. "Mpangwé" became "Mpangwen" for the French and soon thereafter "Mpangwin"; it has now turned into "Mpawin," "Pawin," and finally "Pahouin," in which form it is indeed difficult to recognize the original.

101 because these three words [12] refer to the same people -- are the most important tribe of the French Congo and the German [now French] Cameroons.

101 The Fan proper are divided into four distinct families
197 with respect to dialects: Bétsi [Betsi], Méké [Mekei], Fôn, and Bulé [Boale] (in manners and customs they are all absolutely alike). These four groups do not speak such different dialects that they cannot understand one another unless at first meeting; they certainly do so after several days of association.

[Five paragraphs in pp. 12-13 deleted here. --Translator]

101 [13][Of the four groups] the first two are by far the best known, having made the first migrations or at least having been the first in contact with the white man. Everything that has been written about the Fan relates to these [two], particularly to the Bétsi.

The Bulé group is often considered to be connected with either the Fan or the Yaundé, through whom it would form the intermediary link with the Méké. The Fôn (1), or people of the

1. Fôn, bamboo pith, dark depths of the forest.

interior, as the etymology of their name indicates, have remained up to the present time altogether inland beyond the Bétsi and
[197 Méké. Their dialect relates them to the Bétsi, differing in being
194] more guttural. The tribes live closely intertwined in the same

2. Allied Tribes

101 619 Not only do these four large divisions -- Bétsi, Méké, Bulé, and Fôñ -- make up the Fan nation proper, but a certain number of other tribes revolve within their circle and are connected to the same branch. I say "a certain number" because the interior of the German Cameroons and the hinterland lying between the Woleu, N'tem, and upper Sanga rivers has been little explored. Before our arrival the existence of the Dzèm [Njem] was barely known; the Dzandzama had never been mentioned. These tribes form the intermediary link connecting the Fan to the Batéké branch and through this to the Kanioka and other central Congo tribes, [16] whose folklore has analogies with that of the Fan as I recently pointed out. (1)

1. See Anthropos, Vol. 4, pp. 945-971; Vol. 5, pp. 163-180.

A Yaundé grammar was published not long ago in Anthropos; (2) these people are without doubt an offshoot of the

2. See Anthropos, Vol. 4, pp. 684-701, 919-930.

Bétsi branch. The Bosyéba dialect is somewhat different and is nearer that of the Bubi of Fernando Po; the group also belongs to the Fan nation. Finally, deviating from the primitive stock in progressive order, there are the Dzèm, Dzimu [Ndsime], and Dzandzama, nowadays scarcely leaving the jungle and the country of the Nyamnyam [Niam-Niam, Azande]. In spite of what has 197 been said of them in the past, their language is only distantly related to that of the last tribe. (3)

3. Since certain observers and explorers -- such, for instance, as Allegret, a former Protestant missionary in Gabon, who connects them with the Nyamnyam, Fulah,

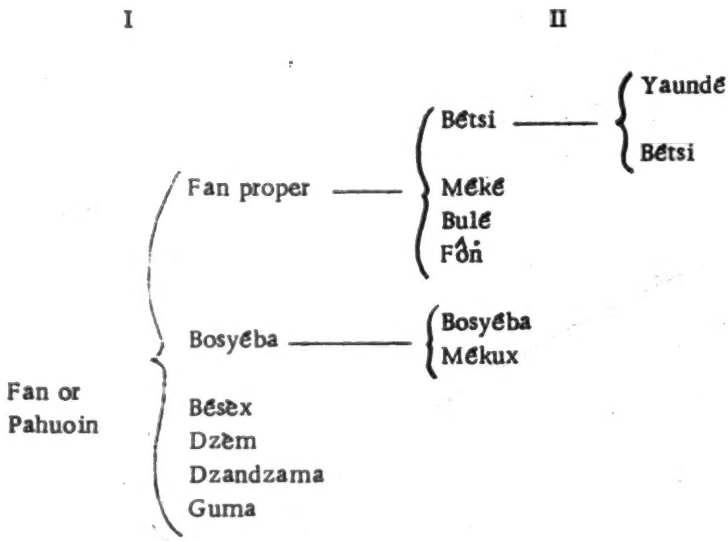
● 197

Azande groups -- insist on this relationship based only on apparent ethnographic characters, let me simply give this table of the four languages, Fan, Osyeba [Osieba], Dzɛm (unpublished), and Nyamnyam (after Schweinfurth and Colombaroli):

	Fan	Osyeba	Dzɛm	Nyamnyam
Man	Mur	Muri	Murum	Combâ
Woman	Munga	Mura	Muma	Dɛ
Girl	Ngon	Syɛ	Lêsi	Dégudɛ
Old man	Ntôl	Ntôli	Tuma	Binzâ
Sister	Kal	Kali	Kalo	Bɛwili
Father	Sa	Sôn	Da	Ba (éba in Fan méké)
Name	Dzu	Dzina	Ndzɛ	Limô
Body	Nul	Mulé	Nulo	Kuô
Skin	Eko	Kundé	Kuro	Kuôto
Head	Nlô	Nlô	Nlô	Li
Forehead	Mvabal	Bandé	Nbalopum	Vu
Tongue	Dɛm (pl. Mɛm)	Gimi	Gyɛm	Mirassɛ
Village	Dzal	Kware	Kwor	Lingara
Door	Mbi	Mbié	Lébaa	Ngwadumo (lit., house door; duma, nest in Fan)

As the footnote shows, the differences between Fan and Nyamnyam are tremendous. Scarcely 150 words could be found with the same root, and even those would prove nothing, for the Fan have certainly [17] been in contact with the Nyamnyam during their migrations and therefore could, and must have, borrowed a number of words.

101 619 To sum up, the Fan may be divided as follows:



197 The Fan, Bosyéba, Bésɛx, Dzɛm, Dzandzama, and Guma tribes may be assumed to speak separate languages not dialects of one. These languages are, however, closely related; they have very nearly the same principles and are cognates.

Bétsi, Méké, etc., merely represent dialects.

[One paragraph deleted, repititive. --Translator]

101 619 161 The Dzɛm, whose hitherto unpublished language I hope to make known soon, are grouped in the upper N'tem region; their population should not be more than 100,000.

The Dzandzama border them on the southeast and provide a linguistic link to the Batéké, southern neighbors; their population is about that of the Dzɛm.

The Bésɛx, or Bulu, who occupy a large part of the region to the north of the Ogooue, [illegible] a widely dispersed tribe, formerly very powerful, now almost extinct through poison, practitioners [feticheurs], and pressure from the Pahuoin. Their population is not likely to be greater than a few thousand. [18]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

114 and like a resistless army they are steadily approaching the coast, building towns
and displacing weaker tribes. That fine race of people, the Mpôngwes, often
167 spoken of as the "aristocratic tribe," and ranking first in the scale of civilisation above all other tribes in the French Congo, is rapidly dying out, and they are already being supplanted even at Gaboon by the migratory Fang.

The Bulu people inhabiting a portion of the German sphere of influence in
114 West Africa are without doubt very closely related to, if not a direct offshoot from,
the Fang; their customs are identical and their language so markedly similar that
197 a person who is able to speak Bulu is readily understood by the Fang. The first
173 day of my arrival among the Fang, after residing in Bululand, I was able to make known the reason for my coming and to ask and answer ordinary questions. While visiting on a small island called Nenge-nenge in the Nkomo River, a very old Fang man told me as follows: When a lad his grandfather had told him that, a long time ago, many of his tribe "changed their towns." These people first travelled far in canoes, and then after journeying for very many days through the forest, they "stopped walking and made new towns," and they did not return. My informant's father had told him later more about these people; they had been heard from, and their long absence from the original tribe had so changed them that "they spoke new words" (a new language).

Examples could be given almost without limit of the great similarity in the
197 language as spoken by the Bulu and Fang. A few will suffice; and I will select
539 from the proverbs of the people which are also identical. Tell a Bulu man to hurry with his work, he will often reply, "*Alu da dayi bol' nzok?*" (Will one day rot an elephant?). The Fang speak the same proverb thus: "*Alu avoti bol' nzok?*" Again, the Bulu use the words *Melu myus* (the days that are past), *Melu osu* (the days that are to come), *Melu mesese* (all the days). These sayings and numerous similar ones are in daily use among the Fang, the words used and the idiom being almost identically the same as in Bulu. I have wondered if the account given me by the old Fang man at Nenge-nenge about the people who years ago "changed their towns," might not be of more than passing interest as touching the genesis of the Bulu.

The Fang people are spread over an immense area of country, and when
101 questioned regarding their numbers they usually reply, "There are Fang and Fang; if you walk and sleep in towns and towns for many *moons* (months) you will find Fang." In the future it will be found that in the ethnography of equatorial Africa the Fang will hold a very important place. As before stated they are unquestionably closely related to the Bulu, and Compiègne recognised a marked similarity between them and the Osyeba, Monbutta and Nyamnyam people. There are
563 several scattered tribes of dwarfs among the Fang. Five of these pigmies live within two miles of my station, and they tell me that more of their people will soon "move their towns" and come to live on the banks of the Nkomo river. The Fang people look on the pigmies as a very clever and superior people, and not without good reason. An old headman told me that the *mon nqui* (dwarfs) first

515 184 We have not been able to learn anything about the ceremonies of protection against the bivur. However, Akam Eyene told us that when a member of the buiti has inadvertently eaten the flesh of his protecting animal, which is absolutely forbidden, he holds a meeting called dzimba in the course of which the wrongdoer, after dancing, presents his case. Then the [77] head of the buiti absolves him, spitting scrapings of the bark of the ovaṅ onto his head.

515 198 The buiti has a secret language. Akam Eyene gave us only the secret names of certain of its initiates, which correspond to the animals chosen as protectors:

He himself	called	ndzikwe	chimpanzee
Ondo Ngema	—	ngilabongo	gorilla
Akum Eyene	—	asingi	tiger cat
Ngema Eyene	—	mitumbu	panther
Bekeka Yebe	—	mogabene	elephant
Angwe Nseme	—	menyanga	snake
Mba Minkwe	—	meyasamba	rooster
Kumeyeme	—	mepeku	eagle
Abaga	—	ndzobe	wildcat

771 V. Totemism. Despite all questions which we have put to many natives of various tribes, we have not been able to find any signs of totemism. We were only told of instances of individual unions with animals, as in the buiti or following an akaga.

Family and Collective Life

000 In this chapter we will examine the life of the individual in the family and in the social group, from his conception until his death, in corporating into this framework the family and tribal organization as well as relations with strangers.

842 833 841 Conception (menoṅ bum). A woman, we have been told by our male and female informants, cannot conceive until after she has menstruated four times. She is, in fact, forbidden to have sexual intercourse before her fourth period. At her first menses, the woman tells her mother or her mother-in-law if she is married (usually her mother-in-law, since there is hardly even a young girl, still with her family, without a husband); the latter henceforth supervises her more

173 as against the fruits of the earth) and flees to the west, land of the dead or the ancestors, where the frustrated elder son pursues him (1).

[123] 1. This association of the west with material goods, of the east with the produce of the land, is found again in the potlatch (bilaba), described further on.

Largeau and Grebert make of the usurping younger son the ancestor of the Whites, but Trilles has collected versions which he considers older, in which the younger son is the ancestor of the Bantu of the coast; these versions, moreover, exist side by side with Largeau's. It is possible that the association of the younger son with the Whites dates from the first trade contacts. /18/

Chapter 3

The Language

1. Distribution

197 The group as a whole is characterized by an unquestionable linguistic unity, which spreads across cultural and anthropological boundaries. I have earlier indicated the existence of Pahouinized tribes or tribes [52] becoming Pahouinized, especially the Maka and the Kozimé. To these must be added the Pygmies living symbiotically with the Pahouin, and whose language they appear to have adopted to a very great extent, to a point where it is difficult to know for certain if they still possess a language of their own.

[198] Moreover, Pahouin dialects tend to be used as a trade language in areas where, on the one hand, the Pahouin are but a minority, often as emigrants, or, on the other, in regions less advanced economically and socially than is their own habitat.

There are therefore:

a) A true Pahouin linguistic area: this is Pahouin country as described in the first chapter. There Pahouin is spoken as a mother tongue by the Pahouin themselves and in all probability by the Pygmies.

197 There it is spoken as a main language though not really a mother tongue by permanent or semipermanent immigrants, of whom the greatest number are the Bamiléké in the Cameroons and, in Gabon, the "Gabonese" of the Myéné linguistic group.

b) A Pahouinized area, including in the Cameroons the left bank of the middle Sanaga (Beti country, with Mangisa and Eton especially), Maka country around Abong-M'Bang, the left bank of the Dja in Jem and Dzimou country (1); in the Middle Congo, part of Ouesso District

1. Koch, in "Le petit bétail chez les Badjoué et Bikélé de Messaména /Small livestock among the Bajoué and Bikélé of Messamena/," Bulletin de la Société de Recherches congolaises, 13-14, March-June, 1946, gives striking examples of the penetration of Boulou into this region.

(in the west), that of the Souanké; in Gabon the left bank of the Ivindo, among the Bakwelé. Differences between the languages spoken in these areas and the Pahouin dialects are rapidly disappearing.

198 c) Areas in which Pahouin dialects serve as trade language, either
197 between tribes with different languages, or for administrative and commercial relations, even for political and /19/ religious propaganda. In the Cameroons, Ewôndo serves this purpose on the right bank of the middle Sanaga, in the M'Bam region, as well as on the left bank toward the Ubangi border in the Lom-and-Kadei region, especially in the Bertoua subdivision. Boulou has become the trade language of the Kribi region. In Spanish Guinea, Fang and Boulou are used as a common language by immigrants from the French territories. In Gabon the Myéné dialects are giving way to Fang, which is coming more and more into use, as far as the Congo-Ocean railway. In the large towns—Douala, Yaoundé, Libreville, Port-Gentil, and even Dolisie—Pahouin dialects are used by immigrants belonging to other linguistic groups.

197 The vigor of the major dialects—Boulou, Ewôndo, Fang—comes not only from the enterprising character of the Pahouin but also from
[197 the work of missions which distribute a good deal of literature in these
204] dialects, while the languages of some of the neighboring populations have not been transcribed or have only given rise to scanty publications.

2. Dialects

197 Guthrie lists seven dialects, including three principal ones: "YAUNDE, 197 BULU, Ntum, Meka, Zimu /Nzimu/, FAN, Make." It would probably be better to speak of three dialect areas corresponding to the three groups—Beti, Fang, Boulou—already defined, each area containing a predominant speech, which is always the one transcribed by missionaries. The importance of this sociological phenomenon is underlined by the fact that the transcribed dialects tend sometimes to extend beyond and sometimes to shrink within the corresponding ethnological area, in conjunction with nonlinguistic factors, the principal one being the religious affiliation of the speakers. Likewise, it is established that in certain areas a mother tongue coexists with a written dialect learned at mission schools and spoken by Christian converts.

The predominant dialect in the Beti area is Ewôndo, the working language of the Catholic mission, which is rapidly supplanting the Beti (Ati) dialects properly so called of the Sanaga Valley. The Eton dialect, for instance, which was more Ati than Pahouin on the eve of the 1914 war (Nekes), is today completely assimilated; Tsinga and Mangisa are on the way to being so. Finally, Ewôndo as a trade language is gaining ground in the north and east, as already indicated. In the south, on the contrary, though it may be replacing Bané and Fong and even be making superficial inroads into the Catholic cantons of the Boulou-speaking area; it is losing out to Boulou in the districts [191] evangelized by the American Presbyterian Mission. Thus the Bané, the Fong, and certain Protestant Ewôndo are in fact bilingual; they speak as their mother tongue a dialect close to Ewôndo, while they write, pray, or sing in Boulou.

197 Boulou is therefore gaining in the Ewôndo linguistic area in the north. Toward the east, it is gaining among the Mekaé and Kozimé, has supplanted Fang among the isolated Fang groups of the north, and serves as the cultivated language among the /20/ Cameroons Ntoumou [198] and Mvaé (except for Catholics) and as a trade language at Kribi and in Spanish Guinea. It even competes with Fang as a written language in northern Gabon. In the Catholic sectors it is putting up quite a good resistance to Ewôndo, except where it comes in contact with Bané and Fong.

Fang has supplanted Ntoumou in the Woleu-N'Tem region—except in Bitam District, where it is in competition with Boulou—and

192 Maka-Ngumba, from Jem-Dzimu, and from coastal Bantu. The European contributions would come more from Coast English for Ewôndo and Boulou, from Portuguese "sabir"* for Fang, but Coast

[148] /* A mixture of Arabic, French, Italian, Spanish, etc., used in the Levant and Africa. —Tr./

English is increasing its influence on the whole group, as French is doing. The Abbé Walker mentions Arabic influences, but the only authentic examples are extremely rare: I only know of banga (Indian hemp) and arki (alcohol).

3. Characteristics of the Language

193 Sentence structure follows the order: subject, verb, attributive complement, objective complement.

Thus: M'aboté évet zel = I moisten chief beard (I grease the chief's palm).

The qualifier, adverb or epithet, is usually but not always placed before the word modified:

abeñ minga = pretty woman; mbia môt = wicked man; ôbe anen = rather large; but

anen abui = very large; bôte bela = three people.

192 Trilles, in Totemism among the Fang (no. 166) (1), estimates

[129] 1. The numbers inside parentheses refer to corresponding numbers in the Bibliography, p. 179.

the vocabulary at 18,000 words, undoubtedly counting as separate words certain derivatives, especially verbal inflections, which could as well be classed with the radical form, as to Bates and Good; they obtained a Boulou vocabulary of about 7,000 words, which is far from being complete. The correct number must be near 10,000 to 12,000 at least. While the language has been enriched by European and non-Pahouin African loan words, it appears at the same time to have been impoverished by the loss of certain nuances of meaning, of technical or religious terms, of older literary or poetical figures

695 boil his own totem in the pot, but so has the practitioner, in
682 order to counterbalance the power of the accused man's totem.

The red-hot iron test, éki biân or biâh éki biâh, is the third ordeal.

The accused man's knife is heated red hot, then pressed to his cheek; if the cheek is burnt, he is guilty; otherwise, he is declared innocent. He has the right to throw into the fire, in which the iron is heated, the ashes of his individual totem; he also has the right to rub with this same totem that part of his body to which the red-hot iron will be applied.

There is no need to dwell on how easy subterfuges would be, all the more so since before each ceremony the presumed culprit is allowed to apply a few strong poultices or substances to harden his skin. The totem would then be only more effective!

If declared innocent, the accused man nevertheless owes a sacrifice to his mvane, a debt that will be readily discharged.

In case of theft there are also three tests used, as follows:

685 for the otura biân, the practitioner lights a large fire in
695 the middle of the village, fed with special kinds of wood. When
787 the fire has caught well, he throws an armful of wet leaves on it; he then moves back, having pronounced above the rising smoke certain magical words. The column of smoke at first rises straight up; suddenly, without wind (often there is not a breath), without any visible physical action on the part of the practitioner or anyone else (because they are all at a distance), it curves inward, we are told, eddies, and then advances towards a hut which it completely envelopes. The hut's owner is immediately seized and declared guilty [562]; however, he can insist on drinking the test poison, provided that he is buying back his life for the first time. One cannot redeem oneself from the test poison.

The smoke test has always seemed to me one of the most difficult to explain. I have witnessed it several times and in spite of the closest attention have not been able to perceive the least trickery.

685 A second test is the following: the practitioner lies on the
695 ground and appears to listen to mysterious voices which are heard,
787 in fact, as if coming out of the earth. Probably a simple effect of
● 198

685 ventriloquism is involved; certain practitioners are past masters
695 at it. The voices mention three names, which the practitioner
787 repeats aloud. Each of the presumed culprits must then bring a
198 fowl; these are slaughtered by the practitioner and their blood is poured on the ground. The first sign is deduced from the way in which the drops fall and the forms they take. The fowls are then cut open, and the position of the liver and the final contractions of nerves and muscles corroborate the first indications.

685 The totem plays only an inconspicuous part in this test,
695 which in any case is rarely used nowadays.

787 The most frequent test is the akala-nkal, thus called after the fetish nkal, which is kept in an antelope horn or large snail (ngɔ̂n). The practitioner heats water, mixing in different kinds of plants, and adds, to satisfy those who may think they are suspected, some of the ashes of their totemic sacrifice.

When evening comes, every man prepares a fire of wood and bamboo in front of his hut. The chief then goes through the brightly lit village, invoking guardian spirits and threatening the thief or thieves with terrible vengeance. Then he runs and jumps over all the bonfires, the men and women of the village following after him. If a man or woman should touch one of the brands with a foot so as to make it roll off the fire, that person is declared guilty. While undergoing the nkal test, the chief carries his totem in his hand. If all come through safely, the chief starts again on his own, this time holding the village totem, show everybody's innocence even more. [563]

After this first trial, which everyone usually gets through with the greatest ease, the one or more accused if such there be, if not, all the men of the village, take a drink of lustral water which the practitioner has just boiled; then they take a few steps and spit on the nkal, which has been put on the ground. Each person then steps over the nkal, swearing his innocence, and starts once more to leap over all the bonfires. If he is not hurt, he is declared innocent. It is extremely rare that, from the effects of the poison or for some other reason, one or another does not stumble over a brand and knock it out of the fire. He is thereupon declared guilty; if he denies it, he will have to drink the éɔ̂ŋ; if on the contrary, he saves his life but has to repay the theft twice over.

882
864 By this answer, he secures for himself the mild judgment with
[672] which we dispose of "silly boys' pranks."

For children, bǭngo, therefore, quite a different yardstick is applied; what they do, especially in respect to sexual matters, is not taken seriously.

bǭngo bǎ bǭlě oson = children have no sense of shame, and
834 the other way around, adults do not display much towards chil-
155 dren (see homosexual life, Vol. II, page 131), since, after all,
864 children simply do not know what evil (sǒ) is or what shame (o-so-n) means. If the otherwise, at least externally, very modest Negroes say this themselves, we should not hope to find many of the characteristics of a true, innocent ebīn among the children. As a matter of fact their first playful imitations of
836 sexual intercourse as they observe older people performing it
838 begin at five or six years of age; between the age of eight and nine "playing parents" is nothing but perfectly conscious sexual intercourse, though it is generally regarded as a game and was cited to me in the category of "children's games" under the name ebōbǎne-bǭngo (Ntum) or ebǎnebǎne bǭngo (Fang). It is usually done in the forenoon /253/ in the dwellings when the parents are in the fields or absent elsewhere. The partners are not only boys and girls, but also boys among each other. Later, at the age of eight to 10 years and frequently somewhat beyond, many boys manifest a similar inclination towards members of their own sex, along with a sexual urge for girls of the same age. In view of the emphasis on maintaining, as long as possible, the outward appearance of modesty, the Pangwe boys make use of a device whereby they come to an understanding "metaphorically." A boy
[701] rakes some earth and sweepings onto a leaf, ties this hastily together like a food bundle, and gives it to the other. If the latter is ready to respond to the proffered affection, he will open the bundle and pretend to eat of it, saying finally, "ma mane a dzǐ," that is, "I have eaten." If he is not inclined to respond, he will throw away the bundle, of whose contents he has full knowledge.

Concerning masturbation, see below, page 130.

861 the parents and relatives. Thereafter, the son is summoned to
593 appear in the village the next day. The father again assembles
626 all the people in the meeting house and makes a long speech in
578 which he rehearses the entire affair from his point of view down to the smallest details. Finally, at the conclusion of his speech, he touches upon the actual purpose of the gathering and proceeds to remove the curse. The formula with which he does so is approximately as follows:

ma tɛ̄'i matɛ'i, ma kǎbe ma,
[539] I have imposed curse (1) (?), I disengage myself (from

1. matɛ̄'ī = the imposed curse, a va matɛ̄'i = to remove the (imposed) curse; the root a tɛ̄'i = to tear oneself away from, to depart from home, otítɛ̄i = star (see Vol. II, pages 85 and 86).

ma nīme ma, -- ǒsū̄ɛ
it), I make straight myself -- (into the) water

nkīā,i: Chorus: mān.
down. Chorus: Ready, past.

The texts of the formulas, which are frequently extended through the introduction of comparisons and which do not, of course, correspond word for word, are evidently all very old since they are very hard to understand and sometimes not intelligible at all.

At the same time the father spits into his son's hand to indi-
[201] cate that what he took away from him by means of his words (symbolized by the spittle) he is putting back in his power (hand), or the father bites off -- this is the procedure among the Jaunde --
[824] a piece of the stalk of a Costus (Zingiberaceae) and spits it out. In so doing he casts out all the bitterness from his heart (Costus stalk is bitter).

Furthermore, a curse may be pronounced by the first wife
579 against her husband, in case he treats her badly and always
595 neglects her in favor of others. The curse is either pronounced

517 from this comes about the endless palavers about everything and nothing, for lack of anything else to do.

721 However, if for one reason or another war threatens the tribe or has to be declared, the Fan then seems to awaken from his lethargy. Before the decision to fight, [550] there must be lengthy palavers. The totem has but a small part in these palavers, but no warrior would put in his word without having first taken his totem in hand and given it a brief scolding, often just one word, an exclamation, which only the most attentive would hear.

721 When all the warriors have had their say, the chief rises
637 and sums up everything that has been said, before beginning his own speech. During this report, he usually remains at his place. He then goes to the middle of the assembly, his chief's baton in his hand and across his chest the baldrick from which the akaméyòn always hangs. "I am so-and-so," he begins, "son of so-and-so, and my father was chief of the race. We are the sons of such-and-such totem, and our akaméyòn protects us." After
•[201] these words, he stamps on the ground with his foot, or more often, with his baton, as if to testify to the truth of what he has said, and then gives his own opinion. When he has finished he holds up the tribal totem to bear witness to his words, then returns to his place.

779 If war is declared the totemic ceremonies are more pro-
721 nounced. At first they will be nearly like those described for the initiation and consecration of the chief. The same altar is
782 put up in the forest with the same rites; wood of the éfirfira is again used for construction. On the appointed day, all the warriors make their way into the forest, each head of a family carrying his évora biéri. The skulls are set out on the altar, and each totem at its place. The victim is then brought forward.

The scene at this point changes completely. Neither a dog nor a kid is immolated -- it must always be a man, either a prisoner of war or some captive bought back from a neighboring tribe. A woman may never replace a man. Nor may a man or child belonging to the tribe, nor one whose mother belonged either to the tribe or to an allied tribe, be used as victim; for

224 ditch, its point in the air, so that any animal falling in will almost certainly be pierced. Having finished with these preliminaries, the hunters make ready to actually beat for game. First there will have been a large sacrifice. Suppose a tribe has the scaly anteater (ye-mvil) for its totem. The tribal chief is the first to start on the hunt after a preparatory fast of three days. During that time he has remained apart in a small reed hut in the midst of the forest, eating only the food he brought with him, which he must first have placed on the évora biéri. He drinks only from an aromatic leaf folded into a cone; further-
[834] more, he abstains from any relations with his wives, because contact with women is supposed at such times to be an offense against the totem (nsem éki). After these three days he makes a
[782] fetish, that is, a sacrifice to the tribal or clan totem, according to the usual practice; it consists of a goat at least or better a sheep. Formerly always and nowadays even occasionally, it was
[567] always a slave. After the sacrifice [555] the chief takes part of the victim -- the rest belongs to the practitioner -- and throughout the hunt, he must eat no other meat. He then leaves and returns to the village only when he has met with, captured alive if possible, or if not, slain, the totem animal. If he kills it he must take care that none of the animal's blood drips onto the path, thus risking being profaned, for that would be another ritual offense. Therefore the chief carefully closes the wound with dry leaves and the fluff from a banana tree.

While returning to the village the chief must be seen by no
[201] woman; he therefore takes care to announce his arrival by a special call, which is answered by a tom-tom, and then dashes into his hut. The women who happen to be in the village, outside their huts, must go inside quickly.

The totem animal is then placed on the évora biéri. If it is too large to fit, the chief opens it and puts on the évora the
[774] brains, lungs, and heart, the three parts which contain the life principle and the various souls. The carcass is offered in sacrifice in the accustomed manner and then divided among all the hunters.

and a middle tone. Father Stoll, raising the problem again in a recent work, turns it upside down by describing two fundamental tones, symmetrically contrasted, two dominant tones, and eight compound /composés/ or gliding ones, all of them together classed as eight principal (four simple and four gliding) and four secondary ones. He connects this symmetrical system with the cosmogony, proving his point with an illustration from the sô rite. The battle among specialists is too violent for me to express an opinion. I shall restrict myself /25/ to pointing out that the nkul and the nkeñ only give two tones, and that in sending a message by one of these methods rhythm plays as important a part as do the tones (1).

1. But the balafo, mejeñ, consist of five xylophones of different tonality, each having six notes.

In the spoken language, and especially in formal speech, rhythm is just as important, and even those missionaries who possess a fine enough ear to avoid involuntary puns through tone usually do not succeed in mastering rhythm as can the last of the poet-storytellers. Current transcriptons do not, moreover, take rhythm or tone into account, the meaning of homographs emerging from their context. I think I observed here as elsewhere that the younger generation is inclined to forget the fine points of the language and no longer distinguish more than two tones, high and low, while the use of the nkul is daily losing ground.

A final important element in the language, especially in the oral literature, is represented by exclamative-descriptives, a series of locutions based on onomatopoeias or derived from verbs or modified nouns, reduplicated and often introduced by an exclamative particle or a click (2). Some of them are sufficiently accepted to be used in

2. Bertaut is one of the rare authors, if not the only one, to point out these clicks. I know of three in general use: one of approval, one of denial, one of warning. Others exist, used in hunting and still little known, which were perhaps borrowed from the Pygmies.

166 country and in the north of Boulou country) has put a considerable
621 brake upon village nomadism, the planters not liking to move away from their plantations. When there is migration, the activity consists rather in the "swarming off" of a portion of the inhabitants, who go to found a new hamlet in a site favorable for cultivation, without there being from then on any necessary correspondence between family structure and settlement pattern. The new jal will no longer necessarily correspond to one family but may gather together several families from different and unrelated lineages (mvam).

361 The Pahouin village of former times was planned for defense.
712 Situated in an oblong clearing, usually within reach of the nearest village (3 to 4 kilometers) by drum-telephone (nkul), it comprised
[202] two lines of contiguous rectangular huts, gable to gable, on either side of a courtyard or main street (nseñ), blocked at either end by a guardhouse /men's house/ (aba, abeñ) allowing only a narrow entrance, often oblique, which was barricaded every evening. All doors gave onto the nseñ; the outer walls having merely a few loopholes. Sometimes the village was encircled by a moat (ésalak) and traps, sometimes also by a stockade /akak). The most important subsistence plots (mefup) were in the forest, often quite far away, but near the village behind the huts were banana groves and kitchen gardens, while medicinal plants (bilok bi mebiañ) as well as tobacco were grown in
342 the central nseñ. The hut walls were made of bark (particularly of certain kinds of Ficus /fig/) which was wetted, then beaten flat and dried to form boards; these are the "carbotes" (from the English word "cardboard") still in use on the coast. These boards were fastened by lianas and pegs to posts set in a rectangle. The double pitched roof was of "tiles" made of raffia folioles (ôbaé, pl. abaé) folded in two and pinned with wooden splinters to the scantlings made of /42/ strips of the main leaf rib set parallel to the ridgepole. This ridgepole
[531] rested on forked posts, of which the two central ones had magical significance and were usually carved or at least painted. The dimensions of these dwelling huts rarely exceeded 6 by 3 meters, while those of the guardhouses (meba) might reach twice this. In each
[352] household the man had his private hut where he kept his most valuable possessions (biôm): chests containing loincloths, etc., weapons, drums, "medicaments" (mebiañ), his own seat, masks, and magical equipment. The women's huts, side by side with his and where the young children slept, were used as kitchens and contained carrying

754 575 828 Sorcerers meet on certain days at a specified place. In most cases this meeting has been decided upon in advance at the previous gathering. But it may also happen that the high chief wants to convene his followers unexpectedly. How then is this done?

The manner is most mysterious.

A chief whom I once questioned on this subject told me that he heard the call during his sleep, that a "voice" informed him of the day, hour, and spot, and that this happened quite often. What is to be made of this reply? I must admit that I do not know. It can be stated definitely that certain sorcerers [453] are very clever at thought transmission even over long distances; such difficulties do not bother them.

One day I observed the following: I was chatting freely in a hut with a Fan who considered himself a friend of ours and who did, in fact, do us many services. I was sitting on his bamboo bed and he on a stool facing me. Suddenly I noticed a little bundle of sticks, some painted red, the others white, a few pointed, the rest not. What was most astonishing was that it seemed to me that the fairly large bundle had not been there a moment before. I hastily called it to our friend's attention because he could not have seen it, having his back turned. ...

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

"It's nothing, don't pay any attention," he said. He picked up the bundle and hid it carefully, adding, "Above all, don't mention it to anyone -- you would do me a great deal of harm!"

As his reply did not satisfy me, I wanted a further explanation.

"No, no!" he kept repeating, "It's a deep secret (endzândzân éki, lit., the forbidden mystery)."

754 575 828 203 At last after much urging, he decided to admit, after making me promise never to say anything to anyone, that he was a sorcerer of the Ngil rite and that this was the way of convening the next meeting.

"According to the color painted on the sticks," he said, "I know where I'm to go; the number of sticks tells me how many days until my departure for the meeting; the white ones indicate

754 the leaders who will be there, as each has his private mark.
575 That's all."
828 "But why are some pointed and others not?"
●203 "Oh, that! No, that's a deep secret. If I were to tell you that I'd be punished by death at the next meeting."

[Pages 454-462 omitted. --Translator] [463]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

All practitioners' societies recognize ritual sacrifice. In
791 many cases a human victim is slain and eaten. These sacrifices
754 are often characterized by what seems to us revolting cruelty and
575 horror. I shall have occasion to deal with this point more fully
782 when discussing sacrifice.
266 These are ritual sacrifices: immolation is not done for the pleasure of killing any more than consuming the victim is for the pleasure of eating human flesh. This is so much the case that a woman is never sacrificed: "Munga kɛ́ dzamadzam, kɛ́ kie ve
[562 nsissim: A woman is of no importance (from the sacrificial point
774] of view)," runs a Fan proverb, "She has no power over spirits because she has no soul."

At sorcerer's feasts, on the contrary, and in the societies they organize, men are eaten for the pleasure of eating human flesh.

754 According to all the Fan and all Africans, sorcerers leave their boeies in order to go and feed on the hearts of other men while asleep. Hence their name, bɛ́ndzi bur, eaters of men. Sometimes they do this themselves, sometimes it is done by a spirit that possesses them. I willingly admit, of course, that there is nothing true in these accusations, at least as regards the way in which the sorcerers work. But one thing is undeniable, the fact of cannibalism.

[One paragraph omitted; p. 464 omitted. --Editor]

Chapter XIV

Totems of Sorcerers and of their Secret Societies

The Nagual and Nagualism

[Summary omitted.--Translator] [466]

533 skits, often satirical, sometimes to the accompaniment of European tunes that have been adapted to the instrument. Choral song, finally, is very popular, using imported tunes that are often considerably improved by the native interpretation which makes extensive use of fugue and counterpoint. Unfortunately, these modern airs are not suited to the tonal system of the language, which they tend to impair when words are adapted to them.

538 173 827 Chronicles, minkaffete, of which the salutations, mebatan, were in a way summaries, were part of traditional training and were recited only on solemn occasions. They are falling into oblivion because of the considerable demands they made upon the memory and because of the time necessary for learning them by heart, without mentioning the fact that they contained incomprehensible passages, perhaps borrowed from tribes that were neighbors of the Pahouin before their great migration. /126/

177 538 The systems of transcription introduced by missionaries were first used to translate the Scriptures and to compose hymns, which have not always had a good effect upon the language but have nonetheless become classics in spite of the mistakes and improprieties they often contain. After these works produced by Europeans in the native language, there have appeared in rapid succession works composed by Pahouin writing in their own language. The most remarkable is without doubt Nnanga kôn by the Boulou, Jemba Medu, which describes Boulou life at the time of the arrival of the first white men (nnanga kôn = phantom albino). This, to my knowledge, is the only novel composed in one of the languages of the group; its popularity is prodigious, to such a degree that its characters have entered into contemporary Boulou folklore.

204 There is a missionary press in Gabon and in the Cameroons. The papers with the largest circulation are Nleb Bekristen (Christians' Guide) (Ewôndo, Catholic) and Mefoé (News) (Boulou, Protestant), which is read as far afield as Gabon. The lay press in French is not of much importance and its publications moreover are usually short lived.

538 A Pahouin literature in the French language is a recent — and significant — phenomenon. Oyono and Eza Boto-Mongo Beti are both from the Cameroons; neither Gabon nor Spanish Guinea have up to now produced a novelist.

535 The dance has lost a great deal in being deprived of its old ritual character. Formerly there was a specific dance for every ceremony,

584 innocent and anxiously avoid anything that might give rise to
836 gossip. Thus, if we speak with the Pangwe about sexual matters, we constantly hear the word oson, "shame," oson this and oson that. Admittedly, wherever European influence is spreading, the
[177] use of oson decreases, for together with this influence the religious conceptions upon which shame is based are disappearing (as we saw in the case of sin, nsõm); at the same time, moral sensibilities are becoming laxer, and there are no longer any self-imposed restraints.

With free love universally prevalent, it naturally happens
836 also that several lovers find their way to the same girl in one night, especially when she is no longer a beginner, and she takes "pity" -- as the Pangwe themselves say mockingly -- on them all (1). With such nẽila, especially the older ones, the

[802]
[211]

1. Even to keep track of their number is too difficult a task for her memory; for that reason the Jaunde girls count the number of their friends on little sticks of raffia (see Zenker).

men also permit themselves the use of offensive expressions and crude jokes, such as would be unheard of and strictly prohibited with a young girl -- especially the future wife. As an example,
[831] phalli are sometimes made of wood and then displayed wrapped in a leaf.

As has already been indicated, liaisons of the heart based on
831 genuine love are by no means uncommon. Nobody, on the other hand, will be surprised to learn that for the most part they are of limited duration and are incapable of bearing the burden which we expect of them. Thus I did not learn of a single case of a person
[762] committing suicide because of unrequited love or a spurned courtship, even though women hang themselves because somebody stole a few of their miserable hens, and men shoot themselves because their father sold a daughter in order to buy a wife, instead of leaving her to the son, the girl's brother. Generally speaking, the power of Negro love is not as great as that of the love of the Whites.

551 their names. Our Ndungo was able to enumerate eleven ancestors,
867 his father Essun, then Nsema, Ngää, Massoo, Obute, Akiege, Asangui, Awodo, Tulo, Nsim, Okudu.

Generally speaking, the Pangwe probably know on the average eight or ten ancestors by name; not infrequently one even hears 10, or 12, and 14 represented the maximum.

Frequently a lengthy cognomen is added to the last ancestor, which gives the whole a magnificent final effect, somewhat in the way that among us the descendants of a famous man trace their genealogical tree back to him: "I am descended from that person, and his father was called so-and-so, and his father in turn was so-and-so, the famous general who in such-and-such a war won such-and-such a victory." Thus the ancestral table of an Esseng man by the name of Abõschoo went as follows: Ogbue, Ngumbaschoo, Edu, Ngumu, Bokoo, Motoo, Ossele, Akuschoo Bebe -- ayẽm esẽb ya andẽm = the Akuschoo Bebe, who knew when the dry season comes and when it rains (explanation of the latter part uncertain).
551 A jocular poem in which a boy poses questions while another
539 answers enumerates no fewer than 21 ancestors:
211

"o mbe lõk e vẽ?" -- "a ẽm." "oa
You were driving fish where? -- In the Sannaga. You

vẽi dzẽ?" -- "nwõ."
killed what? -- (A) shrimp.

'na a dzi?"
Who it eat? (Who will eat it?) -- "Abele."

"Abele sa?" (= 'from whom is Abele descended').
"Abele-Boka" (Abele is the son of Boka). "Boka bo sa?" "Boka bo Sisui." "Sisui sa?" "Sisui Mening." "Mening sa?" "Mening me Koebe." "Koebe sa?" "Koebe Kum." "Kum sa?" "Kum Otsaa." "Otsaa sa?" "Otsaa Maniodo." "Maniodo sa?" "Maniodo Ssamwinne." "Ssamwinne sa?" "Ssamwinne a Seongo." "Seongo sa?" "Seongo Abui." "Abui sa?" "Abui

551 Nkumu." "Nkumu sa?" Nkumu Bawu." Bawu sa?" "Bawu Otoo."
539 "Otoo sa?" "Otoo Kuboo." "Kuboo sa?" "Kuboo Emwi."
211 "Emwi sa?" "Emwi Abungo." "Abungo sa?" "Abungo a Schiele."
"Schiele sa?" "Schiele Maa." "Maa sa?" "Maa Makama."
"Makama sa?" Makama

me	nga	bũge	nana	abõ:
who	lived	to break	(of the) mother	the leg,

tsãs
tsass (onomatopoetic).

A remnant of the old aversion of all primitive peoples to
551 mention names, because thereby some kind of mischief might re-
578 sult, can still be observed among the Pangwe. /287/ They do not like to utter their names before strangers, and they find a question about their full names (in other words, including that of the father) tactless, indeed, almost insulting, as I frequently noticed among the Fang who had not had any contact with outsiders. It is also an insult in every respect to remind someone of his ancestors. This need not even be done by name -- since, after all, they do not always know the names -- but can be done with just the words: I shall "show" you your ancestors. This is taken as a threat of sorcery, that is, secret murder, and as though one were telling his enemy in advance that he would kill him and transport him to his ancestors. Such an insult is often avenged with the sword.

2. Child Rearing

The child is reared by means of precept and example, rarely
861 by threats, and almost never -- at least only in case of major offenses against morality, such as theft, for instance -- by means of corporal punishment. The result must be termed an extremely good one; Pangwe children behave more tactfully and better than our children of the same age.

We are informed by some "experts on the Negro's soul" that
867 the Blacks have no sense of honor. A glance at their family life,
861 however, teaches us the opposite. In rearing the child, the

524 plantain leafstalk whose hollow, in addition, was plugged with
857 "medicine," that is, pulverized leaves. The stalk with the ring lies on the ground, and the conjurer binds across his hand a piece of plantain leaf in which he has previously placed an identical leafstalk plugged with leaves, but without a ring. He then playfully strikes the ground with the leaf-covered hand and in so doing exchanges with lightning speed the two plantain leafstalks /307/. Then he invites the spectators to convince themselves that the ring has now been conjured out of it. While the spectators comply with this suggestion, the artist quickly puts the ring on his finger and also removes the plantain stalk.

4. Games of Adults

The Memory Game of the Dwarf Antelope

524 To my knowledge, this game occurs only in the southern
153 Pangwe region. Like the memory game of the children, it con-
[184] sists of reciting sentences which in this case, however, are not elicited by questions but are uttered by a single player. The sentences are particularly difficult, because they contain many words with guttural sounds whose pitch varies extraordinarily so that even the Pangwe easily makes a slip of the tongue.

To aid their memory, my boys made use of a long raffia stick
[211] on which were strung a whole series of little transverse sticks carved out of raffia pith in such a way that first three pieces, each singly, then two, three, four transverse pieces, and so on, were ranged in groups, in a manner similar to balls on an abacus (Fig. 112).

In reciting each sentence -- there are 12 in all -- the previous sentences must be repeated backwards, and together they form a group which in each instance is introduced by the following verse:

sõ' gbwē , mvŏ́ń kī́ń = Sso antelope's horn: "gbuā" (onomatopoetic, in German, tū); rain: "king" (that is, distant thunder, onomatopoetic, in German, bum). The horn of the Sso antelope whistles: "tū," and behold, the rain answers with thunder: "bum."

524
153
539

Sentence 9: agbɔ́ʌ́ zɩ̄ngbwɩ̄' (seven antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbɔ́ʌ́ asiɛ̄'men (six).

Sentence 10: agbɔ́ʌ́ mūɔ̄m (eight antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbɔ́ʌ́ zɩ̄ngbwɩ̄'(seven).

Sentence 11. agbɔ́ʌ́ ebū, (nine antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbɔ́ʌ́ mūɔ̄m (eight).

Sentence 12. agbɔ́ʌ́ avɔ́m (ten antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbɔ́ʌ́ ebū, (nine).

[832]

Young lovers like to play the game with their girls, as may be surmised from the somewhat romantic text. Jokingly, the girl says that she will give herself only to the one who can go through the entire game without making a mistake.

The Memory Game (nkʌ́k ondʌ̄le or endɛ̄le)

153
524
●211

This game is known only among the Fang and a number of adjoining Ntum kin groups, and it is supposedly indigenous. A flat staff with short, paired transverse extensions and vertically inserted knobs is used in the game. The end of the staff usually has a head carved on it (Fig. 113). Each pair of transverse extensions, along with the knob and the adjacent lower part of the staff, forms a segment on which eleven different points are designated for the answers (see Fig. 114).

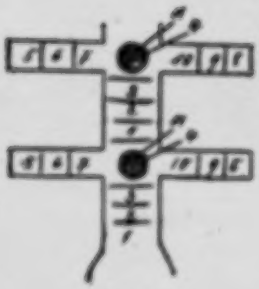
The game may have developed from an older, simpler one in which the individual parts of the human body were enumerated. This notion is suggested by the designation of the staff as the body, of the carved end -- even when it is not a regular head -- as neck and head, by the tripartite arrangement of the transverse extensions -- absent in Figure 113 -- (corresponding to the upper arm, the

[822]
[831]

Fig. 112. Stick with Pieces of Raffia used as Mnemonic Device in the Memory Game of the Dwarf Antelope. About one-fourth actual size.

Memory Game, nkuk-ondûle, made of Wood, Southern Ntum Region. A little over one-fifth actual size.

Fig. 113



524
153
211

Fig. 114
Two Sections of the Memory Game nkuk-ondûle.

lower arm, and the hand), and finally by the upright knob, called [822]
nlägenWäge (the red one; red as the color of reproduction, of [831]
life), by which originally the male sex organ was doubtless understood. The implement is thus unquestionably supposed to represent a human body whose members are multiplied.

The game is played by two people, one questioning, the 524
other answering. The former, seated in the circle of listeners, 153
holds the implement in his hand and indicates the various points that /309/ must be answered. At each one he calls out: "nä nä? = What is that?" (phonetically assimilated and corrupted from dä dä). The principal player sits farther away and answers the questions in rhythmic song while the others stamp their feet or clap [833]
their hands in time. He is, of course, not allowed to make any marks to aid his memory, such as dividing a little stick into the corresponding number of sections. This is brainwork.

The 11 questions, which are the same for each segment, go 153
as follows: 524
1, 2, 3. (see the corresponding numbers in Fig. 114) 539
nkûk ondûle wûle.
Body (of the) ondûle here. That is the body of the ondûle.

perform a sort of exorcism. Sorcerers seem to be convened to these meetings by secret messages in the form of bundles of sticks notched according to a particular code, or in the form of the quipu. They are believed to reach the meetings by levitation or by sending only their nsisim while their bodies remain at home in a state of apparent death. This offers a good chance of getting rid of the sorcerer by burning his body, the disadvantage being that the nsisim survives, as does the ɛ́vu, and that they than can be incarnated in an animal, which cannot happen if the sorcerer is burnt alive.

The ɛ́vu may use various methods of moving about outside the nnem's body. Sometimes he leaves it in an invisible and immaterial form, but this method is exceptional. Most often he enters the body of an animal, generally a leopard, but sometimes a black snake, civet cat, gorilla, or chimpanzee, or even certain insects; the list is unlimited, but nearly always the animal in question is powerful or dangerous. The carrier-animal is then almost invulnerable, endowed both with human intelligence and with the powers of an ɛ́vu. It is, however, possible to strike at it, with luck and good mebiak, and any injury to the ɛ́vu rebounds on the sorcerer. On the other hand, injury to a sorcerer during the ɛ́vu's absence is not necessarily fatal to the latter, because the ɛ́vu can survive in the body of the vehicle-animal. The latter is called nkuk (1), which can also mean "mask." It is

1. Among the Ewondo, this term also denotes the good bekɔ̂n who appear in dreams to give advice to the living. (J.B.)

not clear whether there is a confusion /119/ with the ɛ́lɔ̂ɔ̂la, as Trilles suggests, or with animal-bekɔ̂n, or with those who are beyem on their own account, or even with bingɔ̂ngɔ̂ (bingungure).

There seems to exist alongside ngwel a /kind of/ sorcery connected with abɛ́ niem or mbia niem, malignity of the heart, and having nothing to do with possession by the bivu. Thus practitioners of kɔ̂n, which consists of killing a person while leaving his body alive (see above, p. 134), would not necessarily be beyem in the strict sense. Likewise, many malevolent activities are only criminal deviations from permissible magic. Alliance with an animal, or incarnation in the body of an animal, or even the transformation of a magician into an animal, need not be malevolent or only becomes so

4. Arts and Literature

531 The principal form of plastic art used to be sculpture, in wood or steatite. Aside from masks for associations, especially for the ngil, figures of ancestors, full-length figures or simply masks, and figures for ritual ceremonies were carved. Drums, seats, crossbows, sometimes imported chests, were decorated in demirelief. The features of a mask were only slightly indicated, the attitude of figures was rather stiff, while subjects in demirelief, particularly animals, were often very lively.

531 177 The sculptors were initiates of the different rites and with the decline of the latter, traditional sculpture has largely disappeared, to be replaced by work in wood or ivory in the Barbes /?/ or Saint-Sulpice style /the implication of the second is of the commercial religious art sold in shops near the St.-Sulpice in Paris. —Tr./, thanks to the work of schools and missions. An interesting project at the professional school in Ebolowa, under the director, Lecoq, between 1946 and 1950, has had no sequel. However, there are a few indications that allow hope for the rise of a Christian art that will perhaps be original, alongside the commercial sculpture for tourists, which is extremely flourishing.

This conclusion holds good for painting, since some frescoes in Catholic chapels, particularly in Ewondo country, appear to be manifestations of a new art. Furthermore, painting is at present the popular art par excellence, in the form of frescoes inside and outside houses. Aside from religious subjects, one often sees paintings of animals, family scenes, portraits of local or world celebrities. A Boulou from Sangmélima, David Monewoso, has established the features of the heroes of the novel Ninanga mon in numerous frescoes throughout Boulou country. All this constitutes something new, because traditional art made little use of painting in this form. Huts were more likely to be decorated with geometrical figures with an esoteric meaning, in nothing but the three traditional colors, red, black, and white. Drawing was mostly represented by engraved designs, made with burin or red-hot iron on wooden objects, sometimes by charcoal drawings done on walls or rocks.

Literature was solely oral until the colonial period. It is not, however, accurate to say that the Pahouin were completely ignorant of writing. Aside from the quipu (biaff zezeghe —? —, according to

212 Largeau /sic/) and the mekutu alelé, bundles of little sticks making it possible to communicate in code, they had a kind of pictography, ntilan, with tens, if not hundreds, of signs, mindem. These we know (insufficiently) from the counters used in the abia game, a kind of tarots, used as a game as much as for predicting the future; the pieces were made of the seeds, or rather the pods, of a mimosa common in the forest (Tetrapleura /125/ thonningii, according to Trilles). These signs had a surface meaning, understood by all, and an esoteric meaning, restricted to initiates. They made it possible if not to write down traditions as a whole, at least to draw up a kind of aid to memory to be used by the beyia bia. They also enabled scouts to leave messages for a main body of fighters that followed. Each clan, each family had its own ndem, sometimes depicted in its tattoo mark, ndan, which thus constituted a sort of coat of arms.

The old literature included stories or tales, minlañ, songs, bia, and chronicles, minkañete.

Trilles is responsible for collecting most of the tales (no. 165), which often took the form of fabliaux whose hero was none other than Ol' Br'er Terrapin, Kulu (emphatic or personal form of kul), the earth tortoise (Cinyxis erosa), surrounded by Beme, the wild pig, stupid and gluttonous, Ze, the panther, mean and cunning, its principal enemy; Zo'o, the elephant, the king of beasts; Abop, the spider, artful and obliging; and the majority of the other forest animals (except, it seems, snakes, which no one ever likes to mention). Kulu, thanks to his shrewdness, always ends by getting out of the holes in which his caustic spirit or the old hostility between him and Ze have put him. Tales of magicians were also told, or stories about the conjugal mishaps of supposed ancestors. All such tales were in the public domain and were recited by anyone who felt competent. This was also the case with the puzzles and riddles that young people put to one another as a kind of flirtation.

Songs, however, were performed by specialists, even aside from ritual or magical songs. Some were used to accompany dances; they represented the most complete form of musical expression, with the tone of the words supposed to fit the music while being related to the movements of the dance. There are still beyia bia competent to lead a dance of this kind by improvisation, but they are few and very expensive. There also still exist players of the mvet (harp-guitar), whose repertory includes, beside the old sung legends, some modern

197 There it is spoken as a main language though not really a mother tongue by permanent or semipermanent immigrants, of whom the greatest number are the Bamiléké in the Cameroons and, in Gabon, the "Gabonese" of the Myéné linguistic group.

b) A Pahouinized area, including in the Cameroons the left bank of the middle Sanaga (Beti country, with Mangisa and Eton especially), Maka country around Abong-M'Bang, the left bank of the Dja in Jem and Dzimou country (1); in the Middle Congo, part of Ouesso District

1. Koch, in "Le petit bétail chez les Badjoué et Bikélé de Messaména /Small livestock among the Bajoué and Bikélé of Messamena/," Bulletin de la Société de Recherches congolaises, 13-14, March-June, 1946, gives striking examples of the penetration of Boulou into this region.

(in the west), that of the Souanké; in Gabon the left bank of the Ivindo, among the Bakwelé. Differences between the languages spoken in these areas and the Pahouin dialects are rapidly disappearing.

c) Areas in which Pahouin dialects serve as trade language, either 198 between tribes with different languages, or for administrative and 197 commercial relations, even for political and /19/ religious propaganda. In the Cameroons, Ewondo serves this purpose on the right bank of the middle Sanaga, in the M'Bam region, as well as on the left bank toward the Ubangi border in the Lom-and-Kadei region, especially in the Bertoua subdivision. Boulou has become the trade language of the Kribi region. In Spanish Guinea, Fang and Boulou are used as a common language by immigrants from the French territories. In Gabon the Myéné dialects are giving way to Fang, which is coming more and more into use, as far as the Congo-Ocean railway. In the large towns—Douala, Yaoundé, Libreville, Port-Gentil, and even Doliste—Pahouin dialects are used by immigrants belonging to other linguistic groups.

197 The vigor of the major dialects—Boulou, Ewondo, Fang—comes not only from the enterprising character of the Pahouin but also from 197 the work of missions which distribute a good deal of literature in these 198 dialects, while the languages of some of the neighboring populations have not been transcribed or have only given rise to scanty publications.

235 As regards poultry, only the hen (kub IV) is native. Only its
262 meat, not the eggs, is used for food, and even that rarely and on special occasions. At the proper place I shall return to the significance of the hen in the religious conceptions of the natives.

For the hens, small pens of logs are constructed behind the
235 house. In addition, baskets are hung for them on the outside and
417 inside walls of the house where they can brood. Finally, the brood hen is /108/ not refused a resting place in the house on some unused bed if she should consider it the safest and most suitable place for herself and her chicks. A hole at the bottom of the wall serves as an exit for the hen's family.

235 During the 1880's and 1890's ducks with a red band around
177 the eyes were introduced. Around 1890 they arrived in the Fang region and were called elõ (wild duck = elõ'r); later they were called ẽ̃ã̃' II.

231 Like other primitive peoples, the Pangwe cannot be called animal lovers. Except for parrots, one sees practically no tamed forest animals, not even monkeys. The Pangwe "tire" (a yõ̃) of looking after and feeding them, and under such circumstances one cannot blame the freedom-loving quadrupeds and birds for seeking to escape or lying down to die. Gray parrots, which immediately introduce themselves to every stranger by their name, for instance, as esã'sã' = kite, are quite common. They usually find their food on the garbage heaps or among the leftovers in the house. Now and then one sees wild boars that were caught when young. Once I was brought a young leopard which a woman had tried to keep alive by feeding it from her breast; the animal badly scratched the helpful woman, and she quickly abandoned her voluntary maternal role.

231 The bee Apis mellifica L. var. adamoni (myũfũh IV, bã̃ã̃' IV
● 232 Fang), is not kept, but wild honey (wũã̃' ; plural, mã̃ã̃'), which for the most part is to be found in tree trunks, is gathered and consumed raw.

III. Fishing

326 West Africa is one of the areas of the world richest in fish.
136 Hence, the numerous rivers and streams of the Pangwe region possess great quantities of different kinds of fish. Some of the most

262 The names for the various parts of the slaughtered animal (goat) can be seen in Figure 92.

Among invertebrate animals, the following are eaten: the larvae (fɔ́s IV) of the palm weevil Rhynchophorus phoenicis Fabr. and of the rhinoceros beetle Angosoma centaurus F. Pl. (larva = akǐm); even the large elephant dung beetle Copris (eja̋ ʒok, Jaunde) by the Jaunde; 21 different kinds of caterpillars, mostly Saturnidae (nkʊ̋ʊ̋ I = edible caterpillar); dragonfly larvae and termites (sʊ̋me IV Ntum, kǎp Jaunde); common crabs and shrimp; snails, with the exception of Limacidae; and a river mussel.

Of the lower animals mentioned, the rhinoceros beetle larvae, which live in the leafstalks of the raffia palm, deserve to be noticed by Europeans. They taste very good fried and may indeed almost be regarded as a delicacy (one recalls the cossus /Ed., a kind of larvae under the bark of trees/ of the Romans!). Even the termites might be a tasty dish if the unpleasant long wings could be removed. In the Mwele region near Simekoa I saw termite nests of the variety called kǎp carefully fenced inside the plantations. As they fly out in great numbers, they are caught in baskets; some of them are eaten alive with the wings, and some of them are prepared by the women. They taste like raw eggs, and if they were baked into some kind of bread, they would not be at all bad, if it were not for the fact, as I mentioned earlier, that the wings are an undesirable accompaniment.

If the Pangwe were not so deficient in hunting skill, if they did not have a genuine horror of slaughtering their domestic animals, and if they were to set traps somewhat more industriously and regularly, /145/ they would not suffer any dearth of fresh meat in view of the abundance of game in their land, but as it is, plants chiefly make up their diet.

232 262 The cultivated vegetables have already been mentioned in the previous section. /Fig. 92 appears here in the original text./ Under ordinary circumstances wild vegetables are only a part of the regular fare, but during periods of famine or on other occasions when food has become scarce, these plants frequently serve as staples for the Pangwe.

192
262

Fig. 92. Names of the Cuts of Meat in a Slaughtered Animal:
(1) head = nlo; (2) neck = kin; (3) breast = ekokob; (4) lower neck = engut; (5) joint = aba; (6) blade and front leg = enam; (7) back piece = epfa-ebok; (8) rump = oduk; (9) flank = mvõbe; (10) belly = abum; (11) pieces above the genitals = ekila; (12) shank and hind leg = abo.

272 Among palms, we should mention especially the oil palm, the raffia palm, and above all Ancistrophyllum, whose innermost leaves (palm cabbage) are eaten; of Begoniaceae we should mention Begonia poggei Wrbg. (esãn e kõẽ Ntum) and Begonia ciliobracteata Wrbg. (esãn e kõẽ); of Amaranthaceae Celosia argentea L. (num engõn, num afõn), Celosia laxa Schum., etc. (num e fõõm), and Pupalia lappacea L. (num e kõõn); of Acanthaceae Justicia insularis T. And. (fõ), Endosiphon obliquus Clke. (num ndzõ, masimengõmo III), and Pseuderanthemum nigritianum (T. And.) Radlk. (ndzõ I); of Urticaceae Urera laurentii de Willd. (mfõs I) and Fleurya aestuans (L.) Gand. (ngõõn IV); of Euphorbiaceae Micrococca mercurialis (L.) Benth. (otõk); of Tiliaceae Corchorus olitorius L. (ngõbe-bõmo IV); of Melastomataceae Dinophora spenneroides Bth. (esãn-eli) and Dissotis decumbens (P.B.) Tr. (esãn-bongõn-b'ojõk); of Moraceae Myrianthus arboreus P.B. (mangõme III Fang, engukõm Ntum, Jaunde); of Araceae Rhektophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (ndõ IV, kõõ IV); of Dioscoreaceae Dioscorea prehensilis Bth. (esõõ); and finally, of ferns (sõõ IV), in particular Dryopteris

222 tomentella C. Chr., Dryopteris megaphylla (Met.) C. Chr. (mejã
262 m'abõk), Dryopteris parasitica (L.) O. Ktz. (undũndu akõ),
Dryopteris gongylodes (Kuhn) O. Ktz. (engãs), Stenochlaena
guineensis (Kuhn) (nkãdenã' III), Alsophila camerunensis Diels
(ezĩzõn-oũ̃e), and Diplazium silvaticum (Borg.) Sw. (esẽ't).

245 Fruits are cultivated very little. In this category the
262 banana is the only native of any antiquity. The following have
been recently introduced: the pineapple (nkõkajã'ñ I Fang,
ekanemyẽ'ẽ Ntum) (1), which is scattered over the entire territory

1. nkõk = sugar, ajãñ = Liliaceae, Cyperaceae; ekãñ sedge (from the Mwele), because of the leaves which are similar to those of the Cyperaceae.

although planted only in small numbers; the papaya Carica papaya (pẽpẽ' Jaunde, adĩãbentãngan Ntum, Fang) (2), which has scarcely

2. adĩãb - Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl.; e ntãngãn = of the Whites.

passed beyond a narrow coastal strip and whose little trees can be counted; small, bitter lemons, Citrus /146/ limonum Risso (olõ Fang, alõ Ntum, ngõambõ'ñ IV); and oranges that are almost inedible for Europeans.

Coconut palms (mbãñ I, ngõmõ I, Ntum, Fang; mvõ'ndõ' IV Jaunde) are to be found only along the coast and even there only in small numbers.

The native "bush plum," Pachylobus edulis E. Don., var. mubafo Engl., Burseraceae (asĩ' Ntum, oõ̃ñ Fang), which is found only in or near villages, may be cultivated. The attractive lilac-
[245] blue or beautiful rose-colored fruits are roasted on the fire, and the yellow, quite tasty meat of the fruit is eaten warm.

222 All the other fruits eaten by the Pangwe grow wild. Related
262 to the bush plum in shape and in the taste of its fruit is Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl. (asĩ̃; fruit, sõ̃ IV); the fruit is prepared in the

222 same manner. The fruit of the Sapotacea Mimusops djave (Lan.)
242 Engl. (adzǎ'b; fruit, ebǒn), which contains oil, is very important. It resembles a large apple; the jelly in which the two to four seeds are imbedded is very sticky, but quite tasty. The seeds are used in the preparation of oil. Next to these, Irvingia barteri Hook. f., Simarubacea (andǔ'k; fruit, ndǔ'k IV) is of great importance. Strangely enough, the Pangwe do not value the juice of the fruit's yellow meat, which is extraordinarily fragrant and refreshing, on the condition, to be sure, that the fruit is just at the right state of ripeness. Indeed, in contrast to the coastal tribes, they attach little importance to many forest fruits (for instance, the fruit of the cardamom, of the palm Podococcus barteri, and others) and do not know how to make use of them. The nourishing contents of the
[251] kernel of the Irvingia barteri are eaten after being dried or worked into a kind of mush. The Pangwe are incapable of preparing as tasty a sauce from the fruit as that made by the Bamǔ; the nut bread of the Mpongwe is also unknown to them. Other important edible nuts are Coula edulis Baill., Olacinacea (ewǔ̄'mǔ, Fang; ewǔ̄'me, Ntum; fruit, kǔ'mǔ or kǔ̄'me); Panda oleosa Pierre (afǎ'ne[k] fruit, fiond[k]) and a variety unknown to me (andǔ' ; fruit, ndǔ' IV). Very tasty and refreshing fruit is supplied by the following trees: Burseracea Pachylobus macrophyllus (Oliv.) (andǔ̄'m Ntum, atǔ'm Fang; fruit, ndǔ̄'m IV Ntum, tǔ'm IV Fang); Anacardiaceae Trichoscypha spec. (amǔ̄, fruit mǔ̄ IV; and engǔ̄, fruit ngǔ̄); the pulp of various Landolphia varieties, namely, Landolphia ochracea K. Sch. (ayǔ'm), Landolphia piriformis Stapf (dǔ̄ III), and two other varieties (efǔ̄'do Fang and kǔ'mo III), in which the seeds are imbedded, is somewhat sour but quite refreshing. All the remaining fruits -- insofar as I have tasted them -- have scarcely any special charm for the European; indeed some, like Laccodiscus and Pseudospondias, have a downright horrible taste and are -- as they say in West Africa -- "good for blackmen, no good for whitemen." Their names are: Parinarium tessmannii Engl., Rosaceae (afǔ'i); Chrysophyllum tessmannii Engl., Sapotaceae (mbǎ'm I); Pachylobus tessmannii Engl., Burseraceae (nga-angǔ̄'ngǔ'); Laccodiscus spinulosus dentatus Radlk., Sapindaceae (efǔ'ne); Pseudospondias microcarpa

(Rich.) Engl., Anacardiaceae (ofǫ̃s); Pseudospondias tessmannii Engl., likewise (angǫ̃kǫ̃n); /147/ Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth., Leguminosae (ebǫ́ʔ); Cola acuminata (P.B.) R. Br., Sterculiaceae (abé); Carpolobia alba Don., Polygalaceae (onǫ̃n, tǫ̃mok); Ricinodendron africanum Muell. Arg., Euphorbiaceae (ezisǫ́ʔ); Myrianthus arboreus P.B., Moraceae (mangǫ́me III Fang, engǫ̃kǫ́m Ntum, Jaunde); Desbordesia glaucescens Engl., Simarubaceae (alǫ̃ʔ); Duboscia macrocarpa (?) Bocq., Tiliaceae (akǫ̃k e sǫ́ʔ); Oncinotis glandulosa Stapf, Apocynaceae, and Tylostemon minutiflorus Stapf, Loranaceae (dia-odzi dzik or bodzi bodzi dzik); Tristemma hirtum Vent., Melastomataceae (abé-olǫ́e); Cnestis aurantiaca Gilg, Connaraceae (alǫ́n-e ndzik); Vitex bipindensis Gürke, Verbenaceae (apǫ́n); Asonidium mannii Oliv., Anonaceae (ebǫ́m eli); Sarcocephalus sambucinus K. Sch. (alǫ́mi, alǫ́ma, and akǫ́mǫ́m); the palm Podococcus barteri M. and W. (niamyine); as well as various varieties of Aframomum, such as the Aframomum alboviolaceum K. Sch. (adǫ́m; fruit, eǫ́n) illustrated in Volume II.

Finally, mushrooms, of which the Fang distinguish twenty edible varieties, play an important role in the household. With the exception of a foul-smelling morel which is covered with a kind of veil, poisonous ground mushrooms do not seem to occur.

Of spices, pepper and salt are known, and both are found indispensable by the Fangwe for the preparation of meals. Three varieties and many subvarieties of pepper, Capsicum (okǫ́lǫ́h IV, unǫ́ʔ III), are sown behind the houses or close to the village, and it is to be found growing wild everywhere in the vicinity of human settlements, where its green fruit -- red when ripe -- is picked whenever it is needed; it is added to the food either whole or pulverized on a stone.

Salt is more difficult to obtain. Although salt imported from Europe now floods almost the entire region and, in conjunction with tobacco, constitutes a regular standard of value, in remote areas of the interior the laborious extraction of salt from swamp plants is still carried out in the old manner.

The two chief salt-producing plants are those illustrated by Plate 10: Halopegia acuea K. Sch., Marantaceae (nkǫ̃h I) and

197 114 she connects it with Delafosse's West African group, harking back to its non-Bantu character in Les langues africaines et les peuples qui les parlent /African Languages and the Peoples Who Speak Them/.

Father Trilles and Abbé Walker believe that they have found Semitic and Hamitic influences in Fang. A borrowing from Sudanese appears more likely. Westermann classes "Bati" in the semi-Bantu group, pointing out that the term "Sudanese languages possessing classes" seems to him more appropriate. Now, we know that Beti (Ati), which is losing ground today to Ewondo, is itself very close to Fang (Betsi-Mazouna) and recently reached to the northern limits of Boulou, which it has influenced.

We may therefore come to the conclusion that the Pahouin linguistic group, at present very close to Bantu, ought probably to be considered intermediate between the true Bantu tongues and the semi-Bantu or Sudanese class languages, historical circumstances and contact with neighboring peoples having accentuated the Bantu traits in such a way that it is proper, from the methodological point of view especially, to classify it as a special family of the Bantu group (1).

1. In the absence of specific mention, it seems that Greenberg (no. 70) would classify it in his Nigero-Congo group. [i.e., Niger-Congo. -Analyst]

Chapter 4

Economic Life

1. Subsistence

222 262 The diet of the Pahouin peoples would be enough to prove that their attachment to the land is quite recent. In fact the importance of collected produce is striking. According to a study carried out in Eton country (region of Yaoundé) by Dr. Masseyeff, the consumption of mushrooms amounts on Eton average to 4.1 grams per day per person (1). Snails, termites, caterpillars, palm larvae, and crickets

1. R. Masseyeff, A. Cambon, Enquête sur l'alimentation au Cameroun, Rapport à l'Office

222
262

de la Recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer /Inquiry into nourishment in the Cameroons, Report made to the Oversea Scientific and Technical Research Office/, I.R.C.A.M., Yaoundé.

are also eaten. "If this inquiry had taken place 30 years ago, the list of foods would have been much longer. Many leaves and fruits that used to be gathered were neglected, then given up altogether.... Likewise, game has become scarce...." (2) In many villages there

224
264

2. Compiègne (no. 13) pointed out as long ago as 1875 the ravages to herds of elephants caused by Fang "hunting parties," which killed male, female, and young elephants indiscriminately.

The following are the principal hunting techniques now in use:

Shooting: With crossbow for monkeys and large birds, using "bamboo" strophanthin-poisoned arrows; with guns for large game: guns with central percussion /sic/ in the Cameroon, with trade guns in Gabon (these, which are prohibited in the Cameroons, are superior for shooting assagai at elephants, which often causes improved rifles to burst); beating and calling.

Battue /beating/: Dogs wearing little bells drive the game into nets, where it is finished off by spearing.

Snaring: Snares of elephant hair for francolin /partridge/ and small mammals (a method used particularly by children); wire snares for boar and antelope; pitfalls for elephant; trenches with stakes, plain trenches, dead-end trenches; 4-shaped deadfalls /quatre-de-chiffre/; land weirs; portcullis cages; snaring with latex; poisoned bait (for panther and wildcat).

224 Hunting on foot: Practiced especially by the
242. Pygmies, without dogs. Some Pahouin still hunt down buffalo and forest pig and kill them with boar spears, but they are few. (P. A.)

●232 are men who call themselves hunters (3). Income from the sale of
242.

3. In some Boulou villages one finds foreign professional hunters, Baya or Kaka usually. Besides, Pygmies are regular hunters for their "landlords." (P. A.)

game meat appears to be practically negligible in family budgets. But, according to the work quoted above, hunting provides about a fifth of the total consumption of meat. Fishing is not unknown, but
201 the techniques are of the simplest. Women sometimes /28/ dam
214. streams to dry up the beds where the fish can be caught. Sometimes fishing with poison is done, and children like to fish with line. But none of the methods is really productive; there are no large weirs, no nets, no canoes. Nutritionists estimate the ration of locally caught fish to be 1 gram per person per day—which is a simply way of underlining the feeble nautical talents of the Pahouin.

269. Agriculture furnishes the basic subsistence. Manioc is used in countless dishes: manioc rolls made from the crushed and boiled tubers, smothered manioc, or manioc fritters; even the leaves are often eaten. The use of leaves for food is perhaps a peculiar trait of Ewondo and Boulou diet. Thirteen kinds of leaves are used in cooking, either as seasoning or as a purée, often to thicken sauces. Along with manioc, the plantain banana provides the basic food. Next comes macabo, Xanthosoma sagittifolia /malanga/. Various kinds of yams are much liked. This gastronomic pattern of the Fang, and
[177] in particular of the Beti, should be enough to prove their foreign origin, because yams, which are tropical rather than equatorial, do not grow at all well in the present habitat of the Pahouin.

Maize is the only cereal currently used as food. It is often served as a dough, as gruel, and even on the cob. Maize beer, outside
[273] certain urban centers, seems to be drunk less than palm wine, (the sap of the Elaeis guineensis). The oil palm, moreover, plays an important part in the diet. A source of lipoids /lipides/ and Vitamin A,

•223 2. Hand noose or draw noose (nsʉm)

The ground noose, (aʉ̃ma-o-si) (o-si = below), Figure 72, is set especially on the trails of the dwarf buck, Neotragus ba'ɔsi Winton (odʉ̃ʉ). It is fastened to a cross beam (a) resting on two well-concealed forked props (b). Other victims of the ground noose are gallinaceous birds (guinea fowl, francolins) and the night rail (Himantornis).

With great skill a whole number of noose snares are set in trees whose fruit is a popular food of birds, especially the Afzelia africana Smith (ovɔ̃n). Such snares are called aʉ̃ma-o-ɔ̃ɔ̃b (o jɔ̃ɔ̃b = above) and draw tight by themselves. Hornbills and the blue touraco, Corythaeola cristata Vieill. (kʉ̃nʉ̃k IV) are the main victims of this trap. Now and then a long-tailed monkey is also caught in it. /125/

The hand noose for parrots (nsʉm I), which is made of rattan string, is quite different from the previous two snares. It consists of a loop around a branch to which one end is tied while the other end extends down to the ground where a man holds on to it and pulls as soon as an animal sticks its head through the loop. The parrot is pressed against the branch and /Fig. 72 appears here in the original text/ can be seized. This parrot noose is especially used in the dense foliage of the Myrianthus trees (mangʉ̃me III Fang, engʉ̃kʉ̃n Ntum, Jaunde), which are perfectly suited for hiding and whose fruit is favored by parrots. Catching parrots is mainly an occupation for boys, but adults also amuse themselves at it.

[159]

6. Draw traps

(a) Ground draw traps

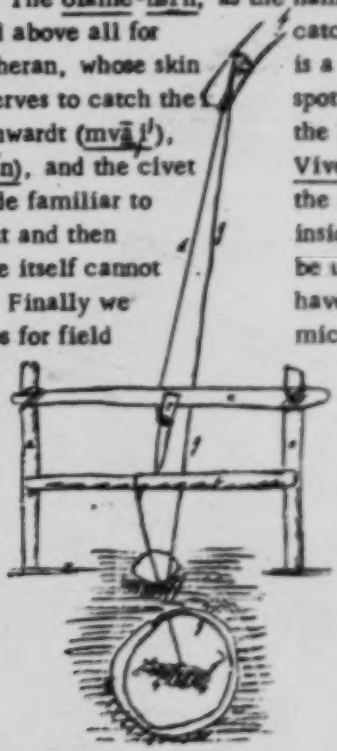
324

The Pangwe distinguish no less than nine types of these, namely, the following.

1. Traps constructed over a pit
   1. aʉ̃ma
   2. nsɔ̃bɔ̃ I Ntum, nsɔ̃k Fang, nsɔ̃bogɔ̃ Fang
   3. ngʉ̃(k) -olʉ̃m

224 The olame-nsi'n, as the name indicates (nsi'n = genet), is used above all for catching the genet, Genetta aubryana Pucheran, whose skin is a popular ornament. In addition, it serves to catch the spotted palm civet Nandinia binotata Reinwardt (mvā'l'), the linsang Poiana poensis Waterhouse (ojǎn), and the civet Viverra civetta (žǒč'). The place is made familiar to the animal by putting rats first in front and then inside the hollow, if the animal's cave itself cannot be used.

Finally we have to mention two smaller draw traps for field mice and birds, respectively. These are the efǔga and ewuǎs, where the noose is placed around the trap spring (a) with the help of a stick (i), so that the animal is jammed against the trap spring (see Fig. 79. The efǔga is designed for mice and other small rodents and, like the potamogale trap is set up in front of a fenced-in area with bait (cassava) inside. Furthermore, this trap is used to get rid of the troublesome Dryotriorchis batesi Sharpe (ngbǎwuǎ III Ntum) which steals chickens. "When the bird has caught a chicken and then drops it again as people rush toward it, the trap is quickly set up and the hen placed inside it; then the robber frequently comes back to get the hen and in the process gets caught in the trap." /129/



223 Fig. 78. Genet Trap, olam e nsin.

The bird trap ewuǎs (wuǎs = an imitation of the sound of the noose snapping shut), Figure 79, is constructed in exactly the same way, except that it lacks a fence and is designed for doves, guinea fowl, francolins, and night rails. /Fig. 79 appears here in the original text. /

•223

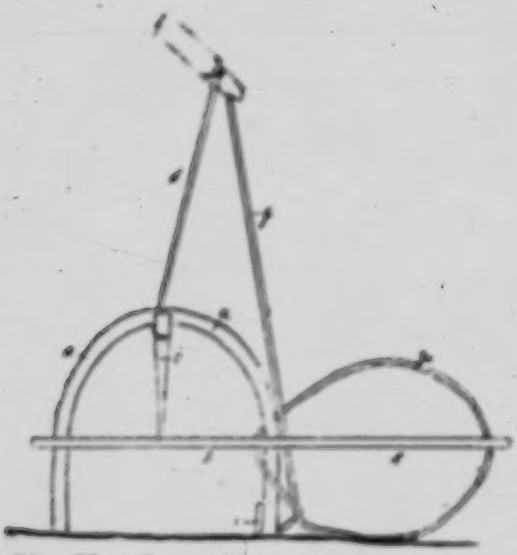


Fig. 79. Gressor Trap, ewuas.

(b) Tree draw trap

The most frequently used trap for smaller birds is the tree draw trap, nkpwǎs (nkpwǎs = an imitation of the sound of a trap slamming shut or of the hand seizing the prey), Figure 80. It is set up in trees, and hence the trap spring (a) is tied to a twig (x). A novelty here is the fact that what is usually the free end of the vice, the extension (as we have called it), is clamped inside the fork of a holding pin (i) (ntɛ̌be-okū III, from a tebe = to stand, okū = before; thus, projection). Another innovation is the arrangement of the noose which is made [223 224] from two ropes of the stalks of the Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch. (okiaikui; stalk = ndɛ̌nan). The two ropes are tied together at one end and fastened to a twig which takes the place of the draw stick (f); then a string (h) is slung around the branch (x) and tied loosely to the noose (g) (in y) so that it can be moved along it. The ends of the sling are now laid around the extension of the vice; the bait is tied on it at z, and the trap is ready. The bird that sits down on the vice at z

•223

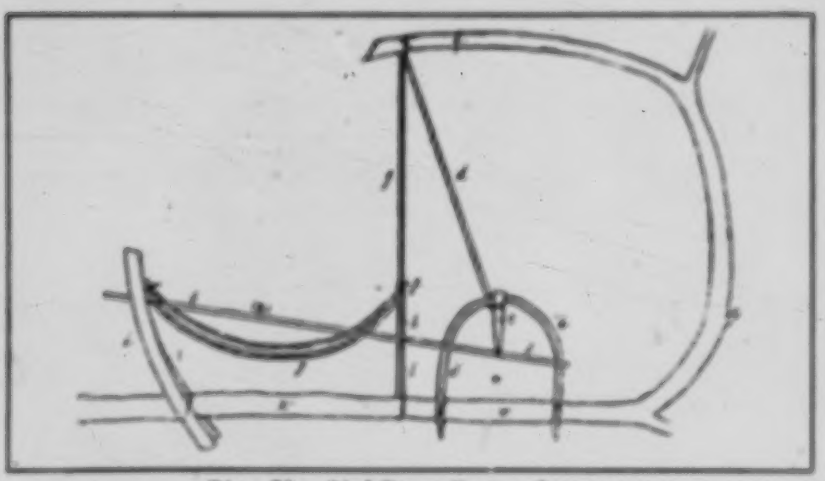


Fig. 80. Bird Draw Trap, nkpwas.

pushes it out from under the clamp; then the noose tightens, and the bird is held fast with its feet at y. Thus, it is usually caught alive.

[157] This bird trap is set up mainly by boys, since it brings in only smaller birds. As bait for honey suckers (Nectariniidae), they use, in addition to the blossoms of the Canna bidentata Bertol. (ekonežok), those of the Aframomum hanburyi K. Sch. (obā[s]-adžom; blossoms = atsā[k]) and also of other Scitamineae. For weaver birds, Ploceus cucullatus (St. Müll.) (ngā'á), Spermospiza guttata Vieill. (kō-o-si), Spermestes poensis Fras., and Estrilda varieties (edžō'le), they use grasses like Panicum sulcatum Aubl. (ekōk) and /130/ /Fig. 80 appears here in the original text/ Panicum ovalifolium Poir. (obūtebedzō'le); for species of Andropadus (otō̄k) and other Haarvögel /Ger., ?/, like Phyllastrephus leucopleurus Cass. (ngō'medzā') and the bulbul Pycnonotus gabonensis Sharpe (nkō'gēlīn'n), they use pepper Capsicum (okálān) and Heckeria subpeltata (Wild.) Kunth. (abō'medzā'n). Among other birds caught in the tree draw traps we should mention: barbets (Capitonidae), for example, Gymnobucco bonapartei Verr. Hartl. (oyō Ntum), Buccanodon duchaillui Cass. (ejī'le), Barbatula species (omvōg), and Trachylaemus purpuratus Verr. (ekū'kū'). Furthermore, in addition to the above-mentioned

223 Haarvögel /Ger.,?/, there are the Ixocotus guttatus Verr. (esɨ̂sa, Fang, edɨ̂ndɨ̂ Ntum); the doves, Chalcopelia afra L. (ndɨ̂) and Turtur semitorquatus Rüpp. (ɨ̂ŋm); glossy starlings, species of Lamprocolius (kpɨ̂ɨ̂); and hornbills, Lophoceros fasciatus Shaw. (okɔ̂gbwɨ̂ɨ) and camurus Cass. (nkɨ̂kɨ̂e I, Ntum). The bait for all these birds is the fruit of the Euphorbiacea Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. (abɨ̂i Ntum, abɨ̂i Fang), the Guttifera Harongana paniculata (Pers.) Lodd. (ɨ̂ɨ̂), the Euphorbiacea Antidesma laciniatum Muell. Arg. (okɔ̂bɛ̂ɔ̂) and Hankarlia didymostemon Baill. (efɔ̂ɔ̂'e), the Ficus preussii Warb. and laurentii Warb., and other types of Ficus (etɔ̂ɔ̂-o-ɔ̂ɔ̂ Fang, eɨ̂ɨ̂, Ntum). One can see traps set up everywhere in the Alchornea bushes or in clearings where the above-mentioned trees grow. If a boy takes a lot of trouble and watches over his trap, he can catch up to ten birds a day in one trap. He takes the prey home to his mother who keeps the larger birds, such as the doves, and lets the children have the smaller ones. /131/ /Fig. 81 appears here in the original text./

(c) Lemur trap

224 A very ingenious and well-contrived trap is the lemur trap, mbɨ̂ɨ̂ I, ebɨ̂ I (from bɨ̂ = to lie, mbuh = cross beam, that is, a beam that lies on top of another), so named because the trap is set up against a trunk laid over a clearing (Fig. 81). It (Fig. 82) is a genuine draw trap, with the draw stick (f), the clamp (c) and the clamp rope (d), and two nooses (g) attached to the draw stick. The device attached to the horizontal trunk (x), however, requires explanation. It consists of a piece of raffia leafstalk, one end of which is planted in the ground and the other end split and pushed under the branch in such a manner that the latter rests in the crack. As Drawing 2 shows, both halves are later tied together (y). Above the stem each of the two forked ends is cut in such a way as to form five prongs (Fig. 82, 1-5) of which the middle one (3) is left considerably longer than the others. Both center prongs (see Drawing 2) are connected with each other by a stick and thus form the gallows

224 bushes along the trail where the animals go through them. A breach is made in the strip of brush and over it is placed the branch needed for the construction of the trap. Usually from three to seven traps are set up next to each other.

In addition, large traps of the same kind are used for long-tailed monkeys, and these are likewise set up in the forest only over paths or clearings.

7. Francolin trap

223 The francolin trap, nǎ̄ʌ̄ (Fig. 83), like the traps of the previous class, includes a draw stick, but the clamping device is a completely different type. The part of the trap on the ground is nothing more than a round, not very deep hole; in the wall of the hole and over against each other are stuck two horizontal raffia sticks (a) under which is pushed the clamp (c) with the noose rope (2)

2. In this case the same rope that is tied around the clamp is again used.

directly attached to it, like the trap nǎ̄bogé. The noose is laid around the hole. A few kernels of maize /133/ or groundnuts are scattered as bait around and in the hole. The francolin sticks its head into the hole and in so doing touches the clamp which flies up and at the same time draws the noose over the bird's head. Aside from the field francolin, Francolinus squamatus Cam. (ogbwɨ́), doves also are caught in this trap which is as simple as it is effective. /Fig. 83 appears here in the original text./

In passing I may mention that chickens, if they cannot be seized, are also caught by means of such a trap, erected ad hoc, or by a leaf bag in which a kernel of maize is placed. To get at the maize, the chicken puts its head inside the bag and is caught before it can free itself (1).

223 224

1. Aside from those mentioned in connection with the spring trap, the technical expressions for the parts of the

223

Fig. 83. Francolin Trap, ndon.

draw traps are as follows: 223 224

(a) Trap spring = trap gallows (see under spring traps);
(b) Vice (see under spring traps);
(c) Clamp (see under spring traps);
(d) Clamp rope (see under spring traps);
(e) Clamp-stick poles or clamp-stick rope = ndǭne jǎ IV, ndǭme jǎ IV;
(f) Draw stick = mīāge Fang, mǣ̄ jǎ III Ntum;
(g) Noose = ekǒ́ǣ Ntum, ekbwē Fang, nkjb I;
(h) Noose holder = mbǣ̄le-ekbwē Fang;
(i) Noose prop = sū-ekǒ́ǣ Ntum;
(k) Peg = engǒ̄n;
(l) Fenced-in area (with efuga, and so forth) = ndzī b I, from a dzī b = to close.

For the lemur trap: 224

(m) Trap stick = atǎk;
(n) Cross sticks = olī Ntum, evē Fang.

/Fig. 66 appears here in the original text./

IV. Trapping

After agriculture and fishing, the third most important economic activity is trapping which is exclusively carried out by the male part of the population. The various traps constructed by the Pangwe can be classified as follows:

Fig. 66. Diagram of a Fish Ditch: (a) bark wall with door, (b) bridge, (c) bait.

A. Traps into which the prey falls
   1. Pitfalls (ebɛ̄l, ndʌ̄h I)

B. Traps which work by dropping a beam, a plate, or a piece of iron
   2. Spring traps (ekʌ̄l di)
   3. Spring plates (akul)
   4. Spear trap (efu ʌ)

C. Traps that consist of a draw noose
   5. Simple noose (asima, etc.)
   6. Draw traps (olʌ'm)
      (a) Ground draw traps (olʌ'm) (1)

      1. Not to be confused with the alʌ'm (fish weir).

      (b) Tree draw trap (nkpwʌ̄ʌ I)
      (c) Lemur trap (mbʌ̄n I)
   7. Francolin trap (ndʌ̄h IV)
   8. Bow traps (ekɛ̄le)

D. Traps that sound an alarm
   9. Civet cat trap (nlin I)

*224

1. Pitfalls (ebɔ̃j, ndʌ́h I)

The simplest kind of trap, the pit, is to be found throughout the entire region. Everywhere along the paths through the forest there are narrow, rectangular pits, many of which are three meters deep. They are so close to the path that at times they can be a source of danger -- carefully covered as they are -- to pedestrians who are not paying close attention. Near the bottom they become so narrow that a person falling into them remains hanging wedged between the walls halfway /118/ /Fig. 67 appears here in the original text/ and cannot get out again by himself. Pits having pointed [224] posts at the bottom are not for wild animals; they are used only in war. The pits are usually constructed by two people, the owners, of whom one digs while the other carries away the dirt. The person [224 83] who has done the digging may not have any sexual intercourse for five days after this work, for the pit is a hole like the female sex organ; thus, if he were to defile himself through sexual intercourse with a woman, he would not catch anything in the pit.

2. Spring traps (ekũ̃jdí)

The Pangwe distinguish seven types of spring traps, that is to say, traps in which the animal is killed either by a tree trunk suspended over a passage and released by means of a trigger device or by a freely balanced, weighted plate, raised above the ground.

A. True spring traps for wild animals
   1. ekfidi-oǎ̃b or oǎ̃b
   2. ekfidi-esɔ̃ũ̃
   3. ekfidi-nkɔ̃k
   4. alũ̃ńa-ekfidi
B. Rat spring traps
   5. ekfidi-o-sj
   6. ekfidi-o-jɔ́b
C. Spring plates
   7. akfi

/119/ /Figs. 68 and 69 appear here in the original text./

1: Tessmann--96 E-8 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

224 The most profitable and hence most frequently used spring trap for wild animals is the osah, which is set up in conjunction with a game fence. It is illustrated in Figure 70, Drawings 1 and 2. The fence frequently extends through the whole wooded area, usually along the paths. It has various openings and consists of sticks driven into the ground side by side. The sticks are either placed very close together or at longer intervals, and then they are intertwined with leaves of Sarcophrynium velutinum (okialkul), raffia palm, or swamp palm. As a result, the majority of smaller animals have to run along the fence and can find no way out other than through these openings. At these points the actual traps are constructed. A corridor is erected at right angles to the fence by driving into the ground two rows of sticks (i) closely adjoining each other. The end one or one of the end ones (in the illustration the one on the left-hand side) is forked at the top. Inside the corridor a tree trunk (g) is placed in such a way that one end lies on the ground and the other end -- weighted by other trunks (h) -- is held suspended by a lever (e) resting on the forked stick (k). In turn, the lever (e) is held by a trigger device which is a uniform feature of all trap and draw springs and hence will be described here once and for all. The device consists of a trap spring (a) planted in the ground at either end and a vice (b) which is pressed against the trap spring by means of a small piece of wood (c), the clamp. This releasing device is connected with the lever by means of a string (d) tied to the clamp. The string is fastened to the free (left-hand) arm of the lever and thus holds up the tree trunk, which is tied to the other arm of the lever. The vice (b) extends through the fence poles into the corridor where it is covered by leaves placed over sticks that have been bent in the shape of a gable.

Now, when an animal enters the corridor and steps on the vice, the latter is pressed down and thereby the clamp is released, so that the left arm of the lever flies up and the tree trunk falls down.

In spite of the great amount of work involved in constructing the long fence, this spring trap is usually not made jointly by all inhabitants of a village, but -- like the fish weir -- by two men.

229 The trap catches the following animals in particular: the hamster rat, Cricetomys dissimilis Rochebrunè (kul); the porcupine, Atherura africana Gray (ngóm); squirrels; the duiker'bok, Cephalophus melanorheus (ogbwũ); in the vicinity of water, the dwarf musk deer, Hyemoschus aquaticus Ogilby. (vion; plural, lón); a number of bird species that live on the ground, such as doves, guinea fowl, francolins (Francolinus squamatus Cass.; ogbwá), thrushes (Turdus saturatus Cab.; etũ), and night rails, Himantornis /121/ /Fig. 70 appears here in the original text/ haematopus (Tem.) Hartl. (nkũ'ngũ), whose striking call is associated with the spring trap (1). Finally, monitor lizards are also trapped in these divices now and again.

1. The rail calls:

ma kbwõl' ekũi
I fall (in the) spring trap,

o-sĩ - kũ
right in, it falls shut (imitation of sound.).

or:
ma kbwõl' ekũidi ma kũi.
I fall in the trap -- I escape.

The ekũidi-esõõ differs from the osãb only in that there is no fence, and hence it is necessary to attach bait. In it are placed /122/ bananas for lemurs and spotted palm civets, dead rats for the genet, fruit of the Tiliacea Desplatsia dewevrei Burset (fruit = ngõk IV) for hamster rats and porcupines, and cassava for the latter as well as for squirrels and field mice.

A similar trap is constructed next to fallen tree trunks (nkõk) where game trails run beside them. Such a trap is then called ekũidi-nkõk. Here of course there is no bait.

The aluña-ekũidi (Fig. 70, Drawing 3) is a combination of two spring traps. A small quadrangular area is fenced in, with the exception of two openings, where the traps are placed in such a manner that one trap opens at the front and the other one at the back.

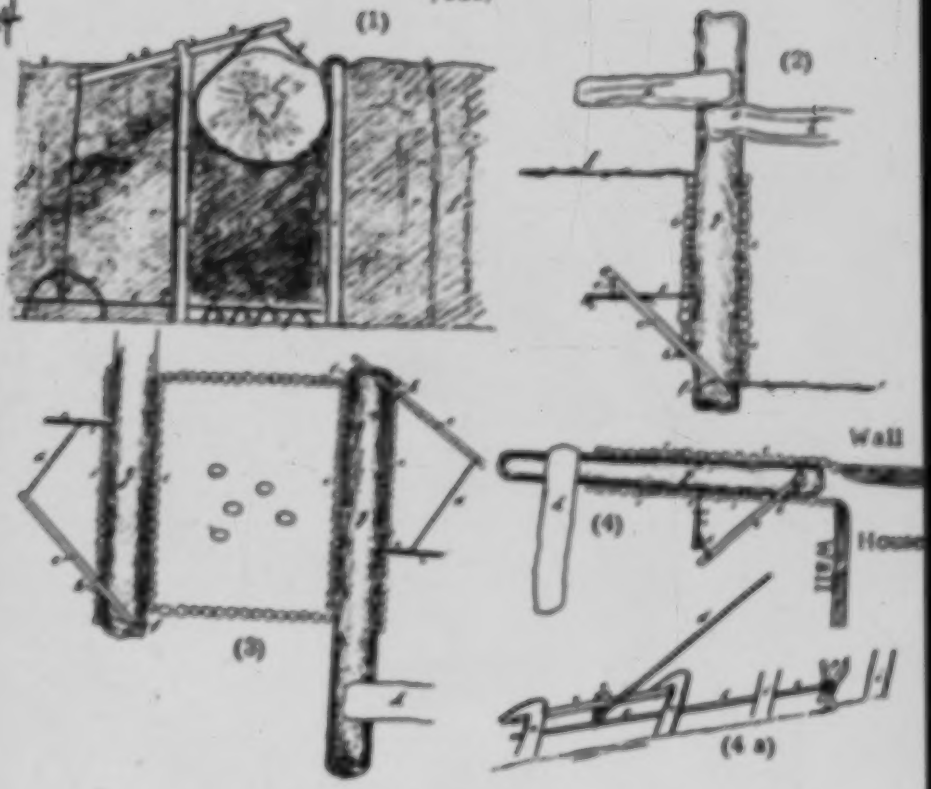


Fig. 70. Spring Traps

Drawings 1 and 2. Spring trap for game, osab, front view and groundplan. Drawing 3. Double spring trap, aluna-ekliidi, groundplan. Drawing 4. Rat spring trap, ekliidi-o-si, groundplan. Drawing 4a. Releasing device.

224 In the center of this area fruit of the Guttifera, nsá'ngómó III, is placed as bait. The animals, hamster rats, porcupines, striped squirrels, and mice, see the fruit through the fencing, look for an entrance, and land in the traps.

The rat trap, ekílídí-o-si (o si, "below"), is also a spring trap, like the osób, and is constructed from the outside against the rat holes at the corners of houses (Fig. 70, Drawings 4 and 4a). Bait is tied to the tip of the vice which extends into the corridor, as Drawing 4a indicates; when the rat gnaws on the bait, the vice is pushed out from under the clamp, and the trap closes.

While the spring traps that we have discussed so far are all very similar, we now come to a trap, the ekílídí-o-jób (o jób, "above"), which from the outside looks quite different although it belongs to the same type. For we have here -- see Figure 71, Drawings 1 and 2 -- a combination of two lever systems which together support a spring beam and which are set up some distance above the ground. A raffia stalk, split in two lengthwise with the flat side (n) upward, is tied to the house wall either horizontally or vertically and fastened to it so that it extends into the room. Along its upper edge are placed two rows of raffia leafstalk strips (i), which represent the fence of the other spring traps, flanked by two forked props (k) on the side toward the interior of the house. The levers (e) rest on these forked props. Only one lever is held by the clamp whose releasing device is attached on the side to the raffia stick (see Drawing 2). The free end of the other lever is placed under the first. Both levers support a spring beam (g) which, therefore, in contrast to the other spring traps, is balanced over the corridor in such a way that the rat has access from both sides. This spring beam is pulled down by a beam (h) which is attached to it on either side by strings and suspended below the raffia stalk; this happens when the clamp device is released. Bait is attached to the device as in the case of the ekílídí-o-si. Usually /123/ /Fig. 71 appears here in the original text/ the trap is left standing awhile before the trigger device is installed, and cassava is sprinkled along the corridor so the rats will become accustomed to running over the trap. For the same reason it is not used for a time after it has caught a number of rats (1). /124/

1. The technical expressions of the

224

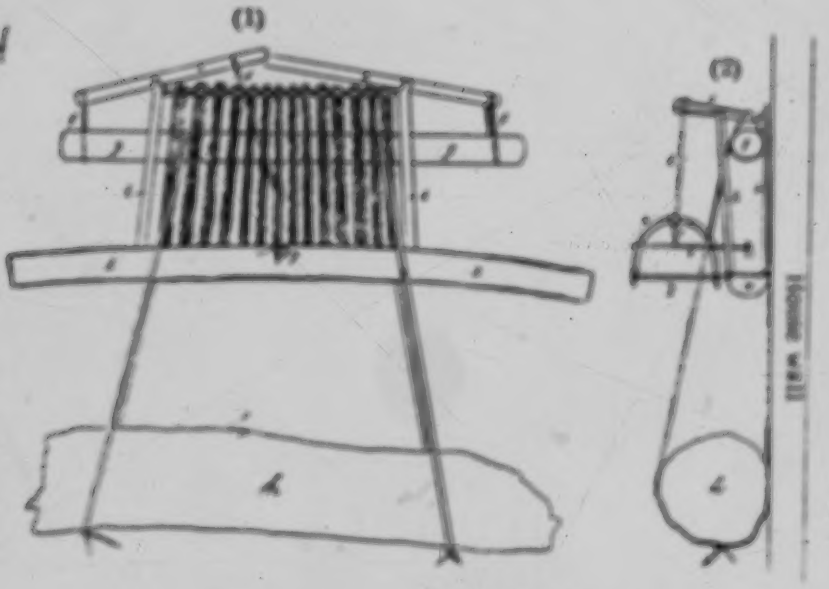


Fig. 71. Rat Trap, ekũidi-o-jeb.
Drawing 1. Side view. Drawing 2. Front view.

Pangwe for the various parts of the spring traps are:

(a) trap spring = ekũ'leyã Ntum, ekuluga Fang, from a kulu = to bend;

(b) vice = mvõnegan Fang, from mvõnegan = the younger, that is, the trap spring is the older because it is the first that one has to plant in the ground and only then comes the vice;

(c) clamp = asũã, from asũã = the tooth;

(d) clamp string = nkõ-asũã, from nkõ = string, asũã = tooth, clamp;

(e) lever = mbĩ'meyã I Fang, from a bĩme = to strike, to close, also called mbõn I;

(f) spring beam string = nkõ-ekũidi, from nkõ = string, ekũidi = spring trap;

(g) spring beam = mvõk IV;

(h) weight beam = etĩ dega Fang, ñĩ deja IV Ntum, from a tĩde = press down, weight down;

224

(l) spring beam fence = nsélbegs
Fang, ɛ̃lbe jɛ̃ IV Nkom, from
a ɛ̃lb = to string together;
(k) lever prop = ntaʼ(k) -ekɔ̃kɔ̃, from
ntak = forked stick;
(l) trap fence = nsélbegs-ɔ̃ɛ̃k, from
a ɛ̃lb = to shut, ɔ̃ɛ̃k = fence
spring trap;
(m) bridge in the corridor = ekɔ̃n, from
ekɔ̃ = floor;
(n) corridor = ɔ̃ɛ̃k, from ɔ̃ɛ̃k = lair.

3. Spring plates

The spring plate, abui, is a very simple trap. Instead of the corridor and the spring beams, it has only a raised plate (nka-abui) weighted down with lumps of lime or stones. The plate is made of rattan palm, Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum (nkɔ̃ne), and falls down on the animals (smaller rodents) when they touch the vice which extends under the plate and is baited (camava).

4. Spear trap (ɛ̃lɔ̃b)

The spear trap is constructed for elephants in those places where the elephant spoor runs between two suitable trees. The trap consists of a heavy iron spear connected directly with the clamp by means of a rope and hanging over a branch in such a way that it strikes the elephant in the back of the neck when the latter touches the rope which is stretched out as an extension of the vice. Usually, the spear does not wound the elephant mortally; then the animal runs and frequently evades the trapper.

5. Simple noose snares

The following noose snares are distinguished.

1. Free noose
   (a) Ground noose (alɔ̃mɔ̃-o-ɛ̃ɛ̃)
   (b) Tree noose (alɔ̃mɔ̃-o-ɔ́b)

223 2. Hand noose or draw noose (mǔm)

The ground noose, (ǎlǐma-o-si) (o-si = below), Figure 72, is set especially on the trails of the dwarf buck, Neotragus batesi Winton (ǎlǐm). It is fastened to cross beam (a) resting on two well-concealed forked props (b). Other victims of the ground noose are gallinaceous birds (guinea fowl, francolins) and the night rail (Himantornis).

With great skill a whole number of noose snares are set in trees whose fruit is a popular food of birds, especially the Afzelia africana Smith (ǎvǐm). Such snares are called ǎlǐma-o-ǎvǐm (o ǎvǐm = above) and draw tight by themselves. Hornbills and the blue touraco, Corythaeola cristata Vieill. (ǎlǐnǎk IV) are the main victims of this trap. Now and then a long-tailed monkey is also caught in it. /123/

The hand noose for parrots (mǔm I), which is made of rattan string, is quite different from the previous two snares. It consists of a loop around a branch to which one end is tied while the other end extends down to the ground where a man holds on to it and pulls as soon as an animal sticks its head through the loop. The parrot is pressed against the branch and /Fig. 72 appears here in the original text/ can be seized. This parrot noose is especially used in the dense foliage of the Myrianthus trees (mangǎ̄me III Fang, ongǎkǎn Ntum, Jaunde), which are perfectly suited for hiding and whose fruit is favored by parrots. Catching parrots is mainly an occupation for boys, but adults also amuse themselves at it.

[19]

6. Drawtraps

(a) Ground draw traps

224

The Pangwe distinguish no less than nine types of these, namely, the following.

1. Traps constructed over a pi
   1. ǎlǐma
   2. mǒ bǒ I Ntum, mǒk Fang, mǒ bogō Fang
   3. ngǎ̄(k) -olǐm

● 224

II. Traps without pin

4. ndikiê, III
5. olême-zê
6. yîpn Fang
7. olame-mi ó
8. effiga, apfi,ê
9. ewuî,s

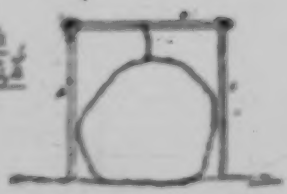


Fig. 72. Ground Noose, asima-o-ti.

All these ground draw traps, just like the tree draw trap and the lemur trap, are distinguished by the fact that a short elastic stalk planted in the ground, the draw stick (mifige Fang), is held fast by the clamp, and as soon as it is released, it draws the noose tight as it springs up. The ground draw traps are, generally speaking, designed for larger game, like antelope, and differ from one another by slight variations in form and construction, by the presence or absence of a covered pit, which makes it more difficult for the animal to free itself, and so forth. The first three forms, esima, mezbo, and ngi[k]-olim, are closely related; each of them has a pit. /126/ /Fig. 74 appears here in the original, also Fig. 73/. As an example, we shall describe here in greater detail the esima (Fig. 73). It consists of a strong, elastic stalk (f), to the top of which are attached a clamp (c) -- by means of a rope (d) -- and a noose (g), which in the case of these large traps is made of twisted raffia piassava. The clamp holds fast the draw stick, which is bent down when the trap is set up, by means of the releasing device already familiar from the spring traps (in the illustration it is attached on the side). The noose is set in front of the pit between the props (k) and is connected by a rope (h) to the trap spring which in many cases is double. Then sticks are laid across the pit onto the vice. The entire apparatus, especially the pit with the sticks and the part of the noose which is lying on the ground, is carefully covered up with dry leaves, etc. Furthermore,

224

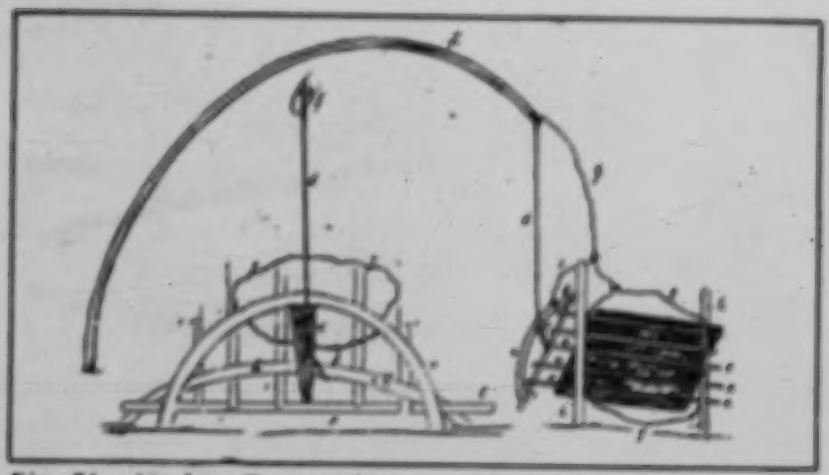


Fig. 74. Antelope Trap, nsobogo.

Fig. 73. Antelope Trap, esuma.

a special dry leaf is tied over the end of the draw stick at the point where the clamp rope and noose are attached to it. In short, the entire trap is skillfully made as invisible as possible to the game. Now, if an animal steps on the leaves, the sticks (e) press down the vice (b), the clamp (c) snaps up, and the draw stick with the noose, which tightens, springs up as far as the rope (h) permits. The trapped animal is thereby pressed against the trap stick and asphyxiated, especially since it is left hanging halfway down in the pit. Depending on its strength, the trap is suited for antelopes, boars, small leopards (Felis servalina Puch., ebĩ6), civet cats, and genets.

The nsõ'bogõ (Fig. 74) differs from the above-mentioned trap only in that the noose is tied to the clamp rope near the clamp and is made to run under /127/ a prop (h), but moreover it is placed directly on the ground. For this reason, the animal is usually caught by its front legs in this kind of a trap.

The ngã'[k] -olam is -- so one might say -- a small nsõ'bogo designed only for porcupines, and it is set by boys when they want to obtain quills for their little fishing hooks (ngã'k):

224 hence, its name. In it, however, duikerbok and guinea fowl are also caught.

We encounter another method of releasing the spring in the draw traps called ndakiē (Fig. 75) and the potamogale trap, olame-zē (Fig. 76). In these traps, the animal -- as in the spear trap for elephants -- pushes against a string which constitutes an extension of the vice (ndakiē), or it pushes against the vice itself (olǎme zê). In place of the trap string, a gallows is frequently erected, as in Figure 75. The name ndakiē signifies an iron house, i.e., a very firm house (ndǎ = house, ekiēi = iron); at the same time, the use of the name varies, and in some regions it is extended to similar traps, such as the viē'n, for example. The olǎme zê is designed solely for the peculiar potamogale (zê) Potamogale velox Du Chaillu. From the drawing (Fig. 76) the mode of construction will doubtless be apparent even without a description. /Figs. 75, 76 and 77 appear here in the original text./ A noteworthy feature, however, is the use made of the potamogale's characteristic habit of leaving its droppings at quite specific points along the river bank. These areas are surrounded by a semicircular fence (e), while the noose and the extension of the vice behind it close off the open side.

The trap viē'n (Fig. 77) is distinguished from the previous ones by the fact that the animal has to walk under the releasing device which is set up in the form of a tall gallows. As it walks through, it touches the string which is stretched from the /128/ /Fig. 78 appears here in the original text/ middle of the vice (at the top) to a post stuck in the ground (e) and in so doing releases the clamp device. In the case of this trap the ropes (h) again prevent the noose from springing all the way back. As regards the animals to be trapped, the viē'n is exactly like the eǔma, the nsōbogo, and the ndakie; this doubtless explains why the name ndakie can be extended to these "antelope traps."

The olame-nsǐ'n (Fig. 78) is constructed on the model of the viē'n, except that it is always set up on a small rise of ground which is hollowed out under it. On the floor of the little hollow a rat is placed as bait. The noose is lowered into the hollow through a hole in the top, along with the rope attached to the vice and tied around the rat.

224

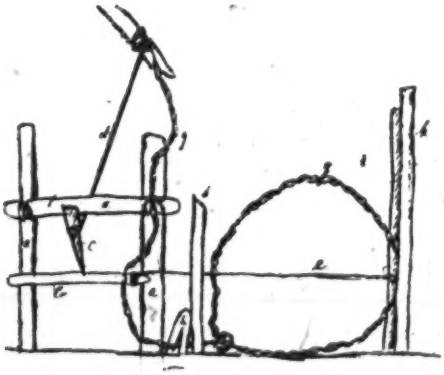


Fig. 75. Antelope Trap, ndakie.

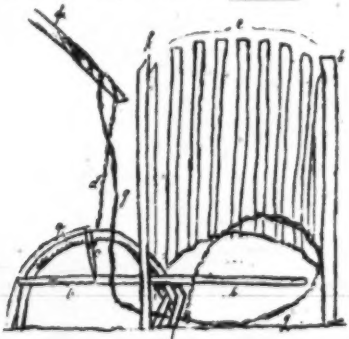


Fig. 76. Potamogale Trap, olam e ze.

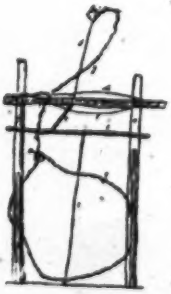
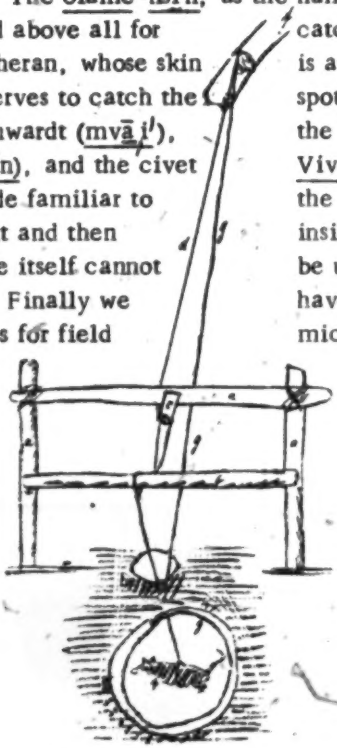


Fig. 77. Draw Trap for Antelopes, vien.

224 The olame-nsí'n, as the name indicates (nsí'n = genet), is used above all for catching the genet, Genetta aubryana Pucheran, whose skin is a popular ornament. In addition, it serves to catch the spotted palm civet Nandinia binotata Reinwardt (mvā i'), the linsang Poiana poensis Waterhouse (ojǎn), and the civet Viverra civetta (žōe'). The place is made familiar to the animal by putting rats first in front and then inside the hollow, if the animal's cave itself cannot be used.

Finally we have to mention two smaller draw traps for field mice and birds, respectively. These are the efǔga and ewuǎs, where the noose is placed around the trap spring (a) with the help of a stick (i), so that the animal is jammed against the trap spring (see Fig. 79. The efǔga is designed for mice and other small rodents and, like the potamogale trap is set up in front of a fenced-in area with bait (cassava) inside. Furthermore, this trap is used to get rid of the troublesome Dryotriorchis batesi Sharpe (ngbǎwuǎ III Ntum) which steals chickens. "When the bird has caught a chicken and then drops it again as people rush toward it, the trap is quickly set up and the hen placed inside it; then the robber frequently comes back to get the hen and in the process gets caught in the trap." /129/



223 Fig. 78. Genet Trap, olam e nsín.

The bird trap ewuǎs (wuǎs = an imitation of the sound of the noose snapping shut), Figure 79, is constructed in exactly the same way, except that it lacks a fence and is designed for doves, guinea fowl, francolins, and night rails. /Fig. 79 appears here in the original text. /

223 Haarvögel /Ger.,?/, there are the Ixonotus guttatus Verr. (esá sa, Fang, edžăndžă Ntum); the doves, Chalcopelia afra L. (odū) and Turtur semitorquatus Rüpp. (žūm); glossy starlings, species of Lamprocolius (kpă'ñ); and hornbills, Lophocerus fasciatus Shaw. (okŏgbwā'i) and camurus Cass. (nkūkūe I, Ntum). The bait for all these birds is the fruit of the Euphorbiacea Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. (abui Ntum, abuí Fang), the Guttifera Haronga paniculata (Pers.) Lodd. (atū i), the Euphorbiaceae Antidesma laciniatum Muell. Arg. (okōbezŏ) and Hasskarlia didymostemon Baill. (efüö'le), the Ficus preussii Warb. and laurentii Warb., and other types of Ficus (etōb-o-jōb Fang, ejē'i, Ntum). One can see traps set up everywhere in the Alchornea bushes or in clearings where the above-mentioned trees grow. If a boy takes a lot of trouble and watches over his trap, he can catch up to ten birds a day in one trap. He takes the prey home to his mother who keeps the larger birds, such as the doves, and lets the children have the smaller ones. /131/ /Fig. 81 appears here in the original text./

(c) Lemur trap

224 A very ingenious and well-contrived trap is the lemur trap, mbūn I, ebās I (from bū = to lie, mbuh = cross beam, that is, a beam that lies on top of another), so named because the trap is set up against a trunk laid over a clearing (Fig. 81). It (Fig. 82) is a genuine draw trap, with the draw stick (f), the clamp (c) and the clamp rope (d), and two nooses (g) attached to the draw stick. The device attached to the horizontal trunk (x), however, requires explanation. It consists of a piece of raffia leafstalk, one end of which is planted in the ground and the other end split and pushed under the branch in such a manner that the latter rests in the crack. As Drawing 2 shows, both halves are later tied together (y). Above the stem each of the two forked ends is cut in such a way as to form five prongs (Fig. 82, 1-5) of which the middle one (3) is left considerably longer than the others. Both center prongs (see Drawing 2) are connected with each other by a stick and thus form the gallows

•224

[291]

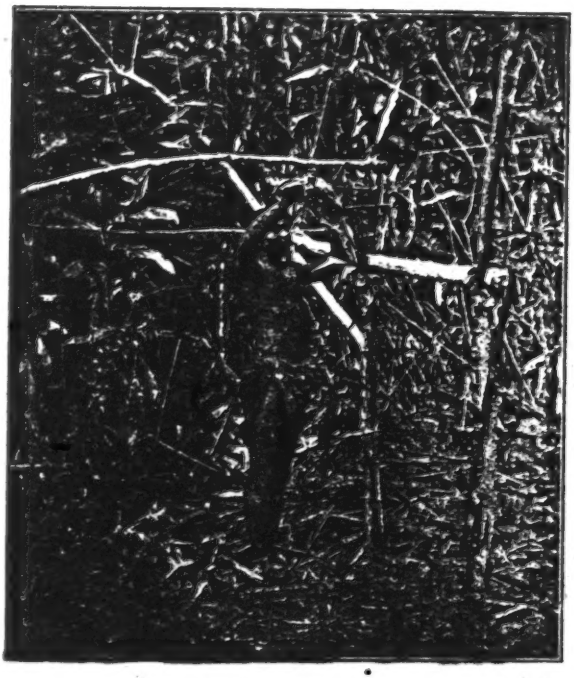


Fig. 81. Lemur Trap.

for the clamping device. Transverse sticks (n) are squeezed between the upper ends of the prongs and firmly tied down. The releasing device (Drawing 2, z) is then tied to the rope (y); this device is a network connecting (y) with the vice (b). The arrangement of the trap can be seen in Drawing 2. The clamp (c) goes around behind the gallows (a) and clamps in front between (a) and the vice; then a noose in each case passes in front between the cross sticks n 1 and n 2 and in the back between n 3 and n 4 (see Drawing 1) and is placed in the opening. A considerable amount of dry leaves covers up the trap. The animal climbs over the branch /132/ /Fig. 82 appears here in the original text/ in order to get from one side of the clearing to the other and lands in the trap which often works so well that the animal is seized by both nooses at once and pressed with great force against the little sticks.

This trap is set up primarily for nocturnal lemurs (1) and for

1. Potto, Perodicticus batesi

• 224

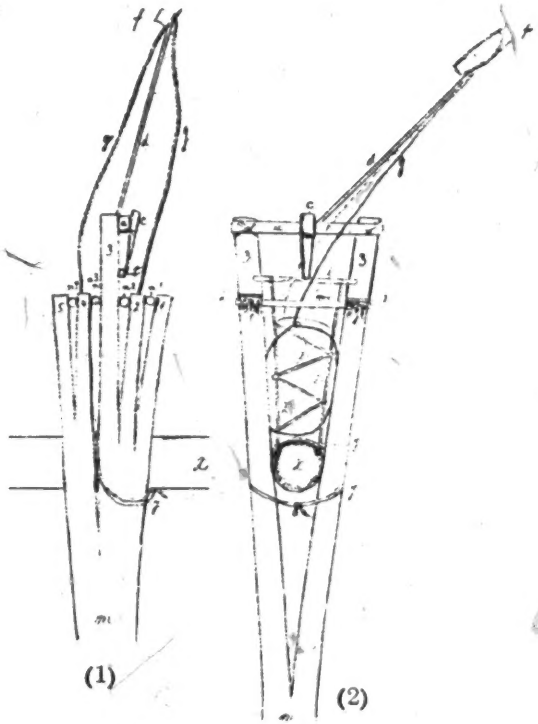


Fig. 82. Lemur Trap.
Drawing 1. Side view. Drawing 2. Front view.

Winton (awu'n); Arctocebus aureus Winton (masatšidi I and III); Spitznagelmaki /Ed., sharp-clawed lemur?/ Euoticus elegantulus Leconte (nsɛ̄'i, I); Stumpfnagelmaki /Ed., blunt-clawed lemur?/ Sciurucheirus gabonensis Gray (emǎm); and dwarf lemur Hemigalago demidoffi Fischer (ozǎm, odžǎm).

the spotted palm civet, Nandinia binotata Reinw. (mvǎ̄l' Fang, mvɛ̄l' Ntum) in a somewhat open area, for instance, a strip of

224 bushes along the trail where the animals go through them. A breach is made in the strip of brush and over it is placed the branch needed for the construction of the trap. Usually from three to seven traps are set up next to each other.

In addition, large traps of the same kind are used for long-tailed monkeys, and these are likewise set up in the forest only over paths or clearings.

7. Francolin trap

223 The francolin trap, ndǒn (Fig. 83), like the traps of the previous class, includes a draw stick, but the clamping device is a completely different type. The part of the trap on the ground is nothing more than a round, not very deep hole; in the wall of the hole and over against each other are stuck two horizontal raffia sticks (a) under which is pushed the clamp (c) with the noose rope (2)

2. In this case the same rope that is tied around the clamp is again used.

directly attached to it, like the trap nsō bogō. The noose is laid around the hole. A few kernels of maize /133/ or groundnuts are scattered as bait around and in the hole. The francolin sticks its head into the hole and in so doing touches the clamp which flies up and at the same time draws the noose over the bird's head. Aside from the field francolin, Francolinus squamatus Cass. (ogbwǎ), doves also are caught in this trap which is as simple as it is effective. /Fig. 83 appears here in the original text./

In passing I may mention that chickens, if they cannot be seized, are also caught by means of such a trap, erected ad hoc, or by a leaf bag in which a kernel of maize is placed. To get at the maize, the chicken puts its head inside the bag and is caught before it can free itself (1).

223 224 1. Aside from those mentioned in connection with the spring trap, the technical expressions for the parts of the

223

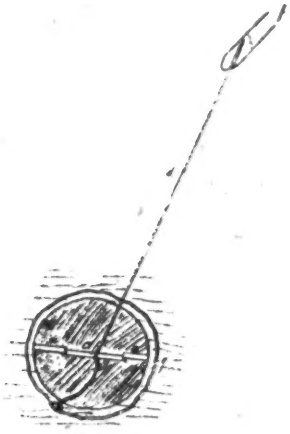


Fig. 83. Francolin Trap, ndon.

draw traps are as follows: 223 224

(a) Trap spring = trap gallows (see under spring traps);
(b) Vice (see under spring traps);
(c) Clamp (see under spring traps);
(d) Clamp rope (see under spring traps);
(e) Clamp-stick poles or clamp-stick rope = ndẽ'nejă IV, ndẽ'mejă' IV;
(f) Draw stick = miãge Fang, mẽẽ,jă III Ntum;
(g) Noose = ekŏ'ẽ, Ntum, ekbwẽ, Fang, nkib I;
(h) Noose holder = mbẽ'le-ekbwẽ, Fang;
(i) Noose prop = sũ,ã-ekŏ'e, Ntum;
(k) Peg = engŏn;
(l) Fenced-in area (with efuga, and so forth) = ndźĩ,b I, from a dźĩ,b = to close.

For the lemur trap: 224

(m) Trap stick = atăk;
(n) Cross sticks = olí Ntum, evẽ Fang;

●224 (o) Bait.

For the tree draw trap:
Branch on which the trap is built = obǒmega;
(b) Clamp stick with its extension = otɛ̄meja;
(i) Clamp-stick holder = ntɛ̄be-osū III;
(d) and (c) Clamp rope with clamp = okɔ̄leja.

8. Bow traps

They have a form of the bow which draws a noose tight as it springs back. There are three kinds of such traps: /134/

1. ekiɛ̄le;
2. bɔ́gɔ̄ III;
3. bow trap of the Jaunde, ebāʉē.

The ekiɛ̄le is the most widely known of these traps (Fig. 84, Drawing 1). The bow (b) is tied to a horizontal piece of liana or to a branch (a); two ropes are fastened to the lower end of the bow at (c), the clamp rope (d) with the clamp (e) and the noose rope which is tied in a slip knot to the other arm of the bow at (h). The clamp (e) presses a short vice (f) against the upper end of the bow and the clamp rope, and thus the bow is held up. On the lower end of the bow cassava is placed as bait, and a leaf bag is put over the whole thing. Additional cassava placed upon the liana is designed to familiarize the animal with the path leading up to the trap. If then an animal runs from there through the loop, it will touch the vice, the bow will be released, and this loop will be pulled tight. The trap is set up mainly in the forest for mice and other small rodents, and otherwise it is used in the house to catch rats.

The second bow trap of the Fang, bɔ̄gɔ̄, is used for the same animals (Fig. 84, Drawing 2, a-c). It is even simpler than the ekiɛ̄le. A leaf bag (b) is attached to one end of the bow; the ropes (c) and (d), which are tied to the other end of the bow, are run through this bag at various points. The foremost rope (b) is

224 placed as a noose around the opening of the bag; the back rope (c), which is supposed to bend the bow, is run through the hole drilled in the end of the bow for this purpose and is secured in back by means of a knot. Behind this rope -- if one looks from the front into the bag -- there is a piece of cassava (e) attached to a little stick. The animal gnaws through the rope in order to get at the bait; the bow springs back, and the noose is drawn tight so that the rat is pressed against the upper part of the solid leaf bag and strangled.

A very attractive and skillful invention is the bow trap of the Jaunde, ebá'dě (Fig. 84, Drawing 3). It is basically different from the previous traps mentioned. Here we see the clamp rope (b) attached to a bent strip of raffia (a) like a bowstring. As in the case of the francolin trap, the clamp rope is fastened with a knot in the middle of the clamp (c) and then extends beyond that into the noose. The latter ends in a knot to which is tied, in turn, the holding rope (e), which is slung around the bow. When the trap is set up, the tip of the clamp is pushed under the knot, while on the other side it is prevented from slipping back by means of a second holding rope (f) and by the pressure on the inside of the bow. As soon as a rat runs through the noose, the latter is pulled down slightly, the tip of the clamp slides out from under the /135/ /Fig. 84 appears here in the original text/ knot as well as from under the holding rope (f), and the noose draws tight around the rat.

The trap is set up in the house behind the beds or in other places where the rats like to run.

9. Civet trap (nlíne-žõ ɛ́)

The traveler in the Pangwe region will frequently encounter in the villages a rope stretched across the square. From the middle of this rope hangs a wooden dog bell or a bundle of empty snail shells. This is not, as one might think, a charm against evil spirits or a signaling device, but an alarm trap for civets, Viverra civetta poortmannii Pucher. (žõ ɛ́ IV). At one end the rope is tied to an isolated pole; at the other it is fastened to a tree stump behind the owner's house. Suspended from it just a little above the ground is

224

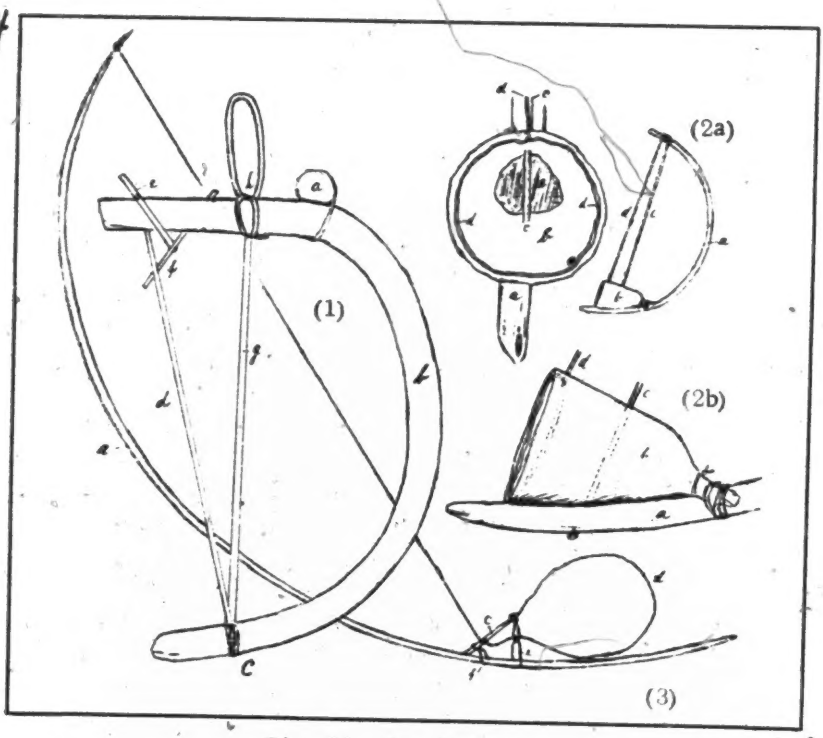


Fig. 84. Bow Traps
Drawing 1. ekiele. Drawing 2. bogo (a, the entire trap; b, side view of the lower part; c, the same from the front). Drawing 3. Bow trap, ebade.

/136/ a number of dead rats. When at night the civet snatches at a rat and in so doing pulls at the rope, the bell rings or the snail shells rattle and awakens the master of the house.

V. Hunting

Skillful as the Pangwe are as trappers they cut a poor figure when it comes to skill as hunters. They can never be called a hunting people; indeed, compared with the coastal peoples or even with the Pygmies, they are like pitiful Sunday hunters.

224 Only where there is great profit to be had, namely, in the hunting of elephants, do they take more trouble and hence achieve results that are notable in view of the simplicity of their hunting weapons [411] (flintlock with pieces of iron or a spear, Figure 85, as ammunition). For the rest, the Pangwe do not accomplish much even with better hunting rifles. For example, of the many Fang hunters equipped with modern rifles whom I had in my service in the course of three years, only one ever shot an antelope. Later, on the other hand, a Pygmy shot five antelopes in one week, and on one occasion two were shot in one day. The beautiful crown eagle, Lophoaetus [136] occipitalis Daud. (abă'jĕk), and many other animals which because of their shy nature require a real huntsman were never laid low by my gentlemen hunters. Usually too easygoing to go into the forest alone, they love to carry on a loud, uninhibited conversation and laugh gaily on a hunting expedition, which of course soon gives them away to the game. Not just once, but many times it happened that my hunting companions, at the sight of the game that I was plainly observing, shouted with a voice that could be heard far and wide: "e ne nie!" = "he be him!" there he is!). Even today I still recall with amusement how my faithful Ajong Boka roused an unsuspecting long-tailed monkey -- I was just waiting for it to move into a position where I could get a better shot at it -- with a shout: "Massa, osok, osok!" (osok = red-tailed monkey), and how the frightened animal raced off in mad leaps.

Completely unaffected as the Pangwe are by principles of sportsmanship, their lack of success in hunting is of course the fault of the rifle or -- the woman (see Section 18, "Sexual Life"). Innumerable hunting and rifle medicines, to which I shall return in Section 13, force themselves upon us in confusing abundance. In addition to the major medicines (malǎn, angungu) /Fig. 85 appears here in the original text/ associated with cult activities and carried out by the entire village, /137/ I have recorded about 100 minor medicines intended to put the individual man back on his "hunter's feet."

Among the various forms of the hunt to be discussed here, the lowest, the hunting drive, which after all entails nothing more than chasing the prey into traps, is the most highly developed. We must distinguish:

224 1. Drive of lower animals into baskets;
2. Drive of big game into nets.

In the drive for lower game living in caves, especially porcupines (ngǔm), elongated baskets (nkǒ,e'-ngǔm) made of the stalks of the Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch. (okiaikui) are used (Fig. 86, Drawing 1). The baskets are placed at the various exits of the cave; at one of them the hunter stations himself and either sends a dog into the passage or beats the ground with a stick. The frightened animal flees to one of the remaining exits and lands in the basket where it gets stuck and, because of its quills, is unable to retreat rapidly. A man then rushes to the spot and kills the animal with his spear.

A second kind of basket, but correspondingly narrower (Fig. 86, Drawing 2), is placed outside ratholes. The animals are chased into the basket in a regular drive in which the entire youth of the village takes part, and there they are killed. These baskets are called nsǎn.

These rat drives, carried out with a great hullabaloo, are for the young what the drive of wild animals (nsǔ,m I, abim) is for the adults. Game nets, frequently 16 meters long, are attached to one another and set up at suitable places in the bush to form what are often very extensive snares. The beaters chase the animals into these nets with the help of dogs that carry wooden bells (nkōle-mvū I, mvū,no IV, angǔ,n e mvū, edū,n e mvū, ongō,lǎ'-mvū, ekbwēle), Figure 87, around their necks. The animals get tangled up in the meshes and are shot by the hunters stationed there. It should be added that this drive is a great undertaking and a general popular festivity, the details of which, however, I must forbear to describe. I shall only observe that in this manner a considerable number of antelopes and other game are caught, and the Pangwe deserve commendation for carrying out this undertaking with splendid success, since it is indeed not an easy job in the rough and impassable forest region. Even the driving of elephants into large

Fig. 85. Elephant Spear (fired from a rifle).

224
285

Fig. 86. Basket Traps.

224 fenced-in area is not unknown to the Fang and is supposed to have been practiced more frequently in former times when the region was more abundant in these pachyderms.

The distribution of meat from the animals caught on the drives is regulated. If a huntsman, for instance, kills a wild animal in such a way that it dies on the spot, /138/ /Fig. 86 appears here in the original text/ he must give the meat of one forefoot to the first of his companions who appears on the scene. On the other hand, if the animal runs on, the first comer can lay claim to the entire forefoot, the second to the shoulder pieces (abá') (1) of one

1. From the stem bǎ, "to divide"; these pieces are usually divided first because the animal falls down to the ground (which, after all, is also common property) with its shoulders first.

side, the third to the outside of the shank (ebù'n). Finally, the one who carries off the animal can claim the neck bones with some flesh (ebǒ̃ǒ) (2).

[482]

2. For he also carries the animal around his neck (placed over his shoulders); abǒ̃(g)e, bǒǒ = to carry.

224 In view of the excitable and stormy character of the Pangwe,
672 it is no wonder that many of them on such a hunting expedition,
682 where the coveted, delectable tit (tit, "flesh" and "game") jumps

224 out from the bushes everywhere, completely lose their heads and
672 start shooting blindly at anything that moves. On such occasions
682 it very frequently happens that a wild Nimrod shoots a hunting companion or a beater. Hunting accidents are the order of the day and make the unfortunate huntsman responsible to the family of the person killed. In order to mitigate the situation, one excuses himself by hiding behind the belief that some "evil" people or sorcerers can transform themselves into antelopes and, weary of living, let themselves be shot in this way in order, even at the end, to place their enemy in an embarrassing position. The hunter declares that this was actually the case at the moment of shooting, that he saw an antelope, fired at it, and that then a person was lying there; he therefore is not guilty. This excuse is of little help to him in the matter since the victim's way of acting by no means releases the unlucky person from the obligation of paying blood money in the amount required for the person he has killed or wounded. Nonetheless, it does reduce his guilt.

224 Individual animals are also driven into the nets when the dog finds their fresh trail. The animal's location is determined by closing in on it in a circle (a kin e tit), and with the help of the remaining villagers it is chased into the net. /139/

On a solitary hunting expedition (elõ ñã), the Pangwe -- as was mentioned in the beginning -- more or less break down. There is no special word for "hunter"; nyũ a ngã III "he who fires a flintlock," has to substitute for it. On the other hand, nsũẽ me III is one who "catches" animals and fish. Only a negligible number of the enormous quantity of animals to be hunted in this forested land is killed without the help of traps, nets, and beaters. Of larger animals killed without such help -- aside from elephants -- the most common are boars and leopards (1) because of their value. In former

[435] 1. Formerly a leopard was worth as much as a woman.

times buffaloes, found only along the large rivers (the Campo, etc.), were also hunted, and the hide was used for the well-known shields. Since the latter have become worthless with the introduction of the

224

flintlock, this motive for hunting buffaloes has disappeared, and the chase is too dangerous to hunt them only for the meat. The hunting of gorillas and chimpanzees is just as unprofitable, and with very few exceptions the people are unacquainted with hunting as pure sport. The Pangwe find it too difficult and onerous to stalk antelopes without fixed nets. Long-tailed monkeys, squirrels, and smaller birds are shot with the crossbow. Hunting long-tailed monkeys is an undertaking filled with variety, not too difficult -- even though many of the monkeys have very sharp eyes and ears -- and profitable (2).

Fig. 87. Dog Bell.

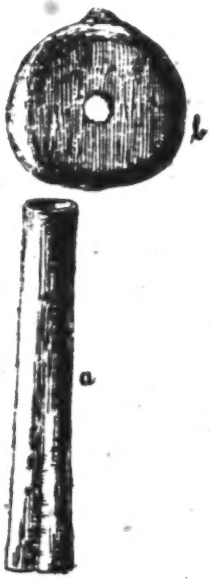
[87]

2. The monkeys are lured by blowing on a perforated fruit, the monkey lure (elǒ́ń, elǒ̌ǒ), Figure 88, b; birds are lured with an instrument like a reed pipe, Figure 88, a, called zǒle IV, zǒ.

I consider it a mistake to assume that the crossbow is an imitation of European models. How would a Negro hit upon the idea of transforming the model to such an extent and furthermore, as is done by the Bassá along the Sanaga, of continuing the front end into a shaft-like extension and at times putting on it a genuine spear head with a socket? I incline to the notion that the natives combined spear and bow and in this way independently created a new weapon. Finally, it is impossible to prove, except for the last decades of the nineteenth century, that any European influence 411 177

411
177 at all penetrated as far as the Pangwe from the west coast of Africa. /140/

411
824



[224
534] Fig. 88. Lure Pipes: (a) for monkeys (instrument like a reed pipe); (b) for birds (drilled seed)

The crossbow (mbǎn I), Figure 89, consists of two parts, the shaft (ngpwǎ(s)-mbǎn) (1) and the bow (endzǐǎ-mbǎn)(2)

1. For the shaft the wood of the following three Anonaceae are preferred: Mesocarpidium lepidotum Engl. and Diels (amvǐm); Xylopia striata Engl. (mvǔ́ma IV); and Hexalobus salicifolius Engl. (mepfǎ́ne III).

2. For the bow, because of their strong wood, the following are used: (1) Olax tessmannii Engl., Icacinaceae (elǒ́m); (2) Sapindaceae, Pancovia pedicellaris Radlk. and Gilg and Placodiscus opacus Radlk. (zǒk); (3) Violaceae Rinorea longisepala Engl. (zǒk-o-si) and R. welwitschii (Oliv.) O. Kze. (enǒ́ezǒk); (4) Rubiaceae Randia acuminata Bth. and micrantha K. Sch. (ajǐ́ē); (5) Anacardiacea Trichoscypha spec. (ǽzǒk e mekum); (6) Rubiacea Gardenia lateriflora K. Sch. (ebǎ́m) does not seem to be as suitable; (7) Polygalacea Carpolobia alba Don. (onǒ́n); (9) a Rubiacea (oyǒ́). /(8) is omitted by the author. /

411 with the bowstring. The shaft is a piece of wood between one and one and a half meters long, ovoid in cross-section. At the

832 824 Lygodium smithianum Pr. (ozǒk), used by women for ornaments.

I was unable to obtain any satisfactory explanation as to why a number of Ficus species, certain Amaryllidaceae, and gall nuts of the Microglossa volubilis (Wall) D.C. (mvūvū') are used as love medicines.

832 825 Aside from plant ingredients, which are used in preponderant number for love medicines, antelope horns (Fig. 61) are especially popular. These are worn as forehead or neck ornaments, and when they are supposed to be effective, they are blown like a whistle. Just as an antelope never has a single horn, but always a pair, so a person should not be alone, but with another.

777 824 224 The no less abundant shot medicines make up a third group of medicines for good luck. Of the 109 plants used for these, 67 are rifle medicines (biǎ̀n ngā), that is, medicines that guarantee

[832]

Fig. 60. Love Medicine: a piece formed by two lianas so grown together that they appear as one.

a good shot with the rifle; two war medicines (biǎ̀n betǎ), 18 hunting medicines (biǎ̀n tít), four crossbow medicines (bia n mbǎn), two medicines for hunting drives (biǎ̀n a kǐn tít), two medicines /165/ for a lucky eye in hunting, and 14 medicines that raise the hunting efficiency of the dogs (biǎ̀n mvū) (Fig. 62).

The ingredients of the shot medicines are chosen according to various criteria. First the intention is to lure the game. Hence one takes parts of trees "loved" by the animal (that is, the animal likes to visit them, and hence will visit /Fig. 61 appears here in the original text/ the hunter who has them, even in the form of medicine). In other cases, parts that resemble animals are taken from trees, for example, the tendrils of the Oncinotis tessmannii Gilg (nǐěm osǒk, "tail of the red-tailed monkey"), which resemble

[Text continues on page 34]

777 a monkey's tail. The hunter thus becomes similar to the animal,
824 as it were, and the animal loses its shyness of him. In still other
224 cases, the game is to be made "weak" while the hunter and his hunting dog are to be made "strong," and for this purpose parts are taken from corresponding plants, or they are taken from trees that bear much fruit in order to have similarly rich results. Finally, plants are chosen which are intended to remove the noxious impurity of the body. /Fig. 62. Medicines of the Fang. (a) medi-
789 cine for wealth, the root of a tree (Homalium africanum) decorated with brass wire and a brass ring; (b)-(d) medicine against enemy weapons; (e) medicine against enemy surprise attacks, fruit of the Tiliacea Duboscia macrocarpa (akak), to make enemies calm, peaceful (Duboscia and Leptonychia = peace linden); (f) medicine for successful travels; (g) medicine for speaking and singing well, contains the tooth of a tree cony (which is continually "singing"); (h) medicine for the Dschama dance; (i) medicine against palpitations and nervousness, the heart-shaped fruit of the Ertela scandens, worn around the neck (makes the heart strong), about 1/4 actual size; (k) war medicine, leopard claw, 1/2 actual size. / /166/ The manner of use varies: sometimes it is
777 internal, the leaves being cut up into small pieces and eaten with
224 the meat of the animal one has most recently sometimes killed;
783 it is external, in the form of injections of a bark infusion, which have the double effect of removing the impurity from the body and imparting to it the essence of the plant; or a piece of wood is charred and then used to draw a line across the forehead, so that one "looks" just like the plant concerned. Most frequently, the impurity is removed by ablutions: either individual parts, face, hands, and frequently also elbows and the knee, as well as the rifle, are washed in medicine water; or the entire body is washed in a stream, on which occasion a little dam blocks off the water which, after the completion of the ablution, is again allowed to run its course so that it will carry the dirt far away downstream (ošüe nkiai). In order to guarantee the lasting efficiency of the
777 medicines, people generally wear pieces of wood and bark as
224 pendants on neck chains, hunting pouches, satchels, belts, and so forth.

769 The veneration of skulls likewise occurs in the case of the
224 hunting medicines. The skull of a man killed by violent means,
826 whose corpse remained on the spot (if the man belongs to the same kinship group), is kept in a bark box and taken care of as in ancestor worship. When a huntsman kills a wild animal, for example, he takes the first piece that falls to him in the distribution of the meat to the skull as a thanks offering. This piece consists of the sex organs and the flesh around them (ekī]ǎ', see Fig. 92 in Vol. I). After he has taken it to the skull, he carries it off again
[262] to eat it himself. On the other hand, if there has been no luck on the hunt, a chicken is killed for the "man" in the box so he will see to it that a wild animal soon appears in front of his protégé's rifle and will be hit as effectively as he was in his time.

721 In addition, the Fang have a great war medicine, a celebra-
789 tion which is called aŋ̀gūŋ̀gu and is a companion festivity to the engongeschok. On this occasion, a sacred place is set up, a subterranean corridor similar to that described in the case of the Ngi /Ed., not translated/ is dug, and a dwarf antelope, Cephalophus
[825] melanorheus Gray (ogbwŭ,ń), which must have been caught alive, is brought to the place. Then the medicine man stations himself at one end of the corridor, and all the other men, armed with rifles,
[824] hang a seed of the Sorindeia rubriflora Engl. (afá'ne[k]) as medicine around their necks, and crawl -- the first with the antelope in his arms -- through the corridor. At the exit, the medicine man gives all of them, including the antelope, a medicine. The antelope is thereupon released, and it is believed that when a surprise attack is planned and the enemy has got wind of it, the animal will appear and thereby warn the attackers. By way of medicines to secure the /167/ necessary courage for such an attack, five different ones are available.

777 The medicines for trapping and fishing are rarer than the shot
226 medicines, a sign that these occupations are more in the Pangwe's
224 blood than open hunting. I have taken down only eight plants for fish medicines and twelve for trap medicines.

821
[789]
[224]

Fig. 64. Medicine on trees, so that a hunting drive may be undertaken during the full moon, something which is actually prohibited. Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

and cold. "If the moon is cold and has no light of its own, how is it that you can see it? After all, you cannot see people dressed in white either when everything is dark!" This objection the Pangwe counter with the reply: "On earth it is dark, but in the sky it is bright, that is, nothing obscures the view there!"

857
524
526
322
[224]

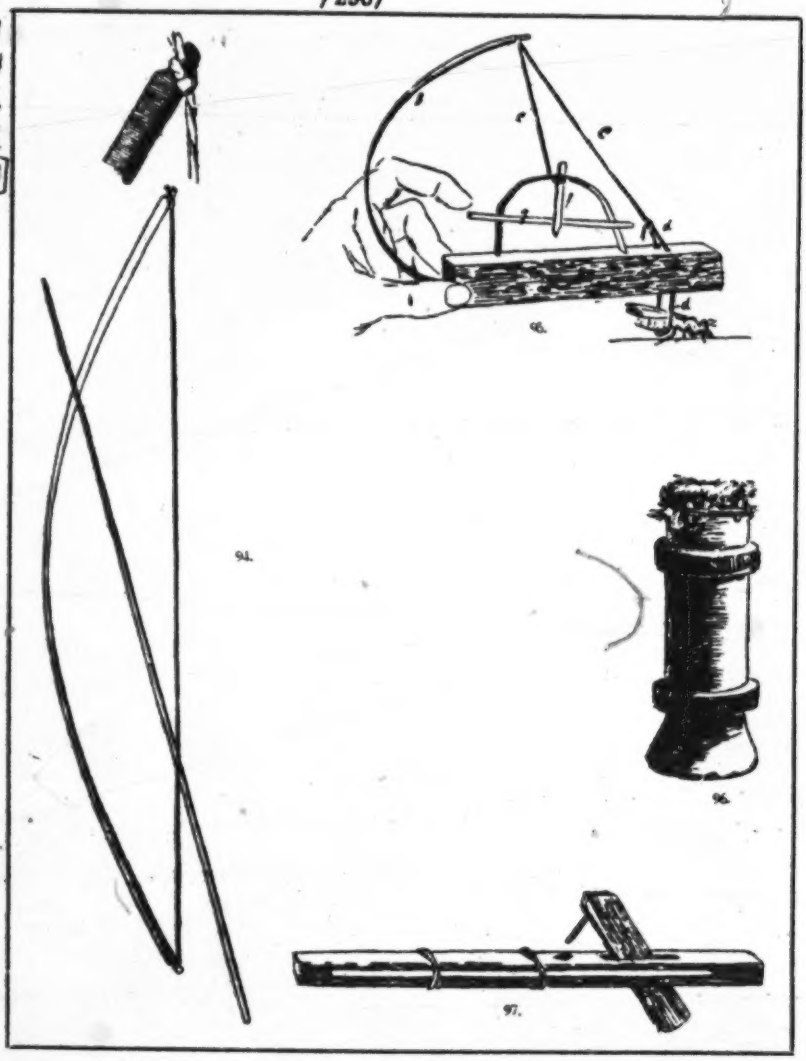


Fig. 94. Bow and Arrow (Toy).
Fig. 95. Draw Trap for Horseflies (Toy).
Fig. 96. Hide Drum (Toy).
Fig. 97. Device of Raffia Pith to Detonate Powder (Toy).

222
262

de la Recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer /Inquiry into nourishment in the Cameroons, Report made to the Oversea Scientific and Technical Research Office/, I.R.C.A.M., Yaoundé.

are also eaten. "If this inquiry had taken place 30 years ago, the list of foods would have been much longer. Many leaves and fruits that used to be gathered were neglected, then given up altogether.... Likewise, game has become scarce...." (2) In many villages there

224
264

2. Compiègne (no. 13) pointed out as long ago as 1875 the ravages to herds of elephants caused by Fang "hunting parties," which killed male, female, and young elephants indiscriminately.

The following are the principal hunting techniques now in use:

Shooting: With crossbow for monkeys and large birds, using "bamboo" strophanthin-poisoned arrows; with guns for large game: guns with central percussion /sic/ in the Cameroon, with trade guns in Gabon (these, which are prohibited in the Cameroons, are superior for shooting assagai at elephants, which often causes improved rifles to burst); beating and calling.

Battue /beating/: Dogs wearing little bells drive the game into nets, where it is finished off by spearing.

Snaring: Snares of elephant hair for francolin /partridge/ and small mammals (a method used particularly by children); wire snares for boar and antelope; pitfalls for elephant; trenches with stakes, plain trenches, dead-end trenches; 4-shaped deadfalls /quatre-de-chiffre/; land weirs; portcullis cages; snaring with latex; poisoned bait (for panther and wildcat).

224
262

Hunting on foot: Practiced especially by the Pygmies, without dogs. Some Pahouin still hunt down buffalo and forest pig and kill them with boar spears, but they are few. (P. A.)

222
262

are men who call themselves hunters (3). Income from the sale of

3. In some Boulou villages one finds foreign professional hunters, Baya or Kaka usually. Besides, Pygmies are regular hunters for their "landlords." (P. A.)

game meat appears to be practically negligible in family budgets. But, according to the work quoted above, hunting provides about a fifth of the total consumption of meat. Fishing is not unknown, but the techniques are of the simplest. Women sometimes /28/ dam streams to dry up the beds where the fish can be caught. Sometimes fishing with poison is done, and children like to fish with line. But none of the methods is really productive; there are no large weirs, no nets, no canoes. Nutritionists estimate the ration of locally caught fish to be 1 gram per person per day—which is a simply way of underlining the feeble nautical talents of the Pahouin.

226
262

262

Agriculture furnishes the basic subsistence. Manioc is used in countless dishes: manioc rolls made from the crushed and boiled tubers, smothered manioc, or manioc fritters; even the leaves are often eaten. The use of leaves for food is perhaps a peculiar trait of Ewôndo and Boulou diet. Thirteen kinds of leaves are used in cooking, either as seasoning or as a purée, often to thicken sauces. Along with manioc, the plantain banana provides the basic food. Next comes macabo, Xanthosema sagittefolia /malanga/. Various kinds of yams are much liked. This gastronomic pattern of the Fang, and in particular of the Beti, should be enough to prove their foreign origin, because yams, which are tropical rather than equatorial, do not grow at all well in the present habitat of the Pahouin.

[177]

Maize is the only cereal currently used as food. It is often served as a dough, as gruel, and even on the cob. Maize beer, outside certain urban centers, seems to be drunk less than palm wine, (the sap of the Elaeis guineensis). The oil palm, moreover, plays an important part in the diet. A source of lipoids /lipides/ and Vitamin A,

[273]

631 Given Pahouin interest in a political system based on election, which
636 pretty well corresponds both with their individualism and with their
[181] mistrust of individuals, it may be that such a system has some chance of success if it is allowed to become Pahounized.

5. Associations

575 Traditional associations were undoubtedly less developed among the Pahouin than among other African societies with more closely knit or more stable hierarchical structures. The social groups at the core of clans or villages arose and decayed in accordance with migrations and "swarmings-off." They showed a kinship rather than an associational character.

Nevertheless, there existed within kinship as well as outside it associations not based on descent, voluntary and not de facto /discretionary?/. These were often characterized by initiations and had a magical or religious basis, with varying purposes.

The minsamba, "societies," were temporary, organized for a military operation (ôban, mvélé) or for a trade journey to the coast or to the "trading-posts" of the Ogooué. The men who took part often came from different villages or even from different clans bound by an alliance (élat). They swore an oath of loyalty and mutual assistance, involving a ritual sacrifice followed by a communion
[782] meal; for a war enterprise, there might be a human victim, especially if it were a matter of avenging the death, kum mbim, of a monyañ (brother) and if there were a prisoner of war available to sacrifice. The association was dissolved once its end had been accomplished, but a bond persisted between its members.

[204] Similar temporary associations could be formed for large elephant
[141] hunts; they were moreover often confused with the nsamba dulu or nsamba ayak (traveling society, trade society) afterward organized for the sale of the ivory.

575 The most important permanent associations were those among the
783 initiates of different rites. But what was most often involved in these was a kind of relationship by way of a rite, which was not the rite's real purpose, or was so only adventitiously. When, for instance, all the inhabitants of a village took part in the ésye purification rite, a strengthening of the fraternal ties among them certainly ensued, but the prime purpose was purification (1). /63/

575 754 judicial inquiry at Ambam in 1948 after a raid on ze mimfaka, an old chief who was a Protestant and an elder of his church declared, in so many words, that "the white man has weakened the ngil, and the beyem have taken it over; now it is the ngil of ngbwel /sorcery/."

[788] The initiates of the kôn or kun, a kind of magic that enables one to assume another person's strength without destroying his body, also seem to be grouped into a secret society with meetings every seven years.

575 [786] Beyem associations do not usually include both sexes; male and female sorcerers meet together only occasionally, for orgiastic sabbaths.

[789] The distinction between white and black magic is, nevertheless, difficult to draw the present time, and one can never tell offhand if the small groups springing up nearly everywhere to protect their members against bad luck by using, in addition to remnants of traditional rites, recipes copied from magic manuals printed in France, belong to the one or the other.

[562] To come back tothe traditional associations, we must underline /the fact that/ in them there was a complete separation of the sexes, to such an extent that women were often forbidden to speak the name of a men's society or to show any kind of knowledge, even superficial, of its rites. The prohibition was less stringent for men with regard to women's rites, since the nsem, the breaking of a taboo, was for them punished by physical incapacity or illness rather than by death. /66/

A women's rite like mevungu had both a village aspect, on account of its geographical framework, the jurisdiction of its huts, and an interclan aspect as a result of exogamy. Much less is known of these women's rites than of the men's, for the very good reason that men are not allowed to know anything about them. Missionaries have condemned mevungu as obscene: I have heard that initiates who have gone through the menopause are supposed to play a male role in dances miming coition, without being able to obtain the slightest proof or the least detail (1). What is certain is that this is a rite of

[842 224]

[831]

1. A woman "chosen for her large vagina" presided, seated with legs spread apart. Each initiate would go tickle her and pull the clitoris. (J. B.)

fecundity, of fertility, and also of the hunt: an unlucky hunter may have his wife initiated so as to ward off bad luck.

721 Everyone then prepares for battle.

V. Large Hunting Expeditions

●224 Apart from war, the principal event in Fan life consists of large hunting and fishing expeditions, organized by the whole tribe, which are always an abundant source of riches. Since an event of this sort concerns the clan or tribe as a whole, the totem plays a part, but to a rather limited degree.

For individual, private hunts only the individual totem is invoked. The ceremony is very brief, if it can even be called such. It consists, not of homage rendered, but rather of what might be called a preventive ritual. In no case does the hunter want to kill his totem, for that might draw down upon him the gr gravest dangers and greatest misfortunes. Before going off to hunt, while loading his rifle, he will see to it that his totem is touched against the rifle. Furthermore, if he is undertaking a more important hunt, as for elephant, or a more dangerous one, as for panther, he will mix with his powder a bit of the ashes [554] from his totemic sacrifice. He will then invoke his hunting fetish, often merely by touching it. The main object of these ceremonies is to ask the totem's help and also to keep the totem out of the way so as not to be exposed to any ritual offense, either by unwittingly failing to respect it or by wounding or killing it.

For large hunts the ceremonies will be quite similar, though a bit more complicated. This, in brief, is how big hunting expeditions are arranged: The Fan begin by hemming in a whole forest. Several hundred -- sometimes many more -- men come together and begin by surrounding the chosen forest with a belt of rattan wattles; a creeper winds above the wattling, following the same route, and to the creeper the hunters tie here and there dry leaves of light reeds whose slight rustling when disturbed is enough to frighten the game. There is a break in the barrier at each path into the forest, where a deep ditch is dug and carefully camouflaged by boughs and sometimes so well covered with earth that even the most wary are deceived. A pointed stake is set in the bottom of the

224 ditch, its point in the air, so that any animal falling in will almost certainly be pierced. Having finished with these preliminaries, the hunters make ready to actually beat for game. First there will have been a large sacrifice. Suppose a tribe has the scaly anteater (ye-mvil) for its totem. The tribal chief is the first to start on the hunt after a preparatory fast of three days. During that time he has remained apart in a small reed hut in the midst of the forest, eating only the food he brought with him, which he must first have placed on the évora biéri. He drinks only from an aromatic leaf folded into a cone; further-
[834] more, he abstains from any relations with his wives, because contact with women is supposed at such times to be an offense against the totem (nsem éki). After these three days he makes a
[782] fetish, that is, a sacrifice to the tribal or clan totem, according to the usual practice; it consists of a goat at least or better a sheep. Formerly always and nowadays even occasionally, it was
[567] always a slave. After the sacrifice [555] the chief takes part of the victim -- the rest belongs to the practitioner -- and throughout the hunt, he must eat no other meat. He then leaves and returns to the village only when he has met with, captured alive if possible, or if not, slain, the totem animal. If he kills it he must take care that none of the animal's blood drips onto the path, thus risking being profaned, for that would be another ritual offense. Therefore the chief carefully closes the wound with dry leaves and the fluff from a banana tree.

While returning to the village the chief must be seen by no
[201] woman; he therefore takes care to announce his arrival by a special call, which is answered by a tom-tom, and then dashes into his hut. The women who happen to be in the village, outside their huts, must go inside quickly.

The totem animal is then placed on the évora biéri. If it is too large to fit, the chief opens it and puts on the évora the
[774] brains, lungs, and heart, the three parts which contain the life principle and the various souls. The carcass is offered in sacrifice in the accustomed manner and then divided among all the hunters.

224 Should the animal be inadvertently killed during the beat for game, it cannot take revenge for the offense, nor can the clan totem do so. By sacrifice and communion all the clan members have become sharers of the totem, which therefore would be taking revenge on itself:

"A séra né ki édjéze émièn émièn nlèm wuia (He cannot eat his own heart)."

After the meal the hunters get on with the job. They leap over the wattles, then gradually tighten the circle around the forest by means of strong cords so as eventually to drive all the encircled animals into a large clearing, prepared in advance, where they are killed one by one. Sometimes also at this place, an enormous pit has been dug in advance, and the bewildered (1)

1. This beat for game is called ngol, especially when it is for elephants.

animals fall into it.

When they have all been killed, the flaying and disemboweling begins. However, first the chief makes sure that [556] no totem animals have by mischance got into the pit. If so they are carefully removed, placed on banana leaves, and tied up so as to be disguised; the next night they are secretly carried to a distant spot and deeply buried. Yet one animal may be kept out, taken back to the village by the chief, and offered in a further sacrifice. All the hunters partake of it so as to be protected from any ritual offense.

226 Large fishing expeditions are occasions for almost the same ceremonies. Before beginning to dam a river or change the course of a of a stream, a totemic sacrifice is first undertaken: a victim is offered and then the actual sacrifice is made. If by chance the clan totem is a fish, the ceremonies would be identical to those described above.

After the fishing another totemic sacrifice is performed with the customary rites; to neglect this prescription might lead to grave dangers for the tribe.

595 585 Whatever the kind of marriage, the first wife is the only one considered [574] as truly legitimate. As soon as she enters her new hut, her husband leads her by the hand before the évora biéri, which is kept tightly closed. Throughout her life, the wife will never be allowed to look into the box, as that would entail a very grave ritual offense. She now takes a bit of palm oil brought from her own village, mixes it with some from her husband's mother, and rubs this symbolic mixture on the statue [842] on top of the évora. This is a symbol of the fertility she asks of the ancestors and the guardian spirits of the race. She next [782] puts a few grains of maize in a small basket at the base of the statue, so that her future plantations may thrive. This sacrifice should be repeated every morning, but only by the principal wife -- and it is often omitted.

4. Hunting, Fishing, Husbandry

788 779 Before starting on a hunting or fishing expedition, likewise before going out to the first work on his plantation, every family head or warrior will be sure to invoke his totem. He does this first with an offering on the biéri box, then by touching his weapons, tools, or snares against the family totem.

788 224 779 In the case of hunting, the hunter, when charing his gun, mixes some of the ashes of totemic sacrifice with his small shot, puts his hand on his totem, and leaves confident of the outcome. Even if hunting does not come up to expectation, he would never dream of blaming his totem. He would think that he had had bad luck or, more likely, that he had committed some offense.

788 226 779 When going fishing, he carries some of the sacrificial ashes hidden in a rag. At the spot he thinks propitious, he always begins by throwing the ashes into the water, in order to obtain his totem's good will.

788 241 779 Likewise, when a man starts farming, at the beginning of each dry season, before giving the first ax blow to the trees to be cut down, he places some ashes or remnants of sacrifice in some kind of hole and sees to it that they are consumed by the

779
788 fire which he sets to the felled trees so as to make the necessary
241 fertilizer needed for his future crops. [575]

Returning from hunting or fishing, a man is always sure to
782 put an offering on the évora biéri: it may be a piece of the ani-
224 mal's heart and brain or part of the first fish caught, even the
226 whole fish if it is very small. The first fruits are also placed on
779 the évora. Any infraction of these rites leads to punishment that can only be atoned for by one or more sacrifices. A warrior will infallibly recognize punishment in the failure of hunting or fishing trips or in barren plantations.

The hunting or fishing offering is made by the head of the family, that of first fruits by the first wife.

5. Trade and Palavers

788 Whenever a Fan has to "talk," he is very careful to try
537 to gain his totem's good will beforehand. On such occasions
779 it is important that he be able to convince his fellow speakers or his adversaries.

The totem ceremony is very short. Before leaving for the palaver or on a trading trip, he removes from the biéri box some of the ashes of the last sacrifice and puts them into a rag, closes the box, and goes off contented.

Before beginning to "talk," he will open the package of ashes and put a bit on his forehead, lips, and throat. Thus the spiritual guardians of the race will aid his brain and inspire him with the best thoughts and the best phrases, and thus they will tell him the best words to use to convince his adversaries and obtain what he wants.

6. Disease and Death

755 The totemic ceremonies connected with disease and death
779 are of somewhat more consequence. As soon as a man falls gravely ill, the practitioner is called in. He demands in advance, to be on the safe side, the proper payment for his pains, and then

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

Ngang (Doctor). Translation.

[787] 726 539 789 The Ngang (witch doctor) prophesies war. If the war comes and is in the bush, then the doctor takes medicine wrapped in bush cat skin called *mebup*, and medicine in horns. He holds the horns in his hands. He counts the horns; he hangs the *mebup*. He says to the *mebup*, I say thus: No person must go to the forest. If a person goes anywhere the enemy will kill him. If a person says, I will not listen to the doctors' talk, I will go and do my work; then if he goes, the enemy kill him. If they kill a person, they take the heart and put it in the *abup*. They take an old witch and put it in the *abup*. Then if the doctor prophesies, the witch speaks from inside the medicine. The heart of the person, it talks.

XVI.—*Hunting Traps.*

224 The Fang are skilful hunters, but they justly give the credit of the chase to the *Nqui* (dwarfs). I have been told that a dwarf will go hunting in the bush and return with meat after a hunting party has returned unsuccessful from the same locality; the dwarfs have great patience. If while hunting in the forest a man sees a deer, he shouts for assistance: others come and help hunt. If the deer is killed, all claim a share, after one-third has been given to the man who first sighted the game. This is the custom when a man walking unarmed in the forest sights meat, and calls for aid. Meat killed by a regular hunting party is carried to their town and divided. Dogs are used to hunt game, the dogs wear wooden bells around the neck, sometimes the bells are made of iron. Flint-lock guns are used when hunting. Before a hunting party starts out it is the custom to make *biang nzali* (gun medicine), and to place the guns in it; this makes them shoot straight. The natives imitate very cleverly the calls of certain animals and birds for the purpose of decoy. Occasionally they drive game into an enclosure called *olam*. Spears are seldom used in the chase. The crossbow is used for shooting birds and small bush cats.

Poisoned arrows are not used with the crossbow. Pitfalls for game are dug and [441] covered with small branches and leaves; pigs and small deer frequently fall into them. A Fang never attempts to hit a bird on the wing. In firing the flint-locks the gun is not carried to the shoulder, but held by the stock in front of the body, the butt being on a level with the waist. Game laws are unknown.

After a successful hunting expedition the whole town indulges in a feast, men, women, and children eat until gorged; after a period of rest dancing commences and is kept up throughout the night.

Olam (Trap). Translation.

224 539 They take small trees and bamboo leaves and bush rope, and make a long fence. They leave holes for the traps and holes for the pitfalls (*i.e.*, opposite the

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

places where they are going to build these respectively), large bush rat, porcupine, 224
squirrels, die in the traps; deer, gazelle, antelope, large deer and pigs die in the 539
pitfalls. The animals which die in the *olam* are these. This is the *olam*.

XVII.—*Burials.*

Death is never considered as due to natural causes. Disease followed by death 764
is due to *evus* (witch). It is not considered unlucky to attend a dying person. [761]
The body is usually left in the house until burial. Embalming is not practised. Mourners smear white clay on their bodies and wear necklaces of pineapple fibre for one moon (month). A coffin is not used and the body is buried in the sitting posture. After burial the grave is levelled off as is the case almost throughout West Africa; the only difference between the burial of a headman and a common man is in the amount of visitors and mourning, and the quarrelling over his goods. Wives of a dead headman remain in mourning from one to three moons (months). 765
The witch doctor, *ngangan*, usually performs a post mortem to find the witch. I attended a post mortem on an old woman. The witch doctor ripped open the [763]
abdomen with an old rusty knife, grasped and cut away the uterus and holding it up to the crowd declared "Six witches!" The crowd passed the word "six witches," and spoke the praises of the witch doctor. Relations usually continue to mourn or wail for one moon while inside the house or at work in the gardens. The most common wail is *Ô nan Ô! Ô tat Ô!* (Oh mother! Oh father!).

XVIII.—*Akôm.*

This is a dance. It is not *biang* (medicine) nor is it *eki*. It is, however, 535
practised by men only. The women must not see it. The latter stay within doors, 534
and only hear the words which the men speak outside. The men speak with artificial voices, so that the women cannot recognise who it is that is speaking. (*Fam a kobo ne kiû zie nkôt.*) To make the artificial sounds they use a membrane (*ten*) which encloses the young of the spider (*ndenbôa*). This they spread over a hole (about ¾ inch diameter) near the small end of an elephant tusk (*mbang nzok*) from 1 to 2½ feet in length, attaching it with beeswax (*abē*) or a liquid which is obtained from a plantain stalk fresh cut. This juice is called *akirl*. It possesses an adhesive property. The man blows on the large end of the ivory. A curious sound then issues through the membrane so that the man's voice cannot be recognised. This instrument is called *mbang akôm*. The act of playing on the instrument is called *e kobe akôm* (*e kobe*, talk). The performer sings songs; the words are distinctly heard. He sings and all others sing responsively (*a ye bo'besegese b'aka*).

Many songs are used in *akôm*. Here are three specimens of them:— 533

(1) *Benza b'abete kobo? Beso benga wog mvé.* Who speaks any more? 539
(*i.e.*, Be silent, let no one speak.) Others are listening with pleasure (*i.e.*, to the performance).

235 As regards poultry, only the hen (kub IV) is native. Only its
262 meat, not the eggs, is used for food, and even that rarely and on special occasions. At the proper place I shall return to the significance of the hen in the religious conceptions of the natives.

For the hens, small pens of logs are constructed behind the
235 house. In addition, baskets are hung for them on the outside and
417 inside walls of the house where they can brood. Finally, the brood hen is /108/ not refused a resting place in the house on some unused bed if she should consider it the safest and most suitable place for herself and her chicks. A hole at the bottom of the wall serves as an exit for the hen's family.

During the 1880's and 1890's ducks with a red band around
235 the eyes were introduced. Around 1890 they arrived in the Fang
177 region and were called elǭ (wild duck = elǭ't); later they were called sōǭ' III.

231 Like other primitive peoples, the Pangwe cannot be called animal lovers. Except for parrots, one sees practically no tamed forest animals, not even monkeys. The Pangwe "tire" (a yǭt) of looking after and feeding them, and under such circumstances one cannot blame the freedom-loving quadrupeds and birds for seeking to escape or lying down to die. Gray parrots, which immediately introduce themselves to every stranger by their name, for instance, as esǎ'sǎ' = kite, are quite common. They usually find their food on the garbage heaps or among the leftovers in the house. Now and then one sees wild boars that were caught when young. Once I was brought a young leopard which a woman had tried to keep alive by feeding it from her breast; the animal badly scratched the helpful woman, and she quickly abandoned her voluntary maternal role.

231 The bee, Apis mellifica L. var. adansoni (myūfūh IV, ʼhūi' IV
222 Fang), is not kept, but wild honey (wūi' ; plural, mūi'), which for the most part is to be found in tree trunks, is gathered and consumed raw.

III. Fishing

226 West Africa is one of the areas of the world richest in fish.
136 Hence, the numerous rivers and streams of the Pangwe region possess great quantities of different kinds of fish. Some of the most

226 outstanding and most typical representatives of the fish world of
136 the Campo-Uelle region are shown on Plate 9. Here the family of the sheatfish (Siluridae) is especially abundantly represented. Of these fish we should mention: Eutropius banguelensis Blgr. (ekīda Fang, kīda IV Ntum; young = osōb); the spiny-finned sheatfish, Auchenoglanis balayi (Sauv.) var. gravoti Pellegr., that is the catfish of the Pangwe, nsǐn I (1); Clarias submarginatus Ptrs.

1. nsǐ'n I, the civet cat Genetta, because the fish is spotted in exactly the same way.

(mvā' IV Fang, mvē' IV Ntum); and Clarias walkeri Gthr. (ngŏ' IV), as well as a new Syndontis species, Synodontis tessmanni Papph. (ebū'), and a new Clariallabes species, Clariallabes longicandatus Papph. (ndŏnga I, odŏge III). Furthermore, species were gathered from the genera Doumea, Parauchenoglanis, and Atopochilus. Of the Mormyridae the following should be mentioned: Gnathonemus moorii (Gthr.), anĕ'n, which is to be found everywhere and is notable because of its peculiar /109/ tail fin equipped with an electrically charged organ; and, secondly, Marcusenius sphekodes (Sauv.), ntŏtŏ'm I. Both of these are smaller species and of no importance for the Pangwe. Of the family of the Characinidae, the following are especially noteworthy: Sarcodaces odoë (Bl.), nsŏ I); Distichodus hypostomatus Pellegr., mbūn I; and the newly discovered Alestes tessmanni Papph. (ekīda Fang, kīda IV Ntum). From the family of the Cyprinidae there are species of Barbus, such as Barbus guirali Thomin (mvǎ III, endzī'ma mvǎ), and the new Barbus malacanthus Papph., as well as several species of the genus Barilius. In addition, I have collected species from the families Cyprinodontidae, Anabantidae, Cichlidae, and Mastacembelidae, which I shall not describe in detail here.

226 The wealth of fish in the larger streams is exploited to a rela-
50 tively minor degree because the Pangwe feel themselves too unsafe with their ill-made rafts on the many rapids. Moreover, the small number of dugouts, which must also handle the traffic at river crossings, is insufficient for a satisfactory exploitation of the abundance of fish, as well as totally unsuited for a regular fishing industry

●226 industry. To these considerations should be added the seclusion of the villages and poor communication facilities. The hydrographic conditions in themselves bring about considerable differentiation even in a fairly small area. In Yaoundé /Ger., Jaunde/, for instance, fishing does not play the large role that it does in the south; the Bawa (a group of the Jaunde), for example, are familiar with only four methods of catching fish aside from fish driving, namely, with basket weirs, using long baskets (nsǒn I) and ordinary baskets (nkǒé I), poisoning fish (ngǒm IV), and angling.

To describe the various forms that the fishing industry takes in the different regions would lead me too far afield. Hence, in order to give a general picture of the fishing industry, I shall discuss only the various procedures with which I became acquainted among the central Pangwe in the river region of the Campo with its left tributaries, the Uelle in its central zone, and above all its tributaries, the Bimfille, Abea, etc. The best months for catching fish in these regions are September to February, when the water level in the rivers begins to go down; during the remaining period there is only angling or here and there a basket is set.

[462] Fishing is men's work, with the sole exception of fish driving which is a task for women. The methods are as follows.

1. Fish driving, a lǔk (verb)

In shallow brooks or streams the water is driven downstream by means of flat baskets, the so-called bush plates (dǎd), /110/ after transverse dams of stones or twigs have first been set up at some distance. These prevent the fish from escaping. Then the women fish from the pools that remain with a small-meshed, shallow net [824] tied to a stalk from the pliant Scitaminea Trachyphrynium violaceum Radl. (nkǒmonkǒmo) that has been bent double. Like the bush plate, this net is actually a piece of kitchen equipment, used to wash cassava.

The catch consists of only little fish, a few fingers or at most a few spans long, a variety of snails, some species of shrimp (1),

1. In the main, species of Palaemon

226

marcrobrachyum Herklots (nwôs I) and
Caridina togoensis Hlgd. (siɲ IV).

the larvae of dragon flies, and other kinds of lower animals. The total catch, however, is pretty large. Everything is eaten, and fishing is one of the women's chief enjoyments. Accordingly, time and time again one will see all the women of a village, from the oldest grandmother down to the smallest girl, wandering into the forest where they know of a suitable stream, and there they will splash around to their heart's content until late into the night. Frequently the entire company will not return to the village until the first owl causes the silent forest to resound with its eerie call. Then they come tramping home with their rich booty which can scarcely be contained in the women's long baskets (nkún). At a fish drive the women build fĩs (Fang, pfiʃ (Ntum), or ebā'da, that is, piles of stones, little pieces of branches, or the like thrown into the water close to the bank, under which the fish gather. At the next fish drive they dam off the brook above and below this place and then catch the fish with no trouble at all after the water has run off.

226 476 The Jaunde use this method also in large streams and rivers that are not-too deep. They do not construct any dams, however; instead, the fish are driven into shallow inlets or onto flooded forest ground. Of course it must be remembered that such fish drives can be carried out only by the concerted efforts of a number of people. Hence, the chief calls together the women from the neighborhood, goes with them to the place where they want to fish, and stations them in their places. In exchange, he receives a certain share; each woman must give him half of her catch, and an uneven number is rounded off upwards.

226

2. Fish driving (abŭʃăʃ)

This corresponds to the procedure of the Jaunde just described, but it takes place only at night and without damming the water in larger rivers.

226
857

3. Children's angling (ngǎ́k IV)

Ntum and Fang boys catch small fish with tackle made of porcupine quills. The quills are broken off near the top and are held together in the form of a hook by means /111/ of the firm root fibers of the Aracea Rhectophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (ndé's IV, klēs IV).

227

4. Fishing tackle (nlǒ́b I)

The Jaunde know tackle similar to ours, consisting of a line, pole, hook, and floater, and according to information provided by my Jaunde, it was in use even before the Whites arrived. The tackle of the Fang and Ntum (Fig. 59) is considerably different; their hook is held down on the river bottom by means of a stone fastened to the line. In former times they also had a floater but more recently this has for the most part been given up as useless. With the line in his hand, the angler crouches on a raft or canoe that lies hidden in the bushes by the bank. Worms are used everywhere for bait.

5. Rope tackle or hanging tackle (ekę̌le nlǒ́b, elǔ́n nlǒ́b

This differs from the tackle just mentioned only in that the line is attached to a liana rope stretched across the river. It hangs in the water, held in place by the stone which acts as a sinker.

226

6. Spearing and shooting

The Pangwe spears larger fish from the river bank or from a tree trunk lying in the water, or he shoots them with a gun or a crossbow. By the way of a postscript I shall also mention the fact that in shallow water fish are killed with the cutlass.

7. Fish poison (ngŭ̀m IV)

226 278 Catching fish by poisoning the water is a practice that is universal throughout the Pangwe region, but it is not done frequently because suitable places are not found everywhere. Such places are basins or inlets closed off by rocks, where the stream flows slowly. The Distichodus hypostomatus Pellegr. /Fig. 59 appears here in the original text/ (mbŭ̀n), Plate 9, finds a habitat especially to its liking between the rocks in these basins and inlets, and it is caught there chiefly by poisoning. The name is derived from an herb (ngŭ̀m) which is supposed to occur in the Jaunde region and is used there for killing fish. Subsequently, the name became a general word for all fish poisons. In the south the following plants are used as poisons.

1. Husks of the Leguminosae Pachyelasma tessmannii Harms (makŏ̀ŋ̀ III which gives off a terrible stench like that of waste water. /112/
2. Fruit of a Rubiacea (oyŏ́), commonly used with 1 above.
3. Leaves and stalks of the Passifloraceae Ophiocaulon cissampeloides Hook. f. and Adenia lobata (Jacq.) Engl. (their name in common, undŭndŭ or úndóndŏle a ndžik).
4. Leaves of Duvernoia extensa (T. And.) Lieb., Acanthacea (ngŭnekiǎ,ī'-nya-zǎm IV) (1)

[227]

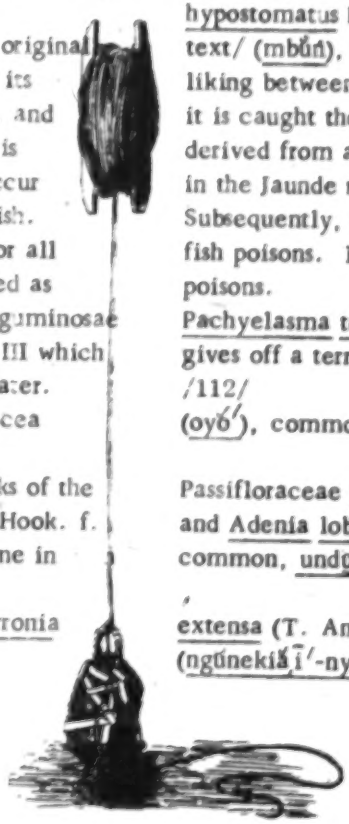


Fig. 59. Fishing Line.

1. The Acanthacea Lankesteria elegans (P.B.) T. And. (ngŭnekiǎ,ī' IV) also seems to be poisonous for fish. According to information given by the Negroes,

226
278

the leaves are rubbed to a power on rocks lying in the water; the fish (probably stupefied) then come to the surface and are killed with the cutlass.

rubbed into small pieces until foam forms; ordinarily used with 3 above.

5. Pieces of bark of the Piptadenia africana Hook. f., Leguminosae (tŭm IV).
6. Pieces of bark of the Rinorea dentata (P. B.) O. Ktze., Violaceae (olŭ h), commonly used with 5 above.
7. Husks of the Leguminosae Tetrapleura thonningii Hook. f. (agbwā' III, esisē'i) (2), rubbed to a powder.

2. Incidentally, these give off a lovely scent, like that of hot rolls, and in this respect they are just the opposite of Pachyelasma.

8. Leaves of the Leguminosae Tephrosia vogelii Hook. f. (ndăwōlō III) (3), rubbed to a powder.

3. From the stem a wōlŏ, "to murder"; compare wŏle (Uelle), "the murderer."

7. Fish weir (olă'm)

227

The greatest and most productive installation for catching fish, also the most complicated, is the fish weir (Fig. 60). It blocks the river crosswise and consists of three parts: the main weir (a), and two lateral weirs (b). These are walls made of logs or sticks placed close together, between which leaves or sheets of bark (main weir) are fastened. /Fig. 60 appears here in the original text./ Holes are cut out along the bottom of the lateral weirs, and baskets are placed in them. Just below the surface of the water the main weir extends into from one to four triangular screens (c) which are placed toward the current, slanting from the bottom

227 285 as independent "basket weirs." They provide a less abundant catch, but on the other hand they are not restricted to a certain water level and for that reason give a regular supply. Three different kinds of basket are used in this kind of weir:

8. nkǒ́ɛ́ I = ordinary baskets,

9. ayǎ′ = short fish baskets (Fig. 61),

10. nsǒ́ń I = long fish baskets (Fig. 62),

and usually two such kinds are used together.

227 ●226 In smaller rivers or streams, such as the Miemie, a tributary of the Kje, nsǒ́ń and ayǎ′ are laid, and in large rivers, a larger form of the ayǎ′ and nkǒ́ɛ́. These two types of baskets are always used in one weir since experience has shown that one species of fish is more readily caught in one type of basket, while another species is more readily caught in the other. Only rarely is just one type of basket, such as the nsǒ́ń, used exclusively. These long baskets, nsǒ́ń, which may have a diameter up to 30 centimeters, are used with special frequency among the Jaunde, but also occur in the south. Usually from three to four baskets are placed in one weir, say, two ayǎ′ and two nsǒ́ń (Fig. 63). At the same time it should be noted that the long baskets, nsǒ́ń, lie with the opening towards the source, while the ayǎ′ (like the nkǒ́ɛ́) are placed with the opening facing the river mouth, so the fish that are swimming upstream will also be caught. The weir that consists of ayǎ′ and nsǒ́ń is designed for the following /114/ /Figs. 61 and 62 appear here in the original text/ creatures: spiny-finned sheatfish (collective name, kõ̂mĕ̂ŭm IV) (1); Clarias walkeri (ngǒ′); Synodontis

1. kõ̂(s)-a-mašŭm, that is, fish with spines on its back.

tessmanni Papph. (ngṍń, nwṍń I); furthermore, Marcusenius sphekodes (Saus.) (ntõtṍm); Gnathonemus moorii (Gthr.) (anĕ́n); crawfish; common crabs; Palaemon shrimps (nwõ̂s); etc. Finally, Clariallabes longicaudatus Papph. (ndõna I) are also caught in it.

227
226 The baskets, nkŏ́ɛ̄, are the same size as the baskets of the same name used by the women in field work. They have a funnel through which the fish passes into the interior without being able to turn back. In these baskets mainly the following creatures are caught: Sarcodaces odoe (nsṓ I), Plate 9; Clarias walkeri, spiny-finned sheatfish; Xenocharax spilurus Gthr. (mfĭ́gă, mfĭ́ŋga I); Anabas pleurostigma Blgr. (awŭ́n); Parauchenoglanis guttatus (Lönnbg.) (ebū́, evŭ́s); Eutropius banguelensis Blgr. (nkắde III; younger specimens = okiɛ̄ III); and common crabs. On the other hand, they do not catch Barbus guirali Thomin. (mvăắ III).

11. Basket trap (ngū́ă IV)

The basket trap (Fig. 64) is a longish basket with a lid in front of the opening. The lid is pulled over the opening by means of a device set up on the river bank, following the pattern of spring traps, when a fish releases the lever system attached at the farther end of the basket. A snail is placed as bait inside the basket which is anchored to the bottom of the stream in water not too deep. This trap is principally designed to catch Clarias walkeri (ngŏ́) and common crabs (kā́da).

12. Catch basket (ngŭ́dĕgō III)

/Fig. 63 appears here in the original text./ This is a small basket with a funnel over the opening (Fig. 65), designed for the Clarias walkeri. It is placed in a river, baited with pieces of an ant nest (called dzā́k, ndzāk IV), /115/ together with ants of the species Cremastogaster striatula Em. (esŏ́n, osŏ́n), or with pieces of tree termite nests (likewise called dzā́k).

The fish baskets, ayắ, are placed individually in the river in the same way. These are baited with cassava (1) or with twigs (without

1. Whole roots of dried cassava (ndźāă mbŭ́n), boiled (agbwắma mbŭ́n) and cut into small pieces.

227
226 leaves) of the Oxystigma buchholzii Harms, Leguminosae (pfū̱n IV). In this case the baskets are called ewū̱a-aya' (from a wū̱a, "to throw out"). /Fig. 64 appears here in the original text./

13. Giant fish baskets (edū̱gǎ, adū̱ǎ)

Baskets from three to four meters long and from one to two meters wide, in other words, so large that they would hold from four to five people, are lowered into deep water where they are left for four days the first time and afterwards three days in each case. The entire basket is loosely filled with twigs of the Leguminosae Millettia thonningii Bak. (onĕmežok), the Impatiens dichroa Hook. f. (ejĕs), and especially the Euphorbiacea Cleistanthus angolensis M. Arg. (ngbā'de I); all are plants whose slime or leaves are eaten by the fish. Further, the baskets are filled with the leafy stalks of the cardamom, Aframomum albo-violaceum K. Sch. (adžŏm), or of the related Scitaminea Renealmia albo-rosea K. Sch. (adžŏm-mekūm), whose smell the fish love. Finally, also, they put into the baskets roots of the cassava and of the Euphorbiacea Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg. (asǎ'm), around which the fish like to swim. The basket is open in front and is pulled out of the water open side first, so that the fish -- already hampered and confused by the tangle of roots and twigs -- cannot escape so readily. /Fig. 65 appears here in the original text./

14. Giant fish boxes (esĭ̱ē, bū̱u III)

Boxes are sometimes used instead of the giant baskets. These are constructed of bark and are from three to four meters long, a meter and a half tall. Aside from their shape, they are distinguished from the baskets by a lid which is open in the water and is pulled shut when the box is drawn out of the water.

The giant fish boxes and baskets are not easy to construct or to manipulate, and for this reason they are not often seen.

226
227

15. Fish ditches (mvēi IV., mvē)

Perpendicular to the direction of the river, a ditch (Fig. 66) is dug out and closed off from the river by a wall of bark (a) with a trap door in the middle. The ditch is furnished with bait, nests of the above-mentioned species of ants (c). Across the ditch a foot bridge is constructed (b). After the door has been left open for a number of days, it is closed one night from the foot bridge, and the fish are then taken from the ditch with a net. Again, the fish are chiefly Clarias walkeri and secondarily Marcusenius (ntotom). This method of catching fish is practiced only in the southern region.

Round fishing nets that are thrown and spread out like parachutes as they sink into the water, such as are used everywhere along the coast, are unknown to the Pangwe. The small round net which the women use for washing the cassava as well as for catching fish has already been mentioned. There remains to be discussed only one more fishing device.

16. Net trap (olǎń)

This is a combination of a net with a scaffolding. The scaffolding is shown from the rear in Figure 67. It consists of three individual parts: the front gallows (a) with two cross beams (d); the back gallows (b) with the supporting lath (c); and the center piece. The latter is composed of the net hoop (f), the net attached to it (in the illustration it has not yet been fastened on), and three long raffia stalks fastened at (x): one free (g); and two others (e) which are tied to the net hoop at y and z and rest on top of the crossbeam (c). A person sitting on the front gallows can manipulate the net with the stick (g); by this means he can lower the net (Fig. 68) or, if it is not needed, he can raise it, push it between the poles (d), and then place it (g) back on c (Fig. 69). The scaffolding is erected in a stream in such fashion that the net will lie on the bottom. The stream itself is dammed off on both sides so the fish are driven into the net by the current. They are unable to escape from the net's sharply pointed bag /117/ (see Fig. 69). The net is called etítǎne. For obvious reasons, only smaller fish are caught in the net trap which, if only because of its shape, cannot be called exceedingly practical.

226
227

/Fig. 66 appears here in the original text. /

Fig. 66. Diagram of a Fish Ditch: (a) bark wall with door, (b) bridge, (c) bait.

224
[462]

IV. Trapping

After agriculture and fishing, the third most important economic activity is trapping which is exclusively carried out by the male part of the population. The various traps constructed by the Pangwe can be classified as follows:

A. Traps into which the prey falls
   1. Pitfalls (ebɛ̄i, ndǎn I)

B. Traps which work by dropping a beam, a plate, or a piece of iron
   2. Spring traps (ekūlīdi)
   3. Spring plates (akui)
   4. Spear trap (elŭn)

C. Traps that consist of a draw noose
   5. Simple noose (ašīma, etc.)
   6. Draw traps (olǎ'm)
      (a) Ground draw traps (olǎ'm) (1)

      1. Not to be confused with the alǎ'm (fish weir).

      (b) Tree draw trap (nkpwǎs I)
      (c) Lemur trap (mbŭn I)
   7. Francolin trap (ndǒn IV)
   8. Bow traps (ekiɛ̄le)

D. Traps that sound an alarm
   9. Civet cat trap (nlin I)

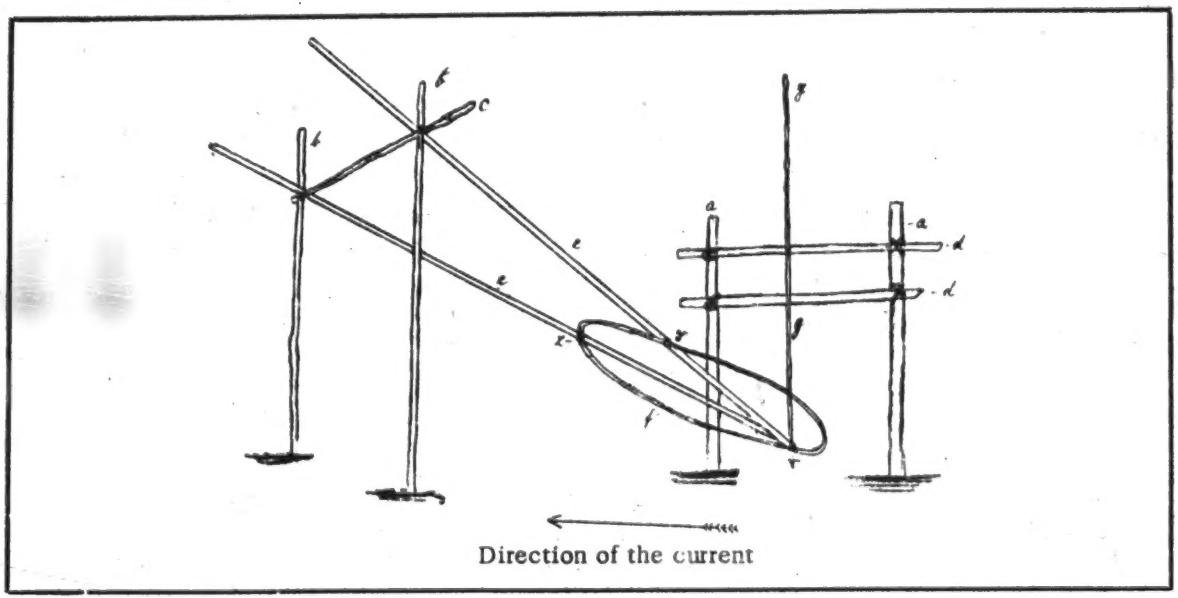
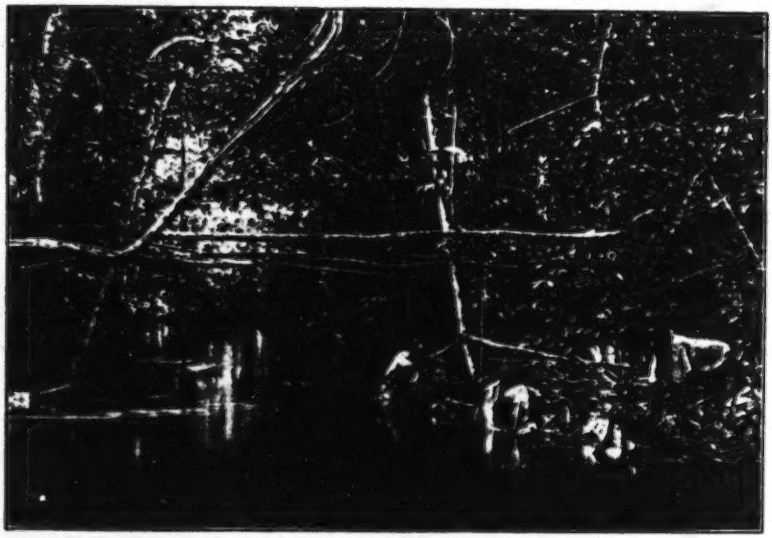
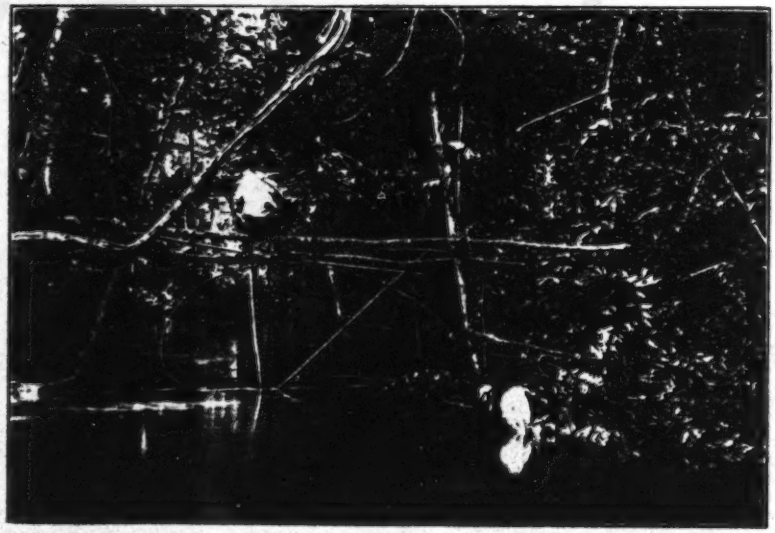


Fig. 67. Framework of a Net Trap for Fish.

/119/

226





Figs. 68 and 69. Fishing with a Net attached to Scaffolding.

769 The veneration of skulls likewise occurs in the case of the
224 hunting medicines. The skull of a man killed by violent means,
826 whose corpse remained on the spot (if the man belongs to the same kinship group), is kept in a bark box and taken care of as in ancestor worship. When a huntsman kills a wild animal, for example, he takes the first piece that falls to him in the distribution of the meat to the skull as a thanks offering. This piece consists of the sex organs and the flesh around them (ekīǰǎ', see Fig. 92 in Vol. I). After he has taken it to the skull, he carries it off again
[262] to eat it himself. On the other hand, if there has been no luck on the hunt, a chicken is killed for the "man" in the box so he will see to it that a wild animal soon appears in front of his protégé's rifle and will be hit as effectively as he was in his time.

721 In addition, the Fang have a great war medicine, a celebra-
789 tion which is called aṅgūṅgu and is a companion festivity to the engongeschok. On this occasion, a sacred place is set up, a subterranean corridor similar to that described in the case of the Ngi /Ed., not translated/ is dug, and a dwarf antelope, Cephalophus
[825] melanorheus Gray (ogbwŭ,ṅ), which must have been caught alive, is brought to the place. Then the medicine man stations himself at one end of the corridor, and all the other men, armed with rifles,
[824] hang a seed of the Sorindeia rubriflora Engl. (afá'ne[k]) as medicine around their necks, and crawl -- the first with the antelope in his arms -- through the corridor. At the exit, the medicine man gives all of them, including the antelope, a medicine. The antelope is thereupon released, and it is believed that when a surprise attack is planned and the enemy has got wind of it, the animal will appear and thereby warn the attackers. By way of medicines to secure the /167/ necessary courage for such an attack, five different ones are available.

777 The medicines for trapping and fishing are rarer than the shot
226 medicines, a sign that these occupations are more in the Pangwe's
224 blood than open hunting. I have taken down only eight plants for fish medicines and twelve for trap medicines.

821 again advised her against this, but the grandmother refused to give
773 in, went into the water, and tried to drive the water away (1),
539
[226]

1. In smaller watercourses the water is removed by splashing it away; in larger rivers this is, of course impossible.

but in doing so she got in deeper and /200/ deeper until she was up to her neck in the water. Then she said to Ekute: "Bring me two sticks and lay them in the water so that I can stand on them." This Ekute did, and the grandmother removed the water and fished, and lo and behold, she soon had ten baskets full of fish. Then her grandson said: "Come, we have enough now, let's go home." But the grandmother said: "No, first I want to get all the fish out of the water; then I will surpass all people in fishing." Thus, she went on fishing, but then, all of a sudden, the water rose up to her neck and over her mouth, and finally she disappeared under the water. At that moment there arose out of the water a great snake (1), and when Ekute saw it, he seized his

1. In other words, the grandmother was a sorceress.

spear to kill it. Then the snake said: "Wait! I have something to say to you." Ekute, however, ran away into the village and called all the people, above all his father whom he already met on the way; the latter took spears and went with him to the river. When he saw the snake, he wanted to kill it with his spear. But the snake said: "Wait a moment, I have something to say." Then the snake commanded the people to make a basket and to carry it /the snake/ into the village. This was done, and when the snake had been brought into the village and had been assigned a house to sleep in, it said: "No, I want to sleep in the first house next to the meeting house." The people complied with this wish. Soon the rumor spread everywhere that a great snake was to be seen in the village, and many, many people came to see it. Everybody had to pay a lot of money for this, about as much as ten marks.

224 262 Hunting on foot: Practiced especially by the Pygmies, without dogs. Some Pahouin still hunt down buffalo and forest pig and kill them with boar spears, but they are few. (P. A.)

222 262 are men who call themselves hunters (3). Income from the sale of

3. In some Boulou villages one finds foreign professional hunters, Baya or Kaka usually. Besides, Pygmies are regular hunters for their "landlords." (P. A.)

game meat appears to be practically negligible in family budgets. But, according to the work quoted above, hunting provides about a fifth of the total consumption of meat. Fishing is not unknown, but 226 262 the techniques are of the simplest. Women sometimes /28/ dam streams to dry up the beds where the fish can be caught. Sometimes fishing with poison is done, and children like to fish with line. But none of the methods is really productive; there are no large weirs, no nets, no canoes. Nutritionists estimate the ration of locally caught fish to be 1 gram per person per day—which is a simply way of underlining the feeble nautical talents of the Pahouin.

262 Agriculture furnishes the basic subsistence. Manioc is used in countless dishes: manioc rolls made from the crushed and boiled tubers, smothered manioc, or manioc fritters; even the leaves are often eaten. The use of leaves for food is perhaps a peculiar trait of Ewôndo and Boulou diet. Thirteen kinds of leaves are used in cooking, either as seasoning or as a purée, often to thicken sauces. Along with manioc, the plantain banana provides the basic food. Next comes macabo, Xanthosema sagittefolia /malanga/. Various kinds of yams are much liked. This gastronomic pattern of the Fang, and [177] in particular of the Beti, should be enough to prove their foreign origin, because yams, which are tropical rather than equatorial, do not grow at all well in the present habitat of the Pahouin.

Maize is the only cereal currently used as food. It is often served as a dough, as gruel, and even on the cob. Maize beer, outside [273] certain urban centers, seems to be drunk less than palm wine, (the sap of the Elaeis guineensis). The oil palm, moreover, plays an important part in the diet. A source of lipoids /lipides/ and Vitamin A,

224 Should the animal be inadvertently killed during the beat for game, it cannot take revenge for the offense, nor can the clan totem do so. By sacrifice and communion all the clan members have become sharers of the totem, which therefore would be taking revenge on itself:

"A séra né ki édjéze émièn émièn nlèm wuia (He cannot eat his own heart)."

After the meal the hunters get on with the job. They leap over the wattles, then gradually tighten the circle around the forest by means of strong cords so as eventually to drive all the encircled animals into a large clearing, prepared in advance, where they are killed one by one. Sometimes also at this place, an enormous pit has been dug in advance, and the bewildered (1)

1. This beat for game is called ngol, especially when it is for elephants.

animals fall into it.

When they have all been killed, the flaying and disemboweling begins. However, first the chief makes sure that [556] no totem animals have by mischance got into the pit. If so they are carefully removed, placed on banana leaves, and tied up so as to be disguised; the next night they are secretly carried to a distant spot and deeply buried. Yet one animal may be kept out, taken back to the village by the chief, and offered in a further sacrifice. All the hunters partake of it so as to be protected from any ritual offense.

226 Large fishing expeditions are occasions for almost the same ceremonies. Before beginning to dam a river or change the course of a of a stream, a totemic sacrifice is first undertaken; a victim is offered and then the actual sacrifice is made. If by chance the clan totem is a fish, the ceremonies would be identical to those described above.

After the fishing another totemic sacrifice is performed with the customary rites; to neglect this prescription might lead to grave dangers for the tribe.

595 585 Whatever the kind of marriage, the first wife is the only one considered [574] as truly legitimate. As soon as she enters her new hut, her husband leads her by the hand before the évora biéri, which is kept tightly closed. Throughout her life, the wife will never be allowed to look into the box, as that would entail a very grave ritual offense. She now takes a bit of palm oil brought from her own village, mixes it with some from her husband's mother, and rubs this symbolic mixture on the statue [842] on top of the évora. This is a symbol of the fertility she asks of the ancestors and the guardian spirits of the race. She next [782] puts a few grains of maize in a small basket at the base of the statue, so that her future plantations may thrive. This sacrifice should be repeated every morning, but only by the principal wife -- and it is often omitted.

4. Hunting, Fishing, Husbandry

788 779 Before starting on a hunting or fishing expedition, likewise before going out to the first work on his plantation, every family head or warrior will be sure to invoke his totem. He does this first with an offering on the biéri box, then by touching his weapons, tools, or snares against the family totem.

788 224 779 In the case of hunting, the hunter, when charing his gun, mixes some of the ashes of totemic sacrifice with his small shot, puts his hand on his totem, and leaves confident of the outcome. Even if hunting does not come up to expectation, he would never dream of blaming his totem. He would think that he had had bad luck or, more likely, that he had committed some offense.

788 226 779 When going fishing, he carries some of the sacrificial ashes hidden in a rag. At the spot he thinks propitious, he always begins by throwing the ashes into the water, in order to obtain his totem's good will.

788 241 779 Likewise, when a man starts farming, at the beginning of each dry season, before giving the first ax blow to the trees to be cut down, he places some ashes or remnants of sacrifice in some kind of hole and sees to it that they are consumed by the

779
788 fire which he sets to the felled trees so as to make the necessary
241 fertilizer needed for his future crops. [575]

Returning from hunting or fishing, a man is always sure to
782 put an offering on the évora biéri: it may be a piece of the ani-
224 mal's heart and brain or part of the first fish caught, even the
226 whole fish if it is very small. The first fruits are also placed on
779 the évora. Any infraction of these rites leads to punishment that can only be atoned for by one or more sacrifices. A warrior will infallibly recognize punishment in the failure of hunting or fishing trips or in barren plantations.

The hunting or fishing offering is made by the head of the family, that of first fruits by the first wife.

5. Trade and Palavers

788 Whenever a Fan has to "talk," he is very careful to try
537 to gain his totem's good will beforehand. On such occasions
779 it is important that he be able to convince his fellow speakers or his adversaries.

The totem ceremony is very short. Before leaving for the palaver or on a trading trip, he removes from the biéri box some of the ashes of the last sacrifice and puts them into a rag, closes the box, and goes off contented.

Before beginning to "talk," he will open the package of ashes and put a bit on his forehead, lips, and throat. Thus the spiritual guardians of the race will aid his brain and inspire him with the best thoughts and the best phrases, and thus they will tell him the best words to use to convince his adversaries and obtain what he wants.

6. Disease and Death

755 The totemic ceremonies connected with disease and death
779 are of somewhat more consequence. As soon as a man falls gravely ill, the practitioner is called in. He demands in advance, to be on the safe side, the proper payment for his pains, and then

8: Bennett D-5 (ca.1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

502 The mariner's compass is entirely unknown, and when I have shown one, it
501 was always spoken of as "the white man's *biang bial*" (canoe fetish). The Fang shapes his course by his knowledge of the river banks; he never ventures more than three days' journey from his own town, and much dislikes the idea of losing sight of land; therefore he seldom, if ever, attempts it. Certain canoes belong to the headman of the village, others to individuals. The canoes do not have houses;
[776] charms are frequently tied to the bow, to appease the water spirit, and frequently
[702] a traveller in a canoe will throw into the river at certain places he passes portions of his food to appease the local spirit which he believes dwells there. The place where this spirit dwells may be in some large tree or rock on the river bank. At night the canoes are hauled up on the river bank and usually left unprotected. Large war canoes, if painted, are occasionally covered with a few mats. No special portion of a canoe is set apart for a chief, he is usually seated near the bow. Watertight compartments for provisions are not provided, food and articles of trade being carried in high baskets. Upon arrival of a canoe from a neighbouring town, the visitors are frequently welcomed with shouts of joy; guns are fired and a dance given in the evening. I have seen canoes repaired by placing pieces of bark over the leaks inside and outside, the bark being secured with small hard wood plugs. No arrangement is made to prevent leaking.

Hooks for fishing are skilfully made of bamboo, the barb is long, very sharp
227 and notched on both sides. The hook is secured to the fishing-line with string made of pineapple fibre. Foreign-made fish-hooks are now largely used; these
[939] are much coveted, and considered a very staple article of trade.

Casting nets are used weighed with stones, iron, or lead, obtained in trade. The meshes are very fine and show much skilful and patient workmanship. A Fang will work well at anything which he can do while sitting in the palaver house. He can then work, smoke and talk; any work requiring much bodily exertion on his part or elsewhere is relegated to his wives. Fish traps are made of split bamboo and much resemble the lobster baskets used by our own fishermen.
[226] Small streams are often dammed at high water, the dam being made of split bamboo, fastened together with bush rope until a very large screen is made, 10 or 12 feet in height; this screen is staked across the stream at high water, when the tide falls the water passes readily through, leaving the fish in the river. The most disgusting sight among the Fang, is to see the women and children at low water walking in the mud, breast high, feeling for "mud fish." The large casting net is called *ewot;* a small round net used for dipping in pools and along the river bank at low water is called *tan.*

VI.—*Metallurgy, Fire, Machinery.*

325 Metallurgy among the Fang is limited to the working of iron. The native word for iron is *Eki.* The Fang among whom I lived did not possess the knowledge of
326 smelting, but I was told that "other Fang far away in the bush, especially the Nqui (dwarfs), dug the *minkok eki* (stones of iron) out of the earth, melted it, and

226
857

3. Children's angling (ngǎk IV)

Ntum and Fang boys catch small fish with tackle made of porcupine quills. The quills are broken off near the top and are held together in the form of a hook by means /111/ of the firm root fibers of the Aracea Rhectophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (ndé's IV, klēs IV).

824

227

4. Fishing tackle (nlǒ'b I)

The Jaunde know tackle similar to ours, consisting of a line, pole, hook, and floater, and according to information provided by my Jaunde, it was in use even before the Whites arrived. The tackle of the Fang and Ntum (Fig. 59) is considerably different; their hook is held down on the river bottom by means of a stone fastened to the line. In former times they also had a floater but more recently this has for the most part been given up as useless. With the line in his hand, the angler crouches on a raft or canoe that lies hidden in the bushes by the bank. Worms are used everywhere for bait.

5. Rope tackle or hanging tackle (ekěle nlǒ'b, elǔ,ń nlǒ'b

This differs from the tackle just mentioned only in that the line is attached to a liana rope stretched across the river. It hangs in the water, held in place by the stone which acts as a sinker.

226

6. Spearing and shooting

The Pangwe spears larger fish from the river bank or from a tree trunk lying in the water, or he shoots them with a gun or a crossbow. By the way of a postscript I shall also mention the fact that in shallow water fish are killed with the cutlass.

7. Fish poison (ngŭ̀m IV)

226 278 Catching fish by poisoning the water is a practice that is universal throughout the Pangwe region, but it is not done frequently because suitable places are not found everywhere. Such places are basins or inlets closed off by rocks, where the stream flows slowly. The Distichodus hypostomatus Pellegr. /Fig. 59 appears here in the original text/ (mbŭ̀ń), Plate 9, finds a habitat especially to its liking between the rocks in these basins and inlets, and it is caught there chiefly by poisoning. The name is derived from an herb (ngŭ̀m) which is supposed to occur in the Jaunde region and is used there for killing fish. Subsequently, the name became a general word for all fish poisons. In the south the following plants are used as poisons.

1. Husks of the Leguminosae Pachyelasma tessmannii Harms (makō'ō̄ III which gives off a terrible stench like that of waste water. /112/
2. Fruit of a Rubiacea (oyŏ'), commonly used with 1 above.
3. Leaves and stalks of the Passifloraceae Ophiocaulon cissampeloides Hook. f. and Adenia lobata (Jacq.) Engl. (their name in common, undūndū or ŭndóndŏle a ndžik).
4. Leaves of Duverronia extensa (T. And.) Lieb., Acanthacea (ngŭnekiă,ī'-nya-zăm IV) (1)

•[227]

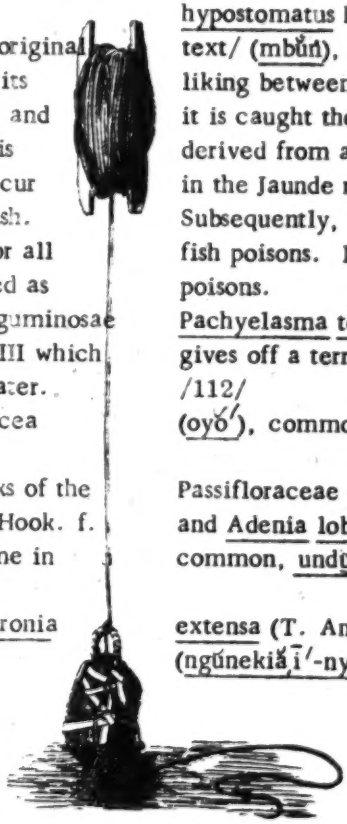


Fig. 59. Fishing Line.

1. The Acanthacea Lankesteria elegans (P.B.) T. And. (ngŭnekiă,ī' IV) also seems to be poisonous for fish. According to information given by the Negroes,

226
278

the leaves are rubbed to a power on rocks lying in the water; the fish (probably stupefied) then come to the surface and are killed with the cutlass.

rubbed into small pieces until foam forms; ordinarily used with 3 above.

5. Pieces of bark of the Piptadenia africana Hook. f., Leguminosae (tŭm IV).
6. Pieces of bark of the Rinorea dentata (P. B.) O. Ktze., Violaceae (olŭ ń), commonly used with 5 above.
7. Husks of the Leguminosae Tetrapleura thonningii Hook. f. (agbwā' III, esisē'i) (2), rubbed to a powder.

2. Incidentally, these give off a lovely scent, like that of hot rolls, and in this respect they are just the opposite of Pachyelasma.

8. Leaves of the Leguminosae Tephrosia vogelii Hook. f. (ndăwōlō III) (3), rubbed to a powder.

3. From the stem a wólŏ, "to murder"; compare wŏle (Uelle), "the murderer."

7. Fish weir (olă'm)

227

The greatest and most productive installation for catching fish, also the most complicated, is the fish weir (Fig. 60). It blocks the river crosswise and consists of three parts: the main weir (a), and two lateral weirs (b). These are walls made of logs or sticks placed close together, between which leaves or sheets of bark (main weir) are fastened. /Fig. 60 appears here in the original text./ Holes are cut out along the bottom of the lateral weirs, and baskets are placed in them. Just below the surface of the water the main weir extends into from one to four triangular screens (c) which are placed toward the current, slanting from the bottom

227 upwards in such a fashion that their tips just protrude above the water.

It goes without saying that such weirs can be built only when the water level is lowest. As soon as the water in the river rises, it carries many fish with it and /113/ drives those which are not caught in the baskets of the lateral weirs onto the screens where they often remain in large numbers and are simply picked up by the Negroes. They are reached by a special bridge built out from the bank or by climbing along the edge of the lateral weir.

227 423 This kind of fish weir occurs everywhere except in the north. Usually the chief induces a number of people to construct such a weir; these people then have the sole right of ownership to the fish weir and the fish. They do give their relatives and acquaintances, probably for nothing, a part of their catch, either from a sense of solidarity or because they expect that in similar circumstances they will be provided for in the same way. On the other hand they [425] demand payment from strangers, the amount depending on the size

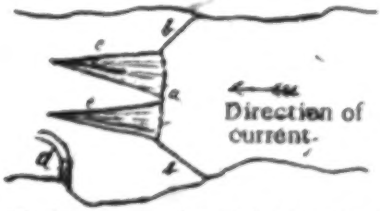


Fig. 60. Diagram of a Fish Weir in the Abea: (a) main weir, (b) lateral weirs, (c) screens of the main weir, (d) a tree growing on the bank and bent over the water.

of the fish, one or two spears (seven or 14 pfennigs) apiece. The major part of the catch is consumed immediately; the rest is dried. Since fish spoil quickly in the tropics, only a very few leave [251 435] the place where they are caught; another reason for this is that the uncertain conditions in the Fang area prevent regular trade (1).

1. There are no markets at all.

227 285 In addition to the contrivance just described, consisting of main and lateral weirs, one also encounters lateral weirs used by themselves

227 as independent "basket weirs." They provide a less abundant
285 catch, but on the other hand they are not restricted to a certain water level and for that reason give a regular supply. Three different kinds of basket are used in this kind of weir:

8. nkǒ́ɛ́ I = ordinary baskets,

9. ayǎ′ = short fish baskets (Fig. 61),

10. nsǒ́ń I = long fish baskets (Fig. 62),

and usually two such kinds are used together.

227 In smaller rivers or streams, such as the Miemie, a tributary
226 of the Kje, nsǒ́ń and ayǎ′ are laid, and in large rivers, a larger form of the ayǎ′ and nkǒ́ɛ́. These two types of baskets are always used in one weir since experience has shown that one species of fish is more readily caught in one type of basket, while another species is more readily caught in the other. Only rarely is just one type of basket, such as the nsǒ́ń, used exclusively. These long baskets, nsǒ́ń, which may have a diameter up to 30 centimeters, are used with special frequency among the Jaunde, but also occur in the south. Usually from three to four baskets are placed in one weir, say, two ayǎ′ and two nsǒ́ń (Fig. 63). At the same time it should be noted that the long baskets, nsǒ́ń, lie with the opening towards the source, while the ayǎ′ (like the nkǒ́ɛ́) are placed with the opening facing the river mouth, so the fish that are swimming upstream will also be caught. The weir that consists of ayǎ′ and nsǒ́ń is designed for the following /114/ /Figs. 61 and 62 appear here in the original text/ creatures: spiny-finned sheatfish (collective name, kɔ̃́mɛ̃́ʃúm IV) (1); Clarias walkeri (ngɔ̃́′); Synodontis

1. kɔ̃́(s)-a-maʃúm, that is, fish with spines on its back.

tessmanni Papph. (ngɔ̃́ń, nwɔ̃́ń I); furthermore, Marcusenius sphekodes (Saus.) (ntɔ̃́ɔ́m); Gnathonemus moorii (Gthr.) (anɛ̃́ń); crawfish; common crabs; Palaemon shrimps (nwɔ̃́s); etc. Finally, Clariallabes longicaudatus Papph. (ndɔ̃́na I) are also caught in it.

E-5
1: Tessmann--87 / (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

227
285

Fig. 61. Short Fish Basket.

Fig. 62. Long fish Basket Weirs.

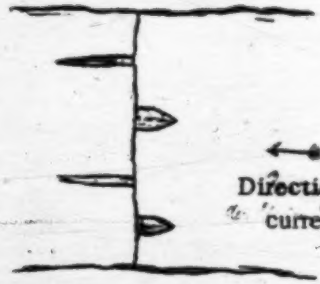


Fig. 63. Diagram of a Basket Weir.

227 226 The baskets, nkǒ́ɛ́, are the same size as the baskets of the same name used by the women in field work. They have a funnel through which the fish passes into the interior without being able to turn back. In these baskets mainly the following creatures are caught: Sarcodaces odoe (nsṓ I), Plate 9; Clarias walkeri, spiny-finned sheatfish; Xenocharax spilurus Gthr. (mfǐ́gǎ, mfǐ́nga I); Anabas pleurostigma Blgr. (awǔn); Parauchenoglanis guttatus (Lönnbg.) (ebū́, evūs); Eutropius banguelensis Blgr. (nkǎ́de III; younger specimens = okiɛ́ III); and common crabs. On the other hand, they do not catch Barbus guirali Thomin. (mvǎǎ III).

11. Basket trap (ngū́ǎ IV)

The basket trap (Fig. 64) is a longish basket with a lid in front of the opening. The lid is pulled over the opening by means of a device set up on the river bank, following the pattern of spring traps, when a fish releases the lever system attached at the farther end of the basket. A snail is placed as bait inside the basket which is anchored to the bottom of the stream in water not too deep. This trap is principally designed to catch Clarias walkeri (ngǒ́) and common crabs (kā́da).

12. Catch basket (ngǔdǎgō III)

/Fig. 63 appears here in the original text./ This is a small basket with a funnel over the opening (Fig. 65), designed for the Clarias walkeri. It is placed in a river, baited with pieces of an ant nest (called dzā́k, ndzāk IV), /115/ together with ants of the species Cremastogaster striatula Em. (esōn, osōn), or with pieces of tree termite nests (likewise called dzā́k).

The fish baskets, ayǎ́, are placed individually in the river in the same way. These are baited with cassava (1) or with twigs (without

1. Whole roots of dried cassava (ndžāǎ mbūn), boiled (agbwǎ́ma mbūn) and cut into small pieces.

227
285

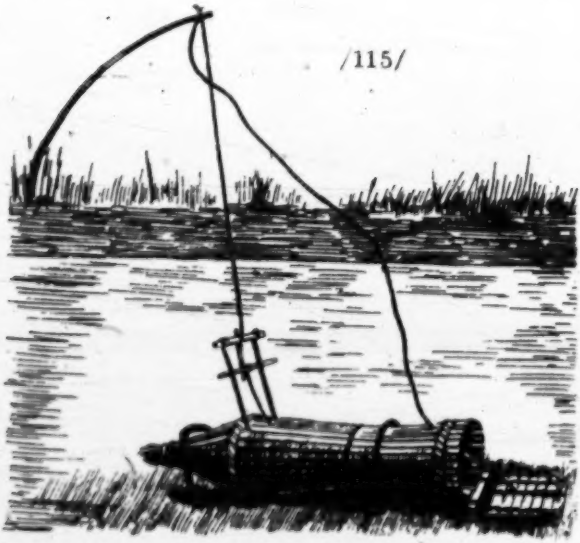


Fig. 64. Basket Trap for Fish.

Fig. 65. Catch Basket for Fish.

227 226 leaves) of the Oxystigma buchholzii Harms, Leguminosae (pfū,n IV). In this case the baskets are called ewū,a-aya' (from a wū,a, "to throw out"). /Fig. 64 appears here in the original text./

13. Giant fish baskets (edū,gă, adūă)

Baskets from three to four meters long and from one to two meters wide, in other words, so large that they would hold from four to five people, are lowered into deep water where they are left for four days the first time and afterwards three days in each case. The entire basket is loosely filled with twigs of the Leguminosae Millettia thonningii Bak. (onĕmezǫk), the Impatiens dichroa Hook. f. (ejĕs), and especially the Euphorbiacea Cleistanthus angolensis M. Arg. (ngbā'de I); all are plants whose slime or leaves are eaten by the fish. Further, the baskets are filled with the leafy stalks of the cardamom, Aframomum albo-violaceum K. Sch. (adžŏm), or of the related Scitaminea Renealmia albo-rosea K. Sch. (adžŏm-mekūm), whose smell the fish love. Finally, also, they put into the baskets roots of the cassava and of the Euphorbiacea Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg. (asă'm), around which the fish like to swim. The basket is open in front and is pulled out of the water open side first, so that the fish -- already hampered and confused by the tangle of roots and twigs -- cannot escape so readily. /Fig. 65 appears here in the original text./

14. Giant fish boxes (esĭ,ĕ, bū,ū III)

Boxes are sometimes used instead of the giant baskets. These are constructed of bark and are from three to four meters long, a meter and a half tall. Aside from their shape, they are distinguished from the baskets by a lid which is open in the water and is pulled shut when the box is drawn out of the water.

The giant fish boxes and baskets are not easy to construct or to manipulate, and for this reason they are not often seen.

226
227

15. Fish ditches (mvēi IV., mvě)

Perpendicular to the direction of the river, a ditch (Fig. 66) is dug out and closed off from the river by a wall of bark (a) with a trap door in the middle. The ditch is furnished with bait, nests of the above-mentioned species of ants (c). Across the ditch a foot bridge is constructed (b). After the door has been left open for a number of days, it is closed one night from the foot bridge, and the fish are then taken from the ditch with a net. Again, the fish are chiefly Clarias walkeri and secondarily Marcusenius (ntotom). This method of catching fish is practiced only in the southern region.

Round fishing nets that are thrown and spread out like parachutes as they sink into the water, such as are used everywhere along the coast, are unknown to the Pangwe. The small round net which the women use for washing the cassava as well as for catching fish has already been mentioned. There remains to be discussed only one more fishing device.

16. Net trap (olǎń)

This is a combination of a net with a scaffolding. The scaffolding is shown from the rear in Figure 67. It consists of three individual parts: the front gallows (a) with two cross beams (d); the back gallows (b) with the supporting lath (c); and the center piece. The latter is composed of the net hoop (f), the net attached to it (in the illustration it has not yet been fastened on), and three long raffia stalks fastened at (x): one free (g); and two others (e) which are tied to the net hoop at y and z and rest on top of the crossbeam (c). A person sitting on the front gallows can manipulate the net with the stick (g); by this means he can lower the net (Fig. 68) or, if it is not needed, he can raise it, push it between the poles (d), and then place it (g) back on c (Fig. 69). The scaffolding is erected in a stream in such fashion that the net will lie on the bottom. The stream itself is dammed off on both sides so the fish are driven into the net by the current. They are unable to escape from the net's sharply pointed bag /117/ (see Fig. 69). The net is called etítǎne. For obvious reasons, only smaller fish are caught in the net trap which, if only because of its shape, cannot be called exceedingly practical.

226
227

/Fig. 66 appears here in the original text. /

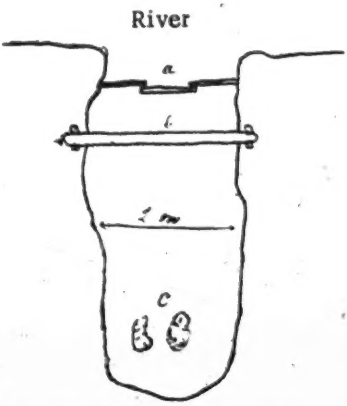


Fig. 66. Diagram of a Fish Ditch: (a) bark wall with door, (b) bridge, (c) bait.

224
[462]

IV. Trapping

After agriculture and fishing, the third most important economic activity is trapping which is exclusively carried out by the male part of the population. The various traps constructed by the Pangwe can be classified as follows:

A. Traps into which the prey falls
   1. Pitfalls (ebēi, ndǎn I)

B. Traps which work by dropping a beam, a plate, or a piece of iron
   2. Spring traps (ekūidi)
   3. Spring plates (akui)
   4. Spear trap (elúṅ)

C. Traps that consist of a draw noose
   5. Simple noose (ašima, etc.)
   6. Draw traps (olǎ'm)
      (a) Ground draw traps (olǎ'm) (1)

         1. Not to be confused with the alǎ'm (fish weir).

      (b) Tree draw trap (nkpwǎs I)
      (c) Lemur trap (mbúṅ I)
   7. Francolin trap (ndǒṅ IV)
   8. Bow traps (ekiélé)

D. Traps that sound an alarm
   9. Civet cat trap (nlíṅ I)

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

502 The mariner's compass is entirely unknown, and when I have shown one, it
501 was always spoken of as "the white man's *biang bial*" (canoe fetish). The Fang shapes his course by his knowledge of the river banks; he never ventures more than three days' journey from his own town, and much dislikes the idea of losing sight of land; therefore he seldom, if ever, attempts it. Certain canoes belong to the headman of the village, others to individuals. The canoes do not have houses;
[776] charms are frequently tied to the bow, to appease the water spirit, and frequently
[702] a traveller in a canoe will throw into the river at certain places he passes portions of his food to appease the local spirit which he believes dwells there. The place where this spirit dwells may be in some large tree or rock on the river bank. At night the canoes are hauled up on the river bank and usually left unprotected. Large war canoes, if painted, are occasionally covered with a few mats. No special portion of a canoe is set apart for a chief, he is usually seated near the bow. Watertight compartments for provisions are not provided, food and articles of trade being carried in high baskets. Upon arrival of a canoe from a neighbouring town, the visitors are frequently welcomed with shouts of joy; guns are fired and a dance given in the evening. I have seen canoes repaired by placing pieces of bark over the leaks inside and outside, the bark being secured with small hard wood plugs. No arrangement is made to prevent leaking.

227 Hooks for fishing are skilfully made of bamboo, the barb is long, very sharp and notched on both sides. The hook is secured to the fishing-line with string made of pineapple fibre. Foreign-made fish-hooks are now largely used; these
[939] are much coveted, and considered a very staple article of trade.

Casting nets are used weighed with stones, iron, or lead, obtained in trade. The meshes are very fine and show much skilful and patient workmanship. A Fang will work well at anything which he can do while sitting in the palaver house. He can then work, smoke and talk; any work requiring much bodily exertion on his part or elsewhere is relegated to his wives. Fish traps are made of split bamboo and much resemble the lobster baskets used by our own fishermen. Small streams are often dammed at high water, the dam being made of split
[226] bamboo, fastened together with bush rope until a very large screen is made, 10 or 12 feet in height; this screen is staked across the stream at high water, when the tide falls the water passes readily through, leaving the fish in the river. The most disgusting sight among the Fang, is to see the women and children at low water walking in the mud, breast high, feeling for "mud fish." The large casting net is called *ewot*; a small round net used for dipping in pools and along the river bank at low water is called *tan*.

VI.—*Metallurgy, Fire, Machinery.*

325 Metallurgy among the Fang is limited to the working of iron. The native word for iron is *Eki*. The Fang among whom I lived did not possess the knowledge of
326 smelting, but I was told that "other Fang far away in the bush, especially the Nqui (dwarfs), dug the *minkok eki* (stones of iron) out of the earth, melted it, and

244 From the family of the Solanaceae there are: Solanum melongena L. var. inerme Hiern. (ažŏ́n); Solanum dinklagei U.D. (oyŏ́la); Solanum lycopersicum L. (ažŏ́n ntǎ́ngan = ažŏ́n, that is, Solanum melongena, of the Whites). The fruit of these three varieties of Solanum is eaten. Furthermore, there is Solanum aethiopicum L. (žŭm IV, enĕm) with three varieties: niǎ žŭm = true zŭm, ntŭma I, and ndzēi' -žŭm, as well as Solanum macrocarpum L. var. thonningii (etŭi' -zŭm from etŭi' - Solanum duplosinuatum U.D., because of the similarity of the fruit). The leaves of the latter two species are eaten. From the family of the Amaranthaceae there are: Celosia argentea L. (žŭm e mvĕ́lĕ, that is, žŭm of the Mwele); Celosia laxa Schum. et Thom. (fŏ́lŏm [?], ebū,nĕgǎn); Amaranthus paniculatus L. (fŏ́lŏm IV, fŏm IV). From the family of the Labiatae there are: Ocimum basilicum L. (osi,m); Ocimum gratissimum L. (asŏ́b); Plectranthus spec. (avǎ), afŭn; and Aeolanthus edlingeri Gürke (elĕ́lǎ́nge, Ntum; elǎ́ngelǎ́nge, Fang).

II. Livestock

231 For reasons which I shall mention in a moment, the Pangwe keep domestic animals, but this is not the kind of economic activity that could be called stock farming. The four-footed domestic animals include dogs, goats, and sheep; as for fowl, there are hens and, recently introduced, ducks.

[262] The dog (myū IV) is kept basically for hunting. It is also eaten, a practice which is especially popular among the Jaunde. In the eyes /105/ of the European this dog is no more than a caricature, a repulsive travesty of a real dog. A glance into their false eyes suffices to make one hate the animals. Usually they are covered with sores; they are thieving and treacherous, disobedient, cowardly, and at the same time quarrelsome. In these characteristics they frequently strike the observer as comparable to their masters. I was struck by their not very highly developed sexual urge, in contrast to European dogs. The Pangwe values his dog all the more highly because of its great usefulness on the hunting drive. Good hunting dogs are very difficult to obtain from their owners and are worth as much

231 435

231 [435] as medium-sized female goats and sheep (14 marks or 200 spears). Just as among us, the dogs have their own names which are taken from 231 552 the list of human names or else allude in jocular fashion to the characteristics of the animals. Frequently, indeed, these swine-snouted curs are given a first name and a patronymic, just like people, or since for obvious reasons it is at times difficult to establish the paternity of the dog, it is given a first name and its mother's name, thus, akut-e-mban.

Among human names applied to dogs I was able to discover the following: ndǒno (a very ancient man's name; see pages 68 and 69); asǒn (umbrella tree, man's name); mvǒnō (Satan's ape, Colobus anthracinus Leconte); ondō' (?, man's name); ntōde-abǎn (single otter, woman's name); mfū'mezǒk (the white of the elephant, that is ivory; woman's name); mbǎn (ivory, woman's name).

Other dogs' names are: obō'nǒ (from obǒn = bead, one adorned with beads, perhaps also a woman's name); olǔn (the tree Rinorea dentata [P. Beauv.] O. Ktze.); ebǒ'nenǒn (one who always lies on the bed); aji'zǒk (a jī' = to yearn, zǒk = elephant; in other words the one who yearns for elephant meat); angǔn (dog's bell); odzǎ'm (dwarf lemur, Hemigalago, because the dog bounds through the bushes like the dwarf lemurs in the trees); akū (the stupid one).

231 556 Goats and sheep, which the Fang put together under the name kabad, are kept as an investment, as pets, and only in third place as livestock for slaughter. While the economic life is otherwise considered from the viewpoint of "food," this strikingly recedes completely into the background concerning domestic animals where the main point is the joy of possession. We thus have real "savings," the purpose of which is to store up bride money. This has its familiar consequences: thriftiness carried to the point of avarice; a piece of [262] meat allowed only on very rare occasions; and no distaste for the enjoyment of animals that have died.

231 The goats (ekǒ'le) are just as unpleasant as the dogs because of their annoying habit of making a hullabaloo at night and because of other indecent and repulsive characteristics. The only domestic animal that we find congenial is the sheep (ntǔma I), Figure 57, but here, too, the bad example of the goats frequently spoils good manners. They "specialize" in producing, especially at night, /106/ /Fig. 57

231

Fig. 57. Sheep, Village of Makonanâm (Ojek Family).

appears here in the original text/ a moan similar to that made by a human being. This moaning is so nerve-racking that it may bring tears to one's eyes. In regions where thare are leopards, [417] pens (Fig. 58) are built of logs, and the goats and sheep are driven into them at night.

232 In the Pangwe region castration is practiced only on goats, not sheep; a tũ,b miak – to hollow out (the scrotum) (in order) to geld. Goats are castrated "so that they will become enormous and put on much fat." The procedure is very crude. The ex- [304] pert, who frequently circumcises the children at the same time, opens the young animals' scrotum by means of two lateral cuts with a razor blade (okõ̀ngõ̀n) and takes out the testicles. The scrotum is then washed out with warm water several times a day for four days. The water is mixed with a medicine, the sap of [278 the Guttifera Haronga paniculata Pers. (Loid.) (atũ,ih), pre- 824] sumably to glue the scrotum together (the tree sweats a sticky yellow sap under the bark, and this is extracted by putting pieces of bark in water).

417

Fig. 58. Pen for Sheep and Goats in Massóm (Ndong Family), South Cameroons.

This favorable influence on the physical development of the animal increases its value from about 14 marks to 35 marks (500 spears), a capital increase which is certainly desirable to the Pangwe. Even greater, however, is his joy at the beautiful appearance of the castrated animals. /107/ /Fig. 58 appears here in the original text./ The effect of castration is the basis for the comparison between symbolically, not physically, castrated people (see Section 18, "Sexual Life") and the castrated goats and also for designation by the same name; these people -- up to a certain point in time, at least -- are supposed to undergo conspicuous mental development. The fact that the flesh of animals also improves as food through castration plays only a secondary role. 232 [435]

Magnificent old specimens, including uncastrated goats and sheep, sometimes receive a human name, and their owner would never sell such an animal; indeed, he would not even give it away as a marriage portion. 231 552

Of other domestic animals there is only the cat (pfū's IV Fang, esi'nǎ), very recently introduced from the coast. 231 177

235 As regards poultry, only the hen (kub IV) is native. Only its
262 meat, not the eggs, is used for food, and even that rarely and on special occasions. At the proper place I shall return to the significance of the hen in the religious conceptions of the natives.

For the hens, small pens of logs are constructed behind the
235 house. In addition, baskets are hung for them on the outside and
417 inside walls of the house where they can brood. Finally, the brood hen is /108/ not refused a resting place in the house on some unused bed if she should consider it the safest and most suitable place for herself and her chicks. A hole at the bottom of the wall serves as an exit for the hen's family.

During the 1880's and 1890's ducks with a red band around
235 the eyes were introduced. Around 1890 they arrived in the Fang
177 region and were called elȫ (wild duck = elȫ't); later they were called sōō̄' III.

● 231 Like other primitive peoples, the Pangwe cannot be called animal lovers. Except for parrots, one sees practically no tamed forest animals, not even monkeys. The Pangwe "tire" (a yǭt) of looking after and feeding them, and under such circumstances one cannot blame the freedom-loving quadrupeds and birds for seeking to escape or lying down to die. Gray parrots, which immediately introduce themselves to every stranger by their name, for instance, as esǎ'sǎ' = kite, are quite common. They usually find their food on the garbage heaps or among the leftovers in the house. Now and then one sees wild boars that were caught when young. Once I was brought a young leopard which a woman had tried to keep alive by feeding it from her breast; the animal badly scratched the helpful woman, and she quickly abandoned her voluntary maternal role.

The bee, Apis mellifica L. var. adansoni (mvūfūh IV, hūi' IV
231 Fang), is not kept, but wild honey (wūi' ; plural, mūi'), which
222 for the most part is to be found in tree trunks, is gathered and consumed raw.

III. Fishing

226 West Africa is one of the areas of the world richest in fish.
136 Hence, the numerous rivers and streams of the Pangwe region possess great quantities of different kinds of fish. Some of the most

Fong
Fang

173 of the Nyong. According to their traditions they come from an area north of the Sanaga, as do the other groups which preceded them.
[161] They settled in the forest, where there are at present 12, 783 of them (a density of 6.9 persons per square km.).

231 262 The Fong are an agricultural people. They seem to have little inclination to hunt so that their diet consists chiefly of vegetables, although they have a fairly large number of domesticated animals. /Map 11/

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. Average height: men 169.7 cm.; women 162 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	80.8	81.5
Nasal	95.21	84.01

161 163 The population balance is slightly positive, the ratio of birth to deaths being + 0.77. The rate of sterility is high, 25.6 percent, but is fortunately compensated for by the fertility rate, 5.3 pregnancies per woman.

Bibliography

113 Cottes, A. La mission Cottès au Sud-Cameroun (1905-1908). Exposé des résultats scientifiques, d'après les travaux des divers membres de la section française de la Commission de delimitation entre le Congo français et le Cameroun (frontière méridionale) et les documents étudiés au Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. (The Cottes Mission to South Cameroun 1905-1908. A Presentation of the Scientific Results of the Mission Based on the Work of Various Members of the French Section of the Commission to Set the Boundaries Between the French Congo and the Southern Frontier of the Camerouns, and on Documents Examined at the Museum of Natural History) (Paris: Leroux, 1911), pp. 125-31.

THE FANG, THE MVAE, THE NTUMU

131 Location: $10^{o}45$ to $12^{o}45$ long.
and a few islands between 10° and $10^{o}30$ long.

241 in 1954 in connection with a study of family budgets.

amount of food necessary to maintain the population: a crop census
[439] was taken in 1948 in one of the Sangmélima cantons (2). In order to

2. Report of the administrative officer, J. M. Soupault. An average individual's requirement would be: 250 maize plants, 330 manioc plants, 130 plantains, 110 macabo, 7 kilograms of rice, and 32 kilograms of groundnuts.

satisfy the needs of 6, 249 inhabitants there is no "exportation" to
[433] speak of. The canton used to produce 1, 635, 000 maize plants, 2, 049, 000 manioc, 824, 190 plantain bananas, 687, 800 macabo. It furthermore provided 44 tons of rice, 200 tons of groundnuts. There were 85, 180 fruit trees producing various kinds of fruit (Pachylobes /Canarium edula Hooker, known as assa in Pahouin country—Ed. /, Estulis, oranges, etc.)

Clearing land by burning and the absence of organic fertilizer probably explain the exhaustion of the soil and the shifting cultivation that results from it.

● 231 The breeding and rearing of small animals is nevertheless understood and practiced: goats, dogs, fowls, pigs were and still are plentiful in the villages. These animals do not seem to contribute
[438] much to the food supply nor to the economic life. The very limited practice of selling pieces of pork has dates from recent years. As a
[431] matter of fact, animals were useful for giving quasi-ritual presents,
[562] for paying bride prices, and for celebrating family occasions: at a marriage, burial, and the end of mourning, two or three goats were killed to provide food for the relatives.

Of course, these animals are not stabled or fed; the herds wander along the outskirts of villages and do not fail to plunder the gardens.
[578] There are innumerable classic quarrels between farmers and herders (with the slight difference here that no one is exclusively a herder nor
357 exclusively a farmer). Was the practice of enclosing by hedges established so as to avoid such depredations, or to give military protection to the settlements? Whatever the origin, this practice associated with the raising of animals would have made it possible to avoid

361 erosion and preserve the fertility of the soil. At present it would be a definite exaggeration to speak of an enclosure system, as may be done about the Bamiléké in the western Cameroons. Did such a system ever exist in Pahouin country, and are the humble hedges sometimes to be found encircling villages or plantations traces of it? However that may be, the practice could be very beneficial, and its development is much to be desired.

231 178 The raising of animals is now on the decline, especially in villages removed from the main roads. Are sacrifices requiring goats and hens passing into disuse? /31/ Have vehicular traffic and the number of fowls run over prevented the renewal of the leasing out of domestic animals /?/ /cheptel/. These various causes may have been simultaneously at work, but the reason most often given is the development of cacao plantations. Without fences, the raising of goats and the planting of cacao trees are incompatible. To protect their plantations or to avoid endless quarrels, owners of herds have had to limit their undertakings.

Modern agriculture

245 Cacao is indeed the symbol and the essential component of a modern economy. From this crop and from the agricultural, juridical, and economic practices which it entails, a thousand improvements or seeds of progress appear throughout the society.

It would, however, be unfair not to mention the other economic activities of the Pahouin districts, although their influence and financial return are far behind that of cacao. Timber, though its [313] importance has decreased, played an essential role a few decades ago. African entrepreneurs are rare in this industry where equipment is complicated and expensive. A fairly large tonnage of palmetto is sold when the market is good, although the best soil and climate for palms is not to be found here (1).

[48] [184] 1. The Pahouin of the southern Cameroons, the Boulou and Ntoumou particularly, dislike climbing trees and often sell the bunches of dates to Mekaé on the tree. (P. A.)

But cacao remains the master crop. Its cultivation has become a part of the mores and has left its mark on psychological patterns.

shed with a roof low enough to /43/ give good protection from the sun. Some villages are placed at right angles to the road; others follow an L or Y plan, with several minseñ. Family "allotments" are separated by hedges of euphorbia, castor-oil plant, hibiscus, and bougainvillea. Sometimes one comes across sheepfolds, although in old-style (and most contemporary) villages small livestock roam at will. A village often includes a guesthouse (ayak).

In building operations the man generally takes charge of the framework and the laths, leaving to the women the preparation and application of the banco /clay daub?/. But European-style huts with their elaborate door frames and often cement floors are more and more the work of specialized artisans, who are paid to supervise the family labor provided by the owner. These men have nevertheless preserved, along with the English term "mason," the old name nloñ nda, literally, hut-weaver, which goes back to the time when huts were made of sewn bark (1).

1. The dwelling continues to evolve: framed doors, windows, and shutters are in general use today. The dimensions of the buildings lead to the construction of a real frame. Finally, to possess a sheet-iron roof is a sign of wealth. In recent years there has arisen a real passion for the improvement of dwelling: in the Cameroons we may estimate that 10 percent of the dwellings now built in the bush are the most modern type. (J.B.)

2. Groupings and Relationships

The main divisions of Pahouin society are both exactly defined in the minds of its members themselves and at the same time uncertain for the European observer, who is constantly tempted to state them clearly in organic forms accessible to his "logic" and who is hindered by the variations or the dialectal confusions of Pahouin terminology. Father Trilles, basing his observations on the Fang of Gabon alone, reached a sort of palaeontological reconstruction of the "Fang nation," extremely theoretical, yet not without basis

582 they belong to another clan. This is merely the application of exogamy to the maternal line and is less observed than the other rule of exogamy.

582 583 Having established this, we may distinguish several forms of marriage—Bertaut counts seven—or, on the contrary, consider them all to be derived from "regular marriage," mfañ aluk (from fañ = to do well, correctly, and luk = to marry). This kind of marriage is based on the payment of the "bride price," nsuba, nowadays essentially monetary and giving rise to abuses that have often been described, but in former times it was ritual in character, at least partially so (a century ago there was already a commercial element). The "bride price" of the past included local products (ivory, cattle) [431] (1), imported merchandise (biôm), especially loincloths, guns and

[231] 1. The bride-price sheep, bikiga or bityiga, up to seven, which were in theory bred with a special view to payment of the nsuba and were sacrificed at the time of the marriage.

[432] ammunition, salt, trade alcohol, and, finally, a special iron currency in the form of flat arrowheads tied into bundles (bityé, biki; bikpwelé; the unit of count being the bundle, akutu bikpwelé). The last was used only for ritual or magical purposes (2). There are reasons for

[326] 2. There is a prohibition against making them; all those to be seen look old.

believing that the composition of bride prices in local products and merchandise varied according to clan structure, the affiliation of the spouses, and the marriages previously concluded by the group. Nothing of this survives today, and the bride price has become a bargaining, at times pretty sordid, even a real /52/ auction, with the bride often the first to boast of the high price she has obtained in the marriage market.

[582] 584 Marriage not long ago was, and still in a measure remains, a group affair, the concern of the two meyoñ and two menda me bôt involved, which is discussed between the head of the young man's family and the guardian responsible for the future wife, nya ndômô, "true brother," that is, an ascendant paternal relative or paternal

426 a job for profit and under the supervision of the lender. To lend on
675 long terms with actual deprivation of possession of the object loaned is, on the other hand, a frequent atiñ. The same verbs mean both "to lend" and "to borrow": yôé is used for the loan-borrowing of a specific object, kôlé for something within a class of objects or of a sum of money. The thing loaned is ndôñ or ékôla, according as the case may be, or, more frequently, mvôla, which means any kind of debt or credit (mbi mvôla = creditor; mvômvôla = debtor). The borrower is required to return in good order the ndôñ and what it produces or the ékola, increased by avutan if he has profited from the loan. The borrower is responsible not only for the care but also for
[672] the use that he makes of the borrowed object, the lender, however, retaining a sort of joint and several responsibility vis-à-vis third parties whom the borrower may injure by means of the borrowed object (indemnity can be claimed by the victim of an accident from the owner who has loaned his bicycle to the author of the accident), and even vis-à-vis is the borrower, if he comes to harm through the borrowed object.

437 From loan is derived hiring, indicated by the same word as the
675 loan of a specific object, yôé. /This is/ a recently introduced form of contract, and its legal position is still vague. Like loan, hiring may lead to the giving of a pledge, éban. The éban often involved people until European legislation prohibited the pledging of persons, though it is still practised clandestinely. Today it mainly involves objects that can be returned, either to the lender or to a third person; ownership of the security may /80/ be transferred to the lender when repayment falls due, without extinguishing the debt. The pawning of ungathered harvests or even of plantations is more and more common; with plantations, however, the pledge covers rights over the produce rather than over the land itself. When a girl is pawned, the repayment of the debt, aju, is sometimes considered a sort of nsuba; as long as the debt lasts, in any case, the children of the pawned girl belong to her clan and not to that of the guaranteed creditor.

231 The contract for the loan-grazing of livestock, meyale kabat
675 (yale = to raise, make grow) may seem rather peculiar at first glance. The owner of an animal turns it over to the ñyale, who must look after it and, at the expiration of the contract, return not only the animal but any young. The lender gets rid of the care of a flock—he is often sending it away, moreover, to escape an animal plague—

231 yet takes the risk of a breach of faith on the ñyale's part. The latter
675 is supposed to return the flock intact, but as long as he tends it, he may do what he wants with it, putting it to use like a kind of credit. It is as well to point out that this kind of contract, which at present is falling into disuse, gave occasion to endless litigation.

The trade contract under its old name abom or the newer atiñ kilak
426 or atiñ akus kaka is, on the other hand, becoming more and more
675 widespread. A trader, nkuan biôm or mbi fatyélé, advances to a kilak
441 (from "clerk") cash and goods on the kilak's undertaking to provide the equivalent in a certain tonnage of cacao. The contract is set forth in a written "good for. . . . " which represents recognition of the debt. The kilak exerts himself to collect the promised tonnage, usually by buying from planters of his clan, sometimes by subcontract with "small clerks, " bone bekilak. The contract has a due date, with the usual contingencies; in the case of rising prices, the kilak may run into difficulties and not be able to furnish the promised tonnage unless planters of his family give him credit or sell to him below the price. Cacao buying is also done by commission, the agent, niôman, (envoy), receiving a cash advance with which to buy as much cacao as possible. Both methods give rise to litigation, which is all the more common because the moneylender is usually a European or an African of another tribe, a "Gabonese" in French Equatorial Africa, a Bamiléké, mone galifis (from Coast English "Grassfield") in the Cameroons.

In general a commission is always possible, whether in making a
556 contract or in pleading in court. The person giving the commission
675 is called mve ngul, giver of power; the agent is called mbili ngul,
431 possessing power. They are jointly and severally responsible.

The bilaba contract, described about (41, 77), is disappearing. There survives, however, a sort of poor man's bilaba, the meyeñ, from nneñ, guest, which allows a zesé môt, a humble man, to levy a kind of tax on the rich, minkukum, of his clan by the simple procedure of going to visit them, carrying a present /81/ which must be returned by generous hospitality and by a countergift of higher value. This is a quasi contract, sanctioned by public opinion, which is a heavy burden on people thought to be rich; it underlies the family parasitism prevalent in large towns. The reputed nkukum who tries to escape would be accused of being hard hearted, nlem ayet, which could easily lead to a charge of sorcery.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

532
231
534
412
788

1 and 2, Ngi masks used in the Fang secret society; 3, 4, Fang idols; 5, Wooden dogbell; 6, Ngi collar; 7, Sacrifice knife.

[p. 66(A)]

231

Fig. 57. Sheep, Village of Makonanǎm (Ojek Family).

appears here in the original text/ a moan similar to that made by a human being. This moaning is so nerve-racking that it may bring tears to one's eyes. In regions where there are leopards, [417] pens (Fig. 58) are built of logs, and the goats and sheep are driven into them at night.

232 In the Pangwe region castration is practiced only on goats, not sheep; a tũ̱b miak – to hollow out (the scrotum) (in order) to geld. Goats are castrated "so that they will become enormous and put on much fat." The procedure is very crude. The ex- [304] pert, who frequently circumcises the children at the same time, opens the young animals' scrotum by means of two lateral cuts with a razor blade (okǒngǒ̱n) and takes out the testicles. The scrotum is then washed out with warm water several times a day for four days. The water is mixed with a medicine, the sap of [278] the Guttifera Haronga paniculata Pers. (Loid.) (atũ̱ih), pre- [124] sumably to glue the scrotum together (the tree sweats a sticky yellow sap under the bark, and this is extracted by putting pieces of bark in water).

417

Fig. 58. Pen for Sheep and Goats in Massŏm (Ndong Family), South Cameroons.

This favorable influence on the physical development of the animal increases its value from about 14 marks to 35 marks (500 spears), a capital increase which is certainly desirable to the Pangwe. Even greater, however, is his joy at the beautiful appearance of the castrated animals. /107/ /Fig. 58 appears here in the original text./ The effect of castration is the basis for the comparison between symbolically, not physically, castrated people (see Section 18, "Sexual Life") and the castrated goats and also for designation by the same name; these people -- up to a certain point in time, at least -- are supposed to undergo conspicuous mental development. The fact that the flesh of animals also improves as food through castration plays only a secondary role. 232 [435]

Magnificent old specimens, including uncastrated goats and sheep, sometimes receive a human name, and their owner would never sell such an animal; indeed, he would not even give it away as a marriage portion. 231 552

Of other domestic animals there is only the cat (pfu's IV Fang, esi'nǎ), very recently introduced from the coast. 231 177

235 As regards poultry, only the hen (kub IV) is native. Only its
262 meat, not the eggs, is used for food, and even that rarely and on special occasions. At the proper place I shall return to the significance of the hen in the religious conceptions of the natives.

For the hens, small pens of logs are constructed behind the
235 house. In addition, baskets are hung for them on the outside and
417 inside walls of the house where they can brood. Finally, the brood hen is /108/ not refused a resting place in the house on some unused bed if she should consider it the safest and most suitable place for herself and her chicks. A hole at the bottom of the wall serves as an exit for the hen's family.

During the 1880's and 1890's ducks with a red band around
235 the eyes were introduced. Around 1890 they arrived in the Fang
177 region and were called elõ̌ (wild duck = elṍt); later they were called sȭʇṍ III.

231 Like other primitive peoples, the Pangwe cannot be called animal lovers. Except for parrots, one sees practically no tamed forest animals, not even monkeys. The Pangwe "tire" (a yõ̂t) of looking after and feeding them, and under such circumstances one cannot blame the freedom-loving quadrupeds and birds for seeking to escape or lying down to die. Gray parrots, which immediately introduce themselves to every stranger by their name, for instance, as esǎ́sǎ́ = kite, are quite common. They usually find their food on the garbage heaps or among the leftovers in the house. Now and then one sees wild boars that were caught when young. Once I was brought a young leopard which a woman had tried to keep alive by feeding it from her breast; the animal badly scratched the helpful woman, and she quickly abandoned her voluntary maternal role.

231 The bee, Apis mellifica L. var. adansoni (mvũfũʇh IV, ʇhũʇí IV
222 Fang), is not kept, but wild honey (wũʇí ; plural, mũʇí'), which for the most part is to be found in tree trunks, is gathered and consumed raw.

III. Fishing

226 West Africa is one of the areas of the world richest in fish.
136 Hence, the numerous rivers and streams of the Pangwe region possess great quantities of different kinds of fish. Some of the most

184
554
622

had not done so, the clan chose its chief, and the neighboring populations each sent him a spear in token of recognition.

[534]

The power of the Fong chief is on an even more personal level. The chief conveys his commands by means of an enormous drum; his pipe is preserved like a relic; his musicians play special instruments, among them the nkeñ (percussion double bell), quite rare in that region but a classical instrument in the western Cameroons with the Bamiléké or Bamoum /Mum/. The chief's installation is marked by the tradition of the spears and the donning of a headpiece of parrot plumes. (J. B.)

[293
237]

Any more extensive authority was founded on personal prestige, which always aroused resentment. Authority was never conferred except temporarily, and it was quite often withdrawn from the holder before term.

631
636

French, German, and Spanish administrations have attempted to set up a hierarchical system of authority that it has never been possible really to impose upon the country. The three administrations all made the initial mistake of trying to establish this authority on a territorial basis, which is completely—or nearly—foreign to these nomadic people. Only village chiefship had some resemblance to a customary institution, provided that the choice of chief fell upon a ntôl môt, a genuine senior, and that his brothers accepted his authority. Canton and higher chiefdoms had no cohesion except insofar as the incumbent had authority or administrative support. At the beginning of the colonial period, however, these functions were very often entrusted to genuine bejôô bôt, /62/ well-known war chiefs, high initiates of societies like the ngil, or celebrated magicians. Later on, it became more difficult to find, even among opposition ranks, chiefs possessed of real authority. After 1945 there was an attempt in the Cameroons to reorganize the system of authority on a clan basis (the Bourdier-Granier reform), then on village lines (the Christol system), finally ending up with a municipal type of system.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

in mourning, a necklace is made from bleached grass plaited; it is worn by both sexes. A very favourite fetish charm to suspend from a necklace is a leopard tooth. I have frequently seen the two tusks of a wild boar or "Wart hog" worn around the neck as an ornament and have succeeded in bringing specimens worn mostly by the women. Imported thick brass wire wound around the forearm from wrist to elbow is a very favourite armlet; it is kept highly polished. Brass wire is often wound so tightly around the biceps as to seriously interfere with circulation. Broad pieces of beaten brass are worn on the arms, and ivory bracelets are much valued. Sometimes six or more rings of ivory are cut from a tusk, and all worn on one arm. Finger and thumb rings are mostly worn by the women; they are made of brass, copper, or iron, and are usually very thick and heavy.

Rings are no indication of rank or marriage. It is not uncommon to see a woman with three heavy brass rings on one thumb, and eight or ten similar rings on the fingers. Narrow girdles of leopard, goat or deer skins are worn across the chest to support the native fighting knife and bunch of fetish charms. I have been visited by a bushman wearing no less than twenty-three charms.

Legs and feet.—Leglets and anklets of brass are much worn and sought after by women. Brass leg rings imported by traders are in great demand. There does not appear to be any special time set for commencing to wear anklets; mere infants are frequently decorated with them. Some of the leglets are very heavy, and many women wear ten or more on one leg. These rings often fit very tightly and impede circulation, or chafe and cause nasty indolent ulcers. The ankles and feet often swell and become very painful as a result of insufficient blood supply. Toe-rings are of iron and brass largely worn, and fit so tightly that the ring is often deeply imbedded in the flesh. Usually only one ring is worn on a single toe.

Painting and Tattooing.

Painting.—The method of painting the body by smearing on redwood powder mixed with palm oil, so largely practised by the Bulu, is followed in the same manner but to a much less extent by the Fang. Soft portions of the redwood tree are pulverised and mixed with oil into a thick paste, and the preparation smeared over the entire body. Occasionally a red band is painted across the forehead. When in mourning, dust, mud, or white clay is frequently rubbed over the entire body. Much more frequent is the practice of painting arrow heads, bands, or dots. The pigment used is a dark blue colour, obtained I am told from a tree fungus. The Ngi or witch doctor, when at work, in addition to his other paraphernalia smears his body with white chalk. Except in the case of the *Ngi*, the only object in decorating the body by painting is to appear *mbung* (beautiful), and with the Bulu when asked the reason for smearing the body with red paint, they usually reply it is *abung* (handsome). Imported pigments are not used for body decoration.

Tattooing.—The custom of tattooing is much in vogue. I have not been able

195 The curious locutions of the Pangwe language, such as a bê
241 bidžǐ = to plant "food," that is, to plant, and a nyǒn bidžǐ = to take "food," that is, to harvest, seem to indicate that the cultural level of the farmer followed that of the primitive collector. That is to say, the expression suggests that the conscious cultivation of plants developed from the observation and exploitation of edible leaves, fruit, and the like found wild in nature. The Pangwe have wholly risen above the latter stage, and they revert to it only occasionally in periods of distress.

241 Their agriculture is hoe culture, that is, the soil is loosened by means of the hoe and digging stick. The hoe (ebǎ'k, Ntum; ebǎk, Fang), Figure 48, consists of a piece of iron tied to a wooden handle bent in the form of a hook; the digging stick (evīē'n Ntum, Fang; tǒn, Jaunde) is a wooden stick with the end shaped like an incisor. The hoe is used by the women, the digging stick by the men /86/. Other agricultural implements are the ax (ovǔ'n), Figure 49, and the bush knife (fǎ-tsǐ IV), Fig. 50. The latter, which today has been almost completely replaced
[177] by the European cutlass, nkpwēdǎ' I, is used to dig tubers, such as yams, and to level the soil. For the latter purpose I also observed the use of wooden spades attached to a handle.

Tillage begins with the clearing of the ground (a lī tsí). First, the lianas, undergrowth, and thinner trees are cut down with the cutlass. In this way some elbow room is created, and the larger trees can be felled with an ax. /Fig. 48 appears here in the original text. / Ordinarily a whole group of trees is tackled at one time in the following manner. The lianas are severed first so that they can no longer hold up the trees. The majority of the thinner tree trunks are merely notched, and then only one fairly massive tree is cut down. This tree when it falls brings down virtually the entire group of trees, together with its network of lianas. As a result, very little remains to be done. The very large trees are usually left standing to provide shade. They are removed, by setting fire to the roots, only if it is absolutely necessary to do so. Without the help of fire, it would require a number of days to cut down such a giant tree, and the Pangwe rarely have time for this in the brief dry

241
412

Fig. 48. Hoe.

Fig. 49. Ax.

Fig. 50. Bush Knife.

/87/

482
291
301

Fig. 51. Fang Women Bringing Firewood from the Plantations.

season. /Fig. 49 appears here in the original text. / Once the 241
bush is entirely cleared (with the exception of the shade trees), a few days are allowed to elapse until the sun has dried the wood. Then fire is set to it, and the farm is "burned," a dži̱ge tsi̱.
At the end of the dry season, one can see columns of rising smoke throughout the land, and on walking expeditions one often has the dubious pleasure of having to pass such a burning farm. A great number of birds of prey, especially the parasite kite, circle around the new farm, heedless of the heat, in order to catch every crawling thing that flees from the fire. As soon as the rainy season comes, the clearing of the farm comes to an end, and now "the food is laid." The men move the charred and unburned remains of the trees /Fig. 50 appears here in the original text/ /87/ to one side or heap them up on the farm 241
itself as boundary markers (see Plate 7). The women remove the 462
smaller branches, and it is the women who from this time on dominate the picture, sowing or planting the vegetables, pulling out the weeds which during the rainy season soon become rank, and taking in the harvest. All these, incidentally, are lighter

241 tasks, and from this division of labor it is apparent — this will
462 be pursued further later on — that the work which requires the greater effort is allotted to the men, while the easier work is left to the women. Since by the very nature of the matter the harder work lasts for a shorter period of time, the impression easily arises that the women have to perform considerably more work than the men, but this is not the case, and it is probable that the distribution of work is not much different from that in Germany, say. It is just that the type of work is different. To be sure,
[482] upon seeing the large, fully packed baskets which the women bring in daily from the fields (Fig. 51), the uninitiated observer might easily get such an erroneous impression, but the carrying of such disproportionately heavy burdens, which makes the women's bodies so deformed, is partly their own fault. One is reminded of the Low German proverb: "De Fule drägt sich doht un de Flitige löpt sich doht /the lazy one carries himself to death, and the industrious one runs himself to death/. The woman likes to
[461] rest in the afternoon, and many of them even have quite an aversion for work. Incidentally, this is a further reason for the
[731] frequent periods of food shortage (mentioned in the third section /not translated/), which at times develop into real famines. /88/

241 The most important staple food plants of the Pangwe are the following seven:

Southern Region (Fang)	Northern Region (Jaunde)
1. Cassava (manioc)	1. Cassava (manioc)
2. Plantain	2. Groundnut
3. Groundnut	3. Plantain
4. Ngon	4. Maize
5. Maize	5. Ngon
6. Taro	6. Taro
7. Yams	7. Yams

It should be understood that the plants are listed here in the order of their importance as food plants, in other words, as "food" in the household, and not according to the extent of field work involved in their cultivation which would completely reverse the

241 order. Sugar cane, important only as a luxury or refreshment item and not as a staple food, would be added to such a list, while the plantain would be withdrawn completely because it thrives without any care and does not require intensive cultivation. Similarly, the cassava would not occupy a significant place in such a list since, even though it requires a certain amount of cultivation, it nevertheless continues to spread as a durable shrub and is not bound to definite seasons with respect to its growth and conditions for cultivation. The groundnut and ngon would now be most important plants. If one distinguishes field agriculture and gardening as different types of cultivation and uses area of cultivation as a yardstick for each of them, one gets the following order of plants.

Field Agriculture

1. Groundnut	Secondary plant, maize
2. Ngon	Secondary plant, yams
3. Cassava	Secondary plant, sugar cane as a luxury item.

Gardening

4. Taro	Secondary plant, macabo
5. Plantain	Secondary plant, banana as fruit

By this list I do not mean to imply that ngon must always be planted with yams, or cassava with sugar cane. There are farms which grow yams exclusively, and others which grow sugar cane exclusively. The list is merely intended to indicate that frequently the cultivation of these secondary plants is linked with that of the most important principal plants, and that above all the conditions of cultivation of the two are the same or at least similar. Thus, I can confine myself, for more precise description, to the cultivation of the five chief plants of the above list. /89/

361 The settlements of these peoples vary in appearance. The villages and hamlets of the Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda are located in relatively open country and they stretch out along numerous trails. The Bulu in the south, situated in a land of parallel valleys through which flow the tributaries of the Nyong and by thick forest, can only build their villages along the valleys. This whole area, es-
●24 pecially in the Nyong Basin, is very fertile. The natives have fine fields of food crops and many palm trees. Many prosperous enterprises, lumber yards, and fine groves of cacao trees can also be found. /81/[Map 13]

489 All the products are transported to the railroad at M'Balmayo along a large network of roads and the navigable parts of the Nyong.

181 The Bulu are intelligent and hard working, and are capable of becoming excellent craftsmen.

197 Language. We have seen that Father Nekes and G. Tessmann see a very close relationship between the language of the Bulu and that of the Mvele. The Bulu language includes a number of dialects with only slight variants, and falls between the speech of the Ewondo and that of the Gabon Pahouin, which are almost identical.

Linguistic Bibliography

113 von Hagen, Gunther Tronje. Lehrbuch der Bulu Sprache /Handbook of the Bulu Language/ (Berlin: Radetzki: 1914), Vol. 7, 402 pages.

Johnston, H. H. A Comparative Study of Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, (Oxford University Press, 1922), Vocabulary No. 219.

Bates, George L. Handbook of Bulu (Revised Edition; with the vocabulary revised and much enlarged by the author and Silas F. Johnson) (Ebolowa: The Halsey Memorial Press, 1926).

Good, A. I. Bulu Handbook Supplement. Supplementary Facts in Bulu Grammar. Appendix to Vocabulary in Bulu. Vocabulary of Exclamatory Words. (Ebolowa: The Halsey Memorial Press, 1934).

English-Bulu Vocabulary (Ebolowa, undated).

Physical Anthropology and Demography

141 Bulu: average height, men 165.4 cm.; women 157.6 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.8	79.2

THE OMVANG

131 Location: the Omvang are split into two sections
One section: 12°15 to 12°50 long.
3°55 to 4°05 north lat.
Other section: 12°45 to 13° long.
4°05 to 4°28 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

Area: in the west—about 390 square km.
in the east—about 660 square km.

161 Population: in the west—4, 852 inhabitants
in the east—7, 520 inhabitants

Density: in the west—12.4 persons per square km.
in the east—11 persons per square km.

131 The Omvang inhabit a forest country which is quite poor in the west but rich in the east. Those who are furthest west, northwest of Ayos, are on the banks of the Nyong, and that is the only place where they have access to a road. The territory of the eastern Omvang is 133 in the valley of the Ayong, a tributary from the right of the Nyong, but their country does not reach as far as the river itself. However, the stream is navigable everywhere so that the river can be easily reached. Ayong flows first of all through a forest which thins out toward the south and is replaced by beautiful clusters of raffia palms.

173 The Omvang know little of their history. They know only that less then a century ago they still occupied the entire territory north of the Nyong; they were in constant contact with the Yebekolo and were sometimes their masters, sometimes their slaves. They were warriors trained in guerrilla warfare, and in the end they attacked the neighboring Maka and wrested from them the land which is their present habitat. The advance of the Yebekolo /92/ split them into two sections. Only the intervention of the Germans in 1904-1905 reestablished peace in the area.

174 P. Chauleur does not agree with the view that the Omvang are a people of the Pahouin group. His arguments, based only on data concerning local migrations, seem to be no more valid than those he opposes.

241 The eastern Omvang, settled in a fertile region are hard-working and good farmers. In addition to their food crops they care for large

241 fields of peanuts and maintain beautiful palm groves and coffee and cacao plantations.

197 Language. G. Tessmann is no more definite as regards the language of the Omvang than other authors concerning their folk history. His tribal map shows the two Omvang sections stand out clearly on the large Pahouin area /Map 19/ His only comment on the subject is the following: "Probably they should be grouped with the Neo-Bantu, perhaps with the Pahouin, " ("Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of the Cameroons/, " Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen, 1932, p. 190).

164 Demography. The western Omvang have one of the highest incidences of sleeping sickness.

161 Nevertheless, their population balance is slightly favorable; the ratio of births to deaths is + 0.83 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 8 percent; the fertility rate is 3.57 pregnancies per woman.

164 The eastern Omvang also have suffered greatly from sleeping sickness. /93/

161 Their population balance also shows a slight increase; the ratio of births to deaths is 0.92 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 9 percent; the infant mortality rate is very low.

Bibliography

113 "Esquisse ethnologique pour servir à l'étude des principales tribus des Territoires du Cameroun sous mandat francais, d'après les documents allemands, les études de Dr. Poutrin en A.E.F. et les archives du Bureau des Affaires Politiques (1935-1937) (An Ethnographic Sketch for a Study of the Major Tribes in the Cameroons Territories under French Mandate, on the basis of German Documents, the Studies by Dr. Poutrin in French Equatorial Africa, and the Archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs for 1935-1937), "Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 18-19.

Unpublished reports of the administrators Bertaut and de Villedeuil in the Archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs /Archives du Bureau des Affaires Politiques/ and in the documents of the S.E.C. /Société d'Etudes Camerounaises/.

Moisel map, G3, Dume.

Mbida-Mbane
Mvogo-Nienge

THE MBIDA-MBANE AND THE MVOGO-NIENGE

131 Location: Mbida-Mbane—11°40 to 12°15 long.
4°20 to 4°50 north lat.
Mvogo-Nienge—12° to 12°28 long.
4°20 to 4°45 north lat.

Physical Geography. Areas: Mbida-Mbane—1, 548 square km.
Mvogo-Nienge—710 square km.

101 The origins of the Mbida-Mbane and the Mvogo-Nienge seem to be similar enough for us to discuss them together here.

Geographically they are neighbors. The Mbida-Mbane are located on both sides of the Nyong River, in two sections of about equal size in the north and in the south.

The Mvogo-Nienge are their neighbors to the east, south of the Nyong.

133 Both peoples occupy fertile forest regions. The river Nyong flows northeast to southwest through the middle of Mbida-Mbane country. The Mvogo-Nienge inhabit its banks for only a few kilometers, upstream from Akonolinga.

Human Geography

161 Population: Mbida-Mbane—19, 707 inhabitants
Mvogo-Nienge—7, 291 inhabitants
Densities: Mbida-Mbane—12.8 persons per square km.
Mvogo-Nienge—10.26 per square km.

174 History. The traditions of the Mbida-Mbane as well as those of the Mvogo-Nienge tell of ancestors living on the right bank of the Sanaga, as do those of the Yeduma, the Yengono, and the Yembama (the last two groups have been classified by Tessmann among the Bulu). It is said that three slaves of the same master, whose lives were in danger as a consequence of a great palaver, escaped and crossed the Sanaga. Since they were slaves, naturally no mention is made of their ethnic family. Their descendants comprise a number of the peoples who live in the environs of the Nyong at the present time.

241 Both groups live in a fertile country where the cultivation of food crops may be found adjacent to prosperous cacao and coffee plantations. The inhabitants on the banks of the Nyong supplement their diets with fish.

palm oil is the basis of sauces and stews eaten with tubers and cereals. Groundnuts are widely used (do not the Ewôndo owe their name to them?). The dough obtained after cooking and pounding goes toward the making of numerous dishes and provides the main part of the needed protein. One article of food ought finally to be mentioned because it is very much liked and also because its consumption seems absolutely uneconomical—pumpkin seeds. The seeds are preserved, dried, and cleaned one by one, then put to boil, and mashed. The skill required for, and the time spent in, shelling the seeds appears subject to scanty return (1).

> 1. But fritters made of pumpkin-seed dough are delicious .... There is quite a good trade in these seeds for town consumption. (P. A.)

2. Agriculture

Before broaching the description of present-day agriculture, we must see what it used to be like and what it still is in certain traditionalist sections. In fact, methods do not appear to have changed at all; new crops have simply been added to the old ones. It is likely that because of the influence of these new crops /29/ the whole technology (material techniques, legal techniques, etc.) will develop further. But that trend is only starting, and at present the cultivation of groundnuts, maize, and other long-familiar foodstuffs remains nearly what it was forty years ago, before the advent of the cacao tree.

Traditional agriculture

Formerly, each family produced everything it needed and confined its efforts. There were no cash crops, there was no article of food suitable for maintaining an exchange system, but all sorts of crops were cultivated. As to clothes, elderly Bané and Ewôndo state that the cultivation and weaving of cotton was practiced by their ancestors; there could be no question of this in their present habitat, and the tradition is valuable merely as evidence, either for those who believe that the Pahouin come from regions further north, or for those who see in the Beti not true Pahouin but a Pahouinized people (1). Each

241 [834]

1. The Boulou call cotton sut and kapok sut duma; neither the cotton plant nor the kapok tree grows in their area. (P. A.)

family grows some tobacco, some pimentos, or condiments of various kinds, in short, all it consumes. Each plot of land, moreover, shows this multiple cultivation, since all sorts of plants are sown together according to the so-called system of companion crops, in contrast to European cultivation where one field is devoted exclusively to one crop.

241 242 This mixture of different plants probably avoids exhausting the soil of any one of its constituants. A stand of maize with its shallow roots absorbs what nourishment it needs, while the tubers of the macabo which surround it go deeper to feed themselves with other elements, and a few plantings of groundnuts enrich the soil by holding nitrogen in it. And yet, as an additional preventive measure, so to speak, the farmer varies his sowings from year to year. Does he consciously carry on true crop rotation, is he led to this practice by the length of growing cycles or by the needs of the plants?

241 After a rough clearing of the ground by burning, the women sow and plant the freshly cleared land: gourds, plantains, macabo to be harvested in a year or eighteen months, maize that will mature in five months. After the maize harvest, a second planting period is devoted to groundnuts; when they are mature, macabo, manioc, and plantain will be ready to harvest. Manioc is left in the ground for a long time and can, at need, provide tubers. The cycle completed, the ground is left fallow and goes back to bush. Fallow land that was abandoned for good at the time of the great migrations is now being put back into cultivation after a lapse of time that varies with the demand for land due to demographic pressure, with the quality of the soil, and with the nature of its reclamation. /30/

Obviously, there is no period of any length without a crop.

Except for maize, groundnuts, and pumpkin seeds, there is no crop that can be stored in a granary, a fact that has as much bearing on social psychology as upon building techniques. Working according to traditional methods, a woman cultivates 0.52 hectares a year to provide food for her family (1). There is another way of judging the

1. A mean based on /the work of/ 27 women (Ewondo and Bané) whose plots were measured

in 1954 in connection with a study of family budgets.

amount of food necessary to maintain the population: a crop census was taken in 1948 in one of the Sangmélima cantons (2). In order to

2. Report of the administrative officer, J. M. Soupault. An average individual's requirement would be: 250 maize plants, 330 manioc plants, 130 plantains, 110 macabo, 7 kilograms of rice, and 32 kilograms of groundnuts.

satisfy the needs of 6, 249 inhabitants there is no "exportation" to speak of. The canton used to produce 1, 635, 000 maize plants, 2, 049, 000 manioc, 824, 190 plantain bananas, 687, 800 macabo. It furthermore provided 44 tons of rice, 200 tons of groundnuts. There were 85, 180 fruit trees producing various kinds of fruit (Pachylobes /Canarium edula Hooker, known as assa in Pahouin country—Ed. /, Estulis, oranges, etc.)

Clearing land by burning and the absence of organic fertilizer probably explain the exhaustion of the soil and the shifting cultivation that results from it.

The breeding and rearing of small animals is nevertheless understood and practiced: goats, dogs, fowls, pigs were and still are plentiful in the villages. These animals do not seem to contribute much to the food supply nor to the economic life. The very limited practice of selling pieces of pork has dates from recent years. As a matter of fact, animals were useful for giving quasi-ritual presents, for paying bride prices, and for celebrating family occasions: at a marriage, burial, and the end of mourning, two or three goats were killed to provide food for the relatives.

Of course, these animals are not stabled or fed; the herds wander along the outskirts of villages and do not fail to plunder the gardens. There are innumerable classic quarrels between farmers and herders (with the slight difference here that no one is exclusively a herder nor exclusively a farmer). Was the practice of enclosing by hedges established so as to avoid such depredations, or to give military protection to the settlements? Whatever the origin, this practice associated with the raising of animals would have made it possible to avoid

6: Alexandre and Binet--96 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

423 2. Sautter, Bulletin d'Études centrafricaines, 1950 (no. 102).

[166] Migrations and conquests still belong to the recent past. Besides, /74/ the movement of peoples was effected without organization or authority: different clans, tribes, and peoples overlap, family by family, so that it is not possible to determine the territorial base of a collective group.

Among the Ewondo and Eton the situation is slightly different: the clans, probably better organized, preserved a certain amount of cohesion and carried out their conquest without becoming scattered. Therefore we find that they have boundaries between villages and collective rights over land. "Once plots of land have been cleared, they are not abandoned for good. A village looks upon them as a [241] reserve." In fact population density very much limits shifting cultivation.

[178] In the past forty years customs have changed a great deal and, among these peoples where land tenure was embryonic or nonexistent, ideas are arising that approximate Western rights of ownership.

[161] Population is now pretty nearly stable. It would be quite logical for rights over crops within a fixed boundary to arise, and in this direction some development is making itself felt. In certain areas 423 anyone may still cut wood, lianas, gather wild fruits, or hunt, to 241 satisfy his personal needs, but if he makes a profit from the sale of these things, he must obtain the consent of the family /occupying/ the area in which he carries on this activity. Elsewhere, the use of certain produce even for private requirements is subject to permission or to sharing the harvest. Thus the customary principle of the free use of natural goods is being restricted, at least in certain particular cases. With increase in population comes the idea of a virtual right over uncultivated forest lands. Families consider that they alone have the right to clear the land on which they depend. Men with experience state clearly that "formerly everyone cleared forest land without asking anyone's permission. Now that the country is becoming populous, permission must be asked." In less populated cantons clearing in the great forest goes on without restriction.

In conformity with ancestral customs, the harvest belongs to the cultivators: a right over personal property rather than a right over land. Nevertheless, a tendency toward a right of land ownership is

423 241 making itself felt. Indeed, before any sowing, trees have to be cut down and the land cleared. This work has a relatively permanent effect: to clear undergrowth of ten to fifteen years is less difficult than to clear a bit of primary forest. Furthermore, the original clearer of the land is acknowledged to have rights over the fallow. Within a family, each head of a household can put back into cultivation fields which he used to work, and in such a case each wife has the right to go back to her old plot. When collective ownership is involved, the process has not been so clear. This is understandable, for when a village leaves its old site and no one remains in the neighborhood, it means that no return is expected. Therefore, abandoned sites may in general be occupied without difficulty and without explicit agreement.

But in the case of cacao plantations it is obvious that the right arising /75/ from cultivation is transformed into right over land. Right to the harvest has turned into right over the tree that bears it and over the ground in which the tree grows: the duration of a plantation justifies this transition by settling men for two or three generations.

This transition, however, has not been entirely accomplished, and some people want to insure their right over the land by planting trees upon it; and peculiar devices may be observed, such as a competitor's setting out cacao trees between those of an emigrant planter, in order to oust him.

423 609 Development /evolution/ in the direction of ownership has not yet ended. There is now a right of use, but a right of disposal has not been established. Many believe that land cannot be sold. Not, it seems, on religious /sic/ grounds, but because the collective group would /in such a case/ be definitely defrauded. In this connection the attitude toward outsiders /l'attitude des etrangers/ is indicative. In this region of inextricably mingled clans and tribes, the problem of outsiders arises constantly. Those that belong to sister tribes are looked upon almost as members of the group, but others, coming from more distant populations, follow special regulations. They must ask for land from the head of the family near which they settle: he authorizes them to clear a field for a subsistence crop, but forbids them to plant cacao trees. In fact, if making a field of maize gives right of possession to the land for a few months, the establishment of a cacao plantation would lead to long-lasting possession. There is no question of a custom connected with the owning of trees, since the older inhabitants insist that formerly

361 the sites of future huts with blood. The hen is then opened up
621 and divided among the principal warriors and the chief's relatives.
769 This strictly, speaking, constitutes the totemic sacrifice. The
782 kid or sheep is then offered to the spirits of departed souls and to the ancestors.

After the sacrifice to ancestors the chief puts the akameyôn
361 back at his side. From the mfex or pouch, which is never re-
621 moved, he draws forth a small bundle of dirty material wrapped
769 around a bit of red wood, ashes, and a few bones. All this
778 comes from a sacrifice to the totem like that already described. To these he adds the remnants of the recent sacrifice and buries it all deep in a hole in which he drives a strong stake of élun
[824] or éfirfira wood; sometimes a young ebony tree is also used.
[822 At the top of the stake he fixes a ball of paste made of red wood,
842] white chalk -- the colors of sacrifices and spirits, and manioc, the symbol of fertility. A part of the clan or tribal totem is also inserted. The practitioner, with many gestures, songs, and dances imprisons within it all the evil spirits of the air.
[558]

The practitioner sows maize in the middle of the village, then plants a manioc root and particularly a euphorbia (euphorbia antiquorum), and puts a small fence around, so that the plants will not be desecrated. The village's prosperity depends upon their
[187] rapid growth. Should they wither, the chosen spot will be abandoned. Euphorbia has the power of averting thunder and evil
[824] spirits by means of its bristling points. Amaryllis and immortelles are often planted at the foot of the euphorbia, along with a few stalks of sugar cane. The amaryllis and immortelles ought to come from the old village, having issued from those which the chief's first wife had formerly brought from her
[842] native village at her marriage. Sugar cane is a symbol of fertility.

241 The women plant maize everywhere after these prelimi-
361 naries, and its rapid growth ensures basic subsistence. Meanwhile the men build the huts. The first ears of maize will certainly be offered to the guardian totem. Dried and preserved in the form of a coronet, they will provide seed for the following year.

595 585 Whatever the kind of marriage, the first wife is the only one considered [574] as truly legitimate. As soon as she enters her new hut, her husband leads her by the hand before the évora biéri, which is kept tightly closed. Throughout her life, the wife will never be allowed to look into the box, as that would entail a very grave ritual offense. She now takes a bit of palm oil brought from her own village, mixes it with some from her husband's mother, and rubs this symbolic mixture on the statue [842] on top of the évora. This is a symbol of the fertility she asks of the ancestors and the guardian spirits of the race. She next [782] puts a few grains of maize in a small basket at the base of the statue, so that her future plantations may thrive. This sacrifice should be repeated every morning, but only by the principal wife -- and it is often omitted.

4. Hunting, Fishing, Husbandry

788 779 Before starting on a hunting or fishing expedition, likewise before going out to the first work on his plantation, every family head or warrior will be sure to invoke his totem. He does this first with an offering on the biéri box, then by touching his weapons, tools, or snares against the family totem.

788 274 779 In the case of hunting, the hunter, when charing his gun, mixes some of the ashes of totemic sacrifice with his small shot, puts his hand on his totem, and leaves confident of the outcome. Even if hunting does not come up to expectation, he would never dream of blaming his totem. He would think that he had had bad luck or, more likely, that he had committed some offense.

788 274 779 When going fishing, he carries some of the sacrificial ashes hidden in a rag. At the spot he thinks propitious, he always begins by throwing the ashes into the water, in order to obtain his totem's good will.

788 274 779 Likewise, when a man starts farming, at the beginning of each dry season, before giving the first ax blow to the trees to be cut down, he places some ashes or remnants of sacrifice in some kind of hole and sees to it that they are consumed by the

779
788 fire which he sets to the felled trees so as to make the necessary
241 fertilizer needed for his future crops. [575]

Returning from hunting or fishing, a man is always sure to
782 put an offering on the évora biéri: it may be a piece of the ani-
224 mal's heart and brain or part of the first fish caught, even the
226 whole fish if it is very small. The first fruits are also placed on
779 the évora. Any infraction of these rites leads to punishment that can only be atoned for by one or more sacrifices. A warrior will infallibly recognize punishment in the failure of hunting or fishing trips or in barren plantations.

The hunting or fishing offering is made by the head of the family, that of first fruits by the first wife.

5. Trade and Palavers

788 Whenever a Fan has to "talk," he is very careful to try
537 to gain his totem's good will beforehand. On such occasions
779 it is important that he be able to convince his fellow speakers or his adversaries.

The totem ceremony is very short. Before leaving for the palaver or on a trading trip, he removes from the biéri box some of the ashes of the last sacrifice and puts them into a rag, closes the box, and goes off contented.

Before beginning to "talk," he will open the package of ashes and put a bit on his forehead, lips, and throat. Thus the spiritual guardians of the race will aid his brain and inspire him with the best thoughts and the best phrases, and thus they will tell him the best words to use to convince his adversaries and obtain what he wants.

6. Disease and Death

755 The totemic ceremonies connected with disease and death
779 are of somewhat more consequence. As soon as a man falls gravely ill, the practitioner is called in. He demands in advance, to be on the safe side, the proper payment for his pains, and then

241
[804]

1. The Boulou call cotton sut and kapok sut duma; neither the cotton plant nor the kapok tree grows in their area. (P. A.)

family grows some tobacco, some pimentos, or condiments of various kinds, in short, all it consumes. Each plot of land, moreover, shows this multiple cultivation, since all sorts of plants are sown together according to the so-called system of companion crops, in contrast to European cultivation where one field is devoted exclusively to one crop.

241 This mixture of different plants probably avoids exhausting the
242 soil of any one of its constituants. A stand of maize with its shallow roots absorbs what nourishment it needs, while the tubers of the macabo, which surround it go deeper to feed themselves with other elements, and a few plantings of groundnuts enrich the soil by holding nitrogen in it. And yet, as an additional preventive measure, so to speak, the farmer varies his sowings from year to year. Does he consciously carry on true crop rotation, is he led to this practice by the length of growing cycles or by the needs of the plants?

241 After a rough clearing of the ground by burning, the women sow and plant the freshly cleared land: gourds, plantains, macabo to be harvested in a year or eighteen months, maize that will mature in five months. After the maize harvest, a second planting period is devoted to groundnuts; when they are mature, macabo, manioc, and plantain will be ready to harvest. Manioc is left in the ground for a long time and can, at need, provide tubers. The cycle completed, the ground is left fallow and goes back to bush. Fallow land that was abandoned for good at the time of the great migrations is now being put back into cultivation after a lapse of time that varies with the demand for land due to demographic pressure, with the quality of the soil, and with the nature of its reclamation. /30/

Obviously, there is no period of any length without a crop.

Except for maize, groundnuts, and pumpkin seeds, there is no crop that can be stored in a granary, a fact that has as much bearing on social psychology as upon building techniques. Working according to traditional methods, a woman cultivates 0.52 hectares a year to provide food for her family (1). There is another way of judging the

1. A mean based on /the work of/ 27 women (Ewondo and Bané) whose plots were measured

244

Fig. 52. Plantation of Groundnuts and Maize near Bébai (Esseng Family), Southern Cameroons.

433 of groundnuts rises to ten spears (equal to 70 pfennigs) while at
435 other times only five spears (equal to 35 pfennigs) are given for
244 it. In the Jaunde region, it is true, a plate always costs 70 pfennigs (equal to 100 Jaunde spears). The groundnut is eaten simply as soup or compote. /92/ /Fig. 52 appears here in the original text. / The oil content of the nuts is not utilized to
302 any great extent, but the oil released by cooking is rubbed on the skin in order not to waste it. Finally we might mention the
524 riddle:

onṓn	o	nga	bḗī	a	fā́'	e
(A) bird,	it	lives	give birth to	behind	the house	of the

bonīě:	akī'	avōk	a	kŏke	bŏn	avūm
mothers:	egg	one;	there	creep out	young ones	ten.

Answer: owŭno = groundnut.

243 Maize, Zea mays L. (fŭ́n IV), as we have said, is almost always grown with the groundnut (Fig. 52), usually as a means of marking off the individual plots and as a border against the bush all around the plantation. Farms that grow maize

243 exclusively are comparatively rare. Just like the groundnut, maize is planted in the beginning of October and matures in December. Then it is again planted in March and matures between the middle of May and July. Guess a riddle! = kǎndǎn.

524 I guess = kandǎn.

ma yǎn bǒnǎnga, bō mbe ekō-ne, bǒnǎnga bete:
I see women, they were on a journey, women meant:

mabum a mabum
bellies – bellies.

I see women who came on a journey (that is, who formerly were not here), and they are all pregnant (the ears in the husks).

Answer: fǔ'n = maize. /93/

244 The Ngon, Cucumeropsis edulis Cogn. (ngǒn IV, Jaunde; ngǒn IV Fang)

(Plate 8)

The ngon is one of the cucurbitaceous plants and has pentagonal leaves (more rarely the leaves have five lobules) with finely serrated edges. The leaves are attached to the nearly round stalk at intervals where, in addition to an occasional offshoot, usually another shoot, one or two male panicles, and occasionally a single female blossom are found. A piece of such a stalk is illustrated by Plate 8. The blossoms, jokingly called atǔ'ne kǔ, "turtle's feet," by the Fang, are not very large and have lemon yellow petals which are turned back. The female blossoms (d and e) are somewhat variable in size and bear a hypogenous ovary; their margin and pistil are green. As for the male blossoms (b-c), on the other hand, the stamens are yellow on top. The fruit is large, longish, and egg-shaped.

In the Fang region three varieties of ngon are distinguished. These varieties are recognizable, however, only by their fruits

The Groundnut, Arachis hypogaea L.

(Plate 6)

●244 The groundnut (owúnǒ, derived from the stem a wǔno = to set, to plant) occupies the third – with the Jaunde the second – rank in the order of the most important food plants. In the Fang region five different varieties are distinguished, of which one, mǒne owǔnǒ, has again been given up because of its small fruit. Of the remaining four, the following are found together in one and the same field with equal frequency: the upright, more hairy asǒ́mena, which according to Sadebeck (1) is Arachis

[113]

1. R. Sadebeck, Die Kulturgewächse der deutschen Kolonien und ihre Erzeugnisse /The Cultivated Plants of the German Colonies and their Products/ (Jena, 1899), p. 230.

asiatica Lour. (it is illustrated by Plate 6), and the low-growing Arachis africana Lour. or var. glabrata D.C. (ebǎ́n, Ntum; ekǎ́b or engǔs, Fang. The variety eyǒ́lo (Fang) or evüǒ́le (Ntum), distinguished by fruit that is thicker and not quite so long, and the variety ezǒ́na are likewise sometimes found in the same field.

244 311 Anyone who travels in the land of the Pangwe will immediately recognize how important a role the groundnut has in the agricultural economy of the natives. The only farms that may delight the eye of a European are the groundnut farms. Walking through the cassava and sugar cane plantations, one is afforded no unobstructed over-all view of them, and on the ngon farms one constantly has to climb over tree trunks that have been left lying around. After passing through these or even through a stretch of dense forest or bush and then coming upon a groundnut plantation, one draws a breath of relief. The wanderer will see the plantation lying before him, framed by the darkness of the forest interspersed with the brighter green of the young maize which is usually planted, along with the groundnut, as a border

244 311 against the forest and in the middle along the boundaries of the individual plots (Plate 7). The groundnut plantation with its cleanness and unobstructed view will vividly remind the visitor of European vegetable fields; one groundnut plant next to the other shoots forth its many quadripartite leaves, irrigated by the ample moisture of the tropical rain, and here and there one can see the yellow blossoms shining through the leaves.

244 The planting and harvesting seasons of the groundnut are as follows.

First sowing: planted in September and the beginning of October; harvested towards the end of December.

Second sowing: planted in March and April; harvested in July and August.

The groundnut is thus planted before the rainy season and harvested during the following dry seasons.

244 476 The clearing and burning of farms, accordingly, is undertaken jointly by the men of the village in February, March, and again in July and August. /90/ The field is divided among the men, and they proceed to clear the larger tree trunks and branches out of the way, while the women clean up the farm and then place in the ground the seeds or the nuts which have already sprouted. They do this by digging a small hole with a hoe, throwing the seeds or, as the case may be, the nuts into it, and then pressing the soil down with their feet. The harvest begins when the leaves, with the exception of the topmost ones, are fairly well dried. The soil is loosened, and the women pick out the nuts and put them in plate-shaped baskets (dzǎd).

244 Three years must elapse before groundnuts can again be grown in the same soil. The women have also noticed that the groundnut – which requires a certain amount of calcium in the soil – does not thrive everywhere, and hence they are in the habit of saying: "Let us not plant groundnuts again in this vicinity, for they do not thrive here." Like the majority of cultivated plants in the tropics, groundnuts draw practically no pests. They are harmed most of all by the following animals which eat their leaves: by the guib, Tragelaphus knutsoni Lemberg (nkǒk); and the dwarf goat, Neotragus batesi Winton (odzǒe). Furthermore,

•244 there is the striped mouse, Mus pulchellus Gray (zǒfǒ III), which gnaws the nuts. A kind of black rot affects the nuts here and there during certain years. A number of caterpillar species which consume the leaves can scarcely be designated as actual pests. It
244 is probable that the black rot has led the women to the belief that
789 other women are capable of making their groundnuts sick and of ruining them by means of "medicine." They try to counter this trick with a medicine consisting of the bones of the turtle, the elephant, the pig, and the guib, which are burned to ashes and then crushed; it is scattered on the seeds before planting. Of the remaining medicines that are supposed to influence favorably the growth of groundnuts, the most important one consists of rubbing
[386 the groundnuts with a specially prepared coloring made from red
824] wood, ba-ayǎ'; accordingly, this medicine is called ba-ayǎ'. This red coloring (see Section 18, "Sexual Life") produces the
[822] desired results and fends off hostile intentions. Red is everywhere the color of joy, growth, and reproduction. On the day the woman plants the groundnuts, she paints a line between her index finger and thumb with the "medicinal red" which will give her a lucky hand; or she draws a similar line on the upper surface of a tree stump and covers the stump with leaves, like a cap. This is to say: "May you groundnuts blossom, grow, and thrive (the red color is for this) under such a protection (referring to the leaves); nobody will be able to do you any harm (referring to the
[833] medicine)." Furthermore, on the eve of sowing, the man usually sets a good example for the groundnuts "assembled" in the basket /91/ by performing coitus for their benefit. With this example he sends them on their way: "Multiply! (1)" Another

[841
834]

1. This is done even when the woman is menstruating, whereas sexual intercourse is otherwise avoided during this period. In this case, as a medicinal act, sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman is supposed to be particularly good for the groundnuts, on condition that the woman "brings good luck (aylie)" (see Section 18, "Sexual Life").

Another
244 fertility medicine consists of the following mixture: 1) bark
789 of the Simarubacea Irvingia barteri Hook. f. (andǒk; 2) bark
[824] bark of the Anacardiacea Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl.
(ofǒs); 3) elephant manure; 4) sand from the Campo or the
Uelle; 5) salt. On the eve of sowing this mixture is added to the
nuts. This, too, must be understood as a direct transfer of power:
the groundnuts are to be as numerous as the fruits of the two
plants named; they are to become as enormous as the pile of
elephant manure; as numerous as sand in the Campo — we would
say, as the sands of the ocean; and as innumerable as the grains
[824] of salt. Finally, certain Liliaceae (ayǎn) are planted between
the groundnuts so that their leaves may become as green as the
lilies in the field. As can be seen, there is no lack of friendly
encouragement and good examples.

The fruit, illustrated in cross-section by Plate 6, Draw-
244 ings a and b, usually has two seeds, more rarely three, and still
more rarely one. Something reminiscent of our love feast occurs
when a boy at work finds a fruit with three seeds in his mother's
basket or in the field, calls his friends, and shares the seeds with
[195] them. This is called euphemistically: bi kī kǎbǎd, "we dissect a
goat." Thus, we have here the doctrine: Do not forget to do good
and to share with your fellow man when you are living in abun-
dance! It is probably more by way of a game that the Pangwe,
[553] especially the children, sometimes eat the nuts raw. Otherwise
raw nuts are prepared principally for soup or compote. It is also
customary to boil the whole fruit and then eat the seeds. The
[567] nuts are stored in large, tall baskets of raffia pith, which are hung
under the roof or placed on a bed, or the nuts may be placed
loose on the groundnut loft, akǎn owǔnǒ.

433 As a result of their laziness and indifference, the Pangwe
435 seldom have enough groundnuts, so there is always a period of
244 time when they have to do without them until the next harvest has
been brought in and is sufficiently dried. This is the reason that
in the Ntum and Fang regions at these times the price for a "plate"
(2)

[804] 2. The flat plate-shaped baskets
called bush plates are a unit of
measurement.

244

Fig. 52. Plantation of Groundnuts and Maize near Bébai (Esseng Family), Southern Cameroons.

433 of groundnuts rises to ten spears (equal to 70 pfennigs) while at
435 other times only five spears (equal to 35 pfennigs) are given for
244 it. In the Jaunde region, it is true, a plate always costs 70 pfennigs (equal to 100 Jaunde spears). The groundnut is eaten simply as soup or compote. /92/ /Fig. 52 appears here in the original text. / The oil content of the nuts is not utilized to
302 any great extent, but the oil released by cooking is rubbed on the skin in order not to waste it. Finally we might mention the
524 riddle:

onō'n	o	nga	bē'ī	a	fā'	e
(A) bird,	it	lives	give birth to	behind	the house	of the

bonī'ē:	akī'	avōk	a	kŏke	bŏn	avū'm
mothers:	egg	one;	there	creep out	young ones	ten.

Answer: owŭno = groundnut.

243 Maize, Zea mays L. (fū'n IV), as we have said, is almost always grown with the groundnut (Fig. 52), usually as a means of marking off the individual plots and as a border against the bush all around the plantation. Farms that grow maize

243 exclusively are comparatively rare. Just like the groundnut, maize is planted in the beginning of October and matures in December. Then it is again planted in March and matures between the middle of May and July. Guess a riddle! = kǎndǎn.

524 I guess = kandǎn.

ma yěn bǒněnga, bō mbe ekō-ne, bǒněnga bete:
I see women, they were on a journey, women meant:

mabum a mabum
bellies – bellies.

I see women who came on a journey (that is, who formerly were not here), and they are all pregnant (the ears in the husks).

Answer: fǔ'n = maize. /93/

244 The Ngon, Cucumeropsis edulis Cogn. (ngǒn IV, Jaunde; ngôn IV Fang)

(Plate 8)

The ngon is one of the cucurbitaceous plants and has pentagonal leaves (more rarely the leaves have five lobules) with finely serrated edges. The leaves are attached to the nearly round stalk at intervals where, in addition to an occasional offshoot, usually another shoot, one or two male panicles, and occasionally a single female blossom are found. A piece of such a stalk is illustrated by Plate 8. The blossoms, jokingly called atǐ'ne kǔ, "turtle's feet," by the Fang, are not very large and have lemon yellow petals which are turned back. The female blossoms (d and e) are somewhat variable in size and bear a hypogenous ovary; their margin and pistil are green. As for the male blossoms (b-c), on the other hand, the stamens are yellow on top. The fruit is large, longish, and egg-shaped.

In the Fang region three varieties of ngon are distinguished. These varieties are recognizable, however, only by their fruits

244 (Drawings f-h). The variety osǎ'bǒme (f) has the largest fruit; it is about 15 centimeters long, a bright yellowish-green with vague, speckled markings, and slightly narrowed toward the middle. In the case of the second variety (g), nia ngǒn (the real ngon) or nsūsūte (the dark ngon), the fruit, in contrast to that of the first kind, is usually oviform, twelve centimeters long, and dark green with streaks or strips of a light green color; sometimes the fruit is spotted. This variety appears to be the most common. Finally, mǒne ngǒn, the small ngon (h), is considerably smaller, measuring only nine to ten centimeters, rarely more, and it is brighter. Here the speckled marking, which we have already observed in osǎ'bǒme, is so blurred that one can speak of bright green specks on a somewhat darker background. As regards the seeds, I counted 190-200 in the case of osǎ'bǒme, 224 in the case of nsūsūte, and only 80 in the case of mǒne ngǒn. The seeds are pear-shaped (e) and white, and only the inside is eaten. Frequent crossings appear among the fruit although on one and the same plant fruit of the same variety is usually found, and hence it is possible to speak of genuine species, just as in the case of apples and pears.

244 262 Among the seven chief food plants, ngon occupies fourth place. Only among the Jaunde does it take fifth place, while maize has moved to fourth. I cannot determine whether it was only the drier climate of Jaunde country that caused maize which thrives in a dry climate to be preferred to ngon which grows more successfully in the rainy southern and western Pangwe region. In any case, ngon is of such importance for the huge Pangwe region and far beyond it that one would think considerable space would be devoted to it in technical books about tropical cultivated plants /94/. As it happens, however, the plant is not mentioned by Sadebeck, Fesca, or anywhere else.

244 TB Concerning the origin of the name, the Fang tell the following little story. At first the name ngǒn was quite unknown; the plant was simply called by the general name ekūluga (from a kūt, "to crack," because the seeds are opened by being cracked, and this is a general expression for all fruits that are opened by cracking and have an edible interior, for instance, andǒk = Irvingia, etc.). Furthermore, ngon was not yet cultivated as it

244 773 is today; instead, women gathered its fruit in the bush. Once upon a time, there was a man who had no sister he could sell to obtain a wife for himself, nor did he have any other person who could help him to get married. He hit upon the idea of starting a huge ngon farm, and when the ngon was ripe many people came and bought the kernels. In this way he finally earned so much money that he had the purchase price for a girl. When other people, who likewise had no wives, heard about this, they began to imitate him and also married through the aid of the plant. Hence, it is said: "Oh, I see this plant like a girl (ngṓn), and therefore it shall be called ngōn also, for if the man had had no ngon (ngǒn), he would not have been able to marry a girl [194] (ngō'n)." It should be noted that the two words differ in pitch; the word for the plant has falling pitch in Fang (ngôn), rising pitch in Jaunde (ngǒn), whereas the word for girl has only high pitch (ngō'n). A narrative in the creation story is very similar.

244 Ngon is planted only once a year since its cultivation requires the period from April to December. In April, frequently long before, the bush is cut and burned. The ground, however, is not cleared, and everything is left lying just as it fell; at most the largest brushwood is removed from the connecting paths. Walking through a farm, especially along the plantation paths, is therefore quite a gymnastic feat. A ngon farm is often cleared [476 communally by the inhabitants of two neighboring villages who 602] belong to the same kin group. To the uninitiated, however, the boundaries are not discernible. They are indicated by trees that have been left standing or have fallen over and more rarely by lianas tied to the branches of tree trunks lying on the ground. It is astonishing that no boundary disputes arise.

244 462 In April, once the farm area has been burned over, the women go into the fields, and with their universal tool, the hoe, they plant the ngon seeds in the ground. The seeds must first have been soaked in water for a day, and two or three of them are planted in the same hole. Because of the tree trunks and the brush lying about, planting is hard work, and for this reason the men usually assist at the task, at least on the first day, equipped with /95/ /Fig. 53 appears here in the original text/ hoes and digging

244
252
301

Fig. 53. Woman from Bébai (Esseng Family) Cracking Ngon in a Cassava Field.

244 [462] sticks. During the planting of groundnuts, on the other hand, "no handsome young man, in fact, no one who by virtue of strength, beauty, and influence is of any account," helps; the only assistance given is provided now and then by a man, ugly or old, who wants to make himself popular with his wife, "so she will not eventually run away and live with somebody else." Once planting is finished, ngon is left to itself and proceeds to climb up the tree trunks and branches. *By the middle of May it is already* knee high. In June or July the field is weeded once, and later the ngon itself, rising above all else, chokes out the weeds; only some of the larger plants shoot up in spite of it and are occasionally pulled out. In September we already find some of the fruit fully ripened, and at the start of the dry season, in November and December, harvesting can be started. By that time, the leaves and stalks are almost completely dry, and the fruit hangs from the dry stalks in the branches of the trees which served the plant as a prop and are now leafless.

At harvest time an area in the plantation is cleared and carefully covered with leaves. Then the fruit is picked – a job

244 which is completed in three days in the case of medium-sized plantations -- and heaped up in this area around which a fence of oil palm leaves has been constructed. The fruit is beaten with a
252 stick to open it (Fig. 53), the contents are left in, and for /98/ protection against field mice and rain, it is covered with cardamom leaves. This job is completed in one day. Then the fruit must lie for four days. After this period the seeds are taken out of the fruit, placed in ordinary baskets lined with banana leaves, and left standing in the house for a day. Then they are washed in a river in order to remove the fruit slime clinging to them which has begun to ferment. This somewhat complicated preparation is concluded by the drying process. To this end the seeds, with loam added, are thoroughly kneaded by hand and then spread out in the village square. The reason for kneading them in loam is not clear. Some say -- and this seems to be the most probable explanation -- that the ngon becomes "stronger" by this process, since of course the dark color of the loam causes the sun to have a stronger effect on the seed. Others, especially Jaunde women, give the explanation that otherwise, that is, if the seeds were not mixed with loam, coma or dizziness comes through the eyes when the seeds are cracked open. I am unable to determine whether this is merely a superstition or is based on correct observation. At any rate, the seeds must dry in the sun on the village square for two days or, when bad weather intervenes, for a correspondingly longer period of time. A traveler walking through the villages after the ngon harvest will find quantities of white seeds covered with loam spread out in front of many houses. Children and women guard the treasure from meddlesome dogs and hens and make indignant threats at any trespasser on their harvest. Especially energetic women bombard the intruding animals with stones, small pieces of wood, or other missiles, until finally the anxious husband emerges from the meeting house and by means of a stick or a fly swatter drives away the disturbers of the peace to a respectful distance, where they come to the realization that there are other and better places and pounce upon the nearest, less carefully guarded pile. In my travels I have always enjoyed this time of year especially, since at these times there was at least some life in the village square which is otherwise so quiet. Furthermore, when a black rain cloud indicates the approach of a tornado, the whole community comes to life.

252 Everybody rushes to gather up the seeds; even hobbling old men and little naked children eagerly take part. Great care is taken, however, to get none of the dust which covers the village square in great quantities, no matter how much sweeping is done. Ordinarily, however, the seeds are gathered very quietly and slowly in the late afternoon, all the more slowly since the loam of which I have already spoken is carefully removed from the seeds. The fear of surprise downpours, incidentally, has produced all kinds of preventive medicines which I shall describe in another place (Section 14). /97/

244 136 Ngon suffer from pests more than the groundnut. Among these are beetles and caterpillars, but above all a species of bug which feeds on the leaves and a number of mammals which feed on the fruit. Among these mammals should be mentioned especially the red-tailed monkey, Cercopithecus buccalis Leconte (ołǒk), and, wherever it occurs, the baboon, Maimon planirostris Elliot (esǐge); furthermore, from the family of squirrels there are Sciurus eborivorus Du Chaillu (mvǒk) and Sciurus lemniscatus Leconte (osǒn); among the mice, the worst pest is Dendromys messorius Thomas (njaa); and there are also other species, such as Mus pusillulus Ptrs. (okǒb). In places elephants and buffaloes, which likewise eat the fruit, create a great deal of destruction. The guib (nkǒk) eats the leaves. Fruit 244 789 rot (ntǔī ngǒn, that is "diarrhea of the ngon"), the result of an overabundant rainfall, likewise reduces the harvest, at times to a considerable extent. Against all these enemies there is not much to be done since they do not pay much attention to preventive medicines; nonetheless, Pangwe women believe that they can influence the seeds and the young plants by all kinds of means, as in the case of the groundnut. One such means, ba-aya, has already been described in connection with the groundnut. A second method consists of sprinkling the seeds themselves in the bush plate where they are kept for sowing with red wood that has been ground to a powder (red wood as a symbol of growth, joy, and reproduction). Another pro- 244 789 cedure to encourage the growth of the ngon plants and to make them produce an abundance of fruit is called emiě ndǒb, that is, squirting 824 of (the medicine in the) banana leaf vessel. For this purpose a vessel made of banana leaves is buried in the middle of the farm or set up there, and the following things are put into it.

1. Fruit of Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. (abuī), because of the quantity of its fruit; hence also its name abuī from abuī, "much" (compare a bue, "break into pieces," for then there are many pieces!).

2. Herb of the Amaranthaceae Aerua lanata (L.) Juss. (angōnengōne III, angōngōne = assimilated, angōngōno), because of its abundant inflorescence.

3. Fruit of the Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofōs), because of its many fruits (cf. groundnut medicines).

4. Fruit of the Euphorbiacea Staphysora duseni Pax. (owūwūmu II and III), because of its many flowers; hence the name is derived from a wūmu, "to put forth," the name being formed by reduplication.

5. Pulverized leaves of the melegueta pepper, Aframomum melegueta K. Schum. (andūn), likewise because of the luxuriant growth of the plant. /98/

All these items are stirred together in water inside the vessel and are then squirted onto the young ngon plants by means of a piece of stalk of the Cissus (pfāzōk IV), so that the ngon may "grow as luxuriantly as the Cissus shoot."

Depending upon the region, the various elements and admixtures of the medicine differ; frequently some of them are used by themselves. For instance, Staphysora mixed with charcoal is scattered on the plants. All the components of the medicine listed above, however, are chosen because they can transfer their power to the ngon plants.

The economic importance of ngon is indicated by the fact that among the Ntum and Fang the women who planted the ngon are forbidden to have sexual intercourse for three months. The significance of this disproportionately long period of fast, if I may call it such, may be measured by the fact that in the important women's cult Mekang, for instance, the initiates are forced to practice only ten days' sexual abstinence, and in the most important men's cult, the

244 Sso of the Jaunde, sexual abstinence effectively lasts only three
134 months. The Fang say that the ngon would not grow if the prohibition were broken, and since with them the belly counts for more than love, this prohibition is generally observed.

Only the softer interior of the ngon kernel can be eaten. The
244 kernels must therefore be cracked open, and this is done by means
253 of a little stick from the tree Microdesmis puberula Hook. f.,
134 Euphorbiaceae (obīmyŏ̄n), with which they lightly strike the seed after placing it on end. Old and young, men and women, participate in this task which is carried out inside and in front of the dwelling house, as well as in the meeting house. It is an activity characterized by a peculiar clicking noise not easily forgotten once one has heard it. In spite of its importance in the household, the ngon is not prepared in a great variety of ways; like the groundnut, it is eaten only in the form of a soup or it is pulverized and boiled in a leaf bundle.

524 In conclusion, patient reader, kǎndǎ̄n (guess a riddle!); kǎndǎ̄n (I guess):

akǒ̄n	afǒ̄,	e	mane	nkū́na	ngūī,
spear	one,	he	makes ready	herd-swine.	

Answer:

okǒk	ofǒ̄,	e	mane	dǎ̄d	e	ngon
beater	one,	he	makes ready	bush plate	(with)	ngon.

244 Yams, as a secondary crop with ngon, are of two principal kinds: the three-leaved yams, Dioscorea dumetorum (Kunth) Pax (andéǎ); and the common yams, Dioscorea minutiflora Engl. (emvū). /99/ Each has four species. In addition, the Pangwe differentiate two more kinds which, however, perhaps belong to Dioscorea minutiflora or are close to it: ǎ̄ǒ̄ III Ntum, dǎǒ̄ (plural, bǎǒ̄) Fang; and ebǒ̄/zǒ̄. In the Jaunde region there is furthermore the Jaunde yam with large tubers, ekū́da Jaunde. Finally, the air tuber yam, Dioscorea sativa L. (alǒk), is also cultivated, but only in very small quantities. As we said above, the conditions for the growth of the yam resemble those of the ngon; it also climbs up the brush and trees left lying about,

244 and for that reason yams, especially the air tuber yam, are frequently planted with ngon. In general, the only edible part of the yam is the rhizome, and in the case of the air tuber yams, only the air tubers which all fall off at the same time when they are ripe. This has given rise to a symbolic custom practiced when the children eat yam. For instance, when the three sons of one mother eat yams, the first nudges the second, and the latter nudges the third, as a sign that they wish to die after one another, as is natural, and not all on the same day, like the air tubers.

Considerably less can be said of the third group than of the first and second groups. The chief plant belonging to it is cassava or manioc, Manihot utilissima Pohl (mbin I). The times for /Fig. 54 appears here in the original text/ the cultivation of cassava are as follows:

Fig. 54. Cassava Shoot.

vugn esib - long dry season (December to February), felling the trees on the farm;

ŋõgõ esib - short rainy season (March to May), planting the shoots;

ojin - the rainy half of the year.

In the following esib, in other words, from January of the following year on, that is, seven months after transplanting, harvesting may begin, and it may extend over an arbitrary period of time since the plant is a perennial.

There are no medicines for the growth of cassava as there are for the groundnut and ngon. The prayer of the Pangwe -- an ancient one in new guise -- would be: "Dear God, let the groundnut and ngon flourish, cassava grows by itself!" Cassava has comparatively few enemies; only goats and sheep like to eat the leaves. There is a species of grasshopper (mbãnõn III) which descends in

244 great numbers on the leaves of all cultivated plants, especially cassava and sugar cane. There are seven varieties of cassava, but it would take us too far afield to enumerate them here. As Figure 54 indicates, cassava is planted by heaping a little soil over the shoot. /100/

249 Similarly, sugar cane, Saccharum officinarum L. (nkɔ̃'k I), is "planted" during the rainy season. Its shoots are taken from the upper part of the stalk, called the "arrow" (Fangwe: esɔ̃'k), but it requires a longer period of time to ripen for it is not harvested until after the second subsequent rainy season, in other words, after thirteen months. Cassava and sugar cane are frequently found together in a planted area, often with cultivated plantains also interspersed among them.

Riddles

524

1. olɔ̃ɛ e ne m' oko, ke a wũlũ
(A) water, it is to me there, not (to) flow.
--The sap in the sugar cane.

2. bangɛ́-tiida (1) be ne m' oko, vɔ̃ medɛ́ɛ́ke
wives-father's they are to me there, merely (with) dancing caps,

1. Archaic form; nowadays the usual form is boyɛ́.

medɛ́ɛ́k
dancing caps.
--maɛ́m me nkɔ̃'k = blossoms of the sugar cane.

3. ma vũã ɔkɔ̃'-a ngɔ̃'k, o ke ɛ́ɛ́me
I throw-to a little stone from the rubble, it goes hitting
ngɛ ndɔ̃ɔ́-kɔ̃ɔ̃ atɔ́ɔ́
woman, Ndongkodo, (at the) knee.

The solution to this last riddle will be apparent from the following drawing (Fig. 55). Ndongkodo is a jocular name for sugar cane and alludes to the curvature of its stem; ndɔ̃ɔ́, ndɔ̃ɔ́ originally meant

524 "star," "sun," and was later carried over for people and used as a /Fig. 55 appears here in the original text/ personal name, and bôt - bent; we would perhaps say: "Your Excellency Von Bent."

244 I now turn to the second part of the cultivated plants, those that are cultivated in gardens, that is, in small operations and for the most part behind or close to the dwelling. To be sure, the difference between field and garden cultivation is not everywhere sharply defined. For instance, the garden plant taro is often planted at a distance from the village in fields, and plantains are frequently grown on cassava farms and other farms.

Taro, Colocasia antiquorum Schott (atú), and Macabo, Xanthosoma violaceum Schott (ekábe)

The taro or Colocasia is -- as the Latin name indicates -- a cultivated plant of some antiquity even for the Pangwe; hence they have no ready explanation for the name atú. The macabo, [77] on the other hand, which stems from /101/ America, has only recently been introduced and, according to the natives, was

[244]

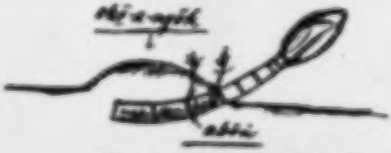


Fig. 55. Sugar Cane Shoot.

taken over by the coastal peoples about thirty years ago (1):

[105]

> 1. As soon as one has become familiar with the Negroes' ability to estimate time, one becomes very cautious with respect to the preciseness of historical dates.

hence its name ekábe from a kab-an, "to hand over, to divide, to take possession of." Both plants belong to the Araceae family. Taro is distinguished from macabo by the fact that its leaves are

244 only slightly indented near the bottom and the stalk of the leaf is articulated down by the flat part, while the macabo has true arrow-shaped leaves so that the indentation extends down to the stalk. Furthermore, macabo leaves have a slight sheen on the surface, while taro leaves are dull and their veins have an almost bluish tinge. Taro has yellow blossoms; macabo has white, green, and rose tinted ones; both blossom in the rainy seasons.

Strangely enough, Europeans in the Cameroons tend to prefer macabo to taro; the former is their substitute for the potato in Africa, although the latter, if merely steamed, doubtless has the better taste. At the same time the Pangwe have little love for macabo and have retained taro, their traditional cultivated plant. The explanation for this may be the fact that the Europeans first employed cooks from among the Batanga /Tanga/, one of the coastal peoples. Macabo is more important to them than taro, and their word akabe (plural, makabe) became macabo among the Europeans. Generally speaking, there is little to say about macabo cultivation among the Pangwe. They simply let it grow in the old places between the plantains around the village, just as it was left by departing predecessors. There it stands today -- reverting to the wild state -- and anyone can take as much as he likes. When the Pangwe settle a new region, however, they too plant macabo in the village and occasionally cultivate it. Two species of macabo are distinguished: the green mfū'm ekábe (mfū'm, "white, bright"), whose tubers are white; and a second, nfūt ekábe (nfūt, "dark"), whose leafstalks are a dark reddish color and whose tubers are likewise reddish. The white species is indisputably the better one. The dark species is not suited for the preparation of the macabo biscuits that are popular among the Europeans.

Taro, on the other hand, is cultivated, and since, as is well known, it thrives on moist soil, it is planted in the vicinity of swamps or in places with an abundance of water, more rarely near houses, and usually together with macabo. Taro farms are generally not large. There are three species of taro:

1. mfū'm atū: leafstalks green, underside of the leaf smooth;
2. atíele III (from a dīa, "to fill"; this species bears so many little tubers that they fill a whole plate): leafstalks bluish, underside of the leaf smooth; /102/

244 3. undĭndŏle III: leafstalks bluish, underside of leaf along each side of the ribs has dark green lichenous excrescences.

Taro is planted twice, in the long and short rainy seasons, and it is harvested twice, in the following long and short dry seasons. All the tubers are removed from the soil, and the farm is thus harvested completely. If any tubers are forgotten, they are picked up during the next dry season, but that is the end; there are never more than two harvests from the same sowing. A piece of land once used for taro is never cultivated a second time since enough swampy soil is available. There are no medicines to promote the growth of taro.

789

The tubers and young leaves are eaten as vegetables. Furthermore, the Pangwe are familiar with the fact that insufficiently boiled tubers cause "metŕ́ĥ," that is, itching in the neck, and so forth. The tubers are also used as medicine for blood tumors (mvi̋m); the resin-like secretion of the Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl., Burseraceae (asḗ), is placed on the swelling, and over this is smeared a salve made from the parings of raw taro tubers. This is supposed to make the diseased areas become "ntĕ́gan," that is, weak or soft.

757
278

Plantain

245 The shoots of the plantain, as well as of the banana which is cultivated alongside it, are planted around the village or on farms. They thrive without care and ripen during each season of the year. The plantain (1) or Negro banana, Musa paradisiaca L. (ekṓn).

> 1. The /German/ word Plante is derived from "plantain" which in turn comes from the Spanish platano, "banana." Since the plantain is very different from the true banana, I consider the retention of the word "plantain" useful. The French call it banane-cochon.

Figure 86, which in the Pangwe region has 25 different varieties, does not, to be sure, attain the luxuriance of the banana which grows like a weed. Nevertheless, it is very productive, just the plant for a Negro.

245 [177] mentǎngan, "bananas of the Whites." Later it was given the name etǎt, from the stem a tǎt, "to moan." "One" ate too much of it; "one" could not digest so much; "one" became weak; "one" could not catch anything during the hunt, which among the Pangwe is always the chief source of worry, and so forth.

244 I can only give a brief account at this point of the less important vegetables. The sweet potato, Ipomoea batatas L. (dǔgǔ III), is not cultivated; it thrives like a weed in the vicinity of the villages and chokes out every other weed, so that one can speak of miniature potato fields. It is not a very popular food. Other vegetables are sown and planted either in the vicinity of the houses or on the farms. Of these vegetables we should name first Cucurbita maxima Duch. 244 824 (abǒ'k), which belongs to the Cucurbitaceae family and of which there are four varieties. The flesh of the fruit is eaten, as is the interior of the seeds, and small unripe fruit is also added whole to the groundnut bundle. Its young leaves are cut into small pieces and eaten as vegetables. The skin of the fruit cannot be removed, otherwise one would be wounded in battle. The men must avoid the [133] seeds if they do not want to lose their virility the /104/ following night; hence it is regarded as tactless if the women serve the fruit with the seeds to the men at mealtime.

244 Of the Malvaceae and the Tiliaceae, Hibiscus and Corchorus (tége III - fruit, eté'tǎm) are planted. The name is derived from a ték, "weak," for the leaves are cooked in a short time on the fire; the fruit is called eté'tam from a tébé etǎm, "to stand alone," for they stand alone at the tip of the stalk when the leaves are withered or have been picked off. Both fruit and leaves are eaten. The following varieties are distinguished: Hibiscus moschatus Roxb. (nis tége - true hibiscus); and the Tiliaceae Corchorus olitorius L. (nghǎbelǒ'mo IV). The name esǎh includes three plants of different families, namely, Hibiscus sabdariffa L. (engǎ'ne-esǎh), the Polygonaceae Rumex abessynicus Jacq. (ebébu'dó-es), and the Melastomataceae Dissotis decumbens (P.B.) Trian. (esisǎ-bongǒ'n-h'uyek).

All these plants are sown, and their leaves are eaten.
Other cultivated plants are the following.

● 244 From the family of the Solanaceae there are: Solanum melongena L. var. inerme Hiern. (aʒõ'n); Solanum dinklagei U.D. (oyõ'la); Solanum lycopersicum L. (aʒõ'n ntã'hgan = aʒõ'n, that is, Solanum melongena, of the Whites). The fruit of these three varieties of Solanum is eaten. Furthermore, there is Solanum aethiopicum L. (ʒ̃ũm IV, enẽm) with three varieties: nii ʒ̃ũm = true zũm, nttma I, and ndzẽt' -ʒ̃ũm, as well as Solanum macrocarpum L. var. thonningii (etũi' -zũm from etũi' - Solanum duplosinuatum U.D., because of the similarity of the fruit). The leaves of the latter two species are eaten. From the family of the Amaranthaceae there are: Celosia argentea L. (ʒ̃ũm e mvẽ'lẽ, that is, ʒ̃ũm of the Mwele); Celosia laxa Schum. et Thom. (fõ'lõ'm [?], ebũ,nẽgẽn); Amaranthus paniculatus L. (fõ'lõ'm IV, fom IV). From the family of the Labiatae there are: Ocimum basilicum L. (osim); Ocimum gratissimum L. (asõ'n); Plectranthus spec. (avẽ), afõn; and Aeolanthus edlingeri Gürke (elẽ'lã'nge, Ntum; elã'ngelã'nge, Fang).

II. Livestock

231 For reasons which I shall mention in a moment, the Pangwe keep domestic animals, but this is not the kind of economic activity that could be called stock farming. The four-footed domestic animals include dogs, goats, and sheep; as for fowl, there are hens and, recently introduced, ducks.

[262] The dog (mgẽ IV) is kept basically for hunting. It is also eaten, a practice which is especially popular among the Jaunde. In the eyes /105/ of the European this dog is no more than a caricature, a repulsive travesty of a real dog. A glance into their false eyes suffices to make one hate the animals. Usually they are covered with sores; they are thieving and treacherous, disobedient, cowardly, and at the same time quarrelsome. In these characteristics they frequently strike the observer as comparable to their masters. I was struck by their not very highly developed sexual urge, in contrast to European dogs. The Pangwe values his dog all the more highly because of its great usefulness on the hunting drive. Good hunting dogs are very difficult to obtain from their owners and are worth as much

231 435

1: Tessmann--332 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate VII

244

Groundnut Plantation with Maize in the background, Ntum Region.

244 3. undĭndŏle III: leafstalks bluish, underside of leaf along each side of the ribs has dark green lichenous excrescences.

Taro is planted twice, in the long and short rainy seasons, and it is harvested twice, in the following long and short dry seasons. All the tubers are removed from the soil, and the farm is thus harvested completely. If any tubers are forgotten, they are picked up during the next dry season, but that is the end; there are never more than two harvests from the same sowing. A piece of land once used for taro is never cultivated a second time since enough swampy soil is available. There are no medicines to promote the growth of taro.

[789]

The tubers and young leaves are eaten as vegetables. Furthermore, the Pangwe are familiar with the fact that insufficiently boiled tubers cause "metŭ́ń," that is, itching in the neck, and so forth. The tubers are also used as medicine for blood tumors (mví̧m); the resin-like secretion of the Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl., Burseraceae (asḗń), is placed on the swelling, and over this is smeared a salve made from the parings of raw taro tubers. This is supposed to make the diseased areas become "ntĕ́gan," that is, weak or soft.

[757 278]

Plantain

245 The shoots of the plantain, as well as of the banana which is cultivated alongside it, are planted around the village or on farms. They thrive without care and ripen during each season of the year. The plantain (1) or Negro banana, Musa paradisiaca L. (ekṓn),

1. The /German/ word Plante is derived from "plantain" which in turn comes from the Spanish platano, "banana." Since the plantain is very different from the true banana, I consider the retention of the word "plantain" useful. The French call it banane-cochon.

Figure 56, which in the Pangwe region has 25 different varieties, does not, to be sure, attain the luxuriance of the banana which grows like a weed. Nevertheless, it is very productive, just the plant for a Negro.

245

Fig. 56. Plantains (Negro Bananas) and Bananas near Nsilalang (Essuong Family)

[G4] Riddle: mɔ̄nɛ̄nga e ne m' okɔ̄, a wɔ̄le
woman she is to me there, she many

ɔɛ̄' bɔ̄n, kaa nɔ̄m
gives birth to children, no (without) man.

Answer: ekɔ̄'n = plantain.

That is precisely the ideal: reward without labor, fruit without effort, food which without the work of hands grows into one's mouth. In this sense the plantain, like its sister, the banana, is really the most deserving of all the cultivated plants of the name "paradisiaca." Of the banana, Musa paradisiaca var. sapientum L., there are two species: the bush-banana (adzūi, adzūi-ekɔ̄'n); and the noble banana (etɔ̄t, etɔ̄t-ekɔ̄'n). As is apparent from /103/ /Fig. 56 appears here in the original text / the name, even among the Pangwe the banana is regarded as a variety of plantain. The noble banana, the one we know, was introduced from the coast, according to the Pangwe. At first it was called madzūi

245
177

445 [177] mentǎngan, "bananas of the Whites." Later it was given the name etǎt, from the stem a tǎt, "to moan." "One" ate too much of it; "one" could not digest so much; "one" became weak; "one" could not catch anything during the hunt, which among the Pangwe is always the chief source of worry, and so forth.

244 I can only give a brief account at this point of the less important vegetables. The sweet potato, Ipomoea batatas L. (dǔgǔ III), is not cultivated; it thrives like a weed in the vicinity of the villages and chokes out every other weed, so that one can speak of miniature potato fields. It is not a very popular food. Other vegetables are sown and planted either in the vicinity of the houses or on the farms. Of these vegetables we should name first Cucurbita maxima Duch. 244 824 (abǒk), which belongs to the Cucurbitaceae family and of which there are four varieties. The flesh of the fruit is eaten, as is the interior of the seeds, and small unripe fruit is also added whole to the groundnut bundle. Its young leaves are cut into small pieces and eaten as vegetables. The skin of the fruit cannot be removed, otherwise one would be wounded in battle. The men must avoid the [133] seeds if they do not want to lose their virility the /104/ following night; hence it is regarded as tactless if the women serve the fruit with the seeds to the men at mealtime.

244 Of the Malvaceae and the Tiliaceae, Hibiscus and Corchorus (tǎgǎ III - fruit, etǎ'tǎm) are planted. The name is derived from a tǎk, "weak," for the leaves are cooked in a short time on the fire; the fruit is called etǎ'tam from a tǎbǎ etǎm, "to stand alone," for they stand alone at the tip of the stalk when the leaves are withered or have been picked off. Both fruit and leaves are eaten. The following varieties are distinguished: Hibiscus mocheutos Roxb. (nis tǎge - true hibiscus); and the Tiliaceae Corchorus olitorius L. (nghǎbelǒmo IV). The name eshǎ includes three plants of different families, namely, Hibiscus sabdariffa L. (engǎ'ne-eshǎ), the Polygonaceae Rumex abessynicus Jacq. (ebǎbǒ'dǒ-es), and the Melastomataceae Dissotis decumbens (P. B.) Trian. (eshǎ-bengǎ'n-b'oyek).

All these plants are sown, and their leaves are eaten.

Other cultivated plants are the following.

222 262 tomentella C. Chr., Dryopteris megaphylla (Met.) C. Chr. (mejā m'abǒk), Dryopteris parasitica (L.) O. Ktz. (undūndu akō), Dryopteris gongylodes (Kuhn) O. Ktz. (engǎ), Stenochlaena guineensis (Kuhn) (nkǎdenǎ' III), Alsophila camerunensis Diels (ezīzōn-ōlō), and Diplazium silvaticum (Borg.) Sw. (esē't).

245 262 Fruits are cultivated very little. In this category the banana is the only native of any antiquity. The following have been recently introduced: the pineapple (nkōkajǎ'n I Fang, ekaiemyē'ǎ Ntum) (1), which is scattered over the entire territory

1. nkōk = sugar, ajǎn = Liliaceae, Cyperaceae; ekǎb sedge (from the Mwele), because of the leaves which are similar to those of the Cyperaceae.

although planted only in small numbers; the papaya Carica papaya (pēpē' Jaunde, adīābenkīgan Ntum, Fang) (2), which has scarcely

2. adīāb - Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl.; e ntīngīn = of the Whites.

passed beyond a narrow coastal strip and whose little trees can be counted; small, bitter lemons, Citrus /146/ limonum Risso (olǒ Fang, alǒ Ntum, ngēmbǎ IV); and oranges that are almost inedible for Europeans.

Coconut palms (mbǎ I, ngō mō I, Ntum, Fang; myē'ndē' IV Jaunde) are to be found only along the coast and even there only in small numbers.

The native "bush plum," Pachylobus edulis E. Don., var. mubafo Engl., Burseraceae (ezī' Ntum, ōlō Fang), which is found only in or near villages, may be cultivated. The attractive lilac-

[245] blue or beautiful rose-colored fruits are roasted on the fire, and the yellow, quite tasty meat of the fruit is eaten warm.

222 262 All the other fruits eaten by the Fangwe grow wild. Related to the bush plum in shape and in the taste of its fruit is Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl. (ezī; fruit, ōlō IV); the fruit is prepared in the

287
314

and furthermore the varieties the Pangwe call abǎ́n, andǔm, undǔm, and ngus.

/Fig. 159 appears here in the original text. / The most widespread varieties are Ficus globicarpa, stellulata, preussii and laurentii, barteri, abǎ́n, and andǔm. The best cloth -- it is almost pure white -- is provided by Ficus globicarpa Warb. [245] (embiǒ́n) which in former times was planted near the villages. This tree is preferred by the women, who "attach more importance to clothing" than men.

287
314

Whenever possible, smooth young tree trunks, no more than eight to ten centimeters thick, are chosen. A piece is cut out

[412]

Fig. 158. Beaters for Bark Cloth.
(a) of wood, (b) and (c) of elephant's rib,
(d) from an elephant's tooth.

of the trunk and left lying in the open for half a day or a whole day. Then it is scorched evenly over a small fire, whereupon the outer bark is removed by scraping until the bast layer is completely exposed. Then this layer is cut up lengthwise, loosened by tapping it with the beater, and taken off with the fingers or by means of a stick pushed under it. The bast layer thus taken off is then pounded on some kind of support, for instance, on a tree trunk or a wooden drum. The pounding is

114 from the Masai territory during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? The presence of Ba-yoka in the midst of the tribe is, of course, insufficient evidence. In order to give a satisfactory answer to this question we would have to be able to make a comparison between the languages."

●245 The country of the Bamvele and the Bobili is enriched by the presence of beautiful palm trees which are the sole source of prosperity for these peoples.

49 The country is serviced in the south by the eastern highway and also by a central road which runs from the Yekaba frontier to the north of their district.

197 Language. Although the traditions of the Yekaba and the Bamvele state that the ancestors of both peoples fled from among the Yalongo north of the Sanaga, the linguistic map of G. Tessmann clearly distinguishes between the two.

As we have seen, he says that the Yekaba speak a Pahouin tongue. The Bamvele (Bele in the German terminology) are said to have brought from their land of origin a language which is different from, although related to, the Pahouin languages, but mixed with that of the Beti. This observation is interesting and plausible. The Yekaba of the same origin as the Bamvele may thus have borrowed their language.

See Günter Tessmann, "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /People and Languages of the Cameroons/," Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen (Gotha, 1932), pp. 117 and 184.

141 Physical Anthropology. The people are almost all tall and strong, with flat noses and a marked prognathism. The trunk of the body is proportionately long.

Average height: men 169.7 cm.; women 158.9 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	79.3	78.7
Facial	84.7	84.9
Nasal	87.0	81.8
Cormique	51.5	52.5
Envergure/T	104.5	104.2

erosion and preserve the fertility of the soil. At present it would be a definite exaggeration to speak of an enclosure system, as may be done about the Bamiléké in the western Cameroons. Did such a system ever exist in Pahouin country, and are the humble hedges sometimes to be found encircling villages or plantations traces of it? However that may be, the practice could be very beneficial, and its development is much to be desired.

The raising of animals is now on the decline, especially in villages removed from the main roads. Are sacrifices requiring goats and hens passing into disuse? /31/ Have vehicular traffic and the number of fowls run over prevented the renewal of the leasing out of domestic animals /?/ /cheptel/. These various causes may have been simultaneously at work, but the reason most often given is the development of cacao plantations. Without fences, the raising of goats and the planting of cacao trees are incompatible. To protect their plantations or to avoid endless quarrels, owners of herds have had to limit their undertakings.

Modern agriculture

Cacao is indeed the symbol and the essential component of a modern economy. From this crop and from the agricultural, juridical, and economic practices which it entails, a thousand improvements or seeds of progress appear throughout the society.

It would, however, be unfair not to mention the other economic activities of the Pahouin districts, although their influence and financial return are far behind that of cacao. Timber, though its importance has decreased, played an essential role a few decades ago. African entrepreneurs are rare in this industry where equipment is complicated and expensive. A fairly large tonnage of palmetto is sold when the market is good, although the best soil and climate for palms is not to be found here (1).

1. The Pahouin of the southern Cameroons, the Boulou and Ntoumou particularly, dislike climbing trees and often sell the bunches of dates to Mekaé on the tree. (P. A.)

But cacao remains the master crop. Its cultivation has become a part of the moeurs and has left its mark on psychological patterns.

245 Planters boast of the number of their trees. Does this transformation go deep? Balandier thinks not: "Present-day interest in cacao growing ought not to mislead us—the Fang is not by nature a farmer; he raises cacao insofar as it brings in money and commodities." (2)

2. Balandier and Pauvert, Villages gabonais /Gabonese Villages/, I.E.C.A. /Institut d'Etudes centrafricaines/, Brazzaville, 1952.

Within the last forty years millions of trees have been planted. A few figures will go to show the extent of this activity: in Boulou country there is an average of 1,500 cacao trees per able-bodied man at Eholowa, 1,100 at Sangmélima, 950 at Djoum. In Beti country, the plantations are not so large, either because the soil was less fertile or because the population density did not allow as much land to be withdrawn from subsistence crops. Nevertheless, there are 413 trees per able-bodied man for the whole Yaoundé region. Distribution by subdivision is of some interest because it makes it possible to understand how far cacao trees have extended. The M'Balmayo subdivision comes first with 743 trees per man; then Djongolo with 655; Etoe, 415; Akonolinga, 401; Saa, 378; Mfou, 347; Okola, 277. The Nanga-Eboko figure does not warrant consideration, the subdivision being in part in an unfavorable climatic area. /22/ Eholowa is clearly the center of diffusion, and the contagion of example explains perfectly well the gradually decreasing density of the plantations. At Yaoundé or Akonolinga, plantations are fewer because the custom of planting is more recent. But the low figures for Saa or Okola are probably to be explained by the difficulty of finding empty land in areas where the density of population may reach 100 persons per square kilometer. On the other hand, extreme sparsity of population becomes an unfavorable factor. Djoum with 0.8 persons per square kilometer is less abundantly planted than are Sangmélima or Eholowa with 8 to 10 persons.

In measuring the importance of the cacao trees to the local economy, the distribution-per-man figures will give no indication of the distribution of the ownership of trees or of wealth. The entire production is in African hands. Everyone considers it a point of honor to own a plantation. Townsmen, officials, or /salaried/ employees, whose

occupations keep them away from their native villages, try to build up plantations, even though they may draw no profits before their retirement. Among Boulou or Beti every married man is a cacao planter. In the course of a sample survey of 490 rural families, only 43 (less than 9 percent) were found who do not have some income from a cacao plantation (1): 7 live from the sale of different agri-

1. J. Binet, Budgets familiaux des planteurs de cacao au Cameroun /Family Budgets of Cacao Planters in the Cameroons/, O.R.S.T.O.M. /Office de la Recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer/.

cultural products; 15 are engaged in crafts; 9 are salaried workers, employed in trade, missions, the administration. For the 437 other families cacao is a basic resource.

The large number of proprietors is accompanied by a wide distribution of wealth and by a certain amount of social equality (2).

2. Sautter, "Le cacao dans l'économie rurale du Woleu-Ntem /Cacao in the Rural Economy of the Woleu-N'Tem/," Études centrafricaines, 1961.

Nevertheless, financial differences are clearly marked. To take only cash income and to disregard home consumption, 28 households had available an average of 3,720 francs C.F.A. per annum (3).

3. One franc C.F.A. equals two metropolitan francs. Incomes were computed in 1954, a year during which quotations for cacao were especially favorable.

113 households had 10,000 francs C.F.A., 217 had 29,600 francs, 87 had 71,500 francs, 36 had 152,000 francs, 5 had 440,000 francs. Large incomes coincide with enormous plantations, but also with profits from a variety of sources: of the 5 families with the highest income, only 2 derive theirs entirely from cultivation. Of the 36 in the next lower category, 24 have a purely agricultural income. The

245 distribution of cacao plantations is neither the only nor perhaps the
[511 556] principal cause of inequality. Cacao production is on a considerable scale: around 50, 000 tons in the Cameroons, 3, 000 tons in Gabon(4).

[433]

4. Almost the whole of the Gabon output comes from the Woleu-N'Tem region and especially the Ntoumou cantons. (P. A.)

It is easy to understand that this crop is an essential factor in the
182 evolution /sic/ of Pahouin society.

245 In the field of common law, for example, cacao has affected the orientation of land law. By giving each person the possibility of making /33/ private profits, cacao has increased the independence of men and even of women from family authority. Because it allows the accumulation of durable and tranferable goods, cacao has raised, in a new form, the problem of successional devolution /inheritance/.

To consider only the realm of technology: settling on the land during several generations has apparently put an end to real nomadism; villages are no longer moved about. But a certain amount of shifting cultivation will remain inevitable if some method of rapid reclamation of fallow land is not adopted.

245 The stock of tools has increased considerably. An axe with a small,
412 narrow head ending in a tongue was fastened into the large end of a wooden handle, a daba similarly made but with a rounder head and lighter handle (1) and a machete were formerly the basic implements.

[284]

1. The tongue of the hoe, driven into a branch like a spike, is also bound to it with liana. Old women still use the digging stick, which has or had some ritual significance. (P. A.)

To these must now be added pruning shears, caterpillar destroyer or a local copy, and cacao spear.

245 Boxes or baskets provide vats for fermenting the /cacao/ beans, a roof shades the trays on which they are put to dry. Some men have thought of buying Vermorel vaporizers for spraying the cacao trees; others dream of mowing machines for clearing the land.

491

Fig. 47. Bridge over the Bimfilie near Ebiśnemajong (Esśuong Family) During the Rainy Season.

The privy (edūk), as Figure 16 shows, is in the plantain grove not very far from the houses. Frequently it is so close that the stench, especially when the wind is unfavorable, may become unbearable. The privy consists of a fairly deep pit with one or two pairs of forked sticks planted in the center; on top of these is placed a layer of tree trunks in such a manner that the middle ones extend from the edge of the pit only as far as the sticks and lie with their free ends in the forks. Thus, a rectangular opening is left uncovered, and /83/ loam is thrown around this over the whole thing. Sometimes the loam covering is not put over it. Instead of toilet paper, dried corn husks are used. 514 364

It is worthy of note that the Pangwe also cultivate ornamental plants. These are placed in the village square, along the paths behind or to the side of the houses, or, in case the village consists of only a single row of houses, they are planted where the opposite row of houses would ordinarily stand. Generally the ornamental plants are the following: an attractive Amaranthacea, Gomphrena globosa B. (ngōn IV), which also grows in America and may have been imported from there; and the so-called fever 351 247

351 grass, Andropogon schoenanthus L. (olimentǎngan = olim
247 [Ocimum] of the Whites), a plant which has likewise been imported.

487 The roads are often scarcely visible paths which are first trodden by hunters and used by elephants and later become wider through increased traffic. Naturally, however, one must always proceed along them in single file. Wherever small brooks happen to flow in the direction of travel, they are used as trails.

491 For the crossing of larger bodies of water, a few stems of the umbrella tree are tied together to form a raft or dugouts (bǎ, plural, mǎ; Fig. 45), otherwise employed for fishing purposes, are used. Bridges (ndǎgi I) are built only in rare cases, primarily in situations where the plantations and the village are situated on opposite banks of a river, thus necessitating regular and rapid passage between them. These bridges consist /84/ (Fig. 46 and 47) of several piers, each made up of two tree trunks planted into the ground in the form of a St. Andrew's cross and firmly tied together. One or more transverse beams are then placed over these piers. To serve as a railing, either ropes are tied to the upper ends of the piers, or sticks split lengthwise down the middle are fastened to them. When a bridge beam decays, a new one is placed on top of it, but no one thinks of restoring the framework which cannot support the greater weight, and for this reason the bridge soon collapses as it gets older.

[117] More recently bridges have been built according to the European model (kǎza III), consisting of two rows of supporting piles and transverse beams over which logs are placed very close together, like our corduroy roads. These bridges are even more dangerous to life and limb than the older form, since supporting posts often collapse, the bridge frequently lists to one side, and it is possible to have a bad fall on the slippery log ends. /85/

Section 5

000 **Economic Activities**

First Part. Agriculture. General matters: tools, preparation of the soil, division of labor. The

26a palm oil is the basis of sauces and stews eaten with tubers and cereals. Groundnuts are widely used (do not the Ewondo owe their name to them?). The dough obtained after cooking and pounding goes toward the making of numerous dishes and provides the main part of the needed protein. One article of food ought finally to be mentioned because it is very much liked and also because its consumption seems absolutely uneconomical—pumpkin seeds. The seeds are preserved, dried, and cleaned one by one, then put to boil, and mashed. The skill required for, and the time spent in, shelling the seeds appears subject to scanty return (1).

> 1. But fritters made of pumpkin-seed dough are delicious .... There is quite a good trade in these seeds for town consumption. (P. A.)

[4b]

2. Agriculture

[17] 24 Before broaching the description of present-day agriculture, we must see what it used to be like and what it still is in certain traditionalist sections. In fact, methods do not appear to have changed at all; new crops have simply been added to the old ones. It is likely that because of the influence of these new crops /29/ the whole technology (material techniques, legal techniques, etc.) will develop further. But that trend is only starting, and at present the cultivation of groundnuts, maize, and other long-familiar foodstuffs remains nearly what it was forty years ago, before the advent of the cacao tree.

24 Traditional agriculture

Formerly, each family produced everything it needed and confined its efforts. There were no cash crops, there was no article of food suitable for maintaining an exchange system, but all sorts of crops were cultivated. As to clothes, elderly Bané and Ewondo state that the cultivation and weaving of cotton was practiced by their ancestors; there could be no question of this in their present habitat, and the tradition is valuable merely as evidence, either for those who believe that the Pahouin come from regions further north, or for those who see in the Beti not true Pahouin but a Pahouinized people (1). Each

[27] 29

244 great numbers on the leaves of all cultivated plants, especially cassava and sugar cane. There are seven varieties of cassava, but it would take us too far afield to enumerate them here. As Figure 54 indicates, cassava is planted by heaping a little soil over the shoot. /100/

249 Similarly, sugar cane, Saccharum officinarum L. (nkɔ̄́k I), is "planted" during the rainy season. Its shoots are taken from the upper part of the stalk, called the "arrow" (Pangwe: esɔ̄́k), but it requires a longer period of time to ripen for it is not harvested until after the second subsequent rainy season, in other words, after thirteen months. Cassava and sugar cane are frequently found together in a planted area, often with cultivated plantains also interspersed among them.

Riddles

524

1. olɔ̄́e e ne m' oko, ke a wūlū
(A) water, it is to me there, not (to) flow.
--The sap in the sugar cane.

2. bangɨ́-tɨ̄ɨda (1) be ne m' oko, vɔ̄ medʒɔ̄́ka
wives-father's they are to me there, merely (with) dancing caps,

1. Archaic form; nowadays the usual form is boyɨ́.

medʒɔ̄́k
dancing caps.
--masɨ̄m me nkɔ̄́k = blossoms of the sugar cane.

3. ma vūɨ̄n okɔ̄́-a ngɔ̄́k, o ke lɨ̄me
I throw-to a little stone from the rubble, it goes hitting
nga ndɔ̄ń-kɔ̄́dɔ̄ abɔ̄́n
woman, Ndongkodo, (at the) knee.

The solution to this last riddle will be apparent from the following drawing (Fig. 55). Ndongkodo is a jocular name for sugar cane and alludes to the curvature of its stem; ndɔ̄ń, ndɔ̄ńɔ̄ originally meant

524 "mar," "sun," and was later carried over for people and used as a /Fig. 55 appears here in the original text/ personal name, and ké – bent; we would perhaps say: "Your Excellency Von Bent."

244 I now turn to the second part of the cultivated plants, those that are cultivated in gardens, that is, in small operations and for the most part behind or close to the dwelling. To be sure, the difference between field and garden cultivation is not everywhere sharply defined. For instance, the garden plant taro is often planted at a distance from the village in fields, and plantains are frequently grown on cassava farms and other farms.

Taro, Colocasia antiquorum Schott (atú), and Macabo, Xanthosoma violaceum Schott (ekábe)

The taro or Colocasia is -- as the Latin name indicates -- a cultivated plant of some antiquity even for the Pangwe; hence they have no ready explanation for the name atú. The macabo, [171] on the other hand, which stems from /101/ America, has only recently been introduced and, according to the natives, was

•[244]

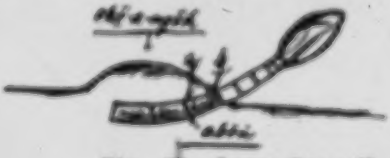


Fig. 55. Sugar Cane Shoot.

taken over by the coastal peoples about thirty years ago (1):

[805]

> 1. As soon as one has become familiar with the Negroes' ability to estimate time, one becomes very cautious with respect to the preciseness of historical dates.

hence its name ekábe from a kab-an, "to hand over, to divide, to take possession of." Both plants belong to the Araceae family. Taro is distinguished from macabo by the fact that its leaves are

(Rich.) Engl., Anacardiaceae (offe); Pseudospondias tessmannii Engl., likewise (angbin); /147/ Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth., Leguminosae (ebɛ̄i); Cola acuminata (P.B.) R. Br., Sterculiaceae (abɛ̄); Carpolobia alba Don., Polygalaceae (onɔ̄n, ɛ̄ɔnok); Rickinodendron africanum Muell. Arg., Euphorbiaceae (ezɛ̄ɛ); Myrianthus arboreus P.B., Moraceae (mangɛ̄me III Fang, angɛ̄ɛ̄m Ntum, Jaunde); Desbordesia glaucescens Engl., Simaroubaceae (alɔ̄ɔ); Duboscia macrocarpa (?) Bocq., Tiliaceae (abɛ̄k e sɛ̄ɛ); Oncinotis glandulosa Stapf, Apocynaceae, and Tylostemon minutiflorus Stapf, Lauraceae (dzɛ-odɛ̄ɛ dɛ̄k or bodɛ̄ɛbodɛ̄ɛ dɛ̄k); Tristemma hirtum Vent., Melastomataceae (abɛ̄-ofɛ); Cnestis aurantiaca Gilg, Connaraceae (abɛ̄n e ndɛ̄k); Vitex bipindensis Gürke, Verbenaceae (apɔ̄m); Anonidium mannii Oliv., Anonaceae (ebɔ̄m eli); Sarcocephalus sambucinus K. Sch. (alɛ̄'mɛ̄, alɛ̄'ma, and akɛ̄ndɛ̄m); the palm Podococcus barteri M. and W. (niamyine); as well as various varieties of Aframomum, such as the Aframomum alboviolaceum K. Sch. (adɔ̄ɔm; fruit, ɛ̄ɛ̄n) illustrated in Volume II.

Finally, mushrooms, of which the Fang distinguish twenty edible varieties, play an important role in the household. With the exception of a foul-smelling morel which is covered with a kind of veil, poisonous ground mushrooms do not seem to occur.

Of spices, pepper and salt are known, and both are found indispensable by the Pangwe for the preparation of meals. Three varieties and many subvarieties of pepper, Capsicum (okɛ̄lɛ̄ IV, undɛ̄ndɛ̄ III), are sown behind the houses or close to the village, and it is to be found growing wild everywhere in the vicinity of human settlements, where its green fruit -- red when ripe -- is picked whenever it is needed; it is added to the food either whole or pulverized on a stone.

Salt is more difficult to obtain. Although salt imported from Europe now floods almost the entire region and, in conjunction with tobacco, constitutes a regular standard of value, in remote areas of the interior the laborious extraction of salt from swamp plants is still carried out in the old manner.

The two chief salt-producing plants are those illustrated by Plate 10: Halopegia aurea K. Sch., Marantaceae (nkɔ̄n I) and

times as powerful as usual, and the entire mixture was so strong that it caused violent dizziness and headache.

The palm wine which is obtained from the pith of a tree trunk that is cut down /169/ (mayʊ̃ k) -nkʊ̃k) keeps for 24 hours in the house. On the other hand, the wine made from the inflorescences keeps at most half a day, and in great heat it spoils very rapidly, as I observed; it does the same if one takes it along on a trip. For this reason I followed the rule in the palm wine region of always finishing a good wine immediately or at least as soon as possible.

As I have said, the Pangwe are, generally speaking, moderate drinkers, but among them there are also heavy drinkers who regularly get drunk on palm wine. I shall leave undecided the question [164] as to whether the widespread epilepsy (okʊ̃ bʊ̃k) in the northern Pangwe region is a phenomenon resulting from excessive indulgence in palm wine on the part of the parents.

4. Tobacco.

Four varieties of tobacco, Nicotiana tabaccum L. (nʊ̃ III) (1)

1. The native term may have arisen from tabaco.

are found in the Pangwe region. Formerly there was a fifth variety, but its cultivation has been given up. /Fig. 109 appears here in the original text./ With the exception of two that are very similar, the tobacco varieties are easily distinguished by their leaves. The key for determining each is as follows.

A. Leaves are not alated, and the leafstalk is long and clearly defined: esʊ̃n (esʊ̃n because of the similarity of the leaves to those of the Hibiscus sabdariffa L.)

B. Leaves are alated

(a) Leaves are narrow, lanceolated: sʊ̃mʊ̃ IV

(b) Leaves are broad, ovate

1. Blossoms are a bright pink, almost whitish, the leaves being comparatively wider than in the case of the following: nʊ̃debʊ̃no I

2. Blossoms are dark pink to red, and the plants grow closer to the ground: mbɔ́'mekũnɩ̃ I 276 249

Originally, the Pangwe were not passionate smokers, as a rule, although in every village one encounters old people who cannot live without their pipes. Over the whole region, especially in the north where the influence of the Whites is more predominant (for instance, among the Jaunde), the use of tobacco is rapidly increasing. The quality of imported tobacco and the great variety of pleasing shapes of the pipes for sale in the trading posts may be strong /170/ /Fig. 110 appears here in the original text/ contributing factors. 276 [77]

Fig. 109. Clay Tobacco Pipes.

Next to salt, "trade tobacco" is one of the principal trade articles. [43]

Tobacco is exclusively smoked in pipes; chewing or taking snuff is unknown. The Pangwe distinguish three forms of pipes. First there are short wooden pipes carved out of one piece (only among the Fang), ekũk-myiɔ̃k (Fig. 107), and secondly, banana leafstalk types (ntɔ̃n I; bowl, obɩ̃'k). The latter consist of a piece of banana leafstalk or leaf ribbing, more than a meter long, and a bowl stuck on top of it which is made of the kernel of the raffia fruit, brass plate, or clay (Fig. 108). The stalk needs to be replaced from time to time. In almost every meeting house this form of pipe can be seen on the wall resting on two hooks, and it frequently goes the rounds among the men, on which occasion the chief is the first to draw from one to three deep puffs and then passes it on to his neighbor. The last man puts the pipe back on its rack. The third type of pipe

1: Tessmann--165 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

249
361
342

Fig. 110. Tobacco Planted in a Village Square.

276 (myō-taa) consists of a clay bowl and a wooden stem about 30 centimeters long, part of which has brass wire neatly wound around it (Fig. 109). Formerly, this pipe is supposed to have been as long as an arm among the Jaunde.

249 Proportionate to the indifferent habit of smoking is the indifferent care and affection with which the tobacco plant and its leaves are treated. Wherever a great deal of tobacco is imported by the trading houses, tobacco cultivation is completely neglected. /171/

Tobacco seeds are sown in whatever planting area happens to be convenient at the same time as the principal crop of the field is planted. Accordingly, the tobacco may be sown, for instance, with groundnuts twice a year. Frequently a small tobacco bed is laid out close to the village, or the seeds are planted next to the houses and sometimes on the village square (Fig. 110).

As soon as the plants attain a certain height, all the leaves except those on top are picked off. The top leaves are left so that the plant can continue to grow and bring forth blossoms and fruit. Then the leaves are harvested for the second time, and the fruit

1: Tessmann--166 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

intended for the next sowing are taken off. Since the principal crop of the field has meanwhile been harvested and the field therefore has been abandoned, the young tobacco plants which have developed from prematurely ripened seeds are taken home and planted in the vicinity of the house.

Further treatment of the leaves consists simply of drying them in the house, either on the drying lofts (one or two days) or under the roof, underneath the mats into which the stalks are pushed so that the leaves hang down freely (depending on the distance from the fire, three to five days). Naturally, the Pangwe know nothing about the fermentation process; it may once in a while take place accidentally when the leaves are kept tied together in a basket. Usually, however, so many brothers, friends, and members of the kin group appear on the scene that the entire harvest is distributed. Tobacco is regarded as communal property, so to speak; just as the pipe in the meeting house is used by everyone in common, so are the tobacco leaves considered common property, and it is the custom to share them with the members of the village at each harvest.

In spite of the crude treatment of the tobacco leaf, native tobacco is supposed to be not at all bad, as I was assured by smokers. /172/ /Fig. 111 appears here in the original text./

Section 7

000

Dress and Ornaments

1. Dress. Men's dress (loin cloths, belts). -- Women's dress (front apron, back apron, working dress). -- Children's dress. -- Hair style for children; for adults (helmet crests, helmet caps, occurrence, kinds, production). -- Hair style of the older people. -- Headdress. -- Beards.
2. Ornaments. Hair ornaments. -- Piercing the nasal septum. -- Nose ornaments. -- Forehead ornaments. -- Neck ornaments (necklaces and neck bands, neck rings made

515
342 that raffia palm oil is evidently offensive to lice /Fig. 143 appears here in the original text/ and prevents them from becoming too intimate with their "host." In the case of skin diseases (Kroiro /Ed. ,?/ and scabies) and of sand flea wounds, it is even used as a remedy.

[353]

Oil (mbɔ̂) is obtained mainly from palms: in the north, only from the oil palm; in the south, rarely from this tree and mainly from the raffia palm. At times it is also produced from the kernels of Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (adhá'), fruit, ebɔ̂; kernels, ngɔ̂ IV-ebɔ̂), from the kernels of the Carapa procera D. C. (engɔ̂'), and only very rarely from groundnut (see page 56).

The oil of the raffia palm is used exclusively for the care of the skin, while that of the oil palm is used for the same purpose

Fig. 143. Toothbrush.

for the greater part, only from one-sixth to one-fifth being consumed as food.

(a) Raffia palm oil.

249
303 The fruit (aɔ̂ɔ̂ɔ'), not yet fully ripe, is carried in baskets from the swamp to the village where they are kept for six days under banana leaves and pieces of banana stalks. Then the scaly shell, insofar as it has not fallen in of its own accord, is removed, and the layer rich in oil, which is located between the armor and the seed, is peeled off by hand or with the help of a scale from the shell. The following riddle refers to the latter procedure. /191/
249
524
303 /Fig. 144 appears here in the original text. /

ma	vɛ̂i		mot	oko,		okɔ̂ɔ̂,	o	mbe	a
I	killed	(a)	person	there,	(the)	knife,	it	was	to him

nie	abum	a	si,	o	wo	ma	ba	nie	
(at the)	belly	below,		with	which	I	divide	him	

a	oa
for	you!

Fig. 144. Oil Press for Raffia Palm Oil.
To the left the pulp containing oil is being heated over the fire.

"With the knife that he had below at his belly, I shall divide him for you."

A little water is added to the pulp which contains the oil; it is stirred and then placed on a piece of bark to lie in the sun for a few days. It is then put on a frame (Fig. 144, left) and, by means of a fire laid under it, is thoroughly heated for half an hour to an hour. Afterwards it is placed in a little basket, specifically made for this purpose (ekùt ażòʼ) from the Ancistrophyllum (nkāne), which is squeezed out on the oil press (ekīle-mażòʼ, efīt-ażòʼ). Although this press is made by one man alone, it may be used by all the villagers. In most villages it is set up near the meeting house and consists of a frame -- two posts planted in the ground at some distance from each other with two cross-sticks tied to them -- and of a board cut to a point near the bottom and attached sideways to the frame, that is to say, it is simply tied to the upper cross-stick (as seen in Fig. 144), or it may be held by means of a pole set at an angle in the ground and passing through a hole drilled in the board at the upper end. In order to hold it tight,

the board is tied to the /192/ lower cross-stick. Sometimes in place of the board one uses sticks oriented in the same direction and placed close to each other, which are then, of course, tied to the frame at the top and at the bottom.

The pressing itself (a kind mallet) is shown in Figure 144. The little basket with the pulp is hung either over the stick that is set at an angle or over the upper end of the board (Fig. 144), so that it rests in front of the board. Then it is squeezed out with sticks. In squeezing, one stick after another is placed diagonally over the basket (in a top to bottom direction): one end of the stick is placed behind the corresponding frame post while the other end is drawn up to the other post and fastened to it with string. In this way the basket is squeezed, and the contents are pressed downwards.

Prior to this, a vessel has been placed under the board down which the oil runs during the pressing. A leaf filter or an old basket over the vessel strains out the larger impurities. During the rainy season the fruit yields a more watery oil, while during the dry season it yields an oil that becomes solid very soon after being pressed out.

(b) Oil palm oil.

Corresponding to the more infrequent occurrence of the oil palm from north to south, oil from the oil palm is of much greater importance in the north than in the south. In the former region it is better prepared -- if at this point I may speak of it as a food -- even if it is not prepared as well as among the coastal tribes -- while in the latter region it is less well prepared. Furthermore, while in the south there are only three methods of obtaining the oil, in the north there are four and an equal number of varieties of oil corresponding to the methods of extraction. These are as follows: /193/ /Fig. 145 appears here in the original text/

1. Pressed palm oil (mowɔ̃, plural), for rubbing on the skin and food;
2. Boiled palm oil (nnyIman e mbɔ̃n), only for rubbing on the skin;
3. Washed palm oil (ɓoń), Jaunde and Mwele, used for rubbing on the skin and for food;

1: Tessmann--196 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

249
25

4. Palm seed oil (mbɔ̂n e mbaá, maniafiga Jaunde), used only for the skin.

In the order given, from 1) to 4), the frequency of production decreases. In other words, pressed oil is made most frequently, palm seed oil is made most rarely. The order is the same for the southern Pangwe, except that washed oil is completely absent.

1) Pressed oil.

The stalks bearing the ripe fruit are taken off the tree, cut apart by means of axe and cutlass, and left to lie for a couple of days under a blanket of banana leaves. Then the fruit itself is taken off and boiled with a little water for about half an hour in a pot covered with leaves. Afterwards, it is pounded in a trough with a wooden pestle, and the seeds are picked out (Fig. 145). The pulp is then pressed out on the oil press. The oil has the familiar yellowish-red color, and among Europeans it appears on the dinner table as "palm oil chop" with meat and the tubers of macabo or taro; however, only a small proportion of the natives eat it (one-quarter, in the south even less).

[362]

249
252
415
301

Fig. 145. Extraction of Oil from the Fruit of the Oil Palm.

2) Boiled oil.

249 The pressed oil is boiled until it becomes quite clear, a
252 stage which can best be recognized by letting a few drops of oil
824 fall onto a piece of raffia pith. During the boiling, a number of leaves of the feverweed Andropogon schoenanthus (olim e ntangan), which has a peculiar smell, tied in a bundle and dipped into the pot for about a minute. When the oil has boiled long enough, the pot is taken from the fire, leaves and pieces of bark of the bush plum Pachylobus edulis E. Don. (asf' Ntum, olinga Fang) are put in it for about three minutes -- supposedly because they have a pleasant smell -- and then the translucent, dirty-white oil is poured off.

3) Washed oil.

249 The oil is first treated like the pressed oil. After the pound-
252 ing, water is poured into the trough, and the meat of the fruit is thoroughly kneaded, the kernels being removed at the same time. The water is then carefully poured off. This process of kneading the meat in the water is repeated two more times; then the meat is removed, and the oil floating on the water in the trough is ladled off. The oil has the same characteristics as the pressed oil; it is also yellowish-red and is used in the same manner. This oil may likewise be boiled, and when this is done, it is identical with the boiled pressed oil. /194/

4) Palm seed oil.

The palm nuts are broken open on a stone (Fig. 146), and the seeds are heated over a fire in a pot without water. Then the seeds are set on fire, which forces out the oil that they contain. The seeds with the oil are then poured onto a potsherd with two holes in it, and the oil drips into a vessel placed underneath. Palm seed oil is quite dark and opaque.

302 Finally, we might mention that children -- adults only if there happens to be no oil available -- sometimes simply place the palm fruit between the logs of the fire and then rub the warm fruit back and forth in their hands. The oil which is forced out in this way is then immediately rubbed onto the skin.

302 Aside from rubbing his skin with oil, the Pangwe likes to
222 smear his body with dyes on certain occasions. For this purpose he uses red chiefly, more rarely white, and only exceptionally black. There are no other colors. Red is the color for joy,

[415
249
252
516]

Fig. 146. Nuts of the oil palm are cracked open to extract the oil.

and white is the color for death and evil. From this, the occasions on which the colors are used will be apparent. On festive occasions, that is, dances, weddings, and birth celebrations, red is used, a color which sometimes (for instance, in the love dance) is enlivened by white suns and circles, which seldom

Another
244 fertility medicine consists of the following mixture: 1) bark
789 of the Simarubacea Irvingia barteri Hook. f. (andǒk; 2) bark
[824] bark of the Anacardiacea Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl.
(ofǒs); 3) elephant manure; 4) sand from the Campo or the
Uelle; 5) salt. On the eve of sowing this mixture is added to the
nuts. This, too, must be understood as a direct transfer of power:
the groundnuts are to be as numerous as the fruits of the two
plants named; they are to become as enormous as the pile of
elephant manure; as numerous as sand in the Campo — we would
say, as the sands of the ocean; and as innumerable as the grains
[824] of salt. Finally, certain Liliaceae (ayǎn) are planted between
the groundnuts so that their leaves may become as green as the
lilies in the field. As can be seen, there is no lack of friendly
encouragement and good examples.

The fruit, illustrated in cross-section by Plate 6, Draw-
244 ings a and b, usually has two seeds, more rarely three, and still
more rarely one. Something reminiscent of our love feast occurs
when a boy at work finds a fruit with three seeds in his mother's
basket or in the field, calls his friends, and shares the seeds with
[195] them. This is called euphemistically: bi kī kǎbǎd, "we dissect a
goat." Thus, we have here the doctrine: Do not forget to do good
and to share with your fellow man when you are living in abun-
dance! It is probably more by way of a game that the Pangwe,
especially the children, sometimes eat the nuts raw. Otherwise
[353] raw nuts are prepared principally for soup or compote. It is also
customary to boil the whole fruit and then eat the seeds. The
●[367] nuts are stored in large, tall baskets of raffia pith, which are hung
under the roof or placed on a bed, or the nuts may be placed
loose on the groundnut loft, akǎn owǔnǒ.

As a result of their laziness and indifference, the Pangwe
433 seldom have enough groundnuts, so there is always a period of
435 time when they have to do without them until the next harvest has
244 been brought in and is sufficiently dried. This is the reason that
in the Ntum and Fang regions at these times the price for a "plate"
(2)

[804] 2. The flat plate-shaped baskets called bush plates are a unit of measurement.

227 upwards in such a fashion that their tips just protrude above the water.

It goes without saying that such weirs can be built only when the water level is lowest. As soon as the water in the river rises, it carries many fish with it and /113/ drives those which are not caught in the baskets of the lateral weirs onto the screens where they often remain in large numbers and are simply picked up by the Negroes. They are reached by a special bridge built out from the bank or by climbing along the edge of the lateral weir.

227 423 This kind of fish weir occurs everywhere except in the north. Usually the chief induces a number of people to construct such a weir; these people then have the sole right of ownership to the fish weir and the fish. They do give their relatives and acquaintances, probably for nothing, a part of their catch, either from a sense of solidarity or because they expect that in similar circumstances they will be provided for in the same way. On the other hand they [425] demand payment from strangers, the amount depending on the size

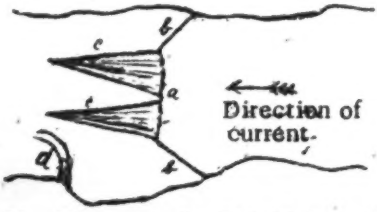


Fig. 60. Diagram of a Fish Weir in the Abea: (a) main weir, (b) lateral weirs, (c) screens of the main weir, (d) a tree growing on the bank and bent over the water.

of the fish, one or two spears (seven or 14 pfennigs) apiece. The major part of the catch is consumed immediately; the rest is [251 435] dried. Since fish spoil quickly in the tropics, only a very few leave the place where they are caught; another reason for this is that the uncertain conditions in the Fang area prevent regular trade (1).

1. There are no markets at all.

227 285 In addition to the contrivance just described, consisting of main and lateral weirs, one also encounters lateral weirs used by themselves

252 435 484 Throughout the region such a "kank"[1] is equal in value to a tobacco leaf (commercial tobacco) or a spoonful of salt. This is equal to a piece of spear money or seven pfennigs. They are generally used as provisions for bearers and employees of the Whites because of their convenience and availability, their unlimited supply, and their popularity with the natives.

Dried cassava rolls (engū'nă-mbǔm).

252 484 257 As was mentioned before, the ordinary rolls do not keep longer than three days. Hence a special procedure is used in their preparation for longer journeys or for situations when one cannot or does not want to make the rolls again and again. In this procedure, the cassava balls are placed on the drying loft for a month after they have been washed; only then are they processed, that is, pulverized on stones, wrapped in leaves, and boiled. Sometimes the balls themselves are carried along on the journey. They are softened in water when they are wanted, boiled, and consumed cold. Both kinds of cassava rolls are called engù'nă-mbǔn.

(b) Cassava cutlets (osā -mbǔn, ngŏ-mbǔn IV).

252 A very bitter and at the same time poisonous species of cassava is made into cassava cutlets. For this purpose, the pieces of root are peeled with a cutlass, halved lengthwise or quartered, and boiled with one and a half liters of water for an hour in a pot lined with plantain leaves. Then the roots are taken out, cut like a loaf into slices, and hung for a day in running water inside a basket lined with leaves. After that, they are thoroughly washed on the net described under "Fishing" on page 80, and they are then eaten cold. /156/

Dried cassava cutlets (dżǎ[s] -mbǔn).

[251 484] These are dried after the boiling and before being hung in the water, in the same way as engū'na-mbǔn. They are used in the same situations.

[1 [i.e. cassava roll. — Analyst.]

252 frequently pouring on water, grinds them to flour (half a basket of ears produces a heaping basketwork plate of flour from which three loaves are made). The flour in a basketwork plate lined with leaves is stirred with water to form a batter; salt, pepper, and frequently [262] also shrimp and dragonfly larvae are added. This batter, as in the case of the women's cassava nkǔ'na mbǘn, is placed in a Sarcophrynium leaf folded in the shape of a stirrup, and it is boiled for an hour in a pot with a little water. The end result is a dish which, while it is rather heavy, tastes quite good. /160/

(d) Maize mush (ngbwɛ̄t).

Maize mush is made of fresh maize flour which, when boiled, makes a white pulpy soup. Since I have not closely observed its preparation, I am unable to give any details.

The remaining plants, such as taro, macabo, yams, and so forth, are not sufficiently important to be discussed in relation to the various ways of preparing them. The reader will, I think, from the information given so far, derive a clear enough picture of the multiple uses made by the Pangwe of their vegetable foodstuffs.

Meat is boiled in pots by itself -- just like fish, which, as among us, are dressed and scaled -- or it is boiled in a leaf bundle with groundnuts and ngon. As for other ways of preparation, the [257] Pangwe are familiar with roasting, but they use this method only in order to make the food keep and to preserve it.

264 Meals are quite irregular and poorly distributed:

"kikitase afǒk anū, hamoś ebań e nkǒk,
[539] In the morning a little bit for the mouth, (mid) day a loan for the jaw,
alu bepfǘm"
at night, quite full.

In the morning, soon after getting up, they usually eat a small amount of a cold cassava dish or something similar, which the women have cooked the night before since they usually have to go to the plantations early. In the course of the forenoon they content themselves with a little snack of cassava bread, bananas, and the like.

1: Tessmann--225 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/213/

284
415

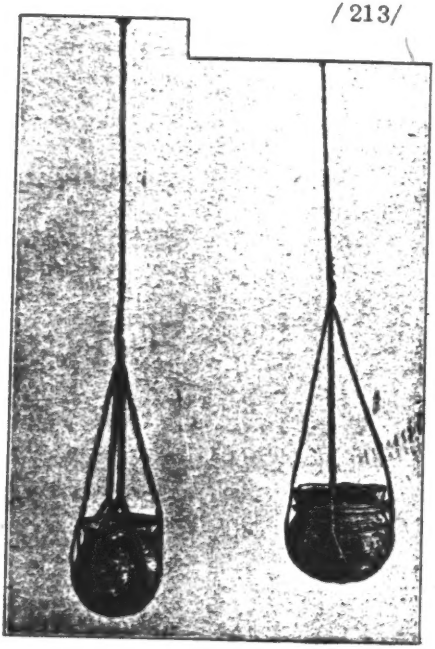


Fig. 164. Mwele Device for Hanging Cooking Pots.

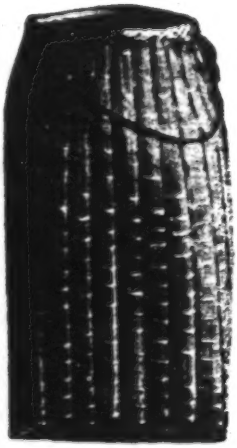


Fig. 165. Storage for Groundnuts.

285
415
251

283 elements of the same kind, and these are braided together into a pigtail (helmet caps and helmet hairdos; see also device of the Mwele for hanging pots, Fig. 164). /Fig. 165 appears here in the original text./

(2) Carrying bands and braided mats.

[482] The carrying bands are braided from Triumfetta bast strips (two under, two over). The braided mats are made from leaf strips of the screw pine Pandanus (awŭ'ba, kŭbuga; contracted form, akŭ̆ă) which intertwine like a chessboard. Mats are found only in the [285 439] southern border region and are probably imported. There is a boat-like satchel for the novices of the Jaunde moon cult (see Section 11 /Ed., this section in Vol. II is not translated/), which is braided like the mats and made of the same material.

(3) Drying boards and boxes.

283 The floors of the drying boards are made by braiding raffia 285 stalk strips (four under, three over). The bottoms and parts of the 415 side walls of the boxes are made from braided palm bands (three under, three over). /214/

(4) Storage baskets.

285 The storage basket (angūn Jaunde, angunda Mwele) is a 251 transitional form between the box and the basket insofar as its 415 basic material is raffia pith boards (Fig. 165) placed next to each other and held together by stalk strips of Sarcophrynium tied around them. The storage baskets are used in the house for storing food-stuffs, such as groundnuts, ears of corn, and so forth.

(5) Baskets.

285 Basketwork is done either with one material or with a combina- 415 tion of two different materials. The former is the case with the following.

Fig. 169. Men's Small Basket with Decorations of Hide and Strings of Beads.

Ancistrophyllum. In the latter case, I found them strengthened from the outside by little sticks of the same material braided in diagonally. 285 415 482

5. Rattle baskets (ngōt). /217/ These appear in two forms: the first and larger one consists of the same material as the carrying basket; the second and smaller one has the same reinforcing sticks in its wall as the previous baskets and a piece of calabash shell for the bottom (concerning their use, see Section 20 /Ed., this section in Vol. II is not translated/ and the illustration there). 285 415

(6) Basketwork bowls of the Mwele (ekátă).

For these (Fig. 170), there are likewise active braiding strips and one passive /Fig. 169 appears here in the original text/ braiding strand wound in a spiral, as in the true baskets of the second series. In contrast to the latter, however, the spiral begins in the middle of the bottom and thus forms the bottom and the wall, and it is held together by braiding strips woven in at right angles. These bowls, which perhaps are the result of northern influence (Haussa /Hausa/?), are used by the Mwele to store maize meal and as plates for finer foods. [77 251]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

X.—*Food. Cooking.*

Food used by the Fang is precisely similar to that of all other tribes 252
inhabiting the great zone of palms and bananas as described by Humboldt. Added
to these ordinary foods of the Fang is their liking for human flesh, indulged in to 262
this day in spite of the law, which is often powerless to reach and punish the offenders. Cassava, *mbôe*, plantains, *bikon*, crushed gourd seeds, *ngongon*, corn; *mekobe*, a most nutritive tuber, sweet potatoes, yams, palm oil, bananas, snails and various mollusca. Fish is wrapped in plantain leaves and boiled, or set on hot ashes and fire piled on top of the *bundle* of food. All kinds of meat is eaten, from deer down to the smallest bush rat; snakes are considered very good meat. No portion is wasted, every morsel of skin and intestines are eaten. Goats and chickens are raised for food and trade. Corn or other cereals are not used for the purpose of making bread. Milk is not used. Preparations of milk such as butter and cheese are not made. There is a marked preference for meats. When an animal is slaughtered, women bring wooden bowls to collect the blood in. The blood is often cooked mixed with palm oil. A Fang will eat almost any kind of known food and at any time, providing it is not his *Eki* or taboo, given him during infancy, prohibiting the eating of a certain kind of food, unless partaken of under certain conditions. Except for the *Eki* men, women and children partake of the [181]
same food. The Fang are improvident. When on long journeys they often chew [276]
a piece of Kola nut, but more commonly chew pieces of a certain root; it has
several different names. Palm oil is extensively used in cooking. Salt (*nku*) is [263]
much enjoyed and sought after in trade. Sugar is only used in the form of sugar cane and eaten uncooked. The chiefs, or rather headmen, have no special form of [622]
food. Eating earth is not indulged in. So far as I am aware, all fish, flesh and
fowl is cooked before being eaten. Flesh is often extremely high, at times [261]
positively bad, before it is eaten, but not one morsel is ever wasted.

Fish, fowl, bush rats, snakes and all kinds of meats are smoked or sun-dried; [251]
food prepared thus is carried on journeys in the bush wrapped in leaves and eaten
with *mboa* (cassava) without any further preparation. Permanent ovens for baking [484]
are not in use. Meat is roasted on small spits over the log fire or wrapped up in leaves and hot ashes banked around and on top of it. Native vegetables are frequently cooked with meats, plantains are usually boiled separately or roasted close to the fire. Most cooking utensils used by the Fang near the coast are iron [439]
or brass pots, imported by white traders; but farther inland the native pots are [415]
much more in vogue. These native pots are made of grey clay and sun-dried; they
become harder and stronger by use, and vary in size and capacity from a pint to [323]
about three gallons.

Cooking vessels are not kept very clean, being simply rinsed out with a little 264
water; but if the vessel is a brass trade pot or kettle, it is usually taken to the river or a near stream, and scoured bright; but I fear the chief reason for doing

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

this is, because, to a Fang eye, polished brass looks *mbung* (handsome) and is attractive for trade. Vessels are usually placed on top of the fire and not suspended over it; vegetables are frequently placed in stews. No separate dwelling house exists for cooking, it is carried on in the dwelling house. The water used to wash a dirty pot with is often thrown out on the earth floor of the dwelling, children playing in the wet dirt. In all domestic matters the Fang are very filthy. I have on more than one occasion when inside a native hut seen children micturate and defecate on the earth floor close to where the mother was cooking, the women and men present taking very little notice, and only occasionally placing the child outside the door. Cooking is exclusively the duty of women, a *real man* will not cook. Food is often highly seasoned with hot native red and green peppers, and food thus prepared is much appreciated. The food is usually well cooked through, with the exception of plantains which are often only half boiled and served quite hard. Large round stones are used for rubbing and reducing to powder gourd seeds and various tubers. Smoking and salting are the only methods practised for preserving food, and on account of the value of salt and the difficulty of transporting it inland, it is seldom thus employed.

Drinks.—Rum has been carried from the coast by white traders and natives far inland and is used whenever obtainable, but the chief drink is cold water. Palm wine is made called *meyak*. Except in places where a trade factory existed I have seen very few cases of intoxication among the Fang, but when they can obtain rum it seems to completely demoralize them. Tea and coffee are known to people living near white settlers. When a party of headmen and others have taken a meal at the mission house, tea and coffee were greatly enjoyed and cups frequently re-filled. The first meal is usually about eight or nine o'clock; the natives think the white man eats very early; a mid-day meal is served and the evening repast is usually about sunset.

Food is frequently brought to the men inside the *abeng* (palaver house); at other times an entire family eats together inside the dwelling house. No ceremonies whatever precede the commencement of meals. When a son is born, or on the occasion of a wedding, and after some large palaver has been settled, a feast is usually given. Invited guests and strangers partake together with the town folk of the food prepared; it is usually served on the earth floor of the palaver house, on plantain leaves, and in cooking pots, each person helping himself. The women do not eat with the men inside the palaver house.

Mode of preparing Mboa.

Ba du mbóa osui, e vóm a ne ndùtál: a kaga boma mēlu mēla, be keli tás: be sáli ne nye: be náū mbūk: be kēzi nye mbūk iti be nou ntum: beña tyak: bènga vul: be kaga mana vul: be kēzi nye ē mvē: vekoba ji: ve telē mvè mboa: wena mboa abea.

Another
244 fertility medicine consists of the following mixture: 1) bark
789 of the Simarubacea Irvingia barteri Hook. f. (andǒ́k; 2) bark
[824] bark of the Anacardiacea Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl.
(ofǒs); 3) elephant manure; 4) sand from the Campo or the
Uelle; 5) salt. On the eve of sowing this mixture is added to the
nuts. This, too, must be understood as a direct transfer of power:
the groundnuts are to be as numerous as the fruits of the two
plants named; they are to become as enormous as the pile of
elephant manure; as numerous as sand in the Campo — we would
say, as the sands of the ocean; and as innumerable as the grains
[824] of salt. Finally, certain Liliaceae (ayǎn) are planted between
the groundnuts so that their leaves may become as green as the
lilies in the field. As can be seen, there is no lack of friendly
encouragement and good examples.

The fruit, illustrated in cross-section by Plate 6, Draw-
244 ings a and b, usually has two seeds, more rarely three, and still
more rarely one. Something reminiscent of our love feast occurs
when a boy at work finds a fruit with three seeds in his mother's
basket or in the field, calls his friends, and shares the seeds with
[195] them. This is called euphemistically: bi kī kǎbǎd, "we dissect a
goat." Thus, we have here the doctrine: Do not forget to do good
and to share with your fellow man when you are living in abun-
dance! It is probably more by way of a game that the Pangwe,
especially the children, sometimes eat the nuts raw. Otherwise
[352] raw nuts are prepared principally for soup or compote. It is also
customary to boil the whole fruit and then eat the seeds. The
[357] nuts are stored in large, tall baskets of raffia pith, which are hung
under the roof or placed on a bed, or the nuts may be placed
loose on the groundnut loft, akǎn owǔnǒ.

433 As a result of their laziness and indifference, the Pangwe
435 seldom have enough groundnuts, so there is always a period of
244 time when they have to do without them until the next harvest has
been brought in and is sufficiently dried. This is the reason that
in the Ntum and Fang regions at these times the price for a "plate"
(2)

[804] 2. The flat plate-shaped baskets called bush plates are a unit of measurement.

244
252
301

Fig. 53. Woman from Bébai (Esseng Family) Cracking Ngon in a Cassava Field.

244 [462] sticks. During the planting of groundnuts, on the other hand, "no handsome young man, in fact, no one who by virtue of strength, beauty, and influence is of any account," helps; the only assistance given is provided now and then by a man, ugly or old, who wants to make himself popular with his wife, "so she will not eventually run away and live with somebody else." Once planting is finished, ngon is left to itself and proceeds to climb up the tree trunks and branches. By the middle of May it is already knee high. In June or July the field is weeded once, and later the ngon itself, rising above all else, chokes out the weeds; only some of the larger plants shoot up in spite of it and are occasionally pulled out. In September we already find some of the fruit fully ripened, and at the start of the dry season, in November and December, harvesting can be started. By that time, the leaves and stalks are almost completely dry, and the fruit hangs from the dry stalks in the branches of the trees which served the plant as a prop and are now leafless.

At harvest time an area in the plantation is cleared and carefully covered with leaves. Then the fruit is picked — a job

244 which is completed in three days in the case of medium-sized plantations -- and heaped up in this area around which a fence of oil palm leaves has been constructed. The fruit is beaten with a 252 stick to open it (Fig. 53), the contents are left in, and for /96/ protection against field mice and rain, it is covered with cardamom leaves. This job is completed in one day. Then the fruit must lie for four days. After this period the seeds are taken out of the fruit, placed in ordinary baskets lined with banana leaves, and left standing in the house for a day. Then they are washed in a river in order to remove the fruit slime clinging to them which has begun to ferment. This somewhat complicated preparation is concluded by the drying process. To this end the seeds, with loam added, are thoroughly kneaded by hand and then spread out in the village square. The reason for kneading them in loam is not clear. Some say -- and this seems to be the most probable explanation -- that the ngon becomes "stronger" by this process, since of course the dark color of the loam causes the sun to have a stronger effect on the seed. Others, especially Jaunde women, give the explanation that otherwise, that is, if the seeds were not mixed with loam, coma or dizziness comes through the eyes when the seeds are cracked open. I am unable to determine whether this is merely a superstition or is based on correct observation. At any rate, the seeds must dry in the sun on the village square for two days or, when bad weather intervenes, for a correspondingly longer period of time. A traveler walking through the villages after the ngon harvest will find quantities of white seeds covered with loam spread out in front of many houses. Children and women guard the treasure from meddlesome dogs and hens and make indignant threats at any trespasser on their harvest. Especially energetic women bombard the intruding animals with stones, small pieces of wood, or other missiles, until finally the anxious husband emerges from the meeting house and by means of a stick or a fly swatter drives away the disturbers of the peace to a respectful distance, where they come to the realization that there are other and better places and pounce upon the nearest, less carefully guarded pile. In my travels I have always enjoyed this time of year especially, since at these times there was at least some life in the village square which is otherwise so quiet. Furthermore, when a black rain cloud indicates the approach of a tornado, the whole community comes to life.

252 Everybody rushes to gather up the seeds; even hobbling old men and little naked children eagerly take part. Great care is taken, however, to get none of the dust which covers the village square in great quantities, no matter how much sweeping is done. Ordinarily, however, the seeds are gathered very quietly and slowly in the late afternoon, all the more slowly since the loam of which I have already spoken is carefully removed from the seeds. The fear of surprise downpours, incidentally, has produced all kinds of preventive medicines which I shall describe in another place (Section 14). /97/

244 136 Ngon suffer from pests more than the groundnut. Among these are beetles and caterpillars, but above all a species of bug which feeds on the leaves and a number of mammals which feed on the fruit. Among these mammals should be mentioned especially the red-tailed monkey, Cercopithecus buccalis Leconte (osǒk), and, wherever it occurs, the baboon, Maimon planirostris Elliot (esí'ge); furthermore, from the family of squirrels there are Sciurus eborivorus Du Chaillu (mvǒk) and Sciurus lemniscatus Leconte (osǒ'n); among the mice, the worst pest is Dendromys messorius Thomas (njaa); and there are also other species, such as Mus pusillulus Ptrs. (okǒb). In places elephants and buffaloes, which likewise eat the fruit, create a great deal of destruction. The guib (nkǒ'k) eats the leaves. Fruit

244 789 rot (ntūi' ngǒn, that is "diarrhea of the ngon"), the result of an overabundant rainfall, likewise reduces the harvest, at times to a considerable extent. Against all these enemies there is not much to be done since they do not pay much attention to preventive medicines; nonetheless, Pangwe women believe that they can influence the seeds and the young plants by all kinds of means, as in the case of the groundnut. One such means, ba-aya, has already been described in connection with the groundnut. A second method consists of sprinkling the seeds themselves in the bush plate where they are kept for sowing with red wood that has been ground to a powder (red

244 789 wood as a symbol of growth, joy, and reproduction). Another procedure to encourage the growth of the ngon plants and to make them produce an abundance of fruit is called emiě ndǒb, that is, squirting

824 of (the medicine in the) banana leaf vessel. For this purpose a vessel made of banana leaves is buried in the middle of the farm or set up there, and the following things are put into it.

244 Sso of the Jaunde, sexual abstinence effectively lasts only three
834 months. The Fang say that the ngon would not grow if the prohibition were broken, and since with them the belly counts for more than love, this prohibition is generally observed.

Only the softer interior of the ngon kernel can be eaten. The
244 kernels must therefore be cracked open, and this is done by means
252 of a little stick from the tree Microdesmis puberula Hook. f.,
[834] Euphorbiaceae (obīmvǒ́n), with which they lightly strike the seed after placing it on end. Old and young, men and women, participate in this task which is carried out inside and in front of the dwelling house, as well as in the meeting house. It is an activity characterized by a peculiar clicking noise not easily forgotten once one has heard it. In spite of its importance in the household, the ngon is not prepared in a great variety of ways; like the groundnut, it is eaten only in the form of a soup or it is pulverized and boiled in a leaf bundle.

524 In conclusion, patient reader, kǎ́ndǎ̀n (guess a riddle!); kǎndǎ́n (I guess):

akǒ́n	afǒ̄′,	e	mane	nkū́na	ngūī,
spear	one,	he	makes ready	herd-swine.	

Answer:

okǒk	ofǒ̄′,	e	mane	dʒǎ̄d	e	ngǒ̄n
beater	one,	he	makes ready	bush plate	(with)	ngon.

244 Yams, as a secondary crop with ngon, are of two principal kinds: the three-leaved yams, Dioscorea dumetorum (Kunth) Pax (andēǎ); and the common yams, Dioscorea minutiflora Engl. (emvū,ī). /99/ Each has four species. In addition, the Pangwe differentiate two more kinds which, however, perhaps belong to Dioscorea minutiflora or are close to it: žǒ̄ǒ̄ III Ntum, dzǒ (plural, bīǒ′) Fang; and ebǒ̄′zǒǒ̄. In the Jaunde region there is furthermore the Jaunde yam with large tubers, ekǒ̄′da Jaunde. Finally, the air tuber yam, Dioscorea sativa L. (alǒ́k), is also cultivated, but only in very small quantities. As we said above, the conditions for the growth of the yam resemble those of the ngon; it also climbs up the brush and trees left lying about,

222 tomentella C. Chr., Dryopteris megaphylla (Met.) C. Chr. (mejā
262 m'abǒk), Dryopteris parasitica (L.) O. Ktz. (undūndu akō), Dryopteris gongylodes (Kuhn) O. Ktz. (engǎs), Stenochlaena guineensis (Kuhn) (nkǎdenā' III), Alsophila camerunensis Diels (ezīzō'n-ošū,e), and Diplazium silvaticum (Borg.) Sw. (esē't).

245 Fruits are cultivated very little. In this category the
262 banana is the only native of any antiquity. The following have been recently introduced: the pineapple (nkōkajǎ'ń I Fang, ekanemvē'lē Ntum) (1), which is scattered over the entire territory

1. nkōk = sugar, ajǎń = Liliaceae, Cyperaceae; ekǎń sedge (from the Mwele), because of the leaves which are similar to those of the Cyperaceae.

although planted only in small numbers; the papaya Carica papaya (pō'pō' Jaunde, adžǎbentǎngan Ntum, Fang) (2), which has scarcely

2. adžǎb - Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl.; e ntǎngǎn = of the Whites.

passed beyond a narrow coastal strip and whose little trees can be counted; small, bitter lemons, Citrus /146/ limonum Risso (olǒs Fang, alǒs Ntum, ngǒambǎ'ń IV); and oranges that are almost inedible for Europeans.

Coconut palms (mbǎń I, njǒ,mō I, Ntum, Fang; myū'ndē' IV Jaunde) are to be found only along the coast and even there only in small numbers.

The native "bush plum," Pachylobus edulis E. Don., var. mubafo Engl., Burseracea (asǎ' Ntum, ošū,ńǎ Fang), which is found only in or near villages, may be cultivated. The attractive lilac-
[255] blue or beautiful rose-colored fruits are roasted on the fire, and the yellow, quite tasty meat of the fruit is eaten warm.

222 All the other fruits eaten by the Pangwe grow wild. Related
262 to the bush plum in shape and in the taste of its fruit is Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl. (asē,ǎ; fruit, sēǎ IV); the fruit is prepared in the

222 262 same manner. The fruit of the Sapotacea Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (adžǎ'b; fruit, ebǒn), which contains oil, is very important. It resembles a large apple; the jelly in which the two to four seeds are imbedded is very sticky, but quite tasty. The seeds are used in the preparation of oil. Next to these, Irvingia barteri Hook. f., Simarubacea (andǒ'k; fruit, ndǒ'k IV) is of great importance. Strangely enough, the Pangwe do not value the juice of the fruit's yellow meat, which is extraordinarily fragrant and refreshing, on the condition, to be sure, that the fruit is just at the right state of ripeness. Indeed, in contrast to the coastal tribes, they attach little importance to many forest fruits (for instance, the fruit of the cardamom, of the palm Podococcus barteri, and others) and do not know how to make use of them. The nourishing contents of the [252] kernel of the Irvingia barteri are eaten after being dried or worked into a kind of mush. The Pangwe are incapable of preparing as tasty a sauce from the fruit as that made by the Bassá; the nut bread of the Mpongwe is also unknown to them. Other important edible nuts are Coula edulis Baill., Olacinacea (ewūǫ'mō, Fang; ewūē'me, Ntum; fruit, kō'mō or kūē'me); Panda oleosa Pierre (afǎ'ne[k]; fruit, fǎne[k]) and a variety unknown to me (andō'; fruit, ndō' IV). Very tasty and refreshing fruit is supplied by the following trees: Burseracea Pachylobus macrophyllus (Oliv.) (andötǫ'm Ntum, atǫ'm Fang; fruit, ndötǫ'm IV Ntum, tǫ'm IV Fang); Anacardiaceae Trichoscypha spec. (amyūt, fruit myūt IV; and engǫ́n, fruit ngǫ́n); the pulp of various Landolphia varieties, namely, Landolphia ochracea K. Sch. (ayū'm), Landolphia piriformis Stapf (dzǎ III), and two other varieties (efǫfǫ'do Fang and kǫ'mo III), in which the seeds are imbedded, is somewhat sour but quite refreshing. All the remaining fruits -- insofar as I have tasted them -- have scarcely any special charm for the European; indeed some, like Laccodiscus and Pseudospondias, have a downright horrible taste and are -- as they say in West Africa -- "good for blackmen, no good for whitemen." Their names are: Parinarium tessmannii Engl., Rosaceae (efō't); Chrysophyllum tessmannii Engl., Sapotaceae (mbǎ'm I); Pachylobus tessmannii Engl., Burseraceae (nga-angǫlǒngǫ'); Laccodiscus spinulosus dentatus Radlk., Sapindaceae (atū'lūń); Pseudospondias microcarpa

262 In addition to the spices, the Pangwe use oil as an additive for their food. The oil is obtained from the oil palm Elaeis guineensis L. (alĕn) and the Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (adźăb), but it is extracted so rarely that its use in the kitchen is far secondary to its use for the care of the skin. For this reason I shall discuss the extraction of oil when I come to speak of skin care.

354 The kitchen of the Pangwe woman is located, as we have already seen, in the house under the suspension loft. There is no actual hearth in it; among the Mwai this is represented by three rocks, but for the rest the pot which is always without legs is placed on a potsherd or on the skillfully arranged logs of the fire. If at any time there is more than usual to be cooked, for instance, after a successful elephant hunt, the daily fireplace is too small, and a second one is built behind the house.

313 For cooking -- as every little Pangwe girl knows -- three things are necessary: wood, water, and fire. There is never any shortage of wood; every day the housewife brings the necessary logs from the plantation (Fig. 51). Water is likewise available in great quantities; 312 it merely has to be taken from the river in calabashes (ndŏk IV) or -- 415 among the Ntum and Okak -- in earthenware water flasks (Fig. 92a), Pangwe esū̌gă (hence the name sū̌k, an imitation of the gurgling sound made by the water as it is poured in; hence also a-sōk "waterfall"). We discussed the fire in the previous section.

412 The kitchen utensils of the woman are very simple. The grindstone (akǒk) and the little round rubbing stone (ngǒk IV) that goes 252 with it are found everywhere. The grindstone is irregularly flat, scoured smooth by the rubbing done on it, and it usually lies on the ground on which the woman kneels in front of the stone she works. Among the Mwai, who are somewhat more advanced in the art of cooking anyway, the stone is placed on four small posts like a table, a fact which considerably "raises" it in appearance. Groundnuts, ngon, and so forth are rubbed to a powder by rolling the rubbing stone back and forth on the grindstone. The same purpose is served by an almost round wooden plate which has the shape of a stemmed leaf with raised edges (evīn-ndǒk, efeī-ndǒk); it is used for the kernels of the Irvingia barteri Hook. f. (andǒ̄k; fruit, ndǒ̄k IV), Figure 93; the grinder used with this plate is a hard fruit (asǒ̄k), round as a ball.

415 The Pangwe woman very tidily removes the remains of the
252 pulverized nuts or kernels from the grindstone by means of half the shoulder blade bone of some animal, such as a monkey (Fig. 94 a), a piece of raffia stalk, or a tree mushroom (Fig. 94b). Only rarely does she do this by hand.

412 For pounding cassava leaves and other vegetables, as well as
252 for removing the meat from the fruit of the oil palm, a pestle is used in a wooden trough. The pestle (ntú'm e mbǭk) has a knobby enlargement either at both ends or at only one end /150/, and the trough (mbǭk I) usually has the shape of a canoe with one or, more rarely, two handles (Fig. 95). In the Mwai and southern Fang region one can find larger wooden troughs of a quadrangular shape and small wooden troughs with or without /Fig. 92 a appears here in the original text/ handles (Fig. 96), endǒn.

Plantains are peeled with a plantain peeler (mbǒb I), Figure 97, with which the skin is chipped into pieces and scraped off. The peeler consists of a narrow piece of raffia leafstalk, and it is often attractively decorated with carved patterns.

415 The shallow basketwork plate (dźǎd; plural, biǎd) -- see Section 8 -- which we have already discussed among the agricultural and fishing tools, also plays an important role in the house and kitchen, where it serves simultaneously as bowl, dish, plate, and so forth. The women have a large selection of the bigger plates (dźǎd) and smaller plates (ǫvǒk) of this kind on hand. Sometimes one also sees wooden plates or, more accurately, wooden bowls of the same shape as the basket plates (1).

[824] 1. Made from the wood of the Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekūk), Apocynacea, or of the Ceiba pentandra (L.) Gärtn. (dum).

The kitchen spoon or stirring spoon (mbǒb I, ebǒm), which must be strictly differentiated from the eating spoon, /Figs. 93 and 94 appear here in the original text/ is carved out of wood (Fig. 98) and is used for stirring food, mixing vegetables, and dividing the mush.

415 The eating or serving spoons, with which the woman tastes the food during cooking and ladles it out of the pot at mealtime, are kept above the fireplace. /151/ /Fig. 95 appears here in the original text./ Such spoons have various shapes; the simplest is a Sarcophrynium leaf folded in the form of a spoon and used only once. This leaf spoon is called ntõ'ño I. The calabash spoon (egbwǎ's) represents a higher stage of spoon, as does the snail spoon (ebõ'na, ekõkõ'e), Figure 101. The calabash spoon is made from a small fruit of the calabash gourd (Fig. 99 and 100) which has been cut in half through the middle; the snail spoon is made from the [321] large Achatina marginata Sw. (kõĩ') by cutting out a piece of its shell. These are the women's spoons for everyday use, and as such they correspond to the men's wooden eating spoon (tõk). Women never use ladling spoons made of wood.

The most important kitchen utensil is the cooking pot (myẽ I, yiõk; plural, lõk) made of clay (yiõk), of which each woman keeps a number of larger ones (myẽ, yiõk) and smaller ones (obẽbẽ') on the pot loft (akǎn e myẽ). Through the trading companies, iron pots [177] with three feet (mẽko'ne III) have already spread throughout the land. /Fig. 96 appears here in the original text./

262 After these general preliminary /152/ observations, I shall go on to a description of the methods of preparing /Fig. 97 appears here in the original text/ the principal food plants. Those of greatest importance as staple foods will once more be listed here in order: cassava, plantain, groundnut, ngon, maize, taro, yams (1) (Fang region).

1. Smaller repetitions cannot be entirely avoided for the sake of clarity in the individual sections. The reader will be so kind as to excuse them.

1. Cassava

•252 Aside from insignificant variations, the cassava root is prepared in five different ways. Two of these are chiefly women's food: pulverized cassava, cooked in a leaf roll bent into the shape of a stirrup

412
531

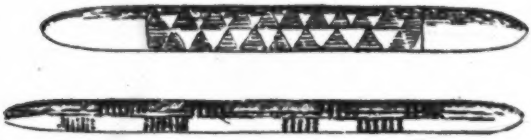


Fig. 97. Plantain Peelers.

252 (nkŭ́ha-mbŭ̂n), and steamed cassava (amắńă-mbŭ́ń), neither of them very tasty or very carefully prepared. The three remaining ways of preparing cassava are in the main designed for men, namely: cassava rolls, the so-called "kanks" (2) (ebǒbǒ̄), the

2. The origin of this word is not clear to me; I do not know whether it was taken from Negro languages or whether it is a European word corrupted in coastal English.

exclusive food on journeys because of their handy shape; cassava cutlets (osā-mbŭ́n); and finally, boiled cassava roots (ȧgbwȧ́ma-mbŭ́n). In the entire region there is uniformity in the matter of cassava dishes, with the sole exception that the stirrup-shaped leaf rolls are also now and then eaten by men among the Ntum and Fang.

Because of its strong smell, cassava -- which could perhaps replace our potato -- has no great appeal to European taste, especially in the forms in which the Negroes prepare it. The sausage-shaped cassava rolls in the north, where the roots are first placed in clean, running water, most readily please our palates, in spite of their pasty odor. To make them tasty, one has to cut them into slices in the European fashion or pulverize them, mix with an egg, and fry them in butter. The kanks in the south are very bad, because there the roots are placed in the swamp for a while prior to preparation and hence take on a quite repulsive muddy odor.

252 (a) Cassava rolls or cassava loaves (mbǒm I-mbǒm, ebōbǒ).

These require more time to prepare, from four to five days. The roots are placed in water holes just as they come from the plantation, that is, with the rind and without being cut into pieces (with the exception of very large roots which are cut in two). /Fig. 98 appears here in the original text./ /154/ /Figs. 99, 100, and 101 appear here in the original text./ This is done in order to draw the poison out of them. Ntum and Fang women attach no importance to the kind of water in which they place the roots; indeed, they seem to prefer swampy areas, such as raffia swamps. In those places one often sees the remains of the cassava on the thoroughly muddy water and along the edge of the puddle; over [136] the remains an enormous number of butterflies floats like a cloud, especially blue and white Pieridae, varieties of Papilio, among them the large blue Zalmoxis. These holes, which have a strong odor of both mud and cassava, are valuable places of discovery for the collector. In the northern region, on the other hand, among the Jaunde, Bene, and many Bulu, cassava is not placed in the swamp but on the sandy bottom of clear, flowing streams, near the bank where the water flows more slowly. Also they take the trouble to block off a stream so that only a little water can run through. Then the roots are placed on the bottom downstream from the dam. Perhaps the reason for placing the cassava roots in clear, running [133] water in the northern region is that there are few raffia swamps in that area. The cassava has to lie in the still or very gently flowing water for a period of from three to four days, three days in the case of younger roots and four days in the case of older, strong roots. After this period the woman takes the roots out and by hand pulls off the bark together with the firmer fibrous layer underneath. This job presents no difficulties. Then she lightly washes the roots on the spot and pulls out the center rib. With both hands she presses the cassava into a ball in the water -- during this process it exudes a whitish sap -- and places the balls in a basket lined with leaves. 253 Further preparation is done in the house; there the cassava is pul- 254 verized on the grindstone, and the powder is poured on leaves which the woman picked on her return from the swamp. In the south these

252
824

[415
531]

Fig. 99. Calabash Spoon.

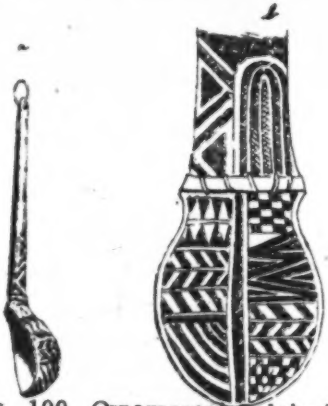


Fig. 100. Ornamental Calabash Spoons.

[521]

Fig. 101. Snail Spoon.

are the leaves of the previously often mentioned Marantacea Sarcophrynium velutinum (Baks) K. Sch. (okiǎǐkūī, okiǎǐ) (1), Plate 11, with the species glabrius Laes. /155/ (andū́ma); in the north (Jaunde), the leaves of the Clinogyne schweinfurthiana K. Sch. (embūǒ) are used. Every day the women bring large bundles of such leaves from the field since they use them not only for wrapping cassava and maize loaves, but also as trays and plates.

1. okiǎǐ = leaf; a kūī = to envelop; stem kū. Compare kū[1], the turtle, because of its armor, and a kū-t = to knock, to open by knocking, that is, to cause something to uncover itself.

252 The mass of cassava is gently kneaded in these leaves into the shape of a sausage; then a leaf is wrapped around it and folded over at the ends like a parcel; finally, there is tied around it a string made from the stalks of the same plant which supplied the leaf cover (the stalks of the plant are called ndǎn IV, ndǎnan IV). These rolls are boiled with some water for an hour in a covered pot, and they are then put to one side to cool off. Only in rare cases are they eaten warm immediately after being cooked (Fig. 102). They keep for three days this way. Usually they are 35 centimeters long, somewhat longer in the Jaunde region, and five centimeters thick; they are in all somewhat larger in the Bulu region.

252 435 484 Throughout the region such a "kank"[1] is equal in value to a tobacco leaf (commercial tobacco) or a spoonful of salt. This is equal to a piece of spear money or seven pfennigs. They are generally used as provisions for bearers and employees of the Whites because of their convenience and availability, their unlimited supply, and their popularity with the natives.

Dried cassava rolls (engū́nǎ-mbǒ̱m).

252 484 251 As was mentioned before, the ordinary rolls do not keep longer than three days. Hence a special procedure is used in their preparation for longer journeys or for situations when one cannot or does not want to make the rolls again and again. In this procedure, the cassava balls are placed on the drying loft for a month after they have been washed; only then are they processed, that is, pulverized on stones, wrapped in leaves, and boiled. Sometimes the balls themselves are carried along on the journey. They are softened in water when they are wanted, boiled, and consumed cold. Both kinds of cassava rolls are called engū́nǎ-mbǒ̱ń.

(b) Cassava cutlets (osā, -mbǒ̱ń, ngǒ-mbǒ̱ń IV).

252 A very bitter and at the same time poisonous species of cassava is made into cassava cutlets. For this purpose, the pieces of root are peeled with a cutlass, halved lengthwise or quartered, and boiled with one and a half liters of water for an hour in a pot lined with plantain leaves. Then the roots are taken out, cut like a loaf into slices, and hung for a day in running water inside a basket lined with leaves. After that, they are thoroughly washed on the net described under "Fishing" on page 80, and they are then eaten cold. /156/

Dried cassava cutlets (dʒǎ[s]-mbǒ̱h).

[251 484] These are dried after the boiling and before being hung in the water, in the same way as engū́na-mbǒ̱ń. They are used in the same situations.

[1] [i.e. cassava roll. — Analyst.]

252 (c) Boiled cassava roots (agbwǎ ma-mbǔ̌n).

A species of our plant, one which has comparatively little poison and which for that reason does not require a long period of leaching in water, is cut to size like the above and boiled for an hour. Its very insipid and fibrous root is eaten hot.

(d) Ground cassava boiled in a leaf bent into a stirrup shape (nkǔ́nǎ-mbǔ̌n I).

A strip of bark is split off from the root with the cutlass, and the interior is scraped out with a rough piece of stalk taken from [124] the trunk of the rattan palms Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc.

Fig. 102. Cassava Roll.

(nkǎne) or Calamus deerratus M. et W. (edžǐn). The slivers fall onto a leaf placed underneath and are then ground on the grindstone. The pulp is then thoroughly kneaded with a stirring spoon

Fig. 103. Leaf Bent into the Shape of a Stirrup.

in a basketwork plate or wooden plate lined with a leaf. Water, which first runs over a charred piece of plantain bark in a leaf funnel, is added to it as it is kneaded. In this way, the water and thus also the cassava pulp acquire a blackish tinge, supposedly because the women do not like the white color of the cassava. The pulp /Figs. 102 and 103 appear here in the original text/ is then placed inside a rolled leaf bent into the shape of a stirrup (Fig. 103); like the cassava rolls it is set on the fire with very little water and boiled for an hour.

This dish is glutinously tough and blackish; it has an ugly appearance and a rather unpleasant taste.

(e) Steamed cassava (amǎ'ńǎ-mbǔ́ń).

252

Ground pulp, such as is used for cassava rolls, or boiled roots are placed between two leaves which have been tied above a pot. Macabo leaves are boiled in the pot itself, and the cassava is steamed at the same time (for an hour).

In addition to the roots, the leaves of the cassava plant (mandzǎǎ, plural) are frequently eaten, mainly by women. The leaves are pounded thoroughly in a wooden trough (Fig. 104), placed with some water in an open pot /157/ on the fire, and left to boil for not less than three and a half hours, more water being added during the boiling. Then they are stirred while salt or pepper is added, and they are served. In this form the vegetable is called mbǎb I. Although it does not taste bad, it is nonetheless regarded as inferior food and is eaten by the men only when nothing else is available.

2. Plantain

The plantain is eaten in five different forms; for three of these forms, unripe fruit is used, and for the remaining two, ripe fruit.

(a) Plantains roasted in ashes (ngpó-ekǭ'n I).

An unripe, peeled plantain is wrapped in a leaf and placed next to the fire in ashes which are lightly piled on top of it. After half an hour it is ready. On the outside the plantain is a whitish yellow; inside, a dark yellow. It has a rather dry taste.

(b) Boiled plantains (mbę̄ę̄ ekǭ'n I).

The unripe plantains are peeled, the ribs and small particles of skin are cleaned off, and the plantains are then boiled in water for 20 minutes.

(c) Pounded plantains (ntǐímǎ ekǭ'n I).

These are prepared like the previous ones, but they are eaten after being pounded to a mash.

252 (d) Boiled ripe plantains (mfō,k-ekō'n I, mfō-nšā I).

The skins of ripe plantains are removed with the plantain peeler and placed in a pot. On top of these is placed the fruit, whole or cut into pieces; on top of the fruit in turn are placed more skins. Then water is added to cover everything and boiled for half an hour. The plantains are eaten either whole or ground to a mash with cold water.

(e) Raw ripe plantains (nšā III).

The ripe fruit is eaten raw or roasted in ashes.

3. Groundnut

Sometimes the groundnut is eaten roasted whole (kōk IV-ewu,no, etōle-ewu,no). Otherwise it is prepared in four different ways, in part as mush. In all these forms of preparation it is first necessary to break open the groundnuts by hand (Plate 12), a task in which the entire family takes part; then the woman lightly roasts the nuts for a few minutes over the fire on the groundnut roasting board and grinds them twice on the grindstone. After the second grinding the mass is called ebǎ,[s] -ewu,no (bǎ, "to divide," hence e-bǎ -b "that which has separated off," for instance, /158/ /Fig. 104 appears here in the original text/ small pieces of bark that stand out from the tree, and e-bǎ,-s, "the scale"), because the ground material tends to stick together and falls like scales from the stone. The following dishes are prepared from this base.

(a) Groundnut sauce (esǎ,ngǎne).

Water is heated in a pot, and the hot water, except for a small amount, is poured off into a little shell. Then the pot is taken off the fire, and the groundnut substance is poured into it. The whole is thoroughly stirred with a kitchen spoon while hot water is added

252
415
516
342

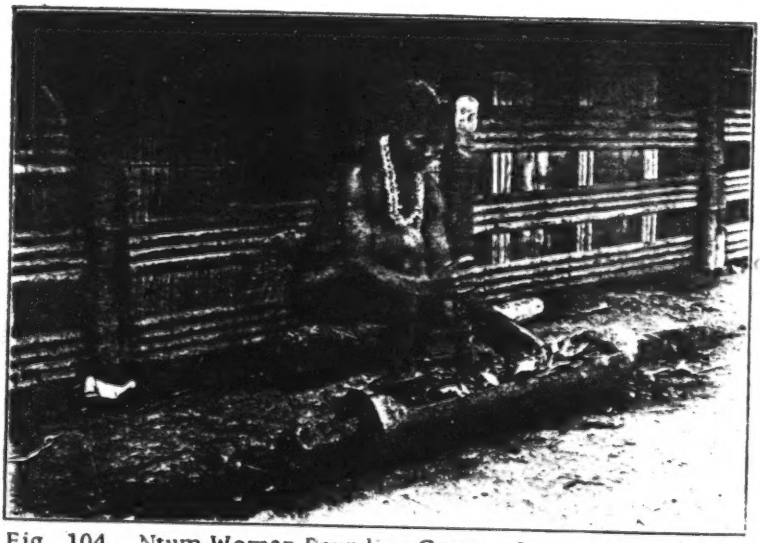


Fig. 104. Ntum Woman Pounding Cassava Leaves in a Trough for Spinach.

252 three or four times, and salt is added. Everything is given another good stirring, and the dish is ready. Sometimes the material is also boiled with a little water in the pot itself.

(b) Groundnut bundle (nnǎm-ewu̧no I).

As in the case of (a), water is put on the fire in a pot. After the pot has been taken off the fire, the groundnut material is poured into it and stirred up as water is added. Then the mush is put inside a plantain leaf that has been drawn through the fire to make it flexible; the leaf is tied together into a bundle and placed on the fire in a pot of cold water. The pot must be closed at the top with leaves. If the groundnuts are not stirred up with hot water, but, as in this case, are placed on the fire cold, they always have to boil from half an hour to an hour. /159/

(c) Groundnut mush (atõõ).

The mass of groundnuts -- prepared as indicated above -- is poured into a pot of boiling water and stirred around. Then it is

●252 placed on the fire for a brief period -- two minutes -- and salt is added to it.

(d) Groundnut soup (mpfiǎ'ń I-ewu,no).

This differs from the foregoing only by the addition of a larger amount of water so that it becomes a soup. It is served as a gravy for meat, etc., and is never eaten by itself.

4. Ngon

Ngon is prepared in only two forms, as a bundle (nnǎm ngôn) and as a soup (nšǎ-ngôn I). These two forms correspond to those described in connection with the groundnut.

5. Maize

Maize is eaten in four different forms. Either the entire ear is roasted (nkpǒ-fun I), or it is consumed as maize soup (nšǎ-fun I), as maize mush (ngbwǎt), and as maize bread (bǔmō III).

(a) The entire ear.

Like plantains, fresh ears are roasted in ashes.

(b) Maize soup (nšǎ-fun I).

The kernels are broken out of the spindles of old ears and boiled until they are soft (half an hour) in a pot half full of water. Then they are ground up and boiled for an hour with minced leaves of the cassava and the Amaranthus (endǒń-abǭ'k). When they are done, cold water is added, the whole mixture is stirred, and the soup is served.

(c) Maize bread (bǔmō III).

The kernels are removed from old ears of maize and poured into a pot of water so they will swell slightly. Then the woman spoons them out a few at a time, places them on the grindstone, and,

252 frequently pouring on water, grinds them to flour (half a basket of ears produces a heaping basketwork plate of flour from which three loaves are made). The flour in a basketwork plate lined with leaves is stirred with water to form a batter; salt, pepper, and frequently
[262] also shrimp and dragonfly larvae are added. This batter, as in the case of the women's cassava nkǔ'na mbǘn, is placed in a Sarcophrynium leaf folded in the shape of a stirrup, and it is boiled for an hour in a pot with a little water. The end result is a dish which, while it is rather heavy, tastes quite good. /160/

(d) Maize mush (ngbwɛ̌t).

Maize mush is made of fresh maize flour which, when boiled, makes a white pulpy soup. Since I have not closely observed its preparation, I am unable to give any details.

The remaining plants, such as taro, macabo, yams, and so forth, are not sufficiently important to be discussed in relation to the various ways of preparing them. The reader will, I think, from the information given so far, derive a clear enough picture of the multiple uses made by the Pangwe of their vegetable foodstuffs.

Meat is boiled in pots by itself -- just like fish, which, as among us, are dressed and scaled -- or it is boiled in a leaf bundle with groundnuts and ngon. As for other ways of preparation, the
[267] Pangwe are familiar with roasting, but they use this method only in order to make the food keep and to preserve it.

264 Meals are quite irregular and poorly distributed:

"kikitase afök anū, hamoš ebań e nkǒk,
[539] In the morning a little bit for the mouth, (mid) day a loan for the jaw,

alu bepfǘm"
at night, quite full.

In the morning, soon after getting up, they usually eat a small amount of a cold cassava dish or something similar, which the women have cooked the night before since they usually have to go to the plantations early. In the course of the forenoon they content themselves with a little snack of cassava bread, bananas, and the like.

249 the board is tied to the /192/ lower cross-stick. Sometimes
303 in place of the board one sees sticks oriented in the same direction and placed close to each other, which are then, of course, tied to the frame at the top and at the bottom.

The pressing itself (a kī̄le mažū́i) is shown in Figure 144. The little basket with the pulp is hung either over the stick that is set at an angle or over the upper end of the board (Fig. 144), so that it rests in front of the board. Then it is squeezed out with sticks. In squeezing, one stick after another is placed diagonally over the basket (in a top to bottom direction); one end of the stick is placed behind the corresponding frame post while the other end is drawn up to the other post and fastened to it with string. In this way the basket is squeezed, and the contents are pressed downwards.

Prior to this, a vessel has been placed under the board down which the oil runs during the pressing. A leaf filter or an old basket over the vessel strains out the larger impurities. During the rainy season the fruit yields a more watery oil, while during the dry season it yields an oil that becomes solid very soon after being pressed out.

(b) Oil palm oil.

249 Corresponding to the more infrequent occurrence of the oil
252 palm from north to south, oil from the oil palm is of much greater importance in the north than in the south. In the former region it is better prepared -- if at this point I may speak of it as a food -- even if it is not prepared as well as among the coastal tribes -- while in the latter region it is less well prepared. Furthermore, while in the south there are only three methods of obtaining the oil, in the north there are four and an equal number of varieties of oil corresponding to the methods of extraction. These are as follows: /193/ /Fig. 145 appears here in the original text/

1. Pressed palm oil (mowǔ, plural), for rubbing on the skin and food;
2. Boiled palm oil (nnyǎman e mbǒn), only for rubbing on the skin;
3. Washed palm oil (žoń), Jaunde and Mwele, used for rubbing on the skin and for food;

249
252

4. Palm seed oil (mbǒn e mbań, maniańga Jaunde), used only for the skin.

In the order given, from 1) to 4), the frequency of production decreases. In other words, pressed oil is made most frequently, palm seed oil is made most rarely. The order is the same for the southern Pangwe, except that washed oil is completely absent.

1) Pressed oil.

The stalks bearing the ripe fruit are taken off the tree, cut apart by means of axe and cutlass, and left to lie for a couple of days under a blanket of banana leaves. Then the fruit itself is taken off and boiled with a little water for about half an hour in a pot covered with leaves. Afterwards, it is pounded in a trough with a wooden pestle, and the seeds are picked out (Fig. 145). The pulp is then pressed out on the oil press. The oil has the familiar yellowish-red color, and among Europeans it appears on the dinner table as "palm oil chop" with meat and the tubers of
[262] macabo or taro; however, only a small proportion of the natives eat it (one-quarter, in the south even less).

249
252
415
301

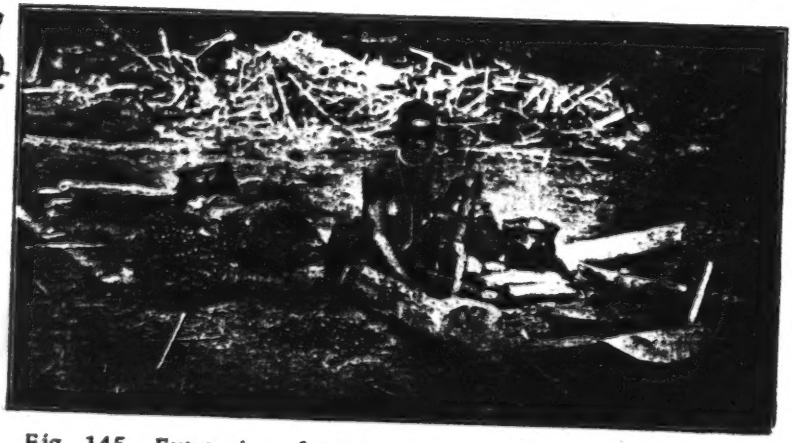


Fig. 145. Extraction of Oil from the Fruit of the Oil Palm.

2) Boiled oil.

249 The pressed oil is boiled until it becomes quite clear, a
252 stage which can best be recognized by letting a few drops of oil
824 fall onto a piece of raffia pith. During the boiling, a number of leaves of the feverweed Andropogon schoenanthus (ǒsím e ntangan), which has a peculiar smell, tied in a bundle and dipped into the pot for about a minute. When the oil has boiled long enough, the pot is taken from the fire, leaves and pieces of bark of the bush plum Pachylobus edulis E. Don. (asá' Ntum, ǒsǔ'nga Fang) are put in it for about three minutes -- supposedly because they have a pleasant smell -- and then the translucent, dirty-white oil is poured off.

3) Washed oil.

249 The oil is first treated like the pounding, water is poured into the trough, and the meat of the fruit is
252 thoroughly kneaded, the kernels being removed at the same time. The water is then carefully poured off. This process of kneading the meat in the water is repeated two more times; then the meat is removed, and the oil floating on the water in the trough is ladled off. The oil has the same characteristics as the pressed oil; it is also yellowish-red and is used in the same manner. This oil may likewise be boiled, and when this is done, it is identical with the boiled pressed oil. /194/

4) Palm seed oil.

The palm nuts are broken open on a stone (Fig. 146), and the seeds are heated over a fire in a pot without water. Then the seeds are set on fire, which forces out the oil that they contain. The seeds with the oil are then poured onto a potsherd with two holes in it, and the oil drips into a vessel placed underneath. Palm seed oil is quite dark and opaque.

302 Finally, we might mention that children -- adults only if there happens to be no oil available -- sometimes simply place the palm fruit between the logs of the fire and then rub the warm fruit back and forth in their hands. The oil which is forced out in this way is then immediately rubbed onto the skin.

302 822 Aside from rubbing his skin with oil, the Pangwe likes to smear his body with dyes on certain occasions. For this purpose he uses red chiefly, more rarely white, and only exceptionally black. There are no other colors. Red is the color for joy,

[415 249 252 516]

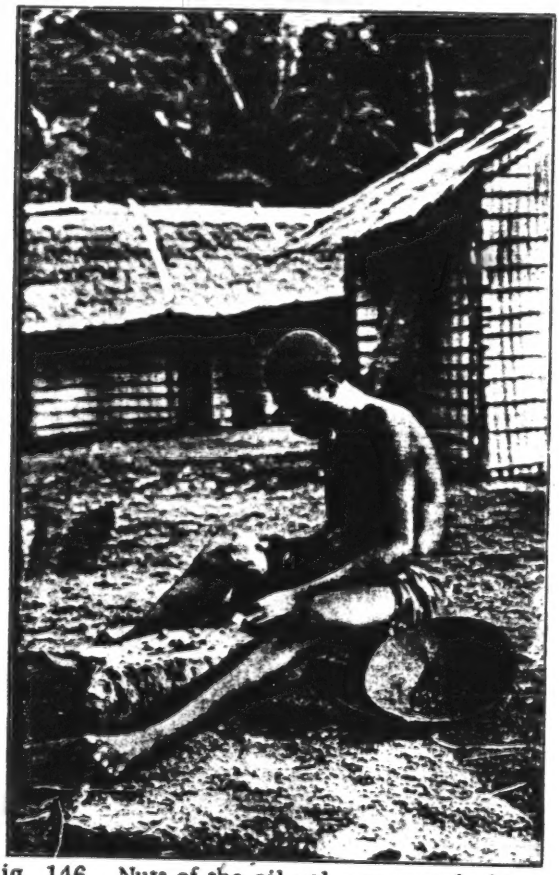


Fig. 146. Nuts of the oil palm are cracked open to extract the oil.

and white is the color for death and evil. From this, the occasions on which the colors are used will be apparent. On festive occasions, that is, dances, weddings, and birth celebrations, red is used, a color which sometimes (for instance, in the love dance) is enlivened by white suns and circles, which seldom

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

X.—*Food. Cooking.*

Food used by the Fang is precisely similar to that of all other tribes inhabiting the great zone of palms and bananas as described by Humboldt. Added to these ordinary foods of the Fang is their liking for human flesh, indulged in to this day in spite of the law, which is often powerless to reach and punish the offenders. Cassava, *mbóe*, plantains, *bikon*, crushed gourd seeds, *ngongon*, corn; *mekobe*, a most nutritive tuber, sweet potatoes, yams, palm oil, bananas, snails and various mollusca. Fish is wrapped in plantain leaves and boiled, or set on hot ashes and fire piled on top of the *bundle* of food. All kinds of meat is eaten, from deer down to the smallest bush rat; snakes are considered very good meat. No portion is wasted, every morsel of skin and intestines are eaten. Goats and chickens are raised for food and trade. Corn or other cereals are not used for the purpose of making bread. Milk is not used. Preparations of milk such as butter and cheese are not made. There is a marked preference for meats. When an animal is slaughtered, women bring wooden bowls to collect the blood in. The blood is often cooked mixed with palm oil. A Fang will eat almost any kind of known food and at any time, providing it is not his *Eki* or taboo, given him during infancy, prohibiting the eating of a certain kind of food, unless partaken of under certain conditions. Except for the *Eki* men, women and children partake of the same food. The Fang are improvident. When on long journeys they often chew a piece of Kola nut, but more commonly chew pieces of a certain root; it has several different names. Palm oil is extensively used in cooking. Salt (*nku*) is much enjoyed and sought after in trade. Sugar is only used in the form of sugar cane and eaten uncooked. The chiefs, or rather headmen, have no special form of food. Eating earth is not indulged in. So far as I am aware, all fish, flesh and fowl is cooked before being eaten. Flesh is often extremely high, at times positively bad, before it is eaten, but not one morsel is ever wasted.

Fish, fowl, bush rats, snakes and all kinds of meats are smoked or sun-dried; food prepared thus is carried on journeys in the bush wrapped in leaves and eaten with *mboa* (cassava) without any further preparation. Permanent ovens for baking are not in use. Meat is roasted on small spits over the log fire or wrapped up in leaves and hot ashes banked around and on top of it. Native vegetables are frequently cooked with meats, plantains are usually boiled separately or roasted close to the fire. Most cooking utensils used by the Fang near the coast are iron or brass pots, imported by white traders; but farther inland the native pots are much more in vogue. These native pots are made of grey clay and sun-dried; they become harder and stronger by use, and vary in size and capacity from a pint to about three gallons.

Cooking vessels are not kept very clean, being simply rinsed out with a little water; but if the vessel is a brass trade pot or kettle, it is usually taken to the river or a near stream, and scoured bright; but I fear the chief reason for doing

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

264 this is, because, to a Fang eye, polished brass looks *mbung* (handsome) and is attractive for trade. Vessels are usually placed on top of the fire and not 262 suspended over it; vegetables are frequently placed in stews. No separate dwelling house exists for cooking, it is carried on in the dwelling house. The water used to 356 wash a dirty pot with is often thrown out on the earth floor of the dwelling, children playing in the wet dirt. In all domestic matters the Fang are very filthy. [514] I have on more than one occasion when inside a native hut seen children micturate and defecate on the earth floor close to where the mother was cooking, the women [854] and men present taking very little notice, and only occasionally placing the child [462] outside the door. Cooking is exclusively the duty of women, a *real man* will not cook. Food is often highly seasoned with hot native red and green peppers, and ● 252 food thus prepared is much appreciated. The food is usually well cooked through, with the exception of plantains which are often only half boiled and served quite hard. Large round stones are used for rubbing and reducing to powder gourd seeds and various tubers. Smoking and salting are the only methods practised 251 for preserving food, and on account of the value of salt and the difficulty of transporting it inland, it is seldom thus employed.

Drinks.—Rum has been carried from the coast by white traders and natives 273 far inland and is used whenever obtainable, but the chief drink is cold water. Palm wine is made called *meyak*. Except in places where a trade factory existed I have seen very few cases of intoxication among the Fang, but when they can obtain rum it seems to completely demoralize them. Tea and coffee are known to [272] people living near white settlers. When a party of headmen and others have taken a meal at the mission house, tea and coffee were greatly enjoyed and cups 264 frequently re-filled. The first meal is usually about eight or nine o'clock; the natives think the white man eats very early; a mid-day meal is served and the evening repast is usually about sunset.

Food is frequently brought to the men inside the *abeng* (palaver house); at other times an entire family eats together inside the dwelling house. No ceremonies whatever precede the commencement of meals. When a son is born, or on the 574 occasion of a wedding, and after some large palaver has been settled, a feast is usually given. Invited guests and strangers partake together with the town folk 264 of the food prepared; it is usually served on the earth floor of the palaver house, on plantain leaves, and in cooking pots, each person helping himself. The women do not eat with the men inside the palaver house.

Mode of preparing Mboa.

252 539 *Ba du mbóa osui, e vóm a ne ndátál: a kaga boma mēlu mēla, be keli tâs: be sâli ne nye: be nâû mbūk: be kēzi nye mbāk iti be nou ntum: beña tyak: bènga vul: be kaga mana vul: be kēzi nye ē mvē: vckoba ji: ve telē mvè mboa: wena mboa abea.*

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

Translation.

They put cassava to soak in the river, in a place where there is (plenty of) 252
mud. When it has lain there three days, they go and rub off the rind. They bring 539
it (to the house). They take a trough, and put the cassava in it. They take the mashing stick. They mash the cassava. They wrap it up (in leaves). When they have finished that, they put it in the pot. Then they light the fire. They put the pot of iguma (on the fire). Then the iguma is *boiled.*

Azo Mfini: (Plantation).

Betata basa leua bo dia inifini (our fathers did not make plantain villages), 539
n'afan eto bè (because their land was near at hand, *i.e.*, near the regular village). 262
Fañ b'anyege infini ne bo bidji binne (Fañ likes plantain village to make good food, *i.e.*, 311
because thus they get good food). *Bikon e djel ine, betok* (Plantains in town have (one) small). *Infini O ne djal moe afan bibè* (Plantain village is a good town 361
(because) land (*i.e.*, good land) near). *Nson ane afan betata benga to bibè* (Like the land where the fathers were near). *B'angéye infini, ne dzi bidji binné. Mo'mbok a gouevi bstyit: bevok benga sóm* (They like the plantain village (because) there they eat good food. One person kills game (meat) others buy). *Menda infini me vie bo abé* (Houses of plantain villages soon spoil).[1] *Fañ, Ba'dji asas mbóa kidiase* (Fañ they eat a meal of cassava in the morning).

Regarding the *Eki* tabooing certain foods or performance of certain actions as 262
in vogue among the Fang, I learned from a friend and *confrère*, Rev. R. H. 114
Nassau, D.D., M.D., of Gaboon, that the *Eki* of the Fang is precisely similar to the 171
Orunda of the Mpôngwe. Dr. Nassau is a veteran missionary of thirty-seven years' African experience, and he is always ready to help others who are sufficiently interested in the natives to inquire about them. I know of no one on the West Coast more willing or eminently able than he for imparting information regarding the people among whom he has laboured.

XI.—*Anthropophagy.*

Cannibalism prevails among the Fang beyond question, and only fear of 266
the law keeps him somewhat in check. I am able to speak of the Fang as 114
anthropophagi; not alone from information gathered, but from having once had the opportunity of visiting a town two days after a victim had been killed and eaten.

This town, named Olunda, is on the right bank of the Nkomo river, about 60 miles from the seat of government in the Congo Français. Whilst visiting the town Nenge-nenge (the island of islands) in the autumn of 1898, a native trader named Arkendengi, employed by a British trading house at Gaboon, informed me

[1] It is very true that houses having plantains growing near, soon rot; this is due to the dampness caused by loss of sunlight and heat

222 (Rich.) Engl., Anacardiaceae (ofǒs); Pseudospondias tessmannii
262 Engl., likewise (angǒkǒn); /147/ Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth., Leguminosae (ebā'ī); Cola acuminata (P.B.) R. Br., Sterculiaceae (abē); Carpolobia alba Don., Polygalaceae (onǒn, tōmok); Ricinodendron africanum Muell. Arg., Euphorbiaceae (ezisǎ'ń); Myrianthus arboreus P.B., Moraceae (mangǎ'me III Fang, engǔkǒ'm Ntum, Jaunde); Desbordesia glaucescens Engl., Simarubaceae (alǒ'b); Dubóscia macrocarpa (?) Bocq., Tiliaceae (akǎk e sǎ'ń); Oncinotis glandulosa Stapf, Apocynaceae, and Tylostemon minutiflorus Stapf, Lauraceae (dzǎ-odźī dźīk or bodźābodźī dźīk); Tristemma hirtum Vent., Melastomataceae (abē-osū'e); Cnestis aurantiaca Gilg, Connaraceae (abǐń e ndźīk); Vitex bipindensis Gürke, Verbenaceae (apfǒn); Anonidium mannii Oliv., Anonaceae (ebǒm elí); Sarcocephalus sambucinus K. Sch. (alū'mǎ, alǔ'ma, and akūndǔ'm); the palm Podococcus barteri M. and W. (niamyīne); as well as various varieties of Aframomum, such as the Aframomum alboviolaceum K. Sch. (adźǒm; fruit, esī n) illustrated in Volume II.

Finally, mushrooms, of which the Fang distinguish twenty edible varieties, play an important role in the household. With the exception of a foul-smelling morel which is covered with a kind of veil, poisonous ground mushrooms do not seem to occur.

263 Of spices, pepper and salt are known, and both are found in-
249 dispensable by the Pangwe for the preparation of meals. Three varieties and many subvarieties of pepper, Capsicum (okālǎh IV, undūndū III), are sown behind the houses or close to the village, and it is to be found growing wild everywhere in the vicinity of human settlements, where its green fruit -- red when ripe -- is picked whenever it is needed; it is added to the food either whole or pulverized on a stone.

263 Salt is more difficult to obtain. Although salt imported from
436 Europe now floods almost the entire region and, in conjunction with tobacco, constitutes a regular standard of value, in remote areas of
258 the interior the laborious extraction of salt from swamp plants is still carried out in the old manner.

258 The two chief salt-producing plants are those illustrated by
634 Plate 10: Halopegia acurea K. Sch., Marantaceae (nkǒh I) and

258 Cyrtosperma senegalense (Schott) Engl., Araceae (ebǎngabǎnga).
824 Furthermore, the fronds of the raffia palm are used to a lesser extent. In the Fang region Halopegia and Cyrtosperma are always used together, never one exclusively; in other areas, for instance in the Ntum region, the following swamp plants are also used: the Loganiacea Anthocleista zenkeri Gilg (ajī́nebe-nzǎm III); the Zingiberacea Renealmia alborosea K. Sch. (adžǒmmekūm); the Urticacea Boehmeria platyphylla D.On. (sǎ[s] -dzǎm); the Acanthacea Brillantaisia vogeliana Bth. (ebūgebǒ́n); the Aracea Anubias heterophylla Engl. (andǒk); a Composita (elō[k] -osūe); the Commelinaceae Palisota schweinfurthii C.B. Cl. (epfūpfū'i-zǎm) and Pollia condensata C.B.Cl. (ajǎn-osūe); and in addition, where swamp plants are absent, the Marantacea Phrynium confertum (Benth.) K. Sch. (nkǒn afǎ'n I) and the climbing Aracea Rhektophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (ndē's). /148/

258 To get salt the men go into the swamp (zǎm), cut down the
462 salt-producing plants, and let them lie in the sun for a month to dry. Then they are brought under a shelter erected in the vicinity; the leaves and leafstalks are burned in an open fire. The plant ashes, dirtied with the remains of the logs, are carried into the village and kept on the loft above the fireplace in the house for three weeks to dry. The men's last job here is the making of a large
[28] funnel which they crudely plait (ngǎn nkū IV) from the stalks of the Marantacea Trachyphrynium violaceum Radlk. (nkǒmokǒ́mo I). All further work is done by the women. The latter set up the funnel, which they prop up with poles inside or outside the house, and line it with leaves of Sarcophrynium in such a way that the lowest leaf -- folded together in the form of a funnel -- fits just into the tip and the other leaves cover the funnel wall like roof tiles. The funnel is closed off below by a filter consisting of a ball of grass, Paspalum
[824] (obū'n), or leaves of the Phytolacca dodecandra C. Her. (atǒ't) (1);

> 1. From the stem tǒ, "run through, drip through," because the brine has to drip through the herbs.

then the ashes are put inside the filter, water is poured on them, and

258 this drips fairly rapidly through the filter into a vessel placed under it. The whole thing is left standing one night; in the morning a little fresh water is added in order to draw out the last of the salt, and then the yellowish-brown brine so obtained is dried until all the salt (nkú I) is out (2). /149/

263
146

2. An examination of the salt, on which Mr. W. Lenz of the Pharmaceutical Institute of the University of Berlin gives us a report, yielded the following results: "The bush salt itself had a brown color and a moist, granular appearance. It had a strong salty taste; its solution reacted strongly alkaline. The chemical analysis carried out by Mr. Regenstein yielded the following composition:

43.33% KC1 (potassium chloride)
27.50% K_2 SO_4 (potassium sulphate)
16.26% K_2 CO_3 (potassium carbonate)
0.85% NaC1 (sodium chloride)
8.72% H_2 O (evaporation at 180° Centigrade)
3.34% insoluble (difference)
100.00%

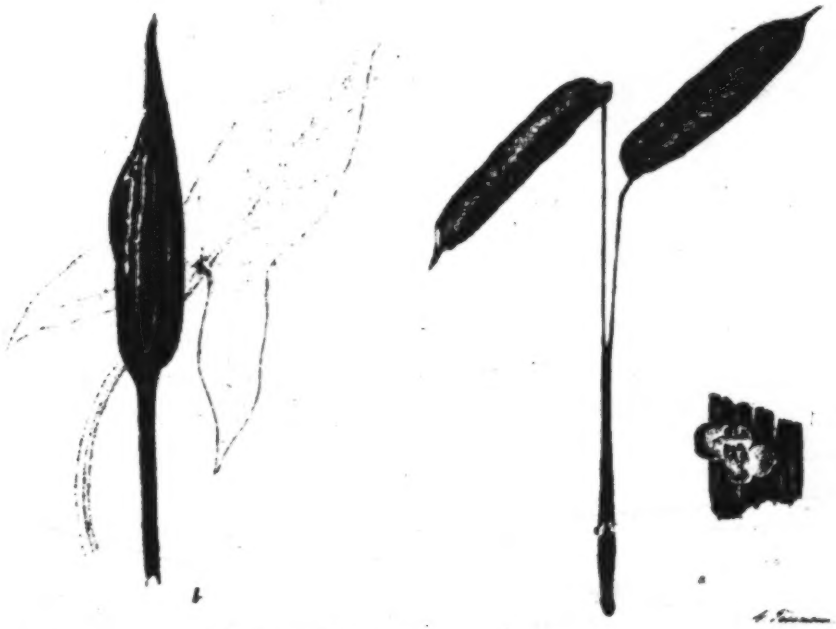
The potassium was separated from the sodium as potassium platinic chloride. In the insoluble residue the following were detected: calcium, magnesium, iron, aluminum, manganese, phosphates, silicates, and carbonates, and 0.7% of the salt SiO_2 (silicon dioxide) was determined.

The high content of chlorides and sulphates in the bush salt is striking, as well as the use of the salt mixture consisting predominately of potassium salts, for spicing the food, in other words, its use in place of cooking salt."

1: Tessmann--335 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

137
258

Plate X



Plants providing Salt.

a. Halopegia acurea K. Sch., Fam. Zingiberaceae.

b. Cyrtosperma senegalense (Schott) Engl., Fam. Araceae.

177
443

1. This lack is also pointed out by Balandier, op. cit., p. 544.

A careful study of village names in several subdivisions has not turned up a name that seems connected with ideas of market, exchange, or trade. Moreover, vocabularies for such subjects are very limited.

And, into this land so unprepared for an economic /sic/ life, world economy is penetrating with all its complexity, setting a purchase price for the total output, which has fluctuations the planters obviously cannot understand. Their dismay is natural, since they have not even been able to become familiar with ideas about price, demand, or bargaining through traditions of trade.

It goes without saying that the time when salt was the item most in demand is long since past. However, bags of salt appear among traditional wedding presents, and the manufacture of salt from lye-washed palm ash is still known, though the product is only sold — and moreover very rarely — for its medicinal properties.

431
258
585
278

511

Expenditures have become extremely diversified, as shown by the analysis of an average family budget: (2)

2. These figures drawn from Budgets familiaux au Cameroun /Family Budgets in the Cameroons/, p. 150, do not take into account, we must remember, auto consumption.

Food	14	percent	Household articles	1.9	percent
Textiles	17.4	-	Equipment	7.7	-
Bride price	13	-	Taxes	8.5	-
Housing and furniture	7.5	-	Medicaments	1.3	-
Bedding	1.5	-	Education	0.9	-
Lighting and upkeep	3	-	Gifts and miscellaneous	6	-
Trips	2	-			

517
177
511
291
[264]

Food now includes, even in the bush, imported items like stockfish or like the bread, sardines, sugar, and condensed milk that are used less regularly. Clothes are the main item of expense. The desire to follow Paris fashions is perhaps not a national trait peculiar

177
443

1. This lack is also pointed out by Balandier, op. cit., p. 544.

A careful study of village names in several subdivisions has not turned up a name that seems connected with ideas of market, exchange, or trade. Moreover, vocabularies for such subjects are very limited.

And, into this land so unprepared for an economic /sic/ life, world economy is penetrating with all its complexity, setting a purchase price for the total output, which has fluctuations the planters obviously cannot understand. Their dismay is natural, since they have not even been able to become familiar with ideas about price, demand, or bargaining through traditions of trade.

It goes without saying that the time when salt was the item most
43 in demand is long since past. However, bags of salt appear among
258 traditional wedding presents, and the manufacture of salt from lye-
585 washed palm ash is still known, though the product is only sold —
278 and moreover very rarely—for its medicinal properties.

511 Expenditures have become extremely diversified, as shown by the analysis of an average family budget: (2)

2. These figures drawn from Budgets familiaux au Cameroun /Family Budgets in the Cameroons/, p. 150, do not take into account, we must remember, auto consumption.

Food	14	percent	Household articles	1.9	percent
Textiles	17.4	-	Equipment	7.7	-
Bride price	13	-	Taxes	8.5	-
Housing and furniture	7.5	-	Medicaments	1.3	-
Bedding	1.5	-	Education	0.9	-
Lighting and upkeep	3	-	Gifts and miscellaneous	6	-
Trips	2	-			

517
177
511
291
241

Food now includes, even in the bush, imported items like stockfish or like the bread, sardines, sugar, and condensed milk that are used less regularly. Clothes are the main item of expense. The desire to follow Paris fashions is perhaps not a national trait peculiar

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

X.—*Food. Cooking.*

Food used by the Fang is precisely similar to that of all other tribes inhabiting the great zone of palms and bananas as described by Humboldt. Added to these ordinary foods of the Fang is their liking for human flesh, indulged in to this day in spite of the law, which is often powerless to reach and punish the offenders. Cassava, *mbôe*, plantains, *bikon*, crushed gourd seeds, *ngongon*, corn; *mekobe*, a most nutritive tuber, sweet potatoes, yams, palm oil, bananas, snails and various mollusca. Fish is wrapped in plantain leaves and boiled, or set on hot ashes and fire piled on top of the *bundle* of food. All kinds of meat is eaten, from deer down to the smallest bush rat; snakes are considered very good meat. No portion is wasted, every morsel of skin and intestines are eaten. Goats and chickens are raised for food and trade. Corn or other cereals are not used for the purpose of making bread. Milk is not used. Preparations of milk such as butter and cheese are not made. There is a marked preference for meats. When an animal is slaughtered, women bring wooden bowls to collect the blood in. The blood is often cooked mixed with palm oil. A Fang will eat almost any kind of known food and at any time, providing it is not his *Eki* or taboo, given him during infancy, prohibiting the eating of a certain kind of food, unless partaken of under certain conditions. Except for the *Eki* men, women and children partake of the same food. The Fang are improvident. When on long journeys they often chew a piece of Kola nut, but more commonly chew pieces of a certain root; it has several different names. Palm oil is extensively used in cooking. Salt (*nku*) is much enjoyed and sought after in trade. Sugar is only used in the form of sugar cane and eaten uncooked. The chiefs, or rather headmen, have no special form of food. Eating earth is not indulged in. So far as I am aware, all fish, flesh and fowl is cooked before being eaten. Flesh is often extremely high, at times positively bad, before it is eaten, but not one morsel is ever wasted.

Fish, fowl, bush rats, snakes and all kinds of meats are smoked or sun-dried; food prepared thus is carried on journeys in the bush wrapped in leaves and eaten with *mboa* (cassava) without any further preparation. Permanent ovens for baking are not in use. Meat is roasted on small spits over the log fire or wrapped up in leaves and hot ashes banked around and on top of it. Native vegetables are frequently cooked with meats, plantains are usually boiled separately or roasted close to the fire. Most cooking utensils used by the Fang near the coast are iron or brass pots, imported by white traders; but farther inland the native pots are much more in vogue. These native pots are made of grey clay and sun-dried; they become harder and stronger by use, and vary in size and capacity from a pint to about three gallons.

Cooking vessels are not kept very clean, being simply rinsed out with a little water; but if the vessel is a brass trade pot or kettle, it is usually taken to the river or a near stream, and scoured bright; but I fear the chief reason for doing

244 (Drawings f-h). The variety osǎ'bŏme (f) has the largest fruit; it is about 15 centimeters long, a bright yellowish-green with vague, speckled markings, and slightly narrowed toward the middle. In the case of the second variety (g), nia ngǒn (the real ngon) or nsūsūte (the dark ngon), the fruit, in contrast to that of the first kind, is usually oviform, twelve centimeters long, and dark green with streaks or strips of a light green color; sometimes the fruit is spotted. This variety appears to be the most common. Finally, mǒne ngǒn, the small ngon (h), is considerably smaller, measuring only nine to ten centimeters, rarely more, and it is brighter. Here the speckled marking, which we have already observed in osǎ'bŏme, is so blurred that one can speak of bright green specks on a somewhat darker background. As regards the seeds, I counted 190-200 in the case of osǎ'bŏme, 224 in the case of nsūsūte, and only 80 in the case of mǒne ngǒn. The seeds are pear-shaped (e) and white, and only the inside is eaten. Frequent crossings appear among the fruit although on one and the same plant fruit of the same variety is usually found, and hence it is possible to speak of genuine species, just as in the case of apples and pears.

244 262 Among the seven chief food plants, ngon occupies fourth place. Only among the Jaunde does it take fifth place, while maize has moved to fourth. I cannot determine whether it was only the drier climate of Jaunde country that caused maize which thrives in a dry climate to be preferred to ngon which grows more successfully in the rainy southern and western Pangwe region. In any case, ngon is of such importance for the huge Pangwe region and far beyond it that one would think considerable space would be devoted to it in technical books about tropical cultivated plants /94/. As it happens, however, the plant is not mentioned by Sadebeck, Fesca, or anywhere else.

244 TB Concerning the origin of the name, the Fang tell the following little story. At first the name ngǒn was quite unknown; the plant was simply called by the general name ekǔluga (from a kūt, "to crack," because the seeds are opened by being cracked, and this is a general expression for all fruits that are opened by cracking and have an edible interior, for instance, andǒk = Irvingia, etc.). Furthermore, ngon was not yet cultivated as it

244 only slightly indented near the bottom and the stalk of the leaf is articulated down by the flat part, while the macabo has true arrow-shaped leaves so that the indentation extends down to the stalk. Furthermore, macabo leaves have a slight sheen on the surface, while taro leaves are dull and their veins have an almost bluish tinge. Taro has yellow blossoms; macabo has white, green, and rose tinted ones; both blossom in the rainy seasons.

Strangely enough, Europeans in the Cameroons tend to prefer macabo to taro; the former is their substitute for the potato in Africa, although the latter, if merely steamed, doubtless has the better taste. At the same time the Pangwe have little love for macabo and have retained taro, their traditional cultivated plant. [262] The explanation for this may be the fact that the Europeans first employed cooks from among the Batanga /Tanga/, one of the coastal peoples. Macabo is more important to them than taro, and their word akabe (plural, makabe) became macabo among the Europeans. Generally speaking, there is little to say about macabo cultivation among the Pangwe. They simply let it grow in the old places between the plantains around the village, just as it was left by departing predecessors. There it stands today -- reverting to the wild state -- and anyone can take as much as he likes. When the Pangwe settle a new region, however, they too plant macabo in the village and occasionally cultivate it. Two species of macabo are distinguished: the green mfū'm ekábe (mfū'm, "white, bright"), whose tubers are white; and a second, nsǔt ekábe (nsǔt, "dark"), whose leafstalks are a dark reddish color and whose tubers are likewise reddish. The white species is indisputably the better one. The dark species is not suited for the preparation of the macabo biscuits that are popular among the Europeans.

Taro, on the other hand, is cultivated, and since, as is well known, it thrives on moist soil, it is planted in the vicinity of swamps or in places with an abundance of water, more rarely near houses, and usually together with macabo. Taro farms are generally not large. There are three species of taro:

1. mfū'm atū: leafstalks green, underside of the leaf smooth;
2. atšále III (from a džá, "to fill"; this species bears so many little tubers that they fill a whole plate): leafstalks bluish, underside of the leaf smooth; /102/

2144 From the family of the Solanaceae there are: Solanum melongena L. var. inerme Hiern. (ažǒ́n); Solanum dinklagei U. D. (oyṓla); Solanum lycopersicum L. (ažǒ́ń ntǎ́ńgan = ažǒ́ń, that is, Solanum melongena, of the Whites). The fruit of these three varieties of Solanum is eaten. Furthermore, there is Solanum aethiopicum L. (žū́m IV, eněm) with three varieties: niǎ žū́m = true zū́m, ntūma I, and ndzēi' -žū́m, as well as Solanum macrocarpum L. var. thonningii (etūi' -zū́m from etūi' - Solanum duplosinuatum U. D., because of the similarity of the fruit). The leaves of the latter two species are eaten. From the family of the Amaranthaceae there are: Celosia argentea L. (žū́m e mvḗlę́, that is, žū́m of the Mwele); Celosia laxa Schum. et Thom. (fǒ́lǒ́m [?], ebū́něgǎn); Amaranthus paniculatus L. (fǒ́lǒ́m IV, fǒm IV). From the family of the Labiatae there are: Ocimum basilicum L. (osim); Ocimum gratissimum L. (asǒ́b); Plectranthus spec. (avǎ), afūń; and Aeolanthus edlingeri Gürke (elě́lǎ́nge, Ntum; elǎ́ngelǎ́nge, Fang).

II. Livestock

231 For reasons which I shall mention in a moment, the Pangwe keep domestic animals, but this is not the kind of economic activity that could be called stock farming. The four-footed domestic animals include dogs, goats, and sheep; as for fowl, there are hens and, recently introduced, ducks.

● [262] The dog (mvū IV) is kept basically for hunting. It is also eaten, a practice which is especially popular among the Jaunde. In the eyes /105/ of the European this dog is no more than a caricature, a repulsive travesty of a real dog. A glance into their false eyes suffices to make one hate the animals. Usually they are covered with sores; they are thieving and treacherous, disobedient, cowardly, and at the same time quarrelsome. In these characteristics they frequently strike the observer as comparable to their masters. I was struck by their not very highly developed sexual urge, in contrast to European dogs. The Pangwe values his dog all the more highly because of its great usefulness on the hunting drive. Good hunting dogs are very difficult to obtain from their owners and are worth as much

231
435

231 [435] as medium-sized female goats and sheep (14 marks or 200 spears). Just as among us, the dogs have their own names which are taken from 231 the list of human names or else allude in jocular fashion to the 552 characteristics of the animals. Frequently, indeed, these swine-snouted curs are given a first name and a patronymic, just like people, or since for obvious reasons it is at times difficult to establish the paternity of the dog, it is given a first name and its mother's name, thus, akut-e-mban.

Among human names applied to dogs I was able to discover the following: ndǫ̆no (a very ancient man's name; see pages 68 and 69); asǫ̆n (umbrella tree, man's name); mvǭnǭ (Satan's ape, Colobus anthracinus Leconte); ondǭ′ (?, man's name): ntǭde-abǎ̄ń (single otter, woman's name); mfū′mezǫ̆k (the white of the elephant, that is ivory; woman's name); mbǎ́ń (ivory, woman's name).

Other dogs' names are: obǭ′nǫ̆ (from obǭn = bead, one adorned with beads, perhaps also a woman's name); olǔń (the tree Rinorea dentata [P. Beauv.] O. Ktze.); ebǫ̆′nenǫ̆ń (one who always lies on the bed); aji′zǫ̆k (a jī′ = to yearn, zǫ̆k = elephant; in other words the one who yearns for elephant meat); angǔn (dog's bell); odzǎ′m (dwarf lemur, Hemigalago, because the dog bounds through the bushes like the dwarf lemurs in the trees); akū́t (the stupid one).

231 Goats and sheep, which the Fang put together under the name 556 kabad, are kept as an investment, as pets, and only in third place as livestock for slaughter. While the economic life is otherwise considered from the viewpoint of "food," this strikingly recedes completely into the background concerning domestic animals where the main point is the joy of possession. We thus have real "savings," the purpose of which is to store up bride money. This has its familiar consequences: thriftiness carried to the point of avarice; a piece of [262] meat allowed only on very rare occasions; and no distaste for the enjoyment of animals that have died.

231 The goats (ekǫ̆′le) are just as unpleasant as the dogs because of their annoying habit of making a hullabaloo at night and because of other indecent and repulsive characteristics. The only domestic animal that we find congenial is the sheep (ntǔma I), Figure 57, but here, too, the bad example of the goats frequently spoils good manners. They "specialize" in producing, especially at night, /106/ /Fig. 57

235 As regards poultry, only the hen (kub IV) is native. Only its
262 meat, not the eggs, is used for food, and even that rarely and on special occasions. At the proper place I shall return to the significance of the hen in the religious conceptions of the natives.

For the hens, small pens of logs are constructed behind the
235 house. In addition, baskets are hung for them on the outside and
417 inside walls of the house where they can brood. Finally, the brood hen is /108/ not refused a resting place in the house on some unused bed if she should consider it the safest and most suitable place for herself and her chicks. A hole at the bottom of the wall serves as an exit for the hen's family.

During the 1880's and 1890's ducks with a red band around
235 the eyes were introduced. Around 1890 they arrived in the Fang
177 region and were called elõ (wild duck = elõ't); later they were called sõõ' III.

231 Like other primitive peoples, the Pangwe cannot be called animal lovers. Except for parrots, one sees practically no tamed forest animals, not even monkeys. The Pangwe "tire" (a yõt) of looking after and feeding them, and under such circumstances one cannot blame the freedom-loving quadrupeds and birds for seeking to escape or lying down to die. Gray parrots, which immediately introduce themselves to every stranger by their name, for instance, as esă'să' = kite, are quite common. They usually find their food on the garbage heaps or among the leftovers in the house. Now and then one sees wild boars that were caught when young. Once I was brought a young leopard which a woman had tried to keep alive by feeding it from her breast; the animal badly scratched the helpful woman, and she quickly abandoned her voluntary maternal role.

231 The bee, Apis mellifica L. var. adansoni (mvũfũh IV, hũi' IV
222 Fang), is not kept, but wild honey (wũi' ; plural, mũi'), which for the most part is to be found in tree trunks, is gathered and consumed raw.

III. Fishing

226 West Africa is one of the areas of the world richest in fish.
136 Hence, the numerous rivers and streams of the Pangwe region possess great quantities of different kinds of fish. Some of the most

000 arrangement of the kitchen. Kitchen and cooking implements (grindstone, grinding board, plantain peeler, basket-work plate, stirring spoons and other spoons used by the women, cooking pots). Preparation: 1) cassava (cassava rolls, cassava cutlets, boiled cassava roots, pulverized cassava boiled in a leaf bent in the shape of a stirrup, steamed cassava); 2) plantain; 3) groundnut (groundnut sauce, groundnut bundle, groundnut mush, groundnut soup); 4) ngon; 5) maize (corn on the cob, maize soup, maize bread, maize mush). Other vegetables and meat. Meals. Eating. Tableware, eating spoon and its forms.

2. Beverages and indulgents. Beverages: water, drinking vessels, water liana. Indulgents: sugarcane juice, banana wine, palm wine (distribution of the palms used for making palm wine, quality of palm wine, appearance and taste, methods of obtaining it and keeping its quality). Indulgence. Tobacco (varieties of the tobacco plant, smoking, tobacco pipes, care of the tobacco plant, treatment of the leaves).

262 One of the greatest physical pleasures for the Pangwe is to eat meat (tit; "boiled meat," nnĩă man e tit, from a niăm, "to boil"). From man down to the smallest termite, scarcely anything seems inedible to him.

266 184 It is considered a fact that the southern Pangwe occasionally eat human flesh (Fig. 91). The Pangwe as a whole, however, cannot be called anthropophagous. Among the northern subgroups there is nowhere any report of cannibalism, and the natives maintain that even in former times cannibalism was unknown among them. Among the central Fang in Spanish Guinea and in the French region, on

266
184

[673]

the other hand, fallen enemies are consumed by some of them on exceptional occasions. The accounts have it that this form of cannibalism does not by any means for religious reasons, but rather represents an act of revenge carried to its extreme; the enemy is degraded to the level of an animal and is consumed like an animal. I have never heard it said that relatives or members of the same kin group are killed and eaten; indeed, in the eyes of the Fang this would constitute an incredible crime. Far to the south, especially toward the southeast where the Pangwe have been fundamentally modified through mixture with neighboring tribes, anthropophagy may be somewhat more

[412] Fig. 91. Spearhead Knife for cutting up a Slain Person.

[177] frequent. It is most likely, in any case, that the practice /144/ /Fig. 91 appears here in the original text/ was taken over in the first place from the eastern border tribes, especially the Njem who are notorious in this respect.

262 Thus, meat is principally supplied by animals, and here the Pangwe does not even stop at the thick skin of the elephant; he finds almost everything edible. Among mammals, only the shrew, house rat, and the dwarf squirrel Sciurus pumilio Leconte (mvūkesŏn) are not eaten. Also, the following are not eaten: among reptiles, the chameleon, the lizard Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (ebŭmekūkūī), and the Agama colonorum Daud. (ngŏdŏ III); similarly, among amphibians, the toads Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (mvŭn IV) and Bufo latifrons Blgr. (dzŭn; plural, biŭn, mŭń), as well as the frog Rana mascareniensis D. and B. (nkŏń I). The reasons why these animals are never eaten I shall discuss in conjunction with the general food prohibitions in Section 13 /Ed., Vol. II/.

262 The names for the various parts of the slaughtered animal (goat) can be seen in Figure 92.

Among invertebrate animals, the following are eaten: the larvae (fǒs IV) of the palm weevil Rhynchophorus phoenicis Fabr. and of the rhinoceros beetle Angosoma centaurus F. Pl. (larva = akǔm); even the large elephant dung beetle Copris (ejǎ'žok, Jaunde) by the Jaunde; 21 different kinds of caterpillars, mostly Saturnidae (nkǔn I = edible caterpillar); dragonfly larvae and termites (sǔme IV Ntum, kǎp Jaunde); common crabs and shrimp; snails, with the exception of Limacidae; and a river mussel.

Of the lower animals mentioned, the rhinoceros beetle larvae, which live in the leafstalks of the raffia palm, deserve to be noticed by Europeans. They taste very good fried and may indeed almost be regarded as a delicacy (one recalls the cossus /Ed., a kind of larvae under the bark of trees/ of the Romans!). Even the termites might be a tasty dish if the unpleasant long wings could be removed. In the Mwele region near Simekoa I saw termite nests of the variety called kǎp carefully fenced inside the plantations. As they fly out in great numbers, they are caught in baskets; some of them are eaten alive with the wings, and some of them are prepared by the women. They taste like raw eggs, and if they were baked into some kind of bread, they would not be at all bad, if it were not for the fact, as I mentioned earlier, that the wings are an undesirable accompaniment.

If the Pangwe were not so deficient in hunting skill, if they did not have a genuine horror of slaughtering their domestic animals, and if they were to set traps somewhat more industriously and regularly, /145/ they would not suffer any dearth of fresh meat in view of the abundance of game in their land, but as it is, plants chiefly make up their diet.

222 262 The cultivated vegetables have already been mentioned in the previous section. /Fig. 92 appears here in the original text./ Under ordinary circumstances wild vegetables are only a part of the regular fare, but during periods of famine or on other occasions when food has become scarce, these plants frequently serve as staples for the Pangwe.

192
262

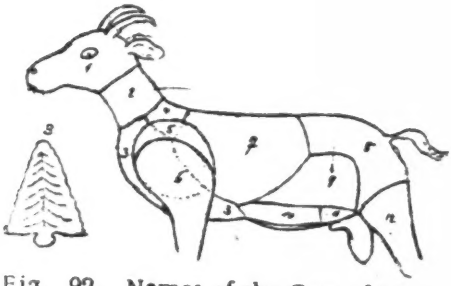


Fig. 92. Names of the Cuts of Meat in a Slaughtered Animal:
(1) head = nlo; (2) neck = kin; (3) breast = ekokob; (4) lower neck = engut; (5) joint = aba; (6) blade and front leg = enam; (7) back piece = epfa-ebòk; (8) rump = oduk; (9) flank = mvöbe; (10) belly = abum; (11) pieces above the genitals = ekila; (12) shank and hind leg = abo.

272
262 Among palms, we should mention especially the oil palm, the raffia palm, and above all Ancistrophyllum, whose innermost leaves (palm cabbage) are eaten; of Begoniaceae we should mention Begonia poggei Wrbg. (esǎn̓ e kǭě Ntum) and Begonia ciliobracteata Wrbg. (esǎ'n̓ e kā'ɲa); of Amaranthaceae Celosia argentea L. (num engǒ'n̓, num afǭn̓), Celosia laxa Schum., etc. (num e fǒ'ɲǫ'm), and Pupalia lappacea L. (num e kǭlǭ't); of Acanthaceae Justicia insularis T. And. (fē,i), Endosiphon obliquus Clke. (num ndzē,i, masǎmengǔmo III), and Pseuderanthemum nigritianum (T. And.) Radlk. (ndzē,i I); of Urticaceae Urera laurentii de Willd. (mfǒs I) and Fleurya aestuans (L.) Gand. (ngūkǔ'n IV); of Euphorbiaceae Micrococca mercurialis (L.) Benth. (otěk); of Tiliaceae Corchorus olitorius L. (ngbǎbe-lǫ'mo IV); of Melastomataceae Dinophora spenneroides Bth. (esǎn̓-eli) and Dissotis decumbens (P.B.) Tr. (osisǎn̓-bongǭ'n-b'ojě'k); of Moraceae Myrianthus arboreus P.B. (mangǎ'me III Fang, engukǭ'm Ntum, Jaunde); of Araceae Rhektophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (ndě's IV, klēs IV); of Dioscoreaceae Dioscorea prehensilis Bth. (esǎ'n̓); and finally, of ferns (zǒ'n̓ IV), in particular Dryopteris

222 tomentella C. Chr., Dryopteris megaphylla (Met.) C. Chr. (mejǎ
262 m'abǒk), Dryopteris parasitica (L.) O. Ktz. (undǔndu akō),
Dryopteris gongylodes (Kuhn) O. Ktz. (engǎs), Stenochlaena
guineensis (Kuhn) (nkǎdenā' III), Alsophila camerunensis Diels
(ezǐzō'n-ošū,e), and Diplazium silvaticum (Borg.) Sw. (esē't).

245 Fruits are cultivated very little. In this category the
262 banana is the only native of any antiquity. The following have
been recently introduced: the pineapple (nkōkajǎ'ń I Fang,
ekańemvē'lē Ntum) (1), which is scattered over the entire territory

1. nkōk = sugar, ajǎń = Liliaceae, Cyperaceae; ekǎń sedge (from the Mwele), because of the leaves which are similar to those of the Cyperaceae.

although planted only in small numbers; the papaya Carica papaya (pō'pō' Jaunde, adžǎbentǎńgan Ntum, Fang) (2), which has scarcely

2. adžǎb – Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl.; e ntǎńgǎn = of the Whites.

passed beyond a narrow coastal strip and whose little trees can be counted; small, bitter lemons, Citrus /146/ limonum Risso (olǒs Fang, alǒs Ntum, ngǒambǎ'ń IV); and oranges that are almost inedible for Europeans.

Coconut palms (mbǎń I, njǒ,mō I, Ntum, Fang; myǔ'ndē' IV Jaunde) are to be found only along the coast and even there only in small numbers.

The native "bush plum," Pachylobus edulis E. Don., var. mubafo Engl., Burseracea (asǎ' Ntum, ošǔ,ńǎ Fang), which is found only in or near villages, may be cultivated. The attractive lilac-
[252] blue or beautiful rose-colored fruits are roasted on the fire, and the yellow, quite tasty meat of the fruit is eaten warm.

222 All the other fruits eaten by the Pangwe grow wild. Related
262 to the bush plum in shape and in the taste of its fruit is Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl. (asē,ǎ; fruit, sēǎ IV); the fruit is prepared in the

222 same manner. The fruit of the Sapotacea Mimusops djave (Lan.)
262 Engl. (adžǎ́b; fruit, ebǒ̰n), which contains oil, is very important. It resembles a large apple; the jelly in which the two to four seeds are imbedded is very sticky, but quite tasty. The seeds are used in the preparation of oil. Next to these, Irvingia barteri Hook. f., Simarubacea (andǫ̰́k; fruit, ndǫ̰́k IV) is of great importance. Strangely enough, the Pangwe do not value the juice of the fruit's yellow meat, which is extraordinarily fragrant and refreshing, on the condition, to be sure, that the fruit is just at the right state of ripeness. Indeed, in contrast to the coastal tribes, they attach little importance to many forest fruits (for instance, the fruit of the cardamom, of the palm Podococcus barteri, and others) and do not know how to make use of them. The nourishing contents of the
[252] kernel of the Irvingia barteri are eaten after being dried or worked into a kind of mush. The Pangwe are incapable of preparing as tasty a sauce from the fruit as that made by the Bassá; the nut bread of the Mpongwe is also unknown to them. Other important edible nuts are Coula edulis Baill., Olacinacea (ewūǫ̰́mō, Fang; ewūḗme, Ntum; fruit, kṓmō or kūḗme); Panda oleosa Pierre (afǎ́ne[k] ;fruit, fǎne[k] and a variety unknown to me (andǫ̰́ ; fruit, ndǫ̰́ IV). Very tasty and refreshing fruit is supplied by the following trees: Burseracea Pachylobus macrophyllus (Oliv.) (andǒtǫ̰́m Ntum, atǫ̰́m Fang; fruit, ndǒtǫ̰́m IV Ntum, tǫ̰́m IV Fang); Anacardiaceae Trichoscypha spec. (amyǔt, fruit myǔt IV; and engǒ̰ń, fruit ngǒ̰ń); the pulp of various Landolphia varieties, namely, Landolphia ochracea K. Sch. (avǔ́m), Landolphia piriformis Stapf (dzǎ III), and two other varieties (efǒfǫ̰́do Fang and kǫ̰́mo III), in which the seeds are imbedded, is somewhat sour but quite refreshing. All the remaining fruits -- insofar as I have tasted them -- have scarcely any special charm for the European; indeed some, like Laccodiscus and Pseudospondias, have a downright horrible taste and are -- as they say in West Africa -- "good for blackmen, no good for whitemen." Their names are: Parinarium tessmannii Engl., Rosaceae (efṓt); Chrysophyllum tessmannii Engl., Sapotaceae (mbǎ́m I); Pachylobus tessmannii Engl., Burseraceae (nga-angǫ̰lǒngǒ́); Laccodiscus spinulosus dentatus Radlk., Sapindaceae (afǔ́lṵ̌ń); Pseudospondias microcarpa

222 (Rich.) Engl., Anacardiaceae (ofǭs); Pseudospondias tessmannii
262 Engl., likewise (angǫ́kǭń); /147/ Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth., Leguminosae (ebā́ī); Cola acuminata (P.B.) R. Br., Sterculiaceae (abē); Carpolobia alba Don., Polygalaceae (onǭn, tǭmok); Ricinodendron africanum Muell. Arg., Euphorbiaceae (ezisā́ń); Myrianthus arboreus P.B., Moraceae (mangā́me III Fang, engūkǫ́m Ntum, Jaunde); Desbordesia glaucescens Engl., Simarubaceae (alǫ́b); Duboscia macrocarpa (?) Bocq., Tiliaceae (akāk e sā́ń); Oncinotis glandulosa Stapf, Apocynaceae, and Tylostemon minutiflorus Stapf, Lauraceae (dzā-odzī́dzīk or bodzābodzī́dzīk); Tristemma hirtum Vent., Melastomataceae (abē-osū́e); Cnestis aurantiaca Gilg, Connaraceae (abīń e ndzīk); Vitex bipindensis Gürke, Verbenaceae (apfǭn); Anonidium mannii Oliv., Anonaceae (ebǭm elí); Sarcocephalus sambucinus K. Sch. (alū́mā, alū́ma, and akūndū́m); the palm Podococcus barteri M. and W. (niamyīne); as well as various varieties of Aframomum, such as the Aframomum alboviolaceum K. Sch. (adzǭm; fruit, esū́n) illustrated in Volume II.

Finally, mushrooms, of which the Fang distinguish twenty edible varieties, play an important role in the household. With the exception of a foul-smelling morel which is covered with a kind of veil, poisonous ground mushrooms do not seem to occur.

263 Of spices, pepper and salt are known, and both are found in-
249 dispensable by the Pangwe for the preparation of meals. Three varieties and many subvarieties of pepper, Capsicum (okālāń IV, undūndū III), are sown behind the houses or close to the village, and it is to be found growing wild everywhere in the vicinity of human settlements, where its green fruit -- red when ripe -- is picked whenever it is needed; it is added to the food either whole or pulverized on a stone.

263 Salt is more difficult to obtain. Although salt imported from
456 Europe now floods almost the entire region and, in conjunction with
258 tobacco, constitutes a regular standard of value, in remote areas of the interior the laborious extraction of salt from swamp plants is still carried out in the old manner.

258 The two chief salt-producing plants are those illustrated by
834 Plate 10: Halopegia acurea K. Sch., Marantaceae (nkǭń I) and

262 In addition to the spices, the Pangwe use oil as an additive for their food. The oil is obtained from the oil palm Elaeis guineensis L. (alĕn) and the Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (adźăb), but it is extracted so rarely that its use in the kitchen is far secondary to its use for the care of the skin. For this reason I shall discuss the extraction of oil when I come to speak of skin care.

354 The kitchen of the Pangwe woman is located, as we have already seen, in the house under the suspension loft. There is no actual hearth in it; among the Mwai this is represented by three rocks, but for the rest the pot which is always without legs is placed on a potsherd or on the skillfully arranged logs of the fire. If at any time there is more than usual to be cooked, for instance, after a successful elephant hunt, the daily fireplace is too small, and a second one is built behind the house.

313 For cooking -- as every little Pangwe girl knows -- three things are necessary: wood, water, and fire. There is never any shortage of wood; every day the housewife brings the necessary logs from the plantation (Fig. 51). Water is likewise available in great quantities; 312 it merely has to be taken from the river in calabashes (ndŏk IV) or -- 415 among the Ntum and Okak -- in earthenware water flasks (Fig. 92a), Pangwe esū̃gă (hence the name sū̃k, an imitation of the gurgling sound made by the water as it is poured in; hence also a-sōk "waterfall"). We discussed the fire in the previous section.

412 The kitchen utensils of the woman are very simple. The grind- 252 stone (akŏk) and the little round rubbing stone (ngŏk IV) that goes with it are found everywhere. The grindstone is irregularly flat, scoured smooth by the rubbing done on it, and it usually lies on the ground on which the woman kneels in front of the stone she works. Among the Mwai, who are somewhat more advanced in the art of cooking anyway, the stone is placed on four small posts like a table, a fact which considerably "raises" it in appearance. Groundnuts, ngon, and so forth are rubbed to a powder by rolling the rubbing stone back and forth on the grindstone. The same purpose is served by an almost round wooden plate which has the shape of a stemmed leaf with raised edges (eyin-ndŏk, efef-ndŏk); it is used for the kernels of the Irvingia barteri Hook. f. (andŏk; fruit, ndŏk IV), Figure 93; the grinder used with this plate is a hard fruit (alŏk), round as a ball.

415 The eating or serving spoons, with which the woman tastes the food during cooking and ladles it out of the pot at mealtime, are kept above the fireplace. /151/ /Fig. 95 appears here in the original text./ Such spoons have various shapes; the simplest is a Sarcophrynium leaf folded in the form of a spoon and used only once. This leaf spoon is called ntõ'no I. The calabash spoon (egbwã's) represents a higher stage of spoon, as does the snail spoon (ebõ'na, ekõkõ'e), Figure 101. The calabash spoon is made from a small fruit of the calabash gourd (Fig. 99 and 100) which has been cut in half through the middle; the snail spoon is made from the [321] large Achatina marginata Sw. (kõĩ') by cutting out a piece of its shell. These are the women's spoons for everyday use, and as such they correspond to the men's wooden eating spoon (tõk). Women never use ladling spoons made of wood.

The most important kitchen utensil is the cooking pot (myẽ I, yiõk; plural, lõk) made of clay (viõk), of which each woman keeps a number of larger ones (myẽ, viõk) and smaller ones (obẽbẽ') on the pot loft (akãn e myẽ). Through the trading companies, iron pots [177] with three feet (mẽkõne III) have already spread throughout the land. /Fig. 96 appears here in the original text./

262 After these general preliminary /152/ observations, I shall go on to a description of the methods of preparing /Fig. 97 appears here in the original text/ the principal food plants. Those of greatest importance as staple foods will once more be listed here in order: cassava, plantain, groundnut, ngon, maize, taro, yams (1) (Fang region).

1. Smaller repetitions cannot be entirely avoided for the sake of clarity in the individual sections. The reader will be so kind as to excuse them.

1. Cassava

252 Aside from insignificant variations, the cassava root is prepared in five different ways. Two of these are chiefly women's food: pulverized cassava, cooked in a leaf roll bent into the shape of a stirrup

252 frequently pouring on water, grinds them to flour (half a basket of ears produces a heaping basketwork plate of flour from which three loaves are made). The flour in a basketwork plate lined with leaves is stirred with water to form a batter; salt, pepper, and frequently [262] also shrimp and dragonfly larvae are added. This batter, as in the case of the women's cassava nkŭ'na mbŭn, is placed in a Sarcophrynium leaf folded in the shape of a stirrup, and it is boiled for an hour in a pot with a little water. The end result is a dish which, while it is rather heavy, tastes quite good. /160/

(d) Maize mush (ngbwĕt).

Maize mush is made of fresh maize flour which, when boiled, makes a white pulpy soup. Since I have not closely observed its preparation, I am unable to give any details.

The remaining plants, such as taro, macabo, yams, and so forth, are not sufficiently important to be discussed in relation to the various ways of preparing them. The reader will, I think, from the information given so far, derive a clear enough picture of the multiple uses made by the Pangwe of their vegetable foodstuffs.

Meat is boiled in pots by itself -- just like fish, which, as among us, are dressed and scaled -- or it is boiled in a leaf bundle with groundnuts and ngon. As for other ways of preparation, the [265] Pangwe are familiar with roasting, but they use this method only in order to make the food keep and to preserve it.

264 Meals are quite irregular and poorly distributed:

"kikitase afŏk anŭ, hamoś ebań e nkŏk,
[539] In the morning a little bit for the mouth, (mid) day a loan for the jaw,
alu bepfŭm"
at night, quite full.

In the morning, soon after getting up, they usually eat a small amount of a cold cassava dish or something similar, which the women have cooked the night before since they usually have to go to the plantations early. In the course of the forenoon they content themselves with a little snack of cassava bread, bananas, and the like.

249
252

4. Palm seed oil (mbǒn e mbań, maniańga Jaunde), used only for the skin.

In the order given, from 1) to 4), the frequency of production decreases. In other words, pressed oil is made most frequently, palm seed oil is made most rarely. The order is the same for the southern Pangwe, except that washed oil is completely absent.

1) Pressed oil.

The stalks bearing the ripe fruit are taken off the tree, cut apart by means of axe and cutlass, and left to lie for a couple of days under a blanket of banana leaves. Then the fruit itself is taken off and boiled with a little water for about half an hour in a pot covered with leaves. Afterwards, it is pounded in a trough with a wooden pestle, and the seeds are picked out (Fig. 145). The pulp is then pressed out on the oil press. The oil has the familiar yellowish-red color, and among Europeans it appears on the dinner table as "palm oil chop" with meat and the tubers of macabo or taro; however, only a small proportion of the natives eat it (one-quarter, in the south even less). [362]

249
252
415
301

Fig. 145. Extraction of Oil from the Fruit of the Oil Palm.

769 The veneration of skulls likewise occurs in the case of the
224 hunting medicines. The skull of a man killed by violent means,
826 whose corpse remained on the spot (if the man belongs to the same kinship group), is kept in a bark box and taken care of as in ancestor worship. When a huntsman kills a wild animal, for example, he takes the first piece that falls to him in the distribution of the meat to the skull as a thanks offering. This piece consists of the sex organs and the flesh around them (ekī)ǎ', see Fig. 92 in Vol. I). After he has taken it to the skull, he carries it off again
[262] to eat it himself. On the other hand, if there has been no luck on the hunt, a chicken is killed for the "man" in the box so he will see to it that a wild animal soon appears in front of his protégé's rifle and will be hit as effectively as he was in his time.

721 In addition, the Fang have a great war medicine, a celebra-
789 tion which is called aṅgūṅgu and is a companion festivity to the engongeschok. On this occasion, a sacred place is set up, a subterranean corridor similar to that described in the case of the Ngi /Ed., not translated/ is dug, and a dwarf antelope, Cephalophus
[825] melanorheus Gray (ogbwŭ,ṅ), which must have been caught alive, is brought to the place. Then the medicine man stations himself at one end of the corridor, and all the other men, armed with rifles,
[824] hang a seed of the Sorindeia rubriflora Engl. (afá'ne[k]) as medicine around their necks, and crawl -- the first with the antelope in his arms -- through the corridor. At the exit, the medicine man gives all of them, including the antelope, a medicine. The antelope is thereupon released, and it is believed that when a surprise attack is planned and the enemy has got wind of it, the animal will appear and thereby warn the attackers. By way of medicines to secure the /167/ necessary courage for such an attack, five different ones are available.

777 The medicines for trapping and fishing are rarer than the shot
226 medicines, a sign that these occupations are more in the Pangwe's
224 blood than open hunting. I have taken down only eight plants for fish medicines and twelve for trap medicines.

752 are rubbed into them. In this case it is clear that the view the
278 natives have of powers of healing is not free of contradiction and confusion. The excrescence on the tree is /184/ natural, that on the person unnatural. By incorporating the tree's natural excrescence in the form of ashes, they hope to induce the human growth to return to its natural shape, that is, to become smooth, while in actual fact one would expect the person to get a swelling from this.

752 For bandages the Pangwe usually use strips of dried banana leaf sheaths. In the case of finger and toe injuries, a small halved calabash, fastened with a string around the joint, is slipped on as a cover (Plate 25).

000 Medicines for impotence, sexual stimulants, devices to influence the woman's sexual life (menstruation, pregnancy, birth) will be treated later (Section 18).

5. Food Prohibitions

●262 Pangwe life is dominated by a number of rules which they call
784 bekī (from ekī). These, in the main, prescribe that certain actions shall not be performed at certain times and that certain foodstuffs are to be avoided either at all times or only at certain times. The most important rules are the latter, the food prohibitions. The following are distinguished: 1) ekī bebin = taboo for those not initiated into cults, or ekī bonenga = taboo for women, who are uninitiated as regards the men's cults; 2) eki bongus = taboo for the initiated of the cults, in practice usually of the women's cults; 3) ekī-bondŭ'mǎn = taboo for young, vigorous persons, and the forbidden animals are called dūm; 4) ekī abŭm =
262 taboo for the belly, that is, the prohibition of certain animals at
784 the time of pregnancy, or ekī mǒn = taboo because of the child,
843 that is, food taboos for the duration of the pregnancy and nursing the child, a period during which the taboo applies both to the mother and the father, a consequence of the opinion held by the Pangwe that the woman -- as it is always put -- has the lover or husband "in her belly," that is, that the developing fruit is actually

[Text continues on page 60]

262 784 [843] nothing else but the man who with the help of the female body is newly formed, nourished, and born; 5) ekī, bongō'n = taboo for young girls.

The following list will show which animals are never eaten, which are subject to an ekī, and which are not forbidden.

A. Mammals

1. Never eaten.

262 [784] Crocidura species (mbāšū,m I); Mus rattus L. (tōlō III); Sciurus pumilio Leconte (mvūk esōn); and the inside of the elephant's tusks (ngō e zōk I), which it is likewise forbidden to step over, "because flaccid and bitter." /185/

2. ekī, bebin or ekī, bonenga.

Sheep and goats (kabād IV) among the Fang; Simia satyrus L. (woā III) among the Fang; Gorilla gorilla L. (ngi IV); Potamochoerus albifrons Du Chaillu (ngūi, Fang) among the Fang; Cephalophus dorsalis Gray (sō' IV); Neotragus batesi Winton (odžūē') among the Fang; the last two are also taboo for the uninitiated of the Sso cult.

3. ekī, bandúman.

Bats (otā,n), which also may not be touched by adults (ekī, a bi,); fruit bats (indē'm) and Scotonycterus zenkeri Matschie (ngōm I); Dendrohyerax tessmannii A. Br. (nīū'k IV); Perodicticus batesi Winton (awū'n); Arctocebus aureus Winton (māsātšīdi I and III); Sciurucheirus gabonensis Gray (emām IV) which also may not be touched; Anomalurus species (ngui IV); Mus species (edū,); Viverra civetta poortmannii Pucher. (zōē IV); Bdeogale and Herpestes species (mvāk); elephant's trunk "because the limb becomes weak"; elephant's limb; Phatages giganteus Illiger (pfī'ma IV) and Manis species (kā' IV); Sciurus wilsoni (kūē' III).

4. eki-abum or eki-mon.

●262
843

Sheep and goats (kăbăd IV), the large male animals because of their heavy breathing, and the child would have the same heavy breathing; Cercopithecus brazziformis Pocock (fũ.h IV) and Miopithecus talapoin Erxl. (ozõ'm), usually not eaten at all by women capable of bearing children; Cercopithecus buccalis Leconte (ošõk); C. laglaizei Pocock (avõ'm) and Colebus anthracinus Leconte (mvõn IV), eaten by some when the child is born and by others during pregnancy, but in that case they prepare a medicine which eliminates the bad effect; Thryonomys swinderenianus Temm. (mvĭ'b IV) until the birth (if eaten during pregnancy, an antidote is necessary since otherwise the child would get festering skin ulcers, pfõ IV, on the leg; Sciurus rufobrachiatus aubryi A.M.E. (ovẽ'i) and Sciurus eborivorus Du Chaillu, egg-devouring female (nsõm I); Sciurus rubripes Du Chaillu (edũn) until the birth; Sciurus eborivorus Du Chaillu (mvok) until the birth if the animal was caught in a tree hollow (tree hollow = female sex organ; the child would remain stuck in the same manner in the mother's "belly," as the squirrel in the hollow) (1); Cricetomys

1. In what follows I have omitted as obvious the fear of the Pangwe that the child might acquire the same characteristics or properties as those possessed by the animal.

dissimilis Rochebrune (kũi IV) until the birth if the animal is sighted near its burrow and killed during its flight; Atherura africana Gray (ngũm IV) if it is killed by means of baskets at its burrow, /186/ only the skin is taboo if the animal was killed in flight; Mus hypoxanthus Pucheran (abõk), but because of its small size it is eaten only by young and old people; Mus species (ekõn), eaten only by young and old people because the animal trembles and because of its small size; Mus species (ndũ.n I) because of its long feet; Myoxus angolensis Winton (osi.m Ntum) because it lives in burrows; Elephas africanus Blumenb., the head taboo until the birth because it is feared that the child would have an equally big head, the feet until

262 843 the birth because it is feared that the child would have club feet; Potamochoerus albifrons Du Chaillu (ngui, IV Fang), head and belly until the birth, the head because of its ugly appearance, the belly because of its warts; Bubalus (niă't IV), male animals because they make a rattling noise; Hyemoschus aquaticus Gilg (viǒn, plural lǒn) until the birth; Tragelaphus knutsoni Lemberg (nkǒ'k I) and Cephalophus longiceps Gray (mvū IV), male animals; Cephalophus nigrifrons Gray (žǔm IV) until the birth; Cephalophus leucogaster Gray (miē IV Fang), the animal is supposed "to die of its own accord."

5. Taboo for young girls.

262 [825] Mus univittatus Pet. (mvö'n IV) because of the shamelessness of the mouse which in the presence of people steals the Kassada /Trans., cassava?/ as it is being washed; the young girls, therefore are afraid, if they eat the mouse, that a man would steal them just as quickly.

6. Not taboo.

Dog (mvū IV); Maimon planirostris Elliot (esöge); Hemigalago demidoffi Fischer (ozǎm), but eaten only by young people because of its small size; Euoticus elegantulus Leconte (nšēi, I); Sciurus lemniscatus Leconte and sharpei Gray (osǒn) among the Ntum and Sciurus subviridescens Leconte (sib IV); Cricetomys dissimilis Rochebrune (kūī IV) if it is caught in a spring trap and is carrying fruit in its cheeks, but in this case the fruit must be kept in the dining area (būū) and burned to cinders after the birth of the baby; Cricetomys dissimilis and Atherura africana Gray if caught under circumstances other than those so far described; Mus longipes A.M.E. (kǒm IV); Mus pusillulus Peters (okib), Mus pulchellus Gray (zǒfǒ III), Mus sebastianus Winton (ekū,i'), Mus species (ayūlū ekū,i'), Mus tullbergii Thomas (ndǎ,n IV), but not eaten by adults because the animal is too small and because it lives in the vicinity of houses; Felis leopardus Schreb. (zǒ IV), Felis servalina Puch. (ebi'ǒ); Genetta aubryana Puch. (nsi'n I); Nandinia binotata

262 Reinw. (mvā,i' IV Fang); Poiana poensis Waterh. (ojǎn); Lutra matschieei Cabr. (abǎn) and Herpestes melanurus Gray (nsǒm I); Elephas africanus Bl. (zǒk IV); Potamochoerus albifrons /187/ Du Chaillu (ngui IV); Bubalus (niǎ't IV); Tragelaphus knutsoni Lemberg (nkǒ'k I); Cephalophus longiceps Gray; sheep and goats with exception of the above-mentioned animals; Limnotragus gratus Scl. (žīb IV); Cephalophus callipygus Peters (mvǐn IV) and Cephalophus melanorheus Gray (ogbǔ,n).

B. Birds

1. Taboo for the initiated of the Mekang cult (women).

[794] Guttera plumifera (Cass.) (nkǎ'n I) among the Fang.

2. ekī,-bondǔ'mǎn.

Himantornis haematopus (Tem.) Hartl. (nkū'lūngū' I); Milvus aegypticus (Gm.) (esǐ'sǎ'); Strigidae, especially Bubo species (ndžū,k I) and Syrnium nuchale Sharpe (akūn); Centropus monachus Rüpp. (dūgū' III) and Passer griseus (Vieill.) (mvǎekū,m IV).

3. ekī,-abǔm or ekī,-mǒn.

262 843 (a) Because the bird lives in caves or hatches its eggs in secluded nests: Vinago calva (Tem.) (obǒn) and Columba unicincta Cass. (apfǒ'b) until the birth if caught in the next; likewise Calopelia puella (Schl.) (edūgebǒ'm); Capitonidae, for example, Gymnobucco (ovǒ Ntum), Buccanodon (eji'le), and Barbatula species (omvǒk); Indicatoridae (mǎ' III) and Picidae (ngǔ'megǒ IV); Bucerotidae, for example, Ceratogymna (ngǔn I), Bycanistes (miǎm IV), Lophocerus fasciatus (Shaw) (okogbwai), and Ortholophus species until the birth in case they are caught walled up in their tree hollow; Nicator species (ekǒ') until the birth if found in the next; Sturnidae, for example, Lamprocolius species (kbǎ'n IV) and Pocoptera (mesǒǒ'lǒn IV) until the birth.

●262 843 (b) Because the bird has ugly or unnatural visible characteristics: Pteronetta cyanoptera (Tem) Hartl. (alǎt Ntum) until the birth because of its ugly feet; Canirallus oculeus (Tem.) Hartl. (mvūlūbengǎ's IV) until the birth because of its long legs and also because of its screeching; Ardeidae (esī'sǒ'-ošū,ě Ntum) until the birth because of their long feet and long necks; Lophoaetus occipitalis (Daud) (abǎ'jě'k) because of the long neck feathers; Buccanodon duchaillui Cass. (eji'le) because of its fat belly; Bias musicus (Vieill.) (abǎ'jě'[k] etǒ,k) because of its neck feathers; Diaphorophyia castanea (Fras.) (mekō'boga III) because of the flaps of skin below the eye; Motacilla vidua Sund (mangǒǒmentě'me III) because of the bobbing tail; Camaroptera griseoviridis (v. Müll.) (dindī' III) because of the long feet.

(c) Because the bird calls or screeches in a startling and ugly manner: Theristicus hagedash (Lath.) (ngǎmō'mō' I); Turtur semitorquatus /188/ (Rüpp.) (žū'm IV) and Chalcopelia afra (L.) (odū') until the birth; Francolinus lathami Cass. (obǒm) until the birth; Psittacus erithacus L. (kūs IV) until the birth; Musophagidae, such as Corythaeola cristata (Vieill) (kǔ'nǔk IV) and Turacus species (mbǎ' III) until the birth; Eurystomus species (kǎ'mǎ'k IV); Smithornis zenkeri Rchw. (nǔmekūpafǎ'n); Sigmodus rufiventris Bp. (angbūū'ngbūō) until the birth; Laniarius leucorhynchus (Hartl.) (nžūěbekō,t IV); Lanius mackinnoni Sharpe (avěěě'abǒbe III); Dicrurus coracinus Verr. (obǎ'mǒke III).

(d) For other reasons: Polyboroides typicus A. Sm. (ehgbǎ,n) because of the way it squirts out its excrement and because of its screeching; Gypohierax angolensis (Gm.) until the birth if shot in the nest, since the bird badly befouls its nest; Alcedinidae, for example Halcyon species (akū'i); Ispidina species (okūdebakū'i) until the birth because of the peculiar way the birds duck down when they are on the lookout; many Muscicapidae, for example, Alseonax and Pedilorhynchus species (okǔ,dūgu) because the bird always settles down on the same spot; Ploceus species (ngā'ǎ III) because of the way they vibrate their wings; Spermestes and Estrilda species (edžō'le) because of the way they keep seeds in their crops, "cheek pouches."

4. Not taboo.

262 Domestic hen; Guttera plumifera (Cass.) (nkǎ'ń I) among the Ntum; Francolinus squamatus Cass. (ogbwǎ); Agapornis pullarius (L.) (kǔ' o kiǎ'i, IV); Dryotriorchis batesi Sharpe (gbǎwǔǎ III); Urotriorchis, Baza among others; Falconidae (obǎmedžū,i Fang); Ceutmochares and Clamator (nsǒ'mentǔ't I); Cuculus species (owū'a III) and Chrysococcyx (avē̄vē̄'abǒbe III); Lophocerus camurus (Cass.) (nkūkū'e I Ntum); Meropidae (otsidambū,i'), and Hirundinidae, such as Hirundo (mvā,i' IV) and Psalidoprocne species (kǔlejē'be III), but not eaten because of their small size; Tschitrea species (abǒbǒge III, mekō'ǔǒgō III); Campephaga (mbūī'jǒm I); Malaconotus gabonensis Shell. (ekō,); Dryoscopus senegalensis (Hartl.) (evǔ'gǔ); Oriolus species (mvū,i'n); Malimbus species (ngǎ e nkǎn IV); Spermospiza guttata (Vieill.) (kǔ o sī, IV); Quelea erythrops (Hartl.) (sělěkō'ó III Ntum), but not eaten because of their small size; Nigrita species (makūmašū,bo III), likewise; all Pycnonotidae and Nectariniidae (esǐ'sǒ' Ntum); Cisticola (ekūī'ni-otō,k) and Turdus pelios saturatus Cab. (etī'tǒ').

C. Reptiles

1. Never eaten.

Chamaeleon cristatus Stutsch (dźingbwō' Fang); Lygosoma reichenowi Ptrs. (nšūē' III) and Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (ebǒ'makūkū'ī); Agama colonorum Daud. (ngǒdǒ III) (1). /189/

[184] 1. Eaten only among the Jaunde by boys.

2. ekī, bondúman.

Varanus niloticus L. (nkǎā'k III); Cinixys erosa Schw. (kǔ IV); Mecistops cataphractus Cuv. (ngǎn IV) and Crocodilus niloticus

262 (Laur.) (nkŭm I); the majority of snakes, with the exception of those species mentioned below.

3. ekī-abŭm or ekī-mŏn.

[843] Phython sebae Gmel. (mvŏ'm IV), until the birth (1); Grayia

[754] [184] 1. Among the Jaunde taboo for all those not initiated into the Sso cult.

smythii Leach (nsŏk I), likewise.

4. No taboo.

Tree snakes (ajă'n).

D. Amphibia

1. Never eaten.

Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (mvŭn IV); Bufo latifrons Blgr. (dzŭn VII); Rana mascareniensis D. and B. (nkŭn I).

2. ekī bonduman.

Rana zenkeri Ndn. (edzŏ); Hylambates species (akăbĕ III Ntum).

3. Not taboo, but eaten only by women.

Rappia species (obă't); Xenopus calcaratus Bchh. and Ptrs. (mĕ'nezŏk IV).

E. Fish

1. ekī bonenga.

Large specimens of Clarias walkeri Gthr., since the women

262 would otherwise become Ngi sick.

2. ekī, abǔm until the birth.

262
843 Eutropius banguelensis Blgr. (ekīda Fang) because of its tendency to spoil rapidly; Eutropius banguelensis? (nkǎ'de-ošōb III) because of its large belly; Distichodus hypostomatus Pellegr. (mbūń I) because the fish "is supposed to die of its own accord"; Distichodus notospilus Gthr. (akǒ'lo III) because of its large gills; Auchenoglanis balayi (Sauv.), var. gravoti Pellegr. (nsǐn I; small specimens, ndǎngō'na III), because of the large head (see Volume I, Plate 11, Drawing a); Clarias walkeri Gthr. (ngǒ' IV), smaller specimens because of their large head; Parauchenoglanis guttatus (Lönnbg.) (ebū') because of the fat belly; Alestes kingsleyae Gthr. (mbǎk I) because of "the snout."

The other fish are not taboo. /190/

F. Lower Animals

1. ekī, bonduman.

262

Larvae of the beetle Angosoma centaurus F. Pl. (akūm); the snail Pseudachatina downesii (Gray) (nšō'ǎboń I Ntum); Pseudoglessula retifera v. Mart. (tǎń IV) and another snail (ebǔs).

2. ekī, bonenga, for men ekī, abǔm.

Achatina species, especially marginata Sw. (kōī' IV) (1).

1. In case of transgression, the offenders become Ngi sick.

262 3. ekī, abǔm, until the birth.

[843] Edible caterpillars (nkǔn I) and larvae of the Rhynchophorus phoenicis Fabr. (fǒs IV) if found in the cocoon; edible termites (sūē me IV Ntum) because of the large belly.

4. Not taboo.

Edible caterpillars and larvae of Rhynchophorus when they are found in the open; dragonfly larvae (esełī,-bāk), although then the child will urinate a lot, like the dragonfly larvae; common crabs and shrimp; the mussel Lanistes libycus var. bernhardianus (morelet) (alǔn).

All other lower animals are inedible.

Of plant foods only the following are taboo (with the exception [794] of those sacred to the cults, such as the Negro banana used at the Sso and Mawungu): the fruit of the atūlǔm plant, which tastes horrible, and young mushrooms. These are eki mon since it is feared that children might develop spots on their skin like those on young mushrooms.

825 If we examine the deeper reasons why certain animals are never 784 eaten or are "taboo," we find that there is a religious element involved, as well as a fear of the animals' way of life and their appearance, perhaps combined with dietary experiences.

784 Animals that are taboo for religious reasons may not as a rule 825 be eaten by women and persons who have not been initiated into 794 the particular cult, but where the cult is absent, there is no taboo. Thus, horned animals, which play a role in the cults of the Evil One with their conceptual connection between moon and horns, are taboo; among the Fang this applies to sheep and goats, and throughout the entire region to Cephalophus dorsalis (sǒ). In the domain of the Ngi cult the gorilla (ngī) is taboo; the same applies, among the Fang, to the chimpanzee (worshipped in the cult of the Evil Ones, Bokung), the pig (an important animal in the Sso cult), and Neotragus batesi (odžū,ē) which is worshipped in a manner

825 which one is not even allowed to step over since one's penis would
784 become as flaccid as the elephant's gums. The latter do indeed
[831] look rather uninviting with their bluish-red coloration and flabby consistency. It goes without saying that a woman likewise is prohibited from eating the meat since she could transmit a debilitating influence to the man during intercourse.

843 In the case of temporary food taboos that are enforced for the
825 duration of pregnancy and nursing, the decisive element -- as I have
784 said -- is the fear that the animals' characteristics might be trans-
262 mitted to the child. For example, there is a taboo against the hawk-eagle, Lophoaetus occipitalis (abǎ'jɛ̄'k), an animal which the Pangwe themselves greatly admire for its beauty, and whose crown the boys try to imitate by sticking long feathers in their hair or behind their ears. In the case of pregnant women, however, the situation is different. They reason as follows: if the child, by acquiring the bird's characteristics with its food, were also to develop an excrescence, how unnatural and ugly that would be! For the rest, the natives fear above all large heads and fat bellies -- two characteristics which frequently strike us unpleasantly in Negro boys -- as well as long legs. In this connection, one readily perceives the accuracy of the Negroes' powers of observation and the precision with which they recognize the slightest differences among various species of a genus. Birds with an ugly screech are completely taboo, since the child might screech in just the same way, something which would be extremely disagreeable, as any father of a family would understand. Of further significance is the exclusion of trembling or wobbling animals, through which the child might even become epileptic. /193/

The most terrible danger threatening pregnant women, however, is from animals which live in any kind of hollow (holes in the ground, in trees) or are caught there. One can speak of a downright horror vacui. If such an animal were to be eaten, the child might also wish to stay in its hollow, "in the belly," and a difficult birth could be expected. Similarly, during this time the parents may not remove any bird nests built in holes in trees, and one of my employees who had made a woman pregnant resolutely refused to make a model of a cassava loaf for me, because it was supposed to be hollow inside.

843
262 supposed to be hollow inside. I knew a Jaunde man who refused to
784 eat anything when two pots were set next to each other on his
[845] hearth fire. He was afraid this would cause his wife to have twins (mvé, "pot," and mvŏ, "vagina").

In view of the many hairsplitting distinctions among the food
262 taboos, it is hardly surprising that they are frequently violated by accident. They are also transgressed knowingly, however, if the desire for meat is greater than the fear of the evil consequences of its enjoyment. In these cases, it is again medicines (biǎ,ń ekī) which help and which are often even taken beforehand or simultaneously by way of prophylaxis. It is probably scarcely necessary
[177] for me to mention that food taboos are the first to be relinquished under the influence of a foreign civilization, not all at once, but nonetheless gradually and totally. The religious taboos are clung to most tenaciously of all. Nor need I emphasize that the Pangwe, even at the age of 20, still like to count themselves among the boys if there is a delectable piece of meat to be had. Accordingly, I saw my "boys," who were from ten to 20 years old, consuming without pangs of conscience the parasite kites I had shot. /194/

Section 14

Soothsaying and Science

000

1. Soothsaying. Extent and area of practice. -- The soothsayer's tool. -- Master and pupil. -- Fee. -- Distrust of soothsayers. -- Soothsaying in times of war.
2. Meteorology. Rain, lightning, and thunder. -- Appearance and effect of lightning. -- Rain medicines at the time of drying ngon, at cult festivals, at the time of harvest, and on journeys; their evaluation. -- Rainbows: their origin, tale concerning their origin. -- Storms: their origin, counter-medicines.
3. Astronomy. General observations. -- View of the earth as a heavenly body. -- The vault of heaven:

2: Tessmann--192 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

524 539 518

a mpfǎ, ndʉ̌'man a mpfǎ mangöö, niene: ê̂,
of Mpfa, son of Mpfa-Mangöö, he says: Come now,

böte, mi adǎ́ń a kʉ̌'bo (or a ngǒngǒ);
people, you surpass to speak

ye tada a nga kǒn bekö̌'na, niene:
Interrogative: father, he is sick (of) Beköna, he thus:

a dzǐ sö̌! kö̌ ma nga vui tada
to eat Sso antelope?; but I killed (for the) father (a)

ogbʉ̌ń a bǐm o ngʉ̃ʉ̃, tada a
dwarf antelope on hunting drive yesterday, father he

tame dzǐ ogbʉ̌ń.
must eat dwarf antelope.

Freely translated: I was once playing the stone game with Beköna, the well-known Beköna-Mpfa who is the son of Mpfa-Mangöö. He said: "You really resemble an old man who has no teeth and wants to eat elephant's hide (1), or a woman who has no

[262]

1. The notoriously thick and tough elephant's hide is actually eaten by some people (with teeth!), after being well boiled.

backside and sits down on the hard wooden stool, and thirdly you resemble the stupid noodle who on the hunting drive lets a Sso antelope (2) pass by and knows his father to be sick at home, infirm

[825]

2. The black-rumped duikerbok, Cephalophus dorsalis Gray.

from the disease that came from Beköna-Mpfa, the son of Mpfa-Mangöö." Well, in that case one simply says: "Come now, you people, you're talking altogether too much poppycock! Even if

857 something to do near the village, and when he has gone they call to him, "endele o o o...", and he answers, "o yo o o o mur e mur a ne e nzine bekun nlu si mebo yo mura kue a ba a muge nie a nu" (there is a big man on the road, a phantom with his head down and his feet up and a red mouth). Endele keeps answering until he has done what was asked of him. Usually he comes back before this from fear of the phantom of which he speaks and which he thinks he sees.

892 Puberty, Adolescence. Puberty occasions no ceremony, but from then on the child has the right to eat the take of his hunting and fishing, which was formerly forbidden him. This prohibition is called eki wo.

304 Circumcision is done either before or after puberty. It is an operation which is usually performed for many children at a time, and takes place in the early morning. The operator (nkir) comes to the village without the children's being told, and the fathers who wish their sons circumcised watch them so they do not run away. The children are led behind a hut where pieces of red wood have been prepared. [87] A hole is made in the ground, and the pieces of red wood are put in it and set on fire. Each child sits on the stump of a banana tree. The operator uses a well-sharpened razor. Before the operation he fills his mouth with seeds of wild pimento which he chews. He takes the foreskin of the child in his left hand, pulls it, makes a mark on it with his nail at the place where he will cut. The father of the child sees whether the cut piece will be of the desired size, and if he agrees the operator slices the foreskin with one stroke of the razor and spits the pimento, which he has in his mouth, onto the wound. Then he says, "fam e ne e saġa e saġa saġ mi saġ nkūi," an obscene expression which it is impossible to translate here. The circumcised child goes and sits near the fire of red wood. The foreskin is placed on top of a banana tree, [362] whose fruit is cooked and eaten by men only. The circumcision is an occasion for rejoicing; it is done so that the children will not die [826] and also to remove the foreskin which keeps a man from being strong.

304 Female circumcision is never practiced any more. It was formerly done to married women of notoriously bad conduct in order to punish 681 them. The woman was fastened to two stakes in the village square. The clitoris was removed by the man who did the circumcising and was then attached by a thread and put around the neck of the woman, who had to keep it that way for several days to her great shame. The

Fong
Fang

173 of the Nyong. According to their traditions they come from an area north of the Sanaga, as do the other groups which preceded them.
[161] They settled in the forest, where there are at present 12, 783 of them (a density of 6.9 persons per square km.).

231 The Fong are an agricultural people. They seem to have little
262 inclination to hunt so that their diet consists chiefly of vegetables, although they have a fairly large number of domesticated animals. /Map 11/

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. Average height: men 169.7 cm.; women 162 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	80.8	81.5
Nasal	95.21	84.01

161 The population balance is slightly positive, the ratio of birth to
163 deaths being + 0.77. The rate of sterility is high, 25.6 percent, but is fortunately compensated for by the fertility rate, 5.3 pregnancies per woman.

Bibliography

113 Cottes, A. La mission Cottès au Sud-Cameroun (1905-1908). Exposé des résultats scientifiques, d'après les travaux des divers membres de la section française de la Commission de delimitation entre le Congo français et le Cameroun (frontière méridionale) et les documents étudiés au Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. (The Cottes Mission to South Cameroun 1905-1908. A Presentation of the Scientific Results of the Mission Based on the Work of Various Members of the French Section of the Commission to Set the Boundaries Between the French Congo and the Southern Frontier of the Camerouns, and on Documents Examined at the Museum of Natural History) (Paris: Leroux, 1911), pp. 125-31.

THE FANG, THE MVAE, THE NTUMU

131 Location: $10^{o}45$ to $12^{o}45$ long.
and a few islands between 10° and $10^{o}30$ long.

THE YEBEKOLO

131 Location: 12°08 to 12°45 long.
3°50 to 4°20 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

Area: about 1,950 square km.
161 Population: 23,291 inhabitants
Density: 11.9 persons per square km.

133 The territory of the Yebekolo, in the form of a cornucopia laid on its side, is all to be found in the basin of the Nyong. The river forms its southern boundary. The tributaries on the right bank have broad beds and, in the vicinity of the Nyong, often overflow so that the valleys are frequently flooded. /90/ This is a large territory, covered with forest and quite marshy.

361 Large villages are found here. While the food crops are not poor, they are not very abundant. The people who live near the Nyong
● 262 supplement their food supply by fishing and hunting.

174 It is difficult to say what may be the remote origins of this people. Their oral traditions (as reported by Mr. Tremesaygues) speak of their ancestor as being of Yambasa stock and, therefore, as having lived about 200 kilometers west of their present settlement, north of the Sanaga. /Map 18/ Moving eastward, the Yebekolo met first the Omvang and then the Maka, whom they pushed back to their present habitat.

The German maps, however, do not confirm these traditions. Also based on traditions, upon which linguistic data is often superimposed, they show all the Yebekolo as part of the "Mvele complex" (see detailed maps in Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1907) under the name "Pangwe." It is possible that a borrowing of language occurred here —for a linguistic fact provides clues rather than permanent solutions to ethnographic problems.

648 When the Germans arrived in the territory of the Yebekolo (1904-
487 1905), the latter submitted to them without resistance. The new occupants found them settled on the big eastern trials leading to Doumé. From that time on the trails were improved, and the Yebekolo thus found themselves situated on the big trade routes by which the products of the eastern forest were taken to the coastal regions. /91/

197 114 she connects it with Delafosse's West African group, harking back to its non-Bantu character in Les langues africaines et les peuples qui les parlent /African Languages and the Peoples Who Speak Them/.

Father Trilles and Abbé Walker believe that they have found Semitic and Hamitic influences in Fang. A borrowing from Sudanese appears more likely. Westermann classes "Bati" in the semi-Bantu group, pointing out that the term "Sudanese languages possessing classes" seems to him more appropriate. Now, we know that Beti (Ati), which is losing ground today to Ewondo, is itself very close to Fang (Betsi-Mazouna) and recently reached to the northern limits of Boulou, which it has influenced.

We may therefore come to the conclusion that the Pahouin linguistic group, at present very close to Bantu, ought probably to be considered intermediate between the true Bantu tongues and the semi-Bantu or Sudanese class languages, historical circumstances and contact with neighboring peoples having accentuated the Bantu traits in such a way that it is proper, from the methodological point of view especially, to classify it as a special family of the Bantu group (1).

1. In the absence of specific mention, it seems that Greenberg (no. 70) would classify it in his Nigero-Congo group. [i.e., Niger-Congo. -Analyst]

Chapter 4

Economic Life

1. Subsistence

222 262 The diet of the Pahouin peoples would be enough to prove that their attachment to the land is quite recent. In fact the importance of collected produce is striking. According to a study carried out in Eton country (region of Yaoundé) by Dr. Masseyeff, the consumption of mushrooms amounts on Eton average to 4.1 grams per day per person (1). Snails, termites, caterpillars, palm larvae, and crickets

1. R. Masseyeff, A. Cambon, Enquête sur l'alimentation au Cameroun, Rapport à l'Office

222
262

de la Recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer /Inquiry into nourishment in the Cameroons, Report made to the Oversea Scientific and Technical Research Office/, I.R.C.A.M., Yaoundé.

are also eaten. "If this inquiry had taken place 30 years ago, the list of foods would have been much longer. Many leaves and fruits that used to be gathered were neglected, then given up altogether.... Likewise, game has become scarce...." (2) In many villages there

224
264

2. Compiègne (no. 13) pointed out as long ago as 1875 the ravages to herds of elephants caused by Fang "hunting parties," which killed male, female, and young elephants indiscriminately.

The following are the principal hunting techniques now in use:

Shooting: With crossbow for monkeys and large birds, using "bamboo" strophanthin-poisoned arrows; with guns for large game: guns with central percussion /sic/ in the Cameroon, with trade guns in Gabon (these, which are prohibited in the Cameroons, are superior for shooting assagai at elephants, which often causes improved rifles to burst); beating and calling.

Battue /beating/: Dogs wearing little bells drive the game into nets, where it is finished off by spearing.

Snaring: Snares of elephant hair for francolin /partridge/ and small mammals (a method used particularly by children); wire snares for boar and antelope; pitfalls for elephant; trenches with stakes, plain trenches, dead-end trenches; 4-shaped deadfalls /quatre-de-chiffre/; land weirs; portcullis cages; snaring with latex; poisoned bait (for panther and wildcat).

224 262 Hunting on foot: Practiced especially by the Pygmies, without dogs. Some Pahouin still hunt down buffalo and forest pig and kill them with boar spears, but they are few. (P. A.)

222 262 are men who call themselves hunters (3). Income from the sale of

3. In some Boulou villages one finds foreign professional hunters, Baya or Kaka usually. Besides, Pygmies are regular hunters for their "landlords." (P. A.)

game meat appears to be practically negligible in family budgets. But, according to the work quoted above, hunting provides about a fifth of the total consumption of meat. Fishing is not unknown, but 226 262 the techniques are of the simplest. Women sometimes /28/ dam streams to dry up the beds where the fish can be caught. Sometimes fishing with poison is done, and children like to fish with line. But none of the methods is really productive; there are no large weirs, no nets, no canoes. Nutritionists estimate the ration of locally caught fish to be 1 gram per person per day—which is a simply way of underlining the feeble nautical talents of the Pahouin.

262 Agriculture furnishes the basic subsistence. Manioc is used in countless dishes: manioc rolls made from the crushed and boiled tubers, smothered manioc, or manioc fritters; even the leaves are often eaten. The use of leaves for food is perhaps a peculiar trait of Ewôndo and Boulou diet. Thirteen kinds of leaves are used in cooking, either as seasoning or as a purée, often to thicken sauces. Along with manioc, the plantain banana provides the basic food. Next comes macabo, Xanthosema sagittefolia /malanga/. Various kinds of yams are much liked. This gastronomic pattern of the Fang, and [177] in particular of the Beti, should be enough to prove their foreign origin, because yams, which are tropical rather than equatorial, do not grow at all well in the present habitat of the Pahouin.

Maize is the only cereal currently used as food. It is often served as a dough, as gruel, and even on the cob. Maize beer, outside [279] certain urban centers, seems to be drunk less than palm wine, (the sap of the Elaeis guineensis). The oil palm, moreover, plays an important part in the diet. A source of lipoids /lipides/ and Vitamin A,

•24a palm oil is the basis of sauces and stews eaten with tubers and cereals. Groundnuts are widely used (do not the Ewôndo owe their name to them?). The dough obtained after cooking and pounding goes toward the making of numerous dishes and provides the main part of the needed protein. One article of food ought finally to be mentioned because it is very much liked and also because its consumption seems absolutely uneconomical—pumpkin seeds. The seeds are preserved, dried, and cleaned one by one, then put to boil, and mashed. The skill required for, and the time spent in, shelling the seeds appears subject to scanty return (1).

[438] 1. But fritters made of pumpkin-seed dough are delicious .... There is quite a good trade in these seeds for town consumption. (P. A.)

2. Agriculture

177 24 Before broaching the description of present-day agriculture, we must see what it used to be like and what it still is in certain traditionalist sections. In fact, methods do not appear to have changed at all; new crops have simply been added to the old ones. It is likely that because of the influence of these new crops /29/ the whole technology (material techniques, legal techniques, etc.) will develop further. But that trend is only starting, and at present the cultivation of groundnuts, maize, and other long-familiar foodstuffs remains nearly what it was forty years ago, before the advent of the cacao tree.

24 Traditional agriculture

Formerly, each family produced everything it needed and confined its efforts. There were no cash crops, there was no article of food suitable for maintaining an exchange system, but all sorts of crops were cultivated. As to clothes, elderly Bané and Ewôndo state that [247 the cultivation and weaving of cotton was practiced by their ancestors; 280] there could be no question of this in their present habitat, and the tradition is valuable merely as evidence, either for those who believe that the Pahouin come from regions further north, or for those who see in the Beti not true Pahouin but a Pahouinized people (1). Each

142 The group displays powerful shoulder girth, rather well-developed calf, pronounced arch, ungual phalanges that cannot be pulled back.

The explorers of the last century were one and all struck by the difference in physical appearance between the Pahouin and their neighbors, much less evident today, particularly to a European (the Pahouin themselves often recognize a stranger from quite a distance). It is possible that at the time of conquest the Pahouin may have had a
26 heavier meat diet than did the coastal populations or do their present-day descendants: the hippopotamus has been exterminated, and the rest of the wild fauna has been greatly reduced, while even animal breeding and rearing is on the decline.

b. Clothing, Ornaments, Body Marks

291 The traditional clothing as described by explorers hardly exists any more. One sometimes meets in remote villages the beaten fig-bark breechcloth, ɔbôm, and the monkeyskin hat-wig, afɔ́'ɔlɔ̂, which was the men's everyday dress, with a wide belt of antelope skin, ases, holding a sort of sporran as well as a saber sheath. Battle dress and
292 full dress have become very rare; they included, in addition to a red-dyed ɔbôm, a tailpiece /séant/ of tiger-cat skin or of drill or any animal with bright fur, fringed leggings of the same fur, and a sort of cloak made of leopard or gorilla skin with the head sometimes forming a hood; there was a headdress of beads hanging down to the shoulders or arranged in the hair, with a tuft of touraco or juggler-eagle /aigle-
411 bateleur/ feathers. Weapons consisted of the saber, fa, the dagger, otyen —both double bladed, the spear, akoñ, or rifle, ngal (the cross-bow, mfan, was more a hunting weapon, and the bow, ngale, a toy). Defensive armor included an oblong shield, ngu or éndeñ, of plaited lianas or of leather, sometimes made of an elephant ear. Even today men do not like to leave home without a weapon, at least in the
301 villages; formerly, they were always armed. Men's jewelry comprised copper bracelets and teeth necklaces—of either animal's or men's
751 teeth—chains of copper, iron, ivory, or elephant hair. Protective
293 "medicaments" mebiañ, were usually carried in an antelope horn (Cephalophus sylviculatrix), nla' zip, hung around the neck or wrist on a strip of leather or snakeskin—a practice that still survives. The
292 ceremonial costumes for the different rites /86/ included masks, mantles of dried grass, beads, or cowries.

is not yet admitted to the essential functions of full manhood: ritual, warfare, and marriage. Formerly, he was not until after the great tribal initiation, sô. Sô is the name of a large red antelope, Cephalophus castoneus, found in great quantity in the forest and in the galleries of the park-savanna. The meat is taboo, étyi, to the uninitiated (bibis) and, a fortiori, to women. It may seem strange that Trilles does not mention it in Le totemisme chez les Fang, although the sô seems to be one of the most important tribal totems. It should be observed in this connection that the sô rite, widespread among the Cameroons Pahouin, including the Beti, and among those of the Woleu-N'Tem, seems to vanish somewhere between Mitzic and N'Djolé, while some of its features are to be found in the initiation to the biéri, which is basically merely an adjunct. It would therefore appear to have gone to pieces at the same time as the structure of the meyoñ, to be revived in the extreme south by the bwiti, reported by Trilles, which is at present moving northward. Nevertheless, I must point out that what Trilles describes under the name of bawu may well be sô.

Initiation ceremonies were filmed among the Eton of Saa in 1935; the film is kept at the Musée de l'Homme. Bertaut (no. 110) gives a very full description of the outward forms of the initiation, Stoll (no. 84) an interpretation of its symbolism.

Initiation took place about every three years (every seven mimbu?); Bertaut states that a ceremony might be arranged after some serious happening in a village. It lasted three months (one year, according to Stoll, who counts in the preliminary ceremonies for the initiation proper and the period following) and entailed great expense for sacrifices on the part of the parents of initiates and especially the initiation leader, the nkpwé sô (judge of the sô; lit., butcher of the sô), a senior chosen from the most wealthy and respected. From this point of view, one may believe that the rite coincided with the desire for levelling of wealth which appears to have been so constant in Pahouin society. The nkpwé sô did not himself lead the ceremony; he was the instigator and the person responsible, but the celebrant was a diviner, a mfek sô, "sô wise man" or "sô measurer" or "sô pouch," if the tone is changed (vek = to take aim, to compute, to divine, to measure).

The main theme of the rite, of which the following description is quite incomplete, was the death of the sô, awu sô, afterwards eaten

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

site for their villages. The houses can be readily taken down and erected 342
elsewhere. The earth floor is often beaten very hard, no covering is used. The
beds are made of bamboo poles resting upon end pieces, supported by four forked [513]
corner stakes. The bed is raised about one foot from the ground. In most houses
are four beds, two at each end on opposite sides, having a log fire burning between, 352
the smoke escaping through the thatch roof. The furniture is all movable, and consists of stools, cassava bowls and boards, drinking gourds, fish nets, water gourds, various baskets and hanging bamboo shelves for drying fish and corn over the fire. Food, guns and powder horns are hung up on wooden hooks suspended by bush rope; these hooks are made by cutting a suitable branch from a young tree, having a strong crutch. No separate portion of the dwelling is set apart for sleeping or eating. There are no windows to a Fang house; at night one or more pieces of bark are used for a door. All the domestic arrangements are excessively [356]
filthy. Refuse from meals is unknown, everything is eaten, including entrails and
skin of animals and fish. Before occupying a new house the witch doctor (*ngangan*) [262]
is usually called to perform the ceremony of propitiating the evil spirits (local 342
spirits), and the *biang Ekuri* (fetish) is hung up and becomes the protecting fetish of the household. This fetish is hung up over the doorway outside. The houses are built entirely above ground, the roofs are made of split bamboo and covered with thatch made from the long tough blade of a swamp reed, or rush. This thatch makes a most excellent roof, and when well put on, it is able to withstand three years of the terrible rains which fall during the long wet season.

V.—*Navigation, Hooks, Nets, Fishing, Traps.*

The Fang use long narrow canoes. A suitable tree having been found is 501
felled and trimmed, then hollowed out with the small native wedge. All the boats
are open and both sides of the canoe alike. The women use the same canoes as [396]
the men and paddle them very skilfully. War canoes are made large and strong, but are otherwise similar in construction to the canoes in daily use. A kind of lugger sail is used and the natives sail a thin canvas very close to the wind. The baler used is made of wood; it much resembles a large flat sugar scoop and is common among tribes along the west coast. This baler is used most skilfully and with great rapidity by both men and women. In paddling, no fulcrum whatever 502
is used. The men and women either sit or kneel, grasping the paddle handle in its upper and lower thirds they plunge the blade deeply into the water, and force the canoe ahead with great rapidity. One man, woman, or a child steers, using an [533]
ordinary paddle; the time kept while paddling is excellent, and is usually kept by [44]
one man chanting a Fang song, not unlike a white sailor's shanty, the paddling
taking on renewed vigour during the chorus. The sails are usually made now [501]
of imported trade cloth, but I have seen them made from the native bark [439]
cloth. Only one sail is used and the canoes are able to beat up well against the wind.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

X.—*Food. Cooking.*

Food used by the Fang is precisely similar to that of all other tribes inhabiting the great zone of palms and bananas as described by Humboldt. Added to these ordinary foods of the Fang is their liking for human flesh, indulged in to this day in spite of the law, which is often powerless to reach and punish the offenders. Cassava, *mbôe*, plantains, *bikon*, crushed gourd seeds, *ngongon*, corn; *mekobe*, a most nutritive tuber, sweet potatoes, yams, palm oil, bananas, snails and various mollusca. Fish is wrapped in plantain leaves and boiled, or set on hot ashes and fire piled on top of the *bundle* of food. All kinds of meat is eaten, from deer down to the smallest bush rat; snakes are considered very good meat. No portion is wasted, every morsel of skin and intestines are eaten. Goats and chickens are raised for food and trade. Corn or other cereals are not used for the purpose of making bread. Milk is not used. Preparations of milk such as butter and cheese are not made. There is a marked preference for meats. When an animal is slaughtered, women bring wooden bowls to collect the blood in. The blood is often cooked mixed with palm oil. A Fang will eat almost any kind of known food and at any time, providing it is not his *Eki* or taboo, given him during infancy, prohibiting the eating of a certain kind of food, unless partaken of under certain conditions. Except for the *Eki* men, women and children partake of the same food. The Fang are improvident. When on long journeys they often chew a piece of Kola nut, but more commonly chew pieces of a certain root; it has several different names. Palm oil is extensively used in cooking. Salt (*nkw*) is much enjoyed and sought after in trade. Sugar is only used in the form of sugar cane and eaten uncooked. The chiefs, or rather headmen, have no special form of food. Eating earth is not indulged in. So far as I am aware, all fish, flesh and fowl is cooked before being eaten. Flesh is often extremely high, at times positively bad, before it is eaten, but not one morsel is ever wasted.

Fish, fowl, bush rats, snakes and all kinds of meats are smoked or sun-dried; food prepared thus is carried on journeys in the bush wrapped in leaves and eaten with *mboa* (cassava) without any further preparation. Permanent ovens for baking are not in use. Meat is roasted on small spits over the log fire or wrapped up in leaves and hot ashes banked around and on top of it. Native vegetables are frequently cooked with meats, plantains are usually boiled separately or roasted close to the fire. Most cooking utensils used by the Fang near the coast are iron or brass pots, imported by white traders; but farther inland the native pots are much more in vogue. These native pots are made of grey clay and sun-dried; they become harder and stronger by use, and vary in size and capacity from a pint to about three gallons.

Cooking vessels are not kept very clean, being simply rinsed out with a little water; but if the vessel is a brass trade pot or kettle, it is usually taken to the river or a near stream, and scoured bright; but I fear the chief reason for doing

8: Bennett D-5 (ca.1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

264 this is, because, to a Fang eye, polished brass looks *mbung* (handsome) and is attractive for trade. Vessels are usually placed on top of the fire and not
● 262 suspended over it; vegetables are frequently placed in stews. No separate dwelling house exists for cooking, it is carried on in the dwelling house. The water used to
356 wash a dirty pot with is often thrown out on the earth floor of the dwelling, children playing in the wet dirt. In all domestic matters the Fang are very filthy.
[514] I have on more than one occasion when inside a native hut seen children micturate and defecate on the earth floor close to where the mother was cooking, the women
[854] and men present taking very little notice, and only occasionally placing the child
[462] outside the door. Cooking is exclusively the duty of women, a *real man* will not cook. Food is often highly seasoned with hot native red and green peppers, and
252 food thus prepared is much appreciated. The food is usually well cooked through, with the exception of plantains which are often only half boiled and served quite hard. Large round stones are used for rubbing and reducing to powder gourd seeds and various tubers. Smoking and salting are the only methods practised
251 for preserving food, and on account of the value of salt and the difficulty of transporting it inland, it is seldom thus employed.

Drinks.—Rum has been carried from the coast by white traders and natives
273 far inland and is used whenever obtainable, but the chief drink is cold water. Palm wine is made called *meyak*. Except in places where a trade factory existed I have seen very few cases of intoxication among the Fang, but when they can obtain rum it seems to completely demoralize them. Tea and coffee are known to
[272] people living near white settlers. When a party of headmen and others have taken a meal at the mission house, tea and coffee were greatly enjoyed and cups
264 frequently re-filled. The first meal is usually about eight or nine o'clock; the natives think the white man eats very early; a mid-day meal is served and the evening repast is usually about sunset.

Food is frequently brought to the men inside the *abeng* (palaver house); at other times an entire family eats together inside the dwelling house. No ceremonies whatever precede the commencement of meals. When a son is born, or on the
574 occasion of a wedding, and after some large palaver has been settled, a feast is usually given. Invited guests and strangers partake together with the town folk
264 of the food prepared; it is usually served on the earth floor of the palaver house, on plantain leaves, and in cooking pots, each person helping himself. The women do not eat with the men inside the palaver house.

Mode of preparing Mboa.

252 *Ba du mbóa osui, e vóm a ne ndâtâl: a kaga boma mēlu mēla, be keli tâs: be sâli*
539 *ne nye: be nâū mbūk: be kēzi nye mbūk iti be nou ntum: beña tyak: bènga vul: be kaga mana vul: be kēzi nye ē mvē: vckoba ji: ve telē mvè mboa: wena mboa abea.*

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

Translation.

They put cassava to soak in the river, in a place where there is (plenty of) mud. When it has lain there three days, they go and rub off the rind. They bring it (to the house). They take a trough, and put the cassava in it. They take the mashing stick. They mash the cassava. They wrap it up (in leaves). When they have finished that, they put it in the pot. Then they light the fire. They put the pot of iguma (on the fire). Then the iguma is *boiled.* 252 539

Azo Mfini: (Plantation).

Betata basa leua bo dia inifini (our fathers did not make plantain villages), *n'afan eto bè* (because their land was near at hand, *i.e.*, near the regular village). *Fañ b'anyege infini ne bo bidji binne* (Fañ likes plantain village to make good food, *i.e.*, because thus they get good food). *Bikon e djel ine, betok* (Plantains in town have (one) small). *Infini O ne djal moe afan bibè* (Plantain village is a good town (because) land (*i.e.*, good land) near). *Nson ane afan betata benga to bibè* (Like the land where the fathers were near). *B'angéye infini, ne dzi bidji binné. Mo'mbok a gouevi bstyit: bevok benga sôm* (They like the plantain village (because) there they eat good food. One person kills game (meat) others buy). *Menda infini me vie bo abé* (Houses of plantain villages soon spoil).[1] *Fañ, Ba'dji asas mbóa kidiase* (Fañ they eat a meal of cassava in the morning). 539 262 311 361

Regarding the *Eki* tabooing certain foods or performance of certain actions as in vogue among the Fang, I learned from a friend and *confrère*, Rev. R. H. Nassau, D.D., M.D., of Gaboon, that the *Eki* of the Fang is precisely similar to the *Orunda* of the Mpôngwe. Dr. Nassau is a veteran missionary of thirty-seven years' African experience, and he is always ready to help others who are sufficiently interested in the natives to inquire about them. I know of no one on the West Coast more willing or eminently able than he for imparting information regarding the people among whom he has laboured. 262 114 171

XI.—*Anthropophagy.*

Cannibalism prevails among the Fang beyond question, and only fear of the law keeps him somewhat in check. I am able to speak of the Fang as anthropophagi; not alone from information gathered, but from having once had the opportunity of visiting a town two days after a victim had been killed and eaten. 266 114

This town, named Olunda, is on the right bank of the Nkomo river, about 60 miles from the seat of government in the Congo Français. Whilst visiting the town Nenge-nenge (the island of islands) in the autumn of 1898, a native trader named Arkendengi, employed by a British trading house at Gaboon, informed me

[1] It is very true that houses having plantains growing near, soon rot; this is due to the dampness caused by loss of sunlight and heat

222 (Rich.) Engl., Anacardiaceae (ofǒs); Pseudospondias tessmannii
262 Engl., likewise (angǒkǒn); /147/ Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth., Leguminosae (ebǎ́ i); Cola acuminata (P.B.) R. Br., Sterculiaceae (abē); Carpolobia alba Don., Polygalaceae (onǒn, tōmok); Ricinodendron africanum Muell. Arg., Euphorbiaceae (ezisǎ́ ń); Myrianthus arboreus P.B., Moraceae (mangǎ́ me III Fang, engǔkǒ́ m Ntum, Jaunde); Desbordesia glaucescens Engl., Simarubaceae (alǒ́ b); Duboscia macrocarpa (?) Bocq., Tiliaceae (akǎk e sǎ́ ń); Oncinotis glandulosa Stapf, Apocynaceae, and Tylostemon minutiflorus Stapf, Lauraceae (dzǎ-odzī́ dzīk or bodzǎbodzī́ dzīk); Tristemma hirtum Vent., Melastomataceae (abē-osǔe); Cnestis aurantiaca Gilg, Connaraceae (abǐń e ndzīk); Vitex bipindensis Gürke, Verbenaceae (apfǒn); Anonidium mannii Oliv., Anonaceae (ebǒm eli); Sarcocephalus sambucinus K. Sch. (alū́ mǎ, alǔ́ ma, and akǔndǔ́ m); the palm Podococcus barteri M. and W. (niamvǐne); as well as various varieties of Aframomum, such as the Aframomum alboviolaceum K. Sch. (adzǒm; fruit, esǔ́ n) illustrated in Volume II.

Finally, mushrooms, of which the Fang distinguish twenty edible varieties, play an important role in the household. With the exception of a foul-smelling morel which is covered with a kind of veil, poisonous ground mushrooms do not seem to occur.

●263 Of spices, pepper and salt are known, and both are found in-
249 dispensable by the Pangwe for the preparation of meals. Three varieties and many subvarieties of pepper, Capsicum (okǎ́ lǎń IV, undǔndǔ́ III), are sown behind the houses or close to the village, and it is to be found growing wild everywhere in the vicinity of human settlements, where its green fruit -- red when ripe -- is picked whenever it is needed; it is added to the food either whole or pulverized on a stone.

263 Salt is more difficult to obtain. Although salt imported from
436 Europe now floods almost the entire region and, in conjunction with
258 tobacco, constitutes a regular standard of value, in remote areas of the interior the laborious extraction of salt from swamp plants is still carried out in the old manner.

258 The two chief salt-producing plants are those illustrated by
824 Plate 10: Halopegia acurea K. Sch., Marantaceae (nkǒ́ n I) and

258 this drips fairly rapidly through the filter into a vessel placed under it. The whole thing is left standing one night; in the morning a little fresh water is added in order to draw out the last of the salt, and then the yellowish-brown brine so obtained is dried until all the salt (nkú I) is out (2). /149/

263
146

2. An examination of the salt, on which Mr. W. Lenz of the Pharmaceutical Institute of the University of Berlin gives us a report, yielded the following results: "The bush salt itself had a brown color and a moist, granular appearance. It had a strong salty taste; its solution reacted strongly alkaline. The chemical analysis carried out by Mr. Regenstein yielded the following composition:

43.33% KC1 (potassium chloride)
27.50% K_2 SO_4 (potassium sulphate)
16.26% K_2 CO_3 (potassium carbonate)
0.85% NaC1 (sodium chloride)
8.72% H_2 O (evaporation at 180° Centigrade)
3.34% insoluble (difference)
100.00%

The potassium was separated from the sodium as potassium platinic chloride. In the insoluble residue the following were detected: calcium, magnesium, iron, aluminum, manganese, phosphates, silicates, and carbonates, and 0.7% of the salt SiO_2 (silicon dioxide) was determined.

The high content of chlorides and sulphates in the bush salt is striking, as well as the use of the salt mixture consisting predominately of potassium salts, for spicing the food, in other words, its use in place of cooking salt."

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

X.—*Food. Cooking.*

Food used by the Fang is precisely similar to that of all other tribes 252
inhabiting the great zone of palms and bananas as described by Humboldt. Added 262
to these ordinary foods of the Fang is their liking for human flesh, indulged in to this day in spite of the law, which is often powerless to reach and punish the offenders. Cassava, *mbôe*, plantains, *bikon*, crushed gourd seeds, *ngongon*, corn; *mekobe*, a most nutritive tuber, sweet potatoes, yams, palm oil, bananas, snails and various mollusca. Fish is wrapped in plantain leaves and boiled, or set on hot ashes and fire piled on top of the *bundle* of food. All kinds of meat is eaten, from deer down to the smallest bush rat; snakes are considered very good meat. No portion is wasted, every morsel of skin and intestines are eaten. Goats and chickens are raised for food and trade. Corn or other cereals are not used for the purpose of making bread. Milk is not used. Preparations of milk such as butter and cheese are not made. There is a marked preference for meats. When an animal is slaughtered, women bring wooden bowls to collect the blood in. The blood is often cooked mixed with palm oil. A Fang will eat almost any kind of known food and at any time, providing it is not his *Eki* or taboo, given him during infancy, prohibiting the eating of a certain kind of food, unless partaken of under certain conditions. Except for the *Eki* men, women and children partake of the [181]
same food. The Fang are improvident. When on long journeys they often chew [276]
a piece of Kola nut, but more commonly chew pieces of a certain root; it has several different names. Palm oil is extensively used in cooking. Salt (*nku*) is [263]
much enjoyed and sought after in trade. Sugar is only used in the form of sugar cane and eaten uncooked. The chiefs, or rather headmen, have no special form of [622]
food. Eating earth is not indulged in. So far as I am aware, all fish, flesh and fowl is cooked before being eaten. Flesh is often extremely high, at times [261]
positively bad, before it is eaten, but not one morsel is ever wasted.

Fish, fowl, bush rats, snakes and all kinds of meats are smoked or sun-dried; [251]
food prepared thus is carried on journeys in the bush wrapped in leaves and eaten with *mboa* (cassava) without any further preparation. Permanent ovens for baking [484]
are not in use. Meat is roasted on small spits over the log fire or wrapped up in leaves and hot ashes banked around and on top of it. Native vegetables are frequently cooked with meats, plantains are usually boiled separately or roasted close to the fire. Most cooking utensils used by the Fang near the coast are iron [439]
or brass pots, imported by white traders; but farther inland the native pots are [415]
much more in vogue. These native pots are made of grey clay and sun-dried; they become harder and stronger by use, and vary in size and capacity from a pint to [323]
about three gallons.

Cooking vessels are not kept very clean, being simply rinsed out with a little 264
water; but if the vessel is a brass trade pot or kettle, it is usually taken to the river or a near stream, and scoured bright; but I fear the chief reason for doing

252 frequently pouring on water, grinds them to flour (half a basket of ears produces a heaping basketwork plate of flour from which three loaves are made). The flour in a basketwork plate lined with leaves is stirred with water to form a batter; salt, pepper, and frequently [262] also shrimp and dragonfly larvae are added. This batter, as in the case of the women's cassava nkǔna mbǘn, is placed in a Sarcophrynium leaf folded in the shape of a stirrup, and it is boiled for an hour in a pot with a little water. The end result is a dish which, while it is rather heavy, tastes quite good. /160/

(d) Maize mush (ngbwět).

Maize mush is made of fresh maize flour which, when boiled, makes a white pulpy soup. Since I have not closely observed its preparation, I am unable to give any details.

The remaining plants, such as taro, macabo, yams, and so forth, are not sufficiently important to be discussed in relation to the various ways of preparing them. The reader will, I think, from the information given so far, derive a clear enough picture of the multiple uses made by the Pangwe of their vegetable foodstuffs.

Meat is boiled in pots by itself -- just like fish, which, as among us, are dressed and scaled -- or it is boiled in a leaf bundle with groundnuts and ngon. As for other ways of preparation, the [267] Pangwe are familiar with roasting, but they use this method only in order to make the food keep and to preserve it.

● 264 Meals are quite irregular and poorly distributed:

"kikitase afǒk anū, hamoš ebań e nkǒk,
[539] In the morning a little bit for the mouth, (mid) day a loan for the jaw,
alu bepfǘm"
at night, quite full.

In the morning, soon after getting up, they usually eat a small amount of a cold cassava dish or something similar, which the women have cooked the night before since they usually have to go to the plantations early. In the course of the forenoon they content themselves with a little snack of cassava bread, bananas, and the like.

264 Then follows the warm midday meal which takes place between twelve and five o'clock, depending on when the woman returns from the plantation. The main meal, which is fairly substantial, occurs in the evening. This is not just one meal, however; the women have to cook two or three times and, indeed, even in the middle of the night in order to appease the hungry stomachs. They frequently deviate from this "rule," to be sure. If the store of provisions is ample and there is little work to do, they eat the whole day long; on the other hand, if anything comes up, they just as readily omit meals or fast an entire day.

In the main, meals consist of cassava and plantains. In addition to these, any of the other foods mentioned may be eaten, whatever is on hand.

Men and women usually eat separately. The woman takes care of herself as she is cooking and helps herself even to the men's food which is not meant for her, or she eats with her daughters and younger sons after she has sent the midday meal to her husband in the meeting house where the older boys also gather for food. /161/ On the other hand, the husband habitually goes home to take the late evening meal in the family circle, since by then it has become too cold or lonesome in the meeting house.

At all times, the Pangwe man eats quietly and with dignity, not without appreciative smacking of the lips and constant talking, however. Greedy eating (a šŭ'ban a dži) seems ridiculous and un-
[517] becoming to the Pangwe and is interpreted by him as a sign of bad rearing. Many of the precepts which the father gives his son make
[867 this point, and in proverbs and fairy tales (for instance, in the nice
538] fairy tale of Bömme's gluttony, in the story of the greedy pig, and so forth) the same idea recurs.

264 Tableware is very sparse, as one would expect. In the case of
413 liquid dishes, the cooking pot, if it is small, is placed in the midst of the company straight from the fire; if it is large, its contents are poured into a smaller pot. Everyone takes his spoon and eats from the common vessel. In the evening when the man eats at home, he usually has a pot of his own placed before him. Solid foods, for instance, plantains and cassava cutlets, are served on a banana leaf, and everyone takes them by hand. It is considered more refined to

264
415 put the leaf on a basketwork plate or to serve the food on such a plate with nothing under it.

The men's spoon is made of wood (tǭk; plural, IV or, irregular, matǭk), Figure 105, and occurs in four different forms, each with two subvarieties. The first form resembles our salad spoons; it has either a circular or broad egg-shaped bowl and a flat handle which begins just below its outer surface (a-c). This first form [177] has come from the north, perhaps from the Jaunde and Bene, among whom it is very widespread and popular, and perhaps from tribes located even farther north; in the south it is to be seen quite frequently among the Bulu, quite a lot among the Ntum, and rather more rarely among the Fang. The spoon may have (d) a pear-shaped bowl and a wider handle which starts farther down (I have seen this only among the Fang).

The second form (e-f) consists of a more or less circular, deep bowl and a broad handle attached to the edge of the bowl and bent in the shape of a gable. The handle usually broadens out at the end and is decorated with carved patterns or covered with stamped brass plate. The latter is to be found only among the Fang and, because of the circular shape of the bowl, is called dū̧ma-gǭdǭvǭ'dǭ, "nest of the bulbuls (Pycnonotus)."

A form representing a transition between the first and second forms is exemplified by g where the narrow, unadorned handle of the first form is bent in the form of a gable like the second form. This is found only among the Jaunde. /162/

/Fig. 105 appears here in the original text./ The third form (h-k) has a narrow, oval, shallow bowl which more or less gradually extends into the short, usually flat, more rarely round handle; this form is to be found only among the Fang.

A fourth form (l-n) really consists only of a trough-shaped bowl on which the handle is indicated merely by a gradual depression (accordingly, the form is called kiāi-adzǎb = leaf of the Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl.); it is found only among the Fang.

The women's spoons, that is, leaf spoons, calabash spoons, and snail spoons, have been mentioned above. [illegible] may be added at this point that the man also uses these spoons on occasion, especially when he has no wooden spoon at hand or when he is on a journey.

415
531

Fig. 105. Men's Ladling Spoons.

264 As a rule, to be sure, every man carries one or two of these useful
415 utensils in his shoulder bag made of pineapple fibers (mfǒk). /163/

Beverages and Indulgents

271 The usual beverage of the Pangwe is water. He drinks it from
415 little bowls, into which the water is poured from a clay water flask,
484 or from calabashes (ndǒk IV) which, in addition to the clay water flasks, are also used for fetching water. He also drinks water from special drinking calabashes cut in half through the middle (Mwele) or provided with a hole (Jaunde). On a journey, he uses one or

881 304 779 782 do all he can to end this state. As soon as he has killed an enemy, he hurries with the victim's hand to his father. Circumcision then solemnly takes place before all the warriors, and his marriage is celebrated as soon as the wound has healed.

3) Time of the ceremony

881 304 779 The chief first decides upon the date, which is almost invariably in the eight days before a full moon.

As soon as the chief has announced that circumcision will shortly take place, he indicates all the children who are to be included; they, under his direction, go off into the forest not far from the village. After a large space has been cleared, they [342] build open little huts or mere shelters, where they live all together.

Their food is left at the beginning of the path leading to the huts, for no one is supposed to approach; access [523] is above all strictly forbidden to women. The food is plentiful, [264] and nothing must be thrown away or hidden; everything must be eaten, and the chief supervises this rigorously. (1)

> 1. One of our missionaries observed the same custom among the more advanced populations of the interior. He even mentions this fact: the rule is so strict that one of the candidates was forced three times in succession to swallow the food that his stomach persistently rejected.

4) Preparations

[351] All around the place where the boys are confined, a fence of reeds (1) is erected, which no one dares jump over. This seclusion

> 1. The place of circumcision shows well enough that the rite is like a consecration, by blood sacrifice, of the sexual life to which the young man is thereafter admitted. Lagrange, op. cit., p. 244.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

X.—*Food. Cooking.*

Food used by the Fang is precisely similar to that of all other tribes inhabiting the great zone of palms and bananas as described by Humboldt. Added to these ordinary foods of the Fang is their liking for human flesh, indulged in to this day in spite of the law, which is often powerless to reach and punish the offenders. Cassava, *mbôr*, plantains, *bikon*, crushed gourd seeds, *ngongon*, corn; *mekobe*, a most nutritive tuber, sweet potatoes, yams, palm oil, bananas, snails and various mollusca. Fish is wrapped in plantain leaves and boiled, or set on hot ashes and fire piled on top of the *bundle* of food. All kinds of meat is eaten, from deer down to the smallest bush rat; snakes are considered very good meat. No portion is wasted, every morsel of skin and intestines are eaten. Goats and chickens are raised for food and trade. Corn or other cereals are not used for the purpose of making bread. Milk is not used. Preparations of milk such as butter and cheese are not made. There is a marked preference for meats. When an animal is slaughtered, women bring wooden bowls to collect the blood in. The blood is often cooked mixed with palm oil. A Fang will eat almost any kind of known food and at any time, providing it is not his *Ekí* or taboo, given him during infancy, prohibiting the eating of a certain kind of food, unless partaken of under certain conditions. Except for the *Ekí* men, women and children partake of the same food. The Fang are improvident. When on long journeys they often chew a piece of Kola nut, but more commonly chew pieces of a certain root; it has several different names. Palm oil is extensively used in cooking. Salt (*nkw*) is much enjoyed and sought after in trade. Sugar is only used in the form of sugar cane and eaten uncooked. The chiefs, or rather headmen, have no special form of food. Eating earth is not indulged in. So far as I am aware, all fish, flesh and fowl is cooked before being eaten. Flesh is often extremely high, at times positively bad, before it is eaten, but not one morsel is ever wasted.

Fish, fowl, bush rats, snakes and all kinds of meats are smoked or sun-dried; food prepared thus is carried on journeys in the bush wrapped in leaves and eaten with *nkon* (cassava) without any further preparation. Permanent ovens for baking are not in use. Meat is roasted on small spits over the log fire or wrapped up in leaves and hot ashes banked around and on top of it. Native vegetables are frequently cooked with meats, plantains are usually boiled separately or roasted close to the fire. Most cooking utensils used by the Fang near the coast are iron or brass pots, imported by white traders; but farther inland the native pots are much more in vogue. These native pots are made of grey clay and sun-dried; they become harder and stronger by use, and vary in size and capacity from a pint to about three gallons.

Cooking vessels are not kept very clean, being simply rinsed out with a little water; but if the vessel is a brass trade pot or kettle, it is usually taken to the river or a near stream, and scoured bright; but I fear the chief reason for doing

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

this is, because, to a Fang eye, polished brass looks *ebang* (handsome) and is attractive for trade. Vessels are usually placed on top of the fire and not suspended over it; vegetables are frequently placed in stews. No separate dwelling house exists for cooking, it is carried on in the dwelling house. The water used to wash a dirty pot with is often thrown out on the earth floor of the dwelling, children playing in the wet dirt. In all domestic matters the Fang are very filthy. I have on more than one occasion when inside a native hut seen children micturate and defecate on the earth floor close to where the mother was cooking, the women and men present taking very little notice, and only occasionally placing the child outside the door. Cooking is exclusively the duty of women, a *real* man will not cook. Food is often highly seasoned with hot native red and green peppers, and food thus prepared is much appreciated. The food is usually well cooked through, with the exception of plantains which are often only half boiled and served quite hard. Large round stones are used for rubbing and reducing to powder gourd seeds and various tubers. Smoking and salting are the only methods practised for preserving food, and on account of the value of salt and the difficulty of transporting it inland, it is seldom thus employed.

Drinks.—Rum has been carried from the coast by white traders and natives far inland and is used whenever obtainable, but the chief drink is cold water. Palm wine is made called *mayak*. Except in places where a trade factory existed I have seen very few cases of intoxication among the Fang, but when they can obtain rum it seems to completely demoralise them. Tea and coffee are known to people living near white settlers. When a party of headmen and others have taken a meal at the mission house, tea and coffee were greatly enjoyed and cups frequently re-filled. The first meal is usually about eight or nine o'clock; the natives think the white man eats very early; a mid-day meal is served and the evening repast is usually about sunset.

Food is frequently brought to the men inside the *ebang* (palaver house); at other times an entire family eats together inside the dwelling house. No ceremonies whatever precede the commencement of meals. When a son is born, or on the occasion of a wedding, and after some large palaver has been settled, a feast is usually given. Invited guests and strangers partake together with the town folk of the food prepared; it is usually served on the earth floor of the palaver house, on plantain leaves, and in cooking pots, each person helping himself. The women do not eat with the men inside the palaver house.

Mode of preparing Mbon.

Ze du mbôn ossi, e vôm a ne mbôtôl: a kapa bona mîlu mîla, be lôli ôto: be mîli ne ngu: be mâ mbôl: be lâzi ngu mbôt ôti be mon ntum: betia tpak: bîapa vul: be kapa mona vul: be lâzi ngu ê mvê: eduôn ji: ve tell mvt mbon: wona mbon abu.

000 arrangement of the kitchen. Kitchen and cooking implements (grindstone, grinding board, plantain peeler, basket-work plate, stirring spoons and other spoons used by the women, cooking pots). Preparation: 1) cassava (cassava rolls, cassava cutlets, boiled cassava roots, pulverized cassava boiled in a leaf bent in the shape of a stirrup, steamed cassava); 2) plantain; 3) groundnut (groundnut sauce, groundnut bundle, groundnut mush, groundnut soup); 4) ngon; 5) maize (corn on the cob, maize soup, maize bread, maize mush). Other vegetables and meat. Meals. Eating. Tableware, eating spoon and its forms.

2. Beverages and indulgents. Beverages: water, drinking vessels, water liana. Indulgents: sugarcane juice, banana wine, palm wine (distribution of the palms used for making palm wine, quality of palm wine, appearance and taste, methods of obtaining it and keeping its quality). Indulgence. Tobacco (varieties of the tobacco plant, smoking, tobacco pipes, care of the tobacco plant, treatment of the leaves).

262 One of the greatest physical pleasures for the Pangwe is to eat meat (tit; "boiled meat," nniǎ man e tit, from a niǎm, "to boil"). From man down to the smallest termite, scarcely anything seems inedible to him.

266 184 It is considered a fact that the southern Pangwe occasionally eat human flesh (Fig. 91). The Pangwe as a whole, however, cannot be called anthropophagous. Among the northern subgroups there is nowhere any report of cannibalism, and the natives maintain that even in former times cannibalism was unknown among them. Among the central Fang in Spanish Guinea and in the French region, on

•266
184

[673]

the other hand, fallen enemies are consumed by some of them on exceptional occasions. The accounts have it that this form of cannibalism does not by any means for religious reasons, but rather represents an act of revenge carried to its extreme; the enemy is degraded to the level of an animal and is consumed like an animal. I have never heard it said that relatives or members of the same kin group are killed and eaten; indeed, in the eyes of the Fang this would constitute an incredible crime. Far to the south, especially toward the southeast where the Pangwe have been fundamentally modified through mixture with neighboring tribes, anthropophagy may be somewhat more

[412] Fig. 91. Spearhead Knife for cutting up a Slain Person.

frequent. It is most likely, in any case, that the practice /144/ [177] /Fig. 91 appears here in the original text/ was taken over in the first place from the eastern border tribes, especially the Njem who are notorious in this respect.

262 Thus, meat is principally supplied by animals, and here the Pangwe does not even stop at the thick skin of the elephant; he finds almost everything edible. Among mammals, only the shrew, house rat, and the dwarf squirrel Sciurus pumilio Leconte (mvūkesŏn) are not eaten. Also, the following are not eaten: among reptiles, the chameleon, the lizard Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (ebŭmekūkūī), and the Agama colonorum Daud. (ngŏdŏ III); similarly, among amphibians, the toads Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (mvŭn IV) and Bufo latifrons Blgr. (dŭn; plural, bŭn, mŭn), as well as the frog Rana mascareniensis D. and B. (nkŭn I). The reasons why these animals are never eaten I shall discuss in conjunction with the general food prohibitions in Section 13 /Ed., Vol. II/.

579 had been satis-
628 the loss was
a village

[411] The matter
the Bebai
[531] fied since
greater; their
chief, while
young man.
influence of
to Bebai and
fighting.

From this
628 the Pangwe
682 ple of an eye
tooth, and
only when
equal. In a
Esseng
ple had been
be concluded

Fig. 84. Wooden Shield.

fied, because on either side
exactly the same: each had
burned and a man killed.
would have gone on, because
people were still dissatis-
they regarded their loss as
casualty had been a great
the other had been only a
However, by this time the
the Whites had penetrated
thus an end was put to the

example it can be seen that
act according to the princi-
for an eye, a tooth for a
that blood revenge can cease
the losses on both sides are
"war" between Schumu and
people, eight Schumu peo-
killed, and peace could not
until eight Esseng men had

likewise been killed. Furthermore, it can be seen that village feuds fraught with consequences often arise from quite trivial causes.

Prisoners are usually killed and then often eaten, as has been
72 mentioned earlier. Only children are raised as "slaves" in the
[266] village. Captured women are usually taken by the victors as
[567] wives, but sometimes they are also killed in order to even out the number of killed on both sides and thus to make peace possible. /251/

773 the animal pursuing the ancestors of the Fang in order to devour them, while the legendary history of migration collected in the north shows, on the contrary, the crocodile enabling the tribe to cross the Osoé Nnanga (the python performs this service for the Beti).

776 The observation made by the authors quoted on the "unsuperstitious" character of the Pahouin and of the slight development /113/ of "fetishism" among them is to be related to the almost total absence in their mythology of beings intermediary between God and man, genii or demigods.

771 Aside from the bivur, to be discussed in connection with sorcery, there are only the bingungur (Fang)(Boulou, bingôngôt) shown in some 825 legends as kinds of ogres or ghouls haunting forests and attacking travelers. According to another interpretation, these rather are evil animals endowed with intelligence and malevolence beyond that of normal members of their species, perhaps animal sorcerers. The inoffensive aardvark, mvômesila, is thus very much feared; also a sort of very rare Pithecanthropus (Fang, éngure; Boulou, éngu'u) and a mermaid, the mammywôta of the coast, no doubt a lamantin /or manatee/. For Trilles, the éngungure is a "spirit, often transformed into an animal, which sorcers obey"; may there not be a confusion here with the évur (Boulou, évu)?

775 As for ghosts, bekôn, it might be said that there are good ones 769 but no nice ones. One may usually get on with the kôn of a properly buried forebear who was respected in his lifetime and even obtain useful services from him, formerly paid for by sacrifices and libations 782 to his skull and often today by candles, Masses, or prayers (I have 787 known Protestants to go to Catholic missionaries for exorcism). There is more difficulty /in dealing/ with the kôn of a sorcerer or with that of a stranger neither whose name nor whose skull is in one's possession.

266 *Lawful /non criminelle/ anthropophagy probably had for an end,* among others, that of acquiring power over the bekôn of enemies and perhaps of assimilating the rights they derived from their ancestors. This wartime cannibalism appears to have existed especially on the geographical fringes of the group and particularly along the invasion front, among the Fang proper, the vanguard of the migration. A relative or affinal kin was never eaten, only strangers, and these only by warriors (or sometimes by sons of warriors killed by the enemy). It is worth noting that for the cannibalism of the Fang and Ouyéba only the "Gabonese" felt the terror described by all explorers. The

266 Boulou and Ntoumou, who often fought the Fang, do not accuse them of cannibalism, which seems to prove that this /practice/ was restricted to "foreign" wars, to conquests. Intestinal cannibalism was held in horror and practiced only by sorcerers, often called bedi bât, man-eaters. Di nlem, usually translated as "soul eating," means literally "to eat the thoracic organs" and may be applied to outright material consumption of these internal organs. On the other hand, the anthropophagy or "necropophagy" that might be qualified as homeopathic, which consists of swallowing in a biañ (mbiañ) a tiny amount, often as ash, of an ancestor's or an initiate's body, has nothing criminal about it and apparently used to be part of all important rites. /113/ From this point of view, the communion meal of the body of the sô, if this rite is truly totemic, represented perhaps manducation of the ancestor.

As for gastronomic cannibalism, it is a story for the picture papers. Not only man's flesh but even that of anthropoids, aside from the cases mentioned above, is absolutely taboo /the plural bityi is used here. —Tr./, and accidental consumption or consumption enforced by absolute necessity (for instance, if hunters are marooned by a flood) entails rigorous purification. 261 783

c. Elements of Cosmogony

772 803 Our knowledge of the traditional world view is largely conjectural too, for the reasons already pointed out. We may state with reasonable certainty two fundamental concepts:

Orientation of space and time referred to the apparent movement of the sun; perhaps it would be better to speak of space-time, as the two ideas are closely connected.

The principle described by Stoll as "double symmetry," which could also be called "sexual complementarity" and summed up as the equilibrium in tension of all elements of the universe /création/.

These two concepts are, as things stand, tied together if not inseparable.

Time and space flow from east to west in a declining movement. East is ôku, upstream, high, and male; west, nke, is downstream, low, and female. The earth, si, is surrounded by water, or rather, enclosed by water and darkness, /thus/, ndim = blind; mendim =

101 territory, though each keeps its own autonomy without intermingling.

101 Each of the four Fan groups are divided into tribes, each
619 with its own chief, territory, and autonomy; none is subordinate
727 to another, all the more so because slaves are not taken in war,
266 for unredeemed captives are promptly eaten.

619 The tribes vary in importance according to the level of
614 development, the kind of chiefs they have had, and the size of
174 their territory. Thus, the Yenkwax possess no more than three sparsely populated villages, and at the most they can muster 300 warriors; the iYengon, [14] though a long-established tribe, have only one village and a few warriors; while the Yemvi, on the contrary, inhabit several hundred villages and number thousands of warriors. But about this term "tribe," let me here mention a very important point: at present, and since a migration which, according to my own research, should be dated 32 or 33 generations back, no more tribes are being formed, only clans. Existing tribes (and we shall see in a moment how they may be distinguished from clans) may be said to have been established about ten centuries ago in our reckoning, which clearly does not mean that they did not exist before that time. Their origin must certainly go back much earlier.

619 A tribe rarely remains homogeneous for long. Many factors
614 contribute to its splitting up, such as a series of migrations, family disputes, and the activities of heads of families who are ambitious or eager to throw off excessive authority. The steady growth of a tribe at the same time leads to the overpopulation of villages and the necessity of looking elsewhere for new hunting and agricultural lands; hence, after an indefinite period, a tribe splits into clans composed of an unspecified and highly variable number of families. Some clans are very large, such as the Esingi, and make up hundreds of villages, while others, either because they are very recent or because of the same disintegrating forces as exist for the tribes, number only a few families.

Clans in turn, as a result of the same circumstances that made tribes split into clans, split into subclans, also of varying importance.

From what I have just said, a fact may be immediately deduced which runs counter to the usual generalizations accepted by Europeans and superficial observers. In the view of the latter the

754 the leaders who will be there, as each has his private mark.
575 That's all."
828 "But why are some pointed and others not?"
203 "Oh, that! No, that's a deep secret. If I were to tell you that I'd be punished by death at the next meeting."

[Pages 454-462 omitted. --Translator] [463]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

791 All practitioners' societies recognize ritual sacrifice. In
754 many cases a human victim is slain and eaten. These sacrifices
575 are often characterized by what seems to us revolting cruelty and
782 horror. I shall have occasion to deal with this point more fully
266 when discussing sacrifice.

These are ritual sacrifices: immolation is not done for the pleasure of killing any more than consuming the victim is for the pleasure of eating human flesh. This is so much the case that a woman is never sacrificed: "Munga kɛ́ dzamadzam, kɛ́ kie ve
[562 nsissim: A woman is of no importance (from the sacrificial point
174] of view)," runs a Fan proverb, "She has no power over spirits because she has no soul."

At sorcerer's feasts, on the contrary, and in the societies they organize, men are eaten for the pleasure of eating human flesh.

754 According to all the Fan and all Africans, sorcerers leave their boeies in order to go and feed on the hearts of other men while asleep. Hence their name, bɛ́ndzi bur, eaters of men. Sometimes they do this themselves, sometimes it is done by a spirit that possesses them. I willingly admit, of course, that there is nothing true in these accusations, at least as regards the way in which the sorcerers work. But one thing is undeniable, the fact of cannibalism.

[One paragraph omitted; p. 464 omitted. --Editor]

Chapter XIV

Totems of Sorcerers and of their Secret Societies

The Nagual and Nagualism

[Summary omitted--Translator] [466]

575 791 782 three times. He then pulls him down to the ground, binds him in front of the totem, and with one stroke of the mfor cuts the carotid arteries. The blood is collected in a clay pot, which is carefully broken after the ceremony and buried. When the blood has stopped flowing, the practitioners approach. The leader, the others next, and the neophyte last, dip their hands into the pot and sprinkle the totem while they dance around it. [483]

575 791 782 266 Right after this the head practitioner approaches the totem and smears its neck with the victim's blood, then with one stroke cuts its arteries. The spouting blood is collected with care because no drop must fall on the ground, to avoid any profanation. The victim's blood is mixed with the totem's, and everyone dips his hand into the pot and stirs; when the contents have been thoroughly mixed, the pot is put on a fire that has been prepared and, as soon as the blood starts to coagulate, each person present approaches and drinks a bit. The neophyte takes his turn last and has to drink all that is left no matter how much.

The victim and the totem are then placed on a special pyre. Often the victim's body is opened and the heart removed and the totem's body put in its place. When the fire has pretty well roasted both bodies, they are taken off and the victim's is put aside for eating. The totem is put back on the fire and entirely consumed, except that its burnt and pulverized bones are preserved. The victim's bones are also kept and reduced to ash so that they may be mingled with the totem's. These ashes are eventually divided among all those present; the larger share going to the new practitioner to form his "totemic" fetish, which he will make use of whenever he appeals to his totem. In particular, when he takes part in the "consecration" of a new practitioner, he will, after the immolation of the totem as just described, put a pinch of these ashes on the totem's body: all his colleagues will do the same, in order to mystically unite all the totems in a common sacrifice.

[789]

At the end of the ceremony, the new practitioner must get rid of all signs of it before he returns to the village. He must see to it that no drop of blood, no trace of ash, be profaned. He breaks up the pyre, buries the pot for blood at a distance, and goes home only then, invested with a new dignity.

515 subjected to skillfully graduated demands, participating in cere-
754 monies that arouse his imagination while exhausting him by their length, he gradually grows weaker and feels overwhelmed by the somber and mysterious aspect of initiation and falls into a kind of hallucination.

"In the depths of the hut [where the initiation takes place], there is a crudely sculptured image. Beneath that has been put a bundle containing the bones of a man long dead, and in front a mirror has been hung with its face towards the spectators. In all initiation proceedings the candidate is brought before the mirror and asked: 'What do you see?' For a long time he has to reply: 'I don't see anything.' As long as the reply is negative the initiation has not been successful. But finally the expected sign appears; he sees the likeness of a man in the mirror. Then he is led aside and made to describe the man whose face he has just seen. He had never seen him before [486] and cannot have known him, yet he describes him with great precision, giving all the facial traits. No cheating is possible in this. From the description given, the initiator, who is able to judge the likeness, identifies the man whose bones are beneath the image. This proof allows him to decide that the initiation is proceeding on the right track.

"Sometimes the initiator demands more personal and more active cooperation from the person seeking initiation. ... he may require that he bring the skull and a few bones of a relative of the first degree. ...

"Only when he brings in the material proofs of his crime are the final rites carried out. The bones are thrown into a
• [266] *cauldron with herbs and other ingredients that are unsavoury.* When the horrible mixture has been sufficiently cooked, the unfortunate man is made to drink a cup while the audience sings. Then what is left in the pot is divided, and everyone has a share.
[789] The small bones are wrapped in old rags, and this bundle is given to the initiate: it constitutes his talisman, which he will wear and which will protect him from the dangers he fears and obtain for him the favors he desires.

721 Everyone then comes near, the chief first, and dips a finger
779 into the pot of blood and tastes it. The practitioner also dips in
782 his finger and with it touches each warrior's totem to make the
266 so-called racial mark (ndem ayôn). "Adopted" warriors are ex-
608 cluded from this ceremony, perhaps the only occasion when a distinction is drawn between them and the tribe; in some smaller clans they are not excluded from this ceremony.

721 When a tribe is populous and a single victim would not be
779 enough, two, three, and sometimes ten or more are provided.

782 As soon as each warrior has thus "renewed the mark," the sacred dances start again. During that time the chief joins in at first, then takes what remains of the blood, smears his ancestral skulls with it, and then sprinkles the tribal totems while the warriors sing the totem song. [553] The practitioner, helped by his acolytes makes a kind of large sticky ball from the sap of cer-
[824] tain rubber creepers (1) and a kind of gum,(2) and knead it inside

1. Landolphia Klaineana and Thollonii of the Apocyneceae.

2. This gum is produced by the Acacia erubescens Wildm. of the acacia family.

the victim's thoracic cavity so that it becomes soaked with blood.
[787] At the end of the ceremony he takes a bit from this ball and applies it to each warrior's chest. According to how long it sticks, it will give an augury about the warrior's life, death, and the wounds he will receive.

721 As soon as the ceremonies are completed the victims are
782 cut into thin strips, and each person receives his share. The feast
266 begins. This is the end of the actual totemic ceremony, to be followed from then on by purely religious and fetishist rites. I therefore need say no more on the subject.

721 After the meal, the dance, and the songs, the skulls and totems are put back in the évora biéri and carried back to the huts.

68 695 781

to one or more culprits, who are immediately seized and led to the middle of the public square, where one of the practitioner's assistants is waiting with several cups of the liquid.

Those who, in previous ordeals, have asked to be given the poison to drink are also brought up at the same time.

Each in turn empties a cup: the effects vary according to the kind of poison.

Those who drink the élûn quickly develop a violent trembling, which convulses the whole body. They can hardly keep on their feet and would roll on the ground were they not supported by friends. If at this point they are able to urinate copiously, they will gradually recover and survive. However, for years they will have a persistent nervous tremor.

Those who drink the ikaja or the onaï seem, on the contrary, to be knocked out: they fall down, get up, and fall down again. They survive only if they can vomit the liquid.

Whatever the effect of the poison, all who have undergone the test are led before a log thrown like a bridge over a brook, or sometimes before a plank or a dead tree laid on the ground. They must tread it without help from one end to the other. If they teeter and fall, all the participants leap on them, [266] strike and kill them with clubs, tear them apart and eat them on the spot. However, the sorcerers or those who claim to be are never eaten but are burnt alive. Those who get through to the end of the plank have to pay a large fine. "There's no smoke without fire," seems to be the Fan proverb, translated [538] into their idom as, "Ki abi fo ve fo -- there's no rat hole without a rat!"

The totem enters to a fairly large extent into all these ~~rites, either through~~ the practitioner who invokes it or through the unfortunate accused who always have the right, quite illusory for them, to have a [565] piece of the totem boiled with the élûn (1) and to invoke it before drinking up the fatal

1. It is not for me to pass judgment on these ceremonies, or to show to what degree the practitioner plays the dominant role, often getting well paid

683
695
787

for administering an effective emetic along with the test poison. I shall evaluate these ordeals later when discussing religion.

potion.

683
695
787
562

Women are not subject to the tests I have just mentioned except sometimes to the nkal test. Among the Fan they do not drink the test poison; they are, in fact, considered as irresponsible and in a state of tutelage. Therefore in cases of serious accustion, a woman's father or husband has to take her place but does not invoke the totem, because it would not be able to act on her behalf since it does not acknowledge the woman.

Only for an accusation of sorcery does a woman have to submit to a test.

She is brought gagged to the middle of the village, two female relatives pull her head back, and the practitioner empties [278] into her eye the sap of a euphorbia called ka. (2) If she comes

2. Euphorbia scandens, of the arboreal euphorbias.

through unhurt, she is innocent. If, on the contrary, as nearly always happens, the eye leaves the socket, she is immediately [266] declared guilty, dragged away into the forest, burnt, and eaten. The accusation frequently arises, and punishment is never delayed.

VIII. Blood Exchange

608

" 'Brotherhood' (in America, totemisation)," says Mgr. Le Roy, (3) "is relationship through an exchange of blood; if

3. La religion des primitifs [The Religion of Primitive Peoples] op. cit., p. 120.

this is not quite totemism, it is very near to it."

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

563 discovered how to work *eki* (iron) and then taught others. They are also skilful hunters, and frequently succeed in killing game when others fail. In trade, it is almost impossible to cheat a dwarf, hence the Fang saying, "*Mon mei meduk mebe,* [539] *mon ngui aduk avoti.*" (You can cheat a Fang twice, a dwarf once.) In this proverb the word "*mei*" equals Fang (see photographs and measurements of Fang dwarfs). ● 266 The Fang are cannibals and only fear of the authorities keeps them in check. In the autumn of 1898 a man was killed and eaten within ten miles of our mission station on the Nkomo river. I heard of the affair two days after the man had been killed, and taking a boat hurried down to the place accompanied by one of the sons of King "Kelun" from Nenge-nenge, as guide. In the palaver house of the town was a captive boy in chains. The people of this town would not admit having eaten a man, yet did not deny it; they said that the human bones in a hole behind the palaver house were those of a man who had "died two days before." I afterward learnt that the captive boy had been killed and eaten a few days after my visit. Several Fang have admitted to me that "some Fang eat man meat," and they have been told that it is far more enjoyable to eat than goat. My informants always added that they would not do such a thing—"only bad Fang did so." What I have learned from others and my own observations lead me to believe that an immense tract of country in West Africa from a trifle north of the equatorial line extending even as far northward as to include a portion of the German sphere of influence in the Cameroons, is occupied by numerous anthropophagous tribes all more or less closely related.

II.—*Physical and Moral Characteristics.*

Physically the Fang are a fine people. They may be classed as of medium 142 size. Some of the males are exceptionally large and well built. At Foulabifong, the Fang village on the Nkomo river, where I reside, there is a man belonging to the Esisis tribe who is the largest and finest specimen of humanity I have ever seen in Africa (photo shown on screen).

The skin colour of the Fang is sooty-black or dark reddish-brown, chocolate: (numbers 2 and 3 Topinard's scale); coal-black skins (number 1, Topinard's scale), are in the minority. The skin is smooth and when well cared for, as it very often is, it feels soft and velvety. In the adult the skin is lighter in the axilla; the palm of the hand and sole of foot are permanently yellow. The average Fang eye has a dark iris (class 1, Topinard's scale), and the eye-balls are placed with their long axes nearly in one horizontal plane. I have occasionally noticed a compression of the outer angle of the opening, mostly in females, strongly suggestive of the "almond eye." The hair may be classed as black and woolly. It is uniformly scattered over the hairy scalp; the hairs are coarse in texture. The males seem to [302] have an aversion to hair on the face and frequently pluck it out; only a small percentage grow beards.

In adult males hair is often quite abundant on the chest and forearms.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

Translation.

They put cassava to soak in the river, in a place where there is (plenty of) mud. When it has lain there three days, they go and rub off the rind. They bring it (to the house). They take a trough, and put the cassava in it. They take the mashing stick. They mash the cassava. They wrap it up (in leaves). When they have finished that, they put it in the pot. Then they light the fire. They put the pot of iguma (on the fire). Then the iguma is *boiled.* 252 539

Azo Mfini: (Plantation).

Betata basa leua bo dia inifini (our fathers did not make plantain villages), *n'afan eto bè* (because their land was near at hand, *i.e.*, near the regular village). *Fañ b'anyege infini ne bo bidji binne* (Fañ likes plantain village to make good food, *i.e.*, because thus they get good food). *Bikon e djel ine, betok* (Plantains in town have (one) small). *Infini O ne djal moe afan bibè* (Plantain village is a good town (because) land (*i.e.*, good land) near). *Nson ane afan betata benga to bibè* (Like the land where the fathers were near). *B'angéye infini, ne dzi bidji binné. Mo'mbok a gouevi bstyit: bevok benga sôm* (They like the plantain village (because) there they eat good food. One person kills game (meat) others buy). *Menda infini me vic bo abé* (Houses of plantain villages soon spoil).[1] *Fañ, Ba'dji asas mbóa kidiase* (Fañ they eat a meal of cassava in the morning). 539 262 311 361

Regarding the *Eki* tabooing certain foods or performance of certain actions as in vogue among the Fang, I learned from a friend and *confrère*, Rev. R. H. Nassau, D.D., M.D., of Gaboon, that the *Eki* of the Fang is precisely similar to the *Orunda* of the Mpôngwe. Dr. Nassau is a veteran missionary of thirty-seven years' African experience, and he is always ready to help others who are sufficiently interested in the natives to inquire about them. I know of no one on the West Coast more willing or eminently able than he for imparting information regarding the people among whom he has laboured. 262 114 171

XI.—*Anthropophagy.*

Cannibalism prevails among the Fang beyond question, and only fear of the law keeps him somewhat in check. I am able to speak of the Fang as anthropophagi; not alone from information gathered, but from having once had the opportunity of visiting a town two days after a victim had been killed and eaten. 266 114

This town, named Olunda, is on the right bank of the Nkomo river, about 60 miles from the seat of government in the Congo Français. Whilst visiting the town Nenge-nenge (the island of islands) in the autumn of 1898, a native trader named Arkendengi, employed by a British trading house at Gaboon, informed me

[1] It is very true that houses having plantains growing near, soon rot; this is due to the dampness caused by loss of sunlight and heat.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

266 114 that a man had been killed and eaten only two days before at the town of Olunda two miles below Nenge-nenge. Old king Kelun at Nenge-nenge confirmed the report, and in compliance with my request, loaned me an interpreter to accompany me to the place.

The tide being favourable, I decided to start without telling my boat boys the reason for my hasty departure. Olunda is quite close to the river bank, but upon our arrival the water had fallen so low that the only way to reach the town was by wading knee deep in mud up the bank. The people eyed our boat and myself in particular with marked suspicion, and much talking was indulged in during our landing. The headman was the most villainous looking specimen of a Fang I have ever met; he was well built and very muscular, but his face was extremely ugly and brute-like: he had only one eye, and an evil-looking one it was. He wore on his head an old red worsted trade cap, and smoked a dirty native clay pipe.

The object of my visit was well hidden, and we chatted on various matters in the palaver house. When I expressed a desire to walk through the town and treat any of his sick people, the headman said, "No sick here, people all away, let us talk in the *abeng*" (palaver house). However, without giving him any notice I presently left the palaver house and walked out into the main road, and the crowd followed. The headman repeatedly assured me that the town was not worth seeing; but I strolled leisurely along. Half-way through the town I noticed a quantity of intestines strung out to dry on sticks, and to the great annoyance of the headman and people, I made an examination of them which convinced me that they had been removed quite recently from a human body. I was assured that thay were *entrails from a deer* and were being dried for the purpose of covering gourds to hold gunpowder. I then told the people the reports I had heard, also that I knew the intestines then drying were human, and accused them of cannibalism. They were very indignant, and declared, as all Fangs do, that their tribe never eat men. "Oh no, people in the far bush did, only bad Fang did so." A few moments later I picked up a human clavicle in the palaver house and took it away with me, threatening to report the matter to the Government.

In the palaver house of this same town was a boy of about sixteen years, in [727] chains, held as a hostage. I arranged to return in a few days and try to bring the lad to our mission station, but upon my return I again stopped at Nengi-Nengi, and then heard that the boy had been killed and eaten shortly after my departure.

266 I am inclined to believe that the reason for eating human flesh by the Fang is the result of a craving for animal food. The victims are generally males captured either in war, or members of other tribes waylaid and killed while journeying in the bush.

A Fang man told me that once he ate "some man" because he was persuaded to, and that it "passed goat far" (much superior to goat). He added, "I never do

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

so now because I known it's wrong." His latter statement I gave very little credit to. 266

Fang who admitted to me that "bad Fang eat men, but not the people of their town or tribe," asserted that all parts of the body are eaten; that the victims are not considered as sacrifices to any gods, but that the bones are used for *biang* (medicine).

Human flesh does not form part of the regular food of the people, and to a certain extent the natives seem ashamed to admit that "other Fang eat men"; they never admitted to me that any of *their tribe* did so.

XII.—*Religion, Fetish or Biang (medicine).*

These anthropophagi have some idea of God, a superor being, their *Tata* (father) *a be mam messe* (he made all things). *Anyambi* is their *tata* and ranks above all other Fang gods, because *a'se yôp* (he is above, *lit.* lives in heaven). The Fang have other or minor gods, the greatest of whom was *Sekôme*, and many Fang say *Sekôme* and *Anyambi* are one and the same god; hence the saying "*Sekôme anga hôm mam messe*" (Sekôme he made (arranged) all things). The following is a list of Fang minor gods: 776

Nzame.
Mabeka.
Nkwa.
Sekôme (reported as being Anyambi).
Ube.
Nzame begat Mabeka.
Mabeka begat Nkwa.
Nkwa begat Sekôme.
Sekôme begat Ube.

The Fang have no religion in the generally accepted meaning of the word, for it is mostly made up of an unlimited and disconnected chain of superstitious beliefs. [771]

The key-note of the superstitious beliefs of the Fang is that the Present and Future is filled with innumerable numbers of spiritual beings. The great spirit *Tata* (father) *Anyambi* or *Sekôme* is considered indifferent to the wants and sufferings of men, women and children. I do not believe that worship is directed in any way whatever to the spirits of Present and Future, the natives seeming rather to consider propitiation, exhortation and supplication as the three things most essential and necessary. The spirits of Present and Future possess to a large degree the better human passions, and also the baser ones. The origin of these innumerable spirits of Present and Future is extremely vague: *Anyambi* or *Sekôme* is credited with having created many; others are the souls of dead relatives, still retaining after death human sensations and desires. The Fang have the same

415
531

Fig. 105. Men's Ladling Spoons.

264 As a rule, to be sure, every man carries one or two of these useful
415 utensils in his shoulder bag made of pineapple fibers (mfǒ'k). /163/

Beverages and Indulgents

271 The usual beverage of the Pangwe is water. He drinks it from
415 little bowls, into which the water is poured from a clay water flask,
or from calabashes (ndǒk IV) which, in addition to the clay water
484 flasks, are also used for fetching water. He also drinks water from
special drinking calabashes cut in half through the middle (Mwele)
or provided with a hole (Jaunde). On a journey, he uses one or

271 more leaves folded together in the form of a bag, like the leaf
415 spoon, or his right hand with which he scoops up the water and
484 throws it into his mouth with rapid swinging motions.

In dense forest where no stream is known to be nearby -- this,
271 to be sure, is a rare occurrence, for instance, when they have lost
137 the way or if suddenly somebody falls ill from thirst, or the like --
824 one can, at times, open a hidden source of water in the water liana Dichapetalum holosericeum Engl. (angũngũ̃ĩ-ndʒ̀ĩk III Ntum, ngũ̃ĩ-ndʒ́ĩk III Fang). Unfortunately, however, this plant does not occur everywhere; it grows straight up from the ground to the highest tree tops and can attain the thickness of the upper thigh, but usually it measures only 40 centimeters in circumference. In order to get water, one only needs to cut off the liana as high as one can reach, something that can be done with one blow, and then cut off a piece from the lower half. This is held vertically so that the water cannot run out, and it is then gradually inclined over a drinking vessel, for instance, leaves folded together in the form of a bag. The water, which -- as the Negroes assert -- is supposed to be good for the stomach, now flows out of the stem in a strong stream, hissing all the while. It is quite astonishing what quantities of water the liana contains. A piece as long as one's arm suffices to quench the most violent thirst and, according to my estimates contains one and a half liters. If one needs more, he simply cuts off additional pieces, and since the water cannot flow out of the cut liana because of the air pressure, one always has enough, even for large caravans.

272 As regards indulgents, the Pangwe have sugarcane sap, banana
273 wine, palm wine, and tobacco. In their use of these they are, on the whole, quite moderate. In this respect, the importation of rum would certainly have created a change for the worse if in 1906 the prohibition against the sale of intoxicating liquors had not intervened.

1. Sugarcane sap.

272 The sap contained in sugarcane is extracted in the following manner. The bark of the sugarcane is splintered off with a knife, and its meat is sucked out, or one presses out the sap and then drinks it as "sugar wine (mayõ[k] me nkṍk)." The latter method of

271 more leaves folded together in the form of a bag, like the leaf
445 spoon, or his right hand with which he scoops up the water and
484 throws it into his mouth with rapid swinging motions.

In dense forest where no stream is known to be nearby -- this,
271 to be sure, is a rare occurrence, for instance, when they have lost
137 the way or if suddenly somebody falls ill from thirst, or the like --
824 one can, at times, open a hidden source of water in the water liana Dichapetalum holosericeum Engl. (angũngũ̀ĩ-ndʒ̀ĩk III Ntum, ngũ̀ĩ-ndʒ̀ĩk III Fang). Unfortunately, however, this plant does not occur everywhere; it grows straight up from the ground to the highest tree tops and can attain the thickness of the upper thigh, but usually it measures only 40 centimeters in circumference. In order to get water, one only needs to cut off the liana as high as one can reach, something that can be done with one blow, and then cut off a piece from the lower half. This is held vertically so that the water cannot run out, and it is then gradually inclined over a drinking vessel, for instance, leaves folded together in the form of a bag. The water, which -- as the Negroes assert -- is supposed to be good for the stomach, now flows out of the stem in a strong stream, hissing all the while. It is quite astonishing what quantities of water the liana contains. A piece as long as one's arm suffices to quench the most violent thirst and, according to my estimates contains one and a half liters. If one needs more, he simply cuts off additional pieces, and since the water cannot flow out of the cut liana because of the air pressure, one always has enough, even for large caravans.

272 As regards indulgents, the Pangwe have sugarcane sap, banana
273 wine, palm wine, and tobacco. In their use of these they are, on the whole, quite moderate. In this respect, the importation of rum would certainly have created a change for the worse if in 1906 the prohibition against the sale of intoxicating liquors had not intervened.

c. Sugarcane sap.

272 The sap contained in sugarcane is extracted in the following manner. The bark of the sugarcane is splintered off with a knife, and its meat is sucked out, or one presses out the sap and then drinks it as "sugar wine (mayɣ̃[k] me nkɔ́k)." The latter method of

272 extraction occurs only in the southern Pangwe region and /164/ in two forms. The first is as follows. The cane is cut into pieces from six to eight centimeters long; the meat of the cane is removed by sticking the spiked stalk of Trachyphrynium danckelmanianum Braun et K. Schn. (nsō' I) through it and scraping back and forth for a while (Fig. 104). A leaf is placed underneath to catch the scrapings, and later they are put in a basketwork plate and pressed out by hand. A second, more refined procedure consists of removing the bark from the cane with a knife and pounding it in a wooden trough. The pulp thus obtained is put in a sugar press (ojám), a crude piece of basketwork in rectangular form, made of Ancistrophyllum (nkāne), whose narrow sides end in loops through which two sticks are pushed. One of these is stuck through two poles planted in the ground, each with a hole drilled through the middle; the other stick is placed on top of the two poles. When the press is to be used, /Fig. 106 appears here in the original text/ a vessel (pot) is placed under it, the upper stick is taken off, the sugarcane pulp is placed in the plaited container, the stick is turned with both hands, and in this way the [188 757] press is wrung dry. The sap, which can be drunk right away, is made primarily for elderly people who are no longer able to chew sugarcane meat; it is also made for medicinal purposes. /165/

2. Banana wine.

273 This wine is obtained from ripe bananas or plantains. They are peeled, cut in half, and then placed in a pot filled with water. The pot is covered with a perforated leaf and set in the sun for a day. The fluid is then carefully poured off, put in a calabash, and again set in the sun for a brief period of time. This banana wine or plantain wine (the latter is supposed to taste even better) is known only in the northern Pangwe region. Among the Jaunde it is valued very highly, as much as palm wine, which is attested to, among other things, by its special popularity with the older chiefs who are known as connoisseurs. This beverage, indeed, is not at all bad, and it is, incidentally, also popular with the Whites.

273

3. Palm wine.

The Pangwe make palm wine primarily from the oil palm Elaeis guineensis L. (alg'h). In very rare cases they make it from the raffia palm, while in the extreme north it is also made from

[272 342]

Fig. 106. A Ntum Man Using a Spiked Stalk to Scrape Sections of Sugarcane in Order to Press Sugar Wine out of it.

the Deleb palm. As a result, its abundance and quality depend upon the range of the oil palm, that is to say, actually only the northern Pangwe region, especially the Mwele, Jaunde, and Bene areas and to a lesser extent the Bulu area, come into consideration here. In the south, on the other hand, the making of palm wine is practically unknown; there oil palms are so sparse that they give their name to nearby localities (Alén, Malén) because they

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

this is, because, to a Fang eye, polished brass looks *mbang* (handsome) and is attractive for trade. Vessels are usually placed on top of the fire and not suspended over it; vegetables are frequently placed in stews. No separate dwelling house exists for cooking, it is carried on in the dwelling house. The water used to wash a dirty pot with is often thrown out on the earth floor of the dwelling, children playing in the wet dirt. In all domestic matters the Fang are very filthy. I have on more than one occasion when inside a native hut seen children micturate and defecate on the earth floor close to where the mother was cooking, the women and men present taking very little notice, and only occasionally placing the child outside the door. Cooking is exclusively the duty of women, a *real* man will not cook. Food is often highly seasoned with hot native red and green peppers, and food thus prepared is much appreciated. The food is usually well cooked through, with the exception of plantains which are often only half boiled and served quite hard. Large round stones are used for rubbing and reducing to powder ground seeds and various tubers. Smoking and salting are the only methods practised for preserving food, and on account of the value of salt and the difficulty of transporting it inland, it is seldom thus employed.

Drinks.—Rum has been carried from the coast by white traders and natives far inland and is used whenever obtainable, but the chief drink is cold water. Palm wine is made called *mepak*. Except in places where a trade factory existed I have seen very few cases of intoxication among the Fang, but when they can obtain rum it seems to completely demoralize them. Tea and coffee are known to people living near white settlers. When a party of headmen and others have taken a meal at the mission house, tea and coffee were greatly enjoyed and cups frequently re-filled. The first meal is usually about eight or nine o'clock; the natives think the white man eats very early; a mid-day meal is served and the evening repast is usually about sunset.

Food is frequently brought to the men inside the *abang* (palaver house); at other times an entire family eats together inside the dwelling house. No ceremonies whatever precede the commencement of meals. When a son is born, or on the occasion of a wedding, and after some large palaver has been settled, a feast is usually given. Invited guests and strangers partake together with the town folk of the food prepared; it is usually served on the earth floor of the palaver house, on plantain leaves, and in cooking pots, each person helping himself. The women do not eat with the men inside the palaver house.

Mode of preparing Mbon.

Ba da ndzin amai, e ndzu a ne ndzitil: a kopa bonse ndlie ndila, be bedi ndo: be ndzi ne ope: be ndzi ndzil: be bini ope ndzak ti: be nem ntem: bebe tpak: bopa ewl: be kopa menne ewl: be bini ope ti ewl: ezlabe ji: ne tsili ewl mbon: wenne mbon ebon.

271 more leaves folded together in the form of a bag, like the leaf
415 spoon, or his right hand with which he scoops up the water and
484 throws it into his mouth with rapid swinging motions.

In dense forest where no stream is known to be nearby -- this,
271 to be sure, is a rare occurrence, for instance, when they have lost
137 the way or if suddenly somebody falls ill from thirst, or the like --
824 one can, at times, open a hidden source of water in the water liana Dichapetalum holosericeum Engl. (angŋgɔ̄l-ndɛ̄lɛ̄k III Ntum, ngɔ̄l-ndɛ̄lɛ̄k III Fang). Unfortunately, however, this plant does not occur everywhere; it grows straight up from the ground to the highest tree tops and can attain the thickness of the upper thigh, but usually it measures only 40 centimeters in circumference. In order to get water, one only needs to cut off the liana as high as one can reach, something that can be done with one blow, and then cut off a piece from the lower half. This is held vertically so that the water cannot run out, and it is then gradually inclined over a drinking vessel, for instance, leaves folded together in the form of a bag. The water, which -- as the Negroes assert -- is supposed to be good for the stomach, now flows out of the stem in a strong stream, hissing all the while. It is quite astonishing what quantities of water the liana contains. A piece as long as one's arm suffices to quench the most violent thirst and, according to my estimates contains one and a half liters. If one needs more, he simply cuts off additional pieces, and since the water cannot flow out of the cut liana because of the air pressure, one always has enough, even for large caravans.

272 As regards indulgences, the Pangwe have sugarcane sap, banana
273 wine, palm wine, and tobacco. In their use of these they are, on the whole, quite moderate. In this respect, the importation of rum would certainly have created a change for the worse if in 1906 the prohibition against the sale of intoxicating liquors had not intervened.

1. Sugarcane sap.

272 The sap contained in sugarcane is extracted in the following manner. The bark of the sugarcane is splintered off with a knife, and its meat is sucked out, or one presses out the sap and then drinks it as "sugar wine (mayɔ̄l k) me nkɔ̄l'k)." The latter method of

272 extraction occurs only in the southern Pangwe region and /164/ in two forms. The first is as follows. The cane is cut into pieces from six to eight centimeters long; the meat of the cane is removed by sticking the spiked stalk of Trachyphrynium danckelmanianum Braun et K. Schn. (nsõ' I) through it and scraping back and forth for a while (Fig. 104). A leaf is placed underneath to catch the scrapings, and later they are put in a basketwork plate and pressed out by hand. A second, more refined procedure consists of removing the bark from the cane with a knife and pounding it in a wooden trough. The pulp thus obtained is put in a sugar press (ojá m), a crude piece of basketwork in rectangular form, made of Ancistrophyllum (nkãne), whose narrow sides end in loops through which two sticks are pushed. One of these is stuck through two poles planted in the ground, each with a hole drilled through the middle; the other stick is placed on top of the two poles. When the press is to be used, /Fig. 106 appears here in the original text/ a vessel (pot) is placed under it, the upper stick is taken off, the sugarcane pulp is placed in the plaited container, the stick is turned with both hands, and in this way the press is wrung dry. The sap, which can be drunk right away, is made primarily for elderly people who are no longer able to chew sugarcane meat; it is also made for medicinal purposes. /165/

[118 167]

2. Banana wine.

273 This wine is obtained from ripe bananas or plantains. They are peeled, cut in half, and then placed in a pot filled with water. The pot is covered with a perforated leaf and set in the sun for a day. The fluid is then carefully poured off, put in a calabash, and again set in the sun for a brief period of time. This banana wine or plantain wine (the latter is supposed to taste even better) is known only in the northern Pangwe region. Among the Jaunde it is valued very highly, as much as palm wine, which is attested to, among other things, by its special popularity with the older chiefs who are known as connoisseurs. This beverage, indeed, is not at all bad, and it is, incidentally, also popular with the Whites.

273

3. Palm wine.

The Pangwe make palm wine primarily from the oil palm Elaeis guineensis L. (alɛ'n). In very rare cases they make it from the raffia palm, while in the extreme north it is also made from

[272 342]

Fig. 106. A Ntum Man Using a Spiked Stalk to Scrape Sections of Sugarcane in Order to Press Sugar Wine out of it.

the Deleb palm. As a result, its abundance and quality depend upon the range of the oil palm, that is to say, actually only the northern Pangwe region, especially the Mwele, Jaunde, and Bene areas and to a lesser extent the Bulu area, come into consideration here. In the south, on the other hand, the making of palm wine is practically unknown; there oil palms are so sparse that they give their name to nearby localities (Alén, Malén) because they

● 273 are regarded as a curiosity. Wine made from the raffia palm, supposed to have a bitter and not very pleasant taste, is known by hearsay to the southern Pangwe. It may even be that they produce it in isolated places, but I never saw or drank it. On the other hand, the [137] wine made from the Deleb palm, Borassus flabellifer var. aethiopum Mart. (Mwele, awui), which in very isolated patches extends into the northernmost part of the Pangwe region (I have observed it myself between Elandi and Abandakudi) has a superb taste and is justifiably valued very highly even though it does not possess the characteristic bouquet of oil palm wine. On my journey through Mwele territory I was told that the palm tree dies if one cuts off its blossoms to make wine, and indeed I saw a whole number of gigantic trunks reaching into the sky, leafless as masts. At the same time I must confess that when I was able to refresh my thirsty throat with this beverage in Simekoa, I hardly considered the price -- the dead palm tree -- too high.

For the Pangwe Yaoundé /Ger., Jaunde/ is the classical land of palm wine or mimbu, as it is called in pidgin English. If one travels through the Jaunde region at the right time of year, he will find a number of calabashes hanging from almost every oil palm, which indicates: "There is palm wine here." /166/

The quality of the wine depends on various circumstances. One very rarely finds the really first-rate wine, which can well stand comparison with inferior champagnes.

Aside from the method of obtaining the wine, the age of the tree plays a certain role. One cannot get good wine from the flowers of young palms. Similarly, only old calabashes, in which palm wine has often been kept, may be used to catch the wine. I am unable to say what other factors determine the superior or inferior taste of their wine. It is certain that, as in the case of our wines, soil and climate are important. My Jaunde in the south, for instance, took all kinds of trouble to serve me with good "stuff," but it was all -- as they themselves admitted -- a beverage of which one could but say: "It looks like wine, but it isn't; it doesn't make you sing, it doesn't make you happy." In any case a person who, after the first trial of a perhaps only moderately successful wine, condemns palm juice in general does it an injustice. One must first get used

273 to its peculiar taste, and anyone who, like myself, has drunk his way from Duala through Bakoko /Koko/ and Bassá country, through the Jaunde and Mwele areas up to the northeastern boundary of the Pangwe region to Kombokotto, knows that one only has to look for a really good drop to find it, and that this is one of the best things available in the Pangwe territory in the way of culinary pleasures.

Usually palm wine is yellowish-white, either dry or more or less sweet, the best being almost transparent in the glass, bubbling like sparkling wine, slightly sweet, and extremely intoxicating. Inferior wine is more opaque, while a very indifferent variety, obtained -- as will be described below -- from the trunk, is not transparent and is covered with foam like soapy water, which it resembles somewhat in taste. All of them, however, have a characteristic and fine bouquet to which, as I have said, one must first become accustomed, but which afterwards he never forgets. When I read through the pages of my diary telling of the days of travel in Yaoundé, the wine bouquet seems to stream forth from them and to embody everything beautiful and characteristic that tropical West Africa offers to the memory.

There are three methods of obtaining the wine. The first two involve cutting down a palm tree about five years old, and for that reason such methods are not very common in the Pangwe region (1).

1. These methods are more frequently used in the Bamá area where the palm trees are so numerous that they can be wasted in this manner.

The first method, which produces the best wine and which in Jaunde is called mayǫ̃ k̃ me mbǫ̃m, is carried out in the following manner. The leaves of the palm tree that has been cut down, the upper leaves in particular, are cut off, and the calabash is put over the cut at the heart of the palm.

In the second method -- mayǫ̃ k̃ me nkǫ̃k, "palm wine from the felled trunk" -- a rectangular hole is cut in the middle of the trunk /167/ down to the pith, about 15 centimeters deep. This is not done, however, until the trunk has lain for a day and has been

●273 covered with old leaf sheath which look like bark and are in turn weighted down with leafstalk ends and the like as a protection against insects. The palm wine gathers in this hole and is scooped out daily. This process lasts from four to five days and produces in all five or more bottles of inferior wine.

Most common is the third method of obtaining wine, namely, from the male or female inflorescences of fully grown trees, that is, ten years old or older (simply: mayǫ́[k] m'além, "wine from the oil palm"). This procedure, to be sure, is not nearly as simple [487] as the two previous ones since the man must climb up the palm tree and work for quite a long time hanging in a supporting rope, in particular lopping off the leaves. It frequently happens that in his eagerness the man cuts through the supporting rope and falls to the ground; to do this he does not even need to have looked too deeply into a calabash filled with palm wine.

At least two, usually three or four, and more rarely up to six inflorescences on a palm are tapped at the same time since some produce more juice, others less or no juice at all. With four inflorescences, for instance, only two produce juice; with six, only four.

The next step is to remove from below all the leaves of the crown with the exception of the leaf in whose axil the inflorescence is inserted. This is now partly removed, but its lower edge and the part of the lower end of the stalk which is turned away from the inflorescence are left on; otherwise the inflorescence would break off and fall down. A stick is clamped between the inflorescence on the one hand and the leaf that was left standing and the neighboring leaf on the other to prop up the inflorescence which has been deprived of its support. Not until the next day is the work continued. With a two-edged knife a rectangular cutout about six centimeters above the base is excised (in a downward direction) from the husk. The stalk of the inflorescence is cut through here and is taken out, so that on all sides only the husks are left standing. Now the stick can be removed since a prop is no longer needed. After two days the palm wine can be collected. For this purpose, a thin layer of the remaining stalk of the inflorescence is cut off, and the empty husks are stopped up at the tip with old dry husks that have been

273 crumpled up. Then a long-stemmed, fife-like bag is made of five leaf pinnae of the oil palm; this bag is placed at the lower part of the cutout with its "head" down and the tip outward. The bag is pressed to the cutout by means of a little stick made from the bark of an oil palm leafstalk and stuck through the husk on either side /168/. The entire arrangement is designed to prevent insects, such as giant beetles, palm weevils, rose beetles, bees, flies, etc., from penetrating the husk. Furthermore, in order to prevent the wine from running past the bag, the slits at those points where the bag rests against the husks are closed off with the down of oil palm leaf sheaths. On the little stick which holds the bag, a calabash, on which a small leaf funnel is placed, is suspended in such a way that the lower end of the bag extends into the funnel so that here, too, the way will be blocked to uninvited guests from the insect world.

It is necessary to remove the palm wine from the calabash morning, noon, and night, since otherwise it would spoil. Each time, also, a thin layer of the stalk of the inflorescence must again be cut off, and a new bag, as well as a new funnel, must be made. /Fig. 107 appears here in the original text./ In each case, the tapping of a tree lasts for three days and, if there are four tapping places, for instance, yields from six to eight bottles of wine. After this period, the tree is left alone for at least half a year so that it can recuperate; indeed, it is left to itself even longer if enough other palm trees are available.

To improve the wine -- according to the Jaunde -- to make it worse in my opinion -- the Jaunde frequently put the bark of a tree called evuma (Jaunde) in the calabashes. Fortunately, this tree grows only in the Mvele region, and the Jaunde get it from there. This bark /Fig. 108 appears here in the original text/ makes the palm wine "strong," as they say; that is, it gives the wine intoxicating qualities. Possibly a very small amount of the bark is a beneficial addition, but the excessive amount that the Jaunde add
273 to it harms the pleasant taste of the palm wine. I remember par-
522 ticularly a trick played on me by my boys who had poured together the wine from a number of calabashes, each about a quarter full, for my meal. In each calabash the wine had already been four

273 523 times as powerful as usual, and the entire mixture was so strong that it caused violent dizziness and headache.

273 The palm wine which is obtained from the pith of a tree trunk that is cut down /169/ (mayǫ́[k]-nkǭk) keeps for 24 hours in the house. On the other hand, the wine made from the inflorescences keeps at most half a day, and in great heat it spoils very rapidly, as I observed; it does the same if one takes it along on a trip. For this reason I followed the rule in the palm wine region of always finishing a good wine immediately or at least as soon as possible.

As I have said, the Pangwe are, generally speaking, moderate drinkers, but among them there are also heavy drinkers who regu-
[164] larly get drunk on palm wine. I shall leave undecided the question as to whether the widespread epilepsy (okū́bū́k) in the northern Pangwe region is a phenomenon resulting from excessive indulgence in palm wine on the part of the parents.

4. Tobacco.

276 249 Four varieties of tobacco, Nicotiana tabaccum L. (tǭ́ III) (1)

1. The native term may have arisen from tabaco.

are found in the Pangwe region. Formerly there was a fifth variety, but its cultivation has been given up. /Fig. 109 appears here in the original text./ With the exception of two that are very similar, the tobacco varieties are easily distinguished by their leaves. The key for determining each is as follows.

A. Leaves are not alated, and the leafstalk is long and clearly defined: esǭ́n (esǭ́n because of the similarity of the leaves to those of the Hibiscus sabdariffa L.)

B. Leaves are alated

(a) Leaves are narrow, lanceolated: sǫ́mǭ́ IV

(b) Leaves are broad, ovate

1. Blossoms are a bright pink, almost whitish, the leaves being comparatively wider than in the case of the following: nǭ́ebǫ́no I

224 262 Hunting on foot: Practiced especially by the Pygmies, without dogs. Some Pahouin still hunt down buffalo and forest pig and kill them with boar spears, but they are few. (P. A.)

232 262 are men who call themselves hunters (3). Income from the sale of

3. In some Boulou villages one finds foreign professional hunters, Baya or Kaka usually. Besides, Pygmies are regular hunters for their "landlords." (P. A.)

game meat appears to be practically negligible in family budgets. But, according to the work quoted above, hunting provides about a fifth of the total consumption of meat. Fishing is not unknown, but 226 262 the techniques are of the simplest. Women sometimes /28/ dam streams to dry up the beds where the fish can be caught. Sometimes fishing with poison is done, and children like to fish with line. But none of the methods is really productive; there are no large weirs, no nets, no canoes. Nutritionists estimate the ration of locally caught fish to be 1 gram per person per day—which is a simply way of underlining the feeble nautical talents of the Pahouin.

262 Agriculture furnishes the basic subsistence. Manioc is used in countless dishes: manioc rolls made from the crushed and boiled tubers, smothered manioc, or manioc fritters; even the leaves are often eaten. The use of leaves for food is perhaps a peculiar trait of Ewondo and Boulou diet. Thirteen kinds of leaves are used in cooking, either as seasoning or as a purée, often to thicken sauces. Along with manioc, the plantain banana provides the basic food. Next comes macabo, Xanthosema sagittefolia /malanga/. Various kinds of yams are much liked. This gastronomic pattern of the Fang, and [77] in particular of the Beti, should be enough to prove their foreign origin, because yams, which are tropical rather than equatorial, do not grow at all well in the present habitat of the Pahouin.

Maize is the only cereal currently used as food. It is often served as a dough, as gruel, and even on the cob. Maize beer, outside [273] certain urban centers, seems to be drunk less than palm wine, (the sap of the Elaeis guineensis). The oil palm, moreover, plays an important part in the diet. A source of lipoids /lipides/ and Vitamin A,

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

this is, because, to a Fang eye, polished brass looks *ndong* (handsome) and is attractive for trade. Vessels are usually placed on top of the fire and not suspended over it; vegetables are frequently placed in stews. No separate dwelling house exists for cooking, it is carried on in the dwelling house. The water used to wash a dirty pot with is often thrown out on the earth floor of the dwelling, children playing in the wet dirt. In all domestic matters the Fang are very filthy. I have on more than one occasion when inside a native hut seen children micturate and defecate on the earth floor close to where the mother was cooking, the women and men present taking very little notice, and only occasionally placing the child outside the door. Cooking is exclusively the duty of women, a *real* man will not cook. Food is often highly seasoned with hot native red and green peppers, and food thus prepared is much appreciated. The food is usually well cooked through, with the exception of plantains which are often only half boiled and served quite hard. Large round stones are used for rubbing and reducing to powder gourd seeds and various tubers. Smoking and salting are the only methods practised for preserving food, and on account of the value of salt and the difficulty of transporting it inland, it is seldom thus employed.

Drinks.—Rum has been carried from the coast by white traders and natives far inland and is used whenever obtainable, but the chief drink is cold water. Palm wine is made called *ewpoh*. Except in places where a trade factory existed I have seen very few cases of intoxication among the Fang, but when they can obtain rum it seems to completely demoralize them. Tea and coffee are known to people living near white settlers. When a party of headmen and others have taken a meal at the mission house, tea and coffee were greatly enjoyed and cups frequently re-filled. The first meal is usually about eight or nine o'clock; the natives think the white man eats very early; a mid-day meal is served and the evening repast is usually about sunset.

Food is frequently brought to the men inside the *ebong* (palaver house); at other times an entire family eats together inside the dwelling house. No ceremonies whatever precede the commencement of meals. When a son is born, or on the occasion of a wedding, and after some large palaver has been settled, a feast is usually given. Invited guests and strangers partake together with the town folk of the food prepared; it is usually served on the earth floor of the palaver house, on plantain leaves, and in cooking pots, each person helping himself. The women do not eat with the men inside the palaver house.

Mode of preparing Meat.

Ba da ndim ewoi, e vim a ne ndatil: a kapa bone ndin ndin, he kili ndo: he ndii ne ope: he ndo ndidi: he kini ope ndab ati he ndon ndum: kitte tpoh: kapa ved: he kapa mono ved: he kini ope ti ned: ndabe ji: ye ndi ned ndum: ewoi ndum ndum.

Drawing 1 Drawing 2

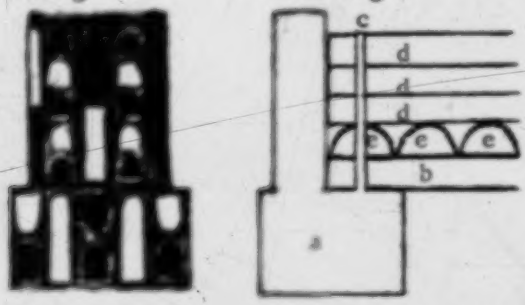


Fig. 29. Painted Socle of a Bench in a Meeting House, Fang Region.
Drawing 1, front view;
Drawing 2, side view.

In many meeting houses, furthermore, one secs /68/ a forge (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 b) and the tools used by a smith, namely, a bellows suspended from the roof (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 c) and a smith's stone (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 e) which at the same time is used as a whetstone and also as a fan for the fire (cyub e mdoan), Figure 32. Finally we must also mention the famous tobacco pipe made from the stem of a banana leaf, which is placed across two hooks in the wall.

It goes without saying that in addition to the above-mentioned furnishings there are all kinds of rubbish lying around in the house, such as half-finished baskets, fishing nets, tools, leftover food, and so forth, scarcely designed to give the whole a more attractive appearance. /Fig. 31 appears here in the original text./

The meeting houses are very seldom embellished with decorative bark, either on the outside (Fig. 33) or on the inside. More frequently, however, we find the bark walls, especially on the gabled sides,

Fig. 30. Rifle Rack, Engugumo, Fang.

/168/

• 276

Fig. 107. Wooden Tobacco Pipes.

[Sa]

Fig. 108. Bowls for Tobacco Pipe of Banana Leafstalks.
(a) Brass plate with a piece of banana leaf stalk; (b-d) clay.

273 273 times as powerful as usual, and the entire mixture was so strong that it caused violent dizziness and headache.

273 The palm wine which is obtained from the pith of a tree trunk that is cut down /169/ (mayɑ̃l k) -nkɑ̃k) keeps for 24 hours in the house. On the other hand, the wine made from the inflorescences keeps at most half a day, and in great heat it spoils very rapidly, as I observed; it does the same if one takes it along on a trip. For this reason I followed the rule in the palm wine region of always finishing a good wine immediately or at least as soon as possible.

As I have said, the Pangwe are, generally speaking, moderate drinkers, but among them there are also heavy drinkers who regularly get drunk on palm wine. I shall leave undecided the question [164] as to whether the widespread epilepsy (okũbũk) in the northern Pangwe region is a phenomenon resulting from excessive indulgence in palm wine on the part of the parents.

4. Tobacco.

276 249 Four varieties of tobacco, Nicotiana tabaccum L. (tɑ̃ III) (1)

1. The native term may have arisen from tabaco.

are found in the Pangwe region. Formerly there was a fifth variety, but its cultivation has been given up. /Fig. 109 appears here in the original text./ With the exception of two that are very similar, the tobacco varieties are easily distinguished by their leaves. The key for determining each is as follows.

A. Leaves are not alated, and the leafstalk is long and clearly defined: esɑ̃h (esɑ̃'h because of the similarity of the leaves to those of the Hibiscus sabdariffa L.)

B. Leaves are alated

(a) Leaves are narrow, lanceolated: sɑ̃mɑ̃ IV

(b) Leaves are broad, ovate

1. Blossoms are a bright pink, almost whitish, the leaves being comparatively wider than in the case of the following: mɑ̃ɑ̃ebɑ̃'ne I

2. Blossoms are dark pink to red, and the plants grow closer to the ground: mbo'mekónî I 276 249

Originally, the Pangwe were not passionate smokers, as a rule, although in every village one encounters old people who cannot live without their pipes. Over the whole region, especially in the north where the influence of the Whites is more predominant (for instance, among the Jaunde), the use of tobacco is rapidly increasing. The quality of imported tobacco and the great variety of pleasing shapes of the pipes for sale in the trading posts may be strong /170/ /Fig. 110 appears here in the original text/ contributing factors. 276 [77]

Fig. 109. Clay Tobacco Pipes.

Next to salt, "trade tobacco" is one of the principal trade articles. [93]

Tobacco is exclusively smoked in pipes; chewing or taking snuff is unknown. The Pangwe distinguish three forms of pipes. First there are short wooden pipes carved out of one piece (only among the Fang), ehûk-myôk (Fig. 107), and secondly, banana leafstalk types (mbo I; bowl, ohî'k). The latter consist of a piece of banana leafstalk or leaf ribbing, more than a meter long, and a bowl stuck on top of it which is made of the kernel of the raffia fruit, brass plate, or clay (Fig. 108). The stalk needs to be replaced from time to time. In almost every meeting house this form of pipe can be seen on the wall resting on two hooks, and it frequently goes the rounds among the men, on which occasion the chief is the first to draw from one to three deep puffs and then passes it on to his neighbor. The last man puts the pipe back on its rack. The third type of pipe

1: Tessmann--165 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

249
361
342

Fig. 110. Tobacco Planted in a Village Square.

• 276 (myô-taa) consists of a clay bowl and a wooden stem about 30 centimeters long, part of which has brass wire neatly wound around it (Fig. 109). Formerly, this pipe is supposed to have been as long as an arm among the Jaunde.

249 Proportionate to the indifferent habit of smoking is the indifferent care and affection with which the tobacco plant and its leaves are treated. Wherever a great deal of tobacco is imported by the trading houses, tobacco cultivation is completely neglected. /171/

Tobacco seeds are sown in whatever planting area happens to be convenient at the same time as the principal crop of the field is planted. Accordingly, the tobacco may be sown, for instance, with groundnuts twice a year. Frequently a small tobacco bed is laid out close to the village, or the seeds are planted next to the houses and sometimes on the village square (Fig. 110).

As soon as the plants attain a certain height, all the leaves except those on top are picked off. The top leaves are left so that the plant can continue to grow and bring forth blossoms and fruit. Then the leaves are harvested for the second time, and the fruit

has lived on human flesh, a piece of the flesh is found. That piece of flesh is taken out and put into an antelope horn together with scrapings of a vine called nzi bivur, a panther claw (dze nze), the talon of a sparrow hawk, and a firefly. The end of the horn is closed with the wax of white honey (eko abe).

The fetish thus made is either carried by the person who wishes to protect himself or is hung at the door of the hut. At night, if the bivur wish to enter the hut, the firefly will leave the horn and fly into the hut, giving warning of their approach. Then there is a battle (abal ngwel, the war of the ngwel) between the bivur and the horn fetish, from which the fetish almost always emerges victor.

III. The bieri. The bieri is a family fetish whose help must be sought before every important undertaking: hunting, fishing, a journey, choice of farm land, etc.,.., by the head of the family who owns the fetish.

It consists of the skull of a dead ancestor taken from the grave by a practitioner after the complete disappearance of the flesh. After having taken the skull, the practitioner goes into the forest and makes from the bark of a tree called andun (Berlinia sp.) a cylindrical box with a lid, big enough to hold the skull. The bottom of the box and the top of the lid are formed by a circular disc of wood nailed into the bark cylinder with little pegs of hard wood. The practitioner then cleans the skull and anoints it with an ointment of red wood sawdust (ba) and oil of raphia palm. The box is called meg and the skull sen bieri, the whole having the name of bieri. Into the box is also placed some red wood sawdust and a plant called nzen (a kind of fern), and sometimes also a little wooden bowl. The bieri thus made is put in a hidden place in the hut of the family head. It will speak in dreams to a family head whenever it wishes to notify a member of the family of some event. Sometimes a statuette roughly representing the person whose skull constitutes the main part of the fetish is put on the lid of the box. It is called nlu bieri (the head of the bieri).

No one may see the bieri unless he has eaten some alan (Strychnos icaja) in the course of a ceremony called ku melan. The heads of several families send the future initiates to look for roots of alan, of which they retain only the bark. Then in the morning each family head brings his bieri to a place prepared in advance in the bush near the

276 village which is called ngun [75] melan; he carries the bieri on his
778 shoulder and appears to collapse under its weight. That position is a
787 manner of worshipping the fetish. When everyone has gathered, animals, fowls, or kids are sacrificed; then, to the accompaniment of tomtoms, the neophytes dance, sing, and cry out, all the while chewing pieces of alan prepared the previous day. After a certain time, the effect of the root, combined with the excitement of the dances and songs, causes most of the participants of the celebration to become unconscious after many spasms. This unconsciousness may last two or three hours, during which the individuals retain a corpse-like stiffness. On awakening, each tells the elders what he has seen or what the bieri has told him in his dream. One may have been ordered to hunt, with the assurance of killing many antelope; another may have been warned of the impending death of a member of his family; still another may have been told of the imminent pregnancy of a brother's wife. All the Pahouin whom we have questioned state that predictions made by the bieri to people drunk with alan always come true.

Then the neophytes have the right to look at the bieri, whose boxes are open, making a vow not to speak of them to anyone who has not undergone the initiation of alan. Every uninitiated person who looks at a bieri falls ill, and only the care of a competent practitioner can prevent his death.

When a family head wants to supplicate his bieri, he sacrifices a
782 hen, a duck, or a kid, or offers it the hind leg of an animal killed in
778 the hunt, and pours blood on the skull. The meat is cooked in leaves by a woman, then taken to the bieri with stalks of manioc or a mash of bananas and water, by the one making the sacrifice. If, for example, the bieri is appealed to before a hunt, he who makes the sacrifice presents the food with these words:

"O tar ta mba bidzi olun wa to we nlem e to ma tune we yū, Binyu bon be wa y onzan vag bie betsir" (O father, see the good food, I want to dispel the anger that is in your heart. Your children die of want, give us meat).

778 Then he goes out of the hut because the bieri will not eat in the
782 presence of a living being. Several hours later he comes back to look
787 for the food left by the bieri. Its consumption, however, is not visible as it is accomplished immaterially. This food that has been brought to the watchers' hut [corps de garde] will be eaten only by the

769 number of prohibitions (with regard to the uninitiated and the
794 women) and obligations. It "separates" the initiated men, thus giving a privileged position — justified by the right to commune with the ancestors and to "see the Bièri" — to the most active elements of Fang society.

The initiation is particularly characterized (the culminating [276] moment of the series of ceremonies) by drunkenness produced by the plant alan, (1) which may result in long-lasting unconscious-

1. Strychnos icaja.

ness.(2) The newly initiated man at this juncture becomes certain

2. E. Trezenem, op. cit., III, Le Bièri, pp. 74-76.

that he has enjoyed a revelation and from then on is in communication with the ancestors. He experiences the fervor of a communion that binds him to the whole society whose effectiveness he discovers at the same time: he has in fact become the object of predictions that are always realized. (3) He asserts himself, if we

3. Cf. idem., p. 75: "All the Pahouins whom we questioned assert that predictions made to people drunk on alan by the bièri have always been realized.

may use the expression, as a full-fledged Fang. The Bièri cult assumes therefore the highest function of aggregation. We stress the fact that initiation is carried out in the same place for several of the nd'è bòt belonging to the same clan, thus strengthening the ties of kinship existing between closely related clan fragments, and tending to reconstitute, to make real, units larger than the individual groupings. On the other hand, initiation to this cult, [304 17] like circumcision (which takes place apart and appears to be a recent acquisition of the Fang), creates groupings of young men who belong appreciably to the same age group. It emphasizes a link between generations (the "fathers" or "eldest" being

[88] community. After another sacrifice, the bevɔ̂n were again confined inside the ésam sɔ̂, where initiates had dug a narrow passage and covered it with wattling and earth, the bottom strewn with thorns, crushed pimento, and warrior ants. The bevɔ̂n would receive final instructions, then, after taking mud baths, grunting like hogs, they had to crawl through the passage previously filled with smoke, while the minkpwangɔ̂s struck and pricked them with assagais through the cover; a mvɔ̂n who rose up or tried to escape was immediately killed by prisoners stationed outside the enclosure. This was the third stage, the true "death of the sɔ̂," awu sɔ̂.

After leaving the esam, the bevɔ̂n were supposed to be aggressive, teasing, to worry the other villagers, steal food, fowls, etc., tear down barriers, and in general behave like wild beasts. This period lasted for several days, preceding the sortie of the sɔ̂, akui sɔ̂, a parade of the group in war dress, carrying spears engraved with the distinctive clan mark, ndem, which had been consecrated during the initiation. A feast followed. For six months (mbu) afterward, the new initiates were still subject to certain sexual and food prohibitions, from which they were freed if they killed a man during the period. At the end /100/-of this waiting time, they went away, painted white, into seclusion for a night and came back painted red, making the rounds of the village nine times in procession. Then they bathed in a stream where fishing was afterward forbidden until the initiation of the next group, apparently.

A young man thus initiated became a mone wɔ̂sɔ̂, child of the death of the sɔ̂ (wu = to die; wɔ́ = to kill), thereafter ready for marriage, which would make him a complete man, nya mɔ̂sɔ̂. His [109] father might instruct him in the family cult, which till then he knew only in its externals; he was taught to identify the ancestral skulls kept in the biéti basket and to enter into communication with them [110] by means of the narcotic herb alan. Sometimes the instruction was given collectively in the melan rite, which, according to Stoll, complemented sɔ̂, the latter being androgynous, while the former was gynandrous. Sɔ̂ was to give creative power, melan fecundity and wealth. Melan has a medical aspect lacking in sɔ̂; the participation of women is greater. Some elements seem to have survived until the present day, whereas the last sɔ̂ ceremonies must have occurred about [114] 1940. Stoll gives a pretty full description in La tonétique des langues bantu ... du Cameroun /The Tonal System of the Bantu Languages ... of the Cameroons/ (no. 84).

551 of his descendants, in whose person he will be repeated rather than reembodied. It should be remembered that *ɲɔ́* also means "authority," a notion that cannot be dissociated from that of name.

744 The cessation of vital functions, awu (from wu, to die), is not
625 thought of as necessarily final; catalepsy, deep coma, anaesthesia, and real death are confused. It is evident that if the body is hurt during awu, a revival is impossible. A ghost, kɔ̂n (Fang, khum), is
754 not necessarily physically dead; one of the most feared forms of
81 sorcery, at which the bekɔ̂n are reputed to be particularly expert, consists of separating a person from his nsisim, shade or double, by giving him the appearance of physical death, then in awakening the body which will thereafter automatically obey the sorcerer's orders and may be used by him for all sorts of ends, to go kill or steal, or, more prosaically, to work his plantations. Persons thus transformed into bekɔ̂n are recognized by their pallor, jerky movements, and haggard expression; they survive the experience /operation/ for only a few months before dying in great physical and moral agony (1).

1. I have reason—but no proof—to believe that this is more than a myth; perhaps the criminal use of a narcotic producing effects similar to those of Pentothal. A kɔ̂n, frightful to see, died at the Sangmélima dispensary in 1947. The judicial inquiry revealed nothing.

761 Death in the complete sense does not occur for some time after the cessation of vital functions, and funeral rites seem to have had the purpose of detaching the individual from his mortal shell. There
76 were two abodes of the dead. The bemia, those unblemished by ngɔ́wel (sorcery by évu), crossed the river-of-the-west or the sea to go to the village of Zámbe (Zobeyo, Nzame) in a cold country where their nsisim led a life rather like that in a terrestrial village where everything goes well (2). The beyem went down to éɔ̂ɔlan, the

2. According to Trilles, this would have been Venus, otya alu, "the night's torch."

The figure was placed on the new group's first family altar, and so afterwards were the skulls of the founder and of the benya bôñ of succeeding generations. A full bifti basket was the sign of a group's antiquity, which doubtless implied prestige more than genuine authority, yet nevertheless represented the nearest approach to political authority that existed in the Fang group, particularly if one takes into account the fact that officials of interclan associations were chosen from among the owners of many skulls, whence prestige extended to a large number of mvôk or meyom. The prestige of the living was exerted through the authority of the dead.

Skulls were, indeed, the seat or receptacle of the individual's capacity for action (we must remember that bo = to make, boo = brain), and the use of skulls in the practice of magic was not confined to ancestral skulls only: the skulls of enemies killed in battle or sacrificed in anthropophagous ceremonies before or afterward were preserved, and so were those stolen from neighbors. In the same way the skulls of the kinds of animals desired were used for hunting rites. However, it seems that a distinction was made between family skulls and outsiders' skulls, only the first having a place in the ewolé bifti and appearing in family rites. The power of the skulls was increased by sprinkling them with sacrificial blood.

When a youth reached nya mbôñ age he had to learn to recognize his ancestors so as to be able to ask for their help when the occasion arose. Their skulls were shown to him until he could identify them individually and put them in the correct genealogical order. When he was able to do this, he was given a brew of the narcotic herb alan, then spent a night in the bifti hut, facing the skulls, which had been removed from the ewolé and placed on the altar on which strongly scented plants were burned. During the night the ancestors appeared and gave him a cognomen and imposed one or more new taboos (at the same time he was relieved of certain prohibitions connected with age). Apparently it was during this initiation that his individual totem was revealed (if it was indeed a totem).

This question of the totem is very poorly elucidated, in spite of some 600 pages devoted to the subject by Father Trilles. He distinguishes between clan, segment, individual, family, and society totems, etc. He also distinguishes a tutelary being, mvame, from the "effect of a tutelary being"; akam, an animal totem, from a dedicated animal or an incarnation of a man in an animal, etc. He

rite, and event in life, of which the orchestral element as well as the dance movements and costumes had a very precise symbolical meaning. Many of these dances have died out, either because they have lost their raison d'être (as with war and initiation dances, etc.) or because they have been prohibited by the administration and especially by the missions as obscene or pagan (fertility, funeral, medical dances, etc.). Those that survive have now a recreational or purely artistic character, which was only secondary before. It is significant that the number of dances in which both sexes take part has considerably increased and that nearly all are now open to the public and may be seen by spectators of any age or sex.

In spite of this falling off, there is still a large number and variety of dances. Among the most widespread may be mentioned:

ôsia, an old fertility dance, especially among the Fang and Nkoumou; an orchestra of vertical drums, mbae and ngom, with "spoken" accompaniment of the drum-telephone, nkul; it is danced by professionals (women initiates of mevungu?) with bare torso, vegetable rattles at the ankles, unsewn wildcatskin skirts, wooden masks on the left arm; the leading dancer, ôsua njem, inserts a horn into her vagina during the dance; the dancers apparently drug themselves with a decoction containing (notably) Indian hemp; the missions have forbidden this dance, and this has provoked several incidents.

menjal, called thus because the dance is accompanied by an orchestra of balafos; it is widespread except, perhaps, among the Boulou; it is performed by the young girls and little girls of a village; each village has its own tune and special costume consisting of a belt of raffia fiber, skirt and cap in "pastry-cook" style in the village colors, with a brassière worn in Christian villages.

ényengé, sometimes called njeman fulutita, a Protestant dance (it must have been inspired by Swedish gymnastics used by a German-American M. P. A. /American Presbyterian mission?/ missionary to provide a substitute for "immoral" dances; si non è vero...), found especially among the Boulou but extending into northern Gabon under the aegis of the Movement for Regrouping Pahouin; it is a dance performed by young women and girls with a male leader, niebe njeman, who conducts with a whistle; an orchestra of drums, nkul, mbae, and ngom, rattles

779 that would be against totemic law and would mean sacrilege.
721 In order to avoid this ritual offense, which would necessitate ex-
782 piation and would necessitate expiation and would furthermore wipe out all the efficacy of the sacrifice, the chief first of all approaches [551] the victim, and asks his name, race, and tribe. Is there no obstacle to the sacrifice? "A ne mvè," he cries, "a ne nwuba (he is good, he is 'dedicated')!" The man is then tied to the foot of the altar and very rarely does he re-
[54] sist. All Africans resign themselves to death with almost unconscious ease, when they see that it is inevitable. (1)

1. In certain villages I have sometimes met such men destined for sacrifice, because they are often kept for many weeks. They walked around in the villages, apparently free, well fed, and well treated; the only sign of their captivity was a rather light block of wood well fastened to one of their feet, which they dragged along. Within the village this shackle was not much of an encumbrance, but in the forest it would have been an almost insurmountable obstacle to flight. Countless times, I have offered either to help them escape or to have the colonial authority free them. "What for?" they used to reply: "I'm well fed and treated; death is going to come anyway. Awu nzu mbèmbè! (What's the use!)"

So as to prevent any possible struggle, the evening before,
• [276] the victim is given an intoxicating beverage, containing mostly the juice of ebè and of yam (hemp). As soon as he has been
779 tied to the altar, and the chief has pronounced the ritual words,
721 the warriors start putting on their war dress. First they paint
782 their bodies red with baza (1) dye, and upon this first layer they
302
386

1. Pterocarpus angolensis: the wood is

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

X.—*Food. Cooking.*

Food used by the Fang is precisely similar to that of all other tribes inhabiting the great zone of palms and bananas as described by Humboldt. Added to these ordinary foods of the Fang is their liking for human flesh, indulged in to this day in spite of the law, which is often powerless to reach and punish the offenders. Cassava, *odzé*, plantains, *bikwa*, crushed guard *kwala*, *ngongwa*, corn; *ombale*, a most nutritive tuber, sweet potatoes, yams, palm oil, bananas, snails and various molluscs. Fish is wrapped in plantain leaves and boiled, or set on hot ashes and fire piled on top of the bundle of food. All kinds of meat is eaten, from deer down to the smallest bush rat; snakes are considered very good meat. No portion is wasted, every morsel of skin and intestines are eaten. Goats and chickens are raised for food and trade. Corn or other cereals are not used for the purpose of making bread. Milk is not used. Preparations of milk such as butter and cheese are not made. There is a marked preference for meats. When an animal is slaughtered, women bring wooden bowls to collect the blood in. The blood is often cooked mixed with palm oil. A Fang will eat almost any kind of known food and at any time, providing it is not his *Bbi* or taboo, given him during infancy, prohibiting the eating of a certain kind of food, unless partaken of under certain conditions. Except for the *Bbi* men, women and children partake of the same food. The Fang are improvident. When on long journeys they often chew a piece of Kola nut, but more commonly chew pieces of a certain root; it has several different names. Palm oil is extensively used in cooking. Salt (*ndo*) is much enjoyed and sought after in trade. Sugar is only used in the form of sugar cane and eaten uncooked. The chiefs, or rather headmen, have no special form of food. Eating earth is not indulged in. So far as I am aware, all fish, flesh and fowl is cooked before being eaten. Flesh is often extremely high, at times positively bad, before it is eaten, but not one morsel is ever wasted.

Fish, fowl, bush rats, snakes and all kinds of meats are smoked or sun-dried; food prepared thus is carried on journeys in the bush wrapped in leaves and eaten with *ndoe* (cassava) without any further preparation. Permanent ovens for baking are not in use. Meat is roasted on small spits over the log fire or wrapped up in leaves and hot ashes heaped around and on top of it. Native vegetables are frequently cooked with meats, plantains are usually boiled separately or roasted close to the fire. Most cooking utensils used by the Fang near the coast are iron or brass pots, imported by white traders; but farther inland the native pots are much more in vogue. These native pots are made of grey clay and sun-dried; they become harder and stronger by use, and vary in size and capacity from a pint to about three gallons.

Cooking vessels are not kept very clean, being simply rinsed out with a little water; but if the vessel is a brass trade pot or kettle, it is usually taken to the river or a near stream, and scoured bright; but I fear the chief reason for doing

244 3. undindôle III: leafstalks bluish, underside of leaf along each side of the ribs has dark green lichenous excrescences.

Taro is planted twice, in the long and short rainy seasons, and it is harvested twice, in the following long and short dry seasons. All the tubers are removed from the soil, and the farm is thus harvested completely. If any tubers are forgotten, they are picked up during the next dry season, but that is the end; there are never more than two harvests from the same sowing. A piece of land once used for taro is never cultivated a second time since enough swampy soil
719 is available. There are no medicines to promote the growth of taro.

The tubers and young leaves are eaten as vegetables. Furthermore, the Pangwe are familiar with the fact that insufficiently boiled tubers cause "mefêl," that is, itching in the neck, and so forth. The tubers are also used as medicine for blood tumors (mvim); the
757 resin-like secretion of the Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl., Burseraceae
278 (ambê), is placed on the swelling, and over this is smeared a salve made from the parings of raw taro tubers. This is supposed to make the diseased areas become "mfgan," that is, weak or soft.

Plantain

245 The shoots of the plantain, as well as of the banana which is cultivated alongside it, are planted around the village or on farms. They thrive without care and ripen during each season of the year. The plantain (1) or Negro banana, Musa paradisiaca L. (ekôn).

> 1. The /German/ word Plante is derived from "plantain" which in turn comes from the Spanish plátano, "banana." Since the plantain is very different from the true banana, I consider the retention of the word "plantain" useful. The French call it banane-cochon.

Figure 56, which in the Pangwe region has 25 different varieties, does not, to be sure, attain the luxuriance of the banana which grows like a weed. Nevertheless, it is very productive, just the plant for a Negro.

Fig. 57. Sheep, Village of Makonanâm (Ojek Family).

appears here in the original text/ a moan similar to that made by a human being. This moaning is so nerve-racking that it may bring tears to one's eyes. In regions where there are leopards, [417] pens (Fig. 58) are built of logs, and the goats and sheep are driven into them at night.

In the Pangwe region castration is practiced only on goats, not sheep; a tib miak - to hollow out (the scrotum) (in order) to geld. Goats are castrated "so that they will become enormous and put on much fat." The procedure is very crude. The ex- [304] pert, who frequently circumcises the children at the same time, opens the young animals' scrotum by means of two lateral cuts with a razor blade (okodgõn) and takes out the testicles. The scrotum is then washed out with warm water several times a day for four days. The water is mixed with a medicine, the sap of [278 the Guttifera Haronga paniculata Pers. (Loid.) (atũ ĩ h), pre- [124] sumably to glue the scrotum together (the tree sweats a sticky yellow sap under the bark, and this is extracted by putting pieces of bark in water).

7. Fish poison (ngŭ̄m IV)

236 •278 Catching fish by poisoning the water is a practice that is universal throughout the Pangwe region, but it is not done frequently because suitable places are not found everywhere. Such places are basins or inlets closed off by rocks, where the stream flows slowly. The Distichodus hypostomatus Pellegr. /Fig. 59 appears here in the original text/ (mbŏ́ŋ). Plate 9, find: a habitat especially to its liking between the rocks in these basins and inlets, and it is caught there chiefly by poisoning. The name is derived from an herb (ngŭ̄m) which is supposed to occur in the Jaunde region and is used there for killing fish. Subsequently, the name became a general word for all fish poisons. In the south the following plants are used as poisons.

1. Husks of the Leguminosae Pachyelasma tessmannii Harms (makŏ́ŋ III which gives off a terrible stench like that of waste water. /112/
2. Fruit of a Rubiacea (oyŏ́), commonly used with 1 above.
3. Leaves and stalks of the Passifloraceae Ophiocaulon cissampeloides Hook. f. and Adenia lobata (Jacq.) Engl. (their name in common, undŏndŭ or ŭndŏndŏle a ndzĭk).
4. Leaves of Duvernonia extensa (T. And.) Lieb., Acanthacea (ngŭnekiā̆ī'-nya-zĕm IV) (1)

[227]

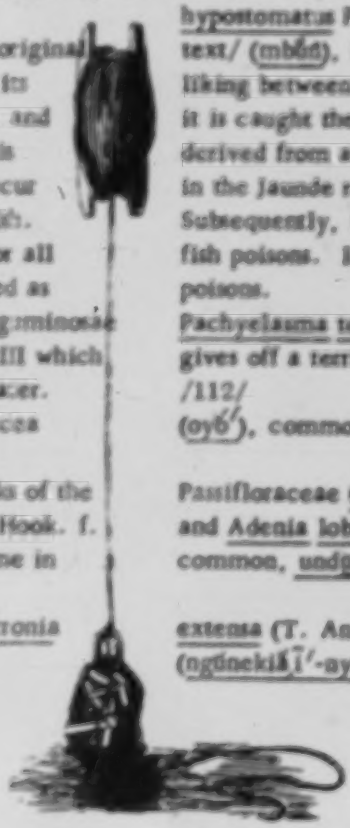


Fig. 59. Fishing Line.

1. The Acanthacea Lankesteria elegans (P.B.) T. And. (ngŭnekiā̆ī' IV) also seems to be poisonous for fish. According to information given by the Negroes,

226
•278

the leaves are rubbed to a power on rocks lying in the water; the fish (probably stupefied) then come to the surface and are killed with the cutlass.

rubbed into small pieces until foam forms; ordinarily used with 3 above.

5. Pieces of bark of the Piptadenia africana Hook. f., Leguminosae (tʉ̄m IV).
6. Pieces of bark of the Rinorea dentata (P. B.) O. Ktze., Violaceae (olʉ̄ h), commonly used with 5 above.
7. Husks of the Leguminosae Tetrapleura thonningii Hook. f. (agbwā' III, asiā'i) (2), rubbed to a powder.

2. Incidentally, these give off a lovely scent, like that of hot rolls, and in this respect they are just the opposite of Pachyelasma.

8. Leaves of the Leguminosae Tephrosia vogelii Hook. f. (ndǎwóō III) (3), rubbed to a powder.

3. From the stem a wóō, "to murder"; compare wǒle (Uelle), "the murderer."

7. Fish weir (olǎ'm)

227

The greatest and most productive installation for catching fish, also the most complicated, is the fish weir (Fig. 60). It blocks the river crosswise and consists of three parts: the main weir (a), and two lateral weirs (b). These are walls made of logs or sticks placed close together, between which leaves or sheets of bark (main weir) are fastened. /Fig. 60 appears here in the original text./ Holes are cut out along the bottom of the lateral weirs, and baskets are placed in them. Just below the surface of the water the main weir extends into from one to four triangular screens (c) which are placed toward the current, slanting from the bottom

441 upper end it thickens out into the shape of a duck's head and is provided with a square hole all the way through the wood for the bow. The remaining part of the shaft is divided into two leaves by a longitudinal cut down the side; of these leaves, the upper one, about a hand's breadth below the thicker end of the shaft, has a cruciform incision such that the transverse arm of the cross goes through only half the thickness of the wood and thus forms a notch, while the vertical arm of the cross goes through the entire thickness of the wood and thus forms a hole. A peg of the lower leaf, shaped to match, is fitted into this hole. The notch is designed for the bowstring. In front of it, a longitudinal groove from six to eight centimeters long is cut into the shaft; this is filled with beeswax and is where the arrow rests.

In order to draw the crossbow, one takes the shaft under his right arm, plants the knee firmly against the bow, grasps the bowstring with his hand, and draws it into the notch. In so doing, the peg, and with it the entire lower leaf, is pressed slightly downwards.

In the shooting position (Fig. 90) one raises the crossbow to shoulder level, supports it approximately in the middle with the left hand, and with the right hand presses the two shaft leaves together in the back. In this way, the peg moves into the hole and forces the bowstring out, propelling the missile with great force. /141/

/Fig. 89 appears here in the original text./

441 The short arrows (ebɔ́). Figure 89 g, which are carried in at-
834 tractive quivers (kɩ̄ɩ̄ IV) made of animal hide (Figure 89 f) or in little bark boxes, are made of the bark of raffia leafstalks and split just before the lower end, so that /142/ /Fig. 90 appears here in the original text/ a triangular piece of leaf (ndū́-mbɩ̄n IV) from the Menispermacea Penianthus longifolius Miers. (ndū-mbɩ̄n), more rarely from the Flacourtiacea Lindackeria dentata (Oliv.) Gilg (nɩ̄m e ndū) (1) and, in case of extreme need, from the Sarcophrynium,

1. nɩ̄m = man, that is, male ndū́ (mbaa).

[278] can be pushed into it to give it balance in flight. The tip is poisoned with a salve made of pulverized Strophanthus seeds (2).

2. Probably Strophanthus kombe Oliv. (enfɛ).

3. Care of the body.

515 By and large, the Pangwe may be called a very clean people,
559 cleaner than many European peoples. The majority wash and bathe very frequently, and the following proverb shows how a person who does not wash is judged:

otɨ̄ kɨ̄-mɨ̄ɔ̄	a	ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́;	kɔ̄		mɔ̄ɔ̄	
Old pocket (1)	she	said thus:	if now there is		rain	

[195] 1. A common term of abuse for men, similar to our "old hag" for women.

a	bɔ́ɔ́e	ma,	ngɔ̄ɔ́na	a	wɔ́ɔ́an	e	madɨ̄m	a
it	was	me,	time	to	wash	in the	water,	it

ɔ́	ma	anɨ̄
was	for me	just!

That is: "The rain came just in time, it was high time for a bath."

164 The many skin diseases, from which younger people suffer
515 with special frequency, seem to have causes other than uncleanliness, /187/ although it must be admitted that among many Negroes there is an incredible indifference with respect to the care of the body, treatment of wounds, and parasites. In general, however, one can only praise the Pangwe for their cleanliness.

515 Formerly, even soap, made from a Rubiacea (ogbwɨ́m Fang,
319 ogbwɨ̄mɨ̄ Ntum), was customarily used for washing bark cloth.
324

515 There are no fleas, but on the other hand there are vast num-
● 278 bers of lice which are picked off and killed by biting them -- the
824 women swallow them at the same time. They are also killed by special medicines. These medicines are made with raffia palm oil which is rubbed on the skin and which the lice do not like to begin with. To the oil is added charred and ground plantain skins or the ground and subsequently dried roots of the Apocynacea Doacanga diplochlamys K. Sch. (oɨ̄ metɨ̄ Ntum), ground leaves and blossoms of the Simarubacea Quassia africana Baill. (ɨ́ɔ́ɨ-eɨ́), and ground leaves of the Malpigiacea Heteropteris africana A. Juss.

(mfém-ɛ-ndɔk IV) and the Simaroubacea Odyendea gabonensis (Pierre) Engl. (ondɔk). Furthermore, the Leguminosa Tephrosia vogelii H. f. (ndɔwɔ III) and the Ochnacea Lophira alata Banks (ɔbɔ̃ɔ) are put on the hair. /Fig. 138 appears here in the original text. /

In the helmet hairdo, under whose thick pads the lice cannot be reached by hand, they are killed by a special procedure. "Lice caps" made of plantain leaves and tightly fitted are placed

Fig. 138. Ntum Woman from the Campo Region.

on the head after the bark of the Flacourtiacea Caloncoba welwitschii (Oliv.) Gilg (mɛ̃ɛ̃megɔ̃mo III) has been put in it, the bark having first been scraped off and moistened.

The hairdos are always greased with oil; also short hair is tended very carefully, moistened with oil and combed out. There are two /188/ kinds of comb (mvɔ̃s IV), those carved entirely out

754 or to make him ill, he prepares a medicine which serves to strengthen his ewu and, at the same time to stimulate it anew and in a particular way for the occasion to point out the direction of the victim and to provide the power for the sorcery. In this way also, the cult figures were transformed by a medicine into active magical beings. From the sequence of medicine, ewu, object of the sorcery, the ewu was later omitted, so only the direct effect of the medicine on the object remains. Thus, instead of killing through sorcery, we have direct poisoning. Among the Pangwe these things are as yet still confused. Only among the Jaunde does there appear to be the beginning of a separation between the two, inasmuch as they do not unquestioningly surrender to their fate, but instead attempt to investigate the poisoning and to find and punish the murderer. In so doing, however, barely escaping this Charybdis, they are caught on the Scylla of legal murder; in view of the difficulty of finding the culprit, they proceed in a [442] very summary manner. If, for example, a chief dies, presumably poisoned by one of his wives, all of them or at least very many of them will be punished by death.

754 278 The most common sorcerous medicine used for poisoning is nǎǵ, with which we are already acquainted as a medicine for giving power to the cult figures. It is prepared in three different ways, as white, red and black nǎǵ. As a rule, all three contain toad poison. In addition, the white one usually contains:

1. fine, sharp-edged splinters of grated cowry shells, mica (ebǎb e dzǒb, "scales of heaven"), or glass;

2. skull bones of a man who has been dead for a month and who must have died on the same day that he was taken ill;

[825] 3. toad, Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (mvǔh) dried and grated;

4. lizard, Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (ebǒmakǔkǔ'), prepared in the same way (see "Religion" /Ed., not translated/); /146/

5. the poisonous roots of the Dioscorea macroura Harms (dzǒk IV), dried over a fire and grated;

6. poisonous hairs of the Leguminosa Mucuna pruriens D.C. (akǔ'n' elǒesǒ', that is, leaves from the Sso, e.g., leaves of death); at times also

7. scraped and charred rind of the Leguminosa Detarium macrocarpum Harms (enǔk), with whose symbolic significance

we are already familiar.

Another mixture consisted of ground mica, a toad, and ground snake fangs.

The red nlɛ̃ usually contains:

1. Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (see above);
2. a red crab from the forest (nkɔ̃ɔ̃ɛ̃le kɛ̃ɛ̃dɔ̃) (1);

1. The animal is supposed to make a sound that is reproduced by ɛ̃ɛ̃ ɛ̃ɛ̃.

3. a kind of scorpion (nsiɔ̃ɔ̃), ground,
4. a chameleon, ground;
5. Mucuna pruriens D.C. (see above).

The black nlɛ̃ contains:

1. ngɔ̃-akɔ̃ɔ̃k or ekɔ̃l-akɔ̃ɔ̃k, fungus soil dried and ground;
2. akɛ̃n, a fungus growth that lives under water, which is supposed to be very poisonous;
3. nlɔ̃ɔ̃ho ngɔ̃ɔ̃n, a centipede which is greatly feared because of its poison.

The preparation of nlɛ̃ is carried out in the most ingenious manner by expert medicine men. For this purpose, the men sew for themselves a special suit made of the bark of the ondɛ̃m tree (Fig. 50). This suit resembles a long shirt and leaves only the head and hands exposed; these parts of the body are then rubbed with an extract of Heckeria subpeltata (Wild.) Kunth (abɛ̃mɛ̃dxɔ̃ɔ̃). principally in order to protect them against the very poisonous hairs of the Mucuna that fly about. With this preparation, the poison mixers proceed to pound the dried components in a pot and and to mix them by stirring. For this purpose they use a long stick so that they can stay as far away as possible from the poisonous mixture. Indeed, they go even further and call upon old leprous persons to collect and pour the poison into little horns or bags (Fig. 51), since in their case it would not matter if in the process they were to become sick or even die.

754 278 The finished mixture is a bone-dry and extremely fine powder. It is not immediately put to use, but first tried out on dogs. By leaving out certain ingredients, such as the Mucuna hairs, or by means of other combinations, the poison mixers -- so various informants emphatically affirm -- are able to shorten or lengthen the victim's period of suffering at will or to produce only illness without fatal results. /147/

The medicine sold by the medicine men (because of its tendency to decompose rather rapidly, it does not keep very long) is used in the following ways. Either it is mixed with the food or sprinkled on the head of the bed or the floor -- merely inhaling the stuff, it is said, produces severe illness. Otherwise it is buried near the surface where the victim usually sits. The Ntum, furthermore, mix the poison with the pulverized resin of Albizzia [8:4] fastigiata Oliv. (esǎ'jěme) and then place in it for five days the [4:1] pieces of iron with which they load their rifles.

754 674 Concerning the frequency of secret murder by "sorcery" or murder by poisoning, Europeans certainly have no accurate /Fig. 50 appears here in the original text/ conception, since without further ado we tend to ascribe deaths in the unhealthy regions of tropical Africa to malaria. At the same time, the importance, even for us, of investigating this matter precisely is demonstrated by the following fact. In the small Campo region (disregarding the coastal strip), which has been visited by Whites only in the last few years, no less than six merchants have been poisoned within this short period of time, attempts were made to poison two others.

The effects of the medicine of sorcery, whenever it is a question of poisoning in our /Fig. 51 appears here in the original text/ sense of the term, for instance, poisoning food, depend on its composition. According to descriptions, it produces either terrible pains in the abdomen, as though "fire were penetrating the bowels," or the symptoms are those of blackwater fever, among others, dark urine, or it produces paralysis; thus, there is a great variety of effects so that correct diagnosis is extraordinarily difficult.

278 757 If someone believes he has been poisoned or exposed to poisoning, he employs special antidotes concerning whose value

[Text continues on page 9]

292
287
754

/147/

Fig. 50. Shirt for Mixers of Poisons, Akonangí (Essandun Family), Ntum.

415
278

Fig. 51. Brass Container for Poison, Mandúmu (Ojek Family).

278 I am, of course, unable to judge. /148/

757 In the class of preventives are the leaves of Phyllanthus
[751] gracilipes Pax (esǎ́n elǐ), which are eaten whole or ground. As an antidote for poison in food, the Jaunde use the Corynanthe pachyceras K. Sch. (evē) and the Sida acuta L. var. carpinifolia K. Schum. (sǐ'sǐm IV), the leaves being ground and eaten. In the Fang region a medicine consisting of the following ingredients is used:

1. Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth (abǒ'mědzǎ'n), the leaves or stalks ground;
2. ripe bananas (adžūe) cut in pieces;
3. Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edzō'le), bark scraped off;
4. Pachylobus macrophyllus Oliv. (andǒlǒ'm), bark scraped off;
5. Abrus pulchellus Wall. (ozē'zǒge III, eloensǔ, "herb to counteract nsǔ"), leaves ground;
6. Desplatsia dewevrei De Wild et Burs. (afǒnǒk), bark scraped off.

These six ingredients are placed in water, and then the extract is drunk. As an antidote for poisoned bullets, the first three of the above are mixed together, and the mixture is eaten dry.

A further use of nsǔ is called zō, from zǒ, "leopard," be-
754 cause the whiskers of the leopard are used for it. Just as the leopard tracks its victim /Fig. 52 appears here in the original text/ by means of its whiskers and then treacherously pounces on it, the zō thrower wants the same effect. A piece of such a whisker about half a centimeter long is drawn through a fruit of the umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br. (asǒ'n), Figure 52, to form a small missile which is dipped in the magic medicine and then hurled at the opponent. If it hits the opponent's skin, he is supposed to get sick and die within three to six days. I myself once had an experiment performed with this "poisoning" -- something I felt justified in doing in view of the natives' conviction concerning its purely mystical effectiveness. Naturally the experiment was unsuccessful. Meanwhile, this did not disconcert my informant; he thought that perhaps the medicine he had been given was not the right one. Aside from being put on whiskers,
[674] nsǔ is also sprinkled on darts which are shot from ambush when the

754 enemy happens to be dancing with other people at some festivity
674 and in the general excitement does not notice when the missile hits him.

As a preventive against zõ, a medicine is recommended
754 which consists of:
751
778

1. Albizzia fastigiata (E. Mey.) Oliv. (sõ'ne), ground resin;
2. Musanga smithii R. Br., ground involucral leaf (it is slippery); /149/
3. Pouzolzia guineensis Benth, Urticacea (mbõanĕ III), its leaves ground;

Fig. 52. Magic Medicine of a Sö Thrower, i.e., a Sorcerer or Poisoner.

4. Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth. (abõ'mĕdzä'n), stalk scraped off;
5. Corynanthe pachyceras K. Sch. (evĕ), its leaves ground;
6. an unidentifiable Euphorbiacea (avõ), its leaves ground.

This medicine is added to the red wood which is smeared on
[302] the body as a festive decoration.

2. Medicines for Acquiring Luck and Warding Off Misfortune

777
751

I combine these apparently different medicines because there is a number of them that serve both purposes, the acquisition of good fortune and protection against misfortune. Medicines for warfare, for instance, give one unerring aim as well as protection against bullets. The majority, to be sure, are specific means for obtaining luck or warding off misfortune. The Pangwe designate them as biä,n because they are intended to guard against an illness, for he conceives misfortune or the endangering of his good fortune as an illness. We shall do best to take over this conception and to call these devices "medicines." The medicines for good luck are supposed to bring, above all, wealth and good fortune in love, shooting, setting traps, catching fish, and wrestling. The medicines for wealth (biä,n akū'ma) are based in part on the

754 It is not the bark container known to us from Malan that is
777 used to keep the Mekuk skulls, but rather a chamber dug under the floor of the house (Fig. 53). I saw a bark box used only once, placed on tall props reaching almost to the roof. The chest is divided into two sections by means of a dip in the bottom, and it is carefully leveled and smeared with red wood (hence, the name atum from atúm, "section, /151/ /Fig. 53 appears here in the original text/ room," which refers to the entire medicine); it is covered up by a piece of bark and a thin layer of dirt and thus remains hidden from strangers' eyes. Frequently a chest is placed over it also, or the little underground chamber is located under a bed. On the step-like raised part the medicines (b) are kept inside a circle made of plantain pieces (a); these medicines include nsŭ, above all, and furthermore bark scraped off the Passifloraceae
[278] Ophiocaulon cissampeloides Hook f. and Adenia lobata (Jacq.) Engl. (undŏndŏle a ndžik) (1), leaves of evŭlĕme or ayŏne-beyu,

1. Also used as fish poison (see Vol. I, p. 83).

important because of the nodules in the leaves which make them look perforated like the ewu of a dead magician, and other things. Below the step the skulls (c) are set up in a semicircle so that they face the medicine.

[769] The skulls are cared for in a manner similar to the customary manner of treating the Malan skulls. Unlike the latter, they are not served food every day, but nevertheless frequently; sometimes chickens are slaughtered for them, and they are bathed in chicken blood and have chicken meat set before them.

[184] This medicine, which is unknown in the northern region (Jaunde), is quite widespread among the Fang and is the subject of many tales and stories which make all light men /Ed., men with light skin color?/ break out in a cold sweat. My boys were so excited by the
[152] stories that they maintained they could not sleep if they kept thinking of these hideous Mekuk. Thus it is told, among other things, that the Mekuk walk up and down in their little room at night and make a hullabaloo or even come out of their room and thrash

759 serious illness, an advance payment is not customary; only now and then the medicine man receives a small present, especially since he knows an almost inexhaustible number of remedies. If every remedy is of no avail or should the sick man die, the medicine man will not demand a fee simply from a sense of tact and compassion -- "so that the hearts of the relatives will not be afflicted even more." On the other hand, if there is an improvement, he receives five spears if he lives in the same village and ten spears if he has been called in from outside.

I have nothing to report concerning any ceremonies held during the cure.

Leprosy (zǎm), Figure 63

757 The spots of leprosy -- which appear yellow on the black skin of the natives -- are rubbed with the rough leaves of the Ficus
278 exasperata Vahl (ekōkō' Fang) or the stalks of the Manniophyton africanum Muell. Arg. (angū's Ntum) until /172/ /Fig. 63 appears here in the original text/ blood appears. The following medicines are then dried and ground: Microglossa afzelii O. Hoffmann (ojǎń e ndžīk); plantain peel (oyīna ekōn); and Diospyros ampullacea Gürke (efīfī'di), leaves or bark. These are rubbed on the body with resin of Xylopia aethiopica A. Rich. (ojǎn) and oil from the seeds of Mimusops djave (mbǒn adžǎb). When the cure begins, a tree fungus is added. A second medicine is the following. After the same preparatory treatment, a tree fungus and bark from Pachyelasma tessmannii Harms (makō/ō III) and from an undetermined Rubiacea (oyǒ') are burned together to an ash and rubbed on the body with shea butter oil or raffia palm oil or oil from Carapa procera D.C. (eńgǎ'n). A third recipe recommends leaves of Microglossa afzelii and Phaulopsis longifolius Smis. (ošū,rū-elōk III) to be placed on the leprous spots. The leaves of the last-named plant are also taken as a preventive after being ground and boiled in the food with an egg (bundle form). In some regions the spots are burned out with a glowing iron, and then the ground leaves of the Apocynacea Psychotria coffeosperma K. Sch. (otšīmažǒe' III), together with oil, are put on the spots; or the burned spots are washed with a hot extract of the bark of Eurypetalum tessmannii

2 Tessmann--43 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

357
278
[342]

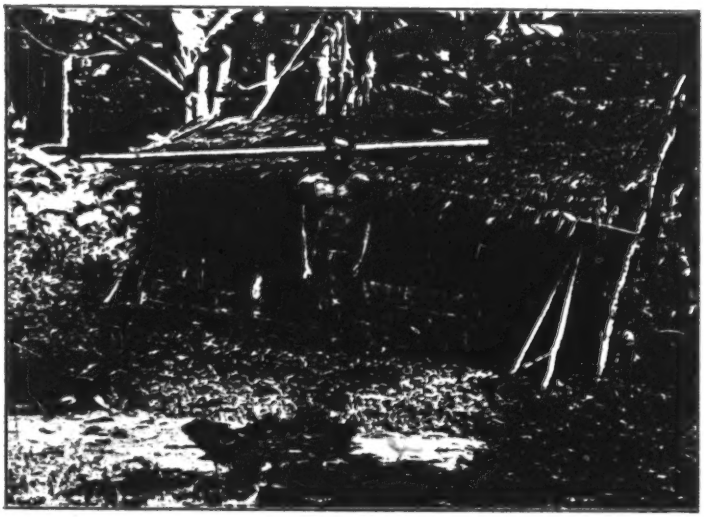


Fig. 63. Leper in front of his Hut, Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

Harms (andzītsīn), whole leaves of the Phaulopsis or ground leaves of cassava (Manihot utilissima) and Emilia sagittata L. (alōmvū III) are pressed on the spots, and over them is sprinkled a powder made of the dried and charred roots and stems of the Asystasia macrophylla T. And. /173/ (elōbokūi). Shortly before the complete healing of the spots, the fruit of Solanum aethiopicum L. var. (ndzē̱i-žū̱m) is pressed on them so they will become as black as the fruit.

For the later stage of the illness, in which the festering boils form, the following prescription is used: leaves of the Bidens bipinnatus L. (aniō̱ń), leaves of the Brillantaisia vogeliana Bth. ebūgebō̱ń), and pieces of bark of Ficus exasperata are boiled together in water; the water is then poured into a leaf vessel and left to stand until it is lukewarm; then the leprosy spots are washed with it. Thereupon, whole leaves of the Fleurya aestuans (L) Gandich (ngūkū̱n IV) are placed on the boils as a compress. After two days, the leaf is taken off, the washing is repeated, and the young, still folded leaves of the Loganiacea Mostuea buchholzii Engl. (ofū̱mū) are ground and put on the wounds.

757 Whether these medicines really are effective will have to be investigated by doctors. The Pangwe themselves, at any rate, 278 assert that they can cure leprosy in its early stages, and I was 164 shown cases with healed areas that had left lighter spots from which all symptoms of inflammation had disappeared. Frequent repetition of the treatment is presupposed. Leprosy is one of the most terrible and common diseases of the southern Pangwe region. At a Sso festival in Akonangi, for example, I counted seven lepers among approximately 30 men present. With the primitive living conditions and the carelessness of the Negroes, the disease is all too readily communicated. It is true that prophylactic methods [714] are used; indeed, lepers are even segregated, but only in the advanced stages of the disease and then very incompletely since, for example, they are admitted to all the dance festivals. The [837] women even seek out lepers by preference for extramarital sexual intercourse. In the north leprosy does not occur so severely; according to the statement of one Jaunde, this is because they use medicines as soon as the illness appears.

757 The explanation of the effect of the medicine, if one is given at all, is always a mystical one, although it should by no means be concluded from this that the plants concerned would not be worth scientific investigation. In the case of leprosy, for instance, the blackish color or the blackening property of the plants is usually declared to be the cause of their effectiveness. The skin is supposed to become black, and therefore the medicine is usually made at night when everything is black: hence, the choice of ojǎ̃n e [824] ndẽ̀k (Microglossa afzelii) and of ojǎ̃ḿ (Xylopia aethiopica), from a jǎ̃n, "to roast, to blacken"; hence, efífídí (Diospyros), from fídi, "coal," because the tree is black as coal; hence, ovĩna ekõn (black plantains), from a yĩn, "to become black"; hence, osṹṕtṹ elõk (Phaulopsis) from nsṹt, "black." /174/

Elephantiasis of the scrotum (ojũ̃n, mbǎ̃n).

Elephantiasis of the scrotum is not too frequent among the Pangwe, but it is greatly feared by them, probably only because

757 in its later stages it makes sexual intercourse impossible. In the Pangwe region I never encountered the gigantic scrotums that one finds in the Northern Cameroons, for instance. The natives be-
[753] lieve that the disease is caused by worms that ordinarily live in the stomach and are the cause of stomach pains. From the stomach they are supposed to migrate into the scrotum and cause it to swell. Allegedly from the example of the Whites (perhaps
[177] from Nkomakak?), people in a few places have hit upon the idea
[752] of opening the scrotum and cutting out the swellings. The original treatment, which is still practiced today, is to use the medicines for stomach worms. Recipes for these medicines are as follows.

757 1. beyū,ĕ' a ndžīk III, scraped bark boiled with raffia palm
278 resin, the water being in part carefully poured off, the rest injected as an enema. At the same time, pieces of bark of Cylicodiscus gabonensis Harms (edūm) and Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekūk) are placed in a leaf vessel with water; then somebody blows into it with a reed until foam rises. The patient must sit down in the vessel. Both plants contain an acrid sap supposed to drive away the "worms."

2. Illigera pentaphylla Welw. (matū,lū mesĭn III), ground leaves eaten with salt and pepper.

3. Citrus limonum Risso (alō's), "because it is bitter and evil-smelling, and so drives away the worms," together with Plagiostyles klainei Pierre (eš̆ŭlă', from a šŭlăn, "to loosen" knots), "so that the disease will likewise be loosened," Oncinotis tessmannii Gilg (njĕm osō'k IV), "because the worms fear the hairs (= the itching)," Brillantaisia lamium Bth. (dźibe elō'k III), "because the plant is bitter," and Stenochlaena guineensis (Kuhn) Unt. (nkăden' III), all boiled together in a pot with water and then used as an enema. In addition, pieces of bark of Mesocarpidium lepidotum Engl. et Diels (amvĭm) slightly boiled and pressed on the stomach.

4. Dioscorea preussii Pax (abă'n), Xylopia zenkeri Engl. et Diels (odžū'ę), and an herb osă; leaves or pieces of bark ground together, then boiled a little, and the water used as an enema.

When the healing starts, Maesobotrya (mbă'n-afă'n I) dried, ground, and eaten.

751
278

Furthermore, the following are supposed to be able to cure the disease as well: the Meliacea Trichilia prieuriana Juss (eyǒ), the Rubiacea (oyǒ'), the Rhamnacea Maesopsis tessmannii Engl. (nkǎ́ngǎ' I), and especially the Leguminosa Millettia tessmannii Harms (nié'kemakjī' I). /175/

Serious form of dysentery (tī.ɩ).

Aside from the symptoms of ordinary dysentery, this disease is distinguished by an unsightly swollen belly, and it frequently leads to death.

As a remedy, Trichilia prieuriana Juss (eyǒ) is used. Pieces of bark are placed in a leaf vessel, hot water is poured over them, and the water is then used as an enema. Hot pieces of the bark are also pressed on the body. Furthermore, the bark of the Leguminosa Amphimas tessmannii Harms (edzī) is scraped off, mixed with red wood, heated on a potsherd over a fire, and then pressed to the belly. The following is also recommended: pieces of bark of Leptonychia tessmannii Engl. Stercubiacea (akǎk), boiled and pressed while hot on the stomach; in addition pieces of bark of a species of Parkia (esé.ń) and ground leaves of Cassia occidentalis L. (ebē'i-sī) and Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (ayǎ, e sī), from which an extract is made in cold water and consumed, these last two plants being used because of their smell. Finally, pieces of the bark Pseudospondias tessmannii Engl. (angǒkǒn) are boiled, and the lukewarm water used as an enema, or extracts are made with cold water from the bark of Anonidium mannii Oliv. (ebǒm) or from the leaves of Dichapetalum patentihirsutum Engl. (étǎ') and used as an enema (1).

1. For syphilis, only Trichilia tessmannii Harms (atǔm) is used. Pieces of the bark are boiled and placed with water in a leaf vessel, and the patient is made to crouch in it for a long time, or ashes of the bark are sprinkled on the area primarily affected.

Frambesia (mabā'da).

757 Next to leprosy, frambesia is the most widespread of the danger-
●278 ous diseases of the Pangwe region. As various infected Europeans
[164] assert, the natives' manner of treatment was markedly successful with them.

The most usual medicine is the following. The diseased areas are cleansed with a decoction, as hot as possible, made from the bark of Heisteria parvifolia Smith (žōebê III) and leaves of Claoxylon africanum Muell. Arg., Euphorbiacea (bešōbešōo III), Costus littoralis K. Sch. (2) (zĕlănă' mĭĕm), "so the illness will go

2. Or Costus aff. ligulatus Gagnep.

around one like the leaves around the plant," and a species of Aneilema, "because the leaves are cold and supposed to lessen the heat of the pain." Then the contents of the red fruit (esŭn) of the Cardamom are heated on a potsherd and pressed on the areas. If blood spurts forth, it is washed off with the hot water. Then /176/ the dried roots of a species of Dioscorea (minutiflora Engl.?), awū'nūk, are charred, and the affected areas are sprinkled with the ashes. Finally, the principal medicine is sprinkled on the ashes; this is the milky sap of the nyă mă ndžĭk, two Apocynaceae, Olafia multiflora Stpf. and Oncinotis glandulosa Stpf. Instead of the Dioscorea ashes, fine bark scraped off the Apocynaceae mentioned may also be used. The milky sap is often mixed with ground leaves of the Ochnacea Ouratea nigro-violacea Gilg (okū m-afă'n), and the bark of Ouratea spinuloso-serrata Gilg (abŏnežŏk Ntum) is often added to the water.

Elephantiasis of the legs (bendūmejăń).

[164] This disease is quite frequent in the Pangwe area and is sup-
posed to be prevalent chiefly among women. It is curable only in the initial stages, when only the foot is swollen. If the swelling has spread to the shank, all efforts are in vain. The treatment that the afflicted person must submit to is a regular horse cure.

757
278 First the feet are beaten with the spiked Acanthus montanus T. Andl. (ndū́i IV) until the blood pours from them; better still, the upper part of the foot is lacerated with a knife. Then both feet are covered with sand that is heated by several fires. If the pains become unendurable, the patient is allowed to cool his feet in cold water to which are added leaves of Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. (abūī Ntum) and bark of Macaranga heudelotii Baill. (asǎ́s). The Alchornea is supposed to be "cold" and to have a cooling effect; the Macaranga is supposed to remove the sickness (a sǎ́[s] okǒn, "to shake off a sickness"). Then the feet are again put into the hot sand bath, and this procedure is carried out three times in succession. The treatment is repeated every other day until there is a cure.

Festering boils (fṓ, pfṓ).

The treatment resembles that for frambesia. Frequently the affected spots are washed with hot or at least warm water and afterwards with the milky sap of the Apocynaceae Olafia and Oncinotis. A few other medicines may be mentioned here.

1. Cissus smithiana (Bak.) Pl. (njǎ'mandūmǎnǎ III): the bark is scraped off just above the ground, placed in water, and then applied to the wound.

2. Costus (mīěn IV): after removal of the bark, the stalk is ground, then boiled, and pressed on the wound while still hot. After this, ground leaves of Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. are placed on the wound.

3. After the same preparatory treatment with Costus, leaves of the Asclepiadacea Periploca nigrescens Afz. (abǎń e ndźīk) are placed on the wound. /177/

4. Pieces of the bark of Erythrophloeum guineense (elǔn) and Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms (andźītsǐń) are boiled, and the water is pressed on the spots; then the leaves of Ampelocissus cinnamochroa Pl. (nsǐ'sǎ́ III) are ground and laid on the wounds.

5. Trichoscypha (engǒń): a number of pieces of bark are boiled, and the wounds are washed with the hot water. Then pieces

757
278

of the bark are charred and sprinkled on the affected areas.

6. Trichoscypha (amyût): just like 5; in the beginning, after the washing, bark of Conopharyngia brachyantha Stapf, Apocynacea (etū,ĕ), is scraped off and sprinkled on the spots.

7. Dissotis decumbens (P.B.) Tr. (mabō mogbwā III): leaves are ground, then boiled, and the wounds are washed with the hot water; then leaves of Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (avá,e sī) are placed on the wounds.

8. Solenostemon leaves are ground and pressed out over the wound, together with the sap from the tuber of the Aframomum.

Furuncles (ekiē, ekō, mvi'm IV).

A few medicines will be mentioned here.

1. Commelinacea Palisota preussiana K. Sch. (epfūpfū'ī): stalks are scraped off after the removal of the outer layer, and the shavings are tied on the boils.

2. Colocasia antiquorum (atū): the tuber is hollowed out by twirling a knife, and the contents are placed on the affected areas with the resin of Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl. (ašē,ā).

3. A whole leaf of the Euphorbiaceae Maesobotrya (mbā'ń-afā'n I) is placed on the spot with the resin of Pachylobus, "so it will become small," because the Euphorbiaceae mentioned have small leaves in comparison to Tricalysia macrophylla K. Sch. (mbā'ń).

4. A whole leaf of Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (avā,e sī, edōdōelō), together with resin, is placed on the spot, "because of the odor."

5. Ancistrocarpus densispinosus Oliv. (akā[k] a ndžīk): the bark is scraped off and placed on the spots together with red wood; "akā[k] a ndžīk is quiet (compare akāk, "peace linden") and has odor (?).

6. Gall fruit (plural, bebūma, "fruits") of the Microglossa volubilis D.C. (myūyū' I) are charred and smeared on the wounds together with oil.

7. Cassava roots are scraped and tied to the affected area.

8. Cucurbitacea Lepistemon owariensis (Spreng.) Hallierf.
757 (nkōmbwǒle III): leaves ground together with red wood and some
278 water and smeared on the affected places /178/; "a bwōle (buēle), break open, the fruit breaks open of its own accord, and in the same way the boil is supposed to break open."

9. Ophiocaulon gracile Harms, Passifloracea (ejǒk): the leaves are heated over the fire and then pressed on the affected places. The fruit of Ophiocaulon are hollow and burst easily, making a slight noise. "In the same way the boils are supposed to burst open."

10. Conopharyngia brachyantha Stpf. (etūĕ): the sap of the plant is sprinkled on the boils, "so they run like the milky sap from the Conopharyngia."

11. Desplatsia subericarpa Bocq. (ukū'kūt a mfǒ'nǒk III): the contents of the fruit are smeared on with red wood, so the swelling will become as small as the fruit of the Desplatsia subericarpa in comparison to the Desplatsia dewevrei (mfǒ'nǒk I).

12. Euphorbiacea Tragia cordifolia Benth (otūm): the leaves are pressed on with resin. The leaves burn, and it is hoped thereby to dispel the swelling.

Finally, attempts are also made to remove the swellings by
[752] means of external treatments. Thus, the boils are beaten, for example, with the sharp-spiked Acanthus montanus until the blood pours out, and then the wound is covered with the leaves of Dioscorea dumetorum (Kunth) Pax (andéă), or the boils may be cut open with a knife.

Gonorrhea (nkǒk I).

Gonorrhea is supposed to be indigenous to the Pangwe region,
[177] but it is quite infrequent in the untouched interior. In Yaoundé /Ed., in German, Jaunde/, on the other hand, and in the vicinity of the coast under the influence of "civilization," it is very widespread. The cure of gonorrhea is attempted mainly by internal medicines. For instance, a watery solution of the Conopharyngia (etŭĕ) is drunk so the gonorrhea will "flow out," or one may drink a bark extract from Heisteria parvifolia Sm., Flacourtiacea

757 (yiŏ's IV), from Rinorea dentata (P. Beauv.) O. Ktze., Violacea
278 (olŭ̀n), from Mesocarpidium lepidotum Engl. et Diels, Anonacea (amyim), or from Berlinia acuminata Sol., Leguminosa (epfɔ́bǎ). Instead of pure water, they frequently take sugar water, which first has been placed in the sun, with, for example, a root extract of Triumfettia cordifolia Guillet, Sterculiacea (okūǹ), or with the Araliacea Schefflera tessmannii Harms (abēokū̄ī), with Garcinia purulata Oliv. (mekǎ eli), or with Canarium schweinfurthii Engl. (abē Ntum). Furthermore, leaves for example, from Polycephalium poggei Engl. (okŏngūs), are cut up and eaten with spices (salt, pepper, melegueta) (1) in a ngon bundle, often together with the

1. Melegueta pepper always should be taken to mean Aframomum melegueta K. Sch. (andŭǹ).

flesh of the spiny-finned sheatfish. The sharp or spiked things used are supposed to drive out the illness, hence, okŏngūs, from okŏǹ, "knife." More rarely, they use /179/ enemas, with preparations such as an extract from the head of a blossom from the Costus (explanation: "So that the 'body sap' -- this is how the discharge is conceived in this case -- will stick together in the body as do the blossoms of the Costus"), from Rinorea, or Maesopsis tessmannii Engl. (nkǎ́ngǎ' I). Furthermore, the skin over the pubes, where the seed arises, according to Pangwe opinion, is lacerated, and ashes of Cnestis ferruginea D.C., Connaracea (ntĕbe sī I), are rubbed into the wounds, so that the discharge will "sit down" like the herb (a tĕbĕ o sī, "to sit down").

Swelling in the groin (nkǎ́ǎ́).

A procedure aimed at removing the malady entails making an incision in one toe on the side of the body affected and rubbing pepper and salt into the wound. Another prescription goes: leaves of Tricalysia macrophylla K. Sch., Rubiacea (mbǎ'n̄ I) and Selaginella scandens (B. B.) Sprg. (zĕlǎnǎ'), charred and then

757 278 placed on the areas together with oil. The affliction is supposed to miss (a sĕlăn) the person just as the leaves of the Selaginella "miss" their counterparts (the leaves, in other words, are alternate); mbă'n from a bă,n, "to evade," that is, the disease is supposed to evade the person just as the tree has an evasive quality (meaning unclear). Furthermore, the disease is driven out by blows with the nettle-like inflorescences of the Urticaceae Boehmeria platyphylla D. Don (să[s]-dzăm IV) or Fleurya podocarpa Wedd (să's IV). Finally, they also grind blossoms of Hippocratea myriantha Oliv. (mesī, ndzīk I) and apply them with oil to the swelling.

Eczema, Krokro (ntzăn I).

Prescriptions. 1. Hosluntia verticillata Vahl (osaavō', asŏbenkūm): dip the shoots in hot water and rub them on the affected areas; then apply the ground leaves of the Cyathula achyranthoides (Kth.) Mog. (num e kŏlō't III) with oil. 2. Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (ayă e sī): wash the areas with a decoction; then apply the ground leaves of the Apocynaceae Doacanga or Rauwolfia with oil.

Furthermore, parts of the following plants are rubbed onto the areas together with oil: Phyllanthus cappillaris Schum. et Thom (elŏametsăn IV) (ground leaves), Rumex abessinicus Jacq (esă,n) (heated leaves), Fleurya aestuans (ngūkŭ'n IV) (heated leaves), Palisota thyrsiflora Bth., Commelinacea (ekŏkā,delă'n) (charred leaves), Millettia drastica Welw. (onŭmezŏk) (scraped-off bark), Gouania longipetala Hemsley, Rhamnacea (ngŏ,nŏ a ndzīk III) (scraped-off bark).

For scabies the natives frequently use raffia palm oil by itself or with the leaves of Hosluntia or of the Vitacea Ampelocissus cavicaulis /180/ (Bak.) Pl. (pfă'zŏk IV) or Aerua lanata (L.) Juss., Amarantacea (angō'ngō'nŏ III). Also, hoops of Cissus or Lepistemon stalks are slung around the foot.

For herpetic eruptions on the head (akō), which for the most part, it is true, are ignored and occur with special frequency among children, tobacco leaves are rubbed on the shaved head, or the head

is powdered by making the sole of one's foot quite dusty and then pressing it on the head of the patient.

More widespread is a herpetic eruption of the skin (tōn, matōn) with bright spots that must not be confused with leprosy. As remedies the following plants are known to me: Capsicum leaves are ground and placed on the areas affected; the leaves of Brillantaisia lamium Bth. (dźibě elǫ́k III) are heated and placed on the areas, and a leaf extract is used as an enema (the plant is dark, and the skin is supposed to become dark again); Asclepiadacea Marsdenia ladifolia (Bth.) Schltr. (abǫdeambě III), the leaves ground and put on the areas together with oil (the plants "blacken"); Clerodendron buettneri Gürke (mavūlū elǫ́k III), because of its hairs.

A less important skin disease, a kind of Krokro which especially attacks the feet and is called ašū,lū́k, appears chiefly during the rainy season. Heated shoots of Hibiscus sabdariffa L. (esǎń) and Rumex abessynicus Jacq. (ebū́do esǎń), which are pressed on the diseased areas, are used for it, or leaves of Aneilema aequinoctiale Kth. (nnǎt I) are added to a foot bath.

Epilepsy (okū,bū́k).

According to one view, epilepsy is caused by the fact that along with his food a person has accidentally got a cicada (ngǎmtětě́a IV) into his stomach. According to the dominant opinion, however, it is caused by the fact that one has looked too long into the sun. Medicines for it are the Apocynaceae Rauwolfia and Doacanga, whose leaves are ground and boiled, and used as an enema when they have cooled; furthermore, from Cola ricinifolia Engl. et Krause (alǫ̌n), one root is stuck into the hair, another is scraped and steeped in water, the water then being drunk, and the other roots are put under the bed. The Cola is supposed to be "cold." During an attack, ground leaves of Cissus aralioides (Welw.) Pl. (ańgǒ́ńengí) are put in water, and this is poured over the afflicted person. The Cissus causes itching and brings the patient back to consciousness.

757 278 For back aches Erythrophloeum guineense (elǔn) and the Rubiacea Gaertnera paniculata (esǒ̄ mǒ̄ Fang) are used. The bark of the Erythrophloeum is heated and laid on a bed on which the patient lies down. The bark of the Gaertnera is cut up into small pieces and is put into a larger piece of bark of the same plant; the patient must lie down with his back on it. For organic /181/ heart disease (nnǎ nnēm "pains in the heart"), an extract of the [826] bark of Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edžō'le) is drunk; for mental [829] disorders, which are also supposed to come from the heart (okǒn nnēm), 10 different medicines have been mentioned to me. By acquiring the particular property of the plant, the heart is supposed to be put to sleep and made dark and small. I have further collected: 21 medicines for headache; four for lung disease (sǒ); nine for the cold; 56 for stomach and intestinal disorders; 54 for toothaches; 47 for rheumatic pains (nnǎ and nnǎ-nkūk); 23 for stomach-aches when twitching pains occur (nnǎ-abǔm); and five for hemorrhoids, among them especially the Cucurbitacea Cephalonema polyandrum K. Sch. (ejažǔ'm).

For eye inflammations, ground leaves of the Rubiacea Chasalia macrodiscus K. Sch. (džī a ndžīk III) or bark scraped off the Euphorbiacea Hasskarlia didymostemon Baill. (efūō'le, džī, III) are put in a leaf bag, a little water is added, and the extract flowing out at the bottom is dropped into the eye. The same process is carried out with ground leaves of Ampelocissus cinnamochroa (nsī's ǎ III) as a remedy for sties.

To get rid of eye worms (eyǎ'), the sap of the following plants is used: Dipteropeltis poranoides Hallier f., Convolvulacea (atū'[k] e ndžīk); Diodia breviseta Benth, Rubiacea (dēmezǒ̄ III); Gabunia brachypoda Stpf., Apocynacea (etū'e' ndžīk); Phaseolus lunatus L. (okǒkūnǒ III).

The Negro's indifference toward sand lice, Sarcopsylla penetrans (ašǒ), is well known; the Pangwe, too, neglect sand lice wounds and do not use medicine until half the toe is festered. Then ground leaves of Phytolacca abyssinica Hoffmann (atǒt e nkǒ), ground leaves of Ocimum gratissimum L. (asǒ'b) mixed with oil, or bark shavings of the Euphorbiacea Neoboutonia africana Muell. Arg. (okǒ'jǒm) mixed with oil are placed on the wounds, and after a few days the

757 resin of Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl. (ašē, ǎ), which kills the
278 parasites that might have stayed in the flesh, is smeared on them.

The medicines for lice (nǐn) were given in Volume I, page 188.

An effective emetic, which, however, is rarely used, is supplied by Microglossa volubilis D.C. (mxūvū' I). The leaves are ground and steeped in water, and the water is then drunk.

An infusion of the bark of the Olacacea Stromboisopsis congolensis de Wildem. (edžīb, from dzīb, "to close") is supposed to have a constipating effect; it is used cold as an enema. An infusion of avǒm is supposed to have the same effect.

As a laxative Cassia occidentalis L. (ebē'ī sī) is used, the leaves being ground and put in cold water, and this is drunk; furthermore, young shoots from the Rubiacea Urophyllum /182/ callicarpoides H. (mbǒšō' III) are ground in water, and this liquid is used as an enema; finally the root of Physedra longipes Hook f. (ebǔ'i) is steeped in cold water, and the liquid used as an enema.

One rarely hears anything about snake bites in the Pangwe
752 region. Despite the fairly large number of species of these reptiles,
136 there are only a few whose bite is almost always deadly. These include Bitis nasicornis Shaw (fē'ī IV Ntum) and Naja melanoleuca Hall. (exǐndi nyǒ', "black snake"). Those whose bite frequently leads to death include Naja guentheri Blgr. (okǔm), Atheris squamiger Hall. (viǒt IV), and two Thrasops species, Thrasops flavigularis Hall. (nkō'dō-nšū̄t III) and Thrasops aethiops Günth. (nkō'dō-fǎm III). All other species, even if some of them are poisonous, are little if at all feared since their poison is not fatal and can be made ineffectual by medicines. The varying effect of snake bites has given rise to the belief that those who die from them had been engaged in sorcery the night before (nwū'ǎn I, that is, one who must die), whereas the others did not (nniǎn I, that is, one who shall live).

In the treatment of snake bites the principal role is played by a
752 stone concerning which I was unable to discover any further details.
278 In addition, the leaves of the Urticacea Pouzolzia guineensis Benth (mbǒanē' III) or of Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (avǎ, e sī) are ground in water, and with this the wounds are washed; or the sap of the Guttifera Haronga paniculata (Pers.) Lodd. (atū'ī) -- which is also used when goats are castrated -- is dripped into the wounds.

751 A preventive device consists of a brass ring worn on the left thumb, the ring having first been given curative powers by the medicine man through certain ceremonies, for instance, by boiling it in medicines.

752 278 If someone is stung by a scorpion, his urine is applied to the spot, something that the Pangwe ordinarily do not do with wounds. Later, they attempt to dispel the morbid matter by evil smells; [826] for instance, a leaf with vaginal slime is placed on the wound. The explanation by the informant ran as follows in the best coastal English (1):

[124] 1. In order to avoid misunderstandings it should be emphasized that my Pangwe people gave their reports in their own language, but that their statements were checked with the help of an English-speaking interpreter.

Bumbo	be	bad	ting,	dem	smell,	he
Vagina	is	bad	thing, (namely,)	the	smell,	it

come de!
comes out.

An injured foot is put in water in which stalks of Palisota preussiana (epfúpfū́ʃ) have been pounded to bits, or heated leaves of the calabash (ndǭk IV), together with oil, are rubbed on the injury, "because the calabash has a bad smell."

The very painful puncture made by the spiny-finned sheatfish (kǭʼmeʃǔm IV), for instance, Auchenoglanis balayi (Sauv.) (nsǐn̄ I) pictured on Plate 9 of Volume I, for whose dorsal /183/ spikes the fisherman has great respect, is made harmless by tying a rope tightly around the arm and then holding the spot over the fire.

The Pangwe combat wasp and bee stings with Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth (abǒʼmedzǎʼn).

Bullets, that is, the pieces of iron with which the rifle is loaded and which, due to the aimless firing practiced by the Pangwe

752 find their way into the bodies of fighting companions, are removed
278 by incision. The sap of Landolphia ochracea K. Sch. (avŭ'n) is then trickled over the wounds, and they are rubbed with oil containing leaves of Chasalia afzelii (Hi.) K. Sch., Rubiaceae (dzĭ a ndzĭk III), or they are washed out with water containing ground leaves of Sarcocephalus sambucinus (K. Sch.) C.W. (alū'mă).

[579] In the case of cut wounds, which occur quite often either during the frequent scuffles with bush knives or as a result of carelessness while clearing the jungle, the wound is covered with the leaves of Cissus vogelii Hook f. (mbómŏnezăm I) mixed with snake water, or the sap from the twigs of Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub (mvō' IV Fang) is dripped into the wounds, or they are covered with bark scraped from Amphimas tessmannii Harms (edzĭ) or the rind of the roots of the Menispermacea Jatrorrhiza strigosa Miers (ndzĭ'kengū,i I, IV). In the treatment of wounds the following are also used: a Sterculiacea (okū,n e Žŏŋk) (leaves ground in water); Combretum mucronatum Thom. et Schum. (otŭgĕlĕ III) (leaves ground in the same manner); Coinochlamys schweinfurthii Gilg., Loganiacea (otŭgĕlĕ-etŏ,k); and Adenia staudtii Harms (edódō ndzĭk III); furthermore, Phaseolus lunatus L. (okŏ'kŭno III), the ground leaves put in a leaf bag, and the latter pressed out over the wound; finally, Trichoscypha (olĕ'ne amvūt), pieces of whose bark are boiled and then decanted lukewarm onto the wound; likewise Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms (andzĭtsin).

In the case of burns, ground leaves of Combretum lawsonianum Engl. et D. (tŏntŏńebŏ III) and Combretum latialatum Engl. (nsŏsŏ'k I) are applied to the wounds with some water.

About a dozen medicines are known for sprains (mbū'ge) and fractures. In the case of the former, the treatment consists of heating a bundle of the medicinal plant over the fire and then pressing it to the painful areas. Fractures are put into splints with
[283] firmly tied raffia leafstalk strips.

For tumors (etūt) the bark of the Euphorbiacea Cyclostemon tessmannianus Pax (betūte elĭ' III) is used. The tree itself has excrescences on its bark; the latter is removed from the tree, dried, and charred. Then incisions are made into the tumor, and the ashes

752 are rubbed into them. In this case it is clear that the view the
278 natives have of powers of healing is not free of contradiction and confusion. The excrescence on the tree is /184/ natural, that on the person unnatural. By incorporating the tree's natural excrescence in the form of ashes, they hope to induce the human growth to return to its natural shape, that is, to become smooth, while in actual fact one would expect the person to get a swelling from this.

752 For bandages the Pangwe usually use strips of dried banana leaf sheaths. In the case of finger and toe injuries, a small halved calabash, fastened with a string around the joint, is slipped on as a cover (Plate 25).

000 Medicines for impotence, sexual stimulants, devices to influence the woman's sexual life (menstruation, pregnancy, birth) will be treated later (Section 18).

5. Food Prohibitions

262 Pangwe life is dominated by a number of rules which they call
784 bekī (from ekī). These, in the main, prescribe that certain actions shall not be performed at certain times and that certain foodstuffs are to be avoided either at all times or only at certain times. The most important rules are the latter, the food prohibitions. The following are distinguished: 1) ekī, bebin = taboo for those not initiated into cults, or ekī, bonenga = taboo for women, who are uninitiated as regards the men's cults; 2) eki, bongus = taboo for the initiated of the cults, in practice usually of the women's cults; 3) ekī-bondŭ'mǎn = taboo for young, vigorous persons, and the forbidden animals are called dūm; 4) ekī, abŭm =
262 taboo for the belly, that is, the prohibition of certain animals at
784 the time of pregnancy, or ekī, mǒn = taboo because of the child,
843 that is, food taboos for the duration of the pregnancy and nursing the child, a period during which the taboo applies both to the mother and the father, a consequence of the opinion held by the Pangwe that the woman -- as it is always put -- has the lover or husband "in her belly," that is, that the developing fruit is actually

[Text continues on page 60]

821 there is a thunderstorm; actually,
"the rain is roaring."

mother, and, as a sign of a certain season, it is dependent upon the moon which, like all other celestial bodies, was assigned its course by the same primeval force. /197/

As we saw in the creation stories /Ed., not translated/,
821 lightning also existed from the beginning (in the egg!). Later,
775 however, the souls subdued lightning, and they now use it for two different purposes. The first is to warn their descendants on earth of a threatening storm, that is, sheet lightning and atmospheric lightning (yǒ'yǒs IV Fang or fǒ'levǒs IV Ntum). "There is lightning" is then expressed by fǒ'levǒs a yǒ's or fǒ'levǒs a lǔd, "the atmospheric lightning lights up," or "it passes by"; the root yǒs means "to open suddenly with a bang, to light up, to appear suddenly and disappear again." Secondly, the souls use lightning to strike down large trees that bar their view of the earth and the activities of human beings -- that is, lightning that strikes, zǎ'ń IV Ntum, zǎ'lǎn IV Fang, or zē'yǎń IV. The fǒlevǒs is thought of as like the igniting of powder when it lights up briefly and suddenly; the zǎ'ń is like the firing of a rifle, and just as in the case of the latter, one says: ngā a kǒbo, "the rifle is talking," so in the case of the former, one says: zē'yǎń a kǒbo, "the lightning rifle is speaking," that is, "it is thundering" (the cracking thunder accompanying lightning, in contrast to the distant rolling thunder of which we spoke above).

Lightning that strikes is conceived as a black bullet that strikes
[195] the trees and splinters them. The "turd of the lightning" (abī'
[278] zē'yǎń) -- this presumably refers to molten and conglomerated masses of resin -- is believed by the natives to have curative powers, as does the bark of trees struck by lightning.

Although the "lightning cartridge" is intended solely for purposes of blasting, it can also be dangerous for human beings if they happen to be in the neighborhood of the trees affected, and it is believed that death is caused by the tremendous roar. Hence it is advisable to withdraw into the house during thunder storms, because, by strict command of the souls, lightning is not allowed

832 824 Pax, burns; a-ndu-ń a ndžik = Combretum tessmannii Gilg (see above).

L. (designation questionable) (ošim e ntăngăn), root eaten; Cola acuminata (P. Beauv.), Sterculiacea (abě).

5. Substances that cause itching: Tragia cordifolia Pax (otům), leaves ground and eaten with an egg; likewise Urera dinklagei Engl., Urticaceae (sǎ[s] ndžǐk).

6. Heating substances (designation of the natives): Derris glabrata Welw. (ejǔn e ndžik), root and leaves ground, boiled with spices, strained, and the liquid drunk. /266/

7. Explanation unknown: Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg., Euphorbiacea (asǎm) (perhaps because of strong wood?); Coinochlamys schweinfurthii Gilg., Loganiaceae (oli fǎm = men's little tree), little pieces of the stem stuck in the hair (hardwood?); Geophila herbacea L., Rubiaceae (elǒ[k] a tǒn), leaves ground with Cola and chewed (leaves are durable, "strong," perhaps for that reason?).

832 825 Of animals, the meat of the spiny-finned sheatfish, which is very fat, is considered a stimulant of the first rank; furthermore, the tibia bone of a cock (Fig. 85, b) is worn on the body because of the spur, as are caudal vertebrae of the leopard (Fig. 85, c) because of the strength of the tail.

833 278 The medicines for impotence (biǎń a jê or biǎń eję) should be distinguished from the stimulants (aphrodisiacs). There are thought to be two forms of impotence: one dating from earliest youth, and one acquired later in life. The former, it is said, came about because the persons concerned had urinated in their food as very small children while they were being fed pap by their mothers. Another version is lined with the belief in magic: a boy is thought capable of giving away his sexual power (see belief in magic, Vol. II, p. 134 /Ed., not translated/) in exchange for the power of sorcery, that is, power over other people. Perhaps this conception stems from the fear that impotent persons try to avenge themselves on their fellow human beings for their misfortune. The medicines for impotence are not numerous, but they actually seem

833 to be, in part at least, effective. Thus, the most common of
278 these, derived from the Rubiacea Corynanthe yohimbe K. Sch.,
[824] has recently been incorporated in our medications under the name "yohimbin," The natives produce an extract from the bark and wood of the tree and drink this. They conceive the manner of its effect as similar to the one mentioned above, and they reason as follows: the wood of the tree is especially hard in relation to that
[825] of other trees, say, like the penis of a pig in relation to that of other animals (something which one notices if one boils it and tries to eat it), and I shall acquire this characteristic of the wood if I partake of some of the wood. Hence the tree also bears the name nkǔn e ngūī, "pig's penis."

Aside from the Corynanthe yohimbe, we should mention here
824 two other trees which possibly also give physiological effects:
833 Leguminosa Baphia buettneri Harms (mfǎ I, mfǎn I), and the
278 Flaccourtiacea Homalium africanum Bth. (ejǔm, supposedly from a jǔme nkǔn, "to erect the penis," an expression that I never again encountered. In my opinion, the root contained in ejǔm is the same as in nnǔm, plural bojǔm = masculine gender; thus, the tree would be called ejǔm for (e) the man; majǔm, plural = seed). /267/ The leaves of the Baphia buettneri are gathered, ground on stones, and placed in the sun in sugar wine. The mixture is drunk while it is warm. From the Homalium, on the other hand, the bark is scraped off and ground; then it is boiled with spices and the liquid drunk while it is hot.

Finally, three more plants were mentioned to me as belonging in the category of biǎn ejē, among these, the Solanum duplosinuatum U.D. (etūin) because of its spikes.

Venereal diseases (see Section 13) are prevalent only in those
164 areas where European influence has existed for some time, especially
684 in Yaoundé and Gabon, from where syphilis has been spread. The
[177] Negroes seem to consider frambesia a kind of sexual disease, for the man who has communicated this disease to a girl or a wife must pay her or her father the same penalty (500 to 1,000 spears) he would pay if he had infected her with syphilis. If, on the other hand, the lover becomes infected through the woman, he can claim no damages.

838 Concerning homosexual intercourse among women, I was unable to discover any facts.

839 So far as I know, bestiality does not occur.

6. Pregnancy, Birth

843 The Pangwe recognize the beginning of a pregnancy by the nonappearance of menstruation; they are also familiar with the fact that a slight indisposition and headaches about a month after cohabitation may cause one to suspect pregnancy. Once pregnancy [833] is established, the man continues to have intercourse with a woman for about two more months, but then relations with her must be broken off, since it is feared that the fetus would be destroyed or at least harmed by the seed that it must "drink," It must also be emphasized that this prohibition is not always observed; indeed, [755] there is a medicine, sand in water, which a woman is supposed to drink if the man has intercourse with her shortly before the confinement. The sand is supposed to scour the seed from the body of the fetus.

[843] Usually the beginning of a pregnancy is greeted by the woman as a joyous event. There are also cases, however, when it is not 847 welcomed, for instance, when prohibited intercourse with men of 278 related kin groups has consequences, when a woman is pregnant by an "unloved man," or generally if she does not want to assume the burden of rearing the child or wants to evade the command of sexual abstinence. In such cases -- and they are by no means rare -- the fetus is aborted (a gbwē abŭm, a kū'e abŭm, "to drop the belly (fruit)"). The medicines, for the greater part poisonous substances with which we have already become acquainted as fish poisons, are: 1) Piptadenia africana Hook. f., Leguminosa (tŭm IV), bark loosened in pieces, pared and boiled, and the extract, when cooled, used as an enema; 2) Cylicodiscus gabunensis Harms, Leguminosa (edūm), used in the same way; 3) kernel of the fruit of Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (tree = adźǎ,b, kernel = ngŏ̀n-ebŏ̀n IV), ground in water; 4) Rubiacea

847 oyǒ', fruit chopped up, and Cognauxia, Cucurbitacea
278 (mbǔmyē'i I), roots ground, both boiled together, strained, and after cooling, used as an enema; 5) Maesopsis tessmannii Engl. Rhamnaceae (nkǎngǎ' I), bark boiled, strained, and used cold as an enema. In this last case, its inclusion among abortives was probably determined by the fact that the wood of the tree is stronger in the upper part of the trunk, while below it is weaker.

When the confinement is near, the woman usually goes to her
844 parents if her native village is not too far away and if conditions permit her to do so. /275/ Otherwise, she stays at home as do all older women who have borne three or four children.

Before the confinement the woman stays quietly in the house from two to three days, more rarely four days. Cases are not infrequent, however, when the birth pangs take the woman by surprise during her work in the fields, and she has to bring the child into the world without help, although when this happens she will try to attract the attention of passers-by or women in the vicinity by screaming and shouting, and the latter will assist her and take her and the child into the village.

It is strictly prohibited for male relatives or strange men to witness the birth (osōn, "shame"; some even said nsǒ'm, "crime"). Even the woman's own husband is present (osōn applies to him also) only when there are no female helpers, on which occasion he must take their place. This is, however, a rare and exceptional case; ordinarily there are helpful and experienced women aplenty, who flock to the woman in childbed to encourage her and to assist at the birth by clasping her body from behind and thus supporting it.

Without medicine, of course, a birth cannot take place. The
[278] sap of Cephalonema polyandrum K. Sch., Cucurbitaceae (ejǎzǔ'm), and Fleurya aestuans (L.) Gandich, Urticaceae (ngūkǔ'n IV), is allowed to trickle into the vagina. The sap is slippery, "smooth," and will thus effect a smooth birth.

The actual birth takes place without any kind of assistance if the child has what the Pangwe also regard as the normal head
845 position. In case of the feet-first position or other irregularities, the child is forcibly pulled out and is then -- so it was said -- always dead. Difficult births seem to be quite rare since my various

845 informants had never heard of such a thing. Similarly, it very rarely happens that women die immediately after delivery from the consequences (bleeding, a weak heart) -- death by puerperal
[164] fever, on the other hand, is more frequent. In cases of such a death, the Pangwe speak of a kiẹ̄'ẹ̄, which is as much as to say that a strange woman brought about the death through sorcery.

Once the child (in the case of a normal birth) has passed out
844 of the birth canal, it is received by one of the women assisting and the umbilical cord (ngǒ'b IV, not to be confused with ngǒb IV, "caul, sheath") is squeezed off with a raffia splinter at a distance of from eight to ten centimeters from the little one's body. The rest of the umbilical cord drops off of its own accord after five to six days and is then casually thrown away; by then the navel (dǒb, plural mǒb) is healed. In other cases, the umbilical cord is cut off one centimeter from the belly, thereby causing an umbilical rupture (edǒdǒb = navel par excellence) which is regarded as particularly beautiful. Now the child is washed and placed on a layer of leaves on the bed next to the mother. /276/

The afterbirth (akǒ'nan) soon follows of its own accord. It is usually placed in a leaf bundle and hidden in the refuse pile or buried in a pit in the plantain grove behind the house. If this precautionary measure is not observed, the child will die or the mother will no longer be able to bear children.

Finally a medicine is made for the mother: the herb Ocimum
[278] gratissimum L. (asǒ'b) is dipped in hot water and pressed on the genitals.

During the delivery, the husband waits in the meeting house.
851 Once the child is born, he is told the news by one of the women assisting. Formerly, shots were fired as an expression of joy, but now the custom is no longer practiced, especially in the north, for lack of powder.

On the very first day, the mother gives her breast to the child.
853 If no milk flows, it is assumed that the mother has had lovers who are still in her "belly" and exercise an impeding influence. Therefore, out with them! Argument is of no avail; one after another, all the lovers must be named before those present, in
000 other words, the women, if the milk is to flow. On the second

177
443

1. This lack is also pointed out by Balandier, op. cit., p. 544.

A careful study of village names in several subdivisions has not turned up a name that seems connected with ideas of market, exchange, or trade. Moreover, vocabularies for such subjects are very limited.

And, into this land so unprepared for an economic /sic/ life, world economy is penetrating with all its complexity, setting a purchase price for the total output, which has fluctuations the planters obviously cannot understand. Their dismay is natural, since they have not even been able to become familiar with ideas about price, demand, or bargaining through traditions of trade.

It goes without saying that the time when salt was the item most in demand is long since past. However, bags of salt appear among traditional wedding presents, and the manufacture of salt from lye-washed palm ash is still known, though the product is only sold — and moreover very rarely — for its medicinal properties.

431
258
585
278

511 Expenditures have become extremely diversified, as shown by the analysis of an average family budget: (2)

2. These figures drawn from Budgets familiaux au Cameroun /Family Budgets in the Cameroons/, p. 150, do not take into account, we must remember, auto consumption.

Food	14	percent	Household articles	1.9	percent
Textiles	17.4	-	Equipment	7.7	-
Bride price	13	-	Taxes	8.5	-
Housing and furniture	7.5	-	Medicaments	1.3	-
Bedding	1.5	-	Education	0.9	-
Lighting and upkeep	3	-	Gifts and miscellaneous	6	-
Trips	2	-			

517
177
511
291
261

Food now includes, even in the bush, imported items like stockfish or like the bread, sardines, sugar, and condensed milk that are used less regularly. Clothes are the main item of expense. The desire to follow Paris fashions is perhaps not a national trait peculiar

846 river again (until now she has washed in her hut), puts on new clothes presented by her husband, and starts cooking for him again and work-
[783] ing in her garden. Special purification has been carried out if the
[833 baby has died in the interval. The prohibition against sexual relations
853] lasts as long as the child is at the breast; to break this taboo would make it nyu meyôm, drink sperm, which might lead to its death.

Postpartum care is given by the mbialé binga, then by the woman's mother or aunt or ntyi. This consists of vaginal douches and external and internal napkins of vegetable compresses.

853 The baby may be suckled only by its mother or a woman of the mother's blood, a grandmother or maternal aunt. If this is impossible, the baby cannot live (at least in rural districts where concentrated
[278] milk is unknown). Traditional pharmacopoeia possesses, however, extraordinary vegetable lactic stimulants, probably without equivalent in the European pharmacopoeia.

b. Childhood

563 The old custom was not to name (yôlé) the baby until it was taken out of the house; until then it was usually called by the name of a small animal, like "squirrel" or "palm rat." Nowadays the name is
[641] given within a few days of birth, if for no other reason than to comply with citizenship regulations. /93/

551 A name, jôé or jui (also meaning nose, order, command, authority) includes the éyôlé, the individual's own name, and the atinan, complementary name chosen from the biyôlé of ancestors according to clan or family traditions, which are on the decline. Formerly, a cognomen was added to these, a mebatan (1) or jôé mebatan (lit.

1. Trilles translates this word as "genealogy": lañ mebatan means both "to recite the genealogy" and "to recite the salutation," simply because this was in fact the formal way of introducing oneself; a newcomer's genealogy determined how his hosts would "greet" him. True genealogy, pedigree, is éndan, related to ndan, tattoo mark, emblem.

salutation name), sometimes conferred at initiation. This mebatan

515 791 825 of danger. Hence the symbolic choice of fast birds: the river swallow, the koulyèbe that flies like an arrow, the eagle or the vulture whose powerful flight protects it from enemies, the turtledove or the wood pigeon that knows how to conceal a nest so as to escape all attention. Or it might be an antelope with nimble legs and acute hearing, [482] which is especially difficult to capture. Finally, the crocodile sometimes appears as a totem not because it is bad tempered and devours men, but because it is always on the watch and at the slightest disturbance submerges itself and disappears in the river or because its scaly covering makes it invulnerable to arrows and javelins.

Such are the qualities that a secret society demands for itself.

515 791 782 The "consecrator" has chosen the totem, generally that of a class. He must now procure one himself but catch it "alive." He brings it into the hut of the "consecrated" one, who keeps it, at least as much as possible, on his chest throughout a whole night. In the morning the totem is led with great ceremony to the middle of a clearing and sprinkled with lustral water: the attending practitioners dance around it, then sing the hymn to the totem; the candidate sings it along with them. This hymn extols the totem's strength, valor, and swiftness, and especially thanks it for the protection given the society. Then, after this hymn, the candidate fetches the victim, whom he must offer, and leads him [567 before the totem. Ordinarily, the victim is a foreign slave, because he should not belong to the Fan nation, in order to avoid 562] any possible ritual offense. (1) It is, however, permissible --

> 1. A foreign slave or a woman is chosen because neither possesses a totem and therefore no ritual offense is to be feared.

and this often happens -- to take a Fan woman. The slave or woman is tightly gagged. Usually no resistance is offered, especially since the victim is given alewané to drink the evening [278] before, a decoction of herbs and woody mushrooms that have the property of suppressing memory. The neophyte forces the victim to walk in front of him, or pushes him, going around the totem

695 The following are some of the principal kinds:

A man is accused of murder. He will first have to be
694 seized; if that is impossible, it does not much matter. Since
672 members of the tribe stick together, another man will be
619 seized, no matter whom. If this cannot be done, the Fan may
682 even take a man belonging to another tribe, who will be kept prisoner until his family and tribe, taking up the cudgels in their turn, capture either the culprit or a member of the culprit's tribe. One can see to what degree such solidarity may lead to retaliation.

Once a man has been caught, guilty or not, he undergoes
695 one of the following tests:

682 The dzismébiân is the eye ordeal. A person is brought before the chief, gagged and with his head pulled back. The practitioner takes a little pot made from the hard shell of a small gourd called ngon, which is filled with a certain liquid
[278] consisting of vegetable poisons with an atropine base. The presumed culprit has the right -- and often takes advantage of it -- to require his own totem to be dipped in the liquid. The contents of the pot are then poured into his eye. If the eye stays in its socket, the man is innocent; if the eye is destroyed or raised out of the socket, he is guilty. (1) In the latter case

[171] 1. The same test occurs among the Bangala and Barundi.

he is immediately killed by a knife stroke. He may nevertheless ask to drink the test poison, provided that he is buying back his life for the first time. This is often permitted.

A second and more generally used ordeal is the following, called médzim mé ne ayôn, burning water. [561]

The practitioner boils water in a pot. When it comes to a boil, he throws in a wire ring, and the presumed culprit must retrieve it without burning himself; if his hand is injured, he is declared guilty, but if not, he is adjudged innocent and is dismissed. In such a case, the plaintiff himself is punished and must drink the test poison. The accused man has the right to

683 This is the most frequent test among the Fan.
781 Anyone accused of sorcery, or all those who have suc-
695 cumbed during the first tests, must drink the ordeal poison. This
278 ceremony has been described so often that there is no need to go into it at length.

In the Fan test-poison ordeal three different poisons are used, according to the case in question: the sap of the éñn̂ tree; the grated bark and roots of the oné or onaï; (1) the roots of the

[411]

1. Strychnos onaï: this shrub of the strychnine family, produces the poison used on arrowheads. Puncture is fatal if the poison is fresh, and death ensues within a few moments. If the poison is old, the wound slowly becomes gangrenous. Bromine is a good antidote.

shrub kwéa. (2) These roots are finely shredded, thrown into

2. Strychnos ikaja: this is a common test on the coast, where kwéa, the natives say, is called ikaja, nka, mbonde, ibonde, etc.

boiling water and a reddish liquid is obtained after a few hours of simmering. This highly dangerous brew contains in solution a considerable amount of strychnine and hyoscine.

683 The ngenngàñ, or practitioner, begins by sacrificing a she-
781 goat, with the formulae already indicated. Next, all the vil-
695 lagers assemble, and the practitioner appears in red and white paint, with red parrot feathers and black fish hawk plumes stuck into his hair to form a crown. His only garment consists of a skin tied around his loins, and he wears many bells on his hands and feet. [564] He invokes the protective fetishes of the village, leaps, skips, and howls frenetically. The tom-tom played by one of his acolytes is beaten faster and faster; the practitioner's movements increase in tempo; little by little he seems to move by preference toward a group, the sound of his bells directing him, so he says. Finally he halts abruptly and points in the crowd

683
695
787

for administering an effective emetic along with the test poison. I shall evaluate these ordeals later when discussing religion.

potion.

683
695
787
562

Women are not subject to the tests I have just mentioned except sometimes to the nkal test. Among the Fan they do not drink the test poison; they are, in fact, considered as irresponsible and in a state of tutelage. Therefore in cases of serious accustion, a woman's father or husband has to take her place but does not invoke the totem, because it would not be able to act on her behalf since it does not acknowledge the woman.

Only for an accusation of sorcery does a woman have to submit to a test.

She is brought gagged to the middle of the village, two female relatives pull her head back, and the practitioner empties
[278] into her eye the sap of a euphorbia called ka. (2) If she comes

2. Euphorbia scandens, of the arboreal euphorbias.

through unhurt, she is innocent. If, on the contrary, as nearly always happens, the eye leaves the socket, she is immediately
[266] declared guilty, dragged away into the forest, burnt, and eaten. The accusation frequently arises, and punishment is never delayed.

VIII. Blood Exchange

608 " 'Brotherhood' (in America, totemisation)," says Mgr. Le Roy, (3) "is relationship through an exchange of blood; if

3. La religion des primitifs [The Religion of Primitive Peoples] op. cit., p. 120.

this is not quite totemism, it is very near to it."

000 Ornamental scars. -- Painting. -- Tattooing /Ed., in the German, Tätowierung/ (1): origin; purpose;

1. The Lübeck Museum for Anthropology writes Tatanierung.

parts of the body tattooed; execution; varieties; payment of the tattoo artist. -- Mutilation of the teeth: reason; execution.

1. Dress.

291 The native dress of the men is a strip of material drawn between the legs and folded in the back and the front over a belt. The strip is about 90 centimeters long, 70 centimeters wide, and made of the bark of various fig /173/ trees (Fig. 111). The bark cloth is left either in its natural color and in that case shows all gradations from almost pure white to a dark reddish brown, or it [386] is dyed a resplendent red by means of red wood and is often so magnificently prepared that one can distinguish it from European cloth only by looking at it closely.

291 Nowadays European cloth is to be found everywhere as a result of trade, and it is supplanting the original dress which is so 177 becoming. European cloth is sometimes worn just like the bark cloth, but usually it is wrapped smoothly around the loins with or without a belt (see Fig. 111).

291 Only once did I see in place of the bark cloth a narrow loin apron made of monkey skin, which at the upper end was drawn 281 over the hip string and the rest fell down in long strips (etō'b-mabǎ,s).

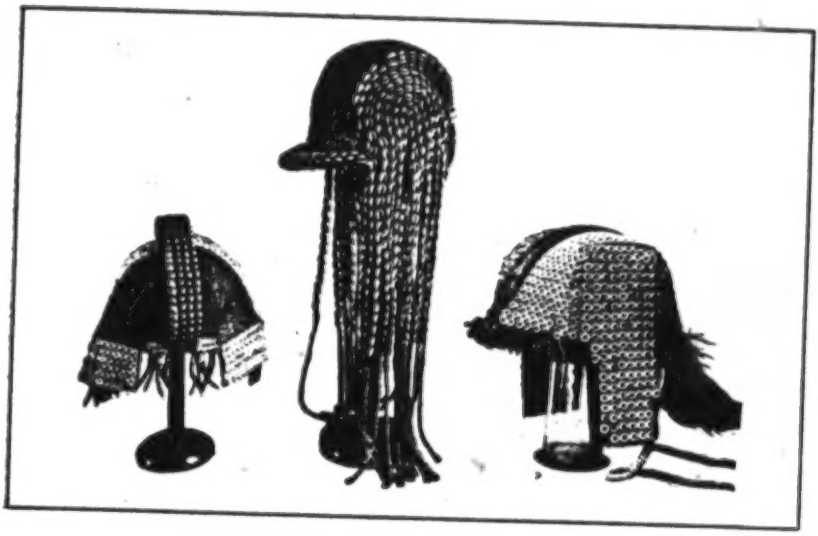
291 The belt (kǎ'na IV) consists of fiber strings with or without beads, a braided palm band (Fig. 112), or hide. The simple strings are to be seen only on boys or people who pay little attention to their appearance; the beaded belts, in contrast to those of the /Figs. 112 and 113 appear here in the original text/ women,

are single strings. The braided belts, Figure 113 (bǎ'b IV, Fang), apparently occur only in the south. The hide belts are either narrow bands, usually made of monkey hide, or broad bands of antelope hide whose hairy side is first shaved smooth and then incised with all kinds of patterns. Belts made of the stalks of the bindweed (abǭdembē̌, that is, "those who dress poorly," from bōt, "to dress," and mbē̌, "the poor, the bad") are regarded as the most inferior. They are worn only by people who are very negligent about their appearance.

Fig. 112. Fiber Belts.
(b) Decorated with cowrie shells.

Both in form and material, the women's dress is fundamentally different from that of the men. It consists of two pieces, the front apron and the back apron, both being held against the body by a hip band made of hide strips, fiber, bead strings, or European material. The front apron in its simplest form (which is found among the northern Pangwe) consists of a long, narrow, dry banana leaf which covers the pudendum and the perineum between the legs and is folded in front to form a triangular flap which is wrapped over the hip string. Otherwise, it is made either of bark cloth or a piece of hide. The back apron among the Fang is a small, modest piece of bark cloth which occurs in two forms. The first type is a band three and a half meters long and 23 centimeters wide sewed together out of many (eight to nine) pieces, /174/ which by means of pleating is shortened to a small apron 24 centimeters long and 13 to 27 centimeters wide. A string drawn through the upper edge gathers it in, like a fan. The second form consists of from two to eight small, quadrangular pieces of bark which are gathered

Fig. 113. Braided Belt.



292

Fig. 119. Helmet Caps.

Of 25 different forms, which are given individual names, about half are worn by both sexes indiscriminately; the rest are worn only by men or only by women. Among the Fang the men's ornaments are more frequently the same as those of the women than is the case among the Ntum, and for this reason they are more frequently the butt of ridicule. 302 381

Helmet crests and ornamental caps are worn constantly; only as a sign of mourning are both taken off -- the former is sometimes also taken off before a hunting expedition. /178/ 292 765

To make his ornamental caps (edõ'ban, etũe'), the Ntum takes a hide from a long-tailed monkey, dwarf antelope, young goat, or sheep. The hide is cleaned of its fat, turned inside out, and drawn over the arch of a plantain rootstock that has been cut to a semi-spherical shape. It is tied with a string at the base, and along the edge it is fastened by pegs to the ground. Stretched in this way, the hide must be dried in the sun and later over the fire. 294 281

Furthermore, blackened bast strips of the Triumfetta are needed. These are colored in the following manner: the bark of certain 294 386 824

325 intercourse. During this period, the ore is carried to the hut in
372 baskets and piled up there, and charcoal (miē, mēi) is obtained. The charcoal must be especially "strong," and for that reason it is obtained only from the following five trees: 1) Pentaclethra
[824] macrophylla Benth., Leguminosae (ebā); 2) Erythrophloeum guineense Don., Leguminosae (elŭn); 3) Cylicodiscus gabunensis Harms, Leguminosae (edūm); 4) Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms, Leguminosae (andzītsin); 5) Irvingia grandifolia Engl., Simarubaceae (ngūn IV). The wood is heaped up in small piles near the village, set on fire, and, when it is charred, extinguished while still glowing. The water with which it is extinguished is skillfully squirted out of the mouth like a shower.

325 In Bebai, among the Schumu family (Woddo region) where I
343 saw the smelting, a smaller hut stood next to the smelting hut
834 (Fig. 182, Drawing 2); this hut contained nothing but a sleeping bench (p), a poker hook (q), and a number of spare blast pipes (r) for the furnace. The hut owner for whom the smelting was to be done the next day spent the last night in it in order not to succumb to the temptation of violating the above-mentioned rule at the last moment. This precautionary measure shows how steadfastly the Pangwe actually observe the many commandments.

325 In the morning the workers appear with their tools, the blast pipes (žŏn IV), and bellows.

The bellows without valve -- but in contrast, it does not have wooden sticks used as handles. It is made of soft wood (see page 240); from its two bowl-shaped enlargements (Pangwe: alŏ-nkŭm, "bellows ears") separate shafts lead /228/ /Fig. 181 appears here in the original text/ into the tip (Pangwe: ndžŭ-nkŭm, "bellows
[281] nose"). The bowls are covered with animal hide with the hairy side inward, or (only among the Jaunde) with leaf sheaths of the banana tied together in a tuft. Since the hides are moved directly by hand and not by means of sticks, only soft hides can be used, such as those of the long-tailed monkeys, the potto, the civet cat, and the African dwarf buck Neotragus batesi Winton.

The pit in the smelting hut is stuffed full to the rim with leaves of the umbrella tree, so that after the completion of the smelting process it can be cleaned of the charcoal remains without any

411
281

Fig. 83. Shield of Buffalo Hide.

579 Schüe gave for one of his deceased wives, strife broke out. In the course of the festival Schüe wanted to start counting up the people who had done some injury to the deceased. And since -- as /249/ usual -- there was a great deal of shooting at the festival, he ordered that there be quiet in front of the meeting house, saying that whoever wanted to shoot had better go into the next village. Thereupon Bekongo, the son of Makina, stood up and said, "I don't care, I'm not going to listen to that stupid talk," and fired off his rifle near the meeting house. Naturally, the Ebäangon people would not stand for this, and Schüe's sons said to Bekongo, "Hey! our father just forbade anyone to shoot here; do you think that Schüe is a slave here in his village?" In this way a verbal battle developed between the two parties, and soon the brawl with bush knives was in full swing with blood flowing on both sides. The Bebai people related to the Ebäangon people tried to bring about a reconciliation or they sided with Schüe. Finally the Bebai people moved off, pursued by the Ebäangon people armed with choppers, who called after them, "Wait, we'll get even with you yet!" The last of the Bebai people was Ejamatua, a man from Makina's village. He was either annoyed by the shout or he was particularly harassed by the pursuers; in short, for whatever

223

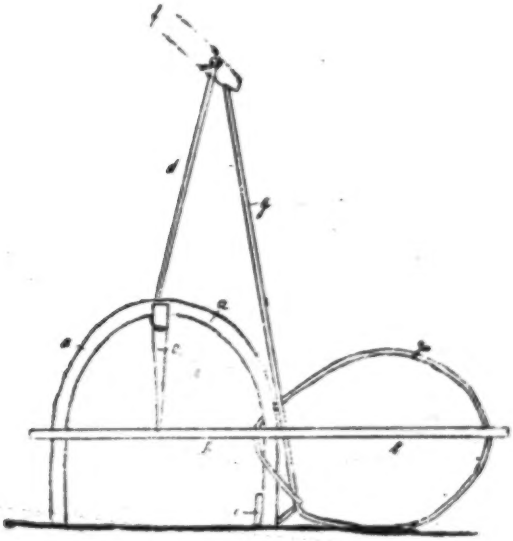


Fig. 79. Gressor Trap, ewuas.

(b) Tree draw trap

The most frequently used trap for smaller birds is the tree draw trap, nkpwǎ̠s (nkpwǎ̠s = an imitation of the sound of a trap slamming shut or of the hand seizing the prey), Figure 80. It is set up in trees, and hence the trap spring (a) is tied to a twig (x). A novelty here is the fact that what is usually the free end of the vice, the extension (as we have called it), is clamped inside the fork of a holding pin (i) (ntḗbe-osū III, from a tebe = to stand, osū = before; thus, projection). Another innovation is the arrangement of the noose which is made from two ropes of the stalks of the Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch. (okiaikui; stalk = ndénan). The two ropes are tied together at one end and fastened to a twig which takes the place of the draw stick (f); then a string (h) is slung around the branch (x) and tied loosely to the noose (g) (in y) so that it can be moved along it. The ends of the sling are now laid around the extension of the vice; the bait is tied on it at z, and the trap is ready. The bird that sits down on the vice at z

[283 824]

462 favorite activities. This explains their skill in sewing, patching,
463 and so forth, which the European discovers to his joy in his Black servants.

(a) Thread and sewing.

283 The simplest material for fiber work is thread (klɛ̌s IV, ndě's,
824 IV) from the climbing Aracea Rhectophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (klɛ̌s IV, ndě's IV). The threads are obtained by cutting off the aerial roots and drawing out the fiber bundles which are extremely durable and frequently quite long. /Fig. 160 appears here in the original text./ They are used for sewing, for children's fishing rods (ngǎk), and, secondarily, as binding material for combs made of strips of raffia leafstalks and neck bands made of bands of rattan palm (or Marantacea strips).

Fig. 160. Bobbin with String.

The raw leaf fibers of the pineapple are also used to sew pieces of bark cloth together, etc.

(b) Ropes and knotting.

283 Plant fibers are used more frequently in the form of strings (Fig. 160) than as thread. Just like the shoemaker's thread in Europe, the strings are twisted together by rolling them with the flat of the hand on the upper thigh. The plants used for this purpose are pineapple, plantain, raffia, Gaertnera, and Triumfetta.

From the pineapple, the fiber bundles of the leaves are used; its strings are quite durable -- but not in water, and therefore fishing lines cannot be made from them -- and fairly fine, so they are especially suitable as strings for beads. A charming effect is created by the shoulder bags tied with them (mfǒk I), into which are put all kinds of little personal belongings, medicines, and so forth. These bags are taken along on journeys, chiefly by men.

•283

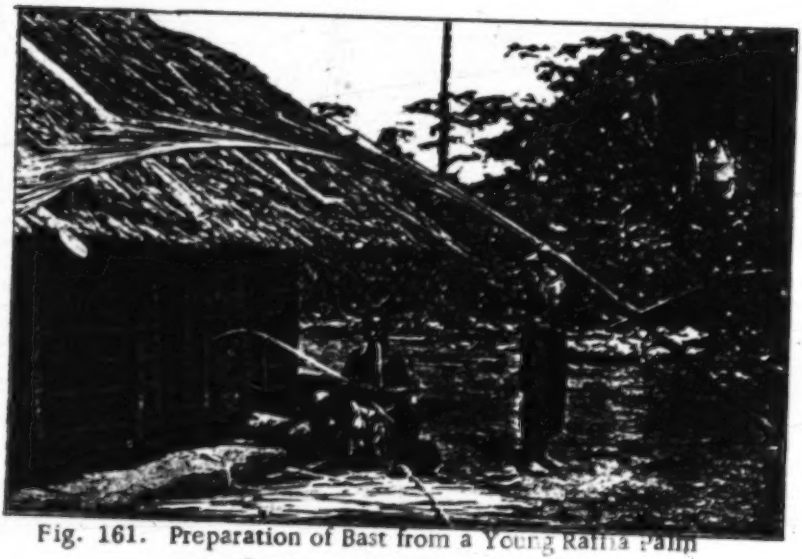


Fig. 161. Preparation of Bast from a Young Raffia Palm Leaf, Nkolentángan, Spanish Guinea.

Very attractive white fibers (ndĕ[s] -ekŏn) are obtained from plantain trees by cutting down the trunk, removing the leaves and outer sheaths, and /210/ /Fig. 161 appears here in the original text/ drawing the fiber bundles out of the inner leaf sheaths. The fibers are braided into strings which are thin but not very durable and hence little used.

The bast of the leaves from the raffia palm is worked into ropes (Fig. 161). A very young, still closed leaf (because of its pointed shape, the natives use ntŏn, "horn," in its name, ntŏ[ń] ndzuga, that is, a young, horn-like raffia leaf) is cut off and thrown on the ground so that the pinnae are loosened and can easily be torn off. The folded laminae of the pinnae are yellowish, with green only at the bent edges which in the case of a closed leaf are the only part visible from the outside. The latter are not used and are torn off. Then a lamina is pulled off from the top to just above the bottom; at this point it is bent inwards, turned up, and while the fold is held in place, it is torn away underneath. Now its lower end is folded against the vein of the leaf so that the bast layer -- which is the only usable part and which grows

283

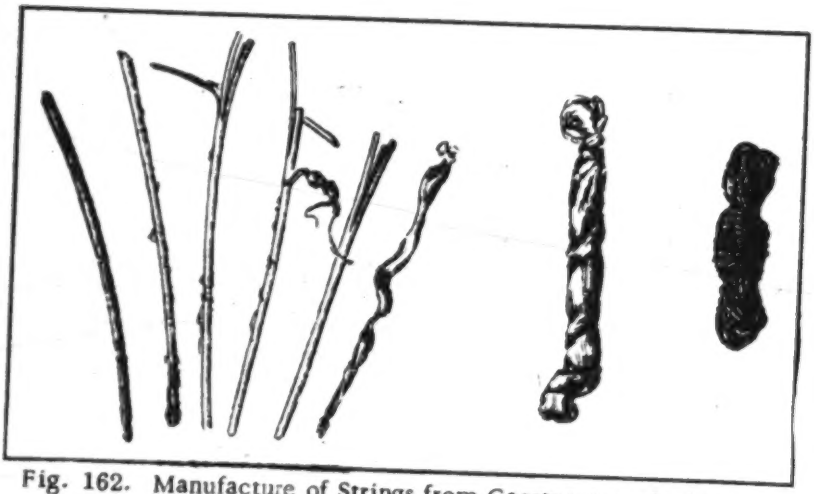


Fig. 162. Manufacture of Strings from Gaertnera paniculata.

together with the epidermis -- of the upper surface is loosened from the mesophyll; then the lamina is pulled off. The bast is left to dry, and after it has been hastily twisted or turned into regular strings, it is used for various purposes (for sewing bark cloth, stringing pearls, and so forth).

The most durable ropes (Fig. 162) are made from the bast of the Rubiacea Gaertnera paniculata Benth. (esõ'mõ Fang, ešũẽme Ntum, ngũn Ntum, Bulu. The shoots /211/ /Fig. 162 appears here in the original text/ of this tree are cut off, and their bark is shaved off by means of a strip of raffia stalk (ngũ,ṅ). Then a section at one end is quartered lengthwise, and the shoots are dried for a day. The upper four tips are then bent, which releases the bast layer from the wood, and it is now pulled off in four strips. The layer consists of a fine soft web of fibers which can be processed without further ado. The product is a brownish-colored rope which because of its strength is used for angling lines, game and fish nets, crossbow strings, and stringing decorative cowrie shells. [824]

Triumfetta cordifolia Guill. et Perr. (var. tomentosa.), okũṅ, is a shrub-like growth which sometimes grows taller than a man. It is readily recognizable by its dark-green leaves, which have a shimmering silvery-white and softly haired underside, and its yellowish blossom panicles. Although not equally common everywhere, it occurs in open [824]

284

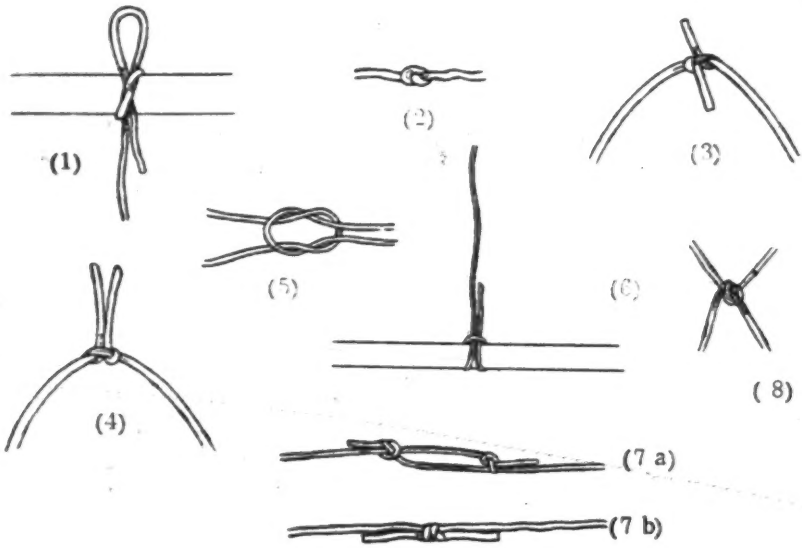


Fig. 163. Pangwe Knots.

283 places in the vicinity of villages and in areas where formerly there were villages. The ready accessibility of this plant has the consequence that its bast is used more frequently for ropes than that of other plants. In order to obtain the bast, the stalk is cut off at the height of one meter, and four incisions are made in it at the upper end. The outer layers are pulled off the wood, and only then is the bark separated from the bast layer. Finally, the bast layer is relieved of its cells by being pulled under the edge of a knife firmly pressed against it (in so doing the Negro sits on the ground and uses one heel as a support). The bast obtained in this way is dried and worked into ropes which are used in the same manner as the Gaertnera ropes. /212/

284 /Fig. 163 appears here in the original text. / As a note in conjunction with Figure 163, we shall list the names and uses of the knots found in the Pangwe region.

Drawing 1: solufumo, "contracted"; sofumo from a šulǎn = to dissolve, fūm = into nothing. Since pulling at the long end the knot is immediately untied, it is used in the

284

house to hang up things that one frequently needs, as well as for neck bands.

Drawing 2: atšin̓ e lǫ̆dǫ̆tǭ from atšin̓ = knot, lǫ̆dǫ̆tǭ = firm, strong. The knot is attached -- as among us -- to the end of a thread to prevent it from pulling out (as, for example, in baskets) or to prevent beads from sliding off a string.

Drawing 3: atšin̓ e mbiǎn̓ from mbiǎn̓ = holding rope, used for climbing trees, for tying together two ropes, especially for the holding ropes.

Drawing 4: atšin̓ e zǒn̓ (zǒn̓ = firm, strong?), used in the same way as the previous one, as well as for neck and forehead bands that are to be used for a longer period of time.

Drawing 5: dzǐ[s] -avǭ't; dzǐs = eye, avǭ't = fixed net. These knots are used for fixed nets and hammocks. Drawing 5 shows the knot loosely tied.

Drawing 6: atšin̓ e nkpwǎ̄s (nkpwǎ̄s = tree draw trap for birds), used for bird traps, fish weirs, and probably also for other purposes.

Drawing 7: nia atšin̓ = correct, true knot. Drawing 7a, loosely tied; Drawing 7b, drawn tight.

Drawing 8: mvūkūlu (mvūs = back, kū[l] = turtle; thus, turtle's back), used only to tie net meshes. /213/

(c) Bands and braids.

283

In contrast to ropemaking which combines twisted plant fibers into strings, braiding combines strips of fibers lying next to each other, which I call bands. They come arranged this way in nature, in leaves, bark, bast, or wood, which are cut into strips. /Fig. 164 appears here in the original text. /

(1) Pigtails of bast.

One takes two bast strips, folds one double and places the second between the folds so that the upper half remains outside and can later serve as a fastening. This provides three braiding

283 elements of the same kind, and these are braided together into a pigtail (helmet caps and helmet hairdos; see also device of the Mwele for hanging pots, Fig. 164). /Fig. 165 appears here in the original text./

(2) Carrying bands and braided mats.

[482] The carrying bands are braided from Triumfetta bast strips (two under, two over). The braided mats are made from leaf strips of the screw pine Pandanus (awŭ'ba, kŭbuga; contracted form, akŭ̃a) which intertwine like a chessboard. Mats are found only in the [285 459] southern border region and are probably imported. There is a boat-like satchel for the novices of the Jaunde moon cult (see Section 11 /Ed., this section in Vol. II is not translated/), which is braided like the mats and made of the same material.

(3) Drying boards and boxes.

283 The floors of the drying boards are made by braiding raffia 285 stalk strips (four under, three over). The bottoms and parts of the 415 side walls of the boxes are made from braided palm bands (three under, three over). /214/

(4) Storage baskets.

285 The storage basket (angũn Jaunde, angunda Mwele) is a 251 transitional form between the box and the basket insofar as its 415 basic material is raffia pith boards (Fig. 165) placed next to each other and held together by stalk strips of Sarcophrynium tied around them. The storage baskets are used in the house for storing food-stuffs, such as groundnuts, ears of corn, and so forth.

(5) Baskets.

285 Basketwork is done either with one material or with a combina- 415 tion of two different materials. The former is the case with the following.

285 strands are placed like hooks around its outside edge, and they are
415 fastened to it with Triumfetta bast or a string.

Depending on their size, the basketwork plates have various names. The small ones are called fá III Fang (a, b), the somewhat larger ones ovǒk, the ordinary large ones dʒǎd, niǎ dʒǎd = real, true basketwork plates (c).

Concerning their use, see page 137.

(8) Belts (bab IV).

283 These are braided from a number of superimposed strips of Ancistrophyllum (nkǎne) interwoven with bush rope Oncocalamus (see "Dress and Ornaments," page 166).

3. Woodworking.

322 Despite the considerable importance accorded to it in the
517 Pangwe household, wood carving has remained on a comparatively
532 low level of development and bears no comparison with the achievements of other primitive peoples, such as the Melanesians. Its forms display a certain sober utilitarianism, a stiffness and uniformity from which all movement and playfulness are excluded. Only rarely does it rise to the level of representational sculpture. Representations of whole human beings are to be found primarily in the ancestral figures, rarely on chiefs' sticks; heads, moreover, are to be seen only on the posts of meeting houses (seen only in one case), on bench posts in the meeting house, in the memory game, and in the masks used for the moon cult (Sso).

322 The number of objects made of wood is very large, as will be apparent from the list that follows:

1. Digging sticks
2. Shovels
3. Hoe and axe handles
4. Posts for the meeting house
5. Bench posts for the meeting house

752 find their way into the bodies of fighting companions, are removed
278 by incision. The sap of Landolphia ochracea K. Sch. (avŭ'm) is then trickled over the wounds, and they are rubbed with oil containing leaves of Chasalia afzelii (Hi.) K. Sch., Rubiaceae (dzĭ a ndzĭk III), or they are washed out with water containing ground leaves of Sarcocephalus sambucinus (K. Sch.) C. W. (alū'mă).

[579] In the case of cut wounds, which occur quite often either during the frequent scuffles with bush knives or as a result of carelessness while clearing the jungle, the wound is covered with the leaves of Cissus vogelii Hook f. (mbŏmōnezăm I) mixed with snake water, or the sap from the twigs of Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub (mvō' IV Fang) is dripped into the wounds, or they are covered with bark scraped from Amphimas tessmannii Harms (edzĭ) or the rind of the roots of the Menispermacea Jatrorrhiza strigosa Miers (ndzĭ'kengū,i I, IV). In the treatment of wounds the following are also used: a Sterculiacea (okū,n e žŏ,k) (leaves ground in water); Combretum mucronatum Thom. et Schum. (otūgĕlĕ III) (leaves ground in the same manner); Coinochlamys schweinfurthii Gilg., Loganiacea (otūgĕlĕ-etŏ,k); and Adenia staudtii Harms (edŏdō ndzĭk III); furthermore, Phaseolus lunatus L. (okŏ'kŭno III), the ground leaves put in a leaf bag, and the latter pressed out over the wound; finally, Trichoscypha (olĕ'ne amyūt), pieces of whose bark are boiled and then decanted lukewarm onto the wound; likewise Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms (andzĭtsin).

In the case of burns, ground leaves of Combretum lawsonianum Engl. et D. (tŏntŏnebŏ III) and Combretum latialatum Engl. (nsŏsō'k I) are applied to the wounds with some water.

About a dozen medicines are known for sprains (mbū'ge) and fractures. In the case of the former, the treatment consists of heating a bundle of the medicinal plant over the fire and then pressing it to the painful areas. Fractures are put into splints with
[283] firmly tied raffia leafstalk strips.

For tumors (etūt) the bark of the Euphorbiacea Cyclostemon tessmannianus Pax (betūte elĭ' III) is used. The tree itself has excrescences on its bark; the latter is removed from the tree, dried, and charred. Then incisions are made into the tumor, and the ashes

8: Bennett D-5 (ca.1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

142 bread-winners and some are strong and muscular, while many more are weak and worn out from ceaseless toil.

The Fang make good carriers, and will do a splendid day's journey even in the 482 wet season with bad forest trails, if not overloaded. A carrier's load should never 147 exceed 25 kilogrammes; and 20 would pay better on a long journey. The first day out with a caravan the men usually drag along slowly, until their loads settle well down in the *kingi* and fit their backs. The *kingi* is a very ingenious contrivance for carrying a load in; it is usually made from a forest vine with a plaited head strap. To hurry carriers the first day is a bad mistake; poorly adjusted loads chafe and cause sore backs, and before night the whole caravan is tired out and sulky. It is a wise traveller in Africa as elsewhere who knows how to save his men.

145 A very noticeable fact among the Fang is the scarcity of old men. I 164 attribute this largely to the ravages of syphilis; the same terrible disease that has done so much towards the degeneration of numerous coast tribes, and which is already playing fearful havoc among the Fang. Indolent, untrustworthy and warlike, they are nevertheless a most companionable people. 181 The slightest piece of drollery or a joke immediately causes laughter. It has been my privilege to visit many foreign lands including China, Japan and Korea, yet never in my life have I met such an absolutely good-natured, fun-loving people as the Fang.

461 The men are not fond of work. They frequently ask me for something to do to "earn a cloth." If I tell them to cut fence poles or good clean bark in the forest, they decline. A male Fang's idea of work is to sit in the *Abeng* (= palaver house) and make fish lines by rolling pineapple fibre along the upper [783] portion of his thigh, or to manufacture *Abi* (roof thatch). At these occupations he can converse with all comers, hear the news and take his part in talking a palaver. 627 They are a revengeful people and will keep up a palaver over a woman for many years. If they do not succeed in shooting a man during a palaver they do not [727] hesitate to fire at and kill a woman, while captives held as hostages are often treated with great cruelty.

836 The women regard virtue very lightly. Before marriage a girl can do nearly as she pleases. It is absolutely safe to state that it would be almost impossible 517 to find a maiden in a Fang village over sixteen years of age. Adultery is common, [837] and one of the chief causes of "women palavers." Women rank first in value as [862] goods for trade, next in value are goats, then guns and cloth. The greed for goods has a strong hold on the people. They learn quickly but have very little originality. They have no obscene rites. Their habits are very dirty; they will wash in a 515 small pool of water and, while bathing, fill the gourds or imported jugs with the water in which they are washing and use it for domestic purposes. In many other ways they are absolutely filthy, and descend to the level of brute creation. They [834] are not over-burdened with modesty, both sexes frequently bathe together in a perfectly nude condition. A male Fang passes a large percentage of his time in

344 The pieces of bark, one to two meters long and approximately a half meter wide, are attached to the frame in the following manner. To the inner side of the wall posts longitudinal

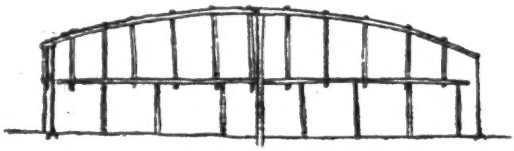


Fig. 25. Frame of a Meeting House of the Fang from the Region of Komo (Village of Omvan, French Congo). Cross-Section Lengthwise.

strips of raffia leaf stems (ebai) are /64/ attached by means of boards at certain distances from each other, and to these the bark pieces are fastened by means of raffia strips which run exactly parallel to the boards. The posts, therefore, usually stand outside the house, very rarely within it. The bark pieces and raffia strips are held together by bands of Oncocalamus (nloñ I = Oncocalamus and band) (1) -- see Plate 16 -- and they are

584 824

438

1. The Jaunde buy this "bush rope" from Elandi, the only place in the Jaunde region where bush rope is still available; otherwise they use Dipteropeltis poranoides Hallier f. (atū[k]e ndžik).

finished by two people working together in the following manner. One of them crouches inside the house, the other outside, and

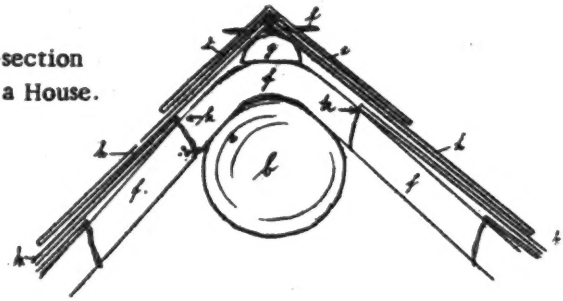


Fig. 26. Cross-section of the Ridge of a House.

284

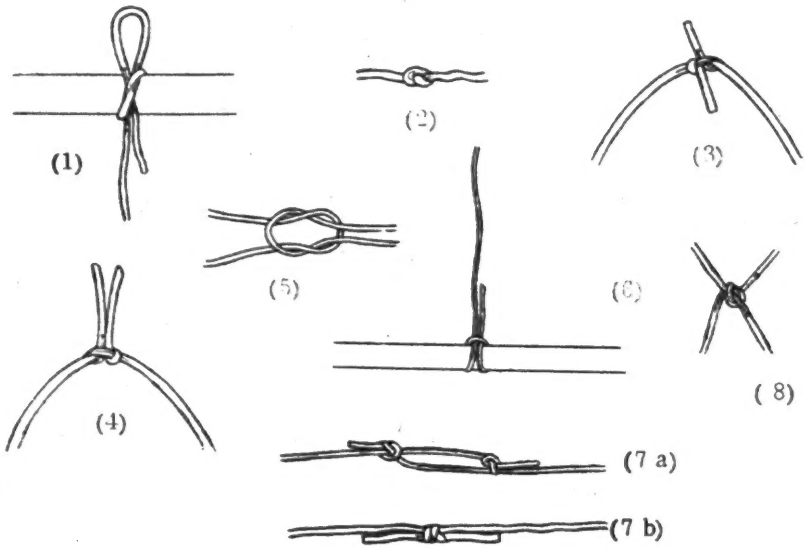


Fig. 163. Pangwe Knots.

283 places in the vicinity of villages and in areas where formerly there were villages. The ready accessibility of this plant has the consequence that its bast is used more frequently for ropes than that of other plants. In order to obtain the bast, the stalk is cut off at the height of one meter, and four incisions are made in it at the upper end. The outer layers are pulled off the wood, and only then is the bark separated from the bast layer. Finally, the bast layer is relieved of its cells by being pulled under the edge of a knife firmly pressed against it (in so doing the Negro sits on the ground and uses one heel as a support). The bast obtained in this way is dried and worked into ropes which are used in the same manner as the Gaertnera ropes. /212/

284 /Fig. 163 appears here in the original text. / As a note in conjunction with Figure 163, we shall list the names and uses of the knots found in the Pangwe region.

Drawing 1: solufumo, "contracted"; sofumo from a šulǎn = to dissolve, fūm = into nothing. Since pulling at the long end the knot is immediately untied, it is used in the

284

house to hang up things that one frequently needs, as well as for neck bands.

Drawing 2: atsin e lǒdǒtǒ from atsin = knot, lǒdǒtǒ = firm, strong. The knot is attached -- as among us -- to the end of a thread to prevent it from pulling out (as, for example, in baskets) or to prevent beads from sliding off a string.

Drawing 3: atšin e mbiǎn from mbiǎn = holding rope, used for climbing trees, for tying together two ropes, especially for the holding ropes.

Drawing 4: atsin e zǒn (zǒn = firm, strong?), used in the same way as the previous one, as well as for neck and forehead bands that are to be used for a longer period of time.

Drawing 5: dzǐ[s] -avǒ't; dzǐs = eye, avǒ't = fixed net. These knots are used for fixed nets and hammocks. Drawing 5 shows the knot loosely tied.

Drawing 6: atšin e nkpwǎs (nkpwǎs = tree draw trap for birds), used for bird traps, fish weirs, and probably also for other purposes.

Drawing 7: nia atsin = correct, true knot. Drawing 7a, loosely tied; Drawing 7b, drawn tight.

Drawing 8: mvūkūlu (mvūs = back, kū[l] = turtle; thus, turtle's back), used only to tie net meshes. /213/

(c) Bands and braids.

283

In contrast to ropemaking which combines twisted plant fibers into strings, braiding combines strips of fibers lying next to each other, which I call bands. They come arranged this way in nature, in leaves, bark, bast, or wood, which are cut into strips. /Fig. 164 appears here in the original text. /

(1) Pigtails of bast.

One takes two bast strips, folds one double and places the second between the folds so that the upper half remains outside and can later serve as a fastening. This provides three braiding

284
415

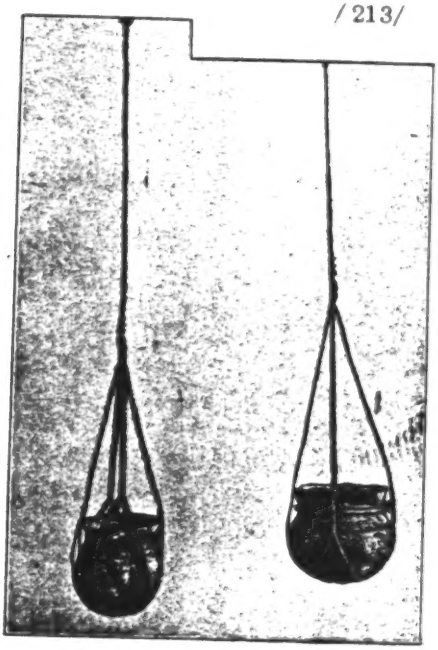


Fig. 164. Mwele Device for Hanging Cooking Pots.

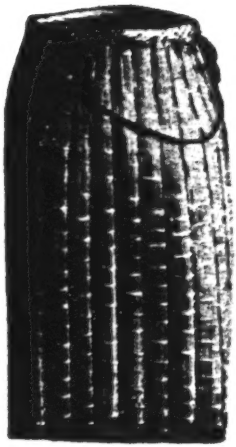


Fig. 165. Storage for Groundnuts.

285
415
251

245 distribution of cacao plantations is neither the only nor perhaps the
[511 principal cause of inequality. Cacao production is on a considerable
55L] scale: around 50, 000 tons in the Cameroons, 3, 000 tons in Gabon (4).

[433]

4. Almost the whole of the Gabon output comes from the Woleu-N'Tem region and especially the Ntoumou cantons. (P. A.)

It is easy to understand that this crop is an essential factor in the
182 evolution /sic/ of Pahouin society.
245 In the field of common law, for example, cacao has affected the orientation of land law. By giving each person the possibility of making /33/ private profits, cacao has increased the independence of men and even of women from family authority. Because it allows the accumulation of durable and tranferable goods, cacao has raised, in a new form, the problem of successional devolution /inheritance/.

To consider only the realm of technology: settling on the land during several generations has apparently put an end to real nomadism; villages are no longer moved about. But a certain amount of shifting cultivation will remain inevitable if some method of rapid reclamation of fallow land is not adopted.

245 The stock of tools has increased considerably. An axe with a small,
412 narrow head ending in a tongue was fastened into the large end of a wooden handle, a daba similarly made but with a rounder head and lighter handle (1) and a machete were formerly the basic implements.

[284]

1. The tongue of the hoe, driven into a branch like a spike, is also bound to it with liana. Old women still use the digging stick, which has or had some ritual significance. (P. A.)

To these must now be added pruning shears, caterpillar destroyer or a local copy, and cacao spear.

245 Boxes or baskets provide vats for fermenting the /cacao/ beans, a roof shades the trays on which they are put to dry. Some men have thought of buying Vermorel vaporizers for spraying the cacao trees; others dream of mowing machines for clearing the land.

779 would lead to a ritual offense. These branches are embedded
778 in the earth; they must also be straight, cut from the actual
622 trunk of the tree and not from a branch; upon these poles stuck into the ground, the chief arranges pieces of bamboo (1) which

[342 824]

1. Bamboo is the usual term given by analogy to the palm stems or raffia used in all Fan building, in place of real bamboo, which is unknown or a recent importation into Gabon.

[284] make a platform. They are tied together, not with the lianas usual for huts, but with lashings [538] made of rattan palm. When that work has been done, the chief places his évora biéri on the upper tier; the other family heads put their bivora bibiér to the right and left in order of precedence. When all the boxes of skulls have been lined up, each man, after having danced and sung around the altar, then approaches it again, opens his box, removes the ancestral skulls, and places them on the lower tier below the boxes. Upon his family skulls he places the family totem, then his own personal totem. There is another series of dances, accompanied by songs. The chief then advances again, alone, and puts the skull of his immediate ancestor above all the others, dances and sings, then puts the skull inside that of the first ancestor. He also takes his family totem, which by the very fact of his birth is the tribal or clan totem, and places it upon the two superimposed skulls, his father's and that of the clan father. Then there begins a special
533 song called the Song of Union. The archaic words are nowadays
622 for the most part very hard to understand, the general meaning,
779 on the other hand, is easy to grasp: it deals with the uniting of all the heads of families in direct line and consists of an invocation to the Spirit of the Race, who has passed down through all descendants from the first ancestor so as to produce a united and indivisible whole. The final words of the song express this idea quite clearly:

227 upwards in such a fashion that their tips just protrude above the water.

It goes without saying that such weirs can be built only when the water level is lowest. As soon as the water in the river rises, it carries many fish with it and /113/ drives those which are not caught in the baskets of the lateral weirs onto the screens where they often remain in large numbers and are simply picked up by the Negroes. They are reached by a special bridge built out from the bank or by climbing along the edge of the lateral weir.

227 423 This kind of fish weir occurs everywhere except in the north. Usually the chief induces a number of people to construct such a weir; these people then have the sole right of ownership to the fish weir and the fish. They do give their relatives and acquaintances, probably for nothing, a part of their catch, either from a sense of solidarity or because they expect that in similar circumstances they will be provided for in the same way. On the other hand they [425] demand payment from strangers, the amount depending on the size

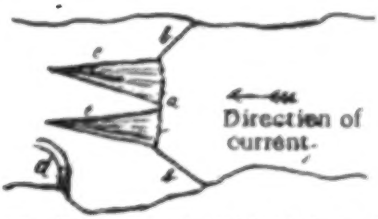


Fig. 60. Diagram of a Fish Weir in the Abea: (a) main weir, (b) lateral weirs, (c) screens of the main weir, (d) a tree growing on the bank and bent over the water.

of the fish, one or two spears (seven or 14 pfennigs) apiece. The major part of the catch is consumed immediately; the rest is dried. Since fish spoil quickly in the tropics, only a very few leave [251 435] the place where they are caught; another reason for this is that the uncertain conditions in the Fang area prevent regular trade (1).

1. There are no markets at all.

227 285 In addition to the contrivance just described, consisting of main and lateral weirs, one also encounters lateral weirs used by themselves

227 as independent "basket weirs." They provide a less abundant
285 catch, but on the other hand they are not restricted to a certain water level and for that reason give a regular supply. Three different kinds of basket are used in this kind of weir:

8. nkǒ́ɛ́ I = ordinary baskets,

9. ayǎ′ = short fish baskets (Fig. 61),

10. nsǒ́ń I = long fish baskets (Fig. 62),

and usually two such kinds are used together.

227 In smaller rivers or streams, such as the Miemie, a tributary
226 of the Kje, nsǒ́ń and ayǎ′ are laid, and in large rivers, a larger form of the ayǎ′ and nkǒ́ɛ́. These two types of baskets are always used in one weir since experience has shown that one species of fish is more readily caught in one type of basket, while another species is more readily caught in the other. Only rarely is just one type of basket, such as the nsǒ́ń, used exclusively. These long baskets, nsǒ́ń, which may have a diameter up to 30 centimeters, are used with special frequency among the Jaunde, but also occur in the south. Usually from three to four baskets are placed in one weir, say, two ayǎ′ and two nsǒ́ń (Fig. 63). At the same time it should be noted that the long baskets, nsǒ́ń, lie with the opening towards the source, while the ayǎ′ (like the nkǒ́ɛ́) are placed with the opening facing the river mouth, so the fish that are swimming upstream will also be caught. The weir that consists of ayǎ′ and nsǒ́ń is designed for the following /114/ /Figs. 61 and 62 appear here in the original text/ creatures: spiny-finned sheatfish (collective name, kȭmɛ̌ɛ́m IV) (1); Clarias walkeri (ngȭ′); Synodontis

1. kȭ(s)-a-maɛ̌ɛ́m, that is, fish with spines on its back.

tessmanni Papph. (ngȭ′ń, nwȭń I); furthermore, Marcusenius sphekodes (Saus.) (ntȭtȭ′m); Gnathonemus moorii (Gthr.) (anɛ̌′n); crawfish; common crabs; Palaemon shrimps (nwȭs); etc. Finally, Clariallabes longicaudatus Papph. (ndȭna I) are also caught in it.

227
285

Fig. 61. Short Fish Basket.

Fig. 62. Long fish Basket Weirs.

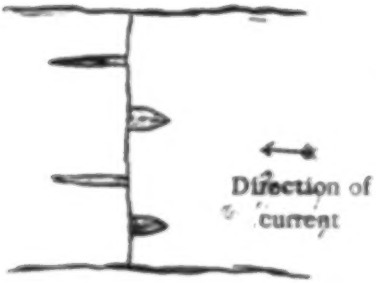


Fig. 63. Diagram of a Basket Weir.

227
285

/115/

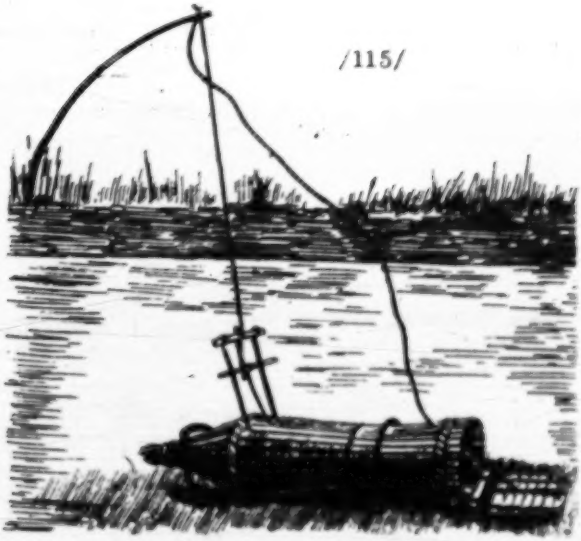


Fig. 64. Basket Trap for Fish.

Fig. 65. Catch Basket for Fish.

224 1. Drive of lower animals into baskets;

2. Drive of big game into nets.

In the drive for lower game living in caves, especially porcu-
285 pines (ngǔm), elongated baskets (nkŏ,e'-ngǔm) made of the stalks
[224] of the Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch. (okiaikui) are used (Fig. 86, Drawing 1). The baskets are placed at the various exits of the cave; at one of them the hunter stations himself and either sends a dog into the passage or beats the ground with a stick. The frightened animal flees to one of the remaining exits and lands in the basket where it gets stuck and, because of its quills, is unable to retreat rapidly. A man then rushes to the spot and kills the animal with his spear.

A second kind of basket, but correspondingly narrower (Fig. 86, Drawing 2), is placed outside ratholes. The animals are chased into the basket in a regular drive in which the entire youth of the village takes part, and there they are killed. These baskets are called nsǎn.

These rat drives, carried out with a great hullabaloo, are for the young what the drive of wild animals (nǔ,m I, abim) is for the adults. Game nets, frequently 16 meters long, are attached to one another and set up at suitable places in the bush to form what are often very extensive snares. The beaters chase the animals into these nets with the help of dogs that
[534] carry wooden bells (nkōle-myū I, myū,ho IV, angǔ,n e myū, edū,n e myū, ongō,lǎ'-myū, ekbwēle), Figure 87, around their necks. The animals get tangled up in the meshes and are shot by the hunters stationed there. It should be added that this drive is a great undertaking and a general popular festivity, the details of which, however, I must forbear to describe. I shall only observe that in this manner a considerable number of antelopes and other game are caught, and the Pangwe deserve commendation for carrying out this undertaking with splendid success, since it is indeed not an easy job in the rough and impassable forest region. Even the driving of elephants into large

[441]

Fig. 85. Elephant Spear (fired from a rifle).

224
285

Fig. 86. Basket Traps.

224 fenced-in areas is not unknown to the Fang and is supposed to have been practiced more frequently in former times when the region was more abundant in these pachyderms.

The distribution of meat from the animals caught on the drives is regulated. If a huntsman, for instance, kills a wild animal in such a way that it dies on the spot, /138/ /Fig. 86 appears here in the original text/ he must give the meat of one forefoot to the first of his companions who appears on the scene. On the other hand, if the animal runs on, the first comer can lay claim to the entire forefoot, the second to the shoulder pieces (abá') (1) of one

1. From the stem bǎ, "to divide"; these pieces are usually divided first because the animal falls down to the ground (which, after all, is also common property) with its shoulders first.

side, the third to the outside of the shank (ebǔ'n). Finally, the one who carries off the animal can claim the neck bones with some flesh (ebǒ̃ǒ) (2).

[482]

2. For he also carries the animal around his neck (placed over his shoulders); abǒ(g)e, bǒǒ = to carry.

224 In view of the excitable and stormy character of the Pangwe,
672 it is no wonder that many of them on such a hunting expedition,
682 where the coveted, delectable tit (tit, "flesh" and "game") jumps

258 Cyrtosperma senegalense (Schott) Engl., Araceae (ebǎngabǎnga).
824 Furthermore, the fronds of the raffia palm are used to a lesser extent. In the Fang region Halopegia and Cyrtosperma are always used together, never one exclusively; in other areas, for instance in the Ntum region, the following swamp plants are also used: the Loganiacea Anthocleista zenkeri Gilg (ají̄nebe-nzǎm III); the Zingiberacea Renealmia alborosea K. Sch. (adžǔmmekūm); the Urticacea Boehmeria platyphylla D. Don. (sǎ[s]-dzǎm); the Acanthacea Brillantaisia vogeliana Bth. (ebǔgebǔ́n); the Aracea Anubias heterophylla Engl. (andǎk); a Composita (elǒ[k]-osǔe); the Commelinaceae Palisota schweinfurthii C.B. Cl. (epfǔpfū́-zǎm) and Pollia condensata C.B.Cl. (ajǎn-osǔe); and in addition, where swamp plants are absent, the Marantacea Phrynium confertum (Benth.) K. Sch. (nkǒn afǎ́n I) and the climbing Aracea Rhektophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (ndé's). /148/

258 462 To get salt the men go into the swamp (zǎm), cut down the salt-producing plants, and let them lie in the sun for a month to dry. Then they are brought under a shelter erected in the vicinity; the leaves and leafstalks are burned in an open fire. The plant ashes, dirtied with the remains of the logs, are carri[illegible]nto the village and kept on the loft above the fireplace in the [illegible]e for three weeks to dry. The men's last job here is the makin[illegible] a large
285 funnel which they crudely plait (ngǎn nkū IV) from the stalks of the Marantacea Trachyphrynium violaceum Radlk. (nkǒmokǒ́mo I). All further work is done by the women. The latter set up the funnel, which they prop up with poles inside or outside the house, and line it with leaves of Sarcophrynium in such a way that the lowest leaf -- folded together in the form of a funnel --.fits just into the tip and the other leaves cover the funnel wall like roof tiles. The funnel is closed off below by a filter consisting of a ball of grass, Paspalum
824 (obū́ŋ), or leaves of the Phytolacca dodecandra C. Her. (atǒt) (1);

> 1. From the stem tǒ, "run through, drip through," because the brine has to drip through the herbs.

then the ashes are put inside the filter, water is poured on them, and

1: Tessmann--225 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

284
415

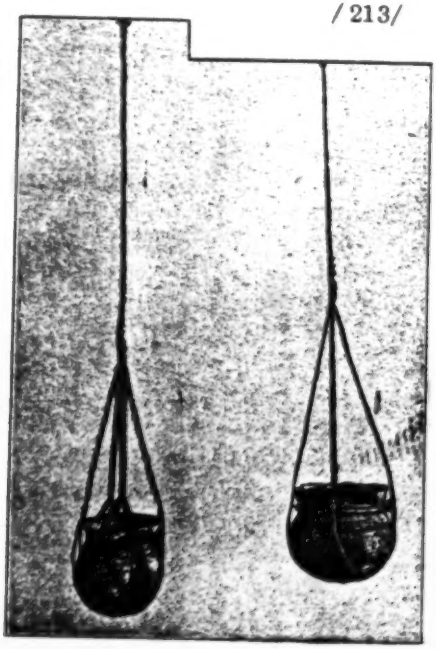


Fig. 164. Mwele Device for Hanging Cooking Pots.

285
415
251

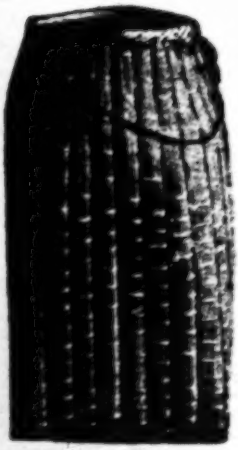


Fig. 165. Storage for Groundnuts.

283 elements of the same kind, and these are braided together into a pigtail (helmet caps and helmet hairdos; see also device of the Mwele for hanging pots, Fig. 164). /Fig. 165 appears here in the original text./

(2) Carrying bands and braided mats.

[482] The carrying bands are braided from Triumfetta bast strips (two under, two over). The braided mats are made from leaf strips of the screw pine Pandanus (awŭ'ba, kŭbuga; contracted form, akŭă) which intertwine like a chessboard. Mats are found only in the [285 439] southern border region and are probably imported. There is a boat-like satchel for the novices of the Jaunde moon cult (see Section 11 /Ed., this section in Vol. II is not translated/), which is braided like the mats and made of the same material.

(3) Drying boards and boxes.

283 The floors of the drying boards are made by braiding raffia
285 stalk strips (four under, three over). The bottoms and parts of the
415 side walls of the boxes are made from braided palm bands (three under, three over). /214/

(4) Storage baskets.

285 The storage basket (angūn Jaunde, angunda Mwele) is a
251 transitional form between the box and the basket insofar as its
415 basic material is raffia pith boards (Fig. 165) placed next to each other and held together by stalk strips of Sarcophrynium tied around them. The storage baskets are used in the house for storing food-stuffs, such as groundnuts, ears of corn, and so forth.

(5) Baskets.

285 Basketwork is done either with one material or with a combina-
415 tion of two different materials. The former is the case with the following.

415
285
[462]
[824]

1. Women's hanging baskets (nkūn I). Unlike most other baskets, these are also manufactured by women. They are made from strips of the stalk bark of Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch. (stalk, ndēn, ndēnān IV). They display considerable variation, both in size and pattern (Fig. 166). /Fig. 166 appears here in the original text. /

415
285
412
412

2. Carrying baskets (nkōē' I), which are used only once, are woven in wide meshes from stalks of the Sarcophrynium by men and women whenever their regular baskets are not available or not available in sufficient numbers, or if they want to spare the baskets. Thus, they would use the carrying baskets, for instance, in

[531]

Fig. 166. Women's Hanging Baskets.

order to transport the bloody flesh of a freshly killed elephant into the village and for similar purposes.

285
415

3. Baskets for the oil press and for carrying earth (ekūt, ekūt-ažūī' = oil press baskets, ekūt-ebē = earth baskets). The first is used to squeeze out oil from the pulp of the fruit (ažūī') of the oil palm or raffia palm; the second, to remove the earth that is dug out when pits (ebē) are made. Both baskets are braided from Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc. (nkāne) (1).

[824]

[412]

1. I once saw a knife sheath woven entirely from bush rope (Oncocalamus), Figure 167.

285 The second class of baskets displays a variety of braiding elements: one that is flexible and active (braiding strips) (2), forms

[113]

2. See the discussion in J. Lehmann, Systematik und geographische Verbreitung der Geflechtsarten /System and Geographic Distribution of Types of Braiding/, Leipzig, 1907.

the bottom of the basket, and, ascending upward, is tied around the second, stiffer, passive one (braiding strand). /215/ Placed in the form of a spiral, this second element forms the wall of the basket. The sources of the braiding elements are as follows.

285 824 The active elements are taken from Sarcophrynium stalk strips, Pandanus leaves, or -- this is the predominant source -- the outermost wood layer of the rattan palms. The term for these current today is the collective name nlóñ I, a word derived from the root a lǒn "to braid, to twine" (compare a lǒn ndǎ, "to weave a house together, to build"; a lǒn nkǒ,ē', "to weave baskets"), and used at the same time for the "bush rope" obtained from the rattan palms. Formerly, nlǒ'ñ designated only the Eremospatha macrocarpa M. et W., which occurs only in the coastal strip west of 11 degrees longitude and in the north or northeast of the Pangwe region. Later, when the Pangwe came south, the term was transferred to the two rattan palms occurring there which are used for the same purpose, namely, Eremospatha tessmannii Becc. (ongǎm) and especially Oncocalamus mannii Wendl. (ebǒ'dǒgǒ Fang, ebǒ'dǒk Ntum; young, akǒ'lōt), Plate 16, Drawing 1, which is important there (1).

342 824

1. The rattan palms mentioned, aside from being used in weaving, are also used in the following ways.
1. In house construction: as rough bands, to tie together the framework of the house; as finer bands, to tie together the lathes of the side walls and the raffia leafstalks of which the sleeping

342
824

benches are made; and -- in the form of very fine bands -- to tie roof mats together.

824

2. In bridge construction, as railing ropes.

3. To wind around worn or bad wooden handles (cutlass and knives) and handles of fly swatters and brooms.

4. As a band, for example, to hold together damaged rifle butts and wooden plates, to tie down the bark stretched over the sounding board of the harp, and so forth.

5. As the main strand for the woman's back apron made of bast; the bast bundles are fastened to it.

6. As string for the musical bow (elěm).

7. As bird snares.

8. In making bark containers (see above).

9. As decorative strips for arm and neck bands (ekăt).

10. As a stamp to make a pattern on pottery.

285
824

The passive element mainly comes from the rattan palm Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc. (nkāne, more rarely ekǎ), Plate 16, Drawing 2, which differs from the Oncocalamus mannii in having large spikes on the upper side of the main leaf vein and finer spikes on the center vein and along the sides of the pinnae, a terminal inflorescence, and differently colored fruit (2). As

2. Aside from weaving, this is used in the following ways.

1. Decorative strips for arm and neck bands (ekăt).

2. Walking sticks.

3. Sugar press.

4. Tension ropes for drumheads.

285
824

5. Bands, a substitute for bush rope.
6. Scraping sticks for cassava.

The related Ancistrophyllum opacum M. et W. (egbwā'ś) supplies tension ropes for drumheads, net hoops, and snares.

/216/ a substitute, Calamus deerratus Mann et Wendl. (edžǐ,ń) (1).

1. This is also used for flutes (ndžǐ,ń I) and sticks for scraping cassava (akō-edžǐ,ń).

is used for some kinds of baskets (women's large carrying baskets and men's small carrying baskets).

285
415
[462]

The following kinds of baskets are made with various types of weaving.

1. Covered basket of the Jaunde (afǒn) made chiefly by women. Braiding strand of palm band, braiding strips of Pandanus leaf strips, braided like a checkerboard (one over, one under).

285
415
482
[824]

2. Large carrying baskets for permanent use (nkǒ,ē' I, nkbē' I Fang), in which the women /Fig. 167 appears here in the original text/ carry home wood and produce. Braiding strand of Ancistrophyllum (nkāne), more rarely of Calamus deerratus, braiding strips of Oncocalamus (nlǒń).

3. Small carrying baskets (okǒkǒ,ē', "small carrying basket," and engā'ne), Figure 168, made of the same material as the previous ones, only smaller, frequently with a more finely braided edge whose active part may consist not only of bands but also of strings. Usually, moreover, the main braiding strand is replaced for a short distance in the middle of the basket by a blackened one, called ekǎ̃ha nśūt (b). These baskets are considered especially elegant; the woman takes them with her on journeys and packs food in them. In the house, raffia aprons and other objects are kept in them, and in the fields they are used to hold groundnuts and other things. /Fig. 168 appears here in the original text. /

4. Men's carrying baskets (ebā'da), Figure 169. In the case of these baskets, the braiding strand is made either of Calamus or

285
412

/216/

Fig. 167. Knife Sheath.

285
415

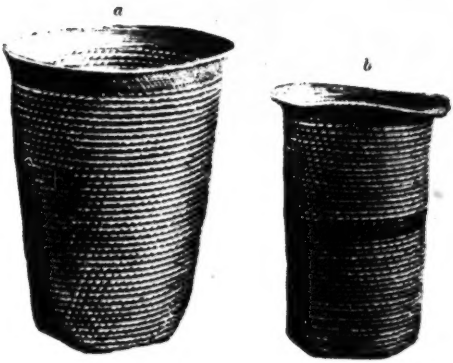


Fig. 168. Small Carrying Baskets.

Fig. 169. Men's Small Basket with Decorations of Hide and Strings of Beads.

Ancistrophyllum. In the latter case, I found them strengthened from the outside by little sticks of the same material braided in diagonally. 285 415 482.

5. Rattle baskets (ngōt). /217/ These appear in two forms: the first and larger one consists of the same material as the carrying basket; the second and smaller one has the same reinforcing sticks in its wall as the previous baskets and a piece of calabash shell for the bottom (concerning their use, see Section 20 /Ed., this section in Vol. II is not translated/ and the illustration there). 285 415

(6) Basketwork bowls of the Mwele (ekátă).

For these (Fig. 170), there are likewise active braiding strips and one passive /Fig. 169 appears here in the original text/ braiding strand wound in a spiral, as in the true baskets of the second series. In contrast to the latter, however, the spiral begins in the middle of the bottom and thus forms the bottom and the wall, and it is held together by braiding strips woven in at right angles. These bowls, which perhaps are the result of northern influence (Haussa /Hausa/?), are used by the Mwele to store maize meal and as plates for finer foods. [77 25]

285
45
824

(7) Basketwork plates (dʒǎ.d; plural biǎ.d).

Here (Fig. 171) we have, in place of a braiding strand that runs in a spiral, numerous braiding strands made of strips of the Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc. (nkāne) or of the Marantacea Trachyphrynium violaceum Radlk. (nkōmonkǒ'mo Fang), which form the quadrangular bottom surface and the basic material of the edge (or, as one might prefer to say, of the wall). In order to make the edge tight and to hold it together, a braiding strip is woven into it, this being a band from the stalks of the Oncocalamus mannii Wendl. (nlǒ'n), the Orchidacea Myrsacidium productum Kranzl. (okǒ-o-jō'b (1), anžǔ'ma), the Apocynacea Motandra spec. (okǒ-e-si) (1), or from a raffia pith strip (nkō-ešǔšǔ). The position

1. okǒ from the root kō = band, rope; o jō'b = above, because the orchid is a parasitic plant growing on trees; o si = below, because the Apocynacea grows on the ground.

of the braiding elements with respect to each other is thus precisely the reverse of that in the true baskets of the second series. /218/

/Fig. 170 appears here in the original text./

285
45

They are manufactured in the following manner. Four strips are placed close to each other lengthwise on the ground and held down with one foot; at some distance from these and parallel to them four more strips are laid down, and so on ten times, so that in all there are forty strips. These are diagonally interwoven with 36 strips likewise arranged in fours, so that each of these diagonal strips always runs alternately over and under three of the longitudinal strips, but so that there are different longitudinal strips at each diagonal plait, for instance:

Diagonal strip 1 lies under longitudinal strips 2-4, over 5-7, under 8-10, and so forth;

Diagonal strip 2 lies under longitudinal strips 3-5, over 6-8, under 9-11, and so forth.

285
415

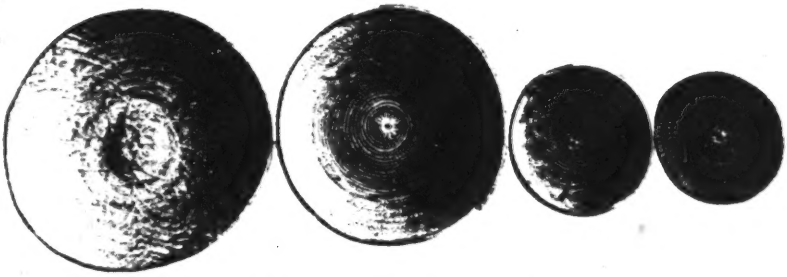
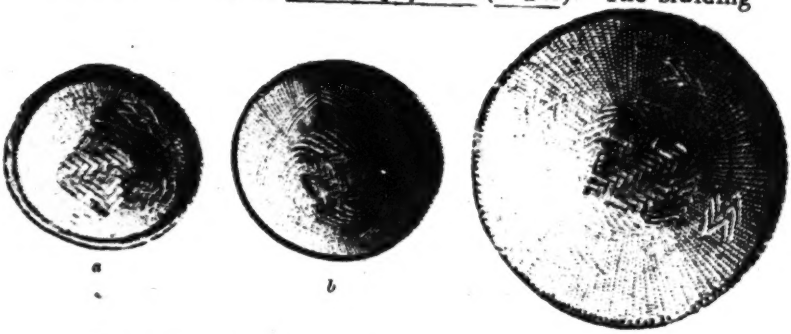


Fig. 170. Basketwork Bowls of the Mwele.

When all the strips have been woven, they are pushed tightly against each other. In this way, a firm quadrangular surface is created, which is held together by one or two bands tied over it in a cross, and the ends of the strips that have not yet been woven protrude from the sides of this surface. These become the braiding strands of the edge of the plate by being bent upward to a greater or lesser degree -- depending on whether the plate is to be deep or shallow -- and interwoven in a spiral form with a braiding strip that always skips one to three of them. /Fig. 171 appears here in the original text. / /219/ In the process, patterns are created through variations in the weaving. Finally, the braiding strip is pulled tight. Gaps at the corners are filled in with independent, short braiding strands that have been bent double. The edge is closed off at the top with a hoop of Ancistrophyllum (nkâne). The braiding



a b c

Fig. 171. Basketwork Plates.

285 strands are placed like hooks around its outside edge, and they are
415 fastened to it with Triumfetta bast or a string.

Depending on their size, the basketwork plates have various names. The small ones are called fá III Fang (a, b), the somewhat larger ones ovǒk, the ordinary large ones dʒǎd, niǎ dʒǎd = real, true basketwork plates (c).

Concerning their use, see page 137.

(8) Belts (bab IV).

283 These are braided from a number of superimposed strips of Ancistrophyllum (nkǎne) interwoven with bush rope Oncocalamus (see "Dress and Ornaments," page 166).

3. Woodworking.

322 Despite the considerable importance accorded to it in the
517 Pangwe household, wood carving has remained on a comparatively
532 low level of development and bears no comparison with the achievements of other primitive peoples, such as the Melanesians. Its forms display a certain sober utilitarianism, a stiffness and uniformity from which all movement and playfulness are excluded. Only rarely does it rise to the level of representational sculpture. Representations of whole human beings are to be found primarily in the ancestral figures, rarely on chiefs' sticks; heads, moreover, are to be seen only on the posts of meeting houses (seen only in one case), on bench posts in the meeting house, in the memory game, and in the masks used for the moon cult (Sso).

322 The number of objects made of wood is very large, as will be apparent from the list that follows:

1. Digging sticks
2. Shovels
3. Hoe and axe handles
4. Posts for the meeting house
5. Bench posts for the meeting house

1: Tessmann--282 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

531

/252/

Fig. 204. Decorative Barks in the form of "Masks."

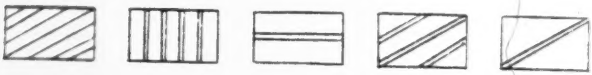


Fig. 205. Carved Patterns on Stools.

531
285
415

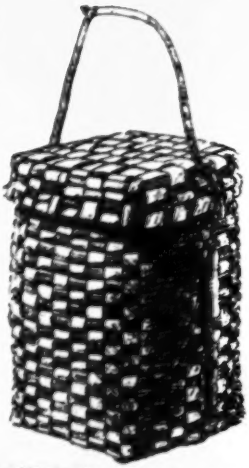


Fig. 207. Small Storage Basket of Jaunde Women, made of Pandanus Leaf Strips.

Fig. 206.

Checkerboard Pattern.

Fig. 208. Pieces of Sugarcane Stalk.

411
[415]
[285]

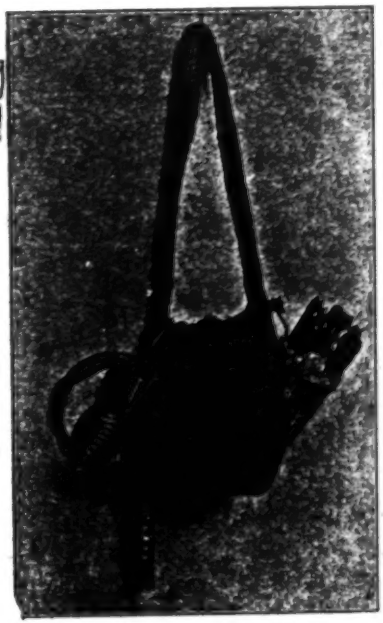


Fig. 78. Shoulder bag of pineapple fibers, used for storing things and for rifle charges in wartime. To the right, a little basket with "chevaux-de-frise"; to the left, shot medicines and an iron war pipe.

practice have maintained some skill in spear throwing. On the whole, the Jaunde did not go over so exclusively to the use of firearms as did the Fang, for instance, who are quite unable to part from their flintlocks. They even give them human names and love to let them "speak."

The spears (Fig. 79) consist of a shaft and tip. The former is made of wood and is artfully grooved lengthwise, as has been described in the section on woodworking /Ed., Vol. I/. The tip is attached with a socket and forged from iron; in very recent times one could frequently see Ntum chiefs carrying ornamental spears with carefully worked brass tips. The cutting edge has the shape of a more or less oblong leaf, and this distinguishes the different types of spears. The older types among the Fang are gbŭń-akŏ̰ń (akŏ̰ń = spear) (a), akŏ̰ń-okăk (okăk = Okak, Fang people) (a), tō̰mō̰-akŏ̰ń (e), and mbăʃ s] -akŏ̰ń (b); of more recent origin, supposedly is the barbed spear, ngā'm[k] -akŏ̰ń (c), and etŏ'hŏk.

The crossbow is only a hunting weapon; the bow and arrow, as well as the slingshot, occur only as children's toys.

The weapons for short-range fighting are the sword and the battle-ax.

The sword (pfă IV Ntum, fă IV Fang) (Fig. 80) has two cutting edges which sometimes end in barbed hooks at the base

palm oil is the basis of sauces and stews eaten with tubers and cereals. Groundnuts are widely used (do not the Ewôndo owe their name to them?). The dough obtained after cooking and pounding goes toward the making of numerous dishes and provides the main part of the needed protein. One article of food ought finally to be mentioned because it is very much liked and also because its consumption seems absolutely uneconomical—pumpkin seeds. The seeds are preserved, dried, and cleaned one by one, then put to boil, and mashed. The skill required for, and the time spent in, shelling the seeds appears subject to scanty return (1).

1. But fritters made of pumpkin-seed dough are delicious .... There is quite a good trade in these seeds for town consumption. (P. A.)

2. Agriculture

Before broaching the description of present-day agriculture, we must see what it used to be like and what it still is in certain traditionalist sections. In fact, methods do not appear to have changed at all; new crops have simply been added to the old ones. It is likely that because of the influence of these new crops /29/ the whole technology (material techniques, legal techniques, etc.) will develop further. But that trend is only starting, and at present the cultivation of groundnuts, maize, and other long-familiar foodstuffs remains nearly what it was forty years ago, before the advent of the cacao tree.

Traditional agriculture

Formerly, each family produced everything it needed and confined its efforts. There were no cash crops, there was no article of food suitable for maintaining an exchange system, but all sorts of crops were cultivated. As to clothes, elderly Bané and Ewôndo state that the cultivation and weaving of cotton was practiced by their ancestors; there could be no question of this in their present habitat, and the tradition is valuable merely as evidence, either for those who believe that the Pahouin come from regions further north, or for those who see in the Beti not true Pahouin but a Pahouinized people (1). Each

415 since they first sought a container, e.g., for the skull of the
761 dead, in order to preserve it; hence, the suffix aka). A bark vessel is also, as it were, the grave (n-so-n), for the body of the dead person lies in it in a trough made of bark, which sometimes is closed off with a lid of the same material (passive, since first the place where the body happened to be lying, whether in the house or out in the open, n sɔ̃ń, was named; hence, the passive suffix ń).

(b) Bark cloth.

287 Bark is made into cloth by pounding it with a beater (Fig.
442 159) made from the end of an elephant's tooth (d), half an ele-
[320] phant's rib (b, c), the horn of a white-backed duikerbok Cephalophus longiceps Gray (mvũ IV), or the wood of the
[324] Leguminosa Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms (andzĩtsń) (a). For this purpose, they do not take the wood of a freshly cut trunk, but rather the harder red wood /Fig. 158 appears here in the original text/ of old trees that have been felled a long time ago. The wooden beater has about the same shape as the mallets used by our carpenters and consists of a straight handle with a roller-shaped head which is grooved around half or all of its circumference.

287 The only suitable bark for bark cloth is that of fig trees
824 (etɔ̃b = fig tree [Ficus] and cloth, clothing) (2). /208/
314

2. The following varieties are used in the Pangwe region:
Ficus globicarpa Warb. var. (embĩɔ̃ń);
Ficus cfr. wildemaniana Warb. (adzĩb-etɔ̃b);
Ficus bubu Warb. (akɔ̃-etɔ̃b);
Ficus stellulata Warb. (etĩtɔ́, root to(b) reduplicated);
Ficus preussii Warb. and laurentii Warb. (etɔ̃b, etɔ̃b-o-jɔ̃b, ejɛ̃ĩ, akĩm);
Ficus barteri Sprague (asĩmentũmo Fang, asĩmentũ̃me Ntum);

287 314

and furthermore the varieties the Pangwe call abǎ̀ń, andǔm, undǔm, and ngus.

/Fig. 159 appears here in the original text./ The most widespread varieties are Ficus globicarpa, stellulata, preussii and laurentii, barteri, abǎ́ń, and andǔm. The best cloth -- it is almost pure white -- is provided by Ficus globicarpa Warb. (embiǒ̀n) which in former times was planted near the villages. This tree is preferred by the women, who "attach more importance to clothing" than men.

[245]

287 314

Whenever possible, smooth young tree trunks, no more than eight to ten centimeters thick, are chosen. A piece is cut out

[412]

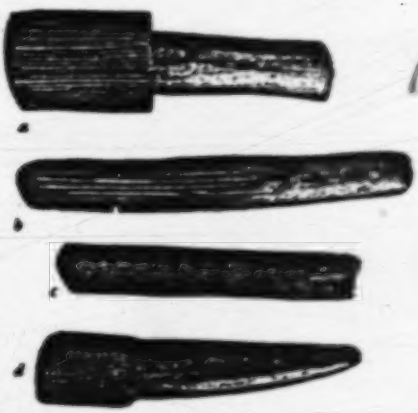


Fig. 158. Beaters for Bark Cloth.
(a) of wood, (b) and (c) of elephant's rib,
(d) from an elephant's tooth.

of the trunk and left lying in the open for half a day or a whole day. Then it is scorched evenly over a small fire, whereupon the outer bark is removed by scraping until the bast layer is completely exposed. Then this layer is cut up lengthwise, loosened by tapping it with the beater, and taken off with the fingers or by means of a stick pushed under it. The bast layer thus taken off is then pounded on some kind of support, for instance, on a tree trunk or a wooden drum. The pounding is

287
314
516

Fig. 159. Manufacture of Bark Cloth by Beating the Bast Layer of a Ficus Trunk, Uelleburg, Spanish Guinea.

287
314 done along the entire length from left to right, and the beater must not be turned (that is, the direction of the grooves) Figure 159. Then the material is folded, beaten on the opposite side, folded once more and tapped, and finally, folded diagonally, it is worked in the same manner. Through this treatment, the piece has been made about twice as long, while in breadth it has remained unchanged. At this point it is unfolded, drawn through water a few times, and then pressed out. /209/ Materials prepared from the varieties Ficus bubu, andum, and undum need not be washed.

The individual pieces of material manufactured in the manner described are narrow. Hence, several of them must be sewn together along their long edges if one wants to make a loincloth, for instance. For men this requires six pieces; for boys four.

2. Fiber work.

462
463 With few exceptions, fiber work is one of the occupations carried out by men. Indeed, it is one of their most frequent and

754 we are already familiar.
278 Another mixture consisted of ground mica, a toad, and ground snake fangs.

The red nʃŭ usually contains:
1. Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (see above);
[825] 2. a red crab from the forest (nkŏńĕle kɑ̄ʃdă) (1);

1. The animal is supposed to make a sound that is reproduced by ʃɛ̄, ʃɛ̄.

3. a kind of scorpion (nsīsā), ground;
4. a chameleon, ground;
5. Mucuna pruriens D.C. (see above).

The black nʃŭ contains:
1. ngō-akɔ́k or ekɔ̄l-akɔ́k, fungus soil dried and ground;
2. akŭn, a fungus growth that lives under water, which is supposed to be very poisonous;
[825] 3. nlṓńo ngūēn, a centipede which is greatly feared because of its poison.

The preparation of nʃŭ is carried out in the most ingenious manner by expert medicine men. For this purpose, the men sew
[287] for themselves a special suit made of the bark of the ondŭ́m tree
[292] (Fig. 50). This suit resembles a long shirt and leaves only the head and hands exposed; these parts of the body are then rubbed
[829] with an extract of Heckeria subpeltata (Wild.) Kunth (abɔ̄ʷmĕdzǎ́ń),
[759] principally in order to protect them against the very poisonous hairs of the Mucuna that fly about. With this preparation, the poison mixers proceed to pound the dried components in a pot and and to mix them by stirring. For this purpose they use a long stick so that they can stay as far away as possible from the poisonous mixture. Indeed, they go even further and call upon old leprous
[734] persons to collect and pour the poison into little horns or bags
[759] (Fig. 51), since in their case it would not matter if in the process they were to become sick or even die.

292
287
754

/147/

Fig. 50. Shirt for Mixers of Poisons, Akonangí (Essandun Family), Ntum.

415
278

Fig. 51. Brass Container for Poison, Mandúmu (Ojek Family).

881 304 779 one thereby becomes incorporated in him and in the tribe. Finally, the taboo surrounding this organ of the body, to which the origin of circumcision may be traced -- either because of the social function of the organ or of the danger of its premature use, or even because of its independence of volition -- allows circumcision to be considered as a desecration that has to precede the stage of virility, in order that use may be made of it. (2)

2. Bros, Religion des peuples non-civilisees [Religion of Non-civilized Peoples], "Circoncision" [Circumcision].

881 304 779 778 [844] Some of these statements hold good for the Fan; some are less applicable. Let me use as an example one of the things that illustrates very well the close connection between circumcision as a religious rite and childbirth rituals, the fact that pieces of cloth used to staunch blood are in both cases carefully kept to be used for the same purpose. [520]

Ordinary warriors place them with their personal totem in the mfek or pineapple-fiber bag which never leaves them. These pieces of cloth, or fragments of them, are always part of totemic sacrifices. The sons of chiefs, on the contrary, are not allowed to keep them; they bury them deep at the base of the sacred fig tree planted when they were born over the remains of the umbilical cord. This custom certainly goes back to remote antiquity. Among the Egyptians, the fig tree was considered sacred and dedicated to the Egyptian Venus, Hathor. From this perhaps comes the word éthu, designating a garment made from the bast of the fig tree. The same word, éthu, has remained in the Fan language with the same meaning, "garment," and the [287 812] inland Fan always make vegetable-fiber cloth from the fig tree, which they still dye red; this was formerly the color dedicated to Hathor, and it has remained the color of betrothal garments. For the same reason, before marriage, young men and women stain themselves red from head to foot. It is a color "set apart."

342
854
291
301
576

Fig. 35. The Door Part of a Dwelling in Olanga (Essángbuak Family), Southern Cameroons.

tail. This is wedged into the door opening in such a fashion that 342
the walls fit into the notches. Sometimes it is given an attractive form by being flattened near the end and having bands of palm plaited around it. Along the sides, on the other hand, the people content themselves with single strips of raffia stalk as door lining.

In the interior a thick post or a number of thinner posts (andẽ'i) stands at both sides of the door opening (mbẽi I) (see Figs. 37 h, 38). Between these posts are wedged one or two diagonally placed poles, by means of which the piece of bark that serves as a door (evǐ'n e nda, evǐ'n e mbẽi = house bark or door bark) is held fast. Sliding doors are more rarely encountered. These run between /72/ the wall and a lath at the top and bottom of the door opening; in the daytime they are pushed to the side and at night pulled in front of the opening. We find door posts even where there are sliding doors, since they primarily serve the purpose of preventing strangers from looking into the hut during the daytime. Most doors made of bark close poorly because they warp. Frequently the "door" consists of nothing /Fig. 36 appears here in the original text/ more than a number of narrow bark pieces that are loosely

/87/

482
291
301

Fig. 51. Fang Women Bringing Firewood from the Plantations.

season. /Fig. 49 appears here in the original text. / Once the bush is entirely cleared (with the exception of the shade trees), a few days are allowed to elapse until the sun has dried the wood. Then fire is set to it, and the farm is "burned," a dźige tśi. At the end of the dry season one can see columns of rising smoke throughout the land, and on walking expeditions one often has the dubious pleasure of having to pass such a burning farm. A great number of birds of prey, especially the parasite kite, circle around the new farm, heedless of the heat, in order to catch every crawling thing that flees from the fire. As soon as the rainy season comes, the clearing of the farm comes to an end, and now "the food is laid." The men move the charred and unburned remains of the trees /Fig. 50 appears here in the original text/ /87/ to one side or heap them up on the farm itself as boundary markers (see Plate 7). The women remove the smaller branches, and it is the women who from this time on dominate the picture, sowing or planting the vegetables, pulling out the weeds which during the rainy season soon become rank, and taking in the harvest. All these, incidentally, are lighter

241

241
462

224

●[291]

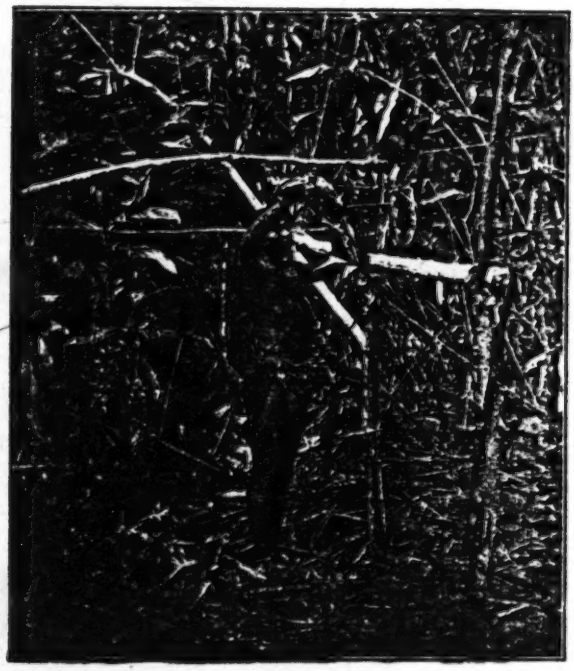


Fig. 81. Lemur Trap.

for the clamping device. Transverse sticks (n) are squeezed between the upper ends of the prongs and firmly tied down. The releasing device (Drawing 2, z) is then tied to the rope (y); this device is a network connecting (y) with the vice (b). The arrangement of the trap can be seen in Drawing 2. The clamp (c) goes around behind the gallows (a) and clamps in front between (a) and the vice; then a noose in each case passes in front between the cross sticks n 1 and n 2 and in the back between n 3 and n 4 (see Drawing 1) and is placed in the opening. A considerable amount of dry leaves covers up the trap. The animal climbs over the branch /132/ /Fig. 82 appears here in the original text/ in order to get from one side of the clearing to the other and lands in the trap which often works so well that the animal is seized by both nooses at once and pressed with great force against the little sticks.

This trap is set up primarily for nocturnal lemurs (1) and for

1. Potto, Perodicticus batesi

411
291

Fig. 90. Hunter with a Crossbow.

411 Although this weapon is much more dangerous in the hands of the natives than a muzzle loader, it is nonetheless never used in war, and even before the introduction of the rifle is not supposed to have been a military weapon. /143/

Section 6

000 Staple Foods and Indulgents

1. Staple foods. Raw materials: meat diet (human flesh, edible higher and lower animals); plant diet (wild plants with edible leaves, fruit); spices (pepper, salt and methods of obtaining it); oil;

1: Tessmann--167 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
291
481

Fig. 111. Men from Angónneuai (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.

080

of metal). -- Breast ornaments. -- Arm ornaments. -- Finger ornaments. -- Leg ornaments. -- Toe ornaments. -- Profusion of ornaments.

3. Care of the body. -- Cleanliness. -- Parasites and their removal. -- Care of head hair. -- Underarm and pubic hair. -- Care of the teeth. -- Salves with oil: reasons, oil plants, oil from the raffia palm, oil from the oil palm (distribution, varieties, production of pressed, boiled, and washed oil, and of palm seed oil). -- Smearing with dyes: occasions, red dye (preparation, vessels for storing it), white and black dye.
4. Adornment of the body. Origin. -- Kinds. -- Scars by burning. --

000 Ornamental scars. -- Painting. -- Tattooing /Ed., in the German, Tätowierung/ (1): origin; purpose;

1. The Lübeck Museum for Anthropology writes Tatanierung.

parts of the body tattooed; execution; varieties; payment of the tattoo artist. -- Mutilation of the teeth: reason; execution.

1. Dress.

291 The native dress of the men is a strip of material drawn between the legs and folded in the back and the front over a belt. The strip is about 90 centimeters long, 70 centimeters wide, and made of the bark of various fig /173/ trees (Fig. 111). The bark cloth is left either in its natural color and in that case shows all gradations from almost pure white to a dark reddish brown, or it [386] is dyed a resplendent red by means of red wood and is often so magnificently prepared that one can distinguish it from European cloth only by looking at it closely.

291 177 Nowadays European cloth is to be found everywhere as a result of trade, and it is supplanting the original dress which is so becoming. European cloth is sometimes worn just like the bark cloth, but usually it is wrapped smoothly around the loins with or without a belt (see Fig. 111).

291 281 Only once did I see in place of the bark cloth a narrow loin apron made of monkey skin, which at the upper end was drawn over the hip string and the rest fell down in long strips (etõ'b-mabǎ,s).

291 The belt (kǎ'na IV) consists of fiber strings with or without beads, a braided palm band (Fig. 112), or hide. The simple strings are to be seen only on boys or people who pay little attention to their appearance; the beaded belts, in contrast to those of the /Figs. 112 and 113 appear here in the original text/ women,

are single strings. The braided belts, Figure 113 (bǎ'b IV, Fang), apparently occur only in the south. The hide belts are either narrow bands, usually made of monkey hide, or broad bands of antelope hide whose hairy side is first shaved smooth and then incised with all kinds of patterns. Belts made of the stalks of the bindweed (abōdembē, that is, "those who dress poorly," from bōt, "to dress," and mbē, "the poor, the bad") are regarded as the most inferior. They are worn only by people who are very negligent about their appearance.

Fig. 112. Fiber Belts.
(b) Decorated with cowrie shells.

Both in form and material, the women's dress is fundamentally different from that of the men. It consists of two pieces, the front apron and the back apron, both being held against the body by a hip band made of hide strips, fiber, bead strings, or European material. The front apron in its simplest form (which is found among the northern Pangwe) consists of a long, narrow, dry banana leaf which covers the pudendum and the perineum between the legs and is folded in front to form a triangular flap which is wrapped over the hip string. Otherwise, it is made either of bark cloth or a piece of hide. The back apron among the Fang is a small, modest piece of bark cloth which occurs in two forms. The first type is a band three and a half meters long and 23 centimeters wide sewed together out of many (eight to nine) pieces, /174/ which by means of pleating is shortened to a small apron 24 centimeters long and 13 to 27 centimeters wide. A string drawn through the upper edge gathers it in, like a fan. The second form consists of from two to eight small, quadrangular pieces of bark which are gathered

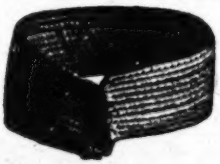


Fig. 113. Braided Belt.

● 291 in at the top, like a fan, and stuck one after another into a clamp (abás) (Fig. 114). This clamp consists of from five to eight short sticks of wood which are wrapped with brass wire or brass plate at one end, are placed next to each other like a grating, and are then tied together with a strip of palm.

Fig. 114. Fang Woman's Back Apron of Bark Cloth.

Among the other Pangwe, the back apron is made of raffia fiber and hangs down like a horse's docked tail (Fig. 115). It is called mfŏk I, mfŏō-zăm (zăm, "raffia palm"), etŭ,ă, azŏ,m, azŏn, ebū'ī, ekŭ'm.

When at work in the fields, fishing, and so forth, the women take off their raffia tailpieces and bark aprons in order to spare

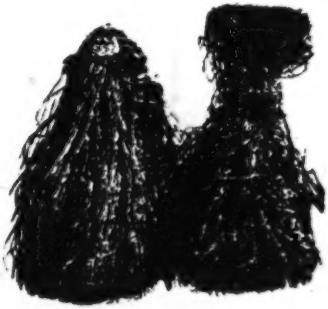


Fig. 115. Ntum Woman's Back Apron of Raffia Fiber.

them and as a substitute put an herb with soft leaves, if possible the Brillantaisia (ebūgebŏ'ń), or ferns under their belts. One also often sees them in this working dress on the way home to the village while their raffia tailpiece or bark apron splendidly adorns the top of the basket filled with fruits of the field or firewood. Men never wear leaves, not even while they are fishing.

302

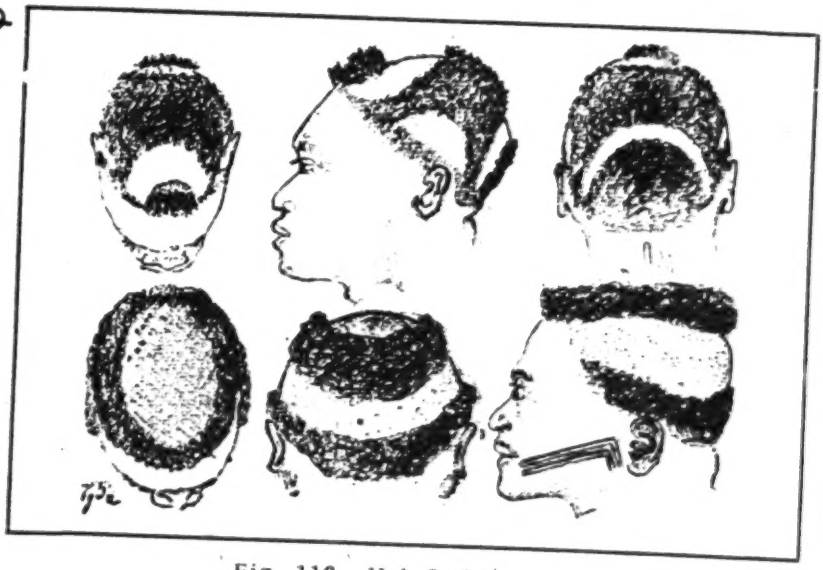


Fig. 116. Hair Styles.

291 During the first years of their lives, small children usually go around naked, girls up to the age of five, boys up to their seventh [304] year. The boys' circumcision does not mark a definite limit in this matter since one sees uncircumcised boys clothed and circumcised boys naked, /Fig. 115 appears here in the original text/ but they do not like to wait long after this occasion. Children, especially girls, may also be clad in a piece of cloth as soon as they start to walk.

302 Nowadays, the Pangwe do not have a uniform hair style. We find an abundance of different forms among them -- even within the same village -- which shows that, like all Negroes, the Pangwe loves to give rein to his mode in dressing his hair for ornamental purposes.

Children usually have their heads shaved at an early age, either completely smooth or /175/ /Fig. 116 appears here in the original text/ retaining a tuft of hair either in the back or the front or a fringe. Half-grown boys wear their hair long or shaved in patterns.

Among adults the hair is either quite long and neglected (Plate 13) or it is shaved quite smooth. In other cases, it is cut

294 end in a knot (2). Twelve such longitudinal braids are placed

2. In braiding, one frequently greases his fingers and twists the strips slightly.

close to one another. The space between these and the edge of the cap is filled by pigtails made in the same way but running at right angles to the others; at the edge they are covered by three rows of pigtails all the way around and are sewed to the hide. /179/ For this one requires a needle made of bark, whose tip has been hardened in the fire and whose other end has a slit for the fiber thread. The pigtails jutting out over the edge are cut off. A fringe (mbə̄m), made of a piece of raffia pith, is put over the crown of the cap. The piece of pith is cut into on both its narrow sides so that it will bend more readily, and over it is sewn a piece of material on which is set a stirrup of the same width, made of palm strips and studded with brass nails -- these stirrups have been described above in connection with the inner surface of the cap. On either side of the fringe there are a few longitudinal rows of red beads strung on raffia fiber. Another decoration on the caps consists of pieces of leather sewn on at the sides, which have cowrie shells or white buttons stitched on them and from which are hung tassels of pineapple strings strung with beads (see Fig. 118, foreground).

The ornamental caps of the Fang are not made of hides but of palm strips, parallel to each other, which are braided with blackened Triumfetta fiber in such a way that one strip is always skipped, and thus a chessboard pattern is created.

302 Older people for the most part do not wear bead ornaments in their hair -- insofar as they still have any -- but on the contrary wear simpler hair arrangements which, incidentally, are supposed to have been more fashionable at one time.

291 Among head [illegible]rings we need only mention caps made from the hide of monkeys, civet cats, or of the ichneumon, Bdeogale
[illegible] nigripes Puch., as well as imported red caps which are worn by chiefs
291 and other elderly "notables." Hats made from leaves of grass
177 (Paspalum) sewn together resemble our ordinary straw hats in shape

291 177 and, according to one informant, are supposed to be imitations of European models.

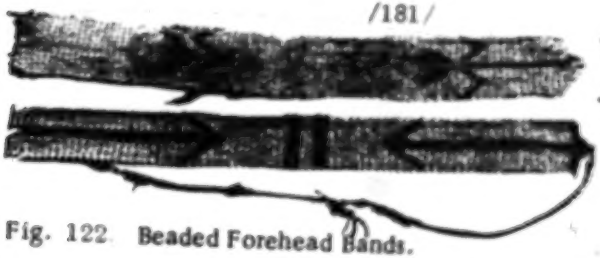
302 Dressing the beard is rare among the Pangwe, since most of them -- like many other Negroes -- pluck out such hair. In isolated instances there are men with beautiful full beards (Fig. 11) or with pointed beards whose tip has been twisted into a little pigtail and covered with cowrie shells or beads. Still others make two or quite a number of pigtails from their beards (Fig. 12); mustaches are rarely to be seen and are quite insignificant.

2. Ornaments.

301 Among the Pangwe the urge to beautify oneself dominates man and woman equally to a considerable degree. All kinds of ornamental pendants are attached to every possible part of the body. In their hair (Fig. 120) they stick a feather which is often cut out in patterns (a, b), a porcupine's tail (c), a wooden arrow, bones /180/ /Fig. 120 appears here in the original text/ (d), brass coiled in a spiral (e), a comb (see Fig. 139), and also, in rare cases -- usually on the occasion of a dance -- flowers, for instance, those of Costus (mień), and attractive or fragrant leaves, such as those of the Leguminosa Cryptosepalum aff. staudtii Harms (anduń) and of the herb called afuń. The latter two are worn only by women and usually in two bundles behind the ear. The ear lobe is pierced and [304] provided with an ornament only among a few Mwai.

301 304 Nose ornaments (Fig. 121), on the other hand, enjoy great popularity; they are attached in a hole pierced through the septum and not to the side of the nose. The requisite operation is carried out on children between six and eight years of age. /Fig. 121 appears here in the original text./ First the person concerned [304] presses the leaves of the Aframomum (adžom), which have been warmed in the fire, to the septum in order to make it softer. Then the medicine man takes a stick of raffia stalk, a quill from the porcupine, or any other pointed tool and drills a hole through the septum with it after he has picked out the right place with the index finger of his other hand. He now pushes a small piece of stalk

/181/



301
531

Fig. 122 Beaded Forehead Bands.

Fig. 123. Necklace of the Fruit of Coix lacryma (Job's-tears).

142
291
301
516

Fig. 124. Ntum Woman from Alén (Essandun Family).

301
142
291

Fig. 132. Fang (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.

301 Breast ornaments are to be found chiefly among women in the form of strings of beads and rough brass chains that hang very low. As one might imagine, these can be recommended only for older ladies.

Especially among women, the arms and legs are just as profusely covered with ornaments. The upper and lower arm or both are adorned with spirals of imported brass wire or with hoops from imported brass tubing (Fig. 133). For the upper arm, the spirals are shorter, while for the lower arm they are usually so long that they completely cover it. The less common upper arm rings made of strips of Laccosperma or Trachyphrynium are placed close together and joined by a pretty braid of Rhectophyllum (Fig. 134). Only men wear strips of black sheepskin on their upper arms; these match the forehead bands of the same material. Rings or bands around the /185/ wrist are among the most popular ornaments. Even children put the stalks of the Rubiacea Megalopus mannii K. Sch. (ngone III) in spirals around their arms. Adults -- men and women -- wear rings made from liana stalks, braided palm bands (Fig. 135), the hairs of an elephant's tail, cast brass or brass wire whose

Fig. 133. Mum Woman from Akonangf (Emandun Family).

ends are entwined like two tendrils (nkib I, Fig. 136, a), or fine brass wire wound around itself (Fig. 136, b). They also wear bands braided from Oncocalamus and thick rings made of ivory or elephant bones (ekim e ŋŋk) or an imitation made from the wood of the Alstonia (ekilik) called ŋŋ k ekilik, "elephant" (that is, ivory from the Alstonia). All three varieties are especially worn by chiefs. Among the Jaunde there are attractively worked, thin arm hoops made of ivory.

Finger rings (Fig. 137) are made of ivory (a), horn (1) (b) blackened in raffia palm oil, and brass. Of the latter there are spirals (c-d), simple thin rings whose ends are slightly entwined (e), bands, and thicker, often slightly ornamented hoops (f).

1. Of the black-rumped duikerbok, Cephalophus callipygus Pus. (mvin IV).

By and large, leg ornaments are similar to those for the arm; here too, shorter brass spirals worn above the knee are the most frequent. Women also wear them just below the knee and, again, they alone wear longer ones which extend from the middle of the calf down to the ankle. In addition, both sexes wear massive or hollow brass rings as well as the peculiar, finely decorated brass foot covers (ebat, nnib IV). /186/

515 (mfŭm-e-ndźik IV) and the Simarubacea Odyendea gabunensis
278 (Pierre) Engl. (ozŏk). Furthermore, the Leguminosa Tephrosia
824 vogelii H. f. (ndǎwólō III) and the Ochnacea Lophira alata Banks
(akŏ́ga) are put on the hair. /Fig. 138 appears here in the original text. /

In the helmet hairdo, under whose thick pads the lice cannot be reached by hand, they are killed by a special procedure. "Lice caps" made of plantain leaves and tightly fitted are placed

[301
• 291]

Fig. 138. Ntum Woman from the Campo Region.

on the head after the bark of the Flacourtiacea Caloncoba welwitschii (Oliv.) Gilg (mié megŭmo III) has been put in it, the bark having first been scraped off and moistened.

302 The hairdos are always greased with oil; also short hair is
824 tended very carefully, moistened with oil and combed out. There are two /188/ kinds of comb (mvǎs IV), those carved entirely out

1: Tessmann--313 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

291
301

Fig. 2. Fang Youths (Essúong and Omwang Families), Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--315 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
291

Fig. 4. Ntum from Bébai (Esseng Family).

1: Tessmann--340 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate XV

142
29
30
415

Woman from Bebai (Eseng Family), Ntum Region.

832 [291] [516] [417]

Fig. 57. Washing the Forehead at the Love Medicine Festival.

times, and in the case of very recalcitrant drops, the medicine was wiped down the bridge of the nose with a bundle of Abutilon leaves. The festive company then moved to the cult place, in this case called a love grove (elik andɨ̌mǎn). Just as the cult figures are usually set up on the trees (because of the sorcerous beings, trees with spikes are chosen) and just as the medicines for wealth are made up under the soul tree, the Copaifera, in the same way the love tree belongs to the love grove, namely the Leguminosa Amphimas tessmannii Harms (edǐi) (1). In Ebǎangon the tree was only a small one, but [778] [829] [592]

1. a dǐi-ń, "to love."

often they are huge specimens. In the background a kind of bench of rods was erected, and under it were heaped a great many twigs of various trees regarded as love medicine. Then the ancestral skulls were set up behind the bench, and the twigs ignited. Those persons who needed an improvement in their love affairs, /161/ /Fig. 57 appears here in the original text/ lay down on the bench and allowed themselves to be thoroughly

/Facing 184/ Plate XXV

341
752
291
142

Fang with a "Gorra" on his [illegible].

2: Tessmann--91 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/Facing 206/ Plate XXVI

142
291
301

Chief of Nschúggebot (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

831
785 sun) -- or with elephant's meat, in which case the child is sup-
556 posed to become spiritually great and important, just as the ele-
[825] phant surpasses the other animals physically, or, finally, with the meat of the hedgehog -- the child is to get as many things as the hedgehog has quills (1).

[539] 1. A well-known proverb, to be intelligible, would have to be translated into Pangwe something like this: He is as full of stupidities as the hedgehog is full of quills.

785 Thus, the child becomes miǎk. Its loincloth is taken off
831 and from now on -- be it male or female -- it must go about completely naked. Here is another significant fact regarding
[834] the moral-religious view of the Pangwe: clothing, that is, the
[291] covering of the sex organs, arose because the sense of shame (o-so-n) which started with the first sin (n-sö-m, root so), that is, sexual intercourse, demanded it. If the innocent state (ignorance of sexual matters) is artificially restored, clothing becomes unnecessary.

The miǎk are generally respected. People are careful not to speak to them about sexual matters or to seduce the girls, especially since /270/ the protection which they are accorded by cus-
[684] tom is effectively strengthened through the right of the father or the relatives to shoot down the seducer without further ado wherever they find him. Nowadays, however, the old customs have been somewhat relaxed; the miǎk are not always what they ought to be.

Annulment of the chastity obligation takes place in the same solemn manner when the consecrated person is fully grown, in other words, not before the age of 20 years. In the case of the man, it is required that he prove himself the bravest in war or at least that he has shot an enemy (1). In the case of the girl, it is

[177] 1. Today, in the regions influenced by the Whites, this decree has had to be moderated.

[583] required of the suitor that, contrary to the usual custom, he pay

[857]
[854]
[291]
[142]

Fig. 87. Boy about Seven Carrying a Child, Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

861 everything that is on his mind. Also, any kind of influence in
593 the family unit is wielded only by the chief wife and /291/ even by her only to a limited extent. In all problems of life the father, as head of the family, remains the real friend and counselor of his son, as does the mother for her daughter.

In this way the love of the parents gently leads the child
861 through the realm of youth. However, once the boy has matured
593 into a young man, the obstinacy with which nature has to a spe-
578 cial degree endowed the Pangwe, sometimes asserts itself even
626 in the face /Fig. 88 appears here in the original text/ of paternal authority. In such a case, it is sometimes only the most effective and most feared means of education that helps to lead the

[Text continues on page 168]

2: Tessmann--162 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/Facing 290/ Plate XXVII

854
301
142
291

Woman from Alen (Essauong Family) with a Child.

526
[291]

Fig. 118. Fang People at a Wrestling Match in Alén (Essauong Family). Left, before the selection; right, wrestling.

To the right one can see two combatants wrestling. Each grip, even hooking one's foot behind that of the opponent, and every feint designed to bring down the opponent by any possible method of surprise is considered wholly admissible. /319/

The victory is determined when one of the opponents touches the ground with both shoulders. If he merely falls on one side and the other combatant does not immediately succeed in pressing his shoulders to the ground, the round is regarded as undecided (verb, a kɛ́ nɛ̌n). In doubtful cases the judges, who, armed with sticks, circle around the pair during the match, determine the victor.

The victor (ngbɔ̄, III, from a gbɔ̄, = to throw) is hoisted onto the [482] shoulders of members of his kin group (a bɔ̄(g)e matɛ̄tɛ̄) and carried off amidst singing and hooting. Usually members of different kin groups or at least of different villages fight one another, doubtless a relic from former times when wrestling was a more serious means of combat.

(Alexandre and Binet--42 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

177
443

1. This lack is also pointed out by Balandier, op. cit., p. 544.

A careful study of village names in several subdivisions has not urned up a name that seems connected with ideas of market, exhange, or trade. Moreover, vocabularies for such subjects are very imited.

And, into this land so unprepared for an economic /sic/ life, vorld economy is penetrating with all its complexity, setting a purhase price for the total output, which has fluctuations the planters bviously cannot understand. Their dismay is natural, since they ave not even been able to become familiar with ideas about price, emand, or bargaining through traditions of trade.

It goes without saying that the time when salt was the item most n demand is long since past. However, bags of salt appear among 431 raditional wedding presents, and the manufacture of salt from lye- 258 vashed palm ash is still known, though the product is only sold — 585 nd moreover very rarely—for its medicinal properties. 278

511 Expenditures have become extremely diversified, as shown by he analysis of an average family budget: (2)

2. These figures drawn from Budgets familiaux au Cameroun /Family Budgets in the Cameroons/, p. 150, do not take into account, we must remember, auto consumption.

ood	14	percent	Household articles	1.9	percent
Textiles	17.4	-	Equipment	7.7	-
Bride price	13	-	Taxes	8.5	-
Housing and furniture	7.5	-	Medicaments	1.3	-
Bedding	1.5	-	Education	0.9	-
Lighting and upkeep	3	-	Gifts and miscellaneous	6	-
Trips	2	-			

577
177
511
591
[24]

Food now includes, even in the bush, imported items like stockfish or like the bread, sardines, sugar, and condensed milk that are used less regularly. Clothes are the main item of expense. The desire to follow Paris fashions is perhaps not a national trait peculiar

517
177
511 to Pahouin women, but it is certainly a geographical characteristic of
[291] the southern Cameroons, consequently, the textiles for sale are to a great extent those sold in Europe. Specifically African prints, such as "wax-prints," are dying out. Underclothes, stockings, and shoes reflect the sophistication that goes with wealth. The purchase of durable goods that go under the heading "Equipment," (bicycles, phonographs, pressure lamps) is another symptom, as is the changing
[415] demand for household articles. /35/ While the saucepan is still the basic kitchen utensil, enamelware is in strong competition with
[513] crockery and glass. Blankets are used everywhere, but the use of sheets is also on the increase.

A mere list of commodities shows the present-day importance of
439 trade. The native populations have not always realized this, owing
441 to their lack of inclination for it. They have not started businesses and have often left this to immigrants, coastal people long familiar with European ways, particularly the Bamiléké or "Haoussa," /Hausa/ who for their part have a solid trading tradition and great capacities in this field. The Boulou especially despise trade and refuse to have anything to do with it. Other Pahouin peoples are not so strongly antipathetic, but their business activity remains very limited.

Is it this bankruptcy on the part of the indigenous people and this
413 taking over by "foreigners" which explains the organization and the
184 location of trade in the region? The villages are in fact very badly
441 served; markets are few and far between and so are rural shops. Perhaps we ought to note differences between the various Pahouin and Pahouinized groups. While a village trader is always most uncommon in Boulou country in spite of the relative affluence of the planters, he is not unknown in Ewondo districts and is quite often to be met with among the Eton, where resources are, nevertheless, more limited. Without local trade the collecting of crops and specifically of cacao posed quite a problem, to which the coming of buyers brought a solution. Business houses advance money to the buyers and buy what they are able to bring back. From hut to hut along the trails buyers negotiate purchases with planters. With these "purchases by peddling" it might seem logical for sales by peddling to develop. Yet this phenomenon is quite recent, being tied up with the development of transportation by car and bicycle. But while the buyers are generally native to the region, the pedlars are nearly always foreign.

[654] As house-to-house buying creates countless disadvantages, the administration has endeavored to create rural markets so that the public

142 The group displays powerful shoulder girth, rather well-developed calf, pronounced arch, ungual phalanges that cannot be pulled back.

The explorers of the last century were one and all struck by the difference in physical appearance between the Pahouin and their neighbors, much less evident today, particularly to a European (the Pahouin themselves often recognize a stranger from quite a distance). It is possible that at the time of conquest the Pahouin may have had a
26 heavier meat diet than did the coastal populations or do their present-day descendants: the hippopotamus has been exterminated, and the rest of the wild fauna has been greatly reduced, while even animal breeding and rearing is on the decline.

b. Clothing, Ornaments, Body Marks

291 The traditional clothing as described by explorers hardly exists any more. One sometimes meets in remote villages the beaten fig-bark breechcloth, ɔ̂bɔ̂m, and the monkeyskin hat-wig, afɔ̂'ɔ̂lɔ̂, which was the men's everyday dress, with a wide belt of antelope skin, ases, holding a sort of sporran as well as a saber sheath. Battle dress and
292 full dress have become very rare; they included, in addition to a red-dyed ɔ̂bɔ̂m, a tailpiece /séant/ of tiger-cat skin or of drill or any animal with bright fur, fringed leggings of the same fur, and a sort of cloak made of leopard or gorilla skin with the head sometimes forming a hood; there was a headdress of beads hanging down to the shoulders or arranged in the hair, with a tuft of touraco or juggler-eagle /aigle-
411 bateleur/ feathers. Weapons consisted of the saber, fa, the dagger, otyen —both double bladed, the spear, akɔ̃n, or rifle, ngal (the cross-bow, mfan, was more a hunting weapon, and the bow, ngale, a toy). Defensive armor included an oblong shield, ngu or éndeɛ̃, of plaited lianas or of leather, sometimes made of an elephant ear. Even today men do not like to leave home without a weapon, at least in the
301 villages; formerly, they were always armed. Men's jewelry comprised copper bracelets and teeth necklaces—of either animal's or men's
351 teeth—chains of copper, iron, ivory, or elephant hair. Protective
293 "medicaments" mebiaɛ̃, were usually carried in an antelope horn (Cephalophus sylviculturix), nla' zip, hung around the neck or wrist on a strip of leather or snakeskin—a practice that still survives. The
292 ceremonial costumes for the different rites /86/ included masks, mantles of dried grass, beads, or cowries.

301 Women wore only a sort of double apron of grass or leaves, azem
[291] or abui, fastened to a belt of cylindrical steatite beads, nsanga; brace-
lets, mekom, of ivory or copper shaped like spools; ankle chains,
bibat, of cast copper, very heavy; and an enormous necklace of cast
copper, nkembé, which was put on a little girl when she entered her
[764] affinal household and which could not be removed until after death,
by cutting apart the body or melting the necklace or awaiting decom-
position. All this jewelry belonged to, and remained in, the husband's
[422] family, even in case of divorce; the ésa was the person who distributed
it among his wives and daughters-in-law. Flat bracelets were made of
306 "neptunes" or "benares" /?/ imported from the coast; later on they
made, and still make, rings and bracelets from cartridge cases and
telegraph wire. But the origin of the cast minkembé /plural/ is still
a mystery; the technique of metal casting is unknown or forgotten;
placer or lode copper is very rare, not only in the present Pahouin
[325] habitat but also where they seem to have come from. Furthermore,
these very old necklaces resist corrosion and have a very pale patina
indicating some kind of alloy; moreover, the nearest workers in bronze
the Bamum, do not make this kind of necklace.

291 Men's dress at the present time is usually of the European type,
[177] from shorts and sports shirt to the surplus American cap; those who
wear shoes have European footwear, leather or canvas according to
their income, or in the style of the Arabic—silifa, from English
"slipper" = babouche, of Hausa or Peul manufacture. Mention should
be made of the helmets and kepis of umbrella-tree wood and the fake
spectacles of slivers of raffia "bamboo." In the villages or at home,
imported loincloths are rolled around a belt or tied behind the neck.

Women also wear a loincloth, éndelé, tied at the neck or rolled
tight above the breasts when they have nothing else on, rolled at the
waist when wearing the "mission jacket," éwoman (apparently from
"woman"). The favorite head covering is still the kerchief, éyañese
(from "handkerchief"). More and more women are also wearing cut
and sewn European-style dresses, bizingi; often a kind of slip; no
[94] panties except for a few young modernists (who call them caleçons,
"drawers"); and internal sanitary napkins made of medicinal plants.
[747] Mission activity has spread notions of prudery; formerly only those
past puberty were obliged to cover their sexual parts. Women did so
834 with great care in spite of the casual nature of their clothing; the
greatest insult to a woman was to uncover her vulva in public; she never

834 uncovered it except when uttering a curse. Nowadays most women
292 cover their breasts (1) with almost equal vigilance. /87/ In old-

[177]

1. The aesthetic standard in this connection is changing, especially in towns, as a result of European (cinema?) influence; one only rarely sees girls binding their breasts with strips of bark or cloth to make them fall.

fashioned villages widows still go back to the traditional dress after their seclusion: for eight days, sometimes longer, they wear the ébui made of leaves, which is then replaced by an old ɔ̂bɔ̂m or a jute sack that leaves the head and shoulders and thighs bare, then by a sack or an old khaki dress shaped like a sack with holes for head and arms.

291 Boys and girls used to run around naked until the first signs of puberty appeared, usually the pubic hair (Boulou, afaff /"h." in the text must be a misprint for "b."—Tr./; Fang, avul). Boys wore a special breechcloth of a special vegetable /material/ after circum-
[304] cision while waiting for the wound to heal and afterwards had to wear a covering only if they had already started to grow hair. At present they wear clothes from the beginning of school age and even before that in militant Christian families and the urban bourgeoisie.

304 Body marks have fallen out of use with the exception of circumcision. First the men stopped filing their incisors to a point. Tattooing persisted longer, in Gabon until just before the Second World War. At present tattooing is being revived among urban pickpockets and syncretist associations. The face was tattooed, usually *between the eyes but sometimes on the cheeks, with blue markings* made of soot mixed with vegetable ash, or in red with padouk /?/ powder, baa. These marks could indicate clan or association affiliation, or even were imposed during or after a course of medico-magical treatment, or even to satisfy aesthetic demands. It was the same for cicatrices engraved in relief on chest or abdomen, which are nowadays described as being "to make nyanga" (!pretty," Coast English—of Hausa origin?). It is quite possible that some of the magic significance has been forgotten. The most important marks were the dorsal scarifications made at initiations: a triple row of incisions along the vertebral column, widening into a v at the nape

881 look at it as a vestige of primitive tradition.
304 To the Fan mind, circumcision is altogether a religious,
779 never a secular, act; everything that I shall have to say about it will illustrate this further.

2) The age of circumcision

The age at which Fan boys are circumcised usually varies from seven to ten. I have never seen a baby circumcised. However, there is nothing prescribed by law or custom on this point. Yet in the interior, the age of ten is far exceeded, and it is not unusual for the operation to take place between sixteen and twenty. Old men are unanimous in saying that this was the ancient custom, and that the time for the operation was made earlier in recent times because of the many casualties that occurred. It is impossible to determine precisely what they mean by "recent times." However, according to all the evidence I could gather, one should hardly go back [522] more than 200 to 300 years, that is, to the time of the great Fan migrations. We can see how unlikely it would have been during that period of confusion to perform the operation successfully at so late an age.

Formerly, circumcision must have closely preceded entering the warrior stage. Certain Fan songs seem to indicate this, and many African tribes have preserved the custom.

All the children of a village are circumcised at the same time at the tribal chief's command; the operation only takes place at certain times, when there appear to be enough children, yearly in some villages, at longer intervals in small ones.

[591] Until circumcision, children may go naked; afterwards a bit of cloth bark of the fig tree will always be worn.

The seven-to-ten-year limit is appreciably exceeded in
881 the following case: a father may, out of pride, make a solemn
304 vow to his akamɛ́yɔ̀n that his son will not be circumcised until
779 he [the son] has killed an enemy. Under those conditions the
782 youth may go naked for a long time; nor can he have any relations with a woman or even live with the one his father may have bought for him as a future wife. Consequently, he will

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

142
291
516

FANG MEN.

342
516
352

FANG HOUSE.

[p. 66(B)]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

342
291
482
142

FANG WOMAN.

142
291
302
411

FANG YOUTHS.

[p. 66(C)]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 F319 Fang F319

the palaver house, where he loves to sit and gossip around the log fire, or lounge on the *Bang* (a native bed of poles). 517

Dancing is a favourite pastime, especially at the time of new moon, when the dance seems to have some religious significance. A Fang dance is a sight worth seeing; arrayed in long streaming armlets of dried grass, and large bunches of forest beans and molluscs shells tied around the ankles for castanets, they go through a series of rapid and graceful movements, some of which are not entirely free from obscenity. Flaming torches made of resin wrapped in plantain leaves are stuck in the ground and the drums keep up a perfect fusillade; the whole making a weird and extremely interesting spectacle. With short intervals of rest the dance usually continues throughout the night until daybreak (photo of dance shown on screen). 535 [573]

III.—*Clothing, Ornaments, Painting and Tattooing.*

Fang men and women usually go about bareheaded; some obtain imported straw and felt hats from the traders and are very proud of them. A red worsted night-cap sold at the factories is very popular and much worn. These head coverings are chiefly worn for ornament and not to afford protection from the sun or weather. Until the opening up of trade among the Fang people their clothing amounted to almost nothing. The men wore a waist cloth made of bark from certain trees, a strong, tough, fibrous material, and the women wore a girdle stripped from the plantain stem, with some leaves from the bush or a piece of the plantain leaf tucked through the girdle in front and passed downward, backward and upward between the limbs and fastened to the girdle behind. Very often the women wore a kind of bustle made of dried grass dyed black, or red. In sitting down the women are very careful to first arrange the bustle. The native bark cloth, the girdle and bustle, are still worn in the bush towns; the women often make the girdle of imported glass beads strung on string made from pineapple fibre, but people living in towns along the river banks wear imported clothes obtained in trade. As a general rule boys and girls run about without clothing until five or six years of age. Imported cloth is worn by both sexes and is often sewn together very skilfully and decorated with pieces of different colours. There *are no recognised peculiarities of dress restricted to the subdivisions of tribes.* The cloth is cut out and sewed by each individual owner unless it is a trade cloth previously sewn. Cloth is usually hemmed and worn as a simple wrapper around the waist, and held in place by rolling in and tucking the upper border on itself. The upper portion of the body is not much covered by the cloth although some men and women wear it tied high up around the neck. There is no difference between the indoor and outdoor clothing. When imported needles and thread can be obtained they are used, but I have seen very skilful sewing done with a sharp piece of bamboo for a needle and thread made of pineapple fibre. Upon the death of parents, clothes descend to the children. In saluting a visitor it is not customary to remove a hat or cap, if one is being worn, or any other article of clothing. 291 ● [516] [549] [578] [579]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 F749 Fang F749

291 clothing. The Fang do not use any coverings to protect the feet. Rank is not
[559] distinguished by the dress, very often the brightest and cleanest wrappers are worn
[621] by the young men while the *bome* (headman) is often clothed in a dirty old rag.
Very often the *bome* wears an imported straw or felt hat obtained in trade,
and this alone distinguishes him as headman of the town. Next to the
possession of women and guns, a Fang man's great desire is to own "much
cloth."

Personal Ornaments.

Head.—The Fang dress their hair in the same manner as the Bulu, and the
302 way they build it up on the head over wooden shapes is often very remarkable
291 and shows considerable skill. Very often the hair is built up over these shapes
301 in ridges, the upper edge of the ridge having white shirt buttons fastened along
it or brass headed tacks driven in. Wigs are used and very skilfully made.
Very often the term wig would be a misnomer, for the ingenious contrivance
made to fit over the bald head is often entirely devoid of hair, being simply a
close-fitting skull cap knitted with string made from the pineapple fibre. The
wigs are usually decorated with shirt buttons or imported glass beads. The hair
is frequently plaited and twisted into ringlets by both sexes; dyeing the hair is
not practised. Beads and white shirt buttons are worn on the hair in large
quantities, also large cowrie shells dyed with red wood powder. The beads and
buttons are often sewed on pieces of goat or deer skin, a separate portion
decorating each side of the head, connected by a string of beads passing across the
forehead.

Moustaches are seldom cultivated, beards when worn are allowed to grow
naturally; but both are frequently removed by depilation; shaving is not
301 practised. Ornaments are frequently worn in the ears, and are usually suspended
by a small cord passed through a hole in the lobe. Women and young girls when
returning from work in the forest or gardens frequently cluster grasses, leaves of
vines and fragrant herbs around their ears; it is a rather pretty custom. Certain
fetish charms are worn suspended from the ear; women frequently use for an ear
fetish the small quills from a porcupine's tail, and they say it will bring them
children. Brass and iron ear-rings are also worn.

Males do not seem to feel inclined to ornament the nose, but many Fang
[309] women delight to do so. They pierce the triangular cartilage with a long slender
bamboo pin; the pine sometimes project out three inches on either side of the
nose. Very often a medium-sized porcupine quill is used as the ornament, in
place of bamboo; it certainly looks better. Some women thus decorated look very
repulsive. A female who is credited with considerable power as a medicine
woman will almost invariably have the nose pierced and decorated. Ornaments
are not worn on the lips or cheeks.

Body.—Men, women, and children wear necklaces of glass beads, the beads of
very small antelope, and certain forest beans, are strung and worn around the
neck. Bristles from the tail of an elephant are used for the same purpose. When

302 to half length and carefully dressed, or it is cut short, either uniformly (see Fig. 6) or in such a way that a tuft, asik, in front, or a fringe, ongón, over the crown remains standing. Still others cut their hair short and shave it in all kinds of patterns (see Fig. 3), called pfee, III (a tüb bopfee, "to shave in ornamental patterns"). These would fill an entire book if one were to note them all down. I have illustrated a small number of them in Figure 116.

The hair style in the shape of a helmet, richly adorned with beads, cowrie shells, buttons, and brass nails, constitutes the ne plus ultra of all these types of hair styles. It is this hair style which distinguishes the Pangwe from all other peoples of tropical West Africa (Fig. 117). In the north where this fashion never reached the same perfection it had in the south, it has been given up as a result of European influence. Among the Ntum and Fang, on the other hand, the art of fashioning the helmet hair style blooms luxuriantly (Fig. 118). In this process the hair is made to stand on end by placing under it props made of raffia pith or palm strips; the curls are transformed into pigtails by means of bark strips plaited in with them. The pigtails in turn are braided together to form a pad of uniform thickness. Since the creation of such a hairdo requires ample time, a month and longer, the natives walk about for a long time with /176/ /Figs. 117 and 118/ /177/ /Fig. 119 appears here in the original text/ hairdos that have just been begun or that are more or less unfinished, so that one has the impression at first that he is observing many different kinds of hair styles. Figures 8 and 13, for example, show two different stages in the development of one and the same hairdo.

292 In addition to these styles contrived with the hair of the head,
302 there are removable caps. These are made in precisely the same way and in precisely the same shapes (Fig. 119) as the hair styles just described, so that only upon close inspection can one decide whether the hair has been dressed or has been covered with a cap. These caps, however, are not common and are made only by the Ntum and by a few Fang (Okak). Dressing the hair itself decidedly predominates, a fact which we should mention since from the evidence of the museum material one might arrive at a different conclusion. The illustrations given here all show hairdos.

292
142

Fig. 117. Asoko from Alén (Eafuong Family). Spanish Guinea.

294
352
576

Fig. 118. Ntum Preparing Ornamental Helmet Crests, Akonangf, South Cameroon.

292

Fig. 119. Helmet Caps.

Of 25 different forms, which are given individual names, about half are worn by both sexes indiscriminately; the rest are worn only by men or only by women. Among the Fang the men's ornaments are more frequently the same as those of the women than is the case among the Ntum, and for this reason they are more frequently the butt of ridicule. 302 301

Helmet crests and ornamental caps are worn constantly; only as a sign of mourning are both taken off -- the former is sometimes also taken off before a hunting expedition. /178/ 292 765

To make his ornamental caps (ndǯban, ewʌ̄e'), the Ntum takes a hide from a long-tailed monkey, dwarf antelope, young goat, or sheep. The hide is cleaned of its fur, turned inside out, and drawn over the arch of a plantain rootstock that has been cut to a semi-spherical shape. It is tied with a string at the base, and along the edge it is fastened by pegs to the ground. Stretched in this way, the hide must be dried in the sun and later over the fire. 294 281

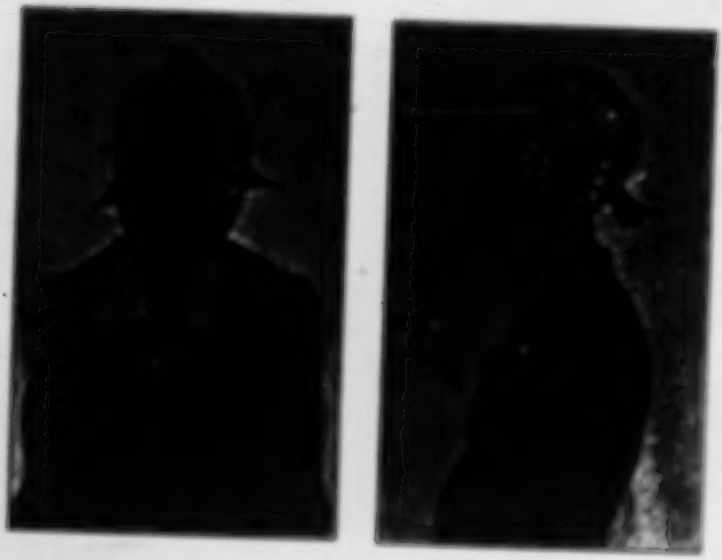
Furthermore, blackened bast strips of the Triumfetta are needed. These are colored in the following manner: the bark of certain 294 386 124

1: Tessmann--320 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

142
292

Fig. 9. Eudn-Meko from Aldn (Eudsong Family), Spanish Guinea.

I: Tessmann--321 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9



142
292

Fig. 10. Otschéa-Kémmo (Opak Family).
Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--324 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
292
301

Fig. 14. Fang Woman from Alén (Esúsong Family).

1: Tessmann--326 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate I

142
242
411
301

A Fang Youth from Owöng.

L: Tessmann--339 E-6 (1904-1909) 1913 FHG Fang FHG

Plate XIV

Fang (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.

[75] we are already familiar.
[27] Another mixture consisted of ground mice, a toad, and ground snake fangs.

The red [illegible] usually contains:
1. Lygosoma fernandi Bart. (see above);
[125] 2. a red crab from the forest ([illegible]) (1);

1. The animal is supposed to make a sound that is reproduced by [illegible].

3. a kind of scorpion ([illegible]), ground;
4. a chameleon, ground;
5. Mucuna pruriens D.C. (see above).

The black [illegible] contains:
1. [illegible] or [illegible], fungus soil dried and ground;
2. [illegible], a fungus growth that lives under water, which is supposed to be very poisonous;
[127] 3. [illegible], a centipede which is greatly feared because of its poison.

The preparation of [illegible] is carried out in the most ingenious manner by expert medicine men. For this purpose, the men sew
[217] for themselves a special suit made of the bark of the [illegible] tree
[292] (Fig. 50). This suit resembles a long shirt and leaves only the head and hands exposed; these parts of the body are then rubbed
[72] with an extract of Hockeria subpeltata (Wild.) Kunth ([illegible]),
[73] principally in order to protect them against the very poisonous hairs of the Mucuna that fly about. With this preparation, the poison miners proceed to pound the dried components in a pot and and to mix them by stirring. For this purpose they use a long stick so that they can stay as far away as possible from the poisonous mixture. Indeed, they go even further and call upon old leprous
[73] persons to collect and pour the poison into little horns or bags
[159] (Fig. 51), since in their case it would not matter if in the process they were to become sick or even die.

292
287
759

/147/

Fig. 50. Shirt for Mixers of Poisons, Akonangi (Essandun Family), Ntum.

45
278

Fig. 51. Brass Container for Poison, Mendûme (Ojek Family).

192
551
825

Herpestes melanurus Gray, which is called mɔ̄m, has a gray color which may well have given rise to the designation of a person by the name mɔ̄m. The name ngī, "gorilla," may also be meant as a symbol of strength, or, perhaps like ɛ̄ɛ̄n, it may have been chosen because of the red color.

551 II. Names which allude to an attractive skin color and are for the most part derived from fauna or flora that the Pangwe finds especially beautiful.

According to the color, the following were mentioned to me.

(a) Red.

4. mbɔ̄' = Turacus, actually the shiny red one;
[292] 5. mɔ̄ɔ̄o, from andɔ̄ɔ̄ = dancing cap made of touraco feathers (S.);
6. mɛ̄' = redwood tree, Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub., because it is red.

(b) White.

7. mɔ̄ɔ̄mɔ̄, from mɔ̄ɔ̄m = white (S.);
8. ɔ̄ɔ̄ = umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br., because of its white trunk (S.);
9. ɔ̄ɔ̄'m = bracelet made of ivory (Fang).

(c) Gray.

10. ɛ̄ɛ̄ = African rat (in the Pangwe region displaced by the domestic rat) (S.);
11. ɛ̄ɛ̄o = domestic rat, Mus rattus L.;

The group displays powerful shoulder girth, rather well-developed calf, pronounced arch, ungual phalanges that cannot be pulled back.

The explorers of the last century were one and all struck by the difference in physical appearance between the Pahouin and their neighbors, much less evident today, particularly to a European (the Pahouin themselves often recognize a stranger from quite a distance). It is possible that at the time of conquest the Pahouin may have had a heavier meat diet than did the coastal populations or do their present-day descendants: the hippopotamus has been exterminated, and the rest of the wild fauna has been greatly reduced, while even animal breeding and rearing is on the decline.

b. Clothing, Ornaments, Body Marks

The traditional clothing as described by explorers hardly exists any more. One sometimes meets in remote villages the beaten fig-bark breechcloth, ɓɔ̃m, and the monkeyskin hat-wig, atɛ̃ɔ̃ɔ̃, which was the men's everyday dress, with a wide belt of antelope skin, ayɔ, holding a sort of sporran as well as a saber sheath. Battle dress and full dress have become very rare; they included, in addition to a red-dyed ɓɔ̃m, a tailpiece /ɛ́ɛnt/ of tiger-cat skin or of drill or any animal with bright fur, fringed leggings of the same fur, and a sort of cloak made of leopard or gorilla skin with the head sometimes forming a hood; there was a headdress of beads hanging down to the shoulders or arranged in the hair, with a tuft of touraco or juggler-eagle /aigle-bateleur/ feathers. Weapons consisted of the saber, fɛ, the dagger, ɔtyɔn —both double bladed, the spear, akɔ̃, or rifle, ɔgɔl (the crossbow, mfan, was more a hunting weapon, and the bow, ɔgale, a toy). Defensive armor included an oblong shield, ɔgɔ or ɛ́ɔlɛ̃, of plaited liana or of leather, sometimes made of an elephant ear. Even today men do not like to leave home without a weapon, at least in the villages; formerly, they were always armed. Men's jewelry comprised copper bracelets and teeth necklaces—of either animal's or men's teeth—chains of copper, iron, ivory, or elephant hair. Protective "medicaments" mɛbɛ̃, were usually carried in an antelope horn (Cephalophus sylvicultrix), ala' zip, hung around the neck or wrist on a strip of leather or snakeskin—a practice that still survives. The ceremonial costumes for the different rites /86/ included masks, mantles of dried grass, beads, or cowries.

uncovered it except when uttering a curse. Nowadays most women cover their breasts (1) with almost equal vigilance. /87/ In old-

1. The aesthetic standard in this connection is changing, especially in towns; as a result of European (cinema?) influence, one only rarely sees girls binding their breasts with strips of bark or cloth to make them fall.

fashioned villages widows still go back to the traditional dress after their seclusion: for eight days, sometimes longer, they wear the *fbui* made of leaves, which is then replaced by an old *?nom* or a jute sack that leaves the head and shoulders and thighs bare, then by a sack or an old khaki dress shaped like a sack with holes for head and arms.

Boys and girls used to run around naked until the first signs of puberty appeared, usually the pubic hair (*bouloo*, *afall* /"b." in the text must be a misprint for "b."—Tr./; Fang, *avul*). Boys wore a special breechcloth of a special vegetable /*mavial*/ after circumcision while waiting for the wound to heal and afterwards had to wear a covering only if they had already started to grow hair. At present they wear clothes from the beginning of school age and even before that in militant Christian families and the urban bourgeoisie.

Body marks have fallen out of use with the exception of circumcision. First the men stopped filing their incisors to a point. Tattooing persisted longer, in Gabon until just before the Second World War. At present tattooing is being revived among urban pickpockets and syncretist associations. The face was tattooed, usually between the eyes but sometimes on the cheeks, with blue markings made of soot mixed with vegetable ash, or in red with padouk /?/ powder, *bas*. These marks could indicate clan or association affiliation, or even were imposed during or after a course of medico-magical treatment, or even to satisfy aesthetic demands. It was the same for cicatrices engraved in relief on chest or abdomen, which are nowadays described as being "to make *nyonga*" (!pretty, " Coast English—of Hausa origin?). It is quite possible that some of the magic significance has been forgotten. The most important marks were the dorsal scarifications made at initiations: a triple row of incisions along the vertebral column, widening into a v at the nape

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 F'39 F'ang F'39

Journal of the Anthropological Institute (R.I.), Vol. IV, Plate XVII.

595
●292

FUNI DANCE.

994
952
516

[p. 66(1)]

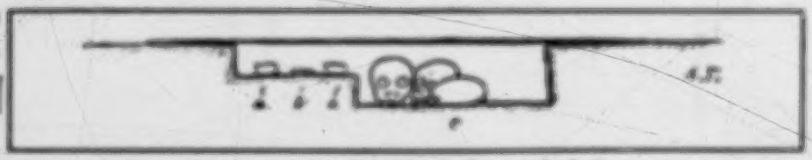


Fig. 53. Underground Chamber of a Mekuk Sorcerer. Cross-section.

(a) Circle made of plantain pieces, (b) magic medicines, (c) skulls of murdered relatives.

the Mekuk man's house companions in their sleep, so that they wake up the next day completely beaten up. They are also supposed to steal money and goods in order to take them to the Mekuk man. In short, the Mekuk stories remind one of the experiences of the man who wanted to learn to be afraid /Ed., in one of Grimm's fairy tales/.

Other medicines for wealth that utilize the power of the souls are more innocent; they do not require the murder of relatives nor care of the skulls. Instead, their powers are derived from the habitation of the souls, the Copaifera tessmannii Harms (oyom). The Mekuk skulls must be included only in the event the medicine man already possesses some. The procedure as a rule is as follows. The father of the person concerned goes with a medicine man, /152/ and both clear an area under a large Copaifera. Then a leaf vessel filled with water is set up, and into this some of the bark of the Copaifera is scraped nine times (three times three); furthermore a stone from the stomach of the crocodile is placed in it if one is available. A peculiar test of the worthiness of the young man is now given. Various objects are placed together in three piles: on the first are placed meamed cassava (women's food) and a basket (ebi'dé) carried only by old women because it has a small capacity; on the second, a rifle, a bundle of vegetables (ngon) with fish, brass ornaments, cowrie shells, and a piece of cloth, all of which are things that delight young people; on the third pile is placed a fly swatter (implement of the chiefs), a foot ring made of ivory, and a boiled chicken, in other words, such things as are allowed to chiefs. Now the young man is brought to the piles. "If he has sense," he will go to the last pile and consume the chicken. In this

6; Alexandre and Binet--73 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 F169 Fang F169

had not done so, the clan chose its chief, and the neighboring populations each sent him a spear in token of recognition.

The power of the Fong chief is on an even more personal level. The chief conveys his commands by means of an enormous drum; his pipe is preserved like a relic; his musicians play special instruments, among them the okell (percussion double bell), quite rare in that region but a classical instrument in the western Cameroons with the Bamilékê or Bamoum /Mum/. The chief's installation is marked by the tradition of the spears and the donning of a headpiece of parrot plumes. (J.B.)

Any more extensive authority was founded on personal prestige, which always aroused resentment. Authority was never conferred except temporarily, and it was quite often withdrawn from the holder before term.

French, German, and Spanish administrations have attempted to set up a hierarchical system of authority that it has never been possible really to impose upon the country. The three administrations all made the initial mistake of trying to establish this authority on a territorial basis, which is completely—or nearly—foreign to these nomadic people. Only village chiefship had some resemblance to a customary institution, provided that the choice of chief fell upon a ndi mbo, a genuine senior, and that his brothers accepted his authority. Canton and higher chiefdoms had no cohesion except insofar as the incumbent had authority or administrative support. At the beginning of the colonial period, however, these functions were very often entrusted to genuine bekôô mbo, /82/ well-known war chiefs, high initiates of societies like the ngil, or celebrated magicians. Later on, it became more difficult to find, even among opposition ranks, chiefs possessed of real authority. After 1945 there was an attempt in the Cameroons to reorganize the system of authority on a clan basis (the Bourdier-Grenier reform), then on village lines (the Christol system), finally ending up with a municipal type of system.

192 The group displays powerful shoulder girth, rather well-developed calf, pronounced arch, ungual phalanges that cannot be pulled back.

The explorers of the last century were one and all struck by the difference in physical appearance between the Pahouin and their neighbors, much less evident today, particularly to a European (the Pahouin themselves often recognize a stranger from quite a distance). It is possible that at the time of conquest the Pahouin may have had a
[29] heavier meat diet than did the coastal populations or do their present-day descendants: the hippopotamus has been exterminated, and the rest of the wild fauna has been greatly reduced, while even animal breeding and rearing is on the decline.

b. Clothing, Ornaments, Body Marks

28 The traditional clothing as described by explorers hardly exists any more. One sometimes meets in remote villages the beaten fig-bark breechcloth, ñdim, and the monkeyskin hat-wig, ndi'ñdi, which was the men's everyday dress, with a wide belt of antelope skin, ewo, holding a sort of sporran as well as a saber sheath. Battle dress and
27 full dress have become very rare; they included, in addition to a red-dyed ñdim, a tailpiece /ndzen/ of tiger-cat skin or of drill or any animal with bright fur, fringed leggings of the same fur, and a sort of cloak made of leopard or gorilla skin with the head sometimes forming a hood; there was a headdress of beads hanging down to the shoulders or arranged in the hair, with a tuft of touraco or juggler-eagle /ngle-
41 bendem/ feathers. Weapons consisted of the saber, fa, the dagger, eyen —both double bladed, the spear, akoñ, or rifle, ngal (the cross-bow, mfen, was more a hunting weapon, and the bow, ngale, a toy). Defensive armor included an oblong shield, ngo or ñdoñ, of plaited lianas or of leather, sometimes made of an elephant ear. Even today men do not like to leave home without a weapon, at least in the
30 villages; formerly, they were always armed. Men's jewelry comprised copper bracelets and tooth necklaces—of either animal's or man's
[26] teeth—chains of copper, iron, ivory, or elephant hair. Protective
• 25 "medicaments" mebiañ, were usually carried in an antelope horn (Cephalophus sylvicultrix), nie' nip, hung around the neck or wrist on a strip of leather or malachite—a practice that still survives. The
38 ceremonial costumes for the different rites /86/ included masks, mantles of dried grass, beads, or cowries.

092
142

Fig. 117. Ansoko from Alén (Esñuong Family), Spanish Guinea.

294
302
576

Fig. 118. Ntum Preparing Ornamental Helmet Crests, Akonangf, South Cameroons.

292

Fig. 119. Helmet Caps.

Of 25 different forms, which are given individual names, about half are worn by both sexes indiscriminately; the rest are worn only by men or only by women. Among the Fang the men's ornaments are more frequently the same as those of the women than is the case among the Ntum, and for this reason they are more frequently the butt of ridicule. 302 301

Helmet crests and ornamental caps are worn constantly; only as a sign of mourning are both taken off -- the former is sometimes also taken off before a hunting expedition. /178/ 292 765

To make his ornamental caps (edǒ'ban, etū̄e'), the Ntum takes a hide from a long-tailed monkey, dwarf antelope, young goat, or sheep. The hide is cleaned of its fat, turned inside out, and drawn over the arch of a plantain rootstock that has been cut to a semi-spherical shape. It is tied with a string at the base, and along the edge it is fastened by pegs to the ground. Stretched in this way, the hide must be dried in the sun and later over the fire. 294 281

Furthermore, blackened bast strips of the Triumfetta are needed. These are colored in the following manner: the bark of certain 294 386 824

204
386
124
pisnn (1) is cut up into small pieces and placed in a cooking pot

1. Combretacea Terminalia superba Engl. et Diels (abǒ'm), Euphorbiaceae Bridelia zenkeri Pax. (ewǒlǒ'k), Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. (abǔi, Ntum), Megabarea trillesii Pierre (abǔi-ɛ̃m), Leguminosa Mucuna flagellipes Vogel (lɛ̃ndǒ'ǒ'-ɛ̃m), Borraginacea Cordia odorata Gürke (ébɛ̃ Fang, ebǔi, Ntum), Anacardiacea Pseudospondias tessmannii Engl. (angǒlǒ'ǒ), Flacourtiacea Peterria minor Niedenzu (abǔ).

in such a way that at the bottom there is a layer of bark, then the bast strips, and on top of these bark pieces again. The whole is boiled for an hour in order to draw certain materials out of the bark; then the pot is carried to the river, and the bast strips are kneaded alternately in the loam of the bank and in the bark extract from five to seven times, one after another. The strips now have a blackish color which during the drying in the house darkens to the deepest black.

294 Proceeding to the actual making of the cap, the dried hide is taken off the block and propped up on the inner surface by three stirrups underneath placed crosswise. The stirrups consist of eight palm strips laid lengthwise next to each other and braided together with Triumfetta fiber. To wear the sharp-edged stirrups and the heavy gear can scarcely be pleasant, but the Negro's thick woolly skull probably does not feel it.

On the outer surface, on both sides of the crest line, 14 holes are drilled into the hide in two parallel longitudinal rows for the seven pineapple strings, half a meter long, which are drawn through two holes apiece. These strings are braided with the pigtails, each of which was made from three of the black bast strips mentioned above. They start from the middle, run in the sagittal direction to the front and back edge, extend somewhat beyond them, and

tied in a knot (2). Twelve such longitudinal braids are placed

2. In braiding, one frequently greases his fingers and twists the strips slightly.

close to one another. The space between these and the edge of the cap is filled by pigtails made in the same way but running at right angles to the others; at the edge they are covered by three rows of pigtails all the way around and are sewed to the hide. /179/ For this one requires a needle made of bark, whose tip has been hardened in the fire and whose other end has a slit for the fiber thread. The pigtails jutting out over the edge are cut off. A fringe (mbɔ̄m), made of a piece of raffia pith, is put over the crown of the cap. The piece of pith is cut into on both its narrow sides so that it will bend more readily, and over it is sewn a piece of material on which is set a stirrup of the same width, made of palm strips and studded with brass nails -- these stirrups have been described above in connection with the inner surface of the cap. On either side of the fringe there are a few longitudinal rows of red beads strung on raffia fiber. Another decoration on the caps consists of pieces of leather sewn on at the sides, which have cowrie shells or white buttons stitched on them and from which are hung tassels of pineapple strings strung with beads (see Fig. 118, foreground).

The ornamental caps of the Fang are not made of hides but of palm strips, parallel to each other, which are braided with blackened Triumfetta fiber in such a way that one strip is always skipped, and thus a chessboard pattern is created.

302 Older people for the most part do not wear bead ornaments in their hair -- insofar as they still have any -- but on the contrary wear simpler hair arrangements which, incidentally, are supposed to have been more fashionable at one time.

291 Among head coverings we need only mention caps made from the hide of monkeys, civet cats, or of the ichneumon, Bdeogale nigripes Puch., as well as imported red caps which are worn by chiefs and other elderly "notables." Hats made from leaves of grass (Paspalum) sewn together resemble our ordinary straw hats in shape

Fig. 35. The Door Part of a Dwelling in Olengo (Embogbosh Family), Southern Cameroon.

tail. This is wedged into the door opening in such a fashion that the walls fit into the notches. Sometimes it is given an attractive form by being flattened near the end and having bands of palm plaited around it. Along the sides, on the other hand, the people content themselves with single strips of raffia stalk as door lining. 342

In the interior a thick post or a number of thinner posts (ambi'i) stands at both sides of the door opening (mbéi I) (see Figs. 37 b, 38). Between these posts are wedged one or two diagonally placed poles, by means of which the piece of bark that serves as a door (eyîn e nda, eyîn e mbéi = house bark or door bark) is held fast. Sliding doors are more rarely encountered. These run between /72/ the wall and a lath at the top and bottom of the door opening; in the daytime they are pushed to the side and at night pulled in front of the opening. We find door posts even where there are sliding doors, since they primarily serve the purpose of preventing strangers from looking into the hut during the daytime. Most doors made of bark close poorly because they warp. Frequently the "door" consists of nothing /Fig. 36 appears here in the original text/ more than a number of narrow bark pieces that are loosely

1: Tessmann--51 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

/87/

462
291
301

Fig. 51. Fang Women Bringing Firewood from the Plantations.

season. /Fig. 49 appears here in the original text. / Once the bush is entirely cleared (with the exception of the shade trees), a few days are allowed to elapse until the sun has dried the wood. Then fire is set to it, and the farm is "burned," a dźige dź. At the end of the dry season one can see columns of rising smoke throughout the land, and on walking expeditions one often has the dubious pleasure of having to pass such a burning farm. A great number of birds of prey, especially the parasite kite, circle around the new farm, heedless of the heat, in order to catch every crawling thing that flees from the fire. As soon as the rainy season comes, the clearing of the farm comes to an end, and now "the food is laid." The men move the charred and unburned remains of the trees /Fig. 50 appears here in the original text/ /87/ to one side or heap them up on the farm itself as boundary markers (see Plate 7). The women remove the smaller branches, and it is the women who from this time on dominate the picture, sowing or planting the vegetables, pulling out the weeds which during the rainy season soon become rank, and taking in the harvest. All these, incidentally, are lighter

241

241
462

1: Tessmann--62 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 P119 Fang P119

244
252
301

Fig. 53. Woman from Bébai (Esseng Family) Cracking Ngon in a Cassava Field.

244
[462]

sticks. During the planting of groundnuts, on the other hand, "no handsome young man, in fact, no one who by virtue of strength, beauty, and influence is of any account," helps; the only assistance given is provided now and then by a man, ugly or old, who wants to make himself popular with his wife, "so she will not eventually run away and live with somebody else." Once planting is finished, ngon is left to itself and proceeds to climb up the tree trunks and branches. By the middle of May it is already knee high. In June or July the field is weeded once, and later the ngon itself, rising above all else, chokes out the weeds; only some of the larger plants shoot up in spite of it and are occasionally pulled out. In September we already find some of the fruit fully ripened, and at the start of the dry season, in November and December, harvesting can be started. By that time, the leaves and stalks are almost completely dry, and the fruit hangs from the dry stalks in the branches of the trees which served the plant as a prop and are now leafless.

At harvest time an area in the plantation is cleared and carefully covered with leaves. Then the fruit is picked – a job

1: Tessmann--174 E-S (1904-1909) 1912 P119 Fang P119

292

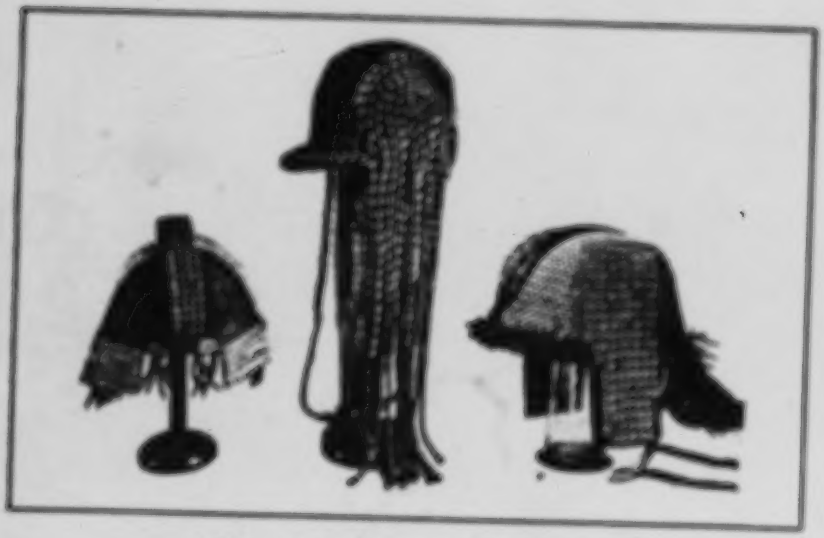


Fig. 119. Helmet Caps.

Of 25 different forms, which are given individual names, about half are worn by both sexes indiscriminately; the rest are worn only by men or only by women. Among the Fang the men's ornaments are more frequently the same as those of the women than is the case among the Ntum, and for this reason they are more frequently the butt of ridicule. 302 301

Helmet crests and ornamental caps are worn constantly; only as a sign of mourning are both taken off -- the former is sometimes also taken off before a hunting expedition. /178/ 292 765

To make his ornamental caps (edʒ̄ban, etũe'), the Ntum takes a hide from a long-tailed monkey, dwarf antelope, young goat, or sheep. The hide is cleaned of its fat, turned inside out, and drawn over the arch of a plantain rootstock that has been cut to a semi-spherical shape. It is tied with a string at the base, and along the edge it is fastened by pegs to the ground. Stretched in this way, the hide must be dried in the sun and later over the fire. 294 281

Furthermore, blackened bast strips of the Triumfetta are needed. These are colored in the following manner: the bark of certain 294 386 824

291/177 and, according to one informant, are supposed to be imitations of European models.

302 Dressing the beard is rare among the Pangwe, since most of them -- like many other Negroes -- pluck out such hair. In isolated instances there are men with beautiful full beards (Fig. 11) or with pointed beards whose tip has been twisted into a little pigtail and covered with cowrie shells or beads. Still others make two or quite a number of pigtails from their beards (Fig. 12); mustaches are rarely to be seen and are quite insignificant.

2. Ornaments.

●301 Among the Pangwe the urge to beautify oneself dominates man and woman equally to a considerable degree. All kinds of ornamental pendants are attached to every possible part of the body. In their hair (Fig. 120) they stick a feather which is often cut out in patterns (a, b), a porcupine's tail (c), a wooden arrow, bones /180/ /Fig. 120 appears here in the original text/ (d), brass coiled in a spiral (e), a comb (see Fig. 120), and also, in rare cases -- usually on the occasion of a dance -- flowers, for instance, those of Costus (mi$\acute{e}$n), and attractive or fragrant leaves, such as those of the Leguminosa Cryptosepalum aff. staudtii Harms (andi$\acute{e}$) and of the herb called afub. The latter two are worn only by women and usually in two bundles behind the ear. The ear lobe is pierced and provided with an ornament only among a few Mwai. [304]

301 Nose ornaments (Fig. 121), on the other hand, enjoy great popularity; they are attached in a hole pierced through the septum and not to the side of the nose. The requisite operation is carried out on children between six and eight years of age. /Fig. 121 appears here in the original text./ First the person concerned presses the leaves of the Aframomum (adi$\acute{e}$m), which have been warmed in the fire, to the septum in order to make it softer. Then the medicine man takes a stick of raffia stalk, a quill from the porcupine, or any other pointed tool and drills a hole through the septum with it after he has picked out the right place with the index finger of his other hand. He now pushes a small piece of stalk [304]

Fig. 120. Hair Ornaments.

Fig. 121. Nose Ornaments.

of the Trachypyrynium violaceum (stalk, nkómbʉ̃mo I; leaves, dʉ̃dekiai IV Ntum) onto the tip of the quill and pulls both back together until the stalk comes to rest in the septum. The stalk is supposed to keep the hole open for the later ornaments. The subsequent treatment serves the same purpose; every two days the wound is washed out and the stalk is renewed. /181/ After ten days the stalk is finally removed and replaced by the permanent ornaments. The objects used for ornaments can scarcely all be enumerated: /Figs. 122 and 123 appear here in the original text/ stalks, leaves, blossoms of the Gomphrena globosa L. (ngʉ̃ʉ), with which we are already familiar as an ornamental plant, feathers (1),

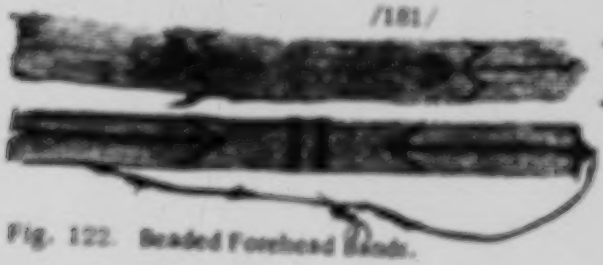
1. The red tail feathers of the gray parrot and the crescent feathers of the cock are especially popular; both animals play an important role in the religion.

paper rolls, wooden rods strung with beads, raffia rods, rods or bones wrapped with brass wire, brass rings with a large bead that hangs down as far as the upper lip (see Fig. 132), and especially strings of beads, the ends of which are tied to the hairdo behind the ears, thus forming a cheek ornament at the same time. /Fig. 124 appears here in the original text./

Forehead ornaments are to be found in the following forms: strings of beads; bands of beads, which in the southern part of the Fang region often have very attractice patterns (Fig. 122); strips of black sheepskin (tʉ̃ʉt IV); and sometimes among women nicely braided bast bands with tassels.

The neck, which one rarely sees without some kind of band or string, is amply provided with ornaments. In former times the fruit of the grass Coix lacryma L. (mvǎ andʉ̃ III), the well-known Job's-tears (Fig. 123), used as a decoration in so many parts of the world, /182/ /Figs. 125 and 126 appear here in the original text/ was very popular, as were strung stalk pieces of the fern Lygodium smithianum Presl. (ozʉ̃k), whose name ozʉ̃k was subsequently

1: Tessmann--189 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 P119 Fang P119



301
531

Fig. 122. Beaded Forehead Band.

Fig. 123. Necklace of the Fruit of Coix lacryma (Job's-tears).

142
291
301
516

Fig. 124. Nsum Woman from Alén (Essandun Family).

•30 transferred to the oblong red beads. Nowadays, however, since the introduction of glass beads which now predominate, they have long been out of favor as not elegant enough. Among other neck ornaments we find among the women the fruit of the Mucuna flagellipes Vogel (bɔ̄ndīŋ'-ɑ̄ŋ III); they are a symbol of faithfulness, although they are probably worn without the definite intention of winning faithfulness or keeping it (1). Other neck

[p4]

1. This liana is the symbol of faithfulness because it twines around a single tree and does not, like the majority of tropical lianas and climbing plants, overrun all the trees and shrubs within its reach.

ornaments are: the strung incisors of long-tailed monkeys and dogs (Fig. 124 and 125); also used as pendants, the strung incisors of leopards and the tusks of boars (Fig. 127); simulated teeth made of the white, slightly pointed seeds of the palm Podococcus barteri Mann et Wendl. (niamvīne), Figure 126, or from pieces of bone, as pendants; simulated horn made of /Fig. 127 appears here in the original text/ appropriately carved pieces of ebony (Diospyros varieties) and wound with brass wire, Figure 128; and finally a talon of the large fighting eagle Spizaetus (nɔ̄ŋ̄ī' IV), Figure 129 (2). Neck bands, as attractive as they are simple to produce,

[p71]

2. European trinkets are also to be found as pendants among the Pangwe. These include cartridges, keys, and padlocks.

are made from strips of Oncocalamus mannii Wendl. (nlon) or Trachyphrynium violaceum (nkɔ̄mokɔ̄mo), held together by a graceful braid of Rhectophyllum threads. /Figs. 128 and 129 appear here in the original text./ There is a noteworthy neck ornament made of the fragrant roots of the Urticacea Trymatococcus africanus H. Baillon (ngɔ̄ŋa IV), which among the Ntum is worn

30/ only by women but among the Fang by members of either sex. It is called /183/ ngbwâ'. ngôm IV Fang, or ngôm-o-ni, Bitum (see Plate 12). Halved lengthwise and dried, the roots are bound by a double string to form a necklace (Fig. 131, a) or are twined together to form a tassel-shaped pendant (Figure 131, b), the whole being dyed usually with red wood. A neck ruff made of bast and worn by members of either sex is not very common. Because of its appearance, the ruff is called ngîga-ngôma, "sheep's mane" (Fig. 131, c). Similarly, a bast neck ornament for little girls (ngôma) is rarely worn. /Figs. 130 and 131 appear here in the original text./

30/ 326 Iron neck rings are very rare nowadays; correspondingly, neck rings made of brass (mvûr I) are all the more frequent. These are cast in heavy and light varieties. The former, that is, the heavy brass rings, have two different forms. The first has edges that project like a cornice and no ornamentation (Fig. 132). The other one is triangular in cross-section and in the middle of the two front surfaces, as well as frequently along the upper edge, is provided with engraved patterns (mvûr ndzh; see Fig. 14). The manufacture of these rings will be described in connection
30/ with brass founding. It is not easy to wear such a ring, which weighs up to three pounds, nor is it easy to put it on, for it is softened anew in the fire and bent apart so that its lucky owner can force his neck into it, and then it is tapped together again on the anvil. It is even harder to take the ring off. To do this, the person concerned lies down on his back; one end of the ring is secured to a tree stump while the other end is connected to a lever by means of a liana, and the ring is forced off with the lever. Prior to this, one must not forget to rub the neck thoroughly with oil or with sap from the leaves of the Clerodendron /184/ /Fig. 132 appears here in the original text/ bûtneri Gürke (mavûndzîk III). By way of a popular, quick, and cheap substitute, [117] servants of Europeans use tin cans which they transform into a neck ring by taking off the lid and the bottom. Similarly, European collars are to them an extremely welcome cultural acquisition which they make their own, frequently before they acquire trousers and shirts.

S- Tennessee--Ski E-S (1904-1909) 1913 F909 Feng F110

Fig. 130. Necklace with the Fruit of *Chrysophyllum monnanii* Engl. (*mbam*).

Fig. 131. Neck Ornaments.

• 30/
192
371

Fig. 132. Fang (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.

30/ Sweet ornaments are to be found chiefly among women in the form of strings of beads and rough brass chains that hang very low. As one might imagine, these can be recommended only for older ladies.

Especially among women, the arms and legs are just as profusely covered with ornaments. The upper and lower arm or both are adorned with spirals of imported brass wire or with hoops from imported brass tubing (Fig. 133). For the upper arm, the spirals are shorter, while for the lower arm they are usually so long that they completely cover it. The less common upper arm rings made of strips of Laccosperma or Trachyphrynium are placed close together and joined by a pretty braid of Rhectophyllum (Fig. 134). Only men wear strips of black sheepskin on their upper arms; these match the forehead bands of the same material. Rings or bands around the /185/ wrist are among the most popular ornaments. Even children put the stalks of the Rubiacea Megalopus mannii K. Sch. (ngône III) in spirals around their arms. Adults -- men and women -- wear rings made from lianas stalks, braided palm bands (Fig. 135), the hairs of an elephant's tail, cast brass or brass wire whose

Fig. 133. Ntum Woman from Akonangf (Emandun Family).

ends are entwined like two tendrils (akō̄b I, Fig. 136, a), or fine brass wire wound around itself (Fig. 136, b). They also wear bands braided from Onocalamus and thick rings made of ivory or elephant bones (ekōm e ŋkō) or an imitation made from the wood of the Alstonia (ekōb) called ŋgō k) ekōb, "elephant" (that is, ivory from the Alstonia). All three varieties are especially worn by chiefs. Among the Jaunde there are attractively worked, thin arm hoops made of ivory.

Finger rings (Fig. 137) are made of ivory (a), horn(1) (b) blackened in raffia palm oil, and brass. Of the latter there are spirals (c-d), simple thin rings whose ends are slightly entwined (e), bands, and thicker, often slightly ornamented hoops (f).

1. Of the black-rumped duikerbok, Cephalophus callipygus Pus. (mvin IV).

By and large, leg ornaments are similar to those for the arm; here too, shorter brass spirals worn above the knee are the most frequent. Women also wear them just below the knee and, again, they alone wear longer ones which extend from the middle of the calf down to the ankle. In addition, both sexes wear massive or hollow brass rings as well as the peculiar, finely decorated brass foot covers (ebāt, ngō̄b IV). /186/

1: Tessmann--187 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

Fig. 134. Arm Band of Palm Strips.

Fig. 135. Braided Arm Band.

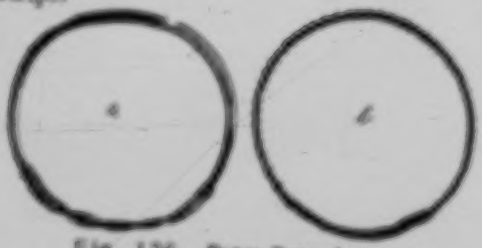


Fig. 136. Brass Bracelets.

Fig. 137. Finger Rings.

Rings are put on the toes, frequently on all five of them, just as they are worn on the fingers.

[481] Because of all these adornments the women look overburdened and unattractive (Fig. 138, see also Fig. 133), especially since the adornments give them a walk even more ungainly and heavy than they already have. As a consequence of the heavy burdens that they must carry, they have a waddling walk which announces itself from afar by a rhythmic clatter. In short, the native beauties would not be exactly pleasing to the divine Muse, Terpsichore. In addition, the ornaments are troublesome beyond just their weight; the ankle rings, for instance, rub the skin until it is raw and are then tied with a string to the rings worn above the calves.

515 (mfŭm-e-ndźīk IV) and the Simarubacea Odyendea gabunensis
278 (Pierre) Engl. (ozŏk). Furthermore, the Leguminosa Tephrosia
824 vogelii H. f. (ndăwŏlŏ III) and the Ochnacea Lophira alata Banks (akōga) are put on the hair. /Fig. 138 appears here in the original text. /

In the helmet hairdo, under whose thick pads the lice cannot be reached by hand, they are killed by a special procedure. "Lice caps" made of plantain leaves and tightly fitted are placed

[301
291]

Fig. 138. Ntum Woman from the Campo Region.

on the head after the bark of the Flacourtiacea Caloncoba welwitschii (Oliv.) Gilg (miĕmegŭmo III) has been put in it, the bark having first been scraped off and moistened.

302 The hairdos are always greased with oil; also short hair is
824 tended very carefully, moistened with oil and combed out. There are two /188/ kinds of comb (mvăs IV), those carved entirely out

249
252

4. Palm seed oil (mbǒn e mbań, maniańga Jaunde), used only for the skin.

In the order given, from 1) to 4), the frequency of production decreases. In other words, pressed oil is made most frequently, palm seed oil is made most rarely. The order is the same for the southern Pangwe, except that washed oil is completely absent.

1) Pressed oil.

The stalks bearing the ripe fruit are taken off the tree, cut apart by means of axe and cutlass, and left to lie for a couple of days under a blanket of banana leaves. Then the fruit itself is taken off and boiled with a little water for about half an hour in a pot covered with leaves. Afterwards, it is pounded in a trough with a wooden pestle, and the seeds are picked out (Fig. 145). The pulp is then pressed out on the oil press. The oil has the familiar yellowish-red color, and among Europeans it appears on the dinner table as "palm oil chop" with meat and the tubers of [262] macabo or taro; however, only a small proportion of the natives eat it (one-quarter, in the south even less).

249
252
415
301

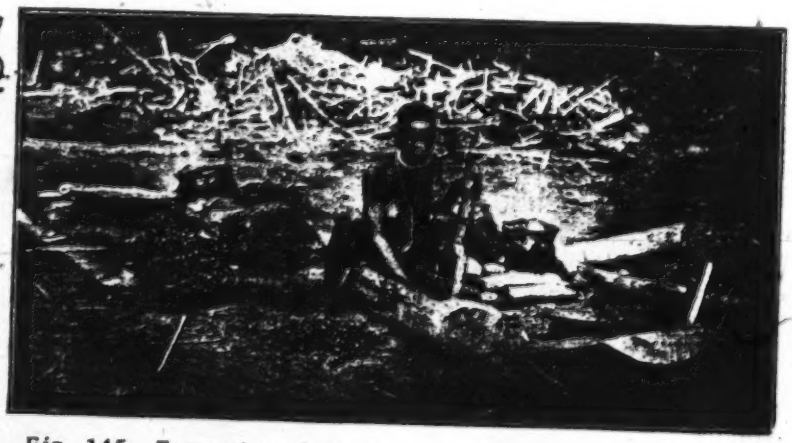


Fig. 145. Extraction of Oil from the Fruit of the Oil Palm.

1: Tessmann--313 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

291
301

Fig. 2. Fang Youths (Essáuong and Omwang Families), Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--317 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
301

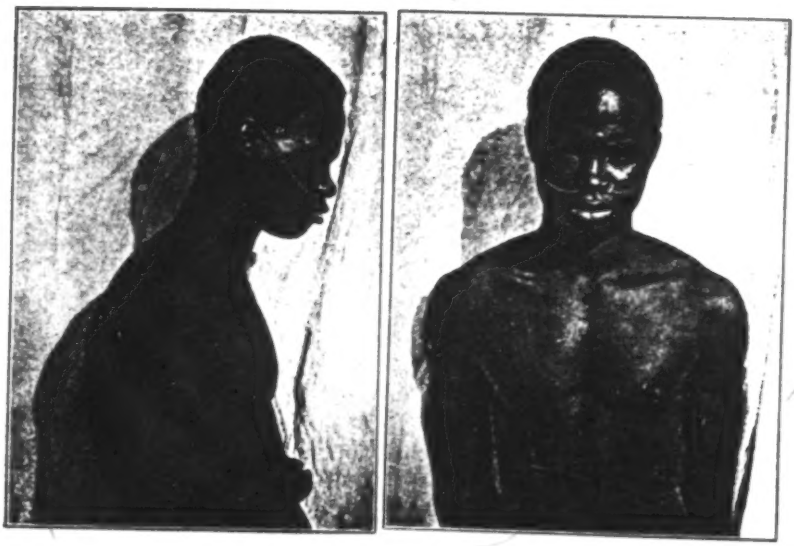


Fig. 6. Ondo from Angónneuai (Omwang Family). Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--319 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
301

Fig. 8. Ndong-Alogo (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--322 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
301

Fig. 11. Fang (Essátop Family), Spanish Guinea.

Fig. 12. Medicine Man from Ebáangon (Esseng Family), Southern Cameroons.

1: Tessmann--323 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
●301
302

Fig. 13. Ajíngon, a Fang Girl from Alén (Essáuong Family).

1: Tessmann--324 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
292
301

Fig. 14. Fang Woman from Alén (Essáuong Family).

1: Tessmann--326 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
292
411
301

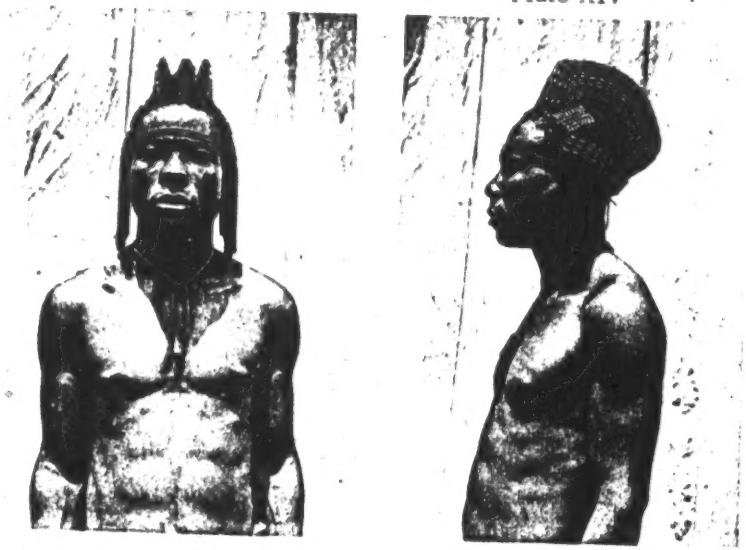
Plate I

A Fang Youth from Owöng.

1: Tessmann--339 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
292
301

Plate XIV



Fang (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--340 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate XV

142
29
30
415

Woman from Bebai (Esseng Family), Ntum Region.

2: Tessmann--33 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

832
825
301

Fig. 61. Love Medicine, Horn of the Dwarf Antelope, usually Worn on Forehead and Hung from the Helmet Hairdo.

789

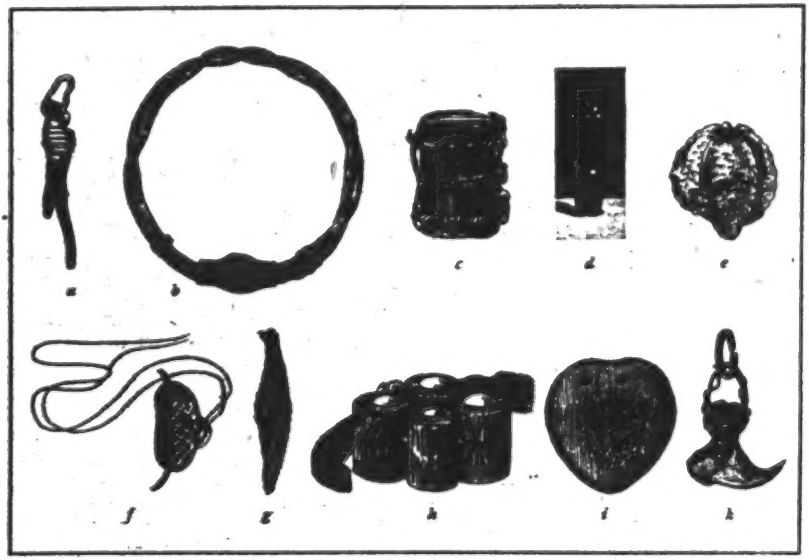
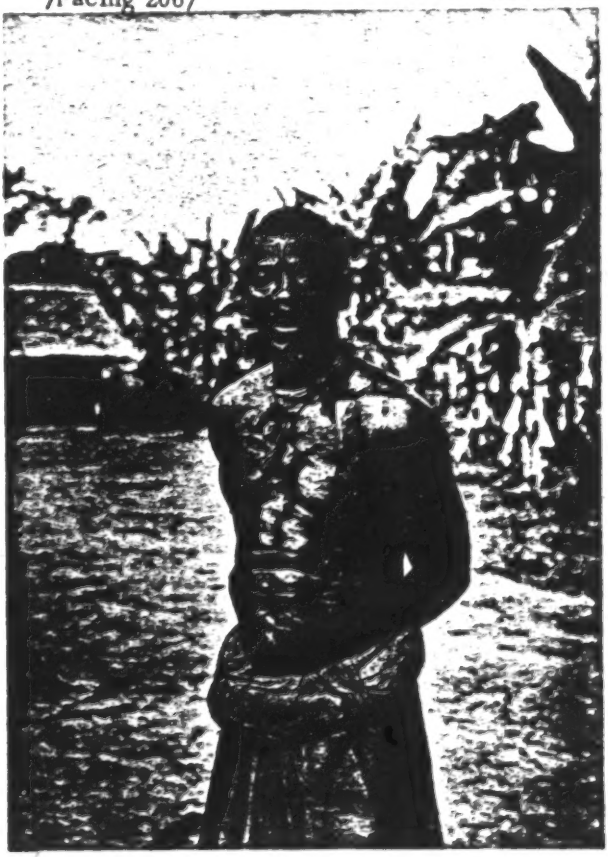


Fig. 62
(Caption on following page.)

2: Tessmann--91 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/Facing 206/ Plate XXVI

142
291
301



Chief of Nschúggebot (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

2. Tessmann--162 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/Facing 290/ Plate XXVII

854
301
142
291

Woman from Alen (Essauong Family) with a Child.

551 family has given him a second name, Ekure Nzork (elephant hide), which corresponds to the wish made by the grandparents that their grandson may be as tough as elephant hide. Still other names may be given by other relatives, each of these corresponding to an affectionate feeling or a wish for the child. Andzang [misprinted Andang in original] has a third name given by the wife of one of his uncles, Nzul Weya (young civet), that is to say "as handsome as a civet," [301 832] civet skin formerly having been worn as an ornament by young Pahouin wanting to make female conquests.

When a man has had several children who have died at an early age, in order that the newborn may not die like the others he gives him the name of an animal: Ngi (gorilla), Waġa (chimpanzee), Nze (panther), Mvina (antelope), etc...

Sometimes the child receives a name referring to an incident of his birth. A child may be called: Mefan (from afan, the forest), if he is born in the forest; Bemvaṅ (from mvaṅ, rain), if he was born in the rain or on a rainy day; or Biteġe (from eteġ, mourning), if he was born after the death of his father, during his mother's mourning, etc...

[777] Actually in all the N'Djolé region children are given a Christian name in addition to their native names, even if neither the parents nor the child have any contact with the missions. It is also quite usual to see children bearing European proper names, names which were given them because the parents thought them pretty. Similarly, one meets children called Captain, Major, Militiaman, etc... , and always the parents give as reason for their choice that the name taken for the child is beautiful.

851 The child belongs to its father and cannot be dependent on the mother unless she has been repudiated and the father has waived his claim to reimbursement.

853 Nursing continues until eighteen months or two years, but at about the age of six months, in addition to the breast, the child gets the same food as its parents except for fish, meat, and salt, which are forbidden him.

855 The physical care given the child is reduced to the minimum: he lives naked until the age of about ten years and is bathed every day. When he can walk, he is put on his own and plays with the other children of the village, boys and girls together. While he is still rather

142 The group displays powerful shoulder girth, rather well-developed calf, pronounced arch, ungual phalanges that cannot be pulled back.

The explorers of the last century were one and all struck by the difference in physical appearance between the Pahouin and their neighbors, much less evident today, particularly to a European (the Pahouin themselves often recognize a stranger from quite a distance). It is possible that at the time of conquest the Pahouin may have had a
[26] heavier meat diet than did the coastal populations or do their present-day descendants: the hippopotamus has been exterminated, and the rest of the wild fauna has been greatly reduced, while even animal breeding and rearing is on the decline.

b. Clothing, Ornaments, Body Marks

291 The traditional clothing as described by explorers hardly exists any more. One sometimes meets in remote villages the beaten fig-bark breechcloth, ɔbôm, and the monkeyskin hat-wig, afô'ɔlô, which was the men's everyday dress, with a wide belt of antelope skin, ases, holding a sort of sporran as well as a saber sheath. Battle dress and
292 full dress have become very rare; they included, in addition to a red-dyed ɔbôm, a tailpiece /séant/ of tiger-cat skin or of drill or any animal with bright fur, fringed leggings of the same fur, and a sort of cloak made of leopard or gorilla skin with the head sometimes forming a hood; there was a headdress of beads hanging down to the shoulders or arranged in the hair, with a tuft of touraco or juggler-eagle /aigle-
411 bateleur/ feathers. Weapons consisted of the saber, fa, the dagger, otyen —both double bladed, the spear, akoñ, or rifle, ngal (the cross-bow, mfan, was more a hunting weapon, and the bow, ngale, a toy). Defensive armor included an oblong shield, ngu or éndeñ, of plaited lianas or of leather, sometimes made of an elephant ear. Even today men do not like to leave home without a weapon, at least in the
301 villages; formerly, they were always armed. Men's jewelry comprised copper bracelets and teeth necklaces—of either animal's or men's
[75] teeth—chains of copper, iron, ivory, or elephant hair. Protective
293 "medicaments" mebiañ, were usually carried in an antelope horn (Cephalophus sylvicultrix), nla' zip, hung around the neck or wrist on a strip of leather or snakeskin—a practice that still survives. The
292 ceremonial costumes for the different rites /86/ included masks, mantles of dried grass, beads, or cowries.

301 Women wore only a sort of double apron of grass or leaves, azem
[291] or abui, fastened to a belt of cylindrical steatite beads, nsanga; brace-
lets, mekom, of ivory or copper shaped like spools; ankle chains,
bibat, of cast copper, very heavy; and an enormous necklace of cast
copper, nkembé, which was put on a little gir when she entered her
[764] affinal household and which could not be removed until after death,
by cutting apart the body or melting the necklace or awaiting decom-
position. All this jewelry belonged to, and remained in, the husband's
[422] family, even in case of divorce; the ésa was the person who distributed
it among his wives and daughters-in-law. Flat bracelets were made of
306 "neptunes" or "benares" /?/ imported from the coast; later on they
made, and still make, rings and bracelets from cartridge cases and
telegraph wire. But the origin of the cast minkembé /plural/ is still
a mystery; the technique of metal casting is unknown or forgotten;
placer or lode copper is very rare, not only in the present Pahouin
[325] habitat but also where they seem to have come from. Furthermore,
these very old necklaces resist corrosion and have a very pale patina
indicating some kind of alloy; moreover, the nearest workers in bronze
the Bamum, do not make this kind of necklace.

291 Men's dress at the present time is usually of the European type,
[177] from shorts and sports shirt to the surplus American cap; those who
wear shoes have European footwear, leather or canvas according to
their income, or in the style of the Arabic—silifa, from English
"slipper" = babouche, of Hausa or Peul manufacture. Mention should
be made of the helmets and kepis of umbrella-tree wood and the fake
spectacles of slivers of raffia "bamboo." In the villages or at home,
imported loincloths are rolled around a belt or tied behind the neck.

Women also wear a loincloth, éndelé, tied at the neck or rolled
tight above the breasts when they have nothing else on, rolled at the
waist when wearing the "mission jacket," éwoman (apparently from
"woman"). The favorite head covering is still the kerchief, éyañese
(from "handkerchief"). More and more women are also wearing cut
and sewn European-style dresses, bizingi; often a kind of slip; no
[841] panties except for a few young modernists (who call them caleçons,
"drawers"); and internal sanitary napkins made of medicinal plants.
[717] Mission activity has spread notions of prudery; formerly only those
834 past puberty were obliged to cover their sexual parts. Women did so
with great care in spite of the casual nature of their clothing; the
greatest insult to a woman was to uncover her vulva in public; she never

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

291 clothing. The Fang do not use any coverings to protect the feet. Rank is not distinguished by the dress, very often the brightest and cleanest wrappers are worn
[554] by the young men while the *kuma* (headman) is often clothed in a dirty old rag.
[622] Very often the *kuma* wears an imported straw or felt hat obtained in trade, and this alone distinguishes him as headman of the town. Next to the possession of women and guns, a Fang man's great desire is to own "much cloth."

Personal Ornaments.

Head.—The Fang dress their hair in the same manner as the Bulu, and the
302 way they build it up on the head over wooden shapes is often very remarkable
291 and shows considerable skill. Very often the hair is built up over these shapes
301 in ridges, the upper edge of the ridge having white shirt buttons fastened along it or brass headed tacks driven in. Wigs are used and very skilfully made. Very often the term wig would be a misnomer, for the ingenious contrivance made to fit over the bald head is often entirely devoid of hair, being simply a close-fitting skull cap knitted with string made from the pineapple fibre. The wigs are usually decorated with shirt buttons or imported glass beads. The hair is frequently plaited and twisted into ringlets by both sexes; dyeing the hair is not practised. Beads and white shirt buttons are worn on the hair in large quantities, also large cowrie shells dyed with red wood powder. The beads and buttons are often sewed on pieces of goat or deer skin, a separate portion decorating each side of the head, connected by a string of beads passing across the forehead.

Moustaches are seldom cultivated, beards when worn are allowed to grow naturally; but both are frequently removed by depilation; shaving is not
301 practised. Ornaments are frequently worn in the ears, and are usually suspended by a small cord passed through a hole in the lobe. Women and young girls when returning from work in the forest or gardens frequently cluster grasses, leaves of vines and fragrant herbs around their ears; it is a rather pretty custom. Certain fetish charms are worn suspended from the ear; women frequently use for an ear fetish the small quills from a porcupine's tail, and they say it will bring them children. Brass and iron ear-rings are also worn.

Males do not seem to feel inclined to ornament the nose, but many Fang
[304] women delight to do so. They pierce the triangular cartilage with a long slender bamboo pin: the pins sometimes project out three inches on either side of the nose. Very often a medium-sized porcupine quill is used as the ornament, in place of bamboo; it certainly looks better. Some women thus decorated look very repulsive. A female who is credited with considerable power as a medicine woman will almost invariably have the nose pierced and decorated. Ornaments are not worn on the lips or cheeks.

Body.—Men, women, and children wear necklaces of glass beads, the hoofs of very small antelope, and certain forest beans, are strung and worn around the neck. Bristles from the tail of an elephant are used for the same purpose. When

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

in mourning, a necklace is made from bleached grass plaited; it is worn by both sexes. A very favourite fetish charm to suspend from a necklace is a leopard tooth. I have frequently seen the two tusks of a wild boar or "Wart hog" worn around the neck as an ornament and have succeeded in bringing specimens worn mostly by the women. Imported thick brass wire wound around the forearm from wrist to elbow is a very favourite armlet; it is kept highly polished. Brass wire is often wound so tightly around the biceps as to seriously interfere with circulation. Broad pieces of beaten brass are worn on the arms, and ivory bracelets are much valued. Sometimes six or more rings of ivory are cut from a tusk, and all worn on one arm. Finger and thumb rings are mostly worn by the women; they are made of brass, copper, or iron, and are usually very thick and heavy.

Rings are no indication of rank or marriage. It is not uncommon to see a woman with three heavy brass rings on one thumb, and eight or ten similar rings on the fingers. Narrow girdles of leopard, goat or deer skins are worn across the chest to support the native fighting knife and bunch of fetish charms. I have been visited by a bushman wearing no less than twenty-three charms.

Legs and feet.—Leglets and anklets of brass are much worn and sought after by women. Brass leg rings imported by traders are in great demand. There does not appear to be any special time set for commencing to wear anklets; mere infants are frequently decorated with them. Some of the leglets are very heavy, and many women wear ten or more on one leg. These rings often fit very tightly and impede circulation, or chafe and cause nasty indolent ulcers. The ankles and feet often swell and become very painful as a result of insufficient blood supply. Toe-rings are of iron and brass largely worn, and fit so tightly that the ring is often deeply imbedded in the flesh. Usually only one ring is worn on a single toe.

Painting and Tattooing.

Painting.—The method of painting the body by smearing on redwood powder mixed with palm oil, so largely practised by the Bulu, is followed in the same manner but to a much less extent by the Fang. Soft portions of the redwood tree are pulverised and mixed with oil into a thick paste, and the preparation smeared over the entire body. Occasionally a red band is painted across the forehead. When in mourning, dust, mud, or white clay is frequently rubbed over the entire body. Much more frequent is the practice of painting arrow heads, bands, or dots. The pigment used is a dark blue colour, obtained I am told from a tree fungus. The Ngi or witch doctor, when at work, in addition to his other paraphernalia smears his body with white chalk. Except in the case of the *Ngi*, the only object in decorating the body by painting is to appear *mbung* (beautiful), and with the Bulu when asked the reason for smearing the body with red paint, they usually reply it is *abung* (handsome). Imported pigments are not used for body decoration.

Tattooing.—The custom of tattooing is much in vogue. I have not been able

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

traded with the *eki* (iron)." Iron is put to various uses. Long bladed knives of various shapes and patterns are made, also spear heads, armlets, anklets, finger and toe rings. Small pieces of iron are used for bullets in flint-lock muskets. One of the most important uses of money among the Fang is the making of *beki*. 325 326

Beki is made up in bunches ten *beki* in each bunch; a bunch of *beki* is called *ntet*. The amount of dowry paid in *beki* is usually counted in hundreds, *kuliki bi kei, ntet awom* (bring me one hundred *beki*). 326 [436]

A bundle of ten arrow heads is frequently used as an *ntet*.

A peculiar shaped adze is made of iron; it is used for working wood, especially hollowing trees intended for canoes.

Pieces of iron are forged into axe blades (*ovon*).

The *mfak* is a short handled spade made of iron, used for digging in the gardens.

The art of casting seems to be unknown.

The bellows (*nkum*) used by Fang smiths are very ingenious (*specimen on table*). The feet are used to steady the bellows, whilst both hands work the goat skin covers and force air into the fire.

A block of iron is used for an anvil. Some of the natives are quite skilful at working iron. A Fang living near my residence often begged from me a round steel nail from a packing case. In a short time he would return with the nail transformed into a thin delicate knife or dagger, only the nailhead remaining intact. Very large fighting knife blades are made and beautifully fashioned, and ornamented with various punch marks.

I have never seen any native made wire. Imported brass wire is in great demand and mostly used as a continuous armlet. The coil usually reaches from wrist to elbow, and is considered extremely *mbung* (handsome), and kept highly polished. [439] [301]

Imported brass is obtained in trade and made into armlets, anklets, finger and toe rings. It is also used for ornamentation of guns.

Many of the natives are skilled workers of iron and fully aware of its value. I have never seen welding practised, but in working hot iron it is frequently plunged into cold water to make it *alert* (hard).

Fire.—In the far interior, fire is produced by friction, the simplest form of a drill being used, which is twisted rapidly between the hands. Along the rivers matches are obtained from the native traders, who bring up large quantities from the coast. The natives are always ready to trade for matches, which are again traded to interior tribes. Flints are only used on the hammer of the old flintlock musket imported for trade. Fires are almost constantly burning in the palaver houses. Two dry logs are kept constantly burning, they are placed end to end, when one log is nearly consumed it is replaced by another. 372 [439]

It is interesting to notice how the natives carry fire about. When on a journey in 1897 from Gross Batanga with a caravan to the Bulu country in the German sphere of influence, one of the men usually obtained a piece of burning 372 484

244

Fig. 52. Plantation of Groundnuts and Maize near Bébai (Esseng Family), Southern Cameroons.

433 of groundnuts rises to ten spears (equal to 70 pfennigs) while at
435 other times only five spears (equal to 35 pfennigs) are given for
244 it. In the Jaunde region, it is true, a plate always costs 70 pfennigs (equal to 100 Jaunde spears). The groundnut is eaten simply as soup or compote. /92/ /Fig. 52 appears here in the original text. / The oil content of the nuts is not utilized to
302 any great extent, but the oil released by cooking is rubbed on the skin in order not to waste it. Finally we might mention the
524 riddle:

onõ'n	o	nga	bẽ'ĩ	a	fã'	e
(A) bird,	it	lives	give birth to	behind	the house	of the

boniĕ:	akĩ'	avõk	a	köke	bõn	avũ'm
mothers:	egg	one;	there	creep out	young ones	ten.

Answer: owŭno = groundnut.

243 Maize, Zea mays L. (fũ'n IV), as we have said, is almost always grown with the groundnut (Fig. 52), usually as a means of marking off the individual plots and as a border against the bush all around the plantation. Farms that grow maize

302

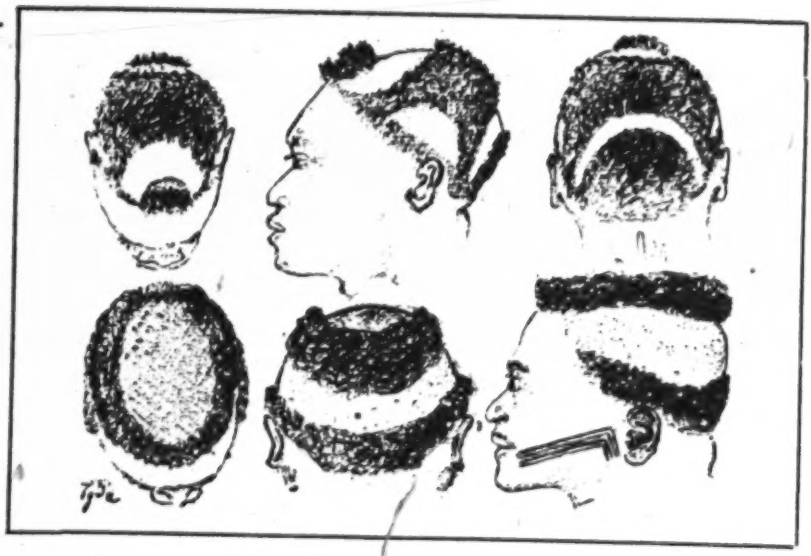


Fig. 116. Hair Styles.

291 During the first years of their lives, small children usually go around naked, girls up to the age of five, boys up to their seventh [304] year. The boys' circumcision does not mark a definite limit in this matter since one sees uncircumcised boys clothed and circumcised boys naked, /Fig. 115 appears here in the original text/ but they do not like to wait long after this occasion. Children, especially girls, may also be clad in a piece of cloth as soon as they start to walk.

302 Nowadays, the Pangwe do not have a uniform hair style. We find an abundance of different forms among them -- even within the same village -- which shows that, like all Negroes, the Pangwe loves to give rein to his mode in dressing his hair for ornamental purposes.

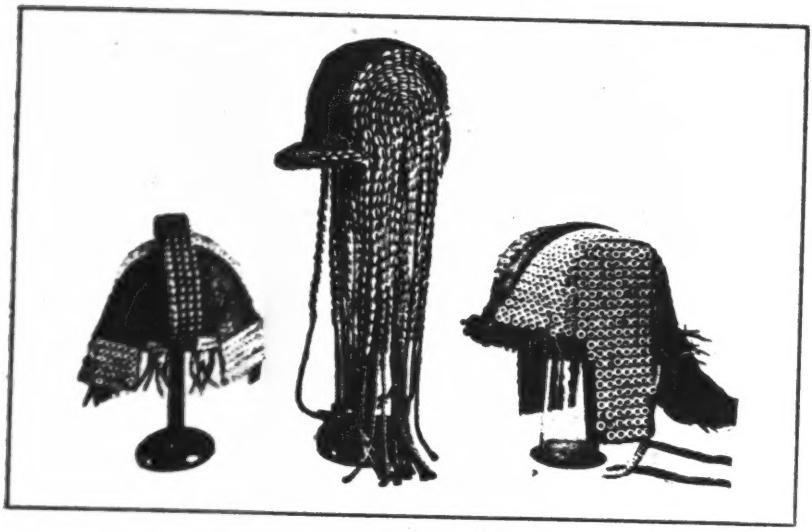
Children usually have their heads shaved at an early age, either completely smooth or /175/ /Fig. 116 appears here in the original text/ retaining a tuft of hair either in the back or the front or a fringe. Half-grown boys wear their hair long or shaved in patterns.

Among adults the hair is either quite long and neglected (Plate 13) or it is shaved quite smooth. In other cases, it is cut

302 to half length and carefully dressed, or it is cut short, either uniformly (see Fig. 6) or in such a way that a tuft, asik, in front, or a fringe, ongón, over the crown remains standing. Still others cut their hair short and shave it in all kinds of patterns (see Fig. 3), called pfēē, III (a tūb bopfēē, "to shave in ornamental patterns"). These would fill an entire book if one were to note them all down. I have illustrated a small number of them in Figure 116.

The hair style in the shape of a helmet, richly adorned with beads, cowrie shells, buttons, and brass nails, constitutes the ne plus ultra of all these types of hair styles. It is this hair style which distinguishes the Pangwe from all other peoples of tropical West Africa (Fig. 117). In the north where this fashion never reached the same perfection it had in the south, it has been given up as a result of European influence. Among the Ntum and Fang, on the other hand, the art of fashioning the helmet hair style blooms luxuriantly (Fig. 118). In this process the hair is made to stand on end by placing under it props made of raffia pith or palm strips; the curls are transformed into pigtails by means of bark strips plaited in with them. The pigtails in turn are braided together to form a pad of uniform thickness. Since the creation of such a hairdo requires ample time, a month and longer, the natives walk about for a long time with /176/ /Figs. 117 and 118/ /177/ /Fig. 119 appears here in the original text/ hairdos that have just been begun or that are more or less unfinished, so that one has the impression at first that he is observing many different kinds of hair styles. Figures 8 and 13, for example, show two different stages in the development of one and the same hairdo.

292 302 In addition to these styles contrived with the hair of the head, there are removable caps. These are made in precisely the same way and in precisely the same shapes (Fig. 119) as the hair styles just described, so that only upon close inspection can one decide whether the hair has been dressed or has been covered with a cap. These caps, however, are not common and are made only by the Ntum and by a few Fang (Okak). Dressing the hair itself decidedly predominates, a fact which we should mention since from the evidence of the museum material one might arrive at a different conclusion. The illustrations given here all show hairdos.



292

Fig. 119. Helmet Caps.

Of 25 different forms, which are given individual names, about half are worn by both sexes indiscriminately; the rest are worn only by men or only by women. Among the Fang the men's ornaments are more frequently the same as those of the women than is the case among the Ntum, and for this reason they are more frequently the butt of ridicule. 302 301

Helmet crests and ornamental caps are worn constantly; only as a sign of mourning are both taken off -- the former is sometimes also taken off before a hunting expedition. /178/ 292 765

To make his ornamental caps (edo̱'ban, etū̱e'), the Ntum takes a hide from a long-tailed monkey, dwarf antelope, young goat, or sheep. The hide is cleaned of its fat, turned inside out, and drawn over the arch of a plantain rootstock that has been cut to a semi-spherical shape. It is tied with a string at the base, and along the edge it is fastened by pegs to the ground. Stretched in this way, the hide must be dried in the sun and later over the fire. 294 281

Furthermore, blackened bast strips of the Triumfetta are needed. These are colored in the following manner: the bark of certain 294 386 824

294 end in a knot (2). Twelve such longitudinal braids are placed

2. In braiding, one frequently greases his fingers and twists the strips slightly.

close to one another. The space between these and the edge of the cap is filled by pigtails made in the same way but running at right angles to the others; at the edge they are covered by three rows of pigtails all the way around and are sewed to the hide. /179/ For this one requires a needle made of bark, whose tip has been hardened in the fire and whose other end has a slit for the fiber thread. The pigtails jutting out over the edge are cut off. A fringe (mbɔ̄m), made of a piece of raffia pith, is put over the crown of the cap. The piece of pith is cut into on both its narrow sides so that it will bend more readily, and over it is sewn a piece of material on which is set a stirrup of the same width, made of palm strips and studded with brass nails -- these stirrups have been described above in connection with the inner surface of the cap. On either side of the fringe there are a few longitudinal rows of red beads strung on raffia fiber. Another decoration on the caps consists of pieces of leather sewn on at the sides, which have cowrie shells or white buttons stitched on them and from which are hung tassels of pineapple strings strung with beads (see Fig. 118, foreground).

The ornamental caps of the Fang are not made of hides but of palm strips, parallel to each other, which are braided with blackened Triumfetta fiber in such a way that one strip is always skipped, and thus a chessboard pattern is created.

302 Older people for the most part do not wear bead ornaments in their hair -- insofar as they still have any -- but on the contrary wear simpler hair arrangements which, incidentally, are supposed to have been more fashionable at one time.

291 Among head coverings we need only mention caps made from the hide of monkeys, civet cats, or of the ichneumon, Bdeogale [294] nigripes Puch., as well as imported red caps which are worn by chiefs 291 and other elderly "notables." Hats made from leaves of grass 177 (Paspalum) sewn together resemble our ordinary straw hats in shape

291 177 and, according to one informant, are supposed to be imitations of European models.

302 Dressing the beard is rare among the Pangwe, since most of them -- like many other Negroes -- pluck out such hair. In isolated instances there are men with beautiful full beards (Fig. 11) or with pointed beards whose tip has been twisted into a little pigtail and covered with cowrie shells or beads. Still others make two or quite a number of pigtails from their beards (Fig. 12); mustaches are rarely to be seen and are quite insignificant.

2. Ornaments.

301 Among the Pangwe the urge to beautify oneself dominates man and woman equally to a considerable degree. All kinds of ornamental pendants are attached to every possible part of the body. In their hair (Fig. 120) they stick a feather which is often cut out in patterns (a, b), a porcupine's tail (c), a wooden arrow, bones /180/ /Fig. 120 appears here in the original text/ (d), brass coiled in a spiral (e), a comb (see Fig. 139), and also, in rare cases -- usually on the occasion of a dance -- flowers, for instance, those of Costus (miẽn), and attractive or fragrant leaves, such as those of the Leguminosa Cryptosepalum aff. staudtii Harms (andũ̯ń) and of the herb called afuń. The latter two are worn only by women and usually in two bundles behind the ear. The ear lobe is pierced and provided with an ornament only among a few Mwai. [304]

301 304 Nose ornaments (Fig. 121), on the other hand, enjoy great popularity; they are attached in a hole pierced through the septum and not to the side of the nose. The requisite operation is carried out on children between six and eight years of age. /Fig. 121 appears here in the original text. / First the person concerned presses the leaves of the Aframomum (adžõm), which have been warmed in the fire, to the septum in order to make it softer. Then the medicine man takes a stick of raffia stalk, a quill from the porcupine, or any other pointed tool and drills a hole through the septum with it after he has picked out the right place with the index finger of his other hand. He now pushes a small piece of stalk [304]

515 (mfŭm-e-ndźīk IV) and the Simarubacea Odyendea gabunensis
278 (Pierre) Engl. (ozŏk). Furthermore, the Leguminosa Tephrosia
824 vogelii H. f. (ndǎwŏlō III) and the Ochnacea Lophira alata Banks (akō'ga) are put on the hair. /Fig. 138 appears here in the original text. /

In the helmet hairdo, under whose thick pads the lice cannot be reached by hand, they are killed by a special procedure. "Lice caps" made of plantain leaves and tightly fitted are placed

[301
291]

Fig. 138. Ntum Woman from the Campo Region.

on the head after the bark of the Flacourtiacea Caloncoba welwitschii (Oliv.) Gilg (miĕmegŭmo III) has been put in it, the bark having first been scraped off and moistened.

202 The hairdos are always greased with oil; also short hair is
824 tended very carefully, moistened with oil and combed out. There are two /188/ kinds of comb (mvǎs IV), those carved entirely out

302 824 of wood (Fig. 139, b-d) and those put together from short sticks of raffia leafstalk bark (Fig. 139, a). Frequently a fragrant hair powder (akūt), used by members of either sex but made only by women, is added to the oil. In preparing it, the roots of the following four plants are mixed together:

1. Cyperacea Cyperus articulatus L. (andǎk);
2. Moracea Dorstenia scabra (Bureau) Engl. (azǒ'm Fang);
3. Urticacea Trymatococcus africanus H. Baillon (ngō'nǎ III);
4. An undetermined grass called niasǎda.

/Figs. 139 and 140 appear here in the original text./ /189/ /Fig. 141 appears here in the original text./ In any case, they mix two or three of these roots if they cannot get all four of them. The roots have to dry for two months in the hut and are then completely ground to a powder -- in the case of the Trymatococcus this is done only with the bark -- and they are then sifted through a basketwork plate by tapping it with a knife (a kūt, "to tap"). The roots produce an agreeably scented yellowish powder.

302 827 The Pangwe dislike hair on the rest of the body as much as they dislike it on the face. Underarm hair is shaved off with a razor (Fig. 140) "because of the bad smell"; pubic hair is shaved off -- again by both sexes -- because it is believed to cause itching. /Fig. 142 appears here in the original text./ There are, of course, always people, like good old Otu-Mfǒǒ, who will not bother with this kind of attention to the body.

412 Just as we use pocket knives, the native uses /190/ one-edged or two-edged knives (okǒń), Figures 141 and 142, which he forges himself and carries in sheaths made of brass, leather, hide, etc. at his belt.

515 164 The farther north one goes in the region, the more industriously do the Pangwe brush their teeth. This is done with a stick spliced at the top (Fig. 143) which at times is attractively wound with brass and wire and often serves as a walking stick. Nevertheless the Pangwe do not have nearly such good teeth as one might imagine. Among the Fang at least I never once saw an immaculate set of teeth among adults. The molars are often astonishingly poor, but the front teeth, on the other hand, which are commonly chipped to a point, are better preserved, perhaps because they alone are properly brushed.

515
302

The most important toilet article of both sexes is unquestionably the small oil pot. As often as possible, the Pangwe rub themselves with oil from head to toe, but above all they take care of their hair or, as the case may be, their hairdo. One reason for this, as they say, is that they find the smell of the oil pleasant; a second is that the skin becomes more supple and resistant, in other words, it is a hygienic reason. Add to this the fact -- as was mentioned above --

412

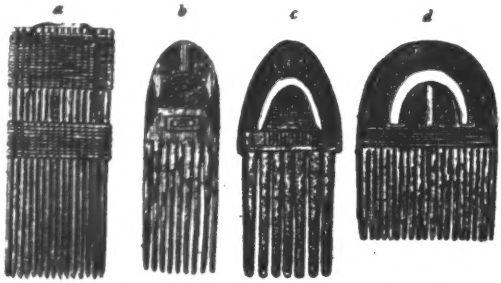


Fig. 139. Combs: (a) made of raffia leafstalk, (b-d) made of wood.

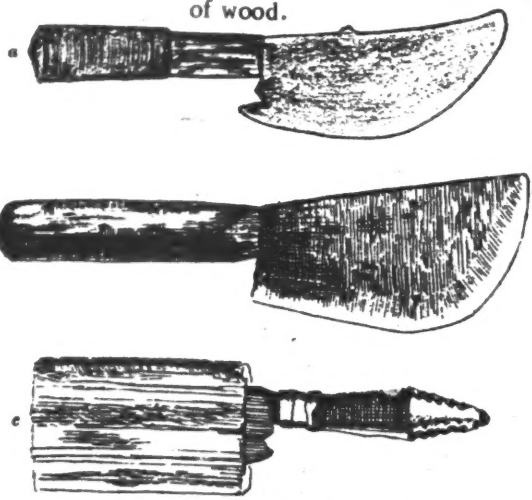


Fig. 140. Razors, (c) with a sheath made of raffia pith.

515
362 that raffia palm oil is evidently offensive to lice /Fig. 143 appears here in the original text/ and prevents them from becoming too intimate with their "host." In the case of skin diseases
[757] (Krokro /Ed., ?/ and scabies) and of sand flea wounds, it is even used as a remedy.

Oil (mbǒn) is obtained mainly from palms: in the north, only from the oil palm; in the south, rarely from this tree and mainly from the raffia palm. At times it is also produced from the kernels of Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (adžǎ'h; fruit, ebǒn; kernels, ngǒ'n IV-ebǒn), from the kernels of the Carapa procera D. C. (engǎ'n), and only very rarely from groundnuts (see page 58).

The oil of the raffia palm is used exclusively for the care of the skin, while that of the oil palm is used for the same purpose

Fig. 143. Toothbrush.

for the greater part, only from one-sixth to one-fifth being consumed as food.

(a) Raffia palm oil.

249 The fruit (ažü̃i'), not yet fully ripe, is carried in baskets from
303 the swamp to the village where they are kept for six days under banana leaves and pieces of banana stalks. Then the scaly shell, insofar as it has not fallen in of its own accord, is removed, and the layer rich in oil, which is located between the armor and the seed, is peeled off by hand or with the help of a scale from the shell. The following riddle refers to the latter procedure. /191/
249 /Fig. 144 appears here in the original text. /
524
303

ma	vüi		mot	oko,		okǒn,	o	mbe	a	
I	killed	(a)	person	there,	(the)	knife,	it	was	to him	

nie	abum	a	si,	o	wo	ma	ba	nie	
(at the)	belly	below,		with	which	I	divide	him	

a	oa
for	you!

2) Boiled oil.

249 252 824 The pressed oil is boiled until it becomes quite clear, a stage which can best be recognized by letting a few drops of oil fall onto a piece of raffia pith. During the boiling, a number of leaves of the feverweed Andropogon schoenanthus (ǒsím e ntangan), which has a peculiar smell, tied in a bundle and dipped into the pot for about a minute. When the oil has boiled long enough, the pot is taken from the fire, leaves and pieces of bark of the bush plum Pachylobus edulis E. Don. (asǎ' Ntum, ǒsǔ'nga Fang) are put in it for about three minutes -- supposedly because they have a pleasant smell -- and then the translucent, dirty-white oil is poured off.

3) Washed oil.

249 252 The oil is first treated like the pressed oil. After the pounding, water is poured into the trough, and the meat of the fruit is thoroughly kneaded, the kernels being removed at the same time. The water is then carefully poured off. This process of kneading the meat in the water is repeated two more times; then the meat is removed, and the oil floating on the water in the trough is ladled off. The oil has the same characteristics as the pressed oil; it is also yellowish-red and is used in the same manner. This oil may likewise be boiled, and when this is done, it is identical with the boiled pressed oil. /194/

4) Palm seed oil.

The palm nuts are broken open on a stone (Fig. 146), and the seeds are heated over a fire in a pot without water. Then the seeds are set on fire, which forces out the oil that they contain. The seeds with the oil are then poured onto a potsherd with two holes in it, and the oil drips into a vessel placed underneath. Palm seed oil is quite dark and opaque.

302 Finally, we might mention that children -- adults only if there happens to be no oil available -- sometimes simply place the palm fruit between the logs of the fire and then rub the warm fruit back and forth in their hands. The oil which is forced out in this way is then immediately rubbed onto the skin.

302 822 Aside from rubbing his skin with oil, the Pangwe likes to smear his body with dyes on certain occasions. For this purpose he uses red chiefly, more rarely white, and only exceptionally black. There are no other colors. Red is the color for joy,

[45 249 252 516]

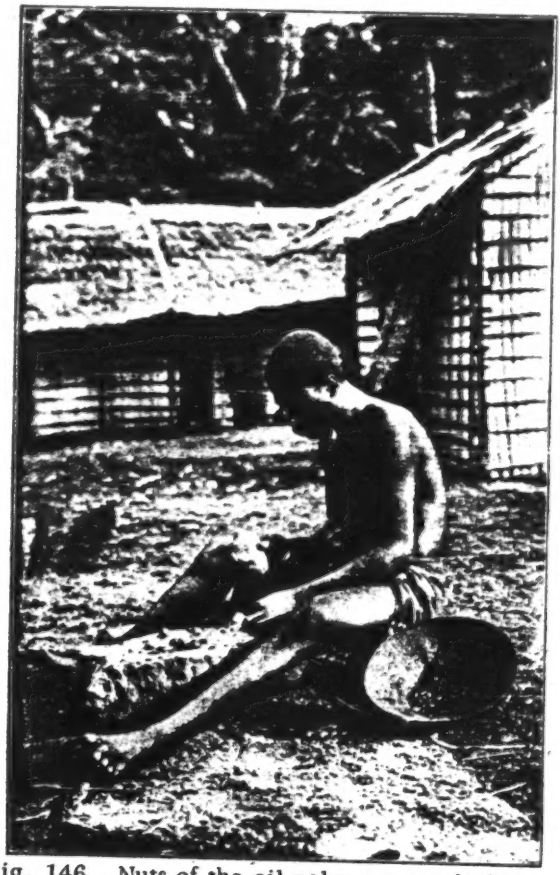


Fig. 146. Nuts of the oil palm are cracked open to extract the oil.

and white is the color for death and evil. From this, the occasions on which the colors are used will be apparent. On festive occasions, that is, dances, weddings, and birth celebrations, red is used, a color which sometimes (for instance, in the love dance) is enlivened by white suns and circles, which seldom

302 appear in black. The natives also put lozenge-shaped /195/ spots
822 (bendō[k] be ba, "lozenges from the redwood") on the skin, or they leave lozenge-shaped areas uncolored when they paint themselves red, in both cases with the help of a stencil, that is, a /Fig. 147 appears here in the original text/ leaf from which a lozenge-shaped piece has been cut out. On occasions of mourning and cult activities dedicated to the "Evil One," on the other hand, they wear white.

386 Red dye (bā III, esī) is obtained from the heart of the redwood tree Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub. (mvō' IV Fang, mvē IV Ntum), a Leguminosa. They prefer old trees that have fallen down and are already rotten on the outside. A piece of convenient size is knocked off, and using it as a scraper (nīǎk-esī IV) they rub it on the rubbing block (nīě-esī), which is the trunk, going back and forth and sprinkling fine sand on it from time to time. Once I saw the husk of the Leguminosa Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth. (ebā'i), Figure 147, used as a scraper. When the nearest redwood tree is at so great a distance that it is impracticable to run to it whenever dye is needed, a small log and a scraper is taken to the hut in order to be able to produce the favored red dye at all times without any trouble. Very charming little vessels in
[415] the form of pots, troughs, plates, or stools are used as containers for the dye (Fig. 148). /Fig. 148 appears here in the original text./

White dye(vū̄ok IV) is obtained from the white clay of the same name, a kind of pottery clay which usually is darker. It is applied after being mixed with water. Black dye is prepared from crushed charcoal to which water is added (dye and charcoal, pfǐ'di III).

4. Decoration of the body.

302 We recognized the adornment of the body with different ob-
304 jects as the expression of a purely esthetic urge; we recognized the desire to express personal moods as the motive for painting the body. /196/ On the other hand, religious reasons doubtless originally played a role in the constant alterations made on the body. This seems clear, for instance, with respect to the custom of making the teeth pointed and incising the body. These very

302
304

ancient notions have of course been forgotten today, and the idea of decoration for the most part has completely overshadowed the religious background.

In the Pangwe region four kinds of actual body decoration are to be encountered. These are burned scars, decorative scars, painting, and tattooing. This sequence is also to be understood in a temporal sense, from the point of view of their historical development. I consider the burned scars to be of the greatest antiquity. We may presume that they first came about accidentally as a result of the use of fire; then, at a later date, they were produced intentionally through dabbing with red-hot coals. These burned scars were later replaced by "cut" scars, that is, by decorative scars produced with a knife, since the knife allowed a finer and more artistic tracing of the line. It may be that at this point younger people, out of fear of the pain, simulated the burned scars by drawing corresponding points or lines on their body with coals that had cooled off. In this way the painting of the body may have started, and this was then further developed with other and better materials. A link between the decorative scars and painting is provided by tattooing; in this process the wounds are rubbed with charred resin.

In my opinion, accordingly, all the varieties of body decoration derive from a common root, fire. In this connection a brief linguistic consideration may be of value. As I already indicated on page 8 /not translated/, kǎ is the original stem used to designate hostile motion to and fro, pain and danger, cold and heat (for the effect of both is the same), and consequently also fire whenever its effect is to be emphasized. Thus, for example, we have n-kǎ-bǎ = the flame; e-kǎ'ba = what is needed for a flame, a torch; a kǎ'-d-an = to set fire with a red-hot coal (an); -k-ad? = red-hot charcoal (see Meinhof, Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen /Outline of a Phonology of the Bantu Languages/, page 160, not known to me in Pangwe); me-kǎ elǐ = the name of a tree which supplies charcoal, literally: "charcoal tree"; a kǎ-ń = to draw with charcoal, to draw, to write, to brand, to paint (with black); e-kǎ'-ń = tattooing; n-kǎ'-ń = the one who has been drawn, the guinea hen (also sacred, Class I of prefixes; see the Mekang cult).

304 Nowadays only children and half-grown boys or girls make simple burned scars (ndŭtŏ'lŏ III) arranged in rows on their lower arm, more rarely on other parts of the body. A small, slightly charred splinter of bark from a raffia leafstalk is pressed with its tip against the skin /197/ and set on fire at the top; it then slowly burns a hole into the hand, which leaves behind it a slightly raised, roundish scar smooth at the top.

Decorative scars among the Fang, where they are found most frequently and in the most artistic forms, seem to be of great antiquity. At the same time, they do not seem to have spread [184] very far north. They are still found quite frequently among the Ntum, but only rarely among the Bulu, among the Bene only on some older people, and not at all among the Jaunde. More [177] recently, they have also begun to disappear in the southern Pangwe region since people prefer to undergo the recently introduced and far less painful tattooing process. The decorative scars are called /Fig. 149 appears here in the original text/ mvǎǎ̀n (plural) by the Ntum, endŏ'n by the Fang, and they occur on members of either sex. To make them, a small iron hook (tsǎǎ III Ntum, endŏ'n Fang) is needed; with it the skin is pulled slightly upwards, and then the raised fold of skin is incised with a knife, Figure 149 (okŏn e mvǎǎn), held at right angles to the hook (Fig. 150 and 151). The wound is left to heal without anything being rubbed into it or any bandage being placed on it. These decorative scars are to be found only on the body and on the upper arm, rarely on the face and then only on the forehead.

306 ●302 [184] Body painting is confined to the Ntum and Fang region and is completely absent in the Jaunde region, supposedly because the tree from which the dye is obtained does not occur there. This tree is the Randia malleifera (Hook) Benth. which among the Fang is called obǎndǎm (1) or fi'na IV (2), as well as mfi'na; among

1. Derived from abǎ, Cola acuminata P.B., and ndǎm, "long, swaying," because of the slenderness of the tree.

2. From the stem vǐ'n, "dark, black"; e-vǐ'n-di mōt, "Black (man), Negro."

386 302 the Ntum it is called abe'ndĕm or kūdemǎ'n IV.

The names fĭna (mfĭ'na) and kūdemǎ'n also designate the painting of the body itself. /Fig. 150 appears here in the original text./

The Randia is a slender tree belonging to the Rubiaceae and grows especially in the vicinity of rivers. Its large whitish blossoms hang from the ends of the twigs or from the forks in the

[412 304]

Fig. 149. Knife for Making Decorative Scars.

branches; its fruit is a berry covered with a number of protuberances running from top to bottom. To obtain the dye a short stick of bark from a raffia leafstalk is drilled into the base of the fruit and stirred about in the contents of the fruit. When the stick is pulled out, a whitish, fairly thick juice sticks to its tip, and with the same stick this is painted directly onto the body in the desired patterns; /198/ after a brief period of time the dye

[304]

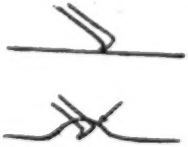


Fig. 150. Making the Incision for a Decorative Scar.

takes on a deep blue-black coloring. The paint stays on the skin from three to four days; in cases of more frequent washing, only two. Afterwards it simply disappears.

302 178 Nowadays only small or half-grown boys paint themselves for sport. In former times, however, young people of both sexes did it in order to be conspicuous and in this way to make an impression upon the opposite sex. In those days, therefore, great care was taken with the patterns. Today, only smeared patterns result from the children's lack of skill. /Fig. 151 appears here in the original text./

1: Tessmann--314 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
302

Fig. 3. Ntum from Akonang: (Essándun Family), South Cameroons.

1: Tessmann--318 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
302

Fig. 7. Ntum (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--323 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
301
302

Fig. 13. Ajíngon, a Fang Girl from Alén (Essáuong Family).

1: Tessmann--328 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate III

142
302

Ajóng Boka (Essauong Family). Fang.

1: Tessmann--338 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
302

Plate XIII

Man from Angónneuai (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.

754 enemy happens to be dancing with other people at some festivity
674 and in the general excitement does not notice when the missile hits him.

As a preventive against zö̆, a medicine is recommended
754 which consists of:
751
278

1. Albizzia fastigiata (E. Mey.) Oliv. (sö̆'ne), ground resin;
2. Musanga smithii R. Br., ground involucral leaf (it is slippery); /149/
3. Pouzolzia guineensis Benth, Urticacea (mbǭanĕ̆ III), its leaves ground;

Fig. 52. Magic Medicine of a Sö Thrower, i.e., a Sorcerer or Poisoner.

4. Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth. (abǭ'mĕdzä̆'n), stalk scraped off;
5. Corynanthe pachyceras K. Sch. (evĕ̆), its leaves ground;
6. an unidentifiable Euphorbiacea (ayö̆), its leaves ground.

This medicine is added to the red wood which is smeared on
[302] the body as a festive decoration.

2. Medicines for Acquiring Luck and Warding Off Misfortune

777
751

I combine these apparently different medicines because there is a number of them that serve both purposes, the acquisition of good fortune and protection against misfortune. Medicines for warfare, for instance, give one unerring aim as well as protection against bullets. The majority, to be sure, are specific means for obtaining luck or warding off misfortune. The Pangwe designate them as biä̆ṅ because they are intended to guard against an illness, for he conceives misfortune or the endangering of his good fortune as an illness. We shall do best to take over this conception and to call these devices "medicines." The medicines for good luck are supposed to bring, above all, wealth and good fortune in love, shooting, setting traps, catching fish, and wrestling. The medicines for wealth (biä̆ṅ akū'ma) are based in part on the

583 sufficient time to get to know his future wife and her family.
584 He treats them with the greatest consideration, and for the mother-
606 in-law (nie-ngon III, that is, the girl's mother) especially he has an enormous amount of respect. He is courtesy itself, bringing her presents, large and small, and from time to time killing a chicken or a sheep for her. In short, one could in all seriousness speak of a mother-in-law cult (see the love feast, Vol. II, p. 24). And above all: oson, oson, oson: shame, shame, and more shame. The son-in-law is unspeakably ashamed before the mother-in-law, and vice versa, she before him. This is especially true after the wedding when the good mother-in-law extends her modesty also to the members of the son-in-law's kin group. Like a thief she steals behind the dwellings into her daughter's house in order not to be seen, and -- who knows? -- perhaps in order not to give rise to mother-in-law jokes.

Riddle:

[539] nzǎ'n e bönsüe, e ne kaangǎ
[524] Way of the lizards, it is (in the) reeds (Cyperus)

Solution:

nzǎ'n e boni'ngō'n, e n' a
Way of the mother-in-law, it is on (the) stretch

fá
behind the houses.

585 On the day when a man takes his young wife home, the village
535 celebrates with a sizable dance, for which all adorn themselves to the best of their ability and which the young wife, red from red
[302] wood dye, attends as guest of honor seated on a stool. On this occasion, the popping of blunderbusses may not be omitted, because it belongs to the festive music like our flourish of trumpets. The dancing and shooting last several days when a wealthy chief has acquired a new wife or if it is the first wife of a fellow villager. There is nothing strikingly special about any of this; the festivity simply involves a series of different /262/ dances (among which the dschama is particularly popular which are also customary on other occasions.

586 insurmountable aversion to him; 3) repeated theft; 4) sorcery by which the woman kills (poisons) the children of other women, and the man is afraid that sooner or later he will likewise become her victim; 5) the slow development of the woman who was a child when married, in other words, the man had overestimated her age (this case is as characteristic of the Negroes as the reason given for it: "So that his money will not be spent for nothing"); 6) such diseases as leprosy, elephantiasis of the feet, and a form of dysentery (tiɛ), if they appear soon after marriage.

In certain cases it may also happen that continued adultery and sterility of the wife lead to divorce.

If the reason for the return of the wife is well founded, which in most cases it doubtless is because a Negro will not give away his wife for nothing, the purchase price is returned, or in case the father-in-law has more daughters, a sister of the ex-wife is given in exchange for the unsuitable one. /264/

[691] Naturally, quarrels arise in great abundance on such occasions, and legal proceedings stemming from the refusal to return the purchase price of a wife constitute, next to cases of adultery, the majority of all litigations.

4. Medicines, Influence of Sexual Intercourse

842 827 In the opinion of the Pangwe, the seed is formed in the nipple. This idea was probably arrived at through the fact that at the time of sexual maturity the breasts swell and at times even attain the size of the breasts of girls of the same age. From the nipple the seed flows into the pubic region to the mons pubis (edǎ'k) and is deposited there to flow out during coitus (see medicine for gonorrhea, Vol. II, p. 50). There would be too much [302] if the pubic hairs were shaved off. Hence they are merely cut short as a hygienic measure dictated by the hot climate, the secretion of sweat, and itching skin rashes. Concerning the significance of the testicles, the Pangwe are in complete ignorance; they believe that they merely serve to erect the penis.

841 Menstruation is the sign of the ability to bear children and is looked upon as an effect of the moon (ngõ'n = girl and moon).

304 of the neck for the sô; a (secret) design on the sacrum for the ngil; three horizontal marks on the nape for the ndôngô; a line of "vaccination marks" on the inner surface of the arms, forearms, and thighs, and along the carotid arteries, for the serpent /associations/, etc.

● 302 Men wore their hair braided, or else they shaved the temples and parietal bones, leaving a sort of comb on the top of the skull, suggesting a gorilla's crest. There were special ways of dressing the hair appropriate for the different initiations. The moustache was worn only by the benya bôtô; the beard, a goatee, by a few aged men, often diviners. In our day men usually wear their hair short and merely combed; a central part, in the Lower Nigerian fashion, was very common around 1948 among factory hands, while former recruits went in for a crew cut with a frill beard /barbe en collier/. Many students wear a little goatee, and this style is now growing among the rest of the younger generation. Since up to now wearing a beard was a sign of mourning, a political implication has sometimes been [765] attributed to this fashion--but mourning beards are not trimmed. /88/

Women have many ways of doing their hair. in plaits, checker [765] board, "horns," etc. As a sign of mourning their heads are shaved, and they are not allowed to comb the hair that grows out before the end of mourning. The growth of beard or moustache that often [145 764] follows menopause is considered a sign of sorcery. Stylish women pluck their armpits, and a few also remove their pubic hair, for reasons perhaps of elegance and hygiene, perhaps of ritual (is there a relationship between the name of the important female rite mevungu and mevul, meaning "female pubic hair?"). Padouk powder, baa, is still used in the way that henna is for both magical and aesthetic reasons, but European make-up, mainly lipstick, has taken its place among young fashionable women.

515 Bodily cleanliness is much in favor: men and women often bathe several times a day with plenty of soap. But it is common to see them put back on their well-scrubbed bodies perfectly filthy clothes, no doubt because bodily cleanliness is a much older practice than that of wearing clothes made of cloth.

c. Psychological Characteristics

181 Like the majority of known peoples, the Pahouin have a very flattering opinion of themselves, and the curious thing is that this

779 that would be against totemic law and would mean sacrilege.
721 In order to avoid this ritual offense, which would necessitate ex-
782 piation and would necessitate expiation and would furthermore wipe out all the efficacy of the sacrifice, the chief first of all approaches [551] the victim, and asks his name, race, and tribe. Is there no obstacle to the sacrifice? ´A ne mvè," he cries, "a ne nwuba (he is good, he is 'dedicated')!" The man is then tied to the foot of the altar and very rarely does he re-
[76] sist. All Africans resign themselves to death with almost unconscious ease, when they see that it is inevitable. (1)

> 1. In certain villages I have sometimes met such men destined for sacrifice, because they are often kept for many weeks. They walked around in the villages, apparently free, well fed, and well treated; the only sign of their captivity was a rather light block of wood well fastened to one of their feet, which they dragged along. Within the village this shackle was not much of an encumbrance, but in the forest it would have been an almost insurmountable obstacle to flight. Countless times, I have offered either to help them escape or to have the colonial authority free them. "What for?" they used to reply; "I'm well fed and treated; death is going to come anyway. Awu nzu mbèmbè! (What's the use!)"

So as to prevent any possible struggle, the evening before,
[276] the victim is given an intoxicating beverage, containing mostly the juice of ebè and of yam (hemp). As soon as he has been
779 tied to the altar, and the chief has pronounced the ritual words,
721 the warriors start putting on their war dress. First they paint
782 their bodies red with baza (1) dye, and upon this first layer they
302
386

> 1. Pterocarpus angolensis: the wood is

779
721
782

mashed and mixed with oil and produces a splendid, very lasting red dye.

302
386

draw white horizontal lines with white clay (mfem). A wide black circle is traced around the eyes; on the forehead each one draws the likeness or symbol of his tribal or clan totem, or instead, they sometimes draw it on their temples or cheeks. Thus the "axe" of the Amvom, actually the likeness of a boa, their totem serpent, winds over their cheeks and temples and ends near the eyes. To enliven this image, the juice of a grassy lily, the chlorophyton (ayân é si), is used, which gives a long-lasting, blueish color. On the chest each one then draws his individual totem in black with gardenia juice.

721
779
782

Once they have finished these preparations, the warriors pick up their weapons and fetishes and begin the war dance, which consists of two parts: a totemic dance and then the real war dance, [552] which has a stronger beat and is more lively. I have already described this before in connection with the war song, which here accompanies the dance.

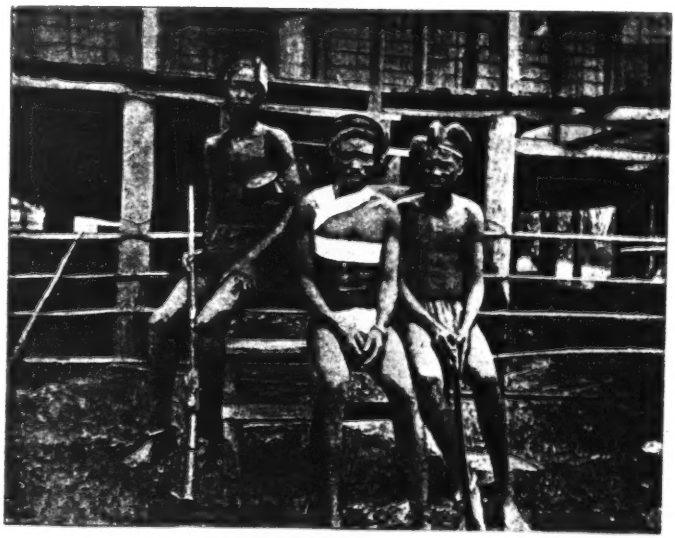
After the war dance the chief approaches the victim. He is forced to his knees; the practitioner draws a white line on his neck, then violently pulls his head forward, while an assistant twists his arms behind his back. The practitioner cuts off his head at one quick blow with the sacrificial knife, and tosses it onto the altar. The chief collects the spouting blood in a pot kept for the purpose, a new pot which will afterwards be broken. As soon as the blood stops, the corpse is laid on fresh banana leaves and the practitioner, helped by the chief, opens his chest, taking care to use only two knife strokes: one across and one up and down. The heart is taken out and placed beside the skulls; then the lungs and liver are removed. According to the body's
[787] last twitching and the position of the organs, the practitioner predicts the outcome of the war. It will either be fortunate or cause the death of many warriors. "The funeral songs will last a long time," he may say, and the crowd will raise a cry of distress! If on the contrary the auguries are favorable, there will be shouts of joy, a song of triumph and gladness.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

342
291
482
142

FANG WOMAN.

142
291
302
411



FANG YOUTHS.

[p. 66(C)]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

563 discovered how to work *eki* (iron) and then taught others. They are also skilful hunters, and frequently succeed in killing game when others fail. In trade, it is almost impossible to cheat a dwarf, hence the Fang saying, "*Mon mei meduk mebe,* [539] *mon nqui aduk avoti.*" (You can cheat a Fang twice, a dwarf once.) In this proverb the word "*mei*" equals Fang (see photographs and measurements of Fang dwarfs). 266 The Fang are cannibals and only fear of the authorities keeps them in check. In the autumn of 1898 a man was killed and eaten within ten miles of our mission station on the Nkomo river. I heard of the affair two days after the man had been killed, and taking a boat hurried down to the place accompanied by one of the sons of King "Kelun" from Nenge-nenge, as guide. In the palaver house of the town was a captive boy in chains. The people of this town would not admit having eaten a man, yet did not deny it; they said that the human bones in a hole behind the palaver house were those of a man who had "died two days before." I afterward learnt that the captive boy had been killed and eaten a few days after my visit. Several Fang have admitted to me that "some Fang eat man meat," and they have been told that it is far more enjoyable to eat than goat. My informants always added that they would not do such a thing—"only bad Fang did so." What I have learned from others and my own observations lead me to believe that an immense tract of country in West Africa from a trifle north of the equatorial line extending even as far northward as to include a portion of the German sphere of influence in the Cameroons, is occupied by numerous anthropophagous tribes all more or less closely related.

II.—*Physical and Moral Characteristics.*

142 Physically the Fang are a fine people. They may be classed as of medium size. Some of the males are exceptionally large and well built. At Foulabifong, the Fang village on the Nkomo river, where I reside, there is a man belonging to the Esisis tribe who is the largest and finest specimen of humanity I have ever seen in Africa (photo shown on screen).

The skin colour of the Fang is sooty-black or dark reddish-brown, chocolate: (numbers 2 and 3 Topinard's scale); coal-black skins (number 1, Topinard's scale), are in the minority. The skin is smooth and when well cared for, as it very often is, it feels soft and velvety. In the adult the skin is lighter in the axilla; the palm of the hand and sole of foot are permanently yellow. The average Fang eye has a dark iris (class 1, Topinard's scale), and the eye-balls are placed with their long axes nearly in one horizontal plane. I have occasionally noticed a compression of the outer angle of the opening, mostly in females, strongly suggestive of the "almond eye." The hair may be classed as black and woolly. It is uniformly scattered over the hairy scalp; the hairs are coarse in texture. The males seem to [302] have an aversion to hair on the face and frequently pluck if out; only a small percentage grow beards.

In adult males hair is often quite abundant on the chest and forearms.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca.1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

291 clothing. The Fang do not use any coverings to protect the feet. Rank is not distinguished by the dress, very often the brightest and cleanest wrappers are worn [554] by the young men while the *kuma* (headman) is often clothed in a dirty old rag. [622] Very often the *kuma* wears an imported straw or felt hat obtained in trade, and this alone distinguishes him as headman of the town. Next to the possession of women and guns, a Fang man's great desire is to own "much cloth."

Personal Ornaments.

Head.—The Fang dress their hair in the same manner as the Bulu, and the 302 way they build it up on the head over wooden shapes is often very remarkable 291 and shows considerable skill. Very often the hair is built up over these shapes 301 in ridges, the upper edge of the ridge having white shirt buttons fastened along it or brass headed tacks driven in. Wigs are used and very skilfully made. Very often the term wig would be a misnomer, for the ingenious contrivance made to fit over the bald head is often entirely devoid of hair, being simply a close-fitting skull cap knitted with string made from the pineapple fibre. The wigs are usually decorated with shirt buttons or imported glass beads. The hair is frequently plaited and twisted into ringlets by both sexes; dyeing the hair is not practised. Beads and white shirt buttons are worn on the hair in large quantities, also large cowrie shells dyed with red wood powder. The beads and buttons are often sewed on pieces of goat or deer skin, a separate portion decorating each side of the head, connected by a string of beads passing across the forehead.

Moustaches are seldom cultivated, beards when worn are allowed to grow naturally; but both are frequently removed by depilation; shaving is not 301 practised. Ornaments are frequently worn in the ears, and are usually suspended by a small cord passed through a hole in the lobe. Women and young girls when returning from work in the forest or gardens frequently cluster grasses, leaves of vines and fragrant herbs around their ears; it is a rather pretty custom. Certain fetish charms are worn suspended from the ear; women frequently use for an ear fetish the small quills from a porcupine's tail, and they say it will bring them children. Brass and iron ear-rings are also worn.

Males do not seem to feel inclined to ornament the nose, but many Fang women delight to do so. They pierce the triangular cartilage with a long slender [304] bamboo pin: the pins sometimes project out three inches on either side of the nose. Very often a medium-sized porcupine quill is used as the ornament, in place of bamboo; it certainly looks better. Some women thus decorated look very repulsive. A female who is credited with considerable power as a medicine woman will almost invariably have the nose pierced and decorated. Ornaments are not worn on the lips or cheeks.

Body.—Men, women, and children wear necklaces of glass beads, the hoofs of very small antelope, and certain forest beans, are strung and worn around the neck. Bristles from the tail of an elephant are used for the same purpose. When

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

in mourning, a necklace is made from bleached grass plaited; it is worn by both sexes. A very favourite fetish charm to suspend from a necklace is a leopard tooth. I have frequently seen the two tusks of a wild boar or "Wart hog" worn around the neck as an ornament and have succeeded in bringing specimens worn mostly by the women. Imported thick brass wire wound around the forearm from wrist to elbow is a very favourite armlet; it is kept highly polished. Brass wire is often wound so tightly around the biceps as to seriously interfere with circulation. Broad pieces of beaten brass are worn on the arms, and ivory bracelets are much valued. Sometimes six or more rings of ivory are cut from a tusk, and all worn on one arm. Finger and thumb rings are mostly worn by the women; they are made of brass, copper, or iron, and are usually very thick and heavy.

Rings are no indication of rank or marriage. It is not uncommon to see a woman with three heavy brass rings on one thumb, and eight or ten similar rings on the fingers. Narrow girdles of leopard, goat or deer skins are worn across the chest to support the native fighting knife and bunch of fetish charms. I have been visited by a bushman wearing no less than twenty-three charms.

Legs and feet.—Leglets and anklets of brass are much worn and sought after by women. Brass leg rings imported by traders are in great demand. There does not appear to be any special time set for commencing to wear anklets; mere infants are frequently decorated with them. Some of the leglets are very heavy, and many women wear ten or more on one leg. These rings often fit very tightly and impede circulation, or chafe and cause nasty indolent ulcers. The ankles and feet often swell and become very painful as a result of insufficient blood supply. Toe-rings are of iron and brass largely worn, and fit so tightly that the ring is often deeply imbedded in the flesh. Usually only one ring is worn on a single toe.

Painting and Tattooing.

Painting.—The method of painting the body by smearing on redwood powder mixed with palm oil, so largely practised by the Bulu, is followed in the same manner but to a much less extent by the Fang. Soft portions of the redwood tree are pulverised and mixed with oil into a thick paste, and the preparation smeared over the entire body. Occasionally a red band is painted across the forehead. When in mourning, dust, mud, or white clay is frequently rubbed over the entire body. Much more frequent is the practice of painting arrow heads, bands, or dots. The pigment used is a dark blue colour, obtained I am told from a tree fungus. The Ngi or witch doctor, when at work, in addition to his other paraphernalia smears his body with white chalk. Except in the case of the *Ngi*, the only object in decorating the body by painting is to appear *mbung* (beautiful), and with the Bulu when asked the reason for smearing the body with red paint, they usually reply it is *abung* (handsome). Imported pigments are not used for body decoration.

Tattooing.—The custom of tattooing is much in vogue. I have not been able

515
362 that raffia palm oil is evidently offensive to lice /Fig. 143 appears here in the original text/ and prevents them from becoming too intimate with their "host." In the case of skin diseases
[757] (Krokro /Ed., ?/ and scabies) and of sand flea wounds, it is even used as a remedy.

Oil (mbǒn) is obtained mainly from palms: in the north, only from the oil palm; in the south, rarely from this tree and mainly from the raffia palm. At times it is also produced from the kernels of Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (adžǎ'h; fruit, ebǒn; kernels, ngǒ'n IV-ebǒn), from the kernels of the Carapa procera D. C. (engǎ'n), and only very rarely from groundnuts (see page 58).

The oil of the raffia palm is used exclusively for the care of the skin, while that of the oil palm is used for the same purpose

Fig. 143. Toothbrush.

for the greater part, only from one-sixth to one-fifth being consumed as food.

(a) Raffia palm oil.

249 The fruit (ažũi'), not yet fully ripe, is carried in baskets from
● 303 the swamp to the village where they are kept for six days under banana leaves and pieces of banana stalks. Then the scaly shell, insofar as it has not fallen in of its own accord, is removed, and the layer rich in oil, which is located between the armor and the seed, is peeled off by hand or with the help of a scale from the
249 shell. The following riddle refers to the latter procedure. /191/
524 /Fig. 144 appears here in the original text. /
303

ma	vũi		mot	oko,		okǒn,	o	mbe	a	
I	killed	(a)	person	there,	(the)	knife,	it	was	to him	

nie	abum	a	si,	o	wo	ma	ba	nie
(at the)	belly	below,		with	which	I	divide	him

a	oa
for	you!

249
303

Fig. 144. Oil Press for Raffia Palm Oil.
To the left the pulp containing oil is being heated over the fire.

303
249
524

"With the knife that he had below at his belly, I shall divide him for you."

249
303

A little water is added to the pulp which contains the oil; it is stirred and then placed on a piece of bark to lie in the sun for a few days. It is then put on a frame (Fig. 144, left) and, by means of a fire laid under it, is thoroughly heated for half an hour to an hour. Afterwards it is placed in a little basket, [145] specifically made for this purpose (ekût ažū,ī) from the Ancistrophyllum (nkāne), which is squeezed out on the oil press (ekī'le-mažū,ī, efāī-ažū,ī). Although this press is made by one man alone, it may be used by all the villagers. In most villages it is set up near the meeting house and consists of a frame -- two posts planted in the ground at some distance from each other with two cross-sticks tied to them -- and of a board cut to a point near the bottom and attached sideways to the frame, that is to say, it is simply tied to the upper cross-stick (as seen in Fig. 144), or it may be held by means of a pole set at an angle in the ground and passing through a hole drilled in the board at the upper end. In order to hold it tight,

249 the board is tied to the /192/ lower cross-stick. Sometimes
●303 in place of the board one sees sticks oriented in the same direction and placed close to each other, which are then, of course, tied to the frame at the top and at the bottom.

The pressing itself (a kī̄le mažū́i) is shown in Figure 144. The little basket with the pulp is hung either over the stick that is set at an angle or over the upper end of the board (Fig. 144), so that it rests in front of the board. Then it is squeezed out with sticks. In squeezing, one stick after another is placed diagonally over the basket (in a top to bottom direction); one end of the stick is placed behind the corresponding frame post while the other end is drawn up to the other post and fastened to it with string. In this way the basket is squeezed, and the contents are pressed downwards.

Prior to this, a vessel has been placed under the board down which the oil runs during the pressing. A leaf filter or an old basket over the vessel strains out the larger impurities. During the rainy season the fruit yields a more watery oil, while during the dry season it yields an oil that becomes solid very soon after being pressed out.

(b) Oil palm oil.

249 Corresponding to the more infrequent occurrence of the oil
252 palm from north to south, oil from the oil palm is of much greater importance in the north than in the south. In the former region it is better prepared -- if at this point I may speak of it as a food -- even if it is not prepared as well as among the coastal tribes -- while in the latter region it is less well prepared. Furthermore, while in the south there are only three methods of obtaining the oil, in the north there are four and an equal number of varieties of oil corresponding to the methods of extraction. These are as follows: /193/ /Fig. 145 appears here in the original text/

1. Pressed palm oil (mowǔ, plural), for rubbing on the skin and food;
2. Boiled palm oil (nnyǎman e mbǒn), only for rubbing on the skin;
3. Washed palm oil (žoń), Jaunde and Mwele, used for rubbing on the skin and for food;

231

Fig. 57. Sheep, Village of Makonanǎm (Ojek Family).

appears here in the original text/ a moan similar to that made by a human being. This moaning is so nerve-racking that it may bring tears to one's eyes. In regions where thare are leopards, [417] pens (Fig. 58) are built of logs, and the goats and sheep are driven into them at night.

232 In the Pangwe region castration is practiced only on goats, not sheep; a tŭ̱b miak - to hollow out (the scrotum) (in order) to geld. Goats are castrated "so that they will become enormous and put on much fat." The procedure is very crude. The ex- [304] pert, who frequently circumcises the children at the same time, opens the young animals' scrotum by means of two lateral cuts with a razor blade (okŏ̄ngŏ̄n) and takes out the testicles. The scrotum is then washed out with warm water several times a day for four days. The water is mixed with a medicine, the sap of [278] the Guttifera Haronga paniculata Pers. (Loid.) (atŭ̱ih), pre- [124] sumably to glue the scrotum together (the tree sweats a sticky yellow sap under the bark, and this is extracted by putting pieces of bark in water).

302

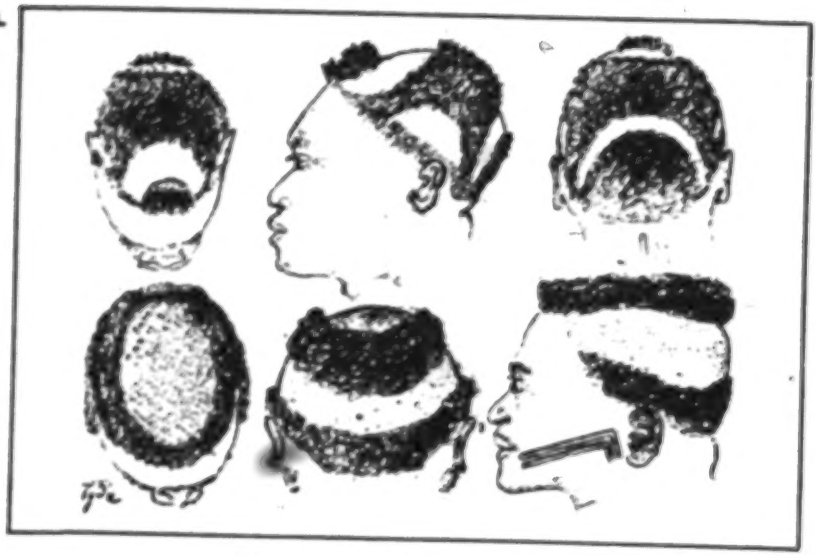


Fig. 116. Hair Styles.

291 During the first years of their lives, small children usually go around naked, girls up to the age of five, boys up to their seventh [304] year. The boys' circumcision does not mark a definite limit in this matter since one sees uncircumcised boys clothed and circumcised boys naked, /Fig. 115 appears here in the original text/ but they do not like to wait long after this occasion. Children, especially girls, may also be clad in a piece of cloth as soon as they start to walk.

302 Nowadays, the Pangwe do not have a uniform hair style. We find an abundance of different forms among them -- even within the same village -- which shows that, like all Negroes, the Pangwe loves to give rein to his mode in dressing his hair for ornamental purposes.

Children usually have their heads shaved at an early age, either completely smooth or /175/ /Fig. 116 appears here in the original text/ retaining a tuft of hair either in the back or the front or a fringe. Half-grown boys wear their hair long or shaved in patterns.

Among adults the hair is either quite long and neglected (Plate 13) or it is shaved quite smooth. In other cases, it is cut

291 177 and, according to one informant, are supposed to be imitations of European models.

302 Dressing the beard is rare among the Pangwe, since most of them -- like many other Negroes -- pluck out such hair. In isolated instances there are men with beautiful full beards (Fig. 11) or with pointed beards whose tip has been twisted into a little pigtail and covered with cowrie shells or beads. Still others make two or quite a number of pigtails from their beards (Fig. 12); mustaches are rarely to be seen and are quite insignificant.

2. Ornaments.

301 Among the Pangwe the urge to beautify oneself dominates man and woman equally to a considerable degree. All kinds of ornamental pendants are attached to every possible part of the body. In their hair (Fig. 120) they stick a feather which is often cut out in patterns (a, b), a porcupine's tail (c), a wooden arrow, bones /180/ /Fig. 120 appears here in the original text/ (d), brass coiled in a spiral (e), a comb (see Fig. 139), and also, in rare cases -- usually on the occasion of a dance -- flowers, for instance, those of Costus (miĕn), and attractive or fragrant leaves, such as those of the Leguminosa Cryptosepalum aff. staudtii Harms (anduṅ) and of the herb called afuh. The latter two are worn only by women and usually in two bundles behind the ear. The ear lobe is pierced and [304] provided with an ornament only among a few Mwai.

301 304 Nose ornaments (Fig. 121), on the other hand, enjoy great popularity; they are attached in a hole pierced through the septum and not to the side of the nose. The requisite operation is carried out on children between six and eight years of age. /Fig. 121 appears here in the original text./ First the person concerned [204] presses the leaves of the Aframomum (adžŏm), which have been warmed in the fire, to the septum in order to make it softer. Then the medicine man takes a stick of raffia stalk, a quill from the porcupine, or any other pointed tool and drills a hole through the septum with it after he has picked out the right place with the index finger of his other hand. He now pushes a small piece of stalk

301 of the Trachyphrynium violaceum (stalk, nkómkǒ'mo I; leaves,
304 dzĕdekiai IV Ntum) onto the tip of the quill and pulls both back together until the stalk comes to rest in the septum. The stalk is supposed to keep the hole open for the later ornaments. The subsequent treatment serves the same purpose; every two days the wound is washed out and the stalk is renewed. /181/ After ten days the stalk is finally removed and replaced by the permanent
301 ornaments. The objects used for ornaments can scarcely all be enumerated: /Figs. 122 and 123 appear here in the original text/ stalks, leaves, blossoms of the Gomphrena globosa L. (ngǒ'n), with which we are already familiar as an ornamental plant, feathers (1),

1. The red tail feathers of the gray parrot and the crescent feathers of the cock are especially popular; both animals play an important role in the religion.

paper rolls, wooden rods strung with beads, raffia rods, rods or bones wrapped with brass wire, brass rings with a large bead that hangs down as far as the upper lip (see Fig. 132), and especially strings of beads, the ends of which are tied to the hairdo behind the ears, thus forming a cheek ornament at the same time. /Fig. 124 appears here in the original text./

Forehead ornaments are to be found in the following forms: strings of beads; bands of beads, which in the southern part of the Fang region often have very attractice patterns (Fig. 122); strips of black sheepskin (tū̃t IV); and sometimes among women nicely braided bast bands with tassels.

The neck, which one rarely sees without some kind of band or string, is amply provided with ornaments. In former times the fruit of the grass Coix lacryma L. (mvǎandū̃ III), the well-known Job's-tears (Fig. 123), used as a decoration in so many parts of the world, /182/ /Figs. 125 and 126 appear here in the original text/ was very popular, as were strung stalk pieces of the fern Lygodium smithianum Presl. (ozǒk), whose name ozǒk was subsequently

302 appear in black. The natives also put lozenge-shaped /195/ spots
322 (bendõ[k] be ba, "lozenges from the redwood") on the skin, or they leave lozenge-shaped areas uncolored when they paint themselves red, in both cases with the help of a stencil, that is, a /Fig. 147 appears here in the original text/ leaf from which a lozenge-shaped piece has been cut out. On occasions of mourning and cult activities dedicated to the "Evil One," on the other hand, they wear white.

386 Red dye (bã III, esĩ) is obtained from the heart of the redwood tree Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub. (mvõ' IV Fang, mvẽ IV Ntum), a Leguminosa. They prefer old trees that have fallen down and are already rotten on the outside. A piece of convenient size is knocked off, and using it as a scraper (niăk-esĩ, IV) they rub it on the rubbing block (niĕ-esĩ), which is the trunk, going back and forth and sprinkling fine sand on it from time to time. Once I saw the husk of the Leguminosa Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth. (ebã'i), Figure 147, used as a scraper. When the nearest redwood tree is at so great a distance that it is impracticable to run to it whenever dye is needed, a small log and a scraper is taken to the hut in order to be able to produce the favored red dye at all times without any trouble. Very charming little vessels in
[415] the form of pots, troughs, plates, or stools are used as containers for the dye (Fig. 148). /Fig. 148 appears here in the original text./

White dye(vũok IV) is obtained from the white clay of the same name, a kind of pottery clay which usually is darker. It is applied after being mixed with water. Black dye is prepared from crushed charcoal to which water is added (dye and charcoal, pĩ'di III).

4. Decoration of the body.

302 We recognized the adornment of the body with different ob-
304 jects as the expression of a purely esthetic urge; we recognized the desire to express personal moods as the motive for painting the body. /196/ On the other hand, religious reasons doubtless originally played a role in the constant alterations made on the body. This seems clear, for instance, with respect to the custom of making the teeth pointed and incising the body. These very

302
304

ancient notions have of course been forgotten today, and the idea of decoration for the most part has completely overshadowed the religious background.

In the Pangwe region four kinds of actual body decoration are to be encountered. These are burned scars, decorative scars, painting, and tattooing. This sequence is also to be understood in a temporal sense, from the point of view of their historical development. I consider the burned scars to be of the greatest antiquity. We may presume that they first came about accidentally as a result of the use of fire; then, at a later date, they were produced intentionally through dabbing with red-hot coals. These burned scars were later replaced by "cut" scars, that is, by decorative scars produced with a knife, since the knife allowed a finer and more artistic tracing of the line. It may be that at this point younger people, out of fear of the pain, simulated the burned scars by drawing corresponding points or lines on their body with coals that had cooled off. In this way the painting of the body may have started, and this was then further developed with other and better materials. A link between the decorative scars and painting is provided by tattooing; in this process the wounds are rubbed with charred resin.

In my opinion, accordingly, all the varieties of body decoration derive from a common root, fire. In this connection a brief linguistic consideration may be of value. As I already indicated on page 8 /not translated/, kǎ is the original stem used to designate hostile motion to and fro, pain and danger, cold and heat (for the effect of both is the same), and consequently also fire whenever its effect is to be emphasized. Thus, for example, we have n-kǎ′-bǎ = the flame; e-kǎ′ba = what is needed for a flame, a torch; a kǎ′-d-an = to set fire with a red-hot coal (an); -k-ad? = red-hot charcoal (see Meinhof, Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen /Outline of a Phonology of the Bantu Languages/, page 160, not known to me in Pangwe); me-kǎ elǐ = the name of a tree which supplies charcoal, literally: "charcoal tree"; a kǎ′-ń = to draw with charcoal, to draw, to write, to brand, to paint (with black); e-kǎ′-ń = tattooing; n-kǎ′-ń = the one who has been drawn, the guinea hen (also sacred, Class I of prefixes; see the Mekang cult).

•304 Nowadays only children and half-grown boys or girls make simple burned scars (ndǔtǒ'lǒ III) arranged in rows on their lower arm, more rarely on other parts of the body. A small, slightly charred splinter of bark from a raffia leafstalk is pressed with its tip against the skin /197/ and set on fire at the top; it then slowly burns a hole into the hand, which leaves behind it a slightly raised, roundish scar smooth at the top.

Decorative scars among the Fang, where they are found most frequently and in the most artistic forms, seem to be of great antiquity. At the same time, they do not seem to have spread [184] very far north. They are still found quite frequently among the Ntum, but only rarely among the Bulu, among the Bene only on some older people, and not at all among the Jaunde. More [177] recently, they have also begun to disappear in the southern Pangwe region since people prefer to undergo the recently introduced and far less painful tattooing process. The decorative scars are called /Fig. 149 appears here in the original text/ mvǎǹ (plural) by the Ntum, endǒ'n by the Fang, and they occur on members of either sex. To make them, a small iron hook (tsǎǎ III Ntum, endǒ'n Fang) is needed; with it the skin is pulled slightly upwards, and then the raised fold of skin is incised with a knife, Figure 149 (okǒn e mvǎn), held at right angles to the hook (Fig. 150 and 151). The wound is left to heal without anything being rubbed into it or any bandage being placed on it. These decorative scars are to be found only on the body and on the upper arm, rarely on the face and then only on the forehead.

386 362 [184] Body painting is confined to the Ntum and Fang region and is completely absent in the Jaunde region, supposedly because the tree from which the dye is obtained does not occur there. This tree is the Randia malleifera (Hook) Benth. which among the Fang is called obǒ'ndǒ'm (1) or fǐ'na IV (2), as well as mfǐ'na; among

1. Derived from abǒ, Cola acuminata P.B., and ndǒm, "long, swaying," because of the slenderness of the tree.

2. From the stem yǐ'n, "dark, black"; e-yǐ'n-di mōt, "Black (man), Negro."

386 302 the Ntum it is called abɛ̄ndɛ̄m or kūdemǎ'n IV.

The names fǐna (mfǐ'na) and kūdemǎ'n also designate the painting of the body itself. /Fig. 150 appears here in the original text./

The Randia is a slender tree belonging to the Rubiaceae and grows especially in the vicinity of rivers. Its large whitish blossoms hang from the ends of the twigs or from the forks in the

[412 304]

Fig. 149. Knife for Making Decorative Scars.

branches; its fruit is a berry covered with a number of protuberances running from top to bottom. To obtain the dye a short stick of bark from a raffia leafstalk is drilled into the base of the fruit and stirred about in the contents of the fruit. When the stick is pulled out, a whitish, fairly thick juice sticks to its tip, and with the same stick this is painted directly onto the body in the desired patterns; /198/ after a brief period of time the dye

[304]

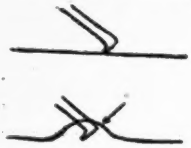


Fig. 150. Making the Incision for a Decorative Scar.

takes on a deep blue-black coloring. The paint stays on the skin from three to four days; in cases of more frequent washing, only two. Afterwards it simply disappears.

302 178 Nowadays only small or half-grown boys paint themselves for sport. In former times, however, young people of both sexes did it in order to be conspicuous and in this way to make an impression upon the opposite sex. In those days, therefore, great care was taken with the patterns. Today, only smeared patterns result from the children's lack of skill. /Fig. 151 appears here in the original text./

●304 Tattooing, which was introduced about 20 years ago, replaced body painting; from it tattooing derived its names, fi'na and kūdemǎn, and among the Fang it also received the name for decorative scars, myǎ́ń. Among the Ntum, furthermore, it is called ekǎ'ń (see above), and among the Jaunde,

Fig. 151. Decorative Scar Artist at Work, Bébai, Spanish Guinea.

otū (from otū, "resin," which is rubbed into the wounds and brings out the permanent pattern). According to the Fang, 304 tattooing came to them from the north between the early and 177 middle 1890's. Among the Bene, who probably acquired tattooing from the east, only younger people are tattooed. It follows from this that the art must have spread throughout the

304 entire Pangwe region with extraordinary rapidity. In part, this
177 spread may have been facilitated by the influence of military events. It is related that the /199/ Ntum, in their battles with the Bulu, saw tattooing on the corpses of dead enemies and made their prisoners show them the art.

304 Tattooing occurs among members of both sexes, but espe-
832 cially among males. It serves very much the same purposes that were formerly served by body painting. The young people adorn themselves with it in order to outstrip others in courtship. Ornaments and courtship are one, "one and the same" (a ne dzám eda eda), as the Pangwe says. It is certainly true that attractive patterns can charm the eyes so much that one involuntarily comes to find its (male or female) owner more attractive than would have been the case without such an influence upon the sense of beauty.

304 Even small boys have themselves tattooed. Usually a half-moon pattern is made on their foreheads, but for the most part it is only faintly scratched in and therefore fades again so that scarcely anything remains visible under the patterns later applied. From the period of puberty on, the Pangwe have themselves tattooed more frequently, and at the age of 25 years, by which time this decoration has just about reached its climax, the number of patterns is quite considerable. Normally, face, shoulder, chest, and the belly down to the navel are tattooed. Frequently, tattoos are also applied to the back -- usually only on the upper half -- and to the arm down to below the elbow joint, rarely to the hands and lower arm or to the belly below the navel (1).

1. On the neck only among the Jaunde and infrequently among them.

304 For reasons of modesty, the seat and upper thigh remain free of
577 tattooed adornment, since it would, after all, be too indecent to draw attention by means of the patterns to these parts of the body which, with the original mode of dress, "unfortunately" often remain uncovered. Only in exceptional cases does one see women among the Jaunde, Bulu, and coastal Mwai who have tattooed

304 upper thighs, a custom which was imported by the morally
577 loose Jaunde. The people generally regard the custom as shameful, and they excuse it by saying: "After all they are only women; men would be ashamed to go around this way" (similarly, as among us, only women go around "décolleté").

304 Among the Pangwe the division of labor and specialization in all areas of artistic and intellectual endeavor are extreme, and this also appears in the art of tattooing which is mastered by perhaps only one in a hundred. The operation, which, incidentally, is quite unpleasant although not nearly as painful as the decorative scars, is performed in the meeting house without any kind of formalities. The "patient" sits or lies down during the process (Fig. 152). First of all, soot is made by burning some resin (otũ), see page 42, and letting the smoke deposit the soot on a potsherd. The artist first traces the pattern on the body by /200/ /Fig. 152 appears here in the original text/ impressing the curved lines with a flexible, moist leaf of grass that has first been placed in ashes and the straight lines with a similarly treated raffia stick. The lines that project too far are carefully wiped away with a wet finger. For the "cobweb pattern" the artist makes use of a pistil of the hand-shaped leaf of the umbrella tree (Musanga), whose ribs are broken off one centimeter above the base after the removal of the leafy part. On the lines he has drawn, he uses his knife to make little diagonal incisions very close to one another, wipes away the blood that seeps out if it is in the way, and rubs the wounds with the resin soot, carefully pressing it in with his thumb or index finger. In other cases, the resin itself, after it has been rubbed to a powder, is put into the wounds, but in that case only resin from the Anonacea Xylopia aethiopica (Dun.) V. Rich. (ojǎ,n). The surface of the tattooed part of the body is now /Figs. 153, 154, and 155 appear here in the original text/ washed to get rid of the blood and soot. Later, rubbing with resin is repeated once more. It sometimes happens that /201/ small swellings form on the wounds which diminish the beauty of the pattern; usually, however, the wounds heal smoothly in a very short period of time.

304 Two types of tattooing are distinguished. There is the wide-
413 spread ekũt, and secondly there is the endõlõ, the customary one

304
561
352

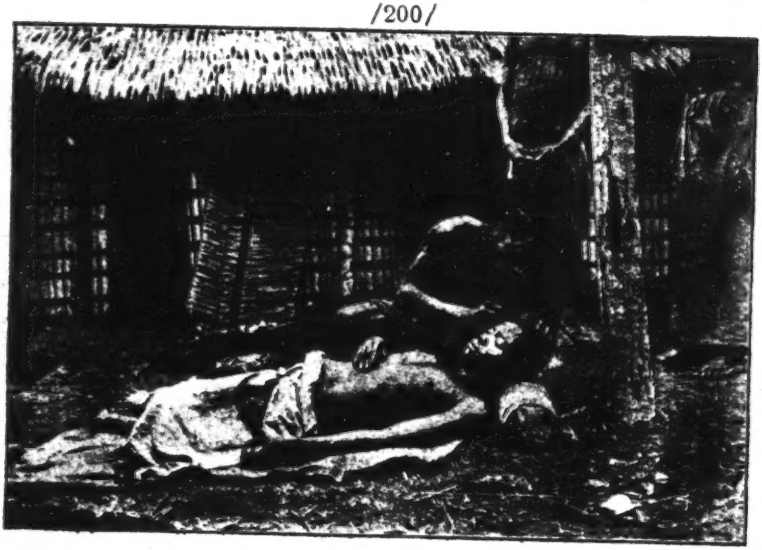


Fig. 152. Tattoo Artist at Work, Nikolentángan, Spanish Guinea.

304
413

Figs. 153 and 154. Knives without Handles for Tattooing (ekut).

Fig. 155. Knife for Tattooing (bendolo).

304 413 among the Fang. The first type is performed with a narrow knife with no handle (nsǒ,ṅ-bekū't I), Figure 153, and, depending upon the depth of the parallel incisions, shows lines composed of clearly raised cuts or, less distinctly, uniformly dark lines. For endǒlo tattooing, an ordinary razor (okǒnngǒṅ), see Figure 140, or a special scalpel-like knife (ǒkǒṅ e myǎṅ), Figure 155, is used. Its patterns are characterized by the crisscrossing of its cuts; in later years, however, they can scarcely be distinguished from the bekū't, especially since both pale with age.

304 465 Tattoo artists are usually not paid when members of their own kin group are concerned, but from strangers they frequently demand shamelessly high prices. Thus, the man represented in Figure 218, Drawing (c), was thoroughly swindled, as will be apparent from the figures given here in the footnote (1). At the

1. Tattooing of Mangame-Ssii, Fang from Ebiänemajong (Essauong family); see Figure 218, Drawing c.

	Marks
(a) Made by Meka-Mendongo (Essauong) for three pieces of rubber	.75
(b, c, d) Made by Akoa-Mbelewe (Jenkǒng) for two cutlasses	1.00
(e) Made by Mba-Efanga (Essauong) for five strings of beads	.50
(g, h) Made by Endongo (Essauong) for one ell of cloth	.75
(i, k) Made by Ndong-Efa (Jemwam) for three cutlasses	1.50
(f, l, m) Made by Ndong-Ntutum (Omwang) for three cutlasses	1.50
(n, o) Made by Meko-Mefanga (Essauong) for three pieces of rubber	.75
Decorative scars, made by Meba-Mendongo (Jibikon) for one hen	1.00

304 465 same time, it should be noted that because of his tattooing mania some people considered him "as not quite normal." In true Negro fashion, the absence of a charge for tattooing is explained by saying that the tattooed person does not feel the pain so strongly if he does not have to pay. These conditions, however, vary greatly from place to place. Among the Jaunde payment is customary, and often it is comparatively steep.

304 825 Mutilation of the teeth occurs everywhere among members of both sexes. It is done mainly to the four upper incisors. Aside from decorative considerations, this mutilation doubtless also has a deeper religious basis which is very ancient and still alive in the Negroes. They -- as I was once told -- do not want their teeth to look like animal teeth (2). Since it is indeed a fact that

[171] 2. See also the same attitude among the Malays and the Negroes of the Sudan (according to Frobenius).

no /202/ large mammals have pointed front teeth (for it is with these that we are concerned)(1), this reason seems credible even

[192] 1. See the expressions for tooth chipping below, in which the expression for tooth is always asŭń "front tooth." There is no word for teeth in general; on the other hand there are terms for canines, incisors of animals (fə̰ III), and molars (ekö̆'k).

though to us pointed teeth look precisely like animal teeth since when we think of the gaping jaw of an animal, the prominent incisors are the dominant feature. The Pangwe thinks first of the animal's front teeth, and, especially in the case of horned animals, he finds a surprising similarity to his own. In making this comparison, he is not disturbed by the fact that the similarity extends only to the front teeth of the lower jaw, which resemble the front teeth of his lower jaw, since ruminants usually have no

304 teeth in their upper jaw. A glance at the animal caricatures in
825 our own comic papers shows how human, almost too human even, the front teeth of our cattle, for instance, appear to us. It
304 should be remembered that horned animals, tame (goats and
825 sheep) as well as wild (antelopes), play an important role in the
794 religion of the Pangwe since they are linked with the moon because of their horns. The cult of the moon, however, is the cult /Figs. 156 and 157 appear here in the original text/ of the Evil One. Accordingly, mutilation of the teeth is a symbol of turning

Fig. 156.
Mutilation of a Front Tooth.
The shaded part is chipped off.

Fig. 157
Chisel used on Front Teeth.

away from the Evil One, of destroying any similarity to him. On the other hand, it simultaneously points to an increased similarity to the Good, that is, the sun (or God [e-sǎ-mbe], who manifests himself in the sun), and the teeth are shaped to be like its rays. The deformation of teeth, therefore, is not to form a real "point," which to the contrary, would be something unpleasant and bad (the root sǒ is in n-sǒ-ṅ I, "point!"). (It may be that this is the reason some people knock out all or some of their front teeth.) Rather, the deformation only narrows the teeth and gives them the shape illustrated in Figure 156. The teeth are, so to speak, "stretched" and made to resemble a sun beam; from this comes the expression a sǎ-m-ǎn masǔṅ from a sǎ-m, "to stretch" (n-sǎ'-m-ba, "the row, the line," actually, "ray"). The widely current expression "to shape the teeth to a point" is accurate only if one does not take it too literally; the cutting edge is merely narrowed, not brought to a point. The expression "filing the
304 teeth," which one also encounters frequently, is inaccurate since

304 the teeth are splintered off and not filed. In Pangwe another expression, aside from a sǎman /203/ masǔń, is a sǎ-ń masǔń, which is derived from a sǎ-ń, "to carve, to chip, to adorn"; zǎ-ń IV means "carving, carving patterns," from the root sa (1).

1. On the other hand, to put a point on a stick (as an example, etc. is a sǒno (Fang) and a sūō'ne, a sūē'ne (Ntum); the root is so!

The operation is performed in the following manner. The "patient" lies down on his back and bites firmly into a wooden roll with his front teeth. The artist places a small iron chisel (zǎń e masǔń IV, Fig. 157) on the tooth, takes a piece of wood for a hammer, and splinters off the edges in small pieces. The pain [178] of this operation is not inconsiderable, and for that reason the old custom is being abandoned here and there. This is a development which is speeding up under European influence. /204/

Section 8

Craftsmanship and Tools

General observations.
First Part. Bark work. (a) Raw bark. Utilization: bark for house construction, decorative barks, bark containers (their production, significance of names), coffin. (b) Bark cloth. Beaters -- Types of trees supplying bark for cloth. -- Manufacture.
Second Part. (a) Thread and sewing. Fibers of the Recthophyllum, of the pineapple. (b) Ropes and knotting. Ropes made from pineapple and banana fibers, raffia fiber and its

3. Incised patterns.

(a) Decorative scars.

531 /Fig. 214 appears here in the original text. /

304 The patterns of the decorative scars made by incision are not very numerous. There are only about a dozen of them. They constantly recur in the same form, and there is no inclination toward any essential modification.

Of the original basic patterns, the following have been transferred for the decorative scars: the triangle with a diagonal drawn through it (called in this case esa[s]-mvǎh, "half-pattern"), Figure 215, Drawing 9; the straight parallel lines (in this case called mekön, "guide rods"), Figure 215, Drawing 10, frequently simplified to a simple line, 1; and the arc a (in this case called makǒs, "arcs").

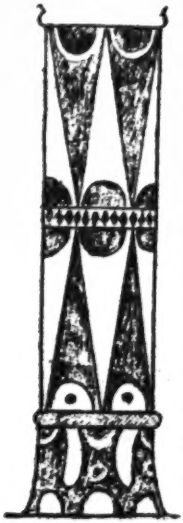
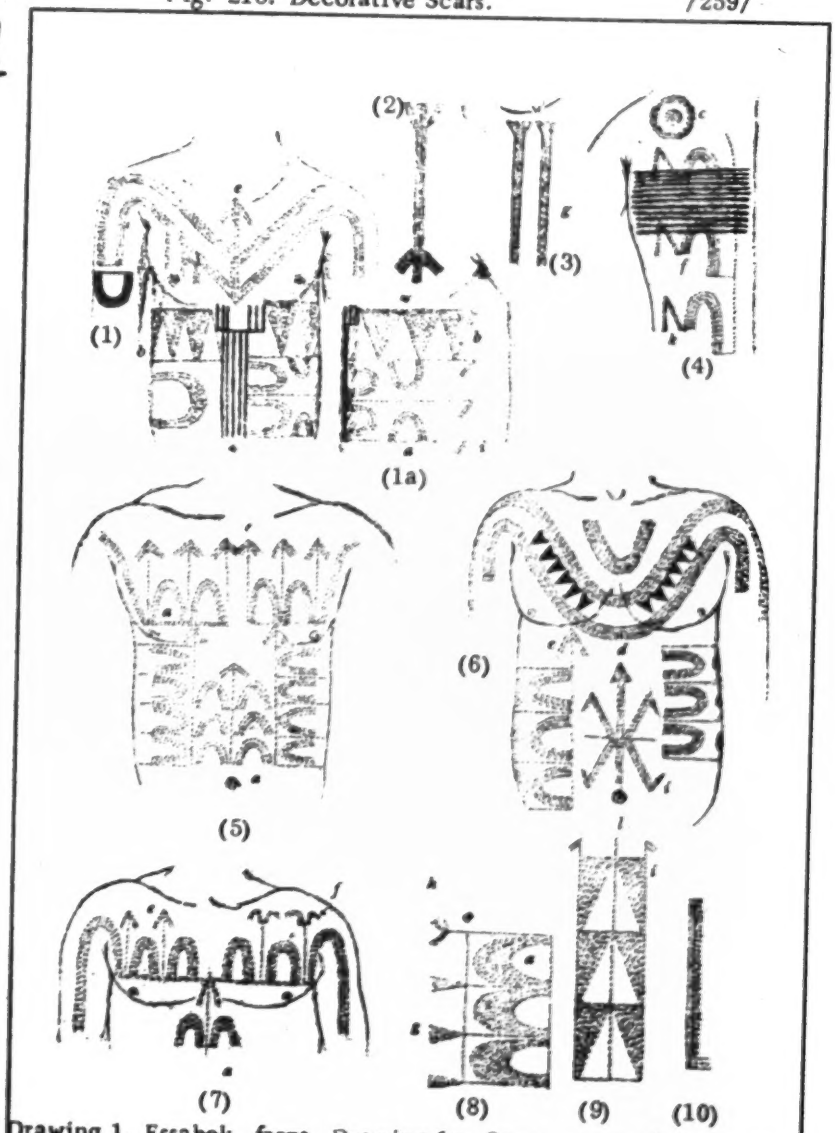


Fig. 214. Mwai Drum from Malén (Sebō Family), New Cameroons.

[534] Of the homologous modified patterns there are the acute-angled triangle b (ndŭ-mbǎn, "arrow leaf") and the circle c (in this case called atōk, "whirlpool"). Of the non-homologous modified patterns there is the triangle spear d (mbǎ[s]-akǒń). We are also familiar with the barbed spear e (ngam-akǒń), of which I have already said that it originated with decorative scars, in all probability from a /259/ /Fig. 215 appears here in the original text/ /260/ combination of the line (of the modified straight parallel line) with the figure of the arc set inside a triangle (see Figure 212, Drawing 3), the base of which is lacking.

531
304

Fig. 215. Decorative Scars. /259/



Drawing 1. Essabok, front. Drawing 1a. Same, stomach from the right side. Drawing 2. Jaunde, neck and back. Drawing 3. Essauong, below chest. Drawing 4. Schumu, left half of back. Drawing 5. Schumu, front. Drawing 6. Okōng, front. Drawing 7. Okōng, chest. Drawing 8. Schumu. Drawing 9. Esseng. Drawing 10. Jemandschim. -- Drawings 1, 4, and 6 are in part tattooed.

531
304

The following are new:

among the homologous modified patterns, the incomplete arc f (evū'da, "bending");

among the nonhomologous modified patterns, the blast pipe g = zǒṅ (triangle with a line), the ray h = nsǎm (angle made by the barbed spear by omitting the handle, with a line attached at the top), and the hook i = kǫ̆b (half an angle with a line).

The five patterns -- sticks, blast pipe, hook, ray, and whirlpool -- have a close relationship, as their names show, to iron technology and to fire. The line was imagined to be the guide rod which during the setting up of the smelting furnace keeps the openings free for the blast pipes. In the triangle with line -- accidentally juxtaposed in a corresponding arrangement -- they thought they recognized the blast pipe. The same process is repeated with the hook (kǫ̆b), by which is meant the poker hook (okǫ̆b) used in iron smelting; and it is again repeated with the whirlpool (atǭk), which was observed when the hot metal was dipped in water to cool off: the water would bubble up (a tǭk, "to bubble") and hiss and flow outward in rings. Finally, this process took place with the ray (nsǎm), the most obvious manifestation of the life of fire as well as of the sun, which is represented as an arm, exactly as among the ancient Egyptians, because the arm is the symbol of the manifestation of life (see Fig. 215, Drawing 8 h, and also Adolf Erman, Die ägyptische Religion /Egyptian Religion/, image of the sun god, p. 78).

A pattern described to me as that of a tobacco pipe (myǒ-taa), a pattern which probably developed just like the blast pipe pattern from triangle and line, remained an isolated instance.

A pattern that was not explained to me was one representing an angle (k); it is connected with the triangle.

The decorative scar patterns seldom occur singly, say, in such a way that one adorns the upper arm, a second the chest, and the like. Instead, they usually occur in extensive combinations in which, however, the individual parts are always seen as independent units and keep their original name. Only twice did I encounter a special term for such a combination of patterns, but even this designation was not connected with the content of what

531
304

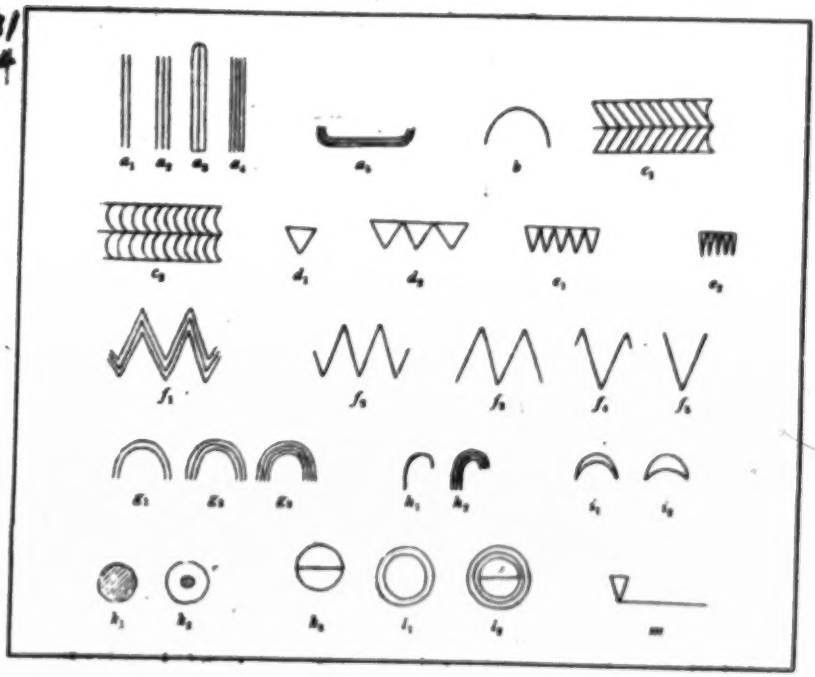


Fig. 216. Basic Patterns of Tattooing.

was represented, but with the place on the body to which the pattern was applied. One was called navel division (osa-dǫ̃b) (1)

1. a sa, "to split, to divide";
dǫ̃b, "navel."

and was applied above the navel (see Fig. 215, Drawing 6). It consisted of a cross-stick which had attached to it, at the top and the bottom, hooks, triangle spears, sticks, and arcs -- in former times it had evidently been located lower down around the navel in such a way that the cross-stick passed through the navel and /261/ /Fig. 216 appears here in the original text/ "divided it." The other combination (zǎ́ne abǎ́m) consisted mainly of half-patterns (diagonally divided rectangles) and bore its name only for the reason that it is preferred for the sheaths of swords and two-edged knives (Fig. 215, Drawing 9).

531
304

The Fang consider the decorative scars an elegant adornment. Indeed, even considered with the eyes of a European, they may be called attractive and dignified, especially when they are arranged with such extraordinary regularity as is shown in Figure 215, Drawing 5.

(b) Tattooing.

The development of ornamentation advanced further in tattooing in that the basic patterns become rarer, whereas the modified patterns become more frequent and more diverse.

By way of basic patterns (Fig. 216) we again find the following: the diamond (here as a single diamond, bendõ be bǝ̃, "diamond made with redwood," compare Fig. 218, c): the monitor lizard (nkaak); straight parallel lines (here likewise called melṍń, "palm bands," or mekõn, "sticks," /262/ /Fig. 217 appears here in the original text/ and also mekõn akõń, "spear handles," or mekõn e mvǝ̃ń, "sticks of the decorative scars"), a; bows /Ed., or "arcs"/ (here called ekǝ̃luga-nkpwǝ̃ʌ, "trap bow of the bird trap"), b; fishbone (okǝ̃ń e kǝ̃s, "fishbone," here in part with a bow-shaped formation of the branches, c. Among the homologous modified patterns there are: the box pattern (eʒima); the arrow-leaf pattern (esõgele ndu), d; the spike pattern (mesõń), e; basket-edge pattern (mebǝ̃ge me nkǝ̃n, "basket edges," or melõń, "palm /263/ bands"), with retrogressive metamorphosis to the angle, f; parallel bows (here likewise called ekǝ̃luga nkpwǝ̃ʌ, "trap bows," or melõń, "palm bands," or bewǝ̃[k] be nkõg'), g; incomplete parallel bows (eyũ'da), h; half-moons (efangõmendǝ̃n, compare bark patterns), i; circle (here called ndʒ̃ge ngõmendǝ̃n, "full moon"), k; and whirlpool (atǝ̃k), l. Among the nonhomologous modified patterns, the barbed spear (ngam akõń) and pipe (mvõ taa), m.

New patterns that appear are (Fig. 217) the following.

1) The bird tail in three varieties: the kite tail (ngǝ̃b-obǝ̃'m), a, 1-3; the drongo tail (ngǝ̃b obǝ̃'mõke) (1), b, 1 and 2; and the

1. Dircanurus coracinus Verr.

/262/

531
304

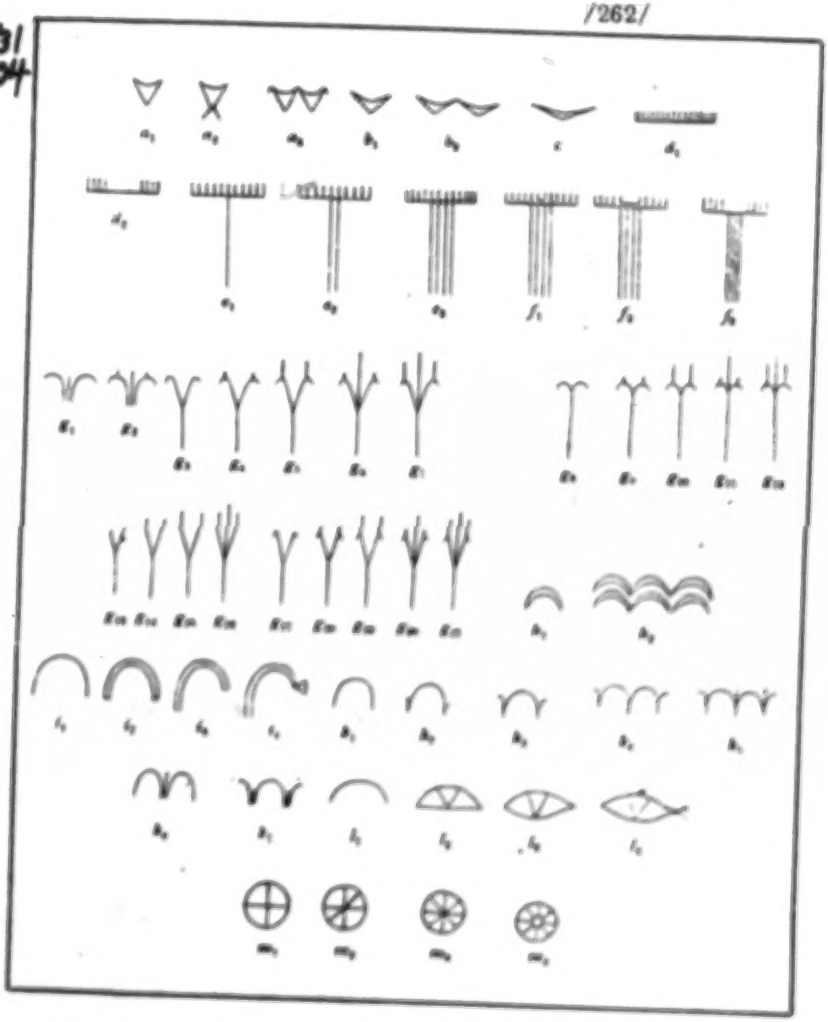


Fig. 217. Developmental Series of Modified Patterns of Tatooing.

53/ 304 swallow tail (ebɔ̌́no e kŭlejɛ̌́me) (2), c, which has arisen from

2. Psalidoprocne tessmannii Rchw.

the arc without a base set inside a triangle. We have already encountered this figure with the base as a composite pattern in connection with carving, and with the base omitted it is connected with a line as a barbed spear among the nonhomologous modified patterns of the decorative scars.

2) Tears of a beautiful woman (mīlĭge me mbɔ̌ń), a single line or parallel lines with short strokes attached at right angles to one side, d. This pattern is preferably applied to the cheeks.

3) Fork (ebā̄j), developed from the previous one by adding one or more sticks, e, 1-3.

4) Scorpion (kā̄ŭlĭne), like the previous one, with a gap in the middle of the "row of tears," f, 1-3.

5) Monkey tail (ngɛ̌́m avɔ̌́m) (3), consisting of a stick con-

3. avɔ̌́m = Cercopithecus laglaizei Pocock, white-nosed long-tailed monkey.

nected with an arc or angle, g, 1-21. This example in particular clearly shows how the Negro's eye seizes just the essential part of the animal, here the tail and hindparts, for, indeed, when the long-tailed monkeys are at rest one sees only their tails hanging from the branches. This fact supplies the clue to the following

[524] riddle:

ɛ̌ŭ́ma gbwɛ̌́ e bĕle ma matā̄[k] m'oyɔ̌́n.
Yellow-bellied long-tailed monkey (4), it is sitting in the

4. ɛ̌ŭ́ma = Cercopithecus grayi Fraser.

branches of the Copaifera.

Answer: nkā̄-ɛtɔ̄b = rope (aerial roots) of the fig tree (Ficus).

531
304

The situation was exactly the same with the swallow whose characteristic forked tail gave rise to the pattern, and we shall observe the same with the leopard whose spots have given the pattern its name, as well as with the hornbill whose beak did the same. /264/

6) Leopard spots (zö), Fang, or parrot claws (biẽ'ĩ, be kŭs), Ntum, a number of half-moons placed over and next to each other, h, 1-2.

7) Hornbill beak (ngŭ̃ń, "hornbill," Ceratogymna atrata Temm.), a curve (incomplete arc) with a triangle attached to it, i, 1-4.

8) Frog's legs (enăm edžǫ́) (1), a series of juxtaposed arcs

1. edžǫ́ – Rana zenkeri Ndn.

with vertical lines between them, k, 1-7.

9) Fish, Barbus guirali Thomin (myă), developed from arc and triangle, as row 1, 1-4, shows, but observed only once in its perfect form.

10. Spider (abŭb), originated from isosceles triangles set inside a circle. As in the case of the corresponding stool patterns, the triangles are in part halved lengthwise, m, 1-4.

Among patterns which I only observed once each we should mention the following.

The double iron bell (nkŏn) consists of an arc with two triangles attached to it (Fig. 219, a). I saw this pattern on a coastal Mwai, [177] and it is probably a borrowed one, since a double bell does not occur among the Pangwe.

The knife (okŏń) probably originated from the rectangle (box pattern), perhaps together with the triangle. It is possible that the pattern is intentionally made to resemble a European knife (Fig. 218, b).

The sea fish (kŏ[s] a măń) originated from a circle and lines. It is probably meant to portray a sea fish, a sea turtle, or the like. The artist here has placed it inside a whirlpool consisting of concentric circles (Fig. 219, c).

531 304 It seems significant that these three last designs deal with objects that are foreign to the land or to the culture of the Pangwe. Indeed, I believe that, besides the play on familiar patterns, the conscious intention of capturing a remembered image is added here. In other words, we have, as it were, a transition from conventional patterns to purely free hand drawing.

A similar process perhaps underlies the "chameleon" (dǯingbwɔ́), which I saw twice. In the first case, it was quite obvious that it had arisen from the rectangle attached to a half-moon; because the arch of the half-moon was on the wrong side (Fig. 218, d). In the second case, the animal had been captured in good realistic detail as regards its body and head (Fig. 218, e).

The composite patterns, which -- as I have mentioned -- are extraordinarily frequent in tattooing, are so diverse that they cannot all be mentioned here. We frequently find the half-moon combined with a line and tears, triangles and sticks, and so forth (Fig. 220). /265 and 266/ /Figs. 218 and 219 appear here in the original text. / /267/ /Fig. 220 appears here in the original text. /

(c) Decoration of raffia stalks, etc.

531 I myself have not seen the technique of decorating raffia stalks, since I did not succeed in meeting anyone who was a master at it. It is supposed to be carried out with a tool which, by drilling or scraping, takes off the upper layer of the raffia bark.

In this branch of ornamentation, we again encounter types of all the patterns developed in the various crafts and specialized arts (Fig. 221). The following occur.

Among basic patterns: rectangle (engraving pattern); single diamond (smearing of the body); monitor lizard (bark pattern), Drawing 5; isosceles triangles, in this case not quite completed (bark or carving patterns); parallel lines; straight or wavy (bark patterns); arc (bark, carving, or tattooing pattern).

Among homologous modified patterns: box (carving pattern); arrow leaf (carving or tattooing pattern); scaly anteater tail, in this case not completed (carving pattern); spearhead (bark

531
304

Fig. 218. Tattoos.

531
304

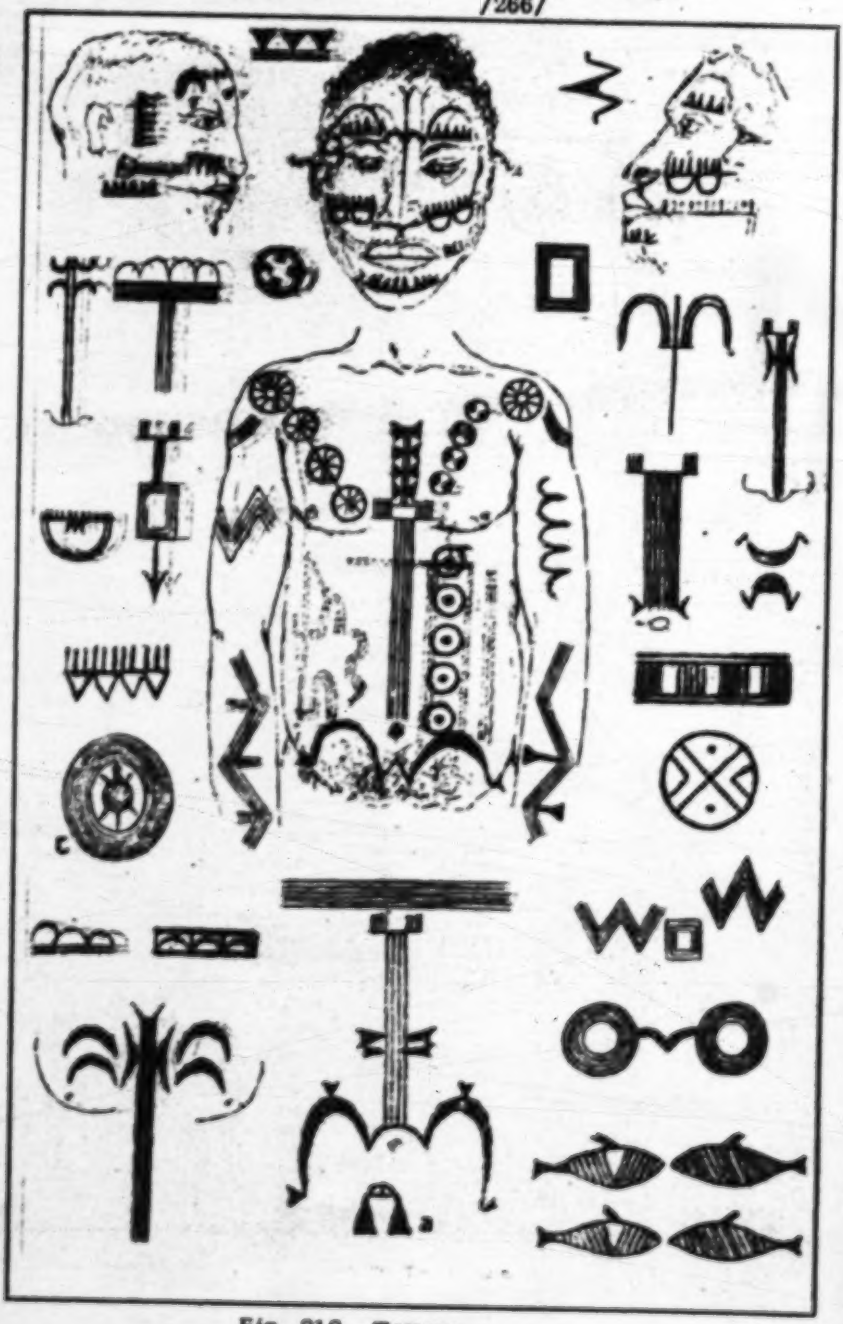
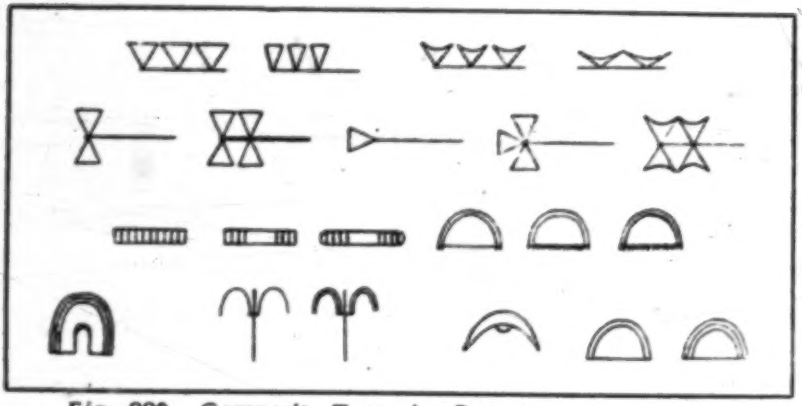


Fig. 219. Tattoos.



531
304

Fig. 220. Composite Tattooing Patterns.

or carving pattern); moon (tattooing pattern); parallel arcs (tattooing pattern). 531

Among nonhomologous modified patterns: kite tail (tattooing pattern); barbed spear (decorative scars or tattooing pattern); sun (painting); chameleon (bark or tattooing patterns), Drawing 4 b, Drawing 2a.

Among composite patterns: two lines with triangles (tattooing pattern); tears and arc (tattooing pattern); double barbed spear (tattooing pattern); line with two arcs (decorative scar pattern); three-fold parallel arcs (tattooing pattern).

New patterns that appear are: a composite of squares into which a bow is set on opposite sides, Drawing 2 a (single square with bows; carving or engraving pattern); a figure eight with circles (bands) drawn inside it, Drawing 4 a. Furthermore, there are a number of figures which were probably taken over from painting, /268/ /Fig. 221 appears here in the original text / /269/ namely, a man (quadrangle, lines, an arc), Drawing b; a fish (triangles, lines), Drawing 2a, c; a rifle (triangles, lines), Drawing 3 a; a monkey (moon, circle, hook, line), Drawing 3 b; a cat (bow, circle, lines), Drawing 2a, d.

4. Engraving patterns.

Neck rings, foot covers (more rarely, foot and finger rings), sword blades, and battle axes are decorated with engraved patterns.

Among the neck rings only the three-edged ones are decorated and then in the middle of the front surfaces in three square or

857 something to do near the village, and when he has gone they call to him, "endele o o o...", and he answers, "o yo o o o mur e mur a ne e nzine bekun nlu si mebo yo mura kue a ba a muge nie a nu" (there is a big man on the road, a phantom with his head down and his feet up and a red mouth). Endele keeps answering until he has done what was asked of him. Usually he comes back before this from fear of the phantom of which he speaks and which he thinks he sees.

882 Puberty, Adolescence. Puberty occasions no ceremony, but from then on the child has the right to eat the take of his hunting and fishing, which was formerly forbidden him. This prohibition is called eki wo.

304 Circumcision is done either before or after puberty. It is an operation which is usually performed for many children at a time, and takes place in the early morning. The operator (nkir) comes to the village without the children's being told, and the fathers who wish their sons circumcised watch them so they do not run away. The children are led behind a hut where pieces of red wood have been prepared. [87] A hole is made in the ground, and the pieces of red wood are put in it and set on fire. Each child sits on the stump of a banana tree. The operator uses a well-sharpened razor. Before the operation he fills his mouth with seeds of wild pimento which he chews. He takes the foreskin of the child in his left hand, pulls it, makes a mark on it with his nail at the place where he will cut. The father of the child sees whether the cut piece will be of the desired size, and if he agrees the operator slices the foreskin with one stroke of the razor and spits the pimento, which he has in his mouth, onto the wound. Then he says, "fam e ne e saġa e saġa saġ mi saġ nkłli," an obscene expression which it is impossible to translate here. The circumcised child goes and sits near the fire of red wood. The foreskin is placed on top of a banana tree, [262] whose fruit is cooked and eaten by men only. The circumcision is an occasion for rejoicing; it is done so that the children will not die [826] and also to remove the foreskin which keeps a man from being strong.

304 Female circumcision is never practiced any more. It was formerly 681 done to married women of notoriously bad conduct in order to punish them. The woman was fastened to two stakes in the village square. The clitoris was removed by the man who did the circumcising and was then attached by a thread and put around the neck of the woman, who had to keep it that way for several days to her great shame. The

304 circumcision was public, and the woman to whom it was done under-
681 went the gibes and insults of all the inhabitants.

The life of the young people is the same as that of the adults. The
883 virginity of a woman is considered unimportant and the Fan have
836 sexual relations from the time they are capable of cohabitation. When
848 a young girl has a child, it belongs to her parents, from whom the child acquires wealth; there is no search for the father and the young girl keeps all the respect which she enjoyed. Young girls are free to give themselves to whomever they please. This very broad morality,
[582] however, has one important qualification in that there are, so to speak, no young girls, the little girls having been married off by their parents very early, sometimes even before their birth.

582 Marriage (alug). Men rarely marry before the age of twenty years, and usually later, because they do not have the means to pay the dowry for taking a wife.

582 Exogamy is always practiced because marriage between people of
835 the same tribe is sterile. Marriage between cousins is forbidden up to the third generation and in general, marriage is forbidden between persons linked by any kind of kinship; in this case there is also pro-
[684] hibition of sexual relations. No penalty is prescribed for infraction, but the guilty ones will fall ill and their children, if they have any, will not live.

582 Occasionally there are instances when marriage between relatives
783 is authorized, but only after the practitioner has removed the pro-
835 hibition by the process [88] called abvule minsem. The practitioner goes to find some termite earth (ngurege), a plant (mekaga), and a vine (nyola dzik); the plant and vine are folded and placed in an etok
[845] (a container of banana leaves) full of water. The termite earth is placed on a nzum (see the description in the section on conception) and the etok is placed underneath. The two kinsmen who want to marry also stand underneath it, while the practitioner climbs onto the nzum, dips the leaves in the etok, and says, "nseme ose mi waga bo e wo ma va yüi" (I remove every prohibition that you have made). He hits the termite earth with the leaves and then takes the etok and pours the contents onto the heads of the two people from whom he is removing the prohibition. With the remainder, the man and woman each takes a washing.

583 A man who has not enough dowry but who finds a young girl eager to marry him may take her away in the night; when the parents come

769 number of prohibitions (with regard to the uninitiated and the
794 women) and obligations. It "separates" the initiated men, thus giving a privileged position — justified by the right to commune with the ancestors and to "see the Bièri" — to the most active elements of Fang society.

The initiation is particularly characterized (the culminating
[276] moment of the series of ceremonies) by drunkenness produced by the plant alan, (1) which may result in long-lasting unconscious-

1. Strychnos icaja.

ness.(2) The newly initiated man at this juncture becomes certain

2. E. Trezenem, op. cit., III, Le Bièri, pp. 74-76.

that he has enjoyed a revelation and from then on is in communication with the ancestors. He experiences the fervor of a communion that binds him to the whole society whose effectiveness he discovers at the same time: he has in fact become the object of predictions that are always realized. (3) He asserts himself, if we

3. Cf. idem., p. 75: "All the Pahouins whom we questioned assert that predictions made to people drunk on alan by the bièri have always been realized.

may use the expression, as a full-fledged Fang. The Bièri cult assumes therefore the highest function of aggregation. We stress the fact that initiation is carried out in the same place for several of the nd'è bòt belonging to the same clan, thus strengthening the ties of kinship existing between closely related clan fragments, and tending to reconstitute, to make real, units larger than the
[304 177] individual groupings. On the other hand, initiation to this cult, like circumcision (which takes place apart and appears to be a recent acquisition of the Fang), creates groupings of young men who belong appreciably to the same age group. It emphasizes a link between generations (the "fathers" or "eldest" being

561 no more than a mere conventional taboo, as with certain words con-
[843] sidered crude in French. At birth and until weaning a baby is ntyen (nken) or nkeñelé.

[862] After weaning, which usually occurs when the child begins to walk by itself, between eighteen months and two years, the nken becomes a mongô (mone fam = boy; mone minga = girl); an uncircumcised
561 boy is called more specifically nsôsôl.

881 Circumcision takes place between eight and twelve years of age
[304] (1), before the first premonitory signs of puberty, especially the

1. In former times it was sometimes put off until the youth had killed his first enemy. See Trilles (no. 166) and Largeau (no. 48).

appearance of the first pubic hair (afañ, related to the verb fañ = to do well, correctly, on purpose, from the masculine root FA?). The circumcised boy, ntyi'an, "cut one," becomes an adolescent, ndôman, a term also meaning "son" (in relation to a man, see above, p. 63). Correspondingly, a pubescent girl becomes ngon (which can mean at the same time young girl, daughter of a man, or moon: ayene ngon, "to see the moon," that is, to be menstruating), or also élenan. /57/

The adolescent boy is still ébis, uninitiated. The missions have now adopted the term mvôn, "initiated," to denote church members. Formerly, one became mvôn after initiation, mostly in the great national so initiation, the members of which were called monewôsô (probably "child of the death /la mort/ of the sô"; compare this with the joking relationship, awusô = the dying /le mourir/ of the sô).

561 After initiation, that is, somewhere between the sixteenth and
882 twentieth year, a young man though of military age was not yet a
[884] nya môtô, a true person. This he became only upon marriage, when he attained what might be considered his legal, civil, even economic, majority.

561 A girl, ngon, who became ngal or nya ngal, a true woman, by
[885] losing her virginity, after marriage was nya minga, a /married/ lady, and ésila or ékua, a matron, when she had brought up her first children. A man with grandchildren was ntole môt, an elder, usually
[888] around forty; this was the highest possible social position. Indeed,

567 spoke of ôlo (or mon ôlo) or étu'a as against nti (nté) or mo'nti, the latter word meaning freeman, civis. However, all the late nineteenth century writers agree that the Pahouin did not know of slavery and, closer to our period, L. Mba repeats the assertion, declaring that belô [727] or minsagha were not slaves but prisoners of war "considered part of the spoils" (no. 120).

Nevertheless, it does indeed seem that there were genuine com-
567 mercial transactions, selling and buying of these captives or, at any
727 rate, of the bitu'a, whose position must have been different from that of the bo' belo. The latter were more likely prisoners subject to ransom (ngôtô = ransom) or hostages; I have personally known elderly Boulou men of good family who were prisoners of the Bané in the way after the 1885 ôban /war/. They had been treated as men not as chattel, taking part in noble masculine activities such as hunting, but not in work considered menial like porterage. Some of them married Bané girls at the time of the treaty which followed the ôban; others were adopted by Bané clans. In their case one certainly could not speak of slavery.

567 The position was not the same for the bitu'a (1), who were, as I

[304]

1. Sometimes called bityi'ityi'a, the mutilated, the gashed, because their ears were slashed.

made the objects of commercial transactions, of sales, and not simply put in pawn. First lieutenant Dominick, for instance, bought outright from Ewôndo chiefs part of his complement of porters. These bitu'a were not Pahouin but foreign prisoners from neighboring tribes or the original inhabitants of conquered territory. Therefore it is perhaps correct to say that the Pahouin had no slaves among themselves of their own, but not that they were unacquainted with slavery. They certainly made little use of it, preferring to exchange captives for merchandise from the coastal or river tribes who specialized in trade. Besides, the children of belô or of bitu'a born within a clan must have been pretty easily absorbed if one of the parents belonged to the clan.

563 At the present time, in any case, the distinction between bo' beti
565 and bo' belo is very fine drawn (2), not to say obliterated, if only

575 preceded by drummers and trumpet players and by a boy (uncircumcised?) entrusted with holding across the village street a liana, which the cortege broke through only after sacrificing a chicken. The uninitiated did not have the right to be present at this procession. The
769 ngil leader, masked and painted in red and white, carried his per-
531 sonal bieti (bieri); he was always accompanied by a full orchestra (mvet guitar, mbaé and nkul drums, mejañ balafo). The initiation ceremony lasted a month (1).

1. The ngil mark was a tattoo below the
● 304 sacrum, therefore covered by the loincloth. Initiates did not go out except in masks, so that theoretically it was impossible to recognize them.

Members of the ngil circulated in small groups, masked, to carry
754 out inquiries in villages where a case of sorcery was suspected or to put sorcerers to death. For ordinary cases they applied the ordeals in current use (minkal), but for serious cases it was necessary to arrange for an initiation ceremony: this feature is found in nearly all ritual associations, where initiation is always accompanied by collective catharsis.

Among other masculine initiation societies the ndôngô rite must
304 be mentioned, whose initiates have two incisions on the nape of the neck. Its symbolic /features/ include confession, purification, seclusion in darkness, passage through a narrow corridor or a low doorway, a liana-serpent, a consecrated lance, a sacrifice (2), a

782 784 2. Dogs were sacrificed. Ndôngô canceled serious minsem /breaking a taboo/ like homicide or incest and allowed initiates to eat pork, mutton, and porcupine. (J. B.)

825 horrible brew. The ritual animal was the tortoise. The purpose of this rite seems also to have been protection against sorcerers and, perhaps, to improve luck, ma'a. The initiation of circumcised youths, bekungu, is perhaps a juvenile form of ndôngô. Both survived until the Second World War. Ndôngô does not seem to set up

141

Tribe	Height		Cephalic Index		Trunk Index /Indice cormique/	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mangisa	above average		76.7	76.3	?	?
Eton	167.8	157.9	76.2	76.4	60.8	51.0
Ewôndo	168.4	158.6	77.0	77.6	50.5	50.4
Boulou	165.4	157.6	77.8	79.2	51.2	52.2
Fang	above average		77.0	76.6	51.2	50.9

[143]

Tribe	Blood Group (in %)					Facial Index		Width/Height /Envergures/taille/	
	O	A	B	AB	Index	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mangisa	52	21.9	10.9	15.2	1.44	?	?	?	?
Eton	55.7	13.8	17.5	12.9	0.878	85.1	84.2	104.4	102.5
Ewôndo	55.5	14.1	17.4	11.5	0.885	85.7	85.6	105.3	104.0
Boulou	?	?	?	?	?	86.5	85.1	103.7	102.9
Fang	?	?	?	?	?	83.2	87.0	105.3	103.4

It is inevitable, in any case, that a population of this numerical size should present fairly obvious extreme variations, but my own observation, also subjective, thrown into relief a larger proportion of short and very short persons than of tall and very tall: interbreeding [144] with Pygmies (the Bekoé ayoñ especially) would explain this to a great extent. The Beti in the north, who have had much less contact with Pygmies, seem taller and slenderer.

142 The group as a whole may be considered mesocephalic with a /85/ [145] slight tendency to dolichocephaly (1), with not very obvious Negroid

[304 856]

1. Midwives, bebialé binga, still continue the practice of shaping newborn skulls by lengthening. On the other hand, the custom of binding babies' heads with a bark band is dying out.

facial traits, rather light chocolate brown skin, although some groups have a reddish tinge to the skin and green eyes (the Ndôñ ayoñ of [143 824] Sangmélima). Pectoral hair is common. There is fairly common albinism, some polydactylism (the subjects are supposedly sorcerers).

834 uncovered it except when uttering a curse. Nowadays most women
292 cover their breasts (1) with almost equal vigilance. /87/ In old-

[177]

1. The aesthetic standard in this connection is changing, especially in towns, as a result of European (cinema?) influence; one only rarely sees girls binding their breasts with strips of bark or cloth to make them fall.

fashioned villages widows still go back to the traditional dress after their seclusion: for eight days, sometimes longer, they wear the ébui made of leaves, which is then replaced by an old ôbôm or a jute sack that leaves the head and shoulders and thighs bare, then by a sack or an old khaki dress shaped like a sack with holes for head and arms.

291 Boys and girls used to run around naked until the first signs of puberty appeared, usually the pubic hair (Boulou, afañ /"h." in the text must be a misprint for "b."—Tr./; Fang, avul). Boys wore a special breechcloth of a special vegetable /material/ after circum-
[304] cision while waiting for the wound to heal and afterwards had to wear a covering only if they had already started to grow hair. At present they wear clothes from the beginning of school age and even before that in militant Christian families and the urban bourgeoisie.

304 Body marks have fallen out of use with the exception of circumcision. First the men stopped filing their incisors to a point. Tattooing persisted longer, in Gabon until just before the Second World War. At present tattooing is being revived among urban pickpockets and syncretist associations. The face was tattooed, usually between the eyes but sometimes on the cheeks, with blue markings made of soot mixed with vegetable ash, or in red with padouk /?/ powder, baa. These marks could indicate clan or association affiliation, or even were imposed during or after a course of medico-magical treatment, or even to satisfy aesthetic demands. It was the same for cicatrices engraved in relief on chest or abdomen, which are nowadays described as being "to make nyanga" (!pretty," Coast English—of Hausa origin?). It is quite possible that some of the magic significance has been forgotten. The most important marks were the dorsal scarifications made at initiations: a triple row of incisions along the vertebral column, widening into a v at the nape

304 of the neck for the sô; a (secret) design on the sacrum for the ngil; three horizontal marks on the nape for the ndôngô; a line of "vaccination marks" on the inner surface of the arms, forearms, and thighs, and along the carotid arteries, for the serpent /associations/, etc.

302 Men wore their hair braided, or else they shaved the temples and parietal bones, leaving a sort of comb on the top of the skull, suggesting a gorilla's crest. There were special ways of dressing the hair appropriate for the different initiations. The moustache was worn only by the benya bôtô; the beard, a goatee, by a few aged men, often diviners. In our day men usually wear their hair short and merely combed; a central part, in the Lower Nigerian fashion, was very common around 1948 among factory hands, while former recruits went in for a crew cut with a frill beard /barbe en collier/. Many students wear a little goatee, and this style is now growing among the rest of the younger generation. Since up to now wearing a beard was a sign of mourning, a political implication has sometimes been [765] attributed to this fashion—but mourning beards are not trimmed. /88/

Women have many ways of doing their hair. in plaits, checker [765] board, "horns," etc. As a sign of mourning their heads are shaved, and they are not allowed to comb the hair that grows out before the end of mourning. The growth of beard or moustache that often [145 754] follows menopause is considered a sign of sorcery. Stylish women pluck their armpits, and a few also remove their pubic hair, for reasons perhaps of elegance and hygiene, perhaps of ritual (is there a relationship between the name of the important female rite mevungu and mevul, meaning "female pubic hair?"). Padouk powder, baa, is still used in the way that henna is for both magical and aesthetic reasons, but European make-up, mainly lipstick, has taken its place among young fashionable women.

515 Bodily cleanliness is much in favor: men and women often bathe several times a day with plenty of soap. But it is common to see them put back on their well-scrubbed bodies perfectly filthy clothes, no doubt because bodily cleanliness is a much older practice than that of wearing clothes made of cloth.

c. Psychological Characteristics

181 Like the majority of known peoples, the Pahouin have a very flattering opinion of themselves, and the curious thing is that this

861 initiations and now catechism bring all the boys and girls of a village together.

854 Adult surveillance is casual: grown people mainly want /95/ children to know their place and not to be a nuisance. Otherwise, it is mostly the older children who take care of the younger ones.

c. Adolescence

882 Boys and girls share their mother's hut until the beginning of
854 adolescence, at which age the boys go to live by themselves, formerly in the "guardhouse," aba, nowadays in a hut on the paternal "allotment." Formerly, girls were sometimes married off before birth and
[582] went to the husband's village at about eight years of age; this is very unusual today, but it is still fairly common for them to go at that age to a paternal or maternal aunt or to a married sister, where they act more or less as servants until puberty, being trained meanwhile. It is also quite common for boys to go to live with a relative whose
[871] house is nearer a school than is their own village (1).

1. But a motive of proximity to school is not a complete explanation, merely an additional reason for leaving. In fact, a study of urban centers equipped with
[574] schools of a good level shows that 30 percent of the children live outside the paternal household with uncles or grandparents. Whatever a father's personal view, he could never refuse his son to relatives expressing a wish to have the boy for some time. (J. B.)

881 The bongô /children/ become ndôman, a youth, or ngon, a girl,
● 304 at the onset of puberty. The transition is marked by circumcision
864 among boys, atyi'i atyel, in the past sometimes followed by the first initiation, bekungu. Circumcision is done between the ages of six and twelve, usually around ten. Nowadays it is often done at a dispensary, while it formerly was the occasion of a family and village ceremony. Subjects for circumcision prepared for the ceremony with a relatively short seclusion (of a fortnight) during which they were

881 limited to a vegetarian diet without salt or spices, to "freshen the
304 blood." They received sexual instruction from the ngengañ, diviner-
864 healer, who performed the operation, while the elders, mintôl, examined /the boys/ in knowledge of the mebatan, "salutations" or genealogies: in actual fact circumcision ended the prohibition against coition by showing the danger of involuntary incest in case relation-
304 ships were not well understood. Women were not allowed to be present at the operation, which the ngengañ performed with a special razor, cauterizing the wound with a pimento decoction. A boy was held by his father, who pronounced the formula that lifted the taboo against coition. The foreskin was usually buried under a tree, perhaps a banana, perhaps a tree indicated by clan or lineage tradition, perhaps
[826] chosen, if we accept Trilles, for totemic reasons. Sometimes the foreskin was preserved for magic use. While the scar was healing, the circumcised boy could wear only a special vegetable breechcloth which was renewed daily; during this time no woman was supposed to speak to him or to touch him or his breechcloth; this he took advantage of so as to steal food and various things. /96/ Once the scar had healed, he could no longer appear in public naked. This whole /procedure/ is only partly followed at the present time; furthermore, since the time for the operation has been generally made earlier, circumcised boys who have not yet reached puberty (1) are often

> 1. A Protestant Ntoumou chief in Ambam told me that he had had his children circumcised earlier so as to be able to send them to the district school without running the risk of their breaking the sexual and food taboos of the uncircumcised when away from his supervision.

seen going about nude in villages. According to Trilles and Largeau, in the past some youths remained uncircumcised, minsôsôl, until they had killed their first enemy. At the present time all youths are circumcised, even Christians; the missions have only rarely tried to oppose the practice and always unsuccessfully.

881 After circumcision the nôman was able to have sexual relations
883 and eat certain foods prohibited before. He went to live with other

881 The nkpwé sô then defecated into the pot, which was buried in a secret spot near the sanctuary. The bevôn then took part in a mock battle at the end of which the nkpwé sô gave goats to their families. The initiated now went into the forest to cut a njôm pole, chosen, according to Allégret, by a woman whose husband had no luck at hunting—this pole was placed across two forks planted in front of the sanctuary near the nkal sô. Meanwhile, the bevôn had been cutting raffia "bamboo" to be used in making the ésam sô, an enclosure around the njôm. They returned in Indian file with their group "major" (ôsu zua) at the head; they set up the "bamboos" in a triangle open toward the back of the njôm, fastening them together with plaited raffia leaves the end of which an initiate buried in the nlak sô. During their marching by, which women and unitiated are not allowed to see, they were beaten with sticks by the initiates.

They then proceeded to a "crabbing" which consisted of immersion in water flavored with pimento. /This was/ the commencement of the third stage, which was continued by withdrawal into the forest, where the bevôn painted themselves white and engaged in a ritual hunt.

Meanwhile, initiates closed the ésam sô with two lianas representing a python (mvôm) and a Dendraspis (ayañ). The bevôn then were subjected to the ant-tree test in which they had to climb an angakomo tree on which weaver-ants lived whose bite is very painful. They then spent a night in the ésam sô, lying on thorns and rubbed with pimento juice, while masked initiates beat them and blew trumpets [574] to keep them from going to sleep. The next day they went off on a round of visits through villages related or allied to their own, while the mfek sô and initiates carved and shaped the njôm in keeping with clan traditions. The designs had to be explained to the bevôn during the next stage, abete njôm, the erection, the setting up of the njôm.

[304] Upon their return from the round of visits, the bevôn were tattooed by the mfek sô: three rows of incisions along the spine, the two outer ones spreading apart at the top like the sô's "halter," and a small triangular mark at the nape, perhaps the same as that of the ndôngô. They then put on a sort of skirt of raffia fiber, painted themselves white once more, and did a public dance during which the "major" mounted astride the njôm, the other bevôn after him. Anyone who fell off was rejected by the sô and had to leave the

212 Largeau /sic/) and the mekutu alelé, bundles of little sticks making it possible to communicate in code, they had a kind of pictography, ntilan, with tens, if not hundreds, of signs, mindem. These we know (insufficiently) from the counters used in the abia game, a kind of [524] tarots, used as a game as much as for predicting the future; the pieces 787 were made of the seeds, or rather the pods, of a mimosa common in [884] the forest (Tetrapleura /125/ thonningii, according to Trilles). These signs had a surface meaning, understood by all, and an esoteric meaning, restricted to initiates. They made it possible if not to write down traditions as a whole, at least to draw up a kind of aid to memory to be used by the beyia bia. They also enabled scouts to leave messages for a main body of fighters that followed. Each clan, [304] each family had its own ndem, sometimes depicted in its tattoo mark, ndan, which thus constituted a sort of coat of arms.

538 The old literature included stories or tales, minlañ, songs, bia, and chronicles, minkañete.

Trilles is responsible for collecting most of the tales (no. 165), which often took the form of fabliaux whose hero was none other than Ol' Br'er Terrapin, Kulu (emphatic or personal form of kul), the earth tortoise (Cinyxis erosa), surrounded by Beme, the wild pig, stupid and gluttonous, Ze, the panther, mean and cunning, its princi- [825] pal enemy; Zo'o, the elephant, the king of beasts; Abôp, the spider, artful and obliging; and the majority of the other forest animals (except, it seems, snakes, which no one ever likes to mention). Kulu, thanks to his shrewdness, always ends by getting out of the holes in which his caustic spirit or the old hostility between him and Ze have put him. Tales of magicians were also told, or stories about the conjugal mishaps of supposed ancestors. All such tales were in the public domain and were recited by anyone who felt competent. This was also the case with the puzzles and riddles that young people put to one another as a kind of flirtation.

533 Songs, however, were performed by specialists, even aside from ritual or magical songs. Some were used to accompany dances; they represented the most complete form of musical expression, with the tone of the words supposed to fit the music while being related to the movements of the dance. There are still beyia bia competent to lead a dance of this kind by improvisation, but they are few and very expensive. There also still exist players of the mvet (harp-guitar), whose repertory includes, beside the old sung legends, some modern

575
757
825

"There would seem to be nothing further except to pay the initiator and to carry away the treasure so dearly and criminally bought. But there is still a final ceremony. Initiator and initiate both are actors and witnesses in a strange scene which I should not describe were it not as authentic as it is apparently unbelievable. The new initiate's life is to be united through a bloody rite to that of an animal, who will thereafter be his personal animal, not a domestic or tame animal, but a wild beast living in the depths of the forest or the bed of a river. The initiator has made the necessary arrangements; he gives a signal: [487] at first no sound is heard in reply but soon in the bright moonlight an unknown participant is seen approaching the spot in the forest where it is awaited -- sometimes an enormous mass with a monstrous head, sometimes a feline form that crawls rather than walks, sometimes a long body that unwinds and undulates. Whatever the animal -- hippopotamus, panther, or snake -- it forgets the timidity or ferocity felt in the presence of man and submits docilely to the desired operation. Then the exchange of blood takes place. How this is done is not our concern. But what is beyond any doubt is the fact that blood is let, of the animal and of the initiate, and that each is inoculated with the other's blood. The animal's ear is slit (a corresponding cut is made upon a snake) as a mark
● [304] of the link established with the man, in whose arm an incision is made so that he in turn is marked with the sign of the beast. (1)

1. [The footnote, referring to mediaeval witchcraft practices, is omitted. --Translator]

A real link henceforth exists between them. The animal will be at the beck and call of the person who has been made his master. I could name ... a certain Black man who at night receives a vulture or a panther with slit ear, and another who allows into his hut and even his bed (ikoko) a python that recognizes his authority. When day comes, and the tasks have been

779
762 legs are flung to right and left alternately; two very lively steps,
535 a pause, two successive jetés to the right and left, and a swaying of the body above the hips make up this dance, which has real beauty and does not lack a certain style.

779
801 The circumcision dance is entirely different. The young candidates, painted white from head to foot and dressed in gar-
535 ments of leaves, are led by the initiator before the assembled participants, as soon as the preparatory rites have ended and the
●304 operation is to be performed. Grown, circumcised men stand on one side, the ritual experts in the middle, those to be circumcised [511] on the other side. The dance begins. First of all, it consists of an immense circle, which spreads out and turns around the area; then the movement quickens, hands are dropped, and each person leaps and shimmies about on his own, still keeping time, which is marked out by the tom-tom. Moreover, in spite of what appears to be disorder, one soon sees that all movements are regular, perfectly conceived and executed without a hitch, without mistake, without getting out of step. Soon sweat is pouring down the dancers' arms and legs; one after another they go back to their places; only the candidates continue and their dance turns into a spinning in almost one place, on the toes, with hands stretched horizontally. Then, suddenly, at a signal from the tom-tom, the dance stops abruptly: the young dancers rush to their places, sit down, and the operations begin.

Each time the practitioner circumcises a boy, he stands up, holding in his hand proof of the operation, then does a quick dance step consisting of a few merry leaps, to the accompaniment of a special song, which everyone sings together.

When the operations are over, the youths who have been circumcised perform a short dance intended to show their fortitude; it is of just a few steps, done any old way. Then the boys quickly return to their huts, held up by their friends.

764 The funeral dance is much more beautiful. Far from
535 being dignified and solemn, the fanki is exceedingly lively and complicated, representing, theoretically, the soul of the dead man leaving his body and later reaching the world of spirits.

[515] 3. General Totemic Rites: Details

719 In order to establish some logical order for totemic rites, we may take a man at his coming into the world, follow him through his principal activities, and leave him only at death. In this way we shall include the complete series of general or particular rites which he must observe. However, we shall obviously have to discuss them from the totemic point of view only.

By general rites I mean those concerned with the race or tribe. Among particular rites, on the other hand, I place all those concerned more specifically with the individual.

General rites are as follows:

1. Circumcision, akèle
2. Initiation, evôm
3. Consecration of a chief, elôga
4. War, abal
5. Hunting or fishing expeditions, miyên
6. Establishment in new territory, edzal mfifi
7. Ordeals, elun, ém mélan
8. Covenants or blood exchange, abvuna

Particular rites to be noted are:

1. Birth and name giving, abiémé, edzû
2. Adoption, aném mobé
3. Marriage, alux
4. Hunting, fishing, farming, mvefie, ayû kos, bifaî
5. Trade, okira
6. Death, awu

The totemic character is sometimes strongly marked in these rites, sometimes it is almost obscured, barely perceptible. At times that character is underlined merely by a gesture, a call, a prayer. But it is never absent. : [516]

I. Circumcision

881 304 Circumcision cannot be considered a universal rite among Bantu tribes: some practice it, some do not, either because they have never done so or because the custom has been lost in the course of centuries and repeated migrations.

881
304 The Fan and all the tribes of their group have preserved it. In all clans, at a time decided upon by the chief, youths must be circumcised. This rule is also accepted by all the related tribes, Dzèm and Dzandzama, Bulu, Shéké, Batéké, etc.

During my many journeys I hever met a single Fan who had [582] not been circumcised. No young girl would agree to marrying an uncircumcised man, under any conditions. This by the way indi- [588] cates the value, even in terms of Fan custom, of the temporary marriages contracted with Europeans. The Fan look upon these unions simply as concubinage and designate them by the same word, évex̌.

Although the Fan group has kept circumcision, others have not, so that it cannot be said to now be a general rite among the Bantu. The custom is not the result of Semitic infiltration; some Bantu tribes like the Kavirondo, among whom the Arabs have penetrated, do not practice it, while the Fan, who have never been in contact with Moslems, do so.

a) Is circumcision a religious rite?

We shall take up the subject [circumcision] first from the general, then from the particular, point of view.

The first question to be raised is: Is circumcision a religious rite by nature and origin, consecrating a person to a deity, as by a sort of sacrament? (1)

1. Cf. Lagrange, Études sémitiques [Studies in Semitic Religion], p. 242.

According to certain writers, Renan in particular, circumcision is a purely hygienic custom: "In the beginning," he says, "this custom had neither the widespread character nor the religious significance that was given it later. Without the operation, certain Oriental peoples would be condemned to semi-impotence and dangerous impurities."

Arcin also wrote: "Circumcision is the most important religious ceremony of the black peoples. This practice has probably been made necessary by a special physiological

881
304

structure. (2) But at present any memory of this cause has been

2. From the medical point of view, this statement is a complete invention.

entirely effaced and these rites are seen only as an offering to fertility gods."

Let me say right here that, as regards the Fan and the Bantu tribes, this physiological rationalization appears of slight value. In fact, though the Fan and other tribes of their group have adopted circumcision, this is far from being the case among all Bantu, certain of whom, like some in Uganda, have even a horror of it. Yet physiological requirements are identical among tribes of the same race and habitat.

We do not have to discuss here the natural advantages of circumcision. Were they even more considerable, it would be wrong to give a rationalistic explanation derived from hygiene, without taking into account the sum of institutions of which it is a part and of which it represents the moderate component, a very temperate practice compared with others. These institutions are the consecration rites of youths at puberty, and it is precisely because circumcision had a hygienic and moderating quality that it spread so widely and prevailed over other, more barbarous, practices. Circumcision has in fact [518] been practiced throughout the whole world among the greatest variety of populations and races, mostly as part of the initiation ceremonies that link a youth more closely with his tribe and his god or gods.

I agree with the majority of writers that this is an operation that is essentially religious in origin, necessary from the hygienic point of view, (1) but never for physiological reasons.

1. From the purely hygienic point of view: "It is impossible to give a raison d'être for circumcision, except as a religious requirement. It is in no way indicated anatomically (in spite of what Niebuhr, Déscription

881
•304

de l'Arabie [Description of Arabia] and Winer say); and from the point of view of sexual activity, it has no effect upon a man's potency; hygienically, circumcision is insufficiently effective." Colonial Despatch, Medical Report, Sept. 3, 1907.

I should also say, with Father Lagrange -- adding to circumcision the tribal mutilations to be discussed, such as the knocking-out or filing of teeth, scarifications, etc. -- "the religious character of these ceremonies cannot any longer be disputed."

881
304
779

b) Is circumcision a totemic rite?

Granted that circumcision is a religious rite, is it also a totemic one?

According to Frazer, (1) circumcision is part of the initiation rites

1. Totemism, p. 47

tion rites that link a youth with his tribe and his god; these initiations have a specific character, that of uniting the young man and the animal life of the totem through an exchange of souls. (2)

2. In Australia the neophyte is anointed with blood drawn from a warrior's arm or may even drink some of it. A few magical passes are added, which convey to the candidate the corresponding spiritual powers and gifts. He must sleep on the tombs of his ancestors so as to absorb their virtues. Sometimes he is reputedly killed by a certain Thurembul, who returns him to life, and removes one of his teeth. In this, says Frazer, there may have been an idea of

881
304
779

> rebirth, or of the neophyte's starting a second life; that is why he acquires a new name as soon as he is circumcised, or when the tooth is removed or when he sheds the blood of his family.

I am quite ready to admit with Father Lagrange that circumcision is not restricted to totemic tribes. Among fully totemic tribes, like the Baganda, it is not only not permitted but is even viewed with disgust. [519] I look upon it as basically a religious rite, derived from ancestor worship, and what Frazer says confirms me in this opinion. Nevertheless, I freely admit and even believe that alongside these rites connecting circumcision with ancestor worship there are others, which, coming from the same source, also connect circumcision with the totemic cult; for in many religious phenomena the mvamayôn cult and that of the esayôn are closely and inseparably related.

In outlining below the practice of circumcision among the Fan, we shall point to the rites that derive from the mvame. Our reply to the initial question will then be:

Circumcision among the Fan is certainly a religious rite; it is not a purely totemic phenomenon, but the totem enters into it.

Bros agrees with these conclusions, at least in part. In his opinion, circumcision is a test of puberty, a first-fruits offering to the gods, a purification made to release an evil spirit which vanishes with the blood: above all, it is a pact by which a part of one's blood is given to the tribal god (1) and

> 1. In my opinion, the term "tribal god" ought not to be used; the Bantu tribes recognise only a single Creator, under different names, and not a god for each tribe.

881 one thereby becomes incorporated in him and in the tribe.
•304 Finally, the taboo surrounding this organ of the body, to which
779 the origin of circumcision may be traced -- either because of the social function of the organ or of the danger of its premature use, or even because of its independence of volition -- allows circumcision to be considered as a desecration that has to precede the stage of virility, in order that use may be made of it. (2)

2. Bros, Religion des peuples non-civilisees [Religion of Non-civilized Peoples], "Circoncision" [Circumcision].

881 Some of these statements hold good for the Fan; some are
304 less applicable. Let me use as an example one of the things
779 that illustrates very well the close connection between circum-
778 cision as a religious rite and childbirth rituals, the fact that
[844] pieces of cloth used to staunch blood are in both cases carefully kept to be used for the same purpose. [520]

Ordinary warriors place them with their personal totem in the mfek or pineapple-fiber bag which never leaves them. These pieces of cloth, or fragments of them, are always part of totemic sacrifices. The sons of chiefs, on the contrary, are not allowed to keep them; they bury them deep at the base of the sacred fig tree planted when they were born over the remains of the umbilical cord. This custom certainly goes back to remote antiquity. Among the Egyptians, the fig tree was considered sacred and dedicated to the Egyptian Venus, Hathor. From this perhaps comes the word éthu, designating a garment made from the bast of the fig tree. The same word, éthu, has remained in the Fan language with the same meaning, "garment," and the
[287 inland Fan always make vegetable-fiber cloth from the fig tree,
822] which they still dye red; this was formerly the color dedicated to Hathor, and it has remained the color of betrothal garments. For the same reason, before marriage, young men and women stain themselves red from head to foot. It is a color "set apart."

881
304
779

c) The Circumcision Itself

The Fan use the term akéla for circumcision, at least as regards boys. The root of the word is clearly in the verb ekèl, of which the radical element expresses the idea of "cutting" and "removing." For girls the word atsingéla is used, which denotes at once ligature, extension, and excision.

We shall examine:

1) The phenomenon itself
2) The age of the candidate
3) The operation
4) The participants -- patient and operator
5) The instrument

1) The phenomenon itself

Circumcision is universal throughout the Fan nation and no male is exempt. Besides, he would be disgraced, and he would not be able to enter into marriage without having first had this operation. Even children brought up in missions do not escape; as soon as they go back to their villages, [521] they submit with good grace if they have remained uncircumcised.

If old people are questioned about the "why" of the ceremony, it is hard to get an answer from them, and they nearly always fall back on custom, "We've always done it," or propriety, 'It's better that way." Both answers, especially the second, are of real value. Yet one day I got a much more interesting reply from a chief in the interior, who told me, "It marks the beginnig." And when I insisted on further explanation, he replied, "It is the mark that sanctifies manhood; afterwards one is no longer an animal, one is 'sacred.'" ("E ne ndem ɔ́ŋ, ndem a bo fam: ai vale, tsit é séra, mur a ne éki," lit., "It is the mark of the first beginning, the mark which sanctifies virility; after the operation, the animal has disappeared, and there is a man, and he is sacred.") As the chief did not want to say anything more, he fell back upon the rules of secrecy. It was difficult, if not impossible, in the tribe with which I then was, to attribute a Christian or Moslem origin to this reply; the chief has never heard of either of them. It would be much simpler to

881 look at it as a vestige of primitive tradition.

304 To the Fan mind, circumcision is altogether a religious,
779 never a secular, act; everything that I shall have to say about it will illustrate this further.

2) The age of circumcision

The age at which Fan boys are circumcised usually varies from seven to ten. I have never seen a baby circumcised. However, there is nothing prescribed by law or custom on this point. Yet in the interior, the age of ten is far exceeded, and it is not unusual for the operation to take place between sixteen and twenty. Old men are unanimous in saying that this was the ancient custom, and that the time for the operation was made earlier in recent times because of the many casualties that occurred. It is impossible to determine precisely what they mean by "recent times." However, according to all the evidence I could gather, one should hardly go back [522] more than 200 to 300 years, that is, to the time of the great Fan migrations. We can see how unlikely it would have been during that period of confusion to perform the operation successfully at so late an age.

Formerly, circumcision must have closely preceded entering the warrior stage. Certain Fan songs seem to indicate this, and many African tribes have preserved the custom.

All the children of a village are circumcised at the same time at the tribal chief's command; the operation only takes place at certain times, when there appear to be enough children, yearly in some villages, at longer intervals in small ones.

[521] Until circumcision, children may go naked; afterward a bit of cloth bark of the fig tree will always be worn.

The seven-to-ten-year limit is appreciably exceeded in
881 the following case: a father may, out of pride, make a solemn
304 vow to his akaméyɔ̀n that his son will not be circumcised until
779 he [the son] has killed an enemy. Under those conditions the
782 youth may go naked for a long time; nor can he have any relations with a woman or even live with the one his father may have bought for him as a future wife. Consequently, he will

881 do all he can to end this state. As soon as he has killed an
304 enemy, he hurries with the victim's hand to his father. Cir-
779 cumcision then solemnly takes place before all the warriors, and
782 his marriage is celebrated as soon as the wound has healed.

3) Time of the ceremony

881 The chief first decides upon the date, which is almost
304 invariably in the eight days before a full moon.
779

As soon as the chief has announced that circumcision will shortly take place, he indicates all the children who are to be included; they, under his direction, go off into the forest not far from the village. After a large space has been cleared, they [342] build open little huts or mere shelters, where they live all together.

Their food is left at the beginning of the path leading to the huts, for no one is supposed to approach; access [523] is above all strictly forbidden to women. The food is plentiful, [264] and nothing must be thrown away or hidden; everything must be eaten, and the chief supervises this rigorously. (1)

1. One of our missionaries observed the same custom among the more advanced populations of the interior. He even mentions this fact: the rule is so strict that one of the candidates was forced three times in succession to swallow the food that his stomach persistently rejected.

4) Preparations

[351] All around the place where the boys are confined, a fence of reeds (1) is erected, which no one dares jump over. This seclusion

1. The place of circumcision shows well enough that the rite is like a consecration, by blood sacrifice, of the sexual life to which the young man is thereafter admitted. Lagrange, op. cit., p. 244.

881
304
779
[821]

does not usually last longer than eight days, a lunar quarter. Every evening songs and dances are performed in honor of the moon, which is looked upon as a source of fertility. (2) In Fan,

> 2. The same belief exists in almost all African tribes; just as in Egypt, the moon presides over rain, which is the earth's source of fertility and thus of human fertility.

the same word, ngon, denotes "girl" and "moon," an ambiguity to be found nearly everywhere among African tribes, in varying degrees. These songs and dances are very special and repetition [533] of them is strictly prohibited outside the sacred enclosure. (3)

> 3. All I could discover on the subject from my young Christian converts who had already gone through the ceremony was that these songs were "bad" and had as their purpose procreation. There is no doubt that the Fan say things "crudely" in their songs. That is all I can say.

According to Lang, (4) this is the time when a youth is

> 4. The Making of Religion, Art.: "Circumcision."

taught about the existence of a beneficent god, a defender of morals, who condemns egoism and adultery. This is so among the Fan. In fact, it is during their retreat the chief teaches the children the mébara, or wisdom of the ancestors, and narrates the great deeds of the race. This is as much as we have been able to learn, for the rule of secrecy is scrupulously observed. During the final days the chief makes a point of mixing into the

881 During the final days the chief makes a point of mixing into the
304 boys' food certain aphrodisiac stimulants, cardamon seeds [524]
779 (Amomum citriodorum), a wonderful red fruit (Lavigeria), and
832 onzakôñ (Antrocaryon klaineanum) which, apart from these oc-
824 casions, only women may eat. They are even forbidden to say the name of that tree, because the word nkôñ denotes the male genital organ; they must say onzabili, the onza tree. In addition the fruit of the onzakôñ has a slight resemblance to a phallus.

Throughout their seclusion the children sleep stretched out
881 on the ashes of the hearths. They must tell the chief what they
304 have dreamt about; the family totem ought, in fact, to re-
779 veal itself to them at this time. Since the chief speaks to the
828 children frequently and since they know that they are supposed to have the totem in mind, the suggestion, intimate and strange at the same time, leads easily to the desired result. If, however, a different object from the family totem, animal or other, appears more vividly and repeatedly in their imaginations, it would be a sign that the totemic guardian spirit wants to adopt another medium and, consequently, the child's totem, if he has a personal one, has to be changed.

5) The ceremony

881 On the day of the operation, the practitioner, who has
304 been forewarned, goes to the enclosure, accompanied by the
779 fathers. Each child is questioned in turn; then there is a big dance performed in honor of the ancestors and guardian spirits of the clan. Each head of the family has brought along his mvamayôñ and now explains it to the child. A new dance is done after this initiation. Each father then stretches his son out on the ground, sits down beside him, and slips his legs beneath the child's body in such a way as to raise the middle of the body. The practitioner has a knife in hand kept specially for this purpose and carefully wrapped in a little sheath. The
[413] knife used to be made of stone, but that kind has become very rare. Knives are now usually made of copper and are curiously worked, one end being beak shaped, the other pointed; they are not hafted. These knives are called ekelokêñ.

881 304 779

The practitioner operates quickly, assisted by the chief of the tribe. Before operating on each child, he hands the knife [525] to the chief, without a word, and the latter accepts it, also in silence, without saying the usual "thank you" or "very good," abora or mvè.

With girls none of these ceremonies are observed. An experienced matron performs the operation, usually when the child is very young. It is nevertheless a religious act, accompanied by songs and dances, but since only women are present, it was impossible for me to learn the slightest detail.

The tribal chief immediately returns the knife to the practitioner, saying, "Take it and do what has to be done." (Nôde n'ébo dzam ma yia n'ébo, lit., "Take it so as to do the deed which 'I' ought to do.") This proves that the practitioner is but the chief's delegate. Usually it is the latter who holds the penis firmly. First of all, the father pulls out the foreskin as far as possible and ties it with a bit of string. The penis, thus prepared, is then stretched out on a special board, and the practitioner cuts quickly. This is the most painful part of the operation. Ashes are then rubbed on the open wound. The head [778] of the family carefully collects the blood, which will constitute a powerful fetish after it has been offered in sacrifice to the mvamayôn and to the ancestors.

It is a point of honor for the children not to cry out, no matter what the pain. Besides, the pain must be very much lessened by the fact that the chief squeezes the flesh firmly and the operator works quickly. As soon as it is over, the child is taken to be bathed and is then laid on a bed of ashes. His scanty clothing is removed [illegible] during the preceding days, and he is now dressed in a loose garment or a belt from which hangs a thick pad of raffia fiber or thin strips of finely cut banana tree bark, so as to protect him from being hurt. After the operation every father offers [431] the practitioner a present, often a sheep or at least several hens. [782] The latter then, according to the customary rites, offers one of the sheep to the spirits and has part of it burnt. The ashes of the 778] sacrifice, mixed with the collected blood, will constitute the child's fetish. Anything left over is carefully buried in a place

881
304
779

apart, and everyone then avoids letting them be seen. [526] The rest of the sheep is eaten by the children the next day.

They remain in seclusion for a few more days. At the end there is another ceremony, also accompanied by dances and songs. They show the reassembled heads of families that the operation has been successful. They then remove the circumcision belt, put back the ordinary loincloth, and return to the village, where they are feted.

d) The consequences of circumcision

"Everything that has to do with procreation," writes Father Lagrange (1) of these ceremonies (and I quite agree with his

1. Études sur les religions sémitiques [Studies in Semitic Religion], pp. 244 ff.

conclusions), "is eminently taboo, surrounded with restrictions and precautions imbued with a religious character and sanctioned by strict laws. Through circumcision a person is really affianced by blood. This may perhaps have been one condition which entitled the begotten child to become in turn a member of the both national and religious association, the community." (We have just seen that this is definitely so among the Fan, for an uncircumcised boy would neither be admitted to the first initiation tests for warriors nor be able to marry: both tribe and future wife would be opposed to it.) "Every time blood is shed, one might wonder whether it is in order to make use of its intrinsic power, in the sense of magic, or for expiation, or to link one person to another by exchange of blood and vitality. Here it would seem to be a question of union, since the rite is initiatory: life is to be transmitted by an organ linked to god through blood letting; at the same time, it represents the ending of a very sensible taboo, which saves the youth from premature indulgence, comparable to that which protects growing fruits and cereals and which ends with the first-fruits sacrifice."

Mgr. Le Roy (1) differs somewhat from Father Lagrange

1. La religion des primitifs [The Religion of Primitive Peoples], pp. 235 ff.

881 on the subject of circumcision: "Circumcision, in our view, is
●304 connected with the institution of the taboo; it was originally the
779 lifting of a prohibition. Before having gone through this ceremony, a young man cannot marry; he is not acceptable [527] to any woman and he has no right to nuptial relations. And if these should nevertheless, occur -- and they do! -- the child of this forbidden intercourse is accounted 'bad' and must disappear."

848 Among the Fan such a child, without being considered exactly "bad," is thought of as not belonging to the tribe. Since the father has not the right to be a father, he cannot give the child a name; and if the child escapes the first vicissitudes of babyhood, it will soon die of neglect and hunger, scorned by all. This is especially the case with mulattoes, whose birth in itself places them outside the tribe. They are found on the coast and near European settlements, where, along with the decline in moral standards, the family has to a great extent disappeared, with the laws that used to guarantee its integrity and corresponding moral code. In the interior, in spite of the passage of numerous traders and explorers whose morals are no better than those of the coast, mulattoes are very rare, to say the least. We have just given the reason for this.

600 "Here," continues Mgr. Le Roy, "we have a typical and interesting illustration of the principle set forth above. The transmission of human life takes place in a mysterious realm where the activity of the Lord of Creation is manifest, or at least taken for granted, and to which man cannot be admitted [illegible] of an appropriate ceremony. At the indicated time the prohibition may be removed, but as always in such cases the 'use permit' must be bought back by a blood sacrifice, hence circumcision, the moral purpose of which is obvious, because the taboo or prohibition that it ends is a rigorous obstacle to sexual relations between children who have not reached puberty.

"This institution can be found everywhere; to be so widespread it must have a widely applicable raison d'être; this is

080 none other than the sacred prohibition in the interest of the family's moral welfare, which is lifted, when necessary, in the same interests."

304 881 779 Circumcision for Mgr. Le Roy is, therefore, in short, only "the lifting of a prohibition in the interest of family welfare." [528]

Although this explanation is neat and seems to satisfy all requirements, it still does not appear to me altogether correct. It takes the effect for the cause. Undoubtedly, a lifting of a prohibition in the interest of family welfare does follow circumcision, but the lifting, and the prohibition itself, seems to me very much an effect, a consequence, not the cause, and I believe that the objective is above all the sacrifice, admittedly a sacrifice for the welfare of the race. As Father Lagrange points out, "this system" (initiations, tests, and especially circumcision) "implies a close religious relationship within a social group at a low stage of development. It would seem to be a matter of religious unity. In the great Assyro-Babylonian civilization, there is no evidence of circumcision, but then, as now, among widely scattered peoples, some had adopted it, some had not." Is it then enough to say, as for the Bantu tribes, that those who no longer have it have either abandoned it or never possessed it? If in fact all Bantu tribes come from a single stock, as we believe, all have been familiar with circumcision, and we are dealing with a much more ancient rite.

177 304 881 We have already mentioned the Egyptian infiltration into Fan manners and customs and the influence of their beliefs. Therefore circumcision might go back to them. Herodotus had already pointed out that circumcision came from Egypt and had, by way of Egypt, spread throughout the Mediterranean world (Her. II, 104). "It may well be," writes Father Lagrange on this subject, "that circumcision among Egyptians was not exactly borrowed from an ethical system, but was a tradition from their origins, going back to the time when they started coming down the Nile Valley, according to contemporary opinion.

177 We also find the tradition among the Arabs as far back in their
● 304 history as we can go."
881

Therefore -- and Johnston is of the same opinion -- circumcision is not a rite devised to meet specific needs but one that dates back to the origins of the human race. From the beginning, man has offered first fruits to God. From this to offering the first fruits of human beings and of life, the step was inevitable, and it was quickly made. [529]

304 In the Fan group at least, circumcision is thus based upon
881 the idea of sacrifice itself and not, as Mgr. Le Roy says, upon
779 the simple lifting of a prohibition that is very useful and very moral. It is based not only on the idea of sacrifice itself but on that of an offering by desecration, which is the very foundation of sacrifice. "Especially at the first use of things it is important to give the gods their share," to renew the covenant with the Master of life. From the beginning, man presented the "first fruits" of things to the deity, above all in order to truly acknowledge his realm. Is not man's life that which is most precious? And the basis of life is certainly the procreative act. Furthermore, the basic concept of clan and tribe is based on the family, so that again from that point of view, procreation is the most important act of life. It is the first fruits of the generative process that will be offered to the Lord of the clan and to the ancestors, deified or not, but supposedly standing by. Therefore this will be a religious act, carried out by the practitioner with the help of the tribal chief and the head of the family, that is, the three clan authorities. So that the ceremony may be more solemn, the remains of the ancestors and of the eponymous animal will be included; finally, as in every sacrifice, blood will be shed. These terms make the sacrifice totemic.

But so that the first fruits may be pure and the shed blood acceptable and effective, they must be truly first fruits. It is therefore very important that they be preserved as such; the means is simple and effective and consists of the éki, that is, the prohibition of certain foods and especially of sexual relations before the set time. The law is not even concerned with the

881 304 779

"fruit" that might result from transgressing the prohibition. The fault, nsem, must be expiated ritually as a fault, but the law would not consider the child as "bad" or guilty; the law does not take it into account at all, but ignores it: the child is "outside the law," res nullius, and is not killed but left to die. It is therefore important that they be really first fruits. Then, too, when the appointed time comes, when a Fan begins to feel himself ready to procreate in his turn, when he can take his place along with the young warriors, the sacrifice will be performed with all formality; once this has been accomplished, [530] but only then, will the prohibition be lifted. The sacrifice ought to be not only carried out but accepted too, because if, for one reason or another -- and this happens -- after circumcision has been performed according to the rules, the practitioner still considers that the spirits of the real or totemic ancestors are not satisfied, an additional sacrifice will be necessary in order to make the first acceptable.

Thus it is clear in what ways our notion of circumcision differs considerably from that of Mgr. Le Roy. In his opinion, it consists of the lifting of a prohibition in the interest of the family's moral welfare a "use permit," that must be bought back by a sacrifice; in our opinion, in agreement with Father Lagrange's, the lifting of the prohibition is not the cause but a natural consequence. The prohibition's objective is circumcision, the "use permit" is the inevitable result, not the cause, of the sacrifice, and circumcision (1) is the very sacrifice of the

1. Lagrange, Études sur les religions sémitiques [Studies in Semitic Religion], "Le Sacrifice" [Sacrifice"], pp. 255 ff.

procreative first fruits, the most important act from the point of view of clan unity and the perpetuation of the family.

II. Initiation

779 884

The second totemic rite that we come upon in the life of a Fan youth is his initiation.

597 sacking of a village. For, although in such cases all the men
727 and able-bodied youths are ruthlessly killed and eaten, this does not apply to women and children, even to male children, who henceforth belong to the new tribe and will later be looked upon as warriors. There is no ceremony for women or female
[562] children, since, as we have seen, the totem ignores them, and they have only one duty toward it, to hide in their huts as quickly as possible whenever there is talk of the totem, and never to mention it. Should this nevertheless happen, it would be an offense requiring expiation.

597 Male children are adopted by the various heads of a family. Tribal or village chiefs have first choice, the rest of the warriors come after. The one or more children chosen by a chief, however, may never succeed him.

597 Adoption ceremonies are like those at birth. The adopted child loses all his old totems in order to acquire those of the
● 304 tribe he joins. There is just one additional ceremony, blood-letting. So as to prove his definitive entry into the tribe, he undergoes the following operation when led before the totem. With the mfor knife, a small steel blade kept for this purpose, the adoptive father makes a few slight scarifications on the child's left arm, collects the blood that flows, and throws it on the ancestral skulls, then on the akaméybh. He then takes a fragment of skull and some totemic sacrificial ashes and rubs these vigorously on the child's arm. This is the true sign of adoption, by which the boy definitively enters his new family and is recognized as belonging to it entirely. Later on he may even be allowed to take a wife from his former tribe, in spite of the strict law of exogamy, because adoption is so authentic.

[348 Often the same bloodletting and blood alliance occur
563] with illegitimate children or with mulattoes, but the object is then different. Adoption never takes place at birth but much later, so as to ensure for the child the ancestors' protection.

The same act often occurs when a child is ill. [573]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

The face is oval in form.[1] The average nose is of the negroid type (short, broad, nearly straight), Fig. 7, Topinard; or the Australoid or Papuan (broad, with the lower part forming a flattened and depressed hook), Fig. 8, Topinard's scale. The skull is thick and strong. Very often the brows are depressed deeply, the cheek bones are prominent, and at the angle of the inferior maxillary bone there is an inclination to bulging outward. The alæ nasi are broad and thick, and the nasal bridge often much depressed giving the typical, flat, turned up nose of the negro. Yet I have observed among the Fang some handsome aquiline noses, and quite frequently the Australoid or Papuan type. I have frequently noticed that the possessors of the aquiline, or Australoid type of nose, showed a higher degree of intelligence and a more genuine desire to learn "the white man's ways." 142

The ears are large and well developed, inclined to spread outward and having broad thick lobes. The teeth are good and symmetrical; Fang men and women file the upper and lower incisors to a fine point and give as their reason for so doing, that it is *mbang* (beautiful). The head of an average Fang male sits well on the shoulders, the neck is strong and muscular, the "Adam's apple" is not highly developed. Very little attention is given to the cultivation of hair on the upper lip. 304 826

The breasts of Fang women are very pendulous after bearing children; and in some cases the breasts in males are very highly developed (photo on screen).

The muscles of the arms, back, buttocks and thighs are often splendidly developed, far more so than in the Mpongwe, Mabeya and many other West African tribes. The Mpongwes are rapidly degenerating. In the male Fang the gluteal muscles are not highly developed. The gluteal muscles in the female are often developed to a very high degree, measuring round from 36½ inches to 39½ inches.

Fifteen Fang males were measured and averaged as follows: 141

Height 5 feet 9 inches.
Chin to pubes 27½ inches.
Pubes to inner malleolus 32½ inches.
Inner malleolus to tip of great toe 8½ inches.
Shoulder to wrist 24½ inches.
Wrist to point of index finger 8½ inches.

In males the thumb is long and broad in the terminal phalanx; the nails of the hand are broad and flat. I have often seen a man use his great toe to pick up an object off the ground, and flexing the leg bring the object to his hand. When journeying through the bush with a caravan it is very interesting to notice how the native uses the great toe to aid him in climbing a steep hill. The sexual apparatus is very highly developed, especially in the males. The women are the 491

[1] It has not been possible for me to devote the time needed for a detailed study of Fang crania. The few Bulu and Fang skulls I have had opportunity for examining presented very little, if any, different characteristics. The skulls I examined were decidedly prognathous, but not large.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

291 clothing. The Fang do not use any coverings to protect the feet. Rank is not
[554] distinguished by the dress, very often the brightest and cleanest wrappers are worn
[622] by the young men while the *bwam* (headman) is often clothed in a dirty old rag.
Very often the *bwam* wears an imported straw or felt hat obtained in trade,
and this alone distinguishes him as headman of the town. Next to the
possession of women and guns, a Fang man's great desire is to own "much
cloth."

Personal Ornaments.

Head.—The Fang dress their hair in the same manner as the Bulu, and the
302 way they build it up on the head over wooden shapes is often very remarkable
291 and shows considerable skill. Very often the hair is built up over these shapes
301 in ridges, the upper edge of the ridge having white shirt buttons fastened along
it or brass headed tacks driven in. Wigs are used and very skilfully made.
Very often the term wig would be a misnomer, for the ingenious contrivance
made to fit over the bald head is often entirely devoid of hair, being simply a
close-fitting skull-cap knitted with string made from the pineapple fibre. The
wigs are usually decorated with shirt buttons or imported glass beads. The hair
is frequently plaited and twisted into ringlets by both sexes; dyeing the hair is
not practised. Beads and white shirt buttons are worn on the hair in large
quantities, also large cowrie shells dyed with red wood powder. The beads and
buttons are often sewed on pieces of goat or deer skin, a separate portion
decorating each side of the head, connected by a string of beads passing across the
forehead.

Moustaches are seldom cultivated, beards when worn are allowed to grow
naturally; but both are frequently removed by depilation; shaving is not
301 practised. Ornaments are frequently worn in the ears, and are usually suspended
by a small cord passed through a hole in the lobe. Women and young girls when
returning from work in the forest or gardens frequently cluster grasses, leaves of
vines and fragrant herbs around their ears; it is a rather pretty custom. Certain
fetish charms are worn suspended from the ear; women frequently use for an ear
fetish the small quills from a porcupine's tail, and they say it will bring them
children. Brass and iron ear-rings are also worn.

Males do not seem to feel inclined to ornament the nose, but many Fang
● [304] women delight to do so. They pierce the triangular cartilage with a long slender
bamboo pin: the pins sometimes project out three inches on either side of the
nose. Very often a medium-sized porcupine quill is used as the ornament, in
place of bamboo; it certainly looks better. Some women thus decorated look very
repulsive. A female who is credited with considerable power as a medicine
woman will almost invariably have the nose pierced and decorated. Ornaments
are not worn on the lips or cheeks.

Body.—Men, women, and children wear necklaces of glass beads, the heads of
very small antelope, and certain forest beans, are strung and worn around the
neck. Bristles from the tail of an elephant are used for the same purpose. White

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 F319 Fang F319

in mourning, a necklace is made from bleached grass plaited; it is worn by both sexes. A very favourite fetish charm to suspend from a necklace is a leopard tooth. I have frequently seen the two tusks of a wild boar or "Wart hog" worn around the neck as an ornament and have succeeded in bringing specimens worn mostly by the women. Imported thick brass wire wound around the forearm from wrist to elbow is a very favourite armlet; it is kept highly polished. Brass wire is often wound so tightly around the biceps as to seriously interfere with circulation. Broad pieces of beaten brass are worn on the arms, and ivory bracelets are much valued. Sometimes six or more rings of ivory are cut from a tusk, and all worn on one arm. Finger and thumb rings are mostly worn by the women; they are made of brass, copper, or iron, and are usually very thick and heavy.

Rings are no indication of rank or marriage. It is not uncommon to see a woman with three heavy brass rings on one thumb, and eight or ten similar rings on the fingers. Narrow girdles of leopard, goat or deer skins are worn across the chest to support the native fighting knife and bunch of fetish charms. I have been visited by a boatman wearing no less than twenty-three charms.

Legs and feet.—Leglets and anklets of brass are much worn and sought after by women. Brass leg rings imported by traders are in great demand. There does not appear to be any special time set for commencing to wear anklets; more infants are frequently decorated with them. Some of the leglets are very heavy, and many women wear ten or more on one leg. These rings often fit very tightly and impede circulation, or chafe and cause nasty indolent ulcers. The ankles and feet often swell and become very painful as a result of insufficient blood supply. Toe-rings are of iron and brass largely worn, and fit so tightly that the ring is often deeply imbedded in the flesh. Usually only one ring is worn on a single toe.

Painting and Tattooing.

Painting.—The method of painting the body by smearing on redwood powder mixed with palm oil, so largely practised by the Bulu, is followed in the same manner but to a much less extent by the Fang. Soft portions of the redwood tree are pulverised and mixed with oil into a thick paste, and the preparation smeared over the entire body. Occasionally a red band is painted across the forehead. When in mourning, dust, mud, or white clay is frequently rubbed over the entire body. Much more frequent is the practice of painting arrow heads, hands, or dots. The pigment used is a dark blue colour, obtained I am told from a tree fungus. The *Ngi* or witch doctor, when at work, in addition to his other paraphernalia smears his body with white chalk. Except in the case of the *Ngi*, the only object in decorating the body by painting is to appear *ebong* (beautiful), and with the Bulu when asked the reason for smearing the body with red paint, they usually reply it is *ebong* (handsome). Imported pigments are not used for body decoration.

Tattooing.—The custom of tattooing is much in vogue. I have not been able

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

to obtain any accounts touching on its introduction, beyond the fact "we learnt it from our fathers." No ceremonies are connected with it. There are no professional tattooers, but the natives frequently employ a man known to be skilful to ornament them. It is practised by both sexes; young lads are anxious to be tattooed because it makes them feel "real men," but the practice is not indispensable as a sign of manhood. The same blue pigment obtained from a tree fungus used in painting is mixed with ashes and employed for tattooing. The instrument used is a sharp piece of bamboo, a piece of sharp iron or a knife. The practice does not appear to be in any way connected with pagan worship. Social or family rank does not affect the designs employed. Fang tattooing is not always symmetrical, it usually commences with the face, and a favourite design on the cheeks somewhat resembles the bowl and stem of a straight pipe. Only one colour is employed. Tattoo marks and designs are mostly found on the face, chest, shoulders, arms and abdomen. Women frequently have the pipe pattern or a band across the cheeks, and occasionally upon the breasts.

Cicatrisation is largely practised. Small incisions are made in the skin with a sharp instrument, frequently a steel nail from an imported packing case obtained from the trade house, the nail being flattened out into a small knife blade; or a sharp piece of bamboo is used. The juice of a certain herb is rubbed into the incised wounds.

IV.—*Habitations.*

The houses are built mostly of bark; beams and rafters are made from the strong branches of forest trees and bamboo; they are secured by bush rope. The entire structure rests on the ground. It is very rare to find a Fang house on poles, except near the coast. There is no regularity in size of houses, but the form and material used is common to all the tribe. The average Fang house or hut is a low dark building, 15 feet long by 10 wide, and with walls about 6 feet high; the roof angle increases the height inside. Each family has a house; it is used, day and night, by all members of the family. Travellers usually occupy the *ebong* (palaver house), and the headman finds them sleeping quarters at night. When the owner dies he is usually buried close to the house, and the grave levelled off and soon obliterated. The houses comprising a town are built together, end to end. Towns consist of two rows of houses, with the main road passing between them. The *ebong* (palaver house) is built across one end of the main road. A large place is often composed of several towns or villages in line, the limits of each village being marked by its palaver house, and having its own headman. The Fang method of conveying information regarding the size of a place is by stating the number of palaver houses it contains. Stockades are frequently used at the entrance to a town, especially if the people have a palaver (tribal war) with a neighbouring tribe. The palaver houses and dwellings are also frequently stockaded. The natives often show considerable foresight and shrewdness by making use of the natural advantages of a position in selecting a site for their villages.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

533 Response by the audience: *Nangekobe.* This word seems to have no meaning but to be simply used as a responsive utterance.

534 (2) *Akôm ke yeye nzam.* Let not the *akôm* sing my song. This supposes that another similar performance (*akôm*) is going on in the neighbourhood, and the performers in it are urged not to make use of the song used by those in the first (*akôm*).

Response: *Ziania, akôm ke yeye nzam.* The word *ziania*, like *nangekobe*, appears to have no meaning, and to be simply used as a responsive utterance.

(3) *Ke bele me nnok nem ne mabata.* Do not catch hold of my instrument (tusk of elephant) with *mabata*, *i.e.*, because you have the sickness *mabata* (a kind of sloughing phagedina).

Response: *Ziania*; *ke bele me nnok nem ne mabata.*

XIX.—*Abnormalities (Natural Deformities), Albinism, Erythrism.*

732 During my residence among the Fang I saw five albinoes (shown on lantern
143 slide). The natives say of these albinoes: "They are white, but *not real* white people." They are treated fairly well; their ever restless eyes cause them much ridicule and annoyance. I know of only one being married. They are not long lived. After death the skull of an albino is greatly valued for medicine, especially for placing with the *biang-akamayeng* (protector of the tribe).

Erythrism is occasionally met with. A red-haired Fang lived in the town of Jam-anen (large affair); his skin was chocolate colour, but his eyes had a pale pinkish colour. The first sight of a red-headed black man surprised me very much.

Hare lip is very rarely seen.

One case of hermaphrodism came under my notice, a Fang male; he was looked on as an *nganga* (witch doctor) of great power, and was much reverenced.

Deformations (Artificial Deformities).

● 304 A. *Facial.*—The triangular nasal cartilage is frequently pierced. This practice is mostly indulged in by women. Bars of bamboo are inserted or porcupine quills. It is considered *mbang* (handsome).

The lips are not pierced or deformed in any way.

The ears are pierced and ear-rings worn.

Fetish is also suspended from the ears.

B. *Dental.*—Males file the upper and lower incisors to a sharp point. The only reason given is, "it is *mbang*" (handsome).

XX.—*Fang Proverbs and Sayings.*

539 *Ma bôn wum alem*, I think in my heart.
Me ku, I am gone, said in taking leave.

301 Women wore only a sort of double apron of grass or leaves, azem
[341] or abui, fastened to a belt of cylindrical steatite beads, manga; brace-
lets, mekom, of ivory or copper shaped like spools; ankle chains,
bibat, of cast copper, very heavy; and an enormous necklace of cast
copper, nkembé, which was put on a little girl when she entered her
[144] affinal household and which could not be removed until after death,
by cutting apart the body or melting the necklace or awaiting decom-
position. All this jewelry belonged to, and remained in, the husband's
[422] family, even in case of divorce; the éla was the person who distributed
it among his wives and daughters-in-law. Flat bracelets were made of
● 306 "neptunes" or "benares" /?/ imported from the coast; later on they
made, and still make, rings and bracelets from cartridge cases and
telegraph wire. But the origin of the cast minkembé /plural/ is still
a mystery; the technique of metal casting is unknown or forgotten;
placer or lode copper is very rare, not only in the present Pahouin
[325] habitat but also where they seem to have come from. Furthermore,
these very old necklaces resist corrosion and have a very pale patina
indicating some kind of alloy; moreover, the nearest workers in bronze
the Bamum, do not make this kind of necklace.

301 Men's dress at the present time is usually of the European type,
[177] from shorts and sports shirt to the surplus American cap; those who
wear shoes have European footwear, leather or canvas according to
their income, or in the style of the Arabic—silifa, from English
"slipper" = babouche, of Hausa or Peul manufacture. Mention should
be made of the helmets and kepis of umbrella-tree wood and the fake
spectacles of slivers of raffia "bamboo." In the villages or at home,
imported loincloths are rolled around a belt or tied behind the neck.

Women also wear a loincloth, éndelé, tied at the neck or rolled
tight above the breasts when they have nothing else on, rolled at the
waist when wearing the "mission jacket," éwoman (apparently from
"woman"). The favorite head covering is still the kerchief, éyafese
(from "handkerchief"). More and more women are also wearing cut
and sewn European-style dresses, bizingi; often a kind of slip; no
[94] panties except for a few young modernists (who call them caleçons,
"drawers"); and internal sanitary napkins made of medicinal plants.
[117] Mission activity has spread notions of prudery; formerly only those
past puberty were obliged to cover their sexual parts. Women did so
834 with great care in spite of the casual nature of their clothing; the
greatest insult to a woman was to uncover her vulva in public; she never

1: Tessmann--54 E-5 (1904-1909)1913 FH9 Fang FH9

The Groundnut, Arachis hypogaea L.

(Plate 6)

244 The groundnut (owǔnɔ́, derived from the stem a wǔno = to set, to plant) occupies the third – with the Jaunde the second – rank in the order of the most important food plants. In the Fang region five different varieties are distinguished, of which one, mǐne owǔnɔ́, has again been given up because of its small fruit. Of the remaining four, the following are found together in one and the same field with equal frequency: the upright, more hairy asɔ́mena, which according to Sadebeck (1) is Arachis

113

1. R. Sadebeck, Die Kulturgewächse der deutschen Kolonien und ihre Erzeugnisse /The Cultivated Plants of the German Colonies and their Products/ (Jena, 1899), p. 230.

asiatica Lour. (it is illustrated by Plate 6), and the low-growing Arachis africana Lour. or var. glabrata D.C. (ebǎn, Ntum; ekǎ'b or engǎn, Fang. The variety exǔ'lo (Fang) or evǔ'le (Ntum), distinguished by fruit that is thicker and not quite so long, and the variety exǔ'na are likewise sometimes found in the same field.

244 311 Anyone who travels in the land of the Pangwe will immediately recognize how important a role the groundnut has in the agricultural economy of the natives. The only farms that may delight the eye of a European are the groundnut farms. Walking through the camava and sugar cane plantations, one is afforded no unobstructed over-all view of them, and on the ngon farms one constantly has to climb over tree trunks that have been left lying around. After passing through these or even through a stretch of dense forest or bush and then coming upon a groundnut plantation, one draws a breath of relief. The wanderer will see the plantation lying before him, framed by the darkness of the forest interspersed with the brighter green of the young maize which is usually planted, along with the groundnut, as a border

244 against the forest and in the middle along the boundaries of the
311 individual plots (Plate 7). The groundnut plantation with its cleanness and unobstructed view will vividly remind the visitor of European vegetable fields; one groundnut plant next to the other shoots forth its many quadripartite leaves, irrigated by the ample moisture of the tropical rain, and here and there one can see the yellow blossoms shining through the leaves.

244 The planting and harvesting seasons of the groundnut are as follows.

First sowing: planted in September and the beginning of October; harvested towards the end of December.

Second sowing: planted in March and April; harvested in July and August.

The groundnut is thus planted before the rainy season and harvested during the following dry seasons.

244 The clearing and burning of farms, accordingly, is under-
476 taken jointly by the men of the village in February, March, and again in July and August. /90/ The field is divided among the men, and they proceed to clear the larger tree trunks and branches out of the way, while the women clean up the farm and then place in the ground the seeds or the nuts which have already sprouted. They do this by digging a small hole with a hoe, throwing the seeds or, as the case may be, the nuts into it, and then pressing the soil down with their feet. The harvest begins when the leaves, with the exception of the topmost ones, are fairly well dried. The soil is loosened, and the women pick out the nuts and put them in plate-shaped baskets (dzǎ).

244 Three years must elapse before groundnuts can again be grown in the same soil. The women have also noticed that the groundnut – which requires a certain amount of calcium in the soil – does not thrive everywhere, and hence they are in the habit of saying: "Let us not plant groundnuts again in this vicinity, for they do not thrive here." Like the majority of cultivated plants in the tropics, groundnuts draw practically no pests. They are harmed most of all by the following animals which eat their leaves: by the duiker, Tragelaphus kmutsoni Lemberg (nkǒ'k); and the dwarf goat, Neotragus batesi Winton (odǐnǒ). Furthermore,

113 Von Stein zu Lausnitz. "Eine Erkundungs-Expedition zwischen Wuri und Sanaga /An Exploratory Expedition Between the Wuri and the Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1908, pp. 522-23.

MANGISA

131 Location: 11°15 to 11°30 long.
4°25 to 4°30 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: about 316 square km.
161 Population: 14,588 inhabitants
Density: 46.2 per square km.

131 The Mangisa occupy the right bank at the bend of the Sanaga, a land of wooded hills.

113 They were probably among the peoples who crossed the Sanaga rather early, for their traditions say that, in later times, when the Eton also crossed the river, they found the Mangisa occupying the territory. /Map 6/ Fairly intensive struggles followed; then the two peoples formed an alliance which enabled them to live in peace side by side.

361 Like the Eton, the agricultural Mangisa live in large villages. Be-
311 cause of the density of the population, the entire /68/ woodland has to a large extent been cleared for their plantations, and palm trees have been planted.

197 But what is the exact origin of the Mangisa?

174 Language. The question has been raised in linguistics.

G. Tessmann has written: "In the classification of the Pahouin tribes of the north, the situation is not yet clear. One thing is certain: all the tribes—at least all those of the northeast—contain a more or less pronounced component derived from the Bati-Mbam. Thus, a few decades ago, the Eton and the Mangisa spoke a pure Bati; they have therefore become Pahouinized only in recent times, at least as regards language (1)."

1. Günter Tessmann, "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and

137 The humidity promotes vigorous forest vegetation throughout almost the whole area under consideration: on the plateau, primary forest (afan) giving way to secondary forest of softwood and dense undergrowth (ékótok) (2); in the valley of the Ogooué there is swamp forest

[31] 146

2. In my view ékwotola or ékotok clearly denote secondary forest but of the brushwood variety, and, if I understand correctly, ékotok is used to describe fallow, land that has been cultivated and that is still more or less in use.

Secondary forest would be called afan, in which the nuance of cleared forest is lost.

Primary forest would be called mfun afan. (J.B.)

at Poto-poto /2/ and mangrove in the estuary. Only north of Yaoundé, in Beti country, is there park-savanna with gallery forest along the
134 tributaries of the Sanaga. Black earth with thick humus (évindisi) is found in the valley bottoms, with red earth in process of rapid lateritization (évelesi) predominating, especially in the north.

135 The minerals are: a medium grade of lateritic iron, which is fairly common; rutile /an ore of titanium/; a little placer gold; perhaps a little copper.

136 Wild fauna is still quite abundant in the less populated regions and is extremely varied. There are anthropoids (gorilla, chimpanzee, and perhaps a third species, ébôt, not described by French writers but listed by Du Chaillu and by certain German zoologists); elephant; hippopotamus (becoming extinct); manatee (nearly extinct); buffalo; many kinds of antelope, among which the great Cephalophus (ôô) plays an important role in social and religious life; flying squirrels; earth hog; pangolins; river hog and forest pig; rock badger in the south; panthers; tiger cats; civet cat; otter, and parpasa /?/; various reptiles, among them python, Dendraspis, Bitis gabonica, and cobra; numerous diurnal and nocturnal birds of prey; touraco, toucan; Buceros; francolin; grey parrot; giant snail and fresh-water bivalves; fresh-water crabs and prawns; abundant siluroids; crocodiles; various insects, among them the goliath beetle, etc.

164 There are many parasites and insect vectors: dysenteric amoeba;
136 ankylostoma; microfilaria; plasmodia; Trypanosoma (especially in the east); jigger flea; forest ticks and leeches are rather uncommon.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

Translation.

They put cassava to soak in the river, in a place where there is (plenty of) 252
mud. When it has lain there three days, they go and rub off the rind. They bring 539
it (to the house). They take a trough, and put the cassava in it. They take the mashing stick. They mash the cassava. They wrap it up (in leaves). When they have finished that, they put it in the pot. Then they light the fire. They put the pot of igama (on the fire). Then the igama is *boiled*.

Ane Mfini: (Plantation).

Bitete bene lene be die ewfini (our fathers did not make plantain villages). 539
n'efen ete bi (because their land was near at hand, *i.e.*, near the regular village). 262
Fuk b'ongoge ewfini ne be bidji biene (Fuk likes plantain village to make good food, *i.e.*, 311
because thus they get good food). *Bikon e djil ene, betok* (Plantains in town have 361
(one) small). *Ewfini O ne djil ene efen bile* (Plantain village is a good town (because) land (*i.e.*, good land) near). *Nem ene efen betete benge to bile* (Like the land where the fathers were near). *B'ongoge ewfini, ne dni bidji biene. Mi'ndul a gnem betyi: benk benge afen* (They like the plantain village (because) there they eat good food. One person kills game (meat) others buy). *Mvode ewfini ne ete be ebi* (Houses of plantain villages soon spoil).[1] *Fuk, Be'dji ones ebin bidiene* (Fuk they eat a meal of cassava in the morning).

Regarding the *Bbi* tabooing certain foods or performance of certain actions so 262
in vogue among the Fang, I learned from a friend and *confrère*, Rev. R. H. 114
Nassau, D.D., M.D., of Gaboon, that the *Bbi* of the Fang is precisely similar to the 111
Orunda of the Mpingwe. Dr. Nassau is a veteran missionary of thirty-seven years' African experience, and he is always ready to help others who are sufficiently interested in the natives to inquire about them. I know of no one on the West Coast more willing or eminently able than he for imparting information regarding the people among whom he has laboured.

XI.—*Anthropophagy.*

Cannibalism prevails among the Fang beyond question, and only fear of 266
the law keeps him somewhat in check. I am able to speak of the Fang as 114
anthropophagi; not alone from information gathered, but from having once had the opportunity of visiting a town two days after a victim had been killed and eaten.

This town, named Olanda, is on the right bank of the N'komo river, about 60 miles from the seat of government in the Congo Français. Whilst visiting the town Nengo-ozego (the island of islands) in the autumn of 1896, a native trader named Arkondengi, employed by a British trading house at Gaboon, informed me

[1] It is very true that houses having plantains growing near, soon rot; this is due to the dampness caused by lack of sunlight and heat.

262 In addition to the spices, the [illegible]ngwe use oil as an additive for their food. The oil is obtained [illegible]rom the oil palm Elaeis guineensis L. (alén) and the Mimus[illegible]s djave (Lan.) Engl. (adźab), but it is extracted so rarely that its [illegible]se in the kitchen is far secondary to its use for the care of the ski[illegible]. For this reason I shall discuss the extraction of oil when I co[illegible]e to speak of skin care.

354 The kitchen of the Pangwe wo[illegible]an is located, as we have already seen, in the house under the [illegible]spension loft. There is no actual hearth in it; among the Mw[illegible] this is represented by three rocks, but for the rest the pot which[illegible] is always without legs is placed on a potsherd or on the skillfully ar[illegible]nged logs of the fire. If at any time there is more than usual t[illegible]be cooked, for instance, after a successful elephant hunt, the dail[illegible] fireplace is too small, and a second one is built behind the house.

313 For cooking -- as every little p[illegible]ngwe girl knows -- three things are necessary: wood, water, and fi[illegible]. There is never any shortage of wood; every day the housewife b[illegible]ngs the necessary logs from the plantation (Fig. 51). Water is likew[illegible]se available in great quantities; 312 it merely has to be taken from the r[illegible]er in calabashes (ndǒk IV) or -- 415 among the Ntum and Okak -- in ear[illegible]enware water flasks (Fig. 92a). Pangwe ém gá (hence the name [illegible]) [illegible]an imitation of the gurgling sound made by the water as it is poi[illegible]d in; hence also a-ǵók "waterfall"). We discussed the fire in the [illegible]evious section.

412 The kitchen utensils of the wom[illegible]n are very simple. The grind- 250 stone (ákǒk) and the little round rub[illegible]ng stone (ngǒk IV) that goes with it are found everywhere. The [illegible]indstone is irregularly flat, scoured smooth by the rubbing done [illegible] it, and it usually lies on the ground on which the woman kneels [illegible] front of the stone she works. Among the Mwai, who are somewha[illegible]more advanced in the art of cooking anyway, the stone is placed [illegible]n four small posts like a table, a fact which considerably "raises" it[illegible] appearance. Groundnuts, [illegible]gon, and so forth are rubbed to a p[illegible]der by rolling the rubbing stone back and forth on the grindstone. The same purpose is served by an almost round wooden plate wh[illegible] has the shape of a stemmed leaf with raised edges (ezip-ndǒk, e[illegible]-ndǒk); it is used for the kernels of the Irvingia barteri Hook. (andǒ'k; fruit, ndǒ'k IV), Figure 93; the grinder used with this [illegible]ate is a hard fruit (alǒ'k), round as a ball.

262 In addition to the spices, the Pangwe use oil as an additive for their food. The oil is obtained from the oil palm Elaeis guineensis L. (alĕn) and the Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (adźăb), but it is extracted so rarely that its use in the kitchen is far secondary to its use for the care of the skin. For this reason I shall discuss the extraction of oil when I come to speak of skin care.

354 The kitchen of the Pangwe woman is located, as we have already seen, in the house under the suspension loft. There is no actual hearth in it; among the Mwai this is represented by three rocks, but for the rest the pot which is always without legs is placed on a potsherd or on the skillfully arranged logs of the fire. If at any time there is more than usual to be cooked, for instance, after a successful elephant hunt, the daily fireplace is too small, and a second one is built behind the house.

313 For cooking -- as every little Pangwe girl knows -- three things are necessary: wood, water, and fire. There is never any shortage of wood; every day the housewife brings the necessary logs from the plantation (Fig. 51). Water is likewise available in great quantities; 312 it merely has to be taken from the river in calabashes (ndŏk IV) or -- 445 among the Ntum and Okak -- in earthenware water flasks (Fig. 92a), Pangwe ĕŭ̃gĕ (hence the name ŭ̃k, an imitation of the gurgling sound made by the water as it is poured in; hence also a-ŭ̃k "waterfall"). We discussed the fire in the previous section.

412 The kitchen utensils of the woman are very simple. The grind- 250 stone (akŭ̃k) and the little round rubbing stone (ngŏk IV) that goes with it are found everywhere. The grindstone is irregularly flat, scoured smooth by the rubbing done on it, and it usually lies on the ground on which the woman kneels in front of the stone she works. Among the Mwai, who are somewhat more advanced in the art of cooking anyway, the stone is placed on four small posts like a table, a fact which considerably "raises" it in appearance. Groundnuts, ngon, and so forth are rubbed to a powder by rolling the rubbing stone back and forth on the grindstone. The same purpose is served by an almost round wooden plate which has the shape of a stemmed leaf with raised edges (eyin-ndŏk, efgĕ-ndŏk); it is used for the kernels of the Irvingia barteri Hook. f. (andŏk; fruit, ndŏk IV), Figure 93; the grinder used with this plate is a hard fruit (alŏk), round as a ball.

325 4. Chisel (zǎ́ne). Figure 188, which is stuck into a slit cardamom stalk and driven in with a hammer in order to burst thin connections, to chisel off superfluous edges, to make grooves, and so forth.

5. File (ewǎ́ɔ), used for smoothing.

6. Tongs (abǎ́s). Figure 189, Drawing 2, made from a cardamom stalk split at the end.

7. Squirter (amǒ́m, amɛ̌́m). Figure 189, Drawing 1, made from a cardamom stalk (1) split at the end, and used -- as among

1. Cardamom (Aframomum) as torch, see page 42, as sacred plant of fire, see Section 11 /Ed., this section of Vol. II is not translated/.

us -- to moisten the coal from time to time.

325 If anything is to be forged, the blast pipe of the bellows is
372 placed in the center of the smithy pit, charcoal is heaped over
313 it -- the charcoal is produced in the way described on page 247 (2) --

2. From the following trees:
Leguminosae Dialium guineense Willd. (ogbɔ́ɔ́-eli); Leguminosae Platysepalum tessmannii Harms (ogbɔ́ɔ́-eli);
Olacaceae Apaandra zenkeri Engl. (ogbɔ́ɔ́-eli);
Ochnaceae Ouratea tessmannii Gilg (ɔ́ɔ́);
Euphorbiaceae Sapium ohiongifolium Muell. Arg. (ɔ́ɔ́);
Ochnaceae Ouratea brachybotrys Gilg (ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́-ɔ́ɔ́, ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́);
Euphorbiaceae Plagiostyles klainei Pierre (ɔ́ɔ́ɔ́);
Guttiferae Garcinia punctata Oliv. (ɔ́ɔ́-eli III).

1: Tessmann--262 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

325
372
313

Euphorbiaceae Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg. (asɔ̃m);
Simarubaceae Irvingia grandifolia Engl. (ngɔ̃n IV);
Sapotaceae Mimusops djave (Lan.) (adɔ̃ɔ̃b);
Leguminosae Distemonanthus benthamianus Baill. (ekɔ̃n, eli'ɔ̃ngɔ̃);
Burseraceae Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl. (aɔ̃ɔ̃');
Burseraceae Pachylobus macrophyllus (Oliv.) (atɔ̃m Fang, andɔ̃ɔ̃m Ntum);
Flacourtiaceae Petenia minor Niedenzu (abiɔ̃).

and on the charcoal, the iron pieces to be forged. Then /238/ the charcoal is set on fire with a red-hot coal thrown into the blast pipe. Thereupon the assistant sets the bellows going (see page 252). If the charcoal catches fire, the smith places the handle (Figure 186, i) into the side arm of the pit, heaps the charcoal (h) over the iron pieces, waits until the iron is red-hot, takes it out with the handle, and forges it on the anvil. Once the iron is ready in its crude form, it is knocked free from the handle with the chisel, seized with the tongs, and subjected to further working.

(c) Brass founding.

325 Brass (ngɔ̃n IV, mvɔ̃n IV) has been coming into the Pangwe region from the coast in the form of tubes and wire for a long time. Because of its softness and its brilliant color, it has almost completely replaced iron insofar as it was used for ornaments. The tubes are not altered; the wire, on the other hand, is worked into neck, arm, and finger rings, into foot covers and leg rings.

The wire is cut into small pieces about three centimeters long and placed in a potsherd or in a clay vessel specially prepared for the purpose (Fig. 190). Then it is placed on the smithy fire and

[8] Mvae Branch: 9°45 to 10°45 and 11°20 to 11°40 long.
[3] 2°15 (at the frontier of the South Cameroons) to 2°55 north lat. and a few islands at 3° north lat.

Nsumu branch: 10°25 to 11°35 long.
2°15 (on the frontier of the South Cameroons) to 2°35 north lat. /77/

Physical and Human Geography

[3] Total area: about 11, 500 square km.
[6] Population and density of each group:
Fang: 12, 583 inhabitants; 2 persons per square km.
Mvae: 5, 287 inhabitants; 5.8 persons per square km.
Nsumu: 16, 236 inhabitants; 9.8 persons per square km.

[3] The whole territory of the Fang is within the great equatorial forest, in the basin of the N'Tem and those of its tributaries that flow to the right of it. /Map 12/

[36] [563] The Fang villages which are to be found farthest west in the direction of the ocean are situated near Bipindi and on the road from Bipindi to Kribi. Some of them alternate with Bulu villages, others are composed of mixed populations consisting, for example, of Fang and Bulu, Fang and Ngumba, or Mvae and Nsumu /Nsum?/. Nor are the villages and walls south of Ebolowa in the great forest inhabited by homogeneous populations. Enclaves from one group are settled with another, and intermingle with each other. The transition from the somewhat educated Bulu to the primitive inhabitants of the great forest occurs imperceptibly. Because of the inhospitable territory which they occupy, the Fang are dispersed in the enormous forest all the way to the ocean and are to be found here and there among the Mvae. They [63] lead the unstable existence of lumbermen in order to force from the land the bare means of subsistence.

The settlements of the Mvae are scattered. Some are located on the periphery of Ambam to the east and north, others are southwest of Ebolowa, and still others are to be found on the lower part of the N'Tem, from a point east of Nyalemam as far as the ocean.

511 N'Gounié and Woleu-N'Tem was a "reservoir of manpower") by
702 upsetting its demographic equilibrium. Consequently, most of the administrative reports stress the poverty and mediocrity of the villages, the political instability and "indiscipline," and the eagerness with which all innovations are greeted in the hope of improving conditions. [84]

Region of the Maritime Ogooué

175 During the second half of the nineteenth century the Fang descended the Ogooué in order to reach the trading centers established on the river, and the counting houses of the coast. They pushed back the Bakèlè, imposed themselves on the Galwa and the Nkomi. Since 1880 the Fang have settled in large numbers along
361 the Ogooué as a result of a penetration which organized convoys on the river, created posts, and made possible the settlement of traders.

361 The Fang are settled in the four districts forming this administrative region, but in that of Ombooué, the extreme point of their
162 advance, they represent less than 5 percent of the population. Ninety-five percent of the 9,300 inhabitants of N'Djolé District are Fang who have taken the place of the ancient Bakélé people. They belong to the Makè, Nzaman, and Bési groups; the first of these was located downstream from N'Djolé before 1865 (1).

1. Captain Curault, op. cit.

They came largely from the Lower Ivindo, but also from the Woleu-N'Tem, where the villagers soon sought to obtain commercial out-
[312] lets on the Ogooué. Outside of a small mine exploitation at N'Djolé, this district is extremely bare. Consequently, the very scattered villages have a miserable appearance, and the male
[449] population has been canvassed (or recruited) by the neighboring lumber works and by the coastal centers.

523 Lambaréné District, which is very important because of its
[361] forest exploitations (and also because it is an old commercial
● 313 center, still has a largely Fang population. These are in opposition to the aboriginal group of the Galwa (less than 2,200 individuals)

erosion and preserve the fertility of the soil. At present it would be a definite exaggeration to speak of an enclosure system, as may be done about the Bamiléké in the western Cameroons. Did such a system ever exist in Pahouin country, and are the humble hedges sometimes to be found encircling villages or plantations traces of it? However that may be, the practice could be very beneficial, and its development is much to be desired.

The raising of animals is now on the decline, especially in villages removed from the main roads. Are sacrifices requiring goats and hens passing into disuse? /31/ Have vehicular traffic and the number of fowls run over prevented the renewal of the leasing out of domestic animals /?/ /cheptel/. These various causes may have been simultaneously at work, but the reason most often given is the development of cacao plantations. Without fences, the raising of goats and the planting of cacao trees are incompatible. To protect their plantations or to avoid endless quarrels, owners of herds have had to limit their undertakings.

Modern agriculture

Cacao is indeed the symbol and the essential component of a modern economy. From this crop and from the agricultural, juridical, and economic practices which it entails, a thousand improvements or seeds of progress appear throughout the society.

It would, however, be unfair not to mention the other economic activities of the Pahouin districts, although their influence and financial return are far behind that of cacao. Timber, though its importance has decreased, played an essential role a few decades ago. African entrepreneurs are rare in this industry where equipment is complicated and expensive. A fairly large tonnage of palmetto is sold when the market is good, although the best soil and climate for palms is not to be found here (1).

1. The Pahouin of the southern Cameroons, the Boulou and Ntoumou particularly, dislike climbing trees and often sell the bunches of dates to Mekaé on the tree. (P. A.)

But cacao remains the master crop. Its cultivation has become a part of the mores and has left its mark on psychological patterns.

A few words should be said about lighting. In the houses, which, as we have seen, are windowless and hence quite dark, the hearth fire /Fig. 43 appears here in the original text/ is at the same time a much needed source of light. As the Pangwe relate in their legends, it was Mode-Sama, one of the first human beings, who fetched fire (ndŭŭn) from God (Sama); according to other versions, the fire was given to him by God, and since Mode's time the fire has not been extinguished. This useful element is carried from one house to another and, when worst comes to worst, from one village to another. The Pangwe does not need to rekindle his fire, since it burns all day in the meeting house where it serves as a protection against cold, moisture, and sand flies, while in the dwellings it is kept going day and night for cooking and heating purposes. When the women go to the plantations, the logs are so carefully arranged (for this action alone, there are four different expressions!) that they continue to glow; or the youngest daughter may be given the task of guarding the vestal altar. In case the fire should actually go out in one house, fire is obtained from a neighboring house, and it is only in exceptional cases that a smaller village has no fire. In such an emergency fire is sent for from the nearest settlement.

Better lighting than the hearth fire is provided by the torch light with which /80/ /Fig. 44 appears here in the original text/ the village square is illuminated at night when, for instance, dances are held. The flickering of the torches causes the strange and wild movements of the dancers to appear even more fantastic than they really are. The torches are composed of dried stalks of the cardamom Afrosmomum albovioleaceum K. Sch. (ndŭŭm: stalk, ndŭŭ IV Fang, ndŭŭme IV Mvum), Plate 21 in Section 11 /Vol. 2/, or finely spliced raffia stalk strips (ebá be), which -- when they are well dried -- burn very brightly but, on the other hand, are rather rapidly consumed.

The finest but an infrequently used source of light at festivities or other events in the village square is the resin lamp (otu = resin). Figure 45, a little tub of bark containing the fragrant resin of the Anacardiacea Canarium schweinfurthii Engl. (1) (ebé Mvum, ebé Fang; resin = otu).

1. According to the communication of Doctor Mildbraed who has likewise collected this tree.

Fifth Part. Pottery. General observations, products, price and manufacture of the pots. Decoration. Manufacture of blast pipes.

Crafts in our sense are nonexistent among the Pangwe. All the manual skills are only practiced on the side and are strictly secondary to the economic activities of agriculture, catching fish, and trapping. The very simple skills are familiar to and practiced by everyone. Beyond that, specialization begins, and among the Pangwe it is developed to the utmost. Indeed, this specialization goes so far that, for example, not even the carrying straps for children -- which only consist of two leather strips sewn together -- can be made by all household heads; furthermore, a person who manufactures eating spoons cannot make any other wood product, not even a stirring spoon. A stool maker knows only how to make stools, a crossbow carver can only make crossbows, one who makes men's carrying baskets (ebǐ'de) can only make men's carrying baskets. Since in one village there are often no more than one or two people who know a craft, the inhabitants of the village have to purchase the objects not manufactured by these craftsmen from all corners of the compass. It may happen that they have to go some distance or even make a journey to obtain a stool, a crossbow, or the like /205/

1. Bark work.

Tree bark is used in many ways in the Pangwe household, either in raw form or made into cloth.

(a) Raw bark.

It is used for the following purposes.

1. To cover the house wall and as a door (1).

1. For house construction use is made of the bark of about 15 trees whose scientific names, insofar as I could

314

determine them, are enumerated here:
Flacourtiaceae Homalium buchholzii Warb. (ovõn-e-sák); Sterculiaceae Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edzõle); Borraginaceae Cordia odorata Gürke (ebẽ Fang, ebãi, Ntum);
Bignoniaceae Markhamia tomentosa K. Sch. (edzĭdzõn);
Rhamnaceae Maesopsis tessmannii Engl. (nkãnã' I);
Bombaceae Ceiba pentandra (L) Gärtn. (dũm IV);
Anonaceae Xylopia aethiopica (Dun.) A. Rich. (ojã́n);
Anonaceae Cleistopholis staudtii Engl. et Diels (avõm, yẽmũ III);
Anonaceae Isoloma spec. (ovõk);
Sterculiaceae Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edzĭfõb, edzĭfõk);
Triplochitonaceae Triplochiton tessmannii (ajũs).

2. Decorative barks.
3. Containers.
4. The coffin or as a lining for the body in the grave.
5. To string the sounding board of the harp (see "Musical Instruments," Section 20 /Ed., this section of Vol. II is not translated/.

314 The required pieces of bark /Fig. 157a appears here in the original text/ are obtained in the following manner. The tree is girdled at the top and bottom, and in between a zigzag line is cut with crisscross blows of the cutlass. Starting with this zigzag line, the bark mantle is easily lifted off and removed (Fig. 157a). The crisscross cuts often accidentally cross in such a way that lozenges are formed. These lozenges subsequently serve as an important ornament, to which I shall return later.

1: Tessmann--215 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

314 For the house walls the bark plates that have been removed
342 are in part used without further ado. That is, they are used either completely raw or after the outermost layer has been peeled off -- the practice of the Jaunde, but the Ntum and Fang do this best with the Xylopia aethiopica (ojɨ̄h). /206/ Otherwise, the Ntum and Fang prefer to dry the bark pieces for five or more days over the fire in the meeting house or in the sun, for otherwise they quickly warp or develop cracks and holes.

Ornamental barks are treated in the same way and dried especially well because, unlike the house walls, they are not held by boards on both sides. To obtain ornamental bark, all the trees

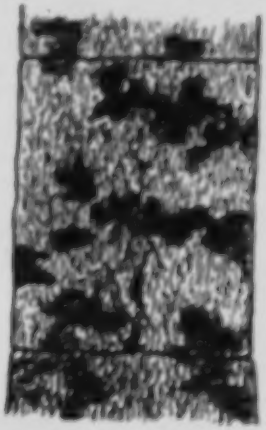


Fig. 157a. Removal of Tree Bark for House Construction.

mentioned in the footnote on page 214 can be used, but Cordia odorata Gürke (ebɔ, Fang) and Triplochiton tessmannii (aɔ̄ɔ́) are especially suitable since various layers can be drawn off from their bark after drying, each one of which can be used by itself. This means a saving of labor which is as valuable to the Negro as it is to us. The bark is made into rectangular plates painted
314 with figures and scenic representations or patterned in colorful
342 rectangular, triangular, or arc-shaped fields. The frames of
531 the rectangular fields consist mostly of raffia leafstalk strips running diagonally; those of the arc-shaped fields consist of

314 strips of rattan palm. Both frames are drawn through holes made
342 with an awl (nsõn), Figure 174, c; they are sewn on with fine
91 palm bands. In the next section I shall speak of the patterns.

314 To obtain bark for houses and decoration a whole number of
445 trees are available, as we have seen. On the other hand, containers
322 -- at least in the southern region -- are made from the bark of only a single tree, a Tiliacea (ekõb). They are carefully worked, and when new they look very nice because of their even yellow-gray color which later, as a result of the smoke in the hut and through age, becomes dark brown to black. They are manufactured in the following manner. The requisite piece of bark is cut off to the desired size, and its outermost layer is scorched over the fire so that it can be scraped off with a knife. It is then bent into the shape of a cylinder so that the edges lie over one another in a narrow strip. The edges are clamped between the halves of a stick that has been split down the middle, the halves being pressed together again at the top and bottom by means of a string. At this point the edges are sewn one on top of the other with two seams. The stitching is done with palm bands, for which holes are made with an awl. The projecting edge is cut off. The lid consists of a hoop similarly constructed from the same bark and a plate made of the wood of the umbrella tree, which is also used for the bottom of the vessel.

445 Bark containers of all sizes are manufactured, from the most
761 charming little boxes to the gigantic barrel. In one respect, however, they are identical, that is, only important things are kept in them, such as the poisoned arrows for the crossbow, skulls of ancestors, and, above all, medicines, in short, all things /207/ connected with death; hence they are called nsõk I (1), since

> 1. In addition, we find nkõb I from which is derived the name of the tree, ekõb.

n-sõ-k -- derived from n-so-ak -- contains the root sõ which designates death in the religious sense. Thus, one puts something associated with death (sõ) in the bark container (action is involved

415 since they first sought a container, e.g., for the skull of the
761 dead, in order to preserve it; hence, the suffix aka). A bark vessel is also, as it were, the grave (n-so-o), for the body of the dead person lies in it in a trough made of bark, which sometimes is closed off with a lid of the same material (passive, since first the place where the body happened to be lying, whether in the house or out in the open, n sɔ́ɔ́, was named; hence, the passive suffix h).

(b) Bark cloth.

287 Bark is made into cloth by pounding it with a beater (Fig.
412 159) made from the end of an elephant's tooth (d), half an ele-
[321] phant's rib (b, c), the horn of a white-backed duikerbok Cephalophus longiceps Gray (mvũ IV), or the wood of the
[124] Leguminosa Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms (andzĩnd) (a). For this purpose, they do not take the wood of a freshly cut trunk, but rather the harder red wood /Fig. 158 appears here in the original text/ of old trees that have been felled a long time ago. The wooden beater has about the same shape as the mallets used by our carpenters and consists of a straight handle with a roller-shaped head which is grooved around half or all of its circumference.

287 The only suitable bark for bark cloth is that of fig trees
824 (etɔ̃b = fig tree [Ficus] and cloth, clothing) (2). /208/
•314

2. The following varieties are used in the Pangwe region:
Ficus globicarpa Warb. var. (embiõ'b);
Ficus cfr. wildemaniana Warb. (adźb-etɔ̃b);
Ficus bubu Warb. (akõ'-etɔ̃b);
Ficus stellulata Warb. (etɔ́tɔ, root tɔ(b) reduplicated);
Ficus preussii Warb. and laurentii Warb. (etɔ̃b, etɔ̃b-o-jõb, ejɛ̃T, akɛ̃m);
Ficus barteri Sprague (asɛ̃mentũmo Fang, asɛ̃mentũme Ntum);

1: Tessmann--218 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

287
E4
•314

and furthermore the varieties the Pangwe call abáá, andím, undím, and ngun.

/Fig. 159 appears here in the original text./ The most widespread varieties are Ficus globicarpa, mellulata, preussii and laurentii, berteri, abáá, and andím. The best cloth -- it is almost pure white -- is provided by Ficus globicarpa Warb. [285] (embóïn) which in former times was planted near the villages. This tree is preferred by the women, who "attach more importance to clothing" than men.

287
314

Whenever possible, smooth young tree trunks, no more than eight to ten centimeters thick, are chosen. A piece is cut out

[#12]

Fig. 158. Beaters for Bark Cloth.
(a) of wood, (b) and (c) of elephant's rib,
(d) from an elephant's tooth.

of the trunk and left lying in the open for half a day or a whole day. Then it is scorched evenly over a small fire, whereupon the outer bark is removed by scraping until the bast layer is completely exposed. Then this layer is cut up lengthwise, loosened by tapping it with the beater, and taken off with the fingers or by means of a stick pushed under it. The bast layer thus taken off is then pounded on some kind of support, for instance, on a tree trunk or a wooden drum. The pounding is

1: Tessmann--219 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

287
314
SR

Fig. 159. Manufacture of Bark Cloth by Beating the Bast Layer of a Ficus Trunk, Uelleburg, Spanish Guinea.

287
314

done along the entire length from left to right, and the beater must not be turned (that is, the direction of the grooves) Figure 159. Then the material is folded, beaten on the opposite side, folded once more and tapped, and finally, folded diagonally, it is worked in the same manner. Through this treatment, the piece has been made about twice as long, while in breadth it has remained unchanged. At this point it is unfolded, drawn through water a few times, and then pressed out. /209/ Materials prepared from the varieties Ficus bubu, andum, and undum need not be washed.

The individual pieces of material manufactured in the manner described are narrow. Hence, several of them must be sewn together along their long edges if one wants to make a loincloth, for instance. For men this requires six pieces; for boys four.

2. Fiber work.

462
463

With few exceptions, fiber work is one of the occupations carried out by men. Indeed, it is one of their most frequent and

325 not be good. This extremely unpleasant prescription, in conjunc-
834 tion with the expensive medicine, stands in the way of a greater distribution of smelting enterprises. Even in places where a hut for iron smelting is already in existence, people prefer to buy iron from others if their own has been a failure several times, for this misfortune is attributed to the failure of the fire as a result of the sexual /226/ impurity of one or a number of the participants. The
[439] importation of European iron in recent years is dealing a death blow to the native industry. The fear of bringing anything impure
326 (and all sexual matters are pre-eminently regarded as such) into
783 contact with pure fire goes so far that a medicine is made by those
841 participants whose wives menstruate during the smelting. This consists of a diamond-shape piece cut out of the bark on the supporting beam of the smelting hut on the side facing the furnace, and it is supposed to represent the female sex organ. The symbol is rubbed with redwood which has been pulverized by the woman concerned and represents her blood flow; it is covered with a leaf of the
[834] Myrianthus arboreus P.B. (mangǎme III Fang) to indicate that one wants everything impure to be hidden and therefore harmless. At the same time the plant is supposed to cause the iron to coalesce to the same degree as the individual fruits are united in a syncarp. In Plate 17 one can see a piece of the leaf on the supporting post (top left), as well as (somewhat lower down) a bark container which holds fragments of ancestors' skulls, a number of antelopes' horns, and a great variety of other medicines that are used later. That the
325 people concerned with the ancestor cult are regarded as particular-
769 ly suited to bring the work to a successful conclusion is apparent from the fact that they alone may tend the fire (see Fig. 183).

The smelting of iron is thus above all under the aegis of the fire cult, but it is also closely linked with the worship of the ancestors who contribute to the success of the enterprise insofar as it lies in their power to do so.

316 Iron crops out in the form of brown iron ore (sɛ̌ IV) (1) and is
325

1. The analysis carried out by Mr. Du Bois at the suggestion of Professor Pufahl (Königliche Bergakademie in Berlin)

•316
325

> showed that the ore "exhibits a not inconsiderable titanium content, some sulphur, traces of phosphoric acid, a small calcium content, as well as a small magnesium content, in addition to the usual components, such as silicic acid, iron oxide, aluminum oxide, water, and small quantities of manganese."

simply collected and carried off. The iron ore pits (ebɛ̄-asɔ̄i from
[423] asɔ̄i, "rock containing iron") have no special significance for the Pangwe; they are common or rather ownerless property that could be claimed by anyone. The smelting of the iron ore, on the other
325 hand, takes place in special smelting huts which are usually the
423 common property of several fellow villagers; they alone may produce the iron from the ironstone which they themselves have extracted from the pits. The other people in the village may not use the smelting hut and must buy iron from them. Because of the difficulties involved in the enterprise, smelting is done only at /227/ widely separated intervals of time. On each occasion the furnace is loaded rapidly as many times in succession as there are hut owners on hand. Each owner, therefore, has a claim to the iron obtained from one loading of the furnace.

325 The smelting hut (ndɛ̄-akɔ̄ɛ̄, ndɛ̄i-akɔ̄ɛ̄), Figures 181 and 182,
343 is a simple lean-to, three to four meters high, whose ridge pole is supported by two beams. A pit (Fig. 182, Drawing 5, c), 78 centimeters deep and 1.86 meters in diameter, is dug into the ground in the center of the hut and the furnace is built over it. Another shaft (Drawing 5, b), about 60 centimeters deep, goes down from the floor of the pit, and it is on the bottom of this shaft that the above-mentioned pot with the smelting medicine is placed (Drawing 5, a). The medicine is covered with rotten leaf sheaths from the plantain so that the skulls will stay nice and cool, and then the entire shaft is filled with leaves.

325 If smelting is contemplated, all the participants, that is, the
372 medicine man, the hut owner or owners, and the hired workers, must, as was mentioned, abstain for two months from sexual

511 N'Gounié and Woleu-N'Tem was a "reservoir of manpower") by
702 upsetting its demographic equilibrium. Consequently, most of the administrative reports stress the poverty and mediocrity of the villages, the political instability and "indiscipline," and the eagerness with which all innovations are greeted in the hope of improving conditions. [84]

Region of the Maritime Ogooué

178 During the second half of the nineteenth century the Fang descended the Ogooué in order to reach the trading centers established on the river, and the counting houses of the coast. They pushed back the Bakèlè, imposed themselves on the Galwa and the Nkomi. Since 1880 the Fang have settled in large numbers along
361 the Ogooué as a result of a penetration which organized convoys on the river, created posts, and made possible the settlement of traders.

361 The Fang are settled in the four districts forming this adminis-
162 trative region, but in that of Ombouué, the extreme point of their advance, they represent less than 5 percent of the population. Ninety-five percent of the 9,300 inhabitants of N'Djolé District are Fang who have taken the place of the ancient Bakélé people. They belong to the Makè, Nzaman, and Bézi groups; the first of these was located downstream from N'Djolé before 1865 (1).

1. Captain Curault, op. cit.

They came largely from the Lower Ivindo, but also from the Woleu-N'Tem, where the villagers soon sought to obtain commercial out-
●[314] lets on the Ogooué. Outside of a small mine exploitation at N'Djolé, this district is extremely bare. Consequently, the very scattered villages have a miserable appearance, and the male
[448] population has been canvassed (or recruited) by the neighboring lumber works and by the coastal centers.

563 Lambaréné District, which is very important because of its
[361] forest exploitations (and also because it is an old commercial
313] center, still has a largely Fang population. These are in opposition to the aboriginal group of the Galwa (less than 2,200 individuals)

415 The eating or serving spoons, with which the woman tames the food during cooking and ladles it out of the pot at mealtime, are kept above the fireplace. /151/ /Fig. 95 appears here in the original text./ Such spoons have various shapes; the simplest is a Sarcophrynium leaf folded in the form of a spoon and used only once. This leaf spoon is called ntɔ́ʼno I. The calabash spoon (egbwɛ́ʼs) represents a higher stage of spoon, as does the snail spoon (ebɔ́ʼna, ekɔ̄kɔ̄ʼe), Figure 101. The calabash spoon is made from a small fruit of the calabash gourd (Fig. 99 and 100) which has been cut in half through the middle; the snail spoon is made from the large Achatina marginata Sw. (kɔ̄ʼ) by cutting out a piece of its shell. These are the women's spoons for everyday use, and as such they correspond to the men's wooden eating spoon (tɔ̄k). Women never use ladling spoons made of wood.

The most important kitchen utensil is the cooking pot (mvɛ́ I, vɪ̄ɔ̄k; plural, bɔ̄k) made of clay (vɪ̄ɔ̄k), of which each woman keeps a number of larger ones (mvɛ́, vɪ̄ɔ̄k) and smaller ones (obɛ́bɛ́) on the pot loft (akɔ̄n e mvɛ́). Through the trading companies, iron pots with three feet (mɛ̄kɔ́ʼne III) have already spread throughout the land. /Fig. 96 appears here in the original text./

416 After these general preliminary /152/ observations, I shall go on to a description of the methods of preparing /Fig. 97 appears here in the original text/ the principal food plants. Those of greatest importance as staple foods will once more be listed here in order: cassava, plantain, groundnut, ngon, maize, taro, yams (1) (Fang region).

1. Smaller repetitions cannot be entirely avoided for the sake of clarity in the individual sections. The reader will be so kind as to excuse them.

1. Cassava

252 Aside from insignificant variations, the cassava root is prepared in five different ways. Two of these are chiefly women's food: pulverized cassava, cooked in a leaf roll bent into the shape of a stirrup

1: Tessmann--144 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

252
824

[445
531]

Fig. 99. Calabash Spoon.

Fig. 100. Ornamental Calabash Spoons.

[521]

Fig. 101. Snail Spoon.

are the leaves of the previously often mentioned Marantacea Sarcophrynium velutinum (Baku) K. Sch. (okiá̄ʼkui, okiá̄) (1). Plate 11, with the species glabrum Laes. /155/ (andō̄ma); in the north (Jaunde), the leaves of the Clinogyne schweinfurthiana K. Sch. (embō̄) are used. Every day the women bring large bundles of such leaves from the field since they use them not only for wrapping cassava and maize loaves, but also as trays and plates.

1. okiá̄ʼ a leaf, a kui̇ʼ to envelop; stem kū. Compare kū[1], the turtle, because of its armor, and a kū-t to knock, to open by knocking, that is, to cause something to uncover itself.

252 The mass of cassava is gently kneaded in these leaves into the shape of a sausage; then a leaf is wrapped around it and folded over at the ends like a parcel; finally, there is tied around it a string made from the stalks of the same plant which supplied the leaf cover (the stalks of the plant are called ndōn IV, ndōnan IV). These rolls are boiled with some water for an hour in a covered pot, and they are then put to one side to cool off. Only in rare cases are they eaten warm immediately after being cooked (Fig. 102). They keep for three days this way. Usually they are 35 centimeters long, somewhat longer in the Jaunde region, and five centimeters thick; they are in all somewhat larger in the Bulu region.

415 761 since they first sought a container, e.g., for the skull of the dead, in order to preserve it; hence, the suffix aka). A bark vessel is also, as it were, the grave (ŋ-ŋo-ŋ), for the body of the dead person lies in it in a trough made of bark, which sometimes is closed off with a lid of the same material (passive, since first the place where the body happened to be lying, whether in the house or out in the open, ŋ ŋɔ́, was named; hence, the passive suffix ŋ).

(b) Bark cloth.

287 412 [124] Bark is made into cloth by pounding it with a beater (Fig. 159) made from the end of an elephant's tooth (d), half an elephant's rib (b, c), the horn of a white-backed duikerbok Cephalophus longiceps Gray (mvû IV), or the wood of the Leguminosa Euxypetalum tessmannii Harms (andzɔ̃ɔ̃d) (a). For this purpose, they do not take the wood of a freshly cut trunk, but rather the harder red wood /Fig. 158 appears here in the original text/ of old trees that have been felled a long time ago. The wooden beater has about the same shape as the mallets used by our carpenters and consists of a straight handle with a roller-shaped head which is grooved around half or all of its circumference.

287 824 314 The only suitable bark for bark cloth is that of fig trees (etɔ̃b = fig tree [Ficus] and cloth, clothing) (2). /208/

2. The following varieties are used in the Pangwe region:
Ficus globocarpa Warb. var. (embɔ̃ɔ̃b);
Ficus cfr. wildemaniana Warb. (adɛ̃ɛ̃b-etɔ̃b);
Ficus bubu Warb. (akɔ̃-etɔ̃b);
Ficus stellulata Warb. (etɔ̃ɔ̃, root to(b) reduplicated);
Ficus preussii Warb. and laurentii Warb. (etɔ̃b, etɔ̃b-o-ɔ̃b, eɛ̃ɛ̃T, akɛ̃m);
Ficus barteri Sprague (asɛ̃mentɛ̃mo Fang, asɛ̃mentɛ̃ɛ̃me Ntum);

314 strips of rattan palm. Both frames are drawn through holes made
342 with an awl (nsdis), Figure 174, c; they are sewn on with fine
91 palm bands. In the next section I shall speak of the patterns.

To obtain bark for houses and decoration a whole number of
314 trees are available, as we have seen. On the other hand, containers
445 -- at least in the southern region -- are made from the bark of
322 only a single tree, a Tiliacea (ekdn). They are carefully worked, and when new they look very nice because of their even yellow-gray color which later, as a result of the smoke in the hut and through age, becomes dark brown to black. They are manufactured in the following manner. The requisite piece of bark is cut off to the desired size, and its outermost layer is scorched over the fire so that it can be scraped off with a knife. It is then bent into the shape of a cylinder so that the edges lie over one another in a narrow strip. The edges are clamped between the halves of a stick that has been split down the middle, the halves being pressed together again at the top and bottom by means of a string. At this point the edges are sewn one on top of the other with two seams. The stitching is done with palm bands, for which holes are made with an awl. The projecting edge is cut off. The lid consists of a hoop similarly constructed from the same bark and a plate made of the wood of the umbrella tree,, which is also used for the bottom of the vessel.

445 Bark containers of all sizes are manufactured, from the most
761 charming little boxes to the gigantic barrel. In one respect, however, they are identical, that is, only important things are kept in them, such as the poisoned arrows for the crossbow, skulls of ancestors, and, above all, medicines, in short, all things /207/ connected with death; hence they are called nsk I (1). since

> 1. In addition, we find nsk I from which is derived the name of the tree, ekdn.

n-sd-k -- derived from n-so-ak -- contains the root sd which designates death in the religious sense. Thus, one puts something associated with death (sd) in the bark container (action is involved

285 415 strands are placed like hooks around its outside edge, and they are fastened to it with Triumfetta bast or a string.

Depending on their size, the basketwork plates have various names. The small ones are called fá III Fang (a, b), the somewhat larger ones ovok, the ordinary large ones ... ... real, true basketwork plates (c).

Concerning their use, see page 137.

(8) Belts (bab IV).

283 These are braided from a number of superimposed strips of Ancistrophyllum (nkîne) interwoven with bush rope Oncocalamus (see "Dress and Ornaments," page 166).

3. Woodworking.

322 517 532 Despite the considerable importance accorded to it in the Pangwe household, wood carving has remained on a comparatively low level of development and bears no comparison with the achievements of other primitive peoples, such as the Melanesians. Its forms display a certain sober utilitarianism, a stiffness and uniformity from which all movement and playfulness are excluded. Only rarely does it rise to the level of representational sculpture. Representations of whole human beings are to be found primarily in the ancestral figures, rarely on chiefs' sticks; heads, moreover, are to be seen only on the posts of meeting houses (seen only in one case), on bench posts in the meeting house, in the memory game, and in the masks used for the moon cult (Sso).

322 The number of objects made of wood is very large, as will be apparent from the list that follows:

1. Digging sticks
2. Shovels
3. Hoe and axe handles
4. Posts for the meeting house
5. Bench posts for the meeting house

1: Tessmann--236 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

322

6. House doors
7. Dugouts
8. Oar blade
9. Troughs
10. Pestles
11. Rubbing board for Irvingia kernels
12. Stirring spoons
13. Eating spoons
14. Wooden plates
15. Pots for oil
16. Flasks for powder
17. Bowls for red wood
18. Chiefs' sticks
19. Walking sticks
20. Rifle stands
21. Bark tapper /220/
22. Pipes
23. Cutlass sheaths (antiquated)
24. Bellows
25. Dog bells
26. Stools
27. Crossbows
28. Spear handles
29. Shields
30. Talking drums
31. Hide drums
32. Harps
33. Wooden musical pipes
34. Wooden flutes
35. Xylophone keys
36. Whizzers
37. Jaunde playing counters
38. Wooden Phalli
39. Stilts
40. Memory games
41. Arm rings
42. Ancestral figures
43. Masks for the moon cult

To describe in detail the manner in which all these objects are manufactured is impossible within the scope of this account. Hence, as examples, I shall merely touch on the making of cutlass sheaths, stools, and stirring and eating spoons.

322 442 The now obsolete cutlass sheaths -- called such by the natives; in reality, they do not encase the cutter but only form a pouch in which it is carried -- are rectangular in shape, with concave longitudinal sides. They are made in the following manner. A longish board about one centimeter thick is cut from the wood of the umbrella tree; this board is cut up into two equal rectangles. With a red-hot cutlass the narrow sides are made smooth and the long sides are rounded inward and also made smooth. On one surface the boards are hollowed out in the form of a rectangle, and at the corners holes are drilled through them with a red-hot gun rod. Then the two boards are placed one on top of the other, with the hollowed surfaces [531] facing each other, and tied together with bush rope. The outer surfaces frequently are decorated with simple patterns burned into them. Finally, the sheath is provided with a carrying strap of animal hide.

322 [352] The stool is a valuable piece of household furniture, a luxury object, for which the natives are willing to spend some money. For this reason its manufacture is an important branch of wood [554] carving, and the makers of well-finished, artistically decorated stools are famous persons, much in demand. If they wanted to, they could make a considerable amount of money with their art, and they also could elevate the art itself, but with their congenital laziness, a special inducement is always required before they will take the trouble to start a new project. For example, a guest in the house of such an artist sees a beautifully carved stool there and says: "Oh, what a beautiful stool; you could make me one like that." Perhaps others have uttered the same wish, and so the artist finally pulls himself together, goes into the jungle, and cuts down [824] a trunk of the Apocynacea Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekūk), the only tree suitable for the manufacture of stools. He must choose a trunk which -- after the bark has been pulled off -- has the same diameter as the proposed stool /221/ (Fig. 172). He takes the trunk with him to the village and cuts it into about five to seven disks as thick as the stool is intended to be tall. Then with his cutlass he draws a line around approximately the middle, and this line indicates the lower edge of the seat. From there he cuts three radial grooves downward, deepens them with an adz (ngbwāk IV), Figure 173, and in this way forms three legs. Then the seat is made smooth and held over the fire until it becomes nice and brown. The edge is rubbed clean with the rough leaves of the Ficus [824] exasperata Vahl (ekōkō' Fang, akō Ntum) (1). The edge and the

1. Root kō, "to rub"; compare ə-kō-k, "grindstone."

[386 legs are colored with redwood and dried for an hour in the sun; 531] finally they are decorated with carved patterns, an artistic addition which is not everywhere uniformly successful. /Fig. 172 appears here in the original text./

322 Ordinarily a stool maker finishes from two to three pieces in one 476 day. The price is so low (two spears, the equivalent of 14 pfennigs, 435 apiece) that it is difficult to conceive how the man can work for it.

322
352
531

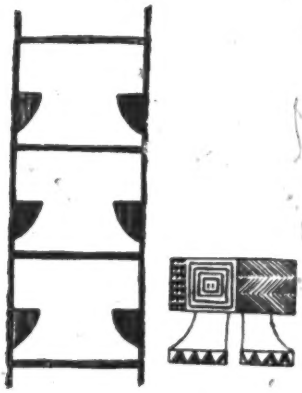


Fig. 172. Stages in Making a Stool.

322 The explanation lies in a kind of principle of reciprocity, a princi-
476 ple clearly stated in the educational precepts to be discussed in a
435 later section /Ed., Vol II/, that is, the seller counts upon the fact that later he will need his client who is in turn a specialist in the manufacture of some kind of article (basketwork plates, for instance), and he then expects to be treated in the same lenient manner. As a result of the excessive division of labor, everyone
[463] is dependent upon everyone else, and this dependence keeps the prices down. Wherever this dependence is absent, the prices go up. Europeans, for instance, with whom such a silent agreement does not exist, pay considerably more, ten or twenty times more, and at the same time they have to put up with inferior work as well.

322 Moreover, the sale of objects manufactured for household use
434 is not regarded as an enterprise for profit. When I asked a stool
554 maker whom I had befriended what his business brought in, he first

[412]

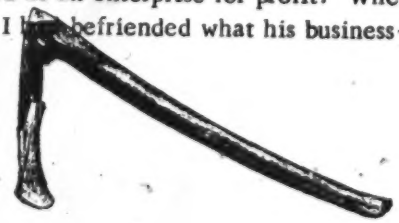


Fig. 173. Adz.

322 had to ponder for a long time and finally said that every month he
434 made about ten stools for two spears (14 pfennigs) apiece, and that
554 he therefore earned 20 spears (1.40 marks); with this income, he said, he had /Fig. 173 appears here in the original text/ bought brass ornaments for himself, and the rest he had put aside as marriage money, but that did not bother him since he considered his art a matter of honor. /222/

322 The manufacture of stirring spoons (mbŏb) is, like their form,
415 fairly simple. From a tree trunk (1) a flat piece of wood is cut out

[824]

1. The following three trees are used: Alchornea caloneura Pax (ndămabā III); Hasskarlia didymostemon Baill. (efŭō'le Ntum, dzĭ III, nyō'le III); and Kickxia elastica Preuss (emyila).

and crudely cut to shape with a bush knife. Then the spoon is hollowed out in the following manner. A chisel (ojĕn), Figure 174, and a simple heavy piece of wood for a hammer are used to make a transverse groove between bowl and handle, and the wood is removed piece by piece by blows aimed at it. The more delicate work is done by shaving with a chisel or knife. The finished spoon is usually rubbed with redwood. The people themselves do not know why this is done. In answer to my question, my friend Nto-Ndanga offered the following remark by way of an answer: "Look here, I am a Black myself, but the Blacks have no sense. I have long asked myself why the stirring spoons are rubbed with redwood because that way dirt (that is, the redwood) gets into the food!" The various forms of the stirring spoon are shown in Figure 98.

Somewhat more effort is required to make the ladling spoons (tōk), Figure 175. They are made primarily from the wood of the
[824] Carpodinus tessmannii Gilg (ebă'm), more rarely from the Kickxia elastica Preuss (emvila). A block of wood in the shape of a cylinder halved lengthwise is taken from the timber and cut into the shape of the spoon by means of careful, layer by layer removal of the wood
[442] (see Fig. 176), first with the cutlass (a), then with the adz (b). The bowl is then further hollowed out with the spoon scraper (fō'nege-tōk). Figure 177.

322 415 Figure 177. Finally, the bowl and the handle are rubbed smooth with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata.

The powder flasks (ndǒk e pfidi) are very laboriously manufactured from the wood of the Alstonia congensis (ekūk) and the [824] Kickxia elastica, Figure 178. First a massive flask is shaped and nicely smoothed on the outside; this shape is then split into two halves by a longitudinal cut. Each half is hollowed out on the inside with the adz, and the neck is cut off at the desired length. Finally, both halves are fitted together again and are held together by means of an animal's skin, usually of the monitor lizard, sewn over it.

Plates from the wood of the Alstonia congensis or Ceiba pentandra are also very difficult to make because even during the work the edges tend to split rather easily. When they do, the plates are nevertheless finished and repaired afterwards with bush rope.

322 534 824 Dog bells are made from Alstonia congensis, Alchornea caloneura, and Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub (myē' IV Ntum); bellows are manufactured from the Alstonia congensis and Musanga smithii R. Br. (asǒ'n); dugouts from Musanga, Ceiba pentandra (dum), and the Combretacea /223/ /Fig. 174 appears here in the original text/ Terminalia superba Engl. et Diels (akǒ'm); talking drums from Cordia odorata Gürke (ebǎi) and Rinorea dentata; hide drums from Alstonia, Cordia, Rinorea, and Musanga.

322 411 [824] Spear handles are made from the easily split stems of an Anonacea (?), otunga, and of a Flacourtiacea, osǎ bē ǐ' (1). The

1. sǎ = to split, bē ǐ' = fingernails; tree which can be split with the fingernails.

wood is split /Fig. 175 appears here in the original text/ into as many parts as one wants to make spear handles. First the edges created by the splitting are roughly taken off with the cutlass, and then each individual part is worked with the drawknife until a round stick the thickness of the spear handle remains. The drawknife (awǒn), Figures 179 and 180, consists of a piece of wood (branch fork) bent in the form of a hook, whose sides have a short slit cut

322
412

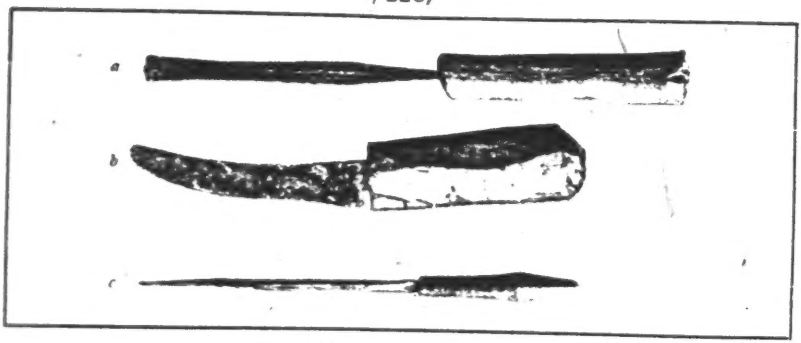


Fig. 174.
(a) Chisel, (b) Saw, and (c) Awl.

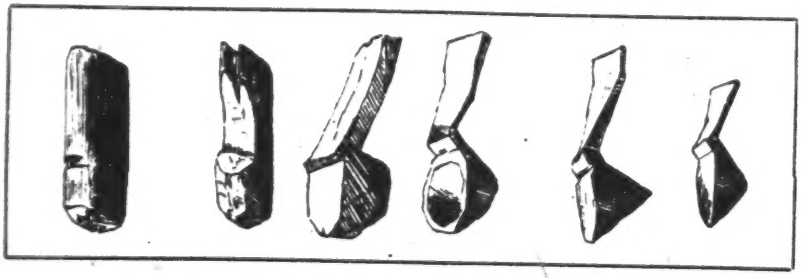


Fig. 175. Making a Ladling Spoon.

Fig. 176. Stages in Making a Ladling Spoon.
Longitudinal Section.

322
412
531

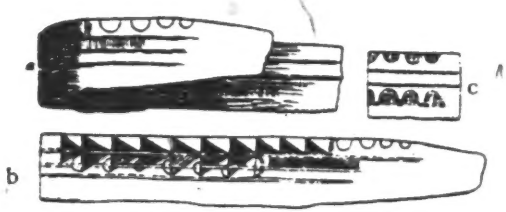


Fig. 177. Spoon Scrapers.
(a) Complete; (b) pattern of the outer side unrolled; (c) part of the pattern of the inner side.

322
415

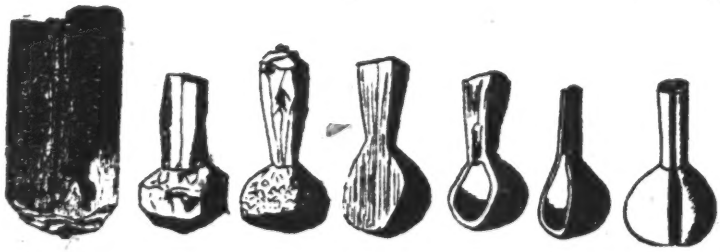


Fig. 178. Making a Powder Flask from Wood.

322
411

out of them in the middle. Into these slits is stuck either an ordinary knife (see Fig. 179) or -- and this is most frequently the case -- a special blade /Fig. 176 appears here in the original text/ with two cutting edges of which one is like that of a knife and the other like that of a saw (Fig. 180). This very practical combination permits /224/ the craftsman to dig the longitudinal furrows in the shaft of the spear with the same tool. The blade is simply /Fig. 177 appears here in the original text/ taken out and reversed, that is, it is set in again with the toothed edge downward.

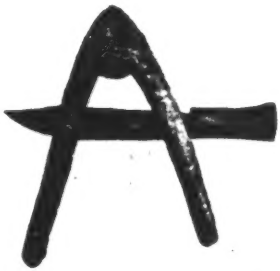
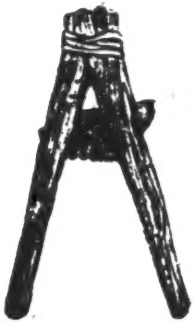


Fig. 179. Drawknife for Spear Handles.



322
413

Fig. 180. Drawknife (also Scraper) for Spear Handles.

five hens, and five pieces of brass wire, which altogether corresponds approximately to a value of 120 marks in our money. The medicine is kept in a small wooden or clay pot lined with the soft leaves of the Triumfetta (okm̄) or in a little basket. It consists of a bundle of leaves with the brain matter of an ancestor, a few pieces of skull from the ancestors placed around it, and pieces of the shaved bark of the Leguminosa Macrolobium straussianum Harms (abǒ'm, bǒme IV) or of the fern Marattia fraxinea Sm. (ezizǒ'n), and poison (nsǔ). The skull and the brain as the seat of knowledge are supposed to make the smelting process successful; the Macrolobium is supposed to cause the lump iron to lie as firmly and solidly in the smelting pit (ekiai a bǒme o si = the iron is firm [as though stamped down] under there) as this tree stands without buttress roots (hence the name abǒ'm from a bǒm, "to stamp in firmly, to pound in, and to be firmly stamped in"); the fern is supposed to cause the iron to agglomerate as beautifully as the young fern leaves.

325
789
[435]
[824]
[826]

Unfortunately, it is impossible to make iron with this medicine alone. For better or for worse, actual work will have to be done, and for this workers are needed. These are not so difficult to obtain since they get a share of the profit, but the abstinence rules which we have already mentioned, especially those of a sexual nature, deter many of them. These rules enjoin abstinence for two months before and during the period of work, and if they are violated, the iron will

325
834

524
322
857
526

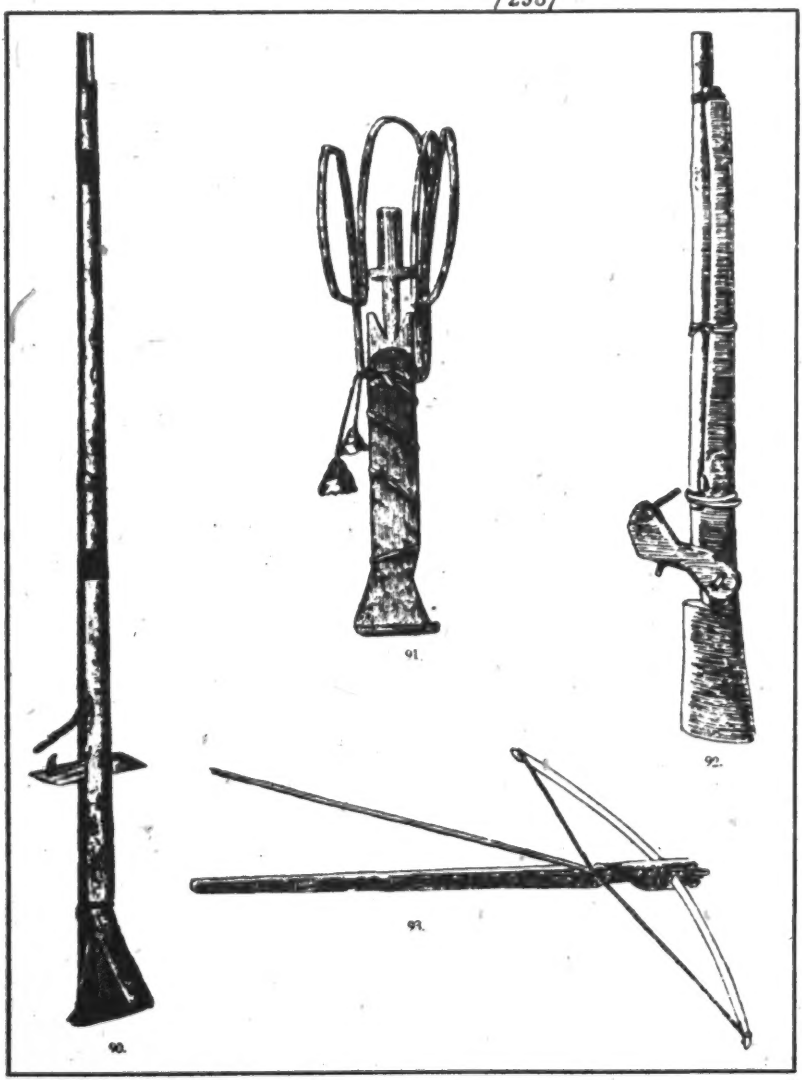


Fig. 90. Child's War Rifle of Plantain Leafstalk.
Fig. 91. Child's Sword of Raffia Pith, in a Bark Sheath.
Fig. 92. Child's Hunting Rifle of Wood.
Fig. 93. Child's Crossbow (Drawn).

857
524
526
322
[224]

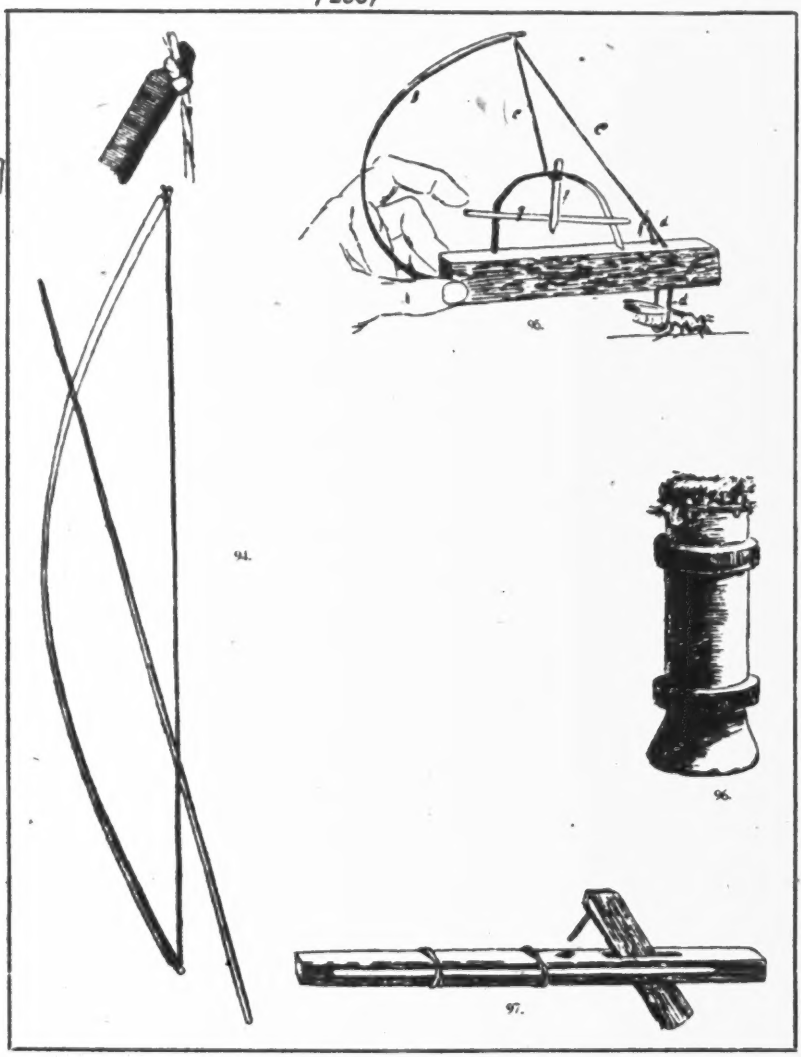


Fig. 94. Bow and Arrow (Toy).
Fig. 95. Draw Trap for Horseflies (Toy).
Fig. 96. Hide Drum (Toy).
Fig. 97. Device of Raffia Pith to Detonate Powder (Toy).

524 fourth stone. These two, three, or four stones then count as prisoners. Since, therefore, only "houses" with a few stones or, as the Negro says, "people," fall victim to the enemy, we shall call such a compartment a weak compartment while every other compartment, that is, a compartment in which there is no stone or in which there are four or more stones, shall be called a strong compartment.

Now a player, if his last stone strikes a weak compartment, may plunder not only this but also all immediately preceding weak compartments. An example will clarify this. Suppose on B's side there are -- something which he should, of course, have prevented -- one stone in compartment I, four in compartment II,

[322]

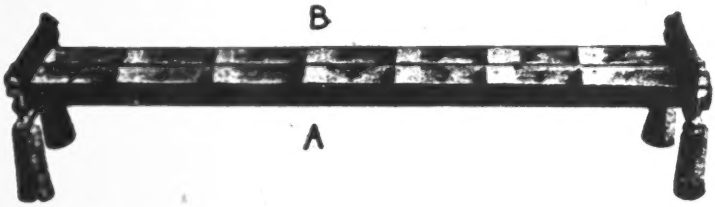


Fig. 115. Stone Game, made of Raffia Stalks and Wooden Legs, Jaunde. One-sixth actual size.

two in compartment III, three in compartment IV, two in compartment V, nine in compartment VI, and five in compartment VII; further, suppose A has seven stones in compartment 5. In that case A will place these stones in compartments 6, 7, I, II, III, IV, and V, and he will take prisoner the two stones lying in compartment V, as well as his own stone that he has added to them; in addition, he will take prisoner the three lying in compartment IV with his striking stone, and the two lying in compartment III with his striking stone, so that altogether he will have ten prisoners.

[322]

Fig. 116. Stone Game, made of Wood, Southern Pangwe Region. One-fifth actual size.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

412 the natural curve of the branches. Stones are employed for rolling food, especially for crushing and rolling the *ngon* seed. Shells of large land mollusca are cut in half and used for spoons, small gourds being used for the same purpose. Large gourds are used for water dippers and bottles. Very many uses are found for the forest 824 gourds, not the least ingenious being the use of a hollow stemmed gourd for [757] administering a rectal injection. Gourds are used for the sounding boards of the musical instrument called *mvuk*. The people find many uses for bamboo. It is used in construction of houses, fish baskets and traps are made from it, fences to protect paths during tribal wars are made of sharp pointed bamboo poles; and small sharpened pieces of bamboo with poisoned tips are buried in the forest paths, point upward, to wound and poison the naked feet of an unsuspecting enemy. The 825 teeth and claws of leopards and bush cats, elephant tail, antelope feet, horns and forest beans are used in their natural form as personal ornaments. Leopard teeth are always considered valuable as *biang* (fetish) and are much sought after; they are frequently imitated in ivory. I have not seen the defences of animals employed as artificial defences, except as fetish. Long tough forest thorns are often used as awls [412] and needles for piercing and sewing skins. I once saw an *ngangan* (witch doctor) 763 perform a post-mortem examination on a woman. After he had discovered the cause 787 of death, which he announced to the expectant crowd as being due to "six witches eating her liver," he first pierced the abdominal walls with a long hard thorn, and then sewed up the body with a bamboo needle threaded with pineapple fibre. I have seen only one cave dwelling; it was used by an isolated sufferer of the dread 342 disease called by the natives *mabata* (a kind of sloughing phagedina). When 734 proper reed material for making thatch is scarce, large forest leaves are used, but they make very poor roofs, especially during the tornado season.

Conservatism.—The Fang are not quick to adopt reforms or to introduce new 185 methods; they are more or less the slaves of custom, and have a superstitious dread 186 of departing from ancestral habits. This refers to all the proceedings of life. Fang living in towns near Gaboon are almost daily coming in contact with white settlers, and to some extent, at least, appear to be changing their mode of living. It never appeared to me that a Fang had the same longing to be "just like a white man" as possesses the young Mpôngwe and Benga men.

IX.—*Ornamentation.*

The patterns mostly seen in Fang ornamentation consist of bands, incised 531 lines, elliptical punch marks, herring bone, lozenge pattern and cross lines. The natives do not possess a natural aptitude for drawing, and seldom attempt it. The few drawings I have seen on the bark walls of houses, supposed to represent men and women, were very crude and exaggerated in proportion. They have no idea whatever of perspective. They seem to interpret foreign drawings very readily. [322] The Fang show considerable skill in plain wood carving, using an ordinary native knife. I have noticed that their carving improves very considerably when an imported pocket knife is the instrument employed.

325 entirely covered with charcoal and melted with the help of the bellows. As soon as the blue flames appear, the smith removes the coals from the top of the pot, seizes the latter with his tongs, and pours the liquid metal into molds. These are halved raffia leafstalks in whose pith a suitable negative form is cut (Fig. 191). Then he cleans out the coal fragments that might have fallen into it and pours on water. After it has cooled, the brass is taken out of the mold and, heated, it is again worked, that is to say, the coarser roughness is beaten down with the large forging iron. In the case of the engraved neck rings (see Fig. 14), the two ends are now /239/ /Fig. 187 appears here in the original text/ beaten out with the tapper and rolled with light blows over the surface which is then carefully smoothed with the tapper. This is a rather laborious job, since the rod must time and time again be placed in the fire for a time. Now the ring is bent by skillfully hammering the inner surface on the edge of the anvil, and it is hammered completely together on the large forging iron placed over two props. Finally it is filed smooth, whereby the brilliant yellow brass color appears in place of the hitherto black color; then various patterns are engraved on it with the help of three different strong chisels (Fig. 192) and other tools (Fig. 193).

5. Pottery.

323 [462] Unlike the crafts mentioned so far, pottery is in the hands of the women. Only tobacco pipes and blast pipes are made by men. Pottery is not very highly developed; its forms are poor and decoration is rare. /Fig. 188 appears here in the original text./ The main products of pottery are assembled in Figure 194:

1. Water flasks (eṣũgǎ);
2. Large and small cooking pots (mvé IV and obébé);
3. Smithy funnels (ẓǒ̀ IV);

in addition, the following are also made,

4. Tobacco pipes, and
5. Brass smelting pots.

This is the extent of the use of clay objects. /Fig. 189 appears here in the original text./ /240/

323 The women, of whom about a fourth (among the Jaunde about a half) understands the art of pottery, carry on their craft mostly as housework. They make the flasks and pots for their own household or for those of acquaintances and relatives who from indolence or lack of skill have not taken up pottery. In addition, they sell their products to other women who cannot or do not want to make pottery. The prices for pots fluctuate, de-
323 435 pending on the size, between two and four spears (14-28 pfennigs), among the Jaunde between five and thirty Jaunde spears (5 to 30 pfennigs); /Fig. 190 appears here in the original text/ very large Jaunde pots, unknown among the Fang, cost 40 Jaunde spears (= 40 pfennigs). The clay bottles which are limited to the Fang and are scarcely found north of the Campo cost ten spears (= 70 pfennigs). By and large, the Jaunde women are better and more industrious potters; they produce more, which, to be sure, causes the price to go down, and they make more attractive pots than the
[531] Ntum and Fang women who decorate perhaps only a third to a fourth of all their cooking pots. Water bottles are decorated only in exceptional cases. /Fig. 191 appears here in the original text./

323 The manufacture of pots proceeds as follows. White pottery clay (ekǒn, vū̃ǒk; plural lǒ́k), either dry or mixed with water if necessary, is pounded for awhile on a piece of bark with a pestle (ntum e vū̃ǒk). Then the potter rolls the clay into sausages and places two or three of them together in her hand in snake-like coils. These form the bottom of the future pot. Then she places the whole thing /Fig. 192 appears here in the original text/ in a plate, either of basketwork or wood. Now she builds up the wall of the pot by joining the remaining sausages in a spiral fashion as she turns the plate which serves as a potter's wheel. She makes it smooth with a moist raffia stick, indents it by applying light pressure just below the edge, and smooths the indentation itself (mbě I) with a fine leaf of grass, rubs it off with a wet leaf, and takes it off with the little stick. The finished pots have to dry for five days on the pottery loft (akǎn e mvě) and are then fired. The firing is done in the village square. /241/ /Fig. 193 appears here in the original text./ Under and around the pot firewood or twigs are simply heaped up and set on fire.

325

Fig. 193. Brass Smith Decorating a Brass Neck Ring, Akonangi, South Cameroons.

While the pots are drying, the decorations are put on. The 323
pots are slightly moistened with water, and then the pattern is scratched on with a pointed raffia leafstalk splinter. A certain pattern, obügeli, is obtained by rolling a carefully braided four- [531]
edged stamp up and down (Fig. 195).

The clay blast pipe of the bellows is manufactured by the [462]
men in the following manner. The bark of a raffia leafstalk is removed in strips down to just short of one end; the strips are then tied together again in their natural position at the other end, so it looks as though the bark had burst apart in the middle into so many strips. Then the leafstalk is stuck vertically into the ground on the end from which the strips had been completely removed and tied together again. The clay is placed around the stick in the form of a funnel, the upper edge being bent outward, and so the whole thing is left to dry in the sun for three days. Then the strings are untied, the bark strips are completely removed, being pulled off one by one, and the blast pipe is taken down to dry for a little while longer in the house. The blast pipes are never decorated; only once when I /242/ /Fig. 194 appears here in the original text/ witnessed the making of a blast pipe in Bebai, the

1: Tessmann--268 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

323
415

Fig. 194. Potter at Work. Left, the potter's products. Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

323 artistically inclined creator could not refrain from providing his handiwork with a few incised patterns, perhaps in my honor because he assumed that I could not possibly have come on account of so "simple" a matter, but must be expecting special artistic achievements from him, so he now had to add something extra.

[531]

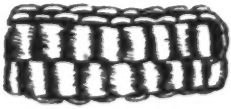


Fig. 195. Stamp for a Pattern on Pottery.

531
323

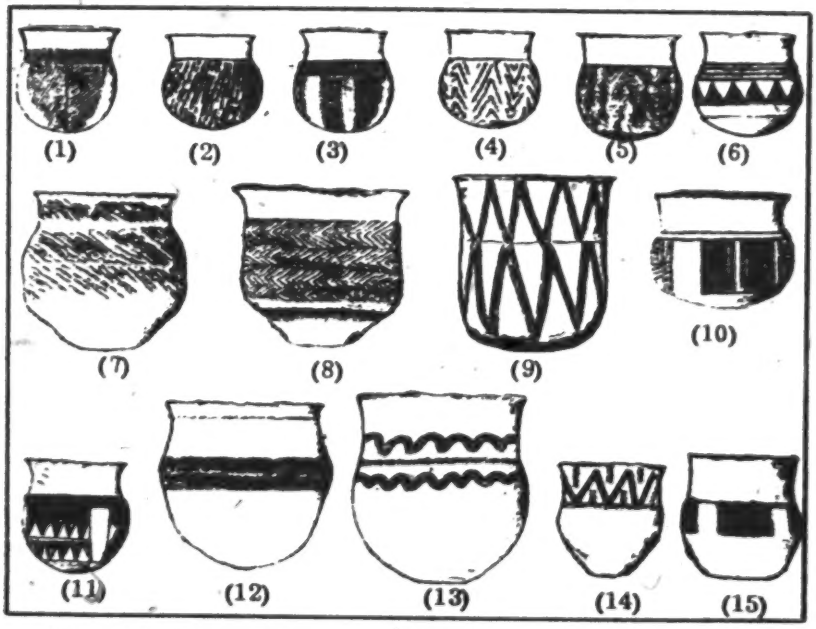


Fig. 224. Pottery Patterns of the Ntum, Fang, and Mwai.

531 entire surface; in the /Fig. 22b appears here in the original text/
411 /271/ /Fig. 223 appears here in the original text/ /272/ /Fig. 224 appears here in the original text/ second, a longish segment remains free (Drawings 9 and 12), by virtue of the fact that the narrow blood groove (which is usually present) is widened towards one side.

The patterns themselves are almost exclusively basic patterns in all kinds of combinations.

A selection of patterns on battle ax blades is illustrated in Figure 223, Drawings 13-17.

As a note we must mention the decoration of the brass sheaths for swords and two-edged knives. The lines of these decorations are composed of a great number of little bosses punched out to the outside with a piece of iron (see Fig. 141). Almost always the patterning consists of half-patterns (rectangles divided by a diagonal) strung together in a series, which is familiar to us from the decorative scars.

531 A conception of the development of the pottery patterns is conveyed by Figure 224.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

X.—*Food. Cooking.*

Food used by the Fang is precisely similar to that of all other tribes inhabiting the great zone of palms and bananas as described by Humboldt. Added to these ordinary foods of the Fang is their liking for human flesh, indulged in to this day in spite of the law, which is often powerless to reach and punish the offenders. Cassava, *mbôe*, plantains, *bikon*, crushed gourd seeds, *ngongon*, corn; *mekobe*, a most nutritive tuber, sweet potatoes, yams, palm oil, bananas, snails and various mollusca. Fish is wrapped in plantain leaves and boiled, or set on hot ashes and fire piled on top of the *bundle* of food. All kinds of meat is eaten, from deer down to the smallest bush rat; snakes are considered very good meat. No portion is wasted, every morsel of skin and intestines are eaten. Goats and chickens are raised for food and trade. Corn or other cereals are not used for the purpose of making bread. Milk is not used. Preparations of milk such as butter and cheese are not made. There is a marked preference for meats. When an animal is slaughtered, women bring wooden bowls to collect the blood in. The blood is often cooked mixed with palm oil. A Fang will eat almost any kind of known food and at any time, providing it is not his *Eki* or taboo, given him during infancy, prohibiting the eating of a certain kind of food, unless partaken of under certain conditions. Except for the *Eki* men, women and children partake of the same food. The Fang are improvident. When on long journeys they often chew a piece of Kola nut, but more commonly chew pieces of a certain root; it has several different names. Palm oil is extensively used in cooking. Salt (*nku*) is much enjoyed and sought after in trade. Sugar is only used in the form of sugar cane and eaten uncooked. The chiefs, or rather headmen, have no special form of food. Eating earth is not indulged in. So far as I am aware, all fish, flesh and fowl is cooked before being eaten. Flesh is often extremely high, at times positively bad, before it is eaten, but not one morsel is ever wasted.

Fish, fowl, bush rats, snakes and all kinds of meats are smoked or sun-dried; food prepared thus is carried on journeys in the bush wrapped in leaves and eaten with *mboa* (cassava) without any further preparation. Permanent ovens for baking are not in use. Meat is roasted on small spits over the log fire or wrapped up in leaves and hot ashes banked around and on top of it. Native vegetables are frequently cooked with meats, plantains are usually boiled separately or roasted close to the fire. Most cooking utensils used by the Fang near the coast are iron or brass pots, imported by white traders; but farther inland the native pots are much more in vogue. These native pots are made of grey clay and sun-dried; they become harder and stronger by use, and vary in size and capacity from a pint to about three gallons.

Cooking vessels are not kept very clean, being simply rinsed out with a little water; but if the vessel is a brass trade pot or kettle, it is usually taken to the river or a near stream, and scoured bright; but I fear the chief reason for doing

344
352

[531]

Drawing 1 Drawing 2

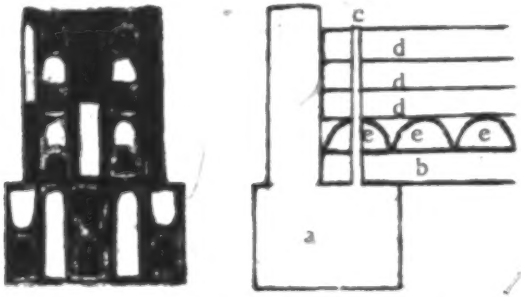


Fig. 29. Painted Socle of a Bench in a Meeting House, Fang Region.
Drawing 1, front view;
Drawing 2, side view.

353
344
325

In many meeting houses, furthermore, one sees /68/ a forge (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 b) and the tools used by a smith, namely, a bellows suspended from the roof (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 c) and a smith's stone (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 e) which at the same time is used as a whetstone and also as a fan for the fire (evuñ e nduan), Figure 32. Finally we must also mention the famous tobacco pipe made from the stem of a banana leaf, which is placed across two hooks in the wall.

[276]

344
356

It goes without saying that in addition to the above-mentioned furnishings there are all kinds of rubbish lying around in the house, such as half-finished baskets, fishing nets, tools, leftover food, and so forth, scarcely designed to give the whole a more attractive appearance. /Fig. 31 appears here in the original text./

[352
531]

Fig. 30. Rifle Rack, Engugumo, Fang.

344
353
531

The meeting houses are very seldom embellished with decorative bark, either on the outside (Fig. 33) or on the inside. More frequently, however, we find the bark walls, especially on the gabled sides,

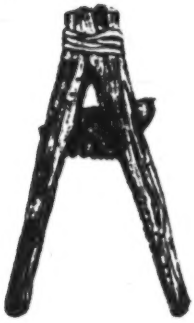
4. Metalworking.

(a) Iron extraction.

●325 The extraction of iron, surely one of the most admirable achievements of the Negro, is carried on in the Pangwe region only south of the Campo by the Fang and a small number of Ntum kin groups. Traces of old smelting works, on the other hand, indicate that in former times iron extraction extended farther northward. [438] /Fig. 178 appears here in the original text/. Nowadays the Bulu buy iron from the Ntum in the south, and the Jaunde and Bene buy it from the Eton. The principal places where iron is extracted are located in the Woddo and Kje regions, as well as along the upper Uelle, but compared with the places where ironstone is found, they are few in number. Although for the most part people are familiar with the technique of iron extraction, only a few really engage in it. In part the reason for this may be the laboriousness of the enterprise, but in the main it must be sought in the superstitious notions connected with the preparation of iron. These notions require the cooperation of the medicine man, the purchase of expensive medicines, and the strict observance of the rules of 325 abstinence. The rare and difficult art of extracting it from the 789 rocks and then forging it into tools and weapons has given iron a 435 special importance, perhaps also because both techniques require fire, the sacred element which /225/ /Figs. 179 and 180 appear here in the original text/ the Pangwe worship in the Ngi cult. The smelting of ironstone is therefore carried out under the guidance and supervision of the medicine man. Exactly as in the case of the cults, it is he alone who, by means of his medicine, can transfer to others the influence over the process with which he is endowed, or, more accurately, the others can obtain from the medicine man the ability to smelt iron only by purchasing a medicine from him. This smelting medicine (biǎn akū̃ǎ, abū̃b-akū̃ǎ) (1) costs five sheep,

1. biǎn = medicine, akū̃ǎ = iron smelting, abū̃b = spider, which plays a role in the acquisition medicines and is usually -- not always -- present in the smelting medicine.

Fig. 179. Drawknife for Spear Handles.



322
413

Fig. 180. Drawknife (also Scraper) for Spear Handles.

five hens, and five pieces of brass wire, which altogether corresponds approximately to a value of 120 marks in our money. The medicine is kept in a small wooden or clay pot lined with the soft leaves of the Triumfetta (okuń) or in a little basket. It consists of a bundle of leaves with the brain matter of an ancestor, a few pieces of skull from the ancestors placed around it, and pieces of the shaved bark of the Leguminosa Macrolobium straussianum Harms (abǒ'm, bǒ'me IV) or of the fern Marattia fraxinea Sm. (ezǐzö'ń), and poison (nsǔ). The skull and the brain as the seat of knowledge are supposed to make the smelting process successful; the Macrolobium is supposed to cause the lump iron to lie as firmly and solidly in the smelting pit (ekiai a bǒ'me o sī = the iron is firm [as though stamped down] under there) as this tree stands without buttress roots (hence the name abǒ'm from a bǒ'm, "to stamp in firmly, to pound in, and to be firmly stamped in"); the fern is supposed to cause the iron to agglomerate as beautifully as the young fern leaves.

325
789
[435]
[824]
[826]

Unfortunately, it is impossible to make iron with this medicine alone. For better or for worse, actual work will have to be done, and for this workers are needed. These are not so difficult to obtain since they get a share of the profit, but the abstinence rules which we have already mentioned, especially those of a sexual nature, deter many of them. These rules enjoin abstinence for two months before and during the period of work, and if they are violated, the iron will

325
834

325 834 not be good. This extremely unpleasant prescription, in conjunction with the expensive medicine, stands in the way of a greater distribution of smelting enterprises. Even in places where a hut for iron smelting is already in existence, people prefer to buy iron from others if their own has been a failure several times, for this misfortune is attributed to the failure of the fire as a result of the sexual /226/ impurity of one or a number of the participants. The [439] importation of European iron in recent years is dealing a death blow to the native industry. The fear of bringing anything impure 325 783 (and all sexual matters are pre-eminently regarded as such) into 841 contact with pure fire goes so far that a medicine is made by those participants whose wives menstruate during the smelting. This consists of a diamond-shape piece cut out of the bark on the supporting beam of the smelting hut on the side facing the furnace, and it is supposed to represent the female sex organ. The symbol is rubbed with redwood which has been pulverized by the woman concerned and represents her blood flow; it is covered with a leaf of the [834] Myrianthus arboreus P.B. (mangǎme III Fang) to indicate that one wants everything impure to be hidden and therefore harmless. At the same time the plant is supposed to cause the iron to coalesce to the same degree as the individual fruits are united in a syncarp. In Plate 17 one can see a piece of the leaf on the supporting post (top left), as well as (somewhat lower down) a bark container which holds fragments of ancestors' skulls, a number of antelopes' horns, and a great variety of other medicines that are used later. That the 325 people concerned with the ancestor cult are regarded as particular- 769 ly suited to bring the work to a successful conclusion is apparent from the fact that they alone may tend the fire (see Fig. 183).

The smelting of iron is thus above all under the aegis of the fire cult, but it is also closely linked with the worship of the ancestors who contribute to the success of the enterprise insofar as it lies in their power to do so.

316 325 Iron crops out in the form of brown iron ore (sǒí IV) (1) and is

1. The analysis carried out by Mr. Du Bois at the suggestion of Professor Pufahl (Königliche Bergakademie in Berlin)

316
325

> showed that the ore "exhibits a not inconsiderable titanium content, some sulphur, traces of phosphoric acid, a small calcium content, as well as a small magnesium content, in addition to the usual components, such as silicic acid, iron oxide, aluminum oxide, water, and small quantities of manganese."

simply collected and carried off. The iron ore pits (ebê-asêi from
[423] asêi, "rock containing iron") have no special significance for the Pangwe; they are common or rather ownerless property that could be claimed by anyone. The smelting of the iron ore, on the other
325 hand, takes place in special smelting huts which are usually the
423 common property of several fellow villagers; they alone may produce the iron from the ironstone which they themselves have extracted from the pits. The other people in the village may not use the smelting hut and must buy iron from them. Because of the difficulties involved in the enterprise, smelting is done only at /227/ widely separated intervals of time. On each occasion the furnace is loaded rapidly as many times in succession as there are hut owners on hand. Each owner, therefore, has a claim to the iron obtained from one loading of the furnace.

325 The smelting hut (ndǎ-akūǎ, ndzi-akūǎ), Figures 181 and 182,
343 is a simple lean-to, three to four meters high, whose ridge pole is supported by two beams. A pit (Fig. 182, Drawing 5, c), 78 centimeters deep and 1.86 meters in diameter, is dug into the ground in the center of the hut and the furnace is built over it. Another shaft (Drawing 5, b), about 60 centimeters deep, goes down from the floor of the pit, and it is on the bottom of this shaft that the above-mentioned pot with the smelting medicine is placed (Drawing 5, a). The medicine is covered with rotten leaf sheaths from the plantain so that the skulls will stay nice and cool, and then the entire shaft is filled with leaves.

325 If smelting is contemplated, all the participants, that is, the
372 medicine man, the hut owner or owners, and the hired workers, must, as was mentioned, abstain for two months from sexual

325 intercourse. During this period, the ore is carried to the hut in
372 baskets and piled up there, and charcoal (miē, mēi) is obtained. The charcoal must be especially "strong," and for that reason it is obtained only from the following five trees: 1) Pentaclethra
[824] macrophylla Benth., Leguminosae (ebā'ī); 2) Erythrophloeum guineense Don., Leguminosae (elŭn); 3) Cylicodiscus gabunensis Harms, Leguminosae (edūm); 4) Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms, Leguminosae (andzītsin); 5) Irvingia grandifolia Engl., Simarubaceae (ngŭn IV). The wood is heaped up in small piles near the village, set on fire, and, when it is charred, extinguished while still glowing. The water with which it is extinguished is skillfully squirted out of the mouth like a shower.

325 In Bebai, among the Schumu family (Woddo region) where I
343 saw the smelting, a smaller hut stood next to the smelting hut
834 (Fig. 182, Drawing 2); this hut contained nothing but a sleeping bench (p), a poker hook (q), and a number of spare blast pipes (r) for the furnace. The hut owner for whom the smelting was to be done the next day spent the last night in it in order not to succumb to the temptation of violating the above-mentioned rule at the last moment. This precautionary measure shows how steadfastly the Pangwe actually observe the many commandments.

325 In the morning the workers appear with their tools, the blast pipes (žŏ̀n IV), and bellows.

The bellows without valve -- but in contrast, it does not have wooden sticks used as handles. It is made of soft wood (see page 240); from its two bowl-shaped enlargements (Pangwe: alŏ̀-nkŭ̀m, "bellows ears") separate shafts lead /228/ /Fig. 181 appears here in the original text/ into the tip (Pangwe: ndžū̀i'-nkŭ̀m, "bellows nose"). The bowls are covered with animal hide with the hairy side
[281] inward, or (only among the Jaunde) with leaf sheaths of the banana tied together in a tuft. Since the hides are moved directly by hand and not by means of sticks, only soft hides can be used, such as those of the long-tailed monkeys, the potto, the civet cat, and the African dwarf buck Neotragus batesi Winton.

The pit in the smelting hut is stuffed full to the rim with leaves of the umbrella tree, so that after the completion of the smelting process it can be cleaned of the charcoal remains without any

●325
343

Fig. 181. Smelting Hut in Bébai (Schumu Family), Spanish Guinea.

325 difficulty and so that the medicine lying below will not be dirtied. Then plantain or banana stems (d) as tall as a man are planted close to each other in a circle around the pit; by means of transverse pegs made of raffia leafstalk bark they are joined to each other and with ropes and stakes are fastened to thick posts driven into the ground outside. The whole arrangement is held together above and below with ropes of Cissus runners, called ntū, and carefully plugged with smaller plantain stems (Drawing 4, f) or pieces of the same. By notching two neighboring plantain stems, holes are cut a little above the ground -- in Bebai there were 17 such holes -- for the blast pipes. Provisionally, the holes are filled up with a guide rod 1.25 meters long and corresponding in thickness to the blast pipe /229/ (ntŭ'm e zōṅ, really blast-pipe

325 stick), Drawing 4, h; at the bottom this guide rod is propped up by a piece of plantain stem (Drawing 4, g), and at the top it is covered by a piece of plantain leaf sheath, called ngɔ̀b "shoe" (Drawing 4, i). Later one merely needs to take out the stick and push in the blast pipe in its place. When the furnace has been prepared this far, it is loaded. A man climbs into it from the top, has charcoal handed to him, and piles a layer of it over the pit in such a way that the center remains clear. He must fill the space between the floor and the guide rods; he arranges the latter so that they radiate around a common center (Drawing 1, k), and then he adds more charcoal, at the same time covering the inner wall with leaf sheaths of the plantain so that the fire will not penetrate too rapidly to the stems and through the cracks outward (Drawing 3). The leaf sheaths lie in two layers: vertically in the outer layer (ngoo, "lattice wall," Drawing 3, l); horizontally in the inner layer (mvom, "giant snake"), Drawing 3, m. The charcoal is piled up to a height from 60 to 70 centimeters; on top of this is placed the iron ore which meanwhile had been cut up by other people and calcined for four hours on a strong fire (1). Furthermore,

1. "It yielded the following values:

Humidity (at 100 degrees centigrade)	0.51 per cent
Heat loss	2.36 per cent
Silicic acid	8.21 per cent
Titanic acid	6.97 per cent
Iron oxide	67.98 per cent
Aluminum oxide	11.82 per cent
Manganese protoxide	1.03 per cent
Calcium	traces
Magnesium	0.17 per cent
Phosphoric acid	0.05 per cent
Sulphur	0.19 per cent
Alkalies	Rest

The quite considerable titanic acid content is striking here. The smelting process is unpleasantly influenced by it, since a slag is produced that is hardly fusible. (According to Du Bois.)

1: Tessmann--250 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

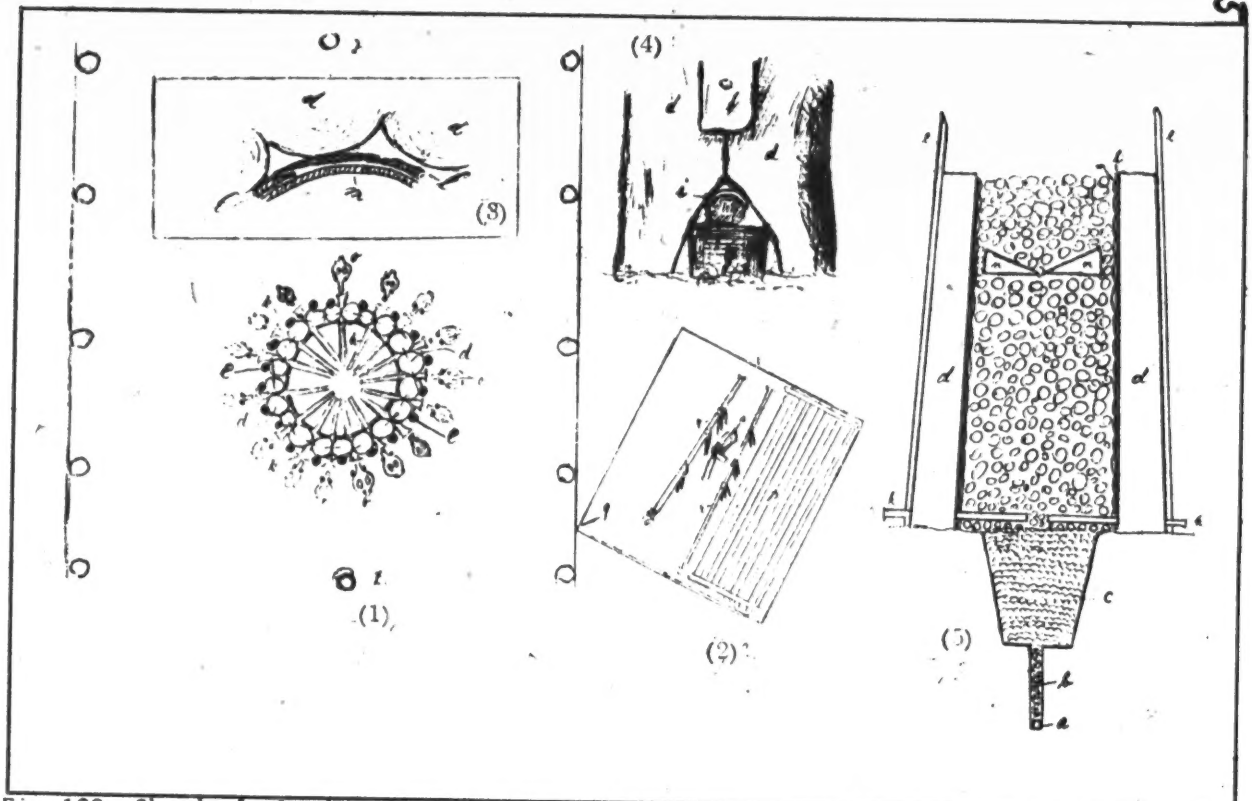


Fig. 182. Sketch of a Smelting Works in Bebai. Drawing 1. Smelting hut and adjacent blast pipe hut (Drawing 2). Drawing 3. Cross-section of part of the wall of the furnace. Drawing 4. A section of the wall where the blast-pipe stick is introduced. Drawing 5. Longitudinal cross-section of the smelting furnace.

325 the larger pieces of the iron ore are once more pounded to fragments before they are put in the furnace. The ore is piled up in such a way that, as Drawing 5 n shows, a funnel remains clear in the middle and also it does not touch the plantains but remains separated from them by a gap that is filled with charcoal. Finally, the iron ore is covered to the rim of the furnace with charcoal (2).

2. O. Zenker describes a very different smelting furnace among the Jaunde. "The smelting huts," he says, "in which the iron is also directly forged, are conspicuous by their tall pointed roofs and wooden planking, as well as by the ironstone and slag lying in front of them. In the center of these large huts are the smelting furnace and four large wooden columns. The smelting furnace is quadrangular and is constructed anew for each smelting. Its outer walls consist of pieces of plantain trunks. The furnace is about one meter high and covers a floor area of approximately one and a half square meters. On the floor, in the center, there is a hollow smeared with clay, in which the liquid iron gathers during the smelting. The entire enclosure is filled with charcoal, but the center is filled with a mixture of ironstone and charcoal. Prior to its being loaded, a funnel-shaped clay pipe is stuck into it on each side; these are used to blow air into it by means of a hand bellows of the shape that is also current in other parts of western Africa. Those who perform this work, usually half-grown persons, are seated on the columns already mentioned which are wooden and about two meters high. To protect the roof a strong wooden

325

trellis is constructed over the smelting box. Smelting requires a number of hours. The very soft iron obtained is pounded to pieces and then forged."
[113] (From Mitteilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten /Reports by Explorers and Scholars from the German Protectorates/ by Friedrich von Danckelman, 1895, page 63.

/230/ /Fig. 182 appears here in the original text./

/231/ Now the bellows workers (nsũĕ, -nkŭm) put their two tools, which they have brought with them, into position, and in the manner already indicated stick the blast pipe into the furnace in place of the guide rod, so that the funnel-shaped end juts outward about ten to twelve centimeters. Then they arrange the bellows (Drawing 1, o) in such a way that its mouth is from two to three centimeters from the blast pipe and clamp it between two pairs of sticks, called mvǎk (see Fig. 183), which are planted in the ground. This simple arrangement has given rise to the following
[539] proverb:

bokui bo vŏde akũǎ o mvǎk =

The Pygmies, they despaired of smelting because (of the) the holding sticks (which they did not know how to attach).
This proverb is said whenever some great enterprise fails because of a trifle.

325 461 791 Now everybody sits down on tree trunks around the furnace. A piece of red-hot charcoal is introduced into the furnace through one of the blast pipes, and then the working of the bellows begins (Fig. 184). This is done in the following manner. First one and then the other hide are alternately pulled up and down by hand, or, if one wants to work at high pressure, both hides are pulled together. This is a strenuous and monotonous job which the natives try to alleviate as much as possible by singing, which is led by the medicine man (in Plate 17, the gentleman to the right with folded arms), by shouting, laughing, talking, and telling stories. Above all, the

325 461 191 natives like to hiss rhythmically during the work; this gives them greater strength, as they say. Regular whistling, however, is strictly forbidden, for in the opinion of the natives it is something evil (see prefixes, page 28 /Ed., not translated/). In all this noise the medicine man takes a prominent part; every other moment he rings an iron bell, blows on an antelope horn, /232/ sings, shouts, and dashes about frantically. In short, he makes every possible effort to spur on the people, and perhaps he also means to fend off evil beings of one kind or another by his activities. Now and then he strikes between the bellows with a bundle of the Violacea Rinorea gracilipes Engl. or the Leguminosa Bandeiraea tenuiflora Benth. (both ovö'n e ndžīk) (1) in order to

[824]

1. Called ovö'n e ndžīk (ndžīk, "liana") because of the similarity of the leaves with those of the Copaifera tessmannii Harms. (ovö'n), the tree in which the souls live in the intermediate realm; used when there is a shortage of Copaifera.

[775]

eliminate all noxious influences through the power of the ancestors. If the zeal of the workers nevertheless flags, there follows a redoubled clamor, and after a short period of time the crew recuperates and pushes the hides with renewed vigor and almost convulsive rapidity amidst violent hissing and rhythmic rocking up and down of the upper part of the body. In the evening when they are tired, hide drums and wooden drums are called in to encourage them with a regular concert; songs are sung in which the medicine man strikes the keynote. At the end of the work, which in Bebai, for instance, lasted from one o'clock in the afternoon to 9:30 in the evening, the medicine man steps up to the furnace and by each bellows worker he makes a movement as though placing something up into the furnace and down into the funnel; his assistant walks behind him, carrying a closed medicine horn provided with a porcupine's tail. Its purpose is unknown.

325
791
[411]

The next day the furnace, which has burned out down to the pit, is torn down, and the iron slag (esǔm), which lies on the top and has not burned out, is gathered together; broken into pieces, it serves as rifle ammunition (2). Then the medicine man calls

2. According to Du Bois it is "a poorly molten, porous slag with a high iron and titanium content and also includes charcoal fragments."

the bellows workers to the pit, and with his forging iron he knocks off the pieces of iron (obǎ'-ekiẽi) (3) that are loosely attached to the

3. bā = to divide, e-bǎ'-s = scale, ekíẽi - iron.

ore bloom. The larger pieces he takes for himself, the smaller ones he divides among the men so that each receives a small powder keg of them, which is his reward for the work. The medicine man, on the other hand, keeps almost twice as much for himself. On the floor of the pit is the ore bloom, a large, firm, round to oblong iron lump (mpafǎn-ekiẽi I) (4); it belongs to the hut owner for whom

325
791
422

4. From the root pfa Ntum (fa Fang), "to narrow inward and to be narrowed in," here, "to be contracted, to be agglomerated." Compare pfa-n, "narrow strait"; a pfa-n, "to narrow"; pfa-k (active), "narrowed path or place," in particular between the house and plantains in the village; a pfa-ń, "to wrap around, to put a string around." The ore bloom is, according to Du Bois, "to be regarded as a malleable wrought iron heavily mixed with charcoal fragments and with a low carbon content, which can be transformed into a usable

325 material only through forging."

791 the /233/ smelting has taken place, with the exception of a piece
422 about the size of a head, which he must give to the medicine man. The ore bloom is pounded into little bits by the workmen right on the spot (Fig. 185). The workmen have the right to take home the splinters that fall off, and the owner does nothing further with it.
[438] These pieces (epfús-ekíēi) (1) are the end result of the iron smelting

1. pfū -ī, "to knock off (piecemeal)."

and constitute a regular article of trade wherever European trade is not yet too highly developed. /Fig. 183 appears here in the original text./

325 A few more figures about the expenses and the net profit. In
435 giving these -- as for Bebai -- I assume a smelting period consisting
434 of five smeltings with five owners of the smelting hut. The workers can buy the bellows for ten spears (= 70 pfennigs) from the bellows maker, or they can get them for nothing if they bring the necessary block of wood to the man's house. So far as I know, they must obtain the hide for themselves in each case. The clay blast pipe likewise costs ten spears (= 70 pfennigs), so each bellows worker has 20 spears (= 1.40 marks) in expenses. The owner or owners of the smelting huts have a single expenditure of about 120 marks for the medicine, not including the labor for the construction of the hut and the transportation of the ore. From the iron left to him as wages, each bellows worker earns at one smelting only 15 to 20 spears (= 1.05 to 1.40 marks); hence, from five smeltings he makes a profit of from five to seven marks from which the single expenditure /234/ /Fig. 184 appears here in the original text/ of 1.40 marks should be subtracted. The medicine man does better. From his share of loose iron he can earn 30 spears (= 2.10 marks) and from his share of core iron 50 spears (= 3.50 marks), so altogether he can earn 5.60 marks. From the five smeltings, therefore, he can earn a total of 28 marks. As regards the owner, the ore bloom for him amounts to 500 spears (= 35 marks). Altogether, the yield of one smelting period would amount to: (17 X 17 spears + 80 spears + 500 spears) X 5, 17 workers at 17 spears + medicine man + owner in five

325

Fig. 183. Bellows workers and the medicine man's assistant who stirs the fire. Iron smelting in Bébai (Schumu Family), Spanish Guinea.

325 smeltings; or in German currency, which of course cannot repro-
435 duce exactly the value of the spears for the natives: (20.23
434 marks + 5.60 marks) 5 = 304.15 marks.

These figures fluctuate in the various regions. Nonetheless they do convey an idea of the size and distribution of the profit.

(b) Ironworking.

326 From the tales of the creation story it is evident that the Pangwe, as descendants of Mode-Sama, have known how to forge iron since ancient times, even if they were surpassed in the art by other Negro peoples, the descendants of Ngomwenio (perhaps the progenitor of the Okande?), the second son of Sama. /235/

325

Fig. 184. Extracted iron (bloom) after the smelting furnace has been torn down, Bébai (Schumu Family).

326
554

The Pangwe do not accord the smith an exceptional social position. He is neither despised, as he is by many tribes, nor does he enjoy any kind of privileges or respect beyond the regard for his abilities. His skill (akǒ"n) is recognized and placed above that of other artisans, but nothing more than that. The smith, like the wood carvers, works only now and then at his trade, and only when there is a need for him to do so; he never works to build up a stock. In other words, he does not carry on a regular trade; instead, he works by commission and is paid for the work performed, not for the finished product (everybody must bring the smith the iron needed for the desired objects). At the time I was in the country, the smith received, for example, for the manufacture of spear money, ten per cent of its value.

325

Fig. 185. Extracted iron (bloom) after the smelting furnace has been torn down, Bébai (Schumu Family).

326 348 The smith (nlū̄ī III from a lū̄ī' "to forge") most often has his workshop in the meeting house, the scene of most of the enterprises of the men. In this case a T-shaped pit is dug into the ground in the meeting house (see Fig. 27b, b) at the place where there would ordinarily be a sleeping bench. The bellows hangs above the pit and sometimes also its blast pipe; only occasionally is it hung in special huts (abā-lū̄ī'). The latter are either simple lean-tos open all around or provided with sidewalls made of logs, like the temporary meeting houses. A smith's hut of the first form is depicted in Plate 18; the groundplan of a hut of the second /236/ kind -- from the Ntum village Okō (south of the Campo) -- is shown in Figure 186. The latter contains a tree trunk (m) and a wooden drum (k) placed along the walls and intended to serve as seats for the spectators; also it contains a stone anvil (b), and in a T-shaped pit (ejě, lū̄ī') the smithy fire with the bellows (e-g). The smith (a) is always seated to the right of the fire and just in front of the bellows worker (d), so that he can conveniently reach the red-hot iron with his left hand, take it out of the pit, and work it on the anvil (b) before him.

325 789 824 Even the job of forging cannot be performed without medicines. Just as a medicine is buried under the furnace in the smelting hut, one is also buried under the anvil when the smithy is constructed, although this is not always the case. The medicine consists of cock's feathers, blossom panicles of the Labiata Plectranthus (kŏlṓt IV Fang, kŏt IV Ntum), and leaves and stalks of the Commelinacea Aneilema aequinoctiale Kth. (nlăt I) (1). The

> a lǎ-t, "unite," hence nlăt, the Aneilema (compare also a-lǎ-t, "the duck," because ducks live in pairs).

two plants are burdocks and are meant to symbolize the fact that the iron particles are to be joined together as firmly in the forging as the fruit of the Plectranthus and the stalks or leaves of the Aneilema cling together -- frequently one also sees the smith throwing a few Plectranthus fruits into the blast pipe while forging. The cock belongs to the cult of the Good, or the fire, and for that reason its feathers are the most important component of the medicine. To heighten its effectiveness, the cock is also killed, and its flesh boiled together with the leaves of the Acanthacea Asystasia macrophylla (T. And.) (elŏbokūi), the Connaracea Manotes zenkeri Gilg (nkǎ-ndžīk I), the Ebenacea Diospyros fragrans Gürke (myifīn IV Fang, mvipfīm IV Ntum), and the Tiliacea Desplatsia dewevrei Burset (afŏnŏk). This concoction is eaten by the smith. The plants mentioned have strong and flexible stalks or twigs (nkīb, "rod, whip"), and the implied wish is that the iron, in particular the spear money, will be just as strong and flexible.

325 435 Lastly it should be mentioned that in a newly constructed smithy hut the first thing to be melted down must not be crude iron but only worked iron.

The smith's tools include:

325 1. Large forging iron (ngŏ n[d]ŏ III) of the form shown in Figure 187, Drawing 1; for cruder work it is used as a hammer, for finer work as an anvil, in which case it is pushed into the ground with its pointed end. It is worth 1,000 spears or 70 marks.

435

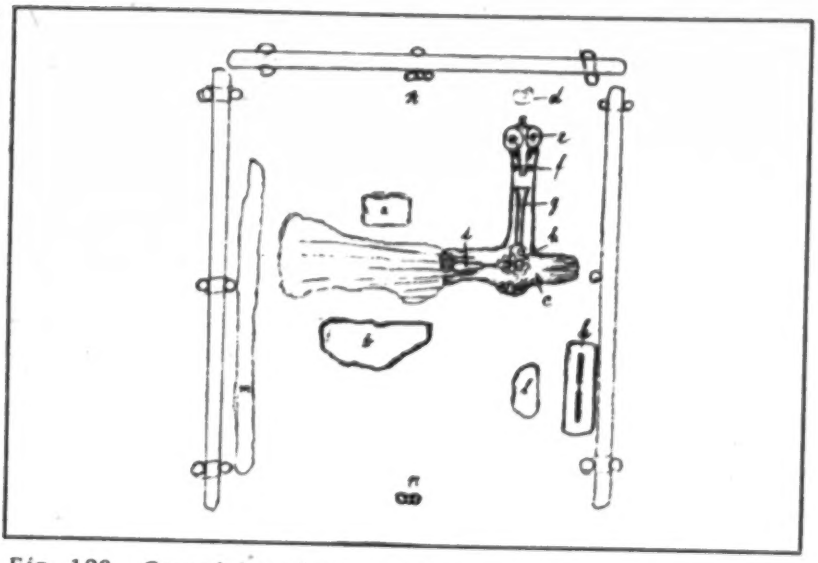


Fig. 186. Groundplan of a Smithy in the Village Okö, Ntum Region.

(a) Smith's seat; (b) smithy stone, anvil; (c) smithy pit; (d) bellows worker's seat; (e) bellows; (f) sticks to hold the bellows; (g) blast pipe; (h) charcoal; (i) handle; (k) talking drum used as seat; (l) stone, mainly for whetting the cutlass; (m) trunk, seat for spectators; (n) ridgepole.

325

2. Small forging iron (edū), Figure 187, Drawing 2, used for spear blades, and so forth. (Value, 50 spears or 3.50 marks.)

3. Handle (abí from bí, "to grasp"), a simple iron rod widened toward the end to a slightly spatulate form, attached to a wooden grip. It is held against the iron glowing in the fire and welded with it so that both /237/ /Fig. 186 appears here in the original text/ can be taken out together. While the iron is being worked, the end of this handle merges with the forged object and must therefore be made anew each time after it is used, that is, it must be widened by pounding it at the end.

● 325 4. Chisel (zǎńe), Figure 188, which is stuck into a slit cardamom stalk and driven in with a hammer in order to burst thin connections, to chisel off superfluous edges, to make grooves, and so forth.

5. File (ewǎ̀s), used for smoothing.

6. Tongs (abǎs), Figure 189, Drawing 2, made from a cardamom stalk split at the end.

7. Squirter (amǒm, amǐm), Figure 189, Drawing 1, made from a cardamom stalk (1) split at the end, and used -- as among

1. Cardamom (Aframomum) as torch, see page 42; as sacred plant of fire, see Section 11 /Ed., this section of Vol. II is not translated/.

us -- to moisten the coal from time to time.

325 372 313 If anything is to be forged, the blast pipe of the bellows is placed in the center of the smithy pit, charcoal is heaped over it -- the charcoal is produced in the way described on page 247 (2) --

2. From the following trees:
Leguminosae Dialium guineense Willd. (ogbǔń-elǐ); Leguminosae Platysepalum tessmannii Harms (ogbǔń-elǐ);
Olacaceae Aptandra zenkeri Engl. (ogbǔń-elǐ);
Ochnaceae Ouratea tessmannii Gilg (osǒ);
Euphorbiaceae Sapium oblongifolium Muell. Arg. (osǒ);
Ochnaceae Ouratea brachybotrys Gilg (osǒ, kǔń-osǒ, oldǐ);
Euphorbiaceae Plagiostyles klainei Pierre (esǔlǎ');
Guttiferae Garcinia punctata Oliv. (nsǎ-elǐ III);

325
372
313

Euphorbiaceae Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg. (asǎ̂m);
Simarubaceae Irvingia grandifolia Engl. (ngǔn IV);
Sapotaceae Mimusops djave (Lan.) (adžǎ̂b);
Leguminosae Distemonanthus benthamianus Baill. (ejǎ̂n, eli bǎngǎń);
Burseraceae Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl. (ase,ǎ');
Burseraceae Pachylobus macrophyllus (Oliv.) (atǒ̂m Fang, andǒtǒ̂m Ntum);
Flacourtiaceae Petersia minor Niedenzu (abiń).

and on the charcoal, the iron pieces to be forged. Then /238/ the charcoal is set on fire with a red-hot coal thrown into the blast pipe. Thereupon the assistant sets the bellows going (see page 252). If the charcoal catches fire, the smith places the handle (Figure 186, i) into the side arm of the pit, heaps the charcoal (h) over the iron pieces, waits until the iron is red-hot, takes it out with the handle, and forges it on the anvil. Once the iron is ready in its crude form, it is knocked free from the handle with the chisel, seized with the tongs, and subjected to further working.

(c) Brass founding.

325 Brass (ngǔs IV, mvǒt IV) has been coming into the Pangwe region from the coast in the form of tubes and wire for a long time. Because of its softness and its brilliant color, it has almost completely replaced iron insofar as it was used for ornaments. The tubes are not altered; the wire, on the other hand, is worked into neck, arm, and finger rings, into foot covers and leg rings.

The wire is cut into small pieces about three centimeters long and placed in a potsherd or in a clay vessel specially prepared for the purpose (Fig. 190). Then it is placed on the smithy fire and

●325 entirely covered with charcoal and melted with the help of the bellows. As soon as the blue flames appear, the smith removes the coals from the top of the pot, seizes the latter with his tongs, and pours the liquid metal into molds. These are halved raffia leafstalks in whose pith a suitable negative form is cut (Fig. 191). Then he cleans out the coal fragments that might have fallen into it and pours on water. After it has cooled, the brass is taken out of the mold and, heated, it is again worked, that is to say, the coarser roughness is beaten down with the large forging iron. In the case of the engraved neck rings (see Fig. 14), the two ends are now /239/ /Fig. 187 appears here in the original text/ beaten out with the tapper and rolled with light blows over the surface which is then carefully smoothed with the tapper. This is a rather laborious job, since the rod must time and time again be placed in the fire for a time. Now the ring is bent by skillfully hammering the inner surface on the edge of the anvil, and it is hammered completely together on the large forging iron placed over two props. Finally it is filed smooth, whereby the brilliant yellow brass color appears in place of the hitherto black color; then various patterns are engraved on it with the help of three different strong chisels (Fig. 192) and other tools (Fig. 193).

5. Pottery.

323 [462] Unlike the crafts mentioned so far, pottery is in the hands of the women. Only tobacco pipes and blast pipes are made by men. Pottery is not very highly developed; its forms are poor and decoration is rare. /Fig. 188 appears here in the original text./ The main products of pottery are assembled in Figure 194:

1. Water flasks (eǰũgǰ);
2. Large and small cooking pots (mvé IV and obébé);
3. Smithy funnels (žǒ̀ IV);

in addition, the following are also made,

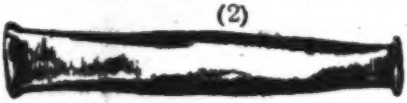
4. Tobacco pipes, and
5. Brass smelting pots.

This is the extent of the use of clay objects. /Fig. 189 appears here in the original text./ /240/

325

(1)

(2)

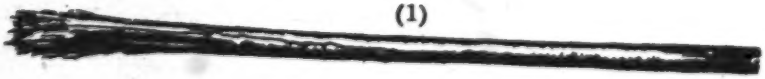


/239/

Fig. 187. Hammer and Tapping Iron.

Fig. 188. Chisel for Ironworking.

(1)



(2)

Fig. 189. Smith's Squirter and Tongs.

/240/

325

Fig. 190. Clay Vessel for Brass Founding.

Fig. 191. Form for a Brass Neck Ring in a Halved Raffia Leafstalk.

Fig. 192. Chisels for the Patterns on Brass Neck Rings.

325

Fig. 193. Brass Smith Decorating a Brass Neck Ring, Akonangi, South Cameroons.

While the pots are drying, the decorations are put on. The pots are slightly moistened with water, and then the pattern is scratched on with a pointed raffia leafstalk splinter. A certain pattern, obügeli, is obtained by rolling a carefully braided four-edged stamp up and down (Fig. 195). 323 [531]

The clay blast pipe of the bellows is manufactured by the men in the following manner. The bark of a raffia leafstalk is removed in strips down to just short of one end; the strips are then tied together again in their natural position at the other end, so it looks as though the bark had burst apart in the middle into so many strips. Then the leafstalk is stuck vertically into the ground on the end from which the strips had been completely removed and tied together again. The clay is placed around the stick in the form of a funnel, the upper edge being bent outward, and so the whole thing is left to dry in the sun for three days. Then the strings are untied, the bark strips are completely removed, being pulled off one by one, and the blast pipe is taken down to dry for a little while longer in the house. The blast pipes are never decorated; only once when I /242/ /Fig. 194 appears here in the original text/ witnessed the making of a blast pipe in Bebai, the [462]

1: Tessmann--343 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

325
343

Iron Smelting in Bebai (Schumu Family), Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--344 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate XVIII

Smiths in Bebai (Esseng Family) Ntum Region.

301 Women wore only a sort of double apron of grass or leaves, azem
[391] or abui, fastened to a belt of cylindrical steatite beads, nsanga; brace-
lets, mekom, of ivory or copper shaped like spools; ankle chains,
bibat, of cast copper, very heavy; and an enormous necklace of cast
copper, nkembé, which was put on a little girl when she entered her
[764] affinal household and which could not be removed until after death,
by cutting apart the body or melting the necklace or awaiting decom-
position. All this jewelry belonged to, and remained in, the husband's
[422] family, even in case of divorce; the ésa was the person who distributed
it among his wives and daughters-in-law. Flat bracelets were made of
306 "neptunes" or "benares" /?/ imported from the coast; later on they
made, and still make, rings and bracelets from cartridge cases and
telegraph wire. But the origin of the cast minkembé /plural/ is still
a mystery; the technique of metal casting is unknown or forgotten;
placer or lode copper is very rare, not only in the present Pahouin
● [325] habitat but also where they seem to have come from. Furthermore,
these very old necklaces resist corrosion and have a very pale patina
indicating some kind of alloy; moreover, the nearest workers in bronze
the Bamum, do not make this kind of necklace.

291 Men's dress at the present time is usually of the European type,
[177] from shorts and sports shirt to the surplus American cap; those who
wear shoes have European footwear, leather or canvas according to
their income, or in the style of the Arabic—silifa, from English
"slipper" = babouche, of Hausa or Peul manufacture. Mention should
be made of the helmets and kepis of umbrella-tree wood and the fake
spectacles of slivers of raffia "bamboo." In the villages or at home,
imported loincloths are rolled around a belt or tied behind the neck.

Women also wear a loincloth, éndelé, tied at the neck or rolled
tight above the breasts when they have nothing else on, rolled at the
waist when wearing the "mission jacket," éwoman (apparently from
"woman"). The favorite head covering is still the kerchief, éyañese
(from "handkerchief"). More and more women are also wearing cut
and sewn European-style dresses, bizingi; often a kind of slip; no
[041] panties except for a few young modernists (who call them caleçons,
"drawers"); and internal sanitary napkins made of medicinal plants.
[797] Mission activity has spread notions of prudery; formerly only those
past puberty were obliged to cover their sexual parts. Women did so
834 with great care in spite of the casual nature of their clothing; the
greatest insult to a woman was to uncover her vulva in public; she never

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

502 The mariner's compass is entirely unknown, and when I have shown one, it
501 was always spoken of as "the white man's *biang bial*" (canoe fetish). The Fang shapes his course by his knowledge of the river banks; he never ventures more than three days' journey from his own town, and much dislikes the idea of losing sight of land; therefore he seldom, if ever, attempts it. Certain canoes belong to the headman of the village, others to individuals. The canoes do not have houses;
[776] charms are frequently tied to the bow, to appease the water spirit, and frequently
[702] a traveller in a canoe will throw into the river at certain places he passes portions of his food to appease the local spirit which he believes dwells there. The place where this spirit dwells may be in some large tree or rock on the river bank. At night the canoes are hauled up on the river bank and usually left unprotected. Large war canoes, if painted, are occasionally covered with a few mats. No special portion of a canoe is set apart for a chief, he is usually seated near the bow. Watertight compartments for provisions are not provided, food and articles of trade being carried in high baskets. Upon arrival of a canoe from a neighbouring town, the visitors are frequently welcomed with shouts of joy; guns are fired and a dance given in the evening. I have seen canoes repaired by placing pieces of bark over the leaks inside and outside, the bark being secured with small hard wood plugs. No arrangement is made to prevent leaking.

Hooks for fishing are skilfully made of bamboo, the barb is long, very sharp
227 and notched on both sides. The hook is secured to the fishing-line with string made of pineapple fibre. Foreign-made fish-hooks are now largely used; these
[939] are much coveted, and considered a very staple article of trade.

Casting nets are used weighed with stones, iron, or lead, obtained in trade. The meshes are very fine and show much skilful and patient workmanship. A Fang will work well at anything which he can do while sitting in the palaver house. He can then work, smoke and talk; any work requiring much bodily exertion on his part or elsewhere is relegated to his wives. Fish traps are made of split bamboo and much resemble the lobster baskets used by our own fishermen.
[226] Small streams are often dammed at high water, the dam being made of split bamboo, fastened together with bush rope until a very large screen is made, 10 or 12 feet in height; this screen is staked across the stream at high water, when the tide falls the water passes readily through, leaving the fish in the river. The most disgusting sight among the Fang, is to see the women and children at low water walking in the mud, breast high, feeling for "mud fish." The large casting net is called *ewot*; a small round net used for dipping in pools and along the river bank at low water is called *tan*.

VI.—*Metallurgy, Fire, Machinery.*

325 Metallurgy among the Fang is limited to the working of iron. The native word for iron is *Eki*. The Fang among whom I lived did not possess the knowledge of
326 smelting, but I was told that "other Fang far away in the bush, especially the Nqui (dwarfs), dug the *minkok eki* (stones of iron) out of the earth, melted it, and

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

traded with the *eki* (iron)." Iron is put to various uses. Long bladed knives of various shapes and patterns are made, also spear heads, armlets, anklets, finger and toe rings. Small pieces of iron are used for bullets in flint-lock muskets. One of the most important uses of money among the Fang is the making of *beki*. 325 326

Beki is made up in bunches ten *beki* in each bunch; a bunch of *beki* is called *ntet*. The amount of dowry paid in *beki* is usually counted in hundreds, *kuliki bi kei, ntet awom* (bring me one hundred *beki*). 326 [436]

A bundle of ten arrow heads is frequently used as an *ntet*.

A peculiar shaped adze is made of iron; it is used for working wood, especially hollowing trees intended for canoes.

Pieces of iron are forged into axe blades (*ovon*).

The *mfak* is a short handled spade made of iron, used for digging in the gardens.

The art of casting seems to be unknown.

The bellows (*nkum*) used by Fang smiths are very ingenious (*specimen on table*). The feet are used to steady the bellows, whilst both hands work the goat skin covers and force air into the fire.

A block of iron is used for an anvil. Some of the natives are quite skilful at working iron. A Fang living near my residence often begged from me a round steel nail from a packing case. In a short time he would return with the nail transformed into a thin delicate knife or dagger, only the nailhead remaining intact. Very large fighting knife blades are made and beautifully fashioned, and ornamented with various punch marks.

I have never seen any native made wire. Imported brass wire is in great demand and mostly used as a continuous armlet. The coil usually reaches from wrist to elbow, and is considered extremely *mbung* (handsome), and kept highly polished. [439] [301]

Imported brass is obtained in trade and made into armlets, anklets, finger and toe rings. It is also used for ornamentation of guns.

Many of the natives are skilled workers of iron and fully aware of its value. I have never seen welding practised, but in working hot iron it is frequently plunged into cold water to make it *alert* (hard).

Fire.—In the far interior, fire is produced by friction, the simplest form of a drill being used, which is twisted rapidly between the hands. Along the rivers matches are obtained from the native traders, who bring up large quantities from the coast. The natives are always ready to trade for matches, which are again traded to interior tribes. Flints are only used on the hammer of the old flintlock musket imported for trade. Fires are almost constantly burning in the palaver houses. Two dry logs are kept constantly burning, they are placed end to end, when one log is nearly consumed it is replaced by another. 372 [439]

It is interesting to notice how the natives carry fire about. When on a journey in 1897 from Gross Batanga with a caravan to the Bulu country in the German sphere of influence, one of the men usually obtained a piece of burning 372 484

301 only by women but among the Fang by members of either sex. It is called /183/ egbwẽ̌i', ngṍna IV Fang, or azõ̌m-e-sī Ntum (see Plate 12). Halved lengthwise and dried, the roots are bound by a double string to form a neckband (Fig. 131, a) or are twined together to form a tassel-shaped pendant (Figure 131, b), the whole being dyed usually with red wood. A neck ruff made of bast and worn by members of either sex is not very common. Because of its appearance, the ruff is called etṹga-ntǔma, "sheep's mane" (Fig. 131, c). Similarly, a bast neck ornament for little girls (ngõne) is rarely worn. /Figs. 130 and 131 appear here in the original text. /

301 326 Iron neck rings are very rare nowadays; correspondingly, neck rings made of brass (mvõt I) are all the more frequent. These are cast in heavy and light varieties. The former, that is, the heavy brass rings, have two different forms. The first has edges that project like a cornice and no ornamentation (Fig. 132). The other one is triangular in cross-section and in the middle of the two front surfaces, as well as frequently along the upper edge, is provided with engraved patterns (mvõte zǎ́n; see Fig. 14). The manufacture of these rings will be described in connection
301 with brass founding. It is not easy to wear such a ring, which weighs up to three pounds, nor is it easy to put it on, for it is softened anew in the fire and bent apart so that its lucky owner can force his neck into it, and then it is tapped together again on the anvil. It is even harder to take the ring off. To do this, the person concerned lies down on his back; one end of the ring is secured to a tree stump while the other end is connected to a lever by means of a liana, and the ring is forced off with the lever. Prior to this, one must not forget to rub the neck thoroughly with oil or with sap from the leaves of the Clerodendron /184/ /Fig. 132 appears here in the original text/ büttneri Gürke (mavǔlu-
[177] ndžīk III). By way of a popular, quick, and cheap substitute, servants of Europeans use tin cans which they transform into a neck ring by taking off the lid and the bottom. Similarly, European collars are to them an extremely welcome cultural acquisition which they make their own, frequently before they acquire trousers and shirts.

325

Fig. 183. Bellows workers and the medicine man's assistant who stirs the fire. Iron smelting in Bébai (Schumu Family), Spanish Guinea.

325 smeltings; or in German currency, which of course cannot repro-
435 duce exactly the value of the spears for the natives: (20.23
434 marks + 5.60 marks) 5 = 304.15 marks.

These figures fluctuate in the various regions. Nonetheless they do convey an idea of the size and distribution of the profit.

(b) Ironworking.

326 From the tales of the creation story it is evident that the Pangwe, as descendants of Mode-Sama, have known how to forge iron since ancient times, even if they were surpassed in the art by other Negro peoples, the descendants of Ngomwenio (perhaps the progenitor of the Okande?), the second son of Sama. /235/

325

Fig. 184. Extracted iron (bloom) after the smelting furnace has been torn down, Bébai (Schumu Family).

326
554

The Pangwe do not accord the smith an exceptional social position. He is neither despised, as he is by many tribes, nor does he enjoy any kind of privileges or respect beyond the regard for his abilities. His skill (akǒ"n) is recognized and placed above that of other artisans, but nothing more than that. The smith, like the wood carvers, works only now and then at his trade, and only when there is a need for him to do so; he never works to build up a stock. In other words, he does not carry on a regular trade; instead, he works by commission and is paid for the work performed, not for the finished product (everybody must bring the smith the iron needed for the desired objects). At the time I was in the country, the smith received, for example, for the manufacture of spear money, ten per cent of its value.

325

Fig. 185. Extracted iron (bloom) after the smelting furnace has been torn down, Bébai (Schumu Family).

326 348 The smith (nlū̄ī III from a lū̄ī' "to forge") most often has his workshop in the meeting house, the scene of most of the enterprises of the men. In this case a T-shaped pit is dug into the ground in the meeting house (see Fig. 27b, b) at the place where there would ordinarily be a sleeping bench. The bellows hangs above the pit and sometimes also its blast pipe; only occasionally is it hung in special huts (abā-lū̄ī'). The latter are either simple lean-tos open all around or provided with sidewalls made of logs, like the temporary meeting houses. A smith's hut of the first form is depicted in Plate 18; the groundplan of a hut of the second /236/ kind -- from the Ntum village Okō (south of the Campo) -- is shown in Figure 186. The latter contains a tree trunk (m) and a wooden drum (k) placed along the walls and intended to serve as seats for the spectators; also it contains a stone anvil (b), and in a T-shaped pit (ejě, lū̄ī') the smithy fire with the bellows (e-g). The smith (a) is always seated to the right of the fire and just in front of the bellows worker (d), so that he can conveniently reach the red-hot iron with his left hand, take it out of the pit, and work it on the anvil (b) before him.

463 The role of the towns in the external trade of the region is evident, but their role in regional economy is no less essential. In fact, formerly the population had hardly any specialization, because of limited needs: each group was self-sufficient. No division of labor was prescribed aside from the allotment of tasks to men and women. Only smiths possessed a special technique which allowed them to ply a trade. Yet they were not a caste; a smith could ally himself by marriage with any family whatsoever, and a farmer's son might become a smith.

326

Everyone could extract iron ore, but only a skilled man who had acquired knowledge and magical power could work metal. Professional differentiation is /sic/ obviously still rudimentary. Perhaps it corresponds to a mediocre technological level: the stock of tools is limited—a stone used as an anvil, an iron bar as a hammer, and a bellows as a forge. The smith does not seem to have been the mysterious and awesome figure found in other societies. At most we may believe that there were sexual prohibitions connected with certain phases of his work, which allows us to assume a magical or religious aspect (1).

1. Miss /Mary/ Kingsley, Travels in West Africa, London, 1897; we should note however "an important pottery art, ironwork that deserves particular mention owing to its excellence, a technique for treating latex, an art of plaiting clothes" (in Balandier, "Village fang /Fang Village/, " Études centrafricaines, 1951).

113

463 The small number of objects in use did not require a real division of labor. A piece of grooved ivory was used for beating bark to soften it for the making of clothes. This technique has evidently disappeared. There /were/ a few potteries; the wooden bowls are now replaced by imported ware. One still fairly often finds calling drums, wooden ladles or spoons carved by artisans, and mortars. Spearheads are currently sold in the markets. Crossbows are less and less used, and hunters make their own nets.

Needs which are now more varied have given rise to /36/ many professional specializations. A few are represented in rural districts,

614 are, besides, meyoñ that are outside the system.

614 Among the latter I shall mention the Ndôñ and the Bekôé or Bekwi,
563 to be found under these names in all, or nearly all, the Pahouin tribes.
184 The ethnic substantive Bekôé is simply the plural of a common noun, nkôé, "dwarf." These people are, it seems, descendants of aborigines. undoubtedly Pygmies, "adopted" by the tribes at the time of invasion. Although looked upon as an ayoñ and calling one another brother, they do not practice exogamy and seem to attach their genealogies to those of other clans, to which nevertheless they do not belong.

614 The case of the Ndôñ is quite different. They crossed the Sanaga
184 with the other Pahouin, and they are certainly "active" Pahouin. But they observe endogamy among their three mvôk (Ndôñ Mvu, Ndôñ Bibak, and Ndôñ Bikoé), which no other Pahouin ayoñ does, at least to my knowledge. Besides, I believe I noticed /48/ among those of the southern Cameroons and northern Gabon morphological traits setting them sharply apart from those of neighboring clans—reddish
[142] color of the skin, frequency of green or greenish-blue eyes—which
[144] might be explained by the inbreeding consequent upon endogamy, but also perhaps by a different ethnic origin. Another piece of evi-
[326 dence, as insufficiently attested as the foregoing, is that among the
791] Ndôñ I met the last of the smiths and the most feared magicians among the Boulou and Fang tribes of the Cameroons.

The Ngoé ayoñ also is found under this name in nearly all the Pahouin tribes and, according to Bertaut, among the neighboring Bakoko. The Esel, who are similarly spread throughout the tribes, have non-Pahouin homonyms: /for instance/ the Bantu Esel tribe of the southeastern Cameroons (Moloundou). The name could, however, be a contraction of ésa (ésa-el?). Ngoé and Esel are usually exogamic.

c. The Extended Family or Village Family

596 The term "village family" is no doubt more accurate than the
621 classic "extended family," both because the nda bôt (house of the people) is the only social group that corresponds exactly to a geographical form of settlement (the jal or hamlet), and because without the geographical criterion it is difficult to distinguish this /kind of/ family from the intermediate structures between it and the clan, such as segments or lineages (mvôk, bisa). And finally, it is on this

582 they belong to another clan. This is merely the application of exogamy to the maternal line and is less observed than the other rule of exogamy.

582 583 Having established this, we may distinguish several forms of marriage—Bertaut counts seven—or, on the contrary, consider them all to be derived from "regular marriage," mfañ aluk (from fañ = to do well, correctly, and luk = to marry). This kind of marriage is based on the payment of the "bride price," nsuba, nowadays essentially monetary and giving rise to abuses that have often been described, but in former times it was ritual in character, at least partially so (a century ago there was already a commercial element). The "bride price" of the past included local products (ivory, cattle) [431] (1), imported merchandise (biôm), especially loincloths, guns and

[231] 1. The bride-price sheep, bikiga or bityiga, up to seven, which were in theory bred with a special view to payment of the nsuba and were sacrificed at the time of the marriage.

[431] ammunition, salt, trade alcohol, and, finally, a special iron currency in the form of flat arrowheads tied into bundles (bityé, biki; bikpwelé; the unit of count being the bundle, akutu bikpwelé). The last was used only for ritual or magical purposes (2). There are reasons for

[526] 2. There is a prohibition against making them; all those to be seen look old.

believing that the composition of bride prices in local products and merchandise varied according to clan structure, the affiliation of the spouses, and the marriages previously concluded by the group. Nothing of this survives today, and the bride price has become a bargaining, at times pretty sordid, even a real /52/ auction, with the bride often the first to boast of the high price she has obtained in the marriage market.

[583] 584 Marriage not long ago was, and still in a measure remains, a group affair, the concern of the two meyoñ and two menda me bôt involved, which is discussed between the head of the young man's family and the guardian responsible for the future wife, nya ndômô, "true brother," that is, an ascendant paternal relative or paternal

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

502 The mariner's compass is entirely unknown, and when I have shown one, it
501 was always spoken of as "the white man's *biang bial*" (canoe fetish). The Fang shapes his course by his knowledge of the river banks; he never ventures more than three days' journey from his own town, and much dislikes the idea of losing sight of land; therefore he seldom, if ever, attempts it. Certain canoes belong to the headman of the village, others to individuals. The canoes do not have houses;
[776] charms are frequently tied to the bow, to appease the water spirit, and frequently
[702] a traveller in a canoe will throw into the river at certain places he passes portions of his food to appease the local spirit which he believes dwells there. The place where this spirit dwells may be in some large tree or rock on the river bank. At night the canoes are hauled up on the river bank and usually left unprotected. Large war canoes, if painted, are occasionally covered with a few mats. No special portion of a canoe is set apart for a chief, he is usually seated near the bow. Watertight compartments for provisions are not provided, food and articles of trade being carried in high baskets. Upon arrival of a canoe from a neighbouring town, the visitors are frequently welcomed with shouts of joy; guns are fired and a dance given in the evening. I have seen canoes repaired by placing pieces of bark over the leaks inside and outside, the bark being secured with small hard wood plugs. No arrangement is made to prevent leaking.

Hooks for fishing are skilfully made of bamboo, the barb is long, very sharp
227 and notched on both sides. The hook is secured to the fishing-line with string made of pineapple fibre. Foreign-made fish-hooks are now largely used; these
[939] are much coveted, and considered a very staple article of trade.

Casting nets are used weighed with stones, iron, or lead, obtained in trade. The meshes are very fine and show much skilful and patient workmanship. A Fang will work well at anything which he can do while sitting in the palaver house. He can then work, smoke and talk; any work requiring much bodily exertion on his part or elsewhere is relegated to his wives. Fish traps are made of split bamboo and much resemble the lobster baskets used by our own fishermen. Small streams are often dammed at high water, the dam being made of split
[726] bamboo, fastened together with bush rope until a very large screen is made, 10 or 12 feet in height; this screen is staked across the stream at high water, when the tide falls the water passes readily through, leaving the fish in the river. The most disgusting sight among the Fang, is to see the women and children at low water walking in the mud, breast high, feeling for "mud fish." The large casting net is called *essé*; a small round net used for dipping in pools and along the river bank at low water is called *tea*.

VI.—*Metallurgy, Fire, Machinery.*

325 Metallurgy among the Fang is limited to the working of iron. The native word for iron is *Eki*. The Fang among whom I lived did not possess the knowledge of
● 326 smelting, but I was told that "other Fang far away in the bush, especially the Nqui dwarfs), dug the *minkok eki* (stones of iron) out of the earth, melted it, and

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

traded with the *ski* (iron)." Iron is put to various uses. Long bladed knives of various shapes and patterns are made, also spear heads, armlets, anklets, finger and toe rings. Small pieces of iron are used for bullets in flint-lock muskets. One of the most important uses of money among the Fang is the making of *beki*. 325 326

Beki is made up in bunches ten *beki* in each bunch; a bunch of *beki* is called *ntet*. The amount of dowry paid in *beki* is usually counted in hundreds, *kuliki bi kri, ntet ewom* (bring me one hundred *beki*). 326 [436]

A bundle of ten arrow heads is frequently used as an *ntet*.

A peculiar shaped adze is made of iron; it is used for working wood, especially hollowing trees intended for canoes.

Pieces of iron are forged into axe blades (*ewen*).

The *mfak* is a short handled spade made of iron, used for digging in the gardens.

The art of casting seems to be unknown.

The bellows (*akum*) used by Fang smiths are very ingenious (*specimen on table*). The feet are used to steady the bellows, whilst both hands work the goat skin covers and force air into the fire.

A block of iron is used for an anvil. Some of the natives are quite skilful at working iron. A Fang living near my residence often begged from me a round steel nail from a packing case. In a short time he would return with the nail transformed into a thin delicate knife or dagger, only the nailhead remaining intact. Very large fighting knife blades are made and beautifully fashioned, and ornamented with various punch marks.

I have never seen any native made wire. Imported brass wire is in great demand and mostly used as a continuous armlet. The coil usually reaches from wrist to elbow, and is considered extremely *mbung* (handsome), and kept highly polished. [439] [301]

Imported brass is obtained in trade and made into armlets, anklets, finger and toe rings. It is also used for ornamentation of guns.

Many of the natives are skilled workers of iron and fully aware of its value. I have never seen welding practised, but in working hot iron it is frequently plunged into cold water to make it *alert* (hard).

Fire.—In the far interior, fire is produced by friction, the simplest form of a drill being used, which is twisted rapidly between the hands. Along the rivers matches are obtained from the native traders, who bring up large quantities from the coast. The natives are always ready to trade for matches, which are again traded to interior tribes. Flints are only used on the hammer of the old flintlock musket imported for trade. Fires are almost constantly burning in the palaver houses. Two dry logs are kept constantly burning, they are placed end to end, when one log is nearly consumed it is replaced by another. 372 [439]

It is interesting to notice how the natives carry fire about. When on a journey in 1897 from Gross Batanga with a caravan to the Bulu country in the German sphere of influence, one of the men usually obtained a piece of burning 372 484

361 shed with a roof low enough to /43/ give good protection from the sun. Some villages are placed at right angles to the road; others
[351] follow an L or Y plan, with several minseñ. Family "allotments" are separated by hedges of euphorbia, castor-oil plant, hibiscus, and
[231] bougainvillea. Sometimes one comes across sheepfolds, although in
[574] old-style (and most contemporary) villages small livestock roam at will. A village often includes a guesthouse (ayak).

312 In building operations the man generally takes charge of the frame-
462 work and the laths, leaving to the women the preparation and application of the banco /clay daub?/. But European-style huts with their
333 elaborate door frames and often cement floors are more and more
342 the work of specialized artisans, who are paid to supervise the family labor provided by the owner. These men have nevertheless preserved, along with the English term "mason," the old name nloñ nda, literally, hut-weaver, which goes back to the time when huts were made of sewn bark (1).

342 1. The dwelling continues to evolve: framed doors, windows, and shutters are in general use today. The dimensions of the buildings lead to the construction of a real
[556] frame. Finally, to possess a sheet-iron roof is a sign of wealth. In recent years there has arisen a real passion for the improvement of dwelling: in the Cameroons we may estimate that 10 percent of the dwellings now built in the bush are the most modern type. (J.B.)

2. Groupings and Relationships

571 The main divisions of Pahouin society are both exactly defined
121 in the minds of its members themselves and at the same time uncer-
114 tain for the European observer, who is constantly tempted to state
665 them clearly in organic forms accessible to his "logic" and who is hindered by the variations or the dialectal confusions of Pahouin terminology. Father Trilles, basing his observations on the Fang of Gabon alone, reached a sort of palaeontological reconstruction of the "Fang nation," extremely theoretical, yet not without basis

/Facing 184/ Plate XXV

341
752
291
142

Fang with a "cover" on his Toe.

361
342

Fig. 17. Pangwe Village, Spanish Guinea.

361 and followers who help him with its construction and have a perma-
62 nent right to its use; /58/ /Fig. 18/ hence, the relational prefix
344 a in abā, "meeting house"; hence probably also the Janus head which I saw on the post of a meeting house (cf. Fig. 19). The stem of the word a-bā I derive from ba, "to divide, to share" (1), and I

1. The same stem exists in the numeral two (bai), which is clearly the result of the division of one object.

believe that it was originally intended to designate the place where the game that had been killed was divided. The meeting house is now the place for all public transactions, from the dividing of meat to judicial proceedings, public deliberations, and the reception of strangers.

62 Sometimes the meeting house constructed when the establish-
622 ment was founded remains permanently in a temporary state; it
344 remains unfinished because the people are too lazy -- each one thinks the other should start first -- and the chief lacks the power

/62/

342
344

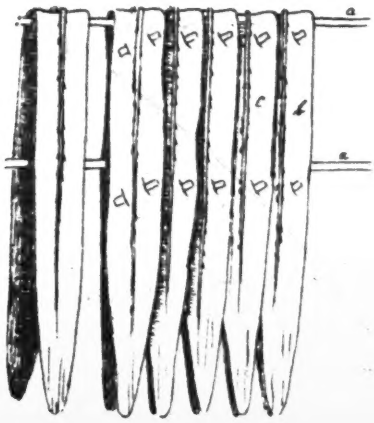


Fig. 22. Piece of a Roofing Mat at the Beginning of its Construction.

361
342
344

Fig. 23. Small Village in the Settlement of Nssälang (Essäung Family), Spanish Guinea.

342
344

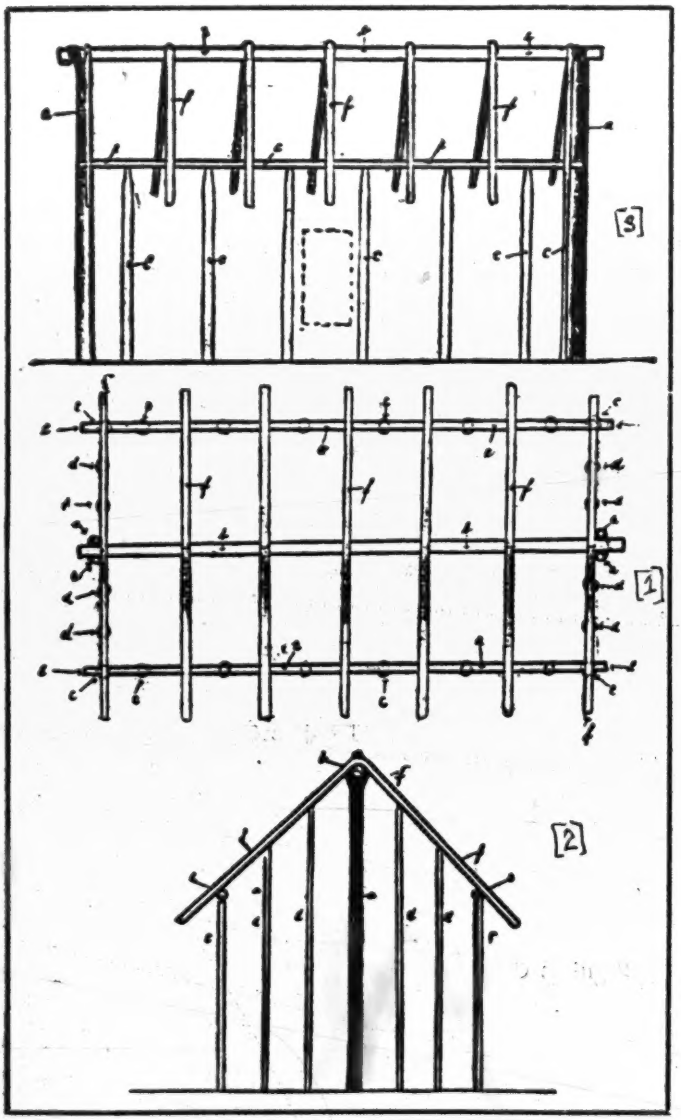


Fig. 24. Frame of a House.
Drawing 1, from above; drawing 2, from the front; drawing 3, from the side.

342

[516]

Fig. 34. Dwelling in Makonanǎm (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

344 fire gets too hot for him, and wards off the smoke from his face
517 like a person gently but firmly sending a little child away! He
538 looks as though he is talking to the fire and delivering a speech to the logs. Everybody listens in silence, everybody hangs on his words. And then follows a deliberate pause, after which he begins anew with impressive intonation; and at familiar places all the listeners enter into the narrative with a brief choral song in response to the solo part of the old man. Or there may be a
344 bit of gossip to relate, with a hubbub of biting words, an oc-
517 casion for spontaneous gaiety to prevail. On yet another oc-
521 casion a performance by a famous xylophone artist will draw
533 the population to the meeting house. The entire village, women and children included, takes part in these recitals; the children beat out the rhythm with small pieces of wood, while the women, with great dignity, beat together groundnuts and ngon which represent the "fee" and, softly humming a refrain, cast a meaningful glance in the direction of the tireless player.

342 The dwelling (ndǎ; plural, mandǎ), Figure 34, like the meeting house, /70/ /Fig. 34 appears here in the original text/ has a gabled roof and a rectangular ground plan. Like meeting houses, dwellings have both temporary and permanent forms.

342 Temporary dwellings are situated in the row of houses with their gables facing the village square, while the permanent ones have their long side turned toward it. A further difference between the two lies in the fact that in the temporary dwellings the door is placed on the gabled side and the walls on the two long sides are built up to a height of only about half a meter in order to save time; the roofs correspondingly extend farther down so that they almost touch the ground. The resultant greater steepness of the roof enables the rain water to drain off more rapidly, and thus makes it possible to save building material since it is not necessary to place the mats so closely on top of one another.

The permanent dwellings always have four complete walls and lack windows. A door, whose threshold is half a meter above the ground, thus giving the impression of a window, is made in the middle of the long wall. Most houses, in fact, have a door which is frequently not much wider than our casements in both the front wall and the opposite back wall. By and large, the construction of the dwelling is like that of the meeting house, except that the number of posts for the front wall is often reduced to four. For this reason, these posts are thicker and conspicuous for their careful workmanship. For the side walls in both the dwelling and the meeting house, not tree bark but swamp palms are used -- more rarely Sarcophrynium leaves or strips of raffia pith -- /71/ /Fig. 35 appears here in the original text/ whenever there is a concern for a more tasteful exterior. Sometimes a covered anteroom is formed in front of the house by propping up the overarching roof with posts along its free edge, as is done in the case of the meeting house.

The section of the front wall between the two central posts, where the door opening has been cut out, is frequently worked with great care; at least a number of short longitudinal strips of raffia will be inserted, especially between the ground and the threshold (Fig. 35). The threshold (mpfa dega I) (1), as well as

1. Stem pfa (fa), "to compress, to wedge."

the lintel in many cases, consists of a raffia stalk split lengthwise down the middle and cut out at both ends in the form of a swallow

342
854
291
301
576

Fig. 35. The Door Part of a Dwelling in Olanga (Essángbuak Family), Southern Cameroons.

tail. This is wedged into the door opening in such a fashion that the walls fit into the notches. Sometimes it is given an attractive form by being flattened near the end and having bands of palm plaited around it. Along the sides, on the other hand, the people content themselves with single strips of raffia stalk as door lining. 342

In the interior a thick post or a number of thinner posts (andē'i) stands at both sides of the door opening (mbēi I) (see Figs. 37 h, 38). Between these posts are wedged one or two diagonally placed poles, by means of which the piece of bark that serves as a door (evǐ'n e nda, evǐ'n e mbēi = house bark or door bark) is held fast. Sliding doors are more rarely encountered. These run between /72/ the wall and a lath at the top and bottom of the door opening; in the daytime they are pushed to the side and at night pulled in front of the opening. We find door posts even where there are sliding doors, since they primarily serve the purpose of preventing strangers from looking into the hut during the daytime. Most doors made of bark close poorly because they warp. Frequently the "door" consists of nothing /Fig. 36 appears here in the original text/ more than a number of narrow bark pieces that are loosely

●342

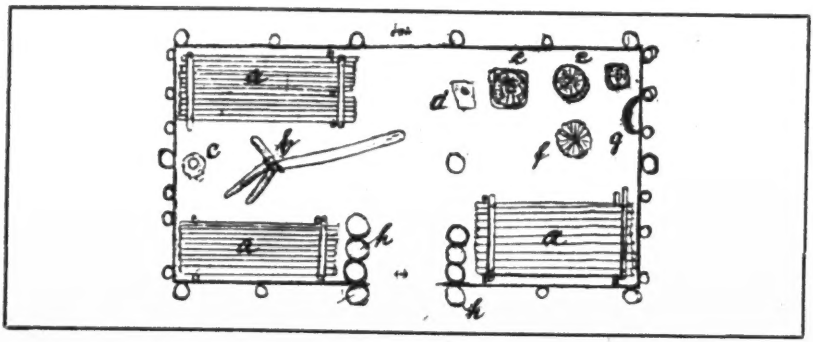
[531]

Fig. 36. Door of a Dwelling in Alén (Essáuong Family). Carved out of wood and painted a light gray with clay.

placed next to each other against the opening from the inside, and naturally there are large cracks between them. It goes without saying that any sudden gust of wind will blow them down and that they also fall down by themselves. I myself have often enough been awakened by this unfamiliar clatter, or the cool night air and the stings of the Anopheles mosquitoes swarming in have given me an unpleasant awakening.

[531] Doors made of wood (Fig. 36) are to be found here and there and are sometimes decorated with simple carved patterns. They are placed or wedged against the door opening from the inside. Frame doors imported by foreign traders and [139] set on hinges made of bands of palm are not very popular, generally speaking.

Exactly as in the case of the meeting houses, the construction and condition of the dwellings vary greatly. Some [356] houses are so clean and attractively built that they look like a doll's house just unpacked; others, however, look dilapidated, unclean, and unattractive, and they make such a revolting impression that -- as I often told my Pangwe -- not even a white man's dog would feel at home in it. The majority of the dwellings, of course, are between these two extremes, that is to say, if one takes the average of several villages -- for the houses of a single village are often of just about the same quality, a fact which doubtless stems from their being equally old. There are villages which appear



342
353
354

Fig. 37. Ground Plan of a Pangwe Dwelling.
a, sleeping benches; b, fireplace (kitchen); c, pot with water, d, grindstone; e, baskets; f, bundle of maize cobs; g, hens' nest; h, door posts.

like the toys of a gigantic child that have just been finished by a giant toy dealer and are placed on the clean earth as though on a gigantic table. There are others in which one actually finds not a single house which does not let in the rain in torrents, not a single house whose walls are still standing straight and which does not provide entry for nocturnal reptiles between its walls and the ground. The reader should consider the significance of the name of the village of Ebualebambe ("tumble-down village") which, indeed, as I saw, did full justice to its name. 342 [103]

Whether the houses are carefully built or not, they always look depressed because they are too low in relation to their length, which seems even greater /73/ /Fig. 37 appears here in the original text/ than it actually is because of the way the houses are arranged in rows. One gets the same impression when one goes inside; on the average it is so low that one can stand in it only in a bent position for fear of coming into painful contact with the roof or the household utensils hanging from it. It is rare indeed that one can stand upright on one of the low sleeping benches without bumping his head.

As in the case of the meeting house, the interior of the dwelling (Fig. 37) has a single room which the Pangwe divides into atūm a nkiai and atūm akui, that is to say, into a western "room" (on a lower level) and an eastern "room" (on a higher level) which are to the left and right of the door. Figure 38 gives a view of the interior of a Fang hut. In this illustration one side wall and the right

342
352
353
354

Fig. 38. A Dwelling of the Fang.
The right half of the front wall and one side wall have been removed for a view of the interior.

342 half of the front wall have been removed in order to provide a full view.

The four corners or at least three of them are occupied by
342 sleeping benches (Fig. 37 a) which are constructed exactly like
352 the benches of the meeting houses. The distance between the
353 head and foot rest, however, is only about three quarters body length, so it is necessary to lie on them with one's legs drawn up. The sleeping benches extend to the door posts and thus take up most of the room in the house. On one of the narrow sides and
[354] between two sleeping benches is the fireplace (Figure 37 b), that is, a few logs placed together and serving both as a hearth and a stove. Over the fireplace is attached a device for drying and storing food and dishes which is put together in the following manner (Fig. 39). A frame covered with plaited raffia strips is laid over the door posts (a) and two forked sticks driven into the corners. This is the "pot loft," akǎ́n e mvé (c); one can usually see a number of pots and a clay water bottle on it. Other things, which even for the Negro cannot be designated as "valuable possessions," /74/ /Fig. 38 appears here in the original text/ are also found there, such as banana bowls, maize spindles, to whose use I shall return later, and so forth. Under the pot loft hangs the drying loft or "groundnut loft," akǎ́n owǔnǒ (d). As the name indicates, this loft

342 serves only for the storage of groundnuts and is likewise usually
352 made of plaited raffia strips. Then there is the most important
353 household item for the housewife, the pantry, in the form of a storage box, bū.bū or bū.u (e), intended primarily for meat and other delicacies. This box is often very nicely made with raffia pith. In front it usually has a small protruding ledge on which salt, pepper, and spoons may be placed, and thus it serves as a kind of "dumb-waiter"; at the side it has an opening that is closed by means of a sliding door made of pith. The box fills the space between the beds so that it is barely possible to stand there. One or two drying or roasting boards, etǎn (f and g), hang under the box, just above the fire. These boards are used for roasting groundnuts and for drying things.

On the opposite wall at the same level a similar frame is put up, over which drying boards can be placed and from whose front edge the women's long baskets (nkūn I) are hung. There is floor space under this frame, a sleeping bench may be placed there, covered with baskets, grindstones, and other tools, or with the assorted possessions of the head of the household. A person who enters the house for the first time finds himself in the middle of the passage between front and back door, not knowing which way to turn. To make room at all it would be necessary to clear everything out; otherwise a European would find the house uninhabitable. In the north, /75/ especially among the Bulu and in part also among the Ntum, the huts are somewhat more spacious and habitable.

For hanging up baskets, calabashes, satchels, and other objects on the wall, the Pangwe makes use of a natural hook (ekǒ'b), that is, a piece of a tree trunk which is cut out just above and below a branch. The branch is cut off, the remaining stump is cut more or less to a point, and then the whole piece is inserted, in the same position as it was on the tree, between the longitudinal raffia strips on the inner side of the wall. Objects are very readily attached to the wall by means of raffia stalks stuck between the mats, from whose free ends they are suspended.

An important piece of furniture is the round, three-legged stool
53 (kpā III), Figure 40, carved out of wood and decorated all around its edge with ornamental chip carving.

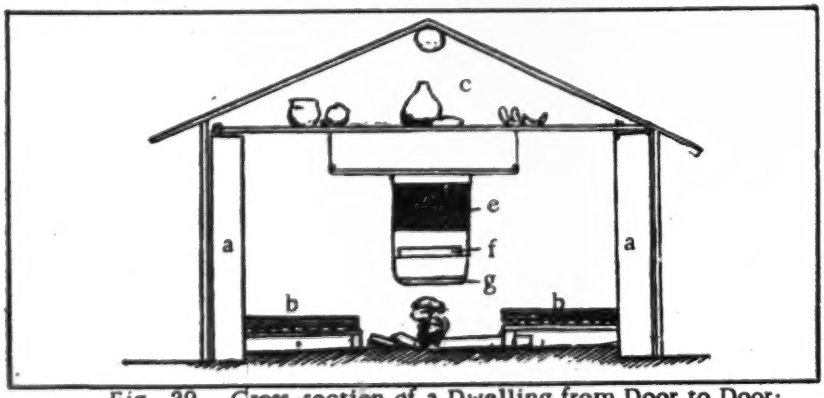
342
352
353

its edge with ornamental chip carving. It is placed on the ground, often in the vicinity of the door posts, and is considered, so to speak, as a place of honor -- for strangers and the paterfamilias -- like our sofa.

As a final household implement the sweeper should be mentioned. 412
It appears in various forms, depending on whether it is used in the 356
dwelling, for the benches of the meeting house, for the meeting house floor, or for the village square.

For the house a broom evǖ a[k], Figure 41 a, is used, made of raffia leaves tied together in the shape of a fan. "More elegant" brooms are used by the Jaunde for the benches of the meeting houses. These are made of pieces of liana stalks, Ertela scandens Benth., [824]
Leguminosae, called ntū (b), or of the flowers of the oil palm (c). The pieces of liana stalk are slit so that they form something like a brush; these brooms therefore correspond more or less to our dusters. A third form of broom (Fig. 42) consists of two little wooden boards tied with strips to a handle. /Fig. 39 appears here in the original text. / /76/ It resembles our snow shovels, but it is by no means to be found in every village, and even where it is found it is infrequently used.

In the preceding descriptions the reader will have been struck 137
by the frequency with which the raffia palm is mentioned as construc- 824
tion material. It is indeed true that this palm, called "bamboo" in Negro English, is by far the most important and most valuable plant



[342
353]

Fig. 39. Cross-section of a Dwelling from Door to Door: a, door posts; b, sleeping benches; c, pot loft; d, loft for drying groundnuts; e, pantry; f and g, roasting boards.

343 dwellings, stand with the gabled side facing the village square and look just like them except that they are firm and durable. [536] Storage houses are to be found only in the villages of wealthier chiefs.

344 The houses for strangers (esǎ'bǎd) are built following exactly the same pattern and ground plan as the ordinary dwelling, but they are very hastily constructed: the walls are usually only plaited palm leaves; the door extends to the ground with no threshold; and the sleeping benches are those of the simple kind (kū'dū III), often made only of umbrella tree trunks split lengthwise down the middle and placed on top of two casters of the same wood. They are constructed especially on the occasion of the festival for departed souls when greater numbers of strangers are expected; at the conclusion of the festive period they are pulled down.

● 342 In the forests or on very isolated plantations, refuge huts are frequently built. These are often no more than mere protective roofs (myō e ngī III = gorilla home), while others resemble the simplest temporary meeting houses, that is, huts in which the gabled sides are open and the long walls are either absent or consist only of a few tree trunks (angǒ n e ngī = gorilla crown, that is, the strip which juts out like a comb on the top of the gorilla's skull). /79/

344 Special houses are built next to or behind the dwellings or just outside the village for persons with contagious diseases 744 (frambesia, leprosy) (see Fig. 16). Because they are designed for only one person, they are usually smaller than the dwellings; they have the same shape but are carelessly constructed and soon deteriorate because nobody takes the trouble to repair them.

343 Here and there I found stables; in the next section I shall come back to these. /Fig. 42 appears here in the original text. /

Finally, it should be mentioned that in some villages 342 especially those close to the coast, there are houses on piles. 177 These are copied from the European settlements and are almost completely useless for the natives since their construction requires greater care and trouble than that of ordinary houses. Consequently, the houses on piles built by the Pangwe are veritable caricatures of human dwellings.

252
415
516
342

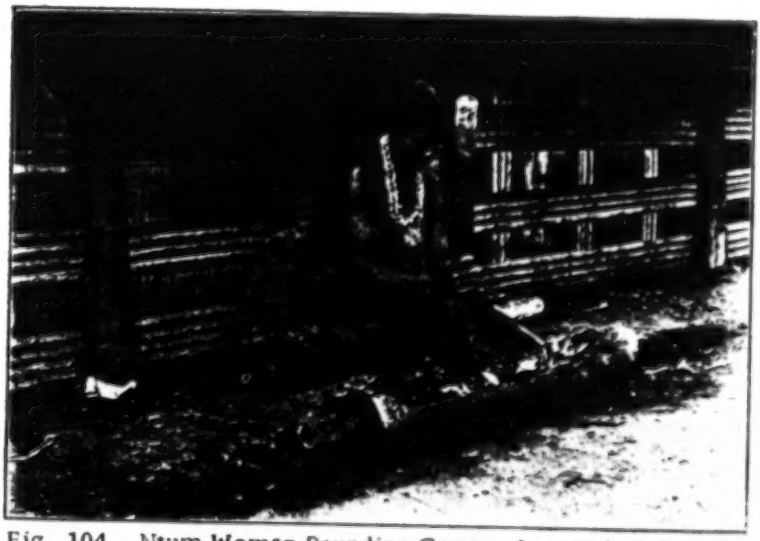


Fig. 104. Ntum Woman Pounding Cassava Leaves in a Trough for Spinach.

252 three or four times, and salt is added. Everything is given another good stirring, and the dish is ready. Sometimes the material is also boiled with a little water in the pot itself.

(b) Groundnut bundle (nnɜ̄m-ewu̱no I).

As in the case of (a), water is put on the fire in a pot. After the pot has been taken off the fire, the groundnut material is poured into it and stirred up as water is added. Then the mush is put inside a plantain leaf that has been drawn through the fire to make it flexible; the leaf is tied together into a bundle and placed on the fire in a pot of cold water. The pot must be closed at the top with leaves. If the groundnuts are not stirred up with hot water, but, as in this case, are placed on the fire cold, they always have to boil from half an hour to an hour. /159/

(c) Groundnut mush (atō̱ō).

The mass of groundnuts -- prepared as indicated above -- is poured into a pot of boiling water and stirred around. Then it is

273

3. Palm wine.

The Pangwe make palm wine primarily from the oil palm Elaeis guineensis L. (alɛ́n). In very rare cases they make it from the raffia palm, while in the extreme north it is also made from

[272 342]

Fig. 106. A Ntum Man Using a Spiked Stalk to Scrape Sections of Sugarcane in Order to Press Sugar Wine out of it.

the Deleb palm. As a result, its abundance and quality depend upon the range of the oil palm, that is to say, actually only the northern Pangwe region, especially the Mwele, Jaunde, and Bene areas and to a lesser extent the Bulu area, come into consideration here. In the south, on the other hand, the making of palm wine is practically unknown; there oil palms are so sparse that they give their name to nearby localities (Alén, Malén) because they

249
361
342

Fig. 110. Tobacco Planted in a Village Square.

276 (myō-taa) consists of a clay bowl and a wooden stem about 30 centimeters long, part of which has brass wire neatly wound around it (Fig. 109). Formerly, this pipe is supposed to have been as long as an arm among the Jaunde.

249 Proportionate to the indifferent habit of smoking is the indifferent care and affection with which the tobacco plant and its leaves are treated. Wherever a great deal of tobacco is imported by the trading houses, tobacco cultivation is completely neglected. /171/

Tobacco seeds are sown in whatever planting area happens to be convenient at the same time as the principal crop of the field is planted. Accordingly, the tobacco may be sown, for instance, with groundnuts twice a year. Frequently a small tobacco bed is laid out close to the village, or the seeds are planted next to the houses and sometimes on the village square (Fig. 110).

As soon as the plants attain a certain height, all the leaves except those on top are picked off. The top leaves are left so that the plant can continue to grow and bring forth blossoms and fruit. Then the leaves are harvested for the second time, and the fruit

314 For the house walls the bark plates that have been removed
342 are in part used without further ado. That is, they are used either completely raw or after the outermost layer has been peeled off -- the practice of the Jaunde, but the Ntum and Fang do this best with the Xylopia aethiopica (ojǎh). /206/ Otherwise, the Ntum and Fang prefer to dry the bark pieces for five or more days over the fire in the meeting house or in the sun, for otherwise they quickly warp or develop cracks and holes.

Ornamental barks are treated in the same way and dried especially well because, unlike the house walls, they are not held by boards on both sides. To obtain ornamental bark, all the trees

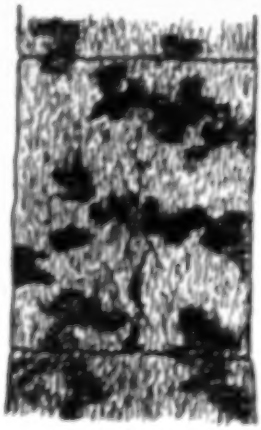


Fig. 157a. Removal of Tree Bark for House Construction.

mentioned in the footnote on page 214 can be used, but Cordia odorata Gürke (ebǎ, Fang) and Triplochiton tessmannii (afǎ) are especially suitable since various layers can be drawn off from their bark after drying, each one of which can be used by itself. This means a saving of labor which is as valuable to the Negro as it is to us. The bark is made into rectangular plates painted
314 with figures and scenic representations or patterned in colorful
342 rectangular, triangular, or arc-shaped fields. The frames of
531 the rectangular fields consist mostly of raffia leafstalk strips running diagonally; those of the arc-shaped fields consist of

314 strips of rattan palm. Both frames are drawn through holes made
342 with an awl (nsǒn), Figure 174, c; they are sewn on with fine
51 palm bands. In the next section I shall speak of the patterns.

314 To obtain bark for houses and decoration a whole number of
445 trees are available, as we have seen. On the other hand, containers
322 -- at least in the southern region -- are made from the bark of only a single tree, a Tiliacea (ekǫ́b). They are carefully worked, and when new they look very nice because of their even yellow-gray color which later, as a result of the smoke in the hut and through age, becomes dark brown to black. They are manufactured in the following manner. The requisite piece of bark is cut off to the desired size, and its outermost layer is scorched over the fire so that it can be scraped off with a knife. It is then bent into the shape of a cylinder so that the edges lie over one another in a narrow strip. The edges are clamped between the halves of a stick that has been split down the middle, the halves being pressed together again at the top and bottom by means of a string. At this point the edges are sewn one on top of the other with two seams. The stitching is done with palm bands, for which holes are made with an awl. The projecting edge is cut off. The lid consists of a hoop similarly constructed from the same bark and a plate made of the wood of the umbrella tree, which is also used for the bottom of the vessel.

445 Bark containers of all sizes are manufactured, from the most
761 charming little boxes to the gigantic barrel. In one respect, however, they are identical, that is, only important things are kept in them, such as the poisoned arrows for the crossbow, skulls of ancestors, and, above all, medicines, in short, all things /207/ connected with death; hence they are called nsǫ̌k I (1), since

1. In addition, we find nkǫ́b I from which is derived the name of the tree, ekǫ́b.

n-sǒ-k -- derived from n-so-ak -- contains the root sǒ which designates death in the religious sense. Thus, one puts something associated with death (sǒ) in the bark container (action is involved

285 The second class of baskets displays a variety of braiding elements: one that is flexible and active (braiding strips) (2), forms

[113] 2. See the discussion in J. Lehmann, Systematik und geographische Verbreitung der Geflechtsarten /System and Geographic Distribution of Types of Braiding/, Leipzig, 1907.

the bottom of the basket, and, ascending upward, is tied around the second, stiffer, passive one (braiding strand). /215/ Placed in the form of a spiral, this second element forms the wall of the basket. The sources of the braiding elements are as follows.

285 824 The active elements are taken from Sarcophrynium stalk strips, Pandanus leaves, or -- this is the predominant source -- the outermost wood layer of the rattan palms. The term for these current today is the collective name nlǒ'ñ I, a word derived from the root a lǒn "to braid, to twine" (compare a lǒn ndǎ, "to weave a house together, to build"; a lǒn nkǒ̱ē', "to weave baskets"), and used at the same time for the "bush rope" obtained from the rattan palms. Formerly, nlǒ'ñ designated only the Eremospatha macrocarpa M. et W., which occurs only in the coastal strip west of 11 degrees longitude and in the north or northeast of the Pangwe region. Later, when the Pangwe came south, the term was transferred to the two rattan palms occurring there which are used for the same purpose, namely, Eremospatha tessmannii Becc. (ongǎm) and especially Oncocalamus mannii Wendl. (ebǒ̱'dǒ̱gǒ Fang, ebǒ̱'dǒ̱k Ntum; young, akǒ'lõ̱ɩ), Plate 16, Drawing 1, which is important there (1).

342 824 1. The rattan palms mentioned, aside from being used in weaving, are also used in the following ways.

1. In house construction: as rough bands, to tie together the framework of the house; as finer bands, to tie together the lathes of the side walls and the raffia leafstalks of which the sleeping

342
824

benches are made; and -- in the form of very fine bands -- to tie roof mats together.

824

2. In bridge construction, as railing ropes.
3. To wind around worn or bad wooden handles (cutlass and knives) and handles of fly swatters and brooms.
4. As a band, for example, to hold together damaged rifle butts and wooden plates, to tie down the bark stretched over the sounding board of the harp, and so forth.
5. As the main strand for the woman's back apron made of bast; the bast bundles are fastened to it.
6. As string for the musical bow (elĕm).
7. As bird snares.
8. In making bark containers (see above).
9. As decorative strips for arm and neck bands (ekăt).
10. As a stamp to make a pattern on pottery.

285
824

The passive element mainly comes from the rattan palm Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc. (nkāne, more rarely ekă), Plate 16, Drawing 2, which differs from the Oncocalamus mannii in having large spikes on the upper side of the main leaf vein and finer spikes on the center vein and along the sides of the pinnae, a terminal inflorescence, and differently colored fruit (2). As

2. Aside from weaving, this is used in the following ways.
1. Decorative strips for arm and neck bands (ekăt).
2. Walking sticks.
3. Sugar press.
4. Tension ropes for drumheads.

1: Tessmann--337 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate XII

Dwelling in Bebai (Esseng Family) Ntum Region.

757
278
[342]

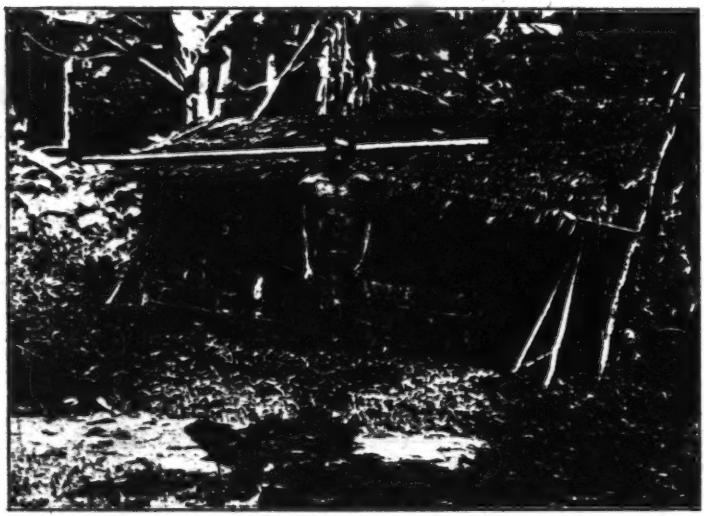


Fig. 63. Leper in front of his Hut, Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

Harms (andzītsīn), whole leaves of the Phaulopsis or ground leaves of cassava (Manihot utilissima) and Emilia sagittata L. (alōmvū III) are pressed on the spots, and over them is sprinkled a powder made of the dried and charred roots and stems of the Asystasia macrophylla T. And. /173/ (elǒbokūi). Shortly before the complete healing of the spots, the fruit of Solanum aethiopicum L. var. (ndzē̱i-ʒū̱m) is pressed on them so they will become as black as the fruit.

For the later stage of the illness, in which the festering boils form, the following prescription is used: leaves of the Bidens bipinnatus L. (aniǒ'ń), leaves of the Brillantaisia vogeliana Bth. ebūgebǒ'ń), and pieces of bark of Ficus exasperata are boiled together in water; the water is then poured into a leaf vessel and left to stand until it is lukewarm; then the leprosy spots are washed with it. Thereupon, whole leaves of the Fleurya aestuans (L) Gandich (ngūkǔ'n IV) are placed on the boils as a compress. After two days, the leaf is taken off, the washing is repeated, and the young, still folded leaves of the Loganiacea Mostuea buchholzii Engl. (ofū̱mū) are ground and put on the wounds.

166 country and in the north of Boulou country) has put a considerable
621 brake upon village nomadism, the planters not liking to move away from their plantations. When there is migration, the activity consists rather in the "swarming off" of a portion of the inhabitants, who go to found a new hamlet in a site favorable for cultivation, without there being from then on any necessary correspondence between family structure and settlement pattern. The new jal will no longer necessarily correspond to one family but may gather together several families from different and unrelated lineages (mvam).

361 The Pahouin village of former times was planned for defense.
712 Situated in an oblong clearing, usually within reach of the nearest
[202] village (3 to 4 kilometers) by drum-telephone (nkul), it comprised two lines of contiguous rectangular huts, gable to gable, on either side of a courtyard or main street (nseñ), blocked at either end by a guardhouse /men's house/ (aba, abeñ) allowing only a narrow entrance, often oblique, which was barricaded every evening. All doors gave onto the nseñ; the outer walls having merely a few loopholes. Sometimes the village was encircled by a moat (ésalak) and traps, sometimes also by a stockade /akak). The most important subsistence plots (mefup) were in the forest, often quite far away, but near the village behind the huts were banana groves and kitchen gardens, while medicinal plants (bilok bi mebiañ) as well as tobacco were grown in
• 342 the central nseñ. The hut walls were made of bark (particularly of certain kinds of Ficus /fig/) which was wetted, then beaten flat and dried to form boards; these are the "carbotes" (from the English word "cardboard") still in use on the coast. These boards were fastened by lianas and pegs to posts set in a rectangle. The double pitched roof was of "tiles" made of raffia folioles (ôbaé, pl. abaé) folded in two and pinned with wooden splinters to the scantlings made of /42/ strips of the main leaf rib set parallel to the ridgepole. This ridgepole
[531] rested on forked posts, of which the two central ones had magical significance and were usually carved or at least painted. The dimensions of these dwelling huts rarely exceeded 6 by 3 meters, while those of the guardhouses (meba) might reach twice this. In each
[352] household the man had his private hut where he kept his most valuable possessions (biôm): chests containing loincloths, etc., weapons, drums, "medicaments" (mebiañ), his own seat, masks, and magical equipment. The women's huts, side by side with his and where the young children slept, were used as kitchens and contained carrying

352 baskets, storage baskets (binaan), crockery (viek), or imported "negro pots" /sic/ (minkeñ), the drying rack, shrimp nets, mortars, and other feminine implements. The young unmarried men slept in
361 the guardhouse; the girls slept with the women. A jal occupied by an average-sized family might be 50 meters long. Large minlam reached half a kilometer, in which case the nseñ was divided into sections by the secondary meba of each family. The chief lived in the middle and had a larger aba than those of other families.

177 372 178 This kind of village has almost entirely disappeared. Bark huts are still extant in a few isolated villages in Gabon, but they are increasingly rare. In actual fact, one finds almost everywhere the hut of reinforced banco /wattle and daub?/ (the wattle consists of laths made of the main ribs of raffia, incorrectly called bamboo), imposed on Boulou country around 1925 by an administrator called Nkulu (meaning "the Tornado"), which has left its mark throughout Pahouin country. These huts are usually rectangular but tend, in prosperous villages, to be influenced by European forms, with T-, U-, or H-shapes, with verandas and lean-to showers. They are often plastered with kaolin (fem) sometimes mixed with red or green ocher or with imported laundry blueing. The roof is still usually of raffia tile, but it may have four slopes or be even more complicated, copied
514 from European roots. Each family has its own privy (éduk).

361 The layout of villages has likewise changed. The most prevalent plan keeps the single central nseñ /street/, but the huts are in four lines on either side and are separate, no longer contiguous. The men's huts are nearest the road, the women's, now called kisin (cuisines /kitchens/), are laid out behind, or sometimes around, the
531 husband's. The plaster is often painted in fresco with various subjects —copies of pictures in magazines, religious subjects, in Boulou country illustrations from the novel Nnanga kôn (1), portraits of

1. The best Boulou painter of recent years was David Monewoso, a Yemfek from Sangmélima, who not only established the iconography of Nnanga kon but is also a good portraitist and a remarkable painter of animals.

Europeans famous locally or internationally. The aba /guardhouse/ has lost its defensive character and often take the form of an airy

shed with a roof low enough to /43/ give good protection from the sun. Some villages are placed at right angles to the road; others follow an L or Y plan, with several minseñ. Family "allotments" are separated by hedges of euphorbia, castor-oil plant, hibiscus, and bougainvillea. Sometimes one comes across sheepfolds, although in old-style (and most contemporary) villages small livestock roam at will. A village often includes a guesthouse (ayak).

In building operations the man generally takes charge of the framework and the laths, leaving to the women the preparation and application of the banco /clay daub?/. But European-style huts with their elaborate door frames and often cement floors are more and more the work of specialized artisans, who are paid to supervise the family labor provided by the owner. These men have nevertheless preserved, along with the English term "mason," the old name nloñ nda, literally, hut-weaver, which goes back to the time when huts were made of sewn bark (1).

1. The dwelling continues to evolve: framed doors, windows, and shutters are in general use today. The dimensions of the buildings lead to the construction of a real frame. Finally, to possess a sheet-iron roof is a sign of wealth. In recent years there has arisen a real passion for the improvement of dwelling: in the Cameroons we may estimate that 10 percent of the dwellings now built in the bush are the most modern type. (J.B.)

2. Groupings and Relationships

The main divisions of Pahouin society are both exactly defined in the minds of its members themselves and at the same time uncertain for the European observer, who is constantly tempted to state them clearly in organic forms accessible to his "logic" and who is hindered by the variations or the dialectal confusions of Pahouin terminology. Father Trilles, basing his observations on the Fang of Gabon alone, reached a sort of palaeontological reconstruction of the "Fang nation," extremely theoretical, yet not without basis

881 304 779 782 do all he can to end this state. As soon as he has killed an enemy, he hurries with the victim's hand to his father. Circumcision then solemnly takes place before all the warriors, and his marriage is celebrated as soon as the wound has healed.

3) Time of the ceremony

881 304 779 The chief first decides upon the date, which is almost invariably in the eight days before a full moon.

As soon as the chief has announced that circumcision will shortly take place, he indicates all the children who are to be included; they, under his direction, go off into the forest not far from the village. After a large space has been cleared, they [342] build open little huts or mere shelters, where they live all together.

Their food is left at the beginning of the path leading to the huts, for no one is supposed to approach; access [523] is above all strictly forbidden to women. The food is plentiful, [264] and nothing must be thrown away or hidden; everything must be eaten, and the chief supervises this rigorously. (1)

1. One of our missionaries observed the same custom among the more advanced populations of the interior. He even mentions this fact: the rule is so strict that one of the candidates was forced three times in succession to swallow the food that his stomach persistently rejected.

4) Preparations

[351] All around the place where the boys are confined, a fence of reeds (1) is erected, which no one dares jump over. This seclusion

1. The place of circumcision shows well enough that the rite is like a consecration, by blood sacrifice, of the sexual life to which the young man is thereafter admitted. Lagrange, op. cit., p. 244.

779 would lead to a ritual offense. These branches are embedded
778 in the earth; they must also be straight, cut from the actual
622 trunk of the tree and not from a branch; upon these poles stuck into the ground, the chief arranges pieces of bamboo (1) which

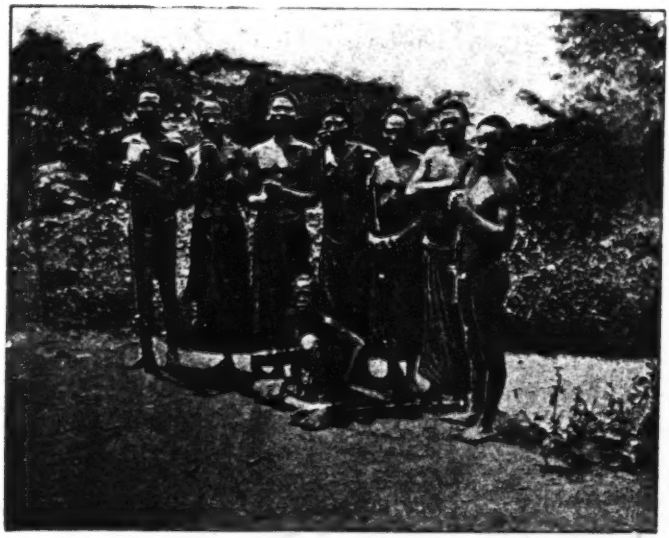
[342 824]

1. Bamboo is the usual term given by analogy to the palm stems or raffia used in all Fan building, in place of real bamboo, which is unknown or a recent importation into Gabon.

[284] make a platform. They are tied together, not with the lianas usual for huts, but with lashings [538] made of rattan palm. When that work has been done, the chief places his évora biéri on the upper tier; the other family heads put their bivora bibiér to the right and left in order of precedence. When all the boxes of skulls have been lined up, each man, after having danced and sung around the altar, then approaches it again, opens his box, removes the ancestral skulls, and places them on the lower tier below the boxes. Upon his family skulls he places the family totem, then his own personal totem. There is another series of dances, accompanied by songs. The chief then advances again, alone, and puts the skull of his immediate ancestor above all the others, dances and sings, then puts the skull inside that of the first ancestor. He also takes his family totem, which by the very fact of his birth is the tribal or clan totem, and places it upon the two superimposed skulls, his father's and that of the clan father. Then there begins a special
533 song called the Song of Union. The archaic words are nowadays
622 for the most part very hard to understand, the general meaning,
779 on the other hand, is easy to grasp: it deals with the uniting of all the heads of families in direct line and consists of an invocation to the Spirit of the Race, who has passed down through all descendants from the first ancestor so as to produce a united and indivisible whole. The final words of the song express this idea quite clearly:

8: Bennett D.5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

142
291
516



FANG MEN.

342
516
352

FANG HOUSE.

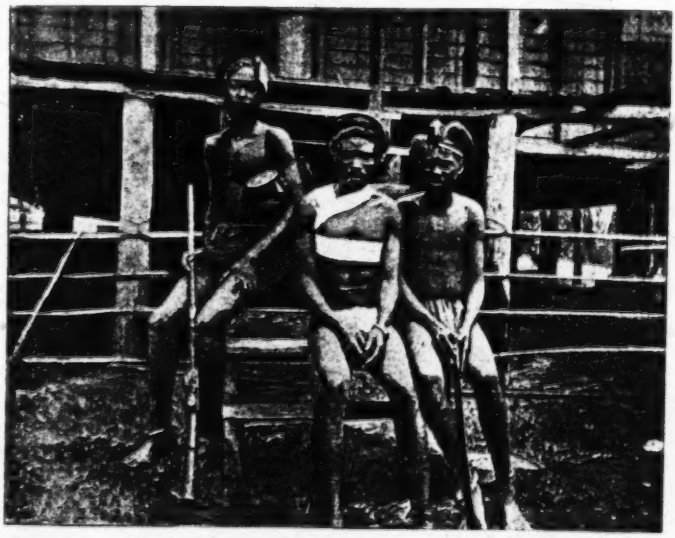
[p.66(B)]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

342
291
482
142

FANG WOMAN.

142
291
302
411



FANG YOUTHS.

[p. 66(C)]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

304 to obtain any accounts touching on its introduction, beyond the fact "we learnt it from our fathers." No ceremonies are connected with it. There are no professional tattooers, but the natives frequently employ a man known to be skilful to ornament them. It is practised by both sexes; young lads are anxious to be tattooed because it makes them feel "real men," but the practice is not indispensable as a sign of manhood. The same blue pigment obtained from a tree fungus used in painting is mixed with ashes and employed for tattooing. The instrument used is a sharp piece of bamboo, a piece of sharp iron or a knife. The practice does not appear to be in any way connected with pagan worship. Social or family rank does not affect the designs employed. Fang tattooing is not always symmetrical, it usually commences with the face, and a favourite design on the cheeks somewhat resembles the bowl and stem of a straight pipe. Only one colour is employed. Tattoo marks and designs are mostly found on the face, chest, shoulders, arms and abdomen. Women frequently have the pipe pattern or a band across the cheeks, and occasionally upon the breasts.

Cicatrization is largely practised. Small incisions are made in the skin with a sharp instrument, frequently a steel nail from an imported packing case obtained from the trade house, the nail being flattened out into a small knife blade; or a sharp piece of bamboo is used. The juice of a certain herb is rubbed into the incised wounds.

IV.—*Habitations.*

The houses are built mostly of bark; beams and rafters are made from the 342 strong branches of forest trees and bamboo; they are secured by bush rope. The entire structure rests on the ground. It is very rare to find a Fang house on poles, except near the coast. There is no regularity in size of houses, but the form and material used is common to all the tribe. The average Fang house or hut is a low dark building, 15 feet long by 10 wide, and with walls about 6 feet high; the roof angle increases the height inside. Each family has a house; it is used, day and night, by all members of the family. Travellers usually occupy [485] the *abeng* (palaver house), and the headman finds them sleeping quarters at night. When the owner dies he is usually buried close to the house, and the [764] grave levelled off and soon obliterated. The houses comprising a town are built together, end to end. Towns consist of two rows of houses, with the main road passing between them. The *abeng* (palaver house) is built across one end of the main road. A large place is often composed of several towns or villages in line, 361 the limits of each village being marked by its palaver house, and having its own 712 headman. The Fang method of conveying information regarding the size of a place is by stating the number of palaver houses it contains. Stockades are frequently used at the entrance to a town, especially if the people have a palaver (tribal war) with a neighbouring tribe. The palaver houses and dwellings are also frequently stockaded. The natives often show considerable foresight and shrewdness by making use of the natural advantages of a position in selecting a site for their villages.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

site for their villages. The houses can be readily taken down and erected 342
elsewhere. The earth floor is often beaten very hard, no covering is used. The
beds are made of bamboo poles resting upon end pieces, supported by four forked [513]
corner stakes. The bed is raised about one foot from the ground. In most houses
are four beds, two at each end on opposite sides, having a log fire burning between, 352
the smoke escaping through the thatch roof. The furniture is all movable, and consists of stools, cassava bowls and boards, drinking gourds, fish nets, water gourds, various baskets and hanging bamboo shelves for drying fish and corn over the fire. Food, guns and powder horns are hung up on wooden hooks suspended by bush rope; these hooks are made by cutting a suitable branch from a young tree, having a strong crutch. No separate portion of the dwelling is set apart for sleeping or eating. There are no windows to a Fang house; at night one or more pieces of bark are used for a door. All the domestic arrangements are excessively [356]
filthy. Refuse from meals is unknown, everything is eaten, including entrails and
skin of animals and fish. Before occupying a new house the witch doctor (*ngangan*) [262]
is usually called to perform the ceremony of propitiating the evil spirits (local 342
spirits), and the *biang Ekuri* (fetish) is hung up and becomes the protecting fetish of the household. This fetish is hung up over the doorway outside. The houses are built entirely above ground, the roofs are made of split bamboo and covered with thatch made from the long tough blade of a swamp reed, or rush. This thatch makes a most excellent roof, and when well put on, it is able to withstand three years of the terrible rains which fall during the long wet season.

V.—*Navigation, Hooks, Nets, Fishing, Traps.*

The Fang use long narrow canoes. A suitable tree having been found is 501
felled and trimmed, then hollowed out with the small native wedge. All the boats
are open and both sides of the canoe alike. The women use the same canoes as [396]
the men and paddle them very skilfully. War canoes are made large and strong, but are otherwise similar in construction to the canoes in daily use. A kind of lugger sail is used and the natives sail a thin canvas very close to the wind. The baler used is made of wood; it much resembles a large flat sugar scoop and is common among tribes along the west coast. This baler is used most skilfully and with great rapidity by both men and women. In paddling, no fulcrum whatever
is used. The men and women either sit or kneel, grasping the paddle handle in 502
its upper and lower thirds they plunge the blade deeply into the water, and force the canoe ahead with great rapidity. One man, woman, or a child steers, using an
ordinary paddle; the time kept while paddling is excellent, and is usually kept by [533]
one man chanting a Fang song, not unlike a white sailor's shanty, the paddling [46]
taking on renewed vigour during the chorus. The sails are usually made now [501]
of imported trade cloth, but I have seen them made from the native bark [439]
cloth. Only one sail is used and the canoes are able to beat up well against the wind.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

412 the natural curve of the branches. Stones are employed for rolling food, especially for crushing and rolling the *ngon* seed. Shells of large land mollusca are cut in half and used for spoons, small gourds being used for the same purpose. Large gourds are used for water dippers and bottles. Very many uses are found for the forest 824 gourds, not the least ingenious being the use of a hollow stemmed gourd for [757] administering a rectal injection. Gourds are used for the sounding boards of the musical instrument called *mvuk*. The people find many uses for bamboo. It is used in construction of houses, fish baskets and traps are made from it, fences to protect paths during tribal wars are made of sharp pointed bamboo poles; and small sharpened pieces of bamboo with poisoned tips are buried in the forest paths, point upward, to wound and poison the naked feet of an unsuspecting enemy. The 825 teeth and claws of leopards and bush cats, elephant tail, antelope feet, horns and forest beans are used in their natural form as personal ornaments. Leopard teeth are always considered valuable as *biang* (fetish) and are much sought after; they are frequently imitated in ivory. I have not seen the defences of animals employed as artificial defences, except as fetish. Long tough forest thorns are often used as awls [412] and needles for piercing and sewing skins. I once saw an *ngangan* (witch doctor) 763 perform a post-mortem examination on a woman. After he had discovered the cause 787 of death, which he announced to the expectant crowd as being due to "six witches eating her liver," he first pierced the abdominal walls with a long hard thorn, and then sewed up the body with a bamboo needle threaded with pineapple fibre. I 342 have seen only one cave dwelling; it was used by an isolated sufferer of the dread 734 disease called by the natives *mabata* (a kind of sloughing phagedina). When proper reed material for making thatch is scarce, large forest leaves are used, but they make very poor roofs, especially during the tornado season.

Conservatism.—The Fang are not quick to adopt reforms or to introduce new 185 methods; they are more or less the slaves of custom, and have a superstitious dread 186 of departing from ancestral habits. This refers to all the proceedings of life. Fang living in towns near Gaboon are almost daily coming in contact with white settlers, and to some extent, at least, appear to be changing their mode of living. It never appeared to me that a Fang had the same longing to be "just like a white man" as possesses the young Mpôngwe and Benga men.

IX.—*Ornamentation.*

The patterns mostly seen in Fang ornamentation consist of bands, incised 531 lines, elliptical punch marks, herring bone, lozenge pattern and cross lines. The natives do not possess a natural aptitude for drawing and seldom attempt it. The few drawings I have seen on the bark walls of houses supposed to represent men and women, were very crude and exaggerated in proportion. They have no idea whatever of perspective. They seem to interpret foreign drawings very readily. [322] The Fang show considerable skill in plain wood carving, using an ordinary native knife. I have noticed that their carving improves very considerably when an imported pocket knife is the instrument employed.

824 39. Plectrum for the musical bow, elém (stalk strips).
40. Strings for the harp (fiber).
41. Sticks for the war drum, ngómo (made of pith).
42. Sticks for the signaling drum, nkū (stalk pieces). /78/
43. Children's zither (halved stalks; plectrum; stalk pieces).

VIII. Toys

44. Children's rattle stick (pith, stalk pieces).
45. Bow and arrows (stalks).
46. Rifle made of pith, newer model (pith).
47. Trigger and upper part of rifles, old model (stalk strips).
48. Pickaxes, knives, tools (pith).
49. Trap for gadflies (pith, stalk pieces).
50. Food stealer (piece of stalk).
51. Memory game, nkūk endélé (pith).
52. Stone game, akūn (stalk pieces).

IX. Clothing, Ornaments

53. Straw hats (pith).
54. Chenille for decorative caps, edōbǎn (pith).
55. Women's tailpieces (bast).
56. Strips of bast for sewing materials (bast).
57. Head adornment, akūt (bast).
58. Arm adornment (bast).
59. Neck adornment (bast).
60. Belts (bast).
61. Ropes for stringing heavy beads (fiber).
62. Walking sticks, better ones made of Raphia hookeri M. (esa).

● 343 In addition to the meeting and dwelling houses already described, the Pangwe build a number of other huts designed for special purposes, namely, storage houses, houses for strangers, field huts, and houses for the sick.

The storage houses have a variety of forms. Some are merely dwellings from which the furniture has been removed; [177] others are similar to these but have a wooden door, often copied from the European models; still others, like the temporary

343 dwellings, stand with the gabled side facing the village square and look just like them except that they are firm and durable. [556] Storage houses are to be found only in the villages of wealthier chiefs.

344 The houses for strangers (esá'bád) are built following exactly the same pattern and ground plan as the ordinary dwelling, but they are very hastily constructed: the walls are usually only plaited palm leaves; the door extends to the ground with no threshold; and the sleeping benches are those of the simple kind (kū'dū III), often made only of umbrella tree trunks split lengthwise down the middle and placed on top of two casters of the same wood. They are constructed especially on the occasion of the festival for departed souls when greater numbers of strangers are expected; at the conclusion of the festive period they are pulled down.

342 In the forests or on very isolated plantations, refuge huts are frequently built. These are often no more than mere protective roofs (myō e ngī III = gorilla home), while others resemble the simplest temporary meeting houses, that is, huts in which the gabled sides are open and the long walls are either absent or consist only of a few tree trunks (angō'n e ngī = gorilla crown, that is, the strip which juts out like a comb on the top of the gorilla's skull). /79/

344 Special houses are built next to or behind the dwellings or just outside the village for persons with contagious diseases 744 (frambesia, leprosy) (see Fig. 16). Because they are designed for only one person, they are usually smaller than the dwellings; they have the same shape but are carelessly constructed and soon deteriorate because nobody takes the trouble to repair them.

343 Here and there I found stables; in the next section I shall come back to these. /Fig. 42 appears here in the original text./

Finally, it should be mentioned that in some villages 342 especially those close to the coast, there are houses on piles. 177 These are copied from the European settlements and are almost completely useless for the natives since their construction requires greater care and trouble than that of ordinary houses. Consequently, the houses on piles built by the Pangwe are veritable caricatures of human dwellings.

316
325

showed that the ore "exhibits a not inconsiderable titanium content, some sulphur, traces of phosphoric acid, a small calcium content, as well as a small magnesium content, in addition to the usual components, such as silicic acid, iron oxide, aluminum oxide, water, and small quantities of manganese."

simply collected and carried off. The iron ore pits (ebê-asél from [423] asél, "rock containing iron") have no special significance for the Pangwe; they are common or rather ownerless property that could be claimed by anyone. The smelting of the iron ore, on the other 325 hand, takes place in special smelting huts which are usually the 423 common property of several fellow villagers; they alone may produce the iron from the ironstone which they themselves have extracted from the pits. The other people in the village may not use the smelting hut and must buy iron from them. Because of the difficulties involved in the enterprise, smelting is done only at /227/ widely separated intervals of time. On each occasion the furnace is loaded rapidly as many times in succession as there are hut owners on hand. Each owner, therefore, has a claim to the iron obtained from one loading of the furnace.

325 The smelting hut (ndź-akūź, ndźi-akūa). Figures 181 and 182, 343 is a simple lean-to, three to four meters high, whose ridge pole is supported by two beams. A pit (Fig. 182, Drawing 5, c), 78 centimeters deep and 1.86 meters in diameter, is dug into the ground in the center of the hut and the furnace is built over it. Another shaft (Drawing 5, b), about 60 centimeters deep, goes down from the floor of the pit, and it is on the bottom of this shaft that the above-mentioned pot with the smelting medicine is placed (Drawing 5, a). The medicine is covered with rotten leaf sheaths from the plantain so that the skulls will stay nice and cool, and then the entire shaft is filled with leaves.

If smelting is contemplated, all the participants, that is, the 325 medicine man, the hut owner or owners, and the hired workers, 372 must, as was mentioned, abstain for two months from sexual

325 intercourse. During this period, the ore is carried to the hut in
372 baskets and piled up there, and charcoal (miē, mēi) is obtained. The charcoal must be especially "strong," and for that reason it is obtained only from the following five trees: 1) Pentaclethra
[324] macrophylla Benth., Leguminosae (ebā'i); 2) Erythrophloeum guineense Don., Leguminosae (elǔn); 3) Cylicodiscus gabunensis Harms, Leguminosae (edǔm); 4) Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms, Leguminosae (andzītsin); 5) Irvingia grandifolia Engl., Simarubaceae (ngǔn IV). The wood is heaped up in small piles near the village, set on fire, and, when it is charred, extinguished while still glowing. The water with which it is extinguished is skillfully squirted out of the mouth like a shower.

325 In Bebai, among the Schumu family (Woddo region) where I
● 343 saw the smelting, a smaller hut stood next to the smelting hut
834 (Fig. 182, Drawing 2); this hut contained nothing but a sleeping bench (p), a poker hook (q), and a number of spare blast pipes (r) for the furnace. The hut owner for whom the smelting was to be done the next day spent the last night in it in order not to succumb to the temptation of violating the above-mentioned rule at the last moment. This precautionary measure shows how steadfastly the Pangwe actually observe the many commandments.

325 In the morning the workers appear with their tools, the blast pipes (ǩǩn IV), and bellows.

The bellows without valve -- but in contrast, it does not have wooden sticks used as handles. It is made of soft wood (see page 240); from its two bowl-shaped enlargements (Pangwe: alǩ-nkǔm, "bellows ears") separate shafts lead /228/ /Fig. 181 appears here in the original text/ into the tip (Pangwe: ndzǔ'-nkǔm, "bellows
[281] nose"). The bowls are covered with animal hide with the hairy side inward, or (only among the Jaunde) with leaf sheaths of the banana tied together in a tuft. Since the hides are moved directly by hand and not by means of sticks, only soft hides can be used, such as those of the long-tailed monkeys, the potto, the civet cat, and the African dwarf buck Neotragus batesi Winton.

The pit in the smelting hut is stuffed full to the rim with leaves of the umbrella tree, so that after the completion of the smelting process it can be cleaned of the charcoal remains without any

325
343

Fig. 181. Smelting Hut in Bébai (Schumu Family), Spanish Guinea.

325 difficulty and so that the medicine lying below will not be dirtied. Then plantain or banana stems (d) as tall as a man are planted close to each other in a circle around the pit; by means of transverse pegs made of raffia leafstalk bark they are joined to each other and with ropes and stakes are fastened to thick posts driven into the ground outside. The whole arrangement is held together above and below with ropes of Cissus runners, called ntũ, and carefully plugged with smaller plantain stems (Drawing 4, f) or pieces of the same. By notching two neighboring plantain stems, holes are cut a little above the ground -- in Bebai there were 17 such holes -- for the blast pipes. Provisionally, the holes are filled up with a guide rod 1.25 meters long and corresponding in thickness to the blast pipe /229/ (ntŭ'm e zõ̀n, really blast-pipe

1: Tessmann--343 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

32
343

Plate XVII

Iron Smelting in Bebai (Schumu Family), Spanish Guinea.

361 children grow up, their father builds each one a house of his own
572 next to the original dwelling. In the same way, each of his addi-
621 tional wives receives her own house from him. His first wife, how-
ever, remains his favorite wife, and consequently it is her house --
in other words, the one that he built first and which is adjacent to
the meeting house -- which remains his home. He keeps it even
after the death of the wife.

The next step in the development toward a village takes place when, for some reason or other, a second head of a family joins his establishment to that of the first. This happens, for instance, when a member of the same or of another family unit moves in, or when after the death of the father the eldest son inherits his meeting house, dwellings, and wives, and the younger son is unwilling to submit to his older brother who is now also his chief. He or the new arrival, as the case may be, builds the necessary number of houses for himself and his family along the same row. Sometimes he may even build his houses directly /57/ /Fig. 17/ adjacent to the existing houses, and he will likewise finish off his settlement with a meeting house protruding from the line. If the meeting house is a temporary one, it is placed lengthwise in the square (see Fig. 16); if it is a permanent one, it is placed transversely (see Plate 4).

In this way, a "village" arises from the original individual establishment, and because, like a pair of eyes (dźis; plural, mis), it consists of two halves (Fig. 18), the village is called dźa, plural ma (see what has been said about the meaning of prefixes /not translated/. There are, thus, two family heads in each village; their rows of houses join somewhere in the middle, with a boundary line which is recognizable, of course, only to the initiated. Everyone, however, can see the two meeting houses (belonging to the two heads of family) located on opposite sides of the village square.

The two family heads are legally equals. Certain conditions, however, which we shall discuss more fully in a later section, give one of the heads a position of slight superiority. Sometimes a third establishment is added to the two individual establishments constituting the village, and it also has adjoining rows of houses as well as a meeting house (see Fig. 18).

361 As has been said, the meeting house is the principal haunt of
621 the chief; in the same way it serves all his sons, male relatives,
314

361
342

Fig. 17. Pangwe Village, Spanish Guinea.

361 and followers who help him with its construction and have a perma-
62 nent right to its use; /58/ /Fig. 18/ hence, the relational prefix
344 a in abā, "meeting house"; hence probably also the Janus head which I saw on the post of a meeting house (cf. Fig. 19). The stem of the word a-bā I derive from ba, "to divide, to share" (1), and I

1. The same stem exists in the numeral two (bai), which is clearly the result of the division of one object.

believe that it was originally intended to designate the place where the game that had been killed was divided. The meeting house is now the place for all public transactions, from the dividing of meat to judicial proceedings, public deliberations, and the reception of strangers.

62 Sometimes the meeting house constructed when the establish-
62 ment was founded remains permanently in a temporary state; it
344 remains unfinished because the people are too lazy -- each one thinks the other should start first -- and the chief lacks the power

/58/

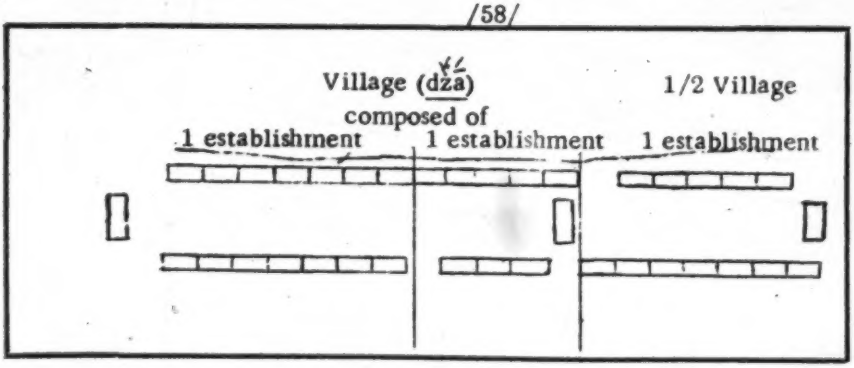


Fig. 18. Development of a Village from Individual Establishments.

to force his people to complete it. At one time, for instance, the chief of the village Nssälang (Fig. 23 shows one of the temporary meeting houses of that village) made the proposal to me -- a proposal which I, of course, gratefully declined -- that I should either force his people, or make my people available, to build a new meeting house for him. Then, as he put it, everybody would say: "This chief of the Whites is quite a fellow; you can tell that a White lives near his village." At best, the chief's people bring him some roofing mats for the construction and in this way believe they have fulfilled their duty toward the community project. The actual work is always up to the chief. Even so, the house does not thereby become his property; rather, in each case it is the common property of the men. When the chief says, "It is my meeting house," they are not affected by his statement. The Pangwe avoids anything and everything that might disturb him in his customary peace and comfort; he shies away from work and lets things run their course:

zɔ[k] e tsi'dan ebɛ̄i-asɛ̄'i, a ye oa
Elephant, he frightened away (from) pit-iron-stone, he gave you

atɛ̄i, a nī oa adzī'i
poverty, he took (from) you heaviness. /59/

That means: The elephant that frightened you away from an iron-stone pit, made you poor, it is true, but at the same time he relieved you of a burden (namely, that of preparing the iron).

344 In some cases, difficulties (such as tree stumps, roots, and
461 the like) were encountered in preparing the building site at the customary place. As a result, the meeting house would be constructed to one side within the row of houses, though in a transverse position (see Fig. 44). Later, "they" frequently did

[532]

Fig. 19. Post from a Meeting House in Malén (Essauong Family), Fang.

not get around to replacing this building by a new one in the right location, however fervently the chief might desire it on behalf of the people. When they did get around to building a new meeting house, the old one was frequently not torn down right away but continued to be used along with the new one.

344 In form, the meeting house (Fig. 20 and 21) has a gabled roof and a square or rectangular ground plan. I have already mentioned the custom of the Pangwe, when they start a new settlement, to content themselves with hastily constructed temporary meeting houses (ongóṅ e ngī). Only later, when

344 the economic life of the settlement has attained a certain stability, are the temporary meeting houses replaced by permanent ones (tsĕnanǎ III) -- although, as we have seen, in some cases they are not replaced. It is this process of gradual settlement which is responsible for certain variations in the forms of the meeting houses, variations which at the same time afford a picture of their development. The simplest houses (see Fig. 110) are basically mere sheltering roofs: a ridgepole is placed on top of two, sometimes three, posts forked at the top (akŭn) and about two meters high. These posts are planted deep in the ground which has first been cleared and then made level and smooth. Raffia stalks, bent in the middle, are placed on top of the ridgepole at varying intervals. These serve as rafters (see Fig. 24 f.), the lower ends of the stalks resting directly on the ground, that is, without any support. The rafters are covered with matting made of raffia pinnae. These mats, eše i (Fig. 22), are made in the following manner. Several sticks are planted in the ground; to these are attached diagonally two long rods of raffia stalk (a), and over these rods is placed a pinna broken in the middle (b). This pinna is clamped together just below the diagonal rods by means of pieces of bark taken from raffia leafstalks. A second pinna (c) is placed alongside the midrib of the first pinna and attached to the latter in the same fashion. Then follows the third pinna, and so forth, until the desired length of several meters has been attained. The mats are attached to the rafters by being placed on top of each other, like tiles on a roof. /60/

A second form of the meeting house (Fig. 23) arose in the following manner from the one described. Because of the rotting of the rafter ends on the moist ground, as well as frequent visits by all kinds of disagreeable reptiles, it was found necessary to raise the rafters somewhat by placing beams under them. These beams are either unhewn trunks and logs or timbers that have been split lengthwise. The latter are usually placed with their cut side turned outward and piled on top of each other between several pairs of vertical posts planted in the ground. The roof lies loosely on the topmost of these timbers. This provides the start for a house wall. In addition to the motives already mentioned, another

344

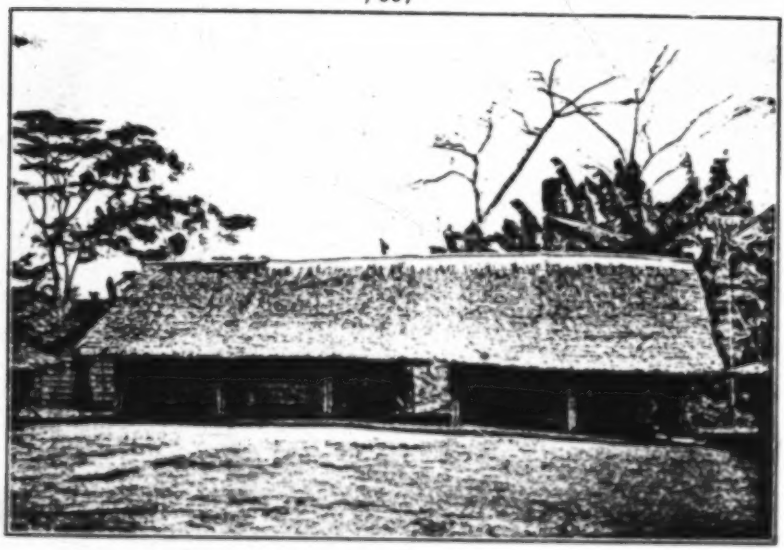


Fig. 20. Meeting House in Olanga (Essángbuak Family).

consideration plays a role, namely, in case of a sudden enemy attack the walls afford better protection against hostile spears than the simple slanting roofs.

In the case of the better permanent meeting houses, wall and roof are more carefully constructed. The main difference, however, is that these houses never face the village square with the gabled end, but with the long side. It is, accordingly, through this side that one enters the house.

As is the universal practice, they first erect the frame, a task which is accomplished in a comparatively short period of time. This frame corresponds in all its parts to that of the temporary meeting house, except that it is taller and wider (Fig. 24). The ridgepole (mbǔh I) b rests on the main posts (abǔm) a placed along the long axis -- of /61/ which there are from two to five depending on the size of the meeting house. The skeleton of the front and back walls consists of a row of wall posts (myí IV) c that are sharpened to a point at the top. As a molding (mfás I) e, a raffia stalk split down the middle is placed on top of the pointed posts and pressed down on them by hammering or pulling. Then the rafters f, as previously described, are placed over the ridgepole and made to project a certain distance beyond the moldings.

/61/

344

Fig. 21. Meeting House of a Ntum Village in New Cameroons.

The two outermost rafters rest on the posts that form the frame of the side wall (myī esū) d. Then the roof is covered (Fig. 26), a project which requires more labor than the frame and is carried out with much greater care than in the case of the temporary meeting houses. First, the rafters (ntūē'n I) f are clamped down by means of a bracket made of raffia (obībī) g, the bracket being placed on top of the rafters parallel to the ridgepole and tied to the roof beams. In a similar fashion, displacement of the rafters at the lower ends is prevented by means of two brackets running along their top and under sides. I observed a variant mode of construction of meeting houses by the Fang in the region of the Komo (Fig. 25). There the ridgepole was not supported at its free ends, but had been anchored in the ground by means of liana ropes and had been bent downward by tightening the strings.

At this point the mats are placed on top of each other like tiles. This is done from the top, and the process begins slightly below the ridgepole with mat k /62/ (see Fig. 26) and goes downward or, as the case may be, from below upward. The mats are tied either to every second rafter or to their own supporting ropes (mbēyá-eiē ī) which run from the ridgepole to the raffia strip

344 that holds together the rafter ends. A less common procedure is to place brackets diagonally on top of the rafters and fasten the mats to them. Finally the ridgepoles itself is covered. For this purpose two roofing mats (obū́t, elā́t-esē i) h are sewed together at their upper edges and are placed as the topmost layer /Fig. 22 appears here in the original text/ over the ridgepole. For protection, a special ridgepole mat (ngŭ'm IV) i is placed on top of the other mats; it consists of a mat bent in the middle which is clamped to the double mat by means of pegs made of the bark of raffia stalks l.

In those areas where there is no raffia, rafters are made from the leafstalks of oil palms (as in Yaoundé /Ger., Jaunde/) or from little tree trunks. /Fig. 23 appears here in original text/ /63/ In 134 place of mats, the leaves of Sarcophrynium velutinum (Bak.) K. Schum. (okĭăikŭi) -- see Plate 11 -- and of the swamp palm, Sclerosperma mannii Mann et Wendl. (akō'da), are used, as well as banana leaves to cover the gaps. This substitute for mats is not very durable and is laborious to manufacture since roof laths are continually needed to fasten down the leaves and it is necessary to place Aframomum stalks very closely together from the ridgepole to the edge of the roof; otherwise, the leaves either stretch or are blown off. The durability of a roof covered with swamp palm leaves is so limited that it stays in good condition for only a year, as the people told me, whereas a mat roof holds out for five years before repairs become necessary. /Fig. 24 appears here in the original text./ A roof covered with Sarcophrynium leaves, moreover, looks quite unattractive, especially from the inside where the leaf stems which are cut off near the blade extend into the house.

Once the roof is completed, work on the side walls begins. The material for these is the bark of certain trees whose names are mentioned in the discussion of bark crafts (Section 8, page 213), the leaves of swamp palms and Sarcophrynium, both of which are used more often for the gable walls, and finally strips of raffia pith and mats. The latter, however, are used only sparingly here because of their many small spikes.

/62/

342
344

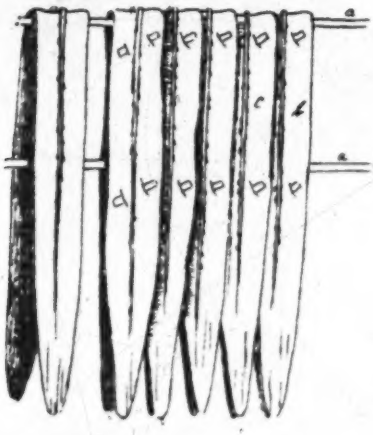


Fig. 22. Piece of a Roofing Mat at the Beginning of its Construction.

361
342
344

Fig. 23. Small Village in the Settlement of Nssälang (Essäung Family), Spanish Guinea.

342
344

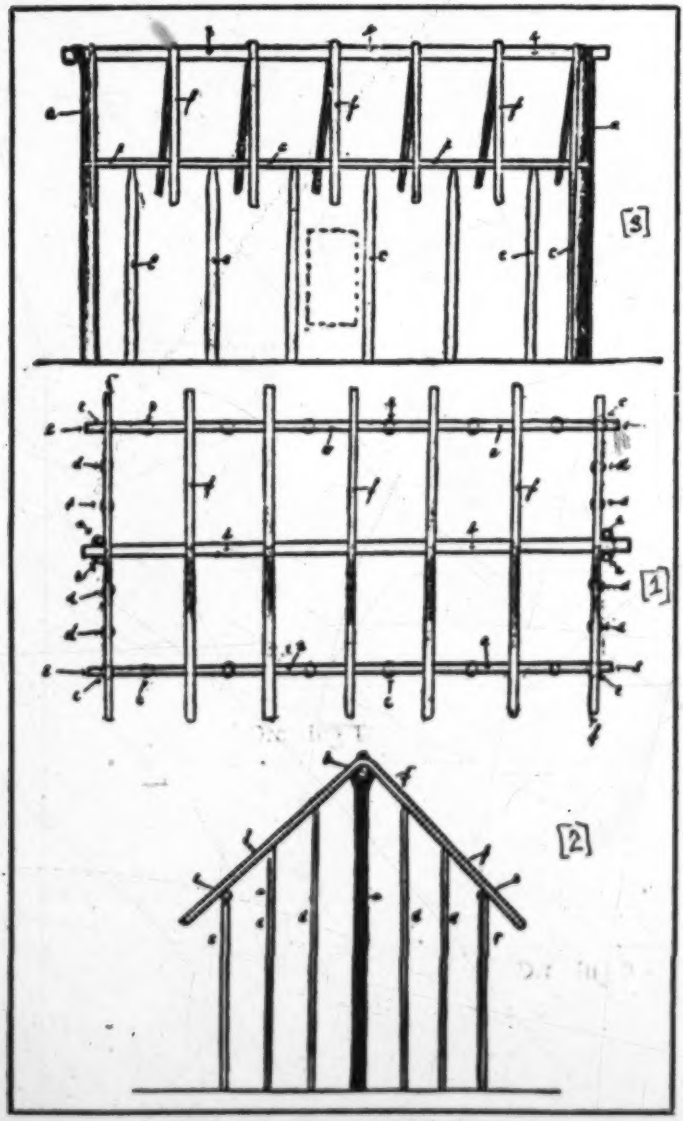


Fig. 24. Frame of a House.
Drawing 1, from above; drawing 2, from the front; drawing 3, from the side.

344 The pieces of bark, one to two meters long and approximately a half meter wide, are attached to the frame in the following manner. To the inner side of the wall posts longitudinal

Fig. 25. Frame of a Meeting House of the Fang from the Region of Komo (Village of Omvan, French Congo). Cross-Section Lengthwise.

strips of raffia leaf stems (ebai) are /64/ attached by means of boards at certain distances from each other, and to these the bark pieces are fastened by means of raffia strips which run exactly parallel to the boards. The posts, therefore, usually stand outside the house, very rarely within it. The bark pieces 584 and raffia strips are held together by bands of Oncocalamus (nloń I = 824 Oncocalamus and band) (1) -- see Plate 16 -- and they are

438 1. The Jaunde buy this "bush rope" from Elandi, the only place in the Jaunde region where bush rope is still available; otherwise they use Dipteropeltis poranoides Hallier f. (atut[k]e ndžik).

finished by two people working together in the following manner. One of them crouches inside the house, the other outside, and

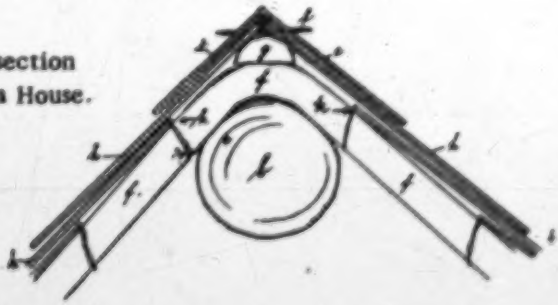


Fig. 26. Cross-section of the Ridge of a House.

344 [412] they pass the band back and forth through the wall. For drilling holes into the bark pieces, they use an awl (nsoń I). Just as we hammer nails in a straight line, the Pangwe also must fasten the various longitudinal strips in precise lines (see Fig. 35). In the case of raffia mats, because of the little spikes that have been mentioned (the same, incidentally, also frequently applies to the bark pieces), the laths are usually placed so closely one on top of the other that very little or nothing of the mats remains visible (as in Fig. 33). In the same manner as the bark, the pieces of raffia pith are held fast between the boards; strips of pith are placed next to each other from top to bottom, and at longer intervals they are tied to the boards.

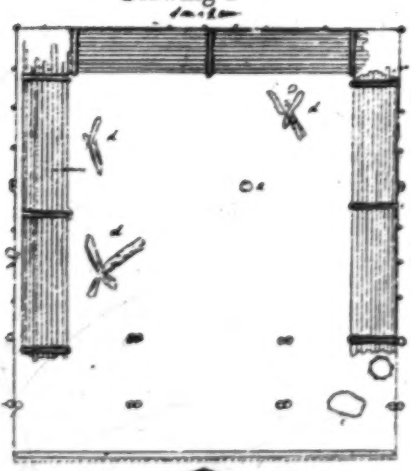
The treatment of the walls varies greatly, except that the gable walls are always completely closed. The rear wall, which is never absent, usually has a few window openings, one in the middle in the form of a square or a rectangle and one on each side in the form of a horizontal, longitudinal slit. /Fig. 26 appears here in the original text. / /65/ The central opening is commonly used as both window and door, but it is so small that it requires some skill to squeeze through it. At the same place, however, there may be doors in our sense of the term, which extend to the ground and may or may not have a threshold.

The front wall may be identical with the back wall /Fig. 27 appears here in the original text/ (in other words, it is closed except for window openings on either side and in the middle); it may be only half as high; it may be no more than a parapet or a trellis made of raffia stalks; or, finally, it may be lacking on one side or be completely absent.

The roof is frequently made to project in font to such an extent that /Fig. 27b appears here in the original text/ /66/ a covered veranda is formed, held up by a few posts (omyĭmyi); sometimes the front area is closed off in front or at the sides by a parapet or trellis. A wooden beam which serves as a threshold prevents the rain that drips off the roof from running into the house (1).

1. When the house has been completed, the soil inside is usually moistened, and for a few days banana leaves are placed on it so the ground may become "strong," as they say.

Drawing 1 /65/



344
354
353

Fig. 27a. Drawing 1. Ground Plan of a Meeting House in Majo (Schumu Family): a, main post; b, skin drum; c, whetstone; d, fireplaces.

Drawing 2. Side view.

Drawing 2

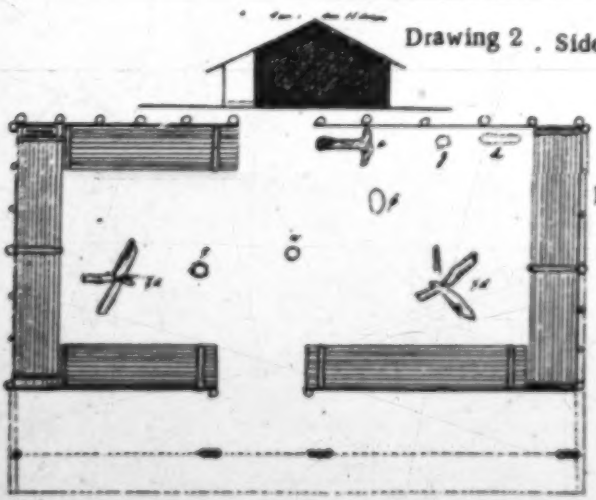


Fig. 27b. Drawing 1. Ground Plan of a Meeting House in Mbã (Essãkunan Family): a, main post; b, forge; c, bellows; d, nets for wild game (c and d are hanging); e, anvil (stone); f, fireplaces; g, seat (tree stump); h, wooden drum.

344 532 The interior of the house (Plate 5, Fig. 27a and 27b) consists of a single empty room, broken only by the isolated posts (the central supports of the ridgepole). In some cases I observed that these posts were handsomely carved, but only in houses with one central post. The carvings showed stylized or modified human figures (Fig. 19) and quite faithful representations of animals. I recall, for instance, a very beautiful post on which was pictured a pig biting the tail of a leopard, which I saw in the village of Bingomo (Abâi family).

344 352 [324] Along the walls there are low benches of which I have seen two different types. The simplest benches, hence the ones designed more often for temporary meeting houses, consist of the trunks of umbrella trees (Musanga) which have been split lengthwise down the middle or of raffia stalks which have simply been placed across two sheives of the same wood (kū'dū III). The same kind of bench is always found in places where there is no raffia and also in huts that serve as lodgings for guests. The second type of bench (see Fig. 28 and 29) is a rectangular frame of raffia stalks (enǒ'h) split lengthwise down the middle; its narrow side consists in each case of two legs (a = akōkǒ'nǒk) with pointed pins (c = mbǒ̄n -ak. I Fang, ojǒ̄n Jaunde) which pierce and hold together four layers, placed on top of each other: the lowest, a wooden ledge, and then three raffia stalks. The wooden ledge (b = ojǒ̄mǒ̄ja-enǒn) has a central section cut out for the support of nine or more stalks (e) wedged into it, which constitute the seat of the bench; the three raffia stalks (d = kū'dū -enǒn III) serve to hold down the latter and also as a head and foot rest. Sometimes there is also a back rest (f = ajǒ̄'gebǒ -enǒh), consisting of a raffia stalk split lengthwise down the middle and simply placed on top of

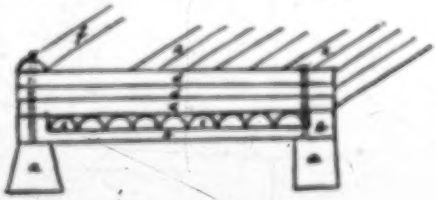


Fig. 28. Side of a Bench.

344 the lengthened pin of the back legs.

353 In some meeting houses the front legs project to form a semicircle which covers up the narrow sides of the head rests. The [531] outer surface of these semicircles is either carved to look like a face or else incised and provided with decorative surfaces which are painted red and white (Fig. 29). /Fig. 28 appears here in the original text./ /67/

344 Next to the benches, the most important part of the furnishings 354 of the meeting house consists of a number of logs which are placed together to form a fireplace (see Fig. 27). During the day the fire burns constantly, and during the night the logs are placed together so skillfully that the fire often keeps going until the next morning. /Fig. 29 appears here in the original text./ The importance of the cheering fire in the tropics is greater than one might believe; not only does it serve as a protection against the frequently severe morning chill and warm the room on days when the weather is rainy and cold, but it is also the only means of protection against [137] the exceedingly annoying sand flies, Culicoides (afi,ge), tiny, scarcely visible insects whose sting causes an unpleasant itch like that of stinging nettles.

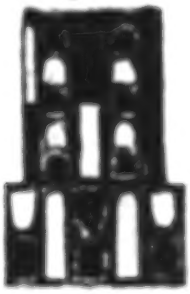
344 For the rest, the furnishings of the meeting house consist only 363 of such items as drums (wooden and skin drums), a whetstone, and, suspended from the roof, the large hunting net which the inhabitants 352 use communally on drives. In some cases I also found gun racks (ekob e nga), Figure 30, which are attached to the wall in the same way as we attach clothes hooks. Guns are placed on these racks so they are handy in case of a sudden attack. Another form of this rack (Fig. 31), likewise not common, consists of a board which is pointed at the bottom and provided with a hole at the top. This gun rack (efa[k] -e-nga) is planted in the ground in front of the meeting house. The butt end of the rifle is placed on the ground and the barrel is put in the hole in the board.

344 The skulls of hunted animals are frequently kept in the meeting 363 house as hunting trophies. Either they are held under the roof mats by means of poles, or they can be seen lying around on the roof; only large skulls, like those of elephants, are sometimes placed in front of the house. /Fig. 30 appears here in the original text./

344
352

[53]

Drawing 1



Drawing 2

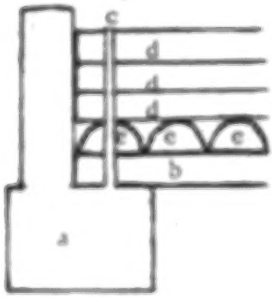


Fig. 29. Painted Socle of a Bench in a Meeting House, Fang Region.
Drawing 1, front view;
Drawing 2, side view.

353
344
325

In many meeting houses, furthermore, one sees /68/ a forge (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 b) and the tools used by a smith, namely, a bellows suspended from the roof (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 c) and a smith's stone (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 e) which at the same time is used as a whetstone and also as a fan for the fire (eyub e nduan), Figure 32. Finally we must also mention the famous tobacco pipe made from the stem of a banana leaf, which is placed across two hooks in the wall.

[176]

It goes without saying that in addition to the above-mentioned furnishings there are all kinds of rubbish lying around in the house, such as half-finished baskets, fishing nets, tools, leftover food, and so forth, usually disgusting to give the whole a more attractive appearance. /Fig. 31 appears here in the original text./

344
356

[282]
531

The meeting houses are very seldom embellished with decorative bark, either on the outside (Fig. 33) or on the inside. More frequently, however, we find the bark walls, especially on the gabled sides,

344
353
591

Fig. 30. Rifle Rack, Engugumo, Fang.

344
531

Fig. 33. Meeting House in Nschüggebot (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea, with Decorative Boards of Bark.

covered with charcoal drawings on the inside between the raffia boards. At this point, however, I cannot go into this art work in any greater detail (see Section 9, "Fine Arts"). 344 353 531

If it were not for the people who enliven the house with their handicrafts and activities, /Fig. 32 appears here in the original text/ if the flaring fire did not lend the large, dark rooms a special, almost mysterious quality -- it would be too dreary. It is precisely here that one notices how everywhere only pulsating life, man in his sad and in his happy hours, not the material environment, is capable of attracting us. The same room which we disposed of just now with a disparaging glance is capable of creating a totally different impression in the evenings when the men and young /69/ /Fig. 33 appears here in the original text/ people gradually congregate in the meeting house in order to listen to the old, hunchbacked Njema-Ndongo tell of the mysterious and uncanny creatures of the fabulous world. Indefatigably they listen, however long he may spin out his yarn, motionless they look at him as he restlessly rubs his hands over the fire, wags his finger threateningly, separates or pushes aside the logs when the 344 344 517 517 538 [73]

342

[516]

Fig. 34. Dwelling in Makonanǎm (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

344 fire gets too hot for him, and wards off the smoke from his face
517 like a person gently but firmly sending a little child away! He
538 looks as though he is talking to the fire and delivering a speech to the logs. Everybody listens in silence, everybody hangs on his words. And then follows a deliberate pause, after which he begins anew with impressive intonation; and at familiar places all the listeners enter into the narrative with a brief choral song in response to the solo part of the old man. Or there may be a
344 bit of gossip to relate, with a hubbub of biting words, an oc-
517 casion for spontaneous gaiety to prevail. On yet another oc-
521 casion a performance by a famous xylophone artist will draw
533 the population to the meeting house. The entire village, women and children included, takes part in these recitals; the children beat out the rhythm with small pieces of wood, while the women, with great dignity, beat together groundnuts and ngon which represent the "fee" and, softly humming a refrain, cast a meaningful glance in the direction of the tireless player.

342 The dwelling (ndǎ; plural, mandǎ), Figure 34, like the meeting house, /70/ /Fig. 34 appears here in the original text/ has a gabled roof and a rectangular ground plan. Like meeting houses, dwellings have both temporary and permanent forms.

dwellings, stand with the gabled side facing the village square and look just like them except that they are firm and durable. Storage houses are to be found only in the villages of wealthier chiefs.

The houses for strangers (esá'bád) are built following exactly the same pattern and ground plan as the ordinary dwelling, but they are very hastily constructed: the walls are usually only plaited palm leaves; the door extends to the ground with no threshold; and the sleeping benches are those of the simple kind (kū'dū III), often made only of umbrella tree trunks split lengthwise down the middle and placed on top of two casters of the same wood. They are constructed especially on the occasion of the festival for departed souls when greater numbers of strangers are expected; at the conclusion of the festive period they are pulled down.

In the forests or on very isolated plantations, refuge huts are frequently built. These are often no more than mere protective roofs (myō e ngī III = gorilla home), while others resemble the simplest temporary meeting houses, that is, huts in which the gabled sides are open and the long walls are either absent or consist only of a few tree trunks (angō'n e ngī = gorilla crown, that is, the strip which juts out like a comb on the top of the gorilla's skull). /79/

Special houses are built next to or behind the dwellings or just outside the village for persons with contagious diseases (frambesia, leprosy) (see Fig. 16). Because they are designed for only one person, they are usually smaller than the dwellings; they have the same shape but are carelessly constructed and soon deteriorate because nobody takes the trouble to repair them.

Here and there I found stables; in the next section I shall come back to these. /Fig. 42 appears here in the original text./

Finally, it should be mentioned that in some villages especially those close to the coast, there are houses on piles. These are copied from the European settlements and are almost completely useless for the natives since their construction requires greater care and trouble than that of ordinary houses. Consequently, the houses on piles built by the Pangwe are veritable caricatures of human dwellings.

1: Tessmann--300 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FHP Fang FHP

344

Plate V

Interior of the Meeting House of Olanga (Esángbuak Family).
Ntum Region.

166 made fifty years ago, such a whole represented from 350 to 700
621 or 800 persons — while present-day villages rarely average more
361 than 100 inhabitants. With peace restored, the grouping has relaxed and divided into its constituent elements which have broken away to form neighboring hamlets. A special word, ngôra, is the name given to these hamlets which are considered as still forming the same whole.

621 Linked with the virile character of Fang society is certainly
562 [132] the accent on the separation of sexes as shown in daily
571 life. For the woman, the living place is the hut; for the man it
344 is essentially the "guardhouse." M. H. Kingsley writes: "The men spend most of their time in palaver houses built at each end of the street, while the women bring bowls of food the whole day
[784] long." (3) without being able to enter the abèñõ, which is absolutely

3. Travels in West Africa, p. 154.

forbidden them. H. Trilles defines this abèñõ as the place "where the men assemble to deal with community affairs, war, marriage,
[574] lawsuits, etc...," and where strangers are welcomed. In addition it is the place where the young men receive a large part of their education, where they learn, according to L. Mba, the most im-
621 portant interdicts (ôki). Males of the same nd'ê bôt assemble in
562 the abèñõ, which forms a virile grouping and one of kinship. In
571 its midst the authority of the "eldest" is expressed. He is both the symbol and the regulator of the life of the group, and the intermediary between it and the ancestors. Here not only are important transactions regulated, but work is also organized. The life of each one is subject to the control and the nearly constant censure of all. In it is created a cohesion so that this group is the most resistant element of Fang society. It is through the medium of this group, that the traditional Fang is assessed, is isolated as an individual, by the foreigner; he is not known in the first place as X but as a man attached to the abèñõ of Y. Such a grouping therefore represents a strong "community": the fusion, which favors effective kinship to the maximum (it is based on immediate filiation and "fraternity"), worship of the same ancestors, and joint

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

595
292

FANG DANCE.

344
952
516

ABEMO OR PALAVER HOUSE.

[p. 66(D)]

325

Fig. 185. Extracted iron (bloom) after the smelting furnace has been torn down, Bébai (Schumu Family).

326 ●348 The smith (nlɑ̄ɩ̄ III from a lɑ̄ɩ̄' "to forge") most often has his workshop in the meeting house, the scene of most of the enterprises of the men. In this case a T-shaped pit is dug into the ground in the meeting house (see Fig. 27b, b) at the place where there would ordinarily be a sleeping bench. The bellows hangs above the pit and sometimes also its blast pipe; only occasionally is it hung in special huts (abɑ̄-lɑ̄ɩ̄'). The latter are either simple lean-tos open all around or provided with sidewalls made of logs, like the temporary meeting houses. A smith's hut of the first form is depicted in Plate 18; the groundplan of a hut of the second /236/ kind -- from the Ntum village Okō (south of the Campo) -- is shown in Figure 186. The latter contains a tree trunk (m) and a wooden drum (k) placed along the walls and intended to serve as seats for the spectators; also it contains a stone anvil (b), and in a T-shaped pit (eɔ̄, lɑ̄ɩ̄') the smithy fire with the bellows (e-g). The smith (a) is always seated to the right of the fire and just in front of the bellows worker (d), so that he can conveniently reach the red-hot iron with his left hand, take it out of the pit, and work it on the anvil (b) before him.

491

Fig. 47. Bridge over the Bimfile near Ebifomajong (Eufuong Family) During the Rainy Season.

The privy (edik), as Figure 16 shows, is in the plantain grove not very far from the houses. Frequently it is so close that the stench, especially when the wind is unfavorable, may become unbearable. The privy consists of a fairly deep pit with one or two pairs of forked sticks planted in the center; on top of these is placed a layer of tree trunks in such a manner that the middle ones extend from the edge of the pit only as far as the sticks and lie with their free ends in the forks. Thus, a rectangular opening is left uncovered, and /83/ loam is thrown around this over the whole thing. Sometimes the loam covering is not put over it. Instead of toilet paper, dried corn husks are used. 514 364

It is worthy of note that the Pangwe also cultivate ornamental plants. These are placed in the village square, along the paths behind or to the side of the houses, or, in case the village consists of only a single row of houses, they are planted where the opposite row of houses would ordinarily stand. Generally the ornamental plants are the following: an attractive Amaranthacea, Gomphrena globosa B. (ngôn IV), which also grows in America and may have been imported from there; and the so-called fever 351 247

351 grass, Andropogon schoenanthus L. (ǒǐimentǎ'ngan = ǒǐim
247 [Ocimum] of the Whites), a plant which has likewise been imported.

487 The roads are often scarcely visible paths which are first trodden by hunters and used by elephants and later become wider through increased traffic. Naturally, however, one must always proceed along them in single file. Wherever small brooks happen to flow in the direction of travel, they are used as trails.

491 For the crossing of larger bodies of water, a few stems of the umbrella tree are tied together to form a raft or dugouts (bǒǎ;
499 plural, mǎ, Fig. 45), otherwise employed for fishing purposes, are used. Bridges (ndǎǎ I) are built only in rare cases, primarily in situations where the plantations and the village are situated on opposite banks of a river, thus necessitating regular and rapid passage between them. These bridges consist /84/ (Fig. 46 and 47) of several piers, each made up of two tree trunks planted into the ground in the form of a St. Andrew's cross and firmly tied together. One or more transverse beams are then placed over these piers. To serve as a railing, either ropes are tied to the upper ends of the piers, or sticks split lengthwise down the middle are fastened to them. When a bridge beam decays, a new one is placed on top of it, but no one thinks of restoring the framework which cannot support the greater weight, and for this reason the bridge soon collapses as it gets older.

[777] More recently bridges have been built according to the European model (kǎǎ III), consisting of two rows of supporting piles and transverse beams over which logs are placed very close together, like our corduroy roads. These bridges are even more dangerous to life and limb than the older form, since supporting posts often collapse, the bridge frequently lists to one side, and it is possible to have a bad fall on the slippery log ends. /85/

Section 5

000 ## Economic Activities

First Part. Agriculture. General matters: tools, preparation of the soil, division of labor. The

in 1954 in connection with a study of family budgets.

amount of food necessary to maintain the population: a crop census was taken in 1948 in one of the Sangmélima cantons (2). In order to

2. Report of the administrative officer, J. M. Soupault. An average individual's requirement would be: 250 maize plants, 330 manioc plants, 130 plantains, 110 macabo, 7 kilograms of rice, and 32 kilograms of groundnuts.

satisfy the needs of 6, 249 inhabitants there is no "exportation" to speak of. The canton used to produce 1, 635, 000 maize plants, 2, 049, 000 manioc, 824, 190 plantain bananas, 687, 800 macabo. It furthermore provided 44 tons of rice, 200 tons of groundnuts. There were 85, 180 fruit trees producing various kinds of fruit (Pachylobes /Canarium edule Hooker, known as assa in Pahouin country—Ed./, Estulis, oranges, etc.)

Clearing land by burning and the absence of organic fertilizer probably explain the exhaustion of the soil and the shifting cultivation that results from it.

The breeding and rearing of small animals is nevertheless understood and practiced: goats, dogs, fowls, pigs were and still are plentiful in the villages. These animals do not seem to contribute much to the food supply nor to the economic life. The very limited practice of selling pieces of pork has dates from recent years. As a matter of fact, animals were useful for giving quasi-ritual presents, for paying bride prices, and for celebrating family occasions: at a marriage, burial, and the end of mourning, two or three goats were killed to provide food for the relatives.

Of course, these animals are not stabled or fed; the herds wander along the outskirts of villages and do not fail to plunder the gardens. There are innumerable classic quarrels between farmers and herders (with the slight difference here that no one is exclusively a herder nor exclusively a farmer). Was the practice of enclosing by hedges established so as to avoid such depredations, or to give military protection to the settlements? Whatever the origin, this practice associated with the raising of animals would have made it possible to avoid

erosion and preserve the fertility of the soil. At present it would be a definite exaggeration to speak of an enclosure system, as may be done about the Bamiléké in the western Cameroons. Did such a system ever exist in Pahouin country, and are the humble hedges sometimes to be found encircling villages or plantations traces of it? However that may be, the practice could be very beneficial, and its development is much to be desired.

The raising of animals is now on the decline, especially in villages removed from the main roads. Are sacrifices requiring goats and hens passing into disuse? /31/ Have vehicular traffic and the number of fowls run over prevented the renewal of the leasing out of domestic animals /?/ /cheptel/. These various causes may have been simultaneously at work, but the reason most often given is the development of cacao plantations. Without fences, the raising of goats and the planting of cacao trees are incompatible. To protect their plantations or to avoid endless quarrels, owners of herds have had to limit their undertakings.

Modern agriculture

Cacao is indeed the symbol and the essential component of a modern economy. From this crop and from the agricultural, juridical, and economic practices which it entails, a thousand improvements or seeds of progress appear throughout the society.

It would, however, be unfair not to mention the other economic activities of the Pahouin districts, although their influence and financial return are far behind that of cacao. Timber, though its importance has decreased, played an essential role a few decades ago. African entrepreneurs are rare in this industry where equipment is complicated and expensive. A fairly large tonnage of palmetto is sold when the market is good, although the best soil and climate for palms is not to be found here (1).

1. The Pahouin of the southern Cameroons, the Boulou and Ntoumou particularly, dislike climbing trees and often sell the bunches of dates to Mekaé on the tree. (P. A.)

But cacao remains the master crop. Its cultivation has become a part of the mores and has left its mark on psychological patterns.

shed with a roof low enough to /43/ give good protection from the sun. Some villages are placed at right angles to the road; others follow an L or Y plan, with several minseñ. Family "allotments" are separated by hedges of euphorbia, castor-oil plant, hibiscus, and bougainvillea. Sometimes one comes across sheepfolds, although in old-style (and most contemporary) villages small livestock roam at will. A village often includes a guesthouse (ayak).

In building operations the man generally takes charge of the framework and the laths, leaving to the women the preparation and application of the banco /clay daub?/. But European-style huts with their elaborate door frames and often cement floors are more and more the work of specialized artisans, who are paid to supervise the family labor provided by the owner. These men have nevertheless preserved, along with the English term "mason," the old name nloñ nda, literally, hut-weaver, which goes back to the time when huts were made of sewn bark (1).

1. The dwelling continues to evolve: framed doors, windows, and shutters are in general use today. The dimensions of the buildings lead to the construction of a real frame. Finally, to possess a sheet-iron roof is a sign of wealth. In recent years there has arisen a real passion for the improvement of dwelling: in the Cameroons we may estimate that 10 percent of the dwellings now built in the bush are the most modern type. (J.B.)

2. Groupings and Relationships

The main divisions of Pahouin society are both exactly defined in the minds of its members themselves and at the same time uncertain for the European observer, who is constantly tempted to state them clearly in organic forms accessible to his "logic" and who is hindered by the variations or the dialectal confusions of Pahouin terminology. Father Trilles, basing his observations on the Fang of Gabon alone, reached a sort of palaeontological reconstruction of the "Fang nation," extremely theoretical, yet not without basis

881 do all he can to end this state. As soon as he has killed an
304 enemy, he hurries with the victim's hand to his father. Cir-
779 cumcision then solemnly takes place before all the warriors, and
782 his marriage is celebrated as soon as the wound has healed.

3) Time of the ceremony

881 The chief first decides upon the date, which is almost
304 invariably in the eight days before a full moon.
779

As soon as the chief has announced that circumcision will shortly take place, he indicates all the children who are to be included; they, under his direction, go off into the forest not
[342] far from the village. After a large space has been cleared, they build open little huts or mere shelters, where they live all together.

Their food is left at the beginning of the path leading to the huts, for no one is supposed to approach; access [523] is above all strictly forbidden to women. The food is plentiful,
[264] and nothing must be thrown away or hidden; everything must be eaten, and the chief supervises this rigorously. (1)

1. One of our missionaries observed the same custom among the more advanced populations of the interior. He even mentions this fact: the rule is so strict that one of the candidates was forced three times in succession to swallow the food that his stomach persistently rejected.

4) Preparations

• [651] All around the place where the boys are confined, a fence of reeds (1) is erected, which no one dares jump over. This seclusion

1. The place of circumcision shows well enough that the rite is like a consecration, by blood sacrifice, of the sexual life to which the young man is thereafter admitted. Lagrange, op. cit., p. 244.

344 532 The interior of the house (Plate 5, Fig. 27a and 27b) consists of a single empty room, broken only by the isolated posts (the central supports of the ridgepole). In some cases I observed that these posts were handsomely carved, but only in houses with one central post. The carvings showed stylized or modified human figures (Fig. 19) and quite faithful representations of animals. I recall, for instance, a very beautiful post on which was pictured a pig biting the tail of a leopard, which I saw in the village of Bingomo (Abâi family).

344 352 [344] Along the walls there are low benches of which I have seen two different types. The simplest benches, hence the ones designed more often for temporary meeting houses, consist of the trunks of umbrella trees (Musanga) which have been split lengthwise down the middle or of raffia stalks which have simply been placed across two shelves of the same wood (kū'dū III). The same kind of bench is always found in places where there is no raffia and also in huts that serve as lodgings for guests. The second type of bench (see Fig. 28 and 29) is a rectangular frame of raffia stalks (enɔ̄n) split lengthwise down the middle; its narrow side consists in each case of two legs (a = akɔ̄ɔ̄ɛ̄nɔ̄k) with pointed pins (c = mbɛ̄n -ak. I Fang, ɔ̄ɛ̄n Jaunde) which pierce and hold together four layers, placed on top of each other: the lowest, a wooden ledge, and then three raffia stalks. The wooden ledge (b = ɔ̄ɛ̄mɛ̄ja-enɔ̄n) has a central section cut out for the support of nine or more stalks (e) wedged into it, which constitute the seat of the bench; the three raffia stalks (d = kū'dū -enɔ̄n III) serve to hold down the latter and also as a head and foot rest. Sometimes there is also a back rest (f = aɛ̄'gebɛ̄ -enɔ̄n), consisting of a raffia stalk split lengthwise down the middle and simply placed on top of

Fig. 28. Side of a Bench.

the lengthened pin of the back legs.

In some meeting houses the front legs project to form a semicircle which covers up the narrow sides of the head rests. The outer surface of these semicircles is either carved to look like a face or else incised and provided with decorative surfaces which are painted red and white (Fig. 29). /Fig. 28 appears here in the original text./ /67/

Next to the benches, the most important part of the furnishings of the meeting house consists of a number of logs which are placed together to form a fireplace (see Fig. 27). During the day the fire burns constantly, and during the night the logs are placed together so skillfully that the fire often keeps going until the next morning. /Fig. 29 appears here in the original text./ The importance of the cheering fire in the tropics is greater than one might believe; not only does it serve as a protection against the frequently severe morning chill and warm the room on days when the weather is rainy and cold, but it is also the only means of protection against the exceedingly annoying sand flies, Culicoides (afi,ge), tiny, scarcely visible insects whose sting causes an unpleasant itch like that of stinging nettles.

For the rest, the furnishings of the meeting house consist only of such items as drums (wooden and skin drums), a whetstone, and, suspended from the roof, the large hunting net which the inhabitants use communally on drives. In some cases I also found gun racks (ekob e nga), Figure 30, which are attached to the wall in the same way as we attach clothes hooks. Guns are placed on these racks so they are handy in case of a sudden attack. Another form of this rack (Fig. 31), likewise not common, consists of a board which is pointed at the bottom and provided with a hole at the top. This gun rack (efa[k] -e -nga) is planted in the ground in front of the meeting house. The butt end of the rifle is placed on the ground and the barrel is put in the hole in the board.

The skulls of hunted animals are frequently kept in the meeting house as hunting trophies. Either they are held under the roof mats by means of poles, or they can be seen lying around on the roof; only large skulls, like those of elephants, are sometimes placed in front of the house. /Fig. 30 appears here in the original text./

Drawing 1 Drawing 2

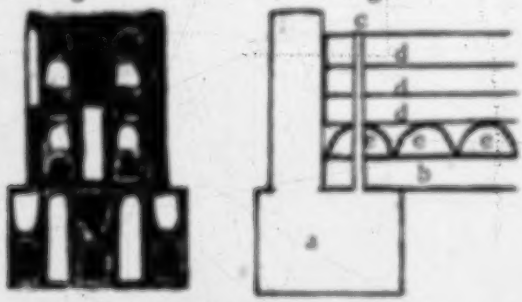


Fig. 29. Painted Socle of a Bench in a Meeting House, Fang Region.
Drawing 1, front view;
Drawing 2, side view.

In many meeting houses, furthermore, one sees /68/ a forge (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 b) and the tools used by a smith, namely, a bellows suspended from the roof (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 c) and a smith's stone (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 e) which at the same time is used as a whetstone and also as a fan for the fire (eyuh e nduan), Figure 32. Finally we must also mention the famous tobacco pipe made from the stem of a banana leaf, which is placed across two hooks in the wall.

It goes without saying that in addition to the above-mentioned furnishings there are all kinds of rubbish lying around in the house, such as half-finished baskets, fishing nets, tools, leftover food, and so forth, scarcely designed to give the whole a more attractive appearance. /Fig. 31 appears here in the original text./

Fig. 30. Rifle Rack, Engugumo, Fang.

The meeting houses are very seldom embellished with decorative bark, either on the outside (Fig. 33) or on the inside. More frequently, however, we find the bark walls, especially on the gabled sides,

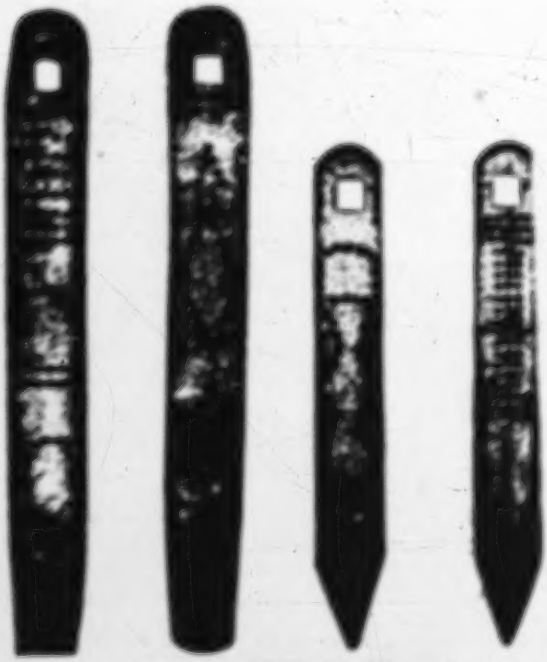


Fig. 31. Rifle Stands. Owbng (Emanding Family), Fang.

Fig. 32. Fan for the Fire.

Fig. 38. A Dwelling of the Fang.
The right half of the front wall and one side wall have been removed for a view of the interior.

half of the front wall have been removed in order to provide a full view.

The four corners or at least three of them are occupied by sleeping benches (Fig. 37 a) which are constructed exactly like the benches of the meeting houses. The distance between the head and foot rest, however, is only about three quarters body length, so it is necessary to lie on them with one's legs drawn up. The sleeping benches extend to the door posts and thus take up most of the room in the house. On one of the narrow sides and between two sleeping benches is the fireplace (Figure 37 b), that is, a few logs placed together and serving both as a hearth and a stove. Over the fireplace is attached a device for drying and storing food and dishes which is put together in the following manner (Fig. 39). A frame covered with plaited raffia strips is laid over the door posts (a) and two forked sticks driven into the corners. This is the "pot loft," akán e mvé (c); one can usually see a number of pots and a clay water bottle on it. Other things, which even for the Negro cannot be designated as "valuable possessions," /74/ /Fig. 38 appears here in the original text/ are also found there, such as banana bowls, maize spindles, to whose use I shall return later, and so forth. Under the pot loft hangs the drying loft or "groundnut loft," akán owǒnǒ (d). As the name indicates, this loft

342 serves only for the storage of groundnuts and is likewise usually
252 made of plaited raffia strips. Then there is the most important
363 household item for the housewife, the pantry, in the form of a storage box, bū bū, or bū u (e), intended primarily for meat and other delicacies. This box is often very nicely made with raffia pith. In front it usually has a small protruding ledge on which salt, pepper, and spoons may be placed, and thus it serves as a kind of "dumb-waiter"; at the side it has an opening that is closed by means of a sliding door made of pith. The box fills the space between the beds so that it is barely possible to stand there. One or two drying or roasting boards, etǎn (f and g), hang under the box, just above the fire. These boards are used for roasting groundnuts and for drying things.

On the opposite wall at the same level a similar frame is put up, over which drying boards can be placed and from whose front edge the women's long baskets (nkūn I) are hung. There is floor space under this frame, a sleeping bench may be placed there, covered with baskets, grindstones, and other tools, or with the assorted possessions of the head of the household. A person who enters the house for the first time finds himself in the middle of the passage between front and back door, not knowing which way to turn. To make room at all it would be necessary to clear everything out; otherwise a European would find the house uninhabitable. In the north, /75/ especially among the Bulu and in part also among the Ntum, the huts are somewhat more spacious and habitable.

For hanging up baskets, calabashes, satchels, and other objects on the wall, the Pangwe makes use of a natural hook (ekǒ'b), that is, a piece of a tree trunk which is cut out just above and below a branch. The branch is cut off, the remaining stump is cut more or less to a point, and then the whole piece is inserted, in the same position as it was on the tree, between the longitudinal raffia strips on the inner side of the wall. Objects are very readily attached to the wall by means of raffia stalks stuck between the mats, from whose free ends they are suspended.

An important piece of furniture is the round, three-legged stool
[58] (kpā III), Figure 40, carved out of wood and decorated all around its edge with ornamental chip carving.

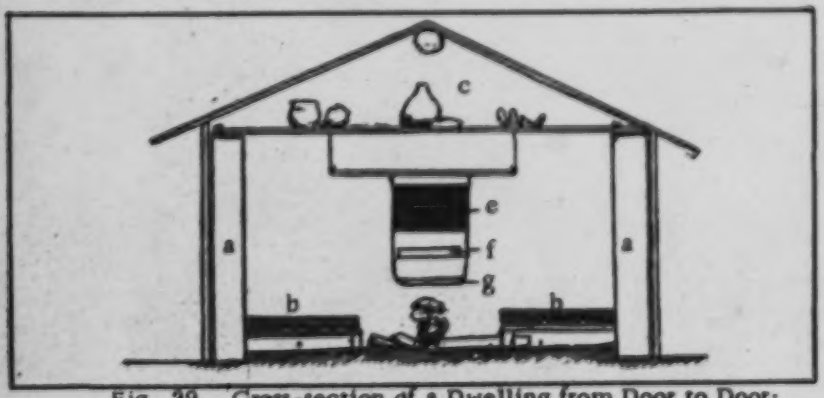
342 352 353

its edge with ornamental chip carving. It is placed on the ground, often in the vicinity of the door posts, and is considered, so to speak, as a place of honor -- for strangers and the paterfamilias -- like our sofa.

As a final household implement the sweeper should be mentioned. It appears in various forms, depending on whether it is used in the dwelling, for the benches of the meeting house, for the meeting house floor, or for the village square. 42 356

For the house a broom evũ̄ a[k], Figure 41 a, is used, made of raffia leaves tied together in the shape of a fan. "More elegant" brooms are used by the Jaunde for the benches of the meeting houses. These are made of pieces of liana stalks, Ertela scandens Benth., Leguminosae, called ntõ' (b), or of the flowers of the oil palm (c). [124] The pieces of liana stalk are slit so that they form something like a brush; these brooms therefore correspond more or less to our dusters. A third form of broom (Fig. 42) consists of two little wooden boards tied with strips to a handle. /Fig. 39 appears here in the original text. / /76/ It resembles our snow shovels, but it is by no means to be found in every village, and even where it is found it is infrequently used.

In the preceding descriptions the reader will have been struck by the frequency with which the raffia palm is mentioned as construction material. It is indeed true that this palm, called "bamboo" in Negro English, is by far the most important and most valuable plant 87 124



[342 353]

Fig. 39. Cross-section of a Dwelling from Door to Door: a, door posts; b, sleeping benches; c, pot loft; d, loft for drying groundnuts; e, pantry; f and g, roasting boards.

137
824 for the Pangwe. Where it is scarce, as in Yaoundé /Ger., Jaunde/ it is imported from great distances whenever necessary.

In the Campo-Uelle region there are four species of raffia. Of these, Raffia hookeri M. (esa) is to be found only along the banks of the larger rivers; Raffia regalis M. et Wendl. (andzim), on the other hand, grows only on hilly terrain and even there very sparsely. The following appears in swamps (1) and may

1. Hence, ~~ɛ́m~~ = swamp and raffia palm (collective name).

[352
531]

Fig. 40. Fang Stool.

be designated as the true raffia palm: Raffia vinifera P.B. (nia dɛ́ɛ̀n = true, authentic raffia), the common species. Finally, there is a species (akɔ̀ dɔ̀), recognizable by the fact that its leafstalks are tinged with blue, which is frequently found scattered among the above species. The general name for raffia, dɛ́ɛ-h, indicates its importance; it means "the mother of the village," /Fig. 40 appears here in the original text/ dɛ́a (n, see "Suffixes" /not translated/), because the whole village is made of raffia, and indeed no name would be more fitting considering all that is produced and constructed
824 from it. The following list will give an idea of its multiple uses.

I. Foodstuffs

1. Palm cabbage.
2. Pulp.

292
142

Fig. 117. Assoko from Alén (Esafuong Family), Spanish Guinea.

297
• 352
576

Fig. 118. Ntum Preparing Ornamental Helmet Crests, Akonangf, South Cameroons.

1: Tessmann--207 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/200/

304
561
352

Fig. 152. Tattoo Artist at Work, Nikolemfangan, Spanish Guinea.

304
413

Figs. 153 and 154. Knives without Handles for Tattooing (ekut).

Fig. 155. Knife for Tattooing (bendolo).

The stool is a valuable piece of household furniture, a luxury object, for which the natives are willing to spend some money. For this reason its manufacture is an important branch of wood carving, and the makers of well-finished, artistically decorated stools are famous persons, much in demand. If they wanted to, they could make a considerable amount of money with their art, and they also could elevate the art itself, but with their congenital laziness, a special inducement is always required before they will take the trouble to start a new project. For example, a guest in the house of such an artist sees a beautifully carved stool there and says: "Oh, what a beautiful stool; you could make me one like that." Perhaps others have uttered the same wish, and so the artist finally pulls himself together, goes into the jungle, and cuts down a trunk of the Apocynacea Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekûk), the only tree suitable for the manufacture of stools. He must choose a trunk which -- after the bark has been pulled off -- has the same diameter as the proposed stool /221/ (Fig. 172). He takes the trunk with him to the village and cuts it into about five to seven disks as thick as the stool is intended to be tall. Then with his cutlass he draws a line around approximately the middle, and this line indicates the lower edge of the seat. From there he cuts three radial grooves downward, deepens them with an adz (ngbwǎk IV), Figure 173, and in this way forms three legs. Then the seat is made smooth and held over the fire until it becomes nice and brown. The edge is rubbed clean with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata Vahl (ekõkõ' Fang, akõ Ntum) (1). The edge and the

1. Root kõ, "to rub"; compare a-kõ-k, "grindstone."

legs are colored with redwood and dried for an hour in the sun; finally they are decorated with carved patterns, an artistic addition which is not everywhere uniformly successful. /Fig. 172 appears here in the original text./

Ordinarily a stool maker finishes from two to three pieces in one day. The price is so low (two spears, the equivalent of 14 pfennigs, apiece) that it is difficult to conceive how the man can work for it.

322
352
531

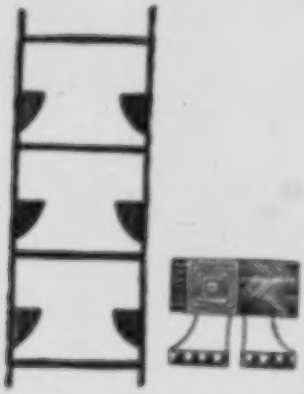


Fig. 172. Stages in Making a Stool.

322 The explanation lies in a kind of principle of reciprocity, a princi-
476 ple clearly stated in the educational precepts to be discussed in a
435 later section /Ed., Vol II/, that is, the seller counts upon the fac: that later he will need his client who is in turn a specialist in the manufacture of some kind of article (basketwork plates, for instance), and he then expects to be treated in the same lenient
[443] manner. As a result of the excessive division of labor, everyone is dependent upon everyone else, and this dependence keeps the prices down. Wherever this dependence is absent, the prices go up. Europeans, for instance, with whom such a silent agreement does not exist, pay considerably more, ten or twenty times more, and at the same time they have to put up with inferior work as well.

322 Moreover, the sale of objects manufactured for household use
434 is not regarded as an enterprise for profit. When I asked a stool
554 maker whom I befriended what his business brought in, he first

[412]

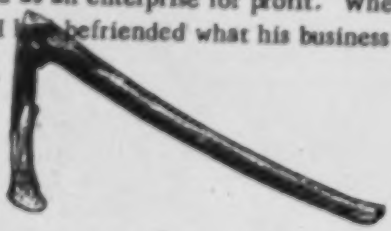


Fig. 173. Adz.

1: Tessmann--288 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/256/

531
352

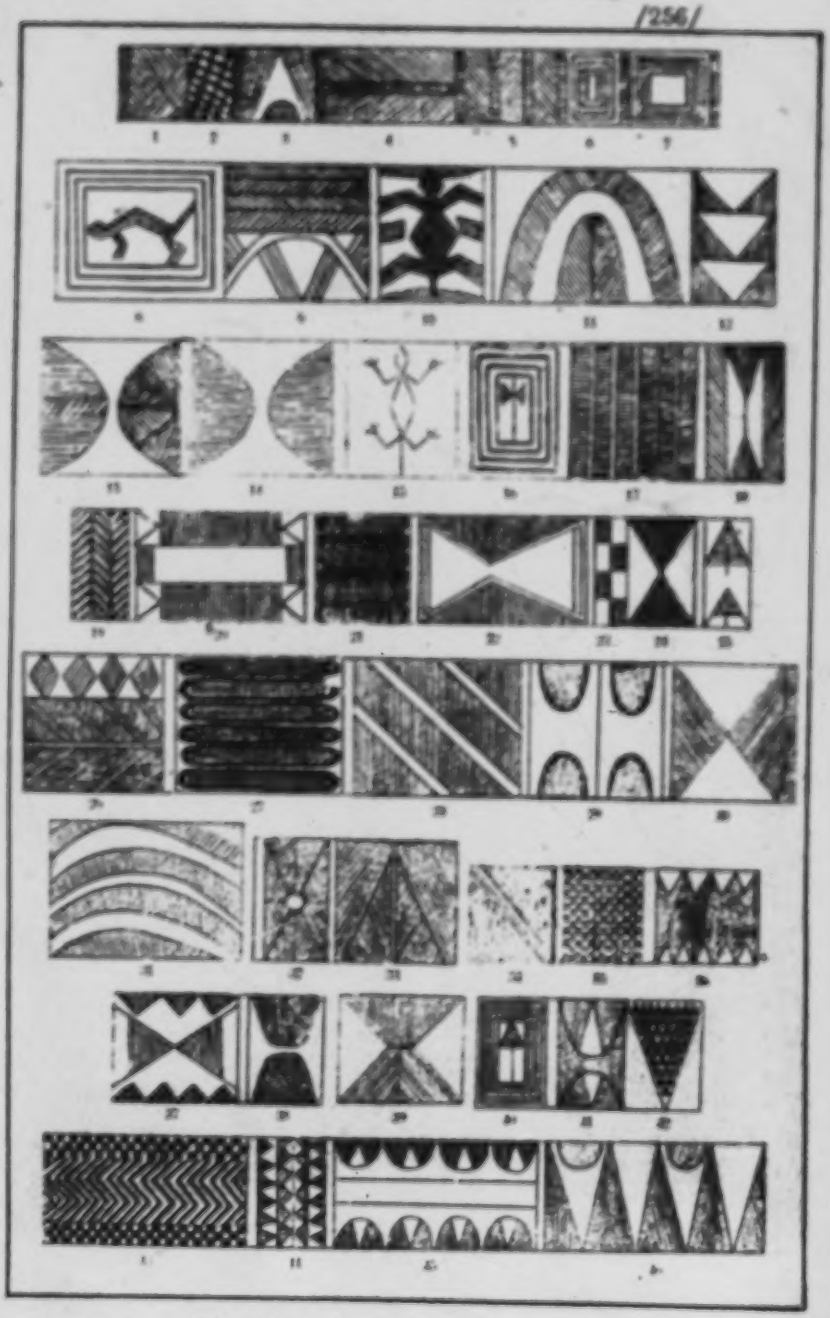


Fig. 212. Stool Patterns.

K6
621
361

> land, which the Pahouin will never acquire, for he considers it humiliating, he will perhaps develop a taste for the profit resulting from this work."

conquering society has imposed on the old Fang village an appearance which has often been mentioned: two uninterrupted rows (nkara) of huts surrounding a kind of courtyard closed at each end [712] by a "guardhouse" (abém̄ñ); sometimes a palisade of posts enclosing a banana plantation serves as a protection in the rear. Inside the huts there is only a limited amount of things which are easily [853] transportable: "goods" of value are stored in chests, the ancestors' altars (biéri) are kept in large cylindrical boxes. (2) There is no

> 2. Very similar to the "baskets of ancestors" carried by the Ba-kongo during their great migrations.

doubt that the grouping lived for a long time in a state of insecurity. This was primarily the factor which intervened to maintain a minimum size without which there was no real security. The causes contributing to the breaking up of groups, the organization of Fang society itself, the search for women and goods, and, finally, the agricultural methods, were dominated and largely impeded by this necessity. It appears certain that really large villages existed at the beginning of French occupation. V. Largeau refers to mfaǵ with eight or ten "guardhouses"; F. Grébert speaks of ten to twenty of these "guardhouses," (3) and F. Meyé asserts

> 3. F. Grébert. Au Gabon [In the Gabon], Paris, 1932.

that "the normal population of a village was from 80 to 170 warriors, exclusive of women and adolescents." (4) According to estimates

> 4. Quoted by G. Sautter, op. cit., p. 124.

country and in the north of Boulou country) has put a considerable brake upon village nomadism, the planters not liking to move away from their plantations. When there is migration, the activity consists rather in the "swarming off" of a portion of the inhabitants, who go to found a new hamlet in a site favorable for cultivation, without there being from then on any necessary correspondence between family structure and settlement pattern. The new jal will no longer necessarily correspond to one family but may gather together several families from different and unrelated lineages (mvam).

The Pahouin village of former times was planned for defense. Situated in an oblong clearing, usually within reach of the nearest village (3 to 4 kilometers) by drum-telephone (nkul), it comprised two lines of contiguous rectangular huts, gable to gable, on either side of a courtyard or main street (mɛñ), blocked at either end by a guardhouse /men's house/ (aba, abɛñ) allowing only a narrow entrance, often oblique, which was barricaded every evening. All doors gave onto the mɛñ; the outer walls having merely a few loopholes. Sometimes the village was encircled by a moat (ɛsalak) and traps, sometimes also by a stockade /akak). The most important subsistence plots (mefup) were in the forest, often quite far away, but near the village behind the huts were banana groves and kitchen gardens, while medicinal plants (bilok bi mebiañ) as well as tobacco were grown in the central mɛñ. The hut walls were made of bark (particularly of certain kinds of Ficus /fig/) which was wetted, then beaten flat and dried to form boards; these are the "carbotes" (from the English word "cardboard") still in use on the coast. These boards were fastened by lianas and pegs to posts set in a rectangle. The double pitched roof was of "tiles" made of raffia folioles (ɔbaé, pl. abaé) folded in two and pinned with wooden splinters to the scantlings made of /42/ strips of the main leaf rib set parallel to the ridgepole. This ridgepole rested on forked posts, of which the two central ones had magical significance and were usually carved or at least painted. The dimensions of these dwelling huts rarely exceeded 6 by 3 meters, while those of the guardhouses (meba) might reach twice this. In each household the man had his private hut where he kept his most valuable possessions (biɔm): chests containing loincloths, etc., weapons, drums, "medicaments" (mebiañ), his own seat, masks, and magical equipment. The women's huts, side by side with his and where the young children slept, were used as kitchens and contained carrying

baskets, storage baskets (binaan), crockery (viek), or imported "negro pots" /sic/ (minkeñ), the drying rack, shrimp nets, mortars, and other feminine implements. The young unmarried men slept in the guardhouse; the girls slept with the women. A jal occupied by an average-sized family might be 50 meters long. Large minlam reached half a kilometer, in which case the mseñ was divided into sections by the secondary meba of each family. The chief lived in the middle and had a larger aba than those of other families.

This kind of village has almost entirely disappeared. Bark huts are still extant in a few isolated villages in Gabon, but they are increasingly rare. In actual fact, one finds almost everywhere the hut of reinforced banco /wattle and daub?/ (the wattle consists of laths made of the main ribs of raffia, incorrectly called bamboo), imposed on Boulou country around 1925 by an administrator called Nkulu (meaning "the Tornado"), which has left its mark throughout Pahouin country. These huts are usually rectangular but tend, in prosperous villages, to be influenced by European forms, with T-, U-, or H-shapes, with verandas and lean-to showers. They are often plastered with kaolin (fom) sometimes mixed with red or green ocher or with imported laundry blueing. The roof is still usually of raffia tile, but it may have four slopes or be even more complicated, copied from European roots. Each family has its own privy (éduk).

The layout of villages has likewise changed. The most prevalent plan keeps the single central mseñ /street/, but the huts are in four lines on either side and are separate, no longer contiguous. The men's huts are nearest the road, the women's, now called kisin (cuisines /kitchens/), are laid out behind, or sometimes around, the husband's. The plaster is often painted in fresco with various subjects —copies of pictures in magazines, religious subjects, in Boulou country illustrations from the novel Nnanga kon (1), portraits of

1. The best Boulou painter of recent years was David Mone:woso, a Yemfek from Sangmélima, who not only established the iconography of Nnanga kon but is also a good portraitist and a remarkable painter of animals.

Europeans famous locally or internationally. The aba /guardhouse/ has lost its defensive character and often take the form of an airy

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

Journal of the Anthropological Institute (N.S.), Vol. II, Plate XV.

142
291
516

FANG MEN.

392
516
352

FANG HOUSE.

[p.66(B)]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

595
292

FANG DANCE.

344
● 352
516

ABENG OR PALAVER HOUSE.

[p. 66(D)]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

site for their villages. The houses can be readily taken down and erected elsewhere. The earth floor is often beaten very hard, no covering is used. The beds are made of bamboo poles resting upon end pieces, supported by four forked corner stakes. The bed is raised about one foot from the ground. In most houses are four beds, two at each end on opposite sides, having a log fire burning between, the smoke escaping through the thatch roof. The furniture is all movable, and consists of stools, camwa bowls and boards, drinking gourds, fish nets, water gourds, various baskets and hanging bamboo shelves for drying fish and corn over the fire. Food, guns and powder horns are hung up on wooden hooks suspended by bush rope; these hooks are made by cutting a suitable branch from a young tree, having a strong crotch. No separate portion of the dwelling is set apart for sleeping or eating. There are no windows to a Fang house; at night one or more pieces of bark are used for a door. All the domestic arrangements are excessively filthy. Refuse from meals is unknown, everything is eaten, including entrails and skin of animals and fish. Before occupying a new house the witch doctor (*ngengen*) is usually called to perform the ceremony of propitiating the evil spirits (local spirits), and the *bieng Eluri* (fetish) is hung up and becomes the protecting fetish of the household. This fetish is hung up over the doorway outside. The houses are built entirely above ground, the roofs are made of split bamboo and covered with thatch made from the long tough blade of a swamp reed, or rush. This thatch makes a most excellent roof, and when well put on, it is able to withstand three years of the terrible rains which fall during the long wet season.

V.—*Navigation, Hunts, Nets, Fishing, Traps.*

The Fang use long narrow canoes. A suitable tree having been found is felled and trimmed, then hollowed out with the small native wedge. All the boats are open and both sides of the canoe alike. The women use the same canoes as the men and paddle them very skilfully. War canoes are made large and strong, but are otherwise similar in construction to the canoes in daily use. A kind of bigger sail is used and the natives sail a thin canvas very close to the wind. The baler used is made of wood; it much resembles a large flat sugar scoop and is common among tribes along the west coast. This baler is used most skilfully and with great rapidity by both men and women. In paddling, no fulcrum whatever is used. The men and women either sit or kneel, grasping the paddle handle in its upper and lower thirds they plunge the blade deeply into the water, and force the canoe ahead with great rapidity. One man, woman, or a child steers, using an ordinary paddle; the time kept while paddling is excellent, and is usually kept by one man chanting a Fang song, not unlike a white sailor's shanty, the paddling taking on renewed vigour during the chorus. The sails are usually made now of imported trade cloth, but I have seen them made from the native bark cloth. Only one sail is used and the canoes are able to beat up well against the wind.

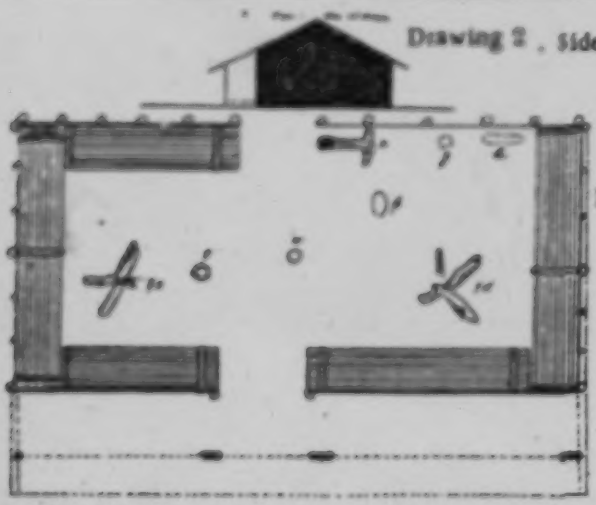
Drawing 1 /61/

Fig. 27a. Drawing 1. Ground Plan of a Meeting House in Majo (Ichumu Family): a, main post; b, skin drum; c, whetstone; d, fireplaces.

Drawing 2. Side view.

Drawing 2

Drawing 2 . Side View.



Drawing 1

Fig. 27b. Drawing 1. Ground Plan of a Meeting House in Mbã (Essãkunan Family): a, main post; b, forge; c, bellows; d, nets for wild game (c and d are hanging); e, anvil (stone); f, fireplaces; g, seat (tree stump); h, wooden drum.

the lengthened pin of the back legs.

In some meeting houses the front legs project to form a semicircle which covers up the narrow sides of the head rests. The outer surface of these semicircles is either carved to look like a face or else incised and provided with decorative surfaces which are painted red and white (Fig. 29). /Fig. 28 appears here in the original text./ /67/

Next to the benches, the most important part of the furnishings of the meeting house consists of a number of logs which are placed together to form a fireplace (see Fig. 27). During the day the fire burns constantly, and during the night the logs are placed together so skillfully that the fire often keeps going until the next morning. /Fig. 29 appears here in the original text./ The importance of the cheering fire in the tropics is greater than one might believe; not only does it serve as a protection against the frequently severe morning chill and warm the room on days when the weather is rainy and cold, but it is also the only means of protection against the exceedingly annoying sand flies, Culicoides (afige), tiny, scarcely visible insects whose sting causes an unpleasant itch like that of stinging nettles.

For the rest, the furnishings of the meeting house consist only of such items as drums (wooden and skin drums), a whetstone, and, suspended from the roof, the large hunting net which the inhabitants use communally on drives. In some cases I also found gun racks (ekob e nga), Figure 30, which are attached to the wall in the same way as we attach clothes hooks. Guns are placed on these racks so they are handy in case of a sudden attack. Another form of this rack (Fig. 31), likewise not common, consists of a board which is pointed at the bottom and provided with a hole at the top. This gun rack (efa[k] -e-nga) is planted in the ground in front of the meeting house. The butt end of the rifle is placed on the ground and the barrel is put in the hole in the board.

The skulls of hunted animals are frequently kept in the meeting house as hunting trophies. Either they are held under the roof mats by means of poles, or they can be seen lying around on the roof; only large skulls, like those of elephants, are sometimes placed in front of the house. /Fig. 30 appears here in the original text./

1: Tessmann--25 E-5 (1904-1909)1913 FH9 Fang FH9

344
352

[531]

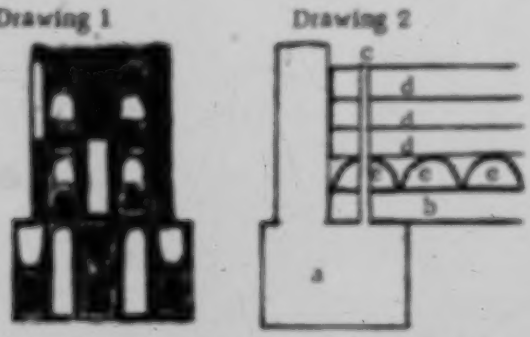


Fig. 29. Painted Socle of a Bench in a Meeting House, Fang Region.
Drawing 1, front view;
Drawing 2, side view.

353
344
325

In many meeting houses, furthermore, one sees /68/ a forge (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 b) and the tools used by a smith, namely, a bellows suspended from the roof (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 c) and a smith's stone (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 e) which at the same time is used as a whetstone and also as a fan for the fire (eyuh e nduan), Figure 32. Finally we must also mention the famous tobacco pipe made from the stem of a banana leaf, which is placed across two hooks in the wall.

[F76]

It goes without saying that in addition to the above-mentioned furnishings there are all kinds of rubbish lying around in the house, such as half-finished baskets, fishing nets, tools, leftover food, and so forth, scarcely designed to give the whole a more attractive appearance. /Fig. 31 appears here in the original text./

344
356

[382]
531]

The meeting houses are very seldom embellished with decorative bark, either on the outside (Fig. 33) or on the inside. More frequently, however, we find the bark walls, especially on the gabled sides,

344
353
591

Fig. 30. Rifle Rack, Engugumo, Fang.

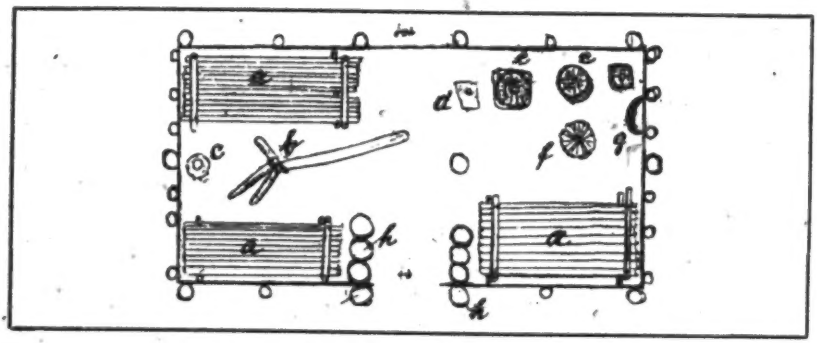
344
531

Fig. 33. Meeting House in Nschûggebot (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea, with Decorative Boards of Bark.

covered with charcoal drawings on the inside between the raffia boards. At this point, however, I cannot go into this art work in any greater detail (see Section 9, "Fine Arts"). 344 353 531

If it were not for the people who enliven the house with their handicrafts and activities, /Fig. 32 appears here in the original text/ if the flaring fire did not lend the large, dark rooms a special, almost mysterious quality -- it would be too dreary. It is precisely here that one notices how everywhere only pulsating life, man in his sad and in his happy hours, not the material environment, is capable of attracting us. The same room which we disposed of just now with a disparaging glance is capable of creating a totally different impression in the evenings when the men and young /69/ /Fig. 33 appears here in the original text/ people gradually congregate in the meeting house in order to listen to the old, hunchbacked Njema-Ndongo tell of the mysterious and uncanny creatures of the fabulous world. Indefatigably they listen, however long he may spin out his yarn, motionless they look at him as he restlessly rubs his hands over the fire, wags his finger threateningly, separates or pushes aside the logs when the

344 517 538 [732]



342
353
354

Fig. 37. Ground Plan of a Pangwe Dwelling.
a, sleeping benches; b, fireplace (kitchen); c, pot with water; d, grindstone; e, baskets; f, bundle of maize cobs; g, hens' nest; h, door posts.

like the toys of a gigantic child that have just been finished by a giant toy dealer and are placed on the clean earth as though on a gigantic table. There are others in which one actually finds not a single house which does not let in the rain in torrents, not a single house whose walls are still standing straight and which does not provide entry for nocturnal reptiles between its walls and the ground. The reader should consider the significance of the name of the village of Ebualebambe ("tumble-down village") which, indeed, as I saw, did full justice to its name. 342 [103]

Whether the houses are carefully built or not, they always look depressed because they are too low in relation to their length, which seems even greater /73/ /Fig. 37 appears here in the original text/ than it actually is because of the way the houses are arranged in rows. One gets the same impression when one goes inside; on the average it is so low that one can stand in it only in a bent position for fear of coming into painful contact with the roof or the household utensils hanging from it. It is rare indeed that one can stand upright on one of the low sleeping benches without bumping his head.

As in the case of the meeting house, the interior of the dwelling (Fig. 37) has a single room which the Pangwe divides into atŭm a nkiai and atŭm akui, that is to say, into a western "room" (on a lower level) and an eastern "room" (on a higher level) which are to the left and right of the door. Figure 38 gives a view of the interior of a Fang hut. In this illustration one side wall and the right

342
352
353
354

Fig. 38. A Dwelling of the Fang.
The right half of the front wall and one side wall have been removed for a view of the interior.

342 half of the front wall have been removed in order to provide a full view.

The four corners or at least three of them are occupied by 342 sleeping benches (Fig. 37 a) which are constructed exactly like 352 the benches of the meeting houses. The distance between the 353 head and foot rest, however, is only about three quarters body length, so it is necessary to lie on them with one's legs drawn up. The sleeping benches extend to the door posts and thus take up most of the room in the house. On one of the narrow sides and [354] between two sleeping benches is the fireplace (Figure 37 b), that is, a few logs placed together and serving both as a hearth and a stove. Over the fireplace is attached a device for drying and storing food and dishes which is put together in the following manner (Fig. 39). A frame covered with plaited raffia strips is laid over the door posts (a) and two forked sticks driven into the corners. This is the "pot loft," akán e mvé (c); one can usually see a number of pots and a clay water bottle on it. Other things, which even for the Negro cannot be designated as "valuable possessions," /74/ /Fig. 38 appears here in the original text/ are also found there, such as banana bowls, maize spindles, to whose use I shall return later, and so forth. Under the pot loft hangs the drying loft or "groundnut loft," akán owǔnǒ (d). As the name indicates, this loft

serves only for the storage of groundnuts and is likewise usually made of plaited raffia strips. Then there is the most important household item for the housewife, the pantry, in the form of a storage box, bū bū, or bū u (e), intended primarily for meat and other delicacies. This box is often very nicely made with raffia pith. In front it usually has a small protruding ledge on which salt, pepper, and spoons may be placed, and thus it serves as a kind of "dumb-waiter"; at the side it has an opening that is closed by means of a sliding door made of pith. The box fills the space between the beds so that it is barely possible to stand there. One or two drying or roasting boards, etǎn (f and g), hang under the box, just above the fire. These boards are used for roasting groundnuts and for drying things.

On the opposite wall at the same level a similar frame is put up, over which drying boards can be placed and from whose front edge the women's long baskets (nkūn I) are hung. There is floor space under this frame, a sleeping bench may be placed there, covered with baskets, grindstones, and other tools, or with the assorted possessions of the head of the household. A person who enters the house for the first time finds himself in the middle of the passage between front and back door, not knowing which way to turn. To make room at all it would be necessary to clear everything out; otherwise a European would find the house uninhabitable. In the north, /75/ especially among the Bulu and in part also among the Ntum, the huts are somewhat more spacious and habitable.

For hanging up baskets, calabashes, satchels, and other objects on the wall, the Pangwe makes use of a natural hook (ekǒb), that is, a piece of a tree trunk which is cut out just above and below a branch. The branch is cut off, the remaining stump is cut more or less to a point, and then the whole piece is inserted, in the same position as it was on the tree, between the longitudinal raffia strips on the inner side of the wall. Objects are very readily attached to the wall by means of raffia stalks stuck between the mats, from whose free ends they are suspended.

An important piece of furniture is the round, three-legged stool (kpā III), Figure 40, carved out of wood and decorated all around its edge with ornamental chip carving.

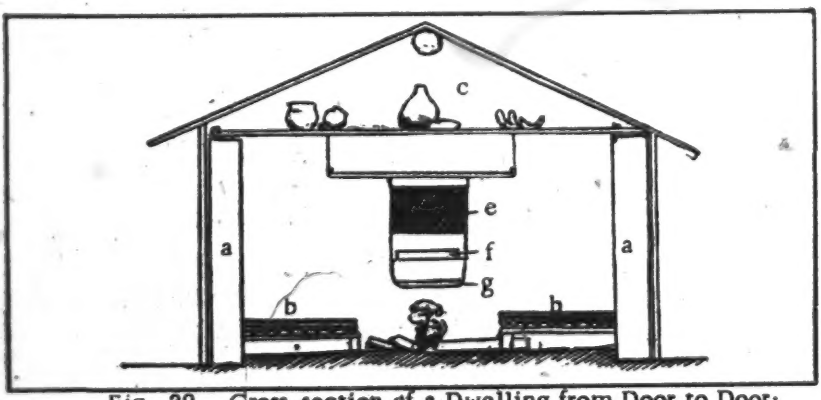
342
352
353

its edge with ornamental chip carving. It is placed on the ground, often in the vicinity of the door posts, and is considered, so to speak, as a place of honor -- for strangers and the paterfamilias -- like our sofa.

As a final household implement the sweeper should be mentioned. 412
It appears in various forms, depending on whether it is used in the 356
dwelling, for the benches of the meeting house, for the meeting house floor, or for the village square.

For the house a broom evū̄ á[k], Figure 41 a, is used, made of raffia leaves tied together in the shape of a fan. "More elegant" brooms are used by the Jaunde for the benches of the meeting houses. These are made of pieces of liana stalks, Ertela scandens Benth., [824]
Leguminosae, called ntū́ (b), or of the flowers of the oil palm (c). The pieces of liana stalk are slit so that they form something like a brush; these brooms therefore correspond more or less to our dusters. A third form of broom (Fig. 42) consists of two little wooden boards tied with strips to a handle. /Fig. 39 appears here in the original text. / /76/ It resembles our snow shovels, but it is by no means to be found in every village, and even where it is found it is infrequently used.

In the preceding descriptions the reader will have been struck 137
by the frequency with which the raffia palm is mentioned as construction material. It is indeed true that this palm, called "bamboo" in 824
Negro English, is by far the most important and most valuable plant



[342
353]

Fig. 39. Cross-section of a Dwelling from Door to Door: a, door posts; b, sleeping benches; c, pot loft; d, loft for drying groundnuts; e, pantry; f and g, roasting boards.

532
353

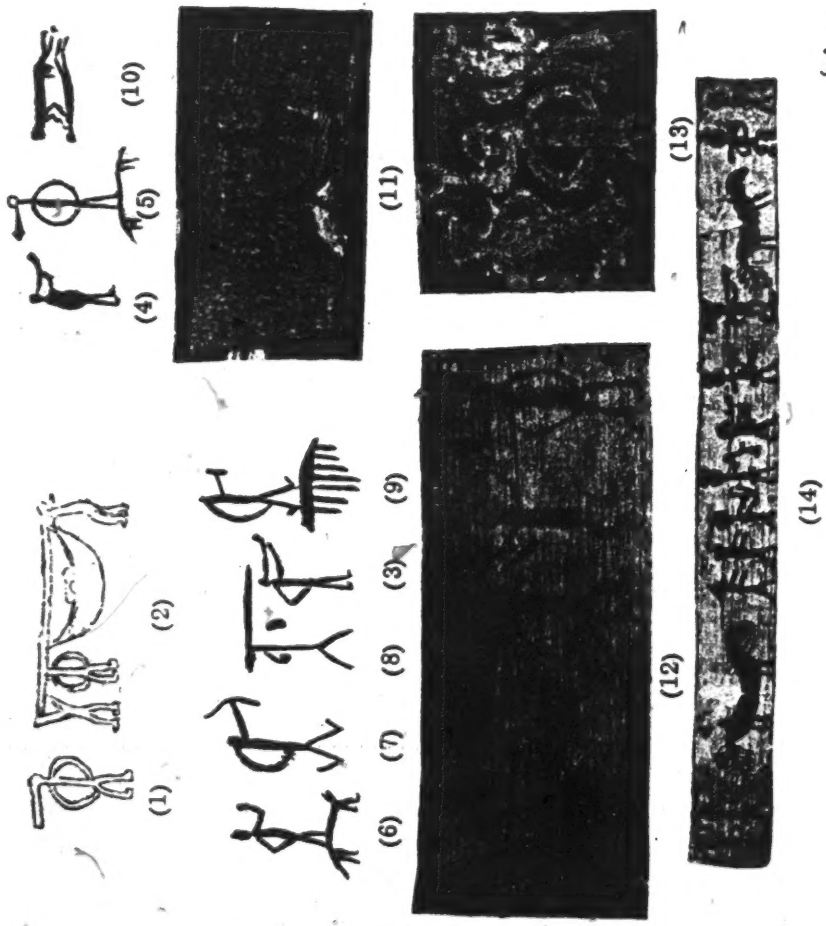


Fig. 225. Drawings on House Walls (Drawings 1-10) and on Bark Plates (Drawings 11-14). Drawings 1, 3, 4, and 8. Man with a tobacco pipe. Drawing 2. A European carried in a hammock. Drawings 5 and 11. Man with tobacco pipe on horseback. Drawings 6 and 9. Man on horseback. Drawing 7. Man with a dog whip. Drawing 10. Coitus. Drawing 12. Three people and an animal (chameleon?). Drawing 13. People. Drawing 14. Caravan of two Whites on horseback, accompanied by soldiers.

B. Drawing and Painting.

532 353 Drawings are scribbled on the exterior bark walls of the houses especially by children or adolescents. More rarely drawings are made on special bark strips that are attached to the inside walls of the meeting houses.

532 177 The drawing motifs are taken from secular life and frequently from a foreign culture (Fig. 225). Most frequently, tobacco pipes, /273/ /Fig. 225 appears here in the original text/ smoking men, and riders on horseback are represented in the drawings. The riders are regularly placed with both feet on their horses in the manner of Buffalo Bill. The horses themselves are always badly drawn; they might as well belong to the family of lizards (Drawing 6), or for that matter they might be identified as cats or centipedes (Drawing 9). At best they are equipped with a long, fishbone-shaped tail (Drawings 11 and 14), so that one immediately suspects that the artist has never seen a horse. This suspicion is strengthened when one observes a preponderant number of drawings of horses even in the remotest villages where it is certain that none of the inhabitants has as yet been to the coast. /274/ /Fig. 226 appears here in the original text. / It is therefore probable that the an-
[174] cestors of the present-day draftsmen saw horses among the equestrian peoples of Adamawa or other African peoples in an earlier era before the Pangwe moved to their present location. The knowledge of this animal would then have been transmitted to their descendants by means of pictures that were copied again and again.

In villages affected by European culture -- primarily those along the caravan routes -- we frequently find drawings of Europeans. Often, to correspond with their skin color, these are painted white; some drawings show them by themselves, others have them being carried in a hammock and accompanied by servants; others again show them on horseback riding ahead of the soldiers who are accentuated by red caps. The rider's legs are drawn behind the animal (Drawing 14), just as in the drawings of our children.

532 Otherwise we find people frequently represented with spears or rifles, but that is about the extent of artistic ideas. Drawings of

Drawing 1 /65/

344
354
353

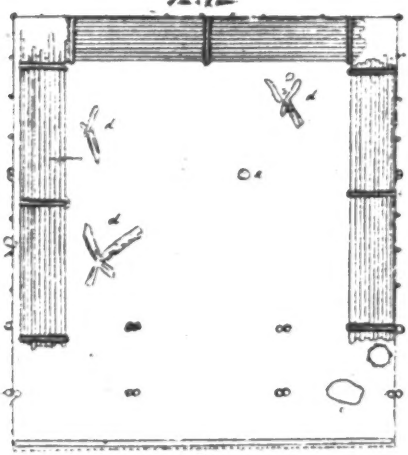
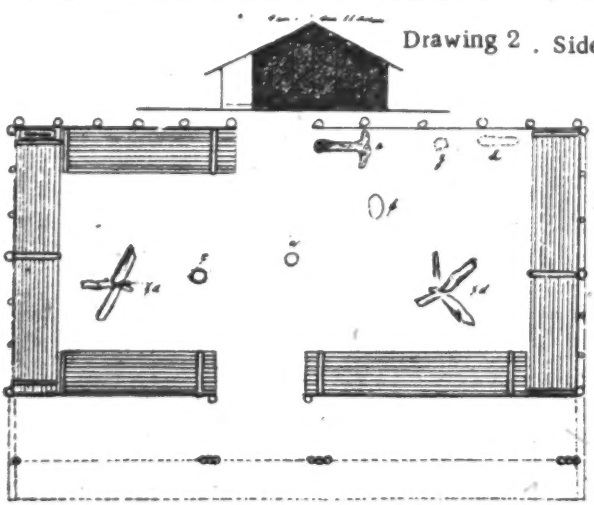


Fig. 27a. Drawing 1. Ground Plan of a Meeting House in Majo (Schumu Family): a, main post; b, skin drum; c, whetstone; d, fireplaces.

Drawing 2. Side view.

Drawing 2



Drawing 2 . Side View.

Drawing 1

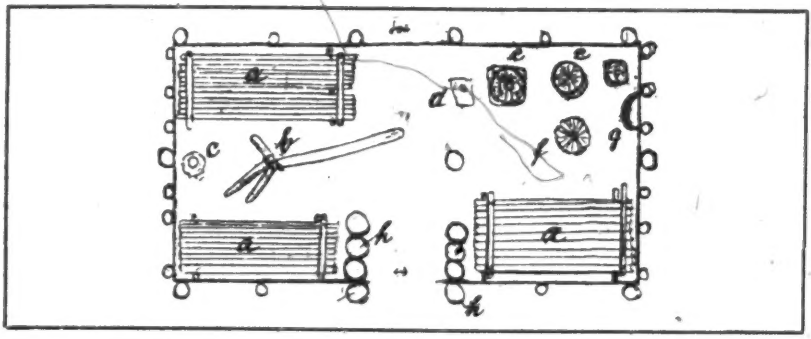
Fig. 27b. Drawing 1. Ground Plan of a Meeting House in Mbä (Essákunan Family): a, main post; b, forge; c, bellows; d, nets for wild game (c and d are hanging); e, anvil (stone); f, fireplaces; g, seat (tree stump); h, wooden drum.

344 the lengthened pin of the back legs.
353 In some meeting houses the front legs project to form a semi-
circle which covers up the narrow sides of the head rests. The
[531] outer surface of these semicircles is either carved to look like a
face or else incised and provided with decorative surfaces which
are painted red and white (Fig. 29). /Fig. 28 appears here in the
original text./ /67/

344 Next to the benches, the most important part of the furnishings
of the meeting house consists of a number of logs which are placed
354 together to form a fireplace (see Fig. 27). During the day the fire
burns constantly, and during the night the logs are placed together
so skillfully that the fire often keeps going until the next morning.
/Fig. 29 appears here in the original text./ The importance of
the cheering fire in the tropics is greater than one might believe;
not only does it serve as a protection against the frequently severe
morning chill and warm the room on days when the weather is
rainy and cold, but it is also the only means of protection against
[137] the exceedingly annoying sand flies, Culicoides (afi,ge), tiny,
scarcely visible insects whose sting causes an unpleasant itch like
that of stinging nettles.

344 For the rest, the furnishings of the meeting house consist only
353 of such items as drums (wooden and skin drums), a whetstone, and,
suspended from the roof, the large hunting net which the inhabitants
352 use communally on drives. In some cases I also found gun racks
(ekob ẹ nga), Figure 30, which are attached to the wall in the same
way as we attach clothes hooks. Guns are placed on these racks so
they are handy in case of a sudden attack. Another form of this
rack (Fig. 31), likewise not common, consists of a board which is
pointed at the bottom and provided with a hole at the top. This
gun rack (efa[k] -ẹ-nga) is planted in the ground in front of the
meeting house. The butt end of the rifle is placed on the ground
and the barrel is put in the hole in the board.

344 The skulls of hunted animals are frequently kept in the meeting
353 house as hunting trophies. Either they are held under the roof mats
by means of poles, or they can be seen lying around on the roof;
only large skulls, like those of elephants, are sometimes placed in
front of the house. /Fig. 30 appears here in the original text./



342
353
354

Fig. 37. Ground Plan of a Pangwe Dwelling.
a, sleeping benches; b, fireplace (kitchen); c, pot with water; d, grindstone; e, baskets; f, bundle of maize cobs; g, hens' nest; h, door posts.

like the toys of a gigantic child that have just been finished by a 342
giant toy dealer and are placed on the clean earth as though on a gigantic table. There are others in which one actually finds not a single house which does not let in the rain in torrents, not a single house whose walls are still standing straight and which does not provide entry for nocturnal reptiles between its walls and the ground. The reader should consider the significance of the name of the village of Ebualebambe ("tumble-down village") which, indeed, as I [103] saw, did full justice to its name.

Whether the houses are carefully built or not, they always look depressed because they are too low in relation to their length, which seems even greater /73/ /Fig. 37 appears here in the original text/ than it actually is because of the way the houses are arranged in rows. One gets the same impression when one goes inside; on the average it is so low that one can stand in it only in a bent position for fear of coming into painful contact with the roof or the household utensils hanging from it. It is rare indeed that one can stand upright on one of the low sleeping benches without bumping his head.

As in the case of the meeting house, the interior of the dwelling (Fig. 37) has a single room which the Pangwe divides into atûm a nkiai and atûm akui, that is to say, into a western "room" (on a lower level) and an eastern "room" (on a higher level) which are to the left and right of the door. Figure 38 gives a view of the interior of a Fang hut. In this illustration one side wall and the right

342
352
353
354

Fig. 38. A Dwelling of the Fang.
The right half of the front wall and one side wall have been removed for a view of the interior.

342 half of the front wall have been removed in order to provide a full view.

The four corners or at least three of them are occupied by
342 sleeping benches (Fig. 37 a) which are constructed exactly like
352 the benches of the meeting houses. The distance between the
353 head and foot rest, however, is only about three quarters body length, so it is necessary to lie on them with one's legs drawn up. The sleeping benches extend to the door posts and thus take up most of the room in the house. On one of the narrow sides and
354 between two sleeping benches is the fireplace (Figure 37 b), that is, a few logs placed together and serving both as a hearth and a stove. Over the fireplace is attached a device for drying and storing food and dishes which is put together in the following manner (Fig. 39). A frame covered with plaited raffia strips is laid over the door posts (a) and two forked sticks driven into the corners. This is the "pot loft," akán e mvé (c); one can usually see a number of pots and a clay water bottle on it. Other things, which even for the Negro cannot be designated as "valuable possessions," /74/ /Fig. 38 appears here in the original text/ are also found there, such as banana bowls, maize spindles, to whose use I shall return later, and so forth. Under the pot loft hangs the drying loft or "groundnut loft," akán owǔnǒ (d). As the name indicates, this loft

412

354

Fig. 43. Resin Lamp, Fang.

Fig. 42. Dirt Shovel for Cleaning the Meeting House, Ntum.

A few words should be said about lighting. In the houses, which, as we have seen, are windowless and hence quite dark, the hearth fire /Fig. 43 appears here in the original text/ is at the same time a much needed source of light. As the Pangwe relate in their legends, it was Mode-Sama, one of the first human beings, who fetched fire (ndūán) from God (Sama); according to other versions, the fire was given to him by God, and since Mode's time the fire has not been extinguished. This useful element is carried from one house to another and, when worst comes to worst, from one village to another. The Pangwe does not need to rekindle his fire, since it burns all day in the meeting house where it serves as a protection against cold, moisture, and sand flies, while in the dwellings it is kept going day and night for cooking and heating purposes. When the women go to the plantations, the logs are so carefully arranged (for this action alone, there are four different expressions!) that they continue to glow; or the youngest daughter may be given the task of guarding the vestal altar. In case the fire should actually go out in one house, fire is obtained from a neighboring house, and it is only in exceptional cases that a smaller village has no fire. In such an emergency fire is sent for from the nearest settlement.

Better lighting than the hearth fire is provided by the torch light with which /80/ /Fig. 44 appears here in the original text/ the village square is illuminated at night when, for instance, dances are held. The flickering of the torches causes the strange and wild movements of the dancers to appear even more fantastic than they really are. The torches are composed of dried stalks of the cardamom Aframomum alboviolaceum K. Sch. (adžǒm; stalk, kō'mō IV Fang, kūū'me IV Ntum), Plate 21 in Section 11 /Vol. 2/, or finely spliced raffia stalk strips (ekǎ'ba), which — when they are well dried — burn very brightly but, on the other hand, are rather rapidly consumed.

The finest but an infrequently used source of light at festivities or other events in the village square is the resin lamp (otu = resin), Figure 43, a little tub of bark containing the fragrant resin of the Anacardiacea Canarium schweinfurthii Engl. (1) (abê Ntum, obê Fang; resin = otu).

1. According to the communication of Doctor Mildbraed who has likewise collected this tree.

262 In addition to the spices, the Pangwe use oil as an additive for their food. The oil is obtained from the oil palm Elaeis guineensis L. (alĕn) and the Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (adźăb), but it is extracted so rarely that its use in the kitchen is far secondary to its use for the care of the skin. For this reason I shall discuss the extraction of oil when I come to speak of skin care.

354 The kitchen of the Pangwe woman is located, as we have already seen, in the house under the suspension loft. There is no actual hearth in it; among the Mwai this is represented by three rocks, but for the rest the pot which is always without legs is placed on a potsherd or on the skillfully arranged logs of the fire. If at any time there is more than usual to be cooked, for instance, after a successful elephant hunt, the daily fireplace is too small, and a second one is built behind the house.

313 For cooking -- as every little Pangwe girl knows -- three things are necessary: wood, water, and fire. There is never any shortage of wood; every day the housewife brings the necessary logs from the plantation (Fig. 51). Water is likewise available in great quantities; it merely has to be taken from the river in calabashes (ndŏk IV) or -- among the Ntum and Okak -- in earthenware water flasks (Fig. 92a), Pangwe ésū̆gă (hence the name sū̆k, an imitation of the gurgling sound made by the water as it is poured in; hence also a-śōk "waterfall"). We discussed the fire in the previous section.

312 415

412 The kitchen utensils of the woman are very simple. The grindstone (akǒk) and the little round rubbing stone (ngǒk IV) that goes with it are found everywhere. The grindstone is irregularly flat, scoured smooth by the rubbing done on it, and it usually lies on the ground on which the woman kneels in front of the stone she works. Among the Mwai, who are somewhat more advanced in the art of cooking anyway, the stone is placed on four small posts like a table, a fact which considerably "raises" it in appearance. Groundnuts, ngon, and so forth are rubbed to a powder by rolling the rubbing stone back and forth on the grindstone. The same purpose is served by an almost round wooden plate which has the shape of a stemmed leaf with raised edges (evín-ndǒk, efęí-ndǒk); it is used for the kernels of the Irvingia barteri Hook. f. (andǒ́k; fruit, ndǒ́k IV), Figure 93; the grinder used with this plate is a hard fruit (aśǒ́k), round as a ball.

252

344
352

[531]

Drawing 1 Drawing 2

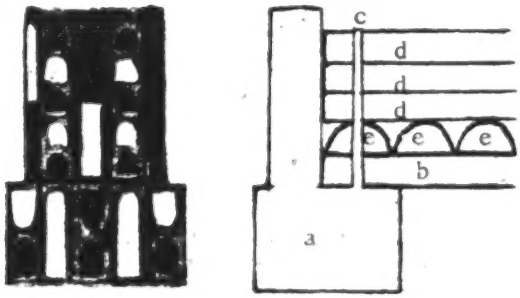


Fig. 29. Painted Socle of a Bench in a Meeting House, Fang Region.
Drawing 1, front view;
Drawing 2, side view.

353
344
[325]

In many meeting houses, furthermore, one sees /68/ a forge (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 b) and the tools used by a smith, namely, a bellows suspended from the roof (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 c) and a smith's stone (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 e) which at the same time is used as a whetstone and also as a fan for the fire (evuń e nduan), Figure 32. Finally we must also mention the famous tobacco pipe made from the stem of a banana leaf, which is placed across two hooks in the wall.

[276]

344
356

It goes without saying that in addition to the above-mentioned furnishings there are all kinds of rubbish lying around in the house, such as half-finished baskets, fishing nets, tools, leftover food, and so forth, scarcely designed to give the whole a more attractive appearance. /Fig. 31 appears here in the original text./

[352
531]

344
353
531

The meeting houses are very seldom embellished with decorative bark, either on the outside (Fig. 33) or on the inside. More frequently, however, we find the bark walls, especially on the gabled sides,

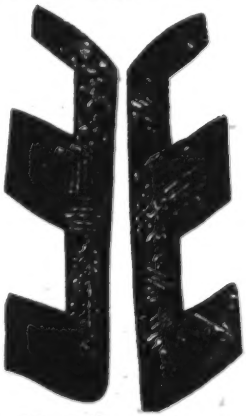


Fig. 30. Rifle Rack, Engugumo, Fang.

342

[531]

Fig. 36. Door of a Dwelling in Alén (Essáuong Family). Carved out of wood and painted a light gray with clay.

placed next to each other against the opening from the inside, and naturally there are large cracks between them. It goes without saying that any sudden gust of wind will blow them down and that they also fall down by themselves. I myself have often enough been awakened by this unfamiliar clatter, or the cool night air and the stings of the Anopheles mosquitoes swarming in have given me an unpleasant awakening.

[531] Doors made of wood (Fig. 36) are to be found here and there and are sometimes decorated with simple carved patterns. They are placed or wedged against the door opening from the inside. Frame doors imported by foreign traders and [139] set on hinges made of bands of palm are not very popular, generally speaking.

Exactly as in the case of the meeting houses, the construction and condition of the dwellings vary greatly. Some [356] houses are so clean and attractively built that they look like a doll's house just unpacked; others, however, look dilapidated, unclean, and unattractive, and they make such a revolting impression that -- as I often told my Pangwe -- not even a white man's dog would feel at home in it. The majority of the dwellings, of course, are between these two extremes, that is to say, if one takes the average of several villages -- for the houses of a single village are often of just about the same quality, a fact which doubtless stems from their being equally old. There are villages which appear

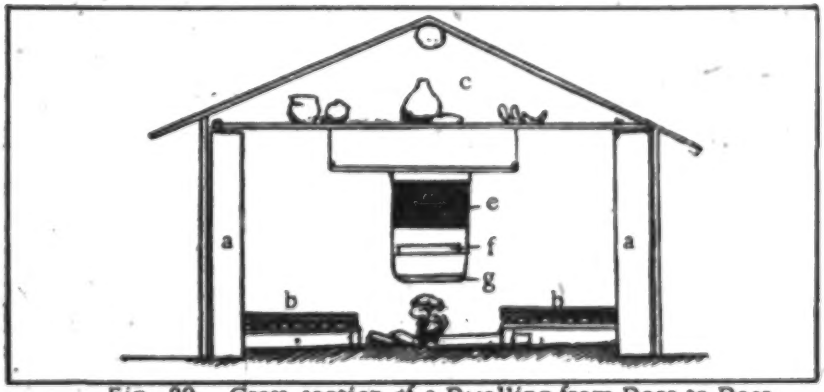
342
352
353

its edge with ornamental chip carving. It is placed on the ground, often in the vicinity of the door posts, and is considered, so to speak, as a place of honor -- for strangers and the paterfamilias -- like our sofa.

As a final household implement the sweeper should be mentioned. It appears in various forms, depending on whether it is used in the dwelling, for the benches of the meeting house, for the meeting house floor, or for the village square. 412 356

For the house a broom evū̄ a[k], Figure 41 a, is used, made of raffia leaves tied together in the shape of a fan. "More elegant" brooms are used by the Jaunde for the benches of the meeting houses. These are made of pieces of liana stalks, Ertela scandens Benth., Leguminosae, called ntū (b), or of the flowers of the oil palm (c). The pieces of liana stalk are slit so that they form something like a brush; these brooms therefore correspond more or less to our dusters. A third form of broom (Fig. 42) consists of two little wooden boards tied with strips to a handle. /Fig. 39 appears here in the original text./ /76/ It resembles our snow shovels, but it is by no means to be found in every village, and even where it is found it is infrequently used. [824]

In the preceding descriptions the reader will have been struck by the frequency with which the raffia palm is mentioned as construction material. It is indeed true that this palm, called "bamboo" in Negro English, is by far the most important and most valuable plant 87 824



[342
353]

Fig. 39. Cross-section of a Dwelling from Door to Door: a, door posts; b, sleeping benches; c, pot loft; d, loft for drying groundnuts; e, pantry; f and g, roasting boards.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

site for their villages. The houses can be readily taken down and erected 342
elsewhere. The earth floor is often beaten very hard, no covering is used. The
beds are made of bamboo poles resting upon end pieces, supported by four forked [513]
corner stakes. The bed is raised about one foot from the ground. In most houses
are four beds, two at each end on opposite sides, having a log fire burning between, 352
the smoke escaping through the thatch roof. The furniture is all movable, and consists of stools, cassava bowls and boards, drinking gourds, fish nets, water gourds, various baskets and hanging bamboo shelves for drying fish and corn over the fire. Food, guns and powder horns are hung up on wooden hooks suspended by bush rope; these hooks are made by cutting a suitable branch from a young tree, having a strong crutch. No separate portion of the dwelling is set apart for sleeping or eating. There are no windows to a Fang house; at night one or more pieces of bark are used for a door. All the domestic arrangements are excessively [356]
filthy. Refuse from meals is unknown, everything is eaten, including entrails and
skin of animals and fish. Before occupying a new house the witch doctor (*nganga*) [262]
is usually called to perform the ceremony of propitiating the evil spirits (local 342
spirits), and the *biang Ekuri* (fetish) is hung up and becomes the protecting fetish of the household. This fetish is hung up over the doorway outside. The houses are built entirely above ground, the roofs are made of split bamboo and covered with thatch made from the long tough blade of a swamp reed, or rush. This thatch makes a most excellent roof, and when well put on, it is able to withstand three years of the terrible rains which fall during the long wet season.

V.—*Navigation, Hooks, Nets, Fishing, Traps.*

The Fang use long narrow canoes. A suitable tree having been found is 501
felled and trimmed, then hollowed out with the small native wedge. All the boats
are open and both sides of the canoe alike. The women use the same canoes as [396]
the men and paddle them very skilfully. War canoes are made large and strong, but are otherwise similar in construction to the canoes in daily use. A kind of lugger sail is used and the natives sail a thin canvas very close to the wind. The baler used is made of wood; it much resembles a large flat sugar scoop and is common among tribes along the west coast. This baler is used most skilfully and with great rapidity by both men and women. In paddling, no fulcrum whatever
is used. The men and women either sit or kneel, grasping the paddle handle in 502
its upper and lower thirds they plunge the blade deeply into the water, and force the canoe ahead with great rapidity. One man, woman, or a child steers, using an
ordinary paddle; the time kept while paddling is excellent, and is usually kept by [533]
one man chanting a Fang song, not unlike a white sailor's shanty, the paddling [461]
taking on renewed vigour during the chorus. The sails are usually made now [501]
of imported trade cloth, but I have seen them made from the native bark [439]
cloth. Only one sail is used and the canoes are able to beat up well against the wind.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

264 this is, because, to a Fang eye, polished brass looks *mbung* (handsome) and is attractive for trade. Vessels are usually placed on top of the fire and not
262 suspended over it; vegetables are frequently placed in stews. No separate dwelling house exists for cooking, it is carried on in the dwelling house. The water used to
● 356 wash a dirty pot with is often thrown out on the earth floor of the dwelling, children playing in the wet dirt. In all domestic matters the Fang are very filthy.
[514] I have on more than one occasion when inside a native hut seen children micturate and defecate on the earth floor close to where the mother was cooking, the women
[854] and men present taking very little notice, and only occasionally placing the child
[462] outside the door. Cooking is exclusively the duty of women, a *real man* will not cook. Food is often highly seasoned with hot native red and green peppers, and
252 food thus prepared is much appreciated. The food is usually well cooked through, with the exception of plantains which are often only half boiled and served quite hard. Large round stones are used for rubbing and reducing to powder gourd seeds and various tubers. Smoking and salting are the only methods practised
251 for preserving food, and on account of the value of salt and the difficulty of transporting it inland, it is seldom thus employed.

Drinks.—Rum has been carried from the coast by white traders and natives
273 far inland and is used whenever obtainable, but the chief drink is cold water. Palm wine is made called *meyak*. Except in places where a trade factory existed I have seen very few cases of intoxication among the Fang, but when they can obtain rum it seems to completely demoralize them. Tea and coffee are known to
[272] people living near white settlers. When a party of headmen and others have taken a meal at the mission house, tea and coffee were greatly enjoyed and cups
264 frequently re-filled. The first meal is usually about eight or nine o'clock; the natives think the white man eats very early; a mid-day meal is served and the evening repast is usually about sunset.

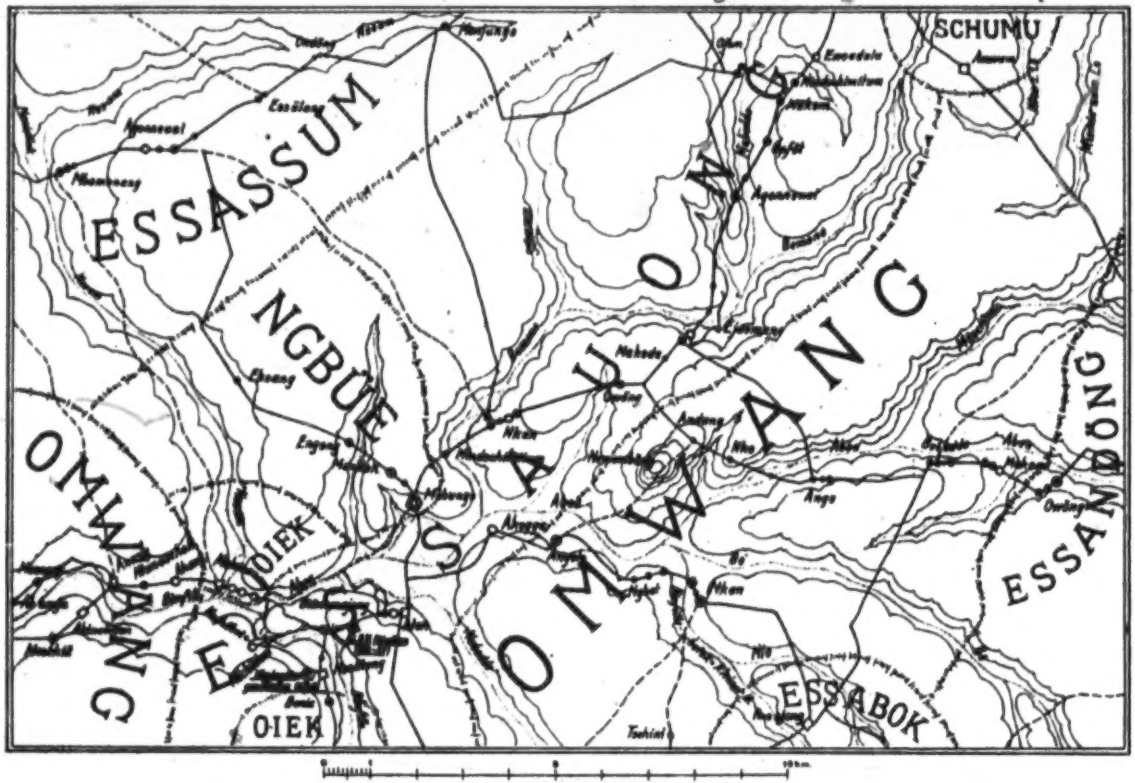
Food is frequently brought to the men inside the *abeng* (palaver house); at other times an entire family eats together inside the dwelling house. No ceremonies whatever precede the commencement of meals. When a son is born, or on the
574 occasion of a wedding, and after some large palaver has been settled, a feast is usually given. Invited guests and strangers partake together with the town folk
264 of the food prepared; it is usually served on the earth floor of the palaver house, on plantain leaves, and in cooking pots, each person helping himself. The women do not eat with the men inside the palaver house.

Mode of preparing Mboa.

252 *Ba du mbóa osui, e vóm a ne ndútál: a kaga boma mēlu mēla, be keli tâs: be sâli*
539 *ne nye; be nâû mbûk: be kēzi nye mbûk iti be nou ntum: beña tyak: bènga vul: be kaga mana vul: be kēzi nye ē mvē: vckoba ji: ve telē mvè mboa: wena mboa abea.*

Map 2

Families and Settlements in the Pangwe Area.



/51/ Section 4

Village and Household

000 Place names (their derivation and explanation). -- Names of fields. -- Plan of the villages. -- Settlement; development of a settlement into a village; village; significance of the name; growth of the village. -- Provisional meeting houses: plan, form -- Permanent meeting houses: scaffolding; roofing (procedure, material used for rafters and covering); side walls (material, erection, appearance); veranda. -- Interior of the meeting houses: posts; benches; fireplaces; furnishings (gun racks, trophies, and the like). -- Life in the meeting house. -- Dwellings: forms; appearance; door part; door; condition. -- Interior of the dwellings: sleeping benches; lofts and larder; frames with drying boards and baskets; hooks; stools; brooms. -- Raffia palm: kinds; names; uses. -- Storage houses; guest houses; field huts; houses for the sick. -- Houses on piles. -- Illumination: hearth fire; torches; lamp; mushroom torches; fire making. -- Village square (appearance, cleanliness). -- Toilet. -- Ornamental plants. -- Trade routes. -- Trade by water. -- Bridges.

101 In the large, jungle-covered Pangwe region /Ed., the author
● 361 uses Pangwe /Fang/ as the name for a group of tribes in which the Fang are one tribe; the others are the Eton, Mwele /Mvele/, Jaunde /Yaunde/, Bene /Bane/, Bulu, Ntum, Mwai /Mvae/, and Mokuk (Oschüeba)/ the settled areas are scattered like oases in the desert. They are unevenly distributed, and their greatest concen-
[487] tration is along the line of the main trade routes which cross the region for the most part in an east-west direction.

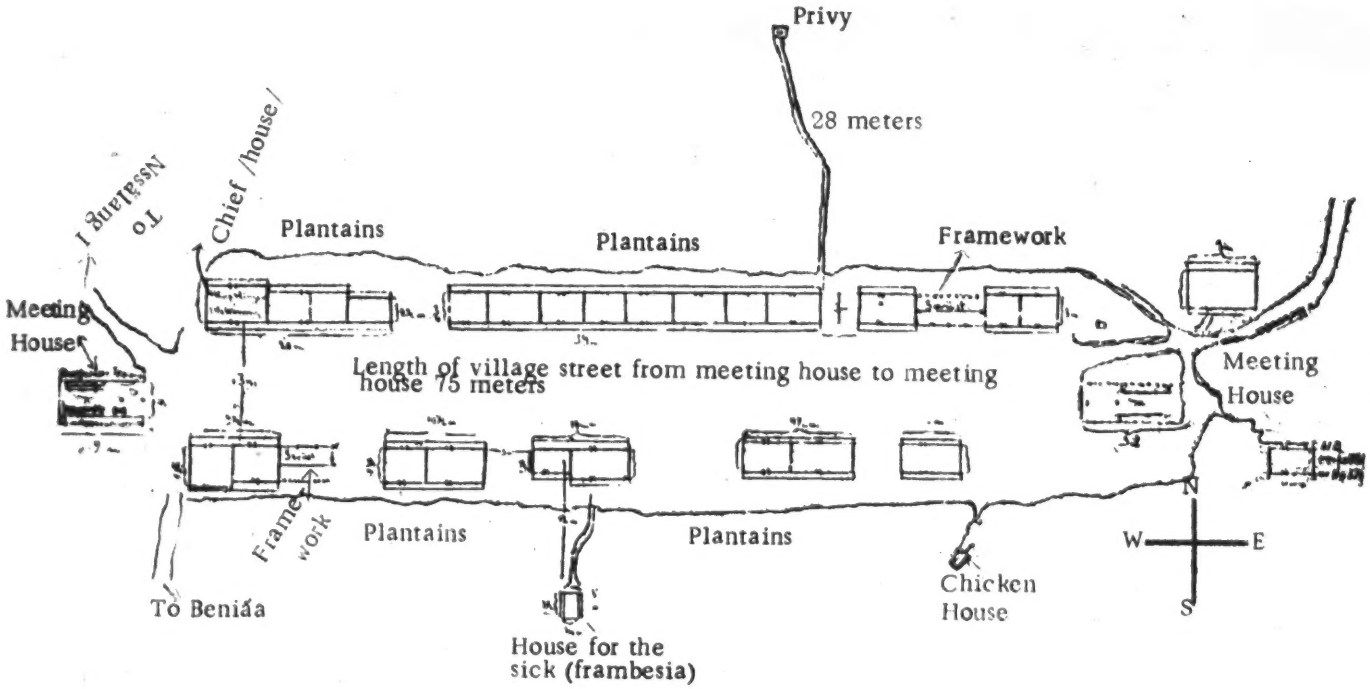


Fig. 16. Plan of a Village of the Settlement Nssälang (Essauong Family) Fang. Made in 1908.

361 823 As was mentioned in the previous section /not translated/, the villages are laid out along the roads and always in an east-west direction (cf. Fig. 16). /56/ Curiously enough, the people gave as the reason for this arrangement the fact that the land slopes down to the west (toward the ocean) and that the rain water can run off in this direction. It is true, of course, that this point is an important consideration inasmuch as they are careful to lay out the village in such a way that the rain water will not flood one of the rows of huts. Nevertheless, this cannot be the sole reason for the east-west arrangement. I have observed that even on completely level ground -- which, in other words, does not favor the drainage of water in the direction intended -- the east-west plan was the [487] preferred one. When, for instance, a route goes south, it will make a turn before reaching the village, cross the latter in an east-west direction, and at the other end will resume its southerly direction (cf. Fig. 16, the Nssälang I-Beniaa route). It is obvious that in this arrangement reasons other than the one mentioned play a part, such as the general trek to the west of which mention has already been made in the previous section (1).

[764] 1. Compare also the predominantly east-west direction of the graves.

361 A Pangwe village consists mostly of two rows of houses running parallel to each other with the road between them (Plate 4 and Fig. 16). More rarely, a village consists of a single row of houses along the road. Furthermore, villages come into being through the combination of two or more individual establishments, and as a result different villages display different stages of development, observable everywhere side by side in the region.

361 If the father of a family wants to found an establishment, he 592 builds two houses, a dwelling and a meeting house /men's house/. 61 The dwelling is the real domain of the wife, where she works and lives with her children and where the man for the most part stays only at night, very rarely in the daytime. The meeting house, on the other hand, is the usual haunt of the man, where he busies himself during the day, performs his incidental tasks, and receives visitors and where the wife comes only now and then. As the

361 children grow up, their father builds each one a house of his own
572 next to the original dwelling. In the same way, each of his addi-
621 tional wives receives her own house from him. His first wife, how-
ever, remains his favorite wife, and consequently it is her house -- in other words, the one that he built first and which is adjacent to the meeting house -- which remains his home. He keeps it even after the death of the wife.

The next step in the development toward a village takes place when, for some reason or other, a second head of a family joins his establishment to that of the first. This happens, for instance, when a member of the same or of another family unit moves in, or when after the death of the father the eldest son inherits his meeting house, dwellings, and wives, and the younger son is unwilling to submit to his older brother who is now also his chief. He or the new arrival, as the case may be, builds the necessary number of houses for himself and his family along the same row. Sometimes he may even build his houses directly /57/ /Fig. 17/ adjacent to the existing houses, and he will likewise finish off his settlement with a meeting house protruding from the line. If the meeting house is a temporary one, it is placed lengthwise in the square (see Fig. 16); if it is a permanent one, it is placed transversely (see Plate 4).

In this way, a "village" arises from the original individual establishment, and because, like a pair of eyes (dʒ́ī; plural, mī), it consists of two halves (Fig. 18), the village is called dʒ́ā, plural mā (see what has been said about the meaning of prefixes /not translated/. There are, thus, two family heads in each village; their rows of houses join somewhere in the middle, with a boundary line which is recognizable, of course, only to the initiated. Everyone, however, can see the two meeting houses (belonging to the two heads of family) located on opposite sides of the village square.

The two family heads are legally equals. Certain conditions, however, which we shall discuss more fully in a later section, give one of the heads a position of slight superiority. Sometimes a third establishment is added to the two individual establishments constituting the village, and it also has adjoining rows of houses as well as a meeting house (see Fig. 18).

361 As has been said, the meeting house is the principal haunt of
621 the chief; in the same way it serves all his sons, male relatives,
344

361
342

Fig. 17. Pangwe Village, Spanish Guinea.

361 and followers who help him with its construction and have a perma-
62 nent right to its use; /58/ /Fig. 18/ hence, the relational prefix
344 a in abā,"meeting house"; hence probably also the Janus head which I saw on the post of a meeting house (cf. Fig. 19). The stem of the word a-bā I derive from ba, "to divide, to share" (1), and I

1. The same stem exists in the numeral two (bai), which is clearly the result of the division of one object.

believe that it was originally intended to designate the place where the game that had been killed was divided. The meeting house is now the place for all public transactions, from the dividing of meat to judicial proceedings, public deliberations, and the reception of strangers.

62 Sometimes the meeting house constructed when the establish-
62 ment was founded remains permanently in a temporary state; it
344 remains unfinished because the people are too lazy -- each one thinks the other should start first -- and the chief lacks the power

/58/

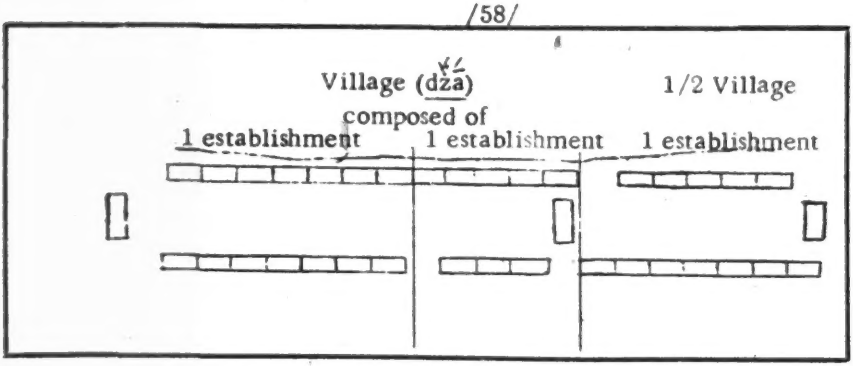


Fig. 18. Development of a Village from Individual Establishments.

621 to force his people to complete it. At one time, for instance, the chief
622 of the village Nssälang (Fig. 23 shows one of the temporary meeting
344 houses of that village) made the proposal to me -- a proposal which I, of course, gratefully declined -- that I should either force his people, or make my people available, to build a new meeting house for him. Then, as he put it, everybody would say: "This chief of the Whites is quite a fellow; you can tell that a White lives near his village." At best, the chief's people bring him some roofing mats for the construction and in this way believe they have fulfilled their duty toward the community project. The actual work is always up to the chief. Even so,
[403] the house does not thereby become his property; rather, in each case it is the common property of the men. When the chief says, "It is my meeting house," they are not affected by his statement. The Pangwe
461 avoids anything and everything that might disturb him in his customary
309 peace and comfort; he shies away from work and lets things run their course:

zɔ[k] e tsi'dan ebēi-asē'i, a ve oa
Elephant, he frightened away (from) pit-iron-stone, he gave you

atēi, a nī oa adzīt
poverty, he took (from) you heaviness. /59/

That means: The elephant that frightened you away from an iron-stone pit, made you poor, it is true, but at the same time he relieved you of a burden (namely, that of preparing the iron).

/62/

342
344

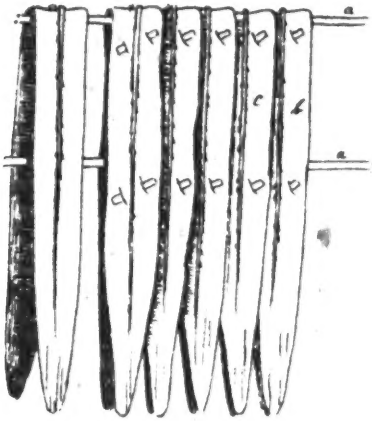


Fig. 22. Piece of a Roofing Mat at the Beginning of its Construction.

361
342
344

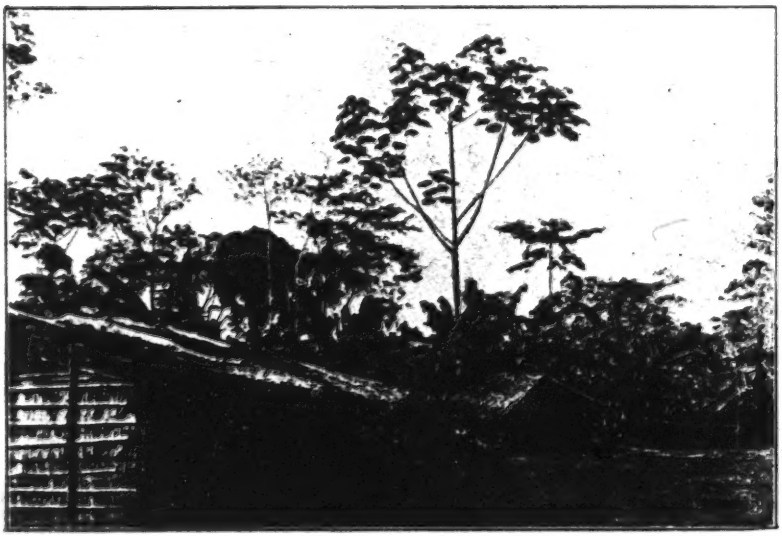


Fig. 23. Small Village in the Settlement of Nssälang (Essäung Family), Spanish Guinea.

491

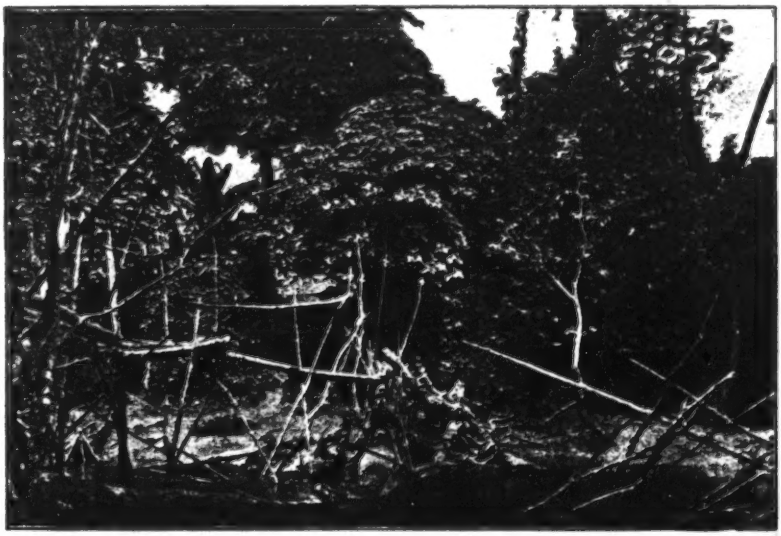


Fig. 46. Bridge over the Abéa (Tributary of the Bimfílle) near Makonám (Ojek Family) During the Dry Season, Spanish Guinea.

000 original text. /

361 Usually the village square remains completely bare. Very rarely a tree is left standing or is planted there, and when that is done, it is because the tree is considered to have medicinal value. More frequently one sees scaffoldings on which the raffia palm oil is prepared (see Plate 4). In one case I encountered a memorial which was supposed to represent a horse (Fig. 44); this was a tree root which had been left standing when the area was being cleared because of its curious resemblance to the animal.

364 The cleanliness of village squares varies greatly. There are very dirty ones, littered with sheep and goat manure, remnants of sugar cane, chewed cane, building materials, and so forth in great quantities. Indeed, in some of these village squares the grass has not even been weeded out. On the other hand, there are very neat squares where the villagers sweep all the rubble and refuse behind the houses. The men who look after the meeting house are especially negligent; they frequently let the rubbish heaps (akūn) accumulate until they clutter up the entrance.

249
361
342

Fig. 110. Tobacco Planted in a Village Square.

276 (myö-taa) consists of a clay bowl and a wooden stem about 30 centimeters long, part of which has brass wire neatly wound around it (Fig. 109). Formerly, this pipe is supposed to have been as long as an arm among the Jaunde.

249 Proportionate to the indifferent habit of smoking is the indifferent care and affection with which the tobacco plant and its leaves are treated. Wherever a great deal of tobacco is imported by the trading houses, tobacco cultivation is completely neglected. /171/

Tobacco seeds are sown in whatever planting area happens to be convenient at the same time as the principal crop of the field is planted. Accordingly, the tobacco may be sown, for instance, with groundnuts twice a year. Frequently a small tobacco bed is laid out close to the village, or the seeds are planted next to the houses and sometimes on the village square (Fig. 110).

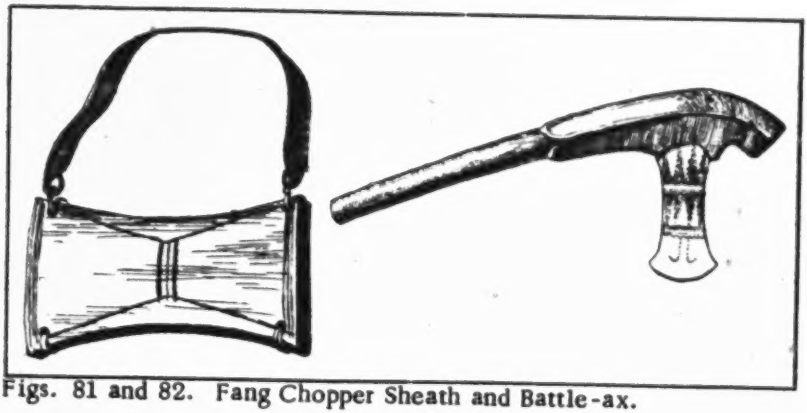
As soon as the plants attain a certain height, all the leaves except those on top are picked off. The top leaves are left so that the plant can continue to grow and bring forth blossoms and fruit. Then the leaves are harvested for the second time, and the fruit

1: Tessmann--329 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate IV

Village of Makonanám (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

411



Figs. 81 and 82. Fang Chopper Sheath and Battle-ax.

712 exist, but only to a limited extent. As has already been mentioned
722 in the account of house construction /Ed., Vol. I/, the walls of the meeting house are built of halved trunks of the umbrella tree placed in layers over each other for the purpose of fortification. In addition, the village entrances are blocked off when danger threatens by means of fences or barricades made of sticks. The southern Fang especially can easily do this since they design their villages more compactly so that the meeting houses themselves almost block off the road. Only once did I see an entire village surrounded with a protective fence, a fairly strong paling consisting of vertical posts and laths connecting them. In front of the fence the terrain had been cleared by cutting down the bush, so that the approach of enemies could be easily discovered and prevented.

The following example will give a good idea of how feuds arise
579 and take their course.

On both sides of the Lo, a small tributary of the Campo, there
[361] are two communities of the Esseng kin group about 12 minutes apart, namely, Bebai and Ebäangon. The inhabitants of the three Bebai villages closest to Ebäangon are related to the Ebäangon people; the others of Bebai did not move into the territory until later and are unrelated to the inhabitants of Ebäangon. The most influential chief of the Bebai people, who are outsiders, is called Makina. For a long time he had been "talking impudently" to Schüe, chief of Ebäangon. One day, on the occasion of a festival for the souls which

524
857
[516]
[361]

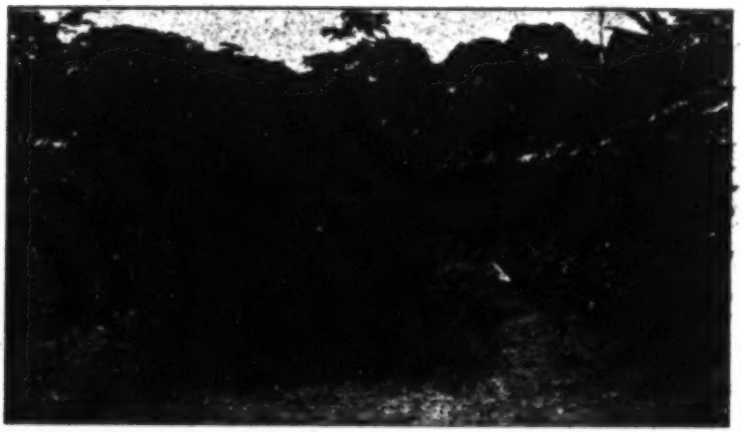


Fig. 104. Skittles with Spinning Tops made of Snail Shell.

order to prolong the game, may lend it a number of tops, but only from those that were lost by the opposing team, in other words, those that were "captured," and not more than eight. For example: the throwing team has lost six tops and has only one top left; in that case the defending team can lend these six, as well as two more lost later in the course of the game. If all eight of the borrowed tops should again be lost, the teams change roles, but the team now attacking (previously defending) does not begin with one throwing top as usual, but with all of the tops taken from the opposing team, in other words, at least eight; moreover, in the course of the game the previously borrowed eight tops must be returned to the opposing team from the eight tops played out. So the game goes on and may be broken off whenever a team so desires. Frequently, however, the boys first get into a quarrel over the loaned tops, and a general brawl is the conclusion of the game which appears so peaceful. On other occasions, too, the little ones try to "rabble" at spinning-top skittles. Thus, a player of the defending team may snatch a top before it has danced its curving path to an end, even though there might still have been a chance that it would touch a skittle.

2: Tessmann--178 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

361
516
857
524

/Between 302 and 303/

Plate XXVIII

Children Playing Skittles with Spinning Tops, Ntum Region.

161 [Geographic and Ethnographic Comment on the Lower Ogooué], Ann. de Géogr., No. 62, March 15, 1903.

" is a [67] corruption of the word mpanwe by which the tribes of the coast refer to the Fan." Among them are found the tribes of three great parent branches, the Betsi and the Nzaman of the Madzouna dialect, and the Make of the Maekina dialect. Their number has a [161] strong tendency to decrease due to continuous migration towards the sea, and above all due to lack of births and to stillbirths. There are 361 actually no villages except on the banks of the Ogooué and the Abanga, and in the valley of the Okano along the route that joins the river at Oyem; and a few hamlets of the Make in the interior near small Bakele settlements on the left bank. The whole region of the right bank is depopulated, and one finds no more than frequent patches of short, thick brush without trees, except for some banana trees which are traces of vanished former villages.

Beliefs

173 I. Concerning the origin of man, the elements. Whenever a [167] Pahouin recites his genealogy (every child is used to this from his early years, a survival of the need while traveling to make oneself known as a member of a tribe), he ends the list of his ancestors with: "X... son of Nzame," and adds a formula meaning "and the rooster crowed and I was not there." All the Pahouin now living thus claim a common ancestor, Nzame, to whom they attribute supernatural powers but whom they do not worship. This Nzame himself has four known ancestors: Meboere, Nkwa, Sokuma, and Mba Angwe. We have not been able to obtain any information about these, nor about the formula in which the rooster is mentioned [sic]. It seems that this is due to the ignorance of the natives rather than their ill will (many traditions were lost through contact with peoples met in the westward migration and especially through contact with Europeans), since the natives questioned quite voluntarily gave accounts of the life of Nzame as their fathers had described it to them.

113 Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Fang."
Cournarie, P. Essai sur les coutumes des populations de la Circonscription de Yaoundé /Essay Concerning the Customs of the Peoples of the Yaoundé District/ (1933) (unpublished).
Bruel, G. La France équatoriale africaine /French Equatorial Africa/ (Paris: Larose, 1935).
Bulletin de la Société d'Études Camerounaises, No. 3, (July 3, 1943).
de Pedrals, H. "Contribution à l'établissement d'un inventaire ethnique du Cameroun /A Contribution toward Setting up an Inventory of the Peoples of Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept-Dec. 1945), pp. 7-15.
Baumann, H. and Westermann, D. Des peuples et les civilisations de l'Afrique, suivi de: Les langues et l'éducation /Peoples and Cultures of Africa, followed by: Languages and Education/. (Translated by L. Homburger) (Paris: Payot, 1948), pp. 199-201.

THE BUNDJU AND THE KOMBE

131 Location: 11°25 to 11°50 long.
101 4°30 to 4°35 north lat.

We cannot silently skip over these minute groups whose names are known only to administrators working in the region of M'Bam, east of Bafia. As a matter of fact, they are essentially a part of the Beti group.

Physical and Human Geography

161 Population: Bundju—about 550 inhabitants
Kombe—about 1, 126 inhabitants

361 The Kombe are settled in three villages in the valley of the
131 M'Bam, on the right bank of that river and on the highway from Bafia to Yaoundé, from the 16th kilometer to the 22nd kilometer southeast of Bafia. /Map 2/

The Bundju occupy two villages, also on the vehicular road, southeast of the Kombe but between the M'Bam and the Sanaga rivers. The two villages are separated by a Ngoro village which is wedged in between them. /62/

131 According to the Moisel map of April, 1913 (G2, Jaunde), these
101 two peoples occupied far greater territories at that time. The Kombe (then known as the Nkombe) were found all the way to the borders of

Ngoro
Bafok-Yangafuk

361 The several Ngoro villages are stretched over 70 kilometers of trails. A single one may be found on the right bank of the M'Bam, in the immediate vicinity of Bafia, on the vehicular road. Another is located about 30 kilometers to the southeast, also on the vehicular road but on the left bank of the M'Bam; it is Goura, inhabited by the Ngoro who moved down toward fertile land.

173 The Ngoro say that they descended from the Mangisa a long time ago—perhaps during the time when the latter still lived north of the Sanaga. The traditions of the Ngoro also say that their original ancestor was the same as that of the Betsinga, the Kombe, and the Bundju. Is this myth or history? This extended kinship brings together all the Beti.

The folk history of the Ngoro begins only with the war against the Babute in the last century. At that time they were dispersed, and most of them clustered around the Ngoro River. When attacked by the Babute, those nearest the M'Bam crossed the river and settled among the Bafia, whom they pushed back. /63/ Others, the Yasakunu, were driven all the way back to the Yambasa. The people of the village of Ngoro submitted and were enslaved. They were deported north to Linte and Tibati and south to Goura. /Map 3/

175 At Goura the young slave Ndenge was born of a Ngoro father and a
167 Djanti mother, both deported there. As an adult, Ndenge enlisted in the native army of the Germans and attracted the attention of his superiors by his intelligence and zeal. They assigned him the task of reuniting all the exiles, and little by little turned over to him all those who were freed through their wars—first the exiles found among the Yambasa, then those among the Bafia. These migrations are the explanation for the wide scattering of Ngoro villages and for the frequent moves. Fortunately, the appearance of the cacao tree has begun to stabilize a number of these settlements.

THE BAFÖK-YANGAFUK

101
131
361

Location: widely scattered, to be found in several settlements sometimes very far from each other
Between 11°15 and 12°30 long. and 4°30 and 5°50 north lat.

Bafök-Yangafuk

101 The peoples who are the subject of this chapter have been given several names spelled in a variety of ways by Europeans. On German maps they appear as "Fuk," "Fök," or "Fu." In French reports and maps they are called "Baveuk," "Bafeuk," or "Yangafouk." All these words seem to resemble each other, and, in reality, they are identical.

[161] Physical and Human Geography. Total population: 5, 352 inhabitants.

●361 Three little enclaves of these people a few kilometers long may be
461 found on the Yoko road east of Bafia. They are settled in eight villages all told and inhabit an area of very fertile soil and forest. Cacao, palmettoes, or food crops could bring them prosperity, were it not for
[161] their laziness. (The people of these villages number 1, 556.)

173 The five southernmost villages of the eight say that their members
361 come from the southeast, from the plain of the Sanaga, or from the east, from the plain of Djerem.

The two neighboring villages to the northeast are called Yalongo (see the chapter on the Yekaba and the Bamvele). It is thought that the Yalongo conquered the Bafök and /64/ adopted their language. Finally, the eighth village is said to be related to the first five and to have come also from Djerem.

[161] To the southeast of Yoko is an enclave whose two villages, in the middle of the prairie (445 inhabitants), claim to be related both to the Yalongo and the southern Bafök.

[161] About 50 kilometers north of Yoko, in the Babute country, is the enclave of Lena consisting of 260 inhabitants. It is said that they came from the south and reached their present habitat by traveling an arc of 250 kilometers via Tibati. /Map 4/

[161] The 360 inhabitants of the enclave of Yassem, in the midst of the Tikar country, 120 kilometers west of Yoko, say that they sprang from the Bamvele. We would be more inclined to say that they share a common origin with the latter. The wars among the tribes brought them to the Tikar country where they isolated themselves on their mountain. They differ from other Bafök in that they have adopted the
[797] Islamic religion of the Tikar and that they recognize no kinship with the southern Bafök.

361 A single village may be found on the banks of the M'Bam, a few
161 kilometers from the town of Bafia. (It has 313 inhabitants.)

And lastly, on the right bank of the Sanaga, there are several Yangafuk villages (containing 2, 418 inhabitants) which are related to those found in the south on the Yoko road but separated from them by a thick forest. /65/

Bafok-Yangafuk
Tsinga - Betsinga

174 The recognized kinship among the various groups clearly permits us to assert that their extraordinary dispersion is quite recent, going back no further than to the historical period when the Tikar and the Babute made their last advances and were driven back by the advancing Fulbe. Before that time these peoples probably inhabited the entire plain south of the Ndomé. Ndoumba was their most important center.

197 Language. The linguistic unity among the various groups of Bafok and Yangafuk confirms our impression. Dialect differences among them are minimal; they all understand each other.

G. Tessmann classifies their language as falling between that of the Bamvele and the group of Pahouin languages. As we have already mentioned, a passing observer at Lena, the Reverend Good of the American Mission, noticed a very great similarity between the language spoken there and that of the Bulu in the south.

Bibliography

113 Thorbecke, Mrs. Auf der Savane /On the Savanna/, (1913), p. 152.
Thorbecke, Fr. Im Hochland von Mittelkamerun /In the Highlands of the Middle Cameroons/, Abhan dlungen der Hamburgischen Kolonial-Institut 1919-1924 (L. Friedrichsen & Co.), Vol. 1, p. 43, Vol. 2, p. 20.
Bulletin de la Société d'Études Camerounaises, No. 3, (July 1943).
Unpublished reports by administrators Delteil and Coquereaux.

TSINGA - BETSINGA

131 Widely scattered habitat: 11°20 to 11°50 long.
and from south to north: 3°35 to 3°50 north lat. near Yaoundé
4°15 to 4°40 north lat. on the two banks of the Sanaga.

101 Physical and Human Geography. Like the administrator Cournarie in the past, we have grouped together under one term the peoples generally designated as Tsinga, Betsinga, Betchenga, or Batchenga. One name is probably a transformation of another. Since the traditions of the various groups are the same, it seems inappropriate to draw distinctions among them.

361 The Tsinga are so widely dispersed that their territory does not form a unit. They are located on both banks of the Sanaga (there known as

•361 the Betsenga) as far north as its tributary the Maloko and, toward the south, for about a dozen kilometers inland. Another Tsinga zone exists in the northwest on both sides of the M'Bam. Another fairly homogeneous center may be found much farther south, east of Yaoundé. Finally, there are several Tsinga villages just south of the Nyong in the vicinity of the southern road.

It is impossible to calculate the area of their various habitats except near the M'Bam (75 square km.), among the Betsenga of the Sanaga (180 square km.), and for the few purely Tsinga villages east of Yaoundé (189 square km.). Elsewhere these people appear only together with other populations.

[161] The total population comes to 15, 562 persons.

361 Near the M'Bam, as well as on the Sanaga and its little tributaries,
173 the Tsinga are settled in a land of small hills and valleys, on a prairie broken by groves and by clumps of forest. According to their traditions they originally lived north of the Sanaga, but the Babute advanced upon them. Many of them crossed the river. It appears that as soon as the Germans came and /67/ stopped the Babute, some of the Tsinga returned to the north of the Sanaga. /Map 5 covers p. 66./

197 Some say that the Tsinga are related to the Eton, and this statement
113 seems to be confirmed by the similarity between the two languages (See Nekes) /"Jaunde und seine Bewohner (Sudkamerun)"/Yaoundé and its Inhabitants (South Cameroons/, " Koloniale Rundschau, 1912/. See a few words of vocabulary in G. Tessmann's Die Pangwe /The Fang/, Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), p. 34, under the name "Bati (Batjenga)," as well as H. H. Johnston, A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, (Oxford University Press, Vol. 1, 1919, Vol. 2, 1922), Vocabulary No. 216, under "Bati (Bacenga)."

161 Demography. Their population balance is favorable; the ratio of births to deaths is +1.14 percent.

Bibliography

113 Dominik. "Bericht über eine Strafexpedition gegen des Batschengastamm /Report on a Punitive Expedition Against the Betsenga Tribe/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1899, pp. 14-15.

Tsinga-Betsinga
Mangisa

113 Von Stein zu Lausnitz. "Eine Erkundungs-Expedition zwischen Wuri und Sanaga /An Exploratory Expedition Between the Wuri and the Sanaga/, " Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1908, pp. 522-23.

MANGISA

131 Location: 11°15 to 11°30 long.
4°25 to 4°30 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: about 316 square km.
161 Population: 14, 588 inhabitants
Density: 46. 2 per square km.

131 The Mangisa occupy the right bank at the bend of the Sanaga, a land of wooded hills.

173 They were probably among the peoples who crossed the Sanaga rather early, for their traditions say that, in later times, when the Eton also crossed the river, they found the Mangisa occupying the territory. /Map 6/ Fairly intensive struggles followed; then the two peoples formed an alliance which enabled them to live in peace side by side.

361 311 Like the Eton, the agricultural Mangisa live in large villages. Because of the density of the population, the entire /68/ woodland has to a large extent been cleared for their plantations, and palm trees have been planted.

197 But what is the exact origin of the Mangisa?

174 Language. The question has been raised in linguistics.

G. Tessmann has written: "In the classification of the Pahouin tribes of the north, the situation is not yet clear. One thing is certain: all the tribes—at least all those of the northeast—contain a more or less pronounced component derived from the Bati-Mbam. Thus, a few decades ago, the Eton and the Mangisa spoke a pure Bati; they have therefore become Pahouinized only in recent times, at least as regards language (1). "

1. Günter Tessmann, "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and

131 Physical Geography. Area: 2, 520 square km.

133 The country of the Eton is made up of hills and plateaus; it drifts
137 gently down from the heights of the country of the Ewondo to the valley of the Sanaga River. The border of the great southern forest crosses the territory from south to north; the westerly two-thirds of the area are covered with forest, and the last third is prairie. The Sanaga borders the country only in the northwest and northeast, for the greater part of the loop [misprint in French text: bouche for boucle. See map.] of the river is occupied by the Mangisa. /69/

161 Human Geography. Population: 111, 738 inhabitants
Density: 44.3 persons per square km.

173 It is impossible to say whether the Eton should be counted among the Beti populations who were dislodged and crossed the Sanaga or whether they were among the first Pahouin to cross the Sanaga at the time of the invasion. Their traditions do not go back very far; they only tell of their departure from the fork of the M'Bam and the Sanaga. /Map 7/ The Eton say that after crossing the river in the direction of the present-day village of Nkolbogo, they fell upon the Mangisa who had already arrived, and then spread themselves throughout the territory which they occupy to this day.

●361 The Eton are settled in large villates, whose hamlets line the length
487 of their many trails. At present their country is traversed by several roads on which heavy trucks can travel so that their products can reach Yaoundé and the railroad.

197 Language. With reference to this subject it seems best to refer the reader to the paragraph on linguistics in the chapter on the Mangisa, since the same question is raised for the two peoples. /70/

142 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Eton are above average in height, mesocephalic, and platyrrhin.

143 Their blood-group ratio is typically Negro, with a relatively high proportion of the AB type:

O: 55.7 percent; A: 13.8 percent; B: 17.5 percent; AB: 12.9 percent;—index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$: 0.878.

141 Their height is /for the/ average: men 167.8 cm.; women 159.9 cm.

173 therefore forced to settle in the most westerly area. (See the unpublished report of Father Sohler.) Others say (according to the report of X. Béliard) that they are only brothers of the Ewondo, who crossed the Sanaga, entered the southern forest as far as the present-day region of Ebolowa, stayed there a few years, and, step by step, took the northwest route, crossing the Lokoundje River. Then they infiltrated among the Basa tribes and settled in their present habitat. What we know for certain is that not until 1910 did they occupy the three villages on the road between Kribi and Edéa, and that their migration was still in full swing when the German occupation forced them to settle in one spot.

184 563 The population in the vast territory occupied by the Ewondo is not culturally homogeneous. In many villages and even in the hamlets, the Ewondo live side by side with members of neighboring groups. On our map we have indicated the most important enclaves and mixed settlements /Map 8, facing p. 72/, namely those where the strangers are as numerous as the Ewondo or even more so. /72/ The actual situation is more complex than this, but on a map of this scale it has not been possible to show the minorities. (1)

[114]

1. A remarkable large-scale diagrammatic map of the administrative subdivision of Yaoundé should be mentioned here. It was set up in 1944 by the administrator J. Christol and shows even the smallest intermixtures, with proportional strengths, for every village and hamlet.

● 361 511 The Ewondo live in sizable villages which stretch along the many roads in the area. The villages are well maintained and show evidence of a comfortable standard of living which is largely the result of the prosperity of their cacao trees and their trade.

181 The Ewondo are robust and muscular, skillful and intelligent. They emigrate readily, and their workers are valued in all enterprises.

497 The shipment of their products is facilitated by a major branch of the railway which crosses their territory between Yaoundé and Otélé, and transportation on their roads plays an important role in getting the various foodstuffs and the cacao from the great markets in the bush to the railroad.

174 At that time they were already situated along one of the principal commercial routes of the south, used to ship from the east many sought-after products, especially ivory.

● 361 The Bane are settled in large villages and hamlets. The population in these settlements is no more homogenous /75/ than the Ewondo's. The major intermixtures are shown on our map.

491 497 The road from Yaoundé to Ebolowa now crosses the Bane country from north to south. Another road, south of the Nyong, is the terminal point of the trade routes coming from the southeast. Because of these roads and the connection with the railroads at M'Balmayo, all the wealth of this country of great food crops, rich farmlands (cacao and coffee), and forests is easily brought to market.

000 Language. The subject is discussed in the paragraph on the linguistics of the Ewondo.

141 142 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Bane are of above-average height, fairly slender, mesocephalic, and only slightly platyrrhinian.

143 Their blood-type ratios are as follows:
O: 49 percent; A: 18 percent; B: 14 percent; AB: 19 percent—index $\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}$: 1.121.

141

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.3	77.0
Facial	81.8	80.8
Nasal	85.2	86.0
Cormique	50.9	51.8
Envergure/T	104.9	103.9

161 163 The population balance is stable: the ratio of births to deaths is ÷ 0.2. The fertility rate is 4.7 pregnancies per woman. See the studies in physical anthropology in Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, Nos. 10, 12, 15-16.

Bibliography

173 Von Stein. "Bericht über die Bane-Buli-Expedition /Report on the Bane-Buli Expedition/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1898, pp. 173-75.

101
131

Mvae Branch: 9°45 to 10°45 and 11°20 to 11°40 long.
2°15 (at the frontier of the South Cameroons) to 2°55 north lat. and a few islands at 3° north lat.

Ntumu branch: 10°25 to 11°35 long.
2°15 (on the frontier of the South Cameroons) to 2°35 north lat. /77/

Physical and Human Geography

131 Total area: about 11, 500 square km.

Population and density of each group:

161
Fang: 12, 583 inhabitants; 2 persons per square km.
Mvae: 5, 287 inhabitants; 5.8 persons per square km.
Ntumu: 16, 236 inhabitants; 9.8 persons per square km.

137 The whole territory of the Fang is within the great equatorial forest, in the basin of the N'Tem and those of its tributaries that flow to the right of it. /Map 12/

361
563 The Fang villages which are to be found furthest west in the direction of the ocean are situated near Bipindi and on the road from Bipindi to Kribi. Some of them alternate with Bulu villages, others are composed of mixed populations consisting, for example, of Fang and Bulu, Fang and Ngumba, or Mvae and Ntumu /Ntum?/. Nor are the villages and trails south of Ebolowa in the great forest inhabited by homogeneous populations. Enclaves from one group are settled with another, and intermingle with each other. The transition from the somewhat educated Bulu to the primitive inhabitants of the great forest occurs imperceptibly. Because of the inhospitable territory which they occupy, the Fang are dispersed in the enormous forest all the way to the ocean and are to be found here and there among the Mvae. They
313 lead the unstable existence of lumbermen in order to force from the land the bare means of subsistence.

The settlements of the Mvae are scattered. Some are located on the periphery of Ambam to the east and north, others are south-southeast of Ebolowa, and still others are to be found on the lower part of the N'Tem, from a point east of Nyabessan as far as the ocean.

361 The Ntumu make up a fairly homogeneous group falling between the Fang and the Mvae.

173 History. According to the oral traditions of the Fang, the last stage of their journey to their present habitat brought them from the south. Therefore, it is possible that they formed a part of the ancient Fang migration which came from the north /78/ and reached Gabon by way of the Ivindo Valley. It is thought that the few groups under discussion then moved slightly north, where they encountered the Bulu who arrived somewhat later.

The Mvae are an offshoot of the Fang, who arrived with the latter. At first they were dispersed throughout the whole N'Tem basin but were later displaced by the arrival of the Ntumu.

It is impossible to separate the arrival of the Ntumu in the N'Tem Basin from that of the Fang, since they were a part of the same invasion. But their oral traditions say that they occupied the country in two waves which came from different directions. It is thus possible to distinguish in their history two branches of migration: One came from the northeast, passed through the Ebolowa region, and went down to the south. Other Ntumu came from the present-day territory of Sangmélima with the Fang and went south with them, through Mimvoul, Bitam, and Oyem. Like some of the Fang, they then went back north and west through the valleys of the Woleu Benito, the N'Tem, and the Kyé. The fusion of the two branches occurred either on the banks of the N'Tem (in the Eba region) or between the Kye and the N'Tem, between 1905 and 1910. Their villages became mixed. It was during these local migrations that the Mvae branch is thought to have been N'Tem pushed out of the Basin.

197 Language. The Fang speak the language that they brought with them from the more southern region (present-day Gabon) when their migration moved back from south to north. Struck believes that they are the ones who, coming from the south, introduced their neo-Bantu language among peoples somewhat further to the west, and that the Bane and the Ewondo, who until that time had spoken "Ati," were also reached in this movement from south to north. (Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, p. 220.)

If this assertion is plausible it forces us to think that the arrival of the Bulu, who are also Pahouin, was not the end of a migration, for their presence in their current habitat would have prevented a direct contact between the Fang and the Ewondo, the only condition under which such a far-reaching linguistic influence would have been possible.

113 Frazer, James George. "The Native Races of Africa and Madagascar," Anthologia Anthropologica (London: Percy Lund Humphries and Co., 1938), pp. 165-66.

Numerous unpublished reports by Bertaut, André Raynaud, E. André, and H. Richard, members of the administration, are to be found in the archives of the Bureau of Political Affairs (Bureau des Affaires Politiques) and among the documents of the S.E.C. /Société d' Etudes Camerounaises/.

Moisel Map, H 1 and 2, Kribi.

THE BULU

131 The actual Bulu inhabit an area which stretches from east to west
101 in a thin band from 10° to 13°10 longitude and extends from 2°35
to 3°15 north latitude toward the east. Toward the west their villages
[36] only extend along two parallel trails, then go in a single line to within 30 kilometers of the ocean.

North of this horizontal band, in an area which extends from 12° to 12°35 longitude and from 3°35 to 4°30 north latitude, are to be found the Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda. We are including these groups among the Bulu on the authority of their traditions.

133 Physical Geography. The Bulu territory is a huge, very monotonous plateau covered with forest. It is situated at an altitude of 600 to 650 meters on the average, with a few hills rising 150 to 200 meters at most above the rest. The hills are round or conical in shape and generally wooded.

The actual Bulu country (an area of about 9,936 square km.) is watered, on the one hand, by little tributaries which flow from the left bank of the Nyong and form valleys going from southeast to northwest. In the east the branch called the Zaman flows for 60 kilometers, touches the only trail in the thickness of the forest at a distant spot, and meets the Dja River, a tributary of the Sanga /sic/, beyond 13° longitude.

361 The Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda are settled on a
133 strip of land going from north to south in an area which is part prairie and part forest. From the plain of the Sanaga the country rises gradually, and in the northern part of the Yengono country a chain of hills separates thewaters of the Sanaga and the Nyong basins. The three peoples are settled south of this line in the Nyong Basin

361 in a country full of valleys and woods. The territory covers about
133 1, 728 square kilometers. /Map 13/

Human Geography

161 Population and density of each group:

True Bulu: 96, 216 inhabitants; 9. 59 persons per square km.

Yengono, Yembama, Yelinda: 12, 987 inhabitants; 7. 5 persons per square km.

Zaman: 1, 407 inhabitants.

173 History. The Bulu say that they come from the east. Indeed, those who have surveyed the area with care say that "old natives can mark the sites of the villages in which they were born and those of their fathers. Going back generation by generation the track leads east." (1)

1. Bertaut, Droit coutumier des Boulous (The Customary Law of the Bulu), p. 40.

174 By bringing together linguistic and ethnographic data it has been possible to determine that, during the first wave of the Pahouin invasion, the Bulu first followed the high valley of the Sanaga and then took a direction from north to south, which it has been possible to set at 12° to 12°30 longitude. They swamped the Maka, who were settled there before them, and chased them out of the entire territory. Traditions describe them as dividing into two groups once they reached present-day Sangmélima. One group spread throughout that section and moved toward the west; those who went furthest reached almost to the ocean, from which they were separated by only a few coastal populations.

The other group went toward the east into the great forest, and the Zaman pushed all the way to the Dja, 120 kilometers away.

But considering the assertion of B. Struck and Father Nekes that the Fang language influenced that of the Ewondo, we would seem justified in placing the Bulu settlement between the Ewondo and the Fang at a very recent time, for this influence was only possible through constant and direct contacts and intermingling, not by crossing over the Bulu to reach each other. In this case does linguistics enable us to date history?

361 The settlements of these peoples vary in appearance. The villages and hamlets of the Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda are located in relatively open country and they stretch out along numerous trails. The Bulu in the south, situated in a land of parallel valleys through which flow the tributaries of the Nyong and by thick forest, can only build their villages along the valleys. This whole area, es-
241 pecially in the Nyong Basin, is very fertile. The natives have fine fields of food crops and many palm trees. Many prosperous enterprises, lumber yards, and fine groves of cacao trees can also be found. /81/[Map 13]

489 All the products are transported to the railroad at M'Balmayo along a large network of roads and the navigable parts of the Nyong.

181 The Bulu are intelligent and hard working, and are capable of becoming excellent craftsmen.

197 Language. We have seen that Father Nekes and G. Tessmann see a very close relationship between the language of the Bulu and that of the Mvele. The Bulu language includes a number of dialects with only slight variants, and falls between the speech of the Ewondo and that of the Gabon Pahouin, which are almost identical.

Linguistic Bibliography

113 von Hagen, Gunther Tronje. Lehrbuch der Bulu Sprache /Handbook of the Bulu Language/ (Berlin: Radetzki: 1914), Vol. 7, 402 pages.

Johnston, H. H. A Comparative Study of Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, (Oxford University Press, 1922), Vocabulary No. 219.

Bates, George L. Handbook of Bulu (Revised Edition; with the vocabulary revised and much enlarged by the author and Silas F. Johnson) (Ebolowa: The Halsey Memorial Press, 1926).

Good, A. I. Bulu Handbook Supplement. Supplementary Facts in Bulu Grammar. Appendix to Vocabulary in Bulu. Vocabulary of Exclamatory Words. (Ebolowa: The Halsey Memorial Press, 1934).

English-Bulu Vocabulary (Ebolowa, undated).

Physical Anthropology and Demography

141 Bulu: average height, men 165.4 cm.; women 157.6 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.8	79.2

133 Sanaga. The northern part of the Mvele territory is a high plateau which is covered by prairie interspersed with strips of forest. It is very well watered by tributaries and subtributaries of the Sanaga which flow calmly on broad river beds. Toward 4° north latitude a row of hills marks the dividing line between the waters of the Nyong and the Sanaga basins. Thus the entire southern portion of the Mvele country is part of the Nyong Basin. The last vestiges of the forest are to be found there, in addition to crops and many palm trees.

Human Geography

161 Population: south of the Sanaga: 35, 340 inhabitants in 1945
north of the Sanaga: 1, 655 inhabitants
density south of the Sanaga: 15. 3 persons per square km.

174 History. The movement of the Babute was also responsible for pushing the Mvele back to the left bank of the Sanaga in the middle of the last century. A few enclaves remained wedged in between the various small groups who sought refuge in the area between the M'Bam and the Sanaga Valley. Therefore, the Mvele of the north and those of the south are really part of the same group.

The various authors are not in agreement on the question of a kinship between the Mvele and the large group called Yesum. According to Engelhardt, these are two separate groups. G. Tessmann, on the contrary, believes that the Yesum must be considered part of the Mvele "complex."

●361 When the Germans first reached the Mvele they were struck by the unusual appearance of their villages. Engelhardt describes them as follows: "Unlike the rest of the Fang, who place their huts in rows on both sides of trails, /83/ the Mvele build theirs in a star-shape around a central square or with no regard for symmetry." (Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1902, p. 421.)

487 489 From the beginning of the German occupation, the trails in the territory served as trade routes to the south over which the products of the east were transported toward Yaoundé and to the coast. At the present time these products are carried both on the road that crossed the Mvele country in the south (from Akonolinga to Yaoundé) and on the eastern highway (from Nanga-Eboko to Yaounde). /Map 14/

197 Language. According to Engelhardt the Mvele tongue is very similar to that of the Ewondo and seems to be but a dialect of the

Yekaba
Bamvele, Bobili

174 long migration of the Pahouin—although the name "Yalongo" spoken of in their geneologies is reminiscent of the Beti. Once again we are aware of the complexity of the Beti-Pahouin intermixture.

361 The villages and huts spread through the bush give an impression
491 of poverty, although in 1903 the Germans noted that the great trade route from Bertoua to Yoko passed through Yekaba territory. /Map 16/ At the present time the whole length of the territory is serviced by the great eastern highway (Yaoundé—Nanga-Eboko—Bertoua).

197 Language. The fact that the Yekaba form part of the Pahouin migration is apparent from G. Tessmann's tribal map, where they are shown in the large Pahouin blot—under the general heading of "Mvele." We will return to this subject later in the chapter on the Bamvele.

161 Demography. The Yekaba are definitely decreasing in number.

165 The infant mortality rate among them is 34.3 percent. The sterility
163 rate is 33.93 percent; the fertility rate is 4.3 pregnancies per woman, but with about 10 percent stillbirths.

161 The population balance shows a ratio of -4.4 percent births to deaths.

Bibliography

113 Thierry. "Dienstreise nach Esum-Sannaga /Official Trip to Esum-Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1903, p. 522.

Sieber, J. "Die Wute /The Wute/," Lebenshaltung, Kultur und religiöse Weltanschauung eines Afrikanischen Volkstammes /Attitude toward Life, Cultural and Religious Attitudes of an African Tribe/ (Berlin: Reimer, Vohsen, 1925), pp. 112-13.

Unpublished reports of the administrators Cournarie, Chauleur, Gatau, and Boudineau.

Moisel map, G3, Dume. /88/

THE BAMVELE AND THE BOBILI

131 Location: 12°30 to 13°30 long.
4°35 to 4°50 north lat.

101 On all German maps the people we call Bamvele are designated by the name of Bele (see the Moisel map and Tessmann's tribal map).

101 We connect the Bobili with the Bamvele because, on the one hand, they do not appear separately from the Bele on the Moisel map (Dume, G3), and, on the other, the traditions pertaining to their origins are not precise enough to permit us to draw a conclusion differing from that of the Germans.

Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: 2, 472 square km.

161 Population: Bamvele—18, 452 inhabitants
Bobili—6, 247 inhabitants

Density: 10 persons per square km.

133 The Bamvele are close neighbors of the Yekaba and the Yebekolo in the north; they occupy a large homogeneous territory on the border between forest and prairie. The country is almost flat, extending into the Sanaga plain and borders the river for about 30 kilometers. The territory is watered by several broad tributaries of the Sanaga. In the east, one of these tributaries, the Long, serves as a frontier between the Bamvele and the Babute, who surround them everywhere except in the south. A few Bamvele villages have been established [361] on the right bank of the Long, and they border the Bertoua road for a few kilometers.

174 Like their neighbors, the Yekaba, the Bamvele in their traditions tell that their origins are to be sought among the Yalongo north of the Sanaga. They too were pushed by the Babute who were under pressure from the Fulbe; they fled south and crossed the Sanaga a little more than a hundred years ago. Their history is identical with that of their neighbors, the Yekaba. /Map 17/ /89/

173 The Bobili believe that they are native to the territory, but they say that in former times their country extended west, beyond the Long. Therefore, the impact upon them of the Babute and Fulbe movements would have been very slight. (1)

1. Unpublished report of Mr. Brothier-Oubre for May, 1945.

114 The administrator Chauleur carried out prolonged research in an attempt to untangle the network of peoples on the banks of the Sanaga. He does not feel that he can make a statement about the remote origins of the Yalongo, but he poses the following problem: "Could they be related to the Ba-yoka of the Congo who emigrated south

THE YEBEKOLO

131 Location: 12°08 to 12°45 long.
3°50 to 4°20 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

Area: about 1, 950 square km.
161 Population: 23, 291 inhabitants
Density: 11. 9 persons per square km.

133 The territory of the Yebekolo, in the form of a cornucopia laid on its side, is all to be found in the basin of the Nyong. The river forms its southern boundary. The tributaries on the right bank have broad beds and, in the vicinity of the Nyong, often overflow so that the valleys are frequently flooded. /90/ This is a large territory, covered with forest and quite marshy.

361 Large villages are found here. While the food crops are not poor,
262 they are not very abundant. The people who live near the Nyong supplement their food supply by fishing and hunting.

174 It is difficult to say what may be the remote origins of this people. Their oral traditions (as reported by Mr. Tremesaygues) speak of their ancestor as being of Yambasa stock and, therefore, as having lived about 200 kilometers west of their present settlement, north of the Sanaga. /Map 18/ Moving eastward, the Yebekolo met first the Omvang and then the Maka, whom they pushed back to their present habitat.

The German maps, however, do not confirm these traditions. Also based on traditions, upon which linguistic data is often superimposed, they show all the Yebekolo as part of the "Mvele complex" (see detailed maps in Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1907) under the name "Pangwe." It is possible that a borrowing of language occurred here —for a linguistic fact provides clues rather than permanent solutions to ethnographic problems.

648 When the Germans arrived in the territory of the Yebekolo (1904-
487 1905), the latter submitted to them without resistance. The new occupants found them settled on the big eastern trials leading to Doumé. From that time on the trails were improved, and the Yebekolo thus found themselves situated on the big trade routes by which the products of the eastern forest were taken to the coastal regions. /91/

174 contaminated, so that the linguistic map is no longer indicative
101 of these ancient distributions.

From these facts two conclusions can definitely be drawn. The Fang population is not represented in Gabon by large homogeneous zones as in the Cameroons (where the Evondo country, the Boulou country, etc., can be clearly distinguished). The diverse Fang groups have become interdispersed and in the course of their almost incessant migrations since the second half of the eighteenth century have "digested" the foreign traits peculiar to the peoples they have met. And it is in the Lower Gabon, at the end of their journeyings that the Fang groups present a state of maximum confusion.

162 Administrative documents permit one to get a present-day
178 picture of the distribution of the Fang, a precise picture — at least so it seems. The weakening (indeed the near disappearance) of distinctions between tribes and clans, the breaking up, the scattering, and half autonomy of the various groups, have led to the confusion of these two types of grouping and to placing them on the same plane. The administration cannot be blamed for this, for these two notions are no longer always precise in the minds of the present-day Fang. Let us discuss, first of all, the two zones by which this people reached Gabon, Woleu-N'Tem, and Ogooué-Ivindo.(2)

2. Cf. G. Balandier, Rapport préliminaire de la Mission d'information scientifique en Pays Fang [Preliminary Report of the Mission of Scientific Information on Fang Country], Brazzaville, 1949, étude mimiographiée [mimeographed study], pp. 5-10.

162 Region of the Woleu-N'Tem
● 361

This region presents a certain physical unity and a true ethnic unity. It is inhabited exclusively by Fang, a relatively preferable demographic situation. In 1949 there were over 71,000 inhabitants. It is surrounded only by either identical or related Fang groups; it

162 was explored and then occupied only at a late date. These condi-
361 tions delayed "contaminations" and permitted the maintenance of a certain unity. It now has a viable economic structure, thanks to its cacao production, which has finally created a true peasant state. [79]

1. Bitam and Minvoul Districts

These two districts are wedged between the Cameroons to the north, Spanish Guinea to the west, and a true "no man's land" to the east. The inhabitants, numbering 27,500, are the most active
[433 and prosperous elements(producing three quarters of the cacao
511] grown in the region) on the roads serving the Cameroons and the center of Oyem. They have built modernized villages "tied" to the cacao plantations. Their inhabitants belong to groupings found in the Cameroons and in Spanish Guinea, and some of the villagers have relatives in one or the other territory — like so many links favoring traffic in "merchandise" and ideas.

619 According to the census of 1936, the only detailed document,
619 27 clans or tribal fragments (clans that have maintained the tribal name) are now there. The most numerous clan is that of the Effak
[162 (Yénzɔ̀k tribe), (1) which has more than 15 percent of the population,

1. We give the tribal dependencies with all reservation. The near ignorance and "cheating" allied to the movement of clan regroupment render all certainty impossible, except when we have access to early documents, more particularly to a mention in the notes of Monsignor Martrou, which were kindly lent to us at the Libreville Mission.

followed by that of the Eba (Yémisèm tribe), which has 10 percent. The other groups may go down to a few tens of individuals. In this region are found the following tribes (ayog): Yénzɔ̀k, Yémvɔ̂g, Yémisèm. These are the most important in the Cameroons in the

619 Ebolowa and Sangmélima regions (2). The whole of Upper Woleu-
619

2. Documents relating to "ethnic groupings," Administrative Archives of Ebolowa.

N'Tem is oriented toward the Cameroons with which it has not
[439] only economic ties (it exports its cacao there and imports its goods) but also political ties (which explains why it served to relay the directives and their implementations that appeared in this territory).

2. Oyem District

162 This district, with 30,000 inhabitants, has a long frontier with
361 Spanish Guinea, and is crossed by the Woleu River, an important
439 means of access to this possession. The major part of the population (more than two thirds) is "stuck" to the frontier. This is understood because related groups exist on each side of the frontier; [80] [Fig. 1] [81] Guinea has always exerted an economic attraction (it is the center of trade and exchange of labor which is much in demand), she serves occasionally as a place of refuge. The vil-
[433 lagers are fairly well-to-do because of the cacao cultivation (one
511] fourth of the Woleu-N'Tem production) and because of the trade with Guinea (peanuts, coffee, palmetto). This is shown particularly by an improvement in housing.

162 Kyé-Nyé Canton, a meeting place of two migratory streams
619 coming from the Lower Cameroons, contains by itself nearly
619 12,000 inhabitants who again are distributed by clans (Fig. 1). The dominant groupings are the Esengi (Yémvôg tribe), who account for more than 40 percent, the Kojé for about 25 percent, and the Yéngwi for over 15 percent. In the canton of Woleu, the villages of the Ozip tribe are dominant, accounting for 33 percent of the population. Then the Bökwé (Ndôg tribe) account for about 12 percent, and the Esamökos (Yéngól tribe) (1) for more than 10

1. Only confirmed by the notes of L. Martrou.

162 percent. Only the Koǰe (more than 90 percent of the population)
619 and the Ožip form the Canton of Oyem. In Bissok Canton, the
619 population is dominated by the Yéngwi and Yémisèm tribes, while Ellelem Canton is characterized by a sprinkling of groups: 17 clans or tribal fragments for 3,200 inhabitants, where the Bökwé (allied to the Ndôg tribe) alone assert themselves, although apparently numbering less than 25 percent.

361 Oyem District shows a great homogeneity, which is found
184 nowhere else in Fang country in Gabon. Its greater population density, its relative prosperity, the fact that it is centered on Oyem, an important administrative and market town, these facts explain the prestige it exerts on Fang villagers and its present-day political vitality.

3. Mitzic District

162 With 11,000 inhabitants belonging stricto sensu to the Fang
361 group (2) this district occupies a position which lends itself badly to

2. We designate as Fang the restricted whole which bears this sòle name — a migratory group according to us.

the stabilization of a population. It opens on three zones of attraction: the Ogooué, the coast, and Spanish Guinea. It has played the role of thoroughfare and was profoundly disturbed during the famine years (1922-23, 1925-26). It is barely beginning to modernize its economy by the installation of cacao plantations. [82] Besides being the least populated district, it has the worst demographic situation, the lowest birth rate, and the smallest child population. Although the people have settled along the roads (as is clearly shown when present-day maps are compared to early ones), the villages have remained unstable and very small, consisting of
361 composite groupings. An investigation of 50 villages spread along
619 the two roads show that they have in their midst 30 clans or tribal
619 fragments. At the time of the recent regrouping of clans, the most

361 active tribes were the Yémvŏg, the Yémödâg, the Ndôg, the
614 Yéngwi, and the Yémisèm. They are also the ones which reveal a
619 tendency to dominate. If Mitzic could have been considered the "geographic center" of Fang country, it would be difficult now to find for it any other significance.

4. Médouneu District

162 Reduced to a single canton this cistrict has less than 3,500
361 inhabitants It is maintained because of its position on the
619 frontier and because of the network of tracks used by traders which run directly to Lower Gabon and Libreville. The Oyék and the Effak are the most numerous groups, making up 13 out of the 37 villages scattered throughout the district.

361 We have applied ourselves with great precision to this whole region not only because our investigation was carried out chiefly in the Woleu-N'Tem villages, but because it plays a primary role in the development of Gabon. Its chief town, Oyem, competes with Libreville in imposing its directives on the whole Fang country. Its richer economy and better demography (the population density is more than 6.5 inhabitants per kilometer (1) make

1. Map of Captain Roussel (completed in 1912) and surveys of itineraries in the Oyem District

it a center of vitality. Closely allied to the Cameroons (from whom it receives suggestions of policy) and opening onto Spanish Guinea, it nevertheless preserves a sense of unity and a certain special spirit.

Region of the Ogooué-Ivindo

162 This region has neither the ethnic unity (it is a zone of
361 multiple contacts) nor the demographic importance (35,600 inhabitants scattered throughout three districts) of the preceding one. It is isolated and without [83] economic development; its isolation has made it a zone of refuge in a period of uncertain peace.

162 Dominated by the great and often marshy forest, this country is
361 characterized by a very localized population indicated on a map by "strips" linked to the system of rivers. In the two districts which they occupy, Booué and Makokou, the Fang are the dominating ethnic group, forming about 45 percent and 40 percent of the total population. They are in the neighborhood of ethnic groups which are considered to be related to them, the Shaké and the
[177] Bakwélé. By their migrations they have disordered the population of this region and created contacts resulting in great cultural contaminations. If one can believe Father Trilles, who noted an "archaic language" used in the legends, proverbs, and songs, and similar to Batéké, (1) the relations with the peoples of the Congo

1. Father H. Trilles, op. cit

and Gabon borders would be early.

173 According to tradition, the Fang-Maké (or Bisibé) were the first to reach the Ivindo. De Brazza finds them on the Ogooué (on the island of Zabouré). Their largest tribe is Mékuk, specifically
619 referred to by Father Trilles and specially mentioned by Tessmann on his distribution map. Outside of the Maké, the Fang of this region are in two distinct groups – Bétsi and Nzaman – the latter representing, according to early authors, the "true Pahouin of the Ogooué." (2) In Booué District the villages, although without clan

2 Cf. Captain Curault, "Monographie du secteur de N'Djolé au Gabon [Monograph on the N'Djolé section of Gabon]," Revue des Troupes Coloniales, 68, 1908.

homogeneity, showed at the time of the "regrouping movement" the predominance of the three great tribes, Yémödâg, Yémvâg, and Yémisèm.

511 The Ogooué-Ivindo seems to be one of the poorest regions of
702 Gabon. Not having any economic equipment, it was only precariously active during the war effort. On the other hand, frequent recruiting has seriously affected this country (which along with

511 N'Gounié and Woleu-N'Tem was a "reservoir of manpower") by
702 upsetting its demographic equilibrium. Consequently, most of the administrative reports stress the poverty and mediocrity of the villages, the political instability and "indiscipline," and the eagerness with which all innovations are greeted in the hope of improving conditions. [84]

Region of the Maritime Ogooué

175 During the second half of the nineteenth century the Fang descended the Ogooué in order to reach the trading centers established on the river, and the counting houses of the coast. They pushed back the Bakèlè, imposed themselves on the Galwa and the
●361 Nkomi. Since 1880 the Fang have settled in large numbers along the Ogooué as a result of a penetration which organized convoys on the river, created posts, and made possible the settlement of traders.

361 The Fang are settled in the four districts forming this adminis-
162 trative region, but in that of Omblooué, the extreme point of their advance, they represent less than 5 percent of the population. Ninety-five percent of the 9,300 inhabitants of N'Djolé Distr[illegible] are Fang who have taken the place of the ancient Bakélé peo[illegible] They belong to the Maké, Nzaman, and Bétsi groups; the first of these was located downstream from N'Djolé before 1865 (1).

1. Captain Curault, op. cit.

They came largely from the Lower Ivindo, but also from the Woleu-N'Tem, where the villagers soon sought to obtain commercial out-
[312] lets on the Ogooué. Outside of a small mine exploitation at N'Djolé, this district is extremely bare. Consequently, the very scattered villages have a miserable appearance, and the male
[164] population has been canvassed (or recruited) by the neighboring lumber works and by the coastal centers.

563 Lambaréné District, which is very important because of its
[361] forest exploitations (and also because it is an old commercial
313] center, still has a largely Fang population. These are in opposition to the aboriginal group of the Galwa (less than 2,200 individuals)

162 Pahouin." (1) They occupy the districts of Kango and Cocobeach

1. Archives de Libreville [Archives of Libreville], 1900-1910.

(6,000 and 7,500 inhabitants); they represent more than 95 percent of the district of Libreville, if one discounts the foreign "workers" hired under contract. They have imposed themselves on Libreville (to the detriment of the aboriginal Mpongwé), where they form nearly 40 percent of the population and are dominant in 15 out of 23 sections of the town. This hold over the chief town of the territory is proof of their conquering activity.

361 In the district of Cocobeach, more than 20 clans or tribal
615 fragments are present, especially Oyèk (a tribe found also at Médouneu and particularly in Spanish Guinea) and Effak This region, which in the past was important as a commercial center, is without any trade, and the administrative reports stress the
[161] depopulation movement which is taking place. (2)

2 Cf. especially Rapport politique [Political Report] 1937, Department of the Estuary, giving a special analysis of the causes of the very high infant mortality.

162 Kango District at the tip of the Estuary is one of those where the
361 demographic decline is the most marked. If the census of 1936 is
615 accepted, there are 25 clans and fragments The most numerous
619 group, that of the Yéngü, accounts only for about 10 percent Libreville District, having incorporated the former subdivision of Chinchoua, exhibits a Fang population divided to the maximum This last region is characterized by a [86] veritable crumbling of the group. The 1943 census shows 54 clans and tribal fragments (with 3,500 inhabitants), of which only 8 contain more than 150 persons. This is also the region which has been most emptied for the benefit of the capital, where the natives of the former subdivision of Chichoua represent nearly 7 percent of the population.

162 In the part of the district that corresponds to the former subdivision
361 of Libreville, the Fang group is much more homogeneous. The
615 Oyèk are dominant with 45 percent of the villagers, then come the
619 Ntum numbering 20 percent, and the Effak (Yénzòk tribe) with about 12 percent. Nine other groupings represent from 4 5 percent (Esisis) to 1. 5 percent (Omvâg) of the population of this former division. Like Chinchoua it has suffered under the attraction of Libreville.

361 If the Estuary region has been affected demographically during
615 the last fifty years, it does not seem to have changed from the point of view of clan composition. The archives of the former Como Circle [administrative unit] (1) show that the groupings now

1. For which very precise reports were drawn up in 1905 and 1909.

considered the most important constituted villages known during the years 1900-10. However, two essential differences appear: these groupings at that time existed almost isolated and not at the level of dozens of little groups. They were localized rather definitely along the banks of the rivers, whereas they are now scattered. The villages they formed were larger than those of the present day. We have thus an indication of the process of atomization which took place during the first half of this century.

One is at first astonished at the complexity of the Fang country Outside the Upper Woleu-N'Tem, clan groupings do not appear within the limits of even small regions; they form villages which are often far apart from one another; they are scattered and intermixed. As a matter of fact, only the village grouping and the land it uses can be located on the terrain. Moreover, it is necessary to specify that the latter was stabilized, and a limit set on its mobility only at a very recent date. The fragmentation is at its maximum at the extreme end of the Fang migration, in the coastal districts and in the "zone of contact" [87] created in the surroundings of the Middle and Lower Ogooué. An average volume by clan could be calculated for each region which would give figures between

361 a minimum of 64 in the former subdivision of Chinchoua and a
614 maximum of 1,000 in Kyé-Nyé Canton, (Oyem District), and in the villages situated on Bitam-Minvoul. Thus the reality and effectiveness of the clan groupings are very different according to different sections of the Fang country. Hence, it can be understood that attempts to renew the clans could only take place in regions where such a grouping still has vitality. It should also be noted that the highest average volume by clan occurs in the regions where the Fang population is greatest and where the demographic
184 situation is the most favorable. The centers of vitality are located in in the Woleu-N'Tem [area] (a large part of the district of Mitzic being excluded) and in a small zone in the neighborhood of Libreville. These two regions compete to extend their influence over the whole of the Fang country, the rivalry appearing in the elections when a candidate from Libreville is opposed by one from the Upper Gabon (legislative elections of 1951). And it can be understood that the Fang country as a whole does not show everywhere the same degree of change in the traditional social structure nor the same capacity to adapt itself to present-day conditions.

167 By transferring to a map the groupings estimated in each of the
178 districts, other facts become clear. The direction in which the dis-
614 persal took place becomes manifest. Thus the Effak coming from the frontier of the Cameroons passed by the outskirts of Spanish Guinea to reach the coast near Cocobeach and Libreville; the Angonâmvé coming from the Woleu-N'Tem reached the Ogooué (they were found in the section of N'Djolé at the beginning of this century), then Lower Gabon beyond Lambaréné, etc. Moreover, some groupings did not spread out and were found only in relatively definite regions: the Oyèk in Spanish Guinea and in the French districts south of this territory (Médouneu, Cocobeach, and Libreville), the Kojé at Bitam and Oyem, the Ožip only at Oyem, etc. Finally, certain minor groupings existed only on the frontiers of the Fang country and had an independent existence. The Yengwi of Oyem remember that one of their fragments emigrated towards Kango (without knowing either the exact name or place), but none of the groupings taken by the census in this district claim a common

166 early as the middle of the last century the explorer Du Chaillu noted how this warlike pressure was completed by peaceful conquest by means of "alliances" created by marriage with foreighers. (4) Dr. Cureau, fifty years later, pointed out that the

> 4. Father Du Chaillu, op. cit., "... for their part the Fang, far away from the European commerce much coveted by them, are happy to acquire a son-in-law nearer the coast. So I suspect that in a few years they will succeed in contracting marriages with other tribes on a very large scale."

control of the Ogooué trade had passed into the hands of the Fang peoples. (5) With settlement in Gabon, the economy of the Fang

> 5. Dr. A. Cureau, op. cit., p. 294.

groupings takes on a double orientation: it comes in contact with the forest peoples who are essentially hunters and collectors of trading produce, and it transforms its movement of expansion into an attempt to seize the trade of Lower Gabon. One might say that French colonization has prevented a sort of Fang colonization in this region. While this double task of conquest and trade depends on the [463] men, the economy of subsistence is to all intents and purposes left to the women. On this basis [131] the division of labor is established, leaving to the men alone the means of acquiring wealth and capital.

166 621 361 Such elements help us to understand the relative mobility of the groupings. A people that has no concern for agriculture would have no strong attachment for land that is equally fertile in any part of the forest. (1) In another respect the characteristic of a

> 1. See what was still said in 1934 by the administrator Le Testu (one of the best observers of the men and the country): "Lacking any taste for working the

166
621
361

land, which the Pahouin will never acquire, for he considers it humiliating, he will perhaps develop a taste for the profit resulting from this work."

conquering society has imposed on the old Fang village an appearance which has often been mentioned: two uninterrupted rows (nkara) of huts surrounding a kind of courtyard closed at each end [712] by a "guardhouse" (abèñö); sometimes a palisade of posts enclosing a banana plantation serves as a protection in the rear. Inside the huts there is only a limited amount of things which are easily [352] transportable: "goods" of value are stored in chests, the ancestors' altars (biéri) are kept in large cylindrical boxes. (2) There is no

2. Very similar to the "baskets of ancestors" carried by the Ba-kongo during their great migrations.

doubt that the grouping lived for a long time in a state of insecurity. This was primarily the factor which intervened to maintain a minimum size without which there was no real security. The causes contributing to the breaking up of groups, the organization of Fang society itself, the search for women and goods, and, finally, the agricultural methods, were dominated and largely impeded by this necessity. It appears certain that really large villages existed at the beginning of French occupation. V. Largeau refers to mfaġ with eight or ten "guardhouses"; F. Grébert speaks of ten to twenty of these "guardhouses," (3) and F. Meyé asserts

3. F. Grébert. Au Gabon [In the Gabon], Paris, 1932.

that "the normal population of a village was from 80 to 170 warriors, exclusive of women and adolescents." (4) According to estimates

4. Quoted by G. Sautter, op. cit., p. 124.

166 made fifty years ago, such a whole represented from 350 to 700
621 or 800 persons — while present-day villages rarely average more
361 than 100 inhabitants. With peace restored, the grouping has relaxed and divided into its constituent elements which have broken away to form neighboring hamlets. A special word, ngòra, is the name given to these hamlets which are considered as still forming the same whole.

621 Linked with the virile character of Fang society is certainly
562 [132] the accent on the separation of sexes as shown in daily
571 life. For the woman, the living place is the hut; for the man it
344 is essentially the "guardhouse." M. H. Kingsley writes[3] "The men spend most of their time in palaver houses built at each end of the street, while the women bring bowls of food the whole day
[784] long," (3) without being able to enter the abèñö, which is absolutely

3. Travels in West Africa, p. 154.

forbidden them. H. Trilles defines this abèñö as the place "where the men assemble to deal with community affairs, war, marriage,
[574] lawsuits, etc...," and where strangers are welcomed. In addition it is the place where the young men receive a large part of their education, where they learn, according to L. Mba, the most im-
621 portant interdicts (éki). Males of the same nd'è bòt assemble in
562 the abèñö, which forms a virile grouping and one of kinship. In
571 its midst the authority of the "eldest" is expressed. He is both the symbol and the regulator of the life of the group, and the intermediary between it and the ancestors. Here not only are important transactions regulated, but work is also organized. The life of each one is subject to the control and the nearly constant censure of all. In it is created a cohesion so that this group is the most resistant element of Fang society. It is through the medium of this group, that the traditional Fang is assessed, is isolated as an individual, by the foreigner; he is not known in the first place as X but as a man attached to the abèñö of Y. Such a grouping therefore represents a strong "community": the fusion, which favors effective kinship to the maximum (it is based on immediate filiation and "fraternity"), worship of the same ancestors, and joint

174 who were settled among them and the Boulou. The last Beti groups to cross the Sanaga, blocked by those who had preceded them, have turned perpendicularly or obliquely to the general axis of migration.

The total migration was made exclusively by land, even when its [505 axis followed the course of a navigable river. The Pahouin are not users 487] of the pirogue, and the customary trails followed along ridges rather than valleys. Settlement is mainly linear, stretched along trails and, [361] now, roads, in long ribbons, separated by empty areas.

173 The traditions dealing with this exodus are of three kinds: the collective tradition of the group, varying in detail from tribe to tribe but always agreeing in the broad outlines of the same theme; family traditions, consisting of a commentary on genealogies, the majority of which have not been collected and are by way of being lost due to the abandonment of the customary training of boys; finally, a pseudo tradition of contemporary invention, which is far from the least interesting. I shall here give an account only of the principal features of these traditions and, first, of the collective tradition.

According to this, the ancestors used to live in a country called mvo' ékanga or mvo' ékañ'a (Largeau: mvôgh étangha), which means something like "cloudy country" or "honorable country," depending on the tone, or perhaps both at the same time (1). I have

[192] 1. a) Radical kañ = to honor, to respect, whence ékanâ'a = honor, respect, veneration; b) radical kañ = to mark, to design, whence ékanga = mark, design, cloud; c) verb kañele = to lash, to shape /timber/, whence ékanga = bridge.

pointed out previously the legendary features of this land in the east, the details of which vary according to the informants. It should be observed in passing that they differ as to whether or not this land was the actual cradle of the ancestors and whether the latter came from a place located even more to the east, as the present pseudo tradition assets (2).

[533 538] 2. The last of the Ntoumou storytellers sing to the accompaniment of a guitar, mvet, the exploits of the bikañ or bo'bikañ,

4. Towns

361 This lack of vitality in the bush is understandable if we turn to
621 conditions of settlement: the scattered pattern of settlement is very obvious. There are no villages properly speaking, just a dusting of hamlets. In the Cameroons, the villages are very small, with an average of 230 inhabitants. Furthermore, we are dealing with units in a system of control: their village is divided into many hamlets of from 5 to 20 huts grouped around that of the family head /chef de famille/.

178 In Gabon, Fang leaders are worried about this crumbling apart of the
361 population and have issued slogans for regrouping the villages.
621 Amongst them, indeed, the scattering is perhaps even more marked.
[102] "The average number of inhabitants per village varies from 42 (territory of Mitzic) to 105 around Oyem and to nearly 138 in the Fang canton of Makokou." (1)

1. Balandier and Pauvert, Les villages gabonais /Gabonese Villages/, Mémoir, I.E.C.A. /Institut d'Études centrafricaines/, Brazzaville, 1952.

This is not the place for a study of whether scattered settlement is natural in a country where no centralized authority has been imposed, in which the only certain /37/ power was that of the family head, or whether, on the contrary, it evidences a new kind of anarchy, an intensified individualism. We shall merely point out that the
[184] hamlets are larger in Boulou country than in Ewôndo or Bané country, although the former political institutions of the Ewôndo and Bané seem to have given tribal chiefs some political powers and marks of rank, of which there seems to have been no question among the Boulou. The first appearance of centralized political power would seem to coincide with a greater dispersion in settlement.

The fact remains that no center of concentration forced any crystallization whatsoever of an amorphous mass. This fact, closely connected with the absence of trade, clearly indicates the new and artificial character of the towns. They are all of recent origin, and yet they have become a necessity.

166 country and in the north of Boulou country) has put a considerable
621 brake upon village nomadism, the planters not liking to move away from their plantations. When there is migration, the activity consists rather in the "swarming off" of a portion of the inhabitants, who go to found a new hamlet in a site favorable for cultivation, without there being from then on any necessary correspondence between family structure and settlement pattern. The new jal will no longer necessarily correspond to one family but may gather together several families from different and unrelated lineages (mvam).

361 The Pahouin village of former times was planned for defense.
712 Situated in an oblong clearing, usually within reach of the nearest
[202] village (3 to 4 kilometers) by drum-telephone (nkul), it comprised two lines of contiguous rectangular huts, gable to gable, on either side of a courtyard or main street (nsen̄), blocked at either end by a guardhouse /men's house/ (aba, aben̄) allowing only a narrow entrance, often oblique, which was barricaded every evening. All doors gave onto the nsen̄; the outer walls having merely a few loopholes. Sometimes the village was encircled by a moat (ésalak) and traps, sometimes also by a stockade /akak). The most important subsistence plots (mefup) were in the forest, often quite far away, but near the village behind the huts were banana groves and kitchen gardens, while medicinal plants (bilok bi mebian̄) as well as tobacco were grown in
342 the central nsen̄. The hut walls were made of bark (particularly of certain kinds of Ficus /fig/) which was wetted, then beaten flat and dried to form boards; these are the "carbotes" (from the English word "cardboard") still in use on the coast. These boards were fastened by lianas and pegs to posts set in a rectangle. The double pitched roof was of "tiles" made of raffia folioles (ôbaé, pl. abaé) folded in two and pinned with wooden splinters to the scantlings made of /42/ strips of the main leaf rib set parallel to the ridgepole. This ridgepole
[531] rested on forked posts, of which the two central ones had magical significance and were usually carved or at least painted. The dimensions of these dwelling huts rarely exceeded 6 by 3 meters, while those of the guardhouses (meba) might reach twice this. In each
[352] household the man had his private hut where he kept his most valuable possessions (biôm): chests containing loincloths, etc., weapons, drums, "medicaments" (mebian̄), his own seat, masks, and magical equipment. The women's huts, side by side with his and where the young children slept, were used as kitchens and contained carrying

352 baskets, storage baskets (binaan), crockery (viek), or imported "negro pots" /sic/ (minkeñ), the drying rack, shrimp nets, mortars, and other feminine implements. The young unmarried men slept in the guardhouse; the girls slept with the women. A jal occupied by an 361 average-sized family might be 50 meters long. Large minlam reached half a kilometer, in which case the nseñ was divided into sections by the secondary meba of each family. The chief lived in the middle and had a larger aba than those of other families.

177 342 This kind of village has almost entirely disappeared. Bark huts are still extant in a few isolated villages in Gabon, but they are in- [178] creasingly rare. In actual fact, one finds almost everywhere the hut of reinforced banco /wattle and daub?/ (the wattle consists of laths made of the main ribs of raffia, incorrectly called bamboo), imposed on Boulou country around 1925 by an administrator called Nkulu (meaning "the Tornado"), which has left its mark throughout Pahouin country. These huts are usually rectangular but tend, in prosperous villages, to be influenced by European forms, with T-, U-, or H-shapes, with verandas and lean-to showers. They are often plastered with kaolin (fem) sometimes mixed with red or green ocher or with imported laundry blueing. The roof is still usually of raffia tile, but it may have four slopes or be even more complicated, copied [514] from European roots. Each family has its own privy (éduk).

361 The layout of villages has likewise changed. The most prevalent plan keeps the single central nseñ /street/, but the huts are in four lines on either side and are separate, no longer contiguous. The men's huts are nearest the road, the women's, now called kisin (cuisines /kitchens/), are laid out behind, or sometimes around, the [531] husband's. The plaster is often painted in fresco with various subjects —copies of pictures in magazines, religious subjects, in Boulou country illustrations from the novel Nnanga kôn (1), portraits of

1. The best Boulou painter of recent years was David Monewoso, a Yemfek from Sangmélima, who not only established the iconography of Nnanga kon but is also a good portraitist and a remarkable painter of animals.

Europeans famous locally or internationally. The aba /guardhouse/ has lost its defensive character and often take the form of an airy

361 shed with a roof low enough to /43/ give good protection from the sun. Some villages are placed at right angles to the road; others
[351] follow an L or Y plan, with several minseñ. Family "allotments" are separated by hedges of euphorbia, castor-oil plant, hibiscus, and
[231] bougainvillea. Sometimes one comes across sheepfolds, although in
[574] old-style (and most contemporary) villages small livestock roam at will. A village often includes a guesthouse (ayak).

342 In building operations the man generally takes charge of the frame-
462 work and the laths, leaving to the women the preparation and application of the banco /clay daub?/. But European-style huts with their
333 elaborate door frames and often cement floors are more and more
342 the work of specialized artisans, who are paid to supervise the family labor provided by the owner. These men have nevertheless preserved, along with the English term "mason," the old name nloñ nda, literally, hut-weaver, which goes back to the time when huts were made of sewn bark (1).

342 1. The dwelling continues to evolve: framed doors, windows, and shutters are in general use today. The dimensions of the buildings lead to the construction of a real
[556] frame. Finally, to possess a sheet-iron roof is a sign of wealth. In recent years there has arisen a real passion for the improvement of dwelling: in the Cameroons we may estimate that 10 percent of the dwellings now built in the bush are the most modern type. (J.B.)

2. Groupings and Relationships

571 The main divisions of Pahouin society are both exactly defined
121 in the minds of its members themselves and at the same time uncer-
114 tain for the European observer, who is constantly tempted to state
665 them clearly in organic forms accessible to his "logic" and who is hindered by the variations or the dialectal confusions of Pahouin terminology. Father Trilles, basing his observations on the Fang of Gabon alone, reached a sort of palaeontological reconstruction of the "Fang nation," extremely theoretical, yet not without basis

614 Gabon have given priority to recreating, the regrouping of villages being supposed, in their view, to take place as a function of the regrouping of the meyoñ.

The ayoñ includes all the patrilineal descendants of a common [848 587] ancestor, the illegitimate children of girls belonging to the ayoñ, and adopted ones. The ayoñ has a name, a tattoo mark (ndan), often certain prohibitions (bityi, biki), and perhaps a totem. The most strict exogamy is the rule. All members call themselves brothers (bobenyañ).

Although there was, properly speaking, no real political division corresponding to the ayoñ, nor any organized chiefship—explicable particularly in view of the very scattered settlement pattern of the members—clan sentiment was, and still is, very strong. Periodical meetings, bisulan, bring ayoñ members together, presided over by the eldest (ntôl) of the senior lineage (mvôk, ayôm) (3). The custom

3. Ayôm probably has the same root as nnôm, pl. beyôm = male; it should be remarked that the ayôm is often designated by the name of a female ancestor.

of these bisulan has recently been revived /46/; first in the Cameroons, where the native authority was reorganized in 1945-48 along clan [182] lines, then in Gabon, where the meyoñ are in an advanced state of disintegration, above all in the south.

[36] An ayoñ, whose villages separated one from the other by villages of other clans sometimes extend over several hundred kilometers, is divided into segments (mvôk) that include the descendants of the brothers, or rather the sons, of the clan ancestor, then /is divided/ into lineages (bisa, meyôm) derived from the descendants of the sons of the ancestor of the segment. The longer the genealogy (mvam, nlañ bimvam; meba'a), the more vague these categorical differences become: in one place mvôk is used for what is called ésa nearby and ayôm further away. But, except in southern Gabon, the genealogies are still well preserved, and the majority of adults can trace their relationship, if not to the clan ancestor himself, at least to his [849] lineage. The teaching of these genealogies, which was the core of the traditional training of boys, is dying out with the spread of schooling, but children still know at least the genealogy of their village-family (jal, dzal; nda bôt).

VI. The Establishment of a New Village

361 621 166 787 Various circumstances may lead to the setting-up of a new village. Worked-out land, denuded hunting anf fishing grounds, decaying huts, a disease decimating the children, the chief's death, a defeat in war, sometimes merely the wish to push on, are the principal reasons.

The spirits are consulted before departure is considered. [Footnote omitted.] There is a triple sacrifice; to the spiritual guardians of the village, to the ancestors, and to the totem. If the three replies are favorable, plans may go ahead. Otherwise, a sacrifice producing an ill-omened interpretation will be undertaken again, after a few days, until a favorable result is obtained.

361 621 After this first test a suitable location is sought. As this choice is made by delegates, the practitioner is called upon and he, with all the male inhabitants, combs the [557] surroundings of the new village, singing and dancing so as to drive away malignant spirits or any that might be injurious to the new establishment.

361 621 769 782 All the men then come together in the middle of what will be the future village, and the chief picks out the spot where he will build his own hut. A sacrifice is offered there, first to the totem and then to the spirits of the ancestors. To do this a roof of leaves is hastily erected and roughly placed on a few stakes. The évora biéri is carried underneath the roof and the chief puts in front of the unopened box a black hen and a kid.

Before slaughtering the two victims, the chief removes the akaméyòn from his baldrick and blows three times in the oviara, turning in three different directions. The objective of this ceremony is to dispel evil spirits. He then drags the akaméyòn behind him over the entire site of the new village. After one round he does another, holding the akaméyòn in his hand. Thus malignant spirits of earth and air will be dispersed. The akaméyon is then put on the évora biéri. The chief slaughters the hen by cutting off its head, grasps it by the feet, and sprinkles the akaméyòn and box. He again traverses the village, sprinkling

361 the sites of future huts with blood. The hen is then opened up
621 and divided among the principal warriors and the chief's relatives.
769 This strictly, speaking, constitutes the totemic sacrifice. The
782 kid or sheep is then offered to the spirits of departed souls and to the ancestors.

After the sacrifice to ancestors the chief puts the akaméyôn
361 back at his side. From the mfex or pouch, which is never re-
621 moved, he draws forth a small bundle of dirty material wrapped
769 around a bit of red wood, ashes, and a few bones. All this
778 comes from a sacrifice to the totem like that already described. To these he adds the remnants of the recent sacrifice and buries
[824] it all deep in a hole in which he drives a strong stake of élun or éfirfira wood; sometimes a young ebony tree is also used.
[822 At the top of the stake he fixes a ball of paste made of red wood,
842] white chalk -- the colors of sacrifices and spirits, and manioc, the symbol of fertility. A part of the clan or tribal totem is also inserted. The practitioner, with many gestures, songs, and dances imprisons within it all the evil spirits of the air.
[558]

The practitioner sows maize in the middle of the village, then plants a manioc root and particularly a euphorbia (euphorbia antiquorum), and puts a small fence around, so that the plants
[787] will not be desecrated. The village's prosperity depends upon their rapid growth. Should they wither, the chosen spot will be abandoned. Euphorbia has the power of averting thunder and evil
[824] spirits by means of its bristling points. Amaryllis and immortelles are often planted at the foot of the euphorbia, along with a few stalks of sugar cane. The amaryllis and immortelles ought to come from the old village, having issued from those which the chief's first wife had formerly brought from her
[842] native village at her marriage. Sugar cane is a symbol of fertility.

241 The women plant maize everywhere after these prelimi-
361 naries, and its rapid growth ensures basic subsistence. Meanwhile the men build the huts. The first ears of maize will certainly be offered to the guardian totem. Dried and preserved in the form of a coronet, they will provide seed for the following year.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca.1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

304 to obtain any accounts touching on its introduction, beyond the fact "we learnt it from our fathers." No ceremonies are connected with it. There are no professional tattooers, but the natives frequently employ a man known to be skilful to ornament them. It is practised by both sexes; young lads are anxious to be tattooed because it makes them feel "real men," but the practice is not indispensable as a sign of manhood. The same blue pigment obtained from a tree fungus used in painting is mixed with ashes and employed for tattooing. The instrument used is a sharp piece of bamboo, a piece of sharp iron or a knife. The practice does not appear to be in any way connected with pagan worship. Social or family rank does not affect the designs employed. Fang tattooing is not always symmetrical, it usually commences with the face, and a favourite design on the cheeks somewhat resembles the bowl and stem of a straight pipe. Only one colour is employed. Tattoo marks and designs are mostly found on the face, chest, shoulders, arms and abdomen. Women frequently have the pipe pattern or a band across the cheeks, and occasionally upon the breasts.

Cicatrization is largely practised. Small incisions are made in the skin with a sharp instrument, frequently a steel nail from an imported packing case obtained from the trade house, the nail being flattened out into a small knife blade; or a sharp piece of bamboo is used. The juice of a certain herb is rubbed into the incised wounds.

IV.—*Habitations.*

The houses are built mostly of bark; beams and rafters are made from the 342 strong branches of forest trees and bamboo; they are secured by bush rope. The entire structure rests on the ground. It is very rare to find a Fang house on poles, except near the coast. There is no regularity in size of houses, but the form and material used is common to all the tribe. The average Fang house or hut is a low dark building, 15 feet long by 10 wide, and with walls about 6 feet high; the roof angle increases the height inside. Each family has a house; it is used, day and night, by all members of the family. Travellers usually occupy [485] the *abeng* (palaver house), and the headman finds them sleeping quarters at night. When the owner dies he is usually buried close to the house, and the [764] grave levelled off and soon obliterated. The houses comprising a town are built together, end to end. Towns consist of two rows of houses, with the main road passing between them. The *abeng* (palaver house) is built across one end of the 361 main road. A large place is often composed of several towns or villages in line, the limits of each village being marked by its palaver house, and having its own 712 headman. The Fang method of conveying information regarding the size of a place is by stating the number of palaver houses it contains. Stockades are frequently used at the entrance to a town, especially if the people have a palaver (tribal war) with a neighbouring tribe. The palaver houses and dwellings are also frequently stockaded. The natives often show considerable foresight and shrewdness by making use of the natural advantages of a position in selecting a site for their villages.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

Translation.

They put cassava to soak in the river, in a place where there is (plenty of) mud. When it has lain there three days, they go and rub off the rind. They bring it (to the house). They take a trough, and put the cassava in it. They take the mashing stick. They mash the cassava. They wrap it up (in leaves). When they have finished that, they put it in the pot. Then they light the fire. They put the pot of iguma (on the fire). Then the iguma is *boiled.* 252 539

Ano Mfini: (Plantation).

Bététa bass lenz bo dia inifini (our fathers did not make plantain villages), *n'afon eto bé* (because their land was near at hand, *i.e.*, near the regular villages). *Fuh b'ongeye infini ne bo bidji binne* (Fuh likes plantain village to make good food, *i.e.*, because thus they get good food). *Bilen e djal ine, betok* (Plantains in town have (one) small). *Infini O ne djal nne afon bibé* (Plantain village is a good town (because) land (*i.e.*, good land) near). *Nen ane afon betete benge to bibé* (Like the land where the fathers were near). *B'ongeye infini, ne dni bidji binné. Mo'ubel: a gnerri betyit: benk benge abn* (They like the plantain village (because) there they eat good food. One person kills game (meat) others buy). *Mendo infini ne eic bo abé* (Houses of plantain villages soon spoil).[1] *Fuh, Bo'dji anes mbin bidiam* (Fuh they eat a meal of cassava in the morning). 539 262 311 361

Regarding the *Eki* tabooing certain foods or performance of certain actions as in vogue among the Fang, I learned from a friend and *confrère*, Rev. R. H. Nassau, D.D., M.D., of Gaboon, that the *Eki* of the Fang is precisely similar to the *Orunda* of the Mpongwe. Dr. Nassau is a veteran missionary of thirty-seven years' African experience, and he is always ready to help others who are sufficiently interested in the natives to inquire about them. I know of no one on the West Coast more willing or eminently able than he for imparting information regarding the people among whom he has laboured. 262 114 71

XI.—*Anthropophagy.*

Cannibalism prevails among the Fang beyond question, and only fear of the law keeps him somewhat in check. I am able to speak of the Fang as anthropophagi; not alone from information gathered, but from having once had the opportunity of visiting a town two days after a victim had been killed and eaten. 266 114

This town, named Olunda, is on the right bank of the Nkomo river, about 60 miles from the seat of government in the Congo Français. Whilst visiting the town Nenge-nenge (the island of islands) in the autumn of 1898, a native trader named Arkendengi, employed by a British trading house at Gaboon, informed me

[1] It is very true that houses having plantains growing near, soon rot; this is due to the dampness caused by loss of sunlight and heat.

●362

Fig. 44. Olanga Village (Essángbuak Family), South Cameroons. In the village square there is a "memorial," a peculiarly shaped tree root in which the natives see the figure of a horse.

373 obẽ Fang; resin = otũ).

On longer trips, for instance, if an acquaintance is to be visited or medicinal plants are sought in the forest at night in case of sudden sickness, a piece of wood, waved to and fro, is used instead of the torch which would burn down too quickly. When a strong light is not necessary, the people content themselves with little branches [824] that have been covered with the gleaming white mycelium of a mushroom, thereby providing a bright glow in the dark. /81/ /Fig. 45 appears here in the original text/

For more extensive hunting or rubber expeditions in a larger forest area, occasions when nights are spent in wild country, a burning log is taken along. In former times "kindling wood" was also taken along in case the log should go out. Nowadays 372 the Pangwe are no longer able to produce fire in the old manner 824 by twirling. To be sure, an older chief once showed me how fire was formerly "made"; but although he took endless trouble and two men twirled their arms lame, they were unable to produce a single spark. "Theoretically," however, my good chief

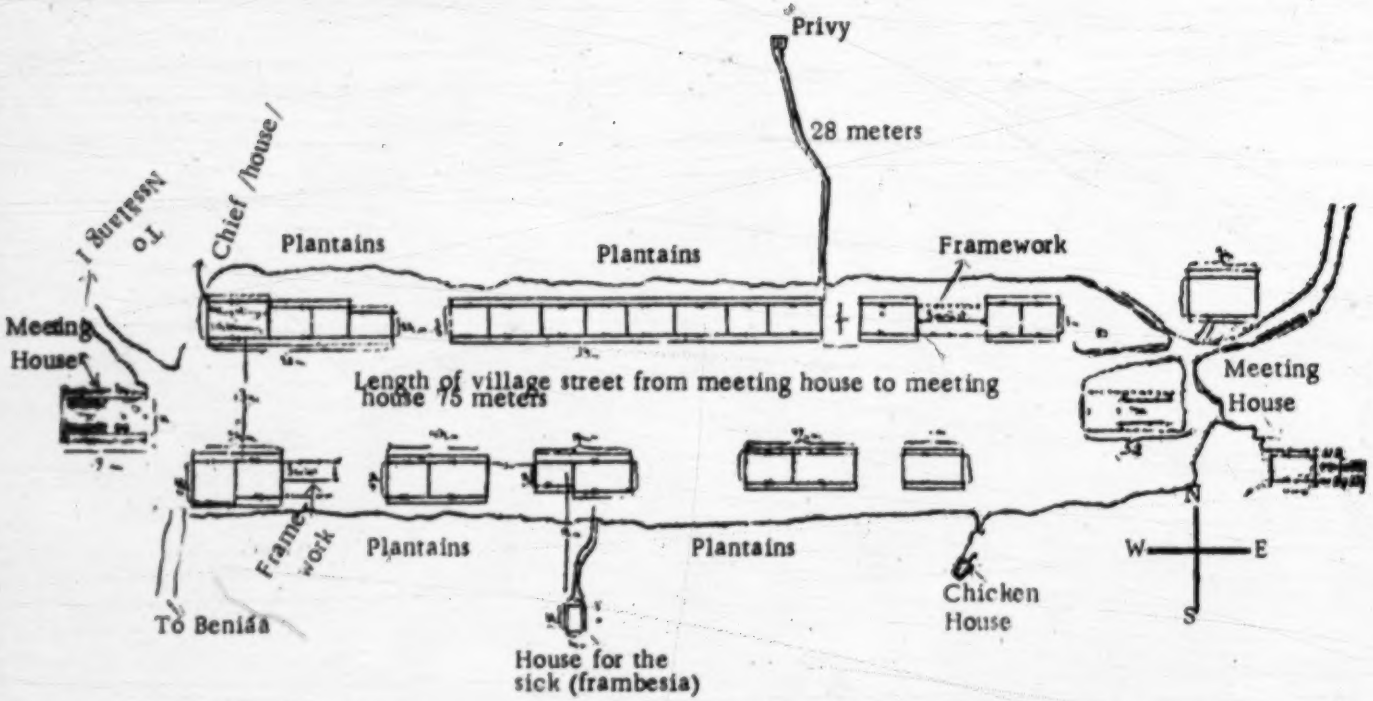


Fig. 16. Plan of a Village of the Settlement Nssälang (Essauong Family) Fang. Made in 1908.

491

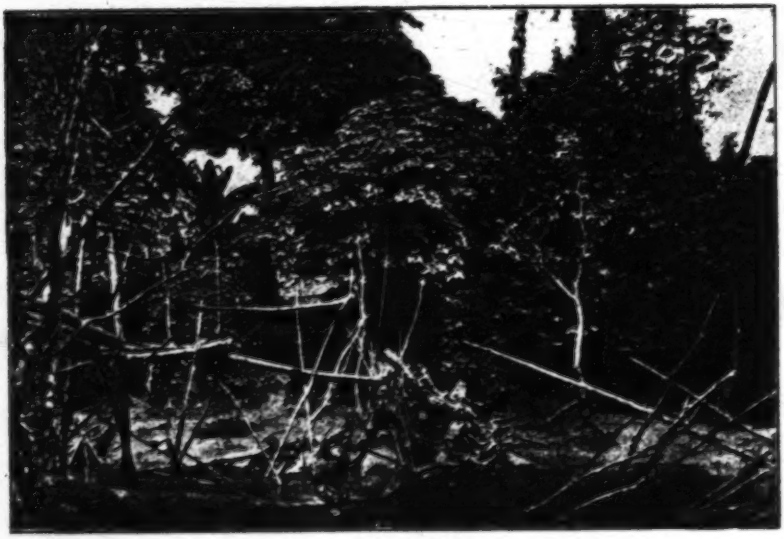


Fig. 46. Bridge over the Abéa (Tributary of the Bimfílle) near Makonám (Ojek Family) During the Dry Season, Spanish Guinea.

000 original text. /

361 Usually the village square remains completely bare. Very rarely a tree is left standing or is planted there, and when that is done, it is because the tree is considered to have medicinal value. More frequently one sees scaffoldings on which the raffia palm oil is prepared (see Plate 4). In one case I encountered a memorial which was supposed to represent a horse (Fig. 44); this was a tree root which had been left standing when the area was being cleared because of its curious resemblance to the animal.

• 364 The cleanliness of village squares varies greatly. There are very dirty ones, littered with sheep and goat manure, remnants of sugar cane, chewed cane, building materials, and so forth in great quantities. Indeed, in some of these village squares the grass has not even been weeded out. On the other hand, there are very neat squares where the villagers sweep all the rubble and refuse behind the houses. The men who look after the meeting house are especially negligent; they frequently let the rubbish heaps (akūn) accumulate until they clutter up the entrance.

491

Fig. 47. Bridge over the Bimfílle near Ebiánemajong (Essáuong Family) During the Rainy Season.

The privy (edūk), as Figure 16 shows, is in the plantain grove 514
not very far from the houses. Frequently it is so close that the 364
stench, especially when the wind is unfavorable, may become unbearable. The privy consists of a fairly deep pit with one or two pairs of forked sticks planted in the center; on top of these is placed a layer of tree trunks in such a manner that the middle ones extend from the edge of the pit only as far as the sticks and lie with their free ends in the forks. Thus, a rectangular opening is left uncovered, and /83/ loam is thrown around this over the whole thing. Sometimes the loam covering is not put over it. Instead of toilet paper, dried corn husks are used.

It is worthy of note that the Pangwe also cultivate ornamental 351
plants. These are placed in the village square, along the paths 247
behind or to the side of the houses, or, in case the village consists of only a single row of houses, they are planted where the opposite row of houses would ordinarily stand. Generally the ornamental plants are the following: an attractive Amaranthacea, Gomphrena globosa B. (ngǒ'n IV), which also grows in America and may have been imported from there; and the so-called fever

463 but most of the artisans live in towns; there it is that they learned their trades, more easily find materials and tools, there also they believe the multitude will enable them to collect a large number of orders.

Certain crafts are long established, such as tailoring, masonry, and carpentry. But while Pahouin are numerous in the woodworking and building trades, as tailors they frequently have to compete with immigrants. New professions arise, often controlled by foreigners also—photographers, mattress makers, and mechanics. This brief list of the most widespread trades allows one to infer the rise in the standard of living: doors and windows, tables, chairs, wardrobes, beds, mattresses are now in quite general use.

319 166 The towns plan an essential role and are completely integrated into the country, since it is there that the rural people go to have the things made which they need. The mixed character of town populations is astonishing. Immigrants from all regions of the Cameroons or French Equatorial Africa give them a cosmopolitan character, while the bush has not sustained such a complex intermixture.

Nevertheless, we must not exaggerate the antithesis between country people and townsfolk: many countrymen have resided a few years in town and have kept up connections there. Migration away from centers was quite active thirty years ago, and certain Pahouin tribes were largely represented in the timber industry. There has been just as decided a movement toward the towns: "The development of cacao plantations along the Woleu-N'Tem by changing the living conditions of the villagers certainly seems to have been the principal cause of the halt in emigration in 1930." This remark by Sautter about the Fang is also true of the Boulou and —to a lesser degree, perhaps—of the Béti and assimilated tribes more closely pressed together in their habitat.

463 162 Béti, Boulou, or Fang form a petty bourgeoisie rather than a proletariat without resources. The following figures show the relatively small proportion of unskilled laborers (1):

1. M. Soret, Démographie et problèmes urbains en A.E.F. /Demography and Urban Problems in French Equatorial Africa/, I.F.A.N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noir/, 1954.

463
162

Occupational Distribution of Pahouin Emigrants in Douala

	Laborers	Artisans	Intellectual Occupations	Traders and Licensed Dealers
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Beti	37	55	1.9	6
Boulou		60	40	

A study of Dolisie, Baronga, and Poto-Poto makes it possible to establish similar facts for occupations (2). /39/

2. According to J. Guilbot, Petite étude sur la main-d'oeuvre à Douala /A Brief Study of Manpower at Douala/, I. F. A. N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noir/, the Cameroons, 1947.

162 The proportion among them of persons who have education is about 40 percent and, what is even more important, that of the well-educated 871 is relatively high.

Poto-Poto: Cultural Level of "Coastal Forest Dwellers"

Illiterates	Educated	Holders of the C. E. P.*	Holders of the "Brevet"
610	390	111	56

/*Certificat d'etudes primaires, certificate of primary education. /

● 369 After spending some time in town, some emigrants return to their 166 native villages, thus diminishing the separation between the two places. The bush folk, in turn, often come to the urban centers (1) and in

1. A set of figures gives the exact number of these trips: in 480 budgets relative to a total of 2, 000 persons, 1, 116 trips were listed (J. Binet, op. cit., p. 112).

369 such a case we gather that each principal town of a subdivision is a
166 genuine center of attraction. Although new these towns are not artificial. There is another piece of evidence for this, the social-occupational distribution of the urban population is almost constant from one town to another, a proof that it corresponds to needs that are also constant.

463 Out of 100 inhabitants one generally finds: laborers 16.5, em-
162 ployees 12, traders 8.3, chauffeurs 6.9 (and "motor boys" 4.3), public service employees 6.7, domestic servants 5.8, carpenters 4.9, masons 4, farmers 3.5, tailors 3.2, mechanics 2.9, photographers 0.8, herders 0.5, catechists 0.1, without occupation 9, etc.

This in general outline is the present-day distribution. Let it simply be kept in mind that, with the diffusion of a new culture, the whole society becomes modified. The techniques and tools in use have been increased and diversified at the same time as social conditions.

Chapter 5

Social Organization

1. Forms of Settlement, Habitat

621 The basic social group is the patriarchal family (nda bot = lit.,
[596] house of the people), to which corresponds the hamlet or elementary village, the jal (Boulou, pl. mal; Fang, Ewôndo, dzal), generally called by the name of the patriarch (ésa = father; ntôl = eldest, senior), but sometimes, when isolated, carrying a special toponym (éyôlé = proper name, designation; a person's name is rather jôé; Fang, édzoé). These mal are usually arranged into multifamily, sometimes multi-clan, villages, minlam (sing. nlam), the latter term designating both the group of dwellings and the soil appertaining to them. The nlam
103 always has a place name of its own, which may refer to its geographical situation: nkôlayôp = on the hill; to a topographical or botanical peculiarity: ako'abete = dressed stone, ajap = the name of a tree, ma'an = crossroads; or to an incident connected with the founding: ébolewo'o (Ebolowa) = decayed chimpanzee, because the village was

177 ascending relative. These /factors/ explain the success and persis-
681 tence of parallel judicial processes, which are illegal from the point of view of European law, although sometimes tolerated by the administration.

d. Delinquency

674 If the older people are to be believed, delinquency offenses used to be rare: secret societies with their ordeals and swift punishments prevented delicts by the fear they inspired. At present the jail books and the judicial statistics make it possible to gauge the dimensions of the phenomenon, but there is no proof that all delinquents are prosecuted. Some affairs never reach the ears of the law: for instance, fathers of families often deplore the immorality of their sons or their wives, whom they accuse of stealing from them, but since no complaint is lodged, these facts are not recorded.

It is usual in Africa to complain of the rise in juvenile delinquency. The figures at my disposal do show an increase:

	18 yrs.	18 - 20 yrs.	20 - 25 yrs.	25 - 30 yrs.	30 - 35 yrs.	Over 35 yrs.	Total
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
1936	3	3.5	19	32	18	25	100
1946	-	10	21	35	15	14	100
1956	7	7.2	25	22	15	24	100

/73/ But this increase is not as great as might have been feared. A study of the statistics allows another conclusion: delinquency is
[369] an urban phenomenon. In fact, only people following city occupations are found in the jails. In a region of primarily agricultural activity, a relatively low number of rural delinquents is remarkable. Admittedly we must recognize that in towns law enforcement is easier, also that the more Westernized townsmen do not hesitate so much to make use of the courts. Nevertheless, the differences between the delin-
674 quency rates of different occupations deserve to be pointed out, al-
463 though the figures below are, of course, only approximate. They were obtained by a study of the census returns for three towns in the southern Cameroons and by a comparison of the jail books for the same localities.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

the palaver house, where he loves to sit and gossip around the log fire, or lounge on the *Enong* (a native bed of poles). 517

Dancing is a favourite pastime, especially at the time of new moon, when the dance seems to have some religious significance. A Fang dance is a sight worth seeing; arrayed in long streaming armlets of dried grass, and large bunches of forest beans and mollusca shells tied around the ankles for castanets, they go through a series of rapid and graceful movements, some of which are not entirely free from obscenity. Flaming torches made of resin wrapped in plantain leaves are stuck in the ground and the drums keep up a perfect fusillade; the whole making a weird and extremely interesting spectacle. With short intervals of rest the dance usually continues throughout the night until daybreak (photo of dance shown on screen). 535 [373]

III.—*Clothing, Ornaments, Painting and Tattooing.*

Fang men and women usually go about bareheaded; some obtain imported straw and felt hats from the traders and are very proud of them. A red worsted night-cap sold at the factories is very popular and much worn. These head coverings are chiefly worn for ornament and not to afford protection from the sun or weather. Until the opening up of trade among the Fang people their clothing amounted to almost nothing. The men wore a waist cloth made of bark from certain trees, a strong, tough, fibrous material, and the women wore a girdle stripped from the plantain stem, with some leaves from the bush or a piece of the plantain leaf tucked through the girdle in front and passed downward, backward and upward between the limbs and fastened to the girdle behind. Very often the women wore a kind of bustle made of dried grass dyed black, or red. In sitting down the women are very careful to first arrange the bustle. The native bark cloth, the girdle and bustle, are still worn in the bush towns; the women often make the girdle of imported glass beads strung on string made from pineapple fibre, but people living in towns along the river banks wear imported cloths obtained in trade. As a general rule boys and girls run about without clothing until five or six years of age. Imported cloth is worn by both sexes and is often sewn together very skilfully and decorated with pieces of different colours. There are no recognised peculiarities of dress restricted to the subdivision of tribes. The cloth is cut out and sewed by each individual owner unless it is a trade cloth previously sewn. Cloth is usually hemmed and worn as a simple wrapper around the waist, and held in place by rolling in and tucking the upper border on itself. The upper portion of the body is not much covered by the cloth although some men and women wear it tied high up around the neck. There is no difference between the indoor and outdoor clothing. When imported needles and thread can be obtained they are used, but I have seen very skilful sewing done with a sharp piece of bamboo for a needle and thread made of pineapple fibre. Upon the death of parents, clothes descend to the children. In saluting a visitor it is not customary to remove a hat or cap, if one is being worn, or any other article of clothing. 291 [516] [369] [428] [576]

352
531

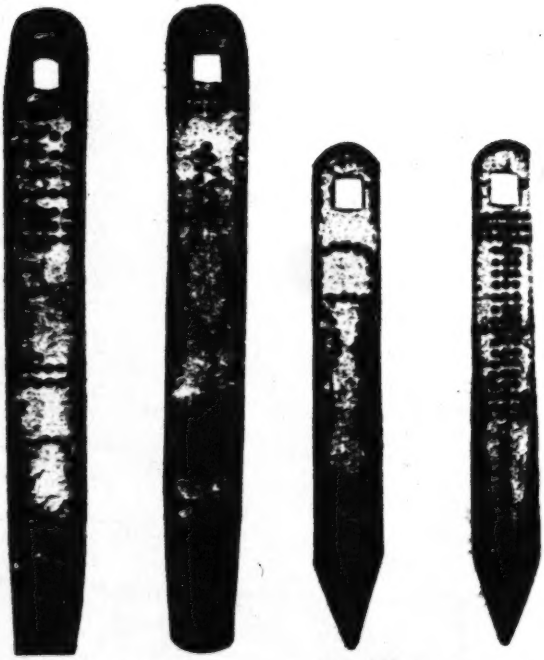


Fig. 31. Rifle Stands. Owöng (Essandöng Family), Fang.

372
412

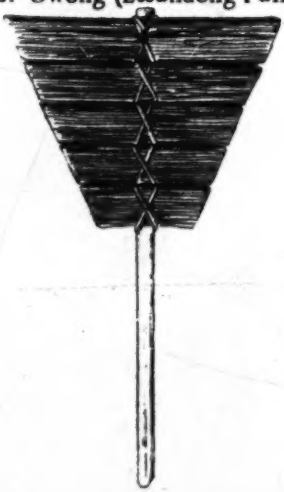


Fig. 32. Fan for the Fire.

A few words should be said about lighting. In the houses, which, as we have seen, are windowless and hence quite dark, the hearth fire /Fig. 43 appears here in the original text/ is at the same time a much needed source of light. As the Pangwe relate in their legends, it was Mode-Sama, one of the first human beings, who fetched fire (ndūǎn) from God (Sama); according to other versions, the fire was given to him by God, and since Mode's time the fire has not been extinguished. This useful element is carried from one house to another and, when worst comes to worst, from one village to another. The Pangwe does not need to rekindle his fire, since it burns all day in the meeting house where it serves as a protection against cold, moisture, and sand flies, while in the dwellings it is kept going day and night for cooking and heating purposes. When the women go to the plantations, the logs are so carefully arranged (for this action alone, there are four different expressions!) that they continue to glow; or the youngest daughter may be given the task of guarding the vestal altar. In case the fire should actually go out in one house, fire is obtained from a neighboring house, and it is only in exceptional cases that a smaller village has no fire. In such an emergency fire is sent for from the nearest settlement.

Better lighting than the hearth fire is provided by the torch light with which /80/ /Fig. 44 appears here in the original text/ the village square is illuminated at night when, for instance, dances are held. The flickering of the torches causes the strange and wild movements of the dancers to appear even more fantastic than they really are. The torches are composed of dried stalks of the cardamom Aframomum alboviolaceum K. Sch. (adžǒm; stalk, kō'mō IV Fang, kūū'me IV Ntum), Plate 21 in Section 11 /Vol. 2/, or finely spliced raffia stalk strips (ekǎ'ba), which — when they are well dried — burn very brightly but, on the other hand, are rather rapidly consumed.

The finest but an infrequently used source of light at festivities or other events in the village square is the resin lamp (otu = resin), Figure 43, a little tub of bark containing the fragrant resin of the Anacardiacea Canarium schweinfurthii Engl. (1) (abê Ntum, obê Fang; resin = otu).

1. According to the communication of Doctor Mildbraed who has likewise collected this tree.

362

Fig. 44. Olanga Village (Essángbuak Family), South Cameroons. In the village square there is a "memorial," a peculiarly shaped tree root in which the natives see the figure of a horse.

373 obê Fang; resin = otu).

On longer trips, for instance, if an acquaintance is to be visited or medicinal plants are sought in the forest at night in case of sudden sickness, a piece of wood, waved to and fro, is used instead of the torch which would burn down too quickly. When a strong light is not necessary, the people content themselves with little branches that have been covered with the gleaming white mycelium of a mushroom, thereby providing a bright glow in the dark. /81/ /Fig. 45 appears here in the original text./

For more extensive hunting or rubber expeditions in a larger forest area, occasions when nights are spent in wild country, a burning log is taken along. [illegible]ormer times "kindling wood" was also taken along in case the log should go out. Nowadays 372 the Pangwe are no longer able to produce fire in the old manner 824 by twirling. To be sure, an older chief once showed me how fire was formerly "made"; but although he took endless trouble and two men twirled their arms lame, they were unable to produce a single spark. "Theoretically," however, my good chief

501

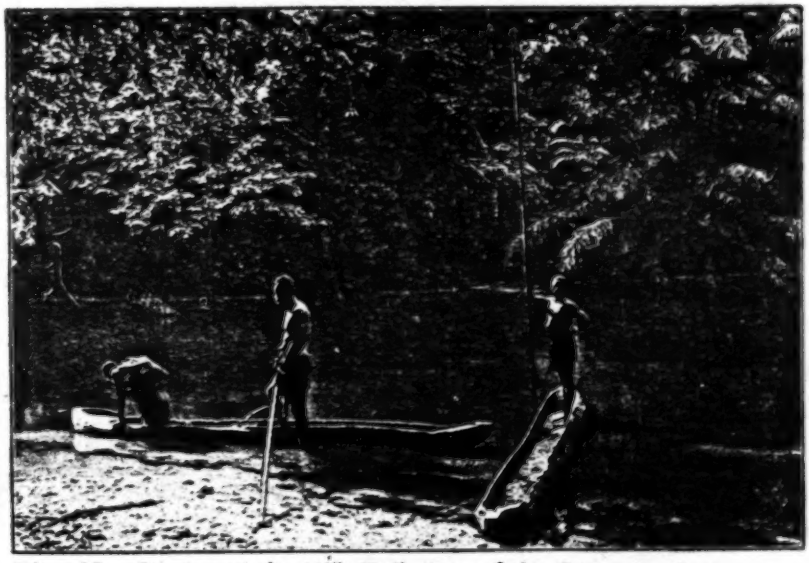


Fig. 45. Canoes on the Nië (Tributary of the Campo), New Cameroons.

372 824 knew exactly how to produce sparks. "One" takes two sticks of wood from one of the three Tiliaceae, Triumfettia cordifolia Guillet (okūń) (1). Leptonychia tessmannii Engl. (akǎk), or

1. According to one legend, fire is also supposed to have been brought from the heavens in a Triumfettia stick.

Desplatsia dewevrei Burs. (afǒnǒk), and they are dried over the fire for at least a day. One of the sticks is notched in the middle, placed on the ground, and held down with one's feet; the other stick is placed vertically into the notch and twirled. The spark which is "supposed" to be produced is caught with oakum made of the picked fibers of the Dioclea reflexa Hook. f. (kǒndōō' III) placed around the notch. Thus instructed, after this one failure I requested elsewhere that this theory be put into practice, but most of the natives assumed a stupid expression or laughed outright at my request. /82/ /Fig. 46 appears here in the original text./

316
325

> showed that the ore "exhibits a not inconsiderable titanium content, some sulphur, traces of phosphoric acid, a small calcium content, as well as a small magnesium content, in addition to the usual components, such as silicic acid, iron oxide, aluminum oxide, water, and small quantities of manganese."

simply collected and carried off. The iron ore pits (ebê-asél from
[423] asêi, "rock containing iron") have no special significance for the Pangwe; they are common or rather ownerless property that could be claimed by anyone. The smelting of the iron ore, on the other
325 hand, takes place in special smelting huts which are usually the
423 common property of several fellow villagers; they alone may produce the iron from the ironstone which they themselves have extracted from the pits. The other people in the village may not use the smelting hut and must buy iron from them. Because of the difficulties involved in the enterprise, smelting is done only at /227/ widely separated intervals of time. On each occasion the furnace is loaded rapidly as many times in succession as there are hut owners on hand. Each owner, therefore, has a claim to the iron obtained from one loading of the furnace.

325 The smelting hut (ndǎ-akūǎ, ndźí-akūǎ), Figures 181 and 182,
343 is a simple lean-to, three to four meters high, whose ridge pole is supported by two beams. A pit (Fig. 182, Drawing 5, c), 78 centimeters deep and 1.86 meters in diameter, is dug into the ground in the center of the hut and the furnace is built over it. Another shaft (Drawing 5, b), about 60 centimeters deep, goes down from the floor of the pit, and it is on the bottom of this shaft that the above-mentioned pot with the smelting medicine is placed (Drawing 5, a). The medicine is covered with rotten leaf sheaths from the plantain so that the skulls will stay nice and cool, and then the entire shaft is filled with leaves.

325 If smelting is contemplated, all the participants, that is, the
●372 medicine man, the hut owner or owners, and the hired workers, must, as was mentioned, abstain for two months from sexual

325 intercourse. During this period, the ore is carried to the hut in
372 baskets and piled up there, and charcoal (miē, mēi) is obtained. The charcoal must be especially "strong," and for that reason it is obtained only from the following five trees: 1) Pentaclethra
[824] macrophylla Benth., Leguminosae (ebā'ī); 2) Erythrophloeum guineense Don., Leguminosae (elūn); 3) Cylicodiscus gabunensis Harms, Leguminosae (edūm); 4) Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms, Leguminosae (andzītsiń); 5) Irvingia grandifolia Engl., Simarubaceae (ngūn IV). The wood is heaped up in small piles near the village, set on fire, and, when it is charred, extinguished while still glowing. The water with which it is extinguished is skillfully squirted out of the mouth like a shower.

325 In Bebai, among the Schumu family (Woddo region) where I
343 saw the smelting, a smaller hut stood next to the smelting hut
834 (Fig. 182, Drawing 2); this hut contained nothing but a sleeping bench (p), a poker hook (q), and a number of spare blast pipes (r) for the furnace. The hut owner for whom the smelting was to be done the next day spent the last night in it in order not to succumb to the temptation of violating the above-mentioned rule at the last moment. This precautionary measure shows how steadfastly the Pangwe actually observe the many commandments.

325 In the morning the workers appear with their tools, the blast pipes (žǒ,ń IV), and bellows.

The bellows without valve -- but in contrast, it does not have wooden sticks used as handles. It is made of soft wood (see page 240); from its two bowl-shaped enlargements (Pangwe: alǒ-nkǔ,m, "bellows ears") separate shafts lead /228/ /Fig. 181 appears here in the original text/ into the tip (Pangwe: ndžǔ,ī'-nkǔm, "bellows nose"). The bowls are covered with animal hide with the hairy side
[281] inward, or (only among the Jaunde) with leaf sheaths of the banana tied together in a tuft. Since the hides are moved directly by hand and not by means of sticks, only soft hides can be used, such as those of the long-tailed monkeys, the potto, the civet cat, and the African dwarf buck Neotragus batesi Winton.

The pit in the smelting hut is stuffed full to the rim with leaves of the umbrella tree, so that after the completion of the smelting process it can be cleaned of the charcoal remains without any

325 4. Chisel (zǎ́ne), Figure 188, which is stuck into a slit cardamom stalk and driven in with a hammer in order to burst thin connections, to chisel off superfluous edges, to make grooves, and so forth.

5. File (ewǎ́n), used for smoothing.

6. Tongs (abǎ́s), Figure 189, Drawing 2, made from a cardamom stalk split at the end.

7. Squirter (amǒ́m, amɛ̌́m), Figure 189, Drawing 1, made from a cardamom stalk (1) split at the end, and used -- as among

1. Cardamom (Aframomum) as torch, see page 42, as sacred plant of fire, see Section 11 /Ed., this section of Vol. II is not translated/.

us -- to moisten the coal from time to time.

325 If anything is to be forged, the blast pipe of the bellows is placed in the center of the smithy pit, charcoal is heaped over
● 372 it -- the charcoal is produced in the way described on page 247 (2) --
313

2. From the following trees:
Leguminosae Dialium guineense Willd. (ogbǒ́ń-elǐ); Leguminosae Platysepalum tessmannii Harms (ogbǒ́ń-elǐ);
Olacaceae Aptandra zenkeri Engl. (ogbǒ́ń-elǐ);
Ochnaceae Ouratea tessmannii Gilg (osǒ);
Euphorbiaceae Sapium oblongifolium Muell. Arg. (osǒ);
Ochnaceae Ouratea brachybotrys Gilg (osǒ, kǔń-osǒ, okǐ́ń);
Euphorbiaceae Plagiostyles klainei Pierre (esǔlǐ);
Guttiferae Garcinia punctata Oliv. (nǎ́-elǐ III);

325
•372
313

Euphorbiaceae Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg. (asɨ̂m);
Simarubaceae Irvingia grandifolia Engl. (ngɨ̂n IV);
Sapotaceae Mimusops djave (Lan.) (adzɨ̂b);
Leguminosae Distemonanthus benthamianus Baill. (ejɨ̂n, eli bengań);
Burseraceae Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl. (ase ǎ);
Burseraceae Pachylobus macrophyllus (Oliv.) (atǒm Fang, andǒtǒm Ntum);
Flacourtiaceae Petersia minor Niedenzu (abiń).

and on the charcoal, the iron pieces to be forged. Then /238/ the charcoal is set on fire with a red-hot coal thrown into the blast pipe. Thereupon the assistant sets the bellows going (see page 252). If the charcoal catches fire, the smith places the handle (Figure 186, i) into the side arm of the pit, heaps the charcoal (h) over the iron pieces, waits until the iron is red-hot, takes it out with the handle, and forges it on the anvil. Once the iron is ready in its crude form, it is knocked free from the handle with the chisel, seized with the tongs, and subjected to further working.

(c) Brass founding.

325 Brass (ngɨ̂n IV, mvǒt IV) has been coming into the Pangwe region from the coast in the form of tubes and wire for a long time. Because of its softness and its brilliant color, it has almost completely replaced iron insofar as it was used for ornaments. The tubes are not altered; the wire, on the other hand, is worked into neck, arm, and finger rings, into foot covers and leg rings.

The wire is cut into small pieces about three centimeters long and placed in a potsherd or in a clay vessel specially prepared for the purpose (Fig. 190). Then it is placed on the smithy fire and

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

traded with the *ski* (iron)." Iron is put to various uses. Long bladed knives of various shapes and patterns are made, also spear heads, armlets, anklets, finger and toe rings. Small pieces of iron are used for bullets in flint-lock muskets. One of the most important uses of money among the Fang is the making of *beki*. 325 326

Beki is made up in bunches ten *beki* in each bunch; a bunch of *beki* is called *ntet*. The amount of dowry paid in *beki* is usually counted in hundreds, *kuliki bi beki, ntet awom* (bring me one hundred *beki*). 326 [436]

A bundle of ten arrow heads is frequently used as an *ntet*.

A peculiar shaped adze is made of iron; it is used for working wood, especially hollowing trees intended for canoes.

Pieces of iron are forged into axe blades (*ovon*).

The *mfak* is a short handled spade made of iron, used for digging in the gardens.

The art of casting seems to be unknown.

The bellows (*nkum*) used by Fang smiths are very ingenious (*specimen on table*). The feet are used to steady the bellows, whilst both hands work the goat skin covers and force air into the fire.

A block of iron is used for an anvil. Some of the natives are quite skilful at working iron. A Fang living near my residence often begged from me a round steel nail from a packing case. In a short time he would return with the nail transformed into a thin delicate knife or dagger, only the nailhead remaining intact. Very large fighting knife blades are made and beautifully fashioned, and ornamented with various punch marks.

I have never seen any native made wire. Imported brass wire is in great demand and mostly used as a continuous armlet. The coil usually reaches from wrist to elbow, and is considered extremely *mbung* (handsome), and kept highly polished. [439] [301]

Imported brass is obtained in trade and made into armlets, anklets, finger and toe rings. It is also used for ornamentation of guns.

Many of the natives are skilled workers of iron and fully aware of its value. I have never seen welding practised, but in working hot iron it is frequently plunged into cold water to make it *alert* (hard).

Fire.—In the far interior, fire is produced by friction, the simplest form of a drill being used, which is twisted rapidly between the hands. Along the rivers matches are obtained from the native traders, who bring up large quantities from the coast. The natives are always ready to trade for matches, which are again traded to interior tribes. Flints are only used on the hammer of the old flintlock musket imported for trade. Fires are almost constantly burning in the palaver houses. Two dry logs are kept constantly burning, they are placed end to end, when one log is nearly consumed it is replaced by another. 372 ● [439]

It is interesting to notice how the natives carry fire about. When on a journey in 1897 from Gross Batanga with a caravan to the Bulu country in the German sphere of influence, one of the men usually obtained a piece of burning 372 484

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

372 484 log from the last town where the caravan rested. This man kept the piece of wood burning by gently swinging it backward and forward, while marching along the path with his load. On one occasion I timed a native, and when we reached the next stopping place, after a three hours' tramp in the rain, the brand was still burning brightly, and it had been frequently passed from one end of the caravan to the other so that all who desired could light their pipes from it.

372 765 The Fang use fire in the ceremony of *going out of mourning*. I witnessed this ceremony once at Foulabifong. The widows of an old headman had put in the regular time of mourning and were now to be released. There were seven widows in all, three of middle age, and four young girls A small fire of leaves had been lighted in the centre of the street, and on each side of the fire stood several young men armed with switches. The widows wore a very slender loin cloth. At a given signal the widows rushed toward the fire and bounded through it, the young men switching them as they passed, but the switches were not used severely. Immediately after the switching, each widow seated herself on the ground holding a bunch of burning leaves under her feet, while a young man shaved their heads with a sharp trade knife. On inquiry regarding this ceremony, I obtained the [783] following information: Passing the fire *cleans* them after mourning (evidently considered a means of purification). Switching reminds the widows of their duty to the man who inherits them as his wives. Burning has two meanings: firstly, the pain caused is endured as a last act of mourning for the departed; second, it signifies that henceforth the widows walk a new path (enter upon a new life).

372 821 Fire has a place in Fang religion or belief. The sun is considered the *tata* (father) of all heat, and the original maker of all fire, whether by friction, matches, powder, or lightning. When a severe thunderstorm is at its height, the natives say of the lightning, "that the sun has hid his face and is shooting fire, because he is angry." The native word for sun is *jo*. Although the palaver house fire is kept burning, still, no special effort is made to keep it alight; should it go out, any person present is at liberty to rekindle it from newly produced fire.

VII.—*Customs.*

671 The Fang have no system of law, no judge or tribunal for punishment of crime. Theft, murder, offences against the person are all settled according to native custom.

628 621 Example: A Fang of the Esisis clan steals goods or a woman from a Fang of the Nge clan. The Nge who has been wronged does not go to the offender for settlement, he goes to another near town and shoots the first goat he sees in the street or if very angry, he may shoot a woman. The owner of the goat or woman demands of the Nge his reason for doing so. The Nge replies, "An Esisis" (giving the man's name) "has wronged me; I put the palaver (his offence) on you." The third party then goes to the Esisis and says, "An Nge" (giving the man's name) "has shot my goat (or woman) because you have made trouble with him; he has put your palaver (trouble) on me. You must pay me!" The original offender is

A few words should be said about lighting. In the houses, which, as we have seen, are windowless and hence quite dark, the hearth fire /Fig. 43 appears here in the original text/ is at the same time a much needed source of light. As the Pangwe relate in their legends, it was Mode-Sama, one of the first human beings, who fetched fire (ndŭăn) from God (Sama); according to other versions, the fire was given to him by God, and since Mode's time the fire has not been extinguished. This useful element is carried from one house to another and, when worst comes to worst, from one village to another. The Pangwe does not need to rekindle his fire, since it burns all day in the meeting house where it serves as a protection against cold, moisture, and sand flies, while in the dwellings it is kept going day and night for cooking and heating purposes. When the women go to the plantations, the logs are so carefully arranged (for this action alone, there are four different expressions!) that they continue to glow; or the youngest daughter may be given the task of guarding the vestal altar. In case the fire should actually go out in one house, fire is obtained from a neighboring house, and it is only in exceptional cases that a smaller village has no fire. In such an emergency fire is sent for from the nearest settlement.

Better lighting than the hearth fire is provided by the torch light with which /80/ /Fig. 44 appears here in the original text/ the village square is illuminated at night when, for instance, dances are held. The flickering of the torches causes the strange and wild movements of the dancers to appear even more fantastic than they really are. The torches are composed of dried stalks of the cardamom *Afromomum silvestrianum* K. Sch. (ŭăgŭn; stalk, kŏ'mō IV Fang, kŭ'me IV Ntum), Plate 21 in Section 11 /Vol. 2/, or finely spliced raffia stalk strips (ekă'ba), which — when they are well dried — burn very brightly but, on the other hand, are rather rapidly consumed.

The finest but an infrequently used source of light at festivities or other events in the village square is the resin lamp (otu = resin), Figure 43, a little tub of bark containing the fragrant resin of the Anacardiacea Canarium schweinfurthii Engl. (1) (abĕ Ntum, obĕ Fang; resin = otŭ).

1. According to the communication of Doctor Mildbraed who has likewise collected this tree.

362

Fig. 44. Olanga Village (Essángbuak Family), South Cameroons. In the village square there is a "memorial," a peculiarly shaped tree root in which the natives see the figure of a horse.

373 obê Fang; resin = otu).

On longer trips, for instance, if an acquaintance is to be visited or medicinal plants are sought in the forest at night in case of sudden sickness, a piece of wood, waved to and fro, is used instead of the torch which would burn down too quickly. When a strong light is not necessary, the people content themselves with little branches that have been covered with the gleaming white mycelium of a mushroom, thereby providing a bright glow in the dark. /81/ /Fig. 45 appears here in the original text/

For more extensive hunting or rubber expeditions in a larger forest area, occasions when nights are spent in wild country, a burning log is taken along. In former times "kindling wood" was also taken along in case the log should go out. Nowadays 372 the Pangwe are no longer able to produce fire in the old manner 804 by twirling. To be sure, an older chief once showed me how fire was formerly "made"; but although he took endless trouble and two men twirled their arms lame, they were unable to produce a single spark. "Theoretically," however, my good chief

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

the palaver house, where he loves to sit and gossip around the log fire, or lounge 517
on the *Enong* (a native bed of poles).

Dancing is a favourite pastime, especially at the time of new moon, when the 535
dance seems to have some religious significance. A Fang dance is a sight worth seeing; arrayed in long streaming armlets of dried grass, and large bunches of forest beans and mollusca shells tied around the ankles for castanets, they go through a series of rapid and graceful movements, some of which are not entirely free from obscenity. Flaming torches made of resin wrapped in plantain leaves are stuck in the ground and the drums keep up a perfect fusillade; [373] the whole making a weird and extremely interesting spectacle. With short intervals of rest the dance usually continues throughout the night until daybreak (photo of dance shown on screen).

III.—*Clothing, Ornaments, Painting and Tattooing.*

Fang men and women usually go about bareheaded; some obtain imported 291
straw and felt hats from the traders and are very proud of them. A red worsted night-cap sold at the factories is very popular and much worn. These head coverings are chiefly worn for ornament and not to afford protection from the sun or weather. Until the opening up of trade among the Fang people their clothing amounted to almost nothing. The men wore a waist cloth made of bark from certain trees, a strong, tough, fibrous material, and the women wore a girdle stripped from the plantain stem, with some leaves from the bush or a piece of the plantain leaf tucked through the girdle in front and passed downward, backward and upward between the limbs and fastened to the girdle behind. Very often the women wore a kind of bustle made of dried grass dyed black, or red. In sitting [516] down the women are very careful to first arrange the bustle. The native bark cloth, the girdle and bustle, are still worn in the bush towns; the women often [369] make the girdle of imported glass beads strung on string made from pineapple fibre, but people living in towns along the river banks wear imported cloths obtained in trade. As a general rule boys and girls run about without clothing until five or six years of age. Imported cloth is worn by both sexes and is often sewn together very skilfully and decorated with pieces of different colours. There are no recognised peculiarities of dress restricted to the subdivision of tribes. The cloth is cut out and sewed by each individual owner unless it is a trade cloth previously sewn. Cloth is usually hemmed and worn as a simple wrapper around the waist, and held in place by rolling in and tucking the upper border on itself. The upper portion of the body is not much covered by the cloth although some men and women wear it tied high up around the neck. There is no difference between the indoor and outdoor clothing. When imported needles and thread can be obtained they are used, but I have seen very skilful sewing done with a sharp piece of bamboo for a needle and thread made of pineapple fibre. Upon the [428] death of parents, clothes descend to the children. In saluting a visitor it is not [576] customary to remove a hat or cap, if one is being worn, or any other article of clothing.

244 there is the striped mouse, Mus pulchellus Gray (zǒfǒ III), which gnaws the nuts. A kind of black rot affects the nuts here and there during certain years. A number of caterpillar species which consume the leaves can scarcely be designated as actual pests. It
244 is probable that the black rot has led the women to the belief that
789 other women are capable of making their groundnuts sick and of ruining them by means of "medicine." They try to counter this trick with a medicine consisting of the bones of the turtle, the elephant, the pig, and the guib, which are burned to ashes and then crushed; it is scattered on the seeds before planting. Of the remaining medicines that are supposed to influence favorably the growth of groundnuts, the most important one consists of rubbing
[386 the groundnuts with a specially prepared coloring made from red
824] wood, ba-ayǎ'; accordingly, this medicine is called ba-ayǎ'. This red coloring (see Section 18, "Sexual Life") produces the
[822] desired results and fends off hostile intentions. Red is everywhere the color of joy, growth, and reproduction. On the day the woman plants the groundnuts, she paints a line between her index finger and thumb with the "medicinal red" which will give her a lucky hand; or she draws a similar line on the upper surface of a tree stump and covers the stump with leaves, like a cap. This is to say: "May you groundnuts blossom, grow, and thrive (the red color is for this) under such a protection (referring to the leaves); nobody will be able to do you any harm (referring to the
[833] medicine)." Furthermore, on the eve of sowing, the man usually sets a good example for the groundnuts "assembled" in the basket /91/ by performing coitus for their benefit. With this example he sends them on their way: "Multiply! (1)" Another

[844
834]

1. This is done even when the woman is menstruating, whereas sexual intercourse is otherwise avoided during this period. In this case, as a medicinal act, sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman is supposed to be particularly good for the groundnuts, on condition that the woman "brings good luck (ayǔe)" (see Section 18, "Sexual Life").

000 Ornamental scars. -- Painting. -- Tattooing /Ed., in the German, Tätowierung/ (1): origin; purpose;

1. The Lübeck Museum for Anthropology writes Tatanierung.

parts of the body tattooed; execution; varieties; payment of the tattoo artist. -- Mutilation of the teeth: reason; execution.

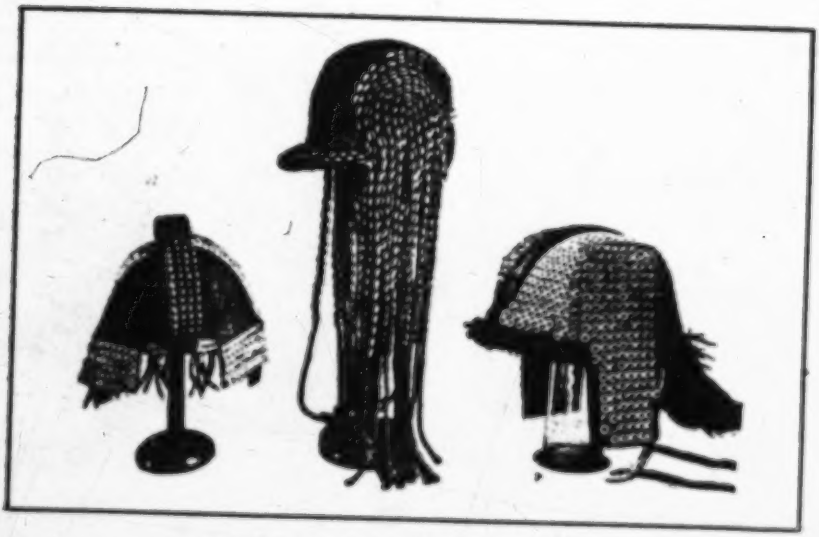
1. Dress.

291 The native dress of the men is a strip of material drawn between the legs and folded in the back and the front over a belt. The strip is about 90 centimeters long, 70 centimeters wide, and made of the bark of various fig /173/ trees (Fig. 111). The bark cloth is left either in its natural color and in that case shows all gradations from almost pure white to a dark reddish brown, or it [386] is dyed a resplendent red by means of red wood and is often so magnificently prepared that one can distinguish it from European cloth only by looking at it closely.

291 177 Nowadays European cloth is to be found everywhere as a result of trade, and it is supplanting the original dress which is so becoming. European cloth is sometimes worn just like the bark cloth, but usually it is wrapped smoothly around the loins with or without a belt (see Fig. 111).

291 281 Only once did I see in place of the bark cloth a narrow loin apron made of monkey skin, which at the upper end was drawn over the hip string and the rest fell down in long strips (etõ'bmabǎ).

291 The belt (kǎ'na IV) consists of fiber strings with or without beads, a braided palm band (Fig. 112), or hide. The simple strings are to be seen only on boys or people who pay little attention to their appearance; the beaded belts, in contrast to those of the /Figs. 112 and 113 appear here in the original text/ women,



292

Fig. 119. Helmet Caps.

Of 25 different forms, which are given individual names, about half are worn by both sexes indiscriminately; the rest are worn only by men or only by women. Among the Fang the men's ornaments are more frequently the same as those of the women than is the case among the Ntum, and for this reason they are more frequently the butt of ridicule. 302 301

Helmet crests and ornamental caps are worn constantly; only as a sign of *mourning are both taken off* -- the former is sometimes also taken off before a hunting expedition. /178/ 292 765

To make his ornamental caps (edǫ́ban, etū́e'), the Ntum takes a hide from a long-tailed monkey, dwarf antelope, young goat, or sheep. The hide is cleaned of its fat, turned inside out, and drawn over the arch of a plantain rootstock that has been cut to a semi-spherical shape. It is tied with a string at the base, and along the edge it is fastened by pegs to the ground. Stretched in this way, the hide must be dried in the sun and later over the fire. 294 281

Furthermore, blackened bast strips of the Triumfetta are needed. These are colored in the following manner: the bark of certain 294 386 124

294
286
824

plants (1) is cut up into small pieces and placed in a cooking pot

1. Combretacea Terminalia superba Engl. et Diels (akɔ̃ʼm), Euphorbiaceae Bridelia zenkeri Pax. (ewɔ̃ʼlǫʼk), Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. (abũí, Ntum), Megabarea trillesii Pierre (abũí-žǎm), Leguminosa Mucuna flagellipes Vogel (kɔ́ndɔ̃ʼɔʼ-žǎm), Borraginacea Cordia odorata Gürke (ébẽ, Fang, ebǎí, Ntum), Anacardiacea Pseudospondias tessmannii Engl. (angɔ̃kǫ́ń), Flacourtiacea Petersia minor Niedenzu (abíń).

in such a way that at the bottom there is a layer of bark, then the bast strips, and on top of these bark pieces again. The whole is boiled for an hour in order to draw certain materials out of the bark; then the pot is carried to the river, and the bast strips are kneaded alternately in the loam of the bank and in the bark extract from five to seven times, one after another. The strips now have a blackish color which during the drying in the house darkens to the deepest black.

294 Proceeding to the actual making of the cap, the dried hide is taken off the block and propped up on the inner surface by three stirrups underneath placed crosswise. The stirrups consist of eight palm strips laid lengthwise next to each other and braided together with Triumfetta fiber. To wear the sharp-edged stirrups and the heavy gear can scarcely be pleasant, but the Negro's thick woolly skull probably does not feel it.

On the outer surface, on both sides of the crest line, 14 holes are drilled into the hide in two parallel longitudinal rows for the seven pineapple strings, half a meter long, which are drawn through two holes apiece. These strings are braided with the pigtails, each of which was made from three of the black bast strips mentioned above. They start from the middle, run in the sagittal direction to the front and back edge, extend somewhat beyond them, and

302 appear in black. The natives also put lozenge-shaped /195/ spots
322 (bendō[k] be ba, "lozenges from the redwood") on the skin, or they leave lozenge-shaped areas uncolored when they paint themselves red, in both cases with the help of a stencil, that is, a /Fig. 147 appears here in the original text/ leaf from which a lozenge-shaped piece has been cut out. On occasions of mourning and cult activities dedicated to the "Evil One," on the other hand, they wear white.

386 Red dye (bā III, esī) is obtained from the heart of the redwood tree Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub. (mvō' IV Fang, mvē IV Ntum), a Leguminosa. They prefer old trees that have fallen down and are already rotten on the outside. A piece of convenient size is knocked off, and using it as a scraper (nīăk-esī IV) they rub it on the rubbing block (nīĕ-esī), which is the trunk, going back and forth and sprinkling fine sand on it from time to time. Once I saw the husk of the Leguminosa Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth. (ebā'i), Figure 147, used as a scraper. When the nearest redwood tree is at so great a distance that it is impracticable to run to it whenever dye is needed, a small log and a scraper is taken to the hut in order to be able to produce the favored red dye at all times without any trouble. Very charming little vessels in
[415] the form of pots, troughs, plates, or stools are used as containers for the dye (Fig. 148). /Fig. 148 appears here in the original text./

White dye(vūok IV) is obtained from the white clay of the same name, a kind of pottery clay which usually is darker. It is applied after being mixed with water. Black dye is prepared from crushed charcoal to which water is added (dye and charcoal, pfĭ'di III).

4. Decoration of the body.

302 We recognized the adornment of the body with different ob-
304 jects as the expression of a purely esthetic urge; we recognized the desire to express personal moods as the motive for painting the body. /196/ On the other hand, religious reasons doubtless originally played a role in the constant alterations made on the body. This seems clear, for instance, with respect to the custom of making the teeth pointed and incising the body. These very

386
412

Fig. 147. Scraper for Red Wood (Husk of the Pentaclethra).

386
415

Fig. 148. Vessels for Red Wood.

304 Nowadays only children and half-grown boys or girls make simple burned scars (ndʊ̌tʊ́lʊ̌ III) arranged in rows on their lower arm, more rarely on other parts of the body. A small, slightly charred splinter of bark from a raffia leafstalk is pressed with its tip against the skin /197/ and set on fire at the top; it then slowly burns a hole into the hand, which leaves behind it a slightly raised, roundish scar smooth at the top.

Decorative scars among the Fang, where they are found most frequently and in the most artistic forms, seem to be of great antiquity. At the same time, they do not seem to have spread [84] very far north. They are still found quite frequently among the Ntum, but only rarely among the Bulu, among the Bene only on some older people, and not at all among the Jaunde. More [77] recently, they have also begun to disappear in the southern Pangwe region since people prefer to undergo the recently introduced and far less painful tattooing process. The decorative scars are called /Fig. 149 appears here in the original text/ mvǎ̰n (plural) by the Ntum, endʊ̌́n by the Fang, and they occur on members of either sex. To make them, a small iron hook (tsǎ̰ III Ntum, endʊ̌́n Fang) is needed; with it the skin is pulled slightly upwards, and then the raised fold of skin is incised with a knife, Figure 149 (okʊ̌n e mvǎ̰n), held at right angles to the hook (Fig. 150 and 151). The wound is left to heal without anything being rubbed into it or any bandage being placed on it. These decorative scars are to be found only on the body and on the upper arm, rarely on the face and then only on the forehead.

386 382 [84] Body painting is confined to the Ntum and Fang region and is completely absent in the Jaunde region, supposedly because the tree from which the dye is obtained does not occur there. This tree is the Randia malleifera (Hook) Benth. which among the Fang is called obǎ́ndǎ́m (1) or fǎ́na IV (2), as well as mfǎ́na; among

1. Derived from abǎ, Cola acuminata P.B., and ndǎm, "long, swaying," because of the slenderness of the tree.

2. From the stem yǐn, "dark, black"; e-yǐn-di mʊ̌t, "Black (man), Negro."

386 302 the Ntum it is called abɛ́ndɛ̌m or kūdemǎ'n IV.

The names fǐna (mfǐ'na) and kūdemǎ'n also designate the painting of the body itself. /Fig. 150 appears here in the original text./

The Randia is a slender tree belonging to the Rubiaceae and grows especially in the vicinity of rivers. Its large whitish blossoms hang from the ends of the twigs or from the forks in the

[412 304]

Fig. 149. Knife for Making Decorative Scars.

branches; its fruit is a berry covered with a number of protuberances running from top to bottom. To obtain the dye a short stick of bark from a raffia leafstalk is drilled into the base of the fruit and stirred about in the contents of the fruit. When the stick is pulled out, a whitish, fairly thick juice sticks to its tip, and with the same stick this is painted directly onto the body in the desired patterns; /198/ after a brief period of time the dye

[304]

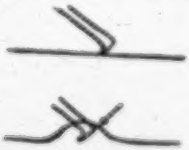


Fig. 150. Making the Incision for a Decorative Scar.

takes on a deep blue-black coloring. The paint stays on the skin from three to four days; in cases of more frequent washing, only two. Afterwards it simply disappears.

302 178 Nowadays only small or half-grown boys paint themselves for sport. In former times, however, young people of both sexes did it in order to be conspicuous and in this way to make an impression upon the opposite sex. In those days, therefore, great care was taken with the patterns. Today, only smeared patterns result from the children's lack of skill. /Fig. 151 appears here in the original text./

The stool is a valuable piece of household furniture, a luxury object, for which the natives are willing to spend some money. For this reason its manufacture is an important branch of wood carving, and the makers of well-finished, artistically decorated stools are famous persons, much in demand. If they wanted to, they could make a considerable amount of money with their art, and they also could elevate the art itself, but with their congenital laziness, a special inducement is always required before they will take the trouble to start a new project. For example, a guest in the house of such an artist sees a beautifully carved stool there and says: "Oh, what a beautiful stool; you could make me one like that." Perhaps others have uttered the same wish, and so the artist finally pulls himself together, goes into the jungle, and cuts down a trunk of the Apocynacea Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekūk), the only tree suitable for the manufacture of stools. He must choose a trunk which -- after the bark has been pulled off -- has the same diameter as the proposed stool /221/ (Fig. 172). He takes the trunk with him to the village and cuts it into about five to seven disks as thick as the stool is intended to be tall. Then with his cutlass he draws a line around approximately the middle, and this line indicates the lower edge of the seat. From there he cuts three radial grooves downward, deepens them with an adz (ngbwák IV), Figure 173, and in this way forms three legs. Then the seat is made smooth and held over the fire until it becomes nice and brown. The edge is rubbed clean with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata Vahl (ekūkū' Fang, akū Ntum) (1). The edge and the

1. Root kū, "to rub"; compare a-kū-k, "grindstone."

legs are colored with redwood and dried for an hour in the sun; finally they are decorated with carved patterns, an artistic addition which is not everywhere uniformly successful. /Fig. 172 appears here in the original text./

Ordinarily a stool maker finishes from two to three pieces in one day. The price is so low (two spears, the equivalent of 14 pfennigs, apiece) that it is difficult to conceive how the man can work for it.

531

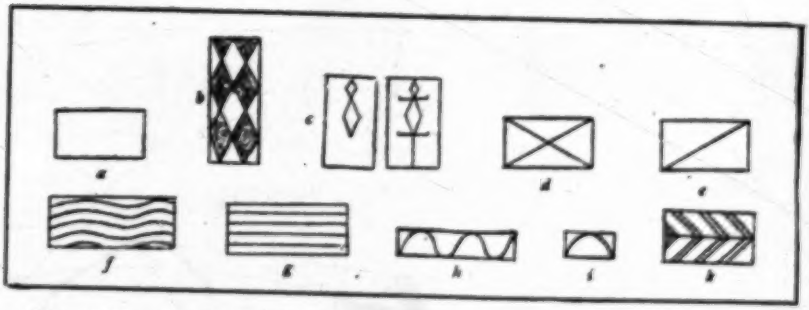


Fig. 196. Basic Patterns of the Art of Decorating Bark.

The type and development of the patterns vary with the material, which may be bark, wood, raffia stalk, clay, metal, and human skin. At the same time there seems to be a certain connection between bark and wood on the one hand and between metal and human skin (decorative scars) on the other -- a connection which finds expression in similar patterns. The detailed description of the patterns will, therefore, proceed from the point of view of the material.

1. Bark patterns.

In the Pangwe region there are peculiar bark plates with painted areas framed by raffia leafstalk strips or palm bands. The plates are attached to the outer or inner walls of meeting houses and more rarely to the outer wall of dwellings. These decorative bark pieces are widespread, but they do not occur frequently and by no means in every village for even the artistic sense for bark ornamentation is a specialty, and the artists concerned are thinly distributed over the land. Concerning the manufacture of these plates, I have already said everything necessary on page 215, and I shall only reiterate here that everywhere among the Pangwe the colors used (see pages 198-199) are red, white, and black. Only in one single case did I [386] observe a bright blue-gray, which was derived from an argillaceous earth of that color. /245/

The division into areas /Ed., in German, Felderung/ displays a series of patterns that correspond to the material used in house construction. They are:

764 in neighboring villages were informed. The dead man's fellow initiates came to lift the corpse onto a stretcher-coffin of bark (1)

[177]

1. The fig-bark coffin recalls the custom, borrowed from the Pygmies, of putting the body of a chief in a hollow tree or between the buttresses of certain large trees.

[824]

The fig has an important magic role. A fig tree was planted at the founding of a new village, and slips were carried away upon migration. (J. B.)

and danced around him the funeral dance proper to their association, at which women were not allowed to be present but were shut into their huts, where they wailed in a shrill key. The grave was narrow and quite deep, with a plank or "bamboo" bed at the bottom on which the dead man was placed on his back, feet toward the west (near a river, the grave was dug parallel to the course and the feet were placed downstream, nké = downstream or west). Above was built a platform of round logs on which were piled — after having been "killed" by breaking — all the personal possessions of the dead man that did not belong to the family patrimony, his weapons, tools, and jewelry. Now and then, only rarely, one of his wives would be sacrificed to keep him company (it is possible that the execution of wives convicted of having killed their husbands has been confused with a sacrifice of this kind). The grave was filled in and covered with a mound, which was sometimes provided with a flue at the head end by which "to feed" the dead man. The graves of prominent men were dug in, or in front of, their huts, those of ordinary people outside the village on the edge of the forest. Graves of family heads were guarded so as to prevent outsiders from carrying off the skull; [778] this was cut off by the privileged heir, njian, the replacement, who placed it with the other ancestral skulls in the biéti shrine, after dyeing it with baa. [386] A statuette in umbrella-tree wood was carved and painted white, and inside it were enclosed some of the hair and a phalanx of the dead man; this was placed upon the biéti altar. The tibia of the dead man had previously been removed for the ngil rite.

Matrons, benya binga, were buried by mevungu initiates in a ceremony which men did not attend. Ordinary women /femmes du

779 that would be against totemic law and would mean sacrilege.
721 In order to avoid this ritual offense, which would necessitate ex-
782 piation and would necessitate expiation and would furthermore wipe out all the efficacy of the sacrifice, the chief first of all approaches [551] the victim, and asks his name, race, and tribe. Is there no obstacle to the sacrifice? "A ne mvè," he cries, "a ne nwuba (he is good, he is 'dedicated')!" The man is then tied to the foot of the altar and very rarely does he re-
[76] sist. All Africans resign themselves to death with almost unconscious ease, when they see that it is inevitable. (1)

1. In certain villages I have sometimes met such men destined for sacrifice, because they are often kept for many weeks. They walked around in the villages, apparently free, well fed, and well treated; the only sign of their captivity was a rather light block of wood well fastened to one of their feet, which they dragged along. Within the village this shackle was not much of an encumbrance, but in the forest it would have been an almost insurmountable obstacle to flight. Countless times, I have offered either to help them escape or to have the colonial authority free them. "What for?" they used to reply: "I'm well fed and treated; death is going to come anyway. Awu nzu mbembe! (What's the use!)"

So as to prevent any possible struggle, the evening before,
[276] the victim is given an intoxicating beverage, containing mostly the juice of ebè and of yam (hemp). As soon as he has been
779 tied to the altar, and the chief has pronounced the ritual words,
721 the warriors start putting on their war dress. First they paint
782 their bodies red with baza (1) dye, and upon this first layer they
362
386

1. Pterocarpus angolensis: the wood is

779
721
782
302
386

mashed and mixed with oil and produces a splendid, very lasting red dye.

draw white horizontal lines with white clay (mfem). A wide black circle is traced around the eyes; on the forehead each one draws the likeness or symbol of his tribal or clan totem, or instead, they sometimes draw it on their temples or cheeks. Thus the "axe" of the Amvom, actually the likeness of a boa, their totem serpent, winds over their cheeks and temples and ends near the eyes. To enliven this image, the juice of a grassy lily, the chlorophyton (ayân é si), is used, which gives a long-lasting, bluish color. On the chest each one then draws his individual totem in black with gardenia juice.

721
779
782

Once they have finished these preparations, the warriors pick up their weapons and fetishes and begin the war dance, which consists of two parts: a totemic dance and then the real war dance, [552] which has a stronger beat and is more lively. I have already described this before in connection with the war song, which here accompanies the dance.

After the war dance the chief approaches the victim. He is forced to his knees; the practitioner draws a white line on his neck, then violently pulls his head forward, while an assistant twists his arms behind his back. The practitioner cuts off his head at one quick blow with the sacrificial knife, and tosses it onto the altar. The chief collects the spouting blood in a pot kept for the purpose, a new pot which will afterwards be broken. As soon as the blood stops, the corpse is laid on fresh banana leaves and the practitioner, helped by the chief, opens his chest, taking care to use only two knife strokes: one across and one up and down. The heart is taken out and placed beside the skulls; then the lungs and liver are removed. According to the body's
[787] last twitching and the position of the organs, the practitioner predicts the outcome of the war. It will either be fortunate or cause the death of many warriors. "The funeral songs will last a long time," he may say, and the crowd will raise a cry of distress! If on the contrary the auguries are favorable, there will be shouts of joy, a song of triumph and gladness.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

in mourning, a necklace is made from bleached grass plaited; it is worn by both sexes. A very favourite fetish charm to suspend from a necklace is a leopard tooth. I have frequently seen the two tusks of a wild boar or "Wart hog" worn around the neck as an ornament and have succeeded in bringing specimens worn mostly by the women. Imported thick brass wire wound around the forearm from wrist to elbow is a very favourite armlet; it is kept highly polished. Brass wire is often wound so tightly around the biceps as to seriously interfere with circulation. Broad pieces of beaten brass are worn on the arms, and ivory bracelets are much valued. Sometimes six or more rings of ivory are cut from a tusk, and all worn on one arm. Finger and thumb rings are mostly worn by the women; they are made of brass, copper, or iron, and are usually very thick and heavy.

Rings are no indication of rank or marriage. It is not uncommon to see a woman with three heavy brass rings on one thumb, and eight or ten similar rings on the fingers. Narrow girdles of leopard, goat or deer skins are worn across the chest to support the native fighting knife and bunch of fetish charms. I have been visited by a bushman wearing no less than twenty-three charms.

Legs and feet.—Leglets and anklets of brass are much worn and sought after by women. Brass leg rings imported by traders are in great demand. There does not appear to be any special time set for commencing to wear anklets; mere infants are frequently decorated with them. Some of the leglets are very heavy, and many women wear ten or more on one leg. These rings often fit very tightly and impede circulation, or chafe and cause nasty indolent ulcers. The ankles and feet often swell and become very painful as a result of insufficient blood supply. Toe-rings are of iron and brass largely worn, and fit so tightly that the ring is often deeply imbedded in the flesh. Usually only one ring is worn on a single toe.

Painting and Tattooing.

Painting.—The method of painting the body by smearing on redwood powder mixed with palm oil, so largely practised by the Bulu, is followed in the same manner but to a much less extent by the Fang. Soft portions of the redwood tree are pulverised and mixed with oil into a thick paste, and the preparation smeared over the entire body. Occasionally a red band is painted across the forehead. When in mourning, dust, mud, or white clay is frequently rubbed over the entire body. Much more frequent is the practice of painting arrow heads, bands, or dots. The pigment used is a dark blue colour, obtained I am told from a tree fungus. The *Ngi* or witch doctor, when at work, in addition to his other paraphernalia smears his body with white chalk. Except in the case of the *Ngi*, the only object in decorating the body by painting is to appear *ebung* (beautiful), and with the Bulu when asked the reason for smearing the body with red paint, they usually reply it is *ebung* (handsome). Imported pigments are not used for body decoration.

Tattooing.—The custom of tattooing is much in vogue. I have not been able

3. Care of the body.

515 539 By and large, the Pangwe may be called a very clean people, cleaner than many European peoples. The majority wash and bathe very frequently, and the following proverb shows how a person who does not wash is judged:

otɨ̃ k] -mfõõ	a	dʒõnã:	kã		mvõ̃ñ
Old pocket (1)	she	said thus:	if now there is		rain

[195] 1. A common term of abuse for men, similar to our "old hag" for women.

a	bṍde	ma,	ngbõ̃na	a	wṍban	e	madɨ̃m	a
it	wets	me,	time	to	wash	in the	water,	it

kõ	ma	anã
was	for me	just!

That is: "The rain came just in time, it was high time for a bath."

164 555 The many skin diseases, from which younger people suffer with special frequency, seem to have causes other than uncleanliness, /187/ although it must be admitted that among many Negroes there is an incredible indifference with respect to the care of the body, treatment of wounds, and parasites. In general, however, one can only praise the Pangwe for their cleanliness.

515 319 324 Formerly, even soap, made from a Rubiacea (ogbwɨ́m Fang, ogbwɨ̃́mɛ̃ Ntum), was customarily used for washing bark cloth.

515 278 324 There are no fleas, but on the other hand there are vast numbers of lice which are picked off and killed by biting them -- the women swallow them at the same time. They are also killed by special medicines. These medicines are made with raffia palm oil which is rubbed on the skin and which the lice do not like to begin with. To the oil is added charred and ground plantain skins or the ground and subsequently dried roots of the Apocynacea Doacanga diplochlamys K. Sch. (oɡ̃ metɨ̃ɡ Ntum), ground leaves and blossoms of the Simarubacea Quassia africana Baill. (ɨ̃ɡ̃-efi'), and ground leaves of the Malpigiacea Heteropteris africana A. Juss.

832 fumigated (Fig. 58), while the skulls with cold severity surveyed the situation, until they themselves had justice done to them, for they were carried in a dance around the love tree. Meanwhile, a number of the participants took red dye and with it drew a line on the bark of the love tree, observing that they themselves would like to look like this in the eyes of their beloved. Another one took black dye in addition to the red and first made a red line, saying, "In the eyes of the girl to which I shall go (he probably was not allowed to pronounce her name) I want to appear like this (red)"; then he drew a black line and added, "On the other hand, the girl shall see all others like this (black line)." We already know that red is the color of life,
[822] of joy, and of light. Black here signifies its opposite, the unpleasant and ugly.

832 Finally, a small punishment was meted out to the ancestral
769 skulls by sticking them in the above-mentioned draw traps set up around the tree and leaving them there until the next day. Such a punishment of the ancestors is very rare, and it is significant that it does not occur at the Malan but in connection with the love medicine, which is to be regarded as a degenerate form of the Malan. Then around the tree a great variety of other medicines were distributed, such as red dye and a piece from the loincloth of a mother-in-law. Among the Fang the genitals
[826] themselves are supposed to be taken, these having been cut from the deceased mother-in-law. /162/ /Fig. 58 appears here in the original text/

832 On the forenoon of the second day of the festival about 25
783 banana leaf vessels were set up in a row in the festive area and
[845] filled with freshly fetched water. Into the first vessel the medicine man put a whole pile of bark pieces and leaves, all of them love medicines. The other vessels were treated in a more perfunctory fashion: only a few pieces of bark were placed in the second vessel, and in each of the following, only one; the last vessels did not get anything. The medicine man then sat down at the first vessel, blew into it with a pipe, whereupon a thick,
[828] soap-like foam arose, which supposedly comes from the bark of
[829] the Cylicodiscus gabunensis (Taub) Harms (edîm), and then washed his face, first in this vessel and then in all the following

224 Only where there is great profit to be had, namely, in the hunting of elephants, do they take more trouble and hence achieve results that are notable in view of the simplicity of their hunting weapons (flintlock with pieces of iron or a spear, Figure 85, as ammunition). For the rest, the Pangwe do not accomplish much even with better hunting rifles. For example, of the many Fang hunters equipped with modern rifles whom I had in my service in the course of three years, only one ever shot an antelope. Later, on the other hand, a Pygmy shot five antelopes in one week, and on one occasion two were shot in one day. The beautiful crown eagle, Lophoaetus occipitalis Daud. (abâ'ŋk), and many other animals which because of their shy nature require a real huntsman were never laid low by my gentlemen hunters. Usually too easygoing to go into the forest alone, they love to carry on a loud, uninhibited conversation and laugh gaily on a hunting expedition, which of course soon gives them away to the game. Not just once, but many times it happened that my hunting companions, at the sight of the game that I was plainly observing, shouted with a voice that could be heard far and wide: "e ne nie!" = "he be him!" there he is!). Even today I still recall with amusement how my faithful Ajong Boka roused an unsuspecting long-tailed monkey -- I was just waiting for it to move into a position where I could get a better shot at it -- with a shout: "Mama, onok, onok!" (onok = red-tailed monkey), and how the frightened animal raced off in mad leaps.

Completely unaffected as the Pangwe are by principles of sportsmanship, their lack of success in hunting is of course the fault of the rifle or -- the woman (see Section 18, "Sexual Life"). Innumerable hunting and rifle medicines, to which I shall return in Section 13, force themselves upon us in confusing abundance. In addition to the major medicines (malâŋ, alguŋgu) /Fig. 85 appears here in the original text/ associated with cult activities and carried out by the entire village, /137/ I have recorded about 100 minor medicines intended to put the individual man back on his "hunter's feet."

Among the various forms of the hunt to be discussed here, the lowest, the hunting drive, which after all entails nothing more than chasing the prey into traps, is the most highly developed. We must distinguish:

224 1. Drive of lower animals into baskets;

2. Drive of big game into nets.

In the drive for lower game living in caves, especially porcu-
285 pines (ngŭm), elongated baskets (nkŏ,e'-ngŭm) made of the stalks
124] of the Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch. (okiaikui) are used (Fig. 86, Drawing 1). The baskets are placed at the various exits of the cave; at one of them the hunter stations himself and either sends a dog into the passage or beats the ground with a stick. The frightened animal flees to one of the remaining exits and lands in the basket where it gets stuck and, because of its quills, is unable to retreat rapidly. A man then rushes to the spot and kills the animal with his spear.

A second kind of basket, but correspondingly narrower (Fig. 86, Drawing 2), is placed outside ratholes. The animals are chased into the basket in a regular drive in which the entire youth of the village takes part, and there they are killed. These baskets are called nsĕn.

These rat drives, carried out with a great hullabaloo, are for the young what the drive of wild animals (nŭm I, abim) is for the adults. Game nets, frequently 16 meters long, are attached to one another and set up at suitable places in the bush to form what are often very extensive snares. The beaters chase the animals into these nets with the help of dogs that
[34] carry wooden bells (nkŏle-myŭ I, myŭ,ho IV, angŭ,n e myŭ, edŭ,h e myŭ, ongŏ,lĕ'-myŭ, ekbwĕle), Figure 87, around their necks. The animals get tangled up in the meshes and are shot by the hunters stationed
[41] there. It should be added that this drive is a great undertaking and a general popular festivity, the details of which, however, I must forbear to describe. I shall only observe that in this manner a considerable number of antelopes and other game are caught, and the Pangwe deserve commendation for carrying out this undertaking with splendid success, since it is indeed not an easy job in the rough and impassable forest region. Even the driving of elephants into large

Fig. 85. Elephant Spear (fired from a rifle).

224

flintlock, this motive for hunting buffaloes has disappeared, and the chase is too dangerous to hunt them only for the meat. The hunting of gorillas and chimpanzees is just as unprofitable, and with very few exceptions the people are unacquainted with hunting as pure sport. The Pangwe find it too difficult and onerous to stalk antelopes without fixed nets. Long-tailed monkeys, squirrels, and smaller birds are shot with the crossbow. Hunting long-tailed monkeys is an undertaking filled with variety, not too difficult -- even though many of the monkeys have very sharp eyes and ears -- and profitable (2).

Fig. 87. Dog Bell.

[09]

2. The monkeys are lured by blowing on a perforated fruit, the monkey lure (elǒ́ń, elǒ́ń). Figure 88, b; birds are lured with an instrument like a reed pipe, Figure 88, a, called zǒle IV, zǒ.

I consider it a mistake to assume that the crossbow is an imitation of European models. How would a Negro hit upon the idea of transforming the model to such an extent and furthermore, as is done by the Basaf along the Sanaga, of continuing the front end into a shaft-like extension and at times putting on it a genuine spear head with a socket? I incline to the notion that the natives combined spear and bow and in this way independently created a new weapon. Finally, it is impossible to prove, except for the last decades of the nineteenth century, that any European influence

411 177

411
177 at all penetrated as far as the Pangwe from the west coast of Africa. /140/

411
824

Fig. 88. Lure Pipes: (a) for monkeys (instrument like a reed pipe): (b) for birds (drilled seed)

The crossbow (mbǎn I), Figure 89, consists of two parts, the shaft (ngpwǐ(s)-mbǎn) (1) and the bow (endzi ǎ-mbǎn) (2)

1. For the shaft the wood of the following three Anonaceae are preferred: Mesocarpidium lepidotum Engl. and Diels (amyim); Xylopia striata Engl. (myǔma IV); and Hexalobus salicifolius Engl. (mepfǎne III).

2. For the bow, because of their strong wood, the following are used: (1) Olax tessmannii Engl., Icacinaceae (elǒm); (2) Sapindaceae, Paranephelia pedicellaris Radlk. and Gilg and Placodiscus opacus Radlk. (zǔk); (3) Violaceae Rinorea longisepala Engl. (zǔk-o-si) and R. welwitschii (Oliv.) O. Kze. (endǔkǔk); (4) Rubiaceae Randia acuminata Bth. and micrantha K. Sch. (ajǔ); (5) Anacardiacea Trichoscypha spec. (ǔk e mekum); (6) Rubiacea Gardenia lateriflora K. Sch. (ebǎm) does not seem to be as suitable; (7) Polygalacea Carpolobia alba Don. (onǒn); (9) a Rubiacea (oyǒ). /(8) is omitted by the author. /

[224
534]

411 with the bowstring. The shaft is a piece of wood between one and one and a half meters long, ovoid in cross-section. At the

411 upper end it thickens out into the shape of a duck's head and is provided with a square hole all the way through the wood for the bow. The remaining part of the shaft is divided into two leaves by a longitudinal cut down the side; of these leaves, the upper one, about a hand's breadth below the thicker end of the shaft, has a cruciform incision such that the transverse arm of the cross goes through only half the thickness of the wood and thus forms a notch, while the vertical arm of the cross goes through the entire thickness of the wood and thus forms a hole. A peg of the lower leaf, shaped to match, is fitted into this hole. The notch is designed for the bowstring. In front of it, a longitudinal groove from six to eight centimeters long is cut into the shaft; this is filled with beeswax and is where the arrow rests.

In order to draw the crossbow, one takes the shaft under his right arm, plants the knee firmly against the bow, grasps the bowstring with his hand, and draws it into the notch. In so doing, the peg, and with it the entire lower leaf, is pressed slightly downwards.

In the shooting position (Fig. 90) one raises the crossbow to shoulder level, supports it approximately in the middle with the left hand, and with the right hand presses the two shaft leaves together in the back. In this way, the peg moves into the hole and forces the bowstring out, propelling the missile with great force. /141/

/Fig. 89 appears here in the original text./

411 The short arrows (ebɛ̄). Figure 89 g, which are carried in at-
824 tractive quivers (kū̄ IV) made of animal hide (Figure 89 f) or in little bark boxes, are made of the bark of raffia leafstalks and split just before the lower end, so that /142/ /Fig. 90 appears here in the original text/ a triangular piece of leaf (ndō-mbɛ̄n IV) from the Menispermaceae Penianthus longifolius Miers. (ndō-mbɛ̄n), more rarely from the Flacourtiaceae Lindackeria dentata (Oliv.) Gilg (nʊ̄m e ndō) (1) and, in case of extreme need, from the Sarcophrynium,

1. nʊ̄m = man, that is, male ndō (mbaa).

[278] can be pushed into it to give it balance in flight. The tip is poisoned with a salve made of pulverized Strophanthus seeds (2).

2. Probably Strophanthus kombe Oliv. (ewɔ).

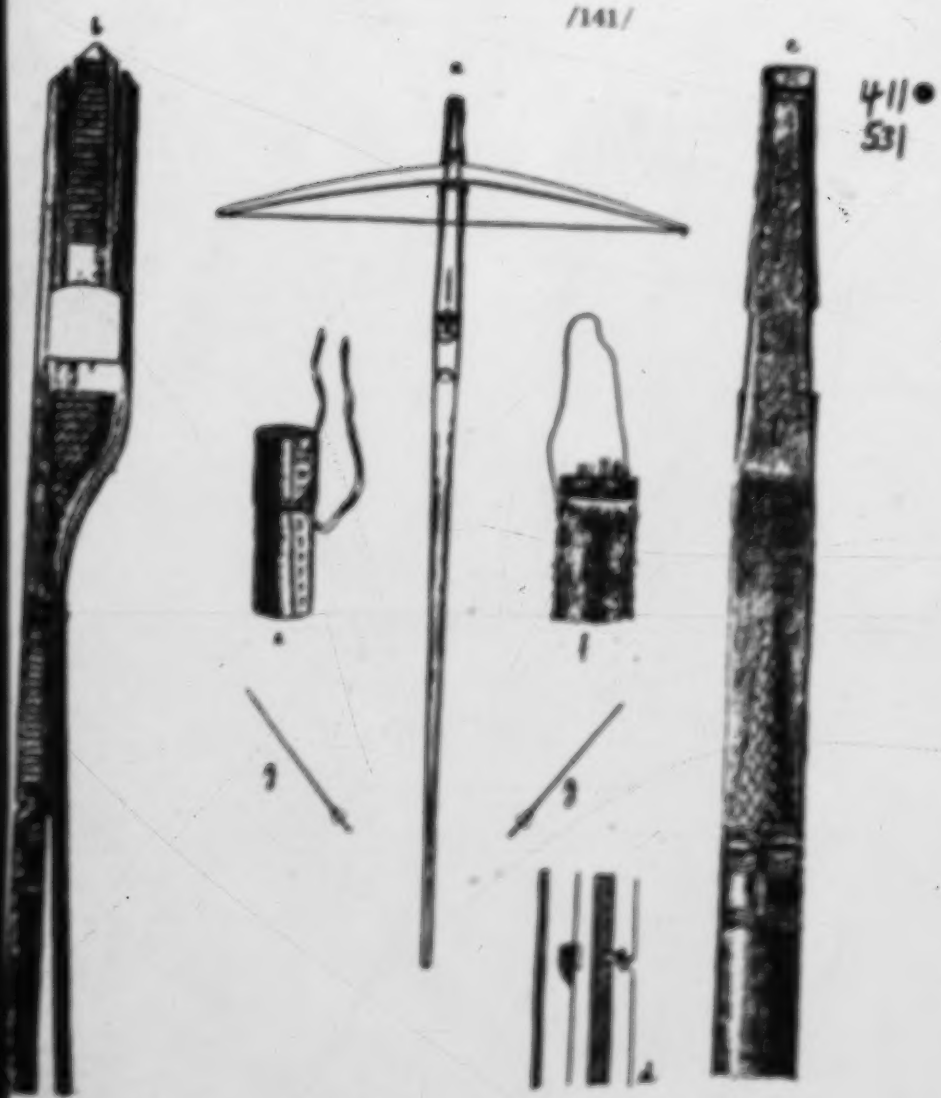


Fig. 89. Crossbow

a, seen from the top; b, upper part of the shaft, side view; c, the same from below; d, releasing device; e, bark box for arrows; f, quiver; g, arrows.

1: Tessmann--126 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

411
291

Fig. 90. Hunter with a Crossbow.

411 Although this weapon is much more dangerous in the hands of the natives than a muzzle loader, it is nonetheless never used in war, and even before the introduction of the rifle is not supposed to have been a military weapon. /143/

Section 6

068 Staple Foods and Indulgents

1. Staple foods. Raw materials: meat diet (human flesh, edible higher and lower animals); plant diet (wild plants with edible leaves, fruit); spices (pepper, salt and methods of obtaining it); oil;

322 415 Figure 177. Finally, the bowl and the handle are rubbed smooth with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata.

The powder flasks (ndǒk e pfidi) are very laboriously manufactured from the wood of the Alstonia congensis (ekǔk) and the [834] Kickxia elastica, Figure 178. First a massive flask is shaped and nicely smoothed on the outside; this shape is then split into two halves by a longitudinal cut. Each half is hollowed out on the inside with the adz, and the neck is cut off at the desired length. Finally, both halves are fitted together again and are held together by means of an animal's skin, usually of the monitor lizard, sewn over it.

Plates from the wood of the Alstonia congensis or Ceiba pentandra are also very difficult to make because even during the work the edges tend to split rather easily. When they do, the plates are nevertheless finished and repaired afterwards with bush rope.

322 534 824 Dog bells are made from Alstonia congensis, Alchornea caloneura, and Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub (myɛ' IV Ntum); bellows are manufactured from the Alstonia congensis and Musanga smithii R. Br. (asǒ'n); dugouts from Musanga, Ceiba pentandra (dum), and the Combretacea /223/ /Fig. 174 appears here in the original text/ Terminalia superba Engl. et Diels (akǒ'm); talking drums from Cordia odorata Gürke (ebǎl) and Rinorea dentata; hide drums from Alstonia, Cordia, Rinorea, and Musanga.

322 411 [824] Spear handles are made from the easily split stems of an Anonacea (?), otunga, and of a Flacourtiacea, onǎ'bǎ'j' (1). The

1: ǒǎ = to split, bǎ'j' = fingernails; tree which can be split with the fingernails.

wood is split /Fig. 175 appears here in the original text/ into as many parts as one wants to make spear handles. First the edges created by the splitting are roughly taken off with the cutlass, and then each individual part is worked with the drawknife until a round stick the thickness of the spear handle remains. The drawknife (awǒn), Figures 179 and 180, consists of a piece of wood (branch fork) bent in the form of a hook, whose sides have a short slit cut

322
412
531

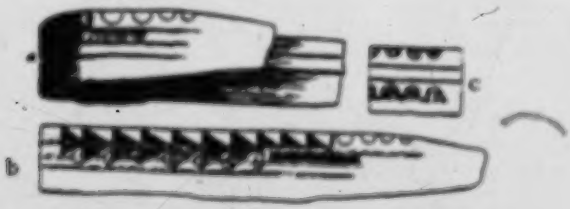


Fig. 177. Spoon Scrapers.
(a) Complete; (b) pattern of the outer side unrolled; (c) part of the pattern of the inner side.

322
415

Fig. 178. Making a Powder Flask from Wood.

322
411

out of them in the middle. Into these slits is stuck either an ordinary knife (see Fig. 179) or -- and this is most frequently the case -- a special blade /Fig. 176 appears here in the original text/ with two cutting edges of which one is like that of a knife and the other like that of a saw (Fig. 180). This very practical combination permits /224/ the craftsman to dig the longitudinal furrows in the shaft of the spear with the same tool. The blade is simply /Fig. 177 appears here in the original text/ taken out and reversed, that is, it is set in again with the toothed edge downward.

325 791 [411]

The next day the furnace, which has burned out down to the pit, is torn down, and the iron slag (efum), which lies on the top and has not burned out, is gathered together; broken into pieces, it serves as rifle ammunition (2). Then the medicine man calls

2. According to Du Bois it is "a poorly molten, porous slag with a high iron and titanium content and also includes charcoal fragments."

the bellows workers to the pit, and with his forging iron he knocks off the pieces of iron (obɛ̄'-ekiɛ̄i) (3) that are loosely attached to the

3. bɛ̄ = to divide, e-bɛ̄'-i = scale, ekiɛ̄i - iron.

ore bloom. The larger pieces he takes for himself, the smaller ones he divides among the men so that each receives a small powder keg of them, which is his reward for the work. The medicine man, on the other hand, keeps almost twice as much for himself. On the floor of the pit is the ore bloom, a large, firm, round to oblong iron lump (mpafɔn-ekiɛ̄i I) (4); it belongs to the last owner for whom

325 791 422

4. From the root pfa Ntum (fa Fang), "to narrow inward and to be narrowed in," here, "to be contracted, to be agglomerated." Compare pfa-n, "narrow strait"; a pfa-n, "to narrow"; pfa-k (active), "narrowed path or place," in particular between the house and plantains in the village; a pfa-h, "to wrap around, to put a string around." The ore bloom is, according to Du Bois, "to be regarded as a malleable wrought iron heavily mixed with charcoal fragments and with a low carbon content, which can be transformed into a usable

531 triangle (Drawing 11, 2), the arc with the fishbone (Drawing 11, 1), the arc and parallel lines (Drawing 11, 4 and 8), the fishbone and fishbone (Drawing 11, 3), spikes with parallel lines (Drawing 13, 2), and the triangle with the rectangle.

As a new pattern the male centipede (nôm e ngu'ê) appears (Drawing 13, 1), a double loop formed by parallel lines, which further develops into the patterns shown in Drawing 11, 6, and Drawing 12, b and d, but keeps the same name.

531 411 In the case of the swords (Fig. 223, Drawings 1-12), the patterns are applied only to the lower end of the blade and cover a more or less square field which directly adjoins the handle. Concerning the arrangement of patterns in this area, the Fangwe distinguish two kinds. In one, the area is patterned regularly over the

531

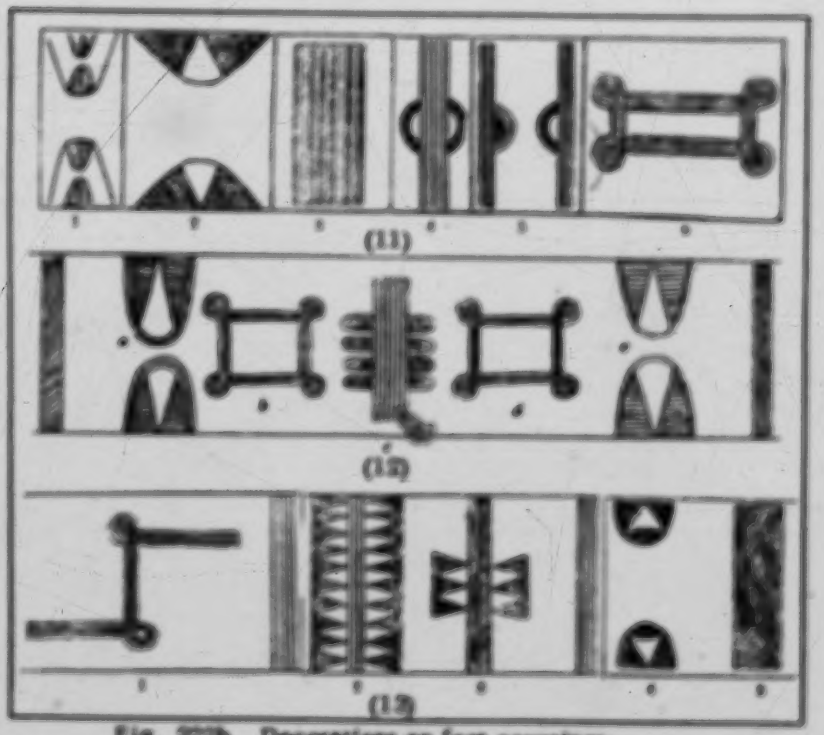


Fig. 222b. Decorations on foot coverings.

531
411

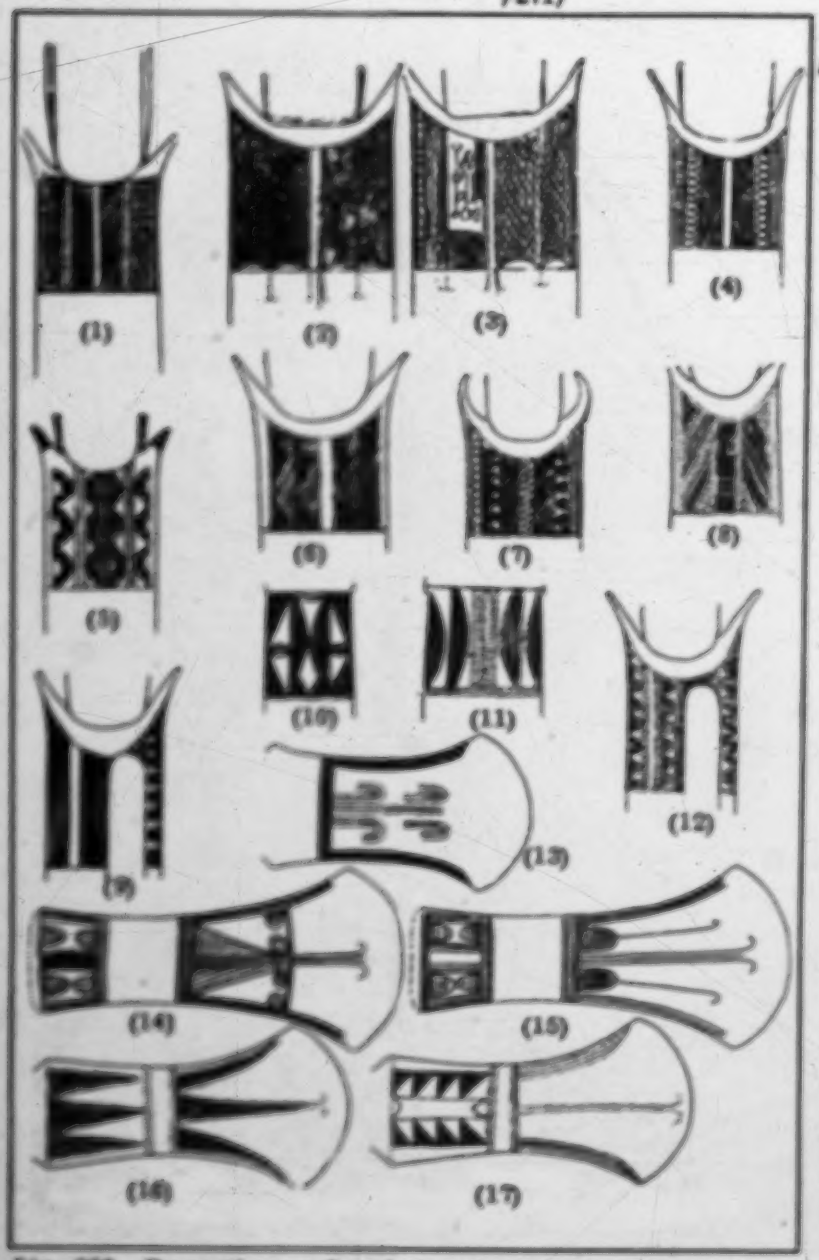


Fig. 233. Decorations on Swords (Drawings 1-12) and Battle Axes (Drawings 13-17).

531
323

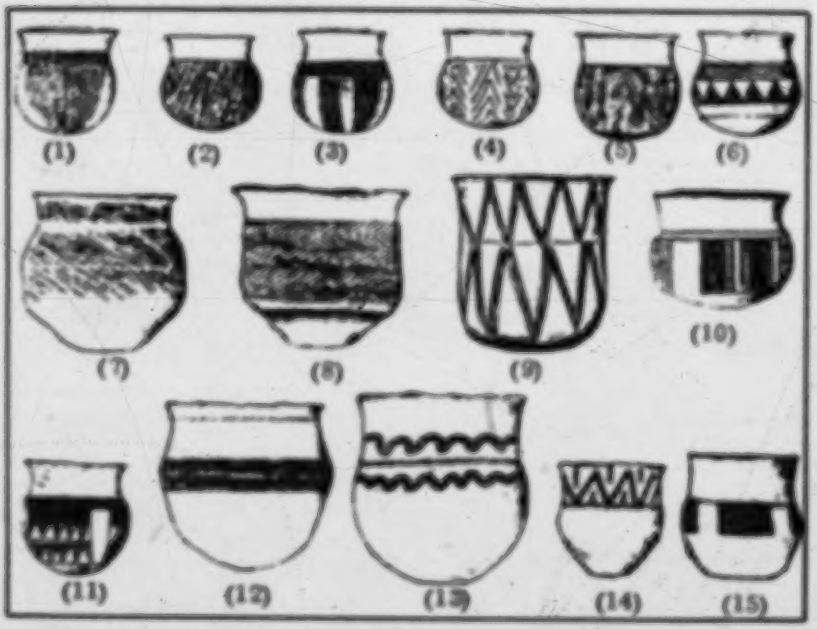


Fig. 224. Pottery Patterns of the Ntum, Fang, and Mwai.

531 entire surface; in the /Fig. 22b appears here in the original text/
411 /271/ /Fig. 223 appears here in the original text/ /272/ /Fig. 224 appears here in the original text/ second, a longish segment remains free (Drawings 9 and 12), by virtue of the fact that the narrow blood groove (which is usually present) is widened towards one side.

The patterns themselves are almost exclusively basic patterns in all kinds of combinations.

A selection of patterns on battle ax blades is illustrated in Figure 223, Drawings 13-17.

As a note we must mention the decoration of the brass sheaths for swords and two-edged knives. The lines of these decorations are composed of a great number of little bosses punched out to the outside with a piece of iron (see Fig. 141). Almost always the patterning consists of half-patterns (rectangles divided by a diagonal) strung together in a series, which is familiar to us from the decorative scars.

531 A conception of the development of the pottery patterns is conveyed by Figure 224.

1: Tessmann--326 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate I

142
242
411
301

A Fang Youth from Owéng.

754 The finished mixture is a bone-dry and extremely fine
278 powder. It is not immediately put to use, but first tried out on dogs. By leaving out certain ingredients, such as the Mucuna hairs, or by means of other combinations, the poison mixers -- so various informants emphatically affirm -- are able to shorten or lengthen the victim's period of suffering at will or to produce only illness without fatal results. /147/

The medicine sold by the medicine men (because of its tendency to decompose rather rapidly, it does not keep very long) is used in the following ways. Either it is mixed with the food or sprinkled on the head of the bed or the floor -- merely inhaling the stuff, it is said, produces severe illness. Otherwise it is buried near the surface where the victim usually sits. The Nzom, furthermore, mix the poison with the pulverized resin of Albizzia
[p.4] fastigiata Oliv. (ezi'gme) and then place in it for five days the
[p.1] pieces of iron with which they load their rifles.

754 Concerning the frequency of secret murder by "sorcery" or
679 murder by poisoning, Europeans certainly have no accurate /Fig. 50 appears here in the original text/ conception, since without further ado we tend to ascribe deaths in the unhealthy regions of tropical Africa to malaria. At the same time, the importance, even for us, of investigating this matter precisely is demonstrated by the following fact. In the small Campo region (disregarding the coastal strip), which has been visited by Whites only in the last few years, no less than six merchants have been poisoned within this short period of time, attempts were made to poison two others.

The effects of the medicine of sorcery, whenever it is a question of poisoning in our /Fig. 51 appears here in the original text/ sense of the term, for instance, poisoning food, depend on its composition. According to descriptions, it produces either terrible pains in the abdomen, as though "fire were penetrating the bowels," or the symptoms are those of blackwater fever, among others, dark urine, or it produces paralysis; thus, there is a great variety of effects so that correct diagnosis is extraordinarily difficult.

278 If someone believes he has been poisoned or exposed to
757 poisoning, he employs special antidotes concerning whose value

[Text continues on page 9]

The chief weapon of the Pangwe today is the flintlock musket. 411 Until the middle of the previous century it was found in our region 459 only in quite isolated instances. Imported since the 1860's and 1870's in ever-increasing numbers by the many newly-founded coastal trading posts, the flintlock musket was a marketable and profitable commercial commodity which since then has so flooded the land that for each Pangwe, at least for each Ntum and Fang, one can reckon three, four, or even five rifles, of which, however, a fraction is unusable. Since 1906 the German government and since 1909 also the French and Spanish governments have prohibited the import of powder, and as a result there has been a noticeable scarcity, especially in the north. Among other things, it has had the effect of putting an end to the great amount of superfluous shooting during festivities, etc., in the Cameroons and adjoining Spanish territory. The small amount of powder which still finds its way from south to north by way of barter is kept in hiding for later occasions.

The charge of the rifle consists of small pieces of iron which -- 411 like the powder -- are usually carried around in small containers [412] fastened to the belt or the shoulder bag (mfɔk) (Fig. 78). Frequently, the latter itself serves to hold the ammunition, that is, the pieces of iron which the Pangwe calls by the same name as the [413] spears, akɔ̂. The containers (Fig. 77) are little pouches made of hide (a), flasks (only for ammunition) attractively decorated with brass (b) and (c), little flasks covered with monitor lizard skin (d-g), calabashes (h), the round fruit of a tree (ako, ɔ̂ŋum) (i, k), raffia fruit (j), a cacao fruit (m), or other fruit (n-p).

With the importation of powder cut off, the rifles are useless, and it may be that in this way the throwing spear, which formerly was the true long-range weapon of the Pangwe, /Fig. 77 appears on p. 244/ /245/ will again occupy a place of honor, especially since it has never been entirely out of use. To be sure, the spears manufactured today are not as large as those of olden times. They [414] are used more as walking sticks of superior quality or as an ornamental weapon taken along on a journey -- usually people carry two or three with them -- and the natives scarcely know how to use them for actual battle. Only the Jaunde through continued

[Text continues on page 94]

2: Tessmann--93 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9
/244/
415
411
531

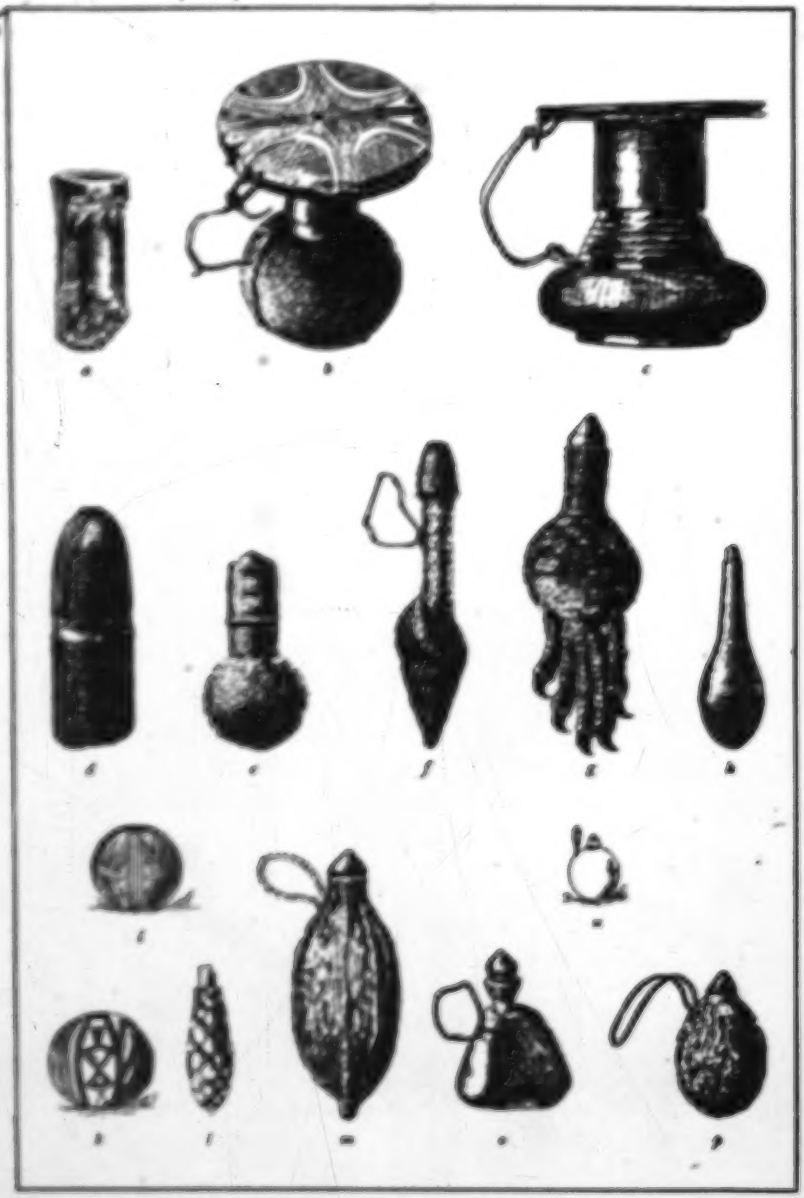


Fig. 77. Containers for Rifle Charges or Powder.

411
[415]
[285]

Fig. 78. Shoulder bag of pineapple fibers, used for storing things and for rifle charges in wartime. To the right, a little basket with "chevaux-de-frise"; to the left, shot medicines and an iron war pipe.

practice have maintained some skill in spear throwing. On the whole, the Jaunde did not go over so exclusively to the use of firearms as did the Fang, for instance, who are quite unable to part from their flintlocks. They even give them human names and love to let them "speak."

The spears (Fig. 79) consist of a shaft and tip. The former is made of wood and is artfully grooved lengthwise, as has been described in the section on woodworking /Ed., Vol. I/. The tip is attached with a socket and forged from iron; in very recent times one could frequently see Ntum chiefs carrying ornamental spears with carefully worked brass tips. The cutting edge has the shape of a more or less oblong leaf, and this distinguishes the different types of spears. The older types among the Fang are gbŭń-akŏń (akŏń = spear) (a), akŏń-okăk (okăk = Okak, Fang people) (a), tō̄mō̄-akŏń (c), and mbăʃ[s]-akŏń (b); of more recent origin, supposedly is the barbed spear, ngāˈm[k]-akŏń (c), and etŏ̄hŏ̄k.

The crossbow is only a hunting weapon; the bow and arrow, as well as the slingshot, occur only as children's toys.

The weapons for short-range fighting are the sword and the battle-ax.

The sword (pfă IV Ntum, fă IV Fang) (Fig. 80) has two cutting edges which sometimes end in barbed hooks at the base

411 and a wooden handle well-shaped for the hand. The handle is partly bound with an iron band or brass wire. The sword is placed inside a wooden sheath, consisting of two halves and frequently covered with monitor lizard skin, or in a brass sheath which has two brass eyelets for the hide strip worn over the shoulder from which the weapon hangs /246/ /Fig. 79 appears here in the original text/ (see Fig. 80). After the appearance of the chopping knives or choppers imported from Europe, the latter displaced the sword for a while and were then carried about in sheaths (Fig. 81); however, these are no longer in use today.

The battle-ax, called ovunebokui, "axe of the Pygmies" [184] (Fig. 82), is of lesser importance and is to be found only among the Fang, especially the southern ones, but even among them only in small numbers. It can be used only for short-range fighting. Its wedge-shaped blade with a convex cutting edge and /247/ corners curved inward, is fitted into the handle, the short lower half of which is round while the upper half is flattened out.

As a protective weapon, three kinds of shields are in use: the wooden shield, the shield made of buffalo hide (Fig. 83), and the shield made of an elephant's ear. The latter two are supposed to protect an individual man. They have lost their importance since the appearance of the firearm, and today they have /Fig. 80 appears here in the original text/ become quite rare. The wooden shield (stationary shield, Fig. 84), on the other hand, protects the entire troop of warriors and is, as it were, a portable rampart carried ahead by one man, while the others hide behind it. When the enemies clash, they shoot from behind the wooden guard, and in case it becomes necessary to flee, the shield is simply abandoned. It is made from a slab of wood from the umbrella tree and is approximately 145 centimeters long and 37 centi- [58] meters wide. The outer surface is covered with patterns carved in relief, such as we have seen in Section 9 /Ed., Vol. I/.

The battles of the Pangwe are usually only to settle hostilities 726 between neighboring villages and hence are limited to small-scale warfare, that is, to a series of surprise attacks in which the attacker naturally has the advantage and thus "wins." Such encounters, however, give the tribe their warlike reputation; the

[Text continues on page 97]

/246/

•411

Fig. 79. Spears. One-third actual size.

411

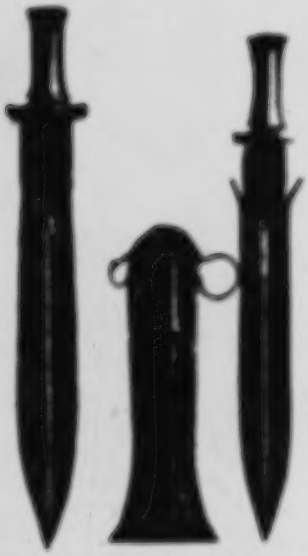


Fig. 80. Swords and Sheath made of Brass. One-fifth actual size.

726 Fang especially are extremely warlike and quarrelsome and not at all disinclined to military expeditions that promise to yield booty. At the same time, they know how to take full advantage of their forested land. They surprise the enemy at impassable [164] places, lie in ambush in the dense bush, and sometimes carry out night raids when the occasion is favorable, whereas generally the Pangwe is loath to undertake nocturnal expeditions. Furthermore, they impede the advance of the enemy through "chevaux-de-frise," that is, pointed sticks made of the bark of raffia leafstalks and planted in the ground, as well as through pitfalls which are well covered like the traps for game, but wider and [725] deeper, and similarly spiked on the floor. In hand-to-hand com-[224] bat they throw the spiked stems of Macaranga ledermanniana Pax (asi) between the legs of their enemies. /248/

/Figs. 81 and 82 appear here in the original text. /

722 In unsettled times, women, children, and -- insofar as this 712 is possible -- movable property are taken to safety, that is, to hiding places in the forest or to friendly villages. Fortifications

411

Figs. 81 and 82. Fang Chopper Sheath and Battle-ax.

712 exist, but only to a limited extent. As has already been mentioned
722 in the account of house construction /Ed., Vol. 1/, the walls of the meeting house are built of halved trunks of the umbrella tree placed in layers over each other for the purpose of fortification. In addition, the village entrances are blocked off when danger threatens by means of fences or barricades made of sticks. The southern Fang especially can easily do this since they design their villages more compactly so that the meeting houses themselves almost block off the road. Only once did I see an entire village surrounded with a protective fence, a fairly strong paling consisting of vertical posts and laths connecting them. In front of the fence the terrain had been cleared by cutting down the bush, so that the approach of enemies could be easily discovered and prevented.

The following example will give a good idea of how feuds arise
579 and take their course.

On both sides of the Lo, a small tributary of the Campo, there
[961] are two communities of the Esseng kin group about 12 minutes apart, namely, Bebai and Ebäangon. The inhabitants of the three Bebai villages closest to Ebäangon are related to the Ebäangon people; the others of Bebai did not move into the territory until later and are unrelated to the inhabitants of Ebäangon. The most influential chief of the Bebai people, who are outsiders, is called Makina. For a long time he had been "talking impudently" to Schüe, chief of Ebäangon. One day, on the occasion of a festival for the souls which

411
28.

Fig. 83. Shield of Buffalo Hide.

579 Schüe gave for one of his deceased wives, strife broke out. In the course of the festival Schüe wanted to start counting up the people who had done some injury to the deceased. And since -- as /249/ usual -- there was a great deal of shooting at the festival, he ordered that there be quiet in front of the meeting house, saying that whoever wanted to shoot had better go into the next village. Thereupon Bekongo, the son of Makina, stood up and said, "I don't care, I'm not going to listen to that stupid talk," and fired off his rifle near the meeting house. Naturally, the Ebäangon people would not stand for this, and Schüe's sons said to Bekongo, "Hey! our father just forbade anyone to shoot here; do you think that Schüe is a slave here in his village?" In this way a verbal battle developed between the two parties, and soon the brawl with bush knives was in full swing with blood flowing on both sides. The Bebai people related to the Ebäangon people tried to bring about a reconciliation or they sided with Schüe. Finally the Bebai people moved off, pursued by the Ebäangon people armed with choppers, who called after them, "Wait, we'll get even with you yet!" The last of the Bebai people was Ejamatua, a man from Makina's village. He was either annoyed by the shout or he was particularly harassed by the pursuers; in short, for whatever

579 had been satis-
628 the loss was
a village
The matter
411 the Bebai
531 fied since
greater; their
chief, while
young man.
influence of
to Bebai and
fighting.
From this
628 the Pangwe
682 ple of an eye
tooth, and
only when
equal. In a
Esseng
ple had been
be concluded

Fig. 84. Wooden Shield.

fied, because on either side
exactly the same: each had
burned and a man killed.
would have gone on, because
people were still dissatis-
they regarded their loss as
casualty had been a great
the other had been only a
However, by this time the
the Whites had penetrated
thus an end was put to the

example it can be seen that
act according to the princi-
for an eye, a tooth for a
that blood revenge can cease
the losses on both sides are
"war" between Schumu and
people, eight Schumu peo-
killed, and peace could not
until eight Esseng men had

likewise been killed. Furthermore, it can be seen that village feuds fraught with consequences often arise from quite trivial causes.

Prisoners are usually killed and then often eaten, as has been
72 mentioned earlier. Only children are raised as "slaves" in the
266 village. Captured women are usually taken by the victors as
567 wives, but sometimes they are also killed in order to even out the number of killed on both sides and thus to make peace possible. /251/

2: Tessmann--161 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
411

Fig. 88. Little Boy Five to Seven Years Old, Nsâlang (Essuong Family), Spanish Guinea.

855 weak, the mother takes him with her to the fields or on her other trips. She carries him either on her hip by means of a belt of antelope hide, or on her back with a rope of vines on which the child sits, as long as he is small. After he can hold on by himself, he is carried [85] on the hip, clutching the neck of the person who is carrying him. One sees children of some ten years old being carried.

857 As soon as the child is old enough to eat like adults, and talks
858 and counts properly, he starts accompanying his parents to the fields and to fishing; he learns to swim, paddle, dance, and play the tomtom and various musical instruments. The little girls learn to cultivate a small piece of farm land which is given them by their mothers.

Games. The numerous games are almost all common to both sexes. Little boys and girls play together in the village, but the boys have three games in which girls never take part:

Nge ou ye. This game consists of rolling on the path at the end of the village, before a lineup of young boys, a cylinder of soft wood which
[41] they must hit by throwing a sharp spear. This is training for throwing the assagai.

Binza, game of the bow. This is a hunt of rats and lizards by young boys with small bows made of mvibema wood and strung with a vine; the arrows are of bamboo with their tips smeared with pimento. It is
[41] to be noted that although children play with the bow, adults do not have this weapon and only the crossbow is found.

857 Mbeñ, musical bow: This is a kind of guessing game. The one who has the instrument thinks about something; another child has to guess it, and therefore he asks: "Nzam e biale ebe, fore dza ke yo, eñi for dza lige esi, matsi eve?" (Nzam made two of them, one goes up, the other stays on the ground, where am I fastened?), and asks if it concerns the one above or the one below. If he has guessed right, a deep tone of the bow answers him; if he is mistaken it is a shrill sound. If, for example, he happens to choose the one below, the game continues with the question "me sal e Nzam esi fore dza ke osui, eñi for dza lige kinige, matsi eve?" (I cut the lower Nzam in two, one goes to the river, the other stays on land, where am I fastened?), and the game goes on, dividing the guessed part in two until the object thought of is discovered.

The following are some mixed games:

Mebog. The children are seated in line, legs apart, except for two of them, who remain standing. One of these two hides an object among

The group displays powerful shoulder girth, rather well-developed calf, pronounced arch, ungual phalanges that cannot be pulled back.

The explorers of the last century were one and all struck by the difference in physical appearance between the Pahouin and their neighbors, much less evident today, particularly to a European (the Pahouin themselves often recognize a stranger from quite a distance). It is possible that at the time of conquest the Pahouin may have had a heavier meat diet than did the coastal populations or do their present-day descendants: the hippopotamus has been exterminated, and the rest of the wild fauna has been greatly reduced, while even animal breeding and rearing is on the decline.

b. Clothing, Ornaments, Body Marks

The traditional clothing as described by explorers hardly exists any more. One sometimes meets in remote villages the beaten fig-bark breechcloth, ŏbŏm, and the monkeyskin hat-wig, afĕ'ŏnĕ, which was the men's everyday dress, with a wide belt of antelope skin, ano, holding a sort of sporran as well as a saber sheath. Battle dress and full dress have become very rare; they included, in addition to a red-dyed ŏbŏm, a tailpiece /wĕant/ of tiger-cat skin or of drill or any animal with bright fur, fringed leggings of the same fur, and a sort of cloak made of leopard or gorilla skin with the head sometimes forming a hood; there was a headdress of beads hanging down to the shoulders or arranged in the hair, with a tuft of touraco or juggler-eagle /aigle-bateleur/ feathers. Weapons consisted of the saber, fa, the dagger, otyen —both double bladed, the spear, ahoñ, or rifle, ngal (the crossbow, mfan, was more a hunting weapon, and the bow, ngale, a toy). Defensive armor included an oblong shield, ngu or ĕndeñ, of plaited lianas or of leather, sometimes made of an elephant ear. Even today men do not like to leave home without a weapon, at least in the villages; formerly, they were always armed. Men's jewelry comprised copper bracelets and teeth necklaces—of either animal's or men's teeth—chains of copper, iron, ivory, or elephant hair. Protective medicaments" mebiañ, were usually carried in an antelope horn (Cephalophus sylviculrix), nla' zip, hung around the neck or wrist on a strip of leather or snakeskin—a practice that still survives. The ceremonial costumes for the different rites /86/ included masks, mantles of dried grass, beads, or cowries.

Only then will he be allowed to know about the laws and rights of the totem. He will then receive his personal totem, as we have described it, will make it the prescribed sacrifice, and will preciously keep the remains of this offering on his own person, enclosed in an antelope horn. Already as a child he wore this horn which now contain the ashes of this sacrifice; it used merely to hang around his neck on a cord or, more often, before his genital organs. After the youth becomes a warrior, he hangs the horn among the other fetishes attached to a leather baldrick which crosses his chest and is hardly ever taken off. [532]

c) Consecration of weapons

A youth's childhood ends after the initiation. A whole new era opens up before him, an era of work and fighting and also of quite different pleasures from those of childhood. He is henceforth admitted to a place among warriors after these painful initiations the proof and marks of which are slashes cut into the back of his neck. Henceforth he may carry a gun; as a boy he had often tried to fire one so as to be ready when the time came. As a warrior with the right to fire it and to go to war, he must first "dedicate" the rifle to a spirit so that he may always shoot straight.

For an African all objects whatever they may be, have a life of their own; therefore, a rifle is a being. Alive with its own life, it will be dedicated to the spirit with the influence most favorable to it, that is, in the realm of space the sun, whose light and whose clear rays will enable it to hit the mark every time and will at the same time dissipate the shadows so that they will fail to conceal the enemy it is aimed at. The weapon will be dedicated to the sun and also to the clan's totemic guardian; in battle it is indeed important to be able to distinguish enemy from friend and not to run the risk of committing a totemic sacrilege. The rifle must be dedicated to both the totem and the sun.

However, it is worth noting that if nowadays a rifle is the only weapon to be dedicated, it is because it has become the

779 principal weapon and because there are very few Fan who do not
184 possess one. Actually, the word for "rifle" in the consecration
411 song mentioned below is sometimes nzali, which really means
"gun," and sometimes mbene, which denotes the "crossbow."
The crossbow used to be the Fan national weapon. One of the
words has changed, but the song is no less ancient for that.

In the middle of the village, the young man, accompanied
by an older friend, places his rifle so that the first rays of the
rising sun will strike it; he arranges around the rifle his totemic
fetishes, that is, his childhood totem, which he will hereafter
abandon, and his new warrior totem. In order to cast a spell
[533] on his rifle, he then performs the necessary incantations,
[533] among them a hymn or invocation to the sun, of such real
beauty and poetic quality that it should be quoted here.

539

Hymn to the Sun

Sun, you who see all things,
You, whose radiant splendor
Pierces the dark mist,
Sun, to you this homage!

To you, sun, king of the sky, divine hunter,
Sun, to you this homage!

Before your flashing glance
And the swift arrows of your fiery quiver,
Into somber depths
Fearful night sinks aghast,
Beneath your blows sparkling with light,
You tear night's mantle,
A black cloak trimmed with fire,
Sprinkled with bright stars,
You tear night's black mantle.

Sun, you who see all things,
You, whose radiant splendor
Pierces the dark mist,
Sun, to you this homage!

?: Trifles--74 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9

779
887
411
533

When the required offerings have been made, before the rifle is lifted, the actual consecration takes place. The tune and words seem to me sufficiently remarkable to warrant quotation. This song, in its melody and structure, recalls the antique airs which have come down to us from the Greeks and Romans. It is always sung by several voices:

539

Song of the Rifle

Anthem: Oh, all of you, listen, listen to the song,
the song of the rifle!
Chorus: Oh, let us all listen, listen to the song,
the song of the rifle!
Solo: For you, alone, O rifle! for you alone,
Far into the woods,
Far, far have I tramped long in the forest,
No longer hearing the barking dogs,
No longer hearing them,
No more than the noise-loving cocks,
No more than the cocks,
Leaving behind the chattering women,
Leaving them in their dark huts. [534]
Refrain: Yes, for you alone, O my rifle!
For your sake only, into the woods,
Into the woods have I gone,
O my rifle, for you alone.
Anthem: All of you, come, listen to the song of the fetish,
The beloved song of the fetish!
Chorus: Let us all come, listen to the song of the rifle,
The beloved song of the rifle! (Refrain: Yes,
for you alone . . .)
Anthem: Come all of you, come, listen well and without noise,
Listen!
Chorus: And silently, heedfully, let us listen.
Solo: For you alone, O rifle! for you alone,
Deep in the woods,
Leaving the village behind,

?: Trilles--'36 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 F919 Fang F919

884 The young man is armed. He has undergone the initiation
779 of the bawu and henceforth he has a right to speak in the coun-
411 cil. He will not take advantage of this until the day he brings in the hand of an enemy he has killed and he is able to testify to his bravery in the presence of all by this striking proof of a daring exploit, yet often carried out by surprise.

[Pp. 535-536, 18 lines of music.] [537]

III. Consecration of the Chief

a) The ceremony

766 A tribal chief has died. After the customary lamentation
779 and funeral feast, he has been buried in a temporary grave.
623 Thirty days afterwards the warriors again reassemble for the solemn funeral dance, the fanki. Then the eldest son, surrounded by leading warriors, opens his father's grave, climbs down beside the corpse, and with the consecrated knife detaches the skull, which will soon be added to the skulls of earlier ancestors in the évora biéri. Then the corpse is carefully replaced in the grave, and the totemic sacrifices are completed. We shall go back to these sacrifices when discussing individual mortuary rites. The eldest son or the heir removes the akaméyôn or tribal totem, if he has not already done so. He then throws the earth back onto the corpse and everyone helps him in this dismal task, after he has thrown the first handfuls. All these rites belong to the social mortuary ceremonial.

623 The new chief returns to the village. Then begins strictly
779 speaking, the totemic rite of consecration, which takes place at night, without any female observers.

Escorted by all the warriors, to the beating of a tom-tom, the chief takes the évora biéri containing the ancestral skulls and carries it into the forest. The ceremony is secret only as regards women; young boys may be present.

[624 The box of skulls is put on a sort of platform made of
778] newly cut poles. These must come from a special tree, the éfirfira, and must all be alive and green. A bit of dead wood

779 622 perpetrator. If necessary, the chief would take this upon himself. Such a case has sometimes occurred, according to certain legends.

The large bones are then again placed upon the pyre, for which the necessary wood has been carefully kept, because to cut or to add more is forbidden. When everything has been consumed, the bones and wood that are left in the form of cinders (1) are pulverized as finely as possible, and the chief

[35]

1. Éfirfira is a rather resinous wood, which burns up completely, leaving hardly any cinders.

scatters the powder on the recently covered grave of his father, accompanied by all the heads of family. The banana leaves that had been used to wrap up the victim are carefully folded into a bundle and thrown to the bottom of a spring or stream below the spot where water is usually drawn, so as to avoid profanation.

In contrast to all the other sacrifices, nothing must remain of this victim nor may anyone keep the slightest trace of it.

Before carrying the ashes of the sacrifice to his father's grave, the chief still has to go through another ceremony just as important, the rite of the spear.

779 622 411 The rite of the spear, or better of the assagais, alume méko, the salute to the assagais, only occurs at the enthronement of tribal chiefs and then only if they have come of age, that is, have already been received as warriors bearing the marks or bawu.

779 776 411 171 b) The rite of the spear or the assagais. Alume méko.

From the other side of Africa, Father Van den Burgt, (1)

1. Dictionnaire français-rundi [French-Rundi Dictionary], article, "Kiraña."

of the White Fathers, recently pointed out a curious rite among the Barundi, the rite of the spear, the emblem of Kiraña, the

779
776
● 441
171

second high spirit. Among the Fan, we have found the same emblem, consecrated to the spirit Ki-ndâña, he also being chief of the lower spirits, of material things, and thus master and chief of all beings on the earth. He is also invoked in time of war. This is the only information I have been able to obtain on the subject. But in comparing this fact with what we have seen among the Barundi, it certainly appears that a totemic rite is involved. Indeed among them, Imana, the Creator, is the lord of departed souls as, among the Fan, Nzame is also the Creator. Consequently he is foremost of all the ancestors and thus the keystone of the whole religious system. The Fan know this perfectly. When discussing genealogies I have already pointed out that a child or any warrior, when asked what his mébara is, will always end by invoking Nzame, saying: "And he (the first of the race) was created by Nzame, and before that I didn't belong to it, neither I nor anyone else." (Nge mur éto (the father of the race) Nzame émiñn a nga bo ñe, ve 'sim ni, mê mbe dia ve, ve ma, ve mumumure.)

Among the Barundi the great rite of the spear consists of homage rendered to the sacred spear of Kirâña, the higher spirit of the Rundi triad, Imana, Ri-Kiramba, and Riangombi. Among the Fan, Kindâña does not belong to the divine triad, which they also recognize: Nzame, Mébere, Nkwa. Kindâña, lit., victorious Power, is chief of all beings under Nzame, and considered only as the principle of the power that animates everything and that is self-perpetuating. He is the opposite of inert matter. [542]

"The neighboring Pygmies," writes Mgr. Le Roy (1) in

1. Op. cit., p. 314.

connection with this Rundi rite, "have the same ceremony, which they appear to have originated." Perhaps, however, we ought to go further back to the very beginnings of the race, since we find the ceremony also among the Fan.

Among the Barundi the rite of the spear takes place in all critical situations. uThe usual form of that spear has one white and one black facet and it is said to bear the spirit Kirâña on its

719 776 411 171 point. At the time of the ceremony the guardian of the spear appears with two assistants; he wears a sort of crown made of a panther skin, part of which hangs down his back. The participants form a semicircle around him, carrying small hollow calabashes filled with hard seeds (2) that rattle. Then a hymn is begun,

> 2. The seeds of the annata tree are used or, even more often, the round hard seeds of canna (canna spec.).

sung in an oddly impressive tone, deeply convincing and creating indescribable melancholy. During this evocation, each one picks up a bit of straw, bows down and presents it to the sacred spear, claps his hands together and asks the spirit dwelling on the spearhead for various favors. He then says: "To thee, Father, I make these demands, I offer my homage." Everyone then leaves the hut singing and goes to the resting place of the ancestral spirits.

719 622 411 171 Among the Fan the salute to the spear thus takes place at the enthronement of the chief. After the victim has been divided and eaten, the chief rises and plants his assagai in the earth, point upwards; the point has been made to gleam by thorough careful burnishing. The choice of spear is not unimportant: it must have the totemic tribal emblem incised in its hollow and must have already "drunk" enemy blood. The spear is thus planted in the ground so far as possible just where the altar stood; shortly after, at its foot, the chief places his baldrick usually of leopard-skin, holding the materialized totem, the akaméyõõ. [543]

Having done this, he circles around the spear, singing, then picks up the baldrick and hangs it upon the lance, which usually has several small sharp hooks at the base.

The chief again circles the spear, sings a hymn in honor of Kindõõña, then stands still. All the others then go to fetch their boxes of ancestral skulls and circle around the spear, singing. As each man passes the chief, he bows, puts his box on the ground, and claps his hands.

At the end of the ceremony the chief removes the spear, puts back the baldrick at his side, and takes everything to his hut.

7: Trilles--83 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9

He then returns to collect the remains of the sacrifice and carry them to his father's grave.

It is evident that the Fan ritual of the spear salute has many analogies to the Rundi ritual, and the same impulse would seem to motivate both.

c) Rites of initiation and consecration of the chief compared with the religious role of the Pharaoh

In all this it is easy to see a whole embryonic system or rather, as our linguistic research bears out, the vestiges, very corrupt and gradually shriveling away, of a religious system that is very old and goes back to the very beginnings of the race.

The legends, customs, and especially the language make it possible for us to see, with all the reservations necessary to such a hypothesis, a pale reflection, perhaps a decadent reminder, of Egyptian religion.

It would be of great interest in the first place to try to find out if the Fan word denoting "chief," nzue -- from n for agency and zue, to command, to order -- is not related to Egyptian (1). [illegible]

> 1. There are other resemblances between the two languages, to which I shall refer later: kha (Eg.), crown, and khu (Fg.), chief; khala, a fortified place, and dzal, fortified village (kraal); ka, to leave, and ka, to go away, etc.; ko, hook, and lko, hook, whence akôñ, hooked, barbed spear.

sua, to pray, adore, which was originally the chief's main function, or again to Suten, meaning "king," which comes from the word seten [544], to determine by knife, which means "to kill." The king is thus in theory he who slays the sacrificial victim, the sacrificer.

The Pharaoh formerly acted in a general way as a Fan chief still does today, without, one must admit, any of the trappings of majesty -- as I have said, he is a pale reflection.

He used to go himself, at least fictitiously, to capture the victim, a wild bull. He immolated it, cut it up, and offered it to the deity whose son he was. He was not only the sacrificer

683 This is the most frequent test among the Fan.
787 Anyone accused of sorcery, or all those who have suc-
695 cumbed during the first tests, must drink the ordeal poison. This
278 ceremony has been described so often that there is no need to go into it at length.

In the Fan test-poison ordeal three different poisons are used, according to the case in question: the sap of the éñn̂ tree; the grated bark and roots of the oné or onaĩ; (1) the roots of the

[411]

1. Strychnos onaĩ: this shrub of the strychnine family, produces the poison used on arrowheads. Puncture is fatal if the poison is fresh, and death ensues within a few moments. If the poison is old, the wound slowly becomes gangrenous. Bromine is a good antidote.

shrub kwéa. (2) These roots are finely shredded, thrown into

2. Strychnos ikaja: this is a common test on the coast, where kwéa, the natives say, is called ikaja, nka, mbonde, ibonde, etc.

boiling water and a reddish liquid is obtained after a few hours of simmering. This highly dangerous brew contains in solution a considerable amount of strychnine and hyoscine.

683 The ngenngáñ, or practitioner, begins by sacrificing a she-
787 goat, with the formulae already indicated. Next, all the vil-
695 lagers assemble, and the practitioner appears in red and white paint, with red parrot feathers and black fish hawk plumes stuck into his hair to form a crown. His only garment consists of a skin tied around his loins, and he wears many bells on his hands and feet. [564] He invokes the protective fetishes of the village, leaps, skips, and howls frenetically. The tom-tom played by one of his acolytes is beaten faster and faster; the practitioner's movements increase in tempo; little by little he seems to move by preference toward a group, the sound of his bells directing him, so he says. Finally he halts abruptly and points in the crowd

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

342
291
482
142

FANG WOMAN.

142
291
302
411

FANG YOUTHS.

[p. 66(C)]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

fifteen) take their flint-lock muskets, heavily loaded with trade powder and a handful of broken iron pot (iron trade pots) or small stones, and creep up close to the town after dark. Two men try to enter the town unobserved; if they succeed, then they knock at the door of a hut and say, "We are strangers travelling; give us fire and food." Directly a person inside the house opens the door, both men discharge their guns into the house, and immediately run for the bush toward their comrades. The whole town is soon in pursuit, and unless careful they run into an ambuscade prepared for them. A fight may occur, but more often the attacking party return to their town in triumph, shouting: "We are real men, we are real men, we have been to town, we have shot a man (or woman), we are men —real men." There is great rejoicing in their town, and a dance follows. If the palaver is a serious one, the town is often stockaded with split logs placed vertically in the ground; huts are likewise stockaded. Poisoned bamboo spikes are buried in the forest paths to wound the feet of an enemy. The weapons used and relied on to-day are flint-lock muskets. Spears are rapidly falling into disuse. The cross-bow is only used for shooting birds and small bush cats. It is a mistaken idea that the arrows used with the cross-bow are poisoned. Shields are not used. The chief causes of war are disputes over women, hence called "women palavers," and these feuds may last for years. Prisoners are often permitted to starve to death, and are occasionally killed and eaten. Owing to a bitter feud it is often impossible for the women to work in the gardens or fish on the river, the consequence being a great scarcity of food. In Foulabifong, where I resided, a woman palaver lasted over ten months, and the three adjoining towns were in a state of famine. A prisoner was nearly starved to death, and I had to repeatedly plead for him. During these feuds many women are shot while walking the paths. The Fang think it quite correct to shoot a woman; they say, "It is always *safe* to shoot a woman because she cannot shoot back." Prisoners are frequently exchanged, others are held as hostages.

726 726 712 [411] 721 727 [726] [562]

Abal (war). Translation.

If people are going to war they go in crowds. If they approach near the town (of the enemy) they hold a council. An old man (one) he says thus: We will go to fire when? Then the others say, We will go in the night. Then they stay (sit) there until night. Darkness comes, and they light a torch. Then two or three people go to the town, and the other people remain in the bush. If the people who went to the town find people sleeping, then they point their guns inside a house and fire. Then people die. Then they go back running to meet the other people. Then they all gather in one place and return singing to their own town. Then they beat the drum and rejoice. Then the people who remained in the town say: Tell us the news as you went. Then they tell the news. Then the headman sits down and tells all the people in town that a person must not go anywhere alone. Then all the people hear, and all sit down (remain around their town to await events).

726 539

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

Ngang (Doctor). Translation.

[787] 726 539 789 The Ngang (witch doctor) prophesies war. If the war comes and is in the bush, then the doctor takes medicine wrapped in bush cat skin called *mebup*, and medicine in horns. He holds the horns in his hands. He counts the horns; he hangs the *mebup*. He says to the *mebup*, I say thus: No person must go to the forest. If a person goes anywhere the enemy will kill him. If a person says, I will not listen to the doctors' talk, I will go and do my work; then if he goes, the enemy kill him. If they kill a person, they take the heart and put it in the *abup*. They take an old witch and put it in the *abup*. Then if the doctor prophesies, the witch speaks from inside the medicine. The heart of the person, it talks.

XVI.—*Hunting Traps.*

224 The Fang are skilful hunters, but they justly give the credit of the chase to the *Nqui* (dwarfs). I have been told that a dwarf will go hunting in the bush and return with meat after a hunting party has returned unsuccessful from the same locality; the dwarfs have great patience. If while hunting in the forest a man sees a deer, he shouts for assistance: others come and help hunt. If the deer is killed, all claim a share, after one-third has been given to the man who first sighted the game. This is the custom when a man walking unarmed in the forest sights meat, and calls for aid. Meat killed by a regular hunting party is carried to their town and divided. Dogs are used to hunt game, the dogs wear wooden bells around the neck, sometimes the bells are made of iron. Flint-lock guns are used when hunting. Before a hunting party starts out it is the custom to make *biang nzali* (gun medicine), and to place the guns in it; this makes them shoot straight. The natives imitate very cleverly the calls of certain animals and birds for the purpose of decoy. Occasionally they drive game into an enclosure called *olam*. Spears are seldom used in the chase. The crossbow is used for shooting birds and small bush cats.

Poisoned arrows are not used with the crossbow. Pitfalls for game are dug and [441] covered with small branches and leaves; pigs and small deer frequently fall into them. A Fang never attempts to hit a bird on the wing. In firing the flint-locks the gun is not carried to the shoulder, but held by the stock in front of the body, the butt being on a level with the waist. Game laws are unknown.

After a successful hunting expedition the whole town indulges in a feast, men, women, and children eat until gorged; after a period of rest dancing commences and is kept up throughout the night.

Olam (Trap). Translation.

224 539 They take small trees and bamboo leaves and bush rope, and make a long fence. They leave holes for the traps and holes for the pitfalls (*i.e.*, opposite the

344 [412] they pass the band back and forth through the wall. For drilling holes into the bark pieces, they use an awl (nsoṅ I). Just as we hammer nails in a straight line, the Pangwe also must fasten the various longitudinal strips in precise lines (see Fig. 35). In the case of raffia mats, because of the little spikes that have been mentioned (the same, incidentally, also frequently applies to the bark pieces), the laths are usually placed so closely one on top of the other that very little or nothing of the mats remains visible (as in Fig. 33). In the same manner as the bark, the pieces of raffia pith are held fast between the boards; strips of pith are placed next to each other from top to bottom, and at longer intervals they are tied to the boards.

The treatment of the walls varies greatly, except that the gable walls are always completely closed. The rear wall, which is never absent, usually has a few window openings, one in the middle in the form of a square or a rectangle and one on each side in the form of a horizontal, longitudinal slit. /Fig. 26 appears here in the original text. / /65/ The central opening is commonly used as both window and door, but it is so small that it requires some skill to squeeze through it. At the same place, however, there may be doors in our sense of the term, which extend to the ground and may or may not have a threshold.

The front wall may be identical with the back wall /Fig. 27 appears here in the original text/ (in other words, it is closed except for window openings on either side and in the middle); it may be only half as high; it may be no more than a parapet or a trellis made of raffia stalks; or, finally, it may be lacking on one side or be completely absent.

The roof is frequently made to project in front to such an extent that /Fig. 27b appears here in the original text/ /66/ a covered veranda is formed, held up by a few posts (omvimvi); sometimes the front area is closed off in front or at the sides by a parapet or trellis. A wooden beam which serves as a threshold prevents the rain that drips off the roof from running into the house (1).

1. When the house has been completed, the soil inside is usually moistened, and for a few days banana leaves are placed on it so the ground may become "strong," as they say.

352
531

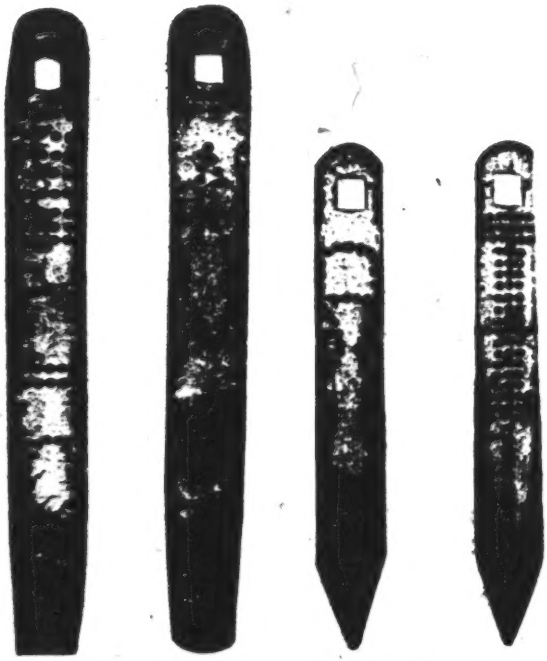


Fig. 31. Rifle Stands. Owöng (Essandöng Family), Fang.

372
●412

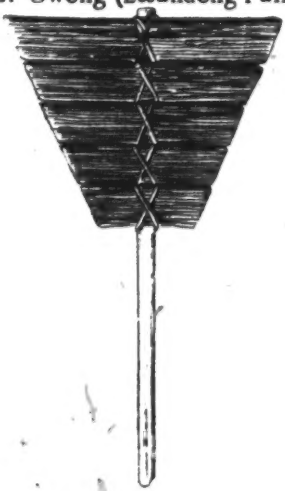


Fig. 32. Fan for the Fire.

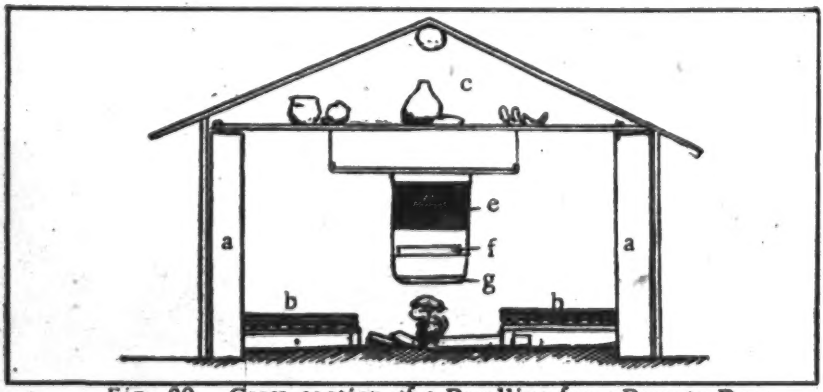
342
352
353

its edge with ornamental chip carving. It is placed on the ground, often in the vicinity of the door posts, and is considered, so to speak, as a place of honor -- for strangers and the paterfamilias -- like our sofa.

As a final household implement the sweeper should be mentioned. It appears in various forms, depending on whether it is used in the dwelling, for the benches of the meeting house, for the meeting house floor, or for the village square. 412 356

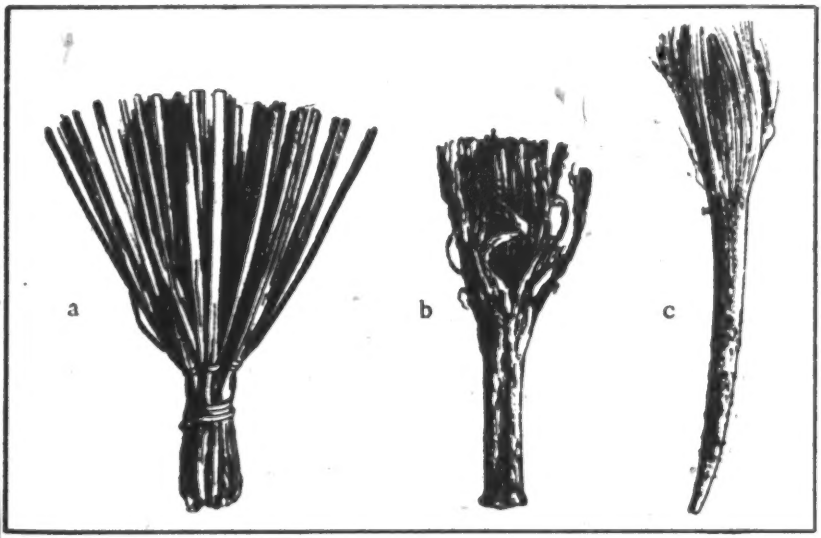
For the house a broom evū̄ a[k], Figure 41 a, is used, made of raffia leaves tied together in the shape of a fan. "More elegant" brooms are used by the Jaunde for the benches of the meeting houses. These are made of pieces of liana stalks, Ertela scandens Benth., Leguminosae, called ntū̄ (b), or of the flowers of the oil palm (c). [824] The pieces of liana stalk are slit so that they form something like a brush; these brooms therefore correspond more or less to our dusters. A third form of broom (Fig. 42) consists of two little wooden boards tied with strips to a handle. /Fig. 39 appears here in the original text. / /76/ It resembles our snow shovels, but it is by no means to be found in every village, and even where it is found it is infrequently used.

In the preceding descriptions the reader will have been struck by the frequency with which the raffia palm is mentioned as construction material. It is indeed true that this palm, called "bamboo" in Negro English, is by far the most important and most valuable plant 137 824



[342 353]

Fig. 39. Cross-section of a Dwelling from Door to Door: a, door posts; b, sleeping benches; c, pot loft; d, loft for drying groundnuts; e, pantry; f and g, roasting boards.



824

[412]

Fig. 41. Sweepers:
a, brooms for dwellings; b and c, dusters for meeting houses.

24. Knife sheathes (pith).
25. Sticks for preparing the clay blast pipe (stalks).
26. Casting molds for founding brass rings (halved stems).
27. Kindling, ekǎ'ba (stalk strips).
28. Ropes (bast).
29. Pipe bowls (made of the fruit kernels); see Section 6, page 164.
30. Needles, sewing needles (pith).
31. Fire fans (pith).

VI. Trapping Implements, Weapons

32. Fish baskets, ayǎ', ngǒ,dĕgo, nsǒ,n.
33. Fish weirs, olǎ'm.
34. Noose for spring traps (fiber).
35. Bow trap of the Jaunde for rats (ebā'dĕ).
36. "Spears" against sorcery.

VII. Musical Instruments

37. Raffia instrument, myǒt (made of the stalks).
38. Guitar, ndǒ,nga (made of the pith, the bridge of stalk strips).

412

354

Fig. 43. Resin Lamp, Fang.

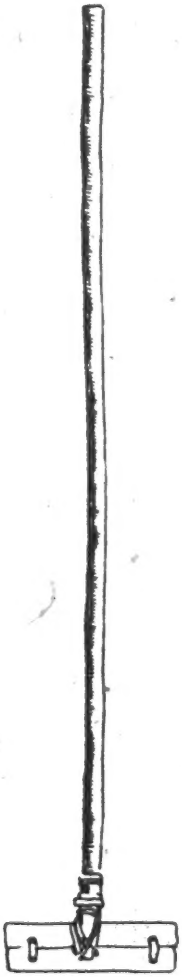


Fig. 42. Dirt Shovel for Cleaning the Meeting House, Ntum.

1: Tessmann--50 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/86/

241
412

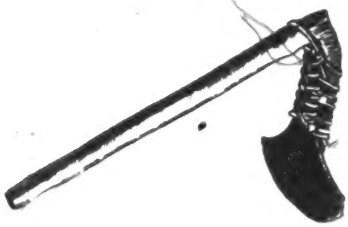


Fig. 48. Hoe.

Fig. 49. Ax.

Fig. 50. Bush Knife.

266
184

the other hand, fallen enemies are consumed by some of them on exceptional occasions. The accounts have it that this form of cannibalism does not by any means for religious reasons, but rather represents an act of revenge carried to its extreme; the enemy is degraded to the level of an animal and is consumed like an animal. I have never heard it said that relatives or members of the same kin group are killed and eaten; indeed, in the eyes of the Fang this would constitute an incredible crime. Far to the south, especially toward the southeast where the Pangwe have been fundamentally modified through mixture with neighboring tribes, anthropophagy may be somewhat more

[673]

[412] Fig. 91. Spearhead Knife for cutting up a Slain Person.

frequent. It is most likely, in any case, that the practice /144/ [177] /Fig. 91 appears here in the original text/ was taken over in the first place from the eastern border tribes, especially the Njem who are notorious in this respect.

262 Thus, meat is principally supplied by animals, and here the Pangwe does not even stop at the thick skin of the elephant; he finds almost everything edible. Among mammals, only the shrew, house rat, and the dwarf squirrel Sciurus pumilio Leconte (mvūkesŏn) are not eaten. Also, the following are not eaten: among reptiles, the chameleon, the lizard Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (ebŭmekūkūī), and the Agama colonorum Daud. (ngŏdŏ III); similarly, among amphibians, the toads Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (mvŭn IV) and Bufo latifrons Blgr. (dzŭn; plural, biŭn, mŭn), as well as the frog Rana mascareniensis D. and B. (nkŭn I). The reasons why these animals are never eaten I shall discuss in conjunction with the general food prohibitions in Section 13 /Ed., Vol. II/.

262 In addition to the spices, the Pangwe use oil as an additive for their food. The oil is obtained from the oil palm Elaeis guineensis L. (alěn) and the Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (adźǎb), but it is extracted so rarely that its use in the kitchen is far secondary to its use for the care of the skin. For this reason I shall discuss the extraction of oil when I come to speak of skin care.

354 The kitchen of the Pangwe woman is located, as we have already seen, in the house under the suspension loft. There is no actual hearth in it; among the Mwai this is represented by three rocks, but for the rest the pot which is always without legs is placed on a potsherd or on the skillfully arranged logs of the fire. If at any time there is more than usual to be cooked, for instance, after a successful elephant hunt, the daily fireplace is too small, and a second one is built behind the house.

313 For cooking -- as every little Pangwe girl knows -- three things are necessary: wood, water, and fire. There is never any shortage of wood; every day the housewife brings the necessary logs from the plantation (Fig. 51). Water is likewise available in great quantities; 312 it merely has to be taken from the river in calabashes (ndŏk IV) or -- 415 among the Ntum and Okak -- in earthenware water flasks (Fig. 92a), Pangwe esū.gă (hence the name šū.k, an imitation of the gurgling sound made by the water as it is poured in; hence also a-šōk "waterfall"). We discussed the fire in the previous section.

● 412 The kitchen utensils of the woman are very simple. The grindstone (akŏk) and the little round rubbing stone (ngŏk IV) that goes 252 with it are found everywhere. The grindstone is irregularly flat, scoured smooth by the rubbing done on it, and it usually lies on the ground on which the woman kneels in front of the stone she works. Among the Mwai, who are somewhat more advanced in the art of cooking anyway, the stone is placed on four small posts like a table, a fact which considerably "raises" it in appearance. Groundnuts, ngon, and so forth are rubbed to a powder by rolling the rubbing stone back and forth on the grindstone. The same purpose is served by an almost round wooden plate which has the shape of a stemmed leaf with raised edges (evĭn-ndŏk, efeí-ndŏk); it is used for the kernels of the Irvingia barteri Hook. f. (andŏ́k; fruit, ndŏ́k IV), Figure 93; the grinder used with this plate is a hard fruit (asŏ́k), round as a ball.

415 The Pangwe woman very tidily removes the remains of the
252 pulverized nuts or kernels from the grindstone by means of half the shoulder blade bone of some animal, such as a monkey (Fig. 94 a), a piece of raffia stalk, or a tree mushroom (Fig. 94b). Only rarely does she do this by hand.

412 For pounding cassava leaves and other vegetables, as well as
252 for removing the meat from the fruit of the oil palm, a pestle is used in a wooden trough. The pestle (ntú'm e mbǭk) has a knobby enlargement either at both ends or at only one end /150/, and the trough (mbǭk I) usually has the shape of a canoe with one or, more rarely, two handles (Fig. 95). In the Mwai and southern Fang region one can find larger wooden troughs of a quadrangular shape and small wooden troughs with or without /Fig. 92 a appears here in the original text/ handles (Fig. 96), endǒn.

Plantains are peeled with a plantain peeler (mbǒb I), Figure 97, with which the skin is chipped into pieces and scraped off. The peeler consists of a narrow piece of raffia leafstalk, and it is often attractively decorated with carved patterns.

415 The shallow basketwork plate (dʒǎd; plural, biǎd) -- see Section 8 -- which we have already discussed among the agricultural and fishing tools, also plays an important role in the house and kitchen, where it serves simultaneously as bowl, dish, plate, and so forth. The women have a large selection of the bigger plates (dʒǎd) and smaller plates (oyǭk) of this kind on hand. Sometimes one also sees wooden plates or, more accurately, wooden bowls of the same shape as the basket plates (1).

[824] 1. Made from the wood of the Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekūk), Apocynacea, or of the Ceiba pentandra (L.) Gärtn. (dum).

The kitchen spoon or stirring spoon (mbǒb I, ebǒm), which must be strictly differentiated from the eating spoon, /Figs. 93 and 94 appear here in the original text/ is carved out of wood (Fig. 98) and is used for stirring food, mixing vegetables, and dividing the mush.

/153/

•412

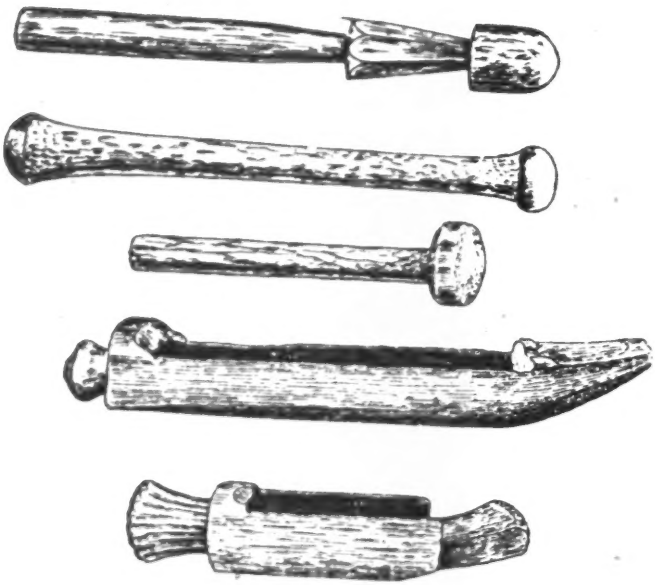


Fig. 95. Wooden Troughs with Pestles.

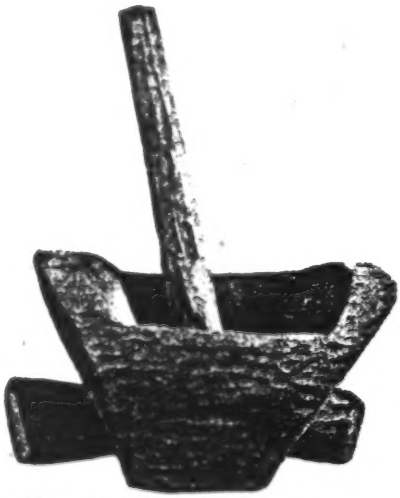


Fig. 96. Wooden Trough with Pestle.

412
531

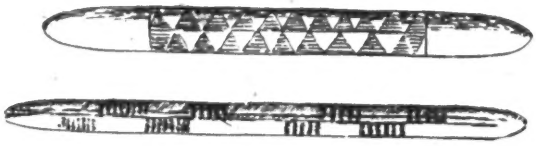


Fig. 97. Plantain Peelers.

252 (nkŭ̀ha-mbŭ̀n), and steamed cassava (amǎ́hǎ-mbŭ̀n), neither of them very tasty or very carefully prepared. The three remaining ways of preparing cassava are in the main designed for men, namely: cassava rolls, the so-called "kanks" (2) (ebǒbǒ̄), the

2. The origin of this word is not clear to me; I do not know whether it was taken from Negro languages or whether it is a European word corrupted in coastal English.

exclusive food on journeys because of their handy shape; cassava cutlets (osā-mbŭ̀n); and finally, boiled cassava roots (agbwǎ ma-mbŭ̀n). In the entire region there is uniformity in the matter of cassava dishes, with the sole exception that the stirrup-shaped leaf rolls are also now and then eaten by men among the Ntum and Fang.

Because of its strong smell, cassava -- which could perhaps replace our potato -- has no great appeal to European taste, especially in the forms in which the Negroes prepare it. The sausage-shaped cassava rolls in the north, where the roots are first placed in clean, running water, most readily please our palates, in spite of their pasty odor. To make them tasty, one has to cut them into slices in the European fashion or pulverize them, mix with an egg, and fry them in butter. The kanks in the south are very bad, because there the roots are placed in the swamp for a while prior to preparation and hence take on a quite repulsive muddy odor.

302 824 of wood (Fig. 139, b-d) and those put together from short sticks of raffia leafstalk bark (Fig. 139, a). Frequently a fragrant hair powder (akūt), used by members of either sex but made only by women, is added to the oil. In preparing it, the roots of the following four plants are mixed together:

1. Cyperacea Cyperus articulatus L. (andǎk);
2. Moracea Dorstenia scabra (Bureau) Engl. (azǒ'm Fang);
3. Urticacea Trymatococcus africanus H. Baillon (ngǒ'nǎ III);
4. An undetermined grass called niasǎda.

/Figs. 139 and 140 appear here in the original text./ /189/ /Fig. 141 appears here in the original text./ In any case, they mix two or three of these roots if they cannot get all four of them. The roots have to dry for two months in the hut and are then completely ground to a powder -- in the case of the Trymatococcus this is done only with the bark -- and they are then sifted through a basketwork plate by tapping it with a knife (a kūt, "to tap"). The roots produce an agreeably scented yellowish powder.

302 827 The Pangwe dislike hair on the rest of the body as much as they dislike it on the face. Underarm hair is shaved off with a razor (Fig. 140) "because of the bad smell"; pubic hair is shaved off -- again by both sexes -- because it is believed to cause itching. /Fig. 142 appears here in the original text./ There are, of course, always people, like good old Otu-Mfǒǒ, who will not bother with this kind of attention to the body.

412 Just as we use pocket knives, the native uses /190/ one-edged or two-edged knives (okǒń), Figures 141 and 142, which he forges himself and carries in sheaths made of brass, leather, hide, etc. at his belt.

515 164 The farther north one goes in the region, the more industriously do the Pangwe brush their teeth. This is done with a stick spliced at the top (Fig. 143) which at times is attractively wound with brass and wire and often serves as a walking stick. Nevertheless the Pangwe do not have nearly such good teeth as one might imagine. Among the Fang at least I never once saw an immaculate set of teeth among adults. The molars are often astonishingly poor, but the front teeth, on the other hand, which are commonly chipped to a point, are better preserved, perhaps because they alone are properly brushed.

1: Tessmann--191 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

515
302

The most important toilet article of both sexes is unquestionably the small oil pot. As often as possible, the Pangwe rub themselves with oil from head to toe, but above all they take care of their hair or, as the case may be, their hairdo. One reason for this, as they say, is that they find the smell of the oil pleasant; a second is that the skin becomes more supple and resistant, in other words, it is a hygienic reason. Add to this the fact -- as was mentioned above --

412

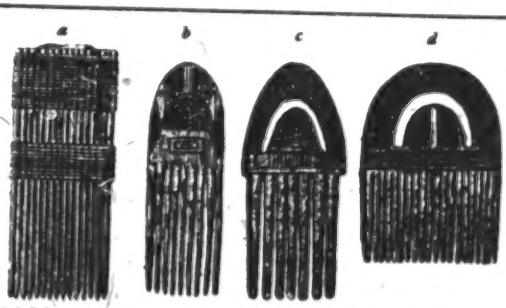


Fig. 139. Combs: (a) made of raffia leafstalk, (b-d) made of wood.

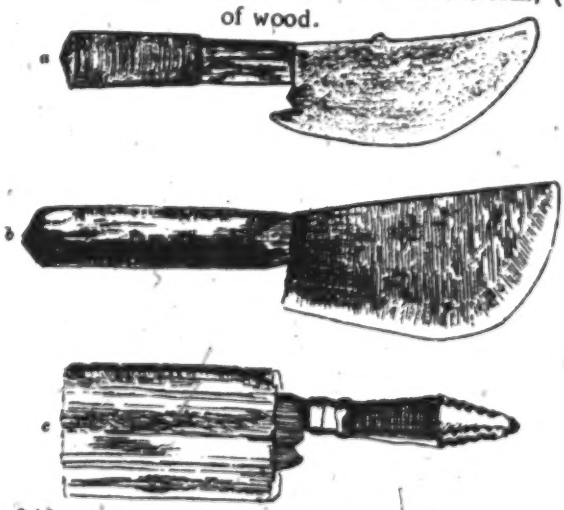


Fig. 140. Razors, (c) with a sheath made of raffia pith.

1: Tessmann--192 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/189/

412
531

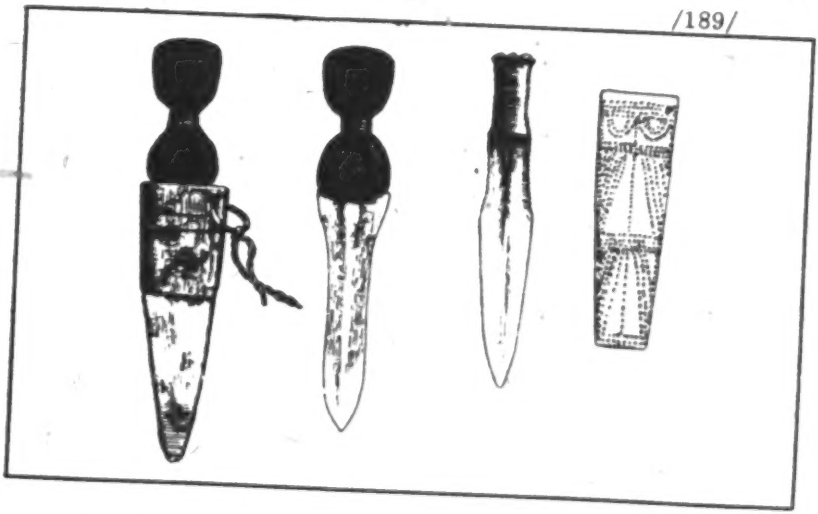


Fig. 141. Two-edged Fang Knives with Sheaths.

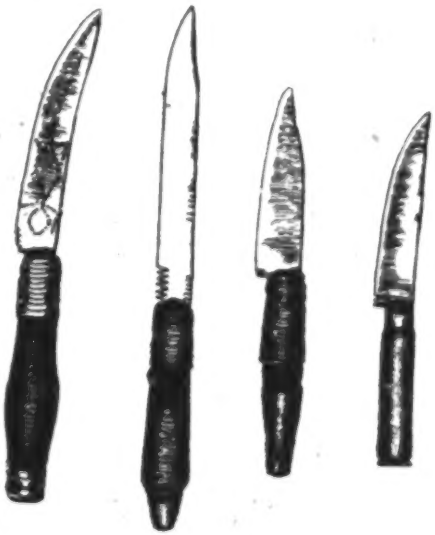


Fig. 142. Single-edged Fang Knives.

386
412

Fig. 147. Scraper for Red Wood (Husk of the Pentaclethra).

386
415

Fig. 148. Vessels for Red Wood.

the Ntum it is called abǣndǣm or kūdemǣ'n IV.

The names fǐna (mfǐ'na) and kūdemǣ'n also designate the painting of the body itself. /Fig. 150 appears here in the original text./

The Randia is a slender tree belonging to the Rubiaceae and grows especially in the vicinity of rivers. Its large whitish blossoms hang from the ends of the twigs or from the forks in the

Fig. 149. Knife for Making Decorative Scars.

branches; its fruit is a berry covered with a number of protuberances running from top to bottom. To obtain the dye a short stick of bark from a raffia leafstalk is drilled into the base of the fruit and stirred about in the contents of the fruit. When the stick is pulled out, a whitish, fairly thick juice sticks to its tip, and with the same stick this is painted directly onto the body in the desired patterns; /198/ after a brief period of time the dye

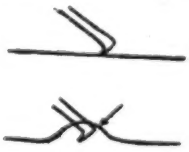


Fig. 150. Making the Incision for a Decorative Scar.

takes on a deep blue-black coloring. The paint stays on the skin from three to four days; in cases of more frequent washing, only two. Afterwards it simply disappears.

Nowadays only small or half-grown boys paint themselves for sport. In former times, however, young people of both sexes did it in order to be conspicuous and in this way to make an impression upon the opposite sex. In those days, therefore, great care was taken with the patterns. Today, only smeared patterns result from the children's lack of skill. /Fig. 151 appears here in the original text./

415 since they first sought a container, e.g., for the skull of the
761 dead, in order to preserve it; hence, the suffix aka). A bark vessel is also, as it were, the grave (n-so-n), for the body of the dead person lies in it in a trough made of bark, which sometimes is closed off with a lid of the same material (passive, since first the place where the body happened to be lying, whether in the house or out in the open, n sǒń, was named; hence, the passive suffix ń).

(b) Bark cloth.

287 Bark is made into cloth by pounding it with a beater (Fig.
412 159) made from the end of an elephant's tooth (d), half an ele-
[321] phant's rib (b, c), the horn of a white-backed duikerbok Cephalophus longiceps Gray (mvū IV), or the wood of the
[824] Leguminosa Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms (andzītsiń) (a). For this purpose, they do not take the wood of a freshly cut trunk, but rather the harder red wood /Fig. 158 appears here in the original text/ of old trees that have been felled a long time ago. The wooden beater has about the same shape as the mallets used by our carpenters and consists of a straight handle with a roller-shaped head which is grooved around half or all of its circumference.

287 The only suitable bark for bark cloth is that of fig trees
824 (etǒb = fig tree [Ficus] and cloth, clothing) (2). /208/
314

2. The following varieties are used in the Pangwe region:
Ficus globicarpa Warb. var. (emblǒń);
Ficus cfr. wildemaniana Warb. (adzǎb-etǒb);
Ficus bubu Warb. (akō-etōb);
Ficus stellulata Warb. (etītō, root to(b) reduplicated);
Ficus preussii Warb. and laurentii Warb. (etǒb, etǒb-o-jōb, ejē'ī, akǎm);
Ficus barteri Sprague (asǎmentúmo Fang, asǎmentüēme Ntum);

287
B4
314

and furthermore the varieties the Pangwe call abǎ́ń, andǔ́m, undǔ́m, and ngus.

/Fig. 159 appears here in the original text./ The most widespread varieties are Ficus globicarpa, stellulata, preussii and laurentii, barteri, abǎ́ń, and andǔ́m. The best cloth -- it is almost pure white -- is provided by Ficus globicarpa Warb. [245] (embiǒ́n) which in former times was planted near the villages. This tree is preferred by the women, who "attach more importance to clothing" than men.

287
314

Whenever possible, smooth young tree trunks, no more than eight to ten centimeters thick, are chosen. A piece is cut out

[412]

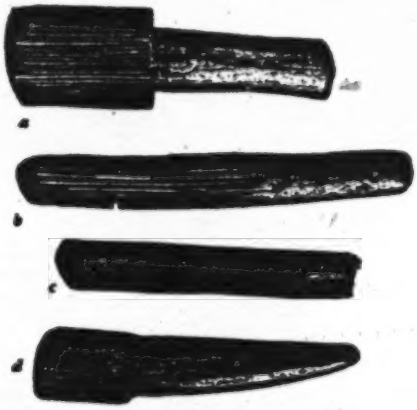


Fig. 158. Beaters for Bark Cloth.
(a) of wood, (b) and (c) of elephant's rib,
(d) from an elephant's tooth.

of the trunk and left lying in the open for half a day or a whole day. Then it is scorched evenly over a small fire, whereupon the outer bark is removed by scraping until the bast layer is completely exposed. Then this layer is cut up lengthwise, loosened by tapping it with the beater, and taken off with the fingers or by means of a stick pushed under it. The bast layer thus taken off is then pounded on some kind of support, for instance, on a tree trunk or a wooden drum. The pounding is

415
285
[462] 1. Women's hanging baskets (nkũn I). Unlike most other baskets, these are also manufactured by women. They are made from strips of the stalk bark of Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch. [824] (stalk, ndẽn, ndẽnãn IV). They display considerable variation, both in size and pattern (Fig. 166). /Fig. 166 appears here in the original text. /

415
285
412
462
2. Carrying baskets (nkõẽ' I), which are used only once, are woven in wide meshes from stalks of the Sarcophrynium by men and women whenever their regular baskets are not available or not available in sufficient numbers, or if they want to spare the baskets. Thus, they would use the carrying baskets, for instance, in

[531]

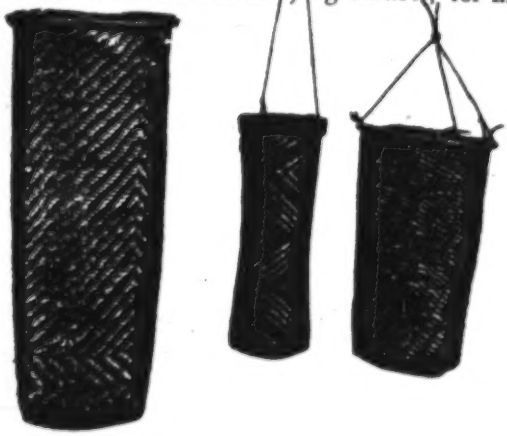


Fig. 166. Women's Hanging Baskets.

order to transport the bloody flesh of a freshly killed elephant into the village and for similar purposes.

285
415
3. Baskets for the oil press and for carrying earth (ekũt, ekũt-ažũ̃ĩ' = oil press baskets, ekũt-ebẽ̂ = earth baskets). The first is used to squeeze out oil from the pulp of the fruit (ažũ̃ĩ') of the oil palm or raffia palm; the second, to remove the earth that is dug out when pits (ebẽ̂) are made. Both baskets are braided from Ancistrophyllum [824] acutiflorum Becc. (nkãne) (1).

[412] 1. I once saw a knife sheath woven entirely from bush rope (Oncocalamus), Figure 167.

285
412

/216/

Fig. 167. Knife Sheath.

285
415

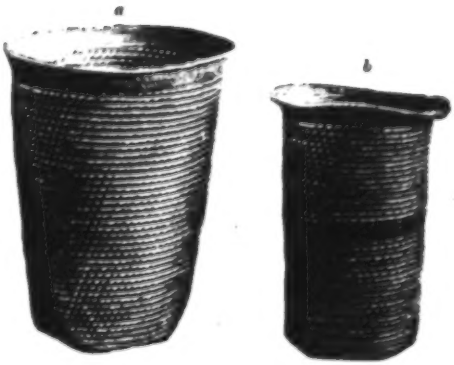


Fig. 168. Small Carrying Baskets.

322 6. House doors
7. Dugouts
8. Oar blade
9. Troughs
10. Pestles
11. Rubbing board for Irvingia kernels
12. Stirring spoons
13. Eating spoons
14. Wooden plates
15. Pots for oil
16. Flasks for powder
17. Bowls for red wood
18. Chiefs' sticks
19. Walking sticks
20. Rifle stands
21. Bark tapper /220/
22. Pipes
23. Cutlass sheaths (antiquated)
24. Bellows
25. Dog bells
26. Stools
27. Crossbows
28. Spear handles
29. Shields
30. Talking drums
31. Hide drums
32. Harps
33. Wooden musical pipes
34. Wooden flutes
35. Xylophone keys
36. Whizzers
37. Jaunde playing counters
38. Wooden Phalli
39. Stilts
40. Memory games
41. Arm rings
42. Ancestral figures
43. Masks for the moon cult

To describe in detail the manner in which all these objects are manufactured is impossible within the scope of this account. Hence, as examples, I shall merely touch on the making of cutlass sheaths, stools, and stirring and eating spoons.

322 The now obsolete cutlass sheaths -- called such by the natives;
412 in reality, they do not encase the cutter but only form a pouch in which it is carried -- are rectangular in shape, with concave longitudinal sides. They are made in the following manner. A longish board about one centimeter thick is cut from the wood of the umbrella tree; this board is cut up into two equal rectangles. With a red-hot cutlass the narrow sides are made smooth and the long sides are rounded inward and also made smooth. On one surface the boards are hollowed out in the form of a rectangle, and at the corners holes are drilled through them with a red-hot gun rod. Then the two boards are placed one on top of the other, with the hollowed surfaces
[531] facing each other, and tied together with bush rope. The outer surfaces frequently are decorated with simple patterns burned into them. Finally, the sheath is provided with a carrying strap of animal hide.

322
352
531

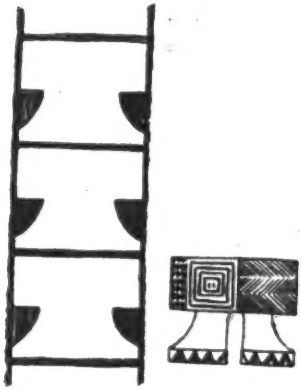


Fig. 172. Stages in Making a Stool.

322 The explanation lies in a kind of principle of reciprocity, a princi-
476 ple clearly stated in the educational precepts to be discussed in a
435 later section /Ed., Vol II/, that is, the seller counts upon the fact that later he will need his client who is in turn a specialist in the manufacture of some kind of article (basketwork plates, for instance), and he then expects to be treated in the same lenient
[443] manner. As a result of the excessive division of labor, everyone is dependent upon everyone else, and this dependence keeps the prices down. Wherever this dependence is absent, the prices go up. Europeans, for instance, with whom such a silent agreement does not exist, pay considerably more, ten or twenty times more, and at the same time they have to put up with inferior work as well.

322 Moreover, the sale of objects manufactured for household use
434 is not regarded as an enterprise for profit. When I asked a stool
554 maker whom I had befriended what his business brought in, he first

[412]

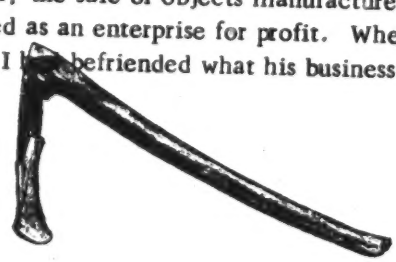


Fig. 173. Adz.

322 had to ponder for a long time and finally said that every month he
434 made about ten stools for two spears (14 pfennigs) apiece, and that
554 he therefore earned 20 spears (1.40 marks); with this income, he said, he had /Fig. 173 appears here in the original text/ bought brass ornaments for himself, and the rest he had put aside as marriage money, but that did not bother him since he considered his art a matter of honor. /222/

322 The manufacture of stirring spoons (mbõb) is, like their form,
415 fairly simple. From a tree trunk (1) a flat piece of wood is cut out

[824]

1. The following three trees are used: Alchornea caloneura Pax (ndămabā III); Hasskarlia didymostemon Baill. (efŭõ'le Ntum, dzĭ III, nyō'le III); and Kickxia elastica Preuss (emvila).

and crudely cut to shape with a bush knife. Then the spoon is hollowed out in the following manner. A chisel (ojĕn), Figure 174, and a simple heavy piece of wood for a hammer are used to make a transverse groove between bowl and handle, and the wood is removed piece by piece by blows aimed at it. The more delicate work is done by shaving with a chisel or knife. The finished spoon is usually rubbed with redwood. The people themselves do not know why this is done. In answer to my question, my friend Nto-Ndanga offered the following remark by way of an answer: "Look here, I am a Black myself, but the Blacks have no sense. I have long asked myself why the stirring spoons are rubbed with redwood because that way dirt (that is, the redwood) gets into the food!" The various forms of the stirring spoon are shown in Figure 98.

Somewhat more effort is required to make the ladling spoons (tōk), Figure 175. They are made primarily from the wood of the
[824] Carpodinus tessmannii Gilg (ebŭ'm), more rarely from the Kickxia elastica Preuss (emvila). A block of wood in the shape of a cylinder halved lengthwise is taken from the timber and cut into the shape of the spoon by means of careful, layer by layer removal of the wood
[442] (see Fig. 176), first with the cutlass (a), then with the adz (b). The bowl is then further hollowed out with the spoon scraper (fŏ'nege-tōk), Figure 177.

322
412

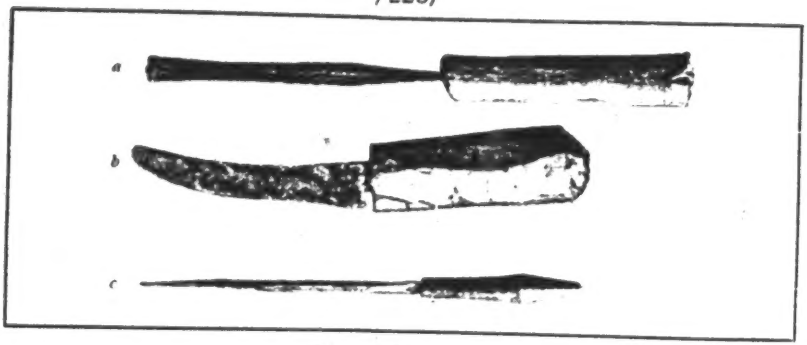


Fig. 174.
(a) Chisel, (b) Saw, and (c) Awl.

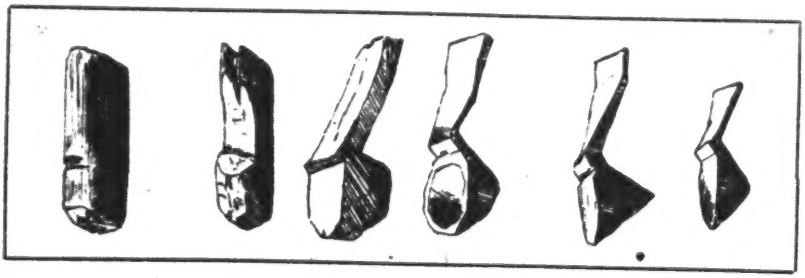


Fig. 175. Making a Ladling Spoon.

Fig. 176. Stages in Making a Ladling Spoon.
Longitudinal Section.

322
412
531

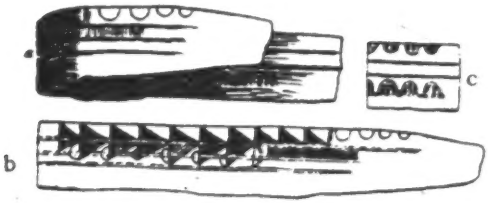


Fig. 177. Spoon Scrapers.
(a) Complete; (b) pattern of the outer side unrolled; (c) part of the pattern of the inner side.

322
415

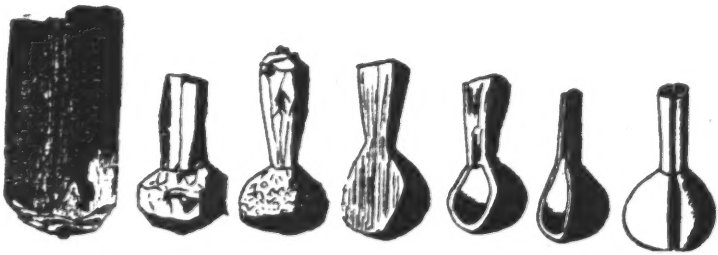


Fig. 178. Making a Powder Flask from Wood.

322
411

out of them in the middle. Into these slits is stuck either an ordinary knife (see Fig. 179) or -- and this is most frequently the case -- a special blade /Fig. 176 appears here in the original text/ with two cutting edges of which one is like that of a knife and the other like that of a saw (Fig. 180). This very practical combination permits /224/ the craftsman to dig the longitudinal furrows in the shaft of the spear with the same tool. The blade is simply /Fig. 177 appears here in the original text/ taken out and reversed, that is, it is set in again with the toothed edge downward.

245 [511 555] distribution of cacao plantations is neither the only nor perhaps the principal cause of inequality. Cacao production is on a considerable scale: around 50, 000 tons in the Cameroons, 3, 000 tons in Gabon (4).

[433]

4. Almost the whole of the Gabon output comes from the Woleu-N'Tem region and especially the Ntoumou cantons. (P. A.)

It is easy to understand that this crop is an essential factor in the
182 evolution /sic/ of Pahouin society.
245 In the field of common law, for example, cacao has affected the orientation of land law. By giving each person the possibility of making /33/ private profits, cacao has increased the independence of men and even of women from family authority. Because it allows the accumulation of durable and tranferable goods, cacao has raised, in a new form, the problem of successional devolution /inheritance/.

To consider only the realm of technology: settling on the land during several generations has apparently put an end to real nomadism; villages are no longer moved about. But a certain amount of shifting cultivation will remain inevitable if some method of rapid reclamation of fallow land is not adopted.

245 The stock of tools has increased considerably. An axe with a small,
42 narrow head ending in a tongue was fastened into the large end of a wooden handle, a daba similarly made but with a rounder head and lighter handle (1) and a machete were formerly the basic implements.

[284]

1. The tongue of the hoe, driven into a branch like a spike, is also bound to it with liana. Old women still use the digging stick, which has or had some ritual significance. (P. A.)

To these must now be added pruning shears, caterpillar destroyer or a local copy, and cacao spear.

245 Boxes or baskets provide vats for fermenting the /cacao/ beans, a roof shades the trays on which they are put to dry. Some men have thought of buying Vermorel vaporizers for spraying the cacao trees; others dream of mowing machines for clearing the land.

779 782 having been offended by some nsem or ritual impurity, by the violation of an éki, etc., whence the necessity of appeasing the totem. The greater the misfortune, the more serious must have been the cause or the fault, even though involuntary, and the more to be expiated by a larger sacrifice. [508]

At the basis of all general rites concerned with the race, we find sacrifice in one form or another, either bloody "communional," or bloody and not "communional," or not bloody, or simply as an offering.

In these sacrifices the victim is often the totem itself. But in that case there will always have been a previous offering of another victim. That victim may sometimes be the officiant himself, as in circumcision, when the sacrificer or operator is but an agent.

II. Lustral Water; médzim akum

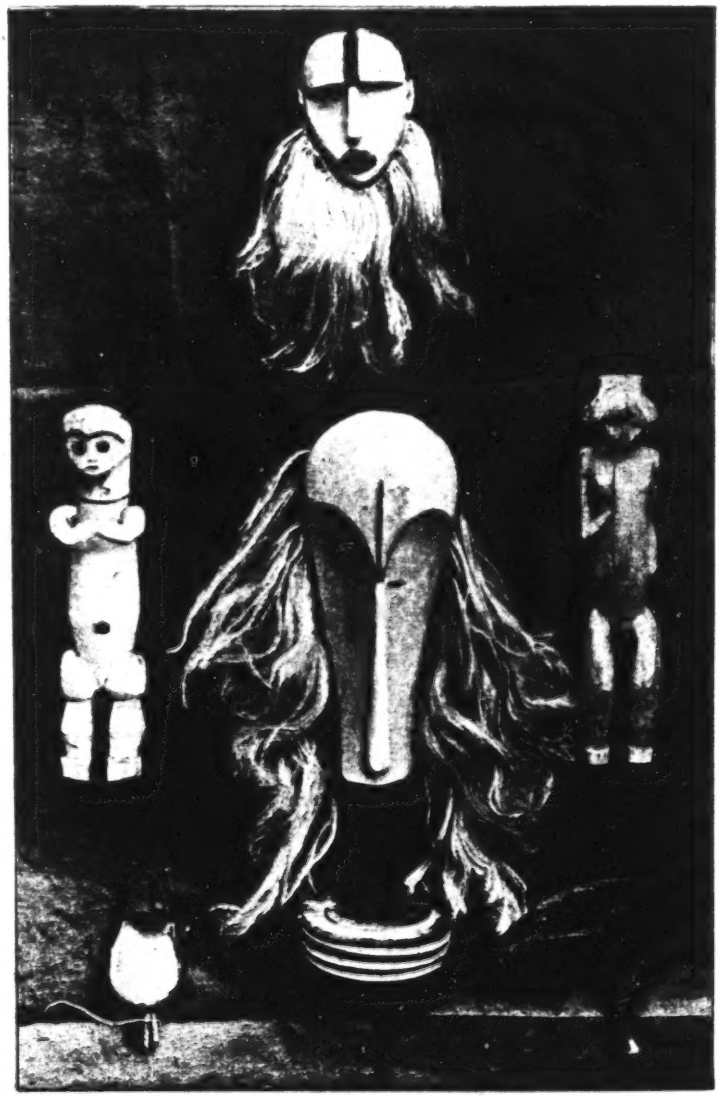
779 782 783 [824] In almost all totemic sacrifices, lustral water is used. The practitioner boils water in a clay pot, making an infusion with various plants. The most commonly used are: ava, a sort of fragrant labiate; asèp, a strong-smelling mint; esun (hua gabonensis), a tree with a garlicky smell; esèp (monodora myristica), with an equally strong scent; and in addition, the leaves of elun, ombien, and several others. Nearly always eleven plants are used, which must have been picked at the new moon. To these are added a few pieces of meteorite and the remains of a sacrifice offered to the tribal totem, consisting of ashes, bone, and a few bits of horn or hoof, also a little dried blood.

Before beginning, the practitioner or head of the family dips his hands in the lustral water. With this he sprinkles the participants, using a dè, (1) a kind of fly swatter usually made

[412] 1. The dè is the insignia of chiefs. In former times, only they were allowed to use an elephant's tail as a fly swatter, when they themselves had killed the animal.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

532
231
534
412
788



1 and 2, Ngi masks used in the Fang Secret Society; 3, 4, Fang idols; 5, Wooden dogbell 6, Ngi collar; 7, Sacrifice knife.

[p. 66(A)]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

now responsible and liable to two parties; if he is reasonable they all meet and talk 628
the palaver. If the palaver is serious, each party appoints his *ntol* (ambassador). 681
The palaver is usually talked in the main street of the town, before all the
representatives of the interested clans, and before all strangers in town. The
Fang are born orators, and remarkable gestures and orations are made while [537]
talking the palaver. The speaker usually walks backwards and forwards grasping
and leaning upon a "palaver stick." He commences with: *M'zona* (I say thus);
when speaking for another he says *A'zona* (he says thus); when speaking for the
people of his town, *Ba zona* (they say thus). Sometimes the *ntôls* (ambassadors) sit
in a canoe in the middle of a river or a stream, and talk the palaver, the injured
parties being on either side of the stream. The case is talked, the goods demanded
in payment stated, and an effort made to *kik nsang* (cut or end the palaver). If
they succeed, then the palaver is *cut* (ended), and a dance follows; if no
agreement is come to, the meeting breaks up and a tribal war exists between these
clans.

Salutations.

There are three salutations common to all. Two friends meet, they each grasp 576
the arm of the other, high up on the biceps; a slight pause is made, then the hand
is slipped down to clasp the wrist. This is also the customary salutation used by
the Bulu.

Two friends meeting salute by embracing.

A traveller entering the *abeng* (palaver house) walks over to the headman and
sits on his knee a moment, at the same time placing one arm around the headman's
neck.

Hospitality demands that all strangers be served food by the town women to [574]
strangers in the *abeng*.

Wives are loaned to guests. [837]

Coarse conversation is indulged in by old and young of both sexes. [521]

Considerable license prevails among the unmarried; less so among the [836]
married.

VIII.—*Invention, Natural Forms, Conservatism.*

Invention.—The arts in use are common to all the different clans of the great 176
Fang tribe. Any new discovery as the working of iron is credited to the dwarfs or 563
nqui. The natives are always ready to admit that the *nqui* are very clever; they
have a saying "no person knows like a *mon nqui* (dwarf) what is inside the forest." 609
When obtainable the natives use an imported saw, or file, and admit its superiority
over their own crude tools. A Fang may be impressed at the knowledge and power
of the white man, but is not greatly surprised; the reason for this is that many
white men are credited with possessing supernatural powers.

Some of the clubs, tools and weapons approximate to the natural forms of the 412
branches or roots of trees. Axe handles and the handle of a certain kind of adze have

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

412 the natural curve of the branches. Stones are employed for rolling food, especially for crushing and rolling the *ngon* seed. Shells of large land mollusca are cut in half and used for spoons, small gourds being used for the same purpose. Large gourds are used for water dippers and bottles. Very many uses are found for the forest 824 gourds, not the least ingenious being the use of a hollow stemmed gourd for [757] administering a rectal injection. Gourds are used for the sounding boards of the musical instrument called *mvuk*. The people find many uses for bamboo. It is used in construction of houses, fish baskets and traps are made from it, fences to protect paths during tribal wars are made of sharp pointed bamboo poles; and small sharpened pieces of bamboo with poisoned tips are buried in the forest paths, point upward, to wound and poison the naked feet of an unsuspecting enemy. The 825 teeth and claws of leopards and bush cats, elephant tail, antelope feet, horns and forest beans are used in their natural form as personal ornaments. Leopard teeth are always considered valuable as *biang* (fetish) and are much sought after; they are frequently imitated in ivory. I have not seen the defences of animals employed as artificial defences, except as fetish. Long tough forest thorns are often used as awls [412] and needles for piercing and sewing skins. I once saw an *ngangan* (witch doctor) 763 perform a post-mortem examination on a woman. After he had discovered the cause 787 of death, which he announced to the expectant crowd as being due to "six witches eating her liver," he first pierced the abdominal walls with a long hard thorn, and then sewed up the body with a bamboo needle threaded with pineapple fibre. I have seen only one cave dwelling; it was used by an isolated sufferer of the dread 342 disease called by the natives *mabata* (a kind of sloughing phagedina). When 734 proper reed material for making thatch is scarce, large forest leaves are used, but they make very poor roofs, especially during the tornado season.

Conservatism.—The Fang are not quick to adopt reforms or to introduce new 185 methods; they are more or less the slaves of custom, and have a superstitious dread 186 of departing from ancestral habits. This refers to all the proceedings of life. Fang living in towns near Gaboon are almost daily coming in contact with white settlers, and to some extent, at least, appear to be changing their mode of living. It never appeared to me that a Fang had the same longing to be "just like a white man" as possesses the young Mpôngwe and Benga men.

IX.—*Ornamentation.*

The patterns mostly seen in Fang ornamentation consist of bands, incised 531 lines, elliptical punch marks, herring bone, lozenge pattern and cross lines. The natives do not possess a natural aptitude for drawing, and seldom attempt it. The few drawings I have seen on the bark walls of houses, supposed to represent men and women, were very crude and exaggerated in proportion. They have no idea whatever of perspective. They seem to interpret foreign drawings very readily. [322] The Fang show considerable skill in plain wood carving, using an ordinary native knife. I have noticed that their carving improves very considerably when an imported pocket knife is the instrument employed.

304 upper thighs, a custom which was imported by the morally
577 loose Jaunde. The people generally regard the custom as shameful, and they excuse it by saying: "After all they are only women; men would be ashamed to go around this way" (similarly, as among us, only women go around "décolleté").

304 Among the Pangwe the division of labor and specialization in all areas of artistic and intellectual endeavor are extreme, and this also appears in the art of tattooing which is mastered by perhaps only one in a hundred. The operation, which, incidentally, is quite unpleasant although not nearly as painful as the decorative scars, is performed in the meeting house without any kind of formalities. The "patient" sits or lies down during the process (Fig. 152). First of all, soot is made by burning some resin (otū), see page 42, and letting the smoke deposit the soot on a potsherd. The artist first traces the pattern on the body by /200/ /Fig. 152 appears here in the original text/ impressing the curved lines with a flexible, moist leaf of grass that has first been placed in ashes and the straight lines with a similarly treated raffia stick. The lines that project too far are carefully wiped away with a wet finger. For the "cobweb pattern" the artist makes use of a pistil of the hand-shaped leaf of the umbrella tree (Musanga), whose ribs are broken off one centimeter above the base after the removal of the leafy part. On the lines he has drawn, he uses his knife to make little diagonal incisions very close to one another, wipes away the blood that seeps out if it is in the way, and rubs the wounds with the resin soot, carefully pressing it in with his thumb or index finger. In other cases, the resin itself, after it has been rubbed to a powder, is put into the wounds, but in that case only resin from the Anonacea Xylopia aethiopica (Dun.) V. Rich. (ojǎ,n). The surface of the tattooed part of the body is now /Figs. 153, 154, and 155 appear here in the original text/ washed to get rid of the blood and soot. Later, rubbing with resin is repeated once more. It sometimes happens that /201/ small swellings form on the wounds which diminish the beauty of the pattern; usually, however, the wounds heal smoothly in a very short period of time.

304 Two types of tattooing are distinguished. There is the wide-
● 413 spread ekūt, and secondly there is the endōlō, the customary one

1: Tessmann--207 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/200/

304
561
352

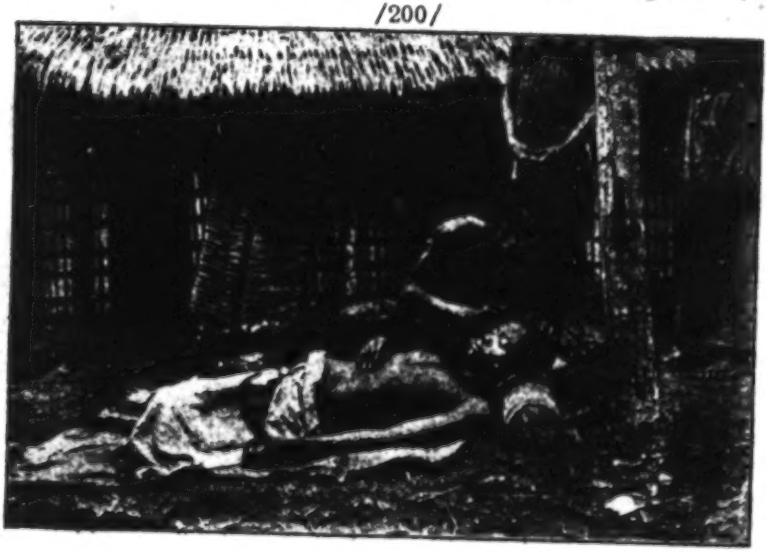


Fig. 152. Tattoo Artist at Work, Nikolentángan, Spanish Guinea.

304
413

Figs. 153 and 154. Knives without Handles for Tattooing (ekut).

Fig. 155. Knife for Tattooing (bendolo).

304 413 among the Fang. The first type is performed with a narrow knife with no handle (nsŏ,ń-bekū'ṭ I), Figure 153, and, depending upon the depth of the parallel incisions, shows lines composed of clearly raised cuts or, less distinctly, uniformly dark lines. For endōlo tattooing, an ordinary razor (okōnngōń), see Figure 140, or a special scalpel-like knife (ōkōń e myāń), Figure 155, is used. Its patterns are characterized by the crisscrossing of its cuts; in later years, however, they can scarcely be distinguished from the bekū'ṭ, especially since both pale with age.

304 465 Tattoo artists are usually not paid when members of their own kin group are concerned, but from strangers they frequently demand shamelessly high prices. Thus, the man represented in Figure 218, Drawing (c), was thoroughly swindled, as will be apparent from the figures given here in the footnote (1). At the

1. Tattooing of Mangame-Ssii, Fang from Ebiānemajong (Essauong family); see Figure 218, Drawing c.

	Marks
(a) Made by Meka-Mendongo (Essauong) for three pieces of rubber	.75
(b, c, d) Made by Akoa-Mbe'ewe (Jenkōng) for two cutlasses	1.00
(e) Made by Mba-Efanga (Essauong) for five strings of beads	.50
(g, h) Made by Endongo (Essauong) for one ell of cloth	.75
(i, k) Made by Ndong-Efa (Jemwam) for three cutlasses	1.50
(f, l, m) Made by Ndong-Ntutum (Omwang) for three cutlasses	1.50
(n, o) Made by Meko-Mefanga (Essauong) for three pieces of rubber	.75
Decorative scars, made by Meba-Mendongo (Jibikon) for one hen	1.00

Fig. 179. Drawknife for Spear Handles.

322
413

Fig. 180. Drawknife (also Scraper) for Spear Handles.

five hens, and five pieces of brass wire, which altogether corresponds approximately to a value of 120 marks in our money. The medicine is kept in a small wooden or clay pot lined with the soft leaves of the Triumfetta (okpń) or in a little basket. It consists of a bundle of leaves with the brain matter of an ancestor, a few pieces of skull from the ancestors placed around it, and pieces of the shaved bark of the Leguminosa Macrolobium straussianum Harms (abǒ'm, bǒme IV) or of the fern Marattia fraxinea Sm. (ezizǒń), and poison (nśū). The skull and the brain as the seat of knowledge are supposed to make the smelting process successful; the Macrolobium is supposed to cause the lump iron to lie as firmly and solidly in the smelting pit (ekiai a bǒme o sī = the iron is firm [as though stamped down] under there) as this tree stands without buttress roots (hence the name abǒ'm from a bǒm, "to stamp in firmly, to pound in, and to be firmly stamped in"); the fern is supposed to cause the iron to agglomerate as beautifully as the young fern leaves.

325 789 [435] [824] [826]

Unfortunately, it is impossible to make iron with this medicine alone. For better or for worse, actual work will have to be done, and for this workers are needed. These are not so difficult to obtain since they get a share of the profit, but the abstinence rules which we have already mentioned, especially those of a sexual nature, deter many of them. These rules enjoin abstinence for two months before and during the period of work, and if they are violated, the iron will

325 834

881 During the final days the chief makes a point of mixing into the
304 boys' food certain aphrodisiac stimulants, cardamon seeds [524]
779 (Amomum citriodorum), a wonderful red fruit (Lavigeria), and
832 onzakôñ (Antrocaryon klaineanum) which, apart from these oc-
824 casions, only women may eat. They are even forbidden to say the name of that tree, because the word nkôñ denotes the male genital organ; they must say onzabili, the onza tree. In addition the fruit of the onzakôñ has a slight resemblance to a phallus.

Throughout their seclusion the children sleep stretched out
881 on the ashes of the hearths. They must tell the chief what they
304 have dreamt about; the family totem ought, in fact, to re-
779 veal itself to them at this time. Since the chief speaks to the
828 children frequently and since they know that they are supposed to have the totem in mind, the suggestion, intimate and strange at the same time, leads easily to the desired result. If, however, a different object from the family totem, animal or other, appears more vividly and repeatedly in their imaginations, it would be a sign that the totemic guardian spirit wants to adopt another medium and, consequently, the child's totem, if he has a personal one, has to be changed.

5) The ceremony

881 On the day of the operation, the practitioner, who has
304 been forewarned, goes to the enclosure, accompanied by the
779 fathers. Each child is questioned in turn; then there is a big dance performed in honor of the ancestors and guardian spirits of the clan. Each head of the family has brought along his mvamayôñ and now explains it to the child. A new dance is done after this initiation. Each father then stretches his son out on the ground, sits down beside him, and slips his legs beneath the child's body in such a way as to raise the middle of the body. The practitioner has a knife in hand kept specially for this purpose and carefully wrapped in a little sheath. The
[413] knife used to be made of stone, but that kind has become very rare. Knives are now usually made of copper and are curiously worked, one end being beak shaped, the other pointed; they are not hafted. These knives are called ekelokêñ.

685 If the offense is admitted, punishment follows immediately. With theft, for instance, the person who has committed larceny must make a restitution of double the value. In some tribes, the thief if condemned to lose an ear, a finger, a hand, sometimes a foot. Often he may be sold into slavery. Among the Fan he has merely to return twice the amount stolen.

684 In case of adultery, the culprit pays the value of the woman and is also often kept prisoner for a long time in the plaintiff's village; his head is shaved and he is exposed to the sun, covered with spices. If payment is not made, and even if it is, the woman's father or husband has the right -- and makes use of it -- to cut the joints of the culprit's fingers so that he is made almost powerless. Women are cruelly beaten and spices are rubbed into her wounds. She is also chastised with the [413] nkôñ éki, (2) a kind of long iron shears used to pinch deeply and

2. This is the name of certain villages where the blacksmiths are found who are skilfull in making these instruments of torture.

cruelly burn the genital organs. At the second offense her nose and ears are cut off; a third brings death.

682 In case of murder, the murderer, when captured, is killed and eaten. Furthermore, his family must pay compensation with a woman or the equivalent value, that is, two lives for one.

695 For all other charges and for those just mentioned, when the acknowledged or presumed culprit denies his guilt, judicial trial is required. [560]

Whatever the ordeal, they may all be considered from two points of view, or even are of two degrees. The first ordeal is intended to "indicate" the likely culprit; the second, to decide whether or not he is really guilty. Punishment is immediate and strikes simultaneously at body and soul.

The first step is therefore to discover the culprit. With theft, murder, or sorcery, the ordeals vary according to the case.

262 In addition to the spices, the Pangwe use oil as an additive for their food. The oil is obtained from the oil palm Elaeis guineensis L. (alĕn) and the Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (adźăb), but it is extracted so rarely that its use in the kitchen is far secondary to its use for the care of the skin. For this reason I shall discuss the extraction of oil when I come to speak of skin care.

354 The kitchen of the Pangwe woman is located, as we have already seen, in the house under the suspension loft. There is no actual hearth in it; among the Mwai this is represented by three rocks, but for the rest the pot which is always without legs is placed on a potsherd or on the skillfully arranged logs of the fire. If at any time there is more than usual to be cooked, for instance, after a successful elephant hunt, the daily fireplace is too small, and a second one is built behind the house.

313 For cooking -- as every little Pangwe girl knows -- three things are necessary: wood, water, and fire. There is never any shortage of wood; every day the housewife brings the necessary logs from the plantation (Fig. 51). Water is likewise available in great quantities; 312 it merely has to be taken from the river in calabashes (ndŏk IV) or -- 445 among the Ntum and Okak -- in earthenware water flasks (Fig. 92a), Pangwe esŭ̄gă (hence the name sŭ̄k, an imitation of the gurgling sound made by the water as it is poured in; hence also a-sŏk "waterfall"). We discussed the fire in the previous section.

412 The kitchen utensils of the woman are very simple. The grindstone (akŏk) and the little round rubbing stone (ngŏk IV) that goes 252 with it are found everywhere. The grindstone is irregularly flat, scoured smooth by the rubbing done on it, and it usually lies on the ground on which the woman kneels in front of the stone she works. Among the Mwai, who are somewhat more advanced in the art of cooking anyway, the stone is placed on four small posts like a table, a fact which considerably "raises" it in appearance. Groundnuts, ngon, and so forth are rubbed to a powder by rolling the rubbing stone back and forth on the grindstone. The same purpose is served by an almost round wooden plate which has the shape of a stemmed leaf with raised edges (eyĭn-ndŏk, efeĭ-ndŏk); it is used for the kernels of the Irvingia barteri Hook. f. (andŏ́k; fruit, ndŏ́k IV), Figure 93; the grinder used with this plate is a hard fruit (asŏ́k), round as a ball.

415 252 The Pangwe woman very tidily removes the remains of the pulverized nuts or kernels from the grindstone by means of half the shoulder blade bone of some animal, such as a monkey (Fig. 94 a), a piece of raffia stalk, or a tree mushroom (Fig. 94b). Only rarely does she do this by hand.

412 252 For pounding cassava leaves and other vegetables, as well as for removing the meat from the fruit of the oil palm, a pestle is used in a wooden trough. The pestle (ntú'm e mbǭk) has a knobby enlargement either at both ends or at only one end /150/, and the trough (mbǭk I) usually has the shape of a canoe with one or, more rarely, two handles (Fig. 95). In the Mwai and southern Fang region one can find larger wooden troughs of a quadrangular shape and small wooden troughs with or without /Fig. 92 a appears here in the original text/ handles (Fig. 96), endǒn.

Plantains are peeled with a plantain peeler (mbǒb I), Figure 97, with which the skin is chipped into pieces and scraped off. The peeler consists of a narrow piece of raffia leafstalk, and it is often attractively decorated with carved patterns.

415 The shallow basketwork plate (dʒǎd; plural, biǎd) -- see Section 8 -- which we have already discussed among the agricultural and fishing tools, also plays an important role in the house and kitchen, where it serves simultaneously as bowl, dish, plate, and so forth. The women have a large selection of the bigger plates (dʒǎd) and smaller plates (oyǭk) of this kind on hand. Sometimes one also sees wooden plates or, more accurately, wooden bowls of the same shape as the basket plates (1).

[824] 1. Made from the wood of the Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekūk), Apocynacea, or of the Ceiba pentandra (L.) Gärtn. (dum).

The kitchen spoon or stirring spoon (mbǒb I, ebǒm), which must be strictly differentiated from the eating spoon, /Figs. 93 and 94 appear here in the original text/ is carved out of wood (Fig. 98) and is used for stirring food, mixing vegetables, and dividing the mush.

1: Tessmann--138 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

415

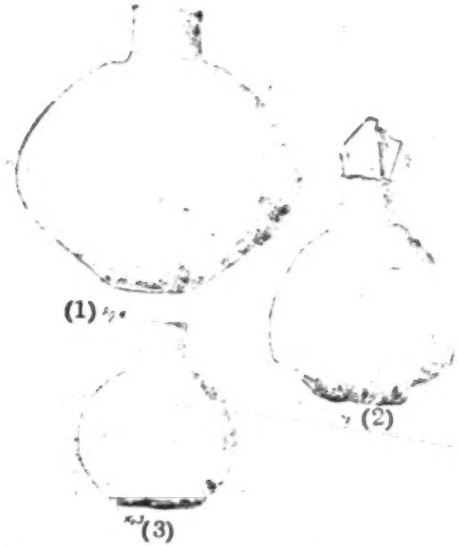


Fig. 92 a. Clay Water Flasks.

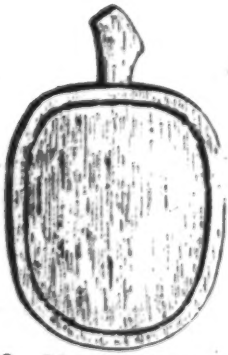


Fig. 93. Wooden Plate for Pulverizing Irvingia Kernels.

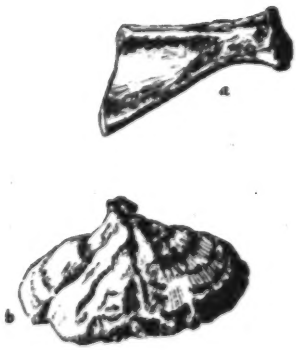


Fig. 94. Shoulder Blade of a Monkey. (a) and a Tree Mushroom (b) for Cleaning the Grindstone.

415 The eating or serving spoons, with which the woman tastes the food during cooking and ladles it out of the pot at mealtime, are kept above the fireplace. /151/ /Fig. 95 appears here in the original text./ Such spoons have various shapes; the simplest is a Sarcophrynium leaf folded in the form of a spoon and used only once. This leaf spoon is called ntǒ́no I. The calabash spoon (egbwǎ́s) represents a higher stage of spoon, as does the snail spoon (ebǒ̃na, ekǒkǒ́e), Figure 101. The calabash spoon is made from a small fruit of the calabash gourd (Fig. 99 and 100) which has been cut in half through the middle; the snail spoon is made from the [321] large Achatina marginata Sw. (kōĩ́) by cutting out a piece of its shell. These are the women's spoons for everyday use, and as such they correspond to the men's wooden eating spoon (tōk). Women never use ladling spoons made of wood.

The most important kitchen utensil is the cooking pot (mvé I, vīǒk; plural, lōk) made of clay (vīǒk), of which each woman keeps a number of larger ones (mvé, vīǒk) and smaller ones (obébé) on the pot loft (akǎn e mvé). Through the trading companies, iron pots [177] with three feet (mēkǒne III) have already spread throughout the land. /Fig. 96 appears here in the original text./

262 After these general preliminary /152/ observations, I shall go on to a description of the methods of preparing /Fig. 97 appears here in the original text/ the principal food plants. Those of greatest importance as staple foods will once more be listed here in order: cassava, plantain, groundnut, ngon, maize, taro, yams (1) (Fang region).

1. Smaller repetitions cannot be entirely avoided for the sake of clarity in the individual sections. The reader will be so kind as to excuse them.

1. Cassava

252 Aside from insignificant variations, the cassava root is prepared in five different ways. Two of these are chiefly women's food: pulverized cassava, cooked in a leaf roll bent into the shape of a stirrup

1: Tessmann--143 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/153/

415
531

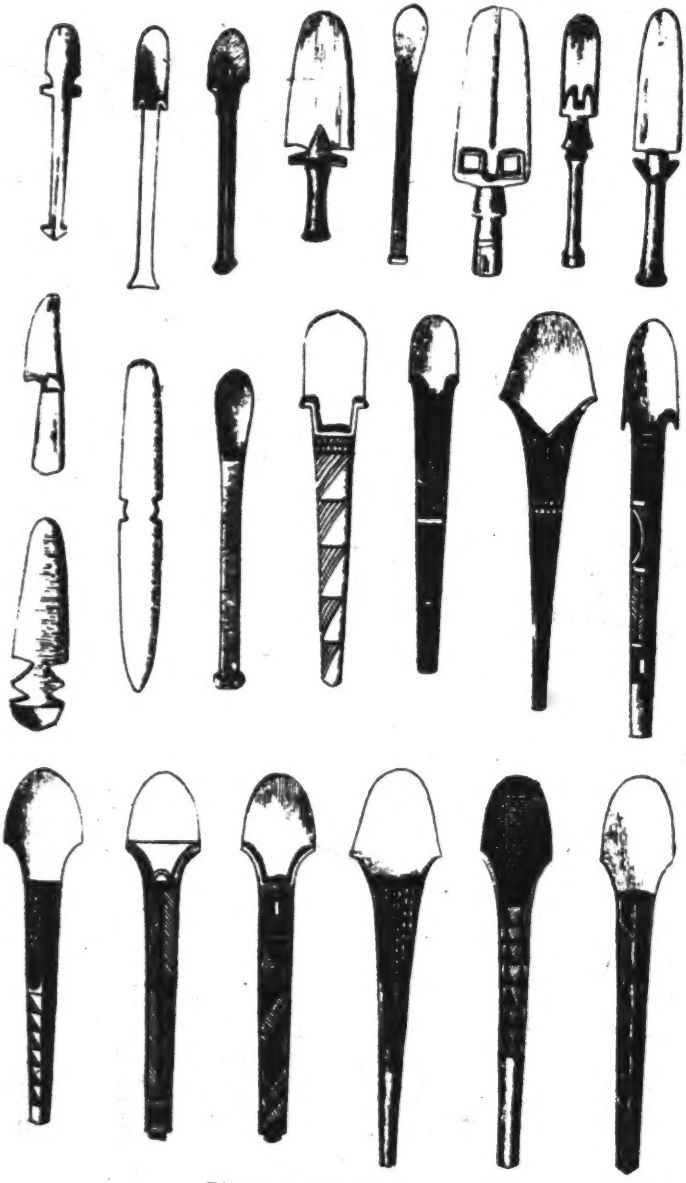


Fig. 98. Stirring Spoons.

252
824

[415
531]

Fig. 99. Calabash Spoon.

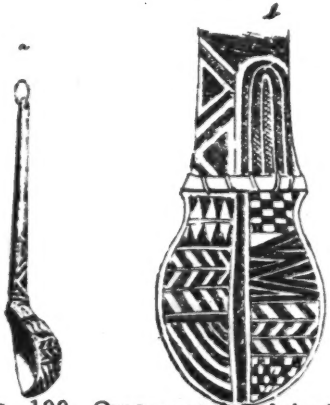


Fig. 100. Ornamental Calabash Spoons.

[521]

Fig. 101. Snail Spoon.

are the leaves of the previously often mentioned Marantacea Sarcophrynium velutinum (Baks) K. Sch. (okiǎ̄kūī, okiǎ̄) (1), Plate 11, with the species glabrius Laes. /155/ (andū́ma); in the north (Jaunde), the leaves of the Clinogyne schweinfurthiana K. Sch. (embūǒ) are used. Every day the women bring large bundles of such leaves from the field since they use them not only for wrapping cassava and maize loaves, but also as trays and plates.

1. okiā́ī = leaf; a kūī = to envelop; stem kū. Compare kū[1], the turtle, because of its armor, and a kū-t = to knock, to open by knocking, that is, to cause something to uncover itself.

252 The mass of cassava is gently kneaded in these leaves into the shape of a sausage; then a leaf is wrapped around it and folded over at the ends like a parcel; finally, there is tied around it a string made from the stalks of the same plant which supplied the leaf cover (the stalks of the plant are called ndǎ̄n IV, ndǎ̄nan IV). These rolls are boiled with some water for an hour in a covered pot, and they are then put to one side to cool off. Only in rare cases are they eaten warm immediately after being cooked (Fig. 102). They keep for three days this way. Usually they are 35 centimeters long, somewhat longer in the Jaunde region, and five centimeters thick; they are in all somewhat larger in the Bulu region.

252
415
516
342

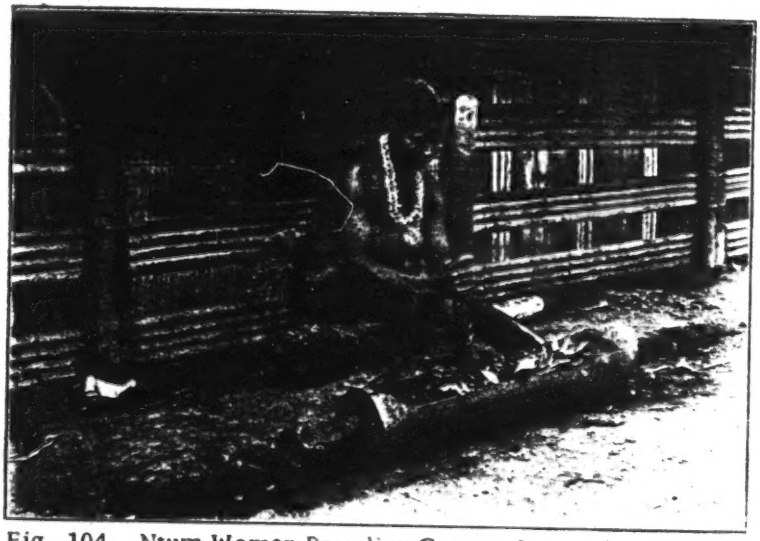


Fig. 104. Ntum Woman Pounding Cassava Leaves in a Trough for Spinach.

252 three or four times, and salt is added. Everything is given another good stirring, and the dish is ready. Sometimes the material is also boiled with a little water in the pot itself.

(b) Groundnut bundle (nnǎm-ewu̧no I).

As in the case of (a), water is put on the fire in a pot. After the pot has been taken off the fire, the groundnut material is poured into it and stirred up as water is added. Then the mush is put inside a plantain leaf that has been drawn through the fire to make it flexible; the leaf is tied together into a bundle and placed on the fire in a pot of cold water. The pot must be closed at the top with leaves. If the groundnuts are not stirred up with hot water, but, as in this case, are placed on the fire cold, they always have to boil from half an hour to an hour. /159/

(c) Groundnut mush (atǒ̧ō).

The mass of groundnuts -- prepared as indicated above -- is poured into a pot of boiling water and stirred around. Then it is

264 Then follows the warm midday meal which takes place between twelve and five o'clock, depending on when the woman returns from the plantation. The main meal, which is fairly substantial, occurs in the evening. This is not just one meal, however; the women have to cook two or three times and, indeed, even in the middle of the night in order to appease the hungry stomachs. They frequently deviate from this "rule," to be sure. If the store of provisions is ample and there is little work to do, they eat the whole day long; on the other hand, if anything comes up, they just as readily omit meals or fast an entire day.

In the main, meals consist of cassava and plantains. In addition to these, any of the other foods mentioned may be eaten, whatever is on hand.

Men and women usually eat separately. The woman takes care of herself as she is cooking and helps herself even to the men's food which is not meant for her, or she eats with her daughters and younger sons after she has sent the midday meal to her husband in the meeting house where the older boys also gather for food. /161/ On the other hand, the husband habitually goes home to take the late evening meal in the family circle, since by then it has become too cold or lonesome in the meeting house.

At all times, the Pangwe man eats quietly and with dignity, not without appreciative smacking of the lips and constant talking, however. Greedy eating (a šy̆ban a dži) seems ridiculous and un-
[57] becoming to the Pangwe and is interpreted by him as a sign of bad rearing. Many of the precepts which the father gives his son make
[86] this point, and in proverbs and fairy tales (for instance, in the nice
538] fairy tale of Bömme's gluttony, in the story of the greedy pig, and so forth) the same idea recurs.

264 Tableware is very sparse, as one would expect. In the case of
415 liquid dishes, the cooking pot, if it is small, is placed in the midst of the company straight from the fire; if it is large, its contents are poured into a smaller pot. Everyone takes his spoon and eats from the common vessel. In the evening when the man eats at home, he usually has a pot of his own placed before him. Solid foods, for instance, plantains and cassava cutlets, are served on a banana leaf, and everyone takes them by hand. It is considered more refined to

264
415 put the leaf on a basketwork plate or to serve the food on such a plate with nothing under it.

The men's spoon is made of wood (tǭk; plural, IV or, irregular, matǭk), Figure 105, and occurs in four different forms, each with two subvarieties. The first form resembles our salad spoons; it has either a circular or broad egg-shaped bowl and a flat handle which begins just below its outer surface (a-c). This first form [177] has come from the north, perhaps from the Jaunde and Bene, among whom it is very widespread and popular, and perhaps from tribes located even farther north; in the south it is to be seen quite frequently among the Bulu, quite a lot among the Ntum, and rather more rarely among the Fang. The spoon may have (d) a pear-shaped bowl and a wider handle which starts farther down (I have seen this only among the Fang).

The second form (e-f) consists of a more or less circular, deep bowl and a broad handle attached to the edge of the bowl and bent in the shape of a gable. The handle usually broadens out at the end and is decorated with carved patterns or covered with stamped brass plate. The latter is to be found only among the Fang and, because of the circular shape of the bowl, is called dū̧ma-gǭdǭvǭ'dǭ, "nest of the bulbuls (Pycnonotus)."

A form representing a transition between the first and second forms is exemplified by g where the narrow, unadorned handle of the first form is bent in the form of a gable like the second form. This is found only among the Jaunde. /162/

/Fig. 105 appears here in the original text./ The third form (h-k) has a narrow, oval, shallow bowl which more or less gradually extends into the short, usually flat, more rarely round handle; this form is to be found only among the Fang.

A fourth form (l-n) really consists only of a trough-shaped bowl on which the handle is indicated merely by a gradual depression (accordingly, the form is called kiāi-adžǎb = leaf of the Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl.); it is found only among the Fang.

The women's spoons, that is, leaf spoons, calabash spoons, and snail spoons, have been mentioned above. It may be added at this point that the man also uses these spoons on occasion, especially when he has no wooden spoon at hand or when he is on a journey.

415
531

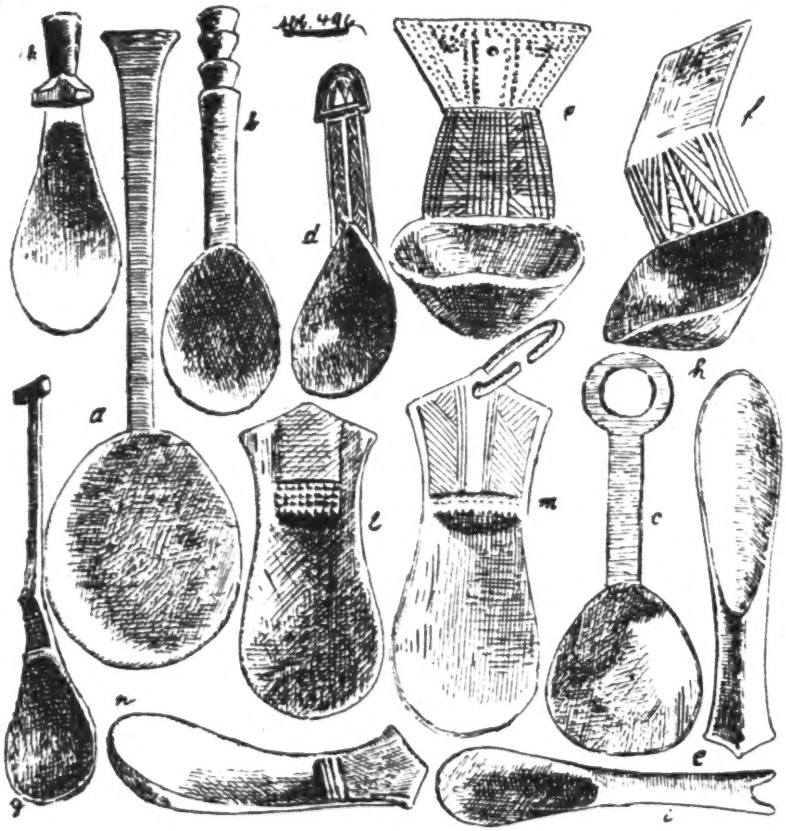


Fig. 105. Men's Ladling Spoons.

264 415 As a rule, to be sure, every man carries one or two of these useful utensils in his shoulder bag made of pineapple fibers (mfǒk). /163/

Beverages and Indulgents

271 415 484 The usual beverage of the Pangwe is water. He drinks it from little bowls, into which the water is poured from a clay water flask, or from calabashes (ndǒk IV) which, in addition to the clay water flasks, are also used for fetching water. He also drinks water from special drinking calabashes cut in half through the middle (Mwele) or provided with a hole (Jaunde). On a journey, he uses one or

271 more leaves folded together in the form of a bag, like the leaf
445 spoon, or his right hand with which he scoops up the water and
484 throws it into his mouth with rapid swinging motions.

In dense forest where no stream is known to be nearby -- this,
271 to be sure, is a rare occurrence, for instance, when they have lost
137 the way or if suddenly somebody falls ill from thirst, or the like --
824 one can, at times, open a hidden source of water in the water liana Dichapetalum holosericeum Engl. (angūngū'ī-ndžīk III Ntum, ngū'ī-ndźīk III Fang). Unfortunately, however, this plant does not occur everywhere; it grows straight up from the ground to the highest tree tops and can attain the thickness of the upper thigh, but usually it measures only 40 centimeters in circumference. In order to get water, one only needs to cut off the liana as high as one can reach, something that can be done with one blow, and then cut off a piece from the lower half. This is held vertically so that the water cannot run out, and it is then gradually inclined over a drinking vessel, for instance, leaves folded together in the form of a bag. The water, which -- as the Negroes assert -- is supposed to be good for the stomach, now flows out of the stem in a strong stream, hissing all the while. It is quite astonishing what quantities of water the liana contains. A piece as long as one's arm suffices to quench the most violent thirst and, according to my estimates contains one and a half liters. If one needs more, he simply cuts off additional pieces, and since the water cannot flow out of the cut liana because of the air pressure, one always has enough, even for large caravans.

272 As regards indulgents, the Pangwe have sugarcane sap, banana
273 wine, palm wine, and tobacco. In their use of these they are, on the whole, quite moderate. In this respect, the importation of rum would certainly have created a change for the worse if in 1906 the prohibition against the sale of intoxicating liquors had not intervened.

1. Sugarcane sap.

272 The sap contained in sugarcane is extracted in the following manner. The bark of the sugarcane is splintered off with a knife, and its meat is sucked out, or one presses out the sap and then drinks it as "sugar wine (mayǒ[k] me nkō'k)." The latter method of

249
303

Fig. 144. Oil Press for Raffia Palm Oil.
To the left the pulp containing oil is being heated over the fire.

303
249
524

"With the knife that he had below at his belly, I shall divide him for you."

249
303

A little water is added to the pulp which contains the oil; it is stirred and then placed on a piece of bark to lie in the sun for a few days. It is then put on a frame (Fig. 144, left) and, by means of a fire laid under it, is thoroughly heated for half an hour to an hour. Afterwards it is placed in a little basket, [145] specifically made for this purpose (ekût ažū,ī) from the Ancistrophyllum (nkāne), which is squeezed out on the oil press (ekī'le-mažū,ī, efǎ'ī-ažū,ī). Although this press is made by one man alone, it may be used by all the villagers. In most villages it is set up near the meeting house and consists of a frame -- two posts planted in the ground at some distance from each other with two cross-sticks tied to them -- and of a board cut to a point near the bottom and attached sideways to the frame, that is to say, it is simply tied to the upper cross-stick (as seen in Fig. 144), or it may be held by means of a pole set at an angle in the ground and passing through a hole drilled in the board at the upper end. In order to hold it tight,

249
252

4. Palm seed oil (mbǒn e mbań, maniańga Jaunde), used only for the skin.

In the order given, from 1) to 4), the frequency of production decreases. In other words, pressed oil is made most frequently, palm seed oil is made most rarely. The order is the same for the southern Pangwe, except that washed oil is completely absent.

1) Pressed oil.

The stalks bearing the ripe fruit are taken off the tree, cut apart by means of axe and cutlass, and left to lie for a couple of days under a blanket of banana leaves. Then the fruit itself is taken off and boiled with a little water for about half an hour in a pot covered with leaves. Afterwards, it is pounded in a trough with a wooden pestle, and the seeds are picked out (Fig. 145). The pulp is then pressed out on the oil press. The oil has the familiar yellowish-red color, and among Europeans it appears on the dinner table as "palm oil chop" with meat and the tubers of macabo or taro; however, only a small proportion of the natives eat it (one-quarter, in the south even less).

[262]

249
252
415
301

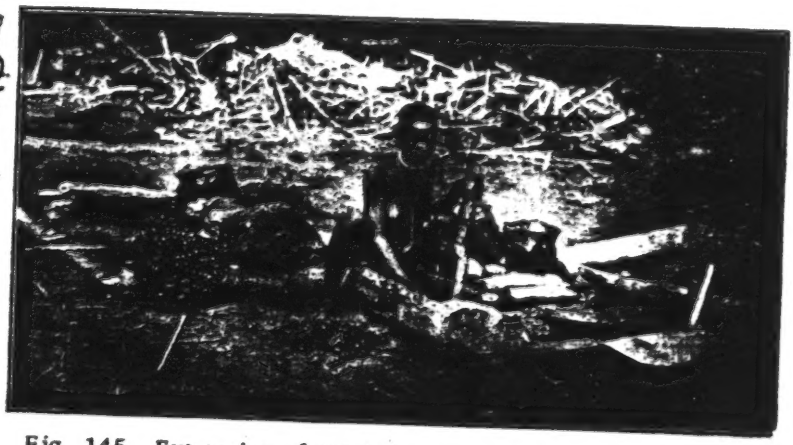


Fig. 145. Extraction of Oil from the Fruit of the Oil Palm.

302 Aside from rubbing his skin with oil, the Pangwe likes to
822 smear his body with dyes on certain occasions. For this purpose he uses red chiefly, more rarely white, and only exceptionally black. There are no other colors. Red is the color for joy,

[415
249
252
516]

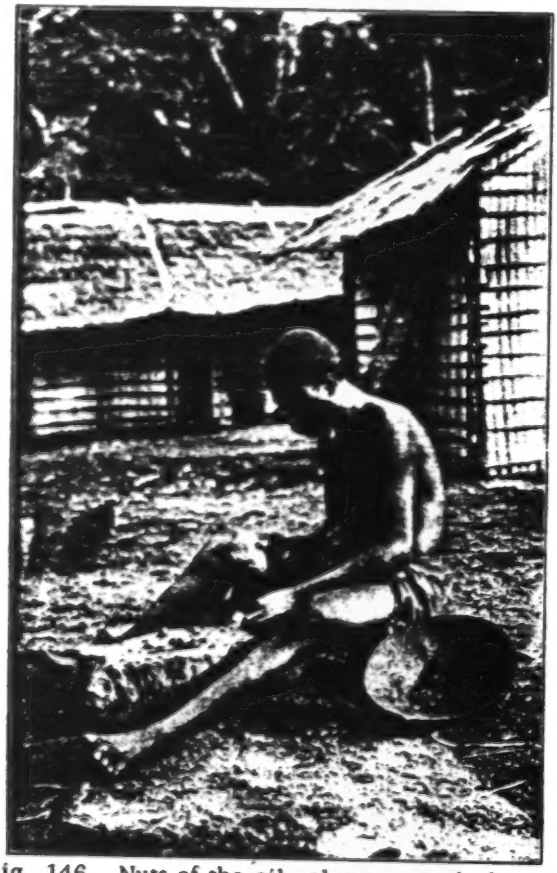


Fig. 146. Nuts of the oil palm are cracked open to extract the oil.

and white is the color for death and evil. From this, the occasions on which the colors are used will be apparent. On festive occasions, that is, dances, weddings, and birth celebrations, red is used, a color which sometimes (for instance, in the love dance) is enlivened by white suns and circles, which seldom

302 appear in black. The natives also put lozenge-shaped /195/ spots
822 (bendõ[k] be ba, "lozenges from the redwood") on the skin, or they leave lozenge-shaped areas uncolored when they paint themselves red, in both cases with the help of a stencil, that is, a /Fig. 147 appears here in the original text/ leaf from which a lozenge-shaped piece has been cut out. On occasions of mourning and cult activities dedicated to the "Evil One," on the other hand, they wear white.

386 Red dye (bã̄ III, esī) is obtained from the heart of the redwood tree Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub. (mvõ' IV Fang, mvẽ IV Ntum), a Leguminosa. They prefer old trees that have fallen down and are already rotten on the outside. A piece of convenient size is knocked off, and using it as a scraper (niǎk-esī IV) they rub it on the rubbing block (niě-esī), which is the trunk, going back and forth and sprinkling fine sand on it from time to time. Once I saw the husk of the Leguminosa Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth. (ebã̄'i), Figure 147, used as a scraper. When the nearest redwood tree is at so great a distance that it is impracticable to run to it whenever dye is needed, a small log and a scraper is taken to the hut in order to be able to produce the favored red dye at all times without any trouble. Very charming little vessels in
415 the form of pots, troughs, plates, or stools are used as containers for the dye (Fig. 148). /Fig. 148 appears here in the original text./

White dye(vũok IV) is obtained from the white clay of the same name, a kind of pottery clay which usually is darker. It is applied after being mixed with water. Black dye is prepared from crushed charcoal to which water is added (dye and charcoal, pfǐ'di III).

4. Decoration of the body.

302 We recognized the adornment of the body with different ob-
304 jects as the expression of a purely esthetic urge; we recognized the desire to express personal moods as the motive for painting the body. /196/ On the other hand, religious reasons doubtless originally played a role in the constant alterations made on the body. This seems clear, for instance, with respect to the custom of making the teeth pointed and incising the body. These very

386
412

Fig. 147. Scraper for Red Wood (Husk of the Pentaclethra).

386
415

Fig. 148. Vessels for Red Wood.

314 strips of rattan palm. Both frames are drawn through holes made
342 with an awl (nsǒn), Figure 174, c; they are sewn on with fine
81 palm bands. In the next section I shall speak of the patterns.

314 To obtain bark for houses and decoration a whole number of
●415 trees are available, as we have seen. On the other hand, containers
322 -- at least in the southern region -- are made from the bark of only a single tree, a Tiliacea (ekǫ́b). They are carefully worked, and when new they look very nice because of their even yellow-gray color which later, as a result of the smoke in the hut and through age, becomes dark brown to black. They are manufactured in the following manner. The requisite piece of bark is cut off to the desired size, and its outermost layer is scorched over the fire so that it can be scraped off with a knife. It is then bent into the shape of a cylinder so that the edges lie over one another in a narrow strip. The edges are clamped between the halves of a stick that has been split down the middle, the halves being pressed together again at the top and bottom by means of a string. At this point the edges are sewn one on top of the other with two seams. The stitching is done with palm bands, for which holes are made with an awl. The projecting edge is cut off. The lid consists of a hoop similarly constructed from the same bark and a plate made of the wood of the umbrella tree, which is also used for the bottom of the vessel.

415 Bark containers of all sizes are manufactured, from the most
761 charming little boxes to the gigantic barrel. In one respect, however, they are identical, that is, only important things are kept in them, such as the poisoned arrows for the crossbow, skulls of ancestors, and, above all, medicines, in short, all things /207/ connected with death; hence they are called nsǫ̌k I (1), since

1. In addition, we find nkǫ́b I from which is derived the name of the tree, ekǫ́b.

n-sǒ-k -- derived from n-so-ak -- contains the root sǒ which designates death in the religious sense. Thus, one puts something associated with death (sǒ) in the bark container (action is involved

415 761 since they first sought a container, e.g. /for the skull of the dead, in order to preserve it; hence, the suffix aka). A bark vessel is also, as it were, the grave (n-so-n), for the body of the dead person lies in it in a trough made of bark, which sometimes is closed off with a lid of the same material (passive, since first the place where the body happened to be lying, whether in the house or out in the open, n sǒń, was named; hence, the passive suffix ń).

(b) Bark cloth.

287 412 [321] [824] Bark is made into cloth by pounding it with a beater (Fig. 159) made from the end of an elephant's tooth (d), half an elephant's rib (b, c), the horn of a white-backed duikerbok Cephalophus longiceps Gray (mvū IV), or the wood of the Leguminosa Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms (andzītsíń) (a). For this purpose, they do not take the wood of a freshly cut trunk, but rather the harder red wood /Fig. 158 appears here in the original text/ of old trees that have been felled a long time ago. The wooden beater has about the same shape as the mallets used by our carpenters and consists of a straight handle with a roller-shaped head which is grooved around half or all of its circumference.

287 824 314 The only suitable bark for bark cloth is that of fig trees (etǒ'b = fig tree [Ficus] and cloth, clothing) (2). /208/

2. The following varieties are used in the Pangwe region:
Ficus globicarpa Warb. var. (emblǒ'ń);
Ficus cfr. wildemaniana Warb. (adźźb-etǒb);
Ficus bubu Warb. (akǒ'-etǒb);
Ficus stellulata Warb. (etítǒ, root to(b) reduplicated);
Ficus preussii Warb. and laurentii Warb. (etǒ'b, etǒ'b-o-jǒb, ejǒ'T, akǎm);
Ficus barteri Sprague (asǎmentǔmo Fang, asǎmentǔǒme Ntum);

1: Tessmann--225 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/213/

284
415

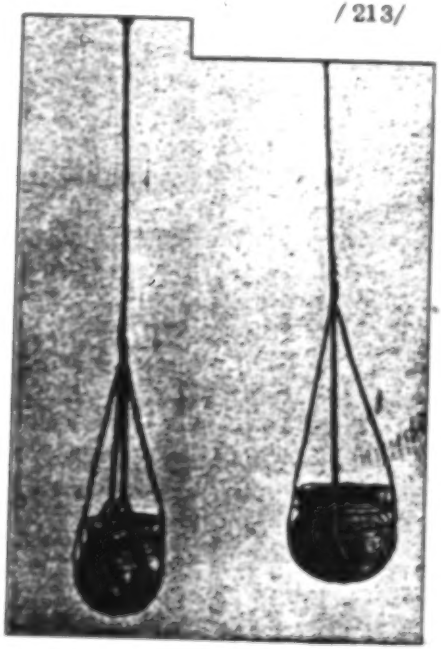


Fig. 164. Mwele Device for Hanging Cooking Pots.

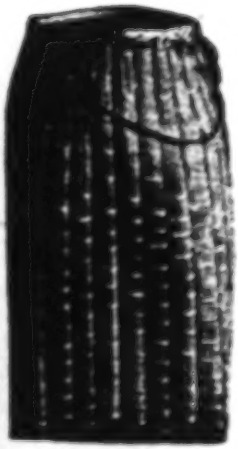


Fig. 165. Storage for Groundnuts.

285
415
251

283 elements of the same kind, and these are braided together into a pigtail (helmet caps and helmet hairdos; see also device of the Mwele for hanging pots, Fig. 164). /Fig. 165 appears here in the original text. /

(2) Carrying bands and braided mats.

[482] The carrying bands are braided from Triumfetta bast strips (two under, two over). The braided mats are made from leaf strips of the screw pine Pandanus (awŭ'ba, kŭbuga; contracted form, akŭ̃) which intertwine like a chessboard. Mats are found only in the [285 439] southern border region and are probably imported. There is a boat-like satchel for the novices of the Jaunde moon cult (see Section 11 /Ed., this section in Vol. II is not translated/), which is braided like the mats and made of the same material.

(3) Drying boards and boxes.

283 The floors of the drying boards are made by braiding raffia 285 stalk strips (four under, three over). The bottoms and parts of the 415 side walls of the boxes are made from braided palm bands (three under, three over). /214/

(4) Storage baskets.

285 The storage basket (angũn Jaunde, angunda Mwele) is a 251 transitional form between the box and the basket insofar as its 415 basic material is raffia pith boards (Fig. 165) placed next to each other and held together by stalk strips of Sarcophrynium tied around them. The storage baskets are used in the house for storing food-stuffs, such as groundnuts, ears of corn, and so forth.

(5) Baskets.

285 Basketwork is done either with one material or with a combina- 415 tion of two different materials. The former is the case with the following.

415
285
[462]
[824]

1. Women's hanging baskets (nkŭn I). Unlike most other baskets, these are also manufactured by women. They are made from strips of the stalk bark of Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch. (stalk, ndĕn, ndĕnăn IV). They display considerable variation, both in size and pattern (Fig. 166). /Fig. 166 appears here in the original text. /

415
285
412
412

2. Carrying baskets (nkŏ̄ɛ̄' I), which are used only once, are woven in wide meshes from stalks of the Sarcophrynium by men and women whenever their regular baskets are not available or not available in sufficient numbers, or if they want to spare the baskets. Thus, they would use the carrying baskets, for instance, in

[531]

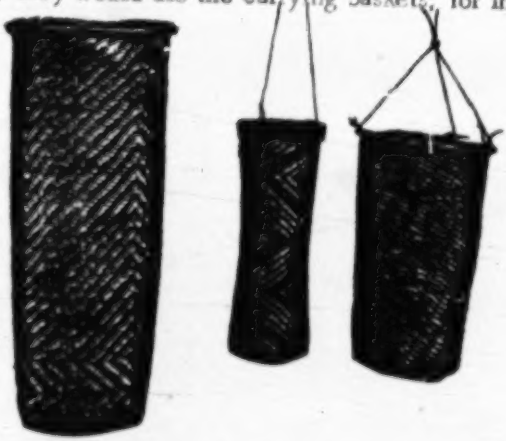


Fig. 166. Women's Hanging Baskets.

order to transport the bloody flesh of a freshly killed elephant into the village and for similar purposes.

285
415

3. Baskets for the oil press and for carrying earth (ekŭt, ekŭt-azŭ̄ i' = oil press baskets, ekŭt-ebê = earth baskets). The first is used to squeeze out oil from the pulp of the fruit (azŭ̄ i') of the oil palm or raffia palm; the second, to remove the earth that is dug out when pits (ebê) are made. Both baskets are braided from Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc. (nkāne) (1).

[824]

[412]

1. I once saw a knife sheath woven entirely from bush rope (Oncocalamus), Figure 167.

285
834

5. Bands, a substitute for bush rope.
6. Scraping sticks for cassava.

The related Ancistrophyllum opacum M. et W. (egbwā'ś) supplies tension ropes for drumheads, net hoops, and snares.

/216/ a substitute, Calamus deerratus Mann et Wendl. (edźǐń) (1).

1. This is also used for flutes (ndźǐń I) and sticks for scraping cassava (akǒ-edźǐń).

is used for some kinds of baskets (women's large carrying baskets and men's small carrying baskets).

285
415
[462]

The following kinds of baskets are made with various types of weaving.

1. Covered basket of the Jaunde (afǒn) made chiefly by women. Braiding strand of palm band, braiding strips of Pandanus leaf strips, braided like a checkerboard (one over, one under).

285
415
482
[834]

2. Large carrying baskets for permanent use (nkǒē' I, nkbē' I Fang), in which the women /Fig. 167 appears here in the original text/ carry home wood and produce. Braiding strand of Ancistrophyllum (nkāne), more rarely of Calamus deerratus, braiding strips of Oncocalamus (nlǒń).

3. Small carrying baskets (okǒkǒē', "small carrying basket," and engā'ne), Figure 168, made of the same material as the previous ones, only smaller, frequently with a more finely braided edge whose active part may consist not only of bands but also of strings. Usually, moreover, the main braiding strand is replaced for a short distance in the middle of the basket by a blackened one, called ekǎńa nǐūt (b). These baskets are considered especially elegant; the woman takes them with her on journeys and packs food in them. In the house, raffia aprons and other objects are kept in them, and in the fields they are used to hold groundnuts and other things. /Fig. 168 appears here in the original text. /

4. Men's carrying baskets (ebā'da), Figure 169. In the case of these baskets, the braiding strand is made either of Calamus or

285
412

/216/

Fig. 167. Knife Sheath.

285
415

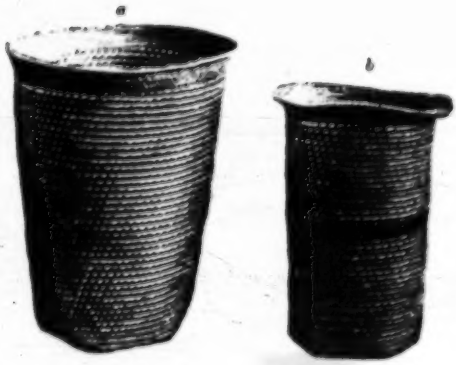


Fig. 168. Small Carrying Baskets.

Fig. 169. Men's Small Basket with Decorations of Hide and Strings of Beads.

Ancistrophyllum. In the latter case, I found them strengthened from the outside by little sticks of the same material braided in diagonally. 285 415 482

5. Rattle baskets (ngōt). /217/ These appear in two forms: the first and larger one consists of the same material as the carrying basket; the second and smaller one has the same reinforcing sticks in its wall as the previous baskets and a piece of calabash shell for the bottom (concerning their use, see Section 20 /Ed., this section in Vol. II is not translated/ and the illustration there). 285 415

(6) Basketwork bowls of the Mwele (ekátă).

For these (Fig. 170), there are likewise active braiding strips and one passive /Fig. 169 appears here in the original text/ braiding strand wound in a spiral, as in the true baskets of the second series. In contrast to the latter, however, the spiral begins in the middle of the bottom and thus forms the bottom and the wall, and it is held together by braiding strips woven in at right angles. These bowls, which perhaps are the result of northern influence (Haussa /Hausa/?), are used by the Mwele to store maize meal and as plates for finer foods. [77 251]

285 (7) Basketwork plates (džǎ,d; plural biǎ,d).
415
824

Here (Fig. 171) we have, in place of a braiding strand that runs in a spiral, numerous braiding strands made of strips of the Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc. (nkāne) or of the Marantacea Trachyphrynium violaceum Radlk. (nkǒmonkǒ'mo Fang), which form the quadrangular bottom surface and the basic material of the edge (or, as one might prefer to say, of the wall). In order to make the edge tight and to hold it together, a braiding strip is woven into it, this being a band from the stalks of the Oncocalamus mannii Wendl. (nlǒ'n), the Orchidacea Myrsacidium productum Kranzl. (okǒ-o-jō'b (1), anžǔ'ma), the Apocynacea Motandra spec. (okǒ-e-si) (1), or from a raffia pith strip (nkō-ešūšū). The position

> 1. okǒ from the root kō = band, rope; o jō'b = above, because the orchid is a parasitic plant growing on trees; o si = below, because the Apocynacea grows on the ground.

of the braiding elements with respect to each other is thus precisely the reverse of that in the true baskets of the second series. /218/

/Fig. 170 appears here in the original text./

285 They are manufactured in the following manner. Four strips
415 are placed close to each other lengthwise on the ground and held down with one foot; at some distance from these and parallel to them four more strips are laid down, and so on ten times, so that in all there are forty strips. These are diagonally interwoven with 36 strips likewise arranged in fours, so that each of these diagonal strips always runs alternately over and under three of the longitudinal strips, but so that there are different longitudinal strips at each diagonal plait, for instance:

Diagonal strip 1 lies under longitudinal strips 2-4, over 5-7, under 8-10, and so forth;

Diagonal strip 2 lies under longitudinal strips 3-5, over 6-8, under 9-11, and so forth.

1. Tessmann--234 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

285
445

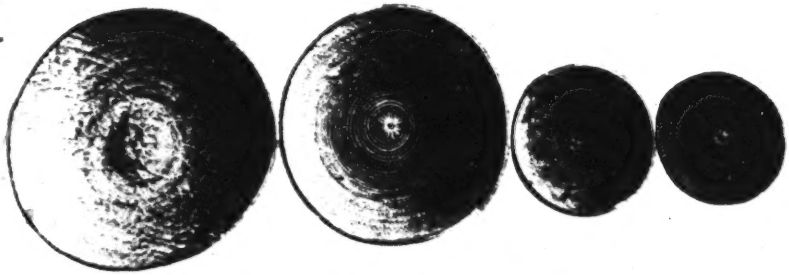
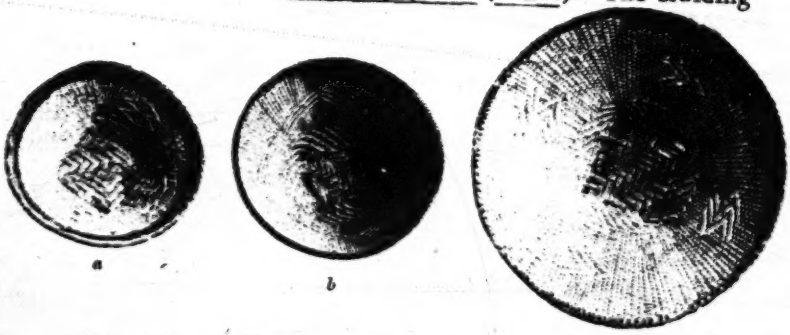


Fig. 170. Basketwork Bowls of the Mwele.

When all the strips have been woven, they are pushed tightly against each other. In this way, a firm quadrangular surface is created, which is held together by one or two bands tied over it in a cross, and the ends of the strips that have not yet been woven protrude from the sides of this surface. These become the braiding strands of the edge of the plate by being bent upward to a greater or lesser degree -- depending on whether the plate is to be deep or shallow -- and interwoven in a spiral form with a braiding strip that always skips one to three of them. /Fig. 171 appears here in the original text. / /219/ In the process, patterns are created through variations in the weaving. Finally, the braiding strip is pulled tight. Gaps at the corners are filled in with independent, short braiding strands that have been bent double. The edge is closed off at the top with a hoop of Ancistrophyllum (nkāne). The braiding



a b c

Fig. 171. Basketwork Plates.

285 strands are placed like hooks around its outside edge, and they are
415 fastened to it with Triumfetta bast or a string.

Depending on their size, the basketwork plates have various names. The small ones are called fá III Fang (a, b), the somewhat larger ones ovǒk, the ordinary large ones dʒǎd, niǎ dʒǎd = real, true basketwork plates (c).

Concerning their use, see page 137.

(8) Belts (bab IV).

283 These are braided from a number of superimposed strips of Ancistrophyllum (nkāne) interwoven with bush rope Oncocalamus (see "Dress and Ornaments," page 166).

3. Woodworking.

322 Despite the considerable importance accorded to it in the
517 Pangwe household, wood carving has remained on a comparatively
532 low level of development and bears no comparison with the achievements of other primitive peoples, such as the Melanesians. Its forms display a certain sober utilitarianism, a stiffness and uniformity from which all movement and playfulness are excluded. Only rarely does it rise to the level of representational sculpture. Representations of whole human beings are to be found primarily in the ancestral figures, rarely on chiefs' sticks; heads, moreover, are to be seen only on the posts of meeting houses (seen only in one case), on bench posts in the meeting house, in the memory game, and in the masks used for the moon cult (Sso).

322 The number of objects made of wood is very large, as will be apparent from the list that follows:

1. Digging sticks
2. Shovels
3. Hoe and axe handles
4. Posts for the meeting house
5. Bench posts for the meeting house

322 had to ponder for a long time and finally said that every month he
434 made about ten stools for two spears (14 pfennigs) apiece, and that
554 he therefore earned 20 spears (1.40 marks); with this income, he said, he had /Fig. 173 appears here in the original text/ bought brass ornaments for himself, and the rest he had put aside as marriage money, but that did not bother him since he considered his art a matter of honor. /222/

322 The manufacture of stirring spoons (mbŏb) is, like their form,
415 fairly simple. From a tree trunk (1) a flat piece of wood is cut out

[824]

1. The following three trees are used: Alchornea caloneura Pax (ndămabā III); Hasskarlia didymostemon Baill. (efŭŏ'le Ntum, dzĭ III, nyō'le III), and Kickxia elastica Preuss (emvila).

and crudely cut to shape with a bush knife. Then the spoon is hollowed out in the following manner. A chisel (ojĕn), Figure 174, and a simple heavy piece of wood for a hammer are used to make a transverse groove between bowl and handle, and the wood is removed piece by piece by blows aimed at it. The more delicate work is done by shaving with a chisel or knife. The finished spoon is usually rubbed with redwood. The people themselves do not know why this is done. In answer to my question, my friend Nto-Ndanga offered the following remark by way of an answer: "Look here, I am a Black myself, but the Blacks have no sense. I have long asked myself why the stirring spoons are rubbed with redwood because that way dirt (that is, the redwood) gets into the food!" The various forms of the stirring spoon are shown in Figure 98.

Somewhat more effort is required to make the ladling spoons (tōk), Figure 175. They are made primarily from the wood of the
[824] Carpodinus tessmannii Gilg (ebă'm), more rarely from the Kickxia elastica Preuss (emvila). A block of wood in the shape of a cylinder halved lengthwise is taken from the timber and cut into the shape of the spoon by means of careful, layer by layer removal of the wood
[442] (see Fig. 176), first with the cutlass (a), then with the adz (b). The bowl is then further hollowed out with the spoon scraper (fŏ'nege-tōk), Figure 177.

322 415 Figure 177. Finally, the bowl and the handle are rubbed smooth with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata.

The powder flasks (ndǒk e pfidi) are very laboriously manufactured from the wood of the Alstonia congensis (ekūk) and the [824] Kickxia elastica, Figure 178. First a massive flask is shaped and nicely smoothed on the outside; this shape is then split into two halves by a longitudinal cut. Each half is hollowed out on the inside with the adz, and the neck is cut off at the desired length. Finally, both halves are fitted together again and are held together by means of an animal's skin, usually of the monitor lizard, sewn over it.

Plates from the wood of the Alstonia congensis or Ceiba pentandra are also very difficult to make because even during the work the edges tend to split rather easily. When they do, the plates are nevertheless finished and repaired afterwards with bush rope.

322 534 824 Dog bells are made from Alstonia congensis, Alchornea caloneura, and Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub (myē' IV Ntum); bellows are manufactured from the Alstonia congensis and Musanga smithii R. Br. (asǒ'ń); dugouts from Musanga, Ceiba pentandra (dum), and the Combretacea /223/ /Fig. 174 appears here in the original text/ Terminalia superba Engl. et Diels (akǒ'm); talking drums from Cordia odorata Gürke (ebǎī) and Rinorea dentata; hide drums from Alstonia, Cordia, Rinorea, and Musanga.

322 411 [824] Spear handles are made from the easily split stems of an Anonacea (?), otunga, and of a Flacourtiacea, osǎ bē ǐ' (1). The

1. sǎ = to split, bē ǐ' = fingernails; tree which can be split with the fingernails.

wood is split /Fig. 175 appears here in the original text/ into as many parts as one wants to make spear handles. First the edges created by the splitting are roughly taken off with the cutlass, and then each individual part is worked with the drawknife until a round stick the thickness of the spear handle remains. The drawknife (awǒ̤ń), Figures 179 and 180, consists of a piece of wood (branch fork) bent in the form of a hook, whose sides have a short slit cut

322
412
531

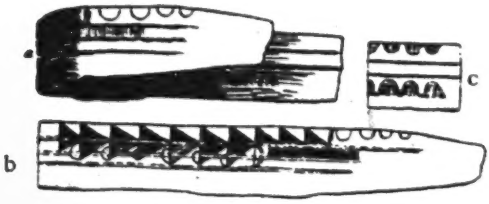


Fig. 177. Spoon Scrapers.
(a) Complete; (b) pattern of the outer side unrolled; (c) part of the pattern of the inner side.

322
415

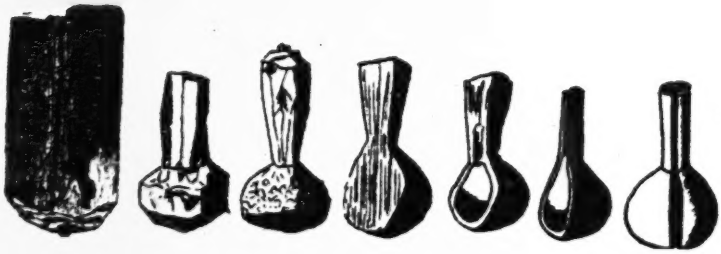


Fig. 178. Making a Powder Flask from Wood.

322
411

out of them in the middle. Into these slits is stuck either an ordinary knife (see Fig. 179) or -- and this is most frequently the case -- a special blade /Fig. 176 appears here in the original text/ with two cutting edges of which one is like that of a knife and the other like that of a saw (Fig. 180). This very practical combination permits /224/ the craftsman to dig the longitudinal furrows in the shaft of the spear with the same tool. The blade is simply /Fig. 177 appears here in the original text/ taken out and reversed, that is, it is set in again with the toothed edge downward.

323
415

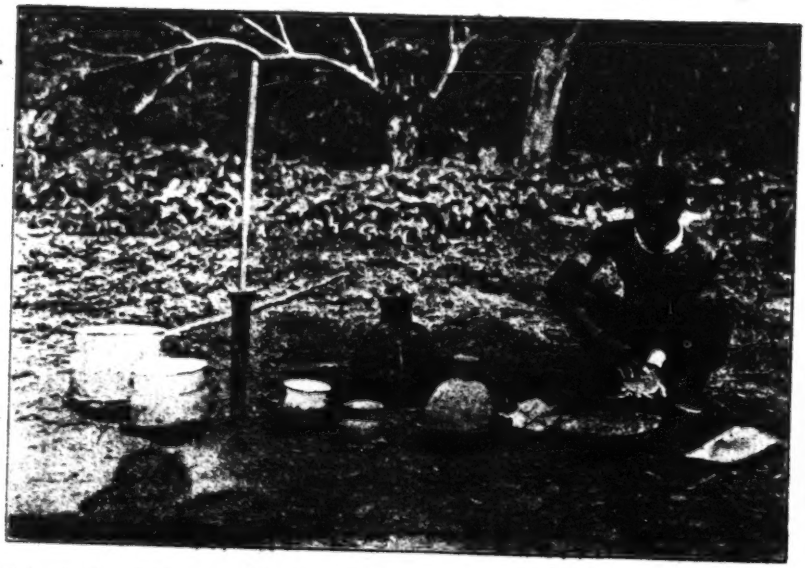


Fig. 194. Potter at Work. Left, the potter's products. Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

323 artistically inclined creator could not refrain from providing his handiwork with a few incised patterns, perhaps in my honor because he assumed that I could not possibly have come on account of so "simple" a matter, but must be expecting special artistic achievements from him, so he now had to add something extra.

[531]

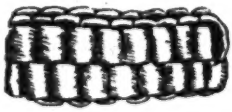


Fig. 195. Stamp for a Pattern on Pottery.

1: Tessmann--282 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

531

/252/

Fig. 204. Decorative Barks in the form of "Masks."

Fig. 205. Carved Patterns on Stools.

531
285
415

Fig. 207. Small Storage Basket of Jaunde Women, made of Pandanus Leaf Strips.

Fig. 206.

Checkerboard Pattern.

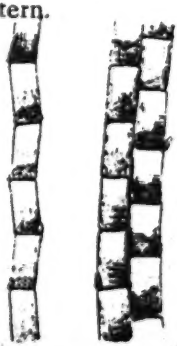


Fig. 208. Pieces of Sugarcane Stalk.

1: Tessmann--302 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/268/

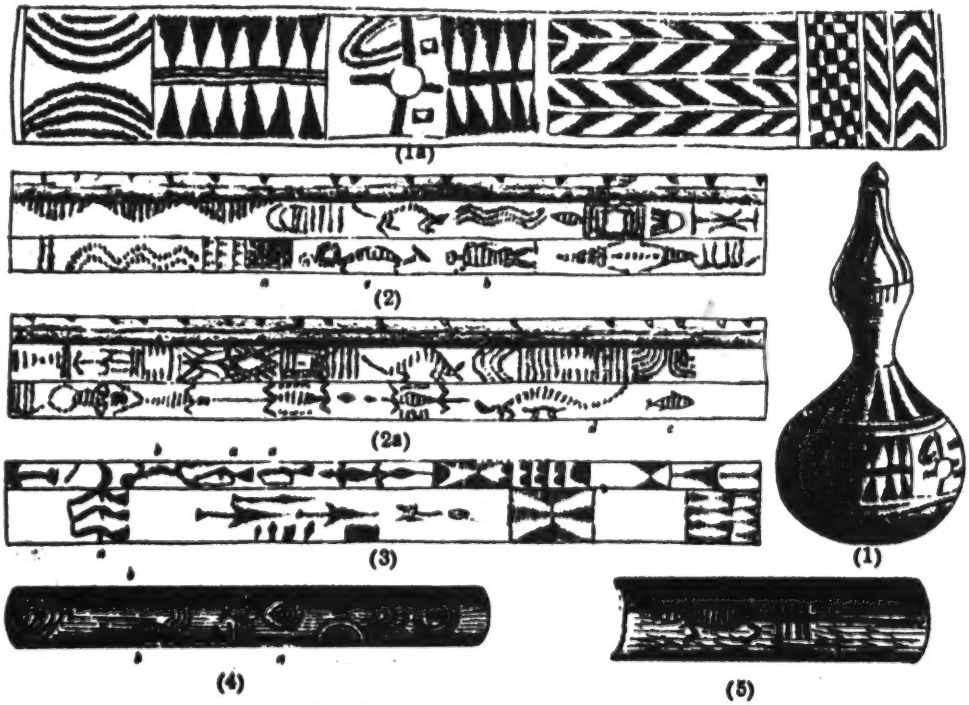


Fig. 221. Incised Patterns.

Drawing 1. Ornamental calabash. Drawing 1a. Patterns on this calabash, spread out. Drawings 2 and 2a. Patterns on a walking stick made from a stalk of Raphia vinifera (spread out). Drawing 3. Pattern on a walking stick made from a stalk of the Raphia Hookeri. Drawing 4 and 5. Patterns of raffia sticks on a bench in a meeting house.

1: Tessmann--340 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate XV

142
29
30
415

Woman from Bebai (Esseng Family), Ntum Region.

292
287
754

/147/

Fig. 50. Shirt for Mixers of Poisons, Akonangí (Essandun Family), Ntum.

415
278

Fig. 51. Brass Container for Poison, Mandúmu (Ojek Family).

754
777
[769]

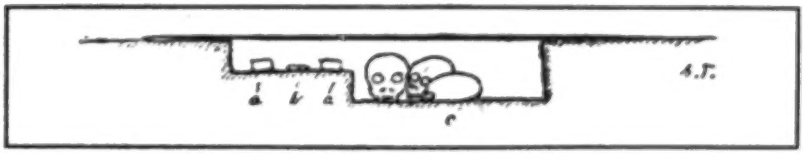


Fig. 53. Underground Chamber of a Mekuk Sorcerer, Cross-section.

(a) Circle made of plantain pieces, (b) magic medicines, (c) skulls of murdered relatives.

the Mekuk man's house companions in their sleep, so that they wake up the next day completely beaten up. They are also supposed to steal money and goods in order to take them to the Mekuk man. In short, the Mekuk stories remind one of the experiences of the man who wanted to learn to be afraid /Ed., in one of Grimm's fairy tales/.

777 Other medicines for wealth that utilize the power of the souls are more innocent; they do not require the murder of relatives nor care of the skulls. Instead, their powers are derived from the [824] habitation of the souls, the Copaifera tessmannii Harms (oyǒ̆ǒ̆n). The Mekuk skulls must be included only in the event the medicine man already possesses some. The procedure as a rule is as follows. The father of the person concerned goes with a medicine man, /152/ and both clear an area under a large Copaifera. Then a leaf vessel filled with water is set up, and into this some of the bark of the [801] Copaifera is scraped nine times (three times three); furthermore a stone from the stomach of the crocodile is placed in it if one is available. A peculiar test of the worthiness of the young man is now given. Various objects are placed together in three piles: on [415] the first are placed steamed cassava (women's food) and a basket [817] (ebā́dă) carried only by old women because it has a small capacity; on the second, a rifle, a bundle of vegetables (ngon) with fish, brass ornaments, cowrie shells, and a piece of cloth, all of which are things that delight young people; on the third pile is placed [293] a fly swatter (implement of the chiefs), a foot ring made of ivory, [622] and a boiled chicken, in other words, such things as are allotted to chiefs. Now the young man is brought to the piles. "If he has sense," he will go to the last pile and consume the chicken. In this

832
[825]
[415]

Fig. 55. Love Medicine, engongeschok (elephant's tusk with love medicine in it).

In the love festival that I witnessed in Ebïangon, the procedure was as follows. On the first day a dance to the accompaniment of drums took place in the festive area. At the dance, the leading singer swung the civet skin around and made a clatter with the inevitable cymbals. The chief and medicine man (they are not always one and the same person) thereupon

[417]

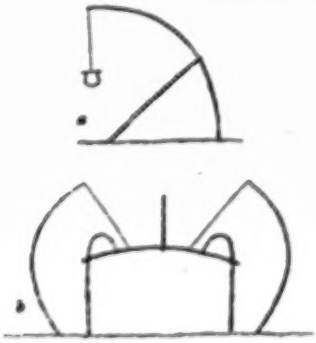


Fig. 56. Love Medicine Festival engongeschok in Ebïangon (Esseng Family).
(a) Pot with love medicine suspended from a rod; (b) frame to deceive the uninitiated as to the purpose of the celebration.

went to the pot, took the bag out, called the participants individually from the circle, asked them to sit down (see Fig. 57), and sprinkled the medicine /Fig. 56 appears here in the original text/ water on their foreheads in such a way that it ran down the bridge of the nose to the tip. If this did not succeed immediately, the procedure was repeated two to three

832 fumigated (Fig. 58), while the skulls with cold severity surveyed the situation, until they themselves had justice done to them, for they were carried in a dance around the love tree. Meanwhile, a number of the participants took red dye and with it drew a line on the bark of the love tree, observing that they themselves would like to look like this in the eyes of their beloved. Another one took black dye in addition to the red and first made a red line, saying, "In the eyes of the girl to which I shall go (he probably was not allowed to pronounce her name) I want to appear like this (red)"; then he drew a black line and added, "On the other hand, the girl shall see all others like this (black line)." We already know that red is the color of life,
[822] of joy, and of light. Black here signifies its opposite, the unpleasant and ugly.

Finally, a small punishment was meted out to the ancestral
832 skulls by sticking them in the above-mentioned draw traps set
769 up around the tree and leaving them there until the next day. Such a punishment of the ancestors is very rare, and it is significant that it does not occur at the Malan but in connection with the love medicine, which is to be regarded as a degenerate form of the Malan. Then around the tree a great variety of other medicines were distributed, such as red dye and a piece from the loincloth of a mother-in-law. Among the Fang the genitals
[826] themselves are supposed to be taken, these having been cut from the deceased mother-in-law. /162/ /Fig. 58 appears here in the original text/

832 On the forenoon of the second day of the festival about 25
783 banana leaf vessels were set up in a row in the festive area and
[415] filled with freshly fetched water. Into the first vessel the medicine man put a whole pile of bark pieces and leaves, all of them love medicines. The other vessels were treated in a more perfunctory fashion: only a few pieces of bark were placed in the second vessel, and in each of the following, only one; the last vessels did not get anything. The medicine man then sat down at the first vessel, blew into it with a pipe, whereupon a thick,
[388] soap-like foam arose, which supposedly comes from the bark of
[924] the Cylicodiscus gabunensis (Taub) Harms (edim), and then washed his face, first in this vessel and then in all the following

The chief weapon of the Pangwe today is the flintlock musket.
411 Until the middle of the previous century it was found in our region
439 only in quite isolated instances. Imported since the 1860's and 1870's in ever-increasing numbers by the many newly-founded coastal trading posts, the flintlock musket was a marketable and profitable commercial commodity which since then has so flooded the land that for each Pangwe, at least for each Ntum and Fang, one can reckon three, four, or even five rifles, of which, however, a fraction is unusable. Since 1906 the German government and since 1909 also the French and Spanish governments have prohibited the import of powder, and as a result there has been a noticeable scarcity, especially in the north. Among other things, it has had the effect of putting an end to the great amount of superfluous shooting during festivities, etc., in the Cameroons and adjoining Spanish territory. The small amount of powder which still finds its way from south to north by way of barter is kept in hiding for later occasions.

The charge of the rifle consists of small pieces of iron which --
411 like the powder -- are usually carried around in small containers
[411] fastened to the belt or the shoulder bag (mfǒk) (Fig. 78). Frequently, the latter itself serves to hold the ammunition, that is, the pieces of iron which the Pangwe calls by the same name as the
[415] spears, akǒn. The containers (Fig. 77) are little pouches made of hide (a), flasks (only for ammunition) attractively decorated with brass (b) and (c), little flasks covered with monitor lizard skin (d-g), calabashes (h), the round fruit of a tree (aǐo, aǐun) (i, k), raffia fruit (l), a cacao fruit (m), or other fruit (n-p).

With the importation of powder cut off, the rifles are useless, and it may be that in this way the throwing spear, which formerly was the true long-range weapon of the Pangwe, /Fig. 77 appears on p. 244/ /245/ will again occupy a place of honor, especially since it has never been entirely out of use. To be sure, the spears manufactured today are not as large as those of olden times. They
[431] are used more as walking sticks of superior quality or as an ornamental weapon taken along on a journey -- usually people carry two or three with them -- and the natives scarcely know how to use them for actual battle. Only the Jaunde through continued

[Text continues on page 94]

2: Tessmann--93 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9
/244/

415
411
531

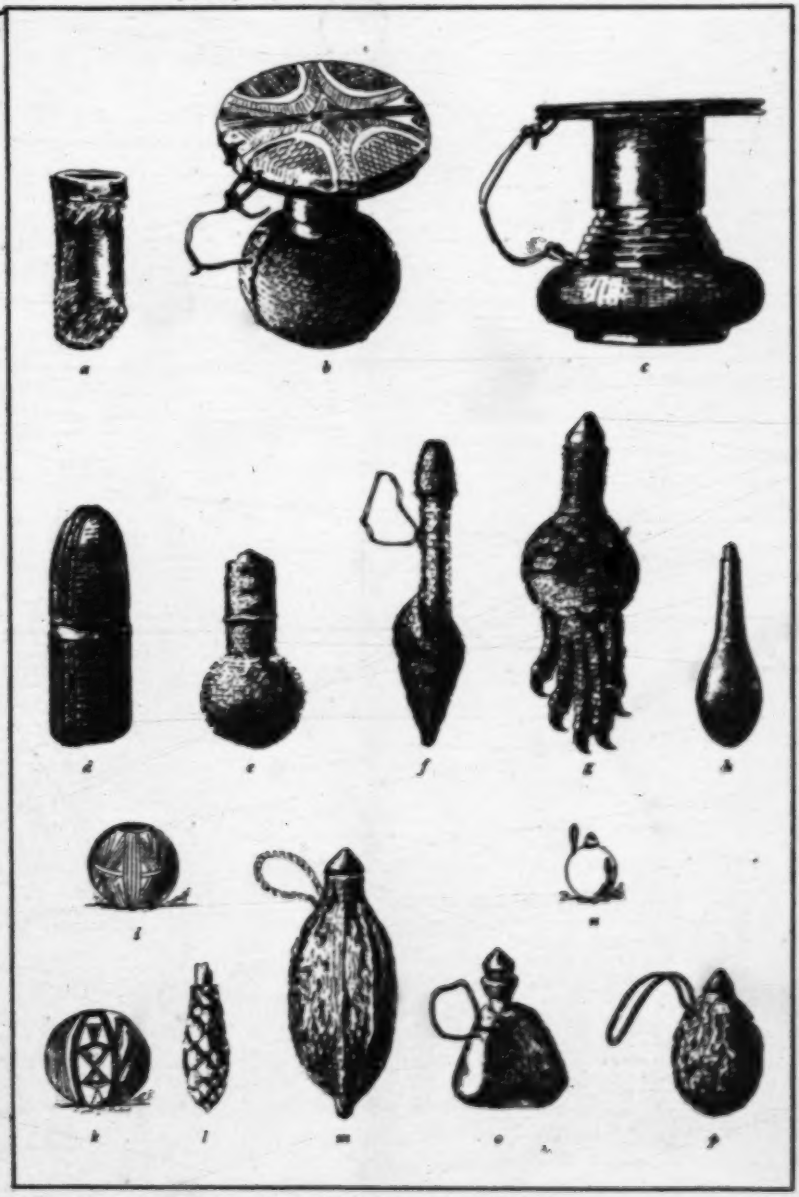


Fig. 77. Containers for Rifle Charges or Powder.

411
[415]
[285]

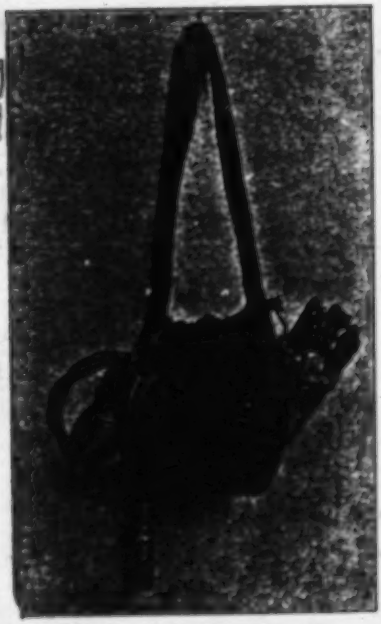


Fig. 78. Shoulder bag of pineapple fibers, used for storing things and for rifle charges in wartime. To the right, a little basket with "chevaux-de-frise"; to the left, shot medicines and an iron war pipe.

practice have maintained some skill in spear throwing. On the whole, the Jaunde did not go over so exclusively to the use of firearms as did the Fang, for instance, who are quite unable to part from their flintlocks. They even give them human names and love to let them "speak."

The spears (Fig. 79) consist of a shaft and tip. The former is made of wood and is artfully grooved lengthwise, as has been described in the section on woodworking /Ed., Vol. 1/. The tip is attached with a socket and forged from iron; in very recent times one could frequently see Ntum chiefs carrying ornamental spears with carefully worked brass tips. The cutting edge has the shape of a more or less oblong leaf, and this distinguishes the different types of spears. The older types among the Fang are gbǎń-akǒń (akǒń = spear) (a), akǒń-okǎk (okǎk = Okak, Fang people) (a), tōmō-akǒń (e), and mbǎ[s]-akǒń (b); of more recent origin, supposedly is the barbed spear, ngɨ'm[k]-akǒń (c), and etǒ'hǒk.

The crossbow is only a hunting weapon; the bow and arrow, as well as the slingshot, occur only as children's toys.

The weapons for short-range fighting are the sword and the battle-ax.

The sword (pfǎ IV Ntum, fǎ IV Fang) (Fig. 80) has two cutting edges which sometimes end in barbed hooks at the base

304 circumcision was public, and the woman to whom it was done under-
681 went the gibes and insults of all the inhabitants.

The life of the young people is the same as that of the adults. The
883 virginity of a woman is considered unimportant and the Fan have
836 sexual relations from the time they are capable of cohabitation. When
818 a young girl has a child, it belongs to her parents, from whom the child acquires wealth; there is no search for the father and the young girl keeps all the respect which she enjoyed. Young girls are free to give themselves to whomever they please. This very broad morality,
[582] however, has one important qualification in that there are, so to speak, no young girls, the little girls having been married off by their parents very early, sometimes even before their birth.

582 Marriage (alug). Men rarely marry before the age of twenty years, and usually later, because they do not have the means to pay the dowry for taking a wife.

582 Exogamy is always practiced because marriage between people of
835 the same tribe is sterile. Marriage between cousins is forbidden up to the third generation and in general, marriage is forbidden between persons linked by any kind of kinship; in this case there is also pro-
[684] hibition of sexual relations. No penalty is prescribed for infraction, but the guilty ones will fall ill and their children, if they have any, will not live.

582 Occasionally there are instances when marriage between relatives
783 is authorized, but only after the practitioner has removed the pro-
835 hibition by the process [88] called abvule minsem. The practitioner goes to find some termite earth (ngurege), a plant (mekaga), and a vine (nyola dzik); the plant and vine are folded and placed in an etok
[845] (a container of banana leaves) full of water. The termite earth is placed on a nzum (see the description in the section on conception) and the etok is placed underneath. The two kinsmen who want to marry also stand underneath it, while the practitioner climbs onto the nzum, dips the leaves in the etok, and says, "nseme ose mi waga bo e wo ma va yui" (I remove every prohibition that you have made). He hits the termite earth with the leaves and then takes the etok and pours the contents onto the heads of the two people from whom he is removing the prohibition. With the remainder, the man and woman each takes a washing.

583 A man who has not enough dowry but who finds a young girl eager to marry him may take her away in the night; when the parents come

517
177
511 to Pahouin women, but it is certainly a geographical characteristic of
[29] the southern Cameroons, consequently, the textiles for sale are to a great extent those sold in Europe. Specifically African prints, such as "wax-prints," are dying out. Underclothes, stockings, and shoes reflect the sophistication that goes with wealth. The purchase of durable goods that go under the heading "Equipment," (bicycles, phonographs, pressure lamps) is another symptom, as is the changing
[445] demand for household articles. /35/ While the saucepan is still the basic kitchen utensil, enamelware is in strong competition with
[513] crockery and glass. Blankets are used everywhere, but the use of sheets is also on the increase.

A mere list of commodities shows the present-day importance of
439 trade. The native populations have not always realized this, owing
441 to their lack of inclination for it. They have not started businesses and have often left this to immigrants, coastal people long familiar with European ways, particularly the Bamiléké or "Haoussa," /Hausa/ who for their part have a solid trading tradition and great capacities in this field. The Boulou especially despise trade and refuse to have anything to do with it. Other Pahouin peoples are not so strongly antipathetic, but their business activity remains very limited.

Is it this bankruptcy on the part of the indigenous people and this
413 taking over by "foreigners" which explains the organization and the
194 location of trade in the region? The villages are in fact very badly
441 served; markets are few and far between and so are rural shops. Perhaps we ought to note differences between the various Pahouin and Pahouinized groups. While a village trader is always most uncommon in Boulou country in spite of the relative affluence of the planters, he is not unknown in Ewondo districts and is quite often to be met with among the Eton, where resources are, nevertheless, more limited. Without local trade the collecting of crops and specifically of cacao posed quite a problem, to which the coming of buyers brought a solution. Business houses advance money to the buyers and buy what they are able to bring back. From hut to hut along the trails buyers negotiate purchases with planters. With these "purchases by peddling" it might seem logical for sales by peddling to develop. Yet this phenomenon is quite recent, being tied up with the development of transportation by car and bicycle. But while the buyers are generally native to the region, the pedlars are nearly always foreign.

[65] As house-to-house buying creates countless disadvantages, the administration has endeavored to create rural markets so that the public

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

X.—*Food. Cooking.*

Food used by the Fang is precisely similar to that of all other tribes inhabiting the great zone of palms and bananas as described by Humboldt. Added to these ordinary foods of the Fang is their liking for human flesh, indulged in to this day in spite of the law, which is often powerless to reach and punish the offenders. Cassava, *mbde*, plantains, *bikon*, crushed gourd seeds, *ngongon*, corn; *mekobe*, a most nutritive tuber, sweet potatoes, yams, palm oil, bananas, snails and various mollusca. Fish is wrapped in plantain leaves and boiled, or set on hot ashes and fire piled on top of the *bundle* of food. All kinds of meat is eaten, from deer down to the smallest bush rat; snakes are considered very good meat. No portion is wasted, every morsel of skin and intestines are eaten. Goats and chickens are raised for food and trade. Corn or other cereals are not used for the purpose of making bread. Milk is not used. Preparations of milk such as butter and cheese are not made. There is a marked preference for meats. When an animal is slaughtered, women bring wooden bowls to collect the blood in. The blood is often cooked mixed with palm oil. A Fang will eat almost any kind of known food and at any time, providing it is not his *Ebi* or taboo, given him during infancy, prohibiting the eating of a certain kind of food, unless partaken of under certain conditions. Except for the *Ebi* men, women and children partake of the same food. The Fang are improvident. When on long journeys they often chew a piece of Kola nut, but more commonly chew pieces of a certain root; it has several different names. Palm oil is extensively used in cooking. Salt (*nku*) is much enjoyed and sought after in trade. Sugar is only used in the form of sugar cane and eaten uncooked. The chiefs, or rather headmen, have no special form of food. Eating earth is not indulged in. So far as I am aware, all fish, flesh and fowl is cooked before being eaten. Flesh is often extremely high, at times positively bad, before it is eaten, but not one morsel is ever wasted.

Fish, fowl, bush rats, snakes and all kinds of meats are smoked or sun-dried; food prepared thus is carried on journeys in the bush wrapped in leaves and eaten with *mboa* (cassava) without any further preparation. Permanent ovens for baking are not in use. Meat is roasted on small spits over the log fire or wrapped up in leaves and hot ashes banked around and on top of it. Native vegetables are frequently cooked with meats, plantains are usually boiled separately or roasted close to the fire. Most cooking utensils used by the Fang near the coast are iron or brass pots, imported by white traders; but farther inland the native pots are much more in vogue. These native pots are made of grey clay and sun-dried; they become harder and stronger by use, and vary in size and capacity from a pint to about three gallons.

Cooking vessels are not kept very clean, being simply rinsed out with a little water; but if the vessel is a brass trade pot or kettle, it is usually taken to the river or a near stream, and scoured bright; but I fear the chief reason for doing

231

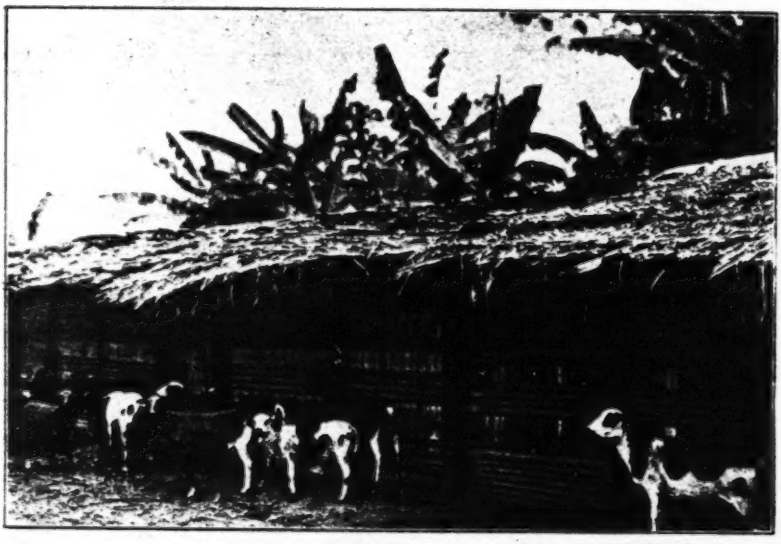


Fig. 57. Sheep, Village of Makonanâm (Ojek Family).

appears here in the original text/ a moan similar to that made by a human being. This moaning is so nerve-racking that it may bring tears to one's eyes. In regions where thare are leopards, [417] pens (Fig. 58) are built of logs, and the goats and sheep are driven into them at night.

232 In the Pangwe region castration is practiced only on goats, not sheep; a tũ̄b miak – to hollow out (the scrotum) (in order) to geld. Goats are castrated "so that they will become enormous and put on much fat." The procedure is very crude. The ex- [304] pert, who frequently circumcises the children at the same time, opens the young animals' scrotum by means of two lateral cuts with a razor blade (okŏ̄ngŏ̄n) and takes out the testicles. The scrotum is then washed out with warm water several times a day for four days. The water is mixed with a medicine, the sap of [278 824] the Guttifera Haronga paniculata Pers. (Loid.) (atũ̄ih), presumably to glue the scrotum together (the tree sweats a sticky yellow sap under the bark, and this is extracted by putting pieces of bark in water).

417

Fig. 58. Pen for Sheep and Goats in Massóm (Ndong Family), South Cameroons.

This favorable influence on the physical development of the animal increases its value from about 14 marks to 35 marks (500 spears), a capital increase which is certainly desirable to the Pangwe. Even greater, however, is his joy at the beautiful appearance of the castrated animals. /107/ /Fig. 58 appears here in the original text./ The effect of castration is the basis for the comparison between symbolically, not physically, castrated people (see Section 18, "Sexual Life") and the castrated goats and also for designation by the same name; these people -- up to a certain point in time, at least -- are supposed to undergo conspicuous mental development. The fact that the flesh of animals also improves as food through castration plays only a secondary role. 232 [435]

Magnificent old specimens, including uncastrated goats and sheep, sometimes receive a human name, and their owner would never sell such an animal; indeed, he would not even give it away as a marriage portion. 231 552

Of other domestic animals there is only the cat (pfu̱'s IV Fang, esi'nǎ), very recently introduced from the coast. 231 177

235 As regards poultry, only the hen (kub IV) is native. Only its
262 meat, not the eggs, is used for food, and even that rarely and on special occasions. At the proper place I shall return to the significance of the hen in the religious conceptions of the natives.

For the hens, small pens of logs are constructed behind the
235 house. In addition, baskets are hung for them on the outside and
417 inside walls of the house where they can brood. Finally, the brood hen is /108/ not refused a resting place in the house on some unused bed if she should consider it the safest and most suitable place for herself and her chicks. A hole at the bottom of the wall serves as an exit for the hen's family.

During the 1880's and 1890's ducks with a red band around
235 the eyes were introduced. Around 1890 they arrived in the Fang
177 region and were called elö̃ (wild duck = elö̃'t); later they were called sōō̃' III.

231 Like other primitive peoples, the Pangwe cannot be called animal lovers. Except for parrots, one sees practically no tamed forest animals, not even monkeys. The Pangwe "tire" (a vǫ̃t) of looking after and feeding them, and under such circumstances one cannot blame the freedom-loving quadrupeds and birds for seeking to escape or lying down to die. Gray parrots, which immediately introduce themselves to every stranger by their name, for instance, as esǎ'sǎ' = kite, are quite common. They usually find their food on the garbage heaps or among the leftovers in the house. Now and then one sees wild boars that were caught when young. Once I was brought a young leopard which a woman had tried to keep alive by feeding it from her breast; the animal badly scratched the helpful woman, and she quickly abandoned her voluntary maternal role.

The bee, Apis mellifica L. var. adansoni (myūfūh IV, hūi' IV
231 Fang), is not kept, but wild honey (wūi' ; plural, mūi'), which
222 for the most part is to be found in tree trunks, is gathered and consumed raw.

III. Fishing

226 West Africa is one of the areas of the world richest in fish.
136 Hence, the numerous rivers and streams of the Pangwe region possess great quantities of different kinds of fish. Some of the most

832
[825]
[415]

Fig. 55. Love Medicine, engongeschok (elephant's tusk with love medicine in it).

In the love festival that I witnessed in Ebäangon, the procedure was as follows. On the first day a dance to the accompaniment of drums took place in the festive area. At the dance, the leading singer swung the civet skin around and made a clatter with the inevitable cymbals. The chief and medicine man (they are not always one and the same person) thereupon

[417]

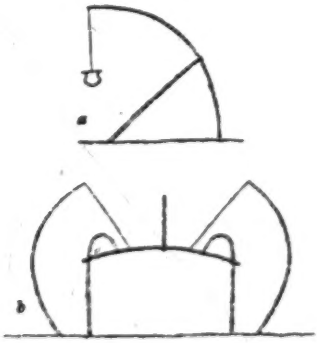
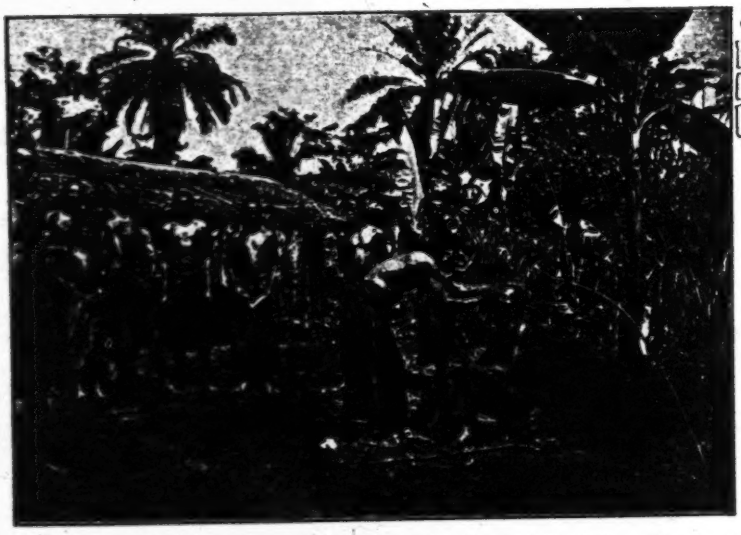


Fig. 56. Love Medicine Festival engongeschok in Ebäangon (Esseng Family).
(a) Pot with love medicine suspended from a rod; (b) frame to deceive the uninitiated as to the purpose of the celebration.

went to the pot, took the bag out, called the participants individually from the circle, asked them to sit down (see Fig. 57), and sprinkled the medicine /Fig. 56 appears here in the original text/ water on their foreheads in such a way that it ran down the bridge of the nose to the tip. If this did not succeed immediately, the procedure was repeated two to three



832
[291]
[516]
[417]

Fig. 57. Washing the Forehead at the Love Medicine Festival.

times, and in the case of very recalcitrant drops, the medicine was wiped down the bridge of the nose with a bundle of Abutilon leaves. The festive company then moved to the cult [778] place, in this case called a love grove (elik andŭ'mǎn). Just as the cult figures are usually set up on the trees (because of the [824] sorcerous beings, trees with spikes are chosen) and just as the [532] medicines for wealth are made up under the soul tree, the Copaifera, in the same way the love tree belongs to the love grove, namely the Leguminosa Amphimas tessmannii Harms (edžī) (1). In Ebāangon the tree was only a small one, but

1. a dži-ń, "to love."

often they are huge specimens. In the background a kind of bench of rods was erected, and under it were heaped a great many twigs of various trees regarded as love medicine. Then the ancestral skulls were set up behind the bench, and the twigs ignited. Those persons who needed an improvement in their love affairs, /161/ /Fig. 57 appears here in the original text/ lay down on the bench and allowed themselves to be thoroughly

832
783
[417]

Fig. 58. Love Medicine Feast, engongeschok. A number of young men have themselves fumigated over a fire in which love medicines are burned. Ancestral skulls are in the background. Ebäangon (Esseng family).

ones as rapidly as possible. The aim is to purify oneself and through the external purification to bring about an inner one so that the beloved girl will see her suitor pure, white as the leaves of Abutilon, and then love him. Whether the desired effect is achieved, I must confess I do not know; externally, at any rate, the favorable effect of the water cannot be denied. The foam is intended to cause the girl's heart to "open up" in the same way. This ablution may also be undertaken at times other than at the love festival, for instance, when a person has his eye on a certain girl, but in that case, the nails, [826] head hair, pubic hair, and underarm hair of this girl must also be put in the vessel. /163/

While the ablution was still going on, two people ran down 832 the village square and threw the civet skin back and forth to 526 each other, crossing each other's paths as they ran. People amused themselves with a similar ball game, whose significance I was unable to discover during the subsequent dance.

1: Tessmann--166 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

249 intended for the next sowing are taken off. Since the principal crop of the field has meanwhile been harvested and the field therefore has been abandoned, the young tobacco plants which have developed from prematurely ripened seeds are taken home and planted in the vicinity of the house.

Further treatment of the leaves consists simply of drying them in the house, either on the drying lofts (one or two days) or under the roof, underneath the mats into which the stalks are pushed so that the leaves hang down freely (depending on the distance from the fire, three to five days). Naturally, the Pangwe know nothing about the fermentation process; it may once in a while take place accidentally when the leaves are kept tied together in a basket. Usually, however, so many brothers, friends, and members of the kin group appear on the scene that the entire harvest is distributed. [422] Tobacco is regarded as communal property, so to speak; just as the pipe in the meeting house is used by everyone in common, so are the tobacco leaves considered common property, and it is the custom to share them with the members of the village at each harvest.

In spite of the crude treatment of the tobacco leaf, native tobacco is supposed to be not at all bad, as I was assured by smokers. /172/ /Fig. 111 appears here in the original text. /

Section 7

000

Dress and Ornaments

1. Dress. Men's dress (loin cloths, belts). -- Women's dress (front apron, back apron, working dress). -- Children's dress. -- Hair style for children; for adults (helmet crests, helmet caps, occurrence, kinds, production). -- Hair style of the older people. -- Headdress. -- Beards.
2. Ornaments. Hair ornaments. -- Piercing the nasal septum. -- Nose ornaments. -- Forehead ornaments. -- Neck ornaments (necklaces and neck bands, neck rings made

325 791 [411] The next day the furnace, which has burned out down to the pit, is torn down, and the iron slag (eśum), which lies on the top and has not burned out, is gathered together; broken into pieces, it serves as rifle ammunition (2). Then the medicine man calls

2. According to Du Bois it is "a poorly molten, porous slag with a high iron and titanium content and also includes charcoal fragments."

the bellows workers to the pit, and with his forging iron he knocks off the pieces of iron (obǎ'-ekiēi) (3) that are loosely attached to the

3. bā = to divide, e-bǎ'-s = scale, ekiēi - iron.

ore bloom. The larger pieces he takes for himself, the smaller ones he divides among the men so that each receives a small powder keg of them, which is his reward for the work. The medicine man, on the other hand, keeps almost twice as much for himself. On the 325 floor of the pit is the ore bloom, a large, firm, round to oblong 791 iron lump (mpafǎn-ekiēi I) (4); it belongs to the hut owner for whom 422

4. From the root pfa Ntum (fa Fang), "to narrow inward and to be narrowed in," here, "to be contracted, to be agglomerated." Compare pfa-n, "narrow strait"; a pfa-n, "to narrow"; pfa-k (active), "narrowed path or place," in particular between the house and plantains in the village; a pfa-ń, "to wrap around, to put a string around." The ore bloom is, according to Du Bois, "to be regarded as a malleable wrought iron heavily mixed with charcoal fragments and with a low carbon content, which can be transformed into a usable

325
791
422

material only through forging."

the /233/ smelting has taken place, with the exception of a piece about the size of a head, which he must give to the medicine man. The ore bloom is pounded into little bits by the workmen right on the spot (Fig. 185). The workmen have the right to take home the splinters that fall off, and the owner does nothing further with it. [438] These pieces (epfús-ekīēi) (1) are the end result of the iron smelting

1. pfū -ī, "to knock off (piecemeal)."

and constitute a regular article of trade wherever European trade is not yet too highly developed. /Fig. 183 appears here in the original text./

325
435
434

A few more figures about the expenses and the net profit. In giving these -- as for Bebai -- I assume a smelting period consisting of five smeltings with five owners of the smelting hut. The workers can buy the bellows for ten spears (= 70 pfennigs) from the bellows maker, or they can get them for nothing if they bring the necessary block of wood to the man's house. So far as I know, they must obtain the hide for themselves in each case. The clay blast pipe likewise costs ten spears (= 70 pfennigs), so each bellows worker has 20 spears (= 1.40 marks) in expenses. The owner or owners of the smelting huts have a single expenditure of about 120 marks for the medicine, not including the labor for the construction of the hut and the transportation of the ore. From the iron left to him as wages, each bellows worker earns at one smelting only 15 to 20 spears (= 1.05 to 1.40 marks); hence, from five smeltings he makes a profit of from five to seven marks from which the single expenditure /234/ /Fig. 184 appears here in the original text/ of 1.40 marks should be subtracted. The medicine man does better. From his share of loose iron he can earn 30 spears (= 2.10 marks) and from his share of core iron 50 spears ([illegible]50 marks), so altogether he can earn 5.60 marks. From the five smeltings, therefore, he can earn a total of 28 marks. As regards the owner, the ore bloom for him amounts to 500 spears (= 35 marks). Altogether, the yield of one smelting period would amount to: (17 X 17 spears + 80 spears + 500 spears) X 5, 17 workers at 17 spears + medicine man + owner in five

585 The day on which the woman is to come out of the hut, she is bathed
535 and anointed with an oil (mbon nzüi) and is seated on a stool placed in the middle of the village square. Other women sing and dance around her and give her a new name to represent a wish she has made.

There is no religious ceremony.

583 There also used to be a marriage by exchange of wives (mvole bunanga). With the mere consent of the women concerned, two men could exchange their wives. The parents of the wives did not interfere except to verify the amounts of the dowries and to make sure that the husband of the wife with the lesser dowry had fully paid the difference to the other.

593 The relations between married couples are simple: the man must
562 lodge his wife and clear the brush from the site where she will make her plantings; on the other hand, the wife owes absolute fidelity and obedience to her husband, who has the right to beat her. The woman has no authority in the household; she is hardly more respected than
[442] a domestic animal; she owns in her own right only the cooking utensils and the tools for planting and fishing, and does not have the right to own animals. Prohibition of sexual relations is rigidly observed during
[834] pregnancy, during lactation, and in the night preceding departure for the hunt, work at the forge, and various [other] tasks. If the prohibition were not observed, these tasks would be unsuccessful.

595 Polygamy is the present custom among the Fan. The first wife has authority over the others, who must obey her. She receives the largest share of everything and assigns household chores and field work. The husband sleeps with each of his wives for three days.

In adultery, only the wife is punished. She is beaten and her ac-
684 complice pays an indemnity to her husband. This indemnity amounts
837 to a quarter of the dowry. The wife confesses her adultery only when forced to by a series of corporal punishments which range from blows to being tied to a tree full of ants (akokum).

586 Repudiation is accomplished without difficulty: the man sends back his wife and the dowry is repaid him. The causes for repudiation are repeated adultery, the death of a child as a result of adultery, laziness, practice of fetishism, and excessive surveillance of the husband; sterility is not a reason for [90] repudiation. The children stay with the husband, and the woman, once repudiated, may remarry.

423 any stranger could plant melen palms (Elaeis guineensis) and sa
601 (Pachylobus edulis), but of a defense reflex to preserve control of a valuable crop and to ward off the wave of immigration it could attract.

An examination of forms of pawning fields leads to a similar con-
423 clusion: there is far from a complete right to dispose of property.
426 The harvest rather than the land is pledged. Among the Ewondo, in fact, the creditor may harvest and dispose of the produce. "Should the harvest surpass the debt, he will turn over to the debtor part of the produce. Since the owner runs the risk of having his land go to waste, the creditor may keep it in good heart and thus increase his credit. He may be induced to keep the property for several years: in fact, he keeps it long enough to be repaid out of the harvest. However, there is no assumption that he can keep it perpetually. Here we run into what is probably an important difference between the local land tenure and our own: everything takes place as if the land were inalienable (1)." The trend is similar among the Boulou, though

1. J. Binet, Budgets familiaux dans la zone cacaoyère du Cameroun /Family Budgets in the Cacao-growing Region of the Cameroons/, L'Homme d'Outre-mer, No. 3, 1956 (no. 93).

it must be admitted that the question of pawning land does not raise serious economic problems at present. (J. B.) /76/

f. Personal Property

● 422 This is undoubtedly the only form of property originally recognized. Much of it seems to have been collective, at least as concerns valuable possessions: the ésa was in charge of these possessions, the family patrimony which served mainly to pay the minsuba, "bride prices." There was, however, individual ownership of useful objects, men's weapons, women's gardening tools and household equipment, objects that were buried with the owner. It seems, also, that there
[83] was a sexual differentiation between the various categories of possessions: biôm beyôm were masculine, biôm beyal were feminine, a distinction to be traced not to ownership, but to use and perhaps to origin. I have already mentioned that in the bilaba the njem bilaba of the west contributed imported goods, while his eastern counterpart

422 brought produce of the locality, the system of directions very probably being ascribed to sexual categories, the northeast area, male and the southwest area, female. It would be advisable to know more about the ritual use of different tools and implements in order to throw more light on the subject. We know that the saber, fa, is essentially male, that the hunting bell tied to a dog's neck, angôñ, is essentially female, that the drum-telephone, nkul, is androgynous (though women are not allowed to use it); the rifle, ngal, is probably epicene, and the same is true for a few other objects, but we know almost nothing about the effect of this sexual differentiation upon property and its conveyance.

In any case, since the introduction of a money economy, personal property /propriété mobilière/ has become almost entirely individual. Personal property /meubles/ that remains collective is primarily so by appropriation, like the equipment of associations, the profits of their subscriptions, sometimes objects bought in common by members of a family because of their cost or function—like the sewing machines obtained from Spanish Guinea after the last war, for instance.

Personal property still involves some restrictions for women and
422 young men, although they are less and less accepted. Respectful
513 sons and submissive wives still allow their fathers and husbands to use the objects acquired by the earnings of their labor, but when they rebel the trend of the courts is increasingly in their favor. However, the obligatory aid arising from family ties still holds good, and to refuse to "lend" something to a monyañ is likely to be frowned on, which is a serious matter. Thus there survives a kind of right of collective family use working against individual /ownership of/ personal property.

g. Inheritance, Guardianship

422 These come about from death or disappearance. A paternal curse
578 did not entail loss of civil rights, but the possessions left behind by an accursed son who quit his village were confiscated and divided among his brothers.

The disposal of possessions left by a dead man, called élik from
422 lik = to leave, took place at the end of the period of mourning,
[745] meyep, perhaps /77/ a mbu, six months after death. This waiting period tends to become shorter and in towns usually lasts a month,

512 children before marrying her off. In the economic sphere a young unmarried woman may freely undertake all sorts of commercial enterprises, whereas a married woman would need her husband's consent. Nor do divorce or widowhood, /82/ any more than marriage, emancipate a woman in theory. Escaping from her husband's guardianship, she falls back under the authority of the head of her family, but from the point of view of custom this is not a detrimental situation, since every person remains subject to his father.

Therefore the liberty women possess in managing their inheritance 459 ought not to appear an anomaly. Besides, individual savings are widespread in Africa. And the division of property into masculine and feminine allows women and girls to own objects which neither 422 husbands nor fathers may take from them. A partition of goods is the logical consequence of these assumptions.

Women theoretically have the right to dispose of the product of their labor—their harvest—but they must provide the basic foodstuffs. Only the surplus is sold, but in the majority of families when large sales take place the proceeds are divided between husband and wife. Women usually control the proceeds of day-to-day sales in a market or to passing travelers: petty amounts comprising only 10 percent of the total family budget. They may invest these profits by joining 459 a tontine (a society in which each person makes a contribution on a fixed date and of which the capital is allotted to each member in turn).

Thus the traditional means for growing rich are limited. But changing customs are allowing women to follow various occupations that will make them independent. Women engaged in trade or dressmaking, for which they pay a license, business trade employees or saleswomen, theoretically have to be authorized by their husbands, who may decide how the earnings are to be spent. In actual fact women seem to be free agents. Even in the customary courts they appear alone, unaccompanied by fathers or husbands.

413 In the sphere of land tenure the trend is the same: women are 512 acquiring a certain amount of property. With stabilization /i.e. settling down/, the growth of collective rights over cleared land or land good for tillage is quite understandable. The idea of allowing a personal right to a woman who is not truly a member of a family, but merely loaned to it, seems an aberration. This, nevertheless, is the situation among the Ewôndo, where a divorced woman

301 Women wore only a sort of double apron of grass or leaves, azem
[341] or abui, fastened to a belt of cylindrical steatite beads, nsanga; brace-
lets, mekom, of ivory or copper shaped like spools; ankle chains,
bibat, of cast copper, very heavy; and an enormous necklace of cast
copper, nkembé, which was put on a little girl when she entered her
[144] affinal household and which could not be removed until after death,
by cutting apart the body or melting the necklace or awaiting decom-
position. All this jewelry belonged to, and remained in, the husband's
[422] family, even in case of divorce; the ésa was the person who distributed
it among his wives and daughters-in-law. Flat bracelets were made of
306 "neptunes" or "benares" /?/ imported from the coast; later on they
made, and still make, rings and bracelets from cartridge cases and
telegraph wire. But the origin of the cast minkembé /plural/ is still
a mystery; the technique of metal casting is unknown or forgotten;
placer or lode copper is very rare, not only in the present Pahouin
[325] habitat but also where they seem to have come from. Furthermore,
these very old necklaces resist corrosion and have a very pale patina
indicating some kind of alloy; moreover, the nearest workers in bronze
the Bamum, do not make this kind of necklace.

281 Men's dress at the present time is usually of the European type,
[177] from shorts and sports shirt to the surplus American cap; those who
wear shoes have European footwear, leather or canvas according to
their income, or in the style of the Arabic—silifa, from English
"slipper" = babouche, of Hausa or Peul manufacture. Mention should
be made of the helmets and kepis of umbrella-tree wood and the fake
spectacles of slivers of raffia "bamboo." In the villages or at home,
imported loincloths are rolled around a belt or tied behind the neck.

Women also wear a loincloth, éndelé, tied at the neck or rolled
tight above the breasts when they have nothing else on, rolled at the
waist when wearing the "mission jacket," éwoman (apparently from
"woman"). The favorite head covering is still the kerchief, éyañese
(from "handkerchief"). More and more women are also wearing cut
and sewn European-style dresses, bizingi; often a kind of slip; no
[841] panties except for a few young modernists (who call them caleçons,
"drawers"); and internal sanitary napkins made of medicinal plants.
[717] Mission activity has spread notions of prudery; formerly only those
past puberty were obliged to cover their sexual parts. Women did so
834 with great care in spite of the casual nature of their clothing; the
greatest insult to a woman was to uncover her vulva in public; she never

/58/

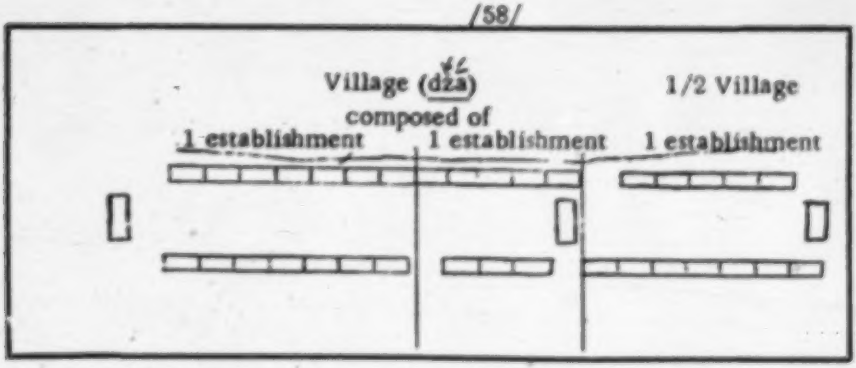


Fig. 18. Development of a Village from Individual Establishments.

to force his people to complete it. At one time, for instance, the chief of the village Nsälang (Fig. 23 shows one of the temporary meeting houses of that village) made the proposal to me -- a proposal which I, of course, gratefully declined -- that I should either force his people, or make my people available, to build a new meeting house for him. Then, as he put it, everybody would say: "This chief of the Whites is quite a fellow; you can tell that a White lives near his village." At best, the chief's people bring him some roofing mats for the construction and in this way believe they have fulfilled their duty toward the community project. The actual work is always up to the chief. Even so, the house does not thereby become his property; rather, in each case it is the common property of the men. When the chief says, "It is my meeting house," they are not affected by his statement. The Pangwe avoids anything and everything that might disturb him in his customary peace and comfort; he shies away from work and lets things run their course:

zɔ́(k) e tsí'dan ebɛ̄ī-asɛ́'i, a ye oa
Elephant, he frightened away (from) pit-iron-stone, he gave you

atɛ̄i, a nī oa adzīit
poverty, he took (from) you heaviness. /59/

That means: The elephant that frightened you away from an iron-stone pit, made you poor, it is true, but at the same time he relieved you of a burden (namely, that of preparing the iron).

227 upwards in such a fashion that their tips just protrude above the water.

It goes without saying that such weirs can be built only when the water level is lowest. As soon as the water in the river rises, it carries many fish with it and /113/ drives those which are not caught in the baskets of the lateral weirs onto the screens where they often remain in large numbers and are simply picked up by the Negroes. They are reached by a special bridge built out from the bank or by climbing along the edge of the lateral weir.

227 This kind of fish weir occurs everywhere except in the north. Usually the chief induces a number of people to construct such a ● 423 weir; these people then have the sole right of ownership to the fish weir and the fish. They do give their relatives and acquaintances, probably for nothing, a part of their catch, either from a sense of solidarity or because they expect that in similar circumstances they will be provided for in the same way. On the other hand they [425] demand payment from strangers, the amount depending on the size

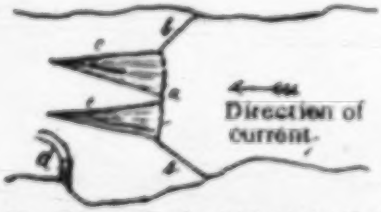


Fig. 60. Diagram of a Fish Weir in the Abea: (a) main weir, (b) lateral weirs, (c) screens of the main weir, (d) a tree growing on the bank and bent over the water.

of the fish, one or two spears (seven or 14 pfennigs) apiece. The major part of the catch is consumed immediately; the rest is dried. Since fish spoil quickly in the tropics, only a very few leave [251 #35] the place where they are caught; another reason for this is that the uncertain conditions in the Fang area prevent regular trade (1).

1. There are no markets at all.

227 In addition to the contrivance just described, consisting of main 285 and lateral weirs, one also encounters lateral weirs used by themselves

316
325

> showed that the ore "exhibits a not inconsiderable titanium content, some sulphur, traces of phosphoric acid, a small calcium content, as well as a small magnesium content, in addition to the usual components, such as silicic acid, iron oxide, aluminum oxide, water, and small quantities of manganese."

simply collected and carried off. The iron ore pits (ebê-asǵi from [423] asǵi, "rock containing iron") have no special significance for the Pangwe; they are common or rather ownerless property that could be claimed by anyone. The smelting of the iron ore, on the other 325 hand, takes place in special smelting huts which are usually the 423 common property of several fellow villagers; they alone may produce the iron from the ironstone which they themselves have extracted from the pits. The other people in the village may not use the smelting hut and must buy iron from them. Because of the difficulties involved in the enterprise, smelting is done only at /227/ widely separated intervals of time. On each occasion the furnace is loaded rapidly as many times in succession as there are hut owners on hand. Each owner, therefore, has a claim to the iron obtained from one loading of the furnace.

325 The smelting hut (ndǿ-akū̃ǿ, ndɛ̃i-akū̃a), Figures 181 and 182, 343 is a simple lean-to, three to four meters high, whose ridge pole is supported by two beams. A pit (Fig. 182, Drawing 5, c), 78 centimeters deep and 1.86 meters in diameter, is dug into the ground in the center of the hut and the furnace is built over it. Another shaft (Drawing 5, b), about 60 centimeters deep, goes down from the floor of the pit, and it is on the bottom of this shaft that the above-mentioned pot with the smelting medicine is placed (Drawing 5, a). The medicine is covered with rotten leaf sheaths from the plantain so that the skulls will stay nice and cool, and then the entire shaft is filled with leaves.

325 If smelting is contemplated, all the participants, that is, the 372 medicine man, the hut owner or owners, and the hired workers, must, as was mentioned, abstain for two months from sexual

245 Planters boast of the number of their trees. Does this transformation go deep? Balandier thinks not: "Present-day interest in cacao growing ought not to mislead us—the Fang is not by nature a farmer; he raises cacao insofar as it brings in money and commodities." (2)

2. Balandier and Pauvert, Villages gabonais /Gabonese Villages/, I.E.C.A. /Institut d'Etudes centrafricaines/, Brazzaville, 1952.

Within the last forty years millions of trees have been planted. A few figures will go to show the extent of this activity: in Boulou country there is an average of 1, 500 cacao trees per able-bodied man at Ebolowa, 1, 100 at Sangmélima, 950 at Djoum. In Beti country, the plantations are not so large, either because the soil was less fertile or because the population density did not allow as much land to be withdrawn from subsistence crops. Nevertheless, there are 413 trees per able-bodied man for the whole Yaoundé region. Distribution by subdivision is of some interest because it makes it possible to understand how far cacao trees have extended. The M'Balmayo subdivision comes first with 743 trees per man; then Djongolo with 655; Etse, 415; Akonolinga, 401; Saa, 378; Mfou, 347; Okola, 277. The Nanga-Eboko figure does not warrant consideration, the subdivision being in part in an unfavorable climatic area. /32/ Ebolowa is clearly the center of diffusion, and the contagion of example explains perfectly well the gradually decreasing density of the plantations. At Yaoundé or Akonolinga, plantations are fewer because the custom of planting is more recent. But the low figures for Saa or Okola are probably to be explained by the difficulty of finding empty land in areas where the density of population may reach 100 persons per square kilometer. On the other hand, extreme sparsity of population becomes an unfavorable factor. Djoum with 0.8 persons per square kilometer is less abundantly planted than are Sangmélima or Ebolowa with 8 to 10 persons.

In measuring the importance of the cacao trees to the local economy, the distribution-per-man figures will give no indication of the dis- [103] tribution of the ownership of trees or of wealth. The entire production is in African hands. Everyone considers it a point of honor to own a plantation. Townsmen, officials, or /salaried/ employees, whose

674
463

	Office-holders	Trade Employees	Traders	Butchers	Tailors	Carpenters	Masons	Chauffeurs	Mechanics	Motor Boys	Domestic	Laborers	Chiefs	Planters
Percent of Delinquents	4.8	15	7.5	4	8	5	3	13	10	23	8.3	8	0.8	0.8

Employees in trade, chauffeurs, and apprentice chauffeurs are the social groups with the lowest standard of behavior. The nature of the delicts makes it possible to be precise: in the Beti country of the Cameroons, moral delicts /delit de moeurs/(desertion of the conjugal domicile) make up 47 percent of the cases; theft and swindling, 26 percent; intentional assault and battery come far behind with 16 percent.

These figures enable us to measure the decline of the present-day family. (J.B.)

e. Land Tenure

463 According to early documents land regulations formerly were very simple. There appears to have been no rights over land: "Land belongs to whoever takes it; it has no value. It is not sold, not given as a guarantee for debt, does not enter into inheritance." There is absent not only the notion of private ownership of land but also that of collective ownership: "There is never any conflict between villages over ownership of land. . . . We often see an outside village insert itself between two groups of dwellings belonging to the selfsame Boulou village." (1) In Fang country in Gabon the situation was

1. Report to the League of Nations, 1922.

similar: "In the Woleu-N'Tem region, tradition is unaware of the idea of ownership even by a village." (2)

●423 2. Sautter, Bulletin d'Études centrafricaines, 1950 (no. 102).

[166] Migrations and conquests still belong to the recent past. Besides, /74/ the movement of peoples was effected without organization or authority: different clans, tribes, and peoples overlap, family by family, so that it is not possible to determine the territorial base of a collective group.

Among the Ewondo and Eton the situation is slightly different: the clans, probably better organized, preserved a certain amount of cohesion and carried out their conquest without becoming scattered. Therefore we find that they have boundaries between villages and collective rights over land. "Once plots of land have been cleared, they are not abandoned for good. A village looks upon them as a [241] reserve." In fact population density very much limits shifting cultivation.

[178] In the past forty years customs have changed a great deal and, among these peoples where land tenure was embryonic or nonexistent, ideas are arising that approximate Western rights of ownership.

[161] Population is now pretty nearly stable. It would be quite logical for rights over crops within a fixed boundary to arise, and in this direction some development is making itself felt. In certain areas 423 anyone may still cut wood, lianas, gather wild fruits, or hunt, to 241 satisfy his personal needs, but if he makes a profit from the sale of these things, he must obtain the consent of the family /occupying/ the area in which he carries on this activity. Elsewhere, the use of certain produce even for private requirements is subject to permission or to sharing the harvest. Thus the customary principle of the free use of natural goods is being restricted, at least in certain particular cases. With increase in population comes the idea of a virtual right over uncultivated forest lands. Families consider that they alone have the right to clear the land on which they depend. Men with experience state clearly that "formerly everyone cleared forest land without asking anyone's permission. Now that the country is becoming populous, permission must be asked." In less populated cantons clearing in the great forest goes on without restriction.

In conformity with ancestral customs, the harvest belongs to the cultivators: a right over personal property rather than a right over land. Nevertheless, a tendency toward a right of land ownership is

423 241 making itself felt. Indeed, before any sowing, trees have to be cut down and the land cleared. This work has a relatively permanent effect: to clear undergrowth of ten to fifteen years is less difficult than to clear a bit of primary forest. Furthermore, the original clearer of the land is acknowledged to have rights over the fallow. Within a family, each head of a household can put back into cultivation fields which he used to work, and in such a case each wife has the right to go back to her old plot. When collective ownership is involved, the process has not been so clear. This is understandable, for when a village leaves its old site and no one remains in the neighborhood, it means that no return is expected. Therefore, abandoned sites may in general be occupied without difficulty and without explicit agreement.

But in the case of cacao plantations it is obvious that the right arising /75/ from cultivation is transformed into right over land. Right to the harvest has turned into right over the tree that bears it and over the ground in which the tree grows: the duration of a plantation justifies this transition by settling men for two or three generations.

This transition, however, has not been entirely accomplished, and some people want to insure their right over the land by planting trees upon it; and peculiar devices may be observed, such as a competitor's setting out cacao trees between those of an emigrant planter, in order to oust him.

423 609 Development /evolution/ in the direction of ownership has not yet ended. There is now a right of use, but a right of disposal has not been established. Many believe that land cannot be sold. Not, it seems, on religious /sic/ grounds, but because the collective group would /in such a case/ be definitely defrauded. In this connection the attitude toward outsiders /l'attitude des etrangers/ is indicative. In this region of inextricably mingled clans and tribes, the problem of outsiders arises constantly. Those that belong to sister tribes are looked upon almost as members of the group, but others, coming from more distant populations, follow special regulations. They must ask for land from the head of the family near which they settle: he authorizes them to clear a field for a subsistence crop, but forbids them to plant cacao trees. In fact, if making a field of maize gives right of possession to the land for a few months, the establishment of a cacao plantation would lead to long-lasting possession. There is no question of a custom connected with the owning of trees, since the older inhabitants insist that formerly

any stranger could plant melen palms (Elaeis guineensis) and sa (Pachylobus edulis), but of a defense reflex to preserve control of a valuable crop and to ward off the wave of immigration it could attract.

An examination of forms of pawning fields leads to a similar conclusion: there is far from a complete right to dispose of property. The harvest rather than the land is pledged. Among the Ewondo, in fact, the creditor may harvest and dispose of the produce. "Should the harvest surpass the debt, he will turn over to the debtor part of the produce. Since the owner runs the risk of having his land go to waste, the creditor may keep it in good heart and thus increase his credit. He may be induced to keep the property for several years: in fact, he keeps it long enough to be repaid out of the harvest. However, there is no assumption that he can keep it perpetually. Here we run into what is probably an important difference between the local land tenure and our own: everything takes place as if the land were inalienable (1)." The trend is similar among the Boulou, though

1. J. Binet, Budgets familiaux dans la zone cacaoyère du Cameroun /Family Budgets in the Cacao-growing Region of the Cameroons/, L'Homme d'Outre-mer, No. 3, 1956 (no. 93).

it must be admitted that the question of pawning land does not raise serious economic problems at present. (J. B.) /76/

f. Personal Property

This is undoubtedly the only form of property originally recognized. *Much of it seems to have been collective, at least as concerns* valuable possessions: the ésa was in charge of these possessions, the family patrimony which served mainly to pay the minsuba, "bride prices." There was, however, individual ownership of useful objects, men's weapons, women's gardening tools and household equipment, objects that were buried with the owner. It seems, also, that there was a sexual differentiation between the various categories of possessions: biôm beyôm were masculine, biôm beyal were feminine, a distinction to be traced not to ownership, but to use and perhaps to origin. I have already mentioned that in the bilaba the njem bilaba of the west contributed imported goods, while his eastern counterpart

562 children before marrying her off. In the economic sphere a young unmarried woman may freely undertake all sorts of commercial enterprises, whereas a married woman would need her husband's consent. Nor do divorce or widowhood, /82/ any more than marriage, emancipate a woman in theory. Escaping from her husband's guardianship, she falls back under the authority of the head of her family, but from the point of view of custom this is not a detrimental situation, since every person remains subject to his father.

Therefore the liberty women possess in managing their inheritance [459] ought not to appear an anomaly. Besides, individual savings are widespread in Africa. And the division of property into masculine and feminine allows women and girls to own objects which neither [422] husbands nor fathers may take from them. A partition of goods is the logical consequence of these assumptions.

Women theoretically have the right to dispose of the product of their labor—their harvest—but they must provide the basic foodstuffs. Only the surplus is sold, but in the majority of families when large sales take place the proceeds are divided between husband and wife. Women usually control the proceeds of day-to-day sales in a market or to passing travelers; petty amounts comprising only 10 percent of the total family budget. They may invest these profits by joining [459] a tontine (a society in which each person makes a contribution on a fixed date and of which the capital is allotted to each member in turn).

Thus the traditional means for growing rich are limited. But changing customs are allowing women to follow various occupations that will make them independent. Women engaged in trade or dressmaking, for which they pay a license, business trade employees or saleswomen, theoretically have to be authorized by their husbands, who may decide how the earnings are to be spent. In actual fact women seem to be free agents. Even in the customary courts they appear alone, unaccompanied by fathers or husbands.

423 In the sphere of land tenure the trend is the same: women are 562 acquiring a certain amount of property. With stabilization /i.e. settling down/, the growth of collective rights over cleared land or land good for tillage is quite understandable. The idea of allowing a personal right to a woman who is not truly a member of a family, but merely loaned to it, seems an aberration. This, nevertheless, is the situation among the Ewôndo, where a divorced woman

423 continues to have rights over her old garden plots and may gather the
522 harvest from them. Among the Bané and the Boulou the position of divorced women is no the same, but the tendency is so, for when fallow land is cleared every woman goes back to the plots she used to work four or five years before, and sons may demand plots that have been cultivated by their mothers.

Cacao plantations raise other problems. A man concerned for his children's future mayturn over a plantation to a wife or encourage her to make one for their son. In other cases childless women start
[523] plantations as a mean of providing for old age. Women with children do not have to fear, for their children will look after them. Finally, there is an even moreimportant /83/ change appearing: a matrimonial system of communityof property is developing. When a woman has collaborated with herhusband to set up a plantation, she has the right upon his death to keep the usufruct. Even if her son inherits the plantation and sells the produce, it is she who collects the proceeds. This is an important development, because it is evidence of a kind of equality between spouses who are keen and efficient in harvesting the produce of the sane piece of land. It furthermore shows that the
[524] household is a legal reality vis-à-vis the two individuals, on the one hand, the patriarchalfamily, on the other. (J. B.)

Chapter 6

Principal Elements of Culture

1. Physical and Mental Characteristics

a. Anthropological Data

141 The first travelers describe the Fang as very tall, well built, and with a formidable appearance. This opinion certainly contained a good deal of subjective evaluation, because the figures given, for instance by L. Dugast, some of which are cited below, indicate simply an above-average height:

128 I am using the concept "medicine" in the sense used by the Pangwe /Ed., the author uses Pangwe [Fang] as the name for a group of tribes in which the Fang are one tribe; the others are the Eton, Mwele [Mvele], Jaunde [Yaunde], Bene [Bane], Bulu, Ntum, Mwai [Mvae], and Mokuk (Oschüeba)/, who have a much broader conception of it than we do and unite under the term biǎ,ń, "medicine," various things which we are accustomed to separate, namely, charms, means for bringing luck and avoiding misfortune, remedies for cult sicknesses, and healing remedies in our sense of the term. In addition, I shall include the food taboos (ekī,).

759 The knowledge of medicines is fairly widespread among the Pangwe. Each Pangwe man -- and /144/ even each Pangwe woman -- is familiar with half a dozen or at least a few. However, only a person who is an extraordinarily good observer, who does not stay at home as does the average Pangwe, and who has gained experience and knowledge is designated as a medicine man, ngěńgǎ'ń I. As was observed in an earlier section /Ed., Vol. I, Section 8/, extreme specialization of all knowledge and skills is found among the Pangwe. This is no less the case with medicines. One man may be familiar with cult medicines, another with ewu medicines; others specialize in the opening of corpses for the detection of ewu, still others specialize in skin diseases, etc. Within these areas specialization goes still farther. Individual medicine men may be specialists for a particular disease (e.g., leprosy) or for a particular method of treating this disease. Such a specialist is called ongěńgǎ'ń. He is frequently sought from a great distance by patients who do not have a specialist for their case or one of sufficient repute in their own villages.

424 759 461 Medical knowledge is not guarded as a legacy in certain families, but is the property of individuals and is imparted to others by the expert in return for cash payment. This is a business deal of such great importance that a father seldom or never instructs his own son in medical knowledge, as he could not accept much payment from him -- particularly since it is in a sense a matter of his own money -- and he would not do it for nothing

424 759 461 [435] because, in spite of the great love for children, in spite of the intimate relationship between father and son, the Negro is simply not able to endure the effort of working unless the prospect of payment is constantly before his eyes. The price for strangers, to be paid in advance, is 100 spears or a small sheep, in return for which the medicine man will teach his pupil all the cures that he knows.

759 554 754 The medicine men do not have any special social status, authority, or influence. In general, they are regarded only as experienced and skillful persons (akǒ́n, i.e., "skillful"). Only those among them who know the medicines of sorcery and give this knowledge to others (including the cult leaders who, by means of a magic medicine, give the cult figures the power to practice sorcery) are feared, and rightly so, because one suspects that with the help of these "medicines" they may practice sorcery, i.e., kill other people, at any time.

1. Medicines for Sorcery

754 [753] We have seen in the previous chapter /Ed., not translated/ that the sources of belief in sorcery are to be sought in the need to assign causes for unrecognized internal ailments, particularly malaria and poisoning. Because of the similarity of their symptoms, these two cannot be distinguished by European outsiders,/145/ and even the native inhabitants for the most part find it impossible. At the moment, therefore, it is not possible to obtain a clear picture of these things. *It is certain that the Negroes know how to* get someone out of the way with poison and that they mix poison with the conscious intention of killing, but it is uncertain to what extent they are conscious of the physiological effects of poison in our sense. As far as I could observe, a generally mystical view of these matters still prevails. All poisoning, just like all internal illness, is sorcery, and all sorcery is the mystical operation of the physical being, detached from the body, that finds its strength in its ewu which has been developed through medicine (see Section 12)/Ed., not translated/. If someone wishes to kill a person

791 suggest those of the sorcerers they were fighting, as do some of their procedures. Like them, /high initiates/ were capable of telekinesis and bilocation, etc. Trilles gives numerous examples, some of which he claims to have observed himself. Like /sorcerers, initiates/ could transform themselves into animals or make use of a dedicated animal, élañela. They killed people from a distance, especially by casting a spell on a token /temoin, "witness"/ of the classical type, or by acting directly upon people with their power, ngul, by forcing them to submit to their will. Like sorcerers, also, they could be victims through repercussion.

Considering the circumstances, it is not surprising that /121/ magicians and sorcerers have often been confused, nor that some magicians have been led into making evil use of their knowledge, nor, [754] finally, that contemporary associations, like the mbuti (bwiti), intended to combat sorcery, have borrowed its methods, even in their criminal aspects.

533 789 In addition to the magicians proper, there is the singer, ñyia bia, who plays an important role in all rites, including initiations. Every important rite and ceremony has its musical accompaniment, with a specific orchestra for the occasion, and a choirmaster, who leads the incantations and acts somewhat as a master of ceremonies, without himself participating directly in the sacrifice or the magical act. It is peculiar to the ñyia bia that he is present at the three major rites, sô, ngil, and ndôngô, as at all magic ceremonies, no matter what his affiliation; apparently he is not liable to the prohibitions concerning participation affecting zesé bôt, ordinary or profane people. He [424] buys and sells or inherits his songs, is not assigned to a caste /n'est pas casté/, yet seems to have enjoyed a certain immunity during the wars of former times, but this may only have been the case with the most celebrated of the beyia bia. There are also female beyia bia, who enjoy the same prerogatives in feminine rites.

778 789 Magical equipment consists, first, of the instruments appropriate to each rite, drums, horns, rattles, bells, the ngôma harp of the bwiti, etc., with a great variety of additional diverse objects: fly-[534] whisks, akpwassa, sometimes mutilated; antelope horns filled with mebiañ; human and animal skulls and bones; pots and calabashes; engraved and decorated magician's spears; masks; the bwiti broken mirror; bikpwélé (iron "bride-price money"); shells, etc. Every magical act, every rite, has its own properties, the complete description of which would require a separate monograph for each. We

3 counters lie face up, the one counter lying face down;

525

with five players

if all the disks lie face down or up to three disks inclusive lie face up and

1 counter lies face up, the one counter lying face up,
2 counters lie face up, the two counters lying face up,
3 counters lie face up, the three counters lying face up,
4 counters lie face up, the one counter lying face down; /317/

if four to seven disks lie face up and

1 counter lies face up, the one counter lying face up,
2 counters lie face up, the three counters lying face down,
3 counters lie face up, the two counters lying face down,
4 counters lie face up, the one counter lying face down.

Put in words, the matter may be expressed as follows.

1. In case all the disks are lying face down or up to three disks inclusive are lying face up, the team on the right loses only if the counters of all players less one (total minus one) are lying face up.

2. In case four to seven disks are lying face up, the team to the right always loses if more than one chip is lying face up.

Now it may also happen that four players cannot be assembled. In that case, three players help themselves out by putting down a blind counter for the missing fourth. If this counter alone comes out the winner, the throw naturally does not count; on the other hand, if it is the second winner, the share of the dummy falls to the co-winner.

The stakes must be fixed before the basketry plate is raised. Each player must place a certain fairly high value (for instance, 2, 5, or 10 marks), usually in the form of goods, on a pile, which the winners share equally. If there is only one winner, he gets the whole pile. The losses suffered by a Negro in the game are considerable. If he has no more money with him, he has his luckier [426] friends give him an advance in the hope of winning at a later throw and paying back the loan. In this process some of them go so deeply [578] in debt that in the end they must leave their wives with the creditor, and sometimes they come to blows, even to homicide; blood revenge

583 example, by the premature death of the fiancée. Almost all customary courts now refuse /to uphold/ repayment when a woman has died without issue, as was the old custom.

The other forms of marriage were abom, marriage by abduction, which was regularized by later payment of the "bride price" (meso [426] ngon = arrival of the girl); putting in pawn for debt, which was made permanent /53/ by nonrepayment; éjian, substitution for a fiancée deceased before marriage or for a wife who died without issue (in such cases a younger sister of the dead woman was often provided); [682] taff abim, corpse price, that is, the giving in payment of a young woman as blood money after a homicide; exchange of women between clans, usually on the occasion of an alliance /i.e. through marriage/, élat (1).

1. Elat = alliance, agreement; bilelat = kindred, the whole body of relatives and affinal kin.

837 Exchange or loan of women, mvia, was perhaps a form of hospitable prostitution. It apparently did not apply to the benya binga, the "true wives," in any case never to the ôsua minga, the first wife, [56] who would have considered it a reason for divorce without repayment of bride price. In the same way, nkuan, sale, was not the equivalent [426] of marriage and must have applied mainly to foreigners, though perhaps sometimes to Pahouin girls pawned and not redeemed.

587 The inheritance of widows did not automatically have the same 428 value as marriage. It was usually permitted only between succeeding generations—from father to son, from elder to younger brother; inheriting by an older from a younger brother appears in recent law. Furthermore, the heir possessed the right of renunciation, except with respect to his mother, whom he had to support but whom he would naturally not make his wife. He could send other widows back to their families, keeping their children, who belonged to his clan. 587 To require repayment of the bride price for a widow's "liberation" 583 seems to be a recent deviation; in the past this custom must have applied only to barren women or to those whose children had not lived, but only when they returned to live with their families without remarrying. The moment a widow remarried outside the family of her deceased husband, the "bride price" went to the latter's heirs, and

423 any stranger could plant melen palms (Elaeis guineensis) and sa
60f (Pachylobus edulis), but of a defense reflex to preserve control of a valuable crop and to ward off the wave of immigration it could attract.

An examination of forms of pawning fields leads to a similar con-
423 clusion: there is far from a complete right to dispose of property.
●424 The harvest rather than the land is pledged. Among the Ewondo, in fact, the creditor may harvest and dispose of the produce. "Should the harvest surpass the debt, he will turn over to the debtor part of the produce. Since the owner runs the risk of having his land go to waste, the creditor may keep it in good heart and thus increase his credit. He may be induced to keep the property for several years: in fact, he keeps it long enough to be repaid out of the harvest. However, there is no assumption that he can keep it perpetually. Here we run into what is probably an important difference between the local land tenure and our own: everything takes place as if the land were inalienable (1)." The trend is similar among the Boulou, though

1. J. Binet, Budgets familiaux dans la zone cacaoyère du Cameroun /Family Budgets in the Cacao-growing Region of the Cameroons/, L'Homme d'Outre-mer, No. 3, 1956 (no. 93).

it must be admitted that the question of pawning land does not raise serious economic problems at present. (J. B.) /76/

f. Personal Property

422 This is undoubtedly the only form of property originally recognized. *Much of it seems to have been collective, at least as concerns* valuable possessions: the ésa was in charge of these possessions, the family patrimony which served mainly to pay the minsuba, "bride prices." There was, however, individual ownership of useful objects, men's weapons, women's gardening tools and household equipment, objects that were buried with the owner. It seems, also, that there
[83] was a sexual differentiation between the various categories of possessions: biôm beyôm were masculine, biôm beyal were feminine, a distinction to be traced not to ownership, but to use and perhaps to origin. I have already mentioned that in the bilaba the njem bilaba of the west contributed imported goods, while his eastern counterpart

h. Contracts and Various Quasi Contracts

675 A legal obligation is atiñ, from tiñ = to tie. For a long time no distinction was made between a contract and a quasi /or implied/ contract, but, as the range of independent activity spreads, we may recognize among metiñ the genuine contract, mfañ atiñ, from fañ = to do really, on purpose, by design.

Underlying all metiñ is the idea of compensation, avutan or abutan, which might be interpreted as follows: any effect /atteint/, positive or negative, on the total legal personality of an individual through the act of another must lead to a positive or negative compensation restoring the status quo ante. In other words, whoever enriches another person, has a claim to compensation; whoever deprives another, owes compensation.

Thus arises the distinction between msenge and avu or avuan which have sometimes been confused by being translated as "gain" or "profit." It /79/ seems that msenge in fact referred specifically to commercial profit made outside the clan through trade, abom, to which compensation did not apply. Avu or avuan (from vu = to grow rich, to increase in wealth, with an = to grow, to increase) meant the natural increase in property, such as a harvest in relationship to the sowing /or/ the biological increase of a herd. If the avuan was made at the expense of a monyañ, compensation was called for. Nowadays the idea of avuan approximates that of interest, legitimate or illegitimate according to the case. The weakening of the old social structures at the same time tends to allow msenge even within the clan.

431 675 The verb kuan, to sell, is merely the reciprocal form of the verb kus, to buy; thus kuan means literally, "one person's buying from another," with a now very attenuated implication of exchange. The verbs foi and foian, formerly almost synonymous with kus and kuan, have kept the sense of "exchange"; they are applied to barter, kuan and kus, to money transactions.

At the present time selling is considered to be established with delivery of the merchandise or the payment, while exchange seems to call for a simultaneous delivery of the objects exchanged.

936 675 To lend something for temporary and brief use is señ; it is not strictly speaking a contract, and the borrower may even not be under obligation, for example when he has been loaned a tool to carry out

426 a job for profit and under the supervision of the lender. To lend on
675 long terms with actual deprivation of possession of the object loaned is, on the other hand, a frequent atiñ. The same verbs mean both "to lend" and "to borrow": yôé is used for the loan-borrowing of a specific object, kôlé for something within a class of objects or of a sum of money. The thing loaned is ndôñ or ékôla, according as the case may be, or, more frequently, mvôla, which means any kind of debt or credit (mbi mvôla = creditor; mvômvôla = debtor). The borrower is required to return in good order the ndôñ and what it produces or the ékola, increased by avutan if he has profited from the loan. The borrower is responsible not only for the care but also for
[676] the use that he makes of the borrowed object, the lender, however, retaining a sort of joint and several responsibility vis-à-vis third parties whom the borrower may injure by means of the borrowed object (indemnity can be claimed by the victim of an accident from the owner who has loaned his bicycle to the author of the accident), and even vis-à-vis is the borrower, if he comes to harm through the borrowed object.

427 From loan is derived hiring, indicated by the same word as the
676 loan of a specific object, yôé. /This is/ a recently introduced form of contract, and its legal position is still vague. Like loan, hiring may lead to the giving of a pledge, éban. The éban often involved people until European legislation prohibited the pledging of persons, though it is still practised clandestinely. Today it mainly involves objects that can be returned, either to the lender or to a third person; ownership of the security may /80/ be transferred to the lender when repayment falls due, without extinguishing the debt. The pawning of ungathered harvests or even of plantations is more and more common; with plantations, however, the pledge covers rights over the produce rather than over the land itself. When a girl is pawned, the repayment of the debt, aju, is sometimes considered a sort of nsuba; as long as the debt lasts, in any case, the children of the pawned girl belong to her clan and not to that of the guaranteed creditor.

231 The contract for the loan-grazing of livestock, meyale kabat
676 (yale = to raise, make grow) may seem rather peculiar at first glance. The owner of an animal turns it over to the ñyale, who must look after it and, at the expiration of the contract, return not only the animal but any young. The lender gets rid of the care of a flock—he is often sending it away, moreover, to escape an animal plague—

231 yet takes the risk of a breach of faith on the ñyale's part. The latter
675 is supposed to return the flock intact, but as long as he tends it, he may do what he wants with it, putting it to use like a kind of credit. It is as well to point out that this kind of contract, which at present is falling into disuse, gave occasion to endless litigation.

The trade contract under its old name abom or the newer atiñ kilak
● 426 or atiñ akus kaka is, on the other hand, becoming more and more
675 widespread. A trader, nkuan biôm or mbi fatyélé, advances to a kilak
441 (from "clerk") cash and goods on the kilak's undertaking to provide the equivalent in a certain tonnage of cacao. The contract is set forth in a written "good for....," which represents recognition of the debt. The kilak exerts himself to collect the promised tonnage, usually by buying from planters of his clan, sometimes by subcontract with "small clerks," bone bekilak. The contract has a due date, with the usual contingencies; in the case of rising prices, the kilak may run into difficulties and not be able to furnish the promised tonnage unless planters of his family give him credit or sell to him below the price. Cacao buying is also done by commission, the agent, nlôman, (envoy), receiving a cash advance with which to buy as much cacao as possible. Both methods give rise to litigation, which is all the more common because the moneylender is usually a European or an African of another tribe, a "Gabonese" in French Equatorial Africa, a Bamiléké, mone galifis (from Coast English "Grassfield") in the Cameroons.

In general a commission is always possible, whether in making a
556 contract or in pleading in court. The person giving the commission
675 is called mve ngul, giver of power; the agent is called mbili ngul,
431 possessing power. They are jointly and severally responsible.

The bilaba contract, described about (41, 77), is disappearing. There survives, however, a sort of poor man's bilaba, the meyeñ, from nneñ, guest, which allows a zesé môt, a humble man, to levy a kind of tax on the rich, minkukum, of his clan by the simple procedure of going to visit them, carrying a present /81/ which must be returned by generous hospitality and by a countergift of higher value. This is a quasi contract, sanctioned by public opinion, which is a heavy burden on people thought to be rich; it underlies the family parasitism prevalent in large towns. The reputed nkukum who tries to escape would be accused of being hard hearted, nlem ayet, which could easily lead to a charge of sorcery.

426 a job for profit and under the supervision of the lender. To lend on
675 long terms with actual deprivation of possession of the object loaned is, on the other hand, a frequent atiñ. The same verbs mean both "to lend" and "to borrow": yôé is used for the loan-borrowing of a specific object, kôlé for something within a class of objects or of a sum of money. The thing loaned is ndôñ or ékôla, according as the case may be, or, more frequently, mvôla, which means any kind of debt or credit (mbi mvôla = creditor; mvômvôla = debtor). The borrower is required to return in good order the ndôñ and what it produces or the ékola, increased by avutan if he has profited from the loan. The borrower is responsible not only for the care but also for
[672] the use that he makes of the borrowed object, the lender, however, retaining a sort of joint and several responsibility vis-à-vis third parties whom the borrower may injure by means of the borrowed object (indemnity can be claimed by the victim of an accident from the owner who has loaned his bicycle to the author of the accident), and even vis-à-vis is the borrower, if he comes to harm through the borrowed object.

427 From loan is derived hiring, indicated by the same word as the
676 loan of a specific object, yôé. /This is/ a recently introduced form of contract, and its legal position is still vague. Like loan, hiring may lead to the giving of a pledge, éban. The éban often involved people until European legislation prohibited the pledging of persons, though it is still practised clandestinely. Today it mainly involves objects that can be returned, either to the lender or to a third person; ownership of the security may /80/ be transferred to the lender when repayment falls due, without extinguishing the debt. The pawning of ungathered harvests or even of plantations is more and more common; with plantations, however, the pledge covers rights over the produce rather than over the land itself. When a girl is pawned, the repayment of the debt, aju, is sometimes considered a sort of nsuba; as long as the debt lasts, in any case, the children of the pawned girl belong to her clan and not to that of the guaranteed creditor.

231 The contract for the loan-grazing of livestock, meyale kabat
675 (yale = to raise, make grow) may seem rather peculiar at first glance. The owner of an animal turns it over to the ñyale, who must look after it and, at the expiration of the contract, return not only the animal but any young. The lender gets rid of the care of a flock—he is often sending it away, moreover, to escape an animal plague—

612 of mwanô to that of the ésa. The eldest son is not only almost
601 the exclusive heir to property — "he inherits at least seven tenths,"
561 writes Mr. Bertaut — but he also has religious privileges. He is the sole guardian of the skulls of ancestors, and he has political privileges, if he shows himself sufficiently able.

601 Within the maternal kinship the most important relations are
608 those between nephew (mwanô kal) and maternal uncle (nya-nduma). Of this we have proof in an early study of the Fang of the N'Djolé region, and in a recent document written at the time of a clan gathering which shows the maintenance of some of these relations. Captain Curault (1) refers to them in a precise manner in his

1. Captain Curault, "Monographie du secteur de N'Djolé au Gabon" [Monograph on the N'Djolé Sector in Gabon], Revue des Troupes Coloniales, 68, February, 1908.

monograph on the N'Djolé sector: "The relations between uncle and nephew are very close; during his life the nephew gives his uncle a great many presents to increase still further the price paid to his uncle for his mother. In the same way, whenever his nephew pays him a visit, the uncle kills a chicken for him, etc... as does the father-in-law for his son-in-law. ... If a poor nephew needs goods to pay for a palaver or to get married, he can go to his uncle, sure that he will receive help from him, even if he has not often given him presents. It is a supreme shame for a man to send away the son of his sister with empty hands." Maternal
• 628 uncle and nephew have a share in the inheritance. An official report of the clan gathering of the Yémisèm-Éba still provides in 1948 for the "indemnity" due at the time of the death of a nya-nduma (a sum corresponding to the value of a woman and a sheep) and on the death of a mwanô-kal (a slightly smaller sum, "varying according to the size of the inheritance," and a sheep). (2)

2. Réunion de 25 villages de la tribu Yémissem a Aféname (District d'Oyem) du 12 au 19 Juillet, 1948 [Gathering of 25 villages of the Yémissem tribe at

example, by the premature death of the fiancée. Almost all customary courts now refuse /to uphold/ repayment when a woman has died without issue, as was the old custom.

The other forms of marriage were abom, marriage by abduction, which was regularized by later payment of the "bride price" (meso ngon = arrival of the girl); putting in pawn for debt, which was made permanent /53/ by nonrepayment; éjian, substitution for a fiancée deceased before marriage or for a wife who died without issue (in such cases a younger sister of the dead woman was often provided); taff abim, corpse price, that is, the giving in payment of a young woman as blood money after a homicide; exchange of women between clans, usually on the occasion of an alliance /i.e. through marriage/, élat (1).

1. Elat = alliance, agreement; bilelat = kindred, the whole body of relatives and affinal kin.

Exchange or loan of women, mvia, was perhaps a form of hospitable prostitution. It apparently did not apply to the benya binga, the "true wives," in any case never to the ôsua minga, the first wife, who would have considered it a reason for divorce without repayment of bride price. In the same way, nkuan, sale, was not the equivalent of marriage and must have applied mainly to foreigners, though perhaps sometimes to Pahouin girls pawned and not redeemed.

The inheritance of widows did not automatically have the same value as marriage. It was usually permitted only between succeeding generations—from father to son, from elder to younger brother; inheriting by an older from a younger brother appears in recent law. Furthermore, the heir possessed the right of renunciation, except with respect to his mother, whom he had to support but whom he would naturally not make his wife. He could send other widows back to their families, keeping their children, who belonged to his clan. To require repayment of the bride price for a widow's "liberation" seems to be a recent deviation; in the past this custom must have applied only to barren women or to those whose children had not lived, but only when they returned to live with their families without remarrying. The moment a widow remarried outside the family of her deceased husband, the "bride price" went to the latter's heirs, and

422 brought produce of the locality, the system of directions very probably being ascribed to sexual categories, the northeast area, male and the southwest area, female. It would be advisable to know more about the ritual use of different tools and implements in order to throw more light on the subject. We know that the saber, fa, is essentially male, that the hunting bell tied to a dog's neck, angôñ, is essentially female, that the drum-telephone, nkul, is androgynous (though women are not allowed to use it); the rifle, ngal, is probably epicene, and the same is true for a few other objects, but we know almost nothing about the effect of this sexual differentiation upon property and its conveyance.

In any case, since the introduction of a money economy, personal property /propriété mobilière/ has become almost entirely individual. Personal property /meubles/ that remains collective is primarily so by appropriation, like the equipment of associations, the profits of their subscriptions, sometimes objects bought in common by members of a family because of their cost or function—like the sewing machines obtained from Spanish Guinea after the last war, for instance.

Personal property still involves some restrictions for women and
422 young men, although they are less and less accepted. Respectful
513 sons and submissive wives still allow their fathers and husbands to use the objects acquired by the earnings of their labor, but when they rebel the trend of the courts is increasingly in their favor. However, the obligatory aid arising from family ties still holds good, and to refuse to "lend" something to a monyañ is likely to be frowned on, which is a serious matter. Thus there survives a kind of right of collective family use working against individual /ownership of/ personal property.

g. Inheritance, Guardianship

422 These come about from death or disappearance. A paternal curse
578 did not entail loss of civil rights, but the possessions left behind by an accursed son who quit his village were confiscated and divided among his brothers.

The disposal of possessions left by a dead man, called élik from
428 lik = to leave, took place at the end of the period of mourning,
765 meyep, perhaps /77/ a mbu, six months after death. This waiting period tends to become shorter and in towns usually lasts a month,

a long enough interval in which to inform and call together the eventual heirs; in villages it remains longer.

The élik includes on the debit side the family debts incurred by the de cujus, but not his purely personal debts, which die with him; the distinction is sometimes hard to make and gives rise to suits between the heirs and creditors of the dead man. The debit side also includes the funeral costs, especially compensation to the diviner called in to determine the cause of death (but the expenses of the final illness are considered to be a personal debt). Assets cover all real and personal property that belonged to the deceased, including his wives. The settlement, akap = distribution, is directed by the nkap élik, distributor of the inheritance, usually a ntôl mot, a kinsman or affinal relative not benefiting from the inheritance and appointed either by the de cujus or by the heirs themselves. Inheritances are more important now than they used to be, not only because there are more, and a greater variety of, objects to be distributed but also because the custom is dying out of destroying or burying part of them during the funeral rites.

There are six degrees of possible heirs: male offspring and their male descendants; full brothers; half brothers on the father's side; paternal first cousins, bobenyam; clan nephews, hence brother's sons, bobendôm; uterine brothers, nephews, and grandsons of the clan, hence bastards, bobengon, and legitimate nephews and grandsons outside the clan, bobekal. Inheritance does not devolve by ascending order except in the complete absence of descending heirs.

The eldest of the heirs of the first degree called to the inheritance, ntôl mon, is privileged; he is the replacement, njian, for the dead man. To him go the hut, the family jewelry, ancestral cult objects, especially the bieti basket, the rifle, and certain valuable possessions like bicycles, sewing machines, etc. The other possessions are divided among the other heirs of the same degree. The njian's right of seniority is beginning to be criticized; it is gradually ceasing to apply to plantations, and now the heirs are demanding a division into portions of equal value along lines similar to those of the Civil Code.

The possessions left by a woman went in the first instance to her daughters, in their absence to her co-wives, and in their absence to her husband. With the present instability of marriage, related to the economic emancipation of women, this order of inheritance is

428 very much questioned: one often sees a woman's family trying to get hold of the inheritance on the grounds of incomplete payment of the bride price.

Oral wills are increasingly being replaced by written wills. The testator may himself kap élik, distribute the inheritance, and favor certain heirs. He cannot entirely disinherit the ntôl mon except by cursing him, unless the latter has left the village in an apparently final manner, in which case a younger brother becomes njian. /78/

Disappearance is a question of fact. When a man has stayed away for a long time without sending news, and no one knows where he is, his elders and his brothers may decide to share his possessions. This division is canceled should he return.

429 Guardianship of a minor, mebaʼale or akalé (from baʼale or kalé to take care of, watch over) is given to a nya mbôb of a higher age grade, preferably a paternal uncle, ésa (lit., father) or paternal grandparent, émvam; in their absence it is given to an elder brother; in the absence of all these, to a senior member of the family or clan. The maternal uncle, ndomenyan, acts as a kind of deputy guardian with the duty of supervising the guardianship. A ward who is maltreated by his guardian will seek refuge with his maternal uncle.

The guardian, mbaʼak mon or nkalé mon, has by virtue of his age and of their kinship tie full power over an orphan, mone nyui or moʼnyui. He cannot, however, have control of his possessions, which must be restored in full, either in kind or in /equivalent/ value, when the orphan reaches majority. In theory a guardian ought to arrange his ward's marriage at his own expense, a tradition that is dying out with the decrease in family property. When the ward grows up he may demand an accounting of the guardianship, provided that there is no insult to the guardian. A family council composed of elders, minôl, deals with such a case.

The mbaʼale mon responsible for the guardianship of a girl is the person who approves her marriage and accepts the nsuba, of which he must reserve the total for the marriage of the girl's brothers if they also are minors. Guardianship of a girl is always given to her eldest brother if he is grown at the time of the father's death; if not, she is handed over to him when he reaches majority by the mbaʼale mon, if she has not been married during the brother's minority. Furthermore, even in the latter case, it falls to him to repay the nsuba should the girl be divorced after he has passed out of guardianship.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

the palaver house, where he loves to sit and gossip around the log fire, or lounge 517
on the *Ekong* (a native bed of poles).

Dancing is a favourite pastime, especially at the time of new moon, when the 535
dance seems to have some religious significance. A Fang dance is a sight worth seeing; arrayed in long streaming armlets of dried grass, and large bunches of forest beans and molluscs shells tied around the ankles for castanets, they go through a series of rapid and graceful movements, some of which are not entirely free from obscenity. Flaming torches made of resin wrapped in plantain leaves are stuck in the ground and the drums keep up a perfect fusillade; [573]
the whole making a weird and extremely interesting spectacle. With short intervals of rest the dance usually continues throughout the night until daybreak (photo of dance shown on screen).

III.—*Clothing, Ornaments, Painting and Tattooing.*

Fang men and women usually go about bareheaded; some obtain imported 291
straw and felt hats from the traders and are very proud of them. A red worsted night-cap sold at the factories is very popular and much worn. These head coverings are chiefly worn for ornament and not to afford protection from the sun or weather. Until the opening up of trade among the Fang people their clothing amounted to almost nothing. The men wore a waist cloth made of bark from certain trees, a strong, tough, fibrous material, and the women wore a girdle stripped from the plantain stem, with some leaves from the bush or a piece of the plantain leaf tucked through the girdle in front and passed downward, backward and upward between the limbs and fastened to the girdle behind. Very often the women wore a kind of bustle made of dried grass dyed black, or red. In sitting [516]
down the women are very careful to first arrange the bustle. The native bark cloth, the girdle and bustle, are still worn in the bush towns; the women often [568]
make the girdle of imported glass beads strung on string made from pineapple fibre, but people living in towns along the river banks wear imported cloths obtained in trade. As a general rule boys and girls run about without clothing until five or six years of age. Imported cloth is worn by both sexes and is often sewn together very skilfully and decorated with pieces of different colours. There are no recognised peculiarities of dress restricted to the subdivisions of tribes. The cloth is cut out and sewed by each individual owner unless it is a trade cloth previously sewn. Cloth is usually hemmed and worn as a simple wrapper around the waist, and held in place by rolling in and tucking the upper border on itself. The upper portion of the body is not much covered by the cloth although some men and women wear it tied high up around the neck. There is no difference between the indoor and outdoor clothing. When imported needles and thread can be obtained they are used, but I have seen very skilful sewing done with a sharp piece of bamboo for a needle and thread made of pineapple fibre. Upon the [578]
death of parents, clothes descend to the children. In saluting a visitor it is not [576]
customary to remove a hat or cap, if one is being worn, or any other article of clothing.

428 very much questioned: one often sees a woman's family trying to get hold of the inheritance on the grounds of incomplete payment of the bride price.

Oral wills are increasingly being replaced by written wills. The testator may himself kap élik, distribute the inheritance, and favor certain heirs. He cannot entirely disinherit the ntôl mon except by cursing him, unless the latter has left the village in an apparently final manner, in which case a younger brother becomes njian. /78/

Disappearance is a question of fact. When a man has stayed away for a long time without sending news, and no one knows where he is, his elders and his brothers may decide to share his possessions. This division is canceled should he return.

429 Guardianship of a minor, meba'ale or akalé (from ba'ale or kalé to take care of, watch over) is given to a nya mbô of a higher age grade, preferably a paternal uncle, ésa (lit., father) or paternal grandparent, émvam; in their absence it is given to an elder brother; in the absence of all these, to a senior member of the family or clan. The maternal uncle, ndomenyan, acts as a kind of deputy guardian with the duty of supervising the guardianship. A ward who is maltreated by his guardian will seek refuge with his maternal uncle.

The guardian, mba'ak mon or nkalé mon, has by virtue of his age and of their kinship tie full power over an orphan, mone nyui or mo'nyui. He cannot, however, have control of his possessions, which must be restored in full, either in kind or in /equivalent/ value, when the orphan reaches majority. In theory a guardian ought to arrange his ward's marriage at his own expense, a tradition that is dying out with the decrease in family property. When the ward grows up he may demand an accounting of the guardianship, provided that there is no insult to the guardian. A family council composed of elders, mintôl, deals with such a case.

The mba'ale mon responsible for the guardianship of a girl is the person who approves her marriage and accepts the nsuba, of which he must reserve the total for the marriage of the girl's brothers if they also are minors. Guardianship of a girl is always given to her eldest brother if he is grown at the time of the father's death; if not, she is handed over to him when he reaches majority by the mba'ale mon, if she has not been married during the brother's minority. Furthermore, even in the latter case, it falls to him to repay the nsuba should the girl be divorced after he has passed out of guardianship.

584 If the young man has noticed a girl or has already come to an understanding with her, he goes to her parents, introduces himself first to the father, who usually shows his most amiable side and recommends the young man to his daughter. Even though the lover did not obtain the girl's agreement beforehand -- something which can be accomplished with a few words in a brief encounter -- he will nonetheless find little opposition. The relations with the "father-in-law" and above all with the "mother-in-law" are as cordial and tender as can be. The young man brings his "mother-in-law" a little present, European salt or other things that women [431] love, and he also endears himself to the father through little attentions or presents, while the parents or the girl herself entertain the guest to the best of their ability. A natural tact causes the Pangwe to avoid mentioning anything that touches upon his relations to the girl in his contact with her family. Indeed, his delicacy with respect to the "parents-in-law" grows into a false sense of shame:

[539] (The) feeling -- shame, it dies (from) frambesia (of the) parents-in-law (relatives by marriage).

The sense of shame has caused a person to die from frambesia transmitted by the parents-in-law, that is, a suitor was afraid, from a sense of shame, to turn down the food offered him by the girl's father who was suffering from frambesia. He ate with the man from one bowl, caught the disease, and died.

To the girl herself the lover usually brings half a piece of material -- valued at one mark -- (among the Jaunde he brings a whole piece). In his courtship, the lover does not usually arrive at the desired goal right away, for it is customary for the girl, even if she grants the young man her affection and /256/ sleeps in the same bed with him, to refuse sexual intercourse with him during the first night. (See the tale on p. 132).

The reason for this custom lies in oson, the feeling of shame toward the talk of other people. The two parties know each other perfectly well as regards their lechery, but they pretend to be quite

in 1954 in connection with a study of family budgets.

amount of food necessary to maintain the population: a crop census was taken in 1948 in one of the Sangmélima cantons (2). In order to

2. Report of the administrative officer, J. M. Soupault. An average individual's requirement would be: 250 maize plants, 330 manioc plants, 130 plantains, 110 macabo, 7 kilograms of rice, and 32 kilograms of groundnuts.

satisfy the needs of 6, 249 inhabitants there is no "exportation" to speak of. The canton used to produce 1, 635, 000 maize plants, 2, 049, 000 manioc, 824, 190 plantain bananas, 687, 800 macabo. It furthermore provided 44 tons of rice, 200 tons of groundnuts. There were 85, 180 fruit trees producing various kinds of fruit (Pachylobes /Canarium edula Hooker, known as asa in Pahouin country—Ed. /, Estulia, oranges, etc.)

Clearing land by burning and the absence of organic fertilizer probably explain the exhaustion of the soil and the shifting cultivation that results from it.

The breeding and rearing of small animals is nevertheless understood and practiced: goats, dogs, fowls, pigs were and still are plentiful in the villages. These animals do not seem to contribute much to the food supply nor to the economic life. The very limited practice of selling pieces of pork has dates from recent years. As a matter of fact, animals were useful for giving quasi-ritual presents, for paying bride prices, and for celebrating family occasions: at a marriage, burial, and the end of mourning, two or three goats were killed to provide food for the relatives.

Of course, these animals are not stabled or fed; the herds wander along the outskirts of villages and do not fail to plunder the gardens. There are innumerable classic quarrels between farmers and herders (with the slight difference here that no one is exclusively a herder nor exclusively a farmer). Was the practice of enclosing by hedges established so as to avoid such depredations, or to give military protection to the settlements? Whatever the origin, this practice associated with the raising of animals would have made it possible to avoid

6: Alexandre and Binet--41 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

3. Trade

431
556
437

Planters command few sources of income; beside their tool equipment a thousand new needs have arisen, which trade must satisfy.

There is, oddly, no commercial tradition at all among the Pahouin. For bride-price payments previous generations used ivory tusks or pieces of wrought iron in the shape of arrows. But was this a form of money? Nothing was bought, nothing sold. And yet, according to Balandier, the pursuit of wealth represented the men's principal activity (2) aside from routine work, perhaps, moreover, because

> 2. Cf. Largeau (no. 48) for the mythical role of the spider in producing merchandise "among the dead." (P. A.)

there was no trade or exchange. From the accounts, it appears that previous generations could only obtain goods from distant countries by bilaba and not by purchase. The bilaba approximates the potlatch in being a contest. During a visit a host gives his guest all kinds of presents, defying him to do the like. Later the guest will have to offer even more than he received. Thus, exchange and a struggle for prestige are involved at the same time (3). Bilaba apparently were

> 3. J. Guilbot, Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 1951, Vol. 21; G. Balandier, Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire /Contemporary Native African Sociology/, P.U.F. /Presses Universitaires de France/, 1955, p. 182.

means of distributing objects of European origin (salt, weapons, clothes) and of exchanging them for ivory collected in the interior, game, or the dogs that some tribes /34/ eat. In general, it is to such exchanges as these that the old accounts refer. But one can scarcely speak of trade for such ritualized gifts and countergifts. And nothing else warrants the assumption of an economy based on exchange. Between Yaoundé and Brazzaville there are no markets, or, more correctly, the markets that now exist were started by Europeans or at their instigation (1).

943
177

6:Alexandre and Binet--42 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

177
443

1. This lack is also pointed out by Balandier, op. cit., p. 544.

A careful study of village names in several subdivisions has not turned up a name that seems connected with ideas of market, exchange, or trade. Moreover, vocabularies for such subjects are very limited.

And, into this land so unprepared for an economic /sic/ life, world economy is penetrating with all its complexity, setting a purchase price for the total output, which has fluctuations the planters obviously cannot understand. Their dismay is natural, since they have not even been able to become familiar with ideas about price, demand, or bargaining through traditions of trade.

It goes without saying that the time when salt was the item most in demand is long since past. However, bags of salt appear among traditional wedding presents, and the manufacture of salt from lye-washed palm ash is still known, though the product is only sold — and moreover very rarely — for its medicinal properties.

43
258
585
278

Expenditures have become extremely diversified, as shown by the analysis of an average family budget: (2)

511

2. These figures drawn from Budgets familiaux au Cameroun /Family Budgets in the Cameroons/, p. 150, do not take into account, we must remember, auto consumption.

Food	14	percent	Household articles	1.9	percent
Textiles	17.4	-	Equipment	7.7	-
Bride price	13	-	Taxes	8.5	-
Housing and furniture	7.5	-	Medicaments	1.3	-
Bedding	1.5	-	Education	0.9	-
Lighting and upkeep	3	-	Gifts and miscellaneous	6	-
Trips	2	-			

577
177
511
291
248

Food now includes, even in the bush, imported items like stockfish or like the bread, sardines, sugar, and condensed milk that are used less regularly. Clothes are the main item of expense. The desire to follow Paris fashions is perhaps not a national trait peculiar

F P 563 565 Bekôé, are now assimilated and are considered a special Pahouin ayôn (see above, p. 54). But the nomadic groups themselves are beginning to give up the obligatory intermediation of the Pahouin in order to sell their game; they are to be seen at markets and even in government offices and in the courts.

F 609 Foreigners, bone bikul (ékul = foreign tribe), had no rights except as guests or hosts, beyeñ (sing. nneñ), which means that they had in fact to buy security. Since European conquest there has been an increase in the betabe (from tabe = to stay, to dwell), privileged strangers admitted to residence by the head of a family or village, often allied by marriage to the clan amid which they have settled. Their children can be absorbed but are not true bo'beti, at least not in the first generations.

F 56 Thus truly Pahouin society was and remains very much a closed one, since entrance into it is, in practice, only by blood. On the other hand, it is very little stratified internally, outside of age grades; it might even be said to be averse to hierarchies.

F 564 At first one is rather tempted to conclude that there are no castes. This statement is perhaps too sweeping, if we take into consideration the fact that certain endogamous clans like the Ndôñ are perhaps castes or represent former castes. The subject deserves further study. /60/

F 556 565 Does Pahouin society admit of social classes based on birth or wealth? In spite of the egalitarian and anarchic temperament of the Pahouin, I think this is so. Terminology proves it by distinguishing the bo' beti not only from the captives but even from the zesé bôt, the humble people: mo'nti is often translated today as "Monsieur." Within the last two generations there has grown up before our eyes a real bourgeoisie of large-scale planters, clerks (bekilak), artisans, and skilled workmen, which is inclined to stand out against a lower class of small peasants, laborers, and even, at the moment, of a "proletariat in sunglasses" — petty tradesmen, etc. —a local equivalent of our white-collar workers. Already in traditional society the minkukum, the rich, were to be distinguished from the common people, the zesé bôt.

556 565 43 437 The rich were looked at askance and were objects of suspicion to the general public, always quick to attribute material success to the possession of an évu (évur, évus), to malevolent sorcery. The

nkukum had to excuse his wealth, primarily by distributing it through customary hospitality and also by a special device of economic-social control resembling the potlatch, the bilaba.

This practice seems to have been especially common among the Boulou. Bertaut relates the word to a Ngumba root meaning "to talk," "to cajole." I should rather incline toward a derivative of the verb lap, "to draw water," by extension "to splash," which can figuratively also convey the idea of scoffing. It is not impossible that the bilaba mechanism was connected with that of the joking relationship, awusó. The bilaba begins with a challenge from one nkukum to another, each man claiming to be the richer. The challenger goes to the house of the challenged, carrying a load of merchandise, mebo me dulu, "legs for the journey," and accompanied by a large retinue of musicians and singers, etc. When he reaches the home of the other njem bilaba (bilaba dancer), he overwhelms him with presents and taunts; his opponte number replies, present for present and jeer for jeer, until he has contributed more than the equivalent of the mebo me dulu. The first njem bilaba goes home and waits for the other's return visit with his own mebo me dulu. Visits and countervisits may go on for a long time, each of the bejem bilaba calling on his immediate family for help, then upon his lineage or clan, for continued supplies. The bilaba therefore comes to be a collective affair. It must be observed that not just any kind of merchandise is exchanged: a njem bilaba in the east (nku, ôku) provides local products, (livestock, cacao, ivory, etc.), in the west (nké) imported products (loincloths, salt, powder, etc.) (1). It should be remembered /61/ in this

1. M. Zoll'Owambe (no. 125) speaks of akum so, "merchandise of the north," imports, and of akum nsak, "merchandise of the south," products of the country. But there appears to have been some confusion. In fact, so = coast, downstream, is related to nké = west, which also means downstream, while nsak = hinterland, upstream (nku = east, related to kui = to come from, rise from, emerge); cf. Largeau, who considers the north to be on the right (male) and the south on the left (female). Imported products would be considered male.

connection that the points of the compass have a sexual implication, which is not well understood. The bilaba sets up a sort of joking relationship between the families of the participants, which may continue after their death.

The institution seems to be dying out, though it was still flourishing between the two /World?/ wars and often involved considerable amounts of money (1).

> 1. Balandier (no. 175 and in a personal communication) stresses the economic importance of the bilaba which, in a society without a money or trade economy, constituted one of the principal means of circulating goods and, especially, of diffusing imported commodities.

In spite of the fear his success inspires, and perhaps because of this fear, the rich man enjoyed undoubted authority in his village and sometimes beyond it. Nkukuma, the absolute form of nkukum, is used to translate "chief" (it probably means, more precisely, "person of note").

The word évet, also applied to subchiefs or government "capitas" is likewise used —a correct nuance if, as Bates says, évet is a corruption of headman applied originally to the chiefs of trade caravans. These men were chosen for their business astuteness, diplomacy, authority, and courage, but they were only deputies of a clan or village, not true political chiefs. To convey the latter implication the preferable term is still nɔ̂ɔ̂ bɔ̂t (Fang, nɔ́ɔ́ mur) from ɔ̂ = to say, to command, a term indicating a de facto state, /état de fait/ rather than a legal notion. It should be recalled that there were no political leaders other than the seniors, mintɔ̂l, of the extended families. Their authority was further limited by the ease with which their brothers could leave the village to establish another nearby (2).

> 2. But among some Pahouinized peoples the existence of royal insignia shows that chiefship /chefferie/ is an institution: among the Ewondo and Yanda the head of the clan designated his successor or, if he

yet takes the risk of a breach of faith on the ñyale's part. The latter is supposed to return the flock intact, but as long as he tends it, he may do what he wants with it, putting it to use like a kind of credit. It is as well to point out that this kind of contract, which at present is falling into disuse, gave occasion to endless litigation.

The trade contract under its old name abom or the newer atiñ kilak or atiñ akus kaka is, on the other hand, becoming more and more widespread. A trader, nkuan biôm or mbi fatyélé, advances to a kilak (from "clerk") cash and goods on the kilak's undertaking to provide the equivalent in a certain tonnage of cacao. The contract is set forth in a written "good for...," which represents recognition of the debt. The kilak exerts himself to collect the promised tonnage, usually by buying from planters of his clan, sometimes by subcontract with "small clerks," bone bekilak. The contract has a due date, with the usual contingencies; in the case of rising prices, the kilak may run into difficulties and not be able to furnish the promised tonnage unless planters of his family give him credit or sell to him below the price. Cacao buying is also done by commission, the agent, nlôman, (envoy), receiving a cash advance with which to buy as much cacao as possible. Both methods give rise to litigation, which is all the more common because the moneylender is usually a European or an African of another tribe, a "Gabonese" in French Equatorial Africa, a Bamiléké, mone galifis (from Coast English "Grassfield") in the Cameroons.

In general a commission is always possible, whether in making a contract or in pleading in court. The person giving the commission is called mve ngul, giver of power; the agent is called mbili ngul, possessing power. They are jointly and severally responsible.

The bilaba contract, described about (41, 77), is disappearing. There survives, however, a sort of poor man's bilaba, the meyeñ, from nseñ, guest, which allows a nsé môt, a humble man, to levy a kind of tax on the rich, minkukum, of his clan by the simple procedure of going to visit them, carrying a present /81/ which must be returned by generous hospitality and by a countergift of higher value. This is a quasi contract, sanctioned by public opinion, which is a heavy burden on people thought to be rich; it underlies the family parasitism prevalent in large towns. The reputed nkukum who tries to escape would be accused of being hard hearted, nlem ayet, which could easily lead to a charge of sorcery.

784 Some bityi appear to be connected with totemism: these are the bityi mekam, protective prohibitions, forbidding members of certain clans to kill certain animals or to eat certain plants. Others are undoubtedly connected with the social structure, like sex or age-grade prohibitions, the breaking of which strike at the family hierarchy. Others may be described as hygienic prohibitions, like those connected with pregnancy, illness, or convalescence. There are prohibitions connected with magic: personal taboos vis-à-vis some animal seen in a dream after a family initiation, or imposed when joining an association; prohibitions pronounced by a magician, often out of revenge; prohibitions undertaken as vows to obtain a specific result. Among the Beti, Binet has known women to impose on themselves certain food etyi for a year, at the end of which time there is a party where they collect many presents from their relatives and friends. This seems to be an innovation and perhaps represents a deviation from certain Catholic practices.

It seems that in former times, following a war or an alliance, or in connection with an awusô relationship, two clans might undertake to respect one another's clan taboo. Besides, married women, although they did not enter the husband's clan, were supposed to some extent to respect its bityi.

783 784 Minsem can be expiated by redemption, ngôô, according to different rites (étyi, melan among men, évoô among women), including public confession and sacrifice (for women, the sacrifice is made by father or husband, the woman undergoing severe corporal punishment). /123/

Some personal bityi can be raised (kui étyi = to emerge from a taboo) by a process similar to that of redemption for a nsem. This is never possible in cases of general sexual, age-grade, or clan prohibitions.

787 784 The first Christian converts must have shown genuine heroism in giving up their bityi, since they had to overcome, not only personal fear, sometimes at the cost of real psycho-physiological crises, but also unanimous public obloquy and often the vengeance of their family, which attributed to their minsem all its misfortunes. One might say that only that first generation of Christians succeeded in abandoning the bityi almost completely. The following generations, in much greater numbers, continued to observe quite a few /bityi/, certainly all those that did not openly conflict with the practice of the /new/

881 304 779 The practitioner operates quickly, assisted by the chief of the tribe. Before operating on each child, he hands the knife [525] to the chief, without a word, and the latter accepts it, also in silence, without saying the usual "thank you" or "very good," abora or mvê.

With girls none of these ceremonies are observed. An experienced matron performs the operation, usually when the child is very young. It is nevertheless a religious act, accompanied by songs and dances, but since only women are present, it was impossible for me to learn the slightest detail.

The tribal chief immediately returns the knife to the practitioner, saying, "Take it and do what has to be done." (Nôde n'ébo dzam ma yia n'ébo, lit., "Take it so as to do the deed which 'I' ought to do.") This proves that the practitioner is but the chief's delegate. Usually it is the latter who holds the penis firmly. First of all, the father pulls out the foreskin as far as possible and ties it with a bit of string. The penis, thus prepared, is then stretched out on a special board, and the practitioner cuts quickly. This is the most painful part of the operation. Ashes are then rubbed on the open wound. The head [778] of the family carefully collects the blood, which will constitute a powerful fetish after it has been offered in sacrifice to the mvamayôn and to the ancestors.

It is a point of honor for the children not to cry out, no matter what the pain. Besides, the pain must be very much lessened by the fact that the chief squeezes the flesh firmly and the operator works quickly. As soon as it is over, the child is taken to be bathed and is then laid on a bed of ashes. His scanty clothing is removed, if that has not already been done during the preceding days, and he is now dressed in a loose garment or a belt from which hangs a thick pad of raffia fiber or thin strips of finely cut banana tree bark, so as to protect him from being hurt. After the operation every father offers [431] the practitioner a present, often a sheep or at least several hens. [782 778] The latter then, according to the customary rites, offers one of the sheep to the spirits and has part of it burnt. The ashes of the sacrifice, mixed with the collected blood, will constitute the child's fetish. Anything left over is carefully buried in a place

000 most important food plants and their significance. The groundnut (varieties, cultivation, pests, medicines, uses), maize. Ngon (description, varieties, importance, origin of the name, cultivation, harvest, drying, pests, medicines, uses). Yams, cassava, sugar cane, taro, and macabo (description, varieties, cultivation, uses). Plantain and banana. Additional cultivated plants.

Second Part. Livestock. Dogs, appearance, importance for the Pangwe, their names; goat and sheep, castration of the goats (manner of castration, purpose); the hen and its importance; the duck; other tame domestic animals.

Third Part. Fishing. Abundance of fish, survey of the fish world of the Pangwe region, the catching of fish (general matters, chief seasons), method: driving the fish, angling, fish poison, scaffolding weir, basket weirs, basket trap, catch baskets, fish channels, fishing nets.

Fourth Part. Trapping. Pitfalls, spring traps, spring plates, spear trap, snares, draw traps, francolin trap, bow traps, alarm trap.

Fifth Part. Hunting. General matters, drives with baskets and nets, division of the meat, accidents, individual hunting expeditions with rifle and crossbow. Crossbow (origin, description, arrows).

I. Agriculture

● 433 The economic activities of the Pangwe are agriculture, catching fish, and trapping; in comparison with these, hunting and stock keeping play a subordinate role.

Another
fertility medicine consists of the following mixture: 1) bark of the Simarubaceae Irvingia barteri Hook. f. (andŏk; 2) bark bark of the Anacardiaceae Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofŏo): 3) elephant manure; 4) sand from the Campo or the Uelle; 5) salt. On the eve of sowing this mixture is added to the nuts. This, too, must be understood as a direct transfer of power: the groundnuts are to be as numerous as the fruits of the two plants named; they are to become as enormous as the pile of elephant manure; as numerous as sand in the Campo — we would say, as the sands of the ocean; and as innumerable as the grains of salt. Finally, certain Liliaceae (ayŏn) are planted between the groundnuts so that their leaves may become as green as the lilies in the field. As can be seen, there is no lack of friendly encouragement and good examples.

The fruit, illustrated in cross-section by Plate 6, Drawings a and b, usually has two seeds, more rarely three, and still more rarely one. Something reminiscent of our love feast occurs when a boy at work finds a fruit with three seeds in his mother's basket or in the field, calls his friends, and shares the seeds with them. This is called euphemistically: bi ki kăbĕd, "we dissect a goat." Thus, we have here the doctrine: Do not forget to do good and to share with your fellow man when you are living in abundance! It is probably more by way of a game that the Pangwe, especially the children, sometimes eat the nuts raw. Otherwise raw nuts are prepared principally for soup or compote. It is also customary to boil the whole fruit and then eat the seeds. The nuts are stored in large, tall baskets of raffia pith, which are hung under the roof or placed on a bed, or the nuts may be placed loose on the groundnut loft, akăn owĭnd.

As a result of their laziness and indifference, the Pangwe seldom have enough groundnuts, so there is always a period of time when they have to do without them until the next harvest has been brought in and is sufficiently dried. This is the reason that in the Ntum and Fang regions at these times the price for a "plate" (2)

2. The flat plate-shaped baskets called bush plates are a unit of measurement.

Fig. 52. Plantation of Groundnuts and Maize near Bĕbai (Esseng Family), Southern Cameroons.

of groundnuts rises to ten spears (equal to 70 pfennigs) while at other times only five spears (equal to 35 pfennigs) are given for it. In the Jaunde region, it is true, a plate always costs 70 pfennigs (equal to 100 Jaunde spears). The groundnut is eaten simply as soup or compote. /92/ /Fig. 52 appears here in the original text. / The oil content of the nuts is not utilized to any great extent, but the oil released by cooking is rubbed on the skin in order not to waste it. Finally we might mention the riddle:

onṓn	o	nga	bḗī	a fā́'		e
(A) bird,	it	lives	give birth to	behind the house		of the
bonī́ē:	akī́'	avōk	a	kŏke	bŏn	avūm
mothers:	egg	one;	there	creep out	young ones	ten.

Answer: owŭno = groundnut.

Maize, Zea mays L. (fū́n IV), as we have said, is almost always grown with the groundnut (Fig. 52), usually as a means of marking off the individual plots and as a border against the bush all around the plantation. Farms that grow maize

162 was explored and then occupied only at a late date. These condi-
361 tions delayed "contaminations" and permitted the maintenance of a certain unity. It now has a viable economic structure, thanks to its cacao production, which has finally created a true peasant state. [79]

1. Bitam and Minvoul Districts

These two districts are wedged between the Cameroons to the north, Spanish Guinea to the west, and a true "no man's land" to the east. The inhabitants, numbering 27,500, are the most active
[133 and prosperous elements(producing three quarters of the cacao
511] grown in the region) on the roads serving the Cameroons and the center of Oyem. They have built modernized villages "tied" to the cacao plantations. Their inhabitants belong to groupings found in the Cameroons and in Spanish Guinea, and some of the villagers have relatives in one or the other territory — like so many links favoring traffic in "merchandise" and ideas.

619 According to the census of 1936, the only detailed document,
619 27 clans or tribal fragments (clans that have maintained the tribal name) are now there. The most numerous clan is that of the Effak
[162] (Yénzbk tribe), (1) which has more than 15 percent of the population,

1. We give the tribal dependencies with all reservation. The near ignorance and "cheating" allied to the movement of clan regroupment render all certainty impossible, except when we have access to early documents, more particularly to a mention in the notes of Monsignor Martrou, which were kindly lent to us at the Libreville Mission.

followed by that of the Eba (Yémisèm tribe), which has 10 percent. The other groups may go down to a few tens of individuals. In this region are found the following tribes (ayog): Yénzbk, Yémvôg, Yémisèm. These are the most important in the Cameroons in the

619 Ebolowa and Sangmélima regions (2). The whole of Upper Woleu-
619

2. Documents relating to "ethnic groupings," Administrative Archives of Ebolowa.

N'Tem is oriented toward the Cameroons with which it has not
[439] only economic ties (it exports its cacao there and imports its goods) but also political ties (which explains why it served to relay the directives and their implementations that appeared in this territory).

2. Oyem District

162 This district, with 30,000 inhabitants, has a long frontier with
361 Spanish Guinea, and is crossed by the Woleu River, an important
439 means of access to this possession. The major part of the population (more than two thirds) is "stuck" to the frontier. This is understood because related groups exist on each side of the frontier; [80] [Fig. 1] [81] Guinea has always exerted an economic attraction (it is the center of trade and exchange of labor which is much in demand), the serves occasionally as a place of refuge. The vil-
[433] lagers are fairly well-to-do because of the cacao cultivation (one
511] fourth of the Woleu-N'Tem production) and because of the trade with Guinea (peanuts, coffee, palmetto). This is shown particularly by an improvement in housing.

162 Kyé-Nyé Canton, a meeting place of two migratory streams
619 coming from the Lower Cameroons, contains by itself nearly
619 12,000 inhabitants who again are distributed by clans (Fig. 1). The dominant groupings are the Esengi (Yémvôg tribe), who account for more than 40 percent, the Kojé for about 25 percent, and the Yéngwi for over 15 percent. In the canton of Woleu, the villages of the Okip tribe are dominant, accounting for 33 percent of the population. Then the Bókwé (Ndôg tribe) account for about 12 percent, and the Esamókos (Yéngól tribe) (1) for more than 10

1. Only confirmed by the notes of L. Martrou.

in 1954 in connection with a study of family budgets.

amount of food necessary to maintain the population: a crop census was taken in 1948 in one of the Sangmélima cantons (2). In order to

2. Report of the administrative officer, J. M. Soupault. An average individual's requirement would be: 250 maize plants, 330 manioc plants, 130 plantains, 110 macabo, 7 kilograms of rice, and 32 kilograms of groundnuts.

satisfy the needs of 6, 249 inhabitants there is no "exportation" to speak of. The canton used to produce 1, 635, 000 maize plants, 2, 049, 000 manioc, 824, 190 plantain bananas, 687, 800 macabo. It furthermore provided 44 tons of rice, 200 tons of groundnuts. There were 85, 180 fruit trees producing various kinds of fruit (Pachylobes /Canarium edula Hooker, known as assa in Pahouin country—Ed. /, Estulis, oranges, etc.)

Clearing land by burning and the absence of organic fertilizer probably explain the exhaustion of the soil and the shifting cultivation that results from it.

The breeding and rearing of small animals is nevertheless understood and practiced: goats, dogs, fowls, pigs were and still are plentiful in the villages. These animals do not seem to contribute much to the food supply nor to the economic life. The very limited practice of selling pieces of pork has dates from recent years. As a matter of fact, animals were useful for giving quasi-ritual presents, for paying bride prices, and for celebrating family occasions: at a marriage, burial, and the end of mourning, two or three goats were killed to provide food for the relatives.

Of course, these animals are not stabled or fed; the herds wander along the outskirts of villages and do not fail to plunder the gardens. There are innumerable classic quarrels between farmers and herders (with the slight difference here that no one is exclusively a herder nor exclusively a farmer). Was the practice of enclosing by hedges established so as to avoid such depredations, or to give military protection to the settlements? Whatever the origin, this practice associated with the raising of animals would have made it possible to avoid

245 [511 556] distribution of cacao plantations is neither the only nor perhaps the principal cause of inequality. Cacao production is on a considerable scale: around 50, 000 tons in the Cameroons, 3, 000 tons in Gabon(4).

[433]

> 4. Almost the whole of the Gabon output comes from the Woleu-N'Tem region and especially the Ntoumou cantons. (P. A.)

It is easy to understand that this crop is an essential factor in the
182 evolution /sic/ of Pahouin society.

245 In the field of common law, for example, cacao has affected the orientation of land law. By giving each person the possibility of making /33/ private profits, cacao has increased the independence of men and even of women from family authority. Because it allows the accumulation of durable and tranferable goods, cacao has raised, in a new form, the problem of successional devolution /inheritance/.

To consider only the realm of technology: settling on the land during several generations has apparently put an end to real nomadism; villages are no longer moved about. But a certain amount of shifting cultivation will remain inevitable if some method of rapid reclamation of fallow land is not adopted.

245 The stock of tools has increased considerably. An axe with a small,
42 narrow head ending in a tongue was fastened into the large end of a wooden handle, a daba similarly made but with a rounder head and lighter handle (1) and a machete were formerly the basic implements.

[284]

> 1. The tongue of the hoe, driven into a branch like a spike, is also bound to it with liana. Old women still use the digging stick, which has or had some ritual significance. (P. A.)

To these must now be added pruning shears, caterpillar destroyer or a local copy, and cacao spear.

245 Boxes or baskets provide vats for fermenting the /cacao/ beans, a roof shades the trays on which they are put to dry. Some men have thought of buying Vermorel vaporizers for spraying the cacao trees; others dream of mowing machines for clearing the land.

322
352
531

Fig. 172. Stages in Making a Stool.

322 The explanation lies in a kind of principle of reciprocity, a princi-
476 ple clearly stated in the educational precepts to be discussed in a
435 later section /Ed., Vol II/, that is, the seller counts upon the fact that later he will need his client who is in turn a specialist in the manufacture of some kind of article (basketwork plates, for instance), and he then expects to be treated in the same lenient manner. As a result of the excessive division of labor, everyone [463] is dependent upon everyone else, and this dependence keeps the prices down. Wherever this dependence is absent, the prices go up. Europeans, for instance, with whom such a silent agreement does not exist, pay considerably more, ten or twenty times more, and at the same time they have to put up with inferior work as well.

322 Moreover, the sale of objects manufactured for household use
● 434 is not regarded as an enterprise for profit. When I asked a stool
554 maker whom I had befriended what his business brought in, he first

[412]

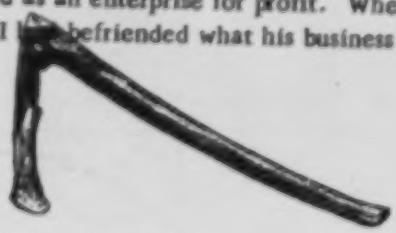


Fig. 173. Adz.

322 had to ponder for a long time and finally said that every month he
434 made about ten stools for two spears (14 pfennigs) apiece, and that
554 he therefore earned 20 spears (1.40 marks); with this income, he said, he had /Fig. 173 appears here in the original text/ bought brass ornaments for himself, and the rest he had put aside as marriage money, but that did not bother him since he considered his art a matter of honor. /222/

322 The manufacture of stirring spoons (mbɔ̃ɔ̃b) is, like their form,
415 fairly simple. From a tree trunk (1) a flat piece of wood is cut out

[B24] 1. The following three trees are used: Alchornea caloneura Pax (ndāmabā, III); Hasskarlia didymostemon Baill. (efɔ̃ɔ̃'le Ntum, dźź III, nyɔ̃'le III); and Kickxia elastica Preuss (emvila).

and crudely cut to shape with a bush knife. Then the spoon is hollowed out in the following manner. A chisel (ojźn), Figure 174, and a simple heavy piece of wood for a hammer are used to make a transverse groove between bowl and handle, and the wood is removed piece by piece by blows aimed at it. The more delicate work is done by shaving with a chisel or knife. The finished spoon is usually rubbed with redwood. The people themselves do not know why this is done. In answer to my question, my friend Nto-Ndanga offered the following remark by way of an answer: "Look here, I am a Black myself, but the Blacks have no sense. I have long asked myself why the stirring spoons are rubbed with redwood because that way dirt (that is, the redwood) gets into the food!" The various forms of the stirring spoon are shown in Figure 98.

Somewhat more effort is required to make the ladling spoons (tɔ́k), Figure 175. They are made primarily from the wood of the
[B24] Carpodinus tessmannii Gilg (ebā'n), more rarely from the Kickxia elastica Preuss (emvila). A block of wood in the shape of a cylinder halved lengthwise is taken from the timber and cut into the shape of the spoon by means of careful, layer by layer removal of the wood
[442] (see Fig. 176), first with the cutlass (a), then with the adz (b). The bowl is then further hollowed out with the spoon scraper (fɔ́nege-tɔ́k), Figure 177.

325
P1
422

material only through forging."

the /233/ smelting has taken place, with the exception of a piece about the size of a head, which he must give to the medicine man. The ore bloom is pounded into little bits by the workmen right on the spot (Fig. 185). The workmen have the right to take home the splinters that fall off, and the owner does nothing further with it. These pieces (epfûs-ekûi) (1) are the end result of the iron smelting

[438]

1. pfû-i, "to knock off (piecemeal)."

and constitute a regular article of trade wherever European trade is not yet too highly developed. /Fig. 183 appears here in the original text./

325
435
434

A few more figures about the expenses and the net profit. In giving these -- as for Bebai -- I assume a smelting period consisting of five smeltings with five owners of the smelting hut. The workers can buy the bellows for ten spears (= 70 pfennigs) from the bellows maker, or they can get them for nothing if they bring the necessary block of wood to the man's house. So far as I know, they must obtain the hide for themselves in each case. The clay blast pipe likewise costs ten spears (= 70 pfennigs), so each bellows worker has 20 spears (= 1.40 marks) in expenses. The owner or owners of the smelting huts have a single expenditure of about 120 marks for the medicine, not including the labor for the construction of the hut and the transportation of the ore. From the iron left to him as wages, each bellows worker earns at one smelting only 15 to 20 spears (= 1.05 to 1.40 marks); hence, from five smeltings he makes a profit of from five to seven marks from which the single expenditure /234/ /Fig. 184 appears here in the original text/ of 1.40 marks should be subtracted. The medicine man does better. From his share of loose iron he can earn 30 spears (= 2.10 marks) and from his share of core iron 50 spears (= 3.50 marks), so altogether he can earn 5.60 marks. From the five smeltings, therefore, he can earn a total of 28 marks. As regards the owner, the ore bloom for him amounts to 500 spears (= 35 marks). Altogether, the yield of one smelting period would amount to: (17 X 17 spears + 80 spears + 500 spears) X 5, 17 workers at 17 spears + medicine man + owner in five

325

Fig. 183. Bellows workers and the medicine man's assistant who stirs the fire. Iron smelting in Bébai (Schumu Family), Spanish Guinea.

325 smeltings; or in German currency, which of course cannot repro-
435 duce exactly the value of the spears for the natives: (20.23
434 marks + 5.60 marks) 5 = 304.15 marks.

These figures fluctuate in the various regions. Nonetheless they do convey an idea of the size and distribution of the profit.

(b) Ironworking.

326 From the tales of the creation story it is evident that the Pangwe, as descendants of Mode-Sama, have known how to forge iron since ancient times, even if they were surpassed in the art by other Negro peoples, the descendants of Ngomwenio (perhaps the progenitor of the Okande?), the second son of Sama. /235/

295 occupations keep them away from their native villages, try to build up plantations, even though they may draw no profits before their retirement. Among Boulou or Beti every married man is a cacao planter. In the course of a sample survey of 490 rural families, only 43 (less than 9 percent) were found who do not have some income from a cacao plantation (1). 7 live from the sale of different agri-

1. J. Binet, Budgets familiaux des planteurs de cacao au Cameroun /Family Budgets of Cacao Planters in the Cameroons/, O.R.S.T.O.M. /Office de la recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer/.

cultural products; 15 are engaged in craft; 9 are salaried workers, employed in trade, missions, the administration. For the 437 other families cacao is a basic resource.

295 The large number of proprietors is accompanied by a wide distri-
586 bution of wealth and by a certain amount of social equality (2).
434
511

2. Sautter, "Le cacao dans l'économie rurale du Woleu-Ntem /Cacao in the Rural Economy of the Woleu-N'Tem/," Études centrafricaines, 1961.

Nevertheless, financial differences are clearly marked. To take only cash income and to disregard home consumption, 28 households had available an average of 3,720 francs C.F.A. per annum (3).

436

3. One franc C.F.A. equals two metropolitan francs. Incomes were computed in 1954, a year during which quotations for cacao were especially favorable.

113 households had 10,000 francs C.F.A., 217 had 29,600 francs, 87 had 71,500 francs, 36 had 152,000 francs, 5 had 440,000 francs. Large incomes coincide with enormous plantations, but also with
295 profits from a variety of sources: of the 5 families with the highest
511 income, only 2 derive theirs entirely from cultivation. Of the 36 in
586 the next lower category, 24 have a purely agricultural income. The

Another

fertility medicine consists of the following mixture: 1) bark of the Simarubaceae Irvingia barteri Hook. f. (andǒk; 2) bark bark of the Anacardiaceae Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofǒe): 3) elephant manure; 4) sand from the Campo or the Uelle; 5) salt. On the eve of sowing this mixture is added to the nuts. This, too, must be understood as a direct transfer of power: the groundnuts are to be as numerous as the fruits of the two plants named; they are to become as enormous as the pile of elephant manure; as numerous as sand in the Campo — we would say, as the sands of the ocean; and as innumerable as the grains of salt. Finally, certain Liliaceae (ayǎt) are planted between the groundnuts so that their leaves may become as green as the lilies in the field. As can be seen, there is no lack of friendly encouragement and good examples.

The fruit, illustrated in cross-section by Plate 6, Drawings a and b, usually has two seeds, more rarely three, and still more rarely one. Something reminiscent of our love feast occurs when a boy at work finds a fruit with three seeds in his mother's basket or in the field, calls his friends, and shares the seeds with them. This is called euphemistically: bi kī kǎbǎd, "we dissect a goat." Thus, we have here the doctrine: Do not forget to do good and to share with your fellow man when you are living in abundance! It is probably more by way of a game that the Pangwe, especially the children, sometimes eat the nuts raw. Otherwise raw nuts are prepared principally for soup or compote. It is also customary to boil the whole fruit and then eat the seeds. The nuts are stored in large, tall baskets of raffia pith, which are hung under the roof or placed on a bed, or the nuts may be placed loose on the groundnut loft, akǎn owǐnǒ.

As a result of their laziness and indifference, the Pangwe seldom have enough groundnuts, so there is always a period of time when they have to do without them until the next harvest has been brought in and is sufficiently dried. This is the reason that in the Ntum and Fang regions at these times the price for a "plate" (2)

2. The flat plate-shaped baskets called bush plates are a unit of measurement.

244

Fig. 52. Plantation of Groundnuts and Maize near Bébai (Esseng Family), Southern Cameroons.

433 of groundnuts rises to ten spears (equal to 70 pfennigs) while at
435 other times only five spears (equal to 35 pfennigs) are given for
244 it. In the Jaunde region, it is true, a plate always costs 70 pfennigs (equal to 100 Jaunde spears). The groundnut is eaten simply as soup or compote. /92/ /Fig. 52 appears here in the original text. / The oil content of the nuts is not utilized to
302 any great extent, but the oil released by cooking is rubbed on the skin in order not to waste it. Finally we might mention the
524 riddle:

onō'n	o	nga	bē'ī	a	fǎ'	e
(A) bird,	it	lives	give birth to	behind	the house	of the
boniĕ:	akī'	avōk	a	kŏke	bŏn	avūm
mothers:	egg	one;	there	creep out	young ones	ten.

Answer: owŭno = groundnut.

243 Maize, Zea mays L. (fŭ'n IV), as we have said, is almost always grown with the groundnut (Fig. 52), usually as a means of marking off the individual plots and as a border against the bush all around the plantation. Farms that grow maize

244 From the family of the Solanaceae there are: Solanum melongena L. var. inerme Hiern. (ažŏ́n); Solanum dinklagei U.D. (oyṓla); Solanum lycopersicum L. (ažŏ́n ntǎ́ngan = ažŏ́n, that is, Solanum melongena, of the Whites). The fruit of these three varieties of Solanum is eaten. Furthermore, there is Solanum aethiopicum L. (žu̧m IV, enĕm) with three varieties: niǎ žŭm = true zŭm, ntŭma I, and ndzēi' -žŭm, as well as Solanum macrocarpum L. var. thonningii (etŭi' -zŭm from etŭi' - Solanum duplosinuatum U.D., because of the similarity of the fruit). The leaves of the latter two species are eaten. From the family of the Amaranthaceae there are: Celosia argentea L. (žŭm e mvĕ́lę, that is, žŭm of the Mwele); Celosia laxa Schum. et Thom. (fŏ́lŏ́m [?], ebū,nĕgǎn); Amaranthus paniculatus L. (fŏ́lŏ́m IV, fŏm IV). From the family of the Labiatae there are: Ocimum basilicum L. (osi,m); Ocimum gratissimum L. (asŏ́b); Plectranthus spec. (avǎ), afŭn; and Aeolanthus edlingeri Gürke (elĕ́lǎ́nge, Ntum; elǎ́ngelǎ́nge, Fang).

II. Livestock

231 For reasons which I shall mention in a moment, the Pangwe keep domestic animals, but this is not the kind of economic activity that could be called stock farming. The four-footed domestic animals include dogs, goats, and sheep; as for fowl, there are hens and, recently introduced, ducks.

[262] The dog (myū IV) is kept basically for hunting. It is also eaten, a practice which is especially popular among the Jaunde. In the eyes /105/ of the European this dog is no more than a caricature, a repulsive travesty of a real dog. A glance into their false eyes suffices to make one hate the animals. Usually they are covered with sores; they are thieving and treacherous, disobedient, cowardly, and at the same time quarrelsome. In these characteristics they frequently strike the observer as comparable to their masters. I was struck by their not very highly developed sexual urge, in contrast to European dogs. The Pangwe values his dog all the more highly because of its great usefulness on the hunting drive. Good hunting dogs are very difficult to obtain from their owners and are worth as much

231 435

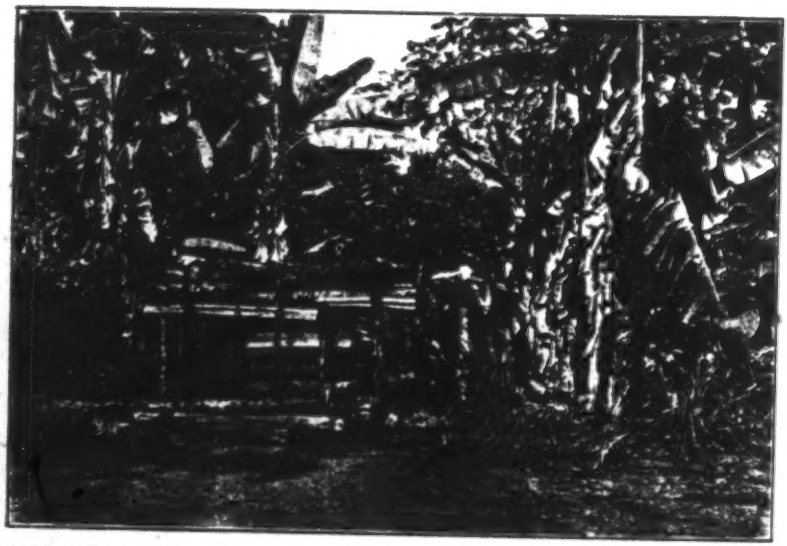
231 [435] as medium-sized female goats and sheep (14 marks or 200 spears). Just as among us, the dogs have their own names which are taken from
231 the list of human names or else allude in jocular fashion to the
552 characteristics of the animals. Frequently, indeed, these swine-snouted curs are given a first name and a patronymic, just like people, or since for obvious reasons it is at times difficult to establish the paternity of the dog, it is given a first name and its mother's name, thus, akut-e-mban.

Among human names applied to dogs I was able to discover the following: ndǫ̌no (a very ancient man's name; see pages 68 and 69); asǫ̌n (umbrella tree, man's name); mvǭnō (Satan's ape, Colobus anthracinus Leconte); ondō′ (?, man's name); ntōde-abǎn (single otter, woman's name); mfū′mezǫ̌k (the white of the elephant, that is ivory; woman's name); mbǎ′n (ivory, woman's name).

Other dogs' names are: obō′nǫ̌ (from obǭn = bead, one adorned with beads, perhaps also a woman's name); olǔn (the tree Rinorea dentata [P. Beauv.] O. Ktze.); ebǫ̌′nenǫ̌n (one who always lies on the bed); aji′zǫ̌k (a jī′ = to yearn, zǫ̌k = elephant; in other words the one who yearns for elephant meat); angǔn (dog's bell); odzǎ′m (dwarf lemur, Hemigalago, because the dog bounds through the bushes like the dwarf lemurs in the trees); akū′t (the stupid one).

231 Goats and sheep, which the Fang put together under the name
556 kabad, are kept as an investment, as pets, and only in third place as livestock for slaughter. While the economic life is otherwise considered from the viewpoint of "food," this strikingly recedes completely into the background concerning domestic animals where the main point is the joy of possession. We thus have real "savings," the purpose of which is to store up bride money. This has its familiar consequences: thriftiness carried to the point of avarice; a piece of
[262] meat allowed only on very rare occasions; and no distaste for the enjoyment of animals that have died.

231 The goats (ekǫ̌′le) are just as unpleasant as the dogs because of their annoying habit of making a hullabaloo at night and because of other indecent and repulsive characteristics. The only domestic animal that we find congenial is the sheep (ntǔma I), Figure 57, but here, too, the bad example of the goats frequently spoils good manners. They "specialize" in producing, especially at night, /106/ /Fig. 57



417

Fig. 58. Pen for Sheep and Goats in Massóm (Ndong Family), South Cameroons.

This favorable influence on the physical development of the animal increases its value from about 14 marks to 35 marks (500 spears), a capital increase which is certainly desirable to the Pangwe. Even greater, however, is his joy at the beautiful appearance of the castrated animals. /107/ /Fig. 58 appears here in the original text./ The effect of castration is the basis for the comparison between symbolically, not physically, castrated people (see Section 18, "Sexual Life") and the castrated goats and also for designation by the same name; these people -- up to a certain point in time, at least -- are supposed to undergo conspicuous mental development. The fact that the flesh of animals also improves as food through castration plays only a secondary role. 232 [435]

Magnificent old specimens, including uncastrated goats and sheep, sometimes receive a human name, and their owner would never sell such an animal; indeed, he would not even give it away as a marriage portion. 231 552

Of other domestic animals there is only the cat (pfü's IV Fang, esi'nä), very recently introduced from the coast. 231 177

227 upwards in such a fashion that their tips just protrude above the water.

It goes without saying that such weirs can be built only when the water level is lowest. As soon as the water in the river rises, it carries many fish with it and /113/ drives those which are not caught in the baskets of the lateral weirs onto the screens where they often remain in large numbers and are simply picked up by the Negroes. They are reached by a special bridge built out from the bank or by climbing along the edge of the lateral weir.

227 423 This kind of fish weir occurs everywhere except in the north. Usually the chief induces a number of people to construct such a weir; these people then have the sole right of ownership to the fish weir and the fish. They do give their relatives and acquaintances, probably for nothing, a part of their catch, either from a sense of solidarity or because they expect that in similar circumstances they will be provided for in the same way. On the other hand they [425] demand payment from strangers, the amount depending on the size

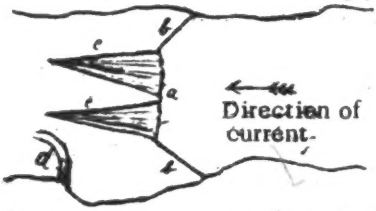


Fig. 60. Diagram of a Fish Weir in the Abea: (a) main weir, (b) lateral weirs, (c) screens of the main weir, (d) a tree growing on the bank and bent over the water.

of the fish, one or two spears (seven or 14 pfennigs) apiece. The major part of the catch is consumed immediately; the rest is dried. Since fish spoil quickly in the tropics, only a very few leave [251 435] the place where they are caught; another reason for this is that the uncertain conditions in the Fang area prevent regular trade (1).

1. There are no markets at all.

227 285 In addition to the contrivance just described, consisting of main and lateral weirs, one also encounters lateral weirs used by themselves

224 out from the bushes everywhere, completely lose their heads and
672 start shooting blindly at anything that moves. On such occasions
682 it very frequently happens that a wild Nimrod shoots a hunting companion or a beater. Hunting accidents are the order of the day and make the unfortunate huntsman responsible to the family of the person killed. In order to mitigate the situation, one excuses himself by hiding behind the belief that some "evil" people or sorcerers can transform themselves into antelopes and, weary of living, let themselves be shot in this way in order, even at the end, to place their enemy in an embarrassing position. The hunter declares that this was actually the case at the moment of shooting, that he saw an antelope, fired at it, and that then a person was lying there; he therefore is not guilty. This excuse is of little help to him in the matter since the victim's way of acting by no means releases the unlucky person from the obligation of paying blood money in the amount required for the person he has killed or wounded. Nonetheless, it does reduce his guilt.

224 Individual animals are also driven into the nets when the dog finds their fresh trail. The animal's location is determined by closing in on it in a circle (a kiñ e tit), and with the help of the remaining villagers it is chased into the net. /139/

On a solitary hunting expedition (elõ ñã), the Pangwe -- as was mentioned in the beginning -- more or less break down. There is no special word for "hunter"; nyũ a ngã III "he who fires a flintlock," has to substitute for it. On the other hand, nsũẽ me III is one who "catches" animals and fish. Only a negligible number of the enormous quantity of animals to be hunted in this forested land is killed without the help of traps, nets, and beaters. Of larger animals killed without such help -- aside from elephants -- the most common are boars and leopards (1) because of their value. In former

[435]

1. Formerly a leopard was worth as much as a woman.

times buffaloes, found only along the large rivers (the Campo, etc.), were also hunted, and the hide was used for the well-known shields. Since the latter have become worthless with the introduction of the

252 435 484 Throughout the region such a "kank"[1] is equal in value to a tobacco leaf (commercial tobacco) or a spoonful of salt. This is equal to a piece of spear money or seven pfennigs. They are generally used as provisions for bearers and employees of the Whites because of their convenience and availability, their unlimited supply, and their popularity with the natives.

Dried cassava rolls (engū́nǎ-mbǒ̄m).

252 484 257 As was mentioned before, the ordinary rolls do not keep longer than three days. Hence a special procedure is used in their preparation for longer journeys or for situations when one cannot or does not want to make the rolls again and again. In this procedure, the cassava balls are placed on the drying loft for a month after they have been washed; only then are they processed, that is, pulverized on stones, wrapped in leaves, and boiled. Sometimes the balls themselves are carried along on the journey. They are softened in water when they are wanted, boiled, and consumed cold. Both kinds of cassava rolls are called engū́nǎ-mbǒ̄n.

(b) Cassava cutlets (osā, -mbǒ̄n, ngǒ-mbǒ̄n IV).

252 A very bitter and at the same time poisonous species of cassava is made into cassava cutlets. For this purpose, the pieces of root are peeled with a cutlass, halved lengthwise or quartered, and boiled with one and a half liters of water for an hour in a pot lined with plantain leaves. Then the roots are taken out, cut like a loaf into slices, and hung for a day in running water inside a basket lined with leaves. After that, they are thoroughly washed on the net described under "Fishing" on page 80, and they are then eaten cold. /156/

Dried cassava cutlets (dzǎ[s]-mbǒ̄n).

[251 484] These are dried after the boiling and before being hung in the water, in the same way as engū́na-mbǒ̄n. They are used in the same situations.

[1 [i.e. cassava roll. — Analyst.]

322 [353] The stool is a valuable piece of household furniture, a luxury object, for which the natives are willing to spend some money. For this reason its manufacture is an important branch of wood [554] carving, and the makers of well-finished, artistically decorated stools are famous persons, much in demand. If they wanted to, they could make a considerable amount of money with their art, and they also could elevate the art itself, but with their congenital laziness, a special inducement is always required before they will take the trouble to start a new project. For example, a guest in the house of such an artist sees a beautifully carved stool there and says: "Oh, what a beautiful stool; you could make me one like that." Perhaps others have uttered the same wish, and so the artist finally pulls himself together, goes into the jungle, and cuts down [824] a trunk of the Apocynacea Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekūk), the only tree suitable for the manufacture of stools. He must choose a trunk which -- after the bark has been pulled off -- has the same diameter as the proposed stool /221/ (Fig. 172). He takes the trunk with him to the village and cuts it into about five to seven disks as thick as the stool is intended to be tall. Then with his cutlass he draws a line around approximately the middle, and this line indicates the lower edge of the seat. From there he cuts three radial grooves downward, deepens them with an adz (ngbwāk IV), Figure 173, and in this way forms three legs. Then the seat is made smooth and held over the fire until it becomes nice and brown. The edge is rubbed clean with the rough leaves of the Ficus [824] exasperata Vahl (ekōkō' Fang, akō Ntum) (1). The edge and the

1. Root kō, "to rub"; compare
a-kō-k, "grindstone."

[386 legs are colored with redwood and dried for an hour in the sun; 531] finally they are decorated with carved patterns, an artistic addition which is not everywhere uniformly successful. /Fig. 172 appears here in the original text./

322 Ordinarily a stool maker finishes from two to three pieces in one 476 day. The price is so low (two spears, the equivalent of 14 pfennigs, 435 apiece) that it is difficult to conceive how the man can work for it.

322
352
531

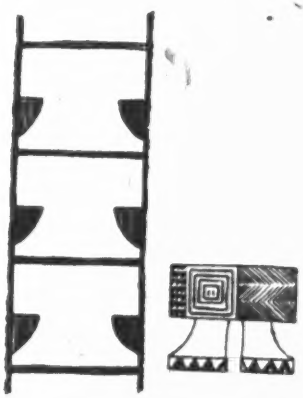


Fig. 172. Stages in Making a Stool.

322 The explanation lies in a kind of principle of reciprocity, a princi-
476 ple clearly stated in the educational precepts to be discussed in a
435 later section /Ed., Vol II/, that is, the seller counts upon the fact that later he will need his client who is in turn a specialist in the manufacture of some kind of article (basketwork plates, for instance), and he then expects to be treated in the same lenient
[463] manner. As a result of the excessive division of labor, everyone is dependent upon everyone else, and this dependence keeps the prices down. Wherever this dependence is absent, the prices go up. Europeans, for instance, with whom such a silent agreement does not exist, pay considerably more, ten or twenty times more, and at the same time they have to put up with inferior work as well.

322 Moreover, the sale of objects manufactured for household use
434 is not regarded as an enterprise for profit. When I asked a stool
554 maker whom I had befriended what his business brought in, he first

[412]

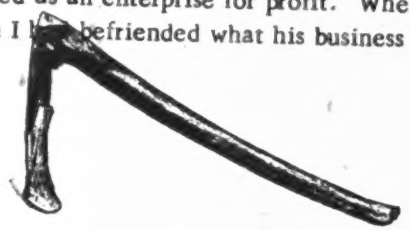


Fig. 173. Adz.

4. Metalworking.

(a) Iron extraction.

325 The extraction of iron, surely one of the most admirable achievements of the Negro, is carried on in the Pangwe region only south of the Campo by the Fang and a small number of Ntum kin groups. Traces of old smelting works, on the other hand, indicate that in former times iron extraction extended farther northward. [438] /Fig. 178 appears here in the original text/. Nowadays the Bulu buy iron from the Ntum in the south, and the Jaunde and Bene buy it from the Eton. The principal places where iron is extracted are located in the Woddo and Kje regions, as well as along the upper Uelle, but compared with the places where ironstone is found, they are few in number. Although for the most part people are familiar with the technique of iron extraction, only a few really engage in it. In part the reason for this may be the laboriousness of the enterprise, but in the main it must be sought in the superstitious notions connected with the preparation of iron. These notions require the cooperation of the medicine man, the purchase of expensive medicines, and the strict observance of the rules of 325 abstinence. The rare and difficult art of extracting it from the 789 rocks and then forging it into tools and weapons has given iron a ● 435 special importance, perhaps also because both techniques require fire, the sacred element which /225/ /Figs. 179 and 180 appear here in the original text/ the Pangwe worship in the Ngi cult. The smelting of ironstone is therefore carried out under the guidance and supervision of the medicine man. Exactly as in the case of the cults, it is he alone who, by means of his medicine, can transfer to others the influence over the process with which he is endowed, or, more accurately, the others can obtain from the medicine man the ability to smelt iron only by purchasing a medicine from him. This smelting medicine (biǎn akūǎ, abǔb-akūǎ) (1) costs five sheep,

1. biǎn = medicine, akūǎ = iron smelting, abǔb = spider, which plays a role in the acquisition medicines and is usually -- not always -- present in the smelting medicine.

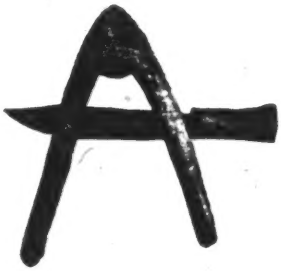


Fig. 179. Drawknife for Spear Handles.

322
413

Fig. 180. Drawknife (also Scraper) for Spear Handles.

five hens, and five pieces of brass wire, which altogether corresponds approximately to a value of 120 marks in our money. The medicine is kept in a small wooden or clay pot lined with the soft leaves of the Triumfetta (okṅ̄n) or in a little basket. It consists of a bundle of leaves with the brain matter of an ancestor, a few pieces of skull from the ancestors placed around it, and pieces of the shaved bark of the Leguminosa Macrolobium straussianum Harms (abǒ'm, bǒ'me IV) or of the fern Marattia fraxinea Sm. (ezizö'n), and poison (nsǔ). The skull and the brain as the seat of knowledge are supposed to make the smelting process successful; the Macrolobium is supposed to cause the lump iron to lie as firmly and solidly in the smelting pit (ekiai a bǒme o si = the iron is firm [as though stamped down] under there) as this tree stands without buttress roots (hence the name abǒ'm from a bǒm, "to stamp in firmly, to pound in, and to be firmly stamped in"); the fern is supposed to cause the iron to agglomerate as beautifully as the young fern leaves.

325
789
[435]
[824]
[826]

Unfortunately, it is impossible to make iron with this medicine alone. For better or for worse, actual work will have to be done, and for this workers are needed. These are not so difficult to obtain since they get a share of the profit, but the abstinence rules which we have already mentioned, especially those of a sexual nature, deter many of them. These rules enjoin abstinence for two months before and during the period of work, and if they are violated, the iron will

325
834

325
791
422

material only through forging."

the /233/ smelting has taken place, with the exception of a piece about the size of a head, which he must give to the medicine man. The ore bloom is pounded into little bits by the workmen right on the spot (Fig. 185). The workmen have the right to take home the splinters that fall off, and the owner does nothing further with it.
[438] These pieces (epfús-ekiẽi) (1) are the end result of the iron smelting

1. pfũ -ĩ, "to knock off (piecemeal)."

and constitute a regular article of trade wherever European trade is not yet too highly developed. /Fig. 183 appears here in the original text./

325
435
434

A few more figures about the expenses and the net profit. In giving these -- as for Bebai -- I assume a smelting period consisting of five smeltings with five owners of the smelting hut. The workers can buy the bellows for ten spears (= 70 pfennigs) from the bellows maker, or they can get them for nothing if they bring the necessary block of wood to the man's house. So far as I know, they must obtain the hide for themselves in each case. The clay blast pipe likewise costs ten spears (= 70 pfennigs), so each bellows worker has 20 spears (= 1.40 marks) in expenses. The owner or owners of the smelting huts have a single expenditure of about 120 marks for the medicine, not including the labor for the construction of the hut and the transportation of the ore. From the iron left to him as wages, each bellows worker earns at one smelting only 15 to 20 spears (= 1.05 to 1.40 marks); hence, from five smeltings he makes a profit of from five to seven marks from which the single expenditure /234/ /Fig. 184 appears here in the original text/ of 1.40 marks should be subtracted. The medicine man does better. From his share of loose iron he can earn 30 spears (= 2.10 marks) and from his share of core iron 50 spears (= 3.50 marks), so altogether he can earn 5.60 marks. From the five smeltings, therefore, he can earn a total of 28 marks. As regards the owner, the ore bloom for him amounts to 500 spears (= 35 marks). Altogether, the yield of one smelting period would amount to: (17 X 17 spears + 80 spears + 500 spears) X 5, 17 workers at 17 spears + medicine man + owner in five

325

Fig. 183. Bellows workers and the medicine man's assistant who stirs the fire. Iron smelting in Bébai (Schumu Family), Spanish Guinea.

325 smeltings; or in German currency, which of course cannot repro-
435 duce exactly the value of the spears for the natives: (20.23
434 marks + 5.60 marks) 5 = 304.15 marks.

These figures fluctuate in the various regions. Nonetheless they do convey an idea of the size and distribution of the profit.

(b) Ironworking.

326 From the tales of the creation story it is evident that the Pangwe, as descendants of Mode-Sama, have known how to forge iron since ancient times, even if they were surpassed in the art by other Negro peoples, the descendants of Ngomwenio (perhaps the progenitor of the Okande?), the second son of Sama. /235/

325 789 824 Even the job of forging cannot be performed without medicines. Just as a medicine is buried under the furnace in the smelting hut, one is also buried under the anvil when the smithy is constructed, although this is not always the case. The medicine consists of cock's feathers, blossom panicles of the Labiata Plectranthus (kɔ̄lɔ̄́t IV Fang, kɔ̄̆t IV Ntum), and leaves and stalks of the Commelinacea Aneilema aequinoctiale Kth. (nlăt I) (1). The

> a lǎ-t, "unite," hence nlăt, the Aneilema (compare also a-lǎ-t, "the duck," because ducks live in pairs).

two plants are burdocks and are meant to symbolize the fact that the iron particles are to be joined together as firmly in the forging as the fruit of the Plectranthus and the stalks or leaves of the Aneilema cling together -- frequently one also sees the smith throwing a few Plectranthus fruits into the blast pipe while forging. The cock belongs to the cult of the Good, or the fire, and for that reason its feathers are the most important component of the medicine. To heighten its effectiveness, the cock is also killed, and its flesh boiled together with the leaves of the Acanthacea Asystasia macrophylla (T. And.) (elɔ̄̆bokūī), the Connaracea Manotes zenkeri Gilg (nkǎ-ndžīk I), the Ebenacea Diospyros fragrans Gürke (myīfī'n IV Fang, myīpfī'm IV Ntum), and the Tiliacea Desplatsia dewevrei Burset (afɔ̄nɔ̄̆k). This concoction is eaten by the smith. The plants mentioned have strong and flexible stalks or twigs (nkīb, "rod, whip"), and the implied wish is that the iron, in particular the spear money, will be just as strong and flexible.

325 135 Lastly it should be mentioned that in a newly constructed smithy hut the first thing to be melted down must not be crude iron but only worked iron.

The smith's tools include:

325 1. Large forging iron (ngɔ̄̆p[d]ɔ̄̆ III) of the form shown in Figure 187, Drawing 1; for cruder work it is used as a hammer, for finer work as an anvil, in which case it is pushed into the ground with its pointed end. It is worth 1,000 spears or 70 marks.

435

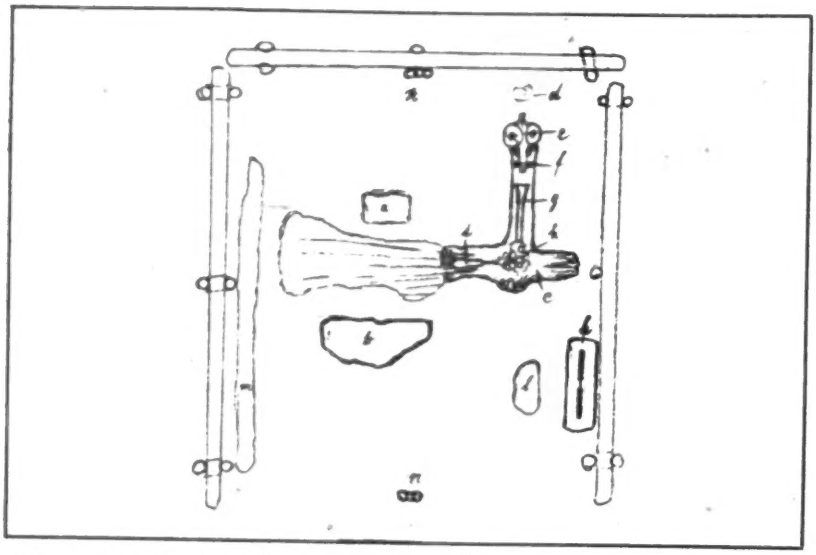


Fig. 186. Groundplan of a Smithy in the Village Okö, Ntum Region.

(a) Smith's seat; (b) smithy stone, anvil; (c) smithy pit; (d) bellows worker's seat; (e) bellows; (f) sticks to hold the bellows; (g) blast pipe; (h) charcoal; (i) handle; (k) talking drum used as seat; (l) stone, mainly for whetting the cutlass; (m) trunk, seat for spectators; (n) ridgepole.

325

2. Small forging iron (edū), Figure 187, Drawing 2, used for spear blades, and so forth. (Value, 50 spears or 3.50 marks.)

3. Handle (abí from bí, "to grasp"), a simple iron rod widened toward the end to a slightly spatulate form, attached to a wooden grip. It is held against the iron glowing in the fire and welded with it so that both /237/ /Fig. 186 appears here in the original text/ can be taken out together. While the iron is being worked, the end of this handle merges with the forged object and must therefore be made anew each time after it is used, that is, it must be widened by pounding it at the end.

323 The women, of whom about a fourth (among the Jaunde about a half) understands the art of pottery, carry on their craft mostly as housework. They make the flasks and pots for their own household or for those of acquaintances and relatives who from indolence or lack of skill have not taken up pottery. In addition, they sell their products to other women who cannot or do not want to make pottery. The prices for pots fluctuate, de-
323 435 pending on the size, between two and four spears (14-28 pfennigs), among the Jaunde between five and thirty Jaunde spears (5 to 30 pfennigs); /Fig. 190 appears here in the original text/ very large Jaunde pots, unknown among the Fang, cost 40 Jaunde spears (= 40 pfennigs). The clay bottles which are limited to the Fang and are scarcely found north of the Campo cost ten spears (= 70 pfennigs). By and large, the Jaunde women are better and more industrious potters; they produce more, which, to be sure, causes the price to go down, and they make more attractive pots than the
[531] Ntum and Fang women who decorate perhaps only a third to a fourth of all their cooking pots. Water bottles are decorated only in exceptional cases. /Fig. 191 appears here in the original text./

323 The manufacture of pots proceeds as follows. White pottery clay (ekǒn, vū.ǒk; plural lǒ́k), either dry or mixed with water if necessary, is pounded for awhile on a piece of bark with a pestle (ntum e vū.ǒk). Then the potter rolls the clay into sausages and places two or three of them together in her hand in snake-like coils. These form the bottom of the future pot. Then she places the whole thing /Fig. 192 appears here in the original text/ in a plate, either of basketwork or wood. Now she builds up the wall of the pot by joining the remaining sausages in a spiral fashion as she turns the plate which serves as a potter's wheel. She makes it smooth with a moist raffia stick, indents it by applying light pressure just below the edge, and smooths the indentation itself (mbě I) with a fine leaf of grass, rubs it off with a wet leaf, and takes it off with the little stick. The finished pots have to dry for five days on the pottery loft (akǎn e mvé) and are then fired. The firing is done in the village square. /241/ /Fig. 193 appears here in the original text./ Under and around the pot firewood or twigs are simply heaped up and set on fire.

424 because, in spite of the great love for children, in spite of the
759 intimate relationship between father and son, the Negro is simply
461 not able to endure the effort of working unless the prospect of
payment is constantly before his eyes. The price for strangers,
[435] to be paid in advance, is 100 spears or a small sheep, in return
for which the medicine man will teach his pupil all the cures
that he knows.

The medicine men do not have any special social status,
759 authority, or influence. In general, they are regarded only as
554 experienced and skillful persons (akón, i.e., "skillful"). Only
754 those among them who know the medicines of sorcery and give
this knowledge to others (including the cult leaders who, by
means of a magic medicine, give the cult figures the power to
practice sorcery) are feared, and rightly so, because one suspects
that with the help of these "medicines" they may practice sorcery,
i.e., kill other people, at any time.

1. Medicines for Sorcery

We have seen in the previous chapter /Ed., not translated/
754 that the sources of belief in sorcery are to be sought in the need
[753] to assign causes for unrecognized internal ailments, particularly
malaria and poisoning. Because of the similarity of their symp-
toms, these two cannot be distinguished by European outsiders,/145/
and even the native inhabitants for the most part find it impossible.
At the moment, therefore, it is not possible to obtain a clear
picture of these things. It is certain that the Negroes know how to
get someone out of the way with poison and that they mix poison
with the conscious intention of killing, but it is uncertain to what
extent they are conscious of the physiological effects of poison in
our sense. As far as I could observe, a generally mystical view of
these matters still prevails. All poisoning, just like all internal
illness, is sorcery, and all sorcery is the mystical operation of the
physical being, detached from the body, that finds its strength
in its ewu which has been developed through medicine (see Sec-
tion 12)/Ed., not translated/. If someone wishes to kill a person

583 between 500 and 600 marks in the south. Devaluation of the money, which has also taken place in Africa, has considerably raised the price in comparison to what it was formerly.

The purchase price cannot be paid in money (spear money) 583 alone, in cattle alone, or in any specific type of goods alone; 436 instead, all the objects of exchange which are in circulation 435 must be represented. Thus, in 1906, for instance, the following things were paid for a woman in the Fang region:

6,000 spears	420. -- marks
12 rifles	120. -- marks
2 vats of powder . . .	4. -- marks
70 choppers	70. -- marks
2 sheep	50. -- marks
2 iron pots	8. -- marks
10 pieces of cloth . . .	40. -- marks
5 hats	10. -- marks
13 kettles of salt @ 2. -- marks	26. -- marks
2 knives	2. -- marks
2 packages of beads . .	2. -- marks
2 tobacco pipes . . .	--. 50 mark
2 packages of flints . .	--. 50 mark
1 hatful of buttons . .	--. 50 mark
	753. 50 marks /261/

Any existing illegitimate children go along with the marriage [848] bargain. In fact, the bridegroom has to pay 500 spears for a boy and 1,000 spears for a girl; incidentally, he is only too glad to do so, because each child means an addition to his wealth.

I shall not go into a discussion of the endless number of quar- 578 rels that arise on the occasion of a marriage, especially when 583 the entire purchase price is not paid at once. Nor shall I speak of the fact that the girl's father likes to steer his daughter, even if she is in love with another, into the hands of the man who can pay the most or the most readily. All this would lead too far afield.

606 If the girl stays in her parents house and if the payment of 583 the purchase price extends over weeks and months, the suitor has 584

222 (Rich.) Engl., Anacardiaceae (ofǭs); Pseudospondias tessmannii
262 Engl., likewise (angǭkǭn); /147/ Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth., Leguminosae (ebā̄ī); Cola acuminata (P.B.) R. Br., Sterculiaceae (abē); Carpolobia alba Don., Polygalaceae (onǭn, tōmok); Ricinodendron africanum Muell. Arg., Euphorbiaceae (ezisā̄n); Myrianthus arboreus P.B., Moraceae (mangā̄me III Fang, engūkǭm Ntum, Jaunde); Desbordesia glaucescens Engl., Simarubaceae (alǭb); Duboscia macrocarpa (?) Bocq., Tiliaceae (akāk e sā̄n); Oncinotis glandulosa Stapf, Apocynaceae, and Tylostemon minutiflorus Stapf, Lauraceae (dzā-odzīdzik or bodzābodzīdzik); Tristemma hirtum Vent., Melastomataceae (abē-osū); Cnestis aurantiaca Gilg, Connaraceae (abīn e ndzīk); Vitex bipindensis Gürke, Verbenaceae (apfǭn); Anonidium mannii Oliv., Anonaceae (ebǫm eli); Sarcocephalus sambucinus K. Sch. (alū'mā, alū'ma, and akūndūm); the palm Podococcus barteri M. and W. (niamvine); as well as various varieties of Aframomum, such as the Aframomum alboviolaceum K. Sch. (adzǫm; fruit, esū n) illustrated in Volume II.

Finally, mushrooms, of which the Fang distinguish twenty edible varieties, play an important role in the household. With the exception of a foul-smelling morel which is covered with a kind of veil, poisonous ground mushrooms do not seem to occur.

263 Of spices, pepper and salt are known, and both are found in-
249 dispensable by the Pangwe for the preparation of meals. Three varieties and many subvarieties of pepper, Capsicum (okālāh IV, undūndū III), are sown behind the houses or close to the village, and it is to be found growing wild everywhere in the vicinity of human settlements, where its green fruit -- red when ripe -- is picked whenever it is needed; it is added to the food either whole or pulverized on a stone.

263 Salt is more difficult to obtain. Although salt imported from
● 49b Europe now floods almost the entire region and, in conjunction with
258 tobacco, constitutes a regular standard of value, in remote areas of the interior the laborious extraction of salt from swamp plants is still carried out in the old manner.

258 The two chief salt-producing plants are those illustrated by
834 Plate 10: Halopegia acurea K. Sch., Marantaceae (nkǭh I) and

583 between 500 and 600 marks in the south. Devaluation of the money, which has also taken place in Africa, has considerably raised the price in comparison to what it was formerly.

The purchase price cannot be paid in money (spear money) 583 alone, in cattle alone, or in any specific type of goods alone; 4% instead, all the objects of exchange which are in circulation 435 must be represented. Thus, in 1906, for instance, the following things were paid for a woman in the Fang region:

6,000 spears	420. -- marks
12 rifles	120. -- marks
2 vats of powder . . .	4. -- marks
70 choppers	70. -- marks
2 sheep	50. -- marks
2 iron pots	8. -- marks
10 pieces of cloth . . .	40. -- marks
5 hats	10. -- marks
13 kettles of salt @ 2. -- marks	26. -- marks
2 knives	2. -- marks
2 packages of beads . .	2. -- marks
2 tobacco pipes . . .	---. 50 mark
2 packages of flints . .	--. 50 mark
1 hatful of buttons . .	--. 50 mark
	753. 50 marks /261/

Any existing illegitimate children go along with the marriage [848] bargain. In fact, the bridegroom has to pay 500 spears for a boy and 1,000 spears for a girl; incidentally, he is only too glad to do so, because each child means an addition to his wealth.

I shall not go into a discussion of the endless number of quar- 578 rels that arise on the occasion of a marriage, especially when 583 the entire purchase price is not paid at once. Nor shall I speak of the fact that the girl's father likes to steer his daughter, even if she is in love with another, into the hands of the man who can pay the most or the most readily. All this would lead too far afield.

606 If the girl stays in her parents house and if the payment of 583 the purchase price extends over weeks and months, the suitor has 584

245 occupations keep them away from their native villages, try to build up plantations, even though they may draw no profits before their retirement. Among Boulou or Beti every married man is a cacao planter. In the course of a sample survey of 490 rural families, only 43 (less than 9 percent) were found who do not have some income from a cacao plantation (1): 7 live from the sale of different agri-

1. J. Binet, Budgets familiaux des planteurs de cacao au Cameroun /Family Budgets of Cacao Planters in the Cameroons/, O.R.S.T.O.M. /Office de la Recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer/.

cultural products; 15 are engaged in crafts; 9 are salaried workers, employed in trade, missions, the administration. For the 437 other families cacao is a basic resource.

245 556 434 511 The large number of proprietors is accompanied by a wide distribution of wealth and by a certain amount of social equality (2).

2. Sautter, "Le cacao dans l'économie rurale du Woleu-Ntem /Cacao in the Rural Economy of the Woleu-N'Tem/," Études centrafricaines, 1951.

Nevertheless, financial differences are clearly marked. To take only cash income and to disregard home consumption, 28 households had available an average of 3, 720 francs C.F.A. per annum (3).

[436] 3. One franc C.F.A. equals two metropolitan francs. Incomes were computed in 1954, a year during which quotations for cacao were especially favorable.

113 households had 10, 000 francs C.F.A., 217 had 29, 600 francs, 87 had 71, 500 francs, 36 had 152, 000 francs, 5 had 440, 000 francs. Large incomes coincide with enormous plantations, but also with 245 profits from a variety of sources: of the 5 families with the highest 511 income, only 2 derive theirs entirely from cultivation. Of the 36 in 556 the next lower category, 24 have a purely agricultural income. The

they belong to another clan. This is merely the application of exogamy to the maternal line and is less observed than the other rule of exogamy.

Having established this, we may distinguish several forms of marriage—Bertaut counts seven—or, on the contrary, consider them all to be derived from "regular marriage," mfañ aluk (from fañ = to do well, correctly, and luk = to marry). This kind of marriage is based on the payment of the "bride price," nsuba, nowadays essentially monetary and giving rise to abuses that have often been described, but in former times it was ritual in character, at least partially so (a century ago there was already a commercial element). The "bride price" of the past included local products (ivory, cattle) (1), imported merchandise (biôm), especially loincloths, guns and

1. The bride-price sheep, bikiga or bityiga, up to seven, which were in theory bred with a special view to payment of the nsuba and were sacrificed at the time of the marriage.

ammunition, salt, trade alcohol, and, finally, a special iron currency in the form of flat arrowheads tied into bundles (bityé, biki; bikpwelé; the unit of count being the bundle, akutu bikpwelé). The last was used only for ritual or magical purposes (2). There are reasons for

2. There is a prohibition against making them; all those to be seen look old.

believing that the composition of bride prices in local products and merchandise varied according to clan structure, the affiliation of the spouses, and the marriages previously concluded by the group. Nothing of this survives today, and the bride price has become a bargaining, at times pretty sordid, even a real /52/ auction, with the bride often the first to boast of the high price she has obtained in the marriage market.

Marriage not long ago was, and still in a measure remains, a group affair, the concern of the two meyoñ and two menda me bôt involved, which is discussed between the head of the young man's family and the guardian responsible for the future wife, nya ndômô, "true brother," that is, an ascendant paternal relative or paternal

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

traded with the *eki* (iron)." Iron is put to various uses. Long bladed knives of various shapes and patterns are made, also spear heads, armlets, anklets, finger and toe rings. Small pieces of iron are used for bullets in flint-lock muskets. One of the most important uses of money among the Fang is the making of *beki*. 325 326

Beki is made up in bunches ten *beki* in each bunch; a bunch of *beki* is called *ntet*. The amount of dowry paid in *beki* is usually counted in hundreds, *kuliki bi kei, ntet awom* (bring me one hundred *beki*). 326 [436]

A bundle of ten arrow heads is frequently used as an *ntet*.

A peculiar shaped adze is made of iron; it is used for working wood, especially hollowing trees intended for canoes.

Pieces of iron are forged into axe blades (*ovon*).

The *mfak* is a short handled spade made of iron, used for digging in the gardens.

The art of casting seems to be unknown.

The bellows (*nkum*) used by Fang smiths are very ingenious (*specimen on table*). The feet are used to steady the bellows, whilst both hands work the goat skin covers and force air into the fire.

A block of iron is used for an anvil. Some of the natives are quite skilful at working iron. A Fang living near my residence often begged from me a round steel nail from a packing case. In a short time he would return with the nail transformed into a thin delicate knife or dagger, only the nailhead remaining intact. Very large fighting knife blades are made and beautifully fashioned, and ornamented with various punch marks.

I have never seen any native made wire. Imported brass wire is in great demand and mostly used as a continuous armlet. The coil usually reaches from wrist to elbow, and is considered extremely *mbung* (handsome), and kept highly polished. [439] [301]

Imported brass is obtained in trade and made into armlets, anklets, finger and toe rings. It is also used for ornamentation of guns.

Many of the natives are skilled workers of iron and fully aware of its value. I have never seen welding practised, but in working hot iron it is frequently plunged into cold water to make it *alert* (hard).

Fire.—In the far interior, fire is produced by friction, the simplest form of a drill being used, which is twisted rapidly between the hands. Along the rivers matches are obtained from the native traders, who bring up large quantities from the coast. The natives are always ready to trade for matches, which are again traded to interior tribes. Flints are only used on the hammer of the old flintlock musket imported for trade. Fires are almost constantly burning in the palaver houses. Two dry logs are kept constantly burning, they are placed end to end, when one log is nearly consumed it is replaced by another. 372 [439]

It is interesting to notice how the natives carry fire about. When on a journey in 1897 from Gross Batanga with a caravan to the Bulu country in the German sphere of influence, one of the men usually obtained a piece of burning 372 484

3. Trade

431 Planters command few sources of income; beside their tool equip-
556 ment a thousand new needs have arisen, which trade must satisfy.
437 There is, oddly, no commercial tradition at all among the Pahouin. For bride-price payments previous generations used ivory tusks or pieces of wrought iron in the shape of arrows. But was this a form of money? Nothing was bought, nothing sold. And yet, according to Balandier, the pursuit of wealth represented the men's principal activity (2) aside from routine work, perhaps, moreover, because

> 2. Cf. Largeau (no. 48) for the mythical role of the spider in producing merchandise "among the dead." (P. A.)

there was no trade or exchange. From the accounts, it appears that previous generations could only obtain goods from distant countries by bilaba and not by purchase. The bilaba approximates the potlatch in being a contest. During a visit a host gives his guest all kinds of presents, defying him to do the like. Later the guest will have to offer even more than he received. Thus, exchange and a struggle for prestige are involved at the same time (3). Bilaba apparently were

> 3. J. Guilbot, Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 1951, Vol. 21; G. Balandier, Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire /Contemporary Native African Sociology/, P.U.F. /Presses Universitaires de France/, 1955, p. 182.

means of distributing objects of European origin (salt, weapons, clothes) and of exchanging them for ivory collected in the interior, game, or the dogs that some tribes /34/ eat. In general, it is to such exchanges as these that the old accounts refer. But one can scarcely speak of trade for such ritualized gifts and countergifts. And nothing else warrants the assumption of an economy based on exchange. Between
443 Yaoundé and Brazzaville there are no markets, or, more correctly,
177 the markets that now exist were started by Europeans or at their instigation (1).

F P 563 565 Bekôé, are now assimilated and are considered a special Pahouin ayôn (see above, p. 54). But the nomadic groups themselves are beginning to give up the obligatory intermediation of the Pahouin in order to sell their game; they are to be seen at markets and even in government offices and in the courts.

F 609 Foreigners, bone bikul (ékul = foreign tribe), had no rights except as guests or hosts, beyeñ (sing. nneñ), which means that they had in fact to buy security. Since European conquest there has been an increase in the betabe (from tabe = to stay, to dwell), privileged strangers admitted to residence by the head of a family or village, often allied by marriage to the clan amid which they have settled. Their children can be absorbed but are not true bo'beti, at least not in the first generations.

F 56 Thus truly Pahouin society was and remains very much a closed one, since entrance into it is, in practice, only by blood. On the other hand, it is very little stratified internally, outside of age grades; it might even be said to be averse to hierarchies.

F 564 At first one is rather tempted to conclude that there are no castes. This statement is perhaps too sweeping, if we take into consideration the fact that certain endogamous clans like the Ndôñ are perhaps castes or represent former castes. The subject deserves further study. /60/

F 556 565 Does Pahouin society admit of social classes based on birth or wealth? In spite of the egalitarian and anarchic temperament of the Pahouin, I think this is so. Terminology proves it by distinguishing the bo' beti not only from the captives but even from the zesé bôt, the humble people: mo'nti is often translated today as "Monsieur." Within the last two generations there has grown up before our eyes a real bourgeoisie of large-scale planters, clerks (bēkilak), artisans, and skilled workmen, which is inclined to stand out against a lower class of small peasants, laborers, and even, at the moment, of a "proletariat in sunglasses" — petty tradesmen, etc. —a local equivalent of our white-collar workers. Already in traditional society the minkukum, the rich, were to be distinguished from the common people, the zesé bôt.

556 565 431 437 The rich were looked at askance and were objects of suspicion to the general public, always quick to attribute material success to the possession of an évu (évur, évus), to malevolent sorcery. The

556 nkukum had to excuse his wealth, primarily by distributing it through
565 customary hospitality and also by a special device of economic-social
431 control resembling the potlatch, the bilaba.
437 This practice seems to have been especially common among the Boulou. Bertaut relates the word to a Ngumba root meaning "to talk," "to cajole." I should rather incline toward a derivative of the verb lap, "to draw water," by extension "to splash," which can figuratively also convey the idea of scoffing. It is not impossible that the bilaba mechanism was connected with that of the joking relationship, awusô. The bilaba begins with a challenge from one nkukum to another, each man claiming to be the richer. The challenger goes to the house of the challenged, carrying a load of merchandise, mebo me dulu, "legs for the journey," and accompanied by a large retinue of musicians and singers, etc. When he reaches the home of the other njem bilaba (bilaba dancer), he overwhelms him with presents and taunts; his opposite number replies, present for present and jeer for jeer, until he has contributed more than the equivalent of the mebo me dulu. The first njem bilaba goes home and waits for the other's return visit with his own mebo me dulu. Visits and countervisits may go on for a long time, each of the bejem bilaba calling on his immediate family for help, then upon his lineage or clan, for continued supplies. The bilaba therefore comes to be a collective affair. It must be observed that not just any kind of merchandise is exchanged: a njem bilaba in the east (nku, ôku) provides local products, (livestock, cacao, ivory, etc.), in the west (nké) imported products (loincloths,
823 salt, powder, etc.) (1). It should be remembered /61/ in this
831

1. M. Zoll'Owambe (no. 125) speaks of akum so, "merchandise of the north," imports, and of akum nsak, "merchandise of the south," products of the country. But there appears to have been some confusion. In fact, so = coast, downstream, is related to nké = west, which also means downstream, while nsak = hinterland, upstream (nku = east, related to kui = to come from, rise from, emerge); cf. Largeau, who considers the north to be on the right (male) and the south on the left (female). Imported products would be considered male.

437
431
552 connection that the points of the compass have a sexual implication,
565 which is not well understood. The bilaba sets up a sort of joking re-
[623 lationship between the families of the participants, which may con-
831] tinue after their death.

The institution seems to be dying out, though it was still flourishing between the two /World?/ wars and often involved considerable amounts of money (1).

1. Balandier (no. 175 and in a personal communication) stresses the economic importance of the bilaba which, in a society without a money or trade economy, constituted one of the principal means of circulating goods and, especially, of diffusing imported commodities.

556 In spite of the fear his success inspires, and perhaps because of
622 this fear, the rich man enjoyed undoubted authority in his village and sometimes beyond it. Nkukuma, the absolute form of nkukum, is used to translate "chief" (it probably means, more precisely, "person of note").

554 The word évet, also applied to subchiefs or government "capitas"
622 is likewise used —a correct nuance if, as Bates says, évet is a corruption of headman applied originally to the chiefs of trade caravans. These men were chosen for their business astuteness, diplomacy, authority, and courage, but they were only deputies of a clan or village, not true political chiefs. To convey the latter implication the preferable term is still njôô bôt (Fang, nzoé mur) from jô = to say, to command, a term indicating a de facto state, /état de fait/ rather than a legal notion. It should be recalled that there were no political leaders other than the seniors, mintôl, of the extended families. Their authority was further limited by the ease with which their brothers could leave the village to establish another nearby (2).

164
554
622

2. But among some Pahouinized peoples the existence of royal insignia shows that chiefship /chefferie/ is an institution: among the Ewôndo and Yanda the head of the clan designated his successor or, if he

h. Contracts and Various Quasi Contracts

675 A legal obligation is atiñ, from tiñ = to tie. For a long time no distinction was made between a contract and a quasi /or implied/ contract, but, as the range of independent activity spreads, we may recognize among metiñ the genuine contract, mfañ atiñ, from fañ = to do really, on purpose, by design.

Underlying all metiñ is the idea of compensation, avutan or abutan, which might be interpreted as follows: any effect /atteint/, positive or negative, on the total legal personality of an individual through the act of another must lead to a positive or negative compensation restoring the status quo ante. In other words, whoever enriches another person, has a claim to compensation; whoever deprives another, owes compensation.

Thus arises the distinction between nsenge and avu or avuan which have sometimes been confused by being translated as "gain" or "profit." It /79/ seems that nsenge in fact referred specifically to commercial profit made outside the clan through trade, abom, to which compensation did not apply. Avu or avuan (from vu = to grow rich, to increase in wealth, with an = to grow, to increase) meant the natural increase in property, such as a harvest in relationship to the sowing /or/ the biological increase of a herd. If the avuan was made at the expense of a monyañ, compensation was called for. Nowadays the idea of avuan approximates that of interest, legitimate or illegitimate according to the case. The weakening of the old social structures at the same time tends to allow nsenge even within the clan.

437 675 The verb kuan, to sell, is merely the reciprocal form of the verb kus, to buy; thus kuan means literally, "one person's buying from another," with a now very attenuated implication of exchange. The verbs fol and folan, formerly almost synonymous with kus and kuan, have kept the sense of "exchange"; they are applied to barter, kuan and kus, to money transactions.

At the present time selling is considered to be established with delivery of the merchandise or the payment, while exchange seems to call for a simultaneous delivery of the objects exchanged.

426 675 To lend something for temporary and brief use is señ; it is not strictly speaking a contract, and the borrower may even not be under obligation, for example when he has been loaned a tool to carry out

344 The pieces of bark, one to two meters long and approximately a half meter wide, are attached to the frame in the following manner. To the inner side of the wall posts longitudinal

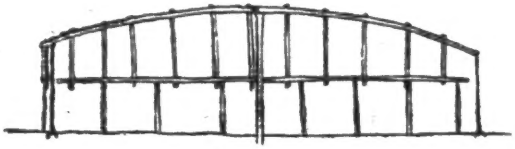


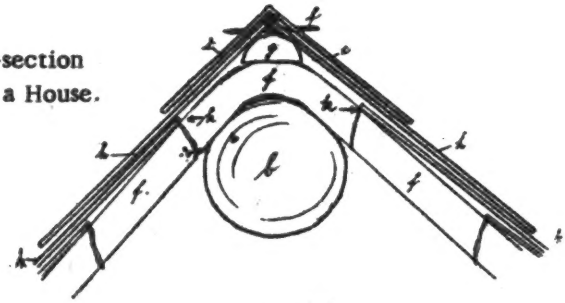
Fig. 25. Frame of a Meeting House of the Fang from the Region of Komo (Village of Omvan, French Congo). Cross-Section Lengthwise.

strips of raffia leaf stems (ebai) are /64/ attached by means of boards at certain distances from each other, and to these the bark pieces are fastened by means of raffia strips which run exactly parallel to the boards. The posts, therefore, usually stand outside the house, very rarely within it. The bark pieces 584 and raffia strips are held together by bands of Oncocalamus (nloń I = 824 Oncocalamus and band) (1) -- see Plate 16 -- and they are

[438] 1. The Jaunde buy this "bush rope" from Elandi, the only place in the Jaunde region where bush rope is still available; otherwise they use Dipteropeltis poranoides Hallier f. (atu[k]e ndžik).

finished by two people working together in the following manner. One of them crouches inside the house, the other outside, and

Fig. 26. Cross-section of the Ridge of a House.



4. Metalworking.

(a) Iron extraction.

325 The extraction of iron, surely one of the most admirable achievements of the Negro, is carried on in the Pangwe region only south of the Campo by the Fang and a small number of Ntum kin groups. Traces of old smelting works, on the other hand, indicate that in former times iron extraction extended farther northward. [438] /Fig. 178 appears here in the original text/. Nowadays the Bulu buy iron from the Ntum in the south, and the Jaunde and Bene buy it from the Eton. The principal places where iron is extracted are located in the Woddo and Kje regions, as well as along the upper Uelle, but compared with the places where ironstone is found, they are few in number. Although for the most part people are familiar with the technique of iron extraction, only a few really engage in it. In part the reason for this may be the laboriousness of the enterprise, but in the main it must be sought in the superstitious notions connected with the preparation of iron. These notions require the cooperation of the medicine man, the purchase of expensive medicines, and the strict observance of the rules of 325 abstinence. The rare and difficult art of extracting it from the 789 rocks and then forging it into tools and weapons has given iron a 435 special importance, perhaps also because both techniques require fire, the sacred element which /225/ /Figs. 179 and 180 appear here in the original text/ the Pangwe worship in the Ngi cult. The smelting of ironstone is therefore carried out under the guidance and supervision of the medicine man. Exactly as in the case of the cults, it is he alone who, by means of his medicine, can transfer to others the influence over the process with which he is endowed, or, more accurately, the others can obtain from the medicine man the ability to smelt iron only by purchasing a medicine from him. This smelting medicine (biǎn akūǎ, abǔb-akūǎ) (1) costs five sheep,

1. biǎn = medicine, akūǎ = iron smelting, abǔb = spider, which plays a role in the acquisition medicines and is usually -- not always -- present in the smelting medicine.

325 material only through forging."

791

422 the /233/ smelting has taken place, with the exception of a piece about the size of a head, which he must give to the medicine man. The ore bloom is pounded into little bits by the workmen right on the spot (Fig. 185). The workmen have the right to take home the splinters that fall off, and the owner does nothing further with it.

[438] These pieces (epfūs-ekīēi) (1) are the end result of the iron smelting

1. pfū-ī, "to knock off (piecemeal)."

and constitute a regular article of trade wherever European trade is not yet too highly developed. /Fig. 183 appears here in the original text./

325 A few more figures about the expenses and the net profit. In
435 giving these -- as for Bebai -- I assume a smelting period consisting
434 of five smeltings with five owners of the smelting hut. The workers can buy the bellows for ten spears (= 70 pfennigs) from the bellows maker, or they can get them for nothing if they bring the necessary block of wood to the man's house. So far as I know, they must obtain the hide for themselves in each case. The clay blast pipe likewise costs ten spears (= 70 pfennigs), so each bellows worker has 20 spears (= 1.40 marks) in expenses. The owner or owners of the smelting huts have a single expenditure of about 120 marks for the medicine, not including the labor for the construction of the hut and the transportation of the ore. From the iron left to him as wages, each bellows worker earns at one smelting only 15 to 20 spears (= 1.05 to 1.40 marks); hence, from five smeltings he makes a profit of from five to seven marks from which the single expenditure /234/ /Fig. 184 appears here in the original text/ of 1.40 marks should be subtracted. The medicine man does better. From his share of loose iron he can earn 30 spears (= 2.10 marks) and from his share of core iron 50 spears (= 3.50 marks), so altogether he can earn 5.60 marks. From the five smeltings, therefore, he can earn a total of 28 marks. As regards the owner, the ore bloom for him amounts to 500 spears (= 35 marks). Altogether, the yield of one smelting period would amount to: (17 X 17 spears + 80 spears + 500 spears) X 5, 17 workers at 17 spears + medicine man + owner in five

palm oil is the basis of sauces and stews eaten with tubers and cereals. Groundnuts are widely used (do not the Ewôndo owe their name to them?). The dough obtained after cooking and pounding goes toward the making of numerous dishes and provides the main part of the needed protein. One article of food ought finally to be mentioned because it is very much liked and also because its consumption seems absolutely uneconomical—pumpkin seeds. The seeds are preserved, dried, and cleaned one by one, then put to boil, and mashed. The skill required for, and the time spent in, shelling the seeds appears subject to scanty return (1).

> 1. But fritters made of pumpkin-seed dough are delicious .... There is quite a good trade in these seeds for town consumption. (P. A.)

2. Agriculture

Before broaching the description of present-day agriculture, we must see what it used to be like and what it still is in certain traditionalist sections. In fact, methods do not appear to have changed at all; new crops have simply been added to the old ones. It is likely that because of the influence of these new crops /29/ the whole technology (material techniques, legal techniques, etc.) will develop further. But that trend is only starting, and at present the cultivation of groundnuts, maize, and other long-familiar foodstuffs remains nearly what it was forty years ago, before the advent of the cacao tree.

Traditional agriculture

Formerly, each family produced everything it needed and confined its efforts. There were no cash crops, there was no article of food suitable for maintaining an exchange system, but all sorts of crops were cultivated. As to clothes, elderly Bané and Ewôndo state that the cultivation and weaving of cotton was practiced by their ancestors; there could be no question of this in their present habitat, and the tradition is valuable merely as evidence, either for those who believe that the Pahouin come from regions further north, or for those who see in the Beti not true Pahouin but a Pahouinized people (1). Each

241 in 1954 in connection with a study of family budgets.

amount of food necessary to maintain the population: a crop census
[431] was taken in 1948 in one of the Sangmélima cantons (2). In order to

2. Report of the administrative officer, J. M. Soupault. An average individual's requirement would be: 250 maize plants, 330 manioc plants, 130 plantains, 110 macabo, 7 kilograms of rice, and 32 kilograms of groundnuts.

satisfy the needs of 6, 249 inhabitants there is no "exportation" to
[433] speak of. The canton used to produce 1, 635, 000 maize plants, 2, 049, 000 manioc, 824, 190 plantain bananas, 687, 800 macabo. It furthermore provided 44 tons of rice, 200 tons of groundnuts. There were 85, 180 fruit trees producing various kinds of fruit (Pachylobes /Canarium edula Hooker, known as assa in Pahouin country—Ed. /, Estulis, oranges, etc.)

Clearing land by burning and the absence of organic fertilizer probably explain the exhaustion of the soil and the shifting cultivation that results from it.

231 The breeding and rearing of small animals is nevertheless understood and practiced: goats, dogs, fowls, pigs were and still are plentiful in the villages. These animals do not seem to contribute
[432] much to the food supply nor to the economic life. The very limited practice of selling pieces of pork has dates from recent years. As a
[431] matter of fact, animals were useful for giving quasi-ritual presents,
[432] for paying bride prices, and for celebrating family occasions: at a marriage, burial, and the end of mourning, two or three goats were killed to provide food for the relatives.

Of course, these animals are not stabled or fed; the herds wander along the outskirts of villages and do not fail to plunder the gardens.
[57] There are innumerable classic quarrels between farmers and herders (with the slight difference here that no one is exclusively a herder nor
357 exclusively a farmer). Was the practice of enclosing by hedges established so as to avoid such depredations, or to give military protection to the settlements? Whatever the origin, this practice associated with the raising of animals would have made it possible to avoid

342

[531]

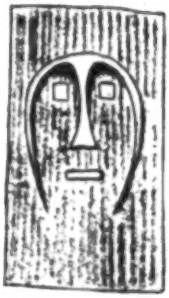


Fig. 36. Door of a Dwelling in Alén (Essáuong Family). Carved out of wood and painted a light gray with clay.

placed next to each other against the opening from the inside, and naturally there are large cracks between them. It goes without saying that any sudden gust of wind will blow them down and that they also fall down by themselves. I myself have often enough been awakened by this unfamiliar clatter, or the cool night air and the stings of the Anopheles mosquitoes swarming in have given me an unpleasant awakening.

[531] Doors made of wood (Fig. 36) are to be found here and there and are sometimes decorated with simple carved patterns. They are placed or wedged against the door opening from the inside. Frame doors imported by foreign traders and [139] set on hinges made of bands of palm are not very popular, generally speaking.

Exactly as in the case of the meeting houses, the construction and condition of the dwellings vary greatly. Some [356] houses are so clean and attractively built that they look like a doll's house just unpacked; others, however, look dilapidated, unclean, and unattractive, and they make such a revolting impression that -- as I often told my Pangwe -- not even a white man's dog would feel at home in it. The majority of the dwellings, of course, are between these two extremes, that is to say, if one takes the average of several villages -- for the houses of a single village are often of just about the same quality, a fact which doubtless stems from their being equally old. There are villages which appear

2. Blossoms are dark pink to red, and the plants grow closer to the ground: mbǫ́mekūnǎ I 276 249

Originally, the Pangwe were not passionate smokers, as a rule, although in every village one encounters old people who cannot live without their pipes. Over the whole region, especially in the north where the influence of the Whites is more predominant (for instance, among the Jaunde), the use of tobacco is rapidly increasing. The quality of imported tobacco and the great variety of pleasing shapes of the pipes for sale in the trading posts may be strong /170/ /Fig. 110 appears here in the original text/ contributing factors. 276 [177]

Fig. 109. Clay Tobacco Pipes.

Next to salt, "trade tobacco" is one of the principal trade articles. [139]

Tobacco is exclusively smoked in pipes; chewing or taking snuff is unknown. The Pangwe distinguish three forms of pipes. First there are short wooden pipes carved out of one piece (only among the Fang), ekūk-myiǒk (Fig. 107), and secondly, banana leafstalk types (ntǒn I; bowl, obǎ́k). The latter consist of a piece of banana leafstalk or leaf ribbing, more than a meter long, and a bowl stuck on top of it which is made of the kernel of the raffia fruit, brass plate, or clay (Fig. 108). The stalk needs to be replaced from time to time. In almost every meeting house this form of pipe can be seen on the wall resting on two hooks, and it frequently goes the rounds among the men, on which occasion the chief is the first to draw from one to three deep puffs and then passes it on to his neighbor. The last man puts the pipe back on its rack. The third type of pipe

283 elements of the same kind, and these are braided together into a pigtail (helmet caps and helmet hairdos; see also device of the Mwele for hanging pots, Fig. 164). /Fig. 165 appears here in the original text./

(2) Carrying bands and braided mats.

[482] The carrying bands are braided from Triumfetta bast strips (two under, two over). The braided mats are made from leaf strips of the screw pine Pandanus (awú'ba, kŭbuga; contracted form, akŭ̃ã) which intertwine like a chessboard. Mats are found only in the [285 439] southern border region and are probably imported. There is a boat-like satchel for the novices of the Jaunde moon cult (see Section 11 /Ed., this section in Vol. II is not translated/), which is braided like the mats and made of the same material.

(3) Drying boards and boxes.

283 The floors of the drying boards are made by braiding raffia 285 stalk strips (four under, three over). The bottoms and parts of the 415 side walls of the boxes are made from braided palm bands (three under, three over). /214/

(4) Storage baskets.

285 The storage basket (angũn Jaunde, angunda Mwele) is a 251 transitional form between the box and the basket insofar as its 415 basic material is raffia pith boards (Fig. 165) placed next to each other and held together by stalk strips of Sarcophrynium tied around them. The storage baskets are used in the house for storing foodstuffs, such as groundnuts, ears of corn, and so forth.

(5) Baskets.

285 Basketwork is done either with one material or with a combina- 415 tion of two different materials. The former is the case with the following.

325 834 not be good. This extremely unpleasant prescription, in conjunction with the expensive medicine, stands in the way of a greater distribution of smelting enterprises. Even in places where a hut for iron smelting is already in existence, people prefer to buy iron from others if their own has been a failure several times, for this misfortune is attributed to the failure of the fire as a result of the sexual /226/ impurity of one or a number of the participants. The [439] importation of European iron in recent years is dealing a death blow to the native industry. The fear of bringing anything impure 325 783 (and all sexual matters are pre-eminently regarded as such) into 841 contact with pure fire goes so far that a medicine is made by those participants whose wives menstruate during the smelting. This consists of a diamond-shape piece cut out of the bark on the supporting beam of the smelting hut on the side facing the furnace, and it is supposed to represent the female sex organ. The symbol is rubbed with redwood which has been pulverized by the woman concerned and represents her blood flow; it is covered with a leaf of the [834] Myrianthus arboreus P.B. (mangǎme III Fang) to indicate that one wants everything impure to be hidden and therefore harmless. At the same time the plant is supposed to cause the iron to coalesce to the same degree as the individual fruits are united in a syncarp. In Plate 17 one can see a piece of the leaf on the supporting post (top left), as well as (somewhat lower down) a bark container which holds fragments of ancestors' skulls, a number of antelopes' horns, and a great variety of other medicines that are used later. That the 325 people concerned with the ancestor cult are regarded as particular- 769 ly suited to bring the work to a successful conclusion is apparent from the fact that they alone may tend the fire (see Fig. 183).

The smelting of iron is thus above all under the aegis of the fire cult, but it is also closely linked with the worship of the ancestors who contribute to the success of the enterprise insofar as it lies in their power to do so.

316 325 Iron crops out in the form of brown iron ore (sɛ̄ɛ́ IV) (1) and is

1. The analysis carried out by Mr. Du Bois at the suggestion of Professor Pufahl (Königliche Bergakademie in Berlin)

411 The chief weapon of the Pangwe today is the flintlock musket.
439 Until the middle of the previous century it was found in our region only in quite isolated instances. Imported since the 1860's and 1870's in ever-increasing numbers by the many newly-founded coastal trading posts, the flintlock musket was a marketable and profitable commercial commodity which since then has so flooded the land that for each Pangwe, at least for each Ntum and Fang, one can reckon three, four, or even five rifles, of which, however, a fraction is unusable. Since 1906 the German government and since 1909 also the French and Spanish governments have prohibited the import of powder, and as a result there has been a noticeable scarcity, especially in the north. Among other things, it has had the effect of putting an end to the great amount of superfluous shooting during festivities, etc., in the Cameroons and adjoining Spanish territory. The small amount of powder which still finds its way from south to north by way of barter is kept in hiding for later occasions.

The charge of the rifle consists of small pieces of iron which --
411 like the powder -- are usually carried around in small containers
[482] fastened to the belt or the shoulder bag (mfǒk) (Fig. 78). Frequently, the latter itself serves to hold the ammunition, that is, the pieces of iron which the Pangwe calls by the same name as the
[415] spears, akǫ̀n. The containers (Fig. 77) are little pouches made of hide (a), flasks (only for ammunition) attractively decorated with brass (b) and (c), little flasks covered with monitor lizard skin (d-g), calabashes (h), the round fruit of a tree (ašo, ašun) (i, k), raffia fruit (l), a cacao fruit (m), or other fruit (n-p).

With the importation of powder cut off, the rifles are useless, and it may be that in this way the throwing spear, which formerly was the true long-range weapon of the Pangwe, /Fig. 77 appears on p. 244/ /245/ will again occupy a place of honor, especially since it has never been entirely out of use. To be sure, the spears manufactured today are not as large as those of olden times. They
[481] are used more as walking sticks of superior quality or as an ornamental weapon taken along on a journey -- usually people carry two or three with them -- and the natives scarcely know how to use them for actual battle. Only the Jaunde through continued

[Text continues on page 94]

619 Ebolowa and Sangmélima regions (2). The whole of Upper Woleu-
615

2. Documents relating to "ethnic groupings," Administrative Archives of Ebolowa.

N'Tem is oriented toward the Cameroons with which it has not
[439] only economic ties (it exports its cacao there and imports its goods) but also political ties (which explains why it served to relay the directives and their implementations that appeared in this territory).

2. Oyem District

162 This district, with 30,000 inhabitants, has a long frontier with
361 Spanish Guinea, and is crossed by the Woleu River, an important
439 means of access to this possession. The major part of the population (more than two thirds) is "stuck" to the frontier. This is understood because related groups exist on each side of the frontier; [80] [Fig. 1] [81] Guinea has always exerted an economic attraction (it is the center of trade and exchange of labor which is much in demand), she serves occasionally as a place of refuge. The vil-
[433 lagers are fairly well-to-do because of the cacao cultivation (one
511] fourth of the Woleu-N'Tem production) and because of the trade with Guinea (peanuts, coffee, palmetto). This is shown particularly by an improvement in housing.

162 Kyé-Nyé Canton, a meeting place of two migratory streams
619 coming from the Lower Cameroons, contains by itself nearly
615 12,000 inhabitants who again are distributed by clans (Fig. 1). The dominant groupings are the Esengi (Yémvôg tribe), who account for more than 40 percent, the Kojé for about 25 percent, and the Yéngwi for over 15 percent. In the canton of Woleu, the villages of the Ozip tribe are dominant, accounting for 33 percent of the population. Then the Bokwé (Ndôg tribe) account for about 12 percent, and the Esamokos (Yéngól tribe) (1) for more than 10

1. Only confirmed by the notes of L. Martrou.

241 in 1954 in connection with a study of family budgets.

amount of food necessary to maintain the population: a crop census was taken in 1948 in one of the Sangmélima cantons (2). In order to

[431]

2. Report of the administrative officer, J. M. Soupault. An average individual's requirement would be: 250 maize plants, 330 manioc plants, 130 plantains, 110 macabo, 7 kilograms of rice, and 32 kilograms of groundnuts.

satisfy the needs of 6, 249 inhabitants there is no "exportation" to
[433] speak of. The canton used to produce 1, 635, 000 maize plants, 2, 049, 000 manioc, 824, 190 plantain bananas, 687, 800 macabo. It furthermore provided 44 tons of rice, 200 tons of groundnuts. There were 85, 180 fruit trees producing various kinds of fruit (Pachylobes /Canarium edula Hooker, known as assa in Pahouin country—Ed. /, Estulis, oranges, etc.)

Clearing land by burning and the absence of organic fertilizer probably explain the exhaustion of the soil and the shifting cultivation that results from it.

231 The breeding and rearing of small animals is nevertheless understood and practiced: goats, dogs, fowls, pigs were and still are plentiful in the villages. These animals do not seem to contribute
[432] much to the food supply nor to the economic life. The very limited practice of selling pieces of pork has dates from recent years. As a
[431] matter of fact, animals were useful for giving quasi-ritual presents,
[432] for paying bride prices, and for celebrating family occasions: at a marriage, burial, and the end of mourning, two or three goats were killed to provide food for the relatives.

Of course, these animals are not stabled or fed; the herds wander along the outskirts of villages and do not fail to plunder the gardens.
[574] There are innumerable classic quarrels between farmers and herders (with the slight difference here that no one is exclusively a herder nor
357 exclusively a farmer). Was the practice of enclosing by hedges established so as to avoid such depredations, or to give military protection to the settlements? Whatever the origin, this practice associated with the raising of animals would have made it possible to avoid

517
177
511 to Pahouin women, but it is certainly a geographical characteristic of
[291] the southern Cameroons, consequently, the textiles for sale are to a great extent those sold in Europe. Specifically African prints, such as "wax-prints," are dying out. Underclothes, stockings, and shoes reflect the sophistication that goes with wealth. The purchase of durable goods that go under the heading "Equipment," (bicycles, phonographs, pressure lamps) is another symptom, as is the changing
[445] demand for household articles. /35/ While the saucepan is still the basic kitchen utensil, enamelware is in strong competition with
[513] crockery and glass. Blankets are used everywhere, but the use of sheets is also on the increase.

● 439 A mere list of commodities shows the present-day importance of
441 trade. The native populations have not always realized this, owing to their lack of inclination for it. They have not started businesses and have often left this to immigrants, coastal people long familiar with European ways, particularly the Bamiléké or "Haoussa," /Hausa/ who for their part have a solid trading tradition and great capacities in this field. The Boulou especially despise trade and refuse to have anything to do with it. Other Pahouin peoples are not so strongly antipathetic, but their business activity remains very limited.

Is it this bankruptcy on the part of the indigenous people and this
443 taking over by "foreigners" which explains the organization and the
184 location of trade in the region? The villages are in fact very badly
441 served; markets are few and far between and so are rural shops. Perhaps we ought to note differences between the various Pahouin and Pahouinized groups. While a village trader is always most uncommon in Boulou country in spite of the relative affluence of the planters, he is not unknown in Ewondo districts and is quite often to be met with among the Eton, where resources are, nevertheless, more limited. Without local trade the collecting of crops and specifically of cacao posed quite a problem, to which the coming of buyers brought a solution. Business houses advance money to the buyers and buy what they are able to bring back. From hut to hut along the trails buyers negotiate purchases with planters. With these "purchases by peddling" it might seem logical for sales by peddling to develop. Yet this phenomenon is quite recent, being tied up with the development of transportation by car and bicycle. But while the buyers are generally native to the region, the pedlars are nearly always foreign.

[654] As house-to-house buying creates countless disadvantages, the administration has endeavored to create rural markets so that the public

187 441 443 [654] nature of the transactions and competition would correct them. These markets represent an attempt at introducing trade into the rural milieu, and they are not restricted to the purchase of cacao and palm trees; some African traders try to sell textiles, hardware, and food products. But the markets are still too new for the custom to have become firmly established, for them to have an existence of their own. It may be that here too we should except certain Eton cantons, where there seem to be some genuinely native rural markets.

443 Although of European origin, the markets held each day in the main towns of the subdivisions have become entirely a part of the way of life. Originally they were set up to provide food supplies for the settlements that grew up around administrative posts /36/ or missions. Then, professional traders came to offer imported merchandise to villagers come to sell their garden produce. Nowadays these markets are routine affairs, drawing their clientèle from a radius of 20 kilometers. Their importance depends upon that of the particular subdivision. As an illustration, we may use the following figures from a study of the market at Sangmélima: 200 women come to sell vegetables, maize, or fruit grown in their gardens. Some women dealers in palm oil, after having bought it liter by liter in the bush, come here with from 10 to 20 liters to sell. Young boys sell cigarettes, pieces of sugar, sandwiches, or cups of coffee, while women bring fritters. Side by side with these petty tradesmen others transact [439] business on a larger scale: about 20 sell dried, smoked fish prepared on the coast or stockfish (dried and salted) imported from Europe, while in their stalls 20 "market boys" /sic/ offering textiles, enamelware, or hardware wait for customers.

[443] The number of craftsmen grouped around the market, the number of cars, lorry-buses /camions amenages/, or bicycles which have brought customers show clearly that this is not an artificial institution. The market is now tending to become one of the elements of the town.

It shares this role with the shops. European and African traders do business along Western lines, both wholesale and retail at the same time. They try to keep on good business terms with the African small dealers who know very well how to go from supplier to supplier to compare merchandise, price, and terms. At the same time they sell directly to the public. Such shops are uncommon outside towns — in this connection as with markets, the villages are little touched by economic activity.

582 they belong to another clan. This is merely the application of exogamy to the maternal line and is less observed than the other rule of exogamy.

582 583 Having established this, we may distinguish several forms of marriage—Bertaut counts seven—or, on the contrary, consider them all to be derived from "regular marriage," mfañ aluk (from fañ = to do well, correctly, and luk = to marry). This kind of marriage is based on the payment of the "bride price," nsuba, nowadays essentially monetary and giving rise to abuses that have often been described, but in former times it was ritual in character, at least partially so (a century ago there was already a commercial element). The "bride price" of the past included local products (ivory, cattle) [431] (1), imported merchandise (biôm), especially loincloths, guns and

[231] 1. The bride-price sheep, bikiga or bityiga, up to seven, which were in theory bred with a special view to payment of the nsuba and were sacrificed at the time of the marriage.

[436] ammunition, salt, trade alcohol, and, finally, a special iron currency in the form of flat arrowheads tied into bundles (bityé, biki; bikpwelé; the unit of count being the bundle, akutu bikpwelé). The last was used only for ritual or magical purposes (2). There are reasons for

[326] 2. There is a prohibition against making them; all those to be seen look old.

believing that the composition of bride prices in local products and merchandise varied according to clan structure, the affiliation of the spouses, and the marriages previously concluded by the group. Nothing of this survives today, and the bride price has become a bargaining, at times pretty sordid, even a real /52/ auction, with the bride often the first to boast of the high price she has obtained in the marriage market.

[582] 584 Marriage not long ago was, and still in a measure remains, a group affair, the concern of the two meyoñ and two menda me bôt involved, which is discussed between the head of the young man's family and the guardian responsible for the future wife, nya ndômô, "true brother," that is, an ascendant paternal relative or paternal

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

in mourning, a necklace is made from bleached grass plaited; it is worn by both sexes. A very favourite fetish charm to suspend from a necklace is a leopard tooth. I have frequently seen the two tusks of a wild boar or "Wart hog" worn around the neck as an ornament and have succeeded in bringing specimens worn mostly by the women. Imported thick brass wire wound around the forearm from wrist to elbow is a very favourite armlet; it is kept highly polished. Brass wire is often wound so tightly around the biceps as to seriously interfere with circulation. Broad pieces of beaten brass are worn on the arms, and ivory bracelets are much valued. Sometimes six or more rings of ivory are cut from a tusk, and all worn on one arm. Finger and thumb rings are mostly worn by the women; they are made of brass, copper, or iron, and are usually very thick and heavy.

Rings are no indication of rank or marriage. It is not uncommon to see a woman with three heavy brass rings on one thumb, and eight or ten similar rings on the fingers. Narrow girdles of leopard, goat or deer skins are worn across the chest to support the native fighting knife and bunch of fetish charms. I have been visited by a bushman wearing no less than twenty-three charms.

Legs and feet.—Leglets and anklets of brass are much worn and sought after by women. Brass leg rings imported by traders are in great demand. There does not appear to be any special time set for commencing to wear anklets; mere infants are frequently decorated with them. Some of the leglets are very heavy, and many women wear ten or more on one leg. These rings often fit very tightly and impede circulation, or chafe and cause nasty indolent ulcers. The ankles and feet often swell and become very painful as a result of insufficient blood supply. Toe-rings are of iron and brass largely worn, and fit so tightly that the ring is often deeply imbedded in the flesh. Usually only one ring is worn on a single toe.

Painting and Tattooing.

Painting.—The method of painting the body by smearing on redwood powder mixed with palm oil, so largely practised by the Bulu, is followed in the same manner but to a much less extent by the Fang. Soft portions of the redwood tree are pulverised and mixed with oil into a thick paste, and the preparation smeared over the entire body. Occasionally a red band is painted across the forehead. When in mourning, dust, mud, or white clay is frequently rubbed over the entire body. Much more frequent is the practice of painting arrow heads, bands, or dots. The pigment used is a dark blue colour, obtained I am told from a tree fungus. The Ngi or witch doctor, when at work, in addition to his other paraphernalia smears his body with white chalk. Except in the case of the *Ngi*, the only object in decorating the body by painting is to appear *mbung* (beautiful), and with the Bulu when asked the reason for smearing the body with red paint, they usually reply it is *abung* (handsome). Imported pigments are not used for body decoration.

Tattooing.—The custom of tattooing is much in vogue. I have not been able

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

site for their villages. The houses can be readily taken down and erected 342
elsewhere. The earth floor is often beaten very hard, no covering is used. The
beds are made of bamboo poles resting upon end pieces, supported by four forked [513]
corner stakes. The bed is raised about one foot from the ground. In most houses
are four beds, two at each end on opposite sides, having a log fire burning between, 352
the smoke escaping through the thatch roof. The furniture is all movable, and consists of stools, cassava bowls and boards, drinking gourds, fish nets, water gourds, various baskets and hanging bamboo shelves for drying fish and corn over the fire. Food, guns and powder horns are hung up on wooden hooks suspended by bush rope; these hooks are made by cutting a suitable branch from a young tree, having a strong crutch. No separate portion of the dwelling is set apart for sleeping or eating. There are no windows to a Fang house; at night one or more pieces of bark are used for a door. All the domestic arrangements are excessively [356]
filthy. Refuse from meals is unknown, everything is eaten, including entrails and
skin of animals and fish. Before occupying a new house the witch doctor (*ngangan*) [262]
is usually called to perform the ceremony of propitiating the evil spirits (local 342
spirits), and the *biang Ekuri* (fetish) is hung up and becomes the protecting fetish of the household. This fetish is hung up over the doorway outside. The houses are built entirely above ground, the roofs are made of split bamboo and covered with thatch made from the long tough blade of a swamp reed, or rush. This thatch makes a most excellent roof, and when well put on, it is able to withstand three years of the terrible rains which fall during the long wet season.

V.—*Navigation, Hooks, Nets, Fishing, Traps.*

The Fang use long narrow canoes. A suitable tree having been found is 501
felled and trimmed, then hollowed out with the small native wedge. All the boats
are open and both sides of the canoe alike. The women use the same canoes as [396]
the men and paddle them very skilfully. War canoes are made large and strong, but are otherwise similar in construction to the canoes in daily use. A kind of lugger sail is used and the natives sail a thin canvas very close to the wind. The baler used is made of wood; it much resembles a large flat sugar scoop and is common among tribes along the west coast. This baler is used most skilfully and with great rapidity by both men and women. In paddling, no fulcrum whatever
is used. The men and women either sit or kneel, grasping the paddle handle in 502
its upper and lower thirds they plunge the blade deeply into the water, and force the canoe ahead with great rapidity. One man, woman, or a child steers, using an
ordinary paddle; the time kept while paddling is excellent, and is usually kept by [533]
one man chanting a Fang song, not unlike a white sailor's shanty, the paddling [44]
taking on renewed vigour during the chorus. The sails are usually made now [501]
of imported trade cloth, but I have seen them made from the native bark [439]
cloth. Only one sail is used and the canoes are able to beat up well against the wind.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

502 The mariner's compass is entirely unknown, and when I have shown one, it
501 was always spoken of as "the white man's *biang bial*" (canoe fetish). The Fang shapes his course by his knowledge of the river banks; he never ventures more than three days' journey from his own town, and much dislikes the idea of losing sight of land; therefore he seldom, if ever, attempts it. Certain canoes belong to the headman of the village, others to individuals. The canoes do not have houses;
[776] charms are frequently tied to the bow, to appease the water spirit, and frequently
[702] a traveller in a canoe will throw into the river at certain places he passes portions of his food to appease the local spirit which he believes dwells there. The place where this spirit dwells may be in some large tree or rock on the river bank. At night the canoes are hauled up on the river bank and usually left unprotected. Large war canoes, if painted, are occasionally covered with a few mats. No special portion of a canoe is set apart for a chief, he is usually seated near the bow. Watertight compartments for provisions are not provided, food and articles of trade being carried in high baskets. Upon arrival of a canoe from a neighbouring town, the visitors are frequently welcomed with shouts of joy; guns are fired and a dance given in the evening. I have seen canoes repaired by placing pieces of bark over the leaks inside and outside, the bark being secured with small hard wood plugs. No arrangement is made to prevent leaking.

Hooks for fishing are skilfully made of bamboo, the barb is long, very sharp
227 and notched on both sides. The hook is secured to the fishing-line with string made of pineapple fibre. Foreign-made fish-hooks are now largely used; these
[939] are much coveted, and considered a very staple article of trade.

Casting nets are used weighed with stones, iron, or lead, obtained in trade. The meshes are very fine and show much skilful and patient workmanship. A Fang will work well at anything which he can do while sitting in the palaver house. He can then work, smoke and talk; any work requiring much bodily exertion on his part or elsewhere is relegated to his wives. Fish traps are made of split bamboo and much resemble the lobster baskets used by our own fishermen.
[226] Small streams are often dammed at high water, the dam being made of split bamboo, fastened together with bush rope until a very large screen is made, 10 or 12 feet in height; this screen is staked across the stream at high water, when the tide falls the water passes readily through, leaving the fish in the river. The most disgusting sight among the Fang, is to see the women and children at low water walking in the mud, breast high, feeling for "mud fish." The large casting net is called *ewot;* a small round net used for dipping in pools and along the river bank at low water is called *tan.*

VI.—*Metallurgy, Fire, Machinery.*

325 Metallurgy among the Fang is limited to the working of iron. The native word for iron is *Eki.* The Fang among whom I lived did not possess the knowledge of
326 smelting, but I was told that "other Fang far away in the bush, especially the Nqui (dwarfs), dug the *minkok eki* (stones of iron) out of the earth, melted it, and

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

traded with the *eki* (iron)." Iron is put to various uses. Long bladed knives of various shapes and patterns are made, also spear heads, armlets, anklets, finger and toe rings. Small pieces of iron are used for bullets in flint-lock muskets. One of the most important uses of money among the Fang is the making of *beki*. 325 326

Beki is made up in bunches ten *beki* in each bunch; a bunch of *beki* is called *ntet*. The amount of dowry paid in *beki* is usually counted in hundreds, *kuliki bi kei, ntet awom* (bring me one hundred *beki*). 326 [436]

A bundle of ten arrow heads is frequently used as an *ntet*.

A peculiar shaped adze is made of iron; it is used for working wood, especially hollowing trees intended for canoes.

Pieces of iron are forged into axe blades (*ovon*).

The *mfak* is a short handled spade made of iron, used for digging in the gardens.

The art of casting seems to be unknown.

The bellows (*nkum*) used by Fang smiths are very ingenious (*specimen on table*). The feet are used to steady the bellows, whilst both hands work the goat skin covers and force air into the fire.

A block of iron is used for an anvil. Some of the natives are quite skilful at working iron. A Fang living near my residence often begged from me a round steel nail from a packing case. In a short time he would return with the nail transformed into a thin delicate knife or dagger, only the nailhead remaining intact. Very large fighting knife blades are made and beautifully fashioned, and ornamented with various punch marks.

I have never seen any native made wire. Imported brass wire is in great demand and mostly used as a continuous armlet. The coil usually reaches from wrist to elbow, and is considered extremely *mbung* (handsome), and kept highly polished. [439] [301]

Imported brass is obtained in trade and made into armlets, anklets, finger and toe rings. It is also used for ornamentation of guns.

Many of the natives are skilled workers of iron and fully aware of its value. I have never seen welding practised, but in working hot iron it is frequently plunged into cold water to make it *alert* (hard).

Fire.—In the far interior, fire is produced by friction, the simplest form of a drill being used, which is twisted rapidly between the hands. Along the rivers matches are obtained from the native traders, who bring up large quantities from the coast. The natives are always ready to trade for matches, which are again traded to interior tribes. Flints are only used on the hammer of the old flintlock musket imported for trade. Fires are almost constantly burning in the palaver houses. Two dry logs are kept constantly burning, they are placed end to end, when one log is nearly consumed it is replaced by another. 372 [439]

It is interesting to notice how the natives carry fire about. When on a journey in 1897 from Gross Batanga with a caravan to the Bulu country in the German sphere of influence, one of the men usually obtained a piece of burning 372 484

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

X.—*Food. Cooking.*

Food used by the Fang is precisely similar to that of all other tribes inhabiting the great zone of palms and bananas as described by Humboldt. Added to these ordinary foods of the Fang is their liking for human flesh, indulged in to this day in spite of the law, which is often powerless to reach and punish the offenders. Cassava, *mbôe*, plantains, *bikon*, crushed gourd seeds, *ngongon*, corn; *mekobe*, a most nutritive tuber, sweet potatoes, yams, palm oil, bananas, snails and various mollusca. Fish is wrapped in plantain leaves and boiled, or set on hot ashes and fire piled on top of the *bundle* of food. All kinds of meat is eaten, from deer down to the smallest bush rat; snakes are considered very good meat. No portion is wasted, every morsel of skin and intestines are eaten. Goats and chickens are raised for food and trade. Corn or other cereals are not used for the purpose of making bread. Milk is not used. Preparations of milk such as butter and cheese are not made. There is a marked preference for meats. When an animal is slaughtered, women bring wooden bowls to collect the blood in. The blood is often cooked mixed with palm oil. A Fang will eat almost any kind of known food and at any time, providing it is not his *Eki* or taboo, given him during infancy, prohibiting the eating of a certain kind of food, unless partaken of under certain conditions. Except for the *Eki* men, women and children partake of the same food. The Fang are improvident. When on long journeys they often chew a piece of Kola nut, but more commonly chew pieces of a certain root; it has several different names. Palm oil is extensively used in cooking. Salt (*nku*) is much enjoyed and sought after in trade. Sugar is only used in the form of sugar cane and eaten uncooked. The chiefs, or rather headmen, have no special form of food. Eating earth is not indulged in. So far as I am aware, all fish, flesh and fowl is cooked before being eaten. Flesh is often extremely high, at times positively bad, before it is eaten, but not one morsel is ever wasted.

Fish, fowl, bush rats, snakes and all kinds of meats are smoked or sun-dried; food prepared thus is carried on journeys in the bush wrapped in leaves and eaten with *mboa* (cassava) without any further preparation. Permanent ovens for baking are not in use. Meat is roasted on small spits over the log fire or wrapped up in leaves and hot ashes banked around and on top of it. Native vegetables are frequently cooked with meats, plantains are usually boiled separately or roasted close to the fire. Most cooking utensils used by the Fang near the coast are iron or brass pots, imported by white traders; but farther inland the native pots are much more in vogue. These native pots are made of grey clay and sun-dried; they become harder and stronger by use, and vary in size and capacity from a pint to about three gallons.

Cooking vessels are not kept very clean, being simply rinsed out with a little water; but if the vessel is a brass trade pot or kettle, it is usually taken to the river or a near stream, and scoured bright; but I fear the chief reason for doing

V. First Reactions to Material Inferiority

556 441 The access of the Fang to the traditional trade regions has had great consequences. What started out as a conquering and "colonizing" undertaking has imperceptibly changed into a search for manufactured "riches" (bium) and [157] competition for trade routes and trade centers. The quest for "merchandise" is the pri- [462] mary male activity and sets in motion the machinery of war and witchcraft.

829 773 The legends which we know stress the attraction of the West as the country of white men who have all riches at their disposal. One of these told by V. Largeau suggests the importance of access to these trade zones:

"We arrive at last at the N'Tem and the Ogooué where we meet those who distribute riches ... they give us everything, we become rich." (1)

1. Op. cit., article: Instruction.

The legendary texts collected by Father Trilles under the title "Noirs et Blancs [The Blacks and the Whites]" are particularly significant. A predominant place is given to the theme of wealth, held only by the white men. Wealth has escaped the black men — because of a lack of technique and because of an attitude of abandoning rather than dominating the world, (2) or

2. "Proverbes, Légendes et Contes Fang [Fang Proverbs, Legends, and Tales]," op. cit., and especially "Noirs et Blancs [Blacks and Whites]" and "Légende du Nsas [Legend of the Nsas]."

has been stolen from them. (3) The whites apparently represent

3. "Legend of Bingo"; and "in order to seize his treasures (from the hero

829
773

Bingo) and possess his secret, they killed him and took the green stone, the green stone he would have left us. Since then men from beyond the mountains possess the riches of the earth, but we have kept the laws of Bingo...."

wealth, they are mitâgö, those who count. They have even been proclaimed by mythology. They have the physical appearance of ghosts, and they have at their disposal all the goods accumulated in the country of the ancestors. One can see therefore the powerful impression made by the arrival of the white man who was rich in merchandise, and the value, reinforced by the whole meaning of the myth, placed on this wealth. At the time of the clan regrouping movement, certain teachings in the form of question and answer continued to associate the two terms, power of the white man's example and pursuit of riches:

"--What life should we lead?
--We should lead the European life.
--What is the example we should give to lead the European life?
--We should work in order to earn money...." (4)

4. Cahier des réunions [Notebook of Gatherings], Yémisèm of Oyem.

144
[167] At the beginning of this chapter we stressed the attraction of the economically strong centers -- the coast, the Lower Ogooué, Spanish Guinea. A map of the migrations makes [158] them appear like meeting points. At first the Fang settled in the outskirts of these centers or attracted the trading stations to themselves with a feeling of real appropriation. Du Chaillu and Cureau observed this phenomenon, the former by showing how "having become the white man of such-and-such a chief, " he "obtained well-being and security" but was obliged to give

441 presents." (1) The latter analyzed the Ogooué commerce which was

1. Voyages et Aventures dans l'Afrique Equatoriale [Travels and Adventures in Equatorial Africa], pp. 106 and 120.

"under the thumb of the Fang population": "Firms were obliged to maintain their establishments in definite localities and were forbidden under threat of hostilities to move them upstream. The European agent was respected; far from being disturbed, their stores were strictly protected by the village warriors. The merchant was a prisoner of the population; he found himself invested with a monopoly." (2)

2. Op. cit., pp. 294-295.

441 556 829 The first government reports continue to note, like Du Chaillu, the desire of each large grouping to have a trading post for itself; once satisfied they would relax and be submissive."(3)

3. Rapport annuel de 1907 [Annual Report of 1907], Archives of Gabon.

This behavior is not explained by the single economic anxiety to reserve for themselves a monopoly and to have at hand the possibility of bartering. To have a trading station in contact with the village itself is to have reached the end of migrations westward which were to lead to the source of wealth; it is to participate constantly in this wealth and to have the certainty of a superior life. To enter into relations with the white man, who appears both as an "eldest son" and more than a human being with his riches and knowledge of riches, this is to participate in a circuit of power and fecundity, and to transcend a somehow cursed existence in order to attain the "true life."

829 773 On the other hand, the legends show how, in contact with technical manifestations and European enterprise, the Fang very

to Pahouin women, but it is certainly a geographical characteristic of the southern Cameroons, consequently, the textiles for sale are to a great extent those sold in Europe. Specifically African prints, such as "wax-prints," are dying out. Underclothes, stockings, and shoes reflect the sophistication that goes with wealth. The purchase of durable goods that go under the heading "Equipment," (bicycles, phonographs, pressure lamps) is another symptom, as is the changing demand for household articles. /35/ While the saucepan is still the basic kitchen utensil, enamelware is in strong competition with crockery and glass. Blankets are used everywhere, but the use of sheets is also on the increase.

A mere list of commodities shows the present-day importance of trade. The native populations have not always realized this, owing to their lack of inclination for it. They have not started businesses and have often left this to immigrants, coastal people long familiar with European ways, particularly the Bamiléké or "Haoussa," /Hausa/ who for their part have a solid trading tradition and great capacities in this field. The Boulou especially despise trade and refuse to have anything to do with it. Other Pahouin peoples are not so strongly antipathetic, but their business activity remains very limited.

Is it this bankruptcy on the part of the indigenous people and this taking over by "foreigners" which explains the organization and the location of trade in the region? The villages are in fact very badly served; markets are few and far between and so are rural shops. Perhaps we ought to note differences between the various Pahouin and Pahouinized groups. While a village trader is always most uncommon in Boulou country in spite of the relative affluence of the planters, he is not unknown in Ewondo districts and is quite often to be met with among the Eton, where resources are, nevertheless, more limited. Without local trade the collecting of crops and specifically of cacao posed quite a problem, to which the coming of buyers brought a solution. Business houses advance money to the buyers and buy what they are able to bring back. From hut to hut along the trails buyers negotiate purchases with planters. With these "purchases by peddling" it might seem logical for sales by peddling to develop. Yet this phenomenon is quite recent, being tied up with the development of transportation by car and bicycle. But while the buyers are generally native to the region, the pedlars are nearly always foreign.

As house-to-house buying creates countless disadvantages, the administration has endeavored to create rural markets so that the public

184 441 443 [654] nature of the transactions and competition would correct them. These markets represent an attempt at introducing trade into the rural milieu, and they are not restricted to the purchase of cacao and palm trees; some African traders try to sell textiles, hardware, and food products. But the markets are still too new for the custom to have become firmly established, for them to have an existence of their own. It may be that here too we should except certain Eton cantons, where there seem to be some genuinely native rural markets.

443 Although of European origin, the markets held each day in the main towns of the subdivisions have become entirely a part of the way of life. Originally they were set up to provide food supplies for the settlements that grew up around administrative posts /36/ or missions. Then, professional traders came to offer imported merchandise to villagers come to sell their garden produce. Nowadays these markets are routine affairs, drawing their clientèle from a radius of 20 kilometers. Their importance depends upon that of the particular subdivision. As an illustration, we may use the following figures from a study of the market at Sangmélima: 200 women come to sell vegetables, maize, or fruit grown in their gardens. Some women dealers in palm oil, after having bought it liter by liter in the bush, come here with from 10 to 20 liters to sell. Young boys sell cigarettes, pieces of sugar, sandwiches, or cups of coffee, while women bring fritters. Side by side with these petty tradesmen others transact [439] business on a larger scale: about 20 sell dried, smoked fish prepared on the coast or stockfish (dried and salted) imported from Europe, while in their stalls 20 "market boys" /sic/ offering textiles, enamelware, or hardware wait for customers.

[443] The number of craftsmen grouped around the market, the number of cars, lorry-buses /camions amenages/, or bicycles which have brought customers show clearly that this is not an artificial institution. The market is now tending to become one of the elements of the town.

It shares this role with the shops. European and African traders do business along Western lines, both wholesale and retail at the same time. They try to keep on good business terms with the African small dealers who know very well how to go from supplier to supplier to compare merchandise, price, and terms. At the same time they sell directly to the public. Such shops are uncommon outside towns — in this connection as with markets, the villages are little touched by economic activity.

631 Given Pahouin interest in a political system based on election, which
636 pretty well corresponds both with their individualism and with their
[181] mistrust of individuals, it may be that such a system has some chance of success if it is allowed to become Pahounized.

5. Associations

575 Traditional associations were undoubtedly less developed among the Pahouin than among other African societies with more closely knit or more stable hierarchical structures. The social groups at the core of clans or villages arose and decayed in accordance with migrations and "swarmings-off." They showed a kinship rather than an associational character.

Nevertheless, there existed within kinship as well as outside it associations not based on descent, voluntary and not de facto /discretionary?/. These were often characterized by initiations and had a magical or religious basis, with varying purposes.

The minsamba, "societies," were temporary, organized for a military operation (ôban, mvélé) or for a trade journey to the coast or to the "trading-posts" of the Ogooué. The men who took part often came from different villages or even from different clans bound by an alliance (élat). They swore an oath of loyalty and mutual assistance, involving a ritual sacrifice followed by a communion
[782] meal; for a war enterprise, there might be a human victim, especially if it were a matter of avenging the death, kum mbim, of a monyaŋ (brother) and if there were a prisoner of war available to sacrifice. The association was dissolved once its end had been accomplished, but a bond persisted between its members.

[204] Similar temporary associations could be formed for large elephant
[141] hunts; they were moreover often confused with the nsamba dulu or nsamba ayak (traveling society, trade society) afterward organized for the sale of the ivory.

575 The most important permanent associations were those among the
783 initiates of different rites. But what was most often involved in these was a kind of relationship by way of a rite, which was not the rite's real purpose, or was so only adventitiously. When, for instance, all the inhabitants of a village took part in the ésye purification rite, a strengthening of the fraternal ties among them certainly ensued, but the prime purpose was purification (1). /63/

231 yet takes the risk of a breach of faith on the ñyale's part. The latter
675 is supposed to return the flock intact, but as long as he tends it, he may do what he wants with it, putting it to use like a kind of credit. It is as well to point out that this kind of contract, which at present is falling into disuse, gave occasion to endless litigation.

The trade contract under its old name abom or the newer atiñ kilak
426 or atiñ akus kaka is, on the other hand, becoming more and more
675 widespread. A trader, nkuan biôm or mbi fatyélé, advances to a kilak
•441 (from "clerk") cash and goods on the kilak's undertaking to provide the equivalent in a certain tonnage of cacao. The contract is set forth in a written "good for...," which represents recognition of the debt. The kilak exerts himself to collect the promised tonnage, usually by buying from planters of his clan, sometimes by subcontract with "small clerks," bone bekilak. The contract has a due date, with the usual contingencies; in the case of rising prices, the kilak may run into difficulties and not be able to furnish the promised tonnage unless planters of his family give him credit or sell to him below the price. Cacao buying is also done by commission, the agent, nlôman, (envoy), receiving a cash advance with which to buy as much cacao as possible. Both methods give rise to litigation, which is all the more common because the moneylender is usually a European or an African of another tribe, a "Gabonese" in French Equatorial Africa, a Bamiléké, mone galifis (from Coast English "Grassfield") in the Cameroons.

In general a commission is always possible, whether in making a
556 contract or in pleading in court. The person giving the commission
675 is called mve ngul, giver of power; the agent is called mbili ngul,
431 possessing power. They are jointly and severally responsible.

The bilaba contract, described about (41, 77), is disappearing. There survives, however, a sort of poor man's bilaba, the meyeñ, from nneñ, guest, which allows a zesé môt, a humble man, to levy a kind of tax on the rich, minkukum, of his clan by the simple procedure of going to visit them, carrying a present /81/ which must be returned by generous hospitality and by a countergift of higher value. This is a quasi contract, sanctioned by public opinion, which is a heavy burden on people thought to be rich; it underlies the family parasitism prevalent in large towns. The reputed nkukum who tries to escape would be accused of being hard hearted, nlem ayet, which could easily lead to a charge of sorcery.

3. Trade

431 Planters command few sources of income; beside their tool equip-
556 ment a thousand new needs have arisen, which trade must satisfy.
437 There is, oddly, no commercial tradition at all among the Pahouin. For bride-price payments previous generations used ivory tusks or pieces of wrought iron in the shape of arrows. But was this a form of money? Nothing was bought, nothing sold. And yet, according to Balandier, the pursuit of wealth represented the men's principal activity (2) aside from routine work, perhaps, moreover, because

> 2. Cf. Largeau (no. 48) for the mythical role of the spider in producing merchandise "among the dead." (P. A.)

there was no trade or exchange. From the accounts, it appears that previous generations could only obtain goods from distant countries by bilaba and not by purchase. The bilaba approximates the potlatch in being a contest. During a visit a host gives his guest all kinds of presents, defying him to do the like. Later the guest will have to offer even more than he received. Thus, exchange and a struggle for prestige are involved at the same time (3). Bilaba apparently were

> 3. J. Guilbot, Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 1951, Vol. 21; G. Balandier, Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire /Contemporary Native African Sociology/, P.U.F. /Presses Universitaires de France/, 1955, p. 182.

means of distributing objects of European origin (salt, weapons, clothes) and of exchanging them for ivory collected in the interior, game, or the dogs that some tribes /34/ eat. In general, it is to such exchanges as these that the old accounts refer. But one can scarcely speak of trade for such ritualized gifts and countergifts. And nothing else warrants the assumption of an economy based on exchange. Between
493 Yaoundé and Brazzaville there are no markets, or, more correctly,
177 the markets that now exist were started by Europeans or at their instigation (1).

6:Alexandre and Binet--42 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

177
443

1. This lack is also pointed out by Balandier, op. cit., p. 544.

A careful study of village names in several subdivisions has not turned up a name that seems connected with ideas of market, exchange, or trade. Moreover, vocabularies for such subjects are very limited.

And, into this land so unprepared for an economic /sic/ life, world economy is penetrating with all its complexity, setting a purchase price for the total output, which has fluctuations the planters obviously cannot understand. Their dismay is natural, since they have not even been able to become familiar with ideas about price, demand, or bargaining through traditions of trade.

It goes without saying that the time when salt was the item most in demand is long since past. However, bags of salt appear among traditional wedding presents, and the manufacture of salt from lye-washed palm ash is still known, though the product is only sold — and moreover very rarely — for its medicinal properties.

431 258 585 278

Expenditures have become extremely diversified, as shown by the analysis of an average family budget: (2)

511

2. These figures drawn from Budgets familiaux au Cameroun /Family Budgets in the Cameroons/, p. 150, do not take into account, we must remember, auto consumption.

Food	14	percent	Household articles	1.9	percent
Textiles	17.4	-	Equipment	7.7	-
Bride price	13	-	Taxes	8.5	-
Housing and furniture	7.5	-	Medicaments	1.3	-
Bedding	1.5	-	Education	0.9	-
Lighting and upkeep	3	-	Gifts and miscellaneous	6	-
Trips	2	-			

517
177
511
291
[24]

Food now includes, even in the bush, imported items like stockfish or like the bread, sardines, sugar, and condensed milk that are used less regularly. Clothes are the main item of expense. The desire to follow Paris fashions is perhaps not a national trait peculiar

517
177
511 to Pahouin women, but it is certainly a geographical characteristic of
[29] the southern Cameroons, consequently, the textiles for sale are to a great extent those sold in Europe. Specifically African prints, such as "wax-prints," are dying out. Underclothes, stockings, and shoes reflect the sophistication that goes with wealth. The purchase of durable goods that go under the heading "Equipment," (bicycles, phonographs, pressure lamps) is another symptom, as is the changing
[445] demand for household articles. /35/ While the saucepan is still the basic kitchen utensil, enamelware is in strong competition with
[513] crockery and glass. Blankets are used everywhere, but the use of sheets is also on the increase.

A mere list of commodities shows the present-day importance of
439 trade. The native populations have not always realized this, owing
441 to their lack of inclination for it. They have not started businesses and have often left this to immigrants, coastal people long familiar with European ways, particularly the Bamiléké or "Haoussa," /Hausa/ who for their part have a solid trading tradition and great capacities in this field. The Boulou especially despise trade and refuse to have anything to do with it. Other Pahouin peoples are not so strongly antipathetic, but their business activity remains very limited.

Is it this bankruptcy on the part of the indigenous people and this
443 taking over by "foreigners" which explains the organization and the
184 location of trade in the region? The villages are in fact very badly
441 served; markets are few and far between and so are rural shops. Perhaps we ought to note differences between the various Pahouin and Pahouinized groups. While a village trader is always most uncommon in Boulou country in spite of the relative affluence of the planters, he is not unknown in Ewondo districts and is quite often to be met with among the Eton, where resources are, nevertheless, more limited. Without local trade the collecting of crops and specifically of cacao posed quite a problem, to which the coming of buyers brought a solution. Business houses advance money to the buyers and buy what they are able to bring back. From hut to hut along the trails buyers negotiate purchases with planters. With these "purchases by peddling" it might seem logical for sales by peddling to develop. Yet this phenomenon is quite recent, being tied up with the development of transportation by car and bicycle. But while the buyers are generally native to the region, the pedlars are nearly always foreign.

[465] As house-to-house buying creates countless disadvantages, the administration has endeavored to create rural markets so that the public

nature of the transactions and competition would correct them. These markets represent an attempt at introducing trade into the rural milieu, and they are not restricted to the purchase of cacao and palm trees; some African traders try to sell textiles, hardware, and food products. But the markets are still too new for the custom to have become firmly established, for them to have an existence of their own. It may be that here too we should except certain Eton cantons, where there seem to be some genuinely native rural markets.

Although of European origin, the markets held each day in the main towns of the subdivisions have become entirely a part of the way of life. Originally they were set up to provide food supplies for the settlements that grew up around administrative posts /36/ or missions. Then, professional traders came to offer imported merchandise to villagers come to sell their garden produce. Nowadays these markets are routine affairs, drawing their clientèle from a radius of 20 kilometers. Their importance depends upon that of the particular subdivision. As an illustration, we may use the following figures from a study of the market at Sangmélima: 200 women come to sell vegetables, maize, or fruit grown in their gardens. Some women dealers in palm oil, after having bought it liter by liter in the bush, come here with from 10 to 20 liters to sell. Young boys sell cigarettes, pieces of sugar, sandwiches, or cups of coffee, while women bring fritters. Side by side with these petty tradesmen others transact business on a larger scale: about 20 sell dried, smoked fish prepared on the coast or stockfish (dried and salted) imported from Europe, while in their stalls 20 "market boys" /sic/ offering textiles, enamelware, or hardware wait for customers.

The number of craftsmen grouped around the market, the number of cars, lorry-buses /camions amenages/, or bicycles which have brought customers show clearly that this is not an artificial institution. The market is now tending to become one of the elements of the town.

It shares this role with the shops. European and African traders do business along Western lines, both wholesale and retail at the same time. They try to keep on good business terms with the African small dealers who know very well how to go from supplier to supplier to compare merchandise, price, and terms. At the same time they sell directly to the public. Such shops are uncommon outside towns — in this connection as with markets, the villages are little touched by economic activity.

575
797
669 influence is stronger, but there too one finds associations influenced by foreign types of ecclesiastical organization.

614 Since 1946 the Boulou clans have formed associations, sometimes
575 proclaimed in conformity with the law of 1901, and since 1950 gathered into the N'Tem-Kribi Tribal Union, which covers primarily Boulou, Fong, Fang, Ntoumou, and Mvaé. Each clan has a central board elected during an annual or biennial ésulan, and local boards. Membership is not automatic: members have to apply for admission, pay subscription and entrance fees. At the core of each clan association there are "societies" of young people of both sexes, of married women, of nonvoters /abstinents/, etc. The young people's "societies" are certainly the most unusual. They were formed with official approbation at the timé of the abolition of forced labor recruitment. The "societies" used to bargain with local authorities over projects like road maintenance or the construction of works of art /sic/, the money received being turned into a common account and used, either to help the members meet bride-price payments or other expenses, or—particularly—to arrange festivals and banquets.

575 In large towns Pahouin migrants join de jure and de facto associ-
454 ations, generally within a tribal, not a clan, framework. These associations have protective and mutual-aid purposes /69/ and are sometimes quite powerful. To these should be related the tontines or subscription societies consisting of small numbers of laborers, servants, or minor employees, who pay into a common fund the larger part of their monthly wage, each member in turn being able to draw upon the sizable sum thus collected each month. The last two institutions are in no way specifically Pahouin, nor characteristic of the Cameroons or Gabon.

6. Law and Property

a. Source

671 Pahouin law has always been complex. Formerly, it dealt primarily with the status and condition of persons /statut et de l'état des personnes/ upon which the property system was dependent. Under the influence of the economic changes brought about by colonization, the law with regard to property has become definitely independent of the law of persons, the latter being inclined to grow simpler with the dissociation of the old social and family organizations.

562 children before marrying her off. In the economic sphere a young unmarried woman may freely undertake all sorts of commercial enterprises, whereas a married woman would need her husband's consent. Nor do divorce or widowhood, /82/ any more than marriage, emancipate a woman in theory. Escaping from her husband's guardianship, she falls back under the authority of the head of her family, but from the point of view of custom this is not a detrimental situation, since every person remains subject to his father.

Therefore the liberty women possess in managing their inheritance ● [454] ought not to appear an anomaly. Besides, individual savings are widespread in Africa. And the division of property into masculine and feminine allows women and girls to own objects which neither [422] husbands nor fathers may take from them. A partition of goods is the logical consequence of these assumptions.

Women theoretically have the right to dispose of the product of their labor—their harvest—but they must provide the basic foodstuffs. Only the surplus is sold, but in the majority of families when large sales take place the proceeds are divided between husband and wife. Women usually control the proceeds of day-to-day sales in a market or to passing travelers: petty amounts comprising only 10 percent of the total family budget. They may invest these profits by joining [454] a tontine (a society in which each person makes a contribution on a fixed date and of which the capital is allotted to each member in turn).

Thus the traditional means for growing rich are limited. But changing customs are allowing women to follow various occupations that will make them independent. Women engaged in trade or dressmaking, for which they pay a license, business trade employees or saleswomen, theoretically have to be authorized by their husbands, who may decide how the earnings are to be spent. In actual fact women seem to be free agents. Even in the customary courts they appear alone, unaccompanied by fathers or husbands.

423 In the sphere of land tenure the trend is the same: women are acquiring a certain amount of property. With stabilization /i.e. 562 settling down/, the growth of collective rights over cleared land or land good for tillage is quite understandable. The idea of allowing a personal right to a woman who is not truly a member of a family, but merely loaned to it, seems an aberration. This, nevertheless, is the situation among the Ewôndo, where a divorced woman

/58/

361

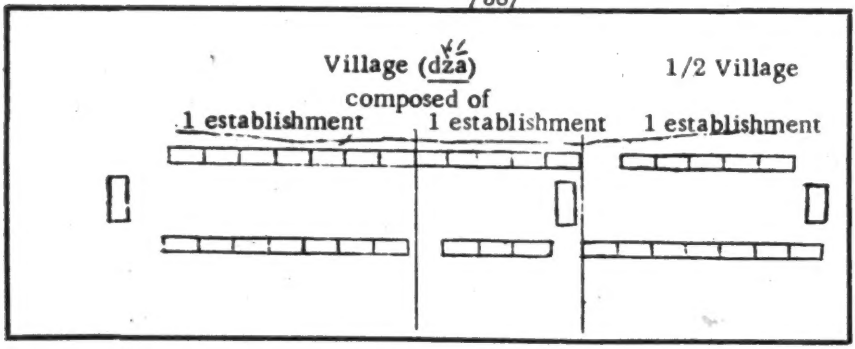


Fig. 18. Development of a Village from Individual Establishments.

621 to force his people to complete it. At one time, for instance, the chief
622 of the village Nssälang (Fig. 23 shows one of the temporary meeting
344 houses of that village) made the proposal to me -- a proposal which I, of course, gratefully declined -- that I should either force his people, or make my people available, to build a new meeting house for him. Then, as he put it, everybody would say: "This chief of the Whites is quite a fellow; you can tell that a White lives near his village." At best, the chief's people bring him some roofing mats for the construction and in this way believe they have fulfilled their duty toward the community project. The actual work is always up to the chief. Even so, [623] the house does not thereby become his property; rather, in each case it is the common property of the men. When the chief says, "It is my meeting house," they are not affected by his statement. The Pangwe ● 461 avoids anything and everything that might disturb him in his customary 339 peace and comfort; he shies away from work and lets things run their course:

ź̨ó[k] e tśidan ebēi-asē'i, a ve oa
Elephant, he frightened away (from) pit-iron-stone, he gave you

atēi, a nī oa adźit
poverty, he took (from) you heaviness. /59/

That means: The elephant that frightened you away from an iron-stone pit, made you poor, it is true, but at the same time he relieved you of a burden (namely, that of preparing the iron).

344 In some cases, difficulties (such as tree stumps, roots, and
461 the like) were encountered in preparing the building site at the customary place. As a result, the meeting house would be constructed to one side within the row of houses, though in a transverse position (see Fig. 44). Later, "they" frequently did

[532]

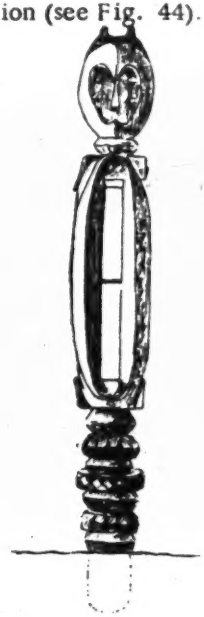


Fig. 19. Post from a Meeting House in Malén (Essauong Family), Fang.

not get around to replacing this building by a new one in the right location, however fervently the chief might desire it on behalf of the people. When they did get around to building a new meeting house, the old one was frequently not torn down right away but continued to be used along with the new one.

344 In form, the meeting house (Fig. 20 and 21) has a gabled roof and a square or rectangular ground plan. I have already mentioned the custom of the Pangwe, when they start a new settlement, to content themselves with hastily constructed temporary meeting houses (ongǒ̀n e ngī). Only later, when

tasks, and from this division of labor it is apparent — this will be pursued further later on — that the work which requires the greater effort is allotted to the men, while the easier work is left to the women. Since by the very nature of the matter the harder work lasts for a shorter period of time, the impression easily arises that the women have to perform considerably more work than the men, but this is not the case, and it is probable that the distribution of work is not much different from that in Germany, say. It is just that the type of work is different. To be sure, upon seeing the large, fully packed baskets which the women bring in daily from the fields (Fig. 51), the uninitiated observer might easily get such an erroneous impression, but the carrying of such disproportionately heavy burdens, which makes the women's bodies so deformed, is partly their own fault. One is reminded of the Low German proverb: "De Fule drägt sich doht un de Flitige löpt sich doht /the lazy one carries himself to death, and the industrious one runs himself to death/. The woman likes to rest in the afternoon, and many of them even have quite an aversion for work. Incidentally, this is a further reason for the frequent periods of food shortage (mentioned in the third section /not translated/), which at times develop into real famines. /88/

The most important staple food plants of the Pangwe are the following seven:

Southern Region (Fang)	Northern Region (Jaunde)
1. Cassava (manioc)	1. Cassava (manioc)
2. Plantain	2. Groundnut
3. Groundnut	3. Plantain
4. Ngon	4. Maize
5. Maize	5. Ngon
6. Taro	6. Taro
7. Yams	7. Yams

It should be understood that the plants are listed here in the order of their importance as food plants, in other words, as "food" in the household, and not according to the extent of field work involved in their cultivation which would completely reverse the

325

trellis is constructed over the smelting box. Smelting requires a number of hours. The very soft iron obtained is pounded to pieces and then forged."

[113]

(From Mitteilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten /Reports by Explorers and Scholars from the German Protectorates/ by Friedrich von Danckelman, 1895, page 63.

/230/ /Fig. 182 appears here in the original text./

/231/ Now the bellows workers (nsũẽ, -nkũm) put their two tools, which they have brought with them, into position, and in the manner already indicated stick the blast pipe into the furnace in place of the guide rod, so that the funnel-shaped end juts outward about ten to twelve centimeters. Then they arrange the bellows (Drawing 1, o) in such a way that its mouth is from two to three centimeters from the blast pipe and clamp it between two pairs of sticks, called myãk (see Fig. 183), which are planted in the ground. This simple arrangement has given rise to the following proverb:

[539]

bokui bo võde akũã o myãk =

The Pygmies, they despaired of smelting because (of the) the holding sticks (which they did not know how to attach).
This proverb is said whenever some great enterprise fails because of a trifle.

325 461 791

Now everybody sits down on tree trunks around the furnace. A piece of red-hot charcoal is introduced into the furnace through one of the blast pipes, and then the working of the bellows begins (Fig. 184). This is done in the following manner. First one and then the other hide are alternately pulled up and down by hand, or, if one wants to work at high pressure, both hides are pulled together. This is a strenuous and monotonous job which the natives try to alleviate as much as possible by singing, which is led by the medicine man (in Plate 17, the gentleman to the right with folded arms), by shouting, laughing, talking, and telling stories. Above all, the

325 natives like to hiss rhythmically during the work; this gives them
461 greater strength, as they say. Regular whistling, however, is
191 strictly forbidden, for in the opinion of the natives it is something evil (see prefixes, page 28 /Ed., not translated/). In all this noise the medicine man takes a prominent part; every other moment he rings an iron bell, blows on an antelope horn, /232/ sings, shouts, and dashes about frantically. In short, he makes every possible effort to spur on the people, and perhaps he also means to fend off evil beings of one kind or another by his activities. Now and then he strikes between the bellows with a bundle
[824] of the Violacea Rinorea gracilipes Engl. or the Leguminosa Bandeiraea tenuiflora Benth. (both ovö̆ʼn e ndžīk) (1) in order to

1. Called ovö̆ʼn e ndžīk (ndžīk, "liana") because of the similarity of the leaves with those of the Copaifera tessmannii Harms. (ovö̆ʼn), the tree in which the souls live in the intermediate realm; used when there is a shortage of Copaifera.

[775]

eliminate all noxious influences through the power of the ancestors. If the zeal of the workers nevertheless flags, there follows a redoubled clamor, and after a short period of time the crew recuperates and pushes the hides with renewed vigor and almost convulsive rapidity amidst violent hissing and rhythmic rocking up and down of the upper part of the body. In the evening when they are tired, hide drums and wooden drums are called in to encourage them with a regular concert; songs are sung in which the medicine man strikes the keynote. At the end of the work, which in Bebai, for instance, lasted from one o'clock in the afternoon to 9:30 in the evening, the medicine man steps up to the furnace and by each bellows worker he makes a movement as though placing something up into the furnace and down into the funnel; his assistant walks behind him, carrying a closed medicine horn provided with a porcupine's tail. Its purpose is unknown.

128 I am using the concept "medicine" in the sense used by the Pangwe /Ed., the author uses Pangwe [Fang] as the name for a group of tribes in which the Fang are one tribe; the others are the Eton, Mwele [Mvele], Jaunde [Yaunde], Bene [Bane], Bulu, Ntum, Mwai [Mvae], and Mokuk (Oschüeba)/, who have a much broader conception of it than we do and unite under the term biǎ̀n, "medicine," various things which we are accustomed to separate, namely, charms, means for bringing luck and avoiding misfortune, remedies for cult sicknesses, and healing remedies in our sense of the term. In addition, I shall include the food taboos (eki).

759 The knowledge of medicines is fairly widespread among the Pangwe. Each Pangwe man -- and /144/ even each Pangwe woman -- is familiar with half a dozen or at least a few. However, only a person who is an extraordinarily good observer, who does not stay at home as does the average Pangwe, and who has gained experience and knowledge is designated as a medicine man, ngěńgǎ'ń I. As was observed in an earlier section /Ed., Vol. I, Section 8/, extreme specialization of all knowledge and skills is found among the Pangwe. This is no less the case with medicines. One man may be familiar with cult medicines, another with ewu medicines; others specialize in the opening of corpses for the detection of ewu, still others specialize in skin diseases, etc. Within these areas specialization goes still farther. Individual medicine men may be specialists for a particular disease (e.g., leprosy) or for a particular method of treating this disease. Such a specialist is called ongěńgǎ'ń. He is frequently sought from a great distance by patients who do not have a specialist for their case or one of sufficient repute in their own villages.

424 759 461 Medical knowledge is not guarded as a legacy in certain families, but is the property of individuals and is imparted to others by the expert in return for cash payment. This is a business deal of such great importance that a father seldom or never instructs his own son in medical knowledge, as he could not accept much payment from him -- particularly since it is in a sense a matter of his own money -- and he would not do it for nothing

424 because, in spite of the great love for children, in spite of the
759 intimate relationship between father and son, the Negro is simply
461 not able to endure the effort of working unless the prospect of
payment is constantly before his eyes. The price for strangers,
[435] to be paid in advance, is 100 spears or a small sheep, in return
for which the medicine man will teach his pupil all the cures
that he knows.

The medicine men do not have any special social status,
759 authority, or influence. In general, they are regarded only as
554 experienced and skillful persons (akǒ́n, i.e., "skillful"). Only
754 those among them who know the medicines of sorcery and give
this knowledge to others (including the cult leaders who, by
means of a magic medicine, give the cult figures the power to
practice sorcery) are feared, and rightly so, because one suspects
that with the help of these "medicines" they may practice sorcery,
i.e., kill other people, at any time.

1. Medicines for Sorcery

We have seen in the previous chapter /Ed., not translated/
754 that the sources of belief in sorcery are to be sought in the need
[753] to assign causes for unrecognized internal ailments, particularly
malaria and poisoning. Because of the similarity of their symp-
toms, these two cannot be distinguished by European outsiders,/145/
and even the native inhabitants for the most part find it impossible.
At the moment, therefore, it is not possible to obtain a clear
picture of these things. It is certain that the Negroes know how to
get someone out of the way with poison and that they mix poison
with the conscious intention of killing, but it is uncertain to what
extent they are conscious of the physiological effects of poison in
our sense. As far as I could observe, a generally mystical view of
these matters still prevails. All poisoning, just like all internal
illness, is sorcery, and all sorcery is the mystical operation of the
physical being, detached from the body, that finds its strength
in its ewu which has been developed through medicine (see Sec-
tion 12)/Ed., not translated/. If someone wishes to kill a person

In the case of gonorrhea, the infected woman can demand
164 damages only if she notices the misfortune before she has been
684 paid for the favor rendered. The damages amount to 400 spears if the disease came from a person of the same kin group, and 1000 spears if it came from a person of another kin group. With the payment the "temporary marriage contract" is terminated, and thereby any claim for damages is nullified. In other words, it is always a good idea to pay one's debts as soon as possible:

[539] a bělle, a bělle, a kǒn abě mayǒk.
Keeping, keeping, it strikes (a) poor bargain.

The person who always keeps his money to himself runs into an unfavorable price situation.

Their unrestrained sexual intercourse has a highly deleterious
831 effect upon the Negroes; it weakens and stupefies them. Smaller
461 boys are often quite useful as servants, but once they reach sexual maturity and become acquainted with women, they can simply no longer be used. The Pangwe recognize this bad influence, and intelligent ones among them did not hesitate to confess frankly to me that their sexual practices corrupted them and made them incapable of strenuous physical or intellectual work. We do not need the testimony of individuals, however -- popular customs demonstrate this insight sufficiently. I believe that, aside from
[834] being based upon the original religious conception concerning the sinfulness of sexual intercourse and its incarnation in the woman, the abstinence rules for war and hunting expeditions and for iron smelting are based on the experience that sexual intercourse weakens the man's physical and intellectual capacities. Naturally, the man is inclined to heap the blame on women /268/
[196] and bebǒn, "vaginas," as he contemptuously calls them (1).

171 1. "Terms which originally only signified 'vulva' or 'cunnus' but were then generalized into the concept 'wenches,'" exist everywhere in Europe, too; see Anthropophyteia, Jahrbücher für folkloristische Erhebungen und Forschungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der geschlechtlichen

Bafök-Yangafuk

101 The peoples who are the subject of this chapter have been given several names spelled in a variety of ways by Europeans. On German maps they appear as "Fuk," "Fök," or "Fu." In French reports and maps they are called "Baveuk," "Bafeuk," or "Yangafouk." All these words seem to resemble each other, and, in reality, they are identical.

[161] Physical and Human Geography. Total population: 5, 352 inhabitants.

361 Three little enclaves of these people a few kilometers long may be found on the Yoko road east of Bafia. They are settled in eight villages 461 all told and inhabit an area of very fertile soil and forest. Cacao, palmettoes, or food crops could bring them prosperity, were it not for [161] their laziness. (The people of these villages number 1, 556.)

173 The five southernmost villages of the eight say that their members 361 come from the southeast, from the plain of the Sanaga, or from the east, from the plain of Djerem.

The two neighboring villages to the northeast are called Yalongo (see the chapter on the Yekaba and the Bamvele). It is thought that the Yalongo conquered the Bafök and /64/ adopted their language. Finally, the eighth village is said to be related to the first five and to have come also from Djerem.

[161] To the southeast of Yoko is an enclave whose two villages, in the middle of the prairie (445 inhabitants), claim to be related both to the Yalongo and the southern Bafök.

[161] About 50 kilometers north of Yoko, in the Babute country, is the enclave of Lena consisting of 260 inhabitants. It is said that they came from the south and reached their present habitat by traveling an arc of 250 kilometers via Tibati. /Map 4/

[161] The 360 inhabitants of the enclave of Yassem, in the midst of the Tikar country, 120 kilometers west of Yoko, say that they sprang from the Bamvele. We would be more inclined to say that they share a common origin with the latter. The wars among the tribes brought them to the Tikar country where they isolated themselves on their mountain. They differ from other Bafök in that they have adopted the [797] Islamic religion of the Tikar and that they recognize no kinship with the southern Bafök.

361 A single village may be found on the banks of the M'Bam, a few 161 kilometers from the town of Bafia. (It has 313 inhabitants.)

And lastly, on the right bank of the Sanaga, there are several Yangafuk villages (containing 2, 418 inhabitants) which are related to those found in the south on the Yoko road but separated from them by a thick forest. /65/

8: Bennett D-5 (ca.1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

142 bread-winners and some are strong and muscular, while many more are weak and worn out from ceaseless toil.

The Fang make good carriers, and will do a splendid day's journey even in the 482 wet season with bad forest trails, if not overloaded. A carrier's load should never 147 exceed 25 kilogrammes; and 20 would pay better on a long journey. The first day out with a caravan the men usually drag along slowly, until their loads settle well down in the *kingi* and fit their backs. The *kingi* is a very ingenious contrivance for carrying a load in; it is usually made from a forest vine with a plaited head strap. To hurry carriers the first day is a bad mistake; poorly adjusted loads chafe and cause sore backs, and before night the whole caravan is tired out and sulky. It is a wise traveller in Africa as elsewhere who knows how to save his men.

145 A very noticeable fact among the Fang is the scarcity of old men. I 164 attribute this largely to the ravages of syphilis; the same terrible disease that has done so much towards the degeneration of numerous coast tribes, and which is already playing fearful havoc among the Fang. Indolent, untrustworthy and warlike, they are nevertheless a most companionable people. 181 The slightest piece of drollery or a joke immediately causes laughter. It has been my privilege to visit many foreign lands including China, Japan and Korea, yet never in my life have I met such an absolutely good-natured, fun-loving people as the Fang.

The men are not fond of work. They frequently ask me for something to do 461 to "earn a cloth." If I tell them to cut fence poles or good clean bark in the forest, they decline. A male Fang's idea of work is to sit in the *Abeng* (= palaver house) and make fish lines by rolling pineapple fibre along the upper [723] portion of his thigh, or to manufacture *Abi* (roof thatch). At these occupations he can converse with all comers, hear the news and take his part in talking a palaver. 627 They are a revengeful people and will keep up a palaver over a woman for many years. If they do not succeed in shooting a man during a palaver they do not [721] hesitate to fire at and kill a woman, while captives held as hostages are often treated with great cruelty.

The women regard virtue very lightly. Before marriage a girl can do nearly 836 as she pleases. It is absolutely safe to state that it would be almost impossible 517 to find a maiden in a Fang village over sixteen years of age. Adultery is common, [851] and one of the chief causes of "women palavers." Women rank first in value as [562] goods for trade, next in value are goats, then guns and cloth. The greed for goods has a strong hold on the people. They learn quickly but have very little originality. They have no obscene rites. Their habits are very dirty; they will wash in a 515 small pool of water and, while bathing, fill the gourds or imported jugs with the water in which they are washing and use it for domestic purposes. In many other ways they are absolutely filthy, and descend to the level of brute creation. They [834] are not over-burdened with modesty, both sexes frequently bathe together in a perfectly nude condition. A male Fang passes a large percentage of his time in

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

site for their villages. The houses can be readily taken down and erected 342
elsewhere. The earth floor is often beaten very hard, no covering is used. The
beds are made of bamboo poles resting upon end pieces, supported by four forked [513]
corner stakes. The bed is raised about one foot from the ground. In most houses
are four beds, two at each end on opposite sides, having a log fire burning between, 352
the smoke escaping through the thatch roof. The furniture is all movable, and consists of stools, cassava bowls and boards, drinking gourds, fish nets, water gourds, various baskets and hanging bamboo shelves for drying fish and corn over the fire. Food, guns and powder horns are hung up on wooden hooks suspended by bush rope; these hooks are made by cutting a suitable branch from a young tree, having a strong crutch. No separate portion of the dwelling is set apart for sleeping or eating. There are no windows to a Fang house; at night one or more pieces of bark are used for a door. All the domestic arrangements are excessively [356]
filthy. Refuse from meals is unknown, everything is eaten, including entrails and
skin of animals and fish. Before occupying a new house the witch doctor (*ngangan*) [262]
is usually called to perform the ceremony of propitiating the evil spirits (local 342
spirits), and the *biang Ekuri* (fetish) is hung up and becomes the protecting fetish of the household. This fetish is hung up over the doorway outside. The houses are built entirely above ground, the roofs are made of split bamboo and covered with thatch made from the long tough blade of a swamp reed, or rush. This thatch makes a most excellent roof, and when well put on, it is able to withstand three years of the terrible rains which fall during the long wet season.

V.—*Navigation, Hooks, Nets, Fishing, Traps.*

The Fang use long narrow canoes. A suitable tree having been found is 501
felled and trimmed, then hollowed out with the small native wedge. All the boats
are open and both sides of the canoe alike. The women use the same canoes as [396]
the men and paddle them very skilfully. War canoes are made large and strong, but are otherwise similar in construction to the canoes in daily use. A kind of lugger sail is used and the natives sail a thin canvas very close to the wind. The baler used is made of wood; it much resembles a large flat sugar scoop and is common among tribes along the west coast. This baler is used most skilfully and with great rapidity by both men and women. In paddling, no fulcrum whatever
is used. The men and women either sit or kneel, grasping the paddle handle in 502
its upper and lower thirds they plunge the blade deeply into the water, and force the canoe ahead with great rapidity. One man, woman, or a child steers, using an
ordinary paddle; the time kept while paddling is excellent, and is usually kept by [533]
one man chanting a Fang song, not unlike a white sailor's shanty, the paddling [44]
taking on renewed vigour during the chorus. The sails are usually made now [501]
of imported trade cloth, but I have seen them made from the native bark [439]
cloth. Only one sail is used and the canoes are able to beat up well against the wind.

/87/

482
291
301

Fig. 51. Fang Women Bringing Firewood from the Plantations.

season. /Fig. 49 appears here in the original text. / Once the 241
bush is entirely cleared (with the exception of the shade trees), a few days are allowed to elapse until the sun has dried the wood. Then fire is set to it, and the farm is "burned," a dźige ɛ́ɛ́. At the end of the dry season one can see columns of rising smoke throughout the land, and on walking expeditions one often has the dubious pleasure of having to pass such a burning farm. A great number of birds of prey, especially the parasite kite, circle around the new farm, heedless of the heat, in order to catch every crawling thing that flees from the fire. As soon as the rainy season comes, the clearing of the farm comes to an end, and now "the food is laid." The men move the charred and unburned remains of the trees /Fig. 50 appears here in the original text/ /87/ to one side or heap them up on the farm 241
itself as boundary markers (see Plate 7). The women remove the 462
smaller branches, and it is the women who from this time on dominate the picture, sowing or planting the vegetables, pulling out the weeds which during the rainy season soon become rank, and taking in the harvest. All these, incidentally, are lighter

241 tasks, and from this division of labor it is apparent – this will
462 be pursued further later on – that the work which requires the greater effort is allotted to the men, while the easier work is left to the women. Since by the very nature of the matter the harder work lasts for a shorter period of time, the impression easily arises that the women have to perform considerably more work than the men, but this is not the case, and it is probable that the distribution of work is not much different from that in Germany, say. It is just that the type of work is different. To be sure,
[482] upon seeing the large, fully packed baskets which the women bring in daily from the fields (Fig. 51), the uninitiated observer might easily get such an erroneous impression, but the carrying of such disproportionately heavy burdens, which makes the women's bodies so deformed, is partly their own fault. One is reminded of the Low German proverb: "De Fule drägt sich doht un de Flitige löpt sich doht /the lazy one carries himself to death, and the industrious one runs himself to death/. The woman likes to
[461] rest in the afternoon, and many of them even have quite an aversion for work. Incidentally, this is a further reason for the
[731] frequent periods of food shortage (mentioned in the third section /not translated/), which at times develop into real famines. /88/

241 The most important staple food plants of the Pangwe are the following seven:

Southern Region (Fang)	Northern Region (Jaunde)
1. Cassava (manioc)	1. Cassava (manioc)
2. Plantain	2. Groundnut
3. Groundnut	3. Plantain
4. Ngon	4. Maize
5. Maize	5. Ngon
6. Taro	6. Taro
7. Yams	7. Yams

It should be understood that the plants are listed here in the order of their importance as food plants, in other words, as "food" in the household, and not according to the extent of field work involved in their cultivation which would completely reverse the

244 773 is today; instead, women gathered its fruit in the bush. Once upon a time, there was a man who had no sister he could sell to obtain a wife for himself, nor did he have any other person who could help him to get married. He hit upon the idea of starting a huge ngon farm, and when the ngon was ripe many people came and bought the kernels. In this way he finally earned so much money that he had the purchase price for a girl. When other people, who likewise had no wives, heard about this, they began to imitate him and also married through the aid of the plant. Hence, it is said: "Oh, I see this plant like a girl (ngṓn), and therefore it shall be called ngǒn also, for if the man had had no ngon (ngǒn), he would not have been able to marry a girl [194] (ngō'n)." It should be noted that the two words differ in pitch; the word for the plant has falling pitch in Fang (ngôn), rising pitch in Jaunde (ngǒn), whereas the word for girl has only high pitch (ngō'n). A narrative in the creation story is very similar.

244 Ngon is planted only once a year since its cultivation requires the period from April to December. In April, frequently long before, the bush is cut and burned. The ground, however, is not cleared, and everything is left lying just as it fell; at most the largest brushwood is removed from the connecting paths. Walking through a farm, especially along the plantation paths, is therefore quite a gymnastic feat. A ngon farm is often cleared [476 communally by the inhabitants of two neighboring villages who 602] belong to the same kin group. To the uninitiated, however, the boundaries are not discernible. They are indicated by trees that have been left standing or have fallen over and more rarely by lianas tied to the branches of tree trunks lying on the ground. It is astonishing that no boundary disputes arise.

244 462 In April, once the farm area has been burned over, the women go into the fields, and with their universal tool, the hoe, they plant the ngon seeds in the ground. The seeds must first have been soaked in water for a day, and two or three of them are planted in the same hole. Because of the tree trunks and the brush lying about, planting is hard work, and for this reason the men usually assist at the task, at least on the first day, equipped with /95/ /Fig. 53 appears here in the original text/ hoes and digging

244
252
301

Fig. 53. Woman from Bébai (Esseng Family) Cracking Ngon in a Cassava Field.

244 [462] sticks. During the planting of groundnuts, on the other hand, "no handsome young man, in fact, no one who by virtue of strength, beauty, and influence is of any account," helps; the only assistance given is provided now and then by a man, ugly or old, who wants to make himself popular with his wife, "so she will not eventually run away and live with somebody else." Once planting is finished, ngon is left to itself and proceeds to climb up the tree trunks and branches. By the middle of May it is already knee high. In June or July the field is weeded once, and later the ngon itself, rising above all else, chokes out the weeds; only some of the larger plants shoot up in spite of it and are occasionally pulled out. In September we already find some of the fruit fully ripened, and at the start of the dry season, in November and December, harvesting can be started. By that time, the leaves and stalks are almost completely dry, and the fruit hangs from the dry stalks in the branches of the trees which served the plant as a prop and are now leafless.

At harvest time an area in the plantation is cleared and carefully covered with leaves. Then the fruit is picked — a job

226 industry. To these considerations should be added the seclusion of the villages and poor communication facilities. The hydrographic conditions in themselves bring about considerable differentiation even in a fairly small area. In Yaoundé /Ger., Jaunde/, for instance, fishing does not play the large role that it does in the south; the Bawa (a group of the Jaunde), for example, are familiar with only four methods of catching fish aside from fish driving, namely, with basket weirs, using long baskets (nsǒn I) and ordinary baskets (nkǒɛ I), poisoning fish (ngǔm IV), and angling.

To describe the various forms that the fishing industry takes in the different regions would lead me too far afield. Hence, in order to give a general picture of the fishing industry, I shall discuss only the various procedures with which I became acquainted among the central Pangwe in the river region of the Campo with its left tributaries, the Uelle in its central zone, and above all its tributaries, the Bimfille, Abea, etc. The best months for catching fish in these regions are September to February, when the water level in the rivers begins to go down; during the remaining period there is only angling or here and there a basket is set.

[462] Fishing is men's work, with the sole exception of fish driving which is a task for women. The methods are as follows.

1. Fish driving, a lǔk (verb)

In shallow brooks or streams the water is driven downstream by means of flat baskets, the so-called bush plates (dzǎd), /110/ after transverse dams of stones or twigs have first been set up at some distance. These prevent the fish from escaping. Then the women fish from the pools that remain with a small-meshed, shallow net [824] tied to a stalk from the pliant Scitaminea Trachyphrynium violaceum Radl. (nkǒmonkǒmo) that has been bent double. Like the bush plate, this net is actually a piece of kitchen equipment, used to wash cassava.

The catch consists of only little fish, a few fingers or at most a few spans long, a variety of snails, some species of shrimp (1),

1. In the main, species of Palaemon

226
227

/Fig. 66 appears here in the original text. /

Fig. 66. Diagram of a Fish Ditch: (a) bark wall with door, (b) bridge, (c) bait.

IV. Trapping

224
[462]

After agriculture and fishing, the third most important economic activity is trapping which is exclusively carried out by the male part of the population. The various traps constructed by the Pangwe can be classified as follows:

A. Traps into which the prey falls
   1. Pitfalls (ebɛ̄i, ndǎn I)

B. Traps which work by dropping a beam, a plate, or a piece of iron
   2. Spring traps (ekūidi)
   3. Spring plates (akui)
   4. Spear trap (elǔn)

C. Traps that consist of a draw noose
   5. Simple noose (asima, etc.)
   6. Draw traps (olǎ'm)
      (a) Ground draw traps (olǎ'm) (1)

      1. Not to be confused with the alǎ'm (fish weir).

      (b) Tree draw trap (nkpwǎs I)
      (c) Lemur trap (mbǔn I)
   7. Francolin trap (ndǒn IV)
   8. Bow traps (eklɛ̄le)

D. Traps that sound an alarm
   9. Civet cat trap (nlin I)

258 Cyrtosperma senegalense (Schott) Engl., Araceae (ebǎngabǎnga).
824 Furthermore, the fronds of the raffia palm are used to a lesser extent. In the Fang region Halopegia and Cyrtosperma are always used together, never one exclusively; in other areas, for instance in the Ntum region, the following swamp plants are also used: the Loganiacea Anthocleista zenkeri Gilg (ají́nebe-nzǎm III); the Zingiberacea Renealmia alborosea K. Sch. (adžǒmmekūm); the Urticacea Boehmeria platyphylla D. Don. (sǎ[s]-dzǎm); the Acanthacea Brillantaisia vogeliana Bth. (ebǔgebǒ́n); the Aracea Anubias heterophylla Engl. (andǎk); a Composita (elǒ[k]-osǔe); the Commelinaceae Palisota schweinfurthii C.B. Cl. (epfǔpfǔ́-zǎm) and Pollia condensata C.B.Cl. (ajǎ́n-osǔe); and in addition, where swamp plants are absent, the Marantacea Phrynium confertum (Benth.) K. Sch. (nkǒn afǎ́n I) and the climbing Aracea Rhektophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (ndé́s). /148/

258 To get salt the men go into the swamp (zǎm), cut down the
462 salt-producing plants, and let them lie in the sun for a month to dry. Then they are brought under a shelter erected in the vicinity; the leaves and leafstalks are burned in an open fire. The plant ashes, dirtied with the remains of the logs, are carried into the village and kept on the loft above the fireplace in the house for three weeks to dry. The men's last job here is the making of a large
[285] funnel which they crudely plait (ngǎn nkū IV) from the stalks of the Marantacea Trachyphrynium violaceum Radlk. (nkǒmokǒ́mo I). All further work is done by the women. The latter set up the funnel, which they prop up with poles inside or outside the house, and line it with leaves of Sarcophrynium in such a way that the lowest leaf -- folded together in the form of a funnel -- fits just into the tip and the other leaves cover the funnel wall like roof tiles. The funnel is closed off below by a filter consisting of a ball of grass, Paspalum
[228] (obū́ŋ), or leaves of the Phytolacca dodecandra C. Her. (atǒ́t) (1);

1. From the stem tǒ, "run through, drip through," because the brine has to drip through the herbs.

then the ashes are put inside the filter, water is poured on them, and

287
314
516

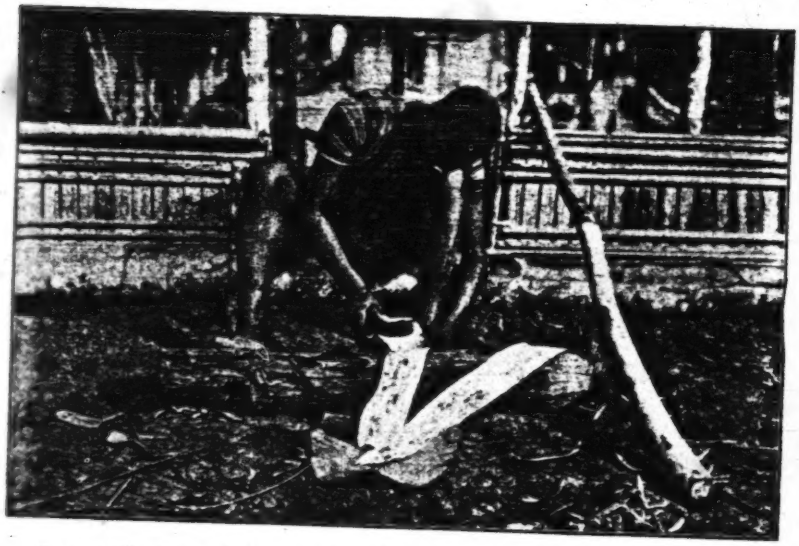


Fig. 159. Manufacture of Bark Cloth by Beating the Bast Layer of a Ficus Trunk, Uelleburg, Spanish Guinea.

287 done along the entire length from left to right, and the beater
314 must not be turned (that is, the direction of the grooves) Figure 159. Then the material is folded, beaten on the opposite side, folded once more and tapped, and finally, folded diagonally, it is worked in the same manner. Through this treatment, the piece has been made about twice as long, while in breadth it has remained unchanged. At this point it is unfolded, drawn through water a few times, and then pressed out. /209/ Materials prepared from the varieties Ficus bubu, andum, and undum need not be washed.

The individual pieces of material manufactured in the manner described are narrow. Hence, several of them must be sewn together along their long edges if one wants to make a loincloth, for instance. For men this requires six pieces; for boys four.

2. Fiber work.

462
463 With few exceptions, fiber work is one of the occupations carried out by men. Indeed, it is one of their most frequent and

462 favorite activities. This explains their skill in sewing, patching,
463 and so forth, which the European discovers to his joy in his Black servants.

(a) Thread and sewing.

283 The simplest material for fiber work is thread (klĕs IV, ndĕ's,
824 IV) from the climbing Aracea Rhectophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (klĕs IV, ndĕ's IV). The threads are obtained by cutting off the aerial roots and drawing out the fiber bundles which are extremely durable and frequently quite long. /Fig. 160 appears here in the original text. / They are used for sewing, for children's fishing rods (ngăk), and, secondarily, as binding material for combs made of strips of raffia leafstalks and neck bands made of bands of rattan palm (or Marantacea strips).

Fig. 160. Bobbin with String.

The raw leaf fibers of the pineapple are also used to sew pieces of bark cloth together, etc.

(b) Ropes and knotting.

283 Plant fibers are used more frequently in the form of strings (Fig. 160) than as thread. Just like the shoemaker's thread in Europe, the strings are twisted together by rolling them with the flat of the hand on the upper thigh. The plants used for this purpose are pineapple, plantain, raffia, Gaertnera, and Triumfetta.

From the pineapple, the fiber bundles of the leaves are used; its strings are quite durable -- but not in water, and therefore fishing lines cannot be made from them -- and fairly fine, so they are especially suitable as strings for beads. A charming effect is created by the shoulder bags tied with them (mfŏk I), into which are put all kinds of little personal belongings, medicines, and so forth. These bags are taken along on journeys, chiefly by men.

415
285
[462]
[824]

1. Women's hanging baskets (nkŭn I). Unlike most other baskets, these are also manufactured by women. They are made from strips of the stalk bark of Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch. (stalk, ndĕn, ndĕnăn IV). They display considerable variation, both in size and pattern (Fig. 166). /Fig. 166 appears here in the original text. /

415
285
412
412

2. Carrying baskets (nkŏ̄ē' I), which are used only once, are woven in wide meshes from stalks of the Sarcophrynium by men and women whenever their regular baskets are not available or not available in sufficient numbers, or if they want to spare the baskets. Thus, they would use the carrying baskets, for instance, in

[531]

Fig. 166. Women's Hanging Baskets.

order to transport the bloody flesh of a freshly killed elephant into the village and for similar purposes.

285
415

3. Baskets for the oil press and for carrying earth (ekŭt, ekŭt-ažŭ̄ĭ' = oil press baskets, ekŭt-ebē̂ = earth baskets). The first is used to squeeze out oil from the pulp of the fruit (ažŭ̄ĭ') of the oil palm or raffia palm; the second, to remove the earth that is dug out when pits (ebē̂) are made. Both baskets are braided from Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc. (nkāne) (1).

[824]

[412]

1. I once saw a knife sheath woven entirely from bush rope (Oncocalamus), Figure 167.

285
824

5. Bands, a substitute for bush rope.
6. Scraping sticks for cassava.

The related Ancistrophyllum opacum M. et W. (egbwā's) supplies tension ropes for drumheads, net hoops, and snares.

/216/ a substitute, Calamus deerratus Mann et Wendl. (edžǐ,ń) (1).

1. This is also used for flutes (ndžǐ,ń I) and sticks for scraping cassava (akō-edžǐ,ń).

is used for some kinds of baskets (women's large carrying baskets and men's small carrying baskets).

285
415

The following kinds of baskets are made with various types of weaving.

[462]

1. Covered basket of the Jaunde (afōn) made chiefly by women. Braiding strand of palm band, braiding strips of Pandanus leaf strips, braided like a checkerboard (one over, one under).

285
415
482
[824]

2. Large carrying baskets for permanent use (nkŏē' I, nkbē' I Fang), in which the women /Fig. 167 appears here in the original text/ carry home wood and produce. Braiding strand of Ancistrophyllum (nkāne), more rarely of Calamus deerratus, braiding strips of Oncocalamus (nlŏń).

3. Small carrying baskets (okŏkŏ,ē', "small carrying basket," and engā'ne). Figure 168, made of the same material as the previous ones, only smaller, frequently with a more finely braided edge whose active part may consist not only of bands but also of strings. Usually, moreover, the main braiding strand is replaced for a short distance in the middle of the basket by a blackened one, called ekǎ̄na nšūt (b). These baskets are considered especially elegant; the woman takes them with her on journeys and packs food in them. In the house, raffia aprons and other objects are kept in them, and in the fields they are used to hold groundnuts and other things. /Fig. 168 appears here in the original text. /

4. Men's carrying baskets (ebā'da), Figure 169. In the case of these baskets, the braiding strand is made either of Calamus or

325 entirely covered with charcoal and melted with the help of the bellows. As soon as the blue flames appear, the smith removes the coals from the top of the pot, seizes the latter with his tongs, and pours the liquid metal into molds. These are halved raffia leafstalks in whose pith a suitable negative form is cut (Fig. 191). Then he cleans out the coal fragments that might have fallen into it and pours on water. After it has cooled, the brass is taken out of the mold and, heated, it is again worked, that is to say, the coarser roughness is beaten down with the large forging iron. In the case of the engraved neck rings (see Fig. 14), the two ends are now /239/ /Fig. 187 appears here in the original text/ beaten out with the tapper and rolled with light blows over the surface which is then carefully smoothed with the tapper. This is a rather laborious job, since the rod must time and time again be placed in the fire for a time. Now the ring is bent by skillfully hammering the inner surface on the edge of the anvil, and it is hammered completely together on the large forging iron placed over two props. Finally it is filed smooth, whereby the brilliant yellow brass color appears in place of the hitherto black color; then various patterns are engraved on it with the help of three different strong chisels (Fig. 192) and other tools (Fig. 193).

5. Pottery.

323 [462] Unlike the crafts mentioned so far, pottery is in the hands of the women. Only tobacco pipes and blast pipes are made by men. Pottery is not very highly developed; its forms are poor and decoration is rare. /Fig. 188 appears here in the original text./ The main products of pottery are assembled in Figure 194:

1. Water flasks (eŝũgǎ);
2. Large and small cooking pots (mvé IV and obébé);
3. Smithy funnels (ŝóń IV);

in addition, the following are also made,

4. Tobacco pipes, and
5. Brass smelting pots.

This is the extent of the use of clay objects. / /Fig. 189 appears here in the original text./ /240/

325

Fig. 193. Brass Smith Decorating a Brass Neck Ring, Akonangi, South Cameroons.

While the pots are drying, the decorations are put on. The 323
pots are slightly moistened with water, and then the pattern is scratched on with a pointed raffia leafstalk splinter. A certain pattern, obügeli, is obtained by rolling a carefully braided four- [531]
edged stamp up and down (Fig. 195).

The clay blast pipe of the bellows is manufactured by the [442]
men in the following manner. The bark of a raffia leafstalk is removed in strips down to just short of one end; the strips are then tied together again in their natural position at the other end, so it looks as though the bark had burst apart in the middle into so many strips. Then the leafstalk is stuck vertically into the ground on the end from which the strips had been completely removed and tied together again. The clay is placed around the stick in the form of a funnel, the upper edge being bent outward, and so the whole thing is left to dry in the sun for three days. Then the strings are untied, the bark strips are completely removed, being pulled off one by one, and the blast pipe is taken down to dry for a little while longer in the house. The blast pipes are never decorated; only once when I /242/ /Fig. 194 appears here in the original text/ witnessed the making of a blast pipe in Bebai, the

166 early as the middle of the last century the explorer Du Chaillu noted how this warlike pressure was completed by peaceful conquest by means of "alliances" created by marriage with foreighers. (4) Dr. Cureau, fifty years later, pointed out that the

> 4. Father Du Chaillu, op. cit., "... for their part the Fang, far away from the European commerce much coveted by them, are happy to acquire a son-in-law nearer the coast. So I suspect that in a few years they will succeed in contracting marriages with other tribes on a very large scale."

control of the Ogooué trade had passed into the hands of the Fang peoples. (5) With settlement in Gabon, the economy of the Fang

> 5. Dr. A. Cureau, op. cit., p. 294.

groupings takes on a double orientation: it comes in contact with the forest peoples who are essentially hunters and collectors of trading produce, and it transforms its movement of expansion into an attempt to seize the trade of Lower Gabon. One might say that French colonization has prevented a sort of Fang colonization in this region. While this double task of conquest and trade depends on the [143] men, the economy of subsistence is to all intents and purposes left to the women. On this basis [131] the division of labor is established, leaving to the men alone the means of acquiring wealth and capital.

166 621 361 Such elements help us to understand the relative mobility of the groupings. A people that has no concern for agriculture would have no strong attachment for land that is equally fertile in any part of the forest. (1) In another respect the characteristic of a

> 1. See what was still said in 1934 by the administrator Le Testu (one of the best observers of the men and the country): "Lacking any taste for working the

V. First Reactions to Material Inferiority

556 441 The access of the Fang to the traditional trade regions has had great consequences. What started out as a conquering and "colonizing" undertaking has imperceptibly changed into a search for manufactured "riches" (bium) and [157] competition for trade routes and trade centers. The quest for "merchandise" is the pri- [462] mary male activity and sets in motion the machinery of war and witchcraft.

829 773 The legends which we know stress the attraction of the West as the country of white men who have all riches at their disposal. One of these told by V. Largeau suggests the importance of access to these trade zones:

"We arrive at last at the N'Tem and the Ogooué where we meet those who distribute riches ... they give us everything, we become rich." (1)

1. Op. cit., article: Instruction.

The legendary texts,collected by Father Trilles under the title "Noirs et Blancs [The Blacks and the Whites]" are particularly significant. A predominant place is given to the theme of wealth, held only by the white men. Wealth has escaped the black men — because of a lack of technique and because of an attitude of abandoning rather than dominating the world, (2) or

2. "Proverbes, Légendes et Contes Fang [Fang Proverbs, Legends, and Tales]," op. cit., and especially "Noirs et Blancs [Blacks and Whites]" and "Légende du Nsas [Legend of the Nsas]."

has been stolen from them. (3) The whites apparently represent

3. "Legend of Bingo"; and "in order to seize his treasures (from the hero

shed with a roof low enough to /43/ give good protection from the sun. Some villages are placed at right angles to the road; others follow an L or Y plan, with several minseñ. Family "allotments" are separated by hedges of euphorbia, castor-oil plant, hibiscus, and bougainvillea. Sometimes one comes across sheepfolds, although in old-style (and most contemporary) villages small livestock roam at will. A village often includes a guesthouse (ayak).

In building operations the man generally takes charge of the framework and the laths, leaving to the women the preparation and application of the banco /clay daub?/. But European-style huts with their elaborate door frames and often cement floors are more and more the work of specialized artisans, who are paid to supervise the family labor provided by the owner. These men have nevertheless preserved, along with the English term "mason," the old name nloñ nda, literally, hut-weaver, which goes back to the time when huts were made of sewn bark (1).

1. The dwelling continues to evolve: framed doors, windows, and shutters are in general use today. The dimensions of the buildings lead to the construction of a real frame. Finally, to possess a sheet-iron roof is a sign of wealth. In recent years there has arisen a real passion for the improvement of dwelling: in the Cameroons we may estimate that 10 percent of the dwellings now built in the bush are the most modern type. (J.B.)

2. Groupings and Relationships

The main divisions of Pahouin society are both exactly defined in the minds of its members themselves and at the same time uncertain for the European observer, who is constantly tempted to state them clearly in organic forms accessible to his "logic" and who is hindered by the variations or the dialectal confusions of Pahouin terminology. Father Trilles, basing his observations on the Fang of Gabon alone, reached a sort of palaeontological reconstruction of the "Fang nation," extremely theoretical, yet not without basis

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

214 this is, because, to a Fang eye, polished brass looks *mbung* (handsome) and is attractive for trade. Vessels are usually placed on top of the fire and not 262 suspended over it; vegetables are frequently placed in stews. No separate dwelling house exists for cooking, it is carried on in the dwelling house. The water used to 356 wash a dirty pot with is often thrown out on the earth floor of the dwelling, children playing in the wet dirt. In all domestic matters the Fang are very filthy. [514] I have on more than one occasion when inside a native hut seen children micturate [854] and defecate on the earth floor close to where the mother was cooking, the women and men present taking very little notice, and only occasionally placing the child [462] outside the door. Cooking is exclusively the duty of women, a *real man* will not cook. Food is often highly seasoned with hot native red and green peppers, and 252 food thus prepared is much appreciated. The food is usually well cooked through, with the exception of plantains which are often only half boiled and served quite hard. Large round stones are used for rubbing and reducing to powder gourd seeds and various tubers. Smoking and salting are the only methods practised 251 for preserving food, and on account of the value of salt and the difficulty of transporting it inland, it is seldom thus employed.

Drinks.—Rum has been carried from the coast by white traders and natives 273 far inland and is used whenever obtainable, but the chief drink is cold water. Palm wine is made called *meyak*. Except in places where a trade factory existed I have seen very few cases of intoxication among the Fang, but when they can obtain rum it seems to completely demoralize them. Tea and coffee are known to [272] people living near white settlers. When a party of headmen and others have taken a meal at the mission house, tea and coffee were greatly enjoyed and cups 264 frequently re-filled. The first meal is usually about eight or nine o'clock; the natives think the white man eats very early; a mid-day meal is served and the evening repast is usually about sunset.

Food is frequently brought to the men inside the *abeng* (palaver house); at other times an entire family eats together inside the dwelling house. No ceremonies whatever precede the commencement of meals. When a son is born, or on the 574 occasion of a wedding, and after some large palaver has been settled, a feast is usually given. Invited guests and strangers partake together with the town folk 264 of the food prepared; it is usually served on the earth floor of the palaver house, on plantain leaves, and in cooking pots, each person helping himself. The women do not eat with the men inside the palaver house.

Mode of preparing Mboa.

252 539 *Ba du mbóa ozui, e vóm a ne ndútál: a kaga boma mēlu mēla, be keli tás: be sálí ne nye: be nátí mbūk: be kēzi nye mbūk iti be nou ntum: beña tyak: bènga vul: be kaga mana vul: be kēzi nye ē mvē: vekoba ji: ve telē mvè mboa: ucena mboa abea.*

000 Fifth Part. Pottery. General observations, products, price and manufacture of the pots. Decoration. Manufacture of blast pipes.

● 1/63 Crafts in our sense are nonexistent among the Pangwe. All the manual skills are only practiced on the side and are strictly secondary to the economic activities of agriculture, catching fish, and trapping. The very simple skills are familiar to and practiced by everyone. Beyond that, specialization begins, and among the Pangwe it is developed to the utmost. Indeed, this specialization goes so far that, for example, not even the carrying straps for children -- which only consist of two leather strips sewn together -- can be made by all household heads; furthermore, a person who manufactures eating spoons cannot make any other wood product, not even a stirring spoon. A stool maker knows only how to make stools, a crossbow carver can only make crossbows, one who makes men's carrying baskets (ebǎ'de) can only make men's carrying baskets. Since in one village there are often no more than one or two people who know a craft, the inhabitants of the village have to purchase the objects not manufactured by these craftsmen from all corners of the compass. It may happen that they have to go some distance or even make a journey to obtain a stool, a crossbow, or the like /205/

1. Bark work.

824 3/4 Tree bark is used in many ways in the Pangwe household, either in raw form or made into cloth.

(a) Raw bark.

It is used for the following purposes.

1. To cover the house wall and as a door (1).

1. For house construction use is made of the bark of about 15 trees whose scientific names, insofar as I could

287
314
516

Fig. 159. Manufacture of Bark Cloth by Beating the Bast Layer of a Ficus Trunk, Uelleburg, Spanish Guinea.

287 done along the entire length from left to right, and the beater
314 must not be turned (that is, the direction of the grooves) Figure 159. Then the material is folded, beaten on the opposite side, folded once more and tapped, and finally, folded diagonally, it is worked in the same manner. Through this treatment, the piece has been made about twice as long, while in breadth it has remained unchanged. At this point it is unfolded, drawn through water a few times, and then pressed out. /209/ Materials prepared from the varieties Ficus bubu, andum, and undum need not be washed.

The individual pieces of material manufactured in the manner described are narrow. Hence, several of them must be sewn together along their long edges if one wants to make a loincloth, for instance. For men this requires six pieces; for boys four.

2. Fiber work.

462
463 With few exceptions, fiber work is one of the occupations carried out by men. Indeed, it is one of their most frequent and

462 favorite activities. This explains their skill in sewing, patching,
463 and so forth, which the European discovers to his joy in his Black servants.

(a) Thread and sewing.

283 The simplest material for fiber work is thread (klĕs IV, ndĕ's,
824 IV) from the climbing Aracea Rhectophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (klĕs IV, ndĕ's IV). The threads are obtained by cutting off the aerial roots and drawing out the fiber bundles which are extremely durable and frequently quite long. /Fig. 160 appears here in the original text. / They are used for sewing, for children's fishing rods (ngăk), and, secondarily, as binding material for combs made of strips of raffia leafstalks and neck bands made of bands of rattan palm (or Marantacea strips).

Fig. 160. Bobbin with String.

The raw leaf fibers of the pineapple are also used to sew pieces of bark cloth together, etc.

(b) Ropes and knotting.

283 Plant fibers are used more frequently in the form of strings (Fig. 160) than as thread. Just like the shoemaker's thread in Europe, the strings are twisted together by rolling them with the flat of the hand on the upper thigh. The plants used for this purpose are pineapple, plantain, raffia, Gaertnera, and Triumfetta.

From the pineapple, the fiber bundles of the leaves are used; its strings are quite durable -- but not in water, and therefore fishing lines cannot be made from them -- and fairly fine, so they are especially suitable as strings for beads. A charming effect is created by the shoulder bags tied with them (mfŏk I), into which are put all kinds of little personal belongings, medicines, and so forth. These bags are taken along on journeys, chiefly by men.

322
352
531

Fig. 172. Stages in Making a Stool.

322 The explanation lies in a kind of principle of reciprocity, a princi-
476 ple clearly stated in the educational precepts to be discussed in a
435 later section /Ed., Vol II/, that is, the seller counts upon the fact that later he will need his client who is in turn a specialist in the manufacture of some kind of article (basketwork plates, for instance), and he then expects to be treated in the same lenient manner. As a result of the excessive division of labor, everyone [443] is dependent upon everyone else, and this dependence keeps the prices down. Wherever this dependence is absent, the prices go up. Europeans, for instance, with whom such a silent agreement does not exist, pay considerably more, ten or twenty times more, and at the same time they have to put up with inferior work as well.

322 Moreover, the sale of objects manufactured for household use
434 is not regarded as an enterprise for profit. When I asked a stool
554 maker whom I befriended what his business brought in, he first

[412]

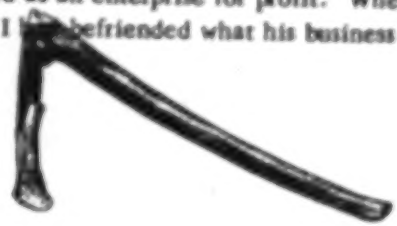


Fig. 173. Adz.

463 The role of the towns in the external trade of the region is evident, but their role in regional economy is no less essential. In fact, formerly the population had hardly any specialization, because of limited needs: each group was self-sufficient. No division of labor was prescribed aside from the allotment of tasks to men and women. Only smiths possessed a special technique which allowed them to ply a trade. Yet they were not a caste; a smith could ally himself by marriage with any family whatsoever, and a farmer's son might become a smith.

326

Everyone could extract iron ore, but only a skilled man who had acquired knowledge and magical power could work metal. Professional differentiation is /sic/ obviously still rudimentary. Perhaps it corresponds to a mediocre technological level: the stock of tools is limited—a stone used as an anvil, an iron bar as a hammer, and a bellows as a forge. The smith does not seem to have been the mysterious and awesome figure found in other societies. At most we may believe that there were sexual prohibitions connected with certain phases of his work, which allows us to assume a magical or religious aspect (1).

1. Miss /Mary/ Kingsley, Travels in West Africa, London, 1897; we should note however "an important pottery art, ironwork that deserves particular mention owing to its excellence, a technique for treating latex, an art of plaiting clothes" (in Balandier, "Village fang /Fang Village/, " Études centrafricaines, 1951).

173

463 The small number of objects in use did not require a real division of labor. A piece of grooved ivory was used for beating bark to soften it for the making of clothes. This technique has evidently disappeared. There /were/ a few potteries; the wooden bowls are now replaced by imported ware. One still fairly often finds calling drums, wooden ladles or spoons carved by artisans, and mortars. Spearheads are currently sold in the markets. Crossbows are less and less used, and hunters make their own nets.

Needs which are now more varied have given rise to /36/ many professional specializations. A few are represented in rural districts,

463 but most of the artisans live in towns; there it is that they learned their trades, more easily find materials and tools, there also they believe the multitude will enable them to collect a large number of orders.

Certain crafts are long established, such as tailoring, masonry, and carpentry. But while Pahouin are numerous in the woodworking and building trades, as tailors they frequently have to compete with immigrants. New professions arise, often controlled by foreigners also—photographers, mattress makers, and mechanics. This brief list of the most widespread trades allows one to infer the rise in the standard of living: doors and windows, tables, chairs, wardrobes, beds, mattresses are now in quite general use.

319 166 The towns plan an essential role and are completely integrated into the country, since it is there that the rural people go to have the things made which they need. The mixed character of town populations is astonishing. Immigrants from all regions of the Cameroons or French Equatorial Africa give them a cosmopolitan character, while the bush has not sustained such a complex intermixture.

Nevertheless, we must not exaggerate the antithesis between country people and townsfolk: many countrymen have resided a few years in town and have kept up connections there. Migration away from centers was quite active thirty years ago, and certain Pahouin tribes were largely represented in the timber industry. There has been just as decided a movement toward the towns: "The development of cacao plantations along the Woleu-N'Tem by changing the living conditions of the villagers certainly seems to have been the principal cause of the halt in emigration in 1930." This remark by Sautter about the Fang is also true of the Boulou and —to a lesser degree, perhaps—of the Béti and assimilated tribes more closely pressed together in their habitat.

463 162 Béti, Boulou, or Fang form a petty bourgeoisie rather than a proletariat without resources. The following figures show the relatively small proportion of unskilled laborers (1):

1. M. Soret, Démographie et problèmes urbains en A.E.F. /Demography and Urban Problems in French Equatorial Africa/, I.F.A.N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noir/, 1954.

463
162

Occupational Distribution of Pahouin Emigrants in Douala

	Laborers	Artisans	Intellectual Occupations	Traders and Licensed Dealers
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Beti	37	55	1.9	6
Bo'lou		60	40	

A study of Dolisie, Baronga, and Poto-Poto makes it possible to establish similar facts for occupations (2). /39/

2. According to J. Guilbot, Petite étude sur la main-d'oeuvre à Douala /A Brief Study of Manpower at Douala/, I.F.A.N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noir/, the Cameroons, 1947.

162
871

The proportion among them of persons who have education is about 40 percent and, what is even more important, that of the well-educated is relatively high.

Poto-Poto: Cultural Level of "Coastal Forest Dwellers"

Illiterates	Educated	Holders of the C.E.P.*	Holders of the "Brevet"
610	390	111	56

/*Certificat d'etudes primaires, certificate of primary education./

369
162

After spending some time in town, some emigrants return to their native villages, thus diminishing the separation between the two places. The bush folk, in turn, often come to the urban centers (1) and in

1. A set of figures gives the exact number of these trips: in 480 budgets relative to a total of 2,000 persons, 1,116 trips were listed (J. Binet, op. cit., p. 112).

such a case we gather that each principal town of a subdivision is a genuine center of attraction. Although new these towns are not artificial. There is another piece of evidence for this, the social-occupational distribution of the urban population is almost constant from one town to another, a proof that it corresponds to needs that are also constant.

Out of 100 inhabitants one generally finds: laborers 16.5, employees 12, traders 8.3, chauffeurs 6.9 (and "motor boys" 4.3), public service employees 6.7, domestic servants 5.8, carpenters 4.9, masons 4, farmers 3.5, tailors 3.2, mechanics 2.9, photographers 0.8, herders 0.5, catechists 0.1, without occupation 9, etc.

This in general outline is the present-day distribution. Let it simply be kept in mind that, with the diffusion of a new culture, the whole society becomes modified. The techniques and tools in use have been increased and diversified at the same time as social conditions.

Chapter 5

Social Organization

1. Forms of Settlement, Habitat

The basic social group is the patriarchal family (nda bot = lit., house of the people), to which corresponds the hamlet or elementary village, the jal (Boulou, pl. mal; Fang, Ewôndo, dzal), generally called by the name of the patriarch (ésa = father; nnôl = eldest, senior), but sometimes, when isolated, carrying a special toponym (éyôké = proper name, designation; a person's name is rather jôé; Fang, édzoé). These mal are usually arranged into multifamily, sometimes multi-clan, villages, minlam (sing. nlam), the latter term designating both the group of dwellings and the soil appertaining to them. The nlam always has a place name of its own, which may refer to its geographical situation: nkôlayôp = on the hill; to a topographical or botanical peculiarity: ako'abete = dressed stone, ajap = the name of a tree, ma'an = crossroads; or to an incident connected with the founding: ébolewo'o (Ebolowa) = decayed chimpanzee, because the village was

177 ascending relative. These /factors/ explain the success and persis-
681 tence of parallel judicial processes, which are illegal from the point of view of European law, although sometimes tolerated by the administration.

d. Delinquency

674 If the older people are to be believed, delinquency offenses used to be rare: secret societies with their ordeals and swift punishments prevented delicts by the fear they inspired. At present the jail books and the judicial statistics make it possible to gauge the dimensions of the phenomenon, but there is no proof that all delinquents are prosecuted. Some affairs never reach the ears of the law: for instance, fathers of families often deplore the immorality of their sons or their wives, whom they accuse of stealing from them, but since no complaint is lodged, these facts are not recorded.

It is usual in Africa to complain of the rise in juvenile delinquency. The figures at my disposal do show an increase:

	18 yrs.	18 - 20 yrs.	20 - 25 yrs.	25 - 30 yrs.	30 - 35 yrs.	Over 35 yrs.	Total
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
1936	3	3.5	19	32	18	25	100
1946	-	10	21	35	15	14	100
1956	7	7.2	25	22	15	24	100

/73/ But this increase is not as great as might have been feared. A study of the statistics allows another conclusion: delinquency is
[369] an urban phenomenon. In fact, only people following city occupations are found in the jails. In a region of primarily agricultural activity, a relatively low number of rural delinquents is remarkable. Admittedly we must recognize that in towns law enforcement is easier, also that the more Westernized townsmen do not hesitate so much to make use of the courts. Nevertheless, the differences between the delinquency rates of different occupations deserve to be pointed out, al-
674 463 though the figures below are, of course, only approximate. They were obtained by a study of the census returns for three towns in the southern Cameroons and by a comparison of the jail books for the same localities.

C74
•413

	Office-holders	Trade Employees	Traders	Butchers	Tailors	Carpenters	Masons	Chauffeurs	Mechanics	Motor Boys	Domestic	Laborers	Chiefs	Planters
Percent of Delinquents	4.8	15	7.5	4	8	5	3	13	10	23	8.3	8	0.8	0.8

Employees in trade, chauffeurs, and apprentice chauffeurs are the social groups with the lowest standard of behavior. The nature of the delicts makes it possible to be precise: in the Beti country of the Cameroons, moral delicts /delit de moeurs/(desertion of the conjugal domicile) make up 47 percent of the cases; theft and swindling, 26 percent; intentional assault and battery come far behind with 16 percent.

These figures enable us to measure the decline of the present-day family. (J.B.)

e. Land Tenure

413 According to early documents land regulations formerly were very simple. There appears to have been no rights over land: "Land belongs to whoever takes it; it has no value. It is not sold, not given as a guarantee for debt, does not enter into inheritance." There is absent not only the notion of private ownership of land but also that of collective ownership: "There is never any conflict between villages over ownership of land. . . . We often see an outside village insert itself between two groups of dwellings belonging to the selfsame Boulou village." (1) In Fang country in Gabon the situation was

1. Report to the League of Nations, 1922.

similar: "In the Woleu-N'Tem region, tradition is unaware of the idea of ownership even by a village." (2)

595
623

Distribution According to Matrimonial Status

	Municipal Councilors	Sample of the Total Population of the Boulou and Beti Area (1)
	Percent	Percent
Polygamous	43	23
Monogamous	43	63
Unmarried	3	14

1. A random sample taken for the study of family budgets, 1954, op. cit.

[881
556]

That councilors are often polygamous is to be explained in terms of their relatively advanced age and their wealth.

623
1145

As elderly possessors of wealth and polygamous, do the elected men embody all the traditional ways in contrast to a progressive younger generation? An examination of occupations, of educational level, and of religion reveals that the actual situation is more complex.

Distribution by Occupation

	Municipal Councilors	Adult Male Population of the Nyong and Sanaga Region (2)
	Percent	Percent
Chiefs	30	1.8
Planters	30	85
Office-holders	14	0.5
Trade employees	3	1
Traders	10	7
Craftsmen	5	?
Catechists, mission monitors	2	2.3

2. According to the annual administrative report; approximations are involved, Yaoundé-Ville being excluded.

6:Alexandre and Binet--170 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

623 463 871

If we set up an index of electoral power based on the percentage in councils and the percentage in the total population, we come to the conclusion that office-holders are very much on top (70). Chiefs come next (17), then trade employees (3), and traders (1.4). Distribution in terms of educational level confirms the influence of educated people /intellectuels/ that could be guessed at from the occupational table. /134/

623 871

Distribution by Educational Level

	Municipal Councilors	Adult Male Population of Nyong and Sanaga Region
	Percent	Percent
Illiterate	10	75
Literate in local language	9	?
Literate in French	60	17
Holders of the C.E.P. *	10	8 (1)
Holders of higher diplomas	2.4	0.3
Worthless figures **	8	--

1. The regional statistics give "primary completed," not "C.E.P."; the nuance may mean a great deal. A survey of the urban population of Ebolowa gives a lower rate: 6.4 percent of certificate-holders.

/*Certificat d'études primaires, certificate of primary education./

/**Ambiguous: Fiches inutilisables may refer to the quality of the statistics or to the use of meaningless initials after an individual's name. —Tr./

The tremendous influence of holders of higher diplomas is obvious, so that uneducated people are almost eliminated, although they are still numerous.

Thus this new élite crystallizing out of the municipal elections appears to be made up of men who are both traditionalist and modern.

511 N'Gounié and Woleu-N'Tem was a "reservoir of manpower") by
702 upsetting its demographic equilibrium. Consequently, most of the administrative reports stress the poverty and mediocrity of the villages, the political instability and "indiscipline," and the eagerness with which all innovations are greeted in the hope of improving conditions. [84]

Region of the Maritime Ogooué

175 During the second half of the nineteenth century the Fang descended the Ogooué in order to reach the trading centers established on the river, and the counting houses of the coast. They pushed back the Bakèlè, imposed themselves on the Galwa and the Nkomi. Since 1880 the Fang have settled in large numbers along
361 the Ogooué as a result of a penetration which organized convoys on the river, created posts, and made possible the settlement of traders.

361 The Fang are settled in the four districts forming this adminis-
162 trative region, but in that of Omboué, the extreme point of their advance, they represent less than 5 percent of the population. Ninety-five percent of the 9,300 inhabitants of N'Djolé District are Fang who have taken the place of the ancient Bakélé people. They belong to the Maké, Nzaman, and Bétsi groups; the first of these was located downstream from N'Djolé before 1865 (1).

1. Captain Curault, op. cit.

They came largely from the Lower Ivindo, but also from the Woleu-N'Tem, where the villagers soon sought to obtain commercial out-
[316] lets on the Ogooué. Outside of a small mine exploitation at N'Djolé, this district is extremely bare. Consequently, the very scattered villages have a miserable appearance, and the male
● [144] population has been canvassed (or recruited) by the neighboring lumber works and by the coastal centers.

563 Lambaréné District, which is very important because of its
[361 forest exploitations (and also because it is an old commercial
313] center, still has a largely Fang population. These are in opposition to the aboriginal group of the Galwa (less than 2,200 individuals)

304 413 among the Fang. The first type is performed with a narrow knife with no handle (nsǒ́n-bekū́t I), Figure 153, and, depending upon the depth of the parallel incisions, shows lines composed of clearly raised cuts or, less distinctly, uniformly dark lines. For endōlo tattooing, an ordinary razor (okǒ́nngǒ́n), see Figure 140, or a special scalpel-like knife (ōkǒ́n e myǎ́n), Figure 155, is used. Its patterns are characterized by the crisscrossing of its cuts; in later years, however, they can scarcely be distinguished from the bekū́t, especially since both pale with age.

304 465 Tattoo artists are usually not paid when members of their own kin group are concerned, but from strangers they frequently demand shamelessly high prices. Thus, the man represented in Figure 218, Drawing (c), was thoroughly swindled, as will be apparent from the figures given here in the footnote (1). At the

1. Tattooing of Mangame-Ssii, Fang from Ebiānemajong (Essauong family); see Figure 218, Drawing c.

	Marks
(a) Made by Meia-Mendongo (Essauong) for three pieces of rubber	.75
(b, c, d) Made by Akoa-Mbelewe (Jenkōng) for two cutlasses	1.00
(e) Made by Mba-Efanga (Essauong) for five strings of beads	.50
(g, h) Made by Erdongo (Essauong) for one ell of cloth	.75
(i, k) Made by Ndong-Efa (Jemwam) for three cutlasses	1.50
(f, l, m) Made by Ndong-Ntutum (Omwang) for three cutlasses	1.50
(n, o) Made by Meko-Mefanga (Essauong) for three pieces of rubber	.75
Decorative scars, made by Meba-Mendongo (Jibikon) for one hen	1.00

304 465 same time, it should be noted that because of his tattooing mania some people considered him "as not quite normal." In true Negro fashion, the absence of a charge for tattooing is explained by saying that the tattooed person does not feel the pain so strongly if he does not have to pay. These conditions, however, vary greatly from place to place. Among the Jaunde payment is customary, and often it is comparatively steep.

304 825 Mutilation of the teeth occurs everywhere among members of both sexes. It is done mainly to the four upper incisors. Aside from decorative considerations, this mutilation doubtless also has a deeper religious basis which is very ancient and still alive in the Negroes. They -- as I was once told -- do not want their teeth to look like animal teeth (2). Since it is indeed a fact that

[171] 2. See also the same attitude among the Malays and the Negroes of the Sudan (according to Frobenius).

no /202/ large mammals have pointed front teeth (for it is with these that we are concerned)(1), this reason seems credible even

[192] 1. See the expressions for tooth chipping below, in which the expression for tooth is always asŭn "front tooth." There is no word for teeth in general; on the other hand there are terms for canines, incisors of animals (fə̄ III), and molars (ekŏ'k).

though to us pointed teeth look precisely like animal teeth since when we think of the gaping jaw of an animal, the prominent incisors are the dominant feature. The Pangwe thinks first of the animal's front teeth, and, especially in the case of horned animals, he finds a surprising similarity to his own. In making this comparison, he is not disturbed by the fact that the similarity extends only to the front teeth of the lower jaw, which resemble the front teeth of his lower jaw, since ruminants usually have no

244 311 against the forest and in the middle along the boundaries of the individual plots (Plate 7). The groundnut plantation with its cleanness and unobstructed view will vividly remind the visitor of European vegetable fields; one groundnut plant next to the other shoots forth its many quadripartite leaves, irrigated by the ample moisture of the tropical rain, and here and there one can see the yellow blossoms shining through the leaves.

244 The planting and harvesting seasons of the groundnut are as follows.

First sowing: planted in September and the beginning of October; harvested towards the end of December.

Second sowing: planted in March and April; harvested in July and August.

The groundnut is thus planted before the rainy season and harvested during the following dry seasons.

244 476 The clearing and burning of farms, accordingly, is undertaken jointly by the men of the village in February, March, and again in July and August. /90/ The field is divided among the men, and they proceed to clear the larger tree trunks and branches out of the way, while the women clean up the farm and then place in the ground the seeds or the nuts which have already sprouted. They do this by digging a small hole with a hoe, throwing the seeds or, as the case may be, the nuts into it, and then pressing the soil down with their feet. The harvest begins when the leaves, with the exception of the topmost ones, are fairly well dried. The soil is loosened, and the women pick out the nuts and put them in plate-shaped baskets (dzǎd).

244 Three years must elapse before groundnuts can again be grown in the same soil. The women have also noticed that the groundnut – which requires a certain amount of calcium in the soil – does not thrive everywhere, and hence they are in the habit of saying: "Let us not plant groundnuts again in this vicinity, for they do not thrive here." Like the majority of cultivated plants in the tropics, groundnuts draw practically no pests. They are harmed most of all by the following animals which eat their leaves: by the guib, Tragelaphus knutsoni Lemberg (nkǒk); and the dwarf goat, Neotragus batesi Winton (odzǒe). Furthermore,

244 773 is today; instead, women gathered its fruit in the bush. Once upon a time, there was a man who had no sister he could sell to obtain a wife for himself, nor did he have any other person who could help him to get married. He hit upon the idea of starting a huge ngon farm, and when the ngon was ripe many people came and bought the kernels. In this way he finally earned so much money that he had the purchase price for a girl. When other people, who likewise had no wives, heard about this, they began to imitate him and also married through the aid of the plant. Hence, it is said: "Oh, I see this plant like a girl (ngṓn), and therefore it shall be called ngōn also, for if the man had had no ngon (ngǒn), he would not have been able to marry a girl [194] (ngō'n)." It should be noted that the two words differ in pitch; the word for the plant has falling pitch in Fang (ngôn), rising pitch in Jaunde (ngǒn), whereas the word for girl has only high pitch (ngō'n). A narrative in the creation story is very similar.

244 Ngon is planted only once a year since its cultivation requires the period from April to December. In April, frequently long before, the bush is cut and burned. The ground, however, is not cleared, and everything is left lying just as it fell; at most the largest brushwood is removed from the connecting paths. Walking through a farm, especially along the plantation paths, is therefore quite a gymnastic feat. A ngon farm is often cleared [476 602] communally by the inhabitants of two neighboring villages who belong to the same kin group. To the uninitiated, however, the boundaries are not discernible. They are indicated by trees that have been left standing or have fallen over and more rarely by lianas tied to the branches of tree trunks lying on the ground. It is astonishing that no boundary disputes arise.

244 462 In April, once the farm area has been burned over, the women go into the fields, and with their universal tool, the hoe, they plant the ngon seeds in the ground. The seeds must first have been soaked in water for a day, and two or three of them are planted in the same hole. Because of the tree trunks and the brush lying about, planting is hard work, and for this reason the men usually assist at the task, at least on the first day, equipped with /95/ /Fig. 53 appears here in the original text/ hoes and digging

226 marcrobrachyum Herklots (nwɔ̃s I) and
Caridina togoensis Hlgd. (sin IV).

the larvae of dragon flies, and other kinds of lower animals. The total catch, however, is pretty large. Everything is eaten, and fishing is one of the women's chief enjoyments. Accordingly, time and time again one will see all the women of a village, from the oldest grandmother down to the smallest girl, wandering into the forest where they know of a suitable stream, and there they will splash around to their heart's content until late into the night. Frequently the entire company will not return to the village until the first owl causes the silent forest to resound with its eerie call. Then they come tramping home with their rich booty which can scarcely be contained in the women's long baskets (nkun). At a fish drive the women build fĩs (Fang, pfĩs (Ntum), or ebĩtia, that is, piles of stones, little pieces of branches, or the like thrown into the water close to the bank, under which the fish gather. At the next fish drive they dam off the brook above and below this place and then catch the fish with no trouble at all after the water has run off.

226 The Jaunde use this method also in large streams and rivers
●476 that are not too deep. They do not construct any dams, however; instead, the fish are driven into shallow inlets or onto flooded forest ground. Of course it must be remembered that such fish drives can be carried out only by the concerted efforts of a number of people. Hence, the chief calls together the women from the neighborhood, goes with them to the place where they want to fish, and stations them in their places. In exchange, he receives a certain share; each woman must give him half of her catch, and an uneven number is rounded off upwards.

226 2. Fish driving (abĩlã)

This corresponds to the procedure of the Jaunde just described, but it takes place only at night and without damming the water in larger rivers.

329 [350] The stool is a valuable piece of household furniture, a luxury object, for which the natives are willing to spend some money. For this reason its manufacture is an important branch of wood [554] carving, and the makers of well-finished, artistically decorated stools are famous persons, much in demand. If they wanted to, they could make a considerable amount of money with their art, and they also could elevate the art itself, but with their congenital laziness, a special inducement is always required before they will take the trouble to start a new project. For example, a guest in the house of such an artist sees a beautifully carved stool there and says: "Oh, what a beautiful stool; you could make me one like that." Perhaps others have uttered the same wish, and so the artist finally pulls himself together, goes into the jungle, and cuts down [304] a trunk of the Apocynacea Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekûk), the only tree suitable for the manufacture of stools. He must choose a trunk which -- after the bark has been pulled off -- has the same diameter as the proposed stool /221/ (Fig. 172). He takes the trunk with him to the village and cuts it into about five to seven disks as thick as the stool is intended to be tall. Then with his cutlass he draws a line around approximately the middle, and this line indicates the lower edge of the seat. From there he cuts three radial grooves downward, deepens them with an adz (ngbwǽk IV), Figure 173, and in this way forms three legs. Then the seat is made smooth and held over the fire until it becomes nice and brown. [304] The edge is rubbed clean with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata Vahl (ekõkõ' Fang, akõ Ntum) (1). The edge and the

1. Root kõ, "to rub"; compare a-kõ-k, "grindstone."

[386 531] legs are colored with redwood and dried for an hour in the sun; finally they are decorated with carved patterns, an artistic addition which is not everywhere uniformly successful. /Fig. 172 appears here in the original text. /

322 476 435 Ordinarily a stool maker finishes from two to three pieces in one day. The price is so low (two spears, the equivalent of 14 pfennigs, apiece) that it is difficult to conceive how the man can work for it.

322
352
531

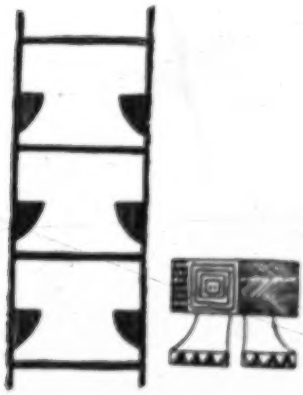


Fig. 172. Stages in Making a Stool.

322 The explanation lies in a kind of principle of reciprocity, a princi-
476 ple clearly stated in the educational precepts to be discussed in a
435 later section /Ed., Vol II/, that is, the seller counts upon the fact that later he will need his client who is in turn a specialist in the manufacture of some kind of article (basketwork plates, for instance), and he then expects to be treated in the same lenient
[463] manner. As a result of the excessive division of labor, everyone is dependent upon everyone else, and this dependence keeps the prices down. Wherever this dependence is absent, the prices go up. Europeans, for instance, with whom such a silent agreement does not exist, pay considerably more, ten or twenty times more, and at the same time they have to put up with inferior work as well.

322 Moreover, the sale of objects manufactured for household use
434 is not regarded as an enterprise for profit. When I asked a stool
554 maker whom I had befriended what his business brought in, he first

[412]

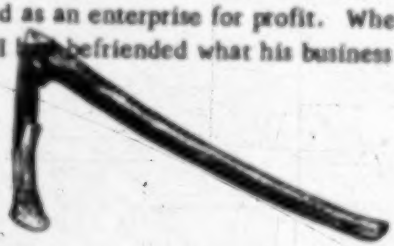


Fig. 173. Adz.

273 covered with old leaf sheath which look like bark and are in turn weighted down with leafstalk ends and the like as a protection against insects. The palm wine gathers in this hole and is scooped out daily. This process lasts from four to five days and produces in all five or more bottles of inferior wine.

Most common is the third method of obtaining wine, namely, from the male or female inflorescences of fully grown trees, that is, ten years old or older (simply: mayǒ[k] m'alén, "wine from the oil palm"). This procedure, to be sure, is not nearly as simple [481] as the two previous ones since the man must climb up the palm tree and work for quite a long time hanging in a supporting rope, in particular lopping off the leaves. It frequently happens that in his eagerness the man cuts through the supporting rope and falls to the ground; to do this he does not even need to have looked too deeply into a calabash filled with palm wine.

At least two, usually three or four, and more rarely up to six inflorescences on a palm are tapped at the same time since some produce more juice, others less or no juice at all. With four inflorescences, for instance, only two produce juice; with six, only four.

The next step is to remove from below all the leaves of the crown with the exception of the leaf in whose axil the inflorescence is inserted. This is now partly removed, but its lower edge and the part of the lower end of the stalk which is turned away from the inflorescence are left on; otherwise the inflorescence would break off and fall down. A stick is clamped between the inflorescence on the one hand and the leaf that was left standing and the neighboring leaf on the other to prop up the inflorescence which has been deprived of its support. Not until the next day is the work continued. With a two-edged knife a rectangular cutout about six centimeters above the base is excised (in a downward direction) from the husk. The stalk of the inflorescence is cut through here and is taken out, so that on all sides only the husks are left standing. Now the stick can be removed since a prop is no longer needed. After two days the palm wine can be collected. For this purpose, a thin layer of the remaining stalk of the inflorescence is cut off, and the empty husks are stopped up at the tip with old dry husks that have been

1: Tessmann--167 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

142
291
481

Fig. 111. Men from Angónneuai (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.

080

of metal). -- Breast ornaments. -- Arm ornaments. -- Finger ornaments. -- Leg ornaments. -- Toe ornaments. -- Profusion of ornaments.

3. Care of the body. -- Cleanliness. -- Parasites and their removal. -- Care of head hair. -- Underarm and pubic hair. -- Care of the teeth. -- Salves with oil: reasons, oil plants, oil from the raffia palm, oil from the oil palm (distribution, varieties, production of pressed, boiled, and washed oil, and of palm seed oil). -- Smearing with dyes: occasions, red dye (preparation, vessels for storing it), white and black dye.
4. Adornment of the body. Origin. -- Kinds. -- Scars by burning. --

301

Fig. 134. Arm Band of Palm Strips.

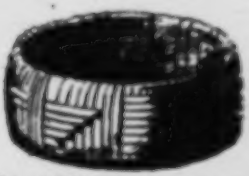


Fig. 135. Braided Arm Band.

Fig. 136. Brass Bracelets.

Fig. 137. Finger Rings.

Rings are put on the toes, frequently on all five of them, just as they are worn on the fingers.

[481] Because of all these adornments the women look overburdened and unattractive (Fig. 138, see also Fig. 133), especially since the adornments give them a walk even more ungainly and heavy than they already have. As a consequence of the heavy burdens that they must carry, they have a waddling walk which announces itself from afar by a rhythmic clatter. In short, the native beauties would not be exactly pleasing to the divine Muse, Terpsichore. In addition, the ornaments are troublesome beyond just their weight; the ankle rings, for instance, rub the skin until it is raw and are then tied with a string to the rings worn above the calves.

411 The chief weapon of the Pangwe today is the flintlock musket.
439 Until the middle of the previous century it was found in our region only in quite isolated instances. Imported since the 1860's and 1870's in ever-increasing numbers by the many newly-founded coastal trading posts, the flintlock musket was a marketable and profitable commercial commodity which since then has so flooded the land that for each Pangwe, at least for each Ntum and Fang, one can reckon three, four, or even five rifles, of which, however, a fraction is unusable. Since 1906 the German government and since 1909 also the French and Spanish governments have prohibited the import of powder, and as a result there has been a noticeable scarcity, especially in the north. Among other things, it has had the effect of putting an end to the great amount of superfluous shooting during festivities, etc., in the Cameroons and adjoining Spanish territory. The small amount of powder which still finds its way from south to north by way of barter is kept in hiding for later occasions.

411 The charge of the rifle consists of small pieces of iron which --
[491] like the powder -- are usually carried around in small containers fastened to the belt or the shoulder bag (mfɔ̌k) (Fig. 78). Frequently, the latter itself serves to hold the ammunition, that is, the pieces of iron which the Pangwe calls by the same name as the
[415] spears, akɔ̌ń. The containers (Fig. 77) are little pouches made of hide (a), flasks (only for ammunition) attractively decorated with brass (b) and (c), little flasks covered with monitor lizard skin (d-g), calabashes (h), the round fruit of a tree (aǎo, aǎun) (i, k), raffia fruit (j), a cacao fruit (m), or other fruit (n-p).

With the importation of powder cut off, the rifles are useless, and it may be that in this way the throwing spear, which formerly was the true long-range weapon of the Pangwe, /Fig. 77 appears on p. 244/ /245/ will again occupy a place of honor, especially since it has never been entirely out of use. To be sure, the spears manufactured today are not as large as those of olden times. They
● [491] are used more as walking sticks of superior quality or as an ornamental weapon taken along on a journey -- usually people carry two or three with them -- and the natives scarcely know how to use them for actual battle. Only the Jaunde through continued

[Text continues on page 94]

524 adult activity, second, group games, and third, games of skill. The last group includes the games that have reached the highest stage of development since they are no longer amusements in which all those present participate, but rather are performances by talented individuals. In the performance of magical tricks, the games of skill and acting generally attain their highest degree of perfection. Thus they touch upon the area of the representational arts and might be regarded as a pre-stage of the latter.

So much for the classification of games. I hardly need to point out that the various groups cannot always be sharply separated since the boundary lines between them are blurred by a great deal of overlapping.

I shall mention here only the names of the most common
526 gymnastic games: the foot race, mbǐ'; a combination of our
857 hopscotch and catch, called ngá-ngǔ; furthermore, rope pulling, edudan, played only by bigger boys and corresponding to our tug of war; chain pulling, ogbǔn; "treading," played among the Jaunde especially by almost fully grown /294/ /Fig. 89 appears here in the original text/ boys and called eŋma koʒ (Fang, etǐ' (Jaunde), in which two players, facing each other, tread rapidly on one spot and at the end must try to set down the opposite foot simultaneously; and, finally, the dancing game, ekǔ.

[481] Walking on stilts (Fig. 89) may probably also be designated as
[824] a sport. The stilts are carved out of the umbrella tree, Musanga smithii.

The transition from gymnastic to war games is represented by throwing spears at a disk, a game that is widespread and popular throughout the Pangwe region It is called ngok, after the fre-
[824] quently mentioned Desplatsia dewevrei Burset (angok), from whose large fruit the disk is cut. The shoots or little trunks of young trees are used for spears.

War and hunting games are probably the most popular and the most frequently played of all the games. In the small-scale war of the older boys (eight to 15 years of age) -- which sometimes /295/ /Figs. 90-93 appear here in the original text/ degenerates into bad fights -- the weapon is, as in the case of adults, the rifle, copied in various forms with leafstalks (Fig. 90), raffia pith, or

[Text continues on page 170]

2: Tessmann--167 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

481
857

/224/

Fig. 89. Stilt-walker in Alén (Epfak Family), Spanish Guinea.

erosion and preserve the fertility of the soil. At present it would be a definite exaggeration to speak of an enclosure system, as may be done about the Bamiléké in the western Cameroons. Did such a system ever exist in Pahouin country, and are the humble hedges sometimes to be found encircling villages or plantations traces of it? However that may be, the practice could be very beneficial, and its development is much to be desired.

The raising of animals is now on the decline, especially in villages removed from the main roads. Are sacrifices requiring goats and hens passing into disuse? /31/ Have vehicular traffic and the number of fowls run over prevented the renewal of the leasing out of domestic animals /?/ /cheptel/. These various causes may have been simultaneously at work, but the reason most often given is the development of cacao plantations. Without fences, the raising of goats and the planting of cacao trees are incompatible. To protect their plantations or to avoid endless quarrels, owners of herds have had to limit their undertakings.

Modern agriculture

Cacao is indeed the symbol and the essential component of a modern economy. From this crop and from the agricultural, juridical, and economic practices which it entails, a thousand improvements or seeds of progress appear throughout the society.

It would, however, be unfair not to mention the other economic activities of the Pahouin districts, although their influence and financial return are far behind that of cacao. Timber, though its importance has decreased, played an essential role a few decades ago. African entrepreneurs are rare in this industry where equipment is complicated and expensive. A fairly large tonnage of palmetto is sold when the market is good, although the best soil and climate for palms is not to be found here (1).

1. The Pahouin of the southern Cameroons, the Boulou and Ntoumou particularly, dislike climbing trees and often sell the bunches of dates to Mekaé on the tree. (P. A.)

But cacao remains the master crop. Its cultivation has become a part of the mores and has left its mark on psychological patterns.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

The face is oval in form.[1] The average nose is of the negroid type (short, broad, nearly straight), Fig. 7, Topinard; or the Australoid or Papuan (broad, with the lower part forming a flattened and depressed hook), Fig. 8, Topinard's scale. The skull is thick and strong. Very often the brows are depressed deeply, the cheek bones are prominent, and at the angle of the inferior maxillary bone there is an inclination to bulging outward. The ala nasi are broad and thick, and the nasal bridge often much depressed giving the typical, flat, turned up nose of the negro. Yet I have observed among the Fang some handsome aquiline noses, and quite frequently the Australoid or Papuan type. I have frequently noticed that the possessors of the aquiline, or Australoid type of nose, showed a higher degree of intelligence and a more genuine desire to learn "the white man's ways." 142

The ears are large and well developed, inclined to spread outward and having broad thick lobes. The teeth are good and symmetrical; Fang men and women file the upper and lower incisors to a fine point and give as their reason for so doing, that it is *mbway* (beautiful). The head of an average Fang male sits well on the shoulders, the neck is strong and muscular, the "Adam's apple" is not highly developed. Very little attention is given to the cultivation of hair on the upper lip. [304] [826]

The breasts of Fang women are very pendulous after bearing children; and in some cases the breasts in males are very highly developed (photo on screen).

The muscles of the arms, back, buttocks and thighs are often splendidly developed, far more so than in the Mpongwe, Mabeya and many other West African tribes. The Mpongwes are rapidly degenerating. In the male Fang the gluteal muscles are not highly developed. The gluteal muscles in the female are often developed to a very high degree, measuring round from 36½ inches to 39½ inches.

Fifteen Fang males were measured and averaged as follows: [141]

Height 5 feet 9 inches.
Chin to pubes 27½ inches.
Pubes to inner malleolus 32½ inches.
Inner malleolus to tip of great toe 8½ inches.
Shoulder to wrist 24½ inches.
Wrist to point of index finger 8½ inches.

In males the thumb is long and broad in the terminal phalanx; the nails of the hand are broad and flat. I have often seen a man use his great toe to pick up an object off the ground, and flexing the leg bring the object to his hand. When journeying through the bush with a caravan it is very interesting to notice how the native uses the great toe to aid him in climbing a steep hill. The sexual appetites is very highly developed, especially in the males. The women are the [481]

[1] It has not been possible for me to devote the time needed for a detailed study of Fang crania. The few Bulu and Fang skulls I have had opportunity for examining presented very little, if any, different characteristics. The skulls I examined were decidedly prognathous, but not large.

/87/

482
291
301

Fig. 51. Fang Women Bringing Firewood from the Plantations.

season. /Fig. 49 appears here in the original text. / Once the bush is entirely cleared (with the exception of the shade trees), a few days are allowed to elapse until the sun has dried the wood. Then fire is set to it, and the farm is "burned," a dźge tí. 241
At the end of the dry season one can see columns of rising smoke throughout the land, and on walking expeditions one often has the dubious pleasure of having to pass such a burning farm. A great number of birds of prey, especially the parasite kite, circle around the new farm, heedless of the heat, in order to catch every crawling thing that flees from the fire. As soon as the rainy season comes, the clearing of the farm comes to an end, and now "the food is laid." The men move the charred and unburned remains of the trees /Fig. 50 appears here in the original text/ /87/ to one side or heap them up on the farm itself as boundary markers (see Plate 7). The women remove the smaller branches, and it is the women who from this time on dominate the picture, sowing or planting the vegetables, pulling out the weeds which during the rainy season soon become rank, and taking in the harvest. All these, incidentally, are lighter 241 462

241 tasks, and from this division of labor it is apparent – this will
462 be pursued further later on – that the work which requires the greater effort is allotted to the men, while the easier work is left to the women. Since by the very nature of the matter the harder work lasts for a shorter period of time, the impression easily arises that the women have to perform considerably more work than the men, but this is not the case, and it is probable that the distribution of work is not much different from that in Germany, say. It is just that the type of work is different. To be sure,
[462] upon seeing the large, fully packed baskets which the women bring in daily from the fields (Fig. 51), the uninitiated observer might easily get such an erroneous impression, but the carrying of such disproportionately heavy burdens, which makes the women's bodies so deformed, is partly their own fault. One is reminded of the Low German proverb: "De Fule drägt sich doht un de Flitige löpt sich doht /the lazy one carries himself to death, and the industrious one runs himself to death/. The woman likes to
[461] rest in the afternoon, and many of them even have quite an aversion for work. Incidentally, this is a further reason for the
[721] frequent periods of food shortage (mentioned in the third section /not translated/), which at times develop into real famines. /88/

241 The most important staple food plants of the Pangwe are the following seven:

Southern Region (Fang)	Northern Region (Jaunde)
1. Cassava (manioc)	1. Cassava (manioc)
2. Plantain	2. Groundnut
3. Groundnut	3. Plantain
4. Ngon	4. Maize
5. Maize	5. Ngon
6. Taro	6. Taro
7. Yams	7. Yams

It should be understood that the plants are listed here in the order of their importance as food plants, in other words, as "food" in the household, and not according to the extent of field work involved in their cultivation which would completely reverse the

224
285

Fig. 86. Basket Trap.

224 fenced-in area is not unknown to the Fang and is supposed to have been practiced more frequently in former times when the region was more abundant in these pachyderms.

The distribution of meat from the animals caught on the drives is regulated. If a huntsman, for instance, kills a wild animal in such a way that it dies on the spot, /138/ /Fig. 86 appears here in the original text/ he must give the meat of one forefoot to the first of his companions who appears on the scene. On the other hand, if the animal runs on, the first comer can lay claim to the entire forefoot, the second to the shoulder pieces (abá') (1) of one

> 1. From the stem bá, "to divide"; these pieces are usually divided first because the animal falls down to the ground (which, after all, is also common property) with its shoulders first.

side, the third to the outside of the shank (ebóm). Finally, the one who carries off the animal can claim the neck bones with some flesh (ebǒ̂ǒ) (2).

[48]

> 2. For he also carries the animal around his neck (placed over his shoulder): abǒ̂ǒge, bǒǒ = to carry.

224 In view of the excitable and stormy character of the Pangwe,
672 it is no wonder that many of them on such a hunting expedition,
673 where the coveted, delectable tit (tit, "flesh" and "game") jumps

Fig. 133. Mum Woman from Akwangf (Ewandon Family).

ends are entwined like two tendrils (nki'b I, Fig. 136, a), or fine brass wire wound around itself (Fig. 136, b). They also wear bands braided from Oncocalamus and thick rings made of ivory or elephant bones (ekõm e ɛ̃ɔ̃k) or an imitation made from the wood of the Alstonia (ekũk) called ɛ̃ɔ̃[k] ekũk, "elephant" (that is, ivory from the Alstonia). All three varieties are especially worn by chiefs. Among the Jaunde there are attractively worked, thin arm hoops made of ivory.

Finger rings (Fig. 137) are made of ivory (a), horn(1) (b) blackened in raffia palm oil, and brass. Of the latter there are spirals (c-d), simple thin rings whose ends are slightly entwined (e), bands, and thicker, often slightly ornamented hoops (f).

1. Of the black-rumped duikerbok, Cephalophus callipygus Pucr. (mvin IV).

By and large, leg ornaments are similar to those for the arm; here too, shorter brass spirals worn above the knee are the most frequent. Women also wear them just below the knee and, again, they alone wear longer ones which extend from the middle of the calf down to the ankle. In addition, both sexes wear massive or hollow brass rings as well as the peculiar, finely decorated brass foot covers (ebɛ̃, ngɔ̃'b IV). /186/

283 elements of the same kind, and these are braided together into a pigtail (helmet caps and helmet hairdos; see also device of the Mwele for hanging pots, Fig. 164). /Fig. 165 appears here in the original text./

(2) Carrying bands and braided mats.

[482] The carrying bands are braided from Triumfetta bast strips (two under, two over). The braided mats are made from leaf strips of the screw pine Pandanus (awú'ba, kŭbuga; contracted form, akŭ̃ã) which intertwine like a chessboard. Mats are found only in the [285 459] southern border region and are probably imported. There is a boat-like satchel for the novices of the Jaunde moon cult (see Section 11 /Ed., this section in Vol. II is not translated/), which is braided like the mats and made of the same material.

(3) Drying boards and boxes.

283 The floors of the drying boards are made by braiding raffia 285 stalk strips (four under, three over). The bottoms and parts of the 415 side walls of the boxes are made from braided palm bands (three under, three over). /214/

(4) Storage baskets.

285 The storage basket (angũn Jaunde, angunda Mwele) is a 251 transitional form between the box and the basket insofar as its 415 basic material is raffia pith boards (Fig. 165) placed next to each other and held together by stalk strips of Sarcophrynium tied around them. The storage baskets are used in the house for storing foodstuffs, such as groundnuts, ears of corn, and so forth.

(5) Baskets.

285 Basketwork is done either with one material or with a combina- 415 tion of two different materials. The former is the case with the following.

415
285
[462] 1. Women's hanging baskets (nkŭn I). Unlike most other baskets, these are also manufactured by women. They are made from strips of the stalk bark of Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch.
[804] (stalk, ndĕn, ndĕnăn IV). They display considerable variation, both in size and pattern (Fig. 166). /Fig. 166 appears here in the original text. /

415
285
462
462 2. Carrying baskets (nkŏĕ' I), which are used only once, are woven in wide meshes from stalks of the Sarcophrynium by men and women whenever their regular baskets are not available or not available in sufficient numbers, or if they want to spare the baskets. Thus, they would use the carrying baskets, for instance, in

[531]

Fig. 166. Women's Hanging Baskets.

order to transport the bloody flesh of a freshly killed elephant into the village and for similar purposes.

285
415 3. Baskets for the oil press and for carrying earth (ekŭt, ekŭt-ăzŭ'ĭ' = oil press baskets, ekŭt-coĕ = earth baskets). The first is used to squeeze out oil from the pulp of the fruit (azŭ'ĭ') of the oil palm or raffia palm; the second, to remove the earth that is dug out when pits (ebŏ) are made. Both baskets are braided from Ancistrophyllum
[534] acutiflorum Becc. (nkĭne) (1).

[412] 1. I once saw a knife sheath woven entirely from bush rope (Oncocalamus). Figure 167.

285
B24

5. Bands, a substitute for bush rope.
6. Scraping sticks for cassava.

The related Ancistrophyllum opacum M. et W. (egbwɛ̃ɛ) supplies tension ropes for drumheads, net hoops, and snares.

/216/ a substitute, Calamus deerratus Mann et Wendl. (edźĩʌ) (1).

1. This is also used for flutes (ndźĩʌ I) and sticks for scraping cassava (akõ-edźĩʌ).

is used for some kinds of baskets (women's large carrying baskets and men's small carrying baskets).

285
415

The following kinds of baskets are made with various types of weaving.

[462]

1. Covered basket of the Jaunde (afõn) made chiefly by women. Braiding strand of palm band, braiding strips of Pandanus leaf strips, braided like a checkerboard (one over, one under).

285
415
482

2. Large carrying baskets for permanent use (nkõ̃ɛ̃' I, nkbɛ̃' I Fang), in which the women /Fig. 167 appears here in the original text/ carry home wood and produce. Braiding strand of

[D4]

Ancistrophyllum (nkɛ̃ne), more rarely of Calamus deerratus, braiding strips of Oncocalamus (nlõ̃ñ).

3. Small carrying baskets (okõ̃kõ̃ɛ̃', "small carrying basket," and engã'ne), Figure 168, made of the same material as the previous ones, only smaller, frequently with a more finely braided edge whose active part may consist not only of bands but also of strings. Usually, moreover, the main braiding strand is replaced for a short distance in the middle of the basket by a blackened one, called ekõ̃na nkũt (b). These baskets are considered especially elegant; the woman takes them with her on journeys and packs food in them. In the house, raffia aprons and other objects are kept in them, and in the fields they are used to hold groundnuts and other things. /Fig. 168 appears here in the original text. /

4. Men's carrying baskets (ebɛ̃'da), Figure 169. In the case of these baskets, the braiding strand is made either of Calamus or

1: Tessmann--232 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Fig. 169. Men's Small Basket with Decorations of Hide and Strings of Beads.

Ancistrophyllum. In the latter case, I found them strengthened from the outside by little sticks of the same material braided in diagonally. 285 415 482

5. Rattle baskets (ngŏk). /217/ These appear in two forms: the first and larger one consists of the same material as the carrying basket; the second and smaller one has the same reinforcing sticks in its wall as the previous baskets and a piece of calabash shell for the bottom (concerning their use, see Section 20 /Ed., this section in Vol. II is not translated/ and the illustration there). 285 415

(6) Basketwork bowls of the Mwele (ckki3).

For these (Fig. 170), there are likewise active braiding strips and one passive /Fig. 169 appears here in the original text/ braiding strand wound in a spiral, as in the true baskets of the second series. In contrast to the latter, however, the spiral begins in the middle of the bottom and thus forms the bottom and the wall, and it is held together by braiding strips woven in at right angles. These bowls, which perhaps are the result of northern influence (Hauma /Hausa/?), are used by the Mwele to store maize meal and as plates for finer foods. [77 251]

The chief weapon of the Pangwe today is the flintlock musket. 411 Until the middle of the previous century it was found in our region 439 only in quite isolated instances. Imported since the 1860's and 1870's in ever-increasing numbers by the many newly-founded coastal trading posts, the flintlock musket was a marketable and profitable commercial commodity which since then has so flooded the land that for each Pangwe, at least for each Ntum and Fang, one can reckon three, four, or even five rifles, of which, however, a fraction is unusable. Since 1906 the German government and since 1909 also the French and Spanish governments have prohibited the import of powder, and as a result there has been a noticeable scarcity, especially in the north. Among other things, it has had the effect of putting an end to the great amount of superfluous shooting during festivities, etc., in the Cameroons and adjoining Spanish territory. The small amount of powder which still finds its way from south to north by way of barter is kept in hiding for later occasions.

The charge of the rifle consists of small pieces of iron which -- 411 like the powder -- are usually carried around in small containers [412] fastened to the belt or the shoulder bag (mfɔ̂a) (Fig. 78). Frequently, the latter itself serves to hold the ammunition, that is, the pieces of iron which the Pangwe calls by the same name as the [413] spear, akɔ̂ɔ. The containers (Fig. 77) are little pouches made of hide (a), flasks (only for ammunition) attractively decorated with brass (b) and (c), little flasks covered with monitor lizard skin (d-g), calabashes (h), the round fruit of a tree (akɔ, aŝun) (i, k), raffia fruit (l), a cacao fruit (m), or other fruit (n-p).

With the importation of powder cut off, the rifles are useless, and it may be that in this way the throwing spear, which formerly was the true long-range weapon of the Pangwe, /Fig. 77 appears on p. 244/ /245/ will again occupy a place of honor, especially since it has never been entirely out of use. To be sure, the spears manufactured today are not as large as those of olden times. They [414] are used more as walking sticks of superior quality or as an ornamental weapon taken along on a journey -- usually people carry two or three with them -- and the natives scarcely know how to use them for actual battle. Only the Jaunde through continued

[Text continues on page 94]

526
[291]

Fig. 118. Fang People at a Wrestling Match in Alén (Essauong Family). Left, before the selection; right, wrestling.

To the right one can see two combatants wrestling. Each grip, even hooking one's foot behind that of the opponent, and every feint designed to bring down the opponent by any possible method of surprise is considered wholly admissible. /319/

The victory is determined when one of the opponents touches the ground with both shoulders. If he merely falls on one side and the other combatant does not immediately succeed in pressing his shoulders to the ground, the round is regarded as undecided (verb, a kɛ́nɛ̌n). In doubtful cases the judges, who, armed with sticks, circle around the pair during the match, determine the victor.

The victor (ngbɔ̌, III, from a gbɔ̌, = to throw) is hoisted onto the
[292] shoulders of members of his kin group (a bɔ̌(g)e matɛ̌tɛ́) and carried off amidst singing and hooting. Usually members of different kin groups or at least of different villages fight one another, doubtless a relic from former times when wrestling was a more serious means of combat.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

342
291
492
142

FANG WOMAN.

142
291
302
411

FANG CHIEFS.

[p. 66(C)]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

[142] load-winners and some are strong and muscular, while many more are weak and worn out from ceaseless toil.

The Fang make good carriers, and will do a splendid day's journey even in the [142] wet season with bad forest trails, if not overloaded. A carrier's load should never [147] exceed 25 kilogrammes; and 20 would pay better on a long journey. The first day out with a caravan the men usually drag along slowly, until their loads settle well down in the *Ingri* and fit their backs. The *Ingri* is a very ingenious contrivance for carrying a load in; it is usually made from a forest vine with a plaited head strap. To hurry carriers the first day is a bad mistake; poorly adjusted loads chafe and cause sore backs, and before night the whole caravan is tired out and sulky. It is a wise traveller in Africa as elsewhere who knows how to save his men.

[145] [144] A very noticeable fact among the Fang is the scarcity of old men. I attribute this largely to the ravages of syphilis; the same terrible disease that has done so much towards the degeneration of numerous coast tribes, and which is already playing fearful havoc among the Fang. Indolent, untrustworthy and warlike, they are nevertheless a most companionable people. [181] The slightest piece of drollery or a joke immediately causes laughter. It has been my privilege to visit many foreign lands including China, Japan and Korea, yet never in my life have I met such an absolutely good-natured, fun-loving people as the Fang.

[146] The men are not fond of work. They frequently ask me for something to do to "earn a cloth." If I tell them to cut fence poles or good clean bark in the forest, they decline. A male Fang's idea of work is to sit in the *Abong* (palaver house) and make fish lines by rolling pineapple fibre along the upper [183] portion of his thigh, or to manufacture *Abi* (roof thatch). At these occupations he can converse with all comers, hear the news and take his part in talking a palaver. [127] They are a revengeful people and will keep up a palaver over a woman for many years. If they do not succeed in shooting a man during a palaver they do not [111] hesitate to fire at and kill a woman; while captives held as hostages are often treated with great cruelty.

The women regard virtue very lightly. Before marriage a girl can do nearly [156] as she pleases. It is absolutely safe to state that it would be almost impossible [157] to find a maiden in a Fang village over sixteen years of age. Adultery is common, [159] and one of the chief causes of "women palavers." Women rank first in value as [322] goods for trade, next in value are goats, then guns and cloth. The greed for goods has a strong hold on the people. They learn quickly but have very little originality. They have no chemical ideas. Their habits are very dirty; they will wash in a [56] small pool of water and, while bathing, fill the goards or imported jugs with the water in which they are washing and use it for domestic purposes. In many other ways they are absolutely filthy, and descend to the level of brute creation. They [179] are not over-burdened with modesty, both sexes frequently bathe together in a perfectly nude condition. A male Fang passes a large percentage of his time in

Throughout the region such a "kank"* is equal in value to a tobacco leaf (commercial tobacco) or a spoonful of salt. This is equal to a piece of spear money or seven pfennigs. They are generally used as provisions for bearers and employees of the Whites because of their convenience and availability, their unlimited supply, and their popularity with the natives.

Dried cassava rolls (engǔ'nǎ-mbǒm).

As was mentioned before, the ordinary rolls do not keep longer than three days. Hence a special procedure is used in their preparation for longer journeys or for situations when one cannot or does not want to make the rolls again and again. In this procedure, the cassava balls are placed on the drying loft for a month after they have been washed; only then are they processed, that is, pulverized on stones, wrapped in leaves, and boiled. Sometimes the balls themselves are carried along on the journey. They are softened in water when they are wanted, boiled, and consumed cold. Both kinds of cassava rolls are called engǔ'nǎ-mbǒn.

(b) Cassava cutlets (osǎ, -mbǒn, ngǒ-mbǒn IV).

A very bitter and at the same time poisonous species of cassava is made into cassava cutlets. For this purpose, the pieces of root are peeled with a cutlass, halved lengthwise or quartered, and boiled with one and a half liters of water for an hour in a pot lined with plantain leaves. Then the roots are taken out, cut like a loaf into slices, and hung for a day in running water inside a basket lined with leaves. After that, they are thoroughly washed on the net described under "Fishing" on page 80, and they are then eaten cold. /156/

Dried cassava cutlets (dzǎ(s) -mbǒn).

These are dried after the boiling and before being hung in the water, in the same way as engǔ'nǎ-mbǒn. They are used in the same situations.

*[i.e. cassava roll — Analyst]

415
531

Fig. 105. Men's Ladling Spoons.

264 As a rule, to be sure, every man carries one or two of these useful
415 utensils in his shoulder bag made of pineapple fibers (mfǒk). /163/

Beverages and Indulgents

271 The usual beverage of the Pangwe is water. He drinks it from
415 little bowls, into which the water is poured from a clay water flask,
484 or from calabashes (ndǒk IV) which, in addition to the clay water flasks, are also used for fetching water. He also drinks water from special drinking calabashes cut in half through the middle (Mwele) or provided with a hole (Jaunde). On a journey, he uses one or

271 more leaves folded together in the form of a bag, like the leaf
415 spoon, or his right hand with which he scoops up the water and
484 throws it into his mouth with rapid swinging motions.

In dense forest where no stream is known to be nearby -- this,
271 to be sure, is a rare occurrence, for instance, when they have lost
137 the way or if suddenly somebody falls ill from thirst, or the like --
824 one can, at times, open a hidden source of water in the water liana Dichapetalum holosericeum Engl. (angũngũ̃ĩ-ndǯĩk III Ntum, ngũ̃ĩ-ndǯĩk III Fang). Unfortunately, however, this plant does not occur everywhere; it grows straight up from the ground to the highest tree tops and can attain the thickness of the upper thigh, but usually it measures only 40 centimeters in circumference. In order to get water, one only needs to cut off the liana as high as one can reach, something that can be done with one blow, and then cut off a piece from the lower half. This is held vertically so that the water cannot run out, and it is then gradually inclined over a drinking vessel, for instance, leaves folded together in the form of a bag. The water, which -- as the Negroes assert -- is supposed to be good for the stomach, now flows out of the stem in a strong stream, hissing all the while. It is quite astonishing what quantities of water the liana contains. A piece as long as one's arm suffices to quench the most violent thirst and, according to my estimates contains one and a half liters. If one needs more, he simply cuts off additional pieces, and since the water cannot flow out of the cut liana because of the air pressure, one always has enough, even for large caravans.

272 As regards indulgents, the Pangwe have sugarcane sap, banana
273 wine, palm wine, and tobacco. In their use of these they are, on the whole, quite moderate. In this respect, the importation of rum would certainly have created a change for the worse if in 1906 the prohibition against the sale of intoxicating liquors had not intervened.

1. Sugarcane sap.

272 The sap contained in sugarcane is extracted in the following manner. The bark of the sugarcane is splintered off with a knife, and its meat is sucked out, or one presses out the sap and then drinks it as "sugar wine (mayɣ̃[k] me nkõ'k)." The latter method of

789 opinion of one Fang, the word a bǐnǎn, which is contained in the
521 name abǐn, has the sense of "moving about and rumbling," and they want the stormy weather just to move about and rumble.

The help of the ancestors is employed in another method of
789 combatting Jupiter Pluvius, one that is used chiefly for cult festivi-
789 ties. The ancestral figures, festively smeared with oil and red
521 wood, are placed in front of the house where they would be drenched "to the skin" if they did not see to it that no rain fell on this particular day. At the same time the ancestral skulls are frequently painted with a salve made of red wood and ground bark of
824] Pentaclethra macrophylla, whose pods, when they are ripe, burst open with a pop and fling the fruit a great distance; in this way the natives indicate that the rain should be flung to one side in the same fashion.

789 When women are in the fields harvesting -- especially at the harvest of ngon -- and rain threatens, they put a little water and a
521 stone in a leaf bundle and hang this up in the field. In the same manner the rain is supposed to remain suspended in the sky, be as heavy as the stone, and stay in its place just like a Negro whose "heart is heavy" and who shows no inclination for any kind of undertaking.

Medicines with a similar effect are used on journeys. A leaf
484 of Trachyphrynium violaceum Radl. (tsěčkiǐ'i, IV Fang) is twisted
789 into a bag, filled with a little water, and then fastened to one
124 finger. By doing this, the rain is held fast. Another medicine consists of hanging up old pieces of wood saturated with water, so that the rain will likewise be absorbed up in the sky. Furthermore, a person will take a Petersia twig or a fern leaf dipped in water in his hand, /199/ so that the rain will be broken up into as many little parts as the small pinnules of the fern. Finally, there is the familiar Selaginella, the herb of "missing" (zǐlǎnw, from á sǐlǎn, "to miss"), that is to say, the rain is supposed to miss man.

789 It should be emphasized that the Pangwe no longer regard
178 these medicines seriously and even ridicule them as "superstition"; they have long since noticed that none of them helps. Hence, medicines against rain are no longer used today, except as a joke. A possible exception may be the cooking pot medicine of the women,

include representatives of all the clans. Who then could exercise authority over such a motley population, if they were to follow purely traditional rules? Various methods are used for selecting chiefs. In one place people adhere to investing the legitimate heir of the lineage of the village founder. Elsewhere, a representative of the largest ayon is sought. Quite often, particularly in the Cameroons, the choice of chief by /130/ election is believed to allow the population to express their views, whatever the motives of selection may be. Will the village regrouping movement permit the establishment of a new, better-adapted system? A blaze of enthusiasm has gripped the Fang people, convinced that the new system will make it possible to solve all problems as by a magical formula, without sacrificing either traditional forms or individual anarchy.

In the Cameroons a few years ago the movement to regroup the meyon appeared just as likely to bring an end to all difficulties. More bound up with traditional institutions, the meyon organization movement set out simply to give some order to the intellectual and moral /behavioral?—Tr./ life of groups by codifying customs, taking note of traditions, and creating a collective awareness, a common clan sentiment, through periodic meetings, dances, and songs. In contrast to the movement in Gabon, the bisulan movement hardly touches upon the concrete, the economic field.

It is worth emphasizing that this movement did not question the administrative division into regions and subdivisions. The bisulan do not in fact seem to have voiced any criticism of this distinction, and the population of Dja-and-Lobo even expressed a lively wish to see Sangmélima raised to regional status and separated administratively from the N'Tem region.

In fact, though local organization at the lowest levels may not have found its bearings, at a higher level it seems to have become thoroughly incorporated in the country. When they reached Pahouin country, the European powers—France, Germany, Spain—set up a network of resident posts for the representatives of authority. In this country without crystallizing centers, the main town of a subdivision has become a town with a town's multiple functions, administrative, judicial, cultural (missions and schools), economic (road station, trade). A study of the journeys made by the rural population of the southern Cameroons shows clearly that these towns are no longer artificial centers but genuine points of attraction. The capital of

6;Alexandre and Binet--166 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 F119 Fang F119

their subdivision is the goal of 37 percent of travelers. The motives indicated vary greatly: people go there for reasons connected with their jobs (1.3%), for medical care (2%), to attend to matrimonial affairs (9.5%), to visit relatives (10.5%), merely for their own pleasure (23%), to attend to business connected with the public services (civil status /état civil/, law, various public departments, in 45% of the cases). There is no need to underline the importance of contacts with the administration. So in the Cameroons it has been thought necessary to decentralize the administrative machinery further and to place it within reach of the people. The establishment of new subdivisions within the Yaoundé region and of administrative posts in Boulou country demonstrate this attitude. All this takes place as if the Pahouin, in vague resentment /131/ against the inadequacies of their traditional organization, were trying to replace them with new and foreign institutions.

In order to prevent the population from totally committing its fate into the hands of the European organization and thereafter refusing to make any personal effort at improving their condition, the French administration has attempted, at the same time as it distributed authority throughout the country, to remove concentration at the center. Though it was beneficial to multiply the agents of the central power in contact with the population, it was even more necessary to give the people or their representatives the opportunity to manage public services and to organize the collective life.

Civil law was, therefore, largely decentralized. In addition to the first- and second-degree courts at which subdivision or regional heads /chefs de... —the implication here is of French colonial officials. —Tr./ made decisions based on custom, assisted by African assessors, there were created a great many "customary" courts whose judges were not officials. In the majority of cases, chiefs were thus appointed as presidents of customary courts, with prominent men and secretaries to help them. The number of cases dealt with allows us to believe that the reform has been beneficial. Though the nature of the suits has no bearing on the local government organization, it should, nevertheless, be mentioned for the light it throws on the points of friction that exist between individuals.

In the Cameroons the distribution was as follows: divorces, 38 percent; liberation of widows, 6 percent; adultery, 9 percent; real property rights, 17 percent. These represent the principal disputes; the probable maladjustment of matrimonial institutions provides the main portion.

6: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

traded with the *ski* (iron)." Iron is put to various uses. Long bladed knives of various shapes and patterns are made, also spear heads, armlets, anklets, finger and toe rings. Small pieces of iron are used for bullets in flint-lock muskets. One of the most important uses of money among the Fang is the making of *bele*. 325 326

Bele is made up in bunches ten *bele* in each bunch; a bunch of *bele* is called *ntet*. The amount of dowry paid in *bele* is usually counted in hundreds, *kulili bi* 326 [436] *bel, ntet ewum* (bring me one hundred *bele*).

A bundle of ten arrow heads is frequently used as an *ntet*.

A peculiar shaped adze is made of iron; it is used for working wood, especially hollowing trees intended for canoes.

Pieces of iron are forged into axe blades (*ewu*).

The *nyhk* is a short handled spade made of iron, used for digging in the gardens.

The art of casting seems to be unknown.

The bellows (*ekum*) used by Fang smiths are very ingenious (*specimen on table*). The feet are used to steady the bellows, whilst both hands work the goat skin covers and force air into the fire.

A block of iron is used for an anvil. Some of the natives are quite skilful at working iron. A Fang living near my residence often begged from me a round steel nail from a packing case. In a short time he would return with the nail transformed into a thin delicate knife or dagger, only the nailhead remaining intact. Very large fighting knife blades are made and beautifully fashioned, and ornamented with various punch marks.

I have never seen any native made wire. Imported brass wire is in great demand and mostly used as a continuous armlet. The coil usually reaches from [439] wrist to elbow, and is considered extremely *ndang* (handsome), and kept highly [301] polished.

Imported brass is obtained in trade and made into armlets, anklets, finger and toe rings. It is also used for ornamentation of guns.

Many of the natives are skilled workers of iron and fully aware of its value. I have never seen welding practised, but in working hot iron it is frequently plunged into cold water to make it *alert* (hard).

Fire.—In the far interior, fire is produced by friction, the simplest form of a drill being used, which is twisted rapidly between the hands. Along the rivers 372 matches are obtained from the native traders, who bring up large quantities from the coast. The natives are always ready to trade for matches, which are again traded to interior tribes. Flints are only used on the hammer of the old flintlock [439] musket imported for trade. Fires are almost constantly burning in the palaver houses. Two dry logs are kept constantly burning, they are placed end to end, when one log is nearly consumed it is replaced by another.

It is interesting to notice how the natives carry fire about. When on a 372 journey in 1897 from Gross Batanga with a caravan to the Bulu country in the 484 German sphere of influence, one of the men usually obtained a piece of burning

8: Bennett, D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

372 log from the last town where the caravan rested. This man kept the piece of wood
484 burning by gently swinging it backward and forward, while marching along the path with his load. On one occasion I timed a native, and when we reached the next stopping place, after a three hours' tramp in the rain, the brand was still burning brightly, and it had been frequently passed from one end of the caravan to the other so that all who desired could light their pipes from it.

The Fang use fire in the ceremony *of going out of mourning*. I witnessed this
372 ceremony once at Foulabifong. The widows of an old headman had put in the
765 regular time of mourning and were now to be released. There were seven widows in all, three of middle age, and four young girls. A small fire of leaves had been lighted in the centre of the street, and on each side of the fire stood several young men armed with switches. The widows wore a very slender loin cloth. At a given signal the widows rushed toward the fire and bounded through it, the young men switching them as they passed, but the switches were not used severely. Immediately after the switching, each widow seated herself on the ground holding a bunch of burning leaves under her feet, while a young man shaved their heads with a sharp trade knife. On inquiry regarding this ceremony, I obtained the
[789] following information: Passing the fire *cleans* them after mourning (evidently considered a means of purification). Switching reminds the widows of their duty to the man who inherits them as his wives. Burning has two meanings: firstly, the pain caused is endured as a last act of mourning for the departed; second, it signifies that henceforth the widows walk a new path (enter upon a new life).

Fire has a place in Fang religion or belief. The sun is considered the *tata*
372 (father) of all heat, and the original maker of all fire, whether by friction, matches,
821 powder, or lightning. When a severe thunderstorm is at its height, the natives say of the lightning, "that the sun has hid his face and is shooting fire, because he is angry." The native word for sun is *fo*. Although the palaver house fire is kept burning, still, no special effort is made to keep it alight; should it go out, any person present is at liberty to rekindle it from newly produced fire.

VII.—*Customs.*

671 The Fang have no system of law, no judge or tribunal for punishment of crime. Theft, murder, offences against the person are all settled according to native custom.

Example: A Fang of the Eisis clan steals goods or a woman from a Fang of
628 the Nge clan. The Nge who has been wronged does not go to the offender for
621 settlement, he goes to another near town and shoots the first goat he sees in the street or if very angry, he may shoot a woman. The owner of the goat or woman demands of the Nge his reason for doing so. The Nge replies, "An Eisis" (giving the man's name) "has wronged me; I put the palaver (his offence) on you." The third party then goes to the Eisis and says, "An Nge" (giving the man's name) "has shot my goat (or woman) because you have made trouble with him; he has put your palaver (trouble) on me. You must pay me!" The original offender is

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

X.—*Food. Cooking.*

Food used by the Fang is precisely similar to that of all other tribes inhabiting the great zone of palms and bananas as described by Humboldt. Added to these ordinary foods of the Fang is their liking for human flesh, indulged in to this day in spite of the law, which is often powerless to reach and punish the offenders. Cassava, *ndde*, plantains, *bikon*, crushed gourd seeds, sprouts, corn; *mekule*, a most nutritive tuber, sweet potatoes, yams, palm oil, bananas, snails and various molluscs. Fish is wrapped in plantain leaves and boiled, or set on hot ashes and fire piled on top of the bundle of food. All kinds of meat is eaten, from deer down to the smallest bush rat; snakes are considered very good meat. No portion is wasted, every morsel of skin and intestines are eaten. Goats and chickens are raised for food and trade. Corn or other cereals are not used for the purpose of making bread. Milk is not used. Preparations of milk such as butter and cheese are not made. There is a marked preference for meats. When an animal is slaughtered, women bring wooden bowls to collect the blood in. The blood is often cooked mixed with palm oil. A Fang will eat almost any kind of known food and at any time, providing it is not his *Bêi* or taboo, given him during infancy, prohibiting the eating of a certain kind of food, unless partaken of under certain conditions. Except for the *Bêi* men, women and children partake of the same food. The Fang are improvident. When on long journeys they often chew a piece of Kola nut, but more commonly chew pieces of a certain root; it has several different names. Palm oil is extensively used in cooking. Salt (*nlm*) is much enjoyed and sought after in trade. Sugar is only used in the form of sugar cane and eaten uncooked. The chiefs, or rather headmen, have no special form of food. Eating earth is not indulged in. So far as I am aware, all fish, flesh and fowl is cooked before being eaten. Flesh is often extremely high, at times positively bad, before it is eaten, but not one morsel is ever wasted.

Fish, fowl, bush rats, snakes and all kinds of meats are smoked or sun-dried; food prepared thus is carried on journeys in the bush wrapped in leaves and eaten with *nlm* (cassava) without any further preparation. Permanent ovens for baking are not in use. Meat is roasted on small spits over the log fire or wrapped up in leaves and hot ashes banked around and on top of it. Native vegetables are frequently cooked with meats, plantains are usually boiled separately or roasted close to the fire. Most cooking utensils used by the Fang near the coast are iron or brass pots, imported by white traders; but farther inland the native pots are much more in vogue. These native pots are made of grey clay and sun-dried; they become harder and stronger by use, and vary in size and capacity from a pint to about three gallons.

Cooking vessels are not kept very clean, being simply rinsed out with a little water; but if the vessel is a brass trade pot or kettle, it is usually taken to the river or a near stream, and scoured bright; but I fear the chief reason for doing

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FM9 Fang FM9

to obtain any accounts touching on its introduction, beyond the fact "we learnt it from our fathers." No ceremonies are connected with it. There are no professional tattooers, but the natives frequently employ a man known to be skilful to ornament them. It is practised by both sexes; young lads are anxious to be tattooed because it makes them feel "real men," but the practice is not indispensable as a sign of manhood. The same blue pigment obtained from a tree fungus used in painting is mixed with soot and employed for tattooing. The instrument used is a sharp piece of bamboo, a piece of sharp iron or a knife. The practice does not appear to be in any way connected with pagan worship. Social or family rank does not affect the designs employed. Fang tattooing is not always symmetrical, it usually commences with the face, and a favourite design on the cheeks somewhat resembles the bowl and stem of a straight pipe. Only one colour is employed. Tattoo marks and designs are mostly found on the face, chest, shoulders, arms and abdomen. Women frequently have the pipe pattern or a band across the cheeks, and occasionally upon the breasts.

Circumcision is largely practised. Small incisions are made in the skin with a sharp instrument, frequently a steel nail from an imported packing case obtained from the trade house, the nail being fashioned out into a small knife blade; or a sharp piece of bamboo is used. The juice of a certain herb is rubbed into the incised wounds.

IV.—*Habitations.*

The houses are built mostly of bark; beams and rafters are made from the strong branches of forest trees and bamboo; they are secured by bush rope. The entire structure rests on the ground. It is very rare to find a Fang house on poles, except near the coast. There is no regularity in size of houses, but the form and material used is common to all the tribe. The average Fang house or hut is a low dark building, 15 feet long by 10 wide, and with walls about 6 feet high; the roof angle increases the height inside. Each family has a house; it is used, day and night, by all members of the family. Travellers usually occupy the *ebang* (palaver house), and the headman finds them sleeping quarters at night. When the owner dies he is usually buried close to the house, and the grave levelled off and soon obliterated. The houses comprising a town are built together, end to end. Towns consist of two rows of houses, with the main road passing between them. The *ebang* (palaver house) is built across one end of the main road. A large place is often composed of several towns or villages in line, the limits of each village being marked by its palaver house, and having its own headman. The Fang method of conveying information regarding the size of a place is by stating the number of palaver houses it contains. Stockades are frequently used at the entrance to a town, especially if the people have a palaver (tribal war) with a neighbouring tribe. The palaver houses and dwellings are also frequently stockaded. The natives often show considerable foresight and shrewdness by making use of the natural advantages of a position in selecting a site for their villages.

/51/ Section 4

Village and Household

000 Place names (their derivation and explanation). -- Names of fields. -- Plan of the villages. -- Settlement; development of a settlement into a village; village; significance of the name; growth of the village. -- Provisional meeting houses: plan, form -- Permanent meeting houses; scaffolding; roofing (procedure, material used for rafters and covering); side walls (material, erection, appearance); veranda. -- Interior of the meeting houses: posts; benches; fireplaces; furnishings (gun racks, trophies, and the like). -- Life in the meeting house. -- Dwellings: forms; appearance; door part; door; condition. -- Interior of the dwellings: sleeping benches; lofts and larder; frames with drying boards and baskets; hooks; stools; brooms. -- Raffia palm: kinds; names; uses. -- Storage houses; guest houses; field huts; houses for the sick. -- Houses on piles. -- Illumination: hearth fire; torches; lamp; mushroom torches; fire making. -- Village square (appearance, cleanliness). -- Toilet. -- Ornamental plants. -- Trade routes. -- Trade by water. -- Bridges.

101 361 In the large, jungle-covered Pangwe region /Ed., the author uses Pangwe /Fang/ as the name for a group of tribes in which the Fang are one tribe; the others are the Eton, Mwele /Mvele/, Jaunde /Yaunde/, Bene /Bane/, Bulu, Ntum, Mwai /Mvae/, and Mokuk (Oschüeba)/ the settled areas are scattered like oases in the desert. They are unevenly distributed, and their greatest concentration is along the line of the main trade routes which cross the region for the most part in an east-west direction.

361 As was mentioned in the previous section /not translated/, the villages are laid out along the roads and always in an east-west direction (cf. Fig. 16). /56/ Curiously enough, the people gave as the reason for this arrangement the fact that the land slopes down to the west (toward the ocean) and that the rain water can run off in this direction. It is true, of course, that this point is an important consideration inasmuch as they are careful to lay out the village in such a way that the rain water will not flood one of the rows of huts. Nevertheless, this cannot be the sole reason for the east-west arrangement. I have observed that even on completely level ground -- which, in other words, does not favor the drainage of water in the direction intended -- the east-west plan was the preferred one. When, for instance, a route goes south, it will make a turn before reaching the village, cross the latter in an east-west direction, and at the other end will resume its southerly direction (cf. Fig. 16, the Nsälang I-Beniaa route). It is obvious that in this arrangement reasons other than the one mentioned play a part, such as the general trek to the west of which mention has already been made in the previous section (1).

[769]

1. Compare also the predominantly east-west direction of the graves.

361 A Pangwe village consists mostly of two rows of houses running parallel to each other with the road between them (Plate 4 and Fig. 16). More rarely, a village consists of a single row of houses along the road. Furthermore, villages come into being through the combination of two or more individual establishments, and as a result different villages display different stages of development, observable everywhere side by side in the region.

361 If the father of a family wants to found an establishment, he builds two houses, a dwelling and a meeting house /men's house/. The dwelling is the real domain of the wife, where she works and lives with her children and where the man for the most part stays only at night, very rarely in the daytime. The meeting house, on the other hand, is the usual haunt of the man, where he busies himself during the day, performs his incidental tasks, and receives visitors and where the wife comes only now and then. As the

351/ 297 grass, Andropogon schoenanthus L. (ólimentángan a ólim [Ocimum] of the Whites), a plant which has likewise been imported.

489 The roads are often scarcely visible paths which are first trodden by hunters and used by elephants and later become wider through increased traffic. Naturally, however, one must always proceed along them in single file. Wherever small brooks happen to flow in the direction of travel, they are used as trails.

491 499 For the crossing of larger bodies of water, a few stems of the umbrella tree are tied together to form a raft or dugouts (bɛ́ɛ́, plural, mɛ́, Fig. 45), otherwise employed for fishing purposes, are used. Bridges (ndɛ́ɛ́ I) are built only in rare cases, primarily in situations where the plantations and the village are situated on opposite banks of a river, thus necessitating regular and rapid passage between them. These bridges consist /84/ (Fig. 46 and 47) of several piers, each made up of two tree trunks planted into the ground in the form of a St. Andrew's cross and firmly tied together. One or more transverse beams are then placed over these piers. To serve as a railing, either ropes are tied to the upper ends of the piers, or sticks split lengthwise down the middle are fastened to them. When a bridge beam decays, a new one is placed on top of it, but no one thinks of restoring the framework which cannot support the greater weight, and for this reason the bridge soon collapses as it gets older.

[499] More recently bridges have been built according to the European model (kɛ́ɛ́a III), consisting of two rows of supporting piles and transverse beams over which logs are placed very close together, like our corduroy roads. These bridges are even more dangerous to life and limb than the older form, since supporting posts often collapse, the bridge frequently lists to one side, and it is possible to have a bad fall on the slippery log ends. /85/

Section 5

000

Economic Activities

First Part. Agriculture. General matters: tools, preparation of the soil, division of labor. The

131 Physical Geography. Area: 2,500 square km.

133 The country of the Eton is made up of hills and plateaus; it drifts
137 gently down from the heights of the country of the Ewondo to the valley of the Sanaga River. The border of the great southern forest crosses the territory from south to north; the westerly two-thirds of the area are covered with forest, and the last third is prairie. The Sanaga borders the country only in the northwest and northeast, for the greater part of the loop [misprint in French text: bouche for boucle. See map.] of the river is occupied by the Mangisa. /69/

161 Human Geography. Population: 111,738 inhabitants
Density: 44.3 persons per square km.

173 It is impossible to say whether the Eton should be counted among the Beti populations who were dislodged and crossed the Sanaga or whether they were among the first Pahouin to cross the Sanaga at the time of the invasion. Their traditions do not go back very far; they only tell of their departure from the fork of the M'Bam and the Sanaga. /Map 7/ The Eton say that after crossing the river in the direction of the present-day village of Nkolbogo, they fell upon the Mangisa who had already arrived, and then spread themselves throughout the territory which they occupy to this day.

361 The Eton are settled in large villages, whose hamlets line the length
481 of their many trails. At present their country is traversed by several roads on which heavy trucks can travel so that their products can reach Yaoundé and the railroad.

197 Language. With reference to this subject it seems best to refer the reader to the paragraph on linguistics in the chapter on the Mangisa, since the same question is raised for the two peoples. /70/

142 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Eton are above average in height, mesocephalic, and platyrrhin.

143 Their blood-group ratio is typically Negro, with a relatively high proportion of the AB type:

O: 55.7 percent; A: 13.8 percent; B: 17.5 percent; AB: 12.9 percent;—index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$: 0.878.

141 Their height is /for the/ average: men 167.8 cm.; women 159.9 cm.

133 Sanaga. The northern part of the Mvele territory is a high plateau which is covered by prairie interspersed with strips of forest. It is very well watered by tributaries and subtributaries of the Sanaga which flow calmly on broad river beds. Toward 4° north latitude a row of hills marks the dividing line between the waters of the Nyong and the Sanaga basins. Thus the entire southern portion of the Mvele country is part of the Nyong Basin. The last vestiges of the forest are to be found there, in addition to crops and many palm trees.

Human Geography

161 Population: south of the Sanaga: 35,340 inhabitants in 1945
north of the Sanaga: 1,655 inhabitants
density south of the Sanaga: 15.3 persons per square km.

178 History. The movement of the Bakota was also responsible for pushing the Mvele back to the left bank of the Sanaga in the middle of the last century. A few enclaves remained wedged in between the various small groups who sought refuge in the area between the M'Bam and the Sanaga Valley. Therefore, the Mvele of the north and those of the south are really part of the same group.

The various authors are not in agreement on the question of a kinship between the Mvele and the large group called Yesum. According to Engelhardt, these are two separate groups. G. Tessmann, on the contrary, believes that the Yesum must be considered part of the Mvele "complex."

361 When the Germans first reached the Mvele they were struck by the unusual appearance of their villages. Engelhardt describes them as follows: "Unlike the rest of the Fang, who place their huts in rows on both sides of trails, /83/ the Mvele build theirs in a star-shape around a central square or with no regard for symmetry." (Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1902, p. 421.)

● 481 489 From the beginning of the German occupation, the trails in the territory served as trade routes to the south over which the products of the east were transported toward Yaoundé and to the coast. At the present time these products are carried both on the road that crossed the Mvele country in the south (from Akonolinga to Yaoundé) and on the eastern highway (from Nanga-Eboko to Yaounde). /Map 14/

197 Language. According to Engelhardt the Mvele tongue is very similar to that of the Ewondo and seems to be but a dialect of the

THE YEBEKOLO

131 Location: 12°08 to 12°45 long.
3°50 to 4°20 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

Area: about 1,950 square km.
161 Population: 23,291 inhabitants
Density: 11.9 persons per square km.

133 The territory of the Yebekolo, in the form of a cornucopia laid on its side, is all to be found in the basin of the Nyong. The river forms its southern boundary. The tributaries on the right bank have broad beds and, in the vicinity of the Nyong, often overflow so that the valleys are frequently flooded. /90/ This is a large territory, covered with forest and quite marshy.

361 Large villages are found here. While the food crops are not poor,
262 they are not very abundant. The people who live near the Nyong supplement their food supply by fishing and hunting.

174 It is difficult to say what may be the remote origins of this people. Their oral traditions (as reported by Mr. Tremesaygues) speak of their ancestor as being of Yambasa stock and, therefore, as having lived about 200 kilometers west of their present settlement, north of the Sanaga. /Map 18/ Moving eastward, the Yebekolo met first the Omvang and then the Maka, whom they pushed back to their present habitat.

The German maps, however, do not confirm these traditions. Also based on traditions, upon which linguistic data is often superimposed, they show all the Yebekolo as part of the "Mvele complex" (see detailed maps in Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1907) under the name "Pangwe." It is possible that a borrowing of language occurred here —for a linguistic fact provides clues rather than permanent solutions to ethnographic problems.

648 When the Germans arrived in the territory of the Yebekolo (1904-
487 1905), the latter submitted to them without resistance. The new occupants found them settled on the big eastern trials leading to Doumé. From that time on the trails were improved, and the Yebekolo thus found themselves situated on the big trade routes by which the products of the eastern forest were taken to the coastal regions. /91/

who were settled among them and the Boulou. The last Beti groups to cross the Sanaga, blocked by those who had preceded them, have turned perpendicularly or obliquely to the general axis of migration.

The total migration was made exclusively by land, even when its axis followed the course of a navigable river. The Pahouin are not users of the pirogue, and the customary trails followed along ridges rather than valleys. Settlement is mainly linear, stretched along trails and, now, roads, in long ribbons, separated by empty areas.

The traditions dealing with this exodus are of three kinds: the collective tradition of the group, varying in detail from tribe to tribe but always agreeing in the broad outlines of the same theme; family traditions, consisting of a commentary on genealogies, the majority of which have not been collected and are by way of being lost due to the abandonment of the customary training of boys; finally, a pseudo tradition of contemporary invention, which is far from the least interesting. I shall here give an account only of the principal features of these traditions and, first, of the collective tradition.

According to this, the ancestors used to live in a country called mvo' ékanga or mvo' ékaña'a (Largeau: mvôgh ĉtangha), which means something like "cloudy country" or "honorable country," depending on the tone, or perhaps both at the same time (1). I have

1. a) Radical kañ = to honor, to respect, whence ékanâ'a = honor, respect, veneration; b) radical kañ = to mark, to design, whence ékanga = mark, design, cloud; c) verb kañele = to lash, to shape /timber/, whence ékanga = bridge.

pointed out previously the legendary features of this land in the east, the details of which vary according to the informants. It should be observed in passing that they differ as to whether or not this land was the actual cradle of the ancestors and whether the latter came from a place located even more to the east, as the present pseudo tradition assets (2).

2. The last of the Ntoumou storytellers sing to the accompaniment of a guitar, mvet, the exploits of the bikañ or bo'bikaña,

361 The settlements of these peoples vary in appearance. The villages and hamlets of the Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda are located in relatively open country and they stretch out along numerous trails. The Bulu in the south, situated in a land of parallel valleys through which flow the tributaries of the Nyong and by thick forest, can only build their villages along the valleys. This whole area, es-
241 pecially in the Nyong Basin, is very fertile. The natives have fine fields of food crops and many palm trees. Many prosperous enterprises, lumber yards, and fine groves of cacao trees can also be found. /81/[Map 13]

●489 All the products are transported to the railroad at M'Balmayo along a large network of roads and the navigable parts of the Nyong.

181 The Bulu are intelligent and hard working, and are capable of becoming excellent craftsmen.

197 Language. We have seen that Father Nekes and G. Tessmann see a very close relationship between the language of the Bulu and that of the Mvele. The Bulu language includes a number of dialects with only slight variants, and falls between the speech of the Ewondo and that of the Gabon Pahouin, which are almost identical.

Linguistic Bibliography

113 von Hagen, Gunther Tronje. Lehrbuch der Bulu-Sprache /Handbook of the Bulu Language/ (Berlin: Radetzki: 1914), Vol. 7, 402 pages.

Johnston, H. H. A Comparative Study of Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, (Oxford University Press, 1922), Vocabulary No. 219.

Bates, George L. Handbook of Bulu (Revised Edition; with the vocabulary revised and much enlarged by the author and Silas F. Johnson) (Ebolowa: The Halsey Memorial Press, 1926).

Good, A. I. Bulu Handbook Supplement. Supplementary Facts in Bulu Grammar. Appendix to Vocabulary in Bulu. Vocabulary of Exclamatory Words. (Ebolowa: The Halsey Memorial Press, 1934).

English-Bulu Vocabulary (Ebolowa, undated).

Physical Anthropology and Demography

141 Bulu: average height, men 165.4 cm.; women 157.6 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.8	79.2

133 Sanaga. The northern part of the Mvele territory is a high plateau which is covered by prairie interspersed with strips of forest. It is very well watered by tributaries and subtributaries of the Sanaga which flow calmly on broad river beds. Toward 4° north latitude a row of hills marks the dividing line between the waters of the Nyong and the Sanaga basins. Thus the entire southern portion of the Mvele country is part of the Nyong Basin. The last vestiges of the forest are to be found there, in addition to crops and many palm trees.

Human Geography

161 Population: south of the Sanaga: 35, 840 inhabitants in 1945
north of the Sanaga: 1, 655 inhabitants
density south of the Sanaga: 15. 3 persons per square km.

174 History. The movement of the Babute was also responsible for pushing the Mvele back to the left bank of the Sanaga in the middle of the last century. A few enclaves remained wedged in between the various small groups who sought refuge in the area between the M'Bam and the Sanaga Valley. Therefore, the Mvele of the north and those of the south are really part of the same group.

The various authors are not in agreement on the question of a kinship between the Mvele and the large group called Yesum. According to Engelhardt, these are two separate groups. G. Tessmann, on the contrary, believes that the Yesum must be considered part of the Mvele "complex."

361 When the Germans first reached the Mvele they were struck by the unusual appearance of their villages. Engelhardt describes them as follows: "Unlike the rest of the Fang, who place their huts in rows on both sides of trails, /83/ the Mvele build theirs in a star-shape around a central square or with no regard for symmetry." (Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1902, p. 421.)

487 From the beginning of the German occupation, the trails in the territory served as trade routes to the south over which the products
●489 of the east were transported toward Yaoundé and to the coast. At the present time these products are carried both on the road that crossed the Mvele country in the south (from Akonolinga to Yaoundé) and on the eastern highway (from Nanga-Eboko to Yaounde). /Map 14/

197 Language. According to Engelhardt the Mvele tongue is very similar to that of the Ewondo and seems to be but a dialect of the

Fig. 46. Bridge over the Abéa (Tributary of the Bimfílle) near Makonám (Ojek Family) During the Dry Season, Spanish Guinea.

original text. /

Usually the village square remains completely bare. Very rarely a tree is left standing or is planted there, and when that is done, it is because the tree is considered to have medicinal value. More frequently one sees scaffoldings on which the raffia palm oil is prepared (see Plate 4). In one case I encountered a memorial which was supposed to represent a horse (Fig. 44); this was a tree root which had been left standing when the area was being cleared because of its curious resemblance to the animal.

The cleanliness of village squares varies greatly. There are very dirty ones, littered with sheep and goat manure, remnants of sugar cane, chewed cane, building materials, and so forth in great quantities. Indeed, in some of these village squares the grass has not even been weeded out. On the other hand, there are very neat squares where the villagers sweep all the rubble and refuse behind the houses. The men who look after the meeting house are especially negligent; they frequently let the rubbish heaps (akūn) accumulate until they clutter up the entrance.

Fig. 47. Bridge over the Bimfille near Ebiánemajong (Essáuong Family) During the Rainy Season.

The privy (edūk), as Figure 16 shows, is in the plantain grove not very far from the houses. Frequently it is so close that the stench, especially when the wind is unfavorable, may become unbearable. The privy consists of a fairly deep pit with one or two pairs of forked sticks planted in the center; on top of these is placed a layer of tree trunks in such a manner that the middle ones extend from the edge of the pit only as far as the sticks and lie with their free ends in the forks. Thus, a rectangular opening is left uncovered, and /83/ loam is thrown around this over the whole thing. Sometimes the loam covering is not put over it. Instead of toilet paper, dried corn husks are used.

It is worthy of note that the Pangwe also cultivate ornamental plants. These are placed in the village square, along the paths behind or to the side of the houses, or, in case the village consists of only a single row of houses, they are planted where the opposite row of houses would ordinarily stand. Generally the ornamental plants are the following: an attractive Amaranthacea, Gomphrena globosa B. (ngö'n IV), which also grows in America and may have been imported from there; and the so-called fever

grass, Andropogon schoenanthus L. (ošimentǎ'ngan = ošim [Ocimum] of the Whites), a plant which has likewise been imported.

The roads are often scarcely visible paths which are first trodden by hunters and used by elephants and later become wider through increased traffic. Naturally, however, one must always proceed along them in single file. Wherever small brooks happen to flow in the direction of travel, they are used as trails.

For the crossing of larger bodies of water, a few stems of the umbrella tree are tied together to form a raft or dugouts (bēǎ; plural, mǎ; Fig. 45), otherwise employed for fishing purposes, are used. Bridges (ndźēī I) are built only in rare cases, primarily in situations where the plantations and the village are situated on opposite banks of a river, thus necessitating regular and rapid passage between them. These bridges consist /84/ (Fig. 46 and 47) of several piers, each made up of two tree trunks planted into the ground in the form of a St. Andrew's cross and firmly tied together. One or more transverse beams are then placed over these piers. To serve as a railing, either ropes are tied to the upper ends of the piers, or sticks split lengthwise down the middle are fastened to them. When a bridge beam decays, a new one is placed on top of it, but no one thinks of restoring the framework which cannot support the greater weight, and for this reason the bridge soon collapses as it gets older.

More recently bridges have been built according to the European model (kǎźa III), consisting of two rows of supporting piles and transverse beams over which logs are placed very close together, like our corduroy roads. These bridges are even more dangerous to life and limb than the older form, since supporting posts often collapse, the bridge frequently lists to one side, and it is possible to have a bad fall on the slippery log ends. /85/

Section 5

Economic Activities

First Part. Agriculture. General matters: tools, preparation of the soil, division of labor. The

1: Tessmann--312 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

491
137

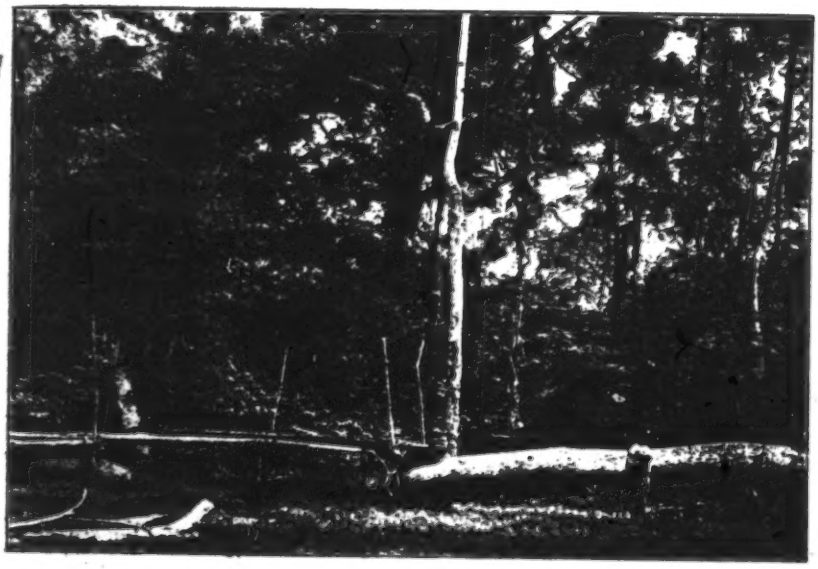


Fig. 1. In the Forest near Makonanám, Spanish Guinea.
In the foreground, a tree trunk and bridge (left) over a swampy place.

174 At that time they were already situated along one of the principal commercial routes of the south, used to ship from the east many sought-after products, especially ivory.

361 The Bane are settled in large villages and hamlets. The population in these settlements is no more homogenous /75/ than the Ewondo's. The major intermixtures are shown on our map.

491 497 The road from Yaoundé to Ebolowa now crosses the Bane country from north to south. Another road, south of the Nyong, is the terminal point of the trade routes coming from the southeast. Because of these roads and the connection with the railroads at M'Balmayo, all the wealth of this country of great food crops, rich farmlands (cacao and coffee), and forests is easily brought to market.

000 Language. The subject is discussed in the paragraph on the linguistics of the Ewondo.

141 142 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Bane are of above-average height, fairly slender, mesocephalic, and only slightly platyrrhinian.

143 Their blood-type ratios are as follows:
O: 49 percent; A: 18 percent; B: 14 percent; AB: 19 percent—index $\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}$: 1.121.

141

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.3	77.0
Facial	81.8	80.8
Nasal	85.2	86.0
Cormique	50.9	51.8
Envergure/T	104.9	103.9

161 163 The population balance is stable: the ratio of births to deaths is ÷ 0.2. The fertility rate is 4.7 pregnancies per woman. See the studies in physical anthropology in Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, Nos. 10, 12, 15-16.

Bibliography

113 Von Stein. "Bericht ü ber die Bane-Buli-Expedition /Report on the Bane-Buli Expedition/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1898, pp. 173-75.

Yekaba
Bamvele, Bobili

174 long migration of the Pahouin—although the name "Yalongo" spoken of in their geneologies is reminiscent of the Beti. Once again we are aware of the complexity of the Beti-Pahouin intermixture.

361 The villages and huts spread through the bush give an impression
491 of poverty, although in 1903 the Germans noted that the great trade route from Bertoua to Yoko passed through Yekaba territory. /Map 16/ At the present time the whole length of the territory is serviced by the great eastern highway (Yaoundé—Nanga-Eboko—Bertoua).

197 Language. The fact that the Yekaba form part of the Pahouin migration is apparent from G. Tessmann's tribal map, where they are shown in the large Pahouin blot—under the general heading of "Mvele." We will return to this subject later in the chapter on the Bamvele.

161 Demography. The Yekaba are definitely decreasing in number.

165 The infant mortality rate among them is 34.3 percent. The sterility
163 rate is 33.93 percent; the fertility rate is 4.3 pregnancies per woman, but with about 10 percent stillbirths.

161 The population balance shows a ratio of -4.4 percent births to deaths.

Bibliography

113 Thierry. "Dienstreise nach Esum-Sannaga /Official Trip to Esum-Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1903, p. 522.

Sieber, J. "Die Wute /The Wute/," Lebenshaltung, Kultur und religiöse Weltanschauung eines Afrikanischen Volkstammes /Attitude toward Life, Cultural and Religious Attitudes of an African Tribe/ (Berlin: Reimer, Vohsen, 1925), pp. 112-13.

Unpublished reports of the administrators Cournarie, Chauleur, Gatau, and Boudineau.

Moisel map, G3, Dume. /88/

THE BAMVELE AND THE BOBILI

131 Location: 12°30 to 13°30 long.
4°35 to 4°50 north lat.

101 On all German maps the people we call Bamvele are designated by the name of Bele (see the Moisel map and Tessmann's tribal map).

114 from the Masai territory during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? The presence of Ba-yoka in the midst of the tribe is, of course, insufficient evidence. In order to give a satisfactory answer to this question we would have to be able to make a comparison between the languages."

245 The country of the Bamvele and the Bobili is enriched by the presence of beautiful palm trees which are the sole source of prosperity for these peoples.

●491 The country is serviced in the south by the eastern highway and also by a central road which runs from the Yekaba frontier to the north of their district.

197 Language. Although the traditions of the Yekaba and the Bamvele state that the ancestors of both peoples fled from among the Yalongo north of the Sanaga, the linguistic map of G. Tessmann clearly distinguishes between the two.

As we have seen, he says that the Yekaba speak a Pahouin tongue. The Bamvele (Bele in the German terminology) are said to have brought from their land of origin a language which is different from, although related to, the Pahouin languages, but mixed with that of the Beti. This observation is interesting and plausible. The Yekaba of the same origin as the Bamvele may thus have borrowed their language.

See Günter Tessmann, "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /People and Languages of the Cameroons/," Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen (Gotha, 1932), pp. 117 and 184.

141 Physical Anthropology. The people are almost all tall and strong, with flat noses and a marked prognathism. The trunk of the body is proportionately long.

Average height: men 169.7 cm.; women 158.9 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	79.3	78.7
Facial	84.7	84.9
Nasal	87.0	81.8
Cormique	51.5	52.5
Envergure/T	104.5	104.2

184
441
443
[654] nature of the transactions and competition would correct them. These markets represent an attempt at introducing trade into the rural milieu, and they are not restricted to the purchase of cacao and palm trees; some African traders try to sell textiles, hardware, and food products. But the markets are still too new for the custom to have become firmly established, for them to have an existence of their own. It may be that here too we should except certain Eton cantons, where there seem to be some genuinely native rural markets.

443 Although of European origin, the markets held each day in the main towns of the subdivisions have become entirely a part of the way of life. Originally they were set up to provide food supplies for the settlements that grew up around administrative posts /36/ or missions. Then, professional traders came to offer imported merchandise to villagers come to sell their garden produce. Nowadays these markets are routine affairs, drawing their clientèle from a radius of 20 kilometers. Their importance depends upon that of the particular subdivision. As an illustration, we may use the following figures from a study of the market at Sangmélima: 200 women come to sell vegetables, maize, or fruit grown in their gardens. Some women dealers in palm oil, after having bought it liter by liter in the bush, come here with from 10 to 20 liters to sell. Young boys sell cigarettes, pieces of sugar, sandwiches, or cups of coffee, while women bring fritters. Side by side with these petty tradesmen others transact [434] business on a larger scale: about 20 sell dried, smoked fish prepared on the coast or stockfish (dried and salted) imported from Europe, while in their stalls 20 "market boys" /sic/ offering textiles, enamelware, or hardware wait for customers.

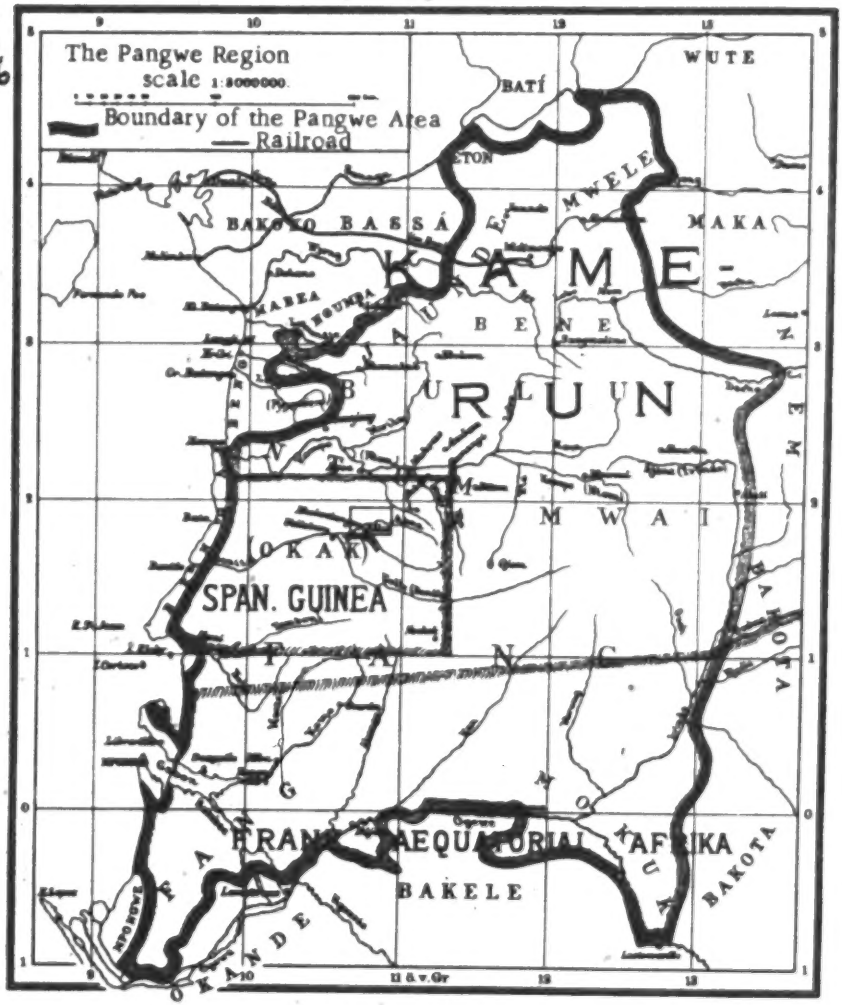
[443] The number of craftsmen grouped around the market, the number of cars, lorry-buses /camions amenages/, or bicycles which have brought customers show clearly that this is not an artificial institution. The market is now tending to become one of the elements of the town.

It shares this role with the shops. European and African traders do business along Western lines, both wholesale and retail at the same time. They try to keep on good business terms with the African small dealers who know very well how to go from supplier to supplier to compare merchandise, price, and terms. At the same time they sell directly to the public. Such shops are uncommon outside towns — in this connection as with markets, the villages are little touched by economic activity.

1: Tessmann--xiii E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

The Pangwe Region

131
496



Map 1.

173 therefore forced to settle in the most westerly area. (See the unpublished report of Father Sohler.) Others say (according to the report of X. Béliard) that they are only brothers of the Ewondo, who crossed the Sanaga, entered the southern forest as far as the present-day region of Ebolowa, stayed there a few years, and, step by step, took the northwest route, crossing the Lokoundje River. Then they infiltrated among the Basa tribes and settled in their present habitat. What we know for certain is that not until 1910 did they occupy the three villages on the road between Kribi and Edéa, and that their migration was still in full swing when the German occupation forced them to settle in one spot.

184 The population in the vast territory occupied by the Ewondo is not
563 culturally homogeneous. In many villages and even in the hamlets, the Ewondo live side by side with members of neighboring groups. On our map we have indicated the most important enclaves and mixed settlements /Map 8, facing p. 72/, namely those where the strangers are as numerous as the Ewondo or even more so. /72/ The actual situation is more complex than this, but on a map of this scale it has not been possible to show the minorities. (1)

[114]

1. A remarkable large-scale diagrammatic map of the administrative subdivision of Yaoundé should be mentioned here. It was set up in 1944 by the administrator J. Christol and shows even the smallest intermixtures, with proportional strengths, for every village and hamlet.

361 The Ewondo live in sizable villages which stretch along the many
511 roads in the area. The villages are well maintained and show evidence of a comfortable standard of living which is largely the result of the prosperity of their cacao trees and their trade.

181 The Ewondo are robust and muscular, skillful and intelligent. They emigrate readily, and their workers are valued in all enterprises.

● 497 The shipment of their products is facilitated by a major branch of the railway which crosses their territory between Yaoundé and Otélé, and transportation on their roads plays an important role in getting the various foodstuffs and the cacao from the great markets in the bush to the railroad.

174 At that time they were already situated along one of the principal commercial routes of the south, used to ship from the east many sought-after products, especially ivory.

361 The Bane are settled in large villages and hamlets. The population in these settlements is no more homogenous /75/ than the Ewondo's. The major intermixtures are shown on our map.

491 The road from Yaoundé to Ebolowa now crosses the Bane country from north to south. Another road, south of the Nyong, is the terminal
497 point of the trade routes coming from the southeast. Because of these roads and the connection with the railroads at M'Balmayo, all the wealth of this country of great food crops, rich farmlands (cacao and coffee), and forests is easily brought to market.

000 Language. The subject is discussed in the paragraph on the linguistics of the Ewondo.

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Bane are of above-
142 average height, fairly slender, mesocephalic, and only slightly platyrrhinian.

143 Their blood-type ratios are as follows:
O: 49 percent; A: 18 percent; B: 14 percent; AB: 19 percent—
index $\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}$: 1.121.

141

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.3	77.0
Facial	81.8	80.8
Nasal	85.2	86.0
Cormique	50.9	51.8
Envergure/T	104.9	103.9

161 The population balance is stable: the ratio of births to deaths is
163 ÷ 0.2. The fertility rate is 4.7 pregnancies per woman. See the studies in physical anthropology in Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, Nos. 10, 12, 15-16.

Bibliography

173 Von Stein. "Bericht ü ber die Bane-Buli-Expedition /Report on the Bane-Buli Expedition/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1898, pp. 173-75.

351 grass, Andropogon schoenanthus L. (ošimentǎ'ngan = ošim
247 [Ocimum] of the Whites), a plant which has likewise been imported.

489 The roads are often scarcely visible paths which are first trodden by hunters and used by elephants and later become wider through increased traffic. Naturally, however, one must always proceed along them in single file. Wherever small brooks happen to flow in the direction of travel, they are used as trails.

491 For the crossing of larger bodies of water, a few stems of the umbrella tree are tied together to form a raft or dugouts (bēǎ;
499 plural, mǎ; Fig. 45), otherwise employed for fishing purposes, are used. Bridges (ndžei I) are built only in rare cases, primarily in situations where the plantations and the village are situated on opposite banks of a river, thus necessitating regular and rapid passage between them. These bridges consist /84/ (Fig. 46 and 47) of several piers, each made up of two tree trunks planted into the ground in the form of a St. Andrew's cross and firmly tied together. One or more transverse beams are then placed over these piers. To serve as a railing, either ropes are tied to the upper ends of the piers, or sticks split lengthwise down the middle are fastened to them. When a bridge beam decays, a new one is placed on top of it, but no one thinks of restoring the framework which cannot support the greater weight, and for this reason the bridge soon collapses as it gets older.

[77] More recently bridges have been built according to the European model (kǎža III), consisting of two rows of supporting piles and transverse beams over which logs are placed very close together, like our corduroy roads. These bridges are even more dangerous to life and limb than the older form, since supporting posts often collapse, the bridge frequently lists to one side, and it is possible to have a bad fall on the slippery log ends. /85/

Section 5

000 ## Economic Activities

First Part. Agriculture. General matters: tools, preparation of the soil, division of labor. The

●501

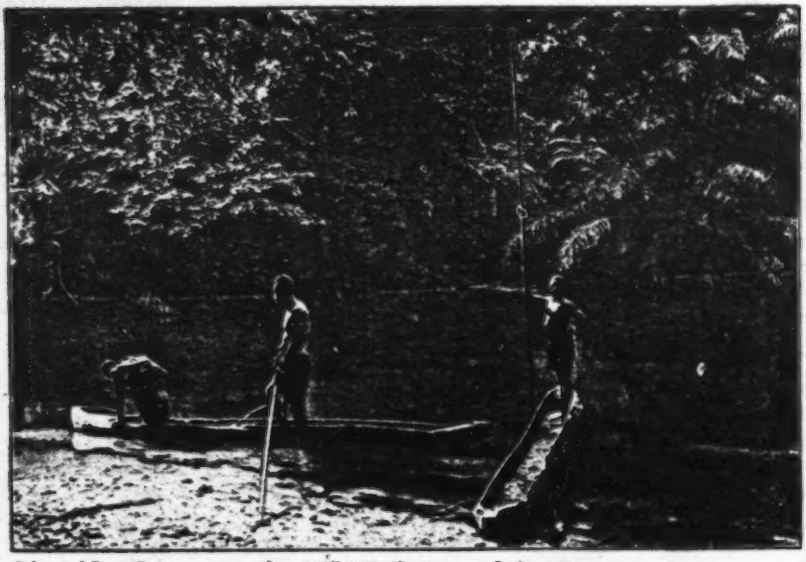


Fig. 45. Canoes on the Nië (Tributary of the Campo), New Cameroons.

372 824 knew exactly how to produce sparks. "One" takes two sticks of wood from one of the three Tiliaceae, Triumfettia cordifolia Guillet (okūṅ) (1). Leptonychia tessmannii Engl. (akăk), or

1. According to one legend, fire is also supposed to have been brought from the heavens in a Triumfettia stick.

Desplatsia dewevrei Burs. (afŏnŏk), and they are dried over the fire for at least a day. One of the sticks is notched in the middle, placed on the ground, and held down with one's feet; the other stick is placed vertically into the notch and twirled. The spark which is "supposed" to be produced is caught with oakum made of the picked fibers of the Dioclea reflexa Hook. f. (kŏndōō' III) placed around the notch. Thus instructed, after this one failure I requested elsewhere that this theory be put into practice, but most of the natives assumed a stupid expression or laughed outright at my request. /82/ /Fig. 46 appears here in the original text./

226 outstanding and most typical representatives of the fish world of
136 the Campo-Uelle region are shown on Plate 9. Here the family of the sheatfish (Siluridae) is especially abundantly represented. Of these fish we should mention: Eutropius banguelensis Blgr. (ekīda Fang, kīda IV Ntum; young = osō'b); the spiny-finned sheatfish, Auchenoglanis balayi (Sauv.) var. gravoti Pellegr., that is the catfish of the Pangwe, nsǐn I (1); Clarias submarginatus Ptrs.

1. nsǐ'n I, the civet cat Genetta, because the fish is spotted in exactly the same way.

(mvā' IV Fang, mvē' IV Ntum); and Clarias walkeri Gthr. (ngŏ' IV), as well as a new Syndontis species, Synodontis tessmanni Papph. (ebū'), and a new Clariallabes species, Clariallabes longicandatus Papph. (ndōnga I, odōge III). Furthermore, species were gathered from the genera Doumea, Parauchenoglanis, and Atopochilus. Of the Mormyridae the following should be mentioned: Gnathonemus moorii (Gthr.), anē'n, which is to be found everywhere and is notable because of its peculiar /109/ tail fin equipped with an electrically charged organ; and, secondly, Marcusenius sphekodes (Sauv.), ntŏtŏ'm I. Both of these are smaller species and of no importance for the Pangwe. Of the family of the Characinidae, the following are especially noteworthy: Sarcodaces odoē (Bl.), nsō I); Distichodus hypostomatus Pellegr., mbūń I; and the newly discovered Alestes tessmanni Papph. (ekīda Fang, kīda IV Ntum). From the family of the Cyprinidae there are species of Barbus, such as Barbus guirali Thomin (mvǎ III, endzī'ma mvǎ), and the new Barbus malacanthus Papph., as well as several species of the genus Barilius. In addition, I have collected species from the families Cyprinodontidae, Anabantidae, Cichlidae, and Mastacembelidae, which I shall not describe in detail here.

The wealth of fish in the larger streams is exploited to a relatively minor degree because the Pangwe feel themselves too unsafe with their ill-made rafts on the many rapids. Moreover, the small number of dugouts, which must also handle the traffic at river crossings, is insufficient for a satisfactory exploitation of the abundance of fish, as well as totally unsuited for a regular fishing industry

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

site for their villages. The houses can be readily taken down and erected 342
elsewhere. The earth floor is often beaten very hard, no covering is used. The
beds are made of bamboo poles resting upon end pieces, supported by four forked [513]
corner stakes. The bed is raised about one foot from the ground. In most houses
are four beds, two at each end on opposite sides, having a log fire burning between, 352
the smoke escaping through the thatch roof. The furniture is all movable, and consists of stools, cassava bowls and boards, drinking gourds, fish nets, water gourds, various baskets and hanging bamboo shelves for drying fish and corn over the fire. Food, guns and powder horns are hung up on wooden hooks suspended by bush rope; these hooks are made by cutting a suitable branch from a young tree, having a strong crutch. No separate portion of the dwelling is set apart for sleeping or eating. There are no windows to a Fang house; at night one or more pieces of bark are used for a door. All the domestic arrangements are excessively [356]
filthy. Refuse from meals is unknown, everything is eaten, including entrails and
skin of animals and fish. Before occupying a new house the witch doctor (*ngangan*) [262]
is usually called to perform the ceremony of propitiating the evil spirits (local 342
spirits), and the *biang Ekuri* (fetish) is hung up and becomes the protecting fetish of the household. This fetish is hung up over the doorway outside. The houses are built entirely above ground, the roofs are made of split bamboo and covered with thatch made from the long tough blade of a swamp reed, or rush. This thatch makes a most excellent roof, and when well put on, it is able to withstand three years of the terrible rains which fall during the long wet season.

V.—*Navigation, Hooks, Nets, Fishing, Traps.*

The Fang use long narrow canoes. A suitable tree having been found is 501
felled and trimmed, then hollowed out with the small native wedge. All the boats [396]
are open and both sides of the canoe alike. The women use the same canoes as the men and paddle them very skilfully. War canoes are made large and strong, but are otherwise similar in construction to the canoes in daily use. A kind of lugger sail is used and the natives sail a thin canvas very close to the wind. The baler used is made of wood; it much resembles a large flat sugar scoop and is common among tribes along the west coast. This baler is used most skilfully and with great rapidity by both men and women. In paddling, no fulcrum whatever
is used. The men and women either sit or kneel, grasping the paddle handle in 502
its upper and lower thirds they plunge the blade deeply into the water, and force the canoe ahead with great rapidity. One man, woman, or a child steers, using an [533]
ordinary paddle; the time kept while paddling is excellent, and is usually kept by [44]
one man chanting a Fang song, not unlike a white sailor's shanty, the paddling [501]
taking on renewed vigour during the chorus. The sails are usually made now [489]
of imported trade cloth, but I have seen them made from the native bark cloth. Only one sail is used and the canoes are able to beat up well against the wind.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

502 The mariner's compass is entirely unknown, and when I have shown one, it
● 501 was always spoken of as "the white man's *biang bial*" (canoe fetish). The Fang shapes his course by his knowledge of the river banks; he never ventures more than three days' journey from his own town, and much dislikes the idea of losing sight of land; therefore he seldom, if ever, attempts it. Certain canoes belong to the headman of the village, others to individuals. The canoes do not have houses;
[776] charms are frequently tied to the bow, to appease the water spirit, and frequently
[702] a traveller in a canoe will throw into the river at certain places he passes portions of his food to appease the local spirit which he believes dwells there. The place where this spirit dwells may be in some large tree or rock on the river bank. At night the canoes are hauled up on the river bank and usually left unprotected. Large war canoes, if painted, are occasionally covered with a few mats. No special portion of a canoe is set apart for a chief, he is usually seated near the bow. Watertight compartments for provisions are not provided, food and articles of trade being carried in high baskets. Upon arrival of a canoe from a neighbouring town, the visitors are frequently welcomed with shouts of joy; guns are fired and a dance given in the evening. I have seen canoes repaired by placing pieces of bark over the leaks inside and outside, the bark being secured with small hard wood plugs. No arrangement is made to prevent leaking.

Hooks for fishing are skilfully made of bamboo, the barb is long, very sharp
227 and notched on both sides. The hook is secured to the fishing-line with string made of pineapple fibre. Foreign-made fish-hooks are now largely used; these
[939] are much coveted, and considered a very staple article of trade.

Casting nets are used weighed with stones, iron, or lead, obtained in trade. The meshes are very fine and show much skilful and patient workmanship. A Fang will work well at anything which he can do while sitting in the palaver house. He can then work, smoke and talk; any work requiring much bodily exertion on his part or elsewhere is relegated to his wives. Fish traps are made of split bamboo and much resemble the lobster baskets used by our own fishermen.
[226] Small streams are often dammed at high water, the dam being made of split bamboo, fastened together with bush rope until a very large screen is made, 10 or 12 feet in height; this screen is staked across the stream at high water, when the tide falls the water passes readily through, leaving the fish in the river. The most disgusting sight among the Fang, is to see the women and children at low water walking in the mud, breast high, feeling for "mud fish." The large casting net is called *ewot*; a small round net used for dipping in pools and along the river bank at low water is called *tan*.

VI.—*Metallurgy, Fire, Machinery.*

325 Metallurgy among the Fang is limited to the working of iron. The native word for iron is *Ekí*. The Fang among whom I lived did not possess the knowledge of
326 smelting, but I was told that "other Fang far away in the bush, especially the Nqui dwarfs), dug the *minkok ekí* (stones of iron) out of the earth, melted it, and

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

site for their villages. The houses can be readily taken down and erected 342
elsewhere. The earth floor is often beaten very hard, no covering is used. The
beds are made of bamboo poles resting upon end pieces, supported by four forked [513]
corner stakes. The bed is raised about one foot from the ground. In most houses
are four beds, two at each end on opposite sides, having a log fire burning between, 352
the smoke escaping through the thatch roof. The furniture is all movable, and consists of stools, cassava bowls and boards, drinking gourds, fish nets, water gourds, various baskets and hanging bamboo shelves for drying fish and corn over the fire. Food, guns and powder horns are hung up on wooden hooks suspended by bush rope; these hooks are made by cutting a suitable branch from a young tree, having a strong crutch. No separate portion of the dwelling is set apart for sleeping or eating. There are no windows to a Fang house; at night one or more pieces of bark are used for a door. All the domestic arrangements are excessively [356]
filthy. Refuse from meals is unknown, everything is eaten, including entrails and
skin of animals and fish. Before occupying a new house the witch doctor (*ngangan*) [262]
is usually called to perform the ceremony of propitiating the evil spirits (local 342
spirits), and the *biang Ekuri* (fetish) is hung up and becomes the protecting fetish of the household. This fetish is hung up over the doorway outside. The houses are built entirely above ground, the roofs are made of split bamboo and covered with thatch made from the long tough blade of a swamp reed, or rush. This thatch makes a most excellent roof, and when well put on, it is able to withstand three years of the terrible rains which fall during the long wet season.

V.—*Navigation, Hooks, Nets, Fishing, Traps.*

The Fang use long narrow canoes. A suitable tree having been found is 501
felled and trimmed, then hollowed out with the small native wedge. All the boats [396]
are open and both sides of the canoe alike. The women use the same canoes as the men and paddle them very skilfully. War canoes are made large and strong, but are otherwise similar in construction to the canoes in daily use. A kind of lugger sail is used and the natives sail a thin canvas very close to the wind. The baler used is made of wood; it much resembles a large flat sugar scoop and is common among tribes along the west coast. This baler is used most skilfully and with great rapidity by both men and women. In paddling, no fulcrum whatever 502 ●
is used. The men and women either sit or kneel, grasping the paddle handle in its upper and lower thirds they plunge the blade deeply into the water, and force the canoe ahead with great rapidity. One man, woman, or a child steers, using an [533]
ordinary paddle; the time kept while paddling is excellent, and is usually kept by [461]
one man chanting a Fang song, not unlike a white sailor's shanty, the paddling [501]
taking on renewed vigour during the chorus. The sails are usually made now [439]
of imported trade cloth, but I have seen them made from the native bark cloth. Only one sail is used and the canoes are able to beat up well against the wind.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

502 The mariner's compass is entirely unknown, and when I have shown one, it
501 was always spoken of as "the white man's *biang bial*" (canoe fetish). The Fang shapes his course by his knowledge of the river banks; he never ventures more than three days' journey from his own town, and much dislikes the idea of losing sight of land; therefore he seldom, if ever, attempts it. Certain canoes belong to the headman of the village, others to individuals. The canoes do not have houses;
[776] charms are frequently tied to the bow, to appease the water spirit, and frequently
[702] a traveller in a canoe will throw into the river at certain places he passes portions of his food to appease the local spirit which he believes dwells there. The place where this spirit dwells may be in some large tree or rock on the river bank. At night the canoes are hauled up on the river bank and usually left unprotected. Large war canoes, if painted, are occasionally covered with a few mats. No special portion of a canoe is set apart for a chief, he is usually seated near the bow. Watertight compartments for provisions are not provided, food and articles of trade being carried in high baskets. Upon arrival of a canoe from a neighbouring town, the visitors are frequently welcomed with shouts of joy; guns are fired and a dance given in the evening. I have seen canoes repaired by placing pieces of bark over the leaks inside and outside, the bark being secured with small hard wood plugs. No arrangement is made to prevent leaking.

Hooks for fishing are skilfully made of bamboo, the barb is long, very sharp
227 and notched on both sides. The hook is secured to the fishing-line with string made of pineapple fibre. Foreign-made fish-hooks are now largely used; these
[939] are much coveted, and considered a very staple article of trade.

Casting nets are used weighed with stones, iron, or lead, obtained in trade. The meshes are very fine and show much skilful and patient workmanship. A Fang will work well at anything which he can do while sitting in the palaver house. He can then work, smoke and talk; any work requiring much bodily exertion on his part or elsewhere is relegated to his wives. Fish traps are made of split bamboo and much resemble the lobster baskets used by our own fishermen.
[226] Small streams are often dammed at high water, the dam being made of split bamboo, fastened together with bush rope until a very large screen is made, 10 or 12 feet in height; this screen is staked across the stream at high water, when the tide falls the water passes readily through, leaving the fish in the river. The most disgusting sight among the Fang, is to see the women and children at low water walking in the mud, breast high, feeling for "mud fish." The large casting net is called *ewot*; a small round net used for dipping in pools and along the river bank at low water is called *tan*.

VI.—*Metallurgy, Fire, Machinery.*

325 Metallurgy among the Fang is limited to the working of iron. The native word for iron is *Eki*. The Fang among whom I lived did not possess the knowledge of
326 smelting, but I was told that "other Fang far away in the bush, especially the Nqui (dwarfs), dug the *minkok eki* (stones of iron) out of the earth, melted it, and

505 The wealth of all this region is easily transported by way of the river, which is navigable to M'Balmayo, where it connects with the railroad by way of the eastern road (Abong-M'Bang—Akonolinga—Yaoundé) /94/ and finally by way of the southern road (Sangmélima-M'Balmayo).

164 Demography. The Mbida-Mbane have not suffered greatly from sleeping sickness except in the Akonolinga group, and even here the disease was quickly checked. However, congenital syphilis accounts for 22.2 percent of the cases of infant mortality. /Map 20/

161 The ratio of births to deaths is slightly favorable: + 0.68 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 7 percent; the fertility rate is 5.20 pregnancies per woman.

511 The living conditions of the population as a whole are good, and it is growing slowly.

161 Among the Mvogo-Nienge the number of births barely exceeds the deaths; the ratio is + 0.39.

163 The sterility rate is 9 percent; the fertility rate is 4.25 pregnancies per woman. However, there is a very high proportion of stillbirths—26.9 percent—which explains the fact that this population remains stationary.

174 who were settled among them and the Boulou. The last Beti groups to cross the Sanaga, blocked by those who had preceded them, have turned perpendicularly or obliquely to the general axis of migration.

The total migration was made exclusively by land, even when its [505] axis followed the course of a navigable river. The Pahouin are not users [487] of the pirogue, and the customary trails followed along ridges rather than valleys. Settlement is mainly linear, stretched along trails and, [361] now, roads, in long ribbons, separated by empty areas.

173 The traditions dealing with this exodus are of three kinds: the collective tradition of the group, varying in detail from tribe to tribe but always agreeing in the broad outlines of the same theme; family traditions, consisting of a commentary on genealogies, the majority of which have not been collected and are by way of being lost due to the abandonment of the customary training of boys; finally, a pseudo tradition of contemporary invention, which is far from the least interesting. I shall here give an account only of the principal features of these traditions and, first, of the collective tradition.

According to this, the ancestors used to live in a country called mvo' ékanga or mvo' ékañ'a (Largeau: mvôgh étangha), which means something like "cloudy country" or "honorable country," depending on the tone, or perhaps both at the same time (1). I have

[192] 1. a) Radical kañ = to honor, to respect, whence ékanâ'a = honor, respect, veneration; b) radical kañ = to mark, to design, whence ékanga = mark, design, cloud; c) verb kañele = to lash, to shape /timber/, whence ékanga = bridge.

pointed out previously the legendary features of this land in the east, the details of which vary according to the informants. It should be observed in passing that they differ as to whether or not this land was the actual cradle of the ancestors and whether the latter came from a place located even more to the east, as the present pseudo tradition assets (2).

[533 538] 2. The last of the Ntoumou storytellers sing to the accompaniment of a guitar, mvet, the exploits of the bikañ or bo'bikañ,

173 therefore forced to settle in the most westerly area. (See the unpublished report of Father Sohler.) Others say (according to the report of X. Béliard) that they are only brothers of the Ewondo, who crossed the Sanaga, entered the southern forest as far as the present-day region of Ebolowa, stayed there a few years, and, step by step, took the northwest route, crossing the Lokoundje River. Then they infiltrated among the Basa tribes and settled in their present habitat. What we know for certain is that not until 1910 did they occupy the three villages on the road between Kribi and Edéa, and that their migration was still in full swing when the German occupation forced them to settle in one spot.

184 The population in the vast territory occupied by the Ewondo is not
563 culturally homogeneous. In many villages and even in the hamlets, the Ewondo live side by side with members of neighboring groups. On our map we have indicated the most important enclaves and mixed settlements /Map 8, facing p. 72/, namely those where the strangers are as numerous as the Ewondo or even more so. /72/ The actual situation is more complex than this, but on a map of this scale it has not been possible to show the minorities. (1)

[114]

1. A remarkable large-scale diagrammatic map of the administrative subdivision of Yaoundé should be mentioned here. It was set up in 1944 by the administrator J. Christol and shows even the smallest intermixtures, with proportional strengths, for every village and hamlet.

361 The Ewondo live in sizable villages which stretch along the many
● 511 roads in the area. The villages are well maintained and show evidence of a comfortable standard of living which is largely the result of the prosperity of their cacao trees and their trade.

181 The Ewondo are robust and muscular, skillful and intelligent. They emigrate readily, and their workers are valued in all enterprises.

497 The shipment of their products is facilitated by a major branch of the railway which crosses their territory between Yaoundé and Otélé, and transportation on their roads plays an important role in getting the various foodstuffs and the cacao from the great markets in the bush to the railroad.

505 The wealth of all this region is easily transported by way of the river, which is navigable to M'Balmayo, where it connects with the railroad by way of the eastern road (Abong-M'Bang—Akonolinga—Yaoundé) /94/ and finally by way of the southern road (Sangmélima-M'Balmayo).

164 Demography. The Mbida-Mbane have not suffered greatly from sleeping sickness except in the Akonolinga group, and even here the disease was quickly checked. However, congenital syphilis accounts for 22.2 percent of the cases of infant mortality. /Map 20/

161 The ratio of births to deaths is slightly favorable: + 0.68 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 7 percent; the fertility rate is 5.20 pregnancies per woman.

511 The living conditions of the population as a whole are good, and it is growing slowly.

161 Among the Mvogo-Nienge the number of births barely exceeds the deaths; the ratio is + 0.39.

163 The sterility rate is 9 percent; the fertility rate is 4.25 pregnancies per woman. However, there is a very high proportion of stillbirths—26.9 percent—which explains the fact that this population remains stationary.

162 was explored and then occupied only at a late date. These condi-
361 tions delayed "contaminations" and permitted the maintenance of a certain unity. It now has a viable economic structure, thanks to its cacao production, which has finally created a true peasant state. [79]

1. Bitam and Minvoul Districts

These two districts are wedged between the Cameroons to the north, Spanish Guinea to the west, and a true "no man's land" to the east. The inhabitants, numbering 27,500, are the most active
[433 and prosperous elements(producing three quarters of the cacao
● 511] grown in the region) on the roads serving the Cameroons and the center of Oyem. They have built modernized villages "tied" to the cacao plantations. Their inhabitants belong to groupings found in the Cameroons and in Spanish Guinea, and some of the villagers have relatives in one or the other territory — like so many links favoring traffic in "merchandise" and ideas.

619 According to the census of 1936, the only detailed document,
615 27 clans or tribal fragments (clans that have maintained the tribal name) are now there. The most numerous clan is that of the Effak
[162] (Yénzɔk tribe), (1) which has more than 15 percent of the population,

1. We give the tribal dependencies with all reservation. The near ignorance and "cheating" allied to the movement of clan regroupment render all certainty impossible, except when we have access to early documents, more particularly to a mention in the notes of Monsignor Martrou, which were kindly lent to us at the Libreville Mission.

followed by that of the Eba (Yémisɛm tribe), which has 10 percent. The other groups may go down to a few tens of individuals. In this region are found the following tribes (ayog): Yénzɔk, Yémvɔ̂g, Yémisɛm. These are the most important in the Cameroons in the

619 Ebolowa and Sangmélima regions (2). The whole of Upper Woleu-
619

2. Documents relating to "ethnic groupings," Administrative Archives of Ebolowa.

N'Tem is oriented toward the Cameroons with which it has not
[439] only economic ties (it exports its cacao there and imports its goods) but also political ties (which explains why it served to relay the directives and their implementations that appeared in this territory).

2. Oyem District

162 This district, with 30,000 inhabitants, has a long frontier with
361 Spanish Guinea, and is crossed by the Woleu River, an important
439 means of access to this possession. The major part of the population (more than two thirds) is "stuck" to the frontier. This is understood because related groups exist on each side of the frontier; [80] [Fig. 1] [81] Guinea has always exerted an economic attraction (it is the center of trade and exchange of labor which is much in demand), she serves occasionally as a place of refuge. The vil-
[433 lagers are fairly well-to-do because of the cacao cultivation (one
● 511] fourth of the Woleu-N'Tem production) and because of the trade with Guinea (peanuts, coffee, palmetto). This is shown particularly by an improvement in housing.

162 Kyé-Nyé Canton, a meeting place of two migratory streams
619 coming from the Lower Cameroons, contains by itself nearly
619 12,000 inhabitants who again are distributed by clans (Fig. 1). The dominant groupings are the Esèngi (Yémvôg tribe), who account for more than 40 percent, the Kojé for about 25 percent, and the Yéngwi for over 15 percent. In the canton of Woleu, the villages of the Ozip tribe are dominant, accounting for 33 percent of the population. Then the Bökwé (Ndôg tribe) account for about 12 percent, and the Esamökos (Yéngól tribe) (1) for more than 10

1. Only confirmed by the notes of L. Martrou.

162 Dominated by the great and often marshy forest, this country is
361 characterized by a very localized population indicated on a map by "strips" linked to the system of rivers. In the two districts which they occupy, Booué and Makokou, the Fang are the dominating ethnic group, forming about 45 percent and 40 percent of the total population. They are in the neighborhood of ethnic groups which are considered to be related to them, the Shaké and the
[177] Bakwélé. By their migrations they have disordered the population of this region and created contacts resulting in great cultural contaminations. If one can believe Father Trilles, who noted an "archaic language" used in the legends, proverbs, and songs, and similar to Batéké, (1) the relations with the peoples of the Congo

1. Father H. Trilles, op. cit

and Gabon borders would be early.

173 According to tradition, the Fang-Maké (or Bisibé) were the first to reach the Ivindo. De Brazza finds them on the Ogooué (on the island of Zabouré). Their largest tribe is Mékuk, specifically
619 referred to by Father Trilles and specially mentioned by Tessmann on his distribution map. Outside of the Maké, the Fang of this region are in two distinct groups – Bétsi and Nzaman – the latter representing, according to early authors, the "true Pahouin of the Ogooué." (2) In Booué District the villages, although without clan

2 Cf. Captain Curault, "Monographie du secteur de N'Djolé au Gabon [Monograph on the N'Djolé section of Gabon]," Revue des Troupes Coloniales, 68, 1908.

homogeneity, showed at the time of the "regrouping movement" the predominance of the three great tribes, Yémödâg, Yémvâg, and Yémisèm.

● 511 The Ogooué-Ivindo seems to be one of the poorest regions of
702 Gabon. Not having any economic equipment, it was only precariously active during the war effort. On the other hand, frequent recruiting has seriously affected this country (which along with

511 N'Gounié and Woleu-N'Tem was a "reservoir of manpower") by
702 upsetting its demographic equilibrium. Consequently, most of the administrative reports stress the poverty and mediocrity of the villages, the political instability and "indiscipline," and the eagerness with which all innovations are greeted in the hope of improving conditions. [84]

Region of the Maritime Ogooué

175 During the second half of the nineteenth century the Fang descended the Ogooué in order to reach the trading centers established on the river, and the counting houses of the coast. They pushed back the Bakèlè, imposed themselves on the Galwa and the
361 Nkomi. Since 1880 the Fang have settled in large numbers along the Ogooué as a result of a penetration which organized convoys on the river, created posts, and made possible the settlement of traders.

361 The Fang are settled in the four districts forming this adminis-
162 trative region, but in that of Omboué, the extreme point of their advance, they represent less than 5 percent of the population. Ninety-five percent of the 9,300 inhabitants of N'Djolé District are Fang who have taken the place of the ancient Bakélé people. They belong to the Maké, Nzaman, and Bétsi groups; the first of these was located downstream from N'Djolé before 1865 (1).

1. Captain Curault, op. cit.

They came largely from the Lower Ivindo, but also from the Woleu-N'Tem, where the villagers soon sought to obtain commercial out-
[316] lets on the Ogooué. Outside of a small mine exploitation at N'Djolé, this district is extremely bare. Consequently, the very scattered villages have a miserable appearance, and the male
[164] population has been canvassed (or recruited) by the neighboring lumber works and by the coastal centers.

563 Lambaréné District, which is very important because of its
[361] forest exploitations (and also because it is an old commercial
313] center, still has a largely Fang population. These are in opposition to the aboriginal group of the Galwa (less than 2,200 individuals)

245 occupations keep them away from their native villages, try to build up plantations, even though they may draw no profits before their retirement. Among Boulou or Beti every married man is a cacao planter. In the course of a sample survey of 490 rural families, only 43 (less than 9 percent) were found who do not have some income from a cacao plantation (1): 7 live from the sale of different agri-

1. J. Binet, Budgets familiaux des planteurs de cacao au Cameroun /Family Budgets of Cacao Planters in the Cameroons/, O.R.S.T.O.M. /Office de la Recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer/.

cultural products; 15 are engaged in crafts; 9 are salaried workers, employed in trade, missions, the administration. For the 437 other families cacao is a basic resource.

245 556 434 511 The large number of proprietors is accompanied by a wide distribution of wealth and by a certain amount of social equality (2).

2. Sautter, "Le cacao dans l'économie rurale du Woleu-Ntem /Cacao in the Rural Economy of the Woleu-N'Tem/," Études centrafricaines, 1951.

Nevertheless, financial differences are clearly marked. To take only cash income and to disregard home consumption, 28 households had available an average of 3, 720 francs C.F.A. per annum (3).

[436] 3. One franc C.F.A. equals two metropolitan francs. Incomes were computed in 1954, a year during which quotations for cacao were especially favorable.

113 households had 10, 000 francs C.F.A., 217 had 29, 600 francs, 87 had 71, 500 francs, 36 had 152, 000 francs, 5 had 440, 000 francs. Large incomes coincide with enormous plantations, but also with 245 511 556 profits from a variety of sources: of the 5 families with the highest income, only 2 derive theirs entirely from cultivation. Of the 36 in the next lower category, 24 have a purely agricultural income. The

245 511 55L distribution of cacao plantations is neither the only nor perhaps the principal cause of inequality. Cacao production is on a considerable scale: around 50, 000 tons in the Cameroons, 3, 000 tons in Gabon (4).

[433]

4. Almost the whole of the Gabon output comes from the Woleu-N'Tem region and especially the Ntoumou cantons. (P. A.)

It is easy to understand that this crop is an essential factor in the 182 evolution /sic/ of Pahouin society.

245 In the field of common law, for example, cacao has affected the orientation of land law. By giving each person the possibility of making /33/ private profits, cacao has increased the independence of men and even of women from family authority. Because it allows the accumulation of durable and tranferable goods, cacao has raised, in a new form, the problem of successional devolution /inheritance/.

To consider only the realm of technology: settling on the land during several generations has apparently put an end to real nomadism; villages are no longer moved about. But a certain amount of shifting cultivation will remain inevitable if some method of rapid reclamation of fallow land is not adopted.

245 The stock of tools has increased considerably. An axe with a small, 412 narrow head ending in a tongue was fastened into the large end of a wooden handle, a daba similarly made but with a rounder head and lighter handle (1) and a machete were formerly the basic implements.

[284]

1. The tongue of the hoe, driven into a branch like a spike, is also bound to it with liana. Old women still use the digging stick, which has or had some ritual significance. (P. A.)

To these must now be added pruning shears, caterpillar destroyer or a local copy, and cacao spear.

245 Boxes or baskets provide vats for fermenting the /cacao/ beans, a roof shades the trays on which they are put to dry. Some men have thought of buying Vermorel vaporizers for spraying the cacao trees; others dream of mowing machines for clearing the land.

177
443

1. This lack is also pointed out by Balandier, op. cit., p. 544.

A careful study of village names in several subdivisions has not turned up a name that seems connected with ideas of market, exchange, or trade. Moreover, vocabularies for such subjects are very limited.

And, into this land so unprepared for an economic /sic/ life, world economy is penetrating with all its complexity, setting a purchase price for the total output, which has fluctuations the planters obviously cannot understand. Their dismay is natural, since they have not even been able to become familiar with ideas about price, demand, or bargaining through traditions of trade.

It goes without saying that the time when salt was the item most in demand is long since past. However, bags of salt appear among traditional wedding presents, and the manufacture of salt from lye-washed palm ash is still known, though the product is only sold — and moreover very rarely — for its medicinal properties.

431 258 585 278

511 Expenditures have become extremely diversified, as shown by the analysis of an average family budget: (2)

2. These figures drawn from Budgets familiaux au Cameroun /Family Budgets in the Cameroons/, p. 150, do not take into account, we must remember, auto consumption.

Food	14	percent	Household articles	1.9	percent
Textiles	17.4	-	Equipment	7.7	-
Bride price	13	-	Taxes	8.5	-
Housing and furniture	7.5	-	Medicaments	1.3	-
Bedding	1.5	-	Education	0.9	-
Lighting and upkeep	3	-	Gifts and miscellaneous	6	-
Trips	2	-			

577
177
511
291
[24]

Food now includes, even in the bush, imported items like stockfish or like the bread, sardines, sugar, and condensed milk that are used less regularly. Clothes are the main item of expense. The desire to follow Paris fashions is perhaps not a national trait peculiar

517
177
511 to Pahouin women, but it is certainly a geographical characteristic of
[29] the southern Cameroons, consequently, the textiles for sale are to a great extent those sold in Europe. Specifically African prints, such as "wax-prints," are dying out. Underclothes, stockings, and shoes reflect the sophistication that goes with wealth. The purchase of durable goods that go under the heading "Equipment," (bicycles, phonographs, pressure lamps) is another symptom, as is the changing
[445] demand for household articles. /35/ While the saucepan is still the basic kitchen utensil, enamelware is in strong competition with
[513] crockery and glass. Blankets are used everywhere, but the use of sheets is also on the increase.

A mere list of commodities shows the present-day importance of
432 trade. The native populations have not always realized this, owing
441 to their lack of inclination for it. They have not started businesses and have often left this to immigrants, coastal people long familiar with European ways, particularly the Bamiléké or "Haoussa," /Hausa/ who for their part have a solid trading tradition and great capacities in this field. The Boulou especially despise trade and refuse to have anything to do with it. Other Pahouin peoples are not so strongly antipathetic, but their business activity remains very limited.

Is it this bankruptcy on the part of the indigenous people and this
413 taking over by "foreigners" which explains the organization and the
184 location of trade in the region? The villages are in fact very badly
441 served; markets are few and far between and so are rural shops. Perhaps we ought to note differences between the various Pahouin and Pahouinized groups. While a village trader is always most uncommon in Boulou country in spite of the relative affluence of the planters, he is not unknown in Ewondo districts and is quite often to be met with among the Eton, where resources are, nevertheless, more limited. Without local trade the collecting of crops and specifically of cacao posed quite a problem, to which the coming of buyers brought a solution. Business houses advance money to the buyers and buy what they are able to bring back. From hut to hut along the trails buyers negotiate purchases with planters. With these "purchases by peddling" it might seem logical for sales by peddling to develop. Yet this phenomenon is quite recent, being tied up with the development of transportation by car and bicycle. But while the buyers are generally native to the region, the pedlars are nearly always foreign.

[465] As house-to-house buying creates countless disadvantages, the administration has endeavored to create rural markets so that the public

779 necessary investigation by sacrifices. And the totem, under
622 penalty of not receiving any expiation, should reveal its rela-
614 tionship. But as Nzoge Nze becomes more of a remote ancestor, the risk of relationship with every panther grows, for each panther may be related to the eponymous ancestor and consequently the law becomes more stringent. Should a panther enter villages and kill a few innocent people, [549] such as women and children, The men of the eponymous clan would be permitted to kill it, and only in such a case, but they would still be forbidden to eat it. When after a series of sacrifices for this purpose, it has been duly established that revenge for some unexpiated totemic offense is not involved, that is proof that the panther in question does not belong to the eponymous panther clan. It is a "foreigner" or "deserter", the latter being quite common in certain animal species, one of whose members may leave the group to go off on his own and become a "solitary," as do elephants, panthers, wild boars, gorillas. It is then perfectly lawful to attack it and kill it if possible. A trifling ritual expiation will suffice, proportionate to the very small likelihood of having killed an ally, an extremely slight probability, since actions are never taken without previous assent of the totem chief of the tribe. The responsibility will be his in case of mistake.

IV. War and Palavers

511 Life is easy for the Fan.

Close to his village, the great forest begins; it abounds in game, and he has not far to go to be able to shoot, at point-blank range, monkeys, antelopes, wild boars, even elephants. There are innumerable streams and rivers swarming with fish, especially carp; traps, weirs, nets, everything is good to catch them with -- everything succeeds. A Fan hunts and fishes when he feels like it; there are no laws interfering with his inclinations. Banana and manioc plantations, which provide the basic subsistence, give hardly any trouble. At the start of each season there are a few days of work at slashing-and-burning, the ashes providing fertilizer. After that, all the labor and care of the crops falls
517 upon the women. The Fan is therefore idle most of the day and

517
177
511 to Pahouin women, but it is certainly a geographical characteristic of
[29] the southern Cameroons, consequently, the textiles for sale are to a great extent those sold in Europe. Specifically African prints, such as "wax-prints," are dying out. Underclothes, stockings, and shoes reflect the sophistication that goes with wealth. The purchase of durable goods that go under the heading "Equipment," (bicycles, phonographs, pressure lamps) is another symptom, as is the changing
[45] demand for household articles. /35/ While the saucepan is still the basic kitchen utensil, enamelware is in strong competition with
[513] crockery and glass. Blankets are used everywhere, but the use of sheets is also on the increase.

A mere list of commodities shows the present-day importance of
439 trade. The native populations have not always realized this, owing
441 to their lack of inclination for it. They have not started businesses and have often left this to immigrants, coastal people long familiar with European ways, particularly the Bamiléké or "Haoussa," /Hausa/ who for their part have a solid trading tradition and great capacities in this field. The Boulou especially despise trade and refuse to have anything to do with it. Other Pahouin peoples are not so strongly antipathetic, but their business activity remains very limited.

Is it this bankruptcy on the part of the indigenous people and this
443 taking over by "foreigners" which explains the organization and the
184 location of trade in the region? The villages are in fact very badly
441 served; markets are few and far between and so are rural shops. Perhaps we ought to note differences between the various Pahouin and Pahouinized groups. While a village trader is always most uncommon in Boulou country in spite of the relative affluence of the planters, he is not unknown in Ewondo districts and is quite often to be met with among the Eton, where resources are, nevertheless, more limited. Without local trade the collecting of crops and specifically of cacao posed quite a problem, to which the coming of buyers brought a solution. Business houses advance money to the buyers and buy what they are able to bring back. From hut to hut along the trails buyers negotiate purchases with planters. With these "purchases by peddling" it might seem logical for sales by peddling to develop. Yet this phenomenon is quite recent, being tied up with the development of transportation by car and bicycle. But while the buyers are generally native to the region, the pedlars are nearly always foreign.

[65] As house-to-house buying creates countless disadvantages, the administration has endeavored to create rural markets so that the public

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

site for their villages. The houses can be readily taken down and erected 342
elsewhere. The earth floor is often beaten very hard, no covering is used. The
beds are made of bamboo poles resting upon end pieces, supported by four forked [513]
corner stakes. The bed is raised about one foot from the ground. In most houses
are four beds, two at each end on opposite sides, having a log fire burning between, 352
the smoke escaping through the thatch roof. The furniture is all movable, and consists of stools, cassava bowls and boards, drinking gourds, fish nets, water gourds, various baskets and hanging bamboo shelves for drying fish and corn over the fire. Food, guns and powder horns are hung up on wooden hooks suspended by bush rope; these hooks are made by cutting a suitable branch from a young tree, having a strong crutch. No separate portion of the dwelling is set apart for sleeping or eating. There are no windows to a Fang house; at night one or more pieces of bark are used for a door. All the domestic arrangements are excessively [356]
filthy. Refuse from meals is unknown, everything is eaten, including entrails and
skin of animals and fish. Before occupying a new house the witch doctor (*ngangan*) [262]
is usually called to perform the ceremony of propitiating the evil spirits (local 342
spirits), and the *biang Ekuri* (fetish) is hung up and becomes the protecting fetish of the household. This fetish is hung up over the doorway outside. The houses are built entirely above ground, the roofs are made of split bamboo and covered with thatch made from the long tough blade of a swamp reed, or rush. This thatch makes a most excellent roof, and when well put on, it is able to withstand three years of the terrible rains which fall during the long wet season.

V.—*Navigation, Hooks, Nets, Fishing, Traps.*

The Fang use long narrow canoes. A suitable tree having been found is 501
felled and trimmed, then hollowed out with the small native wedge. All the boats [396]
are open and both sides of the canoe alike. The women use the same canoes as the men and paddle them very skilfully. War canoes are made large and strong, but are otherwise similar in construction to the canoes in daily use. A kind of lugger sail is used and the natives sail a thin canvas very close to the wind. The baler used is made of wood; it much resembles a large flat sugar scoop and is common among tribes along the west coast. This baler is used most skilfully and with great rapidity by both men and women. In paddling, no fulcrum whatever
is used. The men and women either sit or kneel, grasping the paddle handle in 502
its upper and lower thirds they plunge the blade deeply into the water, and force the canoe ahead with great rapidity. One man, woman, or a child steers, using an [533]
ordinary paddle; the time kept while paddling is excellent, and is usually kept by [461]
one man chanting a Fang song, not unlike a white sailor's shanty, the paddling [501]
taking on renewed vigour during the chorus. The sails are usually made now [439]
of imported trade cloth, but I have seen them made from the native bark
cloth. Only one sail is used and the canoes are able to beat up well against the wind.

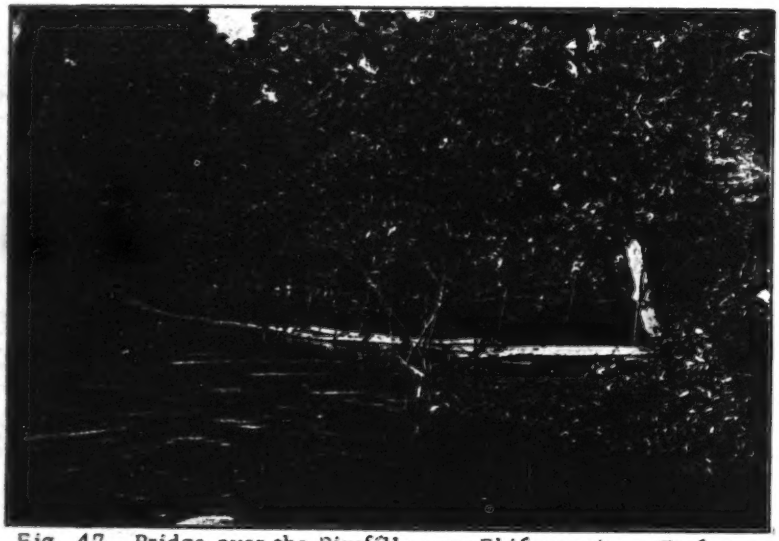


Fig. 47. Bridge over the Bimfílle near Ebiánemajong (Essáuong Family) During the Rainy Season.

The privy (edūk), as Figure 16 shows, is in the plantain grove not very far from the houses. Frequently it is so close that the stench, especially when the wind is unfavorable, may become unbearable. The privy consists of a fairly deep pit with one or two pairs of forked sticks planted in the center; on top of these is placed a layer of tree trunks in such a manner that the middle ones extend from the edge of the pit only as far as the sticks and lie with their free ends in the forks. Thus, a rectangular opening is left uncovered, and /83/ loam is thrown around this over the whole thing. Sometimes the loam covering is not put over it. Instead of toilet paper, dried corn husks are used.

It is worthy of note that the Pangwe also cultivate ornamental plants. These are placed in the village square, along the paths behind or to the side of the houses, or, in case the village consists of only a single row of houses, they are planted where the opposite row of houses would ordinarily stand. Generally the ornamental plants are the following: an attractive Amaranthacea, Gomphrena globosa B. (ngö'n IV), which also grows in America and may have been imported from there; and the so-called fever

831 If the latter resembles a rushing stream which tears away everything in its path, the love of the Blacks is like a still, deep lake, and it is certain that even in Africa the magic power of love often intimately joins two hearts and that there is genuine love which in every respect is comparable to the European conception. This point is well demonstrated by the "love tests" which the men sometimes apply in order to convince themselves of the love of a future wife, quite according to the pattern: "Drum prüfe, wer sich ewig bindet, ob sich das Herz zum Herzen findet" /Trans., "Therefore assay, before you bind yourself never to part, whether there's harmony 'twixt heart and heart," from Schiller, "Das Lied von der Glocke"/.

539 514 836 An example is presented by the following tale.

One day a young man went to see the girl that he loved and wanted to marry. At night, while he was sleeping in her house, he had /257/ to urinate, but since he did not know where the toilet was and since there was no man there whom he could ask, he said to himself: "Oh, what shall I do in my need? -- -- But let me see whether the girl really loves me!" He took a small cooking pot (oběbē') and used it so that it was filled to the brim (lǒ'dǒtǒ); then he covered it with leaves and placed it behind a bed. The next morning he set out on the way home, and the girl accompanied him until they were outside the village. On the way he said: "I am going now to my village, and I shall see

ng(e) oa džǐn ma: oběbē', ng(e) oa bě'ne
if you love me: (the) little pot, if you hate (do not

ma: oběbē',"
love) me: (the) little pot,

that is, the little pot will show whether you love me or not! The girl did not understand what he meant by this and asked him to explain. But he simply answered:

ǒ', kaa džǎm mfě,
Oh, no matter other (than that):

ng(e) oa džǐ'n ma: oběbē', ng(e) oa bě'ne ma, oběbē'.

539 514 836 When the girl went home she thought to herself: "I wonder what that means: ng(e) oa dzǐn ma: oběbe, ng(e) oa bǐne ma: oběbě!?" When she was in the house, she was still thinking about it; then she suddenly smelled the odor and found the little pot behind the bed. She took it, poured its contents into the plantain grove behind the house, and cleaned it thoroughly with water. Meanwhile her lover had secretly come back to the village and observed from a hiding place how the affair was developing, whether the girl would call other people and publicly expose him (1). But nothing /258/ of the kind happened. He then saw

539 514 836 558

1. In that case the lover would not have been able to hide from the mockery of his companions and would have become completely unacceptable in the village of his beloved. It should not be forgotten how terribly disgraceful a Negro finds such an occurrence, indeed, the very thought of a natural need to relieve himself. A person who has had, as we would say, an accident, as in the above case, will be socially unacceptable for a long time if the incident becomes known, while we "barbarians" with our trifling amount of oson look upon such an occurrence as a painful accident for the moment, but do not carry it any further and, moreover, regard the physiological evacuation of the body as something "natural." Unfortunate uncivilized civilized people! The savages are better people after all! They have a countless number of circumlocutions for the terrible deed: ma ke a npǒ[ń] biǎń, "I am going to fetch a medicine"; a bǒbe ekūlidi, "to inspect the spring trap"; a bǒbe ebǐ, "to inspect the pitfall"; a tšǎ ndžǎǎ,

514 539

539 "to look for firewood"; ma ke ofē ī,
514 "I am going into the bush," and so forth. Even today I have to smile when I think of an incident that happened at the beginning of my stay in
114 Alén. One of my Fang boys, who ac-
514 companied me on the hunt and was near a thick, half-rotted tree stump, suddenly said, "ma ke tsă ndžā,ă (I am going to get some firewood)." Under the impression that he really wanted to cut off some firewood from the tree stump, I countered this, to me unintelligible, notion, half amazed, half mockingly, with the words, "ye oa bĕle ovŭ'n (but do you have an axe)?" It was only after a while that I understood why I was struck by such an annihilating look of moral disapproval. After this faux pas, I became more cautious and was soon sufficiently polished to be a highly civilized person in the Pangwe sense, who in strange villages no longer spoke of the eduk (toilet), but instead, as a well brought-up "Pange," merely asked:

nge ba tsĭ'dăn ma, ma yā'le
[539] If one drives (urges) me, I duck (hide)
vĕ'?
where?

or: zĕ'n e medžā e ne vĕ'?
Where is the way to the host (actually: head of the village)?

539 Further demonstrations of the Pangwe's
757 feeling of shame with respect to natural
514 requirements are the use of an enema syringe (which is directly connected with

514 [757] 539

the feces or anus) as a deterrent medicine for thefts from the field and the significant tale of the turtle and the woman. A turtle wants to force a girl against her will to become his wife, and after all kinds of vain attempts finally succeeds only by smearing the girl's bed and clothes one night with his own feces. Having done so, he lies down to sleep, and the next morning when the girl sees the mess, he threatens to tell in the village and all the world that she had befouled her bed. The turtle thus put the girl completely in his power and forced her to agree to the marriage.

539 836 514 the girl going into her mother's house, quickly stole after her through the plantain grove, and listened behind the house to what the girl might say; not by a single word did she mention the incident. He then went back with a joyful heart, and said to himself: "This girl truly loves me." After two days he returned, asked for her hand in marriage, and took her back to his village as his wife.

This tale gave rise to the popular saying: ng(e) oa dzǐ̀n ma, oběbē', ng(e) oa bǎne ma: oběbē'.

832 The great number of love medicines (biaɲ andu'man), which very graphically symbolize the fusion and embracing of the sexes (in a spiritual as well as a physical sense), has already been discussed in Volume II, page 30 .

848 836 Illegitimate children are quite rare. The child's father -- even when he is known -- has no claim upon the child, just as the girl has no claim upon the father. The child belongs to the girl's father and is regarded as a not altogether unwelcome addition, since when the girl marries, it considerably raises her purchase price. As long as the mother remains unmarried, her child stays in the house of her parents. When she marries, the child becomes /259/ a part of the marriage bargain, as it were, and is considered

352 baskets, storage baskets (binaan), crockery (viek), or imported "negro pots" /sic/ (minkeñ), the drying rack, shrimp nets, mortars, and other feminine implements. The young unmarried men slept in
361 the guardhouse; the girls slept with the women. A jal occupied by an average-sized family might be 50 meters long. Large minlam reached half a kilometer, in which case the nseñ was divided into sections by the secondary meba of each family. The chief lived in the middle and had a larger aba than those of other families.

177 342 This kind of village has almost entirely disappeared. Bark huts are still extant in a few isolated villages in Gabon, but they are in-
[178] creasingly rare. In actual fact, one finds almost everywhere the hut of reinforced banco /wattle and daub?/ (the wattle consists of laths made of the main ribs of raffia, incorrectly called bamboo), imposed on Boulou country around 1925 by an administrator called Nkulu (meaning "the Tornado"), which has left its mark throughout Pahouin country. These huts are usually rectangular but tend, in prosperous villages, to be influenced by European forms, with T-, U-, or H-shapes, with verandas and lean-to showers. They are often plastered with kaolin (fem) sometimes mixed with red or green ocher or with imported laundry blueing. The roof is still usually of raffia
● [514] tile, but it may have four slopes or be even more complicated, copied from European roots. Each family has its own privy (éduk).

361 The layout of villages has likewise changed. The most prevalent plan keeps the single central nseñ /street/, but the huts are in four lines on either side and are separate, no longer contiguous. The men's huts are nearest the road, the women's, now called kisin (cuisines /kitchens/), are laid out behind, or sometimes around, the
[531] husband's. The plaster is often painted in fresco with various subjects —copies of pictures in magazines, religious subjects, in Boulou country illustrations from the novel Nnanga kôn (1), portraits of

1. The best Boulou painter of recent years was David Monewoso, a Yemfek from Sangmélima, who not only established the iconography of Nnanga kon but is also a good portraitist and a remarkable painter of animals.

Europeans famous locally or internationally. The aba /guardhouse/ has lost its defensive character and often take the form of an airy

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

264 this is, because, to a Fang eye, polished brass looks *mbung* (handsome) and is attractive for trade. Vessels are usually placed on top of the fire and not 262 suspended over it; vegetables are frequently placed in stews. No separate dwelling house exists for cooking, it is carried on in the dwelling house. The water used to 356 wash a dirty pot with is often thrown out on the earth floor of the dwelling, children playing in the wet dirt. In all domestic matters the Fang are very filthy. [514] I have on more than one occasion when inside a native hut seen children micturate and defecate on the earth floor close to where the mother was cooking, the women [854] and men present taking very little notice, and only occasionally placing the child [462] outside the door. Cooking is exclusively the duty of women, a *real man* will not cook. Food is often highly seasoned with hot native red and green peppers, and 252 food thus prepared is much appreciated. The food is usually well cooked through, with the exception of plantains which are often only half boiled and served quite hard. Large round stones are used for rubbing and reducing to powder gourd seeds and various tubers. Smoking and salting are the only methods practised 251 for preserving food, and on account of the value of salt and the difficulty of transporting it inland, it is seldom thus employed.

Drinks.—Rum has been carried from the coast by white traders and natives 273 far inland and is used whenever obtainable, but the chief drink is cold water. Palm wine is made called *meyak*. Except in places where a trade factory existed I have seen very few cases of intoxication among the Fang, but when they can obtain rum it seems to completely demoralize them. Tea and coffee are known to [272] people living near white settlers. When a party of headmen and others have taken a meal at the mission house, tea and coffee were greatly enjoyed and cups 264 frequently re-filled. The first meal is usually about eight or nine o'clock; the natives think the white man eats very early; a mid-day meal is served and the evening repast is usually about sunset.

Food is frequently brought to the men inside the *abeng* (palaver house); at other times an entire family eats together inside the dwelling house. No ceremonies whatever precede the commencement of meals. When a son is born, or on the 574 occasion of a wedding, and after some large palaver has been settled, a feast is usually given. Invited guests and strangers partake together with the town folk 264 of the food prepared; it is usually served on the earth floor of the palaver house, on plantain leaves, and in cooking pots, each person helping himself. The women do not eat with the men inside the palaver house.

Mode of preparing Mboa.

252 *Ba du mbóa osui, e vóm a ne ndútál: a kaga boma mēlu mēla, be keli tás: be sáli*
539 *ne nye: be nâû mbūk: be kēzi nye mbūk iti be nou ntum: beña tyak: bènga vul: be kaga mana vul: be kēzi nye ē mvē: vekoba ji: ve telē mvè mboa: wena mboa abea.*

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

789 *bieti*). He brings it. He eats the fowl. When finished, he takes a bone of the fowl and the excrement of the *bieti*. He cuts his nails and his hair. He ties (all these things) up in a bundle or packs them inside the horn of a small deer and keeps it.

When a man goes on a journey he carries this medicine with him. Another person cannot see him as he journeys.

This is the *Biang e Soli*.

Biang-nkama.—The people get up and take machetes and cut a clearing. When they have finished the clearing is open and bright. If a man has died and been long in the grave, they take his bones, and lay them out on the ground. They cover them over with earth. They take other bones, and cut them up into small pieces. They put (these pieces) in a basket: they put in also red dye, and scrapings from the bark of trees. They close up the basket. If they go to war, they carry the basket (suspended by a cord from) the shoulder. They take the red dye which is in the basket and smear the body with it. If an enemy (literally, a person) [726] fires a gun (at them), they will not be pierced (by the pieces of iron pot used as bullets).

This is the *Biang-nkama*. Do not tell it to women or children; only to grown real men—for it is tabooed.

Nzake Bukun.—Fang make it thus. If a man makes witch medicine, he kills 754 his brother and other people. They say, let us make *nzake bukun*. They take a corpse, and go with it to the bush. They cut bush. The bush is clear and open. They sweep clear the place which they have cut. They lay down the corpse in the place which they have swept. They dig plenty of dirt, and make it in the shape of an elephant (over the corpse). They make the trunk, the tusks, the eyes, the legs, the tail, the ears. They finish and return to the town. They say, we have made *nzake bukun* (*nzake* means elephant). They say if a man goes out to kill by witchcraft, he will die. If a man wishes to kill another with poison, he will die. If a man lies with a woman in the daytime he will die. Let not a woman eat a pig. And so they say, they have made this fetish, the *nzake-bukun*. When they have done so, if a man lies with a woman in the daytime he gets sick. They go and scrape trees in the bush; they bring water from the river, and put the scrapings in the water. They catch a fowl outside and put it in the medicine-water. They touch the man's body over with the fowl. And so that man, they heal him from his fetish-sickness. Then he is well.

This is *Nzake bukun*.

Biang-abationg.—If a man has married two or three women, and loves one, but 832 dislikes the others, the latter feel badly. They make *biang abationg*. When they [514] go to pass their faeces, they take a very small piece of their faeces. They rub off the grease from their skin, and mix this grease with the small piece of dung. They put it (the mixture) on the drying-shelf (over the fire). When it is dry they mash it to powder, and put it in the neck of a gourd. They take also a shrub called *abatoñ* (known only by women) and put it in a small gourd (not the neck of

3. Care of the body.

515 539 By and large, the Pangwe may be called a very clean people, cleaner than many European peoples. The majority wash and bathe very frequently, and the following proverb shows how a person who does not wash is judged:

otū[k] -mfŏŏ	a	dżǒnā:	kā		mvŏ́ń
Old pocket (1)	she	said thus:	if now there is		rain

[195] 1. A common term of abuse for men, similar to our "old hag" for women.

a	bō'de	ma,	ngbǎna	a	wǒ'ban	e	madżǐ'm	a	
it	wets	me,	time	to	wash	in the	water,	it	

bē	ma	anǎ
was	for me	just!

That is: "The rain came just in time, it was high time for a bath."

164 515 The many skin diseases, from which younger people suffer with special frequency, seem to have causes other than uncleanliness, /187/ although it must be admitted that among many Negroes there is an incredible indifference with respect to the care of the body, treatment of wounds, and parasites. In general, however, one can only praise the Pangwe for their cleanliness.

515 388 824 Formerly, even soap, made from a Rubiacea (ogbwǎ'm Fang, ogbwē'mē Ntum), was customarily used for washing bark cloth.

515 278 824 There are no fleas, but on the other hand there are vast numbers of lice which are picked off and killed by biting them -- the women swallow them at the same time. They are also killed by special medicines. These medicines are made with raffia palm oil which is rubbed on the skin and which the lice do not like to begin with. To the oil is added charred and ground plantain skins or the ground and subsequently dried roots of the Apocynacea Doacanga diplochlamys K. Sch. (ojē metūē Ntum), ground leaves and blossoms of the Simarubacea Quassia africana Baill. (isūvǎ-elī'), and ground leaves of the Malpigiacea Heteropteris africana A. Juss.

515 (mfúm-e-ndźík IV) and the Simarubacea Odyendea gabunensis
278 (Pierre) Engl. (ozǫ́k). Furthermore, the Leguminosa Tephrosia
824 vogelii H. f. (ndǎwǒlō III) and the Ochnacea Lophira alata Banks (akō'ga) are put on the hair. /Fig. 138 appears here in the original text. /

In the helmet hairdo, under whose thick pads the lice cannot be reached by hand, they are killed by a special procedure. "Lice caps" made of plantain leaves and tightly fitted are placed

[301
291]

Fig. 138. Ntum Woman from the Campo Region.

on the head after the bark of the Flacourtiacea Caloncoba welwitschii (Oliv.) Gilg (mię́megǔmo III) has been put in it, the bark having first been scraped off and moistened.

302 The hairdos are always greased with oil; also short hair is
824 tended very carefully, moistened with oil and combed out. There are two /188/ kinds of comb (mvǎs IV), those carved entirely out

302 824 of wood (Fig. 139, b-d) and those put together from short sticks of raffia leafstalk bark (Fig. 139, a). Frequently a fragrant hair powder (akūt), used by members of either sex but made only by women, is added to the oil. In preparing it, the roots of the following four plants are mixed together:

1. Cyperacea Cyperus articulatus L. (andǎk);
2. Moracea Dorstenia scabra (Bureau) Engl. (azǒ'm Fang);
3. Urticacea Trymatococcus africanus H. Baillon (ngō'nǎ III);
4. An undetermined grass called niasǎda.

/Fig. 139 and 140 appear here in the original text./ /189/ /Fig. 141 appears here in the original text./ In any case, they mix two or three of these roots if they cannot get all four of them. The roots have to dry for two months in the hut and are then completely ground to a powder -- in the case of the Trymatococcus this is done only with the bark -- and they are then sifted through a basketwork plate by tapping it with a knife (a kūt, "to tap"). The roots produce an agreeably scented yellowish powder.

302 827 The Pangwe dislike hair on the rest of the body as much as they dislike it on the face. Underarm hair is shaved off with a razor (Fig. 140) "because of the bad smell"; pubic hair is shaved off -- again by both sexes -- because it is believed to cause itching. /Fig. 142 appears here in the original text./ There are, of course, always people, like good old Otu-Mfōō, who will not bother with this kind of attention to the body.

412 Just as we use pocket knives, the native uses /190/ one-edged or two-edged knives (okǒń), Figures 141 and 142, which he forges himself and carries in sheaths made of brass, leather, hide, etc. at his belt.

515 164 The farther north one goes in the region, the more industriously do the Pangwe brush their teeth. This is done with a stick spliced at the top (Fig. 143) which at times is attractively wound with brass and wire and often serves as a walking stick. Nevertheless the Pangwe do not have nearly such good teeth as one might imagine. Among the Fang at least I never once saw an immaculate set of teeth among adults. The molars are often astonishingly poor, but the front teeth, on the other hand, which are commonly chipped to a point, are better preserved, perhaps because they alone are properly brushed.

515
302

The most important toilet article of both sexes is unquestionably the small oil pot. As often as possible, the Pangwe rub themselves with oil from head to toe, but above all they take care of their hair or, as the case may be, their hairdo. One reason for this, as they say, is that they find the smell of the oil pleasant; a second is that the skin becomes more supple and resistant, in other words, it is a hygienic reason. Add to this the fact -- as was mentioned above --

412

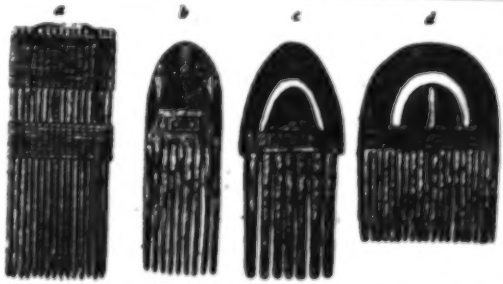


Fig. 139. Combs: (a) made of raffia leafstalk, (b-d) made of wood.

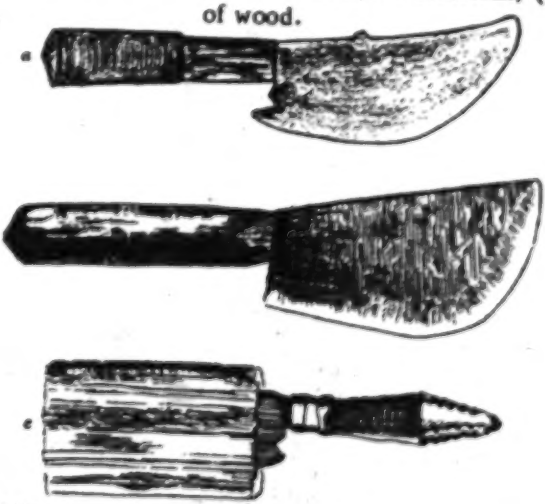


Fig. 140. Razors, (c) with a sheath made of raffia pith.

515
362 that raffia palm oil is evidently offensive to lice /Fig. 143 appears here in the original text/ and prevents them from becoming too intimate with their "host." In the case of skin diseases
[757] (Krokro /Ed., ?/ and scabies) and of sand flea wounds, it is even used as a remedy.

Oil (mbǒn) is obtained mainly from palms: in the north, only from the oil palm; in the south, rarely from this tree and mainly from the raffia palm. At times it is also produced from the kernels of Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (adžǎ'b; fruit, ebǒn; kernels, ngǒ'n IV-ebǒn), from the kernels of the Carapa procera D. C. (engǎ'n), and only very rarely from groundnuts (see page 58).

The oil of the raffia palm is used exclusively for the care of the skin, while that of the oil palm is used for the same purpose

Fig. 143. Toothbrush.

for the greater part, only from one-sixth to one-fifth being consumed as food.

(a) Raffia palm oil.

249
303 The fruit (ažũ.ı'), not yet fully ripe, is carried in baskets from the swamp to the village where they are kept for six days under banana leaves and pieces of banana stalks. Then the scaly shell, insofar as it has not fallen in of its own accord, is removed, and the layer rich in oil, which is located between the armor and the seed, is peeled off by hand or with the help of a scale from the shell. The following riddle refers to the latter procedure. /191/
249 /Fig. 144 appears here in the original text. /
524
303

ma	vũi		mot	oko,		okǒn,	o	mbe	a	nie	abum	a
I	killed	(a)	person	there,	(the)	knife,	it	was	to him	(at the)	belly	below,

si,	o	wo	ma	ba	nie	a	oa
	with	which	I	divide	him	for	you!

304 of the neck for the sô; a (secret) design on the sacrum for the ngil; three horizontal marks on the nape for the ndôngô; a line of "vaccination marks" on the inner surface of the arms, forearms, and thighs, and along the carotid arteries, for the serpent /associations/, etc.

300 Men wore their hair braided, or else they shaved the temples and parietal bones, leaving a sort of comb on the top of the skull, suggesting a gorilla's crest. There were special ways of dressing the hair appropriate for the different initiations. The moustache was worn only by the benya bôtô; the beard, a goatee, by a few aged men, often diviners. In our day men usually wear their hair short and merely combed; a central part, in the Lower Nigerian fashion, was very common around 1948 among factory hands, while former recruits went in for a crew cut with a frill beard /barbe en collier/. Many students wear a little goatee, and this style is now growing among the rest of the younger generation. Since up to now wearing a beard was a sign of mourning, a political implication has sometimes been [765] attributed to this fashion—but mourning beards are not trimmed. /88/

Women have many ways of doing their hair, in plaits, checker board, "horns," etc. As a sign of mourning their heads are shaved, [765] and they are not allowed to comb the hair that grows out before the end of mourning. The growth of beard or moustache that often [145] follows menopause is considered a sign of sorcery. Stylish women [764] pluck their armpits, and a few also remove their pubic hair, for reasons perhaps of elegance and hygiene, perhaps of ritual (is there a relationship between the name of the important female rite mevungu and mevul, meaning "female pubic hair?"). Padouk powder, baa, is still used in the way that henna is for both magical and aesthetic reasons, but European make-up, mainly lipstick, has taken its place among young fashionable women.

• 515 Bodily cleanliness is much in favor: men and women often bathe several times a day with plenty of soap. But it is common to see them put back on their well-scrubbed bodies perfectly filthy clothes, no doubt because bodily cleanliness is a much older practice than that of wearing clothes made of cloth.

c. Psychological Characteristics

181 Like the majority of known peoples, the Pahouin have a very flattering opinion of themselves, and the curious thing is that this

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

142 bread-winners and some are strong and muscular, while many more are weak and worn out from ceaseless toil.

The Fang make good carriers, and will do a splendid day's journey even in the 492 wet season with bad forest trails, if not overloaded. A carrier's load should never 147 exceed 25 kilogrammes; and 20 would pay better on a long journey. The first day out with a caravan the men usually drag along slowly, until their loads settle well down in the *kiagi* and fit their backs. The *kiagi* is a very ingenious contrivance for carrying a load in; it is usually made from a forest vine with a plaited head strap. To hurry carriers the first day is a bad mistake; poorly adjusted loads chafe and cause sore backs, and before night the whole caravan is tired out and sulky. It is a wise traveller in Africa as elsewhere who knows how to save his men.

145 A very noticeable fact among the Fang is the scarcity of old men. I 144 attribute this largely to the ravages of syphilis; the same terrible disease that has done so much towards the degeneration of numerous coast tribes, and which is already playing fearful havoc among the Fang. Indolent, untrustworthy and warlike, they are nevertheless a most companionable people. 181 The slightest piece of drollery or a joke immediately causes laughter. It has been my privilege to visit many foreign lands including China, Japan and Korea, yet never in my life have I met such an absolutely good-natured, fun-loving people as the Fang.

The men are not fond of work. They frequently ask me for something to do 146 to "earn a cloth." If I tell them to cut fence poles or good clean bark in the forest, they decline. A male Fang's idea of work is to sit in the *Abeng* (= [213] palaver house) and make fish lines by rolling pineapple fibre along the upper portion of his thigh, or to manufacture *Abi* (roof thatch). At these occupations he can converse with all comers, hear the news and take his part in talking a palaver. 627 They are a revengeful people and will keep up a palaver over a woman for many years. If they do not succeed in shooting a man during a palaver they do not [777] hesitate to fire at and kill a woman, while captives held as hostages are often treated with great cruelty.

The women regard virtue very lightly. Before marriage a girl can do nearly 836 as she pleases. It is absolutely safe to state that it would be almost impossible 517 to find a maiden in a Fang village over sixteen years of age. Adultery is common, [857] and one of the chief causes of "women palavers." Women rank first in value as [322] goods for trade, next in value are goats, then guns and cloth. The greed for goods has a strong hold on the people. They learn quickly but have very little originality. They have no obscene rites. Their habits are very dirty; they will wash in a 516 small pool of water and, while bathing, fill the gourds or imported jugs with the water in which they are washing and use it for domestic purposes. In many other ways they are absolutely filthy, and descend to the level of brute creation. They [834] are not over-burdened with modesty, both sexes frequently bathe together in a perfectly nude condition. A male Fang passes a large percentage of his time in

342

[319]

Fig. 34. Dwelling in Makonanǎm (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

344 fire gets too hot for him, and wards off the smoke from his face
517 like a person gently but firmly sending a little child away! He
538 looks as though he is talking to the fire and delivering a speech to the logs. Everybody listens in silence, everybody hangs on his words. And then follows a deliberate pause, after which he begins anew with impressive intonation; and at familiar places all the listeners enter into the narrative with a brief choral song in response to the solo part of the old man. Or there may be a
344 bit of gossip to relate, with a hubbub of biting words, an oc-
517 casion for spontaneous gaiety to prevail. On yet another oc-
521 casion a performance by a famous xylophone artist will draw
533 the population to the meeting house. The entire village, women and children included, takes part in these recitals; the children beat out the rhythm with small pieces of wood, while the women, with great dignity, beat together groundnuts and ngon which represent the "fee" and, softly humming a refrain, cast a meaningful glance in the direction of the tireless player.

342 The dwelling (ndǎ; plural, mandǎ), Figure 34, like the meeting house, /70/ /Fig. 34 appears here in the original text/ has a gabled roof and a rectangular ground plan. Like meeting houses, dwellings have both temporary and permanent forms.

342
854
291
301
576

Fig. 35. The Door Part of a Dwelling in Olanga (Essángbuak Family), Southern Cameroons.

tail. This is wedged into the door opening in such a fashion that the walls fit into the notches. Sometimes it is given an attractive form by being flattened near the end and having bands of palm plaited around it. Along the sides, on the other hand, the people content themselves with single strips of raffia stalk as door lining. 342

In the interior a thick post or a number of thinner posts (andẽ'i) stands at both sides of the door opening (mbẽi I) (see Figs. 37 h, 38). Between these posts are wedged one or two diagonally placed poles, by means of which the piece of bark that serves as a door (eyĩ'n e nda, eyĩ'n e mbẽi = house bark or door bark) is held fast. Sliding doors are more rarely encountered. These run between /72/ the wall and a lath at the top and bottom of the door opening; in the daytime they are pushed to the side and at night pulled in front of the opening. We find door posts even where there are sliding doors, since they primarily serve the purpose of preventing strangers from looking into the hut during the daytime. Most doors made of bark close poorly because they warp. Frequently the "door" consists of nothing /Fig. 36 appears here in the original text/ more than a number of narrow bark pieces that are loosely

25
415
516
342

Fig. 104. Ntum Woman Pounding Cassava Leaves in a Trough for Spinach.

25 three or four times, and salt is added. Everything is given another good stirring, and the dish is ready. Sometimes the material is also boiled with a little water in the pot itself.

(b) Groundnut bundle (nnɔm-ewuno I).

As in the case of (a), water is put on the fire in a pot. After the pot has been taken off the fire, the groundnut material is poured into it and stirred up as water is added. Then the mush is put inside a plantain leaf that has been drawn through the fire to make it flexible; the leaf is tied together into a bundle and placed on the fire in a pot of cold water. The pot must be closed at the top with leaves. If the groundnuts are not stirred up with hot water, but, as in this case, are placed on the fire cold, they always have to boil from half an hour to an hour. /159/

(c) Groundnut mush (atõõ).

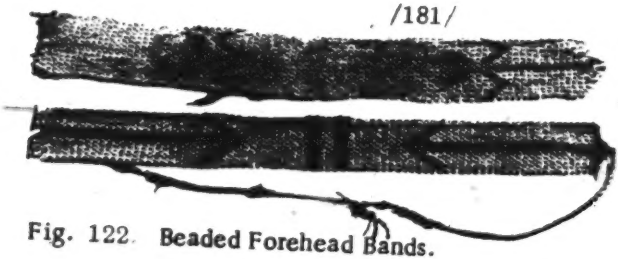
The mass of groundnuts -- prepared as indicated above -- is poured into a pot of boiling water and stirred around. Then it is

292
142

Fig. 117. Assoko from Alén (Essúong Family), Spanish Guinea.

294
352
• 516

Fig. 118. Ntum Preparing Ornamental Helmet Crests, Akonangí, South Cameroons.



301
531

Fig. 122. Beaded Forehead Bands.

Fig. 123. Necklace of the Fruit of Coix lacryma (Job's-tears).

142
291
301
516

Fig. 124. Ntum Woman from Alén (Essandun Family).

302 Aside from rubbing his skin with oil, the Pangwe likes to
822 smear his body with dyes on certain occasions. For this purpose he uses red chiefly, more rarely white, and only exceptionally black. There are no other colors. Red is the color for joy,

[415
249
252
516]

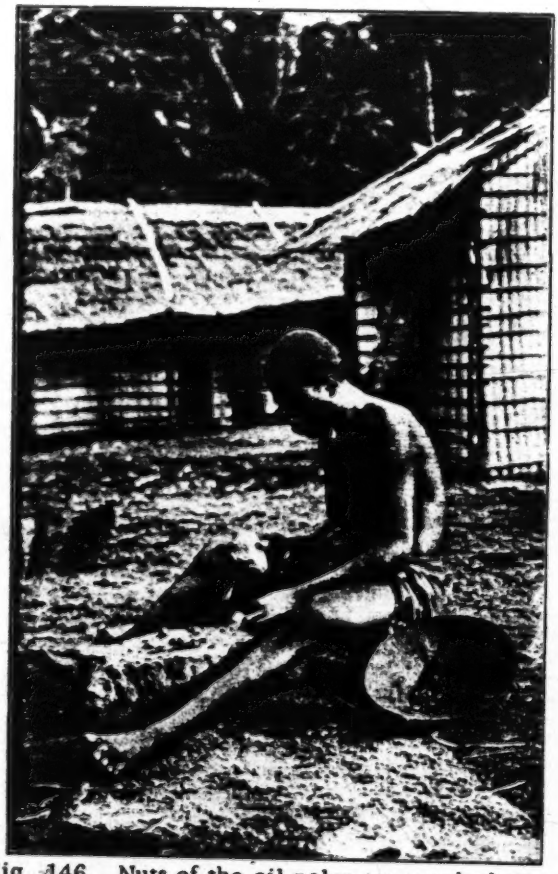


Fig. 146. Nuts of the oil palm are cracked open to extract the oil.

and white is the color for death and evil. From this, the occasions on which the colors are used will be apparent. On festive occasions, that is, dances, weddings, and birth celebrations, red is used, a color which sometimes (for instance, in the love dance) is enlivened by white suns and circles, which seldom

287
314
•516

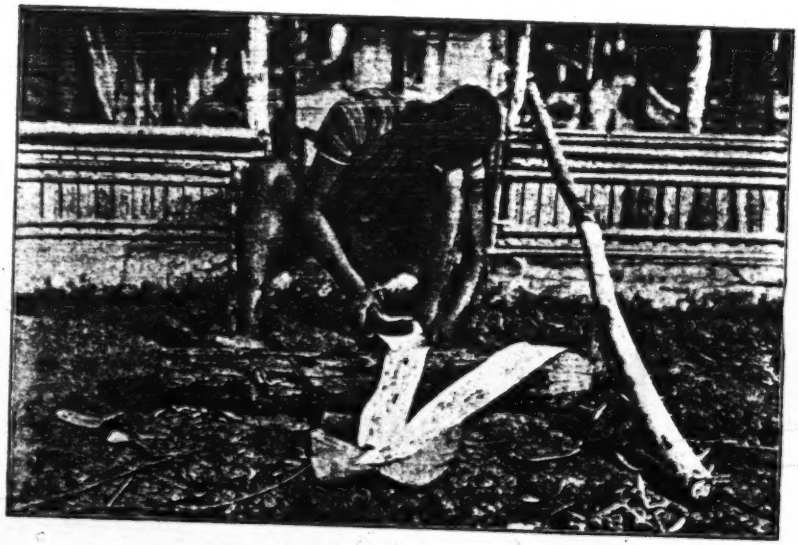


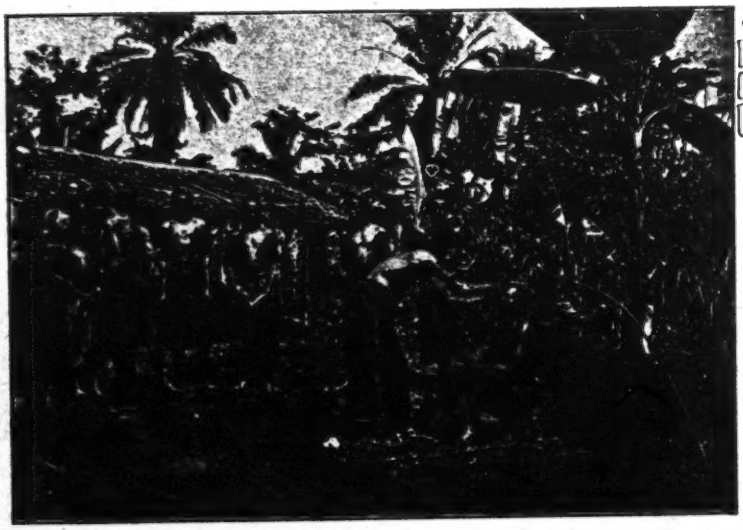
Fig. 159. Manufacture of Bark Cloth by Beating the Bast Layer of a Ficus Trunk, Uelleburg, Spanish Guinea.

287 done along the entire length from left to right, and the beater
314 must not be turned (that is, the direction of the grooves) Figure 159. Then the material is folded, beaten on the opposite side, folded once more and tapped, and finally, folded diagonally, it is worked in the same manner. Through this treatment, the piece has been made about twice as long, while in breadth it has remained unchanged. At this point it is unfolded, drawn through water a few times, and then pressed out. /209/ Materials prepared from the varieties Ficus bubu, andum, and undum need not be washed.

The individual pieces of material manufactured in the manner described are narrow. Hence, several of them must be sewn together along their long edges if one wants to make a loincloth, for instance. For men this requires six pieces; for boys four.

2. Fiber work.

462 With few exceptions, fiber work is one of the occupations
463 carried out by men. Indeed, it is one of their most frequent and



832
[291]
[516]
[417]

Fig. 57. Washing the Forehead at the Love Medicine Festival.

times, and in the case of very recalcitrant drops, the medicine was wiped down the bridge of the nose with a bundle of Abutilon leaves. The festive company then moved to the cult [778] place, in this case called a love grove (elik andŭ'mǎn). Just as the cult figures are usually set up on the trees (because of the [824] sorcerous beings, trees with spikes are chosen) and just as the [532] medicines for wealth are made up under the soul tree, the Copaifera, in the same way the love tree belongs to the love grove, namely the Leguminosa Amphimas tessmannii Harms (edžī) (1). In Ebäangon the tree was only a small one, but

1. a dži-ń, "to love."

often they are huge specimens. In the background a kind of bench of rods was erected, and under it were heaped a great many twigs of various trees regarded as love medicine. Then the ancestral skulls were set up behind the bench, and the twigs ignited. Those persons who needed an improvement in their love affairs, /161/ /Fig. 57 appears here in the original text/ lay down on the bench and allowed themselves to be thoroughly

524
857
[516]
[361]

Fig. 104. Skittles with Spinning Tops made of Snail Shell.

order to prolong the game, may lend it a number of tops, but only from those that were lost by the opposing team, in other words, those that were "captured," and not more than eight. For example: the throwing team has lost six tops and has only one top left; in that case the defending team can lend these six, as well as two more lost later in the course of the game. If all eight of the borrowed tops should again be lost, the teams change roles, but the team now attacking (previously defending) does not begin with one throwing top as usual, but with all of the tops taken from the opposing team, in other words, at least eight; moreover, in the course of the game the previously borrowed eight tops must be returned to the opposing team from the eight tops played out. So the game goes on and may be broken off whenever a team so desires. Frequently, however, the boys first get into a quarrel over the loaned tops, and a general brawl is the conclusion of the game which appears so peaceful. On other occasions, too, the little ones try to "rabble" at spinning-top skittles. Thus, a player of the defending team may snatch a top before it has danced its curving path to an end, even though there might still have been a chance that it would touch a skittle.

2: Tessmann--178 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

361
516
857
524

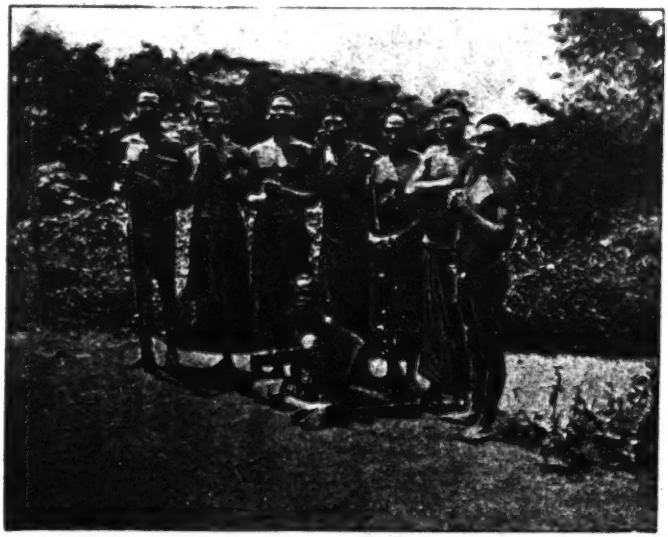
/Between 302 and 303/

Plate XXVIII

Children Playing Skittles with Spinning Tops, Ntum Region.

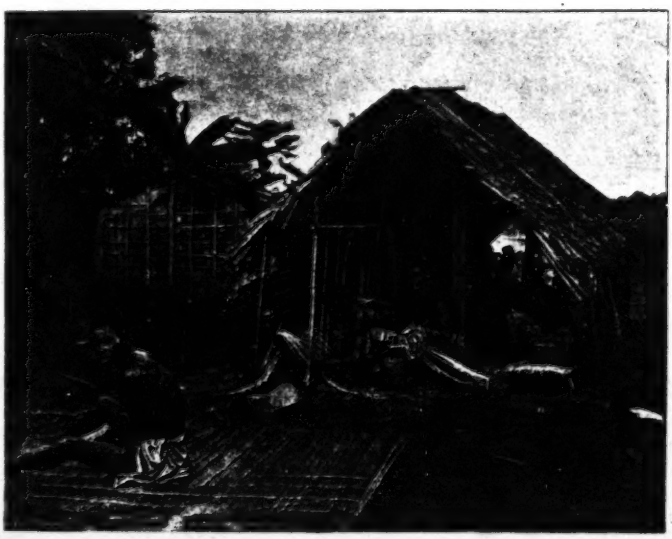
8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

142
291
516



FANG MEN.

342
516
352



FANG HOUSE.

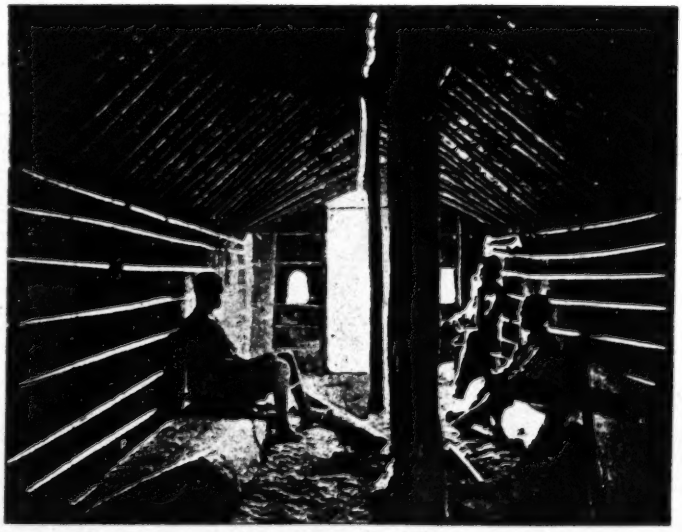
[p.66(B)]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

535
292

FANG DANCE.

344
352
● 516



ABENG OR PALAVER HOUSE.

[p. 66(D)]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

the palaver house, where he loves to sit and gossip around the log fire, or lounge on the *Enong* (a native bed of poles). 517

Dancing is a favourite pastime, especially at the time of new moon, when the dance seems to have some religious significance. A Fang dance is a sight worth seeing; arrayed in long streaming armlets of dried grass, and large bunches of forest beans and mollusca shells tied around the ankles for castanets, they go through a series of rapid and graceful movements, some of which are not entirely free from obscenity. Flaming torches made of resin wrapped in plantain leaves are stuck in the ground and the drums keep up a perfect fusillade; the whole making a weird and extremely interesting spectacle. With short intervals of rest the dance usually continues throughout the night until daybreak (photo of dance shown on screen). 535 [373]

III.—*Clothing, Ornaments, Painting and Tattooing.*

Fang men and women usually go about bareheaded; some obtain imported straw and felt hats from the traders and are very proud of them. A red worsted night-cap sold at the factories is very popular and much worn. These head coverings are chiefly worn for ornament and not to afford protection from the sun or weather. Until the opening up of trade among the Fang people their clothing amounted to almost nothing. The men wore a waist cloth made of bark from certain trees, a strong, tough, fibrous material, and the women wore a girdle stripped from the plantain stem, with some leaves from the bush or a piece of the plantain leaf tucked through the girdle in front and passed downward, backward and upward between the limbs and fastened to the girdle behind. Very often the women wore a kind of bustle made of dried grass dyed black, or red. In sitting down the women are very careful to first arrange the bustle. The native bark cloth, the girdle and bustle, are still worn in the bush towns; the women often make the girdle of imported glass beads strung on string made from pineapple fibre, but people living in towns along the river banks wear imported cloths obtained in trade. As a general rule boys and girls run about without clothing until five or six years of age. Imported cloth is worn by both sexes and is often sewn together very skilfully and decorated with pieces of different colours. There are no recognised peculiarities of dress restricted to the subdivision of tribes. The cloth is cut out and sewed by each individual owner unless it is a trade cloth previously sewn. Cloth is usually hemmed and worn as a simple wrapper around the waist, and held in place by rolling in and tucking the upper border on itself. The upper portion of the body is not much covered by the cloth although some men and women wear it tied high up around the neck. There is no difference between the indoor and outdoor clothing. When imported needles and thread can be obtained they are used, but I have seen very skilful sewing done with a sharp piece of bamboo for a needle and thread made of pineapple fibre. Upon the death of parents, clothes descend to the children. In saluting a visitor it is not customary to remove a hat or cap, if one is being worn, or any other article of clothing. 291 [516] [369] [428] [576]

344
531

Fig. 33. Meeting House in Nschûggebot (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea, with Decorative Boards of Bark.

covered with charcoal drawings on the inside between the raffia boards. At this point, however, I cannot go into this art work in any greater detail (see Section 9, "Fine Arts"). 344 353 531

If it were not for the people who enliven the house with their handicrafts and activities, /Fig. 32 appears here in the original text/ if the flaring fire did not lend the large, dark rooms a special, almost mysterious quality -- it would be too dreary. It is precisely here that one notices how everywhere only pulsating life, man in his sad and in his happy hours, not the material environment, is capable of attracting us. The same room which we disposed of just now with a disparaging glance is capable of creating a totally different impression in the evenings when the men and young /69/ /Fig. 33 appears here in the original text/ people gradually congregate in the meeting house in order to listen to the old, hunchbacked Njema-Ndongo tell of the mysterious and uncanny creatures of the fabulous world. Indefatigably they listen, however long he may spin out his yarn, motionless they look at him as he restlessly rubs his hands over the fire, wags his finger threateningly, separates or pushes aside the logs when the 344 517 344 517 538 [73]

342

[516]

Fig. 34. Dwelling in Makonanǎm (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

344 fire gets too hot for him, and wards off the smoke from his face
517 like a person gently but firmly sending a little child away! He
538 looks as though he is talking to the fire and delivering a speech to the logs. Everybody listens in silence, everybody hangs on his words. And then follows a deliberate pause, after which he begins anew with impressive intonation; and at familiar places all the listeners enter into the narrative with a brief choral song in response to the solo part of the old man. Or there may be a
344 bit of gossip to relate, with a hubbub of biting words, an oc-
517 casion for spontaneous gaiety to prevail. On yet another oc-
521 casion a performance by a famous xylophone artist will draw
533 the population to the meeting house. The entire village, women and children included, takes part in these recitals; the children beat out the rhythm with small pieces of wood, while the women, with great dignity, beat together groundnuts and ngon which represent the "fee" and, softly humming a refrain, cast a meaningful glance in the direction of the tireless player.

342 The dwelling (ndǎ; plural, mandǎ), Figure 34, like the meeting house, /70/ /Fig. 34 appears here in the original text/ has a gabled roof and a rectangular ground plan. Like meeting houses, dwellings have both temporary and permanent forms.

285 strands are placed like hooks around its outside edge, and they are
415 fastened to it with Triumfetta bast or a string.

Depending on their size, the basketwork plates have various names. The small ones are called fá III Fang (a, b), the somewhat larger ones ovǒk, the ordinary large ones dʒǎd, niǎ dʒǎd - real, true basketwork plates (c).

Concerning their use, see page 137.

(8) Belts (bab IV).

283 These are braided from a number of superimposed strips of Ancistrophyllum (nkǎne) interwoven with bush rope Oncocalamus. (see "Dress and Ornaments," page 166).

3. Woodworking.

322 Despite the considerable importance accorded to it in the
517 Pangwe household, wood carving has remained on a comparatively
532 low level of development and bears no comparison with the achievements of other primitive peoples, such as the Melanesians. Its forms display a certain sober utilitarianism, a stiffness and uniformity from which all movement and playfulness are excluded. Only rarely does it rise to the level of representational sculpture. Representations of whole human beings are to be found primarily in the ancestral figures, rarely on chiefs' sticks; heads, moreover, are to be seen only on the posts of meeting houses (seen only in one case), on bench posts in the meeting house, in the memory game, and in the masks used for the moon cult (Sso).

322 The number of objects made of wood is very large, as will be apparent from the list that follows:

1. Digging sticks
2. Shovels
3. Hoe and axe handles
4. Posts for the meeting house
5. Bench posts for the meeting house

177
443

1. This lack is also pointed out by Balandier, op. cit., p. 544.

A careful study of village names in several subdivisions has not turned up a name that seems connected with ideas of market, exchange, or trade. Moreover, vocabularies for such subjects are very limited.

And, into this land so unprepared for an economic /sic/ life, world economy is penetrating with all its complexity, setting a purchase price for the total output, which has fluctuations the planters obviously cannot understand. Their dismay is natural, since they have not even been able to become familiar with ideas about price, demand, or bargaining through traditions of trade.

It goes without saying that the time when salt was the item most in demand is long since past. However, bags of salt appear among traditional wedding presents, and the manufacture of salt from lye-washed palm ash is still known, though the product is only sold — and moreover very rarely — for its medicinal properties.

431 298 985 278

511 Expenditures have become extremely diversified, as shown by the analysis of an average family budget: (2)

2. These figures drawn from Budgets familiaux au Cameroun /Family Budgets in the Cameroons/, p. 150, do not take into account, we must remember, auto consumption.

Food	14	percent	Household articles	1.9	percent
Textiles	17.4	-	Equipment	7.7	-
Bride price	13	-	Taxes	8.5	-
Housing and furniture	7.5	-	Medicaments	1.3	-
Bedding	1.5	-	Education	0.9	-
Lighting and upkeep	3	-	Gifts and miscellaneous	6	-
Trips	2	-			

517
177
511
291
245

Food now includes, even in the bush, imported items like stockfish or like the bread, sardines, sugar, and condensed milk that are used less regularly. Clothes are the main item of expense. The desire to follow Paris fashions is perhaps not a national trait peculiar

to Pahouin women, but it is certainly a geographical characteristic of the southern Cameroons, consequently, the textiles for sale are to a great extent those sold in Europe. Specifically African prints, such as "wax-prints," are dying out. Underclothes, stockings, and shoes reflect the sophistication that goes with wealth. The purchase of durable goods that go under the heading "Equipment," (bicycles, phonographs, pressure lamps) is another symptom, as is the changing demand for household articles. /35/ While the saucepan is still the basic kitchen utensil, enamelware is in strong competition with crockery and glass. Blankets are used everywhere, but the use of sheets is also on the increase.

A mere list of commodities shows the present-day importance of trade. The native populations have not always realized this, owing to their lack of inclination for it. They have not started businesses and have often left this to immigrants, coastal people long familiar with European ways, particularly the Bamiléké or "Haoussa," /Hausa/ who for their part have a solid trading tradition and great capacities in this field. The Boulou especially despise trade and refuse to have anything to do with it. Other Pahouin peoples are not so strongly antipathetic, but their business activity remains very limited.

Is it this bankruptcy on the part of the indigenous people and this taking over by "foreigners" which explains the organization and the location of trade in the region? The villages are in fact very badly served; markets are few and far between and so are rural shops. Perhaps we ought to note differences between the various Pahouin and Pahouinized groups. While a village trader is always most uncommon in Boulou country in spite of the relative affluence of the planters, he is not unknown in Ewondo districts and is quite often to be met with among the Eton, where resources are, nevertheless, more limited. Without local trade the collecting of crops and specifically of cacao posed quite a problem, to which the coming of buyers brought a solution. Business houses advance money to the buyers and buy what they are able to bring back. From hut to hut along the trails buyers negotiate purchases with planters. With these "purchases by peddling" it might seem logical for sales by peddling to develop. Yet this phenomenon is quite recent, being tied up with the development of transportation by car and bicycle. But while the buyers are generally native to the region, the pedlars are nearly always foreign.

As house-to-house buying creates countless disadvantages, the administration has endeavored to create rural markets so that the public

779 necessary investigation by sacrifices. And the totem, under
622 penalty of not receiving any expiation, should reveal its rela-
614 tionship. But as Nzoge Nze becomes more of a remote ancestor, the risk of relationship with every panther grows, for each panther may be related to the eponymous ancestor and consequently the law becomes more stringent. Should a panther enter villages and kill a few innocent people, [549] such as women and children, The men of the eponymous clan would be permitted to kill it, and only in such a case, but they would still be forbidden to eat it. When after a series of sacrifices for this purpose, it has been duly established that revenge for some unexpiated totemic offense is not involved, that is proof that the panther in question does not belong to the eponymous panther clan. It is a "foreigner" or "deserter", the latter being quite common in certain animal species, one of whose members may leave the group to go off on his own and become a "solitary," as do elephants, panthers, wild boars, gorillas. It is then perfectly lawful to attack it and kill it if possible. A trifling ritual expiation will suffice, proportionate to the very small likelihood of having killed an ally, an extremely slight probability, since actions are never taken without previous assent of the totem chief of the tribe. The responsibility will be his in case of mistake.

IV. War and Palavers

511 Life is easy for the Fan.

Close to his village, the great forest begins; it abounds in game, and he has not far to go to be able to shoot, at point-blank range, monkeys, antelopes, wild boars, even elephants. There are innumerable streams and rivers swarming with fish, especially carp; traps, weirs, nets, everything is good to catch them with -- everything succeeds. A Fan hunts and fishes when he feels like it; there are no laws interfering with his inclinations. Banana and manioc plantations, which provide the basic subsistence, give hardly any trouble. At the start of each season there are a few days of work at slashing-and-burning, the ashes providing fertilizer. After that, all the labor and care of the crops falls
517 upon the women. The Fan is therefore idle most of the day and

517 from this comes about the endless palavers about everything and nothing, for lack of anything else to do.

721 However, if for one reason or another war threatens the tribe or has to be declared, the Fan then seems to awaken from his lethargy. Before the decision to fight, [550] there must be lengthy palavers. The totem has but a small part in these palavers, but no warrior would put in his word without having first taken his totem in hand and given it a brief scolding, often just one word, an exclamation, which only the most attentive would hear.

721 637 When all the warriors have had their say, the chief rises and sums up everything that has been said, before beginning his own speech. During this report, he usually remains at his place. He then goes to the middle of the assembly, his chief's baton in his hand and across his chest the baldrick from which the akaméyòn always hangs. "I am so-and-so," he begins, "son of so-and-so, and my father was chief of the race. We are the sons of such-and-such totem, and our akaméyòn protects us." After [201] these words, he stamps on the ground with his foot, or more often, with his baton, as if to testify to the truth of what he has said, and then gives his own opinion. When he has finished he holds up the tribal totem to bear witness to his words, then returns to his place.

TA 721 782 If war is declared the totemic ceremonies are more pronounced. At first they will be nearly like those described for the initiation and consecration of the chief. The same altar is put up in the forest with the same rites; wood of the éfirfira is again used for construction. On the appointed day, all the warriors make their way into the forest, each head of a family carrying his évora biéri. The skulls are set out on the altar, and each totem at its place. The victim is then brought forward.

The scene at this point changes completely. Neither a dog nor a kid is immolated -- it must always be a man, either a prisoner of war or some captive bought back from a neighboring tribe. A woman may never replace a man. Nor may a man or child belonging to the tribe, nor one whose mother belonged either to the tribe or to an allied tribe, be used as victim; for

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

142 bread-winners and some are strong and muscular, while many more are weak and worn out from ceaseless toil.

The Fang make good carriers, and will do a splendid day's journey even in the 482 wet season with bad forest trails, if not overloaded. A carrier's load should never 147 exceed 25 kilogrammes; and 20 would pay better on a long journey. The first day out with a caravan the men usually drag along slowly, until their loads settle well down in the *Isingi* and fit their backs. The *Isingi* is a very ingenious contrivance for carrying a load in; it is usually made from a forest vine with a plaited head strap. To hurry carriers the first day is a bad mistake; poorly adjusted loads chafe and cause sore backs, and before night the whole caravan is tired out and sulky. It is a wise traveller in Africa as elsewhere who knows how to save his men.

145 A very noticeable fact among the Fang is the scarcity of old men. I 164 attribute this largely to the ravages of syphilis; the same terrible disease that has done so much towards the degeneration of numerous coast tribes, and which is already playing fearful havoc among the Fang. Indolent, untrustworthy and warlike, they are nevertheless a most companionable people. 181 The slightest piece of drollery or a joke immediately causes laughter. It has been my privilege to visit many foreign lands including China, Japan and Korea, yet never in my life have I met such an absolutely good-natured, fun-loving people as the Fang.

The men are not fond of work. They frequently ask me for something to do 146/ to "earn a cloth." If I tell them to cut fence poles or good clean bark in the forest, they decline. A male Fang's idea of work is to sit in the *Abeng* (= palaver house) and make fish lines by rolling pineapple fibre along the upper [783] portion of his thigh, or to manufacture *Abi* (roof thatch). At these occupations he can converse with all comers, hear the news and take his part in talking a palaver. 627 They are a revengeful people and will keep up a palaver over a woman for many years. If they do not succeed in shooting a man during a palaver they do not [777] hesitate to fire at and kill a woman, while captives held as hostages are often treated with great cruelty.

The women regard virtue very lightly. Before marriage a girl can do nearly e 836 as she pleases. It is absolutely safe to state that it would be almost impossible 517 to find a maiden in a Fang village over sixteen years of age. Adultery is common, 851 and one of the chief causes of "women palavers." Women rank first in value as [922] goods for trade, next in value are goats, then guns and cloth. The greed for goods has a strong hold on the people. They learn quickly but have very little originality. They have no obscene rites. Their habits are very dirty; they will wash in a 515 small pool of water and, while bathing, fill the gourds or imported jugs with the water in which they are washing and use it for domestic purposes. In many other ways they are absolutely filthy, and descend to the level of brute creation. They [834] are not over-burdened with modesty, both sexes frequently bathe together in a perfectly nude condition. A male Fang passes a large percentage of his time in

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

the palaver house, where he loves to sit and gossip around the log fire, or lounge 517
on the *Ewong* (a native bed of poles).

Dancing is a favourite pastime, especially at the time of new moon, when the 535
dance seems to have some religious significance. A Fang dance is a sight worth seeing; arrayed in long streaming armlets of dried grass, and large bunches of forest beans and molluscs shells tied around the ankles for castanets, they go through a series of rapid and graceful movements, some of which are not entirely free from obscenity. Flaming torches made of resin wrapped in plantain leaves are stuck in the ground and the drums keep up a perfect fusillade; [373]
the whole making a weird and extremely interesting spectacle. With short intervals of rest the dance usually continues throughout the night until daybreak (photo of dance shown on screen).

III.—*Clothing, Ornaments, Painting and Tattooing.*

Fang men and women usually go about bareheaded; some obtain imported 291
straw and felt hats from the traders and are very proud of them. A red worsted night-cap sold at the factories is very popular and much worn. These head coverings are chiefly worn for ornament and not to afford protection from the sun or weather. Until the opening up of trade among the Fang people their clothing amounted to almost nothing. The men wore a waist cloth made of bark from certain trees, a strong, tough, fibrous material, and the women wore a girdle stripped from the plantain stem, with some leaves from the bush or a piece of the plantain leaf tucked through the girdle in front and passed downward, backward and upward between the limbs and fastened to the girdle behind. Very often the women wore a kind of bustle made of dried grass dyed black, or red. In sitting [516]
down the women are very careful to first arrange the bustle. The native bark cloth, the girdle and bustle, are still worn in the bush towns; the women often [369]
make the girdle of imported glass beads strung on string made from pineapple fibre, but people living in towns along the river banks wear imported cloths obtained in trade. As a general rule boys and girls run about without clothing until five or six years of age. Imported cloth is worn by both sexes and is often sewn together very skilfully and decorated with pieces of different colours. There are no recognised peculiarities of dress restricted to the subdivision of tribes. The cloth is cut out and sewed by each individual owner unless it is a trade cloth previously sewn. Cloth is usually hemmed and worn as a simple wrapper around the waist, and held in place by rolling in and tucking the upper border on itself. The upper portion of the body is not much covered by the cloth although some men and women wear it tied high up around the neck. There is no difference between the indoor and outdoor clothing. When imported needles and thread can be obtained they are used, but I have seen very skilful sewing done with a sharp piece of bamboo for a needle and thread made of pineapple fibre. Upon the [428]
death of parents, clothes descend to the children. In saluting a visitor it is not [576]
customary to remove a hat or cap, if one is being worn, or any other article of clothing.

342

[516]

Fig. 34. Dwelling in Makonanǎm (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

344 fire gets too hot for him, and wards off the smoke from his face
517 like a person gently but firmly sending a little child away! He
538 looks as though he is talking to the fire and delivering a speech to the logs. Everybody listens in silence, everybody hangs on his words. And then follows a deliberate pause, after which he begins anew with impressive intonation; and at familiar places all the listeners enter into the narrative with a brief choral song in response to the solo part of the old man. Or there may be a
344 bit of gossip to relate, with a hubbub of biting words, an oc-
517 casion for spontaneous gaiety to prevail. On yet another oc-
521 casion a performance by a famous xylophone artist will draw
533 the population to the meeting house. The entire village, women and children included, takes part in these recitals; the children beat out the rhythm with small pieces of wood, while the women, with great dignity, beat together groundnuts and ngon which represent the "fee" and, softly humming a refrain, cast a meaningful glance in the direction of the tireless player.

342 The dwelling (ndǎ; plural, mandǎ), Figure 34, like the meeting house, /70/ /Fig. 34 appears here in the original text/ has a gabled roof and a rectangular ground plan. Like meeting houses, dwellings have both temporary and permanent forms.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

now responsible and liable to two parties; if he is reasonable they all meet and talk 628
the palaver. If the palaver is serious, each party appoints his *ntol* (ambassador). 681
The palaver is usually talked in the main street of the town, before all the
representatives of the interested clans, and before all strangers in town. The
Fang are born orators, and remarkable gestures and orations are made while [537]
talking the palaver. The speaker usually walks backwards and forwards grasping
and leaning upon a "palaver stick." He commences with: *M'zona* (I say thus);
when speaking for another he says *A'zona* (he says thus); when speaking for the
people of his town, *Ba zona* (they say thus). Sometimes the *ntôls* (ambassadors) sit
in a canoe in the middle of a river or a stream, and talk the palaver, the injured
parties being on either side of the stream. The case is talked, the goods demanded
in payment stated, and an effort made to *kik nsang* (cut or end the palaver). If
they succeed, then the palaver is *cut* (ended), and a dance follows; if no
agreement is come to, the meeting breaks up and a tribal war exists between these
clans.

Salutations.

There are three salutations common to all. Two friends meet, they each grasp 576
the arm of the other, high up on the biceps; a slight pause is made, then the hand
is slipped down to clasp the wrist. This is also the customary salutation used by
the Bulu.

Two friends meeting salute by embracing.

A traveller entering the *abeng* (palaver house) walks over to the headman and
sits on his knee a moment, at the same time placing one arm around the headman's
neck.

Hospitality demands that all strangers be served food by the town women to [519]
strangers in the *abeng*.

Wives are loaned to guests. [837]

Coarse conversation is indulged in by old and young of both sexes. [521]

Considerable license prevails among the unmarried; less so among the [836]
married.

VIII.—*Invention, Natural Forms, Conservatism.*

Invention.—The arts in use are common to all the different clans of the great 176
Fang tribe. Any new discovery as the working of iron is credited to the dwarfs or 563
nqui. The natives are always ready to admit that the *nqui* are very clever; they
have a saying "no person knows like a *mon nqui* (dwarf) what is inside the forest." 609
When obtainable the natives use an imported saw, or file, and admit its superiority
over their own crude tools. A Fang may be impressed at the knowledge and power
of the white man, but is not greatly surprised; the reason for this is that many
white men are credited with possessing supernatural powers.

Some of the clubs, tools and weapons approximate to the natural forms of the 412
branches or roots of trees. Axe handles and the handle of a certain kind of adze have

273 crumpled up. Then a long-stemmed, fife-like bag is made of five leaf pinnae of the oil palm; this bag is placed at the lower part of the cutout with its "head" down and the tip outward. The bag is pressed to the cutout by means of a little stick made from the bark of an oil palm leafstalk and stuck through the husk on either side /168/. The entire arrangement is designed to prevent insects, such as giant beetles, palm weevils, rose beetles, bees, flies, etc., from penetrating the husk. Furthermore, in order to prevent the wine from running past the bag, the slits at those points where the bag rests against the husks are closed off with the down of oil palm leaf sheaths. On the little stick which holds the bag, a calabash, on which a small leaf funnel is placed, is suspended in such a way that the lower end of the bag extends into the funnel so that here, too, the way will be blocked to uninvited guests from the insect world.

It is necessary to remove the palm wine from the calabash morning, noon, and night, since otherwise it would spoil. Each time, also, a thin layer of the stalk of the inflorescence must again be cut off, and a new bag, as well as a new funnel, must be made. /Fig. 107 appears here in the original text./ In each case, the tapping of a tree lasts for three days and, if there are four tapping places, for instance, yields from six to eight bottles of wine. After this period, the tree is left alone for at least half a year so that it can recuperate; indeed, it is left to itself even longer if enough other palm trees are available.

To improve the wine -- according to the Jaunde -- to make it worse in my opinion -- the Jaunde frequently put the bark of a tree called eyū'ma (Jaunde) in the calabashes. Fortunately, this tree grows only in the Mwele region, and the Jaunde get it from there. This bark /Fig. 108 appears here in the original text/ makes the palm wine "strong," as they say; that is, it gives the wine intoxicating qualities. Possibly a very small amount of the bark is a beneficial addition, but the excessive amount that the Jaunde add
273 to it harms the pleasant taste of the palm wine. I remember par-
522 ticularly a trick played on me by my boys who had poured together the wine from a number of calabashes, each about a quarter full, for my meal. In each calabash the wine had already been four

273 times as powerful as usual, and the entire mixture was so strong
523 that it caused violent dizziness and headache.

273 The palm wine which is obtained from the pith of a tree trunk that is cut down /169/ (mayǒ'[k] -nkǒk) keeps for 24 hours in the house. On the other hand, the wine made from the inflorescences keeps at most half a day, and in great heat it spoils very rapidly, as I observed; it does the same if one takes it along on a trip. For this reason I followed the rule in the palm wine region of always finishing a good wine immediately or at least as soon as possible.

As I have said, the Pangwe are, generally speaking, moderate drinkers, but among them there are also heavy drinkers who regu-
[164] larly get drunk on palm wine. I shall leave undecided the question as to whether the widespread epilepsy (okū būk) in the northern Pangwe region is a phenomenon resulting from excessive indulgence in palm wine on the part of the parents.

4. Tobacco.

276 249 Four varieties of tobacco, Nicotiana tabaccum L. (tǎ̄ǎ̄ III) (1)

1. The native term may have arisen from tabaco.

are found in the Pangwe region. Formerly there was a fifth variety, but its cultivation has been given up. /Fig. 109 appears here in the original text./ With the exception of two that are very similar, the tobacco varieties are easily distinguished by their leaves. The key for determining each is as follows.

A. Leaves are not alated, and the leafstalk is long and clearly defined: esǎ'n (esǎ'n because of the similarity of the leaves to those of the Hibiscus sabdariffa L.)

B. Leaves are alated

(a) Leaves are narrow, lanceolated: sǒmǒ IV

(b) Leaves are broad, ovate

1. Blossoms are a bright pink, almost whitish, the leaves being comparatively wider than in the case of the following: nsǒdebǒ'no I

551 There are very few names that are used for boys as well as for girls. I am acquainted only with Mfumu and Mangöö, both of which, incidentally, were used more often for girls than for boys.

Nicknames are common. The Negroes, who are always in-
[522] clined to jokes and teasing, delight in making fun of the weaknesses of their fellows and constantly heckling them. A peculiar characteristic or a comical incident produces the nickname, and the latter is retained without anyone later ever knowing its original meaning. "Famous" people frequently have a whole
551 539 series of nicknames, like the chief's son Amwön-Ekang, whose names are immortalized in the following jocular song:

amvǒn-ekǎń -- anduman ekǎń ana -- sö'sǒ'
Amwön-Ekang -- son (of) Ekang now -- sapsucker (on)

nkū̄m --ewǎ́s nǔm e kǔ́n -- a kike
tree stump -- file -- man (in) salt water -- chop off

melǒ' me zǒń -- azǒ'ń a wūmūk, ndzǒm a
(the) heads of the fern -- Solanum (1) it forms, pluck he

1. Solanum esculentum Don.

tělěk -- mekū(ń) medžǎ, nnié a mbě't
stands (ready) -- caterpillars to eat, mother has climbers

asǒń kǎ bekǎí, abǒ'm kǎ medží,
-- Musanga no guy ropes, Macrolobium (2) no buttress roots

2. Macrolobium straussianum Harms.

-- mone ngǒ'n eja (bondǎńga madžǎ).
-- son (of a) girl of Eja (Bondanga Madscha = chief of the Eja).

Amwön-Ekang, the son of Ekang, as everybody knows, --
(the following are jocular names) sapsucker on a tree stump

244

Fig. 52. Plantation of Groundnuts and Maize near Bébai (Esseng Family), Southern Cameroons.

433 of groundnuts rises to ten spears (equal to 70 pfennigs) while at
435 other times only five spears (equal to 35 pfennigs) are given for
244 it. In the Jaunde region, it is true, a plate always costs 70 pfennigs (equal to 100 Jaunde spears). The groundnut is eaten simply as soup or compote. /92/ /Fig. 52 appears here in the original text. / The oil content of the nuts is not utilized to
302 any great extent, but the oil released by cooking is rubbed on the skin in order not to waste it. Finally we might mention the
● 524 riddle:

onō'n	o	nga	bē'ī	a	fă'	e
(A) bird,	it	lives	give birth to	behind	the house	of the
bonĭ'ĕ:	akī'	avōk	a	köke	bōn	avūm
mothers:	egg	one;	there	creep out	young ones	ten.

Answer: owŭno = groundnut.

243 Maize, Zea mays L. (fŭ'n IV), as we have said, is almost always grown with the groundnut (Fig. 52), usually as a means of marking off the individual plots and as a border against the bush all around the plantation. Farms that grow maize

243 exclusively are comparatively rare. Just like the groundnut, maize is planted in the beginning of October and matures in December. Then it is again planted in March and matures between the middle of May and July. Guess a riddle! = kǎndǎn.

•524 I guess = kandǎn.

ma yěn bǒněnga, bō mbe ekō-ne, bǒněnga bete:
I see women, they were on a journey, women meant:

mabum a mabum
bellies — bellies.

I see women who came on a journey (that is, who formerly were not here), and they are all pregnant (the ears in the husks).

Answer: fǔ'n = maize. /93/

244 The Ngon, Cucumeropsis edulis Cogn. (ngǒn IV, Jaunde; ngōn IV Fang)

(Plate 8)

The ngon is one of the cucurbitaceous plants and has pentagonal leaves (more rarely the leaves have five lobules) with finely serrated edges. The leaves are attached to the nearly round stalk at intervals where, in addition to an occasional offshoot, usually another shoot, one or two male panicles, and occasionally a single female blossom are found. A piece of such a stalk is illustrated by Plate 8. The blossoms, jokingly called atǐ'ne kū, "turtle's feet," by the Fang, are not very large and have lemon yellow petals which are turned back. The female blossoms (d and e) are somewhat variable in size and bear a hypogenous ovary; their margin and pistil are green. As for the male blossoms (b-c), on the other hand, the stamens are yellow on top. The fruit is large, longish, and egg-shaped.

In the Fang region three varieties of ngon are distinguished. These varieties are recognizable, however, only by their fruits

244 Sso of the Jaunde, sexual abstinence effectively lasts only three
834 months. The Fang say that the ngon would not grow if the prohibition were broken, and since with them the belly counts for more than love, this prohibition is generally observed.

Only the softer interior of the ngon kernel can be eaten. The
244 kernels must therefore be cracked open, and this is done by means
252 of a little stick from the tree Microdesmis puberula Hook. f.,
834 Euphorbiaceae (obīmvǒ́n), with which they lightly strike the seed after placing it on end. Old and young, men and women, participate in this task which is carried out inside and in front of the dwelling house, as well as in the meeting house. It is an activity characterized by a peculiar clicking noise not easily forgotten once one has heard it. In spite of its importance in the household, the ngon is not prepared in a great variety of ways; like the groundnut, it is eaten only in the form of a soup or it is pulverized and boiled in a leaf bundle.

● 524 In conclusion, patient reader, kǎ́ndǎ̀n (guess a riddle!); kǎ́ndǎ̀n (I guess):

akǒ́n	afǒ́,	e	mane	nkū́na	ngūī,
spear	one,	he	makes ready	herd-swine.	

Answer:

okǒk	ofǒ́,	e	mane	dʒǎd	e	ngôn
beater	one,	he	makes ready	bush plate	(with)	ngon.

244 Yams, as a secondary crop with ngon, are of two principal kinds: the three-leaved yams, Dioscorea dumetorum (Kunth) Pax (andéǎ); and the common yams, Dioscorea minutiflora Engl. (emvū,ī). /99/ Each has four species. In addition, the Pangwe differentiate two more kinds which, however, perhaps belong to Dioscorea minutiflora or are close to it: žǒ́ǒ̄ III Ntum, dzǒ (plural, bīǒ́) Fang; and ebǒ́zǒǒ. In the Jaunde region there is furthermore the Jaunde yam with large tubers, ekǒ́da Jaunde. Finally, the air tuber yam, Dioscorea sativa L. (alǒk), is also cultivated, but only in very small quantities. As we said above, the conditions for the growth of the yam resemble those of the ngon; it also climbs up the brush and trees left lying about,

244 great numbers on the leaves of all cultivated plants, especially cassava and sugar cane. There are seven varieties of cassava, but it would take us too far afield to enumerate them here. As Figure 54 indicates, cassava is planted by heaping a little soil over the shoot. /100/

249 Similarly, sugar cane, Saccharum officinarum L. (nkō'k I), is "planted" during the rainy season. Its shoots are taken from the upper part of the stalk, called the "arrow" (Pangwe: esō'k), but it requires a longer period of time to ripen for it is not harvested until after the second subsequent rainy season, in other words, after thirteen months. Cassava and sugar cane are frequently found together in a planted area, often with cultivated plantains also interspersed among them.

Riddles

● 524

1. ošūe e ne m' oko, ke a wūlū
(A) water, it is to me there, not (to) flow.
--The sap in the sugar cane.

2. bangā-tšīda (1) be ne m' oko, vō medžǒke
wives-father's they are to me there, merely (with) dancing caps,

1. Archaic form; nowadays the usual form is boyā.

medžǒk
dancing caps.
--masǎm me nkō'k = blossoms of the sugar cane.

3. ma vūǎn okō'-a ngǒk, o ke lǔme
I throw-to a little stone from the rubble, it goes hitting
nga ndǒń-kǒdō abǒń
woman, Ndongkodo, (at the) knee.

The solution to this last riddle will be apparent from the following drawing (Fig. 55). Ndongkodo is a jocular name for sugar cane and alludes to the curvature of its stem; ndǒń, ndǒnó originally meant

524 "star," "sun," and was later carried over for people and used as a /Fig. 55 appears here in the original text/ personal name, and kŏt – bent; we would perhaps say: "Your Excellency Von Bent."

244 I now turn to the second part of the cultivated plants, those that are cultivated in gardens, that is, in small operations and for the most part behind or close to the dwelling. To be sure, the difference between field and garden cultivation is not everywhere sharply defined. For instance, the garden plant taro is often planted at a distance from the village in fields, and plantains are frequently grown on cassava farms and other farms.

Taro, Colocasia antiquorum Schott (atú), and Macabo, Xanthosoma violaceum Schott (ekábe)

The taro or Colocasia is -- as the Latin name indicates -- a cultivated plant of some antiquity even for the Pangwe; hence they have no ready explanation for the name atú. The macabo, [177] on the other hand, which stems from /101/ America, has only recently been introduced and, according to the natives, was

[249]

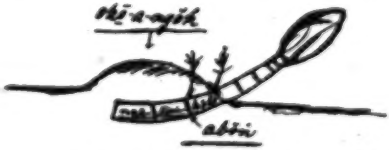


Fig. 55. Sugar Cane Shoot.

taken over by the coastal peoples about thirty years ago (1);

[905]

1. As soon as one has become familiar with the Negroes' ability to estimate time, one becomes very cautious with respect to the preciseness of historical dates.

hence its name ekábe from a kab-an, "to hand over, to divide, to take possession of." Both plants belong to the Araceae family. Taro is distinguished from macabo by the fact that its leaves are

245

Fig. 56. Plantains (Negro Bananas) and Bananas near Nssälang (Essäuong Family)

[524] Riddle: mǒnĕnga e ne m' okō, a wō̄le
woman she is to me there, she many

bē' bǒn, kaa nūm
gives birth to children, no (without) man.

Answer: ekō'n = plantain.

That is precisely the ideal: reward without labor, fruit without effort, food which without the work of hands grows into one's mouth. In this sense the plantain, like its sister, the banana, is really the most deserving of all the cultivated plants of the name "paradisiaca." Of the banana, Musa paradisiaca var. sapientum L., there are two species: the bush banana (adžūi, adžūi-ekō'n); and the noble banana (etǎt, etǎt-ekō'n). As is apparent from /103/ /Fig. 56 appears here in the original text / the name, even among the Pangwe the banana is regarded as a variety of plantain. The noble banana, the one we know, was introduced from the coast, according to the Pangwe. At first it was called madžūi

245
177

515
362 that raffia palm oil is evidently offensive to lice /Fig. 143 appears here in the original text/ and prevents them from becoming too intimate with their "host." In the case of skin diseases
[757] (Krokro /Ed., ?/ and scabies) and of sand flea wounds, it is even used as a remedy.

Oil (mbɔ̃ɔ̃) is obtained mainly from palms: in the north, only from the oil palm; in the south, rarely from this tree and mainly from the raffia palm. At times it is also produced from the kernels of Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (adʒã̃b; fruit, ebɔ̃n; kernels, ngɔ̃n IV-ebɔ̃n), from the kernels of the Carapa procera D. C. (engã̃ɛ), and only very rarely from groundnuts (see page 58).

The oil of the raffia palm is used exclusively for the care of the skin, while that of the oil palm is used for the same purpose

Fig. 143. Toothbrush.

for the greater part, only from one-sixth to one-fifth being consumed as food.

(a) Raffia palm oil.

249 303 The fruit (aʒũ̃ɪ), not yet fully ripe, is carried in baskets from the swamp to the village where they are kept for six days under banana leaves and pieces of banana stalks. Then the scaly shell, insofar as it has not fallen in of its own accord, is removed, and the layer rich in oil, which is located between the armor and the seed, is peeled off by hand or with the help of a scale from the shell. The following riddle refers to the latter procedure. /191/
249 524 303 /Fig. 144 appears here in the original text. /

ma	vɪ̃ɪ	(a)	mot	oko,	(the)	okɔ̃ɔ̃,	o	mbe	a	
I	killed		person	there,		knife,	it	was	to him	

nie	abum	a	si,	o	wo	ma	ba	nie	a	oa
(at the)	belly	below,		with	which	I	divide	him	for	you!

249
303

Fig. 144. Oil Press for Raffia Palm Oil.
To the left the pulp containing oil is being heated over the fire.

303
249
Q4

"With the knife that he had below at his belly, I shall divide him for you."

249
303

A little water is added to the pulp which contains the oil, it is stirred and then placed on a piece of bark to lie in the sun for a few days. It is then put on a frame (Fig. 144, left) and, by means of a fire laid under it, is thoroughly heated for half an hour to an hour. Afterwards it is placed in a little basket, [945] specifically made for this purpose (ekût azôf) from the Ancistrophyllum (nkâne), which is squeezed out on the oil press (ekîle-mafôf, efît-azôf). Although this press is made by one man alone, it may be used by all the villagers. In most villages it is set up near the meeting house and consists of a frame -- two posts planted in the ground at some distance from each other with two cross-sticks tied to them -- and of a board cut to a point near the bottom and attached sideways to the frame, that is to say, it is simply tied to the upper cross-stick (as seen in Fig. 144), or it may be held by means of a pole set at an angle in the ground and passing through a hole drilled in the board at the upper end. In order to hold it tight,

531/304 swallow tail (ebɔ̄no e kīlegʼme) (2), c, which has arisen from

2. Psalidoprocne tessmannii Rchw.

the arc without a base set inside a triangle. We have already encountered this figure with the base as a composite pattern in connection with carving, and with the base omitted it is connected with a line as a barbed spear among the nonhomologous modified patterns of the decorative scars.

2) Tears of a beautiful woman (mīlige me mbɔ̄d), a single line or parallel lines with short strokes attached at right angles to one side, d. This pattern is preferably applied to the cheeks.

3) Fork (ebīj), developed from the previous one by adding one or more sticks, e, 1-3.

4) Scorpion (kīlīgne), like the previous one, with a gap in the middle of the "row of tears," f, 1-3.

5) Monkey tail (ngʼm avɔ̄m) (3), consisting of a stick con-

3. avɔ̄m = Cercopithecus laglaizei Pocock, white-nosed long-tailed monkey.

nected with an arc or angle, g, 1-21. This example in particular clearly shows how the Negro's eye seizes just the essential part of the animal, here the tail and hindparts, for, indeed, when the long-tailed monkeys are at rest one sees only their tails hanging from the branches. This fact supplies the clue to the following

[324] riddle:

ɛ̄ɔ̄ma gbwā e bīle ma matā[k] m'oyɔ̄n.
Yellow-bellied long-tailed monkey (4), it is sitting in the

4. ɛ̄ɔ̄ma = Cercopithecus grayi Fraser.

branches of the Copaifera.
Answer: nkɔ̄-ɛ̄ɔ̄b = rope (aerial roots) of the fig tree (Ficus).

583 sufficient time to get to know his future wife and her family.
584 He treats them with the greatest consideration, and for the mother-
606 in-law (nĩ-e-ngǒn III, that is, the girl's mother) especially he has an enormous amount of respect. He is courtesy itself, bringing her presents, large and small, and from time to time killing a chicken or a sheep for her. In short, one could in all seriousness speak of a mother-in-law cult (see the love feast, Vol. II, p. 24). And above all: oson, oson, oson: shame, shame, and more shame. The son-in-law is unspeakably ashamed before the mother-in-law, and vice versa, she before him. This is especially true after the wedding when the good mother-in-law extends her modesty also to the members of the son-in-law's kin group. Like a thief she steals behind the dwellings into her daughter's house in order not to be seen, and -- who knows? -- perhaps in order not to give rise to mother-in-law jokes.

Riddle:

[539] nzǎ'n e bǒnǔe, e ne kaangǎ
[524] Way of the lizards, it is (in the) reeds (Cyperus)

Solution:

nzǎ'n e bonĩǵngǒ'n, e n' ·a
Way of the mother-in-law, it is on (the) stretch

rá
behind the houses.

585 On the day when a man takes his young wife home, the village
535 celebrates with a sizable dance, for which all adorn themselves to
[302] the best of their ability and which the young wife, red from red wood dye, attends as guest of honor seated on a stool. On this occasion, the popping of blunderbusses may not be omitted, because it belongs to the festive music like our flourish of trumpets. The dancing and shooting last several days when a wealthy chief has acquired a new wife or if it is the first wife of a fellow villager. There is nothing strikingly special about any of this; the festivity simply involves a series of different /262/ dances (among which the dichama is particularly popular which are also customary on other occasions.

578 publicly, as in the case of the paternal curse, or in the field
595 when the women are among themselves. /293/

A droll effect is created when the souls are cursed by their
769 descendants. The curse is pronounced at the ancestral feast if it
578 is believed that the souls of the ancestors no longer care about the living, and the curse is also revoked on the same occasion. Although, as ancestors, the souls were more elevated persons who actually cannot be cursed, here is another instance where might comes before right, for after death the souls are powerless on earth, as we know.

Finally, there is a belief in secret curses, and thus, if people
578 are constantly unlucky in life, they are sometimes afraid that they are being cursed by this or that person.

The most terrible curse is that which was pronounced by Nsambe (God) upon human beings when they committed the first major offense against his paternal will. As described in Volume II, page 59 /Ed., not translated/, the curse is symbolically erased during the cult celebration.

3. Children's Games (1)

● 524
[113]

1. See G. Tessmann, "Die Kinderspiele der Pangwe" /The Children's Games of the Pangwe/, in the Baessler-Archiv, Vol. 2, No. 5-6, p. 250. The children's games are discussed there in detail.

I divide children's games into two major classes: the generally imitative games, and the independent games. Of the former I distinguish three groups: first, gymnastic games which imitate the movements of adults (running, sport, and dancing); second, war and hunting games which imitate the main occupations, not to say professions, of adults; and third, all the rest of the imitative games. The independent games, which are on a higher level, I divide again into three groups: first, toy games, that is, games that are played with objects and do not imitate any

524 adult activity, second, group games, and third, games of skill. The last group includes the games that have reached the highest stage of development since they are no longer amusements in which all those present participate, but rather are performances by talented individuals. In the performance of magical tricks, the games of skill and acting generally attain their highest degree of perfection. Thus they touch upon the area of the representational arts and might be regarded as a pre-stage of the latter.

So much for the classification of games. I hardly need to point out that the various groups cannot always be sharply separated since the boundary lines between them are blurred by a great deal of overlapping.

I shall mention here only the names of the most common
526 gymnastic games: the foot race, mbí'; a combination of our
957 hopscotch and catch, called ngá-ngúí; furthermore, rope pulling, edudan, played only by bigger boys and corresponding to our tug of war; chain pulling, ogbǔń; "treading," played among the Jaunde especially by almost fully grown /294/ /Fig. 89 appears here in the original text/ boys and called eńma koǰ (Fang, etǎ' (Jaunde), in which two players, facing each other, tread rapidly on one spot and at the end must try to set down the opposite foot simultaneously; and, finally, the dancing game, ekǔkú.

[481] Walking on stilts (Fig. 89) may probably also be designated as
[824] a sport. The stilts are carved out of the umbrella tree, Musanga smithii.

The transition from gymnastic to war games is represented by throwing spears at a disk, a game that is widespread and popular throughout the Pangwe region. It is called ngǒk, after the fre-
[824] quently mentioned Desplatsia dewewrei Burset (angǒk), from whose large fruit the disk is cut. The shoots or little trunks of young trees are used for spears.

War and hunting games are probably the most popular and the most frequently played of all the games. In the small-scale war of the older boys (eight to 15 years of age) -- which sometimes /295/ /Figs. 90-93 appear here in the original text/ degenerates into bad fights -- the weapon is, as in the case of adults, the rifle, copied in various forms with leafstalks (Fig. 90), raffia pith, or

[Text continues on page 170]

524
322
957
526

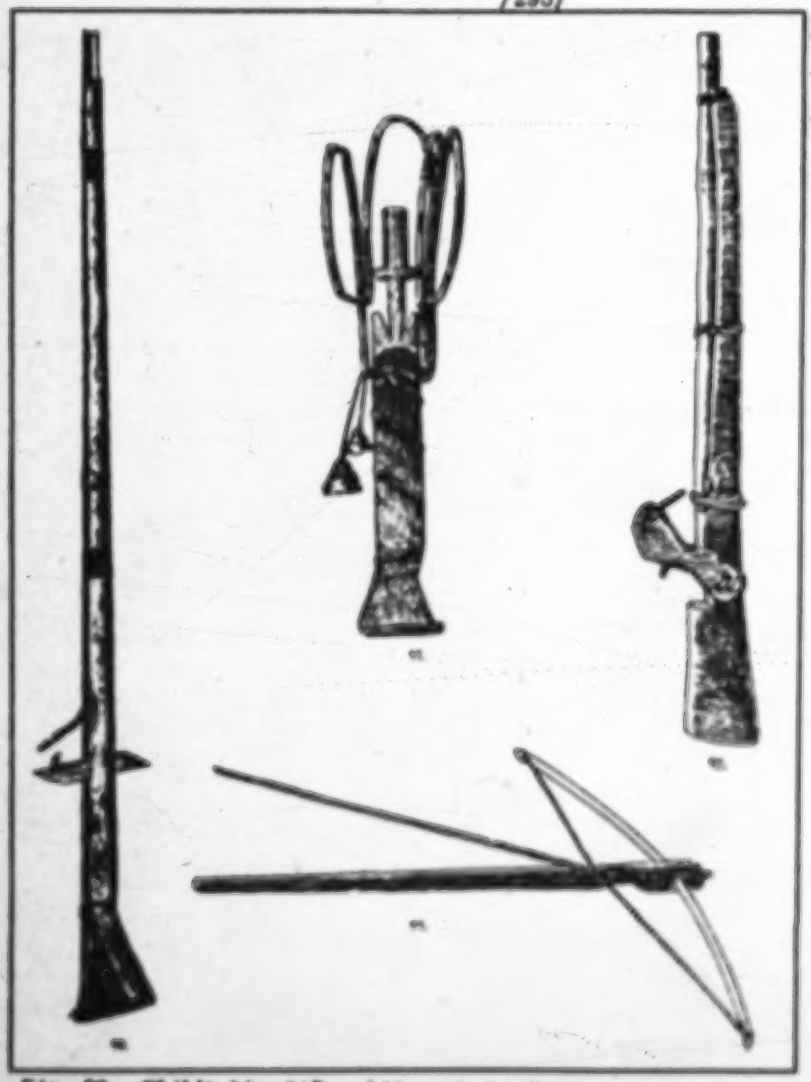


Fig. 90. Child's War Rifle of Plantain Leafstalk.
Fig. 91. Child's Sword of Raffia Pith, in a Bark Sheath.
Fig. 92. Child's Hunting Rifle of Wood.
Fig. 93. Child's Crossbow (Drawn).

/296/

857
524
526
322
[224]

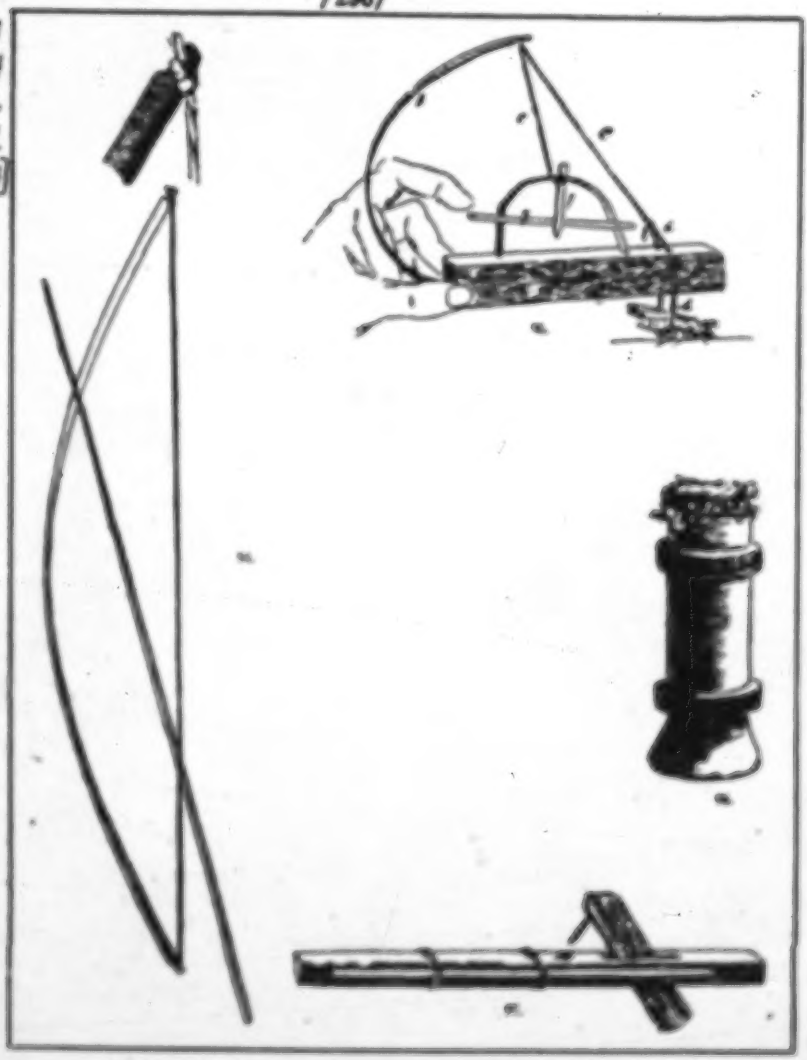


Fig. 94. Bow and Arrow (Toy).
Fig. 95. Draw Trap for Horseflies (Toy).
Fig. 96. Hide Drum (Toy).
Fig. 97. Device of Raffia Pith to Detonate Powder (Toy).

526 other materials. Even the "shining sword," made of raffia pith,
857 is not lacking (Fig. 91); it has the advantage, without being too dangerous, /296/ /Figs. 94-97 appear here in the original text/ of making a fairly loud clattering noise when struck on the enemy's body, and it causes a momentary, violent pain.

It is really unpleasant to be pelted with corn cobs which have previously been placed in a basket in the river and have become saturated with water /297/; still more disagreeable is a hollow piece of wood from the umbrella tree, which is filled with earth, closed off by means of a bung made of leaves, and then emptied at the enemy at the closest possible range.

A very dangerous "game" is man-catching. For this a number of boys take a piece of a strip of Oncocalamus (bush rope) and tie it into a noose. They hide the latter along the way leading out of the village, concealing it carefully among the grass and leaves, while the free end is tied to a tree stump. The naughty boys then hide behind trees and shrubs and with mischievous looks await the outcome. If a passerby gets a foot in the noose, he naturally comes crashing down, while the boys run away as fast as they can. They are wise to do so, because if the victim succeeds in catching one of the offenders, the latter must be prepared for a good thrashing or a complaint lodged with his father.

In the lower form of hunting, for soft-bellied insects, spiders,
526 etc., they use a rifle made of wood, into which they put some
857 powder (Fig. 92). The delicate hexapods or octopods are stupi-
868 fied by the smoke and fall to the ground helpless. A crossbow
524 made of raffia pith is likewise successfully used for hunting spiders (Fig. 93). For the "higher form of hunting," that is, for killing lizards and mice, a bow and arrows (Fig. 94) are employed. A method of hunting used by adults, namely, the encirclement of a wild animal, is imitated by having a little boy hide somewhere. The fish weirs find their counterpart in small imitations of them. They are set in the channels stirred up by the rain and block the way of little pieces of wood and leaves that are washed along. Even very clever miniature draw traps are made by skillful boys for the purpose of catching the annoying horseflies, which can be outwitted while they suck blood (Fig. 95).

868 Otherwise, children imitate in play almost everything that
857 is strikingly done or made by adults. For instance, they make
524 useful objects, such as knives and boxes of raffia pith and ex-
tremely charming little hide drums of wood or banana pith (Fig. 96). For the latter, a piece of rat's skin serves as the hide. The little Fang boy augments the popular banging noise at festivities with a device made of raffia pith for detonating powder (Fig. 97). Above all, we may not leave unmentioned the fact
867 that even children imitate a cult and, significantly enough, the
524 cult of ancestor worship which we mentioned above as being of
857 special importance. The ancestral figure is carved out of plantain pith by the children, and it wears a cap made of canna blossoms that are strung on little sticks. Only once did I see a figure made of wood. The ancestral skulls are replaced by -- monkeys' skulls. What a delightful spectacle such an innocent children's game would provide for the /298/ "initiated" European if he could observe it unseen.

We have already spoken in Volume II, page 105, of the imitation of family life in which small girls participate. In the main, the game corresponds to our "playing house." The boys endeavor by means of much screaming and activity to imitate the domineering father and try to drag the already quite rebellious "wives" around everywhere, to boss and bully them to their heart's content. The "child," a doll (mōn-ekǫ́n = child made of plantain), Figure 98, the most important thing for the smaller girls, and it is always dragged along by the anxious mother and guarded and fed with great love. The doll is a simple roll of plantain pith set in a carrying band made of dry leaf sheaths of the plantain.

The slingshot, among other things, belongs to the fourth
857 group, the games with toys (nǫ́ǫ́go ya dǫ́ǫ́me), Figure 99. It
524 consists of a stick to which a raffia pith rope is tied. At its free end the easily torn rope forms a noose in which a nut of the oil palm is placed. The slingshot is never used with hostile intent, say, in war games, but belongs solely to the group of games with toys, that is, they amuse themselves with this toy because of its peculiar effect. In using it, the stick is taken in hand, and the rock

857 is flung forward. The pull of the rock tears the delicate rope
524 without too greatly diminishing the force of the throw. I also include in this category the rattle stick, the spinning top, the puppet game (Fig. 100), and the device for communicating over a distance (Fig. 101). For spinning tops, snail shells (Fig. 102)
[824] are used or a fruit of Sarcophrynium velutinum (Bak.) K. Sch.
[825] (see Vol. I, Plate 11) which, like the top itself, is called ndöⁿ. A little stick of raffia bark is put through it (Fig. 103), and the top is ready; it is made to dance by twirling the little stick, while the Achatina top is made to spin with the fingers in the manner familiar to us.

Even among the group games of the Pangwe, many correspond precisely to ours. There is, for instance, the hiding of an object among the players, while another player, who had previously gone outside, has to find the object. The palm nut game and the game of skittles with spinning tops are very popular.

The palm nut game is called nigⁱⁿ. The player takes a handful of a large number of nuts lying on the ground, tosses them into the air and then catches them on the back of his hand. The nuts that remain on the back of the hand (between one and five, rarely more) are throwing stones, that is, the player is allowed to throw each of these stones up in the air by itself. While it is in the air, he must pick up with the /299/ /Fig. 98. Doll of Plantain Pith. Fig. 99. Children's Slingshot. Fig. 100. Puppet Game, (a) and (b) Puppets enlarged. Fig. 101. Device for Communicating at a Distance, Children's Game, (b) Cross-section of the Signal Drum. Fig. 102. Tops made of Snail Shells, (a) of Pseudachatina Dornesii, (b) of Achatina. Fig. 103. Tops made of the Fruit of Sarcophrynium velutinum. / /300/ same hand (the throwing hand) as many as possible of the other nuts lying on the ground, and with the same hand again catch the nut thrown into the air. However, the player is allowed to arrange the nuts on the ground beforehand, for instance, three next to each other. If the thrower catches the stone thrown into the air, all the stones in his hand are his property; if not, they are again common property. Then he goes on to try it with the other throwing stones. Once these are played, it is the next player's turn. At the conclusion of the game, that is,

[Text continues on page 174]

524
857

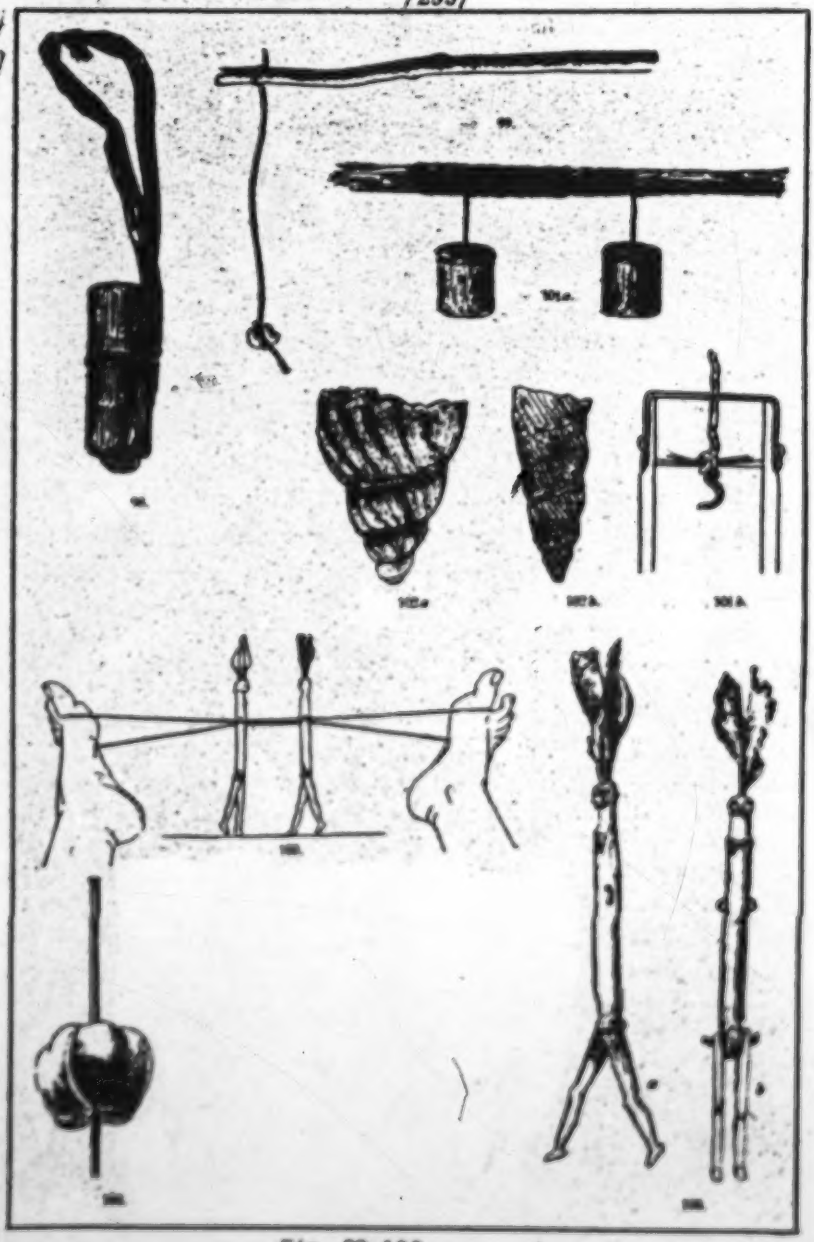


Fig. 98-103.
(Caption on p. 172.)

●524 857 when all the nuts are in the possession of players, those boys who have caught some stones place together in the center the same minimum number of their nuts. The boy who then has the greatest number of nuts wins. The nuts which have been won are jocularly called "wives" by the boys.

The best known and most popular game of the Pangwe is the game of skittles with spinning tops of snail shells (a lõ ndǒ'ño). Spinning-top skittles, as we may perhaps call it, is played chiefly by boys five to seven years old and sometimes also by older ones. They usually play it late in the afternoon or towards evening when the sun no longer scorches the village square. Our Figure 104 shows the arrangement of the two teams and of the skittles, which are set up near the team to which they belong (in Fig. 104, the team on the left). One of the players on the opposing team (the attacking team) has a throwing top which is played in between the skittles, and as it spins, it touches one or a number of them. The skittles that have been touched (nkǒ'ɛ̄n-ndǒ'no) and the throwing top (nwū'an-ndǒ'ño) are returned to the attacking team. The latter then throws the top again. If a throwing top does not make contact (a ke osū nkiai = it goes down the water, westward), it belongs to the defending team which keeps it as a prisoner. If none of the throwing tops has made contact -- something which occurs very rarely since the tops are thrown with great skill -- the attacking team sets up the skittles that previously belonged to the opposing team on its own side, and the team formerly defending now becomes the attacker. The team that throws out the tops, once it has a number of them, plays with them until all the skittles of the opposing team have been hit and now belong to the attacking team, so that the next time around the roles are reversed.

The southern Pangwe know no winner or loser in the game; they "enjoy the game for its own sake," as they say. On the other hand, unlike the Jaunde, they practice giving advances to a considerable degree, a custom which, like the system of advances in the caoutchouc trade of the adults, must lead to an unhealthy state of affairs; indeed, it opens the door to cheating. /301 /Fig. 104 appears here in the original text/ In case the throwing team has lost a considerable number of tops, the defending team, in

524
857
[5.6]
[361]

Fig. 104. Skittles with Spinning Tops made of Snail Shell.

order to prolong the game, may lend it a number of tops, but only from those that were lost by the opposing team, in other words, those that were "captured," and not more than eight. For example: the throwing team has lost six tops and has only one top left; in that case the defending team can lend these six, as well as two more lost later in the course of the game. If all eight of the borrowed tops should again be lost, the teams change roles, but the team now attacking (previously defending) does not begin with one throwing top as usual, but with all of the tops taken from the opposing team, in other words, at least eight; moreover, in the course of the game the previously borrowed eight tops must be returned to the opposing team from the eight tops played out. So the game goes on and may be broken off whenever a team so desires. Frequently, however, the boys first get into a quarrel over the loaned tops, and a general brawl is the conclusion of the game which appears so peaceful. On other occasions, too, the little ones try to "rabble" at spinning-top skittles. Thus, a player of the defending team may snatch a top before it has danced its curving path to an end, even though there might still have been a chance that it would touch a skittle.

524 857 The stone game of the children is a simpler form of the same game played by adults. It is called sɔ́ńo and consists of a halved raffia leafstalk whose pith is hollowed out into 12 compartments, arranged in two rows. To the right and left of the ends there is a compartment, twice as big as the others, for captured stones. /302/

The procedure of the game corresponds precisely to that of the adults and is differentiated from the latter only by the fact that in each compartment there are four canna seeds as playing stones, instead of five palm nuts or other large fruit seeds.

524 857 153 The bowling game, mbɔ̀ɔ̀h (mbɔ̀ɔ̀h = bowling ball), in which the extraordinarily well-developed observational powers of the Negroes are triumphantly displayed, is quite noteworthy. The average European would probably cut a poor figure in this "child's play"; I at least declined to engage in it. For the bowling game [824] one must have about 30 of the pill-shaped Canna indica seeds. The game leader, A, takes these seeds in his hand; previously, he has already agreed upon a number, let us say 18, with a fellow player, B. This number must now be discovered by the players, or, as the Negro says, it must be "shown." A throws the balls out rapidly and gives each of them, by way of a name, as it were, the numbers from one to 30 as he throws them. Once all thirty balls are at rest -- having of course rolled every which way, in no particular order -- A points to the aforesaid eighteenth ball while B shuts his eyes as he does so, in order to point to the ball himself afterwards. Thereby A is prevented from cheating or -- as happens more frequently -- from making a mistake. In other words, it is a counter-test. In the subsequent throws, in which the same number counts, the players must indicate the aforesaid ball. This often happens with the second or third throw. The one who recognizes the ball first becomes the leader in the next game, in which another number is chosen.

As the final group game, we shall mention a memory game which is popular with boys six to seven years old. It is called bolɔ́ńo, a name which is also applied to the main player and memory artist who must go to one side or outside the door and then answer. The questioner, seated in the circle of players, has ten

524 peppers, likewise called bolõ'mo (from olõ'mo = vegetable), in
857 front of him and a banana leaf (okiã,ɩ) is inserted between each
153 fruit. The questioning each time comes to an end at one of the bolõ'mo which is then taken away, and the questioning begins all over again, until all the bolõ'mo have been removed by this process of question and answer. The questions are as follows:

(a) a bolõ'mo? = Oh Bolomo? (b) ẽ or assimilated õ = Yes! (c) iʒũ,a a dʒǒ o yǎ? = Your father, he said something to you? (d) ta(d)a (a) dʒǒ ma na: kaa yũ, ndǒ'ngo (or dʒam) = My father, he said to me thus: not to fail in skittles (or affairs), that is, you are not to have any failures (in play or in seriousness). (e) dzidzi? = What is that? (f) bolõ'mo = vegetable.

Now the questioner takes away the bolomo (the vegetable) and again asks: (a)-(d), then (e) dzidzi? (f) (o)kiǎ,ɩ' = Leaf! (g) dzidzi? (h) bolõ'mo. In the next round of questions the answers are: Leaf, leaf, vegetable, then leaf, leaf, leaf, vegetable, and so forth. /303/

All ten questions are uttered in very rapid tempo, usually to the accompaniment of rhythmical handclapping by the fellow players, in order to confuse the one answering as much as possible.

524 The simplest games of skill consist of fashioning droll figures
857 out of a leaf (bǒn), Figure 105; braiding together strips of stalk of the Sarcophrynium in a special form (esǒn), Figure 106; and carving birds and other figures from raffia pith (onon-eɩũsũ), Figure 107.

Another group of skilled games includes the universally known rope games, which undoubtedly had their origin in the making of rope. Altogether, I am familiar with no less than 40 different figures among the Fang, of which different ones are developed from each other in series.

The highly developed, ingenious "patience games" probably had their origin in the rope games. The aim here is either to separate two objects that are joined (or to put together two separate objects), or to take apart apparently indivisibly conjoined parts.

A widespread game illustrated in Figure 108 is included in the first group. It could be called the two-string bow patience game (atǐn ebe). It consists of a stick of the bark of a raffia stalk with

[Text continues on page 179]

2: Tessmann--178 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

361
516
857
524

/Between 302 and 303/

Plate XXVIII

Children Playing Skittles with Spinning Tops, Ntum Region.

● 524 a hole drilled in the middle. A string is fastened at both ends
857 and drawn in a double loop (Fig. 109, a) through the hole in the middle. In this way we get two strands, as it were, and on one of these are strung two beads, pieces of a corncob, or the like, although the hole in the middle must always be smaller than the objects used. One bead, if I may choose this object as an example, must now be brought over onto the other strand. The solution of this task will be most clearly seen from Figure 109, Drawings b-f.

Two different patience games belong to the second group. The first (Fig. 110) consists chiefly of a piece of monitor lizard
[825] skin cut into the shape of a fish (atsiń ekob e tit), into which a hole is cut at the thick end (head), while in the narrow part (body) parallel longitudinal slits are made. The second part of the device is a string, to each of whose ends a piece of the kernel of an oil palm nut is tied. The pieces of kernel, however, are larger than the hole. The middle part of the string is looped (seen from the front) over the strip between the slits and thence runs from behind out through the hole (see Fig. 110). In order to separate the two parts from each other, the strip must be bent through the hole and the string taken out.

The second game of this group consists of two seeds of the
[824] Pentaclethra /304/ /Figs. 105-109 appear here in the original text/ macrophylla Benth. (atsiń ebɨ), each of which is provided with three holes. A double string is put through the holes in the manner indicated in Figure 111, and this is looped around the seed. A second kernel is attached in the same fashion at the other end of the double string, and a knot is made at its center. How the problem is to be solved, namely, to remove the seeds from /305//Figs. 110 & 112 appear here in the original text / the string, I do not know myself. Perhaps a patient reader will try his hand at it.

The final group of skilled games consists of the performance of magic tricks (makɨń me bɨngo = dexterity of children) whose effect is based upon the fact that the spectator is influenced by the performer and is mistaken in his observation of the basic causes of the phenomena produced, thus permitting himself to be deceived. He does so all the more readily since he is not given any time for quiet reflection on account of the rapidity of execution.

[Text continues on page 181]

/304/

524
857

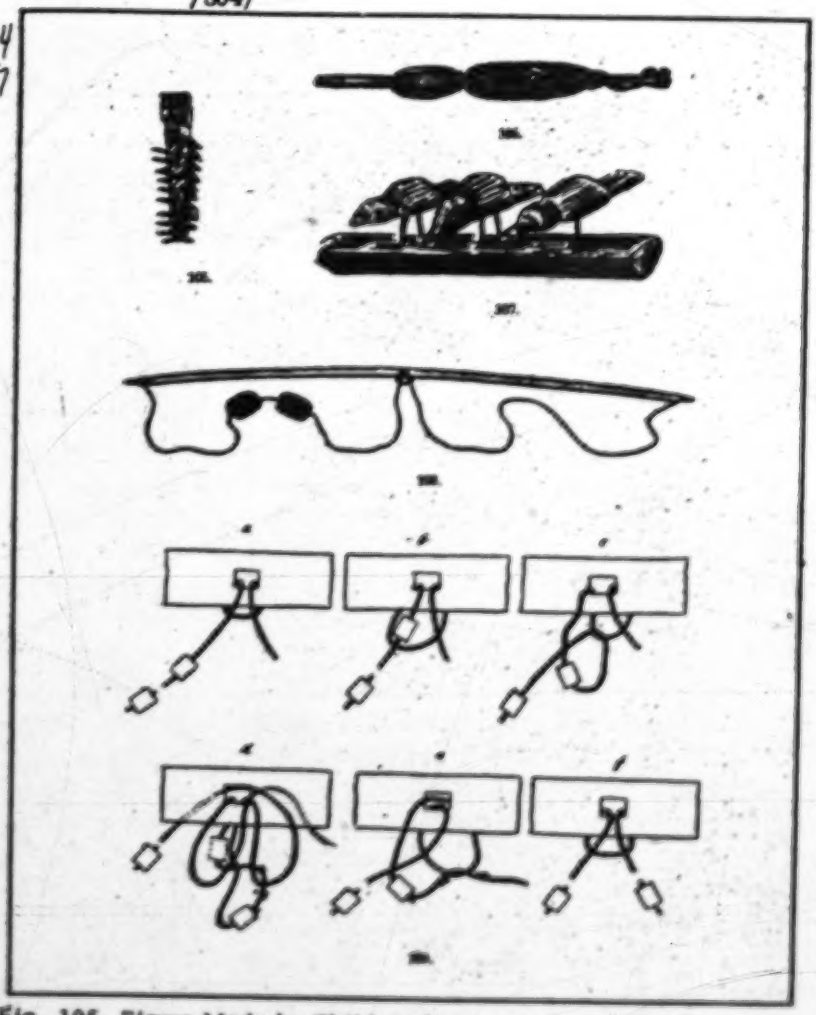


Fig. 105. Figure Made by Children from a Leaf.
Fig. 106. Figure Braided from a Sarcophrynium Stalk.
Fig. 107. Birds Made by Children from Raffia Pith.
Fig. 108. Patience Game with Bow and Two Strings.
Fig. 109. Solution of the Patience Game with Two-stringed Bow.

524
857

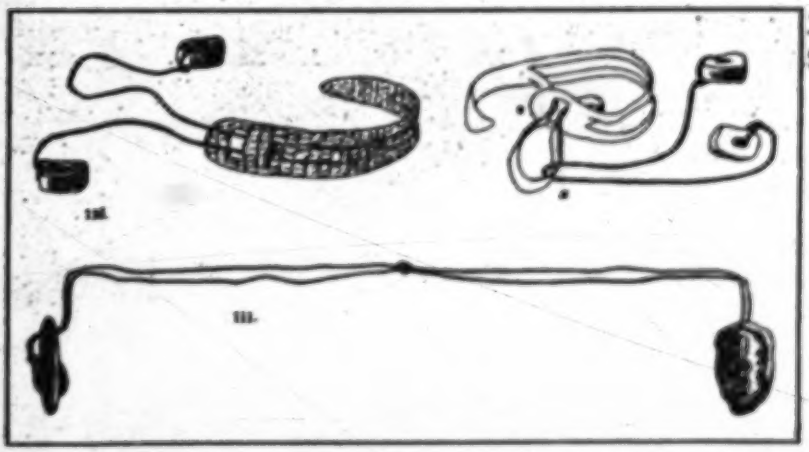


Fig. 110. Patience Game with a Monitor Lizard Skin and a String with Oil Palm Nuts, (a) Solution of the Problem.
Fig. 111. Patience Game using Pentaclethra Seed.

The trick of making a ball appear in the hand of a spectator (efā', from the root fa = confined, enclosed, transitive and intransitive) is a simple one. It is reminiscent of our trick of counting three coins while picking them up and putting them down. For the efā' game an arbitrary number, but not too small, of balls (for instance, canna seeds) or short raffia sticks are laid in a row in pairs. The number of pairs must always be uneven. In addition, an extra ball, called efā', that is, the enclosed one, is put down by itself to finish off the row. Now the chief player, A, and one of the spectators, B, take one ball each from the pairs, and B gets the extra one. In order to influence his fellow player, A, shaking his hand back and forth, calls out after the extra ball "enclosed" by B: "efā', efā', efā', efā', efā', efā', nzɨk, efā' nzɨk, efā' nzɨk, efā' nzɨk, efā', efā', efā', efā' = enclosed one, enclosed one, come, enclosed one!" Now B is asked to place two balls together. Then A places two together, then B again, and so forth, until all the balls are lying in pairs. To the amusement /306/ of those poor at figuring, A actually places the "enclosed one" as the last one at the end of the row. Thus efā' really did come to A.

Conjuring away the middle one of three leaves lying on top of each other is really astonishing. For this purpose, three leaves of [324]

524 Panicum sulcatum Aubl. (ekɔ̃k) are placed on top of each other;
§57 the apex half of two of the leaves, the upper and lower, is re-
[§24] moved. Then the little magician places the leaves with their underside on the ground and starts to roll them together from the lower end to the tip. A conjuring verse which the artist now sings induces the leaf to wander off: "kɔ̃ɔ̃ ekɛ̃ɛ̃, kɔ̃ɔ̃ a zɔ̃ɔ̃,
[539] o ke o mvũs = remove yourself, grass (1), remove yourself from

1. Collective term; specifically, Eleusine indica (L.) Gärtn.

the middle and go to the back!" Finally he hands the leaves over to a spectator to unroll, and it now turns out that the two shorter leaves are lying on top of each other and that the large leaf is at the bottom. This little conjuring trick, by the way, can also be performed with paper strips, one of which is a little longer than the others.

The ne plus ultra of what skilled Pangwe boys are able to offer consists of conjuring tricks in which speed constitutes the magic. I shall give a few samples of these tricks.

For example, a boy has a streak of ashes put on his forehead and his hands tied behind his back. One of the tricks is to run behind the house and to reappear with his hands tied behind his back but without the streak of ashes on his forehead. Of course the dexterous boy has put his tied hands through his legs from behind, wiped off the streak, and placed his hands behind his back again. The main thing in this case is the speed, which is indeed astonishing.

A second little trick is that of tying the hands together. The boy has somebody give him a rope, runs with it behind the house, and returns immediately -- with his hands tied behind his back. He had made two loops at the ends, stuck a hand in each, and then by skillfully turning both hands in opposite directions had twisted the rope in such a way as to make one believe that he had really been tied up by somebody else.

A favorite act of our conjurers has its counterpart among the Pangwe in their trick of spiriting away a ring from a hollowed

524 957 plantain leafstalk whose hollow, in addition, was plugged with "medicine," that is, pulverized leaves. The stalk with the ring lies on the ground, and the conjurer binds across his hand a piece of plantain leaf in which he has previously placed an identical leafstalk plugged with leaves, but without a ring. He then playfully strikes the ground with the leaf-covered hand and in so doing exchanges with lightning speed the two plantain leafstalks /307/. Then he invites the spectators to convince themselves that the ring has now been conjured out of it. While the spectators comply with this suggestion, the artist quickly puts the ring on his finger and also removes the plantain stalk.

4. Games of Adults

The Memory Game of the Dwarf Antelope

524 153 [104] To my knowledge, this game occurs only in the southern Pangwe region. Like the memory game of the children, it consists of reciting sentences which in this case, however, are not elicited by questions but are uttered by a single player. The sentences are particularly difficult, because they contain many words with guttural sounds whose pitch varies extraordinarily so that even the Pangwe easily makes a slip of the tongue.

[211] To aid their memory, my boys made use of a long raffia stick on which were strung a whole series of little transverse sticks carved out of raffia pith in such a way that first three pieces, each singly, then two, three, four transverse pieces, and so on, were ranged in groups, in a manner similar to balls on an abacus (Fig. 112).

In reciting each sentence -- there are 12 in all -- the previous sentences must be repeated backwards, and together they form a group which in each instance is introduced by the following verse:

sé' gbwē̄ . mvō̄ kīā = Iso antelope's horn: "*gbwē̄*" (onomatopoetic, in German, *tö*), rain: "*king*" (that is, distant thunder, onomatopoetic, in German, *bum*). The horn of the Iso antelope whistles: "*tö*," and behold, the rain answers with thunder: "*bum*."

As we know, the Sao antelope is the animal of the moon, while the moon is mistress of the seasons and thus of rain; if one blows on the horn, the rain, which according to the Pangwe produces thunder, will answer.

Once the twelfth group of sentences is finished, all previously recited groups of sentences must be recited backwards.

Sentence 1: nʉm okbʉ̃ń a ke a
Man of the dwarf antelope, he goes to

dʉ̃ʉ̃ŋgan a nkʉ̃ʉ́ k) eté
fall in love in the lying trunk inside,

b(a) asʉ̃ngʉ̃n-ogbwõ.
with Amangon-Ogbwo.

The dwarf antelope man goes inside the prone tree trunk (which is hollow, so that the little antelope can use it as a hiding place) to fall in love with Amangon-Ogbuo, literally, the eldest daughter of the magician.

Sentence 2:

ngbʉ̃ʉ̃ne ogbʉ̃ń a ke a
Offspring of dwarf antelope, it goes to

bʉ̃ nʉ̃ʉ́m okbʉ̃ń.
follow man antelope. /308/

Sentence 3:

ngʉ̃-ogbʉ̃ń a ke a
Wife of dwarf antelope, she goes to

be ngbʉ̃ʉ̃ne ogbʉ̃ń.
follow (the) little antelope.

Sentence 4: agbʉ̃ń abai (two antelopes) d'a ke a be nga agbʉ̃ń.
Sentence 5: agbʉ̃ń ala (three antelopes) d'a ke a bʉ̃ agbʉ̃ń abai (two).
Sentence 6: agbʉ̃ń ani (four antelopes) d'a ke a bʉ̃ agbʉ̃ń ala (three).
Sentence 7: agbʉ̃ń atan (five antelopes) d'a ke a bʉ̃ agbʉ̃ń ani (four).
Sentence 8: agbʉ̃ń asʉ̃ʉ̃men (six antelopes) d'a ke a bʉ̃ agbʉ̃ń atan (five).

524
153
539

Sentence 9: agbǔ́ń zǎngbwā' (seven antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbǔ́ń asiɛ̄'men (six).

Sentence 10: agbǔ́ń mūóm (eight antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbǔ́ń zǎngbwā' (seven).

Sentence 11. agbǔ́ń ebū, (nine antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbǔ́ń mūóm (eight).

Sentence 12. agbǔ́ń avɔ̄m (ten antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbǔ́ń ebū, (nine).

[832]

Young lovers like to play the game with their girls, as may be surmised from the somewhat romantic text. Jokingly, the girl says that she will give herself only to the one who can go through the entire game without making a mistake.

The Memory Game (nkǔ́k ondǔ̄ile or endǒ̄le)

153
524
211

This game is known only among the Fang and a number of adjoining Ntum kin groups, and it is supposedly indigenous. A flat staff with short, paired transverse extensions and vertically inserted knobs is used in the game. The end of the staff usually has a head carved on it (Fig. 113). Each pair of transverse extensions, along with the knob and the adjacent lower part of the staff, forms a segment on which eleven different points are designated for the answers (see Fig. 114).

The game may have developed from an older, simpler one in which the individual parts of the human body were enumerated. This notion is suggested by the designation of the staff as the body, of the carved end -- even when it is not a regular head -- as neck and head, by the tripartite arrangement of the transverse extensions -- absent in Figure 113 -- (corresponding to the upper arm, the

[822]
[831]

Fig. 112. Stick with Pieces of Raffia used as Mnemonic Device in the Memory Game of the Dwarf Antelope. About one-fourth actual size.

Memory Game, nkuk-ondûle, made of Wood, Southern Ntum Region. A little over one-fifth actual size.

Fig. 113

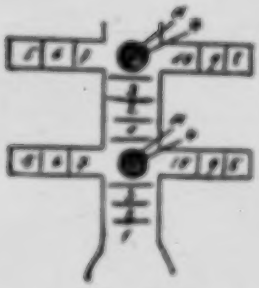


Fig. 114
Two Sections of the Memory Game nkuk-ondûle.

lower arm, and the hand), and finally by the upright knob, called [122]
tsǎ́gemǎ́ge (the red one; red as the color of reproduction, of [631]
life), by which originally the male sex organ was doubtless understood. The implement is thus unquestionably supposed to represent a human body whose members are multiplied.

The game is played by two people, one questioning, the 524
other answering. The former, seated in the circle of listeners, 153
holds the implement in his hand and indicates the various points that /309/ must be answered. At each one he calls out: "nǎ́ nǎ́? n- What is that?" (phonetically assimilated and corrupted from dnǎ́ dnǎ́). The principal player sits farther away and answers the questions in rhythmic song while the others stamp their feet or clap [533]
their hands in time. He is, of course, not allowed to make any marks to aid his memory, such as dividing a little stick into the corresponding number of sections. This is brainwork.

The 11 questions, which are the same for each segment, go 153
as follows: 524
1, 2, 3. (see the corresponding numbers in Fig. 114) 539
nkǔk ondûle wǎ́e.
Body (of the) ondûle here. That is the body of the ondûle.

153
524
539

4. tŭŋgeuŋge nie a tele ni(i) i, a mõmendõge.
Red one, he, he stands here, o Momendõge!
There stands the red one, oh Momendõge (inventor of the game)!

5. mekŭe me mŭm e nieli.
Breaking of the twig, it (is) here

6. mejidan me nŭm e nieli.
Sawing off of the twig, it (is) here.

7. bi a ke a buman (or a siŋen) a
We, we go to meet each other at the
mbuman a nŭn, a tade mõmendõge.
meeting point of the road, oh father Momendõge
(that is, perhaps, joint of the femur).

8. kŭji a bima.
Go away to Buma (supposedly an Esamongun village).

9. ye ma ke a bima.
(Interrogative:) I go to Buma? = Am I going to Buma by any chance?

10. = 7.
11. = 4.

When all the segments -- usually from eight to 10 -- have been answered from bottom to top, the questioner points to the neck piece:

nĕ nĕ = What is that? /310/

Answer: kĭŋ ondĭle e nieli
Neck (of the) ondile it here,

and then he points to the head piece:

nĕ nĕ = What is that?
Answer: nŭ ondĭle a wŭle.
Head (of the) ondile it here.

The main thing for the player, therefore, is always to remember how many segments he has answered, so that at the end he does not make a mistake and, instead of answering the two questions concerning neck and head, begins a new segment.

The Stone Game

524 [178] Of all adult games, the most popular is the stone game which is spread over almost the entire world. It involves placing stones in a number of adjoining concavities, and then distributing these stones among the concavities according to definite rules.

In more recent times, according to informants, the stone game has come to the Jaunde and Bulu from the Bene (who in turn became acquainted with it through eastern tribes), and from the [177] former it was introduced into the Ntum and Fang region around the years 1895-98. These statements appear to be confirmed by the fact that the most skillfully fashioned playing boards, provided with legs (as in Fig. 115), are to be found among the Jaunde and Bene. They have one of these in each meeting house and eagerly and frequently play with it. It is played more rarely by the Ntum [164] and only very rarely by the Fang, who in any case have too many other, less harmless things in their heads to be able to devote themselves to the game with any kind of passion.

The playing board (Fig. 115) consists of two halved raffia leaf-stalks tied to each other. By cutting out the pith, each of the leaf-stalks is divided into seven compartments (ndɨ = house; plural, mandɨ). Only in the southern part of the Fang region (and among the [151] Bassa) did I see such a board made of wood, which then, in most cases, had one additional compartment for the "prisoner" (Fig. 116) at each end. The playing stones (ngɔ̄ IV) are put into the compartments, five in each one. Originally, and sometimes even today, actual pebbles were used, from which the game was named ɔ̄ngo (alleged: small pebble). This name, however, is current only among the Jaunde and Bene; in the south it designates the corresponding children's game, while that of the adults is called akɔ̄ɔ̄ because of the large black beads (akɔ̄ɔ̄) that were at one time used as playing stones but today have gone completely out of fashion. [824] Instead of these beads, the natives like to take the kernels of the [194] oil palm or of Rhicinodendron /311/ africanum; in the north and in various other places they like to take the pebble-like kernels of a species of tree unknown to me and, more rarely, stones.

524 The procedure in the game itself is the same throughout the entire Pangwe region. Deviations from the ordinary playing rules are to be found only in quite isolated instances.

In playing, the two players (A and B) sit across from each other and place the board between them. Compartments 1-7 belong to A, and those from I VII belong to B. Now each player by turns takes the stones out of one of his compartments and, proceeding clockwise, places a stone into each succeeding compartment, be it his own or that of his opponent. If, therefore, in the beginning player A, for example, takes the five stones out of compartment 5, he must distribute them in compartments 6, 7, II, and III; and if his opponent B then picks up the six stones that are now in compartment III, /Fig. 115 appears here in the original text/ he must place them in compartments IV, V, VI, VII, 1, and 2, and so forth. Now, if there are so many stones in one compartment, let us assume it is A's, that in distributing them they go beyond the opponent's row, they are again placed back in A's own compartments, starting with 1, but only up to the compartment from which they were taken, no more being put in the latter. Instead, if there are 14 or more stones, A must place the fourteenth in compartment I of his opponent and then, if there are more stones, continue to the right, up to compartment VII. If by then A still has stones to divide, in other words, if he took up 21 or more, he may not put them back into his own compartments but has to place the twenty-first in compartment I and proceed to distribute them after that in the usual manner.

The goal of each player is to draw out as many prisoners as possible from his opponent's compartments, and the player who has taken the most /Fig. 116 appears here in the original text/ /312/ prisoners has won. The decision comes when a player has no more stones lying in his compartments. In this case the player who still has stones in his compartments adds these to the prisoners, and the highest number of stones determines the victory.

The player can take prisoner all the stones in an enemy compartment if the number of stones does not exceed three. To this end, he must proceed in such a way that the last of his stones to be distributed strikes a compartment in which it is the second, third, or

fourth stone. These two, three, or four stones then count as prisoners. Since, therefore, only "houses" with a few stones or, as the Negro says, "people," fall victim to the enemy, we shall call such a compartment a weak compartment while every other compartment, that is, a compartment in which there is no stone or in which there are four or more stones, shall be called a strong compartment.

Now a player, if his last stone strikes a weak compartment, may plunder not only this but also all immediately preceding weak compartments. An example will clarify this. Suppose on B's side there are -- something which he should, of course, have prevented -- one stone in compartment I, four in compartment II,

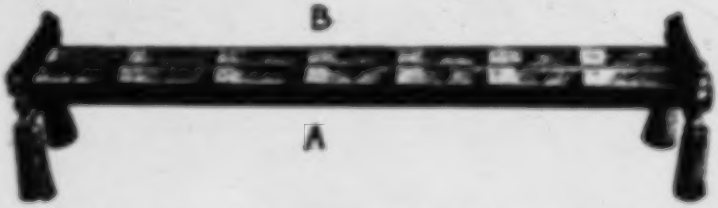


Fig. 115. Stone Game, made of Raffia Stalks and Wooden Legs, Jaunde. One-sixth actual size.

two in compartment III, three in compartment IV, two in compartment V, nine in compartment VI, and five in compartment VII; further, suppose A has seven stones in compartment 5. In that case A will place these stones in compartments 6, 7, I, II, III, IV, and V, and he will take prisoner the two stones lying in compartment V, as well as his own stone that he has added to them; in addition, he will take prisoner the three lying in compartment IV with his striking stone, and the two lying in compartment III with his striking stone, so that altogether he will have ten prisoners.

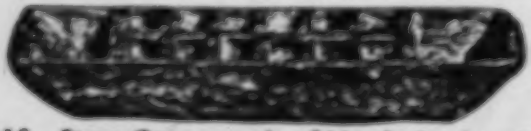


Fig. 116. Stone Game, made of Wood, Southern Pangwe Region. One-fifth actual size.

524 Thus, each player must take care that his opponent does not get into a weak compartment with his last stone or, in cases not to be avoided, that the preceding compartment is strong.

On the average, the Pangwe do not play the stone game par-
524 ticularly well, but there are individuals -- even women -- who
539 have developed their playing skill to a veritable mastery. In par-
518 ticular, a number of Bulu are famous as eminent adepts in this field in the Ntum territory, and a number of jocular stories that are as widespread as their fame have been coined about them. The majority of these stories are attributed to the "champion" of the Pangwe players, Bekena a Mpfa, the son of Mpfa Mangõõ. Sometimes these stories are recited during the game by the more skilled player in an extraordinarily rapid, even tone, perhaps with the intention of distracting and confusing the less assured opponent. As regards their content, these stories pour the most vitriolic scorn upon less skilled players.

Satiric Song of the Ntum

ma	ma	nga lõ		bekõ'na,	bekõ'na	a	mpfã,	ndõman			
I,	I	played (with)		Bekõna,	Bekõna	of	Mpfa,	son			
a	mpfã-mangõõ.	/313/	nõm	kaa	mangõõ	niene:	ma				
of	Mpfa-Mangõõ.		Man	without	teeth,	he says:	I				
ke	ma	dõõ	bekõõ	be	ngõõ;	mi'nõnga	kaa				
go	to	eat	hides	of	elephants;	woman	without				
makõõ	niene:	ma	sõõ	o	kpõõ;	ukõkuna					
behind,	she says:	I	sit down	on	stool;	crazy					
dõõm	a	nga	wõõ	nõ'	a	bõõ,					
thing,	it	lets	pass (a)	So antelope	on	hunting drive,					
a	lige	isia	a kõõ	bekõ'na	a	mpfã,	ndõman				
it	leaves	his father	sick	Bekõna	of	Mpfa,	son				

524 539 518

a mpfɛ̃, ndʉ̃man a mpfɛ̃ mangɔ̃ɔ̃, nieme: ɛ̃,
of Mpfa, son of Mpfa-Mangɔ̃ɔ̃, he says: Come now,

bɔ̃ɔe, mi adɛ̃n a kʉ̃bo (or a ngɔ̃ongɔ̃):
people, you surpass to speak

ye tada a nga kʉ̃o bekɔ̃ɔ̃na, nieme:
Interrogative: father, he is sick (of) Bekɔ̃na, he thus:

a dɛ̃ɛ̃ sɔ̃! kɔ̃ ma nga vui tada
to eat Sao antelope?: but I killed (for the) father (a)

ogbɔ̃ɔ̃n a bim o ngɔ̃ɔ̃, tada a
dwarf antelope on hunting drive yesterday, father he

tame dɛ̃ɛ̃ ogbɔ̃ɔ̃n.
must eat dwarf antelope.

Freely translated: I was once playing the stone game with Bekɔ̃na, the well-known Bekɔ̃na-Mpfa who is the son of Mpfa-Mangɔ̃ɔ̃. He said: "You really resemble an old man who has no teeth and wants to eat elephant's hide (1), or a woman who has no

[262]

1. The notoriously thick and tough elephant's hide is actually eaten by some people (with teeth!), after being well boiled.

backside and sits down on the hard wooden stool, and thirdly you resemble the stupid noodle who on the hunting drive lets a Sao antelope (2) pass by and knows his father to be sick at home, infirm

[825]

2. The black-rumped duikerbok, Cephalophus dorsalis Gray.

from the disease that came from Bekɔ̃na-Mpfa, the son of Mpfa-Mangɔ̃ɔ̃." Well, in that case one simply says: "Come now, you people, you're talking altogether too much poppycock! Even if

my father is suffering from the Bekõna disease, does he absolutely have to eat Sao antelope meat? After all, yesterday on the hunting drive I shot a dwarf antelope for my father; let my father first eat the dwarf antelope!"

Satiric song of the Fang (beginning as above)

...mĩ'nĩnga kaa makĩ'h, nieme: ma bõde
...Woman no backside, she says: I wear

anõõ ukõkute dĩzũm, oa lige ikõ̃ ake̋n e
raffia apron; crazy thing, you leave your father sick with

bekõ̋; wõna: oa ke a wõ̃ ngõ' akõ̋.
boils; you say: you go to place stones in the game.

...You resemble a woman who has no backside and wants to wear a raffia apron (the large horsetail-like raffia apron is not suitable for /314/ such a woman). And in addition, you stupid fool, your father is lying at home sick with boils!" In that case one would say (1): "Just place your stones, we shall see!"

1. The translation of wõna by "one" is justified because wõna is in a sense directed at the listener.

Satiric Song of the Ntum

o kõ̋ na? o kõ̋ ĩ̋ na?
You play (with) whom? You play move (with) whom?

bõ̋ kõ̋, bõ̋ kõ̋! ngõ̋ nõõla: mĩ'nĩnga
People play, people play! Madame Nõõla (said): Woman

kaa mekĩ'n nieme: o võ̋ ma mvõ̋ aõ̋
without calves, she says: you put me brass wire (about) as

bo nga võ̋ nnõma-obõõ.
they put (about) Ntsama-Obiang.

Freely translated: With whom are you playing? With whom are you actually playing now? -- Yes, indeed, people are not equal; some play well, others badly, and Madame Nsôla says: "This is queer, a woman who has no calves and wants to have brass rings put around (her calves), just like the beautiful Nsama-Obiang! (who of course has calves)."

The first story requires some explanation, since it is, as one of my people expressed very nicely in pidgin English, dear for saby (expensive to know, understand) = hard to understand. First of all, we must observe that the master player Bekôna is what is known as eki, aki̱ń, that is (according to the standards set by abstinence rules, beki). It is not good for the ordinary mortal to play with Bekôna, since in case of defeat, a kin bekôna = one becomes Bekôna-sick, just as in the case of an offense against the cult laws, one contracts a cult sickness.

The beginning is readily intelligible. A good average player (who can perhaps defeat moderately good players, but not Bekôna) comes to the master who compares him with the old man without teeth and the woman without a backside, both of whom want to undertake something of which they are not capable, just like the player who wants to compete with Bekôna. But finally Bekôna compares him with an imprudent hunter who lets a fine antelope (which is of medium size) pass by in the hope of killing something better (that is, a larger wild animal), even though his father is lying sick (of Bekôna) at home and therefore would like something to eat, special namely, meat.

Applied to the player, this means: You want to compete with me, Bekôna, and do not let players not as good, whom you could defeat, play with you (in the comparison, the fine antelope which the hunter lets pass by) in the vain hope of defeating me, Bekôna (in the comparison, the larger game), even though your father has already been defeated by me -- for only in this way can /315/ he become Bekôna-sick -- and would gladly see his son avenge him by defeating another player.

The other one replies: Even if my father has been defeated by the master player (= is Bekôna-sick), must he therefore see that I

524 defeat an average player (in the comparison, the Sao antelope)?
539 After all, just yesterday I defeated a totally inferior player (in the
578 comparison, the dwarf antelope)! That has given my father sufficient revenge for the time being (in the comparison, enough to eat).

We see a cornucopia of ridicule poured forth here. Magnificent comparisons! Pithy expressions! Negro poetry with an elemental force!

Game of Chance (abĩa, Jaunde, Bulu)

525 Like the stone game, the game of chance was not an indigenous
177 cultural possession of the Pangwe. From the Maka (Makie in
184 Jaunde) in the east through the mediation of the Mwogenianga kin group (probably Bene) on the upper Nyong it came to the core of the Bene, who transmitted it to the Jaunde and Bulu. In only the most recent times, the Ntum have become acquainted with it through Jaunde and Bene traders who came to them in the service of the Whites. Nonetheless, I myself have seen people engaged in this game only once, in 1907 in the vicinity of the northern Ntum region. Among the Fang the game is unknown.

525 The game of chance is played with small circular playing disks (nĩ; plural, lesĩ, derived from esĩ "goods," because, according to the Pangwe, they decide whether the players are winning or losing and hence, as it were, bring in the money in the form of goods, trade items) which are simply cut out of calabash rinds (Fig. 117, a). Furthermore, the game requires counters (mvi ĩ I), of which each player must bring his own. They are produced from the hard rinds of the fruit from a tree called abĩm by the Jaunde, and on their smooth upper surface (outerside of the fruit) they bear attractive patterns of various kinds, animal forms, or human figures, which, like the edge, are carved in relief (Fig. 117, b-d). /Fig. 117 appears here in the original text./ /316/

The number of players that can participate is unlimited, but there must be at least four.

To play (a dĩ abĩa), a basketry plate is also needed, into which are placed once and for all seven playing disks (seven again as a

Largeau /sic/) and the mekutu alele, bundles of little sticks making it possible to communicate in code, they had a kind of pictography, ntilan, with tens, if not hundreds, of signs, mindem. These we know (insufficiently) from the counters used in the abia game, a kind of tarots, used as a game as much as for predicting the future; the pieces were made of the seeds, or rather the pods, of a mimosa common in the forest (Tetrapleura /125/ thonningii, according to Trilles). These signs had a surface meaning, understood by all, and an esoteric meaning, restricted to initiates. They made it possible if not to write down traditions as a whole, at least to draw up a kind of aid to memory to be used by the beyia bia. They also enabled scouts to leave messages for a main body of fighters that followed. Each clan, each family had its own ndem, sometimes depicted in its tattoo mark, ndan, which thus constituted a sort of coat of arms.

The old literature included stories or tales, minlan, songs, bia, and chronicles, minkaliete.

Trilles is responsible for collecting most of the tales (no. 165), which often took the form of fabliaux whose hero was none other than Ol' Br'er Terrapin, Kulu (emphatic or personal form of kul), the earth tortoise (Cinyxis erosa), surrounded by Beme, the wild pig, stupid and gluttonous, Ze, the panther, mean and cunning, its principal enemy; Zo'o, the elephant, the king of beasts; Abop, the spider, artful and obliging; and the majority of the other forest animals (except, it seems, snakes, which no one ever likes to mention). Kulu, thanks to his shrewdness, always ends by getting out of the holes in which his caustic spirit or the old hostility between him and Ze have put him. Tales of magicians were also told, or stories about the conjugal mishaps of supposed ancestors. All such tales were in the public domain and were recited by anyone who felt competent. This was also the case with the puzzles and riddles that young people put to one another as a kind of flirtation.

Songs, however, were performed by specialists, even aside from ritual or magical songs. Some were used to accompany dances: they represented the most complete form of musical expression, with the tone of the words supposed to fit the music while being related to the movements of the dance. There are still beyia bia competent to lead a dance of this kind by improvisation, but they are few and very expensive. There also still exist players of the mvet (harp-guitar), whose repertory includes, beside the old sung legends, some modern

524 defeat an average player (in the comparison, the Sao antelope)?
539 After all, just yesterday I defeated a totally inferior player (in the
578 comparison, the dwarf antelope)! That has given my father sufficient revenge for the time being (in the comparison, enough to eat).

We see a cornucopia of ridicule poured forth here. Magnificent comparisons! Pithy expressions! Negro poetry with an elemental force!

Game of Chance (abĩa, Jaunde, Bulu)

525 Like the stone game, the game of chance was not an indigenous
177 cultural possession of the Pangwe. From the Maka (Makie in
184 Jaunde) in the east through the mediation of the Mwogeniangs kin group (probably Bene) on the upper Nyong it came to the core of the Bene, who transmitted it to the Jaunde and Bulu. In only the most recent times, the Ntum have become acquainted with it through Jaunde and Bene traders who came to them in the service of the Whites. Nonetheless, I myself have seen people engaged in this game only once, in 1907 in the vicinity of the northern Ntum region. Among the Fang the game is unknown.

The game of chance is played with small circular playing
525 disks (ŭf; plural, beef, derived from ef "goods," because, according to the Pangwe, they decide whether the players are winning or losing and hence, as it were, bring in the money in the form of goods, trade items) which are simply cut out of calabash rinds (Fig. 117, a). Furthermore, the game requires counters (mvi; I),
[531] of which each player must bring his own. They are produced from
[624] the hard rinds of the fruit from a tree called abĩm by the Jaunde, and on their smooth upper surface (outerside of the fruit) they bear attractive patterns of various kinds, animal forms, or human figures, which, like the edge, are carved in relief (Fig. 117, b-d). /Fig. 117 appears here in the original text./ /316/

The number of players that can participate is unlimited, but there must be at least four.

To play (a ŭf abĩa), a basketry plate is also needed, into which are placed once and for all seven playing disks (seven again as a

525 lucky number). At the start of the game each of the players puts his counter in the basket with the disks. The leader of the game, who does not play himself, tosses the counters and disks into the air with the plate, catches them again, quickly turns the plate over and covers them up. If counters fall to the side, these must simply be pushed toward the edge of the basket -- they are valid. On the other hand, the throw does not count in case a counter is standing on edge, squeezed between others, when the basket is raised.

The question now is whether the counters are lying face up (carved side) or face down.

Then depending on whether the playing disks are lying face up (with the shiny side up) or face down, either face up or face down counters win.

The decision concerning winning or loting can be seen from the following combinations.

If all the counters are lying face up or all of them face down, the throw does not count and must be repeated. On the other hand, if all the counters do not have the same side up, then the winner or winners are:

with four players

if all the disks are lying face down or up to three disks inclusive are lying face up and

1 counter lies face up, the one counter lying face up,
2 counters lie face up, the two counters lying face up,
3 counters lie face up, the one counter lying face down;

if 4-7 disks lie face up and

1 counter lies face up, the one counter lying face up,
2 counters lie face up, the 2 counters lying face down,

[59]

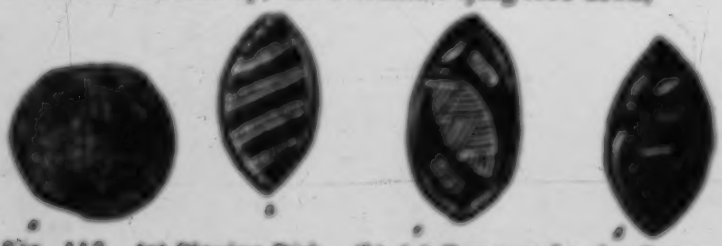


Fig. 117. (a) Playing Disk. (b)-(c) Counters for the Game of Chance. Jaunde. Actual size.

3 counters lie face up, the one counter lying face down;

525

with five players

if all the disks lie face down or up to three disks inclusive lie face up and

1 counter lies face up, the one counter lying face up,
2 counters lie face up, the two counters lying face up,
3 counters lie face up, the three counters lying face up,
4 counters lie face up, the one counter lying face down; /317/

if four to seven disks lie face up and

1 counter lies face up, the one counter lying face up,
2 counters lie face up, the three counters lying face down,
3 counters lie face up, the two counters lying face down,
4 counters lie face up, the one counter lying face down.

Put in words, the matter may be expressed as follows.

1. In case all the disks are lying face down or up to three disks inclusive are lying face up, the team on the right loses only if the counters of all players less one (total minus one) are lying face up.

2. In case four to seven disks are lying face up, the team to the right always loses if more than one chip is lying face up.

Now it may also happen that four players cannot be assembled. In that case, three players help themselves out by putting down a blind counter for the missing fourth. If this counter alone comes out the winner, the throw naturally does not count; on the other hand, if it is the second winner, the share of the dummy falls to the co-winner.

The stakes must be fixed before the basketry plate is raised. Each player must place a certain fairly high value (for instance, 2, 5, or 10 marks), usually in the form of goods, on a pile, which the winners share equally. If there is only one winner, he gets the whole pile. The losses suffered by a Negro in the game are considerable. If he has no more money with him, he has his luckier
(426) friends give him an advance in the hope of winning at a later throw
and paying back the loss. In this process some of them go so deeply
(518) in debt that in the end they must leave their wives with the creditor,
and sometimes they come to blows, even to homicide; blood revenge

525 and wars have frequently been the consequences of the gambling
518 mania. Although in more recent times the game of chance has been prohibited in the area controlled by the German government, nonetheless considerable homage is paid the gambling demon in secret.

525 In order to insure luck at the game, a whole series of medi-
111 cines is made, which, according to the view already familiar to us, transfer the properties of plants to the counters; for in-
524 stance, plants which make them burning hot (Boehmeria, Urticaceae), sharp, peppery (Spilanthes, Compositae), and strong (Carpolabia, Polygalaceae). Others are intended to preserve for the owner the objects that he has put down as his stake in the game. In this category we find burs (Desmodium) and winding Araceae. /318/ /Fig. 118 appears here in the original text./

5. Wrestling

526 Wrestling matches are very frequent, especially in the southern Pangwe region, both to settle personal quarrels -- in this case the defeated wrestler was formerly sometimes squeezed half to death and cases of death have even occurred -- as well as for sport. In the latter case one might actually speak of a sports festival to which the drum summons young and old, man and woman, from afar. I shall dispense with a detailed description, however,

In wrestling, certain rules of the game are observed, for instance, that both wrestlers must be as nearly matched as possible, and this determines whether they turn down the challenge (a ŋkɔ́ ndɔ́ʼ) or take it up (a mɔ́m ndɔ́ʼ).

Our picture (Fig. 118) represents a snapshot of such wrestlers (mɔ́ʼ I, from a ʼɔ́n = to wrestle). To the left one can see a group of young men waiting (a ʼɔ́ʼɔ́n) to be challenged (a ʼɔ́ʼ = to challenge). Before the match the wrestler rubs dust onto the palms of his hands and his arms (a dɔ́ʼ mɔ́ʼ ʼɔ́ʼ ɔ́nɔ́m = to rub dust [on the] arm) to make them less slippery.

2: Tessmann--29 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

832
765
[167]

Fig. 58. Love Medicine Feast, engongenlob.
A number of young men have themselves fumigated over a fire in which love medicines are burned. Ancestral skulls are in the background. Ebkengon (Ewong family).

ones as rapidly as possible. The aim is to purify oneself and through the external purification to bring about an inner one so that the beloved girl will see her suitor pure, white as the leaves of Abutilon, and then love him. Whether the desired effect is achieved, I must confess I do not know; externally, at any rate, the favorable effect of the water cannot be denied. The foam is intended to cause the girl's heart to "open up" in the same way. This ablution may also be undertaken at times other than at the love festival, for instance, when a person has his eye on a certain girl, but in that case, the nails, [116] head hair, pubic hair, and underarm hair of this girl must also be put in the vessel. /163/

While the ablution was still going on, two people ran down 832 the village square and threw the civet skin back and forth to 96 each other, crossing each other's paths as they ran. People amused themselves with a similar ball game, whose significance I was unable to discover during the subsequent dance.

524 adult activity, second, group games, and third, games of skill. The last group includes the games that have reached the highest stage of development since they are no longer amusements in which all those present participate, but rather are performances by talented individuals. In the performance of magical tricks, the games of skill and acting generally attain their highest degree of perfection. Thus they touch upon the area of the representational arts and might be regarded as a pre-stage of the latter.

So much for the classification of games. I hardly need to point out that the various groups cannot always be sharply separated since the boundary lines between them are blurred by a great deal of overlapping.

I shall mention here only the names of the most common
526 gymnastic games: the foot race, mbi; a combination of our
157 hopscotch and catch, called ngé-ngé; furthermore, rope pulling, ednlen, played only by bigger boys and corresponding to our tug of war; chain pulling, ngbiA; "treading," played among the Jaunde especially by almost fully grown /194/ /Fig. 89 appears here in the original text/ boys and called eléma kué (Fang, eté (Jaunde), in which two players, facing each other, tread rapidly on one spot and at the end must try to set down the opposite foot simultaneously; and, finally, the dancing game, ekiné.

[419] Walking on stilts (Fig. 89) may probably also be designated as
[420] a sport. The stilts are carved out of the umbrella tree, Musanga smithii.

The transition from gymnastic to war games is represented by throwing spears at a disk, a game that is widespread and popular throughout the Pangwe region. It is called ngbi, after the fre-
[420] quently mentioned Desplanis dewevrei Burret (angbi), from whose large fruit the disk is cut. The shoots or little trunks of young trees are used for spears.

War and hunting games are probably the most popular and the most frequently played of all the games. In the small-scale war of the older boys (eight to 15 years of age) -- which sometimes /195/ /Figs. 90-93 appear here in the original text/ degenerates into bad fights -- the weapon is, as in the case of adults, the rifle, copied in various forms with leafstalks (Fig. 90), raffia pith, or

[Text continues on page 170]

2: Tessmann--168 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

524
322
857
526

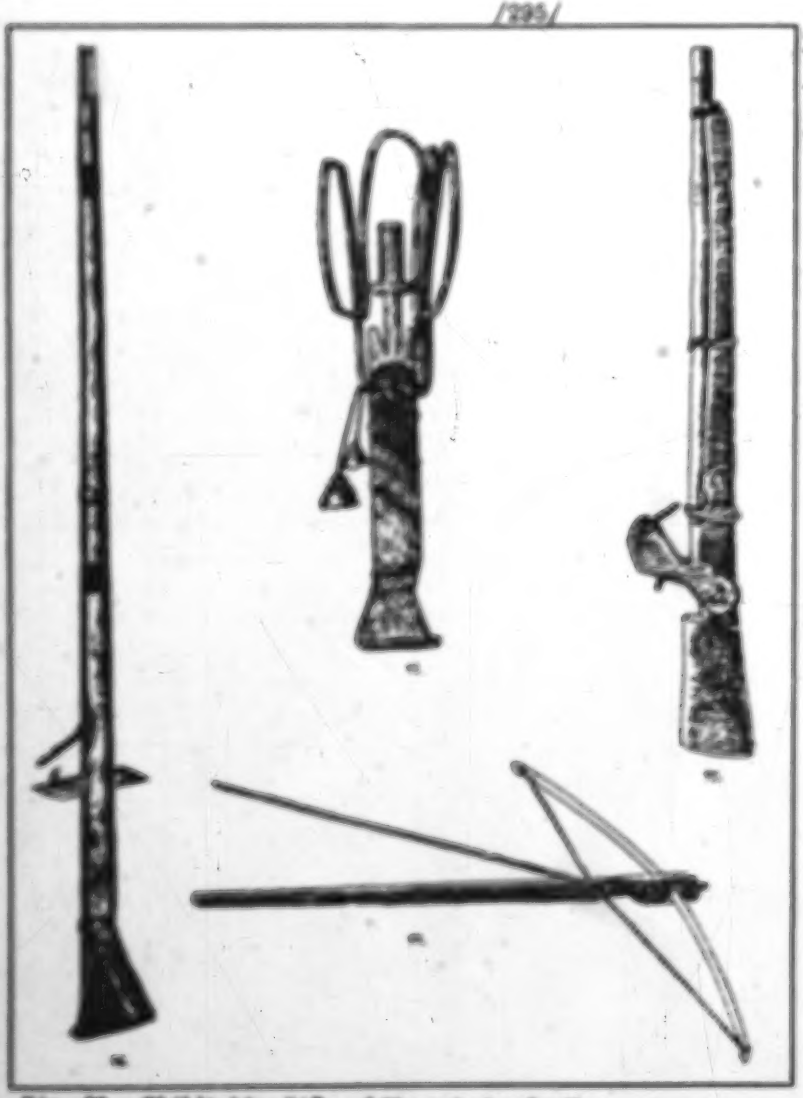


Fig. 90. Child's War Rifle of Plantain Leafstalk.
Fig. 91. Child's Sword of Raffia Pith, in a Bark Sheath.
Fig. 92. Child's Hunting Rifle of Wood.
Fig. 93. Child's Crossbow (Drawn).

857
524
526
322
[224]

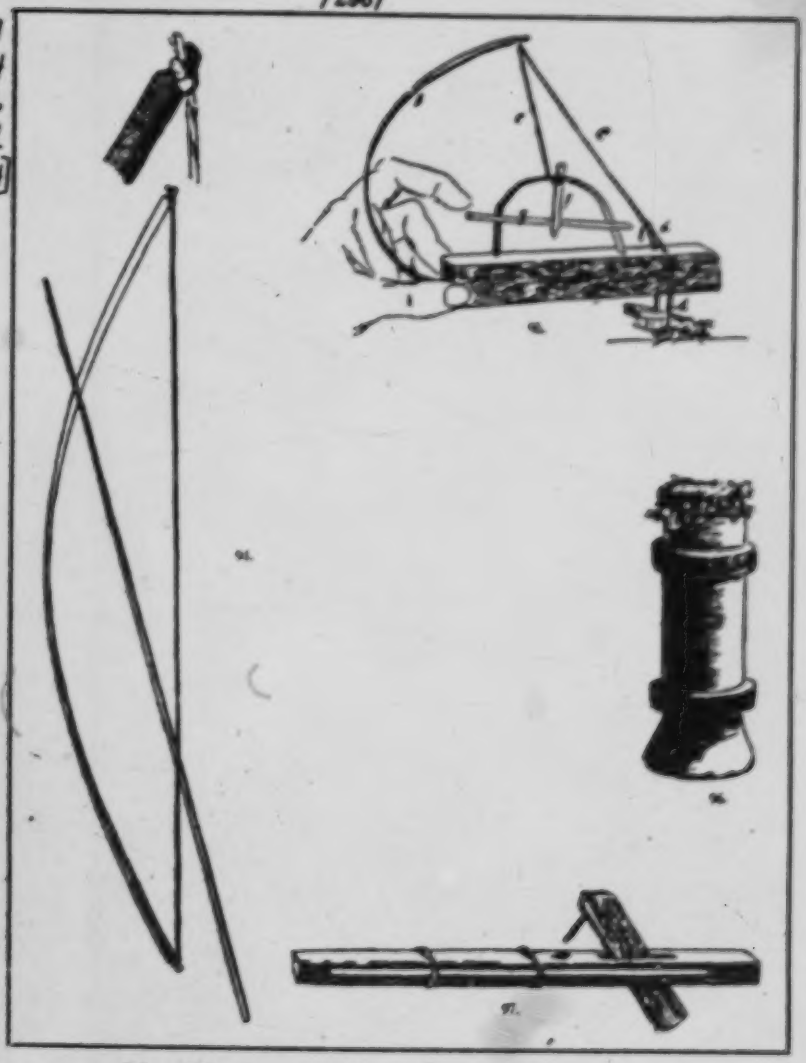


Fig. 94. Bow and Arrow (Toy).
Fig. 95. Draw Trap for Horseflies (Toy).
Fig. 96. Hide Drum (Toy).
Fig. 97. Device of Raffia Pith to Detonate Powder (Toy).

526 other materials. Even the "shining sword," made of raffia pith,
857 is not lacking (Fig. 91); it has the advantage, without being too dangerous, /296/ /Figs. 94-97 appear here in the original text/ of making a fairly loud clattering noise when struck on the enemy's body, and it causes a momentary, violent pain.

It is really unpleasant to be pelted with corn cobs which have previously been placed in a basket in the river and have become saturated with water /297/; still more disagreeable is a hollow piece of wood from the umbrella tree, which is filled with earth, closed off by means of a bung made of leaves, and then emptied at the enemy at the closest possible range.

A very dangerous "game" is man-catching. For this a number of boys take a piece of a strip of Oncocalamus (bush rope) and tie it into a noose. They hide the latter along the way leading out of the village, concealing it carefully among the grass and leaves, while the free end is tied to a tree stump. The naughty boys then hide behind trees and shrubs and with mischievous looks await the outcome. If a passerby gets a foot in the noose, he naturally comes crashing down, while the boys run away as fast as they can. They are wise to do so, because if the victim succeeds in catching one of the offenders, the latter must be prepared for a good thrashing or a complaint lodged with his father.

In the lower form of hunting, for soft-bellied insects, spiders,
526 etc., they use a rifle made of wood, into which they put some
857 powder (Fig. 92). The delicate hexapods or octopods are stupi-
868 fied by the smoke and fall to the ground helpless. A crossbow
524 made of raffia pith is likewise successfully used for hunting spiders (Fig. 93). For the "higher form of hunting," that is, for killing lizards and mice, a bow and arrows (Fig. 94) are employed. A method of hunting used by adults, namely, the encirclement of a wild animal, is imitated by having a little boy hide somewhere. The fish weirs find their counterpart in small imitations of them. They are set in the channels stirred up by the rain and block the way of little pieces of wood and leaves that are washed along. Even very clever miniature draw traps are made by skillful boys for the purpose of catching the annoying horseflies, which can be outwitted while they suck blood (Fig. 95).

525 and wars have frequently been the consequences of the gambling
518 mania. Although in more recent times the game of chance has been prohibited in the area controlled by the German government, nonetheless considerable homage is paid the gambling demon in secret.

525 In order to insure luck at the game, a whole series of medi-
111 cines is made, which, according to the view already familiar to us, transfer the properties of plants to the counters; for in-
424 stance, plants which make them burning hot (Boehmeria, Urticaceae), sharp, peppery (Spilanthes, Compositae), and strong (Carpolobia, Polygalaceae). Others are intended to preserve for the owner the objects that he has put down as his stake in the game. In this category we find burrs (Desmodium) and winding Araceae. /318/ /Fig. 118 appears here in the original text./

5. Wrestling

526 Wrestling matches are very frequent, especially in the southern Pangwe region, both to settle personal quarrels -- in this case the defeated wrestler was formerly sometimes squeezed half to death and cases of death have even occurred -- as well as for sport. In the latter case one might actually speak of a sports festival to which the drum summons young and old, man and woman, from afar. I shall dispense with a detailed description, however,

In wrestling, certain rules of the game are observed, for instance, that both wrestlers must be as nearly matched as possible, and this determines whether they turn down the challenge (a kǎn nǔ̄ʒ) or take it up (a mǒm nǔ̄ʒ).

Our picture (Fig. 118) represents a snapshot of such wrestlers (nǎn I, from a sǎn = to wrestle). To the left one can see a group of young men waiting (a ʒǎn) to be challenged (a lǔ̄ʒ = to challenge). Before the match the wrestler rubs dust onto the palms of his hands and his arms (a dūk mbū lūk enǎm = to rub dust [on the] arm) to make them less slippery.

526
[291]

Fig. 118. Fang People at a Wrestling Match in Alôn (Essaoong Family). Left, before the selection; right, wrestling.

To the right one can see two combatants wrestling. Each grip, even hooking one's foot behind that of the opponent, and every feint designed to bring down the opponent by any possible method of surprise is considered wholly admissible. /319/

The victory is determined when one of the opponents touches the ground with both shoulders. If he merely falls on one side and the other combatant does not immediately succeed in pressing his shoulders to the ground, the round is regarded as undecided (verb, a kɛ́ɔ́n). In doubtful cases the judges, who, armed with sticks, circle around the pair during the match, determine the victor.

The victor (ngbɔ̄, III, from a gbɔ̄, n to throw) is hoisted onto the [442] shoulders of members of his kin group (a bɔ̄(g)e matɛ̄tɔ́) and carried off amidst singing and hooting. Usually members of different kin groups or at least of different villages fight one another, doubtless a relic from former times when wrestling was a more serious means of combat.

2: Tessmann--200 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

526
113

In Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten /Reports from the German Protectorates/, Berlin, 1895, Zenker mentions wrestling matches between Jaunde women and girls. I myself have never heard of these.

the lengthened pin of the back legs.

In some meeting houses the front legs project to form a semicircle which covers up the narrow sides of the head rests. The outer surface of these semicircles is either carved to look like a face or else incised and provided with decorative surfaces which are painted red and white (Fig. 29). /Fig. 28 appears here in the original text./ /67/

Next to the benches, the most important part of the furnishings of the meeting house consists of a number of logs which are placed together to form a fireplace (see Fig. 27). During the day the fire burns constantly, and during the night the logs are placed together so skillfully that the fire often keeps going until the next morning. /Fig. 29 appears here in the original text./ The importance of the cheering fire in the tropics is greater than one might believe; not only does it serve as a protection against the frequently severe morning chill and warm the room on days when the weather is rainy and cold, but it is also the only means of protection against the exceedingly annoying sand flies, Culicoides (afige), tiny, scarcely visible insects whose sting causes an unpleasant itch like that of stinging nettles.

For the rest, the furnishings of the meeting house consist only of such items as drums (wooden and skin drums), a whetstone, and, suspended from the roof, the large hunting net which the inhabitants use communally on drives. In some cases I also found gun racks (ekob e ngs), Figure 30, which are attached to the wall in the same way as we attach clothes hooks. Guns are placed on these racks so they are handy in case of a sudden attack. Another form of this rack (Fig. 31), likewise not common, consists of a board which is pointed at the bottom and provided with a hole at the top. This gun rack (efa[k] -e-ngs) is planted in the ground in front of the meeting house. The butt end of the rifle is placed on the ground and the barrel is put in the hole in the board.

The skulls of hunted animals are frequently kept in the meeting house as hunting trophies. Either they are held under the roof mats by means of poles, or they can be seen lying around on the roof; only large skulls, like those of elephants, are sometimes placed in front of the house. /Fig. 30 appears here in the original text./

1: Tessmann--25 E-5 (1904-1909)1913 F119 Fang F119

Drawing 1 Drawing 2

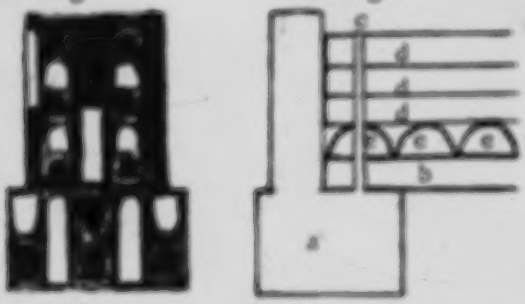


Fig. 29. Painted Socle of a Bench in a Meeting House, Fang Region.
Drawing 1, front view;
Drawing 2, side view.

In many meeting houses, furthermore, one sees /68/ a forge (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 b) and the tools used by a smith, namely, a bellows suspended from the roof (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 c) and a smith's stone (Fig. 27b, Drawing 1 e) which at the same time is used as a whetstone and also as a fan for the fire (cyuh e nduan), Figure 32. Finally we must also mention the famous tobacco pipe made from the stem of a banana leaf, which is placed across two hooks in the wall.

It goes without saying that in addition to the above-mentioned furnishings there are all kinds of rubbish lying around in the house, such as half-finished baskets, fishing nets, tools, leftover food, and so forth, scarcely designed to give the whole a more attractive appearance. /Fig. 31 appears here in the original text./

The meeting houses are very seldom embellished with decorative bark, either on the outside (Fig. 33) or on the inside. More frequently, however, we find the bark walls, especially on the gabled sides,

Fig. 30. Rifle Rack, Engugumo, Fang.

1: Tennessee--26 E-5 (1904-1909)1913 F119 Fang F119

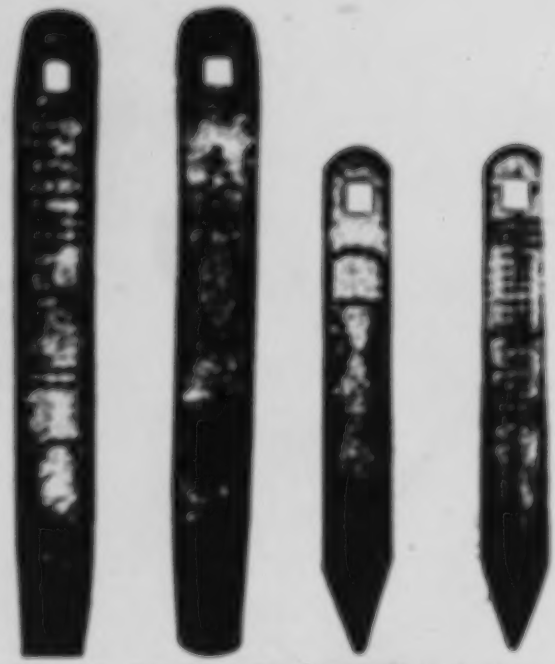


Fig. 31. Rifle Stands. Owông (Ewandông Family), Fang.

Fig. 32. Fan for the Fire.

I. Tessmann--27 E-5 (1904-1909)1913 F119 Fang F119

Fig. 33. Meeting House in Nschiggebot (Opok Family), Spanish Guinea, with Decorative Boards of Bark.

covered with charcoal drawings on the inside between the raffia boards. At this point, however, I cannot go into this art work in any greater detail (see Section 9, "Fine Arts").

If it were not for the people who enliven the house with their handicrafts and activities, /Fig. 32 appears here in the original text/ if the flaring fire did not lend the large, dark rooms a special, almost mysterious quality -- it would be too dreary. It is precisely here that one notices how everywhere only pulsating life, man in his sad and in his happy hours, not the material environment, is capable of attracting us. The same room which we disposed of just now with a disparaging glance is capable of creating a totally different impression in the evenings when the men and young /69/ /Fig. 33 appears here in the original text/ people gradually congregate in the meeting house in order to listen to the old, hunchbacked Njema-Ndongo tell of the mysterious and uncanny creatures of the fabulous world. Indefatigably they listen, however long he may spin out his yarn, motionless they look at him as he restlessly rubs his hands over the fire, wags his finger threateningly, separates or pushes aside the logs when the

1: Tessmann--31 E-6 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

[50]

Fig. 36. Door of a Dwelling in Alén (Eníuong Family). Carved out of wood and painted a light gray with clay.

placed next to each other against the opening from the inside, and naturally there are large cracks between them. It goes without saying that any sudden gust of wind will blow them down and that they also fall down by themselves. I myself have often enough been awakened by this unfamiliar clatter, or the cool night air and the stings of the Anopheles mosquitoes swarming in have given me an unpleasant awakening.

[51] Doors made of wood (Fig. 36) are to be found here and there and are sometimes decorated with simple carved patterns. They are placed or wedged against the door opening from the inside. Frame doors imported by foreign traders and [52] set on hinges made of bands of palm are not very popular, generally speaking.

Exactly as in the case of the meeting houses, the construction and condition of the dwellings vary greatly. Some [53] houses are so cleanand attractively built that they look like a doll's house just unpacked; others, however, look dilapidated, unclean, and unattractive, and they make such a revolting impression that -- as I often told my Pangwe -- not even a white man's dog would feel at home in it. The majority of the dwellings, of course, are between these two extremes, that is to say, if one takes the average of several villages -- for the houses of a single village are often of just about the same quality, a fact which doubtless stems from their being equally old. There are villages which appear

342 serves only for the storage of groundnuts and is likewise usually
255 made of plaited raffia strips. Then there is the most important
348 household item for the housewife, the pantry, in the form of a storage box, bɛ̃bɛ̃ or bɛ̃n (e), intended primarily for meat and other delicacies. This box is often very nicely made with raffia pith. In front it usually has a small protruding ledge on which salt, pepper, and spoons may be placed, and thus it serves as a kind of "dumb-waiter"; at the side it has an opening that is closed by means of a sliding door made of pith. The box fills the space between the beds so that it is barely possible to stand there. One or two drying or roasting boards, etɛ̃n (f and g), hang under the box, just above the fire. These boards are used for roasting groundnuts and for drying things.

On the opposite wall at the same level a similar frame is put up, over which drying boards can be placed and from whose front edge the women's long baskets (nkɛ̃n l) are hung. There is floor space under this frame, a sleeping bench may be placed there, covered with baskets, grindstones, and other tools, or with the assorted possessions of the head of the household. A person who enters the house for the first time finds himself in the middle of the passage between front and back door, not knowing which way to turn. To make room at all it would be necessary to clear everything out; otherwise a European would find the house uninhabitable. In the north, /75/ especially among the Bulu and in part also among the Ntum, the huts are somewhat more spacious and habitable.

For hanging up baskets, calabashes, satchels, and other objects on the wall, the Pangwe makes use of a natural hook (ekb'b), that is, a piece of a tree trunk which is cut out just above and below a branch. The branch is cut off, the remaining stump is cut more or less to a point, and then the whole piece is inserted, in the same position as it was on the tree, between the longitudinal raffia strips on the inner side of the wall. Objects are very readily attached to the wall by means of raffia stalks stuck between the mats, from whose free ends they are suspended.

An important piece of furniture is the round, three-legged stool
● 53 (kpɛ̃ III), Figure 40, carved out of wood and decorated all around
its edge with ornamental chip carving.

137
124 for the Pangwe. Where it is scarce, as in Yaoundé /Ger., Jaunde/ it is imported from great distances whenever necessary.

In the Campo-Uelle region there are four species of raffia. Of these, Raffia hookeri M. (esa) is to be found only along the banks of the larger rivers; Raffia regalis M. et Wendl. (andjim), on the other hand, grows only on hilly terrain and even there very sparsely. The following appears in swamps (1) and may

1. Hence, ndim a swamp and raffia palm (collective name).

[152
531]

Fig. 40. Fang Stool.

be designated as the true raffia palm: Raffia vinifera P.B. (nia dîfâ = true, authentic raffia), the common species. Finally, there is a species (akû'dû), recognizable by the fact that its leafstalks are tinged with blue, which is frequently found scattered among the above species. The general name for raffia, dîf-h, indicates its importance; it means "the mother of the village," /Fig. 40 appears here in the original text/ dîfa (n, see "Suffixes" /not translated/), because the whole village is made of raffia, and indeed no name would be more fitting considering all that is produced and constructed from it. The following list will give an idea of its multiple uses.
924

I. Foodstuffs

1. Palm cabbage.
2. Pulp.

1: Tessmann--125 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F113 Fang F113

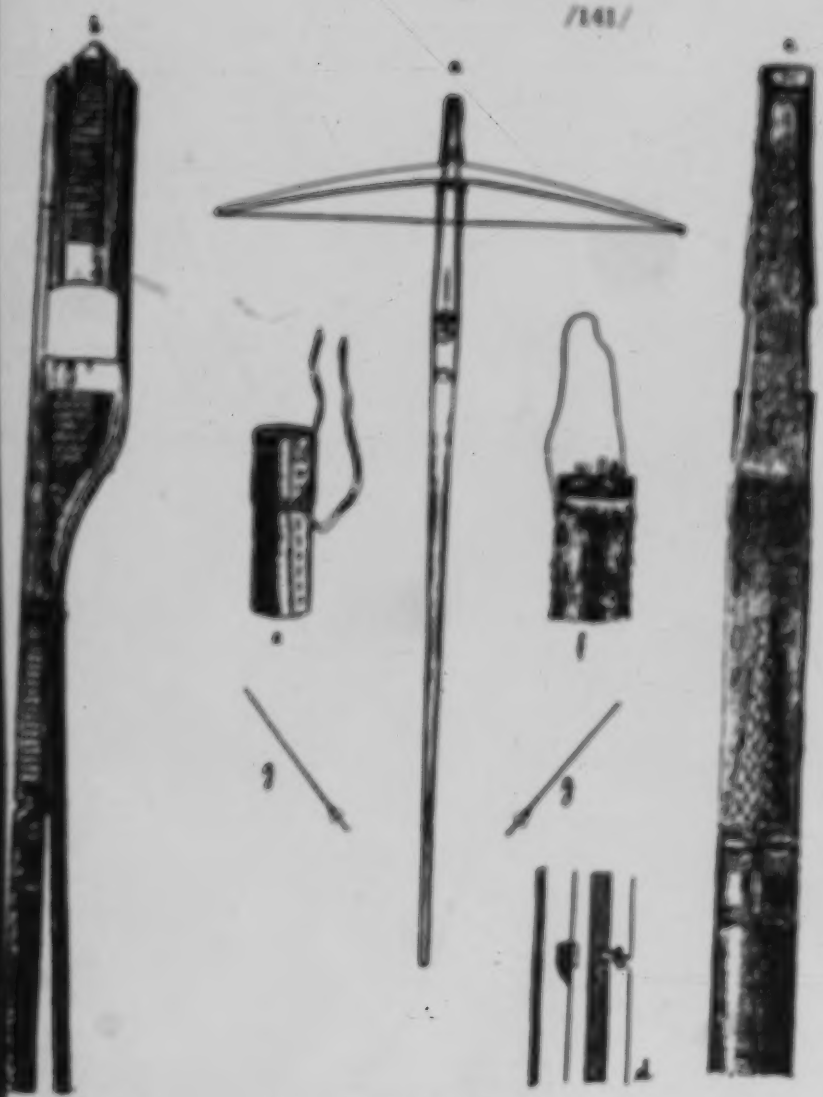


Fig. 89. Crossbow

a, seen from the top; b, upper part of the shaft, side view; c, the same from below; d, releasing device; e, bark box for arrows; f, quiver; g, arrows.

I: Tessmann--141 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 P109 Fang P109

4A
.551

Fig. 97. Plantain Foufou.

(mbɔ̄ha-mbɔ̄n), and steamed cassava (emā'ná-mbɔ̄n), neither of them very tasty or very carefully prepared. The three remaining ways of preparing cassava are in the main designed for men, namely: cassava rolls, the so-called "kanko" (2) (ebɔ̄ng), the

2. The origin of this word is not clear to me; I do not know whether it was taken from Negro languages or whether it is a European word corrupted in coastal English.

exclusive food on journeys because of their handy shape; cassava cutlets (osā-mbɔ̄n); and finally, boiled cassava roots (agbwā ma-mbɔ̄n). In the entire region there is uniformity in the matter of cassava dishes, with the sole exception that the stirrup-shaped leaf rolls are also now and then eaten by men among the Ntum and Fang.

Because of its strong smell, cassava -- which could perhaps replace our potato -- has no great appeal to European taste, especially in the forms in which the Negroes prepare it. The sausage-shaped cassava rolls in the north, where the roots are first placed in clean, running water, most readily please our palates, in spite of their pasty odor. To make them tasty, one has to cut them into slices in the European fashion or pulverize them, mix with an egg, and fry them in butter. The kanks in the south are very bad, because there the roots are placed in the swamp for a while prior to preparation and hence take on a quite repulsive muddy odor.

/153/

415
551

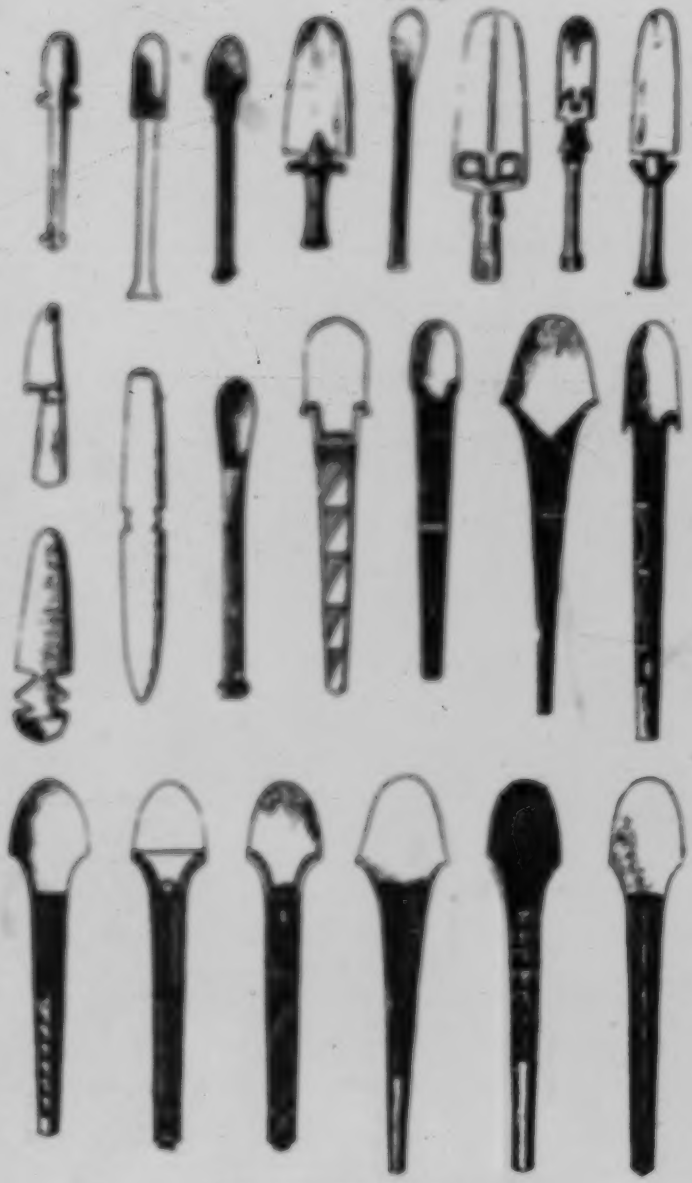


Fig. 98. Stirring Spoons.

1: Tessmann--144 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

251
124

[445
531]

Fig. 99. Calabash Spoon.

Fig. 100. Ornamental Calabash Spoon.

[521]

Fig. 101. Snail Spoon.

are the leaves of the previously often mentioned Marantaceae Sarcophrynium velutinum (Baker) K. Sch. (okiâ̄ʼbul, okiâ̄) (1). Plate 11, with the species glabrum Laes. /155/ (andĭ'ma); in the north (Jaunde), the leaves of the Clinogyne schweinfurthiana K. Sch. (embō̄) are used. Every day the women bring large bundles of such leaves from the field since they use them not only for wrapping cassava and maize loaves, but also as trays and plates.

1. okiâ̄ʼ = leaf, a kiâ̄ʼ = to envelop; stem kiâ̄. Compare kō̄(i), the turtle, because of its armor, and a kō-t = to knock, to open by knocking, that is, to cause something to uncover itself.

252

The mass of cassava is gently kneaded in these leaves into the shape of a sausage; then a leaf is wrapped around it and folded over at the ends like a parcel; finally, there is tied around it a string made from the stalks of the same plant which supplied the leaf cover (the stalks of the plant are called ndēn IV, ndēnan IV). These rolls are boiled with some water for an hour in a covered pot, and they are then put to one side to cool off. Only in rare cases are they eaten warm immediately after being cooked (Fig. 102). They keep for three days this way. Usually they are 35 centimeters long, somewhat longer in the Jaunde region, and five centimeters thick; they are in all somewhat larger in the Bulu region.

1: Tessmann--154 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 P119 Fang P119

416
531

Fig. 105. Men's Ladling Spoons.

264
415

As a rule, to be sure, every man carries one or two of these useful utensils in his shoulder bag made of pineapple fibers (mfō'k). /163/

Beverages and Indulgents

271
415
484

The usual beverage of the Pangwe is water. He drinks it from little bowls, into which the water is poured from a clay water flask, or from calabashes (ndǒk IV) which, in addition to the clay water flasks, are also used for fetching water. He also drinks water from special drinking calabashes cut in half through the middle (Mwele) or provided with a hole (Jaunde). On a journey, he uses one or

1: Tessmann--162 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

276

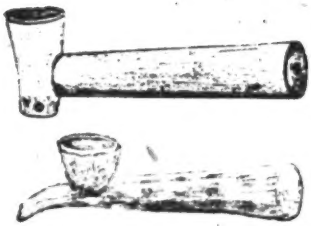


Fig. 107. Wooden Tobacco Pipes.

[53]

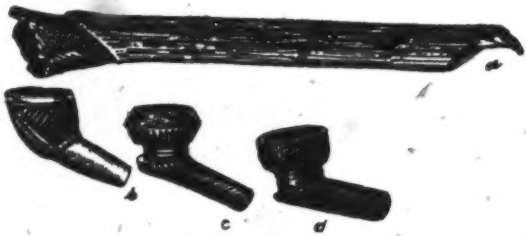


Fig. 108. Bowls for Tobacco Pipe of Banana Leafstalks.
(a) Brass plate with a piece of banana leaf stalk; (b-d) clay.

1: Tessmann--178 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

301
[531]

/180/

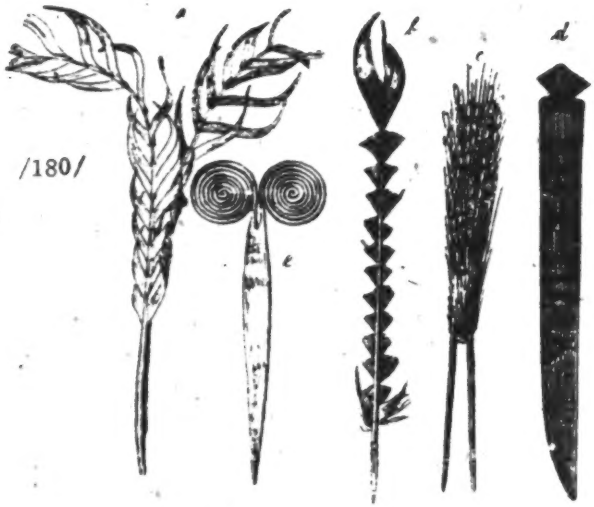
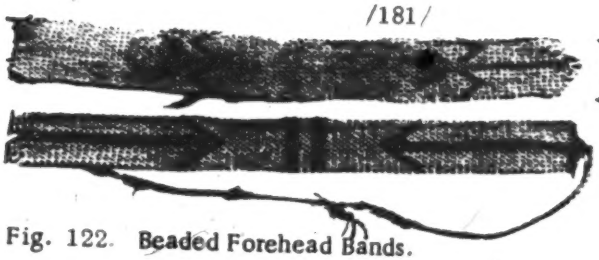


Fig. 120. Hair Ornaments

Fig. 121. Nose Ornaments.



301
531

Fig. 122. Beaded Forehead Bands.

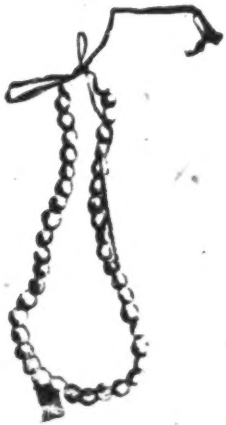


Fig. 123. Necklace of the Fruit of Coix lacryma (Job's-tears).

142
291
301
516

Fig. 124. Ntum Woman from Alén (Essandun Family).

1: Tessmann--192 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/189/

4/2
531

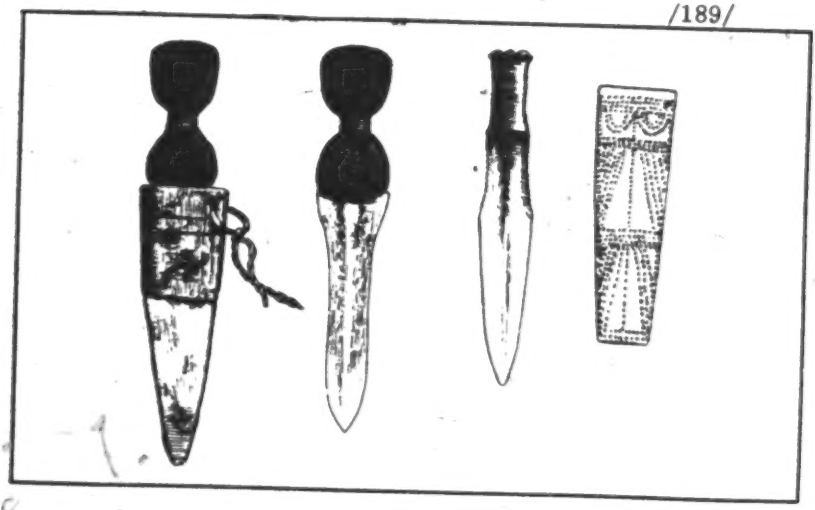


Fig. 141. Two-edged Fang Knives with Sheaths.

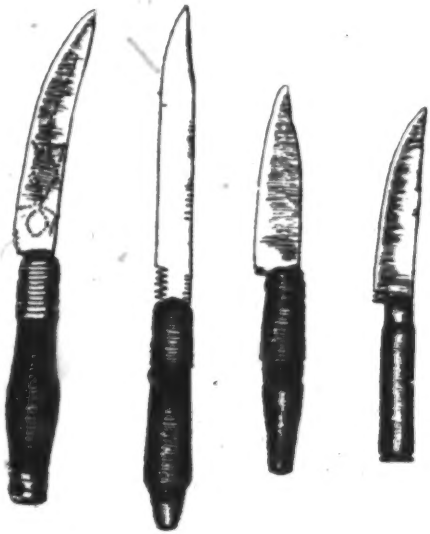


Fig. 142. Single-edged Fang Knives.

314 For the house walls the bark plates that have been removed
342 are in part used without further ado. That is, they are used either completely raw or after the outermost layer has been peeled off -- the practice of the Jaunde, but the Ntum and Fang do this best with the Xylopia aethiopica (oją̌n). /206/ Otherwise, the Ntum and Fang prefer to dry the bark pieces for five or more days over the fire in the meeting house or in the sun, for otherwise they quickly warp or develop cracks and holes.

Ornamental barks are treated in the same way and dried especially well because, unlike the house walls, they are not held by boards on both sides. To obtain ornamental bark, all the trees

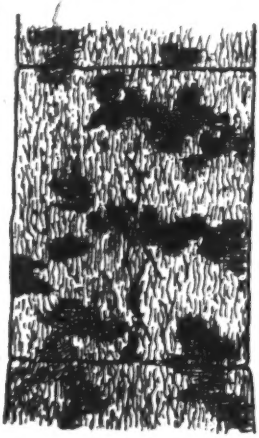


Fig. 157a. Removal of Tree Bark for House Construction.

mentioned in the footnote on page 214 can be used, but Cordia odorata Gürke (ebɛ̃ Fang) and Triplochiton tessmannii (ajṹʃ) are especially suitable since various layers can be drawn off from their bark after drying, each one of which can be used by itself. This means a saving of labor which is as valuable to the Negro as it is to us. The bark is made into rectangular plates painted
314 with figures and scenic representations or patterned in colorful
342 rectangular, triangular, or arc-shaped fields. The frames of
531 the rectangular fields consist mostly of raffia leafstalk strips running diagonally; those of the arc-shaped fields consist of

314 strips of rattan palm. Both frames are drawn through holes made
342 with an awl (nsǒn), Figure 174, c; they are sewn on with fine
51 palm bands. In the next section I shall speak of the patterns.

314 To obtain bark for houses and decoration a whole number of
415 trees are available, as we have seen. On the other hand, containers
322 -- at least in the southern region -- are made from the bark of only a single tree, a Tiliacea (ekǒ'b). They are carefully worked, and when new they look very nice because of their even yellow-gray color which later, as a result of the smoke in the hut and through age, becomes dark brown to black. They are manufactured in the following manner. The requisite piece of bark is cut off to the desired size, and its outermost layer is scorched over the fire so that it can be scraped off with a knife. It is then bent into the shape of a cylinder so that the edges lie over one another in a narrow strip. The edges are clamped between the halves of a stick that has been split down the middle, the halves being pressed together again at the top and bottom by means of a string. At this point the edges are sewn one on top of the other with two seams. The stitching is done with palm bands, for which holes are made with an awl. The projecting edge is cut off. The lid consists of a hoop similarly constructed from the same bark and a plate made of the wood of the umbrella tree, which is also used for the bottom of the vessel.

415 Bark containers of all sizes are manufactured, from the most
761 charming little boxes to the gigantic barrel. In one respect, however, they are identical, that is, only important things are kept in them, such as the poisoned arrows for the crossbow, skulls of ancestors, and, above all, medicines, in short, all things /207/ connected with death; hence they are called nsǒk I (1), since

> 1. In addition, we find nkǒ́b I from which is derived the name of the tree, ekǒ́b.

n-sǒ-k -- derived from n-so-ak -- contains the root sǒ which designates death in the religious sense. Thus, one puts something associated with death (sǒ) in the bark container (action is involved

415
285 1. Women's hanging baskets (nkŭn I). Unlike most other
[462] baskets, these are also manufactured by women. They are made
from strips of the stalk bark of Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch.
[824] (stalk, ndĕn, ndĕnăn IV). They display considerable variation,
both in size and pattern (Fig. 166). /Fig. 166 appears here in the
original text. /

415
285 2. Carrying baskets (nkŏẽ' I), which are used only once, are
412 woven in wide meshes from stalks of the Sarcophrynium by men and
412 women whenever their regular baskets are not available or not
available in sufficient numbers, or if they want to spare the bas-
kets. Thus, they would use the carrying baskets, for instance, in

[531]

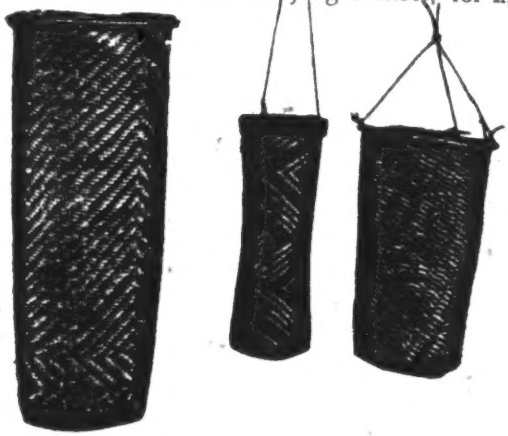


Fig. 166. Women's Hanging Baskets.

order to transport the bloody flesh of a freshly killed elephant into
the village and for similar purposes.

285 3. Baskets for the oil press and for carrying earth (ekŭt, ekŭt-
415 azŭ.ĭ' = oil press baskets, ekŭt-ebê = earth baskets). The first is
used to squeeze out oil from the pulp of the fruit (azŭ.ĭ) of the oil palm or
raffia palm; the second, to remove the earth that is dug out when
[824] pits (ebê) are made. Both baskets are braided from Ancistrophyllum
acutiflorum Becc. (nkāne) (1).

[412] 1. I once saw a knife sheath woven
entirely from bush rope (Oncocalamus),
Figure 167.

322 6. House doors
7. Dugouts
8. Oar blade
9. Troughs
10. Pestles
11. Rubbing board for Irvingia kernels
12. Stirring spoons
13. Eating spoons
14. Wooden plates
15. Pots for oil
16. Flasks for powder
17. Bowls for red wood
18. Chiefs' sticks
19. Walking sticks
20. Rifle stands
21. Bark tapper /220/
22. Pipes
23. Cutlass sheaths (antiquated)
24. Bellows
25. Dog bells
26. Stools
27. Crossbows
28. Spear handles
29. Shields
30. Talking drums
31. Hide drums
32. Harps
33. Wooden musical pipes
34. Wooden flutes
35. Xylophone keys
36. Whizzers
37. Jaunde playing counters
38. Wooden Phalli
39. Stilts
40. Memory games
41. Arm rings
42. Ancestral figures
43. Masks for the moon cult

To describe in detail the manner in which all these objects are manufactured is impossible within the scope of this account. Hence, as examples, I shall merely touch on the making of cutlass sheaths, stools, and stirring and eating spoons.

322 412 The now obsolete cutlass sheaths -- called such by the natives; in reality, they do not encase the cutter but only form a pouch in which it is carried -- are rectangular in shape, with concave longitudinal sides. They are made in the following manner. A longish board about one centimeter thick is cut from the wood of the umbrella tree; this board is cut up into two equal rectangles. With a red-hot cutlass the narrow sides are made smooth and the long sides are rounded inward and also made smooth. On one surface the boards are hollowed out in the form of a rectangle, and at the corners holes are drilled through them with a red-hot gun rod. Then the two boards are placed one on top of the other, with the hollowed surfaces [531] facing each other, and tied together with bush rope. The outer surfaces frequently are decorated with simple patterns burned into them. Finally, the sheath is provided with a carrying strap of animal hide.

322 [352] The stool is a valuable piece of household furniture, a luxury object, for which the natives are willing to spend some money. For this reason its manufacture is an important branch of wood [554] carving, and the makers of well-finished, artistically decorated stools are famous persons, much in demand. If they wanted to, they could make a considerable amount of money with their art, and they also could elevate the art itself, but with their congenital laziness, a special inducement is always required before they will take the trouble to start a new project. For example, a guest in the house of such an artist sees a beautifully carved stool there and says: "Oh, what a beautiful stool; you could make me one like that." Perhaps others have uttered the same wish, and so the artist finally pulls himself together, goes into the jungle, and cuts down [824] a trunk of the Apocynacea Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekūk), the only tree suitable for the manufacture of stools. He must choose a trunk which -- after the bark has been pulled off -- has the same diameter as the proposed stool /221/ (Fig. 172). He takes the trunk with him to the village and cuts it into about five to seven disks as thick as the stool is intended to be tall. Then with his cutlass he draws a line around approximately the middle, and this line indicates the lower edge of the seat. From there he cuts three radial grooves downward, deepens them with an adz (ngbwák IV), Figure 173, and in this way forms three legs. Then the seat is made smooth and held over the fire until it becomes nice and brown. [824] The edge is rubbed clean with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata Vahl (ekōkō' Fang, akō Ntum) (1). The edge and the

1. Root kō, "to rub"; compare a-kō-k, "grindstone."

[386 legs are colored with redwood and dried for an hour in the sun; ●531] finally they are decorated with carved patterns, an artistic addition which is not everywhere uniformly successful. /Fig. 172 appears here in the original text./

322 476 435 Ordinarily a stool maker finishes from two to three pieces in one day. The price is so low (two spears, the equivalent of 14 pfennigs, apiece) that it is difficult to conceive how the man can work for it.

322
352
531

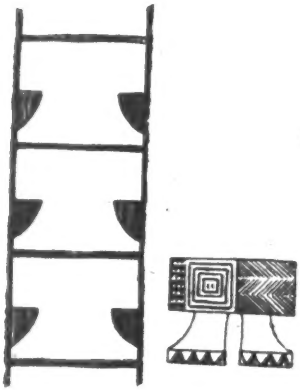


Fig. 172. Stages in Making a Stool.

322 The explanation lies in a kind of principle of reciprocity, a princi-
476 ple clearly stated in the educational precepts to be discussed in a
435 later section /Ed., Vol II/, that is, the seller counts upon the fact that later he will need his client who is in turn a specialist in the manufacture of some kind of article (basketwork plates, for instance), and he then expects to be treated in the same lenient
[463] manner. As a result of the excessive division of labor, everyone is dependent upon everyone else, and this dependence keeps the prices down. Wherever this dependence is absent, the prices go up. Europeans, for instance, with whom such a silent agreement does not exist, pay considerably more, ten or twenty times more, and at the same time they have to put up with inferior work as well.

322 Moreover, the sale of objects manufactured for household use
434 is not regarded as an enterprise for profit. When I asked a stool
554 maker whom I befriended what his business brought in, he first

[412]

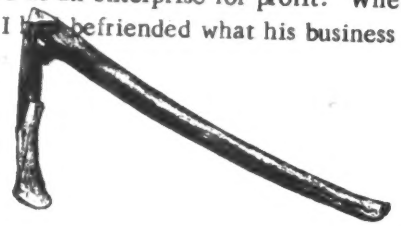


Fig. 173. Adz.

322
412
• 531

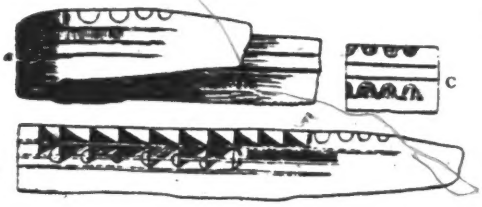


Fig. 177. Spoon Scrapers.
(a) Complete; (b) pattern of the outer side unrolled; (c) part of the pattern of the inner side.

322
415

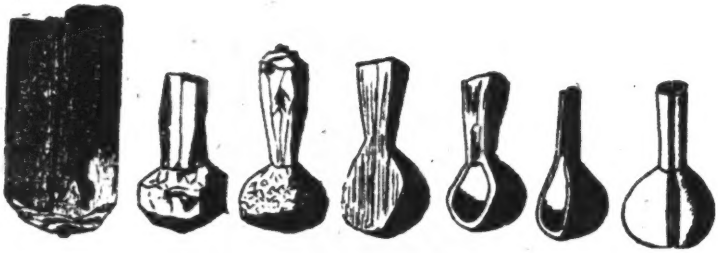


Fig. 178. Making a Powder Flask from Wood.

322
411

out of them in the middle. Into these slits is stuck either an ordinary knife (see Fig. 179) or -- and this is most frequently the case -- a special blade /Fig. 176 appears here in the original text/ with two cutting edges of which one is like that of a knife and the other like that of a saw (Fig. 180). This very practical combination permits /224/ the craftsman to dig the longitudinal furrows in the shaft of the spear with the same tool. The blade is simply /Fig. 177 appears here in the original text/ taken out and reversed, that is, it is set in again with the toothed edge downward.

323 The women, of whom about a fourth (among the Jaunde about a half) understands the art of pottery, carry on their craft mostly as housework. They make the flasks and pots for their own household or for those of acquaintances and relatives who from indolence or lack of skill have not taken up pottery. In addition, they sell their products to other women who cannot or do not want to make pottery. The prices for pots fluctuate, de-
323 435 pending on the size, between two and four spears (14-28 pfennigs), among the Jaunde between five and thirty Jaunde spears (5 to 30 pfennigs); /Fig. 190 appears here in the original text/ very large Jaunde pots, unknown among the Fang, cost 40 Jaunde spears (= 40 pfennigs). The clay bottles which are limited to the Fang and are scarcely found north of the Campo cost ten spears (= 70 pfennigs). By and large, the Jaunde women are better and more industrious potters; they produce more, which, to be sure, causes the price to go down, and they make more attractive pots than the
● [531] Ntum and Fang women who decorate perhaps only a third to a fourth of all their cooking pots. Water bottles are decorated only in exceptional cases. /Fig. 191 appears here in the original text./

323 The manufacture of pots proceeds as follows. White pottery clay (ekǒn, vū-ǒk; plural lǒ'k), either dry or mixed with water if necessary, is pounded for awhile on a piece of bark with a pestle (ntum e vū-ǒk). Then the potter rolls the clay into sausages and places two or three of them together in her hand in snake-like coils. These form the bottom of the future pot. Then she places the whole thing /Fig. 192 appears here in the original text/ in a plate, either of basketwork or wood. Now she builds up the wall of the pot by joining the remaining sausages in a spiral fashion as she turns the plate which serves as a potter's wheel. She makes it smooth with a moist raffia stick, indents it by applying light pressure just below the edge, and smooths the indentation itself (mbě I) with a fine leaf of grass, rubs it off with a wet leaf, and takes it off with the little stick. The finished pots have to dry for five days on the pottery loft (akǎn e mvē) and are then fired. The firing is done in the village square. /241/ /Fig. 193 appears here in the original text./ Under and around the pot firewood or twigs are simply heaped up and set on fire.

325

Fig. 193. Brass Smith Decorating a Brass Neck Ring, Akonangi, South Cameroons.

While the pots are drying, the decorations are put on. The 323
pots are slightly moistened with water, and then the pattern is scratched on with a pointed raffia leafstalk splinter. A certain [531] ●
pattern, obügeli, is obtained by rolling a carefully braided four-edged stamp up and down (Fig. 195).

The clay blast pipe of the bellows is manufactured by the [462]
men in the following manner. The bark of a raffia leafstalk is removed in strips down to just short of one end; the strips are then tied together again in their natural position at the other end, so it looks as though the bark had burst apart in the middle into so many strips. Then the leafstalk is stuck vertically into the ground on the end from which the strips had been completely removed and tied together again. The clay is placed around the stick in the form of a funnel, the upper edge being bent outward, and so the whole thing is left to dry in the sun for three days. Then the strings are untied, the bark strips are completely removed, being pulled off one by one, and the blast pipe is taken down to dry for a little while longer in the house. The blast pipes are never decorated; only once when I /242/ /Fig. 194 appears here in the original text/ witnessed the making of a blast pipe in Bebai, the

323
415

Fig. 194. Potter at Work. Left, the potter's products. Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

323 artistically inclined creator could not refrain from providing his handiwork with a few incised patterns, perhaps in my honor because he assumed that I could not possibly have come on account of so "simple" a matter, but must be expecting special artistic achievements from him, so he now had to add something extra.

•[531]

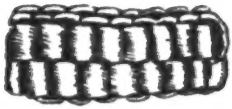


Fig. 195. Stamp for a Pattern on Pottery.

A. Ornamentation

531 All creations of ornamental art that we encounter among the Pangwe can be reduced to a small number of formal configurations. Directly connected with technical processes, these have arisen from them and even now yield to the same ineluctable necessity day by day. At one time or another, an esthetic impression was created by these configurations; they were grasped as independent forms and in that very moment became models which -- freed from their original, basically practical significance -- were imitated intentionally, at first in a playful manner and subsequently recreated in order to employ them as ornamental accessories. They became artistic motifs. So long as the models were taken over unchanged into the system of ornamentation, patterns arose that betrayed their origin at all times and at a glance. These I shall therefore designate as basic patterns. They have names which, with one single exception (Varanus /monitor lizard/), the people are unable to explain or to explain with certainty, that is, insofar as they do not simply designate the material. Gradually, under the influence of frequent repetitions and changing materials, the distinctness of these simple basic patterns was obscured; the elements split up, became shifted in relation to each other, were grouped into double arrangements or into new combinations. In this way, modified patterns arose. /244/ /Fig. 196 appears here in the original text./ The Pangwe later read into the patterns concrete things of his environment, and he named them after these things. This process seems to have occurred with the change of material, with the sole exception of the animal figures which had already been read into the pattern of the original material, that is, the material on to which the model was transferred for the first time. In this way they became permanent patterns of ornamentation. I distinguish among them two forms, homologous and nonhomologous, depending on whether they constitute a modification of the same pattern or arose from a combination of different patterns. Combinations of patterns, on the other hand, whose parts have preserved the names and meanings originally attached to them, I shall call composite patterns.

531

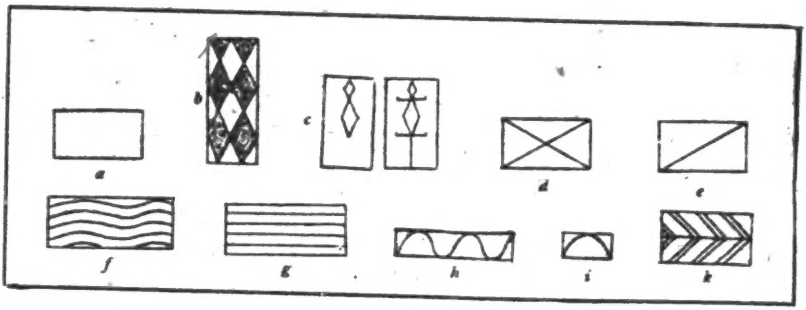


Fig. 196. Basic Patterns of the Art of Decorating Bark.

The type and development of the patterns vary with the material, which may be bark, wood, raffia stalk, clay, metal, and human skin. At the same time there seems to be a certain connection between bark and wood on the one hand and between metal and human skin (decorative scars) on the other -- a connection which finds expression in similar patterns. The detailed description of the patterns will, therefore, proceed from the point of view of the material.

1. Bark patterns.

In the Pangwe region there are peculiar bark plates with painted areas framed by raffia leafstalk strips or palm bands. The plates are attached to the outer or inner walls of meeting houses and more rarely to the outer wall of dwellings. These decorative bark pieces are widespread, but they do not occur frequently and by no means in every village for even the artistic sense for bark ornamentation is a specialty, and the artists concerned are thinly distributed over the land. Concerning the manufacture of these plates, I have already said everything necessary on page 215, and I shall only reiterate here that everywhere among the Pangwe the colors used (see pages 198-199) are red, white, and black. Only in one single case did I [386] observe a bright blue-gray, which was derived from an argillaceous earth of that color. /245/

The division into areas /Ed., in German, Felderung/ displays a series of patterns that correspond to the material used in house construction. They are:

531 Quadrangle = bark,
Triangle = raffia leafstalk strips,
Line = palm band,
Fish bone = palm leaves.

The quadrangle is to be found in three forms: as a rectangle; as a diamond; and as a monitor lizard.

The rectangle results automatically from the natural shape of the bark mantle (Figure 196, a).

The diamond arose, and it still arises daily, in the process of removing the bark from the tree, as has already been discussed in connection with bark work (page 213). I here remind the reader of the fact that in this process the tree trunk is girdled at the top and the bottom and the bark is cut through in a zigzag line which, as observation taught, facilitates the removal of the bark. From the crisscross blows of the cutlass there arises the figure of the diamond when the cuts meet, as Figure 157a shows. If they cut across each other once, this produces the beginnings of new diamonds, and these are drawn out in a playful manner. In this way groups /Fig. 197 appears here in the original text/ of diamonds placed across and next to each other are created. Later such diamonds were cut into the bark in intentional playfulness which is still very popular today, and the individual diamond areas were emphasized by removing the bark down to the wood in checkerboard fashion.

From here it was no great step to the transference of the pattern to bark plates (Fig. 196, b).

The monitor lizard motif (nkaak III) comes into being when two large diamonds are accidentally formed one on top of the other in the process of removing bark; in these one sees the head and body of the monitor lizard, Varanus niloticus. Just like the diamond, the lizard is playfully cut into the bark of trees, and then by means of simple strokes legs and a tail are added. At a later time the lizard motif was transferred to the independent decorative barks (Figs. 196 c, 197).

531 925 The similarity to this animal was noted because the monitor lizard was seen daily crawling across the bark of the trees; in doing so it displayed -- like many lizards -- approximately angular outlines.

Above all, however, the origin of the lizard pattern is to be sought, I suspect, in the fact that at one time the Varanus played as important a role in the religion of the Pangwe as it did among the ancient Egyptians who worshipped it because it ate crocodile eggs. The crocodile in turn, it appears, was regarded as a representative of the principle of evil -- since it lived in swamps or in water /246/ (see Section 11 /Ed., not translated/) and was dangerous to man. /Fig. 198 appears here in the original text./ As a

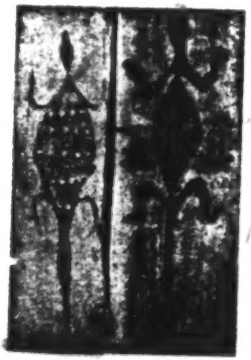


Fig. 197. Lizard Pattern on Decorative Bark Plates.

result, the destroyer of crocodiles, the monitor lizard -- which lived in the air, that is, on trees -- was probably regarded as a representative of the good. It is probably also for this reason that among the Pangwe the monitor lizard was promoted to the class of human beings, just like the Sciurus wilsoni (küe III) which likewise devours the eggs of animals living in swamps. A contrast to these two animals is the ichneumon, which consumes hen's eggs, and since the hen is a sacred animal because it symbolizes the principle of good (compare Section 11, /Ed., not translated/), it is flatly called a "criminal," nsǒm I.

The triangle is to be found in two forms, as isosceles triangles and as right-angled triangles. The former are the most frequent, occur everywhere on bark plates, and come

•531

Fig. 198. Leaf of the Swamp Palm, Sclerosperma mannii.

about when, during house construction, two diagonally-crossed raffia leafstalk strips are stuck into the ground or under the boards in order to clamp down the bark pieces serving as the door or to stop up holes, a kind of fastening which was probably more frequent in former times and applied to the house walls themselves (Figure 196, d). As in the case of the diamond, here too the transition from the technical configurations to the permanent ornament can still be observed. Frequently, as ornamentation, crosses made of short stalk strips are placed singly or in a larger number next to each other under the slats of the house walls.

Whenever only one diagonal strip, instead of the two crossed ones, was laid over the bark plate, the right-angled triangle was formed (Figure 196, e).

The line occurs in the form of parallel lines, as snake-like lines, and as an arc.

Parallel lines are derived from the palm stems Oncocalamus (nlɔ́n I) which are carried in bundles from the forest to the site of house construction; when the bundles are loosened on the site, the smooth and elastic stems sometimes come to lie in more or less wavy lines parallel to each other (Figure 196, f). The same kind of arrangement arises with the bands from the palm stems, except that these are less elastic and hence form straight lines

Fig. 199.
Box Pattern on a Decorative Bark Plate.

531 (Figure 196, g). /Fig. 199 appears here in the original text./ Both kinds of parallel lines, the wavy as well as the straight, were transferred from here to the decorative barks. /247/

I imagine that the snake-like lines resulted from observing the seam where the slats and bark plates of the house walls are sewn together when these slats lie on top of each other. (See Fig. 35.) In this case, the rope is drawn around the slats in such a way that it forms a single, coherent line which, seen from the side, is quite wavy because of the natural rounding of the raffia leaf stalks halved lengthwise down the middle (Figure 196, h).

The arc appears as a part of the snake-like line formed by the string tied around the individual boards, especially at those points where these are not attached closely on top of each other (as in the previous case) but at wide intervals (Plate 12). The arc also appears as a segment of the snake-like line which has already been transferred as an ornament to the decorative bark (Figure 196, i).

The fishbone motif (Fig. 196, k) is reproduced by the attractive leaves, symmetrical both in structure and form, of the swamp palm Sclerosperma mannii M. et Wendl. (akṓda), Figure 198, which, braided like mats, are used instead of bark pieces for house walls, etc. (see Fig. 106, Plate 24 /Ed., this plate is in Vol. II/).

The basic patterns mentioned do not occur with the same frequency on the present-day decorative bark pieces. The rectangle by itself does not occur at all, the right-angled triangle and fishbone only once, and the snake-like line rarely. Also, the basic patterns do not occur throughout with the same distinctness any more. Instead, they have been changed in part, that is, they are homologous modified patterns.

I saw the rectangle modified only once, and in that case several rectangles of different size had been placed inside each other (Fig. 200, Series a; Fig. 199). It was called a box pattern (ezíma, "box"). It was observed only once, and in conjunction with the imperfect execution this proves to me that the development arose, not with the decorative barks, but with wood carving, and later it was experimentally, as it were, transferred to the former.

531 With the isosceles triangles it may happen that the point of intersection is omitted or is, as it were, drawn apart into two points; perhaps for lack of material each diagonal was composed of two pieces (Fig. 200, Series b). From this comes a pattern whose name was given to me as the cutlass sheath pattern (abǎ'm nkpwē,da) in the case of stool ornamentation, where it also occurs. Indeed, the pattern does resemble a cutlass sheath (see Section 17 /Ed., Vol. II/), but it occurs only rarely.

The simple acute-angled triangle occurs first due to the division of the isosceles triangles at the point of intersection (Fig. 200, Series c), secondly through the juxtaposition of two diagonally divided rectangles (Fig. 200, Series d) from which the common longitudinal side has been left out. /248/

/Fig. 200 appears here in the original text./

All triangles, both isosceles triangles and the simple acute-angled triangle, as well as the right-angled triangle, are usually designated as etǔn akǒn, "half a spear," that is, spear head.

Parallel lines are modified in the following manner. In fastening the palm bands to the bark, sharp nicks arise whereby the wavy lines become broken lines (Figure 200, e). In some cases they are then designated as angular braiding patterns, in Pangwe benīge be nkǔn or mabǔge me nkǔn, that is, angles (nicks) of the women's storage basket, by which is meant the similar braiding pattern (see Fig. 166).

The snake-like line is transformed into a modified pattern by reduplication, in which case the two lines intersect (Fig. 200,f), and also into the stylized image of a leopard (zō), Figure 200 g, in which case the psychological process corresponds to that described in connection with the lizard pattern (Fig. 201). The peculiar, otherwise unintelligible drawing next to the tail /249/ in Figure 201, left, permits one to recognize the development. This is the starting point for a series of other animal motifs in Pangwe ornamentation, such as Figure 201, bottom, which probably represents a chameleon (dzǐngbwō').

The arc likewise appears in a doubled form, either with the curves placed against each other (epfoa = mask used in the Sso cult), Figure 200, Series h, or lying against the base line. In that case a

631

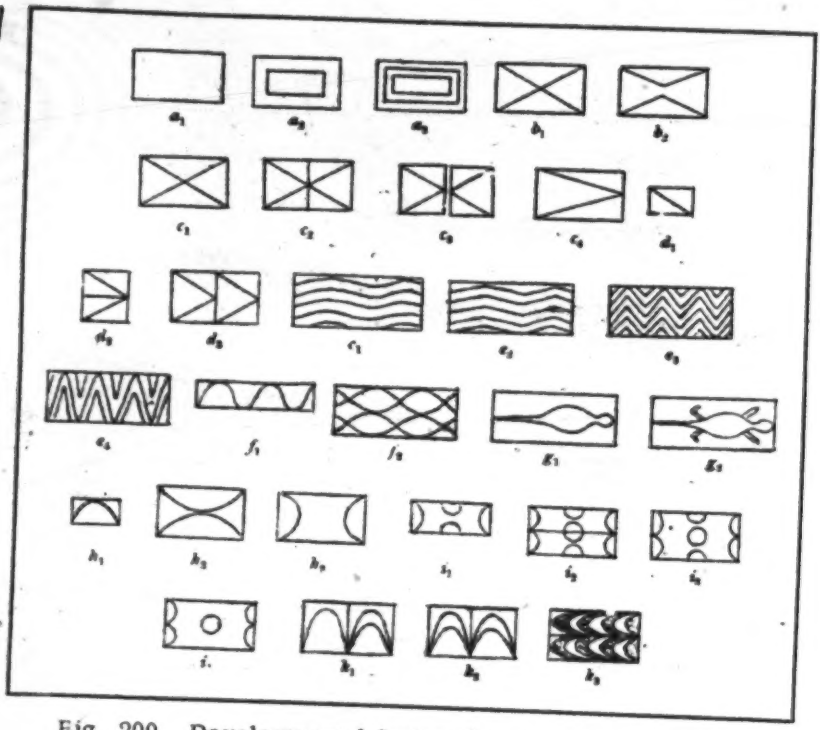


Fig. 200. Developmental Series of Modified Patterns on Decorative Bark.

circle is formed by the disappearance of the common base line (Fig. 200, Series i). Finally, we may get two arcs erected on the same base /Fig. 201 appears here in the original text/, so that between them there is a half-moon area (epfa ngomendan, "half-moon"), Figure 200, Series k. Several of such half-moons are placed on top of each other and painted alternately red and white; combined into rows of two or more placed next to each other, these produce a popular and attractive pattern.

The composite patterns -- as we have already said -- result from the combination of basic patterns or modified patterns. For the forms actually produced, I refer the reader to Figure 202 and shall merely remark that the most frequent combination is that of the isosceles triangle with the arc, which usually stands on the base of the acute-angled triangle and more rarely on that of the obtuse-angled triangle.

● 531

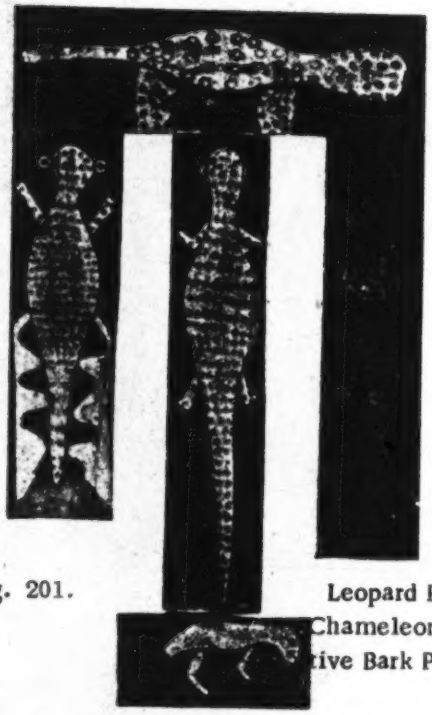


Fig. 201. Leopard Pattern (below Chameleon Pattern) on Decorative Bark Plates.

The pattern consisting of a head with two horns, Figure 204, has remained an isolated phenomenon on the decorative barks. It is a stylized reproduction of the mask (epfoa) used in the moon cult, whose details are indicated by arc-like or snake-like windings of palm bands. /250/

/Fig. 202 appears here in the original text. /

2. Carving patterns.

The stools, the containers for red wood worked like stools, the handles of many stirring spoons and some ladling spoons, and, finally, the hide drums are decorated with carving.

The patterns on the stools are probably the oldest. They are applied all around the edge of the stool in such a way that it is surrounded by a band of from eight to twelve rectangular or square areas placed next to each other. Each of these areas

531

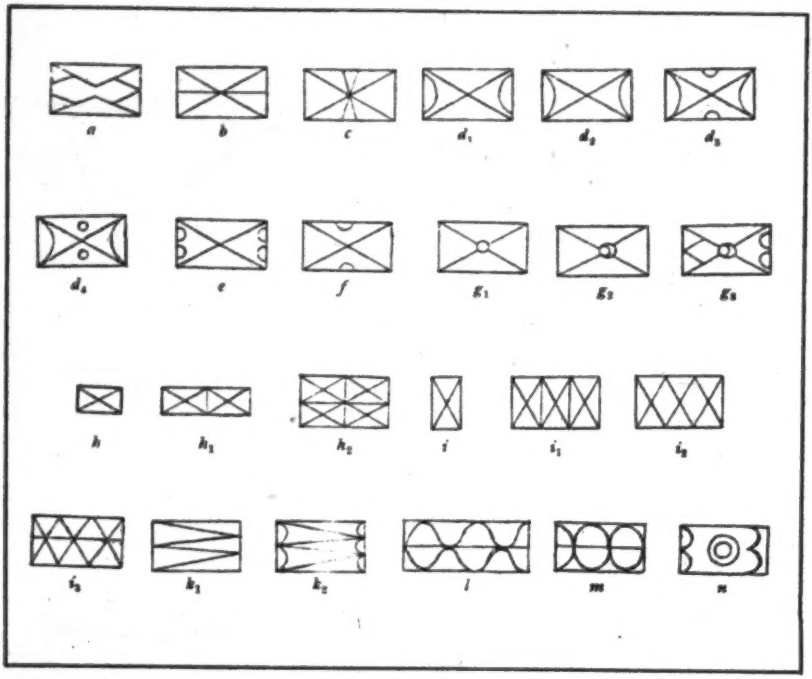


Fig. 202. Composite Patterns of Bark Decoration and their Origin.

a - Combined with Fig. 200, b_2
b, c, d_1, e, f, and g_1 (each) Combined with Fig. 200, b_1
h and i - Basic pattern
k_1, - Combined with Fig. 200, c_4
l - Combined with Fig. 200, f_1
m - Combined with Fig. 200, h_1
n - Combined with Fig. 200, i_4

531 constitutes a pattern of its own, sharply separated from the neighboring one. As we saw in our discussion of manufacturing techniques, the edge of the stool corresponds to the round tree trunk from which it was made; similarly, the decoration that was originally applied to the bark was later transferred to the wood, and in this case, as in the case of bark, we encounter the same basic patterns, namely, the rectangle, the diamond, the lizard, the isosceles triangle, the scalene triangle, the parallel lines -- with the reservation that the pattern of parallel lines does not occur in the wavy form but only in the straight form, although as such, in a number of variations (Fig. 205) -- the arc, and the fishbone. /251/ /Fig. 203 appears here in the original text./ The snake-like line has been given up, but in its place new forms appear: the checkerboard, the spear with barbs, and finally an ellipsis pattern that cannot be designated more precisely.

In the checkerboard pattern (abǒ'n nkoo, "segments of a sugar cane stalk") we encounter the first basic pattern which was not invented in connection with house construction but with braiding (Fig. 206). Both activities, however, are closely related and in a certain sense are two different forms of one technique, namely, of braiding in the extended sense: house "braiding," a lǒń ndǎ, is the older and simpler; basket (or mat) braiding, a lǒn nkǒɛ̄, the more recent, more /252/ advanced. The same material is generally used for both, namely, palm bands (nlǒ'n). The simplest type of braiding consists of running the braiding strips of one direction first under and then over those of the other direction (the two exactly at right angles to each other), alternating from row to row. /Fig. 204 appears here in the original text./ In this way a cube pattern is created which, if only one kind of material is used, is all of one color (mats, Sso baskets). If dissimilar materials are used, the pattern is varicolored, like our checkerboards (storage baskets of the Jaunde women, Figure 207, frames for helmet caps). The alternating sequence of darker and brighter squares in the individual rows is compared with the sugarcane stalk whose segments tend to be brighter in the upper half than in the lower half (Fig. 208). /Figs. 205 and 206 appears here in the original text./

1: Tessmann--281 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/251/

531

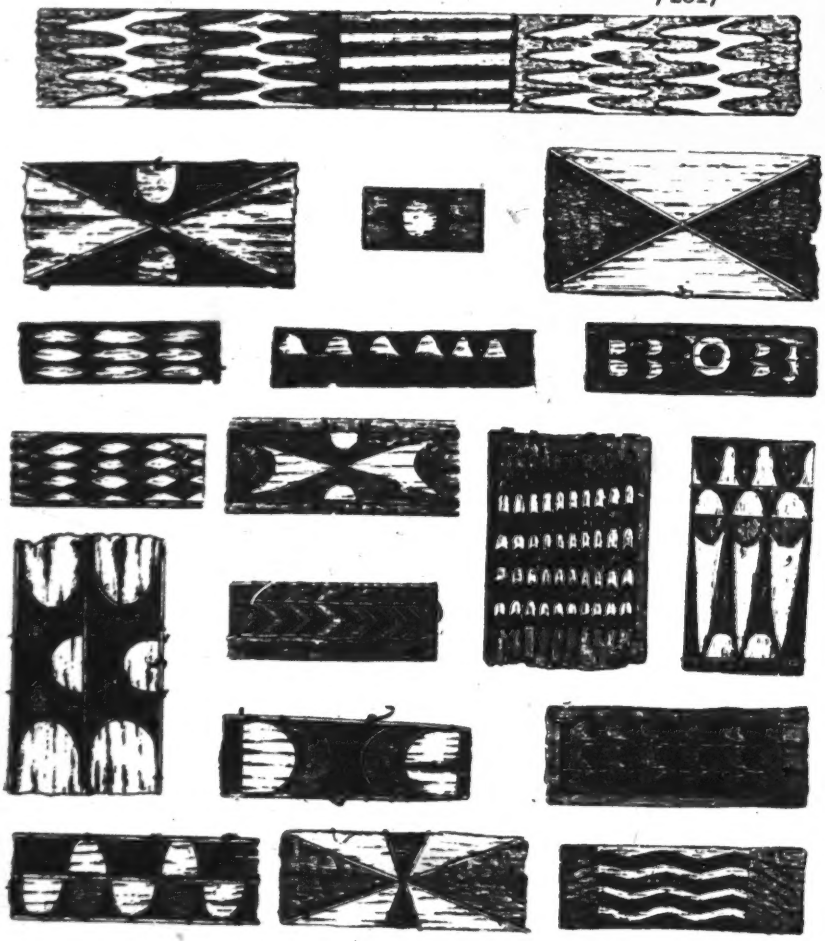


Fig. 203. Decorative Barks.

1: Tessmann--282 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

●531

/252/

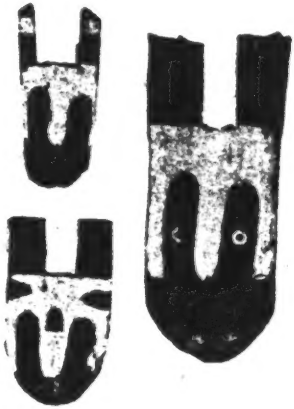


Fig. 204. Decorative Barks in the form of "Masks."

Fig. 205. Carved Patterns on Stools.

531
285
415

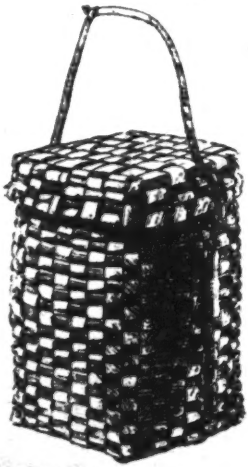


Fig. 207. Small Storage Basket of Jaunde Women, made of Pandanus Leaf Strips.

Fig. 206.

Checkerboard Pattern.

Fig. 208. Pieces of Sugarcane Stalk.

531 In contrast to the previous patterns, the spear with barbs (ngam akǒń) cannot be explained in terms of technology, nor do I believe for a moment that it was originally a carved pattern, especially since it rarely occurs on the stools (Fig. 40). /Fig. 207 appears here in the original text./ Instead, I suspect that this pattern first made its appearance with the decorative scar incising, and that later it gained a place also among the carved patterns because of its pleasing shape. /Fig. 208 appears here in the original text./

A single pattern consisting of ellipses could not be explained by any stool carver. I was told that only the specialist who knew how to prepare the patterns would know. I did not meet this person, however, and therefore must leave it to later research to provide enlightenment in this respect (Fig. 212, Drawing 27). /253/

Even among the stool patterns there is a discernible development of the basic patterns into modified patterns. /Fig. 209 appears here in the original text./ To some extent the development remained at the level of the decorative barks and displays exactly the same forms as they do, but for the greater part it progressed considerably and produced a rich abundance of new forms.

The following motifs recur: the box pattern (eǰima) -- plain or in variations (Fig. 209, a) -- the checkerboard surface (ndök) composed of juxtaposed diamonds, the cutlass sheath pattern (abǎ'm nkpwē da) -- plain and in a variation (Fig. 209, b) -- the acute-angled triangle, spearhead patterns (etǔn akǒń), the angular braiding patterns (benīge be nkǔn), Fig. 209, c, and the mask pattern (epfoa).

Concerning homologous modified patterns, there are the following new ones.

1) The file pattern (zaṅe wǫ̂s, from zaṅe = engraving, wǫ̂s = file) consists of juxtaposed small diamonds that are not emphasized (Fig. 211, a). The artist does not see the background, but the outlines and therefore compares these with the engraved lines of the roughened file which intersect regularly.

531 831 2) The strand of cowrie shells pattern (nlǒń e mvama): every second row of the diamonds, placed one above the other, is halved on the surface of the diamonds by a longitudinal stripe, originally

531

a_1 a_2 b c

Fig. 209. Patterns on Stools.

a combination of the patterns of a diamond and a parallel line (Fig. 211, b), and this suggested a string of cowrie shells. The similarity of the two is shown by Figure 210. It seems possible to me that in this case a further relationship between the cowrie shell and the diamond pattern plays a role. The Togo Negroes, for instance (according to an oral communication from the missionary, C. Spiess), recognize in the cowrie shell an image of the vulva; since ancient times the diamond pattern has been viewed in the same way by the Pangwe. After the introduction of the cowrie shell, the Pangwe immediately recognized its similarity to the diamond and transferred to the former the symbolism of the latter. As in Togo, the cowrie shell is regarded among the Pangwe as a symbol that brings good fortune, and, as such, it is applied to medicine horns or hung on anchored nets as a hunting medicine. Another symbol that likewise /Fig. 210 appears here in the original text/ brings good luck is the diamond which they paint onto their skins with redwood (a color that brings luck!) or tattoo onto their skins as a permanent pattern. We find

531 831 [171] [177]

Fig. 210. Strings of Cowrie Shells.

here a remarkable contradiction in their conceptions. As we have seen, the sexual act was performed in connection

531

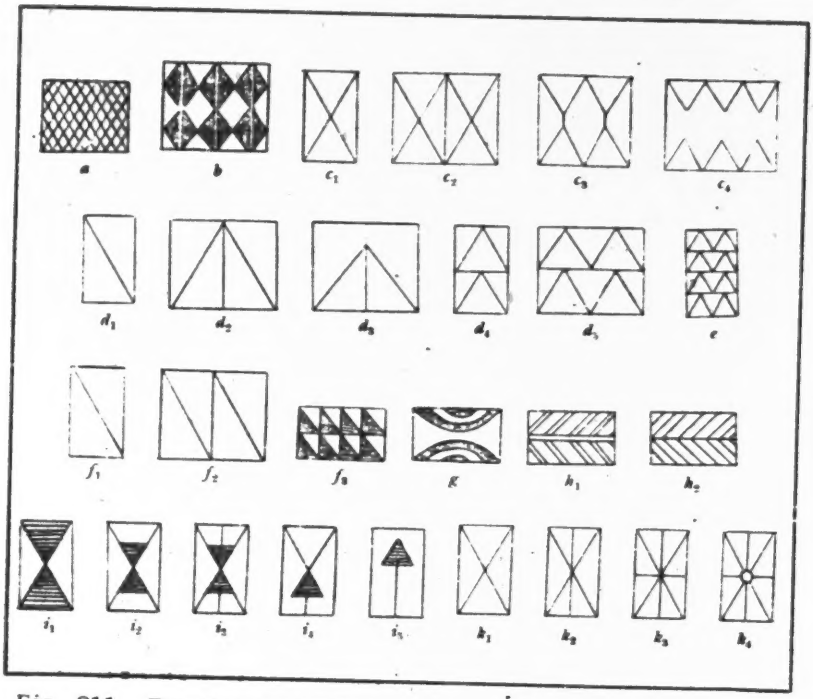


Fig. 211. Developmental Series of Modified Patterns of the Art of Carving.

531 with the sowing of ngon as a process furthering fertility; /254/ /Fig.
831 211 appears here in the original text/ in the case of iron smelting, on the other hand, the sexual act is strictly prohibited as something disturbing. The significance of everything sexual as bringing misfortune predominates throughout, and I therefore believe that we are dealing here with two temporally different conceptions: one, now recognizable only in remnants, which is older and concerns the influence and the influencing of fertility; another which arose later or was added later and concerns the sinfulness of sexual intercourse.

531 3) The arrow-leaf pattern (esögele ndu = leaf on crossbow arrows to balance the flight).

4) The spike pattern (mesǒ'n = spike, or mesǒ'n m'egbwē le = spikes of the iron money).

Both consist of a number of triangles which have come about either as final members of the development of Series c (Fig. 211),

531 starting from the isosceles triangles, or of Series d, starting from the right-angled triangle. If the triangles have a broad base and are either empty or filled with triangles placed inside each other and erected on the same base, they are called "arrow /255/ leaves"; if they have a narrow base, they are called "spikes." The latter form especially is also designated as "spearheads" (etŭn akŏń) when the triangles are large and as a result are placed next to each other and not in rows over each other.

5) The scaly anteater tail pattern (ngĕ'm e kǎ') developed from the broad-based, acute-angled triangle through placing several parallel rows of smaller triangles over each other (Fig. 211, e).

6) The carving pattern (zǎń e myŏt, from zań = carving, notch, and myŏt = raffia instrument whose cross piece is notched) develops from the diagonally divided rectangle through the juxtaposition of several rows of such rectangles with similarly directed diagonals, in which the removal of one half emphasizes the corresponding triangles (Fig. 211, f).

7) The rainbow pattern (metū'tŭ'm, "rainbows"). Two rainbows are placed with their arches against each other; in each one additional arcs are inserted concentrically, and the interstices are usually accentuated alternately (Fig. 211, g).

8) The fishbone pattern (okǎń eǒ ks) arises from the leaf pattern of the swamp palm through simplification of the bands to lines (Fig. 211, h).

Among the nonhomologous modified patterns there are: the triangle spear (mbǎ[s] -akŏń), a composite of isosceles triangles and lines, as the result of a development illustrated in Figure 211, Series i; and the spider web pattern (ndǎnebŭbo), a composite of the isosceles triangle and a circle (see Figure 211, Series k).

As on the decorative barks, patterns are also combined into composite patterns in carving, but much more frequently so. Either two are juxtaposed (for instance, rainbow and fishbone patterns, Fig. 212, Drawing 9, and swamp palm leaf and diamond patterns, Fig. 212, Drawing 26), or they are placed inside each other. Thus, Figure 212, Drawing 16, shows the box pattern and in it a composite tattoo pattern (isosceles triangles and a line); Drawing 8 shows the same with an animal in it which was usually explained to me as a cat; Drawing 40, the same with a triangle spear in it. The

531 combination of triangle and arc occurs very frequently and in such a way that the arc is placed inside the triangle and on its base line (the triangle usually is long and drawn out with acute angles), Figure 212, Drawings 3 and 45; or it is the other way around, the triangle being placed inside the arc so that its tip falls in the middle of the arc base and its base is on the arc line (Fig. 212, Drawing 45).

The natives like to fill a triangle or a shallow arc with the fishbone pattern (Fig. 212, Drawings 11, 13) or to combine two of the latter with each other. A popular practice also is to divide a pattern into two halves and to push a second / 256 and 257/ /Figs. 212 and 213 appear here in the original text/ /258/ in between, as in Figure 212, Drawing 44, where the pattern of a string of cowrie shells is pushed into another, and Drawing 43, where a swamp palm leaf pattern is pushed into a checkerboard pattern. Especially in the last example one can clearly recognize that the one pattern was actually inserted and that it is not a matter, say, of two other patterns being joined at the top and the bottom of the first.

All the patterns mentioned, aside from their use on stools, are also applied to the handles of the stirring spoons -- except that in the adaptation to the available space they are smaller and less neatly executed -- but they are very rarely applied to the ladling spoons. On the other hand, many hide drums are decorated in a superbly artistic fashion; one might say that the first area of Drawing 1, Figure 213, represents a triumph of carving. As with this one, all the large hide drums of the Pangwe have carving patterns applied on triangular areas in relief between the upper and lower drum ring (which frequently is decorated in the same fashion). Among the Ntum and Fang these areas extend over the entire mantle of the drum cylinder so that their base lies at the top and their tip at the bottom. Among the Mwai the mantle surface is divided by a ring into two halves which are filled in with triangles pointed towards the center (Fig. 214). The decoration itself is much simpler among them.

531 534

531 Furthermore, among the Mwai I saw a house post which was carved with similar patterns in the same arrangement as the drums.

1: Tessmann--288 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/256/

●531
352

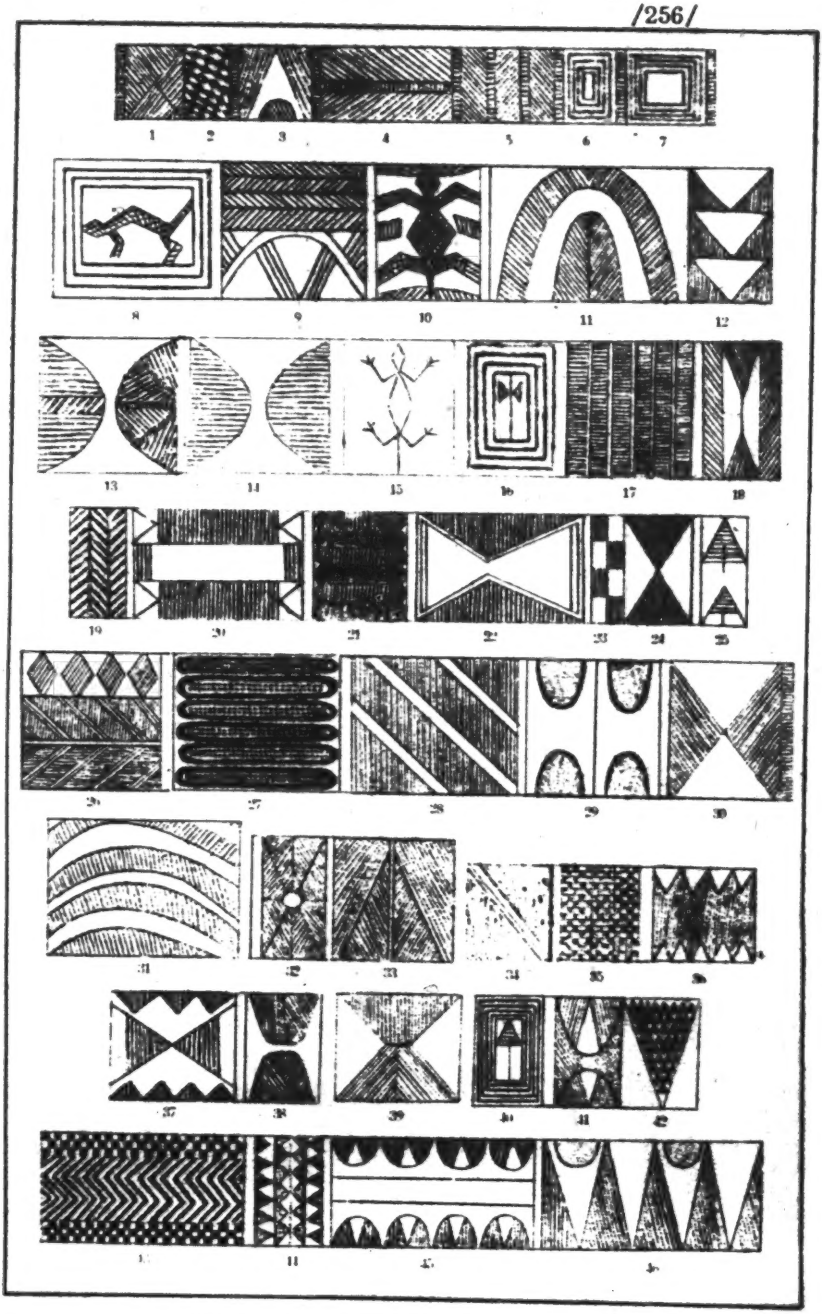
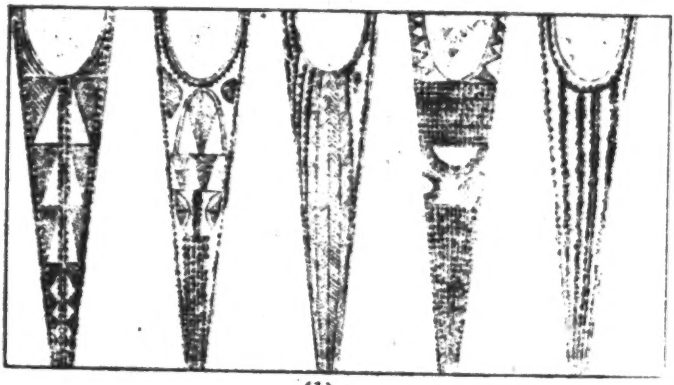


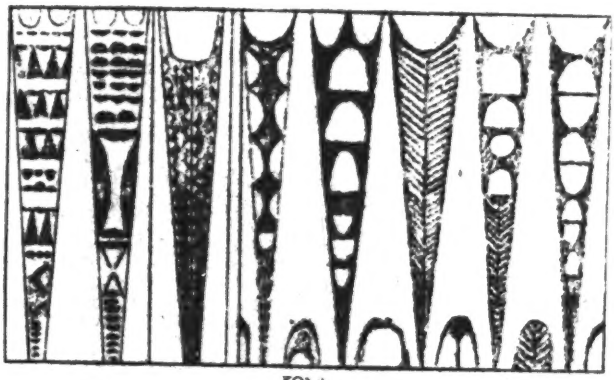
Fig. 212. Stool Patterns.

1: Tessmann--289 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

53/●
54



(1)



(2)

(3) (4)

Fig. 213. Patterns from Hide Drums (rolled out).

3. Incised patterns.

(a) Decorative scars.

531
304

/Fig. 214 appears here in the original text. /

The patterns of the decorative scars made by incision are not very numerous. There are only about a dozen of them. They constantly recur in the same form, and there is no inclination toward any essential modification.

Of the original basic patterns, the following have been transferred for the decorative scars: the triangle with a diagonal drawn through it (called in this case esá[s] -mvǎń, "half-pattern"), Figure 215, Drawing 9; the straight parallel lines (in this case called mekön, "guide rods"), Figure 215, Drawing 10, frequently simplified to a simple line, l; and the arc a (in this case called makǒs, "arcs").

[534]

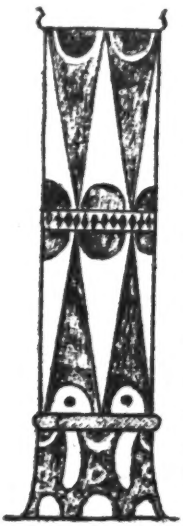
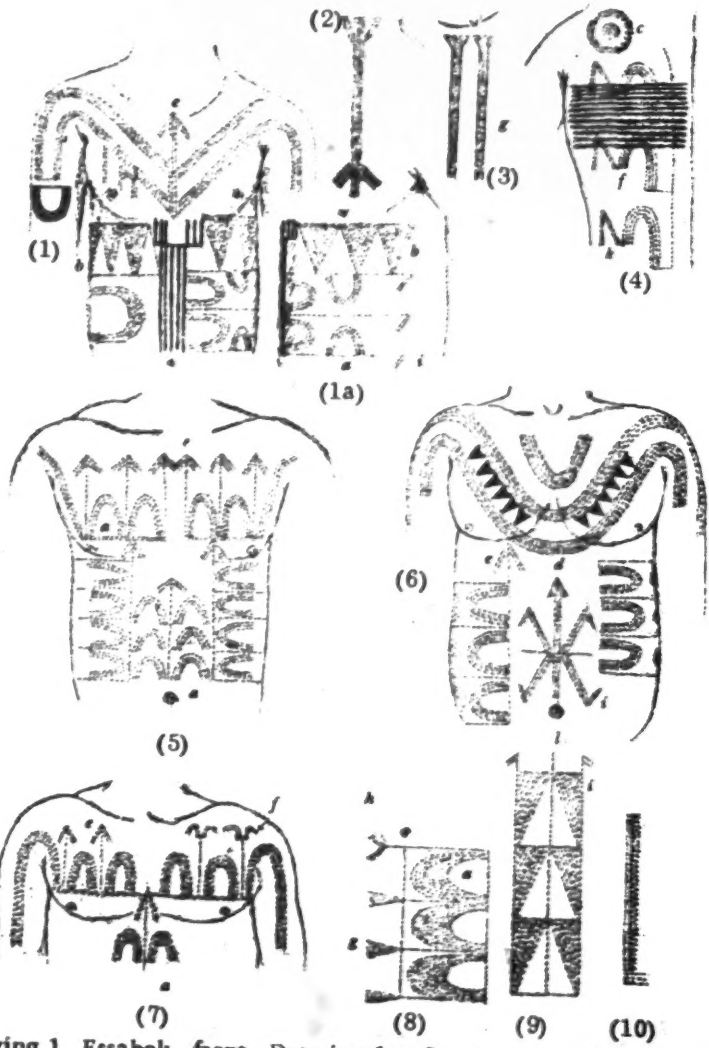


Fig. 214. Mwai Drum from Malén (Sebō Family), New Cameroons.

Of the homologous modified patterns there are the acute-angled triangle b (ndŭ-mbǎn, "arrow leaf") and the circle c (in this case called atōk, "whirlpool"). Of the non-homologous modified patterns there is the triangle spear d (mbǎ[s] -akǒń). We are also familiar with the barbed spear e (ngam-akǒń), of which I have already said that it originated with decorative scars, in all probability from a /259/ /Fig. 215 appears here in the original text/ /260/ combination of the line (of the modified straight parallel line) with the figure of the arc set inside a triangle (see Figure 212, Drawing 3), the base of which is lacking.

Fig. 215. Decorative Scars. /259/

●531
304



Drawing 1. Essabok, front. Drawing 1a. Same, stomach from the right side. Drawing 2. Jaunde, neck and back. Drawing 3. Essauong, below chest. Drawing 4. Schumu, left half of back. Drawing 5. Schumu, front. Drawing 6. Okông, front. Drawing 7. Okông, chest. Drawing 8. Schumu. Drawing 9. Esseng. Drawing 10. Jemandschim. -- Drawings 1, 4, and 6 are in part tattooed.

531
304

The following are new:

among the homologous modified patterns, the incomplete arc f (evū'da, "bending");

among the nonhomologous modified patterns, the blast pipe g = zǒṅ (triangle with a line), the ray h = nsǎm (angle made by the barbed spear by omitting the handle, with a line attached at the top), and the hook i = kǫ̆b (half an angle with a line).

The five patterns -- sticks, blast pipe, hook, ray, and whirlpool -- have a close relationship, as their names show, to iron technology and to fire. The line was imagined to be the guide rod which during the setting up of the smelting furnace keeps the openings free for the blast pipes. In the triangle with line -- accidentally juxtaposed in a corresponding arrangement -- they thought they recognized the blast pipe. The same process is repeated with the hook (kǫ̆b), by which is meant the poker hook (okǫ̆b) used in iron smelting; and it is again repeated with the whirlpool (atǭk), which was observed when the hot metal was dipped in water to cool off: the water would bubble up (a tǭk, "to bubble") and hiss and flow outward in rings. Finally, this process took place with the ray (nsǎm), the most obvious manifestation of the life of fire as well as of the sun, which is represented as an arm, exactly as among the ancient Egyptians, because the arm is the symbol of the manifestation of life (see Fig. 215, Drawing 8 h, and also Adolf Erman, Die ägyptische Religion /Egyptian Religion/, image of the sun god, p. 78).

A pattern described to me as that of a tobacco pipe (myǒ-taa), a pattern which probably developed just like the blast pipe pattern from triangle and line, remained an isolated instance.

A pattern that was not explained to me was one representing an angle (k); it is connected with the triangle.

The decorative scar patterns seldom occur singly, say, in such a way that one adorns the upper arm, a second the chest, and the like. Instead, they usually occur in extensive combinations in which, however, the individual parts are always seen as independent units and keep their original name. Only twice did I encounter a special term for such a combination of patterns, but even this designation was not connected with the content of what

531
304

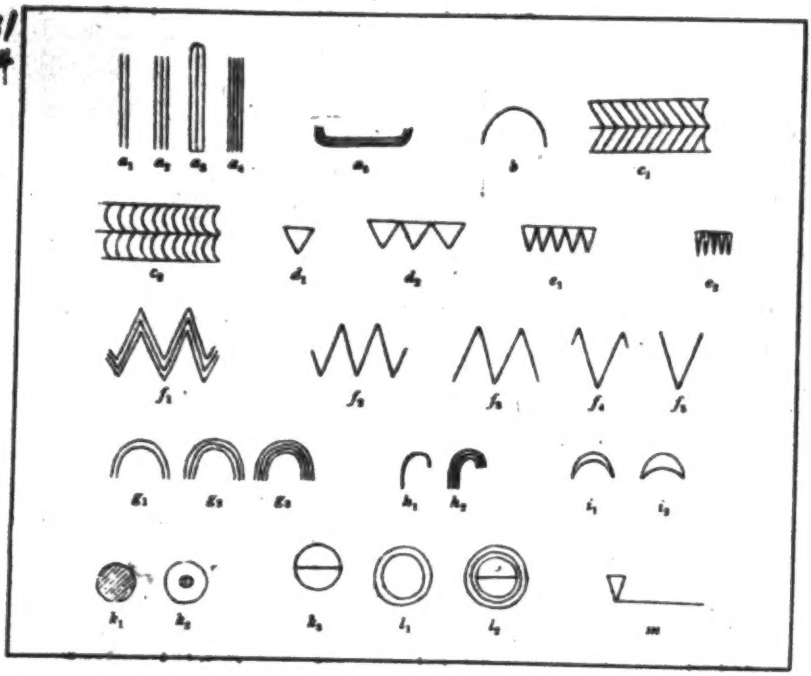


Fig. 216. Basic Patterns of Tattooing.

was represented, but with the place on the body to which the pattern was applied. One was called navel division (osa-dǫ̆b) (1)

1. a sa, "to split, to divide";
dǫ̆b, "navel."

and was applied above the navel (see Fig. 215, Drawing 6). It consisted of a cross-stick which had attached to it, at the top and the bottom, hooks, triangle spears, sticks, and arcs -- in former times it had evidently been located lower down around the navel in such a way that the cross-stick passed through the navel and /261/ /Fig. 216 appears here in the original text/ "divided it." The other combination (zǎ́ne abǎ́m) consisted mainly of half-patterns (diagonally divided rectangles) and bore its name only for the reason that it is preferred for the sheaths of swords and two-edged knives (Fig. 215, Drawing 9).

●531
304

The Fang consider the decorative scars an elegant adornment. Indeed, even considered with the eyes of a European, they may be called attractive and dignified, especially when they are arranged with such extraordinary regularity as is shown in Figure 215, Drawing 5.

(b) Tattooing.

The development of ornamentation advanced further in tattooing in that the basic patterns become rarer, whereas the modified patterns become more frequent and more diverse.

By way of basic patterns (Fig. 216) we again find the following: the diamond (here as a single diamond, bendŏ be bā, "diamond made with redwood," compare Fig. 218, c); the monitor lizard (nkaak); straight parallel lines (here likewise called melŏ́ń, "palm bands," or mekōn, "sticks," /262/ /Fig. 217 appears here in the original text/ and also mekōn akŏń, "spear handles," or mekōn e mvǎń, "sticks of the decorative scars"), a; bows /Ed., or "arcs"/ (here called ēkŭluga-nkpwǎ́s, "trap bow of the bird trap"), b; fishbone (okǎń e kŏ́s, "fishbone," here in part with a bow-shaped formation of the branches, c. Among the homologous modified patterns there are: the box pattern (ezima); the arrow-leaf pattern (esōgele ndu), d; the spike pattern (mesŏń), e; basket-edge pattern (mebŭge me nkŭń, "basket edges," or melŏń, "palm /263/ bands"), with retrogressive metamorphosis to the angle, f; parallel bows (here likewise called ekŭluga nkpwǎ́s, "trap bows," or melŏń, "palm bands," or bewŏ́[k] be nkŏ́ɛ'), g; incomplete parallel bows (eyū'da), h; half-moons (efangŏmendǎń, compare bark patterns), i; circle (here called ndzige ngŏmendǎń, "full moon"), k; and whirlpool (atōk), l. Among the nonhomologous modified patterns, the barbed spear (ngam akŏń) and pipe (mvō taa), m.

New patterns that appear are (Fig. 217) the following.

1) The bird tail in three varieties: the kite tail (ngǎb-obǎ'm), a, 1-3; the drongo tail (ngǎb obǎ'mŏke) (1), b, 1 and 2; and the

1. Dicrurus coracinus Verr.

531
304

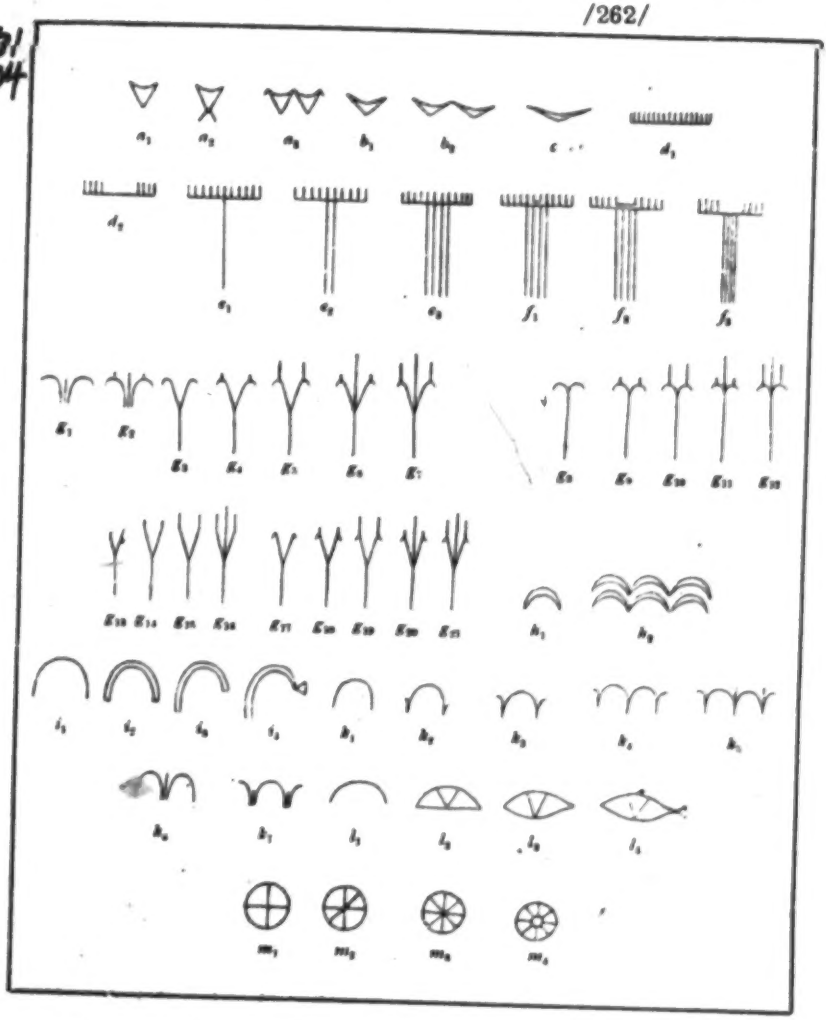


Fig. 217. Developmental Series of Modified Patterns of Tatooing.

531/304 swallow tail (ebõ'no e kŭlejē'me) (2), c, which has arisen from

2. Psalidoprocne tessmannii Rchw.

the arc without a base set inside a triangle. We have already encountered this figure with the base as a composite pattern in connection with carving, and with the base omitted it is connected with a line as a barbed spear among the nonhomologous modified patterns of the decorative scars.

2) Tears of a beautiful woman (mī'ĭige me mbŏŏ), a single line or parallel lines with short strokes attached at right angles to one side, d. This pattern is preferably applied to the cheeks.

3) Fork (ebā'i), developed from the previous one by adding one or more sticks, e, 1-3.

4) Scorpion (kā'dĕlĕne), like the previous one, with a gap in the middle of the "row of tears," f, 1-3.

5) Monkey tail (ngĕ'm avõ'm) (3), consisting of a stick con-

3. avõ'm = Cercopithecus laglaizei Pocock, white-nosed long-tailed monkey.

nected with an arc or angle, g, 1-21. This example in particular clearly shows how the Negro's eye seizes just the essential part of the animal, here the tail and hindparts, for, indeed, when the long-tailed monkeys are at rest one sees only their tails hanging from the branches. This fact supplies the clue to the following [524] riddle:

esũ'ma gbwĕ̃ e bĕle ma matã'[k] m'ovõ'n.
Yellow-bellied long-tailed monkey (4), it is sitting in the

4. esũ'ma = Cercopithecus grayi Fraser.

branches of the Copaifera.

Answer: nkõ-etõb = rope (aerial roots) of the fig tree (Ficus).

531
304

The situation was exactly the same with the swallow whose characteristic forked tail gave rise to the pattern, and we shall observe the same with the leopard whose spots have given the pattern its name, as well as with the hornbill whose beak did the same. /264/

6) Leopard spots (zö), Fang, or parrot claws (biẽ'ĩ, be kŭs), Ntum, a number of half-moons placed over and next to each other, h, 1-2.

7) Hornbill beak (ngŭ̃ń, "hornbill," Ceratogymna atrata Temm.), a curve (incomplete arc) with a triangle attached to it, i, 1-4.

8) Frog's legs (enăm edžǫ́) (1), a series of juxtaposed arcs

1. edžǫ́ - Rana zenkeri Ndn.

with vertical lines between them, k, 1-7.

9) Fish, Barbus guirali Thomin (mvǎ), developed from arc and triangle, as row 1, 1-4, shows, but observed only once in its perfect form.

10. Spider (abŭb), originated from isosceles triangles set inside a circle. As in the case of the corresponding stool patterns, the triangles are in part halved lengthwise, m, 1-4.

Among patterns which I only observed once each we should mention the following.

The double iron bell (nkŏn) consists of an arc with two triangles attached to it (Fig. 219, a). I saw this pattern on a coastal Mwai, [177] and it is probably a borrowed one, since a double bell does not occur among the Pangwe.

The knife (okŏń) probably originated from the rectangle (box pattern), perhaps together with the triangle. It is possible that the pattern is intentionally made to resemble a European knife (Fig. 218, b).

The sea fish (kǫ̆[s] a măń) originated from a circle and lines. It is probably meant to portray a sea fish, a sea turtle, or the like. The artist here has placed it inside a whirlpool consisting of concentric circles (Fig. 219, c).

531 304 It seems significant that these three last designs deal with objects that are foreign to the land or to the culture of the Pangwe. Indeed, I believe that, besides the play on familiar patterns, the conscious intention of capturing a remembered image is added here. In other words, we have, as it were, a transition from conventional patterns to purely free hand drawing.

A similar process perhaps underlies the "chameleon" (dʒǐngbwɔ̄'), which I saw twice. In the first case, it was quite obvious that it had arisen from the rectangle attached to a half-moon, because the arch of the half-moon was on the wrong side (Fig. 218, d). In the second case, the animal had been captured in good realistic detail as regards its body and head (Fig. 218, e).

The composite patterns, which -- as I have mentioned -- are extraordinarily frequent in tattooing, are so diverse that they cannot all be mentioned here. We frequently find the half-moon combined with a line and tears, triangles and sticks, and so forth (Fig. 220). /265 and 266/ /Figs. 218 and 219 appear here in the original text. / /267/ /Fig. 220 appears here in the original text. /

(c) Decoration of raffia stalks, etc.

531 I myself have not seen the technique of decorating raffia stalks, since I did not succeed in meeting anyone who was a master at it. It is supposed to be carried out with a tool which, by drilling or scraping, takes off the upper layer of the raffia bark.

In this branch of ornamentation, we again encounter types of all the patterns developed in the various crafts and specialized arts (Fig. 221). The following occur.

Among basic patterns: rectangle (engraving pattern); single diamond (smearing of the body); monitor lizard (bark pattern), Drawing 5; isosceles triangles, in this case not quite completed (bark or carving patterns); parallel lines; straight or wavy (bark patterns); arc (bark, carving, or tattooing pattern).

Among homologous modified patterns: box (carving pattern); arrow leaf (carving or tattooing pattern); scaly anteater tail, in this case not completed (carving pattern); spearhead (bark

531
304

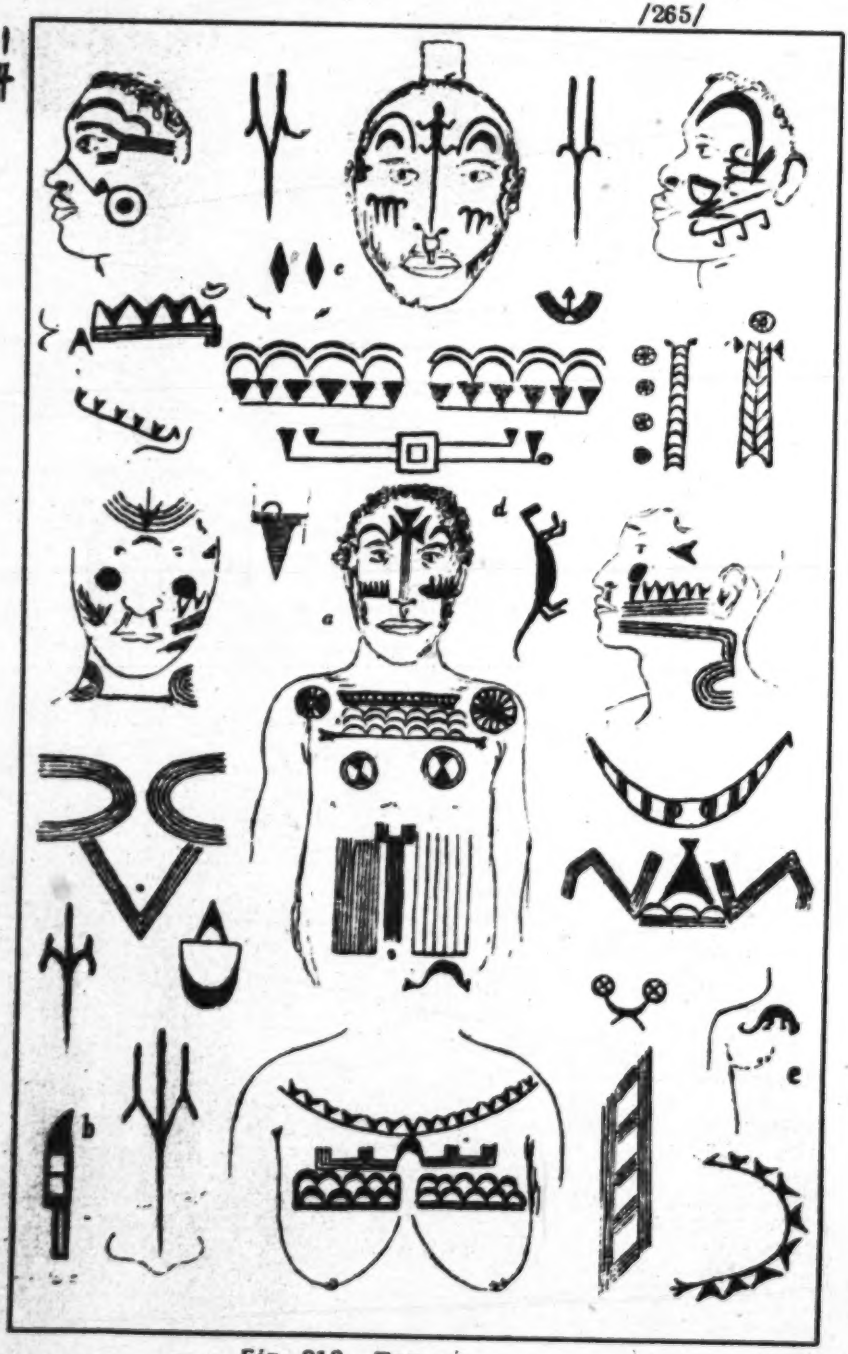


Fig. 218. Tattoos.

531
304

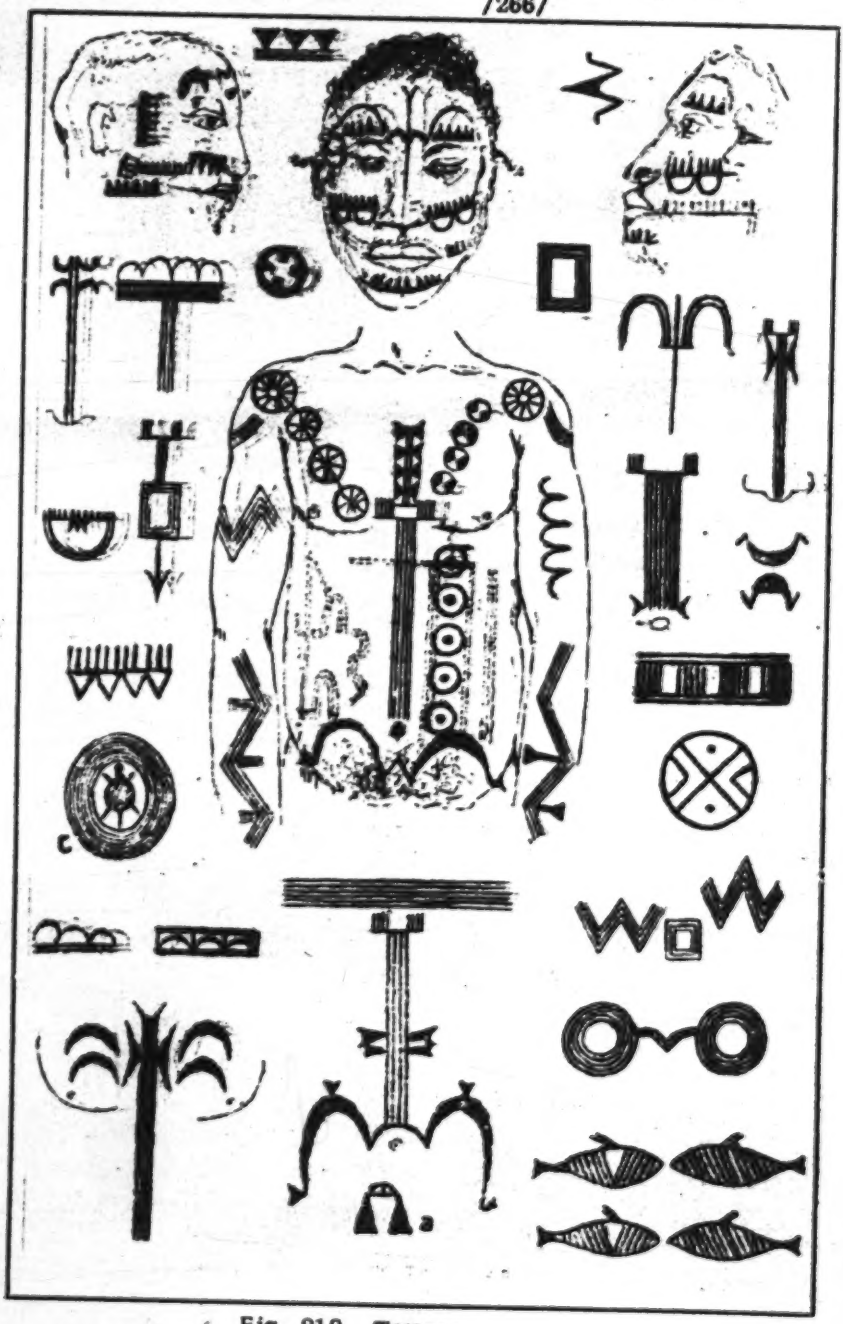
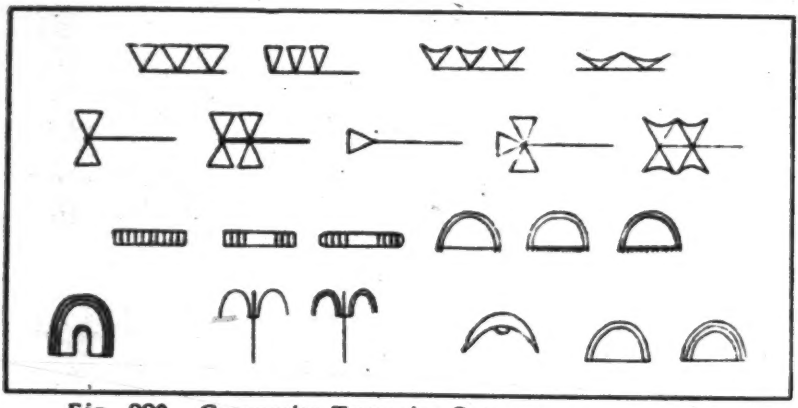


Fig. 219. Tattoos.



531 304

Fig. 220. Composite Tattooing Patterns.

531

or carving pattern); moon (tattooing pattern); parallel arcs (tattooing pattern).

Among nonhomologous modified patterns: kite tail (tattooing pattern); barbed spear (decorative scars or tattooing pattern); sun (painting); chameleon (bark or tattooing patterns), Drawing 4 b, Drawing 2a.

Among composite patterns: two lines with triangles (tattooing pattern); tears and arc (tattooing pattern); double barbed spear (tattooing pattern); line with two arcs (decorative scar pattern); three-fold parallel arcs (tattooing pattern).

New patterns that appear are: a composite of squares into which a bow is set on opposite sides, Drawing 2 a (single square with bows; carving or engraving pattern); a figure eight with circles (bands) drawn inside it, Drawing 4 a. Furthermore, there are a number of figures which were probably taken over from painting, /268/ /Fig. 221 appears here in the original text / /269/ namely, a man (quadrangle, lines, an arc), Drawing b; a fish (triangles, lines), Drawing 2a, c; a rifle (triangles, lines), Drawing 3 a; a monkey (moon, circle, hook, line), Drawing 3 b; a cat (bow, circle, lines), Drawing 2a, d.

4. Engraving patterns.

Neck rings, foot covers (more rarely, foot and finger rings), sword blades, and battle axes are decorated with engraved patterns.

Among the neck rings only the three-edged ones are decorated and then in the middle of the front surfaces in three square or

1: Tessmann--302 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9 /398/

531/415

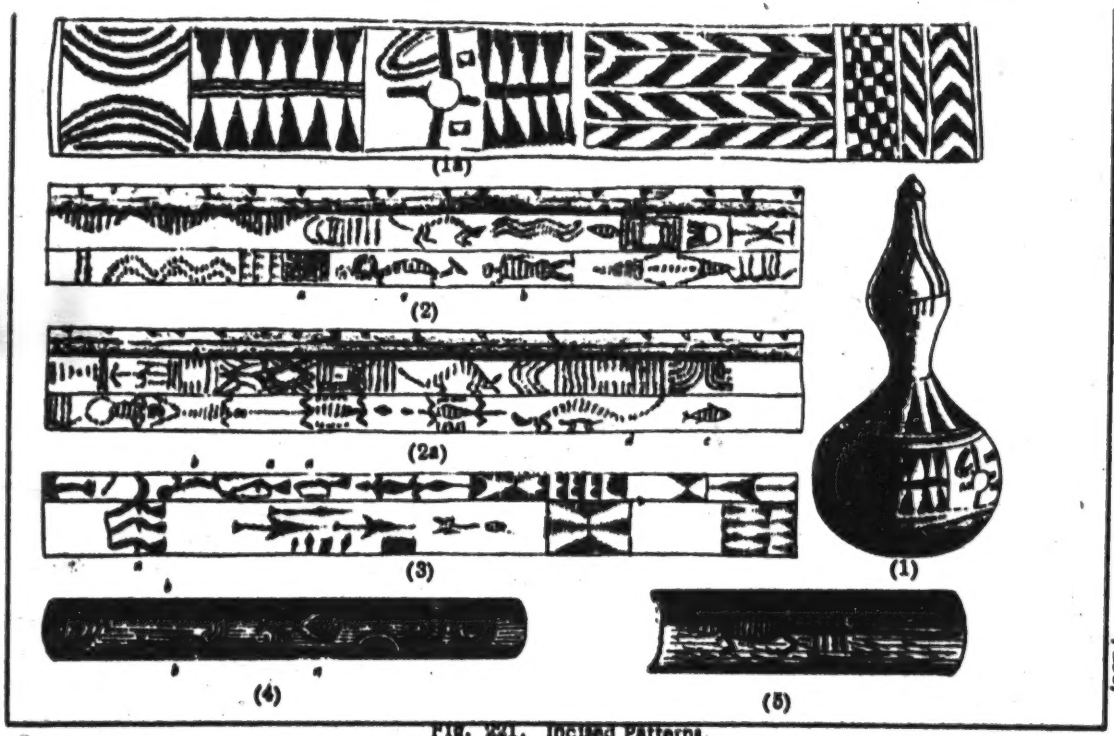


Fig. 221. Incised Patterns.

Drawing 1. Ornamental calabash. Drawing 1a. Patterns on this calabash, spread out. Drawings 2 and 2a. Patterns on a walking stick made from a stalk of Raphia vinifera (spread out). Drawing 3. Pattern on a walking stick made from a stalk of the Raphia Hookeri. Drawing 4 and 5. Patterns of raffia sticks on a bench in a meeting house.

rectangular areas next to each other (Fig. 222a, Drawings 1-10). 531
The two center areas display throughout four arcs, one placed at each border, which in part are chiseled into the surface in deep notches. An arc worked in the same manner is set on each of the outer edges of the lateral areas. The lateral areas themselves are engraved with different patterns, that is, almost exclusively in "basic patterns," namely, the rectangle (Drawing 10), the diamond (Drawing 6, Drawing 10), the rectangle bisected by a diagonal (Drawing 9), the double parallel lines (Drawing 1), the arc (Drawings 1-10), and the fishbone (Drawing 2). Among homologous modified patterns only the circle occurs (Drawing 8). /Fig. 222a appears here in the original text./ /270/

The decorations on the foot cover are related to those of the neck rings as the carved patterns are to the bark patterns, that is to say, they display more highly developed forms (Figure 222b, Drawings 11-13). Basic patterns also occur, but only in combinations, such as the arc (here called nkǒdo, "bending") with the

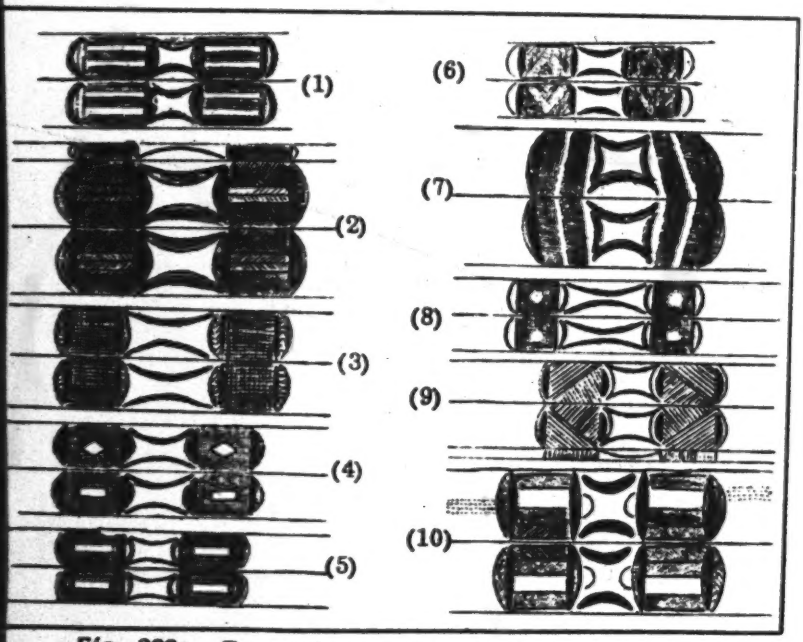


Fig. 222a. Decorations on Brass Neck Rings.

531 triangle (Drawing 11, 2), the arc with the fishbone (Drawing 11, 1), the arc and parallel lines (Drawing 11, 4 and 5), the fishbone and fishbone (Drawing 11, 3), spikes with parallel lines (Drawing 13, 2), and the triangle with the rectangle.

As a new pattern the male centipede (nǔm e ngū/ē/n) appears (Drawing 13, 1), a double loop formed by parallel lines, which further develops into the patterns shown in Drawing 11, 6, and Drawing 12, b and d, but keeps the same name.

531 411 In the case of the swords (Fig. 223, Drawings 1-12), the patterns are applied only to the lower end of the blade and cover a more or less square field which directly adjoins the handle. Concerning the arrangement of patterns in this area, the Pangwe distinguish two kinds. In one, the area is patterned regularly over the

531

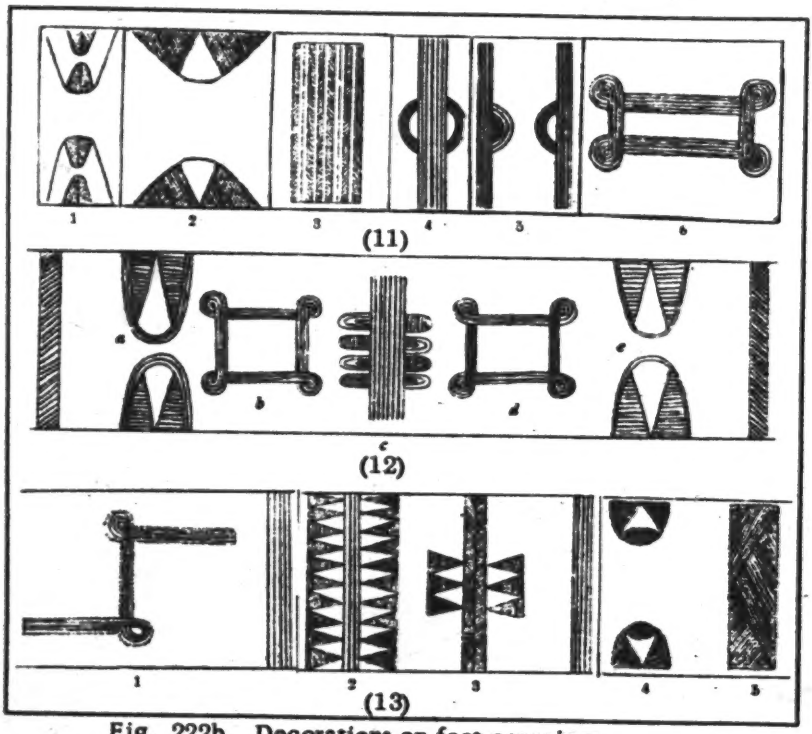


Fig. 222b. Decorations on foot coverings.

531
411

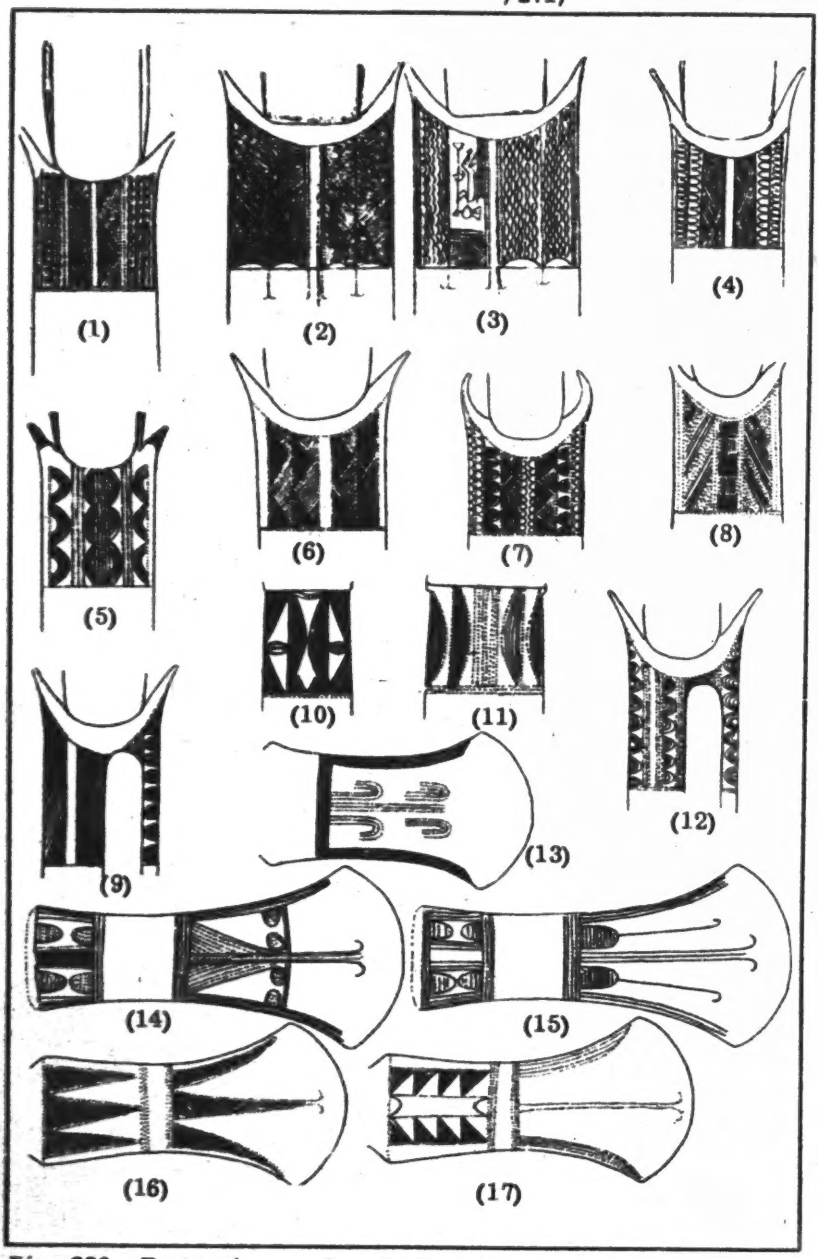


Fig. 223. Decorations on Swords (Drawings 1-12) and Battle Axes (Drawings 13-17).

531
323

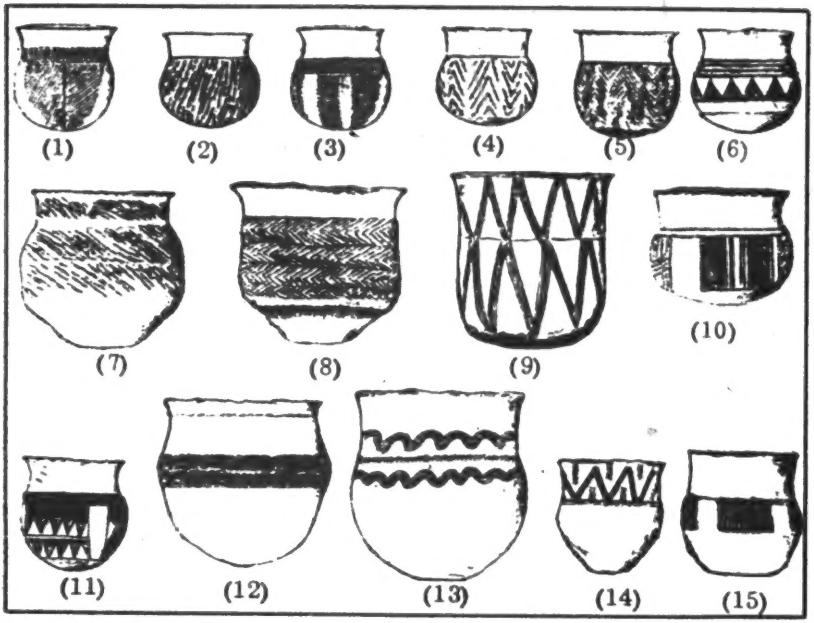


Fig. 224. Pottery Patterns of the Ntum, Fang, and Mwai.

531 entire surface; in the /Fig. 22b appears here in the original text/
411 /271/ /Fig. 223 appears here in the original text/ /272/ /Fig. 224 appears here in the original text/ second, a longish segment remains free (Drawings 9 and 12), by virtue of the fact that the narrow blood groove (which is usually present) is widened towards one side.

The patterns themselves are almost exclusively basic patterns in all kinds of combinations.

A selection of patterns on battle ax blades is illustrated in Figure 223, Drawings 13-17.

As a note we must mention the decoration of the brass sheaths for swords and two-edged knives. The lines of these decorations are composed of a great number of little bosses punched out to the outside with a piece of iron (see Fig. 141). Almost always the patterning consists of half-patterns (rectangles divided by a diagonal) strung together in a series, which is familiar to us from the decorative scars.

531 A conception of the development of the pottery patterns is conveyed by Figure 224.

2: Tessmann--93 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9
/244/

415
411
531

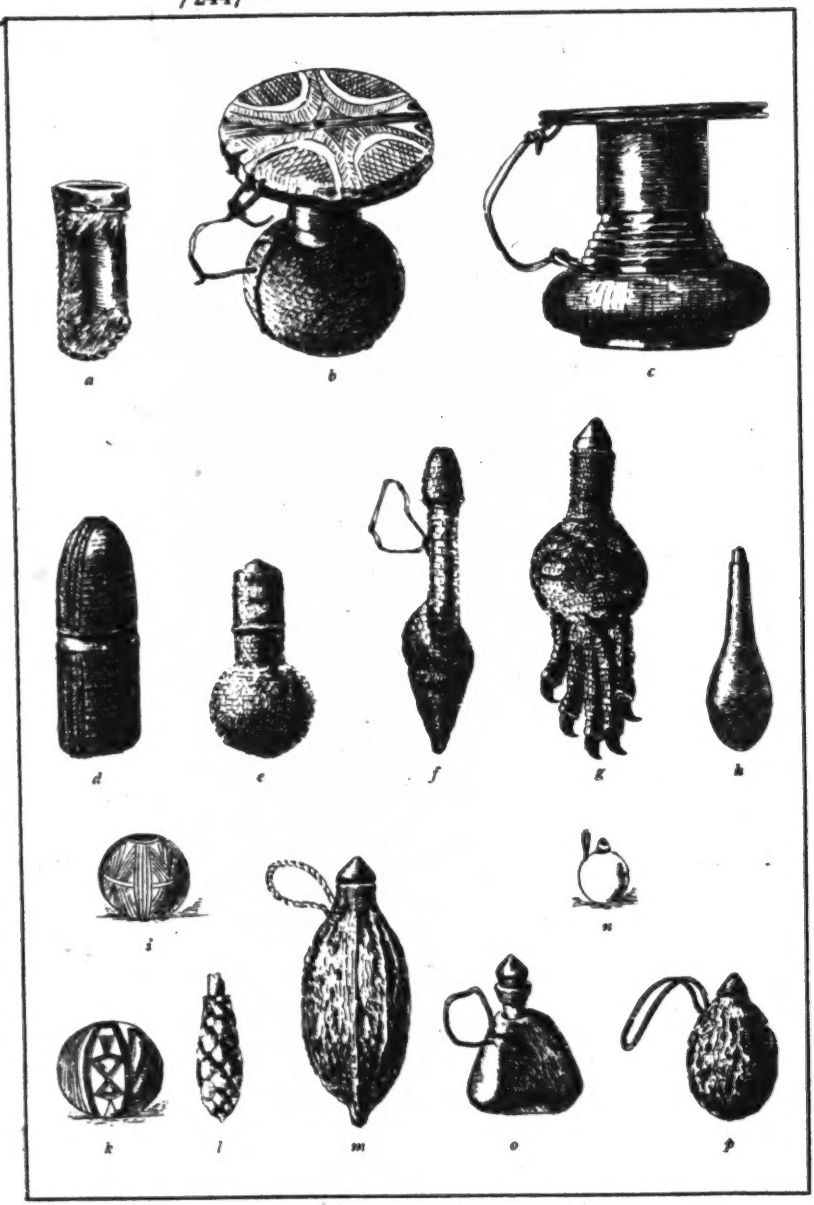


Fig. 77. Containers for Rifle Charges or Powder.

411 and a wooden handle well-shaped for the hand. The handle is partly bound with an iron band or brass wire. The sword is placed inside a wooden sheath, consisting of two halves and frequently covered with monitor lizard skin, or in a brass sheath which has two brass eyelets for the hide strip worn over the shoulder from which the weapon hangs /246/ /Fig. 79 appears here in the original text/ (see Fig. 80). After the appearance of the chopping knives or choppers imported from Europe, the latter displaced the sword for a while and were then carried about in sheaths (Fig. 81); however, these are no longer in use today.

The battle-ax, called ovunebokui, "axe of the Pygmies" [184] (Fig. 82), is of lesser importance and is to be found only among the Fang, especially the southern ones, but even among them only in small numbers. It can be used only for short-range fighting. Its wedge-shaped blade with a convex cutting edge and /247/ corners curved inward, is fitted into the handle, the short lower half of which is round while the upper half is flattened out.

As a protective weapon, three kinds of shields are in use: the wooden shield, the shield made of buffalo hide (Fig. 83), and the shield made of an elephant's ear. The latter two are supposed to protect an individual man. They have lost their importance since the appearance of the firearm, and today they have /Fig. 80 appears here in the original text/ become quite rare. The wooden shield (stationary shield, Fig. 84), on the other hand, protects the entire troop of warriors and is, as it were, a portable rampart carried ahead by one man, while the others hide behind it. When the enemies clash, they shoot from behind the wooden guard, and in case it becomes necessary to flee, the shield is simply abandoned. It is made from a slab of wood from the umbrella tree and is approximately 145 centimeters long and 37 centi- [531] meters wide. The outer surface is covered with patterns carved in relief, such as we have seen in Section 9 /Ed., Vol. I/.

The battles of the Pangwe are usually only to settle hostilities 726 between neighboring villages and hence are limited to small-scale warfare, that is, to a series of surprise attacks in which the attacker naturally has the advantage and thus "wins." Such encounters, however, give the tribe their warlike reputation; the

[Text continues on page 97]

579 had been satis- fied, because on either side
628 the loss was exactly the same: each had
a village burned and a man killed.
[411] The matter would have gone on, because
the Bebai people were still dissatis-
[531] fied since they regarded their loss as
greater; their casualty had been a great
chief, while the other had been only a
young man. However, by this time the
influence of the Whites had penetrated
to Bebai and thus an end was put to the
fighting.

From this example it can be seen that
628 the Pangwe act according to the princi-
682 ple of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a
tooth, and that blood revenge can cease
only when the losses on both sides are
equal. In a "war" between Schumu and
Esseng people, eight Schumu peo-
ple had been killed, and peace could not
be concluded until eight Esseng men had

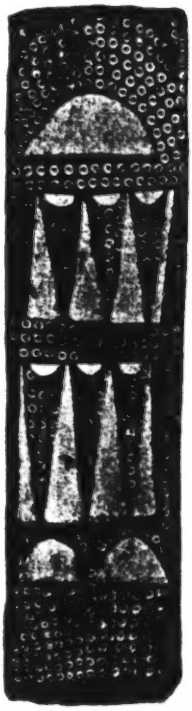


Fig. 84. Wooden Shield.

likewise been killed. Furthermore, it can be seen that village feuds fraught with consequences often arise from quite trivial causes.

Prisoners are usually killed and then often eaten, as has been
72] mentioned earlier. Only children are raised as "slaves" in the
[266] village. Captured women are usually taken by the victors as
[567] wives, but sometimes they are also killed in order to even out the number of killed on both sides and thus to make peace possible. /251/

524 defeat an average player (in the comparison, the Sso antelope)?
539 After all, just yesterday I defeated a totally inferior player (in the
578 comparison, the dwarf antelope)! That has given my father sufficient revenge for the time being (in the comparison, enough to eat).

We see a cornucopia of ridicule poured forth here. Magnificent comparisons! Pithy expressions! Negro poetry with an elemental force!

Game of Chance (abĩa, Jaunde, Bulu)

525 Like the stone game, the game of chance was not an indigenous
177 cultural possession of the Pangwe. From the Maka (Makie in Jaunde) in the east through the mediation of the Mwogenianga kin
184 group (probably Bene) on the upper Nyong it came to the core of the Bene, who transmitted it to the Jaunde and Bulu. In only the most recent times, the Ntum have become acquainted with it through Jaunde and Bene traders who came to them in the service of the Whites. Nonetheless, I myself have seen people engaged in this game only once, in 1907 in the vicinity of the northern Ntum region. Among the Fang the game is unknown.

The game of chance is played with small circular playing
525 disks (sǎ; plural, besǎ, derived from esǎ "goods," because, according to the Pangwe, they decide whether the players are winning or losing and hence, as it were, bring in the money in the form of goods, trade items) which are simply cut out of calabash rinds (Fig. 117, a). Furthermore, the game requires counters (mviõ' I),
[531] of which each player must bring his own. They are produced from
[824] the hard rinds of the fruit from a tree called abǎm by the Jaunde, and on their smooth upper surface (outerside of the fruit) they bear attractive patterns of various kinds, animal forms, or human figures, which, like the edge, are carved in relief (Fig. 117, b-d). /Fig. 117 appears here in the original text. / /316/

The number of players that can participate is unlimited, but there must be at least four.

To play (a dõ abĩa), a basketry plate is also needed, into which are placed once and for all seven playing disks (seven again as a

525 lucky number). At the start of the game each of the players puts his counter in the basket with the disks. The leader of the game, who does not play himself, tosses the counters and disks into the air with the plate, catches them again, quickly turns the plate over and covers them up. If counters fall to the side, these must simply be pushed toward the edge of the basket -- they are valid. On the other hand, the throw does not count in case a counter is standing on edge, squeezed between others, when the basket is raised.

The question now is whether the counters are lying face up (carved side) or face down.

Then depending on whether the playing disks are lying face up (with the shiny side up) or face down, either face up or face down counters win.

The decision concerning winning or losing can be seen from the following combinations.

If all the counters are lying face up or all of them face down, the throw does not count and must be repeated. On the other hand, if all the counters do not have the same side up, then the winner or winners are:

with four players

if all the disks are lying face down or up to three disks inclusive are lying face up and

1 counter lies face up, the one counter lying face up,
2 counters lie face up, the two counters lying face up,
3 counters lie face up, the one counter lying face down;

if 4-7 disks lie face up and

1 counter lies face up, the one counter lying face up,
2 counters lie face up, the 2 counters lying face down,

[531]

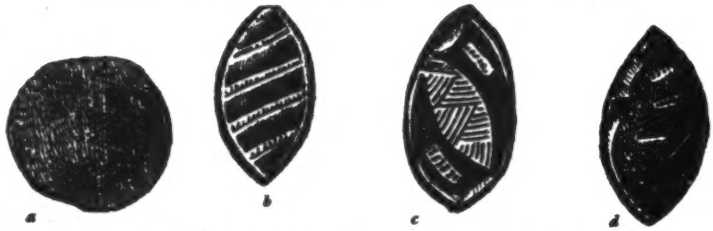


Fig. 117. (a) Playing Disk. (b)-(c) Counters for the Game of Chance. Jaunde. Actual size.

166 country and in the north of Boulou country) has put a considerable
421 brake upon village nomadism, the planters not liking to move away from their plantations. When there is migration, the activity consists rather in the "swarming off" of a portion of the inhabitants, who go to found a new hamlet in a site favorable for cultivation, without there being from then on any necessary correspondence between family structure and settlement pattern. The new jal will no longer necessarily correspond to one family but may gather together several families from different and unrelated lineages (mvam).

361 The Pahouin village of former times was planned for defense.
712 Situated in an oblong clearing, usually within reach of the nearest
[202] village (3 to 4 kilometers) by drum-telephone (nkul), it comprised two lines of contiguous rectangular huts, gable to gable, on either side of a courtyard or main street (nseñ), blocked at either end by a guardhouse /men's house/ (aba, abeñ) allowing only a narrow entrance, often oblique, which was barricaded every evening. All doors gave onto the nseñ; the outer walls having merely a few loopholes. Sometimes the village was encircled by a moat (ésalak) and traps, sometimes also by a stockade /akak). The most important subsistence plots (mefup) were in the forest, often quite far away, but near the village behind the huts were banana groves and kitchen gardens, while medicinal plants (bilok bi mebiañ) as well as tobacco were grown in
342 the central nseñ. The hut walls were made of bark (particularly of certain kinds of Ficus /fig/) which was wetted, then beaten flat and dried to form boards; these are the "carbotes" (from the English word "cardboard") still in use on the coast. These boards were fastened by lianas and pegs to posts set in a rectangle. The double pitched roof was of "tiles" made of raffia folioles (ôbaé, pl. abaé) folded in two and pinned with wooden splinters to the scantlings made of /42/ strips of the main leaf rib set parallel to the ridgepole. This ridgepole
[531] rested on forked posts, of which the two central ones had magical significance and were usually carved or at least painted. The dimensions of these dwelling huts rarely exceeded 6 by 3 meters, while those of the guardhouses (meba) might reach twice this. In each
[352] household the man had his private hut where he kept his most valuable possessions (biôm): chests containing loincloths, etc., weapons, drums, "medicaments" (mebiañ), his own seat, masks, and magical equipment. The women's huts, side by side with his and where the young children slept, were used as kitchens and contained carrying

352 baskets, storage baskets (binaan), crockery (viek), or imported "negro pots" /sic/ (minkeñ), the drying rack, shrimp nets, mortars, and other feminine implements. The young unmarried men slept in
361 the guardhouse; the girls slept with the women. A jal occupied by an average-sized family might be 50 meters long. Large minlam reached half a kilometer, in which case the nseñ was divided into sections by the secondary meba of each family. The chief lived in the middle and had a larger aba than those of other families.

177 342 This kind of village has almost entirely disappeared. Bark huts
[178] are still extant in a few isolated villages in Gabon, but they are increasingly rare. In actual fact, one finds almost everywhere the hut of reinforced banco /wattle and daub?/ (the wattle consists of laths made of the main ribs of raffia, incorrectly called bamboo), imposed on Boulou country around 1925 by an administrator called Nkulu (meaning "the Tornado"), which has left its mark throughout Pahouin country. These huts are usually rectangular but tend, in prosperous villages, to be influenced by European forms, with T-, U-, or H-shapes, with verandas and lean-to showers. They are often plastered with kaolin (fem) sometimes mixed with red or green ocher or with imported laundry blueing. The roof is still usually of raffia tile, but it may have four slopes or be even more complicated, copied
[514] from European roots. Each family has its own privy (éduk).

361 The layout of villages has likewise changed. The most prevalent plan keeps the single central nseñ /street/, but the huts are in four lines on either side and are separate, no longer contiguous. The men's huts are nearest the road, the women's, now called kisin (cuisines /kitchens/), are laid out behind, or sometimes around, the
[531] husband's. The plaster is often painted in fresco with various subjects —copies of pictures in magazines, religious subjects, in Boulou country illustrations from the novel Nnanga kôn (1), portraits of

1. The best Boulou painter of recent years was David Monewoso, a Yemfek from Sangmélima, who not only established the iconography of Nnanga kon but is also a good portraitist and a remarkable painter of animals.

Europeans famous locally or internationally. The aba /guardhouse/ has lost its defensive character and often take the form of an airy

4. Arts and Literature

531 The principal form of plastic art used to be sculpture, in wood or steatite. Aside from masks for associations, especially for the ngil, figures of ancestors, full-length figures or simply masks, and figures for ritual ceremonies were carved. Drums, seats, crossbows, sometimes imported chests, were decorated in demirelief. The features of a mask were only slightly indicated, the attitude of figures was rather stiff, while subjects in demirelief, particularly animals, were often very lively.

531 177 The sculptors were initiates of the different rites and with the decline of the latter, traditional sculpture has largely disappeared, to be replaced by work in wood or ivory in the Barbes /?/ or Saint-Sulpice style /the implication of the second is of the commercial religious art sold in shops near the St.-Sulpice in Paris. —Tr./, thanks to the work of schools and missions. An interesting project at the professional school in Ebolowa, under the director, Lecoq, between 1946 and 1950, has had no sequel. However, there are a few indications that allow hope for the rise of a Christian art that will perhaps be original, alongside the commercial sculpture for tourists, which is extremely flourishing.

This conclusion holds good for painting, since some frescoes in Catholic chapels, particularly in Ewôndo country, appear to be manifestations of a new art. Furthermore, painting is at present the popular art par excellence, in the form of frescoes inside and outside houses. Aside from religious subjects, one often sees paintings of animals, family scenes, portraits of local or world celebrities. A Boulou from Sangmélima, David Monewoso, has established the features of the heroes of the novel Nnanga kôn in numerous frescoes throughout Boulou country. All this constitutes something new, because traditional art made little use of painting in this form. Huts were more likely to be decorated with geometrical figures with an esoteric meaning, in nothing but the three traditional colors, red, black, and white. Drawing was mostly represented by engraved designs, made with burin or red-hot iron on wooden objects, sometimes by charcoal drawings done on walls or rocks.

212 Literature was solely oral until the colonial period. It is not, however, accurate to say that the Pahouin were completely ignorant of writing. Aside from the quipu (biaff zezeghe —? —, according to

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

412 the natural curve of the branches. Stones are employed for rolling food, especially for crushing and rolling the *ngon* seed. Shells of large land mollusca are cut in half and used for spoons, small gourds being used for the same purpose. Large gourds are used for water dippers and bottles. Very many uses are found for the forest 824 gourds, not the least ingenious being the use of a hollow stemmed gourd for [757] administering a rectal injection. Gourds are used for the sounding boards of the musical instrument called *mvuk*. The people find many uses for bamboo. It is used in construction of houses, fish baskets and traps are made from it, fences to protect paths during tribal wars are made of sharp pointed bamboo poles; and small sharpened pieces of bamboo with poisoned tips are buried in the forest paths, point upward, to wound and poison the naked feet of an unsuspecting enemy. The 825 teeth and claws of leopards and bush cats, elephant tail, antelope feet, horns and forest beans are used in their natural form as personal ornaments. Leopard teeth are always considered valuable as *biang* (fetish) and are much sought after; they are frequently imitated in ivory. I have not seen the defences of animals employed as artificial defences, except as fetish. Long tough forest thorns are often used as awls [412] and needles for piercing and sewing skins. I once saw an *nganga* (witch doctor) 763 perform a post-mortem examination on a woman. After he had discovered the cause 797 of death, which he announced to the expectant crowd as being due to "six witches eating her liver," he first pierced the abdominal walls with a long hard thorn, and then sewed up the body with a bamboo needle threaded with pineapple fibre. I 342 have seen only one cave dwelling; it was used by an isolated sufferer of the dread 734 disease called by the natives *mabata* (a kind of sloughing phagedina). When proper reed material for making thatch is scarce, large forest leaves are used, but they make very poor roofs, especially during the tornado season.

Conservatism.—The Fang are not quick to adopt reforms or to introduce new 185 methods; they are more or less the slaves of custom, and have a superstitious dread 186 of departing from ancestral habits. This refers to all the proceedings of life. Fang living in towns near Gaboon are almost daily coming in contact with white settlers, and to some extent, at least, appear to be changing their mode of living. It never appeared to me that a Fang had the same longing to be "just like a white man" as possesses the young Mpôngwe and Benga men.

IX.—*Ornamentation.*

The patterns mostly seen in Fang ornamentation consist of bands, incised 531 lines, elliptical punch marks, herring bone, lozenge pattern and cross lines. The natives do not possess a natural aptitude for drawing, and seldom attempt it. The few drawings I have seen on the bark walls of houses, supposed to represent men and women, were very crude and exaggerated in proportion. They have no idea whatever of perspective. They seem to interpret foreign drawings very readily. [522] The Fang show considerable skill in plain wood carving, using an ordinary native knife. I have noticed that their carving improves very considerably when an imported pocket knife is the instrument employed.

344 In some cases, difficulties (such as tree stumps, roots, and
461 the like) were encountered in preparing the building site at the customary place. As a result, the meeting house would be constructed to one side within the row of houses, though in a transverse position (see Fig. 44). Later, "they" frequently did

[532]

Fig. 19. Post from a Meeting House in Malén (Essauong Family), Fang.

not get around to replacing this building by a new one in the right location, however fervently the chief might desire it on behalf of the people. When they did get around to building a new meeting house, the old one was frequently not torn down right away but continued to be used along with the new one.

344 In form, the meeting house (Fig. 20 and 21) has a gabled roof and a square or rectangular ground plan. I have already mentioned the custom of the Pangwe, when they start a new settlement, to content themselves with hastily constructed temporary meeting houses (ongǒn e ngī). Only later, when

344 532 The interior of the house (Plate 5, Fig. 27a and 27b) consists of a single empty room, broken only by the isolated posts (the central supports of the ridgepole). In some cases I observed that these posts were handsomely carved, but only in houses with one central post. The carvings showed stylized or modified human figures (Fig. 19) and quite faithful representations of animals. I recall, for instance, a very beautiful post on which was pictured a pig biting the tail of a leopard, which I saw in the village of Bingomo (Abâi family).

344 352 [324] Along the walls there are low benches of which I have seen two different types. The simplest benches, hence the ones designed more often for temporary meeting houses, consist of the trunks of umbrella trees (Musanga) which have been split lengthwise down the middle or of raffia stalks which have simply been placed across two shelves of the same wood (kū'dū III). The same kind of bench is always found in places where there is no raffia and also in huts that serve as lodgings for guests. The second type of bench (see Fig. 28 and 29) is a rectangular frame of raffia stalks (enǒ'n) split lengthwise down the middle; its narrow side consists in each case of two legs (a = akōkǒ'nǒk) with pointed pins (c = mbǒ̄n -ak. I Fang, oǒ̄n Jaunde) which pierce and hold together four layers, placed on top of each other: the lowest, a wooden ledge, and then three raffia stalks. The wooden ledge (b = oǒ̄mé̄ja-enǒn) has a central section cut out for the support of nine or more stalks (e) wedged into it, which constitute the seat of the bench; the three raffia stalks (d = kū'dū -enǒn III) serve to hold down the latter and also as a head and foot rest. Sometimes there is also a back rest (f = aǒ̄gebě -enǒn), consisting of a raffia stalk split lengthwise down the middle and simply placed on top of

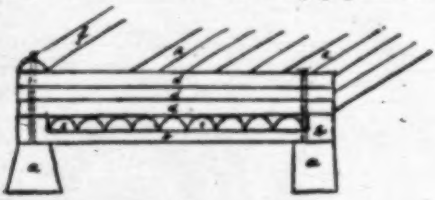


Fig. 28. Side of a Bench.

285 strands are placed like hooks around its outside edge, and they are
415 fastened to it with Triumfetta bast or a string.

Depending on their size, the basketwork plates have various names. The small ones are called fá III Fang (a, b), the somewhat larger ones ovǒk, the ordinary large ones dżǎd, niǎ dżǎd = real, true basketwork plates (c).

Concerning their use, see page 137.

(8) Belts (bab IV).

283 These are braided from a number of superimposed strips of Ancistrophyllum (nkāne) interwoven with bush rope Oncocalamus (see "Dress and Ornaments," page 166).

3. Woodworking.

322 Despite the considerable importance accorded to it in the
517 Pangwe household, wood carving has remained on a comparatively
532 low level of development and bears no comparison with the achievements of other primitive peoples, such as the Melanesians. Its forms display a certain sober utilitarianism, a stiffness and uniformity from which all movement and playfulness are excluded. Only rarely does it rise to the level of representational sculpture. Representations of whole human beings are to be found primarily in the ancestral figures, rarely on chiefs' sticks; heads, moreover, are to be seen only on the posts of meeting houses (seen only in one case), on bench posts in the meeting house, in the memory game, and in the masks used for the moon cult (Sso).

322 The number of objects made of wood is very large, as will be apparent from the list that follows:

1. Digging sticks
2. Shovels
3. Hoe and axe handles
4. Posts for the meeting house
5. Bench posts for the meeting house

532
353

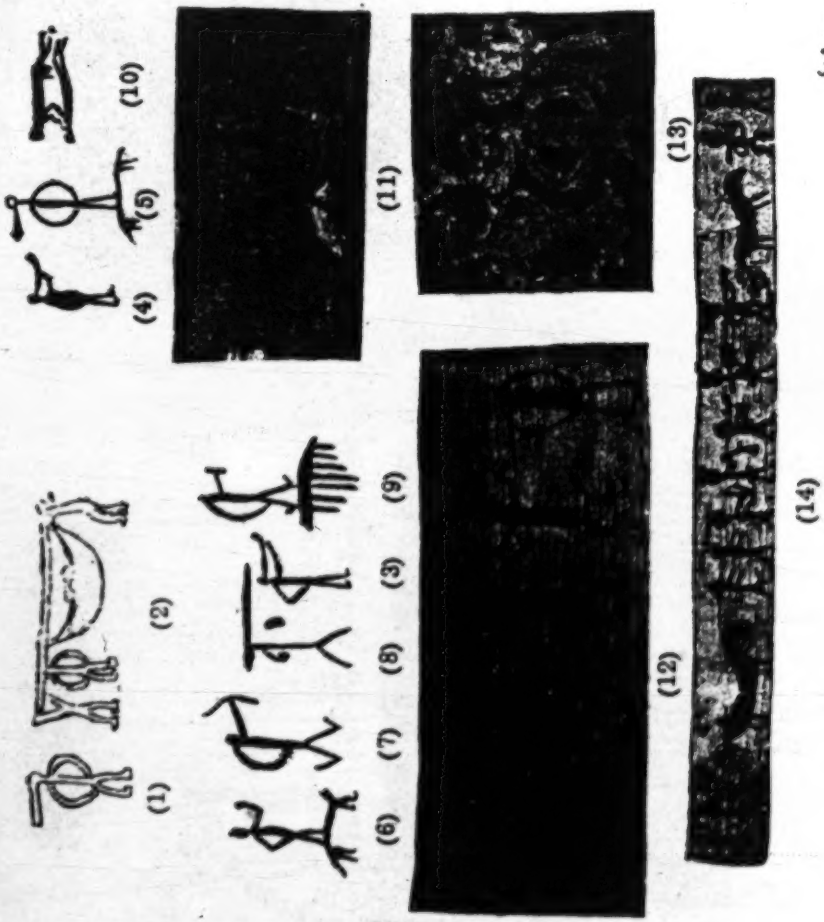


Fig. 225. Drawings on House Walls (Drawings 1-10) and on Bark Plates (Drawings 11-14). Drawings 1, 3, 4, and 8. Man with a tobacco pipe. Drawing 2. A European carried in a hammock. Drawings 5 and 11. Man with tobacco pipe on horseback. Drawings 6 and 9. Man on horseback. Drawing 7. Man with a dog whip. Drawing 10. Coitus. Drawing 12. Three people and an animal (chameleon?). Drawing 13. People. Drawing 14. Caravan of two Whites on horseback, accompanied by soldiers.

B. Drawing and Painting.

532 353 Drawings are scribbled on the exterior bark walls of the houses especially by children or adolescents. More rarely drawings are made on special bark strips that are attached to the inside walls of the meeting houses.

532 177 The drawing motifs are taken from secular life and frequently from a foreign culture (Fig. 225). Most frequently, tobacco pipes, /273/ /Fig. 225 appears here in the original text/ smoking men, and riders on horseback are represented in the drawings. The riders are regularly placed with both feet on their horses in the manner of Buffalo Bill. The horses themselves are always badly drawn; they might as well belong to the family of lizards (Drawing 6), or for that matter they might be identified as cats or centipedes (Drawing 9). At best they are equipped with a long, fishbone-shaped tail (Drawings 11 and 14), so that one immediately suspects that the artist has never seen a horse. This suspicion is strengthened when one observes a preponderant number of drawings of horses even in the remotest villages where it is certain that none of the inhabitants has as yet been to the coast. /274/ /Fig. 226 appears here in the original text./ It is therefore probable that the ancestors of the present-day draftsmen saw horses among the equestrian peoples of Adamawa or other African peoples in an earlier era before the Pangwe moved to their present location. The knowledge of this animal would then have been transmitted to their descendants by means of pictures that were copied again and again. [174]

In villages affected by European culture -- primarily those along the caravan routes -- we frequently find drawings of Europeans. Often, to correspond with their skin color, these are painted white; some drawings show them by themselves, others have them being carried in a hammock and accompanied by servants; others again show them on horseback riding ahead of the soldiers who are accentuated by red caps. The rider's legs are drawn behind the animal (Drawing 14), just as in the drawings of our children.

531 Otherwise we find people frequently represented with spears or rifles, but that is about the extent of artistic ideas. Drawings of

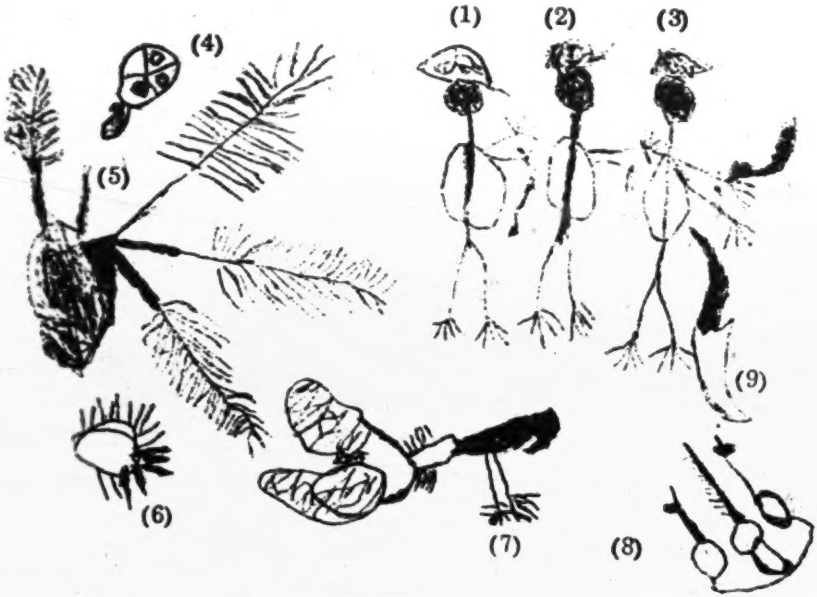


Fig. 226. Drawings by a Servant of the Author. Drawings 1-3. The author. Left, with a whip; right, with a walking stick. Drawing 4. Pocket watch belonging to the author. Drawing 5. Raffia palm. Drawing 6. Porcupine. Drawing 7. Man on a bicycle. Drawing 8. The author's key chain. Drawing 9. European pincers.

domestic or wild animals are very rare, there are none of plants, and as to tools, only the most striking ones (for instance, the large forging iron). Besides, most of the drawings are only scribbling anyway, in which only the author -- and perhaps not always even he -- had any idea of what he was doing. Obscene pictures, such as the one shown [831] in Drawing 10, Figure 225, are a great /275/ rarity; in the majority of drawings representing persons the sex organs are completely omitted. The sheet of pictures which my black boy gave to me as a farewell present, which he also adorned with my picture (Fig. 226), is of significance only for the "modern trend in art" and perhaps also for the

1: Tessmann--310 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

general conceptual ability of the natives; 532
for the rest, however, it has no ethnographic
value since such a creation would never have come
about without external influence.

C. Plastic arts.

The plastic arts are still wholly 532
rooted in religion and hence derive their motifs from 769
the conceptual realm of ancestor worship and of the
great cults.

The ancestral figures are heads carved out of wood
or full figures in the African style, that is, with
a recurrent lack of expression which, despite all the
superficiality of the given forms, nonetheless seems
to me to reflect a certain amiable naiveté and a quiet

Fig. 227
Top of a Chief's Stick with a Human Figure.

humor. To be sure, this effect hardly makes itself felt in the cold museum cases, but it does so in the native environment, especially when the natives carry the figures about at their cult festivals and make them dance. At any rate, the figures never bear the distorted, animalistic traits that distinguish Papuan art.

The large figures associated with celebrations for the ancestors are striking exceptions among the ordinary ancestral figures which are carved out of a single piece of wood. These large figures have attached arms which are slightly movable, legs, and sex organs.

In the same category as the ancestral figures we should place 532
the following which probably have a primarily religious significance: human figures at the ends of a number of chief's sticks (Fig. 227); furthermore, human heads on the center pillars and on the posts of the benches in the meeting houses, on the harps, and on the box musical pipe. On the other hand, the carving on the memory game is probably purely secular; at one end this carving forms a head. The same applies perhaps to the animal

532 representations on the posts of the meeting house (for instance, the leopard biting a pig's tail).

532 The masks used for the moon cult have a purely religious significance, as do the clay figures of the various cults. Indeed, especially in the latter the plastic art of the native rises to achievements of significant, one might even say monumental, proportions, both in the actual physical sense of the word (I saw figures eight meters long) and in the sense that they represented the idea symbolically expressed in a striking manner.

832 [291] [516] [417]

Fig. 57. Washing the Forehead at the Love Medicine Festival.

times, and in the case of very recalcitrant drops, the medicine was wiped down the bridge of the nose with a bundle of Abutilon leaves. The festive company then moved to the cult [778] place, in this case called a love grove (elik andŭ'mǎn). Just as the cult figures are usually set up on the trees (because of the [824] sorcerous beings, trees with spikes are chosen) and just as the [532] medicines for wealth are made up under the soul tree, the Copaifera, in the same way the love tree belongs to the love grove, namely the Leguminosa Amphimas tessmannii Harms (edži) (1). In Ebäangon the tree was only a small one, but

1. a dži-ń, "to love."

often they are huge specimens. In the background a kind of bench of rods was erected, and under it were heaped a great many twigs of various trees regarded as love medicine. Then the ancestral skulls were set up behind the bench, and the twigs ignited. Those persons who needed an improvement in their love affairs, /161/ /Fig. 57 appears here in the original text/ lay down on the bench and allowed themselves to be thoroughly

575 sentences passed by their superiors. In struggling against sorcerers,
626 it had also a medical role, which for a while outlived its police role: Bertaut (no. 110) seems to have known it only under this aspect, which did not arouse so much administrative suspicion. Allys considers it to be the "war fetish," thus agreeing, apparently, with Allégret and Largeau. Martrou and Leroux refer in this connection to "franc-juges," which recalls Bearth's description of the nsig nto of the Bané.

576 Very little is known about ngil rites as a whole or about their symbolism. The initiation has some traits in common with the sô: preliminary physical and moral purification, flagellation, confession, a broth for a test made of horrible substances, representation of ancestors, symbolic transition from an epicene or androgynous to a monosexual state (2), blood sacrifices. It is probable that these traits

2. Or, on the contrary, according to Stoll, transition from a monosexual state to a bisexual completion.

[778] are to be found in all important Pahouin rites. The sacred spot was a rectangular stockade, ésam, open to one side, with clay figures of the ngil and his "wife," (3) in front of which there was dug a

[532]

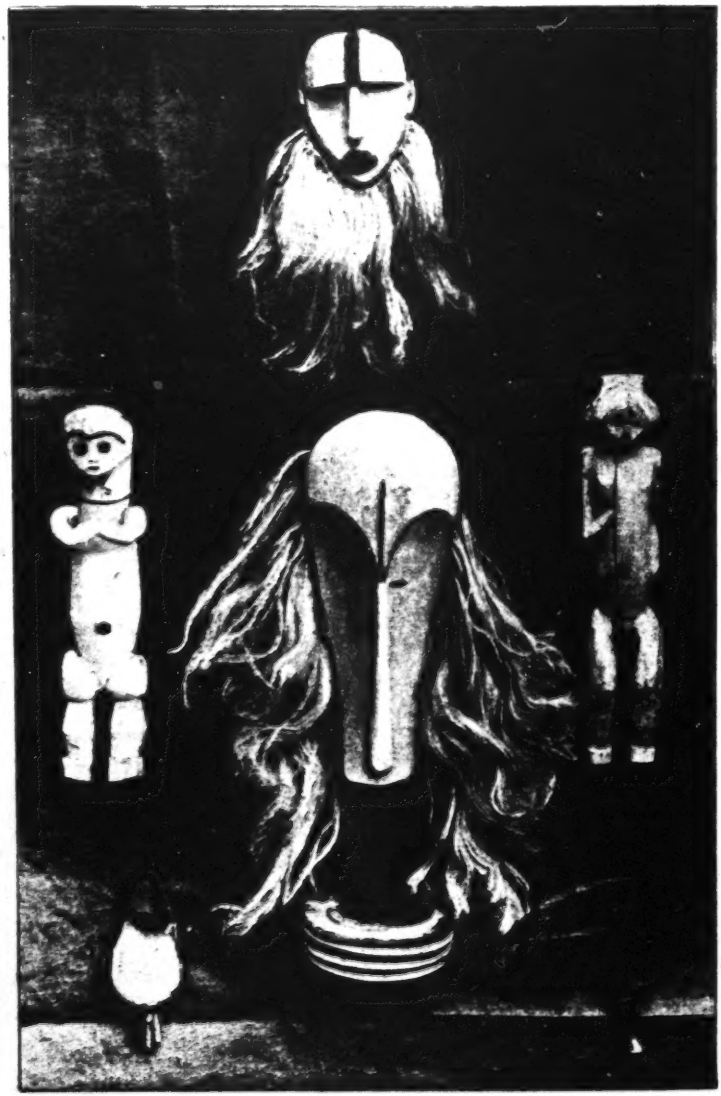
3. Or a single androgynous statue.

trench covered with a lattice in which initiates were hidden so as to prick the candidates with their spears when brought before the ngil after having had to climb through an ant pit (as in the sô). There was also a liana representing a python, the precise role /i.e., significance/ of which I do not know. The neophytes had to bring ancestral bones, which were kneaded into the clay of the figurines. The ceremony included a test intended to show if the neophyte was nnem (bearer of évu), which would have entailed his being put to death immediately; /64/ a blessing of the ritual spears which, according to Trilles, bore totemic designs; finally a sexual symbolism termed "obscene" by the authors mentioned, who give no further description of it.

The initiates left their houses in procession, masked or painted with white and red (mourning and rejoicing colors, respectively),

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

532
231
534
412
788



1 and 2, Ngi masks used in the Fang Secret Society; 3, 4, Fang idols; 5, Wooden dogbell 6, Ngi collar; 7, Sacrifice knife.

[p. 66(A)]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

name, the *Eki* of the Fang being the *Orunda* of the Mpongwe. One day when ou 784
a journey among the people, I asked an old headman to share with me a chicken 778
my boy had prepared for supper; the old man seemed pleased at my invitation, but asked the boy if it was a hen or cock fowl. Upon being informed that it was a cock, he declined to eat any of it · that was his *Eki*. As previously stated, I do 769
not believe the natives worship the spirits of Present and Future, but to a certain degree ancestral worship does exist. A Fang places the skull of his father in a curious receptacle of bark, worshipping it, killing fowls and making blood offerings to it, and in many ways the whole matter somewhat resembles the worshipping at graves and before ancestral tablets as practised in China. The natives often pray to their father's skull before talking a large war palaver, or the purchase of a new woman. As worshipping departed ancestors is the chief duty of a faithful Chinaman, so making offerings and prayers to the departed father's spirit before the skull constitutes the great Fang fetish, or *bieti*. Wooden idols, *biyeme*, of men [831]
and women are made in a manner which makes the sex extremely apparent; yet [532]
whenever I have seen these figures in towns, the people did not seem to regard them as obscene, but as truthful representations of the sexes. I feel sure that to some extent, at least, phallic worship is practised among the Fang. Spirits are 776
everywhere; in rocks, trees, forests, and streams; in fact, for the Fang, this life is one continual fight against spirits corporal and spiritual.

A peculiar belief regarding dreams is that when a person sleeps the soul often 787
wanders away, and its experiences on these journeys are made known to the sleeper 928
by dreams. After death the soul may inhabit any kind of animal. [775]

Fetish Biang (medicine).—Fetish means anything; leopard teeth, human finger nails, hair, wood, iron, herbs. The article used as *biang* or fetish, has no 778
intrinsic value, it is only valued because of connecting its owner with a spirit which can aid him. The leopard tooth fetish is supposed to impart the bravery of the leopard to its owner. Fetish is a spirit or combination of spirits manifested in material things.

Dili Mkuk.—To murder a person and save his skull as a fetish, or use the skull as medicine to bring women, guns, goats or goods. The people will make offerings to the skulls calling them by the names of persons killed. It is said that these prayers are always answered, as desired.

Biange Soli (hiding medicine).—A man goes and takes leaves of trees, and cuts 789
them up. He says, "I have cut up leaves of trees" (or high grass, bushes). The women shell gourd seeds and mash them. They catch a fowl, kill it, and put it in the pot. They also put in the pot the medicine leaves, and the mashed gourd kernels. They put the pot on the fire, and boil (its contents). When they have boiled it, the medicine is cooked. They take the medicine pot off (the fire). They go and put it by the side of (*afuŋ*) the back of the *bieti*. The man who has put it there says to the *bieti*, other people want to kill me. He takes away the medicine pot. He opens the *bieti* basket. He takes a small piece of the bone (instead of this say to the woman and children he takes the excrement of the

342

[516]

Fig. 34. Dwelling in Makonanám (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

344 fire gets too hot for him, and wards off the smoke from his face
517 like a person gently but firmly sending a little child away! He
538 looks as though he is talking to the fire and delivering a speech to the logs. Everybody listens in silence, everybody hangs on his words. And then follows a deliberate pause, after which he begins anew with impressive intonation; and at familiar places all the listeners enter into the narrative with a brief choral song in response to the solo part of the old man. Or there may be a
344 bit of gossip to relate, with a hubbub of biting words, an oc-
517 casion for spontaneous gaiety to prevail. On yet another oc-
521 casion a performance by a famous xylophone artist will draw
● 533 the population to the meeting house. The entire village, women and children included, takes part in these recitals; the children beat out the rhythm with small pieces of wood, while the women, with great dignity, beat together groundnuts and ngon which represent the "fee" and, softly humming a refrain, cast a meaningful glance in the direction of the tireless player.

342 The dwelling (ndǎ; plural, mandǎ), Figure 34, like the meeting house, /70/ /Fig. 34 appears here in the original text/ has a gabled roof and a rectangular ground plan. Like meeting houses, dwellings have both temporary and permanent forms.

539 tǒbǒ nale, adzǒ a n'abě
833 remain thus, affair it is bad.
836 Chorus:

A ta ma vū or a na ma
Oh, my father, I am dying, Oh, my mother, I

vū.
am dying (4).

[195] 4. The Negro dies on every occasion when something unpleasant happens to him; the chorus thus speaks from the point of view of the woman who is in such despair concerning this "bad affair" that she would almost like to die.

836 Although there are no actual prostitutes, a number of the
548 women enjoy the free life of a girl and up to the age of 30 or 35 years remain ngǒ'n, "girls." This kind of "girl," to whom every man, boy or adult, whatever his name, whether he is handsome or not, is equally /255/ welcome, is called a ñzīla. The fact that people have no better opinion of her than we have of a loose woman is shown by a song sung at a festival for the
[533] souls. In its own way this song represents a delightful satire and, for the Pangwe, an extraordinarily witty, poetic achievement. I have reproduced it in Section 20 ("Music") /Ed., not translated/.

In spite of the great sensuality, relations between the sexes
831 do have finer traits; tactful behavior, precise observation of prescribed forms, and profound spiritual sensibility are not absent. The ingenuous conduct of the young man toward the girl's parents and the naturalness with which the young people enjoy their love, without obligations, without social prejudices, have something almost ideal about them.

Memory Game, nkuk-ondüle, made of Wood, Southern Ntum Region. A little over one-fifth actual size.

Fig. 113

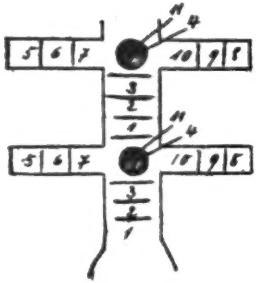


Fig. 114
Two Sections of the Memory Game nkuk-ondüle.

lower arm, and the hand), and finally by the upright knob, called tsǎngetsǎ'ńge (the red one; red as the color of reproduction, of life), by which originally the male sex organ was doubtless understood. The implement is thus unquestionably supposed to represent a human body whose members are multiplied. [822] [831]

The game is played by two people, one questioning, the other answering. The former, seated in the circle of listeners, holds the implement in his hand and indicates the various points that /309/ must be answered. At each one he calls out: "zé zé? =- What is that?" (phonetically assimilated and corrupted from dzě dzé). The principal player sits farther away and answers the questions in rhythmic song while the others stamp their feet or clap their hands in time. He is, of course, not allowed to make any marks to aid his memory, such as dividing a little stick into the corresponding number of sections. This is brainwork. 524 153 [533]

The 11 questions, which are the same for each segment, go as follows: 153 524 539

1, 2, 3. (see the corresponding numbers in Fig. 114)

nkúk ondüle wō'le.

Body (of the) ondüle here. That is the body of the ondüle.

174 who were settled among them and the Boulou. The last Beti groups to cross the Sanaga, blocked by those who had preceded them, have turned perpendicularly or obliquely to the general axis of migration.

The total migration was made exclusively by land, even when its [505 axis followed the course of a navigable river. The Pahouin are not users 487] of the pirogue, and the customary trails followed along ridges rather than valleys. Settlement is mainly linear, stretched along trails and, [361] now, roads, in long ribbons, separated by empty areas.

173 The traditions dealing with this exodus are of three kinds: the collective tradition of the group, varying in detail from tribe to tribe but always agreeing in the broad outlines of the same theme; family traditions, consisting of a commentary on genealogies, the majority of which have not been collected and are by way of being lost due to the abandonment of the customary training of boys; finally, a pseudo tradition of contemporary invention, which is far from the least interesting. I shall here give an account only of the principal features of these traditions and, first, of the collective tradition.

According to this, the ancestors used to live in a country called mvo' ékanga or mvo' ékañá'a (Largeau: mvôgh étangha), which means something like "cloudy country" or "honorable country," depending on the tone, or perhaps both at the same time (1). I have

[192]

1. a) Radical kañ = to honor, to respect, whence ékanâ'a = honor, respect, veneration; b) radical kañ = to mark, to design, whence ékanga = mark, design, cloud; c) verb kañele = to lash, to shape /timber/, whence ékanga = bridge.

pointed out previously the legendary features of this land in the east, the details of which vary according to the informants. It should be observed in passing that they differ as to whether or not this land was the actual cradle of the ancestors and whether the latter came from a place located even more to the east, as the present pseudo tradition assets (2).

[533 538]

2. The last of the Ntoumou storytellers sing to the accompaniment of a guitar, mvet, the exploits of the bikañ or bo'bikañá,

173
[533
538]

superhuman heroes, who include not only their ancestors but also the earliest well-known Europeans: Ngôtô Zambe (Rev. Good), Mendômô (Hauptmann von Hagen), Akôk (Marius Pascalet), etc., thus are found to be naturalized as it were and incorporated into tradition.

Driven out of this country by red giants (or by a red giant), the ancestors, fleeing to save their lives, were brought to a standstill at the Sanaga, incapable of crossing it until the intervention of the guardian of the waters, a python according to Beti and Boulou, a crocodile according to /16/ the Fang (1). By stretching himself across

1. Bertaut gives the names as mot yom and nga medja or ngan meja. Discounting a mistake in transcription, these expressions could mean "a being to be supplicated," "crocodile to be supplicated," from môt (Fang, môr, mur) = person; ngan = crocodile; ja'é (Boulou) dzak, dzaghé (Ewondo, Fang) = to ask, to supplicate; yom = to beg, to implore.

the river this animal formed a bridge which the ancestors crossed family by family, in order of primogeniture, until the moment when a child (or woman) wounded the animal's back by letting fall a weapon (or a torch). The animal dived below, abandoning on the right bank the Beti group that is still there today.

[103] Osoe Nnanga, whence Europeans have derived "Sanaga," means [822] "white river" or "river of the albino." White is the color of death; [824] ghosts (bekôn) are white; albinos are thought to be offspring of incubi. [775] Lastly, the land of the dead has always been situated in the west, toward the sea (mañ), even though the Pahouin could not have known the sea except by hearsay. Considered in connection with some of the legends collected by Trilles, these facts may lead us to think that the Pahouin in crossing the Sanaga were entering, at least symbolically, the land of the dead.

When they had reached the left bank, they found their road blocked by an impenetrable forest, with the single path obstructed by an

791 suggest those of the sorcerers they were fighting, as do some of their procedures. Like them, /high initiates/ were capable of telekinesis and bilocation, etc. Trilles gives numerous examples, some of which he claims to have observed himself. Like /sorcerers, initiates/ could transform themselves into animals or make use of a dedicated animal, élañela. They killed people from a distance, especially by casting a spell on a token /temoin, "witness"/ of the classical type, or by acting directly upon people with their power, ngul, by forcing them to submit to their will. Like sorcerers, also, they could be victims through repercussion.

Considering the circumstances, it is not surprising that /121/ magicians and sorcerers have often been confused, nor that some magicians have been led into making evil use of their knowledge, nor, [754] finally, that contemporary associations, like the mbuti (bwiti), intended to combat sorcery, have borrowed its methods, even in their criminal aspects.

533 789 In addition to the magicians proper, there is the singer, ñyia bia, who plays an important role in all rites, including initiations. Every important rite and ceremony has its musical accompaniment, with a specific orchestra for the occasion, and a choirmaster, who leads the incantations and acts somewhat as a master of ceremonies, without himself participating directly in the sacrifice or the magical act. It is peculiar to the ñyia bia that he is present at the three major rites, sô, ngil, and ndôngô, as at all magic ceremonies, no matter what his affiliation; apparently he is not liable to the prohibitions concerning participation affecting zesé bôt, ordinary or profane people. He [424] buys and sells or inherits his songs, is not assigned to a caste /n'est pas casté/, yet seems to have enjoyed a certain immunity during the wars of former times, but this may only have been the case with the most celebrated of the beyia bia. There are also female beyia bia, who enjoy the same prerogatives in feminine rites.

778 789 Magical equipment consists, first, of the instruments appropriate to each rite, drums, horns, rattles, bells, the ngôma harp of the bwiti, etc., with a great variety of additional diverse objects: fly-[534] whisks, akpwassa, sometimes mutilated; antelope horns filled with mebiañ; human and animal skulls and bones; pots and calabashes; engraved and decorated magician's spears; masks; the bwiti broken mirror; bikpwélé (iron "bride-price money"); shells, etc. Every magical act, every rite, has its own properties, the complete description of which would require a separate monograph for each. We

212 Largeau /sic/) and the mekutu alelé, bundles of little sticks making it possible to communicate in code, they had a kind of pictography, ntilan, with tens, if not hundreds, of signs, mindem. These we know (insufficiently) from the counters used in the abia game, a kind of
524 tarots, used as a game as much as for predicting the future; the pieces
787 were made of the seeds, or rather the pods, of a mimosa common in
884 the forest (Tetrapleura /125/ thonningii, according to Trilles). These signs had a surface meaning, understood by all, and an esoteric meaning, restricted to initiates. They made it possible if not to write down traditions as a whole, at least to draw up a kind of aid to memory to be used by the beyia bia. They also enabled scouts to leave messages for a main body of fighters that followed. Each clan,
304 each family had its own ndem, sometimes depicted in its tattoo mark, ndan, which thus constituted a sort of coat of arms.

538 The old literature included stories or tales, minlañ, songs, bia, and chronicles, minkañete.

Trilles is responsible for collecting most of the tales (no. 165), which often took the form of fabliaux whose hero was none other than Ol' Br'er Terrapin, Kulu (emphatic or personal form of kul), the earth tortoise (Cinyxis erosa), surrounded by Beme, the wild pig, stupid and gluttonous, Ze, the panther, mean and cunning, its princi-
905 pal enemy; Zo'o, the elephant, the king of beasts; Abôp, the spider, artful and obliging; and the majority of the other forest animals (except, it seems, snakes, which no one ever likes to mention). Kulu, thanks to his shrewdness, always ends by getting out of the holes in which his caustic spirit or the old hostility between him and Ze have put him. Tales of magicians were also told, or stories about the conjugal mishaps of supposed ancestors. All such tales were in the public domain and were recited by anyone who felt competent. This was also the case with the puzzles and riddles that young people put to one another as a kind of flirtation.

533 Songs, however, were performed by specialists, even aside from ritual or magical songs. Some were used to accompany dances; they represented the most complete form of musical expression, with the tone of the words supposed to fit the music while being related to the movements of the dance. There are still beyia bia competent to lead a dance of this kind by improvisation, but they are few and very expensive. There also still exist players of the mvet (harp-guitar), whose repertory includes, beside the old sung legends, some modern

533 skits, often satirical, sometimes to the accompaniment of European tunes that have been adapted to the instrument. Choral song, finally, is very popular, using imported tunes that are often considerably improved by the native interpretation which makes extensive use of fugue and counterpoint. Unfortunately, these modern airs are not suited to the tonal system of the language, which they tend to impair when words are adapted to them.

538 173 527 Chronicles, minkaffete, of which the salutations, mebatan, were in a way summaries, were part of traditional training and were recited only on solemn occasions. They are falling into oblivion because of the considerable demands they made upon the memory and because of the time necessary for learning them by heart, without mentioning the fact that they contained incomprehensible passages, perhaps borrowed from tribes that were neighbors of the Pahouin before their great migration. /126/

177 538 The systems of transcription introduced by missionaries were first used to translate the Scriptures and to compose hymns, which have not always had a good effect upon the language but have nonetheless become classics in spite of the mistakes and improprieties they often contain. After these works produced by Europeans in the native language, there have appeared in rapid succession works composed by Pahouin writing in their own language. The most remarkable is without doubt Nnanga kôn by the Boulou, Jemba Medu, which describes Boulou life at the time of the arrival of the first white men (nnanga kôn = phantom albino). This, to my knowledge, is the only novel composed in one of the languages of the group; its popularity is prodigious, to such a degree that its characters have entered into contemporary Boulou folklore.

204 There is a missionary press in Gabon and in the Cameroons. The papers with the largest circulation are Nleb Bekristen (Christians' Guide) (Ewôndo, Catholic) and Mefoé (News) (Boulou, Protestant), which is read as far afield as Gabon. The lay press in French is not of much importance and its publications moreover are usually short lived.

538 A Pahouin literature in the French language is a recent — and significant — phenomenon. Oyono and Eza Boto-Mongo Beti are both from the Cameroons; neither Gabon nor Spanish Guinea have up to now produced a novelist.

535 The dance has lost a great deal in being deprived of its old ritual character. Formerly there was a specific dance for every ceremony,

881
304
779
[821]

does not usually last longer than eight days, a lunar quarter. Every evening songs and dances are performed in honor of the moon, which is looked upon as a source of fertility. (2) In Fan,

> 2. The same belief exists in almost all African tribes; just as in Egypt, the moon presides over rain, which is the earth's source of fertility and thus of human fertility.

the same word, ngon, denotes "girl" and "moon," an ambiguity to be found nearly everywhere among African tribes, in varying degrees. These songs and dances are very special and repetition [533] of them is strictly prohibited outside the sacred enclosure. (3)

> 3. All I could discover on the subject from my young Christian converts who had already gone through the ceremony was that these songs were "bad" and had as their purpose procreation. There is no doubt that the Fan say things "crudely" in their songs. That is all I can say.

According to Lang, (4) this is the time when a youth is

> 4. The Making of Religion, Art.: "Circumcision."

taught about the existence of a beneficent god, a defender of morals, who condemns egoism and adultery. This is so among the Fan. In fact, it is during their retreat the chief teaches the children the mébara, or wisdom of the ancestors, and narrates the great deeds of the race. This is as much as we have been able to learn, for the rule of secrecy is scrupulously observed. During the final days the chief makes a point of mixing into the

779 principal weapon and because there are very few Fan who do not
884 possess one. Actually, the word for "rifle" in the consecration
411 song mentioned below is sometimes nzali, which really means "gun," and sometimes mbɛ̃ne, which denotes the "crossbow." The crossbow used to be the Fan national weapon. One of the words has changed, but the song is no less ancient for that.

In the middle of the village, the young man, accompanied by an older friend, places his rifle so that the first rays of the rising sun will strike it; he arranges around the rifle his totemic fetishes, that is, his childhood totem, which he will hereafter abandon, and his new warrior totem. In order to cast a spell [533] on his rifle, he then performs the necessary incantations, among them a hymn or invocation to the sun, of such real beauty and poetic quality that it should be quoted here.

[533]

Hymn to the Sun

539

Sun, you who see all things,
You, whose radiant splendor
Pierces the dark mist,
Sun, to you this homage!

To you, sun, king of the sky, divine hunter,
Sun, to you this homage!

Before your flashing glance
And the swift arrows of your fiery quiver,
Into somber depths
Fearful night sinks aghast,
Beneath your blows sparkling with light,
You tear night's mantle,
A black cloak trimmed with fire,
Sprinkled with bright stars,
You tear night's black mantle.

Sun, you who see all things,
You, whose radiant splendor
Pierces the dark mist,
Sun, to you this homage!

779 884 411 533 When the required offerings have been made, before the rifle is lifted, the actual consecration takes place. The tune and words seem to me sufficiently remarkable to warrant quotation. This song, in its melody and structure, recalls the antique airs which have come down to us from the Greeks and Romans. It is always sung by several voices:

539

Song of the Rifle

Anthem: Oh, all of you, listen, listen to the song,
the song of the rifle!
Chorus: Oh, let us all listen, listen to the song,
the song of the rifle!
Solo: For you, alone, O rifle! for you alone,
Far into the woods,
Far, far have I tramped long in the forest,
No longer hearing the barking dogs,
No longer hearing them,
No more than the noise-loving cocks,
No more than the cocks,
Leaving behind the chattering women,
Leaving them in their dark huts. [534]
Refrain: Yes, for you alone, O my rifle!
For your sake only, into the woods,
Into the woods have I gone,
O my rifle, for you alone.
Anthem: All of you, come, listen to the song of the fetish,
The beloved song of the fetish!
Chorus: Let us all come, listen to the song of the rifle,
The beloved song of the rifle! (Refrain: Yes,
for you alone . . .)
Anthem: Come all of you, come, listen well and without noise,
Listen!
Chorus: And silently, heedfully, let us listen.
Solo: For you alone, O rifle! for you alone,
Deep in the woods,
Leaving the village behind,

779 would lead to a ritual offense. These branches are embedded
778 in the earth; they must also be straight, cut from the actual
622 trunk of the tree and not from a branch; upon these poles stuck into the ground, the chief arranges pieces of bamboo (1) which

[342 824]

1. Bamboo is the usual term given by analogy to the palm stems or raffia used in all Fan building, in place of real bamboo, which is unknown or a recent importation into Gabon.

[284] make a platform. They are tied together, not with the lianas usual for huts, but with lashings [538] made of rattan palm. When that work has been done, the chief places his évora biéri on the upper tier; the other family heads put their bivora bibiér to the right and left in order of precedence. When all the boxes of skulls have been lined up, each man, after having danced and sung around the altar, then approaches it again, opens his box, removes the ancestral skulls, and places them on the lower tier below the boxes. Upon his family skulls he places the family totem, then his own personal totem. There is another series of dances, accompanied by songs. The chief then advances again, alone, and puts the skull of his immediate ancestor above all the others, dances and sings, then puts the skull inside that of the first ancestor. He also takes his family totem, which by the very fact of his birth is the tribal or clan totem, and places it upon the two superimposed skulls, his father's and that of the clan father. Then there begins a special
533 song called the Song of Union. The archaic words are nowadays
622 for the most part very hard to understand, the general meaning,
779 on the other hand, is easy to grasp: it deals with the uniting of all the heads of families in direct line and consists of an invocation to the Spirit of the Race, who has passed down through all descendants from the first ancestor so as to produce a united and indivisible whole. The final words of the song express this idea quite clearly:

539

In you the last returns to the first,
The first returns to the last.
And in common accord,
Your breath that does not die reunites them all,
Your breath reunites them without ever wearying.

It makes an unending whole,
And future children, offspring of our race,
Will also be your children, O father!
As I today am your child.

The éfirfira grows and continues to grow,
New branches start from its gnarled trunk,
One after another,
They grow, yet remain always the éfirfira.

In you the last returns to the first,
The first returns to the last. [539]

779 622 782 A gelded goat or often a gelded dog is then brought to the wooden altar; it is immolated, and the blood is collected in a clay pot. The chief dips a green palm branch in the blood and then puts it on the altar in such a way as to cover both the totems and the ancestral skulls.

779 622 533 After this first "recognition" comes a second, which consists of a song called "Song of the Visit." The chief sings it, and all the participants repeat the refrain. Thus the Yendun tribe, for instance, the refrain is:

[539]

Bi'ne bibôñe bi Ndun,
Bi'ne fogo bisésé bibôñe bi Ndun
Ndun a ne Esa bie,
Ndun ve Esa bie bisé.

We are the children of Ndun,
Yes, we are all the children of Ndun,
And Ndun is our father,
Yes, Ndun is the father of us all.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

site for their villages. The houses can be readily taken down and erected 342
elsewhere. The earth floor is often beaten very hard, no covering is used. The
beds are made of bamboo poles resting upon end pieces, supported by four forked [513]
corner stakes. The bed is raised about one foot from the ground. In most houses
are four beds, two at each end on opposite sides, having a log fire burning between, 352
the smoke escaping through the thatch roof. The furniture is all movable, and consists of stools, cassava bowls and boards, drinking gourds, fish nets, water gourds, various baskets and hanging bamboo shelves for drying fish and corn over the fire. Food, guns and powder horns are hung up on wooden hooks suspended by bush rope; these hooks are made by cutting a suitable branch from a young tree, having a strong crutch. No separate portion of the dwelling is set apart for sleeping or eating. There are no windows to a Fang house; at night one or more pieces of bark are used for a door. All the domestic arrangements are excessively [356]
filthy. Refuse from meals is unknown, everything is eaten, including entrails and
skin of animals and fish. Before occupying a new house the witch doctor (*ngangan*) [262]
is usually called to perform the ceremony of propitiating the evil spirits (local 342
spirits), and the *biang Ekuri* (fetish) is hung up and becomes the protecting fetish of the household. This fetish is hung up over the doorway outside. The houses are built entirely above ground, the roofs are made of split bamboo and covered with thatch made from the long tough blade of a swamp reed, or rush. This thatch makes a most excellent roof, and when well put on, it is able to withstand three years of the terrible rains which fall during the long wet season.

V.—*Navigation, Hooks, Nets, Fishing, Traps.*

The Fang use long narrow canoes. A suitable tree having been found is 501
felled and trimmed, then hollowed out with the small native wedge. All the boats
are open and both sides of the canoe alike. The women use the same canoes as [396]
the men and paddle them very skilfully. War canoes are made large and strong, but are otherwise similar in construction to the canoes in daily use. A kind of lugger sail is used and the natives sail a thin canvas very close to the wind. The baler used is made of wood; it much resembles a large flat sugar scoop and is common among tribes along the west coast. This baler is used most skilfully and with great rapidity by both men and women. In paddling, no fulcrum whatever
is used. The men and women either sit or kneel, grasping the paddle handle in 502
its upper and lower thirds they plunge the blade deeply into the water, and force the canoe ahead with great rapidity. One man, woman, or a child steers, using an [533]
ordinary paddle; the time kept while paddling is excellent, and is usually kept by [44]
one man chanting a Fang song, not unlike a white sailor's shanty, the paddling [501]
taking on renewed vigour during the chorus. The sails are usually made now [439]
of imported trade cloth, but I have seen them made from the native bark
cloth. Only one sail is used and the canoes are able to beat up well against the wind.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

places where they are going to build these respectively), large bush rat, porcupine, 224
squirrels, die in the traps; deer, gazelle, antelope, large deer and pigs die in the 539
pitfalls. The animals which die in the *olam* are these. This is the *olam*.

XVII.—*Burials.*

Death is never considered as due to natural causes. Disease followed by death 764
is due to *evus* (witch). It is not considered unlucky to attend a dying person. [761]
The body is usually left in the house until burial. Embalming is not practised.
Mourners smear white clay on their bodies and wear necklaces of pineapple fibre for one moon (month). A coffin is not used and the body is buried in the sitting posture. After burial the grave is levelled off as is the case almost throughout West Africa; the only difference between the burial of a headman and a common man is in the amount of visitors and mourning, and the quarrelling over his goods. Wives of a dead headman remain in mourning from one to three moons (months). 765
The witch doctor, *ngangan*, usually performs a post mortem to find the witch.
I attended a post mortem on an old woman. The witch doctor ripped open the [763]
abdomen with an old rusty knife, grasped and cut away the uterus and holding it up to the crowd declared "Six witches!" The crowd passed the word "six witches," and spoke the praises of the witch doctor. Relations usually continue to mourn or wail for one moon while inside the house or at work in the gardens. The most common wail is *Ó nan Ó! Ó tat Ó!* (Oh mother! Oh father!).

XVIII.—*Akóm.*

This is a dance. It is not *biang* (medicine) nor is it *eki*. It is, however, 535
practised by men only. The women must not see it. The latter stay within doors, 534
and only hear the words which the men speak outside. The men speak with artificial voices, so that the women cannot recognise who it is that is speaking. (*Fam a kobo ne kiú zie nkót.*) To make the artificial sounds they use a membrane (*ten*) which encloses the young of the spider (*ndenbóa*). This they spread over a hole (about ¾ inch diameter) near the small end of an elephant tusk (*mbang nzok*) from 1 to 2½ feet in length, attaching it with beeswax (*abē*) or a liquid which is obtained from a plantain stalk fresh cut. This juice is called *akirl*. It possesses an adhesive property. The man blows on the large end of the ivory. A curious sound then issues through the membrane so that the man's voice cannot be recognised. This instrument is called *mbang akóm*. The act of playing on the instrument is called *e kobe akóm* (*e kobe*, talk). The performer sings songs; the words are distinctly heard. He sings and all others sing responsively (*a ye bo'bengese b'aka*).

Many songs are used in *akóm*. Here are three specimens of them:— 535
(1) *Benza b'abete kobo? Biso benga wog mod.* Who speaks any more? 539
(*i.e.*, Be silent, let no one speak.) Others are listening with pleasure (*i.e.*, to the performance).

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

533 Response by the audience: *Nangekobe.* This word seems to have no meaning but to be simply used as a responsive utterance.

539 (2) *Akôm ke yeye zazam.* Let not the *akôm* sing my song. This supposes that another similar performance (*akôm*) is going on in the neighbourhood, and the performers in it are urged not to make use of the song used by those in the first (*akôm*).

Response: *Ziazia, akôm ke yeye zazam.* The word *ziazia*, like *nangekobe*, appears to have no meaning, and to be simply used as a responsive utterance.

(3) *Ke bele me nzok zam ne mabata.* Do not catch hold of my instrument (tusk of elephant) with *mabata, i.e.*, because you have the sickness *mabata* (a kind of sloughing phagedina).

Response: *Ziazia*; *ke bele me nzok zam ne mabata.*

XIX.—*Abnormalities (Natural Deformities), Albinism, Erythrism.*

732 During my residence among the Fang I saw five albinoes (shown on lantern slide). The natives say of these albinoes: "They are white, but *not real* white 143 people." They are treated fairly well; their ever restless eyes cause them much ridicule and annoyance. I know of only one being married. They are not long lived. After death the skull of an albino is greatly valued for medicine, especially for placing with the *biang-akamayeng* (protector of the tribe).

Erythrism is occasionally met with. A red-haired Fang lived in the town of Jam-anen (large affair); his skin was chocolate colour, but his eyes had a pale pinkish colour. The first sight of a red-headed black man surprised me very much.

Hare lip is very rarely seen.

One case of hermaphrodism came under my notice, a Fang male; he was looked on as an *ngangan* (witch doctor) of great power, and was much reverenced.

Deformations (Artificial Deformities).

304 A. *Facial.*—The triangular nasal cartilage is frequently pierced. This practice is mostly indulged in by women. Bars of bamboo are inserted or porcupine quills. It is considered *mbung* (handsome).

The lips are not pierced or deformed in any way.

The ears are pierced and ear-rings worn.

Fetish is also suspended from the ears.

B. *Dental.*—Males file the upper and lower incisors to a sharp point. The only reason given is, "it is *mbung*" (handsome).

XX.—*Fang Proverbs and Sayings.*

539 *Ma kôm wam nlem*, I think in my heart.

Me ku, I am gone, said in taking leave.

224 1. Drive of lower animals into baskets;

2. Drive of big game into nets.

In the drive for lower game living in caves, especially porcu-
285 pines (ngŭm), elongated baskets (nkŏ,e'-ngŭm) made of the stalks
824] of the Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch. (okiaikui) are used (Fig. 86, Drawing 1). The baskets are placed at the various exits of the cave; at one of them the hunter stations himself and either sends a dog into the passage or beats the ground with a stick. The frightened animal flees to one of the remaining exits and lands in the basket where it gets stuck and, because of its quills, is unable to retreat rapidly. A man then rushes to the spot and kills the animal with his spear.

A second kind of basket, but correspondingly narrower (Fig. 86, Drawing 2), is placed outside ratholes. The animals are chased into the basket in a regular drive in which the entire youth of the village takes part, and there they are killed. These baskets are called nsăn.

These rat drives, carried out with a great hullabaloo, are for the young what the drive of wild animals (nsŭ,m I, abim) is for the adults. Game nets, frequently 16 meters long, are attached to one another and set up at suitable places in the bush to form what are often very extensive snares. The beaters chase the animals into these nets with the help of dogs that
[534] carry wooden bells (nkōle-mvū I, mvū,no IV, angŭ,n e mvū, edū,n e mvū, ongō,lă'-mvū, ekbwēle), Figure 87, around their necks. The animals get tangled up in the meshes and are shot by the hunters stationed there. It should be added that this drive is a great undertaking and a general popular festivity, the details of which, however, I must forbear to describe. I shall only observe that in this manner a considerable
[441] number of antelopes and other game are caught, and the Pangwe deserve commendation for carrying out this undertaking with splendid success, since it is indeed not an easy job in the rough and impassable forest region. Even the driving of elephants into large

Fig. 85. Elephant Spear (fired from a rifle).

224

flintlock, this motive for hunting buffaloes has disappeared, and the chase is too dangerous to hunt them only for the meat. The hunting of gorillas and chimpanzees is just as unprofitable, and with very few exceptions the people are unacquainted with hunting as pure sport. The Pangwe find it too difficult and onerous to stalk antelopes without fixed nets. Long-tailed monkeys, squirrels, and smaller birds are shot with the crossbow. Hunting long-tailed monkeys is an undertaking filled with variety, not too difficult -- even though many of the monkeys have very sharp eyes and ears -- and profitable (2).

Fig. 87. Dog Bell.

[04]

2. The monkeys are lured by blowing on a perforated fruit, the monkey lure (elǒ́ñ, elǒ̌ɛ̄), Figure 88, b; birds are lured with an instrument like a reed pipe, Figure 88, a, called zǒle IV, zǒ.

I consider it a mistake to assume that the crossbow is an imitation of European models. How would a Negro hit upon the idea of transforming the model to such an extent and furthermore, as is done by the Bassá along the Sanaga, of continuing the front end into a shaft-like extension and at times putting on it a genuine spear head with a socket? I incline to the notion that the natives combined spear and bow and in this way independently created a new weapon. Finally, it is impossible to prove, except for the last decades of the nineteenth century, that any European influence 411 177

411
177 at all penetrated as far as the Pangwe from the west coast of Africa. /140/

411
824

[224
534]

Fig. 88. Lure Pipes: (a) for monkeys (instrument like a reed pipe); (b) for birds (drilled seed)

The crossbow (mbǎn I), Figure 89, consists of two parts, the shaft (ngpwǎ(s)-mbǎn) (1) and the bow (endzi á-mbǎn)(2)

1. For the shaft the wood of the following three Anonaceae are preferred: Mesocarpidium lepidotum Engl. and Diels (amvim); Xylopia striata Engl. (mvú'ma IV); and Hexalobus salicifolius Engl. (mepfá'ne III).

2. For the bow, because of their strong wood, the following are used: (1) Olax tessmannii Engl., Icacinaceae (elõ'm); (2) Sapindaceae, Pancovia pedicellaris Radlk. and Gilg and Placodiscus opacus Radlk. (zǒk); (3) Violaceae Rinorea longisepala Engl. (zǒk-o-si) and R. welwitschii (Oliv.) O. Kze. (enõ'ežǒk); (4) Rubiaceae Randia acuminata Bth. and micrantha K. Sch. (ají'ẽ); (5) Anacardiacea Trichoscypha spec. (žǒk e mekum); (6) Rubiacea Gardenia lateriflora K. Sch. (ebǎm) does not seem to be as suitable; (7) Polygalacea Carpolobia alba Don. (onǒn); (9) a Rubiacea (oyǒ'). /(8) is omitted by the author. /

411 with the bowstring. The shaft is a piece of wood between one and one and a half meters long, ovoid in cross-section. At the

322 415 Figure 177. Finally, the bowl and the handle are rubbed smooth with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata.

The powder flasks (ndǒk e pfidi) are very laboriously manufactured from the wood of the Alstonia congensis (ekūk) and the [824] Kickxia elastica, Figure 178. First a massive flask is shaped and nicely smoothed on the outside; this shape is then split into two halves by a longitudinal cut. Each half is hollowed out on the inside with the adz, and the neck is cut off at the desired length. Finally, both halves are fitted together again and are held together by means of an animal's skin, usually of the monitor lizard, sewn over it.

Plates from the wood of the Alstonia congensis or Ceiba pentandra are also very difficult to make because even during the work the edges tend to split rather easily. When they do, the plates are nevertheless finished and repaired afterwards with bush rope.

322 Dog bells are made from Alstonia congensis, Alchornea ●534 caloneura, and Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub (myē' IV Ntum); bellows 824 are manufactured from the Alstonia congensis and Musanga smithii R. Br. (asǒ'n); dugouts from Musanga, Ceiba pentandra (dum), and the Combretacea /223/ /Fig. 174 appears here in the original text/ Terminalia superba Engl. et Diels (akǔ'm); talking drums from Cordia odorata Gürke (ebǎī) and Rinorea dentata; hide drums from Alstonia, Cordia, Rinorea, and Musanga.

322 Spear handles are made from the easily split stems of an 411 Anonacea (?), otunga, and of a Flacourtiacea, osǎ bē ǐ' (1). The [824]

1. sǎ = to split, bē ǐ' = fingernails; tree which can be split with the fingernails.

wood is split /Fig. 175 appears here in the original text/ into as many parts as one wants to make spear handles. First the edges created by the splitting are roughly taken off with the cutlass, and then each individual part is worked with the drawknife until a round stick the thickness of the spear handle remains. The drawknife (awǒn), Figures 179 and 180, consists of a piece of wood (branch fork) bent in the form of a hook, whose sides have a short slit cut

531 combination of triangle and arc occurs very frequently and in such a way that the arc is placed inside the triangle and on its base line (the triangle usually is long and drawn out with acute angles), Figure 212, Drawings 3 and 45; or it is the other way around, the triangle being placed inside the arc so that its tip falls in the middle of the arc base and its base is on the arc line (Fig. 212, Drawing 45).

The natives like to fill a triangle or a shallow arc with the fishbone pattern (Fig. 212, Drawings 11, 13) or to combine two of the latter with each other. A popular practice also is to divide a pattern into two halves and to push a second / 256 and 257/ /Figs. 212 and 213 appear here in the original text/ /258/ in between, as in Figure 212, Drawing 44, where the pattern of a string of cowrie shells is pushed into another, and Drawing 43, where a swamp palm leaf pattern is pushed into a checkerboard pattern. Especially in the last example one can clearly recognize that the one pattern was actually inserted and that it is not a matter, say, of two other patterns being joined at the top and the bottom of the first.

All the patterns mentioned, aside from their use on stools, are also applied to the handles of the stirring spoons -- except that in the adaptation to the available space they are smaller and less neatly executed -- but they are very rarely applied to the ladling spoons. On the other hand, many hide drums are decorated in a superbly artistic fashion; one might say that the first area of Drawing 1, Figure 213, represents a triumph of carving. As with this one, all the large hide drums of the Pangwe have carving patterns applied on triangular areas in relief between the upper and lower drum ring (which frequently is decorated in the same fashion). Among the Ntum and Fang these areas extend over the entire mantle of the drum cylinder so that their base lies at the top and their tip at the bottom. Among the Mwai the mantle surface is divided by a ring into two halves which are filled in with triangles pointed towards the center (Fig. 214). The decoration itself is much simpler among them.

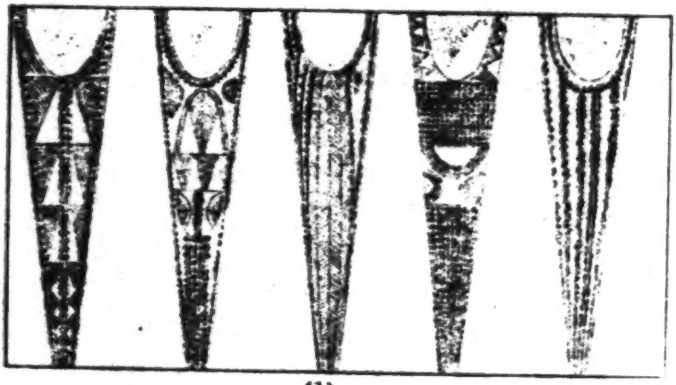
531 534

531 Furthermore, among the Mwai I saw a house post which was carved with similar patterns in the same arrangement as the drums.

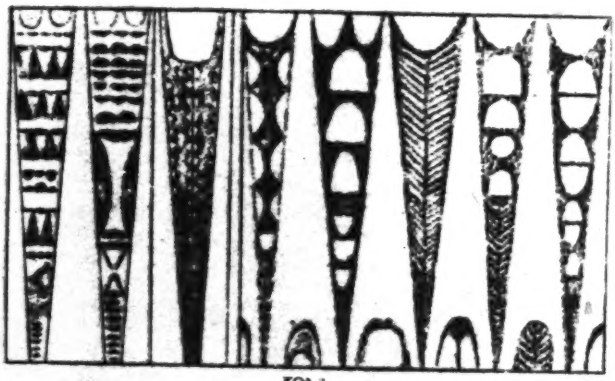
1: Tessmann-- 289 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/257/

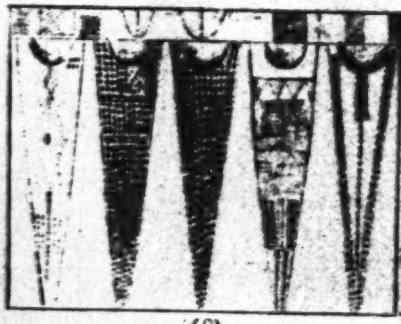
531
534



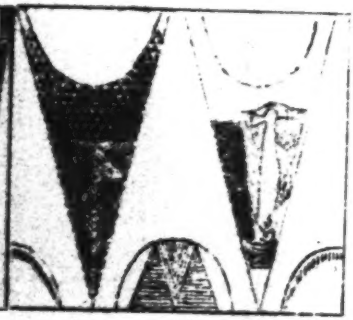
(1)



(2)



(3)



(4)

Fig. 213. Patterns from Hide Drums (rolled out).

3. Incised patterns.

(a) Decorative scars.

531 /Fig. 214 appears here in the original text. /

304 The patterns of the decorative scars made by incision are not very numerous. There are only about a dozen of them. They constantly recur in the same form, and there is no inclination toward any essential modification.

Of the original basic patterns, the following have been transferred for the decorative scars: the triangle with a diagonal drawn through it (called in this case esa[s]-mvǎn, "half-pattern"), Figure 215, Drawing 9; the straight parallel lines (in this case called mekön, "guide rods"), Figure 215, Drawing 10, frequently simplified to a simple line, 1; and the arc a (in this case called makǒs, "arcs").

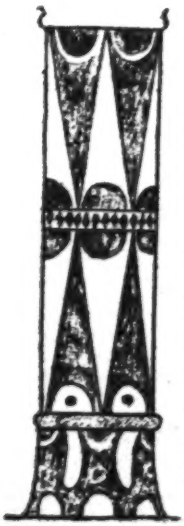


Fig. 214. Mwai Drum from Malén (Sebō Family), New Cameroons.

[534] Of the homologous modified patterns there are the acute-angled triangle b (ndǔ-mbǎn, "arrow leaf") and the circle c (in this case called atōk, "whirlpool"). Of the non-homologous modified patterns there is the triangle spear d (mbǎ[s]-akǒń). We are also familiar with the barbed spear e (ngam-akǒń), of which I have already said that it originated with decorative scars, in all probability from a /259/ /Fig. 215 appears here in the original text/ /260/ combination of the line (of the modified straight parallel line) with the figure of the arc set inside a triangle (see Figure 212, Drawing 3), the base of which is lacking.

867 development of a sense of honor -- in the Pangwe sense, of
861 course -- may be called one of the primary rules. The child must learn to fear being shamed as much as our boys fear the rod.

The threats for smaller children up to six or seven years old
861 are limited to simple devices for frightening them known by the
534 name kŏkŏ'-bŏ'ngo III (Jaunde) or bim a sī ze bŏ'ngo (southern Pangwe) "things to scare children." The procedure is as follows. In the evening or at night a relative makes some kind of noise in front of the house. The child that is naughty or crying is then warned of the bad man outside. The simplest implement for making a noise is a small tree trunk that is placed on the floor and then alternately and rhythmically stamped and beaten with a mallet. In addition, the person may murmur in a deep voice: "kŏkŏ' nie a žū nie (the bad man (kŏkŏ'), he has come)." The implement itself is called -- onomatopoetically -- kăkăkū mo III (kă kă = the beating of the mallet, kū m = the stamping of the stick on the ground, and at the same time, ekū m = tree stump, upright piece of trunk). An even more effective means of scaring children is the uncanny sound of the wooden whizzer (edžībŏ'ngo, "child eater," Fig. 86), often used by men and older boys to frighten the younger ones. Aside from contrivances for making noise, there are /288/ various other means of frightening them, such as the belŏnežŏk or wandering elephant, which, however, I cannot describe in greater detail at this point.

A much more important means of education is oral instruc-
861 tion and teaching, imparted in ample measure to the little fellow
867 by both father and mother. The mother tells stories /Fig. 86 appears here in the original text/ of which a number, like the story of the Edschibongo (child eater), are designed to keep the child in fear and at the same time to teach. In the next section I shall devote some attention to these stories; at this point I want to discuss in greater detail the purely educational precepts that are for the most part imparted by the father. These precepts or, as we might say, principles are called malĕbega. They are affirmed daily on every suitable occasion and constantly repeated, so that they become firmly implanted in a boy's head. A number of such principles, which unfold before our mind's eye an unfalsified image

861

[534]

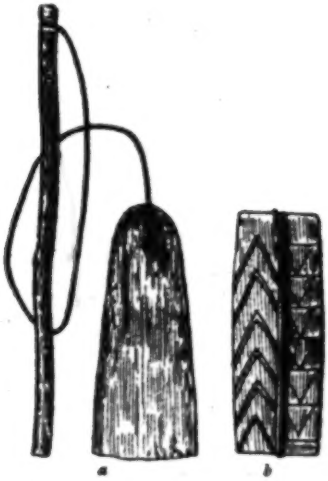


Fig. 86. Whizzers.
(a) With stick; (b) without stick, a string being slung around the wood.

861 of the natives' family life and reveal to us the view of the Pangwe
867 with respect to what he calls morality and order, will be reproduced here in the actual order in which the boys told them to me.

My father told me:

1. When I go on a journey, look after the chickens, dogs, and women for me, so that everything will be in good order when I return; then my heart will rejoice.

2. You should not tell others all the things that were confided to you, otherwise the man who has said them to you will be angry.

3. You shall listen to your father's words, because when you later marry a girl, your father will pay for her.

4. When I have visitors in my house and tell you to bring firewood, do it quickly; when I tell you to bring food for the guests, do it, or else your father will say of you, "You are like a chicken, a goat, or a dog -- I did not beget you!"

5. When you go to wrestle, you should muster your strength so that you will be the victor, for if others throw you, I shall be sad and will have to be ashamed.

6. If you have a sweetheart and she brings you food (Author's note: When the young man visits her), you must not eat up

778 initiates. Anyone else who eats it will become mortally ill. During
782 the following night, the bieri will reveal to an initiate during his
787 sleep the means of assuring the success of the hunt for which his help has been asked.

778 The bieri strictly forbids anyone, under pain of mortal illness, to [76] insult it. Its power is unlimited: it can cause a woman who has fled from the village to return to it; it causes lost objects to be found.

In spite of all the faith which the old Pahouin still have in the bieri, in the region which interests us one may say that the majority of the population has abandoned it, primarily because of its being driven out by the Christian missions.

515 IV. The buiti. The buiti, which our informants told us were of
776 Mitsogho [Mitsogo] or Masango [Missanga?] origin (peoples of the right bank of the N'Gounié), is a protective association against the bivur. The information on this secret society was given us by Akam Eyene, the head of a buiti, who lived in the village Elong Eko on the Abanga. It is rather incomplete because this informant was unwilling to give us certain details and to answer numerous questions.

Possessors of bieri band together because of the fear of the bivur, against which the bieri by itself is powerless to protect them. Their association, the buiti, in its fight against the ngwel, shows itself as stronger and kills the bivur (and consequently the individual possessors of bivur). It also serves to reveal the beyem, who have evil intentions toward members of the buiti and to make their efforts ineffectual.

515 Every member of the buiti brings a piece of his bieri and a piece of
778 the animal under whose protection he has placed himself. All of these are put in a box and constitute the fetish of the association, which also keeps such material things as:

515 A musical instrument, ngomi, a harp with eight strings. At the
534 bottom of the resonance chamber of the one belonging to Akam Eyene were pierced three holes covered by three pieces of flesh of chimpanzee, gorilla, snake, elephant, eagle, panther, and rooster. This instrument accompanies the songs of the ceremony.

A bell, etsoge, a round hollowed-out fruit, into which are put little pebbles. It is equipped with a handle and is shaken during the songs.

A branch of raphia palm lying horizontally on two carved stakes called minsaga mi buiti. The whole thing is called obaka. During the ceremonies this branch is beaten with two sticks.

and a middle tone. Father Stoll, raising the problem again in a recent work, turns it upside down by describing two fundamental tones, symmetrically contrasted, two dominant tones, and eight compound /composés/ or gliding ones, all of them together classed as eight principal (four simple and four gliding) and four secondary ones. He connects this symmetrical system with the cosmogony, proving his point with an illustration from the sô rite. The battle among specialists is too violent for me to express an opinion. I shall restrict myself /25/ to pointing out that the nkul and the nkeñ only give two tones, and that in sending a message by one of these methods rhythm plays as important a part as do the tones (1).

1. But the balafo, mejeñ, consist of five xylophones of different tonality, each having six notes.

In the spoken language, and especially in formal speech, rhythm is just as important, and even those missionaries who possess a fine enough ear to avoid involuntary puns through tone usually do not succeed in mastering rhythm as can the last of the poet-storytellers. Current transcriptions do not, moreover, take rhythm or tone into account, the meaning of homographs emerging from their context. I think I observed here as elsewhere that the younger generation is inclined to forget the fine points of the language and no longer distinguish more than two tones, high and low, while the use of the nkul is daily losing ground.

A final important element in the language, especially in the oral literature, is represented by exclamative-descriptives, a series of locutions based on onomatopoeias or derived from verbs or modified nouns, reduplicated and often introduced by an exclamative particle or a click (2). Some of them are sufficiently accepted to be used in

2. Bertaut is one of the rare authors, if not the only one, to point out these clicks. I know of three in general use: one of approval, one of denial, one of warning. Others exist, used in hunting and still little known, which were perhaps borrowed from the Pygmies.

had not done so, the clan chose its chief, and the neighboring populations each sent him a spear in token of recognition.

The power of the Fong chief is on an even more personal level. The chief conveys his commands by means of an enormous drum; his pipe is preserved like a relic; his musicians play special instruments, among them the nkeñ (percussion double bell), quite rare in that region but a classical instrument in the western Cameroons with the Bamiléké or Bamoum /Mum/. The chief's installation is marked by the tradition of the spears and the donning of a headpiece of parrot plumes. (J. B.)

Any more extensive authority was founded on personal prestige, which always aroused resentment. Authority was never conferred except temporarily, and it was quite often withdrawn from the holder before term.

French, German, and Spanish administrations have attempted to set up a hierarchical system of authority that it has never been possible really to impose upon the country. The three administrations all made the initial mistake of trying to establish this authority on a territorial basis, which is completely—or nearly—foreign to these nomadic people. Only village chiefship had some resemblance to a customary institution, provided that the choice of chief fell upon a nnôl mût, a genuine senior, and that his brothers accepted his authority. Canton and higher chiefdoms had no cohesion except insofar as the incumbent had authority or administrative support. At the beginning of the colonial period, however, these functions were very often entrusted to genuine bejôd bôt, /62/ well-known war chiefs, high initiates of societies like the ngil, or celebrated magicians. Later on, it became more difficult to find, even among opposition ranks, chiefs possessed of real authority. After 1945 there was an attempt in the Cameroons to reorganize the system of authority on a clan basis (the Bourdier-Granier reform), then on village lines (the Christol system), finally ending up with a municipal type of system.

preceded by drummers and trumpet players and by a boy (uncircumcised?) entrusted with holding across the village street a liana, which the cortege broke through only after sacrificing a chicken. The uninitiated did not have the right to be present at this procession. The ngil leader, masked and painted in red and white, carried his personal bieti (bieri); he was always accompanied by a full orchestra (mvet guitar, mbaé and nkul drums, mejañ balafo). The initiation ceremony lasted a month (1).

1. The ngil mark was a tattoo below the sacrum, therefore covered by the loincloth. Initiates did not go out except in masks, so that theoretically it was impossible to recognize them.

Members of the ngil circulated in small groups, masked, to carry out inquiries in villages where a case of sorcery was suspected or to put sorcerers to death. For ordinary cases they applied the ordeals in current use (minkal), but for serious cases it was necessary to arrange for an initiation ceremony: this feature is found in nearly all ritual associations, where initiation is always accompanied by collective catharsis.

Among other masculine initiation societies the ndôngô rite must be mentioned, whose initiates have two incisions on the nape of the neck. Its symbolic /features/ include confession, purification, seclusion in darkness, passage through a narrow corridor or a low doorway, a liana-serpent, a consecrated lance, a sacrifice (2), a

2. Dogs were sacrificed. Ndôngô canceled serious minsem /breaking a taboo/ like homicide or incest and allowed initiates to eat pork, mutton, and porcupine. (J. B.)

horrible brew. The ritual animal was the tortoise. The purpose of this rite seems also to have been protection against sorcerers and, perhaps, to improve luck, ma'a. The initiation of circumcised youths, bekungu, is perhaps a juvenile form of ndôngô. Both survived until the Second World War. Ndôngô does not seem to set up

791 suggest those of the sorcerers they were fighting, as do some of their procedures. Like them, /high initiates/ were capable of telekinesis and bilocation, etc. Trilles gives numerous examples, some of which he claims to have observed himself. Like /sorcerers, initiates/ could transform themselves into animals or make use of a dedicated animal, élañela. They killed people from a distance, especially by casting a spell on a token /temoin, "witness"/ of the classical type, or by acting directly upon people with their power, ngul, by forcing them to submit to their will. Like sorcerers, also, they could be victims through repercussion.

Considering the circumstances, it is not surprising that /121/ magicians and sorcerers have often been confused, nor that some magicians have been led into making evil use of their knowledge, nor, [754] finally, that contemporary associations, like the mbuti (bwiti), intended to combat sorcery, have borrowed its methods, even in their criminal aspects.

533 789 In addition to the magicians proper, there is the singer, ñyia bia, who plays an important role in all rites, including initiations. Every important rite and ceremony has its musical accompaniment, with a specific orchestra for the occasion, and a choirmaster, who leads the incantations and acts somewhat as a master of ceremonies, without himself participating directly in the sacrifice or the magical act. It is peculiar to the ñyia bia that he is present at the three major rites, sô, ngil, and ndôngô, as at all magic ceremonies, no matter what his affiliation; apparently he is not liable to the prohibitions concerning participation affecting zesé bôt, ordinary or profane people. He [424] buys and sells or inherits his songs, is not assigned to a caste /n'est pas casté/, yet seems to have enjoyed a certain immunity during the wars of former times, but this may only have been the case with the most celebrated of the beyia bia. There are also female beyia bia, who enjoy the same prerogatives in feminine rites.

778 789 Magical equipment consists, first, of the instruments appropriate to each rite, drums, horns, rattles, bells, the ngôma harp of the bwiti, etc., with a great variety of additional diverse objects: fly-whisks, akpwassa, sometimes mutilated; antelope horns filled with mebiañ; human and animal skulls and bones; pots and calabashes; engraved and decorated magician's spears; masks; the bwiti broken mirror; bikpwélé (iron "bride-price money"); shells, etc. Every magical act, every rite, has its own properties, the complete description of which would require a separate monograph for each. We [534]

535 rite, and event in life, of which the orchestral element as well as the dance movements and costumes had a very precise symbolical meaning. Many of these dances have died out, either because they have lost their raison d'être (as with war and initiation dances, etc.) or because they have been prohibited by the administration and especially by the missions as obscene or pagan (fertility, funeral, medical dances, etc.). Those that survive have now a recreational or purely artistic character, which was only secondary before. It is [562 178] significant that the number of dances in which both sexes take part has considerably increased and that nearly all are now open to the public and may be seen by spectators of any age or sex.

In spite of this falling off, there is still a large number and variety of dances. Among the most widespread may be mentioned:

ôzila, an old fertility dance, especially among the Fang and [534] Ntoumou; an orchestra of vertical drums, mbae and ngom, with "spoken" accompaniment of the drum-telephone, nkul; it is danced by professionals (women initiates of mevungu?) with bare torso, vegetable rattles at the ankles, unsewn wildcatskin skirts, wooden masks on the left arm; the leading dancer, ôsua njem, inserts a horn into her vagina during the dance; the dancers [276] apparently drug themselves with a decoction containing (notably) Indian hemp; the missions have forbidden this dance, and this has provoked several incidents.

menjaff, called thus because the dance is accompanied by an orchestra of balafos; it is widespread except, perhaps, among the Boulou; it is performed by the young girls and little girls of a village; each village has its own tune and special costume consisting of a belt of raffia fiber, skirt and cap in "pastry-cook" style in the village colors, with a brassière worn in Christian villages.

535 177 ènyengè, sometimes called njeman fulutita, a Protestant dance (it must have been inspired by Swedish gymnastics used by a German-American M. P. A. /American Presbyterian mission?/ missionary to provide a substitute for "immoral" dances; si non è vero...), found especially among the Boulou but extending into northern Gabon under the aegis of the Movement for Regrouping Pahouin; it is a dance performed by young women and girls with a male leader, niebe njeman, who conducts with a whistle; an orchestra of drums, nkul, mbae, and ngom, rattles

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

532
231
● 534
412
788

1 and 2, Ngi masks used in the Fang Secret Society; 3, 4, Fang idols; 5, Wooden dagbell; 6, Ngi collar; 7, Sacrifice knife.

[p. 66(A)]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

832 584 583 gives him (the father) the *beli* (dowry). The father of the young virgin takes the goods to his town; the young man remains in possession of the woman.

They marry with *biang-adema*, eloping medicine thus.

This is *Biang-adema*.

Biang-along (war medicine).—Told me by Fam-deu, a Fang, Esisis clan, at 721 Foulabifong, Nkomo river, April 19th, 1898. This *biang* was illustrated to me; a 789 leopard tooth is the *Biang-along*.

Make a bowl of war medicine, of leaves, roots, and bark. Call all people of the town. Drop the leopard tooth into the medicine. If the point of the tooth *looks* toward the people we have a palaver (trouble) with, then we must go and fight and we will win. If the root of the tooth points toward the people we have a palaver with, then we must *tole si* (sit down) or our enemies will win if we go to fight them.

This is the *Biang-along*.

Biang-akembyong.—This *biang* is the protector of the tribe or nation (*ayong*, 789 tribe).

649 Told me by Eelya-ôvum, the headman of Foulabifong on the Nkomo river, 622 who sold me the complete set of the *Biang-akemeyong* belonging to the dead headman "Commisan." I present this *biang* for your inspection this evening. The tin canister was obtained from a white man and is used in place of the usual basket to carry bones in. It contains portions of the skull of an albino (male), portions of the skull of a *mos nyeri*, young chimpanzee, red powder and a variety of native medicine.

[726] This *biang-akemeyong* is always carried by the headman of a town during war.

[534] A bell hangs from the bottom of the canister containing the bones; it rings when the headman walks.

Nlo.—The small horn belonging to the *biang-akemeyong* has *ngon* (porcupine tail) in it, also native medicine. It is used to cure people having witches. A bowl of medicine is made. The *ngon* is dipped in the medicine bowl and the sick person sprinkled with the medicine. Then the witch departs.

At this point the headman Eelya stopped talking. He said, "The children who have gathered around your house must go away; we real men have talk about the *biang-akemeyong* before women and children." I told the children to go and Eelya continued.

The whistle.—This is part of the *biang-akemeyong*; it has been cooked (boiled) in the medicine bowl and has great power when used by the headman in calling the men together after a fight.

Meu!—This is the large horn with a piece of looking glass on top. This horn 789 contains much medicine, and next to the bones is the most important part of the 649 *biang-akemeyong*.

The two small antelope horns, and the small bundle of medicine, are *biang e ndi* (hiding medicine); it makes the person carrying the *biang-akemeyong* invisible to the enemy.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

places where they are going to build these respectively), large bush rat, porcupine, 224
squirrels, die in the traps; deer, gazelle, antelope, large deer and pigs die in the 539
pitfalls. The animals which die in the *olam* are these. This is the *olam*.

XVII.—*Burials.*

Death is never considered as due to natural causes. Disease followed by death 764
is due to *evus* (witch). It is not considered unlucky to attend a dying person. [761]
The body is usually left in the house until burial. Embalming is not practised. Mourners smear white clay on their bodies and wear necklaces of pineapple fibre for one moon (month). A coffin is not used and the body is buried in the sitting posture. After burial the grave is levelled off as is the case almost throughout West Africa; the only difference between the burial of a headman and a common man is in the amount of visitors and mourning, and the quarrelling over his goods. Wives of a dead headman remain in mourning from one to three moons (months). 765
The witch doctor, *ngangan*, usually performs a post mortem to find the witch. [763]
I attended a post mortem on an old woman. The witch doctor ripped open the abdomen with an old rusty knife, grasped and cut away the uterus and holding it up to the crowd declared "Six witches!" The crowd passed the word "six witches," and spoke the praises of the witch doctor. Relations usually continue to mourn or wail for one moon while inside the house or at work in the gardens. The most common wail is *Ó nan Ó! Ó tat Ó!* (Oh mother! Oh father!).

XVIII.—*Akôm.*

This is a dance. It is not *biang* (medicine) nor is it *ski*. It is, however, 535
practised by men only. The women must not see it. The latter stay within doors, 534
and only hear the words which the men speak outside. The men speak with artificial voices, so that the women cannot recognise who it is that is speaking. (*Fam a kobe ne kiâ sie akôm.*) To make the artificial sounds they use a membrane (*ten*) which encloses the young of the spider (*ndembôa*). This they spread over a hole (about ½ inch diameter) near the small end of an elephant tusk (*mbang nsok*) from [illegible] in length, attaching it with beeswax (*abî*) or a liquid which is obtained from a plantain stalk fresh cut. This juice is called *akirl*. It possesses an adhesive property. The man blows on the large end of the ivory. A curious sound then issues through the membrane so that the man's voice cannot be recognised. This instrument is called *mbang akôm*. The act of playing on the instrument is called *e kobe akôm* (*e kobe*, talk). The performer sings songs; the words are distinctly heard. He sings and all others sing responsively (*a ye bi'bangane Vakie*).

Many songs are used in *akôm*. Here are three specimens of them:— 533

(1) *Bene Vakôte kobe? Bene benga ung mei.* Who speaks any more? 539
(*i.e.*, Be silent, let no one speak.) Others are listening with pleasure (*i.e.*, to the performance).

583 sufficient time to get to know his future wife and her family.
584 He treats them with the greatest consideration, and for the mother-
606 in-law (nĩ-e-ngɔ̃n III, that is, the girl's mother) especially he has an enormous amount of respect. He is courtesy itself, bringing her presents, large and small, and from time to time killing a chicken or a sheep for her. In short, one could in all seriousness speak of a mother-in-law cult (see the love feast, Vol. II, p. 24). And above all: oson, oson, oson: shame, shame, and more shame. The son-in-law is unspeakably ashamed before the mother-in-law, and vice versa, she before him. This is especially true after the wedding when the good mother-in-law extends her modesty also to the members of the son-in-law's kin group. Like a thief she steals behind the dwellings into her daughter's house in order not to be seen, and -- who knows? -- perhaps in order not to give rise to mother-in-law jokes.

Riddle:

[539] nzɛ̌'n e bɔ̌nšũe, e ne kaangǎ
[524] Way of the lizards, it is (in the) reeds (Cyperus)

Solution:

nzɛ̌'n e bonĩ-ngɔ̃'n, e n' a
Way of the mother-in-law, it is on (the) stretch

fá
behind the houses.

On the day when a man takes his young wife home, the village
595 celebrates with a grande dance, for which all adult [illegible] as
535 the best of their ability and which the young wife, red from red
[302] wood dye, attends as guest of honor seated on a stool. On this occasion, the popping of blunderbusses may not be omitted, because it belongs to the festive music like our flourish of trumpets. The dancing and shooting last several days when a wealthy chief has acquired a new wife or if it is the first wife of a fellow villager. There is nothing strikingly special about any of this; the festivity simply involves a series of different /262/ dances (among which the dschama is particularly popular which are also customary on other occasions.

583 to look for her, he gives them what he has in the way of money and goods, and the parents have to consent to the marriage by accepting this first payment. This practice is called abom.

584 This practice is exceptional, and the marriage proposal is generally made in a more conventional way. A man, having learned that there is a free woman in a neighboring tribe, a young girl or a repudiated wife, goes to the woman's parents and asks to see her. She comes [576] into the hut, sits down, and allows herself to be looked at. She does not speak if she has never been married, but she speaks if she is used to men; then she goes out after about an hour. Her brothers ask her opinion of the suitor and take the answer to the latter, who gives his opinion of the woman he has seen. This visit is called dzāga. If both agree to marry, they spend the night together; the man may leave in the morning without saying anything if the woman has not suited him and he does not wish to marry her. If it is the woman who is not satisfied, she asks her brothers to tell the suitor not to come back. In case of agreement, the suitor goes back several times for several days. The father of the woman fixes the amount of the dowry, and the suitor has to accept it.

586 If a married woman, not wishing to stay with her husband, goes off with another man, the latter pays the woman's parents the amount of the dowry which was paid by the former husband. This practice is fairly recent. In earlier times the former husband received the dowry of his successor directly or, if he refused it, it was a case of war unless another woman was given him in exchange.

583 585 Marriage is not considered final until the dowry has been paid in full by the husband. The amount is variable, currently about 1,500 or 2,000 francs, in money or in various goods. The woman leaves her tribe and goes to live with her husband. Her arrival at her new village is marked by celebrations. [89] She is accompanied by women who cry out "e e ke o o o ko"; these cries are called mekogo. The husband's mother recites to her the genealogy of her son; then the bride goes into her husband's hut where the women of her husband's family bring her food. She is confined here for a week, and this is the "good welcome to the bride," eyale mbom.

585 535 Two days after the arrival of the bride, there are songs and dances performed by women only: these are the bya bi mbom. The men play the tomtom and are spectators. This takes place near the husband's hut.

586 The day on which the woman is to come out of the hut, she is bathed
535 and anointed with an oil (mbon nzüi) and is seated on a stool placed in the middle of the village square. Other women sing and dance around her and give her a new name to represent a wish she has made.

There is no religious ceremony.

583 There also used to be a marriage by exchange of wives (mvole bunanga). With the mere consent of the women concerned, two men could exchange their wives. The parents of the wives did not interfere except to verify the amounts of the dowries and to make sure that the husband of the wife with the lesser dowry had fully paid the difference to the other.

543 The relations between married couples are simple: the man must
562 lodge his wife and clear the brush from the site where she will make her plantings; on the other hand, the wife owes absolute fidelity and obedience to her husband, who has the right to beat her. The woman has no authority in the household; she is hardly more respected than
[833] a domestic animal; she owns in her own right only the cooking utensils and the tools for planting and fishing, and does not have the right to own animals. Prohibition of sexual relations is rigidly observed during
[834] pregnancy, during lactation, and in the night preceding departure for the hunt, work at the forge, and various [other] tasks. If the prohibition were not observed, these tasks would be unsuccessful.

595 Polygamy is the present custom among the Fan. The first wife has authority over the others, who must obey her. She receives the largest share of everything and assigns household chores and field work. The husband sleeps with each of his wives for three days.

684 In adultery, only the wife is punished. She is beaten and her ac-
837 complice pays an indemnity to her husband. This indemnity amounts to a quarter of the dowry. The wife confesses her adultery only when forced to by a series of corporal punishments which range from blows to being tied to a tree full of ants (akokum).

586 Repudiation is accomplished without difficulty: the man sends back his wife and the dowry is repaid him. The causes for repudiation are repeated adultery, the death of a child as a result of adultery, laziness, practice of fetishism, and excessive surveillance of the husband; sterility is not a reason for [90] repudiation. The children stay with the husband, and the woman, once repudiated, may remarry.

794 one – tends to re-establish this elementary order, it is a rein-
769 statement, a pledge of fertility and power. Apparently the Ngil
resembles a great many other "associations" that have existed in
[171] Gabon, especially the Mwiri of the Ngounié people. (2) It con-

2. Cf. A. Maclatchy, "Organisation sociale des populations de la region de Mimongo [Social Organization of the Peoples of the Mimongo Region]," Bulletin de l'Institut d'Etudes Centrafricaines, I, I, 1945.

stitutes primarily an instrument of struggle against the sorcerers (böyêm), to the extent that they attempt to interfere with the normal order. But it is much more than that: it is the indication of a power superior to that based on kinship, a grouping with a great capacity for control (doubtless the most powerful).

794 The Fang have known other associations of men with specialized functions – or rather those that create "specialists,"
[535] such as the akûm, who directs the ceremonies linked with the male dance called makuma. The akûm, who appears also as a sort of chronicler-singer, intervening especially at the time of
[847] funerals and affairs concerning fertility (search for the "sorcerer" responsible for an abortion that might result in permanent sterility, (3)

3. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., p. 79.

ceremonial intended to lift the incest which creates sterile marriages). The akûm in daily life is distinguished from the non-initiates by being subject to a number of special interdicts. He is a "respected, or rather a feared, person," for to him is sttributed "great power." "In order to reach this situation he must have been
[535 taught by another akûm; he must have learned the interminable
674 songs that last a whole night long, and then with his own hand kill one of his close relatives. . . ." (4) This brief description is

4. Father L. Martrou, "Les Éki

562 789 her husband. The "son-in-law" and the "mother-in-law" are bound together by a system of interdicts; the mwanõ are required [606] to show respect to the "generation of the mothers"; the pre-eminence attached to seniority plays a role in the relations between the sexes. The woman may therefore be the object of respect and the subject of fear. [151] On the other hand, "associations" of women which have created a hierarchy, a teaching, a 562 795 ritual of initiation, and a whole body of distinguishing symbols and signs and a technique shown by a specific dance, are referred to in various documents, particularly the Mévungõ (1), which is

1. Unpublished documents collected by Abbot A. Walker, a native of Lower Gabon and truly versed in local ethnology.

a Pahouin version of the Nyèmbé, a widely disseminated female sect in Gabon. This sect was observed by Du Chaillu about 1860 among the Ba-kélé who were for the most part subdued by the Fang. This observer wrote at that time that the Nyèmbé "protects the women from their male enemies, it avenges their grievances, and serves them in all circumstances according to their whims."(2)

2. Father du Chaillu, op. cit., p. 322 ff.

This points out with great subtlety, to the essentially compensatory role played by such a grouping. By participating in the "society of women," the woman remedies the marginal situation and the submission which are her share throughout her daily life. It imposes or necessitates her collaboration in important moments for the community and in domains which in principle are forbidden to her. [535] Thus the dance of the Mévungõ was used "long ago when a Pahouin tribe was preparing to wage war against another tribe or to make raids for women"; it was also used "at the time of preparation for great elephant hunts." (3) Such "associations" no longer survive

3. Abbot A. Walker, notes inédites [unpublished notes].

533 skits, often satirical, sometimes to the accompaniment of European tunes that have been adapted to the instrument. Choral song, finally, is very popular, using imported tunes that are often considerably improved by the native interpretation which makes extensive use of fugue and counterpoint. Unfortunately, these modern airs are not suited to the tonal system of the language, which they tend to impair when words are adapted to them.

538 173 827 Chronicles, minkaffete, of which the salutations, mebatan, were in a way summaries, were part of traditional training and were recited only on solemn occasions. They are falling into oblivion because of the considerable demands they made upon the memory and because of the time necessary for learning them by heart, without mentioning the fact that they contained incomprehensible passages, perhaps borrowed from tribes that were neighbors of the Pahouin before their great migration. /126/

177 538 The systems of transcription introduced by missionaries were first used to translate the Scriptures and to compose hymns, which have not always had a good effect upon the language but have nonetheless become classics in spite of the mistakes and improprieties they often contain. After these works produced by Europeans in the native language, there have appeared in rapid succession works composed by Pahouin writing in their own language. The most remarkable is without doubt Nnanga kôn by the Boulou, Jemba Medu, which describes Boulou life at the time of the arrival of the first white men (nnanga kôn = phantom albino). This, to my knowledge, is the only novel composed in one of the languages of the group; its popularity is prodigious, to such a degree that its characters have entered into contemporary Boulou folklore.

dvy' There is a missionary press in Gabon and in the Cameroons. The papers with the largest circulation are Nleb Bekristen (Christians' Guide) (Ewôndo, Catholic) and Mefoé (News) (Boulou, Protestant), which is read as far afield as Gabon. The lay press in French is not of much importance and its publications moreover are usually short lived.

538 A Pahouin literature in the French language is a recent — and significant — phenomenon. Oyono and Eza Boto-Mongo Beti are both from the Cameroons; neither Gabon nor Spanish Guinea have up to now produced a novelist.

535 The dance has lost a great deal in being deprived of its old ritual character. Formerly there was a specific dance for every ceremony,

535 rite, and event in life, of which the orchestral element as well as the dance movements and costumes had a very precise symbolical meaning. Many of these dances have died out, either because they have lost their raison d'être (as with war and initiation dances, etc.) or because they have been prohibited by the administration and especially by the missions as obscene or pagan (fertility, funeral, medical dances, etc.). Those that survive have now a recreational or purely artistic character, which was only secondary before. It is [562 178] significant that the number of dances in which both sexes take part has considerably increased and that nearly all are now open to the public and may be seen by spectators of any age or sex.

In spite of this falling off, there is still a large number and variety of dances. Among the most widespread may be mentioned:

ôzila, an old fertility dance, especially among the Fang and [534] Ntoumou; an orchestra of vertical drums, mbae and ngom, with "spoken" accompaniment of the drum-telephone, nkul; it is danced by professionals (women initiates of mevungu?) with bare torso, vegetable rattles at the ankles, unsewn wildcatskin skirts, wooden masks on the left arm; the leading dancer, ôsua njem, inserts a horn into her vagina during the dance; the dancers [276] apparently drug themselves with a decoction containing (notably) Indian hemp; the missions have forbidden this dance, and this has provoked several incidents.

menjañ, called thus because the dance is accompanied by an orchestra of balafos; it is widespread except, perhaps, among the Boulou; it is performed by the young girls and little girls of a village; each village has its own tune and special costume consisting of a belt of raffia fiber, skirt and cap in "pastry-cook" style in the village colors, with a brassière worn in Christian villages.

535 177 ényengé, sometimes called njeman fulutita, a Protestant dance (it must have been inspired by Swedish gymnastics used by a German-American M. P. A. /American Presbyterian mission?/ missionary to provide a substitute for "immoral" dances; si non è vero...), found especially among the Boulou but extending into northern Gabon under the aegis of the Movement for Regrouping Pahouin; it is a dance performed by young women and girls with a male leader, nlebe njeman, who conducts with a whistle; an orchestra of drums, nkul, mbae, and ngom, rattles

535 177 and flutes; chorus sung by the dancers; white dresses, a uniform headkerchief and foulard sash; the musical themes are those belonging to village, association, and clan; it is danced at civil or religious festivals, mebɔ̂k, mevak, and at bisulan (ayoñ meetings), etc.; the words are sometimes satirical.

535 anyeñ, a men's or (more rarely) a women's dance, similar to the above, perhaps inspired by it, but more lively. The words are often obscene, the gestures scatological (in the men's version); probably of ritual origin; one of the few male dances surviving today.

akɔ̂ma mba, danced by one or two young women; a chorus of women, with the large vertical drum, mbaé; raffia fiber skirt and bare torsos; an ancient ritual (marriage?) dance; it is looked at askance by the missions and is becoming rare.

asiko, a modern mixed dance, quite erotic; no costumes; percussion instruments and rattles; a mixed chorus; it is forbidden by the missionaries.

In towns, European or American dances are current under the [177] generic name "tangɔ̂," although the rhythm, when they are not danced to a phonograph, is rather that of a /West Indian/ beguine, often fugual.

536 The theatre, unknown in the past, is beginning to develop, partly under the influence of youth organizations introduced from outside. At bisulan, short farces are often put on, like morality plays, or satirical sketches related to our cabaret revues, in which there is no hesitation in scoffing at the authorities.

Chapter 7

The Process of Change

1. Local Government Organs

631 177 The disintegration characteristic of Pahouin clans makes it difficult to establish a coherent organization. The conflict between the system of personal rights and that of territorial rights is clear-cut:

779 totemic ceremonies, or in even just religious ones. None may
785 be performed while the moon is dark or when it is full (ngon
821 éto ndzuge: the moon is closed). In the ceremonies at which the chief performs alone, the fast lasts three and a half days, a half lunar quarter; the fast begins at nearly full moon (nsoso ngon) and ends at full moon (nduge ngon).

IV. Totemic Dances: adzém ba dzém akhu

779 Dance plays such a large part in Fan life, as it does in
535 that of every African, that it would be very unlikely to be absent from religious and totemic life. Besides, we know that dancing has always been associated with [510] religious phenomena among all peoples and in all epochs. David danced before the Ark of the Covenant; Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans had their sacred dances; and even in our day, in quite recent times, have we not seen in Madrid the seises, the altar boys of Seville, performing their graceful dances before the blessed sacrament?

The Fan have their religious dances, and special ones for each rite. We may divide them into several clases: purely religious dances, with which we are not concerned; those that accompany totemic rites; and, finally, purely totemic dances.

Among the dances accompanying totemic rites, the principal ones are dances of sacrifice and of circumcision and mortuary dances.

779 As the name indicates, dances of sacrifice accompany all
785 sacrifices and are danced before and after, and each has it
535 characteristic features.

The dance taking place before a sacrifice is serious. The chief, then all the participants, circle slowly around the victim to a tom-tom beating out a solemn rhythm. The movements of this dance are all slow and restrained, knees are bent slightly, elbows pushed back, with hands near the hips. It is more a rhythmic march than a true dance.

The dance taking place after a sacrifice is of quite another character. The rhythm is very fast, arms are raised into the air,

779
782 legs are flung to right and left alternately; two very lively steps,
●535 a pause, two successive jetés to the right and left, and a swaying of the body above the hips make up this dance, which has real beauty and does not lack a certain style.

779
881 The circumcision dance is entirely different. The young candidates, painted white from head to foot and dressed in gar-
535 ments of leaves, are led by the initiator before the assembled
304 participants, as soon as the preparatory rites have ended and the operation is to be performed. Grown, circumcised men stand on one side, the ritual experts in the middle, those to be circumcised [511] on the other side. The dance begins. First of all, it consists of an immense circle, which spreads out and turns around the area; then the movement quickens, hands are dropped, and each person leaps and shimmies about on his own, still keeping time, which is marked out by the tom-tom. Moreover, in spite of what appears to be disorder, one soon sees that all movements are regular, perfectly conceived and executed without a hitch, without mistake, without getting out of step. Soon sweat is pouring down the dancers' arms and legs; one after another they go back to their places; only the candidates continue and their dance turns into a spinning in almost one place, on the toes, with hands stretched horizontally. Then, suddenly, at a signal from the tom-tom, the dance stops abruptly: the young dancers rush to their places, sit down, and the operations begin.

Each time the practitioner circumcises a boy, he stands up, holding in his hand proof of the operation, then does a quick dance step consisting of a few merry leaps, to the accompaniment of a special song, which everyone sings together.

When the operations are over, the youths who have been circumcised perform a short dance intended to show their fortitude; it is of just a few steps, done any old way. Then the boys quickly return to their huts, held up by their friends.

764 The funeral dance is much more beautiful. Far from
535 being dignified and solemn, the fanki is exceedingly lively and complicated, representing, theoretically, the soul of the dead man leaving his body and later reaching the world of spirits.

764 The soul looks everywhere for a new dwelling; it is repulsed on
535 all sides, but at last finds its rightful place. This dance has only a distant connection with totemic performances and so we do not need to be concerned with it.

Genuinely totemic dances are infrequent and are only
TA 535 performed on important occasions, such as war and above all after a victory. However, they are also part of burial rites and are put on after the fanki at the death of a chief. [512]

The totemic dance expresses the link between the head [chef] of the race and his totem. It depicts the totem, sometimes in a symbolic, sometimes in a representational, manner. If, as often happens, the totem is an animal, the dance will be really lively; these are the finest examples. In addition, the dancer's talent should go to copying as closely as possible the animal's pace, habits, way of life, in a word, to mime it as accurately as possible.

I have seen some of these totemic dances performed with extraordinary skill. Out of many occasions, there was once one, among the Yemvi, whose totem is a kind of flower called mvi: the dancer, moving to a very fast tempo, first outlined the shape of the flower, imitated its appearance by gestures, by an extraordinary swaying of the hips, which involved sometimes bending so far backward that his head would touch the ground without for a second losing the rhythm; from time to time, his arms and head would sweep the ground to the right and the left with incredible swiftness. Then came the blossoming: growth from bud to flower, soon to full bloom. Finally he portrayed the symbolic covenant between the father of the race and the flower, which was brought to him by a spirit. The same dancer presented a really striking contrast between the slow, weighed down, ponderous bearing of the racial chief and the light, elusive, airy, as it were, movements of the spirit approaching, retreating, and approaching again. This entirely symbolic dance has sometimes been quite erroneously interpreted by explorers as being erotic.

When the totem is an animal, the dance is obviously much simpler and more representational. The dancer mimes an animal

779 that everyone will recognize by its gait, pace and typical
535 mannerisms; then, one by one, he will act out scenes of pursuit and capture, of alliance, finally of actual assistance. Some dancers thus acquire a great reputation, which they certainly deserve.

These totemic dances have much in common with certain character dances at which the African excels, representational dances. For example, I remember having seen the dance of the bees, of the wild boar, and of the elephant, done with truly remarkable agility and realism.

Totemic dances are distinguished above all by the fact that they are accompanied, one might say rhythmically measured, by the totemic song. Furthermore, while character dances depend to a great extent upon the dancer's inspiration, totemic dance steps are more regulated and have certain invariable features. [513]

779 A common trait of all religious dances is decency, at
535 least relative decency. They are performed only by men, and
831 women are not admitted except at circumcisions, and even then they do not mingle with the men. There is rarely any sex in them, in contrast to the purely recreational dances, especially those performed in the evening, at which at times license seems to be given to the greatest obscenity.

779 Religious dances always have a very marked quality of
831 antiquity, and the majority are very beautiful, in the precise meaning of the word.

In order to give an approximate idea of totemic dances, I have transcribed two of them which seem the most expressive, that of the flower, mvi, and that of the elephant, nzoǒ.

These dances are sung, danced, and mimed at the same time. Each note represents a tom-tom beat, a different bodily position and foot movement, whether a glissade, a leap, a heavy beat, or a rapid weaving in and out.

Totemic dance of the mvi flower:
Musical score, pp. 513-514 of text.]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

Journal of the Anthropological Institute (N.S.), Vol. II, Plate XVII.

595
292

FANG DANCE.

344
352
516

ABEBO OR PALAVER HOUSE.

[p. 66(D)]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

the palaver house, where he loves to sit and gossip around the log fire, or lounge 517
on the *Ewong* (a native bed of poles).

Dancing is a favourite pastime, especially at the time of new moon, when the 535
dance seems to have some religious significance. A Fang dance is a sight worth seeing; arrayed in long streaming armlets of dried grass, and large bunches of forest beans and molluscs shells tied around the ankles for castanets, they go through a series of rapid and graceful movements, some of which are not entirely free from obscenity. Flaming torches made of resin wrapped in plantain leaves are stuck in the ground and the drums keep up a perfect fusillade; [373]
the whole making a weird and extremely interesting spectacle. With short intervals of rest the dance usually continues throughout the night until daybreak (photo of dance shown on screen).

III.—*Clothing, Ornaments, Painting and Tattooing.*

Fang men and women usually go about bareheaded; some obtain imported 291
straw and felt hats from the traders and are very proud of them. A red worsted night-cap sold at the factories is very popular and much worn. These head coverings are chiefly worn for ornament and not to afford protection from the sun or weather. Until the opening up of trade among the Fang people their clothing amounted to almost nothing. The men wore a waist cloth made of bark from certain trees, a strong, tough, fibrous material, and the women wore a girdle stripped from the plantain stem, with some leaves from the bush or a piece of the plantain leaf tucked through the girdle in front and passed downward, backward and upward between the limbs and fastened to the girdle behind. Very often the women wore a kind of bustle made of dried grass dyed black, or red. In sitting [516]
down the women are very careful to first arrange the bustle. The native bark cloth, the girdle and bustle, are still worn in the bush towns; the women often [369]
make the girdle of imported glass beads strung on string made from pineapple fibre, but people living in towns along the river banks wear imported cloths obtained in trade. As a general rule boys and girls run about without clothing until five or six years of age. Imported cloth is worn by both sexes and is often sewn together very skilfully and decorated with pieces of different colours. There are no recognised peculiarities of dress restricted to the subdivision of tribes. The cloth is cut out and sewed by each individual owner unless it is a trade cloth previously sewn. Cloth is usually hemmed and worn as a simple wrapper around the waist, and held in place by rolling in and tucking the upper border on itself. The upper portion of the body is not much covered by the cloth although some men and women wear it tied high up around the neck. There is no difference between the indoor and outdoor clothing. When imported needles and thread can be obtained they are used, but I have seen very skilful sewing done with a sharp piece of bamboo for a needle and thread made of pineapple fibre. Upon the [828]
death of parents, clothes descend to the children. In saluting a visitor it is not [576]
customary to remove a hat or cap, if one is being worn, or any other article of clothing.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca.1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

776 idea as the Bulu regarding two great gods. The *Zamba* of the Bulu is the *Anyambi* or *Sekôme* of the Fang, the *tata* or father of all things; and another god of less power than *Anyambi* or *Sekôme*, who lives in the forests and is so tall that he gathers fruit from the highest trees. Some of the old men and women profess to have seen this god of the forests.

[775] Fang superstition includes transmigration; a departed human soul may enter any animal dwelling on top of the earth or in it. There are spirits of health and disease, also a protecting spirit belonging to a clan or tribe, in whose honour a 772 small basket is hung in the palaver house, containing portions of the skull of an 776 albino, whenever obtainable, also portions of the skulls of a relative and a chimpanzee, human hair, nails and bones. This fetish or *biang* is called the *Biang Akamayong*. Most Fang have a cabalistic word assigned to them by the *ngangan* (witch doctor), and this word is used as a prayer. During the new moon, dances are nearly always indulged in, and the songs usually addressed ●[535] to the spirits of Present and Future. Local spirits need constant propitiation; a native passing in his canoe a spot where a local spirit dwells, as a large rock, will pay his respects by casting a piece of his food into the river, or when in the forest a few stones or a piece of *mbôs* (cassava) is laid at the root of some great tree.

778 Wooden idols are not plentiful among the Fang tribes living along the rivers; they are seen more in the palaver houses of the bush-towns.

Charms.—These may be only cabalistic words, and under this head of vocal charms must be included the incantations of the *ngangan* (witch doctor).

Material charms.—These are by far the most common; the belief in material charms, fetish, occupies the most prominent place in Fang religious contemplation.

Among the Fang, the English word Fetish, from the Portuguese word Feticio, is *Biang* (medicine). A Fang fetish is any material object which the *ngangan* (doctor) has consecrated and made a fit abiding place for a spirit. What may be consecrated? Anything, absolutely anything; a shell, rag, stone, twig of a tree, horns, nails, etc. The horns of small antelope and large deer are filled with resins, [754] nails, human hair, faeces, etc. To bewitch a person it is necessary to give the *ngangan* a piece of the hair, nail, a portion of the food or a drop of blood of the [826] person to be bewitched. A Fang is most careful if he cuts himself to see that only friends and relations approach him until the bleeding has ceased, and hair when cut is usually burnt without delay. As mentioned in the section of this 784 paper on food, every child during infancy is subjected to certain rites which 778 constitute his or her *Eki*, prohibiting the child from eating a certain kind of food or performing a certain act. Thus far, the superstitious beliefs of the Fang and [171] Bulu are precisely similar, and I gathered from Dr. Nassau at Gaboon many facts connected with the people among whom he laboured, the Mpongwe, which showed that they also held superstitious beliefs very nearly, and in some cases precisely similar to those of the Bulu and Fang, the only difference being in the

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

places where they are going to build these respectively), large bush rat, porcupine, 224
squirrels, die in the traps; deer, gazelle, antelope, large deer and pigs die in the 539
pitfalls. The animals which die in the *olem* are these. This is the *olem*.

XVII.—*Burials.*

Death is never considered as due to natural causes. Disease followed by death 764
is due to *evus* (witch). It is not considered unlucky to attend a dying person. [761]
The body is usually left in the house until burial. Embalming is not practised.
Mourners smear white clay on their bodies and wear necklaces of pineapple fibre
for one moon (month). A coffin is not used and the body is buried in the sitting
posture. After burial the grave is levelled off as is the case almost throughout
West Africa; the only difference between the burial of a headman and a common
man is in the amount of visitors and mourning, and the quarrelling over his goods.
Wives of a dead headman remain in mourning from one to three moons (months). 765
The witch doctor, *nyengem*, usually performs a post mortem to find the witch.
I attended a post mortem on an old woman. The witch doctor ripped open the [763]
abdomen with an old rusty knife, grasped and cut away the uterus and holding it
up to the crowd declared "Six witches!" The crowd passed the word "six witches,"
and spoke the praises of the witch doctor. Relations usually continue to mourn or
wail for one moon while inside the house or at work in the gardens. The most
common wail is *Ô nem Ô! Ô tat Ô!* (Oh mother! Oh father!).

XVIII.—*Akbu.*

This is a dance. It is not *biang* (medicine) nor is it *ski*. It is, however, 535
practised by men only. The women must not see it. The latter stay within doors, 534
and only hear the words which the men speak outside. The men speak with artificial
voices, so that the women cannot recognise who it is that is speaking. (*Fam a
bulu ne biê zie ndik.*) To make the artificial sounds they use a membrane (*ten*)
which encloses the young of the spider (*ndombôs*). This they spread over a hole
(about ¾ inch diameter) near the small end of an elephant tusk (*ebang nsak*) from
1 to 2½ feet in length, attaching it with beeswax (*ebê*) or a liquid which is obtained
from a plantain stalk fresh cut. This juice is called *ebiel*. It possesses an
adhesive property. The man blows on the large end of the ivory. A curious
sound then issues through the membrane so that the man's voice cannot be
recognised. This instrument is called *ebang akbu*. The act of playing on the
instrument is called *e bulu akbu* (*e bulu*, talk). The performer sings songs; the
words are distinctly heard. He sings and all others sing responsively (*a ye
bêbengem Fulu*).

Many songs are used in *akbu*. Here are three specimens of them:— 535
(1) *Benem Fulutu bulu? Bum bengem ung mut.* Who speaks any more? 539
(*i.e.*, Be silent, let no one speak.) Others are listening with pleasure
(*i.e.*, to the performance).

536 177 and flutes; chorus sung by the dancers; white dresses, a uniform headkerchief and foulard sash; the musical themes are those belonging to village, association, and clan; it is danced at civil or religious festivals, mebɔk, mevak, and at bisulan (ayoñ meetings), etc.; the words are sometimes satirical.

536 anyeñ, a men's or (more rarely) a women's dance, similar to the above, perhaps inspired by it, but more lively. The words are often obscene, the gestures scatological (in the men's version); probably of ritual origin; one of the few male dances surviving today.

akɔma mba, danced by one or two young women; a chorus of women, with the large vertical drum, mbad; raffia fiber skirt and bare torsos; an ancient ritual (marriage?) dance; it is looked at askance by the missions and is becoming rare.

atiko, a modern mixed dance, quite erotic; no costumes; percussion instruments and rattles; a mixed chorus; it is forbidden by the missionaries.

In towns, European or American dances are current under the 177 generic name "tangɔ," although the rhythm, when they are not danced to a phonograph, is rather that of a /West Indian/ beguine, often fugual.

536 The theatre, unknown in the past, is beginning to develop, partly under the influence of youth organizations introduced from outside. At bisulan, short farces are often put on, like morality plays, or satirical sketches related to our cabaret revues, in which there is no hesitation in scoffing at the authorities.

Chapter 7

The Process of Change

1. Local Government Organs

631 177 The disintegration characteristic of Pahouin clans makes it difficult to establish a coherent organization. The conflict between the system of personal rights and that of territorial rights is clear-cut:

517 from this comes about the endless palavers about everything and nothing, for lack of anything else to do.

721 However, if for one reason or another war threatens the tribe or has to be declared, the Fan then seems to awaken from his lethargy. Before the decision to fight, [550] there must be lengthy palavers. The totem has but a small part in these palavers, but no warrior would put in his word without having first taken his totem in hand and given it a brief scolding, often just one word, an exclamation, which only the most attentive would hear.

721 When all the warriors have had their say, the chief rises
• 657 and sums up everything that has been said, before beginning his own speech. During this report, he usually remains at his place. He then goes to the middle of the assembly, his chief's baton in his hand and across his chest the baldrick from which the akaméyǒn always hangs. "I am so-and-so," he begins, "son of so-and-so, and my father was chief of the race. We are the sons of such-and-such totem, and our akaméyǒn protects us." After
[201] these words, he stamps on the ground with his foot, or more often, with his baton, as if to testify to the truth of what he has said, and then gives his own opinion. When he has finished he holds up the tribal totem to bear witness to his words, then returns to his place.

TM If war is declared the totemic ceremonies are more pro-
721 nounced. At first they will be nearly like those described for the initiation and consecration of the chief. The same altar is
782 put up in the forest with the same rites; wood of the éfirfira is again used for construction. On the appointed day, all the warriors make their way into the forest, each head of a family carrying his évora biéri. The skulls are set out on the altar, and each totem at its place. The victim is then brought forward.

The scene at this point changes completely. Neither a dog nor a kid is immolated -- it must always be a man, either a prisoner of war or some captive bought back from a neighboring tribe. A woman may never replace a man. Nor may a man or child belonging to the tribe, nor one whose mother belonged either to the tribe or to an allied tribe, be used as victim; for

779
788 fire which he sets to the felled trees so as to make the necessary
241 fertilizer needed for his future crops. [575]

Returning from hunting or fishing, a man is always sure to
782 put an offering on the évora biéri: it may be a piece of the ani-
224 mal's heart and brain or part of the first fish caught, even the
226 whole fish if it is very small. The first fruits are also placed on
779 the évora. Any infraction of these rites leads to punishment that can only be atoned for by one or more sacrifices. A warrior will infallibly recognize punishment in the failure of hunting or fishing trips or in barren plantations.

The hunting or fishing offering is made by the head of the family, that of first fruits by the first wife.

5. Trade and Palavers

788 Whenever a Fan has to "talk," he is very careful to try
537 to gain his totem's good will beforehand. On such occasions
779 it is important that he be able to convince his fellow speakers or his adversaries.

The totem ceremony is very short. Before leaving for the palaver or on a trading trip, he removes from the biéri box some of the ashes of the last sacrifice and puts them into a rag, closes the box, and goes off contented.

Before beginning to "talk," he will open the package of ashes and put a bit on his forehead, lips, and throat. Thus the spiritual guardians of the race will aid his brain and inspire him with the best thoughts and the best phrases, and thus they will tell him the best words to use to convince his adversaries and obtain what he wants.

6. Disease and Death

755 The totemic ceremonies connected with disease and death
779 are of somewhat more consequence. As soon as a man falls gravely ill, the practitioner is called in. He demands in advance, to be on the safe side, the proper payment for his pains, and then

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

now responsible and liable to two parties; if he is reasonable they all meet and talk 628
the palaver. If the palaver is serious, each party appoints his *ntol* (ambassador). 681
The palaver is usually talked in the main street of the town, before all the
representatives of the interested class, and before all strangers in town. The
Fang are born orators, and remarkable gestures and orations are made while [537]
talking the palaver. The speaker usually walks backwards and forwards grasping
and leaning upon a "palaver stick." He commences with: *M'wos* (I say thus);
when speaking for another he says *A'wos* (he says thus); when speaking for the
people of his town, *Be wos* (they say thus). Sometimes the *ntôls* (ambassadors) sit
in a canoe in the middle of a river or a stream, and talk the palaver, the injured
parties being on either side of the stream. The case is talked, the goods demanded
in payment stated, and an effort made to *bit nang* (cut or end the palaver). If
they succeed, then the palaver is *cut* (ended), and a dance follows; if no
agreement is come to, the meeting breaks up and a tribal war exists between these
class.

Salutations.

There are three salutations common to all. Two friends meet, they each grasp 576
the arm of the other, high up on the biceps; a slight pause is made, then the hand
is slipped down to clasp the wrist. This is also the customary salutation used by
the Bulu.

Two friends meeting salute by embracing.

A traveller entering the *abeng* (palaver house) walks over to the headman and
sits on his knee a moment, at the same time placing one arm around the headman's
neck.

Hospitality demands that all strangers be served food by the town women to [519]
strangers in the *abeng*.

Wives are loaned to guests. [537]

Coarse conversation is indulged in by old and young of both sexes. [521]

Considerable license prevails among the unmarried; less so among the [536]
married.

VIII.—*Invention, Natural Forms, Conservation.*

Invention.—The arts in use are common to all the different clans of the great 176
Fang tribe. Any new discovery as the working of iron is credited to the dwarfs or 563
ngwi. The natives are always ready to admit that the *ngwi* are very clever; they 609
have a saying "no person knows like a man *ngwi* (dwarf) what is inside the forest."
When obtainable the natives use an imported saw, or file, and admit its superiority
over their own crude tools. A Fang may be impressed at the knowledge and power
of the white man, but is not greatly surprised; the reason for this is that many
white men are credited with possessing supernatural powers.

Some of the clubs, tools and weapons approximate to the natural forms of the 412
branches or roots of trees. Axe handles and the handle of a certain kind of adze have

Fig. 33. Meeting House in Nschüggebot (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea, with Decorative Boards of Bark.

covered with charcoal drawings on the inside between the raffia boards. At this point, however, I cannot go into this art work in any greater detail (see Section 9, "Fine Arts").

If it were not for the people who enliven the house with their handicrafts and activities, /Fig. 32 appears here in the original text/ if the flaring fire did not lend the large, dark rooms a special, almost mysterious quality -- it would be too dreary. It is precisely here that one notices how everywhere only pulsating life man in his sad and in his happy hours, not the material environment, is capable of attracting us. The same room which we disposed of just now with a disparaging glance is capable of creating a totally different impression in the evenings when the men and young /69/ /Fig. 33 appears here in the original text/ people gradually congregate in the meeting house in order to listen to the old, hunchbacked Njema-Ndongo tell of the mysterious and uncanny creatures of the fabulous world. Indefatigably they listen, however long he may spin out his yarn, motionless they look at him as he restlessly rubs his hands over the fire, wags his finger threateningly, separates or pushes aside the logs when the

Fig. 34. Dwelling in Makonanám (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

fire gets too hot for him, and wards off the smoke from his face like a person gently but firmly sending a little child away! He looks as though he is talking to the fire and delivering a speech to the logs. Everybody listens in silence, everybody hangs on his words. And then follows a deliberate pause, after which he begins anew with impressive intonation; and at familiar places all the listeners enter into the narrative with a brief choral song in response to the solo part of the old man. Or there may be a bit of gossip to relate, with a hubbub of biting words, an occasion for spontaneous gaiety to prevail. On yet another occasion a performance by a famous xylophone artist will draw the population to the meeting house. The entire village, women and children included, takes part in these recitals; the children beat out the rhythm with small pieces of wood, while the women, with great dignity, beat together groundnuts and ngon which represent the "fee" and, softly humming a refrain, cast a meaningful glance in the direction of the tireless player.

The dwelling (ndá; plural, mandá), Figure 34, like the meeting house, /70/ /Fig. 34 appears here in the original text/ has a gabled roof and a rectangular ground plan. Like meeting houses, dwellings have both temporary and permanent forms.

244 Then follows the warm midday meal which takes place between twelve and five o'clock, depending on when the woman returns from the plantation. The main meal, which is fairly substantial, occurs in the evening. This is not just one meal, however; the women have to cook two or three times and, indeed, even in the middle of the night in order to appease the hungry stomachs. They frequently deviate from this "rule," to be sure. If the store of provisions is ample and there is little work to do, they eat the whole day long; on the other hand, if anything comes up, they just as readily omit meals or fast an entire day.

In the main, meals consist of cassava and plantains. In addition to these, any of the other foods mentioned may be eaten, whatever is on hand.

Men and women usually eat separately. The woman takes care of herself as she is cooking and helps herself even to the men's food which is not meant for her, or she eats with her daughters and younger sons after she has sent the midday meal to her husband in the meeting house where the older boys also gather for food. /161/ On the other hand, the husband habitually goes home to take the late evening meal in the family circle, since by then it has become too cold or lonesome in the meeting house.

At all times, the Pangwe man eats quietly and with dignity, not without appreciative smacking of the lips and constant talking, however. Greedy eating (a ĩỹban a dźí) seems ridiculous and un-
[577] becoming to the Pangwe and is interpreted by him as a sign of bad rearing. Many of the precepts which the father gives his son make
[867] this point, and in proverbs and fairy tales (for instance, in the nice
[338] fairy tale of Bömme's gluttony, in the story of the greedy pig, and so forth) the same idea recurs.

244 Tableware is very sparse, as one would expect. In the case of
415 liquid dishes, the cooking pot, if it is small, is placed in the midst of the company straight from the fire; if it is large, its contents are poured into a smaller pot. Everyone takes his spoon and eats from the common vessel. In the evening when the man eats at home, he usually has a pot of his own placed before him. Solid foods, for instance, plantains and cassava cutlets, are served on a banana leaf, and everyone takes them by hand. It is considered more refined to

777 case he has successfully passed the test, is washed with the water from the leaf vessel, and receives the crocodile's stone (Fig. 54) which will help him in the future to become a great chief and very wealthy. If he goes to the pile on which the things for young people are heaped, he will become a philanderer, and as such he will waste his money and come to nought. If he should go to the first pile, he is sure to become insane.

777 538 Many tales portray the effects of medicines for wealth which Essamniamaböge makes for one of his sons, usually Ekute E., who has sought him out in the land of the spirits. Here, too, a place is always cleared under a Copaifera, and Essamniamaböge then has an entire miniature village [illegible] up, with many huts or other

Fig. 54
Medicine for Wealth (stone from a crocodile's stomach, tied between little sticks so as not to be lost).

things to symbolize the treasures that can be expected. In addition, Essamniamaböge gives his son boxes which contain helpful souls who later will obtain wealth for the person, just like the little men of our fairy tales. Also, as frequently happens in our tales, the conclusion is always that all treasures, especially the houses and wives, disappear at one stroke, usually through the fault of the person concerned, and the man who was wealthy a moment ago is again as poor and miserable as before. Such a tale is reproduced here.

Ekute Essamniamaböge among the Souls

539 777 Ekute once said to himself, "Oh, I would like to go to the place where my mother was born!" Ekute had only his mother

174 who were settled among them and the Boulou. The last Beti groups to cross the Sanaga, blocked by those who had preceded them, have turned perpendicularly or obliquely to the general axis of migration.

The total migration was made exclusively by land, even when its [505] axis followed the course of a navigable river. The Pahouin are not users 487 of the pirogue, and the customary trails followed along ridges rather than valleys. Settlement is mainly linear, stretched along trails and, [361] now, roads, in long ribbons, separated by empty areas.

173 The traditions dealing with this exodus are of three kinds: the collective tradition of the group, varying in detail from tribe to tribe but always agreeing in the broad outlines of the same theme; family traditions, consisting of a commentary on genealogies, the majority of which have not been collected and are by way of being lost due to the abandonment of the customary training of boys; finally, a pseudo tradition of contemporary invention, which is far from the least interesting. I shall here give an account only of the principal features of these traditions and, first, of the collective tradition.

According to this, the ancestors used to live in a country called mvo' ékanga or mvo' ékaña'a (Largeau: mvõgh ẽtangha), which means something like "cloudy country" or "honorable country," depending on the tone, or perhaps both at the same time (1). I have

[90] 1. a) Radical kañ = to honor, to respect, whence ékañâ'a = honor, respect, veneration; b) radical kañ = to mark, to design, whence ékanga = mark, design, cloud; c) verb kañele = to lash, to shape /timber/, whence ékanga = bridge.

pointed out previously the legendary features of this land in the east, the details of which vary according to the informants. It should be observed in passing that they differ as to whether or not this land was the actual cradle of the ancestors and whether the latter came from a place located even more to the east, as the present pseudo tradition asserts (2).

[533] 538 2. The last of the Ntoumou storytellers sing to the accompaniment of a guitar, mvet, the exploits of the bikañ or bo'bikaña,

173
[533
538]

superhuman heroes, who include not only their ancestors but also the earliest well-known Europeans: Ngôtô Zambe (Rev. Good), Mendômô (Hauptmann von Hagen), Akôk (Marius Pascalet), etc., thus are found to be naturalized as it were and incorporated into tradition.

Driven out of this country by red giants (or by a red giant), the ancestors, fleeing to save their lives, were brought to a standstill at the Sanaga, incapable of crossing it until the intervention of the guardian of the waters, a python according to Beti and Boulou, a crocodile according to /16/ the Fang (1). By stretching himself across

1. Bertaut gives the names as mot yom and nga medja or ngan meja. Discounting a mistake in transcription, these expressions could mean "a being to be supplicated," "crocodile to be supplicated," from môt (Fang, môr, mur) = person; ngan = crocodile; ja'é (Boulou) dzak, dzaghé (Ewondo, Fang) = to ask, to supplicate; yom = to beg, to implore.

the river this animal formed a bridge which the ancestors crossed family by family, in order of primogeniture, until the moment when a child (or woman) wounded the animal's back by letting fall a weapon (or a torch). The animal dived below, abandoning on the right bank the Beti group that is still there today.

[100] Osoe Nsanga, whence Europeans have derived "Sanaga," means [122] "white river" or "river of the albino." White is the color of death; [124] ghosts (bekôn) are white; albinos are thought to be offspring of incubi. [175] Lastly, the land of the dead has always been situated in the west, toward the sea (man), even though the Pahouin could not have known the sea except by hearsay. Considered in connection with some of the legends collected by Trilles, these facts may lead us to think that the Pahouin in crossing the Sanaga were entering, at least symbolically, the land of the dead.

When they had reached the left bank, they found their road blocked by an impenetrable forest, with the single path obstructed by an

of speech, and this to a large extent owing to European influence, in particular compulsory schooling. The teaching of rhetoric played a great part in the traditional education of boys (njóó, nzoé = speaker, orator = chief), and initiation into various rites gave the initiates the right to use certain words forbidden to the uninitiated (2). Con-

2. I was never able to learn the real word for "skull" reserved for biéri initiates; I was only told the paraphrase, ékoloé nlo môt, "shell of a man's head."

version to Christianity and instruction in colonial schools have brought about a definite deterioration in the language, by forcing traditional education to retreat or by destroying it. It is thus that the novel Ninanga kûn (no. 153), written after the war of 1914, is nowadays arduous reading for young Boulou.

The majority of the words in the language are formed from /22/ a biliteral root (consonant-vowel) or triliteral (consonant-vowel-consonant) to which affixes are added. There are thus series such as:

KI (Fang) or TYI (Boulou), radical—kié, tyé = power; éiri, étyi = prohibition; tyik = to cut, to decide; tyi = to be under a prohibition; tyili = to lay under a prohibition, to forbid; étyé, éhié = iron, pl. bityé, bikie = sacramental money; ôtyeñ, ôu(i)eñ = knife; metyi, meki = blood, etc.

The most important affixes are the nominal classifiers, which permit the division of nouns and pronouns into nominal classes or semantic genders; sexual gender does not exist. There are five or six of these classes or genders, according to different writers. Semantic implication /sic/ is not always clear in true substantives, but it is much more so for verbal substantives. I give here the Boulou classes according to Bates:

I. nominal classifiers: m, n, n/be, b; pronominal classifiers: a, ny, w/be, b. —Personal class, names of persons, of personified animals; names of European origin. Verbal derivatives indicating the agent.

Ex: mot, bot = person; ngal, beyal = wife, female;
metoa, bemetoa = conveyance /voiture/;
mbo, bebo = he who does /makes/, from bo = to do /make/;
ndi = he who eats, from di = to eat.

6:Alexandre and Binet--158 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

4. Arts and Literature

531 The principal form of plastic art used to be sculpture, in wood or steatite. Aside from masks for associations, especially for the ngil, figures of ancestors, full-length figures or simply masks, and figures for ritual ceremonies were carved. Drums, seats, crossbows, sometimes imported chests, were decorated in demirelief. The features of a mask were only slightly indicated, the attitude of figures was rather stiff, while subjects in demirelief, particularly animals, were often very lively.

531 117 The sculptors were initiates of the different rites and with the decline of the latter, traditional sculpture has largely disappeared, to be replaced by work in wood or ivory in the Barbes /?/ or Saint-Sulpice style /the implication of the second is of the commercial religious art sold in shops near the St.-Sulpice in Paris. —Tr./, thanks to the work of schools and missions. An interesting project at the professional school in Ebolowa, under the director, Lecoq, between 1946 and 1950, has had no sequel. However, there are a few indications that allow hope for the rise of a Christian art that will perhaps be original, alongside the commercial sculpture for tourists, which is extremely flourishing.

This conclusion holds good for painting, since some frescoes in Catholic chapels, particularly in Ewondo country, appear to be manifestations of a new art. Furthermore, painting is at present the popular art par excellence, in the form of frescoes inside and outside houses. Aside from religious subjects, one often sees paintings of animals, family scenes, portraits of local or world celebrities. A Boulou from Sangmélima, David Monewoso, has established the features of the heroes of the novel Nnanga kôn in numerous frescoes throughout Boulou country. All this constitutes something new, because traditional art made little use of painting in this form. Huts were more likely to be decorated with geometrical figures with an esoteric meaning, in nothing but the three traditional colors, red, black, and white. Drawing was mostly represented by engraved designs, made with burin or red-hot iron on wooden objects, sometimes by charcoal drawings done on walls or rocks.

20 Literature was solely oral until the colonial period. It is not, however, accurate to say that the Pahouin were completely ignorant of writing. Aside from the quipu (biall zeneghe —? —, according to

Largeau /sic/) and the mekutu alele, bundles of little sticks making it possible to communicate in code, they had a kind of pictography, ntilan, with tens, if not hundreds, of signs, mindem. These we know (insufficiently) from the counters used in the abia game, a kind of tarots, used as a game as much as for predicting the future; the pieces were made of the seeds, or rather the pods, of a mimosa common in the forest (Tetrapleura /125/ thonningii, according to Trilles). These signs had a surface meaning, understood by all, and an esoteric meaning, restricted to initiates. They made it possible if not to write down traditions as a whole, at least to draw up a kind of aid to memory to be used by the beyia bia. They also enabled scouts to leave messages for a main body of fighters that followed. Each clan, each family had its own ndem, sometimes depicted in its tattoo mark, ndan, which thus constituted a sort of coat of arms.

The old literature included stories or tales, minlañ, songs, bia, and chronicles, minkañete.

Trilles is responsible for collecting most of the tales (no. 165), which often took the form of fabliaux whose hero was none other than Ol' Br'er Terrapin, Kulu (emphatic or personal form of kûl), the earth tortoise (Cinyxis erosa), surrounded by Beme, the wild pig, stupid and gluttonous, Ze, the panther, mean and cunning, its principal enemy; Zo'o, the elephant, the king of beasts; Abop, the spider, artful and obliging; and the majority of the other forest animals (except, it seems, snakes, which no one ever likes to mention). Kulu, thanks to his shrewdness, always ends by getting out of the holes in which his caustic spirit or the old hostility between him and Ze have put him. Tales of magicians were also told, or stories about the conjugal mishaps of supposed ancestors. All such tales were in the public domain and were recited by anyone who felt competent. This was also the case with the puzzles and riddles that young people put to one another as a kind of flirtation.

Songs, however, were performed by specialists, even aside from ritual or magical songs. Some were used to accompany dances; they represented the most complete form of musical expression, with the tone of the words supposed to fit the music while being related to the movements of the dance. There are still beyia bia competent to lead a dance of this kind by improvisation, but they are few and very expensive. There also still exist players of the mvet (harp-guitar), whose repertory includes, beside the old sung legends, some modern

533 skits, often satirical, sometimes to the accompaniment of European tunes that have been adapted to the instrument. Choral song, finally, is very popular, using imported tunes that are often considerably improved by the native interpretation which makes extensive use of fugue and counterpoint. Unfortunately, these modern airs are not suited to the tonal system of the language, which they tend to impair when words are adapted to them.

538 173 127 Chronicles, minkaffete, of which the salutations, mebatan, were in a way summaries, were part of traditional training and were recited only on solemn occasions. They are falling into oblivion because of the considerable demands they made upon the memory and because of the time necessary for learning them by heart, without mentioning the fact that they contained incomprehensible passages, perhaps borrowed from tribes that were neighbors of the Pahouin before their great migration. /126/

177 538 The systems of transcription introduced by missionaries were first used to translate the Scriptures and to compose hymns, which have not always had a good effect upon the language but have nonetheless become classics in spite of the mistakes and improprieties they often contain. After these works produced by Europeans in the native language, there have appeared in rapid succession works composed by Pahouin writing in their own language. The most remarkable is without doubt Nnanga kôn by the Boulou, Jemba Medu, which describes Boulou life at the time of the arrival of the first white men (nnanga kôn = phantom albino). This, to my knowledge, is the only novel composed in one of the languages of the group; its popularity is prodigious, to such a degree that its characters have entered into contemporary Boulou folklore.

204 There is a missionary press in Gabon and in the Cameroons. The papers with the largest circulation are Nieb Bekristen (Christians' Guide) (Ewôndo, Catholic) and Mefoé (News) (Boulou, Protestant), which is read as far afield as Gabon. The lay press in French is not of much importance and its publications moreover are usually short lived.

538 A Pahouin literature in the French language is a recent — and significant — phenomenon. Oyono and Eza Boto-Mongo Beti are both from the Cameroons; neither Gabon nor Spanish Guinea have up to now produced a novelist.

535 The dance has lost a great deal in being deprived of its old ritual character. Formerly there was a specific dance for every ceremony,

68
695
T81

to one or more culprits, who are immediately seized and led to the middle of the public square, where one of the practitioner's assistants is waiting with several cups of the liquid.

Those who, in previous ordeals, have asked to be given the poison to drink are also brought up at the same time.

Each in turn empties a cup: the effects vary according to the kind of poison.

Those who drink the dîbh quickly develop a violent trembling, which convulses the whole body. They can hardly keep on their feet and would roll on the ground were they not supported by friends. If at this point they are able to urinate copiously, they will gradually recover and survive. However, for years they will have a persistent nervous tremor.

Those who drink the ikaja or the onaf seem, on the contrary, to be knocked out: they fall down, get up, and fall down again. They survive only if they can vomit the liquid.

Whatever the effect of the poison, all who have undergone the test are led before a log thrown like a bridge over a brook, or sometimes before a plank or a dead tree laid on the ground. They must tread it without help from one end to the other. If they teeter and fall, all the participants leap on them, [544] strike and kill them with clubs, tear them apart and eat them on the spot. However, the sorcerers or those who claim to be are never eaten but are burnt alive. Those who get through to the end of the plank have to pay a large fine. "There's no smoke without fire," seems to be the Fan proverb, translated [538] into their idom as, "Ké abi fo ve fo -- there's no rat hole without a rat!"

The totem enters to a fairly large extent into all these tests, either through the practitioner who invokes it or through the unfortunate accused who always have the right, quite illusory for them, to have a [565] piece of the totem boiled with the dîbh (1) and to invoke it before drinking up the fatal

1. It is not for me to pass judgment on these ceremonies, or to show to what degree the practitioner plays the dominant role, often getting well paid

/58/

361

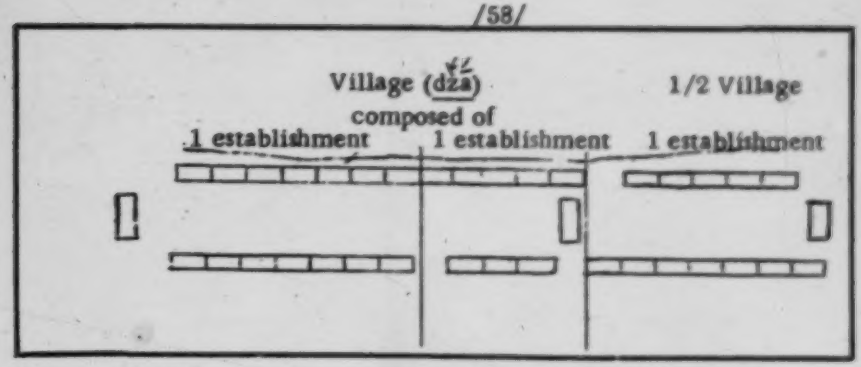


Fig. 18. Development of a Village from Individual Establishments.

621 to force his people to complete it. At one time, for instance, the chief
622 of the village Nssälang (Fig. 23 shows one of the temporary meeting
344 houses of that village) made the proposal to me -- a proposal which I, of course, gratefully declined -- that I should either force his people, or make my people available, to build a new meeting house for him. Then, as he put it, everybody would say: "This chief of the Whites is quite a fellow; you can tell that a White lives near his village." At best, the chief's people bring him some roofing mats for the construction and in this way believe they have fulfilled their duty toward the community project. The actual work is always up to the chief. Even so, [623] the house does not thereby become his property; rather, in each case it is the common property of the men. When the chief says, "It is my meeting house," they are not affected by his statement. The Pangwe 461 avoids anything and everything that might disturb him in his customary 359 peace and comfort; he shies away from work and lets things run their course:

zǒ[k] e tsídan ebḗi-asḗi, a ve oa
Elephant, he frightened away (from) pit-iron-stone, he gave you

atḗi, a nī oa adzíɪ
poverty, he took (from) you heaviness. /59/

That means: The elephant that frightened you away from an iron-stone pit, made you poor, it is true, but at the same time he relieved you of a burden (namely, that of preparing the iron).

262 frequently pouring on water, grinds them to flour (half a basket of ears produces a heaping basketwork plate of flour from which three loaves are made). The flour in a basketwork plate lined with leaves is stirred with water to form a batter; salt, pepper, and frequently
[262] also shrimp and dragonfly larvae are added. This batter, as in the case of the women's cassava nkǔna mbǔn, is placed in a Sarcophrynium leaf folded in the shape of a stirrup, and it is boiled for an hour in a pot with a little water. The end result is a dish which, while it is rather heavy, tastes quite good. /160/

(d) Maize mush (ngbwét).

Maize mush is made of fresh maize flour which, when boiled, makes a white pulpy soup. Since I have not closely observed its preparation, I am unable to give any details.

The remaining plants, such as taro, macabo, yams, and so forth, are not sufficiently important to be discussed in relation to the various ways of preparing them. The reader will, I think, from the information given so far, derive a clear enough picture of the multiple uses made by the Pangwe of their vegetable foodstuffs.

Meat is boiled in pots by itself -- just like fish, which, as among us, are dressed and scaled -- or it is boiled in a leaf bundle with groundnuts and ngon. As for other ways of preparation, the
[265] Pangwe are familiar with roasting, but they use this method only in order to make the food keep and to preserve it.

264 Meals are quite irregular and poorly distributed:

[539] "kikitase afǒk anǔ̄, hamoś ebań e nkǒk,
In the morning a little bit for the mouth, (mid) day a loan for the jaw,

alu bepfǔm"
at night, quite full.

In the morning, soon after getting up, they usually eat a small amount of a cold cassava dish or something similar, which the women have cooked the night before since they usually have to go to the plantations early. In the course of the forenoon they content themselves with a little snack of cassava bread, bananas, and the like.

3. Care of the body.

515 539 By and large, the Pangwe may be called a very clean people, cleaner than many European peoples. The majority wash and bathe very frequently, and the following proverb shows how a person who does not wash is judged:

otũ̄ kɩ̄ -mfõõ	a	dɩ̄ŋ̄nã̄:	kã		mvȭŋ
Old pocket (1)	she	said thus:	if now there is		rain

[195] 1. A common term of abuse for men, similar to our "old hag" for women.

a	bɔ̄de	ma,	ngbāna	a	wɔ̄ban	e	madzī'm	a
it	wets	me,	time	to	wash	in the	water,	it

bɛ̄	ma	anã̄
was	for me	just!

That is: "The rain came just in time, it was high time for a bath."

164 515 The many skin diseases, from which younger people suffer with special frequency, seem to have causes other than uncleanliness, /187/ although it must be admitted that among many Negroes there is an incredible indifference with respect to the care of the body, treatment of wounds, and parasites. In general, however, one can only praise the Pangwe for their cleanliness.

515 318 324 Formerly, even soap, made from a Rubiacea (ogbwã'm Fang, ogbwɛ̄'mɛ̄ Ntum), was customarily used for washing bark cloth.

515 278 324 There are no fleas, but on the other hand there are vast numbers of lice which are picked off and killed by biting them -- the women swallow them at the same time. They are also killed by special medicines. These medicines are made with raffia palm oil which is rubbed on the skin and which the lice do not like to begin with. To the oil is added charred and ground plantain skins or the ground and subsequently dried roots of the Apocynacea Doacanga diplochlamys K. Sch. (ojɛ̄ metũ̄ɛ̄ Ntum), ground leaves and blossoms of the Simarubacea Quassia africana Baill. (ɩ̄ũ̄ɛ̄-elī'), and ground leaves of the Malpigiacea Heteropteris africana A. Juss.

1: Tessmann--252 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

325

trellis is constructed over the smelting box. Smelting requires a number of hours. The very soft iron obtained is pounded to pieces and then forged."

[113]

(From Mittellungen von Forschungreisenden und Gelehrten aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten /Reports by Explorers and Scholars from the German Protectorates/ by Friedrich von Danckelman, 1895, page 63.

/230/ /Fig. 182 appears here in the original text. /

/231/ Now the bellows workers (nǔǔ, -nǔǔm) put their two tools, which they have brought with them, into position, and in the manner already indicated stick the blast pipe into the furnace in place of the guide rod, so that the funnel-shaped end juts outward about ten to twelve centimeters. Then they arrange the bellows (Drawing 1, o) in such a way that its mouth is from two to three centimeters from the blast pipe and clamp it between two pairs of sticks, called mvǐk (see Fig. 183), which are planted in the ground. This simple arrangement has given rise to the following proverb:

[539]

bokui bo vǒde akǔǔ o mvǐk =

The Pygmies, they despaired of smelting because (of the) the holding sticks (which they did not know how to attach).
This proverb is said whenever some great enterprise fails because of a trifle.

325
461
791

Now everybody sits down on tree trunks around the furnace. A piece of red-hot charcoal is introduced into the furnace through one of the blast pipes, and then the working of the bellows begins (Fig. 184). This is done in the following manner. First one and then the other hide are alternately pulled up and down by hand, or, if one wants to work at high pressure, both hides are pulled together. This is a strenuous and monotonous job which the natives try to alleviate as much as possible by singing, which is led by the medicine man (in Plate 17, the gentleman to the right with folded arms), by shouting, laughing, talking, and telling stories. Above all, the

777 case he has successfully passed the test, is washed with the water from the leaf vessel, and receives the crocodile's stone (Fig. 54) which will help him in the future to become a great chief and very wealthy. If he goes to the pile on which the things for young people are heaped, he will become a philanderer, and as such he will waste his money and come to nought. If he should go to the first pile, he is sure to become insane.

777 538 Many tales portray the effects of medicines for wealth which Esamniamabōge makes for one of his sons, usually Ekute E., who has sought him out in the land of the spirits. Here, too, a place is always cleared under a Copaifera, and Esamniamabōge then has an entire miniature village set up, with many huts or other

Fig. 54
Medicine for Wealth (stone from a crocodile's stomach, tied between little sticks so as not to be lost).

things to symbolize the treasures that can be expected. In addition, Esamniamabōge gives his son boxes which contain helpful souls who later will obtain wealth for the person, just like the little men of our fairy tales. Also, as frequently happens in our tales, the conclusion is always that all treasures, especially the houses and wives, disappear at one stroke, usually through the fault of the person concerned, and the man who was wealthy a moment ago is again as poor and miserable as before. Such a tale is reproduced here.

Ekute Esamniamabōge among the Souls

539 777 Ekute once said to himself, "Oh, I would like to go to the place where my mother was born!" Ekute had only his mother

539
777

and three brothers in the village; otherwise he possessed absolutely nothing, not even a wife, nor did his /153/ brothers have anything. For this reason he set out to visit his relatives on his mother's side, that is, the souls. He soon came to a large forest full of animal trails, and it was not long before he met a porcupine that had hung a bell around his hunting dog's neck so it would track down other porcupines, "for," said the porcupine to Ekute, "the others have eaten my mother's cassava." Thereupon Ekute said, "Why is it that you kill other porcupines; are you not one yourself?" Then the porcupine answered, "That is an affair (1) caused by the souls. Turn around and don't go to them."

1. dzǐm, coastal English, "palaver."

Ekute, however, went on. He soon met a bird that was setting up a trap to catch birds. Then Ekute asked again, "Why do you want to kill other birds; are you not a bird yourself?" The bird answered, "Oh, that is because of the affair with the souls. Turn around and don't go into their land!" Ekute went on, however, and met two pigs that were setting up a pitfall to kill other pigs. In answer to Ekute's question, one pig said that they were doing it because other pigs were in the habit of eating their mother's cassava. Then Ekute asked once more, "Why do you want to kill other pigs when you yourselves belong to the family of pigs?" To this the pigs answered, "That is because of the souls; turn around and go back to the land of men!" Ekute did not want to take their advice, whereupon the pig said, "Ah, Ekute, I thought that by now you had finally developed some sense, but I see that you are just as stupid as before. Go your way to wherever you please!" Then Ekute encountered an antelope that had set up a fixed net. He asked the antelope, "Oh, what are you doing here with the fixed net?" Thereupon the antelope said in reply, "How can you ask such stupid questions, Ekute; I am here to catch the other antelopes." At that Ekute was very surprised, but the antelope asked, "Where do you want to go?" Ekute said, "I want to visit the relatives of my mother." The animal replied, "In that case just go along the path that I have

777 taken, and keep going straight until you arrive at a deserted clearing;
539 there you will be close to the village." Then Ekute went on and passed many other animals, elephants, kudu, and so forth, all of which were engaged in a hunting drive. He went on for a long time, for three days, until he finally came to a village where a man was sitting, and the man said, "Now then, where do you want to go?" Ekute answered, "Oh, I want to find the sons of my mother; am I not on the right track here?" To this the man replied, "Yes, indeed, just go into the next village, there you will see them all." So Ekute went on and came to a large village that was full of animals. They were all there, the antelope, the pig, the eagle, the dog, the leopard, the elephant; /154/ oh my! Then said Ekute: "Am I not in the village of my grandfather here?" The animals confirmed this. Then Ekute went into the meeting house and wanted to sit down, whereupon many voices called out about him, "Oh, oh, what do you think you're doing, sitting down on us?" Then he sat down elsewhere, but as he did so a voice said, "Oh, Ekute, look out for my feet; why do you have to sit down just here?" Ekute, however, saw none of the souls, because human beings cannot see souls. Thereupon he said to the invisible beings, "Oh, I just wanted to visit my grandfather and his relatives; if you don't like me, I shall go back again. Whenever I sit down somewhere, I am told, 'Not here,' but I don't see anybody, so what shall I do?" His grandfather finally came shortly thereafter; he took a leaf bag and put medicine into Ekute's ears. The latter immediately fell down dead and awoke as a soul. Then he saw all the people, many, many, and only then did he see properly the large village in which he found himself. All the houses were covered, whereas previously he had seen them with only rafters. Then Ekute spoke, "Oh, Grandfather, I have nothing, no chickens, no sheep, absolutely nothing, and at the same time I have three brothers, who also have nothing, and my old mother. Now I wanted to ask you, if you had a chicken or a sheep, whether you would give it to me (1), for I don't have

1. Of course as marriage money for a wife.

777
539

a wife either." Thereupon the grandfather laughed and said, "Oh, that doesn't matter, it will all turn out all right; first have a proper meal." Thereupon he caught a big pig, killed it, and ate it with his grandson. The next day they slaughtered a sheep, and so they lived happily in great style. After some time, the grandfather said to Ekute, "Come, we shall go into the jungle on that side, and there I shall show you everything; you will become a great chief, and everyone will marvel at you." So they went into the jungle until they came to a large Copaifera (2). There the grandfather said, "Clear everything

2. Copaifera tessmannii Harms.

away carefully around this tree, down to there." The grandfather then went down and asked, "Do you see me?" Ekute said, "No." Then his grandfather said, "Clear that side too!" Ekute did as he was told. "Now you must make little houses, forty on this side and forty on that side!" That, too, Ekute did. Then the grandfather knocked on the Copaifera and behold, it immediately shrank and became so small that they could knock off firewood from its branches. With this they made a large fire on which they boiled the medicine. The grandfather went to a small river and brought with him two bark boxes that could run by themselves. When he called to them, "Come, come," they came by themselves. Now the grandfather spoke, "Dear Ekute, all the things that I am able to give you are here. Take these boxes, they are enchanted boxes, and do not hide them in your village, but underneath /155/ the brook in the vicinity of your village, and in such a way that no one can find them, for if someone should, all is lost. Now when you return, you merely need to utter a wish and it will be fulfilled; the boxes will help you." Thereupon Ekute replied, "Ah, Grandfather, I don't think what you are telling me is quite right." But the grandfather retorted, "Oh yes it is, just go there. Your village will grow and become large, and you will build eighty huts, for you will marry eighty wives, just as you have built eighty houses

717 here, and call on the boxes." Ekute did this and called, "Come,
●539 come." They did come, and Ekute was very happy and said, "Yes, now I see that you have shown me everything." After the grandfather had once more knocked on the tree to make it regain its original size, the two went back into the village. There, as a pretense in front of the people, the grandfather said that he did not have much to give away and that Ekute was to go home again, but that he would accompany him to the next village. This is what he did, and on the way the grandfather once more instructed him not to display the boxes, but to bury them under the designated brook. Thereupon the grandfather again gave Ekute the medicine that he had dropped in his ears, and Ekute was again a human being and went with his boxes through the forest to his village. When he came to the brook just outside his village, which his grandfather had told him about, he dug another bed for the brook, made a hole in the old bed, and placed the boxes inside it. Then he threw dirt over them and redirected the course of the brook (1). He then went into his village. The

1. This idea is not new and reminds one of the burial of a dead body in a river bed. Thus, Mgr. Le Roy reports on the Okoa, a Pygmy people on the Gabon, in the following manner. "In the middle of the forest the course of a brook is redirected and the corpse, which is wrapped in mats and pieces of bark, is lowered into the pit dug into the bed of the brook. This is done around midnight, and the women and children are kept away. A large stone is placed on the head of the corpse, and it is surrounded completely with loam to prevent the water from getting to it." See also "Das Grab im Busento /The Grave in the Busento/." /Ed., a poem by Von Platen, a German poet of the nineteenth century/.

people there were of course greatly surprised, and one of his

777 brothers said, "Oh, Ekute, we thought that you had died long
559 ago since you were gone for such a long time. What have you been doing?" Ekute answered, "Ah, I have been running around in the forest and was close to starvation, but I saw no one." Then the brother said, "Oh, Ekute, you are stupid; why do you go so far away? In the meantime we were close to dying of starvation." Then Ekute went into the village where his three houses stood, and seeing that everything was grown over, he said, "Oh, I see that my village has been in ruins for a long time." /156/ Thereupon he cleaned up the area near his house so that it was nice and tidy. Overnight, however, as though by magic hands, the entire village was made so clean and the houses so pretty that one seldom sees the like. All the people who passed by marveled and said, "Oh, what a charming little village; we shall rest here a while." People brought him all kinds of trinkets and gave them to him as a present. At this point, he heard that there was a girl in a village to the east, and he decided to go there immediately. But his brother said, "What, you just came back from a journey, and nothing is in order in your house; you have nothing beautiful on your body, and you are not even oiled." Ekute asked his brother to arrange his headgear nicely. He then tied a brass collar around his neck, put brass rings on his feet and arms, and so went into the village where the girl lived. When he came to the girl's father and spoke to him about his daughter, the father said, "Ah, Ekute, you have absolutely nothing for marriage, but if you want to become friends with my daughter, that's all right too." Then Ekute went to the girl, and when he saw that she liked him, he asked her whether she would not like to go with him to his village later. The girl replied, "Oh, Ekute, you're beating about the bush; I'm ready to go with you any time." Then Ekute said, "Let us depart at once." But the girl replied, "Ah, no, at the moment the food is on the fire." When the food was ready, she offered it to Ekute who, however, said, "Please, let's go; I am not hungry at the moment." Then the girl put the food in a bundle and went with Ekute -- it had meanwhile become night -- to his village. The next morning Ekute asked himself in despair where he was to get the money;

777 he now had a wife, but no money to pay for her. Soon, indeed,
539 the girl's father appeared and reproached Ekute for his thoughtlessness, saying, "Give me back the girl since you cannot pay." Then the man turned around, and when Ekute went into his house, lo and behold! -- there stood five large chests full of spear money and a chest with cloth, as well as a great many other things. Thereupon he called his brother, and with him took all the things to his father-in-law's village. The latter was greatly astonished and thought to himself, "How did this Ekute, who just a little while ago didn't have anything, get all these things?" To Ekute himself, however, he said, "My dear son, you are heartily welcome; I see that you have an enormous amount of money and that you will indeed become a great chief." At this Ekute was, of course, very happy, and he said to himself, "Indeed, now I have a wife, but no plantation from which to make a living." Then he remembered his grandfather's words and went into the forest to pick out a place for the plantation. During the night, chop, chop, the invisible souls cleared the site of the plantation by cutting down the trees and burning it over. When Ekute arrived /157/ the next morning, he found the plantation cleared and burned. Then he said, "Now the tree trunks still have to be removed, and we still need boundaries for the plots for two women, that is, for my mother and for my wife." The next day this also had been done, and Ekute said happily to his mother and wife, "Now plant ngon in the ground; it's time for you to get to work." Then his mother asked him, "What, have you prepared everything and put in the boundary lines already?" "Certainly," said Ekute. Then the two women went to the plantation and planted ngon. Also the souls helped him build a house for his wife. Ekute then went to find another wife, and since he always had bride money in the house, it was only a short time before he had seventy-nine wives. All the plantations and all the houses were prepared for him by the souls. Then, one day, he heard that not far away there lived a very beautiful girl by the name of Odangemakông (1). He wanted to ask for her

1. That is, "she who surpasses all in cleverness."

777
539

hand as well, but his brother warned him, "Oh, when you hear that something is called Odangemakōng, it's very bad; you had better not marry this girl." But Ekute answered, "Come now, why shouldn't I marry her?" Indeed, the girl immediately fell in love with him, and he took her back to his village as his wife. In the evening, however, the girl said, "Please sleep with one of your other wives tonight; I don't feel like it!" Accordingly, Ekute did so, and when he had gone to sleep, Odangemakōng made a fire by lighting a piece of wood and then asked, "All these many things that Ekute has, where do they come from? From this direction?" -- The fire kept burning. -- "From that direction?" -- The fire kept burning. -- "From that direction?" And she pointed in the direction of the path leading to the brook, whereupon the fire went out. Then she went along the path, and when she came to the brook, she again made a fire for the medicine and said, "Where is this affair that has produced all these things? Here?" And the fire kept burning. "And here ? and here?" -- and as she asked, she pointed in all directions, but the fire kept burning. Then she pointed down to where she was standing, and the fire immediately went out. She thereupon began to divert the brook's water and dug and dug until she finally found the two little boxes. Then she said, "So that's the affair," and opened the lids, whereupon, whoops, all the helpful souls contained in them escaped from both boxes and returned to the land of the souls. The wife herself went back to the village and very quickly packed all her things. During the night, however, Ekute came out of the house and said, "Ah, I don't know what has got into my head; I can't sleep at all tonight, so I want to sleep with you." But Odangemakōng called out, "Don't come, don't come into my house!" Then Ekute returned to his house and lay down. Odangemakōng took all her things and returned to her father, to whom she said, "When this man sees that all is spoiled and finds me tomorrow, he will /158/ kill me." The next day Ekute woke up and could not believe his eyes, because everything, the entire village, was gone, and only the three old houses remained as they had been at first; all the women, everything

777 was gone. Then his brother said, "You see what I told you?
539 If you had not married this woman, everything would have been as it was yesterday, but as it is you have nothing left." Emam mese masǎmabo ava. (Customary conclusion of tales.)

It is noteworthy that homosexual intercourse is included
777 among the medicines for wealth because it is believed that
838 through the intimate contact the medicine of one will be transferred to the other. In a case known to me in Ebaängon, the passive party possessed the medicine and the active party wanted to acquire it. Another case is related in the tale that I reproduce in Section 18. In actual fact it might turn out that the effect of the medicine consists in the mutual support the two "friends" render each other, based chiefly on the consciousness of common guilt and the endeavor not to let this guilt be known. This medicine is not without danger, for in the case just mentioned it was related that one of the men became blind and the other leprous, and in the tale both parties become leprous or suffer from frambesia.

A variant of the medicines for wealth consists of those
777 which especially help one to marry or abduct women (biǎ̱ń e bǒm); another variant consists of the means to acquire influence and respect (biǎ̱ń e bame, biǎ̱ń a vōge), such as the great Anonacea
[824] Pachypodanthium confius Pierre, Engl. et D. (ntim I) and the Melastomacea Memexylon tessmannii Gilg (ntimǐ IV) which, in addition, is also regarded as an authentic medicine for wealth.

In addition to the medicines for acquiring wealth, the most
832 important and the most common are the love medicines (biǎ̱ń anduman). No less than about 100 different plants are placed in the service of Venus.

If the inhabitants of a village have the idea that the love affairs of the young people need revitalizing, a general love medicine festival (engǒ̱ńezǒk) is arranged, which is celebrated under the supervision and with the cooperation of the ancestral skulls worshipped in the Malan. Consequently, only the initiates of the Malan may take part. The course of the festivities together with the period of preparation corresponds to that described in the section on cult festivals /Ed., not translated/: two feast

755 of the head and hands. In the case in question the good Schona, the name of the boy, feigned these symptoms very well. The Bokung man was summoned, and /168/ drums were set up in front of the sick man's house; the Bokung man disappeared for a moment in the bushes and then reappeared as a chimpanzee (see the Bokung cult, page 65 /Ed., not translated/), amidst the screaming of reed pipes, and performed the ape dance while his assistant prepared the medicines that the sick person was to drink. Then the patient had placed around his neck a raffia pith rope that had been dipped in medicinal red wood (so he would feel as light as raffia pith is light). A line was drawn around about his body with the same color, and the medicine man then uttered the following incantation through the reed pipe:

755 a śōna, a śōna, a pfulan a bōnenga
539 O Schona, O Schona, he together (ate) with women

kăbăd a ke adǭn kū ojō'b, a bĕlĕ
goat, he goes to step over turtle over, he is possessed

ete, bokūn a bĕlĕ nie,
by it, Bokung he has him (made possessed)

nkaku malĕń a nim ebĕ
? oil palms?, make straight (like) stick (of the)

dzǭń, myū yū, ma nyŏń nkĕ ĭ,
raffia, dog he dies, I take dorsal vertebra,

a kăb, a nim, ollū nkĕ ĭ'
take away, make straight, (into the) water down

wō, nyū adǭń, nyū a yŏ'n.
(onomatopoetic) skin unsurpassable, skin it easily.

This song -- like many purification songs -- is evidently very ancient and in part no longer understood. Through its agency the

755 sickness is supposed to be taken away. By way of explaining the
539 verse it may be observed that the initiates of the Bokung and Elong cult are forbidden to eat goats or sheep with women and are forbidden to eat turtles or to step over them. It is assumed that the sick person may have transgressed one of these prohibitions. The phrase "making straight" refers to the sick person, since he is supposed to become as straight as a raffia stick; the dog represents the scapegoat that is killed and whose dorsal vertebra (the stuff causing the sickness is in the spinal marrow) is thrown into the water instead of the patient's in order to indicate that together with its habitation the sickness itself is to be washed away, taken away. Then the sick man will feel light. Of course, the presence of women is strictly prohibited.

Of a Ngi sufferer it is said: ngi a bélé nif, that is, Ngi has
755 him, has made him possessed. The treatment is carried out by
124 the Ngi man who appears in the sick man's village amidst roaring and clanging of cymbals; with the Ngi bones in his hand he then dances about to the accompaniment of drum music. In the case that I witnessed, /169/ the barks of various plants were then dissolved in water; among them were especially the following: Leea guineensis Don (afōbesōn), Musanga smithii R. Br. (asōn), Trema guineense (Schum.) Engl., Vernonia conferta Bth., Costus, Emilia, Uapaca, Antidesma, and Heckeria.

The actual "cure" was performed as follows. The Ngi man
755 beat the patient's head alternately with bundles of the Macaranga and Trema; then he washed the bullet wound with the medicine water and gave the patient a drink of the same water. Thereupon he mixed together red wood, bark shavings, and chicken's blood obtained by forcibly pulling the chicken's beak open; with this paste he drew a line around the sick man's chest, smeared his neck, and painted the bed posts. The next day the Ngi representative appeared once more with bones and sacred thorns, performed all kinds of dances, such as I have described in connection with the Ngi cult /Ed., not translated/, and in a singsong made a kind of exorcism speech similar to that of the Bokung man. In case a single attempt to cure is of no avail, it is repeated; in one village I heard the Ngi man roaring night after night in order to free a seriously ill person of his sufferings.

789 but even that seems to be dying out for its meaning is frequently
118 no longer understood. Thus I once (on an earlier occasion) found an open cooking pot set up as rain medicine; I simply could not understand this until I saw the authentic medicine and was informed that in the first case a mistake had been made.

82.1 According to one conception, the rainbow is the handiwork of a great sorcerer who wanted to show the others what he was capable of performing. Other natives think the rainbow is water vapor or smoke, and when it appears in the east, late in the afternoon, people say jokingly that one end is standing in the Campo and the other end in the Uelle. A third notion concerning the rainbow -- and this one is probably based on its iridescent colors -- is that it represents a water snake. The word for rainbow is, accordingly, nyŭ-ŭ III, from nyŭ, "water snake." In addition, there is ntŭ'ŭm I, derived from the onomatopoetic expression ntŭmetŭmetŭm, a designation for a flickering in front of the eyes.

The Tale concerning the Origin of the Rainbow

821 Once upon a time the grandmother of Ekute Essamsimabŏge
539 said to her grandson: "Go and show me the place where your mother
773 always catches fish." Thereupon Ekute went along with her and showed her a good place along the river, but his grandmother said: "No, this was not the place." Then her grandson showed her another place, but here, too, the grandmother said: "This is not the place where I am going to fish." They went together this way to four other places, but at none did the grandmother want to fish. Finally, the grandson said: "There are no more places for fishing; after this there is only the large river left." The grandmother replied: "All right, that is where we shall go." But her grandson said: "Oh, the places where everybody fishes are here, but in the big river the fishing is poor." However, the grandmother answered: "But I want to take a look at the place; come along, we shall leave right away." Thereupon the grandson went along with her, and when they came to the spot where the river widened, the grandmother said: "Here is where I want to fish." The grandson

821 again advised her against this, but the grandmother refused to give
773 in, went into the water, and tried to drive the water away (1),
599
[226]

1. In smaller watercourses the water is removed by splashing it away; in larger rivers this is, of course impossible.

but in doing so she got in deeper and /200/ deeper until she was up to her neck in the water. Then she said to Ekute: "Bring me two sticks and lay them in the water so that I can stand on them." This Ekute did, and the grandmother removed the water and fished, and lo and behold, she soon had ten baskets full of fish. Then her grandson said: "Come, we have enough now, let's go home." But the grandmother said: "No, first I want to get all the fish out of the water; then I will surpass all people in fishing." Thus, she went on fishing, but then, all of a sudden, the water rose up to her neck and over her mouth, and finally she disappeared under the water. At that moment there arose out of the water a great snake (1), and when Ekute saw it, he seized his

1. In other words, the grandmother was a sorceress.

spear to kill it. Then the snake said: "Wait! I have something to say to you." Ekute, however, ran away into the village and called all the people, above all his father whom he already met on the way; the latter took spears and went with him to the river. When he saw the snake, he wanted to kill it with his spear. But the snake said: "Wait a moment, I have something to say." Then the snake commanded the people to make a basket and to carry it /the snake/ into the village. This was done, and when the snake had been brought into the village and had been assigned a house to sleep in, it said: "No, I want to sleep in the first house next to the meeting house." The people complied with this wish. Soon the rumor spread everywhere that a great snake was to be seen in the village, and many, many people came to see it. Everybody had to pay a lot of money for this, about as much as ten marks.

821 Thus Essamnifmabôge became very wealthy, and from this money
773 alone he was able to purchase two wives.
539 Now it happened that he and all the people were gone one day, and only his son, Ekute, stayed behind. Then several people from a distant village appeared, but they had brought with them only two choppers (2), and in exchange for these they demanded

2. Bush knives valued at two marks.

to see the snake. Ekute, however, did not want to show it to them. The people argued with him and threatened, and they demanded to see the snake. Then Ekute, who was very imprudent, angrily took a chopper and knocked in the top of the house wall instead of carefully opening the door somewhat and letting the people look in. Thereupon the snake came out, went to the village square, and cried "See, now I am leaving." But the people and Ekute had run off. Thereupon the snake raised its head and body and swung itself into the air. At this very moment Ekute's father came back and was just able to cut off the lower end of the snake; the other part of the snake was already high up in the air and still stands in the sky today as the rainbow. The tail, however, turned into the python, and from the eggs there crept forth all the other little snakes. /201/

821 The storm is likewise represented as the handiwork of an evil
749 sorcerer. Whenever a great sorcerer is dying, he unleashes a storm,
[754] lays low the plantain fields of those people toward whom he feels ill will, destroys their houses, and indeed, he goes so far as to knock down their children in order to injure them. Anyone who has experienced a tropical tornado will understand the notion of the Pangwe that sorcerous beings are at work. The natives also have medicines against storms; the storm is gradually weakened if
[824] one places young macabo leaves (these are weak to begin with) on the fire (whereby they become still weaker) and then grinds them to a powder on the ground in front of the house (this makes them weakest of all). Conversely, the storm is "made heavy" and thereby held back in the sky by placing a stone on Paspalum grass (obût), which, because of its toughness and strength, is supposed

789 to represent the storm. Thus the storm is pressed onto the ground,
821 as it were. If the storm is already approaching, they beat a plantain stalk to tatters on the ground of the village square, and as they do so, they exclaim:

[539] okŭ[š] a lŭde ma a lŭd: Okă[k] nkiă̄j'
Storm, it pass by me, by (pass), (to) Okak in the west.

3. Astronomy

821 Even for a primitive people the astronomical knowledge of
772 the Pangwe is very limited. This fact can be excused only in part by the unfavorable conditions of their country (rainy forest region).

The Pangwe have the same conception of the earth as that of the "ancients," that is to say, they think of it as flat like a plate and surrounded on all sides by the ocean. Over the earth and the ocean arches the sky which, as is stated in the creation story, originated as a part of the earth that was blasted off and raised up on high. In other words, the sky is thought of as firm and finitely bounded, just as is the earth. One should, accordingly, imagine a large bell jar placed over a gigantic plate in the center of which the earth floats in water, and this gives one the conception held by the Pangwe. As regards the earth, they naturally think only of Africa, that is, they conceive of it as one single continuous land mass.

The sky is infinitely high; the tallest mountains known to the Pangwe do not extend into it. One would have to set about 200 or more silk-cotton trees (Ceiba, on the average 70 meters tall) end on end in order to touch the sky.

821 The material of the sky is similar to that of the earth, and,
[823] like it, it is harder and firmer on the inside and softer, more fluid on the outside -- a train of thought engendered by the swamps and the softened loam soil. Just as the crust of the earth forms clods, so the outer surface of the sky forms "scales" (ebă[s] e dzŏb "scales of the sky," that is to say, clouds). The clouds, however, are

First half year (mbū́)

805 esěb = farming season (summer), from December to May, consisting of:

1. vūē'n esěb = great dry season (December to February);
2. šōgō, esěb = short rainy season (March to May). /206/

Second half year (mbū́)

ojǔn = rainy season (winter) from June to November, consisting of:

1. vūē'n ojǔn = short dry season (June to August);
2. šōgō, ojǔn = great rainy season (September to November).

A division of the half years into months is unknown to the Pangwe; he only knows the time span of the individual month (ngō'n, "moon"), and he has great difficulty in understanding that about six to seven of his months correspond to the Whites' half year and about 12 to 13 of his months correspond to the Whites' year.

To divide the month into weeks is something that the Pangwe [177] has learned from the Whites and has wholeheartedly adopted on account of the four Sundays (sǒ'nǒ III). He himself has marked off the first one to two days after the new moon as days of leisure, as has already been mentioned. He also observes the first seven [841] days of the month as something special, since the menstrual flow of the women supposedly lasts for seven days, but these days do not constitute a special segment of the month designated by a name of its own (1). Nor is there any such time segment in the rest of

[539] 1. It is merely said, for instance:
avǒ,i' ngō'n a sǒ malū' malǎ or zǎngbǎ'
Cold moon, it came days three or seven.

the month.

We have the same picture with the day as we do with the month. Here, too, only the beginning is sharply defined, while

Leader of the chorus:

539 Mĭ'nĭnga ya mot ebō'n, edŏ a va
833 (A) woman and (a) man love affair (1), thereupon he had
836

1. ebō'n, "pubic region," hence, by extension, "love affair, relationship."

kĕ, a kĕ a bŭmo ba mĭ'nĭnga
gone (to her), he goes to sleep with (the) woman (on)

enŏ'n, a sā a nie kaa ngū edŏ
bed, he cohabits with her, no virility, thereupon (a)

mŏt a va ke, a nga jiē'
man (that is, another) he had gone, he lived to sing (the)

dżā: mĭ'nĭnga niĕne: o kĭnĭ
song (2): (The) woman she (speaks) thus (to me): you go

2. Poetic license, because the manner of recital is song; ordinarily it would be: Thereupon a man said the following.

a kāda nā: kaa bĕdĕ a sŏ', kaa
to say this (to the lover): Not again (to) come, not

bede a šū, a să dżā mebŭ'n, aĭū'
again (to) come, one not complete sex act, night

a ngĕn ojă'b --ma nga tame
it was still long (lasting) (3) -- I live must (to)

3. That is, the lover would have had enough time to cohabit several times.

539 833 836 tǒbǒ nale, adzǒ a n'abě
remain thus, affair it is bad.

Chorus:

A ta ma vū or a na ma
Oh, my father, I am dying, Oh, my mother, I

vū.
am dying (4).

[195] 4. The Negro dies on every occasion when something unpleasant happens to him; the chorus thus speaks from the point of view of the woman who is in such despair concerning this "bad affair" that she would almost like to die.

836 548 Although there are no actual prostitutes, a number of the women enjoy the free life of a girl and up to the age of 30 or 35 years remain ngǒ'n, "girls." This kind of "girl," to whom every man, boy or adult, whatever his name, whether he is handsome or not, is equally /255/ welcome, is called a ñzīla. The fact that people have no better opinion of her than we have of a loose woman is shown by a song sung at a festival for the souls. In its own way this song represents a delightful satire and, [533] for the Pangwe, an extraordinarily witty, poetic achievement. I have reproduced it in Section 20 ("Music") /Ed., not translated/.

In spite of the great sensuality, relations between the sexes 831 do have finer traits; tactful behavior, precise observation of prescribed forms, and profound spiritual sensibility are not absent. The ingenuous conduct of the young man toward the girl's parents and the naturalness with which the young people enjoy their love, without obligations, without social prejudices, have something almost ideal about them.

584 If the young man has noticed a girl or has already come to an understanding with her, he goes to her parents, introduces himself first to the father, who usually shows his most amiable side and recommends the young man to his daughter. Even though the lover did not obtain the girl's agreement beforehand -- something which can be accomplished with a few words in a brief encounter -- he will nonetheless find little opposition. The relations with the "father-in-law" and above all with the "mother-in-law" are as cordial and tender as can be. The young man brings his "mother-in-law" a little present, European salt or other things that women [431] love, and he also endears himself to the father through little attentions or presents, while the parents or the girl herself entertain the guest to the best of their ability. A natural tact causes the Pangwe to avoid mentioning anything that touches upon his relations to the girl in his contact with her family. Indeed, his delicacy with respect to the "parents-in-law" grows into a false sense of shame:

[539] (The) feeling -- shame, wō'-oson a it vū dies (from) mabā'de frambesia menkiē'.
(of the) parents-in-law (relatives by marriage).

The sense of shame has caused a person to die from frambesia transmitted by the parents-in-law, that is, a suitor was afraid, from a sense of shame, to turn down the food offered him by the girl's father who was suffering from frambesia. He ate with the man from one bowl, caught the disease, and died.

584 836 To the girl herself the lover usually brings half a piece of material -- valued at one mark -- (among the Jaunde he brings a whole piece). In his courtship, the lover does not usually arrive at the desired goal right away, for it is customary for the girl, even if she grants the young man her affection and /256/ sleeps in the same bed with him, to refuse sexual intercourse with him during the first night. (See the tale on p. 132).

The reason for this custom lies in oson, the feeling of shame toward the talk of other people. The two parties know each other perfectly well as regards their lechery, but they pretend to be quite

831 If the latter resembles a rushing stream which tears away every-
thing in its path, the love of the Blacks is like a still, deep lake,
and it is certain that even in Africa the magic power of love
often intimately joins two hearts and that there is genuine love
which in every respect is comparable to the European conception.
This point is well demonstrated by the "love tests" which the men
sometimes apply in order to convince themselves of the love of a
future wife, quite according to the pattern: "Drum prüfe, wer sich
ewig bindet, ob sich das Herz zum Herzen findet" /Trans.,
"Therefore assay, before you bind yourself never to part, whether
there's harmony 'twixt heart and heart," from Schiller, "Das
Lied von der Glocke"/.

539 An example is presented by the following tale.

514 One day a young man went to see the girl that he loved and
wanted to marry. At night, while he was sleeping in her house,
836 he had /257/ to urinate, but since he did not know where the
toilet was and since there was no man there whom he could ask, he
said to himself: "Oh, what shall I do in my need? -- -- But let
me see whether the girl really loves me!" He took a small cooking
pot (oběbē') and used it so that it was filled to the brim (lǒ'dǒtǒ);
then he covered it with leaves and placed it behind a bed. The
next morning he set out on the way home, and the girl accom-
panied him until they were outside the village. On the way he
said: "I am going now to my village, and I shall see

ng(e) oa džǐn ma: oběbē', ng(e) oa bě'ne
if you love me: (the) little pot, if you hate (do not

ma: oběbē'."
love) me: (the) little pot,

that is, the little pot will show whether you love me or not! The
girl did not understand what he meant by this and asked him to
explain. But he simply answered:

ǒ', kaa džǎm mfě,
Oh, no matter other (than that):

ng(e) oa dži'n ma: oběbē', ng(e) oa bene ma, oběbē'.

539 514 836 When the girl went home she thought to herself: "I wonder what that means: ng(e) oa dzǐn ma: oběbe, ng(e) oa bɛ̌ne ma: oběbě!?" When she was in the house, she was still thinking about it; then she suddenly smelled the odor and found the little pot behind the bed. She took it, poured its contents into the plantain grove behind the house, and cleaned it thoroughly with water. Meanwhile her lover had secretly come back to the village and observed from a hiding place how the affair was developing, whether the girl would call other people and publicly expose him (1). But nothing /258/ of the kind happened. He then saw

539 514 836 558

1. In that case the lover would not have been able to hide from the mockery of his companions and would have become completely unacceptable in the village of his beloved. It should not be forgotten how terribly disgraceful a Negro finds such an occurrence, indeed, the very thought of a natural need to relieve himself. A person who has had, as we would say, an accident, as in the above case, will be socially unacceptable for a long time if the incident becomes known, while we "barbarians" with our trifling amount of oson look upon such an occurrence as a painful accident for the moment, but do not carry it any further and, moreover, regard the physiological evacuation of the body as something "natural." Unfortunate uncivilized civilized people! The savages are better people after all! They have a countless number of circumlocutions for the terrible deed: ma ke a npɔ̌[h] biǎ́n, "I am going to fetch a medicine"; a bǒbe ekǔi,di, "to inspect the spring trap"; a bǒbe ebɛ̌,ī, "to inspect the pitfall"; a tšǎ ndžǎ,ǎ,

514 539

539 514 "to look for firewood"; ma ke ofe̱ī, "I am going into the bush," and so forth. Even today I have to smile when I think of an incident that happened at the beginning of my stay in Alén. One of my Fang boys, who accompanied me on the hunt and was near a thick, half-rotted tree stump, suddenly said, "ma ke tsǎ ndžā,ǎ (I am going to get some firewood)." Under the impression that he really wanted to cut off some firewood from the tree stump, I countered this, to me unintelligible, notion, half amazed, half mockingly, with the words, "ye oa bḗle ovǔ́n (but do you have an axe)?" It was only after a while that I understood why I was struck by such an annihilating look of moral disapproval. After this faux pas, I became more cautious and was soon sufficiently polished to be a highly civilized person in the Pangwe sense, who in strange villages no longer spoke of the eduk (toilet), but instead, as a well brought-up "Pange," merely asked:

114 514

nge ba tsǐ'dǎn ma, ma yā'le
If one drives (urges) me, I duck (hide)
[539] vě'?
where?
or: zě'n e medžā e ne vě'?
Where is the way to the host (actually: head of the village)?

Further demonstrations of the Pangwe's feeling of shame with respect to natural requirements are the use of an enema syringe (which is directly connected with

539 757 514

514
[757]
539

the feces or anus) as a deterrent medicine for thefts from the field and the significant tale of the turtle and the woman. A turtle wants to force a girl against her will to become his wife, and after all kinds of vain attempts finally succeeds only by smearing the girl's bed and clothes one night with his own feces. Having done so, he lies down to sleep, and the next morning when the girl sees the mess, he threatens to tell in the village and all the world that she had befouled her bed. The turtle thus put the girl completely in his power and forced her to agree to the marriage.

539 the girl going into her mother's house, quickly stole after her
836 through the plantain grove, and listened behind the house to
514 what the girl might say; not by a single word did she mention the incident. He then went back with a joyful heart, and said to himself: "This girl truly loves me." After two days he returned, asked for her hand in marriage, and took her back to his village as his wife.

This tale gave rise to the popular saying: ng(e) oa dzǐ̀n ma, obèbē', ng(e) oa bɛ̀ne ma: obèbē'.

832 The great number of love medicines (bia n andu'man), which very graphically symbolize the fusion and embracing of the sexes (in a spiritual as well as a physical sense), has already been discussed in Volume II, page 30 .

848 Illegitimate children are quite rare. The child's father --
836 even when he is known -- has no claim upon the child, just as the girl has no claim upon the father. The child belongs to the girl's father and is regarded as a not altogether unwelcome addition, since when the girl marries, it considerably raises her purchase price. As long as the mother remains unmarried, her child stays in the house of her parents. When she marries, the child becomes /259/ a part of the marriage bargain, as it were, and is considered

583 sufficient time to get to know his future wife and her family.
584 He treats them with the greatest consideration, and for the mother-
606 in-law (nie-ngon III, that is, the girl's mother) especially he has an enormous amount of respect. He is courtesy itself, bringing her presents, large and small, and from time to time killing a chicken or a sheep for her. In short, one could in all seriousness speak of a mother-in-law cult (see the love feast, Vol. II, p. 24). And above all: oson, oson, oson: shame, shame, and more shame. The son-in-law is unspeakably ashamed before the mother-in-law, and vice versa, she before him. This is especially true after the wedding when the good mother-in-law extends her modesty also to the members of the son-in-law's kin group. Like a thief she steals behind the dwellings into her daughter's house in order not to be seen, and -- who knows? -- perhaps in order not to give rise to mother-in-law jokes.

Riddle:

[539] nzǎ'n e bönsüe, e ne kaangǎ
[524] Way of the lizards, it is (in the) reeds (Cyperus).

Solution:

nzǎ'n e bonǐ'ngō'n, e n' a
Way of the mother-in-law, it is on (the) stretch

fá
behind the houses.

585 On the day when a man takes his young wife home, the village
535 celebrates with a sizable dance, for which all adorn themselves to
[302] the best of their ability and which the young wife, red from red wood dye, attends as guest of honor seated on a stool. On this occasion, the popping of blunderbusses may not be omitted, because it belongs to the festive music like our flourish of trumpets. The dancing and shooting last several days when a wealthy chief has acquired a new wife or if it is the first wife of a fellow villager. There is nothing strikingly special about any of this; the festivity simply involves a series of different /262/ dances (among which the dschama is particularly popular which are also customary on other occasions.

In the case of gonorrhea, the infected woman can demand
164 damages only if she notices the misfortune before she has been
684 paid for the favor rendered. The damages amount to 400 spears if the disease came from a person of the same kin group, and 1000 spears if it came from a person of another kin group. With the payment the "temporary marriage contract" is terminated, and thereby any claim for damages is nullified. In other words, it is always a good idea to pay one's debts as soon as possible:

[539] a bělé, a bělé, a kǒn abě mayǒ,k.
Keeping, keeping, it strikes (a) poor bargain.

The person who always keeps his money to himself runs into an unfavorable price situation.

Their unrestrained sexual intercourse has a highly deleterious
831 effect upon the Negroes; it weakens and stupefies them. Smaller
461 boys are often quite useful as servants, but once they reach sexual maturity and become acquainted with women, they can simply no longer be used. The Pangwe recognize this bad influence, and intelligent ones among them did not hesitate to confess frankly to me that their sexual practices corrupted them and made them incapable of strenuous physical or intellectual work. We do not need the testimony of individuals, however -- popular customs demonstrate this insight sufficiently. I believe that, aside from
[834] being based upon the original religious conception concerning the sinfulness of sexual intercourse and its incarnation in the woman, the abstinence rules for war and hunting expeditions and for iron smelting are based on the experience that sexual intercourse weakens the man's physical and intellectual capacities. Naturally, the man is inclined to heap the blame on women /268/
[196] and bebǒn, "vaginas," as he contemptuously calls them (1).

171 1. "Terms which originally only signified 'vulva' or 'cunnus' but were then generalized into the concept 'wenches,'" exist everywhere in Europe, too; see Anthropophyteia, Jahrbücher für folkloristische Erhebungen und Forschungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der geschlechtlichen

831
785 sun) -- or with elephant's meat, in which case the child is sup-
556 posed to become spiritually great and important, just as the ele-
[825] phant surpasses the other animals physically, or, finally, with the meat of the hedgehog -- the child is to get as many things as the hedgehog has quills (1).

[539] 1. A well-known proverb, to be intelligible, would have to be translated into Pangwe something like this: He is as full of stupidities as the hedgehog is full of quills.

Thus, the child becomes miǎk. Its loincloth is taken off
785 and from now on -- be it male or female -- it must go about
831 completely naked. Here is another significant fact regarding
[834] the moral-religious view of the Pangwe: clothing, that is, the
[291] covering of the sex organs, arose because the sense of shame (o-so-n) which started with the first sin (n-sö-m, root so), that is, sexual intercourse, demanded it. If the innocent state (ignorance of sexual matters) is artificially restored, clothing becomes unnecessary.

The miǎk are generally respected. People are careful not to speak to them about sexual matters or to seduce the girls, especially since /270/ the protection which they are accorded by cus-
[684] tom is effectively strengthened through the right of the father or the relatives to shoot down the seducer without further ado wherever they find him. Nowadays, however, the old customs have been somewhat relaxed; the miǎk are not always what they ought to be.

Annulment of the chastity obligation takes place in the same solemn manner when the consecrated person is fully grown, in other words, not before the age of 20 years. In the case of the man, it is required that he prove himself the bravest in war or at least that he has shot an enemy (1). In the case of the girl, it is

[177] 1. Today, in the regions influenced by the Whites, this decree has had to be moderated.

[583] required of the suitor that, contrary to the usual custom, he pay

839 [824] In the case of members of the female sex, masturbation by means of a plantain fruit is widespread, something which is to be foreseen in view of the bad situations arising from polygyny. A proverb states:

[539] o kūe ma zā (sā[k]) ebôn onū,
you find me satisfying vagina (with the) finger (1)

1. Probably a circumlocution since one did not want to mention the real object. Moreover, in coastal English the clusters of fruit growing alternately in a "plantain bunch," are called a [196] "plantain hand," and the individual fruits making up the hand are called "fingers."

oa bĕle nkŭn,
you have (the) penis,

and this is used whenever someone does not part with something of which he has a superabundance, even when he sees that another person is short of it and makes shift with a poor substitute.

We have spoken above of homosexual relations among "chil-
838 dren." In adults such conduct is regarded as something immoral and unnatural, simply as unheard of. In reality, however, it is frequently "heard of" that young people carry on homosexual relations with each other and even of older people who take boys -- who, as is well known, "have neither understanding nor shame" -- and readily console them by saying: "bia bŏ pfiăⁿga (we are having fun, playing a game, joking)." The children are excused with the well-known assertion, which in its deeper sense can rarely be defended: bŏ ne bŏⁿgo = they are ignorant, that is, they know not what they do. Adults are excused with the corresponding assertion: a bĕle nnēm e bŏⁿgo = he has (the) heart (that is, the aspirations) of boys, which is, of course, by no means flattering to them.

Publicly, of course, homosexuals are treated with the greatest contempt, and they were therefore forced, as a matter of course,

838 to cast about for a protective covering to shield themselves from the attacks of those who are different, just as the hedgehog is protected by its covering of quills -- a covering on which the attackers would cut their mouths and their caustic tongues. Such a covering was supplied by medicine -- it is said that homosexual intercourse is a "wealth medicine" (biǎ,n nkū'ma); see Volume II, page 23. This is the name applied to it in the following tale which was told to me.

There once was a man called bongo-be-ntuu-dumo (= boys -- 838 which?) who had a daughter called akukebedanga who was very 539 beautiful (the name allegedly came from akǔk = Achatina marginata [551] Sw. var. nigrofasciata Thiele, which is very beautiful, and from [825] adǎn = to surpass, because she was as unsurpassably beautiful as the Achatina snail; thus, if I understand it correctly, the name means "Achatina snail of unsurpassable beauty"). /272/

Now it happened one day that four young people met on the way to the village of Bongo (I shall thus abbreviate his name). They were all on their way to see the girl. They asked each other: "Whom are you going to see?" and each of them said: "Akukebedanga!" Then they conferred and agreed that they would go into the village together and wait to see whom the girl would love the most. The young people, who came from various families, were called (I place the abbreviation first):

Schok I, or by his full name he was called ž[k] bǒ žūa (explanation?);

Schok II, called ž [k] bǒ ngōne makę̄ makǒ,(ekę̄kǒ), that is, Schok, bǒngōne (unknown) I am going away to come back later (= I shall be gone for some time);

Schok III, z [k], bǒ kǎ ję̄m bǒdžǒ melǎn (1),
Schok -- of not knowing speeches bad,

1. Instead of: belǎn.

that is, the Schok who speaks no evil, and

Schok IV, ž [k] bǒ nǔ'm e kūb b'ogbwā'le ba
Schok of: cock and francolin they
jěm e ki'di ma lę̄ne.
know the mornings they begin.

838
539

The four suitors, then, came into the village where they introduced themselves to the girl's father, Bongo. The latter said: "Oh, why is it that four men are coming all at once -- there is after all only one girl! But let's see what we can do!" Then he led them into the house where they found the girl's mother. The latter likewise said: "Oh, -- four men! I know that hitherto this or that suitor has come, and if the girl loved him she slept with him, and if she did not love him he went back home! But now -- four men all at once!?" Thereupon the young men said: "Let us see whom the girl loves." Now the girl loved Schok IV, but the mother loved Schok III, while the girl's brother loved Schok II, and the father loved Schok I. When night fell, the strangers were led into the girl's house. She slept with Schok IV, and the others slept on the other beds. Now when Schok IV wanted to embrace the girl, one of the others shouted: "Oh, how lecherous this girl is; the very first night she gives herself to her lover!" Then the girl said to Schok IV: "Oh, how this person talks, desist, let's wait for another night!" When the others were sleeping, Schok IV asked the girl very softly: "Don't you want to marry me?" The girl consented to marry him, and they decided that they would both flee the next day (that is, in Pangwe, that the lover was to "kidnap" the girl); if someone /273/ were to see them, they would say they were going to bathe. Thus the next day Schok IV pretended to go bathing, and the girl followed him unnoticed. Both then went to the village of Schok IV.

When on the afternoon of the same day, both of them had not returned and it was evident that Schok IV had kidnapped the girl, Schok III went to the mother, who, as we saw, was fond of him, and reproached her most violently for the fact that the girl had fled. The mother replied: "Well, why am I to blame; I'm not in the girl's skin." Thereupon Schok III became furious, took a bush knife, struck at the woman, and killed her on the spot. Then he went home.

Schok I, who loved the father, turned to the latter, likewise reproached him strongly, and asked him how the girl had come to run away. In answer to this, the father said: "Oh, how am I to blame; if I were the girl I would not have acted so (Bongo's

838 539 feminine role seems to be hinted at with these words), but I am not in the girl's skin either, after all!" However, Schok I was not satisfied with this explanation. Thereupon the father went to the village of Schok IV, who had abducted his daughter, and demanded bride price from him. Schok IV accordingly paid this price. Bongo went back home with it and said to Schok I: "Here is all the money for the girl; I am paying you with it!" But Schok I said to him: "No, I don't want the money!" Thereupon the father took one of his wives and the money and wanted to offer all this to Schok I as compensation. But still Schok would have none of it. He said: "No, I don't want it -- rather (and this will be the compensation) we shall both always be together; when you urinate, I shall also urinate; when you defecate, I shall also defecate, when you sleep, I shall also sleep with you on the same bed (1)!"

1. The great declaration of love of the Pangwe corresponding to our: "Wherever you go, there I will go too!"

So, in fact, it turned out, and the two slept together. Finally, however, both contracted frambesia and died of it.

The last Schok, Schok II, who loved the brother, did the same thing with the latter as Schok I did with Bongo. As a substitute for the girl, he stayed with the brother, and the two slept together. But they, too, became sick, of leprosy, and died.

In this tale it is particularly striking that the sexually normal and abnormal have different fates. The normal Schok III gets away unpunished, even though he kills the wife of his host, who was to become his mother-in-law. The homosexuals Schok I and II receive a terrible punishment in the form of leprosy and frambesia for their intercourse.

838 [684] As we already know and as we have seen again here, the punishment for homosexual intercourse is usually leprosy, meted out by Ngi (or /274/ other cult spirits) as the guardian of purity. This is also the punishment for other immoral crimes, such as sexual intercourse during the day, and so forth.

551 There are very few names that are used for boys as well as for girls. I am acquainted only with Mfumu and Mangöö, both of which, incidentally, were used more often for girls than for boys.

Nicknames are common. The Negroes, who are always in-
[522] clined to jokes and teasing, delight in making fun of the weaknesses of their fellows and constantly heckling them. A peculiar characteristic or a comical incident produces the nickname, and the latter is retained without anyone later ever knowing its original meaning. "Famous" people frequently have a whole
551 series of nicknames, like the chief's son Amwön-Ekang, whose
539 names are immortalized in the following jocular song:

amvǒn-ekǎn -- anduman ekǎn ana -- sösǒ'
Amwön-Ekang -- son (of) Ekang now -- sapsucker (on)

nkū,m --ewǎ,s nǔm e kǔ,n -- a kike
tree stump -- file -- man (in) salt water -- chop off

melǒ' me zǒn -- ažǒ'n a wūmūk, ndzǒm a
(the) heads of the fern -- Solanum (1) it forms, pluck he

1. Solanum esculentum Don.

tělěk -- mekū(n) medžǎ, nnié a mbě't
stands (ready) -- caterpillars to eat, mother has climbers

asǒn kǎ bekǎi, abǒ'm kǎ medžī,
-- Musanga no guy ropes, Macrolobium (2) no buttress roots

2. Macrolobium straussianum Harms.

-- mone ngōn ejā (bondǎnga madžā).
-- son (of a) girl of Eja (Bondanga Madscha = chief of the Eja).

Amwön-Ekang, the son of Ekang, as everybody knows, --
(the following are jocular names) sapsucker on a tree stump

551 (something small, delicate on something gigantic, strong) -- file
539 (something that destroys something else) -- man in salt water (unclear, perhaps corresponding to our "cart that is stuck in the mud"). -- One chops off the young leaf tips of the fern (since this is the food of women, it is unsuitable for a man). -- The Solanum puts forth fruit, and the harvester stands ready (sense clear). -- The caterpillars that sit on the trees are ripe for eating, and the mother has a climber who gets them down (this refers to Amwön himself). -- The Musanga has no guy ropes (lianas, and so forth), the Macrolobium no buttress roots. -- Son of one born an Eja.

As one can see, the jocular names, like the drum names
551 (chiefly in the south), are largely taken from a kind of proverbial speech /285/ that alludes to a peculiarity of the bearer; the peculiarity was no longer known in the foregoing case.

Of course, the Whites also have their nicknames; indeed, they are known almost exclusively by these since the natives usually do not know the European names or cannot pronounce them.

To the name given by the father, the father's own name is added. If, for instance, the father is called Essun and the son is called Boka, the complete name of Boka is Boka-Essun, that is, Boka, son of Essun, or -- with a genitive particle -- Boka Bossun(e); if Boka's son is called Ayong, his complete name is Ayong-Boka, etc. (1).

[113]

1. Von Stein (Mitteilungen aus den Schutzgebieten /Reports from the German Protectorates/, Vol. 12, p. 137) says of the Bane (= Bene): "Almost all names are double names, and in sharp contrast to the custom of the Bakoko /Koko/ (should probably read: Bassá), the name occupying the second place almost always signifies the mother's name. Only in very exceptional cases does the Bane, if he has an especially famous father, add the baptismal name, if I may use the term, of his father's name. Balingekorre thus

means: Balinge, son of Ekore."

551 [113] The custom of the Bane of adding the mother's name to one's own, as reported here, is found also among the Jaunde according to Zenker (Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, Vol. 8, p. 50).

Family names in our sense are unknown to the Pangwe. Towards strangers they use the name of the kin group, which is after all to be understood as a "family" in the Pangwe sense; to this, at the same time, is added the name of the mother's familial group. My faithful factotum, Ayong, who has already been presented to the reader in the picture on Plate 3 /Ed., Vol. I/, would, for instance, introduce himself as follows:

[539] ma ne ayǒn-bokǎ, mǒne esǎwǒ'n,
I am Ajong-Boka, child (of the family) Essauong,

mone ngǒ'n esatǒp.
child (of a) girl (of the) Essatop.

551 867 To learn this complete name by heart is the child's first task. Once the child can recite it without a mistake, the father, proud of the cleverness of his offspring, proceeds to the further task of acquainting the little one with the names of his grandfather and great-grandfather (naturally on the father's side). Let us again take an example.

The child is called Ndungo, his father Essun, from the Abai family, in other words: ndǔ̀ngo-esū'n, mǒne abai, etc.; Ndungo of Essun from the Abai family. -- "But from whom am I, Essun, descended?" asks the father. "esū'n-nzěma, that is, Essun from Nsema," is the answer. "And from whom is Nsema descended = nzěma nza?" "nzěma-ngèě." -- The child learns it all very [181] quickly, because as regards its ability to grasp things /286/, the Negro child is far superior to white children. -- The Pangwe, however, does not stop with the grandfather. Each of these black gentlemen has all his ancestors in his head, just like our feudal lords. To be sure, none of them knows more about them than

551 their names. Our Ndungo was able to enumerate eleven ancestors,
• 867 his father Essun, then Nsema, Ngää, Massoo, Obute, Akiege, Asangui, Awodo, Tulo, Nssim, Okudu.

Generally speaking, the Pangwe probably know on the average eight or ten ancestors by name; not infrequently one even hears 10, or 12, and 14 represented the maximum.

Frequently a lengthy cognomen is added to the last ancestor, which gives the whole a magnificent final effect, somewhat in the way that among us the descendants of a famous man trace their genealogical tree back to him: "I am descended from that person, and his father was called so-and-so, and his father in turn was so-and-so, the famous general who in such-and-such a war won such-and-such a victory." Thus the ancestral table of an Esseng man by the name of Aböschoo went as follows: Ogbue, Ngumbaschoo, Edu, Ngumu, Bokoo, Motoo, Ossele, Akuschoo Bebe -- ayěm esěb ya andǔm = the Akuschoo Bebe, who knew when the dry season comes and when it rains (explanation of the latter part uncertain).

551 A jocular poem in which a boy poses questions while another
● 539 answers enumerates no fewer than 21 ancestors:
211

"o mbe lǔk e vě?" -- "a jǒm." "oa
You were driving fish where? -- In the Sannaga. You

vüi dzě?" -- "nwǒs."
killed what? -- (A) shrimp.

"za a dzǐ?"
Who it eat? (Who will eat it?) -- "Abele."

"Abele sa?" (= from whom is Abele descended). "Abele-Boka" (Abele is the son of Boka). "Boka bo sa?" "Boka bo Ssissi." "Ssissi sa?" "Ssissi Mening." "Mening sa?" "Mening me Koebe." "Koebe sa?" "Koebe Kum." "Kum sa?" "Kum Otsaa." "Otsaa sa?" "Otsaa Maniodo." "Maniodo sa?" "Maniodo Ssamwinne." "Ssamwinne sa?" "Ssamwinne a Ssongo." "Ssongo sa?" "Ssongo Abui." "Abui sa?" "Abui

551 Nkumu." "Nkumu sa?" Nkumu Bawu." Bawu sa?" "Bawu Otoo."
●539 "Otoo sa?" "Otoo Kuboo." "Kuboo sa?" "Kuboo Emwi."
211 "Emwi sa?" "Emwi Abungo." "Abungo sa?" "Abungo a Schiele."
"Schiele sa?" "Schiele Maa." "Maa sa?" "Maa Makama."
"Makama sa?" Makama

me	nga	būge	nana	abō:
who	lived	to break (of the)	mother	the leg,

tsǎ,s
tsass (onomatopoetic).

A remnant of the old aversion of all primitive peoples to
551 mention names, because thereby some kind of mischief might re-
578 sult, can still be observed among the Pangwe. /287/ They do not like to utter their names before strangers, and they find a question about their full names (in other words, including that of the father) tactless, indeed, almost insulting, as I frequently noticed among the Fang who had not had any contact with outsiders. It is also an insult in every respect to remind someone of his ancestors. This need not even be done by name -- since, after all, they do not always know the names -- but can be done with just the words: I shall "show" you your ancestors. This is taken as a threat of sorcery, that is, secret murder, and as though one were telling his enemy in advance that he would kill him and transport him to his ancestors. Such an insult is often avenged with the sword.

2. Child Rearing

The child is reared by means of precept and example, rarely
861 by threats, and almost never -- at least only in case of major of-
fenses against morality, such as theft, for instance -- by means of corporal punishment. The result must be termed an extremely good one; Pangwe children behave more tactfully and better than our children of the same age.

We are informed by some "experts on the Negro's soul" that
867 the Blacks have no sense of honor. A glance at their family life,
861 however, teaches us the opposite. In rearing the child, the

861 the parents and relatives. Thereafter, the son is summoned to
593 appear in the village the next day. The father again assembles
626 all the people in the meeting house and makes a long speech in
578 which he rehearses the entire affair from his point of view down to the smallest details. Finally, at the conclusion of his speech, he touches upon the actual purpose of the gathering and proceeds to remove the curse. The formula with which he does so is approximately as follows:

ma tɛ̄'i matɛ'i, ma kǎbe ma,
[539] I have imposed curse (1) (?), I disengage myself (from

1. matɛ̄'i = the imposed curse, a va matɛ̄'i = to remove the (imposed) curse; the root a tɛ̄'i = to tear oneself away from, to depart from home, otǐtɛ̄i = star (see Vol. II, pages 85 and 86).

ma nīme ma, -- ǒsū
it), I make straight myself -- (into the) water

nkīā; Chorus: mān.
down. Chorus: Ready, past.

The texts of the formulas, which are frequently extended through the introduction of comparisons and which do not, of course, correspond word for word, are evidently all very old since they are very hard to understand and sometimes not intelligible at all.

At the same time the father spits into his son's hand to indi-
[201] cate that what he took away from him by means of his words (symbolized by the spittle) he is putting back in his power (hand), or the father bites off -- this is the procedure among the Jaunde --
[824] a piece of the stalk of a Costus (Zingiberaceae) and spits it out. In so doing he casts out all the bitterness from his heart (Costus stalk is bitter).

Furthermore, a curse may be pronounced by the first wife
519 against her husband, in case he treats her badly and always
595 neglects her in favor of others. The curse is either pronounced

524 Panicum sulcatum Aubl. (ekǭk) are placed on top of each other;
857 the apex half of two of the leaves, the upper and lower, is re-
[824] moved. Then the little magician places the leaves with their underside on the ground and starts to roll them together from the lower end to the tip. A conjuring verse which the artist now sings induces the leaf to wander off: "kǔdǔ ekǎ'n, kūdǔ a zǎ'n,
[539] o ke o mvūs = remove yourself, grass (1), remove yourself from

1. Collective term; specifically, Eleusine indica (L.) Gärtn.

the middle and go to the back!" Finally he hands the leaves over to a spectator to unroll, and it now turns out that the two shorter leaves are lying on top of each other and that the large leaf is at the bottom. This little conjuring trick, by the way, can also be performed with paper strips, one of which is a little longer than the others.

The ne plus ultra of what skilled Pangwe boys are able to offer consists of conjuring tricks in which speed constitutes the magic. I shall give a few samples of these tricks.

For example, a boy has a streak of ashes put on his forehead and his hands tied behind his back. One of the tricks is to run behind the house and to reappear with his hands tied behind his back but without the streak of ashes on his forehead. Of course the dexterous boy has put his tied hands through his legs from behind, wiped off the streak, and placed his hands behind his back again. The main thing in this case is the speed, which is indeed astonishing.

A second little trick is that of tying the hands together. The boy has somebody give him a rope, runs with it behind the house, and returns immediately -- with his hands tied behind his back. He had made two loops at the ends, stuck a hand in each, and then by skillfully turning both hands in opposite directions had twisted the rope in such a way as to make one believe that he had really been tied up by somebody else.

A favorite act of our conjurers has its counterpart among the Pangwe in their trick of spiriting away a ring from a hollowed

524 153 As we know, the Sso antelope is the animal of the moon, while the moon is mistress of the seasons and thus of rain; if one blows [825] on the horn, the rain, which according to the Pangwe produces [821] thunder, will answer.

Once the twelfth group of sentences is finished, all previously 524 recited groups of sentences must be recited backwards.

153 Sentence 1: nǔm okbǔ̀n a ke a
539 Man of the dwarf antelope, he goes to

dzǎ́ngan a nkǒ́[k] etě
fall in love in the lying trunk inside,

b(a) asǎ́ngṓn-ogbwō.
with Assangon-Ogbwo.

The dwarf antelope man goes inside the prone tree trunk (which is hollow, so that the little antelope can use it as a hiding place) to fall in love with Assangon-Ogbuo, literally, the eldest daughter of the magician.

Sentence 2:

ngbūḗne ogbǔ̀n a ke a
Offspring of dwarf antelope, it goes to

bě nǔ́m okbǔ̀n.
follow man antelope. /308/

Sentence 3:

ngā́-ogbǔ̀n a ke a
Wife of dwarf antelope, she goes to

be ngbūḗne ogbǔ̀n.
follow (the) little antelope.

Sentence 4: agbǔ̀n abai (two antelopes) d'a ke a be nga agbǔ̀n.
Sentence 5: agbǔ̀n ala (three antelopes) d'a ke a bě agbǔ̀n abai (two).
Sentence 6: agbǔ̀n ani (four antelopes) d'a ke a bě agbǔ̀n ala (three).
Sentence 7: agbǔ̀n atan (five antelopes) d'a ke a bě agbǔ̀n ani (four).
Sentence 8: agbǔ̀n asiēmen (six antelopes) d'a ke a bě agbǔ̀n atan (five).

524
153
539

Sentence 9: agbŭ́ń zāngbwā' (seven antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbŭ́ń asiɛ̄'men (six).

Sentence 10: agbŭ́ń mūóm (eight antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbŭ́ń zāngbwā'(seven).

Sentence 11. agbŭ́ń ebū, (nine antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbŭ́ń mūóm (eight).

Sentence 12. agbŭ́ń avŭ́m (ten antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbŭ́ń ebū, (nine).

[832]

Young lovers like to play the game with their girls, as may be surmised from the somewhat romantic text. Jokingly, the girl says that she will give herself only to the one who can go through the entire game without making a mistake.

The Memory Game (nkū́k ondūle or endɛ̄le)

153
524
211

This game is known only among the Fang and a number of adjoining Ntum kin groups, and it is supposedly indigenous. A flat staff with short, paired transverse extensions and vertically inserted knobs is used in the game. The end of the staff usually has a head carved on it (Fig. 113). Each pair of transverse extensions, along with the knob and the adjacent lower part of the staff, forms a segment on which eleven different points are designated for the answers (see Fig. 114).

The game may have developed from an older, simpler one in which the individual parts of the human body were enumerated. This notion is suggested by the designation of the staff as the body, of the carved end -- even when it is not a regular head -- as neck and head, by the tripartite arrangement of the transverse extensions -- absent in Figure 113 -- (corresponding to the upper arm, the

[822]
[831]

Fig. 112. Stick with Pieces of Raffia used as Mnemonic Device in the Memory Game of the Dwarf Antelope. About one-fourth actual size.

Memory Game, nkuk-ondüle, made of Wood, Southern Ntum Region. A little over one-fifth actual size.

Fig. 113

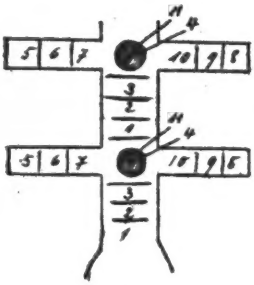


Fig. 114
Two Sections of the Memory Game nkuk-ondüle.

lower arm, and the hand), and finally by the upright knob, called tsǎngetsǎ́ŋge (the red one; red as the color of reproduction, of life), by which originally the male sex organ was doubtless understood. The implement is thus unquestionably supposed to represent a human body whose members are multiplied. [822] [831]

The game is played by two people, one questioning, the other answering. The former, seated in the circle of listeners, holds the implement in his hand and indicates the various points that /309/ must be answered. At each one he calls out: "zě zě?=- What is that?" (phonetically assimilated and corrupted from dzě dzé). The principal player sits farther away and answers the questions in rhythmic song while the others stamp their feet or clap their hands in time. He is, of course, not allowed to make any marks to aid his memory, such as dividing a little stick into the corresponding number of sections. This is brainwork. [533]

The 11 questions, which are the same for each segment, go as follows:

1, 2, 3. (see the corresponding numbers in Fig. 114)

nkū́k ondüle wō'le.

Body (of the) ondüle here. That is the body of the ondüle.

153
524
539

4. tsǎngetsǎ'nge nie a tele ni(l) i, a mō mendöge.
Red one, he, he stands here, o Momendöge!
There stands the red one, oh Momendöge (inventor of the game)!

5. mekie me ntǎm e nieli.
Breaking of the twig, it (is) here

6. mejidan me ntǎm e nieli.
Sawing off of the twig, it (is) here.

7. bi a ke a buman (or a siǎen) a
We, we go to meet each other at the
mbuman a nzǎn, a tade mō mendöge.
meeting point of the road, oh father Momendöge
(that is, perhaps, joint of the femur).

8. kǔ lǔ a bū ma.
Go away to Buma (supposedly an Essamongun village).

9. ye ma ke a bū ma.
(Interrogative:) I go to Buma? = Am I going to Buma by any chance?

10. = 7.
11. = 4.

When all the segments -- usually from eight to 10 -- have been answered from bottom to top, the questioner points to the neck piece:

zǎ zǎ = What is that? /310/

Answer: kī'ń ondū'le e nieli
Neck (of the) ondüle it here,

and then he points to the head piece:

zǎ zǎ = What is that?
Answer: nnǒ' ondū'le a wǒ'le.
Head (of the) ondüle it here.

The main thing for the player, therefore, is always to remember how many segments he has answered, so that at the end he does not make a mistake and, instead of answering the two questions concerning neck and head, begins a new segment.

524 Thus, each player must take care that his opponent does not get into a weak compartment with his last stone or, in cases not to be avoided, that the preceding compartment is strong.

On the average, the Pangwe do not play the stone game par-
524 ticularly well, but there are individuals -- even women -- who
539 have developed their playing skill to a veritable mastery. In par-
578 ticular, a number of Bulu are famous as eminent adepts in this field in the Ntum territory, and a number of jocular stories that are as widespread as their fame have been coined about them. The majority of these stories are attributed to the "champion" of the Pangwe players, Bekena a Mpfa, the son of Mpfa Mangöö. Sometimes these stories are recited during the game by the more skilled player in an extraordinarily rapid, even tone, perhaps with the intention of distracting and confusing the less assured opponent. As regards their content, these stories pour the most vitriolic scorn upon less skilled players.

Satiric Song of the Ntum

ma	ma	nga lǒ	bekǒ'na,	bekǒ'na	a	mpfǎ,	ndǔman	
I,	I	played (with)	Bekǒna,	Bekǒna	of	Mpfa,	son	
a	mpfǎ-mangöö.	/313/	nǔm	kaa	masǔn	niene:	ma	
of	Mpfa-Mangöö.		Man	without	teeth,	he says:	I	
ke	ma	dzǐ	bekǒb	be	zǒk;	mī'nǐnga	kaa	
go	to	eat	hides	of	elephants;	woman	without	
makǎ'n	niene:	ma	tǒbǒ	o	kpǎ;	ukūkute		
behind,	she says:	I	sit down	on	stool;	crazy		
dzǔm	a	nga	wūǎ	sǒ'	a	bǐm,		
thing,	it	lets	pass (a)	Sso antelope	on	hunting drive,		
a	lige	isia	a kǒn	bekǒ'na	a	mpfǎ,	ndǔ'man	
it	leaves	his father	sick	Bekǒna	of	Mpfa,	son	

524
539
518

a mpfǎ, ndʉ'man a mpfǎ mangöö, niene: ê,
of Mpfa, son of Mpfa-Mangöö, he says: Come now,

bōte, mi adǎń a kʉ̄'bo (or a ngǒngǒ);
people, you surpass to speak

ye tada a nga kǒn bekö'na, niene:
Interrogative: father, he is sick (of) Beköna, he thus:

a dži sǒ! kǒ ma nga vui tada
to eat Sso antelope?; but I killed (for the) father (a)

ogbʉ́ń a bǐm o ngū̄ɛ, tada a
dwarf antelope on hunting drive yesterday, father he

tame dźī ogbʉ́ń.
must eat dwarf antelope.

Freely translated: I was once playing the stone game with Beköna, the well-known Beköna-Mpfa who is the son of Mpfa-Mangöö. He said: "You really resemble an old man who has no teeth and wants to eat elephant's hide (1), or a woman who has no

[262]

1. The notoriously thick and tough elephant's hide is actually eaten by some people (with teeth!), after being well boiled.

backside and sits down on the hard wooden stool, and thirdly you resemble the stupid noodle who on the hunting drive lets a Sso antelope (2) pass by and knows his father to be sick at home, infirm

[825]

2. The black-rumped duikerbok, Cephalophus dorsalis Gray.

from the disease that came from Beköna-Mpfa, the son of Mpfa-Mangöö." Well, in that case one simply says: "Come now, you people, you're talking altogether too much poppycock! Even if

524 539 578 my father is suffering from the Bekōna disease, does he absolutely have to eat Sso antelope meat? After all, yesterday on the hunting drive I shot a dwarf antelope for my father; let my father first eat the dwarf antelope!"

Satiric song of the Fang (beginning as above)

...mī'nǐnga kaa makǎ'ń, niene: ma bōde
...Woman no backside, she says: I wear

azǒń ukūkute dzǔm, oa lige isūa akǒn e
raffia apron; crazy thing, you leave your father sick with

bekǒ; wōna: oa ke a wūa ngǒ' akǔń.
boils; you say: you go to place stones in the game.

...You resemble a woman who has no backside and wants to wear a raffia apron (the large horsetail-like raffia apron is not suitable for /314/ such a woman). And in addition, you stupid fool, your father is lying at home sick with boils!" In that case one would say (1): "Just place your stones, we shall see!"

1. The translation of wōna by "one" is justified because wōna is in a sense directed at the listener.

Satiric Song of the Ntum

o lǒ za? o lǒ fě za?
You play (with) whom? You play more (with) whom?

bō lǒ, bō lǒ! ngá nzō'la: mī'nǐnga
People play, people play! Madame Nsöla (said): Woman

kaa mebǐ'n niene: o vǔ ma mvôt aně
without calves, she says: you put me brass wire (about) as

bo nga vǔ ntsǎma-obiǎń.
they put (about) Ntsama-Obiang.

524
539

Freely translated: With whom are you playing? With whom are you actually playing now? -- Yes, indeed, people are not equal; some play well, others badly, and Madame Nsöla says: "This is queer, a woman who has no calves and wants to have brass rings put around (her calves), just like the beautiful Ntsama-Obiang! (who of course has calves)."

The first story requires some explanation, since it is, as one of my people expressed very nicely in pidgin English, dear for saby (expensive to know, understand) = hard to understand. First of all, we must observe that the master player Beköne is what is known as ekī akʉ̄ń, that is (according to the standards set by abstinence rules, beki), it is not good for the ordinary mortal to play with Beköna, since in case of defeat, a kǒn bekǒna = one becomes Beköna-sick, just as in the case of an offense against the cult laws, one contracts a cult sickness.

The beginning is readily intelligible. A good average player (who can perhaps defeat moderately good players, but not Beköna) comes to the master who compares him with the old man without teeth and the woman without a backside, both of whom want to undertake something of which they are not capable, just like the player who wants to compete with Beköna. But finally Beköna compares him with an imprudent hunter who lets a Sso antelope (which is of medium size) pass by in the hope of killing something better (that is, a larger wild animal), even though his father is lying sick (of Beköna) at home and therefore would like something to eat, special namely, meat.

Applied to the player, this means: You want to compete with me, Beköna, and do not let players not as good, whom you could defeat, play with you (in the comparison, the Sso antelope which the hunter lets pass by) in the vain hope of defeating me, Beköna (in the comparison, the larger game), even though your father has already been defeated by me -- for only in this way can /315/ he become Beköna-sick -- and would gladly see his son avenge him by defeating another player.

The other one replies: Even if my father has been defeated by the master player (= is Beköna-sick), must he therefore see that I

524 defeat an average player (in the comparison, the Sso antelope)?
539 After all, just yesterday I defeated a totally inferior player (in the
578 comparison, the dwarf antelope)! That has given my father sufficient revenge for the time being (in the comparison, enough to eat).

We see a cornucopia of ridicule poured forth here. Magnificent comparisons! Pithy expressions! Negro poetry with an elemental force!

Game of Chance (abia, Jaunde, Bulu)

525 Like the stone game, the game of chance was not an indigenous
177 cultural possession of the Pangwe. From the Maka (Makie in
184 Jaunde) in the east through the mediation of the Mwogenianga kin group (probably Bene) on the upper Nyong it came to the core of the Bene, who transmitted it to the Jaunde and Bulu. In only the most recent times, the Ntum have become acquainted with it through Jaunde and Bene traders who came to them in the service of the Whites. Nonetheless, I myself have seen people engaged in this game only once, in 1907 in the vicinity of the northern Ntum region. Among the Fang the game is unknown.

525 The game of chance is played with small circular playing disks (sǎ; plural, besǎ, derived from esá "goods," because, according to the Pangwe, they decide whether the players are winning or losing and hence, as it were, bring in the money in the form of goods, trade items) which are simply cut out of calabash rinds (Fig. 117, a). Furthermore, the game requires counters (mvipǒ' I),
[831] of which each player must bring his own. They are produced from
[824] the hard rinds of the fruit from a tree called abǎm by the Jaunde, and on their smooth upper surface (outerside of the fruit) they bear attractive patterns of various kinds, animal forms, or human figures, which, like the edge, are carved in relief (Fig. 117, b-d). /Fig. 117 appears here in the original text./ /316/

The number of players that can participate is unlimited, but there must be at least four.

To play (a dǒ abia), a basketry plate is also needed, into which are placed once and for all seven playing disks (seven again as a

779 principal weapon and because there are very few Fan who do not
884 possess one. Actually, the word for "rifle" in the consecration
411 song mentioned below is sometimes nzali, which really means "gun," and sometimes mbɛ̃ne, which denotes the "crossbow." The crossbow used to be the Fan national weapon. One of the words has changed, but the song is no less ancient for that.

In the middle of the village, the young man, accompanied by an older friend, places his rifle so that the first rays of the rising sun will strike it; he arranges around the rifle his totemic fetishes, that is, his childhood totem, which he will hereafter abandon, and his new warrior totem. In order to cast a spell [533] on his rifle, he then performs the necessary incantations,
[533] among them a hymn or invocation to the sun, of such real beauty and poetic quality that it should be quoted here.

Hymn to the Sun

●539

Sun, you who see all things,
You, whose radiant splendor
Pierces the dark mist,
Sun, to you this homage!

To you, sun, king of the sky, divine hunter,
Sun, to you this homage!

Before your flashing glance
And the swift arrows of your fiery quiver,
Into somber depths
Fearful night sinks aghast,
Beneath your blows sparkling with light.
You tear night's mantle,
A black cloak trimmed with fire,
Sprinkled with bright stars,
You tear night's black mantle.

Sun, you who see all things,
You, whose radiant splendor
Pierces the dark mist,
Sun, to you this homage!

779 884 411 533 When the required offerings have been made, before the rifle is lifted, the actual consecration takes place. The tune and words seem to me sufficiently remarkable to warrant quotation. This song, in its melody and structure, recalls the antique airs which have come down to us from the Greeks and Romans. It is always sung by several voices:

539

Song of the Rifle

Anthem: Oh, all of you, listen, listen to the song,
the song of the rifle!
Chorus: Oh, let us all listen, listen to the song,
the song of the rifle!
Solo: For you, alone, O rifle! for you alone,
Far into the woods,
Far, far have I tramped long in the forest,
No longer hearing the barking dogs,
No longer hearing them,
No more than the noise-loving cocks,
No more than the cocks,
Leaving behind the chattering women,
Leaving them in their dark huts. [534]
Refrain: Yes, for you alone, O my rifle!
For your sake only, into the woods,
Into the woods have I gone,
O my rifle, for you alone.
Anthem: All of you, come, listen to the song of the fetish,
The beloved song of the fetish!
Chorus: Let us all come, listen to the song of the rifle,
The beloved song of the rifle! (Refrain: Yes,
for you alone . . .)
Anthem: Come all of you, come, listen well and without noise,
Listen!
Chorus: And silently, heedfully, let us listen.
Solo: For you alone, O rifle! for you alone,
Deep in the woods,
Leaving the village behind,

●539

I took the men's large knife
With no one seeing me
The knife that hangs from a post hook,
I took the knife,
Fastened it at my side,
Hung it from my baldrick,
With no one seeing me.
I went into the woods,
O my rifle, for you alone.

Anthem: All of you, come, listen to the song of the fetish,
The beloved song of the rifle!

Chorus: Let us all come and listen,
He has taken the knife,
Without anyone seeing him.

Solo: For you alone, O rifle! for you alone,
On the paths of the hunt,
I've wounded my foot on the path,
I've climbed mountains, hills,
I've crossed the streams,
Struggling through a day, a whole day,
I've sought the eǰoñ,
The eǰoñ, evin, and vyo;
Then, laying bare their flesh,
Taken away their clothing,
Their bloody garments.
There the spirit of the forest dwells.

Anthem: Come, all of you, let us mix the eǰoñ, the evin, and vyo,
Let us put a spell on the rifle.

Chorus: Let us all come and mix the eǰoñ, the evin, and the vyo.
And put a spell on the rifle,
Stripping bare their flesh,
Stealing their clothes,
Their bloody garments,
So as to clothe this weapon.
Let us put a spell on the rifle. [535]

● 539

In you the last returns to the first,
The first returns to the last.
And in common accord,
Your breath that does not die reunites them all,
Your breath reunites them without ever wearying.

It makes an unending whole,
And future children, offspring of our race,
Will also be your children, O father!
As I today am your child.

The éfirfira grows and continues to grow.
New branches start from its gnarled trunk,
One after another,
They grow, yet remain always the éfirfira.

In you the last returns to the first,
The first returns to the last. [539]

779 622 782 A gelded goat or often a gelded dog is then brought to the wooden altar; it is immolated, and the blood is collected in a clay pot. The chief dips a green palm branch in the blood and then puts it on the altar in such a way as to cover both the totems and the ancestral skulls.

779 622 533 After this first "recognition" comes a second, which consists of a song called "Song of the Visit." The chief sings it, and all the participants repeat the refrain. Thus the Yendun tribe, for instance, the refrain is:

[539]

Bi'ne bibôñe bi Ndun,
Bi'ne fogo bisésé bibôñe bi Ndun
Ndun a ne Esa bie,
Ndun ve Esa bie bisé.

We are the children of Ndun,
Yes, we are all the children of Ndun,
And Ndun is our father,
Yes, Ndun is the father of us all.

779
622

At the same time, the chief has taken his father's and his first forefather's skulls; he approaches successively the évora biéri of each of the other heads of family and touches their ancestral skulls against those in his hands. He returns to the middle, takes the pot holding the victim's blood, dips his father's de, fly swatter, or into it, and then sprinkles the totems placed near the skulls. He takes his own totem, moves it alongside the clan or tribal totems, fastens them together with a liana and touches them successively against the totems of the other heads of family, while singing the totem song, everyone repeating the refrain after him:

[539]

We are the children of Ndun,
And Ndun is our totem (mvamayôn),
Yes, we are the children of Ndun,
And Ndun is totem for us all.

After this ceremony there are several more dances and songs. Finally at the end, the tribal chief is the first to put the skulls back into the évora biéri, and everyone follows his example. He does the same thing with the totems, again followed by all the others. [540] All the boxes are then carefully put aside in a spot cleared in advance.

[778]

All return to the open space. The rude altar, where the boxes, skulls, and totems had lain, is destroyed; the boxes are all heaped one upon the other; and great care is taken that no drop of the victim's blood that might have fallen on the ground be profaned by any touch at all. As soon as the victim itself has been immolated, it is laid on freshly cut green banana leaves -- it must never touch the ground -- and placed upon a pyre made from the altar wood, which is lighted. This task always falls to the new chief, never the practitioner. As soon as the victim has been cooked enough, it is put back on the banana leaves and cut up by the chief himself into as many pieces as there are persons present. No piece may be left over; no piece may be carried away. That would be a ritual offense of the gravest kind, and the Fan are convinced, or at least appear to be so, that the totem never fails to punish the wrongdoing by actual death of the

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

114 and like a resistless army they are steadily approaching the coast, building towns
167 and displacing weaker tribes. That fine race of people, the Mpôngwes, often spoken of as the "aristocratic tribe," and ranking first in the scale of civilisation above all other tribes in the French Congo, is rapidly dying out, and they are already being supplanted even at Gaboon by the migratory Fang.

The Bulu people inhabiting a portion of the German sphere of influence in
114 West Africa are without doubt very closely related to, if not a direct offshoot from,
197 the Fang; their customs are identical and their language so markedly similar that a person who is able to speak Bulu is readily understood by the Fang. The first
173 day of my arrival among the Fang, after residing in Bululand, I was able to make known the reason for my coming and to ask and answer ordinary questions. While visiting on a small island called Nengé-nenge in the Nkomo River, a very old Fang man told me as follows: When a lad his grandfather had told him that, a long time ago, many of his tribe "changed their towns." These people first travelled far in canoes, and then after journeying for very many days through the forest, they "stopped walking and made new towns," and they did not return. My informant's father had told him later more about these people; they had been heard from, and their long absence from the original tribe had so changed them that "they spoke new words" (a new language).

Examples could be given almost without limit of the great similarity in the
197 language as spoken by the Bulu and Fang. A few will suffice; and I will select
● 539 from the proverbs of the people which are also identical. Tell a Bulu man to hurry with his work, he will often reply, "*Alu da dayi bol' nzok?*" (Will one day rot an elephant?). The Fang speak the same proverb thus: "*Alu avoti bol' nzok?*" Again, the Bulu use the words *Melu myus* (the days that are past), *Melu osu* (the days that are to come), *Melu mesese* (all the days). These sayings and numerous similar ones are in daily use among the Fang, the words used and the idiom being almost identically the same as in Bulu. I have wondered if the account given me by the old Fang man at Nenge-nenge about the people who years ago "changed their towns," might not be of more than passing interest as touching the genesis of the Bulu.

The Fang people are spread over an immense area of country, and when
101 questioned regarding their numbers they usually reply, "There are Fang and Fang; if you walk and sleep in towns and towns for many *moons* (months) you will find Fang." In the future it will be found that in the ethnography of equatorial Africa the Fang will hold a very important place. As before stated they are unquestionably closely related to the Bulu, and Compiègne recognised a marked similarity between them and the Osyeba, Monbutta and Nyamnyam people. There are
563 several scattered tribes of dwarfs among the Fang. Five of these pigmies live within two miles of my station, and they tell me that more of their people will soon "move their towns" and come to live on the banks of the Nkomo river. The Fang people look on the pigmies as a very clever and superior people, and not without good reason. An old headman told me that the *mon ngui* (dwarfs) first

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

563 discovered how to work *eki* (iron) and then taught others. They are also skilful hunters, and frequently succeed in killing game when others fail. In trade, it is almost impossible to cheat a dwarf, hence the Fang saying, "*Mon mei meduk mebe,* [539] *mon nqui aduk avoti.*" (You can cheat a Fang twice, a dwarf once.) In this proverb the word "*mei*" equals Fang (see photographs and measurements of Fang dwarfs). The Fang are cannibals and only fear of the authorities keeps them in check. In 266 the autumn of 1898 a man was killed and eaten within ten miles of our mission station on the Nkomo river. I heard of the affair two days after the man had been killed, and taking a boat hurried down to the place accompanied by one of the sons of King "Kelun" from Nenge-nenge, as guide. In the palaver house of the town was a captive boy in chains. The people of this town would not admit having eaten a man, yet did not deny it; they said that the human bones in a hole behind the palaver house were those of a man who had "died two days before." I afterward learnt that the captive boy had been killed and eaten a few days after my visit. Several Fang have admitted to me that "some Fang eat man meat," and they have been told that it is far more enjoyable to eat than goat. My informants always added that they would not do such a thing—"only bad Fang did so." What I have learned from others and my own observations lead me to believe that an immense tract of country in West Africa from a trifle north of the equatorial line extending even as far northward as to include a portion of the German sphere of influence in the Cameroons, is occupied by numerous anthropophagous tribes all more or less closely related.

II.—*Physical and Moral Characteristics.*

Physically the Fang are a fine people. They may be classed as of medium 142 size. Some of the males are exceptionally large and well built. At Foulabifong, the Fang village on the Nkomo river, where I reside, there is a man belonging to the Esisis tribe who is the largest and finest specimen of humanity I have ever seen in Africa (photo shown on screen).

The skin colour of the Fang is sooty-black or dark reddish-brown, chocolate: (numbers 2 and 3 Topinard's scale); coal-black skins (number 1, Topinard's scale), are in the minority. The skin is smooth and when well cared for, as it very often is, it feels soft and velvety. In the adult the skin is lighter in the axilla; the palm of the hand and sole of foot are permanently yellow. The average Fang eye has a dark iris (class 1, Topinard's scale), and the eye-balls are placed with their long axes nearly in one horizontal plane. I have occasionally noticed a compression of the outer angle of the opening, mostly in females, strongly suggestive of the "almond eye." The hair may be classed as black and woolly. It is uniformly scattered over the hairy scalp; the hairs are coarse in texture. The males seem to [302] have an aversion to hair on the face and frequently pluck it out; only a small percentage grow beards.

In adult males hair is often quite abundant on the chest and forearms.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

264 this is, because, to a Fang eye, polished brass looks *mbung* (handsome) and is attractive for trade. Vessels are usually placed on top of the fire and not
262 suspended over it; vegetables are frequently placed in stews. No separate dwelling house exists for cooking, it is carried on in the dwelling house. The water used to
356 wash a dirty pot with is often thrown out on the earth floor of the dwelling, children playing in the wet dirt. In all domestic matters the Fang are very filthy.
[514] I have on more than one occasion when inside a native hut seen children micturate
[854] and defecate on the earth floor close to where the mother was cooking, the women and men present taking very little notice, and only occasionally placing the child
[462] outside the door. Cooking is exclusively the duty of women, a *real man* will not cook. Food is often highly seasoned with hot native red and green peppers, and
252 food thus prepared is much appreciated. The food is usually well cooked through, with the exception of plantains which are often only half boiled and served quite hard. Large round stones are used for rubbing and reducing to powder gourd
251 seeds and various tubers. Smoking and salting are the only methods practised for preserving food, and on account of the value of salt and the difficulty of transporting it inland, it is seldom thus employed.

Drinks.—Rum has been carried from the coast by white traders and natives
273 far inland and is used whenever obtainable, but the chief drink is cold water. Palm wine is made called *meyak*. Except in places where a trade factory existed I have seen very few cases of intoxication among the Fang, but when they can obtain rum it seems to completely demoralize them. Tea and coffee are known to
[272] people living near white settlers. When a party of headmen and others have taken a meal at the mission house, tea and coffee were greatly enjoyed and cups
264 frequently re-filled. The first meal is usually about eight or nine o'clock; the natives think the white man eats very early; a mid-day meal is served and the evening repast is usually about sunset.

Food is frequently brought to the men inside the *abeng* (palaver house); at other times an entire family eats together inside the dwelling house. No ceremonies whatever precede the commencement of meals. When a son is born, or on the
574 occasion of a wedding, and after some large palaver has been settled, a feast is usually given. Invited guests and strangers partake together with the town folk
264 of the food prepared; it is usually served on the earth floor of the palaver house, on plantain leaves, and in cooking pots, each person helping himself. The women do not eat with the men inside the palaver house.

Mode of preparing Mboa.

252 *Ba du mbóa osui, e vóm a ne ndsitál: a kaga boma mēlu mēla, be kéli ítá: be ndli*
539 *ne nye: be ndá mbūk: be kēzi nye mbāk iti be nou mum: beña tynk: bénga vul: be kaga wana vul: be kēzi nye ē mvē: vekoba ji: ve telē mvé mboa: weña mboa aboa.*

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

Translation.

They put cassava to soak in the river, in a place where there is (plenty of) mud. When it has lain there three days, they go and rub off the rind. They bring it (to the house). They take a trough, and put the cassava in it. They take the mashing stick. They mash the cassava. They wrap it up (in leaves). When they have finished that, they put it in the pot. Then they light the fire. They put the pot of iguma (on the fire). Then the iguma is *boiled.* 252 539

Azo Mfini: (Plantation).

Betata basa lewa bo dia inifini (our fathers did not make plantain villages), *n'afan eto bé* (because their land was near at hand, *i.e.*, near the regular village). *Fañ b'angoge infini ne bo bidji binne* (Fañ likes plantain village to make good food, *i.e.*, because thus they get good food). *Bikon e djal ine, betok* (Plantains in town have (one) small). *Infini O ne djal moe afan bibé* (Plantain village is a good town (because) land (*i.e.*, good land) near). *Nsen ane afan betata benga to bibé* (Like the land where the fathers were near). *B'angoye infini, ne dsi bidji binné. Mo'mbok a gouevi bayit: bewok benga ofin* (They like the plantain village (because) there they eat good food. One person kills game (meat) others buy). *Menda infini me vic bo ofé* (Houses of plantain villages soon spoil)[1] *Fañ, Ba'dji asas mbia kidiane* (Fañ they eat a meal of cassava in the morning). 539 262 311 361

Regarding the *Eki* tabooing certain foods or performance of certain actions as in vogue among the Fang, I learned from a friend and *confrère*, Rev. R. H. Nassau, D.D., M.D., of Gaboon, that the *Eki* of the Fang is precisely similar to the *Orunda* of the Mpongwe. Dr. Nassau is a veteran missionary of thirty-seven years' African experience, and he is always ready to help others who are sufficiently interested in the natives to inquire about them. I know of no one on the West Coast more willing or eminently able than he for imparting information regarding the people among whom he has laboured. 262 114 171

XI.—*Anthropophagy.*

Cannibalism prevails among the Fang beyond question, and only fear of the law keeps him somewhat in check. I am able to speak of the Fang as anthropophagi; not alone from information gathered, but from having once had the opportunity of visiting a town two days after a victim had been killed and eaten. 266 114

This town, named Olunda, is on the right bank of the Nkomo river, about 60 miles from the seat of government in the Congo Français. Whilst visiting the town Nenge-nenge (the island of islands) in the autumn of 1898, a native trader named Arkendengi, employed by a British trading house at Gaboon, informed me

[1] It is very true that houses having plantains growing near, soon rot; this is due to the dampness caused by loss of sunlight and heat.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

The skin of a bush cat is part of the *biang-akamayong* called "Nsin." 789

The Mvang.—A triangular piece of iron filled with medicine, used to keep away witches, is also part of the *biang-akamayong.* 619

Biang-akong or *biang-abal* (war medicine).—This is also part of the *biang-akamayong,* and the shots from the guns of an enemy are of no avail.

One other important fetish hangs with the *biang-akamayong.*

A piece of very hard wood. Only a certain kind of woman is selected to find this wood; she is called a special or *selected* woman on account of certain [177] peculiarities connected with her, *e.g.,* she always fails to catch fish, she may try all [824] day but will not succeed in catching fish. The husband of such a woman, after intercourse with her, fails to catch fish the next day, he also fails to work. This is the kind of woman always selected to find this wood; it is hard wood, she is a hard woman, and she is called *Emunega ane alert* (the woman who is hard). This medicine is also called *biang-akong,* and shot from the guns of an enemy will not harm.

This is the *Biang-akamayong.*

XIII.—*Witchcraft. Evus* (*Witch.*)

If a person goes out to make witch (witch medicine, or play witch to harm others) he dies. The people take him to the backyard. Other people say, "We want to take the witch." If the corpse is a female, they open the belly. If the corpse is a male, they open the heart. They see the witch, they take it. If they bring the witch, they lay it on the smoke shelf. It dries. When finished drying they say, "We will use it as medicine." 754

This is *Evus* (witch).

Cursing dead Relations.—Written at Foulabifong, Nkomo river, April 13th, 1898. Told me by Ôvôn; fully confirmed by Ogandaga and Interpreter Roby.

E'kanesong (to curse dead relations).—This is a Fang custom. A man has a palaver with another, or goods stolen. He desires to get even with the thief. He calls a friend and curses his friend's dead relations, saying, 754 578

"Go and kill that person for me, or go and make him pay me goods; if you do so, I will then pay you for having cursed your dead relations." It is a serious matter to have dead relations cursed, and the friend feels very bad. He must do as bid, or he is branded as a coward, and after he has completed his task he then makes claim for payment. 626

Nge me bā jam dili, nge me ta minbin (If I do it, may I see the corpses [of my people]). A Fang way of swearing an oath. [539]

Ami ye mimbim mia, yinga me bat (My friend, by the corpses of your relations, kill those people for me).

Notes on *Ebômeda* (a curse).

Ilong s'ayoge (a curse that kills).

8: Bennett D-5 (ca.1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

754 *Vazege me ilong onga lóm me* (Take away the curse you have [sent] put
578 upon me).
626 *Vazege me bibomeda* (Take away the curse).
539 *Vazege me biyoge* (Take away the curse).
Bôt bene mbômeda eb Anyambe edjam e mam mebê môa (People are cursed of God on account of their sins).

XIV.—*The Ngi.* (*A Fang Secret Society.*)

575 To members (*Bemvon*) the following things or *bityi* are forbidden :—
Bityi :—

1. To go and make or play at witch (make *evus*).
2. A male fowl is not to be eaten (shared) by two men of different clans.
3. Fish called *ngole* must not be partaken of with a woman.
4. Only the initiated are permitted to eat the fish called *ngone*.
5. Only the initiated may witness the Ngi dances. A woman who attempts to witness an Ngi dance will sicken and die.
6. Only the initiated must know about the bones used by Ngi.
7. A member of the Ngi society is not permitted to sleep on his back.
8. Food refuse must not be destroyed by fire.
9. To spit in the fire is against the law of Ngi (not permitted).
10. An uninitiated person will die if embraced by an Ngi.
11. To kick over rotten wood, logs, or forest stumps, is forbidden.
12. To cut a stick half through in the bush, and then bring it to town and break it, is forbidden. It must be cut through and the two pieces carried.
13. To kick the feet together after getting in bed, for the purpose of removing dust, is forbidden.

The violation of any of these mentioned *bityi* will bring misfortune and death on the *bemvon* (member).

Ngi means gorilla among the Fang; Nji means gorilla among the Bulu. The Bulu have the Nji secret society, which is reported as being precisely similar to the Fang Ngi; it came to the Bulu from the Fang.

XV.—*War.*

726 During a tribal war all adults act as warriors. There is no regular organisation of fighting men. It is a typical guerilla warfare. Parties of young men go forth at night to attack towns; others watch the forest paths to shoot men passing and
[148] women going to work in the gardens. The Fang are noted for their love of war; they are the most warlike people in all West Africa. When a tribal war is on, a headman frequently goes out with a raiding party to attack the town; he carries with him the *biang-akamayong* (protecting medicine of the tribe). The usual mode of attack is as follows: Having decided to attack a town, the party of men (usually ten or

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

fifteen) take their flint-lock muskets, heavily loaded with trade powder and 726
handful of broken iron pot (iron trade pots) or small stones, and creep up close to the town after dark. Two men try to enter the town unobserved; if they succeed, then they knock at the door of a hut and say, "We are strangers travelling; give us fire and food." Directly a person inside the house opens the door, both men discharge their guns into the house, and immediately run for the bush toward their comrades. The whole town is soon in pursuit, and unless careful they run into an ambuscade prepared for them. A fight may occur, but more often the attacking party return to their town in triumph, shouting: "We are real men, we are real men, we have been to town, we have shot a man (or woman), we are men 726
—real men." There is great rejoicing in their town, and a dance follows. If the 712
palaver is a serious one, the town is often stockaded with split logs placed vertically in the ground; huts are likewise stockaded. Poisoned bamboo spikes are buried in the forest paths to wound the feet of an enemy. The weapons used and relied on [411]
to-day are flint-lock muskets. Spears are rapidly falling into disuse. The cross-bow is only used for shooting birds and small bush cats. It is a mistaken idea that the arrows used with the cross-bow are poisoned. Shields are not used. The chief 721
causes of war are disputes over women, hence called "women palavers," and these 727
feuds may last for years. Prisoners are often permitted to starve to death, and are occasionally killed and eaten. Owing to a bitter feud it is often impossible for the women to work in the gardens or fish on the river, the consequence being a great scarcity of food. In Foulabifong, where I resided, a woman palaver lasted over ten months, and the three adjoining towns were in a state of famine. A prisoner was nearly starved to death, and I had to repeatedly plead for him. During these feuds many women are shot while walking the paths. The Fang think it quite [726]
correct to shoot a woman; they say, "It is always *safe* to shoot a woman because [562]
she cannot shoot back." Prisoners are frequently exchanged, others are held as hostages.

Abal (war). Translation.

If people are going to war they go in crowds. If they approach near the 726
town (of the enemy) they hold a council. An old man (one) he says thus: We 539
will go to fire when? Then the others say, We will go in the night. Then they stay (sit) there until night. Darkness comes, and they light a torch. Then two or three people go to the town, and the other people remain in the bush. If the people who went to the town find people sleeping, then they point their guns inside a house and fire. Then people die. Then they go back running to meet the other people. Then they all gather in one place and return singing to their own town. Then they beat the drum and rejoice. Then the people who remained in the town say: Tell us the news as you went. Then they tell the news. Then the headman sits down and tells all the people in town that a person must not go anywhere alone. Then all the people hear, and all sit down (remain around their town to await events).

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

Ngang (Doctor). Translation.

[787] 726 539 789 The Ngang (witch doctor) prophesies war. If the war comes and is in the bush, then the doctor takes medicine wrapped in bush cat skin called *mebup*, and medicine in horns. He holds the horns in his hands. He counts the horns; he hangs the *mebup*. He says to the *mebup*, I say thus: No person must go to the forest. If a person goes anywhere the enemy will kill him. If a person says, I will not listen to the doctors' talk, I will go and do my work; then if he goes, the enemy kill him. If they kill a person, they take the heart and put it in the *abup*. They take an old witch and put it in the *abup*. Then if the doctor prophesies, the witch speaks from inside the medicine. The heart of the person, it talks.

XVI.—*Hunting Traps.*

224 The Fang are skilful hunters, but they justly give the credit of the chase to the *Nqui* (dwarfs). I have been told that a dwarf will go hunting in the bush and return with meat after a hunting party has returned unsuccessful from the same locality; the dwarfs have great patience. If while hunting in the forest a man sees a deer, he shouts for assistance: others come and help hunt. If the deer is killed, all claim a share, after one-third has been given to the man who first sighted the game. This is the custom when a man walking unarmed in the forest sights meat, and calls for aid. Meat killed by a regular hunting party is carried to their town and divided. Dogs are used to hunt game, the dogs wear wooden bells around the neck, sometimes the bells are made of iron. Flint-lock guns are used when hunting. Before a hunting party starts out it is the custom to make *biang nzali* (gun medicine), and to place the guns in it; this makes them shoot straight. The natives imitate very cleverly the calls of certain animals and birds for the purpose of decoy. Occasionally they drive game into an enclosure called *olam*. Spears are seldom used in the chase. The crossbow is used for shooting birds and small bush cats.

Poisoned arrows are not used with the crossbow. Pitfalls for game are dug and [441] covered with small branches and leaves; pigs and small deer frequently fall into them. A Fang never attempts to hit a bird on the wing. In firing the flint-locks the gun is not carried to the shoulder, but held by the stock in front of the body, the butt being on a level with the waist. Game laws are unknown.

After a successful hunting expedition the whole town indulges in a feast, men, women, and children eat until gorged; after a period of rest dancing commences and is kept up throughout the night.

Olam (Trap). Translation.

224 539 They take small trees and bamboo leaves and bush rope, and make a long fence. They leave holes for the traps and holes for the pitfalls (*i.e.*, opposite the

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

places where they are going to build these respectively), large bush rat, porcupine, 224
squirrels, die in the traps; deer, gazelle, antelope, large deer and pigs die in the 539
pitfalls. The animals which die in the *olam* are these. This is the *olam*.

XVII.—*Burials.*

Death is never considered as due to natural causes. Disease followed by death 764
is due to *evus* (witch). It is not considered unlucky to attend a dying person. [761]
The body is usually left in the house until burial. Embalming is not practised.
Mourners smear white clay on their bodies and wear necklaces of pineapple fibre for one moon (month). A coffin is not used and the body is buried in the sitting posture. After burial the grave is levelled off as is the case almost throughout West Africa; the only difference between the burial of a headman and a common man is in the amount of visitors and mourning, and the quarrelling over his goods. Wives of a dead headman remain in mourning from one to three moons (months). 765
The witch doctor, *ngangan*, usually performs a post mortem to find the witch. [763]
I attended a post mortem on an old woman. The witch doctor ripped open the abdomen with an old rusty knife, grasped and cut away the uterus and holding it up to the crowd declared "Six witches!" The crowd passed the word "six witches," and spoke the praises of the witch doctor. Relations usually continue to mourn or wail for one moon while inside the house or at work in the gardens. The most common wail is *Ô nan Ô! Ô tat Ô!* (Oh mother! Oh father!).

XVIII.—*Akóm.*

This is a dance. It is not *biang* (medicine) nor is it *eki*. It is, however, 535
practised by men only. The women must not see it. The latter stay within doors, 534
and only hear the words which the men speak outside. The men speak with artificial voices, so that the women cannot recognise who it is that is speaking. (*Fam a kobo ne kiď zie nkôt.*) To make the artificial sounds they use a membrane (*ten*) which encloses the young of the spider (*ndenbôa*). This they spread over a hole (about ⅜ inch diameter) near the small end of an elephant tusk (*mbang nzok*) from 1 to 2½ feet in length, attaching it with beeswax (*abē*) or a liquid which is obtained from a plantain stalk fresh cut. This juice is called *akirl*. It possesses an adhesive property. The man blows on the large end of the ivory. A curious sound then issues through the membrane so that the man's voice cannot be recognised. This instrument is called *mbang akóm*. The act of playing on the instrument is called *e kobe akóm* (*e kobe*, talk). The performer sings songs; the words are distinctly heard. He sings and all others sing responsively (*a ye bo'bengese b'aka*).

Many songs are used in *akóm*. Here are three specimens of them:— 533

(1) *Benza b'abete kobo? Beso benga wog meé.* Who speaks any more? 539
(*i.e.*, Be silent, let no one speak.) Others are listening with pleasure (*i.e.*, to the performance).

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

533 Response by the audience: *Nangekobe.* This word seems to have no meaning but to be simply used as a responsive utterance.

●539 (2) *Akóm ke yeye zazam.* Let not the *akóm* sing my song. This supposes that another similar performance (*akóm*) is going on in the neighbourhood, and the performers in it are urged not to make use of the song used by those in the first (*akóm*).

Response: *Ziazia, akóm ke yeye zazam.* The word *ziazia*, like *nangekobe*, appears to have no meaning, and to be simply used as a responsive utterance.

(3) *Ke bele me nzok zam ne mabata.* Do not catch hold of my instrument (tusk of elephant) with *mabata, i.e.*, because you have the sickness *mabata* (a kind of sloughing phagedina).

Response: *Ziazia*; *ke bele me nzok zam ne mabata.*

XIX.—*Abnormalities (Natural Deformities), Albinism, Erythrism.*

732 During my residence among the Fang I saw five albinoes (shown on lantern slide). The natives say of these albinoes: "They are white, but *not real* white 143 people." They are treated fairly well; their ever restless eyes cause them much ridicule and annoyance. I know of only one being married. They are not long lived. After death the skull of an albino is greatly valued for medicine, especially for placing with the *biang-akamayeng* (protector of the tribe).

Erythrism is occasionally met with. A red-haired Fang lived in the town of Jam-anen (large affair); his skin was chocolate colour, but his eyes had a pale pinkish colour. The first sight of a red-headed black man surprised me very much.

Hare lip is very rarely seen.

One case of hermaphrodism came under my notice, a Fang male; he was looked on as an *ngangan* (witch doctor) of great power, and was much reverenced.

Deformations (Artificial Deformities).

304 A. *Facial.*—The triangular nasal cartilage is frequently pierced. This practice is mostly indulged in by women. Bars of bamboo are inserted or porcupine quills. It is considered *mbung* (handsome).

The lips are not pierced or deformed in any way.

The ears are pierced and ear-rings worn.

Fetish is also suspended from the ears.

B. *Dental.*—Males file the upper and lower incisors to a sharp point. The only reason given is, "it is *mbung*" (handsome).

XX.—*Fang Proverbs and Sayings.*

539 *Ma kóm wam nlem*, I think in my heart.

Me ka, I am gone, said in taking leave.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

A akukut ulem, he has a foolish heart.

A nyegl nyōle vie, he likes his own body (is conceited). 539

Azō dili tyineba mvus, this matter (palaver or quarrel) is pushed back (*i.e.*, is to be forgotten).

Wyen njil, w'yen ndē, mōt ekōge yen owaban, you see your grandson and your great-grandson, but you cannot see the next generation.

Kunge eso a le we enseki, go; your father calls you down the street (a hint to leave).

Azong avoti da lōl azu, one rotten tooth spoils all (a person once caught lying cannot be trusted).

Me si mone kal meyong mese, I am not sister's son to all tribes (*i.e.*, I am not everybody's servant).

Ejō avoge ane ejima, another day is beautiful (like our saying "Every dog has his day").

Mon kon a'yen avoti, mon mōt meyen m'bei, you can see a ghost once but a person twice.

Mon mie meduk m'bei, mon nqui aduk avorti, you can cheat a Fang twice, a dwarf once (here the word *mie* is used for *Fang*).

Jō vide avoti, there is more than one day (my turn will come).

M'vidie monge, I am not a child.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. CROOKE, after acknowledging the value of Dr. Bennett's researches among a most interesting people, called attention to the attribution of the art of metallurgy to the dwarf race, which corresponded with European folk-belief. He dwelt on the respect paid to the Palaver House; he gathered that a fire was kept there perpetually burning, though the cult of the sacred fire seemed to have been forgotten. It would thus correspond to the early Aryan institution of the house where the sacred fire was tended, which survived in the Greek Prytaneum. The author of the paper seemed to have failed to appreciate the motive of the rites of passing widows through fire and flagellating them. Judging from the analogy of similar rites in India and elsewhere, the object was to free the woman from the ghost of her late husband, which was supposed to cling to and possess her. 171

Mr. FITZGERALD MARRIOTT asked whether the witch-doctor who wore the white mask was a Ngi, since in certain parts of West Africa the witch-doctor was independent of the tribal society, while in others he was a member. He also asked whether the dance, in which Dr. Bennett says is played the "Embankong" (?) musical instrument made from an elephant's tusk, is in reality a species of secret society; for women and children are not allowed to see it, and it takes place by torch-light after dark. Thus it might answer to the Zan-gbe-to of the Slave Coast, which is a species of police society for seeing that every one is in his house after 9 o'clock at night, or like the Ayaka society of a district near the Kwa Ibo river, which sees that all the fires are out by a certain time. These societies also dance, sing and shout; therefore, as there is usually something beneath West African dances, it is probable that the players and dancers are a secret society or that there is some explanation for the existence of the dance. He also remarked

539 833 836 tǒbǒ nale, adzǒ a n'abě
remain thus, affair it is bad.

Chorus:

A ta ma vū or a na ma
Oh, my father, I am dying, Oh, my mother, I

vū.
am dying (4).

[195] 4. The Negro dies on every occasion when something unpleasant happens to him; the chorus thus speaks from the point of view of the woman who is in such despair concerning this "bad affair" that she would almost like to die.

836 548 Although there are no actual prostitutes, a number of the women enjoy the free life of a girl and up to the age of 30 or 35 years remain ngǒ'n, "girls." This kind of "girl," to whom every man, boy or adult, whatever his name, whether he is handsome or not, is equally /255/ welcome, is called a ñzīla. The fact that people have no better opinion of her than we have of a loose woman is shown by a song sung at a festival for the souls. [533] In its own way this song represents a delightful satire and, for the Pangwe, an extraordinarily witty, poetic achievement. I have reproduced it in Section 20 ("Music") /Ed., not translated/.

In spite of the great sensuality, relations between the sexes 831 do have finer traits; tactful behavior, precise observation of prescribed forms, and profound spiritual sensibility are not absent. The ingenuous conduct of the young man toward the girl's parents and the naturalness with which the young people enjoy their love, without obligations, without social prejudices, have something almost ideal about them.

587 When a man dies and one of his relatives marries his wives, there
768 is no additional payment of dowry. When a man loses his wife, the dowry is repaid fully, or in part, by the relatives of the deceased wife if she has left no children. If there are children, the widower makes no claim to the dowry.

765 The widow cuts her hair. After the death of the husband, the wife is made to confess the names of her lovers in order to make them give payments which will finance the celebrations at the end of mourning. She must weep for one whole day and one whole night; she may do nothing without the permission of her husband's heir; and for a month she stays dirty, dressed in an old loincloth. At the end of this time there are celebrations of the end of mourning which last several days. The widow sits for a whole night in the village square, and the husband's relatives throw her water and pimento. The following morning she jumps four times over a fire of dry banana leaves. While she is jumping, men hit her for the anguish which she has caused her husband to endure. After that she receives a new loincloth from her family and then, before beginning the dances, if she has not accepted remarriage
[587] to her husband's heir, she chooses a new husband from among the assembled men of the dead man's family.

838 Neither homosexuality nor bestiality have ever been recorded, to
839 our knowledge, among the Fan.

548 Prostitution does not exist.

Impotence (eyel), if it is congenital, is attributed to the mother's
833 having accidentally caused milk to flow onto the penis of her son while nursing him. If it occurs later, it is said to be from the abuse of coitus and it is believed that there is no more sperm in the impotent person.

596 Family Group. The family (nda ebur) consists of the man, his wives, his children, and his brothers. It usually includes several homes and constitutes a village in itself. The authority belongs to the father, and it is he who commands because of his being the most respected. He has absolute power, but also incurs certain duties, the most important of which is to find money or goods as dowry for the women whom his sons wish to marry. These dowries are usually obtained through payments made by the girls' husbands. The most complete mutual aid is obligatory among all members of the family, in all
596 circumstances. When the parents have become too old to continue
888 exercising their authority, they live with the family of their oldest son

836 no young girls, the little girls being married very early by their
584 parents, sometimes even before their birth." (3) This restriction

3. E. Trezenem, "Notes éthnographiques [Ethnographical Notes]," op. cit., p. 87.

is entirely relative, for, according to L. Mba, "the custom allows the betrothed to have as many lovers as she wants during the time of her engagement." M. Bertaut specifies similarly that "the young girl is free as far as her body is concerned so long as she has no husband," which may represent a long period of freedom, considering the time it takes to settle a bride price that is always very large. There exists also a kind of tolerated, it not established,
837 prostitution, since the husband may "place one of his wives under
[548] obligation to bring him some income by prostituting herself to strangers." (4) Certain customs, such as the placing of a wife at

4. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 29; and V. Largeau, Encyclopédie Pahouine [Pahuin Encyclopedia], article on adultery": ... "a husband is always free to lend his wife on condition of a certain payment... ."

the disposal of a guest, or the lending or [121] exchanging of a wife (1) as a token of friendship (the wife becoming munögo ângôm,

1. Cf. V. Largeau, op. cit.:" ... the rules of good hospitality require the host to put one of his wives at the disposal of the one whom he is entertaining. On the other hand, it is a current custom for two good neighbors who respect each other to exchange wives from time to time, and this is a definite indication of mutual sympathy." Also, Captain Maignan,

838 to cast about for a protective covering to shield themselves from the attacks of those who are different, just as the hedgehog is protected by its covering of quills -- a covering on which the attackers would cut their mouths and their caustic tongues. Such a covering was supplied by medicine -- it is said that homosexual intercourse is a "wealth medicine" (biǎ̱n nkū'ma); see Volume II, page 23. This is the name applied to it in the following tale which was told to me.

838 There once was a man called bongo-be-ntuu-dumo (= boys -- which?) who had a daughter called akukebedanga who was very
539 beautiful (the name allegedly came from akúk = Achatina marginata
[551] Sw. var. nigrofasciata Thiele, which is very beautiful, and from
[825] adǎ̱n = to surpass, because she was as unsurpassably beautiful as the Achatina snail; thus, if I understand it correctly, the name means "Achatina snail of unsurpassable beauty"). /272/

Now it happened one day that four young people met on the way to the village of Bongo (I shall thus abbreviate his name). They were all on their way to see the girl. They asked each other: "Whom are you going to see?" and each of them said: "Akukebedanga!" Then they conferred and agreed that they would go into the village together and wait to see whom the girl would love the most. The young people, who came from various families, were called (I place the abbreviation first):

Schok I, or by his full name he was called ž[k] bǒ žūa (explanation?);

Schok II, called ž [k] bǒ ngōne makę̌ makǒ̄,(ekę̌kǒ̄), that is, Schok, bōngōne (unknown) I am going away to come back later (= I shall be gone for some time);

Schok III, z [k], bǒ kǎ ję̌m bǒdžǒ melǎ̱n (1),
Schok -- of not knowing speeches bad,

1. Instead of: belǎ̱n.

that is, the Schok who speaks no evil, and

Schok IV, ž [k] bǒ nǔ'm e kūb b'ogbwā'le ba
Schok of: cock and francolin they
ję̌m e kī'di ma lę̌ne.
know the mornings they begin.

1. Names and Name-giving

553 Immediately following the birth, but not before the detach-
851 ment of the afterbirth, the child receives its name from the father who has already thought it up before the delivery but has kept it secret until then. The name is publicly announced, accepted without objection or formalities, and is considered to be the permanent principal name. The child receives a second name from his mother; many Pangwe designated this name as "big," that is, important -- probably because they had heard it exclusively from their mother in early childhood. Later, however, in giving their names, they usually mention the name given by the father, unless that name sounds unpleasant to the person concerned or if he wants to hide his identity with the intention of deceiving -- especially the Whites. In that case he prefers to use the name given by his mother. /278/

It is in any case a fact that the name given by the mother is close to its bearer's heart, and for this reason friends often use it as a pet name.

I shall herewith give a number of names that I learned, to-
551 gether with their explanations. As can be seen from the abbreviations of subtribes or tribal groups (N = northern Pangwe, S = southern Pangwe) placed after them, only a small number of the names is distributed over the entire Pangwe region; the majority do not extend beyond a few subtribes, so that a thoroughly experienced investigator can frequently tell by the name alone what a given native's place of origin is.

According to their basic significance, we can divide the names into the following groups:

I. Names of religious origin (only in the case of boys' names);
II. Names that allude to an attractive skin color;
III. Names that designate the desirable characteristics which one wishes for the child;
IV. Names that are supposed to bring good luck;
V. Names intended to indicate that the man will become the terror of his enemies;
VI. Names that express a bad characteristic, with the idea of thereby causing the bearer, on the contrary, to develop good characteristics;

551 VII. Names that report an event before or during the time of the child's birth.

A. Boys' names

I. Names of religious origin.

1. nsǒm, from nsǒ'm = cult, sacred act, Ntum (Fang);
[825] 2. ngī = gorilla, as the animal of purity, symbol of the Ngi cult; the name Ngi, freely translated, means "the pure one" (S.);
3. estǔ'n = fruit of the Cardamom, chief food of the lemurs, used in the Ngi cult in like manner (1). /279/

192 551 824

1. At least that is what I suspect, even though it is not quite certain, because it may be that Cardamom fruit is chosen because of its shiny red appearance, and in that case it would belong in the next section. On the whole I do not believe that in the case of names an immediate origin from religious institutions or conceptions is to be assumed. In this instance I simply followed the natives who told me that nsǒm came from nsǒ'm, "cult." Now it is true that the Pangwe themselves are frequently mistaken in their explanation of words, but in the second place the name (nsǒm) was given to me with a mediate high pitch; with the name for cult I hear a high pitch, while ichneumon (nsǒm) has a mediate low pitch. But since the mediants are readily substituted (see Vol. I, p. 16 /Ed., not translated/), I assume that here the ichneumon and not the cult served as the root from which the name was derived. This assumption fits perfectly with the fact that the ichneumon,

192 551 825

192
551
825

Herpestes melanurus Gray, which is called nsǒm, has a gray color which may well have given rise to the designation of a person by the name nsǒm. The name ngī, "gorilla," may also be meant as a symbol of strength, or, perhaps like esǔ'n, it may have been chosen because of the red color.

551 II. Names which allude to an attractive skin color and are for the most part derived from fauna or flora that the Pangwe finds especially beautiful.

According to the color, the following were mentioned to me.

(a) Red.

4. m̩bǎ' = Turacus, actually the shiny red one;
[292] 5. ndū̩ṅo, from andū̩ṅ = dancing cap made of touraco feathers (S.);
6. mvē' = redwood tree, Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub., because it is red.

(b) White.

7. mfū̩mū̩, from mfūm = white (S.);
8. asǒṅ = umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br., because of its white trunk (S.);
9. akǒ'm = bracelet made of ivory (Fang).

(c) Gray.

10. edǔ = African rat (in the Pangwe region displaced by the domestic rat) (S.);
11. tǔ̩lo = domestic rat, Mus rattus L.;

●551 12. ndǎ'ŋga = domestic rat, Mus rattus L.;
13. okū,du, from okǔ,dūgu = flycatcher, mainly Alseonax and Pedilorhynchus species because of their attractive mouse-gray color;
14. ngǒ[n] mvǎk = Bdeogale nigripes Pucheran.

(d) Black.

15. mvôno, from mvôn IV - Satan's monkey, Colobus anthracinus Leconte.

(e) Light and dark, variegated.

16. zǒ = leopard, light and dark spots (S.);
17. žǒ,ě = civet cat, Viverra civetta, likewise (S.);
18. mangö, from mangömentě'me = pied wagtail, colored black and white (S.);
19. ndū,tǔmo, from ndū,tǔm = rainbow, variegated (S.).

III. Names that indicate the good qualities desired for the child.

20. ayǒn, from ayǒn = kinship group, familial group; he is to become an able representative of his kin group and show himself worthy of the good name which the kin group has in the tribe (S.);
21. mayǒn, plural same (Ntum); /280/
22. eja,ǎma, from a jǎ,[k] mǎm = to pay in case of controversies - thus, he is good-natured (S.);
23. owǔno = groundnut that tastes good; the bearer of the name is, therefore, just as "enjoyable" (Fang, Jaunde);
24. olō'(g)o, from alǒk = air-tuber yams, Dioscorea sativa L., the same explanation as for the preceding (S.);

551

25. ogbwɛ̃, from a gbwɛ̃ madzõ = to repeat things, something like chatterbox, by which the man makes himself popular because people like to hear it;

26. ekõ = Lannea longifoliolata Engl., Anacardiacea, so he will be just as popular, as the tree is to the touraco which settle in its crown and eat its fruit (S.).

IV. Names that are supposed to bring luck.

551
777

27. obũ'du, from obũ't = the grass Paspalum, so he will get things in great quantities, just as the grass exists in great quantities (S.);

28. ekõ'mo, from a kõ'mo bĭm = to acquire things, that is, he will acquire things himself since he has no sisters, etc., through whom he gets money, in other words, he is a self-made man (Jaunde);

29. atɛ̃'ñã, from a tɛ̃'ña kũ'm = to become suddenly rich, to come up in the world, a parvenu in the good sense (S.);

30. atãndãnã', likewise (Jaunde);

31. esĭ or besĭ, from evũ' besĭ = the capacity to acquire things, that is, he will acquire something for himself (S.);

32. olũ, from a lũ' bĭm = to forge things, that is, he will earn money through working as a smith (the only handicraft in our sense).

551 V. Names intended to indicate that the man will be the terror of his enemies.

33. obã'm = bird of prey, chicken thief, a name which could also be included in the previous section if it is intended that the bearer will receive the things (onomatopoetic, bãb; hence o-bãm).

551

otherwise it is terrifying since it designates robbery (S.);

34. olǎ'me, from olǎm = draw trap, that is, he will be to his enemies as the trap is for animals (S., Mwai);
35. oyǔ'no, from oyǔ'n = ax, that is, he will be to his enemies as the axe is to trees (S.);
36. ewǔ'dǔ, from a wǔ'ǹǔ, a wǔ'dǔ = to murder, the murderer of men (Fang, Ntum);
37. avǫ̂do, from a yǫ̂t = to be tired, the people will become tired of molesting him since he is a very angry man and destroys his opponents;
38. mvǫ̂, from a bǒ mvɔ̂'la = to urge, to admonish, his father sends him out to admonish his debtors, perhaps the father is old so that the son will now collect the debts;
39. zǒk = elephant, he will be feared as much as an elephant;
40. nkizǫǒ = elephants' spoor, he will make his way through people like the elephant through the jungle, in other words, he will destroy everything that stands in his way. /281/

VI. Names that express a bad characteristic, with the idea of thereby causing the bearer, on the contrary, to develop good characteristics.

41. nje'ma, from nje'm = tail, as the essence of animal characteristics (S.);
42. ntǔk = spoiled (S.);
43. nkǭabǔ'nu, from nkǭk = tree trunk that has fallen down, bǔ'nu = a thorny tree whose scientific name I am unable to give; also occurs as a nickname and is supposed to mean worthless and bad (Ntum);
44. mapfǒ̄ = I am a talebearer, likewise used as a nickname (Jaunde, Fang, Ntum);
45. bekǭǹǒ, from a kǭ'ǹ = to snore, a jocular name (Ntum).

551 VII. Names that report an event before or at the time of the child's birth.

46. bokǎ, = sisters, he has only sisters and hence is the only son (S.);
47. epfu'man, from a pfu'man = to miss, when the bearer of the name was born his father had already sold all his sisters, so the son "missed" the advantages that the sale of the sisters would have brought him;
48. engū,no, from engū'na mbǔn = dried cassava rolls for the period of famine, supposed to indicate that his mother bore him during a famine;
49. maǰe'be = I am yearning for something, that is, the father had yearned for a son (S.);
50. mabǎ' = neck pieces of game, the father loved these pieces (Fang);
51. abō'sō, from a bō sǒ = he was the spirit of contradiction, that is to say, the father; to judge by the past tense, he seems to be tame at present, however;
52. mesǎ'ǎ, masǎ'ǎ, from a sǎ'ma ayǒ'k = to settle an imbroglio; the father is supposed to have done this, but it might possibly refer to the son himself, and in that case it would belong to Division III;
53. nkǔ,lǔ, from a wū,lū a kǔ,lū kǔ,lū (onomatopoetic) = to go softly, thus the father went to the wife;
54. abǔ'du, from a bǔ'du mōt = to cover someone, to protect, thus the mother protected her child from her brother;
55. žō,gō, from ažō,k = a familial group of the Fang; the mother was born an Aschok; today this is a generalized name.

VIII. Explanation unknown.

551

56. engṹha, from engṹń = Deinbollia reticulata Gilg, Sapindinaceae; interpretation unknown;
57. osé'le = a tree unknown to me;
58. nsõ' = the fish, Sarcodaces odoe (Bl.), perhaps because of its dangerousness to other fish (like our pike), in which case it would be a name designed to inspire terror; perhaps because of its silver-gray color. /282/

B. Girls' names

I. Names which refer to a beautiful skin color and are for the most part taken from fauna and flora that the Pangwe finds particularly beautiful.

According to the color, the following were mentioned to me.

(a) Red.

1. ndzõo, from ndzõk = dancing cap made of touraco feathers;
2. ngũĩ = pig, evidently because the pig has a reddish color;
3. ngũĩdáńa, from ngũĩ = pig, and adáń = to surpass, hence a female who surpasses a pig.

(b) White.

4. mfũmũ = the white one, also a man's name;
5. nsõfũmũ = nsõ = smooth, shiny, the shimmering white one;
6. mbáń = ivory;
7. mbáńzõo, from mbáń = ivory, zõk = elephant;
8. mfũmezõk = the white (the tusk) of the elephant;
9. mõnembáń = little ivory;

551 10. akī'ngǎna = akī = egg, ngǎn = crocodile, crocodile's egg because of its whiteness.

(c) Gray.

11. abǒǒ, from abǒ'k = Mus hypoxanthus Puch. (this may also belong to (e).

(d) Black.

12. nsū dū, from nsūt = black, the black one;
13. mesī[s] me zǒk = tail hairs of the elephant, which are shiny black.

(e) Light and dark, variegated.

14. ojǎ'ne, from ojǎn = Poiana poensis Waterh., civet;
15. ezū'na, probably Tragelaphus albovirgatus;
16. myǒdo, from myǒt = brass, with brilliant variegated colors; perhaps also because of the yellow (red) coloration, in which case it belongs with (a).

II. Names that designate good qualities desired for the bearer.

17. nsē'ē from a sē'ē = admire, because everybody admires the girl's beauty;
18. nkǒ'ne, from nkǒn = stalk, because the girl is as slender as a stalk;
19. nkǒ'nengǒno = nkǒn = stalk, ngǒn = girl, same as above;
20. kömabū'ne, from kaa mabū'n = not vain;
21. avū'mū, from avū'm = Landolphia ochracea K. Sch., because of its delicious fruit, that is, the girl will be just as delicious;

551 22. akŭlabǎ̀ń, from akŭ̄ l] = paws, claws, abǎ̀ń = otter, i.e., the girl steals about as softly as an otter;

23. ntōdē-abǎ̀ń = single otter, as above;

24. mōneabǎ̀ń = small otter;

25. abǎ̀ne-mŭ̀ŭ, from abǎ̀ń = otter, mŭ̀gebŭ = to adorn oneself, to go about adorned. /283/

III. Names that are supposed to bring luck.

551 777 26. ajēkǎbe, from a jē = difficult, a kǎbe = to buy, to exchange; may also be included in the previous group since the girl has such good qualities that the price cannot readily be realized;

27. majīé, from a jīé = to wake up quickly, the girl is supposed to wake up quickly so that she will soon bear fruit (that is, bring in the purchase price); see divorce (Vol. II, pages 120 and 121);

28. angōno or angōnemǎne, from ngōn = girl, a mǎne = to be ready, that is, the stage of girlhood is supposed to be over soon;

29. ajǎ̀nekŭs, from ajǎ̀n-nkŭs = Liliacea, purchasable medicine (nkŭs); the girl is supposed to bring in as much as she would if her father had this medicine;

30. medzē, a dzē a tŏbŭ a dzǎ = she has fulfilled the time for staying in (her) village, that is, she will marry at the proper time;

31. metō, from a tŏbŭ = to sit, I am sitting, that is, she should not be forced to work too much (by her future husband, of course), but instead she should remain seated in the village.

551 IV. Names intended to frighten away, in this case presumptuous suitors or secret lovers.

32. atsǎ̀ma, from a tsǎ̀ma = to break down (a village), "because the father would destroy the village out of grief

551

and anger if the girl were to be abducted; in case the lover hears that such have been the consequences, he may bring the girl back again";

33. aŝŭ̀ʉbanněme, a ʉ̀ʉb = to be enraged, a nněm = at heart, perhaps in reference to the father, perhaps to the husband (so it was asserted, anyway) who will become very angry in case of adultery.

V. Names that report an event before or at the time of birth.

34. aji̇̄'ngõ'n, from a jī = to wish for, ngõ'n = girl, because the mother had only boys and now wished for a girl;
35. menkǒ̄ = young men, since the mother already has many boys;
36. asǎngõ'no, from a sa a ngõ'n = he (or she) has no girl, that is, had no girl hitherto, and this one is the first;
37. adā', from a dǎ'n = to surpass, to be very many, because the mother has borne many children, and this is the last one; thus it was explained to me, although doubtless other explanations are possible;
38. ntõ'ngõ'no, from ntõ' = eldest, ngõ'n = girl;
39. mapfū̀mana, from a pfū̀mǎn = to miss, since she saw neither father nor mother;
40. bejé, from a ntõ bejé a nněm = he is already sad at heart, referring to the father because "he does not know whether his daughter will stay alive";
41. okǒ'mo, from okǒ'm = Micania rusticana Klatt., Compositae, popular among the women, especially the mother. /284/

VI. Explanation unknown.

42. beIȭʉ̄, from beIõ'k = herb;
43. abõ'(g)e, from abõ'k = Gynura repidioides Bth., eaten by women.

551 There are very few names that are used for boys as well as for girls. I am acquainted only with Mfumu and Mangöö, both of which, incidentally, were used more often for girls than for boys.

Nicknames are common. The Negroes, who are always in-
[522] clined to jokes and teasing, delight in making fun of the weaknesses of their fellows and constantly heckling them. A peculiar characteristic or a comical incident produces the nickname, and the latter is retained without anyone later ever knowing its original meaning. "Famous" people frequently have a whole
551 series of nicknames, like the chief's son Amwön-Ekang, whose
539 names are immortalized in the following jocular song:

amvǒn-ekǎ̀n -- anduman ekǎ̀n ana -- sösǒ'
Amwön-Ekang -- son (of) Ekang now -- sapsucker (on)

nkū̄m --ewǎ́s nǔm e kǔ́n -- a kike
tree stump -- file -- man (in) salt water -- chop off

melǒ' me zǒ́n -- ažǒ'n a wūmūk, ndzǒm a
(the) heads of the fern -- Solanum (1) it forms, pluck he

1. Solanum esculentum Don.

tělěk -- mekū(ń) medžǎ, nnī́ē a mbē't
stands (ready) -- caterpillars to eat, mother has climbers

asǒ́n kǎ bekǎ́ī, abǒ'm kǎ medžī,
-- Musanga no guy ropes, Macrolobium (2) no buttress roots

2. Macrolobium straussianum Harms.

-- mone ngǒ'n eja (bondǎ́nga madžǎ).
-- son (of a) girl of Eja (Bondanga Madscha = chief of the Eja).

Amwön-Ekang, the son of Ekang, as everybody knows, --
(the following are jocular names) sapsucker on a tree stump

551 (something small, delicate on something gigantic, strong) -- file
539 (something that destroys something else) -- man in salt water (unclear, perhaps corresponding to our "cart that is stuck in the mud"). -- One chops off the young leaf tips of the fern (since this is the food of women, it is unsuitable for a man). -- The Solanum puts forth fruit, and the harvester stands ready (sense clear). -- The caterpillars that sit on the trees are ripe for eating, and the mother has a climber who gets them down (this refers to Amwōn himself). -- The Musanga has no guy ropes (lianas, and so forth), the Macrolobium no buttress roots. -- Son of one born an Eja.

As one can see, the jocular names, like the drum names
551 (chiefly in the south), are largely taken from a kind of proverbial speech /285/ that alludes to a peculiarity of the bearer; the peculiarity was no longer known in the foregoing case.

Of course, the Whites also have their nicknames; indeed, they are known almost exclusively by these since the natives usually do not know the European names or cannot pronounce them.

To the name given by the father, the father's own name is added. If, for instance, the father is called Essun and the son is called Boka, the complete name of Boka is Boka-Essun, that is, Boka, son of Essun, or -- with a genitive particle -- Boka Bossun(e); if Boka's son is called Ayong, his complete name is Ayong-Boka, etc. (1).

[113]

1. Von Stein (Mitteilungen aus den Schutzgebieten /Reports from the German Protectorates/, Vol. 12, p. 137) says of the Bane (= Bene): "Almost all names are double names, and in sharp contrast to the custom of the Bakoko /Koko/ (should probably read: Bassá), the name occupying the second place almost always signifies the mother's name. Only in very exceptional cases does the Bane, if he has an especially famous father, add the baptismal name, if I may use the term, of his father's name. Balingekorre thus

551 [113]

means: Balinge, son of Ekore."

The custom of the Bane of adding the mother's name to one's own, as reported here, is found also among the Jaunde according to Zenker (Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, Vol. 8, p. 50).

Family names in our sense are unknown to the Pangwe. Towards strangers they use the name of the kin group, which is after all to be understood as a "family" in the Pangwe sense; to this, at the same time, is added the name of the mother's familial group. My faithful factotum, Ayong, who has already been presented to the reader in the picture on Plate 3 /Ed., Vol. I/, would, for instance, introduce himself as follows:

[539]

ma ne	ayǒn-bokǎ,	mōne		esǎwǔ̄n,
I am	Ajong-Boka,	child (of the family)		Essauong,

mone	ngō'n	esatǒp.
child (of a)	girl (of the)	Essatop.

551 867

To learn this complete name by heart is the child's first task. Once the child can recite it without a mistake, the father, proud of the cleverness of his offspring, proceeds to the further task of acquainting the little one with the names of his grandfather and great-grandfather (naturally on the father's side). Let us again take an example.

The child is called Ndungo, his father Essun, from the Abai family, in other words: ndūngo-esū'n, mōne abai, etc., Ndungo of Essun from the Abai family. -- "But from whom am I, Essun, descended?" asks the father. "esū'n-nzěma, that is, Essun from Nsema," is the answer. "And from whom is Nsema descended = nzěma nza?" "nzěma-ngèě." -- The child learns it all very quickly, because as regards its ability to grasp things /286/, the Negro child is far superior to white children. -- The Pangwe, however, does not stop with the grandfather. Each of these black gentlemen has all his ancestors in his head, just like our feudal lords. To be sure, none of them knows more about them than

[181]

551 867 their names. Our Ndungo was able to enumerate eleven ancestors, his father Essun, then Nsema, Ngää, Massoo, Obute, Akiege, Asangui, Awodo, Tulo, Nssim, Okudu.

Generally speaking, the Pangwe probably know on the average eight or ten ancestors by name; not infrequently one even hears 10, or 12, and 14 represented the maximum.

Frequently a lengthy cognomen is added to the last ancestor, which gives the whole a magnificent final effect, somewhat in the way that among us the descendants of a famous man trace their genealogical tree back to him: "I am descended from that person, and his father was called so-and-so, and his father in turn was so-and-so, the famous general who in such-and-such a war won such-and-such a victory." Thus the ancestral table of an Esseng man by the name of Aböschoo went as follows: Ogbue, Ngumbaschoo, Edu, Ngumu, Bokoo, Motoo, Ossele, Akuschoo Bebe -- ayěm esěb ya andǔm = the Akuschoo Bebe, who knew when the dry season comes and when it rains (explanation of the latter part uncertain).

551 539 211 A jocular poem in which a boy poses questions while another answers enumerates no fewer than 21 ancestors:

"o mbe lǔk e vě?" -- "a jǒm." "oa
You were driving fish where? -- In the Sannaga. You

vüi dzě?" -- "nwôs."
killed what? -- (A) shrimp.

"za a dzǐ?"
Who it eat? (Who will eat it?) -- "Abele."

"Abele sa?" (= from whom is Abele descended). "Abele-Boka" (Abele is the son of Boka). "Boka bo sa?" "Boka bo Ssissi." "Ssissi sa?" "Ssissi Mening." "Mening sa?" "Mening me Koebe." "Koebe sa?" "Koebe Kum." "Kum sa?" "Kum Otsaa." "Otsaa sa?" "Otsaa Maniodo." "Maniodo sa?" "Maniodo Ssamwinne." "Ssamwinne sa?" "Ssamwinne a Ssongo." "Ssongo sa?" "Ssongo Abui." "Abui sa?" "Abui

551 Nkumu." "Nkumu sa?" Nkumu Bawu." Bawu sa?" "Bawu Otoo."
539 "Otoo sa?" "Otoo Kuboo." "Kuboo sa?" "Kuboo Emwi."
211 "Emwi sa?" "Emwi Abungo." "Abungo sa?" "Abungo a Schiele."
"Schiele sa?" "Schiele Maa." "Maa sa?" "Maa Makama."
"Makama sa?" Makama

me	nga	būge	nana	abō:
who	lived	to break (of the)	mother	the leg,

tsǎ,s
tsass (onomatopoetic).

A remnant of the old aversion of all primitive peoples to
551 mention names, because thereby some kind of mischief might re-
578 sult, can still be observed among the Pangwe. /287/ They do not like to utter their names before strangers, and they find a question about their full names (in other words, including that of the father) tactless, indeed, almost insulting, as I frequently noticed among the Fang who had not had any contact with outsiders. It is also an insult in every respect to remind someone of his ancestors. This need not even be done by name -- since, after all, they do not always know the names -- but can be done with just the words: I shall "show" you your ancestors. This is taken as a threat of sorcery, that is, secret murder, and as though one were telling his enemy in advance that he would kill him and transport him to his ancestors. Such an insult is often avenged with the sword.

2. Child Rearing

The child is reared by means of precept and example, rarely
861 by threats, and almost never -- at least only in case of major of-
fenses against morality, such as theft, for instance -- by means of corporal punishment. The result must be termed an extremely good one; Pangwe children behave more tactfully and better than our children of the same age.

We are informed by some "experts on the Negro's soul" that
867 the Blacks have no sense of honor. A glance at their family life,
861 however, teaches us the opposite. In rearing the child, the

761 in the etok and stays there for a certain length of time. While she is
789 in this bath, she eats a soup made of the rest of the bark gathered by the practitioner, together with a pumpkin, a piece of the heart, liver, and some blood of the sacrificial animal, all cooked in a pot. This remedy is intended to satisfy the evur and prevent it from eating the blood of the woman or of the child which she may carry in her womb in the future.

761 The death of the child may also arise from an akaga given to its mother, which predicted that one of her children would not live.

761 Finally, if there is neither evur nor akaga, this mishap is believed
784 to be caused by the violation of a prohibition or, more likely, by adultery committed by the woman during her pregnancy. To make
837 her denounce her accomplice, she is beaten until she has named him. This man must then pay to the husband an indemnity equal to half the dowry which he spent to get his wife, an indemnity which represents the price of the adultery and the price of the child's corpse. The woman is subjected from then on to the prohibition of awos until the the birth of her next child.

854 The child (mon). Until it talks, the child is called nkañele. We We have seen that after its birth it is washed in cold water and not fed until the following morning. The breast is first given it by another woman rather than by the mother, whose milk is not good at first.

At the age of eight days, the child is smeared with ba. If the cord dries up by itself without trouble, it is enough to moisten it with saliva.

845 Anomalies such as the birth of an albino or of twins are considered
[143] normal. The natives have stated that albinos are reproduced in the same family at an interval of three generations. As to twins, they are forbidden later on to take part in the ngwel. If the twins are boys,
[557] the first is called Nzugo, the second Dzima; if they are girls, they are given the names respectively of Bela and Nzua.

551 A name is not given a child until several months after birth, when one is almost certain that it will live. A child receives several names. The father chooses the first name from among his ancestors. For example, a boy will be called Osene from the name of a paternal ancestor, to this name of Osene has been added the name of his father Ekomi, and so the child is called Osene Ekomi; but he also has a sort of first name chosen by the parents, which in the present case is [84] Andzang. The complete name thus is Andzang Osene Ekomi. The mother's

551 family has given him a second name, Ekure Nzork (elephant hide), which corresponds to the wish made by the grandparents that their grandson may be as tough as elephant hide. Still other names may be given by other relatives, each of these corresponding to an affectionate feeling or a wish for the child. Andzang [misprinted Andang in original] has a third name given by the wife of one of his uncles, Nzui Weya (young civet), that is to say "as handsome as a civet," [301 832] civet skin formerly having been worn as an ornament by young Pahouin wanting to make female conquests.

When a man has had several children who have died at an early age, in order that the newborn may not die like the others he gives him the name of an animal: Ngi (gorilla), Waga (chimpanzee), Nze (panther), Mvina (antelope), etc...

Sometimes the child receives a name referring to an incident of his birth. A child may be called: Mefan (from afan, the forest), if he is born in the forest; Bemvan (from mvan, rain), if he was born in the rain or on a rainy day; or Bitege (from eteg, mourning), if he was born after the death of his father, during his mother's mourning, etc...

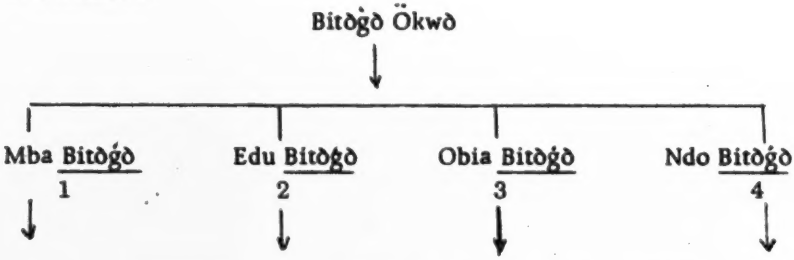
[777] Actually in all the N'Djolé region children are given a Christian name in addition to their native names, even if neither the parents nor the child have any contact with the missions. It is also quite usual to see children bearing European proper names, names which were given them because the parents thought them pretty. Similarly, one meets children called Captain, Major, Militiaman, etc... , and always the parents give as reason for their choice that the name taken for the child is beautiful.

851 The child belongs to its father and cannot be dependent on the mother unless she has been repudiated and the father has waived his claim to reimbursement.

853 Nursing continues until eighteen months or two years, but at about the age of six months, in addition to the breast, the child gets the same food as its parents except for fish, meat, and salt, which are forbidden him.

855 The physical care given the child is reduced to the minimum: he lives naked until the age of about ten years and is bathed every day. When he can walk, he is put on his own and plays with the other children of the village, boys and girls together. While he is still rather

614 551 Incidentally, the method of naming peculiar to the Fang is evidence of a fundamental social segment, the group of brothers, real and half (siblings and half-siblings). Thus there are the sons of Bitògò Ökwo who form the "heads" of four minor lineages still in existence:



The names themselves emphasize this double orientation, the vertical showing the real filiation and the horizontal showing the real brotherhood, which characterizes Fang social structure. Around such a horizontal segment the village (in this particular case Sam village) is constituted, and inside such a segment are produced the fissions giving birth to separate lineages. From the clan to the minor lineage the groupings must be defined in terms of these two dimensions, thus showing a structure that could be called both segmental and interlocked.

614 578 621 But this overlapping is not sufficient to bind the groupings together and to impose a hierarchy. Ruptures have been frequent and can be explained by the mechanism of Fang expansion, by economic factors, and by causes of a structural nature. By analyzing the lineages settled at the level of a fixed region, one notes that those whose origin goes back to an eldest son (ntòl-mòt are larger in number and are the basis of the local population. The Yèngwi studied above show this very specifically.

581
562

> the saying: "If the woman is the receptacle in which all can quench their thirst, she should not be carried off."

between these collective sanctions, and the very broad morality which allows a girl to "celebrate her youth" and which appears in the proverb: "Woman is an ear of dry corn in which anyone with teeth may bite." Marriage strengthens the socialization of woman, imposing on her [122] unconditional submission. One might say, to quote R. Bastide, that it consists in passing from "lustful sexuality" to "social sexuality."

581
585

The social character of marriage is emphasized symbolically. A series of ceremonies mark the admission of the woman into the group that is receiving her. The mother of her husband recites the latter's genealogy, and a segregation of a week is imposed on her, after which she undergoes a coming-out ritual — she is bathed and anointed with oil by the oldest woman relative -- [551] and she receives a new name, indicating a wish, which the other women give to her at a time of song and dance. (1) The "alliance"

> 1. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., p. 89.

concluded between the two family groupings is demonstrated by meals taken together and by rejoicing (éyalö), and above all, it is [769] consecrated by the sacrifice of an animal destined for the biéri (ancestors' altar) of the young girl's parents, showing that bonds exist not only with the group of living but also with the community of ancestors. (2) The emphasis is thus laid on taking possession of

> 2. No doubt it is necessary to link this sacred character of the alliance to the violence of collective reactions provoked by "women affairs."

the posterity (in this respect the recitation of the genealogy appears to be very significant) and on the creation of an alliance (the same

562 except in a sporadic and very degenerate form; we mention the
795 N'nup with a whole string of "queens" that has appeared in the neighboring regions of Spanish Guinea.

562 This ambiguity in the position of woman to a certain extent
578 creates an equilibrium. On the other hand, from the point of
837 view of sentimental relations, this is not true. The man who admits that marriage should be regulated primarily in terms of social considerations hopes to obtain some day a "favorite" wife and has little fear of sanctions connected with adultery. The woman, married young, remains prisoner of the system and is always threatened with severe sanctions. Apparently this results in the many disputes which were referred to by the first administrators. "Very often the woman abandons her husband and returns to her parents' village or follows a man of her choice..." (Archives of Libreville, 1909). They were also referred to by the first Fang scholars: "The Pahouin woman does not hesitate to leave with a lover; often married against her wishes she avenges [152] this state of things by a very great infidelity" (L. Mba, op. cit.). The expression used by this author is significant. What might be called the sentimental excuse permits a broader reaction responding to frustrations of another nature. We must see there the sign of tensions which are actualized at the only possible level. Let us add that the conditions created by colonization will liberate these tensions to a great extent by destroying the equilibrium obtained approximately by traditional means.

561 These tensions are not the only ones to be mended. Between
578 generations, that of the ésa and that of the mwanö, on the same
784 segment between the eldest and the younger brothers, it appears that relationships of dependency can turn into antagonisms. Soon
● [55] after his birth the young boy is "marked" by his ascendants, receiving a double name (essential in relation to other denominations) which contains the name of an ancestor of his paternal line (of a mvam) and the first term of his father's name. In addition to individual interdicts imposed by his father, the child is subject to various general interdicts which are removed by degrees as the child becomes a man. Thus, there is the interdict on the pig (1), and on

1. The pig appears as a valuable animal

846 river again (until now she has washed in her hut), puts on new clothes presented by her husband, and starts cooking for him again and work-
[763] ing in her garden. Special purification has been carried out if the
[833] baby has died in the interval. The prohibition against sexual relations
853 lasts as long as the child is at the breast; to break this taboo would make it nyu meyôm, drink sperm, which might lead to its death.

Postpartum care is given by the mbialé binga, then by the woman's mother or aunt or ntyi. This consists of vaginal douches and external and internal napkins of vegetable compresses.

853 The baby may be suckled only by its mother or a woman of the mother's blood, a grandmother or maternal aunt. If this is impossible, the baby cannot live (at least in rural districts where concentrated
[278] milk is unknown). Traditional pharmacopoeia possesses, however, extraordinary vegetable lactic stimulants, probably without equivalent in the European pharmacopoeia.

b. Childhood

563 The old custom was not to name (yôlé) the baby until it was taken out of the house; until then it was usually called by the name of a small animal, like "squirrel" or "palm rat." Nowadays the name is
[641] given within a few days of birth, if for no other reason than to comply with citizenship regulations. /93/

551 A name, jôé or jui (also meaning nose, order, command, authority) includes the éyôlé, the individual's own name, and the atinan, complementary name chosen from the biyôlé of ancestors according to clan or family traditions, which are on the decline. Formerly, a cognomen was added to these, a mebatan (1) or jôé mebatan (lit.

1. Trilles translates this word as "genealogy": lañ mebatan means both "to recite the genealogy" and "to recite the salutation," simply because this was in fact the formal way of introducing oneself; a newcomer's genealogy determined how his hosts would "greet" him. True genealogy, pedigree, is éndan, related to ndan, tattoo mark, emblem.

salutation name), sometimes conferred at initiation. This mebatan

551 may serve as atinan to the next generation and after that becomes the éyôlé: thus, a chief with the cognomen Atyaminlam, destroyer of villages, will have a son called Mbutu Atyaminlam and grandson Atyaminlam Mbutu.

551 177 Influenced by French customs there has been, since the establishment of regulations for native citizenship, a stabilizing of patronymics, especially in official circles. A new patronymic may have begun as the father's atinan or éyôlé or mebatan systematically given to all his children as an éyôlé. Furthermore, conversion to Christianity has led to adding a Christian name to the jôé, which may serve in place of an éyôlé or be joined with a native éyôlé. Thus, for example, Ze Mvondo, with the cognomen Mebianga (man of drugs, because of a sickly childhood), is baptized Solomon in a Christian mission and becomes by contraction Solomon Mebianga. He may give his mebatan as an atinan to all his children and we should then have Menge Mebianga, Oyônô Mebianga, etc., with a Christian name besides, or he may give them his mebatan as éyôlé, without atinan, with only a Christian name. There are other solutions besides, often the result of a vogue, from the names of men famous internationally or locally, dead or living (De Gaulle, Pascalet, Victor Hugo) to the orthographic Gallicizing of the jôé chosen as patronymic (Aubame, Minguet, etc.).

551 I have referred to the old rules controlling the choice of elements of a name. The éyôlé could be connected with some event at birth or during gestation; could have been suggested by a dream or a diviner; be deprecatory so as to break an evil spell; could result from a prohibition imposed on the father or mother, etc. It could also reflect the genealogical rank of the bearer, though this function was restricted more to the atinan chosen from the biyolé of the male and female forebears of both lineages. Nowadays the trend is to give as atinan always the father's éyôlé, sometimes the mother's, especially in the case of illegitimate children. According to Trilles, a name also had a totemic significance, also connecting it with genealogy. All this has by now pretty well passed into oblivion.

From the linguistic point of view, the majority of proper names are common nouns, occasionally heightened: mvôm (python), Mvômô; /94/ afan (forest), Afana; zok (elephant), Zo'o, etc.; or else phrases: Ebéndeñ (e bee éndeñ), "shield-bearer;" Atyaminlam (a tyam minlam), "destroyer of villages," etc. They are usually

551 epicene but tend to be attributed more to a particular sex—thus, it is rather rare to find a girl called Ze or a boy Nyangono.

854 In any case a baby, ntyen or nkeñelé, is not considered a human [858] being until it receives a name. After the first going out from the 551] house /the churching/ and until weaning, that is, for eighteen months or two years, the mother carries it everywhere with her, in a fold of her loincloth or in a sling for the purpose, doé or awoé, then, when it can stand by itself, astride her hip. The nkeñelé is given almost no training; the mother gives it the breast whenever the baby cries and does not attempt toilet training; a father occasionally plays with sons, rarely with daughters. Older sisters help the mother to take care of the baby, for instance, watching it in the shade while she is working in the fields or carrying the baby for her when she is overburdened.

862 Weaning often occurs in stages; the child begins to take solid food while still at the breast, sometimes before it is a year old. But it [856] does not stop being considered a baby, nkenele, and become a child, mongó, until it walks and begins to talk pretty well. From that time 854 on, it must learn to respect its personal prohibitions and clan taboos; often an older brother or sister will be charged to supervise him. Separation of the sexes increases with age; at about the fourth year children are no longer allowed to see adults of the opposite sex naked; around the fifth year, boys and girls, bo'befam and bo'binga, stop [857] playing together.

857 Games are to a great extent mixed with the learning of future tasks: 861 little girls play at housekeeping and sometimes with dolls; little boys hunt rats with the bow, throw small assagais at moving targets, set snares, etc. But there are also "free" games like jacks, cat's cradle, blindman's buff, common to both sexes, ndongo tops made of snail shells for boys, émvala or /a kind of/ dance for girls. Children also have their own dances distinct from those of adults and peculiar to each sex. They start working as soon as they know the taboos, girls helping their mothers, boys beginning to learn masculine crafts by preparing materials; stripping leaves from folioles of raffia "bamboo," barking and pounding lianas to be made into ropes, scraping skins, etc.

The children of a village play in bands, but practical training and the teaching of traditions is carried on at home, under father or 861 mother, according to the /child's/ sex. However, preparation for

826 774 the shadow or immaterial duplicate of the body. The heart and lungs, nlem, are the seat of the intellect and sensibility, especially of the consciousness of good and evil, the seat of the moral and mental personality. It is by way of the nlem that a person's mind is struck, that, for instance, he is made mad; through their évur the beyem do di nlem, eat the nlem, of their victims. The nlem for a time survives death; the nsisim seems to be immortal. Breath, avebe (from vebe, to breathe, derived from vee = to be alive, alert) is characteristic of physiological life (1).

> 1. Among the Ewôndo, the breath, ewundu (Boulou, evunulu = wind) is characteristic of the human being, as is nsisim; animals are not provided with either, that is why they can be eaten. (J. B.)

Strength, tye, tyi, kie, or ki, is somehow external to the individual, independent of him, yet that which insures the cohesion of the elements of the personality. It seems to be particularly localized in the nlem (thoracic organs) and the boo, brain, which is evidently the seat of action (the verb bo = to do, to act), whence the importance [769] of skulls in the ancestral cult, biéti. Ngul, which may also be translated "strength," is more "capacity" or "power," the faculty of making use of tyi. It is impersonal, it pre-exists and survives the individual, who during his lifetime can waste or augment it; it is the basis for magic and sorcery, tyi being in itself neither good nor bad. Everything that exists possesses tyi, including the dead, but living beings possess more than inanimate beings, and men more than other living beings. Sacrifices and prohibitions revalue around this notion, as vocabulary well shows: étyi = prohibition, metyi = blood, atyi = egg, tyik = to cut, to kill, to command, etc., (cf. above p. 25). The dead keep a certain amount of strength, which makes them at the same time potentially dangerous and potentially usable.

551 A name, jôé, jui, also pre-exists and survives the person it distinguishes, whence the special ties between bemôé /105/, homonymns, and also the need to know a person's name in order to cast a spell upon him, etc. A dead man keeps his name until it is given to one

551 of his descendants, in whose person he will be repeated rather than reembodied. It should be remembered that jɔ̂é also means "authority," a notion that cannot be dissociated from that of name.

761 The cessation of vital functions, awu (from wu, to die), is not
828 thought of as necessarily final: catalepsy, deep coma, anaesthesia, and real death are confused. It is evident that if the body is hurt during awu, a revival is impossible. A ghost, kɔ̂n (Fang, khun), is
754 not necessarily physically dead: one of the most feared forms of
828 sorcery, at which the Ndɔ̂ŋ are reputed to be particularly expert, consists of separating a person from his nsisim, shade or double, by giving him the appearance of physical death, then in awakening the body which will thereafter automatically obey the sorcerer's orders and may be used by him for all sorts of ends, to go kill or steal, or, more prosaically, to work his plantations. Persons thus transformed into bekɔ̂n are recognized by their pallor, jerky movements, and haggard expression; they survive the experience /opération/ for only a few months before dying in great physical and moral agony (1).

[276] 1. I have reason—but no proof—to believe that this is more than a myth: perhaps the criminal use of a narcotic producing effects similar to those of Pentothal. A kɔ̂n, frightful to see, died at the Sangmélima dispensary in 1947. The judicial inquiry revealed nothing.

761 Death in the complete sense does not occur for some time after the cessation of vital functions, and funeral rites seem to have had the purpose of detaching the individual from his mortal shell. There
76 were two abodes of the dead. The bemie, those unblemished by ngbwel (sorcery by évu), crossed the river-of-the-west or the sea to go to the village of Zámbe (Zobeyo, Nzame) in a cold country where their nsisim led a life rather like that in a terrestrial village where everything goes well (2). The beyem went down to étɔ̂tɔ̂lan, the

2. According to Trilles, this would have been Venus, otya alu, "the night's torch."

769 also discriminates between the ésayoñ, ancestor cult /112/, and the
64 mvamayoñ, totemic cult. It must be admitted that there is now no
114 chance of obtaining a cross-checking of his theories except on points of detail, although that is no formal condemnation of his theories; it is the consequence of a shortage of researchers, lack of respect on the part of the researchers, or loss of traditions of initiation. The following points may be considered as established:

mvam (émvam) connotes ideas of a forefather, dead or alive, lineal and protective.

[784] akam, protection, is sometimes used in speaking of animals, to indicate the reason for a prohibition; the verb kam having a defending-protecting meaning as well as that of forbidding-prohibiting.

All prohibitions are not tied up with these notions, but some are and they may well be individual prohibitions as well as hereditary collective ones, not necessarily involving animals.

Clan markings, mindem, and tattoo marks, mindan, are often connected with a prohibition.

825 There is a whole system of animal symbolism, evident particularly
[787] in tales and augury ("zoomancy," divination by spiders).

Certain animals are connected with initiation cults: very definitely the sô and snakes (dendraspis and python); probably the porcupine and tortoise (with feminine rites); perhaps the gorilla (njil; ngil, Johnson's tone 4, the ngil rite having tone 5).

[55] There does not appear to be any connection between an animal name borne by a person (Mvômô = Python, Zo'o = Elephant, Ze = Panther, etc.) and the prohibitions he is subject to.

Moreover, the following, it seems pretty certain, are not specifi-
614 cally related to totemism:
825 Alliance, élat or ngbwa, between a person and a particular animal.

A sorcerer's employing an animal, nkuk (observe that nkuk also means "mask") to carry out his sorcery at a distance.

[775] The incarnation of a sorcerer in the body of an animal, élañela (Trilles applies this name to the nkuk).

The temporary incarnation of a dead man in an animal's body.

The first three phenomena often seem to be confused in the minds of present-day Pahouin, and the fourth may be the consequence of this.

773 It is curious that the legend recounted by Trilles about the crocodile, which he considers to be the "national totem," represents

765 This skull cannot, however, be put into the évora biéri
779 right away, it must first be "acknowledged." The rite is analogous to that of the chief's initiation, which has already been described. The skull [577] is carried into the forest, placed upon a kind of altar, and a victim is immolated in its honor. It is sprinkled with lustral water, then with blood. The chief's heir then takes the skull and makes it first "acknowledge" the ancestral skulls, then successively the family and clan totems, and ends with the tribal totem.

768 Thirty days after death the funeral dances or fanki also
779 take place, and then the division of the deceased's property, particularly his wives. His hut usually stays closed throughout this time, with the door barred and the roof covered with thorns so that the deceased's spirit cannot re-enter the house, which would mean making further sacrifices.

The mortuary rites are very complicated anc very solemn among the Fan, especially for an important chief. I have here referred only to totemic rites. The totem will live again later in the person of one of the descendants, usually the grandson,
[551] who, in many cases, will have both the name and the totem of his grandfather.

[p. 578-653 not translated]

231 [435] as medium-sized female goats and sheep (14 marks or 200 spears). Just as among us, the dogs have their own names which are taken from
231 the list of human names or else allude in jocular fashion to the
552 characteristics of the animals. Frequently, indeed, these swine-snouted curs are given a first name and a patronymic, just like people, or since for obvious reasons it is at times difficult to establish the paternity of the dog, it is given a first name and its mother's name, thus, akut-e-mban.

Among human names applied to dogs I was able to discover the following: ndǭno (a very ancient man's name; see pages 68 and 69); asǭn (umbrella tree, man's name); mvǭnǭ (Satan's ape, Colobus anthracinus Leconte); ondǭ' (?, man's name); ntǭde-abǭn (single otter, woman's name); mfū'mezǭk (the white of the elephant, that is ivory; woman's name); mbǭn (ivory, woman's name).

Other dogs' names are: obǭnǭ (from obǭn = bead, one adorned with beads, perhaps also a woman's name); olǭn (the tree Rinorea dentata [P. Beauv.] O. Ktze.); ebǭ'nenǭn (one who always lies on the bed); aji'zǭk (a ji' = to yearn, zǭk = elephant; in other words the one who yearns for elephant meat); angǭn (dog's bell); odzǭ'm (dwarf lemur, Hemigalago, because the dog bounds through the bushes like the dwarf lemurs in the trees); akū (the stupid one).

231 Goats and sheep, which the Fang put together under the name
556 kabad, are kept as an investment, as pets, and only in third place as livestock for slaughter. While the economic life is otherwise considered from the viewpoint of "food," this strikingly recedes completely into the background concerning domestic animals where the main point is the joy of possession. We thus have real "savings," the purpose of which is to store up bride money. This has its familiar consequences: thriftiness carried to the point of avarice; a piece of [210] meat allowed only on very rare occasions; and no distaste for the enjoyment of animals that have died.

231 The goats (ekǭ'le) are just as unpleasant as the dogs because of their annoying habit of making a hullabaloo at night and because of other indecent and repulsive characteristics. The only domestic animal that we find congenial is the sheep (ntǫma I), Figure 57, but here, too, the bad example of the goats frequently spoils good manners. They "specialize" in producing, especially at night, /106/ /Fig. 57

417

Fig. 58. Pen for Sheep and Goats in Massóm (Ndong Family), South Cameroons.

This favorable influence on the physical development of the animal increases its value from about 14 marks to 35 marks (500 spears), a capital increase which is certainly desirable to the Pangwe. Even greater, however, is his joy at the beautiful appearance of the castrated animals. /107/ /Fig. 58 appears here in the original text./ The effect of castration is the basis for the comparison between symbolically, not physically, castrated people (see Section 18, "Sexual Life") and the castrated goats and also for designation by the same name; these people -- up to a certain point in time, at least -- are supposed to undergo conspicuous mental development. The fact that the flesh of animals also improves as food through castration plays only a secondary role. 232 [435]

Magnificent old specimens, including uncastrated goats and sheep, sometimes receive a human name, and their owner would never sell such an animal; indeed, he would not even give it away as a marriage portion. 231 552

Of other domestic animals there is only the cat (pfú's IV Fang, esf'nǎ), very recently introduced from the coast. 231 177

1. Names and Name-giving

553 Immediately following the birth, but not before the detach-
951 ment of the afterbirth, the child receives its name from the father who has already thought it up before the delivery but has kept it secret until then. The name is publicly announced, accepted without objection or formalities, and is considered to be the permanent principal name. The child receives a second name from his mother; many Pangwe designated this name as "big," that is, important -- probably because they had heard it exclusively from their mother in early childhood. Later, however, in giving their names, they usually mention the name given by the father, unless that name sounds unpleasant to the person concerned or if he wants to hide his identity with the intention of deceiving -- especially the Whites. In that case he prefers to use the name given by his mother. /278/

It is in any case a fact that the name given by the mother is close to its bearer's heart, and for this reason friends often use it as a pet name.

I shall herewith give a number of names that I learned, to-
551 gether with their explanations. As can be seen from the abbreviations of subtribes or tribal groups (N - northern Pangwe, S - southern Pangwe) placed after them, only a small number of the names is distributed over the entire Pangwe region; the majority do not extend beyond a few subtribes, so that a thoroughly experienced investigator can frequently tell by the name alone what a given native's place of origin is.

According to their basic significance, we can divide the names into the following groups:

I. Names of religious origin (only in the case of boys' names);
II. Names that allude to an attractive skin color;
III. Names that designate the desirable characteristics which one wishes for the child;
IV. Names that are supposed to bring good luck;
V. Names intended to indicate that the man will become the terror of his enemies;
VI. Names that express a bad characteristic, with the idea of thereby causing the bearer, on the contrary, to develop good characteristics;

946 river again (until now she has washed in her hut), puts on new clothes presented by her husband, and starts cooking for him again and work-
[763] ing in her garden. Special purification has been carried out if the
[833 baby has died in the interval. The prohibition against sexual relations
853] lasts as long as the child is at the breast; to break this taboo would make it nyu meyôm, drink sperm, which might lead to its death.

Postpartum care is given by the mbialé binga, then by the woman's mother or aunt or ntyi. This consists of vaginal douches and external and internal napkins of vegetable compresses.

853 The baby may be suckled only by its mother or a woman of the mother's blood, a grandmother or maternal aunt. If this is impossible, the baby cannot live (at least in rural districts where concentrated
[278] milk is unknown). Traditional pharmacopoeia possesses, however, extraordinary vegetable lactic stimulants, probably without equivalent in the European pharmacopoeia.

b. Childhood

●563 The old custom was not to name (yôlé) the baby until it was taken out of the house; until then it was usually called by the name of a small animal, like "squirrel" or "palm rat." Nowadays the name is
[641] given within a few days of birth, if for no other reason than to comply with citizenship regulations. /93/

551 A name, jôé or jui (also meaning nose, order, command, authority) includes the éyôlé, the individual's own name, and the atinan, complementary name chosen from the biyôlé of ancestors according to clan or family traditions, which are on the decline. Formerly, a cognomen was added to these, a mebatan (1) or jôé mebatan (lit.

1. Trilles translates this word as "genealogy": lañ mebatan means both "to recite the genealogy" and "to recite the salutation," simply because this was in fact the formal way of introducing oneself; a newcomer's genealogy determined how his hosts would "greet" him. True genealogy, pedigree, is éndan, related to ndan, tattoo mark, emblem.

salutation name), sometimes conferred at initiation. This mebatan

1. Birth and Name Giving

844 Only women, the village matrons, are allowed to help a mother in childbirth. Men are absolutely excluded, even husbands. A woman who gives birth on a journey prefers to go off by herself into the forest rather than ask for her husband's help.

As soon as the child is delivered, his umbilical cord is cut and he is carefully washed. The remnants of the cord are wrapped in a cloth and buried out of the way. In the case of a chief's son, especially that of the head chief, the remains are buried, as we have seen, at the foot of a sacred fig tree. (1)

[824 778]

1. Ficus elastica.

Great importance is given to the tree's growth, and to touch it is strictly forbidden. Any violation of the tree would be considered an attack upon the human being.

[689]

851 A few days after birth, the baby is carried to his father, who may accept it or refuse it. However, the latter [571] happens only if the child is deformed or crippled, in which case it is ruthlessly sacrificed. The religious rites (1) connected

847

553

1. See Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie [Bulletin of the Neuchâtel Geographical Society], 1910, "Les rites de la naissance chez les Fân" [Birth Rites among the Fang], by Father Trilles.

with birth are numerous, but the only ones that seem to me to be totemic are name giving and the choice of the baby's totem.

The name is solely the father's choice; it is often determined by attendant circumstances, atmospheric or other, or by some local happening, a hunt, a fishing expedition, the

553 arrival of a stranger. Hence, a certain number of names that at first would seem totemic, because they copy the names of animals and plants, are not so at all. In general, the eldest son's name is that of one of his forebears, a grandfather or ancestor, who is thought to come to life again in him. Twins, [845] however, always receive special names of matched things, which go in twos, like Sun and Moon, Wind and Rain, Storm and Thunder, etc.

851 As soon as the child has been given a name, his father 779 takes it in his arms and carries it into his hut, where he opens the évora biéri and puts the baby down on the lid. He then takes the ancestral skulls one by one and puts them on the child's head, then places the family totem in its hand. The father with his fingernail often scrapes a bit off of the antelope horn holding the remnants of his personal totemic sacrifice, and puts some of this into the child's mouth. This, strictly speaking, is the dedication to the totem. The father then takes the baby back to its mother so that she may anoint it with oil and rub it with red wood. After the mother, or any other woman present, has attended to this, the father again takes the child and puts another bit of the totem into its mouth. A she-goat, a sheep, or at least a fowl is then offered to the family totem and to the spirits of the departed, according to sacred ritual. The remains [778] of this sacrifice, the ashes, etc., are enclosed in a small antelope horn, which is hung around the baby's neck or above his genital organs: this will be his amulet. Finally, the father gives the baby his personal totem, which will be recalled to him later on when he is old enough to understand. At that same time he will be taught what are the family, clan, and tribal totems, and the duties and obligations they impose on him. This instruction is part of the mébara. [572]

2. Adoption

597 In certain cases, a few children are adopted by a head of 727 the family when given as ransom for murder or spared in the

294 end in a knot (2). Twelve such longitudinal braids are placed

2. In braiding, one frequently greases
his fingers and twists the strips slightly.

close to one another. The space between these and the edge of the cap is filled by pigtails made in the same way but running at right angles to the others; at the edge they are covered by three rows of pigtails all the way around and are sewed to the hide. /179/ For this one requires a needle made of bark, whose tip has been hardened in the fire and whose other end has a slit for the fiber thread. The pigtails jutting out over the edge are cut off. A fringe (mbǒm), made of a piece of raffia pith, is put over the crown of the cap. The piece of pith is cut into on both its narrow sides so that it will bend more readily, and over it is sewn a piece of material on which is set a stirrup of the same width, made of palm strips and studded with brass nails -- these stirrups have been described above in connection with the inner surface of the cap. On either side of the fringe there are a few longitudinal rows of red beads strung on raffia fiber. Another decoration on the caps consists of pieces of leather sewn on at the sides, which have cowrie shells or white buttons stitched on them and from which are hung tassels of pineapple strings strung with beads (see Fig. 118, foreground).

The ornamental caps of the Fang are not made of hides but of palm strips, parallel to each other, which are braided with blackened Triumfetta fiber in such a way that one strip is always skipped, and thus a chessboard pattern is created.

302 Older people for the most part do not wear bead ornaments in their hair -- insofar as they still have any -- but on the contrary wear simpler hair arrangements which, incidentally, are supposed to have been more fashionable at one time.

291 Among head coverings we need only mention caps made from the hide of monkeys, civet cats, or of the ichneumon, Bdeogale nigripes Puch., as well as imported red caps which are worn by chiefs and other elderly "notables." Hats made from leaves of grass (Paspalum) sewn together resemble our ordinary straw hats in shape

[294] 291 177

322 [350] The stool is a valuable piece of household furniture, a luxury object, for which the natives are willing to spend some money. For this reason its manufacture is an important branch of wood carving, and the makers of well-finished, artistically decorated [554] stools are famous persons, much in demand. If they wanted to, they could make a considerable amount of money with their art, and they also could elevate the art itself, but with their congenital laziness, a special inducement is always required before they will take the trouble to start a new project. For example, a guest in the house of such an artist sees a beautifully carved stool there and says: "Oh, what a beautiful stool; you could make me one like that." Perhaps others have uttered the same wish, and so the artist finally pulls himself together, goes into the jungle, and cuts down [824] a trunk of the Apocynacea Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekūk), the only tree suitable for the manufacture of stools. He must choose a trunk which -- after the bark has been pulled off -- has the same diameter as the proposed stool /221/ (Fig. 172). He takes the trunk with him to the village and cuts it into about five to seven disks as thick as the stool is intended to be tall. Then with his cutlass he draws a line around approximately the middle, and this line indicates the lower edge of the seat. From there he cuts three radial grooves downward, deepens them with an adz (ngbwák IV), Figure 173, and in this way forms three legs. Then the seat is made smooth and held over the fire until it becomes nice and brown. [824] The edge is rubbed clean with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata Vahl (ekōkō' Fang, akō Ntum) (1). The edge and the

1. Root kō, "to rub"; compare a-kō-k, "grindstone."

[386 531] legs are colored with redwood and dried for an hour in the sun; finally they are decorated with carved patterns, an artistic addition which is not everywhere uniformly successful. /Fig. 172 appears here in the original text. /

322 476 435 Ordinarily a stool maker finishes from two to three pieces in one day. The price is so low (two spears, the equivalent of 14 pfennigs, apiece) that it is difficult to conceive how the man can work for it.

322
352
531

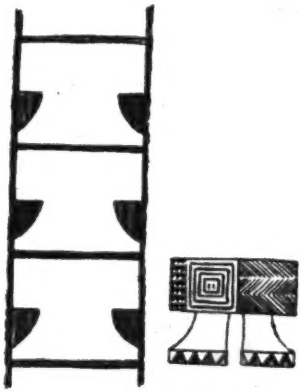


Fig. 172. Stages in Making a Stool.

322 The explanation lies in a kind of principle of reciprocity, a princi-
476 ple clearly stated in the educational precepts to be discussed in a
435 later section /Ed., Vol II/, that is, the seller counts upon the fact that later he will need his client who is in turn a specialist in the manufacture of some kind of article (basketwork plates, for instance), and he then expects to be treated in the same lenient
[463] manner. As a result of the excessive division of labor, everyone is dependent upon everyone else, and this dependence keeps the prices down. Wherever this dependence is absent, the prices go up. Europeans, for instance, with whom such a silent agreement does not exist, pay considerably more, ten or twenty times more, and at the same time they have to put up with inferior work as well.

322 Moreover, the sale of objects manufactured for household use
434 is not regarded as an enterprise for profit. When I asked a stool
554 maker whom I befriended what his business brought in, he first

[412]

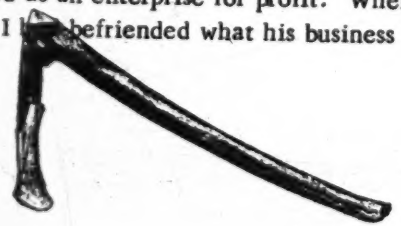


Fig. 173. Adz.

322 had to ponder for a long time and finally said that every month he
434 made about ten stools for two spears (14 pfennigs) apiece, and that
554 he therefore earned 20 spears (1.40 marks); with this income, he said, he had /Fig. 173 appears here in the original text/ bought brass ornaments for himself, and the rest he had put aside as marriage money, but that did not bother him since he considered his art a matter of honor. /222/

322 The manufacture of stirring spoons (mbŏ̄b) is, like their form,
415 fairly simple. From a tree trunk (1) a flat piece of wood is cut out

[824]

1. The following three trees are used: Alchornea caloneura Pax (ndămabā III); Hasskarlia didymostemon Baill. (efŭŏ̄'le Ntum, dzĭ III, nyō̄'le III); and Kickxia elastica Preuss (emyila).

and crudely cut to shape with a bush knife. Then the spoon is hollowed out in the following manner. A chisel (ojĕn), Figure 174, and a simple heavy piece of wood for a hammer are used to make a transverse groove between bowl and handle, and the wood is removed piece by piece by blows aimed at it. The more delicate work is done by shaving with a chisel or knife. The finished spoon is usually rubbed with redwood. The people themselves do not know why this is done. In answer to my question, my friend Nto-Ndanga offered the following remark by way of an answer: "Look here, I am a Black myself, but the Blacks have no sense. I have long asked myself why the stirring spoons are rubbed with redwood because that way dirt (that is, the redwood) gets into the food!" The various forms of the stirring spoon are shown in Figure 98.

Somewhat more effort is required to make the ladling spoons (tō̄k), Figure 175. They are made primarily from the wood of the
[824] Carpodinus tessmannii Gilg (ebă'm), more rarely from the Kickxia elastica Preuss (emvila). A block of wood in the shape of a cylinder halved lengthwise is taken from the timber and cut into the shape of the spoon by means of careful, layer by layer removal of the wood
[442] (see Fig. 176), first with the cutlass (a), then with the adz (b). The bowl is then further hollowed out with the spoon scraper (fŏ'nege-tō̄k). Figure 177.

325

Fig. 184. Extracted iron (bloom) after the smelting furnace has been torn down, Bébai (Schumu Family).

326
554

The Pangwe do not accord the smith an exceptional social position. He is neither despised, as he is by many tribes, nor does he enjoy any kind of privileges or respect beyond the regard for his abilities. His skill (akǒ'n) is recognized and placed above that of other artisans, but nothing more than that. The smith, like the wood carvers, works only now and then at his trade, and only when there is a need for him to do so; he never works to build up a stock. In other words, he does not carry on a regular trade; instead, he works by commission and is paid for the work performed, not for the finished product (everybody must bring the smith the iron needed for the desired objects). At the time I was in the country, the smith received, for example, for the manufacture of spear money, ten per cent of its value.

424 759 461 [435] because, in spite of the great love for children, in spite of the intimate relationship between father and son, the Negro is simply not able to endure the effort of working unless the prospect of payment is constantly before his eyes. The price for strangers, to be paid in advance, is 100 spears or a small sheep, in return for which the medicine man will teach his pupil all the cures that he knows.

759 554 754 The medicine men do not have any special social status, authority, or influence. In general, they are regarded only as experienced and skillful persons (akǒ́n, i.e., "skillful"). Only those among them who know the medicines of sorcery and give this knowledge to others (including the cult leaders who, by means of a magic medicine, give the cult figures the power to practice sorcery) are feared, and rightly so, because one suspects that with the help of these "medicines" they may practice sorcery, i.e., kill other people, at any time.

1. Medicines for Sorcery

754 [753] We have seen in the previous chapter /Ed., not translated/ that the sources of belief in sorcery are to be sought in the need to assign causes for unrecognized internal ailments, particularly malaria and poisoning. Because of the similarity of their symptoms, these two cannot be distinguished by European outsiders,/145/ and even the native inhabitants for the most part find it impossible. At the moment, therefore, it is not possible to obtain a clear picture of these things. It is certain that the Negroes know how to get someone out of the way with poison and that they mix poison with the conscious intention of killing, but it is uncertain to what extent they are conscious of the physiological effects of poison in our sense. As far as I could observe, a generally mystical view of these matters still prevails. All poisoning, just like all internal illness, is sorcery, and all sorcery is the mystical operation of the physical being, detached from the body, that finds its strength in its ewu which has been developed through medicine (see Section 12)/Ed., not translated/. If someone wishes to kill a person

171 Moral /Anthropophyteia, Yearbooks for Folkloristic Inquiries and Explorations into the Historical Development of Sexual Morality/, edited by Dr. Friedrich S. Krauss (1912), Vol. 9, p. 31.

833 Over against the great mass of women, the bebŏbǎń, who
777 through sexual intercourse bring the man misfortune, there is the exceptional phenomenon of the woman who among the Ntum is called ayūē' III and among the Fang ayǎ. Union with her brings both parties, the woman as well as the man, good fortune. At the same time her influence is more important for the man, for instance, during military and hunting expeditions. If, for instance, the man goes hunting on the day after having had intercourse with such a woman, he is bound to see a wild animal soon and to kill it. If he goes to war, "his rifle will hit its mark," whereas the enemy's will not. For this eventuality, moreover, he has the woman give him a medicine, namely red wood that she has ground in a certain way (bā-ayǎ, mfumu-bā). The woman, too, is lucky on this day if she goes "hunting" for fish, that is, if she goes on a fish drive (a lǔk), or works on the farm (see Vol. I, p. 56).

But -- as was said -- such women who bring good fortune are a rarity; the majority of women bring misfortune. If a man goes hunting on the day after coition, all the animals evade him in a wide arc (a bǎń), hence the name ebŏbǎń.

[833] In the peculiar custom of the miǎk consecration I see proof of
785 the fact that the Pangwe know the harmful effect of excessive sexual intercourse. The word miǎk actually means the castrated animal,
● 554 in particular the buck goat (see Vol. I, p. 76), and here it is
831 applied symbolically to a person who through a public and solemn declaration is for a time excluded from sexual intercourse. After a successfully concluded war, more rarely upon some other occasion, somebody (usually the chief) decides to consecrate his son or his daughter to purity. Naturally, neither of the latter may as yet be acquainted with sexual matters, in other words, they will only be

785 from four to six years old. They are thus consecrated so that
554 one day they will surpass all others in insight and understanding;
831 then, through their spiritual superiority, they will acquire influence, power (knowledge is power!), and especially wealth. In the case of the son, this will be to his own advantage; in the case of the daughter, it will benefit the father who can get a higher purchase price for her than for a girl with the usual loose way of life. In other words, the "savages" know well the value of moral purity. /269/

831 The custom of mǐǐk consecration was formerly practiced
785 throughout the Pangwe region. Nowadays, however, since warlike
[184] times have ceased, it is to be encountered only among the Fang of the central Uelle region. I should like to compare the custom
[171] to the practice found among us during the Middle Ages, whereby the heads of important families (especially princes), after some lucky success (for instance, in war), destined one child for the clergy and consecrated it to the pure life dedicated to God, frequently not without calculating the advantages that could accrue to them from such an action.

785 The procedure of the consecration feast is as follows. The
789 child, clothed in a small loincloth, is led to the medicine man
556 and is washed by him with a medicine water. The medicines used
831 for this are barks of various trees that bear ample fruit, such as
[824] the Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofǒs), so that the child's understanding may bear fruit as abundantly as these trees or, in other words, so that wealth may fall to its lot in the same abundance as the fruit of these trees falls to the ground beneath them. The various barks are placed in a container made of banana leaves, and hot water is poured over them. After the ablution, the child must swallow the principal medicine, a bundle of ngon
[824] with the chopped leaves of certain "weak" plants, such as Hibiscus moschatus (Roxb.) (tége [illegible] from a tĕk, "weak," because the fruit is cooked in a short time), in order to make the child
[833] equally weak, that is, sexually incapable. Furthermore, the ngon
[825] is mixed with chicken meat -- the chicken is the bird of day, of the good and the pure, and at the same time it is supposed to point symbolically to the wealth that is desired for the child (the chief, the "Very Rich One," is regarded as the privileged son of the

612 belonging to the clan of the father or the mother (or belonging to a clan connected by marriage to either when the common origin is still known). We have already pointed out certain circumstances in which maternal kinship is effective. It should be remembered that this maternal kinship manifests itself from childhood on by obligating the mwanõ kal to visit his nya-nduma(s), that it is able to receive the right of guardianship, to collect the bride price, and to benefit from an inheritance (in addition to compensation normally provided at the time of a maternal nephew's death) by substituting for a vanished paternal kinship, and that it shares along with the relatives by marriage (abè) in the various phases of funeral ceremonies and mourning. This fact suggests that the power of the maternal kinship, while remaining subordinate, is recognized in this way to strengthen the power of "alliances" created by marriage. Those related to the father by marriage are the nya-nduma of his immediate descendants. In this way the bonds essential to the existence of traditional Fang society are consolidated.

Marriage and Alliances

581 554 The first explorers, Du Chaillu and M. H. Kingsley, did not fail to point out the important role of relations set up by means of the numerous marriages among foreign groupings. Father Trilles, in his study made at the beginning of this century, also pointed out the personal advantages connected with a network [119] of alliances opened up through the interplay of marriages. He writes: "The Fang will therefore marry a girl in order to secure alliances in other tribes, to acquire greater influence by having more men attached to him by the ties of blood." (1) All researchers emphasize definitely

1. Father Trilles, "Proverbes, légendes et contes Fang [Fang Sayings, Legends and Tales]," Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie, 1905, pp. 49-295.

two social consequences of marriage: the increase of personal prestige and the increase of the strength of the family group.

581 554 These facts should be complemented by specifying the particular 562 value attributed by every Fang to the "possession" of several wives

581 and by recalling the keen competition for women this society. This
554 value was expressed in a colorful way by Dr. Cureau when he said:
562 "The gynaeceum is a bank, a savings bank...." (2) And M. L. Mba,

2. Dr. A. Cureau, op. cit., p. 118.

a Fang of the Libreville region, in his Coutumier Pahouin [Pahuin Customs] gives a similar interpretation: the wife "is part of the property (or bioum) of the group into which she enters by marriage." [837] He completes this interpretation by saying that the adultery of a married woman "is severely punished because it is considered a theft." (3) The woman has no juridical personality: she has no

3. In the same vein, we cite a remark, quoted by Mgr. Martrou in a study dated 1918, made by a young Fang of Libreville to his wife: "What do you have to complain of, you are my beast ... I paid a high enough price for you!"

personal property of any importance, merely goods for everyday use; she has no share in any inheritance; she is transmitted by inheritance, just as are various goods and valuables (which may be considered virtually as women). However, the woman is property of a special kind; she is property in the highest sense of the word: creative capital. [She is the] source of produce (by her agricultural function, all the more important now that the woman takes part in cultivating the rich plantations) and of service (by her various domestic functions). [She is the] source of power, by "the procreation of children contributing to the defense of the group or securing alliances," (4) and [she is the source] of personal prestige.

4. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 29.

[She is the] source of "alliances" and kinship; through her the number of people who exchange services and gifts and who can render aid and assistance is increased. Thus, marriage has a

581 554 562 specific social meaning; it creates bonds (abè) which fasten together the family and clan groupings. Curault points out that this imposes a "close union, in spite of divergencies in language and in spite of the palavers of the different parts of the Pahouin people." At the same time, marriage [120] has a personal meaning. In traditional [556] Fang society the possession of many wives is the principal sign of wealth and the condition for all increase of wealth. This wealth conditions the importance of the social role; it makes possible the acquisition of a kind of personal power in a society with hardly any hierarchical system. (1)

1. Let us point out that two words with the same root, éval and évala, mean "polygamy" and "a prop, a support," respectively.

836 Because of this personal element the competition for women can become particularly keen. Very early, government reports pointed out the frequency of palavers due to the "women question," and they continue to complain of them as being characteristic of "Fang society and psychology." Let us state at the outset that the competition does not concern the sexual services demanded from the woman. For the unmarried men there are various compensating possibilities -- but only in the line of "lustful sexuality," to quote the expression of R. Bastide. (2) The young unmarried people have

2. R. Bastide, Sociologie et Psychanalyse [Sociology and Psychoanalysis], Bibliothèque de Sociologie Contemporaine, Paris, 1950.

complete sexual liberty among themselves: it is the custom called azòya-angòn (azòya, fornication; ngòn, maiden). E. Trezenem states in his monograph on the Fang of the Ogooué that "virginity of the woman is considered of no importance," that "the young 836 584 girls are free to give themselves to whomever they want." Then he adds an "important restriction," saying that there are practically

62 57 614 all future progress to the extent to which it allows (or does not allow) the maintenance of sufficiently large and stable village units.

Political Authority and Judicial Authority

554 622 Taking Fang society as an example, Dr. Cureau speaks of "a phenomenon of a stretching ... of the social bloc into a hierarchy based either on filiation or on intellectual and particularly moral superiority, both of which principles have their practical value according to the times." (1) He insists on a fact we have

1. Work already quoted, p. 332.

pointed out, the lack of a hierarchical organization, [with only] the simple existence of pre-eminences. The language itself gives [136] proof of this fact by not having a special word to designate the chief, using ésa when the pre-eminence is in a way genealogical, nkuma when it is based on wealth, ʒoé (from ʒu, to say) when it justified by eloquence and the ability to command. By magnifying this statement, A. Cureau contrasts the Fang groupings with those of other peoples as being "anarchical tribes" as opposed to "organized tribes." He writes: "Authority is occasional and momentary ... Edvoughe has carried the votes in such-and-such a difficult palaver, the whole assembly obeys for a moment this ephemeral chief; tomorrow Nzokh will have succeeded Edvoughe in the leadership of opinion; here then the struggle against one and all takes place between constantly changing and constantly renewed contestants." (2)

2. Ibid., p. 326.

In a similar sense the informants of the Commission for [137] Historical Investigation assert that the chief was "in a word the one from whom the community expected the greatest services." (1)

1. Official report of the fifth session.

In the same vein there are continual complaints from administrators incapable of reviving the powerful traditional chefferies and of acting through their medium.

554 It should be noted, however, that pre-eminence "based on
622 filiation," as Cureau puts it, is maintained without too much
769 difficulty – being durable while power born of events is temporary – so long as the worship of ancestors by each clan fragment remains in force. Seniority determines this pre-eminence, justified and made effective by the possession of the basket containing the ancestors' skulls. This power of the "eldest," who is at the same time "first among his equals" and priest of the biéri cult organized within the cadre of "kinship," has not however allowed the implantation of effective chefferies comparable to those based on the same principles in the Ba-kongo country (2).

2. Cf., Third part of this work.

An early government report stressed the fact that one became chief, specifying that the nyamòrò (eldest) "became chief in his zone of influence when his fairness and the effectiveness of his power were recognized." (3) Thus neither the villages nor the

3. Customs regulating the attributes of chiefs and their designation in Rapport politique du Djouah [Political Report of Djouah], 1938.

localized clan fragments, nor still less the extended clan and the tribe, reveal the existence of a true hierarchy. We see the pre-eminence of the ésa (which may only be shown by some deferential attitudes) or the provisional pre-eminence of a man who has known how to expand his "zone of influence."

554 What are the reasons for such a situation? Taking as an
622 example Ba-kongo, which will be studied later, one sees that the
[7] fundamental social relationship is that which exists between the ancestors (masters and guardians of the sod), the land, and the lineage; it implies necessary relations between related lineages and limits the mobility of groupings. There is nothing like this in the Fang country, where the relation with land has no such importance and the whole economy, until very recently, remained oriented toward warlike and economic conquest. Even in the

554 regions where the Fang population seems relatively old, instability
622 is the rule for a large proportion of the groupings. There is thus a sort of vicious circle: mobility imposed by long-range conquest has prevented the [138] establishment of a hierarchical organization and this "lack" results in an unrestrained instability.

The social system does not show any elements favorable to a better hierarchical organization. While the pre-eminence of the eldest is accepted, that of the eldest lineage (from which, among the Ba-kongo, the "crowned chief" is selected) is barely maintained. On the contrary, we have shown that there is a nearly constant tension between this lineage and those of the "younger" [567] brothers. On the other hand, the absence of domestic slavery indicates the wish to prevent any development of inequality. During the entire period of great conquests the Fang have had only two [727] solutions in relation to conquered foreigners: to destroy or to adopt. And while the eldest appears to be the regulator of the economic and political life, and to be responsible for the worship of the ancestors, his authority is subject to an effective control. It counts only within the framework of groupings of limited extent. It is open to the criticism of the men of the nd'è bòt (who consider themselves the equal of the eldest who only acts "by delegation") or of the council members when the village contains several minor lineages. It also remains in competition with occasional authorities.

If it is true that seniority almost automatically creates authority, this authority is also limited and often threatened by the principle that "the most capable" is the most influential. In the fairly large villages, the position of chief (one should rather say the regulator and intermediary with foreign groupings, which the word ntòl specifically means) is generally passed on from eldest son to eldest son (or, in default, from eldest [son] to a younger brother on the same segment) in the lineage descended from the founder. This is on condition that the successor is approved by all "for his bravery, his wealth, and his eloquence." (1) In the opposite case, a stronger

1. L. Mba, Coutumier Pahouin [Pahouin Customs], p. 12.

personality is chosen from among the eldest of another nd'è bòt in the village. In other respects this authority is controlled by a council

554 representing not simply the various minor lineages but open to
622 competitive authorities — the best warrior (éyɔnö), a rich man (nkuma), the cleverest at settling palavers (nté bété), not to mention the dignitaries of the "associations." In the traditional society, the possession of the biéri basket established the right of the eldest's pre-eminence and gave this right a sacred basis [139] it was a partial guarantee against the struggles for prestige. With the disappearance of this cult under the influence of the colonizers, the eldest must use the new "associations" or must make himself feared by having recourse to techniques of a magical order; otherwise he will find himself threatened as "chief" at the time of a competition which is implied by the Fang social logic.

554 The role of personal prestige appears clearly in studying the vocabulary, which has a considerable number of words or expressions applicable to the "important" or "honored" man: éguma (from gum, to honor), muramo(r) (t) and fâm ndên (from mura and ndên, great or important), nkurödi (very important man), mfum (well-known man, who has many relations), nkuma (already quoted, a man who is influential because of his wealth), etc. The authority acquired by such prestige limits the essential authority which we have shown to be dependent on seniority, but tradition also imposes strict restraints on it as well. Any pre-eminence acquired by virtue of purely personal merit is dangerous for the one who holds it, for it is essential that power, wealth, and wisdom be placed at the service of all members of the grouping.

554 Many early authors have pointed out the risk of displaying
578 an affluence and a prosperity that are not shared. Le Testu emphasizes the role played by "the fear of exciting jealousy": "Larger and more successful plantations, a better hut, wives that are more fertile, more prosperous affairs... each is a cause for jealousy, and the consequence of this feeling, as is often believed to be true, is the death of the one who excites it ...." (1) Similarly, M.

1. Le Testu, Le N'gwéna [The N'gwéna], Bulletin de la Société des Recherches Congolaises, Vol. 12, 1930.

554 578 Briault, an accurate observer of the Fang states that the death of a chief, or an old man, or a notable person, is suspect and demands a much more "minute" enquiry than in the case of men of the common people." "Whoever has privileges is envied, whoever exerts authority makes malcontents; many chiefs have died unexpectedly; many who were envied have not made old bones; this must be fairly common since it is confirmed by proverbs (2). . . ."

> 2. M. Briault, Sur les pistes de l'A.E.F. [On the Trails of French Equatorial Africa], 1948, pp. 37-38, 42-43.

One might say that "intentional death" threatens (threatened rather, for colonial affairs and peace have allowed some to grow rich and to be protected) those who in their own interest disregard the fundamental solidarity and leveling tendency.

631 [140] By this play of forces, more or less antagonistic and varying according to circumstances, Fang society is protected from any excessive concentration of power. This explains why, in spite of its conquering military nature, it has never allowed even a rudimentary feudal system to appear. Strictly controlled, power was organized only at the level of small units — a village or a group of villages, relatives or neighbors. It has only exceptionally (and precariously) gone beyond the frontiers of these groupings, and as the "associations" have barely been able to remedy this deficiency, Fang society shows an absolute lack of centralization, which was a contributing factor in its rapid deterioration during the colonial period.

672 In a social system which leaves plenty of room for opposing relationships, cases of judicial action and conciliation play an important part. The Fang have not only established a classification of offenses — nté, simple disagreement; étôm, serious dispute that might result in war; and mêm, ritual infraction — and a gradation of punishments going up to holding a hostage (étéa), but have also conceived a judicial organization with

692 "arbiters" and a "jury" that has set various methods of establishing proof (including several methods of ordeal). L. Mba, in a still unpublished study, (1) points out the existence of a

1. Last part of Essai de Droit Coutumier Pahouin [Essay on Pahouin Common Law], in Rapport de la Commission Enquête Historique, Libreville, 1949.

"family tribunal" — of minor lineage — with the ntòl as peacemaker assisted by one or two members of the grouping for dealing with purely internal affairs. He also indicates the existence of a "tribunal" of major lineage that intervenes in conflicts between two or several nd'è bòt, this constituting in principle) a court of appeal, consisting of a judge (who is not necessarily the "chief" of the lineage but any peacemaker who has shown his ability) before whom the representatives of the groupings involved appear. He also points out the existence of a similarly constituted clan "tribunal," which has the same functions at the level of larger groupings and also has the role of a court of appeal. Let us add 695 that the jury (bétolò) is not selected, outside of (blood) relatives and relatives by marriage, until the day the "tribunal" meets. These are only general indications. They show, however, that it is not so much a question of organizations with a judicial function as of principles [141] assuring the regulation of infractions and conflicts by a way other than violence. The status of "judge" 693 554 does not exist with the definiteness we will find when studying the Ba-kongo; instead it displays the same weaknesses as those of the "chief's" situation. The latter may be the judge for the lineage and the clan, but he will often find himself supplanted by a true "master of palaver." In this connection ability and personal prestige are dominant to such an extent that recourse is possible to judges of foreign clans, especially in criminal matters.

692 In the matter of judiciary organization as in that of the chefferie, it appears that the framework of kinship groupings lend itself very little to a centralization of power, either political

than tribal ties. Nevertheless, politico-religious associations like the ngil did exist—very little is known about them today—which transcended clan barriers and contributed to a certain amount of tribal cohesion. On the other hand, certain individuals could have influence, sometimes authority, but never permanent command, extending beyond the limits of their clan. Usually the people involved were officers in initiation societies: the nsig nto, the Bané high judge, was probably a high-ranking initiate in the ngil. The nɔ̂ɔ̂ bɔ̂t (commander of men, war leader), the évet ("capita," caravan leader), the nkukuma (1) (rico hombre, rich man)—these men on the other

1. Emphatic form of nkukum (rich).

hand had only occasional authority and that within a limited circle.

b. The Clan

I call "clan" that which the majority of the Pahouin call ayoñ (mvɔ̂g, mvɔ̂k, in certain northern tribes) (2). It is perhaps the basic

2. Cournarie, 1933, in Coutumes de Nyong et Sanaga /Customs of the Nyong and Sanaga/ points out that ayong were divided into meyom (ayom). The ayom is formed by the coming together of several mvogo who, being descended from the same ancestor, consider themselves the issue of the same mother (obligation of exogamy). Occasionally deference is paid to the mvogo most closely related to the ancestor, and its head is called ntomba or nya moto nnam or mot nnam.

The collective group may gather together: Emoi of nda bot, Ekoan of mvogo. All grown men may speak. Elders and distinguished persons then withdraw for deliberation (esok); they return to announce the decision. (J.B.)

structural unit of Pahouin society, at any rate the one the Fang of

connection that the points of the compass have a sexual implication, which is not well understood. The bilaba sets up a sort of joking relationship between the families of the participants, which may continue after their death.

The institution seems to be dying out, though it was still flourishing between the two /World?/ wars and often involved considerable amounts of money (1).

1. Balandier (no. 175 and in a personal communication) stresses the economic importance of the bilaba which, in a society without a money or trade economy, constituted one of the principal means of circulating goods and, especially, of diffusing imported commodities.

In spite of the fear his success inspires, and perhaps because of this fear, the rich man enjoyed undoubted authority in his village and sometimes beyond it. Nkukuma, the absolute form of nkukum, is used to translate "chief" (it probably means, more precisely, "person of note").

The word évet, also applied to subchiefs or government "capitas" is likewise used —a correct nuance if, as Bates says, évet is a corruption of headman applied originally to the chiefs of trade caravans. These men were chosen for their business astuteness, diplomacy, authority, and courage, but they were only deputies of a clan or village, not true political chiefs. To convey the latter implication the preferable term is still njôô bôt (Fang, nzoé mur) from jô = to say, to command, a term indicating a de facto state, /état de fait/ rather than a legal notion. It should be recalled that there were no political leaders other than the seniors, mintôl, of the extended families. Their authority was further limited by the ease with which their brothers could leave the village to establish another nearby (2).

2. But among some Pahouinized peoples the existence of royal insignia shows that chiefship /chefferie/ is an institution: among the Ewôndo and Yanda the head of the clan designated his successor or, if he

184
554
622

had not done so, the clan chose its chief, and the neighboring populations each sent him a spear in token of recognition.

[534]

The power of the Fong chief is on an even more personal level. The chief conveys his commands by means of an enormous drum; his pipe is preserved like a relic; his musicians play special instruments, among them the nkeñ (percussion double bell), quite rare in that region but a classical instrument in the western Cameroons with the Bamiléké or Bamoum /Mum/. The chief's installation is marked by the tradition of the spears and the donning of a headpiece of parrot plumes. (J. B.)

[283
287]

Any more extensive authority was founded on personal prestige, which always aroused resentment. Authority was never conferred except temporarily, and it was quite often withdrawn from the holder before term.

631
636

French, German, and Spanish administrations have attempted to set up a hierarchical system of authority that it has never been possible really to impose upon the country. The three administrations all made the initial mistake of trying to establish this authority on a territorial basis, which is completely—or nearly—foreign to these nomadic people. Only village chiefship had some resemblance to a customary institution, provided that the choice of chief fell upon a nɔ̂l mɔ̂t, a genuine senior, and that his brothers accepted his authority. Canton and higher chiefdoms had no cohesion except insofar as the incumbent had authority or administrative support. At the beginning of the colonial period, however, these functions were very often entrusted to genuine bejɔ̂ɔ̂ bɔ̂t, /62/ well-known war chiefs, high initiates of societies like the ngil, or celebrated magicians. Later on, it became more difficult to find, even among opposition ranks, chiefs possessed of real authority. After 1945 there was an attempt in the Cameroons to reorganize the system of authority on a clan basis (the Bourdier-Granier reform), then on village lines (the Christol system), finally ending up with a municipal type of system.

769 The figure was placed on the new group's first family altar, and so afterwards were the skulls of the founder and of the benya bôtô of succeeding generations. A full biéri basket was the sign of a group's [554] antiquity, which doubtless implied prestige more than genuine authority, yet nevertheless represented the nearest approach to political authority that existed in the Fang group, particularly if one takes into account the fact that officials of interclan associations were chosen from among the owners of many skulls, whence prestige extended to a large number of mvôk or meyom. The prestige of the living was exerted through the authority of the dead.

[826] Skulls were, indeed, the seat or receptacle of the individual's capacity for action (we must remember that bo = to make, boo = brain), and the use of skulls in the practice of magic was not confined to ancestral skulls only: the skulls of enemies killed in battle or sacrificed in anthropophagous ceremonies before or afterward were preserved, and so were those stolen from neighbors. In the same way the skulls of the kinds of animals desired were used for hunting rites. However, it seems that a distinction was made between family skulls and outsiders' skulls, only the first having a place in the éwolé biéti and [782] appearing in family rites. The power of the skulls was increased by sprinkling them with sacrificial blood.

769 When a youth reached nya môtô age he had to learn to recognize 869 his ancestors so as to be able to ask for their help when the occasion 881 arose. Their skulls were shown to him until he could identify them individually and put them in the correct genealogical order. When he was able to do this, he was given a brew of the narcotic herb alan, [276] then spent a night in the biéti hut, facing the skulls, which had been removed from the éwolé and placed on the altar on which strongly scented plants were burned. During the night the ancestors appeared and gave him a cognomen and imposed one or more new taboos (at the same time he was relieved of certain prohibitions connected with age). Apparently it was during this initiation that his individual totem was revealed (if it was indeed a totem).

769 This question of the totem is very poorly elucidated, in spite of 614 some 600 pages devoted to the subject by Father Trilles. He dis- 114 tinguishes between clan, segment, individual, family, and society totems, etc. He also distinguishes a tutelary being, mvame, from the "effect of a tutelary being"; akam, an animal totem, from a dedicated animal or an incarnation of a man in an animal, etc. He

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

291 clothing. The Fang do not use any coverings to protect the feet. Rank is not distinguished by the dress, very often the brightest and cleanest wrappers are worn [554] by the young men while the *kuma* (headman) is often clothed in a dirty old rag. [622] Very often the *kuma* wears an imported straw or felt hat obtained in trade, and this alone distinguishes him as headman of the town. Next to the possession of women and guns, a Fang man's great desire is to own "much cloth."

Personal Ornaments.

Head.—The Fang dress their hair in the same manner as the Bulu, and the 302 way they build it up on the head over wooden shapes is often very remarkable 291 and shows considerable skill. Very often the hair is built up over these shapes 301 in ridges, the upper edge of the ridge having white shirt buttons fastened along it or brass headed tacks driven in. Wigs are used and very skilfully made. Very often the term wig would be a misnomer, for the ingenious contrivance made to fit over the bald head is often entirely devoid of hair, being simply a close-fitting skull cap knitted with string made from the pineapple fibre. The wigs are usually decorated with shirt buttons or imported glass beads. The hair is frequently plaited and twisted into ringlets by both sexes; dyeing the hair is not practised. Beads and white shirt buttons are worn on the hair in large quantities, also large cowrie shells dyed with red wood powder. The beads and buttons are often sewed on pieces of goat or deer skin, a separate portion decorating each side of the head, connected by a string of beads passing across the forehead.

Moustaches are seldom cultivated, beards when worn are allowed to grow naturally; but both are frequently removed by depilation; shaving is not 301 practised. Ornaments are frequently worn in the ears, and are usually suspended by a small cord passed through a hole in the lobe. Women and young girls when returning from work in the forest or gardens frequently cluster grasses, leaves of vines and fragrant herbs around their ears; it is a rather pretty custom. Certain fetish charms are worn suspended from the ear; women frequently use for an ear fetish the small quills from a porcupine's tail, and they say it will bring them children. Brass and iron ear-rings are also worn.

Males do not seem to feel inclined to ornament the nose, but many Fang [304] women delight to do so. They pierce the triangular cartilage with a long slender bamboo pin: the pins sometimes project out three inches on either side of the nose. Very often a medium-sized porcupine quill is used as the ornament, in place of bamboo; it certainly looks better. Some women thus decorated look very repulsive. A female who is credited with considerable power as a medicine woman will almost invariably have the nose pierced and decorated. Ornaments are not worn on the lips or cheeks.

Body.—Men, women, and children wear necklaces of glass beads, the hoofs of very small antelope, and certain forest beans, are strung and worn around the neck. Bristles from the tail of an elephant are used for the same purpose. When

343 dwellings, stand with the gabled side facing the village square and look just like them except that they are firm and durable. [556] Storage houses are to be found only in the villages of wealthier chiefs.

344 The houses for strangers (esǎ'bǎd) are built following exactly the same pattern and ground plan as the ordinary dwelling, but they are very hastily constructed: the walls are usually only plaited palm leaves; the door extends to the ground with no threshold; and the sleeping benches are those of the simple kind (kū'dū III), often made only of umbrella tree trunks split lengthwise down the middle and placed on top of two casters of the same wood. They are constructed especially on the occasion of the festival for departed souls when greater numbers of strangers are expected; at the conclusion of the festive period they are pulled down.

342 In the forests or on very isolated plantations, refuge huts are frequently built. These are often no more than mere protective roofs (myō e ngī III = gorilla home), while others resemble the simplest temporary meeting houses, that is, huts in which the gabled sides are open and the long walls are either absent or consist only of a few tree trunks (angō'n e ngī = gorilla crown, that is, the strip which juts out like a comb on the top of the gorilla's skull). /79/

344 Special houses are built next to or behind the dwellings or just outside the village for persons with contagious diseases 744 (frambesia, leprosy) (see Fig. 16). Because they are designed for only one person, they are usually smaller than the dwellings; *they have the same* shape but are carelessly constructed and soon deteriorate because nobody takes the trouble to repair them.

343 Here and there I found stables; in the next section I shall come back to these. /Fig. 42 appears here in the original text./

342 Finally, it should be mentioned that in some villages especially those close to the coast, there are houses on piles. 177 These are copied from the European settlements and are almost completely useless for the natives since their construction requires greater care and trouble than that of ordinary houses. Consequently, the houses on piles built by the Pangwe are veritable caricatures of human dwellings.

231 [435] as medium-sized female goats and sheep (14 marks or 200 spears). Just as among us, the dogs have their own names which are taken from 231 the list of human names or else allude in jocular fashion to the 552 characteristics of the animals. Frequently, indeed, these swine-snouted curs are given a first name and a patronymic, just like people, or since for obvious reasons it is at times difficult to establish the paternity of the dog, it is given a first name and its mother's name, thus, akut-e-mban.

Among human names applied to dogs I was able to discover the following: ndǭno (a very ancient man's name; see pages 68 and 69); asǒn (umbrella tree, man's name); mvǭnō (Satan's ape, Colobus anthracinus Leconte); ondō′ (?, man's name); ntōde-abǎn (single otter, woman's name); mfū′mezǒk (the white of the elephant, that is ivory; woman's name); mbǎ′n (ivory, woman's name).

Other dogs' names are: obǭnǒ (from obǭn = bead, one adorned with beads, perhaps also a woman's name); olǔn (the tree Rinorea dentata [P. Beauv.] O. Ktze.); ebǒ′nenǒn (one who always lies on the bed); aji′zǒk (a ji′ = to yearn, zǒk = elephant; in other words the one who yearns for elephant meat); angǔn (dog's bell); odzǎ′m (dwarf lemur, Hemigalago, because the dog bounds through the bushes like the dwarf lemurs in the trees); akū′t (the stupid one).

231 Goats and sheep, which the Fang put together under the name ● 556 kabad, are kept as an investment, as pets, and only in third place as livestock for slaughter. While the economic life is otherwise considered from the viewpoint of "food," this strikingly recedes completely into the background concerning domestic animals where the main point is the joy of possession. We thus have real "savings," the purpose of which is to store up bride money. This has its familiar consequences: thriftiness carried to the point of avarice; a piece of [262] meat allowed only on very rare occasions; and no distaste for the enjoyment of animals that have died.

231 The goats (ekǒ′le) are just as unpleasant as the dogs because of their annoying habit of making a hullabaloo at night and because of other indecent and repulsive characteristics. The only domestic animal that we find congenial is the sheep (ntǔma I), Figure 57, but here, too, the bad example of the goats frequently spoils good manners. They "specialize" in producing, especially at night, /106/ /Fig. 57

785 from four to six years old. They are thus consecrated so that
554 one day they will surpass all others in insight and understanding;
831 then, through their spiritual superiority, they will acquire influence, power (knowledge is power!), and especially wealth. In the case of the son, this will be to his own advantage; in the case of the daughter, it will benefit the father who can get a higher purchase price for her than for a girl with the usual loose way of life. In other words, the "savages" know well the value of moral purity. /269/

831 The custom of miǎk consecration was formerly practiced
785 throughout the Pangwe region. Nowadays, however, since warlike
[184] times have ceased, it is to be encountered only among the Fang of the central Uelle region. I should like to compare the custom to the practice found among us during the Middle Ages, whereby
[171] the heads of important families (especially princes), after some lucky success (for instance, in war), destined one child for the clergy and consecrated it to the pure life dedicated to God, frequently not without calculating the advantages that could accrue to them from such an action.

785 The procedure of the consecration feast is as follows. The
789 child, clothed in a small loincloth, is led to the medicine man
556 and is washed by him with a medicine water. The medicines used
831 for this are barks of various trees that bear ample fruit, such as
[824] the Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofǒs), so that the child's understanding may bear fruit as abundantly as these trees or, in other words, so that wealth may fall to its lot in the same abundance as the fruit of these trees falls to the ground beneath them. The various barks are placed in a container made of banana leaves, and hot water is poured over them. After the ablution, the child must swallow the principal medicine, a bundle of ngon
[824] with the chopped leaves of certain "weak" plants, such as Hibiscus moschatus (Roxb.) (tége III, from a tĕk, "weak," because the fruit is cooked in a short time), in order to make the child
[833] equally weak, that is, sexually incapable. Furthermore, the ngon
[825] is mixed with chicken meat -- the chicken is the bird of day, of the good and the pure, and at the same time it is supposed to point symbolically to the wealth that is desired for the child (the chief, the "Very Rich One," is regarded as the privileged son of the

831
785 sun) -- or with elephant's meat, in which case the child is sup-
556 posed to become spiritually great and important, just as the ele-
[825] phant surpasses the other animals physically, or, finally, with the meat of the hedgehog -- the child is to get as many things as the hedgehog has quills (1).

[539] 1. A well-known proverb, to be intelligible, would have to be translated into Pangwe something like this: He is as full of stupidities as the hedgehog is full of quills.

785 Thus, the child becomes miǎk. Its loincloth is taken off
831 and from now on -- be it male or female -- it must go about completely naked. Here is another significant fact regarding
[834] the moral-religious view of the Pangwe: clothing, that is, the
[291] covering of the sex organs, arose because the sense of shame (o-so-n) which started with the first sin (n-sö-m, root so), that is, sexual intercourse, demanded it. If the innocent state (ignorance of sexual matters) is artificially restored, clothing becomes unnecessary.

The miǎk are generally respected. People are careful not to speak to them about sexual matters or to seduce the girls, especially since /270/ the protection which they are accorded by cus-
[684] tom is effectively strengthened through the right of the father or the relatives to shoot down the seducer without further ado wherever they find him. Nowadays, however, the old customs have been somewhat relaxed; the miǎk are not always what they ought to be.

Annulment of the chastity obligation takes place in the same solemn manner when the consecrated person is fully grown, in other words, not before the age of 20 years. In the case of the man, it is required that he prove himself the bravest in war or at least that he has shot an enemy (1). In the case of the girl, it is

[177] 1. Today, in the regions influenced by the Whites, this decree has had to be moderated.

[583] required of the suitor that, contrary to the usual custom, he pay

581 specific social meaning; it creates bonds (abè) which fasten together
554 the family and clan groupings. Curault points out that this imposes
562 a "close union, in spite of divergencies in language and in spite of the palavers of the different parts of the Pahouin people." At the same time, marriage [120] has a personal meaning. In traditional
[556] Fang society the possession of many wives is the principal sign of wealth and the condition for all increase of wealth. This wealth conditions the importance of the social role; it makes possible the acquisition of a kind of personal power in a society with hardly any hierarchical system. (1)

1. Let us point out that two words with the same root, éval and évala, mean "polygamy" and "a prop, a support," respectively.

836 Because of this personal element the competition for women can become particularly keen. Very early, government reports pointed out the frequency of palavers due to the "women question," and they continue to complain of them as being characteristic of "Fang society and psychology." Let us state at the outset that the competition does not concern the sexual services demanded from the woman. For the unmarried men there are various compensating possibilities -- but only in the line of "lustful sexuality," to quote the expression of R. Bastide. (2) The young unmarried people have

2. R. Bastide, Sociologie et Psychanalyse [Sociology and Psychoanalysis], Bibliothèque de Sociologie Contemporaine, Paris, 1950.

complete sexual liberty among themselves: it is the custom called azòya-angòn (azòya, fornication; ngòn, maiden). E. Trezenem states in his monograph on the Fang of the Ogooué that "virginity of the woman is considered of no importance," that "the young
836 girls are free to give themselves to whomever they want." Then
594 he adds an "important restriction," saying that there are practically

V. First Reactions to Material Inferiority

556 441 The access of the Fang to the traditional trade regions has had great consequences. What started out as a conquering and "colonizing" undertaking has imperceptibly changed into a search for manufactured "riches" (bium) and [157] competition for trade routes and trade centers. The quest for "merchandise" is the primary male activity and sets in motion the machinery of war and witchcraft. [462]

829 773 The legends which we know stress the attraction of the West as the country of white men who have all riches at their disposal. One of these told by V. Largeau suggests the importance of access to these trade zones:

"We arrive at last at the N'Tem and the Ogooué where we meet those who distribute riches . . . they give us everything, we become rich." (1)

1. Op. cit., article: Instruction.

The legendary texts collected by Father Trilles under the title "Noirs et Blancs [The Blacks and the Whites]" are particularly significant. A predominant place is given to the theme of wealth, held only by the white men. Wealth has escaped the black men — because of a lack of technique and because of an attitude of abandoning rather than dominating the world, (2) or

2. "Proverbes, Légendes et Contes Fang [Fang Proverbs, Legends, and Tales]," op. cit., and especially "Noirs et Blancs [Blacks and Whites]" and "Légende du Nsas [Legend of the Nsas]."

has been stolen from them. (3) The whites apparently represent

3. "Legend of Bingo"; and "in order to seize his treasures (from the hero

441 presents." (1) The latter analyzed the Ogooué commerce which was

1. Voyages et Aventures dans l'Afrique Equatoriale [Travels and Adventures in Equatorial Africa], pp. 106 and 120.

"under the thumb of the Fang population": "Firms were obliged to maintain their establishments in definite localities and were forbidden under threat of hostilities to move them upstream. The European agent was respected; far from being disturbed, their stores were strictly protected by the village warriors. The merchant was a prisoner of the population; he found himself invested with a monopoly." (2)

2. Op. cit., pp. 294-295.

441 556 829 The first government reports continue to note, like Du Chaillu, the desire of each large grouping to have a trading post for itself; once satisfied they would relax and be submissive."(3)

3. Rapport annuel de 1907 [Annual Report of 1907], Archives of Gabon.

This behavior is not explained by the single economic anxiety to reserve for themselves a monopoly and to have at hand the possibility of bartering. To have a trading station in contact with the village itself is to have reached the end of migrations westward which were to lead to the source of wealth; it is to participate constantly in this wealth and to have the certainty of a superior life. To enter into relations with the white man, who appears both as an "eldest son" and more than a human being with his riches and knowledge of riches, this is to participate in a circuit of power and fecundity, and to transcend a somehow cursed existence in order to attain the "true life."

829 773 On the other hand, the legends show how, in contact with technical manifestations and European enterprise, the Fang very

245 occupations keep them away from their native villages, try to build up plantations, even though they may draw no profits before their retirement. Among Boulou or Beti every married man is a cacao planter. In the course of a sample survey of 490 rural families, only 43 (less than 9 percent) were found who do not have some income from a cacao plantation (1): 7 live from the sale of different agri-

1. J. Binet, Budgets familiaux des planteurs de cacao au Cameroun /Family Budgets of Cacao Planters in the Cameroons/, O.R.S.T.O.M. /Office de la Recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer/.

cultural products; 15 are engaged in crafts; 9 are salaried workers, employed in trade, missions, the administration. For the 437 other families cacao is a basic resource.

245 The large number of proprietors is accompanied by a wide distri-
556 bution of wealth and by a certain amount of social equality (2).
434
511

2. Sautter, "Le cacao dans l'économie rurale du Woleu-Ntem /Cacao in the Rural Economy of the Woleu-N'Tem/," Études centrafricaines, 1951.

Nevertheless, financial differences are clearly marked. To take only cash income and to disregard home consumption, 28 households had available an average of 3,720 francs C.F.A. per annum (3).

[426]

3. One franc C.F.A. equals two metropolitan francs. Incomes were computed in 1954, a year during which quotations for cacao were especially favorable.

113 households had 10,000 francs C.F.A., 217 had 29,600 francs, 87 had 71,500 francs, 36 had 152,000 francs, 5 had 440,000 francs. Large incomes coincide with enormous plantations, but also with
295 profits from a variety of sources: of the 5 families with the highest
511 income, only 2 derive theirs entirely from cultivation. Of the 36 in
556 the next lower category, 24 have a purely agricultural income. The

245 [511 556] distribution of cacao plantations is neither the only nor perhaps the principal cause of inequality. Cacao production is on a considerable scale: around 50, 000 tons in the Cameroons, 3, 000 tons in Gabon (4).

[433]

4. Almost the whole of the Gabon output comes from the Woleu-N'Tem region and especially the Ntoumou cantons. (P. A.)

It is easy to understand that this crop is an essential factor in the
182 evolution /sic/ of Pahouin society.

245 In the field of common law, for example, cacao has affected the orientation of land law. By giving each person the possibility of making /33/ private profits, cacao has increased the independence of men and even of women from family authority. Because it allows the accumulation of durable and tranferable goods, cacao has raised, in a new form, the problem of successional devolution /inheritance/.

To consider only the realm of technology: settling on the land during several generations has apparently put an end to real nomadism; villages are no longer moved about. But a certain amount of shifting cultivation will remain inevitable if some method of rapid reclamation of fallow land is not adopted.

245 The stock of tools has increased considerably. An axe with a small,
40 narrow head ending in a tongue was fastened into the large end of a wooden handle, a daba similarly made but with a rounder head and lighter handle (1) and a machete were formerly the basic implements.

[284]

1. The tongue of the hoe, driven into a branch like a spike, is also bound to it with liana. Old women still use the digging stick, which has or had some ritual significance. (P. A.)

To these must now be added pruning shears, caterpillar destroyer or a local copy, and cacao spear.

245 Boxes or baskets provide vats for fermenting the /cacao/ beans, a roof shades the trays on which they are put to dry. Some men have thought of buying Vermorel vaporizers for spraying the cacao trees; others dream of mowing machines for clearing the land.

3. Trade

431 Planters command few sources of income; beside their tool equipment a thousand new needs have arisen, which trade must satisfy.
556
437 There is, oddly, no commercial tradition at all among the Pahouin. For bride-price payments previous generations used ivory tusks or pieces of wrought iron in the shape of arrows. But was this a form of money? Nothing was bought, nothing sold. And yet, according to Balandier, the pursuit of wealth represented the men's principal activity (2) aside from routine work, perhaps, moreover, because

> 2. Cf. Largeau (no. 48) for the mythical role of the spider in producing merchandise "among the dead." (P. A.)

there was no trade or exchange. From the accounts, it appears that previous generations could only obtain goods from distant countries by bilaba and not by purchase. The bilaba approximates the potlatch in being a contest. During a visit a host gives his guest all kinds of presents, defying him to do the like. Later the guest will have to offer even more than he received. Thus, exchange and a struggle for prestige are involved at the same time (3). Bilaba apparently were

> 3. J. Guilbot, Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 1951, Vol. 21; G. Balandier, Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire /Contemporary Native African Sociology/, P.U.F. /Presses Universitaires de France/, 1955, p. 182.

means of distributing objects of European origin (salt, weapons, clothes) and of exchanging them for ivory collected in the interior, game, or the dogs that some tribes /34/ eat. In general, it is to such exchanges as these that the old accounts refer. But one can scarcely speak of trade for such ritualized gifts and countergifts. And nothing else warrants the assumption of an economy based on exchange. Between
443 Yaoundé and Brazzaville there are no markets, or, more correctly,
177 the markets that now exist were started by Europeans or at their instigation (1).

shed with a roof low enough to /43/ give good protection from the sun. Some villages are placed at right angles to the road; others follow an L or Y plan, with several minseñ. Family "allotments" are separated by hedges of euphorbia, castor-oil plant, hibiscus, and bougainvillea. Sometimes one comes across sheepfolds, although in old-style (and most contemporary) villages small livestock roam at will. A village often includes a guesthouse (ayak).

In building operations the man generally takes charge of the framework and the laths, leaving to the women the preparation and application of the banco /clay daub?/. But European-style huts with their elaborate door frames and often cement floors are more and more the work of specialized artisans, who are paid to supervise the family labor provided by the owner. These men have nevertheless preserved, along with the English term "mason," the old name nloñ nda, literally, hut-weaver, which goes back to the time when huts were made of sewn bark (1).

1. The dwelling continues to evolve: framed doors, windows, and shutters are in general use today. The dimensions of the buildings lead to the construction of a real frame. Finally, to possess a sheet-iron roof is a sign of wealth. In recent years there has arisen a real passion for the improvement of dwelling: in the Cameroons we may estimate that 10 percent of the dwellings now built in the bush are the most modern type. (J. B.)

2. Groupings and Relationships

The main divisions of Pahouin society are both exactly defined in the minds of its members themselves and at the same time uncertain for the European observer, who is constantly tempted to state them clearly in organic forms accessible to his "logic" and who is hindered by the variations or the dialectal confusions of Pahouin terminology. Father Trilles, basing his observations on the Fang of Gabon alone, reached a sort of palaeontological reconstruction of the "Fang nation," extremely theoretical, yet not without basis

F
P
563 Bekôé, are now assimilated and are considered a special Pahouin ayôn
565 (see above, p. 54). But the nomadic groups themselves are beginning to give up the obligatory intermediation of the Pahouin in order to sell their game; they are to be seen at markets and even in government offices and in the courts.

F Foreigners, bone bikul (ékul = foreign tribe), had no rights except
609 as guests or hosts, beyeñ (sing. nneñ), which means that they had in fact to buy security. Since European conquest there has been an increase in the betabe (from tabe = to stay, to dwell), privileged strangers admitted to residence by the head of a family or village, often allied by marriage to the clan amid which they have settled. Their children can be absorbed but are not true bo'beti, at least not
F in the first generations.

56 Thus truly Pahouin society was and remains very much a closed one, since entrance into it is, in practice, only by blood. On the other hand, it is very little stratified internally, outside of age grades; it might even be said to be averse to hierarchies.

F At first one is rather tempted to conclude that there are no castes.
564 This statement is perhaps too sweeping, if we take into consideration the fact that certain endogamous clans like the Ndôñ are perhaps castes or represent former castes. The subject deserves further study. /60/

Does Pahouin society admit of social classes based on birth or
F wealth? In spite of the egalitarian and anarchic temperament of the
● 556 Pahouin, I think this is so. Terminology proves it by distinguishing
565 the bo' beti not only from the captives but even from the zesé bôt, the humble people: mo'nti is often translated today as "Monsieur." Within the last two generations there has grown up before our eyes a real bourgeoisie of large-scale planters, clerks (bekilak), artisans, and skilled workmen, which is inclined to stand out against a lower class of small peasants, laborers, and even, at the moment, of a "proletariat in sunglasses" — petty tradesmen, etc. —a local equivalent of our white-collar workers. Already in traditional society the minkukum, the rich, were to be distinguished from the common people, the zesé bôt.

556 The rich were looked at askance and were objects of suspicion to
565 the general public, always quick to attribute material success to the
431 possession of an évu (évur, évus), to malevolent sorcery. The
437

nkukum had to excuse his wealth, primarily by distributing it through customary hospitality and also by a special device of economic-social control resembling the potlatch, the bilaba.

This practice seems to have been especially common among the Boulou. Bertaut relates the word to a Ngumba root meaning "to talk," "to cajole." I should rather incline toward a derivative of the verb lap, "to draw water," by extension "to splash," which can figuratively also convey the idea of scoffing. It is not impossible that the bilaba mechanism was connected with that of the joking relationship, awusô. The bilaba begins with a challenge from one nkukum to another, each man claiming to be the richer. The challenger goes to the house of the challenged, carrying a load of merchandise, mebo me dulu, "legs for the journey," and accompanied by a large retinue of musicians and singers, etc. When he reaches the home of the other njem bilaba (bilaba dancer), he overwhelms him with presents and taunts; his opposite number replies, present for present and jeer for jeer, until he has contributed more than the equivalent of the mebo me dulu. The first njem bilaba goes home and waits for the other's return visit with his own mebo me dulu. Visits and countervisits may go on for a long time, each of the bejem bilaba calling on his immediate family for help, then upon his lineage or clan, for continued supplies. The bilaba therefore comes to be a collective affair. It must be observed that not just any kind of merchandise is exchanged: a njem bilaba in the east (nku, ôku) provides local products, (livestock, cacao, ivory, etc.), in the west (nké) imported products (loincloths, salt, powder, etc.) (1). It should be remembered /61/ in this

1. M. Zoll'Owambe (no. 125) speaks of akum so, "merchandise of the north," imports, and of akum nsak, "merchandise of the south," products of the country. But there appears to have been some confusion. In fact, so = coast, downstream, is related to nké = west, which also means downstream, while nsak = hinterland, upstream (nku = east, related to kui = to come from, rise from, emerge); cf. Largeau, who considers the north to be on the right (male) and the south on the left (female). Imported products would be considered male.

connection that the points of the compass have a sexual implication, which is not well understood. The bilaba sets up a sort of joking relationship between the families of the participants, which may continue after their death.

The institution seems to be dying out, though it was still flourishing between the two /World?/ wars and often involved considerable amounts of money (1).

1. Balandier (no. 175 and in a personal communication) stresses the economic importance of the bilaba which, in a society without a money or trade economy, constituted one of the principal means of circulating goods and, especially, of diffusing imported commodities.

In spite of the fear his success inspires, and perhaps because of this fear, the rich man enjoyed undoubted authority in his village and sometimes beyond it. Nkukuma, the absolute form of nkukum, is used to translate "chief" (it probably means, more precisely, "person of note").

The word évet, also applied to subchiefs or government "capitas" is likewise used —a correct nuance if, as Bates says, évet is a corruption of headman applied originally to the chiefs of trade caravans. These men were chosen for their business astuteness, diplomacy, authority, and courage, but they were only deputies of a clan or village, not true political chiefs. To convey the latter implication the preferable term is still nzôô bôt (Fang, nzoé mur) from jô = to say, to command, a term indicating a de facto state, /état de fait/ rather than a legal notion. It should be recalled that there were no political leaders other than the seniors, mintôl, of the extended families. Their authority was further limited by the ease with which their brothers could leave the village to establish another nearby (2).

2. But among some Pahouinized peoples the existence of royal insignia shows that chiefship /chefferie/ is an institution: among the Ewondo and Yanda the head of the clan designated his successor or, if he

231 yet takes the risk of a breach of faith on the ñyale's part. The latter
675 is supposed to return the flock intact, but as long as he tends it, he may do what he wants with it, putting it to use like a kind of credit. It is as well to point out that this kind of contract, which at present is falling into disuse, gave occasion to endless litigation.

The trade contract under its old name abom or the newer atiñ kilak
424 or atiñ akus kaka is, on the other hand, becoming more and more
675 widespread. A trader, nkuan biôm or mbi fatyélé, advances to a kilak
411 (from "clerk") cash and goods on the kilak's undertaking to provide the equivalent in a certain tonnage of cacao. The contract is set forth in a written "good for....," which represents recognition of the debt. The kilak exerts himself to collect the promised tonnage, usually by buying from planters of his clan, sometimes by subcontract with "small clerks," bone bekilak. The contract has a due date, with the usual contingencies; in the case of rising prices, the kilak may run into difficulties and not be able to furnish the promised tonnage unless planters of his family give him credit or sell to him below the price. Cacao buying is also done by commission, the agent, nlôman, (envoy), receiving a cash advance with which to buy as much cacao as possible. Both methods give rise to litigation, which is all the more common because the moneylender is usually a European or an African of another tribe, a "Gabonese" in French Equatorial Africa, a Bamiléké, mone galifis (from Coast English "Grassfield") in the Cameroons.

● 551 In general a commission is always possible, whether in making a
675 contract or in pleading in court. The person giving the commission
431 is called mve ngul, giver of power; the agent is called mbili ngul, possessing power. They are jointly and severally responsible.

The bilaba contract, described about (41, 77), is disappearing. There survives, however, a sort of poor man's bilaba, the meyeñ, from nneñ, guest, which allows a zesé môt, a humble man, to levy a kind of tax on the rich, minkukum, of his clan by the simple procedure of going to visit them, carrying a present /81/ which must be returned by generous hospitality and by a countergift of higher value. This is a quasi contract, sanctioned by public opinion, which is a heavy burden on people thought to be rich; it underlies the family parasitism prevalent in large towns. The reputed nkukum who tries to escape would be accused of being hard hearted, nlem ayet, which could easily lead to a charge of sorcery.

114 ethnic groups in the same region, the Boulou subjects being classed
153 first on these points among the Pahouin tribes. Intelligence tests and mental-age evaluations made among school children and lycée students gave similar results in comparison with Africans of the same age. On the other hand, a comparison with European children living in the Cameroons showed a certain inferiority, from which it is still impossible to draw definitive conclusions because of the scarcity of "culture-free tests" used at the time. Projective tests administered
114 under the same conditions revealed schizoid tendencies with rather
157 marked aggression and a fairly high frequency of the Oedipus fixation with some transference /assimilation/ from father to white man. The difference in level from neighboring tribes was less clear among the lycée students than among school children, and less clear among the latter than among the laborers at Edéa. It must be emphasized
[125] that these tests, especially the projective ones, involved a limited number of persons in particular situations outside the village milieu, that remains the background of the majority of their fellow tribesmen. I am not acquainted with the results of later research.

156 With regard to social psychology, we are also largely restricted to subjective evaluations in the same class as those mentioned at the beginning of this section. Alégret a half century ago remarked upon a defeatism more bitter since the Fang had come in contact with Europeans, and certain legends reported by Trilles and Largeau on the Jacob and Esau theme, with the white man in the role of the usurping younger brother, go some way to confirming this. Balandier has given a good description of contemporary expressions of this feeling of collective frustration, both in his Sociologie actuelle and in various articles, one of them with the significant title, "Les Fang, conquérants en disponibilité" /The Fang, Unattached Conquerors/, (nos. 175 and 173).

One striking trait, also emphasized by Balandier, is that of collective mistrust of successful persons. This may appear to contradict the previous statement about Pahouin individualism, but in fact it is precisely /90/ this individualism that produces a good share of the suspicion of the other individual (cf. in Eno Boto, Ville cruelle, no. 182, the reactions of the hero Banda vis-à-vis the rebel Koumé).

158 We must also point out the psychological and social importance
156 of akum, wealth, and of biôm, possessions, especially imported possessions. Combined with the as yet little-studied concept of the

relations between the sexes, this emphasis to a great extent explains why no true peasantry has developed, but rather a class of nonpeasant planters, comparable in the last analysis to some of the European settlers. The Pahouin remain very much strangers and travelers on the land, whence the importance of personal property (in the legal sense) in their eyes. Nevertheless, a further development is in the making in this connection—described above (p. 96) which is leading to a strengthening of land ownership, /so that/ certain collective reactions in the way of procedure concerning land and domain suggest that we are witnessing, at least in the Cameroons, a genuine putting down of roots.

Tribal pride is still considerable, to the point of hostility between different branches of the group, but ethnic cohesion is found vis-à-vis outsiders and gives real unity to the Pahouin as a solid group.

2. The Individual Life Cycle

a. Conception, Gestation, Birth

A woman is considered pregnant, a nyoñeya abum, she has got a belly, when she has passed through four menstrual cycles, a nji yene ngon, without seeing the moon. Conception is supposed to be the result of the mixture of sperm, meyôm (with the same root as nnôm, pl. beyôm = male) and of menstrual blood, metyi me ngon, girl's blood or lunar blood; the length of pregnancy is calculated from the date when the last menstruation should have begun. Nowadays a pregnancy of nine months is considered normal, but some of my informants mentioned normal terms of eight or ten ngon (lit., moon or girl), a word that can as well refer to a calendar month as to a lunar month or a menstrual cycle. It is difficult for a man to obtain more precise information on this point since the subject is restricted to women. Besides, longer pregnancies are considered possible, though sometimes suspect; amenorrhea due to a fibroid growth is a proof of sorcery, the tumor being considered an évu. The fetus (for which the term is secret, forbidden, étyi, in any case for men, and probably for women uninitiated into mevungu) is thought at the beginning of gestation to take the form of a lizard, like the first man at the moment of the creation /of the universe/.

Next, the establishment of urban and rural municipal councils permits financial decentralization. Towns under the term "urban communes," cantons, and sometimes whole subdivisions under the term "rural communes," received a legal character, with a domain to manage and a budget to fix. Elected councilors under an appointed mayor had to study plans for road works, to set up construction or maintenance programs, inquire into taxes? /taxes/ and assessments /impôts/, and have an eye to a sound financial position.

In towns this was nothing new, but its extension to wide rural areas was an experiment. Boulou or Beti country, where there was no risk of these new methods giving offense to a strong traditional /social/ structure, was the ideal place for trying out a new /kind of/ organization.

Throughout the elections arranged to fill the posts of councilor, we can see crystallizing the most striking traits of the new élite, the characteristics of the aristocracy or oligarchy that will get itself into power.

Pessimists had expressed fear that such elections, based on almost universal suffrage, would overthrow the classical social values and impair the prestige of the present acting élite.

This point of view disregarded the fact that in a country practically without stratification, no one can keep authority without the support of public opinion. /132/ Granting the vote to vassals in a feudal society may unsettle the power of the nobility. It is quite otherwise here, where chiefs of village or canton are most commonly chosen by election.

The older men have preserved a privileged position vis-à-vis the younger generation. A comparison of the age pyramid of councilors with that of the adult male population as a whole readily shows this: (table on following page).

The younger generation is poorly represented. Mature men of thirty to forty are represented in proportion to their ratio in the total population; but men of forty to fifty or of the older age group are heavily represented. Electoral influence has not been seized by the younger men.

Neither does it appear that the poorer class, more numerous than the rich, has benefited from the ballot so as to eliminate the latter. From the point of view of the possession of a certain amount of wealth, we can assert that municipal councilors are much better off than the common people.

888
162
541
623

Distribution by Age

Age Group	Elected Municipal Councilors	Total Adult Male Population (1) (Nyong-and-Sanaga)
	Percent	Percent
20 to 30 years	9	26
30 to 40	33	29
40 to 50	37	28
Over 50	20	15

1. Evaluation made according to censuses established by the subdivisions; the documentation is not faultless but nevertheless is indicative.

556
162
623

The figures given below for the whole population are not definitive, but as they have been taken from a recent complete census they may be considered good approximations.

Distribution of External Signs of Wealth
(for 100 persons)

	Masonry Houses	Bicycles	Automobiles
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Municipal councilors	27	50	11
Adult male population of Ebolowa	1.4	21	0.3

[622] Not for nothing do the Pahouin use the word nkukuma (rich) to designate a chief. The chosen leaders are the rich men. /133/

595
623

A study of the matrimonial situation enables us to be more specific about the personal characteristics of elected men. Polygamy is much more common among them than among the population as a whole.

6:Alexandre and Binet--169 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

595
623

Distribution According to Matrimonial Status

	Municipal Councilors	Sample of the Total Population of the Boulou and Beti Area (1)
	Percent	Percent
Polygamous	43	23
Monogamous	43	63
Unmarried	3	14

1. A random sample taken for the study of family budgets, 1954, op. cit.

That councilors are often polygamous is to be explained in terms of their relatively advanced age and their wealth.

As elderly possessors of wealth and polygamous, do the elected men embody all the traditional ways in contrast to a progressive younger generation? An examination of occupations, of educational level, and of religion reveals that the actual situation is more complex.

Distribution by Occupation

	Municipal Councilors	Adult Male Population of the Nyong and Sanaga Region (2)
	Percent	Percent
Chiefs	30	1.8
Planters	30	85
Office-holders	14	0.5
Trade employees	3	1
Traders	10	7
Craftsmen	5	?
Catechists, mission monitors	2	2.3

2. According to the annual administrative report; approximations are involved, Yaoundé-Ville being excluded.

in a while there is some truth to it." Or, like our countrymen who in other respects consider themselves enlightened, they will adopt the standpoint: "After all, you never can tell . . ."

The unsuccessful soothsayer does not have to look far for ridicule. In Bebai I heard a poem ridiculing a man from the Ntum region who had been deliberately taken in. One man hid his chopping knife in his house in the presence of witnesses and then went to the soothsayer to ask him quite innocently to tell him where the knife was that he had lost. After all kinds of mystification and tomfoolery the soothsayer answered that the knife had been stolen in the field during the clearing of the farm. Amidst the hilarity of all those present, the "victim of the theft" produced the knife from where it was hidden, and the soothsayer departed, shamed.

In times of war, however, the soothsayer's reputation is reestablished. Before setting out against the enemy village, the entire company of young men stand around him in a circle, the soothsayer leaps about with the horn in his hand, shaking it according to all the rules of his art, and then suddenly points it /196/ to one of those standing around him, saying: "You will be killed, or (pointing to another) you will be wounded if you go into battle." Or the wise man says: "You can go confidently into battle for nothing will happen to you," but he will say this -- if we may trust his shrewdness -- only to those who in any case tend to stay in the rear. The person who has received a bad "prognosis" stays safely at home, and in this way the soothsayer is seldom found out.

In Volume II, page 108 ("Religion") /Ed., not translated/ we saw that the Pangwe believes he can read the future from dreams through appropriating the power of the soul by holding his head in the resin fire kindled on the grave. In so doing he learns to distinguish true dreams from false ones, and consequently comes to recognise what the future will bring.

I am not acquainted with animal oracles in the south, but among the Jaunde there is a spider oracle. Zenker (1) writes about

1. G. Zenker, "Yaunde," in Mitteilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus

539 514 836 When the girl went home she thought to herself: "I wonder what that means: ng(e) oa dzǐn ma: obébe, ng(e) oa bǐne ma: obébe!?" When she was in the house, she was still thinking about it; then she suddenly smelled the odor and found the little pot behind the bed. She took it, poured its contents into the plantain grove behind the house, and cleaned it thoroughly with water. Meanwhile her lover had secretly come back to the village and observed from a hiding place how the affair was developing, whether the girl would call other people and publicly expose him (1). But nothing /258/ of the kind happened. He then saw

539 514 836 558

1. In that case the lover would not have been able to hide from the mockery of his companions and would have become completely unacceptable in the village of his beloved. It should not be forgotten how terribly disgraceful a Negro finds such an occurrence, indeed, the very thought of a natural need to relieve himself. A person who has had, as we would say, an accident, as in the above case, will be socially unacceptable for a long time if the incident becomes known, while we "barbarians" with our trifling amount of oson look upon such an occurrence as a painful accident for the moment, but do not carry it any further and, moreover, regard the physiological evacuation of the body as something "natural." Unfortunate uncivilized civilized people! The savages are better people after all! They have a countless number of circumlocutions for the terrible deed: mà ke a npɔ̌ ń bíǎ́ń, "I am going to fetch a medicine"; a bɔ̌be ekǐ́ńdi, "to inspect the spring trap"; a bɔ̌be ebɛ́ǐ, "to inspect the pitfall"; a tǐ́ ndzǐǎ́.

514 539

F P 563 565 Bekɔ̂é, are now assimilated and are considered a special Pahouin ayôn (see above, p. 54). But the nomadic groups themselves are beginning to give up the obligatory intermediation of the Pahouin in order to sell their game; they are to be seen at markets and even in government offices and in the courts.

F 609 Foreigners, bone bikul (ɛ́kul = foreign tribe), had no rights except as guests or hosts, beyeñ (sing. nneñ), which means that they had in fact to buy security. Since European conquest there has been an increase in the betabe (from tabe = to stay, to dwell), privileged strangers admitted to residence by the head of a family or village, often allied by marriage to the clan amid which they have settled. Their children can be absorbed but are not true bo'beti, at least not in the first generations.

F ● 56 Thus truly Pahouin society was and remains very much a closed one, since entrance into it is, in practice, only by blood. On the other hand, it is very little stratified internally, outside of age grades; it might even be said to be averse to hierarchies.

F 564 At first one is rather tempted to conclude that there are no castes. This statement is perhaps too sweeping, if we take into consideration the fact that certain endogamous clans like the Ndɔ̂ñ are perhaps castes or represent former castes. The subject deserves further study. /60/

F 556 565 Does Pahouin society admit of social classes based on birth or wealth? In spite of the egalitarian and anarchic temperament of the Pahouin, I think this is so. Terminology proves it by distinguishing the bo' beti not only from the captives but even from the zesé bɔ̂t, the humble people: mo'nti is often translated today as "Monsieur." Within the last two generations there has grown up before our eyes a real bourgeoisie of large-scale planters, clerks (bekilak), artisans, and skilled workmen, which is inclined to stand out against a lower class of small peasants, laborers, and even, at the moment, of a "proletariat in sunglasses" —petty tradesmen, etc. —a local equivalent of our white-collar workers. Already in traditional society the minkukum, the rich, were to be distinguished from the common people, the zesé bɔ̂t.

556 565 431 437 The rich were looked at askance and were objects of suspicion to the general public, always quick to attribute material success to the possession of an ɛ́vu (ɛ́vur, ɛ́vus), to malevolent sorcery. The

304
561
352

Fig. 152. Tattoo Artist at Work, Nikolentángan, Spanish Guinea.

304
413

Figs. 153 and 154. Knives without Handles for Tattooing (ekut).

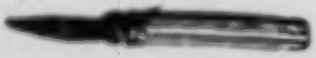


Fig. 155. Knife for Tattooing (bendolo).

1. Sexual Life before Maturity

561 Like Europeans, the Pangwe divide the individual's life into
156 three sections, the period of childhood, that of adulthood, and that of old age. The last period, however, concerns the Negro much less than the first two periods of life, because on the average death occurs at an early age. Sexual maturity represents the boundary line between childhood and adulthood, and the Pangwe emphasizes it very much because sexuality is at the center of his religious conceptions and /252/ finds external expression through the initiation into the cults. This initiation corresponds to our confirmation. The Pangwe acts as though a person before sexual maturity -- for the sake of brevity I shall call this person a child (mɔ̃ŋgo III) -- represents a stage antecedent to actual manhood, mɔt III, just as, say, the caterpillar is the stage prior to the butterfly.

If we think back on what was said concerning the soul in the
774 discussion of religion /Ed., not translated/, we remember that
936 the Pangwe distinguish two kinds of people according to the kind
964 of soul they possess: bebɩ̃n (uninitiated, good), and bongɩ̃s
982 (initiated, evil). Children (bɔ̃ŋgo) are bebɩ̃n, uninitiated, good, because they do not know sexual intercourse and, if they have become acquainted with it prematurely, do not know that they are committing a sin; indeed, they could not know since, after all, they are not initiated into the profound connections between sexual intercourse, life, and death.

In reality the situation is such that the Pangwe young people
982 are perfectly well informed, but officially each one must empha-
984 size that he is a child, mɔ̃ŋgo, that is, good, unknowing, uninitiated as to sexual intercourse, even when he has long outgrown not only the actually innocent childhood (in the narrower sense), but also the period of sexual maturity. This point can be tested on any Negro between the age of ten and 20 years by asking him whether he already practices sexual intercourse. The answer will always be the same, be he a Fang from the bush or a Jaunde long since glossed over by a bit of civilization: "ma ne mɔ̃ŋgo (I am
[672] a child, that is, innocent, I know nothing about sexual intercourse)."

612
601

3. An expression frequently heard during our investigations was: "They had the same mvam, therefore they belonged to the same nd'ê bòt."

succession confirms this fact by retaining in the collateral lines of descent only "first cousins" and paternal nephews (émò mwanenâg, son of mwanénâg) of the deceased. (4) Apart from the individual

4. Cf. M. Bertaut, Le Droit coutumier des Boulous [Common Law of the Boulou], chapter, "Successions," and L. Mba, Essai de droit coutumier pahouin [Essay on Pahouin Common Law], p. 39.

family which has no independent existence, it is in relation to this kinship that the most coherent and restricted grouping of Fang society, the nd'ê bòt, is organized. This assures the cohesion of such a grouping but also contributes, in quite the opposite direction, with the relaxing of effective kinship, to the cleavages which occur frequently in the fourth generation.

612 Important distinctions should be marked on the same hori-
601 zontal segment. First of all in terms of sex, between brother
561 (ndum) and sister (kal). These two terms have a very broad meaning, since, according to L. Martrou, they may mean by extension "village brother" and "daughter [or girl] of the same village." (5)

5. L. Martrou, Lexique [Lexicon].

In terms of birth, children born of the same mother (of the same womb, abum avòri) form a distinct group called abumò bòt. No privilege however is [116] granted the siblings, this qualification most frequently being specified only by a periphrase, mwanénâg abum avòri, "brother from the same womb." Above all, in terms of seniority, the eldest, ntòl or nyamòrò, takes precedence over the younger brother, ndzimò. This pre-eminence is fundamental and is of the same order as that which subordinates the generation

612 of mwanô to that of the ésa. The eldest son is not only almost
601 the exclusive heir to property — "he inherits at least seven tent'a,"
561 writes Mr. Bertaut — but he also has religious privileges. He is the sole guardian of the skulls of ancestors, and he has political privileges, if he shows himself sufficiently able.

601 Within the maternal kinship the most important relations are
608 those between nephew (mwanô kal) and maternal uncle (nya-nduma). Of this we have proof in an early study of the Fang of the N'Djolé region, and in a recent document written at the time of a clan gathering which shows the maintenance of some of these relations. Captain Curault (1) refers to them in a precise manner in his

1. Captain Curault, "Monographie du secteur de N'Djolé au Gabon" [Monograph on the N'Djolé Sector in Gabon], Revue des Troupes Coloniales, 68, February, 1908.

monograph on the N'Djolé sector: "The relations between uncle and nephew are very close; during his life the nephew gives his uncle a great many presents to increase still further the price paid to his uncle for his mother. In the same way, whenever his nephew pays him a visit, the uncle kills a chicken for him, etc... as does the father-in-law for his son-in-law. ... If a poor nephew needs goods to pay for a palaver or to get married, he can go to his uncle, sure that he will receive help from him, even if he has not often given him presents. It is a supreme shame for a man to send away the son of his sister with empty hands." Maternal
[428] uncle and nephew have a share in the inheritance. An official report of the clan gathering of the Yémisèm-Éba still provides in 1948 for the "indemnity" due at the time of the death of a nya-nduma (a sum corresponding to the value of a woman and a sheep) and on the death of a mwanô-kal (a slightly smaller sum, "varying according to the size of the inheritance," and a sheep). (2)

2. Réunion de 25 villages de la tribu Yémissem a Afénane (District d'Oyem) du 12 an 19 Juillet, 1948 [Gathering of 25 villages of the Yémisseem tribe at

562 except in a sporadic and very degenerate form; we mention the
715 N'nup with a whole string of "queens" that has appeared in the neighboring regions of Spanish Guinea.

562 This ambiguity in the position of woman to a certain extent
578 creates an equilibrium. On the other hand, from the point of
837 view of sentimental relations, this is not true. The man who admits that marriage should be regulated primarily in terms of social considerations hopes to obtain some day a "favorite" wife and has little fear of sanctions connected with adultery. The woman, married young, remains prisoner of the system and is always threatened with severe sanctions. Apparently this results in the many disputes which were referred to by the first administrators. "Very often the woman abandons her husband and returns to her parents' village or follows a man of her choice..." (Archives of Libreville, 1909). They were also referred to by the first Fang scholars: "The Pahouin woman does not hesitate to leave with a lover; often married against her wishes she avenges [152] this state of things by a very great infidelity" (L. Mba, op. cit.). The expression used by this author is significant. What might be called the sentimental excuse permits a broader reaction responding to frustrations of another nature. We must see there the sign of tensions which are actualized at the only possible level. Let us add that the conditions created by colonization will liberate these tensions to a great extent by destroying the equilibrium obtained approximately by traditional means.

561 These tensions are not the only ones to be mended. Between
578 generations, that of the fas and that of the mwanô, on the same
789 segment between the eldest and the younger brothers, it appears that relationships of dependency can turn into antagonisms. Soon
[55] after his birth the young boy is "marked" by his ascendants, receiving a double name (essential in relation to other denominations) which contains the name of an ancestor of his paternal line (of a mvam) and the first term of his father's name. In addition to individual interdicts imposed by his father, the child is subject to various general interdicts which are removed by degrees as the child becomes a man. Thus, there is the interdict on the pig (1), and on

1. The pig appears as a valuable animal

541
578
784

in all this part of central Africa, where the ox is unknown because of trypanosomiasis.

the produce of hunting and fishing, and these exist until the time of puberty. They signify, according to L. Martrou, that in the family group there should be "no useless mouth," ..."but rather arms and hearts capable of defending and enriching it." (2) Thus

2. L. Martrou, Les "Ékis" des Mfang [The "Ékis" of the Fang] op. cit.

[834] it is forbidden to cohabit with a woman before being circumcized (3)

3. V. Largeau, op. cit. article: Interdit [Interdict].

541 578 [852 881] In the same way various rites mark the steps of this ascent: the rite of the Sob for the ten-year-old children; (4) circumcision,

4. M. Bertaut in his thesis on the Boulou of the Cameroons, a related nation, speaks of a less degraded form of the Sob which was the center of a true "society of men" now almost vanished.

which is not accompanied by any initiation (but seems rather to bear public witness to virility and to show the individual as an active male), and above all, the "revelation" of the Biéri. When the young man joins the company of men, he has experienced in various degrees of intensity [153] this biological, social, and spiritual dependence on his ancestors (mvam) and on his elders (nyambeb). To them he owes his life, his security, his social existence. Even after having crossed the various steps and being able to take full part in the assembly of men, he receives from

548 878 885

561 them various interdicts that testify to his new state and remind
578 him of the obligation to submit to those who have made him a
885 man, a complete Fang. (1)

1. Cf. M. Briault, op. cit., pp. 183-184.

561 For a long time he submits to this superiority of his elders,
885 who intervene with the ancestors, the source of prosperity and
888 power, who permit him to fulfill and increase himself by marriage and the possession of posterity, by controlling the circulation of bride prices and women. Thus the male life curve reaches a maximum which corresponds to the social influence of the nyamòrò, decreases as old age approaches (we have already stressed the tendency in the past to discard the "grandfather," mvam), and increases infinitely after death, which gives him the quality of "ancestor" with limitless power on behalf of the living. Childhood and old age, representing the "low" points of this curve, are preparation for the two "high" states which are characterized by an increase in power and autonomy.

561 In ancient Fang society dependence guaranteed material
578 and spiritual security. It was centered on the relation between
182 the begetter (ésa) and the begotten (émò wâm) rather than on that between the dominating one and the one dominated. We have frequently stressed the leveling tendency existing in the heart of the nd'è bòt and the dangers threatening any pre-eminence acquired by personal right. The just distribution of women, wealth, and tasks is expected from the "eldest," not any domination. In another respect, during the period of conquest, attempts at domination and the establishment of excessive personal power were limited by the important role of the "warrior" (who best incarnates the qualities which caused Dr. Cureau to compare the Fang to "modern Spartans") and the threats of rupture in the heart of a grouping which needed to remain sufficiently large and coherent. An equilibrium may arise between the power of the "eldest ones" (religious and political pre-eminence) and the power of the young men (martial pre-eminence). It involves particularly the rigid regulation of the circulation of the women, the possibility for these

561 young men to go beyond the level of simple dependence to be-
578 come, in their turn, creators of dependence, and the possibility
182 [154] of "capitalizing" human lives (women and descendants). This equilibrium has been upset and competition disorganized by the passage from warlike to economic conquest, then to an agricultural economy in which the woman plays a fundamental part, and the pacification which no longer permits the lack of women to be remedied by raids. Capitalization of women and capitalization of property are then bound together, the former becoming to a great extent the condition of the latter. The role of the "rich" man (nkumakuma) is increasing; (1) relations be-

> 1. To such an extent that Bertaut notes that among the Cameroons Boulou, who have been longer subject to a modern economy, there is only one word nkuma to designate the chief of village groupings.

tween generations, between "eldest sons" and "younger sons," may become that between possessors (women, property, and political role) and nonpossessors. Dependence tends to take on the characteristics of a domination creating tensions and conflicts.

784 We have been able to define a certain number of points of
626 equilibrium in the heart of ancient Fang society. We must now specify the important position held by the system of interdicts (biki) in social control. According to M. Briault the word éki (plural, biki) comes from the root ki meaning "force, restraint, virility, power"; it expresses a ritual prohibition, an interdict or taboo; it designates "a person or thing marked with a sacred character with whom or with which contact or use are forbidden." This author considers the éki essentially from the point of view of the restraint they exercise and of the social order which they help to maintain. He writes: "They give rather the idea of an effective means of keeping youth, women ... in short, all in the society who are made to obey, in a spirit of subjection to those whose will is of importance ... political interest is doubled and made

536 made, but this practice is only very rarely followed in cases of free
851 union, ébon, even when that is followed by a regular marriage of the
848 natural parents. Illegitimate children, fruits of an ébon, bobengon, are kept in their mother's clan, where, moreover, they rank socially only after legitimate children.

597 There used to exist a kind of adoption, rare today, of a political
614 rather than family nature, which could almost be defined as naturali-
641 zation. It could only be carried out by the head of an extended family on behalf of an orphan, mone nyui, of another clan (orphans within /56/ the clan being, of course, already considered children of the head of the family). The adopted child, abiaé mɔ̂sɔ̂ (i.e., "conceived
[839] in the daytime," sexual relations being lawful only between sundown and sunrise), came into the clan with a status analogous to that of the monengon. He remained subject to the marriage prohibitions of his clan of origin.

609 A non-Pahouin outsider permanently residing in a village, a ntabe,
614 may benefit through marriage by alliance, élat, which does not thereby make him a member of the clan. He becomes a monekal (sister's son, uterine relative) and his children, though legitimate, belong to their mother's clan.

593 The descent relationship may be broken by paternal or maternal
578 curse, meyo'é: the parent uttering the curse shows the child his sexual organs, "the place whence he came," while pronouncing a formula oath. The curse is supposed to bring misfortune and death to the offspring accursed, whom everyone avoids. It can only be
[783] lifted by a collective purificatory rite (étye, tyɔ̂) in which the whole nda bɔ̂t participates.

3. Age Grades

561 The individual's life cycle is marked by a certain number of transitions, which are accompanied, or were usually accompanied, by rites that will be discussed further on (p. 115). These crises are birth, weaning, puberty, attaining majority, marriage, death. Age grades correspond to the intermediate stages; they are less strictly defined today than formerly.

561 I do not know the exact word for fetus: people say abum, belly.
643 There must be a more precise term, but I think there is a prohibiton connected with it, certainly as regards men, although it may now be

no more than a mere conventional taboo, as with certain words considered crude in French. At birth and until weaning a baby is ntyen (nken) or nkeñelé.

After weaning, which usually occurs when the child begins to walk by itself, between eighteen months and two years, the nken becomes a mongô (mone fam = boy; mone minga = girl); an uncircumcised boy is called more specifically nsôsôl.

Circumcision takes place between eight and twelve years of age (1), before the first premonitory signs of puberty, especially the

1. In former times it was sometimes put off until the youth had killed his first enemy. See Trilles (no. 166) and Largeau (no. 48).

appearance of the first pubic hair (afañ, related to the verb fañ = to do well, correctly, on purpose, from the masculine root FA?). The circumcised boy, ntyi'an, "cut one," becomes an adolescent, nsôman, a term also meaning "son" (in relation to a man, see above, p. 63). Correspondingly, a pubescent girl becomes ngon (which can mean at the same time young girl, daughter of a man, or moon: ayene ngon, "to see the moon," that is, to be menstruating), or also élenan. /57/

The adolescent boy is still ébis, uninitiated. The missions have now adopted the term mvôn, "initiated," to denote church members. Formerly, one became mvôn after initiation, mostly in the great national so initiation, the members of which were called monewôsô (probably "child of the death /la mort/ of the sô"; compare this with the joking relationship, awusô = the dying /le mourir/ of the sô).

After initiation, that is, somewhere between the sixteenth and twentieth year, a young man though of military age was not yet a nya môtô, a true person. This he became only upon marriage, when he attained what might be considered his legal, civil, even economic, majority.

A girl, ngon, who became ngal or nya ngal, a true woman, by losing her virginity, after marriage was nya minga, a /married/ lady, and ésila or ékua, a matron, when she had brought up her first children. A man with grandchildren was ntole môt, an elder, usually around forty; this was the highest possible social position. Indeed,

an old man, nnôm mût, who lived too long lost his prestige as he became decrepit. It seems probable that during the great migrations old people, particularly feeble old women, were abandoned in the forest when a village moved its site. Certainly death must often have come before the infirmities of age, from fighting, hunting, or the first serious illness. My informants were always unanimous in telling me that the skull of an infirm or senile old man could not be used in the bièri cult.

With the second generation of descendants, a man, alive or dead, inevitably becomes émvam, a forefather, in the double sense of grandfather and ancestor.

An age grade covers about three years: this is about the longest possible stretch of time during which two children born on different dates can both be at the breast together, and it was approximately the interval separating two large collective initiation ceremonies. Classificatory kinship groups people by generation: all those of one generation are bobenyañ, brothers, as mentioned above. Within an age grade the term éjula, "comrade," is more apt to be used. The succession of age grades created an internal hierarchy within the generation and strengthened the clan and tribal ties between the bijula. This strengthening was even more marked between the bo'bewôô of the same time of initiation.

Modern life alters these ties, as much from the dying out or transformation of the initiations as from the loosening of ties in the extended family and also from the greater mobility of individuals and limited families. The little Fang boy born at Fort-Lamy, where his father is postal agent, scarcely feels himself to be the éjula of his clan monyañ born on the same day at Libreville. Economic and political development tends more and more to set up hierarchies founded more on occupation, wealth, even education, rather than on age and rank in the family. /58/

4. Slavery, Castes, Classes, Chiefdoms

Largeau spoke of the Pahouin as of a "people who have no synonym for our words 'king,' 'master,' 'servant,' 'workman,' 'slave.'" It is a fine phrase, but it only partially corresponds to reality. Largeau himself, in his encyclopedia, translates the word "slave" as nsagha, a loan word from Gabonese (Mpongwé), he says. Further north, people

Distribution by Age

Age Group	Elected Municipal Councilors	Total Adult Male Population (1) (Nyong-and-Sanaga)
	Percent	Percent
20 to 30 years	9	26
30 to 40	33	29
40 to 50	37	28
Over 50	20	15

1. Evaluation made according to censuses established by the subdivisions; the documentation is not faultless but nevertheless is indicative.

The figures given below for the whole population are not definitive, but as they have been taken from a recent complete census they may be considered good approximations.

Distribution of External Signs of Wealth
(for 100 persons)

	Masonry Houses	Bicycles	Automobiles
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Municipal councilors	27	50	11
Adult male population of Ebolowa	1.4	21	0.3

Not for nothing do the Pahouin use the word nkukuma (rich) to designate a chief. The chosen leaders are the rich men. /133/

A study of the matrimonial situation enables us to be more specific about the personal characteristics of elected men. Polygamy is much more common among them than among the population as a whole.

586 The day on which the woman is to come out of the hut, she is bathed
535 and anointed with an oil (mbon nzũi) and is seated on a stool placed in the middle of the village square. Other women sing and dance around her and give her a new name to represent a wish she has made.

There is no religious ceremony.

583 There also used to be a marriage by exchange of wives (mvole bunanga). With the mere consent of the women concerned, two men could exchange their wives. The parents of the wives did not interfere except to verify the amounts of the dowries and to make sure that the husband of the wife with the lesser dowry had fully paid the difference to the other.

593 The relations between married couples are simple: the man must
●562 lodge his wife and clear the brush from the site where she will make her plantings; on the other hand, the wife owes absolute fidelity and obedience to her husband, who has the right to beat her. The woman has no authority in the household; she is hardly more respected than
[832] a domestic animal; she owns in her own right only the cooking utensils and the tools for planting and fishing, and does not have the right to own animals. Prohibition of sexual relations is rigidly observed during
[834] pregnancy, during lactation, and in the night preceding departure for the hunt, work at the forge, and various [other] tasks. If the prohibition were not observed, these tasks would be unsuccessful.

595 Polygamy is the present custom among the Fan. The first wife has authority over the others, who must obey her. She receives the largest share of everything and assigns household chores and field work. The husband sleeps with each of his wives for three days.

684 In adultery, only the wife is punished. She is beaten and her ac-
837 complice pays an indemnity to her husband. This indemnity amounts to a quarter of the dowry. The wife confesses her adultery only when forced to by a series of corporal punishments which range from blows to being tied to a tree full of ants (akokum).

586 Repudiation is accomplished without difficulty: the man sends back his wife and the dowry is repaid him. The causes for repudiation are repeated adultery, the death of a child as a result of adultery, laziness, practice of fetishism, and excessive surveillance of the husband; sterility is not a reason for [90] repudiation. The children stay with the husband, and the woman, once repudiated, may remarry.

612 belonging to the clan of the father or the mother (or belonging to a clan connected by marriage to either when the common origin is still known). We have already pointed out certain circumstances in which maternal kinship is effective. It should be remembered that this maternal kinship manifests itself from childhood on by obligating the mwanõ kal to visit his nya-nduma(s), that it is able to receive the right of guardianship, to collect the bride price, and to benefit from an inheritance (in addition to compensation normally provided at the time of a maternal nephew's death) by substituting for a vanished paternal kinship, and that it shares along with the relatives by marriage (abê) in the various phases of funeral ceremonies and mourning. This fact suggests that the power of the maternal kinship, while remaining subordinate, is recognized in this way to strengthen the power of "alliances" created by marriage. Those related to the father by marriage are the nya-nduma of his immediate descendants. In this way the bonds essential to the existence of traditional Fang society are consolidated.

Marriage and Alliances

581 554 The first explorers, Du Chaillu and M. H. Kingsley, did not fail to point out the important role of relations set up by means of the numerous marriages among foreign groupings. Father Trilles, in his study made at the beginning of this century, also pointed out the personal advantages connected with a network [119] of alliances opened up through the interplay of marriages. He writes: "The Fang will therefore marry a girl in order to secure alliances in other tribes, to acquire greater influence by having more men attached to him by the ties of blood." (1) All researchers emphasize definitely

1. Father Trilles, "Proverbes, légendes et contes Fang [Fang Sayings, Legends and Tales]," Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie, 1905, pp. 49-295.

two social consequences of marriage: the increase of personal prestige and the increase of the strength of the family group.

581 554 These facts should be complemented by specifying the particular ●562 value attributed by every Fang to the "possession" of several wives

5; Balandier--58 E-5 (1946-1951) 1955 FH9 Fang FH9

581 and by recalling the keen competition for women this society. This
554 value was expressed in a colorful way by Dr. Cureau when he said:
562 "The gynaeceum is a bank, a savings bank...." (2) And M. L. Mba,

2. Dr. A. Cureau, op. cit., p. 118.

a Fang of the Libreville region, in his Coutumier Pahouin [Pahuin Customs] gives a similar interpretation: the wife "is part of the property (or bioum) of the group into which she enters by marriage." [37] He completes this interpretation by saying that the adultery of a married woman "is severely punished because it is considered a theft." (3) The woman has no juridical personality: she has no

3. In the same vein, we cite a remark, quoted by Mgr. Martrou in a study dated 1918, made by a young Fang of Libreville to his wife: "What do you have to complain of, you are my beast ... I paid a high enough price for you!"

personal property of any importance, merely goods for everyday use; she has no share in any inheritance; she is transmitted by inheritance, just as are various goods and valuables (which may be considered virtually as women). However, the woman is property of a special kind; she is property in the highest sense of the word: creative capital. [She is the] source of produce (by her agricultural function, all the more important now that the woman takes part in cultivating the rich plantations) and of service (by her various domestic functions). [She is the] source of power, by "the procreation of children contributing to the defense of the group or securing alliances," (4) and [she is the source] of personal prestige.

4. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 29.

[She is the] source of "alliances" and kinship; through her the number of people who exchange services and gifts and who can render aid and assistance is increased. Thus, marriage has a

specific social meaning: it creates bonds (abè) which fasten together the family and clan groupings. Curault points out that this imposes a "close union, in spite of divergencies in language and in spite of the palavers of the different parts of the Pahouin people." At the same time, marriage [120] has a personal meaning. In traditional Fang society the possession of many wives is the principal sign of wealth and the condition for all increase of wealth. This wealth conditions the importance of the social role; it makes possible the acquisition of a kind of personal power in a society with hardly any hierarchical system. (1)

1. Let us point out that two words with the same root, éval and évala, mean "polygamy" and "a prop, a support," respectively.

Because of this personal element the competition for women can become particularly keen. Very early, government reports pointed out the frequency of palavers due to the "women question," and they continue to complain of them as being characteristic of "Fang society and psychology." Let us state at the outset that the competition does not concern the sexual services demanded from the women. For the unmarried men there are various compensating possibilities -- but only in the line of "lustful sexuality," to quote the expression of R. Bastide. (2) The young unmarried people have

2. R. Bastide, Sociologie et Psychanalyse [Sociology and Psychoanalysis], Bibliothèque de Sociologie Contemporaine, Paris, 1950.

complete sexual liberty among themselves: it is the custom called azòya-angòn (azòyya, fornication; ngòn, maiden). E. Trezenem states in his monograph on the Fang of the Ogooué that "virginity of the woman is considered of no importance," that "the young girls are free to give themselves to whomever they want." Then he adds an "important restriction," saying that there are practically

837 "Etudes sur le Pays Pahouin [Study on the Pahouin Country]," op. cit.

"friendship wife"), show, as does the freedom just referred to, that the curbing of adultery can be explained by social reasons which are quite alien to sexuality.

[527 The possibility of raping women of neighboring people dur-
567] ing the time of conquest, the possibility of buying foreign women
831 at a good price, so long as the slave trade lasted, permitted the
595 "chiefs" of groupings to remedy the dangers due to the unsatisfied
581 desires of the young men. Apparently the Fang do not display, as do some people, (2) signs of unsatisfied sex due to the fact that

2. Cf. R. Bastide, Sociologie et Psychanalyse [Sociology and Psychoanalysis], pp. 160-161.

women remain the property of the older men. What is sought is the legal possession of the woman, let us say, for the many advantages it entails, rather than sexual possession. And in this sense the justification brought forward by L. Mba can be understood when he writes, "It was not material satisfaction of the senses which drove the Pahouins to polygamy, but many other reasons. . . ."

581 When the marriage is consummated, the woman goes from a
562 state of near liberty to one of strict sexual control. The specific
684 painful physical penalties for adultery to which the woman alone
628 is subject are particuarly severe: being exposed naked before the assembled village, being tied to the ant tree, excision of the clitoris or pimento torture, various mutilations. When the woman, either by flight or by rape, leaves the grouping into which she married, the whole group reacts violently. It is the cause of fights, kidnaping, and pillaging of the village that has taken her
581 in. (3) There is the most absolute contrast between this control
562

3. "Hence, conflicts that last for years, expressed through kidnaping of women and ending in gunshots," Libreville, Archives of 1909. And

581
562

> the saying: "If the woman is the receptacle in which all can quench their thirst, she should not be carried off."

between these collective sanctions, and the very broad morality which allows a girl to "celebrate her youth" and which appears in the proverb: "Woman is an ear of dry corn in which anyone with teeth may bite." Marriage strengthens the socialization of woman, imposing on her [122] unconditional submission. One might say, to quote R. Bastide, that it consists in passing from "lustful sexuality" to "social sexuality."

581
585

The social character of marriage is emphasized symbolically. A series of ceremonies mark the admission of the woman into the group that is receiving her. The mother of her husband recites the latter's genealogy, and a segregation of a week is imposed on her, after which she undergoes a coming-out ritual — she is bathed and anointed with oil by the oldest woman relative — [555] and she receives a new name, indicating a wish, which the other women give to her at a time of song and dance. (1) The "alliance"

> 1. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., p. 89.

concluded between the two family groupings is demonstrated by meals taken together and by rejoicing (éyalö), and above all, it is [769] consecrated by the sacrifice of an animal destined for the biéri (ancestors' altar) of the young girl's parents, showing that bonds exist not only with the group of living but also with the community of ancestors. (2) The emphasis is thus laid on taking possession of

> 2. No doubt it is necessary to link this sacred character of the alliance to the violence of collective reactions provoked by "women affairs."

the posterity (in this respect the recitation of the genealogy appears to be very significant) and on the creation of an alliance (the same

583 common, appears as the sign of exceptional success, which explains the prestige of the nkukuma who owns a greater number of wives and more property (bium). The price characteristic manifested now in the bride price is a recent transformation. Originally, its final payment sealed an alliance that could not be broken without a long process of "divorce"; one which survived even the man who enabled it to be, since the wife was transferred to the eldest son or the oldest brother; and one which, above all, legitimized the ownership of posterity: if the bride price was not paid in full, the newborn child belonged to the parents of the wife; if not fully paid back [126] at the time of a "divorce," the child belonged to the father. The fact that the bride price is not refunded at the death of the wife, when the latter leaves posterity, does not suggest that it is a matter of the price of the latter, but rather a reciprocity emphasizing that through the posterity the alliance has become a kinship.

●562 584 We have thus endeavored to show the social importance of marriage, pointing out particularly the fundamental role of the links it establishes between groups and the pre-eminence attached to controlling the circulation of the women and their bride prices. But obviously this system does not always function smoothly. A lack of equilibrium exists between the meaning it has for the grouping and the meaning it might have for the individuals concerned. Certain rules of procedure, recognized by custom, provide solutions for possible conflicts. The marriage agreed to by the young people may take place against the wish of the family heads following the rape (abòm) of the girl (1); the wife has various methods

[139]

1. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., p. 88: "The young man gives what he has in money and goods, and the parents are obliged to agree to the marriage by accepting this first payment."

of recourse against a seriously prejudicial union. Her complaint may result in her marriage to another of the sons of her father-in-law, or else she may go to a man of her choice who pays the

562 584 compensation, or she may "publicly curse her husband." (2)

2. Cf. V. Largeau, op. cit., article: Femme [Woman].

562 586 Finally, in the case of serious conflicts, the union may be dissolved by "divorce," but the latter may only be used traditionally under well-defined circumstances and "with the assent of the two interested family heads." (3) There are therefore arrangements that allow

3. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 21.

personal reasons to be taken into account and which F. Meyé had in mind when he said, "the Fang woman can in no way be compared to a slave," because of the many kinds of recourse she has at her disposal; these arrangements play a wholly exceptional role in ancient Fang society. Beside the personal element, which also acts as a disturbing element, is the fact that the number of unions indicates wealth and social importance. (4) It results, when the

4. This element is shown particularly in the custom reported by L. Mba: "In comfortably off families, the parents betroth the boys before puberty and the girls after puberty," op. cit., p. 14.

circulation of goods is no longer strictly controlled, in keen competition and numerous disputes.

582 635 It is now essential to consider the persons concerned in the play of marriage and to point out at once that certain persons [127] are excluded from it. Apart from the double exogamy which introduces a form of "fraternity" in a very broad sense of the word, there are prohibitions concerning the precise degrees of relationship as follows: between members of the taga class (father, mother, uncle, aunt) and the mwanõ class (sons and daughters, nephews and nieces); between members of the same segment, including cousins to the third generation; there are prohibitions on those

166 made fifty years ago, such a whole represented from 350 to 700
621 or 800 persons — while present-day villages rarely average more
361 than 100 inhabitants. With peace restored, the grouping has relaxed and divided into its constituent elements which have broken away to form neighboring hamlets. A special word, ngòra, is the name given to these hamlets which are considered as still forming the same whole.

621 Linked with the virile character of Fang society is certainly
● 562 [132] the accent on the separation of sexes as shown in daily
571 life. For the woman, the living place is the hut; for the man it
344 is essentially the "guardhouse." M. H. Kingsley writes: "The men spend most of their time in palaver houses built at each end of the street, while the women bring bowls of food the whole day
[78] long." (3) without being able to enter the abèñõ, which is absolutely

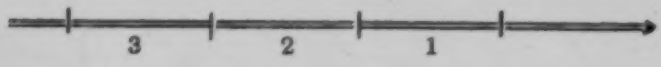
3. Travels in West Africa, p. 154.

forbidden them. H. Trilles defines this abèñõ as the place "where the men assemble to deal with community affairs, war, marriage,
[79] lawsuits, etc....," and where strangers are welcomed. In addition it is the place where the young men receive a large part of their education, where they learn, according to L. Mba, the most im-
621 portant interdicts (ɛ̀ki). Males of the same nd'ɛ̀ bòt assemble in
562 the abèñõ, which forms a virile grouping and one of kinship. In
571 its midst the authority of the "eldest" is expressed. He is both the symbol and the regulator of the life of the group, and the intermediary between it and the ancestors. Here not only are important transactions regulated, but work is also organized. The life of each one is subject to the control and the nearly constant censure of all. In it is created a cohesion so that this group is the most resistant element of Fang society. It is through the medium of this group, that the traditional Fang is assessed, is isolated as an individual, by the foreigner; he is not known in the first place as X but as a man attached to the abèñõ of Y. Such a grouping therefore represents a strong "community": the fusion, which favors effective kinship to the maximum (it is based on immediate filiation and "fraternity"), worship of the same ancestors, and joint

621 participation in the same tasks, tends — if one may venture the
562 play on words — to the confusion of its members. On the other
571 hand, the women it controls do not form such a coherent whole; they represent different clans, different modalities of kinship; they are the center of virtual conflicts (between female "relatives" and female "relations by marriage," between co-wives); except for the wives of the same man, who live together, they do not have a common living place.

621 The nd'è bòt — and, more precisely, this virile whole made
571 up of relatives belonging to the same guardhouse (abèmò) — harbors,
578 however, latent antagonisms, which are the result of the privilege
614 linked with ancestry [133] or seniority. These tensions can come to a head when disputes arise usually from economic causes, such as circulation of wealth or of women, or allocation of farming land. They help to explain the ve / variable size of the groupings considered as villages, and the phenomena of aggregation and disintegration of the latter according to circumstances. But both of these movements are effected as a function of the minor lineage which is the nd'è bòt.

621 This grouping may by itself constitute a separate unit of about
571 ten persons or a village with up to a hundred inhabitants. When a
614 village is old, with a large population (200 to 300 persons or more), it cannot remain organized around a single common hearth. It is arranged around several centers corresponding to the sons of the founder or their successors. Thus the village of Ebiane (Yéngwi in the vicinity of Oyem) has 235 inhabitants distributed in three groups representing the respective posterity of three brothers. We have already stressed the fact that the heads of minor lineages are at the level of the same segment. The village of Afénane (Yébimvé of the Oyem region) with more than 300 inhabitants also consists of the posterity of three brothers, and each of the nd'è bòt occupies a definite position on the village street, according to the following diagram:



562 (symbolized by the expression "our women have become unruly"), and those connected with the change of typical relations between generations. There is no doubt that the morphological changes affecting the groupings – splintering, mobility of individuals, abnormal sex ratio – and the process of economic development have conditioned these phenomena. Nevertheless, it is equally true that specifically Fang internal conditions explain the acuteness of the resulting problems.

562 Oral tradition is significant on the traditional relations between the sexes. According to this, woman appears to be primarily regarded in terms of her fertility: "Go find your women and populate the earth," [148] says Nzame to the first man; (1) and in terms of

1. H. Trilles, "Proverbes, Légendes et Contes Fang [Fang Proverbs, Legends, and Tales]," Legend of the Nsas, op. cit.

her usefulness: "Old woman, worn out calabash," asserts a proverb. She is shown to be subject to man ("I am nothing before a man, I am as stupid as a hen," says another proverb) and protected by him, who remains essentially "a warrior" in the ancient society. The few extant ethnographic studies have emphasized this lesser position. In his works dating from the beginning of the century, Father Trilles writes: "The girl is not considered as a "member" of the tribe." (2) E. Trezenem confirms this in a more recent account:

2. Father H. Trilles, Le totémisme chez les Fang [Totemism Among the Fang], note, p. 109.

The woman "is considered hardly more than a domestic animal..."(3)

3. Op. cit., p. 89.

At the same time, in an apparently contradictory manner, most of the early documents express surprise at the inordinate importance which seems to be placed on the woman, who is found at the source of numerous palavers, Let us add that the Fang woman was

562 shown by most observers as the principal agent of production in the midst of a slavery-free society and, for that reason, as a factor in becoming rich. These are the generally accepted opinions; what are they worth?

562 842 It appears to us that the stress falls primarily on the capacity for fecundity of the woman who is acquired legally. The wife allows the man to manifest himself as a begetter (ésa); she assures his posterity, which for a Fang is the prime property. Through her he not only proves himself fully male but he obtains a true social promotion, acquiring influence which grows in proportion to the growth of his family group, participating fully in the pre-eminent social stratum, that of the generation of "fathers." In a conquering society, as Fang society was up until recent times, a man's influence was determined more by the number of the warriors attached to him (4) (the wife properly giving him male

4. Let us quote an unequivocal proverb: "a relative is a gun."

descendants and relatives by marriage) than by his personal warlike valor. One might say his importance was in proportion to his aggressive and defensive potential.

The man without posterity is a lesser being, an inferior Fang, because he is powerless. It is significant that the word ki means at the same time "strength, virility, and power." This explains [149] the position held by the magic for fecundity, by the "techniques" to check the causes of sterility, and the fact that sterility is the sanction linked to the most serious offenses (especially incest). In a well-known formula, this state of affairs indicates the pre-eminence of the "production of human beings" over the production of means of existence." The chance dis-
562 842 159 covery of a notebook in which a young man of the Oyem region had written down some of his dreams and the rules of conduct he followed has shown us the level of obsession which the pursuit after future descendents may attain.

We give as an example the most "direct" of these dreams: "I dream that a lady speaks to me in my dream so that my wife may have a child. I should roast a banana, go near a river, cut

562 this banana, and give half to my wife, after we have both drunk
842 some water. Then I should go and embrace my wife. Then I
159 should dip her (?) in water saying: who is this woman from whom you come?" Another text, given as a "dream," hardly deserves this name, or is only part of a richer dream (and it is still very revealing). It consists of a recipe for fecundity: "I dream that the devil recommends three herbs for a sterile woman, that she may bear a child...." The meaning is clear, all the more as various precepts collected under the title The Individual Will confirm it clearly. "I shall find means not to live any longer without leaving a child; what pursuits will permit a man not to die without leaving a child?; to choose oneself 'what is needed' to marry a woman who bears children (1) ...." One could call

1. Cahier de Daniel Ngema Ondo
[Notebook of Daniel Ngéma Ondo].

it a regular "complex of the man without posterity." The search for numerous future descendants is still the most important undertaking. If the reasons for "power" just referred to have for the moment disappeared, others have been substituted or have appeared: the fear of breaking a line of descent, of being only a "deceased one" and not an ancestor (mvam) revered by his posterity, the fear of abandoned old age, and now the desire to enrich the family grouping, which is an economic unit, by having at one's disposal the greatest possible number of active elements. Elsewhere we have pointed out that the possession of a large grouping is a guarantee of greater liberty because of the increased influence it entails.

562 Besides being the instrument for reproduction — and hence subject [150] as soon as she is married to the most complete control — the woman is also the instrument of production. While the man builds the huts, clears the plantations, and (in the past) was essentially in charge of "defending the women and children," (1)

1. In 1890, A. Fourneau observed in the Estuary region "long files of women loaded like mules" who

562

brought supplies regularly to Gabon,
escorted by men with flintlock guns.

the woman is primarily a peasant. She ensures to a large extent the economy of subsistence, even taking part in hunting. With the arrival of colonization this aspect has taken on a new importance and a new direction. With the opening of increasingly more numerous markets and the established use of money, the products obtained by the woman have become a source of income, and the woman, as a worker, a source of profit. The woman became of great economic value and became, as one might say, doubly fertile. At the same time, her purely instrumental nature and her dependence became more marked. She tended to be truly an "object," all the more coveted since polygamy (in spite of the "freedom" allowed young unmarried people) makes of the woman a scarce "product." (2) The woman stands at the center of all

2. Cf. C. Levi-Strauss, Les Structures Élémentaires de la Parenté [Elementary Structures of Kinship], Paris, P.U.F., 1949.

competition at the same time that she remains the most dominated element of Fang society, because she is the one from whom most is demanded. It seems as if the woman were "separated" from the society of men, a stranger to the most organized and most active social body, and as if her impure nature is periodically asserted to better ensure her submission. This may all the better be explained because among the men the leveling tendency and the refusal to have slavery have not permitted the established existence of a relationship between one dominating and one dominated.

562 789 This situation presents some ambiguity. The "mother" has relative authority over her sons and has at her disposal the weapon of calling down curses (yogö, to curse), by which she denies her "mother" quality. (3) In the same way, the first wife may curse

3. Cf. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 35, the text of the "Curse."

562 789 her husband. The "son-in-law" and the "mother-in-law" are bound together by a system of interdicts; the mwanö are required [606] to show respect to the "generation of the mothers"; the pre-eminence attached to seniority plays a role in the relations between the sexes. The woman may therefore be the object of respect and the subject of fear. [151] On the other hand, "associa-562 795 tions" of women which have created a hierarchy, a teaching, a ritual of initiation, and a whole body of distinguishing symbols and signs and a technique shown by a specific dance, are referred to in various documents, particularly the Mévungö (1), which is

1. Unpublished documents collected by Abbot A. Walker, a native of Lower Gabon and truly versed in local ethnology.

a Pahouin version of the Nyèmbé, a widely disseminated female sect in Gabon. This sect was observed by Du Chaillu about 1860 among the Ba-kélé who were for the most part subdued by the Fang. This observer wrote at that time that the Nyèmbé "protects the women from their male enemies, it avenges their grievances, and serves them in all circumstances according to their whims."(2)

2. Father du Chaillu, op. cit., p. 322 ff.

This points out with great subtlety, to the essentially compensatory role played by such a grouping. By participating in the "society of women," the woman remedies the marginal situation and the submission which are her share throughout her daily life. It imposes or necessitates her collaboration in important moments for the community and in domains which in principle are forbidden to her. [535] Thus the dance of the Mévungö was used "long ago when a Pahouin tribe was preparing to wage war against another tribe or to make raids for women"; it was also used "at the time of preparation for great elephant hunts." (3) Such "associations" no longer survive

3. Abbot A. Walker, notes inédites [unpublished notes].

562 except in a sporadic and very degenerate form; we mention the
795 N'nup with a whole string of "queens" that has appeared in the neighboring regions of Spanish Guinea.

562 This ambiguity in the position of woman to a certain extent
578 creates an equilibrium. On the other hand, from the point of
837 view of sentimental relations, this is not true. The man who admits that marriage should be regulated primarily in terms of social considerations hopes to obtain some day a "favorite" wife and has little fear of sanctions connected with adultery. The woman, married young, remains prisoner of the system and is always threatened with severe sanctions. Apparently this results in the many disputes which were referred to by the first administrators. "Very often the woman abandons her husband and returns to her parents' village or follows a man of her choice..." (Archives of Libreville, 1909). They were also referred to by the first Fang scholars: "The Pahouin woman does not hesitate to leave with a lover; often married against her wishes she avenges [152] this state of things by a very great infidelity" (L. Mba, op. cit.). The expression used by this author is significant. What might be called the sentimental excuse permits a broader reaction responding to frustrations of another nature. We must see there the sign of tensions which are actualized at the only possible level. Let us add that the conditions created by colonization will liberate these tensions to a great extent by destroying the equilibrium obtained approximately by traditional means.

561 These tensions are not the only ones to be mended. Between
578 generations, that of the ésa and that of the mwanö, on the same
784 segment between the eldest and the younger brothers, it appears that relationships of dependency can turn into antagonisms. Soon
[551] after his birth the young boy is "marked" by his ascendants, receiving a double name (essential in relation to other denominations) which contains the name of an ancestor of his paternal line (of a mvam) and the first term of his father's name. In addition to individual interdicts imposed by his father, the child is subject to various general interdicts which are removed by degrees as the child becomes a man. Thus, there is the interdict on the pig (1), and on

1. The pig appears as a valuable animal

575 754 judicial inquiry at Ambam in 1948 after a raid on ze mimfaka, an old chief who was a Protestant and an elder of his church declared, in so many words, that "the white man has weakened the ngil, and the beyem have taken it over; now it is the ngil of ngbwel /sorcery/."

[789] The initiates of the kôn or kun, a kind of magic that enables one to assume another person's strength without destroying his body, also seem to be grouped into a secret society with meetings every seven years.

575 [786] Beyem associations do not usually include both sexes; male and female sorcerers meet together only occasionally, for orgiastic sabbaths.

[789] The distinction between white and black magic is, nevertheless, difficult to draw the present time, and one can never tell offhand if the small groups springing up nearly everywhere to protect their members against bad luck by using, in addition to remnants of traditional rites, recipes copied from magic manuals printed in France, belong to the one or the other.

[562] To come back tothe traditional associations, we must underline /the fact that/ in them there was a complete separation of the sexes, to such an extent that women were often forbidden to speak the name of a men's society or to show any kind of knowledge, even superficial, of its rites. The prohibition was less stringent for men with regard to women's rites, since the nsem, the breaking of a taboo, was for them punished by physical incapacity or illness rather than by death. /66/

A women's rite like mevungu had both a village aspect, on account of its geographical framework, the jurisdiction of its huts, and an interclan aspect as a result of exogamy. Much less is known of these women's rites than of the men's, for the very good reason that men are not allowed to know anything about them. Missionaries have condemned mevungu as obscene: I have heard that initiates who have gone through the menopause are supposed to play a male role in dances miming coition, without being able to obtain the slightest proof or the least detail (1). What is certain is that this is a rite of

[842 224]

[831]

1. A woman "chosen for her large vagina" presided, seated with legs spread apart. Each initiate would go tickle her and pull the clitoris. (J. B.)

fecundity, of fertility, and also of the hunt: an unlucky hunter may have his wife initiated so as to ward off bad luck.

7. The Position of Women(1)

562

1. J. Binet, "Condition des femmes /The Position of Women/, " Cahiers internationaux de sociologie, 20, 1956, Presses Universitaires de France, and "Statut des femmes dans le Sud-Cameroun /Status of Women in the Southern Cameroons/, " to appear in Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin, 1956, Edit. of the Librarie Encyclopédique, Brussels.

If the older people are to be believed, the position of women according to orthodox custom was that of minors. However, there is nothing in traditional theory that justifies such a negative attitude towards women: some clans name women among their eponymous heroes, and there are legends attributing to the creator god (Zambe) a daughter in whose honor certain rites were performed. At the present time the tribal societies making an effort to revive the old clans and to revise their codes of manners and their customary laws always keep a place for women at the core of the executive /état-major/, but very often the role of women is secondary: they are dancers, singers, organizers of dances, or stewards watching over followers—in short they only carry out men's orders. Women are also sometimes associated with men in religious /confessional/ so-
[575] cieties (Protestant or, more frequently, Catholic), but mostly they form separate groups, formerly so-called secret societies, today Christian devotional confraternities, which enable women to meet together, to set up a hierarchy and have leaders of their own. Women do not actually participate in the life of the community /cité/ or, better, they form a community among themselves, distinct from that of men.

In law women seem to be at a disadvantage, but it is not clear that they owe this to genuine antifeminism. In fact, no one is perfectly free in customary law; only the patriarchal head of a family
[825] possesses full legal capacity. Marriage does not confer majority on a woman, and a girl possesses greater independence than does a
[848] married woman. In the sexual sphere this is clear: illegitimate births involve no disgrace; a child is always welcome. If born before marriage, it belongs to the mother's family. And it is not unusual for respectable fathers to wait until a daughter has borne children before marrying her off.

562 children before marrying her off. In the economic sphere a young unmarried woman may freely undertake all sorts of commercial enterprises, whereas a married woman would need her husband's consent. Nor do divorce or widowhood, /82/ any more than marriage, emancipate a woman in theory. Escaping from her husband's guardianship, she falls back under the authority of the head of her family, but from the point of view of custom this is not a detrimental situation, since every person remains subject to his father.

Therefore the liberty women possess in managing their inheritance [454] ought not to appear an anomaly. Besides, individual savings are widespread in Africa. And the division of property into masculine and feminine allows women and girls to own objects which neither [422] husbands nor fathers may take from them. A partition of goods is the logical consequence of these assumptions.

Women theoretically have the right to dispose of the product of their labor—their harvest—but they must provide the basic foodstuffs. Only the surplus is sold, but in the majority of families when large sales take place the proceeds are divided between husband and wife. Women usually control the proceeds of day-to-day sales in a market or to passing travelers: petty amounts comprising only 10 percent of the total family budget. They may invest these profits by joining [454] a tontine (a society in which each person makes a contribution on a fixed date and of which the capital is allotted to each member in turn).

Thus the traditional means for growing rich are limited. But changing customs are allowing women to follow various occupations that will make them independent. Women engaged in trade or dressmaking, for which they pay a license, business trade employees or saleswomen, theoretically have to be authorized by their husbands, who may decide how the earnings are to be spent. In actual fact women seem to be free agents. Even in the customary courts they appear alone, unaccompanied by fathers or husbands.

423 In the sphere of land tenure the trend is the same: women are 562 acquiring a certain amount of property. With stabilization /i.e. settling down/, the growth of collective rights over cleared land or land good for tillage is quite understandable. The idea of allowing a personal right to a woman who is not truly a member of a family, but merely loaned to it, seems an aberration. This, nevertheless, is the situation among the Ewôndo, where a divorced woman

423 continues to have rights over her old garden plots and may gather the
● 512 harvest from them. Among the Bané and the Boulou the position of divorced women is not the same, but the tendency is so, for when fallow land is cleared, every woman goes back to the plots she used to work four or five years before, and sons may demand plots that have been cultivated by their mothers.

Cacao plantations raise other problems. A man concerned for his children's future may turn over a plantation to a wife or encourage her to make one for their son. In other cases childless women start
[513] plantations as a means of providing for old age. Women with children do not have to fear, for their children will look after them. Finally, there is an even more important /83/ change appearing: a matrimonial system of community of property is developing. When a woman has collaborated with her husband to set up a plantation, she has the right upon his death to keep the usufruct. Even if her son inherits the plantation and sells the produce, it is she who collects the proceeds. This is an important development, because it is evidence of a kind of equality between spouses who are keen and efficient in harvesting the produce of the same piece of land. It furthermore shows that the
[512] household is a legal reality vis-à-vis the two individuals, on the one hand, the patriarchal family, on the other. (J. B.)

Chapter 6

Principal Elements of Culture

1. Physical and Mental Characteristics

a. Anthropological Data

141 The first travelers describe the Fang as very tall, well built, and with a formidable appearance. This opinion certainly contained a good deal of subjective evaluation, because the figures given, for instance by I. Dugast, some of which are cited below, indicate simply an above-average height:

784 religion. For several years, exogamic taboos have even been observed
797 to take on new life with a strictness that runs counter to canonical ideas about marriage (cf. above, p. 63).

g. Sorcery and Magic at the Present Time

177 Even in the areas longest converted to Christianity, contemporary
789 Pahouin continue to believe in magic and sorcery, which is, moreover,
797 not contrary to the teaching of the Scriptures. Mbibiañ compete with European or African bedôkita, mingengañ compete with exorcists, mvimvi'i with the police, and so on. Once in a while beyem still kill in order to feed their évu, and I knew a kôn practitioner who tried to make use of his skill so as to win an election.

However, since the coming of the Europeans, magic and sorcery have developed in the direction of a syncretism that is sometimes baroque. Ecclesiastical schisms do not bring about a complete return to ancient practices, but a sort of grafting of what remains onto a Christian stem, to which is often added a facile /à bon marché/ esotericism borrowed from mages and fakirs of metropolitan France. Talismans, perfumes guaranteed to inspire love, and magical jewelry arrive by the hundredweight in each mail from France. Initiations that had died out are being revived in the form of parodies of the Mass or of ordination, or even of hazings often obscene. What was most valuable in the native pharmacopoeia is being more and more neglected in favor of modern preparations used at random, with only the magical aspect surviving, emptied of its old meaning and therefore of its functional character.

Admittedly, Christianity has "caught on" in the country, just as European medicine has—the question is, just how deeply. In any event it is certain that old practices, overthrown as they may have been, survive nonetheless in new forms, fluid and changing and still far from stabilized. The result is a continual uneasiness, a crisis in adaptation, of which the outcome is unpredictable.

Leaving aside any religious or ideological position, /124/ it does, however, seem possible to say as of now that one of the most revolu-
[50] tionary contributions of the missions has been to make women participate in the same religious cult as men.

535 rite, and event in life, of which the orchestral element as well as the dance movements and costumes had a very precise symbolical meaning. Many of these dances have died out, either because they have lost their raison d'être (as with war and initiation dances, etc.) or because they have been prohibited by the administration and especially by the missions as obscene or pagan (fertility, funeral, medical dances, etc.). Those that survive have now a recreational or purely artistic character, which was only secondary before. It is 562 significant that the number of dances in which both sexes take part 178 has considerably increased and that nearly all are now open to the public and may be seen by spectators of any age or sex.

In spite of this falling off, there is still a large number and variety of dances. Among the most widespread may be mentioned:

ôzila, an old fertility dance, especially among the Fang and [534] Ntumou; an orchestra of vertical drums, mbae and ngom, with "spoken" accompaniment of the drum-telephone, nkul; it is danced by professionals (women initiates of mevungu?) with bare torso, vegetable rattles at the ankles, unsewn wildcatskin skirts, wooden masks on the left arm; the leading dancer, ôsua njem, inserts a horn into her vagina during the dance; the dancers [276] apparently drug themselves with a decoction containing (notably) Indian hemp; the missions have forbidden this dance, and this has provoked several incidents.

menjañ, called thus because the dance is accompanied by an orchestra of balafos; it is widespread except, perhaps, among the Boulou; it is performed by the young girls and little girls of a village; each village has its own tune and special costume consisting of a belt of raffia fiber, skirt and cap in "pastry-cook" style in the village colors, with a brassière worn in Christian villages.

535 ényengé, sometimes called njeman fulutita, a Protestant dance 177 (it must have been inspired by Swedish gymnastics used by a German-American M. P. A. /American Presbyterian mission?/ missionary to provide a substitute for "immoral" dances; si non è vero...), found especially among the Boulou but extending into northern Gabon under the aegis of the Movement for Regrouping Pahouin; it is a dance performed by young women and girls with a male leader, nlebe njeman, who conducts with a whistle; an orchestra of drums, nkul, mbae, and ngom, rattles

754 the leaders who will be there, as each has his private mark.
575 That's all."
828 "But why are some pointed and others not?"
203 "Oh, that! No, that's a deep secret. If I were to tell you that I'd be punished by death at the next meeting."

[Pages 454-462 omitted. --Translator] [463]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

791 All practitioners' societies recognize ritual sacrifice. In
754 many cases a human victim is slain and eaten. These sacrifices
575 are often characterized by what seems to us revolting cruelty and
782 horror. I shall have occasion to deal with this point more fully
266 when discussing sacrifice.

These are ritual sacrifices: immolation is not done for the pleasure of killing any more than consuming the victim is for the pleasure of eating human flesh. This is so much the case that a woman is never sacrificed: "Munga ké dzamadzam, ké kie ve
[562 nsissim: A woman is of no importance (from the sacrificial point
774] of view)," runs a Fan proverb, "She has no power over spirits because she has no soul."

At sorcerer's feasts, on the contrary, and in the societies they organize, men are eaten for the pleasure of eating human flesh.

754 According to all the Fan and all Africans, sorcerers leave their boeies in order to go and feed on the hearts of other men while asleep. Hence their name, béndzi bur, eaters of men. Sometimes they do this themselves, sometimes it is done by a spirit that possesses them. I willingly admit, of course, that there is nothing true in these accusations, at least as regards the way in which the sorcerers work. But one thing is undeniable, the fact of cannibalism.

[One paragraph omitted; p. 464 omitted. --Editor]

Chapter XIV

Totems of Sorcerers and of their Secret Societies

The Nagual and Nagualism

[Summary omitted. --Translator] [466]

757 that of his nagual and vice versa. If he is ill or if he dies, his
575 nagual suffers or dies; if the nagual dies or suffers, so the man dies or suffers.

[Pp. 474-480 omitted. --Translator] [481]

Initiation of the Practitioner

575 The practitioner at the time of his initiation undergoes a
791 different kind of test from that which young [ordinarily] men do. These tests are distinguished by a more marked degree of cruelty and especially by the offering of a victim. The victim will first be dedicated in special rites. After the tests and when the neophyte has been judged fit to enter the priestly company, then only is the totem chosen. But the choice is not left to the candidate; the "admitting" practitioner gives it to him. He must first of all undergo a severe fast of at least seven days. During this time he is forbidden absolutely, under any pretext, to leave his hut, which is set apart in a portion of the forest reserved to practitioners and called éli bengan. No person is allowed to approach. Any intercourse with women, even a mere glance, [362 688] would bring about permanent exclusion. Moreover, the woman would be put to death, and her father or husband would have no right to compensation, pecuniary or other.

During the neophyte's seclusion his "admitting" [practitioner] has chosen the totem; avoiding many complications, he almost always chooses the class totem to which the confraternity is already dedicated.

What kind of totems are they? They never belong to the mineral realm, nor are they ever celestial phenomena, nor spirits of any sort, materialized or not, as happens with clan or tribal totems.

575 The class totem is usually a bird [or] a swiftly moving
791 animal, rarely a fierce one when the choice would be made be-
825 cause of the animal's positive qualities and not for its power to harm. Indeed the secret society prefers to seek as protecting totems, those that will guarantee swift and sure retreat in case

575 791 825 of danger. Hence the symbolic choice of fast birds: the river swallow, the koulyebe that flies like an arrow, the eagle or the vulture whose powerful flight protects it from enemies, the turtledove or the wood pigeon that knows how to conceal a nest so as to escape all attention. Or it might be an antelope with nimble legs and acute hearing, [482] which is especially difficult to capture. Finally, the crocodile sometimes appears as a totem not because it is bad tempered and devours men, but because it is always on the watch and at the slightest disturbance submerges itself and disappears in the river or because its scaly covering makes it invulnerable to arrows and javelins.

Such are the qualities that a secret society demands for itself.

575 791 782 The "consecrator" has chosen the totem, generally that of a class. He must now procure one himself but catch it "alive." He brings it into the hut of the "consecrated" one, who keeps it, at least as much as possible, on his chest throughout a whole night. In the morning the totem is led with great ceremony to the middle of a clearing and sprinkled with lustral water: the attending practitioners dance around it, then sing the hymn to the totem; the candidate sings it along with them. This hymn extols the totem's strength, valor, and swiftness, and especially thanks it for the protection given the society. Then, after this hymn, the candidate fetches the victim, whom he must offer, and leads him [567 562] before the totem. Ordinarily, the victim is a foreign slave, because he should not belong to the Fan nation, in order to avoid any possible ritual offense. (1) It is, however, permissible --

> 1. A foreign slave or a woman is chosen because neither possesses a totem and therefore no ritual offense is to be feared.

and this often happens -- to take a Fan woman. The slave or [278] woman is tightly gagged. Usually no resistance is offered, especially since the victim is given alewané to drink the evening before, a decoction of herbs and woody mushrooms that have the property of suppressing memory. The neophyte forces the victim to walk in front of him, or pushes him, going around the totem

683
695
787

for administering an effective emetic along with the test poison. I shall evaluate these ordeals later when discussing religion.

potion.

683
695
787
562

Women are not subject to the tests I have just mentioned except sometimes to the nkal test. Among the Fan they do not drink the test poison; they are, in fact, considered as irresponsible and in a state of tutelage. Therefore in cases of serious accustion, a woman's father or husband has to take her place but does not invoke the totem, because it would not be able to act on her behalf since it does not acknowledge the woman.

Only for an accusation of sorcery does a woman have to submit to a test.

She is brought gagged to the middle of the village, two female relatives pull her head back, and the practitioner empties
[278] into her eye the sap of a euphorbia called ka. (2) If she comes

2. Euphorbia scandens, of the arboreal euphorbias.

through unhurt, she is innocent. If, on the contrary, as nearly always happens, the eye leaves the socket, she is immediately
[266] declared guilty, dragged away into the forest, burnt, and eaten. The accusation frequently arises, and punishment is never delayed.

VIII. Blood Exchange

608

" 'Brotherhood' (in America, totemisation)," says Mgr. Le Roy, (3) "is relationship through an exchange of blood; if

3. La religion des primitifs [The Religion of Primitive Peoples] op. cit., p. 120.

this is not quite totemism, it is very near to it."

597 727 sacking of a village. For, although in such cases all the men and able-bodied youths are ruthlessly killed and eaten, this does not apply to women and children, even to male children, who henceforth belong to the new tribe and will later be looked upon as warriors. There is no ceremony for women or female [562] children, since, as we have seen, the totem ignores them, and they have only one duty toward it, to hide in their huts as quickly as possible whenever there is talk of the totem, and never to mention it. Should this nevertheless happen, it would be an offense requiring expiation.

597 Male children are adopted by the various heads of a family. Tribal or village chiefs have first choice, the rest of the warriors come after. The one or more children chosen by a chief, however, may never succeed him.

597 304 Adoption ceremonies are like those at birth. The adopted child loses all his old totems in order to acquire those of the tribe he joins. There is just one additional ceremony, blood-letting. So as to prove his definitive entry into the tribe, he undergoes the following operation when led before the totem. With the mfor knife, a small steel blade kept for this purpose, the adoptive father makes a few slight scarifications on the child's left arm, collects the blood that flows, and throws it on the ancestral skulls, then on the akaméyón. He then takes a fragment of skull and some totemic sacrificial ashes and rubs these vigorously on the child's arm. This is the true sign of adoption, by which the boy definitively enters his new family and is recognized as belonging to it entirely. Later on he may even be allowed to take a wife from his former tribe, in spite of the strict law of exogamy, because adoption is so authentic.

[848 563] Often the same bloodletting and blood alliance occur with illegitimate children or with mulattoes, but the object is then different. Adoption never takes place at birth but much later, so as to ensure for the child the ancestors' protection.

The same act often occurs when a child is ill. [573]

3. Marriage

119 I do not know of any truly totemic act among the com-
562 plicated religious rites connected with marriage. This absence
583 must come from the fact that women are considered to be in themselves independent of the totem.

584 Before marriage, especially before starting to make the
119 rounds of the villages in order to pick out a future companion, a young man first builds a sort of triumphal arch in front of his hut. A creeper decorated with various bits of cheap finery, fabric, green leaves, flowering branches, and ava flowers, is stretched from his house to the one opposite, on the other side of the public square or the main street of the village. Before his hut two shrubs garnished in similar fashion have their tops bound together to form a triumphal arch. The young man opens the biéri box, removes his family totem and a skull and puts them before the statue of the biéri. Then for hours, endless songs and dances will be performed. When the young man is exhausted, one of his friends takes over. The songs and dances last far into the night and start again at dawn. No one may interrupt or even enter the hut, otherwise the entire ceremony would have to be begun all over again. A woman's glance at the biéri or totem, or that of a strange man, would be enough to bring this about. Therefore, one of the young man's friends is constantly on guard to prevent such an accident; he stands in front of the hut door and sees to it that people move along briskly.

[583] This rite only takes place when a youth is contemplating marriage by abduction. He wishes in this manner to gain the good will of the biéri, the ancestors, and the totem.

On the third day in the evening the ritual dances end.
[782] The young man immediately offers a final sacrifice, usually of a cock, a hen, and some maize, following the prescribed forms. Then, since he is not permitted to rest for even a moment, he starts out, carrying the cock, hen, and maize as his only provisions; he is not allowed to take along anything else.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

142 bread-winners and some are strong and muscular, while many more are weak and worn out from ceaseless toil.

The Fang make good carriers, and will do a splendid day's journey even in the 482 wet season with bad forest trails, if not overloaded. A carrier's load should never 147 exceed 25 kilogrammes; and 20 would pay better on a long journey. The first day out with a caravan the men usually drag along slowly, until their loads settle well down in the *kingi* and fit their backs. The *kingi* is a very ingenious contrivance for carrying a load in; it is usually made from a forest vine with a plaited head strap. To hurry carriers the first day is a bad mistake; poorly adjusted loads chafe and cause sore backs, and before night the whole caravan is tired out and sulky. It is a wise traveller in Africa as elsewhere who knows how to save his men.

145 A very noticeable fact among the Fang is the scarcity of old men. I 164 attribute this largely to the ravages of syphilis; the same terrible disease that has done so much towards the degeneration of numerous coast tribes, and which is already playing fearful havoc among the Fang. Indolent, untrustworthy and warlike, they are nevertheless a most companionable people. 181 The slightest piece of drollery or a joke immediately causes laughter. It has been my privilege to visit many foreign lands including China, Japan and Korea, yet never in my life have I met such an absolutely good-natured, fun-loving people as the Fang.

The men are not fond of work. They frequently ask me for something to do 461 to "earn a cloth." If I tell them to cut fence poles or good clean bark in the forest, they decline. A male Fang's idea of work is to sit in the *Abeng* (= palaver house) and make fish lines by rolling pineapple fibre along the upper [783] portion of his thigh, or to manufacture *Abi* (roof thatch). At these occupations he can converse with all comers, hear the news and take his part in talking a palaver. They are a revengeful people and will keep up a palaver over a woman for many 627 years. If they do not succeed in shooting a man during a palaver they do not hesitate to fire at and kill a woman, while captives held as hostages are often [771] treated with great cruelty.

The women regard virtue very lightly. Before marriage a girl can do nearly 836 as she pleases. It is absolutely safe to state that it would be almost impossible 517 to find a maiden in a Fang village over sixteen years of age. Adultery is common, [837] and one of the chief causes of "women palavers." Women rank first in value as [862] goods for trade, next in value are goats, then guns and cloth. The greed for goods has a strong hold on the people. They learn quickly but have very little originality. They have no obscene rites. Their habits are very dirty; they will wash in a 515 small pool of water and, while bathing, fill the gourds or imported jugs with the water in which they are washing and use it for domestic purposes. In many other ways they are absolutely filthy, and descend to the level of brute creation. They [834] are not over-burdened with modesty, both sexes frequently bathe together in a perfectly nude condition. A male Fang passes a large percentage of his time in

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

fifteen) take their flint-lock muskets, heavily loaded with trade powder and 726
handful of broken iron pot (iron trade pots) or small stones, and creep up close to the town after dark. Two men try to enter the town unobserved; if they succeed, then they knock at the door of a hut and say, "We are strangers travelling; give us fire and food." Directly a person inside the house opens the door, both men discharge their guns into the house, and immediately run for the bush toward their comrades. The whole town is soon in pursuit, and unless careful they run into an ambuscade prepared for them. A fight may occur, but more often the attacking party return to their town in triumph, shouting: "We are real men, we are real men, we have been to town, we have shot a man (or woman), we are men 726
—real men." There is great rejoicing in their town, and a dance follows. If the 712
palaver is a serious one, the town is often stockaded with split logs placed vertically in the ground; huts are likewise stockaded. Poisoned bamboo spikes are buried in the forest paths to wound the feet of an enemy. The weapons used and relied on [411]
to-day are flint-lock muskets. Spears are rapidly falling into disuse. The cross-bow is only used for shooting birds and small bush cats. It is a mistaken idea that the arrows used with the cross-bow are poisoned. Shields are not used. The chief 721
causes of war are disputes over women, hence called "women palavers," and these 727
feuds may last for years. Prisoners are often permitted to starve to death, and are occasionally killed and eaten. Owing to a bitter feud it is often impossible for the women to work in the gardens or fish on the river, the consequence being a great scarcity of food. In Foulabifong, where I resided, a woman palaver lasted over ten months, and the three adjoining towns were in a state of famine. A prisoner was nearly starved to death, and I had to repeatedly plead for him. During these feuds many women are shot while walking the paths. The Fang think it quite [726]
correct to shoot a woman; they say, "It is always *safe* to shoot a woman because she cannot shoot back." Prisoners are frequently exchanged, others are held as [562]
hostages.

Abal (war). Translation.

If people are going to war they go in crowds. If they approach near the 726
town (of the enemy) they hold a council. An old man (one) he says thus: We 539
will go to fire when? Then the others say, We will go in the night. Then they stay (sit) there until night. Darkness comes, and they light a torch. Then two or three people go to the town, and the other people remain in the bush. If the people who went to the town find people sleeping, then they point their guns inside a house and fire. Then people die. Then they go back running to meet the other people. Then they all gather in one place and return singing to their own town. Then they beat the drum and rejoice. Then the people who remained in the town say: Tell us the news as you went. Then they tell the news. Then the headman sits down and tells all the people in town that a person must not go anywhere alone. Then all the people hear, and all sit down (remain around their town to await events).

133 full of fish, hold water during the worst of the dry season.

137 In going up the Ogooué one meets, a little before the island of Talagouga, the first spurs of the north-south oriented African plateau, still low (N'Djolé has an altitude of 63 meters), the elevation of which increases rapidly as one goes towards the interior. Upstream from N'Djolé, the Ogooué ceases to be navigable. Broken by rapids, it is no longer passable except for specially equipped dugout canoes. About a dozen kilometers beyond the influx of the Okano, the aspect of the country changes: the large forest gives way to great stretches of prairie dotted with wooded groves, on the hillsides formations of quartz blocks are seen and oil palms, which were not present downstream, begin to appear. Mt. Otoumbi dominates the landscape from its 700 meters, and the rounded hillsides of the ranges bordering the river recall some features of the Vosges.

133 In the N'Djolé region, the Ogooué receives as its chief tributaries: to the right, the Bingola, Okano, and Abanga; to the left, shorter rivers of less volume, the Leledi, Lebe, and Mbumi. Only Abanga is navigable, and this for only about 70 kilometers.

132 The climate is hot and humid, with alternating dry and rainy seasons: from October to January, the rainy season; from January to March, a
133 very hot, dry season, the ripening time of almost all the forest fruits; from March to June, again violent rains, great tornadoes, and severe heat; and from June to October, a comparatively cool, dry season, with cessation of growth for some varieties of forest vegetation. At this time the waters are very low; sand banks can be seen everywhere in the Ogooué some of whose tributaries, like the Misanga, have only a trickle of water. The seasons are obviously not as strictly demarcated as this, and one season often encroaches on the other.

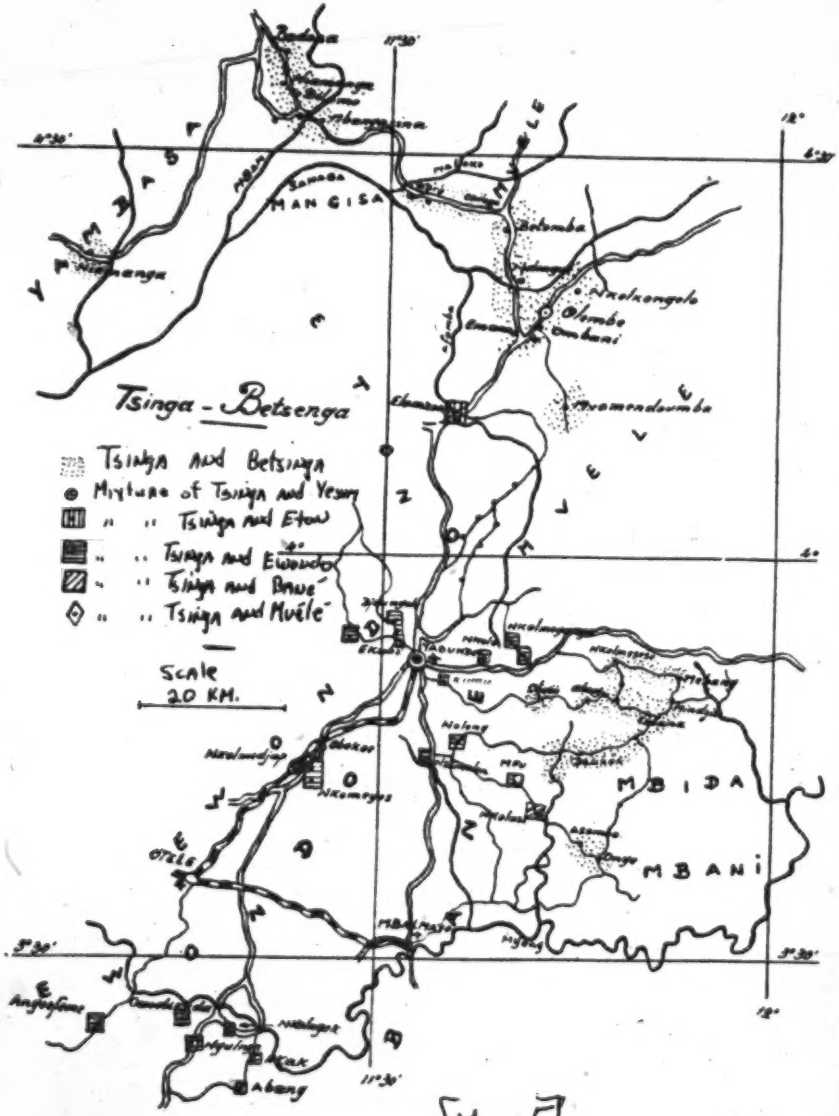
101 Today this whole region is almost entirely inhabited by the Fan who, since their arrival, probably at the beginning of the nineteenth century,
● 563 have either driven out or decimated the [other] inhabitants, the Okata and Bapinji [Bapindji] up the N'Djolé (of the Okata there is now only one village left, and the Bapinji have completely disappeared) and the Bakele [Bakale, Bakelle (?)] downstream. The latter still have some villages in the interior on the left bank, but only one on the edge of the river.

101 Fan is the name they give themselves. Pahouin [Pahuin] is the one by which they are commonly known and which, according to Haug (1)

1. Ernest Haug, "Notice géographique et ethnographique sur le Bas-Ogooué"

4:Dugast--13a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Tsinga-Betsinga

101
131
●563

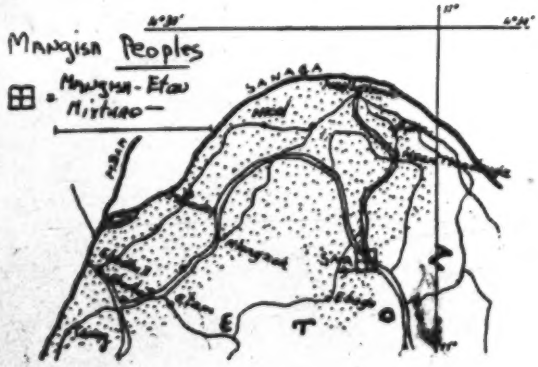


[MAP 5]

4:Dugast--14a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Mangisa

101
131
863

[MAP 6]

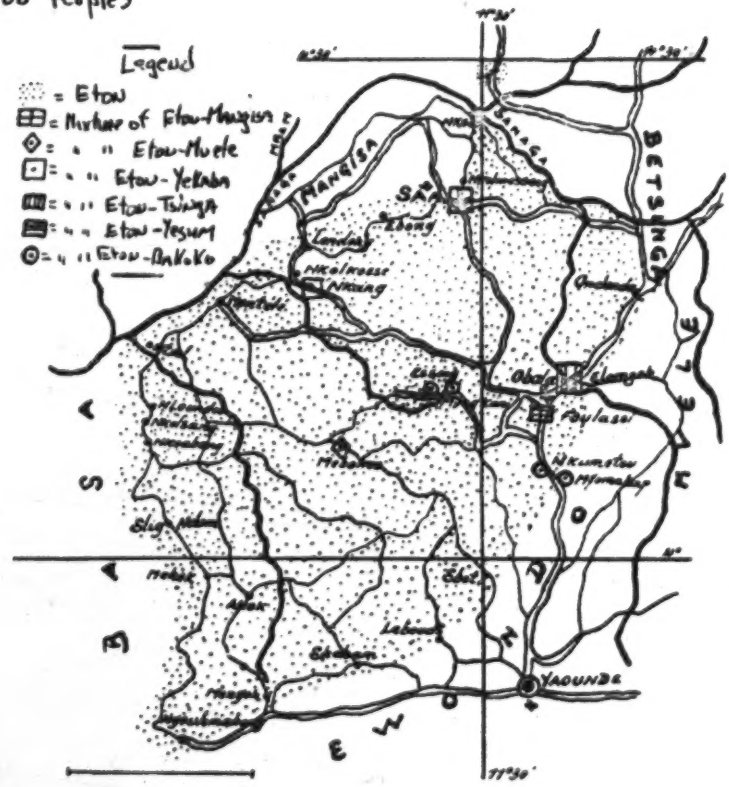


4:Dugast--16a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Eton

[MAP 7]

101
131
563

Etou Peoples



173 therefore forced to settle in the most westerly area. (See the unpublished report of Father Sohler.) Others say (according to the report of X. Béliard) that they are only brothers of the Ewondo, who crossed the Sanaga, entered the southern forest as far as the present-day region of Ebolowa, stayed there a few years, and, step by step, took the northwest route, crossing the Lokoundje River. Then they infiltrated among the Basa tribes and settled in their present habitat. What we know for certain is that not until 1910 did they occupy the three villages on the road between Kribi and Edéa, and that their migration was still in full swing when the German occupation forced them to settle in one spot.

184 The population in the vast territory occupied by the Ewondo is not
●563 culturally homogeneous. In many villages and even in the hamlets, the Ewondo live side by side with members of neighboring groups. On our map we have indicated the most important enclaves and mixed settlements /Map 8, facing p. 72/, namely those where the strangers are as numerous as the Ewondo or even more so. /72/ The actual situation is more complex than this, but on a map of this scale it has not been possible to show the minorities. (1)

[114]

1. A remarkable large-scale diagrammatic map of the administrative subdivision of Yaoundé should be mentioned here. It was set up in 1944 by the administrator J. Christol and shows even the smallest intermixtures, with proportional strengths, for every village and hamlet.

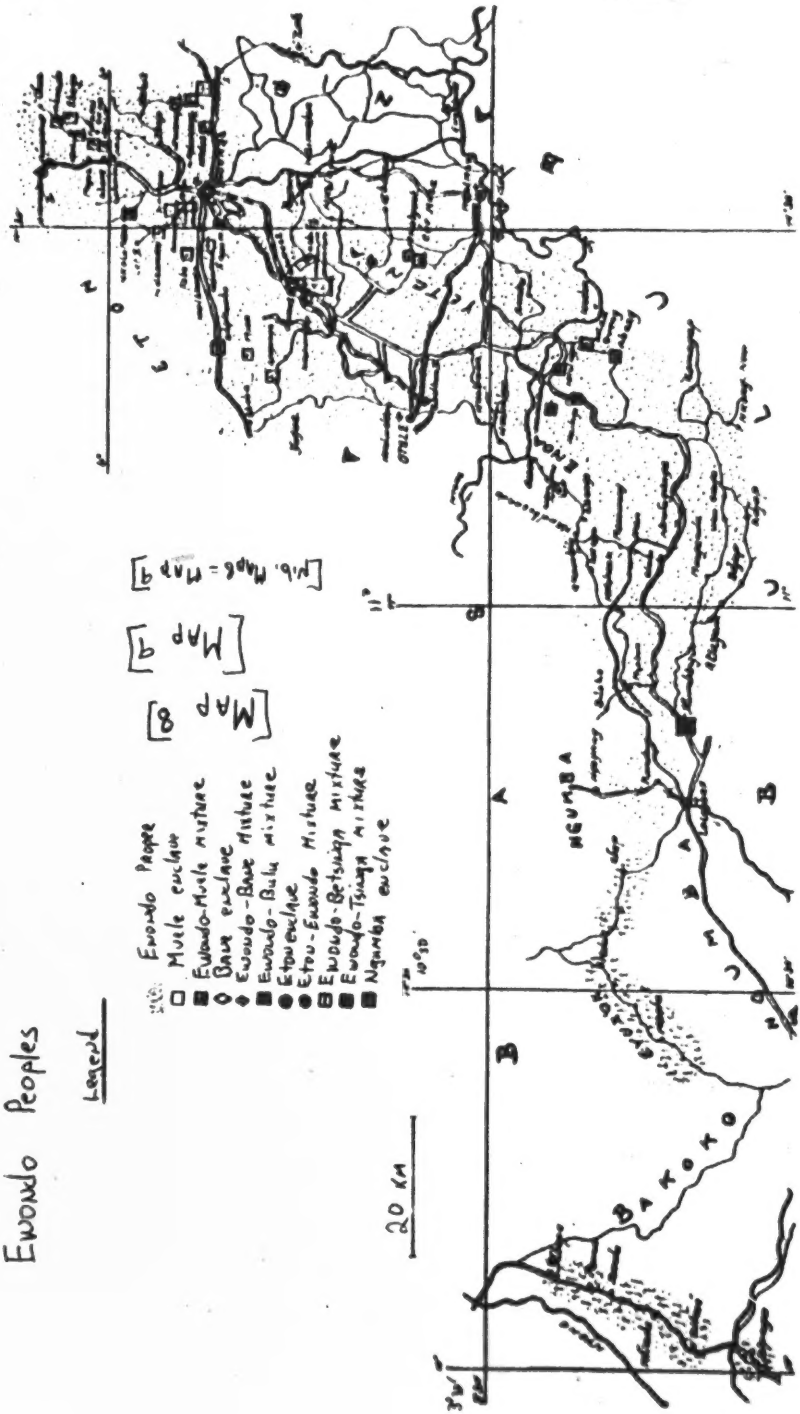
361 The Ewondo live in sizable villages which stretch along the many
511 roads in the area. The villages are well maintained and show evidence of a comfortable standard of living which is largely the result of the prosperity of their cacao trees and their trade.

181 The Ewondo are robust and muscular, skillful and intelligent. They emigrate readily, and their workers are valued in all enterprises.

497 The shipment of their products is facilitated by a major branch of the railway which crosses their territory between Yaoundé and Otélé, and transportation on their roads plays an important role in getting the various foodstuffs and the cacao from the great markets in the bush to the railroad.

4:Dugast--22a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Ewondo

101
131
● 563



101
131
563

Bane Peoples
Legend

- Bane Proper
- Ewondo-Bane mixture
- Tsinga-Bane mixture
- Tsinga enclave
- Ewondo enclave
- Mbida-Mbani-Bane mixture
- Bane-Mvele mixture

Scale
20 km

[Map 10]

113 The oldest sketch map on which the Bane are shown is a map without scale, but where the distances are calculated in terms of "hours on foot"; it appears in Von Stein's report entitled "Ueber die geographische Verhältnisse des Bezirkes Lolodorf (Sudkamerun Gebiet), speziell die dort wohnenden Volkstämme /The Geographic Relationships of the Lolodorf District (South Cameroons), especially the Resident Tribes/, " in Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutgebeiten, 1899, pp. 120-41. This report also contains an extensive geneological table which includes the Bane; ethnographic details on pp. 135-38 should be especially noted.

Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Bane."

Moisel maps, G2, Jaunde, and H 1-2, Kribi.

Bearth. "Le Nsig N'to, ancienne coutume Bane /The Nsig N'to, an Ancient Bane Custom/, " Togo-Cameroun, January 1930, pp. 19-22.

Important unpublished documents exist on the subject of customs, shelter, and subsistence among the Bane.

THE FONG

131 Location: 11° and 11°15 long.
3°15 north lat.
and 11°30 to 12° long.

101 Physical and Human Geography. The Fong /Fang/ are not all settled in a single area. They constitute a very small population divided into three separate clusters, lined up from west to east; the total area of the different small zones occupied by these settlements is about 1, 152 square kilometers, and in the largest and most easterly, the enclaves of Bulu villages are to be found.

101 Bertaut has written: "The territory is occupied by Bane and Fong
● 563 without any geographical unity. Fong, Bulu, and Bane are intermingled, and one passes from a Bane area /76/ to a Fong area without noticing. This situation is the result of a mingling of tribes which must have occurred when the Bane and the Fong, who came from the north, encountered the Fang and the Bulu, who were also not yet permanently settled." (Report of May, 1932)

113 The Fong may be considered the southernmost participants in the recent invasion which brought the Ewondo and the Bane to the south

101
131

Mvae Branch: 9°45 to 10°45 and 11°20 to 11°40 long.
2°15 (at the frontier of the South Cameroons) to 2°55 north lat. and a few islands at 3° north lat.

Ntumu branch: 10°25 to 11°35 long.
2°15 (on the frontier of the South Cameroons) to 2°35 north lat. /77/

Physical and Human Geography

131 Total area: about 11, 500 square km.

161 Population and density of each group:

Fang: 12, 583 inhabitants; 2 persons per square km.
Mvae: 5, 287 inhabitants; 5.8 persons per square km.
Ntumu: 16, 236 inhabitants; 9.8 persons per square km.

137 The whole territory of the Fang is within the great equatorial forest, in the basin of the N'Tem and those of its tributaries that flow to the right of it. /Map 12/

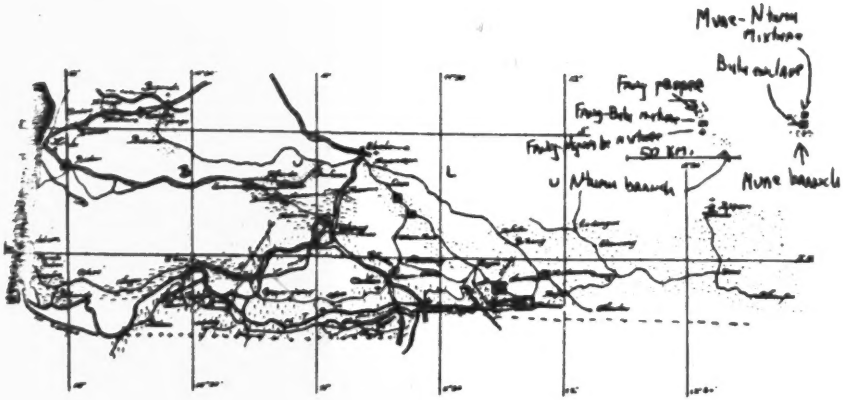
361 The Fang villages which are to be found furthest west in the direction
● 563 of the ocean are situated near Bipindi and on the road from Bipindi to Kribi. Some of them alternate with Bulu villages, others are composed of mixed populations consisting, for example, of Fang and Bulu, Fang and Ngumba, or Mvae and Ntumu /Ntum?/. Nor are the villages and trails south of Ebolowa in the great forest inhabited by homogeneous populations. Enclaves from one group are settled with another, and intermingle with each other. The transition from the somewhat educated Bulu to the primitive inhabitants of the great forest occurs imperceptibly. Because of the inhospitable territory which they occupy, the Fang are dispersed in the enormous forest all the way to the ocean and are to be found here and there among the Mvae. They
[363] lead the unstable existence of lumbermen in order to force from the land the bare means of subsistence.

The settlements of the Mvae are scattered. Some are located on the periphery of Ambam to the east and north, others are south-southeast of Ebolowa, and still others are to be found on the lower part of the N'Tem, from a point east of Nyabessan as far as the ocean.

4: Dugast--28a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9 Fang

101
131
563

Fang Peoples



[Map 12]

101
131
563

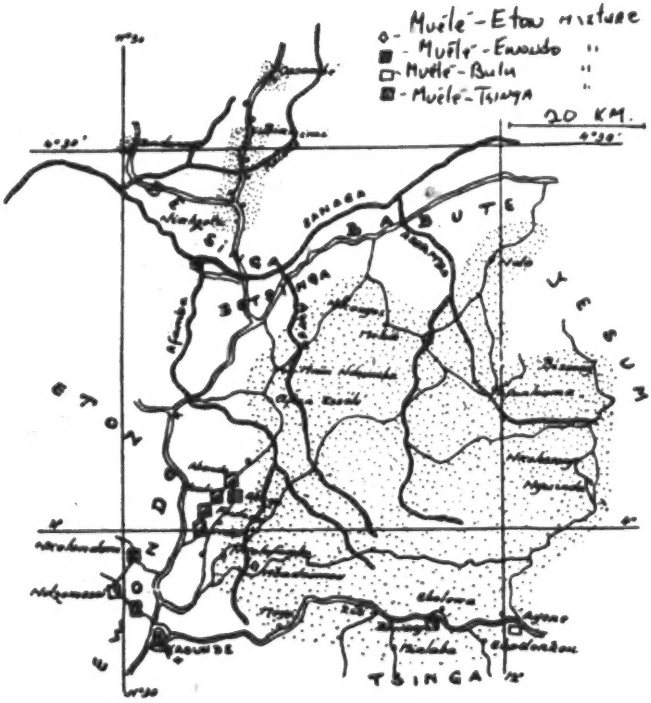
Bulu Peoples

[Map 13]

4:Dugast--37a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Mvele

101
131
●563

Mvélé Peoples

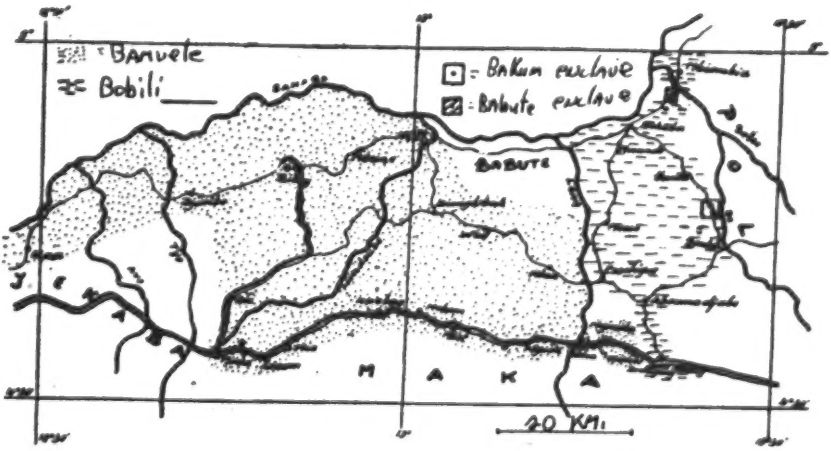


[Map 14]

4:Dugast--44a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Bamvele
Bobili

101
131
563

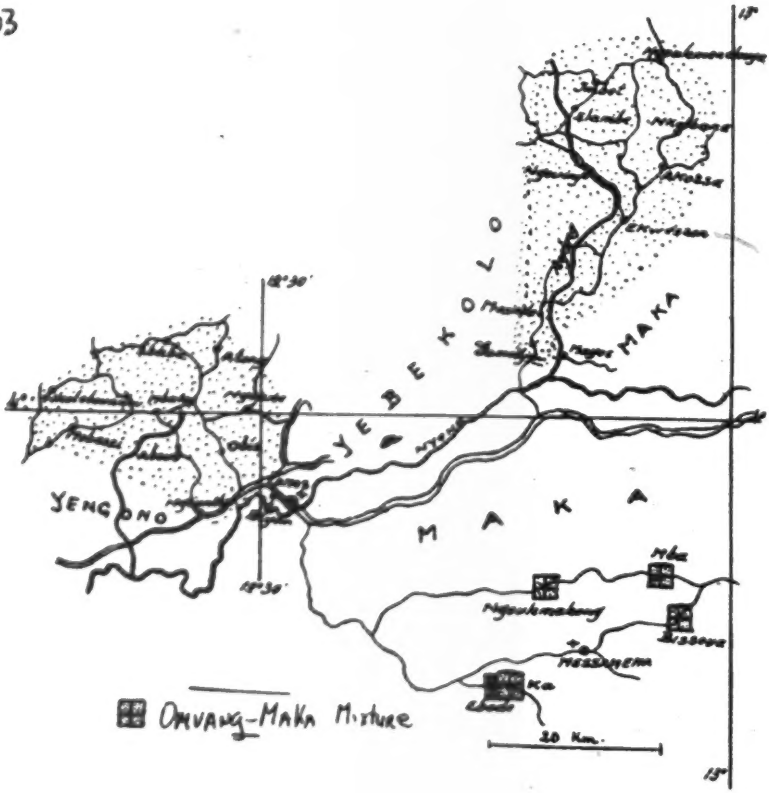
[Map 17]



4: Dugast--49a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Omvang

101
131
563

Omvang Peoples



[Map 19]

4: Dugast--51a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Mbida-Mbane
Mvogo-Nienge

101 Mbidambani and
131 Mvog-Nienge Peoples
●563

[Map 20]

511 N'Gounié and Woleu-N'Tem was a "reservoir of manpower") by
702 upsetting its demographic equilibrium. Consequently, most of the administrative reports stress the poverty and mediocrity of the villages, the political instability and "indiscipline," and the eagerness with which all innovations are greeted in the hope of improving conditions. [84]

Region of the Maritime Ogooué

175 During the second half of the nineteenth century the Fang descended the Ogooué in order to reach the trading centers established on the river, and the counting houses of the coast. They pushed back the Bakèlè, imposed themselves on the Galwa and the Nkomi. Since 1880 the Fang have settled in large numbers along
361 the Ogooué as a result of a penetration which organized convoys on the river, created posts, and made possible the settlement of traders.

361 The Fang are settled in the four districts forming this adminis-
162 trative region, but in that of Ombooué, the extreme point of their advance, they represent less than 5 percent of the population. Ninety-five percent of the 9,300 inhabitants of N'Djolé District are Fang who have taken the place of the ancient Bakélé people. They belong to the Maké, Nzaman, and Bétsi groups; the first of these was located downstream from N'Djolé before 1865 (1).

1. Captain Curault, op. cit.

They came largely from the Lower Ivindo, but also from the Woleu-N'Tem, where the villagers soon sought to obtain commercial out-
[316] lets on the Ogooué. Outside of a small mine exploitation at N'Djolé, this district is extremely bare. Consequently, the very scattered villages have a miserable appearance, and the male
[464] population has been canvassed (or recruited) by the neighboring lumber works and by the coastal centers.

563 Lambaréné District, which is very important because of its
[361 forest exploitations (and also because it is an old commercial
313] center, still has a largely Fang population. These are in opposition to the aboriginal group of the Galwa (less than 2,200 individuals)

563 who, being related to the coastal minorities, constitute the "aristocratic race" of the country, and, having become relatively hierarchical, has known how to "preserve its position." (2)

2. Rapport Ogooué-Maritime [Maritime Ogooué Report], 3e trimestre [Third Quarter], 1935.

162 Though the Fang "have settled in a haphazard manner and a little everywhere," they have nevertheless formed two important centers of population, on the Ogooué above Lambaréné and in the area around the southern lakes. (3) They represent more than 35 percent

3 Rapport. Ogooué-Maritime [Maritime Ogooué Report], 4e trimestre [Fourth Quarter], 1935.

of the population (17,500 inhabitants) in this district of multiple ethnic groups, which in 1936 had one fifth of its inhabitants settled at the lumber works. The Fang villages here consist of 35 clans or 621 fragments, about half of the population forming a homogeneous 619 clan, while the other [85] half is composite. Apart from the Yémvog, most of the existing tribes are not found (or are unimportant) in the Woleu-N'Tem [region]. The most numerous elements seem to originate from the Ivindo. Although they reached the region forming the present-day district of Port-Gentil at the end of their push, the Fang have not succeeded in evicting the dominant ethnic groups, the Ouroungou and the Nkomi.

Region of the Estuary

162 We have already stated that the date of the arrival of the Fang at the Estuary can be set at 1850. At that time they replaced the residual coastal groupings, particularly the Bakélé who, after abandoning the Ogooué, had to leave the Como. Since 1900 the population of this region has been "nearly entirely composed of

101 a word with a consonant. One would thus have *Mpa'ngwen, from which Europeans have made mpawen, then Pahouin.

About the term "Fang" itself it should be remarked that the regular form m-fañ (Class I or personal, m/be) is in actual fact hardly ever used by the Pahouin themselves, who prefer their usual ethnical constructions, that is, the radical preceded by mon (son, descendant). Thus one says mone fañ, bo' be fañ, like mon éwôndô, mone bulu (1), etc. The meaning of the word is obscure. It does not mean "man"

[104]

1. I usually employ current Boulou orthography, except for words that have an official spelling in general use, like,the names of places (Ebolowa, Ambam, not ébolewo'o, mbam) and certain Gallicized names of tribes (the Boulou, the Ntoumou, but Bulu /adjectival use/ Ntum /adjectival use/; the Fang, but the Fañ group). /The last phrase is meaningless for English, because there is no English equivalent for the distinction between capitalized French nouns of "nationality" and the corresponding noncapitalized substantive adjectives. Hence, in the English translation this distinction will be ignored, the official spelling being used for tribal names whether used as noun or adjective. —Ed./

It should be observed, by the way, that bulu and éwôndo are plurals of which the singular (*mulu, *ôwôndo) is not used.

(vir), which is fam, a mistake rightly /5/ noticed by Father Trilles, who nevertheless connects it with a root FA connoting the idea of virility, of violence (fa = machete, fañe = to do on purpose, intentionally, etc).

2. Various Groups and Territorial Distribution

174 563 It is not easy to define the exact boundaries of the Pahouin group. The lists given by different authors include up to ten tribes, one way or another—thousands of individuals. At the end of the nineteenth century, penetration in extended order* prevented ascertaining

174
•53

/• Ordre disperse (Military conception) = extended order. —Ed./

definite relationships. Later, on the other hand, the Pahouinization of neighboring tribes, subjugated or merely influenced, brought about assimilations that were often misleading.

Broadly speaking, we may say that a large body of invaders, rather recently come from the northeast—the Pahouin properly so called—assimilated through contacts on the one hand, some of the inhabitants of the invaded area, on the other hand, likewise assimilated other invaders who followed in their wake. What is certain is that this assimilation or Pahouinization of foreign tribes is going on at the present day, partly due to the mere fact of colonization.

We shall distinguish in this study between the invaders—Fang, Boulou, Beti—on the one hand, and, on the other, the neighboring populations that have been or are being Pahouinized.

A. The Invaders or True Pahouin

101 Theories as to their boundaries are too many and contradictory for all me to expatiate on here.

In Father Trilles' view they are divided into two branches: b-Osyéba /Osieba/ in the east, Fang in the west. The Mekuk are connected with the first, the Méké, Betsi, "Mvègne" (Mvaé?), and "Boulé" (Boulou) with the second. Largeau like Schnee bases his division between Bedzi (betschi) and Mekei (makei) on linguistic considerations; the first, in the west, tend to begin their remarks with the formula ma zɔ̂ na, the second, in the east, with me ki na. Here there appears to be a partial confusion between the Pahouin properly speaking, and the Pahouinized Maka (Mekaé) (1). Madame Dugast

[197] 1. There are indeed two Fang dialects, corresponding to the zɔ̂/ki (or jɔ̂/ki) criterion, but the people who speak them, all call themselves Fang. Besides, there is a Maka or Mekaé tribe whose language is close to eastern Fang, which it has perhaps influenced.

[177]

101 grouping between the Bantu of the central Cameroons and the Pahouin.

However that may be, certain tribes cannot be studied except in connection with the true Pahouin:

the Ewôndo of the Nyong-and-Sanaga region
the Bané of Nyong-and-Sanaga, N'Tem, and Dja-and-Lobo
the Fong of the Dja-and-Lobo and N'Tem (the last, moreover, influenced by the Boulou)
the Mbida-Mbané and Mvog-Nyenge, east of Yaoundé, who are probably descendants of prisoners-of-war of the preceding

The Eton of Saa and Obala may also be associated, but already with more difficulty, with the Ewôndo, for instance. On the other hand, the other Beti tribes ought rather to be classed with the Pahouinized peoples discussed below.

B. Assimilated or Pahouinized Tribes

101 Among these we must distinguish those who were in the country at
114 the arrival of the Pahouin from those that followed.
563 a) Tribes that followed the Pahouin invasion. These are funda-
197 mentally, as pointed out above, the Beti. According to Nekes, some of the tribes already mentioned still spoke an ati dialect at the time of the German conquest. At the present time one can point out as in the process of "Pahouinization" (Éwôndo dialect):

The Mangisa, Yekaba, Bamvele, Evuzok, Batchanga /Betchenga/ (Tsinga), /7/ Omvang, and Yetudi of the Sanaga. On the other hand, the Beti of the right bank (Bati, Kombe, Bundju, etc.), also few in number, are more drawn toward the Babouté /Wute/, Bafia /Fia/, etc.

b) Aboriginal tribes or tribes established before the Pahouin invasion. There is reason to treat separately the Pygmy groups (Bibaya, Babinga, Beye'ele) and mixed populations (Bekoé) who live symbiotically with the Pahouin without by this fact being really absorbed.

The Pahouin invasion seems to have come on a country occupied by two Bantu groups come from the east several centuries before, which it drove back either toward the sea or toward the present eastern boundary of the Cameroons.

The first of these would have been the Maka and Ngoumba /Ngumba/ group, which was cut in half by the invasion, Maka on the

101
714
563

east, Ngoumba and Mabéa /Bea/ on the west. The Maka (more correctly Mekaé) have been to a large extent absorbed by the invaders, to the point of being confused with them by several authors.

The second group would have been the Kozimé-Njem (or Jem) /Dzem/, Dzimou /Nzimu/, Bajoué /Badjue/ of nearby origin and likewise absorbed to the point of being confused with the true Pahouin group.

3. Neighboring Populations

As I have already pointed out in connection with the Pahouinized peoples, the Pahouin are literally submerged in a Bantu mass.

Their neighbors to the north, on the right bank of the Sanaga, are those whom Madame Dugast calls the Bantu of the central Cameroons. This represents an extremely heterogeneous group, including tribes that claim to be aboriginal along with others that say they are immigrants, with a linguistic, anthropological, and cultural network that effectively prevents any exact classification. The two main tribes contiguous with the Beti-Pahouin are the Bafia and Yambasa /Yambassa/.

Immediately to the east of the above tribes, still in the Sanaga Valley, are the Wutéré (sing. Wuté) /Wute/ known to the colonial administration by their Bantu name of "Baboutè /Bafute/." They are Sudanese, and it seems likely that it was on account of direct pressure from them that the Pahouin crossed the Sanaga.

To the west of the Yambasa-Bafia, the Sanaga Valley is occupied by the Basa-Bakoko group on both banks. These tribes are difficult to classify. They must certainly be Bantu. Some writers group them under the name Baso; others connect the Basa /Bassa/ with the central Cameroons, Bantu and the Bakoko with the Beti, even with the Pahouin, to whom they in fact show some cultural resemblances.

Along the coast there are Bantu groups: on the coastal range the Ngumba and Mabéa related to the Mekaé mentioned above; on the coastal plain the Duala group, with the Duala (Dawala /Diwala/), properly speaking, the Batenga, and the Kumbé. The Balengi /Lengi (Balenge) ?/ in Spanish Guinea are probably related either to the Mabéa or to the /8/ Duala. In Gabon the Pongoué (Mpongwé) are a residual Bantu-Myéné group, entirely isolated in the midst of the Fang.

To the east of the Cameroons Pahouin, on the left bank of the Dja, the Mekaé, Badjué, Dzimu /Nzimu/, and Jem are, I repeat,

101 FN 53

Pahouinized to the point of finding themselves mixed with the Pahouin of the Middle Congo. This mingling is still going on at the present time among the other tribes of the Kozimé group and specifically among the Konabembé /Konambembe/, Esel (1), and Medzimé

[197]

1. The Esel require two comments: first, they appear to speak a language very close to Duala; second, they have the same name as one of the principal Pahouin clans.

/Ndsime (Medjimi, Mendsime)?/. All these tribes, coming from the northeast (Mekaé) or southeast (Kozimé), and Bantu-speakers, formerly had a much more extensive habitat to the west and north, whence they were driven back toward the south by the Baya and Kaka, and toward the east by the Pahouin.

The Bakwelé /Kwele/ of the Middle Congo apparently may also be connected with the Kozimé and, like them, may be considered Pahouinized. They were pushed back onto the left bank of the Ivindo at a comparatively recent date, like their neighbors to the south, the Bakota /Kota/ and the Okandé /Kanda/. The Séké and Akélé /Kalai (Akalle)?/ of the lower Ogooué are probably related to them.

Finally, the Pongwé /Mpongwe/—already mentioned—the Ouroungou /Rungu (rungu)/, Bapounou /Puno (Bapuno)?/, Galoa, and Nkomi of the lower Ogooué probably belong to an intermediary group between the Bantu of the northwest (Duala and coastal group) and the Vili-Kongo in the south (Baumann), the Myéné group. These tribes not long ago occupied most of the territory of the true Fang, whence they have been forced back for a century by the Pahouin invasion, which did not reach the sea until 1890-1900. The Benga (coastal Bantu) and Pongwé of Libreville, isolated in the midst of the Fang, the Ouroungou, Séké, Asembé, Galoa, and Bapounou of Port Gentil and Lambaréné are the last non-Pahouin peoples in existence on the right bank of the Ogooué. The Fang have, it must be added, a solid bridgehead on the left bank in N'Djolé District.

We must remember that throughout Pahouin country there are groups of Pygmies, whose status will be discussed further on.

173 as against the fruits of the earth) and flees to the west, land of the dead or the ancestors, where the frustrated elder son pursues him (1).

[823] 1. This association of the west with material goods, of the east with the produce of the land, is found again in the potlatch (bilaba), described further on.

Largeau and Grebert make of the usurping younger son the ancestor of the Whites, but Trilles has collected versions which he considers older, in which the younger son is the ancestor of the Bantu of the coast; these versions, moreover, exist side by side with Largeau's. It is possible that the association of the younger son with the Whites dates from the first trade contacts. /18/

Chapter 3

The Language

1. Distribution

197 The group as a whole is characterized by an unquestionable linguistic unity, which spreads across cultural and anthropological boundaries. I have earlier indicated the existence of Pahouinized tribes or tribes [53] becoming Pahouinized, especially the Maka and the Kozimé. To these must be added the Pygmies living symbiotically with the Pahouin, and whose language they appear to have adopted to a very great extent, to a point where it is difficult to know for certain if they still possess a language of their own.

[198] Moreover, Pahouin dialects tend to be used as a trade language in areas where, on the one hand, the Pahouin are but a minority, often as emigrants, or, on the other, in regions less advanced economically and socially than is their own habitat.

There are therefore:

a) A true Pahouin linguistic area: this is Pahouin country as described in the first chapter. There Pahouin is spoken as a mother tongue by the Pahouin themselves and in all probability by the Pygmies.

614 are, besides, meyoñ that are outside the system.

614 Among the latter I shall mention the Ndôñ and the Bekôé or Bekwi,
● 563 to be found under these names in all, or nearly all, the Pahouin tribes.
184 The ethnic substantive Bekôé is simply the plural of a common noun, nkôé, "dwarf." These people are, it seems, descendants of aborigines, undoubtedly Pygmies, "adopted" by the tribes at the time of invasion. Although looked upon as an ayoñ and calling one another brother, they do not practice exogamy and seem to attach their genealogies to those of other clans, to which nevertheless they do not belong.

614 The case of the Ndôñ is quite different. They crossed the Sanaga
184 with the other Pahouin, and they are certainly "active" Pahouin. But they observe endogamy among their three mvôk (Ndôñ Mvu, Ndôñ Bibak, and Ndôñ Bikoé), which no other Pahouin ayoñ does, at least to my knowledge. Besides, I believe I noticed /48/ among those of the southern Cameroons and northern Gabon morphological traits setting them sharply apart from those of neighboring clans—reddish
[142] color of the skin, frequency of green or greenish-blue eyes—which
[144] might be explained by the inbreeding consequent upon endogamy, but also perhaps by a different ethnic origin. Another piece of evi-
[326 dence, as insufficiently attested as the foregoing, is that among the
791] Ndôñ I met the last of the smiths and the most feared magicians among the Boulou and Fang tribes of the Cameroons.

The Ngoé ayoñ also is found under this name in nearly all the Pahouin tribes and, according to Bertaut, among the neighboring Bakoko. The Esel, who are similarly spread throughout the tribes, have non-Pahouin homonyms: /for instance/ the Bantu Esel tribe of the southeastern Cameroons (Moloundou). The name could, however, be a contraction of ésa (ésa-el?). Ngoé and Esel are usually exogamic.

c. The Extended Family or Village Family

596 The term "village family" is no doubt more accurate than the
621 classic "extended family," both because the nda bôt (house of the people) is the only social group that corresponds exactly to a geographical form of settlement (the jal or hamlet), and because without the geographical criterion it is difficult to distinguish this /kind of/ family from the intermediate structures between it and the clan, such as segments or lineages (mvôk, bisa). And finally, it is on this

567 spoke of ôlo (or mon ôlo) or étu'a as against nti (nté) or mo'nti, the latter word meaning freeman, civis. However, all the late nineteenth century writers agree that the Pahouin did not know of slavery and, closer to our period, L. Mba repeats the assertion, declaring that belô [727] or minsagha were not slaves but prisoners of war "considered part of the spoils" (no. 120).

Nevertheless, it does indeed seem that there were genuine com-
567 mercial transactions, selling and buying of these captives or, at any
727 rate, of the bitu'a, whose position must have been different from that of the bo' belo. The latter were more likely prisoners subject to ransom (ngôtô = ransom) or hostages; I have personally known elderly Boulou men of good family who were prisoners of the Bané in the way after the 1885 ôban /war/. They had been treated as men not as chattel, taking part in noble masculine activities such as hunting, but not in work considered menial like porterage. Some of them married Bané girls at the time of the treaty which followed the ôban; others were adopted by Bané clans. In their case one certainly could not speak of slavery.

567 The position was not the same for the bitu'a (1), who were, as I

[304] 1. Sometimes called bityi'ityi'a, the mutilated, the gashed, because their ears were slashed.

made the objects of commercial transactions, of sales, and not simply put in pawn. First lieutenant Dominick, for instance, bought outright from Ewôndo chiefs part of his complement of porters. These bitu'a were not Pahouin but foreign prisoners from neighboring tribes or the original inhabitants of conquered territory. Therefore it is perhaps correct to say that the Pahouin had no slaves among themselves of their own, but not that they were unacquainted with slavery. They certainly made little use of it, preferring to exchange captives for merchandise from the coastal or river tribes who specialized in trade. Besides, the children of belô or of bitu'a born within a clan must have been pretty easily absorbed if one of the parents belonged to the clan.

563 At the present time, in any case, the distinction between bo' beti
565 and bo' belo is very fine drawn (2), not to say obliterated, if only

6:Alexandre and Binet--75 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9
Cameroon Pygmies FH4

F
563
565

2. This division of the population into three categories, noble tribes (Beti), vassal but free tribes, and servile groups, is still evident in certain border regions: / the ethnic map in manuscript prepared by the government officer Botti (in accordance with the 1954 genealogical census, of the Okola subdivision (Nyong and Sanaga, the Cameroons) distinguishes between the Eton Beti (lords), the Eton Beloa (vassals), and the Beloa Beton (enslaved). (J. B.)

F
P
563
565

because /59/ people tend to forget genealogies. Nevertheless, there survives a condition that is not without a suggestion of serfdom, that of the Pygmies. They would appear to belong to three "tribes" — Babinga /Binga/ in the east, Bibaya in the center, Beye'ele or Bajieli /Jelli (Bayele, Badiele)/ in the west. They live in small family bands and are nomadic hunters within a limited area. These small hordes are said to "belong" to Pahouin families or individuals. The Pygmies hunt for their "owner," keep him supplied with meat, skins, ivory, medicinal plants and receive from him in return salt, spearheads, sabers, cloth, and cultivated foodstuffs. They do not have the right—and this is the important point—to carry on such dealings with another "owner," and the "owner" may prosecute anyone infringing his monopoly. Even more, he has a feudal lord's right of pursuit /droit de suite/ should "his" Pygmies try to escape and to become nomadic inhabitants in the territory of another village. He may also cede his rights over "his" Pygmies to another Pahouin, but not the Pygmies themselves. Here again then there is no slavery in the Roman sense of the word. Moreover, it appears that the "owner's" rights over "his" Pygmies derive originally from a reciprocal contract, a sort of alliance between the two groups, the balance of which was later upset in favor of the invaders. Within recent years a trend may be observed toward the emancipation of the Pygmies. They are now very crossbred; they use the language of their masters and seem to have preserved of their own only the technical and ritual vocabulary, of which the little that is known appears to be related for the most part to the dialects of Bantu tribes driven back by the Pahouin invasion. Crossbred groups that have been sedentary for several generations, the

F
P
563 Bekôé, are now assimilated and are considered a special Pahouin ayôn
565 (see above, p. 54). But the nomadic groups themselves are beginning to give up the obligatory intermediation of the Pahouin in order to sell their game; they are to be seen at markets and even in government offices and in the courts.

F Foreigners, bone bikul (ékul = foreign tribe), had no rights except
609 as guests or hosts, beyeñ (sing. nneñ), which means that they had in fact to buy security. Since European conquest there has been an increase in the betabe (from tabe = to stay, to dwell), privileged strangers admitted to residence by the head of a family or village, often allied by marriage to the clan amid which they have settled. Their children can be absorbed but are not true bo'beti, at least not
F in the first generations.

56 Thus truly Pahouin society was and remains very much a closed one, since entrance into it is, in practice, only by blood. On the other hand, it is very little stratified internally, outside of age grades; it might even be said to be averse to hierarchies.

F At first one is rather tempted to conclude that there are no castes.
564 This statement is perhaps too sweeping, if we take into consideration the fact that certain endogamous clans like the Ndôñ are perhaps castes or represent former castes. The subject deserves further study. /60/

Does Pahouin society admit of social classes based on birth or
F wealth? In spite of the egalitarian and anarchic temperament of the
556 Pahouin, I think this is so. Terminology proves it by distinguishing
565 the bo' beti not only from the captives but even from the zesé bôt, the humble people: mo'nti is often translated today as "Monsieur." Within the last two generations there has grown up before our eyes a real bourgeoisie of large-scale planters, clerks (bekilak), artisans, and skilled workmen, which is inclined to stand out against a lower class of small peasants, laborers, and even, at the moment, of a "proletariat in sunglasses" — petty tradesmen, etc. —a local equivalent of our white-collar workers. Already in traditional society the minkukum, the rich, were to be distinguished from the common people, the zesé bôt.

556 The rich were looked at askance and were objects of suspicion to
565 the general public, always quick to attribute material success to the
431 possession of an évu (évur, évus), to malevolent sorcery. The
437

6: Alexandre and Binet
101, 131, 563, 619

Fang FH9

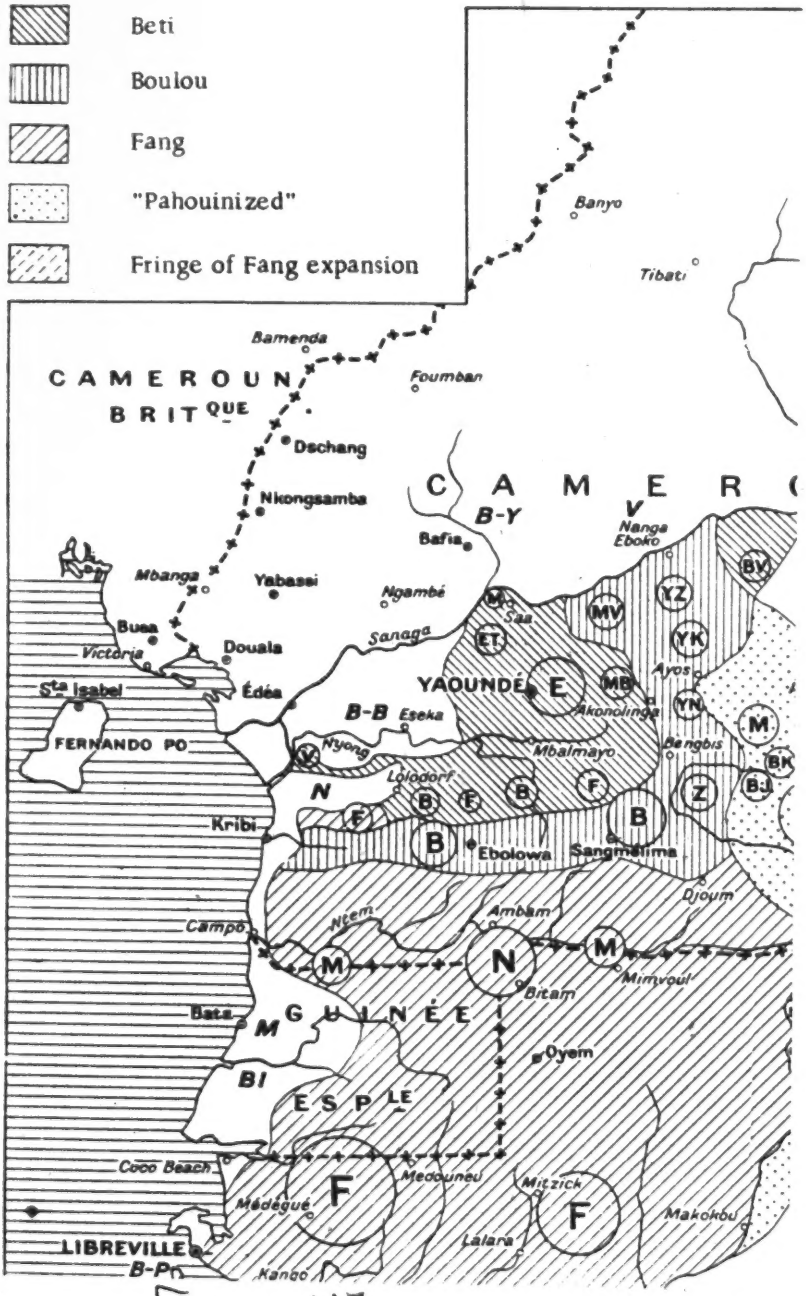
[Chart for sections of end map.]

A	B
C	D

6:Alexandre and Binet-- 182 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

101
131
563
619

The Pahouin Group

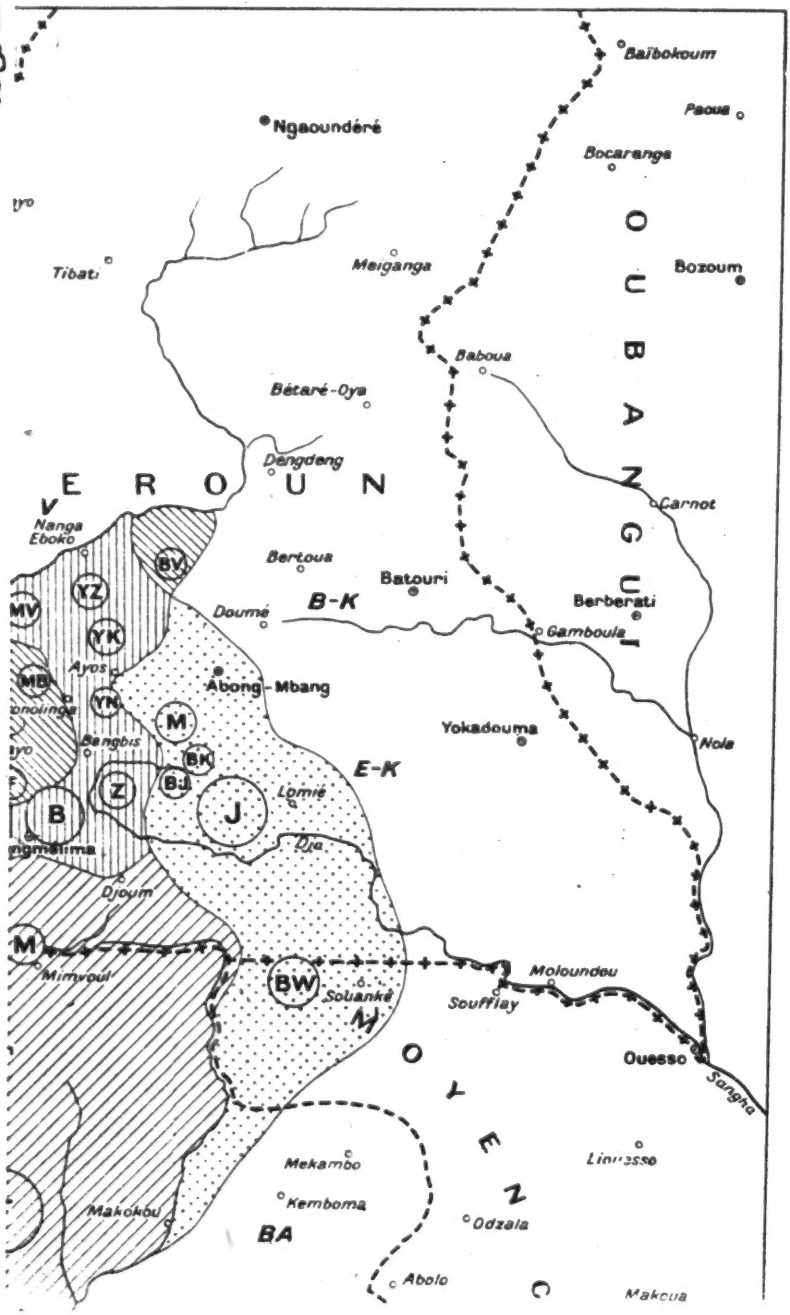


[End Map (A)]

6: Alexandre and Binet-- 183 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

The Pahouin Group

101
131
563
619



[End Map (B)]

6: Alexandre and Binet--184 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

101
131
● 563
69

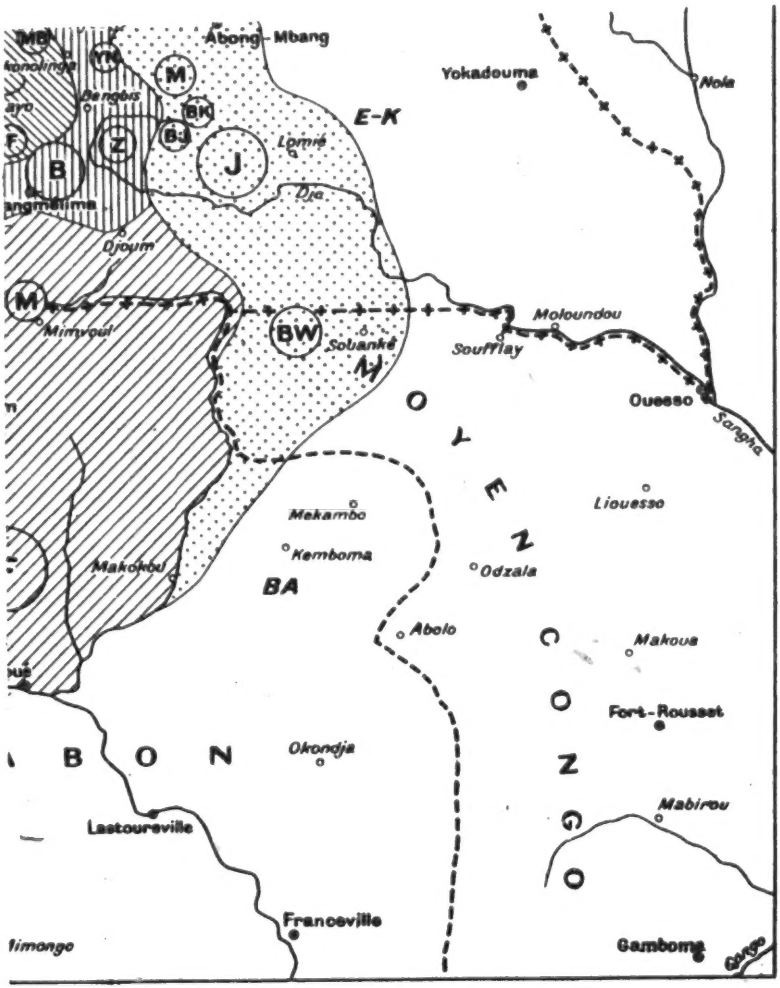
Neighboring Peoples

B-B : Bassa-Bakoko , **B-Y** : Bafia-Yambasa , **V** : Babouté (Vutéré) , **B-K**
M-O : Mitshogo-Okandé ; **BU** : Bapounou , **NK** : Nkomi , **B-P** : Benga-Pongwé

[End Map (C)]

6: Alexandre and Binet--185 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

101
131
● 563
619



...outé (Vutéré) , **B-K** : Baya-Kaka , **E-K** : Essel-Konabembé , **BA** : Bakota
...**B-P** : Benga-Pongwé , **Bi** : Balengi ; **M** : Mabéa ; **BT** : Batenga ; **N** : Ngoumba

[End Map (D)]

597 sacking of a village. For, although in such cases all the men
727 and able-bodied youths are ruthlessly killed and eaten, this does not apply to women and children, even to male children, who henceforth belong to the new tribe and will later be looked upon as warriors. There is no ceremony for women or female
[562] children, since, as we have seen, the totem ignores them, and they have only one duty toward it, to hide in their huts as quickly as possible whenever there is talk of the totem, and never to mention it. Should this nevertheless happen, it would be an offense requiring expiation.

Male children are adopted by the various heads of a family.
597 Tribal or village chiefs have first choice, the rest of the warriors come after. The one or more children chosen by a chief, however, may never succeed him.

Adoption ceremonies are like those at birth. The adopted
597 child loses all his old totems in order to acquire those of the
304 tribe he joins. There is just one additional ceremony, blood-letting. So as to prove his definitive entry into the tribe, he undergoes the following operation when led before the totem. With the mfor knife, a small steel blade kept for this purpose, the adoptive father makes a few slight scarifications on the child's left arm, collects the blood that flows, and throws it on the ancestral skulls, then on the akaméyón. He then takes a fragment of skull and some totemic sacrificial ashes and rubs these vigorously on the child's arm. This is the true sign of adoption, by which the boy definitively enters his new family and is recognized as belonging to it entirely. Later on he may even be allowed to take a wife from his former tribe, in spite of the strict law of exogamy, because adoption is so authentic.

[848 Often the same bloodletting and blood alliance occur
● 563] with illegitimate children or with mulattoes, but the object is then different. Adoption never takes place at birth but much later, so as to ensure for the child the ancestors' protection.

The same act often occurs when a child is ill. [573]

8: Bennett ' D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

114 and like a resistless army they are steadily approaching the coast, building towns
and displacing weaker tribes. That fine race of people, the Mpôngwes, often
167 spoken of as the "aristocratic tribe," and ranking first in the scale of civilisation above all other tribes in the French Congo, is rapidly dying out, and they are already being supplanted even at Gaboon by the migratory Fang.

The Bulu people inhabiting a portion of the German sphere of influence in
114 West Africa are without doubt very closely related to, if not a direct offshoot from,
the Fang; their customs are identical and their language so markedly similar that
197 a person who is able to speak Bulu is readily understood by the Fang. The first
173 day of my arrival among the Fang, after residing in Bululand, I was able to make known the reason for my coming and to ask and answer ordinary questions. While visiting on a small island called Nenge-nenge in the Nkomo River, a very old Fang man told me as follows: When a lad his grandfather had told him that, a long time ago, many of his tribe "changed their towns." These people first travelled far in canoes, and then after journeying for very many days through the forest, they "stopped walking and made new towns," and they did not return. My informant's father had told him later more about these people; they had been heard from, and their long absence from the original tribe had so changed them that "they spoke new words" (a new language).

Examples could be given almost without limit of the great similarity in the
197 language as spoken by the Bulu and Fang. A few will suffice; and I will select
539 from the proverbs of the people which are also identical. Tell a Bulu man to hurry with his work, he will often reply, "*Alu da dayi bol' nzok?*" (Will one day rot an elephant?). The Fang speak the same proverb thus: "*Alu avoti bol' nzok?*" Again, the Bulu use the words *Melu myus* (the days that are past), *Melu osu* (the days that are to come), *Melu mesese* (all the days). These sayings and numerous similar ones are in daily use among the Fang, the words used and the idiom being almost identically the same as in Bulu. I have wondered if the account given me by the old Fang man at Nenge-nenge about the people who years ago "changed their towns," might not be of more than passing interest as touching the genesis of the Bulu.

The Fang people are spread over an immense area of country, and when
101 questioned regarding their numbers they usually reply, "There are Fang and Fang; if you walk and sleep in towns and towns for many *moons* (months) you will find Fang." In the future it will be found that in the ethnography of equatorial Africa the Fang will hold a very important place. As before stated they are unquestionably closely related to the Bulu, and Compiègne recognised a marked similarity between them and the Osyeba, Monbutta and Nyamnyam people. There are
563 several scattered tribes of dwarfs among the Fang. Five of these pigmies live within two miles of my station, and they tell me that more of their people will soon "move their towns" and come to live on the banks of the Nkomo river. The Fang people look on the pigmies as a very clever and superior people, and not without good reason. An old headman told me that the *mon nqui* (dwarfs) first

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

563 discovered how to work *eki* (iron) and then taught others. They are also skilful hunters, and frequently succeed in killing game when others fail. In trade, it is almost impossible to cheat a dwarf, hence the Fang saying, "*Mon mei meduk mebe,*
[539] *mon nqui aduk aroti.*" (You can cheat a Fang twice, a dwarf once.) In this proverb the word "*mei*" equals Fang (see photographs and measurements of Fang dwarfs).
266 The Fang are cannibals and only fear of the authorities keeps them in check. In the autumn of 1898 a man was killed and eaten within ten miles of our mission station on the Nkomo river. I heard of the affair two days after the man had been killed, and taking a boat hurried down to the place accompanied by one of the sons of King "Kelun" from Nenge-nenge, as guide. In the palaver house of the town was a captive boy in chains. The people of this town would not admit having eaten a man, yet did not deny it; they said that the human bones in a hole behind the palaver house were those of a man who had "died two days before." I afterward learnt that the captive boy had been killed and eaten a few days after my visit. Several Fang have admitted to me that "some Fang eat man meat," and they have been told that it is far more enjoyable to eat than goat. My informants always added that they would not do such a thing—"only bad Fang did so." What I have learned from others and my own observations lead me to believe that an immense tract of country in West Africa from a trifle north of the equatorial line extending even as far northward as to include a portion of the German sphere of influence in the Cameroons, is occupied by numerous anthropophagous tribes all more or less closely related.

II.—*Physical and Moral Characteristics.*

Physically the Fang are a fine people. They may be classed as of medium
142 size. Some of the males are exceptionally large and well built. At Foulabifong, the Fang village on the Nkomo river, where I reside, there is a man belonging to the Esisis tribe who is the largest and finest specimen of humanity I have ever seen in Africa (photo shown on screen).

The skin colour of the Fang is sooty-black or dark reddish-brown, chocolate: (numbers 2 and 3 Topinard's scale); coal-black skins (number 1, Topinard's scale), are in the minority. The skin is smooth and when well cared for, as it very often is, it feels soft and velvety. In the adult the skin is lighter in the axilla; the palm of the hand and sole of foot are permanently yellow. The average Fang eye has a dark iris (class 1, Topinard's scale), and the eye-balls are placed with their long axes nearly in one horizontal plane. I have occasionally noticed a compression of the outer angle of the opening, mostly in females, strongly suggestive of the "almond eye." The hair may be classed as black and woolly. It is uniformly scattered over the hairy scalp; the hairs are coarse in texture. The males seem to
[302] have an aversion to hair on the face and frequently pluck if out; only a small percentage grow beards.

In adult males hair is often quite abundant on the chest and forearms.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

now responsible and liable to two parties; if he is reasonable they all meet and talk 628
the palaver. If the palaver is serious, each party appoints his *ntol* (ambassador). 681
The palaver is usually talked in the main street of the town, before all the
representatives of the interested clans, and before all strangers in town. The
Fang are born orators, and remarkable gestures and orations are made while [537]
talking the palaver. The speaker usually walks backwards and forwards grasping
and leaning upon a "palaver stick." He commences with: *M'zona* (I say thus);
when speaking for another he says *A'zona* (he says thus); when speaking for the
people of his town, *Ba zona* (they say thus). Sometimes the *ntôls* (ambassadors) sit
in a canoe in the middle of a river or a stream, and talk the palaver, the injured
parties being on either side of the stream. The case is talked, the goods demanded
in payment stated, and an effort made to *kik nsang* (cut or end the palaver). If
they succeed, then the palaver is *cut* (ended), and a dance follows; if no
agreement is come to, the meeting breaks up and a tribal war exists between these
clans.

Salutations.

There are three salutations common to all. Two friends meet, they each grasp 576
the arm of the other, high up on the biceps; a slight pause is made, then the hand
is slipped down to clasp the wrist. This is also the customary salutation used by
the Bulu.

Two friends meeting salute by embracing.

A traveller entering the *abeng* (palaver house) walks over to the headman and
sits on his knee a moment, at the same time placing one arm around the headman's
neck.

Hospitality demands that all strangers be served food by the town women to [574]
strangers in the *abeng*.

Wives are loaned to guests. [837]

Coarse conversation is indulged in by old and young of both sexes. [521]

Considerable license prevails among the unmarried; less so among the [836]
married.

VIII.—*Invention, Natural Forms, Conservatism.*

Invention.—The arts in use are common to all the different clans of the great 176
Fang tribe. Any new discovery as the working of iron is credited to the dwarfs or 563
nqui. The natives are always ready to admit that the *nqui* are very clever; they
have a saying "no person knows like a *mon nqui* (dwarf) what is inside the forest." 609
When obtainable the natives use an imported saw, or file, and admit its superiority
over their own crude tools. A Fang may be impressed at the knowledge and power
of the white man, but is not greatly surprised; the reason for this is that many
white men are credited with possessing supernatural powers.

Some of the clubs, tools and weapons approximate to the natural forms of the 412
branches or roots of trees. Axe handles and the handle of a certain kind of adze have

F P 563 565 Bekôé, are now assimilated and are considered a special Pahouin ayôn (see above, p. 54). But the nomadic groups themselves are beginning to give up the obligatory intermediation of the Pahouin in order to sell their game; they are to be seen at markets and even in government offices and in the courts.

F 609 Foreigners, bone bikul (ékul = foreign tribe), had no rights except as guests or hosts, beyeñ (sing. nneñ), which means that they had in fact to buy security. Since European conquest there has been an increase in the betabe (from tabe = to stay, to dwell), privileged strangers admitted to residence by the head of a family or village, often allied by marriage to the clan amid which they have settled. Their children can be absorbed but are not true bo'beti, at least not in the first generations.

F 56 Thus truly Pahouin society was and remains very much a closed one, since entrance into it is, in practice, only by blood. On the other hand, it is very little stratified internally, outside of age grades; it might even be said to be averse to hierarchies.

F 564 At first one is rather tempted to conclude that there are no castes. This statement is perhaps too sweeping, if we take into consideration the fact that certain endogamous clans like the Ndôñ are perhaps castes or represent former castes. The subject deserves further study. /60/

F 556 565 Does Pahouin society admit of social classes based on birth or wealth? In spite of the egalitarian and anarchic temperament of the Pahouin, I think this is so. Terminology proves it by distinguishing the bo' beti not only from the captives but even from the zesé bôt, the humble people: mo'nti is often translated today as "Monsieur." Within the last two generations there has grown up before our eyes a real bourgeoisie of large-scale planters, clerks (bekilak), artisans, and skilled workmen, which is inclined to stand out against a lower class of small peasants, laborers, and even, at the moment, of a "proletariat in sunglasses" — petty tradesmen, etc. —a local equivalent of our white-collar workers. Already in traditional society the minkukum, the rich, were to be distinguished from the common people, the zesé bôt.

556 565 431 437 The rich were looked at askance and were objects of suspicion to the general public, always quick to attribute material success to the possession of an évu (évur, évus), to malevolent sorcery. The

567 spoke of ôlo (or mon ôlo) or étu'a as against nti (nté) or mo'nti, the latter word meaning freeman, civis. However, all the late nineteenth century writers agree that the Pahouin did not know of slavery and, closer to our period, L. Mba repeats the assertion, declaring that belô [727] or minsagha were not slaves but prisoners of war "considered part of the spoils" (no. 120).

Nevertheless, it does indeed seem that there were genuine com-
567 mercial transactions, selling and buying of these captives or, at any
727 rate, of the bitu'a, whose position must have been different from that of the bo' belo. The latter were more likely prisoners subject to ransom (ngôtô = ransom) or hostages; I have personally known elderly Boulou men of good family who were prisoners of the Bané in the way after the 1885 ôban /war/. They had been treated as men not as chattel, taking part in noble masculine activities such as hunting, but not in work considered menial like porterage. Some of them married Bané girls at the time of the treaty which followed the ôban; others were adopted by Bané clans. In their case one certainly could not speak of slavery.

567 The position was not the same for the bitu'a (1), who were, as I

[304]

1. Sometimes called bityi'ityi'a, the mutilated, the gashed, because their ears were slashed.

made the objects of commercial transactions, of sales, and not simply put in pawn. First lieutenant Dominick, for instance, bought outright from Ewôndo chiefs part of his complement of porters. These bitu'a were not Pahouin but foreign prisoners from neighboring tribes or the original inhabitants of conquered territory. Therefore it is perhaps correct to say that the Pahouin had no slaves among themselves of their own, but not that they were unacquainted with slavery. They certainly made little use of it, preferring to exchange captives for merchandise from the coastal or river tribes who specialized in trade. Besides, the children of belô or of bitu'a born within a clan must have been pretty easily absorbed if one of the parents belonged to the clan.

563 At the present time, in any case, the distinction between bo' beti
575 and bo' belo is very fine drawn (2), not to say obliterated, if only

6:Alexandre and Binet--75 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9
Cameroon Pygmies A14
F
563
565

2. This division of the population into three categories, noble tribes (Beti), vassal but free tribes, and servile groups, is still evident in certain border regions: the ethnic map in manuscript prepared by the government officer Botti (in accordance with the 1954 genealogical census, of the Okola subdivision (Nyong and Sanaga, the Cameroons) distinguishes between the Eton Beti (lords), the Eton Beloa (vassals), and the Beloa Beton (enslaved). (J. B.)

F
P
563
565

because /59/ people tend to forget genealogies. Nevertheless, there survives a condition that is not without a suggestion of serfdom, that of the Pygmies. They would appear to belong to three "tribes" — Babinga /Binga/ in the east, Bibaya in the center, Beye'ele or Bajieli /Jelli (Bayele, Badiele)/ in the west. They live in small family bands and are nomadic hunters within a limited area. These small hordes are said to "belong" to Pahouin families or individuals. The Pygmies hunt for their "owner," keep him supplied with meat, skins, ivory, medicinal plants and receive from him in return salt, spearheads, sabers, cloth, and cultivated foodstuffs. They do not have the right—and this is the important point—to carry on such dealings with another "owner," and the "owner" may prosecute anyone infringing his monopoly. Even more, he has a feudal lord's right of pursuit /droit de suite/ should "his" Pygmies try to escape and to become nomadic inhabitants in the territory of another village. He may also cede his rights over "his" Pygmies to another Pahouin, but not the Pygmies themselves. Here again then there is no slavery in the Roman sense of the word. Moreover, it appears that the "owner's" rights over "his" Pygmies derive originally from a reciprocal contract, a sort of alliance between the two groups, the balance of which was later upset in favor of the invaders. Within recent years a trend may be observed toward the emancipation of the Pygmies. They are now very crossbred; they use the language of their masters and seem to have preserved of their own only the technical and ritual vocabulary, of which the little that is known appears to be related for the most part to the dialects of Bantu tribes driven back by the Pahouin invasion. Crossbred groups that have been sedentary for several generations, the

F P 563 565 Bekôé, are now assimilated and are considered a special Pahouin ayôn (see above, p. 54). But the nomadic groups themselves are beginning to give up the obligatory intermediation of the Pahouin in order to sell their game; they are to be seen at markets and even in government offices and in the courts.

F 609 Foreigners, bone bikul (ékul = foreign tribe), had no rights except as guests or hosts, beyeñ (sing. nneñ), which means that they had in fact to buy security. Since European conquest there has been an increase in the betabe (from tabe = to stay, to dwell), privileged strangers admitted to residence by the head of a family or village, often allied by marriage to the clan amid which they have settled. Their children can be absorbed but are not true bo'beti, at least not in the first generations.

F 56 Thus truly Pahouin society was and remains very much a closed one, since entrance into it is, in practice, only by blood. On the other hand, it is very little stratified internally, outside of age grades; it might even be said to be averse to hierarchies.

F 564 At first one is rather tempted to conclude that there are no castes. This statement is perhaps too sweeping, if we take into consideration the fact that certain endogamous clans like the Ndôñ are perhaps castes or represent former castes. The subject deserves further study. /60/

F 556 565 Does Pahouin society admit of social classes based on birth or wealth? In spite of the egalitarian and anarchic temperament of the Pahouin, I think this is so. Terminology proves it by distinguishing the bo' beti not only from the captives but even from the zesé bôt, the humble people: mo'nti is often translated today as "Monsieur." Within the last two generations there has grown up before our eyes a real bourgeoisie of large-scale planters, clerks (bekilak), artisans, and skilled workmen, which is inclined to stand out against a lower class of small peasants, laborers, and even, at the moment, of a "proletariat in sunglasses" — petty tradesmen, etc. —a local equivalent of our white-collar workers. Already in traditional society the minkukum, the rich, were to be distinguished from the common people, the zesé bôt.

556 565 431 437 The rich were looked at askance and were objects of suspicion to the general public, always quick to attribute material success to the possession of an évu (évur, évus), to malevolent sorcery. The

556 nkukum had to excuse his wealth, primarily by distributing it through
565 customary hospitality and also by a special device of economic-social
431 control resembling the potlatch, the bilaba.
437 This practice seems to have been especially common among the Boulou. Bertaut relates the word to a Ngumba root meaning "to talk," "to cajole." I should rather incline toward a derivative of the verb lap, "to draw water," by extension "to splash," which can figuratively also convey the idea of scoffing. It is not impossible that the bilaba mechanism was connected with that of the joking relationship, awusô. The bilaba begins with a challenge from one nkukum to another, each man claiming to be the richer. The challenger goes to the house of the challenged, carrying a load of merchandise, mebo me dulu, "legs for the journey," and accompanied by a large retinue of musicians and singers, etc. When he reaches the home of the other njem bilaba (bilaba dancer), he overwhelms him with presents and taunts; his opposite number replies, present for present and jeer for jeer, until he has contributed more than the equivalent of the mebo me dulu. The first njem bilaba goes home and waits for the other's return visit with his own mebo me dulu. Visits and countervisits may go on for a long time, each of the bejem bilaba calling on his immediate family for help, then upon his lineage or clan, for continued supplies. The bilaba therefore comes to be a collective affair. It must be observed that not just any kind of merchandise is exchanged: a njem bilaba in the east (nku, ôku) provides local products, (livestock, cacao, ivory, etc.), in the west (nké) imported products (loincloths, [823] salt, powder, etc.) (1). It should be remembered /61/ in this [831]

1. M. Zoll'Owambe (no. 125) speaks of akum so, "merchandise of the north," imports, and of akum nsak, "merchandise of the south," products of the country. But there appears to have been some confusion. In fact, so = coast, downstream, is related to nké = west, which also means downstream, while nsak = hinterland, upstream (nku = east, related to kui = to come from, rise from, emerge); cf. Largeau, who considers the north to be on the right (male) and the south on the left (female). Imported products would be considered male.

437
431
552 connection that the points of the compass have a sexual implication,
555 which is not well understood. The bilaba sets up a sort of joking re-
623 lationship between the families of the participants, which may con-
631 tinue after their death.

The institution seems to be dying out, though it was still flourishing between the two /World?/ wars and often involved considerable amounts of money (1).

1. Balandier (no. 175 and in a personal communication) stresses the economic importance of the bilaba which, in a society without a money or trade economy, constituted one of the principal means of circulating goods and, especially, of diffusing imported commodities.

556 In spite of the fear his success inspires, and perhaps because of
622 this fear, the rich man enjoyed undoubted authority in his village and sometimes beyond it. Nkukuma, the absolute form of nkukum, is used to translate "chief" (it probably means, more precisely, "person of note").

554 The word évet, also applied to subchiefs or government "capitas"
622 is likewise used —a correct nuance if, as Bates says, évet is a corruption of headman applied originally to the chiefs of trade caravans. These men were chosen for their business astuteness, diplomacy, authority, and courage, but they were only deputies of a clan or village, not true political chiefs. To convey the latter implication the preferable term is still njôô bôt (Fang, nzoé mur) from jô = to say, to command, a term indicating a de facto state, /état de fait/ rather than a legal notion. It should be recalled that there were no political leaders other than the seniors, mintôl, of the extended families. Their authority was further limited by the ease with which their brothers could leave the village to establish another nearby (2).

164
554
622

2. But among some Pahouinized peoples the existence of royal insignia shows that chiefship /chefferie/ is an institution: among the Ewôndo and Yanda the head of the clan designated his successor or, if he

618 Next, the establishment of urban and rural municipal councils per-
631 mits financial decentralization. Towns under the term "urban com-
623 munes," cantons, and sometimes whole subdivisions under the term "rural communes," received a legal character, with a domain to manage and a budget to fix. Elected councilors under an appointed mayor had to study plans for road works, to set up construction or maintenance programs, inquire into taxes? /taxes/ and assessments /impôts/, and have an eye to a sound financial position.

In towns this was nothing new, but its extension to wide rural areas was an experiment. Boulou or Beti country, where there was no risk of these new methods giving offense to a strong traditional /social/ structure, was the ideal place for trying out a new /kind of/ organization.

[565] Throughout the elections arranged to fill the posts of councilor, we can see crystallizing the most striking traits of the new élite, the characteristics of the aristocracy or oligarchy that will get itself into power.

Pessimists had expressed fear that such elections, based on almost universal suffrage, would overthrow the classical social values and impair the prestige of the present acting élite.

This point of view disregarded the fact that in a country practically [626] without stratification, no one can keep authority without the support of public opinion. /132/ Granting the vote to vassals in a feudal society may unsettle the power of the nobility. It is quite otherwise [622] here, where chiefs of village or canton are most commonly chosen by election.

818 The older men have preserved a privileged position vis-à-vis the
623 younger generation. A comparison of the age pyramid of councilors with that of the adult male population as a whole readily shows this: (table on following page).

The younger generation is poorly represented. Mature men of thirty to forty are represented in proportion to their ratio in the total population; but men of forty to fifty or of the older age group are heavily represented. Electoral influence has not been seized by the younger men.

[565] Neither does it appear that the poorer class, more numerous than
[556] the rich, has benefited from the ballot so as to eliminate the latter. From the point of view of the possession of a certain amount of wealth, we can assert that municipal councilors are much better off than the common people.

579 had been satis- fied, because on either side
628 the loss was exactly the same: each had
a village burned and a man killed.
[411] The matter would have gone on, because
[531] the Bebai people were still dissatis-
fied since they regarded their loss as
greater; their casualty had been a great
chief, while the other had been only a
young man. However, by this time the
influence of the Whites had penetrated
to Bebai and thus an end was put to the
fighting.

From this example it can be seen that
628 the Pangwe act according to the princi-
682 ple of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a
tooth, and that blood revenge can cease
only when the losses on both sides are
equal. In a "war" between Schumu and
Esseng people, eight Schumu peo-
ple had been killed, and peace could not
be concluded until eight Esseng men had

Fig. 84. Wooden Shield.

likewise been killed. Furthermore, it can be seen that village feuds fraught with consequences often arise from quite trivial causes.

Prisoners are usually killed and then often eaten, as has been
72 mentioned earlier. Only children are raised as "slaves" in the
[266] village. Captured women are usually taken by the victors as
[567] wives, but sometimes they are also killed in order to even out the number of killed on both sides and thus to make peace possible. /251/

837 "Etudes sur le Pays Pahouin [Study on the Pahouin Country]," op. cit.

"friendship wife"), show, as does the freedom just referred to, that the curbing of adultery can be explained by social reasons which are quite alien to sexuality.

[727 ●567] 831 595 581 The possibility of raping women of neighboring people during the time of conquest, the possibility of buying foreign women at a good price, so long as the slave trade lasted, permitted the "chiefs" of groupings to remedy the dangers due to the unsatisfied desires of the young men. Apparently the Fang do not display, as do some people, (2) signs of unsatisfied sex due to the fact that

2. Cf. R. Bastide, Sociologie et Psychanalyse [Sociology and Psychoanalysis], pp. 160-161.

women remain the property of the older men. What is sought is the legal possession of the woman, let us say, for the many advantages it entails, rather than sexual possession. And in this sense the justification brought forward by L. Mba can be understood when he writes, "It was not material satisfaction of the senses which drove the Pahouins to polygamy, but many other reasons. . . ."

581 562 684 628 When the marriage is consummated, the woman goes from a state of near liberty to one of strict sexual control. The specific painful physical penalties for adultery to which the woman alone is subject are particuarly severe: being exposed naked before the assembled village, being tied to the ant tree, excision of the clitoris or pimento torture, various mutilations. When the woman, either by flight or by rape, leaves the grouping into which she married, the whole group reacts violently. It is the cause of fights, kidnaping, and pillaging of the village that has taken her 581 562 in. (3) There is the most absolute contrast between this control

3. "Hence, conflicts that last for years, expressed through kidnaping of women and ending in gunshots," Libreville, Archives of 1909. And

554 regions where the Fang population seems relatively old, instability
622 is the rule for a large proportion of the groupings. There is thus a sort of vicious circle: mobility imposed by long-range conquest has prevented the [138] establishment of a hierarchical organization and this "lack" results in an unrestrained instability.

The social system does not show any elements favorable to a better hierarchical organization. While the pre-eminence of the eldest is accepted, that of the eldest lineage (from which, among the Ba-kongo, the "crowned chief" is selected) is barely maintained. On the contrary, we have shown that there is a nearly constant tension between this lineage and those of the "younger" [567] brothers. On the other hand, the absence of domestic slavery indicates the wish to prevent any development of inequality. During the entire period of great conquests the Fang have had only two [727] solutions in relation to conquered foreigners: to destroy or to adopt. And while the eldest appears to be the regulator of the economic and political life, and to be responsible for the worship of the ancestors, his authority is subject to an effective control. It counts only within the framework of groupings of limited extent. It is open to the criticism of the men of the nd'è bòt (who consider themselves the equal of the eldest who only acts "by delegation") or of the council members when the village contains several minor lineages. It also remains in competition with occasional authorities.

If it is true that seniority almost automatically creates authority, this authority is also limited and often threatened by the principle that "the most capable" is the most influential. In the fairly large villages, the position of chief (one should rather say the regulator and intermediary with foreign groupings, which the word ntòl specifically means) is generally passed on from eldest son to eldest son (or, in default, from eldest [son] to a younger brother on the same segment) in the lineage descended from the founder. This is on condition that the successor is approved by all "for his bravery, his wealth, and his eloquence." (1) In the opposite case, a stronger

1. L. Mba, Coutumier Pahouin [Pahouin Customs], p. 12.

personality is chosen from among the eldest of another nd'è bòt in the village. In other respects this authority is controlled by a council

561 an old man, nnôm môt, who lived too long lost his prestige as he be-
88 came decrepit. It seems probable that during the great migrations old people, particularly feeble old women, were abandoned in the forest when a village moved its site. Certainly death must often have come before the infirmities of age, from fighting, hunting, or the first serious illness. My informants were always unanimous in telling me
[769] that the skull of an infirm or senile old man could not be used in the biéri cult.

With the second generation of descendants, a man, alive or dead, inevitably becomes émvam, a forefather, in the double sense of grandfather and ancestor.

561 An age grade covers about three years: this is about the longest possible stretch of time during which two children born on different dates can both be at the breast together, and it was approximately the interval separating two large collective initiation ceremonies. Classificatory kinship groups people by generation: all those of one generation are bobenyañ, brothers, as mentioned above. Within an age grade the term éjula, "comrade," is more apt to be used. The succession of age grades created an internal hierarchy within the generation and strengthened the clan and tribal ties between the bijula. This strengthening was even more marked between the bo'bewôsô of the same time of initiation.

178 Modern life alters these ties, as much from the dying out or trans-
561 formation of the initiations as from the loosening of ties in the extended family and also from the greater mobility of individuals and limited families. The little Fang boy born at Fort-Lamy, where his father is postal agent, scarcely feels himself to be the éjula of his clan monyañ born on the same day at Libreville. Economic and political development tends more and more to set up hierarchies founded more on occupation, wealth, even education, rather than on age and rank in the family. /58/

4. Slavery, Castes, Classes, Chiefdoms

561 Largeau spoke of the Pahouin as of a "people who have no synonym for our words 'king,' 'master,' 'servant,' 'workman,' 'slave.'" It is a fine phrase, but it only partially corresponds to reality. Largeau himself, in his encyclopedia, translates the word "slave" as nsagha, a loan word from Gabonese (Mpongwé), he says. Further north, people

567 spoke of ôlo (or mon ôlo) or étu'a as against nti (nté) or mo'nti, the latter word meaning freeman, civis. However, all the late nineteenth century writers agree that the Pahouin did not know of slavery and, closer to our period, L. Mba repeats the assertion, declaring that belô [727] or minsagha were not slaves but prisoners of war "considered part of the spoils" (no. 120).

Nevertheless, it does indeed seem that there were genuine com-
567 mercial transactions, selling and buying of these captives or, at any
727 rate, of the bitu'a, whose position must have been different from that of the bo' belo. The latter were more likely prisoners subject to ransom (ngôtô = ransom) or hostages; I have personally known elderly Boulou men of good family who were prisoners of the Bané in the way after the 1885 ôban /war/. They had been treated as men not as chattel, taking part in noble masculine activities such as hunting, but not in work considered menial like porterage. Some of them married Bané girls at the time of the treaty which followed the ôban; others were adopted by Bané clans. In their case one certainly could not speak of slavery.

567 The position was not the same for the bitu'a (1), who were, as I

[304]

1. Sometimes called bityi'ityi'a, the mutilated, the gashed, because their ears were slashed.

made the objects of commercial transactions, of sales, and not simply put in pawn. First lieutenant Dominick, for instance, bought outright from Ewôndo chiefs part of his complement of porters. These bitu'a were not Pahouin but foreign prisoners from neighboring tribes or the original inhabitants of conquered territory. Therefore it is perhaps correct to say that the Pahouin had no slaves among themselves of their own, but not that they were unacquainted with slavery. They certainly made little use of it, preferring to exchange captives for merchandise from the coastal or river tribes who specialized in trade. Besides, the children of belô or of bitu'a born within a clan must have been pretty easily absorbed if one of the parents belonged to the clan.

563 At the present time, in any case, the distinction between bo' beti
565 and bo' belo is very fine drawn (2), not to say obliterated, if only

515 791 825 of danger. Hence the symbolic choice of fast birds: the river swallow, the koulyebe that flies like an arrow, the eagle or the vulture whose powerful flight protects it from enemies, the turtledove or the wood pigeon that knows how to conceal a nest so as to escape all attention. Or it might be an antelope with nimble legs and acute hearing, [482] which is especially difficult to capture. Finally, the crocodile sometimes appears as a totem not because it is bad tempered and devours men, but because it is always on the watch and at the slightest disturbance submerges itself and disappears in the river or because its scaly covering makes it invulnerable to arrows and javelins.

Such are the qualities that a secret society demands for itself.

515 791 782 The "consecrator" has chosen the totem, generally that of a class. He must now procure one himself but catch it "alive." He brings it into the hut of the "consecrated" one, who keeps it, at least as much as possible, on his chest throughout a whole night. In the morning the totem is led with great ceremony to the middle of a clearing and sprinkled with lustral water: the attending practitioners dance around it, then sing the hymn to the totem; the candidate sings it along with them. This hymn extols the totem's strength, valor, and swiftness, and especially thanks it for the protection given the society. Then, after this hymn, the candidate fetches the victim, whom he must offer, and leads him [567 562] before the totem. Ordinarily, the victim is a foreign slave, because he should not belong to the Fan nation, in order to avoid any possible ritual offense. (1) It is, however, permissible --

> 1. A foreign slave or a woman is chosen because neither possesses a totem and therefore no ritual offense is to be feared.

and this often happens -- to take a Fan woman. The slave or woman is tightly gagged. Usually no resistance is offered, especially since the victim is given alewané to drink the evening before, a decoction of herbs and woody mushrooms that have the property of suppressing memory. The neophyte forces the victim to walk in front of him, or pushes him, going around the totem [278]

224 ditch, its point in the air, so that any animal falling in will almost certainly be pierced. Having finished with these preliminaries, the hunters make ready to actually beat for game. First there will have been a large sacrifice. Suppose a tribe has the scaly anteater (ye-mvil) for its totem. The tribal chief is the first to start on the hunt after a preparatory fast of three days. During that time he has remained apart in a small reed hut in the midst of the forest, eating only the food he brought with him, which he must first have placed on the évora biéri. He drinks only from an aromatic leaf folded into a cone; further-
[834] more, he abstains from any relations with his wives, because contact with women is supposed at such times to be an offense against the totem (nsem éki). After these three days he makes a
[782] fetish, that is, a sacrifice to the tribal or clan totem, according to the usual practice; it consists of a goat at least or better a sheep. Formerly always and nowadays even occasionally, it was
● [567] always a slave. After the sacrifice [555] the chief takes part of the victim -- the rest belongs to the practitioner -- and throughout the hunt, he must eat no other meat. He then leaves and returns to the village only when he has met with, captured alive if possible, or if not, slain, the totem animal. If he kills it he must take care that none of the animal's blood drips onto the path, thus risking being profaned, for that would be another ritual offense. Therefore the chief carefully closes the wound with dry leaves and the fluff from a banana tree.

While returning to the village the chief must be seen by no
[201] woman; he therefore takes care to announce his arrival by a special call, which is answered by a tom-tom, and then dashes into his hut. The women who happen to be in the village, outside their huts, must go inside quickly.

The totem animal is then placed on the évora biéri. If it is too large to fit, the chief opens it and puts on the évora the
[774] brains, lungs, and heart, the three parts which contain the life principle and the various souls. The carcass is offered in sacrifice in the accustomed manner and then divided among all the hunters.

166 made fifty years ago, such a whole represented from 350 to 700
621 or 800 persons — while present-day villages rarely average more
361 than 100 inhabitants. With peace restored, the grouping has relaxed and divided into its constituent elements which have broken away to form neighboring hamlets. A special word, ngòra, is the name given to these hamlets which are considered as still forming the same whole.

621 Linked with the virile character of Fang society is certainly
562 [132] the accent on the separation of sexes as shown in daily
571 life. For the woman, the living place is the hut; for the man it
344 is essentially the "guardhouse." M. H. Kingsley writes: "The men spend most of their time in palaver houses built at each end of the street, while the women bring bowls of food the whole day
[784] long," (3) without being able to enter the abèñõ, which is absolutely

3. Travels in West Africa, p. 154.

forbidden them. H. Trilles defines this abèñõ as the place "where the men assemble to deal with community affairs, war, marriage,
[574] lawsuits, etc...," and where strangers are welcomed. In addition it is the place where the young men receive a large part of their education, where they learn, according to L. Mba, the most im-
621 portant interdicts (éki). Males of the same nd'è bòt assemble in
562 the abèñõ, which forms a virile grouping and one of kinship. In
571 its midst the authority of the "eldest" is expressed. He is both the symbol and the regulator of the life of the group, and the intermediary between it and the ancestors. Here not only are important transactions regulated, but work is also organized. The life of each one is subject to the control and the nearly constant censure of all. In it is created a cohesion so that this group is the most resistant element of Fang society. It is through the medium of this group, that the traditional Fang is assessed, is isolated as an individual, by the foreigner; he is not known in the first place as X but as a man attached to the abèñõ of Y. Such a grouping therefore represents a strong "community": the fusion, which favors effective kinship to the maximum (it is based on immediate filiation and "fraternity"), worship of the same ancestors, and joint

621 participation in the same tasks, tends — if one may venture the
562 play on words — to the confusion of its members. On the other
571 hand, the women it controls do not form such a coherent whole; they represent different clans, different modalities of kinship; they are the center of virtual conflicts (between female "relatives" and female "relations by marriage," between co-wives); except for the wives of the same man, who live together, they do not have a common living place.

621 The nd'è bòt — and, more precisely, this virile whole made
571 up of relatives belonging to the same guardhouse (abèñõ) — harbors,
578 however, latent antagonisms, which are the result of the privilege
614 linked with ancestry [133] or seniority. These tensions can come to a head when disputes arise usually from economic causes, such as circulation of wealth or of women, or allocation of farming land. They help to explain the very variable size of the groupings considered as villages, and the phenomena of aggregation and disintegration of the latter according to circumstances. But both of these movements are effected as a function of the minor lineage which is the nd'è bòt.

621 This grouping may by itself constitute a separate unit of about
571 ten persons or a village with up to a hundred inhabitants. When a
614 village is old, with a large population (200 to 300 persons or more), it cannot remain organized around a single common hearth. It is arranged around several centers corresponding to the sons of the founder or their successors. Thus the village of Ebiane (Yéngwi in the vicinity of Oyem) has 235 inhabitants distributed in three groups representing the respective posterity of three brothers. We have already stressed the fact that the heads of minor lineages are at the level of the same segment. The village of Afénane (Yébimvé of the Oyem region) with more than 300 inhabitants also consists of the posterity of three brothers, and each of the nd'è bòt occupies a definite position on the village street, according to the following diagram:

621 The groupings are located according to the order of their
571 pre-eminence, that of the eldest being at the back in direct con-
614 tact with the chief's hut. Also, grouping 1 does not represent the whole of the lineage descended from the eldest brother (Ekòrò Ngòm); the latter divided at the level of the sons of Ekòrò Ngòm into three elements, of which one is at Afénane and the two others make up the very close villages of Messia (139 inhabitants) and M'Fagne (97 inhabitants).

621 This whole Yébimvé group, consisting in a limited area of
571 nearly 1,000 persons, is interesting to the extent that it shows
578 how the "major" lineages (which we have described above under
614 the name of abial è bòt) and the "minor" ones determine residence in a definite zone and a village. Two brothers led a migratory group [134] of Yébimvé from the Cameroons to the territory occupied today by their posterity. A conflict arising from the unequal distribution of the women acquired from foreign villages lead to the first rupture. Each of the two brothers moved away with the group he controlled, and the memory of past antagonisms has remained sufficiently alive to prevent any attempt today at recombining the members.

621 The initial cleavage can be presented in the following man-
571 ner: (Table VII on following page.)
614 The cleavage is expressed in relation to a common origin (A) which represents the head of the "major" lineage and gives rise to the first rupture which we mark with a double line. The two nd'è bòt have separated and settled in spite of all in adjacent regions. But these groupings have themselves been subject to new fragmentations since then. We represent the second of these where they occur [135] at the level of the third generations (after III, V, and VII), giving rise to the creation of villages very close to one another and able to co-operate and, above all, to regroup if required by circumstances.

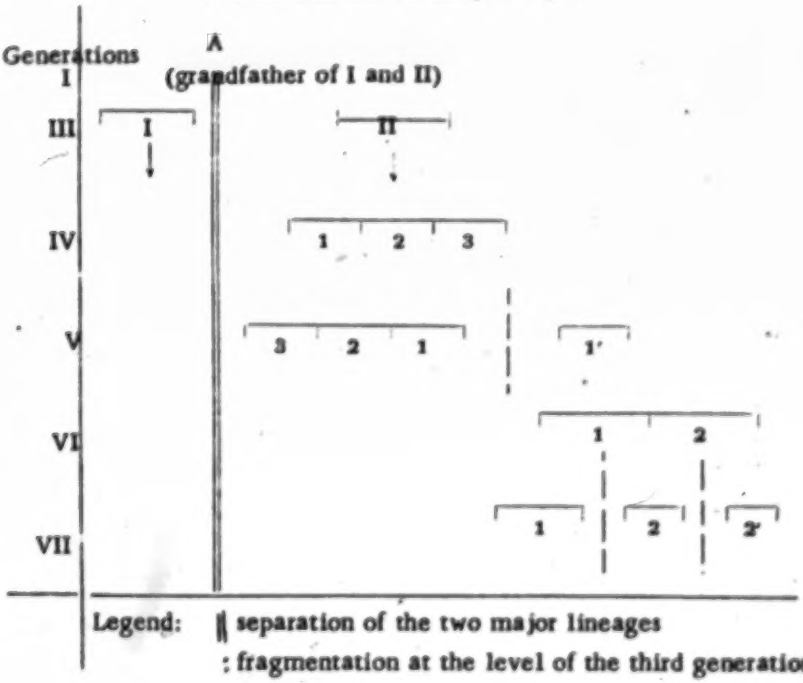
These observations show that the nd'è bòt is a true residential unit. They show how the cleavage becomes possible as soon as this unit reaches a certain size (a size, from the point of view of security and economic demands, making it viable as a separate unit); but the distance (in the sociological sense) between fragments varies

621
571
614

in terms of the circumstances which gave rise to the rupture and of the necessity to reserve eventual co-operation. The instability of the Fang village until recent times is certainly due to the nature of the old economy and to a poor capacity for disposition of land space, but also to a type of organization that does not permit (or permits badly) the control of large groupings. These have been made necessary only by lack of security.

Table VII

Yébimvé in the Vicinity of Oyem

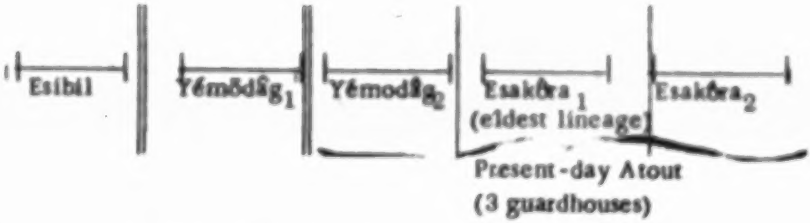


In the case of mixed villages where groupings belonging to different clans are found assembled together, usually following an administrative alteration of the population, instability appears to be more marked and distribution into definitely located nd'è bòt becomes a necessity. Such a grouping thus adds divisions which involves the co-existence of clan elements foreign to the

621 divisions already existing. This occurs even in the case of small
571 villages. We give the example of Atout in Mitzic region founded
614 by some Esibil to whom were added some Yémödâg and some Esakòra.

Table VIII

Village of Atout



Legend: ‖ definitive separation

| division into nd'è bòt making up Atout.

The founding group and a large part of the Yémödâg have already seceded; the Esakòra grouping has divided into two nd'è bòt (the "elder" and the younger), which represents a first [136] phase of the relaxing of bonds, for this division is not necessitated by the as yet reduced size of the group.

The mixed villages — called mfulana möyôg, mixture of clans — have necessitated the creation of an embroyonic form of chefferie [French administrative district]; the recognition of an authority based outside "kinship." Thus, when a fairly large grouping is concerned,the chief is careful to settle apart and to have at his disposal a guardhouse other than the one in which the members of his nd'è bòt assemble. But except for the attempts of the government to "construct" this chefferie, nothing justifies such an organization to maintain the cohesion of the village grouping it controls. The political problem — Fang society has been classed among the "anarchies" or "stateless societies" — in fact conditions

62 all future progress to the extent to which it allows (or does not allow)
57 the maintenance of sufficiently large and stable village units.
614

Political Authority and Judicial Authority

554 Taking Fang society as an example, Dr. Cureau speaks of
622 "a phenomenon of a stretching ... of the social bloc into a hierarchy based either on filiation or on intellectual and particularly moral superiority, both of which principles have their practical value according to the times." (1) He insists on a fact we have

1. Work already quoted, p. 332.

pointed out, the lack of a hierarchical organization, [with only] the simple existence of pre-eminences. The language itself gives [RG] proof of this fact by not having a special word to designate the chief, using Ɛsa when the pre-eminence is in a way genealogical, nkuma when it is based on wealth, ʒoé (from ʒu, to say) when it justified by eloquence and the ability to command. By magnifying this statement, A. Cureau contrasts the Fang groupings with those of other peoples as being "anarchical tribes" as opposed to "organized tribes." He writes: "Authority is occasional and momentary ... Edvoughe has carried the votes in such-and-such a difficult palaver, the whole assembly obeys for a moment this ephemeral chief; tomorrow Nzokh will have succeeded Edvoughe in the leadership of opinion; here then the struggle against one and all takes place between constantly changing and constantly renewed contestants." (2)

2. Ibid., p. 326.

In a similar sense the informants of the Commission for [137] Historical Investigation assert that the chief was "in a word the one from whom the community expected the greatest services." (1)

1. Official report of the fifth session.

In the same vein there are continual complaints from administrators incapable of reviving the powerful traditional chefferies and of acting through their medium.

shed with a roof low enough to /43/ give good protection from the sun. Some villages are placed at right angles to the road; others follow an L or Y plan, with several minseñ. Family "allotments" are separated by hedges of euphorbia, castor-oil plant, hibiscus, and bougainvillea. Sometimes one comes across sheepfolds, although in old-style (and most contemporary) villages small livestock roam at will. A village often includes a guesthouse (ayak).

In building operations the man generally takes charge of the framework and the laths, leaving to the women the preparation and application of the banco /clay daub?/. But European-style huts with their elaborate door frames and often cement floors are more and more the work of specialized artisans, who are paid to supervise the family labor provided by the owner. These men have nevertheless preserved, along with the English term "mason," the old name nloñ nda, literally, hut-weaver, which goes back to the time when huts were made of sewn bark (1).

1. The dwelling continues to evolve: framed doors, windows, and shutters are in general use today. The dimensions of the buildings lead to the construction of a real frame. Finally, to possess a sheet-iron roof is a sign of wealth. In recent years there has arisen a real passion for the improvement of dwelling: in the Cameroons we may estimate that 10 percent of the dwellings now built in the bush are the most modern type. (J.B.)

2. Groupings and Relationships

The main divisions of Pahouin society are both exactly defined in the minds of its members themselves and at the same time uncertain for the European observer, who is constantly tempted to state them clearly in organic forms accessible to his "logic" and who is hindered by the variations or the dialectal confusions of Pahouin terminology. Father Trilles, basing his observations on the Fang of Gabon alone, reached a sort of palaeontological reconstruction of the "Fang nation," extremely theoretical, yet not without basis

571 121 114 [165] however, since traces of it can be recognized in the contemporary movement for Pahouin Regrouping represented in the Cameroons by the U. T. N. K. party (N'Tem Kribi Tribal Union). Such /theoretical/ constructs are still rather risky in our present state of knowledge, and it is better to limit ourselves to a pure and simple description, resorting as little as possible to interpretation, which in any case should be done with hesitancy.

128 571 I shall therefore limit muself here to the attempt to perceive Pahouin society on three essential structural levels, while emphasizing again the necessarily arbitrary and incomplete nature of such a proceeding.

These three levels are the most easily perceptible to the European observer and at the same time the most significant, apparently, in the eyes of the Pahouin themselves. These are, what I shall call, for lack of anything better and because they are the terms particularly retained by the administration, the tribe, the clan, and the extended family or village family. Something will also have to be said about intermediate structures such as lineages, segments /fractions/, and village groups, and a little more on the subject of the household or limited family, whose importance is increasing. /44/

a. The Tribe

619 I designate as "tribe" what Trilles calls "group," while he keeps the term "tribe"—as do many observers in Gabon—for what I call "clan." This is because in southern Gabon there is only one "tribe" in the sense I understand, that of the true Fang, or Fang-Fang as Spanish writers call them.

I know of no Pahouin word specifically denoting tribe, Trilles uses the expression mfulane meyoñ, that is, "all of the clans together." In fact, and this is no doubt significant, the term most commonly used is ayoñ, which also denotes what I call clan. Mfulane meyoñ is used particularly when there is occasion to specify that one is referring to a higher structural level, sometimes also referred to as ngum ayoñ, "the clan as a whole," or meyoñ mese, "all the clans." (1) Nevertheless, the tribe is indeed a reality, in spite of this

1. American translators of the Bible have used ayoñ for "people" as well as for "tribe" and "realm."

614 [192] (yii = to weep; yek = to make a fish dam of wet earth; nyia = mother; nyin = four; enyin = life). Sometimes the differences in name have been explained by geographical origin: the ésa clans would be those in the west, the ye clans those in the east. Actually, we find ye clans and ésa clans in all tribes, in the east as well as the west. Yet the geographical explanation should perhaps not be altogether rejected but rather associated with a sexual interpretation.

823 571 614 The Pahouin do, in fact, seem to have ascribed their system of directions to the apparent movement of the sun or, perhaps, to the line of their migration. The west would then be associated with the right, mbo nnôm = male side, the east to the left, mbo ngal = female side (1). This polarity would indicate a series of little-known insti-

> 1. According to Largeau, north is on the right (male), south on the left (female), which is understandable if directions are based on an E-W line of march. See below.
>
> In Zoll'Owambe's description of the bilaba (no. 125) imported merchandise (male?) comes from the north, local merchandise (female) from the south, while he uses to designate the south the term nsak, meaning "interior," "upstream," or "east," a meaning comparable with that of nké, west or downstream.

tutions, first of all, the joking relationship, awusô, derived in turn from the great national sô rite. In fact, I think I observed that the awusô relationship existed almost always between an ésa clan and a ye clan: Esakoé-Yekomba, Esaébeñ-Yenjôk, Esel-Yembôñ, etc. Certain points may also suggest a link with the former marriage custom and a kind of potlatch called bilaba (2).

> 2. Another explanation makes the ésa clans originally segments of the ye clans; this interpretation could also account for the joking relationship.

614 The problem is not made easier by the knowledge that certain ésa clans identify themselves with ye clans in other tribes and that there

2. Sexual Life between Maturity and Marriage

After reaching maturity, the girl is called ngõ'n III, and the
836 young man nkǒ̄ I; for both there is also the term bandǔ̄man,
[984] plural of ndǔ̄man = young man or girl at the age of being in love.
Thus the name itself shows under what sign the subsequent period of life is lived. Free love in the boldest sense of the word prevails. The girl may give away her favors without inhibition to whom and whenever she desires to do so, and she need only ob-
[833] serve the religious rule that prohibits sexual intercourse during the
[885] day and the social rule that prohibits intercourse between blood relatives. Otherwise there is no barrier; members of the same age group come together and make thorough use of their freedom. In the initial period after maturity, to be sure, sexual desire is dampened by the moral admonitions of the cults with their proclamation of the sinfulness of sexual intercourse. This sinfulness, combined with physical satiety and psychic revulsion, produces a "moral hangover"; however, such considerations and feelings are soon overcome. As in eating, so in their love life, the Pangwe know no moderation. They empty the cup of joy to the lees. Later on, especially when the Pangwe has acquired several wives, he tends to develop a more business-like attitude towards sexual love, in place of the youthful amours which alternate unsteadily between ungoverned passion and its aftereffects, psychic unease.

In view of this extensive free love, it goes without saying
[585] that the virginity of his future wife plays no role in the man's choice. Indeed, the presence of a hymen (ajǎdebǎ) is usually scarcely noticed and /254/ to some is totally unknown. Around the age of 15 years it is supposed to be destroyed by boys of the same age.

As for their libidinal drive, the girls are generally not in-
833 ferior to the boys. However, we may say that for the girls potency
936 alone is as a rule the deciding factor in the choice of a friend.
[572] This fact is well expressed in the various dance songs at the Mbale (which, incidentally, were brought to the Fang and Ntum by the
[181] sexually loose Jaunde) as, for example, in the following complaint.

613 the same for the third grandson. The group of the sons' three families
614 constitutes what is called etúna or aval. The tribe (ayoṅ) gives its name to all the families which have been established since its founder.

Social relations are rare with foreign tribes, the tribe forming a
614 homogeneous whole where the stranger is received only with reserve
609 and when he shows goods which prove that his visit has no other aim
578 but to come and look for a woman to marry. The [92] tribes are often hostile to one another, and while they no longer can make war, this hostility is still demonstrated by an atmosphere of haggling which always forces the weakest to give way. Several tribes have thus had to leave the N'Djolé region to settle farther downstream on the Ogooué because they could no longer live beside their neighbors.

574 On the other hand, visits among members of one tribe are frequent, presents are exchanged, and wives are bought.

Death (awu). Death is regarded as a change of village. After his
761 death, a person has become an inhabitant of the big village created
775 by Nzame beyond the earth. There he will find the members of his family who already live there, and therefore he follows a very wide trail which leads him to the bank of the river Endam where his relatives who died before him come to await him. It may be that the crossing of the river is not immediate, and the dead man may have to stay for several days on the bank, which happens especially to people of whom the bivur have made human victims.

763 The dying person (edzeġela) is attended by women who, when death has occurred, announce it on coming out of the hut, where all the inhabitants of the village then assemble. The corpse is taken from its bed and laid on the ground on mats; it is washed, rubbed with oil, and clothed in a white loincloth, then rolled in the mats and in pieces of bark, and tied. It stays this way in the hut until the grave is dug.

764 Funeral ceremonies immediately follow death. The wrapped body is carried by two men to the place of burial. The inhabitants of the village follow, one behind the other, and are present at the interment, which is done with a vine holding the body so that it does not fall suddenly to the bottom of the hole dug to receive it. The grave is oriented east-west, or is dug parallel to the course of the river which flows by the village, the head of the dead being placed upstream or to the east, the feet downstream or toward the west, so that the dead will lie in the direction of the river Endam. Before the grave is filled,

166 made fifty years ago, such a whole represented from 350 to 700
621 or 800 persons – while present-day villages rarely average more
361 than 100 inhabitants. With peace restored, the grouping has relaxed and divided into its constituent elements which have broken away to form neighboring hamlets. A special word, ngòra, is the name given to these hamlets which are considered as still forming the same whole.

621 Linked with the virile character of Fang society is certainly
562 [132] the accent on the separation of sexes as shown in daily
571 life. For the woman, the living place is the hut; for the man it
344 is essentially the "guardhouse." M. H. Kingsley writes: "The men spend most of their time in palaver houses built at each end of the street, while the women bring bowls of food the whole day
[784] long." (3) without being able to enter the abèñõ, which is absolutely

3. Travels in West Africa, p. 1154.

forbidden them. H. Trilles defines this abèñõ as the place "where the men assemble to deal with community affairs, war, marriage,
[574] lawsuits, etc...," and where strangers are welcomed. In addition it is the place where the young men receive a large part of their education, where they learn, according to L. Mba, the most im-
621 portant interdicts (éki). Males of the same nd'è bòt assemble in
562 the abèñõ, which forms a virile grouping and one of kinship. In
571 its midst the authority of the "eldest" is expressed. He is both the symbol and the regulator of the life of the group, and the intermediary between it and the ancestors. Here not only are important transactions regulated, but work is also organized. The life of each one is subject to the control and the nearly constant censure of all. In it is created a cohesion so that this group is the most resistant element of Fang society. It is through the medium of this group, that the traditional Fang is assessed, is isolated as an individual, by the foreigner; he is not known in the first place as X but as a man attached to the abèñõ of Y. Such a grouping therefore represents a strong "community": the fusion, which favors effective kinship to the maximum (it is based on immediate filiation and "fraternity"), worship of the same ancestors, and joint

shed with a roof low enough to /43/ give good protection from the sun. Some villages are placed at right angles to the road; others follow an L or Y plan, with several minseñ. Family "allotments" are separated by hedges of euphorbia, castor-oil plant, hibiscus, and bougainvillea. Sometimes one comes across sheepfolds, although in old-style (and most contemporary) villages small livestock roam at will. A village often includes a guesthouse (ayak).

In building operations the man generally takes charge of the framework and the laths, leaving to the women the preparation and application of the banco /clay daub?/. But European-style huts with their elaborate door frames and often cement floors are more and more the work of specialized artisans, who are paid to supervise the family labor provided by the owner. These men have nevertheless preserved, along with the English term "mason," the old name nloñ nda, literally, hut-weaver, which goes back to the time when huts were made of sewn bark (1).

1. The dwelling continues to evolve: framed doors, windows, and shutters are in general use today. The dimensions of the buildings lead to the construction of a real frame. Finally, to possess a sheet-iron roof is a sign of wealth. In recent years there has arisen a real passion for the improvement of dwelling: in the Cameroons we may estimate that 10 percent of the dwellings now built in the bush are the most modern type. (J.B.)

2. Groupings and Relationships

The main divisions of Pahouin society are both exactly defined in the minds of its members themselves and at the same time uncertain for the European observer, who is constantly tempted to state them clearly in organic forms accessible to his "logic" and who is hindered by the variations or the dialectal confusions of Pahouin terminology. Father Trilles, basing his observations on the Fang of Gabon alone, reached a sort of palaeontological reconstruction of the "Fang nation," extremely theoretical, yet not without basis

861 initiations and now catechism bring all the boys and girls of a village together.

854 Adult surveillance is casual: grown people mainly want /95/ children to know their place and not to be a nuisance. Otherwise, it is mostly the older children who take care of the younger ones.

c. Adolescence

882 Boys and girls share their mother's hut until the beginning of
854 adolescence, at which age the boys go to live by themselves, formerly in the "guardhouse," aba, nowadays in a hut on the paternal "allotment." Formerly, girls were sometimes married off before birth and
[582] went to the husband's village at about eight years of age; this is very unusual today, but it is still fairly common for them to go at that age to a paternal or maternal aunt or to a married sister, where they act more or less as servants until puberty, being trained meanwhile. It is also quite common for boys to go to live with a relative whose
[871] house is nearer a school than is their own village (1).

1. But a motive of proximity to school is not a complete explanation, merely an additional reason for leaving. In fact, a study of urban centers equipped with
[574] schools of a good level shows that 30 percent of the children live outside the paternal household with uncles or grandparents. Whatever a father's personal view, he could never refuse his son to relatives expressing a wish to have the boy for some time. (J. B.)

881 The bongô /children/ become ndôman, a youth, or ngon, a girl,
304 at the onset of puberty. The transition is marked by circumcision
864 among boys, atyi'i atyel, in the past sometimes followed by the first initiation, bekungu. Circumcision is done between the ages of six and twelve, usually around ten. Nowadays it is often done at a dispensary, while it formerly was the occasion of a family and village ceremony. Subjects for circumcision prepared for the ceremony with a relatively short seclusion (of a fortnight) during which they were

881 The nkpwé sô then defecated into the pot, which was buried in a secret spot near the sanctuary. The bevôn then took part in a mock battle at the end of which the nkpwé sô gave goats to their families. The initiated now went into the forest to cut a njôm pole, chosen, according to Allégret, by a woman whose husband had no luck at hunting—this pole was placed across two forks planted in front of the sanctuary near the nkal sô. Meanwhile, the bevôn had been cutting raffia "bamboo" to be used in making the ésam sô, an enclosure around the njôm. They returned in Indian file with their group "major" (ôsu zua) at the head; they set up the "bamboos" in a triangle open toward the back of the njôm, fastening them together with plaited raffia leaves the end of which an initiate buried in the nlak sô. During their marching by, which women and unitiated are not allowed to see, they were beaten with sticks by the initiates.

They then proceeded to a "crabbing" which consisted of immersion in water flavored with pimento. /This was/ the commencement of the third stage, which was continued by withdrawal into the forest, where the bevôn painted themselves white and engaged in a ritual hunt.

Meanwhile, initiates closed the ésam sô with two lianas representing a python (mvôm) and a Dendraspis (ayañ). The bevôn then were subjected to the ant-tree test in which they had to climb an angakomo tree on which weaver-ants lived whose bite is very painful. They then spent a night in the ésam sô, lying on thorns and rubbed with pimento juice, while masked initiates beat them and blew trumpets
• [574] to keep them from going to sleep. The next day they went off on a round of visits through villages related or allied to their own, while the mfek sô and initiates carved and shaped the njôm in keeping with clan traditions. The designs had to be explained to the bevôn during the next stage, abete njôm, the erection, the setting up of the njôm.

[304] Upon their return from the round of visits, the bevôn were tattooed by the mfek sô: three rows of incisions along the spine, the two outer ones spreading apart at the top like the sô's "halter," and a small triangular mark at the nape, perhaps the same as that of the ndôngô. They then put on a sort of skirt of raffia fiber, painted themselves white once more, and did a public dance during which the "major" mounted astride the njôm, the other bevôn after him. Anyone who fell off was rejected by the sô and had to leave the

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

now responsible and liable to two parties; if he is reasonable they all meet and talk 628
the palaver. If the palaver is serious, each party appoints his *ntol* (ambassador). 681
The palaver is usually talked in the main street of the town, before all the
representatives of the interested clans, and before all strangers in town. The [537]
Fang are born orators, and remarkable gestures and orations are made while
talking the palaver. The speaker usually walks backwards and forwards grasping
and leaning upon a "palaver stick." He commences with: *M'zona* (I say thus);
when speaking for another he says *A'zona* (he says thus); when speaking for the
people of his town, *Ba zona* (they say thus). Sometimes the *ntôls* (ambassadors) sit
in a canoe in the middle of a river or a stream, and talk the palaver, the injured
parties being on either side of the stream. The case is talked, the goods demanded
in payment stated, and an effort made to *kik nsang* (cut or end the palaver). If
they succeed, then the palaver is *cut* (ended), and a dance follows; if no
agreement is come to, the meeting breaks up and a tribal war exists between these
clans.

Salutations.

There are three salutations common to all. Two friends meet, they each grasp 576
the arm of the other, high up on the biceps; a slight pause is made, then the hand
is slipped down to clasp the wrist. This is also the customary salutation used by
the Bulu.

Two friends meeting salute by embracing.

A traveller entering the *abeng* (palaver house) walks over to the headman and
sits on his knee a moment, at the same time placing one arm around the headman's
neck.

Hospitality demands that all strangers be served food by the town women to [574]
strangers in the *abeng*.

Wives are loaned to guests. [837]

Coarse conversation is indulged in by old and young of both sexes. [521]

Considerable license prevails among the unmarried; less so among the [836]
married.

VIII.—*Invention, Natural Forms, Conservatism.*

Invention.—The arts in use are common to all the different clans of the great 176
Fang tribe. Any new discovery as the working of iron is credited to the dwarfs or 563
nqui. The natives are always ready to admit that the *nqui* are very clever; they
have a saying "no person knows like a *mon nqui* (dwarf) what is inside the forest." 609
When obtainable the natives use an imported saw, or file, and admit its superiority
over their own crude tools. A Fang may be impressed at the knowledge and power
of the white man, but is not greatly surprised; the reason for this is that many
white men are credited with possessing supernatural powers.

Some of the clubs, tools and weapons approximate to the natural forms of the 412
branches or roots of trees. Axe handles and the handle of a certain kind of adze have

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

264 this is, because, to a Fang eye, polished brass looks *mbung* (handsome) and is attractive for trade. Vessels are usually placed on top of the fire and not
262 suspended over it; vegetables are frequently placed in stews. No separate dwelling house exists for cooking, it is carried on in the dwelling house. The water used to
356 wash a dirty pot with is often thrown out on the earth floor of the dwelling, children playing in the wet dirt. In all domestic matters the Fang are very filthy.
[514] I have on more than one occasion when inside a native hut seen children micturate and defecate on the earth floor close to where the mother was cooking, the women
[854] and men present taking very little notice, and only occasionally placing the child
[462] outside the door. Cooking is exclusively the duty of women, a *real man* will not cook. Food is often highly seasoned with hot native red and green peppers, and
252 food thus prepared is much appreciated. The food is usually well cooked through, with the exception of plantains which are often only half boiled and served quite hard. Large round stones are used for rubbing and reducing to powder gourd seeds and various tubers. Smoking and salting are the only methods practised
251 for preserving food, and on account of the value of salt and the difficulty of transporting it inland, it is seldom thus employed.

Drinks.—Rum has been carried from the coast by white traders and natives
273 far inland and is used whenever obtainable, but the chief drink is cold water. Palm wine is made called *meyak*. Except in places where a trade factory existed I have seen very few cases of intoxication among the Fang, but when they can obtain rum it seems to completely demoralize them. Tea and coffee are known to
[272] people living near white settlers. When a party of headmen and others have taken a meal at the mission house, tea and coffee were greatly enjoyed and cups
264 frequently re-filled. The first meal is usually about eight or nine o'clock; the natives think the white man eats very early; a mid-day meal is served and the evening repast is usually about sunset.

Food is frequently brought to the men inside the *abeng* (palaver house); at other times an entire family eats together inside the dwelling house. No ceremonies whatever precede the commencement of meals. When a son is born, or on the
574 occasion of a wedding, and after some large palaver has been settled, a feast is usually given. Invited guests and strangers partake together with the town folk
264 of the food prepared; it is usually served on the earth floor of the palaver house, on plantain leaves, and in cooking pots, each person helping himself. The women do not eat with the men inside the palaver house.

Mode of preparing Mboa.

252 *Ba du mbóa osui, e vóm a ne ndātál: a kaga boma mēlu mēla, be keli tás: be sáli*
539 *ne nye: be nda mbūk: be kēzi nye mbūk iti be nou ntum: beña tyak: bènga vul: be kaga mana vul: be kēzi nye ē mvē: vckoba ji: ve telē mvè mboa: wena mboa abea.*

778 initiates. Anyone else who eats it will become mortally ill. During
782 the following night, the bieri will reveal to an initiate during his
787 sleep the means of assuring the success of the hunt for which his help has been asked.

778 The bieri strictly forbids anyone, under pain of mortal illness, to [76] insult it. Its power is unlimited: it can cause a woman who has fled from the village to return to it; it causes lost objects to be found.

In spite of all the faith which the old Pahouin still have in the bieri, in the region which interests us one may say that the majority of the population has abandoned it, primarily because of its being driven out by the Christian missions.

515 IV. The buiti. The buiti, which our informants told us were of
776 Mitsogho [Mitsogo] or Masango [Missanga?] origin (peoples of the right bank of the N'Gounié), is a protective association against the bivur. The information on this secret society was given us by Akam Eyene, the head of a buiti, who lived in the village Elong Eko on the Abanga. It is rather incomplete because this informant was unwilling to give us certain details and to answer numerous questions.

Possessors of bieri band together because of the fear of the bivur, against which the bieri by itself is powerless to protect them. Their association, the buiti, in its fight against the ngwel, shows itself as stronger and kills the bivur (and consequently the individual possessors of bivur). It also serves to reveal the beyem, who have evil intentions toward members of the buiti and to make their efforts ineffectual.

515 Every member of the buiti brings a piece of his bieri and a piece of
778 the animal under whose protection he has placed himself. All of these are put in a box and constitute the fetish of the association, which also keeps such material things as:

515 A musical instrument, ngomi, a harp with eight strings. At the
534 bottom of the resonance chamber of the one belonging to Akam Eyene were pierced three holes covered by three pieces of flesh of chimpanzee, gorilla, snake, elephant, eagle, panther, and rooster. This instrument accompanies the songs of the ceremony.

A bell, etsoge, a round hollowed-out fruit, into which are put little pebbles. It is equipped with a handle and is shaken during the songs.

A branch of raphia palm lying horizontally on two carved stakes called minsaga mi buiti. The whole thing is called obaka. During the ceremonies this branch is beaten with two sticks.

575 184 We have not been able to learn anything about the ceremonies of protection against the bivur. However, Akam Eyene told us that when a member of the buiti has inadvertently eaten the flesh of his protecting animal, which is absolutely forbidden, he holds a meeting called dzimba in the course of which the wrongdoer, after dancing, presents his case. Then the [77] head of the buiti absolves him, spitting scrapings of the bark of the ovaṅ onto his head.

575 198 The buiti has a secret language. Akam Eyene gave us only the secret names of certain of its initiates, which correspond to the animals chosen as protectors:

He himself	called	ndzikwe	chimpanzee
Ondo Ngema	—	ngilabongo	gorilla
Akum Eyene	—	osingi	tiger cat
Ngema Eyene	—	mitumbu	panther
Bekeka Yebe	—	mogabene	elephant
Angwe Nseme	—	menyanga	snake
Mba Minkwe	—	meyasamba	rooster
Kumeyeme	—	mepeku	eagle
Abaga	—	ndzobe	wildcat

771 V. Totemism. Despite all questions which we have put to many natives of various tribes, we have not been able to find any signs of totemism. We were only told of instances of individual unions with animals, as in the buiti or following an akaga.

Family and Collective Life

000 In this chapter we will examine the life of the individual in the family and in the social group, from his conception until his death, in corporating into this framework the family and tribal organization as well as relations with strangers.

842 833 841 Conception (menoṅ bum). A woman, we have been told by our male and female informants, cannot conceive until after she has menstruated four times. She is, in fact, forbidden to have sexual intercourse before her fourth period. At her first menses, the woman tells her mother or her mother-in-law if she is married (usually her mother-in-law, since there is hardly even a young girl, still with her family, without a husband); the latter henceforth supervises her more

614 than tribal ties. Nevertheless, politico-religious associations like the
[575] ngil did exist—very little is known about them today—which trans-
cended clan barriers and contributed to a certain amount of tribal
554 cohesion. On the other hand, certain individuals could have influence,
614 sometimes authority, but never permanent command, extending beyond the limits of their clan. Usually the people involved were officers in initiation societies: the nsig nto, the Bané high judge, was probably a high-ranking initiate in the ngil. The njôô bôt (commander of men, war leader), the évet ("capita," caravan leader), the nkukuma (1) (rico hombre, rich man)—these men on the other

1. Emphatic form of nkukum (rich).

hand had only occasional authority and that within a limited circle.

b. The Clan

614 I call "clan" that which the majority of the Pahouin call ayoñ (mvôg, mvôk, in certain northern tribes) (2). It is perhaps the basic

2. Cournarie, 1933, in Coutumes de Nyong et Sanaga /Customs of the Nyong and Sanaga/ points out that ayong were divided into meyom (ayom). The ayom is formed by the coming together of several mvogo who, being descended from the same ancestor, consider themselves the issue of the same mother (obligation of exogamy). Occasionally deference is paid to the mvogo most closely related to the ancestor, and its head is called ntomba or nya moto nnam or mot nnam.

The collective group may gather together: Emoi of nda bot, Ekoan of mvogo. All grown men may speak. Elders and distinguished persons then withdraw for deliberation (esok); they return to announce the decision. (J.B.)

structural unit of Pahouin society, at any rate the one the Fang of

631 Given Pahouin interest in a political system based on election, which
636 pretty well corresponds both with their individualism and with their
[181] mistrust of individuals, it may be that such a system has some chance of success if it is allowed to become Pahounized.

5. Associations

575 Traditional associations were undoubtedly less developed among the Pahouin than among other African societies with more closely knit or more stable hierarchical structures. The social groups at the core of clans or villages arose and decayed in accordance with migrations and "swarmings-off." They showed a kinship rather than an associational character.

Nevertheless, there existed within kinship as well as outside it associations not based on descent, voluntary and not de facto /discretionary?/. These were often characterized by initiations and had a magical or religious basis, with varying purposes.

The minsamba, "societies," were temporary, organized for a military operation (ôban, mvélé) or for a trade journey to the coast or to the "trading-posts" of the Ogooué. The men who took part often came from different villages or even from different clans bound by an alliance (élat). They swore an oath of loyalty and mutual assistance, involving a ritual sacrifice followed by a communion
[782] meal; for a war enterprise, there might be a human victim, especially if it were a matter of avenging the death, kum mbim, of a monyañ (brother) and if there were a prisoner of war available to sacrifice. The association was dissolved once its end had been accomplished, but a bond persisted between its members.

[324] Similar temporary associations could be formed for large elephant
[141] hunts; they were moreover often confused with the nsamba dulu or nsamba ayak (traveling society, trade society) afterward organized for the sale of the ivory.

575 The most important permanent associations were those among the
783 initiates of different rites. But what was most often involved in these was a kind of relationship by way of a rite, which was not the rite's real purpose, or was so only adventitiously. When, for instance, all the inhabitants of a village took part in the ésye purification rite, a strengthening of the fraternal ties among them certainly ensued, but the prime purpose was purification (1). /63/

575
628
783

1. Among the Beti (Eton) another rite is to be found that cuts across clan or tribal barriers: "étup is planted" to make peace, to end a family quarrel, to check an epidemic. The old men consult the spider oracle, /63/ then call the men together. The assembly is in charge of the mbongengañ (magic-makers—initiates of higher rank). The members of the two groups start to hurl mutual accusations. Then those who bring bad luck are pointed out, the biwonwolo. A shrub, meyan, is then planted, and a biañ /medicament/ is prepared in a pot, over which the audience swear an oath to give up behaving badly to one another. The biañ is then inserted into the nostrils of the biwonwolo in order to do away with the bad luck. (J. B.)

575
626

Nevertheless, certain rites had along with other aims that of setting up among the initiates an association that would produce a kind of dialectic of energies /sic/ (tyé, kié) between the group and its members. The principal society, which probably had a national character that cut across clan lines, was the ngil (1), about which unfortunately very little is known nowadays. The ngil seems to have been the main, if not the only, element of tribal cohesion on a political level. Its function was social control and defense, especially to preserve the society as a whole from the activity of sorcerers. By uniting initiates from all clans, it could settle interclan disputes by avoiding recourse to war or feud. It served to some extent as a police force and judicial system, with the initiates of lower rank carrying out the

1. The origin of this word is uncertain. It has been referred to ngil (njil) meaning gorilla; old administrative reports speak of "gorilla-men." There has also been suggested, less convincingly, a connection with ngul, meaning capacity, potency.

sentences passed by their superiors. In struggling against sorcerers, it had also a medical role, which for a while outlived its police role: Bertaut (no. 110) seems to have known it only under this aspect, which did not arouse so much administrative suspicion. Allys considers it to be the "war fetish," thus agreeing, apparently, with Allégret and Largeau. Martrou and Leroux refer in this connection to "franc-juges," which recalls Bearth's description of the mig nto of the Bané.

Very little is known about ngil rites as a whole or about their symbolism. The initiation has some traits in common with the sɔ̂: preliminary physical and moral purification, flagellation, confession, a broth for a test made of horrible substances, representation of ancestors, symbolic transition from an epicene or androgynous to a monosexual state (2), blood sacrifices. It is probable that these traits

2. Or, on the contrary, according to Stoll, transition from a monosexual state to a bisexual completion.

are to be found in all important Pahouin rites. The sacred spot was a rectangular stockade, ésam, open to one side, with clay figures of the ngil and his "wife," (3) in front of which there was dug a

3. Or a single androgynous statue.

trench covered with a lattice in which initiates were hidden so as to prick the candidates with their spears when brought before the ngil after having had to climb through an ant pit (as in the sɔ̂). There was also a liana representing a python, the precise role /i.e., significance/ of which I do not know. The neophytes had to bring ancestral bones, which were kneaded into the clay of the figurines. The ceremony included a test intended to show if the neophyte was nnem (bearer of évu), which would have entailed his being put to death immediately; /64/ a blessing of the ritual spears which, according to Trilles, bore totemic designs; finally a sexual symbolism termed "obscene" by the authors mentioned, who give no further description of it.

The initiates left their houses in procession, masked or painted with white and red (mourning and rejoicing colors, respectively),

preceded by drummers and trumpet players and by a boy (uncircumcised?) entrusted with holding across the village street a liana, which the cortege broke through only after sacrificing a chicken. The uninitiated did not have the right to be present at this procession. The ngil-leader, masked and painted in red and white, carried his personal bieti (bieri); he was always accompanied by a full orchestra (mvet guitar, mbae and nkul drums, mejan balafo). The initiation ceremony lasted a month (1).

1. The ngil mark was a tattoo below the sacrum, therefore covered by the loincloth. Initiates did not go out except in masks, so that theoretically it was impossible to recognize them.

Members of the ngil circulated in small groups, masked, to carry out inquiries in villages where a case of sorcery was suspected or to put sorcerers to death. For ordinary cases they applied the ordeals in current use (minkal), but for serious cases it was necessary to arrange for an initiation ceremony: this feature is found in nearly all ritual associations, where initiation is always accompanied by collective catharsis.

Among other masculine initiation societies the ndôngô rite must be mentioned, whose initiates have two incisions on the nape of the neck. Its symbolic /features/ include confession, purification, seclusion in darkness, passage through a narrow corridor or a low doorway, a liana-serpent, a consecrated lance, a sacrifice (2), a

2. Dogs were sacrificed. Ndôngô canceled serious minsem /breaking a taboo/ like homicide or incest and allowed initiates to eat pork, mutton, and porcupine. (J. B.)

horrible brew. The ritual animal was the tortoise. The purpose of this rite seems also to have been protection against sorcerers and, perhaps, to improve luck, ma'a. The initiation of circumcised youths, bekungu, is perhaps a juvenile form of ndôngô. Both survived until the Second World War. Ndôngô does not seem to set up

575 as strong interclan ties as does ngil; however, the initiation leader may belong to a different clan from the initiates.

[783] Esye (éye or tyo?) is a purification and reconciliation rite, described by Father Guillemin for the Beti; it does not extend outside the ranks of an ayôm (segment).

575 825 Among the Boulou of Sangmélima, the Ntoumou of Ambam, and the Fang of Djoum, I found some medical society initiates who call themselves "snakes," using the proper word, benyo (sing. nyo), not the euphemism minkol afan (lit., bush lianas). Their specialty is treating bites and capturing and taming snakes. Initiates are known within the society under the name of one or another variety of snake, conferred at initiation. There are several degrees of initiation (three?): first-degree initiates /65/ are called bo' b'ayañ, children of the Dendraspis; advanced initiates are bo' be mvôm, children of the python. Their medical knowledge seems quite extensive; they [165] claim, in particular, to be immune to /snake/ bites, thanks to the application of a special bian (medicament) through incisions at the time of initiation. The main center of this association would appear to be among the Mekaé of Messamena, and it is therefore not properly Pahouin.

575 626 754 All these ritual associations contributed to social order mainly through defense against malevolent sorcerers. The sorcerers, for their part, are often organized in secret societies in order to join forces against the organs of control and repression. Inevitably, therefore, these societies are ill understood. Nearly all of them must have included beyem (sing. nnem), that is, bearers of évu. In fact, if one may be subject to possession involuntarily and even unknown to oneself, one may also nyoñ évu, receive évu, always in the sense of a burden. A person entering a beyem association has to pay for his entrance by the sacrifice of a near relative and also accept the imposition of a special prohibition, the breaking of which (nsem) brings instant death.

575 754 The ze mimfaka (lit., road panthers), notorious under the name of leopard-men, were an association of man-eating sorcerers, a kind of counter-ngil (1). Nowadays what is involved may well be a

1. There are also independent ze mimfaka.

pathologically degenerate form of the ngil itself. In the course of a

judicial inquiry at Ambam in 1948 after a raid on ze mimfaka, an old chief who was a Protestant and an elder of his church declared, in so many words, that "the white man has weakened the ngil, and the beyem have taken it over; now it is the ngil of ngbwel /sorcery/."

The initiates of the kôn or kun, a kind of magic that enables one to assume another person's strength without destroying his body, also seem to be grouped into a secret society with meetings every seven years.

Beyem associations do not usually include both sexes; male and female sorcerers meet together only occasionally, for orgiastic sabbaths.

The distinction between white and black magic is, nevertheless, difficult to draw the present time, and one can never tell offhand if the small groups springing up nearly everywhere to protect their members against bad luck by using, in addition to remnants of traditional rites, recipes copied from magic manuals printed in France, belong to the one or the other.

To come back tothe traditional associations, we must underline /the fact that/ in them there was a complete separation of the sexes, to such an extent that women were often forbidden to speak the name of a men's society or to show any kind of knowledge, even superficial, of its rites. The prohibition was less stringent for men with regard to women's rites, since the nsem, the breaking of a taboo, was for them punished by physical incapacity or illness rather than by death. /66/

A women's rite like mevungu had both a village aspect, on account of its geographical framework, the jurisdiction of its huts, and an interclan aspect as a result of exogamy. Much less is known of these women's rites than of the men's, for the very good reason that men are not allowed to know anything about them. Missionaries have condemned mevungu as obscene: I have heard that initiates who have gone through the menopause are supposed to play a male role in dances miming coition, without being able to obtain the slightest proof or the least detail (1). What is certain is that this is a rite of

1. A woman "chosen for her large vagina" presided, seated with legs spread apart. Each initiate would go tickle her and pull the clitoris. (J. B.)

fecundity, of fertility, and also of the hunt: an unlucky hunter may have his wife initiated so as to ward off bad luck.

have his wife initiated so as to ward off bad luck. This is not the only example of the indirect intervention of one sex in a rite of the opposite sex. Allégret points out that it is a "woman who has had bad luck fishing" who "finds the ironwood for making the war fetish." It certainly seems that he has mixed up ngil with sɔ̂, but the example remains valuable. Therefore, though traditional rites and the associations of initiates of these rites were strictly masculine or feminine, this does not altogether exclude the intervention of the opposite sex. No more can be said in our present state of knowledge (2).

2. The other important women's rite, ngɔ̂mbɔ̂, was more especially limited to old women. The participants built a sort of basin out of four banana trunks and their leaves, in which a vegetable biañ /medicament/ was prepared that gave protection against theft. (J.B.)

Contemporary cults and associations, on the other hand, are open to both sexes, whether religious or politico-religious societies or mutual-aid associations.

The two principal politico-religious associations are the bwiti (or mbuti) and the ngɔ̂l, well described by Balandier (no. 175). They have spread to the north from Gabon and the Middle Congo and are not of Pahouin origin. They are beginning to penetrate Boulou country, where they have not been as successful as among the Fang of the south, undoubtedly because of the lesser degree of social destruction.

Bwiti was originally a "tyogo" ancestor cult, comparable to the Pahouin biéri, if one accepts Trilles. It must have first appeared among the Pahouin at the beginning of the century, probably among Pahouin families cut off from their clans and thus from the biéri and sɔ̂ rites, whose significance is primarily ethnic and familial. Libreville was an important point of contact, not only between African peoples of different stock, but also with European religious systems. Modern bwiti borrows a great deal from Christianity and also from freemasonry, which was fairly widespread in Gabon before the war, especially in half-caste circles and on the periphery of principal towns. In assuming this syncretist character, bwiti appears at the same time as a nationalist—or Africanist—movement and as a progressive movement abandoning the old cults or rather modernizing them. It is the

575 object of official suspicion /67/ and rightly so, since it has free re-
668 course to human sacrifice and to physical liquidation of apostates; it has assumed the traits of a secret, often surreptitious, society. The liberal character of the administration since the 1946 reforms has aided the spread of bwiti by giving emphasis to the frankly political side of its activities: the municipal elections of 1956 were in large measure a bwiti triumph.

576 Bwiti, like the old rites, first of all works to protect its members against the beyem (bearers of évu), and its whole purely African side recalls those ancient rites. As in ngil, members have to bring in to the society the bones of their ancestors; as in prohibited /criminels/ societies, they often have to agree to the putting-to-death or mutilation of a close relative; as in the melan, they drink a brew based on narcotic herbs that enables them to "see the bwiti." There is a sacred musical instrument, the ngomi harp, sculptured figures or reliefs, especially on hut poles, recalling the biéri cult, a special language, prohibitions, etc. But the weekly ceremonies are influenced by the
[177] Mass; the progressive degrees of initiation probably derive from free-masonry, as does the lodge organization; finally, the Bible is used and interpreted in a manner, often political, that can only come from Protestant influence.

575 Balandier has shown how bwiti is trying to effect a reorganization
668 of Pahouin society in Gabon, by providing it with an ideological basis, a total collective weltanschauung permitting an integration of customary forms of behavior with those resulting from the colonial situation. It would be interesting to carry his investigation into the Cameroons and into Spanish territory in order to study the reaction of very similar societies in quite different politico-administrative and economic contexts.

177 Ngôl is much more recent than bwiti and represents, perhaps, an
575 even more striking example of politico-religious syncretism. Its
668 source is an African interpretation, a mythology based upon Free French propaganda in French Equatorial Africa from 1940 to 1944. Nzela me Ngol—General de Gaulle—has become a "white" hero, sent to liberate the black man by revealing the white man's (1)

1. "Logically" one might have expected this role to be ascribed to Governor General Eboué.

177 secrets and powers (power-ngul, to be related to ngôl?). There is thus
575 a "cargo-cult" side, already observable in certain traditions and
668 pseudo traditions mentioned by Trilles and Largeau. The mixture of Christian and traditional elements in the ritual suggests bwiti, with definitely a greater ceremonial elaboration in terms of modern technology, such as representations of aircraft, submarines, etc. The liberating-hero cycle involves a putting to death (by his white brothers) and a return by parachute, plane, or submarine—there are different versions, sometimes co-existing. The society's hierarchy copies that of the /68/ administration: the master of the lodge, wearing a kepi with star, is the nzela me ngôl; he is accompanied by "presidents," "presidents in chief," "commanders," "inspectors general," "governors" and "governers general," "militiamen," doctors," etc. (1). There is

1. 'One of the highest officers is the "adjutant of the guard," who is in charge of the police and of carrying out legal decisions.

a parallel female hierarchy, having, in particular, a "douane" /possibly "duenna"?—Tr./, who is supposed to have an eye on good relations between households. The political purpose is clear: the ngôl hierarchy has often replaced that recognized by the administration, sometimes with positive practical results, thus connecting up with the movement for Pahouin regrouping in its Gabonese form.

575 In the Cameroons this regrouping has in fact quite a different
777 aspect. It appears to be essentially a tentative social and political
668 revival of clans rather than a tribal regrouping, which is not felt to be as necessary as in Gabon. It leans especially, on the religious level, more toward disciplinary /sic/ schism than towards syncretism, at least for the time being. Some of its leaders have left or wish to leave the missions to set up national churches that would allow, for instance, polygamy, but they do not oppose Christian dogma, which they proclaim that they accept, constantly maintaining that it is rather the missionaries who have altered it, consciously or not. Here the influence of the American Presbyterian Mission is predominant. It might be said that the Cameroons clans, especially the Boulou ones, have been organized into a pattern of Presbyterian synods. The movement has been less successful among the Beti, where Catholic

575 797 649 influence is stronger, but there too one finds associations influenced by foreign types of ecclesiastical organization.

614 576 Since 1946 the Boulou clans have formed associations, sometimes proclaimed in conformity with the law of 1901, and since 1950 gathered into the N'Tem-Kribi Tribal Union, which covers primarily Boulou, Fong, Fang, Ntoumou, and Mvaé. Each clan has a central board elected during an annual or biennial ésulan, and local boards. Membership is not automatic: members have to apply for admission, pay subscription and entrance fees. At the core of each clan association there are "societies" of young people of both sexes, of married women, of nonvoters /abstinents/, etc. The young people's "societies" are certainly the most unusual. They were formed with official approbation at the time of the abolition of forced labor recruitment. The "societies" used to bargain with local authorities over projects like road maintenance or the construction of works of art /sic/, the money received being turned into a common account and used, either to help the members meet bride-price payments or other expenses, or—particularly—to arrange festivals and banquets.

575 454 In large towns Pahouin migrants join de jure and de facto associations, generally within a tribal, not a clan, framework. These associations have protective and mutual-aid purposes /69/ and are sometimes quite powerful. To these should be related the tontines or subscription societies consisting of small numbers of laborers, servants, or minor employees, who pay into a common fund the larger part of their monthly wage, each member in turn being able to draw upon the sizable sum thus collected each month. The last two institutions are in no way specifically Pahouin, nor characteristic of the Cameroons or Gabon.

6. Law and Property

a. Source

671 Pahouin law has always been complex. Formerly, it dealt primarily with the status and condition of persons /statut et de l'état des personnes/ upon which the property system was dependent. Under the influence of the economic changes brought about by colonization, the law with regard to property has become definitely independent of the law of persons, the latter being inclined to grow simpler with the dissociation of the old social and family organizations.

b. Legal Power

692 The contemporary /legal/ organization is, except for a few details, the same in the three territories inhabited by the Pahouin. In the Cameroons and Gabon, criminal law /la justice repressive/ is in the hands of magistrates administering the French penal code; civil law is administered by first- and second-degree courts presided over by an official of administrative rank, sitting with two African assessors. There are also the so-called customary courts composed entirely of Africans and not entitled to deal with questions of personal status /état des personnes/, and a mediation system preliminary to all court action, in the jurisdiction either of chiefs or of first-degree court assessors. The system in Spanish territory is similar, but the first jurisdiction of the penal law is entrusted to officers called jefes de demarcación.

Alongside this official framework may often be noted a semi-official mechanism, sometimes tolerated, sometimes prosecuted as illegal. This consists of courts or arbitrators of the ngôl, of the bwiti or of the meyoñ, and also disciplinary committees of the missions, official or semi-official.

671 The distinction between civil and criminal was undoubtedly less sharp in former times. It did, however, exist, and an organization like the ngil dealt primarily with criminal cases, the major crime from which all others arose being that of ngbwel, sorcery. A homicide /meurtre/ might be a civil matter, when the circumstances precluded the probability of an act of sorcery; a well-planned theft, on the other hand, or even outstanding commercial acumen, could involve a capital charge.

627 Outside the ngil, law was administered in the first instance by the esa or ntol mot of the extended family or the village. This was a matter of disciplinary rather than legal power, at least so long as the ntôl's decisions concerned only his bobenyañ. When the case (étom) 628 went beyond a purely family framework, recourse was had to a judge, ntyi'i mejô, palaver-cutter, chosen within the clan from a kinship level nearer the ancestor. If several allied clans were involved, arbitrators or assessors were taken from among the mintôl not directly concerned in the suit. Finally, a diviner or magician, mvimvi'i or [741] ngengen, could be consulted, either visited in his own dwelling or into consultation.

[675] Suits between members of an association were, and often still are, conducted by an official of the association /71/.

7. The Position of Women(1)

562

1. J. Binet, "Condition des femmes /The Position of Women/, " Cahiers internationaux de sociologie, 20, 1956, Presses Universitaires de France, and "Statut des femmes dans le Sud-Cameroun /Status of Women in the Southern Cameroons/, " to appear in Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin, 1956, Edit. of the Librarie Encyclopédique, Brussels.

If the older people are to be believed, the position of women according to orthodox custom was that of minors. However, there is nothing in traditional theory that justifies such a negative attitude towards women: some clans name women among their eponymous heroes, and there are legends attributing to the creator god (Zambë) a daughter in whose honor certain rites were performed. At the present time the tribal societies making an effort to revive the old clans and to revise their codes of manners and their customary laws always keep a place for women at the core of the executive /état-major/, but very often the role of women is secondary: they are dancers, singers, organizers of dances, or stewards watching over followers—in short they only carry out men's orders. Women are also sometimes associated with men in religious /confessional/ so-
[575] cieties (Protestant or, more frequently, Catholic), but mostly they form separate groups, formerly so-called secret societies, today Christian devotional confraternities, which enable women to meet together, to set up a hierarchy and have leaders of their own. Women do not actually participate in the life of the community /cité/ or, better, they form a community among themselves, distinct from that of men.

In law women seem to be at a disadvantage, but it is not clear that they owe this to genuine antifeminism. In fact, no one is perfectly free in customary law; only the patriarchal head of a family
[825] possesses full legal capacity. Marriage does not confer majority on a woman, and a girl possesses greater independence than does a
[848] married woman. In the sexual sphere this is clear: illegitimate births involve no disgrace; a child is always welcome. If born before marriage, it belongs to the mother's family. And it is not unusual for respectable fathers to wait until a daughter has borne children before marrying her off.

791 The sorcerer also assumes several forms: he may be soothsayer, physician, priest, etc., but none of these different manifestations are either legal or accepted; they will always operate in a secret manner, and the sorcerer will be the agent of the secret and unacknowledged, the extralegal, cult. [406]

Just as we find two distinct persons nearly always in opposition, so we observe them presiding over two distinct types of association. And, unfortunately, just as practitioner and sorcerer have almost always been confused, so have the true secret societies directed by the former been confused with the secret societies (organized also within the tribe) that are quite different, often antagonistic, and under the authority of sorcerers, who create them and without whom they do not operate. The former are established to work for the well-being of the tribe, at least they were so originally and they still are on the whole at the present time. The others, on the contrary, are set up for the specific benefit of members and against the tribe.

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

The principal point at issue here is that the totems of secret societies directed by practitioners and the totems of secret societies directed by sorcerers are utterly different. We shall see later on how incorrect the term "totem" is in connection with sorcerers. While the first kind of totem are chosen entirely for the benefit of the individual who acquires them with no concern about the effect on others, the second are chosen by the owner with a view to the evil he can do with them to others. [407] Hence a profound difference in their selection: the first, like the totems of clan and tribe, can legally be any kind of living thing and are in fact, animals, birds, insects, trees, but only useful things, because the point is to benefit from their good qualities. There is nothing of this in connection with the second kind of totem: to injure others is the point, the unique purpose, the raison d'être; therefore, harmful animals like panthers, reptiles, and wild boars will be the first choice.

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [408-414 omitted]

[415] The practitioner's business is to have an effect upon good and bad "spirits." To call up good spirits as we see for

515 instance in the invocations of marriage songs; to fend off bad
754 spirits, departed shades, ghosts, or apparitions and force them
791 out of the village so they they will go far away and leave the living in peace; in brief, to protect in some manner those who invoke them -- this is the practitioner's role. The end is achieved through appropriate homage and sacrifices, either directly, by protecting the suppliant from bad luck and accidents, or indirectly, by making it impossible for the enemy -- whether spirit, shade, man, or object -- to do harm. All this is worship, religion, the practitioner's role.

But, on the other hand, to be master of these spirits, preferably of the malevolent ones, to seize the spirits, and to force both to do evil, is no longer worship or religion, but magic, and this is the sorcerer's business.

[Four paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [416]

We make the following generalizations:

The practitioner is the agent of the acknowledged cult, which is sometimes public, sometimes secret.

The sorcerer is the agent of the unacknowledged cult, which is always secret.

Both practitioner and sorcerer are leaders or members of secret societies. (1)

> 1. In place of "secret societies," which leads to confusion, it would be better to reserve this term, as has been proposed, for the societies set up by sorcerers and to use "confraternities" for those directed by practitioners.

Secret societies controlled by practitioners are within the tribe.

Secret societies controlled by sorcerers are marginal to, or directed against, the tribe.

754 societies, and totems that are basically actually spurious copies of the first.

From this we are led to a study of the secret societies
754 directed by both and of the very different, though often undif-
791 ferentiated, role that practitioners [bəfgan] and sorcerers [bəyəm] play in them.

Chapter XIII

Practitioners and Sorcerers

Their Secret Societies

[Pp. 425-433 omitted, being mainly taken up with the theories of others. --Translator]

[434[[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

575 In my opinion the secret society is derived from the tribal organization itself. The dominating position which the practitioner has been able to assume [in the secret society] comes from the role he has necessarily been called upon to play in the ordinary course of events. Similarly, the new totems given to initiates after initiation are only imitations of those bestowed upon them by their fathers at birth.

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

575 Before youths are admitted to membership with warriors,
791 it seems quite natural to put them through a series of tests designed to prove whether they are really fit to play their part and to perform the services which the tribe demands of them. Consequently, girls and women are immediately eliminated, for the benefit of the male population. The series of tests cannot take place in the village in front of everyone; the compulsory elimination of some would, aside from other considerations, arouse violent resentment against the leaders and be followed by inevitable revenge. Hence the necessity for withdrawing to the background. The chief may appoint a representative, for instance an outstanding warrior, but there is no one better [435] fitted than the practitioner for this role and for taking a leading and soon

575 exclusive position. Religion must, in fact, be an important
791 and necessary element in these gatherings. For is it not necessary for the ancestral spirits to be consulted, to be made interested in their young descendants and their spirits made to enter into them; and is it not necessary to attract good influences and keep away harmful ones? All this is the work of the agent of worship, who alone is proficient. Also, throughout the time during which the young warriors are under his supervision, he has complete control over them, and this power he will indeed want to keep. But with their return to the village, the youths, now warriors, fall back under the authority of the tribal chief. But this is no obstacle. The practitioner easily recruits neophytes from among those who have been most devoted to him, and with these he forms a society more closed than the previous one and which is, above all, permanent, because of its objective and the manner of its establishment. The tribal chief will have to bow to and obey this group whose control has inevitably escaped him. He almost always agrees to enter it himself, mistakenly hoping therein to recapture his partially lost authority. ...

575 Such, reduced to the simplest terms, is the origin of the secret society. It has gradually become legal and, in the natural course of things,one of the tribe's most lively organizations. Obviously, it has been greatly modified through time and as a result of changing forms. It has nevertheless remained just as it was in its general structure.

In imitation of the tribe, clan, and family, from which it has been copied, the secret society also has totems: totems of society, of subdivisions, [436] of chiefs, and of individuals. Having taken over the tribal chief's role, the practitioner has replaced him in everything that has to do with these particular totems. Yet it must be observed that since the principal power of these totems lies in secrecy, they will not encroach upon the tribe nor fight against either tribal or other totems. A person entering a secret society is simply seeking additional strength and power or a further guarantee of personal security.

Not only do individuals have totems, but just as the tribe is subdivided into clans and families, so the secret society is divided into classes, each of which has its totem.

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

575 769 We are dealing here with a recognized though secret cult, an accepted cult, addressed to spirits and -- of especial importance -- to the spirits of ancestors. On this subject the practitioner is entirely in agreement with the chief and the tribal traditions.

754 575 But in addition to natural magic to which the practitioners are confined, so to speak, "there is another," says Mgr. Le Roy, (1) [437] "which claims to borrow its power and methods

1. La Religion des Primitifs [The Religion of Primitive Peoples], p. 340, "La Magie [Magic]."

from beings of the invisible world, from the disembodied ancestral spirits of men and even of animals, from independent spirits ....

"This anti-Religion has, like Religion, its worship, incantations, evocations, rites, fetishes, offerings, sacrifices, ministers, feast days, places of assembly."

First of all, it has its ministers, who are none other than the sorcerers. For this reason in the preceding pages [cf. Chap. 12--Translator] I have already tried to give a sketch of the sorcerer and to make a clear distinction between him and the practitioner by, describing the main traits of his personality, by sorting out a complicated whole in which many points meet and many lines cross and interpenetrate.

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

Leaving out everything not directly bearing on the subject under discussion, let us examine only the following points, which will show both the great similarities and considerable differences that, from the totemic point of view, exist between these two orders of phenomena.

1. Like the practitioners ... [438] sorcerers have united in secret societies for the purpose of assuring their vitality and power.

2. The feast days and initiation ceremonies have numerous points of resemblance. However, those of the sorcerers' cult exhibit a much more marked character of horror, cruelty, and especially an extreme immorality, and a hideous obscenity, dominated by a perverted cult of blood descent and procreation.

575
791
754

3. The practitioners' secret societies all have their own totems. Each group has a guardian totem which carries out for them the role of the ẽtotore or the mvame of tribe, clan, or phratry. Yet, while tribal, clan, or phratry mvame may belong to any of the three kingdoms, animal, vegetable, or mineral, or even occasionally to the sidereal or the spiritual world, the secret society's totem is always an animal, a real animal, sometimes a reptile or fish, often a bird.

Sorcerers' secret societies, however -- and this constitutes an essential difference -- never have this kind of totem. Their mvame or guardian is always a spirit, a being that belongs to the spiritual or disembodied world. That spirit may, and often does, manifest itself (we are speaking from the native's point of view) in animal form, though it will not be a true animal, a fact about which sorcerers unanimously agree. The "spirit" manifests itself, they all will say.

4. Every "practititioner" on the day of his initiation and admission into the secret society, receives a particular, individual totem, usually an animal or a bird. But no physical link connects them; as with the personal mvame received at birth, there is simply a spiritual, mystical kinship between the two.

575
754
825

Every "sorcerer," on the day of his initiation and admission into the secret society, also forms an alliance with an animal, but that union has quite a special character. There is a real, physical kinship acquired by an exchange of blood, and a real alliance so that from that day onward the animal obeys the man and the man the animal: their lives are bound together. [439]

Strictly speaking, that animal is therefore not really a totem in the sence I have defined. The natives give it a special name: the ẽlâñẽla. European writers, ethnographers, and others, have referred to it as a nagual, and all the phenomena connected with the nagual is called nagualism. It has almost always been confused with the individual totem; nothing could be more unsuitable or actually more untrue.

[Two paragraphs and tables omitted on pp. 439-450. --Translator] [451]

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

575
754

1. Sorcerers, following the example of practitioners, have and still do set up secret societies:

a) throughout the entire Fan tribe;

b) in neighboring Bantu tribes.

I might here point out that I have never come across such associations among other African peoples, such as the Pygmies.

2. These secret societies meet at night in very mysterious fashion.

[786] 3. They are always essentially licentious to such a degree that, according to many writers, unbridled obscenity is the main objective. In my opinion, it is primarily an accompanying circumstance, aimed at controlling and binding the initiates by means of highly erotic and degrading pleasures.

However -- and this is my final point here -- there is one fact which has many a time misled the most conscientious observers, the most eager to learn the truth, and which, combined with the rule of secrecy, curiously complicates the problem. Just as practitioners have ranks and a hierarchy in their secret societies, so sorcerers have instituted ranks and a highly organized hierarchy. Hence there are several kinds of gatherings. Sometimes there is a sort of general assembly for all who belong to the association, in which case the purpose is a celebration, almost always of revolting obscenity and cruelty. All the witnesses clearly agree on this point.

But beside these "general" celebrations for the whole membership, there are others of a much more secret character to which only sorcerers, the true and sole leaders of these assemblies, are invited. Notified by a password to which I shall shortly refer, they gather at the appointed place and there [452] a very particular kind of feast takes place about which it is difficult to give precise details. It can well be imagined that those who belong to these associations keep silent. The rule of secrecy is absolute and inexorable; moreover, their own interest is at stake. It will always be very hard, if not impossible, to throw light on many facts and factors whose disclosure would nevertheless be extremely valuable from the religious point of view.

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

754 575 828 Sorcerers meet on certain days at a specified place. In most cases this meeting has been decided upon in advance at the previous gathering. But it may also happen that the high chief wants to convene his followers unexpectedly. How then is this done?

The manner is most mysterious.

A chief whom I once questioned on this subject told me that he heard the call during his sleep, that a "voice" informed him of the day, hour, and spot, and that this happened quite often. What is to be made of this reply? I must admit that I do not know. It can be stated definitely that certain sorcerers [453] are very clever at thought transmission even over long distances; such difficulties do not bother them.

One day I observed the following: I was chatting freely in a hut with a Fan who considered himself a friend of ours and who did, in fact, do us many services. I was sitting on his bamboo bed and he on a stool facing me. Suddenly I noticed a little bundle of sticks, some painted red, the others white, a few pointed, the rest not. What was most astonishing was that it seemed to me that the fairly large bundle had not been there a moment before. I hastily called it to our friend's attention because he could not have seen it, having his back turned. ...

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

"It's nothing, don't pay any attention," he said. He picked up the bundle and hid it carefully, adding, "Above all, don't mention it to anyone -- you would do me a great deal of harm!"

As his reply did not satisfy me, I wanted a further explanation.

"No, no!" he kept repeating, "It's a deep secret (endzândzân ɛki, lit., the forbidden mystery)."

754 575 828 203 At last after much urging, he decided to admit, after making me promise never to say anything to anyone, that he was a sorcerer of the Ngil rite and that this was the way of convening the next meeting.

"According to the color painted on the sticks," he said, "I know where I'm to go; the number of sticks tells me how many days until my departure for the meeting; the white ones indicate

754 the leaders who will be there, as each has his private mark.
●575 That's all."
828 "But why are some pointed and others not?"
203 "Oh, that! No, that's a deep secret. If I were to tell you that I'd be punished by death at the next meeting."

[Pages 454-462 omitted. --Translator] [463]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

791 All practitioners' societies recognize ritual sacrifice. In
754 many cases a human victim is slain and eaten. These sacrifices
575 are often characterized by what seems to us revolting cruelty and
782 horror. I shall have occasion to deal with this point more fully
266 when discussing sacrifice.

These are ritual sacrifices: immolation is not done for the pleasure of killing any more than consuming the victim is for the pleasure of eating human flesh. This is so much the case that a woman is never sacrificed: "Munga kɛ dzamadzam, kɛ kie ve
[562 nsissim: A woman is of no importance (from the sacrificial point
774] of view)," runs a Fan proverb, "She has no power over spirits because she has no soul."

At sorcerer's feasts, on the contrary, and in the societies they organize, men are eaten for the pleasure of eating human flesh.

754 According to all the Fan and all Africans, sorcerers leave their boeies in order to go and feed on the hearts of other men while asleep. Hence their name, bɛ́ndzi bur, eaters of men. Sometimes they do this themselves, sometimes it is done by a spirit that possesses them. I willingly admit, of course, that there is nothing true in these accusations, at least as regards the way in which the sorcerers work. But one thing is undeniable, the fact of cannibalism.

[One paragraph omitted; p. 464 omitted. --Editor]

Chapter XIV

Totems of Sorcerers and of their Secret Societies

The Nagual and Nagualism

[Summary omitted--Translator] [466]

154 b) Imitating the classes of practitioners, the classes of initiates controlled by sorcerers have class totems. These classes are recruited each within his own tribe.

154 c) The societies composed only of sorcerers are recruited from many different tribes, as the need arises, whatever may be
● 515 the political relations, hostile or not. The societies embrace the whole nation. A sorcerer is always allied to every other sorcerer, at least from the point of view of organization, for often their struggle for influence is implacable.

These sorcerer's societies do not have totems but obey a spirit.

154 I have already mentioned the various changes of form as-
825 sumed by sorcerers, and I shall return to this briefly in order to show that the different forms must not be confused, as has often been done, with the nagual, or sorcerer's "dedicated animal."

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

[Page 468 and three paragraphs on p. 469 omitted. --Translator] [469]

Having eliminated all totems that do not belong to the sorcerer as such, the following points confront us:

1. At first glance each sorcerer appears to have his totem -- animal, bird, reptile -- to which he pays particular tribute. [470]

The majority of writers apply the word nagual, nyarong, etc., to this familiar animal, and the group of facts connected with the nagual is naturally called nagualism. Now these writers see in the nagual, nyarong, etc., and in nagualism nothing but a special form of totem and totemism. Is this opinion justified -- is the nagual a totem?

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [471] [Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

The nagual, according to Van Gennep, following Lang, is the local name of the individual totem.

As regards the Fan I should not agree, and all the investigations we have been able to make among neighboring tribes as well as in Madagascar (to whom Van Gennep refers) bear out this opinion. The nagual is not the local name of the individual totem but of "an" individual totem, or better still -- for I do not

757 that of his nagual and vice versa. If he is ill or if he dies, his
575 nagual suffers or dies; if the nagual dies or suffers, so the man dies or suffers.

[Pp. 474-480 omitted. --Translator] [481]

Initiation of the Practitioner

575 The practitioner at the time of his initiation undergoes a
791 different kind of test from that which young [ordinarily] men do. These tests are distinguished by a more marked degree of cruelty and especially by the offering of a victim. The victim will first be dedicated in special rites. After the tests and when the neophyte has been judged fit to enter the priestly company, then only is the totem chosen. But the choice is not left to the candidate; the "admitting" practitioner gives it to him. He must first of all undergo a severe fast of at least seven days. During this time he is forbidden absolutely, under any pretext, to leave his hut, which is set apart in a portion of the forest reserved to practitioners and called éli béngan. No person is allowed to ap-
[B62 688] proach. Any intercourse with women, even a mere glance, would bring about permanent exclusion. Moreover, the woman would be put to death, and her father or husband would have no right to compensation, pecuniary or other.

During the neophyte's seclusion his "admitting" [practitioner] has chosen the totem; avoiding many complications, he almost always chooses the class totem to which the confraternity is already dedicated.

What kind of totems are they? They never belong to the mineral realm, nor are they ever celestial phenomena, nor spirits of any sort, materialized or not, as happens with clan or tribal totems.

575 The class totem is usually a bird [or] a swiftly moving
791 animal, rarely a fierce one when the choice would be made be-
825 cause of the animal's positive qualities and not for its power to harm. Indeed the secret society prefers to seek as protecting totems, those that will guarantee swift and sure retreat in case

515 791 825 of danger. Hence the symbolic choice of fast birds: the river swallow, the koulyebe that flies like an arrow, the eagle or the vulture whose powerful flight protects it from enemies, the turtledove or the wood pigeon that knows how to conceal a nest so as to escape all attention. Or it might be an antelope with nimble legs and acute hearing, [482] which is especially difficult to capture. Finally, the crocodile sometimes appears as a totem not because it is bad tempered and devours men, but because it is always on the watch and at the slightest disturbance submerges itself and disappears in the river or because its scaly covering makes it invulnerable to arrows and javelins.

Such are the qualities that a secret society demands for itself.

515 791 782 The "consecrator" has chosen the totem, generally that of a class. He must now procure one himself but catch it "alive." He brings it into the hut of the "consecrated" one, who keeps it, at least as much as possible, on his chest throughout a whole night. In the morning the totem is led with great ceremony to the middle of a clearing and sprinkled with lustral water: the attending practitioners dance around it, then sing the hymn to the totem; the candidate sings it along with them. This hymn extols the totem's strength, valor, and swiftness, and especially thanks it for the protection given the society. Then, after this hymn, the candidate fetches the victim, whom he must offer, and leads him [561 before the totem. Ordinarily, the victim is a foreign slave, because he should not belong to the Fan nation, in order to avoid 562] any possible ritual offense. (1) It is, however, permissible --

> 1. A foreign slave or a woman is chosen because neither possesses a totem and therefore no ritual offense is to be feared.

and this often happens -- to take a Fan woman. The slave or woman is tightly gagged. Usually no resistance is offered, espe- [274] cially since the victim is given aldwand to drink the evening before, a decoction of herbs and woody mushrooms that have the property of suppressing memory. The neophyte forces the victim to walk in front of him, or pushes him, going around the totem

•575 791 782 three times. He then pulls him down to the ground, binds him in front of the totem, and with one stroke of the mfor cuts the carotid arteries. The blood is collected in a clay pot, which is carefully broken after the ceremony and buried. When the blood has stopped flowing, the practitioners approach. The leader, the others next, and the neophyte last, dip their hands into the pot and sprinkle the totem while they dance around it. [483]

575 791 782 266 Right after this the head practitioner approaches the totem and smears its neck with the victim's blood, then with one stroke cuts its arteries. The spouting blood is collected with care because no drop must fall on the ground, to avoid any profanation. The victim's blood is mixed with the totem's, and everyone dips his hand into the pot and stirs; when the contents have been thoroughly mixed, the pot is put on a fire that has been prepared and, as soon as the blood starts to coagulate, each person present approaches and drinks a bit. The neophyte takes his turn last and has to drink all that is left no matter how much.

The victim and the totem are then placed on a special pyre. Often the victim's body is opened and the heart removed and the totem's body put in its place. When the fire has pretty well roasted both bodies, they are taken off and the victim's is put aside for eating. The totem is put back on the fire and entirely consumed, except that its burnt and pulverized bones are preserved. The victim's bones are also kept and reduced to ash so that they may be mingled with the totem's. These ashes are eventually divided among all those present; the larger share going to the new practitioner to form his "totemic" fetish, which he will make use of whenever he appeals to his totem. In particular, when he takes part in the "consecration" of a new practitioner, he will, after the immolation of the totem as just described, put a pinch of these ashes on the totem's body: all his colleagues will do the same, in order to mystically unite all the totems in a common sacrifice.

[789]

At the end of the ceremony, the new practitioner must get rid of all signs of it before he returns to the village. He must see to it that no drop of blood, no trace of ash, be profaned. He breaks up the pyre, buries the pot for blood at a distance, and goes home only then, invested with a new dignity.

515
791
688

The ceremony is altogether secret in the sense that no layman may be present, but it remains a legal ceremony, and [484] everyone in the village -- if only through having had to stay away -- knows where and when it takes place. However, it must not be mentioned by anyone. Anyone doing so would have to pay a fine, usually of a fowl or its equivalent in value.

Thus the totem initiation of practitioner belongs to the ordinary scheme of things.

That of the sorcerer is quite different.

Initiation of the Sorcerer; the Nagual

154
515

In a book (1) published several years ago, the author, Mgr.

1. Sous le Ciel d'Afrique, Recits d'un Missionaire [Under the African Sky, A Missionary's Account], by the Rev. Father Buléon, Congregation of the Holy Ghost, pp. 88 ff.

Buléon ... gives an eyewitness account of the sorcerer's initiation. ...

[Footnote omitted. --Translator]

"To be initiated as a sorcerer means being initiated by secret ceremonies into certain rites through which one may gain some signal favor from a spirit whose power one recognizes. ...

"Motivated by revenge, avarice, or ambition, an African one day leaves his village, to which he only expects to return when armed with the mysterious and terrible power that will allow him to satisfy his desires. His journey's end may be distant; often he has excellent reasons for seeking, far away and usually outside his tribe, someone who will confer marvelous privileges upon him. His absence sometimes lasts [485] several months. ...

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

"The candidate is seated on the ground, wearing only a loincloth and tattooed more than the others. Undermined by severe privations made more hazardous by being uninterrupted,

515 subjected to skillfully graduated demands, participating in cere-
154 monies that arouse his imagination while exhausting him by their length, he gradually grows weaker and feels overwhelmed by the somber and mysterious aspect of initiation and falls into a kind of hallucination.

"In the depths of the hut [where the initiation takes place], there is a crudely sculptured image. Beneath that has been put a bundle containing the bones of a man long dead, and in front a mirror has been hung with its face towards the spectators. In all initiation proceedings the candidate is brought before the mirror and asked: 'What do you see?' For a long time he has to reply: 'I don't see anything.' As long as the reply is negative the initiation has not been successful. But finally the expected sign appears; he sees the likeness of a man in the mirror. Then he is led aside and made to describe the man whose face he has just seen. He had never seen him before [486] and cannot have known him, yet he describes him with great precision, giving all the facial traits. No cheating is possible in this. From the description given, the initiator, who is able to judge the likeness, identifies the man whose bones are beneath the image. This proof allows him to decide that the initiation is proceeding on the right track.

"Sometimes the initiator demands more personal and more active cooperation from the person seeking initiation. ... he may require that he bring the skull and a few bones of a relative of the first degree. ...

"Only when he brings in the material proofs of his crime are the final rites carried out. The bones are thrown into a
[266] cauldron with herbs and other ingredients that are unsavoury. When the horrible mixture has been sufficiently cooked, the unfortunate man is made to drink a cup while the audience sings. Then what is left in the pot is divided, and everyone has a share. The small bones are wrapped in old rags, and this bundle is given
[789] to the initiate: it constitutes his talisman, which he will wear and which will protect him from the dangers he fears and obtain for him the favors he desires.

575 754 825 "There would seem to be nothing further except to pay the initiator and to carry away the treasure so dearly and criminally bought. But there is still a final ceremony. Initiator and initiate both are actors and witnesses in a strange scene which I should not describe were it not as authentic as it is apparently unbelievable. The new initiate's life is to be united through a bloody rite to that of an animal, who will thereafter be his personal animal, not a domestic or tame animal, but a wild beast living in the depths of the forest or the bed of a river. The initiator has made the necessary arrangements; he gives a signal: [487] at first no sound is heard in reply but soon in the bright moonlight an unknown participant is seen approaching the spot in the forest where it is awaited -- sometimes an enormous mass with a monstrous head, sometimes a feline form that crawls rather than walks, sometimes a long body that unwinds and undulates. Whatever the animal -- hippopotamus, panther, or snake -- it forgets the timidity or ferocity felt in the presence of man and submits docilely to the desired operation. Then the exchange of blood takes place. How this is done is not our concern. But what is beyond any doubt is the fact that blood is let, of the animal and of the initiate, and that each is inoculated with the other's blood. The animal's ear is slit (a corresponding cut is made upon a snake) as a mark
[B04] of the link established with the man, in whose arm an incision is made so that he in turn is marked with the sign of the beast. (1)

1. [The footnote, referring to mediaeval witchcraft practices, is omitted. --Translator]

A real link henceforth exists between them. The animal will be at the beck and call of the person who has been made his master. I could name ... a certain Black man who at night receives a vulture or a panther with slit ear, and another who allows into his hut and even his bed (ikoko) a python that recognizes his authority. When day comes, and the tasks have been

575
754
825

performed, the animals return to lake or bush, just as dangerous, often more so, to all whose blood they have not received.

"This union is so close between animal and man that the life of one depends upon that of the other.

"How many examples I could give! Should you kill a panther that bears the mark, you will not long afterwards learn of the death of some sorcerer. Should the sorcerer be the first to die, don't be surprised at finding near the village the dead body of his personal animal."

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator] [488]

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

In contrast [to the position with regard] to totems, both men and women can have a nagual, since both can be sorcerers. Yet those naguals are not the same for both sexes.

Among the Fan, the naguals that belong to men, with rare exceptions, are:

1. panther, incorrectly called tiger, nze; and by far the most frequent.

2. black snake, elom, sometimes the python, mvom.

3. crocodile, nkôm, rarely the ngân or cayman, never the earth saurians.

4. hippopotamus, ngbbe or nguve.

5. wild boar, ngô.

6. vulture, nkôô, but very rarely.

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

The naguals belonging to women are:

1. black snake, kagélakagéla, different from the mvom.

2. vulture, nkôô. [489]

3. earth saurians; rarely the crocodile.

4. a kind of owl or night bird, akûn.

5. green snake found in banana trees, fôl.

6. a kind of horned viper, fi.

[Nine paragraphs omitted on p. 489. --Translator] [Page 490 omitted. --Translator] [491]

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

The éláněla, may quite well also belong to the animal clan to which individual, clan, or tribal totems are related, and this

515 757 825 can lead to much confusion. Sorcerers are people particularly eager to conceal themselves and at the same time to assert their power, and they are often clever at doing so. They succeed in disguising the real nature of their nagual: "It's my totem," they will say, if someone surprises them with their elâněla. To be able to make their supposed totems appear at will often gives them special authority, which they can make good use of in certain circumstances. Indeed, one can imagine the prestige gained by a sorcerer who during a ritual ceremony thus calls on his totem, in reality his nagual. But ordinarily he restrains himself, for he would then unmask his sorcerer's character, and, unless he is all-powerful and protected from revenge, that is not at all what he has in mind. ...

[64] According to certain chiefs, especially among the Bêkwé, the totem of the founder of the race or clan was originally his elâněla. This is perfectly admissible. If by one or another means the founder of tribe or clan was able to bind an animal to his will, to make it obedient, or at least to persuade his followers that this was so -- which amounts to the same thing -- these men may very readily, after his death, choose his elaněla for their totem. But this choice, which is determined by circumstances or the wish of the dying chief, does not imply that it remains an elâněla. On the contrary, this characteristic [492] disappeared by the very fact of its becoming a totem and ceasing to be a unit in order to become a collective group through its descendants.

[Two paragraphs omitted--Translator]

In a certain number of cases it has happened that the nagual is confused with the sorcerer himself. In fact, according to the Africans, sorcerers often transform themselves into animals. ...

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [493]

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

Almost always, I am convinced, these [phenomena] may be attributed to men being disguised as animals, either to safely satisfy their murderous impulses or to obtain victims for feasts of human flesh.

In some cases these men act under the mysterious influence of unknown agents. This perhaps involves a kind of unconscious

675 possession. They believe and declare themselves to be really
764 transformed into animals. . . .
825 Finally, when it is not a question of the [sorcerer] in disguise (which is nearly always the case), one often deals with his nagual, obedient to his instructions and prompting, at least in the beginning. After the animal has tasted human flesh [494] it is eager to return of its own accord. I remember that in a village in the interior, a panther had devoured 37 persons within a year. A sorcerer was accused of having the animal under his command and, as a result, after confession he was killed. The next day the panther was found dead in the forest. A coincidence? Perhaps the sorcerer had made use of the panther the first time, but in connection with the other killings, I have my doubts. In any case, this panther had an ear slit by human hand, as I was able to verify. Without passing judgement on the outcome, this was an obvious sign that it was "dedicated."

In their main outlines, the sorcerers' confraternities [sic] are modeled on those of practitioners. Both, therefore, possess two distinct categories of confraternity, or secret society, one set composed of initiates directed and controlled by practitioners and sorcerers, the other composed solely of practitioners or sorcerers.

1. Societies composed of initiates directed by sorcerers each has its totem, as do the similar societies directed by practitioners. This totem is always an animal -- a custom found almost universally and made necessary by the very concept of the totem.

575 2. Secret societies composed solely of sorcerers do not have
764 totems; they obey a spirit.
776 [Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [495]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

This spirit bears the name, engungure. It is also the name of the khun, or ghosts, or even of the souls of the dead after the postmortuary exercises and the final transformations.

719 unlikely to allow such a flouting of his authority. It is also
622 feasible if the chief is old and feeble, and the rebel held in
614 awe for his physical strength and especially his notorious bad
temper, based on substantial proof. Also the "deserter" or
[515] "uprooted" man must not belong to any secret "clan" society,
because the initiates never pardon [548] desertion, this is a
primary and always inviolable law.

And that is not all. It is imperative for the new founder to find a willing totem. The choice cannot be at random, as some people may imagine, and there must be a series of sacrifices during which the chosen animal indicates its acceptance. In such a case, the personal totem will receive this honor, for it cannot be changed and not to select it would be a gross insult that would unfailingly lead to significant revenge. But the personal totem must agree to become the tribal totem. In so doing, the spirit -- much more intelligent than man -- knows that it is agreeing to become his actual and titular guardian and it is not always anxious to do so. In similar circumstances, Nzoge Nze admitted to me one day that before finally acquiring an accepting totem he had had to wait for several months and to sacrifice a good many fowls and even kids. The practitioner also had to be satisfied.

It should be observed that following this acceptance all panthers did not become Nzoge Nze's totems, but only those who inhabited the country and were the offspring or descendants of his nze or particular totem panther. This proves the truth of our system. Furthermore, these panthers were sacred only to Nzoge Nze, for each particular totem is particular only to its owner, not to his next of kin. Thus, one of Nze's sons had the anteater, avil, for a totem: he was therefore not supposed to eat it, although his brothers and sons did so with impunity. But once Nzoge Nze's totem, nze, becomes the family and, therefore the tribal totem, his children will avoid killing any panther, on the chance that one might be related to that nze. However, should they happen to kill and eat one, the offense would be only hypothetical and before expiating it, they would make the

8: Bennett D-5 (ca.1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

754 *Vazoge me dieng ongo lôm me* (Take away the curse you have [sent] put
578 upon me).
626 *Vazoge me bibomele* (Take away the curse).
539 *Vazoge me bipoge* (Take away the curse).
Bôt bene mbômeda ch Angambe edjam e mem mobê mda (People are cured of God on account of their sins).

XIV.—*The Ngi.* (*A Fang Secret Society.*)

●575 To members (*Bemeen*) the following things or *bityi* are forbidden :—
Bityi :—

1. To go and make or play at witch (make *eru*).
2. A male fowl is not to be eaten (shared) by two men of different clans.
3. Fish called *ngale* must not be partaken of with a woman.
4. Only the initiated are permitted to eat the fish called *ngone*.
5. Only the initiated may witness the Ngi dances. A woman who attempts to witness an Ngi dance will sicken and die.
6. Only the initiated must know about the bones used by Ngi.
7. A member of the Ngi society is not permitted to sleep on his back.
8. Food refuse must not be destroyed by fire.
9. To spit in the fire is against the law of Ngi (not permitted).
10. An uninitiated person will die if embraced by an Ngi.
11. To kick over rotten wood, logs, or forest stumps, is forbidden.
12. To cut a stick half through in the bush, and then bring it to town and break it, is forbidden. It must be cut through and the two pieces carried.
13. To kick the feet together after getting in bed, for the purpose of removing dust, is forbidden.

The violation of any of these mentioned *bityi* will bring misfortune and death on the *bemeen* (member).

Ngi means gorilla among the Fang; Nji means gorilla among the Bulu. The Bulu have the Nji secret society, which is reported as being precisely similar to the Fang Ngi; it came to the Bulu from the Fang.

XV.—*War.*

726 During a tribal war all adults act as warriors. There is no regular organization
of fighting men. It is a typical guerilla warfare. Parties of young men go forth
at night to attack towns; others watch the forest paths to shoot men passing and
[181] women going to work in the gardens. The Fang are noted for their love of war; they
are the most warlike people in all West Africa. When a tribal war is on, a headman
frequently goes out with a raiding party to attack the town; he carries with him
the *bieng-ahomeyong* (protecting medicine of the tribe). The usual mode of attack
is as follows: Having decided to attack a town, the party of men (usually ten or

583 to look for her, he gives them what he has in the way of money and goods, and the parents have to consent to the marriage by accepting this first payment. This practice is called abom.

584 This practice is exceptional, and the marriage proposal is generally made in a more conventional way. A man, having learned that there is a free woman in a neighboring tribe, a young girl or a repudiated wife, goes to the woman's parents and asks to see her. She comes
●[576] into the hut, sits down, and allows herself to be looked at. She does not speak if she has never been married, but she speaks if she is used to men; then she goes out after about an hour. Her brothers ask her opinion of the suitor and take the answer to the latter, who gives his opinion of the woman he has seen. This visit is called dzãga. If both agree to marry, they spend the night together; the man may leave in the morning without saying anything if the woman has not suited him and he does not wish to marry her. If it is the woman who is not satisfied, she asks her brothers to tell the suitor not to come back. In case of agreement, the suitor goes back several times for several days. The father of the woman fixes the amount of the dowry, and the suitor has to accept it.

586 If a married woman, not wishing to stay with her husband, goes off with another man, the latter pays the woman's parents the amount of the dowry which was paid by the former husband. This practice is fairly recent. In earlier times the former husband received the dowry of his successor directly or, if he refused it, it was a case of war unless another woman was given him in exchange.

583 Marriage is not considered final until the dowry has been paid in
585 full by the husband. The amount is variable, currently about 1,500 or 2,000 francs, in money or in various goods. The woman leaves her tribe and goes to live with her husband. Her arrival at her new village is marked by celebrations. [89] She is accompanied by women who cry out "e e ke o o o ko"; these cries are called mekogo. The husband's mother recites to her the genealogy of her son; then the bride goes into her husband's hut where the women of her husband's family bring her food. She is confined here for a week, and this is the "good welcome to the bride," eyale mbom.

585 Two days after the arrival of the bride, there are songs and dances
535 performed by women only: these are the bya bi mbom. The men play the tomtom and are spectators. This takes place near the husband's hut.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

the palaver house, where he loves to sit and gossip around the log fire, or lounge on the *Ewong* (a native bed of poles). 517

Dancing is a favourite pastime, especially at the time of new moon, when the dance seems to have some religious significance. A Fang dance is a sight worth seeing; arrayed in long streaming armlets of dried grass, and large bunches of forest beans and molluscs shells tied around the ankles for castanets, they go through a series of rapid and graceful movements, some of which are not entirely free from obscenity. Flaming torches made of resin wrapped in plantain leaves are stuck in the ground and the drums keep up a perfect fusillade; the whole making a weird and extremely interesting spectacle. With short intervals of rest the dance usually continues throughout the night until daybreak (photo of dance shown on screen). 535 [373]

III.—*Clothing, Ornaments, Painting and Tattooing.*

Fang men and women usually go about bareheaded; some obtain imported straw and felt hats from the traders and are very proud of them. A red worsted night-cap sold at the factories is very popular and much worn. These head coverings are chiefly worn for ornament and not to afford protection from the sun or weather. Until the opening up of trade among the Fang people their clothing amounted to almost nothing. The men wore a waist cloth made of bark from certain trees, a strong, tough, fibrous material, and the women wore a girdle stripped from the plantain stem, with some leaves from the bush or a piece of the plantain leaf tucked through the girdle in front and passed downward, backward and upward between the limbs and fastened to the girdle behind. Very often the women wore a kind of bustle made of dried grass dyed black, or red. In sitting down the women are very careful to first arrange the bustle. The native bark cloth, the girdle and bustle, are still worn in the bush towns; the women often make the girdle of imported glass beads strung on string made from pineapple fibre, but people living in towns along the river banks wear imported cloths obtained in trade. As a general rule boys and girls run about without clothing until five or six years of age. Imported cloth is worn by both sexes and is often sewn together very skilfully and decorated with pieces of different colours. There are no recognised peculiarities of dress restricted to the subdivision of tribes. The cloth is cut out and sewed by each individual owner unless it is a trade cloth previously sewn. Cloth is usually hemmed and worn as a simple wrapper around the waist, and held in place by rolling in and tucking the upper border on itself. The upper portion of the body is not much covered by the cloth although some men and women wear it tied high up around the neck. There is no difference between the indoor and outdoor clothing. When imported needles and thread can be obtained they are used, but I have seen very skilful sewing done with a sharp piece of bamboo for a needle and thread made of pineapple fibre. Upon the death of parents, clothes descend to the children. In saluting a visitor it is not customary to remove a hat or cap, if one is being worn, or any other article of clothing. 291 [516] [369] [428] [576]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

now responsible and liable to two parties; if he is reasonable they all meet and talk 628
the palaver. If the palaver is serious, each party appoints his *ntol* (ambassador). 681
The palaver is usually talked in the main street of the town, before all the representatives of the interested clans, and before all strangers in town. The [537]
Fang are born orators, and remarkable gestures and orations are made while talking the palaver. The speaker usually walks backwards and forwards grasping and leaning upon a "palaver stick." He commences with: *M'nsna* (I say thus); when speaking for another he says *A'nsna* (he says thus); when speaking for the people of his town, *Ba nsna* (they say thus). Sometimes the *ntôls* (ambassadors) sit in a canoe in the middle of a river or a stream, and talk the palaver, the injured parties being on either side of the stream. The case is talked, the goods demanded in payment stated, and an effort made to *bik nsang* (cut or end the palaver). If they succeed, then the palaver is *cut* (ended), and a dance follows; if no agreement is come to, the meeting breaks up and a tribal war exists between these clans.

Salutations.

There are three salutations common to all. Two friends meet, they each grasp 576
the arm of the other, high up on the biceps; a slight pause is made, then the hand is slipped down to clasp the wrist. This is also the customary salutation used by the Bulu.

Two friends meeting salute by embracing.

A traveller entering the *ebeng* (palaver house) walks over to the headman and sits on his knee a moment, at the same time placing one arm around the headman's neck.

Hospitality demands that all strangers be served food by the town women to [519]
strangers in the *ebeng*.

Wives are loaned to guests. [537]

Coarse conversation is indulged in by old and young of both sexes. [521]

Considerable license prevails among the unmarried; less so among the [536]
married.

VIII.—*Invention, Natural Forms, Conservation.*

Invention.—The arts in use are common to all the different clans of the great 176
Fang tribe. Any new discovery as the working of iron is credited to the dwarfs or 583
aqui. The natives are always ready to admit that the *aqui* are very clever; they 609
have a saying "no person knows like a *mon aqui* (dwarf) what is inside the forest." When obtainable the natives use an imported saw, or file, and admit its superiority over their own crude tools. A Fang may be impressed at the knowledge and power of the white man, but is not greatly surprised; the reason for this is that many white men are credited with possessing supernatural powers.

Some of the clubs, tools and weapons approximate to the natural forms of the 412
branches or roots of trees. Axe handles and the handle of a certain kind of adze have

264 Then follows the warm midday meal which takes place between twelve and five o'clock, depending on when the woman returns from the plantation. The main meal, which is fairly substantial, occurs in the evening. This is not just one meal, however; the women have to cook two or three times and, indeed, even in the middle of the night in order to appease the hungry stomachs. They frequently deviate from this "rule," to be sure. If the store of provisions is ample and there is little work to do, they eat the whole day long; on the other hand, if anything comes up, they just as readily omit meals or fast an entire day.

In the main, meals consist of cassava and plantains. In addition to these, any of the other foods mentioned may be eaten, whatever is on hand.

Men and women usually eat separately. The woman takes care of herself as she is cooking and helps herself even to the men's food which is not meant for her, or she eats with her daughters and younger sons after she has sent the midday meal to her husband in the meeting house where the older boys also gather for food. /161/ On the other hand, the husband habitually goes home to take the late evening meal in the family circle, since by then it has become too cold or lonesome in the meeting house.

At all times, the Pangwe man eats quietly and with dignity, not without appreciative smacking of the lips and constant talking, however. Greedy eating (a ŋ̄ban a dzi) seems ridiculous and unbecoming to the Pangwe and is interpreted by him as a sign of bad rearing. Many of the precepts which the father gives his son make this point, and in proverbs and fairy tales (for instance, in the nice fairy tale of Bömme's gluttony, in the story of the greedy pig, and so forth) the same idea recurs.

[517] [167] 338

264 415 Tableware is very sparse, as one would expect. In the case of liquid dishes, the cooking pot, if it is small, is placed in the midst of the company straight from the fire; if it is large, its contents are poured into a smaller pot. Everyone takes his spoon and eats from the common vessel. In the evening when the man eats at home, he usually has a pot of his own placed before him. Solid foods, for instance, plantains and cassava cutlets, are served on a banana leaf, and everyone takes them by hand. It is considered more refined to

304 entire Pangwe region with extraordinary rapidity. In part, this
177 spread may have been facilitated by the influence of military events. It is related that the /199/ Ntum, in their battles with the Bulu, saw tattooing on the corpses of dead enemies and made their prisoners show them the art.

304 Tattooing occurs among members of both sexes, but espe-
132 cially among males. It serves very much the same purposes that were formerly served by body painting. The young people adorn themselves with it in order to outstrip others in courtship. Ornaments and courtship are one, "one and the same" (a ne dzém eda eda), as the Pangwe says. It is certainly true that attractive patterns can charm the eyes so much that one involuntarily comes to find its (male or female) owner more attractive than would have been the case without such an influence upon the sense of beauty.

304 Even small boys have themselves tattooed. Usually a half-moon pattern is made on their foreheads, but for the most part it is only faintly scratched in and therefore fades again so that scarcely anything remains visible under the patterns later applied. From the period of puberty on, the Pangwe have themselves tattooed more frequently, and at the age of 25 years, by which time this decoration has just about reached its climax, the number of patterns is quite considerable. Normally, face, shoulder, chest, and the belly down to the navel are tattooed. Frequently, tattoos are also applied to the back -- usually only on the upper half -- and to the arm down to below the elbow joint, rarely to the hands and lower arm or to the belly below the navel (1).

1. On the neck only among the Jaunde and infrequently among them.

304 For reasons of modesty, the seat and upper thigh remain free of
577 tattooed adornment, since it would, after all, be too indecent to draw attention by means of the patterns to these parts of the body which, with the original mode of dress, "unfortunately" often remain uncovered. Only in exceptional cases does one see women among the Jaunde, Bulu, and coastal Mwai who have tattooed

304 upper thighs, a custom which was imported by the morally
577 loose Jaunde. The people generally regard the custom as shameful, and they excuse it by saying: "After all they are only women; men would be ashamed to go around this way" (similarly, as among us, only women go around "décolleté").

304 Among the Pangwe the division of labor and specialization in all areas of artistic and intellectual endeavor are extreme, and this also appears in the art of tattooing which is mastered by perhaps only one in a hundred. The operation, which, incidentally, is quite unpleasant although not nearly as painful as the decorative scars, is performed in the meeting house without any kind of formalities. The "patient" sits or lies down during the process (Fig. 152). First of all, soot is made by burning some resin (ofŭ), see page 42, and letting the smoke deposit the soot on a potsherd. The artist first traces the pattern on the body by /200/ /Fig. 152 appears here in the original text/ impressing the curved lines with a flexible, moist leaf of grass that has first been placed in ashes and the straight lines with a similarly treated raffia stick. The lines that project too far are carefully wiped away with a wet finger. For the "cobweb pattern" the artist makes use of a pistil of the hand-shaped leaf of the umbella tree (Musanga), whose ribs are broken off one centimeter above the base after the removal of the leafy part. On the lines he has drawn, he uses his knife to make little diagonal incisions very close to one another, wipes away the blood that seeps out if it is in the way, and rubs the wounds with the resin soot, carefully pressing it in with his thumb or index finger. In other cases, the resin itself, after it has been rubbed to a powder, is put into the wounds, but in that case only resin from the Anonacea Xylopia aethiopica (Dun.) V. Rich. (ofŭ). The surface of the tattooed part of the body is now /Figs. 153, 154, and 155 appear here in the original text/ washed to get rid of the blood and soot. Later, rubbing with resin is repeated once more. It sometimes happens that /201/ small swellings form on the wounds which diminish the beauty of the pattern; usually, however, the wounds heal smoothly in a very short period of time.

304 Two types of tattooing are distinguished. There is the widespread ekŭt, and secondly there is the endŭŭ, the customary one
413

583 between 500 and 600 marks in the south. Devaluation of the money, which has also taken place in Africa, has considerably raised the price in comparison to what it was formerly.

The purchase price cannot be paid in money (spear money) 583 alone, in cattle alone, or in any specific type of goods alone; 9% instead, all the objects of exchange which are in circulation 435 must be represented. Thus, in 1906, for instance, the following things were paid for a woman in the Fang region:

6,000 spears	420. -- marks
12 rifles	120. -- marks
2 vats of powder . . .	4. -- marks
70 choppers	70. -- marks
2 sheep	50. -- marks
2 iron pots	8. -- marks
10 pieces of cloth . . .	40. -- marks
5 hats	10. -- marks
13 kettles of salt @ 2. -- marks	26. -- marks
2 knives	2. -- marks
2 packages of beads . .	2. -- marks
2 tobacco pipes . . .	--. 50 mark
2 packages of flints . .	--. 50 mark
1 hatful of buttons . .	--. 50 mark
	753. 50 marks /261/

Any existing illegitimate children go along with the marriage [948] bargain. In fact, the bridegroom has to pay 500 spears for a boy and 1,000 spears for a girl; incidentally, he is only too glad to do so, because each child means an addition to his wealth.

I shall not go into a discussion of the endless number of quar- 578 rels that arise on the occasion of a marriage, especially when 583 the entire purchase price is not paid at once. Nor shall I speak of the fact that the girl's father likes to steer his daughter, even if she is in love with another, into the hands of the man who can pay the most or the most readily. All this would lead too far afield.

606 If the girl stays in her parents house and if the payment of 583 the purchase price extends over weeks and months, the suitor has 584

551 Nkumu." "Nkumu sa?" Nkumu Bawu." Bawu sa?" "Bawu Otoo."
539 "Otoo sa?" "Otoo Kuboo." "Kuboo sa?" "Kuboo Emwi."
211 "Emwi sa?" "Emwi Abungo." "Abungo sa?" "Abungo a Schiele."
"Schiele sa?" "Schiele Maa." "Maa sa?" "Maa Makama."
"Makama sa?" Makama

me	nga	bũge	nana	abũ
who	lived	to break (of the)	mother	the leg,

tsɩ̃ɩ̃s
tsaas (onomatopoetic).

A remnant of the old aversion of all primitive peoples to
551 mention names, because thereby some kind of mischief might re-
578 sult, can still be observed among the Pangwe. /287/ They do not like to utter their names before strangers, and they find a question about their full names (in other words, including that of the father) tactless, indeed, almost insulting, as I frequently noticed among the Fang who had not had any contact with outsiders. It is also an insult in every respect to remind someone of his ancestors. This need not even be done by name -- since, after all, they do not always know the names -- but can be done with just the words: I shall "show" you your ancestors. This is taken as a threat of sorcery, that is, secret murder, and as though one were telling his enemy in advance that he would kill him and transport him to his ancestors. Such an insult is often avenged with the sword.

2. Child Rearing

The child is reared by means of precept and example, rarely
861 by threats, and almost never -- at least only in case of major of-
fenses against morality, such as theft, for instance -- by means of corporal punishment. The result must be termed an extremely good one; Pangwe children behave more tactfully and better than our children of the same age.

We are informed by some "experts on the Negro's soul" that
867 the Blacks have no sense of honor. A glance at their family life,
861 however, teaches us the opposite. In rearing the child, the

[857]
[854]
[291]
[142]

Fig. 87. Boy about Seven Carrying a Child, Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

861 593 everything that is on his mind. Also, any kind of influence in the family unit is wielded only by the chief wife and /291/ even by her only to a limited extent. In all problems of life the father, as head of the family, remains the real friend and counselor of his son, as does the mother for her daughter.

861 593 578 626 In this way the love of the parents gently leads the child through the realm of youth. However, once the boy has matured into a young man, the obstinacy with which nature has to a special degree endowed the Pangwe, sometimes asserts itself even in the face /Fig. 88 appears here in the original text/ of paternal authority. In such a case, it is sometimes only the most effective and most feared means of education that helps to lead the

[Text continues on page 168]

861
593
578
626

rebellious son back to gentler modes of behavior, namely, the public curse. The curse (ebɔ̂ɔ(o); verb, a bɔ̂ɔ̂o) may be pronounced by the father or the mother upon the son, as well as by the eldest son as the father's representative, especially after the father's death, upon a younger brother. In the majority of cases, however, it is the father who pronounces the curse upon his son. The cause for such a pronouncement is continual disobedience, for instance, if the son, despite repeated warnings, takes advantage of the father's wives. The father then stands in the middle of the village square in order to be heard by the people, usually in the morning when they are all at home, or he summons them all to the meeting house and speaks to them somewhat as follows: "This person, my son, continually acts counter to my commands, etc.; therefore from this time on he shall be successful in nothing, he shall acquire no more things (through purchase and trade of gifts), he shall have no success in hunting; when he goes to a girl she shall 'look upon him as dirt' and grant him no love. For he shall be cursed." A definite formula is not prescribed in most regions; only in the north of the Pangwe region they say: "ma yɔ̂ɔ(e) oa" (Jaunde), that is, "I curse you." /292/

In most cases, the curse actually is followed by the consequences threatened by the father, at least insofar as they concern the son's social position. News of the curse spreads everywhere, and nobody wants to have anything more to do with the cursed one; wherever he goes he is looked at askance or even heaped with abuse and ridicule. In his father's village he will be completely unacceptable. As a result, the son is soon tired of this unbearable state of affairs and now tries to induce his father to remove the curse. He requests him through friends or relatives to remove the curse from him, or he approaches his father through his mother, but then by way of her brother, since "she is afraid of her husband."

If, in response to these requests and the son's promise that he will improve, the father is prepared to nullify the curse, the son must first of all -- if he is an adult -- pay him a goat or -- if he is not an adult -- a chicken. Contrary to the usual custom of adding every piece of livestock to the marriage portion for more wives, the animal paid as compensation by the son is consumed by

861 the parents and relatives. Thereafter, the son is summoned to
593 appear in the village the next day. The father again assembles
626 all the people in the meeting house and makes a long speech in
578 which he rehearses the entire affair from his point of view down to the smallest details. Finally, at the conclusion of his speech, he touches upon the actual purpose of the gathering and proceeds to remove the curse. The formula with which he does so is approximately as follows:

ma tɛ̃'i matɛ'i, ma kǎbe ma,
[539] I have imposed curse (1) (?), I disengage myself (from

1. matɛ̃'i = the imposed curse, a va matɛ̃'i = to remove the (imposed) curse; the root a tɛ̃'i = to tear oneself away from, to depart from home, otǐtɛ̃i = star (see Vol. II, pages 85 and 86).

ma nīme ma, -- ɔ́sū̃ɛ
it), I make straight myself -- (into the) water

nkī̃ã; Chorus: mã̃n.
down. Chorus: Ready, past.

The texts of the formulas, which are frequently extended through the introduction of comparisons and which do not, of course, correspond word for word, are evidently all very old since they are very hard to understand and sometimes not intelligible at all.

At the same time the father spits into his son's hand to indi-
[201] cate that what he took away from him by means of his words (symbolized by the spittle) he is putting back in his power (hand), or the father bites off -- this is the procedure among the Jaunde --
[824] a piece of the stalk of a Costus (Zingiberaceae) and spits it out. In so doing he casts out all the bitterness from his heart (Costus stalk is bitter).

Furthermore, a curse may be pronounced by the first wife
519 against her husband, in case he treats her badly and always
595 neglects her in favor of others. The curse is either pronounced

578 publicly, as in the case of the paternal curse, or in the field
595 when the women are among themselves. /293/

A droll effect is created when the souls are cursed by their
769 descendants. The curse is pronounced at the ancestral feast if it
578 is believed that the souls of the ancestors no longer care about the living, and the curse is also revoked on the same occasion. Although, as ancestors, the souls were more elevated persons who actually cannot be cursed, here is another instance where might comes before right, for after death the souls are powerless on earth, as we know.

Finally, there is a belief in secret curses, and thus, if people
578 are constantly unlucky in life, they are sometimes afraid that they are being cursed by this or that person.

The most terrible curse is that which was pronounced by Nsambe (God) upon human beings when they committed the first major offense against his paternal will. As described in Volume II, page 59 /Ed., not translated/, the curse is symbolically erased during the cult celebration.

3. Children's Games (1)

524 [113] 1. See G. Tessmann, "Die Kinderspiele der Pangwe" /The Children's Games of the Pangwe/, in the Baessler-Archiv, Vol. 2, No. 5-6, p. 250. The children's games are discussed there in detail.

I divide children's games into two major classes: the generally imitative games, and the independent games. Of the former I distinguish three groups: first, gymnastic games which imitate the movements of adults (running, sport, and dancing); second, war and hunting games which imitate the main occupations, not to say professions, of adults; and third, all the rest of the imitative games. The independent games, which are on a higher level, I divide again into three groups: first, toy games, that is, games that are played with objects and do not imitate any

524 Thus, each player must take care that his opponent does not get into a weak compartment with his last stone or, in cases not to be avoided, that the preceding compartment is strong.

On the average, the Pangwe do not play the stone game par-
524 ticularly well, but there are individuals -- even women -- who
539 have developed their playing skill to a veritable mastery. In par-
538 ticular, a number of Bulu are famous as eminent adepts in this field in the Ntum territory, and a number of jocular stories that are as widespread as their fame have been coined about them. The majority of these stories are attributed to the "champion" of the Pangwe players, Bekena a Mpfa, the son of Mpfa Mangöö. Sometimes these stories are recited during the game by the more skilled player in an extraordinarily rapid, even tone, perhaps with the intention of distracting and confusing the less assured opponent. As regards their content, these stories pour the most vitriolic scorn upon less skilled players.

Satiric Song of the Ntum

ma	ma	nga lǒ	bekǒ'na,	bekǒ'na	a	mpfǎ,	ndǒman		
I,	I	played (with)	Bekǒna,	Bekǒna	of	Mpfa,	son		
a	mpfǎ-mangǒǒ.	/313/	nǒm	kaa	maǒ'n	niene:	ma		
of	Mpfa-Mangǒǒ.		Man	without	teeth,	he says:	I		
ke	ma	dǐzǐ	bekǒb	be	zǒk;	mī'nǐnga	kaa		
go	to	eat	hides	of	elephants;	woman	without		
makǎ'n	niene:	ma	tǒbǒ	o	kpǒ;	ukǒkute			
behind,	she says:	I	sit down	on	stool;	crazy			
dǐǒm	a	nga	wǒǒ	sǒ'	a	bǐm,			
thing,	it	lets	pass (a)	Sso antelope	on	hunting drive,			
a	lige	isia	a kǒn	bekǒ'na	a	mpfǎ,	ndǒ'man		
it	leaves	his father	sick	Bekǒna	of	Mpfa,	son		

524 a mpfɛ̃, ndʒ̃man a mpfɛ̃ mangõõ, niene: ɛ̃,
of Mpfa, son of Mpfa-Mangõõ, he says: Come now,

519 518 bõte, mi adɛ̃ń a kõ̃bo (or a ngõngõ):
people, you surpass to speak

ye tada a nga kõn bekõ̃na, niene:
Interrogative: father, he is sick (of) Bekõna, he thus:

a dʒ̃ɛ̃ sõ; kõ ma nga vui tada
to eat Sso antelope?; but I killed (for the) father (a)

ogbũń a bĩm o ngũ̃ɛ̃, tada a
dwarf antelope on hunting drive yesterday, father he

tame dʒ̃ɛ̃ ogbũń.
must eat dwarf antelope.

Freely translated: I was once playing the stone game with Bekõna, the well-known Bekõna-Mpfa who is the son of Mpfa-Mangõõ. He said: "You really resemble an old man who has no teeth and wants to eat elephant's hide (1), or a woman who has no

[262]

1. The notoriously thick and tough elephant's hide is actually eaten by some people (with teeth!), after being well boiled.

backside and sits down on the hard wooden stool, and thirdly you resemble the stupid noodle who on the hunting drive lets a Sso antelope (2) pass by and knows his father to be sick at home, infirm

[825]

2. The black-rumped duikerbok, Cephalophus dorsalis Gray.

from the disease that came from Bekõna-Mpfa, the son of Mpfa-Mangõõ." Well, in that case one simply says: "Come now, you people, you're talking altogether too much poppycock! Even if

524 539 578 my father is suffering from the Bekōna disease, does he absolutely have to eat Seo antelope meat? After all, yesterday on the hunting drive I shot a dwarf antelope for my father; let my father first eat the dwarf antelope!"

Satiric song of the Fang (beginning as above)

...mī'nǐnga kaa makǎ'h, niene: ma bǒde
...Woman no backside, she says: I wear

anǒó ukilkute dǎum, oa lige isǎ ake e
raffia apron; crazy thing, you leave your father sick with

belǒ; wǒna: oa ke a wǎ ngǒ' akǎ.
boils; you say: you go to place stones in the game.

...You resemble a woman who has no backside and wants to wear a raffia apron (the large horsetail-like raffia apron is not suitable for /314/ such a woman). And in addition, you stupid fool, your father is lying at home sick with boils!" In that case one would say (1): "Just place your stones, we shall see!"

1. The translation of wǒna by "one" is justified because wǒna is in a sense directed at the listener.

Satiric Song of the Ntum

o lǒ za? o lǒ fǎ za?
You play (with) whom? You play more (with) whom?

bǒ lǒ, bǒ lǒ! ngǎ nzǒ'la: mī'nǐnga
People play, people play! Madame Nzǒla (said): Woman

kaa mebī'n niene: o vǒ ma mvǒk anǒ
without calves, she says: you put me brass wire (about) as

bo nga vǒ ntsǎma-obiǎ.
they put (about) Ntsama-Obiang.

524 defeat an average player (in the comparison, the Sao antelope)?
539 After all, just yesterday I defeated a totally inferior player (in the
578 comparison, the dwarf antelope)! That has given my father sufficient revenge for the time being (in the comparison, enough to eat).

We see a cornucopia of ridicule poured forth here. Magnificent comparisons! Pithy expressions! Negro poetry with an elemental force!

Game of Chance (abĩa, Jaunde, Bulu)

525 Like the stone game, the game of chance was not an indigenous
177 cultural possession of the Pangwe. From the Maka (Makie in
184 Jaunde) in the east through the mediation of the Mwogenianga kin group (probably Bene) on the upper Nyong it came to the core of the Bene, who transmitted it to the Jaunde and Bulu. In only the most recent times, the Ntum have become acquainted with it through Jaunde and Bene traders who came to them in the service of the Whites. Nonetheless, I myself have seen people engaged in this game only once, in 1907 in the vicinity of the northern Ntum region.[1] Among the Fang the game is unknown.

The game of chance is played with small circular playing
525 disks (sĩ; plural, besã, derived from esã "goods," because, according to the Pangwe, they decide whether the players are winning or losing and hence, as it were, bring in the money in the form of goods, trade items) which are simply cut out of calabash rinds (Fig. 117, a). Furthermore, the game requires counters (mvi ɓ' I),
[531] of which each player must bring his own. They are produced from
[824] the hard rinds of the fruit from a tree called abãm by the Jaunde, and on their smooth upper surface (outerside of the fruit) they bear attractive patterns of various kinds, animal forms, or human figures, which, like the edge, are carved in relief (Fig. 117, b-d). /Fig. 117 appears here in the original text./ /316/

The number of players that can participate is unlimited, but there must be at least four.

To play (a dõ abĩa), a basketry plate is also needed, into which are placed once and for all seven playing disks (seven again as a

3 counters lie face up, the one counter lying face down;

525

with five players

if all the disks lie face down or up to three disks inclusive lie face up and

1 counter lies face up, the one counter lying face up,
2 counters lie face up, the two counters lying face up,
3 counters lie face up, the three counters lying face up,
4 counters lie face up, the one counter lying face down; /317/

if four to seven disks lie face up and

1 counter lies face up, the one counter lying face up,
2 counters lie face up, the three counters lying face down,
3 counters lie face up, the two counters lying face down,
4 counters lie face up, the one counter lying face down.

Put in words, the matter may be expressed as follows.

1. In case all the disks are lying face down or up to three disks inclusive are lying face up, the team on the right loses only if the counters of all players less one (total minus one) are lying face up.

2. In case four to seven disks are lying face up, the team to the right always loses if more than one chip is lying face up.

Now it may also happen that four players cannot be assembled. In that case, three players help themselves out by putting down a blind counter for the missing fourth. If this counter alone comes out the winner, the throw naturally does not count; on the other hand, if it is the second winner, the share of the dummy falls to the co-winner.

The stakes must be fixed before the basketry plate is raised. Each player must place a certain fairly high value (for instance, 2, 5, or 10 marks), usually in the form of goods, on a pile, which the winners share equally. If there is only one winner, he gets the whole pile. The losses suffered by a Negro in the game are considerable. If he has no more money with him, he has his luckier [426] friends give him an advance in the hope of winning at a later throw and paying back the loan. In this process some of them go so deeply [578] in debt that in the end they must leave their wives with the creditor, and sometimes they come to blows, even to homicide; blood revenge

525 and wars have frequently been the consequences of the gambling
578 mania. Although in more recent times the game of chance has been prohibited in the area controlled by the German government, nonetheless considerable homage is paid the gambling demon in secret.

525 In order to insure luck at the game, a whole series of medi-
777 cines is made, which, according to the view already familiar to us, transfer the properties of plants to the counters; for in-
824 stance, plants which make them burning hot (Boehmeria, Urticacea), sharp, peppery (Spilanthes, Compositae), and strong (Carpolabia, Polygalacea). Others are intended to preserve for the owner the objects that he has put down as his stake in the game. In this category we find burrs (Desmodium) and winding Araceae. /318/ /Fig. 118 appears here in the original text./

5. Wrestling

526 Wrestling matches are very frequent, especially in the southern Pangwe region, both to settle personal quarrels -- in this case the defeated wrestler was formerly sometimes squeezed half to death and cases of death have even occurred -- as well as for sport. In the latter case one might actually speak of a sports festival to which the drum summons young and old, man and woman, from afar. I shall dispense with a detailed description, however,

In wrestling, certain rules of the game are observed, for instance, that both wrestlers must be as nearly matched as possible, and this determines whether they turn down the challenge (a kǎn nǔ̃ʒ) or take it up (a mǒm nǔ̃ʒ).

Our picture (Fig. 118) represents a snapshot of such wrestlers (nsǐn I, from a sǐn = to wrestle). To the left one can see a group of young men waiting (a jǎnǎn) to be challenged (a ʃǔ̃ʒ = to challenge). Before the match the wrestler rubs dust onto the palms of his hands and his arms (a dũk mbũ lǔk enǎm = to rub dust [on the] arm) to make them less slippery.

613 the same for the third grandson. The group of the sons' three families
614 constitutes what is called etuna or aval. The tribe (ayoh) gives its name to all the families which have been established since its founder.

614 Social relations are rare with foreign tribes, the tribe forming a
609 homogeneous whole where the stranger is received only with reserve and when he shows goods which prove that his visit has no other aim
578 but to come and look for a woman to marry. The [92] tribes are often hostile to one another, and while they no longer can make war, this hostility is still demonstrated by an atmosphere of haggling which always forces the weakest to give way. Several tribes have thus had to leave the N'Djolé region to settle farther downstream on the Ogooué because they could no longer live beside their neighbors.

574 On the other hand, visits among members of one tribe are frequent, presents are exchanged, and wives are bought.

761 Death (awu). Death is regarded as a change of village. After his
775 death, a person has become an inhabitant of the big village created by Nzame beyond the earth. There he will find the members of his family who already live there, and therefore he follows a very wide trail which leads him to the bank of the river Endam where his relatives who died before him come to await him. It may be that the crossing of the river is not immediate, and the dead man may have to stay for several days on the bank, which happens especially to people of whom the bivur have made human victims.

763 The dying person (edzegela) is attended by women who, when death has occurred, announce it on coming out of the hut, where all the inhabitants of the village then assemble. The corpse is taken from its bed and laid on the ground on mats; it is washed, rubbed with oil, and clothed in a white loincloth, then rolled in the mats and in pieces of bark, and tied. It stays this way in the hut until the grave is dug.

764 Funeral ceremonies immediately follow death. The wrapped body is carried by two men to the place of burial. The inhabitants of the village follow, one behind the other, and are present at the interment, which is done with a vine holding the body so that it does not fall suddenly to the bottom of the hole dug to receive it. The grave is oriented east-west, or is dug parallel to the course of the river which flows by the village, the head of the dead being placed upstream or to the east, the feet downstream or toward the west, so that the dead will lie in the direction of the river Endam. Before the grave is filled,

162 We have been able to define the characteristics of this demographic crisis, of which the Fang as a whole are aware. These are a drop in the population, which is more or less checked according to the region and circumstances; a lack of balance between the number of men and of women — the sex ratio rising rapidly at the level of the oldest age groups — and a more marked aging of the feminine population; an insufficient demographic basis and at the same time a high infant mortality. And it is the lack of children and the sudden importance acquired by women (conditioned by their number as well as by the general movement of social evolution) of which the villagers complain, far more than they criticize the inadequacy of sanitary equipment. In a society where the number [that is, the size of the groups] differentiates the groupings in a hierarchical system, and permits personal preeminence, the acute phases of this demographic crisis arouse great anxiety; the decline of fecundity in the women is one of the reasons, the most important one perhaps, for the hostility of the men toward the women.

168 578

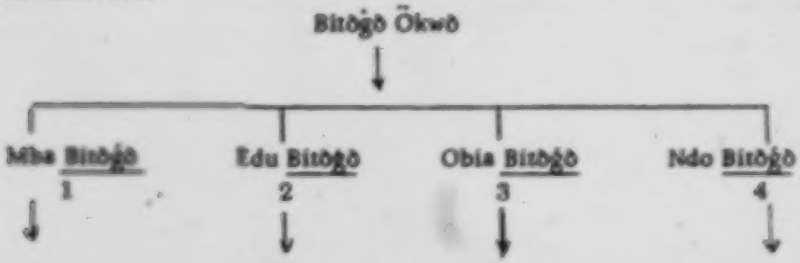
168 The grounds given for such a situation [100] have a double aspect, modernist and traditionalist. The grounds of the former were displayed at the time of the Pahouin Congress of 1947 and also by certain groupings at the time of the movement for regrouping clans. They are expressed by definite claims, such as demanding a health program and education in hygiene, a desire to control and then limit prostitution, to consolidate the "family" by limiting divorce and curbing adultery, a need for rich crops "that can be sold in order to support the family," (1) etc. The grounds of the

168 186

1. Statement by a Dignitary of the Yémɔ̂ŋ Tribe, Mitzic, 1949.

traditionalists without doubt compel recognition and represent the opinion of the greatest number. They reveal a strong reaction to the present state of Fang society and a desire to return to a past when everything was better, when there were "a great many men and a great many children"; they express a tendency toward "counter-acculturation." The upheavals that have occurred in

64 551 Incidentally, the method of naming peculiar to the Fang is evidence of a fundamental social segment, the group of brothers, real and half (siblings and half-siblings). Thus there are the sons of Bitɔ̀gɔ̀ Ōkwɔ who form the "heads" of four minor lineages still in existence:



The names themselves emphasize this double orientation, the vertical showing the real filiation and the horizontal showing the real brotherhood, which characterizes Fang social structure. Around such a horizontal segment the village (in this particular case Sam village) is constituted, and inside such a segment are produced the fission giving birth to separate lineages. From the clan to the minor lineage the groupings must be defined in terms of these two dimensions, thus showing a structure that could be called both segmental and interlocked.

614 578 621 But this overlapping is not sufficient to bind the groupings together and to impose a hierarchy. Ruptures have been frequent and can be explained by the mechanism of Fang expansion, by economic factors, and by causes of a structural nature. By analyzing the lineages settled at the level of a fixed region, one notes that those whose origin goes back to an eldest son (ntɔ̀l-mɔ̀t are larger in number and are the basis of the local population. The Yèngwi studied above show this very specifically?

614 [112] Yèngwi in the Vicinity of Oyem
578
621

Generations

I Esòmò Angò
(lineage of 3,325 individuals)

II F_1 (lineage of 2,175 individuals) | F_2 (lineage of 1,150 individuals)

III $f_1 f_2 f_3 f_4$ | $f_1 f_2 f_3 f_4 f_5$

X 950 | 1.225 ind. | 510 ind. | 640 ind.

Each of the definitely located clan fragments reveals the existence of two groupings which are in a state of latent antagonism, which is shown, geographically, by the separate villages. The cleavage is such that at the time of the recent movement for regrouping villages, initiated entirely by the natives, each of the two antinomic elements refused to join together in order to create larger and more modernized village units. (1) Every time the

1. At the time of our investigation of a Kòjé grouping, for example, most of our informants asserted tirelessly that "the village will break apart if all the Kòjé mingle."

fission has been carried out between lineages issued from an "eldest" and the lineages issued from younger brothers. The five clan groupings studied in the Oyem region revealed this rupture – going back to the time of their settlement in the country – with irrefutable clarity (see Table V).

Table V

614
578
621

Clans	Groupings descended from the eldest	Groupings descended from younger son or sons	Villages corresponding to the first grouping	Villages corresponding to the second grouping
Yégnwi	Lineage of Mònòmògò Éshnò	Lineage of Nsim Eshnò	Ebiane, etc...	Zorongone, etc...
Effak	Lineage of Ngu Mâmvé	Lineage of Mônôu Mâmvé	Nto, etc..	Mékomo, etc...
Ołip	Lineage of Enduma Eswa	Lineage of Emvélé	Nkang	Mbenga, etc...
Yébimvé	Lineage of Ekòrò Mési	Lineage of Obiré Mési	Aténame, etc...	Angone, etc...
Kołé	Lineage of Mòzògò Mômbé	Lineages of five younger sons	Nto, etc...	Mbomo, etc...

[113] This state of tension, bringing about more or less real fissions, is bound up with a social organization which gives economic and political pre-eminence to the "eldest," [sons] which favors the lineages issued from them, and which, above all, is not hierarchic for the purpose of maintaining the cohesion of groupings, except as needed for defense and expansion, and except for the prestige of temporary "chiefs." The desire for independence manifested by the heads of lineages as soon as their grouping has become fairly large is not controlled in an organized manner. Studies conducted during the first years of this century, especially those of Martrou and Trilles, all insist on the process of fragmentation of

614 lineages which is more marked as the Fang become unattached
578 conquerors. In the same way frequent examples have been given
621 of extensive agglomerations being broken up after the death of the "chief" who had founded and maintained them. The size and cohesion of the groupings appear therefore in a large measure to depend on the personality of the leaders who have asserted themselves (for any rightful succession may be contested under pretext of incapacity, or it may be refused) and on circumstances. This explains in part the frequency of fissions observed by various authors at the level of the third or fourth generation. (1) The size

1. Particularly, E. Trezenem, "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan du Moyen-Ogooué [Ethnographic Notes on the Fang Tribes of the Middle Ogooué]," op. cit.

of localized groupings may therefore vary a great deal — especially since the pacification of the country — going from the major lineage expressed in "clan patches" to the minor lineage (nd'ê bôt) forming an isolated hamlet.

Kinship

612 Our analysis of Fang society has so far considered groupings only in terms of two fundamental elements: paternal filiation and real fraternity. We must now examine the bonds created and the relations prescribed by other modalities of kinship, as well as by the alliances that may exist between "foreign" groupings as a result of marriages.

612 Through the medium of his father (ésa, whom he calls taga)
601 and of his mother (nya, whom he calls nanô), the individual belongs to two kinship groupings, the paternal (ésinyâg) and the maternal (dzânanô). For the young Fang these two have neither the same significance nor the same importance. [114] The course of his life will generally be spent in the midst of the first group, while he has only incidental relations with the "relatives." of the second group. It is from the first that he receives his clan affiliation. The fundamental relations of paternal kinship are governed,

583 of the alliance. (5)
584

5. Cf., on the importance of these facts of reciprocity and their role in so-called primitive societies, the remarkable work of C. Levi-Strauss devoted to the study of Structures élémentaires de la Parenté [Elementary Structures of Kinship], Paris, 1949.

581 As it circulates, the bride price weaves a network of ties
583 between groupings which, without the obligation of exogamy, would
578 have lived as so many biological, economic, and political units
595 retired within themselves. [124] It compels co-operation; it creates zones of security in a country where, at a time of conquest, the economic competition is severe (as regards the best land for cultivation and hunting, and the trade centers and roads). In addition the double exogamy multiplies these abé bonds, and the specific recognition of the maternal kinship reinforces, as we have suggested, these bonds. The circulation of women and in a parallel direction that of the bride prices have to be minutely regulated. This function belongs to the head of the nd'ê bôt, to the mbôl, the latter signifying not only "ancient" but also "arbiter, envoy, ambassador." He is custodian of wealth and giver of women. At the level of the segment of brothers (bobêñg), the principle that bride prices received at the time of the marriage of daughters are used to marry the sons in the order of their birth is completed by the obligation of the eldest brother to contribute to the formation of a bride price necessary for the marriage of the younger brother who does not benefit by such a compensation. Certainly this principle which was meant to regulate the distribution of the women and to limit competition has not turned out to be infallible. Antagonisms between the "eldest" [brothers] and younger brothers leading to the breaking up of groupings are often explained by this obligation not being met. (1) The oldest men can take advantage of their pre-

1. Cf. supra, pp. 112-113.

eminence in order to buy up the greatest number of wives. Finally,

581 the younger brothers are often tempted to collect for themselves
583 the elements of a bride price or to carry out rapes or raids. They
578 represent the most dynamic and mobile fraction of the grouping. (2)
595

2. Probably their lineages represent the major part of the Fang population of Lower Gabon. This would help to explain, apart from "modernist" reasons, the more or less pronounced rivalry and antagonisms between the "Fang from above" and the "Fang from below."

However, the earliest observations show that there was a sort of limited polygamy. Fourneau writes: "The Pahouin is in fact most often monogamous, simply because the woman is very highly prices," (3) and Dr. Cureau more specifically states: "Among the

3. A. Fourneau, op. cit., p. 77.

Fang where a wife is expensive, the maximum rarely goes above five; apparently thirty years ago, only the very rich could rise to one or two units above humiliating monogamy." (4) These two

4. Dr. A. Cureau, op. cit., p. 119.

authors confirm the existence of a restricted polygamy and therefore of a tendency to equalize the distribution of the women which, according to them, is allied with the high cost of bride prices.

583 [125] It is now time to analyze the material nature of the bride price. During the nineteenth century it consisted essentially of iron objects (representations of assagais, Pahouin knives, and axes very reduced in size), of which the bikki are the best known, (1)

1. Cf. M.H. Kingsley, op. cit.; the ancient word for bride price is bikki, or mwa bikki.

reserved exclusively for matrimonial exchanges, and of animals,

621 participation in the same tasks, tends – if one may venture the
562 play on words – to the confusion of its members. On the other
571 hand, the women it controls do not form such a coherent whole; they represent different clans, different modalities of kinship; they are the center of virtual conflicts (between female "relatives" and female "relations by marriage," between co-wives); except for the wives of the same man, who live together, they do not have a common living place.

621 The nd'è bòt – and, more precisely, this virile whole made
571 up of relatives belonging to the same guardhouse (abèñ) – harbors,
578 however, latent antagonisms, which are the result of the privilege
614 linked with ancestry [133] or seniority. These tensions can come to a head when disputes arise usually from economic causes, such as circulation of wealth or of women, or allocation of farming land. They help to explain the very variable size of the groupings considered as villages, and the phenomena of aggregation and disintegration of the latter according to circumstances. But both of these movements are effected as a function of the minor lineage which is the nd'è bòt.

621 This grouping may by itself constitute a separate unit of about
571 ten persons or a village with up to a hundred inhabitants. When a
614 village is old, with a large population (200 to 300 persons or more), it cannot remain organized around a single common hearth. It is arranged around several centers corresponding to the sons of the founder or their successors. Thus the village of Ebiane (Yéngwi in the vicinity of Oyem) has 235 inhabitants distributed in three groups representing the respective posterity of three brothers. We have already stressed the fact that the heads of minor lineages are at the level of the same segment. The village of Afénane (Yébimvé of the Oyem region) with more than 300 inhabitants also consists of the posterity of three brothers, and each of the nd'è bòt occupies a definite position on the village street, according to the following diagram:

621 The groupings are located according to the order of their
571 pre-eminence, that of the eldest being at the back in direct con-
614 tact with the chief's hut. Also, grouping 1 does not represent the whole of the lineage descended from the eldest brother (Ekòrò Ngòm); the latter divided at the level of the sons of Ekòrò Ngòm into three elements, of which one is at Afénane and the two others make up the very close villages of Messia (139 inhabitants) and M'Fagne (97 inhabitants).

621 This whole Yébimvé group, consisting in a limited area of
571 nearly 1,000 persons, is interesting to the extent that it shows
578 how the "major" lineages (which we have described above under
614 the name of abial è bòt) and the "minor" ones determine residence in a definite zone and a village. Two brothers led a migratory group [134] of Yébimvé from the Cameroons to the territory occupied today by their posterity. A conflict arising from the unequal distribution of the women acquired from foreign villages lead to the first rupture. Each of the two brothers moved away with the group he controlled, and the memory of past antagonisms has remained sufficiently alive to prevent any attempt today at recombining the members.

621 The initial cleavage can be presented in the following man-
571 ner: (Table VII on following page.)
614 The cleavage is expressed in relation to a common origin (A) which represents the head of the "major" lineage and gives rise to the first rupture which we mark with a double line. The two nd'è bòt have separated and settled in spite of all in adjacent regions. But these groupings have themselves been subject to new fragmentations since then. We represem the second of these where they occur [135] at the level of the third generations (after III, V, and VII), giving rise to the creation of villages very close to one another and able to co-operate and, above all, to regroup if required by circumstances.

These observations show that the nd'è bòt is a true residential unit. They show how the cleavage becomes possible as soon as this unit reaches a certain size (a size, from the point of view of security and economic demands, making it viable as a separate unit); but the distance (in the sociological sense) between fragments varies

554 representing not simply the various minor lineages but open to
622 competitive authorities — the best warrior (éyènö), a rich man (nkuma), the cleverest at settling palavers (nté bété), not to mention the dignitaries of the "associations." In the traditional society, the possession of the biéri basket established the right of the eldest's pre-eminence and gave this right a sacred basis [139] it was a partial guarantee against the struggles for prestige. With the disappearance of this cult under the influence of the colonizers, the eldest must use the new "associations" or must make himself feared by having recourse to techniques of a magical order; otherwise he will find himself threatened as "chief" at the time of a competition which is implied by the Fang social logic.

554 The role of personal prestige appears clearly in studying the vocabulary, which has a considerable number of words or expressions applicable to the "important" or "honored" man: éguma (from gum, to honor), muramo(r) (t) and fâm ndên (from mura and ndên, great or important), nkurödi (very important man), mfum (well-known man, who has many relations), nkuma (already quoted, a man who is influential because of his wealth), etc. The authority acquired by such prestige limits the essential authority which we have shown to be dependent on seniority, but tradition also imposes strict restraints on it as well. Any pre-eminence acquired by virtue of purely personal merit is dangerous for the one who holds it, for it is essential that power, wealth, and wisdom be placed at the service of all members of the grouping.

554 Many early authors have pointed out the risk of displaying
578 an affluence and a prosperity that are not shared. Le Testu emphasizes the role played by "the fear of exciting jealousy": "Larger and more successful plantations, a better hut, wives that are more fertile, more prosperous affairs... each is a cause for jealousy, and the consequence of this feeling, as is often believed to be true, is the death of the one who excites it ...." (1) Similarly, M.

1. Le Testu, Le N'gwéna [The N'gwéna], Bulletin de la Société des Recherches Congolaises, Vol. 12, 1930.

554-578 Briault, an accurate observer of the Fang states that the death of a chief, or an old man, or a notable person, is suspect and demands a much more "minute" enquiry than in the case of men of the common people." "Whoever has privileges is envied, whoever exerts authority makes malcontents; many chiefs have died unexpectedly; many who were envied have not made old bones; this must be fairly common since it is confirmed by proverbs (2)...."

2. M. Briault, Sur les pistes de l'A.E.F. [On the Trails of French Equatorial Africa], 1948, pp. 37-38, 42-43.

One might say that "intentional death" threatens (threatened rather, for colonial affairs and peace have allowed some to grow rich and to be protected) those who in their own interest disregard the fundamental solidarity and leveling tendency.

631 [140] By this play of forces, more or less antagonistic and varying according to circumstances, Fang society is protected from any excessive concentration of power. This explains why, in spite of its conquering military nature, it has never allowed even a rudimentary feudal system to appear. Strictly controlled, power was organized only at the level of small units — a village or a group of villages, relatives or neighbors. It has only exceptionally (and precariously) gone beyond the frontiers of these groupings, and as the "associations" have barely been able to remedy this deficiency, Fang society shows an absolute lack of centralization, which was a contributing factor in its rapid deterioration during the colonial period.

692 In a social system which leaves plenty of room for opposing relationships, cases of judicial action and conciliation play an important part. The Fang have not only established a classification of offenses — nté, simple disagreement; étôm, serious dispute that might result in war; and nsêm, ritual infraction — and a gradation of punishments going up to holding a hostage (étéa), but have also conceived a judicial organization with

[673] [681]

562 except in a sporadic and very degenerate form; we mention the
795 N'nup with a whole string of "queens" that has appeared in the neighboring regions of Spanish Guinea.

562 This ambiguity in the position of woman to a certain extent
578 creates an equilibrium. On the other hand, from the point of
837 view of sentimental relations, this is not true. The man who admits that marriage should be regulated primarily in terms of social considerations hopes to obtain some day a "favorite" wife and has little fear of sanctions connected with adultery. The woman, married young, remains prisoner of the system and is always threatened with severe sanctions. Apparently this results in the many disputes which were referred to by the first administrators. "Very often the woman abandons her husband and returns to her parents' village or follows a man of her choice..." (Archives of Libreville, 1909). They were also referred to by the first Fang scholars: "The Pahouin woman does not hesitate to leave with a lover; often married against her wishes she avenges [152] this state of things by a very great infidelity" (L. Mba, op. cit.). The expression used by this author is significant. What might be called the sentimental excuse permits a broader reaction responding to frustrations of another nature. We must see there the sign of tensions which are actualized at the only possible level. Let us add that the conditions created by colonization will liberate these tensions to a great extent by destroying the equilibrium obtained approximately by traditional means.

561 These tensions are not the only ones to be mended. Between
578 generations, that of the ésa and that of the mwanõ, on the same
784 segment between the eldest and the younger brothers, it appears that relationships of dependency can turn into antagonisms. Soon
[551] after his birth the young boy is "marked" by his ascendants, receiving a double name (essential in relation to other denominations) which contains the name of an ancestor of his paternal line (of a mvam) and the first term of his father's name. In addition to individual interdicts imposed by his father, the child is subject to various general interdicts which are removed by degrees as the child becomes a man. Thus, there is the interdict on the pig (1), and on

1. The pig appears as a valuable animal

561
578
784

in all this part of central Africa, where the ox is unknown because of trypanosomiasis.

the produce of hunting and fishing, and these exist until the time of puberty. They signify, according to L. Martrou, that in the family group there should be "no useless mouth," ... "but rather arms and hearts capable of defending and enriching it." (2) Thus

2. L. Martrou, Les "Ékis" des Mfang [The "Ékis" of the Fang] op. cit.

[834] it is forbidden to cohabit with a woman before being circumcized (3)

3. V. Largeau, op. cit. article: Interdit [Interdict].

561 578 [852 881] In the same way various rites mark the steps of this ascent: the rite of the Ssò for the ten-year-old children; (4) circumcision,

4. M. Bertaut in his thesis on the Boulou of the Cameroons, a related nation, speaks of a less degraded form of the Ssò which was the center of a true "society of men" now almost vanished.

which is not accompanied by any initiation (but seems rather to bear public witness to virility and to show the individual as an active male), and above all, the "revelation" of the Biéri. When
561 578 885 the young man joins the company of men, he has experienced in various degrees of intensity [153] this biological, social, and spiritual dependence on his ancestors (mvam) and on his elders (nyamòrò). To them he owes his life, his security, his social existence. Even after having crossed the various steps and being able to take full part in the assembly of men, he receives from

561 them various interdicts that testify to his new state and remind
578 him of the obligation to submit to those who have made him a
885 man, a complete Fang. (1)

1. Cf. M. Briault, op. cit., pp. 183-184.

561 For a long time he submits to this superiority of his elders,
885 who intervene with the ancestors, the source of prosperity and
888 power, who permit him to fulfill and increase himself by marriage and the possession of posterity, by controlling the circulation of bride prices and women. Thus the male life curve reaches a maximum which corresponds to the social influence of the nyamòrò, decreases as old age approaches (we have already stressed the tendency in the past to discard the "grandfather," mvam), and increases infinitely after death, which gives him the quality of "ancestor" with limitless power on behalf of the living. Childhood and old age, representing the "low" points of this curve, are preparation for the two "high" states which are characterized by an increase in power and autonomy.

561 In ancient Fang society dependence guaranteed material
578 and spiritual security. It was centered on the relation between
182 the begetter (ésa) and the begotten (émò wâm) rather than on that between the dominating one and the one dominated. We have frequently stressed the leveling tendency existing in the heart of the nd'è bòt and the dangers threatening any pre-eminence acquired by personal right. The just distribution of women, wealth, and tasks is expected from the "eldest," not any domination. In another respect, during the period of conquest, attempts at domination and the establishment of excessive personal power were limited by the important role of the "warrior" (who best incarnates the qualities which caused Dr. Cureau to compare the Fang to "modern Spartans") and the threats of rupture in the heart of a grouping which needed to remain sufficiently large and coherent. An equilibrium may arise between the power of the "eldest ones" (religious and political pre-eminence) and the power of the young men (martial pre-eminence). It involves particularly the rigid regulation of the circulation of the women, the possibility for these

561 young men to go beyond the level of simple dependence to be-
578 come, in their turn, creators of dependence, and the possibility
182 [154] of "capitalizing" human lives (women and descendants). This equilibrium has been upset and competition disorganized by the passage from warlike to economic conquest, then to an agricultural economy in which the woman plays a fundamental part, and the pacification which no longer permits the lack of women to be remedied by raids. Capitalization of women and capitalization of property are then bound together, the former becoming to a great extent the condition of the latter. The role of the "rich" man (nkumakuma) is increasing; (1) relations be-

> 1. To such an extent that Bertaut notes that among the Cameroons Boulou, who have been longer subject to a modern economy, there is only one word nkuma to designate the chief of village groupings.

tween generations, between "eldest sons" and "younger sons," may become that between possessors (women, property, and political role) and nonpossessors. Dependence tends to take on the characteristics of a domination creating tensions and conflicts.

784 We have been able to define a certain number of points of
626 equilibrium in the heart of ancient Fang society. We must now specify the important position held by the system of interdicts (biki) in social control. According to M. Briault the word éki (plural, biki) comes from the root ki meaning "force, restraint, virility, power"; it expresses a ritual prohibition, an interdict or taboo; it designates "a person or thing marked with a sacred character with whom or with which contact or use are forbidden." This author considers the éki essentially from the point of view of the restraint they exercise and of the social order which they help to maintain. He writes: "They give rather the idea of an effective means of keeping youth, women ... in short, all in the society who are made to obey, in a spirit of subjection to those whose will is of importance ... political interest is doubled and made

244 in 1954 in connection with a study of family budgets.

amount of food necessary to maintain the population: a crop census was taken in 1948 in one of the Sangmélima cantons (2). In order to

[439]

2. Report of the administrative officer, J. M. Soupault. An average individual's requirement would be: 250 maize plants, 330 manioc plants, 130 plantains, 110 macabo, 7 kilograms of rice, and 32 kilograms of groundnuts.

satisfy the needs of 6, 249 inhabitants there is no "exportation" to
[433] speak of. The canton used to produce 1, 635, 000 maize plants, 2, 049, 000 manioc, 824, 190 plantain bananas, 687, 800 macabo. It furthermore provided 44 tons of rice, 200 tons of groundnuts. There were 85, 180 fruit trees producing various kinds of fruit (Pachylobes /Canarium edula Hooker, known as assa in Pahouin country—Ed. /, Estuils, oranges, etc.)

Clearing land by burning and the absence of organic fertilizer probably explain the exhaustion of the soil and the shifting cultivation that results from it.

231 The breeding and rearing of small animals is nevertheless understood and practiced: goats, dogs, fowls, pigs were and still are plentiful in the villages. These animals do not seem to contribute
[438] much to the food supply nor to the economic life. The very limited practice of selling pieces of pork has dates from recent years. As a
[431] matter of fact, animals were useful for giving quasi-ritual presents,
[432] for paying bride prices, and for celebrating family occasions: at a marriage, burial, and the end of mourning, two or three goats were killed to provide food for the relatives.

Of course, these animals are not stabled or fed; the herds wander along the outskirts of villages and do not fail to plunder the gardens.
[571] There are innumerable classic quarrels between farmers and herders (with the slight difference here that no one is exclusively a herder nor
357 exclusively a farmer): Was the practice of enclosing by hedges established so as to avoid such depredations, or to give military protection to the settlements? Whatever the origin, this practice associated with the raising of animals would have made it possible to avoid

586 made, but this practice is only very rarely followed in cases of free
851 union, ébon, even when that is followed by a regular marriage of the
848 natural parents. Illegitimate children, fruits of an ébon, bobengon, are kept in their mother's clan, where, moreover, they rank socially only after legitimate children.

517 There used to exist a kind of adoption, rare today, of a political
614 rather than family nature, which could almost be defined as naturali-
[641] zation. It could only be carried out by the head of an extended family on behalf of an orphan, mone nyui, of another clan (orphans within /56/ the clan being, of course, already considered children of the head of the family). The adopted child, abiaé môsô (i.e., "conceived
[833] in the daytime," sexual relations being lawful only between sundown and sunrise), came into the clan with a status analogous to that of the monengon. He remained subject to the marriage prohibitions of his clan of origin.

609 A non-Pahouin outsider permanently residing in a village, a ntabe,
614 may benefit through marriage by alliance, élat, which does not thereby make him a member of the clan. He becomes a monekal (sister's son, uterine relative) and his children, though legitimate, belong to their mother's clan.

593 The descent relationship may be broken by paternal or maternal
578 curse, meyo'é: the parent uttering the curse shows the child his sexual organs, "the place whence he came," while pronouncing a formula oath. The curse is supposed to bring misfortune and death to the offspring accursed, whom everyone avoids. It can only be
[783] lifted by a collective purificatory rite (étye, tyô) in which the whole nda bôt participates.

3. Age Grades

561 The individual's life cycle is marked by a certain number of transitions, which are accompanied, or were usually accompanied, by rites that will be discussed further on (p. 115). These crises are birth, weaning, puberty, attaining majority, marriage, death. Age grades correspond to the intermediate stages; they are less strictly defined today than formerly.

561 I do not know the exact word for fetus: people say abum, belly.
843 There must be a more precise term, but I think there is a prohibiton connected with it, certainly as regards men, although it may now be

422 brought produce of the locality, the system of directions very probably being ascribed to sexual categories, the northeast area, male and the southwest area, female. It would be advisable to know more about the ritual use of different tools and implements in order to throw more light on the subject. We know that the saber, fa, is essentially male, that the hunting bell tied to a dog's neck, angôñ, is essentially female, that the drum-telephone, nkul, is androgynous (though women are not allowed to use it); the rifle, ngal, is probably epicene, and the same is true for a few other objects, but we know almost nothing about the effect of this sexual differentiation upon property and its conveyance.

In any case, since the introduction of a money economy, personal property /propriété mobilière/ has become almost entirely individual. Personal property /meubles/ that remains collective is primarily so by appropriation, like the equipment of associations, the profits of their subscriptions, sometimes objects bought in common by members of a family because of their cost or function—like the sewing machines obtained from Spanish Guinea after the last war, for instance.

Personal property still involves some restrictions for women and
422 young men, although they are less and less accepted. Respectful
513 sons and submissive wives still allow their fathers and husbands to use the objects acquired by the earnings of their labor, but when they rebel the trend of the courts is increasingly in their favor. However, the obligatory aid arising from family ties still holds good, and to refuse to "lend" something to a monyañ is likely to be frowned on, which is a serious matter. Thus there survives a kind of right of collective family use working against individual /ownership of/ personal property.

g. Inheritance, Guardianship

422 These come about from death or disappearance. A paternal curse
578 did not entail loss of civil rights, but the possessions left behind by an accursed son who quit his village were confiscated and divided among his brothers.

The disposal of possessions left by a dead man, called élik from
428 lik = to leave, took place at the end of the period of mourning,
765 meyep, perhaps /77/ a mbu, six months after death. This waiting period tends to become shorter and in towns usually lasts a month,

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

The skin of a bush cat is part of the *biang-akamayong* called "Nsin." 789

The Mvang.—A triangular piece of iron filled with medicine, used to keep away witches, is also part of the *biang-akamayong.* 619

Biang-akong or *biang-abal* (war medicine).—This is also part of the *biang-akamayong*, and the shots from the guns of an enemy are of no avail.

One other important fetish hangs with the *biang-akamayong.*

A piece of very hard wood. Only a certain kind of woman is selected to find this wood; she is called a special or *selected* woman on account of certain peculiarities connected with her, *e.g.*, she always fails to catch fish, she may try all day but will not succeed in catching fish. The husband of such a woman, after intercourse with her, fails to catch fish the next day, he also fails to work. This is the kind of woman always selected to find this wood; it is hard wood, she is a hard woman, and she is called *Emunega ane alert* (the woman who is hard). This medicine is also called *biang-akong*, and shot from the guns of an enemy will not harm. [777] [824]

This is the *Biang-akamayong.*

XIII.—*Witchcraft. Evus.* (*Witch.*)

If a person goes out to make witch (witch medicine, or play witch to harm others) he dies. The people take him to the backyard. Other people say, "We want to take the witch." If the corpse is a female, they open the belly. If the corpse is a male, they open the heart. They see the witch, they take it. If they bring the witch, they lay it on the smoke shelf. It dries. When finished drying they say, "We will use it as medicine." 754

This is *Evus* (witch).

Cursing dead Relations.—Written at Foulabifong, Nkomo river, April 13th, 1898. Told me by Ôvôn; fully confirmed by Ogandaga and Interpreter Roby.

E'kanesong (to curse dead relations).—This is a Fang custom. A man has a palaver with another, or goods stolen. He desires to get even with the thief. He calls a friend and curses his friend's dead relations, saying, 754 578 626

"Go and kill that person for me, or go and make him pay me goods; if you do so, I will then pay you for having cursed your dead relations." It is a serious matter to have dead relations cursed, and the friend feels very bad. He must do as bid, or he is branded as a coward, and after he has completed his task he then makes claim for payment.

Nge me bā jam dili, nge me ta minbin (If I do it, may I see the corpses [of my people]). A Fang way of swearing an oath. [539

Ami ye mimbim mia, yinga me bat (My friend, by the corpses of your relations, kill those people for me).

Notes on *Ebômeda* (a curse).

Ilong z'ayoge (a curse that kills).

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

754 *Vazege me ilong onga lóm me* (Take away the curse you have [sent] put
578 upon me).
626 *Vazege me bibomeda* (Take away the curse).
539 *Vazege me biyoge* (Take away the curse).
Bôt bene mbômeda eb Anyambe edjam e mam mebë móa (People are cursed of God on account of their sins).

XIV.—*The Ngi.* (*A Fang Secret Society.*)

To members (*Bemvon*) the following things or *bityi* are forbidden :—
575 *Bityi* :—

1. To go and make or play at witch (make *evus*).
2. A male fowl is not to be eaten (shared) by two men of different clans.
3. Fish called *ngole* must not be partaken of with a woman.
4. Only the initiated are permitted to eat the fish called *ngone*.
5. Only the initiated may witness the Ngi dances. A woman who attempts to witness an Ngi dance will sicken and die.
6. Only the initiated must know about the bones used by Ngi.
7. A member of the Ngi society is not permitted to sleep on his back.
8. Food refuse must not be destroyed by fire.
9. To spit in the fire is against the law of Ngi (not permitted).
10. An uninitiated person will die if embraced by an Ngi.
11. To kick over rotten wood, logs, or forest stumps, is forbidden.
12. To cut a stick half through in the bush, and then bring it to town and break it, is forbidden. It must be cut through and the two pieces carried.
13. To kick the feet together after getting in bed, for the purpose of removing dust, is forbidden.

The violation of any of these mentioned *bityi* will bring misfortune and death on the *bemvon* (member).

Ngi means gorilla among the Fang; Nji means gorilla among the Bulu. The Bulu have the Nji secret society, which is reported as being precisely similar to the Fang Ngi; it came to the Bulu from the Fang.

XV.—*War.*

During a tribal war all adults act as warriors. There is no regular organisation
726 of fighting men. It is a typical guerilla warfare. Parties of young men go forth at night to attack towns; others watch the forest paths to shoot men passing and
[181] women going to work in the gardens. The Fang are noted for their love of war; they are the most warlike people in all West Africa. When a tribal war is on, a headman frequently goes out with a raiding party to attack the town; he carries with him the *biang-akamayong* (protecting medicine of the tribe). The usual mode of attack is as follows: Having decided to attack a town, the party of men (usually ten or

752 278 find their way into the bodies of fighting companions, are removed by incision. The sap of Landolphia ochracea K. Sch. (avū'm) is then trickled over the wounds, and they are rubbed with oil containing leaves of Chasalia afzelii (Hi.) K. Sch., Rubiaceae (dzí a ndzīk III), or they are washed out with water containing ground leaves of Sarcocephalus sambucinus (K. Sch.) C.W. (alū'mǎ).

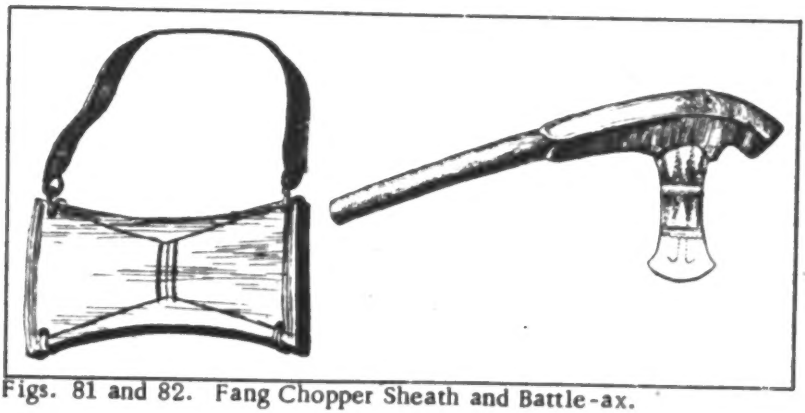
[579] In the case of cut wounds, which occur quite often either during the frequent scuffles with bush knives or as a result of carelessness while clearing the jungle, the wound is covered with the leaves of Cissus vogelii Hook f. (mbómōnezǎm I) mixed with snake water, or the sap from the twigs of Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub (myō' IV Fang) is dripped into the wounds, or they are covered with bark scraped from Amphimas tessmannii Harms (edzī) or the rind of the roots of the Menispermacea Jatrorrhiza strigosa Miers (ndzī'kengū,i I, IV). In the treatment of wounds the following are also used: a Sterculiacea (okū,n e žó,k) (leaves ground in water); Combretum mucronatum Thom. et Schum. (otūgělě III) (leaves ground in the same manner); Coinochlamys schweinfurthii Gilg., Loganiacea (otūgělě-etō,k); and Adenia staudtii Harms (edódō ndzīk III); furthermore, Phaseolus lunatus L. (okō'kūno III), the ground leaves put in a leaf bag, and the latter pressed out over the wound; finally, Trichoscypha (olě'ne amyūt), pieces of whose bark are boiled and then decanted lukewarm onto the wound; likewise Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms (andzītsīn).

In the case of burns, ground leaves of Combretum lawsonianum Engl. et D. (tǒntǒńebǒ III) and Combretum latialatum Engl. (nsósō'k I) are applied to the wounds with some water.

About a dozen medicines are known for sprains (mbū'ge) and fractures. In the case of the former, the treatment consists of heating a bundle of the medicinal plant over the fire and then pressing it to the painful areas. Fractures are put into splints with [283] firmly tied raffia leafstalk strips.

For tumors (etūt) the bark of the Euphorbiacea Cyclostemon tessmannianus Pax (betūte elī' III) is used. The tree itself has excrescences on its bark; the latter is removed from the tree, dried, and charred. Then incisions are made into the tumor, and the ashes

411



Figs. 81 and 82. Fang Chopper Sheath and Battle-ax.

712 exist, but only to a limited extent. As has already been mentioned
722 in the account of house construction /Ed., Vol. I/, the walls of the meeting house are built of halved trunks of the umbrella tree placed in layers over each other for the purpose of fortification. In addition, the village entrances are blocked off when danger threatens by means of fences or barricades made of sticks. The southern Fang especially can easily do this since they design their villages more compactly so that the meeting houses themselves almost block off the road. Only once did I see an entire village surrounded with a protective fence, a fairly strong paling consisting of vertical posts and laths connecting them. In front of the fence the terrain had been cleared by cutting down the bush, so that the approach of enemies could be easily discovered and prevented.

The following example will give a good idea of how feuds arise
● 579 and take their course.

On both sides of the Lo, a small tributary of the Campo, there
[361] are two communities of the Esseng kin group about 12 minutes apart, namely, Bebai and Ebäangon. The inhabitants of the three Bebai villages closest to Ebäangon are related to the Ebäangon people; the others of Bebai did not move into the territory until later and are unrelated to the inhabitants of Ebäangon. The most influential chief of the Bebai people, who are outsiders, is called Makina. For a long time he had been "talking impudently" to Schüle, chief of Ebäangon. One day, on the occasion of a festival for the souls which

411
281

Fig. 83. Shield of Buffalo Hide.

579 Schüe gave for one of his deceased wives, strife broke out. In the course of the festival Schüe wanted to start counting up the people who had done some injury to the deceased. And since -- as /249/ usual -- there was a great deal of shooting at the festival, he ordered that there be quiet in front of the meeting house, saying that whoever wanted to shoot had better go into the next village. Thereupon Bekongo, the son of Makina, stood up and said, "I don't care, I'm not going to listen to that stupid talk," and fired off his rifle near the meeting house. Naturally, the Ebäangon people would not stand for this, and Schüe's sons said to Bekongo, "Hey! our father just forbade anyone to shoot here; do you think that Schüe is a slave here in his village?" In this way a verbal battle developed between the two parties, and soon the brawl with bush knives was in full swing with blood flowing on both sides. The Bebai people related to the Ebäangon people tried to bring about a reconciliation or they sided with Schüe. Finally the Bebai people moved off, pursued by the Ebäangon people armed with choppers, who called after them, "Wait, we'll get even with you yet!" The last of the Bebai people was Ejamatua, a man from Makina's village. He was either annoyed by the shout or he was particularly harassed by the pursuers; in short, for whatever

579 reason, he suddenly took his rifle and shot down the foremost of these. As soon as the Ebäangon people saw that one of their men, a son of their chief to boot, was killed, they quickly ran back to get their rifles. The Bebai people who sided with them waited for them, and all together they moved against the hostile Bebai villages, where they had a shooting bout with Makina's men, without, however, any blood being spilled. The Ebäangon people spent the night in the houses of the friendly Bebai people. The next day they resumed the fighting, and again nobody was killed; however, the Ebäangon people succeeded in burning down Makina's village. Thereupon the "victors" returned to Ebäangon. After two days they renewed their attack, but achieved nothing.

579 628 At this point Makina wanted to have the whole affair over and done with, so he sent two women as payment to Schüe. The latter kept the women, but was by no means inclined to make peace. On the contrary, his people again raided Makina's villages. Then Makina's patience came to an end. He went to the chief of Messelle, a large village on the right side of the Campo, and requested him to settle the argument. When Schüe heard this, he sent the two women back to Makina's village and dispatched four of his sons as representatives to the negotiations at /250/ Messelle. The decision ran thus: Makina was in the wrong because "it was he who in the first place talked insolently against Schüe, it was his son, Bekongo, who started the entire fight at the festival for the souls, and he is therefore responsible for the death of Schüe's son." Thereupon the chief of Messelle immediately seized Makina and demanded his court fee -- five sheep -- from Schüe's party, at the same time promising Schüe in exchange the extradition of Makina. After the payment was made and Makina had been extradited, Schüe's sons demanded that Makina summon his guilty son. Makina declared himself unable to do so and was beaten down with cudgels -- on the Mburru -- and his corpse was thrown in the river. /Fig. 84 appears here in the original text./ At the news of these events, brought to Ebäangon by Schüe's sons, Makina's people seized their rifles and in turn moved against Ebäangon, burning half of Schüe's village to the ground. With this, the need for revenge of both parties

579 had been satis- fied, because on either side
628 the loss was exactly the same: each had
a village burned and a man killed.
[411] The matter would have gone on, because
[531] the Bebai people were still dissatis-
fied since they regarded their loss as
greater; their casualty had been a great
chief, while the other had been only a
young man. However, by this time the
influence of the Whites had penetrated
to Bebai and thus an end was put to the
fighting.

From this example it can be seen that
628 the Pangwe act according to the princi-
682 ple of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a
tooth, and that blood revenge can cease
only when the losses on both sides are
equal. In a "war" between Schumu and
Esseng people, eight Schumu peo-
ple had been killed, and peace could not
be concluded until eight Esseng men had

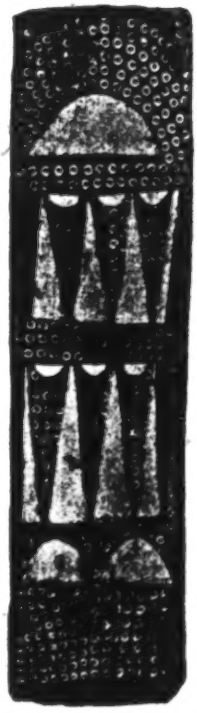


Fig. 84. Wooden Shield.

likewise been killed. Furthermore, it can be seen that village feuds fraught with consequences often arise from quite trivial causes.

Prisoners are usually killed and then often eaten, as has been
72] mentioned earlier. Only children are raised as "slaves" in the
[266] village. Captured women are usually taken by the victors as
[567] wives, but sometimes they are also killed in order to even out the number of killed on both sides and thus to make peace possible. /251/

612 belonging to the clan of the father or the mother (or belonging to a clan connected by marriage to either when the common origin is still known). We have already pointed out certain circumstances in which maternal kinship is effective. It should be remembered that this maternal kinship manifests itself from childhood on by obligating the mwanō kal to visit his nya-nduma(s), that it is able to receive the right of guardianship, to collect the bride price, and to benefit from an inheritance (in addition to compensation normally provided at the time of a maternal nephew's death) by substituting for a vanished paternal kinship, and that it shares along with the relatives by marriage (abè) in the various phases of funeral ceremonies and mourning. This fact suggests that the power of the maternal kinship, while remaining subordinate, is recognized in this way to strengthen the power of "alliances" created by marriage. Those related to the father by marriage are the nya-nduma of his immediate descendants. In this way the bonds essential to the existence of traditional Fang society are consolidated.

Marriage and Alliances

581 554 The first explorers, Du Chaillu and M. H. Kingsley, did not fail to point out the important role of relations set up by means of the numerous marriages among foreign groupings. Father Trilles, in his study made at the beginning of this century, also pointed out the personal advantages connected with a network [119] of alliances opened up through the interplay of marriages. He writes: "The Fang will therefore marry a girl in order to secure alliances in other tribes, to acquire greater influence by having more men attached to him by the ties of blood." (1) All researchers emphasize definitely

1. Father Trilles, "Proverbes, légendes et contes Fang [Fang Sayings, Legends and Tales]," Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie, 1905, pp. 49-295.

two social consequences of marriage: the increase of personal prestige and the increase of the strength of the family group.

581 554 These facts should be complemented by specifying the particular 562 value attributed by every Fang to the "possession" of several wives

581 and by recalling the keen competition for women this society. This
554 value was expressed in a colorful way by Dr. Cureau when he said:
562 "The gynaeceum is a bank, a savings bank...." (2) And M. L. Mba,

2. Dr. A. Cureau, op. cit., p. 118.

a Fang of the Libreville region, in his Coutumier Pahouin [Pahuin Customs] gives a similar interpretation: the wife "is part of the property (or bioum) of the group into which she enters by marriage." [837] He completes this interpretation by saying that the adultery of a married woman "is severely punished because it is considered a theft." (3) The woman has no juridical personality: she has no

3. In the same vein, we cite a remark, quoted by Mgr. Martrou in a study dated 1918, made by a young Fang of Libreville to his wife: "What do you have to complain of, you are my beast ... I paid a high enough price for you!"

personal property of any importance, merely goods for everyday use; she has no share in any inheritance; she is transmitted by inheritance, just as are various goods and valuables (which may be considered cirtually as women). However, the woman is property of a special kind; she is property in the highest sense of the word: creative capital. [She is the] source of produce (by her agricultural function, all the more important now that the woman takes part in cultivating the rich plantations) and of service (by her various domestic functions). [She is the] source of power, by "the procreation of children contributing to the defense of the group or securing alliances," (4) and [she is the source] of personal prestige.

4. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 29.

[She is the] source of "alliances" and kinship; through her the number of people who exchange services and gifts and who can render aid and assistance is increased. Thus, marriage has a

●581 specific social meaning; it creates bonds (abè) which fasten together
554 the family and clan groupings. Curault points out that this imposes
562 a "close union, in spite of divergencies in language and in spite of the palavers of the different parts of the Pahouin people." At the same time, marriage [120] has a personal meaning. In traditional
[556] Fang society the possession of many wives is the principal sign of wealth and the condition for all increase of wealth. This wealth conditions the importance of the social role; it makes possible the acquisition of a kind of personal power in a society with hardly any hierarchical system. (1)

1. Let us point out that two words with the same root, éval and évala, mean "polygamy" and "a prop, a support," respectively.

836 Because of this personal element the competition for women can become particularly keen. Very early, government reports pointed out the frequency of palavers due to the "women question," and they continue to complain of them as being characteristic of "Fang society and psychology." Let us state at the outset that the competition does not concern the sexual services demanded from the woman. For the unmarried men there are various compensating possibilities -- but only in the line of "lustful sexuality," to quote the expression of R. Bastide. (2) The young unmarried people have

2. R. Bastide, Sociologie et Psychanalyse [Sociology and Psychoanalysis], Bibliothèque de Sociologie Contemporaine, Paris, 1950.

complete sexual liberty among themselves: it is the custom called azòya-angòn (azòya, fornication; ngòn, maiden). E. Trezenem states in his monograph on the Fang of the Ogooué that "virginity of the woman is considered of no importance," that "the young
836 girls are free to give themselves to whomever they want." Then
584 he adds an "important restriction," saying that there are practically

837 "Etudes sur le Pays Pahouin [Study on the Pahouin Country]," op. cit.

"friendship wife"), show, as does the freedom just referred to, that the curbing of adultery can be explained by social reasons which are quite alien to sexuality.

[727 567] 831 595 581 The possibility of raping women of neighboring people during the time of conquest, the possibility of buying foreign women at a good price, so long as the slave trade lasted, permitted the "chiefs" of groupings to remedy the dangers due to the unsatisfied desires of the young men. Apparently the Fang do not display, as do some people, (2) signs of unsatisfied sex due to the fact that

2. Cf. R. Bastide, Sociologie et Psychanalyse [Sociology and Psychoanalysis], pp. 160-161.

women remain the property of the older men. What is sought is the legal possession of the woman, let us say, for the many advantages it entails, rather than sexual possession. And in this sense the justification brought forward by L. Mba can be understood when he writes, "It was not material satisfaction of the senses which drove the Pahouins to polygamy, but many other reasons. . . ."

581 562 684 628 When the marriage is consummated, the woman goes from a state of near liberty to one of strict sexual control. The specific painful physical penalties for adultery to which the woman alone is subject are particuarly severe: being exposed naked before the assembled village, being tied to the ant tree, excision of the clitoris or pimento torture, various mutilations. When the woman, either by flight or by rape, leaves the grouping into which she married, the whole group reacts violently. It is the cause of fights, kidnaping, and pillaging of the village that has taken her in. (3) There is the most absolute contrast between this control 581 562

3. "Hence, conflicts that last for years, expressed through kidnaping of women and ending in gunshots," Libreville, Archives of 1909. And

581
562

> the saying: "If the woman is the receptacle in which all can quench their thirst, she should not be carried off."

between these collective sanctions, and the very broad morality which allows a girl to "celebrate her youth" and which appears in the proverb: "Woman is an ear of dry corn in which anyone with teeth may bite." Marriage strengthens the socialization of woman, imposing on her [122] unconditional submission. One might say, to quote R. Bastide, that it consists in passing from "lustful sexuality" to "social sexuality."

581
585

The social character of marriage is emphasized symbolically. A series of ceremonies mark the admission of the woman into the group that is receiving her. The mother of her husband recites the latter's genealogy, and a segregation of a week is imposed on her, after which she undergoes a coming-out ritual — she is bathed and anointed with oil by the oldest woman relative -- [55] and she receives a new name, indicating a wish, which the other women give to her at a time of song and dance. (1) The "alliance"

> 1. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., p. 89.

concluded between the two family groupings is demonstrated by meals taken together and by rejoicing (éyalö), and above all, it is [769] consecrated by the sacrifice of an animal destined for the biéri (ancestors' altar) of the young girl's parents, showing that bonds exist not only with the group of living but also with the community of ancestors. (2) The emphasis is thus laid on taking possession of

> 2. No doubt it is necessary to link this sacred character of the alliance to the violence of collective reactions provoked by "women affairs."

the posterity (in this respect the recitation of the genealogy appears to be very significant) and on the creation of an alliance (the same

581 word abè meaning both the bond and those joined) imposing peace
585 and mutual assistance. In this way the two essential functions of the woman are revealed: she is an element of fecundity and a maker of peace and assistance. These are the elements on which traditional Fang society is based. Hence it is easy to understand the control exercised by the group by restricting freedom of choice of a spouse – through the medium of the head of the family, it seeks the alliance which will be of greatest advantage to it (3) – and by

> 3. Cf. L. Mba, op. cit., "In the past the opinion of the interested parties mattered little. The request is made by the head of one family to the head of another family."

intervening when the flight or rape of the woman would compromise the equilibrium brought about by the marriage.

583 The method itself of marriage marks the development of a
584 series of exchanges between the two family groups it unites. With the first phase known as the "betrothal," dzâga, the young man acquires pre-eminence over the chosen girl. He has the right to live with her for several days, but his family must provide the "fiancée's" parents with the first presents and must lend assistance at the time of various undertakings (clearing undergrowth, building huts, hunting [123] or fishing expeditions). During this period the girl's father determines the amount of the bride price, "nswa. The second period corresponds to the payment of this bride price, which may be made at intervals, provided that the first payment be the largest. This often gives rise to arguments and palavers. On the other hand, the nkia ("he who has received the bride price") is obliged to bring compensation in the form of gifts, usually of animals, which are called mévalö. Finally, the third phase corresponds to the "handing over of the fiancée" and to her settlement in the midst of the family grouping of the young man. It involves the ceremony we have described. The woman, according to Largeau, becomes truly the wife (mônöga), and not merely the concubine, from the moment when she is able to cook for her husband after

583 of the alliance. (5)
584

5. Cf., on the importance of these facts of reciprocity and their role in so-called primitive societies, the remarkable work of C. Levi-Strauss devoted to the study of Structures élémentaires de la Parenté [Elementary Structures of Kinship], Paris, 1949.

581 As it circulates, the bride price weaves a network of ties
583 between groupings which, without the obligation of exogamy, would
578 have lived as so many biological, economic, and political units
595 retired within themselves. [124] It compels co-operation; it creates zones of security in a country where, at a time of conquest, the economic competition is severe (as regards the best land for cultivation and hunting, and the trade centers and roads). In addition the double exogamy multiplies these abé bonds, and the specific recognition of the maternal kinship reinforces, as we have suggested, these bonds, The circulation of women and in a parallel direction that of the bride prices have to be minutely regulated. This function belongs to the head of the nd'è bòt, to the ntòl, the latter signifying not only "ancient" but also "arbiter, envoy, ambassador." He is custodian of wealth and giver of women. At the level of the segment of brothers (bobèñâg), the principle that bride prices received at the time of the marriage of daughters are used to marry the sons in the order of their birth is completed by the obligation of the eldest brother to contribute to the formation of a bride price necessary for the marriage of the younger brother who does not benefit by such a compensation. Certainly this principle which was meant to regulate the distribution of the women and to limit competition has not turned out to be infallible. Antagonisms between the "eldest" [brothers] and younger brothers leading to the breaking up of groupings are often explained by this obligation not being met. (1) The oldest men can take advantage of their pre-

1. Cf. supra, pp. 112-113.

eminence in order to buy up the greatest number of wives. Finally,

581 the younger brothers are often tempted to collect for themselves
583 the elements of a bride price or to carry out rapes or raids. They
578 represent the most dynamic and mobile fraction of the grouping. (2)
595

> 2. Probably their lineages represent the major part of the Fang population of Lower Gabon. This would help to explain, apart from "modernist" reasons, the more or less pronounced rivalry and antagonisms between the "Fang from above" and the "Fang from below."

However, the earliest observations show that there was a sort of limited polygamy. Fourneau writes: "The Pahouin is in fact most often monogamous, simply because the woman is very highly prices," (3) and Dr. Cureau more specifically states: "Among the

> 3. A. Fourneau, op. cit., p. 77.

Fang where a wife is expensive, the maximum rarely goes above five; apparently thirty years ago, only the very rich could rise to one or two units above humiliating monogamy." (4) These two

> 4. Dr. A. Cureau, op. cit., p. 119.

authors confirm the existence of a restricted polygamy and therefore of a tendency to equalize the distribution of the women which, according to them, is allied with the high cost of bride prices.

583 [125] It is now time to analyze the material nature of the bride price. During the nineteenth century it consisted essentially of iron objects (representations of assagais, Pahouin knives, and axes very reduced in size), of which the bikki are the best known, (1)

> 1. Cf. M. H. Kingsley, op. cit.; the ancient word for bride price is bikki, or nswa bikki.

reserved exclusively for matrimonial exchanges, and of animals,

587 the law has not changed on this point. "No bride price, no marriage"
583 —Sa nsuba, ve alu' e se kik. We shall find this principle again in connection with legitimate descent.

583 Thus it is the absence of payment of the nsuba that gives their
837 character to free union, ébon, and to adultery, mejian, and makes them really infringements upon the law of property, justifying the fact
[684] that customary courts logically refuse to impose a penalty in a case of ébon when the girl returns to her family pregnant (2).

2. This is hard for some magistrates to understand.

581 A husband must provide his wife with lodging and clothes and
593 must clothe any children he has by her. He must clear the field she will cultivate, provide her with household utensils and, in theory, with meat. He must allow her to visit her parents, to whom he owes respect. He must not use sorcery (3) against her and must respect the

[586 837 754] 3. Likened to sorcery are fellatio and sodomy, the grounds for numerous divorces from former members of native infantry regiments.

[839] prerogatives of rank that she holds among her co-wives; he is supposed to sleep with her when she is not menstruating nor pregnant nor nursing.
[834] He must not beat her beyond what she can stand nor expose her vulva in public. /54/

A woman owes obedience to her husband, to her mother-in-law, and to the first wife, respect to her affinal relatives, therefore to her husband's clan; she must be faithful to her husband and perform her conjugal duty. She is responsible for cultivating the plots cleared for her, for fishing with weirs, for feeding her children, taking her turn at cooking for her husband, for keeping her hut clean and that of her husband when she is sleeping with him, and for helping to build them (it is she who applies the banco onto the frame). She does not have to take care of imported household equipment and clothes because these are biôm of a masculine nature (but the schools and missions are trying to train women to do so). Finally, and above all, she
[842] must be prolific: this is her first duty and a great deal will be forgiven her if she performs it.

835 (formerly it was commonly five goats), as well as a dog which
684 serves as scapegoat, that is, the dog is supposed to take upon itself the disease with which the sinner is threatened by the cult spirit. If disease nonetheless occurs, medicines which are connected with the cults are prepared (see medicines for cult sicknesses, Vol. II, p. 36).

The modern, freer conception or -- among the Fang -- the
835 denial of the taboo against intercourse with blood relatives (in
582 the Pangwe sense) disappears as soon as there is a question of marriage. Then the taboo is in force everywhere and without qualifications. /260/

Free intercourse between the young man and the girl is, in
836 many cases, only a shorter or longer testing period which, if the
583 result of the "test" -- in this case a physical one, as contrasted to the spiritual one of which we spoke above -- is favorable, leads to marriage. If the girl is very much in love with her friend, to use a Pangwe expression, he can readily persuade her to follow him immediately to his village. Such an "abduction" is considered -- partly, at least -- to be sanctified by custom, even if the bride's family is usually not overjoyed at the practice. In such a case, the girl's father will set out the next day to demand the purchase price from his son-in-law. If the latter is able to pay him a part, say, half of this price, the matter is settled, and the balance is usually put on a buy-now-pay-later basis. If it turns out, however, that the "abducter" is a poor beggar or that his father does not want to produce the money, the bride is mercilessly taken away from him again even if she pours out streams of tears. You simply cannot get something for nothing. In the majority of cases, however, the girl will not agree to run away with her lover; instead she will demand that her suitor ask her father for her hand in marriage and first make a payment.

Every woman, young or old, has the same value. Nonethe-
583 less, the amount of the purchase price fluctuates greatly in accordance with general economic conditions. A woman is cheapest among the Jaunde and she is most expensive in the heart of Pangwe country. The price fluctuates between 200 and 750 marks in our money. On the average, one can assume a price of

364 circumcision was public, and the woman to whom it was done under-
681 went the gibes and insults of all the inhabitants.

The life of the young people is the same as that of the adults. The
883 virginity of a woman is considered unimportant and the Fan have
836 sexual relations from the time they are capable of cohabitation. When
818 a young girl has a child, it belongs to her parents, from whom the child acquires wealth; there is no search for the father and the young girl keeps all the respect which she enjoyed. Young girls are free to give themselves to whomever they please. This very broad morality,
[582] however, has one important qualification in that there are, so to speak, no young girls, the little girls having been married off by their parents very early, sometimes even before their birth.

582 Marriage (alug). Men rarely marry before the age of twenty years, and usually later, because they do not have the means to pay the dowry for taking a wife.

582 Exogamy is always practiced because marriage between people of
835 the same tribe is sterile. Marriage between cousins is forbidden up to the third generation and in general, marriage is forbidden between persons linked by any kind of kinship; in this case there is also pro-
[684] hibition of sexual relations. No penalty is prescribed for infraction, but the guilty ones will fall ill and their children, if they have any, will not live.

582 Occasionally there are instances when marriage between relatives
783 is authorized, but only after the practitioner has removed the pro-
835 hibition by the process [88] called abvule minsem. The practitioner goes to find some termite earth (ngurege), a plant (mekaga), and a vine (nyola dzik); the plant and vine are folded and placed in an etok
[845] (a container of banana leaves) full of water. The termite earth is placed on a nzum (see the description in the section on conception) and the etok is placed underneath. The two kinsmen who want to marry also stand underneath it, while the practitioner climbs onto the nzum, dips the leaves in the etok, and says, "nseme ose mi waga bo e wo ma va yüi" (I remove every prohibition that you have made). He hits the termite earth with the leaves and then takes the etok and pours the contents onto the heads of the two people from whom he is removing the prohibition. With the remainder, the man and woman each takes a washing.

583 A man who has not enough dowry but who finds a young girl eager to marry him may take her away in the night; when the parents come

562 584 compensation, or she may "publicly curse her husband." (2)

2. Cf. V. Largeau, op. cit., article: Femme [Woman].

562 586 Finally, in the case of serious conflicts, the union may be dissolved by "divorce," but the latter may only be used traditionally under well-defined circumstances and "with the assent of the two interested family heads." (3) There are therefore arrangements that allow

3. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 21.

personal reasons to be taken into account and which F. Meyé had in mind when he said, "the Fang woman can in no way be compared to a slave," because of the many kinds of recourse she has at her disposal; these arrangements play a wholly exceptional role in ancient Fang society. Beside the personal element, which also acts as a disturbing element, is the fact that the number of unions indicates wealth and social importance. (4) It results, when the

4. This element is shown particularly in the custom reported by L. Mba: "In comfortably off families, the parents betroth the boys before puberty and the girls after puberty," op. cit., p. 14.

circulation of goods is no longer strictly controlled, in keen competition and numerous disputes.

582 835 It is now essential to consider the persons concerned in the play of marriage and to point out at once that certain persons [127] are excluded from it. Apart from the double exogamy which introduces a form of "fraternity" in a very broad sense of the word, there are prohibitions concerning the precise degrees of relationship as follows: between members of the taǧa class (father, mother, uncle, aunt) and the mwanö class (sons and daughters, nephews and nieces); between members of the same segment, including cousins to the third generation; there are prohibitions on those

582 835 related by marriage: between a man and "any woman, even divorced, of his kinship by marriage," between "members of the son-in-law's family" and any woman divorced from the kinship by marriage. (1) There are also prohibitions relating to the

1. Cf. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 17.

"adopted" (ntobö). It seems important to us to state that these various interdicts exclude from marriage persons between whom there are already very definite relations, those due to effective kinship (including "cousins" to the level where the nd'è bòt is most often split into separate elements), those that exist between groupings already related by marriage, and those which arise from the state known as "adoption." Everything takes place as [609] if the aim sought by means of marriage was to impose an alliance on the most foreign elements — foreign and hostile being considered as synonymous during the period of conquest. (2) The

2. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., pp. 91-92: "Relations with foreign tribes are rare ... the foreigner is accepted with reserve and only when he shows merchandise proving that his visit has no other purpose than to fetch a woman whom he can marry. The tribes are very frequently hostile to one another..."

obligation to respect both double exogamy and the above-mentioned interdicts contributes essentially to broadening among the groupings the field of relations based on co-operation. Incest, 835 783 an infraction of these principles, enters into the category of the nsem defined by Martrou as "ritual impurity, moral defilement." It brings about sterility or illness and arouses in traditional society a collective reaction. V. Largeau in his work mentions the process of expiation (3) in use at that time with the intervention of the

3. Op. cit., article: Inceste [Incest].

582 The first principle regulating kinship is that of double exogamy, in the paternal line, but also in the maternal line. Marriage is not allowed within one's own clan, nor within the clan of one's mother. Incest within the maternal clan is scarcely less serious than incest within the paternal clan, but the interdiction in this line is not definitive and hereditary. At the present time the prohibition seems to die out after two generations: a great-grandson may take a wife from the clans of his maternal great-grandmothers, and even a grandson from that of his maternal grandmother. It is another matter in the paternal line, whose genealogy children learn by heart. However, on account of the present state of forgetfulness, I do not know the exact rules.

601 A second characteristic of kinship is that it is classificatory and that the nomenclature is modified as to person, sometimes as to gender, in accordance with the subject of the relationship. Thus "father" or "mother," for instance, are called:

1st person	2nd person	3rd person
tate	éso	ésa
nane	nyua	nyia

according to whether there is involved a relative of the speaker, of the person spoken to, or of the person spoken about.

For "brother" and "sister" the terms furthermore vary according to the sex of the subject of the relationship:

monyañ (a contraction of moneyañ (1) = mother's son) = brother

1. Third person: — nyañ, from nyia, "mother;" 1st person, mojañ: — jañ, the same word as jañ = jal, "mother's native hamlet."

of a man or sister of a woman of the clan; while
the sister of a man = kal,
the brother of a woman = ndôm.

A man's son is ndôman, his daughter is ngon; a woman's /son and daughter/ are simply bon (sing. mon), "the little ones."

601 The generic /terms/ of kinship are formed from these words, for
602 instance:

601 ndômenyañ (3rd person) = mother's brother, designating the
602 maternal uncle and all his bobenyañ (clan or consanguineal brothers); this is a respect relationship;

motate, a contraction of mone tate = son of my father, designating half brothers on the father's side, with an idea of respect;

monekal = sister's son, designating nephews and uterine cousins with whom marriage is forbidden, although they belong to a different ayoñ; this is a joking relationship; the same term is applied to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law;

monengon = daughter's son, designating uterine relatives within
[849] the clan and particularly sisters' illegitimate children, who are members of the clan but with a certain capitis diminutio, loss of status;

and so forth, relationship always being reckoned by clan, generation, and sex. This is borne out by the way ethnic constructions are formed: a Boulou, a /51/ Yenjôk, are mone bulu, mone yenjôk, a "child of Boulou," a "child of Yenjôk"; a Boulou woman is ngone bulu, a "daughter of Boulou"; two bo'be yenjôk would therefore be brothers, bobenyañ. What is curious is that this term, the most frequently employed for full brother or half brother on the father's side, clearly refers to a uterine relationship, since it means, literally, "mother's son."

Kinship in relation to order of generations (ndaé = grandchild; éndil = great-grandchild) entered into the choice of a name (éyôlé), /a practice that is/ not well understood at present. Even at the present, similarity of biyôlé creates a sort of quasi relationship between the homonyms mimbôm (sing. mbôm) or bemôé (sing. môé), with the obligation of reciprocal help.

Parents-in-law are betyi (possibly related to étyi = prohibition?); we shall mention this again in connection with marriage, but it may be pointed out here that the term is applied equally to the first wife considered with respect to her co-wives.

e. Marriage, Descent

582 The primary rule of marriage remains the prohibition against incest, the clan exogamy already mentioned. To take a wife from one's own or one's mother's clan is forbidden, also to marry the daughters of lineage sisters to quite a distant degree, even though

582 they belong to another clan. This is merely the application of exogamy to the maternal line and is less observed than the other rule of exogamy.

582 583 Having established this, we may distinguish several forms of marriage—Bertaut counts seven—or, on the contrary, consider them all to be derived from "regular marriage," mfañ aluk (from fañ = to do well, correctly, and luk = to marry). This kind of marriage is based on the payment of the "bride price," nsuba, nowadays essentially monetary and giving rise to abuses that have often been described, but in former times it was ritual in character, at least partially so (a century ago there was already a commercial element). The "bride price" of the past included local products (ivory, cattle) [431] (1), imported merchandise (biôm), especially loincloths, guns and

[231] 1. The bride-price sheep, bikiga or bityiga, up to seven, which were in theory bred with a special view to payment of the nsuba and were sacrificed at the time of the marriage.

[432] ammunition, salt, trade alcohol, and, finally, a special iron currency in the form of flat arrowheads tied into bundles (bityé, biki; bikpwelé; the unit of count being the bundle, akutu bikpwelé). The last was used only for ritual or magical purposes (2). There are reasons for

[326] 2. There is a prohibition against making them; all those to be seen look old.

believing that the composition of bride prices in local products and merchandise varied according to clan structure, the affiliation of the spouses, and the marriages previously concluded by the group. Nothing of this survives today, and the bride price has become a bargaining, at times pretty sordid, even a real /52/ auction, with the bride often the first to boast of the high price she has obtained in the marriage market.

[582] 584 Marriage not long ago was, and still in a measure remains, a group affair, the concern of the two meyoñ and two menda me bôt involved, which is discussed between the head of the young man's family and the guardian responsible for the future wife, nya ndômô, "true brother," that is, an ascendant paternal relative or paternal

861 initiations and now catechism bring all the boys and girls of a village together.

854 Adult surveillance is casual: grown people mainly want /95/ children to know their place and not to be a nuisance. Otherwise, it is mostly the older children who take care of the younger ones.

c. Adolescence

882 854 Boys and girls share their mother's hut until the beginning of adolescence, at which age the boys go to live by themselves, formerly in the "guardhouse," aba, nowadays in a hut on the paternal "allotment." Formerly, girls were sometimes married off before birth and [582] went to the husband's village at about eight years of age; this is very unusual today, but it is still fairly common for them to go at that age to a paternal or maternal aunt or to a married sister, where they act more or less as servants until puberty, being trained meanwhile. It is also quite common for boys to go to live with a relative whose [871] house is nearer a school than is their own village (1).

> 1. But a motive of proximity to school is not a complete explanation, merely an additional reason for leaving. In fact, a study of urban centers equipped with [574] schools of a good level shows that 30 percent of the children live outside the paternal household with uncles or grandparents. Whatever a father's personal view, he could never refuse his son to relatives expressing a wish to have the boy for some time. (J. B.)

881 304 864 The bongô /children/ become ndôman, a youth, or ngon, a girl, at the onset of puberty. The transition is marked by circumcision among boys, atyi'i atyel, in the past sometimes followed by the first initiation, bekungu. Circumcision is done between the ages of six and twelve, usually around ten. Nowadays it is often done at a dispensary, while it formerly was the occasion of a family and village ceremony. Subjects for circumcision prepared for the ceremony with a relatively short seclusion (of a fortnight) during which they were

881 youths in the aba and prepared for further initiations, while beginning
883 to participate fully in masculine activities, work and games. The bekungu (Fang, bekhun?) initiation that came directly after circumcision was not a general practice. My own impression is that this was not a tribal or clan rite like sô, but that of an association of diviners or seers involving only specially endowed individuals, perhaps related to the ndôngô rite restricted to grown men, which appears to have identical ritual tattoo marks.

881 For the mo'minga reaching puberty there is no stage equivalent to circumcision. In spite of what Trilles says, excision has apparently never been used except as a punishment for certain kinds of adultery or mild incest. It must not be forgotten that a little girl very soon went to live with her affinal family and that she was deflowered as soon as she reached puberty. She very rarely remained élenan, that is, pubescent and unmarried, and then for a very short time. One might almost say that her adolescence was telescoped into the period between childhood and the arrival of puberty marked by the mevungu rite.

This adolescent phase is now prolonged by the law fixing the
[582] marriageable age at fourteen (puberty usually comes during the
[145] twelfth year), by school attendance, and by the change in the bride-price system. Most of my friends of a certain age see in these facts the reasons for a crisis in immorality which they probably to some extent exaggerate.

Nevertheless, first menstruation was apparently acknowledged in a ceremony in which only women took part, but this may have been merely a preliminary to the mevungu initiation, about which hardly anything is known. Otherwise /as regards female adolescence/ coition is forbidden to immature girls, while unmarried girls who have begun menstruating have actually great sexual freedom, even in Christian circles. It must, however, be realized that only too often, especially in schools, there are girls deflowered before puberty, whereas boys seem to wait for circumcision /97/ before their first exploits — there
[83] are parents, worried about their sons' "good behavior," who give
884 them aphrodisiacs as encouragement.

d. Transition to Adulthood

882 The ndoman is not yet a real person, nya môtô; undoubtedly he participates in men's work, in hunting and clearing the land, but he

881
304

The Fan and all the tribes of their group have preserved it. In all clans, at a time decided upon by the chief, youths must be circumcised. This rule is also accepted by all the related tribes, Dzèm and Dzandzama, Bulu, Shéké, Batéké, etc.

During my many journeys I hever met a single Fan who had not been circumcised. No young girl would agree to marrying an uncircumcised man, under any conditions. This by the way indicates the value, even in terms of Fan custom, of the temporary marriages contracted with Europeans. The Fan look upon these unions simply as concubinage and designate them by the same word, évex.

[582]
[588]

Although the Fan group has kept circumcision, others have not, so that it cannot be said to now be a general rite among the Bantu. The custom is not the result of Semitic infiltration; some Bantu tribes like the Kavirondo, among whom the Arabs have penetrated, do not practice it, while the Fan, who have never been in contact with Moslems, do so.

a) Is circumcision a religious rite?

We shall take up the subject [circumcision] first from the general, then from the particular, point of view.

The first question to be raised is: Is circumcision a religious rite by nature and origin, consecrating a person to a deity, as by a sort of sacrament? (1)

1. Cf. Lagrange, Études sémitiques [Studies in Semitic Religion], p. 242.

According to certain writers, Renan in particular, circumcision is a purely hygienic custom: "In the beginning," he says, "this custom had neither the widespread character nor the religious significance that was given it later. Without the operation, certain Oriental peoples would be condemned to semi-impotence and dangerous impurities."

Arcin also wrote: "Circumcision is the most important religious ceremony of the black peoples. This practice has probably been made necessary by a special physiological

835 (formerly it was commonly five goats), as well as a dog which
684 serves as scapegoat, that is, the dog is supposed to take upon itself the disease with which the sinner is threatened by the cult spirit. If disease nonetheless occurs, medicines which are connected with the cults are prepared (see medicines for cult sicknesses, Vol. II, p. 36).

The modern, freer conception or -- among the Fang -- the
855 denial of the taboo against intercourse with blood relatives (in
582 the Pangwe sense) disappears as soon as there is a question of marriage. Then the taboo is in force everywhere and without qualifications. /260/

Free intercourse between the young man and the girl is, in
836 many cases, only a shorter or longer testing period which, if the
583 result of the "test" -- in this case a physical one, as contrasted to the spiritual one of which we spoke above -- is favorable, leads to marriage. If the girl is very much in love with her friend, to use a Pangwe expression, he can readily persuade her to follow him immediately to his village. Such an "abduction" is considered -- partly, at least -- to be sanctified by custom, even if the bride's family is usually not overjoyed at the practice. In such a case, the girl's father will set out the next day to demand the purchase price from his son-in-law. If the latter is able to pay him a part, say, half of this price, the matter is settled, and the balance is usually put on a buy-now-pay-later basis. If it turns out, however, that the "abducter" is a poor beggar or that his father does not want to produce the money, the bride is mercilessly taken away from him again even if she pours out streams of tears. You simply cannot get something for nothing. In the majority of cases, however, the girl will not agree to run away with her lover; instead she will demand that her suitor ask her father for her hand in marriage and first make a payment.

Every woman, young or old, has the same value. Nonethe-
583 less, the amount of the purchase price fluctuates greatly in accordance with general economic conditions. A woman is cheapest among the Jaunde and she is most expensive in the heart of Pangwe country. The price fluctuates between 200 and 750 marks in our money. On the average, one can assume a price of

583 between 500 and 600 marks in the south. Devaluation of the money, which has also taken place in Africa, has considerably raised the price in comparison to what it was formerly.

The purchase price cannot be paid in money (spear money)
583 alone, in cattle alone, or in any specific type of goods alone;
436 instead, all the objects of exchange which are in circulation
435 must be represented. Thus, in 1906, for instance, the following things were paid for a woman in the Fang region:

6,000 spears	420. -- marks
12 rifles	120. -- marks
2 vats of powder . . .	4. -- marks
70 choppers	70. -- marks
2 sheep	50. -- marks
2 iron pots	8. -- marks
10 pieces of cloth . . .	40. -- marks
5 hats	10. -- marks
13 kettles of salt @ 2. -- marks	26. -- marks
2 knives	2. -- marks
2 packages of beads . .	2. -- marks
2 tobacco pipes . . .	---. 50 mark
2 packages of flints . .	--. 50 mark
1 hatful of buttons . .	--. 50 mark
	753. 50 marks /261/

Any existing illegitimate children go along with the marriage
[848] bargain. In fact, the bridegroom has to pay 500 spears for a boy and 1,000 spears for a girl; incidentally, he is only too glad to do so, because each child means an addition to his wealth.

I shall not go into a discussion of the endless number of quar-
578 rels that arise on the occasion of a marriage, especially when
583 the entire purchase price is not paid at once. Nor shall I speak of the fact that the girl's father likes to steer his daughter, even if she is in love with another, into the hands of the man who can pay the most or the most readily. All this would lead too far afield.

606 If the girl stays in her parents house and if the payment of
583 the purchase price extends over weeks and months, the suitor has
584

583 sufficient time to get to know his future wife and her family.
584 He treats them with the greatest consideration, and for the mother-
606 in-law (nīe-ngǒn III, that is, the girl's mother) especially he has an enormous amount of respect. He is courtesy itself, bringing her presents, large and small, and from time to time killing a chicken or a sheep for her. In short, one could in all seriousness speak of a mother-in-law cult (see the love feast, Vol. II, p. 24). And above all: oson, oson, oson: shame, shame, and more shame. The son-in-law is unspeakably ashamed before the mother-in-law, and vice versa, she before him. This is especially true after the wedding when the good mother-in-law extends her modesty also to the members of the son-in-law's kin group. Like a thief she steals behind the dwellings into her daughter's house in order not to be seen, and -- who knows? -- perhaps in order not to give rise to mother-in-law jokes.

Riddle:

[539] nzǎ'n e bönšüe, e ne kaangǎ'
[524] Way of the lizards, it is (in the) reeds (Cyperus)

Solution:

nzǎ'n e bonī'Ǘngǒⁿ, e n' a
Way of the mother-in-law, it is on (the) stretch

fǎ
behind the houses.

585 On the day when a man takes his young wife home, the village
535 celebrates with a sizable dance, for which all adorn themselves to
[302] the best of their ability and which the young wife, red from red wood dye, attends as guest of honor seated on a stool. On this occasion, the popping of blunderbusses may not be omitted, because it belongs to the festive music like our flourish of trumpets. The dancing and shooting last several days when a wealthy chief has acquired a new wife or if it is the first wife of a fellow villager. There is nothing strikingly special about any of this; the festivity simply involves a series of different /262/ dances (among which the dschama is particularly popular which are also customary on other occasions.

831
785 sun) -- or with elephant's meat, in which case the child is sup-
556 posed to become spiritually great and important, just as the ele-
[825] phant surpasses the other animals physically, or, finally, with the meat of the hedgehog -- the child is to get as many things as the hedgehog has quills (1).

[539] 1. A well-known proverb, to be intelligible, would have to be translated into Pangwe something like this: He is as full of stupidities as the hedgehog is full of quills.

785 Thus, the child becomes miǎk. Its loincloth is taken off
831 and from now on -- be it male or female -- it must go about completely naked. Here is another significant fact regarding
[834] the moral-religious view of the Pangwe: clothing, that is, the
[291] covering of the sex organs, arose because the sense of shame (o-so-n) which started so the first sin (n-sö-m, root so), that is, sexual intercourse, demanded it. If the innocent state (ignorance of sexual matters) is artificially restored, clothing becomes unnecessary.

The miǎk are generally respected. People are careful not to speak to them about sexual matters or to seduce the girls, especially since /270/ the protection which they are accorded by cus-
[664] tom is effectively strengthened through the right of the father or the relatives to shoot down the seducer without further ado wherever they find him. Nowadays, however, the old customs have been somewhat relaxed; the miǎk are not always what they ought to be.

Annulment of the chastity obligation takes place in the same solemn manner when the consecrated person is fully grown, in other words, not before the age of 20 years. In the case of the man, it is required that he prove himself the bravest in war or at least that he has shot an enemy (1). In the case of the girl, it is

[177] 1. Today, in the regions influenced by the Whites, this decree has had to be moderated.

[583] required of the suitor that, contrary to the usual custom, he pay

785 the already higher marriage price in advance, down to the last
851 little string of beads.
[583]

The ceremony itself proceeds as follows. A goat is killed, and its blood is mixed with medicines by the medicine man and rubbed onto the body of the miǎk. The medicines are made from shavings of bark from various trees and are supposed to cause sexual incapacity to be "stripped off"; the goat is chosen because, [825] in contrast to the chicken, it is the animal of evil, of the sexual drive. Finally, the medicine man solemnly declares that the person concerned has ceased to be a miǎk and is thus relieved of the obligation to abstain. Henceforth the erstwhile miǎk again wears a loincloth.

5. Deviant Forms of Sexual Intercourse

The Negro's strong sweat secretions, but chiefly a skin 839 disease -- Krokro /Ed., ?/ (metšǎn) -- appearing on the sex organs and between the buttocks, cause an itching irritation which among the Pangwe has led to the bad habit of constantly scratching the penis whenever time and opportunity are favorable, even when there is no itching as well as to relieving an itch. They do this by twirling the penis in a manner similar to that used in making fire with sticks. This is a sport practiced by boys and adults alike and is called a kīk e metšǎn or a wōʼo (= wōk) metšǎn, which simply means "to relieve the itching by scratching" (metšǎn means itching of any kind, Krokro being simply the most unpleasant form of itch). On this occasion, erection naturally takes place as a rule, although no orgasm follows, just as there was no intention of relieving sexual desire. Indirectly, on the other hand, this action passes into a form of real masturbation, likewise through twirling the penis (a sīk nkǔn) from which, however, orgasm does not always follow either. In certain regions among the Okak this nsīen-nkǔn (the noun) is prohibited (ekī); it is said that otherwise the person concerned will no longer be able to cohabit with women successfully. /271/

304 circumcision was public, and the woman to whom it was done under-
681 went the gibes and insults of all the inhabitants.

The life of the young people is the same as that of the adults. The
883 virginity of a woman is considered unimportant and the Fan have
836 sexual relations from the time they are capable of cohabitation. When
818 a young girl has a child, it belongs to her parents, from whom the child acquires wealth; there is no search for the father and the young girl keeps all the respect which she enjoyed. Young girls are free to give themselves to whomever they please. This very broad morality,
[582] however, has one important qualification in that there are, so to speak, no young girls, the little girls having been married off by their parents very early, sometimes even before their birth.

582 Marriage (alug). Men rarely marry before the age of twenty years, and usually later, because they do not have the means to pay the dowry for taking a wife.

582 Exogamy is always practiced because marriage between people of
835 the same tribe is sterile. Marriage between cousins is forbidden up to the third generation and in general, marriage is forbidden between persons linked by any kind of kinship; in this case there is also pro-
[684] hibition of sexual relations. No penalty is prescribed for infraction, but the guilty ones will fall ill and their children, if they have any, will not live.

582 Occasionally there are instances when marriage between relatives
783 is authorized, but only after the practitioner has removed the pro-
835 hibition by the process [88] called abvule minsem. The practitioner goes to find some termite earth (ngurege), a plant (mekaga), and a vine (nyola dzik); the plant and vine are folded and placed in an etok
[845] (a container of banana leaves) full of water. The termite earth is placed on a nzum (see the description in the section on conception) and the etok is placed underneath. The two kinsmen who want to marry also stand underneath it, while the practitioner climbs onto the nzum, dips the leaves in the etok, and says, "nseme ose mi waga bo e wo ma va yüi" (I remove every prohibition that you have made). He hits the termite earth with the leaves and then takes the etok and pours the contents onto the heads of the two people from whom he is removing the prohibition. With the remainder, the man and woman each takes a washing.

583 A man who has not enough dowry but who finds a young girl eager to marry him may take her away in the night; when the parents come

583 to look for her, he gives them what he has in the way of money and goods, and the parents have to consent to the marriage by accepting this first payment. This practice is called abom.

584 This practice is exceptional, and the marriage proposal is generally made in a more conventional way. A man, having learned that there is a free woman in a neighboring tribe, a young girl or a repudiated wife, goes to the woman's parents and asks to see her. She comes [576] into the hut, sits down, and allows herself to be looked at. She does not speak if she has never been married, but she speaks if she is used to men; then she goes out after about an hour. Her brothers ask her opinion of the suitor and take the answer to the latter, who gives his opinion of the woman he has seen. This visit is called dzāga. If both agree to marry, they spend the night together; the man may leave in the morning without saying anything if the woman has not suited him and he does not wish to marry her. If it is the woman who is not satisfied, she asks her brothers to tell the suitor not to come back. In case of agreement, the suitor goes back several times for several days. The father of the woman fixes the amount of the dowry, and the suitor has to accept it.

586 If a married woman, not wishing to stay with her husband, goes off with another man, the latter pays the woman's parents the amount of the dowry which was paid by the former husband. This practice is fairly recent. In earlier times the former husband received the dowry of his successor directly or, if he refused it, it was a case of war unless another woman was given him in exchange.

583 585 Marriage is not considered final until the dowry has been paid in full by the husband. The amount is variable, currently about 1,500 or 2,000 francs, in money or in various goods. The woman leaves her tribe and goes to live with her husband. Her arrival at her new village is marked by celebrations. [89] She is accompanied by women who cry out "e e ke o o o ko"; these cries are called mekogo. The husband's mother recites to her the genealogy of her son; then the bride goes into her husband's hut where the women of her husband's family bring her food. She is confined here for a week, and this is the "good welcome to the bride," eyale mbom.

585 535 Two days after the arrival of the bride, there are songs and dances performed by women only: these are the bya bi mbom. The men play the tomtom and are spectators. This takes place near the husband's hut.

586 The day on which the woman is to come out of the hut, she is bathed
535 and anointed with an oil (mbon nzüi) and is seated on a stool placed in the middle of the village square. Other women sing and dance around her and give her a new name to represent a wish she has made.

There is no religious ceremony.

583 There also used to be a marriage by exchange of wives (mvole bunanga). With the mere consent of the women concerned, two men could exchange their wives. The parents of the wives did not interfere except to verify the amounts of the dowries and to make sure that the husband of the wife with the lesser dowry had fully paid the difference to the other.

593 The relations between married couples are simple: the man must
562 lodge his wife and clear the brush from the site where she will make her plantings; on the other hand, the wife owes absolute fidelity and obedience to her husband, who has the right to beat her. The woman has no authority in the household; she is hardly more respected than [833] a domestic animal; she owns in her own right only the cooking utensils and the tools for planting and fishing, and does not have the right to own animals. Prohibition of sexual relations is rigidly observed during [834] pregnancy, during lactation, and in the night preceding departure for the hunt, work at the forge, and various [other] tasks. If the prohibition were not observed, these tasks would be unsuccessful.

595 Polygamy is the present custom among the Fan. The first wife has authority over the others, who must obey her. She receives the largest share of everything and assigns household chores and field work. The husband sleeps with each of his wives for three days.

684 In adultery, only the wife is punished. She is beaten and her ac-
837 complice pays an indemnity to her husband. This indemnity amounts to a quarter of the dowry. The wife confesses her adultery only when forced to by a series of corporal punishments which range from blows to being tied to a tree full of ants (akokum).

586 Repudiation is accomplished without difficulty: the man sends back his wife and the dowry is repaid him. The causes for repudiation are repeated adultery, the death of a child as a result of adultery, laziness, practice of fetishism, and excessive surveillance of the husband; sterility is not a reason for [90] repudiation. The children stay with the husband, and the woman, once repudiated, may remarry.

601
608 Afénane (Oyem District) from July 12-
19, 1948], Archives d'Oyem.

The relation between the mwanö-kal and the nya-nduma is about the same as that between son-in-law and father-in-law.

583
608 Such an assembly of facts is understandable only in terms of the Fang principle regulating the circulation of bride prices. "The brother marries with his sister's bride price," nduma a luǧ nö biki kal. Within such a circuit, the establishment of a couple concerns not only [117] the two partners but also the sister of the husband who has indirectly "provided" the bride price making the marriage possible, and the brother of the wife who has indirectly "recovered" this same bride price in order to get married. This explains the bonds existing between the maternal [sic] nephew and
[601] uncle and also the rights which the paternal aunt (sôna) has, according to Curault, "over her brother's children, since it is thanks to the price of her sale that her brother was able to get married and consequently have children." In exceptional circumstances
608 614 this relationship is sufficiently active to allow the nephew to settle in the midst of the family grouping of the maternal uncle or of the husband of the paternal aunt. We have had occasion to observe the first case, which involved a change of clan affiliation. A man of Yèngwi birth left his grouping following a death of which he was suspected; having joined his maternal uncle with whom he settled down to live, where he was considered as an Esabâg (he was said to be ña ayôg, entered into the clan).

601 The kinship terms in the Fang system are applied not only to a specific class of individuals but are often used in an extended manner. Ngwé may designate any maternal relative. Nya-nduma (literally, the mother's brother) is applied to certain maternal male relatives: maternal grandfather and his brothers, maternal uncles and their descendants (1), in fact, to all the men belonging

1. Cf. L. Mba, op. cit., pp. 32 and 41.

to the nd'è bot of the maternal grandfather. Mwanö-kal implies

581 word abè meaning both the bond and those joined) imposing peace
585 and mutual assistance. In this way the two essential functions of the woman are revealed: she is an element of fecundity and a maker of peace and assistance. These are the elements on which traditional Fang society is based. Hence it is easy to understand the control exercised by the group by restricting freedom of choice of a spouse – through the medium of the head of the family, it seeks the alliance which will be of greatest advantage to it (3) – and by

3. Cf. L. Mba, op. cit., "In the past the opinion of the interested parties mattered little. The request is made by the head of one family to the head of another family."

intervening when the flight or rape of the woman would compromise the equilibrium brought about by the marriage.

583 The method itself of marriage marks the development of a
584 series of exchanges between the two family groups it unites. With the first phase known as the "betrothal," dzâga, the young man acquires pre-eminence over the chosen girl. He has the right to live with her for several days, but his family must provide the "fiancée's" parents with the first presents and must lend assistance at the time of various undertakings (clearing undergrowth, building huts, hunting [123] or fishing expeditions). During this period the girl's father determines the amount of the bride price, "nswa. The second period corresponds to the payment of this bride price, which may be made at intervals, provided that the first payment be the largest. This often gives rise to arguments and palavers. On the other hand, the nkia ("he who has received the bride price") is obliged to bring compensation in the form of gifts, usually of animals, which are called mévalö. Finally, the third phase corresponds to the "handing over of the fiancée" and to her settlement in the midst of the family grouping of the young man. It involves the ceremony we have described. The woman, according to Largeau, becomes truly the wife (mônöga), and not merely the concubine, from the moment when she is able to cook for her husband after

583 584 "her mother has come and prepared with her the first meal." (1)

1. V. Largeau, op. cit., article: Épouser [Getting Married].

This final ceremony, as M. Leenhardt has noted in other areas, has the character of a "communal manducation"; (2) it concludes a

2. M. Leenhardt, "Cérémonie et sceau du mariage [Ceremony and Seal of Marriage]," Le Monde Non Chrétien, 15, 1950.

phase in which the ties born of reciprocity are strengthened by an intimate communion between the members of the allied groupings. Afterwards the exchanges continue in the form of visits, assistance, and reciprocal gifts, particularly at the birth of children, when the husband is obliged to give presents to his family-in-law. This reciprocity must have been more direct in olden times, for some Fang can remember when marriages were made by exchanging wives. A young Pahouin author, F. Meyé, writes that "cases of such marriages (called "bikour mêngong") are known "but are very rare. (3) In spite of the medium of the bride price, this reciprocity

3. Cf. François Méyé, "Pour la Jeunesse Fang [For Fang Youth], Journal A.E.F., July 25, 1948.

is manifested in a nonequivocal manner. The interminable process it involves, which led Dr. Cureau to compare the family-in-law to innumerable leeches, (4) nevertheless guarantees the durability

4. And to write: "There are ceaseless demands under the most bizarre pretexts, the fiancée's first menses, first conjugal cohabitation, first signs of pregnancy, childbirth ..." in Sociétés primitives, p. 117.

583 of the alliance. (5)
584

5. Cf., on the importance of these facts of reciprocity and their role in so-called primitive societies, the remarkable work of C. Levi-Strauss devoted to the study of Structures élémentaires de la Parenté [Elementary Structures of Kinship], Paris, 1949.

581 As it circulates, the bride price weaves a network of ties
583 between groupings which, without the obligation of exogamy, would
578 have lived as so many biological, economic, and political units
595 retired within themselves. [124] It compels co-operation; it creates zones of security in a country where, at a time of conquest, the economic competition is severe (as regards the best land for cultivation and hunting, and the trade centers and roads). In addition the double exogamy multiplies these abé bonds, and the specific recognition of the maternal kinship reinforces, as we have suggested, these bonds, The circulation of women and in a parallel direction that of the bride prices have to be minutely regulated. This function belongs to the head of the nd'è bòt, to the ntòl, the latter signifying not only "ancient" but also "arbiter, envoy, ambassador." He is custodian of wealth and giver of women. At the level of the segment of brothers (bobèñâg), the principle that bride prices received at the time of the marriage of daughters are used to marry the sons in the order of their birth is completed by the obligation of the eldest brother to contribute to the formation of a bride price necessary for the marriage of the younger brother who does not benefit by such a compensation. Certainly this principle which was meant to regulate the distribution of the women and to limit competition has not turned out to be infallible. Antagonisms between the "eldest" [brothers] and younger brothers leading to the breaking up of groupings are often explained by this obligation not being met. (1) The oldest men can take advantage of their pre-

1. Cf. supra, pp. 112-113.

eminence in order to buy up the greatest number of wives. Finally,

581 the younger brothers are often tempted to collect for themselves
583 the elements of a bride price or to carry out rapes or raids. They
578 represent the most dynamic and mobile fraction of the grouping. (2)
595

> 2. Probably their lineages represent the major part of the Fang population of Lower Gabon. This would help to explain, apart from "modernist" reasons, the more or less pronounced rivalry and antagonisms between the "Fang from above" and the "Fang from below."

However, the earliest observations show that there was a sort of limited polygamy. Fourneau writes: "The Pahouin is in fact most often monogamous, simply because the woman is very highly prices," (3) and Dr. Cureau more specifically states: "Among the

> 3. A. Fourneau, op. cit., p. 77.

Fang where a wife is expensive, the maximum rarely goes above five; apparently thirty years ago, only the very rich could rise to one or two units above humiliating monogamy." (4) These two

> 4. Dr. A. Cureau, op. cit., p. 119.

authors confirm the existence of a restricted polygamy and therefore of a tendency to equalize the distribution of the women which, according to them, is allied with the high cost of bride prices.

583 [125] It is now time to analyze the material nature of the bride price. During the nineteenth century it consisted essentially of iron objects (representations of assagais, Pahouin knives, and axes very reduced in size), of which the bikki are the best known, (1)

> 1. Cf. M.H. Kingsley, op. cit.; the ancient word for bride price is bikki, or nswa bikki.

reserved exclusively for matrimonial exchanges, and of animals,

583 ivory, and salt. With the growing development of trade, imported "goods" took the place in part of these symbolic objects, and the explorer Du Chaillu about 1860 notes "an ever increasing desire" for these articles. (2) Then, until 1918-20, the bride price consisted essentially of symbolic money and "goods" of high value. It has only been since that date that currency is used and represents an increasingly large proportion of the bride price. This evolution must be looked upon in the first place as a desire to maintain as the equivalent of woman, who is wealth in the highest sense of the word, the most valuable property which Fang society has at its disposal. The society endeavors to have the bride price consist of scarce products: that is, bikki, "goods," in the period of trading; currency when the latter became widespread and accepted by the villagers. This corresponds originally less to a notion of high price — the notion of price only slowly supplanting that of exchange — than to the desire to establish a restricted circuit in which only the heads of family groupings would participate, that is, a circuit controlled to the maximum. (3) Under these conditions polygamy, which was not

2. Stating in another connection: "... copper rings, white beads, and copper dishes called "neptunes" have the highest current value among the Fang for the purchase of a wife...," cf. Voyages et Aventures dans l'Afriques Equatoriale [Travels and Adventures in Equatorial Africa].

3. The effectiveness of this control is pointed out in a study, Le Mariage Fang [Fang Marriage] appearing in the Archives of Oyem": Formerly the authority of the head of the family was very great and often he made use of family solidarity to allow the poorest to marry each other and to obtain a just distribution of the women."

583 common, appears as the sign of exceptional success, which explains the prestige of the nkukuma who owns a greater number of wives and more property (bium). The price characteristic manifested now in the bride price is a recent transformation. Originally, its final payment sealed an alliance that could not be broken without a long process of "divorce"; one which survived even the man who enabled it to be, since the wife was transferred to the eldest son or the oldest brother; and one which, above all, legitimized the ownership of posterity: if the bride price was not paid in full, the newborn child belonged to the parents of the wife; if not fully paid back [126] at the time of a "divorce," the child belonged to the father. The fact that the bride price is not refunded at the death of the wife, when the latter leaves posterity, does not suggest that it is a matter of the price of the latter, but rather a reciprocity emphasizing that through the posterity the alliance has become a kinship.

562 584 We have thus endeavored to show the social importance of marriage, pointing out particularly the fundamental role of the links it establishes between groups and the pre-eminence attached to controlling the circulation of the women and their bride prices. But obviously this system does not always function smoothly. A lack of equilibrium exists between the meaning it has for the grouping and the meaning it might have for the individuals concerned. Certain rules of procedure, recognized by custom, provide solutions for possible conflicts. The marriage agreed to by the young people may take place against the wish of the family heads following the rape (abòm) of the girl (1); the wife has various methods [839]

1. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., p. 88: "The young man gives what he has in money and goods, and the parents are obliged to agree to the marriage by accepting this first payment."

of recourse against a seriously prejudicial union. Her complaint may result in her marriage to another of the sons of her father-in-law, or else she may go to a man of her choice who pays the

582 they belong to another clan. This is merely the application of exogamy to the maternal line and is less observed than the other rule of exogamy.

582 583 Having established this, we may distinguish several forms of marriage—Bertaut counts seven—or, on the contrary, consider them all to be derived from "regular marriage," mfañ aluk (from fañ = to do well, correctly, and luk = to marry). This kind of marriage is based on the payment of the "bride price," nsuba, nowadays essentially monetary and giving rise to abuses that have often been described, but in former times it was ritual in character, at least partially so (a century ago there was already a commercial element). The "bride price" of the past included local products (ivory, cattle) [431] (1), imported merchandise (biôm), especially loincloths, guns and

[231] 1. The bride-price sheep, bikiga or bityiga, up to seven, which were in theory bred with a special view to payment of the nsuba and were sacrificed at the time of the marriage.

[436] ammunition, salt, trade alcohol, and, finally, a special iron currency in the form of flat arrowheads tied into bundles (bityé, biki; bikpwelé; the unit of count being the bundle, akutu bikpwelé). The last was used only for ritual or magical purposes (2). There are reasons for

[326] 2. There is a prohibition against making them; all those to be seen look old.

believing that the composition of bride prices in local products and merchandise varied according to clan structure, the affiliation of the spouses, and the marriages previously concluded by the group. Nothing of this survives today, and the bride price has become a bargaining, at times pretty sordid, even a real /52/ auction, with the bride often the first to boast of the high price she has obtained in the marriage market.

[582] 584 Marriage not long ago was, and still in a measure remains, a group affair, the concern of the two meyoñ and two menda me bôt involved, which is discussed between the head of the young man's family and the guardian responsible for the future wife, nya ndômô, "true brother," that is, an ascendant paternal relative or paternal

584 uncle, a full brother or a half brother on the father's side. The custom persists in the better families, even if the future spouses' consent is asked or if the initiative for the union comes from them. When this is impossible, for instance among emigrants, it is still the correct thing for the prospective husband to use the offices of an older person, perhaps even an administrative superior, who arranges the marriage, [583] kômesan aluk. To the nsuba proper are added customary presents to the future mother-in-law and affinal family, which are the more important when payment of the nsuba is in periodic installments (as it more and more tends to be). After the first installment is paid, there [836] is a bethrothal, and the young girl, who before that has enjoyed sexual freedom, is from now on theoretically supposed to be faithful. Sexual relations with the prospective husband often begin at this time, if they have not already. The Christian ceremony and the civil registry take place when a portion of the bride price, amounting to from a quarter to a half, has been paid. In former times the bride used to remain in seclusion before going in procession from her village, where the groom's family came to fetch her, to her conjugal residence. After consummation of the marriage, she would with her mother's help cook the first meal served to her husband. These practices have fallen into general disuse.

Up to a recent date, on the other hand, the custom persisted—now prohibited officially—of "paying bride price" for a girl who had not reached puberty, even for a fetus or an unconceived child, who would go to live with her affinal family almost as soon as she was weaned, there to be brought up either by her mother-in-law or by her husband's first wife, whom she would look upon as her ntyi (mother-in-law). The marriage would be consummated after the girl's second menstruation (ayene ngon = to see the moon).

583 The mfañ aluk form of marriage is the most usual nowadays. It leads to many lawsuits in connection with deciding who is to be the [691] nya ndômô to collect the "bride price." As the ntôl môt's authority has weakened, especially when he is not the girl's real father /sic/, uncles and brothers quarrel over who is to receive the nsuba. Some emancipated young women, particularly those who are mistresses of Europeans, decide the matter by collecting it themselves, but this is very much frowned on.

[586] The "bride price" is given back to the husband in the case of divorce, to the fiancé in the case of a broken betrothal, caused, for example, by the premature death of the fiancée.

583 example, by the premature death of the fiancée. Almost all customary courts now refuse /to uphold/ repayment when a woman has died without issue, as was the old custom.

The other forms of marriage were abom, marriage by abduction, which was regularized by later payment of the "bride price" (meso [426] ngon = arrival of the girl); putting in pawn for debt, which was made permanent /53/ by nonrepayment; éjian, substitution for a fiancée deceased before marriage or for a wife who died without issue (in such cases a younger sister of the dead woman was often provided); [682] taff abim, corpse price, that is, the giving in payment of a young woman as blood money after a homicide; exchange of women between clans, usually on the occasion of an alliance /i.e. through marriage/, élat (1).

1. Elat = alliance, agreement; bilelat = kindred, the whole body of relatives and affinal kin.

837 Exchange or loan of women, mvia, was perhaps a form of hospitable prostitution. It apparently did not apply to the benya binga, the "true wives," in any case never to the ôsua minga, the first wife, [516] who would have considered it a reason for divorce without repayment of bride price. In the same way, nkuan, sale, was not the equivalent [426] of marriage and must have applied mainly to foreigners, though perhaps sometimes to Pahouin girls pawned and not redeemed.

587 The inheritance of widows did not automatically have the same 428 value as marriage. It was usually permitted only between succeeding generations—from father to son, from elder to younger brother; inheriting by an older from a younger brother appears in recent law. Furthermore, the heir possessed the right of renunciation, except with respect to his mother, whom he had to support but whom he would naturally not make his wife. He could send other widows back to their families, keeping their children, who belonged to his clan. To require repayment of the bride price for a widow's "liberation" 587 seems to be a recent deviation; in the past this custom must have 583 applied only to barren women or to those whose children had not lived, but only when they returned to live with their families without remarrying. The moment a widow remarried outside the family of her deceased husband, the "bride price" went to the latter's heirs, and

587 the law has not changed on this point. "No bride price, no marriage"
583 —Sa nsuba, ve alu' e se kik. We shall find this principle again in connection with legitimate descent.

583 Thus it is the absence of payment of the nsuba that gives their
837 character to free union, ébon, and to adultery, mejian, and makes them really infringements upon the law of property, justifying the fact
[684] that customary courts logically refuse to impose a penalty in a case of ébon when the girl returns to her family pregnant (2).

2. This is hard for some magistrates to understand.

581 A husband must provide his wife with lodging and clothes and
593 must clothe any children he has by her. He must clear the field she will cultivate, provide her with household utensils and, in theory, with meat. He must allow her to visit her parents, to whom he owes respect. He must not use sorcery (3) against her and must respect the

[586
839
754]

3. Likened to sorcery are fellatio and sodomy, the grounds for numerous divorces from former members of native infantry regiments.

[839] prerogatives of rank that she holds among her co-wives; he is supposed to sleep with her when she is not menstruating nor pregnant nor nursing.
[834] He must not beat her beyond what she can stand nor expose her vulva in public. /54/

A woman owes obedience to her husband, to her mother-in-law, and to the first wife, respect to her affinal relatives, therefore to her husband's clan; she must be faithful to her husband and perform her conjugal duty. She is responsible for cultivating the plots cleared for her, for fishing with weirs, for feeding her children, taking her turn at cooking for her husband, for keeping her hut clean and that of her husband when she is sleeping with him, and for helping to build them (it is she who applies the banco onto the frame). She does not have to take care of imported household equipment and clothes because these are biôm of a masculine nature (but the schools and missions
[842] are trying to train women to do so). Finally, and above all, she must be prolific: this is her first duty and a great deal will be forgiven her if she performs it.

3. Marriage

119 I do not know of any truly totemic act among the com-
562 plicated religious rites connected with marriage. This absence
583 must come from the fact that women are considered to be in themselves independent of the totem.

584 Before marriage, especially before starting to make the
119 rounds of the villages in order to pick out a future companion, a young man first builds a sort of triumphal arch in front of his hut. A creeper decorated with various bits of cheap finery, fabric, green leaves, flowering branches, and ava flowers, is stretched from his house to the one opposite, on the other side of the public square or the main street of the village. Before his hut two shrubs garnished in similar fashion have their tops bound together to form a triumphal arch. The young man opens the biéri box, removes his family totem and a skull and puts them before the statue of the biéri. Then for hours, endless songs and dances will be performed. When the young man is exhausted, one of his friends takes over. The songs and dances last far into the night and start again at dawn. No one may interrupt or even enter the hut, otherwise the entire ceremony would have to be begun all over again. A woman's glance at the biéri or totem, or that of a strange man, would be enough to bring this about. Therefore, one of the young man's friends is constantly on guard to prevent such an accident; he stands in front of the hut door and sees to it that people move along briskly.

[583] This rite only takes place when a youth is contemplating marriage by abduction. He wishes in this manner to gain the good will of the biéri, the ancestors, and the totem.

On the third day in the evening the ritual dances end.
[782] The young man immediately offers a final sacrifice, usually of a cock, a hen, and some maize, following the prescribed forms. Then, since he is not permitted to rest for even a moment, he starts out, carrying the cock, hen, and maize as his only provisions; he is not allowed to take along anything else.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

gourd mentioned above). They put oil in it. They keep it hidden. No one else is allowed to see it. 832

When the woman cooks food for her husband, she takes the medicine, which she puts in the neck of the gourd, and puts it in her husband's food, then his heart is changed. In the evening the woman smears herself with the *abatong*, which she had put in the small gourd. When she and her husband lie down, if she touches her husband, the medicine which she has eaten makes his heart change. Though he liked her before, now he loves her on account of the *biang-abationg*.

This is the *Biang-abationg*.

Biang-mikal (adultery medicine).—People go and scrape medicine in the bush. If they come with the medicine, they put it in the pot. They put water in the pot. They go and catch a fowl. They cut the fowl's neck; they put the blood in the medicine with the scrapings from trees. They take medicine that is in the water, they pour it on the person's head. They also take a certain medicine called *ngwela* and rub it on the face of the sick person. They again rub it on his belly. Then they have cured the person of the *minkal*. The fowl used is not to be eaten by the sick person, others may do so. Then he is healed. 837 755 695

This is the same medicine used to detect adultery. If a person commits adultery with another man's wife, and then speaks a lie denying the affair, the person accused must drink the *biang-mikal* to show the people he is innocent. If he is guilty the medicine makes him sick, and he dies or trouble comes to his people. If guilty, medicine is made to call the curse back. 837 795

This is the *Biang-mikal*.

Biang-ndona (medicine for young men, eloping medicine).—If a person goes on a journey and sees a virgin, he courts or loves her. Then the virgin accepts him. He and she go and lie down. The young man says, "Let us go in my town." If the virgin does not accept, then the young man tries to persuade her. The virgin says, "I go later." The young man says, "If you go later, give me hair for a souvenir." Then the virgin scratches over her heart. She takes the hair of her head and the blood from the scratch over her heart and gives it to the young man. He goes to his town, he says, "I'll first make medicine." He takes the hair and the blood. He takes a small piece of witch medicine. He also takes plenty of leaves. He puts the small piece of witch medicine with the leaves. The hair and the blood he also puts in the leaves. He mixes all in the leaves. He hangs them in the *bisti* basket. He says, "*Bisti*, I want to marry a woman. Take her for me." This eloping medicine hangs one day. In the morning he cuts medicine and puts it on top of a tree. He leaves the medicine on top of the tree. He goes again to the young virgin. He says, "I have come, I come to take you." The young virgin says, "I will go to-morrow." He sleeps. The young man when day breaks says, "Let us go." The young virgin says, "I will surely go." Then the young man elopes with the young virgin; he comes with her to his town. Father of the young virgin he comes vexed. The young man kills a goat for the father of the young virgin. They finish eating the goat. He (the father) sleeps one day. Next morning the young man 584 132 583

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

832 584 583 gives him (the father) the *bèli* (dowry). The father of the young virgin takes the goods to his town; the young man remains in possession of the woman.

They marry with *biang-ndoma*, eloping medicine thus.

This is *Biang-ndoma.*

Biang-akong (war medicine).—Told me by Fam-deu, a Fang, Esisis clan, at 721 Foulabifong, Nkomo river, April 19th, 1898. This *biang* was illustrated to me; a 789 leopard tooth is the *Biang-akong.*

Make a bowl of war medicine, of leaves, roots, and bark. Call all people of the town. Drop the leopard tooth into the medicine. If the point of the tooth *looks* toward the people we have a palaver (trouble) with, then we must go and fight and we will win. If the root of the tooth points toward the people we have a palaver with, then we must *tabe si* (sit down) or our enemies will win if we go to fight them.

This is the *Biang-akong.*

Biang-akumayong.—This *biang* is the protector of the tribe or nation (*ayông*, 789 tribe).

619 Told me by Esôya-ôvum, the headman of Foulabifong on the Nkomo river, 622 who sold me the complete set of the *Biang-akumayong* belonging to the dead headman "Commisan." I present this *biang* for your inspection this evening. The tin canister was obtained from a white man and is used in place of the usual basket to carry bones in. It contains portions of the skull of an albino (male), portions of the skull of a *mon nguri*, young chimpanzee, red powder and a variety of native medicine.

[726] This *biang-akumayong* is always carried by the headman of a town during war.

[534] A bell hangs from the bottom of the canister containing the bones; it rings when the headman walks.

Nlo.—The small horn belonging to the *biang-akumayong* has *ngom* (porcupine tail) in it, also native medicine. It is used to cure people having witches. A bowl of medicine is made. The *ngom* is dipped in the medicine bowl and the sick person sprinkled with the medicine. Then the witch departs.

At this point the headman Esôya stopped talking. He said, "The children who have gathered around your house must go away; no real man dare talk about the *biang-akumayong* before women and children." I told the children to go and Esôya continued.

The whistle.—This is part of the *biang-akumayong*; it has been cooked (boiled) in the medicine bowl and has great power when used by the headman in calling the men together after a fight.

Mouth.—This is the large horn with a piece of looking glass on top. This horn 789 contains much medicine, and next to the bones is the most important part of the 619 *biang-akumayong.*

The two small antelope horns, and the small bundles of medicine, are *biang e seli* (hiding medicine); it makes the person carrying the *biang-akumayong* invisible to the enemy.

584 If the young man has noticed a girl or has already come to an understanding with her, he goes to her parents, introduces himself first to the father, who usually shows his most amiable side and recommends the young man to his daughter. Even though the lover did not obtain the girl's agreement beforehand -- something which can be accomplished with a few words in a brief encounter -- he will nonetheless find little opposition. The relations with the "father-in-law" and above all with the "mother-in-law" are as cordial and tender as can be. The young man brings his "mother-in-law" a little present, European salt or other things that women [431] love, and he also endears himself to the father through little attentions or presents, while the parents or the girl herself entertain the guest to the best of their ability. A natural tact causes the Pangwe to avoid mentioning anything that touches upon his relations to the girl in his contact with her family. Indeed, his delicacy with respect to the "parents-in-law" grows into a false sense of shame:

	wō'-oson	a	vū	mabā'de
[539] (The) feeling -- shame,		it	dies (from)	frambesia

menkī,ē'.
(of the) parents-in-law (relatives by marriage).

The sense of shame has caused a person to die from frambesia transmitted by the parents-in-law, that is, a suitor was afraid, from a sense of shame, to turn down the food offered him by the girl's father who was suffering from frambesia. He ate with the man from one bowl, caught the disease, and died.

584 To the girl herself the lover usually brings half a piece of material -- valued at one mark -- (among the Jaunde he brings 826 a whole piece). In his courtship, the lover does not usually arrive at the desired goal right away, for it is customary for the girl, even if she grants the young man her affection and /256/ sleeps in the same bed with him, to refuse sexual intercourse with him during the first night. (See the tale on p. 132).

The reason for this custom lies in oson, the feeling of shame toward the talk of other people. The two parties know each other perfectly well as regards their lechery, but they pretend to be quite

584 innocent and anxiously avoid anything that might give rise to
836 gossip. Thus, if we speak with the Pangwe about sexual matters, we constantly hear the word oson, "shame," oson this and oson that. Admittedly, wherever European influence is spreading, the
[177] use of oson decreases, for together with this influence the religious conceptions upon which shame is based are disappearing (as we saw in the case of sin, nsōm); at the same time, moral sensibilities are becoming laxer, and there are no longer any self-imposed restraints.

With free love universally prevalent, it naturally happens
836 also that several lovers find their way to the same girl in one night, especially when she is no longer a beginner, and she takes "pity" -- as the Pangwe themselves say mockingly -- on them all (1). With such nžīla, especially the older ones, the

[802] [211]

1. Even to keep track of their number is too difficult a task for her memory; for that reason the Jaunde girls count the number of their friends on little sticks of raffia (see Zenker).

men also permit themselves the use of offensive expressions and crude jokes, such as would be unheard of and strictly prohibited with a young girl -- especially the future wife. As an example,
[831] phalli are sometimes made of wood and then displayed wrapped in a leaf.

As has already been indicated, liaisons of the heart based on
831 genuine love are by no means uncommon. Nobody, on the other hand, will be surprised to learn that for the most part they are of limited duration and are incapable of bearing the burden which we expect of them. Thus I did not learn of a single case of a person
[762] committing suicide because of unrequited love or a spurned courtship, even though women hang themselves because somebody stole a few of their miserable hens, and men shoot themselves because their father sold a daughter in order to buy a wife, instead of leaving her to the son, the girl's brother. Generally speaking, the power of Negro love is not as great as that of the love of the Whites.

583 between 500 and 600 marks in the south. Devaluation of the money, which has also taken place in Africa, has considerably raised the price in comparison to what it was formerly.

The purchase price cannot be paid in money (spear money)
583 alone, in cattle alone, or in any specific type of goods alone;
436 instead, all the objects of exchange which are in circulation
435 must be represented. Thus, in 1906, for instance, the following things were paid for a woman in the Fang region:

6,000 spears	420. -- marks
12 rifles	120. -- marks
2 vats of powder . . .	4. -- marks
70 choppers	70. -- marks
2 sheep	50. -- marks
2 iron pots	8. -- marks
10 pieces of cloth . . .	40. -- marks
5 hats	10. -- marks
13 kettles of salt @ 2. -- marks	26. -- marks
2 knives	2. -- marks
2 packages of beads . .	2. -- marks
2 tobacco pipes . . .	---. 50 mark
2 packages of flints . .	--. 50 mark
1 hatful of buttons . .	--. 50 mark
	753. 50 marks /261/

Any existing illegitimate children go along with the marriage
[848] bargain. In fact, the bridegroom has to pay 500 spears for a boy and 1,000 spears for a girl; incidentally, he is only too glad to do so, because each child means an addition to his wealth.

I shall not go into a discussion of the endless number of quar-
578 rels that arise on the occasion of a marriage, especially when
583 the entire purchase price is not paid at once. Nor shall I speak of the fact that the girl's father likes to steer his daughter, even if she is in love with another, into the hands of the man who can pay the most or the most readily. All this would lead too far afield.

606 If the girl stays in her parents house and if the payment of
583 the purchase price extends over weeks and months, the suitor has
584

583 sufficient time to get to know his future wife and her family.
584 He treats them with the greatest consideration, and for the mother-
606 in-law (nīe-ngǒn III, that is, the girl's mother) especially he has an enormous amount of respect. He is courtesy itself, bringing her presents, large and small, and from time to time killing a chicken or a sheep for her. In short, one could in all seriousness speak of a mother-in-law cult (see the love feast, Vol. II, p. 24). And above all: oson, oson, oson: shame, shame, and more shame. The son-in-law is unspeakably ashamed before the mother-in-law, and vice versa, she before him. This is especially true after the wedding when the good mother-in-law extends her modesty also to the members of the son-in-law's kin group. Like a thief she steals behind the dwellings into her daughter's house in order not to be seen, and -- who knows? -- perhaps in order not to give rise to mother-in-law jokes.

Riddle:

[539] ŋzĕ'n e bönsüe, e ne kaangǎ
[524] Way of the lizards, it is (in the) reeds (Cyperus)

Solution:

ŋzĕ'n e bonī'ǐngǒ'n, e n' a
Way of the mother-in-law, it is on (the) stretch

fá
behind the houses.

585 On the day when a man takes his young wife home, the village
535 celebrates with a sizable dance, for which all adorn themselves to
[302] the best of their ability and which the young wife, red from red wood dye, attends as guest of honor seated on a stool. On this occasion, the popping of blunderbusses may not be omitted, because it belongs to the festive music like our flourish of trumpets. The dancing and shooting last several days when a wealthy chief has acquired a new wife or if it is the first wife of a fellow villager. There is nothing strikingly special about any of this; the festivity simply involves a series of different /262/ dances (among which the dschama is particularly popular which are also customary on other occasions.

583 to look for her, he gives them what he has in the way of money and goods, and the parents have to consent to the marriage by accepting this first payment. This practice is called abom.

●584 This practice is exceptional, and the marriage proposal is generally made in a more conventional way. A man, having learned that there is a free woman in a neighboring tribe, a young girl or a repudiated wife, goes to the woman's parents and asks to see her. She comes [576] into the hut, sits down, and allows herself to be looked at. She does not speak if she has never been married, but she speaks if she is used to men; then she goes out after about an hour. Her brothers ask her opinion of the suitor and take the answer to the latter, who gives his opinion of the woman he has seen. This visit is called dzāga. If both agree to marry, they spend the night together; the man may leave in the morning without saying anything if the woman has not suited him and he does not wish to marry her. If it is the woman who is not satisfied, she asks her brothers to tell the suitor not to come back. In case of agreement, the suitor goes back several times for several days. The father of the woman fixes the amount of the dowry, and the suitor has to accept it.

586 If a married woman, not wishing to stay with her husband, goes off with another man, the latter pays the woman's parents the amount of the dowry which was paid by the former husband. This practice is fairly recent. In earlier times the former husband received the dowry of his successor directly or, if he refused it, it was a case of war unless another woman was given him in exchange.

583 585 Marriage is not considered final until the dowry has been paid in full by the husband. The amount is variable, currently about 1,500 or 2,000 francs, in money or in various goods. The woman leaves her tribe and goes to live with her husband. Her arrival at her new village is marked by celebrations. [89] She is accompanied by women who cry out "e e ke o o o ko"; these cries are called mekogo. The husband's mother recites to her the genealogy of her son; then the bride goes into her husband's hut where the women of her husband's family bring her food. She is confined here for a week, and this is the "good welcome to the bride," eyale mbom.

585 535 Two days after the arrival of the bride, there are songs and dances performed by women only: these are the bya bi mbom. The men play the tomtom and are spectators. This takes place near the husband's hut.

581 specific social meaning; it creates bonds (abè) which fasten together
554 the family and clan groupings. Curault points out that this imposes
562 a "close union, in spite of divergencies in language and in spite of the palavers of the different parts of the Pahouin people." At the same time, marriage [120] has a personal meaning. In traditional
[556] Fang society the possession of many wives is the principal sign of wealth and the condition for all increase of wealth. This wealth conditions the importance of the social role; it makes possible the acquisition of a kind of personal power in a society with hardly any hierarchical system. (1)

1. Let us point out that two words with the same root, éval and évala, mean "polygamy" and "a prop, a support," respectively.

836 Because of this personal element the competition for women can become particularly keen. Very early, government reports pointed out the frequency of palavers due to the "women question," and they continue to complain of them as being characteristic of "Fang society and psychology." Let us state at the outset that the competition does not concern the sexual services demanded from the woman. For the unmarried men there are various compensating possibilities -- but only in the line of "lustful sexuality," to quote the expression of R. Bastide. (2) The young unmarried people have

2. R. Bastide, Sociologie et Psychanalyse [Sociology and Psychoanalysis], Bibliothèque de Sociologie Contemporaine, Paris, 1950.

complete sexual liberty among themselves: it is the custom called azòya-angòn (azòya, fornication; ngòn, maiden). E. Trezenem states in his monograph on the Fang of the Ogooué that "virginity of the woman is considered of no importance," that "the young
836 girls are free to give themselves to whomever they want." Then
584 he adds an "important restriction," saying that there are practically

836 no young girls, the little girls being married very early by their
584 parents, sometimes even before their birth." (3) This restriction

3. E. Trezenem, "Notes éthnographiques [Ethnographical Notes]," op. cit., p. 87.

is entirely relative, for, according to L. Mba, "the custom allows the betrothed to have as many lovers as she wants during the time of her engagement." M. Bertaut specifies similarly that "the young girl is free as far as her body is concerned so long as she has no husband," which may represent a long period of freedom, considering the time it takes to settle a bride price that is always very large. There exists also a kind of tolerated, it not established,
837 prostitution, since the husband may "place one of his wives under
[546] obligation to bring him some income by prostituting herself to strangers." (4) Certain customs, such as the placing of a wife at

4. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 29; and V. Largeau, Encyclopédie Pahouine [Pahuin Encyclopedia], article on adultery": ... "a husband is always free to lend his wife on condition of a certain payment... ."

the disposal of a guest, or the lending or [121] exchanging of a wife (1) as a token of friendship (the wife becoming munõgo ǎngôm,

1. Cf. V. Largeau, op. cit.:" ... the rules of good hospitality require the host to put one of his wives at the disposal of the one whom he is entertaining. On the other hand, it is a current custom for two good neighbors who respect each other to exchange wives from time to time, and this is a definite indication of mutual sympathy." Also, Captain Maignan,

581 word abè meaning both the bond and those joined) imposing peace
585 and mutual assistance. In this way the two essential functions of the woman are revealed: she is an element of fecundity and a maker of peace and assistance. These are the elements on which traditional Fang society is based. Hence it is easy to understand the control exercised by the group by restricting freedom of choice of a spouse – through the medium of the head of the family, it seeks the alliance which will be of greatest advantage to it (3) – and by

3. Cf. L. Mba, op. cit., "In the past the opinion of the interested parties mattered little. The request is made by the head of one family to the head of another family."

intervening when the flight or rape of the woman would compromise the equilibrium brought about by the marriage.

583 The method itself of marriage marks the development of a
584 series of exchanges between the two family groups it unites. With the first phase known as the "betrothal," dzâġa, the young man acquires pre-eminence over the chosen girl. He has the right to live with her for several days, but his family must provide the "fiancée's" parents with the first presents and must lend assistance at the time of various undertakings (clearing undergrowth, building huts, hunting [123] or fishing expeditions). During this period the girl's father determines the amount of the bride price, "nswa. The second period corresponds to the payment of this bride price, which may be made at intervals, provided that the first payment be the largest. This often gives rise to arguments and palavers. On the other hand, the nkia ("he who has received the bride price") is obliged to bring compensation in the form of gifts, usually of animals, which are called mévalö. Finally, the third phase corresponds to the "handing over of the fiancée" and to her settlement in the midst of the family grouping of the young man. It involves the ceremony we have described. The woman, according to Largeau, becomes truly the wife (mônöga), and not merely the concubine, from the moment when she is able to cook for her husband after

583 584 "her mother has come and prepared with her the first meal." (1)

1. V. Largeau, op. cit., article: Épouser [Getting Married].

This final ceremony, as M. Leenhardt has noted in other areas, has the character of a "communal manducation"; (2) it concludes a

2. M. Leenhardt, "Cérémonie et sceau du mariage [Ceremony and Seal of Marriage]," Le Monde Non Chrétien, 15, 1950.

phase in which the ties born of reciprocity are strengthened by an intimate communion between the members of the allied groupings. Afterwards the exchanges continue in the form of visits, assistance, and reciprocal gifts, particularly at the birth of children, when the husband is obliged to give presents to his family-in-law. This reciprocity must have been more direct in olden times, for some Fang can remember when marriages were made by exchanging wives. A young Pahouin author, F. Meyé, writes that "cases of such marriages (called "bikour mêngong") are known "but are very rare. (3) In spite of the medium of the bride price, this reciprocity

3. Cf. François Méyé, "Pour la Jeunesse Fang [For Fang Youth], Journal A.E.F., July 25, 1948.

is manifested in a nonequivocal manner. The interminable process it involves, which led Dr. Cureau to compare the family-in-law to innumerable leeches, (4) nevertheless guarantees the durability

4. And to write: "There are ceaseless demands under the most bizarre pretexts, the fiancée's first menses, first conjugal cohabitation, first signs of pregnancy, childbirth ..." in Sociétés primitives, p. 117.

583 of the alliance. (5)
584

5. Cf., on the importance of these facts of reciprocity and their role in so-called primitive societies, the remarkable work of C. Levi-Strauss devoted to the study of Structures élémentaires de la Parenté [Elementary Structures of Kinship], Paris, 1949.

581 As it circulates, the bride price weaves a network of ties
583 between groupings which, without the obligation of exogamy, would
578 have lived as so many biological, economic, and political units
595 retired within themselves. [124] It compels co-operation; it creates zones of security in a country where, at a time of conquest, the economic competition is severe (as regards the best land for cultivation and hunting, and the trade centers and roads). In addition the double exogamy multiplies these abé bonds, and the specific recognition of the maternal kinship reinforces, as we have suggested, these bonds, The circulation of women and in a parallel direction that of the bride prices have to be minutely regulated. This function belongs to the head of the nd'è bòt, to the ntòl, the latter signifying not only "ancient" but also "arbiter, envoy, ambassador." He is custodian of wealth and giver of women. At the level of the segment of brothers (bobèñâg), the principle that bride prices received at the time of the marriage of daughters are used to marry the sons in the order of their birth is completed by the obligation of the eldest brother to contribute to the formation of a bride price necessary for the marriage of the younger brother who does not benefit by such a compensation. Certainly this principle which was meant to regulate the distribution of the women and to limit competition has not turned out to be infallible. Antagonisms between the "eldest" [brothers] and younger brothers leading to the breaking up of groupings are often explained by this obligation not being met. (1) The oldest men can take advantage of their pre-

1. Cf. supra, pp. 112-113.

eminence in order to buy up the greatest number of wives. Finally,

583 common, appears as the sign of exceptional success, which explains the prestige of the nkukuma who owns a greater number of wives and more property (bium). The price characteristic manifested now in the bride price is a recent transformation. Originally, its final payment sealed an alliance that could not be broken without a long process of "divorce"; one which survived even the man who enabled it to be, since the wife was transferred to the eldest son or the oldest brother; and one which, above all, legitimized the ownership of posterity: if the bride price was not paid in full, the newborn child belonged to the parents of the wife; if not fully paid back [126] at the time of a "divorce," the child belonged to the father. The fact that the bride price is not refunded at the death of the wife, when the latter leaves posterity, does not suggest that it is a matter of the price of the latter, but rather a reciprocity emphasizing that through the posterity the alliance has become a kinship.

562 584 We have thus endeavored to show the social importance of marriage, pointing out particularly the fundamental role of the links it establishes between groups and the pre-eminence attached to controlling the circulation of the women and their bride prices. But obviously this system does not always function smoothly. A lack of equilibrium exists between the meaning it has for the grouping and the meaning it might have for the individuals concerned. Certain rules of procedure, recognized by custom, provide solutions for possible conflicts. The marriage agreed to by the young people may take place against the wish of the family heads following the rape (abòm) of the girl (1); the wife has various methods [839]

1. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., p. 88: "The young man gives what he has in money and goods, and the parents are obliged to agree to the marriage by accepting this first payment."

of recourse against a seriously prejudicial union. Her complaint may result in her marriage to another of the sons of her father-in-law, or else she may go to a man of her choice who pays the

562 compensation, or she may "publicly curse her husband." (2)
584

2. Cf. V. Largeau, op. cit., article: Femme [Woman].

562 Finally, in the case of serious conflicts, the union may be dissolved
586 by "divorce," but the latter may only be used traditionally under well-defined circumstances and "with the assent of the two interested family heads." (3) There are therefore arrangements that allow

3. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 21.

personal reasons to be taken into account and which F. Meyé had in mind when he said, "the Fang woman can in no way be compared to a slave," because of the many kinds of recourse she has at her disposal; these arrangements play a wholly exceptional role in ancient Fang society. Beside the personal element, which also acts as a disturbing element, is the fact that the number of unions indicates wealth and social importance. (4) It results, when the

4. This element is shown particularly in the custom reported by L. Mba: "In comfortably off families, the parents betroth the boys before puberty and the girls after puberty," op. cit., p. 14.

circulation of goods is no longer strictly controlled, in keen competition and numerous disputes.

582 It is now essential to consider the persons concerned in the
835 play of marriage and to point out at once that certain persons [127] are excluded from it. Apart from the double exogamy which introduces a form of "fraternity" in a very broad sense of the word, there are prohibitions concerning the precise degrees of relationship as follows: between members of the taǵa class (father, mother, uncle, aunt) and the mwanõ class (sons and daughters, nephews and nieces); between members of the same segment, including cousins to the third generation; there are prohibitions on those

they belong to another clan. This is merely the application of exogamy to the maternal line and is less observed than the other rule of exogamy.

Having established this, we may distinguish several forms of marriage—Bertaut counts seven—or, on the contrary, consider them all to be derived from "regular marriage," mfañ aluk (from fañ = to do well, correctly, and luk = to marry). This kind of marriage is based on the payment of the "bride price," nsuba, nowadays essentially monetary and giving rise to abuses that have often been described, but in former times it was ritual in character, at least partially so (a century ago there was already a commercial element). The "bride price" of the past included local products (ivory, cattle) (1), imported merchandise (biôm), especially loincloths, guns and

1. The bride-price sheep, bikiga or bityiga, up to seven, which were in theory bred with a special view to payment of the nsuba and were sacrificed at the time of the marriage.

ammunition, salt, trade alcohol, and, finally, a special iron currency in the form of flat arrowheads tied into bundles (bityé, biki; bikpwelé; the unit of count being the bundle, akutu bikpwelé). The last was used only for ritual or magical purposes (2). There are reasons for

2. There is a prohibition against making them; all those to be seen look old.

believing that the composition of bride prices in local products and merchandise varied according to clan structure, the affiliation of the spouses, and the marriages previously concluded by the group. Nothing of this survives today, and the bride price has become a bargaining, at times pretty sordid, even a real /52/ auction, with the bride often the first to boast of the high price she has obtained in the marriage market.

Marriage not long ago was, and still in a measure remains, a group affair, the concern of the two meyoñ and two menda me bôt involved, which is discussed between the head of the young man's family and the guardian responsible for the future wife, nya ndômô, "true brother," that is, an ascendant paternal relative or paternal

584 uncle, a full brother or a half brother on the father's side. The custom persists in the better families, even if the future spouses' consent is asked or if the initiative for the union comes from them. When this is impossible, for instance among emigrants, it is still the correct thing for the prospective husband to use the offices of an older person, perhaps even an administrative superior, who arranges the marriage, [583] kômesan aluk. To the nsuba proper are added customary presents to the future mother-in-law and affinal family, which are the more important when payment of the nsuba is in periodic installments (as it more and more tends to be). After the first installment is paid, there [834] is a bethrothal, and the young girl, who before that has enjoyed sexual freedom, is from now on theoretically supposed to be faithful. Sexual relations with the prospective husband often begin at this time, if they have not already. The Christian ceremony and the civil registry take place when a portion of the bride price, amounting to from a quarter to a half, has been paid. In former times the bride used to remain in seclusion before going in procession from her village, where the groom's family came to fetch her, to her conjugal residence. After consummation of the marriage, she would with her mother's help cook the first meal served to her husband. These practices have fallen into general disuse.

Up to a recent date, on the other hand, the custom persisted—now prohibited officially—of "paying bride price" for a girl who had not reached puberty, even for a fetus or an unconceived child, who would go to live with her affinal family almost as soon as she was weaned, there to be brought up either by her mother-in-law or by her husband's first wife, whom she would look upon as her ntyi (mother-in-law). The marriage would be consummated after the girl's second menstruation (ayene ngon = to see the moon).

583 The mfañ aluk form of marriage is the most usual nowadays. It leads to many lawsuits in connection with deciding who is to be the [691] nya ndômô to collect the "bride price." As the ntôl môt's authority has weakened, especially when he is not the girl's real father /sic/, uncles and brothers quarrel over who is to receive the nsuba. Some emancipated young women, particularly those who are mistresses of Europeans, decide the matter by collecting it themselves, but this is very much frowned on.

[586] The "bride price" is given back to the husband in the case of divorce, to the fiancé in the case of a broken betrothal, caused, for example, by the premature death of the fiancée.

3. Marriage

119 I do not know of any truly totemic act among the com-
562 plicated religious rites connected with marriage. This absence
583 must come from the fact that women are considered to be in themselves independent of the totem.

584 Before marriage, especially before starting to make the
119 rounds of the villages in order to pick out a future companion, a young man first builds a sort of triumphal arch in front of his hut. A creeper decorated with various bits of cheap finery, fabric, green leaves, flowering branches, and ava flowers, is stretched from his house to the one opposite, on the other side of the public square or the main street of the village. Before his hut two shrubs garnished in similar fashion have their tops bound together to form a triumphal arch. The young man opens the biéri box, removes his family totem and a skull and puts them before the statue of the biéri. Then for hours, endless songs and dances will be performed. When the young man is exhausted, one of his friends takes over. The songs and dances last far into the night and start again at dawn. No one may interrupt or even enter the hut, otherwise the entire ceremony would have to be begun all over again. A woman's glance at the biéri or totem, or that of a strange man, would be enough to bring this about. Therefore, one of the young man's friends is constantly on guard to prevent such an accident; he stands in front of the hut door and sees to it that people move along briskly.

[583] This rite only takes place when a youth is contemplating marriage by abduction. He wishes in this manner to gain the good will of the biéri, the ancestors, and the totem.

On the third day in the evening the ritual dances end.
[182] The young man immediately offers a final sacrifice, usually of a cock, a hen, and some maize, following the prescribed forms. Then, since he is not permitted to rest for even a moment, he starts out, carrying the cock, hen, and maize as his only provisions; he is not allowed to take along anything else.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

gourd mentioned above). They put oil in it. They keep it hidden. No one else 832
is allowed to see it.

When the woman cooks food for her husband, she takes the medicine, which she puts in the neck of the gourd, and puts it in her husband's food, then his heart is changed. In the evening the woman smears herself with the *abatoñg*, which she had put in the small gourd. When she and her husband lie down, if she touches her husband, the medicine which she has eaten makes his heart change. Though he liked her before, now he loves her on account of the *biang-abationg*.

This is the *Biang-abationg*.

Biang-mikal (adultery medicine).—People go and scrape medicine in the bush. 837
If they come with the medicine, they put it in the pot. They put water in the pot. 755
They go and catch a fowl. They cut the fowl's neck; they put the blood in the 695
medicine with the scrapings from trees. They take medicine that is in the water, they pour it on the person's head. They also take a certain medicine called *ngwcia* and rub it on the face of the sick person. They again rub it on his belly. Then they have cured the person of the *minkal*. The fowl used is not to be eaten by the sick person, others may do so. Then he is healed.

This is the same medicine used to detect adultery. If a person commits 837
adultery with another man's wife, and then speaks a lie denying the affair, the 795
person accused must drink the *biang-mikal* to show the people he is innocent. If he is guilty the medicine makes him sick, and he dies or trouble comes to his people. If guilty, medicine is made to call the curse back.

This is the *Biang-mikal*.

Biang-ndona (medicine for young men, eloping medicine).—If a person goes on 584 ●
a journey and sees a virgin, he courts or loves her. Then the virgin accepts him. 832
He and she go and lie down. The young man says, "Let us go in my town." If the 583
virgin does not accept, then the young man tries to persuade her. The virgin says, "I go later." The young man says, "If you go later, give me hair for a souvenir." Then the virgin scratches over her heart. She takes the hair of her head and the blood from the scratch over her heart and gives it to the young man. He goes to his town, he says, "I'll first make medicine." He takes the hair and the blood. He takes a small piece of witch medicine. He also takes plenty of leaves. He puts the small piece of witch medicine with the leaves. The hair and the blood he also puts in the leaves. He mixes all in the leaves. He hangs them in the *bieti* basket. He says, "*Bieti*, I want to marry a woman. Take her for me." This eloping medicine hangs one day. In the morning he cuts medicine and puts it on top of a tree. He leaves the medicine on top of the tree. He goes again to the young virgin. He says, "I have come, I come to take you." The young virgin says, "I will go to-morrow." He sleeps. The young man when day breaks says, "Let us go." The young virgin says, "I will surely go." Then the young man elopes with the young virgin; he comes with her to his town. Father of the young virgin he comes vexed. The young man kills a goat for the father of the young virgin. They finish eating the goat. He (the father) sleeps one day. Next morning the young man

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

832 584 583 gives him (the father) the *beki* (dowry). The father of the young virgin takes the goods to his town; the young man remains in possession of the woman.

They marry with *biang-ndoma*, eloping medicine thus.

This is *Biang-ndoma.*

721 789 *Biang-akong* (war medicine).—Told me by Fam-deu, a Fang, Esisis clan, at Foulabifong, Nkomo river, April 19th, 1898. This *biang* was illustrated to me; a leopard tooth is the *Biang-akong.*

Make a bowl of war medicine, of leaves, roots, and bark. Call all people of the town. Drop the leopard tooth into the medicine. If the point of the tooth *looks* toward the people we have a palaver (trouble) with, then we must go and fight and we will win. If the root of the tooth points toward the people we have a palaver with, then we must *tabe si* (sit down) or our enemies will win if we go to fight them.

This is the *Biang-akong.*

789 619 622 *Biang-akamayong.*—This *biang* is the protector of the tribe or nation (*ayông*, tribe).

Told me by Esôya-ôvum, the headman of Foulabifong on the Nkomo river, who sold me the complete set of the *Biang-akamayong* belonging to the dead headman "Commisan." I present this *biang* for your inspection this evening. The tin canister was obtained from a white man and is used in place of the usual basket to carry bones in. It contains portions of the skull of an albino (male), portions of the skull of a *mon nguri*, young chimpanzee, red powder and a variety of native medicine.

[726] [534] This *biang-akamayong* is always carried by the headman of a town during war.

A bell hangs from the bottom of the canister containing the bones; it rings when the headman walks.

Nko.—The small horn belonging to the *biang-akamayong* has *ngom* (porcupine tail) in it, also native medicine. It is used to cure people having witches. A bowl of medicine is made. The *ngom* is dipped in the medicine bowl and the sick person sprinkled with the medicine. Then the witch departs.

At this point the headman Esôya stopped talking. He said, "The children who have gathered around your house must go away; no real man dare talk about the *biang-akamayong* before women and children." I told the children to go and Esôya continued.

The whistle.—This is part of the *biang-akamayong*; it has been cooked (boiled) in the medicine bowl and has great power when used by the headman in calling the men together after a fight.

789 619 *Mou!.*—This is the large horn with a piece of looking glass on top. This horn contains much medicine, and next to the bones is the most important part of the *biang-akamayong.*

The two small antelope horns, and the small bundles of medicine, are *biang e soli* (hiding medicine); it makes the person carrying the *biang-akamayong* invisible to the enemy.

2. Sexual Life between Maturity and Marriage

836 After reaching maturity, the girl is called ngʊ̃n III, and the
young man nkʊ̃ʌ̃ I; for both there is also the term bandʊ̃man,
[884] plural of ndʊ̃man = young man or girl at the age of being in love.
Thus the name itself shows under what sign the subsequent period
of life is lived. Free love in the boldest sense of the word pre-
vails. The girl may give away her favors without inhibition to
whom and whenever she desires to do so, and she need only ob-
[833] serve the religious rule that prohibits sexual intercourse during the
[885] day and the social rule that prohibits intercourse between blood
relatives. Otherwise there is no barrier; members of the same
age group come together and make thorough use of their freedom.
In the initial period after maturity, to be sure, sexual desire is
dampened by the moral admonitions of the cults with their
proclamation of the sinfulness of sexual intercourse. This sinful-
ness, combined with physical satiety and psychic revulsion, pro-
duces a "moral hangover"; however, such considerations and
feelings are soon overcome. As in eating, so in their love life,
the Pangwe know no moderation. They empty the cup of joy to
the lees. Later on, especially when the Pangwe has acquired
several wives, he tends to develop a more business-like attitude
towards sexual love, in place of the youthful amours which alter-
nate unsteadily between ungoverned passion and its aftereffects,
psychic unease.

In view of this extensive free love, it goes without saying
[585] that the virginity of his future wife plays no role in the man's
choice. Indeed, the presence of a hymen (ajadebʌ̃) is usually
scarcely noticed and /254/ to some is totally unknown. Around
the age of 15 years it is supposed to be destroyed by boys of the
same age.

833 As for their libidinal drive, the girls are generally not in-
936 ferior to the boys. However, we may say that for the girls potency
[572] alone is as a rule the deciding factor in the choice of a friend.
This fact is well expressed in the various dance songs at the Mbale
(which, incidentally, were brought to the Fang and Ntum by the
[114] sexually loose Jaunde) as, for example, in the following complaint.

583 sufficient time to get to know his future wife and her family.
584 He treats them with the greatest consideration, and for the mother-
606 in-law (nĩe-ngɔ̃n III, that is, the girl's mother) especially he has an enormous amount of respect. He is courtesy itself, bringing her presents, large and small, and from time to time killing a chicken or a sheep for her. In short, one could in all seriousness speak of a mother-in-law cult (see the love feast, Vol. II, p. 24). And above all: oson, oson, oson: shame, shame, and more shame. The son-in-law is unspeakably ashamed before the mother-in-law, and vice versa, she before him. This is especially true after the wedding when the good mother-in-law extends her *modesty also to the members of the son-in-law's kin group. Like* a thief she steals behind the dwellings into her daughter's house in order not to be seen, and -- who knows? -- perhaps in order not to give rise to mother-in-law jokes.

Riddle:

[539] [524] nzɛ̃'n e bɔ̃nĩũe, e ne kaangɛ̃
Way of the lizards, it is (in the) reeds (Cyperus)

Solution:

nzɛ̃'n e bonĩ̃ngɔ̃'n, e n' a
Way of the mother-in-law, it is on (the) stretch

ní
behind the houses.

585 On the day when a man takes his young wife home, the village
535 celebrates with a sizable dance, for which all adorn themselves to
[302] the best of their ability and which the young wife, red from red wood dye, attends as guest of honor seated on a stool. On this occasion, the popping of blunderbusses may not be omitted, because it belongs to the festive music like our flourish of trumpets. The dancing and shooting last several days when a wealthy chief has acquired a new wife or if it is the first wife of a fellow villager. There is nothing strikingly special about any of this; the festivity simply involves a series of different /262/ dances (among which the dschama is particularly popular which are also customary on other occasions.

585 After the wedding, the young bride is allowed a certain period
595 of rest (up to one month), during which she does not need to work. Every day, newly painted with red wood, she struts around the village. After this honeymoon she then proceeds to the diurnal work in the field, while the man may possibly already be on the lookout for a second wife. Incidentally, there are not many who can afford the luxury of several wives; usually these are only the chief, his brothers, and a number of other people. The great majority must content themselves with a single wife. In former
[589] times there were even people who, for lack of money, were condemned to permanent bachelorhood because the opportunities for earning money were not as favorable as they are today with European commerce. In the account of the belief in souls (Vol. II, p. 102 /Ed., not translated/), we mentioned how a loving father procures a wife for his son by transforming himself into a leopard.

The number of wives that the individual chief calls his own
622 decreases from north to south, precisely in the same proportion
595 as his power as a ruler decreases towards the south. The most
184 respected and greatest chiefs of the Mwele and Jaunde sometimes possess up to 100 wives; similarly, Bulu chiefs with 50 wives are not a rarity. Among the Fang, on the other hand, the chiefs have only from 16 to 20 wives, at most 30, while in smaller villages they may have as few as five or even fewer, since, as we have seen /Ed., not translated/, anybody can become a chief (nkūkūma) by founding a new village because in this village he will be the "wealthiest."

The statement sounds harsh, but it must be made: the
837 woman's sexual life is basically a continuation of that of the girl, perhaps in even more artful forms, in other words, a higher form of prostitution. Marital fidelity is a great rarity, even though my Blacks steadfastly maintained that this is not so. I myself was only once shown a woman, as a "curiosity," who did not permit herself to be seduced by other men, and this was not even in the Pangwe region, but on my travels in Bassá country. I do not wish to deny that even among the Pangwe there are women who remain faithful to their husbands without being compelled

583 to look for her, he gives them what he has in the way of money and goods, and the parents have to consent to the marriage by accepting this first payment. This practice is called abom.

584 This practice is exceptional, and the marriage proposal is generally made in a more conventional way. A man, having learned that there is a free woman in a neighboring tribe, a young girl or a repudiated wife, goes to the woman's parents and asks to see her. She comes [576] into the hut, sits down, and allows herself to be looked at. She does not speak if she has never been married, but she speaks if she is used to men; then she goes out after about an hour. Her brothers ask her opinion of the suitor and take the answer to the latter, who gives his opinion of the woman he has seen. This visit is called dzāga. If both agree to marry, they spend the night together; the man may leave in the morning without saying anything if the woman has not suited him and he does not wish to marry her. If it is the woman who is not satisfied, she asks her brothers to tell the suitor not to come back. In case of agreement, the suitor goes back several times for several days. The father of the woman fixes the amount of the dowry, and the suitor has to accept it.

586 If a married woman, not wishing to stay with her husband, goes off with another man, the latter pays the woman's parents the amount of the dowry which was paid by the former husband. This practice is fairly recent. In earlier times the former husband received the dowry of his successor directly or, if he refused it, it was a case of war unless another woman was given him in exchange.

583 585 Marriage is not considered final until the dowry has been paid in full by the husband. The amount is variable, currently about 1,500 or 2,000 francs, in money or in various goods. The woman leaves her tribe and goes to live with her husband. Her arrival at her new village is marked by celebrations. [89] She is accompanied by women who cry out "e e ke o o o ko"; these cries are called mekogo. The husband's mother recites to her the genealogy of her son; then the bride goes into her husband's hut where the women of her husband's family bring her food. She is confined here for a week, and this is the "good welcome to the bride," eyale mbom.

585 535 Two days after the arrival of the bride, there are songs and dances performed by women only: these are the bya bi mbom. The men play the tomtom and are spectators. This takes place near the husband's hut.

586 The day on which the woman is to come out of the hut, she is bathed
535 and anointed with an oil (mbon nzūi) and is seated on a stool placed in the middle of the village square. Other women sing and dance around her and give her a new name to represent a wish she has made.

There is no religious ceremony.

583 There also used to be a marriage by exchange of wives (mvole bunanga). With the mere consent of the women concerned, two men could exchange their wives. The parents of the wives did not interfere except to verify the amounts of the dowries and to make sure that the husband of the wife with the lesser dowry had fully paid the difference to the other.

593 The relations between married couples are simple: the man must
562 lodge his wife and clear the brush from the site where she will make her plantings; on the other hand, the wife owes absolute fidelity and obedience to her husband, who has the right to beat her. The woman has no authority in the household; she is hardly more respected than
[832] a domestic animal; she owns in her own right only the cooking utensils and the tools for planting and fishing, and does not have the right to own animals. Prohibition of sexual relations is rigidly observed during
[834] pregnancy, during lactation, and in the night preceding departure for the hunt, work at the forge, and various [other] tasks. If the prohibition were not observed, these tasks would be unsuccessful.

595 Polygamy is the present custom among the Fan. The first wife has authority over the others, who must obey her. She receives the largest share of everything and assigns household chores and field work. The husband sleeps with each of his wives for three days.

684 In adultery, only the wife is punished. She is beaten and her ac-
837 complice pays an indemnity to her husband. This indemnity amounts to a quarter of the dowry. The wife confesses her adultery only when forced to by a series of corporal punishments which range from blows to being tied to a tree full of ants (akokum).

586 Repudiation is accomplished without difficulty: the man sends back his wife and the dowry is repaid him. The causes for repudiation are repeated adultery, the death of a child as a result of adultery, laziness, practice of fetishism, and excessive surveillance of the husband; sterility is not a reason for [90] repudiation. The children stay with the husband, and the woman, once repudiated, may remarry.

581
562

> the saying: "If the woman is the receptacle in which all can quench their thirst, she should not be carried off."

between these collective sanctions, and the very broad morality which allows a girl to "celebrate her youth" and which appears in the proverb: "Woman is an ear of dry corn in which anyone with teeth may bite." Marriage strengthens the socialization of woman, imposing on her [122] unconditional submission. One might say, to quote R. Bastide, that it consists in passing from "lustful sexuality" to "social sexuality."

581
585

The social character of marriage is emphasized symbolically. A series of ceremonies mark the admission of the woman into the group that is receiving her. The mother of her husband recites the latter's genealogy, and a segregation of a week is imposed on her, after which she undergoes a coming-out ritual — she is bathed and anointed with oil by the oldest woman relative -- [55] and she receives a new name, indicating a wish, which the other women give to her at a time of song and dance. (1) The "alliance"

> 1. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., p. 89.

concluded between the two family groupings is demonstrated by meals taken together and by rejoicing (éyalö), and above all, it is [769] consecrated by the sacrifice of an animal destined for the biéri (ancestors' altar) of the young girl's parents, showing that bonds exist not only with the group of living but also with the community of ancestors. (2) The emphasis is thus laid on taking possession of

> 2. No doubt it is necessary to link this sacred character of the alliance to the violence of collective reactions provoked by "women affairs."

the posterity (in this respect the recitation of the genealogy appears to be very significant) and on the creation of an alliance (the same

581 word abè meaning both the bond and those joined) imposing peace
585 and mutual assistance. In this way the two essential functions of the woman are revealed: she is an element of fecundity and a maker of peace and assistance. These are the elements on which traditional Fang society is based. Hence it is easy to understand the control exercised by the group by restricting freedom of choice of a spouse – through the medium of the head of the family, it seeks the alliance which will be of greatest advantage to it (3) – and by

3. Cf. L. Mba, op. cit., "In the past the opinion of the interested parties mattered little. The request is made by the head of one family to the head of another family."

intervening when the flight or rape of the woman would compromise the equilibrium brought about by the marriage.

583 The method itself of marriage marks the development of a
584 series of exchanges between the two family groups it unites. With the first phase known as the "betrothal," dzâga, the young man acquires pre-eminence over the chosen girl. He has the right to live with her for several days, but his family must provide the "fiancée's" parents with the first presents and must lend assistance at the time of various undertakings (clearing undergrowth, building huts, hunting [123] or fishing expeditions). During this period the girl's father determines the amount of the bride price, "mswa. The second period corresponds to the payment of this bride price, which may be made at intervals, provided that the first payment be the largest. This often gives rise to arguments and palavers. On the other hand, the ńkia ("he who has received the bride price") is obliged to bring compensation in the form of gifts, usually of animals, which are called mévalö. Finally, the third phase corresponds to the "handing over of the fiancée" and to her settlement in the midst of the family grouping of the young man. It involves the ceremony we have described. The woman, according to Largeau, becomes truly the wife (mônōga), and not merely the concubine, from the moment when she is able to cook for her husband after

6: Alexandre and Binet--42 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

177
443

1. This lack is also pointed out by Balandier, op. cit., p. 544.

A careful study of village names in several subdivisions has not turned up a name that seems connected with ideas of market, exchange, or trade. Moreover, vocabularies for such subjects are very limited.

And, into this land so unprepared for an economic /sic/ life, world economy is penetrating with all its complexity, setting a purchase price for the total output, which has fluctuations the planters obviously cannot understand. Their dismay is natural, since they have not even been able to become familiar with ideas about price, demand, or bargaining through traditions of trade.

It goes without saying that the time when salt was the item most in demand is long since past. However, bags of salt appear among traditional wedding presents, and the manufacture of salt from lye-washed palm ash is still known, though the product is only sold — and moreover very rarely — for its medicinal properties.

431 258 585 278

511

Expenditures have become extremely diversified, as shown by the analysis of an average family budget: (2)

2. These figures drawn from Budgets familiaux au Cameroun /Family Budgets in the Cameroons/, p. 150, do not take into account, we must remember, auto consumption.

Food	14	percent	Household articles	1.9	percent
Textiles	17.4	-	Equipment	7.7	-
Bride price	13	-	Taxes	8.5	-
Housing and furniture	7.5	-	Medicaments	1.3	-
Bedding	1.5	-	Education	0.9	-
Lighting and upkeep	3	-	Gifts and miscellaneous	6	-
Trips	2	-			

517
177
511
291
241

Food now includes, even in the bush, imported items like stockfish or like the bread, sardines, sugar, and condensed milk that are used less regularly. Clothes are the main item of expense. The desire to follow Paris fashions is perhaps not a national trait peculiar

595 Whatever the kind of marriage, the first wife is the only
585 one considered [574] as truly legitimate. As soon as she enters her new hut, her husband leads her by the hand before the évora biéri, which is kept tightly closed. Throughout her life, the wife will never be allowed to look into the box, as that would entail a very grave ritual offense. She now takes a bit of palm oil brought from her own village, mixes it with some from her husband's mother, and rubs this symbolic mixture on the statue
[842] on top of the évora. This is a symbol of the fertility she asks of the ancestors and the guardian spirits of the race. She next
[782] puts a few grains of maize in a small basket at the base of the statue, so that her future plantations may thrive. This sacrifice should be repeated every morning, but only by the principal wife -- and it is often omitted.

4. Hunting, Fishing, Husbandry

788 Before starting on a hunting or fishing expedition, like-
779 wise before going out to the first work on his plantation, every family head or warrior will be sure to invoke his totem. He does this first with an offering on the biéri box, then by touching his weapons, tools, or snares against the family totem.

788 In the case of hunting, the hunter, when charing his gun,
224 mixes some of the ashes of totemic sacrifice with his small shot,
779 puts his hand on his totem, and leaves confident of the outcome. Even if hunting does not come up to expectation, he would never dream of blaming his totem. He would think that he had had bad luck or, more likely, that he had committed some offense.

788 When going fishing, he carries some of the sacrificial
226 ashes hidden in a rag. At the spot he thinks propitious, he al-
779 ways begins by throwing the ashes into the water, in order to obtain his totem's good will.

Likewise, when a man starts farming, at the beginning of
788 each dry season, before giving the first ax blow to the trees to
241 be cut down, he places some ashes or remnants of sacrifice in
779 some kind of hole and sees to it that they are consumed by the

837 to do so, but, as I said -- white crows! Actually, it would be asking rather a lot to expect this as the order of the day, in view of the prevailing polygyny. All jealousy and all supervision are of no avail; the women simply acquire behind the man's back what he cannot or will not grant them.

[622] Generally, the chief keeps only a small number of his wives,
[595] perhaps from three to five, for himself. The others he divides among his /263/ adherents and friends or hires them out to acquaintances for one or more nights in exchange for cash payment. In addition, as is apparent from the reckonings at the feast for the souls, the women keep a whole series of admirers who -- if there is no other way -- satisfy them during the day in the fields, in spite of Ngi and all the cult spirits. Even lepers and cripples are not spurned if they are capable sexually. If the
[684] husband learns the name of a wife's lover, the latter must pay him about 300 spears. The price fluctuates somewhat, and in case the parties do not come to an agreement, it is determined by legal proceedings. If the husband catches a rival in flagrante delicto, he sometimes has no scruples about shooting him down on the spot.

587 If a woman dies soon after marriage, the widower obtains the sister of the deceased as a wife, either for nothing or for a small additional payment, because it is believed that the woman carried an ewu inside her, in other words, that she was a sorceress and was therefore responsible for her own death, thus wronging her husband.

If for some reason or other a man does not like his wife, he
586 can give her back without great difficulty, since, after all, she retains her value and finally always "gets her man." In the case of young people, who frequently marry the first person that happens to be available and only later realize what they have actually acquired, wives may be taken back purely if they have a poor appearance, diseased teeth, an evil smell, and so forth, in other words, if they are generally "unpleasant."

Otherwise, the chief grounds for divorce are: 1) spitefulness and disobedience towards the spouse; 2) malicious, extended desertion of the husband (but not simple running away) and

586 insurmountable aversion to him; 3) repeated theft; 4) sorcery by which the woman kills (poisons) the children of other women, and the man is afraid that sooner or later he will likewise become her victim; 5) the slow development of the woman who was a child when married, in other words, the man had overestimated her age (this case is as characteristic of the Negroes as the reason given for it: "So that his money will not be spent for nothing"); 6) such diseases as leprosy, elephantiasis of the feet, and a form of dysentery (tiɛ), if they appear soon after marriage.

In certain cases it may also happen that continued adultery and sterility of the wife lead to divorce.

If the reason for the return of the wife is well founded, which in most cases it doubtless is because a Negro will not give away his wife for nothing, the purchase price is returned, or in case the father-in-law has more daughters, a sister of the ex-wife is given in exchange for the unsuitable one. /284/

[691] Naturally, quarrels arise in great abundance on such occasions, and legal proceedings stemming from the refusal to return the purchase price of a wife constitute, next to cases of adultery, the majority of all litigations.

4. Medicines, Influence of Sexual Intercourse

842 In the opinion of the Pangwe, the seed is formed in the
827 nipple. This idea was probably arrived at through the fact that at the time of sexual maturity the breasts swell and at times even attain the size of the breasts of girls of the same age. From the nipple the seed flows into the pubic region to the mons pubis (edǎ'k) and is deposited there to flow out during coitus (see medicine for gonorrhea, Vol. II, p. 50). There would be too much
[302] if the pubic hairs were shaved off. Hence they are merely cut short as a hygienic measure dictated by the hot climate, the secretion of sweat, and itching skin rashes. Concerning the significance of the testicles, the Pangwe are in complete ignorance; they believe that they merely serve to erect the penis.

841 Menstruation is the sign of the ability to bear children and is looked upon as an effect of the moon (ngō'n = girl and moon).

583 to look for her, he gives them what he has in the way of money and goods, and the parents have to consent to the marriage by accepting this first payment. This practice is called abom.

584 This practice is exceptional, and the marriage proposal is generally made in a more conventional way. A man, having learned that there is a free woman in a neighboring tribe, a young girl or a repudiated wife, goes to the woman's parents and asks to see her. She comes [516] into the hut, sits down, and allows herself to be looked at. She does not speak if she has never been married, but she speaks if she is used to men; then she goes out after about an hour. Her brothers ask her opinion of the suitor and take the answer to the latter, who gives his opinion of the woman he has seen. This visit is called dzāga. If both agree to marry, they spend the night together; the man may leave in the morning without saying anything if the woman has not suited him and he does not wish to marry her. If it is the woman who is not satisfied, she asks her brothers to tell the suitor not to come back. In case of agreement, the suitor goes back several times for several days. The father of the woman fixes the amount of the dowry, and the suitor has to accept it.

586 If a married woman, not wishing to stay with her husband, goes off with another man, the latter pays the woman's parents the amount of the dowry which was paid by the former husband. This practice is fairly recent. In earlier times the former husband received the dowry of his successor directly or, if he refused it, it was a case of war unless another woman was given him in exchange.

583 585 Marriage is not considered final until the dowry has been paid in full by the husband. The amount is variable, currently about 1,500 or 2,000 francs, in money or in various goods. The woman leaves her tribe and goes to live with her husband. Her arrival at her new village is marked by celebrations. [89] She is accompanied by women who cry out "e e ke o o o ko"; these cries are called mekogo. The husband's mother recites to her the genealogy of her son; then the bride goes into her husband's hut where the women of her husband's family bring her food. She is confined here for a week, and this is the "good welcome to the bride," eyale mbom.

585 535 Two days after the arrival of the bride, there are songs and dances performed by women only: these are the bya bi mbom. The men play the tomtom and are spectators. This takes place near the husband's hut.

585 The day on which the woman is to come out of the hut, she is bathed
535 and anointed with an oil (mbon nzüi) and is seated on a stool placed in the middle of the village square. Other women sing and dance around her and give her a new name to represent a wish she has made.

There is no religious ceremony.

583 There also used to be a marriage by exchange of wives (mvole bunanga). With the mere consent of the women concerned, two men could exchange their wives. The parents of the wives did not interfere except to verify the amounts of the dowries and to make sure that the husband of the wife with the lesser dowry had fully paid the difference to the other.

593 The relations between married couples are simple: the man must
562 lodge his wife and clear the brush from the site where she will make her plantings; on the other hand, the wife owes absolute fidelity and obedience to her husband, who has the right to beat her. The woman has no authority in the household; she is hardly more respected than
[832] a domestic animal; she owns in her own right only the cooking utensils and the tools for planting and fishing, and does not have the right to own animals. Prohibition of sexual relations is rigidly observed during
[834] pregnancy, during lactation, and in the night preceding departure for the hunt, work at the forge, and various [other] tasks. If the prohibition were not observed, these tasks would be unsuccessful.

595 Polygamy is the present custom among the Fan. The first wife has authority over the others, who must obey her. She receives the largest share of everything and assigns household chores and field work. The husband sleeps with each of his wives for three days.

684 In adultery, only the wife is punished. She is beaten and her ac-
837 complice pays an indemnity to her husband. This indemnity amounts to a quarter of the dowry. The wife confesses her adultery only when forced to by a series of corporal punishments which range from blows to being tied to a tree full of ants (akokum).

●586 Repudiation is accomplished without difficulty: the man sends back his wife and the dowry is repaid him. The causes for repudiation are repeated adultery, the death of a child as a result of adultery, laziness, practice of fetishism, and excessive surveillance of the husband; sterility is not a reason for [90] repudiation. The children stay with the husband, and the woman, once repudiated, may remarry.

562 compensation, or she may "publicly curse her husband." (2)
584

2. Cf. V. Largeau, op. cit., article: Femme [Woman].

562 Finally, in the case of serious conflicts, the union may be dissolved
586 by "divorce," but the latter may only be used traditionally under well-defined circumstances and "with the assent of the two interested family heads." (3) There are therefore arrangements that allow

3. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 21.

personal reasons to be taken into account and which F. Meyé had in mind when he said, "the Fang woman can in no way be compared to a slave," because of the many kinds of recourse she has at her disposal; these arrangements play a wholly exceptional role in ancient Fang society. Beside the personal element, which also acts as a disturbing element, is the fact that the number of unions indicates wealth and social importance. (4) It results, when the

4. This element is shown particularly in the custom reported by L. Mba: "In comfortably off families, the parents betroth the boys before puberty and the girls after puberty," op. cit., p. 14.

circulation of goods is no longer strictly controlled, in keen competition and numerous disputes.

582 It is now essential to consider the persons concerned in the
835 play of marriage and to point out at once that certain persons [127] are excluded from it. Apart from the double exogamy which introduces a form of "fraternity" in a very broad sense of the word, there are prohibitions concerning the precise degrees of relationship as follows: between members of the taǧa class (father, mother, uncle, aunt) and the mwanõ class (sons and daughters, nephews and nieces); between members of the same segment, including cousins to the third generation; there are prohibitions on those

596
621 level that the agencies of authority, of social control, are most in evidence.

The head of the family is the senior, ntôl or ntôle môt, of the adult
[888] and active men, benya bôtô, "the true men." He is not necessarily the oldest in age, because infirm old men suffer a genuine capitis diminutio /a loss of status/. The founder of the hamlet or his eldest son can still, even if infirm, preserve a certain moral authority as father, ésa, of the family, but actual authority will then be delegated to a nya môtô chosen from his brothers, sons, or nephews, the éfo'olo (Bertaut). In principle, a jal is composed of the founder, his old relatives /parents/, his younger brothers, his children and those of his sisters, his unmarried sisters, their illegitimate children and those of his daughters. Wives do not belong to the jal; their village is referred
● [586] to as jañ. Of a divorced woman one would say, a keya jañ, "she has gone back to her village." The size of the nda bôt depends upon different factors: security, the /family/ head's authority, the fertility of the soil, etc. I have already pointed out how several mal can be
[178] gathered into a nlam, a proper village. Nowadays the menda me bôt are tending to decrease numerically and no longer to correspond to the jal, which can from now on combine several /menda me bôt/. The limited or household family is becoming more and more important,
[622] while the government-sponsored institution of village chiefship /chefferie/, although it is often only an imperfect substitute for the authority of the ntôl or the ésa, undermines that none the less. The size of an average nda bôt may be calculated at twenty /49/ persons (including the wives who do not belong to the jal), less in the towns and among the less prosperous people, more among large planters and the influential (minkukum).

596 The nda bôt used to be a religious, military, and economic unit. On the religious plane, the father, ésa, was the custodian of the biéti
[778] (Fang, biéri), the portable altar or ark of the ancestral cult containing the skulls of the ancestors; he made the decisions about initiations and bore their expense. The initiations have died out, and the
[797] missions have burned dozens, if not hundreds, of biéri. Security and colonial order have removed any interest in the ésa's military function. Only his economic role survives to some extent. He used to be the
596 sole owner of the family goods (biôm), sole treasurer of income, and
180 sole regulator of expenditures, of which the most important was the
166 payment of "bride prices" (minsuba) for his younger brothers and his

584 uncle, a full brother or a half brother on the father's side. The custom persists in the better families, even if the future spouses' consent is asked or if the initiative for the union comes from them. When this is impossible, for instance among emigrants, it is still the correct thing for the prospective husband to use the offices of an older person, perhaps even an administrative superior, who arranges the marriage, [583] kômesan aluk. To the nsuba proper are added customary presents to the future mother-in-law and affinal family, which are the more important when payment of the nsuba is in periodic installments (as it more and more tends to be). After the first installment is paid, there [834] is a bethrothal, and the young girl, who before that has enjoyed sexual freedom, is from now on theoretically supposed to be faithful. Sexual relations with the prospective husband often begin at this time, if they have not already. The Christian ceremony and the civil registry take place when a portion of the bride price, amounting to from a quarter to a half, has been paid. In former times the bride used to remain in seclusion before going in procession from her village, where the groom's family came to fetch her, to her conjugal residence. After consummation of the marriage, she would with her mother's help cook the first meal served to her husband. These practices have fallen into general disuse.

Up to a recent date, on the other hand, the custom persisted—now prohibited officially—of "paying bride price" for a girl who had not reached puberty, even for a fetus or an unconceived child, who would go to live with her affinal family almost as soon as she was weaned, there to be brought up either by her mother-in-law or by her husband's first wife, whom she would look upon as her ntyi (mother-in-law). The marriage would be consummated after the girl's second menstruation (ayene ngon = to see the moon).

583 The mfañ aluk form of marriage is the most usual nowadays. It leads to many lawsuits in connection with deciding who is to be the [691] nya ndômô to collect the "bride price." As the ntôl môt's authority has weakened, especially when he is not the girl's real father /sic/, uncles and brothers quarrel over who is to receive the nsuba. Some emancipated young women, particularly those who are mistresses of Europeans, decide the matter by collecting it themselves, but this is very much frowned on.

[586] The "bride price" is given back to the husband in the case of divorce, to the fiancé in the case of a broken betrothal, caused, for example, by the premature death of the fiancée.

583 example, by the premature death of the fiancée. Almost all customary courts now refuse /to uphold/ repayment when a woman has died without issue, as was the old custom.

The other forms of marriage were abom, marriage by abduction, which was regularized by later payment of the "bride price" (meso [426] ngon = arrival of the girl); putting in pawn for debt, which was made permanent /53/ by nonrepayment; éjian, substitution for a fiancée deceased before marriage or for a wife who died without issue (in such cases a younger sister of the dead woman was often provided); [682] taff abim, corpse price, that is, the giving in payment of a young woman as blood money after a homicide; exchange of women between clans, usually on the occasion of an alliance /i.e. through marriage/, élat (1).

1. Elat = alliance, agreement; bilelat = kindred, the whole body of relatives and affinal kin.

837 Exchange or loan of women, mvia, was perhaps a form of hospitable prostitution. It apparently did not apply to the benya binga, the "true wives," in any case never to the ôsua minga, the first wife, [58] who would have considered it a reason for divorce without repayment of bride price. In the same way, nkuan, sale, was not the equivalent [426] of marriage and must have applied mainly to foreigners, though perhaps sometimes to Pahouin girls pawned and not redeemed.

587 The inheritance of widows did not automatically have the same 428 value as marriage. It was usually permitted only between succeeding generations—from father to son, from elder to younger brother; inheriting by an older from a younger brother appears in recent law. Furthermore, the heir possessed the right of renunciation, except with respect to his mother, whom he had to support but whom he would naturally not make his wife. He could send other widows back to their families, keeping their children, who belonged to his clan. 587 To require repayment of the bride price for a widow's "liberation" 583 seems to be a recent deviation; in the past this custom must have applied only to barren women or to those whose children had not lived, but only when they returned to live with their families without remarrying. The moment a widow remarried outside the family of her deceased husband, the "bride price" went to the latter's heirs, and

587 the law has not changed on this point. "No bride price, no marriage"
583 —Sa nsuba, ve alu' e se kik. We shall find this principle again in connection with legitimate descent.

583 Thus it is the absence of payment of the nsuba that gives their
837 character to free union, ébon, and to adultery, mejian, and makes them really infringements upon the law of property, justifying the fact
[684] that customary courts logically refuse to impose a penalty in a case of ébon when the girl returns to her family pregnant (2).

2. This is hard for some magistrates to understand.

581 A husband must provide his wife with lodging and clothes and
593 must clothe any children he has by her. He must clear the field she will cultivate, provide her with household utensils and, in theory, with meat. He must allow her to visit her parents, to whom he owes respect. He must not use sorcery (3) against her and must respect the

[586 837 754]

3. Likened to sorcery are fellatio and sodomy, the grounds for numerous divorces from former members of native infantry regiments.

[839] prerogatives of rank that she holds among her co-wives; he is supposed to sleep with her when she is not menstruating nor pregnant nor nursing.
[834] He must not beat her beyond what she can stand nor expose her vulva in public. /54/

A woman owes obedience to her husband, to her mother-in-law, and to the first wife, respect to her affinal relatives, therefore to her husband's clan; she must be faithful to her husband and perform her conjugal duty. She is responsible for cultivating the plots cleared for her, for fishing with weirs, for feeding her children, taking her turn at cooking for her husband, for keeping her hut clean and that of her husband when she is sleeping with h[illegible] and for helping to build them (it is she who applies the banco onto the frame). She does not have to take care of imported household equipment and clothes because these are biôm of a masculine nature (but the schools and missions are trying to train women to do so). Finally, and above all, she
[842] must be prolific: this is her first duty and a great deal will be forgiven her if she performs it.

595 The first wife, married by mfañ aluk, a proper wedding, and called ôsua minga or ékômba, theoretically has a privileged position vis-à-
[606] vis the mimbom or co-wives. It falls to her to aid or replace the mother-in-law, ntyi, in her role of disciplinarian over the women of the nda. It is or was she who took over the training of the young immature brides waiting to reach puberty in her hut; co-wives of inferior rank therefore often looked upon her as their ntyi. This relationship of daughter-in-law and mother-in-law also exists between two mimbom when the nsuba of the second was paid with the nsuba received for the marriage of a daughter of the first, or when she was the object of a marriage by exchange for this daughter.

Against these legal prerogatives, we find the actual prerogatives of the favorite, nkpwek or ntômba (ntômba = ewe), who besides may be the ôsua minga, although this is rather rare. Custom recognizes the actual privileges of the nkpwek by limiting them so as to prevent them from becoming privatives of the rights of the other wives. I think, although I cannot state it for certain, that there exists, besides, a nuance between the terms nkpwek and ntômba, the first referring, as the word indicates, to an actual preference on the part of the husband, the second to a legal position which the most prolific of the wives would have, or perhaps the one of the best origin.

604 Let us remember that marriage does not remove a woman from her own clan to attach her to her husband's: she is connected with this clan only through her children, if she has any. These children and their bobenyañ will become bobekal to their matrilineal cousins.
● 586 If the marriage breaks up without the woman having borne a child, a kinship relation between the two clans is not established.

Such a dissolution of a marriage may come about, first, upon the death of the woman when no éjian takes place, the substitution of a sister, which is rare today. The kinship tie between the clans is in force if children are born of the marriage; it remained in force in former times in the absence of children if the nsuba was not repaid. The husband's death ends the personal marriage tie but not the collective bond by virtue of which widows are assigned to the heir, as described above. /55/

One of the most frequent causes /sic/ of the dissolution of a marriage nowadays is divorce. This may be the husband's action: a suu minga jañ, he sends his wife back to her village. The grounds usually given are habitual misbehavior, sorcery, "bad character, "

586 sterility. In theory, if the facts are self-evident, the repudiating husband ought to obtain ipso facto the return of the nsuba, reduced, however, in proportion to the number of children the repudiated woman has borne him. In practice, the nya ndômô usually makes difficulties and postpones repayment until the woman's remarriage and his collecting the new bride price (1).

> 1. But nowadays it is common to see the second husband pay the nsuba directly to the first husband, giving the nya ndômô only the eventual increment.

The woman can also take the initiative in divorce: a ke jañ dé; she goes back to her father, blaming the excessive stinginess of the husband who "takes bad care of her," a ba' ale nye abe, his impotence, brutal treatment, or sorcery, or even a grievous insult to her or to her parents. Repayment of the nsuba is obligatory in this case too, except when the husband has committed a very serious offense, usually sorcery or mutilation of the woman.

Finally, divorce may be the action of the woman's nya ndômô: a vaa minga aluk, he withdraws the woman from the marriage, either because he considers her badly treated or because he thinks he has been insulted by his son-in-law or particularly—and more and more often nowadays—because the nsuba has not been entirely paid, or even because he has found another prospective husband willing to pay a higher nsuba. We then witness a real process of extortion, with the nya ndômô relentlessly demanding new presents from the husband under the threat of taking back his daughter. The courts concerned with checking abuses /les tribunaux repressifs/ are almost powerless to penalize these practices, which are very hard to define according to the penal code.

586 In every case legitimate children remain with their father; the
851 woman can only keep custody of them until they are weaned. The
848 proverb pater is est has its Pahouin equivalent: Mon ase mone mbiaé, mon ane mone bityé, "a child is not the child of the genitor, he is the child of the 'bride price' (bityé = bride-price money). In principle, only a child born after payment of the nsuba in full is considered legitimate; in practice, a sort of legitimation by payment after birth is recognized when first payments of the nsuba have already been

586 made, but this practice is only very rarely followed in cases of free
851 union, ébon, even when that is followed by a regular marriage of the
848 natural parents. Illegitimate children, fruits of an ébon, bobengon, are kept in their mother's clan, where, moreover, they rank socially only after legitimate children.

597 There used to exist a kind of adoption, rare today, of a political
614 rather than family nature, which could almost be defined as naturalization. It could only be carried out by the head of an extended family
641 on behalf of an orphan, mone nyui, of another clan (orphans within /56/ the clan being, of course, already considered children of the head of the family). The adopted child, abiaé môsô (i.e., "conceived
833 in the daytime," sexual relations being lawful only between sundown and sunrise), came into the clan with a status analogous to that of the monengon. He remained subject to the marriage prohibitions of his clan of origin.

609 A non-Pahouin outsider permanently residing in a village, a ntabe,
614 may benefit through marriage by alliance, élat, which does not thereby make him a member of the clan. He becomes a monekal (sister's son, uterine relative) and his children, though legitimate, belong to their mother's clan.

593 The descent relationship may be broken by paternal or maternal
578 curse, meyo'é: the parent uttering the curse shows the child his sexual organs, "the place whence he came," while pronouncing a formula oath. The curse is supposed to bring misfortune and death to the offspring accursed, whom everyone avoids. It can only be
783 lifted by a collective purificatory rite (étye, tyô) in which the whole nda bôt participates.

3. Age Grades

561 The individual's life cycle is marked by a certain number of transitions, which are accompanied, or were usually accompanied, by rites that will be discussed further on (p. 115). These crises are birth, weaning, puberty, attaining majority, marriage, death. Age grades correspond to the intermediate stages; they are less strictly defined today than formerly.

561 I do not know the exact word for fetus; people say abum, belly.
843 There must be a more precise term, but I think there is a prohibiton connected with it, certainly as regards men, although it may now be

[837] to do so, but, as I said -- white crows! Actually, it would be asking rather a lot to expect this as the order of the day, in view of the prevailing polygyny. All jealousy and all supervision are of no avail; the women simply acquire behind the man's back what he cannot or will not grant them.

[822] Generally, the chief keeps only a small number of his wives, [595] perhaps from three to five, for himself. The others he divides among his /263/ adherents and friends or hires them out to acquaintances for one or more nights in exchange for cash payment. In addition, as is apparent from the reckonings at the feast for the souls, the women keep a whole series of admirers who -- if there is no other way -- satisfy them during the day in the fields, in spite of Ngi and all the cult spirits. Even lepers and cripples are not spurned if they are capable sexually. If the [689] husband learns the name of a wife's lover, the latter must pay him about 300 spears. The price fluctuates somewhat, and in case the parties do not come to an agreement, it is determined by legal proceedings. If the husband catches a rival in flagrante delicto, he sometimes has no scruples about shooting him down on the spot.

[587] If a woman dies soon after marriage, the widower obtains the sister of the deceased as a wife, either for nothing or for a small additional payment, because it is believed that the woman carried an ewu inside her, in other words, that she was a sorceress and was therefore responsible for her own death, thus wronging her husband.

If for some reason or other a man does not like his wife, he [586] can give her back without great difficulty, since, after all, she retains her value and finally always "gets her man." In the case of young people, who frequently marry the first person that happens to be available and only later realize what they have actually acquired, wives may be taken back purely if they have a poor appearance, diseased teeth, an evil smell, and so forth, in other words, if they are generally "unpleasant."

Otherwise, the chief grounds for divorce are: 1) spitefulness and disobedience towards the spouse; 2) malicious, extended desertion of the husband (but not simple running away) and

587 768 When a man dies and one of his relatives marries his wives, there is no additional payment of dowry. When a man loses his wife, the dowry is repaid fully, or in part, by the relatives of the deceased wife if she has left no children. If there are children, the widower makes no claim to the dowry.

765 The widow cuts her hair. After the death of the husband, the wife is made to confess the names of her lovers in order to make them give payments which will finance the celebrations at the end of mourning. She must weep for one whole day and one whole night; she may do nothing without the permission of her husband's heir; and for a month she stays dirty, dressed in an old loincloth. At the end of this time there are celebrations of the end of mourning which last several days. The widow sits for a whole night in the village square, and the husband's relatives throw her water and pimento. The following morning she jumps four times over a fire of dry banana leaves. While she is jumping, men hit her for the anguish which she has caused her husband to endure. After that she receives a new loincloth from her family and then, before beginning the dances, if she has not accepted remarriage 587 to her husband's heir, she chooses a new husband from among the assembled men of the dead man's family.

838 839 Neither homosexuality nor bestiality have ever been recorded, to our knowledge, among the Fan.

548 Prostitution does not exist.

833 Impotence (eyel), if it is congenital, is attributed to the mother's having accidentally caused milk to flow onto the penis of her son while nursing him. If it occurs later, it is said to be from the abuse of coitus and it is believed that there is no more sperm in the impotent person.

596 Family Group. The family (nda ebur) consists of the man, his wives, his children, and his brothers. It usually includes several homes and constitutes a village in itself. The authority belongs to the father, and it is he who commands because of his being the most respected. He has absolute power, but also incurs certain duties, the most important of which is to find money or goods as dowry for the women whom his sons wish to marry. These dowries are usually obtained through payments made by the girls' husbands. The most complete mutual aid is obligatory among all members of the family, in all 596 circumstances. When the parents have become too old to continue 888 exercising their authority, they live with the family of their oldest son

583 example, by the premature death of the fiancée. Almost all customary courts now refuse /to uphold/ repayment when a woman has died without issue, as was the old custom.

The other forms of marriage were abom, marriage by abduction, which was regularized by later payment of the "bride price" (meso [426] ngon = arrival of the girl); putting in pawn for debt, which was made permanent /53/ by nonrepayment; éjian, substitution for a fiancée deceased before marriage or for a wife who died without issue (in such cases a younger sister of the dead woman was often provided); [682] taff abim, corpse price, that is, the giving in payment of a young woman as blood money after a homicide; exchange of women between clans, usually on the occasion of an alliance /i.e. through marriage/, élat (1).

1. Elat = alliance, agreement; bilelat = kindred, the whole body of relatives and affinal kin.

837 Exchange or loan of women, mvia, was perhaps a form of hospitable prostitution. It apparently did not apply to the benya binga, the "true wives," in any case never to the ôsua minga, the first wife, [591] who would have considered it a reason for divorce without repayment of bride price. In the same way, nkuan, sale, was not the equivalent [492] of marriage and must have applied mainly to foreigners, though perhaps sometimes to Pahouin girls pawned and not redeemed.

● 587 428 The inheritance of widows did not automatically have the same value as marriage. It was usually permitted only between succeeding generations—from father to son, from elder to younger brother; inheriting by an older from a younger brother appears in recent law. Furthermore, the heir possessed the right of renunciation, except with respect to his mother, whom he had to support but whom he would naturally not make his wife. He could send other widows back to their families, keeping their children, who belonged to his clan. 587 583 To require repayment of the bride price for a widow's "liberation" seems to be a recent deviation; in the past this custom must have applied only to barren women or to those whose children had not lived, but only when they returned to live with their families without remarrying. The moment a widow remarried outside the family of her deceased husband, the "bride price" went to the latter's heirs, and

the law has not changed on this point. "No bride price, no marriage" —Sa nsuba, ve alu' e se kik. We shall find this principle again in connection with legitimate descent.

Thus it is the absence of payment of the nsuba that gives their character to free union, ébon, and to adultery, mejian, and makes them really infringements upon the law of property, justifying the fact that customary courts logically refuse to impose a penalty in a case of ébon when the girl returns to her family pregnant (2).

2. This is hard for some magistrates to understand.

A husband must provide his wife with lodging and clothes and must clothe any children he has by her. He must clear the field she will cultivate, provide her with household utensils and, in theory, with meat. He must allow her to visit her parents, to whom he owes respect. He must not use sorcery (3) against her and must respect the

3. Likened to sorcery are fellatio and sodomy, the grounds for numerous divorces from former members of native infantry regiments.

prerogatives of rank that she holds among her co-wives; he is supposed to sleep with her when she is not menstruating nor pregnant nor nursing. He must not beat her beyond what she can stand nor expose her vulva in public. /54/

A woman owes obedience to her husband, to her mother-in-law, and to the first wife, respect to her affinal relatives, therefore to her husband's clan; she must be faithful to her husband and perform her conjugal duty. She is responsible for cultivating the plots cleared for her, for fishing with weirs, for feeding her children, taking her turn at cooking for her husband, for keeping her hut clean and that of her husband when she is sleeping with him, and for helping to build them (it is she who applies the banco onto the frame). She does not have to take care of imported household equipment and clothes because these are biôm of a masculine nature (but the schools and missions are trying to train women to do so). Finally, and above all, she must be prolific: this is her first duty and a great deal will be forgiven her if she performs it.

881
304 The Fan and all the tribes of their group have preserved it. In all clans, at a time decided upon by the chief, youths must be circumcised. This rule is also accepted by all the related tribes, Dzèm and Dzandzama, Bulu, Shéké, Batéké, etc.

During my many journeys I hever met a single Fan who had [582] not been circumcised. No young girl would agree to marrying an uncircumcised man, under any conditions. This by the way indi- [588] cates the value, even in terms of Fan custom, of the temporary marriages contracted with Europeans. The Fan look upon these unions simply as concubinage and designate them by the same word, évex.

Although the Fan group has kept circumcision, others have not, so that it cannot be said to now be a general rite among the Bantu. The custom is not the result of Semitic infiltration; some Bantu tribes like the Kavirondo, among whom the Arabs have penetrated, do not practice it, while the Fan, who have never been in contact with Moslems, do so.

a) Is circumcision a religious rite?

We shall take up the subject [circumcision] first from the general, then from the particular, point of view.

The first question to be raised is: Is circumcision a religious rite by nature and origin, consecrating a person to a deity, as by a sort of sacrament? (1)

1. Cf. Lagrange, Études sémitiques [Studies in Semitic Religion], p. 242.

According to certain writers, Renan in particular, circumcision is a purely hygienic custom: "In the beginning," he says, "this custom had neither the widespread character nor the religious significance that was given it later. Without the operation, certain Oriental peoples would be condemned to semi-impotence and dangerous impurities."

Arcin also wrote: "Circumcision is the most important religious ceremony of the black peoples. This practice has probably been made necessary by a special physiological

585 After the wedding, the young bride is allowed a certain period
595 of rest (up to one month), during which she does not need to work. Every day, newly painted with red wood, she struts around the village. After this honeymoon she then proceeds to the diurnal work in the field, while the man may possibly already be on the lookout for a second wife. Incidentally, there are not many who can afford the luxury of several wives; usually these are only the chief, his brothers, and a number of other people. The great majority must content themselves with a single wife. In former [589] times there were even people who, for lack of money, were condemned to permanent bachelorhood because the opportunities for earning money were not as favorable as they are today with European commerce. In the account of the belief in souls (Vol. II, p. 102 /Ed., not translated/), we mentioned how a loving father procures a wife for his son by transforming himself into a leopard.

622 The number of wives that the individual chief calls his own
595 decreases from north to south, precisely in the same proportion as his power as a ruler decreases towards the south. The most
184 respected and greatest chiefs of the Mwele and Jaunde sometimes possess up to 100 wives; similarly, Bulu chiefs with 50 wives are not a rarity. Among the Fang, on the other hand, the chiefs have only from 16 to 20 wives, at most 30, while in smaller villages they may have as few as five or even fewer, since, as we have seen /Ed., not translated/, anybody can become a chief (nkūkūma) by founding a new village because in this village he will be the "wealthiest."

837 The statement sounds harsh, but it must be made: the woman's sexual life is basically a continuation of that of the girl, perhaps in even more artful forms, in other words, a higher form of prostitution. Marital fidelity is a great rarity, even though my Blacks steadfastly maintained that this is not so. I myself was only once shown a woman, as a "curiosity," who did not permit herself to be seduced by other men, and this was not even in the Pangwe region, but on my travels in Bassá country. I do not wish to deny that even among the Pangwe there are women who remain faithful to their husbands without being compelled

361 823 As was mentioned in the previous section /not translated/, the villages are laid out along the roads and always in an east-west direction (cf. Fig. 16). /56/ Curiously enough, the people gave as the reason for this arrangement the fact that the land slopes down to the west (toward the ocean) and that the rain water can run off in this direction. It is true, of course, that this point is an important consideration inasmuch as they are careful to lay out the village in such a way that the rain water will not flood one of the rows of huts. Nevertheless, this cannot be the sole reason for the east-west arrangement. I have observed that even on completely level ground -- which, in other words, does not favor the drainage of water in the direction intended -- the east-west plan was the [487] preferred one. When, for instance, a route goes south, it will make a turn before reaching the village, cross the latter in an east-west direction, and at the other end will resume its southerly direction (cf. Fig. 16, the Nsăalang I-Beniaa route). It is obvious that in this arrangement reasons other than the one mentioned play a part, such as the general trek to the west of which mention has already been made in the previous section (1).

[764] 1. Compare also the predominantly east-west direction of the graves.

361 A Pangwe village consists mostly of two rows of houses running parallel to each other with the road between them (Plate 4 and Fig. 16). More rarely, a village consists of a single row of houses along the road. Furthermore, villages come into being through the combination of two or more individual establishments, and as a result *different villages display different stages of development*, observable everywhere side by side in the region.

361 If the father of a family wants to found an establishment, he builds two houses, a dwelling and a meeting house /men's house/. 592 The dwelling is the real domain of the wife, where she works and 64 lives with her children and where the man for the most part stays only at night, very rarely in the daytime. The meeting house, on the other hand, is the usual haunt of the man, where he busies himself during the day, performs his incidental tasks, and receives visitors and where the wife comes only now and then. As the

361 children grow up, their father builds each one a house of his own
●572 next to the original dwelling. In the same way, each of his addi-
624 tional wives receives her own house from him. His first wife, how-
ever, remains his favorite wife, and consequently it is her house --
in other words, the one that he built first and which is adjacent to
the meeting house -- which remains his home. He keeps it even
after the death of the wife.

The next step in the development toward a village takes place when, for some reason or other, a second head of a family joins his establishment to that of the first. This happens, for instance, when a member of the same or of another family unit moves in, or when after the death of the father the eldest son inherits his meeting house, dwellings, and wives, and the younger son is unwilling to submit to his older brother who is now also his chief. He or the new arrival, as the case may be, builds the necessary number of houses for himself and his family along the same row. Sometimes he may even build his houses directly /57/ /Fig. 17/ adjacent to the existing houses, and he will likewise finish off his settlement with a meeting house protruding from the line. If the meeting house is a temporary one, it is placed lengthwise in the square (see Fig. 16); if it is a permanent one, it is placed transversely (see Plate 4).

In this way, a "village" arises from the original individual establishment, and because, like a pair of eyes (dʒ̄is; plural, mīs), it consists of two halves (Fig. 18), the village is called dʒ̄ā, plural mā (see what has been said about the meaning of prefixes /not translated/. There are, thus, two family heads in each village; their rows of houses join somewhere in the middle, with a boundary line which is recognizable, of course, only to the initiated. Everyone, however, can see the two meeting houses (belonging to the two heads of family) located on opposite sides of the village square.

The two family heads are legally equals. Certain conditions, however, which we shall discuss more fully in a later section, give one of the heads a position of slight superiority. Sometimes a third establishment is added to the two individual establishments constituting the village, and it also has adjoining rows of houses as well as a meeting house (see Fig. 18).

361 As has been said, the meeting house is the principal haunt of
621 the chief; in the same way it serves all his sons, male relatives,
314

sons. When cacao was introduced, cultivation was done collectively by the nda bôt, with the ésa selling the produce and taking charge of the money. The younger generation quickly tired of this state of affairs and left their families in order to have plantations of their own. In addition, the inflationof land values from the growing of export crops led to division upon the death of the ésa and brought on the splintering of the nda bôt This had never been very stable, even before the colonial period, but the cessation of military needs made possible a precocious "swarming off," which had not occurred before except when a new nda bôt was large enough to provide for its own defense.

In spite of this disintegration, jal and nda bôt remain the basic units of Pahouin life, moe so than the ayoñ. Development of private property notwithstanding, there does exist a juridical community with collective responsibility and obligatory self-help among its members. Many young people denounce this (cf. Eza Boto, Ville cruelle /Cruel City/, no. 182) and partly leave the jal in order to escape. But that is futile because the ties pread throughout the country become closer at a distance /from the jal/ and because the solidarity of the extended family is probably even sronger among emigrants than among stay-at-homes.

d. The Limied or Household Family; Kinship

The limited or household family, composed of an economically independent man, his wife, his children, sometimes old relatives /parents/, unmarried brohers and sisters, is becoming more and more important, both within the nda bôt framework and outside it. The missions have contributed a good deal to this, especially at the outset of evangelical activity, in order to separate the catechumens from their still animistic minté mi bôt (they incline to react in the opposite direction nowadays to fight against "destructive individualism"). But economic changes have also played an important part. The household family is the unit of the migrant petty official, of the small-scale planter. There is no word for it; people say either mone nda bôt, "little extended family," or simply nda, "house."

Purely for convenience I shall discuss kinship on this level, in terms of an adult married man. /50/

423 continues to have rights over her old garden plots and may gather the
532 harvest from them. Among the Bané and the Boulou the position of divorced women is not the same; but the tendency is so, for when fallow land is cleared, every woman goes back to the plots she used to work four or five years before, and sons may demand plots that have been cultivated by their mothers.

Cacao plantations raise other problems. A man concerned for his children's future may turn over a plantation to a wife or encourage her to make one for their son. In other cases childless women start
[533] plantations as a means of providing for old age. Women with children do not have to fear, for their children will look after them. Finally, there is an even more important /83/ change appearing: a matrimonial system of community of property is developing. When a woman has collaborated with her husband to set up a plantation, she has the right upon his death to keep the usufruct. Even if her son inherits the plantation and sells the produce, it is she who collects the proceeds. This is an important development, because it is evidence of a kind of equality between spouses who are keen and efficient in harvesting the produce of the same piece of land. It furthermore shows that the
[532] household is a legal reality vis-à-vis the two individuals, on the one hand, the patriarchal family, on the other. (J. B.)

Chapter 6

Principal Elements of Culture

1. Physical and Mental Characteristics

a. Anthropological Data

141 The first travelers describe the Fang as very tall, well built, and with a formidable appearance. This opinion certainly contained a good deal of subjective evaluation, because the figures given, for instance by L. Dugast, some of which are cited below, indicate simply an above-average height:

13. Treat your (real) sister well! If she scolds you, leave
861 her alone (that is, do not scold her in return); it is nothing to
867 you! Do not beat her, either, because, after all, for the money that is paid for the marriage of your sister, you will in turn buy a wife for yourself. If you beat your sister, she may possibly die through sorcery (this means that in her anger over the maltreat-
[762] ment she might take her life, something which does indeed happen), and you will have no money and no wife, and people will not respect you, and so forth. /290/

14. If you are the older of two brothers and you are married and have a daughter, then do not marry another woman with the marriage portion that you get for the daughter; instead, leave the daughter (or the money) to your younger brother. If, as the eldest, you have acted in such a way, you will enjoy the same honor and respect among your brothers as your father does.

15. Your father tells you all these good /Fig. 87 appears here in the original text/ principles and bits of advice not in order to make you, his son, bad (that is, through lack of trust or lack of respect for him), nor does he do so in order to limit your freedom, but because he desires that you will not bring any unpleasantness (quarrels) into the house, which will harm him and you. For when I have paid two or three times, I will be tired of (disgusted with) these things, and it may not be long before I have no wife left in the village (that is, he would be a poor man, because wives mean money, and he would have spent all his money for the fines of his son).

The attentive reader, in looking through the earlier sections
861 of this book, will not have failed to note the strict patriarchal
893 tendency of the Pangwe. It is clear, therefore, that the father
● supervises the education of the child and especially of the adolescent boy. He does this in an ideal manner -- even among us it would be regarded as ideal -- by becoming his son's best friend and by supporting and advising him in all the important problems of life.

Of course, the mother is dear to the Negroes and cherished by them as she is everywhere else in the world, but natural respect and shame in her presence prohibit the son from telling her

[857]
[854]
[291]
[142]

Fig. 87. Boy about Seven Carrying a Child, Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

861 everything that is on his mind. Also, any kind of influence in
593 the family unit is wielded only by the chief wife and /291/ even by her only to a limited extent. In all problems of life the father, as head of the family, remains the real friend and counselor of his son, as does the mother for her daughter.

861 In this way the love of the parents gently leads the child
593 through the realm of youth. However, once the boy has matured
578 into a young man, the obstinacy with which nature has to a spe-
626 cial degree endowed the Pangwe, sometimes asserts itself even in the face /Fig. 88 appears here in the original text/ of paternal authority. In such a case, it is sometimes only the most effective and most feared means of education that helps to lead the

[Text continues on page 168]

861 593 578 626

rebellious son back to gentler modes of behavior, namely, the public curse. The curse (ebûn(o); verb, a bûno) may be pronounced by the father or the mother upon the son, as well as by the eldest son as the father's representative, especially after the father's death, upon a younger brother. In the majority of cases, however, it is the father who pronounces the curse upon his son. The cause for such a pronouncement is continual disobedience, for instance, if the son, despite repeated warnings, takes advantage of the father's wives. The father then stands in the middle of the village square in order to be heard by the people, usually in the morning when they are all at home, or he summons them all to the meeting house and speaks to them somewhat as follows: "This person, my son, continually acts counter to my commands, etc.; therefore from this time on he shall be successful in nothing, he shall acquire no more things (through purchase and trade of gifts), he shall have no success in hunting; when he goes to a girl she shall 'look upon him as dirt' and grant him no love. For he shall be cursed." A definite formula is not prescribed in most regions; only in the north of the Pangwe region they say: "ma yôn(e) oa" (Jaunde), that is, "I curse you." /292/

In most cases, the curse actually is followed by the consequences threatened by the father, at least insofar as they concern the son's social position. News of the curse spreads everywhere, and nobody wants to have anything more to do with the cursed one; wherever he goes he is looked at askance or even heaped with abuse and ridicule. In his father's village he will be completely unacceptable. As a result, the son is soon tired of this unbearable state of affairs and now tries to induce his father to remove the curse. He requests him through friends or relatives to remove the curse from him, or he approaches his father through his mother, but then by way of her brother, since "she is afraid of her husband."

If, in response to these requests and the son's promise that he will improve, the father is prepared to nullify the curse, the son must first of all -- if he is an adult -- pay him a goat or -- if he is not an adult -- a chicken. Contrary to the usual custom of adding every piece of livestock to the marriage portion for more wives, the animal paid as compensation by the son is consumed by

861 the parents and relatives. Thereafter, the son is summoned to
593 appear in the village the next day. The father again assembles
626 all the people in the meeting house and makes a long speech in
578 which he rehearses the entire affair from his point of view down to the smallest details. Finally, at the conclusion of his speech, he touches upon the actual purpose of the gathering and proceeds to remove the curse. The formula with which he does so is approximately as follows:

[539] ma tɛ̃'i matɛ'iᵣ ma kábe ma,
I have imposed curse (1) (?), I disengage myself (from

1. matɛ̃'iᵣ = the imposed curse, a va matɛ̃'i = to remove the (imposed) curse; the root a tɛ̃'i = to tear oneself away from, to depart from home, otítɛ̃i = star (see Vol. II, pages 85 and 86).

it), I make straight myself -- (into the) water

nkíãᵣi; Chorus: mãn.
down. Chorus: Ready, past.

The texts of the formulas, which are frequently extended through the introduction of comparisons and which do not, of course, correspond word for word, are evidently all very old since they are very hard to understand and sometimes not intelligible at all.

At the same time the father spits into his son's hand to indi-
[201] cate that what he took away from him by means of his words (symbolized by the spittle) he is putting back in his power (hand), or the father bites off -- this is the procedure among the Jaunde --
[824] a piece of the stalk of a Costus (Zingiberaceae) and spits it out. In so doing he casts out all the bitterness from his heart (Costus stalk is bitter).

Furthermore, a curse may be pronounced by the first wife
519 against her husband, in case he treats her badly and always
595 neglects her in favor of others. The curse is either pronounced

586 The day on which the woman is to come out of the hut, she is bathed
535 and anointed with an oil (mbon nzũi) and is seated on a stool placed in the middle of the village square. Other women sing and dance around her and give her a new name to represent a wish she has made.

There is no religious ceremony.

583 There also used to be a marriage by exchange of wives (mvole bunanga). With the mere consent of the women concerned, two men could exchange their wives. The parents of the wives did not interfere except to verify the amounts of the dowries and to make sure that the husband of the wife with the lesser dowry had fully paid the difference to the other.

593 The relations between married couples are simple: the man must
562 lodge his wife and clear the brush from the site where she will make her plantings; on the other hand, the wife owes absolute fidelity and obedience to her husband, who has the right to beat her. The woman has no authority in the household; she is hardly more respected than
[833] a domestic animal; she owns in her own right only the cooking utensils and the tools for planting and fishing, and does not have the right to own animals. Prohibition of sexual relations is rigidly observed during
[834] pregnancy, during lactation, and in the night preceding departure for the hunt, work at the forge, and various [other] tasks. If the prohibition were not observed, these tasks would be unsuccessful.

595 Polygamy is the present custom among the Fan. The first wife has authority over the others, who must obey her. She receives the largest share of everything and assigns household chores and field work. The husband sleeps with each of his wives for three days.

In adultery, only the wife is punished. She is beaten and her ac-
684 complice pays an indemnity to her husband. This indemnity amounts
837 to a quarter of the dowry. The wife confesses her adultery only when forced to by a series of corporal punishments which range from blows to being tied to a tree full of ants (akokum).

586 Repudiation is accomplished without difficulty: the man sends back his wife and the dowry is repaid him. The causes for repudiation are repeated adultery, the death of a child as a result of adultery, laziness, practice of fetishism, and excessive surveillance of the husband; sterility is not a reason for [90] repudiation. The children stay with the husband, and the woman, once repudiated, may remarry.

the law has not changed on this point. "No bride price, no marriage" —Sa nsuba, ve alu' e se kik. We shall find this principle again in connection with legitimate descent.

Thus it is the absence of payment of the nsuba that gives their character to free union, ébon, and to adultery, mejian, and makes them really infringements upon the law of property, justifying the fact that customary courts logically refuse to impose a penalty in a case of ébon when the girl returns to her family pregnant (2).

2. This is hard for some magistrates to understand.

A husband must provide his wife with lodging and clothes and must clothe any children he has by her. He must clear the field she will cultivate, provide her with household utensils and, in theory, with meat. He must allow her to visit her parents, to whom he owes respect. He must not use sorcery (3) against her and must respect the

3. Likened to sorcery are fellatio and sodomy, the grounds for numerous divorces from former members of native infantry regiments.

prerogatives of rank that she holds among her co-wives; he is supposed to sleep with her when she is not menstruating nor pregnant nor nursing. He must not beat her beyond what she can stand nor expose her vulva in public. /54/

A woman owes obedience to her husband, to her mother-in-law, and to the first wife, respect to her affinal relatives, therefore to her husband's clan; she must be faithful to her husband and perform her conjugal duty. She is responsible for cultivating the plots cleared for her, for fishing with weirs, for feeding her children, taking her turn at cooking for her husband, for keeping her hut clean and that of her husband when she is sleeping with him, and for helping to build them (it is she who applies the banco onto the frame). She does not have to take care of imported household equipment and clothes because these are biôm of a masculine nature (but the schools and missions are trying to train women to do so). Finally, and above all, she must be prolific: this is her first duty and a great deal will be forgiven her if she performs it.

526 made, but this practice is only very rarely followed in cases of free
851 union, ébon, even when that is followed by a regular marriage of the
898 natural parents. Illegitimate children, fruits of an ébon, bobengon, are kept in their mother's clan, where, moreover, they rank socially only after legitimate children.

597 There used to exist a kind of adoption, rare today, of a political
614 rather than family nature, which could almost be defined as naturalization. It could only be carried out by the head of an extended family
[641] on behalf of an orphan, mone nyui, of another clan (orphans within /56/ the clan being, of course, already considered children of the head of the family). The adopted child, abiaé mɔ̂sɔ̂ (i.e., "conceived
[833] in the daytime," sexual relations being lawful only between sundown and sunrise), came into the clan with a status analogous to that of the monengon. He remained subject to the marriage prohibitions of his clan of origin.

609 A non-Pahouin outsider permanently residing in a village, a ntabe,
614 may benefit through marriage by alliance, élat, which does not thereby make him a member of the clan. He becomes a monekal (sister's son, uterine relative) and his children, though legitimate, belong to their mother's clan.

593 The descent relationship may be broken by paternal or maternal
578 curse, meyo'é: the parent uttering the curse shows the child his sexual organs, "the place whence he came," while pronouncing a formula oath. The curse is supposed to bring misfortune and death to the offspring accursed, whom everyone avoids. It can only be
[783] lifted by a collective purificatory rite (étye, tyɔ̂) in which the whole nda bɔ̂t participates.

3. Age Grades

561 The individual's life cycle is marked by a certain number of transitions, which are accompanied, or were usually accompanied, by rites that will be discussed further on (p. 115). These crises are birth, weaning, puberty, attaining majority, marriage, death. Age grades correspond to the intermediate stages; they are less strictly defined today than formerly.

561 I do not know the exact word for fetus: people say abum, belly.
493 There must be a more precise term, but I think there is a prohibition connected with it, certainly as regards men, although it may now be

brought produce of the locality, the system of directions very probably being ascribed to sexual categories, the northeast area, male and the southwest area, female. It would be advisable to know more about the ritual use of different tools and implements in order to throw more light on the subject. We know that the saber, fa, is essentially male, that the hunting bell tied to a dog's neck, angôn, is essentially female, that the drum-telephone, nkul, is androgynous (though women are not allowed to use it); the rifle, ngal, is probably epicene, and the same is true for a few other objects, but we know almost nothing about the effect of this sexual differentiation upon property and its conveyance.

In any case, since the introduction of a money economy, personal property /propriété mobilière/ has become almost entirely individual. Personal property /meubles/ that remains collective is primarily so by appropriation, like the equipment of associations, the profits of their subscriptions, sometimes objects bought in common by members of a family because of their cost or function—like the sewing machines obtained from Spanish Guinea after the last war, for instance.

Personal property still involves some restrictions for women and young men, although they are less and less accepted. Respectful sons and submissive wives still allow their fathers and husbands to use the objects acquired by the earnings of their labor, but when they rebel the trend of the courts is increasingly in their favor. However, the obligatory aid arising from family ties still holds good, and to refuse to "lend" something to a monyaff is likely to be frowned on, which is a serious matter. Thus there survives a kind of right of collective family use working against individual /ownership of/ personal property.

g. Inheritance, Guardianship

These come about from death or disappearance. A paternal curse did not entail loss of civil rights, but the possessions left behind by an accursed son who quit his village were confiscated and divided among his brothers.

The disposal of possessions left by a dead man, called élik from lik • to leave, took place at the end of the period of mourning, meyep, perhaps /77/ a mbu, six months after death. This waiting period tends to become shorter and in towns usually lasts a month,

423 continues to have rights over her old garden plots and may gather the
532 harvest from them. Among the Bané and the Boulou the position of divorced women is not the same, but the tendency is so, for when fallow land is cleared, every woman goes back to the plots she used to work four or five years before, and sons may demand plots that have been cultivated by their mothers.

Cacao plantations raise other problems. A man concerned for his children's future may turn over a plantation to a wife or encourage her to make one for their son. In other cases childless women start
[573] plantations as a means of providing for old age. Women with children do not have to fear, for their children will look after them. Finally, there is an even more important /83/ change appearing: a matrimonial system of community of property is developing. When a woman has collaborated with her husband to set up a plantation, she has the right upon his death to keep the usufruct. Even if her son inherits the plantation and sells the produce, it is she who collects the proceeds. This is an important development, because it is evidence of a kind of equality between spouses who are keen and efficient in harvesting the produce of the same piece of land. It furthermore shows that the
[592] household is a legal reality vis-à-vis the two individuals, on the one hand, the patriarchal family, on the other. (J.B.)

Chapter 6

Principal Elements of Culture

1. Physical and Mental Characteristics

a. Anthropological Data

141 The first travelers describe the Fang as very tall, well built, and with a formidable appearance. This opinion certainly contained a good deal of subjective evaluation, because the figures given, for instance by L. Dugast, some of which are cited below, indicate simply an above-average height:

road. The missions have tried, with unequal results, to ameliorate the fate of old people without children; certain clan "societies" have also been active in this direction, but none of it goes very far. Moreover, the old people accept their lot and occasionally joke about it among themselves with the rather biting irony that seems one of the mental characteristics of the group. Some old people kill themselves "from being tired of life." According to Trilles, some used to burn themselves to death voluntarily. According to Largeau, the heirs took the initiative in this so as to make the inheritance available.

The least wretched old people are those with children, particularly sons (1), since daughters usually live with their affinal family. There

1. Cf. Eza Boto, Ville cruelle (no. 182), for an illustration of relations between mother and son.

does exist a genuine obligation for children to provide parents with food, which is sanctioned by paternal or maternal curse in case of default.

f. Death and the Afterlife

Every death is suspect, but that of a nya mɔ̃ more than another, because a nya mɔ̃ does not die: someone kills him, though it may be none other than himself. Therefore the death of a man of some importance was always followed by an autopsy: the ngengaⁿ would cut open the body and examine the thoracic organs, nlem, the seat of intellect and will, to look for signs of sorcery, the work either of another or of the dead man should his évu have turned against him or been killed by a malignant agency. There also appears to have been a magic process, évɔ̃mɔ̃, that revived the dead long enough to put questions concerning the cause of death.

If the autopsy revealed that the deceased was a sorcerer, nnem, the body was burned or thrown into a large river or perhaps buried at a crossroads far from the village. If he were mie, free of évu, the regular mortuary rites ensued. The body was washed in warm water, massaged and softened, then rubbed with baa dissolved in palm oil, wrapped in a white loincloth, watched over by armed men while the grave was made ready and the relatives /102/ and affinal kin /alliés/

585 After the wedding, the young bride is allowed a certain period of rest (up to one month), during which she does not need to work.
595 Every day, newly painted with red wood, she struts around the village. After this honeymoon she then proceeds to the diurnal work in the field, while the man may possibly already be on the lookout for a second wife. Incidentally, there are not many who can afford the luxury of several wives; usually these are only the chief, his brothers, and a number of other people. The great majority must content themselves with a single wife. In former
[589] times there were even people who, for lack of money, were condemned to permanent bachelorhood because the opportunities for earning money were not as favorable as they are today with European commerce. In the account of the belief in souls (Vol. II, p. 102 /Ed., not translated/), we mentioned how a loving father procures a wife for his son by transforming himself into a leopard.

The number of wives that the individual chief calls his own
622 decreases from north to south, precisely in the same proportion
595 as his power as a ruler decreases towards the south. The most
184 respected and greatest chiefs of the Mwele and Jaunde sometimes possess up to 100 wives; similarly, Bulu chiefs with 50 wives are not a rarity. Among the Fang, on the other hand, the chiefs have only from 16 to 20 wives, at most 30, while in smaller villages they may have as few as five or even fewer, since, as we have seen /Ed., not translated/, anybody can become a chief (nkiikiima) by founding a new village because in this village he will be the "wealthiest."

The statement sounds harsh, but it must be made: the
837 woman's sexual life is basically a continuation of that of the girl, perhaps in even more artful forms, in other words, a higher form of prostitution. Marital fidelity is a great rarity, even though my Blacks steadfastly maintained that this is not so. I myself was only once shown a woman, as a "curiosity," who did not permit herself to be seduced by other men, and this was not even in the Pangwe region, but on my travels in Bamí country. I do not wish to deny that even among the Pangwe there are women who remain faithful to their husbands without being compelled

837 to do so, but, as I said -- white crows! Actually, it would be asking rather a lot to expect this as the order of the day, in view of the prevailing polygyny. All jealousy and all supervision are of no avail; the women simply acquire behind the man's back what he cannot or will not grant them.

[672] Generally, the chief keeps only a small number of his wives, perhaps from three to five, for himself. The others he divides [595] among his /263/ adherents and friends or hires them out to acquaintances for one or more nights in exchange for cash payment. In addition, as is apparent from the reckonings at the feast for the souls, the women keep a whole series of admirers who -- if there is no other way -- satisfy them during the day in the fields, in spite of Ngi and all the cult spirits. Even lepers and cripples are not spurned if they are capable sexually. If the [689] husband learns the name of a wife's lover, the latter must pay him about 300 spears. The price fluctuates somewhat, and in case the parties do not come to an agreement, it is determined by legal proceedings. If the husband catches a rival in flagrante delicto, he sometimes has no scruples about shooting him down on the spot.

587 If a woman dies soon after marriage, the widower obtains the sister of the deceased as a wife, either for nothing or for a small additional payment, because it is believed that the woman carried an ewu inside her, in other words, that she was a sorceress and was therefore responsible for her own death, thus wronging her husband.

If for some reason or other a man does not like his wife, he 588 can give her back without great difficulty, since, after all, she retains her value and finally always "gets her man." In the case of young people, who frequently marry the first person that happens to be available and only later realize what they have actually acquired, wives may be taken back purely if they have a poor appearance, diseased teeth, an evil smell, and so forth, in other words, if they are generally "unpleasant."

Otherwise, the chief grounds for divorce are: 1) spitefulness and disobedience towards the spouse; 2) malicious, extended desertion of the husband (but not simple running away) and

the parents and relatives. Thereafter, the son is summoned to appear in the village the next day. The father again assembles all the people in the meeting house and makes a long speech in which he rehearses the entire affair from his point of view down to the smallest details. Finally, at the conclusion of his speech, he touches upon the actual purpose of the gathering and proceeds to remove the curse. The formula with which he does so is approximately as follows:

ma tɛ̃'i matɛ'i, ma kābe ma,
I have imposed curse (1) (?), I disengage myself (from

1. matɛ̃'i, = the imposed curse, a va matɛ̃'i = to remove the (imposed) curse; the root a tɛ̃'i = to tear oneself away from, to depart from home, otitɛ̃i = star (see Vol. II, pages 85 and 86).

ma nīme ma, -- ɔ̃ɔ̃ɛ
it), I make straight myself -- (into the) water

nkɔ̃ɛ; Chorus: mīn.
down. Chorus: Ready, past.

The texts of the formulas, which are frequently extended through the introduction of comparisons and which do not, of course, correspond word for word, are evidently all very old since they are very hard to understand and sometimes not intelligible at all.

At the same time the father spits into his son's hand to indicate that what he took away from him by means of his words (symbolized by the spittle) he is putting back in his power (hand), or the father bites off -- this is the procedure among the Jaunde -- a piece of the stalk of a Costus (Zingiberaceae) and spits it out. In so doing he casts out all the bitterness from his heart (Costus stalk is bitter).

Furthermore, a curse may be pronounced by the first wife against her husband, in case he treats her badly and always neglects her in favor of others. The curse is either pronounced

578 publicly, as in the case of the paternal curse, or in the field
●595 when the women are among themselves. /293/

A droll effect is created when the souls are cursed by their
769 descendants. The curse is pronounced at the ancestral feast if it
578 is believed that the souls of the ancestors no longer care about the living, and the curse is also revoked on the same occasion. Although, as ancestors, the souls were more elevated persons who actually cannot be cursed, here is another instance where might comes before right, for after death the souls are powerless on earth, as we know.

Finally, there is a belief in secret curses, and thus, if people
578 are constantly unlucky in life, they are sometimes afraid that they are being cursed by this or that person.

The most terrible curse is that which was pronounced by Nsambe (God) upon human beings when they commited the first major offense against his paternal will. As described in Volume II, page 59 /Ed., not translated/, the curse is symbolically erased during the cult celebration.

3. Children's Games (1)

524
[113]

1. See G. Tessmann, "Die Kinderspiele der Pangwe" /The Children's Games of the Pangwe/, in the Baessler-Archiv, Vol. 2, No. 5-6, p. 250. The children's games are discussed there in detail.

I divide children's games into two major classes: the generally imitative games, and the independent games. Of the former I distinguish three groups: first, gymnastic games which imitate the movements of adults (running, sport, and dancing); second, war and hunting games which imitate the main occupations, not to say professions, of adults; and third, all the rest of the imitative games. The independent games, which are on a higher level, I divide again into three groups: first, toy games, that is, games that are played with objects and do not imitate any

586 The day on which the woman is to come out of the hut, she is bathed
535 and anointed with an oil (mboa nzüi) and is seated on a stool placed in the middle of the village square. Other women sing and dance around her and give her a new name to represent a wish she has made.

There is no religious ceremony.

583 There also used to be a marriage by exchange of wives (mvole bunanga). With the mere consent of the women concerned, two men could exchange their wives. The parents of the wives did not interfere except to verify the amounts of the dowries and to make sure that the husband of the wife with the lesser dowry had fully paid the difference to the other.

593 The relations between married couples are simple: the man must
562 lodge his wife and clear the brush from the site where she will make her plantings; on the other hand, the wife owes absolute fidelity and obedience to her husband, who has the right to beat her. The woman has no authority in the household; she is hardly more respected than
[B22] a domestic animal; she owns in her own right only the cooking utensils and the tools for planting and fishing, and does not have the right to own animals. Prohibition of sexual relations is rigidly observed during
[B34] pregnancy, during lactation, and in the night preceding departure for the hunt, work at the forge, and various [other] tasks. If the prohibition were not observed, these tasks would be unsuccessful.

595 Polygamy is the present custom among the Fan. The first wife has authority over the others, who must obey her. She receives the largest share of everything and assigns household chores and field work. The husband sleeps with each of his wives for three days.

In adultery, only the wife is punished. She is beaten and her ac-
684 complice pays an indemnity to her husband. This indemnity amounts
837 to a quarter of the dowry. The wife confesses her adultery only when forced to by a series of corporal punishments which range from blows to being tied to a tree full of ants (akokum).

586 Repudiation is accomplished without difficulty: the man sends back his wife and the dowry is repaid him. The causes for repudiation are repeated adultery, the death of a child as a result of adultery, laziness, practice of fetishism, and excessive surveillance of the husband; sterility is not a reason for [90] repudiation. The children stay with the husband, and the woman, once repudiated, may remarry.

837 "Etudes sur le Pays Pahouin [Study on the Pahouin Country]," op. cit.

"friendship wife"), show, as does the freedom just referred to, that the curbing of adultery can be explained by social reasons which are quite alien to sexuality.

[327 The possibility of raping women of neighboring people dur-
568 ing the time of conquest, the possibility of buying foreign women
831 at a good price, so long as the slave trade lasted, permitted the
● 595 "chiefs" of groupings to remedy the dangers due to the unsatisfied
581 desires of the young men. Apparently the Fang do not display, as do some people, (2) signs of unsatisfied sex due to the fact that

2. Cf. R. Bastide, Sociologie et Psychanalyse [Sociology and Psychoanalysis], pp. 160-161.

women remain the property of the older men. What is sought is the legal possession of the woman, let us say, for the many advantages it entails, rather than sexual possession. And in this sense the justification brought forward by L. Mba can be understood when he writes, "It was not material satisfaction of the senses which drove the Pahouins to polygamy, but many other reasons. . . ."

581 When the marriage is consummated, the woman goes from a
562 state of near liberty to one of strict sexual control. The specific
684 painful physical penalties for adultery to which the woman alone
628 is subject are particularly severe: being exposed naked before the assembled village, being tied to the ant tree, excision of the clitoris or pimento torture, various mutilations. When the woman, either by flight or by rape, leaves the grouping into which she married, the whole group reacts violently. It is the cause of fights, kidnaping, and pillaging of the village that has taken her
581 in. (3) There is the most absolute contrast between this control
562

3. "Hence, conflicts that last for years, expressed through kidnaping of women and ending in gunshots," Libreville, Archives of 1909. And

583 of the alliance. (5)
584

5. Cf., on the importance of these facts of reciprocity and their role in so-called primitive societies, the remarkable work of C. Levi-Strauss devoted to the study of Structures élémentaires de la Parenté [Elementary Structures of Kinship], Paris, 1949.

581 As it circulates, the bride price weaves a network of ties
583 between groupings which, without the obligation of exogamy, would
578 have lived as so many biological, economic, and political units
585 retired within themselves. [124] It compels co-operation; it creates zones of security in a country where, at a time of conquest, the economic competition is severe (as regards the best land for cultivation and hunting, and the trade centers and roads). In addition the double exogamy multiplies these abé bonds, and the specific recognition of the maternal kinship reinforces, as we have suggested, these bonds. The circulation of women and in a parallel direction that of the bride prices have to be minutely regulated. This function belongs to the head of the nd'ê bôt, to the mbi, the latter signifying not only "ancient" but also "arbiter, envoy, ambassador." He is custodian of wealth and giver of women. At the level of the segment of brothers (bobéng), the principle that bride prices received at the time of the marriage of daughters are used to marry the sons in the order of their birth is completed by the obligation of the eldest brother to contribute to the formation of a bride price necessary for the marriage of the younger brother who does not benefit by such a compensation. Certainly this principle which was meant to regulate the distribution of the women and to limit competition has not turned out to be infallible. Antagonisms between the "eldest" [brothers] and younger brothers leading to the breaking up of groupings are often explained by this obligation not being met. (1) The oldest men can take advantage of their pre-

1. Cf. supra, pp. 112-113.

eminence in order to buy up the greatest number of wives. Finally,

581 the younger brothers are often tempted to collect for themselves
583 the elements of a bride price or to carry out rapes or raids. They
578 represent the most dynamic and mobile fraction of the grouping. (2)
595

> 2. Probably their lineages represent the major part of the Fang population of Lower Gabon. This would help to explain, apart from "modernist" reasons, the more or less pronounced rivalry and antagonisms between the "Fang from above" and the "Fang from below."

However, the earliest observations show that there was a sort of limited polygamy. Fourneau writes: "The Pahouin is in fact most often monogamous, simply because the woman is very highly prices," (3) and Dr. Cureau more specifically states: "Among the

> 3. A. Fourneau, op. cit., p. 77.

Fang where a wife is expensive, the maximum rarely goes above five; apparently thirty years ago, only the very rich could rise to one or two units above humiliating monogamy." (4) These two

> 4. Dr. A. Cureau, op. cit., p. 119.

authors confirm the existence of a restricted polygamy and therefore of a tendency to equalize the distribution of the women which, according to them, is allied with the high cost of bride prices.

583 [128] It is now time to analyze the material nature of the bride price. During the nineteenth century it consisted essentially of iron objects (representations of assagais, Pahouin knives, and axes very reduced in size), of which the bikki are the best known, (1)

> 1. Cf. M.H. Kingsley, op. cit.; the ancient word for bride price is bikki, or newa bikki.

reserved exclusively for matrimonial exchanges, and of animals,

595 The first wife, married by mfañ aluk, a proper wedding, and called ôsua minga or ékômba, theoretically has a privileged position vis-à-vis the mimbom or co-wives. It falls to her to aid or replace the mother-in-law, ntyi, in her role of disciplinarian over the women of the nda. It is or was she who took over the training of the young immature brides waiting to reach puberty in her hut; co-wives of inferior rank therefore often looked upon her as their ntyi. This relationship of daughter-in-law and mother-in-law also exists between two mimbom when the nsuba of the second was paid with the nsuba received for the marriage of a daughter of the first, or when she was the object of a marriage by exchange for this daughter.

Against these legal prerogatives, we find the actual prerogatives of the favorite, nkpwek or ntômba (ntômba = ewe), who besides may be the ôsua minga, although this is rather rare. Custom recognizes the actual privileges of the nkpwek by limiting them so as to prevent them from becoming privatives of the rights of the other wives. I think, although I cannot state it for certain, that there exists, besides, a nuance between the terms nkpwek and ntômba, the first referring, as the word indicates, to an actual preference on the part of the husband, the second to a legal position which the most prolific of the wives would have, or perhaps the one of the best origin.

Let us remember that marriage does not remove a woman from her own clan to attach her to her husband's: she is connected with this clan only through her children, if she has any. These children and their bobenyañ will become bobekal to their matrilineal cousins. If the marriage breaks up without the woman having borne a child, a kinship relation between the two clans is not established.

Such a dissolution of a marriage may come about, first, upon the death of the woman when no éjian takes place, the substitution of a sister, which is rare today. The kinship tie between the clans is in force if children are born of the marriage; it remained in force in former times in the absence of children if the nsuba was not repaid. The husband's death ends the personal marriage tie but not the collective bond by virtue of which widows are assigned to the heir, as described above. /55/

One of the most frequent causes /sic/ of the dissolution of a marriage nowadays is divorce. This may be the husband's action: a suu minga jañ, he sends his wife back to her village. The grounds usually given are habitual misbehavior, sorcery, "bad character,"

888
162
561
623

Distribution by Age

Age Group	Elected Municipal Councilors	Total Adult Male Population (1) (Nyong-and-Sanaga)
	Percent	Percent
20 to 30 years	9	26
30 to 40	33	29
40 to 50	37	28
Over 50	20	15

1. Evaluation made according to censuses established by the subdivisions; the documentation is not faultless but nevertheless is indicative.

556
162
623

The figures given below for the whole population are not definitive, but as they have been taken from a recent complete census they may be considered good approximations.

Distribution of External Signs of Wealth
(for 100 persons)

	Masonry Houses	Bicycles	Automobiles
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Municipal councilors	27	50	11
Adult male population of Ebolowa	1.4	21	0.3

[622] Not for nothing do the Pahouin use the word nkukuma (rich) to designate a chief. The chosen leaders are the rich men. /133/

556
623

A study of the matrimonial situation enables us to be more specific about the personal characteristics of elected men. Polygamy is much more common among them than among the population as a whole.

6: Alexandre and Binet--169 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

595
623

Distribution According to Matrimonial Status

	Municipal Councilors	Sample of the Total Population of the Boulou and Beti Area (1)
	Percent	Percent
Polygamous	43	23
Monogamous	43	63
Unmarried	3	14

1. A random sample taken for the study of family budgets, 1954, op. cit.

[819
556]

That councilors are often polygamous is to be explained in terms of their relatively advanced age and their wealth.

623
443

As elderly possessors of wealth and polygamous, do the elected men embody all the traditional ways in contrast to a progressive younger generation? An examination of occupations, of educational level, and of religion reveals that the actual situation is more complex.

Distribution by Occupation

	Municipal Councilors	Adult Male Population of the Nyong and Sanaga Region (2)
	Percent	Percent
Chiefs	30	1.8
Planters	30	85
Office-holders	14	0.5
Trade employees	3	1
Traders	10	7
Craftsmen	5	7
Catechists, mission monitors	2	2.3

2. According to the annual administrative report; approximations are involved, Yaoundé-Ville being excluded.

595 585 Whatever the kind of marriage, the first wife is the only one considered [574] as truly legitimate. As soon as she enters her new hut, her husband leads her by the hand before the *évora bidri*, which is kept tightly closed. Throughout her life, the wife will never be allowed to look into the box, as that would entail a very grave ritual offense. She now takes a bit of palm oil brought from her own village, mixes it with some from her husband's mother, and rubs this symbolic mixture on the statue on top of the *évora*. This is a symbol of the fertility she asks of the ancestors and the guardian spirits of the race. She next puts a few grains of maize in a small basket at the base of the statue, so that her future plantations may thrive. This sacrifice should be repeated every morning, but only by the principal wife -- and it is often omitted.

4. Hunting, Fishing, Husbandry

788 779 Before starting on a hunting or fishing expedition, likewise before going out to the first work on his plantation, every family head or warrior will be sure to invoke his totem. He does this first with an offering on the *bidri* box, then by touching his weapons, tools, or snares against the family totem.

788 224 779 In the case of hunting, the hunter, when charing his gun, mixes some of the ashes of totemic sacrifice with his small shot, puts his hand on his totem, and leaves confident of the outcome. Even if hunting does not come up to expectation, he would never dream of blaming his totem. He would think that he had had bad luck or, more likely, that he had committed some offense.

788 226 779 When going fishing, he carries some of the sacrificial ashes hidden in a rag. At the spot he thinks propitious, he always begins by throwing the ashes into the water, in order to obtain his totem's good will.

788 227 779 Likewise, when a man starts farming, at the beginning of each dry season, before giving the first ax blow to the trees to be cut down, he places some ashes or remnants of sacrifice in some kind of hole and sees to it that they are consumed by the

When a man dies and one of his relatives marries his wives, there is no additional payment of dowry. When a man loses his wife, the dowry is repaid fully, or in part, by the relatives of the deceased wife if she has left no children. If there are children, the widower makes no claim to the dowry.

The widow cuts her hair. After the death of the husband, the wife is made to confess the names of her lovers in order to make them give payments which will finance the celebrations at the end of mourning. She must weep for one whole day and one whole night; she may do nothing without the permission of her husband's heir; and for a month she stays dirty, dressed in an old loincloth. At the end of this time there are celebrations of the end of mourning which last several days. The widow sits for a whole night in the village square, and the husband's relatives throw her water and pimento. The following morning she jumps four times over a fire of dry banana leaves. While she is jumping, men hit her for the anguish which she has caused her husband to endure. After that she receives a new loincloth from her family and then, before beginning the dances, if she has not accepted remarriage to her husband's heir, she chooses a new husband from among the assembled men of the dead man's family.

Neither homosexuality nor bestiality have ever been recorded, to our knowledge, among the Fan.

Prostitution does not exist.

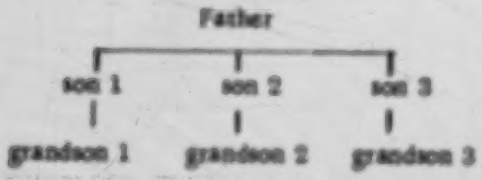
Impotence (eyel), if it is congenital, is attributed to the mother's having accidentally caused milk to flow onto the penis of her son while nursing him. If it occurs later, it is said to be from the abuse of coitus and it is believed that there is no more sperm in the impotent person.

Family Group. The family (nda ebur) consists of the man, his wives, his children, and his brothers. It usually includes several homes and constitutes a village in itself. The authority belongs to the father, and it is he who commands because of his being the most respected. He has absolute power, but also incurs certain duties, the most important of which is to find money or goods as dowry for the women whom his sons wish to marry. These dowries are usually obtained through payments made by the girls' husbands. The most complete mutual aid is obligatory among all members of the family, in all circumstances. When the parents have become too old to continue exercising their authority, they live with the family of their oldest son

where they enjoy great esteem and are consulted every time on decisions concerning all the family, [91] such as the marriage of a child, because this is a matter of alliance with another tribe, or such as moving the village. Young people of a poor family who get themselves adopted may be incorporated into the family and assimilated among its children. The adopted son (mtob) gets a wife from the head of the family which has taken him in. This wife, however, is only loaned to him, and the children whom he may have do not belong to him and are regarded as being of the adopter's family whose name they receive.

Each family has a fetish all its own, which is handed down through the oldest sons. It is often a reed (ayan) which is planted behind the huts of the village where the family lives, by a practitioner in the course of an important ceremony. The practitioner digs a hole, puts into it the bones of a member of the family killed by the bivur, spits onto it some wild pepper that he has chewed, and, before planting the reed, says, "ke nzue, ke wone, me nga non we bemvama e dzam ese dzah bor yfii, o ke tile e yenege" (without stealing or hiding myself I have taken from my ancestors, so that everything which will be asked of you by this family shall happen). The reed must be treasured and constantly kept clear of weeds which might grow around it. A fowl is sacrificed to this reed by the head of the family every time he wishes to undertake an important matter, and when the village moves the plant is taken along with the bones and replanted.

Social Life. Pahouin society is limited to a group of families which make up the tribe. The latter originates from a single family, the sons of which have left to establish other families in their turn. The separation occurs almost constantly in the third generation. The formation of a tribe may be diagrammed thus:



Grandson 1 establishes a family which keeps the name of the founder; grandson 2, a family which will take the name of this grandson; and

168 the social and cultural organizations are directly blamed: the
166 breaking up and dispersal of the groupings resulting in the rupture of fundamental interdictions (especially that of exogamy: with the
[338] present confusion each man risks marrying his "sister" and being condemned to a sterile union); the abandonment of traditional religious observances, especially the Bifri worship rendered to
[149] ancestors — so that the Bifri "revenges" itself, "according to cer-
[342] tain informants, by making the women sterile. Borrowing from European civilization and from their neighbors has altered "Fang manners" and resulted in behavior that is not valid for the Fang and puts their social existence in danger. These are the principal reasons brought forth. We have already in this chapter paid particular attention to these facts, because they show the subjective aspect of the demographic crisis and how much the search for fertility and for power, both linked together, still plays a part in the present reactions of this people, how it takes effect in an ambiguous manner by having recourse at the same time to modern foreign methods and to traditional Fang methods. For the Fang villagers the crisis is the most serious consequence of a situation created by colonization — by "civilization," as some of them curiously say. This is sufficient indication that these facts must be integrated in the whole we have undertaken to analyze.

[101] III. The Type of Social Structure (1)

1. A study carried out with the help of documents collected especially among the Fang of the Woleu-N'Tem, and principally in Oyem region where Fang vitality is the most authentic.

Tribes, Clans, and Lineages

• 596 The recent clan renewal to which we have often referred has shown the still fundamental importance of the groupings established as a function of "kinship." This was immediately grasped by the first observers and administrators of the Fang country, who insisted on the "family" nature of the Pahouin groupings and came to the

596 conclusion that a substantial social framework did not exist. A report written at the beginning of the century notes the impossibility "of finding an embryo of organization," emphasizing that there exist only more or less extended "families."

596 867 In the past the educational system very early gave the young Fang an exact knowledge of his genealogy (abara). Father Trilles writes that "the young man is particularly taught the individual list of his ancestors, which only concerns the male generations, (for) the woman is ignored," and, moreover, she never receives such instruction. (2) By knowing the relationships within his

2. Father Trilles, Le totémisme chez les Fan [Totemism Among the Fang], notes on pp. 109, 111, 180.

paternal line, the individual knows to which fundamental groupings he belongs, which women are forbidden him, and what relations he should have with such-and-such individuals, both living and dead. By more and more distant links he attaches himself to groupings that are more and more widely extended and are of more and more ancient formation. The first of these [groups] in which he finds himself immediately entered is the nd'ə bot, a patrilocal group at the village level which often has its own locality and communal house, which gather together, under the authority of the "oldest," or mbi-mbt, the latter's posterity, his younger brothers and their posterity, and sometimes that of his paternal uncles; in addition, the [posterity] of individuals who are tied to him by bonds of kinship, adoption, or friendship. The most extended of 649 these [groups] is the "tribe" (ayŏg, formerly aybm, studied by Martrou and Trilles, whose origin is neither located nor dated, but simply legendary, and whose dispersed took place throughout nearly the whole of the Fang country. [102] The intermediate groupings spread out concentrically from one to the other; the relations existing between the individuals they contain are expressed by a "fraternity" that is less and less real and less and less binding.

We have kept the term "tribe," used by the first observers of the Fang, to designate this earliest formed grouping, which is

such a case we gather that each principal town of a subdivision is a genuine center of attraction. Although new these towns are not artificial. There is another piece of evidence for this, the social occupational distribution of the urban population is almost constant from one town to another, a proof that it corresponds to needs that are also constant.

Out of 100 inhabitants one generally finds: laborers 16.5, employees 12, traders 8.3, chauffeurs 6.9 (and "motor boys" 4.3), public service employees 6.7, domestic servants 5.8, carpenters 4.9, masons 4, farmers 3.5, tailors 3.2, mechanics 2.9, photographers 0.8, herders 0.5, catechists 0.1, without occupation 9, etc.

This in general outline is the present-day distribution. Let it simply be kept in mind that, with the diffusion of a new culture, the whole society becomes modified. The techniques and tools in use have been increased and diversified at the same time as social conditions.

Chapter 5

Social Organization

1. Forms of Settlement, Habitat

The basic social group is the patriarchal family (nda bot = lit., house of the people), to which corresponds the hamlet or elementary village, the jal (Boulou, pl. mal; Fang, Ewondo, dzal), generally called by the name of the patriarch (ésa = father; nnôl = eldest, senior), but sometimes, when isolated, carrying a special toponym (éyôlé = proper name, designation; a person's name is rather jôé; Fang, édzoé). These mal are usually arranged into multifamily, sometimes multiclan, villages, minlam (sing. nlam), the latter term designating both the group of dwellings and the soil appertaining to them. The nlam always has a place name of its own, which may refer to its geographical situation: nôlayôp = on the hill; to a topographical or botanical peculiarity: ako'abete = dressed stone, ajap = the name of a tree, ma'an = crossroads; or to an incident connected with the founding: éholewo'o (Eholowa) = decayed chimpanzee, because the village was

614 are, besides, meyoñ that are outside the system.

614 Among the latter I shall mention the Ndôñ and the Bekôé or Bekwi,
563 to be found under these names in all, or nearly all, the Pahouin tribes.
184 The ethnic substantive Bekôé is simply the plural of a common noun, nkôé, "dwarf." These people are, it seems, descendants of aborigines, undoubtedly Pygmies, "adopted" by the tribes at the time of invasion. Although looked upon as an ayoñ and calling one another brother, they do not practice exogamy and seem to attach their genealogies to those of other clans, to which nevertheless they do not belong.

614 The case of the Ndôñ is quite different. They crossed the Sanaga
184 with the other Pahouin, and they are certainly "active" Pahouin. But they observe endogamy among their three mvôk (Ndôñ Mvu, Ndôñ Bibak, and Ndôñ Bikoé), which no other Pahouin ayoñ does, at least to my knowledge. Besides, I believe I noticed /48/ among those of the southern Cameroons and northern Gabon morphological traits setting them sharply apart from those of neighboring clans—reddish
[142] color of the skin, frequency of green or greenish-blue eyes—which
[144] might be explained by the inbreeding consequent upon endogamy, but also perhaps by a different ethnic origin. Another piece of evi-
[326 dence, as insufficiently attested as the foregoing, is that among the
791] Ndôñ I met the last of the smiths and the most feared magicians among the Boulou and Fang tribes of the Cameroons.

The Ngoé ayoñ also is found under this name in nearly all the Pahouin tribes and, according to Bertaut, among the neighboring Bakoko. The Esel, who are similarly spread throughout the tribes, have non-Pahouin homonyms: /for instance/ the Bantu Esel tribe of the southeastern Cameroons (Moloundou). The name could, however, be a contraction of ésa (ésa-el?). Ngoé and Esel are usually exogamic.

c. The Extended Family or Village Family

● 596 The term "village family" is no doubt more accurate than the
621 classic "extended family," both because the nda bôt (house of the people) is the only social group that corresponds exactly to a geographical form of settlement (the jal or hamlet), and because without the geographical criterion it is difficult to distinguish this /kind of/ family from the intermediate structures between it and the clan, such as segments or lineages (mvôk, bisa). And finally, it is on this

level that the agencies of authority, of social control, are most in evidence.

The head of the family is the senior, ntɔ̂l or ntɔ̂le mɔ̂t, of the adult and active men, benya bɔ̂tɔ̂, "the true men." He is not necessarily the oldest in age, because infirm old men suffer a genuine capitis diminutio /a loss of status/. The founder of the hamlet or his eldest son can still, even if infirm, preserve a certain moral authority as father, ésa, of the family, but actual authority will then be delegated to a nya mɔ̂tɔ̂ chosen from his brothers, sons, or nephews, the élo'olo (Bertaut). In principle, a jal is composed of the founder, his old relatives /parents/, his younger brothers, his children and those of his sisters, his unmarried sisters, their illegitimate children and those of his daughters. Wives do not belong to the jal; their village is referred to as jañ. Of a divorced woman one would say, a keya jañ, "she has gone back to her village." The size of the nda bɔ̂t depends upon different factors: security, the /family/ head's authority, the fertility of the soil, etc. I have already pointed out how several mal can be gathered into a nlam, a proper village. Nowadays the menda me bɔ̂t are tending to decrease numerically and no longer to correspond to the jal, which can from now on combine several /menda me bɔ̂t/. The limited or household family is becoming more and more important, while the government-sponsored institution of village chiefship /chefferie/, although it is often only an imperfect substitute for the authority of the ntɔ̂l or the ésa, undermines that none the less. The size of an average nda bɔ̂t may be calculated at twenty /49/ persons (including the wives who do not belong to the jal), less in the towns and among the less prosperous people, more among large planters and the influential (minkukum).

The nda bɔ̂t used to be a religious, military, and economic unit. On the religious plane, the father, ésa, was the custodian of the biéti (Fang, biéri), the portable altar or ark of the ancestral cult containing the skulls of the ancestors; he made the decisions about initiations and bore their expense. The initiations have died out, and the missions have burned dozens, if not hundreds, of biéri. Security and colonial order have removed any interest in the ésa's military function. Only his economic role survives to some extent. He used to be the sole owner of the family goods (biɔ̂m), sole treasurer of income, and sole regulator of expenditures, of which the most important was the payment of "bride prices" (minsuba) for his younger brothers and his

58 sons. When cacao was introduced, cultivation was done collectively
182 by the nda bôt, with the ɛ̂sa selling the produce and taking charge of
166 the money. The younger generation quickly tired of this state of affairs and left their families in order to have plantations of their own. In addition, the inflation of land values from the growing of export crops led to division upon the death of the ɛ̂sa and brought on the splintering of the nda bôt. This had never been very stable, even before the colonial period, but the cessation of military needs made possible a precocious "swarming off," which had not occurred before except when a new nda bôt was large enough to provide for its own defense.

In spite of this disintegration, jal and nda bôt remain the basic units of Pahouin life, more so than the ayoŋ. Development of private property notwithstanding, there does exist a juridical community with collective responsibility and obligatory self-help among its members. Many young people denounce this (cf. Eza Boto, Ville cruelle /Cruel City/, no. 182) and partly leave the jal in order to escape. But that is futile because the ties spread throughout the country become closer at a distance /from the jal/ and because the solidarity of the extended family is probably even stronger among emigrants than among stay-at-homes.

d. The Limited or Household Family; Kinship

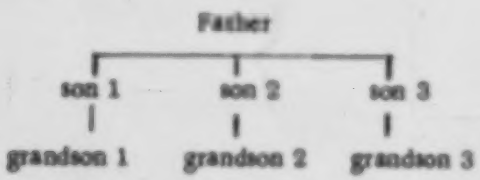
59 The limited or household family, composed of an economically
59 independent man, his wife, his children, sometimes old relatives /parents/, unmarried brothers and sisters, is becoming more and more important, both within the nda bôt framework and outside it. The
[79] missions have contributed a good deal to this, especially at the outset of evangelical activity, in order to separate the catechumens from their still animistic mintɔ̂ mi bôt (they incline to react in the opposite direction nowadays to fight against "destructive individualism"). But economic changes have also played an important part. The household family is the unit of the migrant petty official, of the small-scale planter. There is no word for it; people say either mone nda bôt, "little extended family," or simply nda, "house."

Purely for convenience I shall discuss kinship on this level, in terms of an adult married man. /50/

where they enjoy great esteem and are consulted every time on decisions concerning all the family, [91] such as the marriage of a child, because this is a matter of alliance with another tribe, or such as moving the village. Young people of a poor family who get themselves adopted may be incorporated into the family and assimilated among its children. The adopted son (mobi) gets a wife from the head of the family which has taken him in. This wife, however, is only loaned to him, and the children whom he may have do not belong to him and are regarded as being of the adopter's family whose name they receive.

Each family has a fetish all its own, which is handed down through the oldest sons. It is often a reed (ayan) which is planted behind the huts of the village where the family lives, by a practitioner in the course of an important ceremony. The practitioner digs a hole, puts into it the bones of a member of the family killed by the bivur, spits onto it some wild pepper that he has chewed, and, before planting the reed, says, "ke nzue, ke wone, me nga non we bemvama e dzam ese dzah bor yfi, o ke sile e yenege" (without stealing or hiding myself I have taken from my ancestors, so that everything which will be asked of you by this family shall happen). The reed must be measured and constantly kept clear of weeds which might grow around it. A fowl is sacrificed to this reed by the head of the family every time he wishes to undertake an important matter, and when the village moves the plant is taken along with the bones and replanted.

Social Life. Pahouin society is limited to a group of families which make up the tribe. The latter originates from a single family, the sons of which have left to establish other families in their turn. The separation occurs almost constantly in the third generation. The formation of a tribe may be diagrammed thus:



Grandson 1 establishes a family which keeps the name of the founder; grandson 2, a family which will take the name of this grandson; and

Gabon have given priority to recreating, the regrouping of villages being supposed, in their view, to take place as a function of the regrouping of the meyoñ.

The ayoñ includes all the patrilineal descendants of a common ancestor, the illegitimate children of girls belonging to the ayoñ, and adopted ones. The ayoñ has a name, a tattoo mark (ndan), often certain prohibitions (bityi, bidi), and perhaps a totem. The most strict exogamy is the rule. All members call themselves brothers (bəbenyañ).

Although there was, properly speaking, no real political division corresponding to the ayoñ, nor any organized chiefship—explicable particularly in view of the very scattered settlement pattern of the members—clan sentiment was, and still is, very strong. Periodical meetings, bisulan, bring ayoñ members together, presided over by the eldest (ntôl) of the senior lineage (mvôk, ayôm) (3). The custom

3. Ayôm probably has the same root as mnôm, pl. beyôm = male; it should be remarked that the ayôm is often designated by the name of a female ancestor.

of these bisulan has recently been revived /46/; first in the Cameroons, where the native authority was reorganized in 1945-48 along clan lines, then in Gabon, where the meyoñ are in an advanced state of disintegration, above all in the south.

An ayoñ, whose villages separated one from the other by villages of other clans sometimes extend over several hundred kilometers, is divided into segments (mvôk) that include the descendants of the brothers, or rather the sons, of the clan ancestor, then /is divided/ into lineages (bisa, meyôm) derived from the descendants of the sons of the ancestor of the segment. The longer the genealogy (mvam, nlañ bimvam; meba'a), the more vague these categorical differences become: in one place mvôk is used for what is called ésa nearby and ayôm further away. But, except in southern Gabon, the genealogies are still well preserved, and the majority of adults can trace their relationship, if not to the clan ancestor himself, at least to his lineage. The teaching of these genealogies, which was the core of the traditional training of boys, is dying out with the spread of schooling, but children still know at least the genealogy of their village-family (jal, dzal; nda bôt).

536 made, but this practice is only very rarely followed in cases of free
851 union, ébon, even when that is followed by a regular marriage of the
848 natural parents. Illegitimate children, fruits of an ébon, bobengon, are kept in their mother's clan, where, moreover, they rank socially only after legitimate children.

517 There used to exist a kind of adoption, rare today, of a political
614 rather than family nature, which could almost be defined as naturalization. It could only be carried out by the head of an extended family
641 on behalf of an orphan, mone nyui, of another clan (orphans within /56/ the clan being, of course, already considered children of the head of the family). The adopted child, abiaé mômô (i.e., "conceived
[839] in the daytime," sexual relations being lawful only between sundown and sunrise), came into the clan with a status analogous to that of the monengon. He remained subject to the marriage prohibitions of his clan of origin.

609 A non-Pahouin outsider permanently residing in a village, a ntabe,
614 may benefit through marriage by alliance, élat, which does not thereby make him a member of the clan. He becomes a monekal (sister's son, uterine relative) and his children, though legitimate, belong to their mother's clan.

583 The descent relationship may be broken by paternal or maternal
578 curse, meyo'é: the parent uttering the curse shows the child his sexual organs, "the place whence he came," while pronouncing a formula oath. The curse is supposed to bring misfortune and death to the offspring accursed, whom everyone avoids. It can only be
[783] lifted by a collective purificatory rite (étye, tyô) in which the whole nda bôt participates.

3. Age Grades

561 The individual's life cycle is marked by a certain number of transitions, which are accompanied, or were usually accompanied, by rites that will be discussed further on (p. 115). These crises are birth, weaning, puberty, attaining majority, marriage, death. Age grades correspond to the intermediate stages; they are less strictly defined today than formerly.

561 I do not know the exact word for fetus: people say abum, belly.
843 There must be a more precise term, but I think there is a prohibiton connected with it, certainly as regards men, although it may now be

7: Trilles--113 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9

553 arrival of a stranger. Hence, a certain number of names that at first would seem totemic, because they copy the names of animals and plants, are not so at all. In general, the eldest son's name is that of one of his forebears, a grandfather or ancestor, who is thought to come to life again in him. Twins, however, always receive special names of matched things, which go in twos, like Sun and Moon, Wind and Rain, Storm and Thunder, etc.

As soon as the child has been given a name, his father takes it in his arms and carries it into his hut, where he opens the évora biéri and puts the baby down on the lid. He then takes the ancestral skulls one by one and puts them on the child's head, then places the family totem in its hand. The father with his fingernail often scrapes a bit off of the antelope horn holding the remnants of his personal totemic sacrifice, and puts some of this into the child's mouth. This, strictly speaking, is the dedication to the totem. The father then takes the baby back to its mother so that she may anoint it with oil and rub it with red wood. After the mother, or any other woman present, has attended to this, the father again takes the child and puts another bit of the totem into its mouth. A she-goat, a sheep, or at least a fowl is then offered to the family totem and to the spirits of the departed, according to sacred ritual. The remains of this sacrifice, the ashes, etc., are enclosed in a small antelope horn, which is hung around the baby's neck or above his genital organs: this will be his amulet. Finally, the father gives the baby his personal totem, which will be recalled to him later on when he is old enough to understand. At that same time he will be taught what are the family, clan, and tribal totems, and the duties and obligations they impose on him. This instruction is part of the mébara. [572]

2. Adoption

597 In certain cases, a few children are adopted by a head of the family when given as ransom for murder or spared in the

7: Trilles--114 M-S (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9

597 727 sacking of a village. For, although in such cases all the men and able-bodied youths are ruthlessly killed and eaten, this does not apply to women and children, even to male children, who henceforth belong to the new tribe and will later be looked upon as warriors. There is no ceremony for women or female [562] children, since, as we have seen, the totem ignores them, and they have only one duty toward it, to hide in their huts as quickly as possible whenever there is talk of the totem, and never to mention it. Should this nevertheless happen, it would be an offense requiring expiation.

597 Male children are adopted by the various heads of a family. Tribal or village chiefs have first choice, the rest of the warriors come after. The one or more children chosen by a chief, however, may never succeed him.

597 344 Adoption ceremonies are like those at birth. The adopted child loses all his old totems in order to acquire those of the tribe he joins. There is just one additional ceremony, blood-letting. So as to prove his definitive entry into the tribe, he undergoes the following operation when led before the totem. With the mfor knife, a small steel blade kept for this purpose, the adoptive father makes a few slight scarifications on the child's left arm, collects the blood that flows, and throws it on the ancestral skulls, then on the akaméyɔ́ɔ́. He then takes a fragment of skull and some totemic sacrificial ashes and rubs these vigorously on the child's arm. This is the true sign of adoption, by which the boy definitively enters his new family and is recognized as belonging to it entirely. Later on he may even be allowed to take a wife from his former tribe, in spite of the strict law of exogamy, because adoption is so authentic.

[848 563] Often the same bloodletting and blood alliance occur with illegitimate children or with mulattoes, but the object is then different. Adoption never takes place at birth but much later, so as to ensure for the child the ancestors' protection.

The same act often occurs when a child is ill. [573]

614 lineages which is more marked as the Fang become unattached
578 conquerors. In the same way frequent examples have been given
621 of extensive agglomerations being broken up after the death of the "chief" who had founded and maintained them. The size and cohesion of the groupings appear therefore in a large measure to depend on the personality of the leaders who have asserted themselves (for any rightful succession may be contested under pretext of incapacity, or it may be refused) and on circumstances. This explains in part the frequency of fissions observed by various authors at the level of the third or fourth generation. (1) The size

1. Particularly, E. Trezenem, "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan du Moyen-Ogooué [Ethnographic Notes on the Fang Tribes of the Middle Ogooué]," op. cit.

of localized groupings may therefore vary a great deal — especially since the pacification of the country — going from the major lineage expressed in "clan patches" to the minor lineage (nd'ê bôt) forming an isolated hamlet.

Kinship

612 Our analysis of Fang society has so far considered groupings only in terms of two fundamental elements: paternal filiation and real fraternity. We must now examine the bonds created and the relations prescribed by other modalities of kinship, as well as by the alliances that may exist between "foreign" groupings as a result of marriages.

612 Through the medium of his father (ésa, whom he calls tagá)
601 and of his mother (nya, whom he calls nanô), the individual belongs to two kinship groupings, the paternal (ésinyâg) and the maternal (dzânanô). For the young Fang these two have neither the same significance nor the same importance. [114] The course of his life will generally be spent in the midst of the first group, while he has only incidental relations with the "relatives." of the second group. It is from the first that he receives his clan affiliation. The fundamental relations of paternal kinship are governed,

612 as we have maintained, in terms of filiation – the term émò,
601 with a qualifying word indicating the filiation: thus émò wam, my son – and in terms of "fraternity," the term mwanò indicating the descendants found in the same segment. From these two co-ordinates, some of the relationships can be represented as follows:

Table VI

Generations	Designations in the vertical direction	Designations in the horizontal direction
X	Mvam (sg)	
I	Mvam (sg)	
II	Esa (sg)	
III	Mwanò (sg)	Bobéñâg (pl)
IV	Bèndè (pl)	Bobéñâg (pl)
V	Nwabâg (col)	Bobézâg (pl)
Y	Nwagbâg (col)	Mwan'ayôg (sg)

Abbreviations: sg, singular; pl, plural; col, collective.

In the first place it seems that the word mvam, used specifically for the grandfather and the forefather, has a very general meaning. It is applied to the great-uncle and to both the ancestor of the direct line of descent and those of the collateral lines. According to Trilles mvam "is derived from a root va, which implies not the idea of a generation, which is sa or ba, 'to plant,' but of production, increase, growth... ." (1) The mvam, living or dead

1. Father H. Trilles, op. cit., p. 88.

who may be at the same time ancestors and guardian beings, constitute in an indistinct way the ngibâg, or ancestry. This voluntary
612 confusion of terminology, being a sort of throwback into the past
601 in the defunct part of the clan grouping, should be connected with
888 the Fang custom of keeping the old men away from public life and reducing them to a sort of marginal life. (2) In the same way,

2. Ibid., p. 106, "The white-haired old

612
601
[985]

> man is rarely esteemed in the Fang country. As soon as he no longer has the strength to carry a gun, he receives no consideration, and of his own accord he adapts himself to this role, joking and playing at every turn."

the fourth generation assures [115] the passage into the midst of the confused grouping called nwabàg, which, while specifically designating the great-grandchildren, also signifies progeny, the whole of the descendants related in an unspecified way, who are to one another mwanélàg (plural, bobélàg), a term that could be translated as "brother of the same lineage" or simply as "relative." This passage which occurs at the first and fourth generations indicates the privileged position given to two intermediary generations, that of the ésa (father) and that of the mwanò (son). In the case of this conquering people who rated their villages only by the number of its warriors, this fact must be linked to the importance given socially to the "man in his full strength" nyamòò (1), — and

> 1. Ibid., p. 106, "Mur means 'personality' and the particle nya indicates the idea of plenitude or superiority. Our French word 'maître' [master] corresponds fairly well to this meaning."

to "the man who has become adult" — ékwar. On these two generations is based the framework of traditional Fang society.

On the other hand, the strong fraternity expressed by the notion of mwanénàg (2) survives only to the third generation with

> 2. Father Trilles writes that this term "indicates real kinship or filiation and not by adoption or blood brotherhood . . . ," op. cit., p. 251.

respect to a common mvam (grandfather). (3) The order of

612
601

3. An expression frequently heard during our investigations was: "They had the same mvam, therefore they belonged to the same nd'ê bôt."

succession confirms this fact by retaining in the collateral lines of descent only "first cousins" and paternal nephews (ômô mwanenâg, son of mwanenâg) of the deceased. (4) Apart from the individual

4. Cf. M. Bertaut, Le Droit coutumier des Boulous [Common Law of the Boulou], chapter, "Successions," and L. Mba, Essai de droit coutumier pahouin [Essay on Pahouin Common Law], p. 39.

family which has no independent existence, it is in relation to this kinship that the most coherent and restricted grouping of Fang society, the nd'ê bôt, is organized. This assures the cohesion of such a grouping but also contributes, in quite the opposite direction, with the relaxing of effective kinship, to the cleavages which occur frequently in the fourth generation.

612 Important distinctions should be marked on the same hori-
601 zontal segment. First of all in terms of sex, between brother
561 (ndum) and sister (kal). These two terms have a very broad meaning, since, according to L. Martrou, they may mean by extension "village brother" and "daughter [or girl] of the same village." (5)

5. L. Martrou, Lexique [Lexicon].

In terms of birth, children born of the same mother (of the same womb, abum avôri) form a distinct group called abumô bôt. No privilege however is [116] granted the siblings, this qualification most frequently being specified only by a periphrase, mwanenâg abum avôri, "brother from the same womb." Above all, in terms of seniority, the eldest, ntôl or nyamôrô, takes precedence over the younger brother, ndzimô. This pre-eminence is fundamental and is of the same order as that which subordinates the generation

612 of mwanô to that of the ésa. The eldest son is not only almost
601 the exclusive heir to property -- "he inherits at least seven tenths,"
561 writes Mr. Bertaut -- but he also has religious privileges. He is the sole guardian of the skulls of ancestors, and he has political privileges, if he shows himself sufficiently able.

601 Within the maternal kinship the most important relations are
608 those between nephew (mwanô kal) and maternal uncle (nya-nduma). Of this we have proof in an early study of the Fang of the N'Djolé region, and in a recent document written at the time of a clan gathering which shows the maintenance of some of these relations. Captain Cursult (1) refers to them in a precise manner in his

1. Captain Cursult, "Monographie du secteur de N'Djolé au Gabon" [Monograph on the N'Djolé Sector in Gabon], Revue des Troupes Coloniales, 68, February, 1908.

monograph on the N'Djolé sector: "The relations between uncle and nephew are very close; during his life the nephew gives his uncle a great many presents to increase still further the price paid to his uncle for his mother. In the same way, whenever his nephew pays him a visit, the uncle kills a chicken for him, etc... as does the father-in-law for his son-in-law. ... If a poor nephew needs goods to pay for a palaver or to get married, he can go to his uncle, sure that he will receive help from him, even if he has not often given him presents. It is a supreme shame for a man
428 to send away the son of his sister with empty hands." Maternal uncle and nephew have a share in the inheritance. An official report of the clan gathering of the Yémisèm-Éba still provides in 1948 for the "indemnity" due at the time of the death of a nya-nduma (a sum corresponding to the value of a woman and a sheep) and on the death of a mwanô-kal (a slightly smaller sum, "varying according to the size of the inheritance," and a sheep). (2)

2. Réunion de 25 villages de la tribu Yémissem a Afénane (District d'Oyem) du 12 an 19 Juillet, 1948 [Gathering of 25 villages of the Yémissem tribe at

5. Balandier--55 E-5 (1946-1951) 1955 FH9 Fang FH9

601
608

Affaires (Oyem District) from July 12-19, 1948], Archives d'Oyem.

The relation between the mwanõ-kal and the nya-nduma is about the same as that between son-in-law and father-in-law.

583
608

Such an assembly of facts is understandable only in terms of the Fang principle regulating the circulation of bride prices. "The brother marries with his sister's bride price," nduma a luk nõ biki bal. Within such a circuit, the establishment of a couple concerns not only [117] the two partners but also the sister of the husband who has indirectly "provided" the bride price making the marriage possible, and the brother of the wife who has indirectly "recovered" this same bride price in order to get married. This explains the bonds existing between the maternal [sic] nephew and

608

uncle and also the rights which the paternal aunt (sõna) has, according to Cureau, "over her brother's children, since it is thanks to the price of her sale that her brother was able to get married and consequently have children." In exceptional circumstances

608
614

this relationship is sufficiently active to allow the nephew to settle in the midst of the family grouping of the maternal uncle or of the husband of the paternal aunt. We have had occasion to observe the first case, which involved a change of clan affiliation. A man of Yengwi birth left his grouping following a death of which he was suspected; having joined his maternal uncle with whom he settled down to live, where he was considered as an Esabõg (he was said to be ña ayõg, entered into the clan).

601

The kinship terms in the Fang system are applied not only to a specific class of individuals but are often used in an extended manner. Ngwé may designate any maternal relative. Nya-nduma (literally, the mother's brother) is applied to certain maternal male relatives: maternal grandfather and his brothers, maternal uncles and their descendants (1), in fact, to all the men belonging

1. Cf. L. Mba, op. cit., pp. 32 and 41.

to the nd'ê bot of the maternal grandfather. Mwanõ-kal implies

601 kinship with descent through the women, i.e., through paternal aunts (the term sɔ̀na having a descriptive equivalent, kal ɛ̀suɔ̀, father's sister), maternal aunts (to whom is applied symmetrically the term sɔ̀na), and sisters (kal). But its meaning can be broadened to include, as Martrou states, "any child whose mother is a native of the village or the tribe." When the emphasis is on the closest kinship, in each class the term is used with the word fɔ̀gɔ, which means "true" and which has a quality of accentuation. Thus mwanɛ̀ŋ fɔ̀gɔ would be translated "brother by the same father." While the mwanɛ̀ŋ group refers essentially to paternal filiation, the mwanɔ̀kal group points to descent through sisters, and the system of distribution of bride prices. They have in a way a complementary existence and are associated with the mechanism which allows the establishment of the couple and the procreation of posterity. The one [latter] may remedy the decay of the other [former]. Cursult [118] points this out by using a case already quoted: "An orphan who does not get on with his father's brothers seeks a "brother" in his maternal uncle or in the husband of his paternal aunt, or in the son of his sister, if the latter is much older than he and already the mother of full-grown men." There is therefore a recourse to be had for anyone who, as an exception, wants to escape from the authority unjustly employed by the "chief" of his nd'ɛ̀ bɔ̀t.

612 This account of the principal aspects of kinship shows fairly well that, while granting first place to the "paternals," Fang society also acknowledges the "maternals" by attributing important roles to them. (1) This double recognition is confirmed by the

1. M. H. Kingsley had already stressed this important fact. Cf. Travels in West Africa, London, 1897, in which she writes: "Among the Fang, kinship is recognized both on the side of the father and of the mother, and is not limited as among the Galwa by immediate sanguinity."

obligation of double exogamy. It is forbidden to marry a woman

532 The first principle regulating kinship is that of double exogamy, in the paternal line, but also in the maternal line. Marriage is not allowed within one's own clan, nor within the clan of one's mother. Incest within the maternal clan is scarcely less serious than incest within the paternal clan, but the interdiction in this line is not definitive and hereditary. At the present time the prohibition seems to die out after two generations: a great-grandson may take a wife from the clans of his maternal great-grandmothers, and even a grandson from that of his maternal grandmother. It is another matter in the paternal line, whose genealogy children learn by heart. However, on account of the present state of forgetfulness, I do not know the exact rules.

601 A second characteristic of kinship is that it is classificatory and that the nomenclature is modified as to person, sometimes as to gender, in accordance with the subject of the relationship. Thus "father" or "mother," for instance, are called:

1st person	2nd person	3rd person
tate	ɛso	ɛsa
nane	nyua	nyia

according to whether there is involved a relative of the speaker, of the person spoken to, or of the person spoken about.

For "brother" and "sister" the terms furthermore vary according to the sex of the subject of the relationship:

monyaff (a contraction of moneyaff (1) = mother's son) = brother

1. Third person: — nyaff, from nyia, "mother;" 1st person, mɔjaff: — jaff, the same word as jaff = jal, "mother's native hamlet."

of a man or sister of a woman of the clan; while
the sister of a man = kal,
the brother of a woman = ndôm.

A man's son is ndôman, his daughter is ngon; a woman's /son and daughter/ are simply bon (sing. mon), "the little ones."

601 The generic /terms/ of kinship are formed from these words, for
602 instance:

601 602 ndômenyañ (3rd person) = mother's brother, designating the maternal uncle and all his bobenyañ (clan or consanguineal brothers); this is a respect relationship;

motate, a contraction of mone tate = son of my father, designating half brothers on the father's side, with an idea of respect;

monekal = sister's son, designating nephews and uterine cousins with whom marriage is forbidden, although they belong to a different ayoñ; this is a joking relationship; the same term is applied to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law;

[848] monengon = daughter's son, designating uterine relatives within the clan and particularly sisters' illegitimate children, who are members of the clan but with a certain capitis diminutio, loss of status;

and so forth, relationship always being reckoned by clan, generation, and sex. This is borne out by the way ethnic constructions are formed: a Boulou, a /51/ Yenjôk, are mone bulu, mone yenjôk, a "child of Boulou," a "child of Yenjôk"; a Boulou woman is ngone bulu, a "daughter of Boulou"; two bo'be yenjôk would therefore be brothers, bobenyañ. What is curious is that this term, the most frequently employed for full brother or half brother on the father's side, clearly refers to a uterine relationship, since it means, literally, "mother's son."

Kinship in relation to order of generations (ndaé = grandchild; éndil = great-grandchild) entered into the choice of a name (éyôlé), /a practice that is/ not well understood at present. Even at the present, similarity of biyôlé creates a sort of quasi relationship between the homonyms mimbôm (sing. mbôm) or bemôé (sing. môé), with the obligation of reciprocal help.

Parents-in-law are betyi (possibly related to étyi = prohibition?); we shall mention this again in connection with marriage, but it may be pointed out here that the term is applied equally to the first wife considered with respect to her co-wives.

e. Marriage, Descent

582 The primary rule of marriage remains the prohibition against incest, the clan exogamy already mentioned. To take a wife from one's own or one's mother's clan is forbidden, also to marry the daughters of lineage sisters to quite a distant degree, even though

772 the two opposite angles and would represent the axis of migration,
623 mfa'a mañ, "toward the sea." The masculine direction seems to have been the place of origin of the ye (feminine?) clans, the feminine direction, that of the ésa clans. Trilles places with the latter the ébi clans, which are, geographically, from eastern clans; I wonder if they ought not rather to be connected with the ye clans since ébi means "hole," "chasm" (yee = valley, ravine). In the bilaba, masculine commodities come from the female sector, and vice versa.

772 These apparent contradictions would be resolved by applying the principle of double symmetry, or of sexual complementarity, similar to that which makes paternal, nonuterine half brothers called bobenyañ, [601] "my mother's sons." This principle might be expressed somewhat as follows: every being capable of life must, in order to exist and be complete, include the opposite sex. In other words, bisexuality, a universal vital principle, should be found in every part of the universe /creation/. Stoll finds proof of this in the language, where the tone [194] levels in his view constitute genuine differentiation by grammatical sex genders, and especially in the rites whose purpose appears to be not to make men entirely masculine or women entirely feminine, but rather to give to each sex the necessary complement of the opposite sex.

Whatever may be thought of this theory, it is a fact that, because [114] of the apparent or real absence of grammatical sex gender in the language, the majority of the early writers, even Trilles, did not attach enough importance to real gender, to the sex actually attributed to objects, particularly to magical and ritual materials. We know that spear, akoñ, saber, fa, and probably the large drum, mbaé, are male; calabashes and cooking pots, rattles (mengoñ), the double bell (nkeñ) are female; the drum-telephone, nkul, is androgynous; horns for medicaments, minlak, are male at the pointed end, female at the hollow end, and the same with the rifle. As to numbers, my con- 801 clusions are diametrically opposed to those of Stoll, who believes even numbers to be male, and odd, female, though admittedly he advances as proof the large part played by odd numbers in feminine rites, which runs directly counter to his theory of double symmetry.

The numerical system is in any event only imperfectly known. [802] Counting is based on 10, with traces of an 8:10, (awôm), basis /116/ and of 8, mwom, /having/ perhaps the same root as different classifiers. The so number is 9. Nyin, 4, seems related to a YI

244 773 is today; instead, women gathered its fruit in the bush. Once upon a time, there was a man who had no sister he could sell to obtain a wife for himself, nor did he have any other person who could help him to get married. He hit upon the idea of starting a huge ngon farm, and when the ngon was ripe many people came and bought the kernels. In this way he finally earned so much money that he had the purchase price for a girl. When other people, who likewise had no wives, heard about this, they began to imitate him and also married through the aid of the plant. Hence, it is said: "Oh, I see this plant like a girl (ngṓn), and therefore it shall be called ngōn also, for if the man had had no ngon (ngǒn), he would not have been able to marry a girl [194] (ngō'n)." It should be noted that the two words differ in pitch; the word for the plant has falling pitch in Fang (ngô̄n), rising pitch in Jaunde (ngǒn), whereas the word for girl has only high pitch (ngō'n). A narrative in the creation story is very similar.

244 Ngon is planted only once a year since its cultivation requires the period from April to December. In April, frequently long before, the bush is cut and burned. The ground, however, is not cleared, and everything is left lying just as it fell; at most the largest brushwood is removed from the connecting paths. Walking through a farm, especially along the plantation paths, is therefore quite a gymnastic feat. A ngon farm is often cleared [476 communally by the inhabitants of two neighboring villages who 602] belong to the same kin group. To the uninitiated, however, the boundaries are not discernible. They are indicated by trees that have been left standing or have fallen over and more rarely by lianas tied to the branches of tree trunks lying on the ground. It is astonishing that no boundary disputes arise.

244 462 In April, once the farm area has been burned over, the women go into the fields, and with their universal tool, the hoe, they plant the ngon seeds in the ground. The seeds must first have been soaked in water for a day, and two or three of them are planted in the same hole. Because of the tree trunks and the brush lying about, planting is hard work, and for this reason the men usually assist at the task, at least on the first day, equipped with /95/ /Fig. 53 appears here in the original text/ hoes and digging

582 The first principle regulating kinship is that of double exogamy, in the paternal line, but also in the maternal line. Marriage is not allowed within one's own clan, nor within the clan of one's mother. Incest within the maternal clan is scarcely less serious than incest within the paternal clan, but the interdiction in this line is not definitive and hereditary. At the present time the prohibition seems to die out after two generations: a great-grandson may take a wife from the clans of his maternal great-grandmothers, and even a grandson from that of his maternal grandmother. It is another matter in the paternal line, whose genealogy children learn by heart. However on account of the present state of forgetfulness, I do not know the exact rules.

601 A second characteristic of kinship is that it is classificatory and that the nomenclature is modified as to person, sometimes as to gender, in accordance with the subject of the relationship. Thus "father" or "mother," for instance, are called:

1st person	2nd person	3rd person
tate	éso	ésa
nane	nyua	nyia

according to whether there is involved a relative of the speaker, of the person spoken to, or of the person spoken about.

For "brother" and "sister" the terms furthermore vary according to the sex of the subject of the relationship:

monyañ (a contraction of moneyañ (1) = mother's son) = brother

1. Third person: — nyañ, from nyia, "mother;" 1st person, mojañ: — jañ, the same word as jañ = jal, "mother's native hamlet."

of a man or sister of a woman of the clan; while
the sister of a man = kal,
the brother of a woman = ndôm.

A man's son is ndôman, his daughter is ngon; a woman's /son and daughter/ are simply bon (sing. mon), "the little ones."

601 The generic /terms/ of kinship are formed from these words, for
602 instance:

601 ndômenyañ (3rd person) = mother's brother, designating the
602 maternal uncle and all his bobenyañ (clan or consanguineal brothers); this is a respect relationship;

motate, a contraction of mone tate = son of my father, designating half brothers on the father's side, with an idea of respect;

monekal = sister's son, designating nephews and uterine cousins with whom marriage is forbidden, although they belong to a different ayoñ; this is a joking relationship; the same term is applied to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law;

monengon = daughter's son, designating uterine relatives within
[848] the clan and particularly sisters' illegitimate children, who are members of the clan but with a certain capitis diminutio, loss of status;

and so forth, relationship always being reckoned by clan, generation, and sex. This is borne out by the way ethnic constructions are formed: a Boulou, a /51/ Yenjôk, are mone bulu, mone yenjôk, a "child of Boulou," a "child of Yenjôk"; a Boulou woman is ngone bulu, a "daughter of Boulou"; two bo'be yenjôk would therefore be brothers, bobenyañ. What is curious is that this term, the most frequently employed for full brother or half brother on the father's side, clearly refers to a uterine relationship, since it means, literally, "mother's son."

Kinship in relation to order of generations (ndaé = grandchild; éndil = great-grandchild) entered into the choice of a name (éyôlé), /a practice that is/ not well understood at present. Even at the present, similarity of biyôlé creates a sort of quasi relationship between the homonyms mimbôm (sing. mbôm) or bemôé (sing. môé), with the obligation of reciprocal help.

Parents-in-law are betyi (possibly related to étyi = prohibition?); we shall mention this again in connection with marriage, but it may be pointed out here that the term is applied equally to the first wife considered with respect to her co-wives.

e. Marriage, Descent

582 The primary rule of marriage remains the prohibition against incest, the clan exogamy already mentioned. To take a wife from one's own or one's mother's clan is forbidden, also to marry the daughters of lineage sisters to quite a distant degree, even though

583 between 500 and 600 marks in the south. Devaluation of the money, which has also taken place in Africa, has considerably raised the price in comparison to what it was formerly.

The purchase price cannot be paid in money (spear money)
583 alone, in cattle alone, or in any specific type of goods alone;
436 instead, all the objects of exchange which are in circulation
435 must be represented. Thus, in 1906, for instance, the following things were paid for a woman in the Fang region:

6,000 spears	420. -- marks
12 rifles	120. -- marks
2 vats of powder . . .	4. -- marks
70 choppers	70. -- marks
2 sheep	50. -- marks
2 iron pots	8. -- marks
10 pieces of cloth . . .	40. -- marks
5 hats	10. -- marks
13 kettles of salt @ 2. -- marks	26. -- marks
2 knives	2. -- marks
2 packages of beads . .	2. -- marks
2 tobacco pipes . . .	----. 50 mark
2 packages of flints . .	--. 50 mark
1 hatful of buttons . .	--. 50 mark
	753. 50 marks /261/

Any existing illegitimate children go along with the marriage
[848] bargain. In fact, the bridegroom has to pay 500 spears for a boy and 1,000 spears for a girl; incidentally, he is only too glad to do so, because each child means an addition to his wealth.

I shall not go into a discussion of the endless number of quar-
578 rels that arise on the occasion of a marriage, especially when
583 the entire purchase price is not paid at once. Nor shall I speak of the fact that the girl's father likes to steer his daughter, even if she is in love with another, into the hands of the man who can pay the most or the most readily. All this would lead too far afield.

606 If the girl stays in her parents house and if the payment of
583 the purchase price extends over weeks and months, the suitor has
584

583 sufficient time to get to know his future wife and her family.
584 He treats them with the greatest consideration, and for the mother-
606 in-law (nīe-ngǒn III, that is, the girl's mother) especially he has an enormous amount of respect. He is courtesy itself, bringing her presents, large and small, and from time to time killing a chicken or a sheep for her. In short, one could in all seriousness speak of a mother-in-law cult (see the love feast, Vol. II, p. 24). And above all: oson, oson, oson: shame, shame, and more shame. The son-in-law is unspeakably ashamed before the mother-in-law, and vice versa, she before him. This is especially true after the wedding when the good mother-in-law extends her modesty also to the members of the son-in-law's kin group. Like a thief she steals behind the dwellings into her daughter's house in order not to be seen, and -- who knows? -- perhaps in order not to give rise to mother-in-law jokes.

Riddle:

[539] nzǎ'n e bönšǔe, e ne kaangǎ
[524] Way of the lizards, it is (in the) reeds (Cyperus)

Solution:

nzǎ'n e bonī'ǗngŌ'n, e n' a
Way of the mother-in-law, it is on (the) stretch

fā
behind the houses.

On the day when a man takes his young wife home, the village
585 celebrates with a sizable dance, for which all adorn themselves to
535 the best of their ability and which the young wife, red from red
[302] wood dye, attends as guest of honor seated on a stool. On this occasion, the popping of blunderbusses may not be omitted, because it belongs to the festive music like our flourish of trumpets. The dancing and shooting last several days when a wealthy chief has acquired a new wife or if it is the first wife of a fellow villager. There is nothing strikingly special about any of this; the festivity simply involves a series of different /262/ dances (among which the dschama is particularly popular which are also customary on other occasions.

562 789 her husband. The "son-in-law" and the "mother-in-law" are bound together by a system of interdicts; the mwanö are required [606] to show respect to the "generation of the mothers"; the pre-eminence attached to seniority plays a role in the relations between the sexes. The woman may therefore be the object of respect and the subject of fear. [151] On the other hand, "associations" of women which have created a hierarchy, a teaching, a 562 795 ritual of initiation, and a whole body of distinguishing symbols and signs and a technique shown by a specific dance, are referred to in various documents, particularly the Mévungö (1), which is

1. Unpublished documents collected by Abbot A. Walker, a native of Lower Gabon and truly versed in local ethnology.

a Pahouin version of the Nyèmbé, a widely disseminated female sect in Gabon. This sect was observed by Du Chaillu about 1860 among the Ba-kélé who were for the most part subdued by the Fang. This observer wrote at that time that the Nyèmbé "protects the women from their male enemies, it avenges their grievances, and serves them in all circumstances according to their whims."(2)

2. Father du Chaillu, op. cit., p. 322 ff.

This points out with great subtlety, to the essentially compensatory role played by such a grouping. By participating in the "society of women," the woman remedies the marginal situation and the submission which are her share throughout her daily life. It imposes or necessitates her collaboration in important moments for the community and in domains which in principle are forbidden to her. [535] Thus the dance of the Mévungö was used "long ago when a Pahouin tribe was preparing to wage war against another tribe or to make raids for women"; it was also used "at the time of preparation for great elephant hunts." (3) Such "associations" no longer survive

3. Abbot A. Walker, notes inédites [unpublished notes].

595 The first wife, married by mfañ aluk, a proper wedding, and called ôsua minga or ékômba, theoretically has a privileged position vis-à-
[606] vis the mimbom or co-wives. It falls to her to aid or replace the mother-in-law, ntyi, in her role of disciplinarian over the women of the nda. It is or was she who took over the training of the young immature brides waiting to reach puberty in her hut; co-wives of inferior rank therefore often looked upon her as their ntyi. This relationship of daughter-in-law and mother-in-law also exists between two mimbom when the nsuba of the second was paid with the nsuba received for the marriage of a daughter of the first, or when she was the object of a marriage by exchange for this daughter.

Against these legal prerogatives, we find the actual prerogatives of the favorite, nkpwek or ntômba (ntômba = ewe), who besides may be the ôsua minga, although this is rather rare. Custom recognizes the actual privileges of the nkpwek by limiting them so as to prevent them from becoming privatives of the rights of the other wives. I think, although I cannot state it for certain, that there exists, besides, a nuance between the terms nkpwek and ntômba, the first referring, as the word indicates, to an actual preference on the part of the husband, the second to a legal position which the most prolific of the wives would have, or perhaps the one of the best origin.

614 Let us remember that marriage does not remove a woman from her own clan to attach her to her husband's: she is connected with this clan only through her children, if she has any. These children and their bobenyañ will become bobekal to their matrilineal cousins.
586 If the marriage breaks up without the woman having borne a child, a kinship relation between the two clans is not established.

Such a dissolution of a marriage may come about, first, upon the death of the woman when no éjian takes place, the substitution of a sister, which is rare today. The kinship tie between the clans is in force if children are born of the marriage; it remained in force in former times in the absence of children if the nsuba was not repaid. The husband's death ends the personal marriage tie but not the collective bond by virtue of which widows are assigned to the heir, as described above. /55/

One of the most frequent causes /sic/ of the dissolution of a marriage nowadays is divorce. This may be the husband's action: a suu minga jañ, he sends his wife back to her village. The grounds usually given are habitual misbehavior, sorcery, "bad character, "

conceptions developed in connection with the veneration of ancestors, concerning the influence of the ancestors, who live where Nsambe does, on the terrestrial well-being of their descendants. The most important of the medicines for wealth, atum or aseb, that is, the Mekuk medicine, is based on the ideas of sorcery which I discussed in the previous section /Ed., not translated/. The skulls needed for the ancestor cult are not in this case those from relatives who died a natural death, but from those who were murdered secretly by sorcery (poisoning). Each biǎ̀n akū'ma, therefore, is a nsōm, a sin. The murder victims, or rather their souls, are called mekūk (1). A person who keeps

1. Etymologically related to nkū́k, "upper part of the body." Perhaps we have here an intentional circumlocution, because the Pangwe like to avoid the real designation for their mesōm (sins).

the skulls in order to acquire wealth is called e mōde a bělě mekūk (= e mōde a n'a mekūk), that is, the man who has the Mekuk. I have known a Mekuk man who had no less than ten skulls of his murdered relatives in his house. In addition, the Mekuk man possesses magical devices which he sells on request together with the skulls in exchange for an excessive payment from people who themselves want to become Mekuk men. The latter are of course only sorcerers, that is, people who -- as was said in Section 12 /Ed., not translated/ -- receive the power to practice sorcery in their youth through a medicine, but who perhaps until then had not yet used their power and now want to train themselves in the specialized field of Mekuk medicine. For this purpose, their teacher demands that they murder a close relative, usually a father or mother, and bring him the skull. He himself will give them in exchange an older /150/ skull from his own collection and in addition frequently the back bones. The first skull of a Mekuk collection is therefore one of a stranger and has already been effective as a medicine. It is not an actual ancestral

754 skull, but may be regarded as such because all the Mekuk people
777 enter into a kind of kinship relation with one another and the
[608] skull medicine that has been effective for one will likewise be successful for the others. In this way the new Mekuk man is able to go on murdering and chooses his victims from among his closest relatives, older brothers, sisters, brothers-in-law, uncles, etc., in order to become rich through the mediation of the souls of his victims who do not suspect that the sorcery (or poison) of their dear relative made possible their sudden reunion with Nsambe. Wealth acquired in this way naturally also includes the inheritance which is thereby more speedily obtained. The effect of the magical medicine is described in the following manner. The Mekuk man places the medicine in a cloth and offers this to his brother, for instance. If the brother has "sense," he may say: "Oh, formerly you used to buy many pieces of cloth and gave none of them to me! What's the idea of this piece of cloth now? I don't want it!" Then the Mekuk man himself becomes ill. The Mekuk man may offer his hand to his brother when he returns from a journey, having first sprinkled a medicine into it. Most frequently, however, the medicine is given to a cock which, according to one informant, has its tail feathers plucked out; the cock is then given as a present to a relative home from a journey. If the relative eats the animal, he is supposed to die, but if he refuses it or secretly throws the animal away, the Mekuk man will become ill and die. In still other cases, the medicine is poured into a tobacco pipe, bush salt, or food. Whether any of this has a physiological effect or not must remain undecided, as I have already said on pages 3 and 4.

Even the Mekuk sorcerer believes that a failure of his attempt would result in his death, as we saw in Section 12 /Ed., not translated/ in the case of the wicked sorcerers. It is evidently assumed that if the person attacked notices that he is an intended victim, he himself goes over to the attack and on his part tries to get rid of the enemy. That is to say, according to the Pangwe conception, he sends his sorcery against that of the attacker. It is certain that this belief considerably limits the number of relatives murdered.

612 of mwanó to that of the ésa. The eldest son is not only almost
601 the exclusive heir to property — "he inherits at least seven tenths,"
561 writes Mr. Bertaut — but he also has religious privileges. He is the sole guardian of the skulls of ancestors, and he has political privileges, if he shows himself sufficiently able.

601 Within the maternal kinship the most important relations are
608 those between nephew (mwanõ kal) and maternal uncle (nya-nduma). Of this we have proof in an early study of the Fang of the N'Djolé region, and in a recent document written at the time of a clan gathering which shows the maintenance of some of these relations. Captain Curault (1) refers to them in a precise manner in his

1. Captain Curault, "Monographie du secteur de N'Djolé au Gabon" [Monograph on the N'Djolé Sector in Gabon], Revue des Troupes Coloniales, 68, February, 1908.

monograph on the N'Djolé sector: "The relations between uncle and nephew are very close; during his life the nephew gives his uncle a great many presents to increase still further the price paid to his uncle for his mother. In the same way, whenever his nephew pays him a visit, the uncle kills a chicken for him, etc... as does the father-in-law for his son-in-law. ... If a poor nephew needs goods to pay for a palaver or to get married, he can go to his uncle, sure that he will receive help from him, even if he has not often given him presents. It is a supreme shame for a man
[428] to send away the son of his sister with empty hands." Maternal uncle and nephew have a share in the inheritance. An official report of the clan gathering of the Yémisèm-Éba still provides in 1948 for the "indemnity" due at the time of the death of a nya-nduma (a sum corresponding to the value of a woman and a sheep) and on the death of a mwanõ-kal (a slightly smaller sum, "varying according to the size of the inheritance," and a sheep). (2)

2. Réunion de 25 villages de la tribu Yémissem a Afénane (District d'Oyem) du 12 an 19 Juillet, 1948 [Gathering of 25 villages of the Yémissem tribe at

601
608 Afénane (Oyem District) from July 12-
19, 1948], Archives d'Oyem.

The relation between the mwanõ-kal and the nya-nduma is about the same as that between son-in-law and father-in-law.

583 Such an assembly of facts is understandable only in terms of
608 the Fang principle regulating the circulation of bride prices. "The brother marries with his sister's bride price," nduma a lug nõ biki kal. Within such a circuit, the establishment of a couple concerns not only [117] the two partners but also the sister of the husband who has indirectly "provided" the bride price making the marriage possible, and the brother of the wife who has indirectly "recovered" this same bride price in order to get married. This explains the bonds existing between the maternal [sic] nephew and
[601] uncle and also the rights which the paternal aunt (sôna) has, according to Curault, "over her brother's children, since it is thanks to the price of her sale that her brother was able to get married and consequently have children." In exceptional circumstances
608 614 this relationship is sufficiently active to allow the nephew to settle in the midst of the family grouping of the maternal uncle or of the husband of the paternal aunt. We have had occasion to observe the first case, which involved a change of clan affiliation. A man of Yèngwi birth left his grouping following a death of which he was suspected; having joined his maternal uncle with whom he settled down to live, where he was considered as an Esabâg (he was said to be ña ayôg. entered into the clan).

601 The kinship terms in the Fang system are applied not only to a specific class of individuals but are often used in an extended manner. Ngwé may designate any maternal relative. Nya-nduma (literally, the mother's brother) is applied to certain maternal male relatives: maternal grandfather and his brothers, maternal uncles and their descendants (1), in fact, to all the men belonging

1. Cf. L. Mba, op. cit., pp. 32 and 41.

to the nd'è bot of the maternal grandfather. Mwanõ-kal implies

721 Everyone then comes near, the chief first, and dips a finger
779 into the pot of blood and tastes it. The practitioner also dips in
782 his finger and with it touches each warrior's totem to make the
266 so-called racial mark (ndem ayǒn). "Adopted" warriors are ex-
608 cluded from this ceremony, perhaps the only occasion when a distinction is drawn between them and the tribe; in some smaller clans they are not excluded from this ceremony.

721 When a tribe is populous and a single victim would not be
779 enough, two, three, and sometimes ten or more are provided.

782 As soon as each warrior has thus "renewed the mark," the sacred dances start again. During that time the chief joins in at first, then takes what remains of the blood, smears his ancestral skulls with it, and then sprinkles the tribal totems while the warriors sing the totem song. [553] The practitioner, helped by his acolytes makes a kind of large sticky ball from the sap of cer-
[824] tain rubber creepers (1) and a kind of gum,(2) and knead it inside

1. Landolphia Klaineana and Thollonii of the Apocyneceae.

2. This gum is produced by the Acacia erubescens Wildm. of the acacia family.

the victim's thoracic cavity so that it becomes soaked with blood.
[787] At the end of the ceremony he takes a bit from this ball and applies it to each warrior's chest. According to how long it sticks, it will give an augury about the warrior's life, death, and the wounds he will receive.

721 As soon as the ceremonies are completed the victims are
782 cut into thin strips, and each person receives his share. The feast
266 begins. This is the end of the actual totemic ceremony, to be followed from then on by purely religious and fetishist rites. I therefore need say no more on the subject.

721 After the meal, the dance, and the songs, the skulls and totems are put back in the évora biéri and carried back to the huts.

683
695
787

for administering an effective emetic along with the test poison. I shall evaluate these ordeals later when discussing religion.

potion.

683
695
787
562

Women are not subject to the tests I have just mentioned except sometimes to the nkal test. Among the Fan they do not drink the test poison; they are, in fact, considered as irresponsible and in a state of tutelage. Therefore in cases of serious accustion, a woman's father or husband has to take her place but does not invoke the totem, because it would not be able to act on her behalf since it does not acknowledge the woman.

Only for an accusation of sorcery does a woman have to submit to a test.

She is brought gagged to the middle of the village, two female relatives pull her head back, and the practitioner empties
[278] into her eye the sap of a euphorbia called ka. (2) If she comes

2. Euphorbia scandens, of the arboreal euphorbias.

through unhurt, she is innocent. If, on the contrary, as nearly always happens, the eye leaves the socket, she is immediately
[266] declared guilty, dragged away into the forest, burnt, and eaten. The accusation frequently arises, and punishment is never delayed.

VIII. Blood Exchange

608 " 'Brotherhood' (in America, totemisation)," says Mgr. Le Roy, (3) "is relationship through an exchange of blood; if

3. La religion des primitifs [The Religion of Primitive Peoples] op. cit., p. 120.

this is not quite totemism, it is very near to it."

●608 All primitive man's interests lead him to extend his relationships and alliances, that is, briefly, to enlarge his family. Therefore the exchange of blood has two rather different aspects. "By means of certain mysterious practices, certain actions and words that are kept secret among the initiated but that always involve an exchange of blood, it is possible first of all to gain an animal's favor, to make him follow and obey, to assume his various aspects as a disguise if need be, and to take advantage of his strength, [566] cunning, and skill. In a word, one can make a 'brother' of him, and perhaps this constitutes the basis of all totemism." (1)

1. Le Roy, op. cit., p. 120.

Exchanging blood with an animal -- for all alliances with animals always include a blood exchange -- is therefore, in fact, the central, the first, and by far the most important of totemic rites. I went into this point at great length in discussing the origin of the totem and nagualism.

Yet if a man at the present time seeks above all a covenant with an animal, a temporary and personal alliance in the primitive sense, as Mgr. Le Roy properly points out, (2) by this

2. Op. cit., p. 122.

alliance "man not only wants to get hold of the animal such as it is and link its family with his own, but he also and especially seeks that animal's family, as strengthened by the presence and activity of a spirit from the invisible world -- the animal's own soul, the spirit of the ancestors, the tutelary genius. . . ." In a word, blood alliance is a pact with the invisible world.

What a man achieves with an animal, he would all the more like to effect with another man. This will be a powerful means of extending his personal relationships, his alliances, his "family." He chooses by preference, therefore, one whose friendship, power, and loyalty he values, and he concludes a pact of alliance that will be sanctioned by an exchange of blood in a special ceremony and according to special rites. With the

608 rites completed, the two men become truly blood brothers, ndugu among the Swahili of the east coast, ndégo among the Mpongwe of the equator, angom among our Fan; these represent the same word, with the same root, the different forms resulting from differences in dialect.

608 Still, two conditions are necessary to blood exchange: in
622 the first place, a real operation is performed. Only chiefs make this exchange, and believe themselves to be completely bound and, if need be, ready to give their lives for their blood brothers. They are thus in a position to exact reciprocity. Only the chiefs, as we have said, make blood brothers; for they alone are representatives of their race and guardians of the totem, consequently masters of the intrinsic virtue and strength of the tribe. Anyone other than the chief is therefore disqualified, [567] and the chief himself cannot appoint a delegate to take his place. Nevertheless, this does happen from time to time! A white man who chances by, perhaps an explorer, anxious to obtain the good will of an influential chief, or often a trader pursuing his business, may ask a chief to make him a "blood brother." The chief sees his own advantage here and readily agrees, knowing perfectly well that he is certain to receive many presents. The ceremony takes place, but the white man, who believes that he has gained his ends, is really very naive, for in most cases the chief will have appointed a deputy and the rite means nothing legally.

However, a chief does sometimes go through the ceremony himself but in that case the basic rites are abbreviated, often omitted. An African knows too well what he is undertaking and has no desire for a white blood brother. Yet in certain circumstances, and well aware of what he is doing, an African chief does really make a blood brother. Thus, for instance, a chief of Kilimanjaro, named Tumba, is blood brother to Mgr. Le Roy, (1) who has left us an interesting and thorough account

1. Voyage au Kilima-Ndjaro [Journey to Kilimanjaro] by Mgr. Le Roy; Mame, Tours. See also Ann. Prop. Foi. 1882,

7: Trilles--109 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9
Buye F015

F
608
622

p. 369 ff. [Annuaire de la Propagation de la Foi, Yearbook of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith].

of the ceremony and associated ritual.

The second condition is that the parties concerned be of different tribes and not have the same totem. This condition is essential and proceeds from the very nature of totemism.

The process of blood alliance or blood exchange is rather curious. Among the Fan it is as follows and is found in precisely the same form in several Congo tribes somewhat related to the Fan, like the Wabuyu of the Upper Congo.

[171]

One of my mission colleagues recently described it thus: (1)

B
608
622

1. Bulletin des Pères Blancs d'Anvers [Bulletin of the White Fathers of Antwerp], n° de mai [May] 1910.

"In the evening there is a loud beating of drums; several rifle shots followed by shouts of joy announce a festival. Urged by curiosity, I went in the direction of the noise and discovered that two chiefs were to effect a blood exchange that day. They came forward solemnly . . . the participants crowded around and let out bloodcurdling howls. The protagonists solemnly sit down on special seats [568], face to face, with their knees touching. A white cloth is thrown over them, and the ceremony begins.

"The minister [practitioner] of one of the chiefs of the village where I am stationed takes a small thin knife and makes an incision in the leg of the foreign chief, while the latter's minister does the same to the village chief. Each one spreads on a leaf a paste that looks like butter, and simultaneously both ministers rub the two incisions. They keep exchanging the leaves so that their masters' blood is thoroughly mixed, the better to seal the mutual friendship.

"At the same time ivory horns are sounded and drums beat martial airs, rather unreasonably, it seems to me, at a 'peace conference.' The music arouses angry passions in the

7: Trilles--111 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9
Buye F015

B 608 622 535 songs celebrating the achievements of the tribe's forefathers and teaching contempt for death.

"Then comes the feast, from which women are strictly excluded."

F 608 622 A ceremony identical to that of the Wabuyu is found among the Ozèm Fan, which I have seen several times, and is almost the same among the Dzandzama and Bakélé.

F 171 It is rather strange to find almost the same customs among the most ancient peoples. For instance, Herodotus wrote of the Scythians: "This is how the Scythians used to take an oath: they would pour wine into a large earthenware cup, and the parties to the oath would add their blood from slight cuts made on their bodies with knife or sword; a boar-spear, an axe, and a lance would then be dipped into the cup. They then recited long prayers and drank from the cup. The leading members of the court would drink after them." (1)

1. Herodotus, Book IV, Ch. 70.

F 779 Blood alliance is the last general totemic rite that we have to deal with. Next come particular rites. The totem usually plays a far less important part in these than in general rites, and we shall therefore be much less concerned with them. [570]

Chapter XVI

The Totem in Fan Life: Particular Rites

Summary:

1. Birth.
2. Adoption.
3. Marriage.
4. Hunting, fishing, husbandry.
5. Trade and palavers.
6. Diseases and death. The funeral dance and the fanki.

582 related by marriage: between a man and "any woman, even
835 divorced, of his kinship by marriage," between "members of the son-in-law's family" and any woman divorced from the kinship by marriage. (1) There are also prohibitions relating to the

1. Cf. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 17.

"adopted" (ntobŏ). It seems important to us to state that these various interdicts exclude from marriage persons between whom there are already very definite relations, those due to effective kinship (including "cousins" to the level where the nd'è bòt is most often split into separate elements), those that exist between groupings already related by marriage, and those which arise from the state known as "adoption." Everything takes place as
[609] if the aim sought by means of marriage was to impose an alliance on the most foreign elements — foreign and hostile being considered as synonymous during the period of conquest. (2) The

2. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., pp. 91-92: "Relations with foreign tribes are rare ... the foreigner is accepted with reserve and only when he shows merchandise proving that his visit has no other purpose than to fetch a woman whom he can marry. The tribes are very frequently hostile to one another..."

obligation to respect both double exogamy and the above-mentioned interdicts contributes essentially to broadening among the groupings the field of relations based on co-operation. Incest,
835 783 an infraction of these principles, enters into the category of the nsem defined by Martrou as "ritual impurity, moral defilement." It brings about sterility or illness and arouses in traditional society a collective reaction. V. Largeau in his work mentions the process of expiation (3) in use at that time with the intervention of the

3. Op. cit., article: Inceste [Incest].

586 made, but this practice is only very rarely followed in cases of free
851 union, ébon, even when that is followed by a regular marriage of the
848 natural parents. Illegitimate children, fruits of an ébon, bobengon, are kept in their mother's clan, where, moreover, they rank socially only after legitimate children.

597 There used to exist a kind of adoption, rare today, of a political
614 rather than family nature, which could almost be defined as naturalization. It could only be carried out by the head of an extended family
[641] on behalf of an orphan, mone nyui, of another clan (orphans within /56/ the clan being, of course, already considered children of the head of the family). The adopted child, abiaé môsô (i.e., "conceived
[833] in the daytime," sexual relations being lawful only between sundown and sunrise), came into the clan with a status analogous to that of the monengon. He remained subject to the marriage prohibitions of his clan of origin.

609 A non-Pahouin outsider permanently residing in a village, a ntabe,
614 may benefit through marriage by alliance, élat, which does not thereby make him a member of the clan. He becomes a monekal (sister's son, uterine relative) and his children, though legitimate, belong to their mother's clan.

593 The descent relationship may be broken by paternal or maternal
578 curse, meyo'é: the parent uttering the curse shows the child his sexual organs, "the place whence he came," while pronouncing a formula oath. The curse is supposed to bring misfortune and death to the offspring accursed, whom everyone avoids. It can only be
[783] lifted by a collective purificatory rite (étye, tyô) in which the whole nda bôt participates.

3. Age Grades

561 The individual's life cycle is marked by a certain number of transitions, which are accompanied, or were usually accompanied, by rites that will be discussed further on (p. 115). These crises are birth, weaning, puberty, attaining majority, marriage, death. Age grades correspond to the intermediate stages; they are less strictly defined today than formerly.

561 I do not know the exact word for fetus: people say abum, belly.
843 There must be a more precise term, but I think there is a prohibiton connected with it, certainly as regards men, although it may now be

F P 563 565 Bekôé, are now assimilated and are considered a special Pahouin ayôn (see above, p. 54). But the nomadic groups themselves are beginning to give up the obligatory intermediation of the Pahouin in order to sell their game; they are to be seen at markets and even in government offices and in the courts.

F 609 Foreigners, bone bikul (ékul = foreign tribe), had no rights except as guests or hosts, beyeñ (sing. nneñ), which means that they had in fact to buy security. Since European conquest there has been an increase in the betabe (from tabe = to stay, to dwell), privileged strangers admitted to residence by the head of a family or village, often allied by marriage to the clan amid which they have settled. Their children can be absorbed but are not true bo'beti, at least not in the first generations.

F 56 Thus truly Pahouin society was and remains very much a closed one, since entrance into it is, in practice, only by blood. On the other hand, it is very little stratified internally, outside of age grades; it might even be said to be averse to hierarchies.

F 564 At first one is rather tempted to conclude that there are no castes. This statement is perhaps too sweeping, if we take into consideration the fact that certain endogamous clans like the Ndôñ are perhaps castes or represent former castes. The subject deserves further study. /60/

F 556 565 Does Pahouin society admit of social classes based on birth or wealth? In spite of the egalitarian and anarchic temperament of the Pahouin, I think this is so. Terminology proves it by distinguishing the bo' beti not only from the captives but even from the zesé bôt, the humble people: mo'nti is often translated today as "Monsieur." Within the last two generations there has grown up before our eyes a real bourgeoisie of large-scale planters, clerks (bekilak), artisans, and skilled workmen, which is inclined to stand out against a lower class of small peasants, laborers, and even, at the moment, of a "proletariat in sunglasses" — petty tradesmen, etc. —a local equivalent of our white-collar workers. Already in traditional society the minkukum, the rich, were to be distinguished from the common people, the zesé bôt.

556 565 431 437 The rich were looked at askance and were objects of suspicion to the general public, always quick to attribute material success to the possession of an évu (évur, évus), to malevolent sorcery. The

423 241 making itself felt. Indeed, before any sowing, trees have to be cut down and the land cleared. This work has a relatively permanent effect: to clear undergrowth of ten to fifteen years is less difficult than to clear a bit of primary forest. Furthermore, the original clearer of the land is acknowledged to have rights over the fallow. Within a family, each head of a household can put back into cultivation fields which he used to work, and in such a case each wife has the right to go back to her old plot. When collective ownership is involved, the process has not been so clear. This is understandable, for when a village leaves its old site and no one remains in the neighborhood, it means that no return is expected. Therefore, abandoned sites may in general be occupied without difficulty and without explicit agreement.

But in the case of cacao plantations it is obvious that the right arising /75/ from cultivation is transformed into right over land. Right to the harvest has turned into right over the tree that bears it and over the ground in which the tree grows: the duration of a plantation justifies this transition by settling men for two or three generations.

This transition, however, has not been entirely accomplished, and some people want to insure their right over the land by planting trees upon it; and peculiar devices may be observed, such as a competitor's setting out cacao trees between those of an emigrant planter, in order to oust him.

423 609 Development /evolution/ in the direction of ownership has not yet ended. There is now a right of use, but a right of disposal has not been established. Many believe that land cannot be sold. Not, it seems, on religious /sic/ grounds, but because the collective group would /in such a case/ be definitely defrauded. In this connection the attitude toward outsiders /l'attitude des etrangers/ is indicative. In this region of inextricably mingled clans and tribes, the problem of outsiders arises constantly. Those that belong to sister tribes are looked upon almost as members of the group, but others, coming from more distant populations, follow special regulations. They must ask for land from the head of the family near which they settle: he authorizes them to clear a field for a subsistence crop, but forbids them to plant cacao trees. In fact, if making a field of maize gives right of possession to the land for a few months, the establishment of a cacao plantation would lead to long-lasting possession. There is no question of a custom connected with the owning of trees, since the older inhabitants insist that formerly

423 any stranger could plant melen palms (Elaeis guineensis) and sa
601 (Pachylobus edulis), but of a defense reflex to preserve control of a valuable crop and to ward off the wave of immigration it could attract.

An examination of forms of pawning fields leads to a similar con-
423 clusion: there is far from a complete right to dispose of property.
426 The harvest rather than the land is pledged. Among the Ewondo, in fact, the creditor may harvest and dispose of the produce. "Should the harvest surpass the debt, he will turn over to the debtor part of the produce. Since the owner runs the risk of having his land go to waste, the creditor may keep it in good heart and thus increase his credit. He may be induced to keep the property for several years: in fact, he keeps it long enough to be repaid out of the harvest. However, there is no assumption that he can keep it perpetually. Here we run into what is probably an important difference between the local land tenure and our own: everything takes place as if the land were inalienable (1)." The trend is similar among the Boulou, though

1. J. Binet, Budgets familiaux dans la zone cacaoyère du Cameroun /Family Budgets in the Cacao-growing Region of the Cameroons/, L'Homme d'Outre-mer, No. 3, 1956 (no. 93).

it must be admitted that the question of pawning land does not raise serious economic problems at present. (J. B.) /76/

f. Personal Property

422 This is undoubtedly the only form of property originally recognized. Much of it seems to have been collective, at least as concerns valuable possessions: the ésa was in charge of these possessions, the family patrimony which served mainly to pay the minsuba, "bride prices." There was, however, individual ownership of useful objects, men's weapons, women's gardening tools and household equipment, objects that were buried with the owner. It seems, also, that there
[83] was a sexual differentiation between the various categories of possessions: biôm beyôm were masculine, biôm beyal were feminine, a distinction to be traced not to ownership, but to use and perhaps to origin. I have already mentioned that in the bilaba the njem bilaba of the west contributed imported goods, while his eastern counterpart

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

now responsible and liable to two parties; if he is reasonable they all meet and talk the palaver. If the palaver is serious, each party appoints his *ntol* (ambassador). The palaver is usually talked in the main street of the town, before all the representatives of the interested clans, and before all strangers in town. The Fang are born orators, and remarkable gestures and orations are made while talking the palaver. The speaker usually walks backwards and forwards grasping and leaning upon a "palaver stick." He commences with: *M'zona* (I say thus); when speaking for another he says *A'zona* (he says thus); when speaking for the people of his town, *Ba zona* (they say thus). Sometimes the *ntôls* (ambassadors) sit in a canoe in the middle of a river or a stream, and talk the palaver, the injured parties being on either side of the stream. The case is talked, the goods demanded in payment stated, and an effort made to *kik nsang* (cut or end the palaver). If they succeed, then the palaver is *cut* (ended), and a dance follows; if no agreement is come to, the meeting breaks up and a tribal war exists between these clans.

Salutations.

There are three salutations common to all. Two friends meet, they each grasp the arm of the other, high up on the biceps; a slight pause is made, then the hand is slipped down to clasp the wrist. This is also the customary salutation used by the Bulu.

Two friends meeting salute by embracing.

A traveller entering the *abeng* (palaver house) walks over to the headman and sits on his knee a moment, at the same time placing one arm around the headman's neck.

Hospitality demands that all strangers be served food by the town women to strangers in the *abeng*.

Wives are loaned to guests.

Coarse conversation is indulged in by old and young of both sexes.

Considerable license prevails among the unmarried; less so among the married.

VIII.—*Invention, Natural Forms, Conservatism.*

Invention.—The arts in use are common to all the different clans of the great Fang tribe. Any new discovery as the working of iron is credited to the dwarfs or *nqui*. The natives are always ready to admit that the *nqui* are very clever; they have a saying "no person knows like a *mon nqui* (dwarf) what is inside the forest." When obtainable the natives use an imported saw, or file, and admit its superiority over their own crude tools. A Fang may be impressed at the knowledge and power of the white man, but is not greatly surprised; the reason for this is that many white men are credited with possessing supernatural powers.

Some of the clubs, tools and weapons approximate to the natural forms of the branches or roots of trees. Axe handles and the handle of a certain kind of adze have

611 614 This structure by interlocked lineages appears to be the primary characteristic of Fang society. One can therefore understand the importance attached in the past to the minute knowledge held by each individual of the elements of his paternal line. By means of the system of naming used by the Fang – a name of two units constructed by using as the second unit of the son's name the first unit of the father's name – the line of descent appears as a chain in which it is impossible to omit a single unit. Thus, Ntutum Ngéma of Sam village in Mitzic region (Esabökâ clan) can link the names of his male ancestors up to the fourteenth generation:

Generations	Known ancestors				
X	Y				
↑	↑				
14	Éba Zi				
13	Möbyèn Éba				
12	Zɔ̀gɔ̀ Möbyèn				
11	Ekwikwi Zɔ̀gɔ̀				
10	Mâfɔ̀ Ekwikwi				
9	Sé Mâfɔ̀				
8	Étɔ̀gɔ̀ Sé				Nki Sé
7	Tsa Étɔ̀gɔ̀				↓
6	Okwɔ̀ Tsa				
5	Bitɔ̀gɔ̀ Okwɔ̀				
4	Édu Bitɔ̀gɔ̀	↓	↓		↓
3	Bɔ̀gɔ̀ Édu	2	3	4	4
2	Ngéma Bɔ̀gɔ̀				
1	Ntutum Ngéma				

Although this knowledge is limited, Ntutum Ngéma is able to place himself in the lineage issued from Eba Zi, who led the [111] migrations across the South Cameroons, and in that of Sé Mâfɔ̀, who led a fragment of the Esabökâ as far as present-day Gabon. He can also place himself in relation to intermediate lineages (Étɔ̀gɔ̀ Sé and Nki Sé) and to minor lineages (four sons of Bitɔ̀gɔ̀ Òkwɔ̀), which are still represented in the region and within the village.

614 lineages which is more marked as the Fang become unattached
578 conquerors. In the same way frequent examples have been given
621 of extensive agglomerations being broken up after the death of the "chief" who had founded and maintained them. The size and cohesion of the groupings appear therefore in a large measure to depend on the personality of the leaders who have asserted themselves (for any rightful succession may be contested under pretext of incapacity, or it may be refused) and on circumstances. This explains in part the frequency of fissions observed by various authors at the level of the third or fourth generation. (1) The size

1. Particularly, E. Trezenem, "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan du Moyen-Ogooué [Ethnographic Notes on the Fang Tribes of the Middle Ogooué]," op. cit.

of localized groupings may therefore vary a great deal — especially since the pacification of the country — going from the major lineage expressed in "clan patches" to the minor lineage (nd'è bòt) forming an isolated hamlet.

Kinship

612 Our analysis of Fang society has so far considered groupings only in terms of two fundamental elements: paternal filiation and real fraternity. We must now examine the bonds created and the relations prescribed by other modalities of kinship, as well as by the alliances that may exist between "foreign" groupings as a result of marriages.

612 Through the medium of his father (ésa, whom he calls taga)
601 and of his mother (nya, whom he calls nanö), the individual belongs to two kinship groupings, the paternal (ésinyâg) and the maternal (dzânanö). For the young Fang these two have neither the same significance nor the same importance. [114] The course of his life will generally be spent in the midst of the first group, while he has only incidental relations with the "relatives." of the second group. It is from the first that he receives his clan affiliation. The fundamental relations of paternal kinship are governed,

612 as we have maintained, in terms of filiation — the term émò,
601 with a qualifying word indicating the filiation: thus émò wàm, my son — and in terms of "fraternity," the term mwanö indicating the descendants found in the same segment. From these two coordinates, some of the relationships can be represented as follows:

Table VI

Generations	Designations in the vertical direction	Designations in the horizontal direction
X	Mvam (sg)	
I	Mvam (sg)	
II	Esa (sg)	
III	Mwanö (sg)	Bobéñâg (pl)
IV	Bèndè (pl)	Bobéñâg (pl)
V	Nwabâg (col)	Bobézǎg (pl)
Y	Nwagbâg (col)	Mwan'ayôg (sg)

Abbreviations: sg, singular; pl, plural; col, collective.

In the first place it seems that the word mvam, used specifically for the grandfather and the forefather, has a very general meaning. It is applied to the great-uncle and to both the ancestor of the direct line of descent and those of the collateral lines. According to Trilles mvam "is derived from a root va, which implies not the idea of a generation, which is sa or ba, 'to plant,' but of production, increase, growth. . . ." (1) The mvam, living or dead

1. Father H. Trilles, op. cit., p. 88.

who may be at the same time ancestors and guardian beings, constitute in an indistinct way the ngibâg, or ancestry. This voluntary
612 confusion of terminology, being a sort of throwback into the past
601 in the defunct part of the clan grouping, should be connected with
888 the Fang custom of keeping the old men away from public life and reducing them to a sort of marginal life. (2) In the same way,

2. Ibid., p. 106, "The white-haired old

612
601
[888]

man is rarely esteemed in the Fang country. As soon as he no longer has the strength to carry a gun, he receives no consideration, and of his own accord he adapts himself to this role, joking and playing at every turn."

the fourth generation assures [115] the passage into the midst of the confused grouping called nwabâg, which, while specifically designating the great-grandchildren, also signifies progeny, the whole of the descendants related in an unspecified way, who are to one another mwanézâg (plural, bobézâg), a term that could be translated as "brother of the same lineage" or simply as "relative." This passage which occurs at the first and fourth generations indicates the privileged position given to two intermediary generations, that of the ésa (father) and that of the mwanõ (son). In the case of this conquering people who rated their villages only by the number of its warriors, this fact must be linked to the importance given socially to the "man in his full strength" nyamòrò (1), — and

1. Ibid., p. 106, "Mur means 'personality' and the particle nya indicates the idea of plenitude or superiority, Our French word 'maître' [master] corresponds fairly well to this meaning."

to "the man who has become adult" — ékwar. On these two generations is based the framework of traditional Fang society.

On the other hand, the strong fraternity expressed by the notion of mwanénâg (2) survives only to the third generation with

2. Father Trilles writes that this term "indicates real kinship or filiation and not by adoption or blood brotherhood . . . ," op. cit., p. 251.

respect to a common mvam (grandfather). (3) The order of

●612
601

3. An expression frequently heard during our investigations was: "They had the same mvam, therefore they belonged to the same nd'è bòt."

succession confirms this fact by retaining in the collateral lines of descent only "first cousins" and paternal nephews (émò mwanenâg, son of mwanénâg) of the deceased. (4) Apart from the individual

4. Cf. M. Bertaut, Le Drout coutumier des Boulous [Common Law of the Boulou], chapter, "Successions," and L. Mba, Essai de droit coutumier pahouin [Essay on Pahouin Common Law], p. 39.

family which has no independent existence, it is in relation to this kinship that the most coherent and restricted grouping of Fang society, the nd'è bòt, is organized. This assures the cohesion of such a grouping but also contributes, in quite the opposite direction, with the relaxing of effective kinship, to the cleavages which occur frequently in the fourth generation.

612 Important distinctions should be marked on the same hori-
601 zontal segment. First of all in terms of sex, between brother
561 (ndum) and sister (kal). These two terms have a very broad meaning, since, according to L. Martrou, they may mean by extension "village brother" and "daughter [or girl] of the same village." (5)

5. L. Martrou, Lexique [Lexicon].

In terms of birth, children born of the same mother (of the same womb, abum avòri) form a distinct group called abumò bòt. No privilege however is [116] granted the siblings, this qualification most frequently being specified only by a periphrase, mwanénâg abum avòri, "brother from the same womb." Above all, in terms of seniority, the eldest, ntòl or nyamòrò, takes precedence over the younger brother, ndzimõ. This pre-eminence is fundamental and is of the same order as that which subordinates the generation

612 of mwanõ to that of the ésa. The eldest son is not only almost
601 the exclusive heir to property — "he inherits at least seven tenths,"
561 writes Mr. Bertaut — but he also has religious privileges. He is the sole guardian of the skulls of ancestors, and he has political privileges, if he shows himself sufficiently able.

601 Within the maternal kinship the most important relations are
608 those between nephew (mwanõ kal) and maternal uncle (nya-nduma). Of this we have proof in an early study of the Fang of the N'Djolé region, and in a recent document written at the time of a clan gathering which shows the maintenance of some of these relations. Captain Curault (1) refers to them in a precise manner in his

1. Captain Curault, "Monographie du secteur de N'Djolé au Gabon" [Monograph on the N'Djolé Sector in Gabon], Revue des Troupes Coloniales, 68, February, 1908.

monograph on the N'Djolé sector: "The relations between uncle and nephew are very close; during his life the nephew gives his uncle a great many presents to increase still further the price paid to his uncle for his mother. In the same way, whenever his nephew pays him a visit, the uncle kills a chicken for him, etc... as does the father-in-law for his son-in-law. ... If a poor nephew needs goods to pay for a palaver or to get married, he can go to his uncle, sure that he will receive help from him, even if he has not often given him presents. It is a supreme shame for a man
[428] to send away the son of his sister with empty hands." Maternal uncle and nephew have a share in the inheritance. An official report of the clan gathering of the Yémisèm-Éba still provides in 1948 for the "indemnity" due at the time of the death of a nya-nduma (a sum corresponding to the value of a woman and a sheep) and on the death of a mwanõ-kal (a slightly smaller sum, "varying according to the size of the inheritance," and a sheep). (2)

2. Réunion de 25 villages de la tribu Yémissem a Afénane (District d'Oyem) du 12 an 19 Juillet, 1948 [Gathering of 25 villages of the Yémissem tribe at

601 kinship with descent through the women, i.e., through paternal aunts (the term sôna having a descriptive equivalent, kal ésuò, father's sister), maternal aunts (to whom is applied symmetrically the term sôna), and sisters (kal). But its meaning can be broadened to include, as Martrou states, "any child whose mother is a native of the village or the tribe." When the emphasis is on the closest kinship, in each class the term is used with the word fogo, which means "true" and which has a quality of accentuation. Thus mwanénâg fogo would be translated "brother by the same father." While the mwanénâg group refers essentially to paternal filiation, the mwanökal group points to descent through sisters, and the system of distribution of bride prices. They have in a way a complementary existence and are associated with the mechanism which allows the establishment of the couple and the procreation of posterity. The one [latter] may remedy the decay of the other [former]. Curault [118] points this out by using a case already quoted: "An orphan who does not get on with his father's brothers seeks a "brother" in his maternal uncle or in the husband of his paternal aunt, or in the son of his sister, if the latter is much older than he and already the mother of full-grown men." There is therefore a recourse to be had for anyone who, as an exception, wants to escape from the authority unjustly employed by the "chief" of his nd'è bòt.

612 This account of the principal aspects of kinship shows fairly well that, while granting first place to the "paternals," Fang society also acknowledges the "maternals" by attributing important roles to them. (1) This double recognition is confirmed by the

1. M. H. Kingsley had already stressed this important fact. Cf. Travels in West Africa, London, 1897, in which she writes: "Among the Fang, kinship is recognized both on the side of the father and of the mother, and is not limited as among the Galwa by immediate sanguinity."

obligation of double exogamy. It is forbidden to marry a woman

612 belonging to the clan of the father or the mother (or belonging to a clan connected by marriage to either when the common origin is still known). We have already pointed out certain circumstances in which maternal kinship is effective. It should be remembered that this maternal kinship manifests itself from childhood on by obligating the mwanõ kal to visit his nya-nduma(s), that it is able to receive the right of guardianship, to collect the bride price, and to benefit from an inheritance (in addition to compensation normally provided at the time of a maternal nephew's death) by substituting for a vanished paternal kinship, and that it shares along with the relatives by marriage (abè) in the various phases of funeral ceremonies and mourning. This fact suggests that the power of the maternal kinship, while remaining subordinate, is recognized in this way to strengthen the power of "alliances" created by marriage. Those related to the father by marriage are the nya-nduma of his immediate descendants. In this way the bonds essential to the existence of traditional Fang society are consolidated.

Marriage and Alliances

581 554 The first explorers, Du Chaillu and M. H. Kingsley, did not fail to point out the important role of relations set up by means of the numerous marriages among foreign groupings. Father Trilles, in his study made at the beginning of this century, also pointed out the personal advantages connected with a network [119] of alliances opened up through the interplay of marriages. He writes: "The Fang will therefore marry a girl in order to secure alliances in other tribes, to acquire greater influence by having more men attached to him by the ties of blood." (1) All researchers emphasize definitely

1. Father Trilles, "Proverbes, légendes et contes Fang [Fang Sayings, Legends and Tales]," Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie, 1905, pp. 49-295.

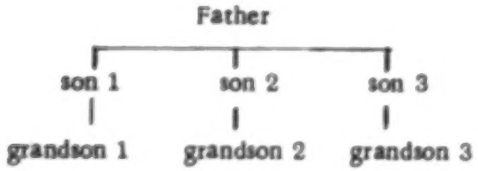
two social consequences of marriage: the increase of personal prestige and the increase of the strength of the family group.

581 554 These facts should be complemented by specifying the particular 562 value attributed by every Fang to the "possession" of several wives

where they enjoy great esteem and are consulted every time on decisions concerning all the family, [91] such as the marriage of a child, because this is a matter of alliance with another tribe, or such as moving the village. Young people of a poor family who get themselves adopted may be incorporated into the family and assimilated among its children. The adopted son (ntob) gets a wife from the head of the family which has taken him in. This wife, however, is only loaned to him, and the children whom he may have do not belong to him and are regarded as being of the adopter's family whose name they receive.

Each family has a fetish all its own, which is handed down through the oldest sons. It is often a reed (ayan) which is planted behind the huts of the village where the family lives, by a practitioner in the course of an important ceremony. The practitioner digs a hole, puts into it the bones of a member of the family killed by the bivur, spits onto it some wild pepper that he has chewed, and, before planting the reed, says, "ke nzue, ke wone, me nga non we bemvama e dzam ese dzah bor yfli, o ke sile e yenege" (without stealing or hiding myself I have taken from my ancestors, so that everything which will be asked of you by this family shall happen). The reed must be treasured and constantly kept clear of weeds which might grow around it. A fowl is sacrificed to this reed by the head of the family every time he wishes to undertake an important matter, and when the village moves the plant is taken along with the bones and replanted.

Social Life. Pahouin society is limited to a group of families which make up the tribe. The latter originates from a single family, the sons of which have left to establish other families in their turn. The separation occurs almost constantly in the third generation. The formation of a tribe may be diagrammed thus:



Grandson 1 establishes a family which keeps the name of the founder; grandson 2, a family which will take the name of this grandson; and

613 the same for the third grandson. The group of the sons' three families
614 constitutes what is called etuna or aval. The tribe (ayoṅ) gives its name to all the families which have been established since its founder.

614 Social relations are rare with foreign tribes, the tribe forming a
609 homogeneous whole where the stranger is received only with reserve
578 and when he shows goods which prove that his visit has no other aim but to come and look for a woman to marry. The [92] tribes are often hostile to one another, and while they no longer can make war, this hostility is still demonstrated by an atmosphere of haggling which always forces the weakest to give way. Several tribes have thus had to leave the N'Djolé region to settle farther downstream on the Ogooué because they could no longer live beside their neighbors.

574 On the other hand, visits among members of one tribe are frequent, presents are exchanged, and wives are bought.

761 Death (awu). Death is regarded as a change of village. After his
775 death, a person has become an inhabitant of the big village created by Nzame beyond the earth. There he will find the members of his family who already live there, and therefore he follows a very wide trail which leads him to the bank of the river Endam where his relatives who died before him come to await him. It may be that the crossing of the river is not immediate, and the dead man may have to stay for several days on the bank, which happens especially to people of whom the bivur have made human victims.

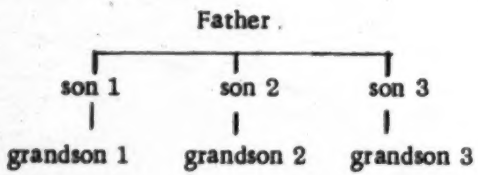
763 The dying person (edzegela) is attended by women who, when death has occurred, announce it on coming out of the hut, where all the inhabitants of the village then assemble. The corpse is taken from its bed and laid on the ground on mats; it is washed, rubbed with oil, and clothed in a white loincloth, then rolled in the mats and in pieces of bark, and tied. It stays this way in the hut until the grave is dug.

764 Funeral ceremonies immediately follow death. The wrapped body is carried by two men to the place of burial. The inhabitants of the village follow, one behind the other, and are present at the interment, which is done with a vine holding the body so that it does not fall suddenly to the bottom of the hole dug to receive it. The grave is oriented east-west, or is dug parallel to the course of the river which flows by the village, the head of the dead being placed upstream or to the east, the feet downstream or toward the west, so that the dead will lie in the direction of the river Endam. Before the grave is filled,

596 where they enjoy great esteem and are consulted every time on de-
[88] cisions concerning all the family, [91] such as the marriage of a
child, because this is a matter of alliance with another tribe, or such
as moving the village. Young people of a poor family who get them-
[597] selves adopted may be incorporated into the family and assimilated
among its children. The adopted son (ntob) gets a wife from the head
of the family which has taken him in. This wife, however, is only
loaned to him, and the children whom he may have do not belong to
him and are regarded as being of the adopter's family whose name
they receive.

596 Each family has a fetish all its own, which is handed down through
718 the oldest sons. It is often a reed (ayan) which is planted behind the
719 huts of the village where the family lives, by a practitioner in the
course of an important ceremony. The practitioner digs a hole, puts
into it the bones of a member of the family killed by the bivur, spits
onto it some wild pepper that he has chewed, and, before planting the
reed, says, "ke nzue, ke wone, me nga non we bemvama e dzam ese
dzah bor yüi, o ke sile e yenege" (without stealing or hiding myself I
have taken from my ancestors, so that everything which will be asked
of you by this family shall happen). The reed must be treasured and
constantly kept clear of weeds which might grow around it. A fowl is
sacrificed to this reed by the head of the family every time he wishes
to undertake an important matter, and when the village moves the
plant is taken along with the bones and replanted.

613 Social Life. Pahouin society is limited to a group of families which
614 make up the tribe. The latter originates from a single family, the sons
of which have left to establish other families in their turn. The separa-
tion occurs almost constantly in the third generation. The formation
of a tribe may be diagrammed thus:



Grandson 1 establishes a family which keeps the name of the founder; grandson 2, a family which will take the name of this grandson; and

613 the same for the third grandson. The group of the sons' three families
614 constitutes what is called etuna or aval. The tribe (ayoṅ) gives its name to all the families which have been established since its founder.

614 Social relations are rare with foreign tribes, the tribe forming a
609 homogeneous whole where the stranger is received only with reserve
578 and when he shows goods which prove that his visit has no other aim but to come and look for a woman to marry. The [92] tribes are often hostile to one another, and while they no longer can make war, this hostility is still demonstrated by an atmosphere of haggling which always forces the weakest to give way. Several tribes have thus had to leave the N'Djolé region to settle farther downstream on the Ogooué because they could no longer live beside their neighbors.

574 On the other hand, visits among members of one tribe are frequent, presents are exchanged, and wives are bought.

761 Death (awu). Death is regarded as a change of village. After his
775 death, a person has become an inhabitant of the big village created by Nzame beyond the earth. There he will find the members of his family who already live there, and therefore he follows a very wide trail which leads him to the bank of the river Endam where his relatives who died before him come to await him. It may be that the crossing of the river is not immediate, and the dead man may have to stay for several days on the bank, which happens especially to people of whom the bivur have made human victims.

763 The dying person (edzeġela) is attended by women who, when death has occurred, announce it on coming out of the hut, where all the inhabitants of the village then assemble. The corpse is taken from its bed and laid on the ground on mats; it is washed, rubbed with oil, and clothed in a white loincloth, then rolled in the mats and in pieces of bark, and tied. It stays this way in the hut until the grave is dug.

764 Funeral ceremonies immediately follow death. The wrapped body is carried by two men to the place of burial. The inhabitants of the village follow, one behind the other, and are present at the interment, which is done with a vine holding the body so that it does not fall suddenly to the bottom of the hole dug to receive it. The grave is oriented east-west, or is dug parallel to the course of the river which flows by the village, the head of the dead being placed upstream or to the east, the feet downstream or toward the west, so that the dead will lie in the direction of the river Endam. Before the grave is filled,

162 was explored and then occupied only at a late date. These condi-
361 tions delayed "contaminations" and permitted the maintenance of a certain unity. It now has a viable economic structure, thanks to its cacao production, which has finally created a true peasant state. [79]

1. Bitam and Minvoul Districts

These two districts are wedged between the Cameroons to the north, Spanish Guinea to the west, and a true "no man's land" to the east. The inhabitants, numbering 27,500, are the most active
[433 and prosperous elements(producing three quarters of the cacao
511] grown in the region) on the roads serving the Cameroons and the center of Oyem. They have built modernized villages "tied" to the cacao plantations. Their inhabitants belong to groupings found in the Cameroons and in Spanish Guinea, and some of the villagers have relatives in one or the other territory — like so many links favoring traffic in "merchandise" and ideas.

619 According to the census of 1936, the only detailed document,
●615 27 clans or tribal fragments (clans that have maintained the tribal name) are now there. The most numerous clan is that of the Effak
[162] (Yénzɔk tribe), (1) which has more than 15 percent of the population,

1. We give the tribal dependencies with all reservation. The near ignorance and "cheating" allied to the movement of clan regroupment render all certainty impossible, except when we have access to early documents, more particularly to a mention in the notes of Monsignor Martrou, which were kindly lent to us at the Libreville Mission.

followed by that of the Eba (Yémisɛm tribe), which has 10 percent. The other groups may go down to a few tens of individuals. In this region are found the following tribes (ayog): Yénzɔk, Yémvɔ̂g, Yémisɛm. These are the most important in the Cameroons in the

619 Ebolowa and Sangmélima regions (2). The whole of Upper Woleu-
615

2. Documents relating to "ethnic groupings," Administrative Archives of Ebolowa.

N'Tem is oriented toward the Cameroons with which it has not
[439] only economic ties (it exports its cacao there and imports its goods) but also political ties (which explains why it served to relay the directives and their implementations that appeared in this territory).

2. Oyem District

162 This district, with 30,000 inhabitants, has a long frontier with
361 Spanish Guinea, and is crossed by the Woleu River, an important
439 means of access to this possession. The major part of the population (more than two thirds) is "stuck" to the frontier. This is understood because related groups exist on each side of the frontier; [80] [Fig. 1] [81] Guinea has always exerted an economic attraction (it is the center of trade and exchange of labor which is much in demand), she serves occasionally as a place of refuge. The vil-
[433 lagers are fairly well-to-do because of the cacao cultivation (one
511] fourth of the Woleu-N'Tem production) and because of the trade with Guinea (peanuts, coffee, palmetto). This is shown particularly by an improvement in housing.

162 Kyé-Nyé Canton, a meeting place of two migratory streams
619 coming from the Lower Cameroons, contains by itself nearly
615 12,000 inhabitants who again are distributed by clans (Fig. 1). The dominant groupings are the Esengi (Yémvôg tribe), who account for more than 40 percent, the Kojé for about 25 percent, and the Yéngwi for over 15 percent. In the canton of Woleu, the villages of the Ozip tribe are dominant, accounting for 33 percent of the population. Then the Bökwé (Ndôg tribe) account for about 12 percent, and the Esamökos (Yéngól tribe) (1) for more than 10

1. Only confirmed by the notes of L. Martrou.

162 percent. Only the Koǰe (more than 90 percent of the population)
619 and the Ožip form the Canton of Oyem. In Bissok Canton, the
●614 population is dominated by the Yéngwi and Yémisèm tribes, while Ellelem Canton is characterized by a sprinkling of groups: 17 clans or tribal fragments for 3,200 inhabitants, where the Bökwé (allied to the Ndôg tribe) alone assert themselves, although apparently numbering less than 25 percent.

361 Oyem District shows a great homogeneity, which is found
184 nowhere else in Fang country in Gabon. Its greater population density, its relative prosperity, the fact that it is centered on Oyem, an important administrative and market town, these facts explain the prestige it exerts on Fang villagers and its present-day political vitality.

3. Mitzic District

162 With 11,000 inhabitants belonging stricto sensu to the Fang
361 group (2) this district occupies a position which lends itself badly to

> 2. We designate as Fang the restricted whole which bears this sole name – a migratory group according to us.

the stabilization of a population. It opens on three zones of attraction: the Ogooué, the coast, and Spanish Guinea. It has played the role of thoroughfare and was profoundly disturbed during the famine years (1922-23, 1925-26). It is barely beginning to modernize its economy by the installation of cacao plantations. [82] Besides being the least populated district, it has the worst demographic situation, the lowest birth rate, and the smallest child population. Although the people have settled along the roads (as is clearly shown when present-day maps are compared to early ones), the villages have remained unstable and very small, consisting of
361 composite groupings. An investigation of 50 villages spread along
614 the two roads show that they have in their midst 30 clans or tribal
619 fragments. At the time of the recent regrouping of clans, the most

361 active tribes were the Yémvŏg, the Yémŏdâg, the Ndôg, the
●614 Yéngwi, and the Yémisèm. They are also the ones which reveal a
619 tendency to dominate. If Mitzic could have been considered the "geographic center" of Fang country, it would be difficult now to find for it any other significance.

4. Médouneu District

162 Reduced to a single canton this cistrict has less than 3,500
361 inhabitants It is maintained because of its position on the
619 frontier and because of the network of tracks used by traders which run directly to Lower Gabon and Libreville. The Oyék and the Effak are the most numerous groups, making up 13 out of the 37 villages scattered throughout the district.

361 We have applied ourselves with great precision to this whole region not only because our investigation was carried out chiefly in the Woleu-N'Tem villages, but because it plays a primary role in the development of Gabon. Its chief town, Oyem, competes with Libreville in imposing its directives on the whole Fang country. Its richer economy and better demography (the population density is more than 6.5 inhabitants per kilometer (1) make

1. Map of Captain Roussel (completed in 1912) and surveys of itineraries in the Oyem District

it a center of vitality. Closely allied to the Cameroons (from whom it receives suggestions of policy) and opening onto Spanish Guinea, it nevertheless preserves a sense of unity and a certain special spirit.

Region of the Ogooué-Ivindo

162 This region has neither the ethnic unity (it is a zone of
361 multiple contacts) nor the demographic importance (35,600 inhabitants scattered throughout three districts) of the preceding one. It is isolated and without [83] economic development; its isolation has made it a zone of refuge in a period of uncertain peace.

563 who, being related to the coastal minorities, constitute the "aristocratic race" of the country, and, having become relatively hierarchical, has known how to "preserve its position." (2)

2. Rapport Ogooué-Maritime [Maritime Ogooué Report], 3e trimestre [Third Quarter], 1935.

162 Though the Fang "have settled in a haphazard manner and a little everywhere," they have nevertheless formed two important centers of population, on the Ogooué above Lambaréné and in the area around the southern lakes. (3) They represent more than 35 percent

3 Rapport. Ogooué-Maritime [Maritime Ogooué Report], 4e trimestre [Fourth Quarter], 1935.

of the population (17,500 inhabitants) in this district of multiple ethnic groups, which in 1936 had one fifth of its inhabitants settled at the lumber works. The Fang villages here consist of 35 clans or 621 617 fragments, about half of the population forming a homogeneous 619 clan, while the other [85] half is composite. Apart from the Yémvog, most of the existing tribes are not found (or are unimportant) in the Woleu-N'Tem [region]. The most numerous elements seem to originate from the Ivindo. Although they reached the region forming the present-day district of Port-Gentil at the end of their push, the Fang have not succeeded in evicting the dominant ethnic groups, the Ouroungou and the Nkomi.

Region of the Estuary

162 We have already stated that the date of the arrival of the Fang at the Estuary can be set at 1850. At that time they replaced the residual coastal groupings, particularly the Bakélé who, after abandoning the Ogooué, had to leave the Como. Since 1900 the population of this region has been "nearly entirely composed of

162 Pahouin." (1) They occupy the districts of Kango and Cocobeach

1. Archives de Libreville [Archives of Libreville], 1900-1910.

(6,000 and 7,500 inhabitants); they represent more than 95 percent of the district of Libreville, if one discounts the foreign "workers" hired under contract. They have imposed themselves on Libreville (to the detriment of the aboriginal Mpongwé), where they form nearly 40 percent of the population and are dominant in 15 out of 23 sections of the town. This hold over the chief town of the territory is proof of their conquering activity.

361 In the district of Cocobeach, more than 20 clans or tribal
619 fragments are present, especially Oyèk (a tribe found also at Médouneu and particularly in Spanish Guinea) and Effak This region, which in the past was important as a commercial center, is without any trade, and the administrative reports stress the
[161] depopulation movement which is taking place. (2)

2 Cf. especially Rapport politique [Political Report] 1937, Department of the Estuary, giving a special analysis of the causes of the very high infant mortality.

162 Kango District at the tip of the Estuary is one of those where the
361 demographic decline is the most marked. If the census of 1936 is
619 accepted, there are 25 clans and fragments The most numerous
619 group, that of the Yéngü, accounts only for about 10 percent Libreville District, having incorporated the former subdivision of Chinchoua, exhibits a Fang population divided to the maximum This last region is characterized by a [86] veritable crumbling of the group. The 1943 census shows 54 clans and tribal fragments (with 3,500 inhabitants), of which only 8 contain more than 150 persons. This is also the region which has been most emptied for the benefit of the capital, where the natives of the former subdivision of Chichoua represent nearly 7 percent of the population.

162 In the part of the district that corresponds to the former subdivision
361 of Libreville, the Fang group is much more homogeneous. The
●619 Oyèk are dominant with 45 percent of the villagers, then come the
619 Ntum numbering 20 percent, and the Effak (Yénzòk tribe) with about 12 percent. Nine other groupings represent from 4 5 percent (Esisis) to 1. 5 percent (Omvâg) of the population of this former division. Like Chinchoua it has suffered under the attraction of Libreville.

361 If the Estuary region has been affected demographically during
619 the last fifty years, it does not seem to have changed from the point of view of clan composition. The archives of the former Como Circle [administrative unit] (1) show that the groupings now

1. For which very precise reports were drawn up in 1905 and 1909.

considered the most important constituted villages known during the years 1900-10. However, two essential differences appear: these groupings at that time existed almost isolated and not at the level of dozens of little groups. They were localized rather definitely along the banks of the rivers, whereas they are now scattered. The villages they formed were larger than those of the present day. We have thus an indication of the process of atomization which took place during the first half of this century.

One is at first astonished at the complexity of the Fang country Outside the Upper Woleu-N'Tem, clan groupings do not appear within the limits of even small regions; they form villages which are often far apart from one another; they are scattered and intermixed. As a matter of fact, only the village grouping and the land it uses can be located on the terrain. Moreover, it is necessary to specify that the latter was stabilized, and a limit set on its mobility only at a very recent date. The fragmentation is at its maximum at the extreme end of the Fang migration, in the coastal districts and in the "zone of contact" [87] created in the surroundings of the Middle and Lower Ogooué. An average volume by clan could be calculated for each region which would give figures between

361 a minimum of 64 in the former subdivision of Chinchoua and a
614 maximum of 1,000 in Kyé-Nyé Canton, (Oyem District), and in the villages situated on Bitam-Minvoul. Thus the reality and effectiveness of the clan groupings are very different according to different sections of the Fang country. Hence, it can be understood that attempts to renew the clans could only take place in regions where such a grouping still has vitality. It should also be noted that the highest average volume by clan occurs in the regions where the Fang population is greatest and where the demographic
184 situation is the most favorable. The centers of vitality are located in in the Woleu-N'Tem [area] (a large part of the district of Mitzic being excluded) and in a small zone in the neighborhood of Libreville. These two regions compete to extend their influence over the whole of the Fang country, the rivalry appearing in the elections when a candidate from Libreville is opposed by one from the Upper Gabon (legislative elections of 1951). And it can be understood that the Fang country as a whole does not show everywhere the same degree of change in the traditional social structure nor the same capacity to adapt itself to present-day conditions.

167 By transferring to a map the groupings estimated in each of the
178 districts, other facts become clear. The direction in which the dis-
614 persal took place becomes manifest. Thus the Effak coming from the frontier of the Cameroons passed by the outskirts of Spanish Guinea to reach the coast near Cocobeach and Libreville; the Angonâmvé coming from the Woleu-N'Tem reached the Ogooué (they were found in the section of N'Djolé at the beginning of this century), then Lower Gabon beyond Lambaréné, etc. Moreover, some groupings did not spread out and were found only in relatively definite regions: the Oyèk in Spanish Guinea and in the French districts south of this territory (Médouneu, Cocobeach, and Libreville), the Kojé at Bitam and Oyem, the Ožip only at Oyem, etc. Finally, certain minor groupings existed only on the frontiers of the Fang country and had an independent existence. The Yengwi of Oyem remember that one of their fragments emigrated towards Kango (without knowing either the exact name or place), but none of the groupings taken by the census in this district claim a common

origin with the Yengwi of the Woleu-N'Tem. Thus [88] this last link has disappeared — the only link observed at the beginning of this century by an administrator who claimed there was an "extreme" breakup of groupings which were scattered "hundreds of kilometers from one another." (1)

1. Captain Maignan, "Etudes sur le Pays Pahouin [Studies of the Pahuin Country]," dated 1912 and published in the Bulletin de la Société des Recherches Congolaises, 14, 1931.

This fragmentation and entanglement of Fang groupings can be explained by the recent character of the migrations across Gabon and the search for economically advantageous spots, and by the pacification which makes the cohesion of numerically strong groupings no longer necessary. These were also noted by the first observers: Maignan speaks of "families camped near the Ivindo" who "have felt the need to unite in order to defend themselves from the attacks of their neighbors and who have remained united, forming uninterrupted lines of villages." (2) Finally, the role of

2. Op. cit.

the administration must be stressed; a policy of recruitment in order to have manpower at hand in the administrative centers; the reaction of certain groupings which consisted in running away from administrative ascendency ("as soon as a position is created in a populated region, a vacuum occurs in the twinkling of an eye around it," writes Périquet in a Mission report) (3); a policy of stabilizing

3. Captain Périquet, Mission d'étude du chemin de fer du nord [Mission to Study the Northern Railroad], 1910-1911.

the population for purposes of road building and regrouping of villages (1930). The nomadism of the Fang has been the despair of the

167 administrators. But outside these most evident causes, others of
178 an internal nature giving rise to this fragmentation must be con-
●614 sidered. We must retain the idea of a maximum capacity of village grouping which we will enlarge upon in the study of the social structure.

The successive ruptures of the groupings and the multiple migrations make it difficult to understand precisely the nature of the present-day groupings scattered throughout the Fang country. As for the several large groups usually recognized, we have suggested that they were migratory groups which moved at different periods after having been subject to different cultural influences, and having been the first to have occupied the Fang country in Gabon (which would explain the attempts of earlier observers to define a division into "lands"); and we have shown how their significance has become blurred. (See pp. 4-8 .) We have the proof that these names are subsequent to [89] the tribal and clan names (at least those of the oldest clans). In the Ožip there are collected groupings calling themselves Ntumu, Fang, and Maké (1); Tessman places the Ntumu and Fang in two different

1. Tradition des Ožip [Tradition of the Ožip], Administrative Archives of Oyem.

groups, the Ndôg and the Bökwé, (2) According to our investiga-

2. Tessmann, op. cit.

tion (confirmed by various observers), it is a question of a Ndôg tribe of which the Bökwé (a corruption of the word Ebikwe) are a clan. Curault gives another example of this: at the beginning of the century a tribe, Okana, at N'Djolé had "produced" clans called Bétsi, Maké, and Nzaman. (3)

3. Captain Curault, "Monographie du secteur de N'Djolé au Gabon [Monograph on the Section of N'Djolé in Gabon]," op. cit.

167 If we go by the names taken in the census, we note that
178 names of different formation designate groupings that are apparent-
●619 ly identical: some of the names begin with Yé or a consonant, the others begin with Esa (ésé, isi) or Eba (ébi), the names in the form of ésà or éba being the most numerous. The word ye (meaning "valley") is accompanied by a qualifier often referring to a plant, an animal, or a natural phenomenon (yé-ngwi (the boar), yé-mvâg (the rain), etc.). The prefix ésa or éba (meaning "begetter") is used to designate the posterity of a more or less remote human ancestor We must therefore surmise that in this last case we are dealing with names designating more recent groupings of secondary formation: clans and lines of descent, The other names refer to ancient groupings whose origin is legendary, who in the past were localized, and who split up and scattered due to multiple migrations; that is, they refer to tribes. The first to observe the Fang, Trilles and Martrou, are positive about these facts. So are the tribal traditions: that of the Yénǰɔk has preserved the memory of the first division into four clans which occurred after crossing the Sanaga River (4) (principal halting place of the

4. Traditions des Yéndǰɔk [Traditions of the Yéndǰɔk], Administrative Archives of Ebolowa, the French Cameroons.

migrations which distributed the Fang throughout the South Cameroons and Gabon). Each important halting place of the migrations accentuated the fragmentation and created new pre-eminences. Such is the case of the Yénǰɔk. The crossing of the Sanaga led to a division of the groupings which are still called Yénǰɔk; the crossing of the N'Tem (which gives access to Gabon) resulted in the establishment of the large Effak grouping, [90] which divided to reach the coast in subgroupings who call themselves only Effak. (1)

1. Table of the "tribes and subtribes" set up by the Fang of Lower Gabon for the Commission of the Historical Investigation of Libreville.

167 Relations between groupings resulting from such successive
178 ruptures have fallen off and finally disappeared in many cases.
● 619 This is because of the conflicts which were often the origin of the fragmentation, because of the distance between fragments, and because of the situation resulting from colonial occupation which brought about peace so that "strong tribal solidarity" was no longer essential. (2) Other reasons are control of collective movement

2. L. Martrou, "La langue Fan et ses dialectes [Fang Language and Dialects]," Journal de la Société Africanistes, Vol. 6, p. 2, 1936.

and establishment in the interior of administrative districts which have finally brought about very localized associations. A proof of this falling off is found by comparing the tribal compositions established by L. Martrou (on the Ogooué in the first decade of the century), by those responsible for the movement of clan regrouping (in Upper Gabon after 1945), and by the investigators of the "Commission of Historical Investigation" (in Lower Gabon in 1949). These documents show great divergences which can be accounted for by local circumstances. Taking advantage of this confusion the leaders of the clan movement have been able to set up regroupings which are very questionable from the point of view of clan logic. In addition, the fact that the groupings in the course of their migrations have changed their names (affirmed by L. Martrou, Maignan, and L. Mba) (3) tends to accentuate this con-

3. L. Martrou, op. cit.; Captain Maignan, op. cit.; and L. Mba, "Essai de droit coutumier pahouin [Essay on Pahouin Common Law]," Recherches Congolaises, 25, 1938.

fusion. It can therefore be understood that the limited and definitely located groupings have been for many years the only ones that are truly effective — and, at the same time, which enjoy a kind of independence.

619 this pre-eminence was also guaranteed by the possession of the skulls of ancestors (évora biéri), which were transmitted "from eldest son to eldest son." (4) Nowadays, because of the extreme

4. Idem., p. 113.

dispersal of the tribal fragments and the near-disappearance of the Biéri cult, because [103] of the small number of such groupings and the relaxing of relations between groupings, these clans do not have the benefit of a privileged situation and did not always play a major role at the time of the clan movement — some have even assimilated at that time by more vigorous tribes. (1) They were

1. "Such a group that believed itself a tribe (ayong) would find itself demoted to the level of a simple clan," writes the author of a Rapport sur le regroupement des Fan [Report on the Regrouping of the Fang], March, 1948.

not able to maintain the feeling of tribal reality or the solemn gatherings (ésama, ésulan) which confirmed this feeling periodically, while the Cameroons groupings, who were less divided and less scattered, have preserved them. This explains their exemplary role during recent years.

●614 The term "clan" therefore remains reserved for the groupings whose lines of descent go back to a real ancestor (ésa, the ésa being opposed to the mvam as "real kinship" is to "spiritual kinship"). These groupings express themselves locally far more than the tribe (by clan patches or echeloned villages), and have imposed a strict and unquestionable exogamy. They participate in the system of alliances set up by the interplay of marriage and have a special name — while the inferior groupings are not named The colonial administration knows the Fang groupings by their clan names and these have been used in taking the census. These names have a characteristic morphology because of their prefixes ésa or éba. The clans have also been subjected to rupture. Groupings

●614 issued from the lines which originally constituted them may be separated by great distances or may even be in foreign territory (in Gabon and in Spanish Guinea, for example). Nevertheless, whatever their average size, depending on the location, there remain a few groupings which are imposed on individuals in a specific way: particularly by belonging (one is an Esibil, Esakora, etc.) and by "fraternity" (expressed by the title mwananayôg), which they imply. The word ayôg is also used today to designate the clan. This seems to be its true original meaning; it has only taken on the nonspecific meaning to the extent that tribal reality became blurred at the time of recent migrations, resulting in the near disappearance of the word characterizing it (ayom). The value of this interpretation becomes obvious when one refers to the observations made by Tessmann, who, at the beginning of the century, pointed out the existence of groupings called ayôg who were more or less united at the higher level to constitute [104] [Fig. 4.] [105] the largest grouping, which he calls "tribe" (ayam). This confusion is significant of the profound upheavals that have occurred and explains the uncertainties shown by Father Trilles in this respect

614 776 178 This author, besides, has stressed the existence of a Fang totemism which could be seen [to extend] from the tribe to the individual, and extended out to the various groupings. But he also took care to point out that this was in the process of disappearing at the beginning of the century on the Ogooué and in the coastal regions. A valuable estimate has been made of this fantastic theory by Van Gennep, who writes: "All our efforts to limit the terms totem and totemism to a well-defined category are nonexistent for Father Trilles, who manages to make of the totem the equivalent of the Latin genius or of any other protecting spirit of any individuals or groups whatsoever." (1) We cannot discuss now an absolete

1. A. Van Gennep, L'Etat actuel du problème totémique [The Present State of the Totem Problem], Paris, 1920, p. 35.

quarrel — more especially as rapid changes during the last fifty years have changed or destroyed the elements necessary for any

614 opinion — but we can remember from the facts reported by Father
776 Trilles the indication that a protecting being, a body of religious
178 material (akamayon), a collection of symbols, and a body of beliefs and legends gave a uniformity, other than a genealogical one, to the Fang clans.

614 The agnate lines of descent with a more or less limited num-
621 ber of generations have played, and still play, an important role. Around them are organized the groupings forming the village or village groups which were established by the nomadic groups noted by the first observers. In this respect the history of progressive distribution throughout Gabon is significant. We will give the example of the Yéngwi, of which a fragment represented by twenty-five villages is established in the Oyem region in the Woleu-N'Tem. They are all attached to an ancestor called Esɔnɔ Angɔ, who is said to have come from the legendary place Adźa Mbura and to have led the first journeys through the South Cameroons. He is still considered the founder (abial) of the groupings existing today. These, consisting of about 3,300 individuals, are especially concentrated in the southern part of Kyé-Nyé, Canton, north of the Woleu River. Starting from this region where the first Yéngwi villages were established and where a compact nucleus of more than [106] 1,500 individuals is still in existence, a great migration took place in the direction of present-day Spanish Guinea (in to villages) from the mouth of the N'Tem, the Ogooué, and the Gabon. The large grouping thus formed by the lines issued from Esɔnɔ Angɔ and settled at the level of a demarcated region constitutes an abial ɛ bɔt, or major linage. Although these lines are spread out through ten generations, there exist real bonds between members of the grouping, even if their "kinship" goes back to Esɔnɔ Angɔ, and which are sufficient to make possible the aggregation of dissident elements from one village to another.

The word abial implies an idea of localization. It may signify "place of birth," "place of origin." (1) The groupings called

1. Cf. Mgr. L. Martrou, Lexique Fãn-Français [Fang-French Lexicon], Paris, Procure Générale, not dated.

614 621 abial ɛ̀ bɔ̀t are distinguishable by a double criterion, one genealogical — a limited but definite localization. All those that we have studied in Woleu-N'Tem relate themselves to an ancestor who led the last migrations through the present-day Cameroons, and enabled (or realized) the crossing of the N'Tem, and to the first settlements beyond this river, from which each clan fragment spread out and migrated. In the case of the just mentioned Yéngwi, Esɔnɔ̀ Angɔ̀ established the first village created south of the N'Tem; his two sons, Mɔ̀nɔ̀mvɔ̀gɔ̀ Esɔnɔ̀ (the eldest) and Nsim Esɔnɔ̀, after having lived for some time in the midst of the same grouping, separated and founded the first two Yéngwi villages of the Oyem region. From these two centers the lineages began to organize themselves independently, from the third generation on, and to distribute themselves as is shown in Fig. 5.

Before the administration had transformed, for reasons of its own benefit, the reality of the village, recomposing and displacing it, the village corresponded to the men issued from one line of descent, including a variable number of generations, and to those clients [dependents]. The Yéngwi village of Ebiane, for example, still includes the major portion of the lineage born of Egwaga Mɔ̀nɔ̀mvɔ̀gɔ̀, second son of Mɔ̀nɔ̀mvɔ̀gɔ̀ Esɔnɔ̀, — which goes back for eight generations. The only unattached elements created the present-day small villages of Nkoum and Bibasse (22 and 65 inhabitants), which have remained on the outskirts of the original grouping. But the village itself, [107] [Fig. 5.] [108 and 109] [Fig. 6] [110] as soon as it has reached an average size, includes a definite number of minor lineages which represent the still present posterity of the group of real brothers and of half brothers (bɔ̀bɛ̀ɛ̀ŋ) who formed the initial cell. Ebiane has three of these minor lineages that coincide with the three lines of descent issued from the three sons of Egwaga Mɔ̀nɔ̀mvɔ̀gɔ̀, and are named after them. These are the previously mentioned nd'é bɔ̀t — this term containing the idea of descent, the minor lineages found at the base of the hierarchy of the groupings (see Fig 6, for an example of their distribution in the midst of a group of Kɔ̀ɔ̀ villages established in the vicinity of Oyem).

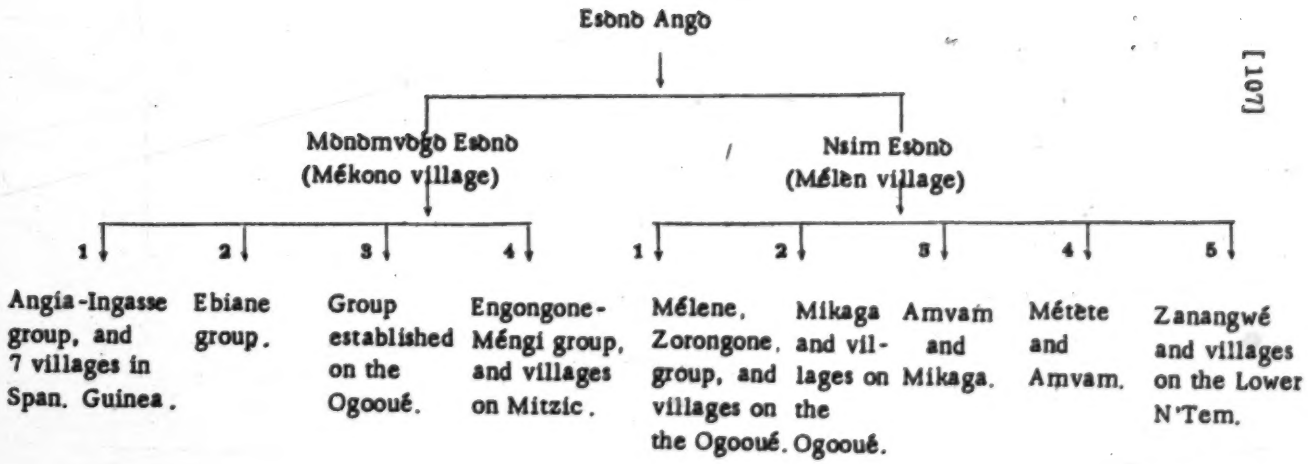


Fig. 5.
Yengwi of the Vicinity of Oyem

614 Generations:

[108]

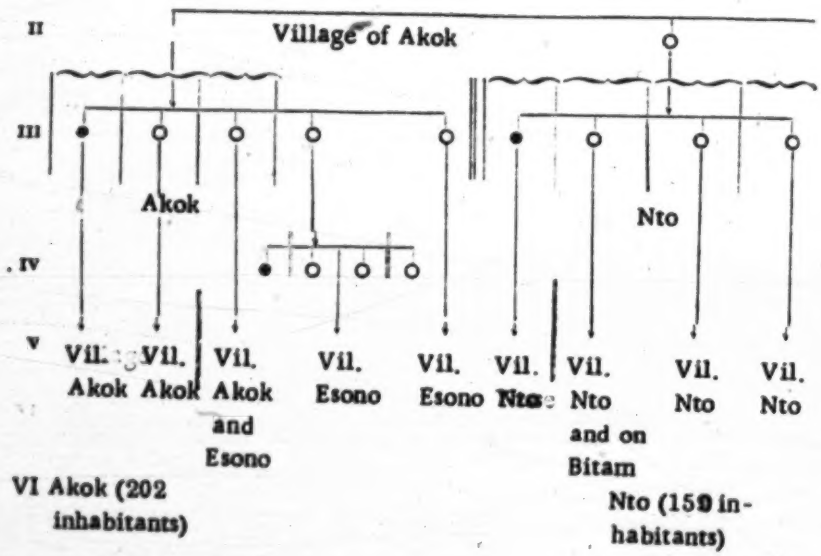


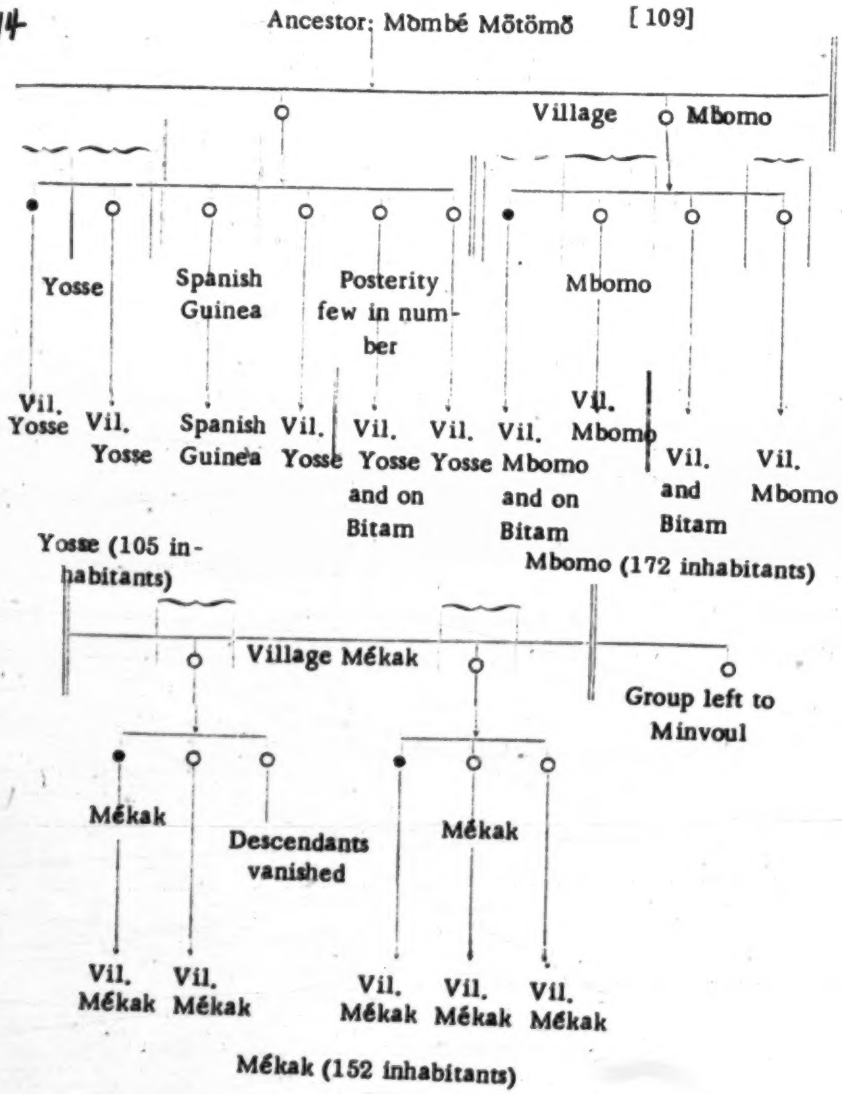
Fig. 6

Example of "fragmentation": Kojé in the Vicinity of Oyem

Legend: Eldest brother
Younger brothers
nd'e bot recognized at the village level
Lines of fission.

5: Balandier--45 E-5 (1946-1951) 1955 FH9 Fang FH9

614

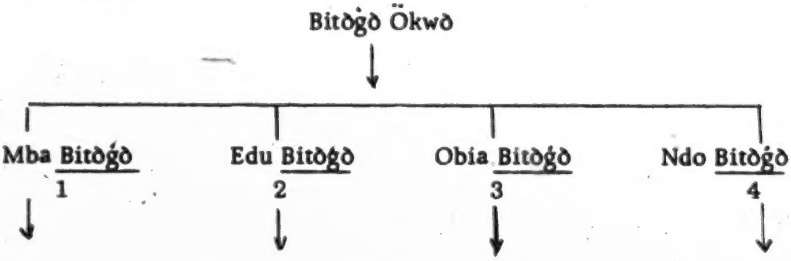


611
614 This structure by interlocked lineages appears to be the primary characteristic of Fang society. One can therefore understand the importance attached in the past to the minute knowledge held by each individual of the elements of his paternal line. By means of the system of naming used by the Fang – a name of two units constructed by using as the second unit of the son's name the first unit of the father's name – the line of descent appears as a chain in which it is impossible to omit a single unit. Thus, Ntutum Ngéma of Sam village in Mitzic region (Esabökâ clan) can link the names of his male ancestors up to the fourteenth generation:

Generations	Known ancestors
X	Y
↑	↑
14	Éba Zi
13	Möbyèn Éba
12	Zɔ̀gɔ̀ Möbyèn
11	Ekwikwi Zɔ̀gɔ̀
10	Mâfɔ̀ Ekwikwi
9	Sé Mâfɔ̀
8	Étɔ̀gɔ̀ Sé ——— Nki Sé
7	Tsa Étɔ̀gɔ̀ ↓
6	Okwɔ̀ Tsa
5	Bitɔ̀gɔ̀ Okwɔ̀ ———
4	Édu Bitɔ̀gɔ̀ ↓ ↓ ↓
3	Bɔ̀gɔ̀ Édu 2 3 4 4
2	Ngéma Bɔ̀gɔ̀
1	Ntutum Ngéma

Although this knowledge is limited, Ntutum Ngéma is able to place himself in the lineage issued from Eba Zi, who led the [111] migrations across the South Cameroons, and in that of Sé Mâfɔ̀, who led a fragment of the Esabökâ as far as present-day Gabon. He can also place himself in relation to intermediate lineages (Étɔ̀gɔ̀ Sé and Nki Sé) and to minor lineages (four sons of Bitɔ̀gɔ̀ Ɔ̀kwɔ̀), which are still represented in the region and within the village.

614 551 Incidentally, the method of naming peculiar to the Fang is evidence of a fundamental social segment, the group of brothers, real and half (siblings and half-siblings). Thus there are the sons of Bitògò Ökwo who form the "heads" of four minor lineages still in existence:



The names themselves emphasize this double orientation, the vertical showing the real filiation and the horizontal showing the real brotherhood, which characterizes Fang social structure. Around such a horizontal segment the village (in this particular case Sam village) is constituted, and inside such a segment are produced the fissions giving birth to separate lineages. From the clan to the minor lineage the groupings must be defined in terms of these two dimensions, thus showing a structure that could be called both segmental and interlocked.

614 578 621 But this overlapping is not sufficient to bind the groupings together and to impose a hierarchy. Ruptures have been frequent and can be explained by the mechanism of Fang expansion, by economic factors, and by causes of a structural nature. By analyzing the lineages settled at the level of a fixed region, one notes that those whose origin goes back to an eldest son (ntòl-mòt are larger in number and are the basis of the local population. The Yèngwi studied above show this very specifically.

614 578 621 [112] Yèngwi in the Vicinity of Oyem

Generations

I Esònò Angò
(lineage of 3, 325 individuals)

↓

II F_1 (lineage of 2, 175 individuals) | F_2 (lineage of 1, 150 individuals)

↓ ↓

III $f_1 f_2 f_3 f_4$ | $f_1 f_2 f_3 f_4 f_5$

X 950 | 1. 225 ind. | 510 ind. | 640 ind.

Each of the definitely located clan fragments reveals the existence of two groupings which are in a state of latent antagonism, which is shown, geographically, by the separate villages. The cleavage is such that at the time of the recent movement for regrouping villages, initiated entirely by the natives, each of the two antinomic elements refused to join together in order to create larger and more modernized village units. (1) Every time the

1. At the time of our investigation of a Kòjé grouping, for example, most of our informants asserted tirelessly that "the village will break apart if all the Kòjé mingle."

fission has been carried out between lineages issued from an "eldest" and the lineages issued from younger brothers. The five clan groupings studied in the Oyem region revealed this rupture – going back to the time of their settlement in the country – with irrefutable clarity (see Table V).

614
578
621

Table V

Clans	Groupings descended from the eldest	Groupings descended from younger son or sons	Villages corresponding to the first grouping	Villages corresponding to the second grouping
Yégnwi	Lineage of Mònòmògò Ésònò	Lineage of Nsim Esònò	Ebiane, etc...	Zorongone, etc...
Effak	Lineage of Ngu Mâmvé	Lineage of Môndu Mâmvé	Nto, etc..	Mékomo, etc...
Ožip	Lineage of Enduma Eswa	Lineage of Emvélé	Nkang	Mbenga, etc...
Yébimvé	Lineage of Ekòrò Mési	Lineage of Obiré Mési	Aféname, etc...	Angone, etc...
Kojé	Lineage of Mözògò Môm bé	Lineages of five younger sons	Nto, etc...	Mbomo, etc...

[113] This state of tension, bringing about more or less real fissions, is bound up with a social organization which gives economic and political pre-eminence to the "eldest," [sons] which favors the lineages issued from them, and which, above all, is not hierarchic for the purpose of maintaining the cohesion of groupings, except as needed for defense and expansion, and except for the prestige of temporary "chiefs." The desire for independence manifested by the heads of lineages as soon as their grouping has become fairly large is not controlled in an organized manner. Studies conducted during the first years of this century, especially those of Martrou and Trilles, all insist on the process of fragmentation of

614 lineages which is more marked as the Fang become unattached
578 conquerors. In the same way frequent examples have been given
621 of extensive agglomerations being broken up after the death of the "chief" who had founded and maintained them. The size and cohesion of the groupings appear therefore in a large measure to depend on the personality of the leaders who have asserted themselves (for any rightful succession may be contested under pretext of incapacity, or it may be refused) and on circumstances. This explains in part the frequency of fissions observed by various authors at the level of the third or fourth generation. (1) The size

1. Particularly, E. Trezenem, "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan du Moyen-Ogooué [Ethnographic Notes on the Fang Tribes of the Middle Ogooué]," op. cit.

of localized groupings may therefore vary a great deal – especially since the pacification of the country – going from the major lineage expressed in "clan patches" to the minor lineage (nd'è bòt) forming an isolated hamlet.

Kinship

612 Our analysis of Fang society has so far considered groupings only in terms of two fundamental elements: paternal filiation and real fraternity. We must now examine the bonds created and the relations prescribed by other modalities of kinship, as well as by the alliances that may exist between "foreign" groupings as a result of marriages.

612 Through the medium of his father (ésa, whom he calls taga)
601 and of his mother (nya, whom he calls nanö), the individual belongs to two kinship groupings, the paternal (ésinyâg) and the maternal (dzânanö). For the young Fang these two have neither the same significance nor the same importance. [114] The course of his life will generally be spent in the midst of the first group, while he has only incidental relations with the "relatives." of the second group. It is from the first that he receives his clan affiliation. The fundamental relations of paternal kinship are governed,

601
608 Afénane (Oyem District) from July 12-
19, 1948], Archives d'Oyem.

The relation between the mwanö-kal and the nya-nduma is about the same as that between son-in-law and father-in-law.

583 Such an assembly of facts is understandable only in terms of
608 the Fang principle regulating the circulation of bride prices. "The brother marries with his sister's bride price," nduma a luǧ nö biki kal. Within such a circuit, the establishment of a couple concerns not only [117] the two partners but also the sister of the husband who has indirectly "provided" the bride price making the marriage possible, and the brother of the wife who has indirectly "recovered" this same bride price in order to get married. This explains the bonds existing between the maternal [sic] nephew and
[601] uncle and also the rights which the paternal aunt (sôna) has, according to Curault, "over her brother's children, since it is thanks to the price of her sale that her brother was able to get married and consequently have children." In exceptional circumstances
608 614 this relationship is sufficiently active to allow the nephew to settle in the midst of the family grouping of the maternal uncle or of the husband of the paternal aunt. We have had occasion to observe the first case, which involved a change of clan affiliation. A man of Yèngwi birth left his grouping following a death of which he was suspected; having joined his maternal uncle with whom he settled down to live, where he was considered as an Esabâg (he was said to be ña ayôg, entered into the clan).

601 The kinship terms in the Fang system are applied not only to a specific class of individuals but are often used in an extended manner. Ngwé may designate any maternal relative. Nya-nduma (literally, the mother's brother) is applied to certain maternal male relatives: maternal grandfather and his brothers, maternal uncles and their descendants (1), in fact, to all the men belonging

1. Cf. L. Mba, op. cit., pp. 32 and 41.

to the nd'è bot of the maternal grandfather. Mwanö-kal implies

621 participation in the same tasks, tends — if one may venture the
562 play on words — to the confusion of its members. On the other
571 hand, the women it controls do not form such a coherent whole; they represent different clans, different modalities of kinship; they are the center of virtual conflicts (between female "relatives" and female "relations by marriage," between co-wives); except for the wives of the same man, who live together, they do not have a common living place.

621 The nd'ɛ̀ bɔ̀t — and, more precisely, this virile whole made
571 up of relatives belonging to the same guardhouse (abɛ̀ñõ) — harbors,
578 however, latent antagonisms, which are the result of the privilege
614 linked with ancestry [133] or seniority. These tensions can come to a head when disputes arise usually from economic causes, such as circulation of wealth or of women, or allocation of farming land. They help to explain the very variable size of the groupings considered as villages, and the phenomena of aggregation and disintegration of the latter according to circumstances. But both of these movements are effected as a function of the minor lineage which is the nd'ɛ̀ bɔ̀t.

621 This grouping may by itself constitute a separate unit of about
571 ten persons or a village with up to a hundred inhabitants. When a
614 village is old, with a large population (200 to 300 persons or more), it cannot remain organized around a single common hearth. It is arranged around several centers corresponding to the sons of the founder or their successors. Thus the village of Ebiane (Yéngwi in the vicinity of Oyem) has 235 inhabitants distributed in three groups representing the respective posterity of three brothers. We have already stressed the fact that the heads of minor lineages are at the level of the same segment. The village of Afénane (Yébimvé of the Oyem region) with more than 300 inhabitants also consists of the posterity of three brothers, and each of the nd'ɛ̀ bɔ̀t occupies a definite position on the village street, according to the following diagram:

621 571 614 The groupings are located according to the order of their pre-eminence, that of the eldest being at the back in direct contact with the chief's hut. Also, grouping 1 does not represent the whole of the lineage descended from the eldest brother (Ekòrò Ngòm); the latter divided at the level of the sons of Ekòrò Ngòm into three elements, of which one is at Afénane and the two others make up the very close villages of Messia (139 inhabitants) and M'Fagne (97 inhabitants).

621 571 578 614 This whole Yébimvé group, consisting in a limited area of nearly 1,000 persons, is interesting to the extent that it shows how the "major" lineages (which we have described above under the name of abial è bòt) and the "minor" ones determine residence in a definite zone and a village. Two brothers led a migratory group [134] of Yébimvé from the Cameroons to the territory occupied today by their posterity. A conflict arising from the unequal distribution of the women acquired from foreign villages lead to the first rupture. Each of the two brothers moved away with the group he controlled, and the memory of past antagonisms has remained sufficiently alive to prevent any attempt today at recombining the members.

621 571 614 The initial cleavage can be presented in the following manner: (Table VII on following page.)

The cleavage is expressed in relation to a common origin (A) which represents the head of the "major" lineage and gives rise to the first rupture which we mark with a double line. The two nd'è bòt have separated and settled in spite of all in adjacent regions. But these groupings have themselves been subject to new fragmentations since then. We represent the second of these where they occur [135] at the level of the third generations (after III, V, and VII), giving rise to the creation of villages very close to one another and able to co-operate and, above all, to regroup if required by circumstances.

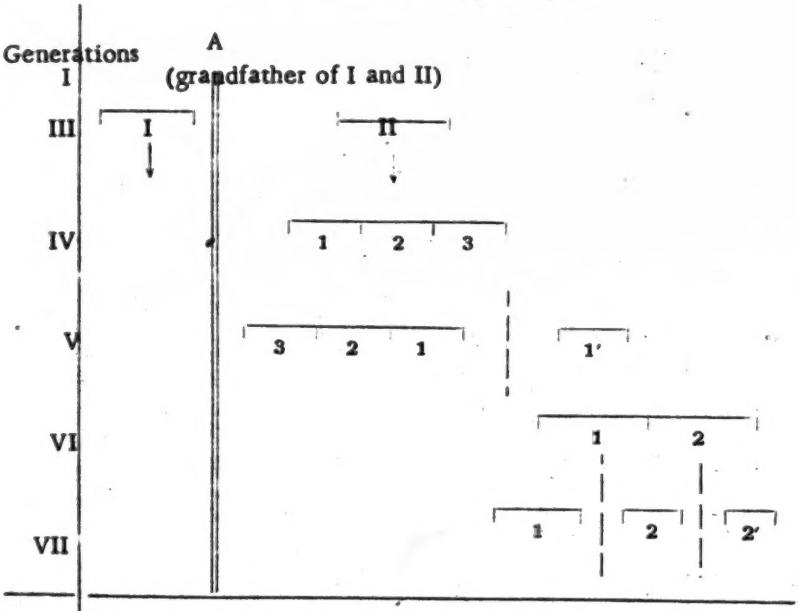
These observations show that the nd'è bòt is a true residential unit. They show how the cleavage becomes possible as soon as this unit reaches a certain size (a size, from the point of view of security and economic demands, making it viable as a separate unit); but the distance (in the sociological sense) between fragments varies

621
571
614

in terms of the circumstances which gave rise to the rupture and of the necessity to reserve eventual co-operation. The instability of the Fang village until recent times is certainly due to the nature of the old economy and to a poor capacity for disposition of land space, but also to a type of organization that does not permit (or permits badly) the control of large groupings. These have been made necessary only by lack of security.

Table VII

Yébimvé in the Vicinity of Oyem



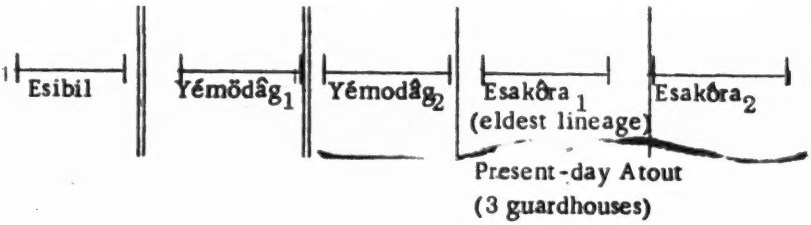
Legend: ‖ separation of the two major lineages
: fragmentation at the level of the third generations.

In the case of mixed villages where groupings belonging to different clans are found assembled together, usually following an administrative alteration of the population, instability appears to be more marked and distribution into definitely located nd'è bòt becomes a necessity. Such a grouping thus adds divisions which involves the co-existence of clan elements foreign to the

621 divisions already existing. This occurs even in the case of small
571 villages. We give the example of Atout in Mitzic region founded
614 by some Esibil to whom were added some Yémödâg and some Esakòra.

Table VIII

Village of Atout



Legend: ‖ definitive separation

| division into nd'è bòt making up Atout.

The founding group and a large part of the Yémödâg have already seceded; the Esakòra grouping has divided into two nd'è bòt (the "elder" and the younger), which represents a first [136] phase of the relaxing of bonds, for this division is not necessitated by the as yet reduced size of the group.

The mixed villages – called mfulana möyôg, mixture of clans – have necessitated the creation of an embroyonic form of chefferie [French administrative district]; the recognition of an authority based outside "kinship." Thus, when a fairly large grouping is concerned,the chief is careful to settle apart and to have at his disposal a guardhouse other than the one in which the members of his nd'è bòt assemble. But except for the attempts of the government to "construct" this chefferie, nothing justifies such an organization to maintain the cohesion of the village grouping it controls. The political problem – Fang society has been classed among the "anarchies" or "stateless societies" – in fact conditions

621 all future progress to the extent to which it allows (or does not allow)
571 the maintenance of sufficiently large and stable village units.
614

Political Authority and Judicial Authority

554 Taking Fang society as an example, Dr. Cureau speaks of
622 "a phenomenon of a stretching ... of the social bloc into a hierarchy based either on filiation or on intellectual and particularly moral superiority, both of which principles have their practical value according to the times." (1) He insists on a fact we have

1. Work already quoted, p. 332.

pointed out, the lack of a hierarchical organization, [with only] the simple existence of pre-eminences. The language itself gives [196] proof of this fact by not having a special word to designate the chief, using ésa when the pre-eminence is in a way genealogical, nkuma when it is based on wealth, žoé (from žu, to say) when it justified by eloquence and the ability to command. By magnifying this statement, A. Cureau contrasts the Fang groupings with those of other peoples as being "anarchical tribes" as opposed to "organized tribes." He writes: "Authority is occasional and momentary ... Edvoughe has carried the votes in such-and-such a difficult palaver, the whole assembly obeys for a moment this ephemeral chief; tomorrow Nzokh will have succeeded Edvoughe in the leadership of opinion; here then the struggle against one and all takes place between constantly changing and constantly renewed contestants." (2)

2. Ibid., p. 326.

In a similar sense the informants of the Commission for [137] Historical Investigation assert that the chief was "in a word the one from whom the community expected the greatest services." (1)

1. Official report of the fifth session.

In the same vein there are continual complaints from administrators incapable of reviving the powerful traditional chefferies and of acting through their medium.

than tribal ties. Nevertheless, politico-religious associations like the ngil did exist—very little is known about them today—which transcended clan barriers and contributed to a certain amount of tribal cohesion. On the other hand, certain individuals could have influence, sometimes authority, but never permanent command, extending beyond the limits of their clan. Usually the people involved were officers in initiation societies: the nsig nto, the Bané high judge, was probably a high-ranking initiate in the ngil. The njôô bôt (commander of men, war leader), the évet ("capita," caravan leader), the nkukuma (1) (rico hombre, rich man)—these men on the other

1. Emphatic form of nkukum (rich).

hand had only occasional authority and that within a limited circle.

b. The Clan

I call "clan" that which the majority of the Pahouin call ayoñ (mvôg, mvôk, in certain northern tribes) (2). It is perhaps the basic

2. Cournarie, 1933, in Coutumes de Nyong et Sanaga /Customs of the Nyong and Sanaga/ points out that ayong were divided into meyom (ayom). The ayom is formed by the coming together of several mvogo who, being descended from the same ancestor, consider themselves the issue of the same mother (obligation of exogamy). Occasionally deference is paid to the mvogo most closely related to the ancestor, and its head is called ntomba or nya moto nnam or mot nnam.

The collective group may gather together: Emoi of nda bot, Ekoan of mvogo. All grown men may speak. Elders and distinguished persons then withdraw for deliberation (esok); they return to announce the decision. (J. B.)

structural unit of Pahouin society, at any rate the one the Fang of

614 Gabon have given priority to recreating, the regrouping of villages being supposed, in their view, to take place as a function of the regrouping of the meyoñ.

The ayoñ includes all the patrilineal descendants of a common ancestor, the illegitimate children of girls belonging to the ayoñ, and adopted ones. The ayoñ has a name, a tattoo mark (ndan), often certain prohibitions (bityi, biki), and perhaps a totem. The most strict exogamy is the rule. All members call themselves brothers (bobenyañ).

Although there was, properly speaking, no real political division corresponding to the ayoñ, nor any organized chiefship—explicable particularly in view of the very scattered settlement pattern of the members—clan sentiment was, and still is, very strong. Periodical meetings, bisulan, bring ayoñ members together, presided over by the eldest (ntôl) of the senior lineage (mvôk, ayôm) (3). The custom

3. Ayôm probably has the same root as nnôm, pl. beyôm = male; it should be remarked that the ayôm is often designated by the name of a female ancestor.

of these bisulan has recently been revived /46/; first in the Cameroons, where the native authority was reorganized in 1945-48 along clan lines, then in Gabon, where the meyoñ are in an advanced state of disintegration, above all in the south.

An ayoñ, whose villages separated one from the other by villages of other clans sometimes extend over several hundred kilometers, is divided into segments (mvôk) that include the descendants of the brothers, or rather the sons, of the clan ancestor, then /is divided/ into lineages (bisa, meyôm) derived from the descendants of the sons of the ancestor of the segment. The longer the genealogy (mvam, nlañ bimvam; meba'a), the more vague these categorical differences become: in one place mvôk is used for what is called ésa nearby and ayôm further away. But, except in southern Gabon, the genealogies are still well preserved, and the majority of adults can trace their relationship, if not to the clan ancestor himself, at least to his lineage. The teaching of these genealogies, which was the core of the traditional training of boys, is dying out with the spread of schooling, but children still know at least the genealogy of their village-family (jal, dzal; nda bôt).

614 Trilles listed about 80 meyoñ among the Fang of Gabon, and com-
619 parable figures may be set for the Boulou or the Ewôndo, which would tend to cross-check the theory according to which clan ties extend across tribal boundaries to include the whole Pahouin group. The phenomenon does not seem open to question as regards those clans that are to be found under the same name throughout all, or in many, tribes; it is perhaps more questionable for certain Gabon segments that have been more or less arbitrarily absorbed into Cameroons clans at the time of "Pahouin regrouping." Even in the latter case, however, there exists for the pseudo tradition a precedent genuinely rooted in custom, that of tribes like the Yebekolo or the Yembama, whose names suggest that we are dealing with former clans, which became detached from a tribe (the Boulou, in actual fact) and took to practicing endogamy. An analgous process of "clanification" may be imagined of Fang segments too long isolated from their ayoñ.

Be that as it may, this intertribal community of meyoñ is more apparent between the Boulou and Fang tribes, that is, in the south, than between them and the Beti tribes of the north, certain of which, moreover, call the clan mvôg, not ayoñ, a phenomenon perfectly explicable if we admit that the Eton and Mangisa, for instance, are Pahouinized rather than true Pahouin.

Each ayoñ has a proper name, which, according to Trilles, would
614 be that of the clan totem preceded by the prefix ésa or ye (segments and lineages are called by the name of the ancestor). Some meyoñ, however, have a name that does not include these particles, but they are generally those groups that possess a particular kind of structure
614 to which we shall refer later on (1). The particle ésa derives from the
192

1. The ébi clans in Gabon are related in the opinion of some writers to the ésa clans; but there is a noun ébi, ébé, meaning hole, ditch.

verb sak /47/, a transitive verb meaning "to perform coition" (sa' minga = to copulate with a woman), by extension meaning "to impregnate;" the regular derivative, ésa/bisa, means "lineage," while the irregular form, ésa/beséa, means "father." The particle ye might come from yee, "valley," "hollow," "fissure," perhaps connected with a root Y./YI connoting ideas of moisture, feminity, or maternity

614 [192] (yii = to weep; yek = to make a fish dam of wet earth; nyia = mother; nyin = four; enyin = life). Sometimes the differences in name have been explained by geographical origin: the ésa clans would be those in the west, the ye clans those in the east. Actually, we find ye clans and ésa clans in all tribes, in the east as well as the west. Yet the geographical explanation should perhaps not be altogether rejected but rather associated with a sexual interpretation.

823 571 614 The Pahouin do, in fact, seem to have ascribed their system of directions to the apparent movement of the sun or, perhaps, to the line of their migration. The west would then be associated with the right, mbo nnôm = male side, the east to the left, mbo ngal = female side (1). This polarity would indicate a series of little-known insti-

1. According to Largeau, north is on the right (male), south on the left (female), which is understandable if directions are based on an E-W line of march. See below.

In Zoll'Owambe's description of the bilaba (no. 125) imported merchandise (male?) comes from the north, local merchandise (female) from the south, while he uses to designate the south the term nsak, meaning "interior," "upstream," or "east," a meaning comparable with that of nké, west or downstream.

tutions, first of all, the joking relationship, awusô, derived in turn from the great national sô rite. In fact, I think I observed that the awusô relationship existed almost always between an ésa clan and a ye clan: Esakoé-Yekomba, Esaébeñ-Yenjôk, Esel-Yembôñ, etc. Certain points may also suggest a link with the former marriage custom and a kind of potlatch called bilaba (2).

2. Another explanation makes the ésa clans originally segments of the ye clans; this interpretation could also account for the joking relationship.

614 The problem is not made easier by the knowledge that certain ésa clans identify themselves with ye clans in other tribes and that there

614 are, besides, meyoñ that are outside the system.

614 Among the latter I shall mention the Ndôñ and the Bekôé or Bekwi,
563 to be found under these names in all, or nearly all, the Pahouin tribes.
184 The ethnic substantive Bekôé is simply the plural of a common noun, nkôé, "dwarf." These people are, it seems, descendants of aborigines, undoubtedly Pygmies, "adopted" by the tribes at the time of invasion. Although looked upon as an ayoñ and calling one another brother, they do not practice exogamy and seem to attach their genealogies to those of other clans, to which nevertheless they do not belong.

614 The case of the Ndôñ is quite different. They crossed the Sanaga
184 with the other Pahouin, and they are certainly "active" Pahouin. But they observe endogamy among their three mvôk (Ndôñ Mvu, Ndôñ Bibak, and Ndôñ Bikoé), which no other Pahouin ayoñ does, at least to my knowledge. Besides, I believe I noticed /48/ among those of the southern Cameroons and northern Gabon morphological traits setting them sharply apart from those of neighboring clans—reddish
[142] color of the skin, frequency of green or greenish-blue eyes—which
[144] might be explained by the inbreeding consequent upon endogamy, but also perhaps by a different ethnic origin. Another piece of evi-
[326 dence, as insufficiently attested as the foregoing, is that among the
791] Ndôñ I met the last of the smiths and the most feared magicians among the Boulou and Fang tribes of the Cameroons.

The Ngoé ayoñ also is found under this name in nearly all the Pahouin tribes and, according to Bertaut, among the neighboring Bakoko. The Esel, who are similarly spread throughout the tribes, have non-Pahouin homonyms: /for instance/ the Bantu Esel tribe of the southeastern Cameroons (Moloundou). The name could, however, be a contraction of ésa (ésa-el?). Ngoé and Esel are usually exogamic.

c. The Extended Family or Village Family

596 The term "village family" is no doubt more accurate than the
621 classic "extended family," both because the nda bôt (house of the people) is the only social group that corresponds exactly to a geographical form of settlement (the jal or hamlet), and because without the geographical criterion it is difficult to distinguish this /kind of/ family from the intermediate structures between it and the clan, such as segments or lineages (mvôk, bisa). And finally, it is on this

595 The first wife, married by mfañ aluk, a proper wedding, and called ôsua minga or ékômba, theoretically has a privileged position vis-à-
[596] vis the mimbom or co-wives. It falls to her to aid or replace the mother-in-law, ntyi, in her role of disciplinarian over the women of the nda. It is or was she who took over the training of the young immature brides waiting to reach puberty in her hut; co-wives of inferior rank therefore often looked upon her as their ntyi. This relationship of daughter-in-law and mother-in-law also exists between two mimbom when the nsuba of the second was paid with the nsuba received for the marriage of a daughter of the first, or when she was the object of a marriage by exchange for this daughter.

Against these legal prerogatives, we find the actual prerogatives of the favorite, nkpwek or ntômba (ntômba = ewe), who besides may be the ôsua minga, although this is rather rare. Custom recognizes the actual privileges of the nkpwek by limiting them so as to prevent them from becoming privatives of the rights of the other wives. I think, although I cannot state it for certain, that there exists, besides, a nuance between the terms nkpwek and ntômba, the first referring, as the word indicates, to an actual preference on the part of the husband, the second to a legal position which the most prolific of the wives would have, or perhaps the one of the best origin.

597 Let us remember that marriage does not remove a woman from her own clan to attach her to her husband's: she is connected with this clan only through her children, if she has any. These children and their bobenyañ will become bobekal to their matrilineal cousins.
598 If the marriage breaks up without the woman having borne a child, a kinship relation between the two clans is not established.

Such a dissolution of a marriage may come about, first, upon the death of the woman when no éjian takes place, the substitution of a sister, which is rare today. The kinship tie between the clans is in force if children are born of the marriage; it remained in force in former times in the absence of children if the nsuba was not repaid. The husband's death ends the personal marriage tie but not the collective bond by virtue of which widows are assigned to the heir, as described above. /55/

One of the most frequent causes /sic/ of the dissolution of a marriage nowadays is divorce. This may be the husband's action: a suu minga jañ, he sends his wife back to her village. The grounds usually given are habitual misbehavior, sorcery, "bad character,"

586 made, but this practice is only very rarely followed in cases of free
851 union, ébon, even when that is followed by a regular marriage of the
848 natural parents. Illegitimate children, fruits of an ébon, bobengon, are kept in their mother's clan, where, moreover, they rank socially only after legitimate children.

There used to exist a kind of adoption, rare today, of a political
517 rather than family nature, which could almost be defined as naturali-
614 zation. It could only be carried out by the head of an extended family
[641] on behalf of an orphan, mone nyui, of another clan (orphans within /56/ the clan being, of course, already considered children of the head of the family). The adopted child, abiaé môsô (i.e., "conceived
[832] in the daytime," sexual relations being lawful only between sundown and sunrise), came into the clan with a status analogous to that of the monengon. He remained subject to the marriage prohibitions of his clan of origin.

609 A non-Pahouin outsider permanently residing in a village, a ntabe,
614 may benefit through marriage by alliance, élat, which does not thereby make him a member of the clan. He becomes a monekal (sister's son, uterine relative) and his children, though legitimate, belong to their mother's clan.

593 The descent relationship may be broken by paternal or maternal
578 curse, meyo'é: the parent uttering the curse shows the child his sexual organs, "the place whence he came," while pronouncing a formula oath. The curse is supposed to bring misfortune and death to the offspring accursed, whom everyone avoids. It can only be
[783] lifted by a collective purificatory rite (étye, tyô) in which the whole nda bôt participates.

3. Age Grades

561 The individual's life cycle is marked by a certain number of transitions, which are accompanied, or were usually accompanied, by rites that will be discussed further on (p. 115). These crises are birth, weaning, puberty, attaining majority, marriage, death. Age grades correspond to the intermediate stages; they are less strictly defined today than formerly.

561 I do not know the exact word for fetus: people say abum, belly.
843 There must be a more precise term, but I think there is a prohibiton connected with it, certainly as regards men, although it may now be

575
777
669 influence is stronger, but there too one finds associations influenced by foreign types of ecclesiastical organization.

614 Since 1946 the Boulou clans have formed associations, sometimes
576 proclaimed in conformity with the law of 1901, and since 1950 gathered into the N'Tem-Kribi Tribal Union, which covers primarily Boulou, Fong, Fang, Ntoumou, and Mvaé. Each clan has a central board elected during an annual or biennial ésulan, and local boards. Membership is not automatic: members have to apply for admission, pay subscription and entrance fees. At the core of each clan association there are "societies" of young people of both sexes, of married women, of nonvoters /abstinents/, etc. The young people's "societies" are certainly the most unusual. They were formed with official approbation at the time of the abolition of forced labor recruitment. The "societies" used to bargain with local authorities over projects like road maintenance or the construction of works of art /sic/, the money received being turned into a common account and used, either to help the members meet bride-price payments or other expenses, or—particularly—to arrange festivals and banquets.

575 In large towns Pahouin migrants join de jure and de facto associ-
454 ations, generally within a tribal, not a clan, framework. These associations have protective and mutual-aid purposes /69/ and are sometimes quite powerful. To these should be related the tontines or subscription societies consisting of small numbers of laborers, servants, or minor employees, who pay into a common fund the larger part of their monthly wage, each member in turn being able to draw upon the sizable sum thus collected each month. The last two institutions are in no way specifically Pahouin, nor characteristic of the Cameroons or Gabon.

6. Law and Property

a. Source

671 Pahouin law has always been complex. Formerly, it dealt primarily with the status and condition of persons /statut et de l'état des personnes/ upon which the property system was dependent. Under the influence of the economic changes brought about by colonization, the law with regard to property has become definitely independent of the law of persons, the latter being inclined to grow simpler with the dissociation of the old social and family organizations.

769 The figure was placed on the new group's first family altar, and so afterwards were the skulls of the founder and of the benya bôtô of succeeding generations. A full biéri basket was the sign of a group's [554] antiquity, which doubtless implied prestige more than genuine authority, yet nevertheless represented the nearest approach to political authority that existed in the Fang group, particularly if one takes into account the fact that officials of interclan associations were chosen from among the owners of many skulls, whence prestige extended to a large number of mvôk or meyom. The prestige of the living was exerted through the authority of the dead.

[836] Skulls were, indeed, the seat or receptacle of the individual's capacity for action (we must remember that bo = to make, boo = brain), and the use of skulls in the practice of magic was not confined to ancestral skulls only: the skulls of enemies killed in battle or sacrificed in anthropophagous ceremonies before or afterward were preserved, and so were those stolen from neighbors. In the same way the skulls of the kinds of animals desired were used for hunting rites. However, it seems that a distinction was made between family skulls and outsiders' skulls, only the first having a place in the éwolé biéti and [782] appearing in family rites. The power of the skulls was increased by sprinkling them with sacrificial blood.

769 When a youth reached nya môtô age he had to learn to recognize 869 his ancestors so as to be able to ask for their help when the occasion 881 arose. Their skulls were shown to him until he could identify them individually and put them in the correct genealogical order. When he was able to do this, he was given a brew of the narcotic herb alan, [276] then spent a night in the biéti hut, facing the skulls, which had been removed from the éwolé and placed on the altar on which strongly scented plants were burned. During the night the ancestors appeared and gave him a cognomen and imposed one or more new taboos (at the same time he was relieved of certain prohibitions connected with age). Apparently it was during this initiation that his individual totem was revealed (if it was indeed a totem).

769 This question of the totem is very poorly elucidated, in spite of 614 some 600 pages devoted to the subject by Father Trilles. He dis- 114 tinguishes between clan, segment, individual, family, and society totems, etc. He also distinguishes a tutelary being, mvame, from the "effect of a tutelary being"; akam, an animal totem, from a dedicated animal or an incarnation of a man in an animal, etc. He

769 also discriminates between the ésayoñ, ancestor cult /112/, and the
•614 mvamayoñ, totemic cult. It must be admitted that there is now no
chance of obtaining a cross-checking of his theories except on points
114 of detail, although that is no formal condemnation of his theories;
it is the consequence of a shortage of researchers, lack of respect on
the part of the researchers, or loss of traditions of initiation. The
following points may be considered as established:

mvam (émvam) connotes ideas of a forefather, dead or alive, lineal and protective.

[784] akam, protection, is sometimes used in speaking of animals, to indicate the reason for a prohibition; the verb kam having a defending-protecting meaning as well as that of forbidding-prohibiting.

All prohibitions are not tied up with these notions, but some are and they may well be individual prohibitions as well as hereditary collective ones, not necessarily involving animals.

Clan markings, mindem, and tattoo marks, mindan, are often connected with a prohibition.

825 There is a whole system of animal symbolism, evident particularly
[787] in tales and augury ("zoomancy," divination by spiders).

Certain animals are connected with initiation cults: very definitely the sô and snakes (dendraspis and python); probably the porcupine and tortoise (with feminine rites); perhaps the gorilla (njil; ngil, Johnson's tone 4, the ngil rite having tone 5).

[55] There does not appear to be any connection between an animal name borne by a person (Mvômô = Python, Zo'o = Elephant, Ze = Panther, etc.) and the prohibitions he is subject to.

Moreover, the following, it seems pretty certain, are not specifi-
614 cally related to totemism:
825 Alliance, élat or ngbwa, between a person and a particular animal.

A sorcerer's employing an animal, nkuk (observe that nkuk also means "mask") to carry out his sorcery at a distance.

[775] The incarnation of a sorcerer in the body of an animal, élañela (Trilles applies this name to the nkuk).

The temporary incarnation of a dead man in an animal's body.

The first three phenomena often seem to be confused in the minds of present-day Pahouin, and the fourth may be the consequence of this.

773 It is curious that the legend recounted by Trilles about the crocodile, which he considers to be the "national totem," represents

784 Some bityi appear to be connected with totemism: these are the bityi mekam, protective prohibitions, forbidding members of certain clans to kill certain animals or to eat certain plants. Others are undoubtedly connected with the social structure, like sex or age-grade prohibitions, the breaking of which strike at the family hierarchy. Others may be described as hygienic prohibitions, like those connected with pregnancy, illness, or convalescence. There are prohibitions connected with magic: personal taboos vis-à-vis some animal seen in a dream after a family initiation, or imposed when joining an association; prohibitions pronounced by a magician, often out of revenge; prohibitions undertaken as vows to obtain a specific result. Among the Beti, Binet has known women to impose on themselves certain [439] food etyi for a year, at the end of which time there is a party where [177] they collect many presents from their relatives and friends. This seems to be an innovation and perhaps represents a deviation from certain Catholic practices.

[614] It seems that in former times, following a war or an alliance, or in connection with an awusô relationship, two clans might undertake to respect one another's clan taboo. Besides, married women, although they did not enter the husband's clan, were supposed to some extent to respect its bityi.

783 Minsem can be expiated by redemption, ngôtô, according to 784 different rites (étyi, melan among men, évôtô among women), including public confession and sacrifice (for women, the sacrifice is made by father or husband, the woman undergoing severe corporal punishment). /123/

Some personal bityi can be raised (kui étyi = to emerge from a taboo) by a process similar to that of redemption for a nsem. This is never possible in cases of general sexual, age-grade, or clan prohibitions.

797 The first Christian converts must have shown genuine heroism in 764 giving up their bityi, since they had to overcome, not only personal fear, sometimes at the cost of real psycho-physiological crises, but also unanimous public obloquy and often the vengeance of their family, which attributed to their minsem all its misfortunes. One might say that only that first generation of Christians succeeded in abandoning the bityi almost completely. The following generations, in much greater numbers, continued to observe quite a few /bityi/, certainly all those that did not openly conflict with the practice of the /new/

101 territory, though each keeps its own autonomy without intermingling.

101 Each of the four Fan groups are divided into tribes, each
619 with its own chief, territory, and autonomy; none is subordinate
727 to another, all the more so because slaves are not taken in war,
266 for unredeemed captives are promptly eaten.

619 The tribes vary in importance according to the level of
614 development, the kind of chiefs they have had, and the size of
174 their territory. Thus, the Yenkwax possess no more than three sparsely populated villages, and at the most they can muster 300 warriors; the iYengon, [14] though a long-established tribe, have only one village and a few warriors; while the Yemvi, on the contrary, inhabit several hundred villages and number thousands of warriors. But about this term "tribe," let me here mention a very important point: at present, and since a migration which, according to my own research, should be dated 32 or 33 generations back, no more tribes are being formed, only clans. Existing tribes (and we shall see in a moment how they may be distinguished from clans) may be said to have been established about ten centuries ago in our reckoning, which clearly does not mean that they did not exist before that time. Their origin must certainly go back much earlier.

619 A tribe rarely remains homogeneous for long. Many factors
614 contribute to its splitting up, such as a series of migrations, family disputes, and the activities of heads of families who are ambitious or eager to throw off excessive authority. The steady growth of a tribe at the same time leads to the overpopulation of villages and the necessity of looking elsewhere for new hunting and agricultural lands; hence, after an indefinite period, a tribe splits into clans composed of an unspecified and highly variable number of families. Some clans are very large, such as the Esingi, and make up hundreds of villages, while others, either because they are very recent or because of the same disintegrating forces as exist for the tribes, number only a few families.

Clans in turn, as a result of the same circumstances that made tribes split into clans, split into subclans, also of varying importance.

From what I have just said, a fact may be immediately deduced which runs counter to the usual generalizations accepted by Europeans and superficial observers. In the view of the latter the

619 distribution of the nation and its division into tribes and clans is
614 based upon an arbitrary and highly variable standard; the number of individuals.

In my view on the contrary -- and this is certainly that of the Fan -- the different concepts of nation, tribe, clan, and subclan have a unique, immutable basis, the family, [15] which constitutes the kernel or, of one prefers, the primary cell or even the pivot on which the whole organization turns.

Thus we have the following structural table:

Family or Ndzǎn	Family
Clans and subclans (phratries) or Ayum	Clans and subclans
Tribe or Ayǒn	Tribe
Group or Mfulana méyon	Group

Fan Nation

This structure has an important consequence, one whose development will not, however, be dealt with here but must be postponed until after discussion of the idea of the totem. The consequence is this: among clans some bear the totem name, others do not. Although some, in fact nearly all, writers consider that bearing the totem name is a condition sine qua non of totemism in clans, we shall see that this idea is exaggerated and that clans, with or without a totem name, are all totemic.

161 travelers. Thus in 1901-02 we were the first to explore the whole of the north Congo, which Crampel had only crossed before, and then the Dzèm and Dzandzama country; after us the boundary commission for the Cameroons came into a small part of the same country, and that was all. Thus a recent publication [19] gives the number of Fan warriors at about 40,000, a figure that is not even worth discussing. (1) What is certain is that the

[614]

1. One clan, the Amvom, exceeds this figure. The Bulé are larger; there are more than 400 Fan clans, at least that we know of. In terms of the official estimate each clan would have only about 100 armed men. In many cases this would barely be the number of villages.

total population of the French Congo, of which the Fan possibly compose half, may be estimated at a figure varying from three to ten million, and it is impossible to be more accurate at the present time. In my view we should estimate the Fan at five million at least, tehito twelve at the most. The Woleu basin alone, where we have determined the location of all the villages, includes more than a million Fan.

144 The Fan belong to the great Bantu family, but they represent an outer link or, rather, they are situated at the boundary separating the Bantu from the populations and languages of the northeast, those of Libya, Sudan, etc. They are, as Reclus says, the least Bantu of all the Bantu.

[pp.20-397 not translated. -Analyst]

Chapter XII

The Ministers of the Mvamayôn

[Summary omitted. --Translator]

779 The mvamayôn, or totem, has "rights" by the very fact of its existence.

779 [Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [402]

791 Sometimes in very important tribes, especially in those that make up large, compact groups, this role of minister to the mvamayôn has developed temporarily upon the practitioner.

Sometimes practitioners take on the role themselves and hold it by their personal importance or ability.

In both cases a kind of usurpation is always involved or a mixing up of powers, rarely a substitution. The practitioner then acts not in his own name by virtue of his role and his own authority, but as a delegated power. ...

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator] [403]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

779 Thus in certain specific cases the political chief of the clan
791 leaves the exercise of religious worship to the practitioner even
with regard to the totem. Yet this is only a delegated role to the
●614 extent that when the totem has to be questioned in a critical situa-
769 tion, the practitioner disappears and the chief resumes his rights: it would then be up to him to carry out ritual acts and make sacrifices. A chief may not be able to do this, [404] for instance, if he were very ill. A sacrifice is then offered to the totem directly concerned. Does the practitioner now come to the fore? Not at all. He first sacrifices to the tutelary spirits and spirits of the dead, and then he interrogates the spirits in order to find out what evil influences have caused the illness and to discover the person who, in the sacred phrase, has "made a fetish" against the sick man. The consanguineous heir appears in his turn to invoke the family's guardian spirits in favor of the sick man and to invoke his totem. In this case, invocations and sacrifice have a dual purpose: first, to invoke the direct ancestors represented by their skulls preserved in the biéri box -- this is the cult of the esayôn; secondly, to invoke the totem represented by a real or symbolic fragment -- this is the cult of the mvamayôn.

[Four paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [405]

791 There are two distinct characters: practitioner [feticheur]
and sorcerer.
757

The practitioner takes several forms: he may be soothsayer, physician, priest -- all different manifestations of the same ministry and all legal. In a word, the practitioner is the agent of the acknowledged cult.

575 754 825 can lead to much confusion. Sorcerers are people particularly eager to conceal themselves and at the same time to assert their power, and they are often clever at doing so. They succeed in disguising the real nature of their nagual: "It's my totem," they will say, if someone surprises them with their élânéla. To be able to make their supposed totems appear at will often gives them special authority, which they can make good use of in certain circumstances. Indeed, one can imagine the prestige gained by a sorcerer who during a ritual ceremony thus calls on his totem, in reality his nagual. But ordinarily he restrains himself, for he would then unmask his sorcerer's character, and, unless he is all-powerful and protected from revenge, that is not at all what he has in mind. ...

[614] According to certain chiefs, especially among the Békwé, the totem of the founder of the race or clan was originally his élânéla. This is perfectly admissible. If by one or another means the founder of tribe or clan was able to bind an animal to his will, to make it obedient, or at least to persuade his followers that this was so -- which amounts to the same thing -- these men may very readily, after his death, choose his élanéla for their totem. But this choice, which is determined by circumstances or the wish of the dying chief, does not imply that it remains an élânéla. On the contrary, this characteristic [492] disappeared by the very fact of its becoming a totem and ceasing to be a unit in order to become a collective group through its descendants.

[Two paragraphs omitted--Translator]

In a certain number of cases it has happened that the nagual is confused with the sorcerer himself. In fact, according to the Africans, sorcerers often transform themselves into animals. ...

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [493]

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

Almost always, I am convinced, these [phenomena] may be attributed to men being disguised as animals, either to safely satisfy their murderous impulses or to obtain victims for feasts of human flesh.

In some cases these men act under the mysterious influence of unknown agents. This perhaps involves a kind of unconscious

171 We find further confirmation of the foregoing in the
174 following lines: "In archaic times, before the unification of Egypt into a single kingdom, it was no doubt the tribal chiefs who, as Pharaoh did later for the entire country, declared war, dispensed justice, and offered the sacrifices." (1)

1. The Life-Work of Sir Peter Le Page Renouf (Paris, 1902-07), Vol. 2, p. 351, "The Priestly Character of the Earliest Egyptian Civilization."

As religious leader the]Fan] tribal chief can thus delegate his authority only to the practitioner; as totemic chief, only to his direct consanguineal heir.

● 614 This is true to such a degree that if, for instance, the family should die out, the tribe would not come to an end or be destroyed, for the elders of the clan or of the mother tribe would trace genealogies back to the beginning or source of the race and find a secondary family related more closely to the founder of the race; that secondary family would in turn become the main lineage. This transfer comes about quite naturally, without hitch or conflict, merely by force of circumstances. In some cases, especially with a small clan, families will attach themselves to other clans; again, according to the formative law given earlier, new clans will be created, filials of the mother branch. If a mother clan is involved, then, on the contrary, families will attach themselves more willingly to the filial branch (branch in esa), where they will find the family totem (esamvèn, esamvùn, etc.).

648 d) Mistakes made by European administration in appointing
623 new tribal chiefs from outside the main lineage

Clearly the chief mistake, and hence the lack of success, of civil administrators or military leaders who for one reason or another depose the legitimate chief of a tribe and appoint another is clear from the totemic laws just enumerated and the very structure of the race. I willingly admit that sometimes such depositions and appointments may, and often should, be made,

648 Code to indigenous tribes, as has been decreed in Gabon, is one
622 of those governmental aberrations that reveals as profound an ignorance as possible of the people to be governed and the principles of government. [547]

For the same reasons, one can understand how impossible it is to elect a chief outside the established rules of succession. A chief appointed from outside the main lineage has not, and cannot have, authority.

e) Change of clan totem

779 When, for the above reasons, authority have passed to
622 another clan family, the public cult remains the same. But it must be emphasized as of the greatest importance that the
614 ancestral totem disappears, since it has no longer an eponymous representative of its own blood. It will be replaced by the family totem of the new chief, which then becomes the totem for the whole tribe or clan. Far from being hypothetical, this is, on the contrary, a repeated occurrence, of which the following is a typical illustration.

A certain Mba-Alame, of the Yebiken or Banana clan, left the tribe after a dispute with his clan chief and went to establish a village on a hill facing his old village. While remaining on fairly good terms with the people of his former clan, his first concern was to create a new family of his own and to cut himself off distinctly from his former companions. He therefore changed his name and took another, which happened to be Nzoge Nze, Elephant-son-of the Panther. The panther became his new totem and from then on, that of his sons and of the future clan. He was in the full sense of the term, the new father of the tribe, able to say more justifiably than Marshal Lefebevre once did: "We are the forefathers!"

In order to undertake this sort of action, a man must have a very resolute character, capable of breaking with his kin, friends, and clan without fearing the always fatal reprisals.

Moreover, such a happening is only possible if the tribe is small enough, because in a large tribe the chief would be very

719 622 614 [575] unlikely to allow such a flouting of his authority. It is also feasible if the chief is old and feeble, and the rebel held in awe for his physical strength and especially his notorious bad temper, based on substantial proof. Also the "deserter" or "uprooted" man must not belong to any secret "clan" society, because the initiates never pardon [548] desertion, this is a primary and always inviolable law.

And that is not all. It is imperative for the new founder to find a willing totem. The choice cannot be at random, as some people may imagine, and there must be a series of sacrifices during which the chosen animal indicates its acceptance. In such a case, the personal totem will receive this honor, for it cannot be changed and not to select it would be a gross insult that would unfailingly lead to significant revenge. But the personal totem must agree to become the tribal totem. In so doing, the spirit -- much more intelligent than man -- knows that it is agreeing to become his actual and titular guardian and it is not always anxious to do so. In similar circumstances, Nzoge Nze admitted to me one day that before finally acquiring an accepting totem he had had to wait for several months and to sacrifice a good many fowls and even kids. The practitioner also had to be satisfied.

It should be observed that following this acceptance all panthers did not become Nzoge Nze's totems, but only those who inhabited the country and were the offspring or descendants of his nze or particular totem panther. This proves the truth of our system. Furthermore, these panthers were sacred only to Nzoge Nze, for each particular totem is particular only to its owner, not to his next of kin. Thus, one of Nze's sons had the anteater, avil, for a totem: he was therefore not supposed to eat it, although his brothers and sons did so with impunity. But once Nzoge Nze's totem, nze, becomes the family and, therefore the tribal totem, his children will avoid killing any panther, on the chance that one might be related to that nze. However, should they happen to kill and eat one, the offense would be only hypothetical and before expiating it, they would make the

779 necessary investigation by sacrifices. And the totem, under
622 penalty of not receiving any expiation, should reveal its rela-
614 tionship. But as Nzoge Nze becomes more of a remote ancestor, the risk of relationship with every panther grows, for each panther may be related to the eponymous ancestor and consequently the law becomes more stringent. Should a panther enter villages and kill a few innocent people, [549] such as women and children, The men of the eponymous clan would be permitted to kill it, and only in such a case, but they would still be forbidden to eat it. When after a series of sacrifices for this purpose, it has been duly established that revenge for some unexpiated totemic offense is not involved, that is proof that the panther in question does not belong to the eponymous panther clan. It is a "foreigner" or "deserter", the latter being quite common in certain animal species, one of whose members may leave the group to go off on his own and become a "solitary," as do elephants, panthers, wild boars, gorillas. It is then perfectly lawful to attack it and kill it if possible. A trifling ritual expiation will suffice, proportionate to the very small likelihood of having killed an ally, an extremely slight probability, since actions are never taken without previous assent of the totem chief of the tribe. The responsibility will be his in case of mistake.

IV. War and Palavers

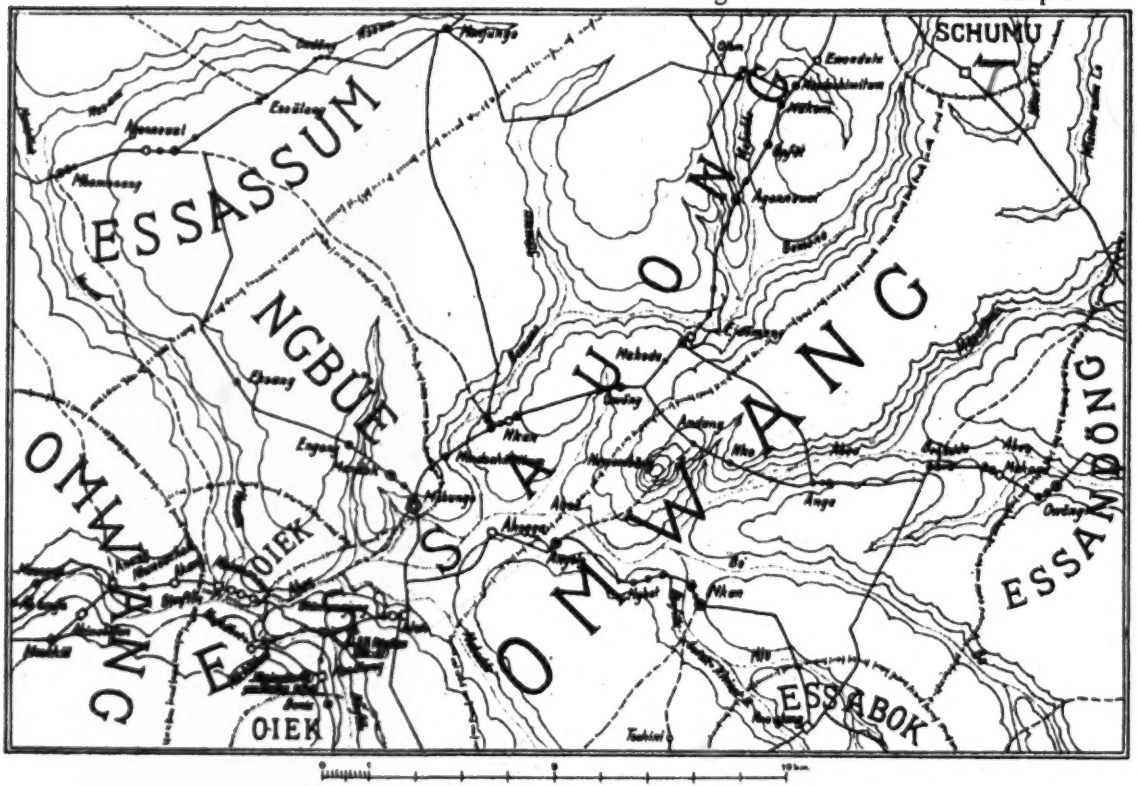
511 Life is easy for the Fan.

Close to his village, the great forest begins; it abounds in game, and he has not far to go to be able to shoot, at point-blank range, monkeys, antelopes, wild boars, even elephants. There are innumerable streams and rivers swarming with fish, especially carp; traps, weirs, nets, everything is good to catch them with -- everything succeeds. A Fan hunts and fishes when he feels like it; there are no laws interfering with his inclinations. Banana and manioc plantations, which provide the basic subsistence, give hardly any trouble. At the start of each season there are a few days of work at slashing-and-burning, the ashes providing fertilizer. After that, all the labor and care of the crops falls
517 upon the women. The Fan is therefore idle most of the day and

1: Tessmann--xiv E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Map 2

Families and Settlements in the Pangwe Area.



3: Trézenem Fang FH9

●619

/Information on the social unit Trézenem calls the "tribe" has been placed in Category 614 Sibs. --Analyst/

162 was explored and then occupied only at a late date. These condi-
361 tions delayed "contaminations" and permitted the maintenance of a certain unity.[1] It now has a viable economic structure, thanks to its cacao production, which has finally created a true peasant state. [79]

1. Bitam and Minvoul Districts

These two districts are wedged between the Cameroons to the north, Spanish Guinea to the west, and a true "no man's land" to the east. The inhabitants, numbering 27,500, are the most active
[433 and prosperous elements(producing three quarters of the cacao
511] grown in the region) on the roads serving the Cameroons and the center of Oyem. They have built modernized villages "tied" to the cacao plantations. Their inhabitants belong to groupings found in the Cameroons and in Spanish Guinea, and some of the villagers have relatives in one or the other territory — like so many links favoring traffic in "merchandise" and ideas.

619 According to the census of 1936, the only detailed document,
615 27 clans or tribal fragments (clans that have maintained the tribal name) are now there. The most numerous clan is that of the Effak
[162] (Yénzbk tribe), (1) which has more than 15 percent of the population,

1. We give the tribal dependencies with all reservation. The near ignorance and "cheating" allied to the movement of clan regroupment render all certainty impossible, except when we have access to early documents, more particularly to a mention in the notes of Monsignor Martrou, which were kindly lent to us at the Libreville Mission.

followed by that of the Eba (Yémisèm tribe), which has 10 percent. The other groups may go down to a few tens of individuals. In this region are found the following tribes (ayog): Yénzbk, Yémvog, Yémisèm. These are the most important in the Cameroons in the

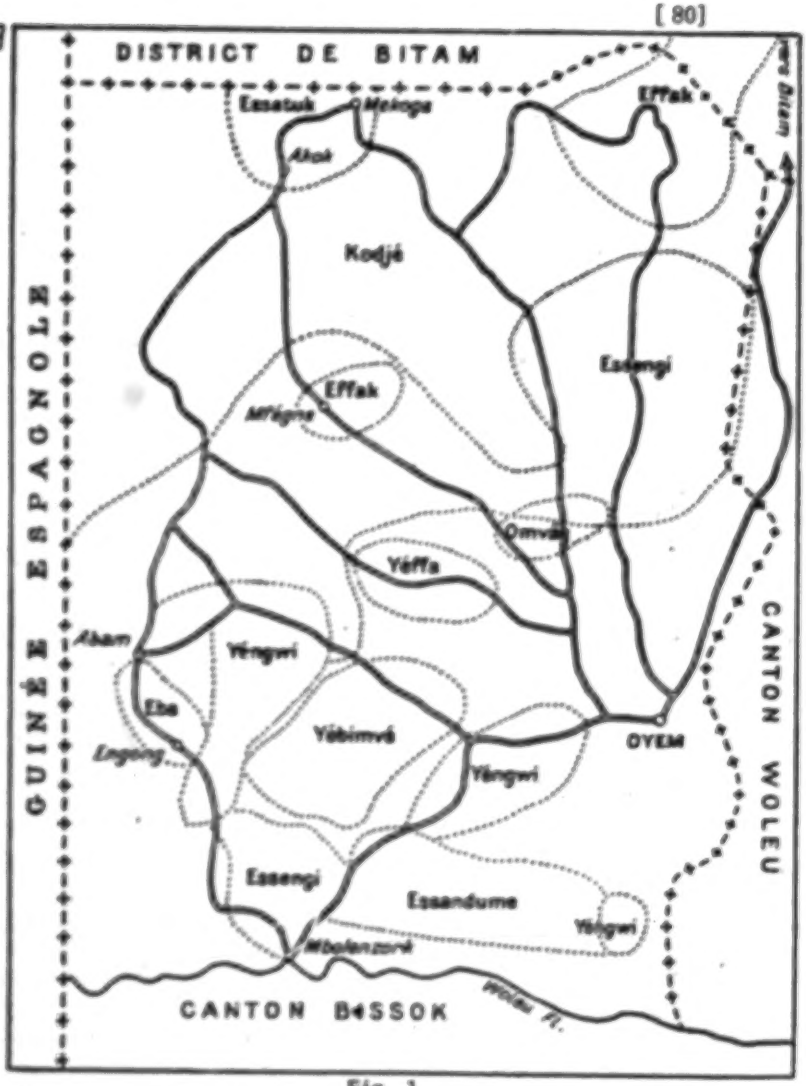


Fig. 1
Distribution of the "Ayôg" in Kyé-Nyé Canton (District of Oyem).

619 Ebolowa and Sangmélima regions (2). The whole of Upper Woleu-
615

2. Documents relating to "ethnic groupings," Administrative Archives of Ebolowa.

N'Tem is oriented toward the Cameroons with which it has not
[439] only economic ties (it exports its cacao there and imports its goods) but also political ties (which explains why it served to relay the directives and their implementations that appeared in this territory).

2. Oyem District

162 This district, with 30,000 inhabitants, has a long frontier with
361 Spanish Guinea, and is crossed by the Woleu River, an important
439 means of access to this possession. The major part of the population (more than two thirds) is "stuck" to the frontier. This is understood because related groups exist on each side of the frontier; [80] [Fig. 1] [81] Guinea has always exerted an economic attraction (it is the center of trade and exchange of labor which is much in demand), she serves occasionally as a place of refuge. The vil-
[433 lagers are fairly well-to-do because of the cacao cultivation (one
511] fourth of the Woleu-N'Tem production) and because of the trade with Guinea (peanuts, coffee, palmetto). This is shown particularly by an improvement in housing.

162 Kyé-Nyé Canton, a meeting place of two migratory streams
619 coming from the Lower Cameroons, contains by itself nearly
615 12,000 inhabitants who again are distributed by clans (Fig. 1). The dominant groupings are the Esengi (Yémvòg tribe), who account for more than 40 percent, the Kojé for about 25 percent, and the Yéngwi for over 15 percent. In the canton of Woleu, the villages of the Ozip tribe are dominant, accounting for 33 percent of the population. Then the Bokwé (Ndòg tribe) account for about 12 percent, and the Esamokos (Yéngól tribe) (1) for more than 10

1. Only confirmed by the notes of L. Martrou.

162 percent. Only the Koǰe (more than 90 percent of the population)
619 and the Oǰip form the Canton of Oyem. In Bissok Canton, the
614 population is dominated by the Yéngwi and Yémisem tribes, while Ellelem Canton is characterized by a sprinkling of groups: 17 clans or tribal fragments for 3,200 inhabitants, where the Bökwé (allied to the Ndôg tribe) alone assert themselves, although apparently numbering less than 25 percent.

361 Oyem District shows a great homogeneity, which is found
184 nowhere else in Fang country in Gabon. Its greater population density, its relative prosperity, the fact that it is centered on Oyem, an important administrative and market town, these facts explain the prestige it exerts on Fang villagers and its present-day political vitality.

3. Mitzic District

162 With 11,000 inhabitants belonging stricto sensu to the Fang
361 group (2) this district occupies a position which lends itself badly to

> 2. We designate as Fang the restricted whole which bears this sole name — a migratory group according to us.

the stabilization of a population. It opens on three zones of attraction: the Ogooué, the coast, and Spanish Guinea. It has played the role of thoroughfare and was profoundly disturbed during the famine years (1922-23, 1925-26). It is barely beginning to modernize its economy by the installation of cacao plantations. [82] Besides being the least populated district, it has the worst demographic situation, the lowest birth rate, and the smallest child population. Although the people have settled along the roads (as is clearly shown when present-day maps are compared to early ones), the villages have remained unstable and very small, consisting of
361 composite groupings. An investigation of 50 villages spread along
614 the two roads show that they have in their midst 30 clans or tribal
619 fragments. At the time of the recent regrouping of clans, the most

361 active tribes were the Yémvŏg, the Yémŏdâg, the Ndôg, the
614 Yéngwi, and the Yémisèm. They are also the ones which reveal a
●619 tendency to dominate. If Mitzic could have been considered the "geographic center" of Fang country, it would be difficult now to find for it any other significance.

4. Médouneu District

162 Reduced to a single canton this district has less than 3,500
361 inhabitants It is maintained because of its position on the
619 frontier and because of the network of tracks used by traders which run directly to Lower Gabon and Libreville. The Oyék and the Effak are the most numerous groups, making up 13 out of the 37 villages scattered throughout the district.

361 We have applied ourselves with great precision to this whole region not only because our investigation was carried out chiefly in the Woleu-N'Tem villages, but because it plays a primary role in the development of Gabon. Its chief town, Oyem, competes with Libreville in imposing its directives on the whole Fang country. Its richer economy and better demography (the population density is more than 6.5 inhabitants per kilometer (1) make

1. Map of Captain Roussel (completed in 1912) and surveys of itineraries in the Oyem District

it a center of vitality. Closely allied to the Cameroons (from whom it receives suggestions of policy) and opening onto Spanish Guinea, it nevertheless preserves a sense of unity and a certain special spirit.

Region of the Ogooué-Ivindo

162 This region has neither the ethnic unity (it is a zone of
361 multiple contacts) nor the demographic importance (35,600 inhabitants scattered throughout three districts) of the preceding one. It is isolated and without [83] economic development; its isolation has made it a zone of refuge in a period of uncertain peace.

162 Dominated by the great and often marshy forest, this country is
361 characterized by a very localized population indicated on a map by "strips" linked to the system of rivers. In the two districts which they occupy, Booué and Makokou, the Fang are the dominating ethnic group, forming about 45 percent and 40 percent of the total population. They are in the neighborhood of ethnic groups which are considered to be related to them, the Shaké and the
[177] Bakwélé. By their migrations they have disordered the population of this region and created contacts resulting in great cultural contaminations. If one can believe Father Trilles, who noted an "archaic language" used in the legends, proverbs, and songs, and similar to Batéké, (1) the relations with the peoples of the Congo

1. Father H. Trilles, op. cit

and Gabon borders would be early.

173 According to tradition, the Fang-Maké (or Bisibé) were the first to reach the Ivindo. De Brazza finds them on the Ogooué (on the island of Zabouré). Their largest tribe is Mékuk, specifically
● 619 referred to by Father Trilles and specially mentioned by Tessmann on his distribution map. Outside of the Maké, the Fang of this region are in two distinct groups — Bétsi and Nzaman — the latter representing, according to early authors, the "true Pahouin of the Ogooué." (2) In Booué District the villages, although without clan

2 Cf. Captain Curault, "Monographie du secteur de N'Djolé au Gabon [Monograph on the N'Djolé section of Gabon]," Revue des Troupes Coloniales, 68, 1908.

homogeneity, showed at the time of the "regrouping movement" the predominance of the three great tribes, Yémödâg, Yémvâg, and Yémisèm.

511 The Ogooué-Ivindo seems to be one of the poorest regions of
702 Gabon. Not having any economic equipment, it was only precariously active during the war effort. On the other hand, frequent recruiting has seriously affected this country (which along with

563 who, being related to the coastal minorities, constitute the "aristocratic race" of the country, and, having become relatively hierarchical, has known how to "preserve its position." (2)

2. Rapport Ogooué-Maritime [Maritime Ogooué Report], 3e trimestre [Third Quarter], 1935.

162 Though the Fang "have settled in a haphazard manner and a little everywhere," they have nevertheless formed two important centers of population, on the Ogooué above Lambaréné and in the area around the southern lakes. (3) They represent more than 35 percent

3 Rapport. Ogooué-Maritime [Maritime Ogooué Report], 4e trimestre [Fourth Quarter], 1935.

of the population (17,500 inhabitants) in this district of multiple ethnic groups, which in 1936 had one fifth of its inhabitants settled at the lumber works. The Fang villages here consist of 35 clans or 621 fragments, about half of the population forming a homogeneous 619 clan, while the other [85] half is composite. Apart from the Yémvog, most of the existing tribes are not found (or are unimportant) in the Woleu-N'Tem [region]. The most numerous elements seem to originate from the Ivindo. Although they reached the region forming the present-day district of Port-Gentil at the end of their push, the Fang have not succeeded in evicting the dominant ethnic groups, the Ouroungou and the Nkomi.

Region of the Estuary

162 We have already stated that the date of the arrival of the Fang at the Estuary can be set at 1850. At that time they replaced the residual coastal groupings, particularly the Bakélé who, after abandoning the Ogooué, had to leave the Como. Since 1900 the population of this region has been "nearly entirely composed of

162 Pahouin. " (1) They occupy the districts of Kango and Cocobeach

1. Archives de Libreville [Archives of Libreville], 1900-1910.

(6,000 and 7,500 inhabitants); they represent more than 95 percent of the district of Libreville, if one discounts the foreign "workers" hired under contract. They have imposed themselves on Libreville (to the detriment of the aboriginal Mpongwé), where they form nearly 40 percent of the population and are dominant in 15 out of 23 sections of the town. This hold over the chief town of the territory is proof of their conquering activity.

361 In the district of Cocobeach, more than 20 clans or tribal
619 fragments are present, especially Oyèk (a tribe found also at Médouneu and particularly in Spanish Guinea) and Effak This region, which in the past was important as a commercial center, is without any trade, and the administrative reports stress the
[161] depopulation movement which is taking place. (2)

2 Cf. especially Rapport politique [Political Report] 1937, Department of the Estuary, giving a special analysis of the causes of the very high infant mortality.

162 Kango District at the tip of the Estuary is one of those where the
361 demographic decline is the most marked. If the census of 1936 is
619 accepted, there are 25 clans and fragments The most numerous
619 group, that of the Yéngü, accounts only for about 10 percent Libreville District, having incorporated the former subdivision of Chinchoua, exhibits a Fang population divided to the maximum This last region is characterized by a [86] veritable crumbling of the group. The 1943 census shows 54 clans and tribal fragments (with 3,500 inhabitants), of which only 8 contain more than 150 persons. This is also the region which has been most emptied for the benefit of the capital, where the natives of the former subdivision of Chichoua represent nearly 7 percent of the population.

162 In the part of the district that corresponds to the former subdivision
361 of Libreville, the Fang group is much more homogeneous. The
615 Oyèk are dominant with 45 percent of the villagers, then come the
619 Ntum numbering 20 percent, and the Effak (Yénzòk tribe) with about 12 percent. Nine other groupings represent from 4 5 percent (Esisis) to 1.5 percent (Omvâg) of the population of this former division. Like Chinchoua it has suffered under the attraction of Libreville.

361 If the Estuary region has been affected demographically during
615 the last fifty years, it does not seem to have changed from the point of view of clan composition. The archives of the former Como Circle [administrative unit] (1) show that the groupings now

1. For which very precise reports were drawn up in 1905 and 1909.

considered the most important constituted villages known during the years 1900-10. However, two essential differences appear: these groupings at that time existed almost isolated and not at the level of dozens of little groups. They were localized rather definitely along the banks of the rivers, whereas they are now scattered. The villages they formed were larger than those of the present day. We have thus an indication of the process of atomization which took place during the first half of this century.

One is at first astonished at the complexity of the Fang country Outside the Upper Woleu-N'Tem, clan groupings do not appear within the limits of even small regions; they form villages which are often far apart from one another; they are scattered and intermixed. As a matter of fact, only the village grouping and the land it uses can be located on the terrain. Moreover, it is necessary to specify that the latter was stabilized, and a limit set on its mobility only at a very recent date. The fragmentation is at its maximum at the extreme end of the Fang migration, in the coastal districts and in the "zone of contact" [87] created in the surroundings of the Middle and Lower Ogooué. An average volume by clan could be calculated for each region which would give figures between

596 conclusion that a substantial social framework did not exist. A report written at the beginning of the century notes the impossibility "of finding an embryo of organization," emphasizing that there exist only more or less extended "families."

596 867 In the past the educational system very early gave the young Fang an exact knowledge of his genealogy (abara). Father Trilles writes that "the young man is particularly taught the individual list of his ancestors, which only concerns the male generations, (for) the woman is ignored," and, moreover, she never receives such instruction. (2) By knowing the relationships within his

2. Father Trilles, Le totémisme chez les Fan [Totemism Among the Fang], notes on pp. 109, 111, 180.

paternal line, the individual knows to which fundamental groupings he belongs, which women are forbidden him, and what relations he should have with such-and-such individuals, both living and dead. By more and more distant links he attaches himself to groupings that are more and more widely extended and are of more and more ancient formation. The first of these [groups] in which he finds himself immediately entered is the nd'e bɔt, a patrilocal group at the village level which often has its own locality and communal house, which gather together, under the authority of the "eldest," or ntɔl-mɔt, the latter's posterity, his younger brothers and their posterity, and sometimes that of his paternal uncles; in addition, the [posterity] of individuals who are tied to him by bonds of kinship, adoption, or friendship. The most extended of 619 these [groups] is the "tribe" (ayɔ̂g, formerly ayɔm, studied by Martrou and Trilles, whose origin is neither located nor dated, but simply legendary, and whose dispersed took place throughout nearly the whole of the Fang country. [102] The intermediate groupings spread out concentrically from one to the other; the relations existing between the individuals they contain are expressed by a "fraternity" that is less and less real and less and less binding.

We have kept the term "tribe," used by the first observers of the Fang, to designate this earliest formed grouping, which is

619 now the most comprehensive, the most dispersed, the least active, and which traces its origin to a legendary ancestor — or mvam — now Christianized by some (thus, Adam-Nzamõ among the Ndõg) Its unity is indicated by a name, a motto, and special tattooing and symbols. (1) Before the last great migrations the tribe had a rela-

1. These symbols are clearly described by Trilles, Largeau, and, particularly, by Tessmann (op. cit.).

tively definite location and was divided only into a limited number of clans (for example, 6 in the case of the Yévõ). The migrations going toward and through the South Cameroons and Gabon have created a long series of upheavals, as is evidenced by the various tribal legends which ascribe the great fragmentations and dispersals to the crossing of the Upper Sanaga (Lom) and of the "Adzap hole" (symbolizing access to the great forest). Thus the Yévõ (2) trace back to this "crossing" the separation into 10 group-

2. Légendes des Yévõ [Legends of the Yévõ], Archives of Ebolowa.

ings going toward the region of N'Tem (6 groups), toward Gabon (3 groups), and toward the coast after following along the Nyong (one group). These last have also undergone a process of a chain of upheavals and dispersals themselves, which we shall analyze by means of recent examples. Father Trilles was able to show how, following this movement, the tribal name was preserved only for the "clan of the founder of the tribe and (for) that which was founded by one of his sons or descendants in direct line." (3) In

3. Father Trilles, op. cit., p. 130.

this last case a prefix signifies that it applies to a secondary group; thus the tribal name Yémvi survives only under the forms of Yémvi and Esamvi. However, such clans manifest a pre-eminence which is at the base of the social organization: that of the "eldest" and of the line of descent from the eldest [ones]. The legitimacy of

619 this pre-eminence was also guaranteed by the possession of the skulls of ancestors (évora biéri), which were transmitted "from eldest son to eldest son." (4) Nowadays, because of the extreme

4. Idem., p. 113.

dispersal of the tribal fragments and the near-disappearance of the Biéri cult, because [103] of the small number of such groupings and the relaxing of relations between groupings, these clans do not have the benefit of a privileged situation and did not always play a major role at the time of the clan movement — some have even assimilated at that time by more vigorous tribes. (1) They were

1. "Such a group that believed itself a tribe (ayong) would find itself demoted to the level of a simple clan," writes the author of a Rapport sur le regroupement des Fan [Report on the Regrouping of the Fang], March, 1948.

not able to maintain the feeling of tribal reality or the solemn gatherings (ésama, ésulan) which confirmed this feeling periodically, while the Cameroons groupings, who were less divided and less scattered, have preserved them. This explains their exemplary role during recent years.

619 The term "clan" therefore remains reserved for the groupings whose lines of descent go back to a real ancestor (ésa, the ésa being opposed to the mvam as "real kinship" is to "spiritual kinship"). These groupings express themselves locally far more than the tribe (by clan patches or echeloned villages), and have imposed a strict and unquestionable exogamy. They participate in the system of alliances set up by the interplay of marriage and have a special name — while the inferior groupings are not named. The colonial administration knows the Fang groupings by their clan names and these have been used in taking the census. These names have a characteristic morphology because of their prefixes ésa or éba. The clans have also been subjected to rupture. Groupings

131 (1) Names of stations.
132 (2) Geographical co-ordinates of the stations.
(3) T: mean monthly temperature in degrees (general mean for the last 10 years). R: mean monthly rainfall in millimeters (general mean for the last 10 years).
(4) Total annual rainfall in millimeters, 1946-1955.
(5) Temperature extremes: maxima and minima during the year (mean for the last 10 years, months and degrees) (Oyem and N'Djolé, have only pluviometric posts).

/4/ Chapter 2

Ethnological and Historical Position

1. Nomenclature

101 The term "Pahouin" is undoubedly incorrect, but it is convenient. There exists in fact no African designation applicable to the whole of the group of peoples studied here. Some writers (Martrou, Trilles...) prefer to speak of the Fang or Fangroup, which has the drawback of creating a confusion with the tribes properly called Fang, which constitute but a fraction of this group. That is why, along with Largeau, Tessmann, Madame Dugast, and others, I prefer to speak of the Pahouin.

It should be observed that this term, long taken amiss by the Africans, in recent years tends to be adopted by them in connection with the political regrouping of tribes, for the very reason that it does not give prominence to any one of them. Thus the Mitzic Conference in 1947, bringing together the Fang, Boulou /Bulu/, Ntoumou /Ntum/, Mvaé, and Fong, took the name Pahouin Conference, Ntoumou, Boulou, Mvaé, and Fong declining to be lumped together under the designation "Fang."

101 Even the origin of the word "Pahouin" is debatable. The most plausible hypothesis is that of Father Trilles, who derives it from m-fañ (radical fañ plus the singular classifier m/be) by way of Pongoué /Mpongwe/, which changes the F to P and is averse to ending

however, since traces of it can be recognized in the contemporary movement for Pahouin Regrouping represented in the Cameroons by the U. T. N. K. party (N'Tem Kribi Tribal Union). Such /theoretical/ constructs are still rather risky in our present state of knowledge, and it is better to limit ourselves to a pure and simple description, resorting as little as possible to interpretation, which in any case should be done with hesitancy.

I shall therefore limit muself here to the attempt to perceive Pahouin society on three essential structural levels, while emphasizing again the necessarily arbitrary and incomplete nature of such a proceeding.

These three levels are the most easily perceptible to the European observer and at the same time the most significant, apparently, in the eyes of the Pahouin themselves. These are, what I shall call, for lack of anything better and because they are the terms particularly retained by the administration, the tribe, the clan, and the extended family or village family. Something will also have to be said about intermediate structures such as lineages, segments /fractions/, and village groups, and a little more on the subject of the household or limited family, whose importance is increasing. /44/

a. The Tribe

I designate as "tribe" what Trilles calls "group," while he keeps the term "tribe"—as do many observers in Gabon—for what I call "clan." This is because in southern Gabon there is only one "tribe" in the sense I understand, that of the true Fang, or Fang-Fang as Spanish writers call them.

I know of no Pahouin word specifically denoting tribe, Trilles uses the expression mfulane meyoñ, that is, "all of the clans together." In fact, and this is no doubt significant, the term most commonly used is ayoñ, which also denotes what I call clan. Mfulane meyoñ is used particularly when there is occasion to specify that one is referring to a higher structural level, sometimes also referred to as ngum ayoñ, "the clan as a whole," or meyoñ mese, "all the clans." (1) Nevertheless, the tribe is indeed a reality, in spite of this

1. American translators of the Bible have used ayoñ for "people" as well as for "tribe" and "realm."

 uncertainty about the term for it. It is known by a proper name—Fang, Boulou, Ntoumou, Ewôndo, etc. —and its members have an actual feeling of belonging.

Tribes usually inhabit a homogeneous geographical area; but this is not an absolute rule: the Mvaé are divided into two blocks by the Ntoumou, similarly there are isolated Fang nuclei in northern Boulou country.

Earlier (pp. 18-19) we recalled the legend that places the formation of the tribes at the time when the children of the ancestor Afiri Kara separated after crossing the Sanaga. Each tribe would therefore be composed of the descendants of one of these mythical ancestors, /each/ having followed a distinct migration route and later settled down in a specific area of shifting cultivation. This explanation would give us a satisfactory solution, but it contradicts another tradition, apparently better attested, according to which the same clans are to be found within all the tribes. The latter tradition corresponds better with the aspirations toward unity of the "Pahouin nation." The tribes would then be definite groupings composed of the same clans, and at the core of each tribe would be found descendants of several mythical ancestors and not of just a single one, as the first theory has it.

In any case there is no question but that the tribe has a very definite existence and makes itself known, particularly as against adjacent tribes, even though admittedly the latter would be composed of the same clans. Tales of old wars and the spectacle of present-day rivalries are evidence of this.

We should add that some tribes have a traditional origin that is non-Pahouin, although they definitely belong to the group. This is the case with the Mbida-Mbane and the Mvog-Nyenge, who probably are descended from slaves of the Pahouin; with the Fong, who probably derive from the marriage of a Bané to /45/ a Pygmy woman; and perhaps there are others. We shall see that it is difficult in certain cases to know whether to class certain groups among "tribes" or among "clans."

The tribe formerly had no over-all political organization: there is no word exactly denoting "chief." Individuals designated to lead the tribe in war, to represent it in trade or political negotiations, had only a temporary authority, personal, and always open to question. The ties of clan relationship were much stronger and more evident

than tribal ties. Nevertheless, politico-religious associations like the ngil did exist—very little is known about them today—which transcended clan barriers and contributed to a certain amount of tribal cohesion. On the other hand, certain individuals could have influence, sometimes authority, but never permanent command, extending beyond the limits of their clan. Usually the people involved were officers in initiation societies: the usig nto, the Bané high judge, was probably a high-ranking initiate in the ngil. The njôô bôt (commander of men, war leader), the évet ("capita," caravan leader), the nkukuma (1) (rico hombre, rich man)—these men on the other

1. Emphatic form of nkukum (rich).

hand had only occasional authority and that within a limited circle.

b. The Clan

I call "clan" that which the majority of the Pahouin call ayoñ (mvôg, mvôk, in certain northern tribes) (2). It is perhaps the basic

2. Cournarie, 1933, in Coutumes de Nyong et Sanaga /Customs of the Nyong and Sanaga/ points out that ayong were divided into meyom (ayom). The ayom is formed by the coming together of several mvogo who, being descended from the same ancestor, consider themselves the issue of the same mother (obligation of exogamy). Occasionally deference is paid to the mvogo most closely related to the ancestor, and its head is called ntomba or nya moto nnam or mot nnam.

The collective group may gather together: Emoi of nda bot, Ekoan of mvogo. All grown men may speak. Elders and distinguished persons then withdraw for deliberation (esok); they return to announce the decision. (J.B.)

structural unit of Pahouin society, at any rate the one the Fang of

G14 Trilles listed about 80 meyoñ among the Fang of Gabon, and com-
G19 parable figures may be set for the Boulou or the Ewôndo, which would tend to cross-check the theory according to which clan ties extend across tribal boundaries to include the whole Pahouin group. The phenomenon does not seem open to question as regards those clans that are to be found under the same name throughout all, or in many, tribes; it is perhaps more questionable for certain Gabon segments that have been more or less arbitrarily absorbed into Cameroons clans at the time of "Pahouin regrouping." Even in the latter case, however, there exists for the pseudo tradition a precedent genuinely rooted in custom, that of tribes like the Yebekolo or the Yembama, whose names suggest that we are dealing with former clans, which became detached from a tribe (the Boulou, in actual fact) and took to practicing endogamy. An analgous process of "clanification" may be imagined of Fang segments too long isolated from their ayoñ.

Be that as it may, this intertribal community of meyoñ is more apparent between the Boulou and Fang tribes, that is, in the south, than between them and the Beti tribes of the north, certain of which, moreover, call the clan mvôg, not ayoñ, a phenomenon perfectly explicable if we admit that the Eton and Mangisa, for instance, are Pahouinized rather than true Pahouin.

G14 Each ayoñ has a proper name, which, according to Trilles, would be that of the clan totem preceded by the prefix ésa or ye (segments and lineages are called by the name of the ancestor). Some meyoñ, however, have a name that does not include these particles, but they are generally those groups that possess a particular kind of structure
G14 to which we shall refer later on (1). The particle ésa derives from the
M2

1. The ébi clans in Gabon are related in the opinion of some writers to the ésa clans; but there is a noun ébi, ébé, meaning hole, ditch.

verb sak /47/, a transitive verb meaning "to perform coition" (sa' minga = to copulate with a woman), by extension meaning "to impregnate;" the regular derivative, ésa/bisa, means "lineage," while the irregular form, ésa/beséa, means "father." The particle ye might come from yee, "valley," "hollow," "fissure," perhaps connected with a root Y./YI connoting ideas of moisture, feminity, or maternity

556 relations between the sexes, this emphasis to a great extent explains
156 why no true peasantry has developed, but rather a class of nonpeasant planters, comparable in the last analysis to some of the European settlers. The Pahouin remain very much strangers and travelers on the land, whence the importance of personal property (in the legal sense) in their eyes. Nevertheless, a further development is in the making in this connection—described above (p. 96) which is leading to a strengthening of land ownership, /so that/ certain collective reactions in the way of procedure concerning land and domain suggest that we are witnessing, at least in the Cameroons, a genuine putting down of roots.

● 619 Tribal pride is still considerable, to the point of hostility between different branches of the group, but ethnic cohesion is found vis-à-vis outsiders and gives real unity to the Pahouin as a solid group.

2. The Individual Life Cycle

a. Conception, Gestation, Birth

843 A woman is considered pregnant, a nyoñeya abum, she has got a belly, when she has passed through four menstrual cycles, a nji yene ngon, without seeing the moon. Conception is supposed to be the
[842] result of the mixture of sperm, meyôm (with the same root as nnôm, pl. beyôm = male) and of menstrual blood, metyi me ngon, girl's blood or lunar blood; the length of pregnancy is calculated from the date when the last menstruation should have begun. Nowadays a pregnancy of nine months is considered normal, but some of my informants mentioned normal terms of eight or ten ngon (lit., moon or girl), a word that can as well refer to a calendar month as to a lunar month or a menstrual cycle. It is difficult for a man to obtain more precise information on this point since the subject is restricted to women. Besides, longer pregnancies are considered possible,
[154] though sometimes suspect; amenorrhea due to a fibroid growth is a proof of sorcery, the tumor being considered an évu. The fetus (for which the term is secret, forbidden, étyi, in any case for men, and probably for women uninitiated into mevungu) is thought at the beginning of gestation to take the form of a lizard, like the first man at the moment of the creation /of the universe/.

6: Alexandre and Binet
101, 131, 563, 619

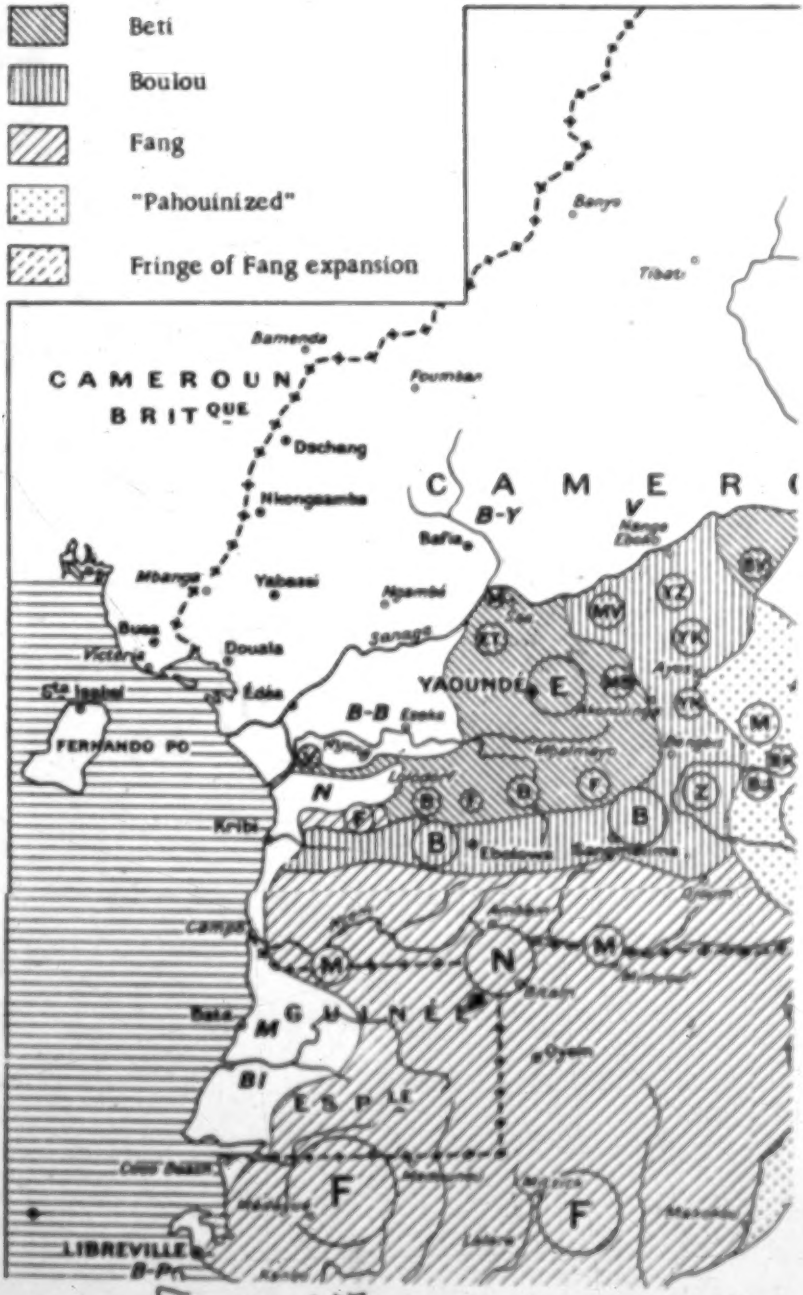
Fang FH9

[Chart for sections of end map.]

A	B
C	D

101
131
563
619

The Pahouin Group

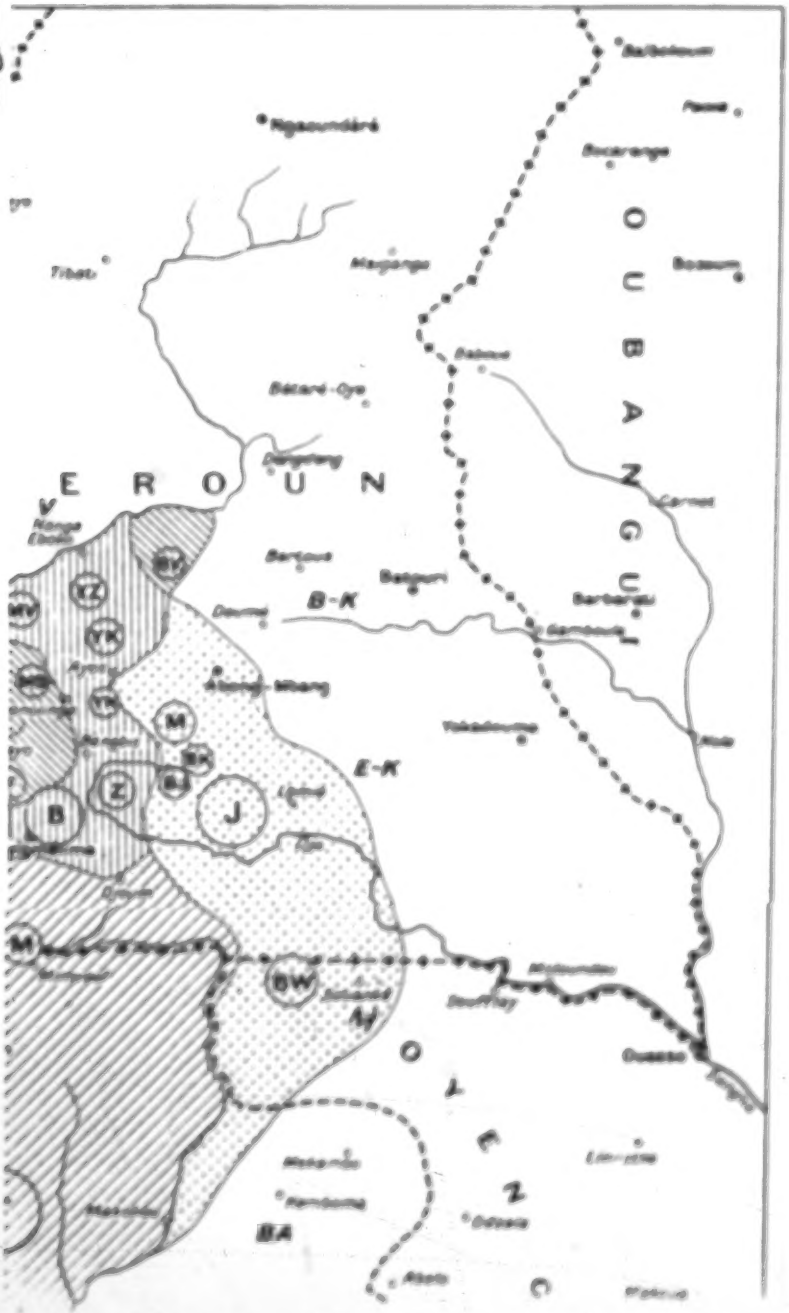


[End Map (A)]

6: Alexandre and Binet-- 8.1 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

The Pahouin Group

101
131
563
69


Ngaoundéré
Tibati
Meiganga
Bétaré-Oya
Bertoua
Batouri
Abong-Mbang
Yokadouma
Ouesso
Mambéré
Mambéré
Ndélé
Alindao
Mobaye
Bangui
Carnot
Berberati
Gamboula
Lomié
Ebolowa
Sangmélima
Mamfe
Kribi
Douala
Yaoundé
Bafoussam
Bamenda
Nkongsamba
Edéa
Mbalmayo
Ngoumou
Eséka
Bafang
Dschang
Foumban
Bamoun
Bamileke
Bafia
Mbam
Nyong
Sanaga
Lekié
Mvila
Ntem
Kadei
Lobaye
Ubangi
Sangha
Lokoundjé
Ngoko
Kémo
Ouham
Nana-Mambéré
Lim
Logone
Chari
Mayo-Kebbi
Tandjilé
Moyen-Chari
Mandoul
Logone Occ.
Logone Or.
Tchad
Kanem
Ennedi
Borkou
Tibesti
Ouaddaï
Biltine
Lac
Salamat
Batha
Guéra
Chari-Baguirmi
Mayo-Danaï

6; Alexandre and Binet--184 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

101
131
563
49

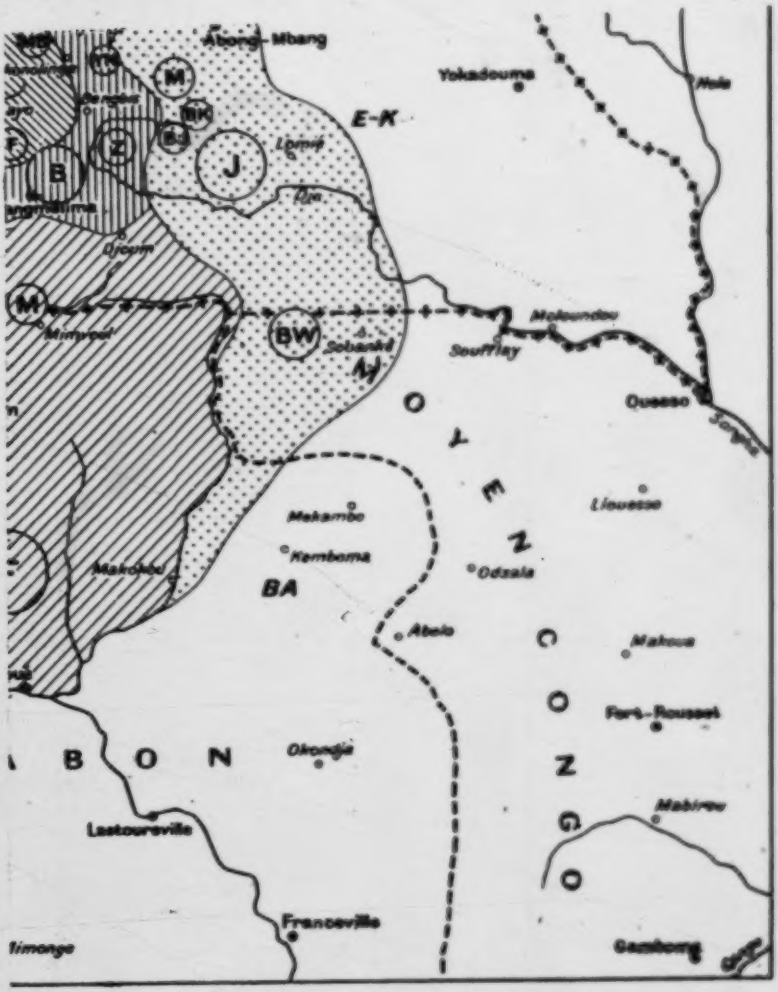
Neighboring Peoples

B-B : Basso-Bakoko , B-Y : Bafio-Yombaso , V : Bobouté (Vutéré) , B-K
M-O : Mitshogo-Okandé , BU : Bapounou , NK : Nkomi , B-P : Bengo-Pongwé

[End Map (C)]

6: Alexandre and Binet--185 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

101
131
563
69



...outé (Vutéré), B-K : Baya-Kaka, E-K : Essel-Konabembé, BA : Bakota
B-P : Benga-Pongwé, BI : Balengi, M : Mabéa, BT : Batenga, N : Ngoumba

[End Map (D)]

101 territory, though each keeps its own autonomy without intermingling.

101 Each of the four Fan groups are divided into tribes, each
619 with its own chief, territory, and autonomy; none is subordinate
727 to another, all the more so because slaves are not taken in war,
266 for unredeemed captives are promptly eaten.

619 The tribes vary in importance according to the level of
614 development, the kind of chiefs they have had, and the size of
174 their territory. Thus, the Yenkwax possess no more than three sparsely populated villages, and at the most they can muster 300 warriors; the Yengon, [14] though a long-established tribe, have only one village and a few warriors; while the Yemvi, on the contrary, inhabit several hundred villages and number thousands of warriors. But about this term "tribe," let me here mention a very important point: at present, and since a migration which, according to my own research, should be dated 32 or 33 generations back, no more tribes are being formed, only clans. Existing tribes (and we shall see in a moment how they may be distinguished from clans) may be said to have been established about ten centuries ago in our reckoning, which clearly does not mean that they did not exist before that time. Their origin must certainly go back much earlier.

619 A tribe rarely remains homogeneous for long. Many factors
614 contribute to its splitting up, such as a series of migrations, family disputes, and the activities of heads of families who are ambitious or eager to throw off excessive authority. The steady growth of a tribe at the same time leads to the overpopulation of villages and the necessity of looking elsewhere for new hunting and agricultural lands; hence, after an indefinite period, a tribe splits into clans composed of an unspecified and highly variable number of families. Some clans are very large, such as the Esingi, and make up hundreds of villages, while others, either because they are very recent or because of the same disintegrating forces as exist for the tribes, number only a few families.

Clans in turn, as a result of the same circumstances that made tribes split into clans, split into subclans, also of varying importance.

From what I have just said, a fact may be immediately deduced which runs counter to the usual generalizations accepted by Europeans and superficial observers. In the view of the latter the

619 distribution of the nation and its division into tribes and clans is
614 based upon an arbitrary and highly variable standard: the number of individuals.

In my view on the contrary -- and this is certainly that of the Fan -- the different concepts of nation, tribe, clan, and subclan have a unique, immutable basis, the family, [15] which constitutes the kernel or, of one prefers, the primary cell or even the pivot on which the whole organization turns.

Thus we have the following structural table:

Family or Ndzǎn	Family
Clans and subclans (phratries) or Ayum	Clans and subclans
Tribe or Ayǒn	Tribe
Group or Mfulana mɛ́yon	Group

Fan Nation

This structure has an important consequence, one whose development will not, however, be dealt with here but must be postponed until after discussion of the idea of the totem. The consequence is this: among clans some bear the totem name, others do not. Although some, in fact nearly all, writers consider that bearing the totem name is a condition sine qua non of totemism in clans, we shall see that this idea is exaggerated and that clans, with or without a totem name, are all totemic.

2. Allied Tribes

101 619 Not only do these four large divisions -- Bětsi, Mékě, Bulě, and Fòñ -- make up the Fan nation proper, but a certain number of other tribes revolve within their circle and are connected to the same branch. I say "a certain number" because the interior of the German Cameroons and the hinterland lying between the Woleu, N'tem, and upper Sanga rivers has been little explored. Before our arrival the existence of the Dzèm [Njem] was barely known; the Dzandzama had never been mentioned. These tribes form the intermediary link connecting the Fan to the Batěkě branch and through this to the Kanioka and other central Congo tribes, [16] whose folklore has analogies with that of the Fan as I recently pointed out. (1)

1. See Anthropos, Vol. 4, pp. 945-971; Vol. 5, pp. 163-180.

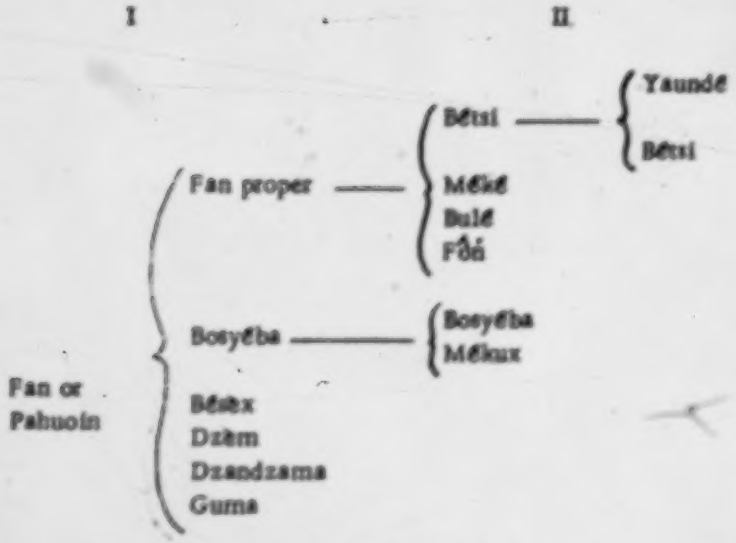
A Yaundě grammar was published not long ago in Anthropos; (2) these people are without doubt an offshoot of the

2. See Anthropos, Vol. 4, pp. 684-701, 919-930.

Bětsi branch. The Bosyěba dialect is somewhat different and is nearer that of the Bubi of Fernando Po; the group also belongs to the Fan nation. Finally, deviating from the primitive stock in progressive order, there are the Dzèm, Dzimu [Ndsime], and Dzandzama, nowadays scarcely leaving the jungle and the country of the Nyamnyam [Niam-Niam, Azande]. In spite of what has 197 been said of them in the past, their language is only distantly related to that of the last tribe. (3)

3. Since certain observers and explorers -- such, for instance, as Allegret, a former Protestant missionary in Gabon, who connects them with the Nyamnyam, Fulah,

101 619 To sum up, the Fan may be divided as follows:



197 The Fan, Bosyéba, Bésèx, Dzèm, Dzandzama, and Guma tribes may be assumed to speak separate languages not dialects of one. These languages are, however, closely related; they have very nearly the same principles and are cognates.

Bétsi, Méké, etc., merely represent dialects.

[One paragraph deleted, repititive. --Translator]

101 619 161 The Dzèm, whose hitherto unpublished language I hope to make known soon, are grouped in the upper N'tem region; their population should not be more than 100,000.

The Dzandzama border them on the southeast and provide a linguistic link to the Batéké, southern neighbors; their population is about that of the Dzèm.

The Bésèx, or Bulu, who occupy a large part of the region to the north of the Ogoose, are a widely dispersed tribe, formerly very powerful, now almost extinct through poison, practitioners [feticheurs], and pressure from the Pahuoin. Their population is not likely to be greater than a few thousand. [18]

101 The Bosyéba ... are no more numerous than the Bésex.
●6K They have been classed perhaps wrongly as a separate people
161 and in my opinion are basically only tribes long detached from the Méké branch, whose distinctive tattooing and little altered language they have preserved. In 1889 when Fourneau reached
[114] the Bosyéba country to the north of the Campo, he saw his porters, recruited in Méké country on the banks of the Ogooué, immediately fraternizing with the Bosyéba and delighted to discover their own tongue after crossing through Bétsi territory. (1)

1. Cf. A. Fourneau, "De l'Ogooué au Campo" [From the Ogooué to the Campo], Bull. Ste. Geogr. Vol. 12 (1891), pp. 190-215.

[One paragraph deleted about an etymology which author considers "incorrect."--Translator]

The Guma, nowadays very few in number, have been driven back towards the Cameroons; they also are related to the Méké branch. Europeans often refer to the people of this whole group by the term "Makina" from ma ki na, "I say that..."; they have, in fact, a habit of starting all their remarks with these words. The Bétsi are called "Mazuna" for the same reason.

3. Size of the Fan Population

161 The Fan [illegible] by far the most important branch. It is extremely difficult to estimate their number. Officially they are only a few hundred thousand. But the official figure is far from accurate, for government statistics only count the man who pays taxes. Furthermore, more than half of the French Congo is unexplored except by a few, infrequent

695 The following are some of the principal kinds:

A man is accused of murder. He will first have to be
694 seized; if that is impossible, it does not much matter. Since
672 members of the tribe stick together, another man will be
● 619 seized, no matter whom. If this cannot be done, the Fan may
682 even take a man belonging to another tribe, who will be kept prisoner until his family and tribe, taking up the cudgels in their turn, capture either the culprit or a member of the culprit's tribe. One can see to what degree such solidarity may lead to retaliation.

Once a man has been caught, guilty or not, he undergoes
695 one of the following tests:

682 The dzismébiñ is the eye ordeal. A person is brought before the chief, gagged and with his head pulled back. The practitioner takes a little pot made from the hard shell of a small gourd called ngon, which is filled with a certain liquid
[270] consisting of vegetable poisons with an atropine base. The presumed culprit has the right -- and often takes advantage of it -- to require his own totem to be dipped in the liquid. The contents of the pot are then poured into his eye. If the eye stays in its socket, the man is innocent; if the eye is destroyed or raised out of the socket, he is guilty. (1) In the latter case

[[71]] 1. The same test occurs among the Bangala and Barundi.

he is immediately killed by a knife stroke. He may nevertheless ask to drink the test poison, provided that he is buying back his life for the first time. This is often permitted.

A second and more generally used ordeal is the following, called médzim mé ne ayôn, burning water. [561]

The practitioner boils water in a pot. When it comes to a boil, he throws in a wire ring, and the presumed culprit must retrieve it without burning himself; if his hand is injured, he is declared guilty, but if not, he is adjudged innocent and is dismissed. In such a case, the plaintiff himself is punished and must drink the test poison. The accused man has the right to

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

832 584 583 gives him (the father) the *beki* (dowry). The father of the young virgin takes the goods to his town; the young man remains in possession of the woman.

They marry with *biang-ndoma*, eloping medicine thus.

This is *Biang-ndoma.*

Biang-akong (war medicine).—Told me by Fam-deu, a Fang, Esisis clan, at 721 Foulabifong, Nkomo river, April 19th, 1898. This *biang* was illustrated to me; a 789 leopard tooth is the *Biang-akong.*

Make a bowl of war medicine, of leaves, roots, and bark. Call all people of the town. Drop the leopard tooth into the medicine. If the point of the tooth *looks* toward the people we have a palaver (trouble) with, then we must go and fight and we will win. If the root of the tooth points toward the people we have a palaver with, then we must *tabe si* (sit down) or our enemies will win if we go to fight them.

This is the *Biang-akong.*

Biang-akumayong.—This *biang* is the protector of the tribe or nation (*ayông*, 789 tribe).

● 619 Told me by Eabya-ôvum, the headman of Foulabifong on the Nkomo river, 622 who sold me the complete set of the *Biang-akumayong* belonging to the dead headman "Commisan." I present this *biang* for your inspection this evening. The tin canister was obtained from a white man and is used in place of the usual basket to carry bones in. It contains portions of the skull of an albino (male), portions of the skull of a *mon nguri*, young chimpanzee, red powder and a variety of native medicine.

[726] This *biang-akumayong* is always carried by the headman of a town during war.

[534] A bell hangs from the bottom of the canister containing the bones; it rings when the headman walks.

Nlu.—The small horn belonging to the *biang-akumayong* has *ngom* (porcupine tail) in it, also native medicine. It is used to cure people having witches. A bowl of medicine is made. The *ngom* is dipped in the medicine bowl and the sick person sprinkled with the medicine. Then the witch departs.

At this point the headman Eabya stopped talking. He said, "The children who have gathered around your house must go away; no real man dare talk about the *biang-akumayong* before women and children." I told the children to go and Eabya continued.

The whistle.—This is part of the *biang-akumayong*; it has been cooked (boiled) in the medicine bowl and has great power when used by the headman in calling the men together after a fight.

Mou!—This is the large horn with a piece of looking glass on top. This horn 789 contains much medicine, and next to the bones is the most important part of the 619 *biang-akumayong.*

The two small antelope horns, and the small bundles of medicine, are *biang e soli* (hiding medicine); it makes the person carrying the *biang-akumayong* invisible to the enemy.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

The skin of a bush cat is part of the *biang-akumayong* called "Nsin." 789

The Mvang.—A triangular piece of iron filled with medicine, used to keep away witches, is also part of the *biang-akumayong.* 619

Biang-akong or *biang-abal* (war medicine).—This is also part of the *biang-akumayong*, and the shots from the guns of an enemy are of no avail.

One other important fetish hangs with the *biang-akumayong.*

A piece of very hard wood. Only a certain kind of woman is selected to find this wood; she is called a special or *selected* woman on account of certain peculiarities connected with her, *e.g.*, she always fails to catch fish, she may try all day but will not succeed in catching fish. The husband of such a woman, after intercourse with her, fails to catch fish the next day, he also fails to work. This is the kind of woman always selected to find this wood; it is hard wood, she is a hard woman, and she is called *Emunego ane alert* (the woman who is hard). This medicine is also called *biang-akong*, and shot from the guns of an enemy will not harm. [177] [824]

This is the *Biang-akumayong.*

XIII.—*Witchcraft. Evus.* (*Witch.*)

If a person goes out to make witch (witch medicine, or play witch to harm others) he dies. The people take him to the backyard. Other people say, "We want to take the witch." If the corpse is a female, they open the belly. If the corpse is a male, they open the heart. They see the witch, they take it. If they bring the witch, they lay it on the smoke shelf. It dries. When finished drying they say, "We will use it as medicine." 754

This is *Evus* (witch).

Curses dead Relations.—Written at Foulabifong, Nkomo river, April 13th, 1898. Told me by Ôvôn; fully confirmed by Ogandega and Interpreter Roby.

Ebanasang (to curse dead relations).—This is a Fang custom. A man has a palaver with another, or goods stolen. He desires to get even with the thief. He calls a friend and curses his friend's dead relations, saying. 754 578

"Go and kill that person for me, or go and make him pay me goods; if you do so, I will then pay you for having cursed your dead relations." It is a serious matter to have dead relations cursed, and the friend feels very bad. He must do as bid, or he is branded as a coward, and after he has completed his task he then makes claim for payment. 626

Nge me bê jam dêi, nge me ta mimbin (If I do it, may I see the corpses [of my people]). A Fang way of swearing an oath. [539]

Amé ye mimbin mim, pinge me bat (My friend, by the corpses of your relations, kill those people for me).

Notes on *Ebômada* (a curse).

Ilong d'ayage (a curse that kills).

361 As was mentioned in the previous section /not translated/, the
823 villages are laid out along the roads and always in an east-west direction (cf. Fig. 16). /56/ Curiously enough, the people gave as the reason for this arrangement the fact that the land slopes down to the west (toward the ocean) and that the rain water can run off in this direction. It is true, of course, that this point is an important consideration inasmuch as they are careful to lay out the village in such a way that the rain water will not flood one of the rows of huts. Nevertheless, this cannot be the sole reason for the east-west arrangement. I have observed that even on completely level ground -- which, in other words, does not favor the drainage of water in the direction intended -- the east-west plan was the
[187] preferred one. When, for instance, a route goes south, it will make a turn before reaching the village, cross the latter in an east-west direction, and at the other end will resume its southerly direction (cf. Fig. 16, the Nsälang I-Beniaa route). It is obvious that in this arrangement reasons other than the one mentioned play a part, such as the general trek to the west of which mention has already been made in the previous section (1).

[769] 1. Compare also the predominantly east-west direction of the graves.

361 A Pangwe village consists mostly of two rows of houses running parallel to each other with the road between them (Plate 4 and Fig. 16). More rarely, a village consists of a single row of houses along the road. Furthermore, villages come into being through the combination of two or more individual establishments, and as a result different villages display different stages of development, observable everywhere side by side in the region.

361 If the father of a family wants to found an establishment, he
592 builds two houses, a dwelling and a meeting house /men's house/.
64 The dwelling is the real domain of the wife, where she works and lives with her children and where the man for the most part stays only at night, very rarely in the daytime. The meeting house, on the other hand, is the usual haunt of the man, where he busies himself during the day, performs his incidental tasks, and receives visitors and where the wife comes only now and then. As the

361 children grow up, their father builds each one a house of his own
572 next to the original dwelling. In the same way, each of his addi-
621 tional wives receives her own house from him. His first wife, how-
ever, remains his favorite wife, and consequently it is her house --
in other words, the one that he built first and which is adjacent to
the meeting house -- which remains his home. He keeps it even
after the death of the wife.

The next step in the development toward a village takes place when, for some reason or other, a second head of a family joins his establishment to that of the first. This happens, for instance, when a member of the same or of another family unit moves in, or when after the death of the father the eldest son inherits his meeting house, dwellings, and wives, and the younger son is unwilling to submit to his older brother who is now also his chief. He or the new arrival, as the case may be, builds the necessary number of houses for himself and his family along the same row. Sometimes he may even build his houses directly /57/ /Fig. 17/ adjacent to the existing houses, and he will likewise finish off his settlement with a meeting house protruding from the line. If the meeting house is a temporary one, it is placed lengthwise in the square (see Fig. 16); if it is a permanent one, it is placed transversely (see Plate 4).

In this way, a "village" arises from the original individual establishment, and because, like a pair of eyes (dźis; plural, mis), it consists of two halves (Fig. 18), the village is called dźa, plural ma (see what has been said about the meaning of prefixes /not translated/. There are, thus, two family heads in each village; their rows of houses join somewhere in the middle, with a boundary line which is recognizable, of course, only to the initiated. Everyone, however, can see the two meeting houses (belonging to the two heads of family) located on opposite sides of the village square.

The two family heads are legally equals. Certain conditions, however, which we shall discuss more fully in a later section, give one of the heads a position of slight superiority. Sometimes a third establishment is added to the two individual establishments constituting the village, and it also has adjoining rows of houses as well as a meeting house (see Fig. 18).

361 As has been said, the meeting house is the principal haunt of
621 the chief; in the same way it serves all his sons, male relatives,
314

361
342

Fig. 17. Pangwe Village, Spanish Guinea.

361 and followers who help him with its construction and have a perma-
● 62/ nent right to its use; /58/ /Fig. 18/ hence, the relational prefix
344 a in abā,"meeting house"; hence probably also the Janus head which I saw on the post of a meeting house (cf. Fig. 19). The stem of the word a-bā I derive from ba, "to divide, to share" (1), and I

1. The same stem exists in the numeral two (bai), which is clearly the result of the division of one object.

believe that it was originally intended to designate the place where the game that had been killed was divided. The meeting house is now the place for all public transactions, from the dividing of meat to judicial proceedings, public deliberations, and the reception of strangers.

62/ Sometimes the meeting house constructed when the establish-
62 ment was founded remains permanently in a temporary state; it
344 remains unfinished because the people are too lazy -- each one thinks the other should start first -- and the chief lacks the power

/58/

361

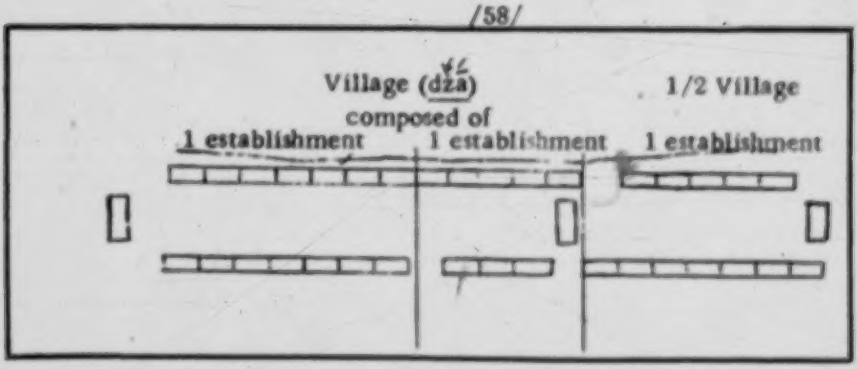


Fig. 18. Development of a Village from Individual Establishments.

621 622 344 to force his people to complete it. At one time, for instance, the chief of the village Nssälang (Fig. 23 shows one of the temporary meeting houses of that village) made the proposal to me -- a proposal which I, of course, gratefully declined -- that I should either force his people, or make my people available, to build a new meeting house for him. Then, as he put it, everybody would say: "This chief of the Whites is quite a fellow; you can tell that a White lives near his village." At best, the chief's people bring him some roofing mats for the construction and in this way believe they have fulfilled their duty toward the community project. The actual work is always up to the chief. Even so, the house does not thereby become his property; rather, in each case it is the common property of the men. When the chief says, "It is my meeting house," they are not affected by his statement. The Pangwe avoids anything and everything that might disturb him in his customary peace and comfort; he shies away from work and lets things run their course:

461 559

zɔ̄(k) e tsi'dan ebɛ̄'i-asɛ̄'i, a ye oa
Elephant, he frightened away (from) pit-iron-stone, he gave you

atɛ́i, a nī oa adzīi
poverty, he took (from) you heaviness. /59/

That means: The elephant that frightened you away from an iron-stone pit, made you poor, it is true, but at the same time he relieved you of a burden (namely, that of preparing the iron).

563 who, being related to the coastal minorities, constitute the "aristocratic race" of the country, and, having become relatively hierarchical, has known how to "preserve its position." (2)

2. Rapport Ogooué-Maritime [Maritime Ogooué Report], 3e trimestre [Third Quarter], 1935.

162 Though the Fang "have settled in a haphazard manner and a little everywhere," they have nevertheless formed two important centers of population, on the Ogooué above Lambaréné and in the area around the southern lakes. (3) They represent more than 35 percent

3 Rapport. Ogooué-Maritime [Maritime Ogooué Report], 4e trimestre [Fourth Quarter], 1935.

of the population (17,500 inhabitants) in this district of multiple ethnic groups, which in 1936 had one fifth of its inhabitants settled at the lumber works. The Fang villages here consist of 35 clans or 621 fragments, about half of the population forming a homogeneous 618 clan, while the other [85] half is composite. Apart from the 619 Yémvog, most of the existing tribes are not found (or are unimportant) in the Woleu-N'Tem [region]. The most numerous elements seem to originate from the Ivindo. Although they reached the region forming the present-day district of Port-Gentil at the end of their push, the Fang have not succeeded in evicting the dominant ethnic groups, the Ouroungou and the Nkomi.

Region of the Estuary

162 We have already stated that the date of the arrival of the Fang at the Estuary can be set at 1850. At that time they replaced the residual coastal groupings, particularly the Bakélé who, after abandoning the Ogooué, had to leave the Como. Since 1900 the population of this region has been "nearly entirely composed of

614 opinion — but we can remember from the facts reported by Father
776 Trilles the indication that a protecting being, a body of religious
178 material (akamayon), a collection of symbols, and a body of beliefs and legends gave a uniformity, other than a genealogical one, to the Fang clans.

614 The agnate lines of descent with a more or less limited num-
621 ber of generations have played, and still play, an important role. Around them are organized the groupings forming the village or village groups which were established by the nomadic groups noted by the first observers. In this respect the history of progressive distribution throughout Gabon is significant. We will give the example of the Yéngwi, of which a fragment represented by twenty-five villages is established in the Oyem region in the Woleu-N'Tem. They are all attached to an ancestor called Esbob Angb, who is said to have come from the legendary place Adza Mbura and to have led the first journeys through the South Cameroons. He is still considered the founder (abial) of the groupings existing today. These, consisting of about 3,300 individuals, are especially concentrated in the southern part of Kyé-Nyé, Canton, north of the Woleu River. Starting from this region where the first Yéngwi villages were established and where a compact nucleus of more than [106] 1,500 individuals is still in existence, a great migration took place in the direction of present-day Spanish Guinea (in to villages) from the mouth of the N'Tem, the Ogooué, and the Gabon. The large grouping thus formed by the lines issued from Esbob Angb and settled at the level of a demarcated region constitutes an abial a bot, or major linage. Although these lines are spread out through ten generations, there exist real bonds between members of the grouping, even if their "kinship" goes back to Esbob Angb, and which are sufficient to make possible the aggregation of dissident elements from one village to another.

The word abial implies an idea of localization. It may signify "place of birth," "place of origin." (1) The groupings called

1. Cf. Mgr. L. Martrou, Lexique Fan-Français [Fang-French Lexicon], Paris, Procure Générale, not dated.

614 621 abial ɛ bɔt are distinguishable by a double criterion, one genea-logical — a limited but definite localization. All those that we have studied in Woleu-N'Tem relate themselves to an ancestor who led the last migrations through the present-day Cameroons, and enabled (or realized) the crossing of the N'Tem, and to the first settlements beyond this river, from which each clan fragment spread out and migrated. In the case of the just mentioned Yɛ́ngwi, Esɔnɔ Angɔ established the first village created south of the N'Tem; his two sons, Mɔnɔmvɔgɔ Esɔnɔ (the eldest) and Nsim Esɔnɔ, after having lived for some time in the midst of the same grouping, separated and founded the first two Yɛ́ngwi villages of the Oyem region. From these two centers the lineages began to organize themselves independently, from the third generation on, and to distribute themselves as is shown in Fig. 5.

Before the administration had transformed, for reasons of its own benefit, the reality of the village, recomposing and displacing it, the village corresponded to the men issued from one line of descent, including a variable number of generations, and to those clients [dependents]. The Yɛ́ngwi village of Ebiane, for example, still includes the major portion of the lineage born of Egwaga Mɔnɔmvɔ̀gɔ, second son of Mɔnɔmvɔ̀gɔ Esɔnɔ, — which goes back for eight generations. The only unattached elements created the present-day small villages of Nkoum and Bibasse (22 and 65 inhabitants), which have remained on the outskirts of the original grouping. But the village itself, [107] [Fig. 5.] [108 and 109] [Fig. 6] [110] as soon as it has reached an average size, includes a definite number of minor lineages which represent the still present posterity of the group of real brothers and of half brothers (bɔbɛ̃nɛ̃g) who formed the initial cell. Ebiane has three of these minor lineages that coincide with the three lines of descent issued from the three sons of Egwaga Mɔnɔmvɔ̀gɔ, and are named after them. These are the previously mentioned nd'ɛ́ bɔt — this term containing the idea of descent, the minor lineages found at the base of the hierarchy of the groupings (see Fig 6, for an example of their distribution in the midst of a group of Kɔ̀ɔ̀ villages established in the vicinity of Oyem).

614 551 Incidentally, the method of naming peculiar to the Fang is evidence of a fundamental social segment, the group of brothers, real and half (siblings and half-siblings). Thus there are the sons of Bitòǧò Ökwo who form the "heads" of four minor lineages still in existence:

The names themselves emphasize this double orientation, the vertical showing the real filiation and the horizontal showing the real brotherhood, which characterizes Fang social structure. Around such a horizontal segment the village (in this particular case Sam village) is constituted, and inside such a segment are produced the fissions giving birth to separate lineages. From the clan to the minor lineage the groupings must be defined in terms of these two dimensions, thus showing a structure that could be called both segmental and interlocked.

614 578 621 But this overlapping is not sufficient to bind the groupings together and to impose a hierarchy. Ruptures have been frequent and can be explained by the mechanism of Fang expansion, by economic factors, and by causes of a structural nature. By analyzing the lineages settled at the level of a fixed region, one notes that those whose origin goes back to an eldest son (mòl-mòt are larger in number and are the basis of the local population. The Yèngwi studied above show this very specifically!

614 [112] Yèngwi in the Vicinity of Oyem
578
621

Generations

I — Estònò Angò (lineage of 3,325 individuals)

II — F_1 (lineage of 2,175 individuals) | F_2 (lineage of 1,150 individuals)

III — $f_1 f_2 f_3 f_4$ | $f_1 f_2 f_3 f_4 f_5$

X — 950 | 1.225 ind. | 510 ind. | 640 ind.

Each of the definitely located clan fragments reveals the existence of two groupings which are in a state of latent antagonism, which is shown, geographically, by the separate villages. The cleavage is such that at the time of the recent movement for regrouping villages, initiated entirely by the natives, each of the two antinomic elements refused to join together in order to create larger and more modernized village units. (1) Every time the

1. At the time of our investigation of a Kòjé grouping, for example, most of our informants asserted tirelessly that "the village will break apart if all the Kòjé mingle."

fission has been carried out between lineages issued from an "eldest" and the lineages issued from younger brothers. The five clan groupings studied in the Oyem region revealed this rupture – going back to the time of their settlement in the country – with irrefutable clarity (see Table V).

S: Balandier--49 E-5 (1946-1951) 1955 FH9 Fang FH9

614
578
621

Table V

Clans	Groupings descended from the eldest	Groupings descended from younger son or sons	Villages corresponding to the first grouping	Villages corresponding to the second grouping
Yégnwi	Lineage of Mônômôgô Ésônô	Lineage of Nsim Esônô	Ebiane, etc...	Zorongone, etc...
Effak	Lineage of Ngu Mâmvé	Lineage of Mônôu Mâmvé	Nto, etc..	Mékomo, etc...
Olip	Lineage of Enduma Eswa	Lineage of Emvélié	Nkang	Mbenga, etc...
Yébimvé	Lineage of Elôrô Mési	Lineage of Obiré Mési	Affname, etc...	Angone, etc...
Kojé	Lineage of Mônôgô Mômbé	Lineages of five younger sons	Nto, etc...	Mbomo, etc...

[113] This state of tension, bringing about more or less real fissions, is bound up with a social organization which gives economic and political pre-eminence to the "eldest," (sons) which favors the lineages issued from them, and which, above all, is not hierarchic for the purpose of maintaining the cohesion of groupings, except as needed for defense and expansion, and except for the prestige of temporary "chiefs." The desire for independence manifested by the heads of lineages as soon as their grouping has become fairly large is not controlled in an organized manner. Studies conducted during the first years of this century, especially those of Martrou and Trilles, all insist on the process of fragmentation of

614 lineages which is more marked as the Fang become unattached
578 conquerors. In the same way frequent examples have been given
621 of extensive agglomerations being broken up after the death of the "chief" who had founded and maintained them. The size and cohesion of the groupings appear therefore in a large measure to depend on the personality of the leaders who have asserted themselves (for any rightful succession may be contested under pretext of incapacity, or it may be refused) and on circumstances. This explains in part the frequency of fissions observed by various authors at the level of the third or fourth generation. (1) The size

1. Particularly, E. Trenemem, "Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus Fan du Moyen-Ogooué [Ethnographic Notes on the Fang Tribes of the Middle Ogooué]," op. cit.

of localized groupings may therefore vary a great deal – especially since the pacification of the country – going from the major lineage expressed in "clan patches" to the minor lineage (nd'ê bôt) forming an isolated hamlet.

Kinship

612 Our analysis of Fang society has so far considered groupings only in terms of two fundamental elements: paternal filiation and real fraternity. We must now examine the bonds created and the relations prescribed by other modalities of kinship, as well as by the alliances that may exist between "foreign" groupings as a result of marriages.

612 Through the medium of his father (ésa, whom he calls tagá)
601 and of his mother (nya, whom he calls nanô), the individual belongs to two kinship groupings, the paternal (ésinyâg) and the maternal (dzâmanô). For the young Fang these two have neither the same significance nor the same importance. [114] The course of his life will generally be spent in the midst of the first group, while he has only incidental relations with the "relatives." of the second group. It is from the first that he receives his clan affiliation. The fundamental relations of paternal kinship are governed,

835
783 "men's society" and the rite allied to the makuma dance characteristic of this society.

Marriage creates the so-called "restricted" or "individual" family. This has no special name and represents the smallest grouping in which communal life takes place. The husband and wife are nomɔ̃ and nga to each other — these two terms stressing the biological character of the union since they also signify male and female. His parents-in-law are minki [128] or nkia, "he who has received the bride price," a word recalling the seal that has validated the union. In the same way the term mbɔ̀m, meaning "newly married woman whose bride price has just been paid," is used to designate the daughter-in-law, and has the same context. The principle already mentioned of the pre-eminence attached to seniority subsists in the relations with the abè. For the husband the wife's eldest sister is mǐnki (mother-in-law) while the younger sister is ngɔ̀m zam (my daughter). On a similar pre-eminence is based the authority of the first wife over the other wives; while the former is nanɔ̃ (mother) the others are mbɔ̀m (daughter-in-law) — which explains her role of directing the various jobs and moral responsibilities entrusted to her. Finally, the personal element at the level of these relations is perfectly symbolized by the position accorded to the preferred wife (nluga or ntɔ̂mba). This astonished one of the first administrators of the Fang country, who wrote: "While they usually profess great indifference toward their wives and have no scruples over renting or lending them out, they have a rather keen affection for the companion whom they choose as 'favorite.'" (1) This is the least socialized part and manifests relations that have a certain spontaneity between the two elements associated by marriage.

1. Archives for the Year 1905, Libreville.

Residential Units

621 The colonial government has acknowledged only a "collection" of villages in the Fang country, giving this name to the

621 groupings, whatever their size, settled in a definite spot and occupying a limited area. Referring to observations made in the past, the Fang apparently distinguished definitely two types of these units: the ɛ̃al, "inhabited only by the family of the ésa (chief or patriarch) his kin and his clients [dependents]" and the mfaɣ, "where several families gather together without mingling together ....," the different parts being "separated by guardhouses built in the center of the single street...." (2) It is easy to see

2. V. Largeau, op. cit., article: Village.

by this statement that the nd'ɛ̀ bòt (minor lineage) formed the fundamental element, as is seen by sections or quarters definitely marked out. The numerous concentrations were most often conditioned by reasons of security (they were mostly found on the frontiers [129] of the Fang country at the period of conquest) or by the power of aggregation of a strong personality. (1) They repre-

1. Maignan in his Études sur le Pays Pahouin [Studies of the Pahouin Country], op. cit., refers to such a power held by "him who, by his age, his experience, his eloquence, his wealth ... is the most capable of protecting the interests of all."

sented more or less extended lineages. L. Martrou points out that all the members of these villages "go back through four or five ancestors to a common paternal founder." (2)

2. Father L. Martrou, "Le nomadisme des Fangs [Nomadism of the Fangs]," Revue de Géographie, Vol. 3, 1909.

621 166 Early works and documents show the village grouping to be an eminently mobile unit. Father Trilles gives the example of a village

621 166 that accomplished a migration of 500 kilometers with the same chief (1910), and Dr. Aujoulat mentions a grouping which in twenty years moved over 200 kilometers (1935). These are characteristics of a seminomadic people and not of a peasant people. For a long time the government ran up against what it called the "migratory mania" of the Fang. The law in Gabon manifests a lack of attachment to cultivated land which underlines this instability. L. Martrou points out that there is no definite appropriation of the places for cultivation, hunting, or fishing; there exist only "zones of influence" with uncertain boundaries. (3)

3. Father L. Martrou, "Le nomadisme des Fangs [Nomadism of the Fangs]," op. cit.

166 The geographer, J. Bruhnes, basing his judgment on these facts, made of the Fang a type of Naturvoelker [nature folk] and claimed that "the most general causes of the migrations... resulted from destructive occupation." (4) It is essential to correct

4. J. Bruhnes, La Geographie Humaine [Human Geography], abridged edition, Paris, 1942, pp. 199-204.

here an opinion based on insufficient information, which will lead us to observations valuable for our analysis. At various times we have specifically stated that there exist some Fang centers settled a long time ago in a limited region (in Woleu-N'tem). (5) We

5. Confirmed by Captain Maignan, op. cit., who draws attention to villages "occupying the same land for more than a century," (study dated 1912).

have shown how echeloning took place, starting from regular "migratory centers," and have indicated the manner in which the

166 early as the middle of the last century the explorer Du Chaillu noted how this warlike pressure was completed by peaceful conquest by means of "alliances" created by marriage with foreighers. (4) Dr. Cureau, fifty years later, pointed out that the

> 4. Father Du Chaillu, op. cit., "... for their part the Fang, far away from the European commerce much coveted by them, are happy to acquire a son-in-law nearer the coast. So I suspect that in a few years they will succeed in contracting marriages with other tribes on a very large scale."

control of the Ogooué trade had passed into the hands of the Fang peoples. (5) With settlement in Gabon, the economy of the Fang

> 5. Dr. A. Cureau, op. cit., p. 294.

groupings takes on a double orientation: it comes in contact with the forest peoples who are essentially hunters and collectors of trading produce, and it transforms its movement of expansion into an attempt to seize the trade of Lower Gabon. One might say that French colonization has prevented a sort of Fang colonization in this region. While this double task of conquest and trade depends on the [143] men, the economy of subsistence is to all intents and purposes left to the women. On this basis [131] the division of labor is established, leaving to the men alone the means of acquiring wealth and capital.

166 Such elements help us to understand the relative mobility of
● 621 the groupings. A people that has no concern for agriculture would
361 have no strong attachment for land that is equally fertile in any part of the forest. (1) In another respect the characteristic of a

> 1. See what was still said in 1934 by the administrator Le Testu (one of the best observers of the men and the country): "Lacking any taste for working the

166
621
361

> land, which the Pahouin will never acquire, for he considers it humiliating, he will perhaps develop a taste for the profit resulting from this work."

conquering society has imposed on the old Fang village an appearance which has often been mentioned: two uninterrupted rows (nkara) of huts surrounding a kind of courtyard closed at each end
[712] by a "guardhouse" (abɛ̄nɔ̄); sometimes a palisade of posts enclosing a banana plantation serves as a protection in the rear. Inside the huts there is only a limited amount of things which are easily
[352] transportable: "goods" of value are stored in chests, the ancestors' altars (bɛ́ɛ́ri) are kept in large cylindrical boxes. (2) There is no

> 2. Very similar to the "baskets of ancestors" carried by the Ba-kongo during their great migrations.

doubt that the grouping lived for a long time in a state of insecurity. This was primarily the factor which intervened to maintain a minimum size without which there was no real security. The causes contributing to the breaking up of groups, the organization of Fang society itself, the search for women and goods, and, finally, the agricultural methods, were dominated and largely impeded by this necessity. It appears certain that really large villages existed at the beginning of French occupation. V. Largeau refers to mfaǵ with eight or ten "guardhouses"; F. Grébert speaks of ten to twenty of these "guardhouses," (3) and F. Meyé asserts

> 3. F. Grébert. Au Gabon [In the Gabon], Paris, 1932.

that "the normal population of a village was from 80 to 170 warriors, exclusive of women and adolescents." (4) According to estimates

> 4. Quoted by G. Sautter, op. cit., p. 124.

166 made fifty years ago, such a whole represented from 350 to 700
621 or 800 persons — while present-day villages rarely average more
361 than 100 inhabitants. With peace restored, the grouping has relaxed and divided into its constituent elements which have broken away to form neighboring hamlets. A special word, ngòra, is the name given to these hamlets which are considered as still forming the same whole.

621 Linked with the virile character of Fang society is certainly
562 [132] the accent on the separation of sexes as shown in daily
571 life. For the woman, the living place is the hut; for the man it
344 is essentially the "guardhouse." M. H. Kingsley writes: "The men spend most of their time in palaver houses built at each end of the street, while the women bring bowls of food the whole day
[784] long." (3) without being able to enter the abèñõ, which is absolutely

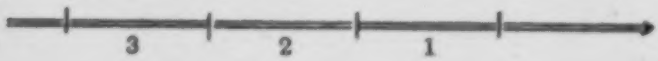
3. Travels in West Africa, p. 154.

forbidden them. H. Trilles defines this abèñõ as the place "where the men assemble to deal with community affairs, war, marriage,
[579] lawsuits, etc...," and where strangers are welcomed. In addition it is the place where the young men receive a large part of their education, where they learn, according to L. Mba, the most im-
621 portant interdicts (éki). Males of the same nd'è bòt assemble in
562 the abèñõ, which forms a virile grouping and one of kinship. In
571 its midst the authority of the "eldest" is expressed. He is both the symbol and the regulator of the life of the group, and the intermediary between it and the ancestors. Here not only are important transactions regulated, but work is also organized. The life of each one is subject to the control and the nearly constant censure of all. In it is created a cohesion so that this group is the most resistant element of Fang society. It is through the medium of this group, that the traditional Fang is assessed, is isolated as an individual, by the foreigner; he is not known in the first place as X but as a man attached to the abèñõ of Y. Such a grouping therefore represents a strong "community": the fusion, which favors effective kinship to the maximum (it is based on immediate filiation and "fraternity"), worship of the same ancestors, and joint

621 562 571 participation in the same tasks, tends — if one may venture the play on words — to the confusion of its members. On the other hand, the women it controls do not form such a coherent whole; they represent different clans, different modalities of kinship; they are the center of virtual conflicts (between female "relatives" and female "relations by marriage," between co-wives); except for the wives of the same man, who live together, they do not have a common living place.

621 571 578 614 The nd'è bòt — and, more precisely, this virile whole made up of relatives belonging to the same guardhouse (abèñõ) — harbors, however, latent antagonisms, which are the result of the privilege linked with ancestry [133] or seniority. These tensions can come to a head when disputes arise usually from economic causes, such as circulation of wealth or of women, or allocation of farming land. They help to explain the very variable size of the groupings considered as villages, and the phenomena of aggregation and disintegration of the latter according to circumstances. But both of these movements are effected as a function of the minor lineage which is the nd'è bòt.

621 571 614 This grouping may by itself constitute a separate unit of about ten persons or a village with up to a hundred inhabitants. When a village is old, with a large population (200 to 300 persons or more), it cannot remain organized around a single common hearth. It is arranged around several centers corresponding to the sons of the founder or their successors. Thus the village of Ebiane (Yéngwi in the vicinity of Oyem) has 235 inhabitants distributed in three groups representing the respective posterity of three brothers. We have already stressed the fact that the heads of minor lineages are at the level of the same segment. The village of Afénane (Yébimvé of the Oyem region) with more than 300 inhabitants also consists of the posterity of three brothers, and each of the nd'è bòt occupies a definite position on the village street, according to the following diagram:



621 571 614 The groupings are located according to the order of their pre-eminence, that of the eldest being at the back in direct contact with the chief's hut. Also, grouping 1 does not represent the whole of the lineage descended from the eldest brother (Ekòrò Ngòm); the latter divided at the level of the sons of Ekòrò Ngòm into three elements, of which one is at Afénane and the two others make up the very close villages of Mestia (139 inhabitants) and M'Fagne (97 inhabitants).

621 571 578 614 This whole Yébimvé group, consisting in a limited area of nearly 1,000 persons, is interesting to the extent that it shows how the "major" lineages (which we have described above under the name of abial è bòt) and the "minor" ones determine residence in a definite zone and a village. Two brothers led a migratory group [134] of Yébimvé from the Cameroons to the territory occupied today by their posterity. A conflict arising from the unequal distribution of the women acquired from foreign villages lead to the first rupture. Each of the two brothers moved away with the group he controlled, and the memory of past antagonisms has remained sufficiently alive to prevent any attempt today at recombining the members.

621 571 614 The initial cleavage can be presented in the following manner: (Table VII on following page.)

The cleavage is expressed in relation to a common origin (A) which represents the head of the "major" lineage and gives rise to the first rupture which we mark with a double line. The two nd'è bòt have separated and settled in spite of all in adjacent regions. But these groupings have themselves been subject to new fragmentations since then. We represent the second of these where they occur [135] at the level of the third generations (after III, V, and VII), giving rise to the creation of villages very close to one another and able to co-operate and, above all, to regroup if required by circumstances.

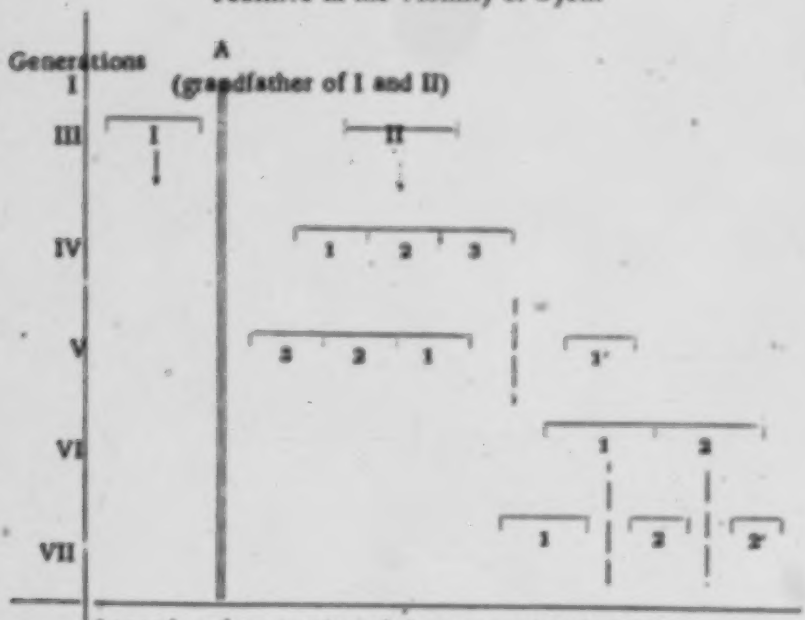
These observations show that the nd'è bòt is a true residential unit. They show how the cleavage becomes possible as soon as this unit reaches a certain size (a size, from the point of view of security and economic demands, making it viable as a separate unit); but the distance (in the sociological sense) between fragments varies

621
571
614

in terms of the circumstances which gave rise to the rupture and of the necessity to reserve eventual co-operation. The instability of the Fang village until recent times is certainly due to the nature of the old economy and to a poor capacity for disposition of land space, but also to a type of organization that does not permit (or permits badly) the control of large groupings. These have been made necessary only by lack of security.

Table VII

Yébimvé in the Vicinity of Oyem



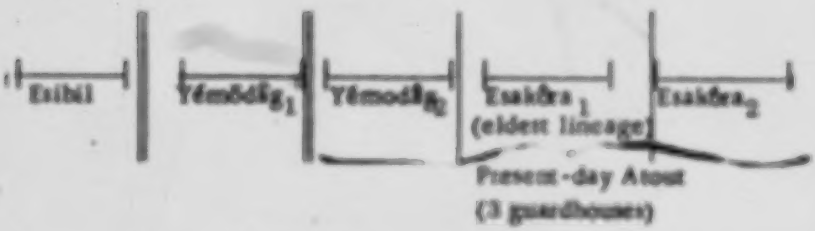
Legend: ‖ separation of the two major lineages
: fragmentation at the level of the third generations.

In the case of mixed villages where groupings belonging to different clans are found assembled together, usually following an administrative alteration of the population, instability appears to be more marked and distribution into definitely located nd'è bôt becomes a necessity. Such a grouping thus adds divisions which involves the co-existence of clan elements foreign to the

621 571 614 divisions already existing. This occurs even in the case of small villages. We give the example of Atout in Mitzic region founded by some Esibil to whom were added some Yémödîg and some Esakòra.

Table VIII

Village of Atout



Legend: ▌ definitive separation

| division into nd'ê bôt making up Atout.

The founding group and a large part of the Yémödîg have already seceded; the Esakòra grouping has divided into two nd'ê bôt (the "elder" and the younger), which represent a first [136] phase of the relaxing of bonds, for this division is not necessitated by the as yet reduced size of the group.

The mixed villages — called mfulana môyôg, mixture of clans — have necessitated the creation of an embryonic form of chefferie [French administrative district]; the recognition of an authority based outside "kinship." Thus, when a fairly large grouping is concerned, the chief is careful to settle apart and to have at his disposal a guardhouse other than the one in which the members of his nd'ê bôt assemble. But except for the attempts of the government to "construct" this chefferie, nothing justifies such an organization to maintain the cohesion of the village grouping it controls. The political problem — Fang society has been classed among the "anarchies" or "stateless societies" — in fact conditions

62 57 614 all future progress to the extent to which it allows (or does not allow) the maintenance of sufficiently large and stable village units.

Political Authority and Judicial Authority

554 622 Taking Fang society as an example, Dr. Cureau speaks of "a phenomenon of a stretching ... of the social bloc into a hierarchy based either on filiation or on intellectual and particularly moral superiority, both of which principles have their practical value according to the times." (1) He insists on a fact we have

1. Work already quoted, p. 332.

pointed out, the lack of a hierarchical organization, [with only] the simple existence of pre-eminences. The language itself gives [114] proof of this fact by not having a special word to designate the chief, using ésa when the pre-eminence is in a way genealogical, nkuma when it is based on wealth, Žoé (from Žu, to say) when it justified by eloquence and the ability to command. By magnifying this statement, A. Cureau contrasts the Fang groupings with those of other peoples as being "anarchical tribes" as opposed to "organized tribes." He writes: "Authority is occasional and momentary ... Edvoughe has carried the votes in such-and-such a difficult palaver, the whole assembly obeys for a moment this ephemeral chief; tomorrow Nzokh will have succeeded Edvoughe in the leadership of opinion; here then the struggle against one and all takes place between constantly changing and constantly renewed contestants." (2)

2. Ibid., p. 326.

In a similar sense the informants of the Commission for [137] Historical Investigation assert that the chief was "in a word the one from whom the community expected the greatest services." (1)

1. Official report of the fifth session.

In the same vein there are continual complaints from administrators incapable of reviving the powerful traditional chefferies and of acting through their medium.

4. Towns

This lack of vitality in the bush is understandable if we turn to conditions of settlement: the scattered pattern of settlement is very obvious. There are no villages properly speaking, just a dusting of hamlets. In the Cameroons, the villages are very small, with an average of 230 inhabitants. Furthermore, we are dealing with units in a system of control: their village is divided into many hamlets of from 5 to 20 huts grouped around that of the family head /chef de famille/.

In Gabon, Fang leaders are worried about this crumbling apart of the population and have issued slogans for regrouping the villages. Amongst them, indeed, the scattering is perhaps even more marked. "The average number of inhabitants per village varies from 42 (territory of Mitzic) to 105 around Oyem and to nearly 138 in the Fang canton of Makokou." (1)

1. Balandier and Pauvert, Les villages gabonais /Gabonese Villages/, Mémoir, I.E.C.A. /Institut d'Études centrafricaines/, Brazzaville, 1952.

This is not the place for a study of whether scattered settlement is natural in a country where no centralized authority has been imposed, in which the only certain /37/ power was that of the family head, or whether, on the contrary, it evidences a new kind of anarchy, an intensified individualism. We shall merely point out that the hamlets are larger in Boulou country than in Ewondo or Bané country, although the former political institutions of the Ewondo and Bané seem to have given tribal chiefs some political powers and marks of rank, of which there seems to have been no question among the Boulou. The first appearance of centralized political power would seem to coincide with a greater dispersion in settlement.

The fact remains that no center of concentration forced any crystallization whatsoever of an amorphous mass. This fact, closely connected with the absence of trade, clearly indicates the new and artificial character of the towns. They are all of recent origin, and yet they have become a necessity.

such a case we gather that each principal town of a subdivision is a genuine center of attraction. Although new these towns are not artificial. There is another piece of evidence for this, the social-occupational distribution of the urban population is almost constant from one town to another, a proof that it corresponds to needs that are also constant.

Out of 100 inhabitants one generally finds: laborers 16.5, employees 12, traders 8.3, chauffeurs 6.9 (and "motor boys" 4.3), public service employees 6.7, domestic servants 5.8, carpenters 4.9, masons 4, farmers 3.5, tailors 3.2, mechanics 2.9, photographers 0.8, herders 0.5, catechists 0.1, without occupation 9, etc.

This in general outline is the present-day distribution. Let it simply be kept in mind that, with the diffusion of a new culture, the whole society becomes modified. The techniques and tools in use have been increased and diversified at the same time as social conditions.

Chapter 5

Social Organization

1. Forms of Settlement, Habitat

The basic social group is the patriarchal family (nda bot = lit., house of the people), to which corresponds the hamlet or elementary village, the jal (Boulou, pl. mal; Fang, Ewôndo, dzal), generally called by the name of the patriarch (ésa = father; nnôl = eldest, senior), but sometimes, when isolated, carrying a special toponym (éyôlé = proper name, designation; a person's name is rather jôé; Fang, édzoé). These mal are usually arranged into multifamily, sometimes multi-clan, villages, minlam (sing. nlam), the latter term designating both the group of dwellings and the soil appertaining to them. The nlam always has a place name of its own, which may refer to its geographical situation: nkôlayôp = on the hill; to a topographical or botanical peculiarity: ako'abete = dressed stone, ajap = the name of a tree, ma'an = crossroads; or to an incident connected with the founding: ébolewo'o (Ebolowa) = decayed chimpanzee, because the village was

103 set up at a spot where the body of a chimpanzee had been found; menjikôm = from me nji kômbo, I did not want to, the founding family not having wanted to go any further. /Or the nlam may take its place name/ from a nickname or whimsical name: mafi = sea, the site being considered "as beautiful as the sea"; kamerûn = Kamerun, "because a white man told us that the country would be called thus henceforward; évunok = elephant's stomach, because of the appetite of its inhabitants, etc. It may also happen that a village name repeats that of its founder's native village, sometimes coupled with an indication like baa = second, mfefé = new, or with the name of its founder or chief, Méyo me Nkulu, the Méyo of Nkulu.

166 The leapfrog advance of small Pahouin groups at the time of the
• 62 invasion has already been described. Each of these groups generally
MR corresponded to a hamlet—jal—or to a village—nlam—or, rather, to the corresponding family units, nda bôt or mvôk. The migrating group retained rights to the abandoned site (bilik). Today the migration of whole villages is much less common. Rather, we are witnessing either a "swarming off" of villages that are overpopulated in relation to the amount of land available for plantations (in particular land near a vehicular road, especially in Cameroons), or a kind of explosion or social disintegration, /41/ the latter phenomenon being particularly noticeable among the Fang, where it has been well described by Balandier. Administrative action has often been a prime mover in the latest migrations: in Gabon, for instance, there has been an attempt to move whole villages for administrative, economic, or hygienic reasons, but in doing so collective groups have been broken up that had already been weakened by the disappearance of ancient defense needs and by the economic changes resulting from colonization. The new villages, often reconstituted without taking into account previous clan or family structures, no longer had any cohesion and split up into small rootless hamlets, poorly populated, continually moving their sites in disorderly fashion and usually seeking to escape contact with the administration. Since 1946, especially at the instance of the deputy, Aubame, himself a Fang, there has come into existence in Gabon a movement to regroup villages by clans, the results of which do not seem to have corresponded to the hopes of its promoters.

166 The situation is perceptibly different in the Cameroons, where the
62 early introduction of the cultivation of cacao (before 1914 in Ewôndo

country and in the north of Boulou country) has put a considerable brake upon village nomadism, the planters not liking to move away from their plantations. When there is migration, the activity consists rather in the "swarming off" of a portion of the inhabitants, who go to found a new hamlet in a site favorable for cultivation, without there being from then on any necessary correspondence between family structure and settlement pattern. The new jal will no longer necessarily correspond to one family but may gather together several families from different and unrelated lineages (mvam).

The Pahouin village of former times was planned for defense. Situated in an oblong clearing, usually within reach of the nearest village (3 to 4 kilometers) by drum-telephone (nkul), it comprised two lines of contiguous rectangular huts, gable to gable, on either side of a courtyard or main street (mɛ̃ɛ̃), blocked at either end by a guardhouse /men's house/ (aba, abɛ̃ɛ̃) allowing only a narrow entrance, often oblique, which was barricaded every evening. All doors gave onto the mɛ̃ɛ̃; the outer walls having merely a few loopholes. Sometimes the village was encircled by a moat (ɓalak) and traps, sometimes also by a stockade /akak). The most important subsistence plots (mefup) were in the forest, often quite far away, but near the village behind the huts were banana groves and kitchen gardens, while medicinal plants (bilok bi mebiaɛ̃) as well as tobacco were grown in the central mɛ̃ɛ̃. The hut walls were made of bark (particularly of certain kinds of Ficus /fig/) which was wetted, then beaten flat and dried to form boards; these are the "carbotes" (from the English word "cardboard") still in use on the coast. These boards were fastened by lianas and pegs to posts set in a rectangle. The double pitched roof was of "tiles" made of raffia folioles (ɔbaɛ́, pl. abaɛ́) folded in two and pinned with wooden splinters to the scantlings made of /42/ strips of the main leaf rib set parallel to the ridgepole. This ridgepole rested on forked posts, of which the two central ones had magical significance and were usually carved or at least painted. The dimensions of these dwelling huts rarely exceeded 6 by 3 meters, while those of the guardhouses (meba) might reach twice this. In each household the man had his private hut where he kept his most valuable possessions (biɔ̃m): chests containing loincloths, etc., weapons, drums, "medicaments" (mebiaɛ̃), his own seat, masks, and magical equipment. The women's huts, side by side with his and where the young children slept, were used as kitchens and contained carrying

are, besides, meyoñ that are outside the system.

Among the latter I shall mention the Ndôñ and the Bekié or Bekwi, to be found under these names in all, or nearly all, the Pahouin tribes. The ethnic substantive Bekié is simply the plural of a common noun, nikié, "dwarf." These people are, it seems, descendants of aborigines, undoubtedly Pygmies, "adopted" by the tribes at the time of invasion. Although looked upon as an ayoñ and calling one another brother, they do not practice exogamy and seem to attach their genealogies to those of other clans, to which nevertheless they do not belong.

The case of the Ndôñ is quite different. They crossed the Sanaga with the other Pahouin, and they are certainly "active" Pahouin. But they observe endogamy among their three mvôk (Ndôñ Mvu, Ndôñ Bibak, and Ndôñ Bihoé), which no other Pahouin ayoñ does, at least to my knowledge. Besides, I believe I noticed /48/ among those of the southern Cameroons and northern Gabon morphological traits setting them sharply apart from those of neighboring clans—reddish color of the skin, frequency of green or greenish-blue eyes—which might be explained by the inbreeding consequent upon endogamy, but also perhaps by a different ethnic origin. Another piece of evidence, as insufficiently attested as the foregoing, is that among the Ndôñ I met the last of the smiths and the most feared magicians among the Boulou and Fang tribes of the Cameroons.

The Ngoé ayoñ also is found under this name in nearly all the Pahouin tribes and, according to Bertaut, among the neighboring Bakoko. The Esel, who are similarly spread throughout the tribes, have non-Pahouin homonyms: /for instance/ the Bantu Esel tribe of the southeastern Cameroons (Moloundou). The name could, however, be a contraction of ésa (ésa-el?). Ngoé and Esel are usually exogamic.

c. The Extended Family or Village Family

The term "village family" is no doubt more accurate than the classic "extended family," both because the nda bôt (house of the people) is the only social group that corresponds exactly to a geographical form of settlement (the jal or hamlet), and because without the geographical criterion it is difficult to distinguish this /kind of/ family from the intermediate structures between it and the clan, such as segments or lineages (mvôk, bisa). And finally, it is on this

level that the agencies of authority, of social control, are most in evidence.

The head of the family is the senior, ntôl or ntôle mût, of the adult and active men, benya bôtô, "the true men." He is not necessarily the oldest in age, because infirm old men suffer a genuine capitis diminutio /a loss of status/. The founder of the hamlet or his eldest son can still, even if infirm, preserve a certain moral authority as father, ésa, of the family, but actual authority will then be delegated to a nya môtô chosen from his brothers, sons, or nephews, the éfo'olo (Bertaut). In principle, a jal is composed of the founder, his old relatives /parents/, his younger brothers, his children and those of his sisters, his unmarried sisters, their illegitimate children and those of his daughters. Wives do not belong to the jal; their village is referred to as jañ. Of a divorced woman one would say, a keya jañ, "she has gone back to her village." The size of the nda bôt depends upon different factors: security, the /family/ head's authority, the fertility of the soil, etc. I have already pointed out how several mal can be gathered into a nlam, a proper village. Nowadays the menda me bôt are tending to decrease numerically and no longer to correspond to the jal, which can from now on combine several /menda me bôt/. The limited or household family is becoming more and more important, while the government-sponsored institution of village chiefship /chefferie/, although it is often only an imperfect substitute for the authority of the ntôl or the ésa, undermines that none the less. The size of an average nda bôt may be calculated at twenty /49/ persons (including the wives who do not belong to the jal), less in the towns and among the less prosperous people, more among large planters and the influential (minkukum).

The nda bôt used to be a religious, military, and economic unit. On the religious plane, the father, ésa, was the custodian of the biéti (Fang, biéri), the portable altar or ark of the ancestral cult containing the skulls of the ancestors; he made the decisions about initiations and bore their expense. The initiations have died out, and the missions have burned dozens, if not hundreds, of biéri. Security and colonial order have removed any interest in the ésa's military function. Only his economic role survives to some extent. He used to be the sole owner of the family goods (biôm), sole treasurer of income, and sole regulator of expenditures, of which the most important was the payment of "bride prices" (minsuba) for his younger brothers and his

63 insofar as he accepts an authority higher than that of the head of the
177 family a Pahouin is dependent upon the head of his ayon, who may live several hundred kilometers away. This authority had a sacred character and was based on laws of consanguinity. In addition, there were, even before the coming of the Europeans, other influences at work, tending to group people no longer on a basis of kinship but on that of local relations. Among the Fong of the Cameroons, for instance, as early as 1890, a chief had brought together under his control families that belonged to different clans and involved them in expeditions against Maka villages. From among the conquered he chose some young children for himself, brought them up, and saw them settled, creating thus, outside his consanguineal family, and even outside his tribe, a group of people devoted to his person.

Therefore, upon the power of the clan there was superposed an authority that assumed an interclan and even intertribal character. Among the Beti peoples of the Yaoundé region nearly the same system was in effect. The clans had more coherence than among the Fang or the Boulou. But the chief controlled, in addition to his own mvog, conquered families, beloa or beloa bitoa, to whom he assigned land along the margins of his domain.

The transition from a system of authority based on the law of consanguinity to a territorial one is already apparent.

In the face of Pahouin lack of political order, which nullified all attempts at organization, Europeans unconsciously tried to reinforce the trend toward a territorial system of authority.

[67] Since the period of the great invasions, in fact, the jus soli has been authenticated as a basis of authority, while /the application of/ the jus sanguinis involves a thousand difficulties and makes it almost impossible to govern.

By a curious paradox, nevertheless, the presence of Europeans favored legal principles opposed to those they might have desired. The tribal wars brought about a regrouping around the victor and enabled him to carve out a domain /seigneurie/. The chaotic Pahouin migrations strained clan ties: what family relationships can survive a lengthy separation, /129/ particularly when journeys are rare and dangerous? These factors would have brought about the creation of territorial entities. Peace, on the other hand, which allowed the resumption of relations, improved mobility, and per-
[62] mitted individual freedom, favored a return to the law of consanguinity; the individual person, whether young man or head of a

CONTINUED
ON
NEXT FICHE

177 family, had a profound sense of being a member of a community
621 scattered over several thousand square kilometers, whereas he did not
631 feel strongly bound to his neighbor who belonged to another ayoñ.

The German colonial administration divided the country up into
648 large chiefdoms as a solution to this difficult problem, a possible
631 solution if the country had not been an ethnic as well as a clan maze. If the territory of the large tribes—Boulou, Bané, Ewôndo, etc.—had been a little more homogeneous, it would have been conceivable to entrust each region to a chief, at a higher level than that of clan allotments. But the confusion of peoples and their wide dispersion made any solution precarious. Authority was not always accepted without demur, and among populations with anarchistic tendencies it is not easy to build up a ruling class /aristocratie/ sufficiently sure of itself not to perpetrate abuses. There was no time for the system of large appanages to take root. Chiefs of cantons and village chiefs both rule over more limited but clear-cut territories; as representatives of the principle of jus soli their influence view with that of the clan movements embodying the jus sanguinis.

631 In Gabon, Pahouin leaders had the idea of mingling the two
668 tendencies. Starting with the assumption that the villages were too small, they sanctioned a regrouping which would have allowed both stronger chiefdoms and a beginning of reassembling of clans.

The regrouping of the meyoñ does not seem to have been planned as a whole, nor does it seem that a territorial base had been thought of for each clan, which would have resolved, for the time being at least, the conflict between the law of things /droit réel/ and the law of persons /droit personnel/. Only a partial solution was considered: the establishment of large, single-clan villages (1). In

1. J. Aubame, Renaissance gabonaise /Renaissance in Gabon/, Brazzaville, 1947 (no. 171); Balandier and Pauvert (no 177).

fact, and in spite of the endless difficulties connected with the transfer of population, the regrouping was able to give to the chiefdom a new prestige, by confirming its character as a territorial power on the one hand, and by binding it, on the other hand, to the meyoñ traditions. In the present state of affairs, cantons and even villages

VI. The Establishment of a New Village

361 Various circumstances may lead to the setting-up of a new
621 village. Worked-out land, denuded hunting anf fishing grounds,
166 decaying huts, # disease decimating the children, the chief's
787 death, a defeat in war, sometimes merely the wish to push on, are the principal reasons.

The spirits are consulted before departure is considered. [Footnote omitted.] There is a triple sacrifice; to the spiritual guardians of the village, to the ancestors, and to the totem. If the three replies are favorable, plans may go ahead. Otherwise, a sacrifice producing an ill-omened interpretation will be undertaken again, after a few days, until a favorable result is obtained.

361 After this first test a suitable location is sought. As this
621 choice is made by delegates, the practitioner is called upon and he, with all the male inhabitants, combs the [557] surroundings of the new village, singing and dancing so as to drive away malignant spirits or any that might be injurious to the new establishment.

361 All the men then come together in the middle of what will
621 be the future village, and the chief picks out the spot where he
769 will build his own hut. A sacrifice is offered there, first to the
782 totem and then to the spirits of the ancestors. To do this a roof of leaves is hastily erected and roughly placed on a few stakes. The évora biéri is carried underneath the roof and the chief puts in front of the unopened box a black hen and a kid.

Before slaughtering the two victims, the chief removes the akaméyôn from his baldrick and blows three times in the oviara, turning in three different directions. The objective of this ceremony is to dispel evil spirits. He then drags the akaméyôn behind him over the entire site of the new village. After one round he does another, holding the akaméyôn in his hand. Thus malignant spirits of earth and air will be dispersed. The akaméyon is then put on the évora biéri. The chief slaughters the hen by cutting off its head, grasps it by the feet, and sprinkles the akaméyôn and box. He again traverses the village, sprinkling

361 the sites of future huts with blood. The hen is then opened up
621 and divided among the principal warriors and the chief's relatives.
769 This strictly, speaking, constitutes the totemic sacrifice. The
782 kid or sheep is then offered to the spirits of departed souls and to the ancestors.

After the sacrifice to ancestors the chief puts the akameyôn
361 back at his side. From the mfex or pouch, which is never re-
621 moved, he draws forth a small bundle of dirty material wrapped
769 around a bit of red wood, ashes, and a few bones. All this
778 comes from a sacrifice to the totem like that already described. To these he adds the remnants of the recent sacrifice and buries
[824] it all deep in a hole in which he drives a strong stake of élun or éfirfira wood; sometimes a young ebony tree is also used.
[822 At the top of the stake he fixes a ball of paste made of red wood,
842] white chalk -- the colors of sacrifices and spirits, and manioc, the symbol of fertility. A part of the clan or tribal totem is also inserted. The practitioner, with many gestures, songs, and dances imprisons within it all the evil spirits of the air.
[558]

The practitioner sows maize in the middle of the village, then plants a manioc root and particularly a euphorbia (euphorbia antiquorum), and puts a small fence around, so that the plants will not be desecrated. The village's prosperity depends upon their
[787] rapid growth. Should they wither, the chosen spot will be abandoned. Euphorbia has the power of averting thunder and evil
[824] spirits by means of its bristling points. Amaryllis and immortelles are often planted at the foot of the euphorbia, along with a few stalks of sugar cane. The amaryllis and immortelles ought to come from the old village, having issued from those which the chief's first wife had formerly brought from her
[842] native village at her marriage. Sugar cane is a symbol of fertility.

241 The women plant maize everywhere after these prelimi-
361 naries, and its rapid growth ensures basic subsistence. Meanwhile the men build the huts. The first ears of maize will certainly be offered to the guardian totem. Dried and preserved in the form of a coronet, they will provide seed for the following year.

361
342

Fig. 17. Pangwe Village, Spanish Guinea.

361 and followers who help him with its construction and have a perma-
621 nent right to its use; /58/ /Fig. 18/ hence, the relational prefix
344 a in abā, "meeting house"; hence probably also the Janus head which I saw on the post of a meeting house (cf. Fig. 19). The stem of the word a-bā I derive from ba, "to divide, to share" (1), and I

1. The same stem exists in the numeral two (bai), which is clearly the result of the division of one object.

believe that it was originally intended to designate the place where the game that had been killed was divided. The meeting house is now the place for all public transactions, from the dividing of meat to judicial proceedings, public deliberations, and the reception of strangers.

621 Sometimes the meeting house constructed when the establish-
622 ment was founded remains permanently in a temporary state; it
344 remains unfinished because the people are too lazy -- each one thinks the other should start first -- and the chief lacks the power

361

/58/

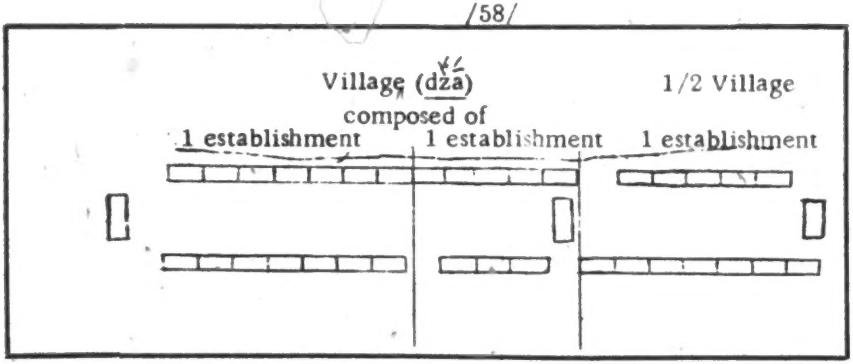


Fig. 18. Development of a Village from Individual Establishments.

621 to force his people to complete it. At one time, for instance, the chief
622 of the village Nssälang (Fig. 23 shows one of the temporary meeting
344 houses of that village) made the proposal to me -- a proposal which I, of course, gratefully declined -- that I should either force his people, or make my people available, to build a new meeting house for him. Then, as he put it, everybody would say: "This chief of the Whites is quite a fellow; you can tell that a White lives near his village." At best, the chief's people bring him some roofing mats for the construction and in this way believe they have fulfilled their duty toward the community project. The actual work is always up to the chief. Even so,
[623] the house does not thereby become his property; rather, in each case it is the common property of the men. When the chief says, "It is my meeting house," they are not affected by his statement. The Pangwe
461 avoids anything and everything that might disturb him in his customary
339 peace and comfort; he shies away from work and lets things run their course:

zǒ[k] e tsídan ebēi-asē'i, a ve oa
Elephant, he frightened away (from) pit-iron-stone, he gave you

atēi, a nī oa adzīt
poverty, he took (from) you heaviness. /59/

That means: The elephant that frightened you away from an iron-stone pit, made you poor, it is true, but at the same time he relieved you of a burden (namely, that of preparing the iron).

754
777
[769]

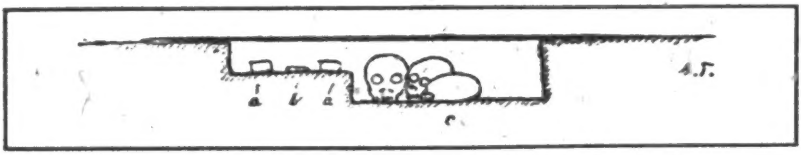


Fig. 53. Underground Chamber of a Mekuk Sorcerer, Cross-section.

(a) Circle made of plantain pieces, (b) magic medicines, (c) skulls of murdered relatives.

the Mekuk man's house companions in their sleep, so that they wake up the next day completely beaten up. They are also supposed to steal money and goods in order to take them to the Mekuk man. In short, the Mekuk stories remind one of the experiences of the man who wanted to learn to be afraid /Ed., in one of Grimm's fairy tales/.

Other medicines for wealth that utilize the power of the souls
777 are more innocent; they do not require the murder of relatives nor care of the skulls. Instead, their powers are derived from the
[824] habitation of the souls, the Copaifera tessmannii Harms (ovǒ'ń). The Mekuk skulls must be included only in the event the medicine man already possesses some. The procedure as a rule is as follows. The father of the person concerned goes with a medicine man, /152/ and both clear an area under a large Copaifera. Then a leaf vessel filled with water is set up, and into this some of the bark of the
[801] Copaifera is scraped nine times (three times three); furthermore a stone from the stomach of the crocodile is placed in it if one is available. A peculiar test of the worthiness of the young man is now given. Various objects are placed together in three piles: on
[415] the first are placed steamed cassava (women's food) and a basket
[887] (ebā'dă) carried only by old women because it has a small capacity; on the second, a rifle, a bundle of vegetables (ngon) with fish, brass ornaments, cowrie shells, and a piece of cloth, all of which are things that delight young people; on the third pile is placed
[293] a fly swatter (implement of the chiefs), a foot ring made of ivory,
[622] and a boiled chicken, in other words, such things as are allotted to chiefs. Now the young man is brought to the piles. "If he has sense," he will go to the last pile and consume the chicken. In this

585 After the wedding, the young bride is allowed a certain period
595 of rest (up to one month), during which she does not need to work. Every day, newly painted with red wood, she struts around the village. After this honeymoon she then proceeds to the diurnal work in the field, while the man may possibly already be on the lookout for a second wife. Incidentally, there are not many who can afford the luxury of several wives; usually these are only the chief, his brothers, and a number of other people. The great majority must content themselves with a single wife. In former
[589] times there were even people who, for lack of money, were condemned to permanent bachelorhood because the opportunities for earning money were not as favorable as they are today with European commerce. In the account of the belief in souls (Vol. II, p. 102 /Ed., not translated/), we mentioned how a loving father procures a wife for his son by transforming himself into a leopard.

622 The number of wives that the individual chief calls his own
595 decreases from north to south, precisely in the same proportion as his power as a ruler decreases towards the south. The most
184 respected and greatest chiefs of the Mwele and Jaunde sometimes possess up to 100 wives; similarly, Bulu chiefs with 50 wives are not a rarity. Among the Fang, on the other hand, the chiefs have only from 16 to 20 wives, at most 30, while in smaller villages they may have as few as five or even fewer, since, as we have seen /Ed., not translated/, anybody can become a chief (nkūkūma) by founding a new village because in this village he will be the "wealthiest."

The statement sounds harsh, but it must be made: the
837 woman's sexual life is basically a continuation of that of the girl, perhaps in even more artful forms, in other words, a higher form of prostitution. Marital fidelity is a great rarity, even though my Blacks steadfastly maintained that this is not so. I myself was only once shown a woman, as a "curiosity," who did not permit herself to be seduced by other men, and this was not even in the Pangwe region, but on my travels in Bassá country. I do not wish to deny that even among the Pangwe there are women who remain faithful to their husbands without being compelled

837 to do so, but, as I said -- white crows! Actually, it would be asking rather a lot to expect this as the order of the day, in view of the prevailing polygyny. All jealousy and all supervision are of no avail; the women simply acquire behind the man's back what he cannot or will not grant them.

[622] Generally, the chief keeps only a small number of his wives, [595] perhaps from three to five, for himself. The others he divides among his /263/ adherents and friends or hires them out to acquaintances for one or more nights in exchange for cash payment. In addition, as is apparent from the reckonings at the feast for the souls, the women keep a whole series of admirers who -- if there is no other way -- satisfy them during the day in the fields, in spite of Ngi and all the cult spirits. Even lepers and cripples are not spurned if they are capable sexually. If the [684] husband learns the name of a wife's lover, the latter must pay him about 300 spears. The price fluctuates somewhat, and in case the parties do not come to an agreement, it is determined by legal proceedings. If the husband catches a rival in flagrante delicto, he sometimes has no scruples about shooting him down on the spot.

587 If a woman dies soon after marriage, the widower obtains the sister of the deceased as a wife, either for nothing or for a small additional payment, because it is believed that the woman carried an ewu inside her, in other words, that she was a sorceress and was therefore responsible for her own death, thus wronging her husband.

If for some reason or other a man does not like his wife, he 586 can give her back without great difficulty, since, after all, she retains her value and finally always "gets her man." In the case of young people, who frequently marry the first person that happens to be available and only later realize what they have actually acquired, wives may be taken back purely if they have a poor appearance, diseased teeth, an evil smell, and so forth, in other words, if they are generally "unpleasant."

Otherwise, the chief grounds for divorce are: 1) spitefulness and disobedience towards the spouse; 2) malicious, extended desertion of the husband (but not simple running away) and

621 all future progress to the extent to which it allows (or does not allow)
571 the maintenance of sufficiently large and stable village units.
614

Political Authority and Judicial Authority

554 Taking Fang society as an example, Dr. Cureau speaks of
622 "a phenomenon of a stretching ... of the social bloc into a hierarchy based either on filiation or on intellectual and particularly moral superiority, both of which principles have their practical value according to the times." (1) He insists on a fact we have

1. Work already quoted, p. 332.

pointed out, the lack of a hierarchical organization, [with only] the simple existence of pre-eminences. The language itself gives
[196] proof of this fact by not having a special word to designate the chief, using ésa when the pre-eminence is in a way genealogical, nkuma when it is based on wealth, žoé (from žu, to say) when it justified by eloquence and the ability to command. By magnifying this statement, A. Cureau contrasts the Fang groupings with those of other peoples as being "anarchical tribes" as opposed to "organized tribes." He writes: "Authority is occasional and momentary ... Edvoughe has carried the votes in such-and-such a difficult palaver, the whole assembly obeys for a moment this ephemeral chief; tomorrow Nzokh will have succeeded Edvoughe in the leadership of opinion; here then the struggle against one and all takes place between constantly changing and constantly renewed contestants." (2)

2. Ibid., p. 326.

In a similar sense the informants of the Commission for [137] Historical Investigation assert that the chief was "in a word the one from whom the community expected the greatest services." (1)

1. Official report of the fifth session.

In the same vein there are continual complaints from administrators incapable of reviving the powerful traditional chefferies and of acting through their medium.

554 It should be noted, however, that pre-eminence "based on
622 filiation," as Cureau puts it, is maintained without too much
769 difficulty – being durable while power born of events is temporary – so long as the worship of ancestors by each clan fragment remains in force. Seniority determines this pre-eminence, justified and made effective by the possession of the basket containing the ancestors' skulls. This power of the "eldest," who is at the same time "first among his equals" and priest of the biéri cult organized within the cadre of "kinship," has not however allowed the implantation of effective chefferies comparable to those based on the same principles in the Ba-kongo country (2).

2. Cf., Third part of this work.

An early government report stressed the fact that one became chief, specifying that the nyamòrò (eldest) "became chief in his zone of influence when his fairness and the effectiveness of his power were recognized." (3) Thus neither the villages nor the

3. Customs regulating the attributes of chiefs and their designation in Rapport politique du Djouah [Political Report of Djouah], 1938.

localized clan fragments, nor still less the extended clan and the tribe, reveal the existence of a true hierarchy. We see the pre-eminence of the ésa (which may only be shown by some deferential attitudes) or the provisional pre-eminence of a man who has known how to expand his "zone of influence."

554 What are the reasons for such a situation? Taking as an
622 example Ba-kongo, which will be studied later, one sees that the
[7] fundamental social relationship is that which exists between the ancestors (masters and guardians of the sod), the land, and the lineage; it implies necessary relations between related lineages and limits the mobility of groupings. There is nothing like this in the Fang country, where the relation with land has no such importance and the whole economy, until very recently, remained oriented toward warlike and economic conquest. Even in the

554 regions where the Fang population seems relatively old, instability
622 is the rule for a large proportion of the groupings. There is thus a sort of vicious circle: mobility imposed by long-range conquest has prevented the [138] establishment of a hierarchical organization and this "lack" results in an unrestrained instability.

The social system does not show any elements favorable to a better hierarchical organization. While the pre-eminence of the eldest is accepted, that of the eldest lineage (from which, among the Ba-kongo, the "crowned chief" is selected) is barely maintained. On the contrary, we have shown that there is a nearly constant tension between this lineage and those of the "younger"
[567] brothers. On the other hand, the absence of domestic slavery indicates the wish to prevent any development of inequality. During the entire period of great conquests the Fang have had only two
[727] solutions in relation to conquered foreigners: to destroy or to adopt. And while the eldest appears to be the regulator of the economic and political life, and to be responsible for the worship of the ancestors, his authority is subject to an effective control. It counts only within the framework of groupings of limited extent. It is open to the criticism of the men of the nd'è bòt (who consider themselves the equal of the eldest who only acts "by delegation") or of the council members when the village contains several minor lineages. It also remains in competition with occasional authorities.

If it is true that seniority almost automatically creates authority, this authority is also limited and often threatened by the principle that "the most capable" is the most influential. In the fairly large villages, the position of chief (one should rather say the regulator and intermediary with foreign groupings, which the word ntòl specifically means) is generally passed on from eldest son to eldest son (or, in default, from eldest [son] to a younger brother on the same segment) in the lineage descended from the founder. This is on condition that the successor is approved by all "for his bravery, his wealth, and his eloquence." (1) In the opposite case, a stronger

1. L. Mba, Coutumier Pahouin [Pahouin Customs], p. 12.

personality is chosen from among the eldest of another nd'è bòt in the village. In other respects this authority is controlled by a council

554 representing not simply the various minor lineages but open to
622 competitive authorities — the best warrior (éyènö), a rich man (nkuma), the cleverest at settling palavers (nté bété), not to mention the dignitaries of the "associations." In the traditional society, the possession of the biéri basket established the right of the eldest's pre-eminence and gave this right a sacred basis [139] it was a partial guarantee against the struggles for prestige. With the disappearance of this cult under the influence of the colonizers, the eldest must use the new "associations" or must make himself feared by having recourse to techniques of a magical order; otherwise he will find himself threatened as "chief" at the time of a competition which is implied by the Fang social logic.

554 The role of personal prestige appears clearly in studying the vocabulary, which has a considerable number of words or expressions applicable to the "important" or "honored" man: éguma (from gum, to honor), muramo(r) (t) and fâm ndên (from mura and ndên, great or important), nkurödi (very important man), mfum (well-known man, who has many relations), nkuma (already quoted, a man who is influential because of his wealth), etc. The authority acquired by such prestige limits the essential authority which we have shown to be dependent on seniority, but tradition also imposes strict restraints on it as well. Any pre-eminence acquired by virtue of purely personal merit is dangerous for the one who holds it, for it is essential that power, wealth, and wisdom be placed at the service of all members of the grouping.

554 Many early authors have pointed out the risk of displaying
578 an affluence and a prosperity that are not shared. Le Testu emphasizes the role played by "the fear of exciting jealousy": "Larger and more successful plantations, a better hut, wives that are more fertile, more prosperous affairs... each is a cause for jealousy, and the consequence of this feeling, as is often believed to be true, is the death of the one who excites it ...." (1) Similarly, M.

1. Le Testu, Le N'gwéna [The N'gwéna], Bulletin de la Société des Recherches Congolaises, Vol. 12, 1930.

level that the agencies of authority, of social control, are most in evidence.

The head of the family is the senior, ntôl or ntôle môt, of the adult and active men, benya bôtô, "the true men." He is not necessarily the oldest in age, because infirm old men suffer a genuine capitis diminutio /a loss of status/. The founder of the hamlet or his eldest son can still, even if infirm, preserve a certain moral authority as father, ésa, of the family, but actual authority will then be delegated to a nya môtô chosen from his brothers, sons, or nephews, the éfo'olo (Bertaut). In principle, a jal is composed of the founder, his old relatives /parents/, his younger brothers, his children and those of his sisters, his unmarried sisters, their illegitimate children and those of his daughters. Wives do not belong to the jal; their village is referred to as jañ. Of a divorced woman one would say, a keya jañ, "she has gone back to her village." The size of the nda bôt depends upon different factors: security, the /family/ head's authority, the fertility of the soil, etc. I have already pointed out how several mal can be gathered into a nlam, a proper village. Nowadays the menda me bôt are tending to decrease numerically and no longer to correspond to the jal, which can from now on combine several /menda me bôt/. The limited or household family is becoming more and more important, while the government-sponsored institution of village chiefship /chefferie/, although it is often only an imperfect substitute for the authority of the ntôl or the ésa, undermines that none the less. The size of an average nda bôt may be calculated at twenty /49/ persons (including the wives who do not belong to the jal), less in the towns and among the less prosperous people, more among large planters and the influential (minkukum).

The nda bôt used to be a religious, military, and economic unit. On the religious plane, the father, ésa, was the custodian of the biéti (Fang, biéri), the portable altar or ark of the ancestral cult containing the skulls of the ancestors; he made the decisions about initiations and bore their expense. The initiations have died out, and the missions have burned dozens, if not hundreds, of biéri. Security and colonial order have removed any interest in the ésa's military function. Only his economic role survives to some extent. He used to be the sole owner of the family goods (biôm), sole treasurer of income, and sole regulator of expenditures, of which the most important was the payment of "bride prices" (minsuba) for his younger brothers and his

437
431
557 connection that the points of the compass have a sexual implication,
565 which is not well understood. The bilaba sets up a sort of joking re-
623 lationship between the families of the participants, which may con-
631 tinue after their death.

The institution seems to be dying out, though it was still flourishing between the two /World?/ wars and often involved considerable amounts of money (1).

1. Balandier (no. 175 and in a personal communication) stresses the economic importance of the bilaba which, in a society without a money or trade economy, constituted one of the principal means of circulating goods and, especially, of diffusing imported commodities.

556 In spite of the fear his success inspires, and perhaps because of
622 this fear, the rich man enjoyed undoubted authority in his village and sometimes beyond it. Nkukuma, the absolute form of nkukum, is used to translate "chief" (it probably means, more precisely, "person of note").

554 The word évet, also applied to subchiefs or government "capitas"
622 is likewise used —a correct nuance if, as Bates says, évet is a corruption of headman applied originally to the chiefs of trade caravans. These men were chosen for their business astuteness, diplomacy, authority, and courage, but they were only deputies of a clan or village, not true political chiefs. To convey the latter implication the preferable term is still njôô bôt (Fang, nzoé mur) from jô = to say, to command; a term indicating a de facto state, /état de fait/ rather than a legal notion. It should be recalled that there were no political leaders other than the seniors, mintôl, of the extended families. Their authority was further limited by the ease with which their brothers could leave the village to establish another nearby (2).

164
554
622

2. But among some Pahouinized peoples the existence of royal insignia shows that chiefship /chefferie/ is an institution: among the Ewôndo and Yanda the head of the clan designated his successor or, if he

184
554
622

had not done so, the clan chose its chief, and the neighboring populations each sent him a spear in token of recognition.

[534]

The power of the Fong chief is on an even more personal level. The chief conveys his commands by means of an enormous drum; his pipe is preserved like a relic; his musicians play special instruments, among them the nkeñ (percussion double bell), quite rare in that region but a classical instrument in the western Cameroons with the Bamiléké or Bamoum /Mum/. The chief's installation is marked by the tradition of the spears and the donning of a headpiece of parrot plumes. (J. B.)

[293
297]

Any more extensive authority was founded on personal prestige, which always aroused resentment. Authority was never conferred except temporarily, and it was quite often withdrawn from the holder before term.

631
636

French, German, and Spanish administrations have attempted to set up a hierarchical system of authority that it has never been possible really to impose upon the country. The three administrations all made the initial mistake of trying to establish this authority on a territorial basis, which is completely—or nearly—foreign to these nomadic people. Only village chiefship had some resemblance to a customary institution, provided that the choice of chief fell upon a ntôl môt, a genuine senior, and that his brothers accepted his authority. Canton and higher chiefdoms had no cohesion except insofar as the incumbent had authority or administrative support. At the beginning of the colonial period, however, these functions were very often entrusted to genuine bejôô bôt, /62/ well-known war chiefs, high initiates of societies like the ngil, or celebrated magicians. Later on, it became more difficult to find, even among opposition ranks, chiefs possessed of real authority. After 1945 there was an attempt in the Cameroons to reorganize the system of authority on a clan basis (the Bourdier-Granier reform), then on village lines (the Christol system), finally ending up with a municipal type of system.

618 Next, the establishment of urban and rural municipal councils per-
631 mits financial decentralization. Towns under the term "urban com-
623 munes," cantons, and sometimes whole subdivisions under the term "rural communes," received a legal character, with a domain to manage and a budget to fix. Elected councilors under an appointed mayor had to study plans for road works, to set up construction or maintenance programs, inquire into taxes? /taxes/ and assessments /impôts/, and have an eye to a sound financial position.

In towns this was nothing new, but its extension to wide rural areas was an experiment. Boulou or Beti country, where there was no risk of these new methods giving offense to a strong traditional /social/ structure, was the ideal place for trying out a new /kind of/ organization.

[565] Throughout the elections arranged to fill the posts of councilor, we can see crystallizing the most striking traits of the new élite, the characteristics of the aristocracy or oligarchy that will get itself into power.

Pessimists had expressed fear that such elections, based on almost universal suffrage, would overthrow the classical social values and impair the prestige of the present acting élite.

This point of view disregarded the fact that in a country practically [626] without stratification, no one can keep authority without the support of public opinion. /132/ Granting the vote to vassals in a feudal society may unsettle the power of the nobility. It is quite otherwise [622] here, where chiefs of village or canton are most commonly chosen by election.

The older men have preserved a privileged position vis-à-vis the 888 younger generation. A comparison of the age pyramid of councilors 623 with that of the adult male population as a whole readily shows this: (table on following page).

The younger generation is poorly represented. Mature men of thirty to forty are represented in proportion to their ratio in the total population; but men of forty to fifty or of the older age group are heavily represented. Electoral influence has not been seized by the younger men.

Neither does it appear that the poorer class, more numerous than [565] the rich, has benefited from the ballot so as to eliminate the latter. [556] From the point of view of the possession of a certain amount of wealth, we can assert that municipal councilors are much better off than the common people.

888
162
561
623

Distribution by Age

Age Group	Elected Municipal Councilors	Total Adult Male Population (1) (Nyong-and-Sanaga)
	Percent	Percent
20 to 30 years	9	26
30 to 40	33	29
40 to 50	37	28
Over 50	20	15

1. Evaluation made according to censuses established by the subdivisions; the documentation is not faultless but nevertheless is indicative.

556
162
623

The figures given below for the whole population are not definitive, but as they have been taken from a recent complete census they may be considered good approximations.

Distribution of External Signs of Wealth
(for 100 persons)

	Masonry Houses	Bicycles	Automobiles
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Municipal councilors	27	50	11
Adult male population of Ebolowa	1.4	21	0.3

[622] Not for nothing do the Pahouin use the word nkukuma (rich) to designate a chief. The chosen leaders are the rich men. /133/

595
623

A study of the matrimonial situation enables us to be more specific about the personal characteristics of elected men. Polygamy is much more common among them than among the population as a whole.

884 779 411 The young man is armed. He has undergone the initiation of the bawu and henceforth he has a right to speak in the council. He will not take advantage of this until the day he brings in the hand of an enemy he has killed and he is able to testify to his bravery in the presence of all by this striking proof of a daring exploit, yet often carried out by surprise.

[Pp. 535-536, 18 lines of music.] [537]

III. Consecration of the Chief

766 779 622 a) The ceremony

A tribal chief has died. After the customary lamentation and funeral feast, he has been buried in a temporary grave. Thirty days afterwards the warriors again reassemble for the solemn funeral dance, the fanki. Then the eldest son, surrounded by leading warriors, opens his father's grave, climbs down beside the corpse, and with the consecrated knife detaches the skull, which will soon be added to the skulls of earlier ancestors in the évora biéri. Then the corpse is carefully replaced in the grave, and the totemic sacrifices are completed. We shall go back to these sacrifices when discussing individual mortuary rites. The eldest son or the heir removes the akaméyón or tribal totem, if he has not already done so. He then throws the earth back onto the corpse and everyone helps him in this dismal task, after he has thrown the first handfuls. All these rites belong to the social mortuary ceremonial.

622a 779 The new chief returns to the village. Then begins strictly speaking, the totemic rite of consecration, which takes place at night, without any female observers.

Escorted by all the warriors, to the beating of a tom-tom, the chief takes the évora biéri containing the ancestral skulls and carries it into the forest. The ceremony is secret only as regards women; young boys may be present.

[824 778] The box of skulls is put on a sort of platform made of newly cut poles. These must come from a special tree, the éfirfira, and must all be alive and green. A bit of dead wood

779 would lead to a ritual offense. These branches are embedded
778 in the earth; they must also be straight, cut from the actual
622 trunk of the tree and not from a branch; upon these poles stuck
into the ground, the chief arranges pieces of bamboo (1) which

[342 124]

1. Bamboo is the usual term given by analogy to the palm stems or raffia used in all Fan building, in place of real bamboo, which is unknown or a recent importation into Gabon.

[284] make a platform. They are tied together, not with the lianas usual for huts, but with lashings [538] made of rattan palm. When that work has been done, the chief places his évora biéri on the upper tier; the other family heads put their bivora bibiér to the right and left in order of precedence. When all the boxes of skulls have been lined up, each man, after having danced and sung around the altar, then approaches it again, opens his box, removes the ancestral skulls, and places them on the lower tier below the boxes. Upon his family skulls he places the family totem, then his own personal totem. There is another series of dances, accompanied by songs. The chief then advances again, alone, and puts the skull of his immediate ancestor above all the others, dances and sings, then puts the skull inside that of the first ancestor. He also takes his family totem, which by the very fact of his birth is the tribal or clan totem, and places it upon the two superimposed skulls, his father's and that of the clan father. Then there begins a special
533 song called the Song of Union. The archaic words are nowadays
622 for the most part very hard to understand, the general meaning,
779 on the other hand, is easy to grasp: it deals with the uniting of all the heads of families in direct line and consists of an invocation to the Spirit of the Race, who has passed down through all descendants from the first ancestor so as to produce a united and indivisible whole. The final words of the song express this idea quite clearly:

539

In you the last returns to the first,
The first returns to the last.
And in common accord,
Your breath that does not die reunites them all,
Your breath reunites them without ever wearying.

It makes an unending whole,
And future children, offspring of our race,
Will also be your children, O father!
As I today am your child.

The éfirfira grows and continues to grow.
New branches start from its gnarled trunk,
One after another,
They grow, yet remain always the éfirfira.

In you the last returns to the first,
The first returns to the last. [539]

779 622 782 A gelded goat or often a gelded dog is then brought to the wooden altar; it is immolated, and the blood is collected in a clay pot. The chief dips a green palm branch in the blood and then puts it on the altar in such a way as to cover both the totems and the ancestral skulls.

779 622 533 After this first "recognition" comes a second, which consists of a song called "Song of the Visit." The chief sings it, and all the participants repeat the refrain. Thus the Yendun tribe, for instance, the refrain is:

[539]

Bi'ne bibôñe bi Ndun,
Bi'ne fogo bisésé bibôñe bi Ndun
Ndun a ne Esa bie,
Ndun ve Esa bie bisé.

We are the children of Ndun,
Yes, we are all the children of Ndun,
And Ndun is our father,
Yes, Ndun is the father of us all.

779 622 At the same time, the chief has taken his father's and his first forefather's skulls; he approaches successively the évora biéri of each of the other heads of family and touches their ancestral skulls against those in his hands. He returns to the middle, takes the pot holding the victim's blood, dips his father's de, fly swatter, or into it, and then sprinkles the totems placed near the skulls. He takes his own totem, moves it alongside the clan or tribal totems, fastens them together with a liana and touches them successively against the totems of the other heads of family, while singing the totem song, everyone repeating the refrain after him:

[539]

We are the children of Ndun,
And Ndun is our totem (mvamayôn),
Yes, we are the children of Ndun,
And Ndun is totem for us all.

After this ceremony there are several more dances and songs. Finally at the end, the tribal chief is the first to put the skulls back into the évora biéri, and everyone follows his example. He does the same thing with the totems, again followed by all the others. [540] All the boxes are then carefully put aside in a spot cleared in advance.

[778] All return to the open space. The rude altar, where the boxes, skulls, and totems had lain, is destroyed; the boxes are all heaped one upon the other; and great care is taken that no drop of the victim's blood that might have fallen on the ground be profaned by any touch at all. As soon as the victim itself has been immolated, it is laid on freshly cut green banana leaves -- it must never touch the ground -- and placed upon a pyre made from the altar wood, which is lighted. This task always falls to the new chief, never the practitioner. As soon as the victim has been cooked enough, it is put back on the banana leaves and cut up by the chief himself into as many pieces as there are persons present. No piece may be left over; no piece may be carried away. That would be a ritual offense of the gravest kind, and the Fan are convinced, or at least appear to be so, that the totem never fails to punish the wrongdoing by actual death of the

779 perpetrator. If necessary, the chief would take this upon him-
622 self. Such a case has sometimes occurred, according to certain legends.

The large bones are then again placed upon the pyre, for which the necessary wood has been carefully kept, because to cut or to add more is forbidden. When everything has been consumed, the bones and wood that are left in the form of cinders (1) are pulverized as finely as possible, and the chief

[137] 1. Éfirfira is a rather resinous wood, which burns up completely, leaving hardly any cinders.

scatters the powder on the recently covered grave of his father, accompanied by all the heads of family. The banana leaves that had been used to wrap up the victim are carefully folded into a bundle and thrown to the bottom of a spring or stream below the spot where water is usually drawn, so as to avoid profanation.

In contrast to all the other sacrifices, nothing must remain of this victim nor may anyone keep the slightest trace of it.

Before carrying the ashes of the sacrifice to his father's grave, the chief still has to go through another ceremony just as important, the rite of the spear.

779 The rite of the spear, or better of the assagais, ašume
622 mékôn, the salute to the assagais, only occurs at the enthrone-
411 ment of tribal chiefs and then only if they have come of age, that is, have already been received as warriors bearing the marks or bawu.

779 b) The rite of the spear or the assagais. Ašume mékôn.
776 From the other side of Africa, Father Van den Burgt, (1)
411
171

1. Dictionnaire français-rundi [French-Rundi Dictionary], article, "Kirâna."

of the White Fathers, recently pointed out a curious rite among the Barundi, the rite of the spear, the emblem of Kirâna, the

779 point. At the time of the ceremony the guardian of the spear
776 appears with two assistants; he wears a sort of crown made of a
411 panther skin, part of which hangs down his back. The participants
171 form a semicircle around him, carrying small hollow calabashes filled with hard seeds (2) that rattle. Then a hymn is begun,

> 2. The seeds of the annata tree are used or, even more often, the round hard seeds of canna (canna spec.).

sung in an oddly impressive tone, deeply convincing and creating indescribable melancholy. During this evocation, each one picks up a bit of straw, bows down and presents it to the sacred spear, claps his hands together and asks the spirit dwelling on the spearhead for various favors. He then says: "To thee, Father, I make these demands, I offer my homage." Everyone then leaves the hut singing and goes to the resting place of the ancestral spirits.

Among the Fan the salute to the spear thus takes place at
779 the enthronement of the chief. After the victim has been divided
●622 and eaten, the chief rises and plants his assagai in the earth, point
411 upwards; the point has been made to gleam by thorough careful
171 burnishing. The choice of spear is not unimportant: it must have the totemic tribal emblem incised in its hollow and must have already "drunk" enemy blood. The spear is thus planted in the ground so far as possible just where the altar stood; shortly after, at its foot, the chief places his baldrick usually of leopard-skin, holding the materialized totem, the akaméyôn. [543]

Having done this, he circles around the spear, singing, then picks up the baldrick and hangs it upon the lance, which usually has several small sharp hooks at the base.

The chief again circles the spear, sings a hymn in honor of Kindâña, then stands still. All the others then go to fetch their boxes of ancestral skulls and circle around the spear, singing. As each man passes the chief, he bows, puts his box on the ground, and claps his hands.

At the end of the ceremony the chief removes the spear, puts back the baldrick at his side, and takes everything to his hut.

779
622
411
171

He then returns to collect the remains of the sacrifice and carry them to his father's grave.

It is evident that the Fan ritual of the spear salute has many analogies to the Rundi ritual, and the same impulse would seem to motivate both.

174
171

c) Rites of initiation and consecration of the chief compared with the religious role of the Pharaoh

In all this it is easy to see a whole embryonic system or rather, as our linguistic research bears out, the vestiges, very corrupt and gradually shriveling away, of a religious system that is very old and goes back to the very beginnings of the race.

The legends, customs, and especially the language make it possible for us to see, with all the reservations necessary to such a hypothesis, a pale reflection, perhaps a decadent reminder, of Egyptian religion.

It would be of great interest in the first place to try to find out if the Fan word denoting "chief," nzue -- from n for agency and zue, to command, to order -- is not related to Egyptian (1), to pray, adore,

1. There are other resemblances between the two languages, to which I shall refer later: kha (Eg.), crown, and khu (Fg.), chief; khala, a fortified place, and dzal, fortified village (kraal); ka, to leave, and ka, to go away, etc.; ko, hook, and lko, hook, whence akôñ, hooked, barbed spear.

sua, to pray, adore, which was originally the chief's main function, or again to Suten, meaning "king," which comes from the word seten [544], to determine by knife, which means "to kill." The king is thus in theory he who slays the sacrificial victim, the sacrificer.

The Pharaoh formerly acted in a general way as a Fan chief still does today, without, one must admit, any of the trappings of majesty -- as I have said, he is a pale reflection.

He used to go himself, at least fictitiously, to capture the victim, a wild bull. He immolated it, cut it up, and offered it to the deity whose son he was. He was not only the sacrificer

171 We find further confirmation of the foregoing in the
174 following lines: "In archaic times, before the unification of Egypt into a single kingdom, it was no doubt the tribal chiefs who, as Pharaoh did later for the entire country, declared war, dispensed justice, and offered the sacrifices." (1)

1. The Life-Work of Sir Peter Le Page Renouf (Paris, 1902-07), Vol. 2, p. 351, "The Priestly Character of the Earliest Egyptian Civilization."

As religious leader the]Fan] tribal chief can thus delegate his authority only to the practitioner; as totemic chief, only to his direct consanguineal heir.

614 This is true to such a degree that if, for instance, the family should die out, the tribe would not come to an end or be destroyed, for the elders of the clan or of the mother tribe would trace genealogies back to the beginning or source of the race and find a secondary family related more closely to the founder of the race; that secondary family would in turn become the main lineage. This transfer comes about quite naturally, without hitch or conflict, merely by force of circumstances. In some cases, especially with a small clan, families will attach themselves to other clans; again, according to the formative law given earlier, new clans will be created, filials of the mother branch. If a mother clan is involved, then, on the contrary, families will attach themselves more willingly to the filial branch (branch in esa), where they will find the family totem (esamvèn, esamvùn, etc.).

648 d) Mistakes made by European administration in appointing new tribal chiefs from outside the main lineage

● 622 Clearly the chief mistake, and hence the lack of success, of civil administrators or military leaders who for one reason or another depose the legitimate chief of a tribe and appoint another is clear from the totemic laws just enumerated and the very structure of the race. I willingly admit that sometimes such depositions and appointments may, and often should be made,

648 [546] for perfectly legitimate reasons, in the interests of the
622 conquering country and even of the administered peoples. Nevertheless, if European administrators knew more about the customs of the country, (1) as would be very desirable, they

> 1. Especially since the law permits native customs "in so far as they are not contrary to decency and morality."

would not leave themselves open to certain failure and sometimes to humiliating defeat by picking out a man who, though perfectly worthy, cannot be appointed chief according to the laws of the land.

As I myself have seen, it often happens that the legitimate chief, tired of endless trouble, reproaches, and quite justifiable fines, in some way agrees to the new state of affairs, which henceforth relieves him of responsibility and shelters him from the conqueror's laws, ordinances, and capriciousness, or what he takes to be such. Thus, in certain villages, there will be a chief "at the disposal" of Europeans, just as there are certain women, always supposedly virgins, at their disposal. Actually, these chiefs will have only factitious authority, dependent entirely upon the power of the white man. They will also be in constant danger of being poisoned or of disappearing in more or less occult fashion. They are obeyed out of fear, but only in matters that have to do with government, such as forced labor, requisitioned foodstuffs, auxiliary workers, and hardly mentionable favors, but as concerns everything else, their authority is nil, not only in fact but in principle. How, for instance, could they, when there is danger to clan or tribe, invoke a general totem which is not theirs and of which they are neither representatives nor custodians?

Thus we can see the source of the mistake of European administrations, who are very little concerned anyhow with the ideas underlying the indigenous structure and hence the very existence of the tribe, and who want to give it a code made up for Europeans, an impossible task. To apply the Napoleonic

648 Code to indigenous tribes, as has been decreed in Gabon, is one
622 of those governmental aberrations that reveals as profound an ignorance as possible of the people to be governed and the principles of government. [547]

For the same reasons, one can understand how impossible it is to elect a chief outside the established rules of succession. A chief appointed from outside the main lineage has not, and cannot have, authority.

e) Change of clan totem

779 When, for the above reasons, authority have passed to
622 another clan family, the public cult remains the same. But it
644 must be emphasized as of the greatest importance that the ancestral totem disappears, since it has no longer an eponymous representative of its own blood. It will be replaced by the family totem of the new chief, which then becomes the totem for the whole tribe or clan. Far from being hypothetical, this is, on the contrary, a repeated occurrence, of which the following is a typical illustration.

A certain Mba-Alame, of the Yebiken or Banana clan, left the tribe after a dispute with his clan chief and went to establish a village on a hill facing his old village. While remaining on fairly good terms with the people of his former clan, his first concern was to create a new family of his own and to cut himself off distinctly from his former companions. He therefore changed his name and took another, which happened to be Nzoge Nze, Elephant-son-of the Panther. The panther became his new totem and from then on, that of his sons and of the future clan. He was in the full sense of the term, the new father of the tribe, able to say more justifiably than Marshal Lefebevre once did: "We are the forefathers!"

In order to undertake this sort of action, a man must have a very resolute character, capable of breaking with his kin, friends, and clan without fearing the always fatal reprisals.

Moreover, such a happening is only possible if the tribe is small enough, because in a large tribe the chief would be very

719 unlikely to allow such a flouting of his authority. It is also
622 feasible if the chief is old and feeble, and the rebel held in
614 awe for his physical strength and especially his notorious bad
temper, based on substantial proof. Also the "deserter" or
[575] "uprooted" man must not belong to any secret "clan" society,
because the initiates never pardon [548] desertion, this is a
primary and always inviolable law.

And that is not all. It is imperative for the new founder to find a willing totem. The choice cannot be at random, as some people may imagine, and there must be a series of sacrifices during which the chosen animal indicates its acceptance. In such a case, the personal totem will receive this honor, for it cannot be changed and not to select it would be a gross insult that would unfailingly lead to significant revenge. But the personal totem must agree to become the tribal totem. In so doing, the spirit -- much more intelligent than man -- knows that it is agreeing to become his actual and titular guardian and it is not always anxious to do so. In similar circumstances, Nzoge Nze admitted to me one day that before finally acquiring an accepting totem he had had to wait for several months and to sacrifice a good many fowls and even kids. The practitioner also had to be satisfied.

It should be observed that following this acceptance all panthers did not become Nzoge Nze's totems, but only those who inhabited the country and were the offspring or descendants of his nze or particular totem panther. This proves the truth of our system. Furthermore, these panthers were sacred only to Nzoge Nze, for each particular totem is particular only to its owner, not to his next of kin. Thus, one of Nze's sons had the anteater, avil, for a totem: he was therefore not supposed to eat it, although his brothers and sons did so with impunity. But once Nzoge Nze's totem, nze, becomes the family and, therefore the tribal totem, his children will avoid killing any panther, on the chance that one might be related to that nze. However, should they happen to kill and eat one, the offense would be only hypothetical and before expiating it, they would make the

779 necessary investigation by sacrifices. And the totem, under
622 penalty of not receiving any expiation, should reveal its rela-
614 tionship. But as Nzoge Nze becomes more of a remote ancestor, the risk of relationship with every panther grows, for each panther may be related to the eponymous ancestor and consequently the law becomes more stringent. Should a panther enter villages and kill a few innocent people, [549] such as women and children, the men of the eponymous clan would be permitted to kill it, and only in such a case, but they would still be forbidden to eat it. When after a series of sacrifices for this purpose, it has been duly established that revenge for some unexpiated totemic offense is not involved, that is proof that the panther in question does not belong to the eponymous panther clan. It is a "foreigner" or "deserter", the latter being quite common in certain animal species, one of whose members may leave the group to go off on his own and become a "solitary," as do elephants, panthers, wild boars, gorillas. It is then perfectly lawful to attack it and kill it if possible. A trifling ritual expiation will suffice, proportionate to the very small likelihood of having killed an ally, an extremely slight probability, since actions are never taken without previous assent of the totem chief of the tribe. The responsibility will be his in case of mistake.

IV. War and Palavers

511 Life is easy for the Fan.

Close to his village, the great forest begins; it abounds in game, and he has not far to go to be able to shoot, at point-blank range, monkeys, antelopes, wild boars, even elephants. There are innumerable streams and rivers swarming with fish, especially carp; traps, weirs, nets, everything is good to catch them with -- everything succeeds. A Fan hunts and fishes when he feels like it; there are no laws interfering with his inclinations. Banana and manioc plantations, which provide the basic subsistence, give hardly any trouble. At the start of each season there are a few days of work at slashing-and-burning, the ashes providing fertilizer. After that, all the labor and care of the crops falls
517 upon the women. The Fan is therefore idle most of the day and

608 rites completed, the two men become truly blood brothers, ndugu among the Swahili of the east coast, ndégo among the Mpongwe of the equator, angom among our Fan; these represent the same word, with the same root, the different forms resulting from differences in dialect.

608 Still, two conditions are necessary to blood exchange: in the first place, a real operation is performed. Only chiefs make 622 this exchange, and believe themselves to be completely bound and, if need be, ready to give their lives for their blood brothers. They are thus in a position to exact reciprocity. Only the chiefs, as we have said, make blood brothers; for they alone are representatives of their race and guardians of the totem, consequently masters of the intrinsic virtue and strength of the tribe. Anyone other than the chief is therefore disqualified, [567] and the chief himself cannot appoint a delegate to take his place. Nevertheless, this does happen from time to time! A white man who chances by, perhaps an explorer, anxious to obtain the good will of an influential chief, or often a trader pursuing his business, may ask a chief to make him a "blood brother." The chief sees his own advantage here and readily agrees, knowing perfectly well that he is certain to receive many presents. The ceremony takes place, but the white man, who believes that he has gained his ends, is really very naive, for in most cases the chief will have appointed a deputy and the rite means nothing legally.

However, a chief does sometimes go through the ceremony himself but in that case the basic rites are abbreviated, often omitted. An African knows too well what he is undertaking and has no desire for a white blood brother. Yet in certain circumstances, and well aware of what he is doing, an African chief does really make a blood brother. Thus, for instance, a chief of Kilimanjaro, named Tumba, is blood brother to Mgr. Le Roy, (1) who has left us an interesting and thorough account

1. Voyage au Kilima-Ndjaro [Journey to Kilimanjaro] by Mgr. Le Roy; Mame, Tours. See also Ann. Prop. Foi. 1882,

7: Trilles--109 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9
Buye F015

F
608
622

p. 369 ff. [Annuaire de la Propagation de la Foi, Yearbook of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith].

of the ceremony and associated ritual.

The second condition is that the parties concerned be of different tribes and not have the same totem. This condition is essential and proceeds from the very nature of totemism.

The process of blood alliance or blood exchange is rather curious. Among the Fan it is as follows and is found in precisely the same form in several Congo tribes somewhat related to the Fan, like the Wabuyu of the Upper Congo.

[171]

One of my mission colleagues recently described it thus: (1)

B
608
622

1. Bulletin des Pères Blancs d'Anvers [Bulletin of the White Fathers of Antwerp], n° de mai [May] 1910.

"In the evening there is a loud beating of drums; several rifle shots followed by shouts of joy announce a festival. Urged by curiosity, I went in the direction of the noise and discovered that two chiefs were to effect a blood exchange that day. They came forward solemnly . . . the participants crowded around and let out bloodcurdling howls. The protagonists solemnly sit down on special seats [568], face to face, with their knees touching. A white cloth is thrown over them, and the ceremony begins.

"The minister [practitioner] of one of the chiefs of the village where I am stationed takes a small thin knife and makes an incision in the leg of the foreign chief, while the latter's minister does the same to the village chief. Each one spreads on a leaf a paste that looks like butter, and simultaneously both ministers rub the two incisions. They keep exchanging the leaves so that their masters' blood is thoroughly mixed, the better to seal the mutual friendship.

"At the same time ivory horns are sounded and drums beat martial airs, rather unreasonably, it seems to me, at a 'peace conference.' The music arouses angry passions in the

7: Trilles--111 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9
Buye F015

B
608
622
535

songs celebrating the achievements of the tribe's forefathers and teaching contempt for death.

"Then comes the feast, from which women are strictly excluded."

F
608
622

A ceremony identical to that of the Wabuyu is found among the Ozèm Fan, which I have seen several times, and is almost the same among the Dzandzama and Bakélé.

F
171

It is rather strange to find almost the same customs among the most ancient peoples. For instance, Herodotus wrote of the Scythians: "This is how the Scythians used to take an oath: they would pour wine into a large earthenware cup, and the parties to the oath would add their blood from slight cuts made on their bodies with knife or sword; a boar-spear, an axe, and a lance would then be dipped into the cup. They then recited long prayers and drank from the cup. The leading members of the court would drink after them." (1)

1. Herodotus, Book IV, Ch. 70.

F
779

Blood alliance is the last general totemic rite that we have to deal with. Next come particular rites. The totem usually plays a far less important part in these than in general rites, and we shall therefore be much less concerned with them. [570]

Chapter XVI

The Totem in Fan Life: Particular Rites

Summary:

1. Birth.
2. Adoption.
3. Marriage.
4. Hunting, fishing, husbandry.
5. Trade and palavers.
6. Diseases and death. The funeral dance and the fanki.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

291 clothing. The Fang do not use any coverings to protect the feet. Rank is not distinguished by the dress, very often the brightest and cleanest wrappers are worn [554] by the young men while the *kuma* (headman) is often clothed in a dirty old rag. [622] Very often the *kuma* wears an imported straw or felt hat obtained in trade, and this alone distinguishes him as headman of the town. Next to the possession of women and guns, a Fang man's great desire is to own "much cloth."

Personal Ornaments.

Head.—The Fang dress their hair in the same manner as the Bulu, and the 302 way they build it up on the head over wooden shapes is often very remarkable 291 and shows considerable skill. Very often the hair is built up over these shapes 301 in ridges, the upper edge of the ridge having white shirt buttons fastened along it or brass headed tacks driven in. Wigs are used and very skilfully made. Very often the term wig would be a misnomer, for the ingenious contrivance made to fit over the bald head is often entirely devoid of hair, being simply a close-fitting skull cap knitted with string made from the pineapple fibre. The wigs are usually decorated with shirt buttons or imported glass beads. The hair is frequently plaited and twisted into ringlets by both sexes; dyeing the hair is not practised. Beads and white shirt buttons are worn on the hair in large quantities, also large cowrie shells dyed with red wood powder. The beads and buttons are often sewed on pieces of goat or deer skin, a separate portion decorating each side of the head, connected by a string of beads passing across the forehead.

Moustaches are seldom cultivated, beards when worn are allowed to grow naturally; but both are frequently removed by depilation; shaving is not practised. Ornaments are frequently worn in the ears, and are usually suspended 301 by a small cord passed through a hole in the lobe. Women and young girls when returning from work in the forest or gardens frequently cluster grasses, leaves of vines and fragrant herbs around their ears; it is a rather pretty custom. Certain fetish charms are worn suspended from the ear; women frequently use for an ear fetish the small quills from a porcupine's tail, and they say it will bring them children. Brass and iron ear-rings are also worn.

Males do not seem to feel inclined to ornament the nose, but many Fang women delight to do so. They pierce the triangular cartilage with a long slender [304] bamboo pin: the pins sometimes project out three inches on either side of the nose. Very often a medium-sized porcupine quill is used as the ornament, in place of bamboo; it certainly looks better. Some women thus decorated look very repulsive. A female who is credited with considerable power as a medicine woman will almost invariably have the nose pierced and decorated. Ornaments are not worn on the lips or cheeks.

Body.—Men, women, and children wear necklaces of glass beads, the hoofs of very small antelope, and certain forest beans, are strung and worn around the neck. Bristles from the tail of an elephant are used for the same purpose. When

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

X.—*Food. Cooking.*

Food used by the Fang is precisely similar to that of all other tribes inhabiting the great zone of palms and bananas as described by Humboldt. Added to these ordinary foods of the Fang is their liking for human flesh, indulged in to this day in spite of the law, which is often powerless to reach and punish the offenders. Cassava, *mbôe*, plantains, *bikon*, crushed gourd seeds, *ngongon*, corn; *mekobe*, a most nutritive tuber, sweet potatoes, yams, palm oil, bananas, snails and various mollusca. Fish is wrapped in plantain leaves and boiled, or set on hot ashes and fire piled on top of the *bundle* of food. All kinds of meat is eaten, from deer down to the smallest bush rat; snakes are considered very good meat. No portion is wasted, every morsel of skin and intestines are eaten. Goats and chickens are raised for food and trade. Corn or other cereals are not used for the purpose of making bread. Milk is not used. Preparations of milk such as butter and cheese are not made. There is a marked preference for meats. When an animal is slaughtered, women bring wooden bowls to collect the blood in. The blood is often cooked mixed with palm oil. A Fang will eat almost any kind of known food and at any time, providing it is not his *Eki* or taboo, given him during infancy, prohibiting the eating of a certain kind of food, unless partaken of under certain conditions. Except for the *Eki* men, women and children partake of the same food. The Fang are improvident. When on long journeys they often chew a piece of Kola nut, but more commonly chew pieces of a certain root; it has several different names. Palm oil is extensively used in cooking. Salt (*nku*) is much enjoyed and sought after in trade. Sugar is only used in the form of sugar cane and eaten uncooked. The chiefs, or rather headmen, have no special form of food. Eating earth is not indulged in. So far as I am aware, all fish, flesh and fowl is cooked before being eaten. Flesh is often extremely high, at times positively bad, before it is eaten, but not one morsel is ever wasted.

Fish, fowl, bush rats, snakes and all kinds of meats are smoked or sun-dried; food prepared thus is carried on journeys in the bush wrapped in leaves and eaten with *mboa* (cassava) without any further preparation. Permanent ovens for baking are not in use. Meat is roasted on small spits over the log fire or wrapped up in leaves and hot ashes banked around and on top of it. Native vegetables are frequently cooked with meats, plantains are usually boiled separately or roasted close to the fire. Most cooking utensils used by the Fang near the coast are iron or brass pots, imported by white traders; but farther inland the native pots are much more in vogue. These native pots are made of grey clay and sun-dried; they become harder and stronger by use, and vary in size and capacity from a pint to about three gallons.

Cooking vessels are not kept very clean, being simply rinsed out with a little water; but if the vessel is a brass trade pot or kettle, it is usually taken to the river or a near stream, and scoured bright; but I fear the chief reason for doing

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

832 584 583 gives him (the father) the *beki* (dowry). The father of the young virgin takes the goods to his town; the young man remains in possession of the woman.

They marry with *biang-ndoma*, eloping medicine thus.

This is *Biang-ndoma*.

721 789 *Biang-akong* (war medicine).—Told me by Fam-deu, a Fang, Esisis clan, at Foulabifong, Nkomo river, April 19th, 1898. This *biang* was illustrated to me; a leopard tooth is the *Biang-akong*.

Make a bowl of war medicine, of leaves, roots, and bark. Call all people of the town. Drop the leopard tooth into the medicine. If the point of the tooth *looks* toward the people we have a palaver (trouble) with, then we must go and fight and we will win. If the root of the tooth points toward the people we have a palaver with, then we must *tabe si* (sit down) or our enemies will win if we go to fight them.

This is the *Biang-akong*.

789 619 *Biang-akamayong*.—This *biang* is the protector of the tribe or nation (*ayông*, tribe).

● 622 Told me by Esôya-ôvum, the headman of Foulabifong on the Nkomo river, who sold me the complete set of the *Biang-akamayong* belonging to the dead headman "Commisan." I present this *biang* for your inspection this evening. The tin canister was obtained from a white man and is used in place of the usual basket to carry bones in. It contains portions of the skull of an albino (male), portions of the skull of a *mon nguri*, young chimpanzee, red powder and a variety of native medicine.

[726] [534] This *biang-akamayong* is always carried by the headman of a town during war. A bell hangs from the bottom of the canister containing the bones; it rings when the headman walks.

Nko.—The small horn belonging to the *biang-akamayong* has *ngom* (porcupine tail) in it, also native medicine. It is used to cure people having witches. A bowl of medicine is made. The *ngom* is dipped in the medicine bowl and the sick person sprinkled with the medicine. Then the witch departs.

At this point the headman Esôya stopped talking. He said, "The children who have gathered around your house must go away; no real man dare talk about the *biang-akamayong* before women and children." I told the children to go and Esôya continued.

The whistle.—This is part of the *biang-akamayong*; it has been cooked (boiled) in the medicine bowl and has great power when used by the headman in calling the men together after a fight.

789 619 *Moul.*—This is the large horn with a piece of looking glass on top. This horn contains much medicine, and next to the bones is the most important part of the *biang-akamayong*.

The two small antelope horns, and the small bundles of medicine, are *biang e soli* (hiding medicine); it makes the person carrying the *biang-akamayong* invisible to the enemy.

648 Next, the establishment of urban and rural municipal councils per-
631 mits financial decentralization. Towns under the term "urban com-
623 munes," cantons, and sometimes whole subdivisions under the term "rural communes," received a legal character, with a domain to manage and a budget to fix. Elected councilors under an appointed mayor had to study plans for road works, to set up construction or maintenance programs, inquire into taxes? /taxes/ and assessments /impôts/, and have an eye to a sound financial position.

In towns this was nothing new, but its extension to wide rural areas was an experiment. Boulou or Beti country, where there was no risk of these new methods giving offense to a strong traditional /social/ structure, was the ideal place for trying out a new /kind of/ organization.

[565] Throughout the elections arranged to fill the posts of councilor, we can see crystallizing the most striking traits of the new élite, the characteristics of the aristocracy or oligarchy that will get itself into power.

Pessimists had expressed fear that such elections, based on almost universal suffrage, would overthrow the classical social values and impair the prestige of the present acting élite.

This point of view disregarded the fact that in a country practically [626] without stratification, no one can keep authority without the support of public opinion. /132/ Granting the vote to vassals in a feudal society may unsettle the power of the nobility. It is quite otherwise [622] here, where chiefs of village or canton are most commonly chosen by election.

The older men have preserved a privileged position vis-à-vis the 888 younger generation. A comparison of the age pyramid of councilors 623 with that of the adult male population as a whole readily shows this: (table on following page).

The younger generation is poorly represented. Mature men of thirty to forty are represented in proportion to their ratio in the total population; but men of forty to fifty or of the older age group are heavily represented. Electoral influence has not been seized by the younger men.

Neither does it appear that the poorer class, more numerous than [565] the rich, has benefited from the ballot so as to eliminate the latter. [556] From the point of view of the possession of a certain amount of wealth, we can assert that municipal councilors are much better off than the common people.

888
162
561
623

Distribution by Age

Age Group	Elected Municipal Councilors	Total Adult Male Population (1) (Nyong-and-Sanaga)
	Percent	Percent
20 to 30 years	9	26
30 to 40	33	29
40 to 50	37	28
Over 50	20	15

1. Evaluation made according to censuses established by the subdivisions; the documentation is not faultless but nevertheless is indicative.

556
162
623

The figures given below for the whole population are not definitive, but as they have been taken from a recent complete census they may be considered good approximations.

Distribution of External Signs of Wealth
(for 100 persons)

	Masonry Houses	Bicycles	Automobiles
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Municipal councilors	27	50	11
Adult male population of Ebolowa	1.4	21	0.3

[622a] Not for nothing do the Pahouin use the word nkukuma (rich) to designate a chief. The chosen leaders are the rich men. /133/

515
623

A study of the matrimonial situation enables us to be more specific about the personal characteristics of elected men. Polygamy is much more common among them than among the population as a whole.

595
623

Distribution According to Matrimonial Status

	Municipal Councilors	Sample of the Total Population of the Boulou and Beti Area (1)
	Percent	Percent
Polygamous	43	23
Monogamous	43	63
Unmarried	3	14

1. A random sample taken for the study of family budgets, 1954, op. cit.

[889
556]

That councilors are often polygamous is to be explained in terms of their relatively advanced age and their wealth.

623
463

As elderly possessors of wealth and polygamous, do the elected men embody all the traditional ways in contrast to a progressive younger generation? An examination of occupations, of educational level, and of religion reveals that the actual situation is more complex.

Distribution by Occupation

	Municipal Councilors	Adult Male Population of the Nyong and Sanaga Region (2)
	Percent	Percent
Chiefs	30	1.8
Planters	30	85
Office-holders	14	0.5
Trade employees	3	1
Traders	10	7
Craftsmen	5	7
Catechists, mission monitors	2	2.3

2. According to the annual administrative report; approximations are involved, Yaoundé-Ville being excluded.

6:Alexandre and Binet--170 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

623 463 871

If we set up an index of electoral power based on the percentage in councils and the percentage in the total population, we come to the conclusion that office-holders are very much on top (70). Chiefs come next (17), then trade employees (3), and traders (1.4). Distribution in terms of educational level confirms the influence of educated people /intellectuels/ that could be guessed at from the occupational table. /134/

623 871

Distribution by Educational Level

	Municipal Councilors	Adult Male Population of Nyong and Sanaga Region
	Percent	Percent
Illiterate	10	75
Literate in local language	9	?
Literate in French	60	17
Holders of the C.E.P. *	10	8 (1)
Holders of higher diplomas	2.4	0.3
Worthless figures **	8	--

1. The regional statistics give "primary completed," not "C.E.P."; the nuance may mean a great deal. A survey of the urban population of Ebolowa gives a lower rate: 6.4 percent of certificate-holders.

/*Certificat d'études primaires, certificate of primary education./

/**Ambiguous: Fiches inutilisables may refer to the quality of the statistics or to the use of meaningless initials after an individual's name. —Tr./

The tremendous influence of holders of higher diplomas is obvious, so that uneducated people are almost eliminated, although they are still numerous.

Thus this new élite crystallizing out of the municipal elections appears to be made up of men who are both traditionalist and modern.

6:Alexandre and Binet--171 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

●623 8711 The men who compose it, older men, rich, practicing old-fashioned polygamy, have had an academic training. We must not be deceived —in this country there is no real gulf between office-holders and chiefs.

Thus municipal councils can allow an élite class to rise to the surface and assume responsibilities.

2. The Pahouin and the Future

181 Shaped by their history, the Pahouin owe to it their positive qualities and their defects.

From having been conquerors, or more accurately, from having been successful in establishing themselves in new lands, they have retained a certain pride and self-confidence. Without being violently xenophobic, they preserve toward foreigners a friendly but the least bit contemptuous attitude, such is their feeling of superiority.

They had the good fortune to have been exposed very early to Christianity and to schools, at least in the Cameroons. Because they are intelligent—tests given to school pupils in the Cameroons show that the Boulou come out on top, along with the Bamoun—they have provided the administration and trade with a large part of their personnel and, when they emigrate, they do not join the unskilled labor force but provide specialized personnel, often salaried workers. This indicates the power of the Pahouin.

Finally, thanks to cacao, they have acquired a certain amount of wealth and live in some degree of comfort. This indicates their basic role in the economy. It also indicates their influence upon local finance. In the Cameroons as in Gabon, the Pahouin country is a rich area, whose exports and imports supply a significant portion of the economy. /135/ The Pahouin, therefore, play an essential role in the life of these territories, and they are able to obtain superior services for their region. There are already many roads, schools, and dispensaries.

But their traditional lack of organization impedes them in certain occupations. They despise trade and are only moderately successful in it, because their natural anarchy does not dispose them toward taking advantage of partnership or of market organization. The absence of urban centers is even more of an obstacle: the town is a new phenomenon, where immigrants are numerous and have been able to create stable situations for themselves, since there were no precedents.

[857]
[854]
[291]
[142]

Fig. 87. Boy about Seven Carrying a Child, Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

861 593 everything that is on his mind. Also, any kind of influence in the family unit is wielded only by the chief wife and /291/ even by her only to a limited extent. In all problems of life the father, as head of the family, remains the real friend and counselor of his son, as does the mother for her daughter.

861 593 578 626 In this way the love of the parents gently leads the child through the realm of youth. However, once the boy has matured into a young man, the obstinacy with which nature has to a special degree endowed the Pangwe, sometimes asserts itself even in the face /Fig. 88 appears here in the original text/ of paternal authority. In such a case, it is sometimes only the most effective and most feared means of education that helps to lead the

[Text continues on page 163]

861 rebellious son back to gentler modes of behavior, namely, the
593 public curse. The curse (ebǔn[o]; verb, a bǔno) may be pro-
578 nounced by the father or the mother upon the son, as well as by
626 the eldest son as the father's representative, especially after the father's death, upon a younger brother. In the majority of cases, however, it is the father who pronounces the curse upon his son. The cause for such a pronouncement is continual disobedience, for instance, if the son, despite repeated warnings, takes advantage of the father's wives. The father then stands in the middle of the village square in order to be heard by the people, usually in the morning when they are all at home, or he summons them all to the meeting house and speaks to them somewhat as follows: "This person, my son, continually acts counter to my commands, etc.; therefore from this time on he shall be successful in nothing, he shall acquire no more things (through purchase and trade of gifts), he shall have no success in hunting; when he goes to a girl she shall 'look upon him as dirt' and grant him no love. For he shall be cursed." A definite formula is not prescribed in most regions; only in the north of the Pangwe region they say: "ma yǒk(e) oa" (Jaunde), that is, "I curse you." /292/

In most cases, the curse actually is followed by the consequences threatened by the father, at least insofar as they concern the son's social position. News of the curse spreads everywhere, and nobody wants to have anything more to do with the cursed one; wherever he goes he is looked at askance or even heaped with abuse and ridicule. In his father's village he will be completely unacceptable. As a result, the son is soon tired of this unbearable state of affairs and now tries to induce his father to remove the curse. He requests him through friends or relatives to remove the curse from him, or he approaches his father through his mother, but then by way of her brother, since "she is afraid of her husband."

If, in response to these requests and the son's promise that he will improve, the father is prepared to nullify the curse, the son must first of all -- if he is an adult -- pay him a goat or -- if he is not an adult -- a chicken. Contrary to the usual custom of adding every piece of livestock to the marriage portion for more wives, the animal paid as compensation by the son is consumed by

861 the parents and relatives. Thereafter, the son is summoned to
593 appear in the village the next day. The father again assembles
626 all the people in the meeting house and makes a long speech in
578 which he rehearses the entire affair from his point of view down to the smallest details. Finally, at the conclusion of his speech, he touches upon the actual purpose of the gathering and proceeds to remove the curse. The formula with which he does so is approximately as follows:

ma tɛ̃'i matɛ'i, ma kǎbe ma,
[539] I have imposed curse (1) (?), I disengage myself (from

1. matɛ̃'i = the imposed curse, a va matɛ̃'i = to remove the (imposed) curse; the root a tɛ̃'i = to tear oneself away from, to depart from home, otítɛ̃i = star (see Vol. II, pages 85 and 86).

ma nīme ma, -- ǒsū̃ɛ
it), I make straight myself -- (into the) water

nkíã̄ɛ; Chorus: mãn.
down. Chorus: Ready, past.

The texts of the formulas, which are frequently extended through the introduction of comparisons and which do not, of course, correspond word for word, are evidently all very old since they are very hard to understand and sometimes not intelligible at all.

At the same time the father spits into his son's hand to indi-
[201] cate that what he took away from him by means of his words (symbolized by the spittle) he is putti g back in his power (hand), or the father bites off -- this is the procedure among the Jaunde --
[824] a piece of the stalk of a Costus (Zingiberaceae) and spits it out. In so doing he casts out all the bitterness from his heart (Costus stalk is bitter).

Furthermore, a curse may be pronounced by the first wife
519 against her husband, in case he treats her badly and always
595 neglects her in favor of others. The curse is either pronounced

561 young men to go beyond the level of simple dependence to be-
578 come, in their turn, creators of dependence, and the possibility
182 [154] of "capitalizing" human lives (women and descendants). This equilibrium has been upset and competition disorganized by the passage from warlike to economic conquest, then to an agricultural economy in which the woman plays a fundamental part, and the pacification which no longer permits the lack of women to be remedied by raids. Capitalization of women and capitalization of property are then bound together, the former becoming to a great extent the condition of the latter. The role of the "rich" man (nkumakuma) is increasing; (1) relations be-

1. To such an extent that Bertaut notes that among the Cameroons Boulou, who have been longer subject to a modern economy, there is only one word nkuma to designate the chief of village groupings.

tween generations, between "eldest sons" and "younger sons," may become that between possessors (women, property, and political role) and nonpossessors. Dependence tends to take on the characteristics of a domination creating tensions and conflicts.

784 We have been able to define a certain number of points of
626 equilibrium in the heart of ancient Fang society. We must now specify the important position held by the system of interdicts (biki) in social control. According to M. Briault the word éki (plural, biki) comes from the root ki meaning "force, restraint, virility, power"; it expresses a ritual prohibition, an interdict or taboo; it designates "a person or thing marked with a sacred character with whom or with which contact or use are forbidden." This author considers the éki essentially from the point of view of the restraint they exercise and of the social order which they help to maintain. He writes: "They give rather the idea of an effective means of keeping youth, women ... in short, all in the society who are made to obey, in a spirit of subjection to those whose will is of importance ... political interest is doubled and made

784
626

valid by a supernatural appearance." (2) L. Mba presents them

2. M. Briault, op. cit., p. 183 ff.

as rules of conduct whose observance the Pahouin have imposed upon themselves in matters of personal behavior, of good manners and tact, or regulations concerning marriage, religion, medicine, witchcraft, and morals." (3) He refers to their extension to the

3. The "E-Tchi," unpublished study added to the reports of the Commission of Historical investigation.

whole society, their character of categorical imperative, and the power of their hold. The classification he attempts to make and that given by L. Martrou (4) suggest a distinction between

4. Father L. Martrou, "Les 'Ékis' des Mfang [The 'Ékis' of the Fang]," op. cit.

collective biki: the general ones (concerning "morality" or those of sex, age group, and "association"; and the personal biki: applying to state, or fortuitous [sic] ones. By referring to the "guardians" charged with maintaining or [155] imposing the eki – male relatives are charged with imposing them on children, the husband on the wife, the old men on the young ones – Léon Mba points out the importance of interdicts in maintaining and strengthening social pre-eminences. In the same sense, L. Martrou notes the numerous éki imposed on the wife and placing her "in an inferior position." The éki appears to be a rudimentary means of regulation expressed without specific justification, that asserts the pre-eminence of the agent in charge of maintaining it or "granting" it, and the violation of which brings about more or less keen reactions according to the nature of the authority involved (going from simple disapproval to the sacrifice of reparation). He points out particularly the form that law can assume in

784 626 a society without specialized institutions, in a society which must have recourse to material signs in default of written signs which can express any law in a permanent manner. It should be noted, as suggested by the Fang vocabulary, that the same word, biki, designates the "money" used in the past for matrimonial exchanges as well as the "interdicts." The regulation of the circulation of wives was perhaps the origin of the system of éki and was the first and most important of these regulations. There is perhaps additional proof there for the authors who consider the "taboo of incest" as a constituent element of so-called primitive societies.

If the éki system contributes to the protection of the social order and the pre-eminences it implies, it is also the creator of a right for those it subjects. The latter must respect the éki affecting them, but they insist that this obligation be respected by others. (1) In this double sense the role of "giver of éki" is

1. Thus the husband is required in an imperative manner to respect the éki of each of his wives. Information in the study Le Mariage Fang [Fang Marriage], Archives of Oyem.

important, indicating a pre-eminence and a vague form of individual right. In his study L. Martrou has given a privileged place to the éki of [personal] "circumstance" and of "social condition." The éki make conspicuous the important moments of the life of the individual (thus the multiple "interdicts" connected with pregnancy), of the collective life (periods of preparation for war or for hunting, for example), and also of special situations (the members of the "associations" have special éki for each one). There is here an important function of differentiation which marks their minds and multiplies their distinctive behavior. The n'nèm is given some éki at the same time as the évur which makes him a "sorcerer." Because of these he feels himself to be radically [156] apart to the point of linking his physical existence to the strict respect of the éki. Mr. Trezenem mentions specific cases when the involuntary transgression of a certain éki resulted

784 in almost immediate death (without any other intervention). (1)
626

1. Op. cit., pp. 70-71.

The content of the éki, which may be almost insignificant or specifically symbolic, is often less important than the fact of giving and receiving the éki. The éki has authority: that of the ancestors who have bequeathed the "tradition," (2) that of an

2. The Fangs have a word eyêm (plural, biyêm) to designate individual or collective manners of being.

ancestor who has expressed himself in a dream, that of the practicing magician, that of the father, or that of the assembly of the full-grown men, etc. It aims at an effectiveness by affirming a new circumstance of the person and of the social condition. In the case of "interdicts" that are automatically connected with certain illnesses, the objectives of differentiation and therapy are very definite.

The éki do not constitute a closed, untouchable system. They are indicative of the life itself of the total society, proliferating or falling into disuse according to circumstances. L. Mba specifies that the contact of the Fang with other people of Gabon has caused the éki to evolve "toward becoming mixed and multiple." This remark is important because it shows how the éki have been used for the policy of assimilation and power of the contacting Fang groups. It also shows how much the éki tend to adapt themselves to new conditions. In addition this "multiplicity" is allied to a great extent to the factors of differentiation operating outside the clan structure. L. Mba shows the "interdicts" not only as a "certain code of morals" but also as "the secret and atavistic resource of the Pahouin soul." He thus stresses their role in the formation of a sort of "national character" and the essential values that they may promote and defend.

575
628
783

1. Among the Beti (Eton) another rite is to be found that cuts across clan or tribal barriers: "étup is planted" to make peace, to end a family quarrel, to check an epidemic. The old men consult the spider oracle, /63/ then call the men together. The assembly is in charge of the mbongengañ (magic-makers—initiates of higher rank). The members of the two groups start to hurl mutual accusations. Then those who bring bad luck are pointed out, the biwonwolo. A shrub, meyan, is then planted, and a biañ /medicament/ is prepared in a pot, over which the audience swear an oath to give up behaving badly to one another. The biañ is then inserted into the nostrils of the biwonwolo in order to do away with the bad luck. (J. B.)

575
626

Nevertheless, certain rites had along with other aims that of setting up among the initiates an association that would produce a kind of dialectic of energies /sic/ (tyé, kié) between the group and its members. The principal society, which probably had a national character that cut across clan lines, was the ngil (1), about which unfortunately very little is known nowadays. The ngil seems to have been the main, if not the only, element of tribal cohesion on a political level. Its function was social control and defense, especially to preserve the society as a whole from the activity of sorcerers. By uniting initiates from all clans, it could settle interclan disputes by avoiding recourse to war or feud. It served to some extent as a police force and judicial system, with the initiates of lower rank carrying out the

1. The origin of this word is uncertain. It has been referred to ngil (njil) meaning gorilla; old administrative reports speak of "gorilla-men." There has also been suggested, less convincingly, a connection with ngul, meaning capacity, potency.

575 sentences passed by their superiors. In struggling against sorcerers,
626 it had also a medical role, which for a while outlived its police role: Bertaut (no. 110) seems to have known it only under this aspect, which did not arouse so much administrative suspicion. Allys considers it to be the "war fetish," thus agreeing, apparently, with Allégret and Largeau. Martrou and Leroux refer in this connection to "franc-juges," which recalls Bearth's description of the nsig nto of the Bané.

576 Very little is known about ngil rites as a whole or about their symbolism. The initiation has some traits in common with the sô: preliminary physical and moral purification, flagellation, confession, a broth for a test made of horrible substances, representation of ancestors, symbolic transition from an epicene or androgynous to a monosexual state (2), blood sacrifices. It is probable that these traits

2. Or, on the contrary, according to Stoll, transition from a monosexual state to a bisexual completion.

[778] are to be found in all important Pahouin rites. The sacred spot was a rectangular stockade, ésam, open to one side, with clay figures of the ngil and his "wife," (3) in front of which there was dug a

[532]

3. Or a single androgynous statue.

trench covered with a lattice in which initiates were hidden so as to prick the candidates with their spears when brought before the ngil after having had to climb through an ant pit (as in the sô). There was also a liana representing a python, the precise role /i.e., significance/ of which I do not know. The neophytes had to bring ancestral bones, which were kneaded into the clay of the figurines. The ceremony included a test intended to show if the neophyte was nnem (bearer of évu), which would have entailed his being put to death immediately; /64/ a blessing of the ritual spears which, according to Trilles, bore totemic designs; finally a sexual symbolism termed "obscene" by the authors mentioned, who give no further description of it.

The initiates left their houses in procession, masked or painted with white and red (mourning and rejoicing colors, respectively),

575 as strong interclan ties as does ngil; however, the initiation leader may belong to a different clan from the initiates.

[783] Esye (étye or tyo?) is a purification and reconciliation rite, described by Father Guillemin for the Beti; it does not extend outside the ranks of an ayôm (segment).

575 825 Among the Boulou of Sangmélima, the Ntoumou of Ambam, and the Fang of Djoum, I found some medical society initiates who call themselves "snakes," using the proper word, benyo (sing. nyo), not the euphemism minkol afan (lit., bush lianas). Their specialty is treating bites and capturing and taming snakes. Initiates are known within the society under the name of one or another variety of snake, conferred at initiation. There are several degrees of initiation (three?): first-degree initiates /65/ are called bo' b'ayañ, children of the Dendraspis; advanced initiates are bo' be mvôm, children of the python. Their medical knowledge seems quite extensive; they [751] claim, in particular, to be immune to /snake/ bites, thanks to the application of a special bian (medicament) through incisions at the time of initiation. The main center of this association would appear to be among the Mekaé of Messamena, and it is therefore not properly Pahouin.

575 626 754 All these ritual associations contributed to social order mainly through defense against malevolent sorcerers. The sorcerers, for their part, are often organized in secret societies in order to join forces against the organs of control and repression. Inevitably, therefore, these societies are ill understood. Nearly all of them must have included beyem (sing. nnem), that is, bearers of évu. In fact, if one may be subject to possession involuntarily and even unknown to oneself, one may also nyoñ évu, receive évu, always in the sense of a burden. A person entering a beyem association has to pay for his entrance by the sacrifice of a near relative and also accept the imposition of a special prohibition, the breaking of which (nsem) brings instant death.

575 754 The ze mimfaka (lit., road panthers), notorious under the name of leopard-men, were an association of man-eating sorcerers, a kind of counter-ngil (1). Nowadays what is involved may well be a

1. There are also independent ze mimfaka.

pathologically degenerate form of the ngil itself. In the course of a

648 Next, the establishment of urban and rural municipal councils per-
631 mits financial decentralization. Towns under the term "urban com-
623 munes," cantons, and sometimes whole subdivisions under the term "rural communes," received a legal character, with a domain to manage and a budget to fix. Elected councilors under an appointed mayor had to study plans for road works, to set up construction or maintenance programs, inquire into taxes? /taxes/ and assessments /impôts/, and have an eye to a sound financial position.

In towns this was nothing new, but its extension to wide rural areas was an experiment. Boulou or Beti country, where there was no risk of these new methods giving offense to a strong traditional /social/ structure, was the ideal place for trying out a new /kind of/ organization.

[565] Throughout the elections arranged to fill the posts of councilor, we can see crystallizing the most striking traits of the new élite, the characteristics of the aristocracy or oligarchy that will get itself into power.

Pessimists had expressed fear that such elections, based on almost universal suffrage, would overthrow the classical social values and impair the prestige of the present acting élite.

This point of view disregarded the fact that in a country practically
[626] without stratification, no one can keep authority without the support of public opinion. /132/ Granting the vote to vassals in a feudal society may unsettle the power of the nobility. It is quite otherwise
[622] here, where chiefs of village or canton are most commonly chosen by election.

The older men have preserved a privileged position vis-à-vis the
888 younger generation. A comparison of the age pyramid of councilors
623 with that of the adult male population as a whole readily shows this: (table on following page).

The younger generation is poorly represented. Mature men of thirty to forty are represented in proportion to their ratio in the total population; but men of forty to fifty or of the older age group are heavily represented. Electoral influence has not been seized by the younger men.

[565] Neither does it appear that the poorer class, more numerous than
[556] the rich, has benefited from the ballot so as to eliminate the latter. From the point of view of the possession of a certain amount of wealth, we can assert that municipal councilors are much better off than the common people.

779 884 This rather complicated rite includes, first, the tests I have already mentioned, which make a warrior of the young man, then initiation into the rites, and finally the consecration of weapons.

The young warrior's years of childhood and adolescence have been entirely carefree and completely outside any religious cult. He may have just been taught the name of his personal totem, and perhaps not even that. All he knows is that he is forbidden under rather severe penalties to do certain things, to eat certain kinds of food. He observes these prohibitions rigidly, because he is sure that any infringement will be immediately punished, for isolated éki are never pardoned and must always be expiated. [531]

a) Tests

779 884 626 When he has reached the age for taking his place among the warriors, a young man has first of all to undergo tests designed to show his strength and courage. Severe as they may be very few youths evade them. Besides, it would mean utter dishonor, and the young man who out of weakness or cowardice is either overcome by or doesn't dare face them, would have no choice but to exile himself. This does happen, though rarely, and especially among those few young people who have grown up from childhood as servants of the Europeans. The Fan stigmatize them by a special phrase meaning "men-women good-for-anything," and this expression tells a great deal about the special role they play and the peculiar morals of too many Europeans.

b) Initiation into rites

779 884 After he has passed these preliminary tests, a young man undergoes totemic initiation along with initiation into the ancestor cult. He is first taught the name of the family, clan and tribal totem. For this purpose, on a day chosen as favorable by the practitioner during the initiation already described above, the candidate is conducted in front of a sort of platform covered with dry leaves. First of all, the head of the family brings his évora biéri, which, as we know, encloses the ancestral skulls and the materialized totem. The neophyte will learn to distinguish the various objects and to identify the different skulls without a moment's hesitation being permitted.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

The skin of a bush cat is part of the *biang-akamayong* called "Nsin." 789

The Mvang.—A triangular piece of iron filled with medicine, used to keep away witches, is also part of the *biang-akamayong.* 619

Biang-akong or *biang-abal* (war medicine).—This is also part of the *biang-akamayong,* and the shots from the guns of an enemy are of no avail.

One other important fetish hangs with the *biang-akamayong.*

A piece of very hard wood. Only a certain kind of woman is selected to find this wood; she is called a special or *selected* woman on account of certain peculiarities connected with her, *e.g.*, she always fails to catch fish, she may try all day but will not succeed in catching fish. The husband of such a woman, after intercourse with her, fails to catch fish the next day, he also fails to work. This is the kind of woman always selected to find this wood; it is hard wood, she is a hard woman, and she is called *Emunega ane alert* (the woman who is hard). This medicine is also called *biang-akong,* and shot from the guns of an enemy will not harm. [177] [824]

This is the *Biang-akamayong.*

XIII.—*Witchcraft. Evus.* (*Witch.*)

If a person goes out to make witch (witch medicine, or play witch to harm others) he dies. The people take him to the backyard. Other people say, "We want to take the witch." If the corpse is a female, they open the belly. If the corpse is a male, they open the heart. They see the witch, they take it. If they bring the witch, they lay it on the smoke shelf. It dries. When finished drying they say, "We will use it as medicine." 754

This is *Evus* (witch).

Cursing dead Relations.—Written at Foulabifong, Nkomo river, April 13th, 1898. Told me by Ôvôn; fully confirmed by Ogandaga and Interpreter Roby.

E'kanesong (to curse dead relations).—This is a Fang custom. A man has a palaver with another, or goods stolen. He desires to get even with the thief. He calls a friend and curses his friend's dead relations, saying, 754 578

"Go and kill that person for me, or go and make him pay me goods; if you do so, I will then pay you for having cursed your dead relations." It is a serious matter to have dead relations cursed, and the friend feels very bad. He must do as bid, or he is branded as a coward, and after he has completed his task he then makes claim for payment. 626

Nge me bā jam dili, nge me ta minbin (If I do it, may I see the corpses [of my people]). A Fang way of swearing an oath. [539

Ami ye mimbim mia, yinga me bat (My friend, by the corpses of your relations, kill those people for me).

Notes on *Ebômeda* (a curse).

Ilong s'ayoge (a curse that kills).

S: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

754 *Vazege me ilong onga lóm me* (Take away the curse you have [sent] put
578 upon me).
626 *Vazege me bibomeda* (Take away the curse).
539 *Vazege me biyoge* (Take away the curse).
Bôt bene mbômeda eb Anyambe edjam e mam mebê móa (People are cursed of God on account of their sins).

XIV.—*The Ngi.* (*A Fang Secret Society.*)

575 To members (*Bemvon*) the following things or *bityi* are forbidden :—
Bityi :—

1. To go and make or play at witch (make *erus*).
2. A male fowl is not to be eaten (shared) by two men of different clans.
3. Fish called *ngole* must not be partaken of with a woman.
4. Only the initiated are permitted to eat the fish called *ngone*.
5. Only the initiated may witness the Ngi dances. A woman who attempts to witness an Ngi dance will sicken and die.
6. Only the initiated must know about the bones used by Ngi.
7. A member of the Ngi society is not permitted to sleep on his back.
8. Food refuse must not be destroyed by fire.
9. To spit in the fire is against the law of Ngi (not permitted).
10. An uninitiated person will die if embraced by an Ngi.
11. To kick over rotten wood, logs, or forest stumps, is forbidden.
12. To cut a stick half through in the bush, and then bring it to town and break it, is forbidden. It must be cut through and the two pieces carried.
13. To kick the feet together after getting in bed, for the purpose of removing dust, is forbidden.

The violation of any of these mentioned *bityi* will bring misfortune and death on the *bemvon* (member).

Ngi means gorilla among the Fang; Nji means gorilla among the Bulu. The Bulu have the Nji secret society, which is reported as being precisely similar to the Fang Ngi; it came to the Bulu from the Fang.

XV.—*War.*

726 During a tribal war all adults act as warriors. There is no regular organisation of fighting men. It is a typical guerilla warfare. Parties of young men go forth at night to attack towns; others watch the forest paths to shoot men passing and [181] women going to work in the gardens. The Fang are noted for their love of war; they are the most warlike people in all West Africa. When a tribal war is on, a headman frequently goes out with a raiding party to attack the town; he carries with him the *biang-akamayong* (protecting medicine of the tribe). The usual mode of attack is as follows: Having decided to attack a town, the party of men (usually ten or

b. Legal Power

692 The contemporary /legal/ organization is, except for a few details, the same in the three territories inhabited by the Pahouin. In the Cameroons and Gabon, criminal law /la justice repressive/ is in the hands of magistrates administering the French penal code; civil law is administered by first- and second-degree courts presided over by an official of administrative rank, sitting with two African assessors. There are also the so-called customary courts composed entirely of Africans and not entitled to deal with questions of personal status /état des personnes/, and a mediation system preliminary to all court action, in the jurisdiction either of chiefs or of first-degree court assessors. The system in Spanish territory is similar, but the first jurisdiction of the penal law is entrusted to officers called jefes de demarcación.

Alongside this official framework may often be noted a semi-official mechanism, sometimes tolerated, sometimes prosecuted as illegal. This consists of courts or arbitrators of the ngôl, of the bwiti or of the meyoñ, and also disciplinary committees of the missions, official or semi-official.

671 The distinction between civil and criminal was undoubtedly less sharp in former times. It did, however, exist, and an organization like the ngil dealt primarily with criminal cases, the major crime from which all others arose being that of ngbwel, sorcery. A homicide /meurtre/ might be a civil matter, when the circumstances precluded the probability of an act of sorcery; a well-planned theft, on the other hand, or even outstanding commercial acumen, could involve a capital charge.

627 Outside the ngil, law was administered in the first instance by the esa or ntol mot of the extended family or the village. This was a matter of disciplinary rather than legal power, at least so long as the ntôl's decisions concerned only his bobenyañ. When the case (étom) 628 went beyond a purely family framework, recourse was had to a judge, ntyi'i mejô, palaver-cutter, chosen within the clan from a kinship level nearer the ancestor. If several allied clans were involved, arbitrators or assessors were taken from among the mintôl not directly concerned in the suit. Finally, a diviner or magician, mvimvi'i or [791] ngengen, could be consulted, either visited in his own dwelling or into consultation.

[575] Suits between members of an association were, and often still are, conducted by an official of the association /71/.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

142 bread-winners and some are strong and muscular, while many more are weak and worn out from ceaseless toil.

The Fang make good carriers, and will do a splendid day's journey even in the 482 wet season with bad forest trails, if not overloaded. A carrier's load should never 147 exceed 25 kilogrammes; and 20 would pay better on a long journey. The first day out with a caravan the men usually drag along slowly, until their loads settle well down in the *kingi* and fit their backs. The *kingi* is a very ingenious contrivance for carrying a load in; it is usually made from a forest vine with a plaited head strap. To hurry carriers the first day is a bad mistake; poorly adjusted loads chafe and cause sore backs, and before night the whole caravan is tired out and sulky. It is a wise traveller in Africa as elsewhere who knows how to save his men.

145 A very noticeable fact among the Fang is the scarcity of old men. I 164 attribute this largely to the ravages of syphilis; the same terrible disease that has done so much towards the degeneration of numerous coast tribes, and which is already playing fearful havoc among the Fang. Indolent, untrustworthy and warlike, they are nevertheless a most companionable people. 181 The slightest piece of drollery or a joke immediately causes laughter. It has been my privilege to visit many foreign lands including China, Japan and Korea, yet never in my life have I met such an absolutely good-natured, fun-loving people as the Fang.

The men are not fond of work. They frequently ask me for something to do 461 to "earn a cloth." If I tell them to cut fence poles or good clean bark in the forest, they decline. A male Fang's idea of work is to sit in the *Abeng* (= palaver house) and make fish lines by rolling pineapple fibre along the upper [783] portion of his thigh, or to manufacture *Abi* (roof thatch). At these occupations he can converse with all comers, hear the news and take his part in talking a palaver. ●627 They are a revengeful people and will keep up a palaver over a woman for many years. If they do not succeed in shooting a man during a palaver they do not [771] hesitate to fire at and kill a woman, while captives held as hostages are often treated with great cruelty.

The women regard virtue very lightly. Before marriage a girl can do nearly 836 as she pleases. It is absolutely safe to state that it would be almost impossible 517 to find a maiden in a Fang village over sixteen years of age. Adultery is common, [831] and one of the chief causes of "women palavers." Women rank first in value as [862] goods for trade, next in value are goats, then guns and cloth. The greed for goods has a strong hold on the people. They learn quickly but have very little originality. They have no obscene rites. Their habits are very dirty; they will wash in a 515 small pool of water and, while bathing, fill the gourds or imported jugs with the water in which they are washing and use it for domestic purposes. In many other ways they are absolutely filthy, and descend to the level of brute creation. They [834] are not over-burdened with modesty, both sexes frequently bathe together in a perfectly nude condition. A male Fang passes a large percentage of his time in

579 reason, he suddenly took his rifle and shot down the foremost of these. As soon as the Ebäangon people saw that one of their men, a son of their chief to boot, was killed, they quickly ran back to get their rifles. The Bebai people who sided with them waited for them, and all together they moved against the hostile Bebai villages, where they had a shooting bout with Makina's men, without, however, any blood being spilled. The Ebäangon people spent the night in the houses of the friendly Bebai people. The next day they resumed the fighting, and again nobody was killed; however, the Ebäangon people succeeded in burning down Makina's village. Thereupon the "victors" returned to Ebäangon. After two days they renewed their attack, but achieved nothing.

579 628 At this point Makina wanted to have the whole affair over and done with, so he sent two women as payment to Schüe. The latter kept the women, but was by no means inclined to make peace. On the contrary, his people again raided Makina's villages. Then Makina's patience came to an end. He went to the chief of Messelle, a large village on the right side of the Campo, and requested him to settle the argument. When Schüe heard this, he sent the two women back to Makina's village and dispatched four of his sons as representatives to the negotiations at /250/ Messelle. The decision ran thus: Makina was in the wrong because "it was he who in the first place talked insolently against Schüe, it was his son, Bekongo, who started the entire fight at the festival for the souls, and he is therefore responsible for the death of Schüe's son." Thereupon the chief of Messelle immediately seized Makina and demanded his court fee -- five sheep -- from Schüe's party, at the same time promising Schüe in exchange the extradition of Makina. After the payment was made and Makina had been extradited, Schüe's sons demanded that Makina summon his guilty son. Makina declared himself unable to do so and was beaten down with cudgels -- on the Mburru -- and his corpse was thrown in the river. /Fig. 84 appears here in the original text./ At the news of these events, brought to Ebäangon by Schüe's sons, Makina's people seized their rifles and in turn moved against Ebäangon, burning half of Schüe's village to the ground. With this, the need for revenge of both parties

579 had been satis- fied, because on either side
628 the loss was exactly the same: each had
a village burned and a man killed.
[411] The matter would have gone on, because
[531] the Bebai people were still dissatis-
fied since they regarded their loss as
greater; their casualty had been a great
chief, while the other had been only a
young man. However, by this time the
influence of the Whites had penetrated
to Bebai and thus an end was put to the
fighting.

Fig. 84. Wooden Shield.

From this example it can be seen that
628 the Pangwe act according to the princi-
682 ple of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a
tooth, and that blood revenge can cease
only when the losses on both sides are
equal. In a "war" between Schumu and
Esseng people, eight Schumu peo-
ple had been killed, and peace could not
be concluded until eight Esseng men had
likewise been killed. Furthermore, it can be seen that village feuds fraught with consequences often arise from quite trivial causes.

Prisoners are usually killed and then often eaten, as has been
72 mentioned earlier. Only children are raised as "slaves" in the
[266] village. Captured women are usually taken by the victors as
[567] wives, but sometimes they are also killed in order to even out the number of killed on both sides and thus to make peace possible.
/251/

837 "Etudes sur le Pays Pahouin [Study on the Pahouin Country]," op. cit.

"friendship wife"), show, as does the freedom just referred to, that the curbing of adultery can be explained by social reasons which are quite alien to sexuality.

[727 567] 831 595 581 The possibility of raping women of neighboring people during the time of conquest, the possibility of buying foreign women at a good price, so long as the slave trade lasted, permitted the "chiefs" of groupings to remedy the dangers due to the unsatisfied desires of the young men. Apparently the Fang do not display, as do some people, (2) signs of unsatisfied sex due to the fact that

2. Cf. R. Bastide, Sociologie et Psychanalyse [Sociology and Psychoanalysis], pp. 160-161.

women remain the property of the older men. What is sought is the legal possession of the woman, let us say, for the many advantages it entails, rather than sexual possession. And in this sense the justification brought forward by L. Mba can be understood when he writes, "It was not material satisfaction of the senses which drove the Pahouins to polygamy, but many other reasons. . . ."

581 562 684 628 When the marriage is consummated, the woman goes from a state of near liberty to one of strict sexual control. The specific painful physical penalties for adultery to which the woman alone is subject are particuarly severe: being exposed naked before the assembled village, being tied to the ant tree, excision of the clitoris or pimento torture, various mutilations. When the woman, either by flight or by rape, leaves the grouping into which she married, the whole group reacts violently. It is the cause of fights, kidnaping, and pillaging of the village that has taken her 581 562 in. (3) There is the most absolute contrast between this control

3. "Hence, conflicts that last for years, expressed through kidnaping of women and ending in gunshots," Libreville, Archives of 1909. And

575
628
783

1. Among the Beti (Eton) another rite is to be found that cuts across clan or tribal barriers: "étup is planted" to make peace, to end a family quarrel, to check an epidemic. The old men consult the spider oracle, /63/ then call the men together. The assembly is in charge of the mbongengañ (magic-makers—initiates of higher rank). The members of the two groups start to hurl mutual accusations. Then those who bring bad luck are pointed out, the biwonwolo. A shrub, meyan, is then planted, and a biañ /medicament/ is prepared in a pot, over which the audience swear an oath to give up behaving badly to one another. The biañ is then inserted into the nostrils of the biwonwolo in order to do away with the bad luck. (J. B.)

575 626 Nevertheless, certain rites had along with other aims that of setting up among the initiates an association that would produce a kind of dialectic of energies /sic/ (tyé, kié) between the group and its members. The principal society, which probably had a national character that cut across clan lines, was the ngil (1), about which unfortunately very little is known nowadays. The ngil seems to have been the main, if not the only, element of tribal cohesion on a political level. Its function was social control and defense, especially to preserve the society as a whole from the activity of sorcerers. By uniting initiates from all clans, it could settle interclan disputes by avoiding recourse to war or feud. It served to some extent as a police force and judicial system, with the initiates of lower rank carrying out the

1. The origin of this word is uncertain. It has been referred to ngil (njil) meaning gorilla; old administrative reports speak of "gorilla-men." There has also been suggested, less convincingly, a connection with ngul, meaning capacity, potency.

b. Legal Power

692 The contemporary /legal/ organization is, except for a few details, the same in the three territories inhabited by the Pahouin. In the Cameroons and Gabon, criminal law /la justice repressive/ is in the hands of magistrates administering the French penal code; civil law is administered by first- and second-degree courts presided over by an official of administrative rank, sitting with two African assessors. There are also the so-called customary courts composed entirely of Africans and not entitled to deal with questions of personal status /état des personnes/, and a mediation system preliminary to all court action, in the jurisdiction either of chiefs or of first-degree court assessors. The system in Spanish territory is similar, but the first jurisdiction of the penal law is entrusted to officers called jefes de demarcación.

Alongside this official framework may often be noted a semi-official mechanism, sometimes tolerated, sometimes prosecuted as illegal. This consists of courts or arbitrators of the ngôl, of the bwiti or of the meyoñ, and also disciplinary committees of the missions, official or semi-official.

671 The distinction between civil and criminal was undoubtedly less sharp in former times. It did, however, exist, and an organization like the ngil dealt primarily with criminal cases, the major crime from which all others arose being that of ngbwel, sorcery. A homicide /meurtre/ might be a civil matter, when the circumstances precluded the probability of an act of sorcery; a well-planned theft, on the other hand, or even outstanding commercial [illegible]men, could involve a capital charge.

627 Outside the ngil, law was administered in the first instance by the esa or ntol mot of the extended family or the village. This was a matter of disciplinary rather than legal power, at least so long as the ntôl's decisions concerned only his bobenyañ. When the case (étom) 628 went beyond a purely family framework, recourse was had to a judge, ntyi'i mejô, palaver-cutter, chosen within the clan from a kinship level nearer the ancestor. If several allied clans were involved, arbitrators or assessors were taken from among the mintôl not directly concerned in the suit. Finally, a diviner or magician, mvimvi'i or [741] ngengen, could be consulted, either visited in his own dwelling or into consultation.

[575] Suits between members of an association were, and often still are, conducted by an official of the association /71/.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca.1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

372 log from the last town where the caravan rested. This man kept the piece of wood
484 burning by gently swinging it backward and forward, while marching along the path with his load. On one occasion I timed a native, and when we reached the next stopping place, after a three hours' tramp in the rain, the brand was still burning brightly, and it had been frequently passed from one end of the caravan to the other so that all who desired could light their pipes from it.

The Fang use fire in the ceremony of *going out of mourning.* I witnessed this
372 ceremony once at Foulabifong. The widows of an old headman had put in the
765 regular time of mourning and were now to be released. There were seven widows in all, three of middle age, and four young girls A small fire of leaves had been lighted in the centre of the street, and on each side of the fire stood several young men armed with switches. The widows wore a very slender loin cloth. At a given signal the widows rushed toward the fire and bounded through it, the young men switching them as they passed, but the switches were not used severely. Immediately after the switching, each widow seated herself on the ground holding a bunch of burning leaves under her feet, while a young man shaved their heads with a sharp trade knife. On inquiry regarding this ceremony, I obtained the
[783] following information: Passing the fire *cleans* them after mourning (evidently considered a means of purification). Switching reminds the widows of their duty to the man who inherits them as his wives. Burning has two meanings: firstly, the pain caused is endured as a last act of mourning for the departed; second, it signifies that henceforth the widows walk a new path (enter upon a new life).

Fire has a place in Fang religion or belief. The sun is considered the *tata*
372 (father) of all heat, and the original maker of all fire, whether by friction, matches,
821 powder, or lightning. When a severe thunderstorm is at its height, the natives say of the lightning, "that the sun has hid his face and is shooting fire, because he is angry." The native word for sun is *jo.* Although the palaver house fire is kept burning, still, no special effort is made to keep it alight; should it go out, any person present is at liberty to rekindle it from newly produced fire.

VII.—*Customs.*

671 The Fang have no system of law, no judge or tribunal for punishment of crime. Theft, murder, offences against the person are all settled according to native custom.

Example: A Fang of the Esisis clan steals goods or a woman from a Fang of
● 628 the Nge clan. The Nge who has been wronged does not go to the offender for
681 settlement, he goes to another near town and shoots the first goat he sees in the street or if very angry, he may shoot a woman. The owner of the goat or woman demands of the Nge his reason for doing so. The Nge replies, "An Esisis" (giving the man's name) "has wronged me; I put the palaver (his offence) on you." The third party then goes to the Esisis and says, "An Nge" (giving the man's name) "has shot my goat (or woman) because you have made trouble with him; he has put your palaver (trouble) on me. You must pay me?" The original offender is

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

now responsible and liable to two parties; if he is reasonable they all meet and talk 628
the palaver. If the palaver is serious, each party appoints his *ntol* (ambassador). 681
The palaver is usually talked in the main street of the town, before all the
representatives of the interested clans, and before all strangers in town. The [537]
Fang are born orators, and remarkable gestures and orations are made while
talking the palaver. The speaker usually walks backwards and forwards grasping
and leaning upon a "palaver stick." He commences with: *M'zona* (I say thus);
when speaking for another he says *A'zona* (he says thus); when speaking for the
people of his town, *Ba zona* (they say thus). Sometimes the *ntôls* (ambassadors) sit
in a canoe in the middle of a river or a stream, and talk the palaver, the injured
parties being on either side of the stream. The case is talked, the goods demanded
in payment stated, and an effort made to *kik nsang* (cut or end the palaver). If
they succeed, then the palaver is *cut* (ended), and a dance follows; if no
agreement is come to, the meeting breaks up and a tribal war exists between these
clans.

Salutations.

There are three salutations common to all. Two friends meet, they each grasp 576
the arm of the other, high up on the biceps; a slight pause is made, then the hand
is slipped down to clasp the wrist. This is also the customary salutation used by
the Bulu.

Two friends meeting salute by embracing.

A traveller entering the *abeng* (palaver house) walks over to the headman and
sits on his knee a moment, at the same time placing one arm around the headman's
neck.

Hospitality demands that all strangers be served food by the town women to [574]
strangers in the *abeng*.

Wives are loaned to guests. [837]

Coarse conversation is indulged in by old and young of both sexes. [521]

Considerable license prevails among the unmarried; less so among the [836]
married.

VIII.—*Invention, Natural Forms, Conservatism.*

Invention.—The arts in use are common to all the different clans of the great 176
Fang tribe. Any new discovery as the working of iron is credited to the dwarfs or 563
nqui. The natives are always ready to admit that the *nqui* are very clever; they 609
have a saying "no person knows like a *mon nqui* (dwarf) what is inside the forest."
When obtainable the natives use an imported saw, or file, and admit its superiority
over their own crude tools. A Fang may be impressed at the knowledge and power
of the white man, but is not greatly surprised; the reason for this is that many
white men are credited with possessing supernatural powers.

Some of the clubs, tools and weapons approximate to the natural forms of the 412
branches or roots of trees. Axe handles and the handle of a certain kind of adze have

554 578 Briault, an accurate observer of the Fang states that the death of a chief, or an old man, or a notable person, is suspect and demands a much more "minute" enquiry than in the case of men of the common people." "Whoever has privileges is envied, whoever exerts authority makes malcontents; many chiefs have died unexpectedly; many who were envied have not made old bones; this must be fairly common since it is confirmed by proverbs (2). . . ."

2. M. Briault, Sur les pistes de l'A.E.F. [On the Trails of French Equatorial Africa], 1948, pp. 37-38, 42-43.

One might say that "intentional death" threatens (threatened rather, for colonial affairs and peace have allowed some to grow rich and to be protected) those who in their own interest disregard the fundamental solidarity and leveling tendency.

● 631 [140] By this play of forces, more or less antagonistic and varying according to circumstances, Fang society is protected from any excessive concentration of power. This explains why, in spite of its conquering military nature, it has never allowed even a rudimentary feudal system to appear. Strictly controlled, power was organized only at the level of small units – a village or a group of villages, relatives or neighbors. It has only exceptionally (and precariously) gone beyond the frontiers of these groupings, and as the "associations" have barely been able to remedy this deficiency, Fang society shows an absolute lack of centralization, which was a contributing factor in its rapid deterioration during the colonial period.

692 In a social system which leaves plenty of room for opposing relationships, cases of judicial action and conciliation play an important part. The Fang have not only established a classification of offenses – nté, simple disagreement; étôm, serious dispute that might result in war; and msêm, ritual infraction – and a gradation of punishments going up to holding a hostage (étéa), but have also conceived a judicial organization with

[673] [681]

184
554
622

had not done so, the clan chose its chief, and the neighboring populations each sent him a spear in token of recognition.

[534]

The power of the Fong chief is on an even more personal level. The chief conveys his commands by means of an enormous drum; his pipe is preserved like a relic; his musicians play special instruments, among them the nkeñ (percussion double bell), quite rare in that region but a classical instrument in the western Cameroons with the Bamiléké or Bamoum /Mum/. The chief's installation is marked by the tradition of the spears and the donning of a headpiece of parrot plumes. (J. B.)

[293
297]

Any more extensive authority was founded on personal prestige, which always aroused resentment. Authority was never conferred except temporarily, and it was quite often withdrawn from the holder before term.

631
636

French, German, and Spanish administrations have attempted to set up a hierarchical system of authority that it has never been possible really to impose upon the country. The three administrations all made the initial mistake of trying to establish this authority on a territorial basis, which is completely—or nearly—foreign to these nomadic people. Only village chiefship had some resemblance to a customary institution, provided that the choice of chief fell upon a ntôl môt, a genuine senior, and that his brothers accepted his authority. Canton and higher chiefdoms had no cohesion except insofar as the incumbent had authority or administrative support. At the beginning of the colonial period, however, these functions were very often entrusted to genuine bejôô bôt, /62/ well-known war chiefs, high initiates of societies like the ngil, or celebrated magicians. Later on, it became more difficult to find, even among opposition ranks, chiefs possessed of real authority. After 1945 there was an attempt in the Cameroons to reorganize the system of authority on a clan basis (the Bourdier-Granier reform), then on village lines (the Christol system), finally ending up with a municipal type of system.

631 Given Pahouin interest in a political system based on election, which
636 pretty well corresponds both with their individualism and with their
[181] mistrust of individuals, it may be that such a system has some chance of success if it is allowed to become Pahounized.

5. Associations

575 Traditional associations were undoubtedly less developed among the Pahouin than among other African societies with more closely knit or more stable hierarchical structures. The social groups at the core of clans or villages arose and decayed in accordance with migrations and "swarmings-off." They showed a kinship rather than an associational character.

Nevertheless, there existed within kinship as well as outside it associations not based on descent, voluntary and not de facto /discretionary?/. These were often characterized by initiations and had a magical or religious basis, with varying purposes.

The minsamba, "societies," were temporary, organized for a military operation (ôban, mvéle) or for a trade journey to the coast or to the "trading-posts" of the Ogooué. The men who took part often came from different villages or even from different clans bound by an alliance (élat). They swore an oath of loyalty and mutual assistance, involving a ritual sacrifice followed by a communion
[782] meal; for a war enterprise, there might be a human victim, especially if it were a matter of avenging the death, kum mbim, of a monyañ (brother) and if there were a prisoner of war available to sacrifice. The association was dissolved once its end had been accomplished, but a bond persisted between its members.

[204] Similar temporary associations could be formed for large elephant
[141] hunts; they were moreover often confused with the nsamba dulu or nsamba ayak (traveling society, trade society) afterward organized for the sale of the ivory.

575 The most important permanent associations were those among the
783 initiates of different rites. But what was most often involved in these was a kind of relationship by way of a rite, which was not the rite's real purpose, or was so only adventitiously. When, for instance, all the inhabitants of a village took part in the ésye purification rite, a strengthening of the fraternal ties among them certainly ensued, but the prime purpose was purification (1). /63/

535 177 and flutes; chorus sung by the dancers; white dresses, a uniform headkerchief and foulard sash; the musical themes are those belonging to village, association, and clan; it is danced at civil or religious festivals, mebɔ̂k, mevak, and at bisulan (ayõ meetings), etc.; the words are sometimes satirical.

535 anyẽ, a men's or (more rarely) a women's dance, similar to the above, perhaps inspired by it, but more lively. The words are often obscene, the gestures scatological (in the men's version); probably of ritual origin; one of the few male dances surviving today.

akɔ̂ma mba, danced by one or two young women; a chorus of women, with the large vertical drum, mbaé; raffia fiber skirt and bare torsos; an ancient ritual (marriage?) dance; it is looked at askance by the missions and is becoming rare.

asiko, a modern mixed dance, quite erotic; no costumes; percussion instruments and rattles; a mixed chorus; it is forbidden by the missionaries.

In towns, European or American dances are current under the [177] generic name "tangɔ́," although the rhythm, when they are not danced to a phonograph, is rather that of a /West Indian/ beguine, often fugual.

536 The theatre, unknown in the past, is beginning to develop, partly under the influence of youth organizations introduced from outside. At bisulan, short farces are often put on, like morality plays, or satirical sketches related to our cabaret revues, in which there is no hesitation in scoffing at the authorities.

Chapter 7

The Process of Change

1. Local Government Organs

631 177 The disintegration characteristic of Pahouin clans makes it difficult to establish a coherent organization. The conflict between the system of personal rights and that of territorial rights is clear-cut:

631 177 insofar as he accepts an authority higher than that of the head of the family a Pahouin is dependent upon the head of his ayoñ, who may live several hundred kilometers away. This authority had a sacred character and was based on laws of consanguinity. In addition, there were, even before the coming of the Europeans, other influences at work, tending to group people no longer on a basis of kinship but on that of local relations. Among the Fong of the Cameroons, for instance, as early as 1880, a chief had brought together under his control families that belonged to different clans and involved them in expeditions against Maka villages. From among the conquered he chose some young children for himself, brought them up, and saw them settled, creating thus, outside his consanguineal family, and even outside his tribe, a group of people devoted to his person.

Therefore, upon the power of the clan there was superposed an authority that assumed an interclan and even intertribal character. Among the Beti peoples of the Yaoundé region nearly the same system was in effect. The clans had more coherence than among the Fang or the Boulou. But the chief controlled, in addition to his own mvog, conquered families, beloa or beloa bitoa, to whom he assigned land along the margins of his domain.

The transition from a system of authority based on the law of consanguinity to a territorial one is already apparent.

In the face of Pahouin lack of political order, which nullified all attempts at organization, Europeans unconsciously tried to reinforce the trend toward a territorial system of authority.

[671] Since the period of the great invasions, in fact, the jus soli has been authenticated as a basis of authority, while /the application of/ the jus sanguinis involves a thousand difficulties and makes it almost impossible to govern.

By a curious paradox, nevertheless, the presence of Europeans favored legal principles opposed to those they might have desired. The tribal wars brought about a regrouping around the victor and enabled him to carve out a domain /seigneurie/. The chaotic Pahouin migrations strained clan ties: what family relationships can survive a lengthy separation, /129/ particularly when journeys are rare and dangerous? These factors would have brought about the creation of territorial entities. Peace, on the other hand, which allowed the resumption of relations, improved mobility, and per-
[621] mitted individual freedom, favored a return to the law of consanguinity; the individual person, whether young man or head of a

177 621 631 family, had a profound sense of being a member of a community scattered over several thousand square kilometers, whereas he did not feel strongly bound to his neighbor who belonged to another ayoñ.

648 631 The German colonial administration divided the country up into large chiefdoms as a solution to this difficult problem, a possible solution if the country had not been an ethnic as well as a clan maze. If the territory of the large tribes—Boulou, Bané, Ewôndo, etc.—had been a little more homogeneous, it would have been conceivable to entrust each region to a chief, at a higher level than that of clan allotments. But the confusion of peoples and their wide dispersion made any solution precarious. Authority was not always accepted without demur, and among populations with anarchistic tendencies it is not easy to build up a ruling class /aristocratie/ sufficiently sure of itself not to perpetrate abuses. There was no time for the system of large appanages to take root. Chiefs of cantons and village chiefs both rule over more limited but clear-cut territories; as representatives of the principle of jus soli their influence view with that of the clan movements embodying the jus sanguinis.

631 668 In Gabon, Pahouin leaders had the idea of mingling the two tendencies. Starting with the assumption that the villages were too small, they sanctioned a regrouping which would have allowed both stronger chiefdoms and a beginning of reassembling of clans.

The regrouping of the meyoñ does not seem to have been planned as a whole, nor does it seem that a territorial base had been thought of for each clan, which would have resolved, for the time being at least, the conflict between the law of things /droit réel/ and the law of persons /droit personnel/. Only a partial solution was considered: the establishment of large, single-clan villages (1). In

1. J. Aubame, Renaissance gabonaise /Renaissance in Gabon/, Brazzaville, 1947 (no. 171); Balandier and Pauvert (no 177).

fact, and in spite of the endless difficulties connected with the transfer of population, the regrouping was able to give to the chiefdom a new prestige, by confirming its character as a territorial power on the one hand, and by binding it, on the other hand, to the meyoñ traditions. In the present state of affairs, cantons and even villages

631 include representatives of all the clans. Who then could exercise
668 authority over such a motley population, if they were to follow purely traditional rules? Various methods are used for selecting chiefs. In one place people adhere to investing the legitimate heir of the lineage of the village founder. Elsewhere, a representative of the largest ayoñ is sought. Quite often, particularly in the Cameroons, the choice of chief by /130/ election is believed to allow the population to express their views, whatever the motives of selection may be. Will the village regrouping movement permit the establishment of a new, better-adapted system? A blaze of enthusiasm has gripped the Fang people, convinced that the new system will make it possible to solve all problems as by a magical formula, without sacrificing either traditional forms or individual anarchy.

In the Cameroons a few years ago the movement to regroup the meyoñ appeared just as likely to bring an end to all difficulties. More bound up with traditional institutions, the meyoñ organization movement set out simply to give some order to the intellectual and moral /behavioral?—Tr./ life of groups by codifying customs, taking note of traditions, and creating a collective awareness, a common clan sentiment, through periodic meetings, dances, and songs. In contrast to the movement in Gabon, the bisulan movement hardly touches upon the concrete, the economic field.

It is worth emphasizing that this movement did not question the administrative division into regions and subdivisions. The bisulan do not in fact seem to have voiced any criticism of this distinction, and the population of Dja-and-Lobo even expressed a lively wish to see Sangmélima raised to regional status and separated administratively from the N'Tem region.

In fact, though local organization at the lowest levels may not have found its bearings, at a higher level it seems to have become thoroughly incorporated in the country. When they reached Pahouin
648 country, the European powers—France, Germany, Spain—set up a
631 network of resident posts for the representatives of authority. In this country without crystallizing centers, the main town of a subdivision has become a town with a town's multiple functions, administrative, judicial, cultural (missions and schools), economic (road station,
[1104] [184] trade). A study of the journeys made by the rural population of the southern Cameroons shows clearly that these towns are no longer artificial centers but genuine points of attraction. The capital of

648
631 their subdivision is the goal of 37 percent of travelers. The motives
484 indicated vary greatly: people go there for reasons connected with their jobs (1.3%), for medical care (2%), to attend to matrimonial affairs (9.5%), to visit relatives (10.5%), merely for their own pleasure (23%), to attend to business connected with the public services (civil status /état civil/, law, various public departments, in 45% of the cases). There is no need to underline the importance of contacts with
648 the administration. So in the Cameroons it has been thought necessary
631 to decentralize the administrative machinery further and to place it within reach of the people. The establishment of new subdivisions within the Yaoundé region and of administrative posts in Boulou country demonstrate this attitude. All this takes place as if the Pahouin, in vague resentment /131/ against the inadequacies of their traditional organization, were trying to replace them with new and foreign institutions.

In order to prevent the population from totally committing its fate into the hands of the European organization and thereafter refusing to make any personal effort at improving their condition, the French administration has attempted, at the same time as it distributed authority throughout the country, to remove concentration at the center. Though it was beneficial to multiply the agents of the central power in contact with the population, it was even more necessary to give the people or their representatives the opportunity to manage public services and to organize the collective life.

692 Civil law was, therefore, largely decentralized. In addition to
648 the first- and second-degree courts at which subdivision or regional heads /chefs de... —the implication here is of French colonial officials. —Tr./ made decisions based on custom, assisted by African assessors, there were created a great many "customary" courts whose judges were not officials. In the majority of cases, chiefs were thus appointed as presidents of customary courts, with prominent men and secretaries to help them. The number of cases dealt with allows us to believe that the reform has been beneficial. Though the nature of the suits has no bearing on the local government organization, it
691 should, nevertheless, be mentioned for the light it throws on the points of friction that exist between individuals.

In the Cameroons the distribution was as follows: divorces, 38 percent; liberation of widows, 6 percent; adultery, 9 percent; real property rights, 17 percent. These represent the principal disputes; the probable maladjustment of matrimonial institutions provides the main portion.

Next, the establishment of urban and rural municipal councils permits financial decentralization. Towns under the term "urban communes," cantons, and sometimes whole subdivisions under the term "rural communes," received a legal character, with a domain to manage and a budget to fix. Elected councilors under an appointed mayor had to study plans for road works, to set up construction or maintenance programs, inquire into taxes? /taxes/ and assessments /impôts/, and have an eye to a sound financial position.

In towns this was nothing new, but its extension to wide rural areas was an experiment. Boulou or Beti country, where there was no risk of these new methods giving offense to a strong traditional /social/ structure, was the ideal place for trying out a new /kind of/ organization.

Throughout the elections arranged to fill the posts of councilor, we can see crystallizing the most striking traits of the new élite, the characteristics of the aristocracy or oligarchy that will get itself into power.

Pessimists had expressed fear that such elections, based on almost universal suffrage, would overthrow the classical social values and impair the prestige of the present acting élite.

This point of view disregarded the fact that in a country practically without stratification, no one can keep authority without the support of public opinion. /132/ Granting the vote to vassals in a feudal society may unsettle the power of the nobility. It is quite otherwise here, where chiefs of village or canton are most commonly chosen by election.

The older men have preserved a privileged position vis-à-vis the younger generation. A comparison of the age pyramid of councilors with that of the adult male population as a whole readily shows this: (table on following page).

The younger generation is poorly represented. Mature men of thirty to forty are represented in proportion to their ratio in the total population; but men of forty to fifty or of the older age group are heavily represented. Electoral influence has not been seized by the younger men.

Neither does it appear that the poorer class, more numerous than the rich, has benefited from the ballot so as to eliminate the latter. From the point of view of the possession of a certain amount of wealth, we can assert that municipal councilors are much better off than the common people.

/1/

Chapter 1

Geographical Location and Climate

131 The Pahouin country covers about 180, 000 square kilometers, from the middle Sanaga (4° 30' N) to the mouth of the Ogooué (1° 20' S) in latitude, from the Atlantic (9° 30' E) to the middle Sanga (14° E) in longitude. The inhabitants are politically under the jurisdiction of the Cameroons, Spanish Guinea, and French Equatorial Africa (Gabon and Middle Congo).

● 636

133 The country appears essentially as a plateau of rocks, crystalline in the north, metamorphic in the south, with somewhat worn, intrusive domes, separated from the sea by a worn mountain range of rarely more than 1, 000 meters cut by the gorges of coastal rivers. The mean altitude varies from 500 to 700 meters up to the deep fault of the lower Ogooué Valley.

The watershed between the Congo and the coastal river basins bends toward the southeast from the Nkolomendim (the mountain-of-the-waters) massif in the Sangmélima subdivision. The principal tributary of the Congo, by way of the Sanga, is the Dja (N'Goko). The principal coastal rivers are the Sanaga and the Nyong, the N'Tem (Campo), the Muni, and the Ogooué.

132 805 The climate is of the humid equatorial type, modified by the altitude and characterized by a double alternation of dry and rainy seasons. The time measure of the Pahouin is the mbu, about six lunar cycles (ngon), and the solar year is divided as follows: (1)

> 1. The dates are approximately valid for the Cameroons-Gabon border. The terms are in Boulou; in Fang they would be: oyum, sugha, or sughe.

mid-June to mid-December: ôyôn (little dry season) and su'u (great rainy season)

mid-December to mid-June: ésep (great dry season) sometimes characterized by bikone (small rains)

Mean temperatures and rainfall are indicated on the table on page 3.

184
554
622

had not done so, the clan chose its chief, and the neighboring populations each sent him a spear in token of recognition.

The power of the Fong chief is on an even more personal level. The chief conveys his commands by means of an enormous drum; his pipe is preserved like a relic; his musicians play special instruments, among them the nkeñ (percussion double bell), quite rare in that region but a classical instrument in the western Cameroons with the Bamiléké or Bamoum /Mum/. The chief's installation is marked by the tradition of the spears and the donning of a headpiece of parrot plumes. (J. B.)

[534]

[283
287]

Any more extensive authority was founded on personal prestige, which always aroused resentment. Authority was never conferred except temporarily, and it was quite often withdrawn from the holder before term.

631
636

French, German, and Spanish administrations have attempted to set up a hierarchical system of authority that it has never been possible really to impose upon the country. The three administrations all made the initial mistake of trying to establish this authority on a territorial basis, which is completely—or nearly—foreign to these nomadic people. Only village chiefship had some resemblance to a customary institution, provided that the choice of chief fell upon a nɔ̂l mɔ̂t, a genuine senior, and that his brothers accepted his authority. Canton and higher chiefdoms had no cohesion except insofar as the incumbent had authority or administrative support. At the beginning of the colonial period, however, these functions were very often entrusted to genuine bejɔ̂ɔ̂ bɔ̂t, /62/ well-known war chiefs, high initiates of societies like the ngil, or celebrated magicians. Later on, it became more difficult to find, even among opposition ranks, chiefs possessed of real authority. After 1945 there was an attempt in the Cameroons to reorganize the system of authority on a clan basis (the Bourdier-Granier reform), then on village lines (the Christol system), finally ending up with a municipal type of system.

631 Given Pahouin interest in a political system based on election, which
636 pretty well corresponds both with their individualism and with their
[161] mistrust of individuals, it may be that such a system has some chance of success if it is allowed to become Pahounized.

5. Associations

575 Traditional associations were undoubtedly less developed among the Pahouin than among other African societies with more closely knit or more stable hierarchical structures. The social groups at the core of clans or villages arose and decayed in accordance with migrations and "swarmings-off." They showed a kinship rather than an associational character.

Nevertheless, there existed within kinship as well as outside it associations not based on descent, voluntary and not de facto /discretionary?/. These were often characterized by initiations and had a magical or religious basis, with varying purposes.

The minsamba, "societies," were temporary, organized for a military operation (ôban, mvélle) or for a trade journey to the coast or to the "trading-posts" of the Ogooué. The men who took part often came from different villages or even from different clans bound by an alliance (élat). They swore an oath of loyalty and mutual assistance, involving a ritual sacrifice followed by a communion
[782] meal; for a war enterprise, there might be a human victim, especially if it were a matter of avenging the death, kum mbim, of a monyaŋ (brother) and if there were a prisoner of war available to sacrifice. The association was dissolved once its end had been accomplished, but a bond persisted between its members.

[204] Similar temporary associations could be formed for large elephant
[141] hunts; they were moreover often confused with the mamba dulu or nsamba ayak (traveling society, trade society) afterward organized for the sale of the ivory.

575 The most important permanent associations were those among the
783 initiates of different rites. But what was most often involved in these was a kind of relationship by way of a rite, which was not the rite's real purpose, or was so only adventitiously. When, for instance, all the inhabitants of a village took part in the ésye purification rite, a strengthening of the fraternal ties among them certainly ensued, but the prime purpose was purification (1). /63/

586 made, but this practice is only very rarely followed in cases of free
851 union, ébon, even when that is followed by a regular marriage of the
848 natural parents. Illegitimate children, fruits of an ébon, bobengon, are kept in their mother's clan, where, moreover, they rank socially only after legitimate children.

587 There used to exist a kind of adoption, rare today, of a political
614 rather than family nature, which could almost be defined as naturali-
[641] zation. It could only be carried out by the head of an extended family on behalf of an orphan, mone nyui, of another clan (orphans within /56/ the clan being, of course, already considered children of the head of the family). The adopted child, abiaé mɔ̂ɔ̂ (i.e., "conceived
[833] in the daytime," sexual relations being lawful only between sundown and sunrise), came into the clan with a status analogous to that of the monengon. He remained subject to the marriage prohibitions of his clan of origin.

609 A non-Pahouin outsider permanently residing in a village, a ntabe,
614 may benefit through marriage by alliance, élat, which does not thereby make him a member of the clan. He becomes a monekal (sister's son, uterine relative) and his children, though legitimate, belong to their mother's clan.

593 The descent relationship may be broken by paternal or maternal
578 curse, meyo'é: the parent uttering the curse shows the child his sexual organs, "the place whence he came," while pronouncing a formula oath. The curse is supposed to bring misfortune and death to the offspring accursed, whom everyone avoids. It can only be
[783] lifted by a collective purificatory rite (étye, tyɔ̂) in which the whole nda bɔ̂t participates.

3. Age Grades

561 The individual's life cycle is marked by a certain number of transitions, which are accompanied, or were usually accompanied, by rites that will be discussed further on (p. 115). These crises are birth, weaning, puberty, attaining majority, marriage, death. Age grades correspond to the intermediate stages; they are less strictly defined today than formerly.

561 I do not know the exact word for fetus: people say abum, belly.
843 There must be a more precise term, but I think there is a prohibiton connected with it, certainly as regards men, although it may now be

946 river again (until now she has washed in her hut), puts on new clothes presented by her husband, and starts cooking for him again and work-
[703] ing in her garden. Special purification has been carried out if the
[833] baby has died in the interval. The prohibition against sexual relations
853 lasts as long as the child is at the breast; to break this taboo would make it nyu meyôm, drink sperm, which might lead to its death.

Postpartum care is given by the mbialé binga, then by the woman's mother or aunt or ntyi. This consists of vaginal douches and external and internal napkins of vegetable compresses.

853 The baby may be suckled only by its mother or a woman of the mother's blood, a grandmother or maternal aunt. If this is impossible, the baby cannot live (at least in rural districts where concentrated
[278] milk is unknown). Traditional pharmacopoeia possesses, however, extraordinary vegetable lactic stimulants, probably without equivalent in the European pharmacopoeia.

b. Childhood

563 The old custom was not to name (yôlé) the baby until it was taken out of the house; until then it was usually called by the name of a small animal, like "squirrel" or "palm rat." Nowadays the name is
[641] given within a few days of birth, if for no other reason than to comply with citizenship regulations. /93/

561 A name, jôé or jui (also meaning nose, order, command, authority) includes the éyôlé, the individual's own name, and the atinan, complementary name chosen from the biyôlé of ancestors according to clan or family traditions, which are on the decline. Formerly, a cognomen was added to these, a mebatan (1) or jôé mebatan (lit.

1. Trilles translates this word as "genealogy": lañ mebatan means both "to recite the genealogy" and "to recite the salutation," simply because this was in fact the formal way of introducing oneself; a newcomer's genealogy determined how his hosts would "greet" him. True genealogy, pedigree, is éndan, related to ndan, tattoo mark, emblem.

salutation name), sometimes conferred at initiation. This mebatan

THE YEBEKOLO

131 Location: 12°08 to 12°45 long.
3°50 to 4°20 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

Area: about 1,950 square km.
161 Population: 23,291 inhabitants
Density: 11.9 persons per square km.

133 The territory of the Yebekolo, in the form of a cornucopia laid on its side, is all to be found in the basin of the Nyong. The river forms its southern boundary. The tributaries on the right bank have broad beds and, in the vicinity of the Nyong, often overflow so that the valleys are frequently flooded. /90/ This is a large territory, covered with forest and quite marshy.

361 262 Large villages are found here. While the food crops are not poor, they are not very abundant. The people who live near the Nyong supplement their food supply by fishing and hunting.

174 It is difficult to say what may be the remote origins of this people. Their oral traditions (as reported by Mr. Tremesaygues) speak of their ancestor as being of Yambasa stock and, therefore, as having lived about 200 kilometers west of their present settlement, north of the Sanaga. /Map 18/ Moving eastward, the Yebekolo met first the Omvang and then the Maka, whom they pushed back to their present habitat.

The German maps, however, do not confirm these traditions. Also based on traditions, upon which linguistic data is often superimposed, they show all the Yebekolo as part of the "Mvele complex" (see detailed maps in Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1907) under the name "Pangwe." It is possible that a borrowing of language occurred here —for a linguistic fact provides clues rather than permanent solutions to ethnographic problems.

648 481 When the Germans arrived in the territory of the Yebekolo (1904-1905), the latter submitted to them without resistance. The new occupants found them settled on the big eastern trials leading to Doumé. From that time on the trails were improved, and the Yebekolo thus found themselves situated on the big trade routes by which the products of the eastern forest were taken to the coastal regions. /91/

177 family, had a profound sense of being a member of a community
621 scattered over several thousand square kilometers, whereas he did not
631 feel strongly bound to his neighbor who belonged to another ayoñ.

The German colonial administration divided the country up into
648 large chiefdoms as a solution to this difficult problem, a possible
631 solution if the country had not been an ethnic as well as a clan maze. If the territory of the large tribes—Boulou, Bané, Ewôndo, etc.—had been a little more homogeneous, it would have been conceivable to entrust each region to a chief, at a higher level than that of clan allotments. But the confusion of peoples and their wide dispersion made any solution precarious. Authority was not always accepted without demur, and among populations with anarchistic tendencies it is not easy to build up a ruling class /aristocratie/ sufficiently sure of itself not to perpetrate abuses. There was no time for the system of large appanages to take root. Chiefs of cantons and village chiefs both rule over more limited but clear-cut territories; as representatives of the principle of jus soli their influence view with that of the clan movements embodying the jus sanguinis.

631 In Gabon, Pahouin leaders had the idea of mingling the two
668 tendencies. Starting with the assumption that the villages were too small, they sanctioned a regrouping which would have allowed both stronger chiefdoms and a beginning of reassembling of clans.

The regrouping of the meyoñ does not seem to have been planned as a whole, nor does it seem that a territorial base had been thought of for each clan, which would have resolved, for the time being at least, the conflict between the law of things /droit réel/ and the law of persons /droit personnel/. Only a partial solution was considered: the establishment of large, single-clan villages (1). In

1. J. Aubame, Renaissance gabonaise /Renaissance in Gabon/, Brazzaville, 1947 (no. 171); Balandier and Pauvert (no 177).

fact, and in spite of the endless difficulties connected with the transfer of population, the regrouping was able to give to the chiefdom a new prestige, by confirming its character as a territorial power on the one hand, and by binding it, on the other hand, to the meyoñ traditions. In the present state of affairs, cantons and even villages

631 include representatives of all the clans. Who then could exercise
668 authority over such a motley population, if they were to follow purely traditional rules? Various methods are used for selecting chiefs. In one place people adhere to investing the legitimate heir of the lineage of the village founder. Elsewhere, a representative of the largest ayõ̃ is sought. Quite often, particularly in the Cameroons, the choice of chief by /130/ election is believed to allow the population to express their views, whatever the motives of selection may be. Will the village regrouping movement permit the establishment of a new, better-adapted system? A blaze of enthusiasm has gripped the Fang people, convinced that the new system will make it possible to solve all problems as by a magical formula, without sacrificing either traditional forms or individual anarchy.

In the Cameroons a few years ago the movement to regroup the meyõ̃ appeared just as likely to bring an end to all difficulties. More bound up with traditional institutions, the meyõ̃ organization movement set out simply to give some order to the intellectual and moral /behavioral?—Tr./ life of groups by codifying customs, taking note of traditions, and creating a collective awareness, a common clan sentiment, through periodic meetings, dances, and songs. In contrast to the movement in Gabon, the bisulan movement hardly touches upon the concrete, the economic field.

It is worth emphasizing that this movement did not question the administrative division into regions and subdivisions. The bisulan do not in fact seem to have voiced any criticism of this distinction, and the population of Dja-and-Lobo even expressed a lively wish to see Sangmélima raised to regional status and separated administratively from the N'Tem region.

In fact, though local organization at the lowest levels may not have found its bearings, at a higher level it seems to have become thoroughly incorporated in the country. When they reached Pahouin
648 country, the European powers—France, Germany, Spain—set up a
631 network of resident posts for the representatives of authority. In this country without crystallizing centers, the main town of a subdivision has become a town with a town's multiple functions, administrative, judicial, cultural (missions and schools), economic (road station,
[484] trade). A study of the journeys made by the rural population of the southern Cameroons shows clearly that these towns are no longer artificial centers but genuine points of attraction. The capital of

648
631 their subdivision is the goal of 37 percent of travelers. The motives
484 indicated vary greatly: people go there for reasons connected with their jobs (1.3%), for medical care (2%), to attend to matrimonial affairs (9.5%), to visit relatives (10.5%), merely for their own pleasure (23%), to attend to business connected with the public services (civil status /état civil/, law, various public departments, in 45% of the cases). There is no need to underline the importance of contacts with
648 the administration. So in the Cameroons it has been thought necessary
631 to decentralize the administrative machinery further and to place it within reach of the people. The establishment of new subdivisions within the Yaoundé region and of administrative posts in Boulou country demonstrate this attitude. All this takes place as if the Pahouin, in vague resentment /131/ against the inadequacies of their traditional organization, were trying to replace them with new and foreign institutions.

In order to prevent the population from totally committing its fate into the hands of the European organization and thereafter refusing to make any personal effort at improving their condition, the French administration has attempted, at the same time as it distributed authority throughout the country, to remove concentration at the center. Though it was beneficial to multiply the agents of the central power in contact with the population, it was even more necessary to give the people or their representatives the opportunity to manage public services and to organize the collective life.

692 Civil law was, therefore, largely decentralized. In addition to
648 the first- and second-degree courts at which subdivision or regional heads /chefs de... —the implication here is of French colonial officials. —Tr./ made decisions based on custom, assisted by African assessors, there were created a great many "customary" courts whose judges were not officials. In the majority of cases, chiefs were thus appointed as presidents of customary courts, with prominent men and secretaries to help them. The number of cases dealt with allows us to believe that the reform has been beneficial. Though the nature of the suits has no bearing on the local government organization, it
691 should, nevertheless, be mentioned for the light it throws on the points of friction that exist between individuals.

In the Cameroons the distribution was as follows: divorces, 38 percent; liberation of widows, 6 percent; adultery, 9 percent; real property rights, 17 percent. These represent the principal disputes; the probable maladjustment of matrimonial institutions provides the main portion.

Next, the establishment of urban and rural municipal councils permits financial decentralization. Towns under the term "urban communes," cantons, and sometimes whole subdivisions under the term "rural communes," received a legal character, with a domain to manage and a budget to fix. Elected councilors under an appointed mayor had to study plans for road works, to set up construction or maintenance programs, inquire into taxes? /taxes/ and assessments /impôts/, and have an eye to a sound financial position.

In towns this was nothing new, but its extension to wide rural areas was an experiment. Boulou or Beti country, where there was no risk of these new methods giving offense to a strong traditional /social/ structure, was the ideal place for trying out a new /kind of/ organization.

Throughout the elections arranged to fill the posts of councilor, we can see crystallizing the most striking traits of the new élite, the characteristics of the aristocracy or oligarchy that will get itself into power.

Pessimists had expressed fear that such elections, based on almost universal suffrage, would overthrow the classical social values and impair the prestige of the present acting élite.

This point of view disregarded the fact that in a country practically without stratification, no one can keep authority without the support of public opinion. /132/ Granting the vote to vassals in a feudal society may unsettle the power of the nobility. It is quite otherwise here, where chiefs of village or canton are most commonly chosen by election.

The older men have preserved a privileged position vis-à-vis the younger generation. A comparison of the age pyramid of councilors with that of the adult male population as a whole readily shows this: (table on following page).

The younger generation is poorly represented. Mature men of thirty to forty are represented in proportion to their ratio in the total population; but men of forty to fifty or of the older age group are heavily represented. Electoral influence has not been seized by the younger men.

Neither does it appear that the poorer class, more numerous than the rich, has benefited from the ballot so as to eliminate the latter. From the point of view of the possession of a certain amount of wealth, we can assert that municipal councilors are much better off than the common people.

171 We find further confirmation of the foregoing in the
174 following lines: "In archaic times, before the unification of Egypt into a single kingdom, it was no doubt the tribal chiefs who, as Pharaoh did later for the entire country, declared war, dispensed justice, and offered the sacrifices." (1)

1. The Life-Work of Sir Peter Le Page Renouf (Paris, 1902-07), Vol. 2, p. 351, "The Priestly Character of the Earliest Egyptian Civilization."

As religious leader the]Fan] tribal chief can thus delegate his authority only to the practitioner; as totemic chief, only to his direct consanguineal heir.

614 This is true to such a degree that if, for instance, the family should die out, the tribe would not come to an end or be destroyed, for the elders of the clan or of the mother tribe would trace genealogies back to the beginning or source of the race and find a secondary family related more closely to the founder of the race; that secondary family would in turn become the main lineage. This transfer comes about quite naturally, without hitch or conflict, merely by force of circumstances. In some cases, especially with a small clan, families will attach themselves to other clans; again, according to the formative law given earlier, new clans will be created, filials of the mother branch. If a mother clan is involved, then, on the contrary, families will attach themselves more willingly to the filial branch (branch in esa), where they will find the family totem (esamvèn, esamvùn, etc.).

d) Mistakes made by European administration in appointing new tribal chiefs from outside the main lineage

● 648
622

Clearly the chief mistake, and hence the lack of success, of civil administrators or military leaders who for one reason or another depose the legitimate chief of a tribe and appoint another is clear from the totemic laws just enumerated and the very structure of the race. I willingly admit that sometimes such depositions and appointments may, and often should be made,

●648 622 [546] for perfectly legitimate reasons, in the interests of the conquering country and even of the administered peoples. Nevertheless, if European administrators knew more about the customs of the country, (1) as would be very desirable, they

> 1. Especially since the law permits native customs "in so far as they are not contrary to decency and morality."

would not leave themselves open to certain failure and sometimes to humiliating defeat by picking out a man who, though perfectly worthy, cannot be appointed chief according to the laws of the land.

As I myself have seen, it often happens that the legitimate chief, tired of endless trouble, reproaches, and quite justifiable fines, in some way agrees to the new state of affairs, which henceforth relieves him of responsibility and shelters him from the conqueror's laws, ordinances, and capriciousness, or what he takes to be such. Thus, in certain villages, there will be a chief "at the disposal" of Europeans, just as there are certain women, always supposedly virgins, at their disposal. Actually, these chiefs will have only factitious authority, dependent entirely upon the power of the white man. They will also be in constant danger of being poisoned or of disappearing in more or less occult fashion. They are obeyed out of fear, but only in matters that have to do with government, such as forced labor, requisitioned foodstuffs, auxiliary workers, and hardly mentionable favors, but as concerns everything else, their authority is nil, not only in fact but in principle. How, for instance, could they, when there is danger to clan or tribe, invoke a general totem which is not theirs and of which they are neither representatives nor custodians?

Thus we can see the source of the mistake of European administrations, who are very little concerned anyhow with the ideas underlying the indigenous structure and hence the very existence of the tribe, and who want to give it a code made up for Europeans, an impossible task. To apply the Napoleonic

●648 622 Code to indigenous tribes, as has been decreed in Gabon, is one of those governmental aberrations that reveals as profound an ignorance as possible of the people to be governed and the principles of government. [547]

For the same reasons, one can understand how impossible it is to elect a chief outside the established rules of succession. A chief appointed from outside the main lineage has not, and cannot have, authority.

e) Change of clan totem

779 622 614 When, for the above reasons, authority have passed to another clan family, the public cult remains the same. But it must be emphasized as of the greatest importance that the ancestral totem disappears, since it has no longer an eponymous representative of its own blood. It will be replaced by the family totem of the new chief, which then becomes the totem for the whole tribe or clan. Far from being hypothetical, this is, on the contrary, a repeated occurrence, of which the following is a typical illustration.

A certain Mba-Alame, of the Yebiken or Banana clan, left the tribe after a dispute with his clan chief and went to establish a village on a hill facing his old village. While remaining on fairly good terms with the people of his former clan, his first concern was to create a new family of his own and to cut himself off distinctly from his former companions. He therefore changed his name and took another, which happened to be Nzoge Nze, Elephant-son-of the Panther. The panther became his new totem and from then on, that of his sons and of the future clan. He was in the full sense of the term, the new father of the tribe, able to say more justifiably than Marshal Lefebevre once did: "We are the forefathers!"

In order to undertake this sort of action, a man must have a very resolute character, capable of breaking with his kin, friends, and clan without fearing the always fatal reprisals.

Moreover, such a happening is only possible if the tribe is small enough, because in a large tribe the chief would be very

517
177
511 to Pahouin women, but it is certainly a geographical characteristic of
[29] the southern Cameroons, consequently, the textiles for sale are to a great extent those sold in Europe. Specifically African prints, such as "wax-prints, " are dying out. Underclothes, stockings, and shoes reflect the sophistication that goes with wealth. The purchase of durable goods that go under the heading "Equipment, " (bicycles, phonographs, pressure lamps) is another symptom, as is the changing
[415] demand for household articles. /35/ While the saucepan is still the basic kitchen utensil, enamelware is in strong competition with
[513] crockery and glass. Blankets are used everywhere, but the use of sheets is also on the increase.

A mere list of commodities shows the present-day importance of
439 trade. The native populations have not always realized this, owing
441 to their lack of inclination for it. They have not started businesses and have often left this to immigrants, coastal people long familiar with European ways, particularly the Bamiléké or "Haoussa, " /Hausa/ who for their part have a solid trading tradition and great capacities in this field. The Boulou especially despise trade and refuse to have anything to do with it. Other Pahouin peoples are not so strongly antipathetic, but their business activity remains very limited.

Is it this bankruptcy on the part of the indigenous people and this
443 taking over by "foreigners" which explains the organization and the
184 location of trade in the region? The villages are in fact very badly
441 served; markets are few and far between and so are rural shops. Perhaps we ought to note differences between the various Pahouin and Pahouinized groups. While a village trader is always most uncommon in Boulou country in spite of the relative affluence of the planters, he is not unknown in Ewondo districts and is quite often to be met with among the Eton, where resources are, nevertheless, more limited. Without local trade the collecting of crops and specifically of cacao posed quite a problem, to which the coming of buyers brought a solution. Business houses advance money to the buyers and buy what they are able to bring back. From hut to hut along the trails buyers negotiate purchases with planters. With these "purchases by peddling" it might seem logical for sales by peddling to develop. Yet this phenomenon is quite recent, being tied up with the development of transportation by car and bicycle. But while the buyers are generally native to the region, the pedlars are nearly always foreign.

● [65] As house-to-house buying creates countless disadvantages, the administration has endeavored to create rural markets so that the public

184
441
443
[654] nature of the transactions and competition would correct them. These markets represent an attempt at introducing trade into the rural milieu, and they are not restricted to the purchase of cacao and palm trees; some African traders try to sell textiles, hardware, and food products. But the markets are still too new for the custom to have become firmly established, for them to have an existence of their own. It may be that here too we should except certain Eton cantons, where there seem to be some genuinely native rural markets.

443 Although of European origin, the markets held each day in the main towns of the subdivisions have become entirely a part of the way of life. Originally they were set up to provide food supplies for the settlements that grew up around administrative posts /36/ or missions. Then, professional traders came to offer imported merchandise to villagers come to sell their garden produce. Nowadays these markets are routine affairs, drawing their clientèle from a radius of 20 kilometers. Their importance depends upon that of the particular subdivision. As an illustration, we may use the following figures from a study of the market at Sangmélima: 200 women come to sell vegetables, maize, or fruit grown in their gardens. Some women dealers in palm oil, after having bought it liter by liter in the bush, come here with from 10 to 20 liters to sell. Young boys sell cigarettes, pieces of sugar, sandwiches, or cups of coffee, while women bring fritters. Side by side with these petty tradesmen others transact [439] business on a larger scale: about 20 sell dried, smoked fish prepared on the coast or stockfish (dried and salted) imported from Europe, while in their stalls 20 "market boys" /sic/ offering textiles, enamelware, or hardware wait for customers.

[443] The number of craftsmen grouped around the market, the number of cars, lorry-buses /camions amenages/, or bicycles which have brought customers show clearly that this is not an artificial institution. The market is now tending to become one of the elements of the town.

It shares this role with the shops. European and African traders do business along Western lines, both wholesale and retail at the same time. They try to keep on good business terms with the African small dealers who know very well how to go from supplier to supplier to compare merchandise, price, and terms. At the same time they sell directly to the public. Such shops are uncommon outside towns — in this connection as with markets, the villages are little touched by economic activity.

shed with a roof low enough to /43/ give good protection from the sun. Some villages are placed at right angles to the road; others follow an L or Y plan, with several minseñ. Family "allotments" are separated by hedges of euphorbia, castor-oil plant, hibiscus, and bougainvillea. Sometimes one comes across sheepfolds, although in old-style (and most contemporary) villages small livestock roam at will. A village often includes a guesthouse (ayak).

In building operations the man generally takes charge of the framework and the laths, leaving to the women the preparation and application of the banco /clay daub?/. But European-style huts with their elaborate door frames and often cement floors are more and more the work of specialized artisans, who are paid to supervise the family labor provided by the owner. These men have nevertheless preserved, along with the English term "mason," the old name nloñ nda, literally, hut-weaver, which goes back to the time when huts were made of sewn bark (1).

1. The dwelling continues to evolve: framed doors, windows, and shutters are in general use today. The dimensions of the buildings lead to the construction of a real frame. Finally, to possess a sheet-iron roof is a sign of wealth. In recent years there has arisen a real passion for the improvement of dwelling: in the Cameroons we may estimate that 10 percent of the dwellings now built in the bush are the most modern type. (J.B.)

2. Groupings and Relationships

The main divisions of Pahouin society are both exactly defined in the minds of its members themselves and at the same time uncertain for the European observer, who is constantly tempted to state them clearly in organic forms accessible to his "logic" and who is hindered by the variations or the dialectal confusions of Pahouin terminology. Father Trilles, basing his observations on the Fang of Gabon alone, reached a sort of palaeontological reconstruction of the "Fang nation," extremely theoretical, yet not without basis

571 121 114 [145] however, since traces of it can be recognized in the contemporary movement for Pahouin Regrouping represented in the Cameroons by the U. T. N. K. party (N'Tem Kribi Tribal Union). Such /theoretical/ constructs are still rather risky in our present state of knowledge, and it is better to limit ourselves to a pure and simple description, resorting as little as possible to interpretation, which in any case should be done with hesitancy.

128 571 I shall therefore limit muself here to the attempt to perceive Pahouin society on three essential structural levels, while emphasizing again the necessarily arbitrary and incomplete nature of such a proceeding.

These three levels are the most easily perceptible to the European observer and at the same time the most significant, apparently, in the eyes of the Pahouin themselves. These are, what I shall call, for lack of anything better and because they are the terms particularly retained by the administration, the tribe, the clan, and the extended family or village family. Something will also have to be said about intermediate structures such as lineages, segments /fractions/, and village groups, and a little more on the subject of the household or limited family, whose importance is increasing. /44/

a. The Tribe

GA I designate as "tribe" what Trilles calls "group," while he keeps the term "tribe"—as do many observers in Gabon—for what I call "clan." This is because in southern Gabon there is only one "tribe" in the sense I understand, that of the true Fang, or Fang-Fang as Spanish writers call them.

I know of no Pahouin word specifically denoting tribe, Trilles uses the expression mfulane meyoñ, that is, "all of the clans together." In fact, and this is no doubt significant, the term most commonly used is ayoñ, which also denotes what I call clan. Mfulane meyoñ is used particularly when there is occasion to specify that one is referring to a higher structural level, sometimes also referred to as ngum ayoñ, "the clan as a whole," or meyoñ mese, "all the clans." (1) Nevertheless, the tribe is indeed a reality, in spite of this

1. American translators of the Bible have used ayoñ for "people" as well as for "tribe" and "realm."

have his wife initiated so as to ward off bad luck. This is not the only example of the indirect intervention of one sex in a rite of the opposite sex. Allégret points out that it is a "woman who has had bad luck fishing" who "finds the ironwood for making the war fetish." It certainly seems that he has mixed up ngil with ɔ̂, but the example remains valuable. Therefore, though traditional rites and the associations of initiates of these rites were strictly masculine or feminine, this does not altogether exclude the intervention of the opposite sex. No more can be said in our present state of knowledge (2).

> 2. The other important women's rite, ngɔ̂mbɔ̂, was more especially limited to old women. The participants built a sort of basin out of four banana trunks and their leaves, in which a vegetable biañ /medicament/ was prepared that gave protection against theft. (J.B.)

Contemporary cults and associations, on the other hand, are open to both sexes, whether religious or politico-religious societies or mutual-aid associations.

The two principal politico-religious associations are the bwiti (or mbuti) and the ngɔ̂l, well described by Balandier (no. 175). They have spread to the north from Gabon and the Middle Congo and are not of Pahouin origin. They are beginning to penetrate Boulou country, where they have not been as successful as among the Fang of the south, undoubtedly because of the lesser degree of social destruction.

Bwiti was originally a "tyogo" ancestor cult, comparable to the Pahouin biéri, if one accepts Trilles. It must have first appeared among the Pahouin at the beginning of the century, probably among Pahouin families cut off from their clans and thus from the biéri and sɔ̂ rites, whose significance is primarily ethnic and familial. Libreville was an important point of contact, not only between African peoples of different stock, but also with European religious systems. Modern bwiti borrows a great deal from Christianity and also from freemasonry, which was fairly widespread in Gabon before the war, especially in half-caste circles and on the periphery of principal towns. In assuming this syncretist character, bwiti appears at the same time as a nationalist—or Africanist—movement and as a progressive movement abandoning the old cults or rather modernizing them. It is the

575 object of official suspicion /67/ and rightly so, since it has free re-
668 course to human sacrifice and to physical liquidation of apostates; it has assumed the traits of a secret, often surreptitious, society. The liberal character of the administration since the 1946 reforms has aided the spread of bwiti by giving emphasis to the frankly political side of its activities: the municipal elections of 1956 were in large measure a bwiti triumph.

575 Bwiti, like the old rites, first of all works to protect its members against the beyem (bearers of évu), and its whole purely African side recalls those ancient rites. As in ngil, members have to bring in to the society the bones of their ancestors; as in prohibited /criminels/ societies, they often have to agree to the putting-to-death or mutilation of a close relative; as in the melan, they drink a brew based on narcotic herbs that enables them to "see the bwiti." There is a sacred musical instrument, the ngomi harp, sculptured figures or reliefs, especially on hut poles, recalling the biéri cult, a special language, prohibitions, etc. But the weekly ceremonies are influenced by the
[177] Mass; the progressive degrees of initiation probably derive from free-masonry, as does the lodge organization; finally, the Bible is used and interpreted in a manner, often political, that can only come from Protestant influence.

575 Balandier has shown how bwiti is trying to effect a reorganization
668 of Pahouin society in Gabon, by providing it with an ideological basis, a total collective weltanschauung permitting an integration of customary forms of behavior with those resulting from the colonial situation. It would be interesting to carry his investigation into the Cameroons and into Spanish territory in order to study the reaction of very similar societies in quite different politico-administrative and economic contexts.

177 Ngôl is much more recent than bwiti and represents, perhaps, an
575 even more striking example of politico-religious syncretism. Its
668 source is an African interpretation, a mythology based upon Free French propaganda in French Equatorial Africa from 1940 to 1944. Nnela me Ngol—General de Gaulle—has become a "white" hero, sent to liberate the black man by revealing the white man's (1)

1. "Logically" one might have expected this role to be ascribed to Governor General Eboué.

177 secrets and powers (power-ngul, to be related to ngɔ̂l?). There is thus
575 a "cargo-cult" side, already observable in certain traditions and
LW pseudo traditions mentioned by Trilles and Largeau. The mixture
of Christian and traditional elements in the ritual suggests bwiti, with definitely a greater ceremonial elaboration in terms of modern technology, such as representations of aircraft, submarines, etc. The liberating-hero cycle involves a putting to death (by his white brothers) and a return by parachute, plane, or submarine—there are different versions, sometimes co-existing. The society's hierarchy copies that of the /68/ administration: the master of the lodge, wearing a kepi with star, is the nzela me ngɔ̂l; he is accompanied by "presidents," "presidents in chief," "commanders," "inspectors general," "governors" and "governers general," "militiamen," doctors," etc. (1). There is

1. One of the highest officers is the "adjutant of the guard," who is in charge of the police and of carrying out legal decisions.

a parallel female hierarchy, having, in particular, a "douane" /possibly "duenna"?—Tr./, who is supposed to have an eye on good relations between households. The political purpose is clear: the ngɔ̂l hierarchy has often replaced that recognized by the administration, sometimes with positive practical results, thus connecting up with the movement for Pahouin regrouping in its Gabonese form.

575 In the Cameroons this regrouping has in fact quite a different
177 aspect. It appears to be essentially a tentative social and political
666 revival of clans rather than a tribal regrouping, which is not felt to be as necessary as in Gabon. It leans especially, on the religious level, more toward disciplinary /sic/ schism than towards syncretism, at least for the time being. Some of its leaders have left or wish to leave the missions to set up national churches that would allow, for instance, polygamy, but they do not oppose Christian dogma, which they proclaim that they accept, constantly maintaining that it is rather the missionaries who have altered it, consciously or not. Here the influence of the American Presbyterian Mission is predominant. It might be said that the Cameroons clans, especially the Boulou ones, have been organized into a pattern of Presbyterian synods. The movement has been less successful among the Beti, where Catholic

575
777
449 influence is stronger, but there too one finds associations influenced by foreign types of ecclesiastical organization.

614
576 Since 1946 the Boulou clans have formed associations, sometimes proclaimed in conformity with the law of 1901, and since 1950 gathered into the N'Tem-Kribi Tribal Union, which covers primarily Boulou, Fong, Fang, Ntoumou, and Mvaé. Each clan has a central board elected during an annual or biennial ésulan, and local boards. Membership is not automatic: members have to apply for admission, pay subscription and entrance fees. At the core of each clan association there are "societies" of young people of both sexes, of married women, of nonvoters /abstinents/, etc. The young people's "societies" are certainly the most unusual. They were formed with official approbation at the time of the abolition of forced labor recruitment. The "societies" used to bargain with local authorities over projects like road maintenance or the construction of works of art /sic/, the money received being turned into a common account and used, either to help the members meet bride-price payments or other expenses, or—particularly—to arrange festivals and banquets.

575
454 In large towns Pahouin migrants join de jure and de facto associations, generally within a tribal, not a clan, framework. These associations have protective and mutual-aid purposes /69/ and are sometimes quite powerful. To these should be related the tontines or subscription societies consisting of small numbers of laborers, servants, or minor employees, who pay into a common fund the larger part of their monthly wage, each member in turn being able to draw upon the sizable sum thus collected each month. The last two institutions are in no way specifically Pahouin, nor characteristic of the Cameroons or Gabon.

6. Law and Property

a. Source

671 Pahouin law has always been complex. Formerly, it dealt primarily with the status and condition of persons /statut et de l'état des personnes/ upon which the property system was dependent. Under the influence of the economic changes brought about by colonization, the law with regard to property has become definitely independent of the law of persons, the latter being inclined to grow simpler with the dissociation of the old social and family organizations.

177 621 631 family, had a profound sense of being a member of a community scattered over several thousand square kilometers, whereas he did not feel strongly bound to his neighbor who belonged to another ayoñ.

648 631 The German colonial administration divided the country up into large chiefdoms as a solution to this difficult problem, a possible solution if the country had not been an ethnic as well as a clan maze. If the territory of the large tribes—Boulou, Bané, Ewôndo, etc.—had been a little more homogeneous, it would have been conceivable to entrust each region to a chief, at a higher level than that of clan allotments. But the confusion of peoples and their wide dispersion made any solution precarious. Authority was not always accepted without demur, and among populations with anarchistic tendencies it is not easy to build up a ruling class /aristocratie/ sufficiently sure of itself not to perpetrate abuses. There was no time for the system of large appanages to take root. Chiefs of cantons and village chiefs both rule over more limited but clear-cut territories; as representatives of the principle of jus soli their influence view with that of the clan movements embodying the jus sanguinis.

631 668 In Gabon, Pahouin leaders had the idea of mingling the two tendencies. Starting with the assumption that the villages were too small, they sanctioned a regrouping which would have allowed both stronger chiefdoms and a beginning of reassembling of clans.

The regrouping of the meyoñ does not seem to have been planned as a whole, nor does it seem that a territorial base had been thought of for each clan, which would have resolved, for the time being at least, the conflict between the law of things /droit réel/ and the law of persons /droit personnel/. Only a partial solution was considered: the establishment of large, single-clan villages (1). In

1. J. Aubame, Renaissance gabonaise /Renaissance in Gabon/, Brazzaville, 1947 (no. 171), Bolondice and Fouvuzi (no 177).

fact, and in spite of the endless difficulties connected with the transfer of population, the regrouping was able to give to the chiefdom a new prestige, by confirming its character as a territorial power on the one hand, and by binding it, on the other hand, to the meyoñ traditions. In the present state of affairs, cantons and even villages

631 include representatives of all the clans. Who then could exercise
668 authority over such a motley population, if they were to follow purely traditional rules? Various methods are used for selecting chiefs. In one place people adhere to investing the legitimate heir of the lineage of the village founder. Elsewhere, a representative of the largest ayoñ is sought. Quite often, particularly in the Cameroons, the choice of chief by /130/ election is believed to allow the population to express their views, whatever the motives of selection may be. Will the village regrouping movement permit the establishment of a new, better-adapted system? A blaze of enthusiasm has gripped the Fang people, convinced that the new system will make it possible to solve all problems as by a magical formula, without sacrificing either traditional forms or individual anarchy.

In the Cameroons a few years ago the movement to regroup the meyoñ appeared just as likely to bring an end to all difficulties. More bound up with traditional institutions, the meyoñ organization movement set out simply to give some order to the intellectual and moral /behavioral?—Tr./ life of groups by codifying customs, taking note of traditions, and creating a collective awareness, a common clan sentiment, through periodic meetings, dances, and songs. In contrast to the movement in Gabon, the bisulan movement hardly touches upon the concrete, the economic field.

It is worth emphasizing that this movement did not question the administrative division into regions and subdivisions. The bisulan do not in fact seem to have voiced any criticism of this distinction, and the population of Dja-and-Lobo even expressed a lively wish to see Sangmélima raised to regional status and separated administratively from the N'Tem region.

In fact, though local organization at the lowest levels may not have found its bearings, at a higher level it seems to have become thoroughly incorporated in the country. When they reached Pahouin
698 country, the European powers—France, Germany, Spain—set up a
631 network of resident posts for the representatives of authority. In this country without crystallizing centers, the main town of a subdivision has become a town with a town's multiple functions, administrative, judicial, cultural (missions and schools), economic (road station,
[168] trade). A study of the journeys made by the rural population of the southern Cameroons shows clearly that these towns are no longer artificial centers but genuine points of attraction. The capital of

575
777
449 influence is stronger, but there too one finds associations influenced by foreign types of ecclesiastical organization.

644
576 Since 1946 the Boulou clans have formed associations, sometimes proclaimed in conformity with the law of 1901, and since 1950 gathered into the N'Tem-Kribi Tribal Union, which covers primarily Boulou, Fong, Fang, Ntoumou, and Mvaé. Each clan has a central board elected during an annual or biennial ésulan, and local boards. Membership is not automatic: members have to apply for admission, pay subscription and entrance fees. At the core of each clan association there are "societies" of young people of both sexes, of married women, of nonvoters /abstinents/, etc. The young people's "societies" are certainly the most unusual. They were formed with official approbation at the time of the abolition of forced labor recruitment. The "societies" used to bargain with local authorities over projects like road maintenance or the construction of works of art /sic/, the money received being turned into a common account and used, either to help the members meet bride-price payments or other expenses, or—particularly—to arrange festivals and banquets.

575
464 In large towns Pahouin migrants join de jure and de facto associations, generally within a tribal, not a clan, framework. These associations have protective and mutual-aid purposes /69/ and are sometimes quite powerful. To these should be related the tontines or subscription societies consisting of small numbers of laborers, servants, or minor employees, who pay into a common fund the larger part of their monthly wage, each member in turn being able to draw upon the sizable sum thus collected each month. The last two institutions are in no way specifically Pahouin, nor characteristic of the Cameroons or Gabon.

6. Law and Property

a. Source

671 Pahouin law has always been complex. Formerly, it dealt primarily with the status and condition of persons /statut et de l'état des personnes/ upon which the property system was dependent. Under the influence of the economic changes brought about by colonization, the law with regard to property has become definitely independent of the law of persons, the latter being inclined to grow simpler with the dissociation of the old social and family organizations.

671 The sources of law are at present custom and the European legal system brought in from outside. Each obviously affects the other: custom is modified by the written code, while the application of the latter is bent by the influence of custom. Law is continually evolving. It is quite difficult to understand, even though often written. The decisions of courts, the minutes of reconciliation proceedings, the "covenants between natives" established by the 1920 decree, the minutes of discussion sessions (1), and even some private contracts are

1. Bulletin de la Société d'Études camerounaises, 1947, No. 19-20, p. 141, (no. 126).

filed in the administrative archives, but they have only rarely been systematically collated.

671 183 The general term for custom is biyem (from yem = to know), connoting at the same time habits and modes of life and the laws that regulate them and qualify them as good or bad. Forms of behavior are rather mebo, from bo, to do. Methods and general practices are mam (sing. jam) or mejɔ̂ (ajɔ̂ = speech, from jɔ̂ = to say), the second also meaning "business" in a litigious sense. One often hears, almost always with a tone of regret: Nnɔ̂m éyem, bimvam bi nga wɔ̂'ɔ̂ bo mebo mete, melu mvus; nale a nga'ane kik, "The old ways, as our ancestors used to do things, they don't exist any longer." The whole "Pahouin regrouping" movement is characterized by this antithesis between regret for the biyem bimvam and yearning for progress. The result has been the growth of pseudo traditions attempting to connect contemporary ways with customary norms.

671 178 Since 1944 we have witnessed a trend in public opinion in favor of written codification of the law. Most clan groups /70/ have drafted their customary laws, which are revised periodically at the bisulan and which serve as legal basis for the decisions of the civil courts. It is probably too early for a final codification on a territorial scale, which would most likely involve an intertribal unification of the law (already stimulated by the colonial legal system), but periodic publication of local customary law by a committee of high-ranking men and assessors is often demanded and has already been sporadically carried out, as much by ésulan chairman as by certain government officials

b. Legal Power

692 The contemporary /legal/ organization is, except for a few details, the same in the three territories inhabited by the Pahouin. In the Cameroons and Gabon, criminal law /la justice repressive/ is in the hands of magistrates administering the French penal code; civil law is administered by first- and second-degree courts presided over by an official of administrative rank, sitting with two African assessors. There are also the so-called customary courts composed entirely of Africans and not entitled to deal with questions of personal status /état des personnes/, and a mediation system preliminary to all court action, in the jurisdiction either of chiefs or of first-degree court assessors. The system in Spanish territory is similar, but the first jurisdiction of the penal law is entrusted to officers called jefes de demarcación.

Alongside this official framework may often be noted a semi-official mechanism, sometimes tolerated, sometimes prosecuted as illegal. This consists of courts or arbitrators of the ngôl, of the bwiti or of the meyoñ, and also disciplinary committees of the missions, official or semi-official.

671 The distinction between civil and criminal was undoubtedly less sharp in former times. It did, however, exist, and an organization like the ngil dealt primarily with criminal cases, the major crime from which all others arose being that of ngbwel, sorcery. A homicide /meurtre/ might be a civil matter, when the circumstances precluded the probability of an act of sorcery; a well-planned theft, on the other hand, or even outstanding commercial acumen, could involve a capital charge.

627 Outside the ngil, law was administered in the first instance by the esa or ntol mot of the extended family or the village. This was a *matter of disciplinary rather* than legal power, at least so long as the ntôl's decisions concerned only his bobenyañ. When the case (étom) 628 went beyond a purely family framework, recourse was had to a judge, ntyi'i mejô, palaver-cutter, chosen within the clan from a kinship level nearer the ancestor. If several allied clans were involved, arbitrators or assessors were taken from among the mintôl not directly concerned in the suit. Finally, a diviner or magician, mvimvi'i or [79] ngengen, could be consulted, either visited in his own dwelling or into consultation.

[675] Suits between members of an association were, and often still are, conducted by an official of the association /71/.

695 was in other respects common. They were administered either by the ntyi'i mejo —esa, ntol, njoo bot, or officer of the ngil or another association—or by a diviner, mvimvi'i, sometimes a specialist in this category of bitom, palavers. The true ordeal had several forms: by a curse uttered over the ancestral grave or the bieti basket; by bitter herbs, alan; by pimento or ants; by boiling water or fire. /72/ Initiations and particularly that for ngil all involved a collective ordeal intended to ward off beyem who might have tried to push their way in. In addition to the ordeal proper, the mvimvi'i could make [787] use of various forms of divining in order to discover presumed culprits. Except for a serious crime, the culprit thus revealed was not forced to undergo an ordeal if he admitted his guilt. Physical ordeals are [671] on the decline; they are considered crimes or delicts in the Penal Code. And ordeal by oath has lost a great deal of its force. Divining remains much in use and is sometimes highly effective (1).

1. An oath may be sworn on a nzo'okak—a little elephant shield containing various medicines, equipped with a strap and worn under the arm. The nzo'okak is not an insignia of authority. Upon the death of its holder it does not pass automatically to the man who becomes head of the family but goes to the one who has a flair for magic. To leap over a nzo'okak laid on the ground means swearing that one has told the truth. The nzo'okak is a guarantee of treaties: [728] after a battle it is placed between the belligerents, who jump over it to vouch for their peaceful intentions. (J. B.)

177 Among modern punishments, fines and imprisonment are well 681 recognized by the Pahouin and have a definite intimidating power. On the other hand, the subtleties of setting up a public prosecutor /la constitution de partie civil/ are beyond many peasants, who thus lose the possibility of receiving damages that custom would have given them. Above all, the Napoleonic interpretation of crimes and delicts remains pretty well foreign to Pahouin norms, for example, in judging an insult as a mere transgression even when directed to an

631 177 insofar as he accepts an authority higher than that of the head of the family a Pahouin is dependent upon the head of his ayoñ, who may live several hundred kilometers away. This authority had a sacred character and was based on laws of consanguinity. In addition, there were, even before the coming of the Europeans, other influences at work, tending to group people no longer on a basis of kinship but on that of local relations. Among the Fong of the Cameroons, for instance, as early as 1880, a chief had brought together under his control families that belonged to different clans and involved them in expeditions against Maka villages. From among the conquered he chose some young children for himself, brought them up, and saw them settled, creating thus, outside his consanguineal family, and even outside his tribe, a group of people devoted to his person.

Therefore, upon the power of the clan there was superposed an authority that assumed an interclan and even intertribal character. Among the Beti peoples of the Yaoundé region nearly the same system was in effect. The clans had more coherence than among the Fang or the Boulou. But the chief controlled, in addition to his own mvog, conquered families, beloa or beloa bitoa, to whom he assigned land along the margins of his domain.

The transition from a system of authority based on the law of consanguinity to a territorial one is already apparent.

In the face of Pahouin lack of political order, which nullified all attempts at organization, Europeans unconsciously tried to reinforce the trend toward a territorial system of authority.

[C71] Since the period of the great invasions, in fact, the jus soli has been authenticated as a basis of authority, while /the application of/ the jus sanguinis involves a thousand difficulties and makes it almost impossible to govern.

By a curious paradox, nevertheless, the presence of Europeans favored legal principles opposed to those they might have desired. The tribal wars brought about a regrouping around the victor and enabled him to carve out a domain /seigneurie/. The chaotic Pahouin migrations strained clan ties: what family relationships can survive a lengthy separation, /129/ particularly when journeys are rare and dangerous? These factors would have brought about the creation of territorial entities. Peace, on the other hand, which allowed the resumption of relations, improved mobility, and permitted individual freedom, [C2] favored a return to the law of consanguinity: the individual person, whether young man or head of a

8: Bennett D-5 (ca.1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

372 484 log from the last town where the caravan rested. This man kept the piece of wood burning by gently swinging it backward and forward, while marching along the path with his load. On one occasion I timed a native, and when we reached the next stopping place, after a three hours' tramp in the rain, the brand was still burning brightly, and it had been frequently passed from one end of the caravan to the other so that all who desired could light their pipes from it.

372 765 The Fang use fire in the ceremony of *going out of mourning*. I witnessed this ceremony once at Foulabifong. The widows of an old headman had put in the regular time of mourning and were now to be released. There were seven widows in all, three of middle age, and four young girls A small fire of leaves had been lighted in the centre of the street, and on each side of the fire stood several young men armed with switches. The widows wore a very slender loin cloth. At a given signal the widows rushed toward the fire and bounded through it, the young men switching them as they passed, but the switches were not used severely. Immediately after the switching, each widow seated herself on the ground holding a bunch of burning leaves under her feet, while a young man shaved their heads with a sharp trade knife. On inquiry regarding this ceremony, I obtained the [783] following information: Passing the fire *cleans* them after mourning (evidently considered a means of purification). Switching reminds the widows of their duty to the man who inherits them as his wives. Burning has two meanings: firstly, the pain caused is endured as a last act of mourning for the departed; second, it signifies that henceforth the widows walk a new path (enter upon a new life).

372 821 Fire has a place in Fang religion or belief. The sun is considered the *tata* (father) of all heat, and the original maker of all fire, whether by friction, matches, powder, or lightning. When a severe thunderstorm is at its height, the natives say of the lightning, "that the sun has hid his face and is shooting fire, because he is angry." The native word for sun is *jo*. Although the palaver house fire is kept burning, still, no special effort is made to keep it alight; should it go out, any person present is at liberty to rekindle it from newly produced fire.

VII.—*Customs.*

● 671 The Fang have no system of law, no judge or tribunal for punishment of crime. Theft, murder, offences against the person are all settled according to native customs.

628 681 Example: A Fang of the *Eننin* clan steals goods or a woman from a Fang of the *Ngo* clan. The *Ngo* who has been wronged does not go to the offender for settlement, he goes to another near town and shoots the first goat he sees in the street or if very angry, he may shoot a woman. The owner of the goat or woman demands of the *Ngo* his reason for doing so. The *Ngo* replies, "An *Eننin*" (giving the man's name) "has wronged me; I put the palaver (his offence) on you." The third party then goes to the *Eننin* and says, "An *Ngo*" (giving the man's name) "has shot my goat (or woman) because you have made trouble with him; he has put your palaver (trouble) on me. You must pay me!" The original offender is

224
285

Fig. 86. Basket Traps.

224 fenced-in areas is not unknown to the Fang and is supposed to have been practiced more frequently in former times when the region was more abundant in these pachyderms.

The distribution of meat from the animals caught on the drives is regulated. If a huntsman, for instance, kills a wild animal in such a way that it dies on the spot, /138/ /Fig. 86 appears here in the original text/ he must give the meat of one forefoot to the first of his companions who appears on the scene. On the other hand, if the animal runs on, the first comer can lay claim to the entire forefoot, the second to the shoulder pieces (ɛbá') (1) of one

1. From the stem bǎ, "to divide"; these pieces are usually divided first because the animal falls down to the ground (which, after all, is also common property) with its shoulders first.

side, the third to the outside of the shank (ebǔ'n). Finally, the one who carries off the animal can claim the neck bones with some flesh (ebǒ̃ǒ̃) (2).

[482]

2. For he also carries the animal around his neck (placed over his shoulders); abǒ̃(g)e, bǒ̃ǒ̃ = to carry.

224 In view of the excitable and stormy character of the Pangwe,
672 it is no wonder that many of them on such a hunting expedition,
682 where the coveted, delectable tit (tit, "flesh" and "game") jumps

224 out from the bushes everywhere, completely lose their heads and
672 start shooting blindly at anything that moves. On such occasions
682 it very frequently happens that a wild Nimrod shoots a hunting companion or a beater. Hunting accidents are the order of the day and make the unfortunate huntsman responsible to the family of the person killed. In order to mitigate the situation, one excuses himself by hiding behind the belief that some "evil" people or sorcerers can transform themselves into antelopes and, weary of living, let themselves be shot in this way in order, even at the end, to place their enemy in an embarrassing position. The hunter declares that this was actually the case at the moment of shooting, that he saw an antelope, fired at it, and that then a person was lying there; he therefore is not guilty. This excuse is of little help to him in the matter since the victim's way of acting by no means releases the unlucky person from the obligation of paying blood money in the amount required for the person he has killed or wounded. Nonetheless, it does reduce his guilt.

224 Individual animals are also driven into the nets when the dog finds their fresh trail. The animal's location is determined by closing in on it in a circle (a kin̄ e tit), and with the help of the remaining villagers it is chased into the net. /139/

On a solitary hunting expedition (elõ ńá), the Pangwe -- as was mentioned in the beginning -- more or less break down. There is no special word for "hunter"; nyū a ngā III "he who fires a flintlock," has to substitute for it. On the other hand, nsũ̄ me III is one who "catches" animals and fish. Only a negligible number of the enormous quantity of animals to be hunted in this forested land is killed without the help of traps, nets, and beaters. Of larger animals killed without such help -- aside from elephants -- the most common are boars and leopards (1) because of their value. In former

[435]

1. Formerly a leopard was worth as much as a woman.

times buffaloes, found only along the large rivers (the Campo, etc.), were also hunted, and the hide was used for the well-known shields. Since the latter have become worthless with the introduction of the

1. Sexual Life before Maturity

561 Like Europeans, the Pangwe divide the individual's life into
856 three sections, the period of childhood, that of adulthood, and that of old age. The last period, however, concerns the Negro much less than the first two periods of life, because on the average death occurs at an early age. Sexual maturity represents the boundary line between childhood and adulthood, and the Pangwe emphasizes it very much because sexuality is at the center of his religious conceptions and /252/ finds external expression through the initiation into the cults. This initiation corresponds to our confirmation. The Pangwe acts as though a person before sexual maturity -- for the sake of brevity I shall call this person a child (mǒ'ńgo III) -- represents a stage antecedent to actual manhood, mǒt III, just as, say, the caterpillar is the stage prior to the butterfly.

774 If we think back on what was said concerning the soul in the
836 discussion of religion /Ed., not translated/, we remember that
864 the Pangwe distinguish two kinds of people according to the kind
882 of soul they possess: bebǐ'n (uninitiated, good), and bongǔs (initiated, evil). Children (bǒ'ńgo) are bebǐ'n, uninitiated, good, because they do not know sexual intercourse and, if they have become acquainted with it prematurely, do not know that they are committing a sin; indeed, they could not know since, after all, they are not initiated into the profound connections between sexual intercourse, life, and death.

882 In reality the situation is such that the Pangwe young people
884 are perfectly well informed, but officially each one must emphasize that he is a child, mǒ'ńgo, that is, good, unknowing, uninitiated as to sexual intercourse, even when he has long outgrown not only the actually innocent childhood (in the narrower sense), but also the period of sexual maturity. This point can be tested on any Negro between the age of ten and 20 years by asking him whether he already practices sexual intercourse. The answer will always be the same, be he a Fang from the bush or a Jaunde long since glossed over by a bit of civilization: "ma ne mǒ'ńgo (I am
[672] a child, that is, innocent, I know nothing about sexual intercourse)."

882
864 By this answer, he secures for himself the mild judgment with
[672] which we dispose of "silly boys' pranks."

For children, bǒŋgo, therefore, quite a different yardstick is applied; what they do, especially in respect to sexual matters, is not taken seriously.

bǒŋgo bǎ bǒlě oson = children have no sense of shame, and
834 the other way around, adults do not display much towards chil-
155 dren (see homosexual life, Vol. II, page 131), since, after all,
864 children simply do not know what evil (sǒ) is or what shame (o-so-n) means. If the otherwise, at least externally, very modest Negroes say this themselves, we should not hope to find many of the characteristics of a true, innocent ebǐn among the children. As a matter of fact their first playful imitations of
836 sexual intercourse as they observe older people performing it
838 begin at five or six years of age; between the age of eight and nine "playing parents" is nothing but perfectly conscious sexual intercourse, though it is generally regarded as a game and was cited to me in the category of "children's games" under the name ebǒbǎne-bǒŋgo (Ntum) or ebǎnebǎne bǒŋgo (Fang). It is usually done in the forenoon /253/ in the dwellings when the parents are in the fields or absent elsewhere. The partners are not only boys and girls, but also boys among each other. Later, at the age of eight to 10 years and frequently somewhat beyond, many boys manifest a similar inclination towards members of their own sex, along with a sexual urge for girls of the same age. In view of the emphasis on maintaining, as long as possible, the outward appearance of modesty, the Pangwe boys make use of a device whereby they come to an understanding "metaphorically." A boy
[201] takes some earth and sweepings onto a leaf, ties this hastily together like a food bundle, and gives it to the other. If the latter is ready to respond to the proffered affection, he will open the bundle and pretend to eat of it, saying finally, "ma mane a dǐi," that is, "I have eaten." If he is not inclined to respond, he will throw away the bundle, of whose contents he has full knowledge.

Concerning masturbation, see below, page 130.

426 a job for profit and under the supervision of the lender. To lend on
675 long terms with actual deprivation of possession of the object loaned is, on the other hand, a frequent atiñ. The same verbs mean both "to lend" and "to borrow": yôé is used for the loan-borrowing of a specific object, ɔlé for something within a class of objects or of a sum of money. The thing loaned is ndôñ or ékôla, according as the case may be, or, more frequently, mvôla, which means any kind of debt or credit (mbi mvôla = creditor; mvômvôla = debtor). The borrower is required to return in good order the ndôñ and what it produces or the ékola increased by avutan if he has profited from the loan. The borrower is responsible not only for the care but also for the use that he makes of the borrowed object, the lender, however, [672] retaining a sort of joint and several responsibility vis-à-vis third parties whom the borrower may injure by means of the borrowed object (indemnity can be claimed by the victim of an accident from the owner who has loaned his bicycle to the author of the accident), and even vis-à-vis is the borrower, if he comes to harm through the borrowed object.

From loan is derived hiring, indicated by the same word as the
487 loan of a specific object, yôé. /This is/ a recently introduced form
676 of contract, and its legal position is still vague. Like loan, hiring may lead to the giving of a pledge, éban. The éban often involved people until European legislation prohibited the pledging of persons, though it is still practised clandestinely. Today it mainly involves objects that can be returned, either to the lender or to a third person; ownership of the security may /80/ be transferred to the lender when repayment falls due, without extinguishing the debt. The pawning of ungathered harvest or even of plantations is more and more common; with plantations, however, the pledge covers rights over the produce rather than over the land itself. When a girl is pawned, the repayment of the debt, aju, is sometimes considered a sort of nsuba; as long as the debt lasts, in any case, the children of the pawned girl belong to her clan and not to that of the guaranteed creditor.

231 The contract for the loan-grazing of livestock, meyale kabat
676 (yale = to raise, make grow) may seem rather peculiar at first glance. The owner of an animal turns it over to the ñyale, who must look after it and, at the expiration of the contract, return not only the animal but any young. The lender gets rid of the care of a flock—he is often sending it away, moreover, to escape an animal plague—

695 The following are some of the principal kinds:

A man is accused of murder. He will first have to be
694 seized; if that is impossible, it does not much matter. Since
● 672 members of the tribe stick together, another man will be
619 seized, no matter whom. If this cannot be done, the Fan may
682 even take a man belonging to another tribe, who will be kept prisoner until his family and tribe, taking up the cudgels in their turn, capture either the culprit or a member of the culprit's tribe. One can see to what degree such solidarity may lead to retaliation.

Once a man has been caught, guilty or not, he undergoes
695 one of the following tests:

682 The dzismébiân is the eye ordeal. A person is brought before the chief, gagged and with his head pulled back. The practitioner takes a little pot made from the hard shell of a small gourd called ngon, which is filled with a certain liquid
[278] consisting of vegetable poisons with an atropine base. The presumed culprit has the right -- and often takes advantage of it -- to require his own totem to be dipped in the liquid. The contents of the pot are then poured into his eye. If the eye stays in its socket, the man is innocent; if the eye is destroyed or raised out of the socket, he is guilty. (1) In the latter case

[171] 1. The same test occurs among the Bangala and Barundi.

he is immediately killed by a knife stroke. He may nevertheless ask to drink the test poison, provided that he is buying back his life for the first time. This is often permitted.

A second and more generally used ordeal is the following, called médzim mé ne ayôn, burning water. [561]

The practitioner boils water in a pot. When it comes to a boil, he throws in a wire ring, and the presumed culprit must retrieve it without burning himself; if his hand is injured, he is declared guilty, but if not, he is adjudged innocent and is dismissed. In such a case, the plaintiff himself is punished and must drink the test poison. The accused man has the right to

266
184

[673]

the other hand, fallen enemies are consumed by some of them on exceptional occasions. The accounts have it that this form of cannibalism does not by any means for religious reasons, but rather represents an act of revenge carried to its extreme; the enemy is degraded to the level of an animal and is consumed like an animal. I have never heard it said that relatives or members of the same kin group are killed and eaten; indeed, in the eyes of the Fang this would constitute an incredible crime. Far to the south, especially toward the southeast where the Pangwe have been fundamentally modified through mixture with neighboring tribes, anthropophagy may be somewhat more

[412] Fig. 91. Spearhead Knife for cutting up a Slain Person.

[177] frequent. It is most likely, in any case, that the practice /144/ /Fig. 91 appears here in the original text/ was taken over in the first place from the eastern border tribes, especially the Njem who are notorious in this respect.

262 Thus, meat is principally supplied by animals, and here the Pangwe does not even stop at the thick skin of the elephant; he finds almost everything edible. Among mammals, only the shrew, house rat, and the dwarf squirrel Sciurus pumilio Lecomte (myŭk-eŭn) are not eaten. Also, the following are not eaten: among reptiles, the chameleon, the lizard Lygosoma fernandi Bart. (ebŭmeŭŭŭ), and the Agama colonorum Daud. (ngŭ III); similarly, among amphibians, the toads Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (mŭ IV) and Bufo latifrons Blgr. (dŭ; plural, bŭ, mŭ), as well as the frog Rana mascareniensis D. and B. (nŭ I). The reasons why these animals are never eaten I shall discuss in conjunction with the general food prohibitions in Section 13 /Ed., Vol. II/.

557-578 Briault, an accurate observer of the Fang states that the death of a chief, or an old man, or a notable person, is suspect and demands a much more "minute" enquiry than in the case of men of the common people." "Whoever has privileges is envied, whoever exerts authority makes malcontents; many chiefs have died unexpectedly; many who were envied have not made old bones; this must be fairly common since it is confirmed by proverbs (2). . . ."

> 2. M. Briault, Sur les pistes de l'A.E.F. [On the Trails of French Equatorial Africa], 1948, pp. 37-38, 42-43.

One might say that "intentional death" threatens (threatened rather, for colonial affairs and peace have allowed some to grow rich and to be protected) those who in their own interest disregard the fundamental solidarity and leveling tendency.

631 [140] By this play of forces, more or less antagonistic and varying according to circumstances, Fang society is protected from any excessive concentration of power. This explains why, in spite of its conquering military nature, it has never allowed even a rudimentary feudal system to appear. Strictly controlled, power was organized only at the level of small units – a village or a group of villages, relatives or neighbors. It has only exceptionally (and precariously) gone beyond the frontiers of these groupings, and as the "associations" have barely been able to remedy this deficiency, Fang society shows an absolute lack of centralization, which was a contributing factor in its rapid deterioration during the colonial period.

642 In a social system which leaves plenty of room for opposing relationships, cases of judicial action and conciliation play an important part. The Fang have not only established a classification of offenses – nté, simple disagreement; ékôm, serious dispute that might result in war; and mém, ritual infraction – and a gradation of punishments going up to holding a hostage (éséa), but have also conceived a judicial organization with

754 The finished mixture is a bone-dry and extremely fine
278 powder. It is not immediately put to use, but first tried out on dogs. By leaving out certain ingredients, such as the Mucuna hairs, or by means of other combinations, the poison mixers -- so various informants emphatically affirm -- are able to shorten or lengthen the victim's period of suffering at will or to produce only illness without fatal results. /147/

The medicine sold by the medicine men (because of its tendency to decompose rather rapidly, it does not keep very long) is used in the following ways. Either it is mixed with the food or sprinkled on the head of the bed or the floor -- merely inhaling the stuff, it is said, produces severe illness. Otherwise it is buried near the surface where the victim usually sits. The Ntum, furthermore, mix the poison with the pulverized resin of Albizzia
[824] fastigiata Oliv. (esi'ɛme) and then place in it for five days the
[411] pieces of iron with which they load their rifles.

754 Concerning the frequency of secret murder by "sorcery" or
674 murder by poisoning, Europeans certainly have no accurate /Fig. 50 appears here in the original text/ conception, since without further ado we tend to ascribe deaths in the unhealthy regions of tropical Africa to malaria. At the same time, the importance, even for us, of investigating this matter precisely is demonstrated by the following fact. In the small Campo region (disregarding the coastal strip), which has been visited by Whites only in the last few years, no less than six merchants have been poisoned within this short period of time, attempts were made to poison two others.

The effects of the medicine of sorcery, whenever it is a question of poisoning in our /Fig. 51 appears here in the original text/ sense of the term, for instance, poisoning food, depend on its composition. According to descriptions, it produces either terrible pains in the abdomen, as though "fire were penetrating the bowels," or the symptoms are those of blackwater fever, among others, dark urine, or it produces paralysis; thus, there is a great variety of effects so that correct diagnosis is extraordinarily difficult.

278 If someone believes he has been poisoned or exposed to
757 poisoning, he employs special antidotes concerning whose value

[Text continues on page 9]

278 I am, of course, unable to judge. /148/

757 In the class of preventives are the leaves of Phyllanthus
[751] gracilipes Pax (esʌ̌ elǐ), which are eaten whole or ground. As an antidote for poison in food, the Jaunde use the Corynanthe pachyceras K. Sch. (eyē) and the Sida acuta L. var. carpinifolia K. Schum. (ilǐ̄m IV), the leaves being ground and eaten. In the Fang region a medicine consisting of the following ingredients is used:

1. Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth (abǒ'mědzǎ'n), the leaves or stalks ground;
2. ripe bananas (adǐ̄le) cut in pieces;
3. Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edzō'le), bark scraped off;
4. Pachylobus macrophyllus Oliv. (andōlō'm), bark scraped off;
5. Abrus pulchellus Wall. (ozē zōge III, eloenǐ̄, "herb to counteract nǐ̄"), leaves ground;
6. Desplatsia dewevrei De Wild et Burs. (afǒnǒk), bark scraped off.

These six ingredients are placed in water, and then the extract is drunk. As an antidote for poisoned bullets, the first three of the above are mixed together, and the mixture is eaten dry.

A further use of nǐ̄ is called zō, from zō, "leopard," be-
754 cause the whiskers of the leopard are used for it. Just as the leopard tracks its victim /Fig. 52 appears here in the original text/ by means of its whiskers and then treacherously pounces on it, the zō thrower wants the same effect. A piece of such a whisker about half a centimeter long is drawn through a fruit of the umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br. (asǒ'lǐ), Figure 52, to form a small mistle which is dipped in the magic medicine and then hurled at the opponent. If it hits the opponent's skin, he is supposed to get sick and die within three to six days. I myself once had an experiment performed with this "poisoning" -- something I felt justified in doing in view of the natives' conviction concerning its purely mystical effectiveness. Naturally the experiment was unsuccessful. Meanwhile, this did not disconcert my informant; he thought that perhaps the medicine he had been given was not the right one. Aside from being put on whiskers,
[674] nǐ̄ is also sprinkled on darts which are shot from ambush when the

754 enemy happens to be dancing with other people at some festivity
679 and in the general excitement does not notice when the missile hits him.

As a preventive against zŏ, a medicine is recommended
754 which consists of:
751
278

1. Albizzia fastigiata (E. Mey.) Oliv. (sŏ'ne), ground resin;
2. Musanga smithii R. Br., ground involucral leaf (it is slippery); /149/
3. Pouzolzia guineensis Benth, Urticacea (mbŏanĕ III), its leaves ground;

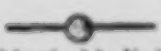


Fig. 52. Magic Medicine of a Sŏ Thrower, i.e., a Sorcerer or Poisoner.

4. Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth. (abŏ'mĕdzĕ'n), stalk scraped off;
5. Corynanthe pachyceras K. Sch. (evĕ), its leaves ground;
6. an unidentifiable Euphorbiacea (avŏ), its leaves ground.

This medicine is added to the red wood which is smeared on
[302] the body as a festive decoration.

2. Medicines for Acquiring Luck and Warding Off Misfortune

777
751

I combine these apparently different medicines because there is a number of them that serve both purposes, the acquisition of good fortune and protection against misfortune. Medicines for warfare, for instance, give one unerring aim as well as protection against bullets. The majority, to be sure, are specific means for obtaining luck or warding off misfortune. The Fangwe designate them as bię̆ because they are intended to guard against an illness, for he conceives misfortune or the endangering of his good fortune as an illness. We shall do best to take over this conception and to call these devices "medicines." The medicines for good luck are supposed to bring, above all, wealth and good fortune in love, shooting, setting traps, catching fish, and wrestling. The medicines for wealth (bię̆ akŏ'ma) are based in part on the

794 769 one – tends to re-establish this elementary order, it is a rein-
statement, a pledge of fertility and power. Apparently the Ngil
[17] resembles a great many other "associations" that have existed in
Gabon, especially the Mwiri of the Ngounié people. (2) It con-

2. Cf. A. Maclatchy, "Organisation sociale des populations de la region de Mimongo [Social Organization of the Peoples of the Mimongo Region]," Bulletin de l'Institut d'Etudes Centrafricaines, I, I, 1945.

stitutes primarily an instrument of struggle against the sorcerers (bôyêm), to the extent that they attempt to interfere with the normal order. But it is much more than that: it is the indication of a power superior to that based on kinship, a grouping with a great capacity for control (doubtless the most powerful).

794 The Fang have known other associations of men with spe-
cialized functions – or rather those that create "specialists,"
[538] such as the akûm, who directs the ceremonies linked with the
male dance called makuma. The akûm, who appears also as a
sort of chronicler-singer, intervening especially at the time of
[47] funerals and affairs concerning fertility (search for the "sorcerer"
responsible for an abortion that might result in permanent sterility.(3)

3. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., p. 78.

ceremonial intended to lift the incest which creates sterile mar-
riages). The akûm in daily life is distinguished from the non-
initiates by being subject to a number of special interdicts. He
is a "respected, or rather a feared, person," for to him is attributed
"great power." "In order to reach this situation he must have been
[535 taught by another akûm; he must have learned the interminable
679 songs that last a whole night long, and then with his own hand kill
one of his close relatives...." (4) This brief description is

4. Father L. Mariou, "Les Éki

ascending relative. These /factors/ explain the success and persistence of parallel judicial processes, which are illegal from the point of view of European law, although sometimes tolerated by the administration.

d. Delinquency

If the older people are to be believed, delinquency offenses used to be rare; secret societies with their ordeals and swift punishments prevented delicts by the fear they inspired. At present the jail books and the judicial statistics make it possible to gauge the dimension of the phenomenon, but there is no proof that all delinquents are prosecuted. Some affairs never reach the ears of the law; for instance, fathers of families often deplore the immorality of their sons or their wives, whom they accuse of stealing from them, but since no complaint is lodged, these facts are not recorded.

It is usual in Africa to complain of the rise in juvenile delinquency. The figures at my disposal do show an increase:

	18 yrs.	18 - 20 yrs.	20 - 25 yrs.	25 - 30 yrs.	30 - 35 yrs.	Over 35 yrs.	Total
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
1936	3	3.5	19	32	18	25	100
1946	-	10	21	35	15	14	100
1956	7	7.2	25	22	15	24	100

/73/ But this increase is not as great as might have been feared. A study of the statistics allows another conclusion: delinquency is an urban phenomenon. In fact, only people following city occupations are found in the jails. In a region of primarily agricultural activity, a relatively low number of rural delinquents is remarkable. Admittedly we must recognize that in towns law enforcement is easier, also that the more Westernized townmen do not hesitate so much to make use of the courts. Nevertheless, the differences between the delinquency rates of different occupations deserve to be pointed out, although the figures below are, of course, only approximate. They were obtained by a study of the census returns for three towns in the southern Cameroons and by a comparison of the jail books for the same localities.

674
463

	Office-holders	Trade Employees	Traders	Butchers	Tailors	Carpenters	Masons	Chauffeurs	Mechanics	Motor Boys	Domestic	Laborers	Chiefs	Planters
Percent of Delinquents	4.8	15	7.5	4	8	5	3	13	10	23	8.3	8	0.8	0.8

Employees in trade, chauffeurs, and apprentice chauffeurs are the social groups with the lowest standard of behavior. The nature of the delicts makes it possible to be precise: in the Beti country of the Cameroons, moral delicts /delit de moeurs/(desertion of the conjugal domicile) make up 47 percent of the cases; theft and swindling, 26 percent; intentional assault and battery come far behind with 16 percent.

These figures enable us to measure the decline of the present-day family. (J.B.)

e. Land Tenure

463 According to early documents land regulations formerly were very simple. There appears to have been no rights over land: "Land belongs to whoever takes it; it has no value. It is not sold, not given as a guarantee for debt, does not enter into inheritance." There is absent not only the notion of private ownership of land but also that of collective ownership: "There is never any conflict between villages over ownership of land.... We often see an outside village insert itself between two groups of dwellings belonging to the selfsame Boulou village." (1) In Fang country in Gabon the situation was

1. Report to the League of Nations, 1922.

similar: "In the Woleu-N'Tem region, tradition is unaware of the idea of ownership even by a village." (2)

h. Contracts and Various Quasi Contracts

675 A legal obligation is atiñ, from tiñ = to tie. For a long time no distinction was made between a contract and a quasi /or implied/ contract, but, as the range of independent activity spreads, we may recognize among metiñ the genuine contract, mfañ atiñ, from fañ = to do really, on purpose, by design.

Underlying all metiñ is the idea of compensation, avutan or abutan, which might be interpreted as follows: any effect /atteint/, positive or negative, on the total legal personality of an individual through the act of another must lead to a positive or negative compensation restoring the status quo ante. In other words, whoever enriches another person, has a claim to compensation; whoever deprives another, owes compensation.

Thus arises the distinction between nsenge and avu or avuan which have sometimes been confused by being translated as "gain" or "profit." It /79/ seems that nsenge in fact referred specifically to commercial profit made outside the clan through trade, abom, to which compensation did not apply. Avu or avuan (from vu = to grow rich, to increase in wealth, with an = to grow, to increase) meant the natural increase in property, such as a harvest in relationship to the sowing /or/ the biological increase of a herd. If the avuan was made at the expense of a monyañ, compensation was called for. Nowadays the idea of avuan approximates that of interest, legitimate or illegitimate according to the case. The weakening of the old social structures at the same time tends to allow nsenge even within the clan.

451 675 The verb kuan, to sell, is merely the reciprocal form of the verb kus, to buy; thus kuan means literally, "one person's buying from another," with a now very attenuated implication of exchange. The verbs fol and folan, formerly almost synonymous with kus and kuan, have kept the sense of "exchange"; they are applied to barter, kuan and kus, to money transactions.

At the present time selling is considered to be established with delivery of the merchandise or the payment, while exchange seems to call for a simultaneous delivery of the objects exchanged.

476 675 To lend something for temporary and brief use is señ; it is not strictly speaking a contract, and the borrower may even not be under obligation, for example when he has been loaned a tool to carry out

426 a job for profit and under the supervision of the lender. To lend on
675 long terms with actual deprivation of possession of the object loaned is, on the other hand, a frequent arrit. The same verbs mean both "to lend" and "to borrow": yôk is used for the loan-borrowing of a specific object, ibôk for something within a class of objects or of a sum of money. The thing loaned is ndôff or ékôla, according as the case may be, or, more frequently, mvôla, which means any kind of debt or credit (mbi mvôla = creditor; mvômvôla = debtor). The borrower is required to return in good order the ndôff and what it produces or the ékola, increased by avutan if he has profited from the loan. The borrower is responsible not only for the care but also for
[672] the use that he makes of the borrowed object, the lender, however, retaining a sort of joint and several responsibility vis-à-vis third parties whom the borrower may injure by means of the borrowed object (indemnity can be claimed by the victim of an accident from the owner who has loaned his bicycle to the author of the accident), and even vis-à-vis is the borrower, if he comes to harm through the borrowed object.

427 From loan is derived hiring, indicated by the same word as the
676 loan of a specific object, yôk. /This is/ a recently introduced form of contract, and its legal position is still vague. Like loan, hiring may lead to the giving of a pledge, éban. The éban often involved people until European legislation prohibited the pledging of persons, though it is still practised clandestinely. Today it mainly involves objects that can be returned, either to the lender or to a third person; ownership of the security may /80/ be transferred to the lender when repayment falls due, without extinguishing the debt. The pawning of ungathered harvests or even of plantations is more and more common; with plantations, however, the pledge covers rights over the produce rather than over the land itself. When a girl is pawned, the repayment of the debt, aju, is sometimes considered a sort of nuba; as long as the debt lasts, in any case, the children of the pawned girl belong to her clan and not to that of the guaranteed creditor.

231 The contract for the loan-grazing of livestock, meyale kabat
678 (yale = to raise, make grow) may seem rather peculiar at first glance. The owner of an animal turns it over to the ñyale, who must look after it and, at the expiration of the contract, return not only the animal but any young. The lender gets rid of the care of a flock—he is often sending it away, moreover, to escape an animal plague—

yet takes the risk of a breach of faith on the ŋyale's part. The latter is supposed to return the flock intact, but as long as he tends it, he may do what he wants with it, putting it to use like a kind of credit. It is as well to point out that this kind of contract, which at present is falling into disuse, gave occasion to endless litigation.

The trade contract under its old name abom or the newer atiŋ bilak or atiŋ akus kaka is, on the other hand, becoming more and more widespread. A trader, nkuan bôm or mbi faryêl, advances to a bilak (from "clerk") cash and goods on the bilak's undertaking to provide the equivalent in a certain tonnage of cacao. The contract is set forth in a written "good for...," which represents recognition of the debt. The bilak exerts himself to collect the promised tonnage, usually by buying from planters of his clan, sometimes by subcontract with "small clerks," bone bekilak. The contract has a due date, with the usual contingencies; in the case of rising prices, the bilak may run into difficulties and not be able to furnish the promised tonnage unless planters of his family give him credit or sell to him below the price. Cacao buying is also done by commission, the agent, nlômon, (envoy), receiving a cash advance with which to buy as much cacao as possible. Both methods give rise to litigation, which is all the more common because the moneylender is usually a European or an African of another tribe, a "Gaboonese" in French Equatorial Africa, a Bamilêkê, mone galifis (from Coast English "Grassfield") in the Cameroons.

In general a commission is always possible, whether in making a contract or in pleading in court. The person giving the commission is called mve ngul, giver of power; the agent is called mbili ngul, possessing power. They are jointly and severally responsible.

The bilaba contract, described about (41, 77), is disappearing. There survives, however, a sort of poor man's bilaba, the meyêŋ, from meŋ, guest, which allows a meŋ mbi, a humble man, to levy a kind of tax on the rich, minkukum, of his clan by the simple procedure of going to visit them, carrying a present /81/ which must be returned by generous hospitality and by a countergift of higher value. This is a quasi contract, sanctioned by public opinion, which is a heavy burden on people thought to be rich; it underlies the family parasitism prevalent in large towns. The reputed nkukum who tries to escape would be accused of being hard hearted, nlem ayet, which could easily lead to a charge of sorcery.

779 782 How can these facts be reconciled with the sacrifice of the totem itself?

Sacrifice of a totem animal belongs to a special order of ideas. First of all, observe that we may use the term "animal." In fact, a totem is generally a living being. When this is not the case, the practitioner or religious agent of the sacrifice, the "sacrificing one," has the right to make a substitution, that is, to "animalize in another living being" the totem that is a spirit, a celestial phenomenon or a mineral, etc. [503]

779 782 675 "The totem animal is the one with whom, or rather with whose tribe, a man, representing his own person and his descendants, has made a covenant, in order to obtain services in return. This agreement usually (and we have seen that this was always the case among the Fan) "was sealed by an exchange of blood in such a way that animal and man, the family of the one and of the other, the tribe uof the first and the tribe of the second, are individuals, families, or tribes of the same blood. They are allied. From time to time it is a good thing to renew this covenant, and that is done by sacrificing a representative of the animal family, a sacrifice in which man takes part as a communicant: there is a new blood exchange, a revival of the first covenant. In addition, it is a reinforcement of the special virtues of the totem, virtues which are perhaps strengthened by the presence or influence of the ancestral spirit in the animal or vegetable so consecrated, sacrificed, and eaten." (1)

1. Le Roy, op. cit., pp. 324-325.

779 782 In what circumstances, how and why, will the totem animal be thus sacrificed? For it is probably not enough to say, with the distinguished author just quoted, "From time to time it is a good thing to renew this covenant."

There will be a sacrifice of the totem:

1. Whenever a new totem is to be chosen.

This happens, first, at each "birth" in the most inclusive sense of the word or, again, at each "beginning of a new life." Such would be the establishment of a new clan, at which time the chief's totem becomes the clan totem instead of merely the

857 something to do near the village, and when he has gone they call to him, "endele o o o...", and he answers, "o yo o o o mur e mur a ne e nzine bekun nlu si mebo yo mura kue a ba a muge nie a nu" (there is a big man on the road, a phantom with his head down and his feet up and a red mouth). Endele keeps answering until he has done what was asked of him. Usually he comes back before this from fear of the phantom of which he speaks and which he thinks he sees.

892 Puberty, Adolescence. Puberty occasions no ceremony, but from then on the child has the right to eat the take of his hunting and fishing, which was formerly forbidden him. This prohibition is called eki wo.

304 Circumcision is done either before or after puberty. It is an operation which is usually performed for many children at a time, and takes place in the early morning. The operator (nkir) comes to the village without the children's being told, and the fathers who wish their sons circumcised watch them so they do not run away. The children are led behind a hut where pieces of red wood have been prepared. [87] A hole is made in the ground, and the pieces of red wood are put in it and set on fire. Each child sits on the stump of a banana tree. The operator uses a well-sharpened razor. Before the operation he fills his mouth with seeds of wild pimento which he chews. He takes the foreskin of the child in his left hand, pulls it, makes a mark on it with his nail at the place where he will cut. The father of the child sees whether the cut piece will be of the desired size, and if he agrees the operator slices the foreskin with one stroke of the razor and spits the pimento, which he has in his mouth, onto the wound. Then he says, "fam e me e saga e saga saǧ mi saǧ nkili," an obscene expression which it is impossible to translate here. The circumcised child goes and sits near the fire of red wood. The foreskin is placed on top of a banana tree, [362] whose fruit is cooked and eaten by men only. The circumcision is an occasion for rejoicing; it is done so that the children will not die [324] and also to remove the foreskin which keeps a man from being strong.

304 Female circumcision is never practiced any more. It was formerly done to married women of notoriously bad conduct in order to punish 481 them. The woman was fastened to two stakes in the village square. The clitoris was removed by the man who did the circumcising and was then attached by a thread and put around the neck of the woman, who had to keep it that way for several days to her great shame. The

34 circumcision was public, and the woman to whom it was done under-
68 went the gibes and insults of all the inhabitants.

The life of the young people is the same as that of the adults. The
883 virginity of a woman is considered unimportant and the Fan have
836 sexual relations from the time they are capable of cohabitation. When
848 a young girl has a child, it belongs to her parents, from whom the child acquires wealth; there is no search for the father and the young girl keeps all the respect which she enjoyed. Young girls are free to give themselves to whomever they please. This very broad morality,
[512] however, has one important qualification in that there are, so to speak, no young girls, the little girls having been married off by their parents very early, sometimes even before their birth.

582 Marriage (alug). Men rarely marry before the age of twenty years, and usually later, because they do not have the means to pay the dowry for taking a wife.

582 Exogamy is always practiced because marriage between people of
835 the same tribe is sterile. Marriage between cousins is forbidden up to the third generation and in general, marriage is forbidden between persons linked by any kind of kinship; in this case there is also pro-
[508] hibition of sexual relations. No penalty is prescribed for infraction, but the guilty ones will fall ill and their children, if they have any, will not live.

582 Occasionally there are instances when marriage between relatives
713 is authorized, but only after the practitioner has removed the pro-
835 hibition by the process [88] called abvule minsem. The practitioner goes to find some termite earth (nguege), a plant (mekaja), and a vine (nyola dzik); the plant and vine are folded and placed in an etok
[845] (a container of banana leaves) full of water. The termite earth is placed on a nzum (see the description in the section on conception) and the etok is placed underneath. The two kinsmen who want to marry also stand underneath it, while the practitioner climbs onto the nzum, dips the leaves in the etok, and says, "meme ose mi waga bo e wo ma va yui" (I remove every prohibition that you have made). He hits the termite earth with the leaves and then takes the etok and pours the contents onto the heads of the two people from whom he is removing the prohibition. With the remainder, the man and woman each takes a washing.

583 A man who has not enough dowry but who finds a young girl eager to marry him may take her away in the night; when the parents come

557 Briault, an accurate observer of the Fang states that the death of
578 a chief, or an old man, or a notable person, is suspect and demands a much more "minute" enquiry than in the case of men of the common people." "Whoever has privileges is envied, whoever exerts authority makes malcontents; many chiefs have died unexpectedly; many who were envied have not made old bones; this must be fairly common since it is confirmed by proverbs (2). . . ."

2. M. Briault, Sur les pistes de l'A.E.F. [On the Trails of French Equatorial Africa], 1948, pp. 37-38, 42-43.

One might say that "intentional death" threatens (threatened rather, for colonial affairs and peace have allowed some to grow rich and to be protected) those who in their own interest disregard the fundamental solidarity and leveling tendency.

631 [146] By this play of forces, more or less antagonistic and varying according to circumstances, Fang society is protected from any excessive concentration of power. This explains why, in spite of its conquering military nature, it has never allowed even a rudimentary feudal system to appear. Strictly controlled, power was organized only at the level of small units -- a village or a group of villages, relatives or neighbors. It has only exceptionally (and precariously) gone beyond the frontiers of these groupings, and as the "associations" have barely been able to remedy this deficiency, Fang society shows an absolute lack of centralization, which was a contributing factor in its rapid deterioration during the colonial period.

652 In a social system which leaves plenty of room for opposing relationships, cases of judicial action and conciliation play an important part. The Fang have not only established a classification of offenses -- nné, simple disagreement; ñdîm, serious dispute that might result in war; and mûm, ritual infraction -- and a gradation of punishments going up to holding a hostage (ñda), but have also conceived a judicial organization with

c. Punishments

The scale of punishments included death, the paternal curse, putting in chains (mbok), fine, and bastinado. To these were added for women removal of the clitoris and the labia minora, injection of pimento into the vagina and public exposure, naked, with legs held apart by the mimbok /pl./ (esamele minga).

The death sentence was carried out so as not to shed blood— which would have made purification necessary—by drowning, strangling, burial alive (the last particularly in certain cases of nsem, like incest), or by burning. If the execution had to be bloody, it was carried out by a captive—a foreigner to the clan—but, in theory, the shedding of blood always had a sacrificial character and was to be avoided on all other occasions.

The death sentence was applied for sorcery and serious minsem (breakings of taboo) such as incest or the killing of a monyan. For other infractions, compensation was the general rule, either by retaliation or by indemnity, the latter usually being the preferred method. For instance, for a homicide /meurtre/ committed outside the clan, the minôl arbitrators tried to make the killer's family pay blood money, either in goods or by giving a woman in compensation. To this there might have been added some sort of disciplinary corporal punishment within the killer's clan or family. If compensation was not paid, the victim's clan had recourse to retaliation upon any member of the clan or family of the guilty man; responsibility was individual within the family, collective within the clan and tribe.

A fine must be distinguished from the compensation accorded to the victim: it went, in fact, to the nyi'i mejô, perhaps to pay for his intervention. It survives today, though illegal, to the benefit of official and semi-official assessors: it is freely called toya, from Coast English tax, to distinguish it from compensation, ngôô = ransom, redemption.

Placing in chains applied especially to persons considered socially dangerous (it is nowadays used in remote villages for some insane), bastinado to minor crimes committed within the clan. Clitoridectomy was the punishment for adultery and minor incest. The injection of pimento was rather a nkal, test or ordeal, than a punishment; it was applied especially to widows after the husband's death to discover whether or not they had been responsible. The use of ordeals, minkal,

695 was in other respects common. They were administered either by the ntyi'i mejo —esa, ntol, njoo bot, or officer of the ngil or another association—or by a diviner, mvimvi'i, sometimes a specialist in this category of bitom, palavers. The true ordeal had several forms: by a curse uttered over the ancestral grave or the bieti basket; by bitter herbs, alan; by pimento or ants; by boiling water or fire. /72/ Initiations and particularly that for ngil all involved a collective ordeal intended to ward off beyem who might have tried to push their way in. In addition to the ordeal proper, the mvimvi'i could make [787] use of various forms of divining in order to discover presumed culprits. Except for a serious crime, the culprit thus revealed was not forced to undergo an ordeal if he admitted his guilt. Physical ordeals are [678] on the decline; they are considered crimes or delicts in the Penal Code. And ordeal by oath has lost a great deal of its force. Divining remains much in use and is sometimes highly effective (1).

1. An oath may be sworn on a nno'okak—a little elephant shield containing various medicines, equipped with a strap and worn under the arm. The nno'okak is not an insignia of authority. Upon the death of its holder it does not pass automatically to the man who becomes head of the family but goes to the one who has a flair for magic. To leap over a nno'okak laid on the ground means swearing that one has told the truth. [728] The nno'okak is a guarantee of treaties: after a battle it is placed between the belligerents, who jump over it to vouch for their peaceful intentions. (J. B.)

[77] Among modern punishments, fines and imprisonment are well recognized by the Pahouin and have a definite intimidating power. • 68 On the other hand, the subtleties of setting up a public prosecutor /la constitution de partie civil/ are beyond many peasants, who thus lose the possibility of receiving damages that custom would have given them. Above all, the Napoleonic interpretation of crimes and delicts remains pretty well foreign to Pahouin norms, for example, in judging an insult as a mere transgression even when directed to an

177 ascending relative. These /factors/ explain the success and persistence of parallel judicial processes, which are illegal from the point of view of European law, although sometimes tolerated by the administration.

d. Delinquency

674 If the older people are to be believed, delinquency offenses used to be rare: secret societies with their ordeals and swift punishments prevented delicts by the fear they inspired. At present the jail books and the judicial statistics make it possible to gauge the dimensions of the phenomenon, but there is no proof that all delinquents are prosecuted. Some affairs never reach the ears of the law: for instance, fathers of families often deplore the immorality of their sons or their wives, whom they accuse of stealing from them, but since no complaint is lodged, these facts are not recorded.

It is usual in Africa to complain of the rise in juvenile delinquency. The figures at my disposal do show an increase:

	18 yrs.	18 - 20 yrs.	20 - 25 yrs.	25 - 30 yrs.	30 - 35 yrs.	Over 35 yrs.	Total
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
1936	3	3.5	19	32	18	25	100
1946	-	10	21	35	15	14	100
1956	7	7.2	25	22	15	24	100

/72/ But this increase is not as great as might have been feared. A study of the statistics allows another conclusion: delinquency is an urban phenomenon. In fact, only people following city occupations [369] are found in the jails. In a region of primarily agricultural activity, a relatively low number of rural delinquents is remarkable. Admittedly we must recognize that in towns law enforcement is easier, also that the more Westernized townsmen do not hesitate so much to make use of the courts. Nevertheless, the differences between the delinquency rates of different occupations deserve to be pointed out, although the figures below are, of course, only approximate. They were obtained by a study of the census returns for three towns in the southern Cameroons and by a comparison of the jail books for the same localities.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

372 log from the last town where the caravan rested. This man kept the piece of wood
484 burning by gently swinging it backward and forward, while marching along the path with his load. On one occasion I timed a native, and when we reached the next stopping place, after a three hours' tramp in the rain, the brand was still burning brightly, and it had been frequently passed from one end of the caravan to the other so that all who desired could light their pipes from it.

The Fang use fire in the ceremony *of going out of mourning*. I witnessed this
372 ceremony once at Foulabiling. The widows of an old headman had put in the
765 regular time of mourning and were now to be released. There were seven widows in all, three of middle age, and four young girls. A small fire of leaves had been lighted in the centre of the street, and on each side of the fire stood several young men armed with switches. The widows wore a very slender loin cloth. At a given signal the widows rushed toward the fire and bounded through it, the young men switching them as they passed, but the switches were not used severely. Immediately after the switching, each widow seated herself on the ground holding a bunch of burning leaves under her feet, while a young man shaved their heads with a sharp trade knife. On inquiry regarding this ceremony, I obtained the
[78] following information: Passing the fire *alone* them after mourning (evidently considered a means of purification). Switching reminds the widows of their duty to the man who inherits them or his wives. Burning has two meanings: firstly, the pain caused is endured as a last act of mourning for the departed; second, it signifies that henceforth the widows walk a new path (enter upon a new life).

Fire has a place in Fang religion or belief. The sun is considered the sire
372 (father) of all heat, and the original maker of all fire, whether by friction, matches,
121 powder, or lightning. When a severe thunderstorm is at its height, the native say of the lightning, "that the sun has hid his face and is shooting fire, because he is angry." The native word for sun is *ji*. Although the palaver house fire is kept burning, still, no special effort is made to keep it alight; should it go out, any person present is at liberty to rekindle it from newly produced fire.

VII.—Customs.

671 The Fang have no system of law, no judge or tribunal for punishment of crime. Theft, murder, offences against the person are all settled according to native customs.

Example: A Fang of the Esiete clan steals goods or a woman from a Fang of
628 the Ngo clan. The Ngo who has been wronged does not go to the offender for
●671 settlement, he goes to another near town and shoots the first goat he sees in the street, or if very angry, he may shoot a woman. The owner of the goat or woman demands of the Ngo his reason for doing so. The Ngo replies, "An Esiete" (giving the man's name) "has wronged me; I put the palaver (his offence) on you." The third party then goes to the Esiete and says, "An Ngo" (giving the man's name) "has shot my goat (or woman) because you have made trouble with him; he has put *your* palaver (trouble) on me. You must pay me!" The original offender is

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 F369 Fang F369

now responsible and liable to two parties; if he is reasonable they all meet and talk the palaver. If the palaver is serious, each party appoints his *nkil* (ambassador). The palaver is usually talked in the main street of the town, before all the representatives of the interested class, and before all strangers in town. The Fang are born orators, and remarkable gestures and orations are made while talking the palaver. The speaker usually walks backwards and forwards grasping and leaning upon a "palaver stick." He commences with: *M'ewa* (I say this); when speaking for another he says *A'ewa* (he says this); when speaking for the people of his town, *Be ewa* (they say this). Sometimes the *nkil* (ambassador) sit in a canoe in the middle of a river or a stream, and talk the palaver, the injured parties being on either side of the stream. The case is talked, the goods demanded in payment stated, and an effort made to *bili ewang* (cut or end the palaver). If they succeed, then the palaver is *ewi* (ended), and a dance follows; if no agreement is come to, the meeting breaks up and a tribal war exists between those class.

Salutations.

There are three salutations common to all. Two friends meet, they each grasp the arm of the other, high up on the biceps; a slight pause is made, then the hand is slipped down to clasp the wrist. This is also the customary salutation used by the Bulu.

Two friends meeting salute by embracing.

A traveller entering the *ebang* (palaver house) walks over to the headman and sits on his knee a moment, at the same time placing one arm around the headman's neck.

Hospitality demands that all strangers be served food by the town women to strangers in the *ebang*.

Wives are loaned to guests.

Coarse conversation is indulged in by old and young of both sexes.

Considerable fornication prevails among the unmarried; less so among the married.

VIII.—*Invention, Natural Forms, Conservation.*

Invention.—The arts in use are common to all the different class of the great Fang tribe. Any new discovery or the working of iron is credited to the dwarfs or *ngwi*. The natives are always ready to admit that the *ngwi* are very clever; they have a saying "no person knows like a non *ngwi* (dwarf) what is inside the forest." When obtainable the natives use an imported saw, or file, and admit its superiority over their own crude tools. A Fang may be impressed at the knowledge and power of the white man, but is not greatly surprised; the reason for this is that many white men are credited with possessing supernatural powers.

Some of the clubs, tools and weapons approximate to the natural forms of the branches or roots of trees. Axe handles and the handle of a certain kind of adze have

224
285

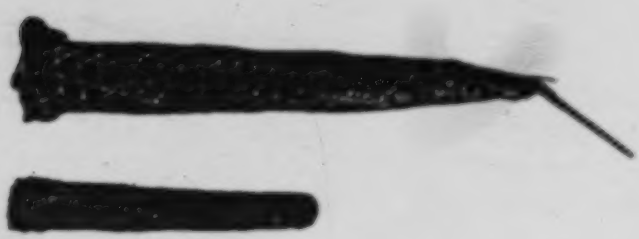


Fig. 86. Basket Traps.

224 fenced-in areas is not unknown to the Fang and is supposed to have been practiced more frequently in former times when the region was more abundant in these pachyderms.

The distribution of meat from the animals caught on the drives is regulated. If a huntsman, for instance, kills a wild animal in such a way that it dies on the spot, /138/ /Fig. 86 appears here in the original text/ he must give the meat of one forefoot to the first of his companions who appears on the scene. On the other hand, if the animal runs on, the first comer can lay claim to the entire forefoot, the second to the shoulder pieces (abá') (1) of one

1. From the stem bǎ, "to divide"; these pieces are usually divided first because the animal falls down to the ground (which, after all, is also common property) with its shoulders first.

side, the third to the outside of the shank (ebú'n). Finally, the one who carries off th. animal can claim the neck bones with some flesh (ebǒǒ) (2).

[48]

2. For he also carries the animal around his neck (placed over his shoulders); abǒ(g)e, bǒǒ = to carry.

224 In view of the excitable and stormy character of the Pangwe,
672 it is no wonder that many of them on such a hunting expedition,
682 where the coveted, delectable tit (tit, "flesh" and "game") jumps

224 out from the bushes everywhere, completely lose their heads and
672 start shooting blindly at anything that moves. On such occasions
• 682 it very frequently happens that a wild Nimrod shoots a hunting companion or a beater. Hunting accidents are the order of the day and make the unfortunate huntsman responsible to the family of the person killed. In order to mitigate the situation, one excuses himself by hiding behind the belief that some "evil" people or sorcerers can transform themselves into antelopes and, weary of living, let themselves be shot in this way in order, even at the end, to place their enemy in an embarrassing position. The hunter declares that this was actually the case at the moment of shooting, that he saw an antelope, fired at it, and that then a person was lying there; he therefore is not guilty. This excuse is of little help to him in the matter since the victim's way of acting by no means releases the unlucky person from the obligation of paying blood money in the amount required for the person he has killed or wounded. Nonetheless, it does reduce his guilt.

224 Individual animals are also driven into the nets when the dog finds their fresh trail. The animal's location is determined by closing in on it in a circle (a kin e tit), and with the help of the remaining villagers it is chased into the net. /139/

On a solitary hunting expedition (elõ bá), the Pangwe -- as was mentioned in the beginning -- more or less break down. There is no special word for "hunter"; nyõ a ngá III "he who fires a flintlock," has to substitute for it. On the other hand, nõõ me III is one who "catches" animals and fish. Only a negligible number of the enormous quantity of animals to be hunted in this forested land is killed without the help of traps, nets, and beaters. Of larger animals killed without such help -- aside from elephants -- the most common are boars and leopards (1) because of their value. In former

[435]

1. Formerly a leopard was worth as much as a woman.

times buffaloes, found only along the large rivers (the Campo, etc.), were also hunted, and the hide was used for the well-known shields. Since the latter have become worthless with the introduction of the

754 or to make him ill, he prepares a medicine which serves to strengthen it's ewu and, at the same time to stimulate it anew and in a particular way for the occasion to point out the direction of the victim and to provide the power for the sorcery. In this way also, the cult figures were transformed by a medicine into active magical beings. From the sequence of medicine, ewu, object of the sorcery, the ewu was later omitted, so only the direct effect of the medicine on the object remains. Thus, instead of killing through sorcery, we have direct poisoning. Among the Pangwe these things are as yet still confused. Only among the Jaunde does there appear to be the beginning of a separation between the two, inasmuch as they do not unquestioningly surrender to their fate, but instead attempt to investigate the poisoning and to find and punish the murderer. In so doing, however, barely escaping this Charybdis, they are caught on the Scylla of legal murder; in view of the difficulty of finding the culprit, they proceed in a
[442] very summary manner. If, for example, a chief dies, presumably poisoned by one of his wives, all of them or at least very many of them will be punished by death.

754 The most common sorcerous medicine used for poisoning is
278 nǎ̃, with which we are already acquainted as a medicine for giving power to the cult figures. It is prepared in three different ways, as white, red and black nǎ̃. As a rule, all three contain toad poison. In addition, the white one usually contains:

1. fine, sharp-edged splinters of grated cowry shells, mica (ebǎ̃b e dǐõb, "scales of heaven"), or glass;

2. skull bones of a man who has been dead for a month and who must have died on the same day that he was taken ill;

[825] 3. toad, Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (mvǔ̃h) dried and grated;

4. lizard, Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (ebõmakǔ̃kǔ̃ĩ), prepared in the same way (see "Religion" /Ed., not translated/): /146/

5. the poisonous roots of the Dioscorea macroura Harms (dzõk IV), dried over a fire and grated;

6. poisonous hairs of the Leguminosa Mucuna pruriens D.C. (akǔ̃n' elõesõ', that is, leaves from the Sso, e.g., leaves of death); at times also

7. scraped and charred rind of the Leguminosa Detarium macrocarpum Harms (enũk), with whose symbolic significance

had been satis- the loss was a village

The matter the Bebai fied since greater, their chief, while young man. influence of to Bebai and fighting.

From this the Pangwe ple of an eye tooth, and only when equal. In a Eseng ple had been be concluded

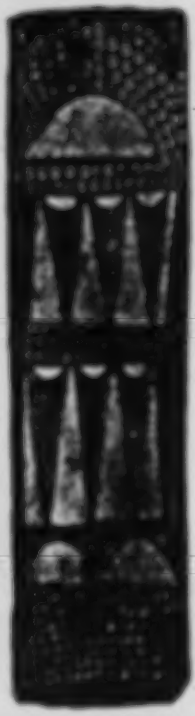


Fig. 84. Wooden Shield.

fied, because on either side exactly the same: each had burned and a man killed. would have gone on, because people were still dissatis- they regarded their loss as casualty had been a great the other had been only a However, by this time the the Whites had penetrated thus an end was put to the

example it can be seen that act according to the princi- for an eye, a tooth for a that blood revenge can cease the losses on both sides are "war" between Schumu and people, eight Schumu peo- killed, and peace could not until eight Eseng men had

likewise been killed. Furthermore, it can be seen that village feuds fraught with consequences often arise from quite trivial causes.

Prisoners are usually killed and then often eaten, as has been mentioned earlier. Only children are raised as "slaves" in the village. Captured women are usually taken by the victors as wives, but sometimes they are also killed in order to even out the number of killed on both sides and thus to make peace possible. /251/

513 example, by the premature death of the fiancée. Almost all customary courts now refuse /to uphold/ repayment when a woman has died without issue, as was the old custom.

The other forms of marriage were ahom, marriage by abduction, which was regularized by later payment of the "bride price" (mewo ngon = arrival of the girl); putting in pawn for debt, which was made permanent /53/ by nonpayment; ñjian, substitution for a fiancée deceased before marriage or for a wife who died without issue (in such cases a younger sister of the dead woman was often provided); [526] tall ahim, corpse price, that is, the giving in payment of a young woman as blood money after a homicide; exchange of women between clans, usually on the occasion of an alliance /i.e. through marriage/, ñiat (1).

1. Ñiat = alliance, agreement; bilelat = kindred, the whole body of relatives and affinal kin.

527 Exchange or loan of women, mvia, was perhaps a form of hospitable prostitution. It apparently did not apply to the benya binga, the "true wives," in any case never to the ñeua minga, the first wife, [528] who would have considered it a reason for divorce without repayment of bride price. In the same way, nkuan, sale, was not the equivalent [529] of marriage and must have applied mainly to foreigners, though perhaps sometimes to Pahouin girls pawned and not redeemed.

The inheritance of widows did not automatically have the same 527 value as marriage. It was usually permitted only between succeeding 528 generations—from father to son, from elder to younger brother; inheriting by an older from a younger brother appears in recent law. Furthermore, the heir possessed the right of renunciation, except with respect to his mother, whom he had to support but whom he would naturally not make his wife. He could send other widows back to their families, keeping their children, who belonged to his clan. 527 To require repayment of the bride price for a widow's "liberation" 528 seems to be a recent deviation; in the past this custom must have applied only to barren women or to those whose children had not lived, but only when they returned to live with their families without remarrying. The moment a widow remarried outside the family of her deceased husband, the "bride price" went to the latter's heirs, and

719 examples. After the victim has been offered to the totem, the latter will itself be immolated, with all the prescribed ritual; then comes the eating or partaking of the totem itself. In this way the ancient covenant is renewed, though on a new basis. It means binding the present to the past and making certain in clear and recognizable fashion, the continuance of the totemic agreement concluded by the first ancestor of the race.

The sacrifice of the totem therefore gives us the basic idea which must have guided primitive sacrifice. First of all, it was an "offering," not a "tax" granted to a recognized master, as Le Roy puts it, for totemic sacrifice does not admit of this notion at all, but rather as the expiation of ritual but necessary murder. This notion is confirmed [505] by the fact that the sacrifice offered "beforehand" to the sacrificed totem is the same as that which ought to be offered as ritual compensation for accidental murder. The totem having been appeased in advance, the "offering" proper is then made. After a series of consecutive consecrations, the "sacrificing person," the chief or practitioner representing the organized group over which he presides, calls "into himself" the genius of the race, : the power of the ancestors. But this power rests in, and inhabits, an invisible world, the world of spirits; the actual totem must be carried into that world and put to death in order that it may penetrate it. So, before the ceremony, the "sacrificing person," as representative of that world of spirits, will take care to paint himself with liturgical colors; [with] red, the color of sacrifice, and white, the color of funerals but especially of spirits, deified souls of the dead, ghosts, of all disembodied forces.

Thus totem and victim will be adorned in the same colors, and only then will the "immolation" take place.

After the immolation comes the exchange of blood.

The totem's blood has been carefully collected; those taking part make slight incisions in their arms, squeeze out a little blood, put some on a leaf, take a few drops of the totem's blood and mix it with their own on the leaf. Finally, they apply the leaf to the cuts on their arms and rub energetically so as to make the mixture of bloods penetrate to the depths of the

685 If the offense is admitted, punishment follows immediately. With theft, for instance, the person who has committed larceny must make a restitution of double the value. In some tribes, the thief if condemned to lose an ear, a finger, a hand, sometimes a foot. Often he may be sold into slavery. Among the Fan he has merely to return twice the amount stolen.

684 In case of adultery, the culprit pays the value of the woman and is also often kept prisoner for a long time in the plaintiff's village; his head is shaved and he is exposed to the sun, covered with spices. If payment is not made, and even if it is, the woman's father or husband has the right -- and makes use of it -- to cut the joints of the culprit's fingers so that he is made almost powerless. Women are cruelly beaten and spices are rubbed into her wounds. She is also chastised with the [413] nkbó éki, (2) a kind of long iron shears used to pinch deeply and

2. This is the name of certain villages where the blacksmiths are found who are skilfull in making these instruments of torture.

cruelly burn the genital organs. At the second offense her nose and ears are cut off; a third brings death.

682 In case of murder, the murderer, when captured, is killed and eaten. Furthermore, his family must pay compensation with a woman or the equivalent value, that is, two lives for one.

695 For all other charges and for those just mentioned, when the acknowledged or presumed culprit denies his guilt, judicial trial is required. [560]

Whatever the ordeal, they may all be considered from two points of view, or even are of two degrees. The first ordeal is intended to "indicate" the likely culprit; the second, to decide whether or not he is really guilty. Punishment is immediate and strikes simultaneously at body and soul.

The first step is therefore to discover the culprit. With theft, murder, or sorcery, the ordeals vary according to the case.

695 The following are some of the principal kinds:

A man is accused of murder. He will first have to be
694 seized; if that is impossible, it does not much matter. Since
672 members of the tribe stick together, another man will be
619 seized, no matter whom. If this cannot be done, the Fan may
●682 even take a man belonging to another tribe, who will be kept prisoner until his family and tribe, taking up the cudgels in their turn, capture either the culprit or a member of the culprit's tribe. One can see to what degree such solidarity may lead to retaliation.

Once a man has been caught, guilty or not, he undergoes
695 one of the following tests:
682 The dzismébiñ is the eye ordeal. A person is brought before the chief, gagged and with his head pulled back. The practitioner takes a little pot made from the hard shell of a small gourd called ngon, which is filled with a certain liquid
[270] consisting of vegetable poisons with an atropine base. The presumed culprit has the right -- and often takes advantage of it -- to require his own totem to be dipped in the liquid. The contents of the pot are then poured into his eye. If the eye stays in its socket, the man is innocent; if the eye is destroyed or raised out of the socket, he is guilty. (1) In the latter case

[271] 1. The same test occurs among the Bangala and Barundi.

he is immediately killed by a knife stroke. He may nevertheless ask to drink the test poison, provided that he is buying back his life for the first time. This is often permitted.

A second and more generally used ordeal is the following, called médzim mé ne ayôn, burning water. [561]

The practitioner boils water in a pot. When it comes to a boil, he throws in a wire ring, and the presumed culprit must retrieve it without burning himself; if his hand is injured, he is declared guilty, but if not, he is adjudged innocent and is dismissed. In such a case, the plaintiff himself is punished and must drink the test poison. The accused man has the right to

695 boil his own totem in the pot, but so has the practitioner, in
682 order to counterbalance the power of the accused man's totem.

The red-hot iron test, éki bûân or bûâ éki bûâ, is the third ordeal.

The accused man's knife is heated red hot, then pressed to his cheek; if the cheek is burnt, he is guilty; otherwise, he is declared innocent. He has the right to throw into the fire, in which the iron is heated, the ashes of his individual totem; he also has the right to rub with this same totem that part of his body to which the red-hot iron will be applied.

There is no need to dwell on how easy subterfuges would be, all the more so since before each ceremony the presumed culprit is allowed to apply a few strong poultices or substances to harden his skin. The totem would then be only more effective!

If declared innocent, the accused man nevertheless owes a sacrifice to his mvane, a debt that will be readily discharged.

In case of theft there are also three tests used, as follows:

685 for the otura bûâ, the practitioner lights a large fire in
695 the middle of the village, fed with special kinds of wood. When
787 the fire has caught well, he throws an armful of wet leaves on it; he then moves back, having pronounced above the rising smoke certain magical words. The column of smoke at first rises straight up; suddenly, without wind (often there is not a breath), without any visible physical action on the part of the practitioner or anyone else (because they are all at a distance), it curves inward, we are told, eddies, and then advances towards a hut which it completely envelopes. The hut's owner is immediately seized and declared guilty [562]; however, he can insist on drinking the test poison, provided that he is buying back his life for the first time. One cannot redeem oneself from the test poison.

The smoke test has always seemed to me one of the most difficult to explain. I have witnessed it several times and in spite of the closest attention have not been able to perceive the least trickery.

685 A second test is the following: the practitioner lies on the
695 ground and appears to listen to mysterious voices which are heard,
787 in fact, as if coming out of the earth. Probably a simple effect of
198

754 777 akum • he has become rich by ngbwel), is to be distinguished from ordinary, accidental luck, ma'a, by its lasting character, which soon arouses public suspicion — this is one of the visible symptoms of ngbwel.

754 The involuntary nnem was generally put to death, more easily than the conscious sorcerer, who knew how to protect himself. Nevertheless, it was possible to treat a nnem, by means of a very drastic purification involving physiological as well as psychological catharsis and sometimes by real surgical operations /117/, to which in most cases the patient succumbed. Today the European administration usually prevents the execution of beyem, but their relatives often succeed in persuading them to kill themselves. After an epidemic of meningitis at Ambam in 1948, two men and two young women, accused by a bwiti diviner of having caused the death of a dozen children by involuntary ngbwel, threw themselves into the N'Tem within the month. In former times, beyem were burned by being covered with wood in such a way as to prevent both the évu and their nsisim from escaping; they were also drowned or buried alive, preferably in the bed of a stream that had been diverted and was then turned back to its old course after the burial.

754 The conscious nnem is both more and less dangerous. Bound to his évu by a kind of pact, he directs its activity instead of allowing it to kill at random as the unconscious nnem does. Therefore, he is more dangerous to his enemies but less so to his kin, although the concluding and maintenance of the alliance with the évu requires him to sacrifice members of his family.

A nnem with a strong personality, tyi anen a nlem ayet, with great strength and a hard heart, can succeed in really controlling his évu and making it a servant that will procure him wealth and power, rid him of his enemies, and confer supernatural powers on him, such as the ability to be in two places at once /bilocation/, to move objects from a distance /telekinesis/, divination, etc. But ngbwel always remains a dangerous art. First of all, the nnem knows that he is condemned after death to be a white kôn, forbidden to cross the ékanga bekôn, the bridge of the dead, to seek the ancestors, mañ ayat, beyond the sea. There are immediate dangers, in addition to that final condemnation. First, the ever present risk that the évu will dominate the nnem and weaken the latter. Next, the risk of a kind of reaction if the évu attacks a stronger nnem or a mie well protected by a bian provided with white magic. Finally, /there is the risk/ of

754 as a result of the magician's natural spitefulness (ɛ́nezam • wickedness, disorder; nkɔ̂ɔ̂ • malevolence, from ɛ́lɔ̂ • an evil act committed expressly and without necessity: a woe bot elan • he who kills for pleasure, ndan of the begɔ̂vina • from the German occupation until

•/No footnote is given to this puzzling phrase, but "begɔ̂vina" may mean "government people." —Tr./

the present). A protective biaŋ against the beyem can be used against an innocent mie, a magical weapon, a spell against a brother. Such an action may constitute not only an ɛ́tom, a delict, but also a nnem, a breaking of taboo, when initiation into magical technique included a prohibition against using it for evil ends. The same thing holds for the use of certain methods, illegal or immoral in themselves, even when the purpose is permissible or morally good: this is the case with the biaŋ for /ensuring/ conjugal fidelity, which consists of the husband having his wife drink his sperm; with that for curing an illness by transferring it to another person (transfer to an animal or plant is permissible); with the use of certain mebiaŋ for fertility, etc. The commonest acts of sorcery do not belong in the ngbwel category (and perhaps also in that of the ɔ̂ɔn) and would lead simply to a "civil" suit, neither more nor less than a case of assault and battery or a
• [CB] "natural" homicide. Ngbwel, on the contrary, is always a capital crime, provided that the nnem be not too powerful to escape judgment or punishment.

e. Permissible Magic, Divination, Medicine

767 The first aim of licit magic is to fight against sorcerers, especially beyem, but that is only one of its aspects. In fact, it extends to all life's activities, and everyone uses it to a greater or less extent, aside from the specialists, ngengaŋ or ngaŋ, magician, mvimvi'i, diviner, mbibian, healer, and nyia bia, singer (1).

[793] 1. Among the Ewɔ̂ndo there used to be a sort of priest, nzomelo, often a chief, who received the first fruits of maize, blessed sowings, and presided over the ancestor cult. (J. B.)

781 Finally, the practitioner is priest, physician, healer, seer, according to whatever function his rank has him perform. Under this title he consults the fates, calls up spirits, etc. In ceremonies of the public cult, for instance, he is priest, seer, rain maker, the acknowledged intermediary between the world of the living and the other world. To sum up, he acts for the welfare of the tribe or of some of its members. In the last capacity he is seen as sacrificer at a child's birth, and as the principal agent in circumcision and in the ceremonies connected with puberty, the initiation of warriors, marriage, and death. He is called in for all illnesses so as to drive away the malevolent spirits who alone cause disease. [418] As physician he first uses magical formulae designed to liberate the good "influences" contained in the remedies he will administer. Next, he dispels evil "spirits" and calls upon favorable spirits, the ancestors of the race, to help him. Only after this does he proceed to give the remedy; then he again calls upon the aid of propitious spirits and dispels the bad ones. ...

Our Fan give the practitioner a special name; he is the ngàn, a name common to the whole of Bantu Africa, where the phoneme [sic] may be found throughout the tribes, variously modified as m-gàna, n-gàna, m-hàna, gàna, ngàh. ...

[Last paragraph on p. 417 omitted; pp. 418 to mid-420 omitted. --Translator] [420]

754 The sorcerer's social position is easily defined; not only does he have neither rank nor position in the tribe but even to apply the word "sorcerer" ... to a native is more than an insult, it is extremely imprudent. To call a Fan ngàn or ngenngàn is doing him an honor; if he is not a practitioner, he will give you credit for your good intentions and courtesy. Call him nlem [he who casts bait] and the situation is quite different. First, he will peer around to see if anyone has overheard. If you are alone with him and [421] the stronger, or if he fears retaliation, you will be lucky to escape the gunshot or knife stab he will gladly give you, or the poison he might give you as soon as he has a chance. If there are people around in the village, it would constitute a serious accusation, which might cost him his life. ...

[683]

683 This is the most frequent test among the Fan.
781 Anyone accused of sorcery, or all those who have succumbed during the first tests, must drink the ordeal poison. This
695 ceremony has been described so often that there is no need to go
278 into it at length.

In the Fan test-poison ordeal three different poisons are used, according to the case in question: the sap of the éñá tree, the grated bark and roots of the oné or onaf; (1) the roots of the

[411]

> 1. Strychnos onaf: this shrub of the strychnine family, produces the poison used on arrowheads. Puncture is fatal if the poison is fresh, and death ensues within a few moments. If the poison is old, the wound slowly becomes gangrenous. Bromine is a good antidote.

shrub kwéa. (2) These roots are finely shredded, thrown into

> 2. Strychnos ikaja: this is a common test on the coast, where kwéa, the natives say, is called ikaja, nka, mbonde, ibonde, etc.

boiling water and a reddish liquid is obtained after a few hours of simmering. This highly dangerous brew contains in solution a considerable amount of strychnine and hyoscine.

683 The ngengñá, or practitioner, begins by sacrificing a she-
781 goat, with the formulae already indicated. Next, all the vil-
695 lagers assemble, and the practitioner appears in red and white paint, with red parrot feathers and black fish hawk plumes stuck into his hair to form a crown. His only garment consists of a skin tied around his loins, and he wears many bells on his hands and feet. [564] He invokes the protective fetishes of the village, leaps, skips, and howls frenetically. The tom-tom played by one of his acolytes is beaten faster and faster; the practitioner's movements increase in tempo; little by little he seems to move by preference toward a group, the sound of his bells directing him, so he says. Finally he halts abruptly and points in the crowd

7: Trilles--105 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 P119 Fang P119

68
695
181

to one or more culprits, who are immediately seized and led to the middle of the public square, where one of the practitioner's assistants is waiting with several cups of the liquid.

Those who, in previous ordeals, have asked to be given the poison to drink are also brought up at the same time.

Each in turn empties a cup; the effects vary according to the kind of poison.

Those who drink the dibh quickly develop a violent trembling, which convulses the whole body. They can hardly keep on their feet and would roll on the ground were they not supported by friends. If at this point they are able to urinate copiously, they will gradually recover and survive. However, for years they will have a persistent nervous tremor.

Those who drink the ikaja or the onaf seem, on the contrary, to be knocked out: they fall down, get up, and fall down again. They survive only if they can vomit the liquid.

Whatever the effect of the poison, all who have undergone the test are led before a log thrown like a bridge over a brook, or sometimes before a plank or a dead tree laid on the ground. They must tread it without help from one end to the other. If they waver and fall, all the participants leap on them, [564] strike and kill them with clubs, tear them apart and eat them on the spot. However, the sorcerers or those who claim to be are never eaten but are burnt alive. Those who get through to the end of the plank have to pay a large fine. "There's no smoke without fire," seems to be the Fan proverb, translated [559] into their idom as, "Ké abi fo ve fo -- there's no rat hole without a rat!"

The totem enters to a fairly large extent into all these tests, either through the practitioner who invokes it or through the unfortunate accused who always have the right, quite illusory for them, to have a [565] piece of the totem boiled with the dîûn (1) and to invoke it before drinking up the fatal

1. It is not for me to pass judgment on these ceremonies, or to show to what degree the practitioner plays the dominant role, often getting well paid

for administering an effective emetic along with the test poison. I shall evaluate these ordeals later when discussing religion.

poison.

Women are not subject to the tests I have just mentioned except sometimes to the nkal test. Among the Fan they do not drink the test poison; they are, in fact, considered as irresponsible and in a state of tutelage. Therefore in cases of serious accusation, a woman's father or husband has to take her place but does not invoke the totem, because it would not be able to act on her behalf since it does not acknowledge the woman.

Only for an accusation of sorcery does a woman have to submit to a test.

She is brought gagged to the middle of the village, two female relatives pull her head back, and the practitioner empties
[345] into her eye the sap of a euphorbia called ka. (2) If she comes

2. Euphorbia scandens, of the arboreal euphorbias.

through unhurt, she is innocent. If, on the contrary, as nearly always happens, the eye leaves the socket, she is immediately
[346] declared guilty, dragged away into the forest, burnt, and eaten. The accusation frequently arises, and punishment is never delayed.

VIII. Blood Exchange

" 'Brotherhood' (in America, totemisation)," says Mgr. Le Roy. (3) "is relationship through an exchange of blood; if

3. La religion des primitifs [The Religion of Primitive Peoples] op. cit., p. 120.

this is not quite totemism, it is very near to it."

836 entirely as the husband's own. If the mother runs away with a
849 man -- which sometimes happens -- without taking the child along, it is fed by the grandmother whose name it also usually bears if it is a girl. It is by no means a disgrace for the girl if her sexual relations with young men have consequences.

3. Marriage

We have already seen that sexual intercourse within blood
835 relationship is taboo (ekĭ). Such relationship includes:
184
1. one's own familial group;
2. the mother's familial group;
3. the familial group of the father's mother.

Formerly this taboo was observed by all Pangwe with uniform strictness, but today it is frequently circumvented. The Jaunde do not always observe it, and the Fang -- of all people, the Fang with their constantly emphasized ɔɔon -- have dropped it for the own familial group, but retain it for the other familial groups. To the Ntum and all the other Pangwe this shocking occurrence has been a great irritant, and they never let an opportunity pass of making fun of the immorality of the Fang who "cohabit with their own sisters" or of speaking indignantly about it, without failing at the same time to stress their own great respect for morality and decency. This is done despite the fact that the Ntum themselves have at least in part been corrupted by the bad example of the Fang, and in other respects, too, transgressions against the taboo are not infrequent. The custom of having sexual relations with women of one's own kin group (sisters in the Pangwe sense) is called zǎmadulu III or simply zǎma III, the verb being a dulu zǎma. As can be seen by the prefix class, the name has been derived entirely unchanged from the name for God (zǎma) and signifies "to act like Sama," because, as can be seen from the creation story (Vol. II, p. 16 ff. /Ed., not translated/), Sama (Nsambe) had sexual intercourse with his own sister.

835 Where zǎmadulu is still taboo, a payment must be made to
684 the girl's father in case of a violation. The payment varies depending upon the gravity of the offense: a number of goats

835 (formerly it was commonly five goats), as well as a dog which
684 serves as scapegoat, that is, the dog is supposed to take upon itself the disease with which the sinner is threatened by the cult spirit. If disease nonetheless occurs, medicines which are connected with the cults are prepared (see medicines for cult sicknesses, Vol. II, p. 36).

The modern, freer conception or -- among the Fang -- the
835 denial of the taboo against intercourse with blood relatives (in
582 the Pangwe sense) disappears as soon as there is a question of marriage. Then the taboo is in force everywhere and without qualifications. /260/

Free intercourse between the young man and the girl is, in
836 many cases, only a shorter or longer testing period which, if the
583 result of the "test" -- in this case a physical one, as contrasted to the spiritual one of which we spoke above -- is favorable, leads to marriage. If the girl is very much in love with her friend, to use a Pangwe expression, he can readily persuade her to follow him immediately to his village. Such an "abduction" is considered -- partly, at least -- to be sanctified by custom, even if the bride's family is usually not overjoyed at the practice. In such a case, the girl's father will set out the next day to demand the purchase price from his son-in-law. If the latter is able to pay him a part, say, half of this price, the matter is settled, and the balance is usually put on a buy-now-pay-later basis. If it turns out, however, that the "abducter" is a poor beggar or that his father does not want to produce the money, the bride is mercilessly taken away from him again even if she pours out streams of tears. You simply cannot get something for nothing. In the majority of cases, however, the girl will not agree to run away with her lover; instead she will demand that her suitor ask her father for her hand in marriage and first make a payment.

Every woman, young or old, has the same value. Nonethe-
583 less, the amount of the purchase price fluctuates greatly in accordance with general economic conditions. A woman is cheapest among the Jaunde and she is most expensive in the heart of Pangwe country. The price fluctuates between 200 and 750 marks in our money. On the average, one can assume a price of

837 to do so, but, as I said -- white crows! Actually, it would be asking rather a lot to expect this as the order of the day, in view of the prevailing polygyny. All jealousy and all supervision are of no avail; the women simply acquire behind the man's back what he cannot or will not grant them.

[622] Generally, the chief keeps only a small number of his wives, perhaps from three to five, for himself. The others he divides [595] among his /263/ adherents and friends or hires them out to acquaintances for one or more nights in exchange for cash payment. In addition, as is apparent from the reckonings at the feast for the souls, the women keep a whole series of admirers who -- if there is no other way -- satisfy them during the day in the fields, in spite of Ngi and all the cult spirits. Even lepers and cripples are not spurned if they are capable sexually. If the [684] husband learns the name of a wife's lover, the latter must pay him about 300 spears. The price fluctuates somewhat, and in case the parties do not come to an agreement, it is determined by legal proceedings. If the husband catches a rival in flagrante delicto, he sometimes has no scruples about shooting him down on the spot.

587 If a woman dies soon after marriage, the widower obtains the sister of the deceased as a wife, either for nothing or for a small additional payment, because it is believed that the woman carried an ewu inside her, in other words, that she was a sorceress and was therefore responsible for her own death, thus wronging her husband.

If for some reason or other a man does not like his wife, he 586 can give her back without great difficulty, since, after all, she retains her value and finally always "gets her man." In the case of young people, who frequently marry the first person that happens to be available and only later realize what they have actually acquired, wives may be taken back purely if they have a poor appearance, diseased teeth, an evil smell, and so forth, in other words, if they are generally "unpleasant."

Otherwise, the chief grounds for divorce are: 1) spitefulness and disobedience towards the spouse; 2) malicious, extended desertion of the husband (but not simple running away) and

833 to be, in part at least, effective. Thus, the most common of
278 these, derived from the Rubiacea Corynanthe yohimbe K. Sch.,
[824] has recently been incorporated in our medications under the name "yohimbin," The natives produce an extract from the bark and wood of the tree and drink this. They conceive the manner of its effect as similar to the one mentioned above, and they reason as follows: the wood of the tree is especially hard in relation to that
[825] of other trees, say, like the penis of a pig in relation to that of other animals (something which one notices if one boils it and tries to eat it), and I shall acquire this characteristic of the wood if I partake of some of the wood. Hence the tree also bears the name nkún e ngüí, "pig's penis."

Aside from the Corynanthe yohimbe, we should mention here
824 two other trees which possibly also give physiological effects:
833 Leguminosa Baphia buettneri Harms (mfǎ I, mfǎn I), and the
278 Flaccourtiacea Homalium africanum Bth. (ejǔm, supposedly from a jǔme nkǔn, "to erect the penis," an expression that I never again encountered. In my opinion, the root contained in ejǔm is the same as in nnǔm, plural bojǔm = masculine gender; thus, the tree would be called ejǔm for (e) the man; majǔm, plural = seed). /267/ The leaves of the Baphia buettneri are gathered, ground on stones, and placed in the sun in sugar wine. The mixture is drunk while it is warm. From the Homalium, on the other hand, the bark is scraped off and ground; then it is boiled with spices and the liquid drunk while it is hot.

Finally, three more plants were mentioned to me as belonging in the category of biǎn ejē, among these, the Solanum duplosinuatum U.D. (etüin) because of its spikes.

Venereal diseases (see Section 13) are prevalent only in those
164 areas where European influence has existed for some time, especially
● 684 in Yaoundé and Gabon, from where syphilis has been spread. The
[177] Negroes seem to consider frambesia a kind of sexual disease, for the man who has communicated this disease to a girl or a wife must pay her or her father the same penalty (500 to 1,000 spears) he would pay if he had infected her with syphilis. If, on the other hand, the lover becomes infected through the woman, he can claim no damages.

In the case of gonorrhea, the infected woman can demand
164 damages only if she notices the misfortune before she has been
684 paid for the favor rendered. The damages amount to 400 spears if the disease came from a person of the same kin group, and 1000 spears if it came from a person of another kin group. With the payment the "temporary marriage contract" is terminated, and thereby any claim for damages is nullified. In other words, it is always a good idea to pay one's debts as soon as possible:

[539] a bɛ̌le, a bɛ̌le, a kɔ̌n abɛ̌ mayõ̌k.
Keeping, keeping, it strikes (a) poor bargain.

The person who always keeps his money to himself runs into an unfavorable price situation.

Their unrestrained sexual intercourse has a highly deleterious
831 effect upon the Negroes; it weakens and stupefies them. Smaller
461 boys are often quite useful as servants, but once they reach sexual maturity and become acquainted with women, they can simply no longer be used. The Pangwe recognize this bad influence, and intelligent ones among them did not hesitate to confess frankly to me that their sexual practices corrupted them and made them incapable of strenuous physical or intellectual work. We do not need the testimony of individuals, however -- popular customs demonstrate this insight sufficiently. I believe that, aside from
[834] being based upon the original religious conception concerning the sinfulness of sexual intercourse and its incarnation in the woman, the abstinence rules for war and hunting expeditions and for iron smelting are based on the experience that sexual intercourse weakens the man's physical and intellectual capacities. Naturally, the man is inclined to heap the blame on women /268/
[196] and bebõ̂n, "vaginas," as he contemptuously calls them (1).

171 1. "Terms which originally only signified 'vulva' or 'cunnus' but were then generalized into the concept 'wenches,'" exist everywhere in Europe, too; see Anthropophyteia, Jahrbücher für folkloristische Erhebungen und Forschungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der geschlechtlichen

831
785 sun) -- or with elephant's meat, in which case the child is sup-
556 posed to become spiritually great and important, just as the ele-
[825] phant surpasses the other animals physically, or, finally, with the meat of the hedgehog -- the child is to get as many things as the hedgehog has quills (1).

[539] 1. A well-known proverb, to be intelligible, would have to be translated into Pangwe something like this: He is as full of stupidities as the hedgehog is full of quills.

785 Thus, the child becomes miǎk. Its loincloth is taken off
831 and from now on -- be it male or female -- it must go about completely naked. Here is another significant fact regarding
[834] the moral-religious view of the Pangwe: clothing, that is, the
[291] covering of the sex organs, arose because the sense of shame (o-so-n) which started with the first sin (n-sö-m, root so), that is, sexual intercourse, demanded it. If the innocent state (ignorance of sexual matters) is artificially restored, clothing becomes unnecessary.

The miǎk are generally respected. People are careful not to speak to them about sexual matters or to seduce the girls, especially since /270/ the protection which they are accorded by cus-
[684] tom is effectively strengthened through the right of the father or the relatives to shoot down the seducer without further ado wherever they find him. Nowadays, however, the old customs have been somewhat relaxed; the miǎk are not always what they ought to be.

Annulment of the chastity obligation takes place in the same solemn manner when the consecrated person is fully grown, in other words, not before the age of 20 years. In the case of the man, it is required that he prove himself the bravest in war or at least that he has shot an enemy (1). In the case of the girl, it is

[177] 1. Today, in the regions influenced by the Whites, this decree has had to be moderated.

[583] required of the suitor that, contrary to the usual custom, he pay

838 539 feminine role seems to be hinted at with these words), but I am not in the girl's skin either, after all!" However, Schok I was not satisfied with this explanation. Thereupon the father went to the village of Schok IV, who had abducted his daughter, and demanded bride price from him. Schok IV accordingly paid this price. Bongo went back home with it and said to Schok I: "Here is all the money for the girl; I am paying you with it!" But Schok I said to him: "No, I don't want the money!" Thereupon the father took one of his wives and the money and wanted to offer all this to Schok I as compensation. But still Schok would have none of it. He said: "No, I don't want it -- rather (and this will be the compensation) we shall both always be together; when you urinate, I shall also urinate; when you defecate, I shall also defecate, when you sleep, I shall also sleep with you on the same bed (1)!"

1. The great declaration of love of the Pangwe corresponding to our: "Wherever you go, there I will go too!"

So, in fact, it turned out, and the two slept together. Finally, however, both contracted frambesia and died of it.

The last Schok, Schok II, who loved the brother, did the same thing with the latter as Schok I did with Bongo. As a substitute for the girl, he stayed with the brother, and the two slept together. But they, too, became sick, of leprosy, and died.

In this tale it is particularly striking that the sexually normal and abnormal have different fates. The normal Schok III gets away unpunished, even though he kills the wife of his host, who was to become his mother-in-law. The homosexuals Schok I and II receive a terrible punishment in the form of leprosy and frambesia for their intercourse.

838 [684] As we already know and as we have seen again here, the punishment for homosexual intercourse is usually leprosy, meted out by Ngi (or /274/ other cult spirits) as the guardian of purity. This is also the punishment for other immoral crimes, such as sexual intercourse during the day, and so forth.

314 circumcision was public, and the woman to whom it was done under-
681 went the gibes and insults of all the inhabitants.

The life of the young people is the same as that of the adults. The
883 virginity of a woman is considered unimportant and the Fan have
836 sexual relations from the time they are capable of cohabitation. When
848 a young girl has a child, it belongs to her parents, from whom the child acquires wealth; there is no search for the father and the young girl keeps all the respect which she enjoyed. Young girls are free to give themselves to whomever they please. This very broad morality,
[582] however, has one important qualification in that there are, so to speak, no young girls, the little girls having been married off by their parents very early, sometimes even before their birth.

582 Marriage (alug). Men rarely marry before the age of twenty years, and usually later, because they do not have the means to pay the dowry for taking a wife.

582 Exogamy is always practiced because marriage between people of
835 the same tribe is sterile. Marriage between cousins is forbidden up to the third generation and in general, marriage is forbidden between persons linked by any kind of kinship; in this case there is also pro-
[684] hibition of sexual relations. No penalty is prescribed for infraction, but the guilty ones will fall ill and their children, if they have any, will not live.

582 Occasionally there are instances when marriage between relatives
783 is authorized, but only after the practitioner has removed the pro-
835 hibition by the process [88] called abvule minsem. The practitioner goes to find some termite earth (ngurege), a plant (mekaga), and a vine (nyola dzik); the plant and vine are folded and placed in an etok
[945] (a container of banana leaves) full of water. The termite earth is placed on a nzum (see the description in the section on conception) and the etok is placed underneath. The two kinsmen who want to marry also stand underneath it, while the practitioner climbs onto the nzum, dips the leaves in the etok, and says, "nseme ose mi waga bo e wo ma va yüi" (I remove every prohibition that you have made). He hits the termite earth with the leaves and then takes the etok and pours the contents onto the heads of the two people from whom he is removing the prohibition. With the remainder, the man and woman each takes a washing.

583 A man who has not enough dowry but who finds a young girl eager to marry him may take her away in the night; when the parents come

585 The day on which the woman is to come out of the hut, she is bathed
535 and anointed with an oil (mbon nzüi) and is seated on a stool placed in the middle of the village square. Other women sing and dance around her and give her a new name to represent a wish she has made.

There is no religious ceremony.

583 There also used to be a marriage by exchange of wives (mvole bunanga). With the mere consent of the women concerned, two men could exchange their wives. The parents of the wives did not interfere except to verify the amounts of the dowries and to make sure that the husband of the wife with the lesser dowry had fully paid the difference to the other.

593 The relations between married couples are simple: the man must
562 lodge his wife and clear the brush from the site where she will make her plantings; on the other hand, the wife owes absolute fidelity and obedience to her husband, who has the right to beat her. The woman has no authority in the household; she is hardly more respected than
[832] a domestic animal; she owns in her own right only the cooking utensils and the tools for planting and fishing, and does not have the right to own animals. Prohibition of sexual relations is rigidly observed during
[834] pregnancy, during lactation, and in the night preceding departure for the hunt, work at the forge, and various [other] tasks. If the prohibition were not observed, these tasks would be unsuccessful.

595 Polygamy is the present custom among the Fan. The first wife has authority over the others, who must obey her. She receives the largest share of everything and assigns household chores and field work. The husband sleeps with each of his wives for three days.

684 In adultery, only the wife is punished. She is beaten and her ac-
837 complice pays an indemnity to her husband. This indemnity amounts to a quarter of the dowry. The wife confesses her adultery only when forced to by a series of corporal punishments which range from blows to being tied to a tree full of ants (akokum).

586 Repudiation is accomplished without difficulty: the man sends back his wife and the dowry is repaid him. The causes for repudiation are repeated adultery, the death of a child as a result of adultery, laziness, practice of fetishism, and excessive surveillance of the husband; sterility is not a reason for [90] repudiation. The children stay with the husband, and the woman, once repudiated, may remarry.

837 "Etudes sur le Pays Pahouin [Study on the Pahouin Country]," op. cit.

"friendship wife"), show, as does the freedom just referred to, that the curbing of adultery can be explained by social reasons which are quite alien to sexuality.

[727 567] 831 595 581 The possibility of raping women of neighboring people during the time of conquest, the possibility of buying foreign women at a good price, so long as the slave trade lasted, permitted the "chiefs" of groupings to remedy the dangers due to the unsatisfied desires of the young men. Apparently the Fang do not display, as do some people, (2) signs of unsatisfied sex due to the fact that

2. Cf. R. Bastide, Sociologie et Psychanalyse [Sociology and Psychoanalysis], pp. 160-161.

women remain the property of the older men. What is sought is the legal possession of the woman, let us say, for the many advantages it entails, rather than sexual possession. And in this sense the justification brought forward by L. Mba can be understood when he writes, "It was not material satisfaction of the senses which drove the Pahouins to polygamy, but many other reasons. . . ."

581 562 684 628 When the marriage is consummated, the woman goes from a state of near liberty to one of strict sexual control. The specific painful physical penalties for adultery to which the woman alone is subject are particuarly severe: being exposed naked before the assembled village, being tied to the ant tree, excision of the clitoris or pimento torture, various mutilations. When the woman, either by flight or by rape, leaves the grouping into which she married, the whole group reacts violently. It is the cause of fights, kidnaping, and pillaging of the village that has taken her 581 562 in. (3) There is the most absolute contrast between this control

3. "Hence, conflicts that last for years, expressed through kidnaping of women and ending in gunshots," Libreville, Archives of 1909. And

587 the law has not changed on this point. "No bride price, no marriage"
583 —Sa nsuba, ve alu' e se kik. We shall find this principle again in connection with legitimate descent.

583 Thus it is the absence of payment of the nsuba that gives their
837 character to free union, ébon, and to adultery, mejian, and makes them really infringements upon the law of property, justifying the fact
[684] that customary courts logically refuse to impose a penalty in a case of ébon when the girl returns to her family pregnant (2).

2. This is hard for some magistrates to understand.

581 A husband must provide his wife with lodging and clothes and
513 must clothe any children he has by her. He must clear the field she will cultivate, provide her with household utensils and, in theory, with meat. He must allow her to visit her parents, to whom he owes respect. He must not use sorcery (3) against her and must respect the

[586 837 754] 3. Likened to sorcery are fellatio and sodomy, the grounds for numerous divorces from former members of native infantry regiments.

[833] prerogatives of rank that she holds among her co-wives; he is supposed to sleep with her when she is not menstruating nor pregnant nor nursing.
[834] He must not beat her beyond what she can stand nor expose her vulva in public. /54/

A woman owes obedience to her husband, to her mother-in-law, and to the first wife, respect to her affinal relatives, therefore to her husband's clan; she must be faithful to her husband and perform her conjugal duty. She is responsible for cultivating the plots cleared for her, for fishing with weirs, for feeding her children, taking her turn at cooking for her husband, for keeping her hut clean and that of her husband when she is sleeping with him, and for helping to build them (it is she who applies the banco onto the frame). She does not have to take care of imported household equipment and clothes because these are biôm of a masculine nature (but the schools and missions are trying to train women to do so). Finally, and above all, she
[842] must be prolific: this is her first duty and a great deal will be forgiven her if she performs it.

685 If the offense is admitted, punishment follows immediately. With theft, for instance, the person who has committed larceny must make a restitution of double the value. In some tribes, the thief if condemned to lose an ear, a finger, a hand, sometimes a foot. Often he may be sold into slavery. Among the Fan he has merely to return twice the amount stolen.

●684 In case of adultery, the culprit pays the value of the woman and is also often kept prisoner for a long time in the plaintiff's village; his head is shaved and he is exposed to the sun, covered with spices. If payment is not made, and even if it is, the woman's father or husband has the right --and makes use of it -- to cut the joints of the culprit's fingers so that he is made almost powerless. Women are cruelly beaten and spices are rubbed into her wounds. She is also chastised with the [413] nkôñ éki, (2) a kind of long iron shears used to pinch deeply and

2. This is the name of certain villages where the blacksmiths are found who are skilfull in making these instruments of torture.

cruelly burn the genital organs. At the second offense her nose and ears are cut off; a third brings death.

682 In case of murder, the murderer, when captured, is killed and eaten. Furthermore, his family must pay compensation with a woman or the equivalent value, that is, two lives for one.

695 For all other charges and for those just mentioned, when the acknowledged or presumed culprit denies his guilt, judicial trial is required. [560]

Whatever the ordeal, they may all be considered from two points of view, or even are of two degrees. The first ordeal is intended to "indicate" the likely culprit; the second, to decide whether or not he is really guilty. Punishment is immediate and strikes simultaneously at body and soul.

The first step is therefore to discover the culprit. With theft, murder, or sorcery, the ordeals vary according to the case.

685 If the offense is admitted, punishment follows immediately. With theft, for instance, the person who has committed larceny must make a restitution of double the value. In some tribes, the thief if condemned to lose an ear, a finger, a hand, sometimes a foot. Often he may be sold into slavery. Among the Fan he has merely to return twice the amount stolen.

684 In case of adultery, the culprit pays the value of the woman and is also often kept prisoner for a long time in the plaintiff's village; his head is shaved and he is exposed to the sun, covered with spices. If payment is not made, and even if it is, the woman's father or husband has the right -- and makes use of it -- to cut the joints of the culprit's fingers so that he is made almost powerless. Women are cruelly beaten and spices are rubbed into her wounds. She is also chastised with the [413] nkôñ éki, (2) a kind of long iron shears used to pinch deeply and

2. This is the name of certain villages where the blacksmiths are found who are skilfull in making these instruments of torture.

cruelly burn the genital organs. At the second offense her nose and ears are cut off; a third brings death.

682 In case of murder, the murderer, when captured, is killed and eaten. Furthermore, his family must pay compensation with a woman or the equivalent value, that is, two lives for one.

695 For all other charges and for those just mentioned, when the acknowledged or presumed culprit denies his guilt, judicial trial is required. [560]

Whatever the ordeal, they may all be considered from two points of view, or even are of two degrees. The first ordeal is intended to "indicate" the likely culprit; the second, to decide whether or not he is really guilty. Punishment is immediate and strikes simultaneously at body and soul.

The first step is therefore to discover the culprit. With theft, murder, or sorcery, the ordeals vary according to the case.

695 boil his own totem in the pot, but so has the practitioner, in
682 order to counterbalance the power of the accused man's totem.

The red-hot iron test, éki biân or biân éki biân, is the third ordeal.

The accused man's knife is heated red hot, then pressed to his cheek; if the cheek is burnt, he is guilty; otherwise, he is declared innocent. He has the right to throw into the fire, in which the iron is heated, the ashes of his individual totem; he also has the right to rub with this same totem that part of his body to which the red-hot iron will be applied.

There is no need to dwell on how easy subterfuges would be, all the more so since before each ceremony the presumed culprit is allowed to apply a few strong poultices or substances to harden his skin. The totem would then be only more effective!

If declared innocent, the accused man nevertheless owes a sacrifice to his mvane, a debt that will be readily discharged.

685 In case of theft there are also three tests used, as follows:
695 for the otura biân, the practitioner lights a large fire in
787 the middle of the village, fed with special kinds of wood. When the fire has caught well, he throws an armful of wet leaves on it; he then moves back, having pronounced above the rising smoke certain magical words. The column of smoke at first rises straight up; suddenly, without wind (often there is not a breath), without any visible physical action on the part of the practitioner or anyone else (because they are all at a distance), it curves inward, we are told, eddies, and then advances towards a hut which it completely envelopes. The hut's owner is immediately seized and declared guilty [562]; however, he can insist on drinking the test poison, provided that he is buying back his life for the first time. One cannot redeem oneself from the test poison.

The smoke test has always seemed to me one of the most difficult to explain. I have witnessed it several times and in spite of the closest attention have not been able to perceive the least trickery.

685 A second test is the following: the practitioner lies on the
695 ground and appears to listen to mysterious voices which are heard,
787 in fact, as if coming out of the earth. Probably a simple effect of
198

685 ventriloquism is involved; certain practitioners are past masters
695 at it. The voices mention three names, which the practitioner
787 repeats aloud. Each of the presumed culprits must then bring a
198 fowl; these are slaughtered by the practitioner and their blood is poured on the ground. The first sign is deduced from the way in which the drops fall and the forms they take. The fowls are then cut open, and the position of the liver and the final contractions of nerves and muscles corroborate the first indications.

685 The totem plays only an inconspicuous part in this test,
695 which in any case is rarely used nowadays.

787 The most frequent test is the akala-nkal, thus called after the fetish nkal, which is kept in an antelope horn or large snail (ngôn). The practitioner heats water, mixing in different kinds of plants, and adds, to satisfy those who may think they are suspected, some of the ashes of their totemic sacrifice.

When evening comes, every man prepares a fire of wood and bamboo in front of his hut. The chief then goes through the brightly lit village, invoking guardian spirits and threatening the thief or thieves with terrible vengeance. Then he runs and jumps over all the bonfires, the men and women of the village following after him. If a man or woman should touch one of the brands with a foot so as to make it roll off the fire, that person is declared guilty. While undergoing the nkal test, the chief carries his totem in his hand. If all come through safely, the chief starts again on his own, this time holding the village totem, show everybody's innocence even more. [563]

After this first trial, which everyone usually gets through with the greatest ease, the one or more accused if such there be, if not, all the men of the village, take a drink of lustral water which the practitioner has just boiled; then they take a few steps and spit on the nkal, which has been put on the ground. Each person then steps over the nkal, swearing his innocence, and starts once more to leap over all the bonfires. If he is not hurt, he is declared innocent. It is extremely rare that, from the effects of the poison or for some other reason, one or another does not stumble over a brand and knock it out of the fire. He is thereupon declared guilty; if he denies it, he will have to drink the élûñ; if on the contrary, he saves his life but has to repay the theft twice over.

778 shall merely point out that part of this equipment, permanently assigned
789 to magical use, is étyi, taboo to the uninitiated and sometimes even to other mingengañ than the owner, that certain objects become bityi after having once been used for this purpose, while others are returned to ordinary use, and others are destroyed after use.

f. Prohibitions

784 Prohibitions, bityi, assume a large place in Pahouin life. Martrou (no. 159) has devoted a special study to them, which is very well documented but still incomplete, because of their number and diversity.

The word étyi comes from the root TYI/KI, conveying an idea of strength (cf. above, p. 133), of authority, and also of cutting, hence of prohibition; /for example, / tyik = to cut, kill, slice, decide; tyili = to render taboo; tyii = to have a taboo (étyi is the nominal-resulting form of the last verb); tyilan = to be taboo. /122/

A complete listing of the bityi is probably impossible, but a brief classification may be attempted by distinguishing /the following/:

Food prohibitions and prohibitions of actions.

Among prohibitions of actions there are those protecting certain animals, marriage prohibitions, and general sexual prohibitions.

Individual prohibitions and collective prohibitions.

Hereditary prohibitions and personal prohibitions.

Temporary and permanent prohibitions.

Masculine, feminine, and age-grade prohibitions.

Ordinary prohibitions (zesé bityi) and capital prohibitions, bityi awu (mortal ones).

All together they form a sort of network that covers every act,
[747] every phase of individual and social conduct. Mission activity and general development have caused some to disappear or have lessened the immediate consequences of infractions, minsem, but enough remain with sufficient sanction to influence the whole of day-to-day life.

[688] A nsem, a breaking of a prohibition, has various consequences, ranging from a slight illness to death, and almost always carrying with it public reprobation. The nsem may be unconscious, the culprit being unaware that his act was taboo for him, either because he had not been taught so or because the étyi had been imposed without his knowledge by a magician.

757 575 that of his nagual and vice versa. If he is ill or if he dies, his nagual suffers or dies; if the nagual dies or suffers, so the man dies or suffers.

[Pp. 474-480 omitted. --Translator] [481]

Initiation of the Practitioner

575 791 The practitioner at the time of his initiation undergoes a different kind of test from that which young [ordinarily] men do. These tests are distinguished by a more marked degree of cruelty and especially by the offering of a victim. The victim will first be dedicated in special rites. After the tests and when the neophyte has been judged fit to enter the priestly company, then only is the totem chosen. But the choice is not left to the candidate; the "admitting" practitioner gives it to him. He must first of all undergo a severe fast of at least seven days. During this time he is forbidden absolutely, under any pretext, to leave his hut, which is set apart in a portion of the forest reserved to practitioners and called éli bengan. No person is allowed to approach. Any intercourse with women, even a mere glance, [362 688] would bring about permanent exclusion. Moreover, the woman would be put to death, and her father or husband would have no right to compensation, pecuniary or other.

During the neophyte's seclusion his "admitting" [practitioner] has chosen the totem; avoiding many complications, he almost always chooses the class totem to which the confraternity is already dedicated.

What kind of totems are they? They never belong to the mineral realm, nor are they ever celestial phenomena, nor spirits of any sort, materialized or not, as happens with clan or tribal totems.

575 791 825 The class totem is usually a bird [or] a swiftly moving animal, rarely a fierce one when the choice would be made because of the animal's positive qualities and not for its power to harm. Indeed the secret society prefers to seek as protecting totems, those that will guarantee swift and sure retreat in case

515
791
688

The ceremony is altogether secret in the sense that no layman may be present, but it remains a legal ceremony, and [484] everyone in the village -- if only through having had to stay away -- knows where and when it takes place. However, it must not be mentioned by anyone. Anyone doing so would have to pay a fine, usually of a fowl or its equivalent in value.

Thus the totem initiation of practitioner belongs to the ordinary scheme of things.

That of the sorcerer is quite different.

Initiation of the Sorcerer; the Nagual

754
575

In a book (1) published several years ago, the author, Mgr.

1. Sous le Ciel d'Afrique, Recits d'un Missionaire [Under the African Sky. A Missionary's Account], by the Rev. Father Buléon, Congregation of the Holy Ghost, pp. 88 ff.

Buléon ... gives an eyewitness account of the sorcerer's initiation. ...

[Footnote omitted. --Translator]

"To be initiated as a sorcerer means being initiated by secret ceremonies into certain rites through which one may gain some signal favor from a spirit whose power one recognizes. ...

"Motivated by revenge, avarice, or ambition, an African one day leaves his village, to which he only expects to return when armed with the mysterious and terrible power that will allow him to satisfy his desires. His journey's end may be distant; often he has excellent reasons for seeking, far away and usually outside his tribe, someone who will confer marvelous privileges upon him. His absence sometimes lasts [485] several months. ...

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

"The candidate is seated on the ground, wearing only a loincloth and tattooed more than the others. Undermined by severe privations made more hazardous by being uninterrupted,

1. Birth and Name Giving

844 Only women, the village matrons, are allowed to help a mother in childbirth. Men are absolutely excluded, even husbands. A woman who gives birth on a journey prefers to go off by herself into the forest rather than ask for her husband's help.

As soon as the child is delivered, his umbilical cord is cut and he is carefully washed. The remnants of the cord are wrapped in a cloth and buried out of the way. In the case of a chief's son, especially that of the head chief, the remains are buried, as we have seen, at the foot of a sacred fig tree. (1)

[824 778]

1. Ficus elastica.

Great importance is given to the tree's growth, and to touch it is strictly forbidden. Any violation of the tree would be [689] considered an attack upon the human being.

851 A few days after birth, the baby is carried to his father, 847 who may accept it or refuse it. However, the latter [571] happens only if the child is deformed or crippled, in which case it is ruthlessly sacrificed. The religious rites (1) connected 553

1. See Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie [Bulletin of the Neuchâtel Geographical Society], 1910, "Les rites de la naissance chez les Fân" [Birth Rites among the Fang], by Father Trilles.

with birth are numerous, but the only ones that seem to me to be totemic are name giving and the choice of the baby's totem.

The name is solely the father's choice; it is often determined by attendant circumstances, atmospheric or other, or by some local happening, a hunt, a fishing expedition, the

du Dja region during the same period. This incarnation is probably related to the totemism or the alliance between a man and an animal élañela, which Trilles discusses at length (no. 166). The incarnation is only temporary and ends at the death or disappearance of the animal.

As a result of mission influence, nlam bekon, the land of the dead, is now divided into heaven and hell, which are none other than Zambe's village and éróólan. Souls in purgatory seem to be confused in village minds with dissatisfied bekôn, who are always disturbing. The notion of natural death, brought about neither by sorcery nor by breaking a prohibition, has not developed at all: after all, "the wages of sin is death, " and "sin" has been rendered as nsem in translations of the Scriptures. Therefore the dead continue to belong to society, even though the decline of the ancestor cult, the biéti, and of the initiations with a probable totemic character like sô, have weakened their bonds with the living.

This belief in survival perhaps explains a certain scorn of death, which is indicated not only by bravery in war and the suicides of the old, but also suicides for the sake of a point of honor: a woman kills herself in order to take revenge on her husband, a man because he considers himself offended or injured. The "one responsible" for such a suicide is severely judged by public opinion, and must pay compensation and make an expiratory sacrifice.

3. Religion and Magic

Aside from a few old people who are known as "children of the old ways" (or "of the old knowledge"), bo' biyem bi nnom, and who are treated as pagans by their children, and, even more uncommon, a few /107/ young people who declare themselves to be agnostics, the great majority if not the mass of contemporary Pahouin claim to be attached to one of the sects that has done evangelical work in the region: French or American Presbyterian, /Roman/ Catholic, /Seventh Day/ Adventist. In fact, and with no intention of arguing over the statistics that give proportions of 105 percent "Christian" in certain districts, the influence of Christianity is indeed considerable, but it is tinged with animist survivals and revivals to an extent and in ways that only a great deal of detailed research could present accurately.

586 insurmountable aversion to him; 3) repeated theft; 4) sorcery by which the woman kills (poisons) the children of other women, and the man is afraid that sooner or later he will likewise become her victim; 5) the slow development of the woman who was a child when married, in other words, the man had overestimated her age (this case is as characteristic of the Negroes as the reason given for it: "So that his money will not be spent for nothing"); 6) such diseases as leprosy, elephantiasis of the feet, and a form of dysentery (tiɛ), if they appear soon after marriage.

In certain cases it may also happen that continued adultery and sterility of the wife lead to divorce.

If the reason for the return of the wife is well founded, which in most cases it doubtless is because a Negro will not give away his wife for nothing, the purchase price is returned, or in case the father-in-law has more daughters, a sister of the ex-wife is given in exchange for the unsuitable one. /264/

[691] Naturally, quarrels arise in great abundance on such occasions, and legal proceedings stemming from the refusal to return the purchase price of a wife constitute, next to cases of adultery, the majority of all litigations.

4. Medicines, Influence of Sexual Intercourse

842 827 In the opinion of the Pangwe, the seed is formed in the nipple. This idea was probably arrived at through the fact that at the time of sexual maturity the breasts swell and at times even attain the size of the breasts of girls of the same age. From the nipple the seed flows into the pubic region to the mons pubis (edǎ'k) and is deposited there to flow out during coitus (see medicine for gonorrhea, Vol. II, p. 50). There would be too much [302] if the pubic hairs were shaved off. Hence they are merely cut short as a hygienic measure dictated by the hot climate, the secretion of sweat, and itching skin rashes. Concerning the significance of the testicles, the Pangwe are in complete ignorance; they believe that they merely serve to erect the penis.

841 Menstruation is the sign of the ability to bear children and is looked upon as an effect of the moon (ngō'n = girl and moon).

584 uncle, a full brother or a half brother on the father's side. The custom persists in the better families, even if the future spouses' consent is asked or if the initiative for the union comes from them. When this is impossible, for instance among emigrants, it is still the correct thing for the prospective husband to use the offices of an older person, perhaps even an administrative superior, who arranges the marriage, [583] kômesan aluk. To the nsuba proper are added customary presents to the future mother-in-law and affinal family, which are the more important when payment of the nsuba is in periodic installments (as it more and more tends to be). After the first installment is paid, there [836] is a bethrothal, and the young girl, who before that has enjoyed sexual freedom, is from now on theoretically supposed to be faithful. Sexual relations with the prospective husband often begin at this time, if they have not already. The Christian ceremony and the civil registry take place when a portion of the bride price, amounting to from a quarter to a half, has been paid. In former times the bride used to remain in seclusion before going in procession from her village, where the groom's family came to fetch her, to her conjugal residence. After consummation of the marriage, she would with her mother's help cook the first meal served to her husband. These practices have fallen into general disuse.

Up to a recent date, on the other hand, the custom persisted—now prohibited officially—of "paying bride price" for a girl who had not reached puberty, even for a fetus or an unconceived child, who would go to live with her affinal family almost as soon as she was weaned, there to be brought up either by her mother-in-law or by her husband's first wife, whom she would look upon as her ntyi (mother-in-law). The marriage would be consummated after the girl's second menstruation (ayene ngon = to see the moon).

583 The mfañ aluk form of marriage is the most usual nowadays. It leads to many lawsuits in connection with deciding who is to be the [611] nya ndômô to collect the "bride price." As the ntôl môt's authority has weakened, especially when he is not the girl's real father /sic/, uncles and brothers quarrel over who is to receive the nsuba. Some emancipated young women, particularly those who are mistresses of Europeans, decide the matter by collecting it themselves, but this is very much frowned on.

[586] The "bride price" is given back to the husband in the case of divorce, to the fiancé in the case of a broken betrothal, caused, for example, by the premature death of the fiancée.

648
631 their subdivision is the goal of 37 percent of travelers. The motives
484 indicated vary greatly: people go there for reasons connected with their jobs (1.3%), for medical care (2%), to attend to matrimonial affairs (9.5%), to visit relatives (10.5%), merely for their own pleasure (23%), to attend to business connected with the public services (civil status /état civil/, law, various public departments, in 45% of the cases). There is no need to underline the importance of contacts with
648 the administration. So in the Cameroons it has been thought necessary
631 to decentralize the administrative machinery further and to place it within reach of the people. The establishment of new subdivisions within the Yaoundé region and of administrative posts in Boulou country demonstrate this attitude. All this takes place as if the Pahouin, in vague resentment /131/ against the inadequacies of their traditional organization, were trying to replace them with new and foreign institutions.

In order to prevent the population from totally committing its fate into the hands of the European organization and thereafter refusing to make any personal effort at improving their condition, the French administration has attempted, at the same time as it distributed authority throughout the country, to remove concentration at the center. Though it was beneficial to multiply the agents of the central power in contact with the population, it was even more necessary to give the people or their representatives the opportunity to manage public services and to organize the collective life.

692 Civil law was, therefore, largely decentralized. In addition to
648 the first- and second-degree courts at which subdivision or regional heads /chefs de... —the implication here is of French colonial officials. —Tr./ made decisions based on custom, assisted by African assessors, there were created a great many "customary" courts whose judges were not officials. In the majority of cases, chiefs were thus appointed as presidents of customary courts, with prominent men and secretaries to help them. The number of cases dealt with allows us to believe that the reform has been beneficial. Though the nature of the suits has no bearing on the local government organization, it
691 should, nevertheless, be mentioned for the light it throws on the points of friction that exist between individuals.

In the Cameroons the distribution was as follows: divorces, 38 percent; liberation of widows, 6 percent; adultery, 9 percent; real property rights, 17 percent. These represent the principal disputes; the probable maladjustment of matrimonial institutions provides the main portion.

554 Briault, an accurate observer of the Fang states that the death of
578 a chief, or an old man, or a notable person, is suspect and demands a much more "minute" enquiry than in the case of men of the common people." "Whoever has privileges is envied, whoever exerts authority makes malcontents; many chiefs have died unexpectedly; many who were envied have not made old bones; this must be fairly common since it is confirmed by proverbs (2). . . ."

2. M. Briault, Sur les pistes de l'A.E.F. [On the Trails of French Equatorial Africa], 1948, pp. 37-38, 42-43.

One might say that "intentional death" threatens (threatened rather, for colonial affairs and peace have allowed some to grow rich and to be protected) those who in their own interest disregard the fundamental solidarity and leveling tendency.

631 [140] By this play of forces, more or less antagonistic and varying according to circumstances, Fang society is protected from any excessive concentration of power. This explains why, in spite of its conquering military nature, it has never allowed even a rudimentary feudal system to appear. Strictly controlled, power was organized only at the level of small units — a village or a group of villages, relatives or neighbors. It has only exceptionally (and precariously) gone beyond the frontiers of these groupings, and as the "associations" have barely been able to remedy this deficiency, Fang society shows an absolute lack of centralization, which was a contributing factor in its rapid deterioration during the colonial period.

● 692 In a social system which leaves plenty of room for opposing relationships, cases of judicial action and conciliation play an important part. The Fang have not only established a classifica-
[673] tion of offenses — nté, simple disagreement; étôm, serious dis-
[681] pute that might result in war; and nsêm, ritual infraction — and a gradation of punishments going up to holding a hostage (étéa), but have also conceived a judicial organization with

692 "arbiters" and a "jury" that has set various methods of establishing proof (including several methods of ordeal). L. Mba, in a still unpublished study, (1) points out the existence of a

1. Last part of Essai de Droit Coutumier Pahouin [Essay on Pahouin Common Law], in Rapport de la Commission Enquête Historique, Libreville, 1949.

"family tribunal" — of minor lineage — with the ntòl as peacemaker assisted by one or two members of the grouping for dealing with purely internal affairs. He also indicates the existence of a "tribunal" of major lineage that intervenes in conflicts between two or several nd'è bòt, this constituting in principle) a court of appeal, consisting of a judge (who is not necessarily the "chief" of the lineage but any peacemaker who has shown his ability) before whom the representatives of the groupings involved appear. He also points out the existence of a similarly constituted clan "tribunal," which has the same functions at the level of larger
[695] groupings and also has the role of a court of appeal. Let us add that the jury (bétolö) is not selected, outside of (blood) relatives and relatives by marriage, until the day the "tribunal" meets. These are only general indications. They show, however, that it is not so much a question of organizations with a judicial function as of principles [141] assuring the regulation of infractions
693 and conflicts by a way other than violence. The status of "judge"
554 does not exist with the definiteness we will find when studying the Ba-kongo; instead it displays the same weaknesses as those of the "chief's" situation. The latter may be the judge for the lineage and the clan, but he will often find himself supplanted by a true "master of palaver." In this connection ability and personal prestige are dominant to such an extent that recourse is possible to judges of foreign clans, especially in criminal matters.

692 In the matter of judiciary organization as in that of the chefferie, it appears that the framework of kinship groupings lend itself very little to a centralization of power, either political

692 or judicial. We have sufficiently stressed the diffuse character of the latter. On the other hand, certain "associations" show an organization (which is often effective outside the clan) that fills (or attempts to do so) a compensating function. This is true of the Ngil, whose role of pacification and justice extends beyond clan limits — and in spite of these limits.

6. The Associations

769 794 We have frequently pointed out the rather loose nature of the bonds which exist between even close fragments of a clan. In Gabon, because of the extreme dispersal and entanglement of the divers fragments, the "periodic gatherings" disappeared very early. No mention is made of them by early authors, except for a vague one by Father Trilles. However, these gatherings (ésulan) have been kept up in the Cameroons with the purpose of reminding the members of their solidarity and having them show it by "helping one another in kind, with money, and with days of work." (1)

1. Tradition des Yénžòk [Tradition of the Yénžòk], Archives of Ebolowa, The Cameroons.

These bonds, however, are found to be tightened at the time of the initiation of young men to the Bièri cult when the society of grown men is also strengthened. Bièri, while borrowed, according to H. Trilles, "in its form from neighboring nations" yet "remaining basically Fang," is a cult rendered to the spirits of the ancestors through the agency of their skulls. It necessitates for [778] every nd'è bòt an altar set up in the hut of the eldest, or very near it. [142] It requires sacrifices (regular and circumstantial), and it has to be consulted before every important action.

This cult confirms the continuity of the line and reveals periodically the profound unity which constitutes the continuation of the generations — at the time of sacrifices of food, the food is first "consumed" by the Bièri, then eaten by the secluded initiates (mvoma bièri) assembled in the guardhouse. It imposes a large

b. Legal Power

692 The contemporary /legal/ organization is, except for a few details, the same in the three territories inhabited by the Pahouin. In the Cameroons and Gabon, criminal law /la justice repressive/ is in the hands of magistrates administering the French penal code; civil law is administered by first- and second-degree courts presided over by an official of administrative rank, sitting with two African assessors. There are also the so-called customary courts composed entirely of Africans and not entitled to deal with questions of personal status /état des personnes/, and a mediation system preliminary to all court action, in the jurisdiction either of chiefs or of first-degree court assessors. The system in Spanish territory is similar, but the first jurisdiction of the penal law is entrusted to officers called jefes de demarcación.

Alongside this official framework may often be noted a semi-official mechanism, sometimes tolerated, sometimes prosecuted as illegal. This consists of courts or arbitrators of the ngôl, of the bwiti or of the meyoñ, and also disciplinary committees of the missions, official or semi-official.

671 The distinction between civil and criminal was undoubtedly less sharp in former times. It did, however, exist, and an organization like the ngil dealt primarily with criminal cases, the major crime from which all others arose being that of ngbwel, sorcery. A homicide /meurtre/ might be a civil matter, when the circumstances precluded the probability of an act of sorcery; a well-planned theft, on the other hand, or even outstanding commercial acumen, could involve a capital charge.

627 Outside the ngil, law was administered in the first instance by the esa or ntol mot of the extended family or the village. This was a matter of disciplinary rather than legal power, at least so long as the ntôl's decisions concerned only his bobenyañ. When the case (étom) 628 went beyond a purely family framework, recourse was had to a judge, ntyi'i mejô, palaver-cutter, chosen within the clan from a kinship level nearer the ancestor. If several allied clans were involved, arbitrators or assessors were taken from among the mintôl not directly concerned in the suit. Finally, a diviner or magician, mvimvi'i or [791] ngengen, could be consulted, either visited in his own dwelling or into consultation.

[575] Suits between members of an association were, and often still are, conducted by an official of the association /71/.

648
631 their subdivision is the goal of 37 percent of travelers. The motives
484 indicated vary greatly: people go there for reasons connected with their jobs (1.3%), for medical care (2%), to attend to matrimonial affairs (9.5%), to visit relatives (10.5%), merely for their own pleasure (23%), to attend to business connected with the public services (civil status /état civil/, law, various public departments, in 45% of the cases). There is no need to underline the importance of contacts with
648 the administration. So in the Cameroons it has been thought necessary
631 to decentralize the administrative machinery further and to place it within reach of the people. The establishment of new subdivisions within the Yaoundé region and of administrative posts in Boulou country demonstrate this attitude. All this takes place as if the Pahouin, in vague resentment /131/ against the inadequacies of their traditional organization, were trying to replace them with new and foreign institutions.

In order to prevent the population from totally committing its fate into the hands of the European organization and thereafter refusing to make any personal effort at improving their condition, the French administration has attempted, at the same time as it distributed authority throughout the country, to remove concentration at the center. Though it was beneficial to multiply the agents of the central power in contact with the population, it was even more necessary to give the people or their representatives the opportunity to manage public services and to organize the collective life.

692 Civil law was, therefore, largely decentralized. In addition to
648 the first- and second-degree courts at which subdivision or regional heads /chefs de... —the implication here is of French colonial officials. —Tr./ made decisions based on custom, assisted by African assessors, there were created a great many "customary" courts whose judges were not officials. In the majority of cases, chiefs were thus appointed as presidents of customary courts, with prominent men and secretaries to help them. The number of cases dealt with allows us to believe that the reform has been beneficial. Though the nature of the suits has no bearing on the local government organization, it
691 should, nevertheless, be mentioned for the light it throws on the points of friction that exist between individuals.

In the Cameroons the distribution was as follows: divorces, 38 percent; liberation of widows, 6 percent; adultery, 9 percent; real property rights, 17 percent. These represent the principal disputes; the probable maladjustment of matrimonial institutions provides the main portion.

692 "arbiters" and a "jury" that has set various methods of establishing proof (including several methods of ordeal). L. Mba, in a still unpublished study, (1) points out the existence of a

1. Last part of Essai de Droit Coutumier Pahouin [Essay on Pahouin Common Law], in Rapport de la Commission Enquête Historique, Libreville, 1949.

"family tribunal" — of minor lineage — with the ntòl as peacemaker assisted by one or two members of the grouping for dealing with purely internal affairs. He also indicates the existence of a "tribunal" of major lineage that intervenes in conflicts between two or several nd'è bòt, this constituting in principle) a court of appeal, consisting of a judge (who is not necessarily the "chief" of the lineage but any peacemaker who has shown his ability) before whom the representatives of the groupings involved appear. He also points out the existence of a similarly constituted clan "tribunal," which has the same functions at the level of larger groupings and also has the role of a court of appeal. Let us add [695] that the jury (bétolö) is not selected, outside of (blood) relatives and relatives by marriage, until the day the "tribunal" meets. These are only general indications. They show, however, that it is not so much a question of organizations with a judicial function as of principles [141] assuring the regulation of infractions and conflicts by a way other than violence. The status of "judge" 693 554 does not exist with the definiteness we will find when studying the Ba-kongo; instead it displays the same weaknesses as those of the "chief's" situation. The latter may be the judge for the lineage and the clan, but he will often find himself supplanted by a true "master of palaver." In this connection ability and personal prestige are dominant to such an extent that recourse is possible to judges of foreign clans, especially in criminal matters.

692 In the matter of judiciary organization as in that of the chefferie, it appears that the framework of kinship groupings lend itself very little to a centralization of power, either political

695 The following are some of the principal kinds:

A man is accused of murder. He will first have to be
694 seized; if that is impossible, it does not much matter. Since
672 members of the tribe stick together, another man will be
619 seized, no matter whom. If this cannot be done, the Fan may
682 even take a man belonging to another tribe, who will be kept prisoner until his family and tribe, taking up the cudgels in their turn, capture either the culprit or a member of the culprit's tribe. One can see to what degree such solidarity may lead to retaliation.

Once a man has been caught, guilty or not, he undergoes
695 one of the following tests:

682 The dzismébiân is the eye ordeal. A person is brought before the chief, gagged and with his head pulled back. The practitioner takes a little pot made from the hard shell of a small gourd called ngon, which is filled with a certain liquid
[278] consisting of vegetable poisons with an atropine base. The presumed culprit has the right -- and often takes advantage of it -- to require his own totem to be dipped in the liquid. The contents of the pot are then poured into his eye. If the eye stays in its socket, the man is innocent; if the eye is destroyed or raised out of the socket, he is guilty. (1) In the latter case

[171] 1. The same test occurs among the Bangala and Barundi.

he is immediately killed by a knife stroke. He may nevertheless ask to drink the test poison, provided that he is buying back his life for the first time. This is often permitted.

A second and more generally used ordeal is the following, called médzim mé ne ayôn, burning water. [561]

The practitioner boils water in a pot. When it comes to a boil, he throws in a wire ring, and the presumed culprit must retrieve it without burning himself; if his hand is injured, he is declared guilty, but if not, he is adjudged innocent and is dismissed. In such a case, the plaintiff himself is punished and must drink the test poison. The accused man has the right to

692 "arbiters" and a "jury" that has set various methods of establishing proof (including several methods of ordeal). L. Mba, in a still unpublished study, (1) points out the existence of a

1. Last part of Essai de Droit Coutumier Pahouin [Essay on Pahouin Common Law], in Rapport de la Commission Enquête Historique, Libreville, 1949.

"family tribunal" — of minor lineage — with the ntòl as peacemaker assisted by one or two members of the grouping for dealing with purely internal affairs. He also indicates the existence of a "tribunal" of major lineage that intervenes in conflicts between two or several nd'è bòt, this constituting in principle) a court of appeal, consisting of a judge (who is not necessarily the "chief" of the lineage but any peacemaker who has shown his ability) before whom the representatives of the groupings involved appear. He also points out the existence of a similarly constituted clan "tribunal," which has the same functions at the level of larger groupings and also has the role of a court of appeal. Let us add [695] that the jury (bétolõ) is not selected, outside of (blood) relatives and relatives by marriage, until the day the "tribunal" meets. These are only general indications. They show, however, that it is not so much a question of organizations with a judicial function as of principles [141] assuring the regulation of infractions and conflicts by a way other than violence. The status of "judge" 693 554 does not exist with the definiteness we will find when studying the Ba-kongo; instead it displays the same weaknesses as those of the "chief's" situation. The latter may be the judge for the lineage and the clan, but he will often find himself supplanted by a true "master of palaver." In this connection ability and personal prestige are dominant to such an extent that recourse is possible to judges of foreign clans, especially in criminal matters.

692 In the matter of judiciary organization as in that of the chefferie, it appears that the framework of kinship groupings lend itself very little to a centralization of power, either political

c. Punishments

681 The scale of punishments included death, the paternal curse, putting in chains (mbok), fine, and bastinado. To these were added for women removal of the clitoris and the labia minora, injection of pimento into the vagina, and public exposure, naked, with legs held apart by the mimbok /pl./ (ésamele minga).

681 The death sentence was carried out so as not to shed blood— which would have made purification necessary—by drowning, strangling, 783 burial alive (the last particularly in certain cases of nsem, like incest), or by burning. If the execution had to be bloody, it was carried out by a captive—a foreigner to the clan—but, in theory, the shedding of blood always had a sacrificial character and was to be avoided on all other occasions.

The death sentence was applied for sorcery and serious minsem (breakings of taboo) such as incest or the killing of a monyañ. For other infractions, compensation was the general rule, either by retaliation or by indemnity, the latter usually being the preferred method. For instance, for a homicide /meurtre/ committed outside the clan, the mintôl arbitrators tried to make the killer's family pay blood money, either in goods or by giving a woman in compensation. To this there might have been added some sort of disciplinary corporal punishment within the killer's clan or family. If compensation was not paid, the victim's clan had recourse to retaliation upon any member of the clan or family of the guilty man: responsibility was individual within the family, collective within the clan and tribe.

A fine must be distinguished from the compensation accorded to the victim: it went, in fact, to the ntyi'i mejô, perhaps to pay for his intervention. It survives today, though illegal, to the benefit of official and semi-official assessors: it is freely called toya, from Coast English tax, to distinguish it from compensation, ngôtô = ransom, redemption.

Placing in chains applied especially to persons considered socially dangerous (it is nowadays used in remote villages for some insane), bastinado to minor crimes committed within the clan. Clitoridectomy was the punishment for adultery and minor incest. The injection of 695 pimento was rather a nkal, test or ordeal, than a punishment; it was applied especially to widows after the husband's death to discover whether or not they had been responsible. The use of ordeals, minkal,

695 was in other respects common. They were administered either by the ntyi'i mejo —esa, ntol, njoo bot, or officer of the ngil or another association—or by a diviner, mvimvi'i, sometimes a specialist in this category of bitom, palavers. The true ordeal had several forms: by a curse uttered over the ancestral grave or the bieti basket; by bitter herbs, alan; by pimento or ants; by boiling water or fire. /72/ Initiations and particularly that for ngil all involved a collective ordeal intended to ward off beyem who might have tried to push their way in. In addition to the ordeal proper, the mvimvi'i could make [787] use of various forms of divining in order to discover presumed culprits. Except for a serious crime, the culprit thus revealed was not forced to undergo an ordeal if he admitted his guilt. Physical ordeals are [671] on the decline; they are considered crimes or delicts in the Penal Code. And ordeal by oath has lost a great deal of its force. Divining remains much in use and is sometimes highly effective (1).

> 1. An oath may be sworn on a nzo'okak—a little elephant shield containing various medicines, equipped with a strap and worn under the arm. The nzo'okak is not an insignia of authority. Upon the death of its holder it does not pass automatically to the man who becomes head of the family but goes to the one who has a flair for magic. To leap over a nzo'okak laid on the ground means swearing that one has told the truth. [728] The nzo'okak is a guarantee of treaties: after a battle it is placed between the belligerents, who jump over it to vouch for their peaceful intentions. (J. B.)

[777] 681 Among modern punishments, fines and imprisonment are well recognized by the Pahouin and have a definite intimidating power. On the other hand, the subtleties of setting up a public prosecutor /la constitution de partie civil/ are beyond many peasants, who thus lose the possibility of receiving damages that custom would have given them. Above all, the Napoleonic interpretation of crimes and delicts remains pretty well foreign to Pahouin norms, for example, in judging an insult as a mere transgression even when directed to an

764 commun/ were buried by their co-wives and the women of their affinal family. Bongô and bikeñelé were buried at home with no other ceremonial than the mother's mourning.

763 When signs of sorcery were found on a corpse, the ngengañ or
787 mvimvi'i turned to divination to find the presumed culprit, who was subjected to an ordeal of bitter herbs. As a general thing, wives had
695 to submit regularly to the pimento or ant ordeals to make them confess not only the part they might have had in the husband's death but also their adulteries. When no one was found responsible for the death of a mie individual (nonsorcerer), it was decided that he had been the victim of a breaking of taboo, nsem, sometimes unwittingly. Whatever the cause of death, sorcery or nsem or repercussion from
783 an act of sorcery, purification always occurred, generally by a sacrifice at the end of the mourning period (meyep). /103/

765 The duration of mourning was, and still is, a mbu /six months/, but it is now less rigorous. Formerly the wives of the dead man were secluded, naked, for a month in his hut, the first wife lying on his bed; their heads and all their body hair were shaved, and they were painted white with ash and forbidden to wash or do their hair until the end of mourning. The dead man's brothers and sons shaved their heads and let their beards grow without trimming or combing; their foreheads were painted white and they wore only old clothes. They had to observe a series of prohibitions concerning certain ways of hunting, the eating of certain kinds of game (perhaps the dead man's personal totem?), all journeys, the circumcision of the dead man's sons, the use of a bed, etc. The end of mourning was marked by a sacrifice and often by a melan ceremony in order to enter into communication with the dead man.

The strictest mourning was observed for the death of an esa, a man of the father's age grade, less for a monyañ, and hardly any for a mongô. With regard to women, a man observed solemn mourning only for his mother and first wife, and this meant mourning within the family, while a man's death involved the whole village. However, an epidemic was followed by heavy mourning, and when the one presumed responsible was identified, it was not enough that he
766 pay avutan, compensation, he was burned or drowned (his immediate
79 family was constrained to pay the avutan), and then a general
783 purification was undertaken.

VII. Ordeals

● 695 In ordeals (1) or judicial tests the appeal to the totem's

1. Ordeals, from the Anglo-Saxon ordaal [ordál -dél], in modern German, Urteil, judgement.

intervention plays a fairly large part.

[M1] These tests are very common in Bantu tribes; and we find the same thing on the other side of Africa, among the Jaluo at Kiviri.

The form of ordeal among these peoples is as follows and closely resembles that of the Fan. "A small pot of water is placed on the fire. A little wimbi flour and a bit of 'medicine' are put into the water. If the water boils over, the man is guilty, if not, he is innocent.

"A gourd basin with a large hole cut in the bottom is placed on a flat stone. Water is poured into the calabash, the bottom of which being, of course, not close-fitting to the stone would permit ordinarily of a leakage [I have emended an obvious misprint here, "bakage."--Translator] But the medicine man who attends puts into the bottom of the calabash crushed-up leaves of a kind of mimosa [559] which, for a time at least, stop the leakage and enable the calabash to be filled up with water, the retention of the water by the calabash proving the man to be innocent.

"Dry flour is given to the suspected persons. If innocent, he can swallow it; if he is able to moisten the flour with his saliva and swallow it, he is shown to be guilty." (1)

1. Sir Harry Johnston, op. cit., "The Jaluo."

The Fan often resort to ordeals, especially in the following circumstances: accusations of theft, adultery, murder, sorcery, "sins" against the clan or village totem. Without going into details, I shall point out merely the part played by the totem.

[Errata; should be "unable". — Analyst]

685 If the offense is admitted, punishment follows immediately. With theft, for instance, the person who has committed larceny must make a restitution of double the value. In some tribes, the thief if condemned to lose an ear, a finger, a hand, sometimes a foot. Often he may be sold into slavery. Among the Fan he has merely to return twice the amount stolen.

684 In case of adultery, the culprit pays the value of the woman and is also often kept prisoner for a long time in the plaintiff's village; his head is shaved and he is exposed to the sun, covered with spices. If payment is not made, and even if it is, the woman's father or husband has the right -- and makes use of it -- to cut the joints of the culprit's fingers so that he is made almost powerless. Women are cruelly beaten and spices are rubbed into her wounds. She is also chastised with the [413] nkôñ éki, (2) a kind of long iron shears used to pinch deeply and

2. This is the name of certain villages where the blacksmiths are found who are skilfull in making these instruments of torture.

cruelly burn the genital organs. At the second offense her nose and ears are cut off; a third brings death.

682 In case of murder, the murderer, when captured, is killed and eaten. Furthermore, his family must pay compensation with a woman or the equivalent value, that is, two lives for one.

● 695 For all other charges and for those just mentioned, when the acknowledged or presumed culprit denies his guilt, judicial trial is required. [560]

Whatever the ordeal, they may all be considered from two points of view, or even are of two degrees. The first ordeal is intended to "indicate" the likely culprit; the second, to decide whether or not he is really guilty. Punishment is immediate and strikes simultaneously at body and soul.

The first step is therefore to discover the culprit. With theft, murder, or sorcery, the ordeals vary according to the case.

695 The following are some of the principal kinds:

A man is accused of murder. He will first have to be
694 seized; if that is impossible, it does not much matter. Since
672 members of the tribe stick together, another man will be
619 seized, no matter whom. If this cannot be done, the Fan may
682 even take a man belonging to another tribe, who will be kept prisoner until his family and tribe, taking up the cudgels in their turn, capture either the culprit or a member of the culprit's tribe. One can see to what degree such solidarity may lead to retaliation.

Once a man has been caught, guilty or not, he undergoes
695 one of the following tests:
682 The dzismébiân is the eye ordeal. A person is brought before the chief, gagged and with his head pulled back. The practitioner takes a little pot made from the hard shell of a small gourd called ngon, which is filled with a certain liquid
[278] consisting of vegetable poisons with an atropine base. The presumed culprit has the right -- and often takes advantage of it -- to require his own totem to be dipped in the liquid. The contents of the pot are then poured into his eye. If the eye stays in its socket, the man is innocent; if the eye is destroyed or raised out of the socket, he is guilty. (1) In the latter case

[171] 1. The same test occurs among the Bangala and Barundi.

he is immediately killed by a knife stroke. He may nevertheless ask to drink the test poison, provided that he is buying back his life for the first time. This is often permitted.

A second and more generally used ordeal is the following, called médzim mé ne ayôn, burning water. [561]

The practitioner boils water in a pot. When it comes to a boil, he throws in a wire ring, and the presumed culprit must retrieve it without burning himself; if his hand is injured, he is declared guilty, but if not, he is adjudged innocent and is dismissed. In such a case, the plaintiff himself is punished and must drink the test poison. The accused man has the right to

695 682 boil his own totem in the pot, but so has the practitioner, in order to counterbalance the power of the accused man's totem.

The red-hot iron test, éki biâǹ or biâǹ éki biâǹ, is the third ordeal.

The accused man's knife is heated red hot, then pressed to his cheek; if the cheek is burnt, he is guilty; otherwise, he is declared innocent. He has the right to throw into the fire, in which the iron is heated, the ashes of his individual totem; he also has the right to rub with this same totem that part of his body to which the red-hot iron will be applied.

There is no need to dwell on how easy subterfuges would be, all the more so since before each ceremony the presumed culprit is allowed to apply a few strong poultices or substances to harden his skin. The totem would then be only more effective!

If declared innocent, the accused man nevertheless owes a sacrifice to his mvane, a debt that will be readily discharged.

685 695 787 In case of theft there are also three tests used, as follows:

for the otura biâǹ, the practitioner lights a large fire in the middle of the village, fed with special kinds of wood. When the fire has caught well, he throws an armful of wet leaves on it; he then moves back, having pronounced above the rising smoke certain magical words. The column of smoke at first rises straight up; suddenly, without wind (often there is not a breath), without any visible physical action on the part of the practitioner or anyone else (because they are all at a distance), it curves inward, we are told, eddies, and then advances towards a hut which it completely envelopes. The hut's owner is immediately seized and declared guilty [562]; however, he can insist on drinking the test poison, provided that he is buying back his life for the first time. One cannot redeem oneself from the test poison.

The smoke test has always seemed to me one of the most difficult to explain. I have witnessed it several times and in spite of the closest attention have not been able to perceive the least trickery.

685 695 787 198 A second test is the following: the practitioner lies on the ground and appears to listen to mysterious voices which are heard, in fact, as if coming out of the earth. Probably a simple effect of

685 ventriloquism is involved; certain practitioners are past masters
695 at it. The voices mention three names, which the practitioner
787 repeats aloud. Each of the presumed culprits must then bring a
198 fowl; these are slaughtered by the practitioner and their blood is poured on the ground. The first sign is deduced from the way in which the drops fall and the forms they take. The fowls are then cut open, and the position of the liver and the final contractions of nerves and muscles corroborate the first indications.

685 The totem plays only an inconspicuous part in this test,
695 which in any case is rarely used nowadays.

787 The most frequent test is the akala-nkal, thus called after the fetish nkal, which is kept in an antelope horn or large snail (ngôn). The practitioner heats water, mixing in different kinds of plants, and adds, to satisfy those who may think they are suspected, some of the ashes of their totemic sacrifice.

When evening comes, every man prepares a fire of wood and bamboo in front of his hut. The chief then goes through the brightly lit village, invoking guardian spirits and threatening the thief or thieves with terrible vengeance. Then he runs and jumps over all the bonfires, the men and women of the village following after him. If a man or woman should touch one of the brands with a foot so as to make it roll off the fire, that person is declared guilty. While undergoing the nkal test, the chief carries his totem in his hand. If all come through safely, the chief starts again on his own, this time holding the village totem, show everybody's innocence even more. [563]

After this first trial, which everyone usually gets through with the greatest ease, the one or more accused if such there be, if not, all the men of the village, take a drink of lustral water which the practitioner has just boiled; then they take a few steps and spit on the nkal, which has been put on the ground. Each person then steps over the nkal, swearing his innocence, and starts once more to leap over all the bonfires. If he is not hurt, he is declared innocent. It is extremely rare that, from the effects of the poison or for some other reason, one or another does not stumble over a brand and knock it out of the fire. He is thereupon declared guilty; if he denies it, he will have to drink the élûñ; if on the contrary, he saves his life but has to repay the theft twice over.

683 This is the most frequent test among the Fan.
781 Anyone accused of sorcery, or all those who have suc-
● 695 cumbed during the first tests, must drink the ordeal poison. This
278 ceremony has been described so often that there is no need to go into it at length.

In the Fan test-poison ordeal three different poisons are used, according to the case in question: the sap of the éñn̂ tree; the grated bark and roots of the oné or onaï; (1) the roots of the

[411]

1. Strychnos onaï: this shrub of the strychnine family, produces the poison used on arrowheads. Puncture is fatal if the poison is fresh, and death ensues within a few moments. If the poison is old, the wound slowly becomes gangrenous. Bromine is a good antidote.

shrub kwéa. (2) These roots are finely shredded, thrown into

2. Strychnos ikaja: this is a common test on the coast, where kwéa, the natives say, is called ikaja, nka, mbonde, ibonde, etc.

boiling water and a reddish liquid is obtained after a few hours of simmering. This highly dangerous brew contains in solution a considerable amount of strychnine and hyoscine.

683 The ngenngâñ, or practitioner, begins by sacrificing a she-
781 goat, with the formulae already indicated. Next, all the vil-
695 lagers assemble, and the practitioner appears in red and white paint, with red parrot feathers and black fish hawk plumes stuck into his hair to form a crown. His only garment consists of a skin tied around his loins, and he wears many bells on his hands and feet. [564] He invokes the protective fetishes of the village, leaps, skips, and howls frenetically. The tom-tom played by one of his acolytes is beaten faster and faster; the practitioner's movements increase in tempo; little by little he seems to move by preference toward a group, the sound of his bells directing him, so he says. Finally he halts abruptly and points in the crowd

683 695 781

to one or more culprits, who are immediately seized and led to the middle of the public square, where one of the practitioner's assistants is waiting with several cups of the liquid.

Those who, in previous ordeals, have asked to be given the poison to drink are also brought up at the same time.

Each in turn empties a cup: the effects vary according to the kind of poison.

Those who drink the élûn quickly develop a violent trembling, which convulses the whole body. They can hardly keep on their feet and would roll on the ground were they not supported by friends. If at this point they are able to urinate copiously, they will gradually recover and survive. However, for years they will have a persistent nervous tremor.

Those who drink the ikaja or the onaï seem, on the contrary, to be knocked out: they fall down, get up, and fall down again. They survive only if they can vomit the liquid.

Whatever the effect of the poison, all who have undergone the test are led before a log thrown like a bridge over a brook, or sometimes before a plank or a dead tree laid on the ground. They must tread it without help from one end to the other. If they teeter and fall, all the participants leap on them, [266] strike and kill them with clubs, tear them apart and eat them on the spot. However, the sorcerers or those who claim to be are never eaten but are burnt alive. Those who get through to the end of the plank have to pay a large fine. "There's no smoke without fire," seems to be the Fan proverb, translated [538] into their idom as, "Ké abi fo ve fo -- there's no rat hole without a rat!"

The totem enters to a fairly large extent into all these tests, either through the practitioner who invokes it or through the unfortunate accused who always have the right, quite illusory for them, to have a [565] piece of the totem boiled with the élûn (1) and to invoke it before drinking up the fatal

1. It is not for me to pass judgment on these ceremonies, or to show to what degree the practitioner plays the dominant role, often getting well paid

683
695
787

for administering an effective emetic along with the test poison. I shall evaluate these ordeals later when discussing religion.

potion.

683
695
787
562

Women are not subject to the tests I have just mentioned except sometimes to the nkal test. Among the Fan they do not drink the test poison; they are, in fact, considered as irresponsible and in a state of tutelage. Therefore in cases of serious accustion, a woman's father or husband has to take her place but does not invoke the totem, because it would not be able to act on her behalf since it does not acknowledge the woman.

Only for an accusation of sorcery does a woman have to submit to a test.

She is brought gagged to the middle of the village, two female relatives pull her head back, and the practitioner empties
[278] into her eye the sap of a euphorbia called ka. (2) If she comes

2. Euphorbia scandens, of the arboreal euphorbias.

through unhurt, she is innocent. If, on the contrary, as nearly always happens, the eye leaves the socket, she is immediately
[266] declared guilty, dragged away into the forest, burnt, and eaten. The accusation frequently arises, and punishment is never delayed.

VIII. Blood Exchange

608 " 'Brotherhood' (in America, totemisation)," says Mgr. Le Roy, (3) "is relationship through an exchange of blood; if

3. La religion des primitifs [The Religion of Primitive Peoples] op. cit., p. 120.

this is not quite totemism, it is very near to it."

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

gourd mentioned above). They put oil in it. They keep it hidden. No one else 832
is allowed to see it.

When the woman cooks food for her husband, she takes the medicine, which she puts in the neck of the gourd, and puts it in her husband's food, then his heart is changed. In the evening the woman smears herself with the *abatoñg*, which she had put in the small gourd. When she and her husband lie down, if she touches her husband, the medicine which she has eaten makes his heart change. Though he liked her before, now he loves her on account of the *biang-abationg*.

This is the *Biang-abationg*.

Biang-mikal (adultery medicine).—People go and scrape medicine in the bush. 837
If they come with the medicine, they put it in the pot. They put water in the pot. 755
They go and catch a fowl. They cut the fowl's neck; they put the blood in the 695
medicine with the scrapings from trees. They take medicine that is in the water, they pour it on the person's head. They also take a certain medicine called *ngwcia* and rub it on the face of the sick person. They again rub it on his belly. Then they have cured the person of the *minkal*. The fowl used is not to be eaten by the sick person, others may do so. Then he is healed.

This is the same medicine used to detect adultery. If a person commits 837
adultery with another man's wife, and then speaks a lie denying the affair, the 795
person accused must drink the *biang-mikal* to show the people he is innocent. If he is guilty the medicine makes him sick, and he dies or trouble comes to his people. If guilty, medicine is made to call the curse back.

This is the *Biang-mikal*.

Biang-ndona (medicine for young men, eloping medicine).—If a person goes on 584
a journey and sees a virgin, he courts or loves her. Then the virgin accepts him. 832
He and she go and lie down. The young man says, "Let us go in my town." If the 583
virgin does not accept, then the young man tries to persuade her. The virgin says, "I go later." The young man says, "If you go later, give me hair for a souvenir." Then the virgin scratches over her heart. She takes the hair of her head and the blood from the scratch over her heart and gives it to the young man. He goes to his town, he says, "I'll first make medicine." He takes the hair and the blood. He takes a small piece of witch medicine. He also takes plenty of leaves. He puts the small piece of witch medicine with the leaves. The hair and the blood he also puts in the leaves. He mixes all in the leaves. He hangs them in the *bieti* basket. He says, "*Bieti*, I want to marry a woman. Take her for me." This eloping medicine hangs one day. In the morning he cuts medicine and puts it on top of a tree. He leaves the medicine on top of the tree. He goes again to the young virgin. He says, "I have come, I come to take you." The young virgin says, "I will go to-morrow." He sleeps. The young man when day breaks says, "Let us go." The young virgin says, "I will surely go." Then the young man elopes with the young virgin; he comes with her to his town. Father of the young virgin he comes vexed. The young man kills a goat for the father of the young virgin. They finish eating the goat. He (the father) sleeps one day. Next morning the young man

162 Dominated by the great and often marshy forest, this country is
361 characterized by a very localized population indicated on a map by "strips" linked to the system of rivers. In the two districts which they occupy, Booué and Makokou, the Fang are the dominating ethnic group, forming about 45 percent and 40 percent of the total population. They are in the neighborhood of ethnic groups which are considered to be related to them, the Shaké and the
[177] Bakwélé. By their migrations they have disordered the population of this region and created contacts resulting in great cultural contaminations. If one can believe Father Trilles, who noted an "archaic language" used in the legends, proverbs, and songs, and similar to Batéké, (1) the relations with the peoples of the Congo

1. Father H. Trilles, op. cit

and Gabon borders would be early.

173 According to tradition, the Fang-Maké (or Bisibé) were the first to reach the Ivindo. De Brazza finds them on the Ogooué (on the island of Zabouré). Their largest tribe is Mékuk, specifically
619 referred to by Father Trilles and specially mentioned by Tessmann on his distribution map. Outside of the Maké, the Fang of this region are in two distinct groups — Bétsi and Nzaman — the latter representing, according to early authors, the "true Pahouin of the Ogooué." (2) In Booué District the villages, although without clan

2 Cf. Captain Curault, "Monographie du secteur de N'Djolé au Gabon [Monograph on the N'Djolé section of Gabon]," Revue des Troupes Coloniales, 68, 1908.

homogeneity, showed at the time of the "regrouping movement" the predominance of the three great tribes, Yémödâg, Yémvâg, and Yémisem.

511 The Ogooué-Ivindo seems to be one of the poorest regions of
● 702 Gabon. Not having any economic equipment, it was only precariously active during the war effort. On the other hand, frequent recruiting has seriously affected this country (which along with

511 N'Gounié and Woleu-N'Tem was a "reservoir of manpower") by
702 upsetting its demographic equilibrium. Consequently, most of the administrative reports stress the poverty and mediocrity of the villages, the political instability and "indiscipline," and the eagerness with which all innovations are greeted in the hope of improving conditions. [84]

Region of the Maritime Ogooué

175 During the second half of the nineteenth century the Fang descended the Ogooué in order to reach the trading centers established on the river, and the counting houses of the coast. They pushed back the Bakèlè, imposed themselves on the Galwa and the
361 Nkomi. Since 1880 the Fang have settled in large numbers along the Ogooué as a result of a penetration which organized convoys on the river, created posts, and made possible the settlement of traders.

361 The Fang are settled in the four districts forming this adminis-
162 trative region, but in that of Omboué, the extreme point of their advance, they represent less than 5 percent of the population. Ninety-five percent of the 9,300 inhabitants of N'Djolé District are Fang who have taken the place of the ancient Bakélé people. They belong to the Maké, Nzaman, and Bétsi groups; the first of these was located downstream from N'Djolé before 1865 (1).

1. Captain Curault, op. cit.

They came largely from the Lower Ivindo, but also from the Woleu-N'Tem, where the villagers soon sought to obtain commercial out-
[316] lets on the Ogooué. Outside of a small mine exploitation at N'Djolé, this district is extremely bare. Consequently, the very scattered villages have a miserable appearance, and the male
[164] population has been canvassed (or recruited) by the neighboring lumber works and by the coastal centers.

563 Lambaréné District, which is very important because of its
[361 forest exploitations (and also because it is an old commercial
313] center, still has a largely Fang population. These are in opposition to the aboriginal group of the Galwa (less than 2,200 individuals)

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

502 The mariner's compass is entirely unknown, and when I have shown one, it
501 was always spoken of as "the white man's *biang bial*" (canoe fetish). The Fang shapes his course by his knowledge of the river banks; he never ventures more than three days' journey from his own town, and much dislikes the idea of losing sight of land; therefore he seldom, if ever, attempts it. Certain canoes belong to the headman of the village, others to individuals. The canoes do not have houses;
[776] charms are frequently tied to the bow, to appease the water spirit, and frequently
[702] a traveller in a canoe will throw into the river at certain places he passes portions of his food to appease the local spirit which he believes dwells there. The place where this spirit dwells may be in some large tree or rock on the river bank. At night the canoes are hauled up on the river bank and usually left unprotected. Large war canoes, if painted, are occasionally covered with a few mats. No special portion of a canoe is set apart for a chief, he is usually seated near the bow. Watertight compartments for provisions are not provided, food and articles of trade being carried in high baskets. Upon arrival of a canoe from a neighbouring town, the visitors are frequently welcomed with shouts of joy; guns are fired and a dance given in the evening. I have seen canoes repaired by placing pieces of bark over the leaks inside and outside, the bark being secured with small hard wood plugs. No arrangement is made to prevent leaking.

Hooks for fishing are skilfully made of bamboo, the barb is long, very sharp
227 and notched on both sides. The hook is secured to the fishing-line with string made of pineapple fibre. Foreign-made fish-hooks are now largely used; these
[439] are much coveted, and considered a very staple article of trade.

Casting nets are used weighed with stones, iron, or lead, obtained in trade. The meshes are very fine and show much skilful and patient workmanship. A Fang will work well at anything which he can do while sitting in the palaver house. He can then work, smoke and talk; any work requiring much bodily exertion on his part or elsewhere is relegated to his wives. Fish traps are made of split bamboo and much resemble the lobster baskets used by our own fishermen.
[226] Small streams are often dammed at high water, the dam being made of split bamboo, fastened together with bush rope until a very large screen is made, 10 or 12 feet in height; this screen is staked across the stream at high water, when the tide falls the water passes readily through, leaving the fish in the river. The most disgusting sight among the Fang, is to see the women and children at low water walking in the mud, breast high, feeling for "mud fish." The large casting net is called *ewot;* a small round net used for dipping in pools and along the river bank at low water is called *tan.*

VI.—*Metallurgy, Fire, Machinery.*

325 Metallurgy among the Fang is limited to the working of iron. The native word for iron is *Eki.* The Fang among whom I lived did not possess the knowledge of
326 smelting, but I was told that "other Fang far away in the bush, especially the Nqui (dwarfs), dug the *minkok eki* (stones of iron) out of the earth, melted it, and

411

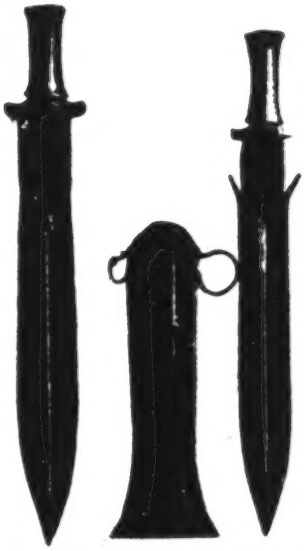


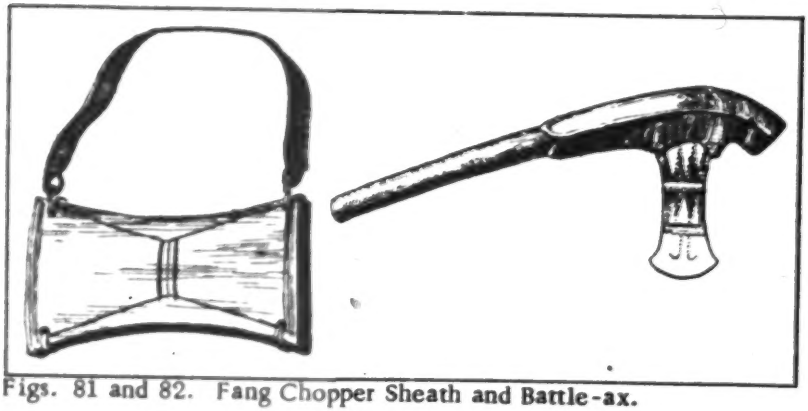
Fig. 80. Swords and Sheath made of Brass. One-fifth actual size.

726 Fang especially are extremely warlike and quarrelsome and not at all disinclined to military expeditions that promise to yield booty. At the same time, they know how to take full advantage of their forested land. They surprise the enemy at impassable [184] places, lie in ambush in the dense bush, and sometimes carry out night raids when the occasion is favorable, whereas generally the Pangwe is loath to undertake nocturnal expeditions. Furthermore, they impede the advance of the enemy through "chevaux-de-frise," that is, pointed sticks made of the bark of raffia leafstalks and planted in the ground, as well as through pitfalls which are well covered like the traps for game, but wider and [725] deeper, and similarly spiked on the floor. In hand-to-hand combat they throw the spiked stems of Macaranga ledermanniana Pax [824] (as ~~is~~) between the legs of their enemies. /248/

/Figs. 81 and 82 appear here in the original text. /

722 In unsettled times, women, children, and -- insofar as this is possible -- movable property are taken to safety, that is, to 712 hiding places in the forest or to friendly villages. Fortifications

411



Figs. 81 and 82. Fang Chopper Sheath and Battle-ax.

712 exist, but only to a limited extent. As has already been mentioned
722 in the account of house construction /Ed., Vol. I/, the walls of the meeting house are built of halved trunks of the umbrella tree placed in layers over each other for the purpose of fortification. In addition, the village entrances are blocked off when danger threatens by means of fences or barricades made of sticks. The southern Fang especially can easily do this since they design their villages more compactly so that the meeting houses themselves almost block off the road. Only once did I see an entire village surrounded with a protective fence, a fairly strong paling consisting of vertical posts and laths connecting them. In front of the fence the terrain had been cleared by cutting down the bush, so that the approach of enemies could be easily discovered and prevented.

The following example will give a good idea of how feuds arise
579 and take their course.

On both sides of the Lo, a small tributary of the Campo, there
[361] are two communities of the Esseng kin group about 12 minutes apart, namely, Bebai and Ebäangon. The inhabitants of the three Bebai villages closest to Ebäangon are related to the Ebäangon people; the others of Bebai did not move into the territory until later and are unrelated to the inhabitants of Ebäangon. The most influential chief of the Bebai people, who are outsiders, is called Makina. For a long time he had been "talking impudently" to Schüe, chief of Ebäangon. One day, on the occasion of a festival for the souls which

166
621
361

land, which the Pahouin will never acquire, for he considers it humiliating, he will perhaps develop a taste for the profit resulting from this work."

conquering society has imposed on the old Fang village an appearance which has often been mentioned: two uninterrupted rows (nkara) of huts surrounding a kind of courtyard closed at each end [712] by a "guardhouse" (abèñõ); sometimes a palisade of posts enclosing a banana plantation serves as a protection in the rear. Inside the huts there is only a limited amount of things which are easily [352] transportable: "goods" of value are stored in chests, the ancestors' altars (biéri) are kept in large cylindrical boxes. (2) There is no

2. Very similar to the "baskets of ancestors" carried by the Ba-kongo during their great migrations.

doubt that the grouping lived for a long time in a state of insecurity. This was primarily the factor which intervened to maintain a minimum size without which there was no real security. The causes contributing to the breaking up of groups, the organization of Fang society itself, the search for women and goods, and, finally, the agricultural methods, were dominated and largely impeded by this necessity. It appears certain that really large villages existed at the beginning of French occupation. V. Largeau refers to mfaǵ with eight or ten "guardhouses"; F. Grébert speaks of ten to twenty of these "guardhouses," (3) and F. Meyé asserts

3. F. Grébert. Au Gabon [In the Gabon], Paris, 1932.

that "the normal population of a village was from 80 to 170 warriors, exclusive of women and adolescents." (4) According to estimates

4. Quoted by G. Sautter, op. cit., p. 124.

166 country and in the north of Boulou country) has put a considerable
621 brake upon village nomadism, the planters not liking to move away from their plantations. When there is migration, the activity consists rather in the "swarming off" of a portion of the inhabitants, who go to found a new hamlet in a site favorable for cultivation, without there being from then on any necessary correspondence between family structure and settlement pattern. The new jal will no longer necessarily correspond to one family but may gather together several families from different and unrelated lineages (mvam).

361 The Pahouin village of former times was planned for defense.
712 Situated in an oblong clearing, usually within reach of the nearest
[20] village (3 to 4 kilometers) by drum-telephone (nkul), it comprised two lines of contiguous rectangular huts, gable to gable, on either side of a courtyard or main street (nsen̄), blocked at either end by a guardhouse /men's house/ (aba, aben̄) allowing only a narrow entrance, often oblique, which was barricaded every evening. All doors gave onto the nsen̄; the outer walls having merely a few loopholes. Sometimes the village was encircled by a moat (ésalak) and traps, sometimes also by a stockade /akak). The most important subsistence plots (mefup) were in the forest, often quite far away, but near the village behind the huts were banana groves and kitchen gardens, while medicinal plants (bilok bi mebian̄) as well as tobacco were grown in
342 the central nsen̄. The hut walls were made of bark (particularly of certain kinds of Ficus /fig/) which was wetted, then beaten flat and dried to form boards; these are the "carbotes" (from the English word "cardboard") still in use on the coast. These boards were fastened by lianas and pegs to posts set in a rectangle. The double pitched roof was of "tiles" made of raffia folioles (ôbaé, pl. abaé) folded in two and pinned with wooden splinters to the scantlings made of /42/ strips of the main leaf rib set parallel to the ridgepole. This ridgepole
[531] rested on forked posts, of which the two central ones had magical significance and were usually carved or at least painted. The dimensions of these dwelling huts rarely exceeded 6 by 3 meters, while those of the guardhouses (meba) might reach twice this. In each
[352] household the man had his private hut where he kept his most valuable possessions (biôm): chests containing loincloths, etc., weapons, drums, "medicaments" (mebian̄), his own seat, masks, and magical equipment. The women's huts, side by side with his and where the young children slept, were used as kitchens and contained carrying

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

304 to obtain any accounts touching on its introduction, beyond the fact "we learnt it from our fathers." No ceremonies are connected with it. There are no professional tattooers, but the natives frequently employ a man known to be skilful to ornament them. It is practised by both sexes; young lads are anxious to be tattooed because it makes them feel "real men," but the practice is not indispensable as a sign of manhood. The same blue pigment obtained from a tree fungus used in painting is mixed with ashes and employed for tattooing. The instrument used is a sharp piece of bamboo, a piece of sharp iron or a knife. The practice does not appear to be in any way connected with pagan worship. Social or family rank does not affect the designs employed. Fang tattooing is not always symmetrical, it usually commences with the face, and a favourite design on the cheeks somewhat resembles the bowl and stem of a straight pipe. Only one colour is employed. Tattoo marks and designs are mostly found on the face, chest, shoulders, arms and abdomen. Women frequently have the pipe pattern or a band across the cheeks, and occasionally upon the breasts.

Cicatrisation is largely practised. Small incisions are made in the skin with a sharp instrument, frequently a steel nail from an imported packing case obtained from the trade house, the nail being flattened out into a small knife blade; or a sharp piece of bamboo is used. The juice of a certain herb is rubbed into the incised wounds.

IV.—*Habitations.*

The houses are built mostly of bark; beams and rafters are made from the 347 strong branches of forest trees and bamboo; they are secured by bush rope. The entire structure rests on the ground. It is very rare to find a Fang house on poles, except near the coast. There is no regularity in size of houses, but the form and material used is common to all the tribe. The average Fang house or hut is a low dark building, 15 feet long by 10 wide, and with walls about 6 feet high; the roof angle increases the height inside. Each family has a house; it is used, day and night, by all members of the family. Travellers usually occupy [485] the *oleng* (palaver house), and the headman finds them sleeping quarters at night. When the owner dies he is usually buried close to the house, and the [764] grave levelled off and soon obliterated. The houses comprising a town are built together, end to end. Towns consist of two rows of houses, with the main road passing between them. The *oleng* (palaver house) is built across one end of the main road. A large place is often composed of several towns or villages in line, 361 the limits of each village being marked by its palaver house, and having its own 712 headman. The Fang method of conveying information regarding the size of a place is by stating the number of palaver houses it contains. Stockades are frequently used at the entrance to a town, especially if the people have a palaver (tribal war) with a neighbouring tribe. The palaver houses and dwellings are also frequently stockaded. The natives often show considerable foresight and shrewdness by making use of the natural advantages of a position in selecting a site for their villages.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

fifteen) take their flint-lock muskets, heavily loaded with trade powder and 726
handful of broken iron pot (iron trade pots) or small stones, and creep up close to the town after dark. Two men try to enter the town unobserved; if they succeed, then they knock at the door of a hut and say, "We are strangers travelling; give us fire and food." Directly a person inside the house opens the door, both men discharge their guns into the house, and immediately run for the bush toward their comrades. The whole town is soon in pursuit, and unless careful they run into an ambuscade prepared for them. A fight may occur, but more often the attacking party return to their town in triumph, shouting: "We are real men, we are real men, we have been to town, we have shot a man (or woman), we are men 726
—real men." There is great rejoicing in their town, and a dance follows. If the 720
palaver is a serious one, the town is often stockaded with split logs placed vertically in the ground; huts are likewise stockaded. Poisoned bamboo spikes are buried in the forest paths to wound the feet of an enemy. The weapons used and relied on to-day are flint-lock muskets. Spears are rapidly falling into disuse. The cross- [411]
bow is only used for shooting birds and small bush cats. It is a mistaken idea that the arrows used with the cross-bow are poisoned. Shields are not used. The chief 721
causes of war are disputes over women, hence called "women palavers," and these 727
feuds may last for years. Prisoners are often permitted to starve to death, and are occasionally killed and eaten. Owing to a bitter feud it is often impossible for the women to work in the gardens or fish on the river, the consequence being a great scarcity of food. In Foulabifong, where I resided, a woman palaver lasted over ten months, and the three adjoining towns were in a state of famine. A prisoner was nearly starved to death, and I had to repeatedly plead for him. During these feuds many women are shot while walking the paths. The Fang think it quite [726]
correct to shoot a woman; they say, "It is always *safe* to shoot a woman because [562]
she cannot shoot back." Prisoners are frequently exchanged, others are held as hostages.

Abel (war). Translation.

If people are going to war they go in crowds. If they approach near the 726
town (of the enemy) they hold a council. An old man (one) he says thus: We 539
will go to fire when? Then the others say, We will go in the night. Then they stay (sit) there until night. Darkness comes, and they light a torch. Then two or three people go to the town, and the other people remain in the bush. If the people who went to the town find people sleeping, then they point their guns inside a house and fire. Then people die. Then they go back running to meet the other people. Then they all gather in one place and return singing to their own town. Then they beat the drum and rejoice. Then the people who remained in the town say: Tell us the news as you went. Then they tell the news. Then the headman sits down and tells all the people in town that a person must not go anywhere alone. Then all the people hear, and all sit down (remain around their town to await events).

769 The veneration of skulls likewise occurs in the case of the
224 hunting medicines. The skull of a man killed by violent means,
826 whose corpse remained on the spot (if the man belongs to the same kinship group), is kept in a bark box and taken care of as in ancestor worship. When a huntsman kills a wild animal, for example, he takes the first piece that falls to him in the distribution of the meat to the skull as a thanks offering. This piece consists of the sex organs and the flesh around them (ekī]ǎ', see Fig. 92 in Vol. I). After he has taken it to the skull, he carries it off again
[262] to eat it himself. On the other hand, if there has been no luck on the hunt, a chicken is killed for the "man" in the box so he will see to it that a wild animal soon appears in front of his protégé's rifle and will be hit as effectively as he was in his time.

721 In addition, the Fang have a great war medicine, a celebra-
789 tion which is called añgūñgu and is a companion festivity to the engongeschok. On this occasion, a sacred place is set up, a subterranean corridor similar to that described in the case of the Ngi /Ed., not translated/ is dug, and a dwarf antelope, Cephalophus
[825] melanorheus Gray (ogbwŭ,ń), which must have been caught alive, is brought to the place. Then the medicine man stations himself at one end of the corridor, and all the other men, armed with rifles,
[824] hang a seed of the Sorindeia rubriflora Engl. (afǎne[k]) as medicine around their necks, and crawl -- the first with the antelope in his arms -- through the corridor. At the exit, the medicine man gives all of them, including the antelope, a medicine. The antelope is thereupon released, and it is believed that when a surprise attack is planned and the enemy has got wind of it, the animal will appear and thereby warn the attackers. By way of medicines to secure the /167/ necessary courage for such an attack, five different ones are available.

777 The medicines for trapping and fishing are rarer than the shot
226 medicines, a sign that these occupations are more in the Pangwe's
224 blood than open hunting. I have taken down only eight plants for fish medicines and twelve for trap medicines.

791 in a while there is some truth to it." Or, like our countrymen who in other respects consider themselves enlightened, they will adopt the standpoint: "After all, you never can tell . . ."

791 The unsuccessful soothsayer does not have to look far for ridi-
558 cule. In Bebai I heard a poem ridiculing a man from the Ntum region who had been deliberately taken in. One man hid his chopping knife in his house in the presence of witnesses and then went to the soothsayer to ask him quite innocently to tell him where the knife was that he had lost. After all kinds of mystification and tomfoolery the soothsayer answered that the knife had been stolen in the field during the clearing of the farm. Amidst the hilarity of all those present, the "victim of the theft" produced the knife from where it was hidden, and the soothsayer departed, shamed.

●721 In times of war, however, the soothsayer's reputation is re-
787 established. Before setting out against the enemy village, the entire company of young men stand around him in a circle, the soothsayer leaps about with the horn in his hand, shaking it according to all the rules of his art, and then suddenly points it /196/ to one of those standing around him, saying: "You will be killed, or (pointing to another) you will be wounded if you go into battle." Or the wise man says: "You can go confidently into battle for nothing will happen to you," but he will say this -- if we may trust his shrewdness -- only to those who in any case tend to stay in the rear. The person who has received a bad "prognosis" stays safely at home, and in this way the soothsayer is seldom found out.

787 In Volume II, page 108 ("Religion") /Ed., not translated/ we saw that the Pangwe believes he can read the future from dreams through appropriating the power of the soul by holding his head in the resin fire kindled on the grave. In so doing he learns to distinguish true dreams from false ones, and consequently comes to recognize what the future will bring.

I am not acquainted with animal oracles in the south, but among the Jaunde there is a spider oracle. Zenker (1) writes about

1. G. Zenker, "Yaunde," in Mitteilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus

517 from this comes about the endless palavers about everything and nothing, for lack of anything else to do.

● 721 However, if for one reason or another war threatens the tribe or has to be declared, the Fan then seems to awaken from his lethargy. Before the decision to fight, [550] there must be lengthy palavers. The totem has but a small part in these palavers, but no warrior would put in his word without having first taken his totem in hand and given it a brief scolding, often just one word, an exclamation, which only the most attentive would hear.

721 637 When all the warriors have had their say, the chief rises and sums up everything that has been said, before beginning his own speech. During this report, he usually remains at his place. He then goes to the middle of the assembly, his chief's baton in his hand and across his chest the baldrick from which the akaméyòn always hangs. "I am so-and-so," he begins, "son of so-and-so, and my father was chief of the race. We are the sons of such-and-such totem, and our akaméyòn protects us." After [201] these words, he stamps on the ground with his foot, or more often, with his baton, as if to testify to the truth of what he has said, and then gives his own opinion. When he has finished he holds up the tribal totem to bear witness to his words, then returns to his place.

779 721 782 If war is declared the totemic ceremonies are more pronounced. At first they will be nearly like those described for the initiation and consecration of the chief. The same altar is put up in the forest with the same rites; wood of the éfirfira is again used for construction. On the appointed day, all the warriors make their way into the forest, each head of a family carrying his évora biéri. The skulls are set out on the altar, and each totem at its place. The victim is then brought forward.

The scene at this point changes completely. Neither a dog nor a kid is immolated -- it must always be a man, either a prisoner of war or some captive bought back from a neighboring tribe. A woman may never replace a man. Nor may a man or child belonging to the tribe, nor one whose mother belonged either to the tribe or to an allied tribe, be used as victim; for

779 that would be against totemic law and would mean sacrilege.
721 In order to avoid this ritual offense, which would necessitate ex-
782 piation and would necessitate expiation and would furthermore wipe out all the efficacy of the sacrifice, the chief first of all approaches [551] the victim, and asks his name, race, and tribe. Is there no obstacle to the sacrifice? "A ne mvè," he cries, "a ne nwuba (he is good, he is 'dedicated')!" The man is then tied to the foot of the altar and very rarely does he re-
[76] sist. All Africans resign themselves to death with almost unconscious ease, when they see that it is inevitable. (1)

1. In certain villages I have sometimes met such men destined for sacrifice, because they are often kept for many weeks. They walked around in the villages, apparently free, well fed, and well treated; the only sign of their captivity was a rather light block of wood well fastened to one of their feet, which they dragged along. Within the village this shackle was not much of an encumbrance, but in the forest it would have been an almost insurmountable obstacle to flight. Countless times, I have offered either to help them escape or to have the colonial authority free them. "What for?" they used to reply; "I'm well fed and treated; death is going to come anyway. Awu nzu mbèmbè! (What's the use!)"

So as to prevent any possible struggle, the evening before,
[276] the victim is given an intoxicating beverage, containing mostly the juice of ebè and of yam (hemp). As soon as he has been
779 tied to the altar, and the chief has pronounced the ritual words,
721 the warriors start putting on their war dress. First they paint
782 their bodies red with baza (1) dye, and upon this first layer they
302
386

1. Pterocarpus angolensis: the wood is

779
721
782
302
386

mashed and mixed with oil and produces a splendid, very lasting red dye.

draw white horizontal lines with white clay (mfem). A wide black circle is traced around the eyes; on the forehead each one draws the likeness or symbol of his tribal or clan totem, or instead, they sometimes draw it on their temples or cheeks. Thus the "axe" of the Amvom, actually the likeness of a boa, their totem serpent, winds over their cheeks and temples and ends near the eyes. To enliven this image, the juice of a grassy lily, the chlorophyton (ayân ɛ́ si), is used, which gives a long-lasting, blueish color. On the chest each one then draws his individual totem in black with gardenia juice.

721
779
782

Once they have finished these preparations, the warriors pick up their weapons and fetishes and begin the war dance, which consists of two parts: a totemic dance and then the real war dance, [552] which has a stronger beat and is more lively. I have already described this before in connection with the war song, which here accompanies the dance.

After the war dance the chief approaches the victim. He is forced to his knees; the practitioner draws a white line on his neck, then violently pulls his head forward, while an assistant twists his arms behind his back. The practitioner cuts off his head at one quick blow with the sacrificial knife, and tosses it onto the altar. The chief collects the spouting blood in a pot kept for the purpose, a new pot which will afterwards be broken. As soon as the blood stops, the corpse is laid on fresh banana leaves and the practitioner, helped by the chief, opens his chest, taking care to use only two knife strokes: one across and one up and down. The heart is taken out and placed beside the skulls; then the lungs and liver are removed. According to the body's
[787] last twitching and the position of the organs, the practitioner predicts the outcome of the war. It will either be fortunate or cause the death of many warriors. "The funeral songs will last a long time," he may say, and the crowd will raise a cry of distress! If on the contrary the auguries are favorable, there will be shouts of joy, a song of triumph and gladness.

721 Everyone then comes near, the chief first, and dips a finger
779 into the pot of blood and tastes it. The practitioner also dips in
782 his finger and with it touches each warrior's totem to make the
266 so-called racial mark (ndem ayôn). "Adopted" warriors are ex-
608 cluded from this ceremony, perhaps the only occasion when a distinction is drawn between them and the tribe; in some smaller clans they are not excluded from this ceremony.

721 When a tribe is populous and a single victim would not be
779 enough, two, three, and sometimes ten or more are provided.

782 As soon as each warrior has thus "renewed the mark," the sacred dances start again. During that time the chief joins in at first, then takes what remains of the blood, smears his ancestral skulls with it, and then sprinkles the tribal totems while the warriors sing the totem song. [553] The practitioner, helped by his acolytes makes a kind of large sticky ball from the sap of cer-
[824] tain rubber creepers (1) and a kind of gum,(2) and knead it inside

1. Landolphia Klaineana and Thollonii of the Apocyneceae.

2. This gum is produced by the Acacia erubescens Wildm. of the acacia family.

the victim's thoracic cavity so that it becomes soaked with blood.
[787] At the end of the ceremony he takes a bit from this ball and applies it to each warrior's chest. According to how long it sticks, it will give an augury about the warrior's life, death, and the wounds he will receive.

721 As soon as the ceremonies are completed the victims are
782 cut into thin strips, and each person receives his share. The feast
266 begins. This is the end of the actual totemic ceremony, to be followed from then on by purely religious and fetishist rites. I therefore need say no more on the subject.

721 After the meal, the dance, and the songs, the skulls and totems are put back in the évora biéri and carried back to the huts.

721 Everyone then prepares for battle.

V. Large Hunting Expeditions

224 Apart from war, the principal event in Fan life consists of large hunting and fishing expeditions, organized by the whole tribe, which are always an abundant source of riches. Since an event of this sort concerns the clan or tribe as a whole, the totem plays a part, but to a rather limited degree.

For individual, private hunts only the individual totem is invoked. The ceremony is very brief, if it can even be called such. It consists, not of homage rendered, but rather of what might be called a preventive ritual. In no case does the hunter want to kill his totem, for that might draw down upon him the gravest dangers and greatest misfortunes. Before going off to hunt, while loading his rifle, he will see to it that his totem is touched against the rifle. Furthermore, if he is undertaking a more important hunt, as for elephant, or a more dangerous one, as for panther, he will mix with his powder a bit of the ashes [554] from his totemic sacrifice. He will then invoke his hunting fetish, often merely by touching it. The main object of these ceremonies is to ask the totem's help and also to keep the totem out of the way so as not to be exposed to any ritual offense, either by unwittingly failing to respect it or by wounding or killing it.

For large hunts the ceremonies will be quite similar, though a bit more complicated. This, in brief, is how big hunting expeditions are arranged: The Fan begin by hemming in a whole forest. Several hundred -- sometimes many more -- men come together and begin by surrounding the chosen forest with a belt of rattan wattles; a creeper winds above the wattling, following the same route, and to the creeper the hunters tie here and there dry leaves of light reeds whose slight rustling when disturbed is enough to frighten the game. There is a break in the barrier at each path into the forest, where a deep ditch is dug and carefully camouflaged by boughs and sometimes so well covered with earth that even the most wary are deceived. A pointed stake is set in the bottom of the

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

832 584 583 gives him (the father) the *beki* (dowry). The father of the young virgin takes the goods to his town; the young man remains in possession of the woman.

They marry with *biang-ndoma*, eloping medicine thus.

This is *Biang-ndoma.*

721 789 *Biang-akong* (war medicine).—Told me by Fam-deu, a Fang, Esisis clan, at Foulabifong, Nkomo river, April 19th, 1898. This *biang* was illustrated to me; a leopard tooth is the *Biang-akong.*

Make a bowl of war medicine, of leaves, roots, and bark. Call all people of the town. Drop the leopard tooth into the medicine. If the point of the tooth *looks* toward the people we have a palaver (trouble) with, then we must go and fight and we will win. If the root of the tooth points toward the people we have a palaver with, then we must *tabe si* (sit down) or our enemies will win if we go to fight them.

This is the *Biang-akong.*

789 619 622 *Biang-akamayong.*—This *biang* is the protector of the tribe or nation (*ayóng*, tribe).

Told me by Esôya-ôvum, the headman of Foulabifong on the Nkomo river, who sold me the complete set of the *Biang-akamayong* belonging to the dead headman "Commisan." I present this *biang* for your inspection this evening. The tin canister was obtained from a white man and is used in place of the usual basket to carry bones in. It contains portions of the skull of an albino (male), portions of the skull of a *mon nguri*, young chimpanzee, red powder and a variety of native medicine.

[726] [534] This *biang-akamayong* is always carried by the headman of a town during war. A bell hangs from the bottom of the canister containing the bones; it rings when the headman walks.

Nko.—The small horn belonging to the *biang-akamayong* has *ngom* (porcupine tail) in it, also native medicine. It is used to cure people having witches. A bowl of medicine is made. The *ngom* is dipped in the medicine bowl and the sick person sprinkled with the medicine. Then the witch departs.

At this point the headman Esôya stopped talking. He said, "The children who have gathered around your house must go away; no real man dare talk about the *biang-akamayong* before women and children." I told the children to go and Esôya continued.

The whistle.—This is part of the *biang-akamayong*; it has been cooked (boiled) in the medicine bowl and has great power when used by the headman in calling the men together after a fight.

789 619 *Moul.*—This is the large horn with a piece of looking glass on top. This horn contains much medicine, and next to the bones is the most important part of the *biang-akamayong.*

The two small antelope horns, and the small bundles of medicine, are *biang e soli* (hiding medicine); it makes the person carrying the *biang-akamayong* invisible to the enemy.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

fifteen) take their flint-lock muskets, heavily loaded with trade powder and 726
handful of broken iron pot (iron trade pots) or small stones, and creep up close to the town after dark. Two men try to enter the town unobserved; if they succeed, then they knock at the door of a hut and say, "We are strangers travelling; give us fire and food." Directly a person inside the house opens the door, both men discharge their guns into the house, and immediately run for the bush toward their comrades. The whole town is soon in pursuit, and unless careful they run into an ambuscade prepared for them. A fight may occur, but more often the attacking party return to their town in triumph, shouting: "We are real men, we are real men, we have been to town, we have shot a man (or woman), we are men 726
—real men." There is great rejoicing in their town, and a dance follows. If the 712
palaver is a serious one, the town is often stockaded with split logs placed vertically in the ground; huts are likewise stockaded. Poisoned bamboo spikes are buried in the forest paths to wound the feet of an enemy. The weapons used and relied on [411]
to-day are flint-lock muskets. Spears are rapidly falling into disuse. The cross-bow is only used for shooting birds and small bush cats. It is a mistaken idea that the arrows used with the cross-bow are poisoned. Shields are not used. The chief 721
causes of war are disputes over women, hence called "women palavers," and these 727
feuds may last for years. Prisoners are often permitted to starve to death, and are occasionally killed and eaten. Owing to a bitter feud it is often impossible for the women to work in the gardens or fish on the river, the consequence being a great scarcity of food. In Foulabifong, where I resided, a woman palaver lasted over ten months, and the three adjoining towns were in a state of famine. A prisoner was nearly starved to death, and I had to repeatedly plead for him. During these feuds many women are shot while walking the paths. The Fang think it quite [726]
correct to shoot a woman; they say, "It is always *safe* to shoot a woman because [562]
she cannot shoot back." Prisoners are frequently exchanged, others are held as hostages.

Abal (war). Translation.

If people are going to war they go in crowds. If they approach near the 726
town (of the enemy) they hold a council. An old man (one) he says thus: We 539
will go to fire when? Then the others say, We will go in the night. Then they stay (sit) there until night. Darkness comes, and they light a torch. Then two or three people go to the town, and the other people remain in the bush. If the people who went to the town find people sleeping, then they point their guns inside a house and fire. Then people die. Then they go back running to meet the other people. Then they all gather in one place and return singing to their own town. Then they beat the drum and rejoice. Then the people who remained in the town say: Tell us the news as you went. Then they tell the news. Then the headman sits down and tells all the people in town that a person must not go anywhere alone. Then all the people hear, and all sit down (remain around their town to await events).

411

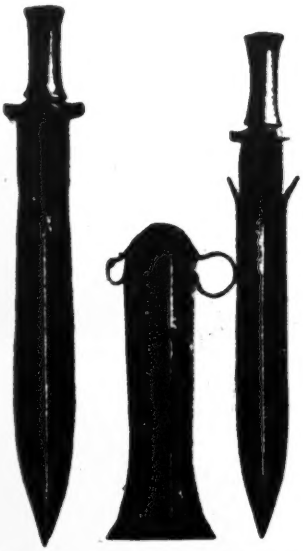


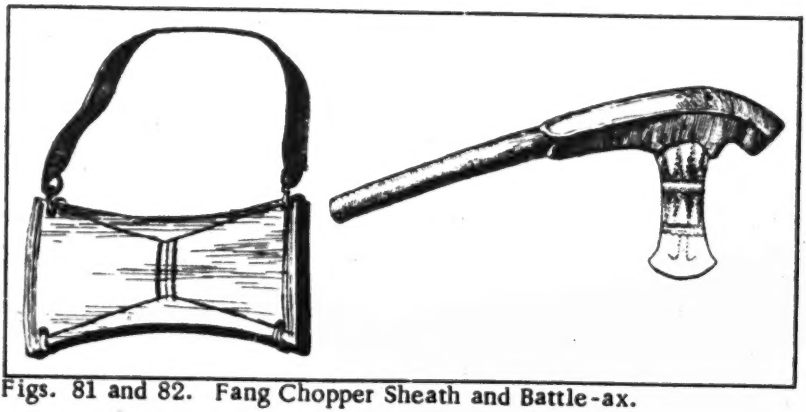
Fig. 80. Swords and Sheath made of Brass. One-fifth actual size.

726 Fang especially are extremely warlike and quarrelsome and not at all disinclined to military expeditions that promise to yield booty. At the same time, they know how to take full advantage of their forested land. They surprise the enemy at impassable [184] places, lie in ambush in the dense bush, and sometimes carry out night raids when the occasion is favorable, whereas generally the Pangwe is loath to undertake nocturnal expeditions. Furthermore, they impede the advance of the enemy through "chevaux-de-frise," that is, pointed sticks made of the bark of raffia leafstalks and planted in the ground, as well as through pitfalls which are well covered like the traps for game, but wider and [725] deeper, and similarly spiked on the floor. In hand-to-hand combat they throw the spiked stems of Macaranga ledermanniana Pax [224] (asis) between the legs of their enemies. /248/

/Figs. 81 and 82 appear here in the original text. /

722 In unsettled times, women, children, and -- insofar as this is possible -- movable property are taken to safety, that is, to 712 hiding places in the forest or to friendly villages. Fortifications

411



Figs. 81 and 82. Fang Chopper Sheath and Battle-ax.

712 exist, but only to a limited extent. As has already been mentioned
722 in the account of house construction /Ed., Vol. I/, the walls of the meeting house are built of halved trunks of the umbrella tree placed in layers over each other for the purpose of fortification. In addition, the village entrances are blocked off when danger threatens by means of fences or barricades made of sticks. The southern Fang especially can easily do this since they design their villages more compactly so that the meeting houses themselves almost block off the road. Only once did I see an entire village surrounded with a protective fence, a fairly strong paling consisting of vertical posts and laths connecting them. In front of the fence the terrain had been cleared by cutting down the bush, so that the approach of enemies could be easily discovered and prevented.

The following example will give a good idea of how feuds arise
579 and take their course.

On both sides of the Lo, a small tributary of the Campo, there
[361] are two communities of the Esseng kin group about 12 minutes apart, namely, Bebai and Ebäangon. The inhabitants of the three Bebai villages closest to Ebäangon are related to the Ebäangon people; the others of Bebai did not move into the territory until later and are unrelated to the inhabitants of Ebäangon. The most influential chief of the Bebai people, who are outsiders, is called Makina. For a long time he had been "talking impudently" to Schüe, chief of Ebäangon. One day, on the occasion of a festival for the souls which

411

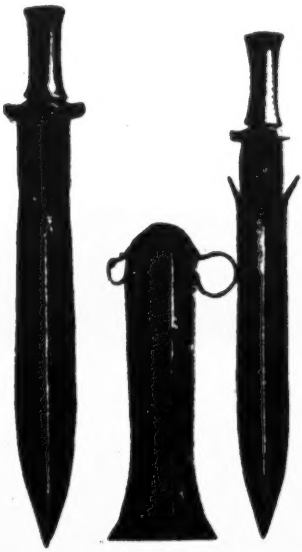


Fig. 80. Swords and Sheath made of Brass. One-fifth actual size.

726 Fang especially are extremely warlike and quarrelsome and not at all disinclined to military expeditions that promise to yield booty. At the same time, they know how to take full advantage of their forested land. They surprise the enemy at impassable [184] places, lie in ambush in the dense bush, and sometimes carry out night raids when the occasion is favorable, whereas generally the Pangwe is loath to undertake nocturnal expeditions. Furthermore, they impede the advance of the enemy through "chevaux-de-frise," that is, pointed sticks made of the bark of raffia leafstalks and planted in the ground, as well as through pitfalls which are well covered like the traps for game, but wider and [725] deeper, and similarly spiked on the floor. In hand-to-hand combat they throw the spiked stems of Macaranga ledermanniana Pax [824] (asis) between the legs of their enemies. /248/

/Figs. 81 and 82 appear here in the original text. /

In unsettled times, women, children, and -- insofar as this 722 is possible -- movable property are taken to safety, that is, to 712 hiding places in the forest or to friendly villages. Fortifications

224

1. Pitfalls (ebēi, ndáh I)

The simplest kind of trap, the pit, is to be found throughout the entire region. Everywhere along the paths through the forest there are narrow, rectangular pits, many of which are three meters deep. They are so close to the path that at times they can be a source of danger -- carefully covered as they are -- to pedestrians who are not paying close attention. Near the bottom they become so narrow that a person falling into them remains hanging wedged between the walls halfway /118/ /Fig. 67 appears here in the original text/ and cannot get out again by himself. Pits having pointed posts at the bottom are not for wild animals; they are used only in war. The pits are usually constructed by two people, the owners, of whom one digs while the other carries away the dirt. The person who has done the digging may not have any sexual intercourse for five days after this work, for the pit is a hole like the female sex organ; thus, if he were to defile himself through sexual intercourse with a woman, he would not catch anything in the pit.

[726]

[834 831]

2. Spring traps (ekūīdī)

The Pangwe distinguish seven types of spring traps, that is to say, traps in which the animal is killed either by a tree trunk suspended over a passage and released by means of a trigger device or by a freely balanced, weighted plate, raised above the ground.

A. True spring traps for wild animals
   1. ekūidi-osǎ,b or osǎ,b
   2. ekūidi-esǒ'dǒ
   3. ekūidi-nkǒk
   4. alū,ńa-ekūidi
B. Rat spring traps
   5. ekūidi-o-si,
   6. ekūidi-o-jo'b
C. Spring plates
   7. akūi

/119/ /Figs. 68 and 69 appear here in the original text./

411 and a wooden handle well-shaped for the hand. The handle is partly bound with an iron band or brass wire. The sword is placed inside a wooden sheath, consisting of two halves and frequently covered with monitor lizard skin, or in a brass sheath which has two brass eyelets for the hide strip worn over the shoulder from which the weapon hangs /246/ /Fig. 79 appears here in the original text/ (see Fig. 80). After the appearance of the chopping knives or choppers imported from Europe, the latter displaced the sword for a while and were then carried about in sheaths (Fig. 81); however, these are no longer in use today.

The battle-ax, called ovunebokui, "axe of the Pygmies" [184] (Fig. 82), is of lesser importance and is to be found only among the Fang, especially the southern ones, but even among them only in small numbers. It can be used only for short-range fighting. Its wedge-shaped blade with a convex cutting edge and /247/ corners curved inward, is fitted into the handle, the short lower half of which is round while the upper half is flattened out.

As a protective weapon, three kinds of shields are in use: the wooden shield, the shield made of buffalo hide (Fig. 83), and the shield made of an elephant's ear. The latter two are supposed to protect an individual man. They have lost their importance since the appearance of the firearm, and today they have /Fig. 80 appears here in the original text/ become quite rare. The wooden shield (stationary shield, Fig. 84), on the other hand, protects the entire troop of warriors and is, as it were, a portable rampart carried ahead by one man, while the others hide behind it. When the enemies clash, they shoot from behind the wooden guard, and in case it becomes necessary to flee, the shield is simply abandoned. It is made from a slab of wood from the umbrella tree and is approximately 145 centimeters long and 37 centi- [53] meters wide. The outer surface is covered with patterns carved in relief, such as we have seen in Section 9 /Ed., Vol. I/.

The battles of the Pangwe are usually only to settle hostilities 726 between neighboring villages and hence are limited to small-scale warfare, that is, to a series of surprise attacks in which the attacker naturally has the advantage and thus "wins." Such encounters, however, give the tribe their warlike reputation; the

[Text continues on page 97]

411

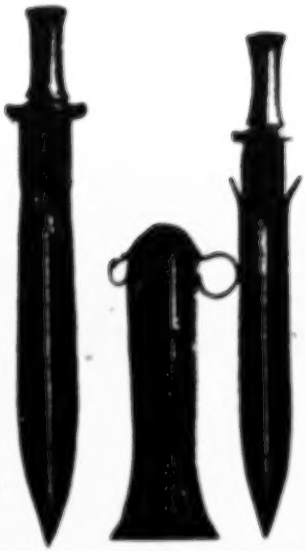


Fig. 80. Swords and Sheath made of Brass. One-fifth actual size.

726 Fang especially are extremely warlike and quarrelsome and not at all disinclined to military expeditions that promise to yield booty. At the same time, they know how to take full advantage of their forested land. They surprise the enemy at impassable [724] places, lie in ambush in the dense bush, and sometimes carry out night raids when the occasion is favorable, whereas generally the Pangwe is loath to undertake nocturnal expeditions. Furthermore, they impede the advance of the enemy through "chevaux-de-frise," that is, pointed sticks made of the bark of raffia leafstalks and planted in the ground, as well as through pitfalls which are well covered like the traps for game, but wider and [725] deeper, and similarly spiked on the floor. In hand-to-hand combat they throw the spiked stems of Macaranga ledermanniana Pax [824] (asks) between the legs of their enemies. /248/

/Figs. 81 and 82 appear here in the original text./

722 In unsettled times, women, children, and -- insofar as this 712 is possible -- movable property are taken to safety, that is, to hiding places in the forest or to friendly villages. Fortifications

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

789 *bieti*). He brings it. He eats the fowl. When finished, he takes a bone of the fowl and the excrement of the *bieti*. He cuts his nails and his hair. He ties (all these things) up in a bundle or packs them inside the horn of a small deer and keeps it.

When a man goes on a journey he carries this medicine with him. Another person cannot see him as he journeys.

This is the *Bieng e Seli*.

Bieng-alenna.—The people get up and take machetes and cut a clearing. When they have finished the clearing is open and bright. If a man has died and been long in the grave, they take his bones, and lay them out on the ground. They cover them over with earth. They take other bones, and cut them up into small pieces. They put (these pieces) in a basket: they put in also red dye, and scrapings from the bark of trees. They close up the basket. If they go to war, they carry the basket (suspended by a cord from) the shoulder. They take the red dye which is in the basket and smear the body with it. If an enemy (literally, a person) (726) fires a gun (at them), they will not be pierced (by the pieces of iron put used as bullets).

This is the *Bieng-alenna*. Do not tell it to women or children; only to grown real men—for it is tabooed.

Nanke Bulwa.—Fang make it thus. If a man makes witch medicine, he kills 754 his brother and other people. They say, let us make *nanke bulwa*. They take a corpse, and go with it to the bush. They cut bush. The bush is clear and open. They sweep clear the place which they have cut. They lay down the corpse in the place which they have swept. They dig plenty of dirt, and make it in the shape of an elephant (over the corpse). They make the trunk, the tusks, the eyes, the legs, the tail, the ears. They finish and return to the town. They say, we have made *nanke bulwa* (*nanke* means elephant). They say if a man goes out to kill by witchcraft, he will die. If a man wishes to kill another with poison, he will die. If a man lies with a woman in the daytime he will die. Let not a woman eat a pig. And so they say, they have made this fetish, the *nanke-bulwa*. When they have done so, if a man lies with a woman in the daytime he gets sick. They go and scrape trees in the bush; they bring water from the river, and put the scrapings in the water. They catch a fowl outside and put it in the medicine-water. They touch the man's body over with the fowl. And so that man, they heal him from his fetish-sickness. Then he is well.

This is *Nanke bulwa*.

Bieng-ebeting.—If a man has married two or three women, and loves one, but 832 dislikes the others, the latter feel badly. They make *bieng ebeting*. When they (514) go to pass their faeces, they take a very small piece of their faeces. They rub off the grease from their skin, and mix this grease with the small piece of dung. They put it (the mixture) on the drying-shelf (over the fire). When it is dry they mash it to powder, and put it in the neck of a gourd. They take also a shrub called *ebetok* (known only by women) and put it in a small gourd (not the neck of

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

832 584 583 given him (the father) the *bele* (dowry). The father of the young virgin takes the goods to his town; the young man remains in possession of the woman.

They marry with *bieng-ndema*, eloping medicine then.

This is *Bieng-ndema*.

Bieng-along (war medicine).—Told me by Fam-dru, a Fang, Esisin clan, at 721 Foulabifong, Nkomo river, April 19th, 1898. This *bieng* was illustrated to me: a 789 leopard tooth is the *Bieng-along*.

Make a bowl of war medicine, of leaves, roots, and bark. Call all people of the town. Drop the leopard tooth into the medicine. If the point of the tooth *looks* toward the people we have a palaver (trouble) with, then we must go and fight and we will win. If the root of the tooth points toward the people we have a palaver with, then we must *tele ai* (sit down) or our enemies will win if we go to fight them.

This is the *Bieng-along*.

Bieng-akomeyong.—This *bieng* is the protector of the tribe or nation (*eyong*, 789 tribe).

641 Told me by Eelya-fvum, the headman of Foulabifong on the Nkomo river, 622 who sold me the complete set of the *Bieng-akomeyong* belonging to the dead headman "Commissa." I present this *bieng* for your inspection this evening. The tin canister was obtained from a white man and is used in place of the usual basket to carry bones in. It contains portions of the skull of an albino (male), portions of the skull of a *mon sperl*, young chimpanzee, red powder and a variety of native medicine.

704 This *bieng-akomeyong* is always carried by the headman of a town during war.

594 A bell hangs from the bottom of the canister containing the bones; it rings when the headman walks.

Nlo.—The small horn belonging to the *bieng-akomeyong* has *ngwe* (porcupine tail) in it, also native medicine. It is used to cure people having witches. A bowl of medicine is made. The *ngwe* is dipped in the medicine bowl and the sick person sprinkled with the medicine. Then the witch departs.

At this point the headman Eelya stopped talking. He said, "The children who have gathered around your house must go away; no real man dare talk about the *bieng-akomeyong* before women and children." I told the children to go and Eelya continued.

The whistle.—This is part of the *bieng-akomeyong*; it has been cooked (boiled) in the medicine bowl and has great power when used by the headman in calling the men together after a fight.

Mon?—This is the large horn with a piece of looking glass on top. This horn 789 contains much medicine, and next to the bones is the most important part of the 641 *bieng-akomeyong*.

The two small antelope horns, and the small bundles of medicine, are *bieng e ali* (hiding medicine); it makes the person carrying the *bieng-akomeyong* invisible to the enemy.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca.1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

754 *Vange ne dong ongo lim me* (Take away the curse you have [sent] put
578 upon me).
626 *Vange me bikomolo* (Take away the curse).
539 *Vange me bipogo* (Take away the curse).
Bit bene mbômolo ch Angambe edjom e mam mabê mân (People are cursed of God on account of their sins).

XIV.—*The Ngi.* (*A Fang Secret Society.*)

575 To members (*Bwanen*) the following things or *bityi* are forbidden :—
Bityi :—

1. To go and make or play at witch (make *evus*).
2. A male fowl is not to be eaten (shared) by two men of different clans.
3. Fish called *ngale* must not be partaken of with a woman.
4. Only the initiated are permitted to eat the fish called *ngone*.
5. Only the initiated may witness the Ngi dances. A woman who attempts to witness an Ngi dance will sicken and die.
6. Only the initiated must know about the bones used by Ngi.
7. A member of the Ngi society is not permitted to sleep on his back.
8. Food refuse must not be destroyed by fire.
9. To spit in the fire is against the law of Ngi (not permitted).
10. An uninitiated person will die if embraced by an Ngi.
11. To kick over rotten wood, logs, or forest stumps, is forbidden.
12. To cut a stick half through in the bush, and then bring it to town and break it, is forbidden. It must be cut through and the two pieces carried.
13. To kick the feet together after getting in bed, for the purpose of removing dust, is forbidden.

The violation of any of these mentioned *bityi* will bring misfortune and death on the *bwanen* (member).

Ngi means gorilla among the Fang; Nji means gorilla among the Bulu. The Bulu have the Nji secret society, which is reported as being precisely similar to the Fang Ngi; it came to the Bulu from the Fang.

XV.—*War.*

726 During a tribal war all adults act as warriors. There is no regular organisation of fighting men. It is a typical guerilla warfare. Parties of young men go forth at night to attack towns; others watch the forest paths to shoot men passing and
[N] women going to work in the gardens. The Fang are noted for their love of war; they are the most warlike people in all West Africa. When a tribal war is on, a headman frequently goes out with a raiding party to attack the town; he carries with him the *bieng-ekumapong* (protecting medicine of the tribe). The usual mode of attack is as follows: Having decided to attack a town, the party of men (usually ten or

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

fifteen) take their flint-lock muskets, heavily loaded with trade powder and handful of broken iron pot (iron trade pots) or small stones, and creep up close to the town after dark. Two men try to enter the town unobserved; if they succeed, then they knock at the door of a hut and say, "We are strangers travelling; give us fire and food." Directly a person inside the house opens the door, both men discharge their guns into the house, and immediately run for the bush toward their comrades. The whole town is soon in pursuit, and unless careful they run into an ambuscade prepared for them. A fight may occur, but more often the attacking party return to their town in triumph, shouting: "We are real men, we are real men, we have been to town, we have shot a man (or woman), we are men —real men." There is great rejoicing in their town, and a dance follows. If the palaver is a serious one, the town is often stockaded with split logs placed vertically in the ground; huts are likewise stockaded. Poisoned bamboo spikes are buried in the forest paths to wound the feet of an enemy. The weapons used and relied on to-day are flint-lock muskets. Spears are rapidly falling into disuse. The cross-bow is only used for shooting birds and small bush cats. It is a mistaken idea that the arrows used with the cross-bow are poisoned. Shields are not used. The chief causes of war are disputes over women, hence called "women palavers," and these feuds may last for years. Prisoners are often permitted to st[illegible] to death, and are occasionally killed and eaten. Owing to a bitter feud it is [illegible] impossible for the women to work in the gardens or fish on the river, the consequence being a great scarcity of food. In Foulabifong, where I resided, a woman palaver lasted over ten months, and the three adjoining towns were in a state of famine. A prisoner was nearly starved to death, and I had to repeatedly plead for him. During these feuds many women are shot while walking the paths. The Fang think it quite correct to shoot a woman; they say, "It is always *safe* to shoot a woman because she cannot shoot back." Prisoners are frequently exchanged, others are held as hostages.

726 726 726 [411] 721 727 [726] [562]

Abal (war). Translation.

If people are going to war they go in crowds. If they approach near the town (of the enemy) they hold a council. An old man (one) he says thus: We will go to fire when? Then the others say, We will go in the night. Then they stay (sit) there until night. Darkness comes, and they light a torch. Then two or three people go to the town, and the other people remain in the bush. If the people who went to the town find people sleeping, then they point their guns inside a house and fire. Then people die. Then they go back running to meet the other people. Then they all gather in one place and return singing to their own town. Then they beat the drum and rejoice. Then the people who remained in the town say: Tell us the news as you went. Then they tell the news. Then the headman sits down and tells all the people in town that a person must not go anywhere alone. Then all the people hear, and all sit down (remain around their town to await events).

726 539

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

Ngang (Doctor). Translation.

[787] The Ngang (witch doctor) prophesies war. If the war comes and is in the
● 726 bush, then the doctor takes medicine wrapped in bush cat skin called *mebep*, and
539 medicine in horns. He holds the horns in his hands. He counts the horns; he
789 hangs the *mebep*. He says to the *mebep*, I say thus: No person must go to the forest. If a person goes anywhere the enemy will kill him. If a person says, I will not listen to the doctors' talk, I will go and do my work; then if he goes, the enemy kill him. If they kill a person, they take the heart and put it in the *ebep*. They take an old witch and put it in the *ebep*. Then if the doctor prophesies, the witch speaks from inside the medicine. The heart of the person, it talks.

XVI.—*Hunting Traps.*

224 The Fang are skilful hunters, but they justly give the credit of the chase to the *Ngwi* (dwarfs). I have been told that a dwarf will go hunting in the bush and return with meat after a hunting party has returned unsuccessful from the same locality; the dwarfs have great patience. If while hunting in the forest a man sees a deer, he shouts for assistance: others come and help hunt. If the deer is killed, all claim a share, after one-third has been given to the man who first sighted the game. This is the custom when a man walking unarmed in the forest sights meat, and calls for aid. Meat killed by a regular hunting party is carried to their town and divided. Dogs are used to hunt game, the dogs wear wooden bells around the neck, sometimes the bells are made of iron. Flint-lock guns are used when hunting. Before a hunting party starts out it is the custom to make *biong ambi* (gun medicine), and to place the guns in it; this makes them shoot straight. The natives imitate very cleverly the calls of certain animals and birds for the purpose of decoy. Occasionally they drive game into an enclosure called *olom*. Spears are seldom used in the chase. The crossbow is used for shooting birds and small bush cats.

Poisoned arrows are not used with the crossbow. Pitfalls for game are dug and
[411] covered with small branches and leaves; pigs and small deer frequently fall into them. A Fang never attempts to hit a bird on the wing. In firing the flint-locks the gun is not carried to the shoulder, but held by the stock in front of the body, the butt being on a level with the waist. Game laws are unknown.

After a successful hunting expedition the whole town indulges in a feast, men, women, and children eat until gorged; after a period of rest dancing commences and is kept up throughout the night.

Olom (Trap). Translation.

224 They take small trees and bamboo leaves and bush rope, and make a long
539 fence. They leave holes for the traps and holes for the pitfalls (*i.e.*, opposite the

519 had been satis-
628 the loss was
a village
The matter
[411] the Bebai
[531] fied since
greater; their
chief, while
young man.
influence of
to Bebai and
fighting.
From this
628 the Pangwe
682 ple of an eye
tooth, and
only when
equal. In a
Esseng
ple had been
be concluded

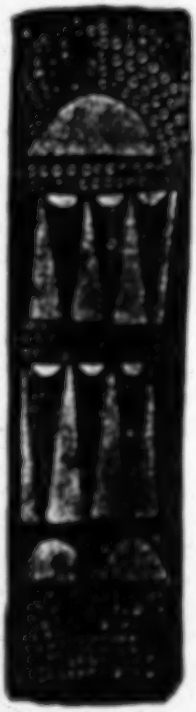


Fig. 84. Wooden Shield.

fied, because on either side
exactly the same: each had
burned and a man killed.
would have gone on, because
people were still dissatis-
they regarded their loss as
casualty had been a great
the other had been only a
However, by this time the
the Whites had penetrated
thus an end was put to the

example it can be seen that
act according to the princi-
for an eye, a tooth for a
that blood revenge can cease
the losses on both sides are
"war" between Schumu and
people, eight Schumu peo-
killed, and peace could not
until eight Esseng men had

likewise been killed. Furthermore, it can be seen that village feuds fraught with consequences often arise from quite trivial causes.

72] Prisoners are usually killed and then often eaten, as has been
[266] mentioned earlier. Only children are raised as "slaves" in the
[561] village. Captured women are usually taken by the victors as wives, but sometimes they are also killed in order to even out the number of killed on both sides and thus to make peace possible. /251/

837 "Etudes sur le Pays Pahouin [Study on the Pahouin Country]," op. cit.

"friendship wife"), show, as does the freedom just referred to, that the curbing of adultery can be explained by social reasons which are quite alien to sexuality.

[567 The possibility of raping women of neighboring people dur-
567 ing the time of conquest, the possibility of buying foreign women
831 at a good price, so long as the slave trade lasted, permitted the
595 "chiefs" of groupings to remedy the dangers due to the unsatisfied
581 desires of the young men. Apparently the Fang do not display, as do some people, (2) signs of unsatisfied sex due to the fact that

2. Cf. R. Bastide, Sociologie et Psychanalyse [Sociology and Psychoanalysis], pp. 160-161.

women remain the property of the older men. What is sought is the legal possession of the woman, let us say, for the many advantages it entails, rather than sexual possession. And in this sense the justification brought forward by L. Mba can be understood when he writes, "It was not material satisfaction of the senses which drove the Pahouins to polygamy, but many other reasons. . . ."

581 When the marriage is consummated, the woman goes from a
562 state of near liberty to one of strict sexual control. The specific
684 painful physical penalties for adultery to which the woman alone
628 is subject are particularly severe: being exposed naked before the assembled village, being tied to the ant tree, excision of the clitoris or pimento torture, various mutilations. When the woman, either by flight or by rape, leaves the grouping into which she married, the whole group reacts violently. It is the cause of fights, kidnaping, and pillaging of the village that has taken her
581 in. (3) There is the most absolute contrast between this control
562

3. "Hence, conflicts that last for years, expressed through kidnaping of women and ending in gunshots," Libreville, Archives of 1909. And

554 regions where the Fang population seems relatively old, instability
622 is the rule for a large proportion of the groupings. There is thus a sort of vicious circle: mobility imposed by long-range conquest has prevented the [138] establishment of a hierarchical organization and this "lack" results in an unrestrained instability.

The social system does not show any elements favorable to a better hierarchical organization. While the pre-eminence of the eldest is accepted, that of the eldest lineage (from which, among the Ba-kongo, the "crowned chief" is selected) is barely maintained. On the contrary, we have shown that there is a nearly constant tension between this lineage and those of the "younger" [567] brothers. On the other hand, the absence of domestic slavery indicates the wish to prevent any development of inequality. During the entire period of great conquests the Fang have had only two [727] solutions in relation to conquered foreigners: to destroy or to adopt. And while the eldest appears to be the regulator of the economic and political life, and to be responsible for the worship of the ancestors, his authority is subject to an effective control. It counts only within the framework of groupings of limited extent. It is open to the criticism of the men of the nd'è bòt (who consider themselves the equal of the eldest who only acts "by delegation") or of the council members when the village contains several minor lineages. It also remains in competition with occasional authorities.

If it is true that seniority almost automatically creates authority, this authority is also limited and often threatened by the principle that "the most capable" is the most influential. In the fairly large villages, the position of chief (one should rather say the regulator and intermediary with foreign groupings, which the word ntòl specifically means) is generally passed on from eldest son to eldest son (or, in default, from eldest [son] to a younger brother on the same segment) in the lineage descended from the founder. This is on condition that the successor is approved by all "for his bravery, his wealth, and his eloquence." (1) In the opposite case, a stronger

1. L. Mba, Coutumier Pahouin [Pahouin Customs], p. 12.

personality is chosen from among the eldest of another nd'è bòt in the village. In other respects this authority is controlled by a council

567 spoke of ôlo (or mon ôlo) or étu'a as against nti (nté) or mo'nti, the latter word meaning freeman, civis. However, all the late nineteenth century writers agree that the Pahouin did not know of slavery and, closer to our period, L. Mba repeats the assertion, declaring that belô [727] or minsagha were not slaves but prisoners of war "considered part of the spoils" (no. 120).

Nevertheless, it does indeed seem that there were genuine com-
567 mercial transactions, selling and buying of these captives or, at any
727 rate, of the bitu'a, whose position must have been different from that of the bo' belo. The latter were more likely prisoners subject to ransom (ngôtô = ransom) or hostages; I have personally known elderly Boulou men of good family who were prisoners of the Bané in the way after the 1885 ôban /war/. They had been treated as men not as chattel, taking part in noble masculine activities such as hunting, but not in work considered menial like porterage. Some of them married Bané girls at the time of the treaty which followed the ôban; others were adopted by Bané clans. In their case one certainly could not speak of slavery.

567 The position was not the same for the bitu'a (1), who were, as I

[304]

1. Sometimes called bityi'ityi'a, the mutilated, the gashed, because their ears were slashed.

made the objects of commercial transactions, of sales, and not simply put in pawn. First lieutenant Dominick, for instance, bought outright from Ewôndo chiefs part of his complement of porters. These bitu'a were not Pahouin but foreign prisoners from neighboring tribes or the original inhabitants of conquered territory. Therefore it is perhaps correct to say that the Pahouin had no slaves among themselves of their own, but not that they were unacquainted with slavery. They certainly made little use of it, preferring to exchange captives for merchandise from the coastal or river tribes who specialized in trade. Besides, the children of belô or of bitu'a born within a clan must have been pretty easily absorbed if one of the parents belonged to the clan.

563 At the present time, in any case, the distinction between bo' beti
565 and bo' belo is very fine drawn (2), not to say obliterated, if only

101 territory, though each keeps its own autonomy without intermingling.

101 Each of the four Fan groups are divided into tribes, each
619 with its own chief, territory, and autonomy; none is subordinate
727 to another, all the more so because slaves are not taken in war,
266 for unredeemed captives are promptly eaten.

619 The tribes vary in importance according to the level of
614 development, the kind of chiefs they have had, and the size of
174 their territory. Thus, the Yenkwax possess no more than three sparsely populated villages, and at the most they can muster 300 warriors; the Yengon, [14] though a long-established tribe, have only one village and a few warriors; while the Yemvi, on the contrary, inhabit several hundred villages and number thousands of warriors. But about this term "tribe," let me here mention a very important point: at present, and since a migration which, according to my own research, should be dated 32 or 33 generations back, no more tribes are being formed, only clans. Existing tribes (and we shall see in a moment how they may be distinguished from clans) may be said to have been established about ten centuries ago in our reckoning, which clearly does not mean that they did not exist before that time. Their origin must certainly go back much earlier.

619 A tribe rarely remains homogeneous for long. Many factors
614 contribute to its splitting up, such as a series of migrations, family disputes, and the activities of heads of families who are ambitious or eager to throw off excessive authority. The steady growth of a tribe at the same time leads to the overpopulation of villages and the necessity of looking elsewhere for new hunting and agricultural lands; hence, after an indefinite period, a tribe splits into clans composed of an unspecified and highly variable number of families. Some clans are very large, such as the Esingi, and make up hundreds of villages, while others, either because they are very recent or because of the same disintegrating forces as exist for the tribes, number only a few families.

Clans in turn, as a result of the same circumstances that made tribes split into clans, split into subclans, also of varying importance.

From what I have just said, a fact may be immediately deduced which runs counter to the usual generalizations accepted by Europeans and superficial observers. In the view of the latter the

553 arrival of a stranger. Hence, a certain number of names that at first would seem totemic, because they copy the names of animals and plants, are not so at all. In general, the eldest son's name is that of one of his forebears, a grandfather or ancestor, who is thought to come to life again in him. Twins, [845] however, always receive special names of matched things, which go in twos, like Sun and Moon, Wind and Rain, Storm and Thunder, etc.

851 As soon as the child has been given a name, his father 779 takes it in his arms and carries it into his hut, where he opens the évora biéri and puts the baby down on the lid. He then takes the ancestral skulls one by one and puts them on the child's head, then places the family totem in its hand. The father with his fingernail often scrapes a bit off of the antelope horn holding the remnants of his personal totemic sacrifice, and puts some of this into the child's mouth. This, strictly speaking, is the dedication to the totem. The father then takes the baby back to its mother so that she may anoint it with oil and rub it with red wood. After the mother, or any other woman present, has attended to this, the father again takes the child and puts another bit of the totem into its mouth. A she-goat, a sheep, or at least a fowl is then offered to the family totem and to the spirits of the departed, according to sacred ritual. The remains [779] of this sacrifice, the ashes, etc., are enclosed in a small antelope horn, which is hung around the baby's neck or above his genital organs: this will be his amulet. Finally, the father gives the baby his personal totem, which will be recalled to him later on when he is old enough to understand. At that same time he will be taught what are the family, clan, and tribal totems, and the duties and obligations they impose on him. This instruction is part of the mébara. [572]

2. Adoption

597 In certain cases, a few children are adopted by a head of ● 727 the family when given as ransom for murder or spared in the

597 sacking of a village. For, although in such cases all the men
727 and able-bodied youths are ruthlessly killed and eaten, this
does not apply to women and children, even to male children,
who henceforth belong to the new tribe and will later be looked
upon as warriors. There is no ceremony for women or female
[562] children, since, as we have seen, the totem ignores them,
and they have only one duty toward it, to hide in their huts as
quickly as possible whenever there is talk of the totem, and
never to mention it. Should this nevertheless happen, it would
be an offense requiring expiation.

597 Male children are adopted by the various heads of a family.
Tribal or village chiefs have first choice, the rest of the
warriors come after. The one or more children chosen by a
chief, however, may never succeed him.

597 Adoption ceremonies are like those at birth. The adopted
child loses all his old totems in order to acquire those of the
304 tribe he joins. There is just one additional ceremony, blood-
letting. So as to prove his definitive entry into the tribe, he
undergoes the following operation when led before the totem.
With the mfor knife, a small steel blade kept for this purpose,
the adoptive father makes a few slight scarifications on the child's
left arm, collects the blood that flows, and throws it on the
ancestral skulls, then on the akaméybn. He then takes a frag-
ment of skull and some totemic sacrificial ashes and rubs these
vigorously on the child's arm. This is the true sign of adoption,
by which the boy definitively enters his new family and is
recognized as belonging to it entirely. Later on he may even
be allowed to take a wife from his former tribe, in spite of the
strict law of exogamy, because adoption is so authentic.

[848 563] Often the same bloodletting and blood alliance occur
with illegitimate children or with mulattoes, but the object is
then different. Adoption never takes place at birth but much
later, so as to ensure for the child the ancestors' protection.

The same act often occurs when a child is ill. [573]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

142 bread-winners and some are strong and muscular, while many more are weak and worn out from ceaseless toil.

The Fang make good carriers, and will do a splendid day's journey even in the 482 wet season with bad forest trails, if not overloaded. A carrier's load should never 147 exceed 25 kilogrammes; and 20 would pay better on a long journey. The first day out with a caravan the men usually drag along slowly, until their loads settle well down in the *kingi* and fit their backs. The *kingi* is a very ingenious contrivance for carrying a load in; it is usually made from a forest vine with a plaited head strap. To hurry carriers the first day is a bad mistake; poorly adjusted loads chafe and cause sore backs, and before night the whole caravan is tired out and sulky. It is a wise traveller in Africa as elsewhere who knows how to save his men.

145 A very noticeable fact among the Fang is the scarcity of old men. I 164 attribute this largely to the ravages of syphilis; the same terrible disease that has done so much towards the degeneration of numerous coast tribes, and which is already playing fearful havoc among the Fang. Indolent, untrustworthy and warlike, they are nevertheless a most companionable people. 181 The slightest piece of drollery or a joke immediately causes laughter. It has been my privilege to visit many foreign lands including China, Japan and Korea, yet never in my life have I met such an absolutely good-natured, fun-loving people as the Fang.

The men are not fond of work. They frequently ask me for something to do 461 to "earn a cloth." If I tell them to cut fence poles or good clean bark in the forest, they decline. A male Fang's idea of work is to sit in the *Abeng* (= palaver house) and make fish lines by rolling pineapple fibre along the upper [783] portion of his thigh, or to manufacture *Abi* (roof thatch). At these occupations he can converse with all comers, hear the news and take his part in talking a palaver. 627 They are a revengeful people and will keep up a palaver over a woman for many years. If they do not succeed in shooting a man during a palaver they do not [772] hesitate to fire at and kill a woman, while captives held as hostages are often treated with great cruelty.

The women regard virtue very lightly. Before marriage a girl can do nearly 836 as she pleases. It is absolutely safe to state that it would be almost impossible 517 to find a maiden in a Fang village over sixteen years of age. Adultery is common, [831] and one of the chief causes of "women palavers." Women rank first in value as [862] goods for trade, next in value are goats, then guns and cloth. The greed for goods has a strong hold on the people. They learn quickly but have very little originality. They have no obscene rites. Their habits are very dirty; they will wash in a 515 small pool of water and, while bathing, fill the gourds or imported jugs with the water in which they are washing and use it for domestic purposes. In many other ways they are absolutely filthy, and descend to the level of brute creation. They [834] are not over-burdened with modesty, both sexes frequently bathe together in a perfectly nude condition. A male Fang passes a large percentage of his time in

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9·Fang FH9

266 114 that a man had been killed and eaten only two days before at the town of Olunda two miles below Nenge-nenge. Old king Kelun at Nenge-nenge confirmed the report, and in compliance with my request, loaned me an interpreter to accompany me to the place.

The tide being favourable, I decided to start without telling my boat boys the reason for my hasty departure. Olunda is quite close to the river bank, but upon our arrival the water had fallen so low that the only way to reach the town was by wading knee deep in mud up the bank. The people eyed our boat and myself in particular with marked suspicion, and much talking was indulged in during our landing. The headman was the most villainous looking specimen of a Fang I have ever met; he was well built and very muscular, but his face was extremely ugly and brute-like: he had only one eye, and an evil-looking one it was. He wore on his head an old red worsted trade cap, and smoked a dirty native clay pipe.

The object of my visit was well hidden, and we chatted on various matters in the palaver house. When I expressed a desire to walk through the town and treat any of his sick people, the headman said, "No sick here, people all away, let us talk in the *abeng*" (palaver house). However, without giving him any notice I presently left the palaver house and walked out into the main road, and the crowd followed. The headman repeatedly assured me that the town was not worth seeing; but I strolled leisurely along. Half-way through the town I noticed a quantity of intestines strung out to dry on sticks, and to the great annoyance of the headman and people, I made an examination of them which convinced me that they had been removed quite recently from a human body. I was assured that thay were *entrails from a deer* and were being dried for the purpose of covering gourds to hold gunpowder. I then told the people the reports I had heard, also that I knew the intestines then drying were human, and accused them of cannibalism. They were very indignant, and declared, as all Fangs do, that their tribe never eat men. "Oh no, people in the far bush did, only bad Fang did so." A few moments later I picked up a human clavicle in the palaver house and took it away with me, threatening to report the matter to the Government.

In the palaver house of this same town was a boy of about sixteen years, in [727] chains, held as a hostage. I arranged to return in a few days and try to bring the lad to our mission station, but upon my return I again stopped at Nengi-Nengi, and then heard that the boy had been killed and eaten shortly after my departure.

266 I am inclined to believe that the reason for eating human flesh by the Fang is the result of a craving for animal food. The victims are generally males captured either in war, or members of other tribes waylaid and killed while journeying in the bush.

A Fang man told me that once he ate "some man" because he was persuaded to, and that it "passed goat far" (much superior to goat). He added, "I never do

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

fifteen) take their flint-lock muskets, heavily loaded with trade powder and a handful of broken iron pot (iron trade pots) or small stones, and creep up close to the town after dark. Two men try to enter the town unobserved; if they succeed, then they knock at the door of a hut and say, "We are strangers travelling; give us fire and food." Directly a person inside the house opens the door, both men discharge their guns into the house, and immediately run for the bush toward their comrades. The whole town is soon in pursuit, and unless careful they run into an ambuscade prepared for them. A fight may occur, but more often the attacking party return to their town in triumph, shouting: "We are real men, we are real men, we have been to town, we have shot a man (or woman), we are men —real men." There is great rejoicing in their town, and a dance follows. If the palaver is a serious one, the town is often stockaded with split logs placed vertically in the ground; huts are likewise stockaded. Poisoned bamboo spikes are buried in the forest paths to wound the feet of an enemy. The weapons used and relied on to-day are flint-lock muskets. Spears are rapidly falling into disuse. The cross-bow is only used for shooting birds and small bush cats. It is a mistaken idea that the arrows used with the cross-bow are poisoned. Shields are not used. The chief causes of war are disputes over women, hence called "women palavers," and these feuds may last for years. Prisoners are often permitted to starve to death, and are occasionally killed and eaten. Owing to a bitter feud it is often impossible for the women to work in the gardens or fish on the river, the consequence being a great scarcity of food. In Foulabifong, where I resided, a woman palaver lasted over ten months, and the three adjoining towns were in a state of famine. A prisoner was nearly starved to death, and I had to repeatedly plead for him. During these feuds many women are shot while walking the paths. The Fang think it quite correct to shoot a woman; they say, "It is always *safe* to shoot a woman because she cannot shoot back." Prisoners are frequently exchanged, others are held as hostages.

726 726 712 [411] 721 727 [726] [562]

Abal (war). Translation.

If people are going to war they go in crowds. If they approach near the town (of the enemy) they hold a council. An old man (one) he says thus: We will go to fire when? Then the others say, We will go in the night. Then they stay (sit) there until night. Darkness comes, and they light a torch. Then two or three people go to the town, and the other people remain in the bush. If the people who went to the town find people sleeping, then they point their guns inside a house and fire. Then people die. Then they go back running to meet the other people. Then they all gather in one place and return singing to their own town. Then they beat the drum and rejoice. Then the people who remained in the town say: Tell us the news as you went. Then they tell the news. Then the headman sits down and tells all the people in town that a person must not go anywhere alone. Then all the people hear, and all sit down (remain around their town to await events).

726 539

695 was in other respects common. They were administered either by the ntyi'i mejo —esa, ntol, njoo bot, or officer of the ngil or another association—or by a diviner, mvimvi'i, sometimes a specialist in this category of bitom, palavers. The true ordeal had several forms: by a curse uttered over the ancestral grave or the bieti basket; by bitter herbs, alan; by pimento or ants; by boiling water or fire. /72/ Initiations and particularly that for ngil all involved a collective ordeal intended to ward off beyem who might have tried to push their [787] way in. In addition to the ordeal proper, the mvimvi'i could make use of various forms of divining in order to discover presumed culprits. Except for a serious crime, the culprit thus revealed was not forced to undergo an ordeal if he admitted his guilt. Physical ordeals are [671] on the decline; they are considered crimes or delicts in the Penal Code. And ordeal by oath has lost a great deal of its force. Divining remains much in use and is sometimes highly effective (1).

1. An oath may be sworn on a nzo'okak—a little elephant shield containing various medicines, equipped with a strap and worn under the arm. The nzo'okak is not an insignia of authority. Upon the death of its holder it does not pass automatically to the man who becomes head of the family but goes to the one who has a flair for magic. To leap over a nzo'okak laid on the ground means swearing that one has told the truth. The nzo'okak is a guarantee of treaties: [728] after a battle it is placed between the belligerents, who jump over it to vouch for their peaceful intentions. (J. B.)

177 681 Among modern punishments, fines and imprisonment are well recognized by the Pahouin and have a definite intimidating power. On the other hand, the subtleties of setting up a public prosecutor /la constitution de partie civil/ are beyond many peasants, who thus lose the possibility of receiving damages that custom would have given them. Above all, the Napoleonic interpretation of crimes and delicts remains pretty well foreign to Pahouin norms, for example, in judging an insult as a mere transgression even when directed to an

241 tasks, and from this division of labor it is apparent – this will
462 be pursued further later on – that the work which requires the greater effort is allotted to the men, while the easier work is left to the women. Since by the very nature of the matter the harder work lasts for a shorter period of time, the impression easily arises that the women have to perform considerably more work than the men, but this is not the case, and it is probable that the distribution of work is not much different from that in Germany, say. It is just that the type of work is different. To be sure,
[482] upon seeing the large, fully packed baskets which the women bring in daily from the fields (Fig. 51), the uninitiated observer might easily get such an erroneous impression, but the carrying of such disproportionately heavy burdens, which makes the women's bodies so deformed, is partly their own fault. One is reminded of the Low German proverb: "De Fule drägt sich doht un de Flitige löpt sich doht /the lazy one carries himself to death, and the industrious one runs himself to death/. The woman likes to
[461] rest in the afternoon, and many of them even have quite an aversion for work. Incidentally, this is a further reason for the
[731] frequent periods of food shortage (mentioned in the third section /not translated/), which at times develop into real famines. /88/

241 The most important staple food plants of the Pangwe are the following seven:

Southern Region (Fang)	Northern Region (Jaunde)
1. Cassava (manioc)	1. Cassava (manioc)
2. Plantain	2. Groundnut
3. Groundnut	3. Plantain
4. Ngon	4. Maize
5. Maize	5. Ngon
6. Taro	6. Taro
7. Yams	7. Yams

It should be understood that the plants are listed here in the order of their importance as food plants, in other words, as "food" in the household, and not according to the extent of field work involved in their cultivation which would completely reverse the

163 [161] 1. As an indication, the numerical strength of the Mekaé and Kozimé of the Cameroons may be put at about 80, 000 persons.

index is a little less than ½ 1%), more, apparently, from a fall in the death rate than from a rise in the birth rate, which is rather inclined to decrease a bit. The table on pages 12a-12e gives a succinct survey in detail.

16 This table calls for some comments. First, the known rate of genital capacity*, nearly always around 4, like the sterility indices

/* According to another source, Georges Balandier /5/, "the genital capacity /is/ the mean number of pregnancies in women by the time of the menopause. . . . ." Sociologie Actuelle de l'Afrique Noire. Changemants sociaux au Gabon et au Congo /Contemporary Sociology of Black Africa: Social Changes in Gabon and the Congo/, p. 96, Paris, 1955. --Ed. /

that reach 30 percent, forms a contrast to the accounts of the first explorers as well as to tribal traditions, which uniformly speak of high fertility and a large proportion of children. Even taking into ac-
164 count the undoubted exaggeration that colors these statements, it remains likely that a demographic decline took place in the second quarter of the twentieth century, offset by a lowering of mortality, at least in certain areas. The difficulties of adaptation to forest life
[164] are an explanation for the south. Undoubtedly, one must add factors like the spread of syphilis (kôto) along the highways and especially around settlements, and the outbreak of sleeping sickness, which seems to have followed pacification and to have affected particularly
• [173] northern and northeastern Pahouin country. In the south there was also the great Gabon famine of 1924-27, as well as sociological
164 causes such as heavy recruiting for the timber industry and perhaps
178 psychological factors arising from the impact of colonization (Balandier). In the north where the precocious rise of an agricultural economy based on cacao stabilized the villages rather early, the change in the form of the bride price and the individual appropriation

764 commun/ were buried by their co-wives and the women of their affinal family. Bongô and bikellelé were buried at home with no other ceremonial than the mother's mourning.

763 When signs of sorcery were found on a corpse, the ngengali or
767 mvimvi'i turned to divination to find the presumed culprit, who was
[695] subjected to an ordeal of bitter herbs. As a general thing, wives had to submit regularly to the pimento or ant ordeals to make them confess not only the part they might have had in the husband's death but also their adulteries. When no one was found responsible for the death of a mie individual (nonsorcerer), it was decided that he had been the victim of a breaking of taboo, nsem, sometimes unwittingly. Whatever the cause of death, sorcery or nsem or repercussion from
[767] an act of sorcery, purification always occurred, generally by a sacrifice at the end of the mourning period (meyep). /103/

765 The duration of mourning was, and still is, a mbu /six months/, but it is now less rigorous. Formerly the wives of the dead man were secluded, naked, for a month in his hut, the first wife lying on his bed; their heads and all their body hair were shaved, and they were painted white with ash and forbidden to wash or do their hair until the end of mourning. The dead man's brothers and sons shaved their heads and let their beards grow without trimming or combing; their foreheads were painted white and they wore only old clothes. They had to observe a series of prohibitions concerning certain ways of hunting, the eating of certain kinds of game (perhaps the dead man's personal totem?), all journeys, the circumcision of the dead man's sons, the use of a bed, etc. The end of mourning was marked by a sacrifice and often by a melan ceremony in order to enter into communication with the dead man.

The strictest mourning was observed for the death of an esa, a man of the father's age grade, less for a monyali, and hardly any for a mongô. With regard to women, a man observed solemn mourning only for his mother and first wife, and this meant mourning within the family, while a man's death involved the whole village. However, an epidemic was followed by heavy mourning, and when the one presumed responsible was identified, it was not enough that he
766 pay avutan, compensation, he was burned or drowned (his immediate
[791] family was constrained to pay the avutan), and then a general
[783] purification was undertaken.

754 777 akum • he has become rich by ngbwel), is to be distinguished from ordinary, accidental luck, ma'a, by its lasting character, which soon arouses public suspicion — this is one of the visible symptoms of ngbwel.

754 683 The involuntary nnem was generally put to death, more easily than the conscious sorcerer, who knew how to protect himself. Nevertheless, it was possible to treat a nnem, by means of a very drastic purification involving physiological as well as psychological catharsis and sometimes by real surgical operations /117/, to which in most cases the patient succumbed. Today the European administration usually prevents the execution of beyem, but their relatives often succeed in persuading them to kill themselves. After an epidemic of meningitis at Ambam in 1948, two men and two young women, accused by a bwiti diviner of having caused the death of a dozen children by involuntary ngbwel, threw themselves into the N'Tem within the month. In former times, beyem were burned by being covered with wood in such a way as to prevent both the évu and their nsisim from escaping; they were also drowned or buried alive, preferably in the bed of a stream that had been diverted and was then turned back to its old course after the burial.

754 The conscious nnem is both more and less dangerous. Bound to his évu by a kind of pact, he directs its activity instead of allowing it to kill at random as the unconscious nnem does. Therefore, he is more dangerous to his enemies but less so to his kin, although the concluding and maintenance of the alliance with the évu requires him to sacrifice members of his family.

A nnem with a strong personality, tyi anem a nlem ayet, with great strength and a hard heart, can succeed in really controlling his évu and making it a servant that will procure him wealth and power, rid him of his enemies, and confer supernatural powers on him, such as the ability to be in two places at once /bilocation/, to move objects from a distance /telekinesis/, divination, etc. But ngbwel always remains a dangerous art. First of all, the nnem knows that he is condemned after death to be a white kôn, forbidden to cross the ékanga bekôn, the bridge of the dead, to seek the ancestors, mall ayat, beyond the sea. There are immediate dangers, in addition to that final condemnation. First, the ever present risk that the évu will dominate the nnem and weaken the latter. Next, the risk of a kind of reaction if the évu attacks a stronger nnem or a mie well protected by a bian provided with white magic. Finally, /there is the risk/ of

Fig. 33. Meeting House in Nichüggebot (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea, with Decorative Boards of Bark.

covered with charcoal drawings on the inside between the raffia boards. At this point, however, I cannot go into this art work in any greater detail (see Section 9, "Fine Arts").

If it were not for the people who enliven the house with their handicrafts and activities, /Fig. 32 appears here in the original text/ if the flaring fire did not lend the large, dark rooms a special, almost mysterious quality -- it would be too dreary. It is precisely here that one notices how everywhere only pulsating life, man in his sad and in his happy hours, not the material environment, is capable of attracting us. The same room which we disposed of just now with a disparaging glance is capable of creating a totally different impression in the evenings when the men and young /69/ /Fig. 33 appears here in the original text/ people gradually congregate in the meeting house in order to listen to the old, hunchbacked Njema-Ndongo tell of the mysterious and uncanny creatures of the fabulous world. Indefatigably they listen, however long he may spin out his yarn, motionless they look at him as he restlessly rubs his hands over the fire, wags his finger threateningly, separates or pushes aside the logs when the

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

537 Response by the audience: *Nanpiobo.* This word seems to have no meaning but to be simply used as a responsive utterance.

539 (2) *Akôw le pye nanem.* Let not the akôw sing my song. This supposes that another similar performance (akôw) is going on in the neighbourhood, and the performers in it are urged not to make use of the song used by those in the first (akôw).

Response: *Ziania, akôw le pye nanem.* The word *ziania*, like *nanpiobo*, appears to have no meaning, and to be simply used as a responsive utterance.

(3) *Ke bele me nanê nem ne mobete.* Do not catch hold of my instrument (tusk of elephant) with mobete, *i.e.*, because you have the sickness mobete (a kind of sloughing phagedena).

Response: *Ziania; ke bele me nanê nem ne mobete.*

XIX.—*Abnormalities (Natural Deformities), Albinism, Erythrism.*

732 193 During my residence among the Fang I saw five albinos (shown on lantern slide). The natives say of these albinos: "They are white, but *not real* white people." They are treated fairly well; their ever restless eyes cause them much ridicule and annoyance. I know of only one being married. They are not long lived. After death the skull of an albino is greatly valued for medicine, especially for placing with the *bieng-akômeyong* (protector of the tribe).

Erythrism is occasionally met with. A red-haired Fang lived in the town of Jam-asem (large affair); his skin was chocolate colour, but his eyes had a pale pinkish colour. The first sight of a red-headed black man surprised me very much.

Hare lip is very rarely seen.

One case of hermaphroditism came under my notice, a Fang male; he was looked on as an *nganga* (witch doctor) of great power, and was much reverenced.

Deformations (Artificial Deformities).

304 A. *Facial.*—The triangular nasal cartilage is frequently pierced. This practice is mostly indulged in by women. Bars of bamboo are inserted or porcupine quills. It is considered *mbang* (handsome).

The lips are not pierced or deformed in any way.

The ears are pierced and ear-rings worn.

Fetish is also suspended from the ears.

B. *Dental.*—Males file the upper and lower incisors to a sharp point. The only reason given is, "it is *mbang*" (handsome).

XX.—*Fang Proverbs and Sayings.*

539 *Me kôm ozam ndem*, I think in my heart.

Me ka, I am gone, said in taking leave.

we are already familiar.

Another mixture consisted of ground mica, a toad, and ground snake fangs.

The red nɛ̄ usually contains:

1. Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (see above);
2. a red crab from the forest (nkɔ̄ɔ̄lie kɛ̄dā) (1);

1. The animal is supposed to make a sound that is reproduced by ɛ̄ɛ̄, ɛ̄ɛ̄.

3. a kind of scorpion (mɔ̄sā), ground;
4. a chameleon, ground;
5. Mucuna pruriens D.C. (see above).

The black nɛ̄ contains:

1. ngō-akɔ̄k or ekɔ̄l-akɔ̄k, fungus soil dried and ground;
2. akɔ̄n, a fungus growth that lives under water, which is supposed to be very poisonous;
3. nɔ̄ɔ̄o ngɔ̄ɔ̄n, a centipede which is greatly feared because of its poison.

The preparation of nɛ̄ is carried out in the most ingenious manner by expert medicine men. For this purpose, the men sew for themselves a special suit made of the bark of the ondɛ̄m tree (Fig. 50). This suit resembles a long shirt and leaves only the head and hands exposed; these parts of the body are then rubbed with an extract of Hecheria subpeltata (Wild.) Kunth (abɛ̄mɔ̄dāā), principally in order to protect them against the very poisonous hairs of the Mucuna that fly about. With this preparation, the poison miners proceed to pound the dried components in a pot and and to mix them by stirring. For this purpose they use a long stick so that they can stay as far away as possible from the poisonous mixture. Indeed, they go even further and call upon old leprous persons to collect and pour the poison into little horns or bags (Fig. 51), since in their case it would not matter if in the process they were to become sick or even die.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

the natural curve of the branches. Stones are employed for rolling food, especially for crushing and rolling the *egwa* seed. Shells of large land molluscs are cut in half and used for spoons, small gourds being used for the same purpose. Large gourds are used for water dippers and bottles. Very many uses are found for the forest gourds, not the least ingenious being the use of a hollow stemmed gourd for administering a rectal injection. Gourds are used for the sounding boards of the musical instrument called *ewal*. The people find many uses for bamboo. It is used in construction of houses, fish baskets and traps are made from it, fences to protect paths during tribal wars are made of sharp pointed bamboo poles; and small sharpened pieces of bamboo with poisoned tips are buried in the forest paths, point upward, to wound and poison the naked feet of an unsuspecting enemy. The teeth and claws of leopards and bush cats, elephant tail, antelope feet, horns and forest beans are used in their natural form as personal ornaments. Leopard teeth are always considered valuable as *bonny* (fetish) and are much sought after; they are frequently imitated in ivory. I have not seen the defences of animals employed as artificial defences, except as fetish. Long tough forest thorns are often used as awls and needles for piercing and sewing skins. I once saw an *nganga* (witch doctor) perform a post-mortem examination on a woman. After he had discovered the cause of death, which he announced to the expectant crowd as being due to "six witches eating her liver," he first pierced the abdominal walls with a long hard thorn, and then sewed up the body with a bamboo needle threaded with pineapple fibre. I have seen only one *nzwa* dwelling; it was used by an isolated sufferer of the dread disease called by the natives *nsobola* (a kind of sloughing phagedena). When proper reed material for making thatch is scarce, large forest leaves are used, but they make very poor roofs, especially during the tornado season.

Conservatism.—The Fang are not quick to adopt reforms or to introduce new methods; they are more or less the slaves of custom, and have a superstitious dread of departing from ancestral habits. This refers to all the proceedings of life. Fang living in towns near Gaboon are almost daily coming in contact with white settlers, and to some extent, as I hear, appear to be changing their mode of living. It never appeared to me that a Fang had the same longing to be "just like a white man" as possesses the young Mpongwe and Benga men.

IX.—*Ornamentation.*

The patterns mostly seen in Fang ornamentation consist of bands, incised lines, elliptical punch marks, herring bone, lozenge pattern and cross lines. The natives do not possess a natural aptitude for drawing, and seldom attempt it. The few drawings I have seen on the bark walls of houses, supposed to represent men and women, were very crude and exaggerated in proportion. They have no idea whatever of perspective. They seem to interpret foreign drawings very readily. The Fang show considerable skill in plain wood carving, using an ordinary native knife. I have noticed that their carving improves very considerably when an imported pocket knife is the instrument employed.

343 dwellings, stand with the gabled side facing the village square and look just like them except that they are firm and durable.
[556] Storage houses are to be found only in the villages of wealthier chiefs.

344 The houses for strangers (esá'bǎd) are built following exactly the same pattern and ground plan as the ordinary dwelling, but they are very hastily constructed: the walls are usually only plaited palm leaves; the door extends to the ground with no threshold; and the sleeping benches are those of the simple kind (kū'dū III), often made only of umbrella tree trunks split lengthwise down the middle and placed on top of two casters of the same wood. They are constructed especially on the occasion of the festival for departed souls when greater numbers of strangers are expected; at the conclusion of the festive period they are pulled down.

342 In the forests or on very isolated plantations, refuge huts are frequently built. These are often no more than mere protective roofs (myō e ngī III = gorilla home), while others resemble the simplest temporary meeting houses, that is, huts in which the gabled sides are open and the long walls are either absent or consist only of a few tree trunks (angō'n e ngī = gorilla crown, that is, the strip which juts out like a comb on the top of the gorilla's skull). /79/

344 Special houses are built next to or behind the dwellings or just outside the village for persons with contagious diseases
[344] (frambesia, leprosy) (see Fig. 16). Because they are designed for only one person, they are usually smaller than the dwellings; they have the same shape but are carelessly constructed and soon deteriorate because nobody takes the trouble to repair them.

343 Here and there I found stables; in the next section I shall come back to these. /Fig. 42 appears here in the original text./

Finally, it should be mentioned that in some villages
342 especially those close to the coast, there are houses on piles.
177 These are copied from the European settlements and are almost completely useless for the natives since their construction requires greater care and trouble than that of ordinary houses. Consequently, the houses on piles built by the Pangwe are veritable caricatures of human dwellings.

757 Whether these medicines really are effective will have to be
278 investigated by doctors. The Pangwe themselves, at any rate,
164 assert that they can cure leprosy in its early stages, and I was shown cases with healed areas that had left lighter spots from which all symptoms of inflammation had disappeared. Frequent repetition of the treatment is presupposed. Leprosy is one of the most terrible and common diseases of the southern Pangwe region. At a Sso festival in Akonangi, for example, I counted seven lepers among approximately 30 men present. With the primitive living conditions and the carelessness of the Negroes, the disease is all too readily communicated. It is true that prophylactic methods
[744] are used; indeed, lepers are even segregated, but only in the advanced stages of the disease and then very incompletely since, for example, they are admitted to all the dance festivals. The
[837] women even seek out lepers by preference for extramarital sexual intercourse. In the north leprosy does not occur so severely; according to the statement of one Jaunde, this is because they use medicines as soon as the illness appears.

757 The explanation of the effect of the medicine, if one is given at all, is always a mystical one, although it should by no means be concluded from this that the plants concerned would not be worth scientific investigation. In the case of leprosy, for instance, the blackish color or the blackening property of the plants is usually declared to be the cause of their effectiveness. The skin is supposed to become black, and therefore the medicine is usually made at night when everything is black: hence, the choice of ojǎ̃n e
[824] ndɛ̃lɛ̃k (Microglossa afzelii) and of oɛ̃ɔ̃h (Xylopia aethiopica), from a jɔ̃n, "to roast, to blacken"; hence, efiffɛ̃ (Diospyros), from ffɛ̃, "coal," because the tree is black as coal; hence, oyǐna ekǎn (black plantains), from a yǐn, "to become black"; hence, dɛ̃ɛ̃ɛ̃ elɔ̃k (Phaulopsis) from nɛ̃ɛ̃, "black." /174/

Elephantiasis of the scrotum (oɔ̃n, mbɔ̃n).

Elephantiasis of the scrotum is not too frequent among the Pangwe, but it is greatly feared by them, probably only because

754 we are already familiar.
278 Another mixture consisted of ground mica, a toad, and ground snake fangs.

The red nlǔ usually contains:
1. Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (see above);
[825] 2. a red crab from the forest (nkǒóěle kǔ'dǎ) (1);

1. The animal is supposed to make a sound that is reproduced by ǔ̄ǎ̄, ǔ̄ǎ̄.

3. a kind of scorpion (nsīsā), ground;
4. a chameleon, ground;
5. Mucuna pruriens D.C. (see above).

The black nlǔ contains:
1. ngō-akǒ'k or ekǒl-akǒ'k, fungus soil dried and ground;
2. akǒn, a fungus growth that lives under water, which is supposed to be very poisonous;
[825] 3. nlǒóho ngǒěn, a centipede which is greatly feared because of its poison.

The preparation of nlǔ is carried out in the most ingenious manner by expert medicine men. For this purpose, the men sew [287] for themselves a special suit made of the bark of the ondǔm tree [292] (Fig. 50). This suit resembles a long shirt and leaves only the head and hands exposed; these parts of the body are then rubbed [820] with an extract of Heckeria subpeltata (Wild.) Kunth (abǒmǒdaǔ), [759] principally in order to protect them against the very poisonous hairs of the Mucuna that fly about. With this preparation, the poison mixers proceed to pound the dried components in a pot and and to mix them by stirring. For this purpose they use a long stick so that they can stay as far away as possible from the poisonous mixture. Indeed, they go even further and call upon old leprous [734] persons to collect and pour the poison into little horns or bags [759] (Fig. 51), since in their case it would not matter if in the process they were to become sick or even die.

278 I am, of course, unable to judge. /148/

757 In the class of preventives are the leaves of Phyllanthus gracilipes Pax (esǎ́n elǐ), which are eaten whole or ground. As
[751] an antidote for poison in food, the Jaunde use the Corynanthe pachyceras K. Sch. (evē) and the Sida acuta L. var. carpinifolia K. Schum. (ìsǐm IV), the leaves being ground and eaten. In the Fang region a medicine consisting of the following ingredients is used:

1. Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth (abǒ́mědzǎ́n), the leaves or stalks ground;
2. ripe bananas (adžūe) cut in pieces;
3. Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edzṓle), bark scraped off;
4. Pachybbus macrophyllus Oliv. (andōlǒ́m), bark scraped off;
5. Abrus pulchellus Wall. (ozē zōge III, eloensǔ, "herb to counteract nǔ"), leaves ground;
6. Desplasia dewevrei De Wild et Burs. (afǒnǒk), bark scraped off.

These six ingredients are placed in water, and then the extract is drunk. As an antidote for poisoned bullets, the first three of the above are mixed together, and the mixture is eaten dry.

A further use of nǔ is called zō, from zǒ, "leopard," be-
754 cause the whiskers of the leopard are used for it. Just as the leopard tracks its victim /Fig. 52 appears here in the original text/ by mean of its whiskers and then treacherously pounces on it, the nō thrower wants the same effect. A piece of such a whisker about half a centimeter long is drawn through a fruit of the umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br. (asǒ́n), Figure 52, to form a small missile which is dipped in the magic medicine and then hurled at the opponent. If it hits the opponent's skin, he is supposed to get sick and die within three to six days. I myself once had an experiment performed with this "poisoning" -- something I felt justified in doing in view of the natives' conviction concerning its purely mystical effectiveness. Naturally the experiment was unsuccessful. Meanwhile, this did not disconcert my informant; he thought that perhaps the medicine he had been given was not the right one. Aside from being put on whiskers,
[674] nō is also sprinkled on darts which are shot from ambush when the

754 enemy happens to be dancing with other people at some festivity
674 and in the general excitement does not notice when the missile hits him.

As a preventive against zõ, a medicine is recommended
754 which consists of:
751
278

1. Albizzia fastigiata (E. Mey.) Oliv. (sõ'ne), ground resin;
2. Musanga smithii R. Br., ground involucral leaf (it is slippery); /149/
3. Pouzolzia guineensis Benth, Urticacea (mbõanĕ III), its leaves ground;

Fig. 52. Magic Medicine of a Sö Thrower, i.e., a Sorcerer or Poisoner.

4. Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth. (abõ'mĕdzã'n), stalk scraped off;
5. Corynanthe pachyceras K. Sch. (eyĕ), its leaves ground;
6. an unidentifiable Euphorbiacea (ayõ), its leaves ground.

This medicine is added to the red wood which is smeared on
[302] the body as a festive decoration.

2. Medicines for Acquiring Luck and Warding Off Misfortune

777
751

I combine these apparently different medicines because there is a number of them that serve both purposes, the acquisition of good fortune and protection against misfortune. Medicines for warfare, for instance, give one unerring aim as well as protection against bullets. The majority, to be sure, are specific means for obtaining luck or warding off misfortune. The Pangwe designate them as biã̄n because they are intended to guard against an illness, for he conceives misfortune or the endangering of his good fortune as an illness. We shall do best to take over this conception and to call these devices "medicines." The medicines for good luck are supposed to bring, above all, wealth and good fortune in love, shooting, setting traps, catching fish, and wrestling. The medicines for wealth (biã̄n akũ'ma) are based in part on the

777 conceptions developed in connection with the veneration of
751 ancestors, concerning the influence of the ancestors, who live where Nsambe does, on the terrestrial well-being of their
754 descendants. The most important of the medicines for wealth,
777 atum or aseb, that is, the Mekuk medicine, is based on the ideas of sorcery which I discussed in the previous section /Ed., not translated/. The skulls needed for the ancestor cult are not in
[169] this case those from relatives who died a natural death, but from those who were murdered secretly by sorcery (poisoning). Each biǎ,ń akū'ma, therefore, is a nsōm, a sin. The murder victims,
[826] or rather their souls, are called mekūk (1). A person who keeps

1. Etymologically related to nkūk, "upper part of the body." Perhaps we have here an intentional circumlocution, because the Pangwe like to avoid the real designation for their mesōm (sins).

the skulls in order to acquire wealth is called e mōde a bělě mekūk (= e mōde a n'a mekūk), that is, the man who has the Mekuk. I have known a Mekuk man who had no less than ten skulls of his murdered relatives in his house. In addition, the Mekuk man possesses magical devices which he sells on request together with the skulls in exchange for an excessive payment from people who themselves want to become Mekuk men. The latter are of course only sorcerers, that is, people who -- as was said in Section 12 /Ed., not translated/ -- receive the power to practice sorcery in their youth through a medicine, but who perhaps until then had not yet used their power and now want to train themselves in the specialized field of Mekuk medicine. For this purpose, their teacher demands that they murder a close relative, usually a father or mother, and bring him the skull. He himself will give them in exchange an older /150/ skull from his own collection and in addition frequently the back bones. The first
[608] skull of a Mekuk collection is therefore one of a stranger and has already been effective as a medicine. It is not an actual ancestral

751 A preventive device consists of a brass ring worn on the left thumb, the ring having first been given curative powers by the medicine man through certain ceremonies, for instance, by boiling it in medicines.

752 278 If someone is stung by a scorpion, his urine is applied to the spot, something that the Pangwe ordinarily do not do with wounds. Later, they attempt to dispel the morbid matter by evil smells; [826] for instance, a leaf with vaginal slime is placed on the wound. The explanation by the informant ran as follows in the best coastal English (1):

[124] 1. In order to avoid misunderstandings it should be emphasized that my Pangwe people gave their reports in their own language, but that their statements were checked with the help of an English-speaking interpreter.

Bumbo	be	bad	ting,	dem	smell,	he
Vagina	is	bad	thing, (namely,)	the	smell,	it

come del
comes out.

An injured foot is put in water in which stalks of Palisota preuniana (epídpŕú) have been pounded to bits, or heated leaves of the calabash (ndǒk IV), together with oil, are rubbed on the injury, "because the calabash has a bad smell."

The very painful puncture made by the spiny-finned sheatfish (kǒ'melǐm IV), for instance, Auchenoglanis balayi (Sauv.) (nǐ̀ŋ I) pictured on Plate 9 of Volume I, for whose dorsal /183/ spikes the fisherman has great respect, is made harmless by tying a rope tightly around the arm and then holding the spot over the fire.

The Pangwe combat wasp and bee stings with Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth (abǒ'medzǐ̀ŋ).

Bullets, that is, the pieces of iron with which the rifle is loaded and which, due to the aimless firing practiced by the Pangwe

843 After this second part of the ceremony, called elum nzum, the
843 child is hidden for eight days in a hut, and women are forbidden to
789 see him during this time; he is now called mvun. On the morning of the eighth day, the men lay him on a mat in the village square and cover him with mats and cloths so that the women do not see him; the inhabitants of the village are again assembled, and the men of the husband's family step over the mvun one after the other, saying: madzune, e mvun ebue ni ngi me ki me nga kule abum, me bure (I say, the mvun is lying there; if it is I who caused the abortion, may I die). When all the men have passed, the child is taken away. Some time later the guilty one becomes sick, has a swollen abdomen, and dies, there being no possibility of caring for him. After his death, the woman is treated as in the case of natural abortion.

843 Pregnancy (ndzua abum). When a woman is pregnant, she is bound by numerous obligations and prohibitions which aim to care for the child which she carries so that she can bring it into the world in good health. [80]

The obligations consist of taking medicines; to prevent the child
843 from having sores in the womb of its mother, she takes an infusion
757 of the roots of various trees. This medicine is called ese bibolo (to treat infections); if it is neglected, the child is born with infected sores which never heal.

The future mother must also go every three days into the brush and give herself a washing with a preparation of bark of ebom which has fermented in water. After each enema, water is added to the vessel containing the pieces of bark, which are kept until the delivery.

That the child may be strong, the pregnant woman anoints her abdomen with an ointment prepared by the midwife with padouk powder mixed with raphia oil and bark.

843 Finally, to prevent abortion, the woman wears on her skin, like a
757 belt, a piece of okum vine, which is not removed until after the birth of the child.

843 All this does not prevent the woman from continuing her work; when she feels tired, it is because the child is sick, and the midwife treats her with one of the medicines mentioned above. If the woman's husband has not had children for a long time, the future mother then enjoys much esteem; she receives gifts, and her husband pays a great deal of attention to her.

see it, and if she sees it she will have no more children. The mother is then washed with very hot water in which pimento has been steeped; after this her abdomen is bound with a belt of bark (ewag) which she keeps on for several days.

After the birth of her child, a young mother is known by the name of nzinze, which she keeps until she has the right to resume relations with her husband. She has a special bed in the hut, on which a menstruating woman may neither sit nor lie so as not to give scabies to the mother and the newborn. The young mother rests for about three months, during which she does no work and bathes every day with water as hot as she can stand, the lumbar region especially being bathed. Moreover, after every bath she is smeared with red paste (ba) to prevent scabies.

Recovery from childbirth is marked by a celebration (okula mon). The first time she goes out, the woman carries a package of ba, a piece of which she places on every tree stump she meets on her way, to mark her path. On her return she prepares a large quantity of food she has brought back. The husband invites the men of his tribe, and the wife invites the women of her husband's tribe. When the food is ready, it is taken to the men in the watchers' hut, where the child is also taken. The women eat in the hut.

To improve the quality of her milk, the young mother drinks progressively, if necessary, three medicines:

(1) An infusion of aseh roots.

(2) A milky-looking infusion of pieces of tubers of a plant with a thorny stem (ekon bõkun).

(3) Latex from a rubber plant.

It may be that the child dies at birth. Three causes for this are recognized:

An evur has eaten the child. To prevent this from being repeated and so that the woman will in the future bring living children into the world, she resorts to the practitioner. He goes into the forest armed [83] with a machete and a basket. He gathers the bark of an ovaṅ, and also brush and vines that grow under this tree. On his return to the village he divides his collection into two parts. One part, mixed with water, is put in a large rectangular container of banana leaves called etok, which has been filled with the blood of a domestic animal sacrificed for the welfare of the woman. She then immerses herself

of land by "elder sons" (mintôl) have certainly had an unfavorable demographic effect by upsetting the family structure—41 percent of adult males were unmarried in the Oyem subdivision in 1948. Finally, the wide-scale introduction of trade alcohol before 1914 and since 1946 has most certainly made things worse.

However, the magnitude of the crisis, which has primarily affected the Fang of Gabon, must not be exaggerated. The general demographic development might be summed up as follows:

Temporary increase in general mortality immediately after pacification, owing to greater spread of epidemics, particularly of smallpox and sleeping sickness, as a result of new means of mobility; possible rise of sterility rates with slight fall in the genital capacity /13/ owing to venereal infection, alcoholism, labor recruitment (above all in Gabon), and changes in family and village economic organization.

On the other hand, rapid and continuous fall in general mortality resulting from pacification; since about 1930 a falling-off of epidemics and general improvement in hygiene initiated; at present a decline in infant mortality. The universal application of wide-scale antimalarial prophylaxis (in the Cameroons) already allows us to anticipate a spectacular increase in the population.

Viewed as a whole, the balance between favorable and unfavorable factors appears to be on the positive side, in any case in areas not affected by the great Gabon famine of 1924. Moreover, awareness of demographic malaise must have partly resulted from the halting of migration, which made a sort of inventory possible. This awareness is especially perceptible in Gabon, where the situation seems to have been in fact more serious.

5. History and Traditions of Origin

The known history of the Pahouin group is that of a migration toward the sea, a migration in process of completion before our eyes.

Whence did it start? This is a very controversial question. Stoll, following Schweinfurth, speaks of Upper Egypt, as does Trilles, basing this opinion on linguistic and cultural arguments such as the use of the military crossbow and the shape of the saber (fa). It is this same shape that leads Tessmann to speak of Roman influence. Marche and

576 as strong interclan ties as does ngil; however, the initiation leader may belong to a different clan from the initiates.

[765] Eye (éye or yo?) is a purification and reconciliation rite, described by Father Guillemin for the Beti; it does not extend outside the ranks of an ayôm (segment).

575 825 Among the Boulou of Sangmélima, the Ntoumou of Ambam, and the Fang of Djoum, I found some medical society initiates who call themselves "snakes," using the proper word, benyo (sing. nyo), not the euphemism minkol afan (lit., bush lianas). Their specialty is treating bites and capturing and taming snakes. Initiates are known within the society under the name of one or another variety of snake, conferred at initiation. There are several degrees of initiation (three?): first-degree initiates /65/ are called bo' b'ayaõ, children of the Dendraspis; advanced initiates are bo' be mvôm, children of the python. Their medical knowledge seems quite extensive; they [765] claim, in particular, to be immune to /snake/ bites, thanks to the application of a special biaõ (medicament) through incisions at the time of initiation. The main center of this association would appear to be among the Mekaé of Messamena, and it is therefore not properly Pahouin.

575 626 794 All these ritual associations contributed to social order mainly through defense against malevolent sorcerers. The sorcerers, for their part, are often organized in secret societies in order to join forces against the organs of control and repression. Inevitably, therefore, these societies are ill understood. Nearly all of them must have included beyem (sing. nsem), that is, bearers of évu. In fact, if one may be subject to possession involuntarily and even unknown to oneself, one may also nyoõ évu, receive évu, always in the sense of a burden. A person entering a beyem association has to pay for his entrance by the sacrifice of a near relative and also accept the imposition of a special prohibition, the breaking of which (nsem) brings instant death.

576 794 The ne mimfaka (lit., road panthers), notorious under the name of leopard-men, were an association of man-eating sorcerers, a kind of counter-ngil (1). Nowadays what is involved may well be a

1. There are also independent ne mimfaka.

pathologically degenerate form of the ngil itself. In the course of a

have his wife initiated so as to ward off bad luck. This is not the only example of the indirect intervention of one sex in a rite of the opposite sex. Allégret points out that it is a "woman who has had bad luck fishing" who "finds the ironwood for making the war fetish." It certainly seems that he has mixed up ngil with ñ, but the example remains valuable. Therefore, though traditional rites and the associations of initiates of these rites were strictly masculine or feminine, this does not altogether exclude the intervention of the opposite sex. No more can be said in our present state of knowledge (2).

> 2. The other important women's rite, ngômbô, was more especially limited to old women. The participants built a sort of basin out of four banana trunks and their leaves, in which a vegetable biâñ /medicament/ was prepared that gave protection against theft. (J.B.)

Contemporary cults and associations, on the other hand, are open to both sexes, whether religious or politico-religious societies or mutual-aid associations.

The two principal politico-religious associations are the bwiti (or mbuti) and the ngôñ, well described by Balandier (no. 175). They have spread to the north from Gabon and the Middle Congo and are not of Pahouin origin. They are beginning to penetrate Boulou country, where they have not been as successful as among the Fang of the south, undoubtedly because of the lesser degree of social destruction.

Bwiti was originally a "tyogo" ancestor cult, comparable to the Pahouin bûñi, if one accepts Trilles. It must have first appeared among the Pahouin at the beginning of the century, probably among Pahouin families cut off from their clans and thus from the bûñi and ñ rites, whose significance is primarily ethnic and familial. Libreville was an important point of contact, not only between African peoples of different stock, but also with European religious systems. Modern bwiti borrows a great deal from Christianity and also from freemasonry, which was fairly widespread in Gabon before the war, especially in half-caste circles and on the periphery of principal towns. In assuming this syncretist character, bwiti appears at the same time as a nationalist—or Africanist—movement and as a progressive movement abandoning the old cults or rather modernizing them. It is the

192 The group displays powerful shoulder girth, rather well-developed calf, pronounced arch, ungual phalanges that cannot be pulled back.

The explorers of the last century were one and all struck by the difference in physical appearance between the Pahouin and their neighbors, much less evident today, particularly to a European (the Pahouin themselves often recognize a stranger from quite a distance). It is possible that at the time of conquest the Pahouin may have had a
[26] heavier meat diet than did the coastal populations or do their present-day descendants: the hippopotamus has been exterminated, and the rest of the wild fauna has been greatly reduced, while even animal breeding and rearing is on the decline.

b. Clothing, Ornaments, Body Marks

24 The traditional clothing as described by explorers hardly exists any more. One sometimes meets in remote villages the beaten fig-bark breechcloth, ɓɔ̂ɔm, and the monkeyskin hat-wig, afɛ̂ ɔ̂ɔ̂, which was the men's everyday dress, with a wide belt of antelope skin, asɔ, holding a sort of sporran as well as a saber sheath. Battle dress and
242 full dress have become very rare; they included, in addition to a red-dyed ɓɔ̂ɔm, a tailpiece /ɛ̂ant/ of tiger-cat skin or of drill or any animal with bright fur, fringed leggings of the same fur, and a sort of cloak made of leopard or gorilla skin with the head sometimes forming a hood; there was a headdress of beads hanging down to the shoulders or arranged in the hair, with a tuft of touraco or juggler-eagle /aigle-
[41] hetelear/ feathers. Weapons consisted of the saber, fa, the dagger, otyen —both double bladed, the spear, akɔ̂ɔ̂, or rifle, ngal (the crossbow, mfan, was more a hunting weapon, and the bow, ngale, a toy). Defensive armor included an oblong shield, ngo or ɛ̂ndɛ̂ɛ̂, of plaited lianas or of leather, sometimes made of an elephant ear. Even today men do not like to leave home without a weapon, at least in the
30 villages; formerly, they were always armed. Men's jewelry comprised copper bracelets and tooth necklaces—of either animal's or men's
[28] teeth—chains of copper, iron, ivory, or elephant hair. Protective
265 "medicaments" mɛkɛ̂ɛ̂, were usually carried in an antelope horn (Cephalophus sylvicultrix), ola' zip, hung around the neck or wrist on a strip of leather or snakeskin—a practice that still survives. The
29 ceremonial costumes for the different rites /86/ included masks, mantles of dried grass, beads, or cowries.

757 in its later stages it makes sexual intercourse impossible. In the Pangwe region I never encountered the gigantic scrotums that one finds in the Northern Cameroons, for instance. The natives be-
[753] lieve that the disease is caused by worms that ordinarily live in the stomach and are the cause of stomach pains. From the stomach they are supposed to migrate into the scrotum and cause it to swell. Allegedly from the example of the Whites (perhaps
[177] from Nkomakak?), people in a few places have hit upon the idea
● [752] of opening the scrotum and cutting out the swellings. The original treatment, which is still practiced today, is to use the medicines for stomach worms. Recipes for these medicines are as follows.

757 1. beyǔ̃ a ndǯik III, scraped bark boiled with raffia palm
278 resin, the water being in part carefully poured off, the rest injected as an enema. At the same time, pieces of bark of Cylicodiscus gabonensis Harms (edũm) and Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekũk) are placed in a leaf vessel with water; then somebody blows into it with a reed until foam rises. The patient must sit down in the vessel. Both plants contain an acrid sap supposed to drive away the "worms."

2. Illigera pentaphylla Welw. (marũ̃ mesĩh III), ground leaves eaten with salt and pepper.

3. Citrus limonum Risso (alõ̃ɪ), "because it is bitter and evil-smelling, and so drives away the worms," together with Plagiostyles klainei Pierre (eʃ̌ũlǎ', from a ʃũlǎn, "to loosen" knots), "so that the disease will likewise be loosened," Oncinotis tessmannii Gilg (njɛ̌m osõ̌k IV), "because the worms fear the hairs (= the itching)," Brillantaisia lamium Bth. (dǯibe elõ̌k III), "because the plant is bitter," and Stenochlaena guineensis (Kuhn) Unt. (nkǎdena' III), all boiled together in a pot with water and then used as an enema. In addition, pieces of bark of Mesocarpidium lepidotum Engl. et Diels (amvĩm) slightly boiled and pressed on the stomach.

4. Dioscorea preussii Pax (abǎ'ii), Xylopia zenkeri Engl. et Diels (odǯũ̃ɛ̃), and an herb osǎ; leaves or pieces of bark ground together, then boiled a little, and the water used as an enema.

When the healing starts, Maesobotrya (mbǎ'n-afǎ'n I) dried, ground, and eaten.

8. Cucurbitacea Lepinemon owariensis (Spreng.) Hallierf. (nkǔmbwǒ̃je III): leaves ground together with red wood and some water and smeared on the affected places /178/: "a bwǒ̃je (buǒ̃je). break open, the fruit breaks open of its own accord, and in the same way the boil is supposed to break open."

9. Ophiocaulon gracile Harms, Passifloracea (eǒ̃k): the leaves are heated over the fire and then pressed on the affected places. The fruit of Ophiocaulon are hollow and burst easily, making a slight noise. "In the same way the boils are supposed to burst open."

10. Conopharyngia brachyantha Stpf. (etǒ̃ǒ̃): the sap of the plant is sprinkled on the boils, "so they run like the milky sap from the Conopharyngia."

11. Desplatsia subericarpa Bocq. (ukǔ̃kǔt a mǒ̃ǒ̃ǒ̃k III): the contents of the fruit are smeared on with red wood, so the swelling will become as small as the fruit of the Desplatsia subericarpa in comparison to the Desplatsia dewevrei (mǒ̃ǒ̃ǒ̃k I).

12. Euphorbiacea Tragia cordifolia Benth (ǒ̃ǒ̃m): the leaves are pressed on with resin. The leaves burn, and it is hoped thereby to dispel the swelling.

Finally, attempts are also made to remove the swellings by [752] means of external treatments. Thus, the boils are beaten, for example, with the sharp-spiked Acanthus montanus until the blood pours out, and then the wound is covered with the leaves of Dioscorea dumetorum (Kunth) Pax (andǒ̃ǒ̃), or the boils may be cut open with a knife.

Gonorrhea (nǒ̃ǒ̃k I).

Gonorrhea is supposed to be indigenous to the Pangwe region, [177] but it is quite infrequent in the untouched interior. In Yaoundé /Ed., in German, Jaunde/, on the other hand, and in the vicinity of the coast, under the influence of "civilization," it is very widespread. The cure of gonorrhea is attempted mainly by internal medicines. For instance, a watery solution of the Conopharyngia (etǒ̃ǒ̃) is drunk so the gonorrhea will "flow out," or one may drink a bark extract from Heisteria parvifolia Sm., Flacourtiacea

757 resin of Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl. (ɛ̃ɛ̃ɔ́), which kills the
278 parasites that might have stayed in the flesh, is smeared on them.

The medicines for lice (ɔ́ɔ́) were given in Volume I, page 188.

An effective emetic, which, however, is rarely used, is supplied by Microglossa volubilis D.C. (mɔ̃ɔ̃ɔ́ I). The leaves are ground and steeped in water, and the water is then drunk.

An infusion of the bark of the Olacacea Strombosiopsis congolensis de Wildem. (ɛdɔ́ɔ́, from dɔ́ɔ́, "to close") is supposed to have a constipating effect; it is used cold as an enema. An infusion of ayom is supposed to have the same effect.

As a laxative Canis occidentalis L. (ɛbɔ́ɔ́ ɔ́ɔ́) is used, the leaves being ground and put in cold water, and this is drunk; furthermore, young shoots from the Rubiacea Urophyllum /181/ callicarpoides H. (mbɔ́ɔ́ III) are ground in water, and this liquid is used as an enema; finally the root of Physedra longipes Hook f. (ɛbɔ́ɔ́) is steeped in cold water, and the liquid used as an enema.

752 One rarely hears anything about snake bites in the Pangwe
136 region. Despite the fairly large number of species of these reptiles, there are only a few whose bite is almost always deadly. These include Bitis nasicornis Shaw (ɛ̃ɛ̃ IV Ntum) and Naja melanoleuca Hall. (ɛyɔ́ndi nyɔ́, "black snake"). Those whose bite frequently leads to death include Naja guentheri Sigr. (ɔkɔ́m). Atheris squamiger Hall. (yɔ́ IV), and two Thrasops species, Thrasops flavigularis Hall. (ɔkɔ́ɔ́-ɔkɔ́ III) and Thrasops aethiops Günth. (ɔkɔ́ɔ́-fɔ́m III). All other species, even if some of them are poisonous, are little if at all feared since their poison is not fatal and can be made ineffectual by medicines. The varying effect of snake bites has given rise to the belief that those who die from them had been engaged in sorcery the night before (ɔwɔ́ɔ́n I, that is, one who must die), whereas the others did not (ɔɔ́ɔ́n I, that is, one who shall live).

In the treatment of snake bites the principal role is played by a
752 stone concerning which I was unable to discover any further details.
278 In addition, the leaves of the Urticacea Pouzolzia guineensis Benth (mbɔ́ɔ́ɔ́ III) or of Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (ɛyɔ́, ɛ ɔ́) are ground in water, and with this the wounds are washed; or the sap of the Gentiana Harungana paniculata (Pers.) Lodd. (ɛɔ́ɔ́) -- which is also used when goats are castrated -- is dripped into the wounds.

A preventive device consists of a brass ring worn on the left thumb, the ring having first been given curative powers by the medicine man through certain ceremonies, for instance, by boiling it in medicines.

If someone is stung by a scorpion, his urine is applied to the spot, something that the Pangwe ordinarily do not do with wounds. Later, they attempt to dispel the morbid matter by evil smells; for instance, a leaf with vaginal slime is placed on the wound. The explanation by the informant ran as follows in the best coastal English (1):

> 1. In order to avoid misunderstandings it should be emphasized that my Pangwe people gave their reports in their own language, but that their statements were checked with the help of an English-speaking interpreter.

Bumbo	be	bad	ting,		dem smell,	be
Vagina	is	bad	thing,	(namely.)	the smell,	it

come de!
comes out.

An injured foot is put in water in which stalks of Palisota preuseana (ntiŋ'ŋ) have been pounded to bits, or heated leaves of the calabash (ndjo IV), together with oil, are rubbed on the injury, "because the calabash has a bad smell."

The very painful puncture made by the spiny-finned sharkfish (bŋ'mekŋ IV), for instance, Auchenoglanis belayi (Sauv.) (ndjŋ I) pictured on Plate 9 of Volume I, for whose dorsal /183/ spikes the fisherman has great respect, is made harmless by tying a rope tightly around the arm and then holding the spot over the fire.

The Pangwe combat wasp and bee stings with Heckeria subpeltata (Willd) Kunth (abŋ'medzŋ').

Bullets, that is, the pieces of iron with which the rifle is loaded and which, due to the aimless firing practiced by the Pangwe

752 find their way into the bodies of fighting companions, are removed
2 by incision. The sap of Landolphia ochracea K. Sch. (ayiku) is then trickled over the wounds, and they are rubbed with oil containing leaves of Chasalia afzelii (Hk.) K. Sch., Rubiaceae (dii a ndik III), or they are washed out with water containing ground leaves of Sarcocephalus sambucinus (K. Sch.) C.W. (ellimd).

[574] In the case of cut wounds, which occur quite often either during the frequent scuffles with bush knives or as a result of carelessness while clearing the jungle, the wound is covered with the leaves of Cissus vogelii Hook f. (mbongwokm I) mixed with sacke water, or the sap from the twigs of Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub (mvii IV Fang) is dripped into the wounds, or they are covered with bark scraped from Amphimas tessmannii Harms (ndii) or the rind of the roots of the Menispermacea Jateorhiza strigosa Miers (ndii bangii I, IV). In the treatment of wounds the following are also used: a Sterculiacea (ndii a Ki) (leaves ground in water); Combretum mucronatum Thonn. et Schum. (ndigdii III) (leaves ground in the same manner); Cola chlamys schweinfurthii Gilg., Loganiacea (ndigdii-ndii); and Adenia mannii Harms (ndii ndii III); furthermore, Phaseolus lunatus L. (ndiyiiee III), the ground leaves put in a leaf bag, and the latter pressed out over the wound; finally, Trichoscypha (ndii ne ayigi), pieces of whose bark are boiled and then decanted lukewarm onto the wound; likewise Fagopsiolum tessmannii Harms (ndolinn).

In the case of burns, ground leaves of Combretum lawesianum Engl. et D. (ndiidwii III) and Combretum latialatum Engl. (ndii's I) are applied to the wounds with some water.

About a dozen medicines are known for sprains (ndiige) and fractures. In the case of the former, the treatment consists of heating a bundle of the medicinal plant over the fire and then pressing it to the painful areas. Fractures are put into splints with [265] firmly tied raffia leafmidrib strips.

For tumors (ndii) the bark of the Euphorbiacea Cyclomeris tessmanniana Pax (ndiie eii III) is used. The tree itself has excrescences on its bark; the latter is removed from the tree, dried, and charred. Then incisions are made into the tumor, and the ashes

are rubbed into them. In this case it is clear that the view the natives have of powers of healing is not free of contradiction and confusion. The excrescence on the tree is /184/ natural, that on the person unnatural. By incorporating the tree's natural excrescence in the form of ashes, they hope to induce the human growth to return to its natural shape, that is, to become smooth, while in actual fact one would expect the person to get a swelling from this.

For bandages the Pangwe usually use strips of dried banana leaf sheaths. In the case of finger and toe injuries, a small halved calabash, fastened with a string around the joint, is slipped on as a cover (Plate 25).

Medicines for impotence, sexual stimulants, devices to influence the woman's sexual life (menstruation, pregnancy, birth) will be treated later (Section 18).

5. Food Prohibitions

Pangwe life is dominated by a number of rules which they call bekĩ (from ekĩ). These, in the main, prescribe that certain actions shall not be performed at certain times and that certain foodstuffs are to be avoided either at all times or only at certain times. The most important rules are the latter, the food prohibitions. The following are distinguished: 1) ekĩ, bebin = taboo for those not initiated into cults, or ekĩ, bonenga = taboo for women, who are uninitiated as regards the men's cults; 2) ekĩ, bongun = taboo for the initiated of the cults, in practice usually of the women's cults; 3) ekĩ-bondĩ'mĩn = taboo for young, vigorous persons, and the forbidden animals are called dĩm; 4) ekĩ, abĩm = taboo for the belly, that is, the prohibition of certain animals at the time of pregnancy, or ekĩ, mĩn = taboo because of the child, that is, food taboos for the duration of the pregnancy and nursing the child, a period during which the taboo applies both to the mother and the father, a consequence of the opinion held by the Pangwe that the woman -- as it is always put -- has the lover or husband "in her belly," that is, that the developing fruit is actually

[Text continues on page 60]

2: Tessmann--59 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

/Facing 184/ Plate XXV

341
192
241
192

Fang with a "cover" on his Toe.

[787] Magic appears to be a technique for making use of the strength, tyi, contained in every element of the universe /*creation*/, which everyone has more or less the capacity, ngul, to employ. Elementary magic is taught within the family, advanced magic /is taught/ in associations, by experienced practitioners and also, nowadays, through /120/ correspondence with European charlatans. All initiations include a course in magic, all associations possess a body of specialists.

[787] Divination, mvi'i, and medicine, mbwan mebiaŋ, are to magic in general what in Europe the special branches are to general medicine.
[789] Every ngengaŋ is a diviner and physician, but he may consult a colleague more specialized in one of those branches.

Everyone learns from childhood on to interpret everyday omens, which are mostly taken from "anomancy:" the flight or song of certain birds, meeting certain animals in certain circumstances, etc. The interpretation of the movements of the victim of a family sacrifice, the alep spider oracle, asking the advice of ancestors by means of the narcotic herb alaŋ (iboga), require that /a person/ be already initiated. Oracles by water, sand or gravel, or conducting minkal tests require much deeper knowledge.

[787] The same holds for medicine. Everyone knows the ordinary mebiaŋ, but for serious cases people must turn to a mbibiaŋ. The word bi, usually translated "medicament," "gregree," even "fetish," indicates not only the drug, a pharmaceutical product, but also the whole of a magical act, including the chanting and dancing associated with it for grave illnesses. Pharmacopoeia and therapy proper, to some extent investigated by Baudre, Weber, and Chabeuf in the Cameroons and by Gaceón in Spanish Guinea, are or were quite copious. Not only did the mbibiaŋ know many substances with a mainly vegetable base, but they also knew how to perform several surgical operations
[782] —reduction of fractures and dislocations, incision and drainage of deep abscesses, amputations, excision of certain tumors, and perhaps trepanning. But obviously there was a great deal of pure magic mixed up with this practical medicine, and the majority of mebiaŋ, if they had a therapeutic effect, owed it largely to psychosomatic reactions—which is not peculiar to Fabouin medicine.

[79] Aside from medicine and divination and the combating of sorcerers, the essential role of the mingengaŋ consisted of influencing the shaping of the destiny of the group or of the individuals, if not in controlling their destiny. The powers of high initiates to some extent

because, in spite of the great love for children, in spite of the intimate relationship between father and son, the Negro is simply not able to endure the effort of working when the prospect of payment is constantly before his eyes. The price for strangers, to be paid in advance, is 100 spears or a small sheep, in return for which the medicine man will teach his pupil all the cures that he knows.

The medicine men do not have any special social status, authority, or influence. In general, they are regarded only as experienced and skillful persons (akôn, i.e., "skillful"). Only those among them who know the medicines of sorcery and give this knowledge to others (including the cult leaders who, by means of a magic medicine, give the cult figures the power to practice sorcery) are feared, and rightly so, because one suspects that with the help of these "medicines" they may practice sorcery, i.e., kill other people, at any time.

1. Medicines for Sorcery

We have seen in the previous chapter /Ed., not translated/ that the sources of belief in sorcery are to be sought in the need to assign causes for unrecognized internal ailments, particularly malaria and poisoning. Because of the similarity of their symptoms, these two cannot be distinguished by European outsiders,/141/ and even the native inhabitants for the most part find it impossible. At the moment, therefore, it is not possible to obtain a clear picture of these things. It is certain that the Negroes know how to get someone out of the way with poison and that they mix poison with the conscious intention of killing, but it is uncertain to what extent they are conscious of the physiological effects of poison in our sense. As far as I could observe, a generally mystical view of these matters will prevails. All poisoning, just like all internal illness, is sorcery, and all sorcery is the mystical operation of the physical being, detached from the body, that finds its strength in its eye which has been developed through medicine (see Section 12)/Ed., not translated/. If someone wishes to kill a person

4. Medical Knowledge.

153 169 All internal afflictions which the Pangwe do not recognize -- especially malaria, as has been mentioned, as well as migraine (ewu-nlir, that is, ewu in the head), and sudden, quickly passing cramps (elifma) -- are conceived by them as ewu. That is to say, he thinks of them as illnesses caused by sorcery and fights them with all kinds of mystical remedies that for lack of space I cannot discuss in detail here.

The Pangwe have, however, more or less correctly identified and named a large number of illnesses, especially such as have externally visible symptoms. He names them in the order of their terminus as follows:

1. nkam IV = leprosy;
2. ogit = elephantiasis of the scrotum;
3. ele IV (1) = serious form of dysentery, distinguished

   1. But tit IV = meat, animal.

by a swollen belly (nkolm I);

4. ngilik III ngoki III = syphilis, only among the Jaunde (2);

   2. As recently as 1891 Zenker was unable to observe any syphilis.

5. mabada I = frambesia (3);

   3. The pockmarks are designated by the Pangwe as mbadamanig (plural).

6. bendimejin (plural = elephantiasis of the legs;
7. ili, ele I = festering boils;
8. ekif, ekin, mvim IV = furuncles;
9. nada I, edif, oden mabilik = gonorrhea; /170/
10. nkile = swelling of the inguinal glands, bubo;

753
164

11. mlɪ́ɔ́ I = eczema, Kroiro /Ed., ?/;
12. ewɔ́nɪ́ = scabies;
13. akɔ́ = herpes on the head;
14. tɪ́n IV = herpes on the skin.

Towards less serious internal ailments, such as intestinal disturbances, stomach pains, toothaches, and so forth, the Pangwe behave with comparative equanimity. Although they have come to realize that some of these are caused by immoderate eating, spoiled food, and so forth, they do not give up their accustomed way of life. Instead of following a sensible diet, they try to cure themselves by medicines.

Of internal illnesses the Pangwe have terms for the following: okɔ́ bɔ́k, apɪ́ɪ́s, akɔ́ = epilepsy; okɔ́n-akɪ́ɪ́e = back pains (of a nervous origin); okɔ́n mɔ́m = heart disease actually, then mental illnesses because it is believed that nervous ailments proceed from the heart; okɔ́n ɔ́ɔ́' = headaches; ɔ́ɔ́ = lung ailments (consumption?); ekɪ́ɪ́ma, mbɔ́'mɔ́n I = common cold; okɔ́n kɔ́ɔ́ = neck pains; mɔ́ɔ́ I, usually used in the plural = stomach aches, intestinal pains (when shooting pains are felt); okɔ́n mɔ́ɔ́, okɔ́n ɔ́ɔ́ = toothache; mɔ́ I = rheumatic and nervous ailments; mɔ́-akɪ́m = stomach-aches (when twitching pains are felt); mɔ́-ɔ́ɔ́k = rump pains; mɔ́-ɔ́wɔ́' = arm pains; okɔ́n makɔ́' -ɪ́ɪ́n = hemorrhoids; okɔ́n mɔ́ɔ́ = eye diseases; mɔ́ɔ́ I, mɔ́ɔ́ = inflammation of the eye; dɪ́ɪ́ VII = sty in the eye.

The principal parasites are: ɪ́ɪ́' = eye worms; ɔ́ɔ́ = sand fleas; and ɪ́n IV = lice.

759
159

As regards the origin of these afflictions, elephantiasis of the scrotum and the legs is attributed to sorcery; all other serious illnesses are attributed to the cult powers which impose them as a penalty for sins committed. At the head of this list is leprosy, whose name-ɪ́ɪ́m should therefore be derived from the root a ɪ́ɪ́m (see page 13 /Ed., not translated/), "to extend one's hands to punish, to punish." After that come frambesia and incurable festering boils. The cult powers cause these afflictions either independently and on their own initiative, or the cult powers are utilized in the performance of certain symbolic ceremonies with objects connected with their cult. If the Ngi is invoked, for

example, in the case of the theft of some food, a bit of the remains of the food, such as chewed sugarcane, is put in a rifle and fired off, or the chewed sugarcane is put in the smithy pit in place of iron and belabored with the bellows. In still other cases, this same sugarcane is placed with a pepper twig in the burrow of a Lygosoma fernandi Bur. (the scincoid lizard), and a fire is lighted under them. In all /171/ these cases the fire is a symbol of the Ngi (fire cult). Another time the Sso is called upon. If, for example, someone has stolen a wild animal from a trap, the hairs still sticking to the trap are placed in a halved Negro banana (the plant sacred to the Sso) or on a halved piece of the Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becco. nkîne I (likewise a cult plant, but its significance is unknown to me), and the thief will then contract leprosy. Furthermore, the remnants of the stolen goods merely need to be placed on the path to a frambesia patient's toilet in order to cause the thief to contract frambesia. Such a manner of wishing an illness upon someone is called a pfîfi, from a pfîde, "to do, to lay, to do something to someone, to impose (lay) something on someone, to throw upon."

As the third cause of illness, the natives are familiar with the simple communication of diseases, infection (substantive, nkîjîn I; verb, a kîjîn), and the Fangwe know very well that frambesia is more contagious, whereas leprosy is less so.

In the case of less serious illnesses, some people may get the idea that the illness was invoked in some way by offended or harmed companions. In general, however, people do not think about causes; the illness simply comes by itself.

Among the Jaunde the a pfîfi is unknown because the cults are not so highly developed as they are among the southern Fangwe. The Jaunde often blame sorcerous beings.

The fee for treatment of disease is variously handled. In the case of leprosy the medicine man receives 110 spears (seven marks) or a small goat, if his art has been of some help -- otherwise he receives nothing. In the case of frambesia and illnesses of the ewu he receives in advance a chicken, as well as the head and heart of the goat that is slaughtered so that the patient may drink the blood. If the cure was successful, he is paid 50 spears. In the case of less

757 in its later stages it makes sexual intercourse impossible. In the Pangwe region I never encountered the gigantic scrotums that one finds in the Northern Cameroons, for instance. The natives be-
[757] lieve that the disease is caused by worms that ordinarily live in the stomach and are the cause of stomach pains. From the stomach they are supposed to migrate into the scrotum and cause it to swell. Allegedly from the example of the Whites (perhaps
[177] from Nkomakak?), people in a few places have hit upon the idea
[757] of opening the scrotum and cutting out the swellings. The original treatment, which is still practiced today, is to use the medicines for stomach worms. Recipes for these medicines are as follows.

757 1. bɛ́ɛ́ a ndɔ́k III, scraped bark boiled with raffia palm
218 resin, the water being in part carefully poured off, the rest injected as an enema. At the same time, pieces of bark of Cylicodiscus gabonensis Harms (ɛ́dɔm) and Alstonia congensis Engl. (ɔ́kɔ́k) are placed in a leaf vessel with water; then somebody blows into it with a reed until foam rises. The patient must sit down in the vessel. Both pieces contain an acrid sap supposed to drive away the "worms."

2. Illigera pentaphylla Welw. (mɔ́ʼʼʼʼ mɛ́ɛ́k III), ground leaves eaten with salt and pepper.

3. Citrus limonum Risso (ɔ́lɔ́ʼ), "because it is bitter and evil-smelling, and so drives away the worms," together with Flagellaria kleinei Pierre (ɛ́ɛ́lɛ́ʼ, from a ɛ́ɛ́lɛ́, "to loosen" leaves), "so that the disease will likewise be loosened," Oncinotis tessmannii Gilg (ɔ́ʼʼʼʼ ɔ́ʼʼʼʼ IV), "because the worms fear the hairs (= the itching)," Brillantaisia lamium Bth. (ɛ́ɛ́lɛ́ɛ́ ɔ́ʼʼʼʼ III), "because the plant is bitter," and Sonnechiana guineensis (Kuhn) Urb. (ɔ́kɔ́ɔ́nɔ́ʼ III), all boiled together in a pot with water and then used as an enema. In addition, pieces of bark of Monocarpidium lepidotum Engl. et Diels (ɔ́mɔ́ʼʼʼʼ) slightly boiled and pressed on the stomach.

4. Dioscorea preussii Pax (ɔ́bɔ́ʼʼʼʼ), Xylopia aethiopica Engl. et Diels (ɔ́ʼʼʼʼ), and an herb ɔ́ɔ́, leaves or pieces of bark ground together, then boiled a little, and the water used as an enema.

When the healing starts, Musodunya (ɔ́ʼʼʼʼ-ɔ́ʼʼʼʼ I) dried, ground, and eaten.

because, in spite of the great love for children, in spite of the intimate relationship between father and son, the Negro is simply not able to endure the effort of working unless the prospect of payment is constantly before his eyes. The price for strangers, to be paid in advance, is 100 spears or a small sheep, in return for which the medicine man will teach his pupil all the cures that he knows.

The medicine men do not have any special social status, authority, or influence. In general, they are regarded only as experienced and skillful persons (ukôn, i.e., "skillful"). Only those among them who know the medicines of sorcery and give this knowledge to others (including the cult leaders who, by means of a magic medicine, give the cult figures the power to practice sorcery) are feared, and rightly so, because one suspects that with the help of these "medicines" they may practice sorcery, i.e., kill other people, at any time.

1. Medicines for Sorcery

We have seen in the previous chapter /Ed., not translated/ that the sources of belief in sorcery are to be sought in the need to assign causes for unrecognized internal ailments, particularly malaria and poisoning. Because of the similarity of their symptoms, these two cannot be distinguished by European outsiders,/145/ and even the native inhabitants for the most part find it impossible. At the moment, therefore, it is not possible to obtain a clear picture of these things. It is certain that the Negroes know how to get someone out of the way with poison and that they mix poison with the conscious intention of killing, but it is uncertain to what extent they are conscious of the physiological effects of poison in our sense. As far as I could observe, a generally mystical view of these matters still prevails. All poisoning, just like all internal illness, is sorcery, and all sorcery is the mystical operation of the physical being, detached from the body, that finds its strength in its eye which has been developed through medicine (see Section 11/Ed., not translated/. If someone wishes to kill a person

154 or to make him ill, he prepares a medicine which serves to strengthen his ewu and, at the same time to stimulate it anew and in a particular way for the occasion to point out the direction of the victim and to provide the power for the sorcery. In this way also, the cult figures were transformed by a medicine into active magical beings. From the sequence of medicine, ewu, object of the sorcery, the ewu was later omitted, so only the direct effect of the medicine on the object remains. Thus, instead of killing through sorcery, we have direct poisoning. Among the Pangwe these things are as yet still confused. Only among the Jaunde does there appear to be the beginning of a separation between the two, inasmuch as they do not unquestioningly surrender to their fate, but instead attempt to investigate the poisoning and to find and punish the murderer. In so doing, however, barely escaping this Charybdis, they are caught on the Scylla of legal murder; in view of the difficulty of finding the culprit, they proceed in a
[142] very summary manner. If, for example, a chief dies, presumably poisoned by one of his wives, all of them or at least very many of them will be punished by death.

154 238 The most common sorcerous medicine used for poisoning is nkɔ, with which we are already acquainted as a medicine for giving power to the cult figures. It is prepared in three different ways, as white, red and black nkɔ. As a rule, all three contain toad poison. In addition, the white one usually contains:

1. fine, sharp-edged splinters of grated cowry shells, mica (ebib e dibɔ, "scales of heaven"), or glass;

2. skull bones of a man who has been dead for a month and who must have died on the same day that he was taken ill;

[175] 3. toad, Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (mekɔ) dried and grated;

4. lizard, Lygosoma fernandi Bart. (ebɔmakɔbɔ), prepared in the same way (see "Religion" /N.d., not translated/). /144/

5. the poisonous roots of the Dioscorea macrocura Harms (dɔbɔ IV), dried over a fire and grated;

6. poisonous hairs of the Leguminous Mucuna pruriens D.C. (ekɔ'ɔ ellɔ', that is, leaves from the fan, e.g., leaves of death); at times also

7. scraped and charred rind of the Leguminous Detarium macrocarpum Harms (ɔnɔ), with whose symbolic significance

[259] we are already familiar.

[278] Another mixture consisted of ground mica, a toad, and ground snake fangs.

The red ndʒ usually contains:

1. Lygosoma fernandi Bort. (see above).
2. a red crab from the forest (ndʒ̄ʒ̄ʒ̄ ndʒ̄dé) (1).

[925]

1. The animal is supposed to make a sound that is reproduced by ʒ̄ʒ̄, ʒ̄ʒ̄.

3. a kind of scorpion (ndʒ̄ʒ̄), ground.
4. a chameleon, ground;
5. Mucuna pruriens D.C. (see above).

The black ndʒ contain:

1. ngō-ekyʔ or ekōl-ekyʔ, fungus soil dried and ground;
2. ekōn, a fungus growth that lives under water, which is supposed to be very poisonous;

[82] 3. ndʒ̄ʒ̄ngʒ̄ngʒ̄, a centipede which is greatly feared because of its poison.

The preparation of ndʒ̄ is carried out in the most ingenious manner by expert medicine men. For this purpose, the men sew [257] for themselves a special suit made of the bark of the ondʒ̄n tree [292] (Fig. 50). This suit resembles a long skirt and leaves only the head and hands exposed; these parts of the body are then rubbed [92] with an extract of Hecteria cuspidata (Wild.) Kunth (ebʒ̄ndʒ̄dʒ̄ʒ̄), [79] principally in order to protect them against the very poisonous hairs of the Mucuna that fly about. With this preparation, the poison mixers proceed to pound the dried components in a pot and and to mix them by stirring. For this purpose they use a long stick so that they can stay as far away as possible from the poisonous mixture. Indeed, they go even further and call upon old leprous [74] persons to collect and pour the poison into little horns or bags [75] (Fig. 51), since in their case it would not matter if in the process they were to become sick or even die.

The finished mixture is a bone-dry and extremely fine powder. It is not immediately put to use, but first tried out on dogs. By leaving out certain ingredients, such as the Mucuna hairs, or by means of other combinations, the poison mixers -- so various informants emphatically affirm -- are able to shorten or lengthen the victim's period of suffering at will or to produce only illness without fatal results. /147/

The medicine sold by the medicine men (because of its tendency to decompose rather rapidly, it does not keep very long) is used in the following ways. Either it is mixed with the food or sprinkled on the head of the bed or the floor -- merely inhaling the stuff, it is said, produces severe illness. Otherwise it is buried near the surface where the victim usually sits. The Nzum, furthermore, mix the poison with the pulverized resin of Albizzia fastigiata Oliv. (ngl'gine) and then place in it for five days the pieces of iron with which they load their rifles.

Concerning the frequency of secret murder by "sorcery" or murder by poisoning, Europeans certainly have no accurate /Fig. 50 appears here in the original text/ conception, since without further ado we tend to ascribe deaths in the unhealthy regions of tropical Africa to malaria. At the same time, the importance, even for us, of investigating this matter precisely is demonstrated by the following fact. In the small Campo region (disregarding the coastal strip), which has been visited by Whites only in the last few years, no less than six merchants have been poisoned within this short period of time, attempts were made to poison two others.

The effects of the medicine of sorcery, whenever it is a question of poisoning in our /Fig. 51 appears here in the original text/ sense of the term, for instance, poisoning food, depend on its composition. According to descriptions, it produces either terrible pains in the abdomen, as though "fire were penetrating the bowels," or the symptoms are those of blackwater fever, among others, dark urine, or it produces paralysis; thus, there is a great variety of effects so that correct diagnosis is extraordinarily difficult.

If someone believes he has been poisoned or exposed to poisoning, he employs special antidotes concerning whose value

[Text continues on page 9]

2: Tessmann--8 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

292
287
759

/141/

Fig. 50. Shirt for Mixers of Poisons, Akonangi (Ewandun Family). Stum.

415
278

Fig. 51. Brew Container for Poison, Mandému (Ojek Family).

278 I am, of course, unable to judge. /148/

757 In the class of preventives are the leaves of Phyllanthus

[751] gracilipes Pax (esǎ́ elǐ), which are eaten whole or ground. As an antidote for poison in food, the Jaunde use the Corynanthe pachyceras K. Sch. (eyē) and the Sida acuta L. var. carpinifolia K. Schum. (sīvǐm IV), the leaves being ground and eaten. In the Fang region a medicine consisting of the following ingredients is used:

1. Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth (abǒ'mědzǎ'n), the leaves or stalks ground;
2. ripe bananas (adǐ̄ße) cut in pieces;
3. Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edzǒ̄le), bark scraped off;
4. Fachylobus macrophyllus Oliv. (andǒlǒ'm), bark scraped off;
5. Abrus pulchellus Wall. (ozē zǒge III, eloenǒ̄, "herb to counteract nǒ̄"), leaves ground;
6. Desplatsia dewevrei De Wild et Burs. (afǒnǒk), bark scraped off.

These six ingredients are placed in water, and then the extract is drunk. As an antidote for poisoned bullets, the first three of the above are mixed together, and the mixture is eaten dry.

A further use of nǒ̄ is called zǒ̄, from zǒ, "leopard," be-

754 cause the whiskers of the leopard are used for it. Just as the leopard tracks its victim /Fig. 52 appears here in the original text/ by means of its whiskers and then treacherously pounces on it, the nǒ̄ thrower wants the same effect. A piece of such a whisker about half a centimeter long is drawn through a fruit of the umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br. (asǒ'n), Figure 52, to form a small missile which is dipped in the magic medicine and then hurled at the opponent. If it hits the opponent's skin, he is supposed to get sick and die within three to six days. I myself once had an experiment performed with this "poisoning" -- something I felt justified in doing in view of the natives' conviction concerning its purely mystical effectiveness. Naturally the experiment was unsuccessful. Meanwhile, this did not disconcert my informant; he thought that perhaps the medicine he had been given was not the right one. Aside from being put on whiskers,

[674] nǒ̄ is also sprinkled on darts which are shot from ambush when the

754 enemy happens to be dancing with other people at some festivity
674 and in the general excitement does not notice when the missile hits him.

As a preventive against sõ, a medicine is recommended
754 which consists of:
751
278

1. Albizzia fastigiata (E. Mey.) Oliv. (sǒ'ne), ground resin;
2. Musanga smithii R. Br., ground involucral leaf (it is slippery); /149/
3. Pouzolzia guineensis Benth, Urticacea (mbǒanĕ III), its leaves ground;

Fig. 52. Magic Medicine of a Sõ Thrower, i.e., a Sorcerer or Poisoner.

4. Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth. (abǒ'mĕdzā'n), stalk scraped off;
5. Corynanthe pachyceras K. Sch. (evĕ), its leaves ground;
6. an unidentifiable Euphorbiacea (avõ), its leaves ground.

This medicine is added to the red wood which is smeared on
[302] the body as a festive decoration.

2. Medicines for Acquiring Luck and Warding Off Misfortune

777
751

I combine these apparently different medicines because there is a number of them that serve both purposes, the acquisition of good fortune and protection against misfortune. Medicines for warfare, for instance, give one unerring aim as well as protection against bullets. The majority, to be sure, are specific means for obtaining luck or warding off misfortune. The Pangwe designate them as biǎ,ń because they are intended to guard against an illness, for he conceives misfortune or the endangering of his good fortune as an illness. We shall do best to take over this conception and to call these devices "medicines." The medicines for good luck are supposed to bring, above all, wealth and good fortune in love, shooting, setting traps, catching fish, and wrestling. The medicines for wealth (biǎ,ń akū'ma) are based in part on the

777 conceptions developed in connection with the veneration of
751 ancestors, concerning the influence of the ancestors, who live where Nsambe does, on the terrestrial well-being of their
754 descendants. The most important of the medicines for wealth,
777 atum or aseb, that is, the Mekuk medicine, is based on the ideas of sorcery which I discussed in the previous section /Ed., not translated/. The skulls needed for the ancestor cult are not in
[169] this case those from relatives who died a natural death, but from those who were murdered secretly by sorcery (poisoning). Each bĭʌ̄ akū'na, therefore, is a nsōm, a sin. The murder victims,
[826] or rather their souls, are called mekīk (1). A person who keeps

1. Etymologically related to nkīk, "upper part of the body." Perhaps we have here an intentional circumlocution, because the Pangwe like to avoid the real designation for their mesōm (sins).

the skulls in order to acquire wealth is called e mōde a bĕlĭ mekīk (= e mōde a n'a mekīk), that is, the man who has the Mekuk. I have known a Mekuk man who had no less than ten skulls of his murdered relatives in his house. In addition, the Mekuk man possesses magical devices which he sells on request together with the skulls in exchange for an excessive payment from people who themselves want to become Mekuk men. The latter are of course only sorcerers, that is, people who -- as was said in Section 12 /Ed., not translated/ -- receive the power to practice sorcery in their youth through a medicine, but who perhaps until then had not yet used their power and now want to train themselves in the specialized field of Mekuk medicine. For this purpose, their teacher demands that they murder a close relative, usually a father or mother, and bring him the skull. He himself will give them in exchange an older /150/ skull from his own collection and in addition frequently the back bones. The first
[608] skull of a Mekuk collection is therefore one of a stranger and has already been effective as a medicine. It is not an actual ancestral

skull, but may be regarded as such because all the Mekuk people enter into a kind of kinship relation with one another and the skull medicine that has been effective for one will likewise be successful for the others. In this way the new Mekuk man is able to go on murdering and chooses his victims from among his closest relatives, older brothers, sisters, brothers-in-law, uncles, etc., in order to become rich through the mediation of the souls of his victims who do not suspect that the sorcery (or poison) of their dear relative made possible their sudden reunion with Nsambe. Wealth acquired in this way naturally also includes the inheritance which is thereby more speedily obtained. The effect of the magical medicine is described in the following manner. The Mekuk man places the medicine in a cloth and offers this to his brother, for instance. If the brother has "sense," he may say: "Oh, formerly you used to buy many pieces of cloth and gave none of them to me! What's the idea of this piece of cloth now? I don't want it!" Then the Mekuk man himself becomes ill. The Mekuk man may offer his hand to his brother when he returns from a journey, having first sprinkled a medicine into it. Most frequently, however, the medicine is given to a cock which, according to one informant, has its tail feathers plucked out; the cock is then given as a present to a relative home from a journey. If the relative eats the animal, he is supposed to die, but if he refuses it or secretly throws the animal away, the Mekuk man will become ill and die. In still other cases, the medicine is poured into a tobacco pipe, bush salt, or food. Whether any of this has a physiological effect or not must remain undecided, as I have already said on pages 3 and 4.

Even the Mekuk sorcerer believes that a failure of his attempt would result in his death, as we saw in Section 12 /Ed., not translated/ in the case of the wicked sorcerers. It is evidently assumed that if the person attacked notices that he is an intended victim, he himself goes over to the attack and on his part tries to get rid of the enemy. That is to say, according to the Pangwe conception, he sends his sorcery against that of the attacker. It is certain that this belief considerably limits the number of relatives murdered.

[759] [777] It is not the bark container known to us from Malan that is used to keep the Mekuk skulls, but rather a chamber dug under the floor of the house (Fig. 53). I saw a bark box used only once, placed on tall props reaching almost to the roof. The chest is divided into two sections by means of a dip in the bottom, and it is carefully leveled and smeared with red wood (hence, the name anum from atum, "section, /151/ /Fig. 53 appears here in the original text/ room," which refers to the entire medicine). It is covered up by a piece of bark and a thin layer of dirt and thus remains hidden from strangers' eyes. Frequently a chest is placed over it also, or the little underground chamber is located under a bed. On the step-like raised part the medicines (b) are kept inside a circle made of plantain pieces (a). these medicines include nkî, above all, and furthermore bark scraped off the Penifloraceae [778] Ophiocaulon cinnampeloides Hook f. and Adenia lobata (Jacq.) Engl. (undimbile a ndisk) (1), leaves of evûme or ayôte-beye,

1. Also used as fish poison (see Vol. I, p. 83).

important because of the nodules in the leaves which make them look perforated like the ewu of a dead magician, and other things. Below the step the skulls (c) are set up in a semicircle so that they face the medicine.

[769] The skulls are cared for in a manner similar to the customary manner of treating the Malan skulls. Unlike the latter, they are not served food every day, but nevertheless frequently; sometimes chickens are slaughtered for them, and they are bathed in chicken blood and have chicken meat set before them.

[784] This medicine, which is unknown in the northern region (Jaunde), is quite widespread among the Fang and is the subject of many tales and stories which make all light men /Ed., men with light skin color?/ break out in a cold sweat. My boys were so excited by the [852] stories that they maintained they could not sleep if they kept thinking of these hideous Mekuk. Thus it is told, among other things, that the Mekuk walk up and down in their little room at night and make a hullabaloo or even come out of their room and thrash

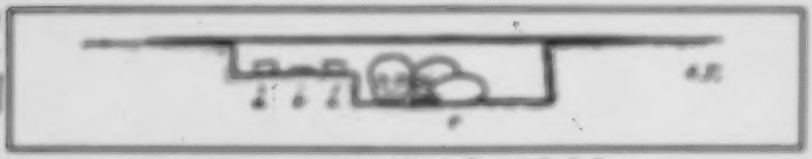


Fig. 33. Underground Chamber of a Mekuk Sorcerer. Cross-section.

(a) Circle made of pisonia pieces, (b) magic medicines, (c) skulls of murdered relatives.

the Mekuk man's house companions in their sleep, so that they wake up the next day completely beaten up. They are also supposed to steal money and goods in order to take them to the Mekuk man. In short, the Mekuk stories remind one of the experiences of the man who wanted to learn to be afraid /Ed., in one of Grimm's fairy tales/.

Other medicines for wealth that utilize the power of the souls are more innocent; they do not require the murder of relatives nor care of the skulls. Instead, their powers are derived from the habitation of the souls, the Copaifera tessmannii Harms (ngon). The Mekuk skulls must be included only in the event the medicine man already possesses some. The procedure as a rule is as follows. The father of the person concerned goes with a medicine man, /152/ and both clear an area under a large Copaifera. Then a leaf vessel filled with water is set up, and into this some of the bark of the Copaifera is scraped nine times (three times three); furthermore a stone from the stomach of the crocodile is placed in it if one is available. A peculiar test of the worthiness of the young man is now given. Various objects are placed together in three piles: on the first are placed steamed cassava (women's food) and a basket (ebɛ́dɛ́) carried only by old women because it has a small capacity; on the second, a rifle, a bundle of vegetables (ngon) with fish, brass ornaments, cowrie shells, and a piece of cloth, all of which are things that delight young people; on the third pile is placed a fly swatter (implement of the chiefs), a foot ring made of ivory, and a boiled chicken, in other words, such things as are allotted to chiefs. Now the young man is brought to the piles. "If he has sense," he will go to the last pile and consume the chicken. In this

Other medicines for good luck are used for successful buying
777 (two), speaking and singing well (about a dozen), faultless drumming (two), wrestling (28), the Jaunde game of chance (eight), and to make edible plants flourish (nine, see Section 5 /Ed., Vol. 1/).

The second class of medicines discussed in this part consists of those used to ward off misfortune. In this category the most important are the medicines against theft (approximately 30), against adultery committed by the women (two), against the shrewishness of wives (one), against rivals among women (three), against forgetfulness and stage fright (three), against rain (only a few, see Section 14), against enemy weapons, against the consequences of cohabiting during the day (seven), of sleeping with pregnant women (for the last two cases there are even prophylactic medicines), and finally, against consequences that occur if one eats unclean animals (seven).

3. Medicines against Cult Maladies

In the description of the cults /Ed., not translated/ it was
784 shown that transgressions of mores resulted in punishments in the form of illness. These cult maladies are real illnesses of the body, but they can be cured only by the power whose anger has caused them. For that reason, they could also have been mentioned in the description of the cults. Every cult power is able to impose a malady, so someone can be Sao sick (Sidong-mba sick), Bokung (Elong sick), Schok sick and Ngi sick; we have already become acquainted with Malan sufferers. Since in the south Ngi is the most common and most feared cult power, the most frequent and most serious cult malady there comes from him.

I saw two cult maladies treated. One case involved a boy who
785 pretended to have Bokung sickness because he did not want to work any more; the second case involved a man who had been shot in the chest during the war and claimed that he had been punished this way by Ngi.

Bokung sickness is supposed to be recognizable by the trembling

753
164

11. mlɨ́ɛ́ I = eczema, Kroker /Ed., ?/;
12. ewɔ́ɛ́ = scabies;
13. akɨ́ = herpes on the head;
14. ɛ́ɛ IV = herpes on the skin.

Towards less serious internal ailments, such as intestinal disturbances, stomach pains, toothaches, and so forth, the Pangwe behave with comparative equanimity. Although they have come to realize that some of these are caused by immoderate eating, spoiled food, and so forth, they do not give up their accustomed way of life. Instead of following a sensible diet, they try to cure themselves by medicines.

Of internal illnesses the Pangwe have terms for the following: okɔ́ɛ́ɛ́, apɨ́ɛ́, akɨ́ = epilepsy; okɔ́n-akɨ́ɛ = back pains (of a nervous origin); okɔ́n mɔ́m = heart disease actually, then mental illnesses because it is believed that nervous ailments proceed from the heart; okɔ́n nɔ́ʼ = headaches; ɔ́ = lung ailments (consumption?); ɔ́ɛ́ma, mbɔ́ʼmɔ́n I = common cold; okɔ́n kɨ́ɛ́ = neck pain; nɔ́ɔ́ I, usually used in the plural = stomach aches, intestinal pains (when shooting pains are felt); okɔ́n mɔ́ɔ́ɛ́, okɔ́n anɨ́ = toothache; nɔ́ɨ́ I = rheumatic and nervous ailments; nɔ́ɨ́-abɨ́m = stomach-aches (when twitching pains are felt); nɔ́ɨ́-ɔ́ɛ́ɛ́ = rump pains; nɔ́ɨ́-uwɔ́ʼ = arm pains; okɔ́n makɨ́ʼ-elɨ́n = hemorrhoids; okɔ́n mɨ́s = eye diseases; mɔ́ɨ́k I, mvɔ́s = inflammation of the eye; dɨ́ɔ́ɛ́ VII = sty in the eye.

The principal parasites are: evɨ́ʼ = eye worms; ɨ́ɔ́ = sand fleas; and nɨ́n IV = lice.

754
159

As regards the origin of these afflictions, elephantiasis of the scrotum and the legs is attributed to sorcery; all other serious illnesses are attributed to the cult powers which impose them as a penalty for sins committed. At the head of this list is leprosy, whose name zɨ́m should therefore be derived from the root a sɨ́m (see page 13 /Ed., not translated/), "to extend one's hands to punish, to punish." After that come frambesia and incurable festering boils. The cult powers cause these afflictions either independently and on their own initiative, or the cult powers are utilized in the performance of certain symbolic ceremonies with objects connected with their cult. If the Ngi is invoked, for

example, in the case of the theft of some food, a bit of the remains of the food, such as chewed sugarcane, is put in a rifle and fired off, or the chewed sugarcane is put in the smithy pit in place of iron and belabored with the bellows. In still other cases, this same sugarcane is placed with a pepper twig in the burrow of a Lygosoma fernandi Bur. (the scincoid lizard), and a fire is lighted under them. In all /171/ these cases the fire is a symbol of the Ngi (fire cult). Another time the Seo is called upon. If, for example, someone has stolen a wild animal from a trap, the hairs still sticking to the trap are placed in a halved Niego banana (the plant sacred to the Seo) or on a halved piece of the Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becco. nkāne I (likewise a cult plant, but its significance is unknown to me), and the thief will then contract leprosy. Furthermore, the remnants of the stolen goods merely need to be placed on the path to a frambesia patient's toilet in order to cause the thief to contract frambesia. Such a manner of wishing an illness upon someone is called a pfūdi, from a pfūde, "to do, to lay, to do something to someone, to impose (lay) something on someone, to throw upon."

As the third cause of illness, the natives are familiar with the simple communication of diseases, infection (substantive, nkūhān I; verb, a kūhān), and the Pangwe know very well that frambesia is more contagious, whereas leprosy is less so.

In the case of less serious illnesses, some people may get the idea that the illness was invoked in some way by offended or harmed companions. In general, however, people do not think about causes; the illness simply comes by itself.

Among the Jaunde the a pfūdi is unknown because the cults are not so highly developed as they are among the southern Pangwe. The Jaunde often blame sorcerous beings.

The fee for treatment of disease is variously handled. In the case of leprosy the medicine man receives 110 spears (seven marks) or a small goat, if his art has been of some help -- otherwise he receives nothing. In the case of frambesia and illnesses of the ewu he receives in advance a chicken, as well as the head and heart of the goat that is slaughtered so that the patient may drink the blood. If the cure was successful, he is paid 50 spears. In the case of less

821 Thus Essemnidmabige became very wealthy, and from this money
773 alone he was able to purchase two wives.
539 Now it happened that he and all the people were gone one day, and only his son, Ekute, stayed behind. Then several people from a distant village appeared, but they had brought with them only two choppers (2), and in exchange for these they demanded

2. Bush knives valued at two marks.

to see the snake. Ekute, however, did not want to show it to them. The people argued with him and threatened, and they demanded to see the snake. Then Ekute, who was very imprudent, angrily took a chopper and knocked in the top of the house wall instead of carefully opening the door somewhat and letting the people look in. Thereupon the snake came out, went to the village square, and cried "See, now I am leaving." But the people and Ekute had run off. Thereupon the snake raised its head and body and swung itself into the air. At this very moment Ekute's father came back and was just able to cut off the lower end of the snake; the other part of the snake was already high up in the air and still stands in the sky today as the rainbow. The tail, however, turned into the python, and from the eggs there crept forth all the other little snakes. /201/

821 The storm is likewise represented as the handiwork of an evil
789 sorcerer. Whenever a great sorcerer is dying, he unleashes a storm,
[794] lays low the plantain fields of those people toward whom he feels ill will, destroys their houses, and indeed, he goes so far as to knock down their children in order to injure them. Anyone who has experienced a tropical tornado will understand the notion of the Pangwe that sorcerous beings are at work. The natives also have medicines against storms; the storm is gradually weakened if
[824] one places young macabo leaves (these are weak to begin with) on the fire (whereby they become still weaker) and then grinds them to a powder on the ground in front of the house (this makes them weakest of all). Conversely, the storm is "made heavy" and thereby held back in the sky by placing a stone on Paspalum grass (obût), which, because of its toughness and strength, is supposed

794

des Mfang [The Éki of the Fang]."
Anthropos, Vol. 1, 1906.

interesting for the last point it brings up. It indicates a test, it shows above all with unquestionable brutality that all power existing outside the clan and the kinship is acquired only after making the more or less symbolic gesture of "killing the kinship." It is by the interplay of [145] such groupings that the logic of the system of kinship and of alliance by marriage is transcended.

"Associations" have a function whose impact varies according to particular circumstances. They intervene to create a better cohesion between clan fragments, as is shown by the grouping of initiates at the Bwiti (Gabon cult) or at the Sub (Cameroons cult known to the frontier villages), this at a time when insecurity demands a minimum of union among related villages. In other circumstances, they attempt to reinforce the inherent power of functions whose importance is affirmed: as in the case of groupings that controlled the ancient "dance of justice" (obnana) at the time when peaceful settlement of conflicts remained the only one possible, and when the role of "peacemaker" was of primary importance. As is shown by the feminine "associations," they may also act as a curb on the domination to which a social group of inferior status is subjected. This is all the more marked as the decay of these groupings has been paralleled by the change in the relations between the sexes. We have pointed out, in connection with the Ngil, that "associations" have acted as the mechanism for higher appeal for the purpose of pacification. We must now stress the fact that some of them assume an almost permanent role of opposition to the social order.

[71]

Such is the case of the "association" of men known as sorcerers (pl. bôyém), who endeavor to acquire permanently, and in their own personal right, "wealth, strength, and power." Each one has been admitted in terms of an absolute differentiation — the possession of a "spirit" called évu(r) (1) which is physically distinguishable (1) — and with a special initiation, the latter entails the

1. Cf. H. Lavignotte, L'évur, Société

759
776
782

des Missions Evangéliques, 1947; E. Tréanem, op. cit., II, L'évur, pp. 68-74; M. Briault, op. cit., Captain Maignan, op. cit. We point out that this is a belief which is widely spread throughout South Gabon and as far as the country of the Ba-ndad.

obligation to break off (more than symbolically) the ties of kinship and alliance: by the sacrifice of the first child if a woman is in question, and of the maternal uncle if it is a man.

759 776 The évur is received before birth or during the first week following birth. It transforms the organism of the individual carrying it since it can be detached at the time of an autopsy; (2)

2. It is described as follows: "It is a beast with paws, eyes, a mouth, and a tongue ... it can travel through the body .....," M. Briault, op. cit.

biologically the possessor (nnêm) and the évur are linked together; the latter "grows with the child and attains its full vitality [146] only when the child becomes an adult." Their respective powers are dependent on each other and demand sacrifices for their preservation. The bond between the two is continually shown by the play of interdicts and special obligations from which the nnêm "cannot free himself." Everything contributes to make the nnêm feel he has a different nature; even the ritual at the time of the two fundamental ceremonies celebrates the "birth" of the new nnêm and his "maturity" which permits the acts of domination. H. Lavignotte writes: "The évur lives in the body of its possessor, allowing him to split himself in two, or rather to leave his body to act in his place, to know the secrets of the other bôyêm (plural of nnêm) to increase his strength tenfold, to do extraordinary things that will make him rich, to kill without leaving a trace." E. Tréanem completes this account by specifying: "Except in the case of acting for the benefit of its possessor ... the évur is always

754 776 harmful."

Thus we find asserted the use of an uncommon power for strictly personal ends: this power, called sên ngwêl, is that of the ôvur in action. The characteristics of domination and radical differentiation are emphasized (to the point that the possession of the ôvur "is indispensable to anyone wishing to be" a magician (1)) in opposition to the system of the relationships of kinship

1. E. Tressemm, op. cit., p. 72.

(implying "fraternity" and a leveling tendency) and of alliance by marriage (implying reciprocity and co-operation). While "associations" such as the Ngil or the Akôm have a licit function, which places them in the heart of the total society, the nnêm as a whole constitute a foreign grouping which is fundamentally heterogeneous and for that reason extremely dangerous. The bonds existing between bôyêm, which become a reality at the moment of the two ceremonies of presentation and initiation, do not exclude competition, for the ôvur may quarrel among themselves. The quality of being a nnêm liberates the individual to a great extent. It allows him to assert himself against the established order (he can threaten those who maintain it), but it also imposes a near solitude, a state of continual aggression and defense, a dangerous existence, as is shown by the violence of collective reactions at the time of the punishment of sorcerers. (2) The symbols

2. Cf. V. Largeau, op. cit., "... when he is recognized he is burned alive or massacred and eaten."

used and the formula pronounced for the presentation of the ôvur indicate the hoped-for advantages (glory, wealth, and numerous progeny) but also express the indispensable qualities (virility and courage).

754 [147] These facts reveal a radical form of opposition to the clan system. They represent the most individualizing and

● 739 revolutionary part of Fang magic. One may see a kind of "fixation" of feelings of aggressiveness and individuality which are thwarted by the sentiments imposed by tradition (1) (the nsem is

1. The English anthropologist G. Lienhardt analyses the Dinka magic in "Some Notions of Witchcraft among the Dinka," Africa, Vol. 21, No. 4, October, 1951.

tolerated so long as there is no evidence of his harmful activity). One must also recognize in the nsem a means of differentiation, an internal source of profound changes (2). The bilyem are the

2. For the role of differentiation played by witchcraft, cf. G. Davy, La Foi jurée [Sworn Faith], 1922. On this role and on the transformations of the social organization, "the margin of liberty," born of the conflicts between the religious clan and magic brotherhoods, cf. G. Gurvitch, La Vocation actuelle de la Sociologie [Real [or Present-day] Vocation of Sociology], ch. 7, especially pp. 412, 436, 503, 523-524.

elements that carry on the most violent and the most lasting disputes with the total society. However, the attitude of this society toward them is ambiguous. The distinction between a "good" and a "bad" ɛvur, while both are dangerous to a normal man, proves this. They create a necessary threat.

IV. Relations between the Sexes and the Generations, and the System of Interdicts

182 The present-day study of Fang society, as we will show in the next chapter, reveals two types of outstanding problems, those connected with the change in relations between men and women

the law has not changed on this point. "No bride price, no marriage" —*ka ombu, ve ala' e ne kik*. We shall find this principle again in connection with legitimate descent.

Thus it is the absence of payment of the *ombu* that gives their character to free unions, *ñom*, and to adultery, *minjan*, and makes them really infringements upon the law of property, justifying the fact that customary courts logically refuse to impose a penalty in a case of *ñom* when the girl returns to her family pregnant (2).

2. This is hard for some magistrates to understand.

A husband must provide his wife with lodging and clothes and must clothe any children he has by her. He must clear the field she will cultivate, provide her with household utensils and, in theory, with meat. He must allow her to visit her parents, to whom he owes respect. He must not use sorcery (3) against her and must respect the

3. Likened to sorcery are *kilinzio* and sodomy, the grounds for numerous divorces from former members of native infantry regiments.

prerogatives of rank that she holds among her co-wives; he is supposed to sleep with her when she is not menstruating nor pregnant nor nursing. He must not beat her beyond what she can stand nor expose her vulva in public. /54/

A woman owes obedience to her husband, to her mother-in-law, and to the first wife, respect to her affinal relatives, therefore to her husband's clan; she must be faithful to her husband and perform her conjugal duty. She is responsible for cultivating the plots cleared for her, for fishing with weirs, for feeding her children, taking her turn at cooking for her husband, for keeping her hut clean and that of her husband when she is sleeping with him, and for helping to build them (it is she who applies the banco onto the frame). She does not have to take care of imported household equipment and clothes because these are *bôm* of a masculine nature (but the schools and missions are trying to train women to do so). Finally, and above all, she must be prolific: this is her first duty and a great deal will be forgiven her if she performs it.

[575] preceded by drummers and trumpet players and by a boy (uncircumcised?) entrusted with holding across the village street a liana, which the cortege broke through only after sacrificing a chicken. The uncircumcised did not have the right to be present at this procession. The [576] ngil leader, masked and painted in red and white, carried his personal horn (bisei); he was always accompanied by a full orchestra [577] (ewom gong, ntsaf and ebul drums, ewojel bolofo). The initiation ceremony lasted a month (1).

[578] 1. The ngil mask was a tortoise below the carapace, therefore covered by the loincloth. Initiates did not go out except in masks, so that theoretically it was impossible to recognize them.

Members of the ngil circulated in small groups, masked, to carry [579] out inquiries in villages where a case of sorcery was suspected or to put sorcerers to death. For ordinary cases they applied the ordeals in Gabonese use (minkal), but for serious cases it was necessary to arrange for an initiation ceremony: this feature is found in nearly all ritual associations, where initiation is always accompanied by collective catharsis.

[580] Among other masculine initiation societies the ndunge rite must be mentioned, whose initiates have two incisions on the nape of the neck. Its symbolic /features/ include confession, purification, seclusion in darkness, passage through a narrow corridor or a low doorway, a liana-serpent, a consecrated lance, a sacrifice (2), a

[581] [582] 2. Dogs were sacrificed. Ndunge canceled serious minsem /breaking a taboo/ like homicide or incest and allowed initiates to eat pork, mutton, and porcupine. (J. B.)

[583] horrible brew. The ritual animal was the tortoise. The purpose of this rite seems also to have been protection against sorcerers and, perhaps, to improve luck, ma'a. The initiation of circumcised youths, bekungu, is perhaps a juvenile form of ndunge. Both survived until the Second World War. Ndunge does not seem to set up

as strong connection can be drawn ngil; however, the initiation leader may belong to a different clan from the initiates.

Eyo-(ôyo or yoo?) is a purification and reconciliation rite, described by Father Guillemin for the beti; it does not extend outside the realm of an ngôn (segment).

Among the Bouloo of Sengmélima, the Nkoumou of Ambam, and the Fang of Djoum, I found some medical society initiates who call themselves "snakes," using the proper word, benyo (sing. nyo), not the euphemism minkui ofan (lit., fish tissue). Their specialty is treating bites and capturing and taming snakes. Initiations are known within the society under the name of one or another variety of snake, conferred at initiation. There are several degrees of initiation (tiroo?) first-degree initiates /65/ are called bo' b'ayaŋ, children of the Dendraspis; advanced initiates are bo' be mvom, children of the python. Their medical knowledge seems quite extensive; they claim, in particular, to be immune to /snake/ bites, thanks to the application of a special biaŋ (medicament) through incisions at the time of initiation. The main center of this association would appear to be among the Mekaf of Mbomnma, and it is therefore not properly Fabonin.

All these ritual associations contributed to social order mainly through defense against malevolent sorcerers. The sorcerers, for their part, are often organized in secret societies in order to join forces against the organs of control and repression. Inevitably, therefore, these societies are ill understood. Nearly all of them must have included beyem (sing. meem), that is, bearers of évu. In fact, if one may be subject to possession involuntarily and even unknown to oneself, one may also nyoŋ évu, receive évu, always in the sense of a burden. A person entering a beyem association has to pay for his entrance by the sacrifice of a near relative and also accept the imposition of a special prohibition, the breaking of which (nsem) brings instant death.

The ze mimfaka (lit., road panthers), notorious under the name of leopard-men, were an association of man-eating sorcerers, a kind of counter-ngil (1). Nowadays what is involved may well be a

1. There are also independent ze mimfaka.

pathologically degenerate form of the ngil itself. In the course of a

judicial inquiry at Ambam in 1948 after a raid on *ne mimfoka*, an old chief who was a Protestant and an elder of his church declared, in so many words, that "the white man has weakened the *ngil*, and the *beyem* have taken it over; now it is the *ngil* of *ngbwel* /sorcery/."

The initiates of the *bin* or *lun*, a kind of magic that enables one to assume another person's strength without destroying his body, also seem to be grouped into a secret society with meetings every seven years.

Beyem associations do not usually include both sexes; male and female sorcerers meet together only occasionally, for orgiastic sabbaths.

The distinction between white and black magic is, nevertheless, difficult to draw the present time, and one can never tell offhand if the small groups springing up nearly everywhere to protect their members against bad luck by using, in addition to remnants of traditional rites, recipes copied from magic manuals printed in France, belong to the one or the other.

To come back to the traditional associations, we must underline /the fact that/ in them there was a complete separation of the sexes, to such an extent that women were often forbidden to speak the name of a men's society or to show any kind of knowledge, even superficial, of its rites. The prohibition was less stringent for men with regard to women's rites, since the *nsem*, the breaking of a taboo, was for them punished by physical incapacity or illness rather than by death. /66/

A women's rite like *mevungu* had both a village aspect, on account of its geographical framework, the jurisdiction of its huts, and an interclan aspect as a result of exogamy. Much less is known of these women's rites than of the men's, for the very good reason that men are not allowed to know anything about them. Missionaries have condemned *mevungu* as obscene: I have heard that initiates who have gone through the menopause are supposed to play a male role in dances miming coition, without being able to obtain the slightest proof or the least detail (1). What is certain is that this is a rite of

1. A woman "chosen for her large vagina" presided, seated with legs spread apart. Each initiate would go tickle her and pull the clitoris. (J. B.)

fecundity, of fertility, and also of the hunt: an unlucky hunter may have his wife initiated so as to ward off bad luck.

of the neck for the [illegible], a (secret) design on the sternum for the [illegible], three horizontal marks on the nape for the [illegible], a line of "vaccination marks" on the inner surface of the arms, forearms, and thighs, and along the carotid arteries, for the serpent /associations/, etc.

Men wore their hair braided, or else they shaved the temples and parietal bones, leaving a sort of comb on the top of the skull, suggesting a gorilla's crest. There were special ways of dressing the hair appropriate for the different initiations. The moustache was worn only by the [illegible], the beard, a goatee, by a few aged men, often diviners. In our day men usually wear their hair short and merely combed; a central part, in the Lower Nigerian fashion, was very common around 1948 among factory hands, while former recruits went in for a crew cut with a frill beard /barbe en collier/. Many students wear a little goatee, and this style is now growing among the rest of the younger generation. Since up to now wearing a beard was a sign of mourning, a political implication has sometimes been attributed to this fashion—but mourning beards are not trimmed. /88/

Women have many ways of doing their hair. In plaits, checker board, "horns," etc. As a sign of mourning their heads are shaved, and they are not allowed to comb the hair that grows out before the end of mourning. The growth of beard or moustache that often follows menopause is considered a sign of sorcery. Stylish women pluck their armpits, and a few also remove their pubic hair, for reasons perhaps of elegance and hygiene, perhaps of ritual (is there a relationship between the name of the important female rite mevungu and mevul, meaning "female pubic hair?"). Padouk powder, bas, is still used in the way that henna is for both magical and aesthetic reasons, but European make-up, mainly lipstick, has taken its place among young fashionable women.

Bodily cleanliness is much in favor: men and women often bathe several times a day with plenty of soap. But it is common to see them put back on their well-scrubbed bodies perfectly filthy clothes, no doubt because bodily cleanliness is a much older practice than that of wearing clothes made of cloth.

c. Psychological Characteristics

Like the majority of known peoples, the Pahouin have a very flattering opinion of themselves, and the curious thing is that this

556 relations between the sexes, this emphasis to a great extent explains
156 why no true peasantry has developed, but rather a class of nonpeasant planters, comparable in the last analysis to some of the European settlers. The Pahouin remain very much strangers and travelers on the land, whence the importance of personal property (in the legal sense) in their eyes. Nevertheless, a further development is in the making in this connection—described above (p. 96) which is leading to a strengthening of land ownership, /so that/ certain collective reactions in the way of procedure concerning land and domain suggest that we are witnessing, at least in the Cameroons, a genuine putting down of roots.

619 Tribal pride is still considerable, to the point of hostility between different branches of the group, but ethnic cohesion is found vis-à-vis outsiders and gives real unity to the Pahouin as a solid group.

2. The Individual Life Cycle

a. Conception, Gestation, Birth

843 A woman is considered pregnant, a nyoñeya abum, she has got a belly, when she has passed through four menstrual cycles, a nji yene ngon, without seeing the moon. Conception is supposed to be the [842] result of the mixture of sperm, meyôm (with the same root as nnôm, pl. beyôm = male) and of menstrual blood, metyi me ngon, girl's blood or lunar blood; the length of pregnancy is calculated from the date when the last menstruation should have begun. Nowadays a pregnancy of nine months is considered normal, but some of my informants mentioned normal terms of eight or ten ngon (lit., moon or girl), a word that can as well refer to a calendar month as to a lunar month or a menstrual cycle. It is difficult for a man to obtain more precise information on this point since the subject is restricted to women. Besides, longer pregnancies are considered possible, [154] though sometimes suspect; amenorrhea due to a fibroid growth is a proof of sorcery, the tumor being considered an évu. The fetus (for which the term is secret, forbidden, étyi, in any case for men, and probably for women uninitiated into mevungu) is thought at the beginning of gestation to take the form of a lizard, like the first man at the moment of the creation /of the universe/.

551 of his descendants, in whose person he will be repeated rather than reembodied. It should be remembered that jɔ̂é also means "authority," a notion that cannot be dissociated from that of name.

761 The cessation of vital functions, awu (from wu, to die), is not
828 thought of as necessarily final: catalepsy, deep coma, anaesthesia, and real death are confused. It is evident that if the body is hurt during awu, a revival is impossible. A ghost, kɔ̂n (Fang, khun), is
754 not necessarily physically dead: one of the most feared forms of sorcery, at which the Ndɔ̂ŃŃ are reputed to be particularly expert,
828 consists of separating a person from his nsisim, shade or double, by giving him the appearance of physical death, then in awakening the body which will thereafter automatically obey the sorcerer's orders and may be used by him for all sorts of ends, to go kill or steal, or, more prosaically, to work his plantations. Persons thus transformed into bekɔ̂n are recognized by their pallor, jerky movements, and haggard expression; they survive the experience /opération/ for only a few months before dying in great physical and moral agony (1).

[276]

1. I have reason—but no proof—to believe that this is more than a myth: perhaps the criminal use of a narcotic producing effects similar to those of Pentothal. A kɔ̂n, frightful to see, died at the Sangmélima dispensary in 1947. The judicial inquiry revealed nothing.

761 Death in the complete sense does not occur for some time after the cessation of vital functions, and funeral rites seem to have had the purpose of detaching the individual from his mortal shell. There
76 were two abodes of the dead. The bemie, those unblemished by ngbwel (sorcery by évu), crossed the river-of-the-west or the sea to go to the village of Zǎmbe (Zobeyo, Nzame) in a cold country where their nsisim led a life rather like that in a terrestrial village where everything goes well (2). The beyem went down to étɔ̂tɔ̂lan, the

2. According to Trilles, this would have been Venus, otya alu, "the night's torch."

801 radical with feminine connotations (yi = to wish, also meaning "to need," "to cry"; it conveys an idea of "desiring," in contrast to kômbô, related to kôm = to arrange, put in order, do properly, and bo = to do, make, conveying an idea of "will"; the passive form of yi, yian, means both "duty" and "to be well," "to suit"). Much research needs to be done while there is still time.

d. Sorcery, Possession

754 Malignant sorcery, ngbwel, is generally attributed to a sorcerer, nnem (plur: beyem, cf. yem = to know, to dream), being possessed by a malevolent being, an évu (Fang, évur, évus). The évu is not an [825] immaterial spirit but a living being, an animal like a crab or centipede, and lodging in the internal organs of the nnem. At an autopsy it is often found in the form of a polyp or tumor, a fibroid tumor in women. It may even happen that the nnem's body does not show such an indication, because the évu has escaped, but there will be some traces of it, fluids, distention of the stomach, colon, or gall bladder. [766] In such cases, as has been said, the corpse is not buried in the usual manner but is burned, thrown into a river, or buried at a crossroads far from the village, in order to prevent the nnem's kôn from returning to haunt relatives and neighbors.

The possessed person may be unaware of the possession, but he is held no less responsible for the harm caused by the évu. The latter goes out at night while the nnem is asleep and feeds on the blood, metyi, hence strength, tyi of its victims, who fall ill, grow weak and die, or it eats their nlem (heart and lungs), which brings on madness or mental decay and often death, too. The évu also feeds on eggs, on metyi /sic/, and on milk, preferably women's milk (menyañ, from nyañ = to give the breast, cf. -nyañ = mother, in compound words), food which village people will not touch. When the évu has trouble in getting food, it may turn against the nnem and kill it for nourishment or, if the nnem is a woman, it may attack the children in her womb. Aside from these occasions, ngbwel is an advantage to the nnem, even when it is unconscious; he benefits from the strength accumulated by the évu during its nocturnal hunts; furthermore, the évu assists him, brings a sort of luck to his undertakings, which is natural, since the évu gains from the nnem's intermediation. This [777] kind of luck, aséé (from a verb, séé, with like meaning: a nga séé

754 777 akum = he has become rich by ngbwel), is to be distinguished from ordinary, accidental luck, ma'a, by its lasting character, which soon arouses public suspicion — this is one of the visible symptoms of ngbwel.

754 683 The involuntary nnem was generally put to death, more easily than the conscious sorcerer, who knew how to protect himself. Nevertheless, it was possible to treat a nnem, by means of a very drastic purification involving physiological as well as psychological catharsis and sometimes by real surgical operations /117/, to which in most cases the patient succumbed. Today the European administration usually prevents the execution of beyem, but their relatives often succeed in persuading them to kill themselves. After an epidemic of meningitis at Ambam in 1948, two men and two young women, accused by a bwiti diviner of having caused the death of a dozen children by involuntary ngbwel, threw themselves into the N'Tem within the month. In former times, beyem were burned by being covered with wood in such a way as to prevent both the évu and their nsisim from escaping; they were also drowned or buried alive, preferably in the bed of a stream that had been diverted and was then turned back to its old course after the burial.

754 The conscious nnem is both more and less dangerous. Bound to his évu by a kind of pact, he directs its activity instead of allowing it to kill at random as the unconscious nnem does. Therefore, he is more dangerous to his enemies but less so to his kin, although the concluding and maintenance of the alliance with the évu requires him to sacrifice members of his family.

A nnem with a strong personality, tyi anen a nlem ayet, with great strength and a hard heart, can succeed in really controlling his évu and making it a servant that will procure him wealth and power, rid him of his enemies, and confer supernatural powers on him, such as the ability to be in two places at once /bilocation/, to move objects from a distance /telekinesis/, divination, etc. But ngbwel always remains a dangerous art. First of all, the nnem knows that he is condemned after death to be a white kôn, forbidden to cross the ékanga bekôn, the bridge of the dead, to seek the ancestors, mañ ayat, beyond the sea. There are immediate dangers, in addition to that final condemnation. First, the ever present risk that the évu will dominate the nnem and weaken the latter. Next, the risk of a kind of reaction if the évu attacks a stronger nnem or a mie well protected by a bian provided with white magic. Finally, /there is the risk/ of

754 the évu or the animal employed as assistant being killed during a skirmish, which would bring about the nnem's death.

Many people nevertheless regard these disadvantages as weighing little against the immediate advantages which the évu procures. Therefore some bemie (people without évu) have themselves initiated into ngbwel, and some beyem dedicate their children from birth (which has the additional effect of protecting them against the parent's évu). For this purpose beyem organize into secret societies (and these are really secret societies), well described by Trilles and particularly so by Lavignotte (no. 155).

754 Babies are dedicated by a nnem kinsman in a ceremony, aka'é, before the umbilicus is healed (the évu is believed to enter through
852 the umbilical lesion). A special taboo is imposed on the child, and a part of his body (finger, toe or even foot, hand or whole arm) is symbolically sacrificed to the évu with a slight letting of blood. From that time on, only the shade of the sacrificed part, its semblance, is believed to continue to exist. The child is then nkôman ngbwel /118/, prepared for the ngbwel, but he is not yet a nnem; if he were it would be discovered at the preliminary stage of the adolescent initiation, and he would be put to death. It is only at the time of initiation with the official rites that he becomes a sorcerer, kuli
754 ngbwel, through a further ceremony during which his "godparents" reveal to him that he has been "prepared," dedicated. He must then buy back the bodily part "sacrificed" at the aka'é by offering his "godparents" the body of a member of his family, killed and eaten by the beyem in circumstances about which little is known. What is
[786 known suggests some of the sexual aspects of European witches' sabbaths
839] (apparently participants of both sexes, naked, practiced sodomy, bisôk, and profaned the ancestral relics, probably fragments of biéti). The initiation of an adult consists only of the akuli ngbwel, the aka'é being restricted to children.

754 Beyem meet periodically, aside from initiation ceremonies, in
788 order to "feed the bivu" in anthropophagous or necrophagous meals accompanied by obscene rituals. These meetings take place at the new moon in secret places in the forest, usually in clearings on top of hills or on islands in marshes — mmimie are afraid of stumbling by chance on one of these spots which, according to some of my in-
[825 formants, are guarded between meetings by an aardvark, mvômesila. If such a place is discovered, a nnengañ is immediately called in to
[755 perform a sort of exorcism.

754 perform a sort of exorcism. Sorcerers seem to be convened to these
788 meetings by secret messages in the form of bundles of sticks notched
[211] according to a particular code, or in the form of the quipu. They
are believed to reach the meetings by levitation or by sending only
754 their nsisim while their bodies remain at home in a state of apparent
774 death. This offers a good chance of getting rid of the sorcerer by
burning his body, the disadvantage being that the nsisim survives, as
does the évu, and that they than can be incarnated in an animal,
which cannot happen if the sorcerer is burnt alive.

754 The évu may use various methods of moving about outside the
nnem's body. Sometimes he leaves it in an invisible and immaterial
774 form, but this method is exceptional. Most often he enters the body
825 of an animal, generally a leopard, but sometimes a black snake,
civet cat, gorilla, or chimpanzee, or even certain insects; the list
is unlimited, but nearly always the animal in question is powerful or
dangerous. The carrier-animal is then almost invulnerable, endowed
both with human intelligence and with the powers of an évu. It is,
however, possible to strike at it, with luck and good mebiañ, and any
injury to the évu rebounds on the sorcerer. On the other hand, injury
to a sorcerer during the évu's absence is not necessarily fatal to the
latter, because the évu can survive in the body of the vehicle-animal.
The latter is called nkuk (1), which can also mean "mask." It is

[787] 1. Among the Ewôndo, this term also denotes the good bekôn who appear in dreams to give advice to the living. (J.B.)

not clear whether there is a confusion /119/ with the élañela, as
Trilles suggests, or with animal-bekôn, or with those who are beyem
on their own account, or even with bingôngôt (bingungure).

754 There seems to exist alongside ngbwel a /kind of/ sorcery con-
nected with abé nlem or mbia nlem, malignity of the heart, and
having nothing to do with possession by the bivu. Thus practitioners of
kôn, which consists of killing a person while leaving his body alive
(see above, p. 134), would not necessarily be beyem in the strict
sense. Likewise, many malevolent activities are only criminal
deviations from permissible magic. Alliance with an animal, or in-
carnation in the body of an animal, or even the transformation of a
magician into an animal, need not be malevolent or only becomes so

754 as a result of the magician's natural spitefulness (ézezam = wickedness, disorder; nlelañ = malevolence, from élañ = an evil act committed expressly and without necessity: a woe bot elan = he who kills for pleasure, ndan of the begôvina* from the German occupation until

*/No footnote is given to this puzzling phrase, but "begôvina" may mean "government people." —Tr./

the present). A protective biañ against the beyem can be used against an innocent mie, a magical weapon, a spell against a brother. Such an action may constitute not only an étom, a delict, but also a nsem, a breaking of taboo, when initiation into magical technique included a prohibition against using it for evil ends. The same thing holds for the use of certain methods, illegal or immoral in themselves, even when the purpose is permissible or morally good: this is the case with the biañ for /ensuring/ conjugal fidelity, which consists of the husband having his wife drink his sperm; with that for curing an illness by transferring it to another person (transfer to an animal or plant is permissible); with the use of certain mebiañ for fertility, etc. The commonest acts of sorcery do not belong in the ngbwel category (and perhaps also in that of the kôn) and would lead simply to a "civil" suit, neither more nor less than a case of assault and battery or a [683] "natural" homicide. Ngbwel, on the contrary, is always a capital crime, provided that the nnem be not too powerful to escape judgment or punishment.

e. Permissible Magic, Divination, Medicine

789 The first aim of licit magic is to fight against sorcerers, especially beyem, but that is only one of its aspects. In fact, it extends to all life's activities, and everyone uses it to a greater or less extent, aside from the specialists, ngengañ or ngañ, magician, mvimvi'i, diviner, mbibian, healer, and nyia bia, singer.(1).

[793] 1. Among the Ewôndo there used to be a sort of priest, nzómelo, often a chief, who received the first fruits of maize, blessed sowings, and presided over the ancestor cult. (J.B.)

791 suggest those of the sorcerers they were fighting, as do some of their procedures. Like them, /high initiates/ were capable of telekinesis and bilocation, etc. Trilles gives numerous examples, some of which he claims to have observed himself. Like /sorcerers, initiates/ could transform themselves into animals or make use of a dedicated animal, élañela. They killed people from a distance, especially by casting a spell on a token /temoin, "witness"/ of the classical type, or by acting directly upon people with their power, ngul, by forcing them to submit to their will. Like sorcerers, also, they could be victims through repercussion.

Considering the circumstances, it is not surprising that /121/ magicians and sorcerers have often been confused, nor that some magicians have been led into making evil use of their knowledge, nor, [754] finally, that contemporary associations, like the mbuti (bwiti), intended to combat sorcery, have borrowed its methods, even in their criminal aspects.

In addition to the magicians proper, there is the singer, ñyia bia, 533 789 who plays an important role in all rites, including initiations. Every important rite and ceremony has its musical accompaniment, with a specific orchestra for the occasion, and a choirmaster, who leads the incantations and acts somewhat as a master of ceremonies, without himself participating directly in the sacrifice or the magical act. It is peculiar to the ñyia bia that he is present at the three major rites, sô, ngil, and ndôngô, as at all magic ceremonies, no matter what his affiliation; apparently he is not liable to the prohibitions concerning participation affecting zesé bôt, ordinary or profane people. He [424] buys and sells or inherits his songs, is not assigned to a caste /n'est pas casté/, yet seems to have enjoyed a certain immunity during the wars of former times, but this may only have been the case with the most celebrated of the beyia bia. There are also female beyia bia, who enjoy the same prerogatives in feminine rites.

778 789 Magical equipment consists, first, of the instruments appropriate to each rite, drums, horns, rattles, bells, the ngôma harp of the bwiti, etc., with a great variety of additional diverse objects: fly-[534] whisks, akpwassa, sometimes mutilated; antelope horns filled with mebiañ; human and animal skulls and bones; pots and calabashes; engraved and decorated magician's spears; masks; the bwiti broken mirror; bikpwélé (iron "bride-price money"); shells, etc. Every magical act, every rite, has its own properties, the complete description of which would require a separate monograph for each. We

791 754 The sorcerer also assumes several forms: he may be soothsayer, physician, priest, etc., but none of these different manifestations are either legal or accepted; they will always operate in a secret manner, and the sorcerer will be the agent of the secret and unacknowledged, the extralegal, cult. [406]

575 754 791 Just as we find two distinct persons nearly always in opposition, so we observe them presiding over two distinct types of association. And, unfortunately, just as practitioner and sorcerer have almost always been confused, so have the true secret societies directed by the former been confused with the secret societies (organized also within the tribe) that are quite different, often antagonistic, and under the authority of sorcerers, who create them and without whom they do not operate. The former are established to work for the well-being of the tribe, at least they were so originally and they still are on the whole at the present time. The others, on the contrary, are set up for the specific benefit of members and against the tribe.

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

The principal point at issue here is that the totems of secret societies directed by practitioners and the totems of secret societies directed by sorcerers are utterly different. We shall see later on how incorrect the term "totem" is in connection with sorcerers. While the first kind of totem are chosen entirely for the benefit of the individual who acquires them with no concern about the effect on others, the second are chosen by the owner with a view to the evil he can do with them to others. [407] Hence a profound difference in their selection: the first, like the totems of clan and tribe, can legally be any kind of living thing and are in fact, animals, birds, insects, trees, but only useful things, because the point is to benefit from their good qualities. There is nothing of this in connection with the second kind of totem: to injure others is the point, the unique purpose, the raison d'être; therefore, harmful animals like panthers, reptiles, and wild boars will be the first choice.

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [408-414 omitted]

[415] The practitioner's business is to have an effect upon good and bad "spirits." To call up good spirits as we see for

515 instance in the invocations of marriage songs; to fend off bad
754 spirits, departed shades, ghosts, or apparitions and force them
791 out of the village so they they will go far away and leave the living in peace; in brief, to protect in some manner those who invoke them -- this is the practitioner's role. The end is achieved through appropriate homage and sacrifices, either directly, by protecting the suppliant from bad luck and accidents, or indirectly, by making it impossible for the enemy -- whether spirit, shade, man, or object -- to do harm. All this is worship, religion, the practitioner's role.

But, on the other hand, to be master of these spirits, preferably of the malevolent ones, to seize the spirits, and to force both to do evil, is no longer worship or religion, but magic, and this is the sorcerer's business.

[Four paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [416]

We make the following generalizations:

The practitioner is the agent of the acknowledged cult, which is sometimes public, sometimes secret.

The sorcerer is the agent of the unacknowledged cult, which is always secret.

Both practitioner and sorcerer are leaders or members of secret societies. (1)

> 1. In place of "secret societies," which leads to confusion, it would be better to reserve this term, as has been proposed, for the societies set up by sorcerers and to use "confraternities" for those directed by practitioners.

Secret societies controlled by practitioners are within the tribe.

Secret societies controlled by sorcerers are marginal to, or directed against, the tribe.

791 Finally, the practitioner is priest, physician, healer, seer, according to whatever function his rank has him perform. Under this title he consults the fates, calls up spirits, etc. In ceremonies of the public cult, for instance, he is priest, seer, rain maker, the acknowledged intermediary between the world of the living and the other world. To sum up, he acts for the welfare of the tribe or of some of its members. In the last capacity he is seen as sacrificer at a child's birth, and as the principal agent in circumcision and in the ceremonies connected with puberty, the initiation of warriors, marriage, and death. He is called in for all illnesses so as to drive away the malevolent spirits who alone cause disease. [419] As physician he first uses magical formulae designed to liberate the good "influences" contained in the remedies he will administer. Next, he dispels evil "spirits" and calls upon favorable spirits, the ancestors of the race, to help him. Only after this does he proceed to give the remedy; then he again calls upon the aid of propitious spirits and dispels the bad ones. ...

Our Fan give the practitioner a special name; he is the ngâǹ, a name common to the whole of Bantu Africa, where the phoneme [sic] may be found throughout the tribes, variously modified as m-gâǹa, n-gâǹa, m-hâǹa, gâǹa, ngâǹ. ...

[Last paragraph on p. 417 omitted; pp. 418 to mid-420 omitted. --Translator] [420]

754 The sorcerer's social position is easily defined; not only does he have neither rank nor position in the tribe but even to apply the word "sorcerer" ... to a native is more than an insult, it is extremely imprudent. To call a Fan ngâǹ or ngenngâǹ is doing him an honor; if he is not a practitioner, he will give you credit for your good intentions and courtesy. Call him nlèm [he who casts bait] and the situation is quite different. First, he will peer around to see if anyone has overheard. If you are alone with him and [421] the stronger, or if he fears retaliation, you will be lucky to escape the gunshot or knife stab he will gladly give you, or the poison he might give you as soon as he has a chance. If there are people around in the village, it [683] would constitute a serious accusation, which might cost him his life. ...

754 In fact, the sorcerer is the person hated and feared above all others, the evildoer, whom one consults only when forced to it, because he controls occult forces and his power is recognized. ...

Nevertheless, in spite of this, sorcerers exist and will continue to do so for a long time for two reasons:

1. their social position in the tribe, not as sorcerers -- for I have just said that they have none on that score -- but because of their own personalities;

2. the fear they inspire, which will eventually lead to their death, but which does help them to maintain their positions.

754 791 Clearly, in everyday life and through the course of events, practitioner and sorcerer are often combined in the same person. A certain man, a religious minister respected by his family, a physician, and practitioner esteemed publicly, may also be a sorcerer, but then in the greatest secrecy, unless his position allows him to proclaim this attribute. In that case he will be universally feared and hated and will only keep going through terror and murder, and he will always fear for his life.

[Pp. 422, 423, omitted. --Translator] [424]

791 The practitioner carries on the cult and is the totem's minister only by a sort of delegation, a handing over of power from the head of a family. He has been seen in this capacity performing his part in important totemic ceremonies alongside the tribal chief, regulating ritual under his direction, in short, acting as his organizer, master of ceremonies, sacrificial assistant. In practice he often comes to supplant the chief and afterwards to transmit to his descendants the religious power usurped.

Even this predominant role will not be thought sufficient by the ngâña [practitioner]. He wants complete ascendancy and he attains it through the secret societies in which he alone is master, which have little by little encroached on the tribal organization and tend to supplant the family power of former times. In this way he is the true and sole minister of the totem of these societies.

754 But alongside the ngâña and the secret societies he organizes and controls, hidden as it were in their underworld, are the sorcerers, or bèyem, who are similarly ministers of totems which they have given to the secret societies they control -- ministers,

754 societies, and totems that are basically actually spurious copies of the first.

754 From this we are led to a study of the secret societies
791 directed by both and of the very different, though often undifferentiated, role that practitioners [bəŋan] and sorcerers [bəyəm] play in them.

Chapter XIII

Practitioners and Sorcerers

Their Secret Societies

[Pp. 425-433 omitted, being mainly taken up with the theories of others. --Translator]

[434[[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

575 In my opinion the secret society is derived from the tribal organization itself. The dominating position which the practitioner has been able to assume [in the secret society] comes from the role he has necessarily been called upon to play in the ordinary course of events. Similarly, the new totems given to initiates after initiation are only imitations of those bestowed upon them by their fathers at birth.

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

575 Before youths are admitted to membership with warriors,
791 it seems quite natural to put them through a series of tests designed to prove whether they are really fit to play their part and to perform the services which the tribe demands of them. Consequently, girls and women are immediately eliminated, for the benefit of the male population. The series of tests cannot take place in the village in front of everyone; the compulsory elimination of some would, aside from other considerations, arouse violent resentment against the leaders and be followed by inevitable revenge. Hence the necessity for withdrawing to the background. The chief may appoint a representative, for instance an outstanding warrior, but there is no one better [435] fitted than the practitioner for this role and for taking a leading and soon

575 We are dealing here with a recognized though secret cult,
769 an accepted cult, addressed to spirits and -- of especial importance -- to the spirits of ancestors. On this subject the practitioner is entirely in agreement with the chief and the tribal traditions.

● 754 But in addition to natural magic to which the practitioners
575 are confined, so to speak, "there is another," says Mgr. Le Roy, (1) [437] "which claims to borrow its power and methods

1. La Religion des Primitifs [The Religion of Primitive Peoples], p. 340, "La Magie [Magic]."

from beings of the invisible world, from the disembodied ancestral spirits of men and even of animals, from independent spirits . . . .

"This anti-Religion has, like Religion, its worship, incantations, evocations, rites, fetishes, offerings, sacrifices, ministers, feast days, places of assembly."

First of all, it has its ministers, who are none other than the sorcerers. For this reason in the preceding pages [cf. Chap. 12--Translator] I have already tried to give a sketch of the sorcerer and to make a clear distinction between him and the practitioner by, describing the main traits of his personality, by sorting out a complicated whole in which many points meet and many lines cross and interpenetrate.

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

Leaving out everything not directly bearing on the subject under discussion, let us examine only the following points, which will show both the great similarities and considerable differences that, from the totemic point of view, exist between these two orders of phenomena.

1. Like the practitioners . . . [438] sorcerers have united in secret societies for the purpose of assuring their vitality and power.

2. The feast days and initiation ceremonies have numerous points of resemblance. However, those of the sorcerers' cult exhibit a much more marked character of horror, cruelty, and especially an extreme immorality, and a hideous obscenity, dominated by a perverted cult of blood descent and procreation.

515
791
754

3. The practitioners' secret societies all have their own totems. Each group has a guardian totem which carries out for them the role of the ɛ́totore or the mvame of tribe, clan, or phratry. Yet, while tribal, clan, or phratry mvame may belong to any of the three kingdoms, animal, vegetable, or mineral, or even occasionally to the sidereal or the spiritual world, the secret society's totem is always an animal, a real animal, sometimes a reptile or fish, often a bird.

Sorcerers' secret societies, however -- and this constitutes an essential difference -- never have this kind of totem. Their mvame or guardian is always a spirit, a being that belongs to the spiritual or disembodied world. That spirit may, and often does, manifest itself (we are speaking from the native's point of view) in animal form, though it will not be a true animal, a fact about which sorcerers unanimously agree. The "spirit" manifests itself, they all will say.

4. Every "practititioner" on the day of his initiation and admission into the secret society, receives a particular, individual totem, usually an animal or a bird. But no physical link connects them; as with the personal mvame received at birth, there is simply a spiritual, mystical kinship between the two.

515
754
825

Every "sorcerer," on the day of his initiation and admission into the secret society, also forms an alliance with an animal, but that union has quite a special character. There is a real, physical kinship acquired by an exchange of blood, and a real alliance so that from that day onward the animal obeys the man and the man the animal: their lives are bound together. [439]

Strictly speaking, that animal is therefore not really a totem in the sence I have defined. The natives give it a special name: the ɛ́lâñɛ́la. European writers, ethnographers, and others, have referred to it as a nagual, and all the phenomena connected with the nagual is called nagualism. It has almost always been confused with the individual totem; nothing could be more unsuitable or actually more untrue.

[Two paragraphs and tables omitted on pp. 439-450. --Translator] [451]

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

575
754

1. Sorcerers, following the example of practitioners, have and still do set up secret societies:

a) throughout the entire Fan tribe;

b) in neighboring Bantu tribes.

I might here point out that I have never come across such associations among other African peoples, such as the Pygmies.

2. These secret societies meet at night in very mysterious fashion.

[786]

3. They are always essentially licentious to such a degree that, according to many writers, unbridled obscenity is the main objective. In my opinion, it is primarily an accompanying circumstance, aimed at controlling and binding the initiates by means of highly erotic and degrading pleasures.

However -- and this is my final point here -- there is one fact which has many a time misled the most conscientious observers, the most eager to learn the truth, and which, combined with the rule of secrecy, curiously complicates the problem. Just as practitioners have ranks and a hierarchy in their secret societies, so sorcerers have instituted ranks and a highly organized hierarchy. Hence there are several kinds of gatherings. Sometimes there is a sort of general assembly for all who belong to the association, in which case the purpose is a celebration, almost always of revolting obscenity and cruelty. All the witnesses clearly agree on this point.

But beside these "general" celebrations for the whole membership, there are others of a much more secret character to which only sorcerers, the true and sole leaders of these assemblies, are invited. Notified by a password to which I shall shortly refer, they gather at the appointed place and there [452] a very particular kind of feast takes place about which it is difficult to give precise details. It can well be imagined that those who belong to these associations keep silent. The rule of secrecy is absolute and inexorable; moreover, their own interest is at stake. It will always be very hard, if not impossible, to throw light on many facts and factors whose disclosure would nevertheless be extremely valuable from the religious point of view.

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

754 575 828 Sorcerers meet on certain days at a specified place. In most cases this meeting has been decided upon in advance at the previous gathering. But it may also happen that the high chief wants to convene his followers unexpectedly. How then is this done?

The manner is most mysterious.

A chief whom I once questioned on this subject told me that he heard the call during his sleep, that a "voice" informed him of the day, hour, and spot, and that this happened quite often. What is to be made of this reply? I must admit that I do not know. It can be stated definitely that certain sorcerers [453] are very clever at thought transmission even over long distances; such difficulties do not bother them.

One day I observed the following: I was chatting freely in a hut with a Fan who considered himself a friend of ours and who did, in fact, do us many services. I was sitting on his bamboo bed and he on a stool facing me. Suddenly I noticed a little bundle of sticks, some painted red, the others white, a few pointed, the rest not. What was most astonishing was that it seemed to me that the fairly large bundle had not been there a moment before. I hastily called it to our friend's attention because he could not have seen it, having his back turned. . . .

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

"It's nothing, don't pay any attention," he said. He picked up the bundle and hid it carefully, adding, "Above all, don't mention it to anyone -- you would do me a great deal of harm!"

As his reply did not satisfy me, I wanted a further explanation.

"No, no!" he kept repeating, "It's a deep secret (endzândzân éki, lit., the forbidden mystery)."

754 575 828 203 At last after much urging, he decided to admit, after making me promise never to say anything to anyone, that he was a sorcerer of the Ngil rite and that this was the way of convening the next meeting.

"According to the color painted on the sticks," he said, "I know where I'm to go; the number of sticks tells me how many days until my departure for the meeting; the white ones indicate

754 the leaders who will be there, as each has his private mark.
575 That's all."
828 "But why are some pointed and others not?"
203 "Oh, that! No, that's a deep secret. If I were to tell you that I'd be punished by death at the next meeting."

[Pages 454-462 omitted. --Translator] [463]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

791 All practitioners' societies recognize ritual sacrifice. In
754 many cases a human victim is slain and eaten. These sacrifices
575 are often characterized by what seems to us revolting cruelty and
782 horror. I shall have occasion to deal with this point more fully
266 when discussing sacrifice.

These are ritual sacrifices: immolation is not done for the pleasure of killing any more than consuming the victim is for the pleasure of eating human flesh. This is so much the case that a woman is never sacrificed: "Munga ké dzamadzam, ké kie ve
[562 nsissim: A woman is of no importance (from the sacrificial point
774] of view)," runs a Fan proverb, "She has no power over spirits because she has no soul."

At sorcerer's feasts, on the contrary, and in the societies they organize, men are eaten for the pleasure of eating human flesh.

754 According to all the Fan and all Africans, sorcerers leave their boeies in order to go and feed on the hearts of other men while asleep. Hence their name, bendzi bur, eaters of men. Sometimes they do this themselves, sometimes it is done by a spirit that possesses them. I willingly admit, of course, that there is nothing true in these accusations, at least as regards the way in which the sorcerers work. But one thing is undeniable, the fact of cannibalism.

[One paragraph omitted; p. 464 omitted. --Editor]

Chapter XIV

Totems of Sorcerers and of their Secret Societies

The Nagual and Nagualism

[Summary omitted--Translator] [466].

●754 The foregoing pages have shown the close connections and also the great differences between practitioners and sorcerers. The connections arise from what is often identity of person; the differences are due to entirely unlike and often contrary purposes.

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

... A major cause of confusion ... derives, it seems to me, from the various totems that can belong to the same sorcerer, for several different reasons. Furthermore, the transformation of a sorcerer into an animal, often attributed to him, rightly or wrongly, plays a large part.

Hence the following points may be usefully made:

The different totems of any sorcerer belong to three distinct categories corresponding to:

1. his being a member of a tribe;

2. his ability to be a practitioner at the same time as a sorcerer;

3. his being a real sorcerer.

1. In belonging to a tribe, like any warrior each sorcerer has the following totems: a) tribal, b) clan, c) phratry, d) family, e) individual.

I have dealt with these different totems and pointed out that they can be, and often are, embodied in one and the same totem. [467]

2. From his ability to be a practitioner, a sorcerer possesses two totems: an individual totem and a class totem.

There is nothing to prevent these totems from being similar, or even the same as, the totems of the first category. In such a case they reinforce one another; power is thereby increased and, though the totemic prohibitions may be more strict, their observance is also easier. In fact, practitioners often give the clan or family totem as individual totems to novices provided that it be an "animal" totem. The class totem, already in existence, is thus independent of the particular will of the "admitting" practitioner or initiator, as well as of the "candidate."

3. As a sorcerer:

a) The sorcerer has no individual totem but a "dedicated animal." I shall indicate the great differences between "totem" and "dedicated animal."

154 b) Imitating the classes of practitioners, the classes of initiates controlled by sorcerers have class totems. These classes are recruited each within his own tribe.

154 515 c) The societies composed only of sorcerers are recruited from many different tribes, as the need arises, whatever may be the political relations, hostile or not. The societies embrace the whole nation. A sorcerer is always allied to every other sorcerer, at least from the point of view of organization, for often their struggle for influence is implacable.

These sorcerer's societies do not have totems but obey a spirit.

154 825 I have already mentioned the various changes of form assumed by sorcerers, and I shall return to this briefly in order to show that the different forms must not be confused, as has often been done, with the nagual, or sorcerer's "dedicated animal."

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

[Page 468 and three paragraphs on p. 469 omitted. --Translator] [469]

Having eliminated all totems that do not belong to the sorcerer as such, the following points confront us:

1. At first glance each sorcerer appears to have his totem -- animal, bird, reptile -- to which he pays particular tribute. [470]

The majority of writers apply the word nagual, nyarong, etc., to this familiar animal, and the group of facts connected with the nagual is naturally called nagualism. Now these writers see in the nagual, nyarong, etc., and in nagualism nothing but a special form of totem and totemism. Is this opinion justified -- is the nagual a totem?

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [471] [Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

The nagual, according to Van Gennep, following Lang, is the local name of the individual totem.

As regards the Fan I should not agree, and all the investigations we have been able to make among neighboring tribes as well as in Madagascar (to whom Van Gennep refers) bear out this opinion. The nagual is not the local name of the individual totem but of "an" individual totem, or better still -- for I do not

757 825 admit to there being a "totem" involved -- of an animal "dedicated" to certain persons, few in number, who, in the case in point, are the sorcerers. I therefore make the following proposals:

1. The nagual is not the local name of the individual totem but the local name of the animal guardian of "certain" individuals -- two different conceptions corresponding to different purposes. And I write, not "totem," but -- which is not the same -- "animal guardian." ... [472]

2. Nagual and nagualism closely "approximate" totem and totemism in the sense that in both there is an animal guardian and a group of facts connected with this guardian, but they are differentiated completely in the sense that:

a) The totem in its basic form, that is, as a family or tribal totem, is not alive at the present time, but had lived formerly and handed down its attributes and especially the efficacy of its alliance to all its descendants, but actually only to its descendants now alive.

The nagual, on the other hand, has no existence as a family or tribal nagual. The nagual that would seem to be the protector of a group (like a secret society) is the protector of "the chief" of the group and not the whole group.

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

b) Since the nagual constitutes a unit not a group, it could not be a totem, and therefore nagualism is entirely different from totemism.

Finally, in line with what has been said, individual totems cannot disappear: the actual death of such or such panther [473] may or may not affect tribe, clan, family, or individual, of which it is, not the but a totem. But the death of that panther will in no way be the death of the totem, since the panther totem is a group just as much for the tribe as for the individual.

On the other hand, the death of such or such panther, the nagual of a certain sorcerer, will profoundly affect him, because, not a collective group, but an individual unit is concerned. A dead nagual can never be replaced. It is bad luck for the sorcerer, who loses by the death of his dedicated animal the most active agent of his authority and power. His own life is often linked with

757 575 that of his nagual and vice versa. If he is ill or if he dies, his nagual suffers or dies; if the nagual dies or suffers, so the man dies or suffers.

[Pp. 474-480 omitted. --Translator] [481]

Initiation of the Practitioner

575 791 The practitioner at the time of his initiation undergoes a different kind of test from that which young [ordinarily] men do. These tests are distinguished by a more marked degree of cruelty and especially by the offering of a victim. The victim will first be dedicated in special rites. After the tests and when the neophyte has been judged fit to enter the priestly company, then only is the totem chosen. But the choice is not left to the candidate; the "admitting" practitioner gives it to him. He must first of all undergo a severe fast of at least seven days. During this time he is forbidden absolutely, under any pretext, to leave his hut, which is set apart in a portion of the forest reserved to practitioners and called éli bengan. No person is allowed to approach. Any intercourse with women, even a mere glance, [362 688] would bring about permanent exclusion. Moreover, the woman would be put to death, and her father or husband would have no right to compensation, pecuniary or other.

During the neophyte's seclusion his "admitting" [practitioner] has chosen the totem; avoiding many complications, he almost always chooses the class totem to which the confraternity is already dedicated.

What kind of totems are they? They never belong to the mineral realm, nor are they ever celestial phenomena, nor spirits of any sort, materialized or not, as happens with clan or tribal totems.

575 791 825 The class totem is usually a bird [or] a swiftly moving animal, rarely a fierce one when the choice would be made because of the animal's positive qualities and not for its power to harm. Indeed the secret society prefers to seek as protecting totems, those that will guarantee swift and sure retreat in case

515
791
688

The ceremony is altogether secret in the sense that no layman may be present, but it remains a legal ceremony, and [484] everyone in the village -- if only through having had to stay away -- knows where and when it takes place. However, it must not be mentioned by anyone. Anyone doing so would have to pay a fine, usually of a fowl or its equivalent in value.

Thus the totem initiation of practitioner belongs to the ordinary scheme of things.

That of the sorcerer is quite different.

Initiation of the Sorcerer; the Nagual

154
515

In a book (1) published several years ago, the author, Mgr.

1. Sous le Ciel d'Afrique, Recits d'un Missionaire [Under the African Sky], A Missionary's Account], by the Rev. Father Buléon, Congregation of the Holy Ghost, pp. 88 ff.

Buléon ... gives an eyewitness account of the sorcerer's initiation. ...

[Footnote omitted. --Translator]

"To be initiated as a sorcerer means being initiated by secret ceremonies into certain rites through which one may gain some signal favor from a spirit whose power one recognizes. ...

"Motivated by revenge, avarice, or ambition, an African one day leaves his village, to which he only expects to return when armed with the mysterious and terrible power that will allow him to satisfy his desires. His journey's end may be distant; often he has excellent reasons for seeking, far away and usually outside his tribe, someone who will confer marvelous privileges upon him. His absence sometimes lasts [485] several months. ...

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

"The candidate is seated on the ground, wearing only a loincloth and tattooed more than the others. Undermined by severe privations made more hazardous by being uninterrupted,

515 subjected to skillfully graduated demands, participating in cere-
● 754 monies that arouse his imagination while exhausting him by their length, he gradually grows weaker and feels overwhelmed by the somber and mysterious aspect of initiation and falls into a kind of hallucination.

"In the depths of the hut [where the initiation takes place], there is a crudely sculptured image. Beneath that has been put a bundle containing the bones of a man long dead, and in front a mirror has been hung with its face towards the spectators. In all initiation proceedings the candidate is brought before the mirror and asked: 'What do you see?' For a long time he has to reply: 'I don't see anything.' As long as the reply is negative the initiation has not been successful. But finally the expected sign appears; he sees the likeness of a man in the mirror. Then he is led aside and made to describe the man whose face he has just seen. He had never seen him before [486] and cannot have known him, yet he describes him with great precision, giving all the facial traits. No cheating is possible in this. From the description given, the initiator, who is able to judge the likeness, identifies the man whose bones are beneath the image. This proof allows him to decide that the initiation is proceeding on the right track.

"Sometimes the initiator demands more personal and more active cooperation from the person seeking initiation. ... he may require that he bring the skull and a few bones of a relative of the first degree. ...

"Only when he brings in the material proofs of his crime are the final rites carried out. The bones are thrown into a
[266] cauldron with herbs and other ingredients that are unsavoury. When the horrible mixture has been sufficiently cooked, the unfortunate man is made to drink a cup while the audience sings. Then what is left in the pot is divided, and everyone has a share. The small bones are wrapped in old rags, and this bundle is given
[789] to the initiate: it constitutes his talisman, which he will wear and which will protect him from the dangers he fears and obtain for him the favors he desires.

575
●754
825

"There would seem to be nothing further except to pay the initiator and to carry away the treasure so dearly and criminally bought. But there is still a final ceremony. Initiator and initiate both are actors and witnesses in a strange scene which I should not describe were it not as authentic as it is apparently unbelievable. The new initiate's life is to be united through a bloody rite to that of an animal, who will thereafter be his personal animal, not a domestic or tame animal, but a wild beast living in the depths of the forest or the bed of a river. The initiator has made the necessary arrangements; he gives a signal: [487] at first no sound is heard in reply but soon in the bright moonlight an unknown participant is seen approaching the spot in the forest where it is awaited -- sometimes an enormous mass with a monstrous head, sometimes a feline form that crawls rather than walks, sometimes a long body that unwinds and undulates. Whatever the animal -- hippopotamus, panther, or snake -- it forgets the timidity or ferocity felt in the presence of man and submits docilely to the desired operation. Then the exchange of blood takes place. How this is done is not our concern. But what is beyond any doubt is the fact that blood is let, of the animal and of the initiate, and that each is inoculated with the other's blood. The animal's ear is slit (a corresponding cut is made upon a snake) as a mark
[304] of the link established with the man, in whose arm an incision is made so that he in turn is marked with the sign of the beast. (1)

1. [The footnote, referring to mediaeval witchcraft practices, is omitted. --Translator]

A real link henceforth exists between them. The animal will be at the beck and call of the person who has been made his master. I could name ... a certain Black man who at night receives a vulture or a panther with slit ear, and another who allows into his hut and even his bed (ikoko) a python that recognizes his authority. When day comes, and the tasks have been

575 754 825 performed, the animals return to lake or bush, just as dangerous, often more so, to all whose blood they have not received.

"This union is so close between animal and man that the life of one depends upon that of the other.

"How many examples I could give! Should you kill a panther that bears the mark, you will not long afterwards learn of the death of some sorcerer. Should the sorcerer be the first to die, don't be surprised at finding near the village the dead body of his personal animal."

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator] [488]

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

In contrast [to the position with regard] to totems, both men and women can have a nagual, since both can be sorcerers. Yet those naguals are not the same for both sexes.

Among the Fan, the naguals that belong to men, with rare exceptions, are:

1. panther, incorrectly called tiger, nze; and by far the most frequent.

2. black snake, elom, sometimes the python, mvom.

3. crocodile, nkôm, rarely the ngân or cayman, never the earth saurians.

4. hippopotamus, ngübe or nguve.

5. wild boar, ngü.

6. vulture, nkôn, but very rarely.

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

The naguals belonging to women are:

1. black snake, kagélakagéla, different from the mvom.

2. vulture, nkôn. [489]

3. earth saurians; rarely the crocodile.

4. a kind of owl or night bird, akûn.

5. green snake found in banana trees, fôl.

6. a kind of horned viper, fi.

[Nine paragraphs omitted on p. 489. --Translator] [Page 490 omitted. --Translator] [491]

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

The élânéla, may quite well also belong to the animal clan to which individual, clan, or tribal totems are related, and this

515 can lead to much confusion. Sorcerers are people particularly
754 eager to conceal themselves and at the same time to assert their
825 power, and they are often clever at doing so. They succeed in disguising the real nature of their nagual: "It's my totem," they will say, if someone surprises them with their élâñéla. To be able to make their supposed totems appear at will often gives them special authority, which they can make good use of in certain circumstances. Indeed, one can imagine the prestige gained by a sorcerer who during a ritual ceremony thus calls on his totem, in reality his nagual. But ordinarily he restrains himself, for he would then unmask his sorcerer's character, and, unless he is all-powerful and protected from revenge, that is not at all what he has in mind. . . .

[614] According to certain chiefs, especially among the Békwé, the totem of the founder of the race or clan was originally his élâñéla. This is perfectly admissible. If by one or another means the founder of tribe or clan was able to bind an animal to his will, to make it obedient, or at least to persuade his followers that this was so -- which amounts to the same thing -- these men may very readily, after his death, choose his élanéla for their totem. But this choice, which is determined by circumstances or the wish of the dying chief, does not imply that it remains an élâñéla. On the contrary, this characteristic [492] disappeared by the very fact of its becoming a totem and ceasing to be a unit in order to become a collective group through its descendants.

[Two paragraphs omitted--Translator]

In a certain number of cases it has happened that the nagual is confused with the sorcerer himself. In fact, according to the Africans, sorcerers often transform themselves into animals. . . .

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [493]

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

Almost always, I am convinced, these [phenomena] may be attributed to men being disguised as animals, either to safely satisfy their murderous impulses or to obtain victims for feasts of human flesh.

In some cases these men act under the mysterious influence of unknown agents. This perhaps involves a kind of unconscious

675 possession. They believe and declare themselves to be really
754 transformed into animals. ...
825

Finally, when it is not a question of the [sorcerer] in disguise (which is nearly always the case), one often deals with his nagual, obedient to his instructions and prompting, at least in the beginning. After the animal has tasted human flesh [494] it is eager to return of its own accord. I remember that in a village in the interior, a panther had devoured 37 persons within a year. A sorcerer was accused of having the animal under his command and, as a result, after confession he was killed. The next day the panther was found dead in the forest. A coincidence? Perhaps the sorcerer had made use of the panther the first time, but in connection with the other killings, I have my doubts. In any case, this panther had an ear slit by human hand, as I was able to verify. Without passing judgement on the outcome, this was an obvious sign that it was "dedicated."

In their main outlines, the sorcerers' confraternities [sic] are modeled on those of practitioners. Both, therefore, possess two distinct categories of confraternity, or secret society, one set composed of initiates directed and controlled by practitioners and sorcerers, the other composed solely of practitioners or sorcerers.

1. Societies composed of initiates directed by sorcerers each has its totem, as do the similar societies directed by practitioners. This totem is always an animal -- a custom found almost universally and made necessary by the very concept of the totem.

575 2. Secret societies composed solely of sorcerers do not have
754 totems; they obey a spirit.
776

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [495]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

This spirit bears the name, engungure. It is also the name of the khun, or ghosts, or even of the souls of the dead after the postmortuary exercises and the final transformations.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

776 idea as the Bulu regarding two great gods. The *Zambe* of the Bulu is the *Anyambi* or *Sekóme* of the Fang, the *tata* or father of all things; and another god of less power than *Anyambi* or *Sekóme*, who lives in the forests and is so tall that he gathers fruit from the highest trees. Some of the old men and women profess to have seen this god of the forests.

[775] Fang superstition includes transmigration; a departed human soul may enter any animal dwelling on top of the earth or in it. There are spirits of health and 782 disease, also a protecting spirit belonging to a clan or tribe, in whose honour a small basket is hung in the palaver house, containing portions of the skull of an 776 albino, whenever obtainable, also portions of the skulls of a relative and a chimpanzee, human hair, nails and bones. This fetish or *biang* is called the *Biang Akamayong*. Most Fang have a cabalistic word assigned to them by the *ngangan* (witch doctor), and this word is used as a prayer. During the new moon, dances are nearly always indulged in, and the songs usually addressed [535] to the spirits of Present and Future. Local spirits need constant propitiation; a native passing in his canoe a spot where a local spirit dwells, as a large rock, will pay his respects by casting a piece of his food into the river, or when in the forest a few stones or a piece of *mbóa* (cassava) is laid at the root of some great tree.

Wooden idols are not plentiful among the Fang tribes living along the rivers; 778 they are seen more in the palaver houses of the bush towns.

Charms.—These may be only cabalistic words, and under this head of vocal charms must be included the incantations of the *ngangan* (witch doctor).

Material charms.—These are by far the most common; the belief in material charms, fetish, occupies the most prominent place in Fang religious contemplation.

Among the Fang, the English word Fetish, from the Portuguese word Feticio, is *Biang* (medicine). A Fang fetish is any material object which the *ngangan* (doctor) has consecrated and made a fit abiding place for a spirit. What may be consecrated? Anything, absolutely anything; a shell, rag, stone, twig of a tree, horns, nails, etc. The horns of small antelope and large deer are filled with resins, ● [754] nails, human hair, faeces, etc. To bewitch a person it is necessary to give the *ngangan* a piece of the hair, nail, a portion of the food or a drop of blood of the [826] person to be bewitched. A Fang is most careful if he cuts himself to see that only friends and relations approach him until the bleeding has ceased, and hair when cut is usually burnt without delay. As mentioned in the section of this 784 paper on food, every child during infancy is subjected to certain rites which 778 constitute his or her *Eki*, prohibiting the child from eating a certain kind of food or performing a certain act. Thus far, the superstitious beliefs of the Fang and [171] Bulu are precisely similar, and I gathered from Dr. Nassau at Gaboon many facts connected with the people among whom he laboured, the Mpongwe, which showed that they also held superstitious beliefs very nearly, and in some cases precisely similar to those of the Bulu and Fang, the only difference being in the

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

789 *bieti*). He brings it. He eats the fowl. When finished, he takes a bone of the fowl and the excrement of the *bieti*. He cuts his nails and his hair. He ties (all these things) up in a bundle or packs them inside the horn of a small deer and keeps it.

When a man goes on a journey he carries this medicine with him. Another person cannot see him as he journeys.

This is the *Biang e Soli*.

Biang-nkama.—The people get up and take machetes and cut a clearing. When they have finished the clearing is open and bright. If a man has died and been long in the grave, they take his bones, and lay them out on the ground. They cover them over with earth. They take other bones, and cut them up into small pieces. They put (these pieces) in a basket: they put in also red dye, and scrapings from the bark of trees. They close up the basket. If they go to war, they carry the basket (suspended by a cord from) the shoulder. They take the red dye which is in the basket and smear the body with it. If an enemy (literally, a person) [726] fires a gun (at them), they will not be pierced (by the pieces of iron pot used as bullets).

This is the *Biang-nkama*. Do not tell it to women or children; only to grown real men—for it is tabooed.

Nzake Bukun.—Fang make it thus. If a man makes witch medicine, he kills 754 his brother and other people. They say, let us make *nzake bukun*. They take a corpse, and go with it to the bush. They cut bush. The bush is clear and open. They sweep clear the place which they have cut. They lay down the corpse in the place which they have swept. They dig plenty of dirt, and make it in the shape of an elephant (over the corpse). They make the trunk, the tusks, the eyes, the legs, the tail, the ears. They finish and return to the town. They say, we have made *nzake bukun* (*nzake* means elephant). They say if a man goes out to kill by witchcraft, he will die. If a man wishes to kill another with poison, he will die. If a man lies with a woman in the daytime he will die. Let not a woman eat a pig. And so they say, they have made this fetish, the *nzake-bukun*. When they have done so, if a man lies with a woman in the daytime he gets sick. They go and scrape trees in the bush; they bring water from the river, and put the scrapings in the water. They catch a fowl outside and put it in the medicine-water. They touch the man's body over with the fowl. And so that man, they heal him from his fetish-sickness. Then he is well.

This is *Nzake bukun*.

Biang-abationg.—If a man has married two or three women, and loves one, but 832 dislikes the others, the latter feel badly. They make *biang abationg*. When they [514] go to pass their faeces, they take a very small piece of their faeces. They rub off the grease from their skin, and mix this grease with the small piece of dung. They put it (the mixture) on the drying-shelf (over the fire). When it is dry they mash it to powder, and put it in the neck of a gourd. They take also a shrub called *abatoñ* (known only by women) and put it in a small gourd (not the neck of

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

The skin of a bush cat is part of the *biang-akanayong* called "Nsin." 789

The Mvang.—A triangular piece of iron filled with medicine, used to keep away witches, is also part of the *biang-akamayong.* 619

Biang-akong or *biang-abal* (war medicine).—This is also part of the *biang-akamayong*, and the shots from the guns of an enemy are of no avail.

One other important fetish hangs with the *biang-akamayong.*

A piece of very hard wood. Only a certain kind of woman is selected to find this wood; she is called a special or *selected* woman on account of certain peculiarities connected with her, *e.g.*, she always fails to catch fish, she may try all day but will not succeed in catching fish. The husband of such a woman, after intercourse with her, fails to catch fish the next day, he also fails to work. This is the kind of woman always selected to find this wood; it is hard wood, she is a hard woman, and she is called *Emunega ane alert* (the woman who is hard). This medicine is also called *biang-akong*, and shot from the guns of an enemy will not harm. [777] [824]

This is the *Biang-akamayong.*

XIII.—*Witchcraft. Evus.* (*Witch.*)

If a person goes out to make witch (witch medicine, or play witch to harm others) he dies. The people take him to the backyard. Other people say, "We want to take the witch." If the corpse is a female, they open the belly. If the corpse is a male, they open the heart. They see the witch, they take it. If they bring the witch, they lay it on the smoke shelf. It dries. When finished drying they say, "We will use it as medicine." 754

This is *Evus* (witch).

Cursing dead Relations.—Written at Foulabifong, Nkomo river, April 13th, 1898. Told me by Ôvôn; fully confirmed by Ogandaga and Interpreter Roby.

E'kanesong (to curse dead relations).—This is a Fang custom. A man has a palaver with another, or goods stolen. He desires to get even with the thief. He calls a friend and curses his friend's dead relations, saying, 754 578

"Go and kill that person for me, or go and make him pay me goods; if you do so, I will then pay you for having cursed your dead relations." It is a serious matter to have dead relations cursed, and the friend feels very bad. He must do as bid, or he is branded as a coward, and after he has completed his task he then makes claim for payment. 626

Nge me bā jam dili, nge me ta minbin (If I do it, may I see the corpses [of my people]). A Fang way of swearing an oath. [539

Ami ye mimbim mia, yinga me bat (My friend, by the corpses of your relations, kill those people for me).

Notes on *Ebômeda* (a curse).

Ilong s'ayoge (a curse that kills).

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

754 *Vazege me ilong onga lóm me* (Take away the curse you have [sent] put
578 upon me).
626 *Vazege me bibomeda* (Take away the curse).
539 *Vazege me biyoge* (Take away the curse).
Bôt bene mbômeda eb Anyambe edjam e mam mebē móa (People are cursed of God on account of their sins).

XIV.—*The Ngi.* (*A Fang Secret Society.*)

To members (*Bemvon*) the following things or *bityi* are forbidden :—
575 *Bityi* :—

1. To go and make or play at witch (make *evus*).
2. A male fowl is not to be eaten (shared) by two men of different clans.
3. Fish called *ngole* must not be partaken of with a woman.
4. Only the initiated are permitted to eat the fish called *ngone*.
5. Only the initiated may witness the Ngi dances. A woman who attempts to witness an Ngi dance will sicken and die.
6. Only the initiated must know about the bones used by Ngi.
7. A member of the Ngi society is not permitted to sleep on his back.
8. Food refuse must not be destroyed by fire.
9. To spit in the fire is against the law of Ngi (not permitted).
10. An uninitiated person will die if embraced by an Ngi.
11. To kick over rotten wood, logs, or forest stumps, is forbidden.
12. To cut a stick half through in the bush, and then bring it to town and break it, is forbidden. It must be cut through and the two pieces carried.
13. To kick the feet together after getting in bed, for the purpose of removing dust, is forbidden.

The violation of any of these mentioned *bityi* will bring misfortune and death on the *bemvon* (member).

Ngi means gorilla among the Fang; Nji means gorilla among the Bulu. The Bulu have the Nji secret society, which is reported as being precisely similar to the Fang Ngi; it came to the Bulu from the Fang.

XV.—*War.*

During a tribal war all adults act as warriors. There is no regular organisation
726 of fighting men. It is a typical guerilla warfare. Parties of young men go forth at night to attack towns; others watch the forest paths to shoot men passing and
[18] women going to work in the gardens. The Fang are noted for their love of war; they are the most warlike people in all West Africa. When a tribal war is on, a headman frequently goes out with a raiding party to attack the town; he carries with him the *biang-akamayong* (protecting medicine of the tribe). The usual mode of attack is as follows: Having decided to attack a town, the party of men (usually ten or

777 Other medicines for good luck are used for successful buying (two), speaking and singing well (about a dozen), faultless drumming (two), wrestling (29), the Jaunde game of chance (eight), and to make edible plants flourish (nine, see Section 5 /Ed., Vol. I/).

The second class of medicines discussed in this part consists of those used to ward off misfortune. In this category the most important are the medicines against theft (approximately 30), against adultery committed by the women (two), against the shrewishness of wives (one), against rivals among women (three), against forgetfulness and stage fright (three), against rain (only a few, see Section 14), against enemy weapons, against the consequences of cohabiting during the day (seven), of sleeping with pregnant women (for the last two cases there are even prophylactic medicines), and finally, against consequences that occur if one eats unclean animals (seven).

3. Medicines against Cult Maladies

754 In the description of the cults /Ed., not translated/ it was shown that transgressions of mores resulted in punishments in the form of illness. These cult maladies are real illnesses of the body, but they can be cured only by the power whose anger has caused them. For that reason, they could also have been mentioned in the description of the cults. Every cult power is able to impose a malady, so someone can be Sso sick (Ndong-mba sick), Bokung (Elong sick), Schok sick and Ngi sick; we have already become acquainted with Malan sufferers. Since in the south Ngi is the most common and most feared cult power, the most frequent and most serious cult malady there comes from him.

755 I saw two cult maladies treated. One case involved a boy who pretended to have Bokung sickness because he did not want to work any more; the second case involved a man who had been shot in the chest during the war and claimed that he had been punished this way by Ngi.

Bokung sickness is supposed to be recognizable by the trembling

755 of the head and hands. In the case in question the good Schona, the name of the boy, feigned these symptoms very well. The Bokung man was summoned, and /168/ drums were set up in front of the sick man's house; the Bokung man disappeared for a moment in the bushes and then reappeared as a chimpanzee (see the Bokung cult, page 65 /Ed., not translated/), amidst the screaming of reed pipes, and performed the ape dance while his assistant prepared the medicines that the sick person was to drink. Then the patient had placed around his neck a raffia pith rope that had been dipped in medicinal red wood (so he would feel as light as raffia pith is light). A line was drawn around about his body with the same color, and the medicine man then uttered the following incantation through the reed pipe:

755 a źōna, a žōna, a pfulan a bǒnenga
539 O Schona, O Schona, he together (ate) with women

kǎbǎd a ke adǎn kū ojō'b, a bělě
goat, he goes to step over turtle over, he is possessed

ete, bokūn a bělě nie,
by it, Bokung he has him (made possessed)

nkaku malěń a nim ebě
? oil palms?, make straight (like) stick (of the)

dzǎń, myū yū, ma nyǒń nkǎ ǎ,
raffia, dog he dies, I take dorsal vertebra,

a kǎb, a nim, osū nkíę ī'
take away, make straight, (into the) water down

wō, nyū adǎń, nyū a vǒ'ɩ.
(onomatopoetic) skin unsurpassable, skin it easily.

This song -- like many purification songs -- is evidently very ancient and in part no longer understood. Through its agency the

755 539 sickness is supposed to be taken away. By way of explaining the verse it may be observed that the initiates of the Bokung and Elong cult are forbidden to eat goats or sheep with women and are forbidden to eat turtles or to step over them. It is assumed that the sick person may have transgressed one of these prohibitions. The phrase "making straight" refers to the sick person, since he is supposed to become as straight as a raffia stick; the dog represents the scapegoat that is killed and whose dorsal vertebra (the stuff causing the sickness is in the spinal marrow) is thrown into the water instead of the patient's in order to indicate that together with its habitation the sickness itself is to be washed away, taken away. Then the sick man will feel light. Of course, the presence of women is strictly prohibited.

755 824 Of a Ngi sufferer it is said: ngī a bělē niě, that is, Ngi has him, has made him possessed. The treatment is carried out by the Ngi man who appears in the sick man's village amidst roaring and clanging of cymbals; with the Ngi bones in his hand he then dances about to the accompaniment of drum music. In the case that I witnessed, /169/ the barks of various plants were then dissolved in water; among them were especially the following: Leea guineensis Don (afŏbesŏn), Musanga smithii R. Br. (asŏn), Trema guineense (Schum.) Engl., Vernonia conferta Bth., Costus, Emilia, Uapaca, Antidesma, and Heckeria.

755 The actual "cure" was performed as follows. The Ngi man beat the patient's head alternately with bundles of the Macaranga and Trema; then he washed the bullet wound with the medicine water and gave the patient a drink of the same water. Thereupon he mixed together red wood, bark shavings, and chicken's blood obtained by forcibly pulling the chicken's beak open; with this paste he drew a line around the sick man's chest, smeared his neck, and painted the bed posts. The next day the Ngi representative appeared once more with bones and sacred thorns, performed all kinds of dances, such as I have described in connection with the Ngi cult /Ed., not translated/, and in a singsong made a kind of exorcism speech similar to that of the Bokung man. In case a single attempt to cure is of no avail, it is repeated; in one village I heard the Ngi man roaring night after night in order to free a seriously ill person of his sufferings.

838 Concerning homosexual intercourse among women, I was unable to discover any facts.

839 So far as I know, bestiality does not occur.

6. Pregnancy, Birth

843 The Pangwe recognize the beginning of a pregnancy by the nonappearance of menstruation; they are also familiar with the fact that a slight indisposition and headaches about a month after cohabitation may cause one to suspect pregnancy. Once pregnancy [833] is established, the man continues to have intercourse with a woman for about two more months, but then relations with her must be broken off, since it is feared that the fetus would be destroyed or at least harmed by the seed that it must "drink," It must also be emphasized that this prohibition is not always observed; indeed, [755] there is a medicine, sand in water, which a woman is supposed to drink if the man has intercourse with her shortly before the confinement. The sand is supposed to scour the seed from the body of the fetus.

[843] Usually the beginning of a pregnancy is greeted by the woman as a joyous event. There are also cases, however, when it is not 847 welcomed, for instance, when prohibited intercourse with men of 278 related kin groups has consequences, when a woman is pregnant by an "unloved man," or generally if she does not want to assume the burden of rearing the child or wants to evade the command of sexual abstinence. In such cases -- and they are by no means rare -- the fetus is aborted (a gbwē abǔm, a kū'e abǔm, "to drop the belly (fruit)"). The medicines, for the greater part poisonous substances with which we have already become acquainted as fish poisons, are: 1) Piptadenia africana Hook. f., Leguminosa (tǔm IV), bark loosened in pieces, pared and boiled, and the extract, when cooled, used as an enema; 2) Cylicodiscus gabunensis Harms, Leguminosa (edūm), used in the same way; 3) kernel of the fruit of Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (tree = adźǎ.b, kernel = ngǒ.n-ebǒn IV), ground in water; 4) Rubiacea

776 The evil evur concerns itself only with eating people in the course of the ngwel and with waging war against the good bivur. It is almost always the evil evur which is the victor.

(3) Activities of the evur. The manifestations of the evur are many, and itis the evur which acts in everything instead of, and in place of, its owner.

It is essential for one who wishes to be a practitioner to have an evur. Moreover, this profession is assigned to a child, should the occasion arise, at the time of the ceremony of akaǧa.

Except in the case of an activity favorable to its owner, or at the time of the akaǧa, the evur is always malevolent. The only aim of the ngwel meetings is to assure the life of the bivur through the death of the persons whom they eat.

776 When the good evur of a nem has worked in full daylight for its owner, the latter falls ill at the same time as his evur. He can be
155 treated only with a thick medication made of water, a cooked egg,
824 and crushed leaves of ebele beyem. Ebele beyem is the name of a poisonous vine whose leaves and blossoms resemble those of the sweet potato.

776 The malevolent activity of the evur is always manifested in a death. It may also be the cause of abortion, or the death of a newborn the
761 moment it sees daylight.

776 The evur also allows its possessor to change himself into an animal. For example, a man who wishes to die causes his evur to go out and
762 take the form of an animal (usually a black antelope, nzip, or a red
158 antelope, nkoǧ), and to walk at the edge of the village. The animal is noticed at once by the inhabitants who hunt and kill it. The evur then immediately returns to the man who sent it, and it is the man who is killed instead of the animal. The transformation is simultaneous with the blow which causes death, and it is the man, transported by his evur, who is found dead at the spot where the animal fell. [73]

776 An example of this faculty of transformation was reported to us in March, 1934. Two hunters landed on a small island in Lake Mangueigne
158 to hunt a monkey which they had seen in a tree. They separated at the landing spot, after having decided that each should go around the island from his side. One of them saw a large black antelope in the thickets, fired, and when he drew near found his comrade riddled with shot, gasping his last and dying shortly afterwards. The inhabitants of the neighboring village, aroused by the cries, arrived in time to hear

754 the évu or the animal employed as assistant being killed during a skirmish, which would bring about the nnem's death.

Many people nevertheless regard these disadvantages as weighing little against the immediate advantages which the évu procures. Therefore some bemie (people without évu) have themselves initiated into ngbwel, and some beyem dedicate their children from birth (which has the additional effect of protecting them against the parent's évu). For this purpose beyem organize into secret societies (and these are really secret societies), well described by Trilles and particularly so by Lavignotte (no. 155).

754 Babies are dedicated by a nnem kinsman in a ceremony, aka'é, before the umbilicus is healed (the évu is believed to enter through
152 the umbilical lesion). A special taboo is imposed on the child, and a part of his body (finger, toe or even foot, hand or whole arm) is symbolically sacrificed to the évu with a slight letting of blood. From that time on, only the shade of the sacrificed part, its semblance, is believed to continue to exist. The child is then nkôman ngbwel /118/, prepared for the ngbwel, but he is not yet a nnem; if he were it would be discovered at the preliminary stage of the adolescent initiation, and he would be put to death. It is only at the time of initiation with the official rites that he becomes a sorcerer, kuli
754 ngbwel, through a further ceremony during which his "godparents" reveal to him that he has been "prepared," dedicated. He must then buy back the bodily part "sacrificed" at the aka'é by offering his "godparents" the body of a member of his family, killed and eaten by the beyem in circumstances about which little is known. What is known suggests some of the sexual aspects of European witches' sabbaths
[786 839] (apparently participants of both sexes, naked, practiced sodomy, bisôk, and profaned the ancestral relics, probably fragments of biéti). The initiation of an adult consists only of the akuli ngbwel, the aka'é being restricted to children.

754 Beyem meet periodically, aside from initiation ceremonies, in
788 order to "feed the bivu" in anthropophagous or necrophagous meals accompanied by obscene rituals. These meetings take place at the new moon in secret places in the forest, usually in clearings on top of hills or on islands in marshes — mmimie are afraid of stumbling by chance on one of these spots which, according to some of my in-
[825] formants, are guarded between meetings by an aardvark, mvômesila. If such a place is discovered, a nnengali is immediately called in to
[755] perform a sort of exorcism.

779
788 fire which he sets to the felled trees so as to make the necessary
241 fertilizer needed for his future crops. [575]

Returning from hunting or fishing, a man is always sure to
782 put an offering on the évora biéri: it may be a piece of the ani-
224 mal's heart and brain or part of the first fish caught, even the
226 whole fish if it is very small. The first fruits are also placed on
779 the évora. Any infraction of these rites leads to punishment that can only be atoned for by one or more sacrifices. A warrior will infallibly recognize punishment in the failure of hunting or fishing trips or in barren plantations.

The hunting or fishing offering is made by the head of the family, that of first fruits by the first wife.

5. Trade and Palavers

788 Whenever a Fan has to "talk," he is very careful to try
537 to gain his totem's good will beforehand. On such occasions
779 it is important that he be able to convince his fellow speakers or his adversaries.

The totem ceremony is very short. Before leaving for the palaver or on a trading trip, he removes from the biéri box some of the ashes of the last sacrifice and puts them into a rag, closes the box, and goes off contented.

Before beginning to "talk," he will open the package of ashes and put a bit on his forehead, lips, and throat. Thus the spiritual guardians of the race will aid his brain and inspire him with the best thoughts and the best phrases, and thus they will tell him the best words to use to convince his adversaries and obtain what he wants.

6. Disease and Death

755 The totemic ceremonies connected with disease and death
779 are of somewhat more consequence. As soon as a man falls gravely ill, the practitioner is called in. He demands in advance, to be on the safe side, the proper payment for his pains, and then

755 goes to the sick man's hut. A variety of remedies are used,
779 among them always a dance in honor of the totem. After the dance and the driving out of the evil spirits [576] that torment the sick man, a sacrifice is made, often of a she-goat, a sheep, or at least a fowl. The sick man always has to eat some of this sacrifice, and the practitioner mixes into it fragments of the patient's family totem, as he does into any potions administered. If the sick man recovers, he will have to offer a black hen on the évora biéri before he leaves his hut. The hen will then be burnt according to the sacred rituals.

764 If the man dies, his eldest son closes his eyes and
779 straightens the arms and legs before they become stiff, after which the corpse may not be touched, under grave penalties. The lamentations begin, but in an undertone; the dead man's wives gather around him, tear at their arms and legs, and with the blood that flows sprinkle the corpse. He is then covered with his fetishes and at his side is the mébup on which his family totem is hung. After the first lamentations are over, the commotion quiets down and only the dead man's wives continue to weep.

In the morning the eldest son and heir offers a sacrifice to the deceased's family totem so that it may continue to favor the survivors. He puts some of the victim's blood into the mouth of the corpse and also takes some in his own mouth. He then completes the sacrifice according to the customary rites.

Before the burial another sacrifice will be made in order to determine the location of the grave and to make sure that the dead man is satisfied. The corpse is made to partake of this sacrifice too.

At the appropriate time, the dead man is placed in the grave dug for him; his family totem lies beside him, and, if he is a tribal chief, the clan or tribal totem is also placed at his side. This is left to him for a few moments, then the heir removes it, so as to "take possession."

765 The same ceremonies are observed when the skull is re-
779 moved, 30 days after death.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

gourd mentioned above). They put oil in it. They keep it hidden. No one else 832
is allowed to see it.

When the woman cooks food for her husband, she takes the medicine, which she puts in the neck of the gourd, and puts it in her husband's food, then his heart is changed. In the evening the woman smears herself with the *abatong*, which she had put in the small gourd. When she and her husband lie down, if she touches her husband, the medicine which she has eaten makes his heart change. Though he liked her before, now he loves her on account of the *biang-abationg*.

This is the *Biang-abationg*.

Biang-mikal (adultery medicine).—People go and scrape medicine in the bush. 837
If they come with the medicine, they put it in the pot. They put water in the pot. 755
They go and catch a fowl. They cut the fowl's neck; they put the blood in the 695
medicine with the scrapings from trees. They take medicine that is in the water, they pour it on the person's head. They also take a certain medicine called *ngwcia* and rub it on the face of the sick person. They again rub it on his belly. Then they have cured the person of the *minkal*. The fowl used is not to be eaten by the sick person, others may do so. Then he is healed.

This is the same medicine used to detect adultery. If a person commits 837
adultery with another man's wife, and then speaks a lie denying the affair, the 795
person accused must drink the *biang-mikal* to show the people he is innocent. If he is guilty the medicine makes him sick, and he dies or trouble comes to his people. If guilty, medicine is made to call the curse back.

This is the *Biang-mikal*.

Biang-ndona (medicine for young men, eloping medicine).—If a person goes on 584
a journey and sees a virgin, he courts or loves her. Then the virgin accepts him. 832
He and she go and lie down. The young man says, "Let us go in my town." If the 583
virgin does not accept, then the young man tries to persuade her. The virgin says, "I go later." The young man says, "If you go later, give me hair for a souvenir." Then the virgin scratches over her heart. She takes the hair of her head and the blood from the scratch over her heart and gives it to the young man. He goes to his town, he says, "I'll first make medicine." He takes the hair and the blood. He takes a small piece of witch medicine. He also takes plenty of leaves. He puts the small piece of witch medicine with the leaves. The hair and the blood he also puts in the leaves. He mixes all in the leaves. He hangs them in the *bieti* basket. He says, "*Bieti*, I want to marry a woman. Take her for me." This eloping medicine hangs one day. In the morning he cuts medicine and puts it on top of a tree. He leaves the medicine on top of the tree. He goes again to the young virgin. He says, "I have come, I come to take you." The young virgin says, "I will go to-morrow." He sleeps. The young man when day breaks says, "Let us go." The young virgin says, "I will surely go." Then the young man elopes with the young virgin; he comes with her to his town. Father of the young virgin he comes vexed. The young man kills a goat for the father of the young virgin. They finish eating the goat. He (the father) sleeps one day. Next morning the young man

244 3. undĭndŏle III: leafstalks bluish, underside of leaf along each side of the ribs has dark green lichenous excrescences.

Taro is planted twice, in the long and short rainy seasons, and it is harvested twice, in the following long and short dry seasons. All the tubers are removed from the soil, and the farm is thus harvested completely. If any tubers are forgotten, they are picked up during the next dry season, but that is the end; there are never more than two harvests from the same sowing. A piece of land once used for taro is never cultivated a second time since enough swampy soil is available. There are no medicines to promote the growth of taro.

789

The tubers and young leaves are eaten as vegetables. Furthermore, the Pangwe are familiar with the fact that insufficiently boiled tubers cause "metśǎn," that is, itching in the neck, and so forth. The tubers are also used as medicine for blood tumors (mvĭm); the resin-like secretion of the Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl., Burseraceae (asēǎ), is placed on the swelling, and over this is smeared a salve made from the parings of raw taro tubers. This is supposed to make the diseased areas become "ntĕgan," that is, weak or soft.

757 278

Plantain

245 The shoots of the plantain, as well as of the banana which is cultivated alongside it, are planted around the village or on farms. They thrive without care and ripen during each season of the year. The plantain (1) or Negro banana, Musa paradisiaca L. (ekṓn),

1. The /German/ word Plante is derived from "plantain" which in turn comes from the Spanish plátano, "banana." Since the plantain is very different from the true banana, I consider the retention of the word "plantain" useful. The French call it banane-cochon.

Figure 56, which in the Pangwe region has 25 different varieties, does not, to be sure, attain the luxuriance of the banana which grows like a weed. Nevertheless, it is very productive, just the plant for a Negro.

272 extraction occurs only in the southern Pangwe region and /164/ in two forms. The first is as follows. The cane is cut into pieces from six to eight centimeters long; the meat of the cane is removed by sticking the spiked stalk of Trachyphrynium danckelmanianum Braun et K. Schn. (nsō' I) through it and scraping back and forth for a while (Fig. 104). A leaf is placed underneath to catch the scrapings, and later they are put in a basketwork plate and pressed out by hand. A second, more refined procedure consists of removing the bark from the cane with a knife and pounding it in a wooden trough. The pulp thus obtained is put in a sugar press (ojá m), a crude piece of basketwork in rectangular form, made of Ancistrophyllum (nkāne), whose narrow sides end in loops through which two sticks are pushed. One of these is stuck through two poles planted in the ground, each with a hole drilled through the middle; the other stick is placed on top of the two poles. When the press is to be used, /Fig. 106 appears here in the original text/ a vessel (pot) is placed under it, the upper stick is taken off, the sugarcane pulp is placed in the plaited container, the stick is turned with both hands, and in this way the press is wrung dry. The sap, which can be drunk right away, is made primarily for elderly people who are no longer able to chew sugarcane meat; it is also made for medicinal purposes. /165/

[888 757]

2. Banana wine.

273 This wine is obtained from ripe bananas or plantains. They are peeled, cut in half, and then placed in a pot filled with water. The pot is covered with a perforated leaf and set in the sun for a day. The fluid is then carefully poured off, put in a calabash, and again set in the sun for a brief period of time. This banana wine or plantain wine (the latter is supposed to taste even better) is known only in the northern Pangwe region. Among the Jaunde it is valued very highly, as much as palm wine, which is attested to, among other things, by its special popularity with the older chiefs who are known as connoisseurs. This beverage, indeed, is not at all bad, and it is, incidentally, also popular with the Whites.

515
302 that raffia palm oil is evidently offensive to lice /Fig. 143 appears here in the original text/ and prevents them from becoming too intimate with their "host." In the case of skin diseases
● [757] (Krokro /Ed., ?/ and scabies) and of sand flea wounds, it is even used as a remedy.

Oil (mbǒn) is obtained mainly from palms: in the north, only from the oil palm; in the south, rarely from this tree and mainly from the raffia palm. At times it is also produced from the kernels of Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (adžǎ'b; fruit, ebǒn; kernels, ngǒ'n IV-ebǒn), from the kernels of the Carapa procera D. C. (engǎ'n), and only very rarely from groundnuts (see page 58).

The oil of the raffia palm is used exclusively for the care of the skin, while that of the oil palm is used for the same purpose

Fig. 143. Toothbrush.

for the greater part, only from one-sixth to one-fifth being consumed as food.

(a) Raffia palm oil.

249 303 The fruit (ažū,i'), not yet fully ripe, is carried in baskets from the swamp to the village where they are kept for six days under banana leaves and pieces of banana stalks. Then the scaly shell, insofar as it has not fallen in of its own accord, is removed, and the layer rich in oil, which is located between the armor and the seed, is peeled off by hand or with the help of a scale from the shell. The following riddle refers to the latter procedure. /191/
249 524 303 /Fig. 144 appears here in the original text./

ma	vūi		mot	oko,		okǒn,	o	mbe	a
I	killed	(a)	person	there,	(the)	knife,	it	was	to him

nie	abum	a	si,	o	wo	ma	ba	nie
(at the)	belly	below,		with	which	I	divide	him

a	oa
for	you!

754 The finished mixture is a bone-dry and extremely fine
278 powder. It is not immediately put to use, but first tried out on dogs. By leaving out certain ingredients, such as the Mucuna hairs, or by means of other combinations, the poison mixers -- so various informants emphatically affirm -- are able to shorten or lengthen the victim's period of suffering at will or to produce only illness without fatal results. /147/

The medicine sold by the medicine men (because of its tendency to decompose rather rapidly, it does not keep very long) is used in the following ways. Either it is mixed with the food or sprinkled on the head of the bed or the floor -- merely inhaling the stuff, it is said, produces severe illness. Otherwise it is buried near the surface where the victim usually sits. The Ntum, furthermore, mix the poison with the pulverized resin of Albizzia
[824] fastigiata Oliv. (esǎ'jǎme) and then place in it for five days the
[411] pieces of iron with which they load their rifles.

Concerning the frequency of secret murder by "sorcery" or
754 murder by poisoning, Europeans certainly have no accurate
674 /Fig. 50 appears here in the original text/ conception, since without further ado we tend to ascribe deaths in the unhealthy regions of tropical Africa to malaria. At the same time, the importance, even for us, of investigating this matter precisely is demonstrated by the following fact. In the small Campo region (disregarding the coastal strip), which has been visited by Whites only in the last few years, no less than six merchants have been poisoned within this short period of time, attempts were made to poison two others.

The effects of the medicine of sorcery, whenever it is a question of poisoning in our /Fig. 51 appears here in the original text/ sense of the term, for instance, poisoning food, depend on its composition. According to descriptions, it produces either terrible pains in the abdomen, as though "fire were penetrating the bowels," or the symptoms are those of blackwater fever, among others, dark urine, or it produces paralysis; thus, there is a great variety of effects so that correct diagnosis is extraordinarily difficult.

278 If someone believes he has been poisoned or exposed to
757 poisoning, he employs special antidotes concerning whose value

[Text continues on page 9]

278 I am, of course, unable to judge. /148/

757 In the class of preventives are the leaves of Phyllanthus
[751] gracilipes Pax (esǎ'n elǐ), which are eaten whole or ground. As an antidote for poison in food, the Jaunde use the Corynanthe pachyceras K. Sch. (evě) and the Sida acuta L. var. carpinifolia K. Schum. (sǐ'sǐ'm IV), the leaves being ground and eaten. In the Fang region a medicine consisting of the following ingredients is used:

1. Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth (abǔ'mědzǎ'n), the leaves or stalks ground;
2. ripe bananas (adžüe) cut in pieces;
3. Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edzō'le), bark scraped off;
4. Pachylobus macrophyllus Oliv. (andŏlŏ'm), bark scraped off;
5. Abrus pulchellus Wall. (ozē'zöge III, eloenšǔ, "herb to counteract nšǔ"), leaves ground;
6. Desplatsia dewevrei De Wild et Burs. (afǒnǒk), bark scraped off.

These six ingredients are placed in water, and then the extract is drunk. As an antidote for poisoned bullets, the first three of the above are mixed together, and the mixture is eaten dry.

A further use of nšǔ is called zō, from zŏ, "leopard," be-
754 cause the whiskers of the leopard are used for it. Just as the leopard tracks its victim /Fig. 52 appears here in the original text/ by means of its whiskers and then treacherously pounces on it, the zō thrower wants the same effect. A piece of such a whisker about half a centimeter long is drawn through a fruit of the umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br. (asŏ'n), Figure 52, to form a small missile which is dipped in the magic medicine and then hurled at the opponent. If it hits the opponent's skin, he is supposed to get sick and die within three to six days. I myself once had an experiment performed with this "poisoning" -- something I felt justified in doing in view of the natives' conviction concerning its purely mystical effectiveness. Naturally the experiment was unsuccessful. Meanwhile, this did not disconcert my informant; he thought that perhaps the medicine he had been given was not the right one. Aside from being put on whiskers,
[674] nšǔ is also sprinkled on darts which are shot from ambush when the

759 serious illness, an advance payment is not customary; only now and then the medicine man receives a small present, especially since he knows an almost inexhaustible number of remedies. If every remedy is of no avail or should the sick man die, the medicine man will not demand a fee simply from a sense of tact and compassion -- "so that the hearts of the relatives will not be afflicted even more." On the other hand, if there is an improvement, he receives five spears if he lives in the same village and ten spears if he has been called in from outside.

I have nothing to report concerning any ceremonies held during the cure.

Leprosy (zǎm), Figure 63

757 278 The spots of leprosy -- which appear yellow on the black skin of the natives -- are rubbed with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata Vahl (ekōkō' Fang) or the stalks of the Manniophyton africanum Muell. Arg. (angŭ's Ntum) until /172/ /Fig. 63 appears here in the original text/ blood appears. The following medicines are then dried and ground: Microglossa afzelii O. Hoffmann (ojǎń e ndzǐk); plantain peel (oyǐna ekǫn); and Diospyros ampullacea Gürke (efīfī'di), leaves or bark. These are rubbed on the body with resin of Xylopia aethiopica A. Rich. (ojǎ,n) and oil from the seeds of Mimusops djave (mbǭn adžǎ,b). When the cure begins, a tree fungus is added. A second medicine is the following. After the same preparatory treatment, a tree fungus and bark from Pachyelasma tessmannii Harms (makō'ō III) and from an undetermined Rubiacea (oyǒ') are burned together to an ash and rubbed on the body with shea butter oil or raffia palm oil or oil from Carapa procera D.C. (ehgǎ'n). A third recipe recommends leaves of Microglossa afzelii and Phaulopsis longifolius Smis. (ošū,tū-elǭk III) to be placed on the leprous spots. The leaves of the last-named plant are also taken as a preventive after being ground and boiled in the food with an egg (bundle form). In some regions the spots are burned out with a glowing iron, and then the ground leaves of the Apocynacea Psychotria coffeosperma K. Sch. (otšimažǫe' III), together with oil, are put on the spots; or the burned spots are washed with a hot extract of the bark of Eurypetalum tessmannii

2. Tessmann--43 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

757
278
[342]

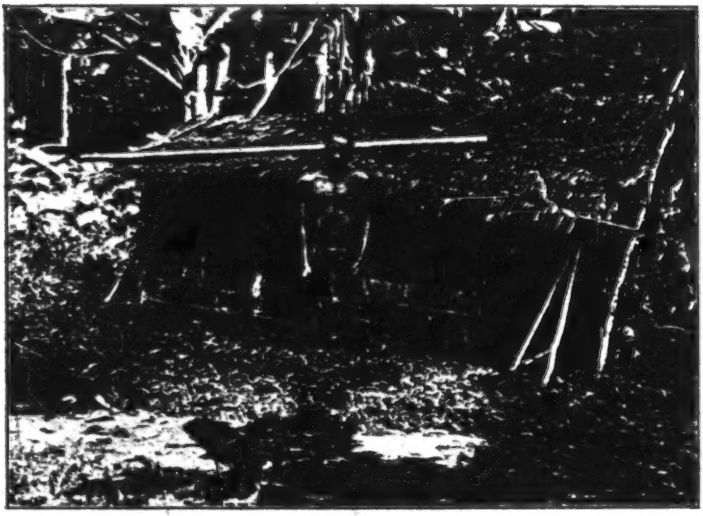


Fig. 63. Leper in front of his Hut, Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

Harms (andzītsīn), whole leaves of the Phaulopsis or ground leaves of cassava (Manihot utilissima) and Emilia sagittata L. (alōmvū III) are pressed on the spots, and over them is sprinkled a powder made of the dried and charred roots and stems of the Asystasia macrophylla T. And. /173/ (elōbokūi). Shortly before the complete healing of the spots, the fruit of Solanum aethiopicum L. var. (ndzē̱ɩ-ʒŭ̱m) is pressed on them so they will become as black as the fruit.

For the later stage of the illness, in which the festering boils form, the following prescription is used: leaves of the Bidens bipinnatus L. (aniō̱'ħ), leaves of the Brillantaisia vogeliana Bth. ebūgebō̱'ń), and pieces of bark of Ficus exasperata are boiled together in water; the water is then poured into a leaf vessel and left to stand until it is lukewarm; then the leprosy spots are washed with it. Thereupon, whole leaves of the Fleurya aestuans (L) Gandich (ngūkū'n IV) are placed on the boils as a compress. After two days, the leaf is taken off, the washing is repeated, and the young, still folded leaves of the Loganiacea Mostuea buchholzii Engl. (ofū̱mū) are ground and put on the wounds.

757 278 164 Whether these medicines really are effective will have to be investigated by doctors. The Pangwe themselves, at any rate, assert that they can cure leprosy in its early stages, and I was shown cases with healed areas that had left lighter spots from which all symptoms of inflammation had disappeared. Frequent repetition of the treatment is presupposed. Leprosy is one of the most terrible and common diseases of the southern Pangwe region. At a Sso festival in Akonangi, for example, I counted seven lepers among approximately 30 men present. With the primitive living conditions and the carelessness of the Negroes, the disease is all too readily communicated. It is true that prophylactic methods [714] are used; indeed, lepers are even segregated, but only in the advanced stages of the disease and then very incompletely since, for example, they are admitted to all the dance festivals. The [837] women even seek out lepers by preference for extramarital sexual intercourse. In the north leprosy does not occur so severely; according to the statement of one Jaunde, this is because they use medicines as soon as the illness appears.

757 The explanation of the effect of the medicine, if one is given at all, is always a mystical one, although it should by no means be concluded from this that the plants concerned would not be worth scientific investigation. In the case of leprosy, for instance, the blackish color or the blackening property of the plants is usually declared to be the cause of their effectiveness. The skin is supposed to become black, and therefore the medicine is usually made at night when everything is black: hence, the choice of ojǎ̰n e [824] ndžǐk (Microglossa afzelii) and of ojǎ̰h (Xylopia aethiopica), from a jǎ̰n, "to roast, to blacken"; hence, efífídí (Diospyros), from fídi, "coal," because the tree is black as coal; hence, ovǐna ekǒn (black plantains), from a yǐn, "to become black"; hence, osṵ̌tǔ elɔk (Phaulopsis) from nsǔt, "black." /174/

Elephantiasis of the scrotum (ojṵ̌n, mbǎ̰n).

Elephantiasis of the scrotum is not too frequent among the Pangwe, but it is greatly feared by them, probably only because

757 in its later stages it makes sexual intercourse impossible. In the Pangwe region I never encountered the gigantic scrotums that one finds in the Northern Cameroons, for instance. The natives be-
[753] lieve that the disease is caused by worms that ordinarily live in the stomach and are the cause of stomach pains. From the stomach they are supposed to migrate into the scrotum and cause it to swell. Allegedly from the example of the Whites (perhaps
[177] from Nkomakak?), people in a few places have hit upon the idea
[752] of opening the scrotum and cutting out the swellings. The original treatment, which is still practiced today, is to use the medicines for stomach worms. Recipes for these medicines are as follows.

757 1. bevū,ĕ' a ndžīk III, scraped bark boiled with raffia palm
278 resin, the water being in part carefully poured off, the rest injected as an enema. At the same time, pieces of bark of Cylicodiscus gabonensis Harms (edūm) and Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekūk) are placed in a leaf vessel with water; then somebody blows into it with a reed until foam rises. The patient must sit down in the vessel. Both plants contain an acrid sap supposed to drive away the "worms."

2. Illigera pentaphylla Welw. (matū,lū mesiń III), ground leaves eaten with salt and pepper.

3. Citrus limonum Risso (alõ's), "because it is bitter and evil-smelling, and so drives away the worms," together with Plagiostyles klainei Pierre (ešŭlă', from a šŭlăn, "to loosen" knots), "so that the disease will likewise be loosened," Oncinotis tessmannii Gilg (njĕm osõ'k IV), "because the worms fear the hairs (= the itching)," Brillantaisia lamium Bth. (džibe elõ'k III), "because the plant is bitter," and Stenochlaena guineensis (Kuhn) Unt. (nkádena' III), all boiled together in a pot with water and then used as an enema. In addition, pieces of bark of Mesocarpidium lepidotum Engl. et Diels (amvim) slightly boiled and pressed on the stomach.

4. Dioscorea preussii Pax (abă'ń), Xylopia zenkeri Engl. et Diels (odžū'ę), and an herb osă; leaves or pieces of bark ground together, then boiled a little, and the water used as an enema.

When the healing starts, Maesobotrya (mbă'n-afă'n I) dried, ground, and eaten.

751 278 Furthermore, the following are supposed to be able to cure the disease as well: the Meliacea Trichilia prieuriana Juss (eyǒ), the Rubiacea (oyǒ'), the Rhamnacea Maesopsis tessmannii Engl. (nkǎ́ŋgǎ' I), and especially the Leguminosa Millettia tessmannii Harms (niɛ̌'kemakjī' I). /175/

Serious form of dysentery (tīɩ).

Aside from the symptoms of ordinary dysentery, this disease is distinguished by an unsightly swollen belly, and it frequently leads to death.

As a remedy, Trichilia prieuriana Juss (eyǒ) is used. Pieces of bark are placed in a leaf vessel, hot water is poured over them, and the water is then used as an enema. Hot pieces of the bark are also pressed on the body. Furthermore, the bark of the Leguminosa Amphimas tessmannii Harms (edzī) is scraped off, mixed with red wood, heated on a potsherd over a fire, and then pressed to the belly. The following is also recommended: pieces of bark of Leptonychia tessmannii Engl. Stercubiacea (akǎk), boiled and pressed while hot on the stomach; in addition pieces of bark of a species of Parkia (esɛ̌ń) and ground leaves of Cassia occidentalis L. (ebɛ̌ī-sī) and Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (avǎ, e sī), from which an extract is made in cold water and consumed, these last two plants being used because of their smell. Finally, pieces of the bark Pseudospondias tessmannii Engl. (angǒkǒń) are boiled, and the lukewarm water used as an enema, or extracts are made with cold water from the bark of Anonidium mannii Oliv. (ebǒm) or from the leaves of Dichapetalum patentihirsutum Engl. (étǎ') and used as an enema (1).

1. For syphilis, only Trichilia tessmannii Harms (atǔm) is used. Pieces of the bark are boiled and placed with water in a leaf vessel, and the patient is made to crouch in it for a long time, or ashes of the bark are sprinkled on the area primarily affected.

Frambesia (mabā'da).

757 278 [164] Next to leprosy, frambesia is the most widespread of the dangerous diseases of the Pangwe region. As various infected Europeans assert, the natives' manner of treatment was markedly successful with them.

The most usual medicine is the following. The diseased areas are cleansed with a decoction, as hot as possible, made from the bark of Heisteria parvifolia Smith (žōebê III) and leaves of Claoxylon africanum Muell. Arg., Euphorbiacea (bešōbešōo III), Costus littoralis K. Sch. (2) (zĕlănă' mĭĕm), "so the illness will go

2. Or Costus aff. ligulatus Gagnep.

around one like the leaves around the plant," and a species of Aneilema, "because the leaves are cold and supposed to lessen the heat of the pain." Then the contents of the red fruit (esŭn) of the Cardamom are heated on a potsherd and pressed on the areas. If blood spurts forth, it is washed off with the hot water. Then /176/ the dried roots of a species of Dioscorea (minutiflora Engl.?), awū'mūk, are charred, and the affected areas are sprinkled with the ashes. Finally, the principal medicine is sprinkled on the ashes; this is the milky sap of the nyăma ndžīk, two Apocynaceae, Olafia multiflora Stpf. and Oncinotis glandulosa Stpf. Instead of the Dioscorea ashes, fine bark scraped off the Apocynaceae mentioned may also be used. The milky sap is often mixed with ground leaves of the Ochnacea Ouratea nigro-violacea Gilg (okūm-afă'n), and the bark of Ouratea spinuloso-serrata Gilg (abŏnežŏk Ntum) is often added to the water.

Elephantiasis of the legs (bendūmejăń).

[164] This disease is quite frequent in the Pangwe area and is supposed to be prevalent chiefly among women. It is curable only in the initial stages, when only the foot is swollen. If the swelling has spread to the shank, all efforts are in vain. The treatment that the afflicted person must submit to is a regular horse cure.

757 278 First the feet are beaten with the spiked Acanthus montanus T. Andl. (ndū́ī IV) until the blood pours from them; better still, the upper part of the foot is lacerated with a knife. Then both feet are covered with sand that is heated by several fires. If the pains become unendurable, the patient is allowed to cool his feet in cold water to which are added leaves of Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. (abūī Ntum) and bark of Macaranga heudelotii Baill. (asǎs). The Alchornea is supposed to be "cold" and to have a cooling effect; the Macaranga is supposed to remove the sickness (a sǎ[s] okǒn, "to shake off a sickness"). Then the feet are again put into the hot sand bath, and this procedure is carried out three times in succession. The treatment is repeated every other day until there is a cure.

Festering boils (fṓ, pfṓ).

The treatment resembles that for frambesia. Frequently the affected spots are washed with hot or at least warm water and afterwards with the milky sap of the Apocynaceae Olafia and Oncinotis. A few other medicines may be mentioned here.

1. Cissus smithiana (Bak.) Pl. (njǎ'mandūmǎnǎ III): the bark is scraped off just above the ground, placed in water, and then applied to the wound.

2. Costus (mīěn IV): after removal of the bark, the stalk is ground, then boiled, and pressed on the wound while still hot. After this, ground leaves of Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. are placed on the wound.

3. After the same preparatory treatment with Costus, leaves of the Asclepiadacea Periploca nigrescens Afz. (abǎń e ndzīk) are placed on the wound. /177/

4. Pieces of the bark of Erythrophloeum guineense (elǔn) and Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms (andzītsǐń) are boiled, and the water is pressed on the spots; then the leaves of Ampelocissus cinnamochroa Pl. (nsǐ'sǎ́ III) are ground and laid on the wounds.

5. Trichoscypha (engǒń): a number of pieces of bark are boiled, and the wounds are washed with the hot water. Then pieces

757
2-78

of the bark are charred and sprinkled on the affected areas.

6. Trichoscypha (amyūt): just like 5; in the beginning, after the washing, bark of Conopharyngia brachyantha Stapf, Apocynacea (etū̆ě), is scraped off and sprinkled on the spots.

7. Dissotis decumbens (P.B.) Tr. (mabǒ̄mogbwā̄ III): leaves are ground, then boiled, and the wounds are washed with the hot water; then leaves of Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (avá,e sī) are placed on the wounds.

8. Solenostemon leaves are ground and pressed out over the wound, together with the sap from the tuber of the Aframomum.

Furuncles (ekiě, ekō̄, mvī'm IV).

A few medicines will be mentioned here.

1. Commelinacea Palisota preussiana K. Sch. (epfūpfū'i): stalks are scraped off after the removal of the outer layer, and the shavings are tied on the boils.

2. Colocasia antiquorum (atū): the tuber is hollowed out by twirling a knife, and the contents are placed on the affected areas with the resin of Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl. (aīē,ā).

3. A whole leaf of the Euphorbiaceae Maesobotrya (mbā'ń-afā'n I) is placed on the spot with the resin of Pachylobus, "so it will become small," because the Euphorbiaceae mentioned have small leaves in comparison to Tricalysia macrophylla K. Sch. (mbā'ń).

4. A whole leaf of Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (avā,e sī, edǒdǒelǒ), together with resin, is placed on the spot, "because of the odor."

5. Ancistrocarpus densispinosus Oliv. (akā[k] a ndzīk): the bark is scraped off and placed on the spots together with red wood; "akā[k] a ndzīk is quiet (compare akāk, "peace linden") and has odor (?).

6. Gall fruit (plural, bebūma, "fruits") of the Microglossa volubilis D.C. (myūyū' I) are charred and smeared on the wounds together with oil.

7. Cassava roots are scraped and tied to the affected area.

8. Cucurbitacea Lepistemon owariensis (Spreng.) Hallierf. (nkõmbwõle III): leaves ground together with red wood and some water and smeared on the affected places /178/; "a bwõle (buẽle), break open, the fruit breaks open of its own accord, and in the same way the boil is supposed to break open."

9. Ophiocaulon gracile Harms, Passifloracea (ejõk): the leaves are heated over the fire and then pressed on the affected places. The fruit of Ophiocaulon are hollow and burst easily, making a slight noise. "In the same way the boils are supposed to burst open."

10. Conopharyngia brachyantha Stpf. (etũẽ): the sap of the plant is sprinkled on the boils, "so they run like the milky sap from the Conopharyngia."

11. Desplatsia subericarpa Bocq. (ukũ'kũt a mfõnõk III): the contents of the fruit are smeared on with red wood, so the swelling will become as small as the fruit of the Desplatsia subericarpa in comparison to the Desplatsia dewevrei (mfõnõk I).

12. Euphorbiacea Tragia cordifolia Benth (otũm): the leaves are pressed on with resin. The leaves burn, and it is hoped thereby to dispel the swelling.

Finally, attempts are also made to remove the swellings by means of external treatments. Thus, the boils are beaten, for example, with the sharp-spiked Acanthus montanus until the blood pours out, and then the wound is covered with the leaves of Dioscorea dumetorum (Kunth) Pax (andẽã), or the boils may be cut open with a knife.

Gonorrhea (nkõk I).

Gonorrhea is supposed to be indigenous to the Pangwe region, but it is quite infrequent in the untouched interior. In Yaoundé /Ed., in German, Jaunde/, on the other hand, and in the vicinity of the coast, under the influence of "civilization," it is very widespread. The cure of gonorrhea is attempted mainly by internal medicines. For instance, a watery solution of the Conopharyngia (etũẽ) is drunk so the gonorrhea will "flow out," or one may drink a bark extract from Heisteria parvifolia Sm., Flacourtiacea

757 278

(viõ's IV), from Rinorea dentata (P. Beauv.) O. Ktze., Violacea (olũ̀n), from Mesocarpidium lepidotum Engl. et Diels, Anonacea (amyim), or from Berlinia acuminata Sol., Leguminosa (epfõ'bã). Instead of pure water, they frequently take sugar water, which first has been placed in the sun, with, for example, a root extract of Triumfettia cordifolia Guillet, Sterculiacea (okũn), or with the Araliacea Schefflera tessmannii Harms (abẽokũ̃ I), with Garcinia purulata Oliv. (mekã eli), or with Canarium schweinfurthii Engl. (abẽ Ntum). Furthermore, leaves for example, from Polycephalium poggei Engl. (okõngũs), are cut up and eaten with spices (salt, pepper, melegueta) (1) in a ngon bundle, often together with the

1. Melegueta pepper always should be taken to mean Aframomum melegueta K. Sch. (andũn).

flesh of the spiny-finned sheatfish. The sharp or spiked things used are supposed to drive out the illness, hence, okõngũs, from okõn, "knife." More rarely, they use /179/ enemas, with preparations such as an extract from the head of a blossom from the Costus (explanation: "So that the 'body sap' -- this is how the discharge is conceived in this case -- will stick together in the body as do the blossoms of the Costus"), from Rinorea, or Maesopsis tessmannii Engl. (nkãngã' I). Furthermore, the skin over the pubes, where the seed arises, according to Pangwe opinion, is lacerated, and ashes of Cnestis ferruginea D.C., Connaracea (ntẽbe sĩ I), are rubbed into the wounds, so that the discharge will "sit down" like the herb (a tẽbẽ o sĩ, "to sit down").

Swelling in the groin (nkãã).

A procedure aimed at removing the malady entails making an incision in one toe on the side of the body affected and rubbing pepper and salt into the wound. Another prescription goes: leaves of Tricalysia macrophylla K. Sch., Rubiacea (mbã'h I) and Selaginella scandens (B. B.) Sprg. (zẽlãnã'), charred and then

757 278 placed on the areas together with oil. The affliction is supposed to miss (a sɛ̀lǎn) the person just as the leaves of the Selaginella "miss" their counterparts (the leaves, in other words, are alternate); mbǎ'ṅ from a bǎ́ṅ, "to evade," that is, the disease is supposed to evade the person just as the tree has an evasive quality (meaning unclear). Furthermore, the disease is driven out by blows with the nettle-like inflorescences of the Urticaceae Boehmeria platyphylla D. Don (sǎ[s]-dʒǎm IV) or Fleurya podocarpa Wedd (sǎ's IV). Finally, they also grind blossoms of Hippocratea myriantha Oliv. (mesi, ndʒǐk I) and apply them with oil to the swelling.

Eczema, Krokro (ntʒǎṅ I).

Prescriptions. 1. Hosluntia verticillata Vahl (osaavõ', asǒbenkũm): dip the shoots in hot water and rub them on the affected areas; then apply the ground leaves of the Cyathula achyranthoides (Kth.) Mog. (num e kǒlõ't III) with oil. 2. Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (ayǎ, e sí): wash the areas with a decoction; then apply the ground leaves of the Apocynaceae Doacanga or Rauwolfia with oil.

Furthermore, parts of the following plants are rubbed onto the areas together with oil: Phyllanthus cappillaris Schum. et Thom (elõametǐǎṅ IV) (ground leaves), Rumex abessinicus Jacq (esǎṅ) (heated leaves), Fleurya aestuans (ngũkõ'n IV) (heated leaves), Palisota thyrsiflora Bth., Commelinacea (ekǒkǎ́delǎ'ṅ) (charred leaves), Millettia drastica Welw. (onũmeʒõk) (scraped-off bark), Gouania longipetala Hemsley, Rhamnacea (ngǒṅõ' a ndʒǐk III) (scraped-off bark).

For scabies the natives frequently use raffia palm oil by itself or with the leaves of Hosluntia or of the Vitacea Ampelocissus cavicaulis /180/ (Bak.) Pl. (pǎ'ʒõk IV) or Aerua lanata (L.) Juss., Amarantacea (angõ'ngõ'nõ III). Also, hoops of Cissus or Lepistemon stalks are slung around the foot.

For herpetic eruptions on the head (akõ), which for the most part, it is true, are ignored and occur with special frequency among children, tobacco leaves are rubbed on the shaved head, or the head

is powdered by making the sole of one's foot quite dusty and then pressing it on the head of the patient.

More widespread is a herpetic eruption of the skin (tõn, matõn) with bright spots that must not be confused with leprosy. As remedies the following plants are known to me: Capsicum leaves are ground and placed on the areas affected; the leaves of Brillantaisia lamium Bth. (dźíbě elõ'k III) are heated and placed on the areas, and a leaf extract is used as an enema (the plant is dark, and the skin is supposed to become dark again); Asclepiadacea Marsdenia ladifolia (Bth.) Schltr. (abodeambě III), the leaves ground and put on the areas together with oil (the plants "blacken"); Clerodendron buettneri Gürke (mavūlū elõ'k III), because of its hairs.

A less important skin disease, a kind of Krokro which especially attacks the feet and is called ašū,lū́k, appears chiefly during the rainy season. Heated shoots of Hibiscus sabdariffa L. (esǎ́ń) and Rumex abessynicus Jacq. (ebū́lo esǎ́ń), which are pressed on the diseased areas, are used for it, or leaves of Aneilema aequinoctiale Kth. (nnǎt I) are added to a foot bath.

Epilepsy (okū,bū́k).

According to one view, epilepsy is caused by the fact that along with his food a person has accidentally got a cicada (ngǎmtětě'a IV) into his stomach. According to the dominant opinion, however, it is caused by the fact that one has looked too long into the sun. Medicines for it are the Apocynaceae Rauwolfia and Doacanga, whose leaves are ground and boiled, and used as an enema when they have cooled; furthermore, from Cola ricinifolia Engl. et Krause (alõn), one root is stuck into the hair, another is scraped and steeped in water, the water then being drunk, and the other roots are put under the bed. The Cola is supposed to be "cold." During an attack, ground leaves of Cissus aralioides (Welw.) Pl. (ahgõ'ńengí) are put in water, and this is poured over the afflicted person. The Cissus causes itching and brings the patient back to consciousness.

757 278 For back aches Erythrophloeum guineense (elǔn) and the Rubiacea Gaertnera paniculata (esǒ'mǒ Fang) are used. The bark of the Erythrophloeum is heated and laid on a bed on which the patient lies down. The bark of the Gaertnera is cut up into small pieces and is put into a larger piece of bark of the same plant; the patient must lie down with his back on it. For organic /181/ heart disease (nnǎ nnēm "pains in the heart"), an extract of the [926] bark of Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edžō'le) is drunk; for mental [929] disorders, which are also supposed to come from the heart (okǒn nnēm), 10 different medicines have been mentioned to me. By acquiring the particular property of the plant, the heart is supposed to be put to sleep and made dark and small. I have further collected: 21 medicines for headache; four for lung disease (sǒ); nine for the cold; 56 for stomach and intestinal disorders; 54 for toothaches; 47 for rheumatic pains (nnǎ and nnǎ-nkūk); 23 for stomach-aches when twitching pains occur (nnǎ-abūm); and five for hemorrhoids, among them especially the Cucurbitacea Cephalonema polyandrum K. Sch. (ejažū'm).

For eye inflammations, ground leaves of the Rubiacea Chasalia macrodiscus K. Sch. (džī a ndžīk III) or bark scraped off the Euphorbiacea Hasskarlia didymostemon Baill. (efūō'le, džī III) are put in a leaf bag, a little water is added, and the extract flowing out at the bottom is dropped into the eye. The same process is carried out with ground leaves of Ampelocissus cinnamochroa (nsī's ǎ III) as a remedy for sties.

To get rid of eye worms (eyǎ), the sap of the following plants is used: Dipteropeltis poranoides Hallier f., Convolvulacea (atū'k e ndžīk); Diodia breviseta Benth, Rubiacea (dēmezǒ III); Gabunia brachypoda Stpf., Apocynacea (etīē' ndžīk); Phaseolus lunatus L. (okǒkūnǒ III).

The Negro's indifference toward sand lice, Sarcopsylla penetrans (ašǒ), is well known; the Pangwe, too, neglect sand lice wounds and do not use medicine until half the toe is festered. Then ground leaves of Phytolacca abyssinica Hoffmann (atǒt e nkǒ), ground leaves of Ocimum gratissimum L. (asǒ'b) mixed with oil, or bark shavings of the Euphorbiacea Neoboutonia africana Muell. Arg. (okǒ'jǒm) mixed with oil are placed on the wounds, and after a few days the

757 resin of Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl. (ašē,ǎ), which kills the
278 parasites that might have stayed in the flesh, is smeared on them.

The medicines for lice (nǐn) were given in Volume I, page 188.

An effective emetic, which, however, is rarely used, is supplied by Microglossa volubilis D.C. (mxūvū' I). The leaves are ground and steeped in water, and the water is then drunk.

An infusion of the bark of the Olacacea Stromboisopsis congolensis de Wildem. (edžīb, from dzīb, "to close") is supposed to have a constipating effect; it is used cold as an enema. An infusion of avōm is supposed to have the same effect.

As a laxative Cassia occidentalis L. (ebē̃ sī) is used, the leaves being ground and put in cold water, and this is drunk; furthermore, young shoots from the Rubiacea Urophyllum /182/ callicarpoides H. (mbōšō' III) are ground in water, and this liquid is used as an enema; finally the root of Physedra longipes Hook f. (ebū'i) is steeped in cold water, and the liquid used as an enema.

752 One rarely hears anything about snake bites in the Pangwe
136 region. Despite the fairly large number of species of these reptiles, there are only a few whose bite is almost always deadly. These include Bitis nasicornis Shaw (fē,ī' IV Ntum) and Naja melanoleuca Hall. (eyindi nyō', "black snake"). Those whose bite frequently leads to death include Naja guentheri Blgr. (okūm), Atheris squamiger Hall. (yiōk IV), and two Thrasops species, Thrasops flavigularis Hall. (nkō'dō-nšū,t III) and Thrasops aethiops Günth. (nkō'dō-fām III). All other species, even if some of them are poisonous, are little if at all feared since their poison is not fatal and can be made ineffectual by medicines. The varying effect of snake bites has given rise to the belief that those who die from them had been engaged in sorcery the night before (nwū,ǎn I, that is, one who must die), whereas the others did not (nnīǎn I, that is, one who shall live).

In the treatment of snake bites the principal role is played by a
752 stone concerning which I was unable to discover any further details.
278 In addition, the leaves of the Urticacea Pouzolzia guineensis Benth (mbōanē' III) or of Solenostemon ocimoides Sch. et Th. (avē, e sī) are ground in water, and with this the wounds are washed; or the sap of the Guttifera Haronga paniculata (Pers.) Lodd. (atū,ī) -- which is also used when goats are castrated -- is dripped into the wounds.

539 514 "to look for firewood"; ma ke ofɛ̄ī, "I am going into the bush," and so forth. Even today I have to smile when I think of an incident that happened at the beginning of my stay in Alén. One of my Fang boys, who accompanied me on the hunt and was near a thick, half-rotted tree stump, suddenly said, "ma ke tsǎ ndžā,ǎ (I am going to get some firewood)." Under the impression that he really wanted to cut off some firewood from the tree stump, I countered this, to me unintelligible, notion, half amazed, half mockingly, with the words, "ye oa bɛ̄le ovū'n (but do you have an axe)?" It was only after a while that I understood why I was struck by such an annihilating look of moral disapproval. After this faux pas, I became more cautious and was soon sufficiently polished to be a highly civilized person in the Pangwe sense, who in strange villages no longer spoke of the eduk (toilet), but instead, as a well brought-up "Pange," merely asked:

114 514

nge ba tsī'dǎn ma, ma yā'le
If one drives (urges) me, I duck (hide)
[539] vě'?
where?
or: zě'n e medžā e ne vě'?
Where is the way to the host (actually: head of the village)?

539 757 514 Further demonstrations of the Pangwe's feeling of shame with respect to natural requirements are the use of an enema syringe (which is directly connected with

514 [757] 539

the feces or anus) as a deterrent medicine for thefts from the field and the significant tale of the turtle and the woman. A turtle wants to force a girl against her will to become his wife, and after all kinds of vain attempts finally succeeds only by smearing the girl's bed and clothes one night with his own feces. Having done so, he lies down to sleep, and the next morning when the girl sees the mess, he threatens to tell in the village and all the world that she had befouled her bed. The turtle thus put the girl completely in his power and forced her to agree to the marriage.

539 836 514 the girl going into her mother's house, quickly stole after her through the plantain grove, and listened behind the house to what the girl might say; not by a single word did she mention the incident. He then went back with a joyful heart, and said to himself: "This girl truly loves me." After two days he returned, asked for her hand in marriage, and took her back to his village as his wife.

This tale gave rise to the popular saying: ng(e) oa dzǐn ma, obébé', ng(e) oa bǎne ma: obébé'.

The great number of love medicines (bian andu'man), which 832 very graphically symbolize the fusion and embracing of the sexes (in a spiritual as well as a physical sense), has already been discussed in Volume II, page 30 .

Illegitimate children are quite rare. The child's father -- 848 even when he is known -- has no claim upon the child, just as 836 the girl has no claim upon the father. The child belongs to the girl's father and is regarded as a not altogether unwelcome addition, since when the girl marries, it considerably raises her purchase price. As long as the mother remains unmarried, her child stays in the house of her parents. When she marries, the child becomes /259/ a part of the marriage bargain, as it were, and is considered

842 After this second part of the ceremony, called elum nzum, the
843 child is hidden for eight days in a hut, and women are forbidden to
789 see him during this time; he is now called mvun. On the morning of the eighth day, the men lay him on a mat in the village square and cover him with mats and cloths so that the women do not see him; the inhabitants of the village are again assembled, and the men of the husband's family step over the mvun one after the other, saying: madzune, e mvun ebue ni ngi me ki me nga kule abum, me bure (I say, the mvun is lying there; if it is I who caused the abortion, may I die). When all the men have passed, the child is taken away. Some time later the guilty one becomes sick, has a swollen abdomen, and dies, there being no possibility of caring for him. After his death, the woman is treated as in the case of natural abortion.

843 Pregnancy (ndzua abum). When a woman is pregnant, she is bound by numerous obligations and prohibitions which aim to care for the child which she carries so that she can bring it into the world in good health. [80]

843 The obligations consist of taking medicines; to prevent the child
757 from having sores in the womb of its mother, she takes an infusion of the roots of various trees. This medicine is called ese bibolo (to treat infections); if it is neglected, the child is born with infected sores which never heal.

The future mother must also go every three days into the brush and give herself a washing with a preparation of bark of ebom which has fermented in water. After each enema, water is added to the vessel containing the pieces of bark, which are kept until the delivery.

That the child may be strong, the pregnant woman anoints her abdomen with an ointment prepared by the midwife with padouk powder mixed with raphia oil and bark.

843 Finally, to prevent abortion, the woman wears on her skin, like a
757 belt, a piece of okum vine, which is not removed until after the birth of the child.

843 All this does not prevent the woman from continuing her work; when she feels tired, it is because the child is sick, and the midwife treats her with one of the medicines mentioned above. If the woman's husband has not had children for a long time, the future mother then enjoys much esteem; she receives gifts, and her husband pays a great deal of attention to her.

844 see it, and if she sees it she will have no more children. The mother is then washed with very hot water in which pimento has been steeped; after this her abdomen is bound with a belt of bark (ewag) which she keeps on for several days.

846 After the birth of her child, a young mother is known by the name of nzinze, which she keeps until she has the right to resume relations with her husband. She has a special bed in the hut, on which a [844] menstruating woman may neither sit nor lie so as not to give scabies to the mother and the newborn. The young mother rests for about three months, during which she does no work and bathes every day with water as hot as she can stand, the lumbar region especially being [75] bathed. Moreover, after every bath she is smeared with red paste (ba) to prevent scabies.

Recovery from childbirth is marked by a celebration (okula mon). The first time she goes out, the woman carries a package of ba, a piece of which she places on every tree stump she meets on her way, to mark her path. On her return she prepares a large quantity of food she has brought back. The husband invites the men of his tribe, and the wife invites the women of her husband's tribe. When the food is ready, it is taken to the men in the watchers' hut, where the child is also taken. The women eat in the hut.

846 To improve the quality of her milk, the young mother drinks pro-
827 gressively, if necessary, three medicines:
757 (1) An infusion of aseh roots.

(2) A milky-looking infusion of pieces of tubers of a plant with a thorny stem (ekon bōkun).

(3) Latex from a rubber plant.

761 It may be that the child dies at birth. Three causes for this are
789 recognized:

An evur has eaten the child. To prevent this from being repeated and so that the woman will in the future bring living children into the world, she resorts to the practitioner. He goes into the forest armed [83] with a machete and a basket. He gathers the bark of an ovaṅ, and also brush and vines that grow under this tree. On his return to the village he divides his collection into two parts. One part, mixed with water, is put in a large rectangular container of banana leaves called etok, which has been filled with the blood of a domestic animal sacrificed for the welfare of the woman. She then immerses herself

779 [Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [402]

791 Sometimes in very important tribes, especially in those that make up large, compact groups, this role of minister to the mvamayôn has developed temporarily upon the practitioner.

Sometimes practitioners take on the role themselves and hold it by their personal importance or ability.

In both cases a kind of usurpation is always involved or a mixing up of powers, rarely a substitution. The practitioner then acts not in his own name by virtue of his role and his own authority, but as a delegated power. ...

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator] [403]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

779 Thus in certain specific cases the political chief of the clan
791 leaves the exercise of religious worship to the practitioner even
with regard to the totem. Yet this is only a delegated role to the
614 extent that when the totem has to be questioned in a critical situa-
769 tion, the practitioner disappears and the chief resumes his rights: it would then be up to him to carry out ritual acts and make sacrifices. A chief may not be able to do this, [404] for instance, if he were very ill. A sacrifice is then offered to the totem directly concerned. Does the practitioner now come to the fore? Not at all. He first sacrifices to the tutelary spirits and spirits of the dead, and then he interrogates the spirits in order to find out what evil influences have caused the illness and to discover the person who, in the sacred phrase, has "made a fetish" against the sick man. The consanguineous heir appears in his turn to invoke the family's guardian spirits in favor of the sick man and to invoke his totem. In this case, invocations and sacrifice have a dual purpose: first, to invoke the direct ancestors represented by their skulls preserved in the biéri box -- this is the cult of the esayôn; secondly, to invoke the totem represented by a real or symbolic fragment -- this is the cult of the mvamayôn.

[Four paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [405]

791 There are two distinct characters: practitioner [feticheur]
and sorcerer.

757 The practitioner takes several forms: he may be soothsayer, physician, priest -- all different manifestations of the same ministry and all legal. In a word, the practitioner is the agent of the acknowledged cult.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

412 the natural curve of the branches. Stones are employed for rolling food, especially for crushing and rolling the *ngon* seed. Shells of large land mollusca are cut in half and used for spoons, small gourds being used for the same purpose. Large gourds are used for water dippers and bottles. Very many uses are found for the forest 824 gourds, not the least ingenious being the use of a hollow stemmed gourd for [757] administering a rectal injection. Gourds are used for the sounding boards of the musical instrument called *mvuk*. The people find many uses for bamboo. It is used in construction of houses, fish baskets and traps are made from it, fences to protect paths during tribal wars are made of sharp pointed bamboo poles; and small sharpened pieces of bamboo with poisoned tips are buried in the forest paths, point upward, to wound and poison the naked feet of an unsuspecting enemy. The 825 teeth and claws of leopards and bush cats, elephant tail, antelope feet, horns and forest beans are used in their natural form as personal ornaments. Leopard teeth are always considered valuable as *biang* (fetish) and are much sought after; they are frequently imitated in ivory. I have not seen the defences of animals employed as artificial defences, except as fetish. Long tough forest thorns are often used as awls [412] and needles for piercing and sewing skins. I once saw an *ngangan* (witch doctor) 763 perform a post-mortem examination on a woman. After he had discovered the cause 787 of death, which he announced to the expectant crowd as being due to "six witches eating her liver," he first pierced the abdominal walls with a long hard thorn, and then sewed up the body with a bamboo needle threaded with pineapple fibre. I 342 have seen only one cave dwelling; it was used by an isolated sufferer of the dread 734 disease called by the natives *mabata* (a kind of sloughing phagedina). When proper reed material for making thatch is scarce, large forest leaves are used, but they make very poor roofs, especially during the tornado season.

Conservatism.—The Fang are not quick to adopt reforms or to introduce new 185 methods; they are more or less the slaves of custom, and have a superstitious dread 186 of departing from ancestral habits. This refers to all the proceedings of life. Fang living in towns near Gaboon are almost daily coming in contact with white settlers, and to some extent, at least, appear to be changing their mode of living. It never appeared to me that a Fang had the same longing to be "just like a white man" as possesses the young Mpongwe and Benga men.

IX.—*Ornamentation.*

The patterns mostly seen in Fang ornamentation consist of bands, incised 531 lines, elliptical punch marks, herring bone, lozenge pattern and cross lines. The natives do not possess a natural aptitude for drawing, and seldom attempt it. The few drawings I have seen on the bark walls of houses, supposed to represent men and women, were very crude and exaggerated in proportion. They have no idea whatever of perspective. They seem to interpret foreign drawings very readily. [322] The Fang show considerable skill in plain wood carving, using an ordinary native knife. I have noticed that their carving improves very considerably when an imported pocket knife is the instrument employed.

754 we are already familiar.
278 Another mixture consisted of ground mica, a toad, and ground snake fangs.

The red nšǔ usually contains:
1. Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (see above);
[825] 2. a red crab from the forest (nkōńěle kā'dă) (1);

1. The animal is supposed to make a sound that is reproduced by žē, žē.

3. a kind of scorpion (nsīsa), ground;
4. a chameleon, ground;
5. Mucuna pruriens D.C. (see above).

The black nšǔ contains:
1. ngō-akǫ'k or ekōl-akǫ'k, fungus soil dried and ground;
2. akǔn, a fungus growth that lives under water, which is supposed to be very poisonous;
[825] 3. nlō'no ngūēn, a centipiede which is greatly feared because of its poison.

The preparation of nšǔ is carried out in the most ingenious manner by expert medicine men. For this purpose, the men sew
[287] for themselves a special suit made of the bark of the ondǔ'm tree
[292] (Fig. 50). This suit resembles a long shirt and leaves only the head and hands exposed; these parts of the body are then rubbed
[824] with an extract of Heckeria subpeltata (Wild.) Kunth (abǒ'mědzǎ'n),
[751] principally in order to protect them against the very poisonous hairs of the Mucuna that fly about. With this preparation, the poison mixers proceed to pound the dried components in a pot and and to mix them by stirring. For this purpose they use a long stick so that they can stay as far away as possible from the poisonous mixture. Indeed, they go even further and call upon old leprous
[731] persons to collect and pour the poison into little horns or bags
[758] (Fig. 51), since in their case it would not matter if in the process they were to become sick or even die.

128 I am using the concept "medicine" in the sense used by the Pangwe /Ed., the author uses Pangwe [Fang] as the name for a group of tribes in which the Fang are one tribe; the others are the Eton, Mwele [Mvele], Jaunde [Yaunde], Bene [Bane], Bulu, Ntum, Mwai [Mvae], and Mokuk (Oschüeba)/, who have a much broader conception of it than we do and unite under the term biǎ,ń, "medicine," various things which we are accustomed to separate, namely, charms, means for bringing luck and avoiding misfortune, remedies for cult sicknesses, and healing remedies in our sense of the term. In addition, I shall include the food taboos (ekī,).

The knowledge of medicines is fairly widespread among the
759 Pangwe. Each Pangwe man -- and /144/ even each Pangwe woman -- is familiar with half a dozen or at least a few. However, only a person who is an extraordinarily good observer, who does not stay at home as does the average Pangwe, and who has gained experience and knowledge is designated as a medicine man, ngěńgǎ'ń I. As was observed in an earlier section /Ed., Vol. I, Section 8/, extreme specialization of all knowledge and skills is found among the Pangwe. This is no less the case with medicines. One man may be familiar with cult medicines, another with ewu medicines; others specialize in the opening of corpses for the detection of ewu, still others specialize in skin diseases, etc. Within these areas specialization goes still farther. Individual medicine men may be specialists for a particular disease (e.g., leprosy) or for a particular method of treating this disease. Such a specialist is called ongěńgǎ'ń. He is frequently sought from a great distance by patients who do not have a specialist for their case or one of sufficient repute in their own villages.

424 Medical knowledge is not guarded as a legacy in certain
759 families, but is the property of individuals and is imparted to
461 others by the expert in return for cash payment. This is a business deal of such great importance that a father seldom or never instructs his own son in medical knowledge, as he could not accept much payment from him -- particularly since it is in a sense a matter of his own money -- and he would not do it for nothing

424 because, in spite of the great love for children, in spite of the
759 intimate relationship between father and son, the Negro is simply
461 not able to endure the effort of working unless the prospect of
payment is constantly before his eyes. The price for strangers,
[435] to be paid in advance, is 100 spears or a small sheep, in return
for which the medicine man will teach his pupil all the cures
that he knows.

The medicine men do not have any special social status,
759 authority, or influence. In general, they are regarded only as
554 experienced and skillful persons (akǒ́n, i.e., "skillful"). Only
754 those among them who know the medicines of sorcery and give
this knowledge to others (including the cult leaders who, by
means of a magic medicine, give the cult figures the power to
practice sorcery) are feared, and rightly so, because one suspects
that with the help of these "medicines" they may practice sorcery,
i.e., kill other people, at any time.

1. Medicines for Sorcery

We have seen in the previous chapter /Ed., not translated/
754 that the sources of belief in sorcery are to be sought in the need
[753] to assign causes for unrecognized internal ailments, particularly
malaria and poisoning. Because of the similarity of their symp-
toms, these two cannot be distinguished by European outsiders,/145/
and even the native inhabitants for the most part find it impossible.
At the moment, therefore, it is not possible to obtain a clear
picture of these things. It is certain that the Negroes know how to
get someone out of the way with poison and that they mix poison
with the conscious intention of killing, but it is uncertain to what
extent they are conscious of the physiological effects of poison in
our sense. As far as I could observe, a generally mystical view of
these matters still prevails. All poisoning, just like all internal
illness, is sorcery, and all sorcery is the mystical operation of the
physical being, detached from the body, that finds its strength
in its ewu which has been developed through medicine (see Sec-
tion 12)/Ed., not translated/. If someone wishes to kill a person

754 example, in the case of the theft of some food, a bit of the remains of the food, such as chewed sugarcane, is put in a rifle and fired off, or the chewed sugarcane is put in the smithy pit in place of iron and belabored with the bellows. In still other cases, this same sugarcane is placed with a pepper twig in the burrow of [825] a Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (the scincoid lizard), and a fire is lighted under them. In all /171/ these cases the fire is a symbol of the Ngi (fire cult). Another time the Sso is called upon. If, for example, someone has stolen a wild animal from a trap, the hairs still sticking to the trap are placed in a halved Negro banana (the plant sacred to the Sso) or on a halved piece of the [824] Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becco. nkāne I (likewise a cult plant, but its significance is unknown to me), and the thief will then contract leprosy. Furthermore, the remnants of the stolen goods merely need to be placed on the path to a frambesia patient's toilet in order to cause the thief to contract frambesia. Such a manner of wishing an illness upon someone is called a pfū,ī'di, from a pfūde, "to do, to lay, to do something to someone, to impose (lay) something on someone, to throw upon."

753 As the third cause of illness, the natives are familiar with the simple communication of diseases, infection (substantive, nkŭ,bǎn I; verb, a kŭ,bǎn), and the Pangwe know very well that frambesia is more contagious, whereas leprosy is less so.

In the case of less serious illnesses, some people may get the idea that the illness was invoked in some way by offended or harmed companions. In general, however, people do not think about causes; the illness simply comes by itself.

Among the Jaunde the a pfū,ī'di is unknown because the cults [184] are not so highly developed as they are among the southern Pangwe. [759] The Jaunde often blame sorcerous beings.

The fee for treatment of disease is variously handled. In the 759 case of leprosy the medicine man receives 110 spears (seven marks) or a small goat, if his art has been of some help -- otherwise he receives nothing. In the case of frambesia and illnesses of the ewu he receives in advance a chicken, as well as the head and heart of the goat that is slaughtered so that the patient may drink the blood. If the cure was successful, he is paid 50 spears. In the case of less

759 serious illness, an advance payment is not customary; only now and then the medicine man receives a small present, especially since he knows an almost inexhaustible number of remedies. If every remedy is of no avail or should the sick man die, the medicine man will not demand a fee simply from a sense of tact and compassion -- "so that the hearts of the relatives will not be afflicted even more." On the other hand, if there is an improvement, he receives five spears if he lives in the same village and ten spears if he has been called in from outside.

I have nothing to report concerning any ceremonies held during the cure.

Leprosy (zǎm), Figure 63

757 The spots of leprosy -- which appear yellow on the black skin
278 of the natives -- are rubbed with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata Vahl (ekōkō' Fang) or the stalks of the Manniophyton africanum Muell. Arg. (angū's Ntum) until /172/ /Fig. 63 appears here in the original text/ blood appears. The following medicines are then dried and ground: Microglossa afzelii O. Hoffmann (ojǎń e ndžīk); plantain peel (oyīna ekōn); and Diospyros ampullacea Gürke (efīfī'di), leaves or bark. These are rubbed on the body with resin of Xylopia aethiopica A. Rich. (ojǎn) and oil from the seeds of Mimusops djave (mbǒn adžǎb). When the cure begins, a tree fungus is added. A second medicine is the following. After the same preparatory treatment, a tree fungus and bark from Pachyelasma tessmannii Harms (makō'ō III) and from an undetermined Rubiacea (oyǒ') are burned together to an ash and rubbed on the body with shea butter oil or raffia palm oil or oil from Carapa procera D.C. (ehgǎ'n). A third recipe recommends leaves of Microglossa afzelii and Phaulopsis longifolius Smis. (osū,tū-elōk III) to be placed on the leprous spots. The leaves of the last-named plant are also taken as a preventive after being ground and boiled in the food with an egg (bundle form). In some regions the spots are burned out with a glowing iron, and then the ground leaves of the Apocynacea Psychotria coffeosperma K. Sch. (otsīmažǒe' III), together with oil, are put on the spots; or the burned spots are washed with a hot extract of the bark of Eurypetalum tessmannii

789 Magic appears to be a technique for making use of the strength, tyi, contained in every element of the universe /creation/, which everyone has more or less the capacity, ngul, to employ. Elementary magic is taught within the family, advanced magic /is taught/ in associations, by experienced practitioners and also, nowadays, through /120/ correspondence with European charlatans. All initiations include a course in magic, all associations possess a body of specialists.

787 Divination, mvi'i, and medicine, mboan mebiañ, are to magic in general what in Europe the special branches are to general medicine. [791] Every ngengañ is a diviner and physician, but he may consult a colleague more specialized in one of those branches.

Everyone learns from childhood on to interpret everyday omens, which are mostly taken from "zoomancy:" the flight or song of certain birds, meeting certain animals in certain circumstances, etc. The interpretation of the movements of the victim of a family sacrifice, the abôp spider oracle, asking the advice of ancestors by means of the narcotic herb alañ, (iboga), require that /a person/ be already initiated. Oracles by water, sand or gravel, or conducting minkal tests require much deeper knowledge.

• 759 The same holds for medicine. Everyone knows the ordinary mebiañ, but for serious cases people must turn to a mbibiañ. The word biañ, usually translated "medicament," "greegree," even "fetish," indicates not only the drug, a pharmaceutical product, but also the whole of a magical act, including the chanting and dancing associated with it for grave illnesses. Pharmacopeoia and therapy proper, to some extent investigated by Baudre, Weber, and Chabeuf in the Cameroons and by Gascón in Spanish Guinea, are or were quite copious. Not only did the mbibiañ know many substances with a mainly vegetable base, but they also knew how to perform several surgical operations [762] —reduction of fractures and dislocations, incision and drainage of deep abcesses, amputations, excision of certain tumors, and perhaps trepanning. But obviously there was a great deal of pure magic mixed up with this practical medicine, and the majority of mebiañ, if they had a therapeutic effect, owed it largely to psychosomatic reactions—which is not peculiar to Pahouin medicine.

791 Aside from medicine and divination and the combating of sorcerers, the essential role of the mingengañ consisted of influencing the shaping of the destiny of the group or of the individuals, if not in controlling their destiny. The powers of high initiates to some extent

314 strips of rattan palm. Both frames are drawn through holes made
342 with an awl (nsɔ̃n), Figure 174, c; they are sewn on with fine
91 palm bands. In the next section I shall speak of the patterns.

314 To obtain bark for houses and decoration a whole number of
445 trees are available, as we have seen. On the other hand, containers
322 -- at least in the southern region -- are made from the bark of only a single tree, a Tiliacea (ekɔ̃'b). They are carefully worked, and when new they look very nice because of their even yellow-gray color which later, as a result of the smoke in the hut and through age, becomes dark brown to black. They are manufactured in the following manner. The requisite piece of bark is cut off to the desired size, and its outermost layer is scorched over the fire so that it can be scraped off with a knife. It is then bent into the shape of a cylinder so that the edges lie over one another in a narrow strip. The edges are clamped between the halves of a stick that has been split down the middle, the halves being pressed together again at the top and bottom by means of a string. At this point the edges are sewn one on top of the other with two seams. The stitching is done with palm bands, for which holes are made with an awl. The projecting edge is cut off. The lid consists of a hoop similarly constructed from the same bark and a plate made of the wood of the umbrella tree, which is also used for the bottom of the vessel.

445 Bark containers of all sizes are manufactured, from the most
761 charming little boxes to the gigantic barrel. In one respect, however, they are identical, that is, only important things are kept in them, such as the poisoned arrows for the crossbow, skulls of ancestors, and, above all, medicines, in short, all things /207/ connected with death; hence they are called nsɔ̃k I (1), since

1. In addition, we find nkɔ̃b I from which is derived the name of the tree, ekɔ̃b.

n-sɔ̃-k -- derived from n-so-ak -- contains the root sɔ̃ which designates death in the religious sense. Thus, one puts something associated with death (sɔ̃) in the bark container (action is involved

415 since they first sought a container, e.g., for the skull of the
761 dead, in order to preserve it; hence, the suffix aka). A bark vessel is also, as it were, the grave (n-so-n), for the body of the dead person lies in it in a trough made of bark, which sometimes is closed off with a lid of the same material (passive, since first the place where the body happened to be lying, whether in the house or out in the open, n sǒń, was named; hence, the passive suffix ń).

(b) Bark cloth.

287 Bark is made into cloth by pounding it with a beater (Fig.
412 159) made from the end of an elephant's tooth (d), half an ele-
[321] phant's rib (b, c), the horn of a white-backed duikerbok Cephalophus longiceps Gray (mvū IV), or the wood of the
[824] Leguminosa Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms (andzītsīd) (a). For this purpose, they do not take the wood of a freshly cut trunk, but rather the harder red wood /Fig. 158 appears here in the original text/ of old trees that have been felled a long time ago. The wooden beater has about the same shape as the mallets used by our carpenters and consists of a straight handle with a roller-shaped head which is grooved around half or all of its circumference.

287 The only suitable bark for bark cloth is that of fig trees
824 (etǒ'b = fig tree [Ficus] and cloth, clothing) (2). /208/
314

2. The following varieties are used in the Pangwe region:
Ficus globicarpa Warb. var. (emblǒ'ń);
Ficus cfr. wildemaniana Warb. (adzǎb-etǒb);
Ficus bubu Warb. (akǒ'-etǒb);
Ficus stellulata Warb. (etǒ'tǒ, root to(b) reduplicated);
Ficus preussii Warb. and laurentii Warb. (etǒ'b, etǒ'b-o-jōb, ejǒ'T, akǎm);
Ficus barteri Sprague (asǎmentūmo Fang, asǎmentūme Ntum);

776 The evil evur concerns itself only with eating people in the course of the ngwel and with waging war against the good bivur. It is almost always the evil evur which is the victor.

(3) Activities of the evur. The manifestations of the evur are many, and itis the evur which acts in everything instead of, and in place of, its owner.

It is essential for one who wishes to be a practitioner to have an evur. Moreover, this profession is assigned to a child, should the occasion arise, at the time of the ceremony of akaǧa.

Except in the case of an activity favorable to its owner, or at the time of the akaǧa, the evur is always malevolent. The only aim of the ngwel meetings is to assure the life of the bivur through the death of the persons whom they eat.

776 When the good evur of a nem has worked in full daylight for its
155 owner, the latter falls ill at the same time as his evur. He can be treated only with a thick medication made of water, a cooked egg,
824 and crushed leaves of ebele beyem. Ebele beyem is the name of a poisonous vine whose leaves and blossoms resemble those of the sweet potato.

776 The malevolent activity of the evur is always manifested in a death.
761 It may also be the cause of abortion, or the death of a newborn the moment it sees daylight.

776 The evur also allows its possessor to change himself into an animal.
762 For example, a man who wishes to die causes his evur to go out and take the form of an animal (usually a black antelope, nzip, or a red
158 antelope, nkoǧ), and to walk at the edge of the village. The animal is noticed at once by the inhabitants who hunt and kill it. The evur then immediately returns to the man who sent it, and it is the man who is killed instead of the animal. The transformation is simultaneous with the blow which causes death, and it is the man, transported by his evur, who is found dead at the spot where the animal fell. [73]

776 An example of this faculty of transformation was reported to us in
158 March, 1934. Two hunters landed on a small island in Lake Mangueigne to hunt a monkey which they had seen in a tree. They separated at the landing spot, after having decided that each should go around the island from his side. One of them saw a large black antelope in the thickets, fired, and when he drew near found his comrade riddled with shot, gasping his last and dying shortly afterwards. The inhabitants of the neighboring village, aroused by the cries, arrived in time to hear

844 see it, and if she sees it she will have no more children. The mother is then washed with very hot water in which pimento has been steeped; after this her abdomen is bound with a belt of bark (ewag) which she keeps on for several days.

846 After the birth of her child, a young mother is known by the name of nzinze, which she keeps until she has the right to resume relations with her husband. She has a special bed in the hut, on which a [844] menstruating woman may neither sit nor lie so as not to give scabies to the mother and the newborn. The young mother rests for about three months, during which she does no work and bathes every day with water as hot as she can stand, the lumbar region especially being [757] bathed. Moreover, after every bath she is smeared with red paste (ba) to prevent scabies.

Recovery from childbirth is marked by a celebration (okula mon). The first time she goes out, the woman carries a package of ba, a piece of which she places on every tree stump she meets on her way, to mark her path. On her return she prepares a large quantity of food she has brought back. The husband invites the men of his tribe, and the wife invites the women of her husband's tribe. When the food is ready, it is taken to the men in the watchers' hut, where the child is also taken. The women eat in the hut.

846 To improve the quality of her milk, the young mother drinks pro-
827 gressively, if necessary, three medicines:
757 (1) An infusion of aseh roots.

(2) A milky-looking infusion of pieces of tubers of a plant with a thorny stem (ekon bõkun).

(3) Latex from a rubber plant.

761 It may be that the child dies at birth. Three causes for this are
789 recognized:

An evur has eaten the child. To prevent this from being repeated and so that the woman will in the future bring living children into the world, she resorts to the practitioner. He goes into the forest armed [83] with a machete and a basket. He gathers the bark of an ovaṅ, and also brush and vines that grow under this tree. On his return to the village he divides his collection into two parts. One part, mixed with water, is put in a large rectangular container of banana leaves called etok, which has been filled with the blood of a domestic animal sacrificed for the welfare of the woman. She then immerses herself

761 in the etok and stays there for a certain length of time. While she is
789 in this bath, she eats a soup made of the rest of the bark gathered by the practitioner, together with a pumpkin, a piece of the heart, liver, and some blood of the sacrificial animal, all cooked in a pot. This remedy is intended to satisfy the evur and prevent it from eating the blood of the woman or of the child which she may carry in her womb in the future.

761 The death of the child may also arise from an akaga given to its mother, which predicted that one of her children would not live.

761 Finally, if there is neither evur nor akaga, this mishap is believed
784 to be caused by the violation of a prohibition or, more likely, by adultery committed by the woman during her pregnancy. To make
837 her denounce her accomplice, she is beaten until she has named him. This man must then pay to the husband an indemnity equal to half the dowry which he spent to get his wife, an indemnity which represents the price of the adultery and the price of the child's corpse. The woman is subjected from then on to the prohibition of awos until the the birth of her next child.

854 The child (mon). Until it talks, the child is called nkanele. We We have seen that after its birth it is washed in cold water and not fed until the following morning. The breast is first given it by another woman rather than by the mother, whose milk is not good at first.

At the age of eight days, the child is smeared with ba. If the cord dries up by itself without trouble, it is enough to moisten it with saliva.

845 Anomalies such as the birth of an albino or of twins are considered
[143] normal. The natives have stated that albinos are reproduced in the same family at an interval of three generations. As to twins, they are forbidden later on to take part in the ngwel. If the twins are boys,
[55] the first is called Nzugo, the second Dzima; if they are girls, they are given the names respectively of Bela and Nzua.

551 A name is not given a child until several months after birth, when one is almost certain that it will live. A child receives several names. The father chooses the first name from among his ancestors. For example, a boy will be called Osene from the name of a paternal ancestor, to this name of Osene has been added the name of his father Ekomi, and so the child is called Osene Ekomi; but he also has a sort of first name chosen by the parents, which in the present case is [84] Andzang. The complete name thus is Andzang Osene Ekomi. The mother's

613 the same for the third grandson. The group of the sons' three families
614 constitutes what is called etuna or aval. The tribe (ayoh) gives its name to all the families which have been established since its founder.

Social relations are rare with foreign tribes, the tribe forming a
614 homogeneous whole where the stranger is received only with reserve
609 and when he shows goods which prove that his visit has no other aim
578 but to come and look for a woman to marry. The [92] tribes are often hostile to one another, and while they no longer can make war, this hostility is still demonstrated by an atmosphere of haggling which always forces the weakest to give way. Several tribes have thus had to leave the N'Djolé region to settle farther downstream on the Ogooué because they could no longer live beside their neighbors.

574 On the other hand, visits among members of one tribe are frequent, presents are exchanged, and wives are bought.

Death (awu). Death is regarded as a change of village. After his
●761 death, a person has become an inhabitant of the big village created
775 by Nzame beyond the earth. There he will find the members of his family who already live there, and therefore he follows a very wide trail which leads him to the bank of the river Endam where his relatives who died before him come to await him. It may be that the crossing of the river is not immediate, and the dead man may have to stay for several days on the bank, which happens especially to people of whom the bivur have made human victims.

763 The dying person (edzegela) is attended by women who, when death has occurred, announce it on coming out of the hut, where all the inhabitants of the village then assemble. The corpse is taken from its bed and laid on the ground on mats; it is washed, rubbed with oil, and clothed in a white loincloth, then rolled in the mats and in pieces of bark, and tied. It stays this way in the hut until the grave is dug.
764 Funeral ceremonies immediately follow death. The wrapped body is carried by two men to the place of burial. The inhabitants of the village follow, one behind the other, and are present at the interment, which is done with a vine holding the body so that it does not fall suddenly to the bottom of the hole dug to receive it. The grave is oriented east-west, or is dug parallel to the course of the river which flows by the village, the head of the dead being placed upstream or to the east, the feet downstream or toward the west, so that the dead will lie in the direction of the river Endam. Before the grave is filled,

888 road. The missions have tried, with unequal results, to ameliorate
[797] the fate of old people without children; certain clan "societies" have also been active in this direction, but none of it goes very far. Moreover, the old people accept their lot and occasionally joke about it among themselves with the rather biting irony that seems one of the mental characteristics of the group. Some old people kill themselves
[762] "from being tired of life." According to Trilles, some used to burn themselves to death voluntarily. According to Largeau, the heirs took the initiative in this so as to make the inheritance available.

888 The least wretched old people are those with children, particularly
593 sons (1), since daughters usually live with their affinal family. There

1. Cf. Eza Boto, Ville cruelle (no. 182), for an illustration of relations between mother and son.

does exist a genuine obligation for children to provide parents with food, which is sanctioned by paternal or maternal curse in case of default.

f. Death and the Afterlife

761 Every death is suspect, but that of a nya mɔ̂tɔ̂ more than another,
763 because a nya mɔ̂tɔ̂ does not die: someone kills him, though it may be none other than himself. Therefore the death of a man of some
763 importance was always followed by an autopsy: the ngengaⁿ would cut open the body and examine the thoracic organs, nlem, the seat of intellect and will, to look for signs of sorcery, the work either of another or of the dead man should his évu have turned against him or been killed by a malignant agency. There also appears to have been a magic process, éwɔ̂mɔ̂lɔ̂, that revived the dead long enough to put questions concerning the cause of death.

766 If the autopsy revealed that the deceased was a sorcerer, nnem,
764 the body was burned or thrown into a large river or perhaps buried at a crossroads far from the village. If he were mie, free of évu, the regular mortuary rites ensued. The body was washed in warm water, massaged and softened, then rubbed with baa dissolved in palm oil, wrapped in a white loincloth, watched over by armed men while the grave was made ready and the relatives /102/ and affinal kin /alliés/

177 764 Obviously this has now changed, but perhaps not so much as one would imagine: every year the courts are aware of several ordeals after a death, of mutilations of corpses which are really autopsies, of sums of money extorted which are customary compensation payments imposed on the "person responsible" for a death. And we may assume that in this connection three-quarters of the cases never reach the European courts. Funeral rites have, however, been lightened and colored by Christian influence, even when the deceased had remained to the end attached to the old beliefs: his wives or children usually call in a nkat foé (news-announcer = catechist) to say the prayers for the dead and to sing psalms or hymns. The old-fashioned cylindrical bark litter has been replaced by a European plank coffin, gradually even for women and children. The graves of the well-to-do have masonry walls and are covered with a concrete slab bearing name, date of death, and a pious text, or even with a small flower bed framed with bricks or bottle necks, with a grave stone or cross at the head. The dead man's hut is no longer destroyed, especially if made of "solid" material, nor are his personal effects broken. Often the body is washed and dressed in European clothes instead of being anointed with baa; the white shroud remains. In Christian families women take part in wakes for men and attend their burials; men attend the burials of women but rarely take part in their wakes. In [795] /104/ many villages the different /Christian/ sects have separate cemeteries.

765 177 Mourning is less rigorous and is often expressed by the European black arm band and tie worn by men. In the villages widows are still rather ill-treated (cf. above, pp. 128-129), but their sequestration has been reduced to a week, and they are allowed to wash after a month or two. Most of the prohibitions of the mourning period have fallen out of use, and the end of mourning is marked by a family gathering which has more about it of a certain kind of French provincial New Year's Eve party than of the old purificatory rites.

• 761 Death in the traditional concept is not so much the cessation of life as the dissociation of the personality. Enyiñ, life, comes from the verb nyiñ meaning "to survive" rather than "to be alive"; /thus life represents/ a kind of dynamism opposed to the static to, tabe = to be, exist, remain, etc.

826 774 The body, nyul or nyôl, is perishable and corruptible; it supports the other elements of the personality, above all the nsisim or nsisiñ,

551 of his descendants, in whose person he will be repeated rather than reembodied. It should be remembered that jòé also means "authority," a notion that cannot be dissociated from that of name.

761 628 The cessation of vital functions, awu (from wu, to die), is not thought of as necessarily final: catalepsy, deep coma, anaesthesia, and real death are confused. It is evident that if the body is hurt during awu, a revival is impossible. A ghost, kôn (Fang, khun), is 754 not necessarily physically dead: one of the most feared forms of 828 sorcery, at which the Ndôñ are reputed to be particularly expert, consists of separating a person from his nsisim, shade or double, by giving him the appearance of physical death, then in awakening the body which will thereafter automatically obey the sorcerer's orders and may be used by him for all sorts of ends, to go kill or steal, or, more prosaically, to work his plantations. Persons thus transformed into bekôn are recognized by their pallor, jerky movements, and haggard expression; they survive the experience /operation/ for only a few months before dying in great physical and moral agony (1).

[276] 1. I have reason—but no proof—to believe that this is more than a myth: perhaps the criminal use of a narcotic producing effects similar to those of Pentothal. A kôn, frightful to see, died at the Sangmélima dispensary in 1947. The judicial inquiry revealed nothing.

761 Death in the complete sense does not occur for some time after the cessation of vital functions, and funeral rites seem to have had the purpose of detaching the individual from his mortal shell. There 76 were two abodes of the dead. The bemie, those unblemished by ngbwel (sorcery by évu), crossed the river-of-the-west or the sea to go to the village of Zâmbe (Zobeyo, Nzame) in a cold country where their nsisim led a life rather like that in a terrestrial village where everything goes well (2). The beyem went down to éndôlan, the

2. According to Trilles, this would have been Venus, otya alu, "the night's torch."

du Dja region during the same period. This incarnation is probably related to the totemism or the alliance between a man and an animal élañela, which Trilles discusses at length (no. 166). The incarnation is only temporary and ends at the death or disappearance of the animal.

As a result of mission influence, niam bekon, the land of the dead, is now divided into heaven and hell, which are none other than Zambe's village and éñtñian. Souls in purgatory seem to be confused in village minds with dissatisfied bekon, who are always disturbing. The notion of natural death, brought about neither by sorcery nor by breaking a prohibition, has not developed at all: after all, "the wages of sin is death," and "sin" has been rendered as nsem in translations of the Scriptures. Therefore the dead continue to belong to society, even though the decline of the ancestor cult, the biéti, and of the initiations with a probable totemic character like sò, have weakened their bonds with the living.

This belief in survival perhaps explains a certain scorn of death, which is indicated not only by bravery in war and the suicides of the old, but also suicides for the sake of a point of honor: a woman kills herself in order to take revenge on her husband, a man because he considers himself offended or injured. The "one responsible" for such a suicide is severely judged by public opinion, and must pay compensation and make an expiratory sacrifice.

3. Religion and Magic

Aside from a few old people who are known as "children of the old ways" (or "of the old knowledge"), bo' biyem bi nnom, and who are treated as pagans by their children, and, even more uncommon, a few /107/ young people who declare themselves to be agnostics, the great majority if not the mass of contemporary Pahouin claim to be attached to one of the sects that has done evangelical work in the region: French or American Presbyterian, /Roman/ Catholic, /Seventh Day/ Adventist. In fact, and with no intention of arguing over the statistics that give proportions of 105 percent "Christian" in certain districts, the influence of Christianity is indeed considerable, but it is tinged with animist survivals and revivals to an extent and in ways that only a great deal of detailed research could present accurately.

266 Boulou and Ntoumou, who often fought the Fang, do not accuse them of cannibalism, which seems to prove that this /practice/ was restricted to "foreign" wars, to conquests. Intestinal cannibalism was held in horror and practiced only by sorcerers, often called bedi bôt, man-eaters. Di nlem, usually translated as "soul eating," means literally "to eat the thoracic organs" and may be applied to outright material consumption of these internal organs. On the other hand, the anthropophagy or "necropophagy" that might be qualified as homeopathic, which consists of swallowing in a biañ (mbiañ) a tiny amount, often as ash, of an ancestor's or an initiate's body, has nothing criminal about it and apparently used to be part of all important rites. /113/ From this point of view, the communion meal of the body of the sô, if this rite is truly totemic, represented perhaps manducation of the ancestor.

As for gastronomic cannibalism, it is a story for the picture papers. Not only man's flesh but even that of anthropoids, aside from the cases mentioned above, is absolutely taboo /the plural bityi is used here. —Tr./, and accidental consumption or consumption enforced 761 by absolute necessity (for instance, if hunters are marooned by a 763 flood) entails rigorous purification.

c. Elements of Cosmogony

772 Our knowledge of the traditional world view is largely conjectural 803 too, for the reasons already pointed out. We may state with reasonable certainty two fundamental concepts:

Orientation of space and time referred to the apparent movement of the sun; perhaps it would be better to speak of space-time, as the two ideas are closely connected.

The principle described by Stoll as "double symmetry," which could also be called "sexual complementarity" and summed up as the equilibrium in tension of all elements of the universe /création/.

These two concepts are, as things stand, tied together if not inseparable.

Time and space flow from east to west in a declining movement. East is ôku, upstream, high, and male; west, nke, is downstream, low, and female. The earth, si, is surrounded by water, or rather, enclosed by water and darkness, /thus/, ndim = blind; mendim =

779 that would be against totemic law and would mean sacrilege.
721 In order to avoid this ritual offense, which would necessitate ex-
782 piation and would necessitate expiation and would furthermore wipe out all the efficacy of the sacrifice, the chief first of all approaches [551] the victim, and asks his name, race, and tribe. Is there no obstacle to the sacrifice? "A ne mvè," he cries, "a ne nwuba (he is good, he is 'dedicated')!" The man is then tied to the foot of the altar and very rarely does he resist. All Africans resign themselves to death with almost un-
[576] conscious ease, when they see that it is inevitable. (1)

1. In certain villages I have sometimes met such men destined for sacrifice, because they are often kept for many weeks. They walked around in the villages, apparently free, well fed, and well treated; the only sign of their captivity was a rather light block of wood well fastened to one of their feet, which they dragged along. Within the village this shackle was not much of an encumbrance, but in the forest it would have been an almost insurmountable obstacle to flight. Countless times, I have offered either to help them escape or to have the colonial authority free them. "What for?" they used to reply; "I'm well fed and treated; death is going to come anyway. Awu nzu mbèmbè! (What's the use!)"

So as to prevent any possible struggle, the evening before,
[576] the victim is given an intoxicating beverage, containing mostly
the juice of ebè and of yam (hemp). As soon as he has been
779 tied to the altar, and the chief has pronounced the ritual words,
721 the warriors start putting on their war dress. First they paint
782 their bodies red with baza (1) dye, and upon this first layer they
302
386

1. Pterocarpus angolensis: the wood is

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

places where they are going to build these respectively), large bush rat, porcupine, 224
squirrels, die in the traps; deer, gazelle, antelope, large deer and pigs die in the 539
pitfalls. The animals which die in the *olam* are these. This is the *olam*.

XVII.—*Burials.*

Death is never considered as due to natural causes. Disease followed by death 764
is due to *evus* (witch). It is not considered unlucky to attend a dying person. [761]
The body is usually left in the house until burial. Embalming is not practised.
Mourners smear white clay on their bodies and wear necklaces of pineapple fibre for one moon (month). A coffin is not used and the body is buried in the sitting posture. After burial the grave is levelled off as is the case almost throughout West Africa; the only difference between the burial of a headman and a common man is in the amount of visitors and mourning, and the quarrelling over his goods. Wives of a dead headman remain in mourning from one to three moons (months). 765
The witch doctor, *ngangan*, usually performs a post mortem to find the witch. I attended a post mortem on an old woman. The witch doctor ripped open the [763]
abdomen with an old rusty knife, grasped and cut away the uterus and holding it up to the crowd declared "Six witches!" The crowd passed the word "six witches," and spoke the praises of the witch doctor. Relations usually continue to mourn or wail for one moon while inside the house or at work in the gardens. The most common wail is *Ô nan Ô! Ô tat Ô!* (Oh mother! Oh father!).

XVIII.—*Akôm.*

This is a dance. It is not *biang* (medicine) nor is it *eki*. It is, however, 535
practised by men only. The women must not see it. The latter stay within doors, 534
and only hear the words which the men speak outside. The men speak with artificial voices, so that the women cannot recognise who it is that is speaking. (*Fam a kobo ne kiti zie nkôt.*) To make the artificial sounds they use a membrane (*ten*) which encloses the young of the spider (*ndenbôa*). This they spread over a hole (about ¾ inch diameter) near the small end of an elephant tusk (*mbang nzok*) from 1 to 2½ feet in length, attaching it with beeswax (*abē*) or a liquid which is obtained from a plantain stalk fresh cut. This juice is called *akirl*. It possesses an adhesive property. The man blows on the large end of the ivory. A curious sound then issues through the membrane so that the man's voice cannot be recognised. This instrument is called *mbang akôm*. The act of playing on the instrument is called *e kobe akôm* (*e kobe*, talk). The performer sings songs; the words are distinctly heard. He sings and all others sing responsively (*a ye be'beseyese b'aka*).

Many songs are used in *akôm*. Here are three specimens of them:— 533

(1) *Benza b'abete kobo? Beso benga wog mvé.* Who speaks any more? 539
(*i.e.*, Be silent, let no one speak.) Others are listening with pleasure (*i.e.*, to the performance).

584 innocent and anxiously avoid anything that might give rise to
836 gossip. Thus, if we speak with the Pangwe about sexual matters, we constantly hear the word oson, "shame," oson this and oson that. Admittedly, wherever European influence is spreading, the
[177] use of oson decreases, for together with this influence the religious conceptions upon which shame is based are disappearing (as we saw in the case of sin, nsöm); at the same time, moral sensibilities are becoming laxer, and there are no longer any self-imposed restraints.

With free love universally prevalent, it naturally happens
836 also that several lovers find their way to the same girl in one night, especially when she is no longer a beginner, and she takes "pity" -- as the Pangwe themselves say mockingly -- on them all (1). With such nžila, especially the older ones, the

[802]
[211]

1. Even to keep track of their number is too difficult a task for her memory; for that reason the Jaunde girls count the number of their friends on little sticks of raffia (see Zenker).

men also permit themselves the use of offensive expressions and crude jokes, such as would be unheard of and strictly prohibited with a young girl -- especially the future wife. As an example,
[831] phalli are sometimes made of wood and then displayed wrapped in a leaf.

As has already been indicated, liaisons of the heart based on
831 genuine love are by no means uncommon. Nobody, on the other hand, will be surprised to learn that for the most part they are of limited duration and are incapable of bearing the burden which we expect of them. Thus I did not learn of a single case of a person
[762] committing suicide because of unrequited love or a spurned courtship, even though women hang themselves because somebody stole a few of their miserable hens, and men shoot themselves because their father sold a daughter in order to buy a wife, instead of leaving her to the son, the girl's brother. Generally speaking, the power of Negro love is not as great as that of the love of the Whites.

861 13. Treat your (real) sister well! If she scolds you, leave
her alone (that is, do not scold her in return); it is nothing to
867 you! Do not beat her, either, because, after all, for the money
that is paid for the marriage of your sister, you will in turn buy
a wife for yourself. If you beat your sister, she may possibly die
through sorcery (this means that in her anger over the maltreat-
[762] ment she might take her life, something which does indeed hap-
pen), and you will have no money and no wife, and people will
not respect you, and so forth. /290/

14. If you are the older of two brothers and you are married and have a daughter, then do not marry another woman with the marriage portion that you get for the daughter; instead, leave the daughter (or the money) to your younger brother. If, as the eldest, you have acted in such a way, you will enjoy the same honor and respect among your brothers as your father does.

15. Your father tells you all these good /Fig. 87 appears here in the original text/ principles and bits of advice not in order to make you, his son, bad (that is, through lack of trust or lack of respect for him), nor does he do so in order to limit your freedom, but because he desires that you will not bring any unpleasantness (quarrels) into the house, which will harm him and you. For when I have paid two or three times, I will be tired of (disgusted with) these things, and it may not be long before I have no wife left in the village (that is, he would be a poor man, because wives mean money, and he would have spent all his money for the fines of his son).

The attentive reader, in looking through the earlier sections
861 of this book, will not have failed to note the strict patriarchal
593 tendency of the Pangwe. It is clear, therefore, that the father
supervises the education of the child and especially of the adolescent boy. He does this in an ideal manner -- even among us it would be regarded as ideal -- by becoming his son's best friend and by supporting and advising him in all the important problems of life.

Of course, the mother is dear to the Negroes and cherished by them as she is everywhere else in the world, but natural respect and shame in her presence prohibit the son from telling her

776 The evil evur concerns itself only with eating people in the course of the ngwel and with waging war against the good bivur. It is almost always the evil evur which is the victor.

(3) Activities of the evur. The manifestations of the evur are many, and itis the evur which acts in everything instead of, and in place of, its owner.

It is essential for one who wishes to be a practitioner to have an evur. Moreover, this profession is assigned to a child, should the occasion arise, at the time of the ceremony of akaǧa.

Except in the case of an activity favorable to its owner, or at the time of the akaǧa, the evur is always malevolent. The only aim of the ngwel meetings is to assure the life of the bivur through the death of the persons whom they eat.

776 When the good evur of a nem has worked in full daylight for its
155 owner, the latter falls ill at the same time as his evur. He can be
824 treated only with a thick medication made of water, a cooked egg, and crushed leaves of ebele beyem. Ebele beyem is the name of a poisonous vine whose leaves and blossoms resemble those of the sweet potato.

776 The malevolent activity of the evur is always manifested in a death.
761 It may also be the cause of abortion, or the death of a newborn the moment it sees daylight.

776 The evur also allows its possessor to change himself into an animal.
762 For example, a man who wishes to die causes his evur to go out and take the form of an animal (usually a black antelope, nzip, or a red
158 antelope, nkoǧ), and to walk at the edge of the village. The animal is noticed at once by the inhabitants who hunt and kill it. The evur then immediately returns to the man who sent it, and it is the man who is killed instead of the animal. The transformation is simultaneous with the blow which causes death, and it is the man, transported by his evur, who is found dead at the spot where the animal fell. [73]

776 An example of this faculty of transformation was reported to us in
158 March, 1934. Two hunters landed on a small island in Lake Mangueigne to hunt a monkey which they had seen in a tree. They separated at the landing spot, after having decided that each should go around the island from his side. One of them saw a large black antelope in the thickets, fired, and when he drew near found his comrade riddled with shot, gasping his last and dying shortly afterwards. The inhabitants of the neighboring village, aroused by the cries, arrived in time to hear

888 road. The missions have tried, with unequal results, to ameliorate
[797] the fate of old people without children; certain clan "societies" have also been active in this direction, but none of it goes very far. Moreover, the old people accept their lot and occasionally joke about it among themselves with the rather biting irony that seems one of the mental characteristics of the group. Some old people kill themselves
[762] "from being tired of life." According to Trilles, some used to burn themselves to death voluntarily. According to Largeau, the heirs took the initiative in this so as to make the inheritance available.

888 The least wretched old people are those with children, particularly
593 sons (1), since daughters usually live with their affinal family. There

1. Cf. Eza Boto, Ville cruelle (no. 182), for an illustration of relations between mother and son.

does exist a genuine obligation for children to provide parents with food, which is sanctioned by paternal or maternal curse in case of default.

f. Death and the Afterlife

761 Every death is suspect, but that of a nya mɔ̂tɔ̂ more than another,
763 because a nya mɔ̂tɔ̂ does not die: someone kills him, though it may be none other than himself. Therefore the death of a man of some
763 importance was always followed by an autopsy: the ngengañ would cut open the body and examine the thoracic organs, nlem, the seat of intellect and will, to look for signs of sorcery, the work either of another or of the dead man should his évu have turned against him or been killed by a malignant agency. There also appears to have been a magic process, ɛ́wɔ̂mɔ̂lɔ̂, that revived the dead long enough to put questions concerning the cause of death.

766 If the autopsy revealed that the deceased was a sorcerer, nnem,
the body was burned or thrown into a large river or perhaps buried at
764 a crossroads far from the village. If he were mie, free of évu, the regular mortuary rites ensued. The body was washed in warm water, massaged and softened, then rubbed with baa dissolved in palm oil, wrapped in a white loincloth, watched over by armed men while the grave was made ready and the relatives /102/ and affinal kin /alliés/

du Dja region during the same period. This incarnation is probably related to the totemism or the alliance between a man and an animal élañela, which Trilles discusses at length (no. 166). The incarnation is only temporary and ends at the death or disappearance of the animal.

As a result of mission influence, nlam bekon, the land of the dead, is now divided into heaven and hell, which are none other than Zambe's village and étôtôlan. Souls in purgatory seem to be confused in village minds with dissatisfied bekôn, who are always disturbing. The notion of natural death, brought about neither by sorcery nor by breaking a prohibition, has not developed at all: after all, "the wages of sin is death, " and "sin" has been rendered as nsem in translations of the Scriptures. Therefore the dead continue to belong to society, even though the decline of the ancestor cult, the bieti, and of the initiations with a probable totemic character like sô, have weakened their bonds with the living.

This belief in survival perhaps explains a certain scorn of death, which is indicated not only by bravery in war and the suicides of the old, but also suicides for the sake of a point of honor: a woman kills herself in order to take revenge on her husband, a man because he considers himself offended or injured. The "one responsible" for such a suicide is severely judged by public opinion, and must pay compensation and make an expiratory sacrifice.

3. Religion and Magic

Aside from a few old people who are known as "children of the old ways" (or "of the old knowledge"), bo' biyem bi nnom, and who are treated as pagans by their children, and, even more uncommon, a few /107/ young people who declare themselves to be agnostics, the great majority if not the mass of contemporary Pahouin claim to be attached to one of the sects that has done evangelical work in the region: French or American Presbyterian, /Roman/ Catholic, /Seventh Day/ Adventist. In fact, and with no intention of arguing over the statistics that give proportions of 105 percent "Christian" in certain districts, the influence of Christianity is indeed considerable, but it is tinged with animist survivals and revivals to an extent and in ways that only a great deal of detailed research could present accurately.

754 777 akum = he has become rich by ngbwel), is to be distinguished from ordinary, accidental luck, ma'a, by its lasting character, which soon arouses public suspicion — this is one of the visible symptoms of ngbwel.

754 683 The involuntary nnem was generally put to death, more easily than the conscious sorcerer, who knew how to protect himself. Nevertheless, it was possible to treat a nnem, by means of a very drastic purification involving physiological as well as psychological catharsis and sometimes by real surgical operations /117/, to which in most cases the patient succumbed. Today the European administration usually prevents the execution of beyem, but their relatives often succeed in persuading them to kill themselves. After an epidemic of [731] meningitis at Ambam in 1948, two men and two young women, accused by a bwiti diviner of having caused the death of a dozen children [762] by involuntary ngbwel, threw themselves into the N'Tem within the month. In former times, beyem were burned by being covered with wood in such a way as to prevent both the évu and their nsisim from escaping; they were also drowned or buried alive, preferably in the bed of a stream that had been diverted and was then turned back to its old course after the burial.

754 The conscious nnem is both more and less dangerous. Bound to his évu by a kind of pact, he directs its activity instead of allowing it to kill at random as the unconscious nnem does. Therefore, he is more dangerous to his enemies but less so to his kin, although the concluding and maintenance of the alliance with the évu requires him to sacrifice members of his family.

A nnem with a strong personality, tyi anen a nlem ayet, with great strength and a hard heart, can succeed in really controlling his évu and making it a servant that will procure him wealth and power, rid him of his enemies, and confer supernatural powers on him, such as the ability to be in two places at once /bilocation/, to move objects from a distance /telekinesis/, divination, etc. But ngbwel always remains a dangerous art. First of all, the nnem knows that he is condemned after death to be a white kôn, forbidden to cross the ékanga bekôn, the bridge of the dead, to seek the ancestors, mañ ayat, beyond the sea. There are immediate dangers, in addition to that final condemnation. First, the ever present risk that the évu will dominate the nnem and weaken the latter. Next, the risk of a kind of reaction if the évu attacks a stronger nnem or a mie well protected by a bian provided with white magic. Finally, /there is the risk/ of

613 the same for the third grandson. The group of the sons' three families
614 constitutes what is called etuna or aval. The tribe (ayoh) gives its name to all the families which have been established since its founder.

Social relations are rare with foreign tribes, the tribe forming a
614 homogeneous whole where the stranger is received only with reserve
609 and when he shows goods which prove that his visit has no other aim
578 but to come and look for a woman to marry. The [92] tribes are often hostile to one another, and while they no longer can make war, this hostility is still demonstrated by an atmosphere of haggling which always forces the weakest to give way. Several tribes have thus had to leave the N'Djolé region to settle farther downstream on the Ogooué because they could no longer live beside their neighbors.

574 On the other hand, visits among members of one tribe are frequent, presents are exchanged, and wives are bought.

Death (awu). Death is regarded as a change of village. After his
761 death, a person has become an inhabitant of the big village created
775 by Nzame beyond the earth. There he will find the members of his family who already live there, and therefore he follows a very wide trail which leads him to the bank of the river Endam where his relatives who died before him come to await him. It may be that the crossing of the river is not immediate, and the dead man may have to stay for several days on the bank, which happens especially to people of whom the bivur have made human victims.

●763 The dying person (edzegela) is attended by women who, when death has occurred, announce it on coming out of the hut, where all the inhabitants of the village then assemble. The corpse is taken from its bed and laid on the ground on mats; it is washed, rubbed with oil, and clothed in a white loincloth, then rolled in the mats and in pieces of bark, and tied. It stays this way in the hut until the grave is dug.

764 Funeral ceremonies immediately follow death. The wrapped body is carried by two men to the place of burial. The inhabitants of the village follow, one behind the other, and are present at the interment, which is done with a vine holding the body so that it does not fall suddenly to the bottom of the hole dug to receive it. The grave is oriented east-west, or is dug parallel to the course of the river which flows by the village, the head of the dead being placed upstream or to the east, the feet downstream or toward the west, so that the dead will lie in the direction of the river Endam. Before the grave is filled,

764 there are placed in it the arms or some everyday objects of the deceased. Then everyone goes back to the village, the women crying. The close relatives of the deceased go into mourning, which is much stricter for a woman than for a man; we have already seen what comprises the mourning of a widow. As for the widower, after having
765 stayed for two or three days in a state of prostration, often simulated, he continues to look after his work as usual, remaining meanwhile under the obligation to stay dirty until the celebrations at the end of mourning.

763 The autopsy of the corpse to find the evur is done at the edge of the
775 grave, after the women have been sent away. The package containing [93] the corpse is undone and the practitioner operates with a large knife made especially for this purpose. He has previously painted his face half black, half red so that the deceased will not recognize him and cannot come from his abode in the village of Nzame to avenge himself for the mutilation he is undergoing. When the operation is finished, the corpse is sewed up, re-wrapped, and placed normally in the grave.

764 There is no cemetery, and the dead are buried a short distance from the village, almost behind the huts. Sometimes when a person is thought to have died from having been eaten by the bivur, in order that the grave may not be violated for the purpose of removing a piece of the corpse, it is buried in the very hut of the head of the family.

775 The life of the dead in the village of Nzame is identical with that which they had at home; they do the same work, have the same entertainments, marry, procreate, always stay young, and also have the power to do whatever they wish; it is enough for them to express a wish for it to be granted.

The dead sometimes leave their abode to return to the earth, perhaps in the form of phantoms with long hair to frighten the living, meeting a phantom being fatal, or perhaps in the shape of animals in order to avenge themselves. Some may change themselves into an elephant and ravage the fields of their enemies; others change into a panther and kill all the livestock and poultry and sometimes even the inhabitants of the village where they were unhappy in life. When they
[787] wish to be beneficent, they appear in the dreams of their relatives and friends and give them wise advice.

road. The missions have tried, with unequal results, to ameliorate the fate of old people without children; certain clan "societies" have also been active in this direction, but none of it goes very far. Moreover, the old people accept their lot and occasionally joke about it among themselves with the rather biting irony that seems one of the mental characteristics of the group. Some old people kill themselves "from being tired of life." According to Trilles, some used to burn themselves to death voluntarily. According to Largeau, the heirs took the initiative in this so as to make the inheritance available.

The least wretched old people are those with children, particularly sons (1), since daughters usually live with their affinal family. There

1. Cf. Eza Boto, Ville cruelle (no. 182), for an illustration of relations between mother and son.

does exist a genuine obligation for children to provide parents with food, which is sanctioned by paternal or maternal curse in case of default.

f. Death and the Afterlife

Every death is suspect, but that of a nya mɔ̂ɔ̂ more than another, because a nya mɔ̂ɔ̂ does not die: someone kills him, though it may be none other than himself. Therefore the death of a man of some importance was always followed by an autopsy: the ngengaŋ would cut open the body and examine the thoracic organs, nlem, the seat of intellect and will, to look for signs of sorcery, the work either of another or of the dead man should his évu have turned against him or been killed by a malignant agency. There also appears to have been a magic process, évɔ̂mɔ̂ɔ̂, that revived the dead long enough to put questions concerning the cause of death.

If the autopsy revealed that the deceased was a sorcerer, nnem, the body was burned or thrown into a large river or perhaps buried at a crossroads far from the village. If he were mie, free of évu, the regular mortuary rites ensued. The body was washed in warm water, massaged and softened, then rubbed with baa dissolved in palm oil, wrapped in a white loincloth, watched over by armed men while the grave was made ready and the relatives /102/ and affinal kin /alliés/

764 commun/ were buried by their co-wives and the women of their affinal family. Bongô and bikeñelé were buried at home with no other ceremonial than the mother's mourning.

763 When signs of sorcery were found on a corpse, the ngengañ or
787 mvimvi'i turned to divination to find the presumed culprit, who was
695 subjected to an ordeal of bitter herbs. As a general thing, wives had to submit regularly to the pimento or ant ordeals to make them confess not only the part they might have had in the husband's death but also their adulteries. When no one was found responsible for the death of a mie individual (nonsorcerer), it was decided that he had been the victim of a breaking of taboo, nsem, sometimes unwittingly. Whatever the cause of death, sorcery or nsem or repercussion from
787 an act of sorcery, purification always occurred, generally by a sacrifice at the end of the mourning period (meyep). /103/

765 The duration of mourning was, and still is, a mbu /six months/, but it is now less rigorous. Formerly the wives of the dead man were secluded, naked, for a month in his hut, the first wife lying on his bed; their heads and all their body hair were shaved, and they were painted white with ash and forbidden to wash or do their hair until the end of mourning. The dead man's brothers and sons shaved their heads and let their beards grow without trimming or combing; their foreheads were painted white and they wore only old clothes. They had to observe a series of prohibitions concerning certain ways of hunting, the eating of certain kinds of game (perhaps the dead man's personal totem?), all journeys, the circumcision of the dead man's sons, the use of a bed, etc. The end of mourning was marked by a sacrifice and often by a melan ceremony in order to enter into communication with the dead man.

The strictest mourning was observed for the death of an esa, a man of the father's age grade, less for a monyañ, and hardly any for a mongô. With regard to women, a man observed solemn mourning only for his mother and first wife, and this meant mourning within the family, while a man's death involved the whole village. However, an epidemic was followed by heavy mourning, and when the one presumed responsible was identified, it was not enough that he
766 pay avutan, compensation, he was burned or drowned (his immediate
792 family was constrained to pay the avutan), and then a general
783 purification was undertaken.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

412 the natural curve of the branches. Stones are employed for rolling food, especially for crushing and rolling the *ngon* seed. Shells of large land molluscs are cut in half and used for spoons, small gourds being used for the same purpose. Large gourds are used for water dippers and bottles. Very many uses are found for the forest 824 gourds, not the least ingenious being the use of a hollow stemmed gourd for [757] administering a rectal injection. Gourds are used for the sounding boards of the musical instrument called *mvul*. The people find many uses for bamboo. It is used in construction of houses, fish baskets and traps are made from it, fences to protect paths during tribal wars are made of sharp pointed bamboo poles; and small sharpened pieces of bamboo with poisoned tips are buried in the forest paths, point upward, to wound and poison the naked feet of an unsuspecting enemy. The 825 teeth and claws of leopards and bush cats, elephant tail, antelope feet, horns and forest beans are used in their natural form as personal ornaments. Leopard teeth are always considered valuable as *bieng* (fetish) and are much sought after; they are frequently imitated in ivory. I have not seen the defences of animals employed as artificial defences, except as fetish. Long tough forest thorns are often used as awls [412] and needles for piercing and sewing skins. I once saw an *nganga* (witch doctor) ● 763 perform a post-mortem examination on a woman. After he had discovered the cause 787 of death, which he announced to the expectant crowd as being due to "six witches eating her liver," he first pierced the abdominal walls with a long hard thorn, and then sewed up the body with a bamboo needle threaded with pineapple fibre. I 342 have seen only one cave dwelling; it was used by an isolated sufferer of the dread 794 disease called by the natives *ombeta* (a kind of sloughing phagedina). When proper reed material for making thatch is scarce, large forest leaves are used, but they make very poor roofs, especially during the tornado season.

Conservatism.—The Fang are not quick to adopt reforms or to introduce new 185 methods; they are more or less the slaves of custom, and have a superstitious dread 186 of departing from ancestral habits. This refers to all the proceedings of life. Fang living in towns near Gaboon are almost daily coming in contact with white settlers, and to some extent, at least, appear to be changing their mode of living. It never appeared to me that a Fang had the same longing to be "just like a white man" as possesses the young Mpongwe and Benga men.

IX.—ORNAMENTATION.

The patterns mostly seen in Fang ornamentation consist of bands, incised 531 lines, elliptical punch marks, herring bone, lozenge pattern and cross lines. The natives do not possess a natural aptitude for drawing, and seldom attempt it. The few drawings I have seen on the bark walls of houses, supposed to represent men and women, were very crude and exaggerated in proportion. They have no idea whatever of perspective. They seem to interpret foreign drawings very readily. [822] The Fang show considerable skill in plain wood carving, using an ordinary native knife. I have noticed that their carving improves very considerably when an imported pocket knife is the instrument employed.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

places where they are going to build these respectively), large bush rat, porcupine, 224
squirrels, die in the traps; deer, gazelle, antelope, large deer and pigs die in the 539
pitfalls. The animals which die in the *ekem* are these. This is the *ekem*.

XVII.—*Burials.*

Death is never considered as due to natural causes. Disease followed by death 764
is due to *evus* (witch). It is not considered unlucky to attend a dying person. [761]
The body is usually left in the house until burial. Embalming is not practised. Mourners smear white clay on their bodies and wear necklaces of pineapple fibre for one moon (month). A coffin is not used and the body is buried in the sitting posture. After burial the grave is levelled off as is the case almost throughout West Africa; the only difference between the burial of a headman and a common man is in the amount of visitors and mourning, and the quarrelling over his goods. Wives of a dead headman remain in mourning from one to three moons (months). 765
The witch doctor, *nyengem*, usually performs a post mortem to find the witch. I attended a post mortem on an old woman. The witch doctor ripped open the [763] ●
abdomen with an old rusty knife, grasped and cut away the uterus and holding it up to the crowd declared "Six witches!" The crowd passed the word "six witches," and spoke the praises of the witch doctor. Relations usually continue to mourn or wail for one moon while inside the house or at work in the gardens. The most common wail is *Ó nan Ó! Ó tat Ó!* (Oh mother! Oh father!).

XVIII.—*Ekôm.*

This is a dance. It is not *biang* (medicine) nor is it *ebi*. It is, however, 535
practised by men only. The women must not see it. The latter stay within doors, 534
and only hear the words which the men speak outside. The men speak with artificial voices, so that the women cannot recognise who it is that is speaking. (*Fam a kobo ne bidi zie ekôk.*) To make the artificial sounds they use a membrane (*ten*) which encloses the young of the spider (*ndembde*). This they spread over a hole (about ¾ inch diameter) near the small end of an elephant tusk (*ebang nsak*) from 1 to 2½ feet in length, attaching it with beeswax (*ebé*) or a liquid which is obtained from a plantain stalk fresh cut. This juice is called *ebiri*. It possesses an adhesive property. The man blows on the large end of the ivory. A curious sound then issues through the membrane so that the man's voice cannot be recognised. This instrument is called *ebang ekôm*. The act of playing on the instrument is called *e kobo ekôm* (*e kobo*, talk). The performer sings songs; the words are distinctly heard. He sings and all others sing responsively (*a ye bi'bempam Fabo*).

Many songs are used in *ekôm*. Here are three specimens of them:— 533
(1) *Benan Fabolo kobo? Bam bangu ang mot.* Who speaks any more? 539
(*i.e.*, Be silent, let no one speak.) Others are listening with pleasure (*i.e.*, to the performance).

361 823 As was mentioned in the previous section /not translated/, the villages are laid out along the roads and always in an east-west direction (cf. Fig. 16). /56/ Curiously enough, the people gave as the reason for this arrangement the fact that the land slopes down to the west (toward the ocean) and that the rain water can run off in this direction. It is true, of course, that this point is an important consideration inasmuch as they are careful to lay out the village in such a way that the rain water will not flood one of the rows of huts. Nevertheless, this cannot be the sole reason for the east-west arrangement. I have observed that even on completely level ground -- which, in other words, does not favor the drainage of water in the direction intended -- the east-west plan was the [887] preferred one. When, for instance, a route goes south, it will make a turn before reaching the village, cross the latter in an east-west direction, and at the other end will resume its southerly direction (cf. Fig. 16, the Nsälang I-Beniaa route). It is obvious that in this arrangement reasons other than the one mentioned play a part, such as the general trek to the west of which mention has already been made in the previous section (1).

[764] 1. Compare also the predominantly east-west direction of the graves.

361 A Pangwe village consists mostly of two rows of houses running parallel to each other with the road between them (Plate 4 and Fig. 16). More rarely, a village consists of a single row of houses along the road. Furthermore, villages come into being through the combination of two or more individual establishments, and as a result different villages display different stages of development, observable everywhere side by side in the region.

361 If the father of a family wants to found an establishment, he 572 builds two houses, a dwelling and a meeting house /men's house/. 64 The dwelling is the real domain of the wife, where she works and lives with her children and where the man for the most part stays only at night, very rarely in the daytime. The meeting house, on the other hand, is the usual haunt of the man, where he busies himself during the day, performs his incidental tasks, and receives visitors and where the wife comes only now and then. As the

613 the same for the third grandson. The group of the sons' three families
614 constitutes what is called etuna or aval. The tribe (ayoh) gives its name to all the families which have been established since its founder.

Social relations are rare with foreign tribes, the tribe forming a
614 homogeneous whole where the stranger is received only with reserve
609 and when he shows goods which prove that his visit has no other aim
578 but to come and look for a woman to marry. The [92] tribes are often hostile to one another, and while they no longer can make war, this hostility is still demonstrated by an atmosphere of haggling which always forces the weakest to give way. Several tribes have thus had to leave the N'Djolé region to settle farther downstream on the Ogooué because they could no longer live beside their neighbors.

574 On the other hand, visits among members of one tribe are frequent, presents are exchanged, and wives are bought.

Death (awu). Death is regarded as a change of village. After his
761 death, a person has become an inhabitant of the big village created
775 by Nzame beyond the earth. There he will find the members of his family who already live there, and therefore he follows a very wide trail which leads him to the bank of the river Endam where his relatives who died before him come to await him. It may be that the crossing of the river is not immediate, and the dead man may have to stay for several days on the bank, which happens especially to people of whom the bivur have made human victims.

763 The dying person (edzegela) is attended by women who, when death has occurred, announce it on coming out of the hut, where all the inhabitants of the village then assemble. The corpse is taken from its bed and laid on the ground on mats; it is washed, rubbed with oil, and clothed in a white loincloth, then rolled in the mats and in pieces of bark, and tied. It stays this way in the hut until the grave is dug.

764 Funeral ceremonies immediately follow death. The wrapped body is carried by two men to the place of burial. The inhabitants of the village follow, one behind the other, and are present at the interment, which is done with a vine holding the body so that it does not fall suddenly to the bottom of the hole dug to receive it. The grave is oriented east-west, or is dug parallel to the course of the river which flows by the village, the head of the dead being placed upstream or to the east, the feet downstream or toward the west, so that the dead will lie in the direction of the river Endam. Before the grave is filled,

764 there are placed in it the arms or some everyday objects of the deceased. Then everyone goes back to the village, the women crying. The close relatives of the deceased go into mourning, which is much stricter for a woman than for a man; we have already seen what comprises the mourning of a widow. As for the widower, after having
765 stayed for two or three days in a state of prostration, often simulated, he continues to look after his work as usual, remaining meanwhile under the obligation to stay dirty until the celebrations at the end of mourning.

763 The autopsy of the corpse to find the evur is done at the edge of the
765 grave, after the women have been sent away. The package containing [93] the corpse is undone and the practitioner operates with a large knife made especially for this purpose. He has previously painted his face half black, half red so that the deceased will not recognize him and cannot come from his abode in the village of Nzame to avenge himself for the mutilation he is undergoing. When the operation is finished, the corpse is sewed up, re-wrapped, and placed normally in the grave.

764 There is no cemetery, and the dead are buried a short distance from the village, almost behind the huts. Sometimes when a person is thought to have died from having been eaten by the bivur, in order that the grave may not be violated for the purpose of removing a piece of the corpse, it is buried in the very hut of the head of the family.

765 The life of the dead in the village of Nzame is identical with that which they had at home; they do the same work, have the same entertainments, marry, procreate, always stay young, and also have the power to do whatever they wish; it is enough for them to express a wish for it to be granted.

The dead sometimes leave their abode to return to the earth, perhaps in the form of phantoms with long hair to frighten the living, meeting a phantom being fatal, or perhaps in the shape of animals in order to avenge themselves. Some may change themselves into an elephant and ravage the fields of their enemies; others change into a panther and kill all the livestock and poultry and sometimes even the inhabitants of the village where they were unhappy in life. When they
[766] wish to be beneficent, they appear in the dreams of their relatives and friends and give them wise advice.

301 Women wore only a sort of double apron of grass or leaves, azem
[341] or abui, fastened to a belt of cylindrical steatite beads, nsanga; brace-
lets, mekom, of ivory or copper shaped like spools; ankle chains,
bibat, of cast copper, very heavy; and an enormous necklace of cast
copper, nkembé, which was put on a little girl when she entered her
● [164] affinal household and which could not be removed until after death,
by cutting apart the body or melting the necklace or awaiting decom-
position. All this jewelry belonged to, and remained in, the husband's
[422] family, even in case of divorce; the éla was the person who distributed
it among his wives and daughters-in-law. Flat bracelets were made of
300 "neptunes" or "benares" /?/ imported from the coast; later on they
made, and still make, rings and bracelets from cartridge cases and
telegraph wire. But the origin of the cast minkembé /plural/ is still
a mystery; the technique of metal casting is unknown or forgotten;
placer or lode copper is very rare, not only in the present Pahouin
[325] habitat but also where they seem to have come from. Furthermore,
these very old necklaces resist corrosion and have a very pale patina
indicating some kind of alloy; moreover, the nearest workers in bronze
the Bamum, do not make this kind of necklace.

301 Men's dress at the present time is usually of the European type,
[177] from shorts and sports shirt to the surplus American cap; those who
wear shoes have European footwear, leather or canvas according to
their income, or in the style of the Arabic—silifa, from English
"slipper" = babouche, of Hausa or Peul manufacture. Mention should
be made of the helmets and kepis of umbrella-tree wood and the fake
spectacles of slivers of raffia "bamboo." In the villages or at home,
imported loincloths are rolled around a belt or tied behind the neck.

Women also wear a loincloth, ndeké, tied at the neck or rolled
right above the breasts when they have nothing else on, rolled at the
waist when wearing the "mission jacket," éwoman (apparently from
"woman"). The favorite head covering is still the kerchief, éyaffese
(from "handkerchief"). More and more women are also wearing cut
and sewn European-style dresses, bizingi; often a kind of slip; no
[94] panties except for a few young modernists (who call them caleçons,
"drawers"); and internal sanitary napkins made of medicinal plants.
[117] Mission activity has spread notions of prudery; formerly only those
past puberty were obliged to cover their sexual parts. Women did so
834 with great care in spite of the casual nature of their clothing; the
greatest insult to a woman was to uncover her vulva in public; she never

road. The missions have tried, with unequal results, to ameliorate the fate of old people without children; certain clan "societies" have also been active in this direction, but none of it goes very far. Moreover, the old people accept their lot and occasionally joke about it among themselves with the rather biting irony that seems one of the mental characteristics of the group. Some old people kill themselves "from being tired of life." According to Trilles, some used to burn themselves to death voluntarily. According to Largeau, the heirs took the initiative in this so as to make the inheritance available.

The least wretched old people are those with children, particularly sons (1), since daughters usually live with their affinal family. There

1. Cf. Eza Boto, Ville cruelle (no. 182), for an illustration of relations between mother and son.

does exist a genuine obligation for children to provide parents with food, which is sanctioned by paternal or maternal curse in case of default.

f. Death and the Afterlife

Every death is suspect, but that of a nya mɔ̂ more than another, because a nya mɔ̂ does not die: someone kills him, though it may be none other than himself. Therefore the death of a man of some importance was always followed by an autopsy: the ngengaŋ would cut open the body and examine the thoracic organs, nlem, the seat of intellect and will, to look for signs of sorcery, the work either of another or of the dead man should his évu have turned against him or been killed by a malignant agency. There also appears to have been a magic process, ɛ́wɔ̂mɔ̂, that revived the dead long enough to put questions concerning the cause of death.

If the autopsy revealed that the deceased was a sorcerer, nnem, the body was burned or thrown into a large river or perhaps buried at a crossroads far from the village. If he were mie, free of évu, the regular mortuary rites ensued. The body was washed in warm water, massaged and softened, then rubbed with baa dissolved in palm oil, wrapped in a white loincloth, watched over by armed men while the grave was made ready and the relatives /102/ and affinal kin /alliés/

[824] in neighboring villages were informed. The dead man's fellow initiates came to lift the corpse onto a stretcher-coffin of bark (1)

[177] 1. The fig-bark coffin recalls the custom, borrowed from the Pygmies, of putting the body of a chief in a hollow tree or between the buttresses of certain large trees.

[824] The fig has an important magic role. A fig tree was planted at the founding of a new village, and slips were carried away upon migration. (J. B.)

and danced around him the funeral dance proper to their association, at which women were not allowed to be present but were shut into their huts, where they wailed in a shrill key. The grave was narrow and quite deep, with a plank or "bamboo" bed at the bottom on which the dead man was placed on his back, feet toward the west (near a river, the grave was dug parallel to the course and the feet were placed downstream, nké = downstream or west). Above was built a platform of round logs on which were piled — after having been "killed" by breaking — all the personal possessions of the dead man that did not belong to the family patrimony, his weapons, tools, and jewelry. Now and then, only rarely, one of his wives would be sacrificed to keep him company (it is possible that the execution of wives convicted of having killed their husbands has been confused with a sacrifice of this kind). The grave was filled in and covered with a mound, which was sometimes provided with a flue at the head end by which "to feed" the dead man. The graves of prominent men were dug in, or in front of, their huts, those of ordinary people outside the village on the edge of the forest. Graves of family heads were guarded so as to prevent outsiders from carrying off the skull; [778] this was cut off by the privileged heir, njian, the replacement, who placed it with the other ancestral skulls in the biéti shrine, after dye- [326] ing it with baa. A statuette in umbrella-tree wood was carved and painted white, and inside it were enclosed some of the hair and a phalanx of the dead man; this was placed upon the biéti altar. The tibia of the dead man had previously been removed for the ngil rite.

Matrons, benya binga, were buried by mevungu initiates in a ceremony which men did not attend. Ordinary women /femmes du

764 commun/ were buried by their co-wives and the women of their affinal family. Bongô and bikeñele were buried at home with no other ceremonial than the mother's mourning.

763 When signs of sorcery were found on a corpse, the ngengañ or
787 mvimvi'i turned to divination to find the presumed culprit, who was
[695] subjected to an ordeal of bitter herbs. As a general thing, wives had to submit regularly to the pimento or ant ordeals to make them confess not only the part they might have had in the husband's death but also their adulteries. When no one was found responsible for the death of a mie individual (nonsorcerer), it was decided that he had been the victim of a breaking of taboo, nsem, sometimes unwittingly. Whatever the cause of death, sorcery or nsem or repercussion from
[783] an act of sorcery, purification always occurred, generally by a sacrifice at the end of the mourning period (meyep). /103/

765 The duration of mourning was, and still is, a mbu /six months/, but it is now less rigorous. Formerly the wives of the dead man were secluded, naked, for a month in his hut, the first wife lying on his bed; their heads and all their body hair were shaved, and they were painted white with ash and forbidden to wash or do their hair until the end of mourning. The dead man's brothers and sons shaved their heads and let their beards grow without trimming or combing; their foreheads were painted white and they wore only old clothes. They had to observe a series of prohibitions concerning certain ways of hunting, the eating of certain kinds of game (perhaps the dead man's personal totem?), all journeys, the circumcision of the dead man's sons, the use of a bed, etc. The end of mourning was marked by a sacrifice and often by a melan ceremony in order to enter into communication with the dead man.

The strictest mourning was observed for the death of an esa, a man of the father's age grade, less for a monyañ, and hardly any for a mongô. With regard to women, a man observed solemn mourning only for his mother and first wife, and this meant mourning within the family, while a man's death involved the whole village. However, an epidemic was followed by heavy mourning, and when the one presumed responsible was identified, it was not enough that he
[766 791 783] pay avutan, compensation, he was burned or drowned (his immediate family was constrained to pay the avutan), and then a general purification was undertaken.

177 Obviously this has now changed, but perhaps not so much as one
764 would imagine: every year the courts are aware of several ordeals after a death, of mutilations of corpses which are really autopsies, of sums of money extorted which are customary compensation payments imposed on the "person responsible" for a death. And we may assume that in this connection three-quarters of the cases never reach the European courts. Funeral rites have, however, been lightened and colored by Christian influence, even when the deceased had remained to the end attached to the old beliefs: his wives or children usually call in a nkat foé (news-announcer = catechist) to say the prayers for the dead and to sing psalms or hymns. The old-fashioned cylindrical bark litter has been replaced by a European plank coffin, gradually even for women and children. The graves of the well-to-do have masonry walls and are covered with a concrete slab bearing name, date of death, and a pious text, or even with a small flower bed framed with bricks or bottle necks, with a grave stone or cross at the head. The dead man's hut is no longer destroyed, especially if made of "solid" material, nor are his personal effects broken. Often the body is washed and dressed in European clothes instead of being anointed with baa; the white shroud remains. In Christian families women take part in wakes for men and attend their burials; men attend the burials of women but rarely take part in their wakes. In
[795] /104/ many villages the different /Christian/ sects have separate cemeteries.

765 Mourning is less rigorous and is often expressed by the European
177 black arm band and tie worn by men. In the villages widows are still rather ill-treated (cf. above, pp. 128-129), but their sequestration has been reduced to a week, and they are allowed to wash after a month or two. Most of the prohibitions of the mourning period have fallen out of use, and the end of mourning is marked by a family gathering which has more about it of a certain kind of French provincial New Year's Eve party than of the old purificatory rites.

761 Death in the traditional concept is not so much the cessation of life as the dissociation of the personality. Enyiñ, life, comes from the verb nyiñ meaning "to survive" rather than "to be alive"; /thus life represents/ a kind of dynamism opposed to the static to, tabe = to be, exist, remain, etc.

826 The body, nyul or nyôl, is perishable and corruptible; it supports
774 the other elements of the personality, above all the nsisim or nisim

779
782
535

legs are flung to right and left alternately; two very lively steps, a pause, two successive jetés to the right and left, and a swaying of the body above the hips make up this dance, which has real beauty and does not lack a certain style.

779
881
535
304

The circumcision dance is entirely different. The young candidates, painted white from head to foot and dressed in garments of leaves, are led by the initiator before the assembled participants, as soon as the preparatory rites have ended and the operation is to be performed. Grown, circumcised men stand on one side, the ritual experts in the middle, those to be circumcised [511] on the other side. The dance begins. First of all, it consists of an immense circle, which spreads out and turns around the area; then the movement quickens, hands are dropped, and each person leaps and shimmies about on his own, still keeping time, which is marked out by the tom-tom. Moreover, in spite of what appears to be disorder, one soon sees that all movements are regular, perfectly conceived and executed without a hitch, without mistake, without getting out of step. Soon sweat is pouring down the dancers' arms and legs; one after another they go back to their places; only the candidates continue and their dance turns into a spinning in almost one place, on the toes, with hands stretched horizontally. Then, suddenly, at a signal from the tom-tom, the dance stops abruptly: the young dancers rush to their places, sit down, and the operations begin.

Each time the practitioner circumcises a boy, he stands up, holding in his hand proof of the operation, then does a quick dance step consisting of a few merry leaps, to the accompaniment of a special song, which everyone sings together.

When the operations are over, the youths who have been circumcised perform a short dance intended to show their fortitude; it is of just a few steps, done any old way. Then the boys quickly return to their huts, held up by their friends.

764
535

The funeral dance is much more beautiful. Far from being dignified and solemn, the fanki is exceedingly lively and complicated, representing, theoretically, the soul of the dead man leaving his body and later reaching the world of spirits.

764 The soul looks everywhere for a new dwelling; it is repulsed on
535 all sides, but at last finds its rightful place. This dance has only a distant connection with totemic performances and so we do not need to be concerned with it.

Genuinely totemic dances are infrequent and are only
535 performed on important occasions, such as war and above all after a victory. However, they are also part of burial rites and are put on after the fanki at the death of a chief. [512]

The totemic dance expresses the link between the head [chef] of the race and his totem. It depicts the totem, sometimes in a symbolic, sometimes in a representational, manner. If, as often happens, the totem is an animal, the dance will be really lively; these are the finest examples. In addition, the dancer's talent should go to copying as closely as possible the animal's pace, habits, way of life, in a word, to mime it as accurately as possible.

I have seen some of these totemic dances performed with extraordinary skill. Out of many occasions, there was once one, among the Yemvi, whose totem is a kind of flower called mvi: the dancer, moving to a very fast tempo, first outlined the shape of the flower, imitated its appearance by gestures, by an extraordinary swaying of the hips, which involved sometimes bending so far backward that his head would touch the ground without for a second losing the rhythm; from time to time, his arms and head would sweep the ground to the right and the left with incredible swiftness. Then came the blossoming: growth from bud to flower, soon to full bloom. Finally he portrayed the symbolic covenant between the father of the race and the flower, which was brought to him by a spirit. The same dancer presented a really striking contrast between the slow, weighed down, ponderous bearing of the racial chief and the light, elusive, airy, as it were, movements of the spirit approaching, retreating, and approaching again. This entirely symbolic dance has sometimes been quite erroneously interpreted by explorers as being erotic.

When the totem is an animal, the dance is obviously much simpler and more representational. The dancer mimes an animal

755 goes to the sick man's hut. A variety of remedies are used,
779 among them always a dance in honor of the totem. After the dance and the driving out of the evil spirits [576] that torment the sick man, a sacrifice is made, often of a she-goat, a sheep, or at least a fowl. The sick man always has to eat some of this sacrifice, and the practitioner mixes into it fragments of the patient's family totem, as he does into any potions administered. If the sick man recovers, he will have to offer a black hen on the évora biéri before he leaves his hut. The hen will then be burnt according to the sacred rituals.

764 If the man dies, his eldest son closes his eyes and
779 straightens the arms and legs before they become stiff, after which the corpse may not be touched, under grave penalties. The lamentations begin, but in an undertone; the dead man's wives gather around him, tear at their arms and legs, and with the blood that flows sprinkle the corpse. He is then covered with his fetishes and at his side is the mébup on which his family totem is hung. After the first lamentations are over, the commotion quiets down and only the dead man's wives continue to weep.

In the morning the eldest son and heir offers a sacrifice to the deceased's family totem so that it may continue to favor the survivors. He puts some of the victim's blood into the mouth of the corpse and also takes some in his own mouth. He then completes the sacrifice according to the customary rites.

Before the burial another sacrifice will be made in order to determine the location of the grave and to make sure that the dead man is satisfied. The corpse is made to partake of this sacrifice too.

At the appropriate time, the dead man is placed in the grave dug for him; his family totem lies beside him, and, if he is a tribal chief, the clan or tribal totem is also placed at his side. This is left to him for a few moments, then the heir removes it, so as to "take possession."

765 The same ceremonies are observed when the skull is re-
779 moved, 30 days after death.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca.1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

304 to obtain any accounts touching on its introduction, beyond the fact "we learnt it from our fathers." No ceremonies are connected with it. There are no professional tattooers, but the natives frequently employ a man known to be skilful to ornament them. It is practised by both sexes; young lads are anxious to be tattooed because it makes them feel "real men," but the practice is not indispensable as a sign of manhood. The same blue pigment obtained from a tree fungus used in painting is mixed with ashes and employed for tattooing. The instrument used is a sharp piece of bamboo, a piece of sharp iron or a knife. The practice does not appear to be in any way connected with pagan worship. Social or family rank does not affect the designs employed. Fang tattooing is not always symmetrical, it usually commences with the face, and a favourite design on the cheeks somewhat resembles the bowl and stem of a straight pipe. Only one colour is employed. Tattoo marks and designs are mostly found on the face, chest, shoulders, arms and abdomen. Women frequently have the pipe pattern or a band across the cheeks, and occasionally upon the breasts.

Cicatrization is largely practised. Small incisions are made in the skin with a sharp instrument, frequently a steel nail from an imported packing case obtained from the trade house, the nail being flattened out into a small knife blade; or a sharp piece of bamboo is used. The juice of a certain herb is rubbed into the incised wounds.

IV.—*Habitations.*

The houses are built mostly of bark; beams and rafters are made from the 342 strong branches of forest trees and bamboo; they are secured by bush rope. The entire structure rests on the ground. It is very rare to find a Fang house on poles, except near the coast. There is no regularity in size of houses, but the form and material used is common to all the tribe. The average Fang house or hut is a low dark building, 15 feet long by 10 wide, and with walls about 6 feet high; the roof angle increases the height inside. Each family has a house; it is used, day and night, by all members of the family. Travellers usually occupy [485] the *abeng* (palaver house), and the headman finds them sleeping quarters at night. When the owner dies he is usually buried close to the house, and the [764] grave levelled off and soon obliterated. The houses comprising a town are built together, end to end. Towns consist of two rows of houses, with the main road passing between them. The *abeng* (palaver house) is built across one end of the main road. A large place is often composed of several towns or villages in line, 361 the limits of each village being marked by its palaver house, and having its own 712 headman. The Fang method of conveying information regarding the size of a place is by stating the number of palaver houses it contains. Stockades are frequently used at the entrance to a town, especially if the people have a palaver (tribal war) with a neighbouring tribe. The palaver houses and dwellings are also frequently stockaded. The natives often show considerable foresight and shrewdness by making use of the natural advantages of a position in selecting a site for their villages.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

places where they are going to build these respectively), large bush rat, porcupine, 224
squirrels, die in the traps; deer, gazelle, antelope, large deer and pigs die in the 539
pitfalls. The animals which die in the *olam* are these. This is the *olam*.

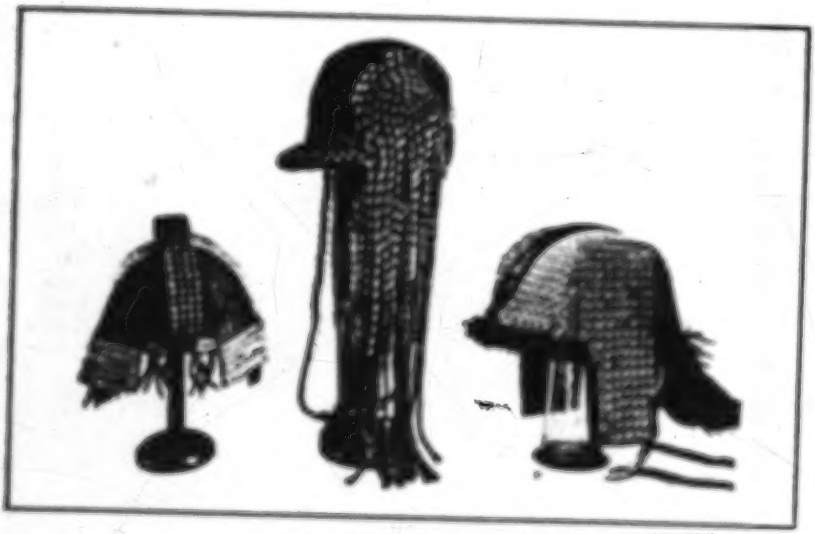
XVII.—*Burials.*

Death is never considered as due to natural causes. Disease followed by death 764
is due to *erus* (witch). It is not considered unlucky to attend a dying person. [761]
The body is usually left in the house until burial. Embalming is not practised.
Mourners smear white clay on their bodies and wear necklaces of pineapple fibre for one moon (month). A coffin is not used and the body is buried in the sitting posture. After burial the grave is levelled off as is the case almost throughout West Africa; the only difference between the burial of a headman and a common man is in the amount of visitors and mourning, and the quarrelling over his goods. Wives of a dead headman remain in mourning from one to three moons (months). 765
The witch doctor, *nganga*, usually performs a post mortem to find the witch.
I attended a post mortem on an old woman. The witch doctor ripped open the [763]
abdomen with an old rusty knife, grasped and cut away the uterus and holding it up to the crowd declared "Six witches!" The crowd passed the word "six witches," and spoke the praises of the witch doctor. Relations usually continue to mourn or wail for one moon while inside the house or at work in the gardens. The most common wail is *Ô nan Ô! Ô tat Ô!* (Oh mother! Oh father!).

XVIII.—*Akôm.*

This is a dance. It is not *biang* (medicine) nor is it *ski*. It is, however, 535
practised by men only. The women must not see it. The latter stay within doors, 534
and only hear the words which the men speak outside. The men speak with artificial voices, so that the women cannot recognise who it is that is speaking. (*Fam a kobe ne kid zie akôt.*) To make the artificial sounds they use a membrane (*ten*) which encloses the young of the spider (*ndembda*). This they spread over a hole (about ½ inch diameter) near the small end of an elephant tusk (*mbang ewul*) from 1 to 2½ feet in length, attaching it with beeswax (*abé*) or a liquid which is obtained from a plantain stalk fresh cut. This juice is called *akiri*. It possesses an adhesive property. The man blows on the large end of the ivory. A curious sound then issues through the membrane so that the man's voice cannot be recognised. This instrument is called *mbang akôm*. The act of playing on the instrument is called *e kobe akôm* (*e kobe*, talk). The performer sings songs; the words are distinctly heard. He sings and all others sing responsively (*a ye be'bengane b'aka*).

Many songs are used in *akôm*. Here are three specimens of them:— 533
(1) *Benan b'abete kobe? Bane benga ang mot.* Who speaks any more? 539
(*i.e.*, Be silent, let no one speak.) Others are listening with pleasure (*i.e.*, to the performance).



292

Fig. 119. Helmet Caps.

Of 25 different forms, which are given individual names, about half are worn by both sexes indiscriminately; the rest are worn only by men or only by women. Among the Fang the men's ornaments are more frequently the same as those of the women than is the case among the Ntum, and for this reason they are more frequently the butt of ridicule. 302 301

Helmet crests and ornamental caps are worn constantly; only as a sign of mourning are both taken off -- the former is sometimes also taken off before a hunting expedition. /178/ 292 765

To make his ornamental caps (edʒ̄ban, eñe'), the Ntum takes a hide from a long-tailed monkey, dwarf antelope, young goat, or sheep. The hide is cleaned of its fur, turned inside out, and drawn over the arch of a plantain rootstock that has been cut to a semi-spherical shape. It is tied with a string at the base, and along the edge it is fastened by pegs to the ground. Stretched in this way, the hide must be dried in the sun and later over the fire. 294 281

Furthermore, blackened bast strips of the Triumfetta are needed. These are colored in the following manner: the bark of certain 294 386 824

When a man dies and one of his relatives marries his wives, there is no additional payment of dowry. When a man loses his wife, the dowry is repaid fully, or in part, by the relatives of the deceased wife if she has left no children. If there are children, the widower makes no claim to the dowry.

The widow cuts her hair. After the death of the husband, the wife is made to confess the names of her lovers in order to make them give payments which will finance the celebrations at the end of mourning. She must weep for one whole day and one whole night; she may do nothing without the permission of her husband's heir; and for a month she stays dirty, dressed in an old loincloth. At the end of this time there are celebrations of the end of mourning which last several days. The widow sits for a whole night in the village square, and the husband's relatives throw her water and pimento. The following morning she jumps four times over a fire of dry banana leaves. While she is jumping, men hit her for the anguish which she has caused her husband to endure. After that she receives a new loincloth from her family and then, before beginning the dances, if she has not accepted remarriage to her husband's heir, she chooses a new husband from among the assembled men of the dead man's family.

Neither homosexuality nor bestiality have ever been recorded, to our knowledge, among the Fan.

Prostitution does not exist.

Impotence (eyel), if it is congenital, is attributed to the mother's having accidentally caused milk to flow onto the penis of her son while nursing him. If it occurs later, it is said to be from the abuse of coitus and it is believed that there is no more sperm in the impotent person.

Family Group. The family (nda ebur) consists of the man, his wives, his children, and his brothers. It usually includes several homes and constitutes a village in itself. The authority belongs to the father, and it is he who commands because of his being the most respected. He has absolute power, but also incurs certain duties, the most important of which is to find money or goods as dowry for the women whom his sons wish to marry. These dowries are usually obtained through payments made by the girls' husbands. The most complete mutual aid is obligatory among all members of the family, in all circumstances. When the parents have become too old to continue exercising their authority, they live with the family of their oldest son

764 there are placed in it the arms or some everyday objects of the deceased. Then everyone goes back to the village, the women crying. The close relatives of the deceased go into mourning, which is much stricter for a woman than for a man; we have already seen what comprises the mourning of a widow. As for the widower, after having
765 stayed for two or three days in a state of prostration, often simulated, he continues to look after his work as usual, remaining meanwhile under the obligation to stay dirty until the celebrations at the end of mourning.

763 The autopsy of the corpse to find the evur is done at the edge of the
765 grave, after the women have been sent away. The package containing [93] the corpse is undone and the practitioner operates with a large knife made especially for this purpose. He has previously painted his face half black, half red so that the deceased will not recognize him and cannot come from his abode in the village of Nzame to avenge himself for the mutilation he is undergoing. When the operation is finished, the corpse is sewed up, re-wrapped, and placed normally in the grave.

764 There is no cemetery, and the dead are buried a short distance from the village, almost behind the huts. Sometimes when a person is thought to have died from having been eaten by the bivur, in order that the grave may not be violated for the purpose of removing a piece of the corpse, it is buried in the very hut of the head of the family.

765 The life of the dead in the village of Nzame is identical with that which they had at home; they do the same work, have the same entertainments, marry, procreate, always stay young, and also have the power to do whatever they wish; it is enough for them to express a wish for it to be granted.

The dead sometimes leave their abode to return to the earth, perhaps in the form of phantoms with long hair to frighten the living, meeting a phantom being fatal, or perhaps in the shape of animals in order to avenge themselves. Some may change themselves into an elephant and ravage the fields of their enemies; others change into a panther and kill all the livestock and poultry and sometimes even the inhabitants of the village where they were unhappy in life. When they
[765] wish to be beneficent, they appear in the dreams of their relatives and friends and give them wise advice.

422 brought produce of the locality, the system of directions very probably being ascribed to sexual categories, the northeast area, male and the southwest area, female. It would be advisable to know more about the ritual use of different tools and implements in order to throw more light on the subject. We know that the saber, fa, is essentially male, that the hunting bell tied to a dog's neck, angôk, is essentially female, that the drum-telephone, nkul, is androgynous (though women are not allowed to use it); the rifle, ngal, is probably epicene, and the same is true for a few other objects, but we know almost nothing about the effect of this sexual differentiation upon property and its conveyance.

In any case, since the introduction of a money economy, personal property /propriété mobilière/ has become almost entirely individual. Personal property /meubles/ that remains collective is primarily so by appropriation, like the equipment of associations, the profits of their subscriptions, sometimes objects bought in common by members of a family because of their cost or function—like the sewing machines obtained from Spanish Guinea after the last war, for instance.

Personal property still involves some restrictions for women and
422 young men, although they are less and less accepted. Respectful
513 sons and submissive wives still allow their fathers and husbands to use the objects acquired by the earnings of their labor, but when they rebel the trend of the courts is increasingly in their favor. However, the obligatory aid arising from family ties still holds good, and to refuse to "lend" something to a monyaŋ is likely to be frowned on, which is a serious matter. Thus there survives a kind of right of collective family use working against individual /ownership of/ personal property.

g. Inheritance, Guardianship

422 These come about from death or disappearance. A paternal curse
578 did not entail loss of civil rights, but the possessions left behind by an accursed son who quit his village were confiscated and divided among his brothers.

The disposal of possessions left by a dead man, called ɛlik from
428 lik = to leave, took place at the end of the period of mourning,
● 745 meyep, perhaps /77/ a mbu, six months after death. This waiting period tends to become shorter and in towns usually lasts a month,

of the neck for the nɔ̂; a (secret) design on the sacrum for the ngɔ̂; three horizontal marks on the nape for the ndɔ̂ngɔ̂; a line of "vaccination marks" on the inner surface of the arms, forearms, and thighs, and along the carotid arteries, for the serpent /associations/, etc.

Men wore their hair braided, or else they shaved the temples and parietal bones, leaving a sort of comb on the top of the skull, suggesting a gorilla's crest. There were special ways of dressing the hair appropriate for the different initiations. The moustache was worn only by the benya bɔ̂ɔ̂; the beard, a goatee, by a few aged men, often diviners. In our day men usually wear their hair short and merely combed; a central part, in the Lower Nigerian fashion, was very common around 1948 among factory hands, while former recruits went in for a crew cut with a frill beard /barbe en collier/. Many students wear a little goatee, and this style is now growing among the rest of the younger generation. Since up to now wearing a beard was a sign of mourning, a political implication has sometimes been attributed to this fashion—but mourning beards are not trimmed. /88/

Women have many ways of doing their hair, in plaits, checker board, "horns," etc. As a sign of mourning their heads are shaved, and they are not allowed to comb the hair that grows out before the end of mourning. The growth of beard or moustache that often follows menopause is considered a sign of sorcery. Stylish women pluck their armpits, and a few also remove their pubic hair, for reasons perhaps of elegance and hygiene, perhaps of ritual (is there a relationship between the name of the important female rite mevungu and mevul, meaning "female pubic hair?"). Padouk powder, baa, is still used in the way that henna is for both magical and aesthetic reasons, but European make-up, mainly lipstick, has taken its place among young fashionable women.

Bodily cleanliness is much in favor: men and women often bathe several times a day with plenty of soap. But it is common to see them put back on their well-scrubbed bodies perfectly filthy clothes, no doubt because bodily cleanliness is a much older practice than that of wearing clothes made of cloth.

c. Psychological Characteristics

Like the majority of known peoples, the Pahouin have a very flattering opinion of themselves, and the curious thing is that this

764 commun/ were buried by their co-wives and the women of their affinal family. Bongõ and bikeñeñ were buried at home with no other ceremonial than the mother's mourning.

768 When signs of sorcery were found on a corpse, the ngengañ or
767 mvimvi'i turned to divination to find the presumed culprit, who was
[695] subjected to an ordeal of bitter herbs. As a general thing, wives had to submit regularly to the pimento or ant ordeals to make them confess not only the part they might have had in the husband's death but also their adulteries. When no one was found responsible for the death of a mie individual (nonsorcerer), it was decided that he had been the victim of a breaking of taboo, nsem, sometimes unwittingly. Whatever the cause of death, sorcery or nsem or repercussion from
[713] an act of sorcery, purification always occurred, generally by a sacrifice at the end of the mourning period (meyep). /103/

765 The duration of mourning was, and still is, a mbu /six months/, but it is now less rigorous. Formerly the wives of the dead man were secluded, naked, for a month in his hut, the first wife lying on his bed; their heads and all their body hair were shaved, and they were painted white with ash and forbidden to wash or do their hair until the end of mourning. The dead man's brothers and sons shaved their heads and let their beards grow without trimming or combing; their foreheads were painted white and they wore only old clothes. They had to observe a series of prohibitions concerning certain ways of hunting, the eating of certain kinds of game (perhaps the dead man's personal totem?), all journeys, the circumcision of the dead man's sons, the use of a bed, etc. The end of mourning was marked by a sacrifice and often by a melan ceremony in order to enter into communication with the dead man.

The strictest mourning was observed for the death of an esa, a man of the father's age grade, less for a monyañ, and hardly any for a mongõ. With regard to women, a man observed solemn mourning only for his mother and first wife, and this meant mourning within the family, while a man's death involved the whole village. However, an epidemic was followed by heavy mourning, and when the one presumed responsible was identified, it was not enough that he
766 pay avutan, compensation, he was burned or drowned (his immediate
759 family was constrained to pay the avutan), and then a general
713 purification was undertaken.

177 764 Obviously this has now changed, but perhaps not so much as one would imagine: every year the courts are aware of several ordeals after a death, of mutilations of corpses which are really autopsies, of sums of money extorted which are customary compensation payments imposed on the "person responsible" for a death. And we may assume that in this connection three-quarters of the cases never reach the European courts. Funeral rites have, however, been lightened and colored by Christian influence, even when the deceased had remained to the end attached to the old beliefs: his wives or children usually call in a nkat foé (news-announcer = catechist) to say the prayers for the dead and to sing psalms or hymns. The old-fashioned cylindrical bark litter has been replaced by a European plank coffin, gradually even for women and children. The graves of the well-to-do have masonry walls and are covered with a concrete slab bearing name, date of death, and a pious text, or even with a small flower bed framed with bricks or bottle necks, with a grave stone or cross at the head. The dead man's hut is no longer destroyed, especially if made of "solid" material, nor are his personal effects broken. Often the body is washed and dressed in European clothes instead of being anointed with baa; the white shroud remains. In Christian families women take part in wakes for men and attend their burials; men attend the burials of women but rarely take part in their wakes. In [795] /104/ many villages the different /Christian/ sects have separate cemeteries.

765 177 Mourning is less rigorous and is often expressed by the European black arm band and tie worn by men. In the villages widows are still rather ill-treated (cf. above, pp. 128-129), but their sequestration has been reduced to a week, and they are allowed to wash after a month or two. Most of the prohibitions of the mourning period have fallen out of use, and the end of mourning is marked by a family gathering which has more about it of a certain kind of French provincial New Year's Eve party than of the old purificatory rites.

761 Death in the traditional concept is not so much the cessation of life as the dissociation of the personality. Enyiñ, life, comes from the verb nyiñ meaning "to survive" rather than "to be alive"; /thus life represents/ a kind of dynamism opposed to the static to, tabe = to be, exist, remain, etc.

826 774 The body, nyul or nyôl, is perishable and corruptible; it supports the other elements of the personality, above all the nsisim or nsisiñ,

755 goes to the sick man's hut. A variety of remedies are used,
779 among them always a dance in honor of the totem. After the dance and the driving out of the evil spirits [576] that torment the sick man, a sacrifice is made, often of a she-goat, a sheep, or at least a fowl. The sick man always has to eat some of this sacrifice, and the practitioner mixes into it fragments of the patient's family totem, as he does into any potions administered. If the sick man recovers, he will have to offer a black hen on the évora biéri before he leaves his hut. The hen will then be burnt according to the sacred rituals.

764 If the man dies, his eldest son closes his eyes and
779 straightens the arms and legs before they become stiff, after which the corpse may not be touched, under grave penalties. The lamentations begin, but in an undertone; the dead man's wives gather around him, tear at their arms and legs, and with the blood that flows sprinkle the corpse. He is then covered with his fetishes and at his side is the mébup on which his family totem is hung. After the first lamentations are over, the commotion quiets down and only the dead man's wives continue to weep.

In the morning the eldest son and heir offers a sacrifice to the deceased's family totem so that it may continue to favor the survivors. He puts some of the victim's blood into the mouth of the corpse and also takes some in his own mouth. He then completes the sacrifice according to the customary rites.

Before the burial another sacrifice will be made in order to determine the location of the grave and to make sure that the dead man is satisfied. The corpse is made to partake of this sacrifice too.

At the appropriate time, the dead man is placed in the grave dug for him; his family totem lies beside him, and, if he is a tribal chief, the clan or tribal totem is also placed at his side. This is left to him for a few moments, then the heir removes it, so as to "take possession."

765 The same ceremonies are observed when the skull is re-
779 moved, 30 days after death.

765 This skull cannot, however, be put into the *évora biéri* 779 right away, it must first be "acknowledged." The rite is analogous to that of the chief's initiation, which has already been described. The skull [577] is carried into the forest, placed upon a kind of altar, and a victim is immolated in its honor. It is sprinkled with lustral water, then with blood. The chief's heir then takes the skull and makes it first "acknowledge" the ancestral skulls, then successively the family and clan totems, and ends with the tribal totem.

768 Thirty days after death the funeral dances or *fanki* also 779 take place, and then the division of the deceased's property, particularly his wives. His hut usually stays closed throughout this time, with the door barred and the roof covered with thorns so that the deceased's spirit cannot re-enter the house, which would mean making further sacrifices.

The mortuary rites are very complicated and very solemn among the Fan, especially for an important chief. I have here referred only to totemic rites. The totem will live again later in the person of one of the descendants, usually the grandson, [551] who, in many cases, will have both the name and the totem of his grandfather.

[p. 578-663 not translated]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

when [786] in mourning, a necklace is made from bleached grass plaited; it is worn by both 301 sexes. A very favourite fetish charm to suspend from a necklace is a leopard tooth. I have frequently seen the two tusks of a wild boar or "Wart hog" worn [257] around the neck as an ornament and have succeeded in bringing specimens worn mostly by the women. Imported thick brass wire wound around the forearm from wrist to elbow is a very favourite armlet; it is kept highly polished. Brass [479] wire is often wound so tightly around the biceps as to seriously interfere with circulation. Broad pieces of beaten brass are worn on the arms, and ivory bracelets are much valued. Sometimes six or more rings of ivory are cut from a tusk, and all worn on one arm. Finger and thumb rings are mostly worn by the women; they are made of brass, copper, or iron, and are usually very thick and heavy.

Rings are no indication of rank or marriage. It is not uncommon to see a woman with three heavy brass rings on one thumb, and eight or ten similar rings on the fingers. Narrow girdles of leopard, goat or deer skins are worn across the chest to support the native fighting knife and bunch of fetish charms. I have been visited by a bushman wearing no less than twenty-three charms.

Legs and feet.—Leglets and anklets of brass are much worn and sought after by women. Brass leg rings imported by traders are in great demand. There does not appear to be any special time set for commencing to wear anklets; more infants are frequently decorated with them. Some of the leglets are very heavy, and many women wear ten or more on one leg. These rings often fit very tightly and impede circulation, or chafe and cause nasty indolent ulcers. The ankles and feet often swell and become very painful as a result of insufficient blood supply. Toe-rings are of iron and brass largely worn, and fit so tightly that the ring is often deeply imbedded in the flesh. Usually only one ring is worn on a single toe.

Painting and Tattooing.

Painting.—The method of painting the body by smearing on redwood powder 302 mixed with palm oil, so largely practised by the Bulu, is followed in the same 386 manner but to a much less extent by the Fang. Soft portions of the redwood tree are pulverised and mixed with oil into a thick paste, and the preparation smeared over the entire body. Occasionally a red lead is painted across the forehead. When in mourning, dust, mud, or white clay is frequently rubbed over the entire [765] body. Much more frequent is the practice of painting arrow heads, beads, or dots. The pigment used is a dark blue colour, obtained I am told from a tree fungus. The *Ngi* or witch doctor, when at work, in addition to his other paraphernalia [791] smears his body with white chalk. Except in the case of the *Ngi*, the only object in decorating the body by painting is to appear *ebong* (beautiful), and with the Bulu when asked the reason for smearing the body with red paint, they usually reply it is *ebong* (handsome). Imported pigments are not used for body decoration.

Tattooing.—The custom of tattooing is much in vogue. I have not been able 304

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

372 log from the last town where the caravan rested. This man kept the piece of wood
989 burning by gently swinging it backward and forward, while marching along the path with his load. On one occasion I timed a native, and when we reached the next stopping place, after a three hours' tramp in the rain, the brand was still burning brightly, and it had been frequently passed from one end of the caravan to the other so that all who desired could light their pipes from it.

The Fang use fire in the ceremony of *going out of mourning*. I witnessed this
372 ceremony once at Fodalabing. The widows of an old headman had put in the
765 regular time of mourning and were now to be released. There were seven widows in all, three of middle age, and four young girls. A small fire of leaves had been lighted in the centre of the street, and on each side of the fire stood several young men armed with switches. The widows wore a very slender bits cloth. At a given signal the widows rushed toward the fire and bounded through it, the young men switching them as they passed, but the switches were not used severely. Immediately after the switching, each widow seated herself on the ground holding a bunch of burning leaves under her feet, while a young man shaved their heads with a sharp trade knife. On inquiry regarding this ceremony, I obtained the
[781] following information: Passing the fire *throw* them after mourning (evidently considered a means of purification). Switching reminds the widows of their duty to the man who inherits them as his wives. Burning has two meanings: firstly, the pain caused is endured as a last act of mourning for the departed; second, it signifies that henceforth the widows walk a new path (enter upon a new life).

Fire has a place in Fang religion or belief. The sun is considered the sire
372 (father) of all heat, and the original maker of all fire, whether by friction, matches,
621 powder, or lightning. When a severe thunderstorm is at its height, the natives say of the lightning, "that the sun has hid his face and is shooting fire, because he is angry." The native word for sun is *ji*. Although the palaver house fire is kept burning, still, no special effort is made to keep it alight; should it go out, any person present is at liberty to rekindle it from newly produced fire.

VII.—Customs.

671 The Fang have no system of law, no judge or tribunal for punishment of crime. Theft, murder, offences against the person are all settled according to native customs.

Example: A Fang of the Ennie clan steals goods or a woman from a Fang of
629 the Ngo clan. The Ngo who has been wronged does not go to the offender for
631 settlement, he goes to another near town and shoots the first goat he sees in the street, or if very angry, he may shoot a woman. The owner of the goat or woman demands of the Ngo his reason for doing so. The Ngo replies, "An Ennie" (giving the man's name) "has wronged me; I put the palaver (his offence) on you." The third party then goes to the Ennie and says, "An Ngo" (giving the man's name) "has shot my goat (or woman) because you have made trouble with him; he has put your palaver (trouble) on me. You must pay me!" The original offender is

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

places where they are going to build these respectively), large bush rat, porcupine, squirrels, die in the traps; deer, gazelle, antelope, large deer and pigs die in the pitfalls. The animals which die in the *elem* are these. This is the *elem*. 224 539

XVII.—*Burials.*

Death is never considered as due to natural causes. Disease followed by death is due to *evus* (witch). It is not considered unlucky to attend a dying person. The body is usually left in the house until burial. Embalming is not practised. Mourners smear white clay on their bodies and wear necklaces of pineapple fibre for one moon (month). A coffin is not used and the body is buried in the sitting posture. After burial the grave is levelled off as in the case almost throughout West Africa; the only difference between the burial of a headman and a common man is in the amount of visitors and mourning, and the quarrelling over his goods. Wives of a dead headman remain in mourning from one to three moons (months). The witch doctor, *ngengen*, usually performs a post mortem to find the witch. I attended a post mortem on an old woman. The witch doctor ripped open the abdomen with an old rusty knife, grasped and cut away the uterus and holding it up to the crowd declared "Six witches!" The crowd passed the word "six witches," and spoke the praises of the witch doctor. Relations usually continue to mourn or wail for one moon while inside the house or at work in the gardens. The most common wail is *Ó mam ó! Ó tat ó!* (Oh mother! Oh father!). 764 [761] 765 [763]

XVIII.—*Akôm.*

This is a dance. It is not *bieng* (medicine) nor is it *ebi*. It is, however, practised by men only. The women must not see it. The latter stay within doors, and only hear the words which the men speak outside. The men speak with artificial voices, so that the women cannot recognise who it is that is speaking. (*Fam a bebe ne bidi nie ebiti.*) To make the artificial sounds they use a membrane (*ten*) which enclosses the young of the spider (*ndembôn*). This they spread over a hole (about ¾ inch diameter) near the small end of an elephant tusk (*ebang ewô*) from 1 to 1½ feet in length, attaching it with beeswax (*ebé*) or a liquid which is obtained from a plantain stalk fresh cut. This juice is called *ekiel*. It possesses an adhesive property. The man blows on the large end of the ivory. A curious sound then issues through the membrane so that the man's voice cannot be recognised. This instrument is called *ebang ekôm*. The act of playing on the instrument is called *e bebe ekôm* (*e bebe*, talk). The performer sings songs; the words are distinctly heard. He sings and all others sing responsively (*e ye bi'bangane Fabe*). 535 534

Many songs are used in *ekôm*. Here are three specimens of them:— 533

(1) *Bimam Fabete bebe?* *Bam bengen ang mat.* Who speaks any more? (i.e., Be silent, let no one speak.) Others are listening with pleasure (i.e., to the performance). 539

road. The missions have tried, with unequal results, to ameliorate the fate of old people without children; certain clan "societies" have also been active in this direction, but none of it goes very far. Moreover, the old people accept their lot and occasionally joke about it among themselves with the rather biting irony that seems one of the mental characteristics of the group. Some old people kill themselves "from being tired of life." According to Trilles, some used to burn themselves to death voluntarily. According to Largeau, the heirs took the initiative in this so as to make the inheritance available.

The least wretched old people are those with children, particularly sons (1), since daughters usually live with their affinal family. There

1. Cf. Eza Boto, Ville cruelle (no. 182), for an illustration of relations between mother and son.

does exist a genuine obligation for children to provide parents with food, which is sanctioned by paternal or maternal curse in case of default.

f. Death and the Afterlife

Every death is suspect, but that of a nya mɛ̂ more than another, because a nya mɛ̂ does not die: someone kills him, though it may be none other than himself. Therefore the death of a man of some importance was always followed by an autopsy: the ngengaã would cut open the body and examine the thoracic organs, nlem, the seat of intellect and will, to look for signs of sorcery, the work either of another or of the dead man should his évu have turned against him or been killed by a malignant agency. There also appears to have been a magic process, évɔ̂mɔ̂ã, that revived the dead long enough to put questions concerning the cause of death.

If the autopsy revealed that the deceased was a sorcerer, nnem, the body was burned or thrown into a large river or perhaps buried at a crossroads far from the village. If he were mie, free of évu, the regular mortuary rites ensued. The body was washed in warm water, massaged and softened, then rubbed with has dissolved in palm oil, wrapped in a white loincloth, watched over by ãmed men while the grave was made ready and the relatives /102/ and affinal kin /alliés/

764 commun/ were buried by their co-wives and the women of their affinal family. Bongô and bikeñelé were buried at home with no other ceremonial than the mother's mourning.

When signs of sorcery were found on a corpse, the ngengañ or mvimvi'i turned to divination to find the presumed culprit, who was subjected to an ordeal of bitter herbs. As a general thing, wives had to submit regularly to the pimento or ant ordeals to make them confess not only the part they might have had in the husband's death but also their adulteries. When no one was found responsible for the death of a mie individual (nonsorcerer), it was decided that he had been the victim of a breaking of taboo, nsem, sometimes unwittingly. Whatever the cause of death, sorcery or nsem or repercussion from an act of sorcery, purification always occurred, generally by a sacrifice at the end of the mourning period (meyep). /103/

765 The duration of mourning was, and still is, a mbu /six months/, but it is now less rigorous. Formerly the wives of the dead man were secluded, naked, for a month in his hut, the first wife lying on his bed; their heads and all their body hair were shaved, and they were painted white with ash and forbidden to wash or do their hair until the end of mourning. The dead man's brothers and sons shaved their heads and let their beards grow without trimming or combing; their foreheads were painted white and they wore only old clothes. They had to observe a series of prohibitions concerning certain ways of hunting, the eating of certain kinds of game (perhaps the dead man's personal totem?), all journeys, the circumcision of the dead man's sons, the use of a bed, etc. The end of mourning was marked by a sacrifice and often by a melan ceremony in order to enter into communication with the dead man.

The strictest mourning was observed for the death of an esa, a man of the father's age grade, less for a monyañ, and hardly any for a mongô. With regard to women, a man observed solemn mourning only for his mother and first wife, and this meant mourning within the family, while a man's death involved the whole village. However, an epidemic was followed by heavy mourning, and when the one presumed responsible was identified, it was not enough that he pay avutan, compensation, he was burned or drowned (his immediate family was constrained to pay the avutan), and then a general purification was undertaken.

801 radical with feminine connotations (yi = to wish, also meaning "to need," "to cry"; it conveys an idea of "desiring," in contrast to kɔ̂mbɔ̂, related to kɔ̂m = to arrange, put in order, do properly, and bo = to do, make, conveying an idea of "will"; the passive form of yi, yian, means both "duty" and "to be well," "to suit"). Much research needs to be done while there is still time.

d. Sorcery, Possession

754 Malignant sorcery, ngbwel, is generally attributed to a sorcerer, nnem (plur: beyem, cf. yem = to know, to dream), being possessed by a malevolent being, an ɛ́vu (Fang, ɛ́vur, ɛ́vun). The ɛ́vu is not an [805] immaterial spirit but a living being, an animal like a crab or centipede, and lodging in the internal organs of the nnem. At an autopsy it is often found in the form of a polyp or tumor, a fibroid tumor in women. It may even happen that the nnem's body does not show such an indication, because the ɛ́vu has escaped, but there will be some traces of it, fluids, distention of the stomach, colon, or gall bladder. [764] In such cases, as has been said, the corpse is not buried in the usual manner but is burned, thrown into a river, or buried at a crossroads far from the village, in order to prevent the nnem's kɔ̂n from returning to haunt relatives and neighbors.

The possessed person may be unaware of the possession, but he is held no less responsible for the harm caused by the ɛ́vu. The latter goes out at night while the nnem is asleep and feeds on the blood, metyi, hence strength, tyî of its victims, who fall ill, grow weak and die, or it eats their niem (heart and lungs), which brings on madness or mental decay and often death, too. The ɛ́vu also feeds on eggs, on metyi /sic/, and on milk, preferably women's milk (menyɔ̂n, from nyɔ̂n = to give the breast, cf. -nyɔ̂n = mother, in compound words), food which village people will not touch. When the ɛ́vu has trouble in getting food, it may turn against the nnem and kill it for nourishment or, if the nnem is a woman, it may attack the children in her womb. Aside from these occasions, ngbwel is an advantage to the nnem, even when it is unconscious; he benefits from the strength accumulated by the ɛ́vu during its nocturnal hunts; furthermore, the ɛ́vu assists him, brings a sort of luck to his undertakings, which is natural, since the ɛ́vu gains from the nnem's intermediation. This [777] kind of luck, asɔ̂ (from a verb, sɔ̂, with like meaning: a nga sɔ̂

884 779 411 The young man is armed. He has undergone the initiation of the bawu and henceforth he has a right to speak in the council. He will not take advantage of this until the day he brings in the hand of an enemy he has killed and he is able to testify to his bravery in the presence of all by this striking proof of a daring exploit, yet often carried out by surprise.

[Pp. 535-536, 18 lines of music.] [537]

III. Consecration of the Chief

766 779 622 a) The ceremony

A tribal chief has died. After the customary lamentation and funeral feast, he has been buried in a temporary grave. Thirty days afterwards the warriors again reassemble for the solemn funeral dance, the fanki. Then the eldest son, surrounded by leading warriors, opens his father's grave, climbs down beside the corpse, and with the consecrated knife detaches the skull, which will soon be added to the skulls of earlier ancestors in the évora bièri. Then the corpse is carefully replaced in the grave, and the totemic sacrifices are completed. We shall go back to these sacrifices when discussing individual mortuary rites. The eldest son or the heir removes the akaméyòn or tribal totem, if he has not already done so. He then throws the earth back onto the corpse and everyone helps him in this dismal task, after he has thrown the first handfuls. All these rites belong to the social mortuary ceremonial.

622 779 The new chief returns to the village. Then begins strictly speaking, the totemic rite of consecration, which takes place at night, without any female observers.

Escorted by all the warriors, to the beating of a tom-tom, the chief takes the évora bièri containing the ancestral skulls and carries it into the forest. The ceremony is secret only as regards women; young boys may be present.

1824 778 The box of skulls is put on a sort of platform made of newly cut poles. These must come from a special tree, the dfidfua, and must all be alive and green. A bit of dead wood

When a man dies and one of his relatives marries his wives, there is no additional payment of dowry. When a man loses his wife, the dowry is repaid fully, or in part, by the relatives of the deceased wife if she has left no children. If there are children, the widower makes no claim to the dowry.

The widow cuts her hair. After the death of the husband, the wife is made to confess the names of her lovers in order to make them give payments which will finance the celebrations at the end of mourning. She must weep for one whole day and one whole night; she may do nothing without the permission of her husband's heir; and for a month she stays dirty, dressed in an old loincloth. At the end of this time there are celebrations of the end of mourning which last several days. The widow sits for a whole night in the village square, and the husband's relatives throw her water and pimento. The following morning she jumps four times over a fire of dry banana leaves. While she is jumping, men hit her for the anguish which she has caused her husband to endure. After that she receives a new loincloth from her family and then, before beginning the dances, if she has not accepted remarriage to her husband's heir, she chooses a new husband from among the assembled men of the dead man's family.

Neither homosexuality nor bestiality have ever been recorded, to our knowledge, among the Fan.

Prostitution does not exist.

Impotence (eyel), if it is congenital, is attributed to the mother's having accidentally caused milk to flow onto the penis of her son while nursing him. If it occurs later, it is said to be from the abuse of coitus and it is believed that there is no more sperm in the impotent person.

Family Group. The family (nda ebur) consists of the man, his wives, his children, and his brothers. It usually includes several homes and constitutes a village in itself. The authority belongs to the father, and it is he who commands because of his being the most respected. He has absolute power, but also incurs certain duties, the most important of which is to find money or goods as dowry for the women whom his sons wish to marry. These dowries are usually obtained through payments made by the girls' husbands. The most complete mutual aid is obligatory among all members of the family, in all circumstances. When the parents have become too old to continue exercising their authority, they live with the family of their oldest son

a long enough interval in which to inform and call together the eventual heirs; in villages it remains longer.

The ɛ́lik includes on the debit side the family debts incurred by the de cujus, but not his purely personal debts, which die with him; the distinction is sometimes hard to make and gives rise to suits between the heirs and creditors of the dead man. The debit side also includes the funeral costs, especially compensation to the diviner called in to determine the cause of death (but the expenses of the final illness are considered to be a personal debt). Assets cover all real and personal property that belonged to the deceased, including his wives. The settlement, akap = distribution, is directed by the nkap ɛ́lik, distributor of the inheritance, usually a ntɔ̂t mɔ̂t, a kinsman or affinal relative not benefiting from the inheritance and appointed either by the de cujus or by the heirs themselves. Inheritances are more important now than they used to be, not only because there are more, and a greater variety of, objects to be distributed but also because the custom is dying out of destroying or burying part of them during the funeral rites.

There are six degrees of possible heirs: male offspring and their male descendants; full brothers; half brothers on the father's side; paternal first cousins, bobenyɔ̂; clan nephews, hence brother's sons, bobendɔ̂m; uterine brothers, nephews, and grandsons of the clan, hence bastards, bobengon, and legitimate nephews and grandsons outside the clan, bobekal. Inheritance does not devolve by ascending order except in the complete absence of descending heirs.

The eldest of the heirs of the first degree called to the inheritance, ntɔ̂t mon, is privileged; he is the replacement, ɔ́jan, for the dead man. To him go the hut, the family jewelry, ancestral cult objects, especially the bieti basket, the rifle, and certain valuable possessions like bicycles, sewing machines, etc. The other possessions are divided among the other heirs of the same degree. The ɔ́jan's right of seniority is beginning to be criticized; it is gradually ceasing to apply to plantations, and now the heirs are demanding a division into portions of equal value along lines similar to those of the Civil Code.

The possessions left by a woman went in the first instance to her daughters, in their absence to her co-wives, and in their absence to her husband. With the present instability of marriage, related to the economic emancipation of women, this order of inheritance is

765 This skull cannot, however, be put into the *dvora bifri*
779 right away, it must first be "acknowledged." The rite is analogous to that of the chief's initiation, which has already been described. The skull [577] is carried into the forest, placed upon a kind of altar, and a victim is immolated in its honor. It is sprinkled with lustral water, then with blood. The chief's heir then takes the skull and makes it first "acknowledge" the ancestral skulls, then successively the family and clan totems, and ends with the tribal totem.

768 Thirty days after death the funeral dances or *fanki* also
779 take place, and then the division of the deceased's property, particularly his wives. His hut usually stays closed throughout this time, with the door barred and the roof covered with thorns so that the deceased's spirit cannot re-enter the house, which would mean making further sacrifices.

The mortuary rites are very complicated and very solemn among the Fan, especially for an important chief. I have here referred only to totemic rites. The totem will live again later in the person of one of the descendants, usually the grandson,
[55] who, in many cases, will have both the name and the totem of his grandfather.

[p. 578-663 not translated]

325 834 not be good. This extremely unpleasant prescription, in conjunction with the expensive medicine, stands in the way of a greater distribution of smelting enterprises. Even in places where a hut for iron smelting is already in existence, people prefer to buy iron from others if their own has been a failure several times, for this misfortune is attributed to the failure of the fire as a result of the sexual /226/ impurity of one or a number of the participants. The [439] importation of European iron in recent years is dealing a death blow to the native industry. The fear of bringing anything impure 325 783 (and all sexual matters are pre-eminently regarded as such) into contact with pure fire goes so far that a medicine is made by those 841 participants whose wives menstruate during the smelting. This consists of a diamond-shape piece cut out of the bark on the supporting beam of the smelting hut on the side facing the furnace, and it is supposed to represent the female sex organ. The symbol is rubbed with redwood which has been pulverized by the woman concerned and represents her blood flow; it is covered with a leaf of the [324] Myrianthus arboreus P.B. (mangême III Fang) to indicate that one wants everything impure to be hidden and therefore harmless. At the same time the plant is supposed to cause the iron to coalesce to the same degree as the individual fruits are united in a syncarp. In Plate 17 one can see a piece of the leaf on the supporting post (top left), as well as (somewhat lower down) a bark container which holds fragments of ancestors' skulls, a number of antelopes' horns, and a great variety of other medicines that are used later. That the 325 people concerned with the ancestor cult are regarded as particular- 769 ly suited to bring the work to a successful conclusion is apparent from the fact that they alone may tend the fire (see Fig. 183).

The smelting of iron is thus above all under the aegis of the fire cult, but it is also closely linked with the worship of the ancestors who contribute to the success of the enterprise insofar as it lies in their power to do so.

316 325 Iron crops out in the form of brown iron ore (ekí IV) (1) and is

1. The analysis carried out by Mr. Du Bois at the suggestion of Professor Pufahl (Königliche Bergakademie in Berlin)

1: Tessmann--310 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

general conceptual ability of the natives; 532
for the rest, however, it has no ethnographic
value since such a creation would never have come
about without external influence.

C. Plastic arts.

The plastic arts are still wholly 537 769
rooted in religion and hence derive their motifs from
the conceptual realm of ancestor worship and of the
great cults.

The ancestral figures are heads carved out of wood
or full figures in the African style, that is, with
a recurrent lack of expression which, despite all the
superficiality of the given forms, nonetheless seems
to me to reflect a certain amiable naiveté and a quiet

Fig. 227
Top of a Chief's Stick with a Human Figure.

humor. To be sure, this effect hardly makes itself felt in the cold museum cases, but it does so in the native environment, especially when the natives carry the figures about at their cult festivals and make them dance. At any rate, the figures never bear the distorted, animalistic traits that distinguish Papuan art.

The large figures associated with celebrations for the ancestors are striking exceptions among the ordinary ancestral figures which are carved out of a single piece of wood. These large figures have attached arms which are slightly movable, legs, and sex organs.

In the same category as the ancestral figures we should place 532
the following which probably have a primarily religious significance: human figures at the ends of a number of chief's sticks (F.g. 227); furthermore, human heads on the center pillars and on the posts of the benches in the meeting houses, on the harps, and on the box musical pipe. On the other hand, the carving on the memory game is probably purely secular; at one end this carving forms a head. The same applies perhaps to the animal

conceptions developed in connection with the veneration of ancestors, concerning the influence of the ancestors, who live where Nsambe does, on the terrestrial well-being of their descendants. The most important of the medicines for wealth, atum or aseb, that is, the Mekuk medicine, is based on the ideas of sorcery which I discussed in the previous section /Ed., not translated/. The skulls needed for the ancestor cult are not in this case those from relatives who died a natural death, but from those who were murdered secretly by sorcery (poisoning). Each bilA akü'ma, therefore, is a nsôm, a sin. The murder victims, or rather their souls, are called mekük (1). A person who keeps

1. Etymologically related to okük, "upper part of the body." Perhaps we have here an intentional circumlocution, because the Pangwe like to avoid the real designation for their mesôm (sins).

the skulls in order to acquire wealth is called e mode a bilif mekük (= e mode a n'a mekük), that is, the man who has the Mekuk. I have known a Mekuk man who had no less than ten skulls of his murdered relatives in his house. In addition, the Mekuk man possesses magical devices which he sells on request together with the skulls in exchange for an excessive payment from people who themselves want to become Mekuk men. The latter are of course only sorcerers, that is, people who -- as was said in Section 12 /Ed., not translated/ -- receive the power to practice sorcery in their youth through a medicine, but who perhaps until then had not yet used their power and now want to train themselves in the specialized field of Mekuk medicine. For this purpose, their teacher demands that they murder a close relative, usually a father or mother, and bring him the skull. He himself will give them in exchange an older /150/ skull from his own collection and in addition frequently the back bones. The first skull of a Mekuk collection is therefore one of a stranger and has already been effective as a medicine. It is not an actual ancestral

757 777 It is not the bark container known to us from Malan that is used to keep the Mekuk skulls, but rather a chamber dug under the floor of the house (Fig. 53). I saw a bark box used only once, placed on tall props reaching almost to the roof. The chest is divided into two sections by means of a dip in the bottom, and it is carefully leveled and smeared with red wood (hence, the name atum from atum, "section, /151/ /Fig. 53 appears here in the original text/ room," which refers to the entire medicine). It is covered up by a piece of bark and a thin layer of dirt and thus remains hidden from strangers' eyes. Frequently a chest is placed over it also, or the little underground chamber is located under a bed. On the step-like raised part the medicines (b) are kept inside a circle made of plantain pieces (a); these medicines include nkf, above all, and furthermore bark scraped off the Fenifloraceae [778] Ophiocaulon cinnamomoides Hook f. and Adenia lobata (Jacq.) Engl. (undhodie a ndik) (1), leaves of evodime or ayoke-beyo,

1. Also used as fish poison (see Vol. I. p. 83).

important because of the nodules in the leaves which make them look perforated like the ewu of a dead magician, and other things. Below the step the skulls (c) are set up in a semicircle so that they face the medicine.

[779] The skulls are cared for in a manner similar to the customary manner of treating the Malan skulls. Unlike the latter, they are not served food every day, but nevertheless frequently; sometimes chickens are slaughtered for them, and they are bathed in chicken blood and have chicken meat set before them.

[780] This medicine, which is unknown in the northern region (Jaunde), is quite widespread among the Fang and is the subject of many tales and stories which make all light men /Ed., men with light skin color?/ break out in a cold sweat. My boys were so excited by the [781] stories that they maintained they could not sleep if they kept thinking of these hideous Mekuk. Thus it is told, among other things, that the Mekuk walk up and down in their little room at night and make a hullabaloo or even come out of their room and drash

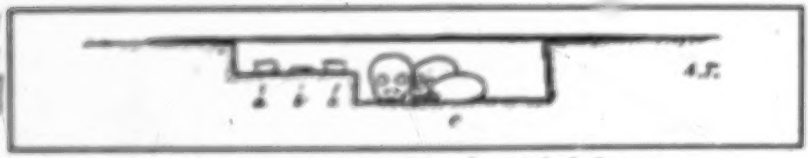


Fig. 53. Underground Chamber of a Mekuk Sorcerer, Cross-section.

(a) Circle made of plantain pieces, (b) magic medicines, (c) skulls of murdered relatives.

the Mekuk man's house companions in their sleep, so that they wake up the next day completely beaten up. They are also supposed to steal money and goods in order to take them to the Mekuk man. In short, the Mekuk stories remind one of the experiences of the man who wanted to learn to be afraid /Ed., in one of Grimm's fairy tales/.

Other medicines for wealth that utilize the power of the souls are more innocent; they do not require the murder of relatives nor care of the skulls. Instead, their powers are derived from the habitation of the souls, the Copaifera tessmannii Harms (oyoh). The Mekuk skulls must be included only in the event the medicine man already possesses some. The procedure as a rule is as follows. The father of the person concerned goes with a medicine man, /152/ and both clear an area under a large Copaifera. Then a leaf vessel filled with water is set up, and into this some of the bark of the Copaifera is scraped nine times (three times three); furthermore a stone from the stomach of the crocodile is placed in it if one is available. A peculiar test of the worthiness of the young man is now given. Various objects are placed together in three piles: on the first are placed steamed cassava (women's food) and a basket (ebɔ̄dɔ̄) carried only by old women because it has a small capacity; on the second, a rifle, a bundle of vegetables (ngon) with fish, brass ornaments, cowrie shells, and a piece of cloth, all of which are things that delight young people; on the third pile is placed a fly swatter (implement of the chiefs), a foot ring made of ivory, and a boiled chicken, in other words, such things as are allotted to chiefs. Now the young man is brought to the piles. "If he has sense," he will go to the last pile and consume the chicken. In this

832 fumigated (Fig. 58), while the skulls with cold severity surveyed the situation, until they themselves had justice done to them, for they were carried in a dance around the love tree. Meanwhile, a number of the participants took red dye and with it drew a line on the bark of the love tree, observing that they themselves would like to look like this in the eyes of their beloved. Another one took black dye in addition to the red and first made a red line, saying, "In the eyes of the girl to which I shall go (he probably was not allowed to pronounce her name) I want to appear like this (red)"; then he drew a black line and added, "On the other hand, the girl shall see all others like this (black line)." We already know that red is the color of life,
[822] of joy, and of light. Black here signifies its opposite, the unpleasant and ugly.

Finally, a small punishment was meted out to the ancestral
832 skulls by sticking them in the above-mentioned draw traps set
769 up around the tree and leaving them there until the next day. Such a punishment of the ancestors is very rare, and it is significant that it does not occur at the Malan but in connection with the love medicine, which is to be regarded as a degenerate form of the Malan. Then around the tree a great variety of other medicines were distributed, such as red dye and a piece from the loincloth of a mother-in-law. Among the Fang the genitals
[826] themselves are supposed to be taken, these having been cut from the deceased mother-in-law. /162/ /Fig. 58 appears here in the original text/

832 On the forenoon of the second day of the festival about 25
783 banana leaf vessels were set up in a row in the festive area and
[415] filled with freshly fetched water. Into the first vessel the medicine man put a whole pile of bark pieces and leaves, all of them love medicines. The other vessels were treated in a more perfunctory fashion: only a few pieces of bark were placed in the second vessel, and in each of the following, only one; the last vessels did not get anything. The medicine man then sat down at the first vessel, blew into it with a pipe, whereupon a thick,
[388] soap-like foam arose, which supposedly comes from the bark of
[824] the Cylicodiscus gabunensis (Taub) Harms (edûm), and then washed his face, first in this vessel and then in all the following

769 The veneration of skulls likewise occurs in the case of the
224 hunting medicines. The skull of a man killed by violent means,
826 whose corpse remained on the spot (if the man belongs to the same kinship group), is kept in a bark box and taken care of as in ancestor worship. When a huntsman kills a wild animal, for example, he takes the first piece that falls to him in the distribution of the meat to the skull as a thanks offering. This piece consists of the sex organs and the flesh around them (ekī)ǎ', see Fig. 92 in Vol. I). After he has taken it to the skull, he carries it off again
[262] to eat it himself. On the other hand, if there has been no luck on the hunt, a chicken is killed for the "man" in the box so he will see to it that a wild animal soon appears in front of his protégé's rifle and will be hit as effectively as he was in his time.

721 In addition, the Fang have a great war medicine, a celebra-
789 tion which is called añgūñgu and is a companion festivity to the engongeschok. On this occasion, a sacred place is set up, a subterranean corridor similar to that described in the case of the Ngi /Ed., not translated/ is dug, and a dwarf antelope, Cephalophus
[825] melanorheus Gray (ogbwǔ,ń), which must have been caught alive, is brought to the place. Then the medicine man stations himself at one end of the corridor, and all the other men, armed with rifles,
[824] hang a seed of the Sorindeia rubriflora Engl. (afá'ne[k]) as medicine around their necks, and crawl -- the first with the antelope in his arms -- through the corridor. At the exit, the medicine man gives all of them, including the antelope, a medicine. The antelope is thereupon released, and it is believed that when a surprise attack is planned and the enemy has got wind of it, the animal will appear and thereby warn the attackers. By way of medicines to secure the /167/ necessary courage for such an attack, five different ones are available.

777 The medicines for trapping and fishing are rarer than the shot
226 medicines, a sign that these occupations are more in the Pangwe's
224 blood than open hunting. I have taken down only eight plants for fish medicines and twelve for trap medicines.

789 opinion of one Fang, the word a bihǎn, which is contained in the
521 name abǎ, has the sense of "moving about and rumbling," and they want the stormy weather just to move about and rumble.

The help of the ancestors is employed in another method of
789 combatting Jupiter Pluvius, one that is used chiefly for cult festivi-
789 ties. The ancestral figures, festively smeared with oil and red
521 wood, are placed in front of the house where they would be drenched "to the skin" if they did not see to it that no rain fell on this particular day. At the same time the ancestral skulls are frequently painted with a salve made of red wood and ground bark of
824 Pentaclethra macrophylla, whose pods, when they are ripe, burst open with a pop and fling the fruit a great distance; in this way the natives indicate that the rain should be flung to one side in the same fashion.

789 When women are in the fields harvesting -- especially at the harvest of ngon -- and rain threatens, they put a little water and a
121 stone in a leaf bundle and hang this up in the field. In the same manner the rain is supposed to remain suspended in the sky, be as heavy as the stone, and stay in its place just like a Negro whose "heart is heavy" and who shows no inclination for any kind of undertaking.

Medicines with a similar effect are used on journeys. A leaf
484 of Trachyphrynium violaceum Radl. (tsĕdĕkiĭ̃i, IV Fang) is twined
789 into a bag, filled with a little water, and then fastened to one
124 finger. By doing this, the rain is held fast. Another medicine consists of hanging up old pieces of wood saturated with water, so that the rain will likewise be absorbed up in the sky. Furthermore, a person will take a Petersia twig or a fern leaf dipped in water in his hand, /199/ so that the rain will be broken up into as many little parts as the small pinnules of the fern. Finally, there is the familiar Selaginella, the herb of "missing" (nĕ)ĭanĭ̃, from ĭ nĕ)ĭǎn, "to miss"), that is to say, the rain is supposed to miss man.

789 It should be emphasized that the Pangwe no longer regard
178 these medicines seriously and even ridicule them as "superstition"; they have long since noticed that none of them helps. Hence, medicines against rain are no longer used today, except as a joke. A possible exception may be the cooking pot medicine of the women,

578 publicly, as in the case of the paternal curse, or in the field
595 when the women are among themselves. /293/

A droll effect is created when the souls are cursed by their
769 descendants. The curse is pronounced at the ancestral least if it
578 is believed that the souls of the ancestors no longer care about the living, and the curse is also revoked on the same occasion. Although, as ancestors, the souls were more elevated persons who actually cannot be cursed, here is another instance where might comes before right, for after death the souls are powerless on earth, as we know.

Finally, there is a belief in secret curses, and thus, if people
578 are constantly unlucky in life, they are sometimes afraid that they are being cursed by this or that person.

The most terrible curse is that which was pronounced by Nsambe (God) upon human beings when they committed the first major offense against his paternal will. As described in Volume II, page 59 /Ed., not translated/, the curse is symbolically erased during the cult celebration.

3. Children's Games(1)

524
[113]

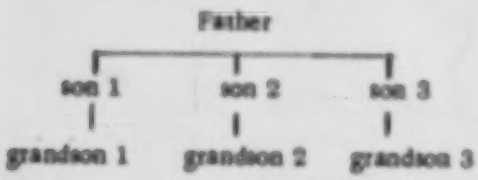
1. See G. Tessmann, "Die Kinderspiele der Pangwe" /The Children's Games of the Pangwe/, in the Baessler-Archiv, Vol. 2, No. 5-6, p. 250. The children's games are discussed there in detail.

I divide children's games into two major classes: the generally imitative games, and the independent games. Of the former I distinguish three groups: first, gymnastic games which imitate the movements of adults (running, sport, and dancing); second, war and hunting games which imitate the main occupations, not to say professions, of adults; and third, all the rest of the imitative games. The independent games, which are on a higher level, I divide again into three groups: first, toy games, that is, games that are played with objects and do not imitate any

where they enjoy great esteem and are consulted every time on decisions concerning all the family, [91] such as the marriage of a child, because this is a matter of alliance with another tribe, or such as moving the village. Young people of a poor family who get themselves adopted may be incorporated into the family and assimilated among its children. The adopted son (mobi) gets a wife from the head of the family which has taken him in. This wife, however, is only loaned to him, and the children whom he may have do not belong to him and are regarded as being of the adopter's family whose name they receive.

Each family has a fetish all its own, which is handed down through the oldest sons. It is often a reed (ayen) which is planted behind the huts of the village where the family lives, by a practitioner in the course of an important ceremony. The practitioner digs a hole, puts into it the bones of a member of the family killed by the bivur, spits onto it some wild pepper that he has chewed, and, before planting the reed, says, "be nnue, be wone, me nga non we bemvama e dzam ese dzah bor yfi, o be sile e yenege" (without stealing or hiding myself I have taken from my ancestors, so that everything which will be asked of you by this family shall happen). The reed must be treasured and constantly kept clear of weeds which might grow around it. A fowl is sacrificed to this reed by the head of the family every time he wishes to undertake an important matter, and when the village moves the plant is taken along with the bones and replanted.

Social Life. Pahouin society is limited to a group of families which make up the tribe. The latter originates from a single family, the sons of which have left to establish other families in their turn. The separation occurs almost constantly in the third generation. The formation of a tribe may be diagrammed thus:



Grandson 1 establishes a family which keeps the name of the founder; grandson 2, a family which will take the name of this grandson; and

the social and cultural organizations are directly blamed: the breaking up and dispersal of the groupings resulting in the rupture of fundamental interdictions (especially that of exogamy: with the present confusion each man risks marrying his "sister" and being condemned to a sterile union); the abandonment of traditional religious observances, especially the Biéri worship rendered to ancestors — so that the Biéri "revenges" itself, "according to certain informants, by making the women sterile. Borrowing from European civilization and from their neighbors has altered "Fang manners" and resulted in behavior that is not valid for the Fang and puts their social existence in danger. These are the principal reasons brought forth. We have already in this chapter paid particular attention to these facts, because they show the subjective aspect of the demographic crisis and how much the search for fertility and for power, both linked together, still plays a part in the present reactions of this people, how it takes effect in an ambiguous manner by having recourse at the same time to modern foreign methods and to traditional Fang methods. For the Fang villagers the crisis is the most serious consequence of a situation created by colonization — by "civilization," as some of them curiously say. This is sufficient indication that these facts must be integrated in the whole we have undertaken to analyze.

[101] III. The Type of Social Structure (1)

1. A study carried out with the help of documents collected especially among the Fang of the Woleu-N'Tem, and principally in Oyem region where Fang vitality is the most authentic.

Tribes, Clans, and Lineages

596 The recent clan renewal to which we have often referred has shown the still fundamental importance of the groupings established as a function of "kinship." This was immediately grasped by the first observers and administrators of the Fang country, who insisted on the "family" nature of the Pahouin groupings and came to the

581
562

> the saying: "If the woman is the receptacle in which all can quench their thirst, she should not be carried off."

between these collective sanctions, and the very broad morality which allows a girl to "celebrate her youth" and which appears in the proverb: "Woman is an ear of dry corn in which anyone with teeth may bite." Marriage strengthens the socialization of woman, imposing on her [122] unconditional submission. One might say, to quote R. Bastide, that it consists in passing from "lustful sexuality" to "social sexuality."

581
585

The social character of marriage is emphasized symbolically. A series of ceremonies mark the admission of the woman into the group that is receiving her. The mother of her husband recites the latter's genealogy, and a segregation of a week is imposed on her, after which she undergoes a coming-out ritual — she is bathed and anointed with oil by the oldest woman relative — [55] and she receives a new name, indicating a wish, which the other women give to her at a time of song and dance. (1) The "alliance"

> 1. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., p. 89.

concluded between the two family groupings is demonstrated by meals taken together and by rejoicing (éyalö), and above all, it is [769] consecrated by the sacrifice of an animal destined for the bíéri (ancestors' altar) of the young girl's parents, showing that bonds exist not only with the group of living but also with the community of ancestors. (2) The emphasis is thus laid on taking possession of

> 2. No doubt it is necessary to link this sacred character of the alliance to the violence of collective reactions provoked by "women affairs."

the posterity (in this respect the recitation of the genealogy appears to be very significant) and on the creation of an alliance (the same

554 622 769 It should be noted, however, that pre-eminence "based on filiation," as Cureau puts it, is maintained without too much difficulty – being durable while power born of events is temporary – so long as the worship of ancestors by each clan fragment remains in force. Seniority determines this pre-eminence, justified and made effective by the possession of the basket containing the ancestors' skulls. This power of the "eldest," who is at the same time "first among his equals" and priest of the bidri cult organized within the cadre of "kinship," has not however allowed the implantation of effective chefferies comparable to those based on the same principles in the Ba-kongo country (2).

2. Cf., Third part of this work.

An early government report stressed the fact that one became chief, specifying that the nyambò (eldest) "became chief in his zone of influence when his fairness and the effectiveness of his power were recognized." (3) Thus neither the villages nor the

3. Customs regulating the attributes of chiefs and their designation in Rapport politique du Djouah [Political Report of Djouah], 1938.

localized clan fragments, nor still less the extended clan and the tribe, reveal the existence of a true hierarchy. We see the pre-eminence of the ésa (which may only be shown by some deferential attitudes) or the provisional pre-eminence of a man who has known how to expand his "zone of influence."

554 622 [71] What are the reasons for such a situation? Taking as an example Ba-kongo, which will be studied later, one sees that the fundamental social relationship is that which exists between the ancestors (masters and guardians of the sod), the land, and the lineage; it implies necessary relations between related lineages and limits the mobility of groupings. There is nothing like this in the Fang country, where the relation with land has no such importance and the whole economy, until very recently, remained oriented toward warlike and economic conquest. Even in the

692 or judicial. We have sufficiently stressed the diffuse character of the latter. On the other hand, certain "associations" show an organization (which is often effective outside the clan) that fills (or attempts to do so) a compensating function. This is true of the Ngil, whose role of pacification and justice extends beyond clan limits — and in spite of these limits.

6. The Associations

769 We have frequently pointed out the rather loose nature of 774 the bonds which exist between even close fragments of a clan. In Gabon, because of the extreme dispersal and entanglement of the divers fragments, the "periodic gatherings" disappeared very early. No mention is made of them by early authors, except for a vague one by Father Trilles. However, these gatherings (ésulan) have been kept up in the Cameroons with the purpose of reminding the members of their solidarity and having them show it by "helping one another in kind, with money, and with days of work." (1)

1. Tradition des Yénlòk [Tradition of the Yénlòk], Archives of Ebolowa, The Cameroons.

These bonds, however, are found to be tightened at the time of the initiation of young men to the Bièri cult when the society of grown men is also strengthened. Bièri, while borrowed, according to H. Trilles, "in its form from neighboring nations" yet "remaining basically Fang," is a cult rendered to the spirits of the ancestors through the agency of their skulls. It necessitates for [774] every nd'è bòt an altar set up in the hut of the eldest, or very near it. [142] It requires sacrifices (regular and circumstantial), and it has to be consulted before every important action.

This cult confirms the continuity of the line and reveals periodically the profound unity which constitutes the continuation of the generations — at the time of sacrifices of food, the food is first "consumed" by the Bièri, then eaten by the secluded initiates (mvoma bièri) assembled in the guardhouse. It imposes a large

[769 719] number of prohibitions (with regard to the uninitiated and the women) and obligations. It "separates" the initiated men, thus giving a privileged position -- justified by the right to commune with the ancestors and to "see the Bîtri" -- to the most active elements of Fang society.

The initiation is particularly characterized (the culminating [270] moment of the series of ceremonies) by drunkenness produced by the plant alan, (1) which may result in long-lasting unconscious-

1. Strychnos icaja.

ness.(2) The newly initiated man at this juncture becomes certain

2. E. Trezenem, op. cit., III, Le Bîtri, pp. 74-76.

that he has enjoyed a revelation and from then on is in communication with the ancestors. He experiences the fervor of a communion that binds him to the whole society whose effectiveness he discovers at the same time: he has in fact become the object of predictions that are always realized. (3) He asserts himself, if we

3. Cf. idem., p. 75: "All the Pahouins whom we questioned assert that predictions made to people drunk on alan by the bîtri have always been realized.

may use the expression, as a full-fledged Fang. The Bîtri cult assumes therefore the highest function of aggregation. We stress the fact that initiation is carried out in the same place for several of the nd'ê bôt belonging to the same clan, thus strengthening the ties of kinship existing between closely related clan fragments, and tending to reconstitute, to make real, units larger than the [304 177] individual groupings. On the other hand, initiation to this cult, like circumcision (which takes place apart and appears to be a recent acquisition of the Fang), creates groupings of young men who belong appreciably to the same age group. It emphasizes a link between generations (the "fathers" or "eldest" being

those who give the initiation), which is important in traditional Fang society.

The grouping that forms the Bitri – which brings together full-grown men who take an integral part in the social life – remains closely linked with the system of kinship. It has, none the less, an important role which we have just pointed out, that is, [143] it establishes relations, which are most effective because they are religious, between elements of the same clan who do not belong organically [sic] within the limits of a superior unit which might have been the chefferie. But other associations have come into existence beyond the clan kinship and beyond the diversity, peculiarities, and antagonisms it provokes. The Ngil, with a multifunctional activity and with an aim to putting things in order at the time of crises and conflicts, seems to be the best known. (1)

1. Cf. Father H. Trilles, op. cit., p. 62. Captain Maignan, op. cit. Lt. Poupard, "Le Fétichisme et la barbarie au Congo [Fetishism and Barbarism in the Congo]," Renseignements Coloniaux, March, 1908. Above all, L.C. Leroux, Etude sur le Ngil [Study on the Ngil], Bulletin de la Société des Recherches Congolaises, 6, 1925.

Members of the Ngil as such are guaranteed "in all places against attack"; they circulate "without the least fear of any outrage" among tribes that are in "open vendetta." (2) The Ngil –

2. L.C. Leroux, op. cit.

the word designates both the association and the masked man who operates in its name – "has the right to strike, wound, and even kill." The solemnity of his action is marked by the suspension of all life in the village when he arrives. The huts are closed, the fires put out, the women cloistered, and no inhabitant shows

himself in the interior courtyard. The final ceremony includes the erection of a hollow clay statue (3) (also called Ngil) before

3. Cf. the description in the articles of Leroux, op. cit., and Poupard, op. cit.

which "all the inhabitants of the village and those of the villages of the same line" must appear, and whose function is to reveal the guilty ones (who have caused unexplained deaths or calamities from which the whole group has suffered, etc.). The intervention of the Ngil is sought in moments of serious crises. It calls for total action involving large groupings for whom it has a real therapeutic value: by determining guilt (impossible to contest because it is a matter of a superior and anonymous justice), by reinstating unity (on a passionate basis) at the time of the punishment, by re-creating a new vigor by means of this "purification."

The religious aspect of the "association" justifies such an absolute, such an indisputable action. Unfortunately, we know little about it, except that certain dead are called upon by means of skulls, bones, and sacrifices, and that fertility rites are included when the Ngil has a female companion, Omore (1). [144]

1. H. Trilles, op. cit., p. 62, writes that "the new members must accomplish a number of actions connected with the act of generating before the statue of Omore ...," and Poupard speaks of "shameful ceremonies."

We have here a prevalent dialectic: a recourse to the social past – which is a true reservoir of endlessly accumulated powers – in order to instruct the social future and to fertilize it; the past and the future, the ancestors and the living are, like the generation of the ésa and that of the mwanõ, in the relation of begetter to begotten. This movement expresses dependence and a certain social order. The intervention of the Ngil – but it is not the only

one — tends to re-establish this elementary order, it is a reta-
statement, a pledge of fertility and power. Apparently the Ngil
resembles a great many other "associations" that have existed in
Gabon, especially the Mwiri of the Ngounié people. (2) It con-

2. Cf. A. Maclatchy, "Organisation sociale des populations de la region de Mimongo [Social Organization of the Peoples of the Mimongo Region]," Bulletin de l'Institut d'Etudes Centrafricaines, I, 1, 1945.

stitutes primarily an instrument of struggle against the sorcerers (bôyêm), to the extent that they attempt to interfere with the normal order. But it is much more than that: it is the indication of a power superior to that based on kinship, a grouping with a great capacity for control (doubtless the most powerful).

The Fang have known other associations of men with specialized functions — or rather those that create "specialists," such as the akûm, who directs the ceremonies linked with the male dance called makuma. The akûm, who appears also as a sort of chronicler-singer, intervening especially at the time of funerals and affairs concerning fertility (search for the "sorcerer" responsible for an abortion that might result in permanent sterility.(3)

3. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., p. 79.

ceremonial intended to lift the incest which creates sterile marriages). The akûm in daily life is distinguished from the non-initiates by being subject to a number of special interdicts. He is a "respected, or rather a feared, person," for to him is attributed "great power." "In order to reach this situation he must have been taught by another akûm; he must have learned the interminable songs that last a whole night long, and then with his own hand kill one of his close relatives...." (4) This brief description is

4. Father L. Martrou, "Les Éki

an old man, mǒm mǒ, who lived too long lost his prestige as he became decrepit. It seems probable that during the great migrations old people, particularly feeble old women, were abandoned in the forest when a village moved in site. Certainly death must often have come before the infirmities of age, from fighting, hunting, or the first serious illness. My informants were always unanimous in telling me that the skull of an infirm or senile old man could not be used in the bǐéri cult.

With the second generation of descendants, a man, alive or dead, inevitably becomes ɛ́mvam, a forefather, in the double sense of grandfather and ancestor.

An age grade covers about three years: this is about the longest possible stretch of time during which two children born on different dates can both be at the breast together, and it was approximately the interval separating two large collective initiation ceremonies. Classificatory kinship groups people by generation: all those of one generation are bǒbɛ́nyǎ̃, brothers, as mentioned above. Within an age grade the term ɛ́jula, "comrade," is more apt to be used. The succession of age grades created an internal hierarchy within the generation and strengthened the clan and tribal ties between the bijula. This strengthening was even more marked between the bo'bɛ́wǒ of the same time of initiation.

Modern life alters these ties, as much from the dying out or transformation of the initiations as from the loosening of ties in the extended family and also from the greater mobility of individuals and limited families. The little Fang boy born at Fort-Lamy, where his father is postal agent, scarcely feels himself to be the ɛ́jula of his clan monyǎ̃ born on the same day at Libreville. Economic and political developement tends more and more to set up hierarchies founded more on occupation, wealth, even education, rather than on age and rank in the family. /58/

4. Slavery, Castes, Classes, Chiefdoms

Largeau spoke of the Pahouin as of a "people who have no synonym for our words 'king,' 'master,' 'servant,' 'workman,' 'slave.'" It is a fine phrase, but it only partially corresponds to reality. Largeau himself, in his encyclopedia, translates the word "slave" as nsagha, a loan word from Gabonese (Mpongwé), he says. Further north, people

[576] preceded by drummers and trumpet players and by a boy (uncircumcised?) entrusted with holding across the village street a liana, which the cortege broke through only after sacrificing a chicken. The uninitiated did not have the right to be present at this procession. The ngil leader, masked and painted in red and white, carried his personal bieri (bieri); he was always accompanied by a full orchestra (mvet guitar, mbaf and ebul drums, mvejè balafo). The initiation ceremony lasted a month (1).

[309] 1. The ngil mark was a tattoo below the sacrum, therefore covered by the loincloth. Initiates did not go out except in masks, so that theoretically it was impossible to recognize them.

Members of the ngil circulated in small groups, masked, to carry [785] out inquiries in villages where a case of sorcery was suspected or to put sorcerers to death. For ordinary cases they applied the ordeals in current use (minkal), but for serious cases it was necessary to arrange for an initiation ceremony: this feature is found in nearly all ritual associations, where initiation is always accompanied by collective catharsis.

[309] Among other masculine initiation societies the ndôngô rite must be mentioned, whose initiates have two incisions on the nape of the neck. Its symbolic /features/ include confession, purification, seclusion in darkness, passage through a narrow corridor or a low doorway, a liana-serpent, a consecrated lance, a sacrifice (2), a

[712 789] 2. Dogs were sacrificed. Ndôngô canceled serious minsem /breaking a taboo/ like homicide or incest and allowed initiates to eat pork, mutton, and porcupine. (J. B.)

[925] horrible brew. The ritual animal was the tortoise. The purpose of this rite seems also to have been protection against sorcerers and, perhaps, to improve luck, ma'a. The initiation of circumcised youths, bekunga, is perhaps a juvenile form of ndôngô. Both survived until the Second World War. Ndôngô does not seem to set up

have his wife initiated so as to ward off bad luck. This is not the only example of the indirect intervention of one sex in a rite of the opposite sex. Alldgot points out that it is a "woman who has had bad luck fishing" who "finds the ironwood for making the war fetish." It certainly seems that he has mixed up ngil with ñ, but the example remains valuable. Therefore, though traditional rites and the associations of initiates of these rites were strictly masculine or feminine, this does not altogether exclude the intervention of the opposite sex. No more can be said in our present state of knowledge (2).

> 2. The other important women's rite, ngômbô, was more especially limited to old women. The participants built a sort of basin out of four banana trunks and their leaves, in which a vegetable biall /medicament/ was prepared that gave protection against theft. (J.B.)

Contemporary cults and associations, on the other hand, are open to both sexes, whether religious or politico-religious societies or mutual-aid associations.

The two principal politico-religious associations are the bwiti (or mbuti) and the ngil, well described by Balandier (no. 175). They have spread to the north from Gabon and the Middle Congo and are not of Pahouin origin. They are beginning to penetrate Boulou country, where they have not been as successful as among the Fang of the south, undoubtedly because of the lower degree of social destruction.

Bwiti was originally a "tyogo" ancestor cult, comparable to the Pahouin bidri, if one accepts Trilles. It must have first appeared among the Pahouin at the beginning of the century, probably among Pahouin families cut off from their clans and thus from the bidri and ô rites, whose significance is primarily ethnic and familial. Libreville was an important point of contact, not only between African peoples of different stock, but also with European religious systems. Modern bwiti borrows a great deal from Christianity and also from freemasonry, which was fairly widespread in Gabon before the war, especially in half-caste circles and on the periphery of principal towns. In assuming this syncretist character, bwiti appears at the same time as a nationalist—or Africanist—movement and as a progressive movement abandoning the old cults or rather modernizing them. It is the

[271] community. After another sacrifice, the bevôn were again confined inside the ésam sô, where initiates had dug a narrow passage and covered it with wattling and earth, the bottom strewn with thorns, crushed pimento, and warrior ants. The bevôn would receive final instruction, then, after taking mud baths, grunting like hogs, they had to crawl through the passage previously filled with smoke, while the minkpwangôn struck and pricked them with assagais through the cover; a mvôn who rose up or tried to escape was immediately killed by prisoners stationed outside the enclosure. This was the third stage, the true "death of the sô," awu sô.

After leaving the esam, the bevôn were supposed to be aggressive, teasing, to worry the other villagers, steal food, fowls, etc., tear down barriers, and in general behave like wild beasts. This period lasted for several days, preceding the sortie of the sô, akui sô, a parade of the group in war dress, carrying spears engraved with the distinctive clan mark, ndem, which had been consecrated during the initiation. A feast followed. For six months (mbu) afterward, the new initiates were still subject to certain sexual and food prohibitions, from which they were freed if they killed a man during the period. At the end /100/ of this waiting time, they went away, painted white, into seclusion for a night and came back painted red, making the rounds of the village nine times in procession. Then they bathed in a stream where fishing was afterward forbidden until the initiation of the next group, apparently.

A young man thus initiated became a mone wôsô, child of the death of the sô (wu = to die; wôé = to kill), thereafter ready for marriage, which would make him a complete man, nya môtô. His [270] father might instruct him in the family cult, which till then he knew only in its externals; he was taught to identify the ancestral skulls kept in the biéti basket and to enter into communication with them [272] by means of the narcotic herb alan. Sometimes the instruction was given collectively in the melan rite, which, according to Stoll, complemented sô, the latter being androgynous, while the former was gynandrous. Sô was to give creative power, melan fecundity and wealth. Melan has a medical aspect lacking in sô; the participation of women is greater. Some elements seem to have survived until the present day, whereas the last sô ceremonies must have occurred about [114] 1940. Stoll gives a pretty full description in La tonétique des langues bantu ... du Cameroun /The Tonal System of the Bantu Languages ... of the Cameroons/ (no. 84).

GL 774

the shadow or immaterial duplicate of the body. The heart and lungs, nlem, are the seat of the intellect and sensibility, especially of the consciousness of good and evil, the seat of the moral and mental personality. It is by way of the nlem that a person's mind is struck, that, for instance, he is made mad; through their ɛ̀vur the beyem do di nlem, eat the nlem, of their victims. The nlem for a time survives death; the nsisim seems to be immortal. Breath, avebe (from vebe, to breathe, derived from vee = to be alive, alert) is characteristic of physiological life (1).

> 1. Among the Ewondo, the breath, ewundu (Boulou, evunulu = wind) is characteristic of the human being, as is nsisim; animals are not provided with either, that is why they can be eaten. (J. B.)

Strength, tye, tyi, kie, or ki, is somehow external to the individual, independent of him, yet that which insures the cohesion of the elements of the personality. It seems to be particularly localized in the nlem (thoracic organs) and the boo, brain, which is evidently the seat of action (the verb bo = to do, to act), whence the importance of skulls in the ancestral cult, bidti. Ngui, which may also be translated "strength," is more "capacity" or "power," the faculty of making use of tyi. It is impersonal, it pre-exists and survives the individual, who during his lifetime can waste or augment it; it is the basis for magic and sorcery, tyi being in itself neither good nor bad. Everything that exists possesses tyi, including the dead, but living beings possess more than inanimate beings, and men more than other living beings. Sacrifices and prohibitions revalue around this notion, as vocabulary well shows: ɛ̀tyi = prohibition, metyi = blood, atyi = egg, tyik = to cut, to kill, to command, etc., (cf. above p. 25). The dead keep a certain amount of strength, which makes them at the same time potentially dangerous and potentially usable.

[769]

551

A name, jɔ̀ɛ, jui, also pre-exists and survives the person it distinguishes, whence the special ties between bemɔ̀ɛ /105/, homonymns, and also the need to know a person's name in order to cast a spell upon him, etc. A dead man keeps his name until it is given to one

b. Ancestor Cult, Totem, Spirits

769 We have seen that practically no worship was offered to the creator Mebe'e, only to Zambe (Nzame), the first ancestor, who was invoked as the father of all. But resort to Zambe was rather exceptional; people first asked for help, meya'ale, or protection, akam, from the nearest ancestors, bimvam.

The most characteristic form of the ancestor cult was the biéri (biéti), particularly well developed among the southernmost tribes and especially among the true Fang. Its priest was the living ancestor, the father, esa, and it had an acting hierarchy corresponding to the 769 different levels of the social structure and the clan organization, a 770 hierarchy of a religious rather than political character, as the authority which was derived from it being primarily /one of/ reverence. The main cult equipment consisted of the skulls of male ancestors, which the father, the senior, guarded in a basket, évora biéri (éwolé biéti), a kind of ark which the family group carried with it during its migrations. It was a fig-bark cylindrical box, decorated with beads and clan emblems (mindem); on the cover was a statuette of the first ancestor. The évora biéri was kept on a sort of altar (the view of which was étyi to women and the uninitiated) placed either in the hut of the head of the family or in a special hut. The évora was transported in a case of delicate basketwork, guarded by armed initiates. The skulls were painted with baa and sometimes decorated with copper or bead inlay.

769 When a younger son established a new village, the founder's skull was the first to be placed in the ark; the village he had left kept the skulls of the preceding ancestors of the lineage. Hence it may be imagined that the custodian of the lineage skulls had a certain amount of authority, delegated by the ancestors of higher rank, over the heads of splinter families, while he himself was somehow /111/ subordinate to the custodian of the ancestral skulls common to the segment, and so, one after the other ascending and descending the genealogical trees, from Zambe, departed and yet alive, to the living émvam of the last generation.

When a family split up without a quarrel, the senior, ntôl, of the new group received from his ésa, in place of the skulls which were supposed to stay with the original segment, a statuette containing fragments of ancestral bones, phalanges, teeth, or cranial bones.

769 The figure was placed on the new group's first family altar, and so afterwards were the skulls of the founder and of the benya bôtô of succeeding generations. A full biéri basket was the sign of a group's [554] antiquity, which doubtless implied prestige more than genuine authority, yet nevertheless represented the nearest approach to political authority that existed in the Fang group, particularly if one takes into account the fact that officials of interclan associations were chosen from among the owners of many skulls, whence prestige extended to a large number of mvôk or meyom. The prestige of the living was exerted through the authority of the dead.

[826] Skulls were, indeed, the seat or receptacle of the individual's capacity for action (we must remember that bo = to make, boo = brain), and the use of skulls in the practice of magic was not confined to ancestral skulls only: the skulls of enemies killed in battle or sacrificed in anthropophagous ceremonies before or afterward were preserved, and so were those stolen from neighbors. In the same way the skulls of the kinds of animals desired were used for hunting rites. However, it seems that a distinction was made between family skulls and outsiders' skulls, only the first having a place in the éwolé biéti and [782] appearing in family rites. The power of the skulls was increased by sprinkling them with sacrificial blood.

769 When a youth reached nya môtô age he had to learn to recognize 869 his ancestors so as to be able to ask for their help when the occasion 881 arose. Their skulls were shown to him until he could identify them individually and put them in the correct genealogical order. When he was able to do this, he was given a brew of the narcotic herb alan, [276] then spent a night in the biéti hut, facing the skulls, which had been removed from the éwolé and placed on the altar on which strongly scented plants were burned. During the night the ancestors appeared and gave him a cognomen and imposed one or more new taboos (at the same time he was relieved of certain prohibitions connected with age). Apparently it was during this initiation that his individual totem was revealed (if it was indeed a totem).

769 This question of the totem is very poorly elucidated, in spite of 614 some 600 pages devoted to the subject by Father Trilles. He dis- 114 tinguishes between clan, segment, individual, family, and society totems, etc. He also distinguishes a tutelary being, mvame, from the "effect of a tutelary being"; akam, an animal totem, from a dedicated animal or an incarnation of a man in an animal, etc. He

769 also discriminates between the ésayoñ, ancestor cult /112/, and the
614 mvamayoñ, totemic cult. It must be admitted that there is now no
114 chance of obtaining a cross-checking of his theories except on points of detail, although that is no formal condemnation of his theories; it is the consequence of a shortage of researchers, lack of respect on the part of the researchers, or loss of traditions of initiation. The following points may be considered as established:

mvam (émvam) connotes ideas of a forefather, dead or alive, lineal and protective.

[784] akam, protection, is sometimes used in speaking of animals, to indicate the reason for a prohibition; the verb kam having a defending-protecting meaning as well as that of forbidding-prohibiting.

All prohibitions are not tied up with these notions, but some are and they may well be individual prohibitions as well as hereditary collective ones, not necessarily involving animals.

Clan markings, mindem, and tattoo marks, mindan, are often connected with a prohibition.

825 There is a whole system of animal symbolism, evident particularly
[787] in tales and augury ("zoomancy," divination by spiders).

Certain animals are connected with initiation cults: very definitely the sô and snakes (dendraspis and python); probably the porcupine and tortoise (with feminine rites); perhaps the gorilla (njil; ngil, Johnson's tone 4, the ngil rite having tone 5).

[55] There does not appear to be any connection between an animal name borne by a person (Mvômô = Python, Zo'o = Elephant, Ze = Panther, etc.) and the prohibitions he is subject to.

Moreover, the following, it seems pretty certain, are not specifi-
614 cally related to totemism:
825 Alliance, élat or ngbwa, between a person and a particular animal.

A sorcerer's employing an animal, nkuk (observe that nkuk also means "mask") to carry out his sorcery at a distance.

[775] The incarnation of a sorcerer in the body of an animal, élañela (Trilles applies this name to the nkuk).

The temporary incarnation of a dead man in an animal's body.

The first three phenomena often seem to be confused in the minds of present-day Pahouin, and the fourth may be the consequence of this.

773 It is curious that the legend recounted by Trilles about the crocodile, which he considers to be the "national totem," represents

773 the animal pursuing the ancestors of the Fang in order to devour them, while the legendary history of migration collected in the north shows, on the contrary, the crocodile enabling the tribe to cross the Osoé Nnanga (the python performs this service for the Beti).

776 The observation made by the authors quoted on the "unsuperstitious" character of the Pahouin and of the slight development /113/ of "fetishism" among them is to be related to the almost total absence in their mythology of beings intermediary between God and man, genii or demigods.

774 825 Aside from the bivur, to be discussed in connection with sorcery, there are only the bingungur (Fang)(Boulou, bingôngôt) shown in some legends as kinds of ogres or ghouls haunting forests and attacking travelers. According to another interpretation, these rather are evil animals endowed with intelligence and malevolence beyond that of normal members of their species, perhaps animal sorcerers. The inoffensive aardvark, mvômesila, is thus very much feared; also a sort of very rare Pithecanthropus (Fang, éngure; Boulou, éngu'u) and a mermaid, the mammywôta of the coast, no doubt a lamantin /or manatee/. For Trilles, the éngungure is a "spirit, often transformed into an animal, which sorcers obey"; may there not be a confusion here with the évur (Boulou, évu)?

775 769 As for ghosts, bekôn, it might be said that there are good ones but no nice ones. One may usually get on with the kôn of a properly buried forebear who was respected in his lifetime and even obtain useful services from him, formerly paid for by sacrifices and libations 772 to his skull and often today by candles, Masses, or prayers (I have 777 known Protestants to go to Catholic missionaries for exorcism). There is more difficulty /in dealing/ with the kôn of a sorcerer or with that of a stranger neither whose name nor whose skull is in one's possession.

266 Lawful /non-criminelle/ anthropophagy probably had for an end, among others, that of acquiring power over the bekôn of enemies and perhaps of assimilating the rights they derived from their ancestors. This wartime cannibalism appears to have existed especially on the geographical fringes of the group and particularly along the invasion front, among the Fang proper, the vanguard of the migration. A relative or affinal kin was never eaten, only strangers, and these only by warriors (or sometimes by sons of warriors killed by the enemy). It is worth noting that for the cannibalism of the Fang and Osyéba only the "Gabonese" felt the terror described by all explorers. The

779 [Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [402]
791 Sometimes in very important tribes, especially in those that make up large, compact groups, this role of minister to the mvamayôn has developed temporarily upon the practitioner.

Sometimes practitioners take on the role themselves and hold it by their personal importance or ability.

In both cases a kind of usurpation is always involved or a mixing up of powers, rarely a substitution. The practitioner then acts not in his own name by virtue of his role and his own authority, but as a delegated power. ...

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator] [403]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

779 Thus in certain specific cases the political chief of the clan
791 leaves the exercise of religious worship to the practitioner even
614 with regard to the totem. Yet this is only a delegated role to the
769 extent that when the totem has to be questioned in a critical situation, the practitioner disappears and the chief resumes his rights: it would then be up to him to carry out ritual acts and make sacrifices. A chief may not be able to do this, [404] for instance, if he were very ill. A sacrifice is then offered to the totem directly concerned. Does the practitioner now come to the fore? Not at all. He first sacrifices to the tutelary spirits and spirits of the dead, and then he interrogates the spirits in order to find out what evil influences have caused the illness and to discover the person who, in the sacred phrase, has "made a fetish" against the sick man. The consanguineous heir appears in his turn to invoke the family's guardian spirits in favor of the sick man and to invoke his totem. In this case, invocations and sacrifice have a dual purpose: first, to invoke the direct ancestors represented by their skulls preserved in the biéri box -- this is the cult of the esayôn; secondly, to invoke the totem represented by a real or symbolic fragment -- this is the cult of the mvamayôn.

[Four paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [405]

791 There are two distinct characters: practitioner [feticheur]
757 and sorcerer.

The practitioner takes several forms: he may be soothsayer, physician, priest -- all different manifestations of the same ministry and all legal. In a word, the practitioner is the agent of the acknowledged cult.

575 769 We are dealing here with a recognized though secret cult, an accepted cult, addressed to spirits and -- of especial importance -- to the spirits of ancestors. On this subject the practitioner is entirely in agreement with the chief and the tribal traditions.

754 575 But in addition to natural magic to which the practitioners are confined, so to speak, "there is another," says Mgr. Le Roy, (1) [437] "which claims to borrow its power and methods

1. La Religion des Primitifs [The Religion of Primitive Peoples], p. 340, "La Magie [Magic]."

from beings of the invisible world, from the disembodied ancestral spirits of men and even of animals, from independent spirits ....

"This anti-Religion has, like Religion, its worship, incantations, evocations, rites, fetishes, offerings, sacrifices, ministers, feast days, places of assembly."

First of all, it has its ministers, who are none other than the sorcerers. For this reason in the preceding pages [cf. Chap. 12--Translator] I have already tried to give a sketch of the sorcerer and to make a clear distinction between him and the practitioner by, describing the main traits of his personality, by sorting out a complicated whole in which many points meet and many lines cross and interpenetrate.

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

Leaving out everything not directly bearing on the subject under discussion, let us examine only the following points, which will show both the great similarities and considerable differences that, from the totemic point of view, exist between these two orders of phenomena.

1. Like the practitioners ... [438] sorcerers have united in secret societies for the purpose of assuring their vitality and power.

2. The feast days and initiation ceremonies have numerous points of resemblance. However, those of the sorcerers' cult exhibit a much more marked character of horror, cruelty, and especially an extreme immorality, and a hideous obscenity, dominated by a perverted cult of blood descent and procreation.

779 In totemic worship, on the other hand, which is not re-
771 ligion but a collection of religious phenomena, this role belongs to the family or tribal head and if, in an exceptional case, it is performed by the practitioner, he does so as a delegate only.

779 The cult of the mvamayôn is in fact a derived cult, pri-
769 marily based upon the esayôn cult without which it would have no raison d'être. Indeed, the esayôn is the true father of the tribe and without the esayôn there could be no mvamayôn; one evidently cannot exist without the other. But the esayôn, or ancestral worship, is independent of what is strictly a religious cult or recognition of the divine being and worship of spirits. The esayôn cult is connected with religion per se in the sense of drawing upon it as a source and, according to the Fan, of deriving from it its ultimate origin and fundamental rationale. The esayôn cult is therefore primarily and in principle a family cult, if one takes each tribal ancestor separately. It is national if the first ancestor or ancestors of the tribe are viewed together. The cult, then, is definitely connected with the genuine religious cult of deities, [500] in the sense that in many Bantu tribes, and probably among the Fan, the first ancestor or ancestors of the tribe are now deified and raised to the rank of national gods, or at least, spiritual protectors of the tribe.

779 Totemism therefore has only relative importance as a basis
[771] for Fan religious conceptions and takes, one might say, only third place, after the leading cult of spirits and then after ancestor worship, of which it is but a derivative.

Totemic rites will, as I have said, be general or particular according to whether they are connected with the mvamayôn or the étotore. The first rites relate to the race itself and what bears upon its continuance and preservation, the others relate to the individual, not as a particular person but as a member of the race. From this we come quite naturally to recognizing among them those of the family and those of society, with religion entering to a greater or lesser extent into the second.

VI. The Establishment of a New Village

361 Various circumstances may lead to the setting-up of a new
621 village. Worked-out land, denuded hunting anf fishing grounds,
166 decaying huts, a disease decimating the children, the chief's
787 death, a defeat in war, sometimes merely the wish to push on, are the principal reasons.

The spirits are consulted before departure is considered. [Footnote omitted.] There is a triple sacrifice; to the spiritual guardians of the village, to the ancestors, and to the totem. If the three replies are favorable, plans may go ahead. Otherwise, a sacrifice producing an ill-omened interpretation will be undertaken again, after a few days, until a favorable result is obtained.

361 After this first test a suitable location is sought. As this
621 choice is made by delegates, the practitioner is called upon and he, with all the male inhabitants, combs the [557] surroundings of the new village, singing and dancing so as to drive away malignant spirits or any that might be injurious to the new establishment.

361 All the men then come together in the middle of what will
621 be the future village, and the chief picks out the spot where he
● 769 will build his own hut. A sacrifice is offered there, first to the
782 totem and then to the spirits of the ancestors. To do this a roof of leaves is hastily erected and roughly placed on a few stakes. The évora biéri is carried underneath the roof and the chief puts in front of the unopened box a black hen and a kid.

Before slaughtering the two victims, the chief removes the akaméyôn from his baldrick and blows three times in the oviara, turning in three different directions. The objective of this ceremony is to dispel evil spirits. He then drags the akaméyôn behind him over the entire site of the new village. After one round he does another, holding the akaméyôn in his hand. Thus malignant spirits of earth and air will be dispersed. The akaméyon is then put on the évora biéri. The chief slaughters the hen by cutting off its head, grasps it by the feet, and sprinkles the akaméyôn and box. He again traverses the village, sprinkling

361 the sites of future huts with blood. The hen is then opened up
621 and divided among the principal warriors and the chief's relatives.
769 This strictly, speaking, constitutes the totemic sacrifice. The
782 kid or sheep is then offered to the spirits of departed souls and to the ancestors.

After the sacrifice to ancestors the chief puts the akaméyôn
361 back at his side. From the mfex or pouch, which is never re-
621 moved, he draws forth a small bundle of dirty material wrapped
769 around a bit of red wood, ashes, and a few bones. All this
778 comes from a sacrifice to the totem like that already described. To these he adds the remnants of the recent sacrifice and buries
[824] it all deep in a hole in which he drives a strong stake of élun or éfirfira wood; sometimes a young ebony tree is also used.
[822 At the top of the stake he fixes a ball of paste made of red wood,
842] white chalk -- the colors of sacrifices and spirits, and manioc, the symbol of fertility. A part of the clan or tribal totem is also inserted. The practitioner, with many gestures, songs, and dances imprisons within it all the evil spirits of the air. [558]

The practitioner sows maize in the middle of the village, then plants a manioc root and particularly a euphorbia (euphorbia antiquorum), and puts a small fence around, so that the plants
[787] will not be desecrated. The village's prosperity depends upon their rapid growth. Should they wither, the chosen spot will be abandoned. Euphorbia has the power of averting thunder and evil
[824] spirits by means of its bristling points. Amaryllis and immortelles are often planted at the foot of the euphorbia, along with a few stalks of sugar cane. The amaryllis and immortelles ought to come from the old village, having issued from those which the chief's first wife had formerly brought from her
[842] native village at her marriage. Sugar cane is a symbol of fertility.

241 The women plant maize everywhere after these prelimi-
361 naries, and its rapid growth ensures basic subsistence. Meanwhile the men build the huts. The first ears of maize will certainly be offered to the guardian totem. Dried and preserved in the form of a coronet, they will provide seed for the following year.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

name, the *Eki* of the Fang being the *Orunda* of the Mpongwe. One day when ou 784
a journey among the people, I asked an old headman to share with me a chicken 778
my boy had prepared for supper; the old man seemed pleased at my invitation, but asked the boy if it was a hen or cock fowl. Upon being informed that it was a cock, he declined to eat any of it: that was his *Eki*. As previously stated, I do 769
not believe the natives worship the spirits of Present and Future, but to a certain degree ancestral worship does exist. A Fang places the skull of his father in a curious receptacle of bark, worshipping it, killing fowls and making blood offerings to it, and in many ways the whole matter somewhat resembles the worshipping at graves and before ancestral tablets as practised in China. The natives often pray to their father's skull before talking a large war palaver, or the purchase of a new woman. As worshipping departed ancestors is the chief duty of a faithful Chinaman, so making offerings and prayers to the departed father's spirit before the skull constitutes the great Fang fetish, or *bieti*. Wooden idols, *biyeme*, of men [831]
and women are made in a manner which makes the sex extremely apparent; yet [532]
whenever I have seen these figures in towns, the people did not seem to regard them as obscene, but as truthful representations of the sexes. I feel sure that to some extent, at least, phallic worship is practised among the Fang. Spirits are 776
everywhere; in rocks, trees, forests, and streams; in fact, for the Fang, this life is one continual fight against spirits corporal and spiritual.

A peculiar belief regarding dreams is that when a person sleeps the soul often 787
wanders away, and its experiences on these journeys are made known to the sleeper 928
by dreams. After death the soul may inhabit any kind of animal. [775]

Fetish Biang (medicine).—Fetish means anything; leopard teeth, human finger nails, hair, wood, iron, herbs. The article used as *biang* or fetish, has no 778
intrinsic value, it is only valued because of connecting its owner with a spirit which can aid him. The leopard tooth fetish is supposed to impart the bravery of the leopard to its owner. Fetish is a spirit or combination of spirits manifested in material things.

Dili Mkuk.—To murder a person and save his skull as a fetish, or use the skull as medicine to bring women, guns, goats or goods. The people will make offerings to the skulls calling them by the names of persons killed. It is said that these prayers are always answered as desired.

Biang e Soli (hiding medicine).—A man goes and takes leaves of trees, and cuts 789
them up. He says, "I have cut up leaves of trees" (or high grass, bushes). The women shell gourd seeds and mash them. They catch a fowl, kill it, and put it in the pot. They also put in the pot the medicine leaves, and the mashed gourd kernels. They put the pot on the fire, and boil (its contents). When they have boiled it, the medicine is cooked. They take the medicine pot off (the fire). They go and put it by the side of (*afuŭ*) the back of the *bieti*. The man who has put it there says to the *bieti*, other people want to kill me. He takes away the medicine pot. He opens the *bieti* basket. He takes a small piece of the bone (instead of this say to the woman and children he takes the excrement of the

575 184 We have not been able to learn anything about the ceremonies of protection against the bivur. However, Akam Eyene told us that when a member of the buiti has inadvertently eaten the flesh of his protecting animal, which is absolutely forbidden, he holds a meeting called dzimba in the course of which the wrongdoer, after dancing, presents his case. Then the [77] head of the buiti absolves him, spitting scrapings of the bark of the ovaṅ onto his head.

575 198 The buiti has a secret language. Akam Eyene gave us only the secret names of certain of its initiates, which correspond to the animals chosen as protectors:

He himself	called	ndzikwe	chimpanzee
Ondo Ngema	—	ngilabongo	gorilla
Akum Eyene	—	asingi	tiger cat
Ngema Eyene	—	mitumbu	panther
Bekeka Yebe	—	mogabene	elephant
Angwe Nseme	—	menyanga	snake
Mba Minkwe	—	meyasamba	rooster
Kumeyeme	—	mepeku	eagle
Abaga	—	ndzobe	wildcat

771 V. Totemism. Despite all questions which we have put to many natives of various tribes, we have not been able to find any signs of totemism. We were only told of instances of individual unions with animals, as in the buiti or following an akaga.

Family and Collective Life

000 In this chapter we will examine the life of the individual in the family and in the social group, from his conception until his death, in corporating into this framework the family and tribal organization as well as relations with strangers.

842 833 841 Conception (menoṅ bum). A woman, we have been told by our male and female informants, cannot conceive until after she has menstruated four times. She is, in fact, forbidden to have sexual intercourse before her fourth period. At her first menses, the woman tells her mother or her mother-in-law if she is married (usually her mother-in-law, since there is hardly even a young girl, still with her family, without a husband); the latter henceforth supervises her more

771 781 114 The first observers described the Pahouin, especially the Fang, as "less superstitious," "less given to fetishism" than neighboring populations. Trilles and Martrou emphasized their profound religious sentiment, while Allégret (no. 147) gives very interesting information about the feeling of religious destitution they experienced, particularly after contact with Europeans. Often observed also has been the ease with which they would adopt new beliefs and ceremonies, and this refers not only to Christian sects but to cults like bwiti and ngôl and even, before the last war, to freemasonry in the vicinity of Libreville.

All these influences are so intermingled that we must resort to a kind of conjectural palaeontology in order to reconstruct their original beliefs. Without casting any reflection upon the intellectual integrity of observers like Trilles and Martrou, we must recognize—and regret—that a certain professional slant from time to time affected their conclusions, to a point that induces us to turn instead to laymen much less well qualified linguistically, like Largeau, of whom Trilles has shown himself perhaps a little too critical.

a. Concept of God, Creation

776 The Pahouin believe (or used to believe, see later on) in a creator god Mebe'e (Fang, Mebere, Mebeghe), eternal, formerly immanent, becoming infinitely transcendant after the first nsem.

The word Mebe'e seems to be related to the verb be'e, to carry, which has the agent-noun, mbe'e. Mbe'e is a plural form, corresponding to nouns of action and also to the collective plural forms of names of liquids (mendim = water, metyi = blood, meyôm = sperm, etc.). It is usually accompanied by triple apposition: "Mebe'e, Mebe'e menkpwa, sokuma, mbongbwe" (or, according to Trezenem, mba angwe). The meaning of these three qualifiers is as uncertain as that of Mebe'e; menkpwa should probably be connected with kpwaé = to strike down, to judge, to condemn; sokuma with kôm (kum) = to arrange, to direct, sô conveying the idea of generosity, rectitude, balance (Boulou, soso, zoso); mbongbwé would then, according to Grebert, mean "creator of generations" (bo = to make; ngbwé = maternal kinship), but could also be /108/ connected with ngbwa = love, friendship, alliance, with the sense of "he who makes an alliance" or "he who loves."

000

d) Consequences of circumcision. Mgr. Le Roy's opinion of circumcision. The writer's view. [497]
2) Initiation of the young man. Tests before admission to warrior rank. Consecration and song connected with the rifle, the hymn to the sun.
3) Consecration of the chief. a) The ceremony. The consecration song. Sacrifice and victim. b) Rite of the spear among Marundi and Fan. Purpose of these ceremonies. c) Rites of initiation and consecration of the chief compared with the religious role of the Pharaoh. d) Mistakes made by European administration in appointing chiefs outside the main lineage.
e) Change of the clan totem. Examples.
4) War and palavers. War sacrifice and the victim. The ceremony. The sacrificer. Communion through the victim.
5) Large hunting expeditions. Sacrifice; the motive.
6) Founding a new village. Reasons. Preparatory rites.
Establishment.
7) Ordeals. Various kinds. Occasions for ordeals. Fire and boiling water tests. The poison test.
8) Blood exchange. How it is practiced among the Fan and among various African tribes.

[Beginning of Text]

• 771 The whole of the Fan's life, like that of every African, whether Bantu or other, is deeply imbued with religion.

Sometimes it gives form to and determines the principal actions of family and social life, sometimes it constitutes their very essence and raison d'être. It is then, strictly speaking, religious life.

These acts of worship are performed by special ministers, by the father of the family in the case of family rites, by the clan or tribal chief for public phenomena, and by the practitioner

T71 or true minister for religious life. Often, however, the practitioner actually, though not lawfully, replaces the father and especially the clan or racial chief. Alongside the practitioner, struggling against him in the background, appears the sorcerer, the agent of the extra- or contra-legal cult.

The religious act is addressed to spirits, to souls of the departed, to ancestors, to unknown forces of nature, etc. It is also addressed to the totem, as we have defined it. The totem is connected with religion by close ties which, at least for the Fan, link it inseparably with ancestor worship and determine the worshipping rites that are its due. [498]

1. Totemic Claim to Worshipping Rites

T79 The claims of the true totem to worshipping rites is clearly defined by virtue of its being the father of the tribe and founder of the race.

In using these two words, "father" and "founder," as I have pointed out before, I in no way mean that the eponymous animal is the real father of the face, the actual progenitive founder. I am using these words as the natives do, so as to adopt their own terms. Frequently, they have been misunderstood. (1)

1. Cf. S. Reinach, Orpheus (under the word "totem"), p. 20 and passim.

Real kinship has often been confused with kinship based on sentiment, mode of speech, or custom. Moreover, some writers have been in doubt, even with firsthand evidence:

"I have never been able to ascertain from Banyoro or Baganda that their forefathers at any time believed the clan to be descended from the object chosen as a totem. The matter remains very obscure. It may be remotely connected with ancestor-worship, which is certainly the foundation of such religious beliefs as are held by the Banyoro, as by most other Negro races." (2)

2. Sir H. Johnston, The Uganda Protectorate, Preface.

779 As may be seen from these remarks of Sir Harry Johnston, the resemblance between mvamayôn and esayôn was more the consequence of a writer's preconceived idea or of a native's misinterpreted statement than of the words themselves and the crux of the matter.

What, then, are the totem's rights, according to this view of kinship; are they real in the exact sense of the word or simply the result of blood exchange?

As father of the tribe, mvamayôn, and founder of the race, the totem has a claim to a cult and, consequently, to special rites, determining the circumstances, place, and manner of worship.

But the mvamayôn may and should be considered from two points of view: it is the protector of clan and tribe, and thereby, strictly speaking, the mvamayôn; it consequently has a right to public worship, national or tribal. But it is also the protector of the family [499] and the individual, and thereby, the étotore; it consequently has a claim to family and individual worship. In order to apprehend and understand the significance of many totemic phenomena, it is absolutely necessary to make this distinction.

The mvamayôn therefore ought to receive ritual worship, and not just any kind; this presupposes the intervention of a practitioner representing the chief, or the head of the family or even the tribal chief. And not only does the mvamayôn have a right to collective public worship in special circumstances laid down by law, such as the establishment of a new village, but further, as étotore, to private, individual worship, which requires the intervention of a private person and a head of a family, not of a practitioner or tribal chief.

779 But, let me emphasize that this totemic worship, whether
● 771 private and individual or tribal and general, does not in certain respects fit into the wider framework of religious life per se, or, if one prefers, does not constitute the religion of the nation or tribe. Indeed the practitioner is the rightful representative, guardian, and recognized sacrificial ministrant of religion, not by choice but by his function itself.

779 In totemic worship, on the other hand, which is not re-
● 771 ligion but a collection of religious phenomena, this role belongs to the family or tribal head and if, in an exceptional case, it is performed by the practitioner, he does so as a delegate only.

The cult of the mvamayôn is in fact a derived cult, pri-
779 marily based upon the esayôn cult without which it would have no
769 raison d'être. Indeed, the esayôn is the true father of the tribe and without the esayôn there could be no mvamayôn; one evidently cannot exist without the other. But the esayôn, or ancestral worship, is independent of what is strictly a religious cult or recognition of the divine being and worship of spirits. The esayôn cult is connected with religion per se in the sense of drawing upon it as a source and, according to the Fan, of deriving from it its ultimate origin and fundamental rationale. The esayôn cult is therefore primarily and in principle a family cult, if one takes each tribal ancestor separately. It is national if the first ancestor or ancestors of the tribe are viewed together. The cult, then, is definitely connected with the genuine religious cult of deities, [500] in the sense that in many Bantu tribes, and probably among the Fan, the first ancestor or ancestors of the tribe are now deified and raised to the rank of national gods, or at least, spiritual protectors of the tribe.

779 Totemism therefore has only relative importance as a basis
[771] for Fan religious conceptions and takes, one might say, only third place, after the leading cult of spirits and then after ancestor worship, of which it is but a derivative.

Totemic rites will, as I have said, be general or particular according to whether they are connected with the mvamayôn or the ètotore. The first rites relate to the race itself and what bears upon its continuance and preservation, the others relate to the individual, not as a particular person but as a member of the race. From this we come quite naturally to recognizing among them those of the family and those of society, with religion entering to a greater or lesser extent into the second.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

so now because I known it's wrong." His latter statement I gave very little credit to. 266

Fang who admitted to me that "bad Fang eat men, but not the people of their town or tribe," asserted that all parts of the body are eaten; that the victims are not considered as sacrifices to any gods, but that the bones are used for *biang* (medicine).

Human flesh does not form part of the regular food of the people, and to a certain extent the natives seem ashamed to admit that "other Fang eat men"; they never admitted to me that any of *their tribe* did so.

XII.—*Religion, Fetish or Biang (medicine).*

These anthropophagi have some idea of God, a superior being, their *Tata* (father) *a bo mam mezese* (he made all things). *Anyambi* is their *tata* and ranks above all other Fang gods, because *a'ne yôp* (he is above, *lit.* lives in heaven). The Fang have other or minor gods, the greatest of whom was *Sekôme*, and many Fang say *Sekôme* and *Anyambi* are one and the same god; hence the saying "*Sekôme anga kôm mam mezese*" (Sekôme he made (arranged) all things). The following is a list of Fang minor gods: 776

Nzame.
Mabeka.
Nkwa.
Sekôme (reported as being Anyambi).
Ube.
Nzame begat Mabeka.
Mabeka begat Nkwa.
Nkwa begat Sekôme.
Sekôme begat Ube.

The Fang have no religion in the generally accepted meaning of the word, for it is mostly made up of an unlimited and disconnected chain of superstitions beliefs. [771]

The key-note of the superstitious beliefs of the Fang is that the Present and Future is filled with innumerable numbers of spiritual beings. The great spirit *Tata* (father) *Anyambi* or *Sekôme* is considered indifferent to the wants and sufferings of men, women and children. I do not believe that worship is directed in any way whatever to the spirits of Present and Future, the natives seeming rather to consider propitiation, exhortation and supplication as the three things most essential and necessary. The spirits of Present and Future possess to a large degree the better human passions, and also the baser ones. The origin of these innumerable spirits of Present and Future is extremely vague: *Anyambi* or *Sekôme* is credited with having created many; others are the souls of dead relatives, still retaining after death human sensations and desires. The Fang have the same

789 to represent the storm. Thus the storm is pressed onto the ground,
821 as it were. If the storm is already approaching, they beat a plantain stalk to tatters on the ground of the village square, and as they do so, they exclaim:

[539] okŭ[š] a lŭde ma a lŭd: Okă[k] nkĭa
Storm, it pass by me, by (pass), (to) Okak in the west.

3. Astronomy

821 Even for a primitive people the astronomical knowledge of
772 the Pangwe is very limited. This fact can be excused only in part by the unfavorable conditions of their country (rainy forest region).

The Pangwe have the same conception of the earth as that of the "ancients," that is to say, they think of it as flat like a plate and surrounded on all sides by the ocean. Over the earth and the ocean arches the sky which, as is stated in the creation story, originated as a part of the earth that was blasted off and raised up on high. In other words, the sky is thought of as firm and finitely bounded, just as is the earth. One should, accordingly, imagine a large bell jar placed over a gigantic plate in the center of which the earth floats in water, and this gives one the conception held by the Pangwe. As regards the earth, they naturally think only of Africa, that is, they conceive of it as one single continuous land mass.

The sky is infinitely high; the tallest mountains known to the Pangwe do not extend into it. One would have to set about 200 or more silk-cotton trees (Ceiba, on the average 70 meters tall) end on end in order to touch the sky.

821 The material of the sky is similar to that of the earth, and,
[823] like it, it is harder and firmer on the inside and softer, more fluid on the outside -- a train of thought engendered by the swamps and the softened loam soil. Just as the crust of the earth forms clods, so the outer surface of the sky forms "scales" (eb[s] e dzob "scales of the sky," that is to say, clouds). The clouds, however, are

266 Boulou and Ntoumou, who often fought the Fang, do not accuse them of cannibalism, which seems to prove that this /practice/ was restricted to "foreign" wars, to conquests. Intestinal cannibalism was held in horror and practiced only by sorcerers, often called bedi bôt, man-eaters. Di nlem, usually translated as "soul eating," means literally "to eat the thoracic organs" and may be applied to outright material consumption of these internal organs. On the other hand, the anthropophagy or "necropophagy" that might be qualified as homeopathic, which consists of swallowing in a biañ (mbiañ) a tiny amount, often as ash, of an ancestor's or an initiate's body, has nothing criminal about it and apparently used to be part of all important rites. /113/ From this point of view, the communion meal of the body of the sô, if this rite is truly totemic, represented perhaps manducation of the ancestor.

As for gastronomic cannibalism, it is a story for the picture papers. Not only man's flesh but even that of anthropoids, aside from the cases mentioned above, is absolutely taboo /the plural bityi is used here. —Tr./, and accidental consumption or consumption enforced 261 783 by absolute necessity (for instance, if hunters are marooned by a flood) entails rigorous purification.

c. Elements of Cosmogony

772 803 Our knowledge of the traditional world view is largely conjectural too, for the reasons already pointed out. We may state with reasonable certainty two fundamental concepts:

Orientation of space and time referred to the apparent movement of the sun; perhaps it would be better to speak of space-time, as the two ideas are closely connected.

The principle described by Stoll as "double symmetry," which could also be called "sexual complementarity" and summed up as the equilibrium in tension of all elements of the universe /création/.

These two concepts are, as things stand, tied together if not inseparable.

Time and space flow from east to west in a declining movement. East is ôku, upstream, high, and male; west, nke, is downstream, low, and female. The earth, si, is surrounded by water, or rather, enclosed by water and darkness, /thus/, ndim = blind; mendim =

●772 water; dim = to terminate, to extinguish, to sink (in connection with
123 a star); dimi = to get lost; dip = to close; dibi = dark, opaque. (According to Trezenem, the world is surrounded by the river éndam, a word related to ndam = width, wide.) The darkness of the east is black (cf. the name of the land of origin, mvô' ékanga = country of high white clouds; low dark rain clouds are minkut); the darkness of the west is white, the feminine color, white, moreover, being the color of mourning and death. The bekôn are white, at least those that remain on earth; those admitted to Zambe's village are red.

In relation to the east-west axis, north is on the right, mbo nnôm, male side, south is on the left, mbo ngal, female side. The dividing line between north and south is the Sanaga (Osôé Nnanga = white river, river of the albinos) crossed by the python, mvôm, who is also the rainbow (though a Fang tradition in eastern Gabon mentions a river, the Evindi, that is, "black"). North is connected with red (1), the

[822] 1. Evindi, éfumulu, and évele, "black," "white," and "red," are the only names of colors in the language. They are applied to the near shades: a grey is "white" or "black," a blue or green is "black," ochre or light brown is "red," light yellow is "white," etc. For greater exactness, similes are used—zo'obon, "aquatic moss," for green, jôp, "sun," "egg yolk," for orange or yellow—or loan words like "blue."

masculine /115/ and festival color. South is also noon, midday, zane mos, and the zenith, yôbe jôp (yôp = sky, high, height; jôp sun, in Fang, dzô); it is the side of light, vian, sunlight, or éfufup, brightness.

[821] The sky, yôp, seems to be supported by an iron post (akoñ = post or spear, a masculine symbol) held by the sister-wife of Zambe, Nyingon Mebe'e. The sky appears both masculine and feminine, like the earth; the sun is masculine, the moon feminine.

Thus we come to define two opposing directions or sectors on the compass card: the N/E quadrant is male; the S/W quadrant is female—the two others seem to be neuter. The NE-SW diameter bisects

772 the two opposite angles and would represent the axis of migration,
623 mfa'a mañ, "toward the sea." The masculine direction seems to have been the place of origin of the ye (feminine?) clans, the feminine direction, that of the ésa clans. Trilles places with the latter the ébi clans, which are, geographically, from eastern clans; I wonder if they ought not rather to be connected with the ye clans since ébi means "hole," "chasm" (yee = valley, ravine). In the bilaba, masculine commodities come from the female sector, and vice versa.

772 These apparent contradictions would be resolved by applying the principle of double symmetry, or of sexual complementarity, similar to that which makes paternal, nonuterine half brothers called bobenyañ, [601] "my mother's sons." This principle might be expressed somewhat as follows: every being capable of life must, in order to exist and be complete, include the opposite sex. In other words, bisexuality, a universal vital principle, should be found in every part of the universe /création/. Stoll finds proof of this in the language, where the tone [194] levels in his view constitute genuine differentiation by grammatical sex genders, and especially in the rites whose purpose appears to be not to make men entirely masculine or women entirely feminine, but rather to give to each sex the necessary complement of the opposite sex.

Whatever may be thought of this theory, it is a fact that, because [114] of the apparent or real absence of grammatical sex gender in the language, the majority of the early writers, even Trilles, did not attach enough importance to real gender, to the sex actually attributed to objects, particularly to magical and ritual materials. We know that spear, akoñ, saber, fa, and probably the large drum, mbaé, are male; calabashes and cooking pots, rattles (mengoñ), the double bell (nkeñ) are female; the drum-telephone, nkul, is androgynous; horns for medicaments, minlak, are male at the pointed end, female at the hollow end, and the same with the rifle. As to numbers, my con- 801 clusions are diametrically opposed to those of Stoll, who believes even numbers to be male, and odd, female, though admittedly he advances as proof the large part played by odd numbers in feminine rites, which runs directly counter to his theory of double symmetry.

The numerical system is in any event only imperfectly known. [802] Counting is based on 10, with traces of an 8:10, (awôm), basis /116/ and of 8, mwom, /having?/ perhaps the same root as different classifiers. The so number is 9. Nyin, 4, seems related to a YI

A few words should be said about lighting. In the houses, which, as we have seen, are windowless and hence quite dark, the hearth fire /Fig. 43 appears here in the original text/ is at the same time a much needed source of light. As the Pangwe relate in their legends, it was Mode-Sama, one of the first human beings, who fetched fire (ndŭăn) from God (Sama); according to other versions, the fire was given to him by God, and since Mode's time the fire has not been extinguished. This useful element is carried from one house to another and, when worst comes to worst, from one village to another. The Pangwe does not need to rekindle his fire, since it burns all day in the meeting house where it serves as a protection against cold, moisture, and sand flies, while in the dwellings it is kept going day and night for cooking and heating purposes. When the women go to the plantations, the logs are so carefully arranged (for this action alone, there are four different expressions!) that they continue to glow; or the youngest daughter may be given the task of guarding the vestal altar. In case the fire should actually go out in one house, fire is obtained from a neighboring house, and it is only in exceptional cases that a smaller village has no fire. In such an emergency fire is sent for from the nearest settlement.

Better lighting than the hearth fire is provided by the torch light with which /80/ /Fig. 44 appears here in the original text/ the village square is illuminated at night when, for instance, dances are held. The flickering of the torches causes the strange and wild movements of the dancers to appear even more fantastic than they really are. The torches are composed of dried stalks of the cardamom Aframomum alboviolaceum K. Sch. (adzŏm; stalk, kō'mō IV Fang, kŭŭ'me IV Ntum), Plate 21 in Section 11 /Vol. 2/, or finely spliced raffia stalk strips (ekă'ba), which — when they are well dried — burn very brightly but, on the other hand, are rather rapidly consumed.

The finest but an infrequently used source of light at festivities or other events in the village square is the resin lamp (otu = resin), Figure 43, a little tub of bark containing the fragrant resin of the Anacardiacea Canarium schweinfurthii Engl. (1) (abê Ntum, obê Fang; resin = otu).

1. According to the communication of Doctor Mildbraed who has likewise collected this tree.

244 (Drawings f-h). The variety osǎ'bǒme (f) has the largest fruit; it is about 15 centimeters long, a bright yellowish-green with vague, speckled markings, and slightly narrowed toward the middle. In the case of the second variety (g), nia ngǒn (the real ngon) or nsūsūte (the dark ngon), the fruit, in contrast to that of the first kind, is usually oviform, twelve centimeters long, and dark green with streaks or strips of a light green color; sometimes the fruit is spotted. This variety appears to be the most common. Finally, mǒne ngǒn, the small ngon (h), is considerably smaller, measuring only nine to ten centimeters, rarely more, and it is brighter. Here the speckled marking, which we have already observed in osǎ'bǒme, is so blurred that one can speak of bright green specks on a somewhat darker background. As regards the seeds, I counted 190-200 in the case of osǎ'bǒme, 224 in the case of nsūsūte, and only 80 in the case of mǒne ngǒn. The seeds are pear-shaped (e) and white, and only the inside is eaten. Frequent crossings appear among the fruit although on one and the same plant fruit of the same variety is usually found, and hence it is possible to speak of genuine species, just as in the case of apples and pears.

244 262 Among the seven chief food plants, ngon occupies fourth place. Only among the Jaunde does it take fifth place, while maize has moved to fourth. I cannot determine whether it was only the drier climate of Jaunde country that caused maize which thrives in a dry climate to be preferred to ngon which grows more successfully in the rainy southern and western Pangwe region. In any case, ngon is of such importance for the huge Pangwe region and far beyond it that one would think considerable space would be devoted to it in technical books about tropical cultivated plants /94/. As it happens, however, the plant is not mentioned by Sadebeck, Fesca, or anywhere else.

244 ●T13 Concerning the origin of the name, the Fang tell the following little story. At first the name ngǒn was quite unknown; the plant was simply called by the general name ekūluga (from a kūt, "to crack," because the seeds are opened by being cracked, and this is a general expression for all fruits that are opened by cracking and have an edible interior, for instance, andǒk = Irvingia, etc.). Furthermore, ngon was not yet cultivated as it

244 is today; instead, women gathered its fruit in the bush. Once
773 upon a time, there was a man who had no sister he could sell to obtain a wife for himself, nor did he have any other person who could help him to get married. He hit upon the idea of starting a huge ngon farm, and when the ngon was ripe many people came and bought the kernels. In this way he finally earned so much money that he had the purchase price for a girl. When other people, who likewise had no wives, heard about this, they began to imitate him and also married through the aid of the plant. Hence, it is said: "Oh, I see this plant like a girl (ngṓn), and therefore it shall be called ngōn also, for if the man had had no ngon (ngǒn), he would not have been able to marry a girl
[194] (ngō'n)." It should be noted that the two words differ in pitch; the word for the plant has falling pitch in Fang (ngôn), rising pitch in Jaunde (ngǒn), whereas the word for girl has only high pitch (ngō'n). A narrative in the creation story is very similar.

244 Ngon is planted only once a year since its cultivation requires the period from April to December. In April, frequently long before, the bush is cut and burned. The ground, however, is not cleared, and everything is left lying just as it fell; at most the largest brushwood is removed from the connecting paths. Walking through a farm, especially along the plantation paths, is therefore quite a gymnastic feat. A ngon farm is often cleared
[476 communally by the inhabitants of two neighboring villages who
602] belong to the same kin group. To the uninitiated, however, the boundaries are not discernible. They are indicated by trees that have been left standing or have fallen over and more rarely by lianas tied to the branches of tree trunks lying on the ground. It is astonishing that no boundary disputes arise.

244 In April, once the farm area has been burned over, the
462 women go into the fields, and with their universal tool, the hoe, they plant the ngon seeds in the ground. The seeds must first have been soaked in water for a day, and two or three of them are planted in the same hole. Because of the tree trunks and the brush lying about, planting is hard work, and for this reason the men usually assist at the task, at least on the first day, equipped with /95/ /Fig. 53 appears here in the original text/ hoes and digging

789 but even that seems to be dying out for its meaning is frequently
178 no longer understood. Thus I once (on an earlier occasion) found an open cooking pot set up as rain medicine; I simply could not understand this until I saw the authentic medicine and was informed that in the first case a mistake had been made.

821 According to one conception, the rainbow is the handiwork of a great sorcerer who wanted to show the others what he was capable of performing. Other natives think the rainbow is water vapor or smoke, and when it appears in the east, late in the afternoon, people say jokingly that one end is standing in the Campo and the other end in the Uelle. A third notion concerning the rainbow -- and this one is probably based on its iridescent colors -- is that it represents a water snake. The word for rainbow is, accordingly, nyū-ñ III, from nyŏ', "water snake." In addition, there is ntūtǎ'm I, derived from the onomatopoetic expression tŭmetŭmetŭm, a designation for a flickering in front of the eyes.

The Tale concerning the Origin of the Rainbow

821 Once upon a time the grandmother of Ekute Essamniámabōge
539 said to her grandson: "Go and show me the place where your mother
773 always catches fish." Thereupon Ekute went along with her and showed her a good place along the river, but his grandmother said: "No, this was not the place." Then her grandson showed her another place, but here, too, the grandmother said: "This is not the place where I am going to fish." They went together this way to four other places, but at none did the grandmother want to fish. Finally, the grandson said: "There are no more places for fishing; after this there is only the large river left." The grandmother replied: "All right, that is where we shall go." But her grandson said: "Oh, the places where everybody fishes are here, but in the big river the fishing is poor." However, the grandmother answered: "But I want to take a look at the place; come along, we shall leave right away." Thereupon the grandson went along with her, and when they came to the spot where the river widened, the grandmother said: "Here is where I want to fish." The grandson

821 again advised her against this, but the grandmother refused to give
773 in, went into the water, and tried to drive the water away (1),
539
[226]

1. In smaller watercourses the water is removed by splashing it away; in larger rivers this is, of course impossible.

but in doing so she got in deeper and /200/ deeper until she was up to her neck in the water. Then she said to Ekute: "Bring me two sticks and lay them in the water so that I can stand on them." This Ekute did, and the grandmother removed the water and fished, and lo and behold, she soon had ten baskets full of fish. Then her grandson said: "Come, we have enough now, let's go home." But the grandmother said: "No, first I want to get all the fish out of the water; then I will surpass all people in fishing." Thus, she went on fishing, but then, all of a sudden, the water rose up to her neck and over her mouth, and finally she disappeared under the water. At that moment there arose out of the water a great snake (1), and when Ekute saw it, he seized his

1. In other words, the grandmother was a sorceress.

spear to kill it. Then the snake said: "Wait! I have something to say to you." Ekute, however, ran away into the village and called all the people, above all his father whom he already met on the way; the latter took spears and went with him to the river. When he saw the snake, he wanted to kill it with his spear. But the snake said: "Wait a moment, I have something to say." Then the snake commanded the people to make a basket and to carry it /the snake/ into the village. This was done, and when the snake had been brought into the village and had been assigned a house to sleep in, it said: "No, I want to sleep in the first house next to the meeting house." The people complied with this wish. Soon the rumor spread everywhere that a great snake was to be seen in the village, and many, many people came to see it. Everybody had to pay a lot of money for this, about as much as ten marks.

821 Thus Essamniámaböge became very wealthy, and from this money
773 alone he was able to purchase two wives.
539 Now it happened that he and all the people were gone one day, and only his son, Ekute, stayed behind. Then several people from a distant village appeared, but they had brought with them only two choppers (2), and in exchange for these they demanded

2. Bush knives valued at two marks.

to see the snake. Ekute, however, did not want to show it to them. The people argued with him and threatened, and they demanded to see the snake. Then Ekute, who was very imprudent, angrily took a chopper and knocked in the top of the house wall instead of carefully opening the door somewhat and letting the people look in. Thereupon the snake came out, went to the village square, and cried "See, now I am leaving." But the people and Ekute had run off. Thereupon the snake raised its head and body and swung itself into the air. At this very moment Ekute's father came back and was just able to cut off the lower end of the snake; the other part of the snake was already high up in the air and still stands in the sky today as the rainbow. The tail, however, turned into the python, and from the eggs there crept forth all the other little snakes. /201/

821 The storm is likewise represented as the handiwork of an evil
789 sorcerer. Whenever a great sorcerer is dying, he unleashes a storm,
[754] lays low the plantain fields of those people toward whom he feels ill will, destroys their houses, and indeed, he goes so far as to knock down their children in order to injure them. Anyone who has experienced a tropical tornado will understand the notion of the Pangwe that sorcerous beings are at work. The natives also have medicines against storms; the storm is gradually weakened if
[824] one places young macabo leaves (these are weak to begin with) on the fire (whereby they become still weaker) and then grinds them to a powder on the ground in front of the house (this makes them weakest of all). Conversely, the storm is "made heavy" and thereby held back in the sky by placing a stone on Paspalum grass (obū't), which, because of its toughness and strength, is supposed

173 In the past Nzame lived a life which his children still live today,
173 proceeding westward as he abandoned villages in which he had lived with his wives and which he vacated after the fields had been exhausted. The number of his wives was so great that it was not known, and his villages were so important that at their sites the forest could not grow back, and this is why there are now plains in the midst of the forest in the Pahouin country.

Nzame arrived at the end of the earth, which is flat, and came up against the sky barring his way, an iron roof covering the earth as a roof covers a hut, and held up at its center by an invisible stake which [68] has since been held up by Ningone Maboere, sister of Nzame. He went to the other side of the sky after having crossed a very wide river, Endam, into which all the rivers empty and which flows all around the earth and under it, bursting through at the thinnest points so as to emerge in the form of springs. Then Nzame stopped and established the village Dzo, which he has not left since.

It is in this village that Nzame still lives with his wives and children. His life is the same as on earth, and there he welcomes the dead and keeps the elements imprisoned, the sun, moon, rain, etc...

773 Every morning, when Okwal the wild fowl calls, Nzame goes to
821 open the door of the hut where the sun sleeps. The sun wakes up, gets on its way, goes around the sky, and returns in the evening when everyone is in bed, to rest in the hut which it left in the morning. The sun is a large ball of fire which gives heat and light as it burns.

The moon also is imprisoned in the village Dzo. It is a large white stone which Nzame regularly shows to the people at night in different phases: small, larger, entirely round, then smaller and smaller, until he hides it for a few days. Because of its whiteness, the moon also gives light.

The rainbow is a big snake which is seen when Nzame gives it permission to go out and drink water from the river.

Sometimes Nzame also opens the door of another hut, and rain comes out, preceded by wind. Rain falls through holes pierced in the sky, which allow the lights of the Dzo village, or the shining eyes of the dead which look at the earth, to be seen at night. These luminous holes are the stars. Sometimes lightning comes out of the hut at the same time as the rain. The former is a little animal that falls on the trees and breaks them, making a noise. In the dry season the rain goes back to the hut, and it is seen at night or in the morning in the form of great white mists rising above the lakes and rivers.

773 821 Nzame has much work in his village, but he does not disdain to enjoy himself. He causes tomtom dances to be performed on the sky, and the noise of the dancers' feet is called thunder. From time to time also, when there is an eclipse, it is Nzame who takes pleasure in frightening people by plunging them into darkness at midday.

776 II. The evur. The evur or evus (plural, bivur) appears to be an individual spirit which plays a fundamental role in the life of the Pahouin. Not all persons have an evur. To have an evur, one must have received it from a person who has one. Such a person is called nem (plural, beyem). A child in the foetal state carried by its mother [69] can receive an evur even without the knowledge of the mother. One can tell by its weight that a newborn has an evur; only a nem, on lifting a child in his arms, can say that he has felt the weight of the evur, imperceptible to anyone else.

776 852 If at its birth a child has no evur, it can then receive one. The evur given it is either good (evur mve) or evil (evur abi).

(1) Good evur. In the case of a good evur, the donor of this evur, who is always an elder of the tribe, comes often to see the child until the latter can count to ten, that is to say, at about seven or eight years [856] of age. At this time the child is considered intelligent enough to understand what is expected of him, and then the ceremony called akaġa is performed.

All the beyem of the village are invited to meet at a tree called [824] ovaṅ (Didelotia africana), chosen from among all the others as the fetish tree because of its size, its longevity, and its resistance to tornadoes. The child is brought there; then the donor of the evur, in the presence of the assembled beyem, pronounces the wishes which he makes for the child's future. He wishes him wealth, strength, success, in general all that which will make him happy. For little girls the wishes are more particularly that they may later have many children, that they may be strong for their planting tasks, and that they may be esteemed by the other wives of their future husbands.

A kind of soup called nam akaġa, the preparation of which is secret, is made on the occasion of this ceremony. Each time the donor of the evur makes a wish, the child must take a little nam. For example, if the wish is for him to have ten wives, this is made with the following words:

e mon ni, nam ma ke we wi oluġ bunega awum

That child, the soup I give you here marries ten wives,

V. First Reactions to Material Inferiority

556 441 The access of the Fang to the traditional trade regions has had great consequences. What started out as a conquering and "colonizing" undertaking has imperceptibly changed into a search for manufactured "riches" (bium) and [157] competition for trade routes and trade centers. The quest for "merchandise" is the pri- [462] mary male activity and sets in motion the machinery of war and witchcraft.

829 773 The legends which we know stress the attraction of the West as the country of white men who have all riches at their disposal. One of these told by V. Largeau suggests the importance of access to these trade zones:

"We arrive at last at the N'Tem and the Ogooué where we meet those who distribute riches ... they give us everything, we become rich." (1)

1. Op. cit., article: Instruction.

The legendary texts collected by Father Trilles under the title "Noirs et Blancs [The Blacks and the Whites]" are particularly significant. A predominant place is given to the theme of wealth, held only by the white men. Wealth has escaped the black men — because of a lack of technique and because of an attitude of abandoning rather than dominating the world, (2) or

2. "Proverbes, Légendes et Contes Fang [Fang Proverbs, Legends, and Tales]," op. cit., and especially "Noirs et Blancs [Blacks and Whites]" and "Légende du Nsas [Legend of the Nsas]."

has been stolen from them. (3) The whites apparently represent

3. "Legend of Bingo"; and "in order to seize his treasures (from the hero

829
773

Bingo) and possess his secret, they killed him and took the green stone, the green stone he would have left us. Since then men from beyond the mountains possess the riches of the earth, but we have kept the laws of Bingo...."

wealth, they are mitâgõ, those who count. They have even been proclaimed by mythology. They have the physical appearance of ghosts, and they have at their disposal all the goods accumulated in the country of the ancestors. One can see therefore the powerful impression made by the arrival of the white man who was rich in merchandise, and the value, reinforced by the whole meaning of the myth, placed on this wealth. At the time of the clan regrouping movement, certain teachings in the form of question and answer continued to associate the two terms, power of the white man's example and pursuit of riches:

"--What life should we lead?
--We should lead the European life.
--What is the example we should give to lead the European life?
--We should work in order to earn money...." (4)

4. Cahier des réunions [Notebook of Gatherings], Yémisèm of Oyem.

441 [67] At the beginning of this chapter we stressed the attraction of the economically strong centers -- the coast, the Lower Ogooué, Spanish Guinea. A map of the migrations makes [158] them appear like meeting points. At first the Fang settled in the outskirts of these centers or attracted the trading stations to themselves with a feeling of real appropriation. Du Chaillu and Cureau observed this phenomenon, the former by showing how "having become the white man of such-and-such a chief, " he "obtained well-being and security" but was obliged to give

441 presents." (1) The latter analyzed the Ogooué commerce which was

1. Voyages et Aventures dans l'Afrique Equatoriale [Travels and Adventures in Equatorial Africa], pp. 106 and 120.

"under the thumb of the Fang population": "Firms were obliged to maintain their establishments in definite localities and were forbidden under threat of hostilities to move them upstream. The European agent was respected; far from being disturbed, their stores were strictly protected by the village warriors. The merchant was a prisoner of the population; he found himself invested with a monopoly." (2)

2. Op. cit., pp. 294-295.

441 556 829 The first government reports continue to note, like Du Chaillu, the desire of each large grouping to have a trading post for itself; once satisfied they would relax and be submissive."(3)

3. Rapport annuel de 1907 [Annual Report of 1907], Archives of Gabon.

This behavior is not explained by the single economic anxiety to reserve for themselves a monopoly and to have at hand the possibility of bartering. To have a trading station in contact with the village itself is to have reached the end of migrations westward which were to lead to the source of wealth; it is to participate constantly in this wealth and to have the certainty of a superior life. To enter into relations with the white man, who appears both as an "eldest son" and more than a human being with his riches and knowledge of riches, this is to participate in a circuit of power and fecundity, and to transcend a somehow cursed existence in order to attain the "true life."

829 773 On the other hand, the legends show how, in contact with technical manifestations and European enterprise, the Fang very

829 soon developed a feeling of subjection and inferiority in wisdom
773 and riches. This is attributed to a decision of Nzamö (God), to a veritable curse. A text collected by Largeau mentions two children of Nazmö – Ekouagha (subjected) and Ndan'gho (ruler) – and the wishes expressed for each of these:

For Ndan'gho, the father says: "Riches! authority! wisdom!" [159] He adds: "All these things are in yourself!" Again he says: "You will beget white children." For Ekouagha, he cries out: "Alas! my other son has taken everything with the fortune ... There are no riches left for you ... you will beget black men ... you will be miserable..." (1) This is a theme comparable to that

1. Op. cit., article, Instruction.

of the "Legend of the Nsas" given by Father Trilles, in which Nazmö [sic] ends by saying: "You, black man, rise and go and find your wives and populate the earth ... you will always remain naked as now ... You, white man, you will be rich, richer even than you were in your dream. You, the white man, will always be the white man, the black man will always be the black man, the white man will always be rich, the black man always poor..." (2)

2. Op. cit., Légende du Nsas
[Legend of Nsas].

829 The curse motif indicates the effective potentialities attached
773 to imported riches and their acquisition. Also there appears per-
177 haps the first awareness of the racial question and above all a technical insufficiency allied to a social organization that is wholly preoccupied with the production of human beings, (in the legend quoted, "go and find your wives and populate the earth" is part of the curse). The illusion of direct participation in riches was quickly destroyed, and the ascendancy of the agents of colonization became more specific and more complete. The theme of the curse attached to the race shows the extent of the deception. It is no longer possible to return to methods of violence. Witchcraft techniques then increase in number; recourse is had to knowledge revealed during fits brought on by the absorption of certain forms

829 of strychnine, and the idea, borrowed from Christianity, of a
773 better life after death becomes more specific. The effort at
177 adaptation dealt first with religious and magical techniques; in these fields much was borrowed from neighboring peoples (for example, the Bwiti cult of which we will speak later); customs are altered not in order to assimilate for purposes of conquest but simply for means of defense. The Fang people, reduced to a state of unemployed conquerors, lose the essential part of their moral strength. As we will show in the next chapter the Fang are one of those peoples that have most keenly suffered from crises due to the colonial situation and one of those that have reacted most to this threat.

776 A definition is added to these qualifiers, given by Mebe'e himself in reply to men who asked him what his name was, and reported by Largeau thus, the formula varying slightly in detail according to other writers: Mebe'e me se kôm, ke môt, ke minga, ke nyia, ke ésa, émien étam étam, ke yoo-yoé, a tame mebialé me bôt, which means, more or less, "Mebe'e, with no one, without wife, mother, father, all alone by himself, impenetrable (lit., 'not open,' perhaps in the sense of 'without beginning'), starts the generations."

Largeau gives weight to traditions that run counter to this concept of uniqueness, according to which Mebe'e (he connects the word with a verb meaning "to divide"?) would be none other than the sun and would have begotten man by a union with the female principle Anghe Ndongha, "universal womb" (?). But he himself admits the "vague" nature of these traditions "mumbled by a few old men."

Mebe'e is uncreated and eternal. He declares to the first man: A mon wôm, me se k'asum, me se k'aman, me ne fo'o mbembé, "O my son! I have no beginning (origin), no end, I am in truth he that endures (bembe = to be fixed)."

773 "Feeling lonely by himself," writes Trilles, Mebe'e, "when things were not yet," decides to create man (môt = a person /persona?-Tr./. He creates a lizard out of clay and five days later puts it into a bowl of water (sea water, according to Trilles) where he leaves it for seven full days. On the eighth day he shouts, "Come forth!" Man comes out and gives thanks. Trilles rightly emphasizes the beauty of the scene: Alu mwom ane a nga ke dé'é, nyina: Ku'i! A nga kui, a to môt. Ane, a nga kutubu meboff, nyina: Abotan. "On the eighth day (lit., the eighth night) then, he goes to look, then: Come forth! (lit., Emerge!). It emerges; it is a man. And he falls on his knees: Thanks! (lit., Praises!)"

This first man is called Nzame or Zambe (Boulou, Zobeyo) or, more accurately, Nzame Mebe'e. According to the tradition reported by Largeau, he gave himself this name at the time he gave the creator the name Mebe'e. According to others, Mebe'e named Nzame. The name may be related to the Fang verb dzame (Boulou, jame), meaning "to leave," "no longer to be concerned with," and also "to forgive a debt," "to pardon." Nzame would thus be "he who pardons" or "he who abandons," the form Zambe used in the north being a dialectal variant or perhaps a passive derivative. Trilles for his part attributes to Nzame the meaning of "the invisible one,"

773 translating the verb dzame by "to efface oneself, " explainable by Trilles' continually confusing Mebe'e and Nzame, the creator and the created. Nzame and Zambe can apparently be related to a whole series /of words/ with similar meaning in nearby Bantu languages and, perhaps, to the West Indian Creole zombi. But the relationship is less obvious with the Boulou Zobeyo, whose origin, which is obscure, is perhaps connected with the verbs zu, "to arrive" (in Boulou) or zũ, dzũ, "to open" (in Fang) and yoo or yooé, "to be open, " "to open"; /the meaning/ is approximately /109/ "opening of those who open, " in the sense of "first ancestor. "

Traditions differ about the origin of the first woman. Largeau gives two. According to one, Mebe'e, having taught Nzame to clear the forest and plant trees, puts him to sleep and, having cut off a large toe, fashions it into the first woman, Nyingono Mebe'e (Nyingon = mother-daughter). According to the other tradition, he would have fashioned at the same time as Nzame his sister, Oyeme = Mam (she-who-knows-things). My Ntoumou informant, who knew both legends, reconciled them by referring to the Bible, a common attitude among old Protestants in Gabon, who are made very uneasy by discrepancies between the Hebrew and the Pahouin Genesis.

In any event, Mebe'e makes all animals subject to the first man and woman so that they will work for them. But Nzame disturbs this arrangement by fornicating with his sister: this is the great nsem, the breaking of a prohibition, the initial incest that introduces death to the earth. Mebe'e "dies" or, rather, removes himself from mankind and departs, leaving to Nzame, whom the animals have ceased to obey, authority over the world.

Oyeme-Mam then brings forth eight sets of twins, male and female, who are the ancestors of the Pahouin, the white men, Pygmies, gorillas, chimpanzees, red men, and the coastal tribes.

Not much is known of the next bit of the legend because the versions vary greatly according to the reporter. Roughly, Nzame teaches agricultural methods to his children and goes to seek from Mebe'e (by dying, to be resurrected later?) the secrets of the crafts (1).

1. According to some, these were taught by the spider.

Before leaving his children in final "death, " (he does not, in fact, die

773 physically: "His tomb is neither above nor below, neither to the right nor to the left"), he divides his possessions, a division which is disturbed by quarrels, the machinations of younger sons or the negligence of the elder ones. He then departs beyond the river-of-the west, followed by the white men (or the coastal tribes?) who by a ruse have got hold of part of the biôm inherited by the Pahouin. The latter in turn start westward, crossing the Osoe Nnanga, then the nlôm adjap (hole in the silk-cotton tree) as described earlier (see p. 19).

776 797 Nzame (Zambe) is emphatically not the creator god but the ancestor = mentor; all genealogies go back to him. Yet all the Christian missions have taken his name to express the idea of God. This mistake has come about because the word Mebe'e was rarely spoken, while Nzame turned up in all "salutations," in everything that had to do with the ancestor cult. As the original monitor he could be confused with the creator — in fact, he in a way completed "natural" creation by the magical invention of the arts and crafts. As an ancestor he was solicited in prayers (meya'alan) by his descendants, while Mebe'e was not addressed except on rare occasions—in solemn vows, at initiations. Finally, the very fact of having been misled from the first /110/ made it difficult to go back to the first translation. It may well be though that this mistake, the substitution of the creature for the creator, the deification of man, has not been without influence on the social development of the Pahouin. The Mintangan, who actually came from the nlam bekôn, the land of the dead, brought with them a genuine theological revolution, a heresy to which their material wealth gave a sure guarantee. The psychological repercussions must have been considerable.

[794] Nowadays one hears it currently said that "Mebe'e is the old name for Zambe," and the latter seems to be permanently established in his usurped role (1); the traditions connected with the two personages

> 1. Good, the first American missionary among the Boulou, was nicknamed "Ngôô Zambe," Zambe's ransom, which may have been not merely an approximation of his name.

are inextricably mixed with Christian contributions, to such a degree that we may speak of a new theogony being formed in the syncretist cults and in some Christian schismatic movements.

769 also discriminates between the ésayoñ, ancestor cult /112/, and the
64 mvamayoñ, totemic cult. It must be admitted that there is now no
114 chance of obtaining a cross-checking of his theories except on points of detail, although that is no formal condemnation of his theories; it is the consequence of a shortage of researchers, lack of respect on the part of the researchers, or loss of traditions of initiation. The following points may be considered as established:

mvam (émvam) connotes ideas of a forefather, dead or alive, lineal and protective.

[784] akam, protection, is sometimes used in speaking of animals, to indicate the reason for a prohibition; the verb kam having a defending-protecting meaning as well as that of forbidding-prohibiting.

All prohibitions are not tied up with these notions, but some are and they may well be individual prohibitions as well as hereditary collective ones, not necessarily involving animals.

Clan markings, mindem, and tattoo marks, mindan, are often connected with a prohibition.

825 There is a whole system of animal symbolism, evident particularly
[787] in tales and augury ("zoomancy," divination by spiders).

Certain animals are connected with initiation cults: very definitely the sô and snakes (dendraspis and python); probably the porcupine and tortoise (with feminine rites); perhaps the gorilla (njil; ngil, Johnson's tone 4, the ngil rite having tone 5).

[55] There does not appear to be any connection between an animal name borne by a person (Mvômê = Python, Zo'o = Elephant, Ze = Panther, etc.) and the prohibitions he is subject to.

Moreover, the following, it seems pretty certain, are not specifi-
64 cally related to totemism:
825

Alliance, élat or ngbwa, between a person and a particular animal.

A sorcerer's employing an animal, nkuk (observe that nkuk also means "mask") to carry out his sorcery at a distance.

[775] The incarnation of a sorcerer in the body of an animal, élañela (Trilles applies this name to the nkuk).

The temporary incarnation of a dead man in an animal's body.

The first three phenomena often seem to be confused in the minds of present-day Pahouin, and the fourth may be the consequence of this.

773 It is curious that the legend recounted by Trilles about the crocodile, which he considers to be the "national totem," represents

773 the animal pursuing the ancestors of the Fang in order to devour them, while the legendary history of migration collected in the north shows, on the contrary, the crocodile enabling the tribe to cross the Osoé Nnanga (the python performs this service for the Beti).

776 The observation made by the authors quoted on the "unsuperstitious" character of the Pahouin and of the slight development /113/ of "fetishism" among them is to be related to the almost total absence in their mythology of beings intermediary between God and man, genii or demigods.

774 625 Aside from the bivur, to be discussed in connection with sorcery, there are only the bingungur (Fang)(Boulou, bingôngôt) shown in some legends as kinds of ogres or ghouls haunting forests and attacking travelers. According to another interpretation, these rather are evil animals endowed with intelligence and malevolence beyond that of normal members of their species, perhaps animal sorcerers. The inoffensive aardvark, mvômesila, is thus very much feared; also a sort of very rare Pithecanthropus (Fang, éngure; Boulou, éngu'u) and a mermaid, the mammywôta of the coast, no doubt a lamantin /or manatee/. For Trilles, the éngungure is a "spirit, often transformed into an animal, which sorcers obey"; may there not be a confusion here with the évur (Boulou, évu)?

775 769 As for ghosts, bekôn, it might be said that there are good ones but no nice ones. One may usually get on with the kôn of a properly buried forebear who was respected in his lifetime and even obtain useful services from him, formerly paid for by sacrifices and libations [782] to his skull and often today by candles, Masses, or prayers (I have [787] known Protestants to go to Catholic missionaries for exorcism). There is more difficulty /in dealing/ with the kôn of a sorcerer or with that of a stranger neither whose name nor whose skull is in one's possession.

266 Lawful /non criminelle/ anthropophagy probably had for an end, among others, that of acquiring power over the bekôn of enemies and perhaps of assimilating the rights they derived from their ancestors. This wartime cannibalism appears to have existed especially on the geographical fringes of the group and particularly along the invasion front, among the Fang proper, the vanguard of the migration. A relative or affinal kin was never eaten, only strangers, and these only by warriors (or sometimes by sons of warriors killed by the enemy). It is worth noting that for the cannibalism of the Fang and Osyéba only the "Gabonese" felt the terror described by all explorers. The

2: Tessmann--104 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

1. Sexual Life before Maturity

561 Like Europeans, the Pangwe divide the individual's life into
856 three sections, the period of childhood, that of adulthood, and that of old age. The last period, however, concerns the Negro much less than the first two periods of life, because on the average death occurs at an early age. Sexual maturity represents the boundary line between childhood and adulthood, and the Pangwe emphasizes it very much because sexuality is at the center of his religious conceptions and /252/ finds external expression through the initiation into the cults. This initiation corresponds to our confirmation. The Pangwe acts as though a person before sexual maturity -- for the sake of brevity I shall call this person a child (mǫ̃ʼńgo III) -- represents a stage antecedent to actual manhood, mǫt III, just as, say, the caterpillar is the stage prior to the butterfly.

774 If we think back on what was said concerning the soul in the
836 discussion of religion /Ed., not translated/, we remember that
864 the Pangwe distinguish two kinds of people according to the kind
882 of soul they possess: bebǐʼn (uninitiated, good), and bongǔs (initiated, evil). Children (bǫ̃ʼńgo) are bebǐʼn, uninitiated, good, because they do not know sexual intercourse and, if they have become acquainted with it prematurely, do not know that they are committing a sin; indeed, they could not know since, after all, they are not initiated into the profound connections between sexual intercourse, life, and death.

882 In reality the situation is such that the Pangwe young people
864 are perfectly well informed, but officially each one must emphasize that he is a child, mǫ̃ʼńgo, that is, good, unknowing, uninitiated as to sexual intercourse, even when he has long outgrown not only the actually innocent childhood (in the narrower sense), but also the period of sexual maturity. This point can be tested on any Negro between the age of ten and 20 years by asking him whether he already practices sexual intercourse. The answer will always be the same, be he a Fang from the bush or a Jaunde long since glossed over by a bit of civilization: "ma ne mǫ̃ʼńgo (I am
[672] a child, that is, innocent, I know nothing about sexual intercourse)."

177 764 Obviously this has now changed, but perhaps not so much as one would imagine: every year the courts are aware of several ordeals after a death, of mutilations of corpses which are really autopsies, of sums of money extorted which are customary compensation payments imposed on the "person responsible" for a death. And we may assume that in this connection three-quarters of the cases never reach the European courts. Funeral rites have, however, been lightened and colored by Christian influence, even when the deceased had remained to the end attached to the old beliefs: his wives or children usually call in a nkat foé (news-announcer = catechist) to say the prayers for the dead and to sing psalms or hymns. The old-fashioned cylindrical bark litter has been replaced by a European plank coffin, gradually even for women and children. The graves of the well-to-do have masonry walls and are covered with a concrete slab bearing name, date of death, and a pious text, or even with a small flower bed framed with bricks or bottle necks, with a grave stone or cross at the head. The dead man's hut is no longer destroyed, especially if made of "solid" material, nor are his personal effects broken. Often the body is washed and dressed in European clothes instead of being anointed with baa; the white shroud remains. In Christian families women take part in wakes for men and attend their burials; men attend the burials of women but rarely take part in their wakes. In [795] /104/ many villages the different /Christian/ sects have separate cemeteries.

765 177 Mourning is less rigorous and is often expressed by the European black arm band and tie worn by men. In the villages widows are still rather ill-treated (cf. above, pp. 128-129), but their sequestration has been reduced to a week, and they are allowed to wash after a month or two. Most of the prohibitions of the mourning period have fallen out of use, and the end of mourning is marked by a family gathering which has more about it of a certain kind of French provincial New Year's Eve party than of the old purificatory rites.

761 Death in the traditional concept is not so much the cessation of life as the dissociation of the personality. Enyiñ, life, comes from the verb nyiñ meaning "to survive" rather than "to be alive"; /thus life represents/ a kind of dynamism opposed to the static to, tabe = to be, exist, remain, etc.

826 774 The body, nyul or nyôl, is perishable and corruptible; it supports the other elements of the personality, above all the nsisim or nsisiñ,

826 774 the shadow or immaterial duplicate of the body. The heart and lungs, nlem, are the seat of the intellect and sensibility, especially of the consciousness of good and evil, the seat of the moral and mental personality. It is by way of the nlem that a person's mind is struck, that, for instance, he is made mad; through their évur the beyem do di nlem, eat the nlem, of their victims. The nlem for a time survives death; the nsisim seems to be immortal. Breath, avebe (from vebe, to breathe, derived from vee = to be alive, alert) is characteristic of physiological life (1).

> 1. Among the Ewôndo, the breath, ewundu (Boulou, evunulu = wind) is characteristic of the human being, as is nsisim; animals are not provided with either, that is why they can be eaten. (J. B.)

Strength, tye, tyi, kie, or ki, is somehow external to the individual, independent of him, yet that which insures the cohesion of the elements of the personality. It seems to be particularly localized in the nlem (thoracic organs) and the boo, brain, which is evidently the seat of action (the verb bo = to do, to act), whence the importance [769] of skulls in the ancestral cult, biéti. Ngul, which may also be translated "strength," is more "capacity" or "power," the faculty of making use of tyi. It is impersonal, it pre-exists and survives the individual, who during his lifetime can waste or augment it; it is the basis for magic and sorcery, tyi being in itself neither good nor bad. Everything that exists possesses tyi, including the dead, but living beings possess more than inanimate beings, and men more than other living beings. Sacrifices and prohibitions revalue around this notion, as vocabulary well shows: étyi = prohibition, metyi = blood, atyi = egg, tyik = to cut, to kill, to command, etc., (cf. above p. 25). The dead keep a certain amount of strength, which makes them at the same time potentially dangerous and potentially usable.

551 A name, jôé, jui, also pre-exists and survives the person it distinguishes, whence the special ties between bemôé /105/, homonymns, and also the need to know a person's name in order to cast a spell upon him, etc. A dead man keeps his name until it is given to one

754 perform a sort of exorcism. Sorcerers seem to be convened to these
788 meetings by secret messages in the form of bundles of sticks notched
[211] according to a particular code, or in the form of the quipu. They are believed to reach the meetings by levitation or by sending only
754 their nsisim while their bodies remain at home in a state of apparent
774 death. This offers a good chance of getting rid of the sorcerer by burning his body, the disadvantage being that the nsisim survives, as does the évu, and that they than can be incarnated in an animal, which cannot happen if the sorcerer is burnt alive.

754 The évu may use various methods of moving about outside the
774 nnem's body. Sometimes he leaves it in an invisible and immaterial
825 form, but this method is exceptional. Most often he enters the body of an animal, generally a leopard, but sometimes a black snake, civet cat, gorilla, or chimpanzee, or even certain insects; the list is unlimited, but nearly always the animal in question is powerful or dangerous. The carrier-animal is then almost invulnerable, endowed both with human intelligence and with the powers of an évu. It is, however, possible to strike at it, with luck and good mebiañ, and any injury to the évu rebounds on the sorcerer. On the other hand, injury to a sorcerer during the évu's absence is not necessarily fatal to the latter, because the évu can survive in the body of the vehicle-animal. The latter is called nkuk (1), which can also mean "mask." It is

[787] 1. Among the Ewôndo, this term also denotes the good bekôn who appear in dreams to give advice to the living. (J.B.)

not clear whether there is a confusion /119/ with the élañela, as Trilles suggests, or with animal-bekôn, or with those who are beyem on their own account, or even with bingôngôt (bingungure).

754 There seems to exist alongside ngbwel a /kind of/ sorcery connected with abé nlem or mbia nlem, malignity of the heart, and having nothing to do with possession by the bivu. Thus practitioners of kôn, which consists of killing a person while leaving his body alive (see above, p. 134), would not necessarily be beyem in the strict sense. Likewise, many malevolent activities are only criminal deviations from permissible magic. Alliance with an animal, or incarnation in the body of an animal, or even the transformation of a magician into an animal, need not be malevolent or only becomes so

754 the leaders who will be there, as each has his private mark.
575 That's all."
828 "But why are some pointed and others not?"
203 "Oh, that! No, that's a deep secret. If I were to tell you that I'd be punished by death at the next meeting."

[Pages 454-462 omitted. --Translator] [463]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

791 All practitioners' societies recognize ritual sacrifice. In
754 many cases a human victim is slain and eaten. These sacrifices
575 are often characterized by what seems to us revolting cruelty and
782 horror. I shall have occasion to deal with this point more fully
266 when discussing sacrifice.

These are ritual sacrifices: immolation is not done for the pleasure of killing any more than consuming the victim is for the pleasure of eating human flesh. This is so much the case that a woman is never sacrificed: "Munga kɛ́ dzamadzam, kɛ́ kie ve
[562 nsissim: A woman is of no importance (from the sacrificial point
774] of view)," runs a Fan proverb, "She has no power over spirits because she has no soul."

At sorcerer's feasts, on the contrary, and in the societies they organize, men are eaten for the pleasure of eating human flesh.

754 According to all the Fan and all Africans, sorcerers leave their boeies in order to go and feed on the hearts of other men while asleep. Hence their name, bɛ́ndzi bur, eaters of men. Sometimes they do this themselves, sometimes it is done by a spirit that possesses them. I willingly admit, of course, that there is nothing true in these accusations, at least as regards the way in which the sorcerers work. But one thing is undeniable, the fact of cannibalism.

[One paragraph omitted; p. 464 omitted. --Editor]

Chapter XIV

Totems of Sorcerers and of their Secret Societies

The Nagual and Nagualism

[Summary omitted--Translator] [466]

224 ditch, its point in the air, so that any animal falling in will almost certainly be pierced. Having finished with these preliminaries, the hunters make ready to actually beat for game. First there will have been a large sacrifice. Suppose a tribe has the scaly anteater (ye-mvil) for its totem. The tribal chief is the first to start on the hunt after a preparatory fast of three days. During that time he has remained apart in a small reed hut in the midst of the forest, eating only the food he brought with him, which he must first have placed on the évora biéri. He drinks only from an aromatic leaf folded into a cone; further-
[834] more, he abstains from any relations with his wives, because contact with women is supposed at such times to be an offense against the totem (nsem éki). After these three days he makes a
[782] fetish, that is, a sacrifice to the tribal or clan totem, according to the usual practice; it consists of a goat at least or better a sheep. Formerly always and nowadays even occasionally, it was
[567] always a slave. After the sacrifice [555] the chief takes part of the victim -- the rest belongs to the practitioner -- and throughout the hunt, he must eat no other meat. He then leaves and returns to the village only when he has met with, captured alive if possible, or if not, slain, the totem animal. If he kills it he must take care that none of the animal's blood drips onto the path, thus risking being profaned, for that would be another ritual offense. Therefore the chief carefully closes the wound with dry leaves and the fluff from a banana tree.

While returning to the village the chief must be seen by no
[201] woman; he therefore takes care to announce his arrival by a special call, which is answered by a tom-tom, and then dashes into his hut. The women who happen to be in the village, outside their huts, must go inside quickly.

The totem animal is then placed on the évora biéri. If it is too large to fit, the chief opens it and puts on the évora the
[774] brains, lungs, and heart, the three parts which contain the life principle and the various souls. The carcass is offered in sacrifice in the accustomed manner and then divided among all the hunters.

325 461 791 natives like to hiss rhythmically during the work; this gives them greater strength, as they say. Regular whistling, however, is strictly forbidden, for in the opinion of the natives it is something evil (see prefixes, page 28 /Ed., not translated/). In all this noise the medicine man takes a prominent part; every other moment he rings an iron bell, blows on an antelope horn, /232/ sings, shouts, and dashes about frantically. In short, he makes every possible effort to spur on the people, and perhaps he also means to fend off evil beings of one kind or another by his activities. Now and then he strikes between the bellows with a bundle [824] of the Violacea Rinorea gracilipes Engl. or the Leguminosa Bandeiraea tenuiflora Benth. (both ovǒ'n e ndžīk) (1) in order to

1. Called ovǒ'n e ndžīk (ndžīk, "liana") because of the similarity of the leaves with those of the Copaifera tessmannii Harms. (ovǒ'n), the tree in which the souls live in the intermediate realm; used when there is a shortage of Copaifera. [775]

eliminate all noxious influences through the power of the ancestors. If the zeal of the workers nevertheless flags, there follows a redoubled clamor, and after a short period of time the crew recuperates and pushes the hides with renewed vigor and almost convulsive rapidity amidst violent hissing and rhythmic rocking up and down of the upper part of the body. In the evening when they are tired, hide drums and wooden drums are called in to encourage them with a regular concert; songs are sung in which the medicine man strikes the keynote. At the end of the work, which in Bebai, for instance, lasted from one o'clock in the afternoon to 9:30 in the evening, the medicine man steps up to the furnace and by each bellows worker he makes a movement as though placing something up into the furnace and down into the funnel; his assistant walks behind him, carrying a closed medicine horn provided with a porcupine's tail. Its purpose is unknown.

821 there is a thunderstorm; actually,
"the rain is roaring."

mother, and, as a sign of a certain season, it is dependent upon the moon which, like all other celestial bodies, was assigned its course by the same primeval force. /197/

As we saw in the creation stories /Ed., not translated/, 821 lightning also existed from the beginning (in the egg!). Later, 775 however, the souls subdued lightning, and they now use it for two different purposes. The first is to warn their descendants on earth of a threatening storm, that is, sheet lightning and atmospheric lightning (yõ'yõs IV Fang or fõ'leyõs IV Ntum). "There is lightning" is then expressed by fõ'leyõs a yõ's or fõ'leyõs a lũd, "the atmospheric lightning lights up," or "it passes by"; the root yõs means "to open suddenly with a bang, to light up, to appear suddenly and disappear again." Secondly, the souls use lightning to strike down large trees that bar their view of the earth and the activities of human beings -- that is, lightning that strikes, zǎ'n IV Ntum, zǎ'lǎn IV Fang, or zẽ'yǎn IV. The fõlevõs is thought of as like the igniting of powder when it lights up briefly and suddenly; the zǎ'n is like the firing of a rifle, and just as in the case of the latter, one says: ngã a kõbo, "the rifle is talking," so in the case of the former, one says: zẽ'yǎn a kõbo, "the lightning rifle is speaking," that is, "it is thundering" (the cracking thunder accompanying lightning, in contrast to the distant rolling thunder of which we spoke above).

Lightning that strikes is conceived as a black bullet that strikes [195] the trees and splinters them. The "turd of the lightning" (abi' [278] zẽ'yǎn) -- this presumably refers to molten and conglomerated masses of resin -- is believed by the natives to have curative powers, as does the bark of trees struck by lightning.

Although the "lightning cartridge" is intended solely for purposes of blasting, it can also be dangerous for human beings if they happen to be in the neighborhood of the trees affected, and it is believed that death is caused by the tremendous roar. Hence it is advisable to withdraw into the house during thunder storms, because, by strict command of the souls, lightning is not allowed

821 to penetrate into houses. To be sure, this lightning is a disobedi-
775 ent fellow who has already caused his primeval mother Alonkok a great many difficulties, and he does not always heed the command of the souls. If it should happen at any time that in his willfulness he strikes the houses -- incidentally, I never heard of such a thing happening -- the natives do not assume that there was malice on the part of the souls. Possibly, as is only human, they aimed wrong. For this reason the Pangwe, who like all primitive people are quite apprehensive in other respects, are not afraid of thunder
[152] storms. A momentary fright, however, caused by the brightness of the lightning and the violence of the thunder, can very often be observed in the case of nervous temperaments.

There is only one more question: "Why is it that the souls make use of their 'lightning rifles' only when it rains; they could surely strike down the trees just as well without it?" To this my Pangwe has a ready answer: "It doesn't work so well, because rain and storms make a passage through the air for the lightning bolt, and then the souls have an easier time of it." /198/

Rain medicines are infrequent in the Pangwe region; rain does
789 not need to be summoned for there is enough of it -- God knows --
821 in tropical West Africa. They would sooner fend it off, for instance, during the drying of ngon, at cult festivals, sometimes during the harvest, and on journeys. For this reason, unnecessary beating of drums is avoided because it invites rain, in accordance with the view, which, incidentally, also prevails outside the Pangwe region, that (rumbling) thunder is produced by rain.

During the drying of ngon, women sometimes place an inverted pot covered with leaves on the village square. Next to it they plant a little stick with a plantain dyed red speared on it,
[824] and they perhaps plant a twig of Petersia minor Niedenzu (abiń) near it. The pot is supposed to represent the vessel in the sky in which the rain is enclosed (mvé, "pot," mvǒ-ṅ, "rain"). Covering the pot indicates that they wish to have the heavenly pot closed in the same manner. The plantain is a plant of the moon which determines the seasons and thus also the rain, and the red coloration is, as it were, a courtesy paid to the moon. I was unable to discover the relationship of the Petersia to rain, but in the

613 the same for the third grandson. The group of the sons' three families
614 constitutes what is called etuna or aval. The tribe (ayoṅ) gives its name to all the families which have been established since its founder.

614 Social relations are rare with foreign tribes, the tribe forming a
609 homogeneous whole where the stranger is received only with reserve
578 and when he shows goods which prove that his visit has no other aim but to come and look for a woman to marry. The [92] tribes are often hostile to one another, and while they no longer can make war, this hostility is still demonstrated by an atmosphere of haggling which always forces the weakest to give way. Several tribes have thus had to leave the N'Djolé region to settle farther downstream on the Ogooué because they could no longer live beside their neighbors.

574 On the other hand, visits among members of one tribe are frequent, presents are exchanged, and wives are bought.

761 Death (awu). Death is regarded as a change of village. After his death, a person has become an inhabitant of the big village created
●775 by Nzame beyond the earth. There he will find the members of his family who already live there, and therefore he follows a very wide trail which leads him to the bank of the river Endam where his relatives who died before him come to await him. It may be that the crossing of the river is not immediate, and the dead man may have to stay for several days on the bank, which happens especially to people of whom the bivur have made human victims.

763 The dying person (edzegela) is attended by women who, when death has occurred, announce it on coming out of the hut, where all the inhabitants of the village then assemble. The corpse is taken from its bed and laid on the ground on mats; it is washed, rubbed with oil, and clothed in a white loincloth, then rolled in the mats and in pieces of bark, and tied. It stays this way in the hut until the grave is dug.

764 Funeral ceremonies immediately follow death. The wrapped body is carried by two men to the place of burial. The inhabitants of the village follow, one behind the other, and are present at the interment, which is done with a vine holding the body so that it does not fall suddenly to the bottom of the hole dug to receive it. The grave is oriented east-west, or is dug parallel to the course of the river which flows by the village, the head of the dead being placed upstream or to the east, the feet downstream or toward the west, so that the dead will lie in the direction of the river Endam. Before the grave is filled,

764 there are placed in it the arms or some everyday objects of the deceased. Then everyone goes back to the village, the women crying. The close relatives of the deceased go into mourning, which is much stricter for a woman than for a man; we have already seen what comprises the mourning of a widow. As for the widower, after having
765 stayed for two or three days in a state of prostration, often simulated, he continues to look after his work as usual, remaining meanwhile under the obligation to stay dirty until the celebrations at the end of mourning.

763 The autopsy of the corpse to find the evur is done at the edge of the grave, after the women have been sent away. The package containing [93] the corpse is undone and the practitioner operates with a large knife made especially for this purpose. He has previously painted his face half black, half red so that the deceased will not recognize him and cannot come from his abode in the village of Nzame to avenge himself for the mutilation he is undergoing. When the operation is finished, the corpse is sewed up, re-wrapped, and placed normally in the grave.

764 There is no cemetery, and the dead are buried a short distance from the village, almost behind the huts. Sometimes when a person is thought to have died from having been eaten by the bivur, in order that the grave may not be violated for the purpose of removing a piece of the corpse, it is buried in the very hut of the head of the family.

765 The life of the dead in the village of Nzame is identical with that which they had at home; they do the same work, have the same entertainments, marry, procreate, always stay young, and also have the power to do whatever they wish; it is enough for them to express a wish for it to be granted.

The dead sometimes leave their abode to return to the earth, perhaps in the form of phantoms with long hair to frighten the living, meeting a phantom being fatal, or perhaps in the shape of animals in order to avenge themselves. Some may change themselves into an elephant and ravage the fields of their enemies; others change into a panther and kill all the livestock and poultry and sometimes even the inhabitants of the village where they were unhappy in life. When they
[787] wish to be beneficent, they appear in the dreams of their relatives and friends and give them wise advice.

775 825 Sometimes a dead person who was not sufficiently mourned has on account of this been unable to find the route to the river Endam, and he comes back in the shape of a black antelope to get himself killed so as to die a second time and be sure to arrive at the village of the dead.

775 829 Europeans, on account of their pale look, their long, smooth hair, and above all because of the material goods they have brought, are still regarded as dead Pahouin who have returned to their country, and the fear of the children who rush to hide from the sight of a white man in many villages is due to the legends told by the old people who thus describe us.

173
[533
538]

superhuman heroes, who include not only their ancestors but also the earliest well-known Europeans: Ngôtô Zambe (Rev. Good), Mendômô (Hauptmann von Hagen), Akôk (Marius Pascalet), etc., thus are found to be naturalized as it were and incorporated into tradition.

Driven out of this country by red giants (or by a red giant), the ancestors, fleeing to save their lives, were brought to a standstill at the Sanaga, incapable of crossing it until the intervention of the guardian of the waters, a python according to Beti and Boulou, a crocodile according to /16/ the Fang (1). By stretching himself across

1. Bertaut gives the names as mot yom and nga medja or ngan meja. Discounting a mistake in transcription, these expressions could mean "a being to be supplicated," "crocodile to be supplicated," from môt (Fang, môt, mur) = person; ngan = crocodile; ja'é (Boulou) dzak, dzaghé (Ewondo, Fang) = to ask, to supplicate; yom = to beg, to implore.

the river this animal formed a bridge which the ancestors crossed family by family, in order of primogeniture, until the moment when a child (or woman) wounded the animal's back by letting fall a weapon (or a torch). The animal dived below, abandoning on the right bank the Beti group that is still there today.

[103] Osoe Nnanga, whence Europeans have derived "Sanaga," means [822] "white river" or "river of the albino." White is the color of death; [824] ghosts (bekôn) are white; albinos are thought to be offspring of incubi. [775] Lastly, the land of the dead has always been situated in the west, toward the sea (mañ), even though the Pahouin could not have known the sea except by hearsay. Considered in connection with some of the legends collected by Trilles, these facts may lead us to think that the Pahouin in crossing the Sanaga were entering, at least symbolically, the land of the dead.

When they had reached the left bank, they found their road blocked by an impenetrable forest, with the single path obstructed by an

551 of his descendants, in whose person he will be repeated rather than reembodied. It should be remembered that jɔ̂é also means "authority," a notion that cannot be dissociated from that of name.

761 The cessation of vital functions, awu (from wu, to die), is not
828 thought of as necessarily final: catalepsy, deep coma, anaesthesia, and real death are confused. It is evident that if the body is hurt during awu, a revival is impossible. A ghost, kɔ̂n (Fang, khun), is
754 not necessarily physically dead: one of the most feared forms of
828 sorcery, at which the Ndɔ̂ŋ̂ are reputed to be particularly expert, consists of separating a person from his nsisim, shade or double, by giving him the appearance of physical death, then in awakening the body which will thereafter automatically obey the sorcerer's orders and may be used by him for all sorts of ends, to go kill or steal, or, more prosaically, to work his plantations. Persons thus transformed into bekɔ̂n are recognized by their pallor, jerky movements, and haggard expression; they survive the experience /operation/ for only a few months before dying in great physical and moral agony (1).

[276] 1. I have reason—but no proof—to believe that this is more than a myth: perhaps the criminal use of a narcotic producing effects similar to those of Pentothal. A kɔ̂n, frightful to see, died at the Sangmélima dispensary in 1947. The judicial inquiry revealed nothing.

761 Death in the complete sense does not occur for some time after the cessation of vital functions, and funeral rites seem to have had the purpose of detaching the individual from his mortal shell. There
• 76 were two abodes of the dead. The bemie, those unblemished by ngbwel (sorcery by évu), crossed the river-of-the-west or the sea to go to the village of Zǎmbe (Zobeyo, Nzame) in a cold country where their nsisim led a life rather like that in a terrestrial village where everything goes well (2). The beyem went down to ɛ́rɔ̂tɔ̂lan, the

2. According to Trilles, this would have been Venus, otya alu, "the night's torch."

775 subterranean abode of the dead, where they were the prey of flames. A tradition reported by Largeau tells of the dead man arriving at the bridge over the river-of-the-west to meet there the judges, Oyem-Bôt (He-Who-Knows-Men) and Oka'Bot (He-Who-Divides-Men /Repartit-les-Homme/), who question him and allow him to cross the bridge leading to Mon-Anen (Great Being), who questions him in the presence of the dead and makes sure that he has "left his name" (that he has forgotten it in the land of the living). He is then turned over to the Divider-of-Men /Partageur-des-Hommes/, who cuts him in two, one half staying among the living, while the other, having been given a new name, goes to the dead. It is difficult to decide what precise part of the person remains with his descendants; in my view it is name-authority; in any case I do not believe it to be the nsisim. It might be the kôn but, in such a case, the result of an accident, for a ghost is a disturbing neighbor, if not a dangerous one, in any case very fearsome, often malevolent. Its appearance is that of a living [143] person, except that it is white /106/, whence the belief that albinos are the children of ghosts. The nsisim, on the other hand, who can turn up during a person's lifetime in a place distant from where he is (witches' and sorcerers' power of bilocation), is immaterial but absolutely identical in appearance with the body. The kôn might be the ghost of a person whose funeral rites had not been correctly performed, of an imperfectly exorcised sorcerer or, if one wishes, one imperfectly sterilized (for instance, if the corpse had not been burned), or even of a person who died without being purified of a nsem (1).

1. Among the Ewôndo, the dead who have not yet crossed the bridge leading to ésam nzigi, the abode of the dead, are called ngudu. (J. B.)

775 825 It also may happen that a dead man becomes embodied in a wild animal living near a village, and that, henceforth, "cannot" be killed. I have not been able to find out exactly whether this is a matter of actual impossibility or of a respect taboo. The animal may be benevolent, like the old gorilla, a former Mvaé chief, who protected the Nyabisaã village gardens against the depredations of "real" gorillas in 1948, or, on the contrary, malevolent, like one Zaman, turned panther, who ravaged his affinal family's flocks in the Boucle

du Dja region during the same period. This incarnation is probably related to the totemism or the alliance between a man and an animal élañela, which Trilles discusses at length (no. 166). The incarnation is only temporary and ends at the death or disappearance of the animal.

As a result of mission influence, nlam bekon, the land of the dead, is now divided into heaven and hell, which are none other than Zambe's village and éɔtɔlan. Souls in purgatory seem to be confused in village minds with dissatisfied bekɔ̂n, who are always disturbing. The notion of natural death, brought about neither by sorcery nor by breaking a prohibition, has not developed at all: after all, "the wages of sin is death," and "sin" has been rendered as nsem in translations of the Scriptures. Therefore the dead continue to belong to society, even though the decline of the ancestor cult, the biéti, and of the initiations with a probable totemic character like sɔ̂, have weakened their bonds with the living.

This belief in survival perhaps explains a certain scorn of death, which is indicated not only by bravery in war and the suicides of the old, but also suicides for the sake of a point of honor: a woman kills herself in order to take revenge on her husband, a man because he considers himself offended or injured. The "one responsible" for such a suicide is severely judged by public opinion, and must pay compensation and make an expiratory sacrifice.

3. Religion and Magic

Aside from a few old people who are known as "children of the old ways" (or "of the old knowledge"), bo' biyem bi nnom, and who are treated as pagans by their children, and, even more uncommon, a few /107/ young people who declare themselves to be agnostics, the great majority if not the mass of contemporary Pahouin claim to be attached to one of the sects that has done evangelical work in the region: French or American Presbyterian, /Roman/ Catholic, /Seventh Day/ Adventist. In fact, and with no intention of arguing over the statistics that give proportions of 105 percent "Christian" in certain districts, the influence of Christianity is indeed considerable, but it is tinged with animist survivals and revivals to an extent and in ways that only a great deal of detailed research could present accurately.

769 also discriminates between the ésayoñ, ancestor cult /112/, and the
614 mvamayoñ, totemic cult. It must be admitted that there is now no
114 chance of obtaining a cross-checking of his theories except on points of detail, although that is no formal condemnation of his theories; it is the consequence of a shortage of researchers, lack of respect on the part of the researchers, or loss of traditions of initiation. The following points may be considered as established:

mvam (émvam) connotes ideas of a forefather, dead or alive, lineal and protective.

[784] akam, protection, is sometimes used in speaking of animals, to indicate the reason for a prohibition; the verb kam having a defending-protecting meaning as well as that of forbidding-prohibiting.

All prohibitions are not tied up with these notions, but some are and they may well be individual prohibitions as well as hereditary collective ones, not necessarily involving animals.

Clan markings, mindem, and tattoo marks, mindan, are often connected with a prohibition.

825 There is a whole system of animal symbolism, evident particularly
[787] in tales and augury ("zoomancy," divination by spiders).

Certain animals are connected with initiation cults: very definitely the sô and snakes (dendraspis and python); probably the porcupine and tortoise (with feminine rites); perhaps the gorilla (njil; ngil, Johnson's tone 4, the ngil rite having tone 5).

[55] There does not appear to be any connection between an animal name borne by a person (Mvômô = Python, Zo'o = Elephant, Ze = Panther, etc.) and the prohibitions he is subject to.

Moreover, the following, it seems pretty certain, are not specifi-
614 cally related to totemism:
825 Alliance, élat or ngbwa, between a person and a particular animal.

A sorcerer's employing an animal, nkuk (observe that nkuk also means "mask") to carry out his sorcery at a distance.

• [775] The incarnation of a sorcerer in the body of an animal, élañela (Trilles applies this name to the nkuk).

The temporary incarnation of a dead man in an animal's body.

The first three phenomena often seem to be confused in the minds of present-day Pahouin, and the fourth may be the consequence of this.

773 It is curious that the legend recounted by Trilles about the crocodile, which he considers to be the "national totem," represents

773 the animal pursuing the ancestors of the Fang in order to devour them, while the legendary history of migration collected in the north shows, on the contrary, the crocodile enabling the tribe to cross the Osoé Nnanga (the python performs this service for the Beti).

776 The observation made by the authors quoted on the "unsuperstitious" character of the Pahouin and of the slight development /113/ of "fetishism" among them is to be related to the almost total absence in their mythology of beings intermediary between God and man, genii or demigods.

774 825 Aside from the bivur, to be discussed in connection with sorcery, there are only the bingungur (Fang)(Boulou, bingôngôt) shown in some legends as kinds of ogres or ghouls haunting forests and attacking travelers. According to another interpretation, these rather are evil animals endowed with intelligence and malevolence beyond that of normal members of their species, perhaps animal sorcerers. The inoffensive aardvark, mvômesila, is thus very much feared; also a sort of very rare Pithecanthropus (Fang, éngure; Boulou, éngu'u) and a mermaid, the mammywôta of the coast, no doubt a lamantin /or manatee/. For Trilles, the éngungure is a "spirit, often transformed into an animal, which sorcers obey"; may there not be a confusion here with the évur (Boulou, évu)?

775 769 As for ghosts, bekôn, it might be said that there are good ones but no nice ones. One may usually get on with the kôn of a properly buried forebear who was respected in his lifetime and even obtain useful services from him, formerly paid for by sacrifices and libations 772 to his skull and often today by candles, Masses, or prayers (I have 777 known Protestants to go to Catholic missionaries for exorcism). There is more difficulty /in dealing/ with the kôn of a sorcerer or with that of a stranger neither whose name nor whose skull is in one's possession.

266 Lawful /non criminelle/ anthropophagy probably had for an end, among others, that of acquiring power over the bekôn of enemies and perhaps of assimilating the rights they derived from their ancestors. This wartime cannibalism appears to have existed especially on the geographical fringes of the group and particularly along the invasion front, among the Fang proper, the vanguard of the migration. A relative or affinal kin was never eaten, only strangers, and these only by warriors (or sometimes by sons of warriors killed by the enemy). It is worth noting that for the cannibalism of the Fang and Osyéba only the "Gabonese" felt the terror described by all explorers. The

8: Bennett D-5 (ca.1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

776 idea as the Bulu regarding two great gods. The *Zambe* of the Bulu is the *Anyambi* or *Sekôme* of the Fang, the *tata* or father of all things; and another god of less power than *Anyambi* or *Sekôme*, who lives in the forests and is so tall that he gathers fruit from the highest trees. Some of the old men and women profess to have seen this god of the forests.

[775] Fang superstition includes transmigration; a departed human soul may enter any animal dwelling on top of the earth or in it. There are spirits of health and disease, also a protecting spirit belonging to a clan or tribe, in whose honour a 782 small basket is hung in the palaver house, containing portions of the skull of an 776 albino, whenever obtainable, also portions of the skulls of a relative and a chimpanzee, human hair, nails and bones. This fetish or *biang* is called the *Biang Akamayong*. Most Fang have a cabalistic word assigned to them by the *ngangan* (witch doctor), and this word is used as a prayer. During the new moon, dances are nearly always indulged in, and the songs usually addressed [535] to the spirits of Present and Future. Local spirits need constant propitiation; a native passing in his canoe a spot where a local spirit dwells, as a large rock, will pay his respects by casting a piece of his food into the river, or when in the forest a few stones or a piece of *mbôu* (cassava) is laid at the root of some great tree.

778 Wooden idols are not plentiful among the Fang tribes living along the rivers; they are seen more in the palaver houses of the bush towns.

Charms.—These may be only cabalistic words, and under this head of vocal charms must be included the incantations of the *ngangan* (witch doctor).

Material charms.—These are by far the most common; the belief in material charms, fetish, occupies the most prominent place in Fang religious contemplation.

Among the Fang, the English word Fetish, from the Portuguese word Feticio, is *Biang* (medicine). A Fang fetish is any material object which the *ngangan* (doctor) has consecrated and made a fit abiding place for a spirit. What may be consecrated? Anything, absolutely anything; a shell, rag, stone, twig of a tree, horns, nails, etc. The horns of small antelope and large deer are filled with resins, [754] nails, human hair, faeces, etc. To bewitch a person it is necessary to give the *ngangan* a piece of the hair, nail, a portion of the food or a drop of blood of the [826] person to be bewitched. A Fang is most careful if he cuts himself to see that only friends and relations approach him until the bleeding has ceased, and hair when cut is usually burnt without delay. As mentioned in the section of this 784 paper on food, every child during infancy is subjected to certain rites which 778 constitute his or her *Eki*, prohibiting the child from eating a certain kind of food or performing a certain act. Thus far, the superstitious beliefs of the Fang and [171] Bulu are precisely similar, and I gathered from Dr. Nassau at Gaboon many facts connected with the people among whom he laboured, the Mpongwe, which showed that they also held superstitious beliefs very nearly, and in some cases precisely similar to those of the Bulu and Fang, the only difference being in the

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

name, the *Eki* of the Fang being the *Orunda* of the Mpongwe. One day when on 784
a journey among the people, I asked an old headman to share with me a chicken 778
my boy had prepared for supper; the old man seemed pleased at my invitation, but asked the boy if it was a hen or cock fowl. Upon being informed that it was a cock, he declined to eat any of it: that was his *Eki*. As previously stated, I do 769
not believe the natives worship the spirits of Present and Future, but to a certain degree ancestral worship does exist. A Fang places the skull of his father in a curious receptacle of bark, worshipping it, killing fowls and making blood offerings to it, and in many ways the whole matter somewhat resembles the worshipping at graves and before ancestral tablets as practised in China. The natives often pray to their father's skull before talking a large war palaver, or the purchase of a new woman. As worshipping departed ancestors is the chief duty of a faithful Chinaman, so making offerings and prayers to the departed father's spirit before the skull constitutes the great Fang fetish, or *bieti*. Wooden idols, *biyeme*, of men [831]
and women are made in a manner which makes the sex extremely apparent; yet [532]
whenever I have seen these figures in towns, the people did not seem to regard them as obscene, but as truthful representations of the sexes. I feel sure that to some extent, at least, phallic worship is practised among the Fang. Spirits are 776
everywhere; in rocks, trees, forests, and streams; in fact, for the Fang, this life is one continual fight against spirits corporal and spiritual.

A peculiar belief regarding dreams is that when a person sleeps the soul often 787
wanders away, and its experiences on these journeys are made known to the sleeper 928
by dreams. After death the soul may inhabit any kind of animal. [778]

Fetish Biang (medicine).—Fetish means anything; leopard teeth, human finger nails, hair, wood, iron, herbs. The article used as *biang* or fetish, has no 778
intrinsic value, it is only valued because of connecting its owner with a spirit which can aid him. The leopard tooth fetish is supposed to impart the bravery of the leopard to its owner. Fetish is a spirit or combination of spirits manifested in material things.

Dili Mkuk.—To murder a person and save his skull as a fetish, or use the skull as medicine to bring women, guns, goats or goods. The people will make offerings to the skulls calling them by the names of persons killed. It is said that these prayers are always answered as desired.

Biang e Soli (hiding medicine).—A man goes and takes leaves of trees, and cuts 789
them up. He says, "I have cut up leaves of trees" (or high grass, bushes). The women shell gourd seeds and mash them. They catch a fowl, kill it, and put it in the pot. They also put in the pot the medicine leaves, and the mashed gourd kernels. They put the pot on the fire, and boil (its contents). When they have boiled it, the medicine is cooked. They take the medicine pot off (the fire). They go and put it by the side of (*afuâ*) the back of the *bieti*. The man who has put it there says to the *bieti*, other people want to kill me. He takes away the medicine pot. He opens the *bieti* basket. He takes a small piece of the bone (instead of this say to the woman and children he takes the excrement of the

773 Nzame has much work in his village, but he does not disdain to en-
821 joy himself. He causes tomtom dances to be performed on the sky, and the noise of the dancers' feet is called thunder. From time to time also, when there is an eclipse, it is Nzame who takes pleasure in frightening people by plunging them into darkness at midday.

776 II. The evur. The evur or evus (plural, bivur) appears to be an individual spirit which plays a fundamental role in the life of the Pahouin. Not all persons have an evur. To have an evur, one must have received it from a person who has one. Such a person is called nem (plural, beyem). A child in the foetal state carried by its mother [69] can receive an evur even without the knowledge of the mother. One can tell by its weight that a newborn has an evur; only a nem, on lifting a child in his arms, can say that he has felt the weight of the evur, imperceptible to anyone else.

776 If at its birth a child has no evur, it can then receive one. The
852 evur given it is either good (evur mve) or evil (evur abi).

(1) Good evur. In the case of a good evur, the donor of this evur, who is always an elder of the tribe, comes often to see the child until the latter can count to ten, that is to say, at about seven or eight years
[856] of age. At this time the child is considered intelligent enough to understand what is expected of him, and then the ceremony called akaǵa is performed.

All the beyem of the village are invited to meet at a tree called
[824] ovaṅ (Didelotia africana), chosen from among all the others as the fetish tree because of its size, its longevity, and its resistance to tornadoes. The child is brought there; then the donor of the evur, in the presence of the assembled beyem, pronounces the wishes which he makes for the child's future. He wishes him wealth, strength, success, in general all that which will make him happy. For little girls the wishes are more particularly that they may later have many children, that they may be strong for their planting tasks, and that they may be esteemed by the other wives of their future husbands.

A kind of soup called nam akaǵa, the preparation of which is secret, is made on the occasion of this ceremony. Each time the donor of the evur makes a wish, the child must take a little nam. For example, if the wish is for him to have ten wives, this is made with the following words:

e mon ni, nam ma ke we wi oluǵ bunega awum
That child, the soup I give you here marries ten wives,

776 and he must take ten spoonfuls of soup. Similarly, he will eat a
852 spoonful for each child wished for. As to the other wishes, wealth, strength, courage, esteem, etc., these necessitate eating all that is left in the pot. This large quantity of soup signifies that the wish made is for an immeasurable amount of whatever is desired.

776 The night following the ceremony of akaga, the bivur of the beyem who have been present leave the bodies of their possessors in order to hold an invisible meeting called ngwel. This is the only time that the ngwel does not have a completely malevolent action, since otherwise the bivur never meet except to do evil. The ngwel which follows the akaga confirms the wishes made for the child and promises to protect his evur until it is strong enough; in fact, the evur grows with the child and does not reach its full vitality until the child is an adult. The ngwel [70] also shows the new member what part of the body he must remove from the person he will later sacrifice, in order to make a fetish. This sacrifice is made in gratitude to the bivur who concerned themselves with him during the akaga.

776 Every time an evur leaves the body for a ngwel, it is injured and
784 fatigued, and can only be restored with human blood. After the ngwel, which follows the akaga, the bivur who have taken part in this weakened state and, when they have finished attending to the wishes made for the child, they ask the evur of the person who invited them to point out the victim they must eat for their recovery. An old man of the paternal or maternal family is usually designated for this purpose. Lacking such a person, the nem who bestowed the evur may sacrifice himself. If he does not consent, the assembled bivur place a prohibition (eki) on the child. For example, if ten wives have been wishes for him, he is forbidden on pain of death to take an eleventh; or else he is forbidden, always on pain of death, to eat certain foods or to do, or allow such and such a thing to be done. When the prohibition is of little importance, death in case of infraction may be replaced by the good evur transforming into an evil one.

Respect for the prohibitions and faith in their power is so firmly fixed in the minds of all the Pahouins that one who has violated a prohibition of akaga is sure to die, and without external intervention.

784 A Protestant missionary of the Samkita station cited to us the case
158 of a twelve-year-old child, a boarding pupil of the mission, who was

784 forbidden by akaga to eat manioc. He had never eaten any and had
158 lived on bananas. One evening he cooked his bananas in a pot which had been used by other pupils, without having taken the precaution of washing it. During the night he learned that before he had used it, manioc had been cooked in it. Thinking that his bananas might thus have been contaminated by the remains of manioc caught on the edges of the pot and that he had broken his eki, he died in a few hours with horrible suffering, as none of the cares lavished on him was able to alleviate his condition. It is to be noted that none of the children who had eaten the manioc cooked in the pot was ill, and that the one who died was in excellent health up to the moment when he learned that he had broken his eki.

The same missionary also cited to us the case of a woman of the Ngone village, near the station, who had as eki not to be hit on the back. A district guard supervising the work of brush clearance in the village and seeing that she was not working hard enough, gave her a very light tap on the shoulder blade. Immediately the woman started rolling on the ground. She was carried in terror to the mission, eyes rolling, foam at the mouth, muscles contracted, and unable to utter [71] a sound. The missionary, believing this to be an epileptic seizure, tried in vain by every possible means to quiet her. Later when he had heard the story and learned that he was in the presence of a Protestant Christian woman, he explained to her that since she was a Christian the bivur could no longer have power over her, and in any case, if she believed them to be strong enough to make her die, she would not fail to go to hell after death. Was this fear of hell stronger than the ancestral one of the bivur? After long religious exhortations by the missionary, the woman returned to her normal condition.

776 In order to avoid the eki, the child may give a part of his body to the bivur. At the place where the removal has been performed -- invisible because performed by spirits -- an incurable wound is incurred. But usually, if it is a boy, he gives his testicles to the bivur, who take them and eat them. Only their image remains on the child, and it is this image which everyone takes for reality. In this case the bivur predict for him an accumulation of wealth when this image of the testicles swells.

When the child for whom the bivur worked in the ngwel after the akaga has become a man, and some of the wishes that were made have

776 been realized, he rewards these bivur by giving them a member of his family: father, mother, brother, first wife, first child, or maternal uncle.

776 The person eaten by the bivur dies, and the beneficiary of the akaǧa
778 must take a portion of the body and keep it all his life. This will be a protecting fetish.

For example, a man has offered his father. When the corpse has rotted in the grave, he goes and extracts a tooth and gives it to the beyem who, at the time of the akaǧa, had told him to take it. These beyem, or at least those who have not died by this time, meet again under the ovaṅ where they cause an evur to dwell in the tooth and order it to make all its guardian's wishes come true. The wishes made at the time of the akaǧa are renewed, this time in the form of an order to the evur which takes its place in the tooth. The latter is then given back to its owner who, in order to hide it, swallows it or keeps it enclosed in a box carefully hidden in his hut so that no one sees it, not even his wives or children. Before accomplishing anything at all, he must first speak to the tooth, invoking the evur so that it will come to his aid.

If it is the first wife who has been given to the bivur, the husband removes a piece of frontal bone from the corpse, which receives an evur in the same way as the tooth described above. This bone is placed in a box full of oil, and every time the owner of the fetish appeals to this evur he must anoint his face with the oil in which the bone is soaked. [72]

Sometimes instead of a tooth or a bone, flesh is removed. The removal is then made in the night following the burial. The beyem dry the piece of flesh and incorporate an evur in it. In order to invoke this evur the owner of the fetish must put the piece of dried flesh in his mouth.

The possessor of an evur is forbidden to have any other fetish than that prescribed for him by the akaǧa.

776 (2) Evil evur. The evil evur, like the good, is given at the moment of birth. It may also come from an evur given the child in its mother's womb with which the nem donor does not concern himself at birth, or from a good evur whose owner has broken a prohibition of the akaǧa.

There is no akaǧa for an evil evur.

776 The evil evur concerns itself only with eating people in the course of the ngwel and with waging war against the good bivur. It is almost always the evil evur which is the victor.

(3) Activities of the evur. The manifestations of the evur are many, and itis the evur which acts in everything instead of, and in place of, its owner.

It is essential for one who wishes to be a practitioner to have an evur. Moreover, this profession is assigned to a child, should the occasion arise, at the time of the ceremony of akaǧa.

Except in the case of an activity favorable to its owner, or at the time of the akaǧa, the evur is always malevolent. The only aim of the ngwel meetings is to assure the life of the bivur through the death of the persons whom they eat.

776 When the good evur of a nem has worked in full daylight for its
155 owner, the latter falls ill at the same time as his evur. He can be
824 treated only with a thick medication made of water, a cooked egg, and crushed leaves of ebele beyem. Ebele beyem is the name of a poisonous vine whose leaves and blossoms resemble those of the sweet potato.

776 The malevolent activity of the evur is always manifested in a death.
761 It may also be the cause of abortion, or the death of a newborn the moment it sees daylight.

776 The evur also allows its possessor to change himself into an animal.
762 For example, a man who wishes to die causes his evur to go out and
158 take the form of an animal (usually a black antelope, nzip, or a red antelope, nkoǧ), and to walk at the edge of the village. The animal is noticed at once by the inhabitants who hunt and kill it. The evur then immediately returns to the man who sent it, and it is the man who is killed instead of the animal. The transformation is simultaneous with the blow which causes death, and it is the man, transported by his evur, who is found dead at the spot where the animal fell. [73]

776 An example of this faculty of transformation was reported to us in
158 March, 1934. Two hunters landed on a small island in Lake Mangueigne to hunt a monkey which they had seen in a tree. They separated at the landing spot, after having decided that each should go around the island from his side. One of them saw a large black antelope in the thickets, fired, and when he drew near found his comrade riddled with shot, gasping his last and dying shortly afterwards. The inhabitants of the neighboring village, aroused by the cries, arrived in time to hear

776 158 the victim exonerate the murderer, admitting that what happened was his own fault and that he had changed himself into an antelope so as not to frighten the hunted monkey. Not for an instant did the Pahouin of the district dream of doubting the truth of the story, and each recalled the exploits of the dead man who, thanks to his ability to change himself, had several times lived among gorillas and panthers, whose young he had brought back as proof of his double existence.

In September, 1933, in the village of Ebabara on the Abanga, a woman, Ningone Obame, told us how her husband, Obiang Abugo, transformed into an elephant, killed her little daughter: One day she saw Obiang come into the hut in the form of a bird, and he asked her to give him the little girl to look after him. Ningone refused. To punish her, Obiang caused her to have an abscess on her breast. A few days after this, she went fishing in a side channel of the river, Obiang staying in camp with the child. Suddenly Ningone felt her head get heavy and her heart beat fast. She was frightened and returned to the camp where she found her husband lying asleep. The little daughter was not there. Ningone went out, called her, and suddenly saw her dead, trampled by Obiang in the shape of an elephant. At this point Obiang, the elephant, promised to give her a boy in place of the little girl. Ningone went back to the camp. Obiang was still lying down and continued to sleep. She waked him up and accused him of the death of her daughter. Obiang did not deny it and said he had to kill her so that his own evur would not die. Nevertheless, he died two or three days afterwards.

Ningone told us this story in the presence of all the inhabitants of the village and numerous listeners from neighboring villages, all of whom considered the incident normal and only discussed the question of whether, because of the crime committed by Obiang's evur, Ningone should, or should not, pay back the dowry to her dead husband's family.

778 776 (4) Protection against the bivur. In spite of all the acknowledged power of the evur, the Pahouin seek to protect themselves against it.

For this there is an essential fetish called mvul, or byaň bivur. Upon the death of a person suspected of having had an evur which fed upon human blood, the abdomen of the corpse is opened and a search is made for the evur. [74] This, it seems, is like a crab; it has a small mouth with little teeth; its claws form long veins that go into every part of the body. Once the evur is found, its belly is opened, and if it

778 has lived on human flesh, a piece of the flesh is found. That piece
776 of flesh is taken out and put into an antelope horn together with scrapings of a vine called nzi bivur, a panther claw (dze nze), the talon of a sparrow hawk, and a firefly. The end of the horn is closed with the wax of white honey (eko abe).

The fetish thus made is either carried by the person who wishes to protect himself or is hung at the door of the hut. At night, if the bivur wish to enter the hut, the firefly will leave the horn and fly into the hut, giving warning of their approach. Then there is a battle (abal nguel, the war of the ngwel) between the bivur and the horn fetish, from which the fetish almost always emerges victor.

III. The bieri. The bieri is a family fetish whose help must be
778 sought before every important undertaking: hunting, fishing, a journey, choice of farm land, etc.,., by the head of the family who owns the fetish.

It consists of the skull of a dead ancestor taken from the grave by a
778 practitioner after the complete disappearance of the flesh. After having
824 taken the skull, the practitioner goes into the forest and makes from the bark of a tree called andun (Berlinia sp.) a cylindrical box with a lid, big enough to hold the skull. The bottom of the box and the top of the lid are formed by a circular disc of wood nailed into the bark cylinder with little pegs of hard wood. The practitioner then cleans the skull and anoints it with an ointment of red wood sawdust (ba) and oil of raphia palm. The box is called nseg and the skull sen bieri, the whole having the name of bieri. Into the box is also placed some red wood sawdust and a plant called nzen (a kind of fern), and sometimes also a little wooden bowl. The bieri thus made is put in a hidden place in the
[687] hut of the family head. It will speak in dreams to a family head whenever it wishes to notify a member of the family of some event. Sometimes a statuette roughly representing the person whose skull constitutes the main part of the fetish is put on the lid of the box. It is called nlu bieri (the head of the bieri).

No one may see the bieri unless he has eaten some alan (Strychnos
276 icaja) in the course of a ceremony called ku melan. The heads of
778 several families send the future initiates to look for roots of alan, of
787 which they retain only the bark. Then in the morning each family head brings his bieri to a place prepared in advance in the bush near the

778 initiates. Anyone else who eats it will become mortally ill. During
782 the following night, the bieri will reveal to an initiate during his
787 sleep the means of assuring the success of the hunt for which his help has been asked.

778 The bieri strictly forbids anyone, under pain of mortal illness, to [76] insult it. Its power is unlimited: it can cause a woman who has fled from the village to return to it; it causes lost objects to be found.

In spite of all the faith which the old Pahouin still have in the bieri, in the region which interests us one may say that the majority of the population has abandoned it, primarily because of its being driven out by the Christian missions.

515 IV. The buiti. The buiti, which our informants told us were of
776 Mitsogho [Mitsogo] or Masango [Missanga?] origin (peoples of the right bank of the N'Gounié), is a protective association against the bivur. The information on this secret society was given us by Akam Eyene, the head of a buiti, who lived in the village Elong Eko on the Abanga. It is rather incomplete because this informant was unwilling to give us certain details and to answer numerous questions.

Possessors of bieri band together because of the fear of the bivur, against which the bieri by itself is powerless to protect them. Their association, the buiti, in its fight against the ngwel, shows itself as stronger and kills the bivur (and consequently the individual possessors of bivur). It also serves to reveal the beyem, who have evil intentions toward members of the buiti and to make their efforts ineffectual.

515 Every member of the buiti brings a piece of his bieri and a piece of
778 the animal under whose protection he has placed himself. All of these are put in a box and constitute the fetish of the association, which also keeps such material things as:

515 A musical instrument, ngomi, a harp with eight strings. At the
534 bottom of the resonance chamber of the one belonging to Akam Eyene were pierced three holes covered by three pieces of flesh of chimpanzee, gorilla, snake, elephant, eagle, panther, and rooster. This instrument accompanies the songs of the ceremony.

A bell, etsoge, a round hollowed-out fruit, into which are put little pebbles. It is equipped with a handle and is shaken during the songs.

A branch of raphia palm lying horizontally on two carved stakes called minsaga mi buiti. The whole thing is called obaka. During the ceremonies this branch is beaten with two sticks.

614 issued from the lines which originally constituted them may be separated by great distances or may even be in foreign territory (in Gabon and in Spanish Guinea, for example). Nevertheless, whatever their average size, depending on the location, there remain a few groupings which are imposed on individuals in a specific way: particularly by belonging (one is an Esibil, Esakòra, etc.) and by "fraternity" (expressed by the title mwananayôg), which they imply. The word ayôg is also used today to designate the clan. This seems to be its true original meaning; it has only taken on the nonspecific meaning to the extent that tribal reality became blurred at the time of recent migrations, resulting in the near disappearance of the word characterizing it (ayòm). The value of this interpretation becomes obvious when one refers to the observations made by Tessmann, who, at the beginning of the century, pointed out the existence of groupings called ayôg who were more or less united at the higher level to constitute [104] [Fig. 4.] [105] the largest grouping, which he calls "tribe" (ayam). This confusion is significant of the profound upheavals that have occurred and explains the uncertainties shown by Father Trilles in this respect

614 776 178 This author, besides, has stressed the existence of a Fang totemism which could be seen [to extend] from the tribe to the individual, and extended out to the various groupings. But he also took care to point out that this was in the process of disappearing at the beginning of the century on the Ogooué and in the coastal regions. A valuable estimate has been made of this fantastic theory by Van Gennep, who writes: "All our efforts to limit the terms totem and totemism to a well-defined category are nonexistent for Father Trilles, who manages to make of the totem the equivalent of the Latin genius or of any other protecting spirit of any individuals or groups whatsoever." (1) We cannot discuss now an absolete

1. A. Van Gennep, L'Etat actuel du problème totémique [The Present State of the Totem Problem], Paris, 1920, p. 35.

quarrel — more especially as rapid changes during the last fifty years have changed or destroyed the elements necessary for any

614 opinion — but we can remember from the facts reported by Father
776 Trilles the indication that a protecting being, a body of religious
178 material (akamayon), a collection of symbols, and a body of beliefs and legends gave a uniformity, other than a genealogical one, to the Fang clans.

614 The agnate lines of descent with a more or less limited num-
621 ber of generations have played, and still play, an important role. Around them are organized the groupings forming the village or village groups which were established by the nomadic groups noted by the first observers. In this respect the history of progressive distribution throughout Gabon is significant. We will give the example of the Yéngwi, of which a fragment represented by twenty-five villages is established in the Oyem region in the Woleu-N'Tem. They are all attached to an ancestor called Esɔnɔ Angɔ, who is said to have come from the legendary place Adźa Mbura and to have led the first journeys through the South Cameroons. He is still considered the founder (abial) of the groupings existing today. These, consisting of about 3,300 individuals, are especially concentrated in the southern part of Kyé-Nyé, Canton, north of the Woleu River. Starting from this region where the first Yéngwi villages were established and where a compact nucleus of more than [106] 1,500 individuals is still in existence, a great migration took place in the direction of present-day Spanish Guinea (in to villages) from the mouth of the N'Tem, the Ogooué, and the Gabon. The large grouping thus formed by the lines issued from Esɔnɔ Angɔ and settled at the level of a demarcated region constitutes an abial è bɔt, or major linage. Although these lines are spread out through ten generations, there exist real bonds between members of the grouping, even if their "kinship" goes back to Esɔnɔ Angɔ, and which are sufficient to make possible the aggregation of dissident elements from one village to another.

The word abial implies an idea of localization. It may signify "place of birth," "place of origin." (1) The groupings called

1. Cf. Mgr. L. Martrou, Lexique Fãn-Français [Fang-French Lexicon], Paris, Procure Générale, not dated.

794

des Mfang [The Éki of the Fang]."
Anthropos, Vol. 1, 1906.

interesting for the last point it brings up; it indicates a test, it shows above all with unquestionable brutality that all power existing outside the clan and the kinship is acquired only after making the more or less symbolic gesture of "killing the kinship." It is by the interplay of [145] such groupings that the logic of the system of kinship and of alliance by marriage is transcended.

"Associations" have a function whose import varies according to particular circumstances. They intervene to create a better cohesion between clan fragments, as is shown by the grouping of [171] initiates at the Bièri (Gabon cult) or at the Ssò (Cameroons cult known to the frontier villages); this at a time when insecurity demands a minimum of union among related villages. In other circumstances, they attempt to reinforce the inherent power of functions whose importance is affirmed: as in the case of groupings that controlled the ancient "dance of justice" (sòmana) at the time when peaceful settlement of conflicts remained the only one possible, and when the role of "peacemaker" was of primary importance. As is shown by the feminine "associations," they may also act as a curb on the domination to which a social group of inferior status is subjected. This is all the more marked as the decay of these groupings has been paralleled by the change in the relations between the sexes. We have pointed out, in connection with the Ngil, that "associations" have acted as the mechanism for higher appeal for the purpose of pacification. We must now stress the fact that some of them assume an almost permanent role of opposition to the social order.

754 Such is the case of the "association" of men known as sorcerers
● 776 (pl. bòyèm), who endeavor to acquire permanently, and in their
782 own personal right, "wealth, strength, and power." Each one has been admitted in terms of an absolute differentiation – the possession of a "spirit" called évu(r) (s) which is physically distinguishable (1) – and with a special initiation, the latter entails the

1. Cf. H. Lavignotte, L'évur, Société

754
776
782

des Missions Evangéliques, 1947; E. Trézenem, op. cit., II, L'évur, pp. 68-74; M. Briault, op. cit., Captain Maignan, op. cit. We point out that this is a belief which is widely spread throughout South Gabon and as far as the country of the Ba-téké.

obligation to break off (more than symbolically) the ties of kinship and alliance: by the sacrifice of the first child if a woman is in question, and of the maternal uncle if it is a man.

754 776 The évur is received before birth or during the first week *following birth. It transforms the organism of the individual carry*ing it since it can be detached at the time of an autopsy: (2)

2. It is described as follows: "It is a beast with paws, eyes, a mouth, and a tongue ... it can travel through the body ....," M. Briault, op. cit.

biologically the possessor (nnèm) and the évur are linked together; the latter "grows with the child and attains its full vitality [146] only when the child becomes an adult." Their respective powers are dependent on each other and demand sacrifices for their preservation. The bond between the two is continually shown by the play of interdicts and special obligations from which the nnèm "cannot free himself." Everything contributes to make the nnèm feel he has a different nature; even the ritual at the time of the two fundamental ceremonies celebrates the "birth" of the new nnèm and his "maturity" which permits the acts of domination. H. Lavignotte writes: "The évur lives in the body of its possessor, allowing him to split himself in two, or rather to leave his body to act in his place, to know the secrets of the other bòyèm (plural of nnèm) to increase his strength tenfold, to do extraordinary things that will make him rich, to kill without leaving a trace.". E. Trézenem completes this account by specifying: "Except in the case of acting for the benefit of its possessor ... the évur is always

754 harmful."
776

Thus we find asserted the use of an uncommon power for strictly personal ends: this power, called sân ngwèl, is that of the évur in action. The characteristics of domination and radical differentiation are emphasized (to the point that the possession of the évur "is indispensable to anyone wishing to be" a magician (1)) in opposition to the system of the relationships of kinship

1. E. Trezenem, op. cit., p. 72.

(implying "fraternity" and a leveling tendency) and of alliance by marriage (implying reciprocity and co-operation). While "associations" such as the Ngil or the Akûm have a licit function, which places them in the heart of the total society, the nnèm as a whole constitute a foreign grouping which is fundamentally heterogeneous and for that reason extremely dangerous. The bonds existing between bôyèm, which become a reality at the moment of the two ceremonies of presentation and initiation, do not exclude competition, for the évur may quarrel among themselves. The quality of being a nnèm liberates the individual to a great extent. It allows him to assert himself against the established order (he can threaten those who maintain it), but it also imposes a near solitude, a state of continual aggression and defense, a dangerous existence, as is shown by the violence of collective reactions at the time of the punishment of sorcerers. (2) The symbols

2. Cf. V. Largeau, op. cit., "... when he is recognized he is burned alive or massacred and eaten."

used and the formula pronounced for the presentation of the évur indicate the hoped-for advantages (glory, wealth, and numerous progeny) but also express the indispensable qualities (virility and courage).

754 [147] These facts reveal a radical form of opposition to the clan system. They represent the most individualizing and

771 The first observers described the Pahouin, especially the Fang,
781 as "less superstitious," "less given to fetishism" than neighboring
114 populations. Trilles and Martrou emphasized their profound religious sentiment, while Allégret (no. 147) gives very interesting information about the feeling of religious destitution they experienced, particularly after contact with Europeans. Often observed also has been the ease with which they would adopt new beliefs and ceremonies, and this refers not only to Christian sects but to cults like bwiti and ngôl and even, before the last war, to freemasonry in the vicinity of Libreville.

All these influences are so intermingled that we must resort to a kind of conjectural palaeontology in order to reconstruct their original beliefs. Without casting any reflection upon the intellectual integrity of observers like Trilles and Martrou, we must recognize—and regret—that a certain professional slant from time to time affected their conclusions, to a point that induces us to turn instead to laymen much less well qualified linguistically, like Largeau, of whom Trilles has shown himself perhaps a little too critical.

a. Concept of God, Creation

776 The Pahouin believe (or used to believe, see later on) in a creator god Mebe'e (Fang, Mebere, Mebeghe), eternal, formerly immanent, becoming infinitely transcendant after the first nsem.

The word Mebe'e seems to be related to the verb be'e, to carry, which has the agent-noun, mbe'e. Mbe'e is a plural form, corresponding to nouns of action and also to the collective plural forms of names of liquids (mendim = water, metyi = blood, meyôm = sperm, etc.). It is usually accompanied by triple apposition: "Mebe'e, Mebe'e menkpwa, sokuma, mbongbwe" (or, according to Trezenem, mba angwe). The meaning of these three qualifiers is as uncertain as that of Mebe'e; menkpwa should probably be connected with kpwaé = to strike down, to judge, to condemn; sokuma with kôm (kum) = to arrange, to direct, sô conveying the idea of generosity, rectitude, balance (Boulou, soso, zoso); mbongbwé would then, according to Grebert, mean "creator of generations" (bo = to make; ngbwé = maternal kinship), but could also be /108/ connected with ngbwa = love, friendship, alliance, with the sense of "he who makes an alliance" or "he who loves."

776 A definition is added to these qualifiers, given by Mebe'e himself in reply to men who asked him what his name was, and reported by Largeau thus, the formula varying slightly in detail according to other writers: Mebe'e me se kôm, ke môt, ke minga, ke nyia, ke ésa, émien étam étam, ke yoo-yoé, a tame mebialé me bôt, which means, more or less, "Mebe'e, with no one, without wife, mother, father, all alone by himself, impenetrable (lit., 'not open,' perhaps in the sense of 'without beginning'), starts the generations."

Largeau gives weight to traditions that run counter to this concept of uniqueness, according to which Mebe'e (he connects the word with a verb meaning "to divide"?) would be none other than the sun and would have begotten man by a union with the female principle Anghe Ndongha, "universal womb" (?). But he himself admits the "vague" nature of these traditions "mumbled by a few old men."

Mebe'e is uncreated and eternal. He declares to the first man: A mon wôm, me se k'asum, me se k'aman, me ne fo'o mbembé, "O my son! I have no beginning (origin), no end, I am in truth he that endures (bembe = to be fixed)."

773 "Feeling lonely by himself," writes Trilles, Mebe'e, "when things were not yet," decides to create man (môt = a person /persona?-Tr./. He creates a lizard out of clay and five days later puts it into a bowl of water (sea water, according to Trilles) where he leaves it for seven full days. On the eighth day he shouts, "Come forth!" Man comes out and gives thanks. Trilles rightly emphasizes the beauty of the scene: Alu mwom ané a nga ke dé'é, nyina: Ku'i! A nga kui, a to môt. Ané, a nga kutubu meboît, nyina: Abotan. "On the eighth day (lit., the eighth night) then, he goes to look, then: Come forth! (lit., Emerge!). It emerges; it is a man. And he falls on his knees: Thanks! (lit., Praises!)"

This first man is called Nzame or Zambe (Boulou, Zobeyo) or, more accurately, Nzame Mebe'e. According to the tradition reported by Largeau, he gave himself this name at the time he gave the creator the name Mebe'e. According to others, Mebe'e named Nzame. The name may be related to the Fang verb dzame (Boulou, jame), meaning "to leave," "no longer to be concerned with," and also "to forgive a debt," "to pardon." Nzame would thus be "he who pardons" or "he who abandons," the form Zambe used in the north being a dialectal variant or perhaps a passive derivative. Trilles for his part attributes to Nzame the meaning of "the invisible one,"

773 physically: "His tomb is neither above nor below, neither to the right nor to the left"), he divides his possessions, a division which is disturbed by quarrels, the machinations of younger sons or the negligence of the elder ones. He then departs beyond the river-of-the west, followed by the white men (or the coastal tribes?) who by a ruse have got hold of part of the biôm inherited by the Pahouin. The latter in turn start westward, crossing the Osoe Nnangi, then the niôm adjap (hole in the silk-cotton tree) as described earlier (see p. 19).

776 Nzame (Zambe) is emphatically not the creator god but the ancestor = mentor; all genealogies go back to him. Yet all the Christian missions have taken his name to express the idea of God. This mistake has come about because the word Mebe'e was rarely spoken, while Nzame turned up in all "salutations," in everything that had to do with the ancestor cult. As the original monitor he could be confused with the creator — in fact, he in a way completed "natural" creation by the magical invention of the arts and crafts. As an ancestor he was solicited in prayers (meya'alan) by his descendants, while Mebe'e was not addressed except on rare occasions—in solemn vows, at initiations. Finally, the very fact of having been misled from the first /110/ made it difficult to go back to the first translation. It may well be though that this mistake, the substitution of the creature for the creator, the deification of man, has not been without influence on the social development of the Pahouin. The Mintangan, who actually came from the nlam bekôn, the land of the dead, brought with them a genuine theological revolution, a heresy to which their material wealth gave a sure guarantee. The psychological repercussions must have been considerable.

Nowadays one hears it currently said that "Mebe'e is the old name for Zambe," and the latter seems to be permanently established in his usurped role (1); the traditions connected with the two personages

1. Good, the first American missionary among the Boulou, was nicknamed "Ngôô Zambe," Zambe's ransom, which may have been not merely an approximation of his name.

are inextricably mixed with Christian contributions, to such a degree that we may speak of a new theogony being formed in the syncretist cults and in some Christian schismatic movements.

773 the animal pursuing the ancestors of the Fang in order to devour them, while the legendary history of migration collected in the north shows, on the contrary, the crocodile enabling the tribe to cross the Osoé Nnanga (the python performs this service for the Beti).

776 The observation made by the authors quoted on the "unsuperstitious" character of the Pahouin and of the slight development /113/ of "fetishism" among them is to be related to the almost total absence in their mythology of beings intermediary between God and man, genii or demigods.

774 Aside from the bivur, to be discussed in connection with sorcery, there are only the bingungur (Fang) (Boulou, bingôngôt) shown in some 825 legends as kinds of ogres or ghouls haunting forests and attacking travelers. According to another interpretation, these rather are evil animals endowed with intelligence and malevolence beyond that of normal members of their species, perhaps animal sorcerers. The inoffensive aardvark, mvômesila, is thus very much feared; also a sort of very rare Pithecanthropus (Fang, éngure; Boulou, éngu'u) and a mermaid, the mammywôta of the coast, no doubt a lamantin /or manatee/. For Trilles, the éngungure is a "spirit, often transformed into an animal, which sorcers obey"; may there not be a confusion here with the évur (Boulou, évu)?

775 As for ghosts, bekôn, it might be said that there are good ones 769 but no nice ones. One may usually get on with the kôn of a properly buried forebear who was respected in his lifetime and even obtain useful services from him, formerly paid for by sacrifices and libations 782 to his skull and often today by candles, Masses, or prayers (I have 917 known Protestants to go to Catholic missionaries for exorcism). There is more difficulty /in dealing/ with the kôn of a sorcerer or with that of a stranger neither whose name nor whose skull is in one's possession.

266 Lawful /non criminelle/ anthropophagy probably had for an end, among others, that of acquiring power over the bekôn of enemies and perhaps of assimilating the rights they derived from their ancestors. This wartime cannibalism appears to have existed especially on the geographical fringes of the group and particularly along the invasion front, among the Fang proper, the vanguard of the migration. A relative or affinal kin was never eaten, only strangers, and these only by warriors (or sometimes by sons of warriors killed by the enemy). It is worth noting that for the cannibalism of the Fang and Osyéba only the "Gabonese" felt the terror described by all explorers. The

675 754 825 possession. They believe and declare themselves to be really transformed into animals. ...

Finally, when it is not a question of the [sorcerer] in disguise (which is nearly always the case), one often deals with his nagual, obedient to his instructions and prompting, at least in the beginning. After the animal has tasted human flesh [494] it is eager to return of its own accord. I remember that in a village in the interior, a panther had devoured 37 persons within a year. A sorcerer was accused of having the animal under his command and, as a result, after confession he was killed. The next day the panther was found dead in the forest. A coincidence? Perhaps the sorcerer had made use of the panther the first time, but in connection with the other killings, I have my doubts. In any case, this panther had an ear slit by human hand, as I was able to verify. Without passing judgement on the outcome, this was an obvious sign that it was "dedicated."

In their main outlines, the sorcerers' confraternities [sic] are modeled on those of practitioners. Both, therefore, possess two distinct categories of confraternity, or secret society, one set composed of initiates directed and controlled by practitioners and sorcerers, the other composed solely of practitioners or sorcerers.

1. Societies composed of initiates directed by sorcerers each has its totem, as do the similar societies directed by practitioners. This totem is always an animal -- a custom found almost universally and made necessary by the very concept of the totem.

575 754 776 2. Secret societies composed solely of sorcerers do not have totems; they obey a spirit.

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [495]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

This spirit bears the name, engungure. It is also the name of the khun, or ghosts, or even of the souls of the dead after the postmortuary exercises and the final transformations.

779 622 perpetrator. If necessary, the chief would take this upon himself. Such a case has sometimes occurred, according to certain legends.

The large bones are then again placed upon the pyre, for which the necessary wood has been carefully kept, because to cut or to add more is forbidden. When everything has been consumed, the bones and wood that are left in the form of cinders (1) are pulverized as finely as possible, and the chief

[137] 1. Éfirfira is a rather resinous wood, which burns up completely, leaving hardly any cinders.

scatters the powder on the recently covered grave of his father, accompanied by all the heads of family. The banana leaves that had been used to wrap up the victim are carefully folded into a bundle and thrown to the bottom of a spring or stream below the spot where water is usually drawn, so as to avoid profanation.

In contrast to all the other sacrifices, nothing must remain of this victim nor may anyone keep the slightest trace of it.

Before carrying the ashes of the sacrifice to his father's grave, the chief still has to go through another ceremony just as important, the rite of the spear.

779 622 411 The rite of the spear, or better of the assagais, asume mékôn, the salute to the assagais, only occurs at the enthronement of tribal chiefs and then only if they have come of age, that is, have already been received as warriors bearing the marks or bawu.

779 b) The rite of the spear or the assagais. Asume mékôn.

● 776 411 171 From the other side of Africa, Father Van den Burgt, (1)

1. Dictionnaire français-rundi [French-Rundi Dictionary], article, "Kirâna."

of the White Fathers, recently pointed out a curious rite among the Barundi, the rite of the spear, the emblem of Kirâna, the

779
776
411
171

second high spirit. Among the Fan, we have found the same emblem, consecrated to the spirit Ki-ndâña, he also being chief of the lower spirits, of material things, and thus master and chief of all beings on the earth. He is also invoked in time of war. This is the only information I have been able to obtain on the subject. But in comparing this fact with what we have seen among the Barundi, it certainly appears that a totemic rite is involved. Indeed among them, Imana, the Creator, is the lord of departed souls as, among the Fan, Nzame is also the Creator. Consequently he is foremost of all the ancestors and thus the keystone of the whole religious system. The Fan know this perfectly. When discussing genealogies I have already pointed out that a child or any warrior, when asked what his mébara is, will always end by invoking Nzame, saying: "And he (the first of the race) was created by Nzame, and before that I didn't belong to it, neither I nor anyone else." (Nge mur éto (the father of the race) Nzame émiên a nga bo ñe, ve 'sim ñí, mê mbe dia ve, ve ma, ve muramure.)

Among the Barundi the great rite of the spear consists of homage rendered to the sacred spear of Kirâña, the higher spirit of the Rundi triad, Imana, Ri-Kiramba, and Riangombi. Among the Fan, Kindâña does not belong to the divine triad, which they also recognize: Nzame, Mébere, Nkwa. Kindâña, lit., victorious Power, is chief of all beings under Nzame, and considered only as the principle of the power that animates everything and that is self-perpetuating. He is the opposite of inert matter. [542]

"The neighboring Pygmies," writes Mgr. Le Roy (1) in

1. Op. cit., p. 314.

connection with this Rundi rite, "have the same ceremony, which they appear to have originated." Perhaps, however, we ought to go further back to the very beginnings of the race, since we find the ceremony also among the Fan.

Among the Barundi the rite of the spear takes place in all critical situations. "The usual form of that spear has one white and one black facet and it is said to bear the spirit Kirâña on its

779 point. At the time of the ceremony the guardian of the spear
●776 appears with two assistants; he wears a sort of crown made of a
411 panther skin, part of which hangs down his back. The participants
171 form a semicircle around him, carrying small hollow calabashes filled with hard seeds (2) that rattle. Then a hymn is begun,

> 2. The seeds of the annata tree are used or, even more often, the round hard seeds of canna (canna spec.).

sung in an oddly impressive tone, deeply convincing and creating indescribable melancholy. During this evocation, each one picks up a bit of straw, bows down and presents it to the sacred spear, claps his hands together and asks the spirit dwelling on the spearhead for various favors. He then says: "To thee, Father, I make these demands, I offer my homage." Everyone then leaves the hut singing and goes to the resting place of the ancestral spirits.

779 Among the Fan the salute to the spear thus takes place at
622 the enthronement of the chief. After the victim has been divided
411 and eaten, the chief rises and plants his assagai in the earth, point
171 upwards; the point has been made to gleam by thorough careful burnishing. The choice of spear is not unimportant: it must have the totemic tribal emblem incised in its hollow and must have already "drunk" enemy blood. The spear is thus planted in the ground so far as possible just where the altar stood; shortly after, at its foot, the chief places his baldrick usually of leopard-skin, holding the materialized totem, the akaméyôn. [543]

Having done this, he circles around the spear, singing, then picks up the baldrick and hangs it upon the lance, which usually has several small sharp hooks at the base.

The chief again circles the spear, sings a hymn in honor of Kindûna, then stands still. All the others then go to fetch their boxes of ancestral skulls and circle around the spear, singing. As each man passes the chief, he bows, puts his box on the ground, and claps his hands.

At the end of the ceremony the chief removes the spear, puts back the baldrick at his side, and takes everything to his hut.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

502 The mariner's compass is entirely unknown, and when I have shown one, it
501 was always spoken of as "the white man's *biang bial*" (canoe fetish). The Fang shapes his course by his knowledge of the river banks; he never ventures more than three days' journey from his own town, and much dislikes the idea of losing sight of land; therefore he seldom, if ever, attempts it. Certain canoes belong to the headman of the village, others to individuals. The canoes do not have houses;
[776] charms are frequently tied to the bow, to appease the water spirit, and frequently
[702] a traveller in a canoe will throw into the river at certain places he passes portions of his food to appease the local spirit which he believes dwells there. The place where this spirit dwells may be in some large tree or rock on the river bank. At night the canoes are hauled up on the river bank and usually left unprotected. Large war canoes, if painted, are occasionally covered with a few mats. No special portion of a canoe is set apart for a chief, he is usually seated near the bow. Watertight compartments for provisions are not provided, food and articles of trade being carried in high baskets. Upon arrival of a canoe from a neighbouring town, the visitors are frequently welcomed with shouts of joy; guns are fired and a dance given in the evening. I have seen canoes repaired by placing pieces of bark over the leaks inside and outside, the bark being secured with small hard wood plugs. No arrangement is made to prevent leaking.

Hooks for fishing are skilfully made of bamboo, the barb is long, very sharp
227 and notched on both sides. The hook is secured to the fishing-line with string made of pineapple fibre. Foreign-made fish-hooks are now largely used; these
[939] are much coveted, and considered a very staple article of trade.

Casting nets are used weighed with stones, iron, or lead, obtained in trade. The meshes are very fine and show much skilful and patient workmanship. A Fang will work well at anything which he can do while sitting in the palaver house. He can then work, smoke and talk; any work requiring much bodily exertion on his part or elsewhere is relegated to his wives. Fish traps are made of split bamboo and much resemble the lobster baskets used by our own fishermen. Small streams are often dammed at high water, the dam being made of split
[226] bamboo, fastened together with bush rope until a very large screen is made, 10 or 12 feet in height; this screen is staked across the stream at high water, when the tide falls the water passes readily through, leaving the fish in the river. The most disgusting sight among the Fang, is to see the women and children at low water walking in the mud, breast high, feeling for "mud fish." The large casting net is called *ewot*; a small round net used for dipping in pools and along the river bank at low water is called *tea*.

VI.—*Metallurgy, Fire, Machinery.*

325 Metallurgy among the Fang is limited to the working of iron. The native word for iron is *Eki*. The Fang among whom I lived did not possess the knowledge of
326 smelting, but I was told that "other Fang far away in the bush, especially the Nqui (dwarfs), dug the *mimbok eki* (stones of iron) out of the earth, melted it, and

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1859 FH9 Fang FH9

so now because I known it's wrong." His latter statement I gave very little credit to. 266

Fang who admitted to me that "bad Fang eat men, but not the people of their town or tribe," asserted that all parts of the body are eaten; that the victims are not considered as sacrifices to any gods, but that the bones are used for *biang* (medicine).

Human flesh does not form part of the regular food of the people, and to a certain extent the natives seem ashamed to admit that "other Fang eat men"; they never admitted to me that any of *their tribe* did so.

XII.—*Religion, Fetish or Biang (medicine).*

These anthropophagi have some idea of God, a superior being, their *Tata* (father) *a bo mam mesut* (he made all things). *Anyambi* is their *tata* and ranks above all other Fang gods, because *a'se pep* (he is above, *lit.* lives in heaven). The Fang have other or minor gods, the greatest of whom was *Sekôme*, and many Fang say *Sekôme* and *Anyambi* are one and the same god; hence the saying "*Sekôme onpa kôm mam mesue*" (Sekôme he made (arranged) all things). The following is a list of Fang minor gods: 776

Nzame.
Mabeka.
Nkwa.
Sekôme (reported as being Anyambi).
Ube.
Nzame begat Mabeka.
Mabeka begat Nkwa.
Nkwa begat Sekôme.
Sekôme begat Ube.

The Fang have no religion in the generally accepted meaning of the word, for it is mostly made up of an unlimited and disconnected chain of superstitious beliefs. [771]

The key-note of the superstitious beliefs of the Fang is that the Present and Future is filled with innumerable numbers of spiritual beings. The great spirit *Tata* (father) *Anyambi* or *Sekôme* is considered indifferent to the wants and sufferings of men, women and children. I do not believe that worship is directed in any way whatever to the spirits of Present and Future, the natives seeming rather to consider propitiation, exhortation and supplication as the three things most essential and necessary. The spirits of Present and Future possess to a large degree the better human passions, and also the baser ones. The origin of these innumerable spirits of Present and Future is extremely vague: *Anyambi* or *Sekôme* is credited with having created many; others are the souls of dead relatives, still retaining after death human sensations and desires. The Fang have the same

8: Bennett D-5 (ca.1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

●776 idea as the Bulu regarding two great gods. The *Zambe* of the Bulu is the *Anyambi* or *Sekóme* of the Fang, the *tata* or father of all things; and another god of less power than *Anyambi* or *Sekóme*, who lives in the forests and is so tall that he gathers fruit from the highest trees. Some of the old men and women profess to have seen this god of the forests.

[775] Fang superstition includes transmigration; a departed human soul may enter any animal dwelling on top of the earth or in it. There are spirits of health and disease, also a protecting spirit belonging to a clan or tribe, in whose honour a 782 small basket is hung in the palaver house, containing portions of the skull of an 776 albino, whenever obtainable, also portions of the skulls of a relative and a chimpanzee, human hair, nails and bones. This fetish or *biang* is called the *Biang Akamayong*. Most Fang have a cabalistic word assigned to them by the *ngangan* (witch doctor), and this word is used as a prayer. During the new [535] moon, dances are nearly always indulged in, and the songs usually addressed to the spirits of Present and Future. Local spirits need constant propitiation; a native passing in his canoe a spot where a local spirit dwells, as a large rock, will pay his respects by casting a piece of his food into the river, or when in the forest a few stones or a piece of *mbóa* (cassava) is laid at the root of some great tree.

778 Wooden idols are not plentiful among the Fang tribes living along the rivers; they are seen more in the palaver houses of the bush towns.

Charms.—These may be only cabalistic words, and under this head of vocal charms must be included the incantations of the *ngangan* (witch doctor).

Material charms.—These are by far the most common; the belief in material charms, fetish, occupies the most prominent place in Fang religious contemplation.

Among the Fang, the English word Fetish, from the Portuguese word Feticio, is *Biang* (medicine). A Fang fetish is any material object which the *ngangan* (doctor) has consecrated and made a fit abiding place for a spirit. What may be consecrated? Anything, absolutely anything; a shell, rag, stone, twig of a tree, horns, nails, etc. The horns of small antelope and large deer are filled with resins, [754] nails, human hair, faeces, etc. To bewitch a person it is necessary to give the *ngangan* a piece of the hair, nail, a portion of the food or a drop of blood of the [826] person to be bewitched. A Fang is most careful if he cuts himself to see that only friends and relations approach him until the bleeding has ceased, and hair when cut is usually burnt without delay. As mentioned in the section of this 784 paper on food, every child during infancy is subjected to certain rites which 778 constitute his or her *Eki*, prohibiting the child from eating a certain kind of food or performing a certain act. Thus far, the superstitious beliefs of the Fang and [171] Bulu are precisely similar, and I gathered from Dr. Nassau at Gaboon many facts connected with the people among whom he laboured, the Mpongwe, which showed that they also held superstitious beliefs very nearly, and in some cases precisely similar to those of the Bulu and Fang, the only difference being in the

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

name, the *Eki* of the Fang being the *Orunda* of the Mpongwe. One day when on 784
a journey among the people, I asked an old headman to share with me a chicken 778
my boy had prepared for supper; the old man seemed pleased at my invitation, but asked the boy if it was a hen or cock fowl. Upon being informed that it was a cock, he declined to eat any of it: that was his *Eki*. As previously stated, I do 769
not believe the natives worship the spirits of Present and Future, but to a certain degree ancestral worship does exist. A Fang places the skull of his father in a curious receptacle of bark, worshipping it, killing fowls and making blood offerings to it, and in many ways the whole matter somewhat resembles the worshipping at graves and before ancestral tablets as practised in China. The natives often pray to their father's skull before talking a large war palaver, or the purchase of a new woman. As worshipping departed ancestors is the chief duty of a faithful Chinaman, so making offerings and prayers to the departed father's spirit before the skull constitutes the great Fang fetish, or *bieti*. Wooden idols, *biyeme*, of men [831]
and women are made in a manner which makes the sex extremely apparent; yet whenever I have seen these figures in towns, the people did not seem to regard [532]
them as obscene, but as truthful representations of the sexes. I feel sure that to some extent, at least, phallic worship is practised among the Fang. Spirits are 776
everywhere; in rocks, trees, forests, and streams; in fact, for the Fang, this life is one continual fight against spirits corporal and spiritual.

A peculiar belief regarding dreams is that when a person sleeps the soul often 787
wanders away, and its experiences on these journeys are made known to the sleeper 928
by dreams. After death the soul may inhabit any kind of animal. [775]

Fetish Biang (medicine).—Fetish means anything; leopard teeth, human finger nails, hair, wood, iron, herbs. The article used as *biang* or fetish, has no 778
intrinsic value, it is only valued because of connecting its owner with a spirit which can aid him. The leopard tooth fetish is supposed to impart the bravery of the leopard to its owner. Fetish is a spirit or combination of spirits manifested in material things.

Dili Mkuk.—To murder a person and save his skull as a fetish, or use the skull as medicine to bring women, guns, goats or goods. The people will make offerings to the skulls calling them by the names of persons killed. It is said that these prayers are always answered as desired.

Biang e Soli (hiding medicine).—A man goes and takes leaves of trees, and cuts 789
them up. He says, "I have cut up leaves of trees" (or high grass, bushes). The women shell gourd seeds and mash them. They catch a fowl, kill it, and put it in the pot. They also put in the pot the medicine leaves, and the mashed gourd kernels. They put the pot on the fire, and boil (its contents). When they have boiled it, the medicine is cooked. They take the medicine pot off (the fire). They go and put it by the side of (*afuâ*) the back of the *bieti*. The man who has put it there says to the *bieti*, other people want to kill me. He takes away the medicine pot. He opens the *bieti* basket. He takes a small piece of the bone (instead of this say to the woman and children he takes the excrement of the

531

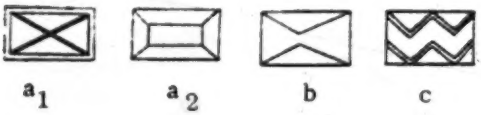


Fig. 209. Patterns on Stools.

a combination of the patterns of a diamond and a parallel line (Fig. 211, b), and this suggested a string of cowrie shells. The similarity of the two is shown by Figure 210. It seems possible to me that in this case a further relationship between the cowrie shell and the diamond pattern plays a role. The Togo Negroes, for instance (according to an oral communication from the missionary, C. Spiess), recognize in the cowrie shell an image of the vulva; since ancient times the diamond pattern has been viewed in the same way by the Pangwe. After the introduction of the cowrie shell, the Pangwe immediately recognized its similarity to the diamond and transferred to the former the symbolism of the latter. As in Togo, the cowrie shell is regarded among the Pangwe as a symbol that brings good fortune, and, as such, it is applied to medicine horns or hung on anchored nets as a hunting medicine. Another symbol that likewise /Fig. 210 appears here in the original text/ brings good luck is the diamond which they paint onto their skins with redwood (a color that brings luck!) or tattoo onto their skins as a permanent pattern. We find

Fig. 210. Strings of Cowrie Shells.

here a remarkable contradiction in their conceptions. As we have seen, the sexual act was performed in connection

754 enemy happens to be dancing with other people at some festivity
674 and in the general excitement does not notice when the missile hits him.

As a preventive against zõ, a medicine is recommended
754 which consists of:
751
278

1. Albizzia fastigiata (E. Mey.) Oliv. (sǒ'ne), ground resin;
2. Musanga smithii R. Br., ground involucral leaf (it is slippery); /149/
3. Pouzolzia guineensis Benth, Urticacea (mbǒanĕ III), its leaves ground;

Fig. 52. Magic Medicine of a Sö Thrower, i.e., a Sorcerer or Poisoner.

4. Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth. (abǒ'mĕdzǎ'n), stalk scraped off;
5. Corynanthe pachyceras K. Sch. (evĕ), its leaves ground;
6. an unidentifiable Euphorbiacea (avõ), its leaves ground.

This medicine is added to the red wood which is smeared on
[302] the body as a festive decoration.

2. Medicines for Acquiring Luck and Warding Off Misfortune

● 777
751

I combine these apparently different medicines because there is a number of them that serve both purposes, the acquisition of good fortune and protection against misfortune. Medicines for warfare, for instance, give one unerring aim as well as protection against bullets. The majority, to be sure, are specific means for obtaining luck or warding off misfortune. The Pangwe designate them as biǎ,n because they are intended to guard against an illness, for he conceives misfortune or the endangering of his good fortune as an illness. We shall do best to take over this conception and to call these devices "medicines." The medicines for good luck are supposed to bring, above all, wealth and good fortune in love, shooting, setting traps, catching fish, and wrestling. The medicines for wealth (biǎ,n akū'ma) are based in part on the

conceptions developed in connection with the veneration of ancestors, concerning the influence of the ancestors, who live where Nsambe does, on the terrestrial well-being of their descendants. The most important of the medicines for wealth, atum or aseb, that is, the Mekuk medicine, is based on the ideas of sorcery which I discussed in the previous section /Ed., not translated/. The skulls needed for the ancestor cult are not in this case those from relatives who died a natural death, but from those who were murdered secretly by sorcery (poisoning). Each biǎ́ akū'ma, therefore, is a nsöm, a sin. The murder victims, or rather their souls, are called mekŭk (1). A person who keeps

1. Etymologically related to nkū́k, "upper part of the body." Perhaps we have here an intentional circumlocution, because the Pangwe like to avoid the real designation for their mesöm (sins).

the skulls in order to acquire wealth is called e möde a bělě mekŭk (= e möde a n'a mekŭk), that is, the man who has the Mekuk. I have known a Mekuk man who had no less than ten skulls of his murdered relatives in his house. In addition, the Mekuk man possesses magical devices which he sells on request together with the skulls in exchange for an excessive payment from people who themselves want to become Mekuk men. The latter are of course only sorcerers, that is, people who -- as was said in Section 12 /Ed., not translated/ -- receive the power to practice sorcery in their youth through a medicine, but who perhaps until then had not yet used their power and now want to train themselves in the specialized field of Mekuk medicine. For this purpose, their teacher demands that they murder a close relative, usually a father or mother, and bring him the skull. He himself will give them in exchange an older /150/ skull from his own collection and in addition frequently the back bones. The first skull of a Mekuk collection is therefore one of a stranger and has already been effective as a medicine. It is not an actual ancestral

754 skull, but may be regarded as such because all the Mekuk people
777 enter into a kind of kinship relation with one another and the
[608] skull medicine that has been effective for one will likewise be successful for the others. In this way the new Mekuk man is able to go on murdering and chooses his victims from among his closest relatives, older brothers, sisters, brothers-in-law, uncles, etc., in order to become rich through the mediation of the souls of his victims who do not suspect that the sorcery (or poison) of their dear relative made possible their sudden reunion with Nsambe. Wealth acquired in this way naturally also includes the inheritance which is thereby more speedily obtained. The effect of the magical medicine is described in the following manner. The Mekuk man places the medicine in a cloth and offers this to his brother, for instance. If the brother has "sense," he may say: "Oh, formerly you used to buy many pieces of cloth and gave none of them to me! What's the idea of this piece of cloth now? I don't want it!" Then the Mekuk man himself becomes ill. The Mekuk man may offer his hand to his brother when he returns from a journey, having first sprinkled a medicine into it. Most frequently, however, the medicine is given to a cock which, according to one informant, has its tail feathers plucked out; the cock is then given as a present to a relative home from a journey. If the relative eats the animal, he is supposed to die, but if he refuses it or secretly throws the animal away, the Mekuk man will become ill and die. In still other cases, the medicine is poured into a tobacco pipe, bush salt, or food. Whether any of this has a physiological effect or not must remain undecided, as I have already said on pages 3 and 4.

Even the Mekuk sorcerer believes that a failure of his attempt would result in his death, as we saw in Section 12 /Ed., not translated/ in the case of the wicked sorcerers. It is evidently assumed that if the person attacked notices that he is an intended victim, he himself goes over to the attack and on his part tries to get rid of the enemy. That is to say, according to the Pangwe conception, he sends his sorcery against that of the attacker. It is certain that this belief considerably limits the number of relatives murdered.

754 It is not the bark container known to us from Malan that is
777 used to keep the Mekuk skulls, but rather a chamber dug under the floor of the house (Fig. 53). I saw a bark box used only once, placed on tall props reaching almost to the roof. The chest is divided into two sections by means of a dip in the bottom, and it is carefully leveled and smeared with red wood (hence, the name atum from atŭm, "section, /151/ /Fig. 53 appears here in the original text/ room," which refers to the entire medicine); it is covered up by a piece of bark and a thin layer of dirt and thus remains hidden from strangers' eyes. Frequently a chest is placed over it also, or the little underground chamber is located under a bed. On the step-like raised part the medicines (b) are kept inside a circle made of plantain pieces (a); these medicines include nsŭ, above all, and furthermore bark scraped off the Passifloraceae
[278] Ophiocaulon cissampeloides Hook f. and Adenia lobata (Jacq.) Engl. (undŏndŏle a ndžik) (1), leaves of evŭlĕme or ayŏne-beyu,

1. Also used as fish poison (see Vol. I, p. 83).

important because of the nodules in the leaves which make them look perforated like the ewu of a dead magician, and other things. Below the step the skulls (c) are set up in a semicircle so that they face the medicine.

The skulls are cared for in a manner similar to the customary
[769] manner of treating the Malan skulls. Unlike the latter, they are not served food every day, but nevertheless frequently; sometimes chickens are slaughtered for them, and they are bathed in chicken blood and have chicken meat set before them.

[184] This medicine, which is unknown in the northern region (Jaunde), is quite widespread among the Fang and is the subject of many tales and stories which make all light men /Ed., men with light skin color?/ break out in a cold sweat. My boys were so excited by the
[152] stories that they maintained they could not sleep if they kept thinking of these hideous Mekuk. Thus it is told, among other things, that the Mekuk walk up and down in their little room at night and make a hullabaloo or even come out of their room and thrash

754
777
[769]

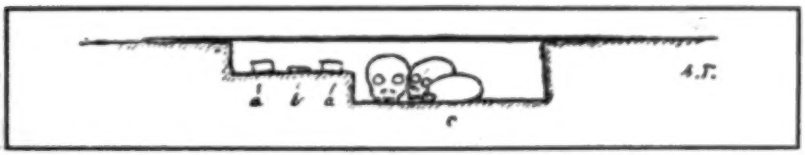


Fig. 53. Underground Chamber of a Mekuk Sorcerer, Cross-section.

(a) Circle made of plantain pieces, (b) magic medicines, (c) skulls of murdered relatives.

the Mekuk man's house companions in their sleep, so that they wake up the next day completely beaten up. They are also supposed to steal money and goods in order to take them to the Mekuk man. In short, the Mekuk stories remind one of the experiences of the man who wanted to learn to be afraid /Ed., in one of Grimm's fairy tales/.

777 Other medicines for wealth that utilize the power of the souls are more innocent; they do not require the murder of relatives nor care of the skulls. Instead, their powers are derived from the [824] habitation of the souls, the Copaifera tessmannii Harms (oyǒn). The Mekuk skulls must be included only in the event the medicine man already possesses some. The procedure as a rule is as follows. The father of the person concerned goes with a medicine man, /152/ and both clear an area under a large Copaifera. Then a leaf vessel filled with water is set up, and into this some of the bark of the [801] Copaifera is scraped nine times (three times three); furthermore a stone from the stomach of the crocodile is placed in it if one is available. A peculiar test of the worthiness of the young man is now given. Various objects are placed together in three piles: on [45] the first are placed steamed cassava (women's food) and a basket [887] (ebā'dă) carried only by old women because it has a small capacity; on the second, a rifle, a bundle of vegetables (ngon) with fish, brass ornaments, cowrie shells, and a piece of cloth, all of which are things that delight young people; on the third pile is placed [293] a fly swatter (implement of the chiefs), a foot ring made of ivory, [622] and a boiled chicken, in other words, such things as are allotted to chiefs. Now the young man is brought to the piles. "If he has sense," he will go to the last pile and consume the chicken. In this

•777 case he has successfully passed the test, is washed with the water from the leaf vessel, and receives the crocodile's stone (Fig. 54) which will help him in the future to become a great chief and very wealthy. If he goes to the pile on which the things for young people are heaped, he will become a philanderer, and as such he will waste his money and come to nought. If he should go to the first pile, he is sure to become insane.

777 538 Many tales portray the effects of medicines for wealth which Essamniamaböge makes for one of his sons, usually Ekute E., who has sought him out in the land of the spirits. Here, too, a place is always cleared under a Copaifera, and Essamniamaböge then has an entire miniature village [illegible] up, with many huts or other

Fig. 54
Medicine for Wealth (stone from a crocodile's stomach, tied between little sticks so as not to be lost).

things to symbolize the treasures that can be expected. In addition, Essamniamaböge gives his son boxes which contain helpful souls who later will obtain wealth for the person, just like the little men of our fairy tales. Also, as frequently happens in our tales, the conclusion is always that all treasures, especially the houses and wives, disappear at one stroke, usually through the fault of the person concerned, and the man who was wealthy a moment ago is again as poor and miserable as before. Such a tale is reproduced here.

Ekute Essamniamaböge among the Souls

539 777 Ekute once said to himself, "Oh, I would like to go to the place where my mother was born!" Ekute had only his mother

539
777

and three brothers in the village; otherwise he possessed absolutely nothing, not even a wife, nor did his /153/ brothers have anything. For this reason he set out to visit his relatives on his mother's side, that is, the souls. He soon came to a large forest full of animal trails, and it was not long before he met a porcupine that had hung a bell around his hunting dog's neck so it would track down other porcupines, "for," said the porcupine to Ekute, "the others have eaten my mother's cassava." Thereupon Ekute said, "Why is it that you kill other porcupines; are you not one yourself?" Then the porcupine answered, "That is an affair (1) caused by the souls. Turn around and don't go to them."

1. dzǎm, coastal English, "palaver."

Ekute, however, went on. He soon met a bird that was setting up a trap to catch birds. Then Ekute asked again, "Why do you want to kill other birds; are you not a bird yourself?" The bird answered, "Oh, that is because of the affair with the souls. Turn around and don't go into their land!" Ekute went on, however, and met two pigs that were setting up a pitfall to kill other pigs. In answer to Ekute's question, one pig said that they were doing it because other pigs were in the habit of eating their mother's cassava. Then Ekute asked once more, "Why do you want to kill other pigs when you yourselves belong to the family of pigs?" To this the pigs answered, "That is because of the souls; turn around and go back to the land of men!" Ekute did not want to take their advice, whereupon the pig said, "Ah, Ekute, I thought that by now you had finally developed some sense, but I see that you are just as stupid as before. Go your way to wherever you please!" Then Ekute encountered an antelope that had set up a fixed net. He asked the antelope, "Oh, what are you doing here with the fixed net?" Thereupon the antelope said in reply, "How can you ask such stupid questions, Ekute; I am here to catch the other antelopes." At that Ekute was very surprised, but the antelope asked, "Where do you want to go?" Ekute said, "I want to visit the relatives of my mother." The animal replied, "In that case just go along the path that I have

● 777 539 taken, and keep going straight until you arrive at a deserted clearing; there you will be close to the village." Then Ekute went on and passed many other animals, elephants, kudu, and so forth, all of which were engaged in a hunting drive. He went on for a long time, for three days, until he finally came to a village where a man was sitting, and the man said, "Now then, where do you want to go?" Ekute answered, "Oh, I want to find the sons of my mother; am I not on the right track here?" To this the man replied, "Yes, indeed, just go into the next village, there you will see them all." So Ekute went on and came to a large village that was full of animals. They were all there, the antelope, the pig, the eagle, the dog, the leopard, the elephant; /154/ oh my! Then said Ekute: "Am I not in the village of my grandfather here?" The animals confirmed this. Then Ekute went into the meeting house and wanted to sit down, whereupon many voices called out about him, "Oh, oh, what do you think you're doing, sitting down on us?" Then he sat down elsewhere, but as he did so a voice said, "Oh, Ekute, look out for my feet; why do you have to sit down just here?" Ekute, however, saw none of the souls, because human beings cannot see souls. Thereupon he said to the invisible beings, "Oh, I just wanted to visit my grandfather and his relatives; if you don't like me, I shall go back again. Whenever I sit down somewhere, I am told, 'Not here,' but I don't see anybody, so what shall I do?" His grandfather finally came shortly thereafter; he took a leaf bag and put medicine into Ekute's ears. The latter immediately fell down dead and awoke as a soul. Then he saw all the people, many, many, and only then did he see properly the large village in which he found himself. All the houses were covered, whereas previously he had seen them with only rafters. Then Ekute spoke, "Oh, Grandfather, I have nothing, no chickens, no sheep, absolutely nothing, and at the same time I have three brothers, who also have nothing, and my old mother. Now I wanted to ask you, if you had a chicken or a sheep, whether you would give it to me (1), for I don't have

1. Of course as marriage money for a wife.

717
539

a wife either." Thereupon the grandfather laughed and said, "Oh, that doesn't matter, it will all turn out all right; first have a proper meal." Thereupon he caught a big pig, killed it, and ate it with his grandson. The next day they slaughtered a sheep, and so they lived happily in great style. After some time, the grandfather said to Ekute, "Come, we shall go into the jungle on that side, and there I shall show you everything; you will become a great chief, and everyone will marvel at you." So they went into the jungle until they came to a large Copaifera (2). There the grandfather said, "Clear everything

2. Copaifera tessmannii Harms.

away carefully around this tree, down to there." The grandfather then went down and asked, "Do you see me?" Ekute said, "No." Then his grandfather said, "Clear that side too!" Ekute did as he was told. "Now you must make little houses, forty on this side and forty on that side!" That, too, Ekute did. Then the grandfather knocked on the Copaifera and behold, it immediately shrank and became so small that they could knock off firewood from its branches. With this they made a large fire on which they boiled the medicine. The grandfather went to a small river and brought with him two bark boxes that could run by themselves. When he called to them, "Come, come," they came by themselves. Now the grandfather spoke, "Dear Ekute, all the things that I am able to give you are here. Take these boxes, they are enchanted boxes, and do not hide them in your village, but underneath /155/ the brook in the vicinity of your village, and in such a way that no one can find them, for if someone should, all is lost. Now when you return, you merely need to utter a wish and it will be fulfilled; the boxes will help you." Thereupon Ekute replied, "Ah, Grandfather, I don't think what you are telling me is quite right." But the grandfather retorted, "Oh yes it is, just go there. Your village will grow and become large, and you will build eighty huts, for you will marry eighty wives, just as you have built eighty houses

777 539 here, and call on the boxes." Ekute did this and called, "Come, come." They did come, and Ekute was very happy and said, "Yes, now I see that you have shown me everything." After the grandfather had once more knocked on the tree to make it regain its original size, the two went back into the village. There, as a pretense in front of the people, the grandfather said that he did not have much to give away and that Ekute was to go home again, but that he would accompany him to the next village. This is what he did, and on the way the grandfather once more instructed him not to display the boxes, but to bury them under the designated brook. Thereupon the grandfather again gave Ekute the medicine that he had dropped in his ears, and Ekute was again a human being and went with his boxes through the forest to his village. When he came to the brook just outside his village, which his grandfather had told him about, he dug another bed for the brook, made a hole in the old bed, and placed the boxes inside it. Then he threw dirt over them and redirected the course of the brook (1). He then went into his village. The

1. This idea is not new and reminds one of the burial of a dead body in a river bed. Thus, Mgr. Le Roy reports on the Okoa, a Pygmy people on the Gabon, in the following manner. "In the middle of the forest the course of a brook is redirected and the corpse, which is wrapped in mats and pieces of bark, is lowered into the pit dug into the bed of the brook. This is done around midnight, and the women and children are kept away. A large stone is placed on the head of the corpse, and it is surrounded completely with loam to prevent the water from getting to it." See also "Das Grab im Busento /The Grave in the Busento/." /Ed., a poem by Von Platen, a German poet of the nineteenth century/.

people there were of course greatly surprised, and one of his

● 777 559 brothers said, "Oh, Ekute, we thought that you had died long ago since you were gone for such a long time. What have you been doing?" Ekute answered, "Ah, I have been running around in the forest and was close to starvation, but I saw no one." Then the brother said, "Oh, Ekute, you are stupid; why do you go so far away? In the meantime we were close to dying of starvation." Then Ekute went into the village where his three houses stood, and seeing that everything was grown over, he said, "Oh, I see that my village has been in ruins for a long time." /156/ Thereupon he cleaned up the area near his house so that it was nice and tidy. Overnight, however, as though by magic hands, the entire village was made so clean and the houses so pretty that one seldom sees the like. All the people who passed by marveled and said, "Oh, what a charming little village; we shall rest here a while." People brought him all kinds of trinkets and gave them to him as a present. At this point, he heard that there was a girl in a village to the east, and he decided to go there immediately. But his brother said, "What, you just came back from a journey, and nothing is in order in your house; you have nothing beautiful on your body, and you are not even oiled." Ekute asked his brother to arrange his headgear nicely. He then tied a brass collar around his neck, put brass rings on his feet and arms, and so went into the village where the girl lived. When he came to the girl's father and spoke to him about his daughter, the father said, "Ah, Ekute, you have absolutely nothing for marriage, but if you want to become friends with my daughter, that's all right too." Then Ekute went to the girl, and when he saw that she liked him, he asked her whether she would not like to go with him to his village later. The girl replied, "Oh, Ekute, you're beating about the bush; I'm ready to go with you any time." Then Ekute said, "Let us depart at once." But the girl replied, "Ah, no, at the moment the food is on the fire." When the food was ready, she offered it to Ekute who, however, said, "Please, let's go; I am not hungry at the moment." Then the girl put the food in a bundle and went with Ekute -- it had meanwhile become night -- to his village. The next morning Ekute asked himself in despair where he was to get the money;

777 he now had a wife, but no money to pay for her. Soon, indeed,
539 the girl's father appeared and reproached Ekute for his thoughtlessness, saying, "Give me back the girl since you cannot pay." Then the man turned around, and when Ekute went into his house, lo and behold! -- there stood five large chests full of spear money and a chest with cloth, as well as a great many other things. Thereupon he called his brother, and with him took all the things to his father-in-law's village. The latter was greatly astonished and thought to himself, "How did this Ekute, who just a little while ago didn't have anything, get all these things?" To Ekute himself, however, he said, "My dear son, you are heartily welcome; I see that you have an enormous amount of money and that you will indeed become a great chief." At this Ekute was, of course, very happy, and he said to himself, "Indeed, now I have a wife, but no plantation from which to make a living." Then he remembered his grandfather's words and went into the forest to pick out a place for the plantation. During the night, chop, chop, the invisible souls cleared the site of the plantation by cutting down the trees and burning it over. When Ekute arrived /157/ the next morning, he found the plantation cleared and burned. Then he said, "Now the tree trunks still have to be removed, and we still need boundaries for the plots for two women, that is, for my mother and for my wife." The next day this also had been done, and Ekute said happily to his mother and wife, "Now plant ngon in the ground; it's time for you to get to work." Then his mother asked him, "What, have you prepared everything and put in the boundary lines already?" "Certainly," said Ekute. Then the two women went to the plantation and planted ngon. Also the souls helped him build a house for his wife. Ekute then went to find another wife, and since he always had bride money in the house, it was only a short time before he had seventy-nine wives. All the plantations and all the houses were prepared for him by the souls. Then, one day, he heard that not far away there lived a very beautiful girl by the name of Odangemakõng (1). He wanted to ask for her

1. That is, "she who surpasses all in cleverness."

●777 539 hand as well, but his brother warned him, "Oh, when you hear that something is called Odangemakōng, it's very bad; you had better not marry this girl." But Ekute answered, "Come now, why shouldn't I marry her?" Indeed, the girl immediately fell in love with him, and he took her back to his village as his wife. In the evening, however, the girl said, "Please sleep with one of your other wives tonight; I don't feel like it!" Accordingly, Ekute did so, and when he had gone to sleep, Odangemakōng made a fire by lighting a piece of wood and then asked, "All these many things that Ekute has, where do they come from? From this direction?" -- The fire kept burning. -- "From that direction?" -- The fire kept burning. -- "From that direction?" And she pointed in the direction of the path leading to the brook, whereupon the fire went out. Then she went along the path, and when she came to the brook, she again made a fire for the medicine and said, "Where is this affair that has produced all these things? Here?" And the fire kept burning. "And here ? and here?" -- and as she asked, she pointed in all directions, but the fire kept burning. Then she pointed down to where she was standing, and the fire immediately went out. She thereupon began to divert the brook's water and dug and dug until she finally found the two little boxes. Then she said, "So that's the affair," and opened the lids, whereupon, whoops, all the helpful souls contained in them escaped from both boxes and returned to the land of the souls. The wife herself went back to the village and very quickly packed all her things. During the night, however, Ekute came out of the house and said, "Ah, I don't know what has got into my head; I can't sleep at all tonight, so I want to sleep with you." But Odangemakōng called out, "Don't come, don't come into my house!" Then Ekute returned to his house and lay down. Odangemakōng took all her things and returned to her father, to whom she said, "When this man sees that all is spoiled and finds me tomorrow, he will /158/ kill me." The next day Ekute woke up and could not believe his eyes, because everything, the entire village, was gone, and only the three old houses remained as they had been at first; all the women, everything

777 was gone. Then his brother said, "You see what I told you?
539 If you had not married this woman, everything would have been as it was yesterday, but as it is you have nothing left." Emam mese masǎmabo ava. (Customary conclusion of tales.)

It is noteworthy that homosexual intercourse is included
777 among the medicines for wealth because it is believed that
838 through the intimate contact the medicine of one will be transferred to the other. In a case known to me in Ebaǎngon, the passive party possessed the medicine and the active party wanted to acquire it. Another case is related in the tale that I reproduce in Section 18. In actual fact it might turn out that the effect of the medicine consists in the mutual support the two "friends" render each other, based chiefly on the consciousness of common guilt and the endeavor not to let this guilt be known. This medicine is not without danger, for in the case just mentioned it was related that one of the men became blind and the other leprous, and in the tale both parties become leprous or suffer from frambesia.

A variant of the medicines for wealth consists of those
777 which especially help one to marry or abduct women (bią̌n e bǒm); another variant consists of the means to acquire influence and respect (bią̌n e bame, bią̌n a vōge), such as the great Anonacea
[824] Pachypodanthium confius Pierre, Engl. et D. (ntǔm I) and the Melastomacea Memexylon tessmannii Gilg (ntǔ'mǔ IV) which, in addition, is also regarded as an authentic medicine for wealth.

In addition to the medicines for acquiring wealth, the most
832 important and the most common are the love medicines (bią̌n anduman). No less than about 100 different plants are placed in the service of Venus.

If the inhabitants of a village have the idea that the love affairs of the young people need revitalizing, a general love medicine festival (engǫ̌nežǒk) is arranged, which is celebrated under the supervision and with the cooperation of the ancestral skulls worshipped in the Malan. Consequently, only the initiates of the Malan may take part. The course of the festivities together with the period of preparation corresponds to that described in the section on cult festivals /Ed., not tramlated/: two feast

832 824 Lygodium smithianum Pr. (ozǒk), used by women for ornaments.

I was unable to obtain any satisfactory explanation as to why a number of Ficus species, certain Amaryllidaceae, and gall nuts of the Microglossa volubilis (Wall) D.C. (myūvū') are used as love medicines.

832 825 Aside from plant ingredients, which are used in preponderant number for love medicines, antelope horns (Fig. 61) are especially popular. These are worn as forehead or neck ornaments, and when they are supposed to be effective, they are blown like a whistle. Just as an antelope never has a single horn, but always a pair, so a person should not be alone, but with another.

777 824 224 The no less abundant shot medicines make up a third group of medicines for good luck. Of the 109 plants used for these, 67 are rifle medicines (biǎ̀ń ngā), that is, medicines that guarantee

[832]

Fig. 60. Love Medicine: a piece formed by two lianas so grown together that they appear as one.

a good shot with the rifle; two war medicines (biǎ̀ń betǎ), 18 hunting medicines (biǎ̀ń tīt), four crossbow medicines (bia n mbǎn), two medicines for hunting drives (biǎ̀ń a kǐń tīt), two medicines /165/ for a lucky eye in hunting, and 14 medicines that raise the hunting efficiency of the dogs (biǎ̀ń myū) (Fig. 62).

The ingredients of the shot medicines are chosen according to various criteria. First the intention is to lure the game. Hence one takes parts of trees "loved" by the animal (that is, the animal likes to visit them, and hence will visit /Fig. 61 appears here in the original text/ the hunter who has them, even in the form of medicine). In other cases, parts that resemble animals are taken from trees, for example, the tendrils of the Oncinotis tessmannii Gilg (nǐm osǒk, " tail of the red-tailed monkey"), which resemble

[Text continues on page 34]

a monkey's tail. The hunter thus becomes similar to the animal, as it were, and the animal loses its shyness of him. In still other cases, the game is to be made "weak" while the hunter and his hunting dog are to be made "strong," and for this purpose parts are taken from corresponding plants, or they are taken from trees that bear much fruit in order to have similarly rich results. Finally, plants are chosen which are intended to remove the noxious impurity of the body. /Fig. 62. Medicines of the Fang. (a) medicine for wealth, the root of a tree (Homalium africanum) decorated with brass wire and a brass ring; (b)-(d) medicine against enemy weapons; (e) medicine against enemy surprise attacks, fruit of the Tiliacea Duboscia macrocarpa (akak), to make enemies calm, peaceful (Duboscia and Leptonychia = peace linden); (f) medicine for successful travels; (g) medicine for speaking and singing well, contains the tooth of a tree cony (which is continually "singing"); (h) medicine for the Dschama dance; (i) medicine against palpitations and nervousness, the heart-shaped fruit of the Ertela scandens, worn around the neck (makes the heart strong), about 1/4 actual size; (k) war medicine, leopard claw, 1/2 actual size./ /166/ The manner of use varies: sometimes it is internal, the leaves being cut up into small pieces and eaten with the meat of the animal one has most recently sometimes killed; it is external, in the form of injections of a bark infusion, which have the double effect of removing the impurity from the body and imparting to it the essence of the plant; or a piece of wood is charred and then used to draw a line across the forehead, so that one "looks" just like the plant concerned. Most frequently, the impurity is removed by ablutions: either individual parts, face, hands, and frequently also elbows and the knee, as well as the rifle, are washed in medicine water; or the entire body is washed in a stream, on which occasion a little dam blocks off the water which, after the completion of the ablution, is again allowed to run its course so that it will carry the dirt far away downstream (ŏŏle nkiai). In order to guarantee the lasting efficiency of the medicines, people generally wear pieces of wood and bark as pendants on neck chains, hunting pouches, satchels, belts, and so forth.

The veneration of skulls likewise occurs in the case of the
769 hunting medicines. The skull of a man killed by violent means,
224 whose corpse remained on the spot (if the man belongs to the same
826 kinship group), is kept in a bark box and taken care of as in ancestor worship. When a huntsman kills a wild animal, for example, he takes the first piece that falls to him in the distribution of the meat to the skull as a thanks offering. This piece consists of the sex organs and the flesh around them (ekĩjǎ', see Fig. 92 in Vol. I). After he has taken it to the skull, he carries it off again
[262] to eat it himself. On the other hand, if there has been no luck on the hunt, a chicken is killed for the "man" in the box so he will see to it that a wild animal soon appears in front of his protégé's rifle and will be hit as effectively as he was in his time.

In addition, the Fang have a great war medicine, a celebra-
721 tion which is called aŋgũŋgu and is a companion festivity to the
759 engongeschok. On this occasion, a sacred place is set up, a subterranean corridor similar to that described in the case of the Ngi /Ed., not translated/ is dug, and a dwarf antelope, Cephalophus
[825] melanocheus Gray (ogbwṹŋ), which must have been caught alive, is brought to the place. Then the medicine man stations himself at one end of the corridor, and all the other men, armed with rifles,
[824] hang a seed of the Sorindeia rubriflora Engl. (afǎ́ne(k)) as medicine around their necks, and crawl -- the first with the antelope in his arms -- through the corridor. At the exit, the medicine man gives all of them, including the antelope, a medicine. The antelope is thereupon released, and it is believed that when a surprise attack is planned and the enemy has got wind of it, the animal will appear and thereby warn the attackers. By way of medicines to secure the /167/ necessary courage for such an attack, five different ones are available.

● 777 The medicines for trapping and fishing are rarer than the shot
726 medicines, a sign that these occupations are more in the Pangwe's
224 blood than open hunting. I have taken down only eight plants for fish medicines and twelve for trap medicines.

Other medicines for good luck are used for successful buying
•777 (two), speaking and singing well (about a dozen), faultless drumming (two), wrestling (29), the Jaunde game of chance (eight), and to make edible plants flourish (nine, see Section 5 /Ed., Vol. I/).

The second class of medicines discussed in this part consists of those used to ward off misfortune. In this category the most important are the medicines against theft (approximately 30), against adultery committed by the women (two), against the shrewishness of wives (one), against rivals among women (three), against forgetfulness and stage fright (three), against rain (only a few, see Section 14), against enemy weapons, against the consequences of cohabiting during the day (seven), of sleeping with pregnant women (for the last two cases there are even prophylactic medicines), and finally, against consequences that occur if one eats unclean animals (seven).

3. Medicines against Cult Maladies

In the description of the cults /Ed., not translated/ it was
754 shown that transgressions of mores resulted in punishments in the form of illness. These cult maladies are real illnesses of the body, but they can be cured only by the power whose anger has caused them. For that reason, they could also have been mentioned in the description of the cults. Every cult power is able to impose a malady, so someone can be Sso sick (Sidong-mba sick), Bokung (Elong sick), Schok sick and Ngi sick; we have already become acquainted with Malan sufferers. Since in the south Ngi is the most common and most feared cult power, the most frequent and most serious cult malady there comes from him.

I saw two cult maladies treated. One case involved a boy who
755 pretended to have Bokung sickness because he did not want to work any more; the second case involved a man who had been shot in the chest during the war and claimed that he had been punished this way by Ngi.

Bokung sickness is supposed to be recognizable by the trembling

2: Tessmann--127 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

171 Moral /Anthropophyteia, Yearbooks for Folkloristic Inquiries and Explorations into the Historical Development of Sexual Morality/, edited by Dr. Friedrich S. Krauss (1912), Vol. 9, p. 31.

833 Over against the great mass of women, the bebŏbǎń, who
777 through sexual intercourse bring the man misfortune, there is the exceptional phenomenon of the woman who among the Ntum is called ayūē' III and among the Fang ayǎ. Union with her brings both parties, the woman as well as the man, good fortune. At the same time her influence is more important for the man, for instance, during military and hunting expeditions. If, for instance, the man goes hunting on the day after having had intercourse with such a woman, he is bound to see a wild animal soon and to kill it. If he goes to war, "his rifle will hit its mark," whereas the enemy's will not. For this eventuality, moreover, he has the woman give him a medicine, namely red wood that she has ground in a certain way (bā-ayǎ, mfumu-bā). The woman, too, is lucky on this day if she goes "hunting" for fish, that is, if she goes on a fish drive (a lŭk), or works on the farm (see Vol. I, p. 56).

But -- as was said -- such women who bring good fortune are a rarity; the majority of women bring misfortune. If a man goes hunting on the day after coition, all the animals evade him in a wide arc (a bǎń), hence the name ebŏbǎń.

In the peculiar custom of the miǎk consecration I see proof of
[833] the fact that the Pangwe know the harmful effect of excessive sexual
785 intercourse. The word miǎk actually means the castrated animal,
834 in particular the buck goat (see Vol. I, p. 76), and here it is
831 applied symbolically to a person who through a public and solemn declaration is for a time excluded from sexual intercourse. After a successfully concluded war, more rarely upon some other occasion, somebody (usually the chief) decides to consecrate his son or his daughter to purity. Naturally, neither of the latter may as yet be acquainted with sexual matters, in other words, they will only be

551

25. ogbwɛ̃, from a gbwɛ̃ madzǒ = to repeat things, something like chatterbox, by which the man makes himself popular because people like to hear it;

26. ekõ = Lannea longifoliolata Engl., Anacardiacea, so he will be just as popular, as the tree is to the touraco which settle in its crown and eat its fruit (S.).

IV. Names that are supposed to bring luck.

551
777

27. obũ'du, from obũ't = the grass Paspalum, so he will get things in great quantities, just as the grass exists in great quantities (S.);

28. ekõ'mo, from a kõ'mo bǐm = to acquire things, that is, he will acquire things himself since he has no sisters, etc., through whom he gets money, in other words, he is a self-made man (Jaunde);

29. atɛ̃'nã, from a tɛ̃'na kũ'm = to become suddenly rich, to come up in the world, a parvenu in the good sense (S.);

30. atãndãnɛ̃', likewise (Jaunde);

31. esĩ or besĩ, from evũ' besĩ = the capacity to acquire things, that is, he will acquire something for himself (S.);

32. olũ, from a lũ' bǐm = to forge things, that is, he will earn money through working as a smith (the only handicraft in our sense).

551 V. Names intended to indicate that the man will be the terror of his enemies.

33. obã'm = bird of prey, chicken thief, a name which could also be included in the previous section if it is intended that the bearer will receive the things (onomatopoetic, bãb; hence o-bãm).

551 22. akūlabǎń, from akū[l] = paws, claws, abǎń = otter, i.e., the girl steals about as softly as an otter;

23. ntōdē-abǎń = single otter, as above;

24. mōneabǎń = small otter;

25. abǎne-mǔǔ, from abǎń = otter, mǔgebǔ = to adorn oneself, to go about adorned. /283/

III. Names that are supposed to bring luck.

551
777 26. ajēkǎbe, from a jē = difficult, a kǎbe = to buy, to exchange; may also be included in the previous group since the girl has such good qualities that the price cannot readily be realized;

27. majīje, from a jīje = to wake up quickly, the girl is supposed to wake up quickly so that she will soon bear fruit (that is, bring in the purchase price); see divorce (Vol. II, pages 120 and 121);

28. angōno or angōnemǎne, from ngōn = girl, a mǎne = to be ready, that is, the stage of girlhood is supposed to be over soon;

29. ajǎńekǒs, from ajǎń-nkǒs = Liliacea, purchasable medicine (nkǒs); the girl is supposed to bring in as much as she would if her father had this medicine;

30. medzē, a dzē a tǒbǒ a dzǎ = she has fulfilled the time for staying in (her) village, that is, she will marry at the proper time;

31. metǒ, from a tǒbǒ = to sit, I am sitting, that is, she should not be forced to work too much (by her future husband, of course), but instead she should remain seated in the village.

551 IV. Names intended to frighten away, in this case presumptuous suitors or secret lovers.

32. atsǎma, from a tsǎma = to break down (a village), "because the father would destroy the village out of grief

525 and wars have frequently been the consequences of the gambling
578 mania. Although in more recent times the game of chance has been prohibited in the area controlled by the German government, nonetheless considerable homage is paid the gambling demon in secret.

525 In order to insure luck at the game, a whole series of medi-
cines is made, which, according to the view already familiar
● 777 to us, transfer the properties of plants to the counters; for in-
824 stance, plants which make them burning hot (Boehmeria, Urticacea), sharp, peppery (Spilanthes, Compositae), and strong (Carpolabia, Polygalacea). Others are intended to preserve for the owner the objects that he has put down as his stake in the game. In this category we find burrs (Desmodium) and winding Araceae. /318/ /Fig. 118 appears here in the original text. /

5. Wrestling

526 Wrestling matches are very frequent, especially in the southern Pangwe region, both to settle personal quarrels -- in this case the defeated wrestler was formerly sometimes squeezed half to death and cases of death have even occurred -- as well as for sport. In the latter case one might actually speak of a sports festival to which the drum summons young and old, man and woman, from afar. I shall dispense with a detailed description, however,

In wrestling, certain rules of the game are observed, for *instance, that both wrestlers must be as nearly matched as* possible, and this determines whether they turn down the challenge (a kʌ̃n nʌ̃ʌ̃) or take it up (a mo̱m nʌ̃ʌ̃).

Our picture (Fig. 118) represents a snapshot of such wrestlers (nʌ̃n I, from a sʌ̃n = to wrestle). To the left one can see a group of young men waiting (a ʌ̃ʌ̃n) to be challenged (a ʌ̃ʌ̃ = to challenge). Before the match the wrestler rubs dust onto the palms of his hands and his arms (a dʌ̃k mtʌ̃ ʌ̃ʌ̃k enʌ̃m = to rub dust [on the] arm) to make them less slippery.

801 radical with feminine connotations (yi = to wish, also meaning "to need," "to cry"; it conveys an idea of "desiring," in contrast to kômbô, related to kôm = to arrange, put in order, do properly, and bo = to do, make, conveying an idea of "will"; the passive form of yi, yian, means both "duty" and "to be well," "to suit"). Much research needs to be done while there is still time.

d. Sorcery, Possession

Malignant sorcery, ngbwel, is generally attributed to a sorcerer, 754 nnem (plur: beyem, cf. yem = to know, to dream), being possessed by a malevolent being, an évu (Fang, évur, évus). The évu is not an [805] immaterial spirit but a living being, an animal like a crab or centipede, and lodging in the internal organs of the nnem. At an autopsy it is often found in the form of a polyp or tumor, a fibroid tumor in women. It may even happen that the nnem's body does not show such an indication, because the évu has escaped, but there will be some traces of it, fluids, distention of the stomach, colon, or gall bladder. [764] In such cases, as has been said, the corpse is not buried in the usual manner but is burned, thrown into a river, or buried at a crossroads far from the village, in order to prevent the nnem's kôn from returning to haunt relatives and neighbors.

The possessed person may be unaware of the possession, but he is held no less responsible for the harm caused by the évu. The latter goes out at night while the nnem is asleep and feeds on the blood, metyi, hence strength, tyi of its victims, who fall ill, grow weak and die, or it eats their niem (heart and lungs), which brings on madness or mental decay and often death, too. The évu also feeds on eggs, on metyi /sic/, and on milk, preferably women's milk (menyañ, from nyañ = to give the breast, cf. -nyañ = mother, in compound words), food which village people will not touch. When the évu has trouble in getting food, it may turn against the nnem and kill it for nourishment or, if the nnem is a woman, it may attack the children in her womb. Aside from these occasions, ngbwel is an advantage to the nnem, even when it is unconscious; he benefits from the strength accumulated by the évu during its nocturnal hunts; furthermore, the évu assists him, brings a sort of luck to his undertakings, which is natural, since the évu gains from the nnem's intermediation. This [777] kind of luck, asié (from a verb, sé, with like meaning: a nga sé

754 777 akum = he has become rich by ngbwel), is to be distinguished from ordinary, accidental luck, ma'a, by its lasting character, which soon arouses public suspicion — this is one of the visible symptoms of ngbwel.

754 683 The involuntary nnem was generally put to death, more easily than the conscious sorcerer, who knew how to protect himself. Nevertheless, it was possible to treat a nnem, by means of a very drastic purification involving physiological as well as psychological catharsis and sometimes by real surgical operations /117/, to which in most cases the patient succumbed. Today the European administration usually prevents the execution of beyem, but their relatives often succeed in persuading them to kill themselves. After an epidemic of meningitis at Ambam in 1948, two men and two young women, accused by a bwiti diviner of having caused the death of a dozen children by involuntary ngbwel, threw themselves into the N'Tem within the month. In former times, beyem were burned by being covered with wood in such a way as to prevent both the évu and their nsisim from escaping; they were also drowned or buried alive, preferably in the bed of a stream that had been diverted and was then turned back to its old course after the burial.

754 The conscious nnem is both more and less dangerous. Bound to his évu by a kind of pact, he directs its activity instead of allowing it to kill at random as the unconscious nnem does. Therefore, he is more dangerous to his enemies but less so to his kin, although the concluding and maintenance of the alliance with the évu requires him to sacrifice members of his family.

A nnem with a strong personality, tyi anen a nlem ayet, with great strength and a hard heart, can succeed in really controlling his évu and making it a servant that will procure him wealth and power, rid him of his enemies, and confer supernatural powers on him, such as the ability to be in two places at once /bilocation/, to move objects from a distance /telekinesis/, divination, etc. But ngbwel always remains a dangerous art. First of all, the nnem knows that he is condemned after death to be a white kôn, forbidden to cross the ékanga bekôn, the bridge of the dead, to seek the ancestors, mañ ayat, beyond the sea. There are immediate dangers, in addition to that final condemnation. First, the ever present risk that the évu will dominate the nnem and weaken the latter. Next, the risk of a kind of reaction if the évu attacks a stronger nnem or a mie well protected by a bian provided with white magic. Finally, /there is the risk/ of

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

The skin of a bush cat is part of the *biang-akamayong* called "Nsin." 789

The Mvung.—A triangular piece of iron filled with medicine, used to keep away witches, is also part of the *biang-akamayong.* 619

Biang-akong or *biang-abal* (war medicine).—This is also part of the *biang-akamayong*, and the shots from the guns of an enemy are of no avail.

One other important fetish hangs with the *biang-akamayong.*

A piece of very hard wood. Only a certain kind of woman is selected to find this wood; she is called a special or *selected* woman on account of certain peculiarities connected with her, *e.g.*, she always fails to catch fish, she may try all day but will not succeed in catching fish. The husband of such a woman, after intercourse with her, fails to catch fish the next day, he also fails to work. This is the kind of woman always selected to find this wood; it is hard wood, she is a hard woman, and she is called *Ewunegn ane alert* (the woman who is hard). This medicine is also called *biang-akong*, and shot from the guns of an enemy will not harm. [177] [824]

This is the *Biang-akamayong.*

XIII.—*Witchcraft. Evus.* (*Witch.*)

If a person goes out to make witch (witch medicine, or play witch to harm others) he dies. The people take him to the backyard. Other people say, "We want to take the witch." If the corpse is a female, they open the belly. If the corpse is a male, they open the heart. They see the witch, they take it. If they bring the witch, they lay it on the smoke shelf. It dries. When finished drying they say, "We will use it as medicine." 754

This is *Evus* (witch).

Cursing dead Relations.—Written at Foulabifong, Nkomo river, April 13th, 1898. Told me by Ôvôn; fully confirmed by Ogandaga and Interpreter Roby.

E'kanazang (to curse dead relations).—This is a Fang custom. A man has a palaver with another, or goods stolen. He desires to get even with the thief. He calls a friend and curses his friend's dead relations, saying. 754 578 626

"Go and kill that person for me, or go and make him pay me goods; if you do so, I will then pay you for having cursed your dead relations." It is a serious matter to have dead relations cursed, and the friend feels very bad. He must do as bid, or he is branded as a coward, and after he has completed his task he then makes claim for payment.

Nge me bê jom dili, nge me te mimbin (If I do it, may I see the corpses [of my people]). A Fang way of swearing an oath. [539

Awi ye mimbin min, yinge me bat (My friend, by the corpses of your relations, kill those people for me).

Notes on *Ekômada* (a curse).

Ilong d'ayage (a curse that kills).

832
[291]
[516]
[417]

Fig. 57. Washing the Forehead at the Love Medicine Festival.

times, and in the case of very recalcitrant drops, the medicine was wiped down the bridge of the nose with a bundle of Abutilon leaves. The festive company then moved to the cult place, in this case called a love grove (elik andʊ̄mǎn). Just as the cult figures are usually set up on the trees (because of the sorcerous beings, trees with spikes are chosen) and just as the medicines for wealth are made up under the soul tree, the Copaifera, in the same way the love tree belongs to the love grove, namely the Leguminosa Amphimas tessmannii Harms (edǐi) (1). In Ebǎngon the tree was only a small one, but

[778]
[829]
[532]

1. a dǐi-ń, "to love."

often they are huge specimens. In the background a kind of bench of rods was erected, and under it were heaped a great many twigs of various trees regarded as love medicine. Then the ancestral skulls were set up behind the bench, and the twigs ignited. Those persons who needed an improvement in their love affairs, /161/ /Fig. 57 appears here in the original text/ lay down on the bench and allowed themselves to be thoroughly

776 been realized, he rewards these bivur by giving them a member of his family: father, mother, brother, first wife, first child, or maternal uncle.

776 The person eaten by the bivur dies, and the beneficiary of the akaga
778 must take a portion of the body and keep it all his life. This will be a protecting fetish.

For example, a man has offered his father. When the corpse has rotted in the grave, he goes and extracts a tooth and gives it to the beyem who, at the time of the akaga, had told him to take it. These beyem, or at least those who have not died by this time, meet again under the ovah where they cause an evur to dwell in the tooth and order it to make all its guardian's wishes come true. The wishes made at the time of the akagá are renewed, this time in the form of an order to the evur which takes its place in the tooth. The latter is then given back to its owner who, in order to hide it, swallows it or keeps it enclosed in a box carefully hidden in his hut so that no one sees it, not even his wives or children. Before accomplishing anything at all, he must first speak to the tooth, invoking the evur so that it will come to his aid.

If it is the first wife who has been given to the bivur, the husband removes a piece of frontal bone from the corpse, which receives an evur in the same way as the tooth described above. This bone is placed in a box full of oil, and every time the owner of the fetish appeals to this evur he must anoint his face with the oil in which the bone is soaked. [72]

Sometimes instead of a tooth or a bone, flesh is removed. The removal is then made in the night following the burial. The beyem dry the piece of flesh and incorporate an evur in it. In order to invoke this evur the owner of the fetish must put the piece of dried flesh in his mouth.

The possessor of an evur is forbidden to have any other fetish than that prescribed for him by the akaga.

776 (2) Evil evur. The evil evur, like the good, is given at the moment of birth. It may also come from an evur given the child in its mother's womb with which the nem donor does not concern himself at birth, or from a good evur whose owner has broken a prohibition of the akaga.

There is no akaga for an evil evur.

776 158 the victim exonerate the murderer, admitting that what happened was his own fault and that he had changed himself into an antelope so as not to frighten the hunted monkey. Not for an instant did the Pahouin of the district dream of doubting the truth of the story, and each recalled the exploits of the dead man who, thanks to his ability to change himself, had several times lived among gorillas and panthers, whose young he had brought back as proof of his double existence.

In September, 1933, in the village of Ebabara on the Abanga, a woman, Ningone Obame, told us how her husband, Obiang Abugo, transformed into an elephant, killed her little daughter: One day she saw Obiang come into the hut in the form of a bird, and he asked her to give him the little girl to look after him. Ningone refused. To punish her, Obiang caused her to have an abscess on her breast. A few days after this, she went fishing in a side channel of the river, Obiang staying in camp with the child. Suddenly Ningone felt her head get heavy and her heart beat fast. She was frightened and returned to the camp where she found her husband lying asleep. The little daughter was not there. Ningone went out, called her, and suddenly saw her dead, trampled by Obiang in the shape of an elephant. At this point Obiang, the elephant, promised to give her a boy in place of the little girl. Ningone went back to the camp. Obiang was still lying down and continued to sleep. She waked him up and accused him of the death of her daughter. Obiang did not deny it and said he had to kill her so that his own evur would not die. Nevertheless, he died two or three days afterwards.

Ningone told us this story in the presence of all the inhabitants of the village and numerous listeners from neighboring villages, all of whom considered the incident normal and only discussed the question of whether, because of the crime committed by Obiang's evur, Ningone should, or should not, pay back the dowry to her dead husband's family.

778 776 (4) Protection against the bivur. In spite of all the acknowledged power of the evur, the Pahouin seek to protect themselves against it.

For this there is an essential fetish called mvul, or byah bivur. Upon the death of a person suspected of having had an evur which fed upon human blood, the abdomen of the corpse is opened and a search is made for the evur. [74] This, it seems, is like a crab; it has a small mouth with little teeth; its claws form long veins that go into every part of the body. Once the evur is found, its belly is opened, and if it

has lived on human flesh, a piece of the flesh is found. That piece of flesh is taken out and put into an antelope horn together with scrapings of a vine called nzi bivur, a panther claw (dze nze), the talon of a sparrow hawk, and a firefly. The end of the horn is closed with the wax of white honey (eko abe).

The fetish thus made is either carried by the person who wishes to protect himself or is hung at the door of the hut. At night, if the bivur wish to enter the hut, the firefly will leave the horn and fly into the hut, giving warning of their approach. Then there is a battle (abal nguel, the war of the ngwel) between the bivur and the horn fetish, from which the fetish almost always emerges victor.

III. The bieri. The bieri is a family fetish whose help must be sought before every important undertaking: hunting, fishing, a journey, choice of farm land, etc.,., by the head of the family who owns the fetish.

It consists of the skull of a dead ancestor taken from the grave by a practitioner after the complete disappearance of the flesh. After having taken the skull, the practitioner goes into the forest and makes from the bark of a tree called andun (Berlinia sp.) a cylindrical box with a lid, big enough to hold the skull. The bottom of the box and the top of the lid are formed by a circular disc of wood nailed into the bark cylinder with little pegs of hard wood. The practitioner then cleans the skull and anoints it with an ointment of red wood sawdust (ba) and oil of raphia palm. The box is called nsek and the skull sen bieri, the whole having the name of bieri. Into the box is also placed some red wood sawdust and a plant called nzen (a kind of fern), and sometimes also a little wooden bowl. The bieri thus made is put in a hidden place in the hut of the family head. It will speak in dreams to a family head whenever it wishes to notify a member of the family of some event. Sometimes a statuette roughly representing the person whose skull constitutes the main part of the fetish is put on the lid of the box. It is called nla bieri (the head of the bieri).

No one may see the bieri unless he has eaten some alan (Strychnos icaja) in the course of a ceremony called ku melan. The heads of several families send the future initiates to look for roots of alan, of which they retain only the bark. Then in the morning each family head brings his bieri to a place prepared in advance in the bush near the

276 village which is called ngun [75] melan; he carries the bieri on his
778 shoulder and appears to collapse under its weight. That position is a
787 manner of worshipping the fetish. When everyone has gathered, animals, fowls, or kids are sacrificed; then, to the accompaniment of tomtoms, the neophytes dance, sing, and cry out, all the while chewing pieces of alan prepared the previous day. After a certain time, the effect of the root, combined with the excitement of the dances and songs, causes most of the participants of the celebration to become unconscious after many spasms. This unconsciousness may last two or three hours, during which the individuals retain a corpse-like stiffness. On awakening, each tells the elders what he has seen or what the bieri has told him in his dream. One may have been ordered to hunt, with the assurance of killing many antelope; another may have been warned of the impending death of a member of his family; still another may have been told of the imminent pregnancy of a brother's wife. All the Pahouin whom we have questioned state that predictions made by the bieri to people drunk with alan always come true.

Then the neophytes have the right to look at the bieri, whose boxes are open, making a vow not to speak of them to anyone who has not undergone the initiation of alan. Every uninitiated person who looks at a bieri falls ill, and only the care of a competent practitioner can prevent his death.

When a family head wants to supplicate his bieri, he sacrifices a
782 hen, a duck, or a kid, or offers it the hind leg of an animal killed in
778 the hunt, and pours blood on the skull. The meat is cooked in leaves by a woman, then taken to the bieri with stalks of manioc or a mash of bananas and water, by the one making the sacrifice. If, for example, the bieri is appealed to before a hunt, he who makes the sacrifice presents the food with these words:

"O zar za mba bidzi olun wa to we nlem e to ma tune we yõ. Binyu bon be wa y onzan vag bie betsir" (O father, see the good food. I want to dispel the anger that is in your heart. Your children die of want, give us meat).

778 Then he goes out of the hut because the bieri will not eat in the
782 presence of a living being. Several hours later he comes back to look
789 for the food left by the bieri. Its consumption, however, is not visible as it is accomplished immaterially. This food that has been brought to the watchers' hut [corps de garde] will be eaten only by the

initiates. Anyone else who eats it will become mortally ill. During the following night, the bieri will reveal to an initiate during his sleep the means of assuring the success of the hunt for which his help has been asked.

The bieri strictly forbids anyone, under pain of mortal illness, to [76] insult it. Its power is unlimited. It can cause a woman who has fled from the village to return to it, it causes lost objects to be found.

In spite of all the faith which the old Pahouin still have in the bieri, in the region which interests us one may say that the majority of the population has abandoned it, primarily because of its being driven out by the Christian missions.

IV. The buiti. The buiti, which our informants told us were of Mitsogho [Mitsogo] or Massango [Missanga?] origin (peoples of the right bank of the N'Gounié), is a protective association against the bivur. The information on this secret society was given us by Akam Eyene, the head of a buiti, who lived in the village Elong Eko on the Abanga. It is rather incomplete because this informant was unwilling to give us certain details and to answer numerous questions.

Possessors of bieri band together because of the fear of the bivur, against which the bieri by itself is powerless to protect them. Their association, the buiti, in its fight against the ngwel, shows itself as stronger and kills the bivur (and consequently the individual possessors of bivur). It also serves to reveal the beyem, who have evil intentions toward members of the buiti and to make their efforts ineffectual.

Every member of the buiti brings a piece of his bieri and a piece of the animal under whose protection he has placed himself. All of these are put in a box and constitute the fetish of the association, which also keeps such material things as:

A musical instrument, ngomi, a harp with eight strings. At the bottom of the resonance chamber of the one belonging to Akam Eyene were pierced three holes covered by three pieces of flesh of chimpanzee, gorilla, snake, elephant, eagle, panther, and rooster. This instrument accompanies the songs of the ceremony.

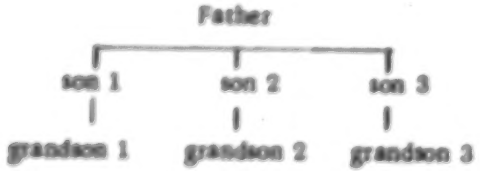
A bell, etoge, a round hollowed-out fruit, into which are put little pebbles. It is equipped with a handle and is shaken during the songs.

A branch of raphia palm lying horizontally on two carved stakes called minaga mi buiti. The whole thing is called obaka. During the ceremonies this branch is beaten with two sticks.

where they enjoy great esteem and are consulted every time on decisions concerning all the family, [91] such as the marriage of a child, because this is a matter of alliance with another tribe, or such as moving the village. Young people of a poor family who get themselves adopted may be incorporated into the family and assimilated among its children. The adopted son (ntob) gets a wife from the head of the family which has taken him in. This wife, however, is only loaned to him, and the children whom he may have do not belong to him and are regarded as being of the adopter's family whose name they receive.

Each family has a fetish all its own, which is handed down through the oldest sons. It is often a reed (ayan) which is planted behind the huts of the village where the family lives, by a practitioner in the course of an important ceremony. The practitioner digs a hole, puts into it the bones of a member of the family killed by the bivur, spits onto it some wild pepper that he has chewed, and, before planting the reed, says, "ke nzue, ke wone, me nga non we bemvama e dzam ese dzah bor yŭi, o ke sile e yenege" (without stealing or hiding myself I have taken from my ancestors, so that everything which will be asked of you by this family shall happen). The reed must be treasured and constantly kept clear of weeds which might grow around it. A fowl is sacrificed to this reed by the head of the family every time he wishes to undertake an important matter, and when the village moves the plant is taken along with the bones and replanted.

Social Life. Pahouin society is limited to a group of families which make up the tribe. The latter originates from a single family, the sons of which have left to establish other families in their turn. The separation occurs almost constantly in the third generation. The formation of a tribe may be diagrammed thus:



Grandson 1 establishes a family which keeps the name of the founder; grandson 2, a family which will take the name of this grandson; and

692 or judicial. We have sufficiently stressed the diffuse character of the latter. On the other hand, certain "associations" show an organization (which is often effective outside the clan) that fills (or attempts to do so) a compensating function. This is true of the Ngil, whose role of pacification and justice extends beyond clan limits — and in spite of these limits.

6. The Associations

769 794 We have frequently pointed out the rather loose nature of the bonds which exist between even close fragments of a clan. In Gabon, because of the extreme dispersal and entanglement of the divers fragments, the "periodic gatherings" disappeared very early. No mention is made of them by early authors, except for a vague one by Father Trilles. However, these gatherings (ésulan) have been kept up in the Cameroons with the purpose of reminding the members of their solidarity and having them show it by "helping one another in kind, with money, and with days of work." (1)

1. Tradition des Yénǎòk [Tradition of the Yénǎòk], Archives of Ebolowa, The Cameroons.

These bonds, however, are found to be tightened at the time of the initiation of young men to the Biéri cult when the society of grown men is also strengthened. Biéri, while borrowed, according to H. Trilles, "in its form from neighboring nations" yet "remaining basically Fang," is a cult rendered to the spirits of the ancestors through the agency of their skulls. It necessitates for every nd'è bòt an altar set up in the hut of the eldest, or very near it. [142] It requires sacrifices (regular and circumstantial), and it has to be consulted before every important action. [778]

This cult confirms the continuity of the line and reveals periodically the profound unity which constitutes the continuation of the generations — at the time of sacrifices of food, the food is first "consumed" by the Biéri, then eaten by the secluded initiates (mvoma biéri) assembled in the guardhouse. It imposes a large

level that the agencies of authority, of social control, are most in evidence.

The head of the family is the senior, ntôl or ntôle mût, of the adult and active men, benya bôtô, "the true men." He is not necessarily the oldest in age, because infirm old men suffer a genuine capitis diminutio /a loss of status/. The founder of the hamlet or his eldest son can still, even if infirm, preserve a certain moral authority as father, ésa, of the family, but actual authority will then be delegated to a nya môtô chosen from his brothers, sons, or nephews, the éfo'olo (Bertaut). In principle, a jal is composed of the founder, his old relatives /parents/, his younger brothers, his children and those of his sisters, his unmarried sisters, their illegitimate children and those of his daughters. Wives do not belong to the jal; their village is referred to as jall. Of a divorced woman one would say, a keya jall, "she has gone back to her village." The size of the nda bôt depends upon different factors: security, the /family/ head's authority, the fertility of the soil, etc. I have already pointed out how several mal can be gathered into a nlam, a proper village. Nowadays the menda me bôt are tending to decrease numerically and no longer to correspond to the jal, which can from now on combine several /menda me bôt/. The limited or household family is becoming more and more important, while the government-sponsored institution of village chiefship /chefferie/, although it is often only an imperfect substitute for the authority of the ntôl or the ésa, undermines that none the less. The size of an average nda bôt may be calculated at twenty /49/ persons (including the wives who do not belong to the jal), less in the towns and among the less prosperous people, more among large planters and the influential (minkukum).

The nda bôt used to be a religious, military, and economic unit. On the religious plane, the father, ésa, was the custodian of the biéti (Fang, biéri), the portable altar or ark of the ancestral cult containing the skulls of the ancestors; he made the decisions about initiations and bore their expense. The initiations have died out, and the missions have burned dozens, if not hundreds, of biéti. Security and colonial order have removed any interest in the ésa's military function. Only his economic role survives to some extent. He used to be the sole owner of the family goods (biôm), sole treasurer of income, and sole regulator of expenditures, of which the most important was the payment of "bride prices" (minsuba) for his younger brothers and his

sentences passed by their superiors. In struggling against sorcerers, it had also a medical role, which for a while outlived its police role: Bertaut (no. 110) seems to have known it only under this aspect, which did not arouse so much administrative suspicion. Allys considers it to be the "war fetish," thus agreeing, apparently, with Allégret and Largeau. Martrou and Leroux refer in this connection to "franc-juges," which recalls Bearth's description of the nsig nto of the Bané.

Very little is known about ngil rites as a whole or about their symbolism. The initiation has some traits in common with the sô: preliminary physical and moral purification, flagellation, confession, a broth for a test made of horrible substances, representation of ancestors, symbolic transition from an epicene or androgynous to a monosexual state (2), blood sacrifices. It is probable that these traits

2. Or, on the contrary, according to Stoll, transition from a monosexual state to a bisexual completion.

are to be found in all important Pahouin rites. The sacred spot was a rectangular stockade, ésam, open to one side, with clay figures of the ngil and his "wife," (3) in front of which there was dug a

3. Or a single androgynous statue.

trench covered with a lattice in which initiates were hidden so as to prick the candidates with their spears when brought before the ngil after having had to climb through an ant pit (as in the sô). There was also a liana representing a python, the precise role /i.e., significance/ of which I do not know. The neophytes had to bring ancestral bones, which were kneaded into the clay of the figurines. The ceremony included a test intended to show if the neophyte was nnem (bearer of évu), which would have entailed his being put to death immediately; /64/ a blessing of the ritual spears which, according to Trilles, bore totemic designs; finally a sexual symbolism termed "obscene" by the authors mentioned, who give no further description of it.

The initiates left their houses in procession, masked or painted with white and red (mourning and rejoicing colors, respectively),

764 in neighboring villages were informed. The dead man's fellow initiates came to lift the corpse onto a stretcher-coffin of bark (1)

[177]

1. The fig-bark coffin recalls the custom, borrowed from the Pygmies, of putting the body of a chief in a hollow tree or between the buttresses of certain large trees.

[824]

The fig has an important magic role. A fig tree was planted at the founding of a new village, and slips were carried away upon migration. (J. B.)

and danced around him the funeral dance proper to their association, at which women were not allowed to be present but were shut into their huts, where they wailed in a shrill key. The grave was narrow and quite deep, with a plank or "bamboo" bed at the bottom on which the dead man was placed on his back, feet toward the west (near a river, the grave was dug parallel to the course and the feet were placed downstream, nké = downstream or west). Above was built a platform of round logs on which were piled — after having been "killed" by breaking — all the personal possessions of the dead man that did not belong to the family patrimony, his weapons, tools, and jewelry. Now and then, only rarely, one of his wives would be sacrificed to keep him company (it is possible that the execution of wives convicted of having killed their husbands has been confused with a sacrifice of this kind). The grave was filled in and covered with a mound, which was sometimes provided with a flue at the head end by which "to feed" the dead man. The graves of prominent men were dug in, or in front of, their huts, those of ordinary people outside the village on the edge of the forest. Graves of family heads were guarded so as to prevent outsiders from carrying off the skull; [778] this was cut off by the privileged heir, ngian, the replacement, who placed it with the other ancestral skulls in the bidti shrine, after dye- [386] ing it with bas. A statuette in umbrella-tree wood was carved and painted white, and inside it were enclosed some of the hair and a phalanx of the dead man; this was placed upon the bidti altar. The tibia of the dead man had previously been removed for the ngil rite.

Matrons, beryé binga, were buried by mevungu initiates in a ceremony which men did not attend. Ordinary women /femmes du

b. Ancestor Cult, Totem, Spirits

769 We have seen that practically no worship was offered to the creator Mebe'e, only to Zambe (Nzame), the first ancestor, who was invoked as the father of all. But resort to Zambe was rather exceptional; people first asked for help, meya'ale, or protection, akam, from the nearest ancestors, bimvam.

The most characteristic form of the ancestor cult was the bièti (bièti), particularly well developed among the southernmost tribes and especially among the true Fang. Its priest was the living ancestor, the father, esa, and it had an acting hierarchy corresponding to the different levels of the social structure and the clan organization, a hierarchy of a religious rather than political character, as the authority which was derived from it being primarily /one of/ reverence. The main cult equipment consisted of the skulls of male ancestors, which the father, the senior, guarded in a basket, ɛvora bièti (ɛwoid bièti), a kind of ark which the family group carried with it during its migrations. It was a fig-bark cylindrical box, decorated with beads and clan emblems (mindem); on the cover was a statuette of the first ancestor. The ɛvora bièti was kept on a sort of altar (the view of which was ɛtyi to women and the uninitiated) placed either in the hut of the head of the family or in a special hut. The ɛvora was transported in a case of delicate basketwork, guarded by armed initiates. The skulls were painted with bas and sometimes decorated with copper or bead inlay.

769 When a younger son established a new village, the founder's skull was the first to be placed in the ark; the village he had left kept the skulls of the preceding ancestors of the lineage. Hence it may be imagined that the custodian of the lineage skulls had a certain amount of authority, delegated by the ancestors of higher rank, over the heads of splinter families, while he himself was somehow /111/ subordinate to the custodian of the ancestral skulls common to the segment, and so, one after the other ascending and descending the genealogical tree, from Zambe, departed and yet alive, to the living ɛmvam of the last generation.

When a family split up without a quarrel, the senior, mbi, of the new group received from his ɛsa, in place of the skulls which were supposed to stay with the original segment, a statuette containing fragments of ancestral bones, phalanges, teeth, or cranial bones.

suggest those of the sorcerers they were fighting, as do some of their procedures. Like them, /high initiates/ were capable of telekinesis and bilocation, etc. Trilles gives numerous examples, some of which he claims to have observed himself. Like /sorcerers, initiates/ could transform themselves into animals or make use of a dedicated animal, élañela. They killed people from a distance, especially by casting a spell on a token /temoin, "witness"/ of the classical type, or by acting directly upon people with their power, ngul, by forcing them to submit to their will. Like sorcerers, also, they could be victims through repercussion.

Considering the circumstances, it is not surprising that /121/ magicians and sorcerers have often been confused, nor that some magicians have been led into making evil use of their knowledge, nor, finally, that contemporary associations, like the mbuti (bwiti), intended to combat sorcery, have borrowed its methods, even in their criminal aspects.

In addition to the magicians proper, there is the singer, ñyia bia, who plays an important role in all rites, including initiations. Every important rite and ceremony has its musical accompaniment, with a specific orchestra for the occasion, and a choirmaster, who leads the incantations and acts somewhat as a master of ceremonies, without himself participating directly in the sacrifice or the magical act. It is peculiar to the ñyia bia that he is present at the three major rites, sô, ngil, and ndôngô, as at all magic ceremonies, no matter what his affiliation; apparently he is not liable to the prohibitions concerning participation affecting nesé bôt, ordinary or profane people. He buys and sells or inherits his songs, is not assigned to a caste /n'est pas caste/, yet seems to have enjoyed a certain immunity during the wars of former times, but this may only have been the case with the most celebrated of the beyia bia. There are also female beyia bia, who enjoy the same prerogatives in feminine rites.

Magical equipment consists, first, of the instruments appropriate to each rite, drums, horns, rattles, bells, the ngôma harp of the bwiti, etc., with a great variety of additional diverse objects: fly-whisks, akpwassa, sometimes mutilated; antelope horns filled with mebiañ; human and animal skulls and bones; pots and calabashes; engraved and decorated magician's spears; masks; the bwiti broken mirror; bikpwélé (iron "bride-price money"); shells, etc. Every magical act, every rite, has its own properties, the complete description of which would require a separate monograph for each. We

shall merely point out that part of this equipment, permanently assigned to magical use, is étyi, taboo to the uninitiated and sometimes even to other mingengan than the owner, that certain objects become bityi after having once been used for this purpose, while others are returned to ordinary use, and others are destroyed after use.

f. Prohibitions

Prohibitions, bityi, assume a large place in Pahouin life. Martrou (no. 159) has devoted a special study to them, which is very well documented but still incomplete, because of their number and diversity.

The word étyi comes from the root TYI/KI, conveying an idea of strength (cf. above, p. 133), of authority, and also of cutting, hence of prohibition; /for example, / tyik = to cut, kill, slice, decide; tyili = to render taboo; tyii = to have a taboo (étyi is the nominal-resulting form of the last verb); tyilan = to be taboo. /122/

A complete listing of the bityi is probably impossible, but a brief classification may be attempted by distinguishing /the following/:

Food prohibitions and prohibitions of actions.

Among prohibitions of actions there are those protecting certain animals, marriage prohibitions, and general sexual prohibitions.

Individual prohibitions and collective prohibitions.

Hereditary prohibitions and personal prohibitions.

Temporary and permanent prohibitions.

Masculine, feminine, and age-grade prohibitions.

Ordinary prohibitions (nem bityi) and capital prohibitions, bityi awu (mortal ones).

All together they form a sort of network that covers every act, every phase of individual and social conduct. Mission activity and general development have caused some to disappear or have lessened the immediate consequences of infractions, minsem, but enough remain with sufficient sanction to influence the whole of day-to-day life.

A nsem, a breaking of a prohibition, has various consequences, ranging from a slight illness to death, and almost always carrying with it public reprobation. The nsem may be unconscious, the culprit being unaware that his act was taboo for him, either because he had not been taught so or because the étyi had been imposed without his knowledge by a magician.

one thereby becomes incorporated in him and in the tribe. Finally, the taboo surrounding this organ of the body, to which the origin of circumcision may be traced -- either because of the social function of the organ or of the danger of its premature use, or even because of its independence of volition -- allows circumcision to be considered as a desecration that has to precede the stage of virility, in order that use may be made of it. (2)

2. Bros, Religion des peuples non-civilisees [Religion of Non-civilized Peoples], "Circoncision" [Circumcision].

Some of these statements hold good for the Fan; some are less applicable. Let me use as an example one of the things that illustrates very well the close connection between circumcision as a religious rite and childbirth rituals, the fact that pieces of cloth used to staunch blood are in both cases carefully kept to be used for the same purpose. [520]

Ordinary warriors place them with their personal totem in the mfek or pineapple-fiber bag which never leaves them. These pieces of cloth, or fragments of them, are always part of totemic sacrifices. The sons of chiefs, on the contrary, are not allowed to keep them; they bury them deep at the base of the sacred fig tree planted when they were born over the remains of the umbilical cord. This custom certainly goes back to remote antiquity. Among the Egyptians, the fig tree was considered sacred and dedicated to the Egyptian Venus, Hathor. From this perhaps comes the word éthu, designating a garment made from the bark of the fig tree. The same word, éthu, has remained in the Fan language with the same meaning, "garment," and the inland Fan always make vegetable-fiber cloth from the fig tree, which they still dye red; this was formerly the color dedicated to Hathor, and it has remained the color of betrothal garments. For the same reason, before marriage, young men and women stain themselves red from head to foot. It is a color "set apart,"

The practitioner operates quickly, assisted by the chief of the tribe. Before operating on each child, he hands the knife [525] to the chief, without a word, and the latter accepts it, also in silence, without saying the usual "thank you" or "very good," abora or mvè.

With girls none of these ceremonies are observed. An experienced matron performs the operation, usually when the child is very young. It is nevertheless a religious act, accompanied by songs and dances, but since only women are present, it was impossible for me to learn the slightest detail.

The tribal chief immediately returns the knife to the practitioner, saying, "Take it and do what has to be done." (Nôde n'ébo dzam ma yia n'ébo, lit., "Take it so as to do the deed which 'I' ought to do.") This proves that the practitioner is but the chief's delegate. Usually it is the latter who holds the penis firmly. First of all, the father pulls out the foreskin as far as possible and ties it with a bit of string. The penis, thus prepared, is then stretched out on a special board, and the practitioner cuts quickly. This is the most painful part of the operation. Ashes are then rubbed on the open wound. The head of the family carefully collects the blood, which will constitute a powerful fetish after it has been offered in sacrifice to the mvamayôô and to the ancestors.

It is a point of honor for the children not to cry out, no matter what the pain. Besides, the pain must be very much lessened by the fact that the chief squeezes the flesh firmly and the operator works quickly. As soon as it is over, the child is taken to be bathed and is then laid on a bed of ashes. His scanty clothing is removed, if that has not already been done during the preceding days, and he is now dressed in a loose garment or a belt from which hangs a thick pad of raffia fiber or thin strips of finely cut banana tree bark, so as to protect him from being hurt. After the operation every father offers the practitioner a present, often a sheep or at least several hens. The latter then, according to the customary rites, offers one of the sheep to the spirits and has part of it burnt. The ashes of the sacrifice, mixed with the collected blood, will constitute the child's fetish. Anything left over is carefully buried in a place

Only then will he be allowed to know about the laws and rights of the totem. He will then receive his personal totem, as we have described it, will make it the prescribed sacrifice, and will preciously keep the remains of this offering on his own person, enclosed in an antelope horn. Already as a child he wore this horn which now contain the ashes of this sacrifice; it used merely to hang around his neck on a cord or, more often, before his genital organs. After the youth becomes a warrior, he hangs the horn among the other fetishes attached to a leather baldrick which crosses his chest and is hardly ever taken off. [532]

c) Consecration of weapons

A youth's childhood ends after the initiation. A whole new era opens up before him, an era of work and fighting and also of quite different pleasures from those of childhood. He is henceforth admitted to a place among warriors after these painful initiations the proof and marks of which are slashes cut into the back of his neck. Henceforth he may carry a gun; as a boy he had often tried to fire one so as to be ready when the time came. As a warrior with the right to fire it and to go to war, he must first "dedicate" the rifle to a spirit so that he may always shoot straight.

For an African all objects whatever they may be, have a life of their own; therefore, a rifle is a being. Alive with its own life, it will be dedicated to the spirit with the influence most favorable to it, that is, in the realm of space the sun, whose light and whose clear rays will enable it to hit the mark every time and will at the same time dissipate the shadows so that they will fail to conceal the enemy it is aimed at. The weapon will be dedicated to the sun and also to the clan's totemic guardian; in battle it is indeed important to be able to distinguish enemy from friend and not to run the risk of committing a totemic sacrilege. The rifle must be dedicated to both the totem and the sun.

However, it is worth noting that if nowadays a rifle is the only weapon to be dedicated, it is because it has become the

824 779 411 The young man is armed. He has undergone the initiation of the bawu and henceforth he has a right to speak in the council. He will not take advantage of this until the day he brings in the hand of an enemy he has killed and he is able to testify to his bravery in the presence of all by this striking proof of a daring exploit, yet often carried out by surprise.

[Pp. 535-536, 18 lines of music.] [537]

III. Consecration of the Chief

a) The ceremony

766 779 623 A tribal chief has died. After the customary lamentation and funeral feast, he has been buried in a temporary grave. Thirty days afterwards the warriors again reassemble for the solemn funeral dance, the fanki. Then the eldest son, surrounded by leading warriors, opens his father's grave, climbs down beside the corpse, and with the consecrated knife detaches the skull, which will soon be added to the skulls of earlier ancestors in the évora biéri. Then the corpse is carefully replaced in the grave, and the totemic sacrifices are completed. We shall go back to these sacrifices when discussing individual mortuary rites. The eldest son or the heir removes the akaméyôn or tribal totem, if he has not already done so. He then throws the earth back onto the corpse and everyone helps him in this dismal task, after he has thrown the first handfuls. All these rites belong to the social mortuary ceremonial.

623 779 The new chief returns to the village. Then begins strictly speaking, the totemic rite of consecration, which takes place at night, without any female observers.

Escorted by all the warriors, to the beating of a tom-tom, the chief takes the évora biéri containing the ancestral skulls and carries it into the forest. The ceremony is secret only as regards women; young boys may be present.

824 778 The box of skulls is put on a sort of platform made of newly cut poles. These must come from a special tree, the éfiefiea, and must all be alive and green. A bit of dead wood

779 would lead to a ritual offense. These branches are embedded
778 in the earth; they must also be straight, cut from the actual
622 trunk of the tree and not from a branch; upon these poles stuck into the ground, the chief arranges pieces of bamboo (1) which

[342 124]

1. Bamboo is the usual term given by analogy to the palm stems or raffia used in all Fan building, in place of real bamboo, which is unknown or a recent importation into Gabon.

[284] make a platform. They are tied together, not with the lianas usual for huts, but with lashings [538] made of rattan palm. When that work has been done, the chief places his évora biéri on the upper tier; the other family heads put their bivora bibiér to the right and left in order of precedence. When all the boxes of skulls have been lined up, each man, after having danced and sung around the altar, then approaches it again, opens his box, removes the ancestral skulls, and places them on the lower tier below the boxes. Upon his family skulls he places the family totem, then his own personal totem. There is another series of dances, accompanied by songs. The chief then advances again, alone, and puts the skull of his immediate ancestor above all the others, dances and sings, then puts the skull inside that of the first ancestor. He also takes his family totem, which by the very fact of his birth is the tribal or clan totem, and places it upon the two superimposed skulls, his father's and that of the clan father. Then there begins a special
533 song called the Song of Union. The archaic words are nowadays
622 for the most part very hard to understand, the general meaning,
779 on the other hand, is easy to grasp: it deals with the uniting of all the heads of families in direct line and consists of an invocation to the Spirit of the Race, who has passed down through all descendants from the first ancestor so as to produce a united and indivisible whole. The final words of the song express this idea quite clearly:

779
622

At the same time, the chief has taken his father's and his first forefather's skulls; he approaches successively the évora biéri of each of the other heads of family and touches their ancestral skulls against those in his hands. He returns to the middle, takes the pot holding the victim's blood, dips his father's de, fly swatter, or into it, and then sprinkles the totems placed near the skulls. He takes his own totem, moves it alongside the clan or tribal totems, fastens them together with a liana and touches them successively against the totems of the other heads of family, while singing the totem song, everyone repeating the refrain after him:

[559]

We are the children of Ndun,
And Ndun is our totem (mvamayôl),
Yes, we are the children of Ndun,
And Ndun is totem for us all.

After this ceremony there are several more dances and songs. Finally at the end, the tribal chief is the first to put the skulls back into the évora biéri, and everyone follows his example. He does the same thing with the totems, again followed by all the others. [540] All the boxes are then carefully put aside in a spot cleared in advance.

[778]

All return to the open space. The rude altar, where the boxes, skulls, and totems had lain, is destroyed; the boxes are all heaped one upon the other; and great care is taken that no drop of the victim's blood that might have fallen on the ground be profaned by any touch at all. As soon as the victim itself has been immolated, it is laid on freshly cut green banana leaves -- it must never touch the ground -- and placed upon a pyre made from the altar wood, which is lighted. This task always falls to the new chief, never the practitioner. As soon as the victim has been cooked enough, it is put back on the banana leaves and cut up by the chief himself into as many pieces as there are persons present. No piece may be left over; no piece may be carried away. That would be a ritual offense of the graven kind, and the Fan are convinced, or at least appear to be so, that the totem never fails to punish the wrongdoing by actual death of the

361 the sites of future huts with blood. The hen is then opened up
621 and divided among the principal warriors and the chief's relatives.
769 This strictly speaking, constitutes the totemic sacrifice. The
782 kid or sheep is then offered to the spirits of departed souls and to the ancestors.

After the sacrifice to ancestors the chief puts the akamɛ̂ɔ̂n
361 back at his side. From the mfex or pouch, which is never re-
621 moved, he draws forth a small bundle of dirty material wrapped
769 around a bit of red wood, ashes, and a few bones. All this
● 718 comes from a sacrifice to the totem like that already described. To these he adds the remnants of the recent sacrifice and buries it all deep in a hole in which he drives a strong stake of dlun
[520] or dfirfira wood; sometimes a young ebony tree is also used.
[522 At the top of the stake he fixes a ball of paste made of red wood,
942] white chalk -- the colors of sacrifices and spirits, and manioc, the symbol of fertility. A part of the clan or tribal totem is also inserted. The practitioner, with many gestures, songs, and dances imprisons within it all the evil spirits of the air. [556]

The practitioner sows maize in the middle of the village, then plants a manioc root and particularly a euphorbia (euphorbia antiquorum), and puts a small fence around, so that the plants will not be desecrated. The village's prosperity depends upon their
[587] rapid growth. Should they wither, the chosen spot will be abandoned. Euphorbia has the power of averting thunder and evil
[514] spirits by means of its bristling points. Amaryllis and immortelles are often planted at the foot of the euphorbia, along with a few stalks of sugar cane. The amaryllis and immortelles ought to come from the old village, having issued from those which the chief's first wife had formerly brought from her
[592] native village at her marriage. Sugar cane is a symbol of fertility.

241 The women plant maize everywhere after these preliminaries, and its rapid growth ensures basic subsistence. Mean-
361 while the men build the huts. The first ears of maize will certainly be offered to the guardian totem. Dried and preserved in the form of a coronet, they will provide seed for the following year.

7: Trilles--112 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9

1. Birth and Name Giving

Only women, the village matrons, are allowed to help a mother in childbirth. Men are absolutely excluded, even husbands. A woman who gives birth on a journey prefers to go off by herself into the forest rather than ask for her husband's help.

As soon as the child is delivered, his umbilical cord is cut and he is carefully washed. The remnants of the cord are wrapped in a cloth and buried out of the way. In the case of a chief's son, especially that of the head chief, the remains are buried, as we have seen, at the foot of a sacred fig tree. (1)

1. Ficus elastica.

Great importance is given to the tree's growth, and to touch it is strictly forbidden. Any violation of the tree would be considered an attack upon the human being.

A few days after birth, the baby is carried to his father, who may accept it or refuse it. However, the latter [571] happens only if the child is deformed or crippled, in which case it is ruthlessly sacrificed. The religious rites (1) connected

1. See Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie [Bulletin of the Neuchâtel Geographical Society], 1910, "Les rites de la naissance chez les Fâ" [Birth Rites among the Fang], by Father Trilles.

with birth are numerous, but the only ones that seem to me to be totemic are name giving and the choice of the baby's totem.

The name is solely the father's choice; it is often determined by attendant circumstances, atmospheric or other, or by some local happening, a hunt, a fishing expedition, the

7: Trilles--113 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9

553 arrival of a stranger. Hence, a certain number of names that at first would seem totemic, because they copy the names of animals and plants, are not so at all. In general, the eldest son's name is that of one of his forebears, a grandfather or ancestor, who is thought to come to life again in him. Twins, [M5] however, always receive special names of matched things, which go in twos, like Sun and Moon, Wind and Rain, Storm and Thunder, etc.

551 As soon as the child has been given a name, his father 119 takes it in his arms and carries it into his hut, where he opens the *fvora bidri* and puts the baby down on the lid. He then takes the ancestral skulls one by one and puts them on the child's head, then places the family totem in its hand. The father with his fingernail often scrapes a bit off of the antelope horn holding the remnants of his personal totemic sacrifice, and puts some of this into the child's mouth. This, strictly speaking, is the dedication to the totem. The father then takes the baby back to its mother so that she may anoint it with oil and rub it with red wood. After the mother, or any other woman present, has attended to this, the father again takes the child and puts another bit of the totem into its mouth. A she-goat, a sheep, or at least a fowl is then offered to the family totem and to the spirits of the departed, according to sacred ritual. The remains [M7] of this sacrifice, the ashes, etc., are enclosed in a small antelope horn, which is hung around the baby's neck or above his genital organs: this will be his amulet. Finally, the father gives the baby his personal totem, which will be recalled to him later on when he is old enough to understand. At that same time he will be taught what are the family, clan, and tribal totems, and the duties and obligations they impose on him. This instruction is part of the *mibara*. [M7]

2. Adoption

597 In certain cases, a few children are adopted by a head of 727 the family when given as ransom for murder or spared in the

S: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

776 idea as the Bulu regarding two great gods. The *Zambe* of the Bulu is the *Anyambi* or *Sibiri* of the Fang, the *tate* or father of all things; and another god of less power than *Anyambi* or *Sibiri*, who lives in the forests and is so tall that he gathers fruit from the highest trees. Some of the old men and women profess to have seen this god of the forests.

[775] Fang superstitions include transmigration; a departed human soul may enter any animal dwelling on top of the earth or in it. There are spirits of health and
782 disease, also a protecting spirit belonging to a clan or tribe, in whose honour a
776 small basket is hung in the palaver house, containing portions of the skull of an albino, whenever obtainable, also portions of the skulls of a relative and a chimpanzee, human hair, nails and bones. This fetish or *bieng* is called the *Bieng Akumepeng*. Most Fang have a cabalistic word assigned to them by the *nganga* (witch doctor), and this word is used as a prayer. During the new
[538] moon, dances are nearly always indulged in, and the songs usually addressed to the spirits of Present and Future. Local spirits need constant propitiation; a native passing in his canoe a spot where a local spirit dwells, as a large rock, will pay his respects by casting a piece of his food into the river, or when in the forest a few stones or a piece of *mbele* (cassava) is laid at the root of some great tree.

●779 Wooden idols are not plentiful among the Fang tribes living along the rivers; they are seen more in the palaver houses of the bush towns.

Charms.—These may be only cabalistic words, and under this head of vocal charms must be included the incantations of the *nganga* (witch doctor).

Material charms.—These are by far the most common; the belief in material charms, fetish, occupies the most prominent place in Fang religious contemplation.

Among the Fang, the English word Fetish, from the Portuguese word Feitiço, is *Bieng* (medicine). A Fang fetish is any material object which the *nganga* (doctor) has consecrated and made a fit abiding place for a spirit. What may be consecrated? Anything, absolutely anything; a shell, rag, stone, twig of a tree, brass, nails, etc. The horns of small antelope and large deer are filled with resins,
[794] nails, human hair, feathers, etc. To bewitch a person it is necessary to give the
[824] *nganga* a piece of the hair, nail, a portion of the food or a drop of blood of the person to be bewitched. A Fang is most careful if he cuts himself to see that only friends and relations approach him until the bleeding has ceased, and hair when cut is usually burnt without delay. As mentioned in the section of this
787 paper on food, every child during infancy is subjected to certain rites which
776 constitute his or her *Bit*, prohibiting the child from eating a certain kind of food or performing a certain act. Thus far, the superstitious beliefs of the Fang and
[771] Bulu are precisely similar, and I gathered from Dr. Nassau at Gabon many facts connected with the people among whom he laboured, the Mpongwe, which showed that they also hold superstitious beliefs very nearly, and in some cases precisely similar to those of the Bulu and Fang, the only difference being in the

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 F319 Fang F319

name, the *Ebi* of the Fang being the *Ovando* of the Mpongwe. One day when on a journey among the people, I asked an old headman to share with me a chicken my boy had prepared for supper; the old man seemed pleased at my invitation, but asked the boy if it was a hen or cock fowl. Upon being informed that it was a cock, he declined to eat any of it—that was his *Ebi*. As previously stated, I do not believe the natives worship the spirits of Present and Future, but to a certain degree ancestral worship does exist. A Fang places the skull of his father in a curious receptacle of bark, worshipping it, killing fowls and making blood offerings to it, and in many ways the whole matter somewhat resembles the worshipping at graves and before ancestral tablets as practised in China. The natives often pray to their father's skull before talking a large war palaver, or the purchase of a new woman. As worshipping departed ancestors is the chief duty of a faithful Chinaman, so making offerings and prayers to the departed father's spirit before the skull constitutes the great Fang fetish, or *bori*. Wooden idols, *bipwee*, of men and women are made in a manner which makes the sex extremely apparent; yet whenever I have seen these figures in towns, the people did not seem to regard them as obscene, but as truthful representations of the sexes. I feel sure that to some extent, at least, phallic worship is practised among the Fang. Spirits are everywhere; in rocks, trees, forests, and streams; in fact, for the Fang, this life is one continual fight against spirits corporal and spiritual.

A peculiar belief regarding dreams is that when a person sleeps the soul often wanders away, and its experiences on these journeys are made known to the sleeper by dreams. After death the soul may inhabit any kind of animal.

Fetish Bieng (medicine).—Fetish means anything: leopard teeth, human finger nails, hair, wood, iron, herbs. The article used as *bieng* or fetish, has no intrinsic value, it is only valued because of connecting its owner with a spirit which can aid him. The leopard tooth fetish is supposed to impart the bravery of the leopard to its owner. Fetish is a spirit or combination of spirits manifested in material things.

Dibi Mbed.—To murder a person and save his skull as a fetish, or use the skull as medicine to bring women, guns, goats or goods. The people will make offerings to the skulls calling them by the names of persons killed. It is said that these prayers are always answered as desired.

Bieng-Bebi (hiding medicine).—A man goes and takes leaves of trees, and cuts them up. He says, "I have cut up leaves of trees" (or high grass, bushes). The women shell guard seeds and mash them. They catch a fowl, kill it, and put it in the pot. They also put in the pot the medicine leaves, and the mashed guard kernels. They put the pot on the fire, and boil (its contents). When they have boiled it, the medicine is cooked. They take the medicine pot off (the fire). They go and put it by the side of (*ofbe*) the back of the *bori*. The man who has put it there says to the *bori*, other people want to kill me. He takes away the medicine pot. He opens the *bori* basket. He takes a small piece of the bone (instead of this say to the women and children he takes the excrement of the

161 travelers. Thus in 1901-02 we were the first to explore the whole of the north Congo, which Crampel had only crossed before, and then the Dzem and Dzandzama country; after us the boundary commission for the Cameroons came into a small part of the same country, and that was all. Thus a recent publication [19] gives the number of Fan warriors at about 40,000, a figure that is not even worth discussing. (1) What is certain is that the

[114]

1. One clan, the Amvom, exceeds this figure. The Bulé are larger; there are more than 400 Fan clans, at least that we know of. In terms of the official estimate each clan would have only about 100 armed men. In many cases this would barely be the number of villages.

total population of the French Congo, of which the Fan possibly compose half, may be estimated at a figure varying from three to ten million, and it is impossible to be more accurate at the present time. In my view we should estimate the Fan at five million at least, ten to twelve at the most. The Woleu basin alone, where we have determined the location of all the villages, includes more than a million Fan.

144 The Fan belong to the great Bantu family, but they represent an outer link or, rather, they are situated at the boundary separating the Bantu from the populations and languages of the northeast, those of Libya, Sudan, etc. They are, as Reclus says, the least Bantu of all the Bantu.

[pp. 20-377 not translated. --Analyst]

Chapter XII

The Ministers of the Mvamayôô

[Summary omitted. --Translator]

• 111 The mvamayôô, or totem, has "rights" by the very fact of its existence.

719

These rights may be summed up in the three following points: the totem has a right to ministers, to rites or a cult, to laws. These last include duties, prohibitions, and penalties. . . .

The first problem that arises concerns the totem's ministers.

Who is the minister of the mvamayôô, that is, what sort of person has the right, first to choose it, then to assign it [364] either to an isolated individual or to an organized collectivity, then to decide on its cult and observances, to see that its rites are respected, to declare penalties or at least to impose them?

According to the structure of the tribe and the formation of the family . . . this role falls by right to the father of a family to the exclusion of all other persons whatsoever, but the father of a family taken in the most general sense, that is, as father of a clan or, better, of a tribe.

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

The individual person, as a single and isolated individuality; the father of a family; the chief of a clan or tribe; the council of warriors, who have gone through initiation tests and have been admitted to the assembly that regulates vital village interests; the practitioner [fetichеur] entrusted with public and recognized worship; the sorcerer [sorcier] with whom he is often confused -- these are the only distinct categories to which this role could be ascribed.

We must immediately exclude "the individual person," who has no rights over the mvamayôô, which belongs to the whole tribe and existed before him; the same applies to the clan and family totem.

[400] [Five paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [401]

. . . It is easy to understand that the guardians of the totem's authority, and only they, are entitled to decide where, when, how, and in what circumstances or with what preliminaries, the totem must be found. It is for them to say what marks it ought to show and for them to reject it if the necessary conditions are not existent. Finally, it is they who set up and preserve the cult and the form of ancestral traditions.

The role can only belong to the sole guardian of totemic authority, that is, to the chief or, if one prefers, to the existing essyôô, the living representative and trustee of the spirit of the founding ancestor of the tribe or clan.

779 [Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [402]
791 Sometimes in very important tribes, especially in those that make up large, compact groups, this role of minister to the mvamayôn has developed temporarily upon the practitioner.

Sometimes practitioners take on the role themselves and hold it by their personal importance or ability.

In both cases a kind of usurpation is always involved or a mixing up of powers, rarely a substitution. The practitioner then acts not in his own name by virtue of his role and his own authority, but as a delegated power. ...

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator] [403]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

779 Thus in certain specific cases the political chief of the clan
791 leaves the exercise of religious worship to the practitioner even
614 with regard to the totem. Yet this is only a delegated role to the
769 extent that when the totem has to be questioned in a critical situation, the practitioner disappears and the chief resumes his rights: it would then be up to him to carry out ritual acts and make sacrifices. A chief may not be able to do this, [404] for instance, if he were very ill. A sacrifice is then offered to the totem directly concerned. Does the practitioner now come to the fore? Not at all. He first sacrifices to the tutelary spirits and spirits of the dead, and then he interrogates the spirits in order to find out what evil influences have caused the illness and to discover the person who, in the sacred phase, has "made a fetish" against the sick man. The consanguineous heir appears in his turn to invoke the family's guardian spirits in favor of the sick man and to invoke his totem. In this case, invocations and sacrifice have a dual purpose: first, to invoke the direct ancestors represented by their skulls preserved in the biéri box -- this is the cult of the esayôn; secondly, to invoke the totem represented by a real or symbolic fragment -- this is the cult of the mvamayôn.

[Four paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [405]

791 There are two distinct characters: practitioner [feticheur]
757 and sorcerer.

The practitioner takes several forms: he may be soothsayer, physician, priest -- all different manifestations of the same ministry and all legal. In a word, the practitioner is the agent of the acknowledged cult.

T71 or true minister for religious life. Often, however, the practitioner actually, though not lawfully, replaces the father and especially the clan or racial chief. Alongside the practitioner, struggling against him in the background, appears the sorcerer, the agent of the extra- or contra-legal cult.

The religious act is addressed to spirits, to souls of the departed, to ancestors, to unknown forces of nature, etc. It is also addressed to the totem, as we have defined it. The totem is connected with religion by close ties which, at least for the Fan, link it inseparably with ancestor worship and determine the worshipping rites that are its due. [498]

1. Totemic Claim to Worshipping Rites

•T79 The claims of the true totem to worshipping rites is clearly defined by virtue of its being the father of the tribe and founder of the race.

In using these two words, "father" and "founder," as I have pointed out before, I in no way mean that the eponymous animal is the real father of the face, the actual progenitive founder. I am using these words as the natives do, so as to adopt their own terms. Frequently, they have been misunderstood. (1)

1. Cf. S. Reinach, Orpheus (under the word "totem"), p. 20 and passim.

Real kinship has often been confused with kinship based on sentiment, mode of speech, or custom. Moreover, some writers have been in doubt, even with firsthand evidence:

"I have never been able to ascertain from Banyoro or Baganda that their forefathers at any time believed the clan to be descended from the object chosen as a totem. The matter remains very obscure. It may be remotely connected with ancestor-worship, which is certainly the foundation of such religious beliefs as are held by the Banyoro, as by most other Negro races." (2)

2. Sir H. Johnston, The Uganda Protectorate, Preface.

779 As may be seen from these remarks of Sir Harry Johnston, the resemblance between mvamayôn and esayôn was more the consequence of a writer's preconceived idea or of a native's misinterpreted statement than of the words themselves and the crux of the matter.

What, then, are the totem's rights, according to this view of kinship; are they real in the exact sense of the word or simply the result of blood exchange?

As father of the tribe, mvamayôn, and founder of the race, the totem has a claim to a cult and, consequently, to special rites, determining the circumstances, place, and manner of worship.

But the mvamayôn may and should be considered from two points of view: it is the protector of clan and tribe, and thereby, strictly speaking, the mvamayôn; it consequently has a right to public worship, national or tribal. But it is also the protector of the family [499] and the individual, and thereby, the étotore; it consequently has a claim to family and individual worship. In order to apprehend and understand the significance of many totemic phenomena, it is absolutely necessary to make this distinction.

The mvamayôn therefore ought to receive ritual worship, and not just any kind; this presupposes the intervention of a practitioner representing the chief, or the head of the family or even the tribal chief. And not only does the mvamayôn have a right to collective public worship in special circumstances laid down by law, such as the establishment of a new village, but further, as étotore, to private, individual worship, which requires the intervention of a private person and a head of a family, not of a practitioner or tribal chief.

779 But, let me emphasize that this totemic worship, whether
771 private and individual or tribal and general, does not in certain respects fit into the wider framework of religious life per se, or, if one prefers, does not constitute the religion of the nation or tribe. Indeed the practitioner is the rightful representative, guardian, and recognized sacrificial ministrant of religion, not by choice but by his function itself.

In totemic worship, on the other hand, which is not religion but a collection of religious phenomena, this role belongs to the family or tribal head and if, in an exceptional case, it is performed by the practitioner, he does so as a delegate only.

The cult of the mvamayôn is in fact a derived cult, primarily based upon the esayôn cult without which it would have no raison d'être. Indeed, the esayôn is the true father of the tribe and without the esayôn there could be no mvamayôn; one evidently cannot exist without the other. But the esayôn, or ancestral worship, is independent of what is strictly a religious cult or recognition of the divine being and worship of spirits. The esayôn cult is connected with religion per se in the sense of drawing upon it as a source and, according to the Fan, of deriving from it its ultimate origin and fundamental rationale. The esayôn cult is therefore primarily and in principle a family cult, if one takes each tribal ancestor separately. It is national if the first ancestor or ancestors of the tribe are viewed together. The cult, then, is definitely connected with the genuine religious cult of deities, [500] in the sense that in many Bantu tribes, and probably among the Fan, the first ancestor or ancestors of the tribe are now deified and raised to the rank of national gods, or at least, spiritual protectors of the tribe.

Totemism therefore has only relative importance as a basis for Fan religious conceptions and takes, one might say, only third place, after the leading cult of spirits and then after ancestor worship, of which it is but a derivative.

Totemic rites will, as I have said, be general or particular according to whether they are connected with the mvamayôn or the ekoore. The first rites relate to the race itself and what bears upon its continuance and preservation, the others relate to the individual, not as a particular person but as a member of the race. From this we come quite naturally to recognizing among them those of the family and those of society, with religion entering to a greater or lesser extent into the second.

?: Trilles--40 M-5 (1893-1912)1912 F119 Fang F119

•779 2. General Totemic Rites, or Rites of the mvamaybi

To list and then discuss all the general rites connected directly or indirectly with Fan totemism, and those in which traces of totemism might be discovered or questioned, would carry us far beyond the necessary limits set for this study. Moreover, I shall take up later, in a work on Fan religion, those rites that are more closely connected with religious phenomena and that could not be separated without some previous explanation of the latter.

Among general totemic rites, I shall refer briefly to those that primarily concern the continuation and preservation of the race. These are:

1. Circumcision, by which a person is received into tribal life

2. Initiation, which places him among the warriors

3. Consecration of the chief, which links the tribe with its ancestors [501]

4. Warfare, which preserves the tribe

5. Hunting and fishing expeditions, which provide subsistence

6. Establishment of a new village, which is a part of the tribe's social life

7. Ordeals and the poison test, which eliminate and punish rebellion against the tribe

8. Exchange of blood, which admits a stranger into the tribe and enlarges the family or links two tribes in common alliance through the chiefs who personify them

In all general totemic rites, and often in particular ones, there are several elements to which we should first pay attention so as to avoid repetition. These are:

1. Sacrifice, which appears to be basic to all rites, general and particular

2. Fasting, which takes place before major sacrifices

3. Lustral water, which is associated with almost every sacrifice

4. Totemic dances, which are an integral part of the rites

7: Trilles--41 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9

•779 Of these, sacrifice is by far the most important. It is required; without it, in one form or another, there would be no rite, no cult ceremony.

I. Totemic Sacrifice

779 Sacrifice is the basis of all totemism. Totemic activities, whatever they may be, depend upon sacrifice, as do all the religious activities of the African.

At first glance, there appears to be considerable variety in sacrifices. Various authors have attempted to classify them. (1)

1. Cf. Hubert and Mauss, Le sacrifice, Mélanges d'histoire des Religions [Sacrifice, Miscellany on the History of Religion] (Paris, 1909), pp. 16 ff., Lagrange, Études sur les Religions sémitiques [Studies in Semitic Religion], pp. 249; Reinach, Cultes, Mythes, Religions [Cults, Myths, Religions] Vol. 1, pp. 2-3 ff.; Bros, op. cit. [Religion des peuples non civilisés (Religion of Noncivilized People)], p. 143; Le Roy, op. cit., [La Religion des Primitifs (The Religion of Primitives), (Paris, 1909), pp. 322 ff. [502]

We shall discuss only two kinds here, without being concerned about distinctions:

1. Sacrifice to the totem
2. Sacrifice of the totem (1)

1. W. R. Smith (article on "Sacrifice" in the Encyclopedia Britannica) acknowledges sacrifice as a totemic rite; in his opinion, it is a blood covenant, a communal meal at which the faithful eat their totem god so as to assimilate his

7: Trilles--42 M-S (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9

● 719
782

power, to make or renew their covenant with him. The slaughter has no other purpose except to permit communion. This is not found in all sacrifice, because, through the evolution of ideas, the notion of the "sacred" has acquired such importance that the god is merely a surviving rite, whose origin is inevitably explained by mythology.

In the view of Hubert and Mauss, sacrifice is based on belief in a vague, divine power which one can master by magical sacrifices. The purpose of sacrifice is to establish communication between the sacred world possessing these powers and the profane world, through a victim, that is, an object destroyed in the course of the ceremony. To fulfill this purpose, the victim is consecrated; by means of magic all the divine powers are concentrated in the victim and they are increased by being liberated by the immolation. The religious agent, the person offering the sacrifice, and the faithful are made partakers of this power. The victim's approach must be prepared for, hence the purifying rites.

Father Lagrange's theory acknowledges animism and gods, instead of magical forces.

a) Sacrice of the totem

The totem is "sacred" in itself. Mvame a ne éki. It is forbidden to offend it, even in speech, and that under severe penalties, all the more so to wound and, above all, to kill it. Should this happen, the act always entails punishment and expiation, two completely separate things, to which we shall return when discussing the sacrifice made to the totem.

779 782 How can these facts be reconciled with the sacrifice of the totem itself?

Sacrifice of a totem animal belongs to a special order of ideas. First of all, observe that we may use the term "animal." In fact, a totem is generally a living being. When this is not the case, the practitioner or religious agent of the sacrifice, the "sacrificing one," has the right to make a substitution, that is, to "animalize in another living being" the totem that is a spirit, a celestial phenomenon or a mineral, etc. [503]

779 782 675 "The totem animal is the one with whom, or rather with whose tribe, a man, representing his own person and his descendants, has made a covenant, in order to obtain services in return. This agreement usually (and we have seen that this was always the case among the Fan) "was sealed by an exchange of blood in such a way that animal and man, the family of the one and of the other, the tribe uof the first and the tribe of the second, are individuals, families, or tribes of the same blood. They are allied. From time to time it is a good thing to renew this covenant, and that is done by sacrificing a representative of the animal family, a sacrifice in which man takes part as a communicant: there is a new blood exchange, a revival of the first covenant. In addition, it is a reinforcement of the special virtues of the totem, virtues which are perhaps strengthened by the presence or influence of the ancestral spirit in the animal or vegetable so comecrated, sacrificed, and eaten." (1)

1. Le Roy, op. cit., pp. 324-325.

779 782 In what circumstances, how and why, will the totem animal be thus sacrificed? For it is probably not enough to say, with the distinguished author just quoted, "From time to time it is a good thing to renew this covenant."

There will be a sacrifice of the totem:

1. Whenever a new totem is to be chosen.

This happens, first, at each "birth" in the most inclusive sense of the word or, again, at each "beginning of a new life." Such would be the establishment of a new clan, at which time the chief's totem becomes the clan totem instead of merely the

111
112

family one. Likewise, in the case of an individual, there will be sacrifice of the totem after birth, when the child has been accepted by his father and admitted for the first time into the tribe and receives his personal totem. And there will be another sacrifice of the totem upon his initiation as a warrior, his entry into a secret society, at each stage in initiation, in short, upon each change of totem or introduction to a totem.

2. Whenever the tribe, the clan, or the secret society, sometimes the family and even the individual, undergoes a critical experience [504] involving danger to life and needs to call upon totemic aid in a special way. The religious head of the group in danger, after the necessary sacrifices, will have to decide whether or not this offering and new exchange of blood is expedient.

3. In certain cases it may happen that the "materialized" totem has been lost: if, for instance, in battle or any kind of fighting, the akamɛ́yɔ̀n, (1) the materialized totem representing

1. Akalemɛ́yɔ̀n and akamɛ́yɔ̀n are both used.

the actual covenant of the tribe with its real totem, falls into the enemy's hands. Sometimes the victors may even demand the surrender of the akamɛ́yɔ̀n. Or the loss may be casual, the result of accident, shipwreck, etc. In all such cases, the akale or materialized totem will have to be replaced, whether it pertains to the nation, clan, family, or individual. The ceremony will vary in elaborateness according to the occasion or the organized group. It will not be very important when a single person is involved, but more so for a clan or tribe, and especially so when there is danger or when the totem has fallen into enemy hands.

Whatever the case may be, the ceremony follows the same broad lines. First of all, there will be an offering or sacrifice to the totem, sometimes a simple gift of fruit, oil, or first fruits, sometimes the sacrifice of an animal, occasionally even the sacrifice of a human being. We have given several

examples. After the victim has been offered to the totem, the latter will itself be immolated, with all the prescribed ritual; then comes the eating or partaking of the totem itself. In this way the ancient covenant is renewed, though on a new basis. It means binding the present to the past and making certain in clear and recognizable fashion, the continuance of the totemic agreement concluded by the first ancestor of the race.

The sacrifice of the totem therefore gives us the basic idea which must have guided primitive sacrifice. First of all, it was an "offering," not a "tax" granted to a recognized master, as Le Roy puts it, for totemic sacrifice does not admit of this notion at all, but rather as the expiation of ritual but necessary murder. This notion is confirmed [505] by the fact that the sacrifice offered "beforehand" to the sacrificed totem is the same as that which ought to be offered as ritual compensation for accidental murder. The totem having been appeased in advance, the "offering" proper is then made. After a series of consecutive consecrations, the "sacrificing person," the chief or practitioner representing the organized group over which he presides, calls "into himself" the genius of the race, : the power of the ancestors. But this power rests in, and inhabits, an invisible world, the world of spirits; the actual totem must be carried into that world and put to death in order that it may penetrate it. So, before the ceremony, the "sacrificing person," as representative of that world of spirits, will take care to paint himself with liturgical colors; [with] red, the color of sacrifice, and white, the color of funerals but especially of spirits, deified souls of the dead, ghosts, of all disembodied forces.

Thus totem and victim will be adorned in the same colors, and only then will the "immolation" take place.

After the immolation comes the exchange of blood.

The totem's blood has been carefully collected; those taking part make slight incisions in their arms, squeeze out a little blood, put some on a leaf, take a few drops of the totem's blood and mix it with their own on the leaf. Finally, they apply the leaf to the cuts on their arms and rub energetically so as to make the mixture of bloods penetrate to the depths of the

719
712

wound. Only after this ceremony do the "participants" renew their covenant by drinking the totem's blood.

"Communion" follows the exchange of blood. This does not always take place; often only the victim that has been offered is shared by everyone, after it is roasted. If the totemic animal is very small, only the future possessor of this totem will receive it as a sacrament. Sometimes, instead of communion based on the totem, the participants only divide the ashes. The totem is burnt to a cinder, but the large bones are preserved intact, pulverized and mixed with the ashes of the previous sacrifice. Then each participant carefully takes [506] the portion due him and keeps it for himself. The sacrificer's portion is always much the largest.

Finally, "substitution" of totems occasionally takes place. It may be that some kinds of totem are very hard to procure, especially in an emergency. This would be the case with a panther, an elephant, or certain rare plants. The procedure, then, is one of substitution, either by simply making a figure in clay or wood, an effigy roughly reproducing the totem, or by making merely a head. But with this image the consecrator will use the same formulae and ritual and will represent symbolically those that cannot actually be performed, like blood exchange. The effigy is always first painted with the symbolic colors, then, after an offering is made, sprinkled with the victim's blood.

b) Sacrifice to the totem

These are of various kinds.

German writers often place sacrifices in different categories, such as expiation (Sühnopfer), thanksgiving (Dankopfer), and petition (Bittopfer). This division is more specious than real, at least as far as totemic sacrifice is concerned. Therefore, with Max Müller [Footnote omitted. --Editor], I prefer to look upon them as regular and occasional sacrifices.

Occasional sacrifices I consider, with Mauss [Footnote omitted. --Editor], to be, first, the sacramental sacrifices associated with the solemn events of life, votive sacrifices, and finally curative and expiatory sacrifices.

Regular or periodic sacrifices are associated with certain fixed occasions, independent of man's will and of chance. These are: the daily sacrifice, that to the new moon, and that of first fruits.

Occasional sacrifices are usually blood offerings, accompanied by rites that have earned the name "communional." [507] In almost all these, there is communion through the victim, and all present partake in the sacrifice.

Periodic totemic sacrifices are, on the other hand, rarely bloody or "communional."

In general, the African considers his own interests first. He usually pays rather little attention to his totem, except for certain rites laid down by custom, from which he would not dare to deviate. Thus, every morning, the first wife or most important woman, in the name of the head of the family, anoints with oil the figure upon the box (évora biéri) that contains both the ancestral skulls and the materialized totem. Also, at the time of the new moon, an offering is made to this same Biéri, to the ancestors and totem together, the two cults being united in a common gift.

But when a Fan has some favor to ask, wants to acquire something, like a wife, an object, etc., he will hasten to make a sacrifice to the totem. The more urgent the need, and the more important the object, the more substantial will be the sacrifice, ranging from a hen to a human victim, sometimes even to the ritual sacrifice of the chief himself or at least of one of his children.

The sacrifice of thanksgiving does not exist for the Fan; he would view it as "give and take" and he would be astonished if asked to give thanks: he has offered a sacrifice to his totem, the latter has granted his prayer, which means that the totem is satisfied. Why do any more? If a new need arises, then only will it be time to have recourse again to his totem. Meanwhile he had best leave things alone. Each is satisfied with the other.

As for expiatory sacrifice, it is one of the most common. Every time an African has an accident, a misfortune, a calamity, perhaps merely lack of success, he attributes it to his totem's

779 782 having been offended by some mem or ritual impurity, by the violation of an dki, etc., whence the necessity of appeasing the totem. The greater the misfortune, the more serious must have been the cause or the fault, even though involuntary, and the more to be expiated by a larger sacrifice. [508]

At the basis of all general rites concerned with the race, we find sacrifice in one form or another, either bloody "communional," or bloody and not "communional," or not bloody, or simply as an offering.

In these sacrifices the victim is often the totem itself. But in that case there will always have been a previous offering of another victim. That victim may sometimes be the officiant himself, as in circumcision, when the sacrificer or operator is but an agent.

II. Lustral Water; mèdzim akum

779 782 783 [829] In almost all totemic sacrifices, lustral water is used. The practitioner boils water in a clay pot, making an infusion with various plants. The most commonly used are: ava, a sort of fragrant labiate; ashp, a strong-smelling mint; ewun (Inus gabonensis), a tree with a garlicky smell; eshp (monodora myristica), with an equally strong scent; and in addition, the leaves of elun, ombien, and several others. Nearly always eleven plants are used, which must have been picked at the new moon. To these are added a few pieces of meteorite and the remains of a sacrifice offered to the tribal totem, consisting of ashes, bone, and a few bits of horn or hoof, also a little dried blood.

Before beginning, the practitioner or head of the family dips his hands in the lustral water. With this he sprinkles the participants, using a dè, (1) a kind of fly swatter usually made

[412]

1. The dè is the insignia of chiefs. In former times, only they were allowed to use an elephant's tail as a fly swatter, when they themselves had killed the animal.

779 from an elephant's tail. He then sprinkles the victim, the
782 ancestral skulls, and finally the totem.
783 Upon returning from battle, warriors wash their weapons in lustral water so as to ward off the malevolent spirits of the dead.

Lustral water is also used in sacrifices made in expiation of violations of éki.

Afterwards the water is emptied in a remote spot. The chief often carries it back to the village and uses it to water the
[234] tree, usually a fig tree, that was planted over the remains of his umbilical cord. This tree is an emblem of his own life, and the lustral water is in this case a sort of sacrifice. [509]

III. Fasting: nsh akhu

779 All important totemic ceremonies are preceded by fasts.
785 They are very strict, and the least infraction entails grave penalties.

They always take place in seclusion: those who are fasting are kept apart in the forest far from the village, shut up in small huts. During the fast it is strictly forbidden to drink or eat before sundown and to wash with water, although rubbing one's body with ashes is allowed. Furthermore, certain meats and fruits are prohibited, such as boiled food or fruit; fermented drinks, except on certain sacred days and before initiations; when, on the contrary, it is obligatory; and drinking from any kind of pot. If someone takes a drink inadvertently, the pot must be broken right away; nevertheless this act involves a ritual fault and requires expiation. One is supposed to drink from a brook, using
[234] a leaf rolled into a cone (oké ésaga). Finally, throughout the fast all intercourse with women is absolutely prohibited (évek).

779 The duration of the fast varies with the ceremony and the
785 initiation. For circumcision, for instance, it lasts usually a
921 lunar month (ngon). Other initiations rarely exceed seven days, let us say a lunar quarter, alôd ngon; the last quarter is usually chosen (méth méngon). The moon plays an important role in all

779
785
821

totemic ceremonies, or in even just religious ones. None may be performed while the moon is dark or when it is full (ngon fso ndzuge: the moon is closed). In the ceremonies at which the chief performs alone, the fast lasts three and a half days, a half lunar quarter; the fast begins at nearly full moon (mvele ngon) and ends at full moon (ndzuge ngon).

IV. Totemic Dances: ndzém bá dzém ákhu

779
535

Dance plays such a large part in Fan life, as it does in that of every African, that it would be very unlikely to be absent from religious and totemic life. Besides, we know that dancing has always been associated with [510] religious phenomena among all peoples and in all epochs. David danced before the Ark of the Covenant; Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans had their sacred dances; and even in our day, in quite recent times, have we not seen in Madrid the seises, the altar boys of Seville, performing their graceful dances before the blessed sacrament?

The Fan have their religious dances, and special ones for each rite. We may divide them into several classes: purely religious dances, with which we are not concerned; those that accompany totemic rites; and, finally, purely totemic dances.

Among the dances accompanying totemic rites, the principal ones are dances of sacrifice and of circumcision and mortuary dances.

779
782
535

As the name indicates, dances of sacrifice accompany all sacrifices and are danced before and after, and each has it characteristic features.

The dance taking place before a sacrifice is serious. The chief, then all the participants, circle slowly around the victim to a tom-tom beating out a solemn rhythm. The movements of this dance are all slow and restrained, knees are bent slightly, elbows pushed back, with hands near the hips. It is more a rhythmic march than a true dance.

The dance taking place after a sacrifice is of quite another character. The rhythm is very fast, arms are raised into the air,

7: Trilles--51 M-5 (1899-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9

764 535

legs are flung to right and left alternately; two very lively steps, a pause, two successive jerks to the right and left, and a swaying of the body above the hips make up this dance, which has real beauty and does not lack a certain style.

764 51 535 334

The circumcision dance is entirely different. The young candidates, painted white from head to foot and dressed in garments of leaves, are led by the initiator before the assembled participants, as soon as the preparatory rites have ended and the operation is to be performed. Grown, circumcised men stand on one side, the ritual experts in the middle, those to be circumcised [511] on the other side. The dance begins. First of all, it consists of an immense circle, which spreads out and turns around the area; then the movement quickens, hands are dropped, and each person leaps and shimmies about on his own, still keeping time, which is marked out by the tom-tom. Moreover, in spite of what appears to be disorder, one soon sees that all movements are regular, perfectly conceived and executed without a hitch, without mimsic, without getting out of step. Soon sweat is pouring down the dancers' arms and legs; one after another they go back to their places; only the candidates continue and their dance turns into a spinning in almost one place, on the toes, with hands stretched horizontally. Then, suddenly, at a signal from the tom-tom, the dance stops abruptly: the young dancers rush to their places, sit down, and the operations begin.

Each time the practitioner circumcises a boy, he stands up, holding in his hand proof of the operation, then does a quick dance step consisting of a few merry leaps, to the accompaniment of a special song, which everyone sings together.

When the operations are over, the youths who have been circumcised perform a short dance intended to show their fortitude; it is of just a few steps, done any old way. Then the boys quickly return to their huts, held up by their friends.

764 535

The funeral dance is much more beautiful. Far from being dignified and solemn, the fanki is exceedingly lively and complicated, representing, theoretically, the soul of the dead man leaving his body and later reaching the world of spirits.

7: Trilles--52 M-6 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9

764 535 The soul looks everywhere for a new dwelling; it is repulsed on all sides, but at last finds its rightful place. This dance has only a distant connection with totemic performances and so we do not need to be concerned with it.

TA 535 Genuinely totemic dances are infrequent and are only performed on important occasions, such as war and above all after a victory. However, they are also part of burial rites and are put on after the fanki at the death of a chief. [512]

The totemic dance expresses the link between the head [chef] of the race and his totem. It depicts the totem, sometimes in a symbolic, sometimes in a representational, manner. If, as often happens, the totem is an animal, the dance will be really lively; these are the finest examples. In addition, the dancer's talent should go to copying as closely as possible the animal's pace, habits, way of life, in a word, to mime it as accurately as possible.

I have seen some of these totemic dances performed with extraordinary skill. Out of many occasions, there was once one, among the Yemvi, whose totem is a kind of flower called mvie the dancer, moving to a very fast tempo, first outlined the shape of the flower, imitated its appearance by gestures, by an extraordinary swaying of the hips, which involved sometimes bending so far backward that his head would touch the ground without for a second losing the rhythm; from time to time, his arms and head would sweep the ground to the right and the left with incredible swiftness. Then came the blossoming: growth from bud to flower, soon to full bloom. Finally he portrayed the symbolic covenant between the father of the race and the flower, which was brought to him by a spirit. The same dancer presented a really striking contrast between the slow, weighed down, ponderous bearing of the racial chief and the light, elusive, airy, as it were, movements of the spirit approaching, retreating, and approaching again. This entirely symbolic dance has sometimes been quite erroneously interpreted by explorers as being erotic.

When the totem is an animal, the dance is obviously much simpler and more representational. The dancer mimes an animal

779 535 that everyone will recognise by its gait, pace and typical mannerisms; then, one by one, he will act out scenes of pursuit and capture, of alliance, finally of actual assistance. Some dancers thus acquire a great reputation, which they certainly deserve.

These totemic dances have much in common with certain character dances at which the African excels, representational dances. For example, I remember having seen the dance of the bees, of the wild boar, and of the elephant, done with truly remarkable agility and realism.

Totemic dances are distinguished above all by the fact that they are accompanied, one might say rhythmically measured, by the totemic song. Furthermore, while character dances depend to a great extent upon the dancer's inspiration, totemic dance steps are more regulated and have certain invariable features. [513]

779 535 831 A common trait of all religious dances is decency, at least relative decency. They are performed only by men, and women are not admitted except at circumcisions, and even then they do not mingle with the men. There is rarely any sex in them, in contrast to the purely recreational dances, especially those performed in the evening, at which at times license seems to be given to the greatest obscenity.

779 831 Religious dances always have a very marked quality of antiquity, and the majority are very beautiful, in the precise meaning of the word.

In order to give an approximate idea of totemic dances, I have transcribed two of them which seem the most expressive, that of the flower, mvi, and that of the elephant, nzok.

These dances are sung, danced, and mimed at the same time. Each note represents a tom-tom beat, a different bodily position and foot movement, whether a glissade, a leap, a heavy beat, or a rapid weaving in and out.

Totemic dance of the mvi flower:
Musical score, pp. 513-514 of text.]

[515] 3. General Totemic Rites: Details

779 In order to establish some logical order for totemic rites, we may take a man at his coming into the world, follow him through his principal activities, and leave him only at death. In this way we shall include the complete series of general or particular rites which he must observe. However, we shall obviously have to discuss them from the totemic point of view only.

By general rites I mean those concerned with the race or tribe. Among particular rites, on the other hand, I place all those concerned more specifically with the individual.

General rites are as follows:

1. Circumcision, akèle
2. Initiation, evôm
3. Consecration of a chief, elôga
4. War, abal
5. Hunting or fishing expeditions, miyèn
6. Establishment in new territory, edzal mfifi
7. Ordeals, elun, énu mélan
8. Covenants or blood exchange, abvuna

Particular rites to be noted are:

1. Birth and name giving, abiené, edzü
2. Adoption, añon mońe
3. Marriage, alux
4. Hunting, fishing, farming, mveńe, ayü kos, bifax
5. Trade, okira
6. Death, awu

The totemic character is sometimes strongly marked in these rites, sometimes it is almost obscured, barely perceptible. At times that character is underlined merely by a gesture, a call, a prayer. But it is never absent. [516]

I. Circumcision

881 304 Circumcision cannot be considered a universal rite among Bantu tribes: some practice it, some do not, either because they have never done so or because the custom has been lost in the course of centuries and repeated migrations.

881
304

de l'Arabie [Description of Arabia] and Winer say); and from the point of view of sexual activity, it has no effect upon a man's potency; hygienically, circumcision is insufficiently effective." Colonial Despatch, Medical Report, Sept. 3, 1907.

I should also say, with Father Lagrange -- adding to circumcision the tribal mutilations to be discussed, such as the knocking-out or filing of teeth, scarifications, etc. -- "the religious character of these ceremonies cannot any longer be disputed."

b) Is circumcision a totemic rite?

881
304
779

Granted that circumcision is a religious rite, is it also a totemic one?

According to Frazer, (1) circumcision is part of the initiation rites.

1. Totemism, p. 47

tion rites that link a youth with his tribe and his god; these initiations have a specific character, that of uniting the young man and the animal life of the totem through an exchange of souls. (2)

2. In Australia the neophyte is anointed with blood drawn from a warrior's arm or may even drink some of it. A few magical passes are added, which convey to the candidate the corresponding spiritual powers and gifts. He must sleep on the tombs of his ancestors so as to absorb their virtues. Sometimes he is reputedly killed by a certain Thurembul, who returns him to life, and removes one of his teeth. In this, says Frazer, there may have been an idea of

881
304
779

rebirth, or of the neophyte's starting a second life; that is why he acquires a new name as soon as he is circumcised, or when the tooth is removed or when he sheds the blood of his family.

I am quite ready to admit with Father Lagrange that circumcision is not restricted to totemic tribes. Among fully totemic tribes, like the Baganda, it is not only not permitted but is even viewed with disgust. [519] I look upon it as basically a religious rite, derived from ancestor worship, and what Frazer says confirms me in this opinion. Nevertheless, I freely admit and even believe that alongside these rites connecting circumcision with ancestor worship there are others, which, coming from the same source, also connect circumcision with the totemic cult; for in many religious phenomena the mvamayôn cult and that of the esayôn are closely and inseparably related.

In outlining below the practice of circumcision among the Fan, we shall point to the rites that derive from the mvame. Our reply to the initial question will then be:

Circumcision among the Fan is certainly a religious rite; it is not a purely totemic phenomenon, but the totem enters into it.

Bros agrees with these conclusions, at least in part. In his opinion, circumcision is a test of puberty, a first-fruits offering to the gods, a purification made to release an evil spirit which vanishes with the blood: above all, it is a pact by which a part of one's blood is given to the tribal god (1) and

1. In my opinion, the term "tribal god" ought not to be used; the Bantu tribes recognize only a single Creator, under different names, and not a god for each tribe.

881 304 779 one thereby becomes incorporated in him and in the tribe. Finally, the taboo surrounding this organ of the body, to which the origin of circumcision may be traced -- either because of the social function of the organ or of the danger of its premature use, or even because of its independence of volition -- allows circumcision to be considered as a desecration that has to precede the stage of virility, in order that use may be made of it. (2)

2. Bros, Religion des peuples non-civilisees [Religion of Non-civilized Peoples], "Circoncision" [Circumcision].

881 304 779 778 [844] Some of these statements hold good for the Fan; some are less applicable. Let me use as an example one of the things that illustrates very well the close connection between circumcision as a religious rite and childbirth rituals, the fact that pieces of cloth used to staunch blood are in both cases carefully kept to be used for the same purpose. [520]

Ordinary warriors place them with their personal totem in the mfek or pineapple-fiber bag which never leaves them. These pieces of cloth, or fragments of them, are always part of totemic sacrifices. The sons of chiefs, on the contrary, are not allowed to keep them; they bury them deep at the base of the sacred fig tree planted when they were born over the remains of the umbilical cord. This custom certainly goes back to remote antiquity. Among the Egyptians, the fig tree was considered sacred and dedicated to the Egyptian Venus, Hathor. From this perhaps comes the word éthu, designating a garment made from the bast of the fig tree. The same word, éthu, has remained in the Fan language with the same meaning, "garment," and the [287 inland Fan always make vegetable-fiber cloth from the fig tree, 822] which they still dye red; this was formerly the color dedicated to Hathor, and it has remained the color of betrothal garments. For the same reason, before marriage, young men and women stain themselves red from head to foot. It is a color "set apart."

881
304
179

c) The Circumcision Itself

The Fan use the term akéla for circumcision, at least as regards boys. The root of the word is clearly in the verb ekèl, of which the radical element expresses the idea of "cutting" and "removing." For girls the word atsingéla is used, which denotes at once ligature, extension, and excision.

We shall examine:

1) The phenomenon itself
2) The age of the candidate
3) The operation
4) The participants -- patient and operator
5) The instrument

1) The phenomenon itself

Circumcision is universal throughout the Fan nation and no male is exempt. Besides, he would be disgraced, and he would not be able to enter into marriage without having first had this operation. Even children brought up in missions do not escape; as soon as they go back to their villages, [521] they submit with good grace if they have remained uncircumcised.

If old people are questioned about the "why" of the ceremony, it is hard to get an answer from them, and they nearly always fall back on custom, "We've always done it," or propriety, "It's better that way." Both answers, especially the second, are of real value. Yet one day I got a much more interesting reply from a chief in the interior, who told me, "It marks the beginning." And when I insisted on further explanation, he replied, "It is the mark that sanctifies manhood; afterwards one is no longer an animal, one is 'sacred.'" ("E ne ndèm ošu, ndèm a bo fam: ni vale, tsit é séra, mur a ne éki," lit., "It is the mark of the first beginning, the mark which sanctifies virility; after the operation, the animal has disappeared, and there is a man, and he is sacred.") As the chief did not want to say anything more, he fell back upon the rules of secrecy. It was difficult, if not impossible, in the tribe with which I then was, to attribute a Christian or Moslem origin to this reply; the chief has never heard of either of them. It would be much simpler to

881 look at it as a vestige of primitive tradition.

304 To the Fan mind, circumcision is altogether a religious,
779 never a secular, act; everything that I shall have to say about it will illustrate this further.

2) The age of circumcision

The age at which Fan boys are circumcised usually varies from seven to ten. I have never seen a baby circumcised. However, there is nothing prescribed by law or custom on this point. Yet in the interior, the age of ten is far exceeded, and it is not unusual for the operation to take place between sixteen and twenty. Old men are unanimous in saying that this was the ancient custom, and that the time for the operation was made earlier in recent times because of the many casualties that occurred. It is impossible to determine precisely what they mean by "recent times." However, according to all the evidence I could gather, one should hardly go back [522] more than 200 to 300 years, that is, to the time of the great Fan migrations. We can see how unlikely it would have been during that period of confusion to perform the operation successfully at so late an age.

Formerly, circumcision must have closely preceded entering the warrior stage. Certain Fan songs seem to indicate this, and many African tribes have preserved the custom.

All the children of a village are circumcised at the same time at the tribal chief's command; the operation only takes place at certain times, when there appear to be enough children, yearly in some villages, at longer intervals in small ones.

[291] Until circumcision, children may go naked; afterwards a bit of cloth bark of the fig tree will always be worn.

The seven-to-ten-year limit is appreciably exceeded in
881 the following case: a father may, out of pride, make a solemn
304 vow to his akaméyòn that his son will not be circumcised until
779 he [the son] has killed an enemy. Under those conditions the
782 youth may go naked for a long time; nor can he have any relations with a woman or even live with the one his father may have bought for him as a future wife. Consequently, he will

881 304 779 782 do all he can to end this state. As soon as he has killed an enemy, he hurries with the victim's hand to his father. Circumcision then solemnly takes place before all the warriors, and his marriage is celebrated as soon as the wound has healed.

3) Time of the ceremony

881 304 779 The chief first decides upon the date, which is almost invariably in the eight days before a full moon.

As soon as the chief has announced that circumcision will shortly take place, he indicates all the children who are to be included; they, under his direction, go off into the forest not far from the village. After a large space has been cleared, they [342] build open little huts or mere shelters, where they live all together.

Their food is left at the beginning of the path leading to the huts, for no one is supposed to approach; access [523] is above all strictly forbidden to women. The food is plentiful, [264] and nothing must be thrown away or hidden; everything must be eaten, and the chief supervises this rigorously. (1)

> 1. One of our missionaries observed the same custom among the more advanced populations of the interior. He even mentions this fact: the rule is so strict that one of the candidates was forced three times in succession to swallow the food that his stomach persistently rejected.

4) Preparations

[351] All around the place where the boys are confined, a fence of reeds (1) is erected, which no one dares jump over. This seclusion

> 1. The place of circumcision shows well enough that the rite is like a consecration, by blood sacrifice, of the sexual life to which the young man is thereafter admitted. Lagrange, op. cit., p. 244.

881
304
779
[82]

does not usually last longer than eight days, a lunar quarter. Every evening songs and dances are performed in honor of the moon, which is looked upon as a source of fertility. (2) In Fan,

> 2. The same belief exists in almost all African tribes; just as in Egypt, the moon presides over rain, which is the earth's source of fertility and thus of human fertility.

the same word, ngon, denotes "girl" and "moon," an ambiguity to be found nearly everywhere among African tribes, in varying degrees. These songs and dances are very special and repetition of them is strictly prohibited outside the sacred enclosure. (3)

[533]

> 3. All I could discover on the subject from my young Christian converts who had already gone through the ceremony was that these songs were "bad" and had as their purpose procreation. There is no doubt that the Fan say things "crudely" in their songs. That is all I can say.

According to Lang, (4) this is the time when a youth is

> 4. The Making of Religion, Art.: "Circumcision."

taught about the existence of a beneficent god, a defender of morals, who condemns egoism and adultery. This is so among the Fan. In fact, it is during their retreat the chief teaches the children the mébara, or wisdom of the ancestors, and narrates the great deeds of the race. This is as much as we have been able to learn, for the rule of secrecy is scrupulously observed. During the final days the chief makes a point of mixing into the

881 During the final days the chief makes a point of mixing into the
304 boys' food certain aphrodisiac stimulants, cardamon seeds [524]
779 (Amomum citriodorum), a wonderful red fruit (Lavigeria), and
832 onzakôn (Antrocaryon klaineanum) which, apart from these oc-
824 casions, only women may eat. They are even forbidden to say the name of that tree, because the word nkôn denotes the male genital organ; they must say onzabili, the onza tree. In addition the fruit of the onzakôn has a slight resemblance to a phallus.

Throughout their seclusion the children sleep stretched out
881 on the ashes of the hearths. They must tell the chief what they
304 have dreamt about; the family totem ought, in fact, to re-
779 veal itself to them at this time. Since the chief speaks to the
828 children frequently and since they know that they are supposed to have the totem in mind, the suggestion, intimate and strange at the same time, leads easily to the desired result. If, however, a different object from the family totem, animal or other, appears more vividly and repeatedly in their imaginations, it would be a sign that the totemic guardian spirit wants to adopt another medium and, consequently, the child's totem, if he has a personal one, has to be changed.

5) The ceremony

881 On the day of the operation, the practitioner, who has
304 been forewarned, goes to the enclosure, accompanied by the
779 fathers. Each child is questioned in turn; then there is a big dance performed in honor of the ancestors and guardian spirits of the clan. Each head of the family has brought along his mvamayôn and now explains it to the child. A new dance is done after this initiation. Each father then stretches his son out on the ground, sits down beside him, and slips his legs beneath the child's body in such a way as to raise the middle of the body. The practitioner has a knife in hand kept specially for this purpose and carefully wrapped in a little sheath. The
[413] knife used to be made of stone, but that kind has become very rare. Knives are now usually made of copper and are curiously worked, one end being beak shaped, the other pointed; they are not hafted. These knives are called ekèlokên.

88 304 779 The practitioner operates quickly, assisted by the chief of the tribe. Before operating on each child, he hands the knife [525] to the chief, without a word, and the latter accepts it, also in silence, without saying the usual "thank you" or "very good," abora or mvè.

With girls none of these ceremonies are observed. An experienced matron performs the operation, usually when the child is very young. It is nevertheless a religious act, accompanied by songs and dances, but since only women are present, it was impossible for me to learn the slightest detail.

The tribal chief immediately returns the knife to the practitioner, saying, "Take it and do what has to be done." (Nôñe n'ébo dzam ma yia n'ébo, lit., "Take it so as to do the deed which 'I' ought to do.") This proves that the practitioner is but the chief's delegate. Usually it is the latter who holds the penis firmly. First of all, the father pulls out the foreskin as far as possible and ties it with a bit of string. The penis, thus prepared, is then stretched out on a special board, and the practitioner cuts quickly. This is the most painful part of the operation. Ashes are then rubbed on the open wound. The head [778] of the family carefully collects the blood, which will constitute a powerful fetish after it has been offered in sacrifice to the mvamayôñ and to the ancestors.

It is a point of honor for the children not to cry out, no matter what the pain. Besides, the pain must be very much lessened by the fact that the chief squeezes the flesh firmly and the operator works quickly. As soon as it is over, the child is taken to be bathed and is then laid on a bed of ashes. His scanty clothing is removed, if that has not already been done during the preceding days, and he is now dressed in a loose garment or a belt from which hangs a thick pad of raffia fiber or thin strips of finely cut banana tree bark, so as to protect him from being hurt. After the operation every father offers [431] the practitioner a present, often a sheep or at least several hens. The latter then, according to the customary rites, offers one of [782] the sheep to the spirits and has part of it burnt. The ashes of the 778 sacrifice, mixed with the collected blood, will constitute the child's fetish. Anything left over is carefully buried in a place

7: Trilles--66 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9

881
304
779

apart, and everyone then avoids letting them be seen. [526] The rest of the sheep is eaten by the children the next day.

They remain in seclusion for a few more days. At the end there is another ceremony, also accompanied by dances and songs. They show the reassembled heads of families that the operation has been successful. They then remove the circumcision belt, put back the ordinary loincloth, and return to the village, where they are feted.

d) The consequences of circumcision

"Everything that has to do with procreation," writes Father Lagrange (1) of these ceremonies (and I quite agree with his

1. Études sur les religions sémitiques [Studies in Semitic Religion], pp. 244 ff.

conclusions), "is eminently taboo, surrounded with restrictions and precautions imbued with a religious character and sanctioned by strict laws. Through circumcision a person is really affianced by blood. This may perhaps have been one condition which entitled the begotten child to become in turn a member of the both national and religious association, the community." (We have just seen that this is definitely so among the Fan, for an uncircumcised boy would neither be admitted to the first initiation tests for warriors nor be able to marry: both tribe and future wife would be opposed to it.) "Every time blood is shed, one might wonder whether it is in order to make use of its intrinsic power, in the sense of magic, or for expiation, or to link one person to another by exchange of blood and vitality. Here it would seem to be a question of union, since the rite is initiatory: life is to be transmitted by an organ linked to god through blood letting; at the same time, it represents the ending of a very sensible taboo, which saves the youth from premature indulgence, comparable to that which protects growing fruits and cereals and which ends with the first-fruits sacrifice."

Mgr. Le Roy (1) differs somewhat from Father Lagrange

1. La religion des primitifs [The Religion of Primitive Peoples], pp. 235 ff.

881 on the subject of circumcision: "Circumcision, in our view, is
304 connected with the institution of the taboo; it was originally the
779 lifting of a prohibition. Before having gone through this ceremony, a young man cannot marry; he is not acceptable [527] to any woman and he has no right to nuptial relations. And if these should nevertheless, occur -- and they do! -- the child of this forbidden intercourse is accounted 'bad' and must disappear."

848 Among the Fan such a child, without being considered exactly "bad," is thought of as not belonging to the tribe. Since the father has not the right to be a father, he cannot give the child a name; and if the child escapes the first vicissitudes of babyhood, it will soon die of neglect and hunger, scorned by all. This is especially the case with mulattoes, whose birth in itself places them outside the tribe. They are found on the coast and near European settlements, where, along with the decline in moral standards, the family has to a great extent disappeared, with the laws that used to guarantee its integrity and corresponding moral code. In the interior, in spite of the passage of numerous traders and explorers whose morals are no better than those of the coast, mulattoes are very rare, to say the least. We have just given the reason for this.

000 "Here," continues Mgr. Le Roy, "we have a typical and interesting illustration of the principle set forth above. The transmission of human life takes place in a mysterious realm where the activity of the Lord of Creation is manifest, or at least taken for granted, and to which man cannot be admitted except by a sort of authorization from God and with the help of an appropriate ceremony. At the indicated time the prohibition may be removed, but as always in such cases the 'use permit' must be bought back by a blood sacrifice, hence circumcision, the moral purpose of which is obvious, because the taboo or prohibition that it ends is a rigorous obstacle to sexual relations between children who have not reached puberty.

"This institution can be found everywhere; to be so widespread it must have a widely applicable raison d'être; this is

000 none other than the sacred prohibition in the interest of the family's moral welfare, which is lifted, when necessary, in the same interests."

304 881 Circumcision for Mgr. Le Roy is, therefore, in short, only "the lifting of a prohibition in the interest of family welfare." [528]

179 Although this explanation is neat and seems to satisfy all requirements, it still does not appear to me altogether correct. It takes the effect for the cause. Undoubtedly, a lifting of a prohibition in the interest of family welfare does follow circumcision, but the lifting, and the prohibition itself, seems to me very much an effect, a consequence, not the cause, and I believe that the objective is above all the sacrifice, admittedly a sacrifice for the welfare of the race. As Father Lagrange points out, "this system" (initiations, tests, and especially circumcision) "implies a close religious relationship within a social group at a low stage of development. It would seem to be a matter of religious unity. In the great Assyro-Babylonian civilization, there is no evidence of circumcision, but then, as now, among widely scattered peoples, some had adopted it, some had not." Is it then enough to say, as for the Bantu tribes, that those who no longer have it have either abandoned it or never possessed it? If in fact all Bantu tribes come from a single stock, as we believe, all have been familiar with circumcision, and we are dealing with a much more ancient rite.

177 304 881 We have already mentioned the Egyptian infiltration into Fan manners and customs and the influence of their beliefs. Therefore circumcision might go back to them. Herodotus had already pointed out that circumcision came from Egypt and had, by way of Egypt, spread throughout the Mediterranean world (Her. II, 104). "It may well be," writes Father Lagrange on this subject, "that circumcision among Egyptians was not exactly borrowed from an ethical system, but was a tradition from their origins, going back to the time when they started coming down the Nile Valley, according to contemporary opinion.

177 We also find the tradition among the Arabs as far back in their
304 history as we can go."
881 Therefore -- and Johnston is of the same opinion -- circumcision is not a rite devised to meet specific needs but one that dates back to the origins of the human race. From the beginning, man has offered first fruits to God. From this to offering the first fruits of human beings and of life, the step was inevitable, and it was quickly made. [529]

304 In the Fan group at least, circumcision is thus based upon
881 the idea of sacrifice itself and not, as Mgr. Le Roy says, upon
779 the simple lifting of a prohibition that is very useful and very moral. It is based not only on the idea of sacrifice itself but on that of an offering by desecration, which is the very foundation of sacrifice. "Especially at the first use of things it is important to give the gods their share," to renew the covenant with the Master of life. From the beginning, man presented the "first fruits" of things to the deity, above all in order to truly acknowledge his realm. Is not man's life that which is most precious? And the basis of life is certainly the procreative act. Furthermore, the basic concept of clan and tribe is based on the family, so that again from that point of view, procreation is the most important act of life. It is the first fruits of the generative process that will be offered to the Lord of the clan and to the ancestors, deified or not, but supposedly standing by. Therefore this will be a religious act, carried out by the practitioner with the help of the tribal chief and the head of the family, that is, the three clan authorities. So that the ceremony may be more solemn, the remains of the ancestors and of the eponymous animal will be included; finally, as in every sacrifice, blood will be shed. These terms make the sacrifice totemic.

But so that the first fruits may be pure and the shed blood acceptable and effective, they must be truly first fruits. It is therefore very important that they be preserved as such; the means is simple and effective and consists of the éki, that is, the prohibition of certain foods and especially of sexual relations before the set time. The law is not even concerned with the

881 "fruit" that might result from transgressing the prohibition. The
304 fault, nsem, must be expiated ritually as a fault, but the law
●779 would not consider the child as "bad" or guilty; the law does not take it into account at all, but ignores it: the child is "outside the law," res nullius, and is not killed but left to die. It is therefore important that they be really first fruits. Then, too, when the appointed time comes, when a Fan begins to feel himself ready to procreate in his turn, when he can take his place along with the young warriors, the sacrifice will be performed with all formality; once this has been accomplished, [530] but only then, will the prohibition be lifted. The sacrifice ought to be not only carried out but accepted too, because if, for one reason or another -- and this happens -- after circumcision has been performed according to the rules, the practitioner still considers that the spirits of the real or totemic ancestors are not satisfied, an additional sacrifice will be nécessary in order to make the first acceptable.

Thus it is clear in what ways our notion of circumcision differs considerably from that of Mgr. Le Roy. In his opinion, it consists of the lifting of a prohibition in the interest of the family's moral welfare a "use permit," that must be bought back by a sacrifice; in our opinion, in agreement with Father Lagrange's, the lifting of the prohibition is not the cause but a natural consequence. The prohibition's objective is circumcision, the "use permit" is the inevitable result, not the cause, of the sacrifice, and circumcision (1) is the very sacrifice of the

1. Lagrange, Études sur les religions sémitiques [Studies in Semitic Religion], "Le Sacrifice" [Sacrifice"], pp. 255 ff.

procreative first fruits, the most important act from the point of view of clan unity and the perpetuation of the family.

II. Initiation

779 The second totemic rite that we come upon in the life of
884 a Fan youth is his initiation.

779 884 This rather complicated rite includes, first, the tests I have already mentioned, which make a warrior of the young man, then initiation into the rites, and finally the consecration of weapons.

The young warrior's years of childhood and adolescence have been entirely carefree and completely outside any religious cult. He may have just been taught the name of his personal totem, and perhaps not even that. All he knows is that he is forbidden under rather severe penalties to do certain things, to eat certain kinds of food. He observes these prohibitions rigidly, because he is sure that any infringement will be immediately punished, for isolated éki are never pardoned and must always be expiated. [531]

a) Tests

779 884 626 When he has reached the age for taking his place among the warriors, a young man has first of all to undergo tests designed to show his strength and courage. Severe as they may be very few youths evade them. Besides, it would mean utter dishonor, and the young man who out of weakness or cowardice is either overcome by or doesn't dare face them, would have no choice but to exile himself. This does happen, though rarely, and especially among those few young people who have grown up from childhood as servants of the Europeans. The Fan stigmatize them by a special phrase meaning "men-women good-for-anything," and this expression tells a great deal about the special role they play and the peculiar morals of too many Europeans.

b) Initiation into rites

779 884 After he has passed these preliminary tests, a young man undergoes totemic initiation along with initiation into the ancestor cult. He is first taught the name of the family, clan and tribal totem. For this purpose, on a day chosen as favorable by the practitioner during the initiation already described above, the candidate is conducted in front of a sort of platform covered with dry leaves. First of all, the head of the family brings his évora biéri, which, as we know, encloses the ancestral skulls and the materialized totem. The neophyte will learn to distinguish the various objects and to identify the different skulls without a moment's hesitation being permitted.

779 Only then will he be allowed to know about the laws and
884 rights of the totem. He will then receive his personal totem,
as we have described it, will make it the prescribed sacrifice,
778 and will preciously keep the remains of this offering on his own
person, enclosed in an antelope horn. Already as a child he
wore this horn which now contain the ashes of this sacrifice;
it used merely to hang around his neck on a cord or, more often,
before his genital organs. After the youth becomes a warrior,
he hangs the horn among the other fetishes attached to a leather
baldrick which crosses his chest and is hardly ever taken off.
[532]

c) Consecration of weapons

779 A youth's childhood ends after the initiation. A whole
884 new era opens up before him, an era of work and fighting and
411 also of quite different pleasures from those of childhood. He is
henceforth admitted to a place among warriors after these painful initiations the proof and marks of which are slashes cut into the back of his neck. Henceforth he may carry a gun; as a boy he had often tried to fire one so as to be ready when the time came. As a warrior with the right to fire it and to go to war, he must first "dedicate" the rifle to a spirit so that he may always shoot straight.

For an African all objects whatever they may be, have a life of their own; therefore, a rifle is a being. Alive with its own life, it will be dedicated to the spirit with the influence most favorable to it, that is, in the realm of space the sun, whose light and whose clear rays will enable it to hit the mark every time and will at the same time dissipate the shadows so that they will fail to conceal the enemy it is aimed at. The weapon will be dedicated to the sun and also to the clan's totemic guardian; in battle it is indeed important to be able to distinguish enemy from friend and not to run the risk of committing a totemic sacrilege. The rifle must be dedicated to both the totem and the sun.

However, it is worth noting that if nowadays a rifle is the only weapon to be dedicated, it is because it has become the

779 principal weapon and because there are very few Fan who do not
884 possess one. Actually, the word for "rifle" in the consecration
411 song mentioned below is sometimes nzali, which really means "gun," and sometimes mbène, which denotes the "crossbow." The crossbow used to be the Fan national weapon. One of the words has changed, but the song is no less ancient for that.

In the middle of the village, the young man, accompanied by an older friend, places his rifle so that the first rays of the rising sun will strike it; he arranges around the rifle his totemic fetishes, that is, his childhood totem, which he will hereafter abandon, and his new warrior totem. In order to cast a spell [533] on his rifle, he then performs the necessary incantations,
[533] among them a hymn or invocation to the sun, of such real beauty and poetic quality that it should be quoted here.

Hymn to the Sun

539

Sun, you who see all things,
You, whose radiant splendor
Pierces the dark mist,
Sun, to you this homage!

To you, sun, king of the sky, divine hunter,
Sun, to you this homage!

Before your flashing glance
And the swift arrows of your fiery quiver,
Into somber depths
Fearful night sinks aghast,
Beneath your blows sparkling with light.
You tear night's mantle,
A black cloak trimmed with fire,
Sprinkled with bright stars,
You tear night's black mantle.

Sun, you who see all things,
You, whose radiant splendor
Pierces the dark mist,
Sun, to you this homage!

779 884 411 533 When the required offerings have been made, before the rifle is lifted, the actual consecration takes place. The tune and words seem to me sufficiently remarkable to warrant quotation. This song, in its melody and structure, recalls the antique airs which have come down to us from the Greeks and Romans. It is always sung by several voices:

539 Song of the Rifle

Anthem: Oh, all of you, listen, listen to the song,
the song of the rifle!
Chorus: Oh, let us all listen, listen to the song,
the song of the rifle!
Solo: For you, alone, O rifle! for you alone,
Far into the woods,
Far, far have I tramped long in the forest,
No longer hearing the barking dogs,
No longer hearing them,
No more than the noise-loving cocks,
No more than the cocks,
Leaving behind the chattering women,
Leaving them in their dark huts. [534]
Refrain: Yes, for you alone, O my rifle!
For your sake only, into the woods,
Into the woods have I gone,
O my rifle, for you alone.
Anthem: All of you, come, listen to the song of the fetish,
The beloved song of the fetish!
Chorus: Let us all come, listen to the song of the rifle,
The beloved song of the rifle! (Refrain: Yes,
for you alone . . .)
Anthem: Come all of you, come, listen well and without noise,
Listen!
Chorus: And silently, heedfully, let us listen.
Solo: For you alone, O rifle! for you alone,
Deep in the woods,
Leaving the village behind,

884 The young man is armed. He has undergone the initiation
779 of the bawu and henceforth he has a right to speak in the coun-
411 cil. He will not take advantage of this until the day he brings in the hand of an enemy he has killed and he is able to testify to his bravery in the presence of all by this striking proof of a daring exploit, yet often carried out by surprise.

[Pp. 535-536, 18 lines of music.] [537]

III. Consecration of the Chief

766 a) The ceremony

779 A tribal chief has died. After the customary lamentation and funeral feast, he has been buried in a temporary grave.
622 Thirty days afterwards the warriors again reassemble for the solemn funeral dance, the fanki. Then the eldest son, surrounded by leading warriors, opens his father's grave, climbs down beside the corpse, and with the consecrated knife detaches the skull, which will soon be added to the skulls of earlier ancestors in the évora biéri. Then the corpse is carefully replaced in the grave, and the totemic sacrifices are completed. We shall go back to these sacrifices when discussing individual mortuary rites. The eldest son or the heir removes the akaméyon or tribal totem, if he has not already done so. He then throws the earth back onto the corpse and everyone helps him in this dismal task, after he has thrown the first handfuls. All these rites belong to the social mortuary ceremonial.

622 The new chief returns to the village. Then begins strictly
779 speaking, the totemic rite of consecration, which takes place at night, without any female observers.

Escorted by all the warriors, to the beating of a tom-tom, the chief takes the évora biéri containing the ancestral skulls and carries it into the forest. The ceremony is secret only as regards women; young boys may be present.

[824 The box of skulls is put on a sort of platform made of
778] newly cut poles. These must come from a special tree, the éfirfira, and must all be alive and green. A bit of dead wood

779 would lead to a ritual offense. These branches are embedded
778 in the earth; they must also be straight, cut from the actual
622 trunk of the tree and not from a branch; upon these poles stuck into the ground, the chief arranges pieces of bamboo (1) which

[342 124]

1. Bamboo is the usual term given by analogy to the palm stems or raffia used in all Fan building, in place of real bamboo, which is unknown or a recent importation into Gabon.

[284] make a platform. They are tied together, not with the lianas usual for huts, but with lashings [538] made of rattan palm. When that work has been done, the chief places his évora biéri on the upper tier; the other family heads put their bivora bibiér to the right and left in order of precedence. When all the boxes of skulls have been lined up, each man, after having danced and sung around the altar, then approaches it again, opens his box, removes the ancestral skulls, and places them on the lower tier below the boxes. Upon his family skulls he places the family totem, then his own personal totem. There is another series of dances, accompanied by songs. The chief then advances again, alone, and puts the skull of his immediate ancestor above all the others, dances and sings, then puts the skull inside that of the first ancestor. He also takes his family totem, which by the very fact of his birth is the tribal or clan totem, and places it upon the two superimposed skulls, his father's and that of the clan father. Then there begins a special
533 song called the Song of Union. The archaic words are nowadays
622 for the most part very hard to understand, the general meaning,
779 on the other hand, is easy to grasp: it deals with the uniting of all the heads of families in direct line and consists of an invocation to the Spirit of the Race, who has passed down through all descendants from the first ancestor so as to produce a united and indivisible whole. The final words of the song express this idea quite clearly:

539

In you the last returns to the first,
The first returns to the last.
And in common accord,
Your breath that does not die reunites them all,
Your breath reunites them without ever wearying.

It makes an unending whole,
And future children, offspring of our race,
Will also be your children, O father!
As I today am your child.

The éfirfira grows and continues to grow.
New branches start from its gnarled trunk,
One after another,
They grow, yet remain always the éfirfira.

In you the last returns to the first,
The first returns to the last. [539]

779 622 782 A gelded goat or often a gelded dog is then brought to the wooden altar; it is immolated, and the blood is collected in a clay pot. The chief dips a green palm branch in the blood and then puts it on the altar in such a way as to cover both the totems and the ancestral skulls.

779 622 533 After this first "recognition" comes a second, which consists of a song called "Song of the Visit." The chief sings it, and all the participants repeat the refrain. Thus the Yendun tribe, for instance, the refrain is:

[539]

Bi'ne bibôñe bi Ndun,
Bi'ne fogo bisésé bibôñe bi Ndun
Ndun a ne Esa bie,
Ndun ve Esa bie bisé.

We are the children of Ndun,
Yes, we are all the children of Ndun,
And Ndun is our father,
Yes, Ndun is the father of us all.

779
622

At the same time, the chief has taken his father's and his first forefather's skulls; he approaches successively the évora biéri of each of the other heads of family and touches their ancestral skulls against those in his hands. He returns to the middle, takes the pot holding the victim's blood, dips his father's de, fly swatter, or into it, and then sprinkles the totems placed near the skulls. He takes his own totem, moves it alongside the clan or tribal totems, fastens them together with a liana and touches them successively against the totems of the other heads of family, while singing the totem song, everyone repeating the refrain after him:

[539]

We are the children of Ndun,
And Ndun is our totem (mvamayôn),
Yes, we are the children of Ndun,
And Ndun is totem for us all.

After this ceremony there are several more dances and songs. Finally at the end, the tribal chief is the first to put the skulls back into the évora biéri, and everyone follows his example. He does the same thing with the totems, again followed by all the others. [540] All the boxes are then carefully put aside in a spot cleared in advance.

[778]

All return to the open space. The rude altar, where the boxes, skulls, and totems had lain, is destroyed; the boxes are all heaped one upon the other; and great care is taken that no drop of the victim's blood that might have fallen on the ground be profaned by any touch at all. As soon as the victim itself has been immolated, it is laid on freshly cut green banana leaves -- it must never touch the ground -- and placed upon a pyre made from the altar wood, which is lighted. This task always falls to the new chief, never the practitioner. As soon as the victim has been cooked enough, it is put back on the banana leaves and cut up by the chief himself into as many pieces as there are persons present. No piece may be left over; no piece may be carried away. That would be a ritual offense of the gravest kind, and the Fan are convinced, or at least appear to be so, that the totem never fails to punish the wrongdoing by actual death of the

779 perpetrator. If necessary, the chief would take this upon him-
622 self. Such a case has sometimes occurred, according to certain legends.

The large bones are then again placed upon the pyre, for which the necessary wood has been carefully kept, because to cut or to add more is forbidden. When everything has been consumed, the bones and wood that are left in the form of cinders (1) are pulverized as finely as possible, and the chief

[137] 1. Éfirfira is a rather resinous wood, which burns up completely, leaving hardly any cinders.

scatters the powder on the recently covered grave of his father, accompanied by all the heads of family. The banana leaves that had been used to wrap up the victim are carefully folded into a bundle and thrown to the bottom of a spring or stream below the spot where water is usually drawn, so as to avoid profanation.

In contrast to all the other sacrifices, nothing must remain of this victim nor may anyone keep the slightest trace of it.

Before carrying the ashes of the sacrifice to his father's grave, the chief still has to go through another ceremony just as important, the rite of the spear.

779 The rite of the spear, or better of the assagais, ašume
622 mékôn, the salute to the assagais, only occurs at the enthrone-
411 ment of tribal chiefs and then only if they have come of age, that is, have already been received as warriors bearing the marks or bawu.

779 b) The rite of the spear or the assagais. Ašume mékôn.
776 From the other side of Africa, Father Van den Burgt, (1)
411
171

1. Dictionnaire français-rundi [French-Rundi Dictionary], article, "Kirâna."

of the White Fathers, recently pointed out a curious rite among the Barundi, the rite of the spear, the emblem of Kirâna, the

779 776 411 171

second high spirit. Among the Fan, we have found the same emblem, consecrated to the spirit Ki-ndâňa, he also being chief of the lower spirits, of material things, and thus master and chief of all beings on the earth. He is also invoked in time of war. This is the only information I have been able to obtain on the subject. But in comparing this fact with what we have seen among the Barundi, it certainly appears that a totemic rite is involved. Indeed among them, Imana, the Creator, is the lord of departed souls as, among the Fan, Nzame is also the Creator. Consequently he is foremost of all the ancestors and thus the keystone of the whole religious system. The Fan know this perfectly. When discussing genealogies I have already pointed out that a child or any warrior, when asked what his mébara is, will always end by invoking Nzame, saying: "And he (the first of the race) was created by Nzame, and before that I didn't belong to it, neither I nor anyone else." (Nge mur éto (the father of the race) Nzame émièn a nga bo ñe, ve 'sim ñi, mê mbe dia ve, ve ma, ve muramure.)

Among the Barundi the great rite of the spear consists of homage rendered to the sacred spear of Kirâňa, the higher spirit of the Rundi triad, Imana, Ri-Kiramba, and Riangombi. Among the Fan, Kindâňa does not belong to the divine triad, which they also recognize: Nzame, Mébère, Nkwa. Kindâňa, lit., victorious Power, is chief of all beings under Nzame, and considered only as the principle of the power that animates everything and that is self-perpetuating. He is the opposite of inert matter. [542]

"The neighboring Pygmies," writes Mgr. Le Roy (1) in

1. Op. cit., p. 314.

connection with this Rundi rite, "have the same ceremony, which they appear to have originated." Perhaps, however, we ought to go further back to the very beginnings of the race, since we find the ceremony also among the Fan.

Among the Barundi the rite of the spear takes place in all critical situations. uThe usual form of that spear has one white and one black facet and it is said to bear the spirit Kirâňa on its

779 point. At the time of the ceremony the guardian of the spear
776 appears with two assistants; he wears a sort of crown made of a
411 panther skin, part of which hangs down his back. The participants
171 form a semicircle around him, carrying small hollow calabashes filled with hard seeds (2) that rattle. Then a hymn is begun,

> 2. The seeds of the annata tree are used or, even more often, the round hard seeds of canna (canna spec.).

sung in an oddly impressive tone, deeply convincing and creating indescribable melancholy. During this evocation, each one picks up a bit of straw, bows down and presents it to the sacred spear, claps his hands together and asks the spirit dwelling on the spearhead for various favors. He then says: "To thee, Father, I make these demands, I offer my homage." Everyone then leaves the hut singing and goes to the resting place of the ancestral spirits.

Among the Fan the salute to the spear thus takes place at
779 the enthronement of the chief. After the victim has been divided
622 and eaten, the chief rises and plants his assagai in the earth, point
411 upwards; the point has been made to gleam by thorough careful
171 burnishing. The choice of spear is not unimportant: it must have the totemic tribal emblem incised in its hollow and must have already "drunk" enemy blood. The spear is thus planted in the ground so far as possible just where the altar stood; shortly after, at its foot, the chief places his baldrick usually of leopard-skin, holding the materialized totem, the akaméyôn. [543]

Having done this, he circles around the spear, singing, then picks up the baldrick and hangs it upon the lance, which usually has several small sharp hooks at the base.

The chief again circles the spear, sings a hymn in honor of Kindâna, then stands still. All the others then go to fetch their boxes of ancestral skulls and circle around the spear, singing. As each man passes the chief, he bows, puts his box on the ground, and claps his hands.

At the end of the ceremony the chief removes the spear, puts back the baldrick at his side, and takes everything to his hut.

779
622
411
171

He then returns to collect the remains of the sacrifice and carry them to his father's grave.

It is evident that the Fan ritual of the spear salute has many analogies to the Rundi ritual, and the same impulse would seem to motivate both.

174
171

c) Rites of initiation and consecration of the chief compared with the religious role of the Pharaoh

In all this it is easy to see a whole embryonic system or rather, as our linguistic research bears out, the vestiges, very corrupt and gradually shriveling away, of a religious system that is very old and goes back to the very beginnings of the race.

The legends, customs, and especially the language make it possible for us to see, with all the reservations necessary to such a hypothesis, a pale reflection, perhaps a decadent reminder, of Egyptian religion.

It would be of great interest in the first place to try to find out if the Fan word denoting "chief," nzue -- from n for agency and zue, to command, to order -- is not related to Egyptian (1) [illegible], to pray, adore,

> 1. There are other resemblances between the two languages, to which I shall refer later: kha (Eg.), crown, and khu (Fg.), chief; khala, a fortified place, and dzal, fortified village (kraal); ka, to leave, and ka, to go away, etc.; ko, hook, and lko, hook, whence akõñ, hooked, barbed spear.

sua, to pray, adore, which was originally the chief's main function, or again to Suten, meaning "king," which comes from the word seten [544], to determine by knife, which means "to kill." The king is thus in theory he who slays the sacrificial victim, the sacrificer.

The Pharaoh formerly acted in a general way as a Fan chief still does today, without, one must admit, any of the trappings of majesty -- as I have said, he is a pale reflection.

He used to go himself, at least fictitiously, to capture the victim, a wild bull. He immolated it, cut it up, and offered it to the deity whose son he was. He was not only the sacrificer

648 Code to indigenous tribes, as has been decreed in Gabon, is one
622 of those governmental aberrations that reveals as profound an ignorance as possible of the people to be governed and the principles of government. [547]

For the same reasons, one can understand how impossible it is to elect a chief outside the established rules of succession. A chief appointed from outside the main lineage has not, and cannot have, authority.

e) Change of clan totem

•779 When, for the above reasons, authority have passed to
622 another clan family, the public cult remains the same. But it
614 must be emphasized as of the greatest importance that the ancestral totem disappears, since it has no longer an eponymous representative of its own blood. It will be replaced by the family totem of the new chief, which then becomes the totem for the whole tribe or clan. Far from being hypothetical, this is, on the contrary, a repeated occurrence, of which the following is a typical illustration.

A certain Mba-Alame, of the Yebiken or Banana clan, left the tribe after a dispute with his clan chief and went to establish a village on a hill facing his old village. While remaining on fairly good terms with the people of his former clan, his first concern was to create a new family of his own and to cut himself off distinctly from his former companions. He therefore changed his name and took another, which happened to be Nzoge Nze, Elephant-son-of the Panther. The panther became his new totem and from then on, that of his sons and of the future clan. He was in the full sense of the term, the new father of the tribe, able to say more justifiably than Marshal Lefebevre once did: "We are the forefathers!"

In order to undertake this sort of action, a man must have a very resolute character, capable of breaking with his kin, friends, and clan without fearing the always fatal reprisals.

Moreover, such a happening is only possible if the tribe is small enough, because in a large tribe the chief would be very

719 622 614 [575] unlikely to allow such a flouting of his authority. It is also feasible if the chief is old and feeble, and the rebel held in awe for his physical strength and especially his notorious bad temper, based on substantial proof. Also the "deserter" or "uprooted" man must not belong to any secret "clan" society, because the initiates never pardon [548] desertion, this is a primary and always inviolable law.

And that is not all. It is imperative for the new founder to find a willing totem. The choice cannot be at random, as some people may imagine, and there must be a series of sacrifices during which the chosen animal indicates its acceptance. In such a case, the personal totem will receive this honor, for it cannot be changed and not to select it would be a gross insult that would unfailingly lead to significant revenge. But the personal totem must agree to become the tribal totem. In so doing, the spirit -- much more intelligent than man -- knows that it is agreeing to become his actual and titular guardian and it is not always anxious to do so. In similar circumstances, Nzoge Nze admitted to me one day that before finally acquiring an accepting totem he had had to wait for several months and to sacrifice a good many fowls and even kids. The practitioner also had to be satisfied.

It should be observed that following this acceptance all panthers did not become Nzoge Nze's totems, but only those who inhabited the country and were the offspring or descendants of his nze or particular totem panther. This proves the truth of our system. Furthermore, these panthers were sacred only to Nzoge Nze, for each particular totem is particular only to its owner, not to his next of kin. Thus, one of Nze's sons had the anteater, avil, for a totem: he was therefore not supposed to eat it, although his brothers and sons did so with impunity. But once Nzoge Nze's totem, nze, becomes the family and, therefore the tribal totem, his children will avoid killing any panther, on the chance that one might be related to that nze. However, should they happen to kill and eat one, the offense would be only hypothetical and before expiating it, they would make the

779 necessary investigation by sacrifices. And the totem, under
622 penalty of not receiving any expiation, should reveal its rela-
614 tionship. But as Nzoge Nze becomes more of a remote ancestor, the risk of relationship with every panther grows, for each panther may be related to the eponymous ancestor and consequently the law becomes more stringent. Should a panther enter villages and kill a few innocent people, [549] such as women and children, the men of the eponymous clan would be permitted to kill it, and only in such a case, but they would still be forbidden to eat it. When after a series of sacrifices for this purpose, it has been duly established that revenge for some unexpiated totemic offense is not involved, that is proof that the panther in question does not belong to the eponymous panther clan. It is a "foreigner" or "deserter", the latter being quite common in certain animal species, one of whose members may leave the group to go off on his own and become a "solitary," as do elephants, panthers, wild boars, gorillas. It is then perfectly lawful to attack it and kill it if possible. A trifling ritual expiation will suffice, proportionate to the very small likelihood of having killed an ally, an extremely slight probability, since actions are never taken without previous assent of the totem chief of the tribe. The responsibility will be his in case of mistake.

IV. War and Palavers

511 Life is easy for the Fan.

Close to his village, the great forest begins; it abounds in game, and he has not far to go to be able to shoot, at point-blank range, monkeys, antelopes, wild boars, even elephants. There are innumerable streams and rivers swarming with fish, especially carp; traps, weirs, nets, everything is good to catch them with -- everything succeeds. A Fan hunts and fishes when he feels like it; there are no laws interfering with his inclinations. Banana and manioc plantations, which provide the basic subsistence, give hardly any trouble. At the start of each season there are a few days of work at slashing-and-burning, the ashes providing fertilizer. After that, all the labor and care of the crops falls
517 upon the women. The Fan is therefore idle most of the day and

517 from this comes about the endless palavers about everything and nothing, for lack of anything else to do.

721 However, if for one reason or another war threatens the tribe or has to be declared, the Fan then seems to awaken from his lethargy. Before the decision to fight, [550] there must be lengthy palavers. The totem has but a small part in these palavers, but no warrior would put in his word without having first taken his totem in hand and given it a brief scolding, often just one word, an exclamation, which only the most attentive would hear.

721 When all the warriors have had their say, the chief rises
637 and sums up everything that has been said, before beginning his own speech. During this report, he usually remains at his place. He then goes to the middle of the assembly, his chief's baton in his hand and across his chest the baldrick from which the akaméyɔ̀n always hangs. "I am so-and-so," he begins, "son of so-and-so, and my father was chief of the race. We are the sons of such-and-such totem, and our akaméyɔ̀n protects us." After
[201] these words, he stamps on the ground with his foot, or more often, with his baton, as if to testify to the truth of what he has said, and then gives his own opinion. When he has finished he holds up the tribal totem to bear witness to his words, then returns to his place.

● 779 If war is declared the totemic ceremonies are more pro-
721 nounced. At first they will be nearly like those described for the initiation and consecration of the chief. The same altar is
782 put up in the forest with the same rites; wood of the éfirfira is again used for construction. On the appointed day, all the warriors make their way into the forest, each head of a family carrying his évora biéri. The skulls are set out on the altar, and each totem at its place. The victim is then brought forward.

The scene at this point changes completely. Neither a dog nor a kid is immolated -- it must always be a man, either a prisoner of war or some captive bought back from a neighboring tribe. A woman may never replace a man. Nor may a man or child belonging to the tribe, nor one whose mother belonged either to the tribe or to an allied tribe, be used as victim; for

779 721 782 that would be against totemic law and would mean sacrilege. In order to avoid this ritual offense, which would necessitate expiation and would necessitate expiation and would furthermore wipe out all the efficacy of the sacrifice, the chief first of all approaches [551] the victim, and asks his name, race, and tribe. Is there no obstacle to the sacrifice? "A ne mvè," he cries, "a ne nwuba (he is good, he is 'dedicated')!" The man is then tied to the foot of the altar and very rarely does he resist. All Africans resign themselves to death with almost unconscious ease, when they see that it is inevitable. (1)

[761]

1. In certain villages I have sometimes met such men destined for sacrifice, because they are often kept for many weeks. They walked around in the villages, apparently free, well fed, and well treated; the only sign of their captivity was a rather light block of wood well fastened to one of their feet, which they dragged along. Within the village this shackle was not much of an encumbrance, but in the forest it would have been an almost insurmountable obstacle to flight. Countless times, I have offered either to help them escape or to have the colonial authority free them. "What for?" they used to reply; "I'm well fed and treated; death is going to come anyway. Awu nzu mbèmbè! (What's the use!)"

So as to prevent any possible struggle, the evening before, the victim is given an intoxicating beverage, containing mostly the juice of ebè and of yam (hemp). As soon as he has been tied to the altar, and the chief has pronounced the ritual words, the warriors start putting on their war dress. First they paint their bodies red with baza (1) dye, and upon this first layer they

[276] 779 721 782 302 386

1. Pterocarpus angolensis: the wood is

779
721
782
302
386

mashed and mixed with oil and produces a splendid, very lasting red dye.

draw white horizontal lines with white clay (mfem). A wide black circle is traced around the eyes; on the forehead each one draws the likeness or symbol of his tribal or clan totem, or instead, they sometimes draw it on their temples or cheeks. Thus the "axe" of the Amvom, actually the likeness of a boa, their totem serpent, winds over their cheeks and temples and ends near the eyes. To enliven this image, the juice of a grassy lily, the chlorophyton (ayân é si) is used, which gives a long-lasting, blueish color. On the chest each one then draws his individual totem in black with gardenia juice.

721
779
782

Once they have finished these preparations, the warriors pick up their weapons and fetishes and begin the war dance, which consists of two parts: a totemic dance and then the real war dance, [552] which has a stronger beat and is more lively. I have already described this before in connection with the war song, which here accompanies the dance.

After the war dance the chief approaches the victim. He is forced to his knees; the practitioner draws a white line on his neck, then violently pulls his head forward, while an assistant twists his arms behind his back. The practitioner cuts off his head at one quick blow with the sacrificial knife, and tosses it onto the altar. The chief collects the spouting blood in a pot kept for the purpose, a new pot which will afterwards be broken. As soon as the blood stops, the corpse is laid on fresh banana leaves and the practitioner, helped by the chief, opens his chest, taking care to use only two knife strokes: one across and one up and down. The heart is taken out and placed beside the skulls; then the lungs and liver are removed. According to the body's [787] last twitching and the position of the organs, the practitioner predicts the outcome of the war. It will either be fortunate or cause the death of many warriors. "The funeral songs will last a long time," he may say, and the crowd will raise a cry of distress! If on the contrary the auguries are favorable, there will be shouts of joy, a song of triumph and gladness.

721 Everyone then comes near, the chief first, and dips a finger
779 into the pot of blood and tastes it. The practitioner also dips in
782 his finger and with it touches each warrior's totem to make the
266 so-called racial mark (ndem ayón). "Adopted" warriors are ex-
608 cluded from this ceremony, perhaps the only occasion when a distinction is drawn between them and the tribe; in some smaller clans they are not excluded from this ceremony.

721 When a tribe is populous and a single victim would not be
779 enough, two, three, and sometimes ten or more are provided.

782 As soon as each warrior has thus "renewed the mark," the sacred dances start again. During that time the chief joins in at first, then takes what remains of the blood, smears his ancestral skulls with it, and then sprinkles the tribal totems while the warriors sing the totem song. [553] The practitioner, helped by his acolytes makes a kind of large sticky ball from the sap of cer-
[824] tain rubber creepers (1) and a kind of gum,(2) and knead it inside

1. Landolphia Klaineana and Thollonii of the Apocyneceae.

2. This gum is produced by the Acacia erubescens Wildm. of the acacia family.

the victim's thoracic cavity so that it becomes soaked with blood.
[787] At the end of the ceremony he takes a bit from this ball and applies it to each warrior's chest. According to how long it sticks, it will give an augury about the warrior's life, death, and the wounds he will receive.

721 As soon as the ceremonies are completed the victims are
782 cut into thin strips, and each person receives his share. The feast
266 begins. This is the end of the actual totemic ceremony, to be followed from then on by purely religious and fetishist rites. I therefore need say no more on the subject.

721 After the meal, the dance, and the songs, the skulls and totems are put back in the évora biéri and carried back to the huts.

B 608 622 535 songs celebrating the achievements of the tribe's forefathers and teaching contempt for death.

"Then comes the feast, from which women are strictly excluded."

F 608 622 A ceremony identical to that of the Wabuyu is found among the Ozèm Fan, which I have seen several times, and is almost the same among the Dzandzama and Bakélé.

F 171 It is rather strange to find almost the same customs among the most ancient peoples. For instance, Herodotus wrote of the Scythians: "This is how the Scythians used to take an oath: they would pour wine into a large earthenware cup, and the parties to the oath would add their blood from slight cuts made on their bodies with knife or sword; a boar-spear, an axe, and a lance would then be dipped into the cup. They then recited long prayers and drank from the cup. The leading members of the court would drink after them." (1)

1. Herodotus, Book IV, Ch. 70.

F ● 779 Blood alliance is the last general totemic rite that we have to deal with. Next come particular rites. The totem usually plays a far less important part in these than in general rites, and we shall therefore be much less concerned with them. [570]

Chapter XVI

The Totem in Fan Life: Particular Rites

Summary:

1. Birth.
2. Adoption.
3. Marriage.
4. Hunting, fishing, husbandry.
5. Trade and palavers.
6. Diseases and death. The funeral dance and the fanki.

553 arrival of a stranger. Hence, a certain number of names that at first would seem totemic, because they copy the names of animals and plants, are not so at all. In general, the eldest son's name is that of one of his forebears, a grandfather or ancestor, who is thought to come to life again in him. Twins, [845] however, always receive special names of matched things, which go in twos, like Sun and Moon, Wind and Rain, Storm and Thunder, etc.

851 As soon as the child has been given a name, his father takes it in his arms and carries it into his hut, where he opens 779 the évora biéri and puts the baby down on the lid. He then takes the ancestral skulls one by one and puts them on the child's head, then places the family totem in its hand. The father with his fingernail often scrapes a bit off of the antelope horn holding the remnants of his personal totemic sacrifice, and puts some of this into the child's mouth. This, strictly speaking, is the dedication to the totem. The father then takes the baby back to its mother so that she may anoint it with oil and rub it with red wood. After the mother, or any other woman present, has attended to this, the father again takes the child and puts another bit of the totem into its mouth. A she-goat, a sheep, or at least a fowl is then offered to the family totem and to the spirits of the departed, according to sacred ritual. The remains [778] of this sacrifice, the ashes, etc., are enclosed in a small antelope horn, which is hung around the baby's neck or above his genital organs: this will be his amulet. Finally, the father gives the baby his personal totem, which will be recalled to him later on when he is old enough to understand. At that same time he will be taught what are the family, clan, and tribal totems, and the duties and obligations they impose on him. This instruction is part of the mébara. [572]

2. Adoption

597 In certain cases, a few children are adopted by a head of 727 the family when given as ransom for murder or spared in the

3. Marriage

119 I do not know of any truly totemic act among the com-
562 plicated religious rites connected with marriage. This absence
583 must come from the fact that women are considered to be in themselves independent of the totem.

584 Before marriage, especially before starting to make the
119 rounds of the villages in order to pick out a future companion, a young man first builds a sort of triumphal arch in front of his hut. A creeper decorated with various bits of cheap finery, fabric, green leaves, flowering branches, and ava flowers, is stretched from his house to the one opposite, on the other side of the public square or the main street of the village. Before his hut two shrubs garnished in similar fashion have their tops bound together to form a triumphal arch. The young man opens the biéri box, removes his family totem and a skull and puts them before the statue of the biéri. Then for hours, endless songs and dances will be performed. When the young man is exhausted, one of his friends takes over. The songs and dances last far into the night and start again at dawn. No one may interrupt or even enter the hut, otherwise the entire ceremony would have to be begun all over again. A woman's glance at the biéri or totem, or that of a strange man, would be enough to bring this about. Therefore, one of the young man's friends is constantly on guard to prevent such an accident; he stands in front of the hut door and sees to it that people move along briskly.

[583] This rite only takes place when a youth is contemplating marriage by abduction. He wishes in this manner to gain the good will of the biéri, the ancestors, and the totem.

On the third day in the evening the ritual dances end.
[782] The young man immediately offers a final sacrifice, usually of a cock, a hen, and some maize, following the prescribed forms. Then, since he is not permitted to rest for even a moment, he starts out, carrying the cock, hen, and maize as his only provisions; he is not allowed to take along anything else.

595 585 Whatever the kind of marriage, the first wife is the only one considered [574] as truly legitimate. As soon as she enters her new hut, her husband leads her by the hand before the évora biéri, which is kept tightly closed. Throughout her life, the wife will never be allowed to look into the box, as that would entail a very grave ritual offense. She now takes a bit of palm oil brought from her own village, mixes it with some from her husband's mother, and rubs this symbolic mixture on the statue [842] on top of the évora. This is a symbol of the fertility she asks of the ancestors and the guardian spirits of the race. She next [782] puts a few grains of maize in a small basket at the base of the statue, so that her future plantations may thrive. This sacrifice should be repeated every morning, but only by the principal wife -- and it is often omitted.

4. Hunting, Fishing, Husbandry

788 779 Before starting on a hunting or fishing expedition, likewise before going out to the first work on his plantation, every family head or warrior will be sure to invoke his totem. He does this first with an offering on the biéri box, then by touching his weapons, tools, or snares against the family totem.

788 224 779 In the case of hunting, the hunter, when charing his gun, mixes some of the ashes of totemic sacrifice with his small shot, puts his hand on his totem, and leaves confident of the outcome. Even if hunting does not come up to expectation, he would never dream of blaming his totem. He would think that he had had bad luck or, more likely, that he had committed some offense.

788 276 779 When going fishing, he carries some of the sacrificial ashes hidden in a rag. At the spot he thinks propitious, he always begins by throwing the ashes into the water, in order to obtain his totem's good will.

788 241 779 Likewise, when a man starts farming, at the beginning of each dry season, before giving the first ax blow to the trees to be cut down, he places some ashes or remnants of sacrifice in some kind of hole and sees to it that they are consumed by the

779
788 fire which he sets to the felled trees so as to make the necessary
241 fertilizer needed for his future crops. [575]

Returning from hunting or fishing, a man is always sure to
782 put an offering on the évora biéri: it may be a piece of the ani-
224 mal's heart and brain or part of the first fish caught, even the
226 whole fish if it is very small. The first fruits are also placed on
779 the évora. Any infraction of these rites leads to punishment that can only be atoned for by one or more sacrifices. A warrior will infallibly recognize punishment in the failure of hunting or fishing trips or in barren plantations.

The hunting or fishing offering is made by the head of the family, that of first fruits by the first wife.

5. Trade and Palavers

788 Whenever a Fan has to "talk," he is very careful to try
537 to gain his totem's good will beforehand. On such occasions
779 it is important that he be able to convince his fellow speakers or his adversaries.

The totem ceremony is very short. Before leaving for the palaver or on a trading trip, he removes from the biéri box some of the ashes of the last sacrifice and puts them into a rag, closes the box, and goes off contented.

Before beginning to "talk," he will open the package of ashes and put a bit on his forehead, lips, and throat. Thus the spiritual guardians of the race will aid his brain and inspire him with the best thoughts and the best phrases, and thus they will tell him the best words to use to convince his adversaries and obtain what he wants.

6. Disease and Death

755 The totemic ceremonies connected with disease and death
779 are of somewhat more consequence. As soon as a man falls gravely ill, the practitioner is called in. He demands in advance, to be on the safe side, the proper payment for his pains, and then

755 goes to the sick man's hut. A variety of remedies are used,
● 779 among them always a dance in honor of the totem. After the dance and the driving out of the evil spirits [576] that torment the sick man, a sacrifice is made, often of a she-goat, a sheep, or at least a fowl. The sick man always has to eat some of this sacrifice, and the practitioner mixes into it fragments of the patient's family totem, as he does into any potions administered. If the sick man recovers, he will have to offer a black hen on the évora biéri before he leaves his hut. The hen will then be burnt according to the sacred rituals.

764 If the man dies, his eldest son closes his eyes and
779 straightens the arms and legs before they become stiff, after which the corpse may not be touched, under grave penalties. The lamentations begin, but in an undertone; the dead man's wives gather around him, tear at their arms and legs, and with the blood that flows sprinkle the corpse. He is then covered with his fetishes and at his side is the mébup on which his family totem is hung. After the first lamentations are over, the commotion quiets down and only the dead man's wives continue to weep.

In the morning the eldest son and heir offers a sacrifice to the deceased's family totem so that it may continue to favor the survivors. He puts some of the victim's blood into the mouth of the corpse and also takes some in his own mouth. He then completes the sacrifice according to the customary rites.

Before the burial another sacrifice will be made in order to determine the location of the grave and to make sure that the dead man is satisfied. The corpse is made to partake of this sacrifice too.

At the appropriate time, the dead man is placed in the grave dug for him; his family totem lies beside him, and, if he is a tribal chief, the clan or tribal totem is also placed at his side. This is left to him for a few moments, then the heir removes it, so as to "take possession."

765 The same ceremonies are observed when the skull is re-
779 moved, 30 days after death.

765 This skull cannot, however, be put into the évora biéri
●779 right away, it must first be "acknowledged." The rite is analogous to that of the chief's initiation, which has already been described. The skull [577] is carried into the forest, placed upon a kind of altar, and a victim is immolated in its honor. It is sprinkled with lustral water, then with blood. The chief's heir then takes the skull and makes it first "acknowledge" the ancestral skulls, then successively the family and clan totems, and ends with the tribal totem.

768 Thirty days after death the funeral dances or fanki also
779 take place, and then the division of the deceased's property, particularly his wives. His hut usually stays closed throughout this time, with the door barred and the roof covered with thorns so that the deceased's spirit cannot re-enter the house, which would mean making further sacrifices.

The mortuary rites are very complicated anc very solemn among the Fan, especially for an important chief. I have here referred only to totemic rites. The totem will live again later in the person of one of the descendants, usually the grandson,
[551] who, in many cases, will have both the name and the totem of his grandfather.

[p. 578-653 not translated]

771 The first observers described the Pahouin, especially the Fang,
●781 as "less superstitious," "less given to fetishism" than neighboring
114 populations. Trilles and Martrou emphasized their profound religious sentiment, while Allégret (no. 147) gives very interesting information about the feeling of religious destitution they experienced, particularly after contact with Europeans. Often observed also has been the ease with which they would adopt new beliefs and ceremonies, and this refers not only to Christian sects but to cults like bwiti and ngôl and even, before the last war, to freemasonry in the vicinity of Libreville.

All these influences are so intermingled that we must resort to a kind of conjectural palaeontology in order to reconstruct their original beliefs. Without casting any reflection upon the intellectual integrity of observers like Trilles and Martrou, we must recognize—and regret—that a certain professional slant from time to time affected their conclusions, to a point that induces us to turn instead to laymen much less well qualified linguistically, like Largeau, of whom Trilles has shown himself perhaps a little too critical.

a. Concept of God, Creation

776 The Pahouin believe (or used to believe, see later on) in a creator god Mebe'e (Fang, Mebere, Mebeghe), eternal, formerly immanent, becoming infinitely transcendant after the first nsem.

The word Mebe'e seems to be related to the verb be'e, to carry, which has the agent-noun, mbe'e. Mbe'e is a plural form, corresponding to nouns of action and also to the collective plural forms of names of liquids (mendim = water, metyi = blood, meyôm = sperm, etc.). It is usually accompanied by triple apposition: "Mebe'e, Mebe'e menkpwa, sokuma, mbongbwe" (or, according to Trezenem, mba angwe). The meaning of these three qualifiers is as uncertain as that of Mebe'e; menkpwa should probably be connected with kpwaé = to strike down, to judge, to condemn; sokuma with kôm (kum) = to arrange, to direct, sô conveying the idea of generosity, rectitude, balance (Boulou, soso, zoso); mbongbwé would then, according to Grebert, mean "creator of generations" (bo = to make; ngbwé = maternal kinship), but could also be /108/ connected with ngbwa = love, friendship, alliance, with the sense of "he who makes an alliance" or "he who loves."

832 I was unable to discover during the subsequent dance.

The concluding celebration took place in the love grove. A man seized the tree with one hand and swayed about, while the others took the skulls from the traps, danced with them in the opposite direction around the tree, and were embraced by him every time they passed him. Then the festive goat was [832] brought and slaughtered, its blood was poured over the skulls and medicines, and a speech of conciliation was addressed to

Fig. 59.

[824] Love Medicine of the Wood of Monodora tenuifolia.

the skulls. This speech culminated with the request that they should not be angry for having lain outside without food; a goat had now been brought to them, and they were from now on expected to make every effort to assist their descendants in matters of the heart. So the festival ended to the satisfaction of both the skulls and the young men.

It would be impossible here to cite by name all the plants 832 used for love medicines; all we can do is to mention the 824 criteria that were paramount in choosing them, as well as a number of examples. In each case, some quality that is to be transferred to the person is involved, for example, the following.

1. Abundance of blossoms, fruit, and shoots, especially when the blossoms or shoots are beautiful; the desire is to appear likewise in the eyes of the beloved. Monodora tenuifolia Bth. (fǒb IV), (Fig. 59), because of its luxuriant shoots with magnificent leaves; furthermore, the Simarubacea Desbordesia glaucescens Engl. (alǒ'b), with its resplendent red to blue shoots.

2. Beauty of the blossoms. Examples: many orchids (ajǎ'n-ojo'b) and Scitamineae, like Aframomum hanburyi K. Sch. obǎ[s]-adžǒm, blossoms atsǎ[k] adžǒm) and Canna bidentata Bertol (ekōn e žǒk); furthermore, Mussaenda species, which have colorful top leaves.

276 village which is called ngun [75] melan; he carries the bieri on his
778 shoulder and appears to collapse under its weight. That position is a
787 manner of worshipping the fetish. When everyone has gathered, animals, fowls, or kids are sacrificed; then, to the accompaniment of tomtoms, the neophytes dance, sing, and cry out, all the while chewing pieces of alan prepared the previous day. After a certain time, the effect of the root, combined with the excitement of the dances and songs, causes most of the participants of the celebration to become unconscious after many spasms. This unconsciousness may last two or three hours, during which the individuals retain a corpse-like stiffness. On awakening, each tells the elders what he has seen or what the bieri has told him in his dream. One may have been ordered to hunt, with the assurance of killing many antelope; another may have been warned of the impending death of a member of his family; still another may have been told of the imminent pregnancy of a brother's wife. All the Pahouin whom we have questioned state that predictions made by the bieri to people drunk with alan always come true.

Then the neophytes have the right to look at the bieri, whose boxes are open, making a vow not to speak of them to anyone who has not undergone the initiation of alan. Every uninitiated person who looks at a bieri falls ill, and only the care of a competent practitioner can prevent his death.

782 When a family head wants to supplicate his bieri, he sacrifices a
778 hen, a duck, or a kid, or offers it the hind leg of an animal killed in the hunt, and pours blood on the skull. The meat is cooked in leaves by a woman, then taken to the bieri with stalks of manioc or a mash of bananas and water, by the one making the sacrifice. If, for example, the bieri is appealed to before a hunt, he who makes the sacrifice presents the food with these words:

"O tar ta mba bidzi olun wa to we niem e to ma tune we yü, Binyu bon be wa y onzan vag bie betsir" (O father, see the good food, I want to dispel the anger that is in your heart. Your children die of want, give us meat).

778 Then he goes out of the hut because the bieri will not eat in the
782 presence of a living being. Several hours later he comes back to look
787 for the food left by the bieri. Its consumption, however, is not visible as it is accomplished immaterially. This food that has been brought to the watchers' hut [corps de garde] will be eaten only by the

778 initiates. Anyone else who eats it will become mortally ill. During
782 the following night, the bieri will reveal to an initiate during his
787 sleep the means of assuring the success of the hunt for which his help has been asked.

778 The bieri strictly forbids anyone, under pain of mortal illness, to [76] insult it. Its power is unlimited: it can cause a woman who has fled from the village to return to it; it causes lost objects to be found.

In spite of all the faith which the old Pahouin still have in the bieri, in the region which interests us one may say that the majority of the population has abandoned it, primarily because of its being driven out by the Christian missions.

575 IV. The buiti. The buiti, which our informants told us were of
776 Mitsogho [Mitsogo] or Masango [Missanga?] origin (peoples of the right bank of the N'Gounié), is a protective association against the bivur. The information on this secret society was given us by Akam Eyene, the head of a buiti, who lived in the village Elong Eko on the Abanga. It is rather incomplete because this informant was unwilling to give us certain details and to answer numerous questions.

Possessors of bieri band together because of the fear of the bivur, against which the bieri by itself is powerless to protect them. Their association, the buiti, in its fight against the ngwel, shows itself as stronger and kills the bivur (and consequently the individual possessors of bivur). It also serves to reveal the beyem, who have evil intentions toward members of the buiti and to make their efforts ineffectual.

575 Every member of the buiti brings a piece of his bieri and a piece of
778 the animal under whose protection he has placed himself. All of these are put in a box and constitute the fetish of the association, which also keeps such material things as:

575 A musical instrument, ngomi, a harp with eight strings. At the
534 bottom of the resonance chamber of the one belonging to Akam Eyene were pierced three holes covered by three pieces of flesh of chimpanzee, gorilla, snake, elephant, eagle, panther, and rooster. This instrument accompanies the songs of the ceremony.

A bell, etsoge, a round hollowed-out fruit, into which are put little pebbles. It is equipped with a handle and is shaken during the songs.

A branch of raphia palm lying horizontally on two carved stakes called minsaga mi buiti. The whole thing is called obaka. During the ceremonies this branch is beaten with two sticks.

794

des Mfang [The Éki of the Fang]," Anthropos, Vol. 1, 1906.

interesting for the last point it brings up; it indicates a test, it shows above all with unquestionable brutality that all power existing outside the clan and the kinship is acquired only after making the more or less symbolic gesture of "killing the kinship." It is by the interplay of [145] such groupings that the logic of the system of kinship and of alliance by marriage is transcended.

"Associations" have a function whose import varies according to particular circumstances. They intervene to create a better cohesion between clan fragments, as is shown by the grouping of [171] initiates at the Bièri (Gabon cult) or at the Ssò (Cameroons cult known to the frontier villages); this at a time when insecurity demands a minimum of union among related villages. In other circumstances, they attempt to reinforce the inherent power of functions whose importance is affirmed: as in the case of groupings that controlled the ancient "dance of justice" (sòmana) at the time when peaceful settlement of conflicts remained the only one possible, and when the role of "peacemaker" was of primary importance. As is shown by the feminine "associations," they may also act as a curb on the domination to which a social group of inferior status is subjected. This is all the more marked as the decay of these groupings has been paralleled by the change in the relations between the sexes. We have pointed out, in connection with the Ngil, that "associations" have acted as the mechanism for higher appeal for the purpose of pacification. We must now stress the fact that some of them assume an almost permanent role of opposition to the social order.

754 Such is the case of the "association" of men known as sorcerers
776 (pl. bòyèm), who endeavor to acquire permanently, and in their
782 own personal right, "wealth, strength, and power." Each one has been admitted in terms of an absolute differentiation – the possession of a "spirit" called évu(r) (s) which is physically distinguishable (1) – and with a special initiation, the latter entails the

1. Cf. H. Lavignotte, L'évur, Société

754
776
782

des Missions Evangéliques, 1947; E. Trézenem, op. cit., II, L'évur, pp. 68-74; M. Briault, op. cit., Captain Maignan, op. cit. We point out that this is a belief which is widely spread throughout South Gabon and as far as the country of the Ba-téké.

obligation to break off (more than symbolically) the ties of kinship and alliance: by the sacrifice of the first child if a woman is in question, and of the maternal uncle if it is a man.

754 776 The évur is received before birth or during the first week following birth. It transforms the organism of the individual carrying it since it can be detached at the time of an autopsy; (2)

2. It is described as follows: "It is a beast with paws, eyes, a mouth, and a tongue ... it can travel through the body ....," M. Briault, op. cit.

biologically the possessor (nnèm) and the évur are linked together; the latter "grows with the child and attains its full vitality [146] only when the child becomes an adult." Their respective powers are dependent on each other and demand sacrifices for their preservation. The bond between the two is continually shown by the play of interdicts and special obligations from which the nnèm "cannot free himself." Everything contributes to make the nnèm feel he has a different nature; even the ritual at the time of the two fundamental ceremonies celebrates the "birth" of the new nnèm and his "maturity" which permits the acts of domination. H. Lavignotte writes: "The évur lives in the body of its possessor, allowing him to split himself in two, or rather to leave his body to act in his place, to know the secrets of the other böyèm (plural of nnèm) to increase his strength tenfold, to do extraordinary things that will make him rich, to kill without leaving a trace." E. Trézenem completes this account by specifying: "Except in the case of acting for the benefit of its possessor ... the évur is always

241 in 1954 in connection with a study of family budgets.

amount of food necessary to maintain the population: a crop census was taken in 1948 in one of the Sangmélima cantons (2). In order to

[439]

2. Report of the administrative officer, J. M. Soupault. An average individual's requirement would be: 250 maize plants, 330 manioc plants, 130 plantains, 110 macabo, 7 kilograms of rice, and 32 kilograms of groundnuts.

satisfy the needs of 6, 249 inhabitants there is no "exportation" to [433] speak of. The canton used to produce 1, 635, 000 maize plants, 2, 049, 000 manioc, 824, 190 plantain bananas, 687, 800 macabo. It furthermore provided 44 tons of rice, 200 tons of groundnuts. There were 85, 180 fruit trees producing various kinds of fruit (Pachylobes /Canarium edula Hooker, known as assa in Pahouin country—Ed./, Estulis, oranges, etc.)

Clearing land by burning and the absence of organic fertilizer probably explain the exhaustion of the soil and the shifting cultivation that results from it.

231 The breeding and rearing of small animals is nevertheless understood and practiced: goats, dogs, fowls, pigs were and still are plentiful in the villages. These animals do not seem to contribute [430] much to the food supply nor to the economic life. The very limited practice of selling pieces of pork has dates from recent years. As a [431] matter of fact, animals were useful for giving quasi-ritual presents, [432] for paying bride prices, and for celebrating family occasions: at a marriage, burial, and the end of mourning, two or three goats were killed to provide food for the relatives.

Of course, these animals are not stabled or fed; the herds wander along the outskirts of villages and do not fail to plunder the gardens. [578] There are innumerable classic quarrels between farmers and herders (with the slight difference here that no one is exclusively a herder nor 357 exclusively a farmer). Was the practice of enclosing by hedges established so as to avoid such depredations, or to give military protection to the settlements? Whatever the origin, this practice associated with the raising of animals would have made it possible to avoid

631 Given Pahouin interest in a political system based on election, which
636 pretty well corresponds both with their individualism and with their
[181] mistrust of individuals, it may be that such a system has some chance of success if it is allowed to become Pahounized.

5. Associations

575 Traditional associations were undoubtedly less developed among the Pahouin than among other African societies with more closely knit or more stable hierarchical structures. The social groups at the core of clans or villages arose and decayed in accordance with migrations and "swarmings-off." They showed a kinship rather than an associational character.

Nevertheless, there existed within kinship as well as outside it associations not based on descent, voluntary and not de facto /discretionary?/. These were often characterized by initiations and had a magical or religious basis, with varying purposes.

The minsamba, "societies," were temporary, organized for a military operation (ôban, mvélé) or for a trade journey to the coast or to the "trading-posts" of the Ogooué. The men who took part often came from different villages or even from different clans bound by an alliance (élat). They swore an oath of loyalty and mutual assistance, involving a ritual sacrifice followed by a communion
● [782] meal; for a war enterprise, there might be a human victim, especially if it were a matter of avenging the death, kum mbim, of a monyañ (brother) and if there were a prisoner of war available to sacrifice. The association was dissolved once its end had been accomplished, but a bond persisted between its members.

[324] Similar temporary associations could be formed for large elephant
[141] hunts; they were moreover often confused with the nsamba dulu or nsamba ayak (traveling society, trade society) afterward organized for the sale of the ivory.

575 The most important permanent associations were those among the
783 initiates of different rites. But what was most often involved in these was a kind of relationship by way of a rite, which was not the rite's real purpose, or was so only adventitiously. When, for instance, all the inhabitants of a village took part in the ésye purification rite, a strengthening of the fraternal ties among them certainly ensued, but the prime purpose was purification (1). /63/

575 preceded by drummers and trumpet players and by a boy (uncircumcised?) entrusted with holding across the village street a liana, which the cortege broke through only after sacrificing a chicken. The uninitiated did not have the right to be present at this procession. The
769 ngil leader, masked and painted in red and white, carried his per-
sonal bieti (bieri); he was always accompanied by a full orchestra
534 (mvet guitar, mbaé and nkul drums, mejañ balafo). The initiation ceremony lasted a month (1).

304 1. The ngil mark was a tattoo below the sacrum, therefore covered by the loincloth. Initiates did not go out except in masks, so that theoretically it was impossible to recognize them.

Members of the ngil circulated in small groups, masked, to carry
754 out inquiries in villages where a case of sorcery was suspected or to put sorcerers to death. For ordinary cases they applied the ordeals in current use (minkal), but for serious cases it was necessary to arrange for an initiation ceremony: this feature is found in nearly all ritual associations, where initiation is always accompanied by collective catharsis.

304 Among other masculine initiation societies the ndôngô rite must be mentioned, whose initiates have two incisions on the nape of the neck. Its symbolic /features/ include confession, purification, seclusion in darkness, passage through a narrow corridor or a low doorway, a liana-serpent, a consecrated lance, a sacrifice (2), a

782 784 2. Dogs were sacrificed. Ndôngô canceled serious minsem /breaking a taboo/ like homicide or incest and allowed initiates to eat pork, mutton, and porcupine. (J. B.)

925 horrible brew. The ritual animal was the tortoise. The purpose of this rite seems also to have been protection against sorcerers and, perhaps, to improve luck, ma'a. The initiation of circumcised youths, bekungu, is perhaps a juvenile form of ndôngô. Both survived until the Second World War. Ndôngô does not seem to set up

769 The figure was placed on the new group's first family altar, and so afterwards were the skulls of the founder and of the benya bôtô of succeeding generations. A full biéri basket was the sign of a group's [554] antiquity, which doubtless implied prestige more than genuine authority, yet nevertheless represented the nearest approach to political authority that existed in the Fang group, particularly if one takes into account the fact that officials of interclan associations were chosen from among the owners of many skulls, whence prestige extended to a large number of mvôk or meyom. The prestige of the living was exerted through the authority of the dead.

[826] Skulls were, indeed, the seat or receptacle of the individual's capacity for action (we must remember that bo = to make, boo = brain), and the use of skulls in the practice of magic was not confined to ancestral skulls only: the skulls of enemies killed in battle or sacrificed in anthropophagous ceremonies before or afterward were preserved, and so were those stolen from neighbors. In the same way the skulls of the kinds of animals desired were used for hunting rites. However, it seems that a distinction was made between family skulls and outsiders' skulls, only the first having a place in the éwolé biéti and [782] appearing in family rites. The power of the skulls was increased by sprinkling them with sacrificial blood.

769 When a youth reached nya môtô age he had to learn to recognize
869 his ancestors so as to be able to ask for their help when the occasion
881 arose. Their skulls were shown to him until he could identify them individually and put them in the correct genealogical order. When he was able to do this, he was given a brew of the narcotic herb alan, [276] then spent a night in the biéti hut, facing the skulls, which had been removed from the éwolé and placed on the altar on which strongly scented plants were burned. During the night the ancestors appeared and gave him a cognomen and imposed one or more new taboos (at the same time he was relieved of certain prohibitions connected with age). Apparently it was during this initiation that his individual totem was revealed (if it was indeed a totem).

769 This question of the totem is very poorly elucidated, in spite of
614 some 600 pages devoted to the subject by Father Trilles. He dis-
114 tinguishes between clan, segment, individual, family, and society totems, etc. He also distinguishes a tutelary being, mvame, from the "effect of a tutelary being"; akam, an animal totem, from a dedicated animal or an incarnation of a man in an animal, etc. He

773 the animal pursuing the ancestors of the Fang in order to devour them, while the legendary history of migration collected in the north shows, on the contrary, the crocodile enabling the tribe to cross the Osoé Nnanga (the python performs this service for the Beti).

776 The observation made by the authors quoted on the "unsuperstitious" character of the Pahouin and of the slight development /113/ of "fetishism" among them is to be related to the almost total absence in their mythology of beings intermediary between God and man, genii or demigods.

774 825 Aside from the bivur, to be discussed in connection with sorcery, there are only the bingungur (Fang) (Boulou, bingôngôt) shown in some legends as kinds of ogres or ghouls haunting forests and attacking travelers. According to another interpretation, these rather are evil animals endowed with intelligence and malevolence beyond that of normal members of their species, perhaps animal sorcerers. The inoffensive aardvark, mvômesila, is thus very much feared; also a sort of very rare Pithecanthropus (Fang, éngure; Boulou, éngu'u) and a mermaid, the mammywôta of the coast, no doubt a lamantin /or manatee/. For Trilles, the éngungure is a "spirit, often transformed into an animal, which sorcers obey"; may there not be a confusion here with the évur (Boulou, évu)?

775 769 As for ghosts, bekôn, it might be said that there are good ones but no nice ones. One may usually get on with the kôn of a properly buried forebear who was respected in his lifetime and even obtain useful services from him, formerly paid for by sacrifices and libations to his skull and often today by candles, Masses, or prayers (I have known Protestants to go to Catholic missionaries for exorcism). There is more difficulty /in dealing/ with the kôn of a sorcerer or with that of a stranger neither whose name nor whose skull is in one's possession.

782 912

266 Lawful /non criminelle/ anthropophagy probably had for an end, among others, that of acquiring power over the bekôn of enemies and perhaps of assimilating the rights they derived from their ancestors. This wartime cannibalism appears to have existed especially on the geographical fringes of the group and particularly along the invasion front, among the Fang proper, the vanguard of the migration. A relative or affinal kin was never eaten, only strangers, and these only by warriors (or sometimes by sons of warriors killed by the enemy). It is worth noting that for the cannibalism of the Fang and Osyéba only the "Gabonese" felt the terror described by all explorers. The

754 the leaders who will be there, as each has his private mark.
575 That's all."

828 "But why are some pointed and others not?"

203 "Oh, that! No, that's a deep secret. If I were to tell you that I'd be punished by death at the next meeting."

[Pages 454-462 omitted. --Translator] [463]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

791 All practitioners' societies recognize ritual sacrifice. In
754 many cases a human victim is slain and eaten. These sacrifices
575 are often characterized by what seems to us revolting cruelty and
782 horror. I shall have occasion to deal with this point more fully
266 when discussing sacrifice.

These are ritual sacrifices: immolation is not done for the pleasure of killing any more than consuming the victim is for the pleasure of eating human flesh. This is so much the case that a woman is never sacrificed: "Munga ké dzamadzam, ké kie ve
[562 nsissim: A woman is of no importance (from the sacrificial point
774] of view)," runs a Fan proverb, "She has no power over spirits because she has no soul."

At sorcerer's feasts, on the contrary, and in the societies they organize, men are eaten for the pleasure of eating human flesh.

754 According to all the Fan and all Africans, sorcerers leave their boeies in order to go and feed on the hearts of other men while asleep. Hence their name, béndzi bur, eaters of men. Sometimes they do this themselves, sometimes it is done by a spirit that possesses them. I willingly admit, of course, that there is nothing true in these accusations, at least as regards the way in which the sorcerers work. But one thing is undeniable, the fact of cannibalism.

[One paragraph omitted; p. 464 omitted. --Editor]

Chapter XIV

Totems of Sorcerers and of their Secret Societies

The Nagual and Nagualism

[Summary omitted--Translator] [466]

575 791 825 of danger. Hence the symbolic choice of fast birds: the river swallow, the koulyèbe that flies like an arrow, the eagle or the vulture whose powerful flight protects it from enemies, the turtledove or the wood pigeon that knows how to conceal a nest so as to escape all attention. Or it might be an antelope with nimble legs and acute hearing, [482] which is especially difficult to capture. Finally, the crocodile sometimes appears as a totem not because it is bad tempered and devours men, but because it is always on the watch and at the slightest disturbance submerges itself and disappears in the river or because its scaly covering makes it invulnerable to arrows and javelins.

Such are the qualities that a secret society demands for itself.

575 791 ●782 The "consecrator" has chosen the totem, generally that of a class. He must now procure one himself but catch it "alive." He brings it into the hut of the "consecrated" one, who keeps it, at least as much as possible, on his chest throughout a whole night. In the morning the totem is led with great ceremony to the middle of a clearing and sprinkled with lustral water: the attending practitioners dance around it, then sing the hymn to the totem; the candidate sings it along with them. This hymn extols the totem's strength, valor, and swiftness, and especially thanks it for the protection given the society. Then, after this hymn, the candidate fetches the victim, whom he must offer, and leads him [567 562] before the totem. Ordinarily, the victim is a foreign slave, because he should not belong to the Fan nation, in order to avoid any possible ritual offense. (1) It is, however, permissible --

> 1. A foreign slave or a woman is chosen because neither possesses a totem and therefore no ritual offense is to be feared.

and this often happens -- to take a Fan woman. The slave or [278] woman is tightly gagged. Usually no resistance is offered, especially since the victim is given alewané to drink the evening before, a decoction of herbs and woody mushrooms that have the property of suppressing memory. The neophyte forces the victim to walk in front of him, or pushes him, going around the totem

575 three times. He then pulls him down to the ground, binds him
791 in front of the totem, and with one stroke of the mfor cuts the
782 carotid arteries. The blood is collected in a clay pot, which is carefully broken after the ceremony and buried. When the blood has stopped flowing, the practitioners approach. The leader, the others next, and the neophyte last, dip their hands into the pot and sprinkle the totem while they dance around it. [483]

Right after this the head practitioner approaches the totem
575 and smears its neck with the victim's blood, then with one stroke
791 cuts its arteries. The spouting blood is collected with care be-
782 cause no drop must fall on the ground, to avoid any profanation.
266 The victim's blood is mixed with the totem's, and everyone dips his hand into the pot and stirs; when the contents have been thoroughly mixed, the pot is put on a fire that has been prepared and, as soon as the blood starts to coagulate, each person present approaches and drinks a bit. The neophyte takes his turn last and has to drink all that is left no matter how much.

The victim and the totem are then placed on a special pyre. Often the victim's body is opened and the heart removed and the totem's body put in its place. When the fire has pretty well roasted both bodies, they are taken off and the victim's is put aside for eating. The totem is put back on the fire and entirely consumed, except that its burnt and pulverized bones are preserved. The victim's bones are also kept and reduced to ash so that they may be mingled with the totem's. These ashes are eventually divided among all those present; the larger share go-
[789] ing to the new practitioner to form his "totemic" fetish, which he will make use of whenever he appeals to his totem. In particular, when he takes part in the "consecration" of a new practitioner, he will, after the immolation of the totem as just described, put a pinch of these ashes on the totem's body: all his colleagues will do the same, in order to mystically unite all the totems in a common sacrifice.

At the end of the ceremony, the new practitioner must get rid of all signs of it before he returns to the village. He must see to it that no drop of blood, no trace of ash, be profaned. He breaks up the pyre, buries the pot for blood at a distance, and goes home only then, invested with a new dignity.

119 Of these, sacrifice is by far the most important. It is required; without it, in one form or another, there would be no rite, no cult ceremony.

I. Totemic Sacrifice

119 Sacrifice is the basis of all totemism. Totemic activities, whatever they may be, depend upon sacrifice, as do all the religious activities of the African.
182

At first glance, there appears to be considerable variety in sacrifices. Various authors have attempted to classify them. (1)

1. Cf. Hubert and Mauss, Le sacrifice, Mélanges d'histoire des Religions [Sacrifice, Miscellany on the History of Religion] (Paris, 1909), pp. 16 ff., Lagrange, Études sur les Religions sémitiques [Studies in Semitic Religion], pp. 249; Reinach, Cultes, Mythes, Religions [Cults, Myths, Religions] Vol. 1, pp. 2-3 ff.; Bros, op. cit. [Religion des peuples non civilisés (Religion of Noncivilized People)], p. 143; Le Roy, op. cit., [La Religion des Primitifs (The Religion of Primitives), (Paris, 1909), pp. 322 ff. [502]

We shall discuss only two kinds here, without being concerned about distinctions:

1. Sacrifice to the totem
2. Sacrifice of the totem (1)

1. W. R. Smith (article on "Sacrifice" in the Encyclopedia Britannica) acknowledges sacrifice as a totemic rite; in his opinion, it is a blood covenant, a communal meal at which the faithful eat their totem god so as to assimilate his

779
782

power, to make or renew their covenant with him. The slaughter has no other purpose except to permit communion. This is not found in all sacrifice, because, through the evolution of ideas, the notion of the "sacred" has acquired such importance that the god is merely a surviving rite, whose origin is inevitably explained by mythology.

In the view of Hubert and Mauss, sacrifice is based on belief in a vague, divine power which one can master by magical sacrifices. The purpose of sacrifice is to establish communication between the sacred world possessing these powers and the profane world, through a victim, that is, an object destroyed in the course of the ceremony. To fulfill this purpose, the victim is consecrated; by means of magic all the divine powers are concentrated in the victim and they are increased by being liberated by the immolation. The religious agent, the person offering the sacrifice, and the faithful are made partakers of this power. The victim's approach must be prepared for, hence the purifying rites.

Father Lagrange's theory acknowledges animism and gods, instead of magical forces.

a) Sacrice of the totem

The totem is "sacred" in itself. Mvame a ne ɛki. It is forbidden to offend it, even in speech, and that under severe penalties, all the more so to wound and, above all, to kill it. Should this happen, the act always entails punishment and expiation, two completely separate things, to which we shall return when discussing the sacrifice made to the totem.

779 782 How can these facts be reconciled with the sacrifice of the totem itself?

Sacrifice of a totem animal belongs to a special order of ideas. First of all, observe that we may use the term "animal." In fact, a totem is generally a living being. When this is not the case, the practitioner or religious agent of the sacrifice, the "sacrificing one," has the right to make a substitution, that is, to "animalize in another living being" the totem that is a spirit, a celestial phenomenon or a mineral, etc. [503]

779 782 675 "The totem animal is the one with whom, or rather with whose tribe, a man, representing his own person and his descendants, has made a covenant, in order to obtain services in return. This agreement usually (and we have seen that this was always the case among the Fan) "was sealed by an exchange of blood in such a way that animal and man, the family of the one and of the other, the tribe uof the first and the tribe of the second, are individuals, families, or tribes of the same blood. They are allied. From time to time it is a good thing to renew this covenant, and that is done by sacrificing a representative of the animal family, a sacrifice in which man takes part as a communicant: there is a new blood exchange, a revival of the first covenant. In addition, it is a reinforcement of the special virtues of the totem, virtues which are perhaps strengthened by the presence or influence of the ancestral spirit in the animal or vegetable so consecrated, sacrificed, and eaten." (1)

1. Le Roy, op. cit., pp. 324-325.

779 782 In what circumstances, how and why, will the totem animal be thus sacrificed? For it is probably not enough to say, with the distinguished author just quoted, "From time to time it is a good thing to renew this covenant."

There will be a sacrifice of the totem:

1. Whenever a new totem is to be chosen.

This happens, first, at each "birth" in the most inclusive sense of the word or, again, at each "beginning of a new life." Such would be the establishment of a new clan, at which time the chief's totem becomes the clan totem instead of merely the

719
●782

family one. Likewise, in the case of an individual, there will be sacrifice of the totem after birth, when the child has been accepted by his father and admitted for the first time into the tribe and receives his personal totem. And there will be another sacrifice of the totem upon his initiation as a warrior, his entry into a secret society, at each stage in initiation, in short, upon each change of totem or introduction to a totem.

2. Whenever the tribe, the clan, or the secret society, sometimes the family and even the individual, undergoes a critical experience [504] involving danger to life and needs to call upon totemic aid in a special way. The religious head of the group in danger, after the necessary sacrifices, will have to decide whether or not this offering and new exchange of blood is expedient.

3. In certain cases it may happen that the "materialized" totem has been lost: if, for instance, in battle or any kind of fighting, the akaméyôn, (1) the materialized totem representing

1. Akaleméyôn and akaméyôn are both used.

the actual covenant of the tribe with its real totem, falls into the enemy's hands. Sometimes the victors may even demand the surrender of the akaméyôn. Or the loss may be casual, the result of accident, shipwreck, etc. In all such cases, the akale or materialized totem will have to be replaced, whether it pertains to the nation, clan, family, or individual. The ceremony will vary in elaborateness according to the occasion or the organized group. It will not be very important when a single person is involved, but more so for a clan or tribe, and especially so when there is danger or when the totem has fallen into enemy hands.

Whatever the case may be, the ceremony follows the same broad lines. First of all, there will be an offering or sacrifice to the totem, sometimes a simple gift of fruit, oil, or first fruits, sometimes the sacrifice of an animal, occasionally even the sacrifice of a human being. We have given several

779 examples. After the victim has been offered to the totem,
782 the latter will itself be immolated, with all the prescribed ritual; then comes the eating or partaking of the totem itself. In this way the ancient covenant is renewed, though on a new basis. It means binding the present to the past and making certain in clear and recognizable fashion, the continuance of the totemic agreement concluded by the first ancestor of the race.

The sacrifice of the totem therefore gives us the basic idea which must have guided primitive sacrifice. First of all, it was an "offering," not a "tax" granted to a recognized master, as Le Roy puts it, for totemic sacrifice does not admit of this notion at all, but rather as the expiation of ritual but necessary
[892] murder. This notion is confirmed [505] by the fact that the sacrifice offered "beforehand" to the sacrificed totem is the same as that which ought to be offered as ritual compensation for accidental murder. The totem having been appeased in advance, the "offering" proper is then made. After a series of consecutive consecrations, the "sacrificing person," the chief or practitioner representing the organized group over which he presides, calls "into himself" the genius of the race, the power of the ancestors. But this power rests in, and inhabits, an invisible world, the world of spirits; the actual totem must be carried into that world and put to death in order that it may penetrate it. So, before the ceremony, the "sacrificing person," as representative of that world of spirits, will take care to paint himself with liturgical colors; [with] red, the color of sacrifice, and white, the color of funerals but especially of spirits, deified souls of the dead, ghosts, of all disembodied forces.

Thus totem and victim will be adorned in the same colors, and only then will the "immolation" take place.

After the immolation comes the exchange of blood.

The totem's blood has been carefully collected; those taking part make slight incisions in their arms, squeeze out a little blood, put some on a leaf, take a few drops of the totem's blood and mix it with their own on the leaf. Finally, they apply the leaf to the cuts on their arms and rub energetically so as to make the mixture of bloods penetrate to the depths of the

779 wound. Only after this ceremony do the "participants" renew
782 their covenant by drinking the totem's blood.

"Communion" follows the exchange of blood. This does not always take place; often only the victim that has been offered is shared by everyone, after it is roasted. If the totemic animal is very small, only the future possessor of this totem will receive it as a sacrament. Sometimes, instead of communion based on the totem, the participants only divide the ashes. The totem is burnt to a cinder, but the large bones are preserved intact, pulverized and mixed with the ashes of the previous sacrifice. Then each participant carefully takes [506] the portion due him and keeps it for himself. The sacrificer's portion is always much the largest.

Finally, "substitution" of totems occasionally takes place. It may be that some kinds of totem are very hard to procure, especially in an emergency. This would be the case with a panther, an elephant, or certain rare plants. The procedure, then, is one of substitution, either by simply making a figure in clay or wood, an effigy roughly reproducing the totem, or by making merely a head. But with this image the consecrator will use the same formulae and ritual and will represent symbolically those that cannot actually be performed, like blood exchange. The effigy is always first painted with the symbolic colors, then, after an offering is made, sprinkled with the victim's blood.

b) Sacrifice to the totem

These are of various kinds.

German writers often place sacrifices in different categories, such as expiation (Sühnopfer), thanksgiving (Dankopfer), and petition (Bittopfer). This division is more specious than real, at least as far as totemic sacrifice is concerned. Therefore, with Max Müller [Footnote omitted. --Editor], I prefer to look upon them as regular and occasional sacrifices.

Occasional sacrifices I consider, with Mauss [Footnote omitted. --Editor], to be, first, the sacramental sacrifices associated with the solemn events of life, votive sacrifices, and finally curative and expiatory sacrifices.

779 782 Regular or periodic sacrifices are associated with certain fixed occasions, independent of man's will and of chance. These are: the daily sacrifice, that to the new moon, and that of first fruits.

Occasional sacrifices are usually blood offerings, accompanied by rites that have earned the name "communional." [507] In almost all these, there is communion through the victim, and all present partake in the sacrifice.

Periodic totemic sacrifices are, on the other hand, rarely bloody or "communional."

In general, the African considers his own interests first. He usually pays rather little attention to his totem, except for certain rites laid down by custom, from which he would not dare to deviate. Thus, every morning, the first wife or most [788] important woman, in the name of the head of the family, anoints with oil the figure upon the box (évora biéri) that contains both the ancestral skulls and the materialized totem. Also, at the time of the new moon, an offering is made to this same Biéri, to the ancestors and totem together, the two cults being united in a common gift.

But when a Fan has some favor to ask, wants to acquire something, like a wife, an object, etc., he will hasten to make a sacrifice to the totem. The more urgent the need, and the more important the object, the more substantial will be the sacrifice, ranging from a hen to a human victim, sometimes even to the ritual sacrifice of the chief himself or at least of one of his children.

The sacrifice of thanksgiving does not exist for the Fan; he would view it as "give and take" and he would be astonished if asked to give thanks: he has offered a sacrifice to his totem, the latter has granted his prayer, which means that the totem is satisfied. Why do any more? If a new need arises, then only will it be time to have recourse again to his totem. Meanwhile he had best leave things alone. Each is satisfied with the other.

As for expiatory sacrifice, it is one of the most common. Every time an African has an accident, a misfortune, a calamity, perhaps merely lack of success, he attributes it to his totem's

779 782 having been offended by some nsem or ritual impurity, by the violation of an éki, etc., whence the necessity of appeasing the totem. The greater the misfortune, the more serious must have been the cause or the fault, even though involuntary, and the more to be expiated by a larger sacrifice. [508]

At the basis of all general rites concerned with the race, we find sacrifice in one form or another, either bloody "communional," or bloody and not "communional," or not bloody, or simply as an offering.

In these sacrifices the victim is often the totem itself. But in that case there will always have been a previous offering of another victim. That victim may sometimes be the officiant himself, as in circumcision, when the sacrificer or operator is but an agent.

II. Lustral Water; médzim akum

779 782 783 [824] In almost all totemic sacrifices, lustral water is used. The practitioner boils water in a clay pot, making an infusion with various plants. The most commonly used are: ava, a sort of fragrant labiate; asèp, a strong-smelling mint; esun (hua gabonensis), a tree with a garlicky smell; esèp (monodora myristica), with an equally strong scent; and in addition, the leaves of elun, ombien, and several others. Nearly always eleven plants are used, which must have been picked at the new moon. To these are added a few pieces of meteorite and the remains of a sacrifice offered to the tribal totem, consisting of ashes, bone, and a few bits of horn or hoof, also a little dried blood.

Before beginning, the practitioner or head of the family dips his hands in the lustral water. With this he sprinkles the participants, using a dè, (1) a kind of fly swatter usually made

[412] 1. The dè is the insignia of chiefs. In former times, only they were allowed to use an elephant's tail as a fly swatter, when they themselves had killed the animal.

779 from an elephant's tail. He then sprinkles the victim, the
782 ancestral skulls, and finally the totem.
783 Upon returning from battle, warriors wash their weapons in lustral water so as to ward off the malevolent spirits of the dead.

Lustral water is also used in sacrifices made in expiation of violations of éki.

Afterwards the water is emptied in a remote spot. The chief often carries it back to the village and uses it to water the
[824] tree, usually a fig tree, that was planted over the remains of his umbilical cord. This tree is an emblem of his own life, and the lustral water is in this case a sort of sacrifice. [509]

III. Fasting; nzè akhu

779 All important totemic ceremonies are preceded by fasts.
785 They are very strict, and the least infraction entails grave penalties.

They always take place in seclusion: those who are fasting are kept apart in the forest far from the village, shut up in small huts. During the fast it is strictly forbidden to drink or eat before sundown and to wash with water, although rubbing one's body with ashes is allowed.. Furthermore, certain meats and fruits are prohibited, such as boiled food or fruit; fermented drinks, except on certain sacred days and before initiations, when, on the contrary, it is obligatory; and drinking from any kind of pot. If someone takes a drink inadvertently, the pot must be broken right away; nevertheless this act involves a ritual fault and requires expiation. One is supposed to drink from a brook, using
[834] a leaf rolled into a cone (oké ésaga). Finally, throughout the fast all intercourse with women is absolutely prohibited (évek).

779 The duration of the fast varies with the ceremony and the
785 initiation. For circumcision, for instance, it lasts usually a
821 lunar month (ngon). Other initiations rarely exceed seven days, let us say a lunar quarter, abôñ ngon; the last quarter is usually chosen (mété méngon). The moon plays an important role in all

779 totemic ceremonies, or in even just religious ones. None may
785 be performed while the moon is dark or when it is full (ngon
821 éto ndzuge: the moon is closed). In the ceremonies at which the chief performs alone, the fast lasts three and a half days, a half lunar quarter; the fast begins at nearly full moon (nsoso ngon) and ends at full moon (nduge ngon).

IV. Totemic Dances: adzém ba dzém akhu

779 Dance plays such a large part in Fan life, as it does in
535 that of every African, that it would be very unlikely to be absent from religious and totemic life. Besides, we know that dancing has always been associated with [510] religious phenomena among all peoples and in all epochs. David danced before the Ark of the Covenant; Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans had their sacred dances; and even in our day, in quite recent times, have we not seen in Madrid the seises, the altar boys of Seville, performing their graceful dances before the blessed sacrament?

The Fan have their religious dances, and special ones for each rite. We may divide them into several classes: purely religious dances, with which we are not concerned; those that accompany totemic rites; and, finally, purely totemic dances.

Among the dances accompanying totemic rites, the principal ones are dances of sacrifice and of circumcision and mortuary dances.

779 As the name indicates, dances of sacrifice accompany all
782 sacrifices and are danced before and after, and each has it
535 characteristic features.

The dance taking place before a sacrifice is serious. The chief, then all the participants, circle slowly around the victim to a tom-tom beating out a solemn rhythm. The movements of this dance are all slow and restrained, knees are bent slightly, elbows pushed back, with hands near the hips. It is more a rhythmic march than a true dance.

The dance taking place after a sacrifice is of quite another character. The rhythm is very fast, arms are raised into the air,

779
782 legs are flung to right and left alternately; two very lively steps,
535 a pause, two successive jetés to the right and left, and a swaying of the body above the hips make up this dance, which has real beauty and does not lack a certain style.

779 The circumcision dance is entirely different. The young
881 candidates, painted white from head to foot and dressed in gar-
535 ments of leaves, are led by the initiator before the assembled
304 participants, as soon as the preparatory rites have ended and the operation is to be performed. Grown, circumcised men stand on one side, the ritual experts in the middle, those to be circumcised [511] on the other side. The dance begins. First of all, it consists of an immense circle, which spreads out and turns around the area; then the movement quickens, hands are dropped, and each person leaps and shimmies about on his own, still keeping time, which is marked out by the tom-tom. Moreover, in spite of what appears to be disorder, one soon sees that all movements are regular, perfectly conceived and executed without a hitch, without mistake, without getting out of step. Soon sweat is pouring down the dancers' arms and legs; one after another they go back to their places; only the candidates continue and their dance turns into a spinning in almost one place, on the toes, with hands stretched horizontally. Then, suddenly, at a signal from the tom-tom, the dance stops abruptly: the young dancers rush to their places, sit down, and the operations begin.

Each time the practitioner circumcises a boy, he stands up, holding in his hand proof of the operation, then does a quick dance step consisting of a few merry leaps, to the accompaniment of a special song, which everyone sings together.

When the operations are over, the youths who have been circumcised perform a short dance intended to show their fortitude; it is of just a few steps, done any old way. Then the boys quickly return to their huts, held up by their friends.

764 The funeral dance is much more beautiful. Far from
535 being dignified and solemn, the fanki is exceedingly lively and complicated, representing, theoretically, the soul of the dead man leaving his body and later reaching the world of spirits.

881 look at it as a vestige of primitive tradition.
304 To the Fan mind, circumcision is altogether a religious,
779 never a secular, act; everything that I shall have to say about it will illustrate this further.

2) The age of circumcision

The age at which Fan boys are circumcised usually varies from seven to ten. I have never seen a baby circumcised. However, there is nothing prescribed by law or custom on this point. Yet in the interior, the age of ten is far exceeded, and it is not unusual for the operation to take place between sixteen and twenty. Old men are unanimous in saying that this was the ancient custom, and that the time for the operation was made earlier in recent times because of the many casualties that occurred. It is impossible to determine precisely what they mean by "recent times." However, according to all the evidence I could gather, one should hardly go back [522] more than 200 to 300 years, that is, to the time of the great Fan migrations. We can see how unlikely it would have been during that period of confusion to perform the operation successfully at so late an age.

Formerly, circumcision must have closely preceded entering the warrior stage. Certain Fan songs seem to indicate this, and many African tribes have preserved the custom.

All the children of a village are circumcised at the same time at the tribal chief's command; the operation only takes place at certain times, when there appear to be enough children, yearly in some villages, at longer intervals in small ones.

[291] Until circumcision, children may go naked; afterwards a bit of cloth bark of the fig tree will always be worn.

The seven-to-ten-year limit is appreciably exceeded in
881 the following case: a father may, out of pride, make a solemn
304 vow to his akaméyòn that his son will not be circumcised until
779 he [the son] has killed an enemy. Under those conditions the
782 youth may go naked for a long time; nor can he have any relations with a woman or even live with the one his father may have bought for him as a future wife. Consequently, he will

881 304 779 ●782 do all he can to end this state. As soon as he has killed an enemy, he hurries with the victim's hand to his father. Circumcision then solemnly takes place before all the warriors, and his marriage is celebrated as soon as the wound has healed.

3) Time of the ceremony

881 304 779 The chief first decides upon the date, which is almost invariably in the eight days before a full moon.

As soon as the chief has announced that circumcision will shortly take place, he indicates all the children who are to be included; they, under his direction, go off into the forest not far from the village. After a large space has been cleared, they [342] build open little huts or mere shelters, where they live all together.

Their food is left at the beginning of the path leading to the huts, for no one is supposed to approach; access [523] is above all strictly forbidden to women. The food is plentiful, [264] and nothing must be thrown away or hidden; everything must be eaten, and the chief supervises this rigorously. (1)

1. One of our missionaries observed the same custom among the more advanced populations of the interior. He even mentions this fact: the rule is so strict that one of the candidates was forced three times in succession to swallow the food that his stomach persistently rejected.

4) Preparations

[351] All around the place where the boys are confined, a fence of reeds (1) is erected, which no one dares jump over. This seclusion

1. The place of circumcision shows well enough that the rite is like a consecration, by blood sacrifice, of the sexual life to which the young man is thereafter admitted. Lagrange, op. cit., p. 244.

861 304 779 The practitioner operates quickly, assisted by the chief of the tribe. Before operating on each child, he hands the knife [525] to the chief, without a word, and the latter accepts it, also in silence, without saying the usual "thank you" or "very good," abora or mvè.

With girls none of these ceremonies are observed. An experienced matron performs the operation, usually when the child is very young. It is nevertheless a religious act, accompanied by songs and dances, but since only women are present, it was impossible for me to learn the slightest detail.

The tribal chief immediately returns the knife to the practitioner, saying, "Take it and do what has to be done." (Nôñe n'ébo dzam ma yia n'ébo, lit., "Take it so as to do the deed which 'I' ought to do.") This proves that the practitioner is but the chief's delegate. Usually it is the latter who holds the penis firmly. First of all, the father pulls out the foreskin as far as possible and ties it with a bit of string. The penis, thus prepared, is then stretched out on a special board, and the practitioner cuts quickly. This is the most painful part of the operation. Ashes are then rubbed on the open wound. The head [778] of the family carefully collects the blood, which will constitute a powerful fetish after it has been offered in sacrifice to the mvamayôñ and to the ancestors.

It is a point of honor for the children not to cry out, no matter what the pain. Besides, the pain must be very much lessened by the fact that the chief squeezes the flesh firmly and the operator works quickly. As soon as it is over, the child is taken to be bathed and is then laid on a bed of ashes. His scanty clothing is removed, if that has not already been done during the preceding days, and he is now dressed in a loose garment or a belt from which hangs a thick pad of raffia fiber or thin strips of finely cut banana tree bark, so as to protect him from being hurt. After the operation every father offers [434] the practitioner a present, often a sheep or at least several hens. The latter then, according to the customary rites, offers one of [782] the sheep to the spirits and has part of it burnt. The ashes of the 778 sacrifice, mixed with the collected blood, will constitute the child's fetish. Anything left over is carefully buried in a place

539

In you the last returns to the first,
The first returns to the last.
And in common accord,
Your breath that does not die reunites them all,
Your breath reunites them without ever wearying.

It makes an unending whole,
And future children, offspring of our race,
Will also be your children, O father!
As I today am your child.

The éfirfira grows and continues to grow.
New branches start from its gnarled trunk,
One after another,
They grow, yet remain always the éfirfira.

In you the last returns to the first,
The first returns to the last. [539]

779
622
782

A gelded goat or often a gelded dog is then brought to the wooden altar; it is immolated, and the blood is collected in a clay pot. The chief dips a green palm branch in the blood and then puts it on the altar in such a way as to cover both the totems and the ancestral skulls.

779
622
533

After this first "recognition" comes a second, which consists of a song called "Song of the Visit." The chief sings it, and all the participants repeat the refrain. Thus the Yendun tribe, for instance, the refrain is:

[539]

Bi'ne biboñe bi Ndun,
Bi'ne fogo bisésé biboñe bi Ndun
Ndun a ne Esa bie,
Ndun ve Esa bie bisé.

We are the children of Ndun,
Yes, we are all the children of Ndun,
And Ndun is our father,
Yes, Ndun is the father of us all.

517 from this comes about the endless palavers about everything and nothing, for lack of anything else to do.

721 However, if for one reason or another war threatens the tribe or has to be declared, the Fan then seems to awaken from his lethargy.. Before the decision to fight, [550] there must be lengthy palavers. The totem has but a small part in these palavers, but no warrior would put in his word without having first taken his totem in hand and given it a brief scolding, often just one word, an exclamation, which only the most attentive would hear.

721 637 When all the warriors have had their say, the chief rises and sums up everything that has been said, before beginning his own speech. During this report, he usually remains at his place. He then goes to the middle of the assembly, his chief's baton in his hand and across his chest the baldrick from which the akaméyòn always hangs. "I am so-and-so," he begins, "son of so-and-so, and my father was chief of the race. We are the sons of such-and-such totem, and our akaméyòn protects us." After [201] these words, he stamps on the ground with his foot, or more often, with his baton, as if to testify to the truth of what he has said, and then gives his own opinion. When he has finished he holds up the tribal totem to bear witness to his words, then returns to his place.

779 721 782 If war is declared the totemic ceremonies are more pronounced. At first they will be nearly like those described for the initiation and consecration of the chief. The same altar is put up in the forest with the same rites; wood of the éfirfira is again used for construction. On the appointed day, all the warriors make their way into the forest, each head of a family carrying his évora biéri. The skulls are set out on the altar, and each totem at its place. The victim is then brought forward.

The scene at this point changes completely. Neither a dog nor a kid is immolated -- it must always be a man, either a prisoner of war or some captive bought back from a neighboring tribe. A woman may never replace a man. Nor may a man or child belonging to the tribe, nor one whose mother belonged either to the tribe or to an allied tribe, be used as victim; for

779 that would be against totemic law and would mean sacrilege.
721 In order to avoid this ritual offense, which would necessitate ex-
piation and would necessitate expiation and would furthermore
●782 wipe out all the efficacy of the sacrifice, the chief first of all
approaches [551] the victim, and asks his name, race, and
tribe. Is there no obstacle to the sacrifice? ´A ne mvè," he
cries, "a ne nwuba (he is good, he is 'dedicated')!" The man
is then tied to the foot of the altar and very rarely does he re-
[761] sist. All Africans resign themselves to death with almost un-
conscious ease, when they see that it is inevitable. (1)

1. In certain villages I have sometimes met such men destined for sacrifice, because they are often kept for many weeks. They walked around in the villages, apparently free, well fed, and well treated; the only sign of their captivity was a rather light block of wood well fastened to one of their feet, which they dragged along. Within the village this shackle was not much of an encumbrance, but in the forest it would have been an almost insurmountable obstacle to flight. Countless times, I have offered either to help them escape or to have the colonial authority free them. "What for?" they used to reply; "I'm well fed and treated; death is going to come anyway. Awu nzu mbèmbè! (What's the use!)"

So as to prevent any possible struggle, the evening before,
[276] the victim is given an intoxicating beverage, containing mostly
the juice of ebè and of yam (hemp). As soon as he has been
779 tied to the altar, and the chief has pronounced the ritual words,
721 the warriors start putting on their war dress. First they paint
782 their bodies red with baza (1) dye, and upon this first layer they
302
386

1. Pterocarpus angolensis: the wood is

779
721
782
302
386

mashed and mixed with oil and produces a splendid, very lasting red dye.

draw white horizontal lines with white clay (mfem). A wide black circle is traced around the eyes; on the forehead each one draws the likeness or symbol of his tribal or clan totem, or instead, they sometimes draw it on their temples or cheeks. Thus the "axe" of the Amvom, actually the likeness of a boa, their totem serpent, winds over their cheeks and temples and ends near the eyes. To enliven this image, the juice of a grassy lily, the chlorophyton (ayǎn é si), is used, which gives a long-lasting, blueish color. On the chest each one then draws his individual totem in black with gardenia juice.

721
779
782

Once they have finished these preparations, the warriors pick up their weapons and fetishes and begin the war dance, which consists of two parts: a totemic dance and then the real war dance, [552] which has a stronger beat and is more lively. I have already described this before in connection with the war song, which here accompanies the dance.

After the war dance the chief approaches the victim. He is forced to his knees; the practitioner draws a white line on his neck, then violently pulls his head forward, while an assistant twists his arms behind his back. The practitioner cuts off his head at one quick blow with the sacrificial knife, and tosses it onto the altar. The chief collects the spouting blood in a pot kept for the purpose, a new pot which will afterwards be broken. As soon as the blood stops, the corpse is laid on fresh banana leaves and the practitioner, helped by the chief, opens his chest, taking care to use only two knife strokes: one across and one up and down. The heart is taken out and placed beside the skulls; then the lungs and liver are removed. According to the body's
[787] last twitching and the position of the organs, the practitioner predicts the outcome of the war. It will either be fortunate or cause the death of many warriors. "The funeral songs will last a long time," he may say, and the crowd will raise a cry of distress! If on the contrary the auguries are favorable, there will be shouts of joy, a song of triumph and gladness.

721 Everyone then comes near, the chief first, and dips a finger
779 into the pot of blood and tastes it. The practitioner also dips in
782 his finger and with it touches each warrior's totem to make the
266 so-called racial mark (ndem ayôn). "Adopted" warriors are ex-
608 cluded from this ceremony, perhaps the only occasion when a distinction is drawn between them and the tribe; in some smaller clans they are not excluded from this ceremony.

721 When a tribe is populous and a single victim would not be
779 enough, two, three, and sometimes ten or more are provided.

782 As soon as each warrior has thus "renewed the mark," the sacred dances start again. During that time the chief joins in at first, then takes what remains of the blood, smears his ancestral skulls with it, and then sprinkles the tribal totems while the warriors sing the totem song. [553] The practitioner, helped by his acolytes makes a kind of large sticky ball from the sap of cer-
[824] tain rubber creepers (1) and a kind of gum,(2) and knead it inside

1. Landolphia Klaineana and Thollonii of the Apocyneceae.

2. This gum is produced by the Acacia erubescens Wildm. of the acacia family.

the victim's thoracic cavity so that it becomes soaked with blood.
[787] At the end of the ceremony he takes a bit from this ball and applies it to each warrior's chest. According to how long it sticks, it will give an augury about the warrior's life, death, and the wounds he will receive.

721 As soon as the ceremonies are completed the victims are
782 cut into thin strips, and each person receives his share. The feast
266 begins. This is the end of the actual totemic ceremony, to be followed from then on by purely religious and fetishist rites. I therefore need say no more on the subject.

721 After the meal, the dance, and the songs, the skulls and totems are put back in the évora biéri and carried back to the huts.

224 ditch, its point in the air, so that any animal falling in will almost certainly be pierced. Having finished with these preliminaries, the hunters make ready to actually beat for game. First there will have been a large sacrifice. Suppose a tribe has the scaly anteater (ye-mvil) for its totem. The tribal chief is the first to start on the hunt after a preparatory fast of three days. During that time he has remained apart in a small reed hut in the midst of the forest, eating only the food he brought with him, which he must first have placed on the évora biéri. He drinks only from an aromatic leaf folded into a cone; furthermore, he abstains from any relations with his wives, because contact with women is supposed at such times to be an offense against the totem (nsem éki). After these three days he makes a fetish, that is, a sacrifice to the tribal or clan totem, according to the usual practice; it consists of a goat at least or better a sheep. Formerly always and nowadays even occasionally, it was always a slave. After the sacrifice [555] the chief takes part of the victim -- the rest belongs to the practitioner -- and throughout the hunt, he must eat no other meat. He then leaves and returns to the village only when he has met with, captured alive if possible, or if not, slain, the totem animal. If he kills it he must take care that none of the animal's blood drips onto the path, thus risking being profaned, for that would be another ritual offense. Therefore the chief carefully closes the wound with dry leaves and the fluff from a banana tree.

[834] [782] [567]

While returning to the village the chief must be seen by no woman; he therefore takes care to announce his arrival by a special call, which is answered by a tom-tom, and then dashes into his hut. The women who happen to be in the village, outside their huts, must go inside quickly.

[201]

The totem animal is then placed on the évora biéri. If it is too large to fit, the chief opens it and puts on the évora the brains, lungs, and heart, the three parts which contain the life principle and the various souls. The carcass is offered in sacrifice in the accustomed manner and then divided among all the hunters.

[774]

VI. The Establishment of a New Village

361 Various circumstances may lead to the setting-up of a new
621 village. Worked-out land, denuded hunting anf fishing grounds,
166 decaying huts, a disease decimating the children, the chief's
787 death, a defeat in war, sometimes merely the wish to push on, are the principal reasons.

The spirits are consulted before departure is considered. [Footnote omitted.] There is a triple sacrifice; to the spiritual guardians of the village, to the ancestors, and to the totem. If the three replies are favorable, plans may go ahead. Otherwise, a sacrifice producing an ill-omened interpretation will be undertaken again, after a few days, until a favorable result is obtained.

361 After this first test a suitable location is sought. As this
621 choice is made by delegates, the practitioner is called upon and he, with all the male inhabitants, combs the [557] surroundings of the new village, singing and dancing so as to drive away malignant spirits or any that might be injurious to the new establishment.

361 All the men then come together in the middle of what will
621 be the future village, and the chief picks out the spot where he
769 will build his own hut. A sacrifice is offered there, first to the totem and then to the spirits of the ancestors. To do this a roof
● 782 of leaves is hastily erected and roughly placed on a few stakes. The évora biéri is carried underneath the roof and the chief puts in front of the unopened box a black hen and a kid.

Before slaughtering the two victims, the chief removes the akaméyǒn from his baldrick and blows three times in the oviara, turning in three different directions. The objective of this ceremony is to dispel evil spirits. He then drags the akaméyǒn behind him over the entire site of the new village. After one round he does another, holding the akaméyǒn in his hand. Thus malignant spirits of earth and air will be dispersed. The akaméyon is then put on the évora biéri. The chief slaughters the hen by cutting off its head, grasps it by the feet, and sprinkles the akaméyǒn and box. He again traverses the village, sprinkling

361 the sites of future huts with blood. The hen is then opened up
621 and divided among the principal warriors and the chief's relatives.
769 This strictly, speaking, constitutes the totemic sacrifice. The
782 kid or sheep is then offered to the spirits of departed souls and to the ancestors.

After the sacrifice to ancestors the chief puts the akaméyòn
361 back at his side. From the mfex or pouch, which is never re-
621 moved, he draws forth a small bundle of dirty material wrapped
769 around a bit of red wood, ashes, and a few bones. All this
778 comes from a sacrifice to the totem like that already described. To these he adds the remnants of the recent sacrifice and buries
[824] it all deep in a hole in which he drives a strong stake of élun or éfirfira wood; sometimes a young ebony tree is also used.
[822 At the top of the stake he fixes a ball of paste made of red wood,
842] white chalk -- the colors of sacrifices and spirits, and manioc, the symbol of fertility. A part of the clan or tribal totem is also inserted. The practitioner, with many gestures, songs, and dances imprisons within it all the evil spirits of the air. [558]

The practitioner sows maize in the middle of the village, then plants a manioc root and particularly a euphorbia (euphorbia antiquorum), and puts a small fence around, so that the plants
[787] will not be desecrated. The village's prosperity depends upon their rapid growth. Should they wither, the chosen spot will be abandoned. Euphorbia has the power of averting thunder and evil
[824] spirits by means of its bristling points. Amaryllis and immortelles are often planted at the foot of the euphorbia, along with a few stalks of sugar cane. The amaryllis and immortelles ought to come from the old village, having issued from those which the chief's first wife had formerly brought from her
[842] native village at her marriage. Sugar cane is a symbol of fertility.

241 The women plant maize everywhere after these prelimi-
361 naries, and its rapid growth ensures basic subsistence. Meanwhile the men build the huts. The first ears of maize will certainly be offered to the guardian totem. Dried and preserved in the form of a coronet, they will provide seed for the following year.

3. Marriage

119 I do not know of any truly totemic act among the com-
562 plicated religious rites connected with marriage. This absence
583 must come from the fact that women are considered to be in themselves independent of the totem.

584 Before marriage, especially before starting to make the
119 rounds of the villages in order to pick out a future companion, a young man first builds a sort of triumphal arch in front of his hut. A creeper decorated with various bits of cheap finery, fabric, green leaves, flowering branches, and ava flowers, is stretched from his house to the one opposite, on the other side of the public square or the main street of the village. Before his hut two shrubs garnished in similar fashion have their tops bound together to form a triumphal arch. The young man opens the biéri box, removes his family totem and a skull and puts them before the statue of the biéri. Then for hours, endless songs and dances will be performed. When the young man is exhausted, one of his friends takes over. The songs and dances last far into the night and start again at dawn. No one may interrupt or even enter the hut, otherwise the entire ceremony would have to be begun all over again. A woman's glance at the biéri or totem, or that of a strange man, would be enough to bring this about. Therefore, one of the young man's friends is constantly on guard to prevent such an accident; he stands in front of the hut door and sees to it that people move along briskly.

[583] This rite only takes place when a youth is contemplating marriage by abduction. He wishes in this manner to gain the good will of the biéri, the ancestors, and the totem.

On the third day in the evening the ritual dances end.
[782] The young man immediately offers a final sacrifice, usually of a cock, a hen, and some maize, following the prescribed forms. Then, since he is not permitted to rest for even a moment, he starts out, carrying the cock, hen, and maize as his only provisions; he is not allowed to take along anything else.

595 585 Whatever the kind of marriage, the first wife is the only one considered [574] as truly legitimate. As soon as she enters her new hut, her husband leads her by the hand before the évora biéri, which is kept tightly closed. Throughout her life, the wife will never be allowed to look into the box, as that would entail a very grave ritual offense. She now takes a bit of palm oil brought from her own village, mixes it with some from her husband's mother, and rubs this symbolic mixture on the statue on top of the évora. This is a symbol of the fertility she asks of the ancestors and the guardian spirits of the race. She next puts a few grains of maize in a small basket at the base of the statue, so that her future plantations may thrive. This sacrifice should be repeated every morning, but only by the principal wife -- and it is often omitted.

4. Hunting, Fishing, Husbandry

788 779 Before starting on a hunting or fishing expedition, likewise before going out to the first work on his plantation, every family head or warrior will be sure to invoke his totem. He does this first with an offering on the biéri box, then by touching his weapons, tools, or snares against the family totem.

788 224 779 In the case of hunting, the hunter, when charing his gun, mixes some of the ashes of totemic sacrifice with his small shot, puts his hand on his totem, and leaves confident of the outcome. Even if hunting does not come up to expectation, he would never dream of blaming his totem. He would think that he had had bad luck or, more likely, that he had committed some offense.

788 224 779 When going fishing, he carries some of the sacrificial ashes hidden in a rag. At the spot he thinks propitious, he always begins by throwing the ashes into the water, in order to obtain his totem's good will.

788 241 779 Likewise, when a man starts farming, at the beginning of each dry season, before giving the first ax blow to the trees to be cut down, he places some ashes or remnants of sacrifice in some kind of hole and sees to it that they are consumed by the

779
788 fire which he sets to the felled trees so as to make the necessary
241 fertilizer needed for his future crops. [575]

Returning from hunting or fishing, a man is always sure to
782 put an offering on the évora biéri: it may be a piece of the ani-
224 mal's heart and brain or part of the first fish caught, even the
226 whole fish if it is very small. The first fruits are also placed on
779 the évora. Any infraction of these rites leads to punishment that can only be atoned for by one or more sacrifices. A warrior will infallibly recognize punishment in the failure of hunting or fishing trips or in barren plantations.

The hunting or fishing offering is made by the head of the family, that of first fruits by the first wife.

5. Trade and Palavers

788 Whenever a Fan has to "talk," he is very careful to try
537 to gain his totem's good will beforehand. On such occasions
779 it is important that he be able to convince his fellow speakers or his adversaries.

The totem ceremony is very short. Before leaving for the palaver or on a trading trip, he removes from the biéri box some of the ashes of the last sacrifice and puts them into a rag, closes the box, and goes off contented.

Before beginning to "talk," he will open the package of ashes and put a bit on his forehead, lips, and throat. Thus the spiritual guardians of the race will aid his brain and inspire him with the best thoughts and the best phrases, and thus they will tell him the best words to use to convince his adversaries and obtain what he wants.

6. Disease and Death

755 The totemic ceremonies connected with disease and death
779 are of somewhat more consequence. As soon as a man falls gravely ill, the practitioner is called in. He demands in advance, to be on the safe side, the proper payment for his pains, and then

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

776 idea as the Bulu regarding two great gods. The *Zambe* of the Bulu is the *Anyambi* or *Sekôme* of the Fang, the *tata* or father of all things; and another god of less power than *Anyambi* or *Sekôme*, who lives in the forests and is so tall that he gathers fruit from the highest trees. Some of the old men and women profess to have seen this god of the forests.

[775] Fang superstition includes transmigration; a departed human soul may enter any animal dwelling on top of the earth or in it. There are spirits of health and
●772 disease, also a protecting spirit belonging to a clan or tribe, in whose honour, a
776 small basket is hung in the palaver house, containing portions of the skull of an albino, whenever obtainable, also portions of the skulls of a relative and a chimpanzee, human hair, nails and bones. This fetish or *biang* is called the *Biang Akumayong*. Most Fang have a cabalistic word assigned to them by the *nganga* (witch doctor), and this word is used as a prayer. During the new
[535] moon, dances are nearly always indulged in, and the songs usually addressed to the spirits of Present and Future. Local spirits need constant propitiation; a native passing in his canoe a spot where a local spirit dwells, as a large rock, will pay his respects by casting a piece of his food into the river, or when in the forest a few stones or a piece of *mbôa* (cassava) is laid at the root of some great tree.

778 Wooden idols are not plentiful among the Fang tribes living along the rivers; they are seen more in the palaver houses of the bush towns.

Charms.—These may be only cabalistic words, and under this head of vocal charms must be included the incantations of the *nganga* (witch doctor).

Material charms.—These are by far the most common; the belief in material charms, fetish, occupies the most prominent place in Fang religious contemplation.

Among the Fang, the English word Fetish, from the Portuguese word Feticio, is *Biang* (medicine). A Fang fetish is any material object which the *nganga* (doctor) has consecrated and made a fit abiding place for a spirit. What may be consecrated? Anything, absolutely anything; a shell, rag, stone, twig of a tree, horns, nails, etc. The horns of small antelope and large deer are filled with resins,
[754] nails, human hair, faeces, etc. To bewitch a person it is necessary to give the *nganga* a piece of the hair, nail, a portion of the food or a drop of blood of the
[826] person to be bewitched. A Fang is most careful if he cuts himself to see that only friends and relations approach him until the bleeding has ceased, and hair when cut is usually burnt without delay. As mentioned in the section of this
784 paper on food, every child during infancy is subjected to certain rites which
778 constitute his or her *Ebi*, prohibiting the child from eating a certain kind of food or performing a certain act. Thus far, the superstitious beliefs of the Fang and
[771] Bulu are precisely similar, and I gathered from Dr. Nassau at Gaboon many facts connected with the people among whom he laboured, the Mpongwe, which showed that they also held superstitious beliefs very nearly, and in some cases precisely similar to those of the Bulu and Fang, the only difference being in the

325 834 not be good. This extremely unpleasant prescription, in conjunction with the expensive medicine, stands in the way of a greater distribution of smelting enterprises. Even in places where a hut for iron smelting is already in existence, people prefer to buy iron from others if their own has been a failure several times, for this misfortune is attributed to the failure of the fire as a result of the sexual /226/ impurity of one or a number of the participants. The [439] importation of European iron in recent years is dealing a death blow to the native industry. The fear of bringing anything impure 325 (and all sexual matters are pre-eminently regarded as such) into 783 contact with pure fire goes so far that a medicine is made by those 841 participants whose wives menstruate during the smelting. This consists of a diamond-shape piece cut out of the bark on the supporting beam of the smelting hut on the side facing the furnace, and it is supposed to represent the female sex organ. The symbol is rubbed with redwood which has been pulverized by the woman concerned and represents her blood flow; it is covered with a leaf of the [834] Myrianthus arboreus P.B. (mangǎme III Fang) to indicate that one wants everything impure to be hidden and therefore harmless. At the same time the plant is supposed to cause the iron to coalesce to the same degree as the individual fruits are united in a syncarp. In Plate 17 one can see a piece of the leaf on the supporting post (top left), as well as (somewhat lower down) a bark container which holds fragments of ancestors' skulls, a number of antelopes' horns, and a great variety of other medicines that are used later. That the 325 people concerned with the ancestor cult are regarded as particular- 769 ly suited to bring the work to a successful conclusion is apparent from the fact that they alone may tend the fire (see Fig. 183).

The smelting of iron is thus above all under the aegis of the fire cult, but it is also closely linked with the worship of the ancestors who contribute to the success of the enterprise insofar as it lies in their power to do so.

316 325 Iron crops out in the form of brown iron ore (sɛ́ī IV) (1) and is

1. The analysis carried out by Mr. Du Bois at the suggestion of Professor Pufahl (Königliche Bergakademie in Berlin)

832 fumigated (Fig. 58), while the skulls with cold severity surveyed the situation, until they themselves had justice done to them, for they were carried in a dance around the love tree. Meanwhile, a number of the participants took red dye and with it drew a line on the bark of the love tree, observing that they themselves would like to look like this in the eyes of their beloved. Another one took black dye in addition to the red and first made a red line, saying, "In the eyes of the girl to which I shall go (he probably was not allowed to pronounce her name) I want to appear like this (red)"; then he drew a black line and added, "On the other hand, the girl shall see all others like this (black line)." We already know that red is the color of life,
[822] of joy, and of light. Black here signifies its opposite, the unpleasant and ugly.

Finally, a small punishment was meted out to the ancestral
832 skulls by sticking them in the above-mentioned draw traps set
769 up around the tree and leaving them there until the next day. Such a punishment of the ancestors is very rare, and it is significant that it does not occur at the Malan but in connection with the love medicine, which is to be regarded as a degenerate form of the Malan. Then around the tree a great variety of other medicines were distributed, such as red dye and a piece from the loincloth of a mother-in-law. Among the Fang the genitals
[826] themselves are supposed to be taken, these having been cut from the deceased mother-in-law. /162/ /Fig. 58 appears here in the original text/

832 On the forenoon of the second day of the festival about 25
783 banana leaf vessels were set up in a row in the festive area and
[415] filled with freshly fetched water. Into the first vessel the medicine man put a whole pile of bark pieces and leaves, all of them love medicines. The other vessels were treated in a more perfunctory fashion: only a few pieces of bark were placed in the second vessel, and in each of the following, only one; the last vessels did not get anything. The medicine man then sat down at the first vessel, blew into it with a pipe, whereupon a thick,
[388] soap-like foam arose, which supposedly comes from the bark of
[824] the Cylicodiscus gabunensis (Taub) Harms (edūm), and then washed his face, first in this vessel and then in all the following

832
783
[417]

Fig. 58. Love Medicine Feast, engongeschok. A number of young men have themselves fumigated over a fire in which love medicines are burned. Ancestral skulls are in the background. Ebäangon (Esseng family).

ones as rapidly as possible. The aim is to purify oneself and through the external purification to bring about an inner one so that the beloved girl will see her suitor pure, white as the leaves of Abutilon, and then love him. Whether the desired effect is achieved, I must confess I do not know; externally, at any rate, the favorable effect of the water cannot be denied. The foam is intended to cause the girl's heart to "open up" in the same way. This ablution may also be undertaken at times other than at the love festival, for instance, when a person has his eye on a certain girl, but in that case, the nails, [826] head hair, pubic hair, and underarm hair of this girl must also be put in the vessel. /163/

While the ablution was still going on, two people ran down 832 the village square and threw the civet skin back and forth to 526 each other, crossing each other's paths as they ran. People amused themselves with a similar ball game, whose significance I was unable to discover during the subsequent dance.

777 a monkey's tail. The hunter thus becomes similar to the animal,
824 as it were, and the animal loses its shyness of him. In still other
224 cases, the game is to be made "weak" while the hunter and his hunting dog are to be made "strong," and for this purpose parts are taken from corresponding plants, or they are taken from trees that bear much fruit in order to have similarly rich results. Finally, plants are chosen which are intended to remove the noxious impurity of the body. /Fig. 62. Medicines of the Fang. (a) medi-
789 cine for wealth, the root of a tree (Homalium africanum) decorated with brass wire and a brass ring; (b)-(d) medicine against enemy weapons; (e) medicine against enemy surprise attacks, fruit of the Tiliacea Duboscia macrocarpa (akak), to make enemies calm, peaceful (Duboscia and Leptonychia = peace linden); (f) medicine for successful travels; (g) medicine for speaking and singing well, contains the tooth of a tree cony (which is continually "singing"); (h) medicine for the Dschama dance; (i) medicine against palpitations and nervousness, the heart-shaped fruit of the Ertela scandens, worn around the neck (makes the heart strong), about 1/4 actual size; (k) war medicine, leopard claw, 1/2 actual size./ /166/ The manner of use varies: sometimes it is
777 internal, the leaves being cut up into small pieces and eaten with
224 the meat of the animal one has most recently sometimes killed;
783 it is external, in the form of injections of a bark infusion, which have the double effect of removing the impurity from the body and imparting to it the essence of the plant; or a piece of wood is charred and then used to draw a line across the forehead, so that one "looks" just like the plant concerned. Most frequently, the impurity is removed by ablutions: either individual parts, face, hands, and frequently also elbows and the knee, as well as the rifle, are washed in medicine water; or the entire body is washed in a stream, on which occasion a little dam blocks off the water which, after the completion of the ablution, is again allowed to run its course so that it will carry the dirt far away downstream (osüe nkiai). In order to guarantee the lasting efficiency of the
777 medicines, people generally wear pieces of wood and bark as
224 pendants on neck chains, hunting pouches, satchels, belts, and so forth.

circumcision was public, and the woman to whom it was done underwent the gibes and insults of all the inhabitants.

The life of the young people is the same as that of the adults. The virginity of a woman is considered unimportant and the Fan have sexual relations from the time they are capable of cohabitation. When a young girl has a child, it belongs to her parents, from whom the child acquires wealth; there is no search for the father and the young girl keeps all the respect which she enjoyed. Young girls are free to give themselves to whomever they please. This very broad morality, however, has one important qualification in that there are, so to speak, no young girls, the little girls having been married off by their parents very early, sometimes even before their birth.

Marriage (alug). Men rarely marry before the age of twenty years, and usually later, because they do not have the means to pay the dowry for taking a wife.

Exogamy is always practiced because marriage between people of the same tribe is sterile. Marriage between cousins is forbidden up to the third generation and in general, marriage is forbidden between persons linked by any kind of kinship; in this case there is also prohibition of sexual relations. No penalty is prescribed for infraction, but the guilty ones will fall ill and their children, if they have any, will not live.

Occasionally there are instances when marriage between relatives is authorized, but only after the practitioner has removed the prohibition by the process [88] called abvule minsem. The practitioner goes to find some termite earth (ngurege), a plant (mekaga), and a vine (nyola dzik); the plant and vine are folded and placed in an etok (a container of banana leaves) full of water. The termite earth is placed on a nzum (see the description in the section on conception) and the etok is placed underneath. The two kinsmen who want to marry also stand underneath it, while the practitioner climbs onto the nzum, dips the leaves in the etok, and says, "nseme ose mi waga bo e wo ma va yüi" (I remove every prohibition that you have made). He hits the termite earth with the leaves and then takes the etok and pours the contents onto the heads of the two people from whom he is removing the prohibition. With the remainder, the man and woman each takes a washing.

A man who has not enough dowry but who finds a young girl eager to marry him may take her away in the night; when the parents come

582 related by marriage: between a man and "any woman, even
835 divorced, of his kinship by marriage," between "members of the son-in-law's family" and any woman divorced from the kinship by marriage. (1) There are also prohibitions relating to the

1. Cf. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 17.

"adopted" (ntobɔ̃). It seems important to us to state that these various interdicts exclude from marriage persons between whom there are already very definite relations, those due to effective kinship (including "cousins" to the level where the nd'ɛ̀ bɔ̀t is most often split into separate elements), those that exist between groupings already related by marriage, and those which arise from the state known as "adoption." Everything takes place as
[609] if the aim sought by means of marriage was to impose an alliance on the most foreign elements — foreign and hostile being considered as synonymous during the period of conquest. (2) The

2. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., pp. 91-92: "Relations with foreign tribes are rare ... the foreigner is accepted with reserve and only when he shows merchandise proving that his visit has no other purpose than to fetch a woman whom he can marry. The tribes are very frequently hostile to one another..."

obligation to respect both double exogamy and the above-mentioned interdicts contributes essentially to broadening among the groupings the field of relations based on co-operation. Incest,
835 an infraction of these principles, enters into the category of the
713 nsem defined by Martrou as "ritual impurity, moral defilement." It brings about sterility or illness and arouses in traditional society a collective reaction. V. Largeau in his work mentions the process of expiation (3) in use at that time with the intervention of the

3. Op. cit., article: Inceste [Incest].

835 783 "men's society" and the rite allied to the makuma dance characteristic of this society.

Marriage creates the so-called "restricted" or "individual" family. This has no special name and represents the smallest grouping in which communal life takes place. The husband and wife are nomõ and nga to each other — these two terms stressing the biological character of the union since they also signify male and female. His parents-in-law are minki [128] or nkia, "he who has received the bride price," a word recalling the seal that has validated the union. In the same way the term mbòm, meaning "newly married woman whose bride price has just been paid," is used to designate the daughter-in-law, and has the same context. The principle already mentioned of the pre-eminence attached to seniority subsists in the relations with the abè. For the husband the wife's eldest sister is mînki (mother-in-law) while the younger sister is ngòm zam (my daughter). On a similar pre-eminence is based the authority of the first wife over the other wives; while the former is nanõ (mother) the others are mbòm (daughter-in-law) — which explains her role of directing the various jobs and moral responsibilities entrusted to her. Finally, the personal element at the level of these relations is perfectly symbolized by the position accorded to the preferred wife (nluga or ntômba). This astonished one of the first administrators of the Fang country, who wrote: "While they usually profess great indifference toward their wives and have no scruples over renting or lending them out, they have a rather keen affection for the companion whom they choose as 'favorite.'" (1) This is the least socialized part and manifests relations that have a certain spontaneity between the two elements associated by marriage.

1. Archives for the Year 1905, Libreville.

Residential Units

621 The colonial government has acknowledged only a "collection" of villages in the Fang country, giving this name to the

586 made, but this practice is only very rarely followed in cases of free
851 union, ébon, even when that is followed by a regular marriage of the
848 natural parents. Illegitimate children, fruits of an ébon, bobengon, are kept in their mother's clan, where, moreover, they rank socially only after legitimate children.

There used to exist a kind of adoption, rare today, of a political
597 rather than family nature, which could almost be defined as naturali-
614 zation. It could only be carried out by the head of an extended family
[641] on behalf of an orphan, mone nyui, of another clan (orphans within /56/ the clan being, of course, already considered children of the head of the family). The adopted child, abiaé môsô (i.e., "conceived
[833] in the daytime," sexual relations being lawful only between sundown and sunrise), came into the clan with a status analogous to that of the monengon. He remained subject to the marriage prohibitions of his clan of origin.

609 A non-Pahouin outsider permanently residing in a village, a ntabe,
614 may benefit through marriage by alliance, élat, which does not thereby make him a member of the clan. He becomes a monekal (sister's son, uterine relative) and his children, though legitimate, belong to their mother's clan.

593 The descent relationship may be broken by paternal or maternal
578 curse, meyo'é: the parent uttering the curse shows the child his sexual organs, "the place whence he came," while pronouncing a formula oath. The curse is supposed to bring misfortune and death to the offspring accursed, whom everyone avoids. It can only be
[783] lifted by a collective purificatory rite (étye, tyô) in which the whole nda bôt participates.

3. Age Grades

561 The individual's life cycle is marked by a certain number of transitions, which are accompanied, or were usually accompanied, by rites that will be discussed further on (p. 115). These crises are birth, weaning, puberty, attaining majority, marriage, death. Age grades correspond to the intermediate stages; they are less strictly defined today than formerly.

561 I do not know the exact word for fetus: people say abum, belly.
843 There must be a more precise term, but I think there is a prohibiton connected with it, certainly as regards men, although it may now be

631 Given Pahouin interest in a political system based on election, which
636 pretty well corresponds both with their individualism and with their
[181] mistrust of individuals, it may be that such a system has some chance of success if it is allowed to become Pahounized.

5. Associations

575 Traditional associations were undoubtedly less developed among the Pahouin than among other African societies with more closely knit or more stable hierarchical structures. The social groups at the core of clans or villages arose and decayed in accordance with migrations and "swarmings-off." They showed a kinship rather than an associational character.

Nevertheless, there existed within kinship as well as outside it associations not based on descent, voluntary and not de facto /discretionary?/. These were often characterized by initiations and had a magical or religious basis, with varying purposes.

The minsamba, "societies," were temporary, organized for a military operation (ôban, mvélé) or for a trade journey to the coast or to the "trading-posts" of the Ogooué. The men who took part often came from different villages or even from different clans bound by an alliance (élat). They swore an oath of loyalty and mutual assistance, involving a ritual sacrifice followed by a communion
[782] meal; for a war enterprise, there might be a human victim, especially if it were a matter of avenging the death, kum mbim, of a monyaŋ (brother) and if there were a prisoner of war available to sacrifice. The association was dissolved once its end had been accomplished, but a bond persisted between its members.

[204] Similar temporary associations could be formed for large elephant
[141] hunts; they were moreover often confused with the nsamba dulu or nsamba ayak (traveling society, trade society) afterward organized for the sale of the ivory.

575 The most important permanent associations were those among the initiates of different rites. But what was most often involved in these
● 783 was a kind of relationship by way of a rite, which was not the rite's real purpose, or was so only adventitiously. When, for instance, all the inhabitants of a village took part in the ésye purification rite, a strengthening of the fraternal ties among them certainly ensued, but the prime purpose was purification (1). /63/

575
628
783

1. Among the Beti (Eton) another rite is to be found that cuts across clan or tribal barriers: "étup is planted" to make peace, to end a family quarrel, to check an epidemic. The old men consult the spider oracle, /63/ then call the men together. The assembly is in charge of the mbongengañ (magic-makers—initiates of higher rank). The members of the two groups start to hurl mutual accusations. Then those who bring bad luck are pointed out, the biwonwolo. A shrub, meyan, is then planted, and a biañ /medicament/ is prepared in a pot, over which the audience swear an oath to give up behaving badly to one another. The biañ is then inserted into the nostrils of the biwonwolo in order to do away with the bad luck. (J. B.)

575
626

Nevertheless, certain rites had along with other aims that of setting up among the initiates an association that would produce a kind of dialectic of energies /sic/ (tyé, kié) between the group and its members. The principal society, which probably had a national character that cut across clan lines, was the ngil (1), about which unfortunately very little is known nowadays. The ngil seems to have been the main, if not the only, element of tribal cohesion on a political level. Its function was social control and defense, especially to preserve the society as a whole from the activity of sorcerers. By uniting initiates from all clans, it could settle interclan disputes by avoiding recourse to war or feud. It served to some extent as a police force and judicial system, with the initiates of lower rank carrying out the

1. The origin of this word is uncertain. It has been referred to ngil (njil) meaning gorilla; old administrative reports speak of "gorilla-men." There has also been suggested, less convincingly, a connection with ngul, meaning capacity, potency.

575 as strong interclan ties as does ngil; however, the initiation leader may belong to a different clan from the initiates.

[783] Esye (étye or tyo?) is a purification and reconciliation rite, described by Father Guillemin for the Beti; it does not extend outside the ranks of an ayôm (segment).

575 825 Among the Boulou of Sangmélima, the Ntoumou of Ambam, and the Fang of Djoum, I found some medical society initiates who call themselves "snakes," using the proper word, benyo (sing. nyo), not the euphemism minkol afan (lit., bush lianas). Their specialty is treating bites and capturing and taming snakes. Initiates are known within the society under the name of one or another variety of snake, conferred at initiation. There are several degrees of initiation (three?): first-degree initiates /65/ are called bo' b'ayañ, children of the Dendraspis; advanced initiates are bo' be mvôm, children of the python. Their medical knowledge seems quite extensive; they [765] claim, in particular, to be immune to /snake/ bites, thanks to the application of a special bian̄ (medicament) through incisions at the time of initiation. The main center of this association would appear to be among the Mekaé of Messamena, and it is therefore not properly Pahouin.

575 626 754 All these ritual associations contributed to social order mainly through defense against malevolent sorcerers. The sorcerers, for their part, are often organized in secret societies in order to join forces against the organs of control and repression. Inevitably, therefore, these societies are ill understood. Nearly all of them must have included beyem (sing. nnem), that is, bearers of évu. In fact, if one may be subject to possession involuntarily and even unknown to oneself, one may also nyoñ évu, receive évu, always in the sense of a burden. A person entering a beyem association has to pay for his entrance by the sacrifice of a near relative and also accept the imposition of a special prohibition, the breaking of which (nsem) brings instant death.

575 754 The ze mimfaka (lit., road panthers), notorious under the name of leopard-men, were an association of man-eating sorcerers, a kind of counter-ngil (1). Nowadays what is involved may well be a

1. There are also independent ze mimfaka.

pathologically degenerate form of the ngil itself. In the course of a

c. Punishments

681 The scale of punishments included death, the paternal curse, putting in chains (mbok), fine, and bastinado. To these were added for women removal of the clitoris and the labia minora, injection of pimento into the vagina, and public exposure, naked, with legs held apart by the mimbok /pl./ (ésamele minga).

681 The death sentence was carried out so as not to shed blood— which would have made purification necessary—by drowning, strangling, 783 burial alive (the last particularly in certain cases of nsem, like incest), or by burning. If the execution had to be bloody, it was carried out by a captive—a foreigner to the clan—but, in theory, the shedding of blood always had a sacrificial character and was to be avoided on all other occasions.

The death sentence was applied for sorcery and serious minsem (breakings of taboo) such as incest or the killing of a monyañ. For other infractions, compensation was the general rule, either by retaliation or by indemnity, the latter usually being the preferred method. For instance, for a homicide /meurtre/ committed outside the clan, the mintôl arbitrators tried to make the killer's family pay blood money, either in goods or by giving a woman in compensation. To this there might have been added some sort of disciplinary corporal punishment within the killer's clan or family. If compensation was not paid, the victim's clan had recourse to retaliation upon any member of the clan or family of the guilty man: responsibility was individual within the family, collective within the clan and tribe.

A fine must be distinguished from the compensation accorded to the victim: it went, in fact, to the ntyi'i mejô, perhaps to pay for his intervention. It survives today, though illegal, to the benefit of official and semi-official assessors: it is freely called toya, from Coast English tax, to distinguish it from compensation, ngôtô = ransom, redemption.

Placing in chains applied especially to persons considered socially dangerous (it is nowadays used in remote villages for some insane), bastinado to minor crimes committed within the clan. Clitoridectomy was the punishment for adultery and minor incest. The injection of 695 pimento was rather a nkal, test or ordeal, than a punishment; it was applied especially to widows after the husband's death to discover whether or not they had been responsible. The use of ordeals, minkal,

843 As soon as pregnancy is recognized, the parents have to observe all sorts of bityi, prohibitions, the first of these being to stop having sexual intercourse, which would bring on a miscarriage or produce a monster. They must not go near a corpse nor attend funerals. The woman must abstain from certain foods /91/, the eating of which would harm the child: fish, which would cause skin diseases; bat and duck, which would mean webbed fingers and toes; snake, which would mean a child born without limbs or with atrophied limbs, etc. The woman must avoid taking long strides and stepping over holes or ditches and must stop wearing drawers if she has done so before. The husband must not nail or tie anything, which would make for a difficult delivery; he must also abstain from certain foods. During pregnancy the woman anoints the belly and breasts with palm oil mixed with baa, wears a special belt of ôkumu liana (a kind of solanaceous plant), and avoids leaving the house barefooted.

"Accidental" miscarriages are generally attributed to the breaking of a taboo (nsem) and entail ritual purification; so long as these have not been carried out, the woman is not allowed to speak to any man except her husband, at least directly, nor to look a man in the face. "Criminal" miscarriages are attributed to sorcery or, more precisely, [783] to an évu, which may belong to the woman herself; they entail more rigorous purification; the lochia are submitted to a kind of magical "disinfecting" before being buried secretly beneath a road so that 847 passers-by will walk over them without knowing. Voluntary abortion, very rare in former times, is becoming fairly common, particularly among unmarried mothers in Christian families; it is brought about by vegetable emmenagogues (one is extracted from papaya root) or by introducing into the neck /of the womb/ a roll of twisted bark (I could not find out from what tree). Sometimes women induce abortion in one of their co-wives out of jealousy.

844 The first delivery and often succeeding ones usually take place in the woman's native village (jañ). A husband is not allowed to take wife and child back home until after payment of what is really the final installment of the bride price, particularly a substantial present for the mother-in-law, which is repeated at each birth, whence the proverb, "A mother-in-law's basket is never full." The parturient is delivered in a sitting position, with her mother or ntyi (mother-in-law or co-wife of higher rank) holding her from behind, and assisted by a midwife, mbialé binga, formerly an official in

946 river again (until now she has washed in her hut), puts on new clothes presented by her husband, and starts cooking for him again and work-
[763] ing in her garden. Special purification has been carried out if the
[833 853] baby has died in the interval. The prohibition against sexual relations lasts as long as the child is at the breast; to break this taboo would make it nyu meyôm, drink sperm, which might lead to its death.

Postpartum care is given by the mbialé binga, then by the woman's mother or aunt or ntyi. This consists of vaginal douches and external and internal napkins of vegetable compresses.

853 The baby may be suckled only by its mother or a woman of the mother's blood, a grandmother or maternal aunt. If this is impossible, the baby cannot live (at least in rural districts where concentrated
[278] milk is unknown). Traditional pharmacopoeia possesses, however, extraordinary vegetable lactic stimulants, probably without equivalent in the European pharmacopoeia.

b. Childhood

563 The old custom was not to name (yôlɛ́) the baby until it was taken out of the house; until then it was usually called by the name of a small animal, like "squirrel" or "palm rat." Nowadays the name is
[641] given within a few days of birth, if for no other reason than to comply with citizenship regulations. /93/

551 A name, jɔ̂ɛ́ or jui (also meaning nose, order, command, authority) includes the ɛ́yɔ̂lɛ́, the individual's own name, and the atinan, complementary name chosen from the biyɔ̂lɛ́ of ancestors according to clan or family traditions, which are on the decline. Formerly, a cognomen was added to these, a mebatan (1) or jɔ̂ɛ́ mebatan (lit.

1. Trilles translates this word as "genealogy": lañ mebatan means both "to recite the genealogy" and "to recite the salutation," simply because this was in fact the formal way of introducing oneself; a newcomer's genealogy determined how his hosts would "greet" him. True genealogy, pedigree, is ɛ́ndan, related to ndan, tattoo mark, emblem.

salutation name), sometimes conferred at initiation. This mebatan

764 commun/ were buried by their co-wives and the women of their affinal family. Bongô and bikeñelé were buried at home with no other ceremonial than the mother's mourning.

763 When signs of sorcery were found on a corpse, the ngengañ or
787 mvimvi'i turned to divination to find the presumed culprit, who was subjected to an ordeal of bitter herbs. As a general thing, wives had
[695] to submit regularly to the pimento or ant ordeals to make them confess not only the part they might have had in the husband's death but also their adulteries. When no one was found responsible for the death of a mie individual (nonsorcerer), it was decided that he had been the victim of a breaking of taboo, nsem, sometimes unwittingly. Whatever the cause of death, sorcery or nsem or repercussion from
● [783] an act of sorcery, purification always occurred, generally by a sacrifice at the end of the mourning period (meyep). /103/

765 The duration of mourning was, and still is, a mbu /six months/, but it is now less rigorous. Formerly the wives of the dead man were secluded, naked, for a month in his hut, the first wife lying on his bed; their heads and all their body hair were shaved, and they were painted white with ash and forbidden to wash or do their hair until the end of mourning. The dead man's brothers and sons shaved their heads and let their beards grow without trimming or combing; their foreheads were painted white and they wore only old clothes. They had to observe a series of prohibitions concerning certain ways of hunting, the eating of certain kinds of game (perhaps the dead man's personal totem?), all journeys, the circumcision of the dead man's sons, the use of a bed, etc. The end of mourning was marked by a sacrifice and often by a melan ceremony in order to enter into communication with the dead man.

The strictest mourning was observed for the death of an esa, a man of the father's age grade, less for a monyañ, and hardly any for a mongô. With regard to women, a man observed solemn mourning only for his mother and first wife, and this meant mourning within the family, while a man's death involved the whole village. However, an epidemic was followed by heavy mourning, and when the one presumed responsible was identified, it was not enough that he
766 pay avutan, compensation, he was burned or drowned (his immediate
[791] family was constrained to pay the avutan), and then a general
783 purification was undertaken.

266 Boulou and Ntoumou, who often fought the Fang, do not accuse them of cannibalism, which seems to prove that this /practice/ was restricted to "foreign" wars, to conquests. Intestinal cannibalism was held in horror and practiced only by sorcerers, often called bedi bôt, man-eaters. Di nlem, usually translated as "soul eating," means literally "to eat the thoracic organs" and may be applied to outright material consumption of these internal organs. On the other hand, the anthropophagy or "necropophagy" that might be qualified as homeopathic, which consists of swallowing in a biañ (mbiañ) a tiny amount, often as ash, of an ancestor's or an initiate's body, has nothing criminal about it and apparently used to be part of all important rites. /113/ From this point of view, the communion meal of the body of the sô, if this rite is truly totemic, represented perhaps manducation of the ancestor.

As for gastronomic cannibalism, it is a story for the picture papers. Not only man's flesh but even that of anthropoids, aside from the cases mentioned above, is absolutely taboo /the plural bityi is used here. —Tr./, and accidental consumption or consumption enforced [261] by absolute necessity (for instance, if hunters are marooned by a 783 flood) entails rigorous purification.

c. Elements of Cosmogony

772 Our knowledge of the traditional world view is largely conjectural 803 too, for the reasons already pointed out. We may state with reasonable certainty two fundamental concepts:

Orientation of space and time referred to the apparent movement of the sun; perhaps it would be better to speak of space-time, as the two ideas are closely connected.

The principle described by Stoll as "double symmetry," which could also be called "sexual complementarity" and summed up as the equilibrium in tension of all elements of the universe /création/.

These two concepts are, as things stand, tied together if not inseparable.

Time and space flow from east to west in a declining movement. East is ôku, upstream, high, and male; west, nke, is downstream, low, and female. The earth, si, is surrounded by water, or rather, enclosed by water and darkness, /thus/, ndim = blind; mendim =

784 Some bityi appear to be connected with totemism: these are the bityi mekam, protective prohibitions, forbidding members of certain clans to kill certain animals or to eat certain plants. Others are undoubtedly connected with the social structure, like sex or age-grade prohibitions, the breaking of which strike at the family hierarchy. Others may be described as hygienic prohibitions, like those connected with pregnancy, illness, or convalescence. There are prohibitions connected with magic: personal taboos vis-à-vis some animal seen in a dream after a family initiation, or imposed when joining an association; prohibitions pronounced by a magician, often out of revenge; prohibitions undertaken as vows to obtain a specific result. Among the Beti, Binet has known women to impose on themselves certain [43] food etyi for a year, at the end of which time there is a party where [177] they collect many presents from their relatives and friends. This seems to be an innovation and perhaps represents a deviation from certain Catholic practices.

[614] It seems that in former times, following a war or an alliance, or in connection with an awusô relationship, two clans might undertake to respect one another's clan taboo. Besides, married women, although they did not enter the husband's clan, were supposed to some extent to respect its bityi.

783 Minsem can be expiated by redemption, ngôtô, according to 784 different rites (étyi, melan among men, évôtô among women), including public confession and sacrifice (for women, the sacrifice is made by father or husband, the woman undergoing severe corporal punishment). /123/

Some personal bityi can be raised (kui étyi = to emerge from a taboo) by a process similar to that of redemption for a nsem. This is never possible in cases of general sexual, age-grade, or clan prohibitions.

787 The first Christian converts must have shown genuine heroism in 784 giving up their bityi, since they had to overcome, not only personal fear, sometimes at the cost of real psycho-physiological crises, but also unanimous public obloquy and often the vengeance of their family, which attributed to their minsem all its misfortunes. One might say that only that first generation of Christians succeeded in abandoning the bityi almost completely. The following generations, in much greater numbers, continued to observe quite a few /bityi/, certainly all those that did not openly conflict with the practice of the /new/

779 782 having been offended by some nsem or ritual impurity, by the violation of an éki, etc., whence the necessity of appeasing the totem. The greater the misfortune, the more serious must have been the cause or the fault, even though involuntary, and the more to be expiated by a larger sacrifice. [508]

At the basis of all general rites concerned with the race, we find sacrifice in one form or another, either bloody "communional," or bloody and not "communional," or not bloody, or simply as an offering.

In these sacrifices the victim is often the totem itself. But in that case there will always have been a previous offering of another victim. That victim may sometimes be the officiant himself, as in circumcision, when the sacrificer or operator is but an agent.

II. Lustral Water; médzim akum

779 782 783 [824] In almost all totemic sacrifices, lustral water is used. The practitioner boils water in a clay pot, making an infusion with various plants. The most commonly used are: áva, a sort of fragrant labiate; asèp, a strong-smelling mint; esun (hua gabonensis), a tree with a garlicky smell; esèp (monodora myristica), with an equally strong scent; and in addition, the leaves of elun, ombien, and several others. Nearly always eleven plants are used, which must have been picked at the new moon. To these are added a few pieces of meteorite and the remains of a sacrifice offered to the tribal totem, consisting of ashes, bone, and a few bits of horn or hoof, also a little dried blood.

Before beginning, the practitioner or head of the family dips his hands in the lustral water. With this he sprinkles the participants, using a dè, (1) a kind of fly swatter usually made

[412] 1. The dè is the insignia of chiefs. In former times, only they were allowed to use an elephant's tail as a fly swatter, when they themselves had killed the animal.

779 from an elephant's tail. He then sprinkles the victim, the
782 ancestral skulls, and finally the totem.
783 Upon returning from battle, warriors wash their weapons in lustral water so as to ward off the malevolent spirits of the dead.

Lustral water is also used in sacrifices made in expiation of violations of éki.

Afterwards the water is emptied in a remote spot. The chief often carries it back to the village and uses it to water the
[124] tree, usually a fig tree, that was planted over the remains of his umbilical cord. This tree is an emblem of his own life, and the lustral water is in this case a sort of sacrifice. [509]

III. Fasting; nzè akhu

779 All important totemic ceremonies are preceded by fasts.
785 They are very strict, and the least infraction entails grave penalties.

They always take place in seclusion: those who are fasting are kept apart in the forest far from the village, shut up in small huts. During the fast it is strictly forbidden to drink or eat before sundown and to wash with water, although rubbing one's body with ashes is allowed. Furthermore, certain meats and fruits are prohibited, such as boiled food or fruit; fermented drinks, except on certain sacred days and before initiations, when, on the contrary, it is obligatory; and drinking from any kind of pot. If someone takes a drink inadvertently, the pot must be broken right away; nevertheless this act involves a ritual fault and requires expiation. One is supposed to drink from a brook, using
[134] a leaf rolled into a cone (oké ésaga). Finally, throughout the fast all intercourse with women is absolutely prohibited (évek).

779 The duration of the fast varies with the ceremony and the
785 initiation. For circumcision, for instance, it lasts usually a
821 lunar month (ngon). Other initiations rarely exceed seven days, let us say a lunar quarter, abôd ngon; the last quarter is usually chosen (mètè méngon). The moon plays an important role in all

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

372 484 log from the last town where the caravan rested. This man kept the piece of wood burning by gently swinging it backward and forward, while marching along the path with his load. On one occasion I timed a native, and when we reached the next stopping place, after a three hours' tramp in the rain, the brand was still burning brightly, and it had been frequently passed from one end of the caravan to the other so that all who desired could light their pipes from it.

The Fang use fire in the ceremony *of going out of mourning*. I witnessed this 372 765 ceremony once at Foulabifong. The widows of an old headman had put in the regular time of mourning and were now to be released. There were seven widows in all, three of middle age, and four young girls. A small fire of leaves had been lighted in the centre of the street, and on each side of the fire stood several young men armed with switches. The widows wore a very slender loin cloth. At a given signal the widows rushed toward the fire and bounded through it, the young men switching them as they passed, but the switches were not used severely. Immediately after the switching, each widow seated herself on the ground holding a bunch of burning leaves under her feet, while a young man shaved their heads with a sharp trade knife. On inquiry regarding this ceremony, I obtained the ● [783] following information: Passing the fire *cleans* them after mourning (evidently considered a means of purification). Switching reminds the widows of their duty to the man who inherits them as his wives. Burning has two meanings: firstly, the pain caused is endured as a last act of mourning for the departed; second, it signifies that henceforth the widows walk a new path (enter upon a new life).

Fire has a place in Fang religion or belief. The sun is considered the *tata* 372 (father) of all heat, and the original maker of all fire, whether by friction, matches, 821 powder, or lightning. When a severe thunderstorm is at its height, the natives say of the lightning, "that the sun has hid his face and is shooting fire, because he is angry." The native word for sun is *jo*. Although the palaver house fire is kept burning, still, no special effort is made to keep it alight; should it go out, any person present is at liberty to rekindle it from newly produced fire.

VII.—*Customs.*

671 The Fang have no system of law, no judge or tribunal for punishment of crime. Theft, murder, offences against the person are all settled according to native custom.

Example: A Fang of the *Esisis* clan steals goods or a woman from a Fang of 628 the Nge clan. The Nge who has been wronged does not go to the offender for 681 settlement, he goes to another near town and shoots the first goat he sees in the street, or if very angry, he may shoot a woman. The owner of the goat or woman demands of the Nge his reason for doing so. The Nge replies, "An *Esisis*" (giving the man's name) "has wronged me; I put the palaver (his offence) on you." The third party then goes to the *Esisis* and says, "An Nge" (giving the man's name) "has shot my goat (or woman) because you have made trouble with him; he has put your palaver (trouble) on me. You must pay me!" The original offender is

752 are rubbed into them. In this case it is clear that the view the
278 natives have of powers of healing is not free of contradiction and confusion. The excrescence on the tree is /184/ natural, that on the person unnatural. By incorporating the tree's natural excrescence in the form of ashes, they hope to induce the human growth to return to its natural shape, that is, to become smooth, while in actual fact one would expect the person to get a swelling from this.

752 For bandages the Pangwe usually use strips of dried banana leaf sheaths. In the case of finger and toe injuries, a small halved calabash, fastened with a string around the joint, is slipped on as a cover (Plate 25).

000 Medicines for impotence, sexual stimulants, devices to influence the woman's sexual life (menstruation, pregnancy, birth) will be treated later (Section 18).

5. Food Prohibitions

262 Pangwe life is dominated by a number of rules which they call
784 bekī, (from ekī,). These, in the main, prescribe that certain actions shall not be performed at certain times and that certain foodstuffs are to be avoided either at all times or only at certain times. The most important rules are the latter, the food prohibitions. The following are distinguished: 1) ekī, bebin = taboo for those not initiated into cults, or ekī, bonenga = taboo for women, who are uninitiated as regards the men's cults; 2) eki, bongus = taboo for the initiated of the cults, in practice usually of the women's cults; 3) ekī,-bondŭ'mǎn = taboo for young, vigorous persons, and the forbidden animals are called dūm; 4) ekī, abŭm =
262 taboo for the belly, that is, the prohibition of certain animals at
784 the time of pregnancy, or ekī, mǒn = taboo because of the child,
843 that is, food taboos for the duration of the pregnancy and nursing the child, a period during which the taboo applies both to the mother and the father, a consequence of the opinion held by the Pangwe that the woman -- as it is always put -- has the lover or husband "in her belly," that is, that the developing fruit is actually

[Text continues on page 60]

262 nothing else but the man who with the help of the female body is
784 newly formed, nourished, and born; 5) ekī, bongō'n = taboo for
[843] young girls.

The following list will show which animals are never eaten, which are subject to an ekī, and which are not forbidden.

A. Mammals

1. Never eaten.

262 Crocidura species (mbǎšū,m I); Mus rattus L. (tǒlō III); Sciurus
pumilio Leconte (mvūk esǒn); and the inside of the elephant's tusks
[764] (ngǒ e zǒk I), which it is likewise forbidden to step over, "because flaccid and bitter." /185/

2. ekī, bebin or ekī, bonenga.

Sheep and goats (kǎbǎd IV) among the Fang; Simia satyrus L. (woǎ III) among the Fang; Gorilla gorilla L. (ngī IV); Potamochoerus albifrons Du Chaillu (ngūí, Fang) among the Fang; Cephalophus dorsalis Gray (sǒ' IV); Neotragus batesi Winton (odžūčˆ) among the Fang; the last two are also taboo for the uninitiated of the Sso cult.

3. ekī, bandǒman.

Bats (otǎ,n), which also may not be touched by adults (ekī, a bi,); fruit bats (indē'm) and Scotonycterus zenkeri Matschie (ngǒm I); Dendrohyerax tessmannii A. Br. (nīū'k IV); Perodicticus batesi Winton (awū'n); Arctocebus aureus Winton (mǎsǎtīīdi I and III); Sciurucheirus gabonensis Gray (emǎm IV) which also may not be touched; Anomalurus species (ngui IV); Mus species (edū,); Viverra civetta poortmannii Pucher. (zōē IV); Bdeogale and Herpestes species (myǎk); elephant's trunk "because the limb becomes weak"; elephant's limb; Phatages giganteus Illiger (pfī'ma IV) and Manis species (kǎ' IV); Sciurus wilsoni (kūē' III).

262 3. ekī, abǔm, until the birth.

[843] Edible caterpillars (nkʼtn I) and larvae of the Rhynchophorus phoenicis Fabr. (fǒs IV) if found in the cocoon; edible termites (sūē me IV Ntum) because of the large belly.

4. Not taboo.

Edible caterpillars and larvae of Rhynchophorus when they are found in the open; dragonfly larvae (esēʼī, -bāk), although then the child will urinate a lot, like the dragonfly larvae; common crabs and shrimp; the mussel Lanistes libycus var. bernhardianus (morelet) (alǔn).

All other lower animals are inedible.

Of plant foods only the following are taboo (with the exception [794] of those sacred to the cults, such as the Negro banana used at the Sso and Mawungu): the fruit of the atūlǔm plant, which tastes horrible, and young mushrooms. These are eki mon since it is feared that children might develop spots on their skin like those on young mushrooms.

825 If we examine the deeper reasons why certain animals are never eaten or are "taboo," we find that there is a religious element 784 involved, as well as a fear of the animals' way of life and their appearance, perhaps combined with dietary experiences.

784 Animals that are taboo for religious reasons may not as a rule 825 be eaten by women and persons who have not been initiated into 794 the particular cult, but where the cult is absent, there is no taboo. Thus, horned animals, which play a role in the cults of the Evil One with their conceptual connection between moon and horns, are taboo; among the Fang this applies to sheep and goats, and throughout the entire region to Cephalophus dorsalis (sǒʼ). In the domain of the Ngi cult the gorilla (ngī) is taboo; the same applies, among the Fang, to the chimpanzee (worshipped in the cult of the Evil Ones, Bokung), the pig (an important animal in the Sso cult), and Neotragus batesi (odzūē) which is worshipped in a manner

825 corresponding to Cephalophus dorsalis in the Odschüle cult. The
784 python /191/ (mvǒ̄m IV) is also taboo. We have learned of its
794 relation to the phallus in the Sso cult among the Jaunde, who, as is mentioned in Volume II, page 45 /Ed., not translated/ have preserved in purest form the most ancient views concerning the Sso cult. Large specimens of the fish Clarias walkeri (ngǒ' IV) and Achatina snails are taboo since they evidently have some connection with the Ngi cult, although I am unable to explain in what sense. Finally, among the Fang, the meat of the guinea fowl is taboo for the initiated of the women's cult Nkang. This fact is especially noteworthy since in the men's cults it is usually just the other way around: the initiated are allowed to eat the particular cult animal, while the uninitiated are not.

In surveying the cults, the only animal we find omitted in the taboos is the elephant, which is worshipped in the Schok cult. This can only be explained by the fact that, because of the large quantities of meat it supplies, an exception is made, either voluntarily from the outset or, as seems more probable, through necessity, because it was impossible to guard the huge quantities of meat. For this reason, the women doubtless partook of it and soon noticed that its enjoyment involved no evil consequences of any kind.

The taboo against Sciurus wilsoni (kuē' I Ntum) also seems to have a remote connection with the cults. In contrast to other squirrels, it lives in the swamp and on the ground, and its call is therefore interpreted: sǒ' abǒm, bokūn abǒm, sǒ' abǒm, bokūh abǒm, that is to say, *Sso in the belly, Bokung in the belly, or,* since both are mesǒm, "sins," simply: sinner and double sinner.

825 A number of other animals that are taboo are only indirectly
784 connected with the cults; the taboo stems from older religious conceptions. Chameleons and lizards, especially Lygosoma fernandi, are never eaten because they are linked with death (see Vol. II, p. 30 ff. /Ed., not translated/). For young people, furthermore, the flesh of monitor lizards and crocodiles is taboo, in my opinion because both animals formerly played a more significant role in the religion of the Pangwe. The crocodile probably derived its significance from its habitat in the water, and the monitor lizard, its counterpart, from its habitat in trees and above

825 all from its characteristic of devouring crocodile's eggs (see Volume
784 I, page 273). Finally, turtles and poisonous snakes are taboo. We have encountered the turtle repeatedly in our description of the cults (see the Schok cult, Vol. II, p. 77 /Ed., not translated/, and the Bokung cult, Vol. II, p. 72 /Ed., not translated/) without being able to explain its appearance properly (1). The poisonous

[784]

1. In this connection it is particularly noteworthy that the turtle is the only animal which is prohibited for the initiated of a men's cult.

snakes with their sharply defined head (vipers!) have given rise to the comparison, penis = snake (see Vol. II, p. 32 /Ed., not translated/).

For other taboos it seems to be decisive that the animals lead a nocturnal life and that they have attracted the attention of human beings by their powerful, peculiar screech /192/ (see the prefix classes, Vol. I, pp. 27 and 28 /Ed., not translated/, the nocturnal animal, Vol. II, p. 36 /Ed., not translated/). Included in this category are alipeds, certain lemurs, the tree cony, the flying squirrel; among birds, the night rail Himantornis, the owls, and the West African blue-headed coucal.

Still further taboos seem to stem from the fact that the animals live in the house or near human dwellings and therefore belong, as *it were, to* the family. In this category we find the domestic rat and its sister, the African rat (edu) which is almost extinct in the Pangwe region, the parasite kite, and the sparrow, the agama, and perhaps also domestic lizards (Lygosoma reichenowi). For the rest of the prohibited animals, their repulsive smell or their ugly and peculiar shape enters in as a consideration. In this connection we should mention: the civet cat and the Herpestes species, with the exception of Herpestes melanurus, the shrews, all of them having a repulsive smell, the shrew otter (Potamogale) because of its peculiar appearance (half mammal, half fish), the scaly anteaters because of their armor, Sciurus pumilio, toads, and frogs. There
[831] is a quite remarkable, real fear of the inside of the elephant's tusks,

825 which one is not even allowed to step over since one's penis would
784 become as flaccid as the elephant's gums. The latter do indeed
[831] look rather uninviting with their bluish-red coloration and flabby consistency. It goes without saying that a woman likewise is prohibited from eating the meat since she could transmit a debilitating influence to the man during intercourse.

843 In the case of temporary food taboos that are enforced for the
825 duration of pregnancy and nursing, the decisive element -- as I have
784 said -- is the fear that the animals' characteristics might be trans-
262 mitted to the child. For example, there is a taboo against the hawk-eagle, Lophoaetus occipitalis (abǎ'jɛ̃'k), an animal which the Pangwe themselves greatly admire for its beauty, and whose crown the boys try to imitate by sticking long feathers in their hair or behind their ears. In the case of pregnant women, however, the situation is different. They reason as follows: if the child, by acquiring the bird's characteristics with its food, were also to develop an excrescence, how unnatural and ugly that would be! For the rest, the natives fear above all large heads and fat bellies -- two characteristics which frequently strike us unpleasantly in Negro boys -- as well as long legs. In this connection, one readily perceives the accuracy of the Negroes' powers of observation and the precision with which they recognize the slightest differences among various species of a genus. Birds with an ugly screech are completely taboo, since the child might screech in just the same way, something which would be extremely disagreeable, as any father of a family would understand. Of further significance is the exclusion of trembling or wobbling animals, through which the child might even become epileptic. /193/

The most terrible danger threatening pregnant women, however, is from animals which live in any kind of hollow (holes in the ground, in trees) or are caught there. One can speak of a downright horror vacui. If such an animal were to be eaten, the child might also wish to stay in its hollow, "in the belly," and a difficult birth could be expected. Similarly, during this time the parents may not remove any bird nests built in holes in trees, and one of my employees who had made a woman pregnant resolutely refused to make a model of a cassava loaf for me, because it was supposed to be hollow inside.

843 supposed to be hollow inside. I knew a Jaunde man who refused to
262 eat anything when two pots were set next to each other on his
784 hearth fire. He was afraid this would cause his wife to have twins
[845] (mvé, "pot," and mvŏ, "vagina").

In view of the many hairsplitting distinctions among the food
262 taboos, it is hardly surprising that they are frequently violated by accident. They are also transgressed knowingly, however, if the desire for meat is greater than the fear of the evil consequences of its enjoyment. In these cases, it is again medicines (biǎ̯ń ekī) which help and which are often even taken beforehand or simultaneously by way of prophylaxis. It is probably scarcely necessary
[177] for me to mention that food taboos are the first to be relinquished under the influence of a foreign civilization, not all at once, but nonetheless gradually and totally. The religious taboos are clung to most tenaciously of all. Nor need I emphasize that the Pangwe, even at the age of 20, still like to count themselves among the boys if there is a delectable piece of meat to be had. Accordingly, I saw my "boys," who were from ten to 20 years old, consuming without pangs of conscience the parasite kites I had shot. /194/

Section 14

Soothsaying and Science

000

1. Soothsaying. Extent and area of practice. -- The soothsayer's tool. -- Master and pupil. -- Fee. -- Distrust of soothsayers. -- Soothsaying in times of war.
2. Meteorology. Rain, lightning, and thunder. -- Appearance and effect of lightning. -- Rain medicines at the time of drying ngon, at cult festivals, at the time of harvest, and on journeys; their evaluation. -- Rainbows: their origin, tale concerning their origin. -- Storms: their origin, counter-medicines.
3. Astronomy. General observations. -- View of the earth as a heavenly body. -- The vault of heaven:

776 and he must take ten spoonfuls of soup. Similarly, he will eat a
852 spoonful for each child wished for. As to the other wishes, wealth, strength, courage, esteem, etc., these necessitate eating all that is left in the pot. This large quantity of soup signifies that the wish made is for an immeasurable amount of whatever is desired.

776 The night following the ceremony of akaga, the bivur of the beyem who have been present leave the bodies of their possessors in order to hold an invisible meeting called ngwel. This is the only time that the ngwel does not have a completely malevolent action, since otherwise the bivur never meet except to do evil. The ngwel which follows the akaga confirms the wishes made for the child and promises to protect his evur until it is strong enough; in fact, the evur grows with the child and does not reach its full vitality until the child is an adult. The ngwel [70] also shows the new member what part of the body he must remove from the person he will later sacrifice, in order to make a fetish. This sacrifice is made in gratitude to the bivur who concerned themselves with him during the akaga.

776 Every time an evur leaves the body for a ngwel, it is injured and
784 fatigued, and can only be restored with human blood. After the ngwel, which follows the akaga, the bivur who have taken part in this weakened state and, when they have finished attending to the wishes made for the child, they ask the evur of the person who invited them to point out the victim they must eat for their recovery. An old man of the paternal or maternal family is usually designated for this purpose. Lacking such a person, the nem who bestowed the evur may sacrifice himself. If he does not consent, the assembled bivur place a prohibition (eki) on the child. For example, if ten wives have been wishes for him, he is forbidden on pain of death to take an eleventh; or else he is forbidden, always on pain of death, to eat certain foods or to do, or allow such and such a thing to be done. When the prohibition is of little importance, death in case of infraction may be replaced by the good evur transforming into an evil one.

Respect for the prohibitions and faith in their power is so firmly fixed in the minds of all the Pahouins that one who has violated a prohibition of akaga is sure to die, and without external intervention.

784 A Protestant missionary of the Samkita station cited to us the case
158 of a twelve-year-old child, a boarding pupil of the mission, who was

784 forbidden by akaga to eat manioc. He had never eaten any and had
158 lived on bananas. One evening he cooked his bananas in a pot which had been used by other pupils, without having taken the precaution of washing it. During the night he learned that before he had used it, manioc had been cooked in it. Thinking that his bananas might thus have been contaminated by the remains of manioc caught on the edges of the pot and that he had broken his eki, he died in a few hours with horrible suffering, as none of the cares lavished on him was able to alleviate his condition. It is to be noted that none of the children who had eaten the manioc cooked in the pot was ill, and that the one who died was in excellent health up to the moment when he learned that he had broken his eki.

The same missionary also cited to us the case of a woman of the Ngone village, near the station, who had as eki not to be hit on the back. A district guard supervising the work of brush clearance in the village and seeing that she was not working hard enough, gave her a very light tap on the shoulder blade. Immediately the woman started rolling on the ground. She was carried in terror to the mission, eyes rolling, foam at the mouth, muscles contracted, and unable to utter [71] a sound. The missionary, believing this to be an epileptic seizure, tried in vain by every possible means to quiet her. Later when he had heard the story and learned that he was in the presence of a Protestant Christian woman, he explained to her that since she was a Christian the bivur could no longer have power over her, and in any case, if she believed them to be strong enough to make her die, she would not fail to go to hell after death. Was this fear of hell stronger than the ancestral one of the bivur? After long religious exhortations by the missionary, the woman returned to her normal condition.

776 In order to avoid the eki, the child may give a part of his body to the bivur. At the place where the removal has been performed -- invisible because performed by spirits -- an incurable wound is incurred. But usually, if it is a boy, he gives his testicles to the bivur, who take them and eat them. Only their image remains on the child, and it is this image which everyone takes for reality. In this case the bivur predict for him an accumulation of wealth when this image of the testicles swells.

When the child for whom the bivur worked in the ngwel after the akaga has become a man, and some of the wishes that were made have

515 184 We have not been able to learn anything about the ceremonies of protection against the bivur. However, Akam Eyene told us that when a member of the buiti has inadvertently eaten the flesh of his protecting animal, which is absolutely forbidden, he holds a meeting called dzimba in the course of which the wrongdoer, after dancing, presents his case. Then the [77] head of the buiti absolves him, spitting scrapings of the bark of the ovaṅ onto his head.

515 198 The buiti has a secret language. Akam Eyene gave us only the secret names of certain of its initiates, which correspond to the animals chosen as protectors:

He himself	called	ndzikwe	chimpanzee
Ondo Ngema	—	ngilabongo	gorilla
Akum Eyene	—	osingi	tiger cat
Ngema Eyene	—	mitumbu	panther
Bekeka Yebe	—	mogabene	elephant
Angwe Nseme	—	menyanga	snake
Mba Minkwe	—	meyasamba	rooster
Kumeyeme	—	mepeku	eagle
Abaga	—	ndzobe	wildcat

771 V. Totemism. Despite all questions which we have put to many natives of various tribes, we have not been able to find any signs of totemism. We were only told of instances of individual unions with animals, as in the buiti or following an akaga.

Family and Collective Life

000 In this chapter we will examine the life of the individual in the family and in the social group, from his conception until his death, in corporating into this framework the family and tribal organization as well as relations with strangers.

842 833 841 Conception (menoṅ bum). A woman, we have been told by our male and female informants, cannot conceive until after she has menstruated four times. She is, in fact, forbidden to have sexual intercourse before her fourth period. At her first menses, the woman tells her mother or her mother-in-law if she is married (usually her mother-in-law, since there is hardly even a young girl, still with her family, without a husband); the latter henceforth supervises her more

761 in the etok and stays there for a certain length of time. While she is
789 in this bath, she eats a soup made of the rest of the bark gathered by the practitioner, together with a pumpkin, a piece of the heart, liver, and some blood of the sacrificial animal, all cooked in a pot. This remedy is intended to satisfy the evur and prevent it from eating the blood of the woman or of the child which she may carry in her womb in the future.

761 The death of the child may also arise from an akaǧa given to its mother, which predicted that one of her children would not live.

761 Finally, if there is neither evur nor akaǧa, this mishap is believed to be caused by the violation of a prohibition or, more likely, by
●784 adultery committed by the woman during her pregnancy. To make
837 her denounce her accomplice, she is beaten until she has named him. This man must then pay to the husband an indemnity equal to half the dowry which he spent to get his wife, an indemnity which represents the price of the adultery and the price of the child's corpse. The woman is subjected from then on to the prohibition of awos until the the birth of her next child.

854 The child (mon). Until it talks, the child is called nkaṅele. We We have seen that after its birth it is washed in cold water and not fed until the following morning. The breast is first given it by another woman rather than by the mother, whose milk is not good at first.

At the age of eight days, the child is smeared with ba. If the cord dries up by itself without trouble, it is enough to moisten it with saliva.

845 Anomalies such as the birth of an albino or of twins are considered
[143] normal. The natives have stated that albinos are reproduced in the same family at an interval of three generations. As to twins, they are forbidden later on to take part in the ngwel. If the twins are boys,
[557] the first is called Nzugo, the second Dzima; if they are girls, they are given the names respectively of Bela and Nzua.

551 A name is not given a child until several months after birth, when one is almost certain that it will live. A child receives several names. The father chooses the first name from among his ancestors. For example, a boy will be called Osene from the name of a paternal ancestor, to this name of Osene has been added the name of his father Ekomi, and so the child is called Osene Ekomi; but he also has a sort of first name chosen by the parents, which in the present case is [84] Andzang. The complete name thus is Andzang Osene Ekomi. The mother's

166 made fifty years ago, such a whole represented from 350 to 700
621 or 800 persons — while present-day villages rarely average more
361 than 100 inhabitants. With peace restored, the grouping has relaxed and divided into its constituent elements which have broken away to form neighboring hamlets. A special word, ngòra, is the name given to these hamlets which are considered as still forming the same whole.

621 Linked with the virile character of Fang society is certainly
562 [132] the accent on the separation of sexes as shown in daily
571 life. For the woman, the living place is the hut; for the man it
344 is essentially the "guardhouse." M. H. Kingsley writes[3] "The men spend most of their time in palaver houses built at each end of the street, while the women bring bowls of food the whole day
[784] long," (3) without being able to enter the abèñõ, which is absolutely

3. Travels in West Africa, p. 1154.

forbidden them. H. Trilles defines this abèñõ as the place "where the men assemble to deal with community affairs, war, marriage,
[574] lawsuits, etc...," and where strangers are welcomed. In addition it is the place where the young men receive a large part of their education, where they learn, according to L. Mba, the most im-
621 portant interdicts (éki). Males of the same nd'è bòt assemble in
562 the abèñõ, which forms a virile grouping and one of kinship. In
571 its midst the authority of the "eldest" is expressed. He is both the symbol and the regulator of the life of the group, and the intermediary between it and the ancestors. Here not only are important transactions regulated, but work is also organized. The life of each one is subject to the control and the nearly constant censure of all. In it is created a cohesion so that this group is the most resistant element of Fang society. It is through the medium of this group, that the traditional Fang is assessed, is isolated as an individual, by the foreigner; he is not known in the first place as X but as a man attached to the abèñõ of Y. Such a grouping therefore represents a strong "community": the fusion, which favors effective kinship to the maximum (it is based on immediate filiation and "fraternity"), worship of the same ancestors, and joint

562 except in a sporadic and very degenerate form; we mention the
795 N'nup with a whole string of "queens" that has appeared in the neighboring regions of Spanish Guinea.

562 This ambiguity in the position of woman to a certain extent
578 creates an equilibrium. On the other hand, from the point of
837 view of sentimental relations, this is not true. The man who admits that marriage should be regulated primarily in terms of social considerations hopes to obtain some day a "favorite" wife and has little fear of sanctions connected with adultery. The woman, married young, remains prisoner of the system and is always threatened with severe sanctions. Apparently this results in the many disputes which were referred to by the first administrators. "Very often the woman abandons her husband and returns to her parents' village or follows a man of her choice..." (Archives of Libreville, 1909). They were also referred to by the first Fang scholars: "The Pahouin woman does not hesitate to leave with a lover; often married against her wishes she avenges [152] this state of things by a very great infidelity" (L. Mba, op. cit.). The expression used by this author is significant. What might be called the sentimental excuse permits a broader reaction responding to frustrations of another nature. We must see there the sign of tensions which are actualized at the only possible level. Let us add that the conditions created by colonization will liberate these tensions to a great extent by destroying the equilibrium obtained approximately by traditional means.

561 These tensions are not the only ones to be mended. Between
578 generations, that of the ésa and that of the mwanō, on the same
● 784 segment between the eldest and the younger brothers, it appears that relationships of dependency can turn into antagonisms. Soon
[551] after his birth the young boy is "marked" by his ascendants, receiving a double name (essential in relation to other denominations) which contains the name of an ancestor of his paternal line (of a mvam) and the first term of his father's name. In addition to individual interdicts imposed by his father, the child is subject to various general interdicts which are removed by degrees as the child becomes a man. Thus, there is the interdict on the pig (1), and on

1. The pig appears as a valuable animal

561
578
●784

in all this part of central Africa, where the ox is unknown because of trypanosomiasis.

the produce of hunting and fishing, and these exist until the time of puberty. They signify, according to L. Martrou, that in the family group there should be "no useless mouth," ..."but rather arms and hearts capable of defending and enriching it." (2) Thus

2. L. Martrou, Les "Ékis" des Mfang [The "Ékis" of the Fang] op. cit.

[834] it is forbidden to cohabit with a woman before being circumcized (3)

3. V. Largeau, op. cit. article: Interdit [Interdict].

561 In the same way various rites mark the steps of this ascent: the
578 rite of the Ssò for the ten-year-old children; (4) circumcision,
[852
881]

4. M. Bertaut in his thesis on the Boulou of the Cameroons, a related nation, speaks of a less degraded form of the Ssò which was the center of a true "society of men" now almost vanished.

which is not accompanied by any initiation (but seems rather to bear public witness to virility and to show the individual as an active male), and above all, the "revelation" of the Biéri. When
561 the young man joins the company of men, he has experienced in
578 various degrees of intensity [153] this biological, social, and
885 spiritual dependence on his ancestors (mvam) and on his elders (nyamòrò). To them he owes his life, his security, his social existence. Even after having crossed the various steps and being able to take full part in the assembly of men, he receives from

561 young men to go beyond the level of simple dependence to be-
578 come, in their turn, creators of dependence, and the possibility
182 [154] of "capitalizing" human lives (women and descendants). This equilibrium has been upset and competition disorganized by the passage from warlike to economic conquest, then to an agricultural economy in which the woman plays a fundamental part, and the pacification which no longer permits the lack of women to be remedied by raids. Capitalization of women and capitalization of property are then bound together, the former becoming to a great extent the condition of the latter. The role of the "rich" man (nkumakuma) is increasing; (1) relations be-

1. To such an extent that Bertaut notes that among the Cameroons Boulou, who have been longer subject to a modern economy, there is only one word nkuma to designate the chief of village groupings.

tween generations, between "eldest sons" and "younger sons," may become that between possessors (women, property, and political role) and nonpossessors. Dependence tends to take on the characteristics of a domination creating tensions and conflicts.

784 We have been able to define a certain number of points of
626 equilibrium in the heart of ancient Fang society. We must now specify the important position held by the system of interdicts (biki) in social control. According to M. Briault the word éki (plural, biki) comes from the root ki meaning "force, restraint, virility, power"; it expresses a ritual prohibition, an interdict or taboo; it designates "a person or thing marked with a sacred character with whom or with which contact or use are forbidden." This author considers the éki essentially from the point of view of the restraint they exercise and of the social order which they help to maintain. He writes: "They give rather the idea of an effective means of keeping youth, women ... in short, all in the society who are made to obey, in a spirit of subjection to those whose will is of importance ... political interest is doubled and made

784 626

valid by a supernatural appearance." (2) L. Mba presents them

2. M. Briault, op. cit., p. 183 ff.

as rules of conduct whose observance the Pahouin have imposed upon themselves in matters of personal behavior, of good manners and tact, or regulations concerning marriage, religion, medicine, witchcraft, and morals." (3) He refers to their extension to the

3. The "E-Tchi," unpublished study added to the reports of the Commission of Historical investigation.

whole society, their character of categorical imperative, and the power of their hold. The classification he attempts to make and that given by L. Martrou (4) suggest a distinction between

4. Father L. Martrou, "Les 'Ékis' des Mfang [The 'Ékis' of the Fang]," op. cit.

collective biki: the general ones (concerning "morality" or those of sex, age group, and "association"; and the personal biki: applying to state, or fortuitous [sic] ones. By referring to the "guardians" charged with maintaining or [155] imposing the eki — male relatives are charged with imposing them on children, the husband on the wife, the old men on the young ones — Léon Mba points out the importance of interdicts in maintaining and strengthening social pre-eminences. In the same sense, L. Martrou notes the numerous éki imposed on the wife and placing her "in an inferior position." The éki appears to be a rudimentary means of regulation expressed without specific justification, that asserts the pre-eminence of the agent in charge of maintaining it or "granting" it, and the violation of which brings about more or less keen reactions according to the nature of the authority involved (going from simple disapproval to the sacrifice of reparation). He points out particularly the form that law can assume in

784 626 a society without specialized institutions, in a society which must have recourse to material signs in default of written signs which can express any law in a permanent manner. It should be noted, as suggested by the Fang vocabulary, that the same word, biki, designates the "money" used in the past for matrimonial exchanges as well as the "interdicts." The regulation of the circulation of wives was perhaps the origin of the system of éki and was the first and most important of these regulations. There is perhaps additional proof there for the authors who consider the "taboo of incest" as a constituent element of so-called primitive societies.

If the éki system contributes to the protection of the social order and the pre-eminences it implies, it is also the creator of a right for those it subjects. The latter must respect the éki affecting them, but they insist that this obligation be respected by others. (1) In this double sense the role of "giver of éki" is

1. Thus the husband is required in an imperative manner to respect the éki of each of his wives. Information in the study Le Mariage Fang [Fang Marriage], Archives of Oyem.

important, indicating a pre-eminence and a vague form of individual right. In his study L. Martrou has given a privileged place to the éki of [personal] "circumstance" and of "social condition." The éki make conspicuous the important moments of the life of the individual (thus the multiple "interdicts" connected with pregnancy), of the collective life (periods of preparation for war or for hunting, for example), and also of special situations (the members of the "associations" have special éki for each one). There is here an important function of differentiation which marks their minds and multiplies their distinctive behavior. The n'nèm is given some éki at the same time as the évur which makes him a "sorcerer." Because of these he feels himself to be radically [156] apart to the point of linking his physical existence to the strict respect of the éki. Mr. Trezenem mentions specific cases when the involuntary transgression of a certain éki resulted

784 626 in almost immediate death (without any other intervention). (1)

1. Op. cit., pp. 70-71.

The content of the éki, which may be almost insignificant or specifically symbolic, is often less important than the fact of giving and receiving the éki. The éki has authority: that of the ancestors who have bequeathed the "tradition," (2) that of an

2. The Fangs have a word eyêm (plural, biyêm) to designate individual or collective manners of being.

ancestor who has expressed himself in a dream, that of the practicing magician, that of the father, or that of the assembly of the full-grown men, etc. It aims at an effectiveness by affirming a new circumstance of the person and of the social condition. In the case of "interdicts" that are automatically connected with certain illnesses, the objectives of differentiation and therapy are very definite.

The éki do not constitute a closed, untouchable system. They are indicative of the life itself of the total society, proliferating or falling into disuse according to circumstances. L. Mba specifies that the contact of the Fang with other people of Gabon has caused the éki to evolve "toward becoming mixed and multiple." This remark is important because it shows how the éki have been used for the policy of assimilation and power of the contacting Fang groups. It also shows how much the éki tend to adapt themselves to new conditions. In addition this "multiplicity" is allied to a great extent to the factors of differentiation operating outside the clan structure. L. Mba shows the "interdicts" not only as a "certain code of morals" but also as "the secret and atavistic resource of the Pahouin soul." He thus stresses their role in the formation of a sort of "national character" and the essential values that they may promote and defend.

575 preceded by drummers and trumpet players and by a boy (uncircumcised?) entrusted with holding across the village street a liana, which the cortege broke through only after sacrificing a chicken. The uninitiated did not have the right to be present at this procession. The 769 ngil leader, masked and painted in red and white, carried his personal bieti (bieri); he was always accompanied by a full orchestra 534 (mvet guitar, mbaé and nkul drums, mejaň balafo). The initiation ceremony lasted a month (1).

304 1. The ngil mark was a tattoo below the sacrum, therefore covered by the loincloth. Initiates did not go out except in masks, so that theoretically it was impossible to recognize them.

Members of the ngil circulated in small groups, masked, to carry 797 out inquiries in villages where a case of sorcery was suspected or to put sorcerers to death. For ordinary cases they applied the ordeals in current use (minkal), but for serious cases it was necessary to arrange for an initiation ceremony: this feature is found in nearly all ritual associations, where initiation is always accompanied by collective catharsis.

304 Among other masculine initiation societies the nd̂ongô rite must be mentioned, whose initiates have two incisions on the nape of the neck. Its symbolic /features/ include confession, purification, seclusion in darkness, passage through a narrow corridor or a low doorway, a liana-serpent, a consecrated lance, a sacrifice (2), a

782 784 2. Dogs were sacrificed. Nd̂ongô canceled serious minsem /breaking a taboo/ like homicide or incest and allowed initiates to eat pork, mutton, and porcupine. (J. B.)

825 horrible brew. The ritual animal was the tortoise. The purpose of this rite seems also to have been protection against sorcerers and, perhaps, to improve luck, ma'a. The initiation of circumcised youths, bekungu, is perhaps a juvenile form of nd̂ongô. Both survived until the Second World War. Nd̂ongô does not seem to set up

769 also discriminates between the ésayoñ, ancestor cult /112/, and the
64 mvamayoñ, totemic cult. It must be admitted that there is now no
114 chance of obtaining a cross-checking of his theories except on points of detail, although that is no formal condemnation of his theories; it is the consequence of a shortage of researchers, lack of respect on the part of the researchers, or loss of traditions of initiation. The following points may be considered as established:

mvam (émvam) connotes ideas of a forefather, dead or alive, lineal and protective.

[784] akam, protection, is sometimes used in speaking of animals, to indicate the reason for a prohibition; the verb kam having a defending-protecting meaning as well as that of forbidding-prohibiting.

All prohibitions are not tied up with these notions, but some are and they may well be individual prohibitions as well as hereditary collective ones, not necessarily involving animals.

Clan markings, mindem, and tattoo marks, mindan, are often connected with a prohibition.

825 There is a whole system of animal symbolism, evident particularly in tales and augury ("zoomancy," divination by spiders).

[787] Certain animals are connected with initiation cults: very definitely the sõ and snakes (dendraspis and python); probably the porcupine and tortoise (with feminine rites); perhaps the gorilla (njil; ngil, Johnson's tone 4, the ngil rite having tone 5).

[55] There does not appear to be any connection between an animal name borne by a person (Mvõmõ = Python, Zo'o = Elephant, Ze = Panther, etc.) and the prohibitions he is subject to.

Moreover, the following, it seems pretty certain, are not specifi-
64 cally related to totemism:

825 Alliance, élat or ngbwa, between a person and a particular animal.

A sorcerer's employing an animal, nkuk (observe that nkuk also means "mask") to carry out his sorcery at a distance.

[775] The incarnation of a sorcerer in the body of an animal, élañela (Trilles applies this name to the nkuk).

The temporary incarnation of a dead man in an animal's body.

The first three phenomena often seem to be confused in the minds of present-day Pahouin, and the fourth may be the consequence of this.

773 It is curious that the legend recounted by Trilles about the crocodile, which he considers to be the "national totem," represents

778 shall merely point out that part of this equipment, permanently assigned
789 to magical use, is étyi, taboo to the uninitiated and sometimes even to other mingengan than the owner, that certain objects become bityi after having once been used for this purpose, while others are returned to ordinary use, and others are destroyed after use.

f. Prohibitions

•784 Prohibitions, bityi, assume a large place in Pahouin life. Martrou (no. 159) has devoted a special study to them, which is very well documented but still incomplete, because of their number and diversity.

The word étyi comes from the root TYI/KI, conveying an idea of strength (cf. above, p. 133), of authority, and also of cutting, hence of prohibition; /for example, / tyik = to cut, kill, slice, decide; tyili = to render taboo; tyii = to have a taboo (étyi is the nominal-resulting form of the last verb); tyilan = to be taboo. /122/

A complete listing of the bityi is probably impossible, but a brief classification may be attempted by distinguishing /the following/:

Food prohibitions and prohibitions of actions.

Among prohibitions of actions there are those protecting certain animals, marriage prohibitions, and general sexual prohibitions.

Individual prohibitions and collective prohibitions.

Hereditary prohibitions and personal prohibitions.

Temporary and permanent prohibitions.

Masculine, feminine, and age-grade prohibitions.

Ordinary prohibitions (zesé bityi) and capital prohibitions, bityi awu (mortal ones).

All together they form a sort of network that covers every act,
[777] every phase of individual and social conduct. Mission activity and general development have caused some to disappear or have lessened the immediate consequences of infractions, minsem, but enough remain with sufficient sanction to influence the whole of day-to-day life.

[688] A nsem, a breaking of a prohibition, has various consequences, ranging from a slight illness to death, and almost always carrying with it public reprobation. The nsem may be unconscious, the culprit being unaware that his act was taboo for him, either because he had not been taught so or because the étyi had been imposed without his knowledge by a magician.

•78f Some bityi appear to be connected with totemism: these are the bityi mekam, protective prohibitions, forbidding members of certain clans to kill certain animals or to eat certain plants. Others are undoubtedly connected with the social structure, like sex or age-grade prohibitions, the breaking of which strike at the family hierarchy. Others may be described as hygienic prohibitions, like those connected with pregnancy, illness, or convalescence. There are prohibitions connected with magic: personal taboos vis-à-vis some animal seen in a dream after a family initiation, or imposed when joining an association; prohibitions pronounced by a magician, often out of revenge; prohibitions undertaken as vows to obtain a specific result. Among the Beti, Binet has known women to impose on themselves certain [413] food etyi for a year, at the end of which time there is a party where [177] they collect many presents from their relatives and friends. This seems to be an innovation and perhaps represents a deviation from certain Catholic practices.

[614] It seems that in former times, following a war or an alliance, or in connection with an awusô relationship, two clans might undertake to respect one another's clan taboo. Besides, married women, although they did not enter the husband's clan, were supposed to some extent to respect its bityi.

783 Minsem can be expiated by redemption, ngôtô, according to 784 different rites (étyi, melan among men, évotô among women), including public confession and sacrifice (for women, the sacrifice is made by father or husband, the woman undergoing severe corporal punishment). /123/

Some personal bityi can be raised (kui étyi = to emerge from a taboo) by a process similar to that of redemption for a nsem. This is never possible in cases of general sexual, age-grade, or clan prohibitions.

787 The first Christian converts must have shown genuine heroism in 784 giving up their bityi, since they had to overcome, not only personal fear, sometimes at the cost of real psycho-physiological crises, but also unanimous public obloquy and often the vengeance of their family, which attributed to their minsem all its misfortunes. One might say that only that first generation of Christians succeeded in abandoning the bityi almost completely. The following generations, in much greater numbers, continued to observe quite a few /bityi/, certainly all those that did not openly conflict with the practice of the /new/

784 787 religion. For several years, exogamic taboos have even been observed to take on new life with a strictness that runs counter to canonical ideas about marriage (cf. above, p. 63).

g. Sorcery and Magic at the Present Time

177 789 797 Even in the areas longest converted to Christianity, contemporary Pahouin continue to believe in magic and sorcery, which is, moreover, not contrary to the teaching of the Scriptures. Mbibiañ compete with European or African bedôkita, mingengañ compete with exorcists, mvimvi'i with the police, and so on. Once in a while beyem still kill in order to feed their évu, and I knew a kôn practitioner who tried to make use of his skill so as to win an election.

However, since the coming of the Europeans, magic and sorcery have developed in the direction of a syncretism that is sometimes baroque. Ecclesiastical schisms do not bring about a complete return to ancient practices, but a sort of grafting of what remains onto a Christian stem, to which is often added a facile /à bon marché/ esotericism borrowed from mages and fakirs of metropolitan France. Talismans, perfumes guaranteed to inspire love, and magical jewelry arrive by the hundredweight in each mail from France. Initiations that had died out are being revived in the form of parodies of the Mass or of ordination, or even of hazings often obscene. What was most valuable in the native pharmacopoeia is being more and more neglected in favor of modern preparations used at random, with only the magical aspect surviving, emptied of its old meaning and therefore of its functional character.

Admittedly, Christianity has "caught on" in the country, just as European medicine has—the question is, just how deeply. In any event it is certain that old practices, overthrown as they may have been, survive nonetheless in new forms, fluid and changing and still far from stabilized. The result is a continual uneasiness, a crisis in adaptation, of which the outcome is unpredictable.

Leaving aside any religious or ideological position, /124/ it does, however, seem possible to say as of now that one of the most revolutionary contributions of the missions has been to make women participate in the same religious cult as men.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

776 idea as the Bulu regarding two great gods. The *Zambe* of the Bulu is the *Anyambi* or *Sekome* of the Fang, the *tata* or father of all things; and another god of less power than *Anyambi* or *Sekome*, who lives in the forests and is so tall that he gathers fruit from the highest trees. Some of the old men and women profess to have seen this god of the forests.

[775] Fang superstition includes transmigration; a departed human soul may enter any animal dwelling on top of the earth or in it. There are spirits of health and 772 disease, also a protecting spirit belonging to a clan or tribe, in whose honour a 776 small basket is hung in the palaver house, containing portions of the skull of an albino, whenever obtainable, also portions of the skulls of a relative and a chimpanzee, human hair, nails and bones. This fetish or *bieny* is called the *Bieny Alamayong*. Most Fang have a cabalistic word assigned to them by the *nganga* (witch doctor), and this word is used as a prayer. During the new [535] moon, dances are nearly always indulged in, and the songs usually addressed to the spirits of Present and Future. Local spirits need constant propitiation; a native passing in his canoe a spot where a local spirit dwells, as a large rock, will pay his respects by casting a piece of his food into the river, or when in the forest a few stones or a piece of *mbôs* (cassava) is laid at the root of some great tree.

778 Wooden idols are not plentiful among the Fang tribes living along the rivers; they are seen more in the palaver houses of the bush towns.

Charms.—These may be only cabalistic words, and under this head of vocal charms must be included the incantations of the *nganga* (witch doctor).

Material charms.—These are by far the most common; the belief in material charms, fetish, occupies the most prominent place in Fang religious contemplation.

Among the Fang, the English word Fetish, from the Portuguese word Feticie, is *Bieny* (medicine). A Fang fetish is any material object which the *nganga* (doctor) has consecrated and made a fit abiding place for a spirit. What may be consecrated? Anything, absolutely anything; a shell, rag, stone, twig of a tree, horns, nails, etc. The horns of small antelope and large deer are filled with resins, [754] nails, human hair, faeces, etc. To bewitch a person it is necessary to give the *nganga* a piece of the hair, nail, a portion of the food or a drop of blood of the [824] person to be bewitched. A Fang is most careful if he eats himself to see that only friends and relatives approach him until the bleeding has ceased, and hair when cut is usually burnt without delay. As mentioned in the section of this 784 paper on food, every child during infancy is subjected to certain rites which 778 constitute his or her *Ebi*, prohibiting the child from eating a certain kind of food or performing a certain act. Thus far, the superstitious beliefs of the Fang and [771] Bulu are precisely similar, and I gathered from Dr. Nassau at Gaboon many facts connected with the people among whom he laboured, the Mpongwe, which showed that they also hold superstitious beliefs very nearly, and in some cases precisely similar to those of the Bulu and Fang, the only difference being in the

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

name, the *Eki* of the Fang being the *Ovunda* of the Mpongwe. One day when on 784
a journey among the people, I asked an old headman to share with me a chicken 778
my boy had prepared for supper; the old man seemed pleased at my invitation, but asked the boy if it was a hen or cock fowl. Upon being informed that it was a cock, he declined to eat any of it: that was his *Eki*. As previously stated, I do 769
not believe the natives worship the spirits of Present and Future, but to a certain degree ancestral worship does exist. A Fang places the skull of his father in a curious receptacle of bark, worshipping it, killing fowls and making blood offerings to it, and in many ways the whole matter somewhat resembles the worshipping at graves and before ancestral tablets as practised in China. The natives often pray to their father's skull before talking a large war palaver, or the purchase of a new woman. As worshipping departed ancestors is the chief duty of a faithful Chinaman, so making offerings and prayers to the departed father's spirit before the skull constitutes the great Fang fetish, or *bieri*. Wooden idols, *bipeme*, of men [833]
and women are made in a manner which makes the sex extremely apparent; yet [532]
whenever I have seen these figures in towns, the people did not seem to regard them as obscene, but as truthful representations of the sexes. I feel sure that to some extent, at least, phallic worship is practised among the Fang. Spirits are 776
everywhere; in rocks, trees, forests, and streams; in fact, for the Fang, this life is one continual fight against spirits corporal and spiritual.

A peculiar belief regarding dreams is that when a person sleeps the soul often 787
wanders away, and its experiences on these journeys are made known to the sleeper 828
by dreams. After death the soul may inhabit any kind of animal. [776]

Fetish Bieny (medicine).—Fetish means anything; leopard teeth, human finger nails, hair, wood, iron, herbs. The article used as *bieny* or fetish, has no 778
intrinsic value, it is only valued because of connecting its owner with a spirit which can aid him. The leopard tooth fetish is supposed to impart the bravery of the leopard to its owner. Fetish is a spirit or combination of spirits manifested in material things.

Dili Mbak.—To murder a person and save his skull as a fetish, or use the skull as medicine to bring women, guns, grain or goods. The people will make offerings to the skulls calling them by the names of persons killed. It is said that these prayers are always answered as desired.

Bieny e Beti (hiding medicine).—A man goes and takes leaves of trees, and cuts 789
them up. He says, "I have cut up leaves of trees" (or high grass, bushes). The women shell gourd seeds and mash them. They catch a fowl, kill it, and put it in the pot. They also put in the pot the medicine leaves, and the mashed gourd kernels. They put the pot on the fire, and boil (its contents). When they have boiled it, the medicine is cooked. They take the medicine pot off (the fire). They go and put it by the side of (*ayba*) the back of the *bieri*. The man who has put it there says to the *bieri*, other people want to kill me. He takes away the medicine pot. He opens the *bieri* basket. He takes a small piece of the bone (instead of this say to the woman and children he takes the excrement of the

2; Tessmann--127 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

171 Moral /Anthropophyteia, Yearbooks for Folkloristic Inquiries and Explorations into the Historical Development of Sexual Morality/, edited by Dr. Friedrich S. Krauss (1912), Vol. 9, p. 31.

833 Over against the great mass of women, the bebŏbáñ, who
777 through sexual intercourse bring the man misfortune, there is the exceptional phenomenon of the woman who among the Ntum is called ayūē' III and among the Fang ayǎ. Union with her brings both parties, the woman as well as the man, good fortune. At the same time her influence is more important for the man, for instance, during military and hunting expeditions. If, for instance, the man goes hunting on the day after having had intercourse with such a woman, he is bound to see a wild animal soon and to kill it. If he goes to war, "his rifle will hit its mark," whereas the enemy's will not. For this eventuality, moreover, he has the woman give him a medicine, namely red wood that she has ground in a certain way (bī-ayǎ, mfumu-bī). The woman, too, is lucky on this day if she goes "hunting" for fish, that is, if she goes on a fish drive (a lǐk), or works on the farm (see Vol. I, p. 56).

But -- as was said -- such women who bring good fortune are a rarity; the majority of women bring misfortune. If a man goes hunting on the day after coition, all the animals evade him in a wide arc (a bǎñ), hence the name ebŏbáñ.

In the peculiar custom of the miǎk consecration I see proof of
[833] the fact that the Pangwe know the harmful effect of excessive sexual
●785 intercourse. The word miǎk actually means the castrated animal,
554 in particular the buck goat (see Vol. I, p. 76), and here it is
831 applied symbolically to a person who through a public and solemn declaration is for a time excluded from sexual intercourse. After a successfully concluded war, more rarely upon some other occasion, somebody (usually the chief) decides to consecrate his son or his daughter to purity. Naturally, neither of the latter may as yet be acquainted with sexual matters, in other words, they will only be

785 from four to six years old. They are thus consecrated so that
554 one day they will surpass all others in insight and understanding;
831 then, through their spiritual superiority, they will acquire influence, power (knowledge is power!), and especially wealth. In the case of the son, this will be to his own advantage; in the case of the daughter, it will benefit the father who can get a higher purchase price for her than for a girl with the usual loose way of life. In other words, the "savages" know well the value of moral purity. /269/

831 The custom of milk consecration was formerly practiced
785 throughout the Pangwe region. Nowadays, however, since warlike
[184] times have ceased, it is to be encountered only among the Fang of the central Uelle region. I should like to compare the custom
[171] to the practice found among us during the Middle Ages, whereby the heads of important families (especially princes), after some lucky success (for instance, in war), destined one child for the clergy and consecrated it to the pure life dedicated to God, frequently not without calculating the advantages that could accrue to them from such an action.

785 The procedure of the consecration feast is as follows. The
789 child, clothed in a small loincloth, is led to the medicine man
556 and is washed by him with a medicine water. The medicines used
831 for this are barks of various trees that bear ample fruit, such as
[824] the Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofǒs), so that the child's understanding may bear fruit as abundantly as these trees or, in other words, so that wealth may fall to its lot in the same abundance as the fruit of these trees falls to the ground beneath them. The various barks are placed in a container made of banana leaves, and hot water is poured over them. After the ablution, the child must swallow the principal medicine, a bundle of ngon
[824] with the chopped leaves of certain "weak" plants, such as Hibiscus moschatus (Roxb.) (tége III, from a tĕk, "weak," because the fruit is cooked in a short time), in order to make the child
[833] equally weak, that is, sexually incapable. Furthermore, the ngon
[825] is mixed with chicken meat -- the chicken is the bird of day, of the good and the pure, and at the same time it is supposed to point symbolically to the wealth that is desired for the child (the chief, the "Very Rich One," is regarded as the privileged son of the

831
785 sun) -- or with elephant's meat, in which case the child is sup-
556 posed to become spiritually great and important, just as the ele-
[825] phant surpasses the other animals physically, or, finally, with the meat of the hedgehog -- the child is to get as many things as the hedgehog has quills (1).

[539] 1. A well-known proverb, to be intelligible, would have to be translated into Pangwe something like this: He is as full of stupidities as the hedgehog is full of quills.

785 Thus, the child becomes miǎk. Its loincloth is taken off
831 and from now on -- be it male or female -- it must go about completely naked. Here is another significant fact regarding
[834] the moral-religious view of the Pangwe: clothing, that is, the
[291] covering of the sex organs, arose because the sense of shame (o-so-n) which started with the first sin (n-sö-m, root so), that is, sexual intercourse, demanded it. If the innocent state (ignorance of sexual matters) is artificially restored, clothing becomes unnecessary.

The miǎk are generally respected. People are careful not to speak to them about sexual matters or to seduce the girls, especially since /270/ the protection which they are accorded by cus-
[669] tom is effectively strengthened through the right of the father or the relatives to shoot down the seducer without further ado wherever they find him. Nowadays, however, the old customs have been somewhat relaxed; the miǎk are not always what they ought to be.

Annulment of the chastity obligation takes place in the same solemn manner when the consecrated person is fully grown, in other words, not before the age of 20 years. In the case of the man, it is required that he prove himself the bravest in war or at least that he has shot an enemy (1). In the case of the girl, it is

[177] 1. Today, in the regions influenced by the Whites, this decree has had to be moderated.

[583] required of the suitor that, contrary to the usual custom, he pay

the already higher marriage price in advance, down to the last little string of beads.

The ceremony itself proceeds as follows. A goat is killed, and its blood is mixed with medicines by the medicine man and rubbed onto the body of the miǎk. The medicines are made from shavings of bark from various trees and are supposed to cause sexual incapacity to be "stripped off"; the goat is chosen because, in contrast to the chicken, it is the animal of evil, of the sexual drive. Finally, the medicine man solemnly declares that the person concerned has ceased to be a miǎk and is thus relieved of the obligation to abstain. Henceforth the erstwhile miǎk again wears a loincloth.

5. Deviant Forms of Sexual Intercourse

The Negro's strong sweat secretions, but chiefly a skin disease -- Krokro /Ed., ?/ (metiǎh) -- appearing on the sex organs and between the buttocks, cause an itching irritation which among the Pangwe has led to the bad habit of constantly scratching the penis whenever time and opportunity are favorable, even when there is no itching as well as to relieving an itch. They do this by twirling the penis in a manner similar to that used in making fire with sticks. This is a sport practiced by boys and adults alike and is called a kik e metiǎh or a wōo (= wōk) metiǎh, which simply means "to relieve the itching by scratching" (metiǎh means itching of any kind, Krokro being simply the most unpleasant form of itch). On this occasion, erection naturally takes place as a rule, although no orgasm follows, just as there was no intention of relieving sexual desire. Indirectly, on the other hand, this action passes into a form of real masturbation, likewise through twirling the penis (a sik nkǎn) from which, however, orgasm does not always follow either. In certain regions among the Okak this miǎn-nkǎn (the noun) is prohibited (ekī); it is said that otherwise the person concerned will no longer be able to cohabit with women successfully. /271/

779 from an elephant's tail. He then sprinkles the victim, the
782 ancestral skulls, and finally the totem.
783 Upon returning from battle, warriors wash their weapons in lustral water so as to ward off the malevolent spirits of the dead.

Lustral water is also used in sacrifices made in expiation of violations of éki.

Afterwards the water is emptied in a remote spot. The chief often carries it back to the village and uses it to water the
[124] tree, usually a fig tree, that was planted over the remains of his umbilical cord. This tree is an emblem of his own life, and the lustral water is in this case a sort of sacrifice. [509]

III. Fasting: nzè akhu

779 All important totemic ceremonies are preceded by fasts.
785 They are very strict, and the least infraction entails grave penalties.

They always take place in seclusion: those who are fasting are kept apart in the forest far from the village, shut up in small huts. During the fast it is strictly forbidden to drink or eat before sundown and to wash with water, although rubbing one's body with ashes is allowed. Furthermore, certain meats and fruits are prohibited, such as boiled food or fruit; fermented drinks, except on certain sacred days and before initiations, when, on the contrary, it is obligatory; and drinking from any kind of pot. If someone takes a drink inadvertently, the pot must be broken right away; nevertheless this act involves a ritual fault and requires expiation. One is supposed to drink from a brook, using
[134] a leaf rolled into a cone (oké ésega). Finally, throughout the fast all intercourse with women is absolutely prohibited (évek).

779 The duration of the fast varies with the ceremony and the
785 initiation. For circumcision, for instance, it lasts usually a
821 lunar month (ngon). Other initiations rarely exceed seven days, let us say a lunar quarter, alód ngon; the last quarter is usually chosen (mètè mèngon). The moon plays an important role in all

779 totemic ceremonies, or in even just religious ones. None may
785 be performed while the moon is dark or when it is full (ngon
821 éto ndzuge: the moon is closed). In the ceremonies at which the chief performs alone, the fast lasts three and a half days, a half lunar quarter; the fast begins at nearly full moon (nsolo ngon) and ends at full moon (nduge ngon).

IV. Totemic Dances: adzém ba dzém akhu

779 Dance plays such a large part in Fan life, as it does in
535 that of every African, that it would be very unlikely to be absent from religious and totemic life. Besides, we know that dancing has always been associated with [510] religious phenomena among all peoples and in all epochs. David danced before the Ark of the Covenant; Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans had their sacred dances; and even in our day, in quite recent times, have we not seen in Madrid the seises, the altar boys of Seville, performing their graceful dances before the blessed sacrament?

The Fan have their religious dances, and special ones for each rite. We may divide them into several classes: purely religious dances, with which we are not concerned; those that accompany totemic rites; and, finally, purely totemic dances.

Among the dances accompanying totemic rites, the principal ones are dances of sacrifice and of circumcision and mortuary dances.

779 As the name indicates, dances of sacrifice accompany all
782 sacrifices and are danced before and after, and each has it
535 characteristic features.

The dance taking place before a sacrifice is serious. The chief, then all the participants, circle slowly around the victim to a tom-tom beating out a solemn rhythm. The movements of this dance are all slow and restrained, knees are bent slightly, elbows pushed back, with hands near the hips. It is more a rhythmic march than a true dance.

The dance taking place after a sacrifice is of quite another character. The rhythm is very fast, arms are raised into the air,

575 754 judicial inquiry at Ambam in 1948 after a raid on ze mimfaka, an old chief who was a Protestant and an elder of his church declared, in so many words, that "the white man has weakened the ngil, and the beyem have taken it over; now it is the ngil of ngbwel /sorcery/."

[789] The initiates of the kôn or kun, a kind of magic that enables one to assume another person's strength without destroying his body, also seem to be grouped into a secret society with meetings every seven years.

578 [784] Beyem associations do not usually include both sexes; male and female sorcerers meet together only occasionally, for orgiastic sabbaths.

The distinction between white and black magic is, nevertheless, [789] difficult to draw the present time, and one can never tell offhand if the small groups springing up nearly everywhere to protect their members against bad luck by using, in addition to remnants of traditional rites, recipes copied from magic manuals printed in France, belong to the one or the other.

[562] To come back tothe traditional associations, we must underline /the fact that/ in them there was a complete separation of the sexes, to such an extent that women were often forbidden to speak the name of a men's society or to show any kind of knowledge, even superficial, of its rites. The prohibition was less stringent for men with regard to women's rites, since the nsem, the breaking of a taboo, was for them punished by physical incapacity or illness rather than by death. /66/

A women's rite like mevungu had both a village aspect, on account of its geographical framework, the jurisdiction of its huts, and an interclan aspect as a result of exogamy. Much less is known of these women's rites than of the men's, for the very good reason that men are not allowed to know anything about them. Missionaries have condemned mevungu as obscene: I have heard that initiates who have gone through the menopause are supposed to play a male role in dances miming coition, without being able to obtain the slightest proof or the least detail (1). What is certain is that this is a rite of

[882 224]

[83] 1. A woman "chosen for her large vagina" presided, seated with legs spread apart. Each initiate would go tickle her and pull the clitoris. (J. B.)

fecundity, of fertility, and also of the hunt: an unlucky hunter may have his wife initiated so as to ward off bad luck.

754 the évu or the animal employed as assistant being killed during a skirmish, which would bring about the nnem's death.

Many people nevertheless regard these disadvantages as weighing little against the immediate advantages which the évu procures. Therefore some bemie (people without évu) have themselves initiated into ngbwel, and some beyem dedicate their children from birth (which has the additional effect of protecting them against the parent's évu). For this purpose beyem organize into secret societies (and these are really secret societies), well described by Trilles and particularly so by Lavignotte (no. 155).

754 Babies are dedicated by a nnem kinsman in a ceremony, aka'é, before the umbilicus is healed (the évu is believed to enter through
119 the umbilical lesion). A special taboo is imposed on the child, and a part of his body (finger, toe or even foot, hand or whole arm) is symbolically sacrificed to the évu with a slight letting of blood. From that time on, only the shade of the sacrificed part, its semblance, is believed to continue to exist. The child is then nkôman ngbwel /118/, prepared for the ngbwel, but he is not yet a nnem; if he were it would be discovered at the preliminary stage of the adolescent initiation, and he would be put to death. It is only at the time of initiation with the official rites that he becomes a sorcerer, kuli
754 ngbwel, through a further ceremony during which his "godparents" reveal to him that he has been "prepared," dedicated. He must then buy back the bodily part "sacrificed" at the aka'é by offering his "godparents" the body of a member of his family, killed and eaten by the beyem in circumstances about which little is known. What is
[76] known suggests some of the sexual aspects of European witches' sabbaths
[139] (apparently participants of both sexes, naked, practiced sodomy, bisik, and profaned the ancestral relics, probably fragments of biéti). The initiation of an adult consists only of the akuli ngbwel, the aka'é being restricted to children.

754 Beyem meet periodically, aside from initiation ceremonies, in
[78] order to "feed the bivu" in anthropophagous or necrophagous meals accompanied by obscene rituals. These meetings take place at the new moon in secret places in the forest, usually in clearings on top of hills or on islands in marshes — mmimie are afraid of stumbling by chance on one of these spots which, according to some of my in-
[125] formants, are guarded between meetings by an aardvark, mvômesila. If such a place is discovered, a nnengâ is immediately called in to
[125] perform a sort of exorcism.

525
754

1. Sorcerers, following the example of practitioners, have and still do set up secret societies:

a) throughout the entire Fan tribe;

b) in neighboring Bantu tribes.

I might here point out that I have never come across such associations among other African peoples, such as the Pygmies.

2. These secret societies meet at night in very mysterious fashion.

[786] 3. They are always essentially licentious to such a degree that, according to many writers, unbridled obscenity is the main objective. In my opinion, it is primarily an accompanying circumstance, aimed at controlling and binding the initiates by means of highly erotic and degrading pleasures.

However -- and this is my final point here -- there is one fact which has many a time misled the most conscientious observers, the most eager to learn the truth, and which, combined with the rule of secrecy, curiously complicates the problem. Just as practitioners have ranks and a hierarchy in their secret societies, so sorcerers have instituted ranks and a highly organized hierarchy. Hence there are several kinds of gatherings. Sometimes there is a sort of general assembly for all who belong to the association, in which case the purpose is a celebration, almost always of revolting obscenity and cruelty. All the witnesses clearly agree on this point.

But beside these "general" celebrations for the whole membership, there are others of a much more secret character to which only sorcerers, the true and sole leaders of these assemblies, are invited. Notified by a password to which I shall shortly refer, they gather at the appointed place and there [452] a very particular kind of feast takes place about which it is difficult to give precise details. It can well be imagined that those who belong to these associations keep silent. The rule of secrecy is absolute and inexorable; moreover, their own interest is at stake. It will always be very hard, if not impossible, to throw light on many facts and factors whose disclosure would nevertheless be extremely valuable from the religious point of view.

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

791 in a while there is some truth to it." Or, like our countrymen who in other respects consider themselves enlightened, they will adopt the standpoint: "After all, you never can tell . . ."

The unsuccessful soothsayer does not have to look far for ridi-
791 cule. In Bebai I heard a poem ridiculing a man from the Ntum
558 region who had been deliberately taken in. One man hid his chopping knife in his house in the presence of witnesses and then went to the soothsayer to ask him quite innocently to tell him where the knife was that he had lost. After all kinds of mystification and tomfoolery the soothsayer answered that the knife had been stolen in the field during the clearing of the farm. Amidst the hilarity of all those present, the "victim of the theft" produced the knife from where it was hidden, and the soothsayer departed, shamed.

In times of war, however, the soothsayer's reputation is re-
721 established. Before setting out against the enemy village, the
787 entire company of young men stand around him in a circle, the soothsayer leaps about with the horn in his hand, shaking it according to all the rules of his art, and then suddenly points it /196/ to one of those standing around him, saying: "You will be killed, or (pointing to another) you will be wounded if you go into battle." Or the wise man says: "You can go confidently into battle for nothing will happen to you," but he will say this -- if we may trust his shrewdness -- only to those who in any case tend to stay in the rear. The person who has received a bad "prognosis" stays safely at home, and in this way the soothsayer is seldom found out.

In Volume II, page 108 ("Religion") /Ed., not translated/
787 we saw that the Pangwe believes he can read the future from dreams through appropriating the power of the soul by holding his head in the resin fire kindled on the grave. In so doing he learns to distinguish true dreams from false ones, and consequently comes to recognize what the future will bring.

I am not acquainted with animal oracles in the south, but among the Jaunde there is a spider oracle. Zenker (1) writes about

1. G. Zenker, "Yaunde," in Mitteilungen von Forschungreisenden und Gelehrten aus

787 den deutschen Schutzgebieten /Reports by Explorers and Scholars from the German Protectorates/, edited by Dr. Baron Von Danckelmann.

this spider oracle: "In each hamlet or along the way one finds a quadrangle surrounded by the trunks of plantain trees, in the center of which there is a hole with little bamboo sticks (2) set around

2. This should read: raffia!

it. In this hole lives the field spider. Now, if the owner of the hamlet or one of his relatives wishes to undertake a journey, the hole is covered with plantain leaves during the night. If the little sticks remain undisturbed, everything will go well; on the other hand, if a little stick has been moved out of place, a misfortune threatens, and the people concerned stay at home."

2. Meteorology

821 The rain is up in the sky in a large vessel which holds the rain just as a piece of fruit holds its juice. When it is completely full, the vessel bursts, and the water gradually flows off and falls to earth. When the vessel is completely empty, the people say: "The rainy season is over." During the subsequent dry season, the vessel gradually fills up again, with perhaps some water seeping through once in a while, but the greater part stays in. Then the vessel bursts again when the new rainy season begins.

When the vessel bursts and the water streams out, there is a tumult and a roar as of a waterfall or the surf. It can be heard in the distant rumble of thunder during a storm, which in the tropics coincides with rain more frequently than among us. Hence the Pangwe call this rumbling of the thunder ndjaĕ mmvŏŏ I, "the rushing (noise) of the rain" (3). Rain is a creation of the primeval

3. mvŏŏ a dim means: it is thundering.

has lived on human flesh, a piece of the flesh is found. That piece of flesh is taken out and put into an antelope horn together with scrapings of a vine called nzi bivur, a panther claw (dze nze), the talon of a sparrow hawk, and a firefly. The end of the horn is closed with the wax of white honey (eko abe).

The fetish thus made is either carried by the person who wishes to protect himself or is hung at the door of the hut. At night, if the bivur wish to enter the hut, the firefly will leave the horn and fly into the hut, giving warning of their approach. Then there is a battle (abal nguel, the war of the ngwel) between the bivur and the horn fetish, from which the fetish almost always emerges victor.

III. The bieri. The bieri is a family fetish whose help must be sought before every important undertaking: hunting, fishing, a journey, choice of farm land, etc.,.., by the head of the family who owns the fetish.

It consists of the skull of a dead ancestor taken from the grave by a practitioner after the complete disappearance of the flesh. After having taken the skull, the practitioner goes into the forest and makes from the bark of a tree called andun (Berlinia sp.) a cylindrical box with a lid, big enough to hold the skull. The bottom of the box and the top of the lid are formed by a circular disc of wood nailed into the bark cylinder with little pegs of hard wood. The practitioner then cleans the skull and anoints it with an ointment of red wood sawdust (ba) and oil of raphia palm. The box is called mek and the skull sen bieri, the whole having the name of bieri. Into the box is also placed some red wood sawdust and a plant called nzen (a kind of fern), and sometimes also a little wooden bowl. The bieri thus made is put in a hidden place in the hut of the family head. It will speak in dreams to a family head whenever it wishes to notify a member of the family of some event. Sometimes a statuette roughly representing the person whose skull constitutes the main part of the fetish is put on the lid of the box. It is called nlu bieri (the head of the bieri).

No one may see the bieri unless he has eaten some alan (Strychnos icaja) in the course of a ceremony called ku melan. The heads of several families send the future initiates to look for roots of alan, of which they retain only the bark. Then in the morning each family head brings his bieri to a place prepared in advance in the bush near the

village which is called ngun [75] melan; he carries the bieri on his shoulder and appears to collapse under its weight. That position is a manner of worshipping the fetish. When everyone has gathered, animals, fowls, or kids are sacrificed; then, to the accompaniment of tomtoms, the neophytes dance, sing, and cry out, all the while chewing pieces of alan prepared the previous day. After a certain time, the effect of the root, combined with the excitement of the dances and songs, causes most of the participants of the celebration to become unconscious after many spasms. This unconsciousness may last two or three hours, during which the individuals retain a corpse-like stiffness. On awakening, each tells the elders what he has seen or what the bieri has told him in his dream. One may have been ordered to hunt, with the assurance of killing many antelope; another may have been warned of the impending death of a member of his family; still another may have been told of the imminent pregnancy of a brother's wife. All the Pahouin whom we have questioned state that predictions made by the bieri to people drunk with alan always come true.

Then the neophytes have the right to look at the bieri, whose boxes are open, making a vow not to speak of them to anyone who has not undergone the initiation of alan. Every uninitiated person who looks at a bieri falls ill, and only the care of a competent practitioner can prevent his death.

When a family head wants to supplicate his bieri, he sacrifices a hen, a duck, or a kid, or offers it the hind leg of an animal killed in the hunt, and pours blood on the skull. The meat is cooked in leaves by a woman, then taken to the bieri with stalks of manioc or a mash of bananas and water, by the one making the sacrifice. If, for example, the bieri is appealed to before a hunt, he who makes the sacrifice presents the food with these words:

"O tar ta mba bidzi olun wa to we niem e to ma tune we yũ, Binyu bon be wa y onzan vag bie betsir" (O father, see the good food, I want to dispel the anger that is in your heart. Your children die of want, give us meat).

Then he goes out of the hut because the bieri will not eat in the presence of a living being. Several hours later he comes back to look for the food left by the bieri. Its consumption, however, is not visible as it is accomplished immaterially. This food that has been brought to the watchers' hut [corps de garde] will be eaten only by the

initiates. Anyone else who eats it will become mortally ill. During the following night, the bieri will reveal to an initiate during his sleep the means of assuring the success of the hunt for which his help has been asked.

The bieri strictly forbids anyone, under pain of mortal illness, to [76] insult it. Its power is unlimited: it can cause a woman who has fled from the village to return to it; it causes lost objects to be found.

In spite of all the faith which the old Pahouin still have in the bieri, in the region which interests us one may say that the majority of the population has abandoned it, primarily because of its being driven out by the Christian missions.

IV. The buiti. The buiti, which our informants told us were of Mitsogho [Mitsogo] or Masango [Missanga?] origin (peoples of the right bank of the N'Gounié), is a protective association against the bivur. The information on this secret society was given us by Akam Eyene, the head of a buiti, who lived in the village Elong Eko on the Abanga. It is rather incomplete because this informant was unwilling to give us certain details and to answer numerous questions.

Possessors of bieri band together because of the fear of the bivur, against which the bieri by itself is powerless to protect them. Their association, the buiti, in its fight against the ngwel, shows itself as stronger and kills the bivur (and consequently the individual possessors of bivur). It also serves to reveal the beyem, who have evil intentions toward members of the buiti and to make their efforts ineffectual.

Every member of the buiti brings a piece of his bieri and a piece of the animal under whose protection he has placed himself. All of these are put in a box and constitute the fetish of the association, which also keeps such material things as:

A musical instrument, ngomi, a harp with eight strings. At the bottom of the resonance chamber of the one belonging to Akam Eyene were pierced three holes covered by three pieces of flesh of chimpanzee, gorilla, snake, elephant, eagle, panther, and rooster. This instrument accompanies the songs of the ceremony.

A bell, etsoge, a round hollowed-out fruit, into which are put little pebbles. It is equipped with a handle and is shaken during the songs.

A branch of raphia palm lying horizontally on two carved stakes called minsaga mi buiti. The whole thing is called obaka. During the ceremonies this branch is beaten with two sticks.

764 there are placed in it the arms or some everyday objects of the deceased. Then everyone goes back to the village, the women crying. The close relatives of the deceased go into mourning, which is much stricter for a woman than for a man; we have already seen what comprises the mourning of a widow. As for the widower, after having
765 stayed for two or three days in a state of prostration, often simulated, he continues to look after his work as usual, remaining meanwhile under the obligation to stay dirty until the celebrations at the end of mourning.

763 The autopsy of the corpse to find the evur is done at the edge of the
765 grave, after the women have been sent away. The package containing [93] the corpse is undone and the practitioner operates with a large knife made especially for this purpose. He has previously painted his face half black, half red so that the deceased will not recognize him and cannot come from his abode in the village of Nzame to avenge himself for the mutilation he is undergoing. When the operation is finished, the corpse is sewed up, re-wrapped, and placed normally in the grave.

764 There is no cemetery, and the dead are buried a short distance from the village, almost behind the huts. Sometimes when a person is thought to have died from having been eaten by the bivur, in order that the grave may not be violated for the purpose of removing a piece of the corpse, it is buried in the very hut of the head of the family.

765 The life of the dead in the village of Nzame is identical with that which they had at home; they do the same work, have the same entertainments, marry, procreate, always stay young, and also have the power to do whatever they wish; it is enough for them to express a wish for it to be granted.

The dead sometimes leave their abode to return to the earth, perhaps in the form of phantoms with long hair to frighten the living, meeting a phantom being fatal, or perhaps in the shape of animals in order to avenge themselves. Some may change themselves into an elephant and ravage the fields of their enemies; others change into a panther and kill all the livestock and poultry and sometimes even the inhabitants of the village where they were unhappy in life. When they
[181] wish to be beneficent, they appear in the dreams of their relatives and friends and give them wise advice.

794 [769] those who give the initiation), which is important in traditional Fang society.

The grouping that forms the Biéri – which brings together full-grown men who take an integral part in the social life – remains closely linked with the system of kinship. It has, none the less, an important role which we have just pointed out, that is, [143] it establishes relations, which are most effective because they are religious, between elements of the same clan who do not belong organically [sic] within the limits of a superior unit which might have been the chefferie. But other associations have come into existence beyond the clan kinship and beyond the diversity, peculiarities, and antagonisms it provokes. The Ngil, with a multifunctional activity and with an aim to putting things in order at the time of crises and conflicts, seems to be the best known. (1)

1. Cf. Father H. Trilles, op. cit., p. 62. Captain Maignan, op. cit. Lt. Poupard, "Le Fétichisme et la barbarie au Congo [Fetishism and Barbarism in the Congo]," Renseignements Coloniaux, March, 1908. Above all, L.C. Leroux, Etude sur le Ngil [Study on the Ngil], Bulletin de la Société des Recherches Congolaises, 6, 1925.

794 787 Members of the Ngil as such are guaranteed "in all places against attack"; they circulate "without the least fear of any outrage" among tribes that are in "open vendetta." (2) The Ngil –

2. L.C. Leroux, op. cit.

the word designates both the association and the masked man who operates in its name – "has the right to strike, wound, and even kill." The solemnity of his action is marked by the suspension of all life in the village when he arrives. The huts are closed, the fires put out, the women cloistered, and no inhabitant shows

794 himself in the interior courtyard. The final ceremony includes
787 the erection of a hollow clay statue (3) (also called Ngil) before

3. Cf. the description in the articles of Leroux, op. cit., and Poupard, op. cit.

which "all the inhabitants of the village and those of the villages of the samedine" must appear, and whose function is to reveal the guilty ones (who have caused unexplained deaths or calamities from which the whole group has suffered, etc.). The intervention of the Ngil is sought in moments of serious crises. It calls for total action involving large groupings for whom it has a real therapeutic value: by determining guilt (impossible to contest because it is a matter of a superior and anonymous justice), by reinstating unity (on a passionate basis) at the time of the punishment, by re-creating a new vigor by means of this "purification."

794 The religious aspect of the "association" justifies such an
769 absolute, such an indisputable action. Unfortunately, we know little about it, except that certain dead are called upon by means of skulls, bones, and sacrifices, and that fertility rites are included
[83] when the Ngil has a female companion, Omore (1). [144]

1. H. Trilles, op. cit., p. 62, writes that "the new members must accomplish a number of actions connected with the act of generating before the statue of Omore ...," and Poupard speaks of "shameful ceremonies."

We have here a prevalent dialectic: a recourse to the social past — which is a true reservoir of endlessly accumulated powers — in order to instruct the social future and to fertilize it; the past and the future, the ancestors and the living are, like the generation of the ésa and that of the mwanõ, in the relation of begetter to begotten. This movement expresses dependence and a certain social order. The intervention of the Ngil — but it is not the only

695 was in other respects common. They were administered either by the ntyi'i mejo —esa, ntol, njoo bot, or officer of the ngil or another association—or by a diviner, mvimvi'i, sometimes a specialist in this category of bitom, palavers. The true ordeal had several forms: by a curse uttered over the ancestral grave or the bieti basket; by bitter herbs, alan; by pimento or ants; by boiling water or fire. /72/ Initiations and particularly that for ngil all involved a collective ordeal intended to ward off beyem who might have tried to push their way in. In addition to the ordeal proper, the mvimvi'i could make use of various forms of divining in order to discover presumed culprits. Except for a serious crime, the culprit thus revealed was not forced to undergo an ordeal if he admitted his guilt. Physical ordeals are on the decline; they are considered crimes or delicts in the Penal Code. And ordeal by oath has lost a great deal of its force. Divining remains much in use and is sometimes highly effective (1).

1. An oath may be sworn on a nzo'okak—a little elephant shield containing various medicines, equipped with a strap and worn under the arm. The nzo'okak is not an insignia of authority. Upon the death of its holder it does not pass automatically to the man who becomes head of the family but goes to the one who has a flair for magic. To leap over a nzo'okak laid on the ground means swearing that one has told the truth. The nzo'okak is a guarantee of treaties: after a battle it is placed between the belligerents, who jump over it to vouch for their peaceful intentions. (J. B.)

Among modern punishments, fines and imprisonment are well recognized by the Pahouin and have a definite intimidating power. On the other hand, the subtleties of setting up a public prosecutor /la constitution de partie civil/ are beyond many peasants, who thus lose the possibility of receiving damages that custom would have given them. Above all, the Napoleonic interpretation of crimes and delicts remains pretty well foreign to Pahouin norms, for example, in judging an insult as a mere transgression even when directed to an

a long enough interval in which to inform and call together the eventual heirs; in villages it remains longer.

The élik includes on the debit side the family debts incurred by the de cujus, but not his purely personal debts, which die with him; the distinction is sometimes hard to make and gives rise to suits between the heirs and creditors of the dead man. The debit side also includes the funeral costs, especially compensation to the diviner called in to determine the cause of death (but the expenses of the final illness are considered to be a personal debt). Assets cover all real and personal property that belonged to the deceased, including his wives. The settlement, akap = distribution, is directed by the akap élik, distributor of the inheritance, usually a ntôl mût, a kinsman or affinal relative not benefiting from the inheritance and appointed either by the de cujus or by the heirs themselves. Inheritances are more important now than they used to be, not only because there are more, and a greater variety of, objects to be distributed but also because the custom is dying out of destroying or burying part of them during the funeral rites.

There are six degrees of possible heirs: male offspring and their male descendants; full brothers; half brothers on the father's side; paternal first cousins, bobenyañ; clan nephews, hence brother's sons, bobenôm; uterine brothers, nephews, and grandsons of the clan, hence bastards, bobengon, and legitimate nephews and grandsons outside the clan, bobekal. Inheritance does not devolve by ascending order except in the complete absence of descending heirs.

The eldest of the heirs of the first degree called to the inheritance, ntôl mon, is privileged; he is the replacement, njian, for the dead man. To him go the hut, the family jewelry, ancestral cult objects, especially the bieti basket, the rifle, and certain valuable possessions like bicycles, sewing machines, etc. The other possessions are divided among the other heirs of the same degree. The njian's right of seniority is beginning to be criticized; it is gradually ceasing to apply to plantations, and now the heirs are demanding a division into portions of equal value along lines similar to those of the Civil Code.

The possessions left by a woman went in the first instance to her daughters, in their absence to her co-wives, and in their absence to her husband. With the present instability of marriage, related to the economic emancipation of women, this order of inheritance is

764 commun/ were buried by their co-wives and the women of their affinal family. Bongô and bikeñelé were buried at home with no other ceremonial than the mother's mourning.

763 When signs of sorcery were found on a corpse, the ngengañ or
● 787 mvimvi'i turned to divination to find the presumed culprit, who was subjected to an ordeal of bitter herbs. As a general thing, wives had
[695] to submit regularly to the pimento or ant ordeals to make them confess not only the part they might have had in the husband's death but also their adulteries. When no one was found responsible for the death of a mie individual (nonsorcerer), it was decided that he had been the victim of a breaking of taboo, nsem, sometimes unwittingly. Whatever the cause of death, sorcery or nsem or repercussion from
[787] an act of sorcery, purification always occurred, generally by a sacrifice at the end of the mourning period (meyep). /103/

765 The duration of mourning was, and still is, a mbu /six months/, but it is now less rigorous. Formerly the wives of the dead man were secluded, naked, for a month in his hut, the first wife lying on his bed; their heads and all their body hair were shaved, and they were painted white with ash and forbidden to wash or do their hair until the end of mourning. The dead man's brothers and sons shaved their heads and let their beards grow without trimming or combing; their foreheads were painted white and they wore only old clothes. They had to observe a series of prohibitions concerning certain ways of hunting, the eating of certain kinds of game (perhaps the dead man's personal totem?), all journeys, the circumcision of the dead man's sons, the use of a bed, etc. The end of mourning was marked by a sacrifice and often by a melan ceremony in order to enter into communication with the dead man.

The strictest mourning was observed for the death of an esa, a man of the father's age grade, less for a monyañ, and hardly any for a mongô. With regard to women, a man observed solemn mourning only for his mother and first wife, and this meant mourning within the family, while a man's death involved the whole village. However, an epidemic was followed by heavy mourning, and when the one presumed responsible was identified, it was not enough that he
[766 pay avutan, compensation, he was burned or drowned (his immediate
791 family was constrained to pay the avutan), and then a general
783] purification was undertaken.

789 also discriminates between the ésayoñ, ancestor cult /112/, and the
64 mvamayoñ, totemic cult. It must be admitted that there is now no
114 chance of obtaining a cross-checking of his theories except on points of detail, although that is no formal condemnation of his theories; it is the consequence of a shortage of researchers, lack of respect on the part of the researchers, or loss of traditions of initiation. The following points may be considered as established:

mvam (émvam) connotes ideas of a forefather, dead or alive, lineal and protective.

[784] akam, protection, is sometimes used in speaking of animals, to indicate the reason for a prohibition; the verb kam having a defending-protecting meaning as well as that of forbidding-prohibiting.

All prohibitions are not tied up with these notions, but some are and they may well be individual prohibitions as well as hereditary collective ones, not necessarily involving animals.

Clan markings, mindem, and tattoo marks, mindan, are often connected with a prohibition.

825 There is a whole system of animal symbolism, evident particularly
[787] in tales and augury ("zoomancy," divination by spiders).

Certain animals are connected with initiation cults: very definitely the sô and snakes (dendraspis and python); probably the porcupine and tortoise (with feminine rites); perhaps the gorilla (njil; ngil, Johnson's tone 4, the ngil rite having tone 5).

[559] There does not appear to be any connection between an animal name borne by a person (Mvômô = Python, Zo'o = Elephant, Ze = Panther, etc.) and the prohibitions he is subject to.

Moreover, the following, it seems pretty certain, are not specifi-
614 cally related to totemism:
825 Alliance, élat or ngbwa, between a person and a particular animal.

A sorcerer's employing an animal, nkuk (observe that nkuk also means "mask") to carry out his sorcery at a distance.

[775] The incarnation of a sorcerer in the body of an animal, élañela (Trilles applies this name to the nkuk).

The temporary incarnation of a dead man in an animal's body.

The first three phenomena often seem to be confused in the minds of present-day Pahouin, and the fourth may be the consequence of this.

773 It is curious that the legend recounted by Trilles about the crocodile, which he considers to be the "national totem," represents

perform a sort of exorcism. Sorcerers seem to be convened to these meetings by secret messages in the form of bundles of sticks notched according to a particular code, or in the form of the quipu. They are believed to reach the meetings by levitation or by sending only their nsisim while their bodies remain at home in a state of apparent death. This offers a good chance of getting rid of the sorcerer by burning his body, the disadvantage being that the nsisim survives, as does the évu, and that they than can be incarnated in an animal, which cannot happen if the sorcerer is burnt alive.

The évu may use various methods of moving about outside the nnem's body. Sometimes he leaves it in an invisible and immaterial form, but this method is exceptional. Most often he enters the body of an animal, generally a leopard, but sometimes a black make, civet cat, gorilla, or chimpanzee, or even certain insects; the list is unlimited, but nearly always the animal in question is powerful or dangerous. The carrier-animal is then almost invulnerable, endowed both with human intelligence and with the powers of an évu. It is, however, possible to strike at it, with luck and good mebiañ, and any injury to the évu rebounds on the sorcerer. On the other hand, injury to a sorcerer during the évu's absence is not necessarily fatal to the latter, because the évu can survive in the body of the vehicle-animal. The latter is called nkuk (1), which can also mean "mask." It is

1. Among the Ewôndo, this term also denotes the good bekôn who appear in dreams to give advice to the living. (J.B.)

not clear whether there is a confusion /119/ with the élañela, as Trilles suggests, or with animal-bekôn, or with those who are beyem on their own account, or even with bingôngôt (bingungure).

There seems to exist alongside ngbwel a /kind of/ sorcery connected with abé nlem or mbia nlem, malignity of the heart, and having nothing to do with possession by the bivu. Thus practitioners of kôn, which consists of killing a person while leaving his body alive (see above, p. 134), would not necessarily be beyem in the strict sense. Likewise, many malevolent activities are only criminal deviations from permissible magic. Alliance with an animal, or incarnation in the body of an animal, or even the transformation of a magician into an animal, need not be malevolent or only becomes so

787 Magic appears to be a technique for making use of the strength, tyi, contained in every element of the universe /creation/, which everyone has more or less the capacity, ngul, to employ. Elementary magic is taught within the family, advanced magic /is taught/ in associations, by experienced practitioners and also, nowadays, through /120/ correspondence with European charlatans. All initiations include a course in magic, all associations possess a body of specialists.

787 Divination, mvi'i, and medicine, mboan mebiañ, are to magic in general what in Europe the special branches are to general medicine. [790] Every ngengañ is a diviner and physician, but he may consult a colleague more specialized in one of those branches.

Everyone learns from childhood on to interpret everyday omens, which are mostly taken from "zoomancy:" the flight or song of certain birds, meeting certain animals in certain circumstances, etc. The interpretation of the movements of the victim of a family sacrifice, the abôp spider oracle, asking the advice of ancestors by means of the narcotic herb alañ, (iboga), require that /a person/ be already initiated. Oracles by water, sand or gravel, or conducting minkal tests require much deeper knowledge.

759 The same holds for medicine. Everyone knows the ordinary mebiañ, but for serious cases people must turn to a mbibiañ. The word biañ, usually translated "medicament," "greegree," even "fetish," indicates not only the drug, a pharmaceutical product, but also the whole of a magical act, including the chanting and dancing associated with it for grave illnesses. Pharmacopeoia and therapy proper, to some extent investigated by Baudre, Weber, and Chabeuf in the Cameroons and by Gascón in Spanish Guinea, are or were quite copious. Not only did the mbibiañ know many substances with a mainly vegetable base, but they also knew how to perform several surgical operations [752] —reduction of fractures and dislocations, incision and drainage of deep abcesses, amputations, excision of certain tumors, and perhaps trepanning. But obviously there was a great deal of pure magic mixed up with this practical medicine, and the majority of mebiañ, if they had a therapeutic effect, owed it largely to psychosomatic reactions—which is not peculiar to Pahouin medicine.

791 Aside from medicine and divination and the combating of sorcerers, the essential role of the mingengañ consisted of influencing the shaping of the destiny of the group or of the individuals, if not in controlling their destiny. The powers of high initiates to some extent

Largeau /sic/) and the mekuru alelé, bundles of little sticks making it possible to communicate in code, they had a kinö of pictography, ntilan, with tens, if not hundreds, of signs, mindem. These we know (insufficiently) from the counters used in the abia game, a kind of tarots, used as a game as much as for predicting the future; the pieces were made of the seeds, or rather the pods, of a mimosa common in the forest (Tetrapleura /125/ thonningii, according to Trilles). These signs had a surface meaning, understood by all, and an esoteric meaning, restricted to initiates. They made it possible if not to write down traditions as a whole, at least to draw up a kind of aid to memory to be used by the beyia bia. They also enabled scouts to leave messages for a main body of fighters that followed. Each clan, each family had its own ndem, sometimes depicted in its tattoo mark, ndan, which thus constituted a sort of coat of arms.

The old literature included stories or tales, minlan, songs, bia, and chronicles, minkaïete.

Trilles is responsible for collecting most of the tales (no. 165), which often took the form of fabliaux whose hero was none other than Ol' Br'er Terrapin, Kulu (emphatic or personal form of kul), the earth tortoise (Cinyxis erosa), surrounded by Beme, the wild pig, stupid and gluttonous, Ze, the panther, mean and cunning, its principal enemy; Zo'o, the elephant, the king of beasts; Abop, the spider, artful and obliging; and the majority of the other forest animals (except, it seems, snakes, which no one ever likes to mention). Kulu, thanks to his shrewdness, always ends by getting out of the holes in which his caustic spirit or the old hostility between him and Ze have put him. Tales of magicians were also told, or stories about the conjugal mishaps of supposed ancestors. All such tales were in the public domain and were recited by anyone who felt competent. This was also the case with the puzzles and riddles that young people put to one another as a kind of flirtation.

Songs, however, were performed by specialists, even aside from ritual or magical songs. Some were used to accompany dances; they represented the most complete form of musical expression, with the tone of the words supposed to fit the music while being related to the movements of the dance. There are still beyia bia competent to lead a dance of this kind by improvisation, but they are few and very expensive. There also still exist players of the mvet (harp-guitar), whose repertory includes, beside the old sung legends, some modern

779
721
782
302
386

mashed and mixed with oil and produces
a splendid, very lasting red dye.

draw white horizontal lines with white clay (mfem). A wide black circle is traced around the eyes; on the forehead each one draws the likeness or symbol of his tribal or clan totem, or instead, they sometimes draw it on their temples or cheeks. Thus the "axe" of the Amvom, actually the likeness of a boa, their totem serpent, winds over their cheeks and temples and ends near the eyes. To enliven this image, the juice of a grassy lily, the chlorophyton (ayɔ̂n ɛ́ si), is used, which gives a long-lasting, bluish color. On the chest each one then draws his individual totem in black with gardenia juice.

721
779
782

Once they have finished these preparations, the warriors pick up their weapons and fetishes and begin the war dance, which consists of two parts: a totemic dance and then the real war dance, [552] which has a stronger beat and is more lively. I have already described this before in connection with the war song, which here accompanies the dance.

After the war dance the chief approaches the victim. He is forced to his knees; the practitioner draws a white line on his neck, then violently pulls his head forward, while an assistant twists his arms behind his back. The practitioner cuts off his head at one quick blow with the sacrificial knife, and tosses it onto the altar. The chief collects the spouting blood in a pot kept for the purpose, a new pot which will afterwards be broken. As soon as the blood stops, the corpse is laid on fresh banana leaves and the practitioner, helped by the chief, opens his chest, taking care to use only two knife strokes: one across and one up and down. The heart is taken out and placed beside the skulls; then the lungs and liver are removed. According to the body's
• [787] last twitching and the position of the organs, the practitioner predicts the outcome of the war. It will either be fortunate or cause the death of many warriors. "The funeral songs will last a long time," he may say, and the crowd will raise a cry of distress! If on the contrary the auguries are favorable, there will be shouts of joy, a song of triumph and gladness.

721 Everyone then comes near, the chief first, and dips a finger
779 into the pot of blood and takes it. The practitioner also dips in
782 his finger and with it touches each warrior's totem to make the
266 so-called racial mark (ndem ayôn). "Adopted" warriors are ex-
608 cluded from this ceremony, perhaps the only occasion when a distinction is drawn between them and the tribe; in some smaller clans they are not excluded from this ceremony.

721 When a tribe is populous and a single victim would not be
779 enough, two, three, and sometimes ten or more are provided.

As soon as each warrior has thus "renewed the mark," the
782 sacred dances start again. During that time the chief joins in at first, then takes what remains of the blood, smears his ancestral skulls with it, and then sprinkles the tribal totems while the warriors sing the totem song. [553] The practitioner, helped by his acolytes makes a kind of large sticky ball from the sap of cer-
[824] tain rubber creepers (1) and a kind of gum (2) and knead it inside

1. Landolphia Klaineana and Thollonii of the Apocynecese.

2. This gum is produced by the Acacia erubescens Wildm. of the acacia family.

the victim's thoracic cavity so that it becomes soaked with blood. At the end of the ceremony he takes a bit from this ball and ap-
• [787] plies it to each warrior's chest. According to how long it sticks, it will give an augury about the warrior's life, death, and the wounds he will receive.

721 As soon as the ceremonies are completed the victims are
782 cut into thin strips, and each person receives his share. The feast
266 begins. This is the end of the actual totemic ceremony, to be followed from then on by purely religious and fetishist rites. I therefore need say no more on the subject.

721 After the meal, the dance, and the songs, the skulls and totems are put back in the évora biéri and carried back to the huts.

VI. The Establishment of a New Village

361 Various circumstances may lead to the setting-up of a new
621 village. Worked-out land, denuded hunting and fishing grounds,
166 decaying huts, a disease decimating the children, the chief's
187 death, a defeat in war, sometimes merely the wish to push on,
are the principal reasons.

The spirits are consulted before departure is considered. [Footnote omitted.] There is a triple sacrifice: to the spiritual guardians of the village, to the ancestors, and to the totem. If the three replies are favorable, plans may go ahead. Otherwise, a sacrifice producing an ill-omened interpretation will be undertaken again, after a few days, until a favorable result is obtained.

361 After this first test a suitable location is sought. As this
621 choice is made by delegates, the practitioner is called upon and he, with all the male inhabitants, combs the [557] surroundings of the new village, singing and dancing so as to drive away malignant spirits or any that might be injurious to the new establishment.

361 All the men then come together in the middle of what will
621 be the future village, and the chief picks out the spot where he
769 will build his own hut. A sacrifice is offered there, first to the
782 totem and then to the spirits of the ancestors. To do this a roof of leaves is hastily erected and roughly placed on a few stakes. The évora biéri is carried underneath the roof and the chief puts in front of the unopened box a black hen and a kid.

Before slaughtering the two victims, the chief removes the akaméyòn from his baldrick and blows three times in the oviara, turning in three different directions. The objective of this ceremony is to dispel evil spirits. He then drags the akaméyòn behind him over the entire site of the new village. After one round he does another, holding the akaméyòn in his hand. Thus malignant spirits of earth and air will be dispersed. The akaméyon is then put on the évora biéri. The chief slaughters the hen by cutting off its head, grasps it by the feet, and sprinkles the akaméyòn and box. He again traverses the village, sprinkling

361 the sites of future huts with blood. The hen is then opened up
621 and divided among the principal warriors and the chief's relatives.
769 This strictly speaking, constitutes the totemic sacrifice. The
782 kid or sheep is then offered to the spirits of departed souls and to the ancestors.

After the sacrifice to ancestors the chief puts the akamɔ́ɔ̀n
361 back at his side. From the mfex or pouch, which is never re-
621 moved, he draws forth a small bundle of dirty material wrapped
769 around a bit of red wood, ashes, and a few bones. All this
718 comes from a sacrifice to the totem like that already described. To these he adds the remnants of the recent sacrifice and buries it all deep in a hole in which he drives a strong stake of élun
[329] or éfirfira wood; sometimes a young ebony tree is also used. At the top of the stake he fixes a ball of paste made of red wood,
[322 white chalk -- the colors of sacrifices and spirits, and manioc,
842] the symbol of fertility. A part of the clan or tribal totem is also inserted. The practitioner, with many gestures, songs, and dances imprisons within it all the evil spirits of the air. [558]

The practitioner sows maize in the middle of the village, then plants a manioc root and particularly a euphorbia (euphorbia antiquorum), and puts a small fence around, so that the plants
[187] will not be desecrated. The village's prosperity depends upon their rapid growth. Should they wither, the chosen spot will be abandoned. Euphorbia has the power of averting thunder and evil
[324] spirits by means of its bristling points. Amaryllis and immortelles are often planted at the foot of the euphorbia, along with a few stalks of sugar cane. The amaryllis and immortelles ought to come from the old village, having issued from those which the chief's first wife had formerly brought from her
[842] native village at her marriage. Sugar cane is a symbol of fertility.

241 The women plant maize everywhere after these prelimi-
361 naries, and its rapid growth ensures basic subsistence. Meanwhile the men build the huts. The first ears of maize will certainly be offered to the guardian totem. Dried and preserved in the form of a coronet, they will provide seed for the following year.

boil his own totem in the pot, but so has the practitioner, in order to counterbalance the power of the accused man's totem.

The red-hot iron test, ɛ̂ki bɔ̂ɔ̂n or bɔ̂ɔ̂n ɛ̂ki bɔ̂ɔ̂n, is the third ordeal.

The accused man's knife is heated red hot, then pressed to his cheek; if the cheek is burnt, he is guilty; otherwise, he is declared innocent. He has the right to throw into the fire, in which the iron is heated, the ashes of his individual totem; he also has the right to rub with this same totem that part of his body to which the red-hot iron will be applied.

There is no need to dwell on how easy subterfuges would be, all the more so since before each ceremony the presumed culprit is allowed to apply a few strong poultices or substances to harden his skin. The totem would then be only more effective!

If declared innocent, the accused man nevertheless owes a sacrifice to his mvane, a debt that will be readily discharged.

In case of theft there are also three tests used, as follows:

for the otura bɔ̂ɔ̂n, the practitioner lights a large fire in the middle of the village, fed with special kinds of wood. When the fire has caught well, he throws an armful of wet leaves on it; he then moves back, having pronounced above the rising smoke certain magical words. The column of smoke at first rises straight up; suddenly, without wind (often there is not a breath), without any visible physical action on the part of the practitioner or anyone else (because they are all at a distance), it curves inward, we are told, eddies, and then advances towards a hut which it completely envelopes. The hut's owner is immediately seized and declared guilty [562]; however, he can insist on drinking the test poison, provided that he is buying back his life for the first time. One cannot redeem oneself from the test poison.

The smoke test has always seemed to me one of the most difficult to explain. I have witnessed it several times and in spite of the closest attention have not been able to perceive the least trickery.

A second test is the following: the practitioner lies on the ground and appears to listen to mysterious voices which are heard, in fact, as if coming out of the earth. Probably a simple effect of

685 ventriloquism is involved; certain practitioners are past masters
695 at it. The voices mention three names, which the practitioner
787 repeats aloud. Each of the presumed culprits must then bring a
198 fowl; these are slaughtered by the practitioner and their blood is poured on the ground. The first sign is deduced from the way in which the drops fall and the forms they take. The fowls are then cut open, and the position of the liver and the final contractions of nerves and muscles corroborate the first indications.

685 The totem plays only an inconspicuous part in this test,
695 which in any case is rarely used nowadays.

787 The most frequent test is the akala-nkal, thus called after the fetish nkal, which is kept in an antelope horn or large snail (ngôn). The practitioner heats water, mixing in different kinds of plants, and adds, to satisfy those who may think they are suspected, some of the ashes of their totemic sacrifice.

When evening comes, every man prepares a fire of wood and bamboo in front of his hut. The chief then goes through the brightly lit village, invoking guardian spirits and threatening the thief or thieves with terrible vengeance. Then he runs and jumps over all the bonfires, the men and women of the village following after him. If a man or woman should touch one of the brands with a foot so as to make it roll off the fire, that person is declared guilty. While undergoing the nkal test, the chief carries his totem in his hand. If all come through safely, the chief starts again on his own, this time holding the village totem, show everybody's innocence even more. [563]

After this first trial, which everyone usually gets through with the greatest ease, the one or more accused if such there be, if not, all the men of the village, take a drink of lustral water which the practitioner has just boiled; then they take a few steps and spit on the nkal, which has been put on the ground. Each person then steps over the nkal, swearing his innocence, and starts once more to leap over all the bonfires. If he is not hurt, he is declared innocent. It is extremely rare that, from the effects of the poison or for some other reason, one or another does not stumble over a brand and knock it out of the fire. He is thereupon declared guilty; if he denies it, he will have to drink the élûñ; if on the contrary, he saves his life but has to repay the theft twice over.

683 This is the most frequent test among the Fan.
781 Anyone accused of sorcery, or all those who have suc-
695 cumbed during the first tests, must drink the ordeal poison. This
278 ceremony has been described so often that there is no need to go into it at length.

In the Fan test-poison ordeal three different poisons are used, according to the case in question: the sap of the éfuh tree; the grated bark and roots of the oné or onaĩ; (1) the roots of the

[411]

> 1. Strychnos onaĩ: this shrub of the strychnine family, produces the poison used on arrowheads. Puncture is fatal if the poison is fresh, and death ensues within a few moments. If the poison is old, the wound slowly becomes gangrenous. Bromine is a good antidote.

shrub kwéa. (2) These roots are finely shredded, thrown into

> 2. Strychnos ikaja: this is a common test on the coast, where kwéa, the natives say, is called ikaja, nka, mbonde, ibonde, etc.

boiling water and a reddish liquid is obtained after a few hours of simmering. This highly dangerous brew contains in solution a considerable amount of strychnine and hyoscine.

683 The ngenngah, or practitioner, begins by sacrificing a she-
781 goat, with the formulae already indicated. Next, all the vil-
695 lagers assemble, and the practitioner appears in red and white paint, with red parrot feathers and black fish hawk plumes stuck into his hair to form a crown. His only garment consists of a skin tied around his loins, and he wears many bells on his hands and feet. [564] He invokes the protective fetishes of the village, leaps, skips, and howls frenetically. The tom-tom played by one of his acolytes is beaten faster and faster; the practitioner's movements increase in tempo; little by little he seems to move by preference toward a group, the sound of his bells directing him, so he says. Finally he halts abruptly and points in the crowd

683 695 787

to one or more culprits, who are immediately seized and led to the middle of the public square, where one of the practitioner's assistants is waiting with several cups of the liquid.

Those who, in previous ordeals, have asked to be given the poison to drink are also brought up at the same time.

Each in turn empties a cup: the effects vary according to the kind of poison.

Those who drink the élûn quickly develop a violent trembling, which convulses the whole body. They can hardly keep on their feet and would roll on the ground were they not supported by friends. If at this point they are able to urinate copiously, they will gradually recover and survive. However, for years they will have a persistent nervous tremor.

Those who drink the ikaja or the onaï seem, on the contrary, to be knocked out: they fall down, get up, and fall down again. They survive only if they can vomit the liquid.

Whatever the effect of the poison, all who have undergone the test are led before a log thrown like a bridge over a brook, or sometimes before a plank or a dead tree laid on the ground. They must tread it without help from one end to the other. If they teeter and fall, all the participants leap on them, [266] strike and kill them with clubs, tear them apart and eat them on the spot. However, the sorcerers or those who claim to be are never eaten but are burnt alive. Those who get through to the end of the plank have to pay a large fine. "There's no smoke without fire," seems to be the Fan proverb, translated [538] into their idom as, "Ké abi fo ve fo -- there's no rat hole without a rat!"

The totem enters to a fairly large extent into all these tests, either through the practitioner who invokes it or through the unfortunate accused who always have the right, quite illusory for them, to have a [565] piece of the totem boiled with the élûn (1) and to invoke it before drinking up the fatal

1. It is not for me to pass judgment on these ceremonies, or to show to what degree the practitioner plays the dominant role, often getting well paid

683
695
787

for administering an effective emetic along with the test poison. I shall evaluate these ordeals later when discussing religion.

potion.

683
695
787
562

Women are not subject to the tests I have just mentioned except sometimes to the nkal test. Among the Fan they do not drink the test poison; they are, in fact, considered as irresponsible and in a state of tutelage. Therefore in cases of serious accustion, a woman's father or husband has to take her place but does not invoke the totem, because it would not be able to act on her behalf since it does not acknowledge the woman.

Only for an accusation of sorcery does a woman have to submit to a test.

She is brought gagged to the middle of the village, two female relatives pull her head back, and the practitioner empties
[278] into her eye the sap of a euphorbia called ka. (2) If she comes

2. Euphorbia scandens, of the arboreal euphorbias.

through unhurt, she is innocent. If, on the contrary, as nearly always happens, the eye leaves the socket, she is immediately
[266] declared guilty, dragged away into the forest, burnt, and eaten. The accusation frequently arises, and punishment is never delayed.

VIII. Blood Exchange

608 " 'Brotherhood' (in America, totemisation)," says Mgr. Le Roy, (3) "is relationship through an exchange of blood; if

3. La religion des primitifs [The Religion of Primitive Peoples] op. cit., p. 120.

this is not quite totemism, it is very near to it."

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

412 the natural curve of the branches. Stones are employed for rolling food, especially for crushing and rolling the *ngon* seed. Shells of large land mollusca are cut in half and used for spoons, small gourds being used for the same purpose. Large gourds are used for water dippers and bottles. Very many uses are found for the forest 824 gourds, not the least ingenious being the use of a hollow stemmed gourd for [757] administering a rectal injection. Gourds are used for the sounding boards of the musical instrument called *mvuk*. The people find many uses for bamboo. It is used in construction of houses, fish baskets and traps are made from it, fences to protect paths during tribal wars are made of sharp pointed bamboo poles; and small sharpened pieces of bamboo with poisoned tips are buried in the forest paths, point upward, to wound and poison the naked feet of an unsuspecting enemy. The 825 teeth and claws of leopards and bush cats, elephant tail, antelope feet, horns and forest beans are used in their natural form as personal ornaments. Leopard teeth are always considered valuable as *biang* (fetish) and are much sought after; they are frequently imitated in ivory. I have not seen the defences of animals employed as artificial defences, except as fetish. Long tough forest thorns are often used as awls [412] and needles for piercing and sewing skins. I once saw an *ngangan* (witch doctor) 763 perform a post-mortem examination on a woman. After he had discovered the cause ●797 of death, which he announced to the expectant crowd as being due to "six witches eating her liver," he first pierced the abdominal walls with a long hard thorn, and then sewed up the body with a bamboo needle threaded with pineapple fibre. I have seen only one cave dwelling; it was used by an isolated sufferer of the dread 342 disease called by the natives *mabata* (a kind of sloughing phagedina). When 734 proper reed material for making thatch is scarce, large forest leaves are used, but they make very poor roofs, especially during the tornado season.

Conservatism.—The Fang are not quick to adopt reforms or to introduce new 195 methods; they are more or less the slaves of custom, and have a superstitious dread 186 of departing from ancestral habits. This refers to all the proceedings of life. Fang living in towns near Gaboon are almost daily coming in contact with white settlers, and to some extent, at least, appear to be changing their mode of living. It never appeared to me that a Fang had the same longing to be "just like a white man" as possesses the young Mpôngwe and Benga men.

IX.—*Ornamentation.*

The patterns mostly seen in Fang ornamentation consist of bands, incised 531 lines, elliptical punch marks, herring bone, lozenge pattern and cross lines. The natives do not possess a natural aptitude for drawing, and seldom attempt it. The few drawings I have seen on the bark walls of houses, supposed to represent men and women, were very crude and exaggerated in proportion. They have no idea whatever of perspective. They seem to interpret foreign drawings very readily. [322] The Fang show considerable skill in plain wood carving, using an ordinary native knife. I have noticed that their carving improves very considerably when an imported pocket knife is the instrument employed.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

name, the *Eki* of the Fang being the *Orunda* of the Mpongwe. One day when ou 784
a journey among the people, I asked an old headman to share with me a chicken 778
my boy had prepared for supper; the old man seemed pleased at my invitation, but asked the boy if it was a hen or cock fowl. Upon being informed that it was a cock, he declined to eat any of it · that was his *Eki*. As previously stated, I do 769
not believe the natives worship the spirits of Present and Future, but to a certain degree ancestral worship does exist. A Fang places the skull of his father in a curious receptacle of bark, worshipping it, killing fowls and making blood offerings to it, and in many ways the whole matter somewhat resembles the worshipping at graves and before ancestral tablets as practised in China. The natives often pray to their father's skull before talking a large war palaver, or the purchase of a new woman. As worshipping departed ancestors is the chief duty of a faithful Chinaman, so making offerings and prayers to the departed father's spirit before the skull constitutes the great Fang fetish, or *bieti*. Wooden idols, *biyeme*, of men [831]
and women are made in a manner which makes the sex extremely apparent; yet [532]
whenever I have seen these figures in towns, the people did not seem to regard them as obscene, but as truthful representations of the sexes. I feel sure that to some extent, at least, phallic worship is practised among the Fang. Spirits are 776
everywhere; in rocks, trees, forests, and streams; in fact, for the Fang, this life is one continual fight against spirits corporal and spiritual.

A peculiar belief regarding dreams is that when a person sleeps the soul often 787
wanders away, and its experiences on these journeys are made known to the sleeper 828
by dreams. After death the soul may inhabit any kind of animal. [775]

Fetish Biang (medicine).—Fetish means anything; leopard teeth, human finger nails, hair, wood, iron, herbs. The article used as *biang* or fetish, has no 778
intrinsic value, it is only valued because of connecting its owner with a spirit which can aid him. The leopard tooth fetish is supposed to impart the bravery of the leopard to its owner. Fetish is a spirit or combination of spirits manifested in material things.

Dili Mkuk.—To murder a person and save his skull as a fetish, or use the skull as medicine to bring women, guns, goats or goods. The people will make offerings to the skulls calling them by the names of persons killed. It is said that these prayers are always answered as desired.

Biang e Soli (hiding medicine).—A man goes and takes leaves of trees, and cuts 789
them up. He says, "I have cut up leaves of trees" (or high grass, bushes). The women shell gourd seeds and mash them. They catch a fowl, kill it, and put it in the pot. They also put in the pot the medicine leaves, and the mashed gourd kernels. They put the pot on the fire, and boil (its contents). When they have boiled it, the medicine is cooked. They take the medicine pot off (the fire). They go and put it by the side of (*afuñ*) the back of the *bieti*. The man who has put it there says to the *bieti*, other people want to kill me. He takes away the medicine pot. He opens the *bieti* basket. He takes a small piece of the bone (instead of this say to the woman and children he takes the excrement of the

8: Bennett D-5 (ca.1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

Ngang (Doctor). Translation.

[787] 726 539 789 The Ngang (witch doctor) prophesies war. If the war comes and is in the bush, then the doctor takes medicine wrapped in bush cat skin called *mebup*, and medicine in horns. He holds the horns in his hands. He counts the horns; he hangs the *mebup*. He says to the *mebup*, I say thus: No person must go to the forest. If a person goes anywhere the enemy will kill him. If a person says, I will not listen to the doctors' talk, I will go and do my work; then if he goes, the enemy kill him. If they kill a person, they take the heart and put it in the *abup*. They take an old witch and put it in the *abup*. Then if the doctor prophesies, the witch speaks from inside the medicine. The heart of the person, it talks.

XVI.—*Hunting Traps.*

224 The Fang are skilful hunters, but they justly give the credit of the chase to the *Nqui* (dwarfs). I have been told that a dwarf will go hunting in the bush and return with meat after a hunting party has returned unsuccessful from the same locality; the dwarfs have great patience. If while hunting in the forest a man sees a deer, he shouts for assistance: others come and help hunt. If the deer is killed, all claim a share, after one-third has been given to the man who first sighted the game. This is the custom when a man walking unarmed in the forest sights meat, and calls for aid. Meat killed by a regular hunting party is carried to their town and divided. Dogs are used to hunt game, the dogs wear wooden bells around the neck, sometimes the bells are made of iron. Flint-lock guns are used when hunting. Before a hunting party starts out it is the custom to make *biang nzali* (gun medicine), and to place the guns in it; this makes them shoot straight. The natives imitate very cleverly the calls of certain animals and birds for the purpose of decoy. Occasionally they drive game into an enclosure called *olam*. Spears are seldom used in the chase. The crossbow is used for shooting birds and small bush cats.

[441] Poisoned arrows are not used with the crossbow. Pitfalls for game are dug and covered with small branches and leaves; pigs and small deer frequently fall into them. A Fang never attempts to hit a bird on the wing. In firing the flint-locks the gun is not carried to the shoulder, but held by the stock in front of the body, the butt being on a level with the waist. Game laws are unknown.

After a successful hunting expedition the whole town indulges in a feast, men, women, and children eat until gorged; after a period of rest dancing commences and is kept up throughout the night.

Olam (Trap). Translation.

224 539 They take small trees and bamboo leaves and bush rope, and make a long fence. They leave holes for the traps and holes for the pitfalls (*i.e.*, opposite the

244 and for that reason yams, especially the air tuber yam, are frequently planted with ngon. In general, the only edible part of the yam is the rhizome, and in the case of the air tuber yams, only the air tubers which all fall off at the same time when they are ripe.. This has given rise to a symbolic custom practiced when the children eat yam. [788] For instance, when the three sons of one mother eat yams, the first nudges the second, and the latter nudges the third, as a sign that they wish to die after one another, as is natural, and not all on the same day, like the air tubers.

Considerably less can be said of the third group than of the first and second groups. The chief plant belonging to it is cassava or manioc, Manihot utilissima Pohl (mbūn I). The times for /Fig. 54 appears here in the original text/ the cultivation of cassava are as follows:

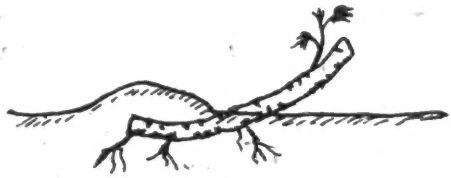


Fig. 54. Cassava Shoot.

[132] vūē'n esěb = long dry season (December to February), felling the trees on the farm;

šōgō esěb = short rainy season (March to May), planting the shoots;

ojŭn = the rainy half of the year.

In the following esěb, in other words, from January of the following year on, that is, seven months after transplanting, harvesting may begin, and it may extend over an arbitrary period of time since the plant is a perennial.

[789] There are no medicines for the growth of cassava as there are for the groundnut and ngon. The prayer of the Pangwe -- an ancient one in new guise -- would be: "Dear God, let the groundnut and ngon flourish, cassava grows by itself!" Cassava has comparatively few enemies; only goats and sheep like to eat the leaves. There is a species of grasshopper (mbāăsăn III) which descends in

754 the évu or the animal employed as assistant being killed during a skirmish, which would bring about the nnem's death.

Many people nevertheless regard these disadvantages as weighing little against the immediate advantages which the évu procures. Therefore some bemie (people without évu) have themselves initiated into ngbwel, and some beyem dedicate their children from birth (which has the additional effect of protecting them against the parent's évu). For this purpose beyem organize into secret societies (and these are really secret societies), well described by Trilles and particularly so by Lavignotte (no. 155).

754 Babies are dedicated by a nnem kinsman in a ceremony, aka'é, before the umbilicus is healed (the évu is believed to enter through 852 the umbilical lesion). A special taboo is imposed on the child, and a part of his body (finger, toe or even foot, hand or whole arm) is symbolically sacrificed to the évu with a slight letting of blood. From that time on, only the shade of the sacrificed part, its semblance, is believed to continue to exist. The child is then nkôman ngbwel /118/, prepared for the ngbwel, but he is not yet a nnem; if he were it would be discovered at the preliminary stage of the adolescent initiation, and he would be put to death. It is only at the time of initiation with the official rites that he becomes a sorcerer, kuli 754 ngbwel, through a further ceremony during which his "godparents" reveal to him that he has been "prepared," dedicated. He must then buy back the bodily part "sacrificed" at the aka'é by offering his "godparents" the body of a member of his family, killed and eaten by the beyem in circumstances about which little is known. What is [786 known suggests some of the sexual aspects of European witches' sabbaths 839] (apparently participants of both sexes, naked, practiced sodomy, bisôk, and profaned the ancestral relics, probably fragments of biéti). The initiation of an adult consists only of the akuli ngbwel, the aka'é being restricted to children.

754 Beyem meet periodically, aside from initiation ceremonies, in 788 order to "feed the bivu" in anthropophagous or necrophagous meals accompanied by obscene rituals. These meetings take place at the new moon in secret places in the forest, usually in clearings on top of hills or on islands in marshes — mmimie are afraid of stumbling by chance on one of these spots which, according to some of my in- [825] formants, are guarded between meetings by an aardvark, mvômesila. If such a place is discovered, a nnengañ is immediately called in to [755] perform a sort of exorcism.

754 perform a sort of exorcism. Sorcerers seem to be convened to these
788 meetings by secret messages in the form of bundles of sticks notched
[211] according to a particular code, or in the form of the quipu. They are believed to reach the meetings by levitation or by sending only
754 their nsisim while their bodies remain at home in a state of apparent
774 death. This offers a good chance of getting rid of the sorcerer by burning his body, the disadvantage being that the nsisim survives, as does the évu, and that they than can be incarnated in an animal, which cannot happen if the sorcerer is burnt alive.

754 The évu may use various methods of moving about outside the
774 nnem's body. Sometimes he leaves it in an invisible and immaterial form, but this method is exceptional. Most often he enters the body
825 of an animal, generally a leopard, but sometimes a black snake, civet cat, gorilla, or chimpanzee, or even certain insects; the list is unlimited, but nearly always the animal in question is powerful or dangerous. The carrier-animal is then almost invulnerable, endowed both with human intelligence and with the powers of an évu. It is, however, possible to strike at it, with luck and good mebiañ, and any injury to the évu rebounds on the sorcerer. On the other hand, injury to a sorcerer during the évu's absence is not necessarily fatal to the latter, because the évu can survive in the body of the vehicle-animal. The latter is called nkuk (1), which can also mean "mask." It is

[787] 1. Among the Ewôndo, this term also denotes the good bekôn who appear in dreams to give advice to the living. (J.B.)

not clear whether there is a confusion /119/ with the élañela, as Trilles suggests, or with animal-bekôn, or with those who are beyem on their own account, or even with bingôngôt (bingungure).

754 There seems to exist alongside ngbwel a /kind of/ sorcery connected with abé nlem or mbia nlem, malignity of the heart, and having nothing to do with possession by the bivu. Thus practitioners of kôn, which consists of killing a person while leaving his body alive (see above, p. 134), would not necessarily be beyem in the strict sense. Likewise, many malevolent activities are only criminal deviations from permissible magic. Alliance with an animal, or incarnation in the body of an animal, or even the transformation of a magician into an animal, need not be malevolent or only becomes so

779 782 Regular or periodic sacrifices are associated with certain fixed occasions, independent of man's will and of chance. These are: the daily sacrifice, that to the new moon, and that of first fruits.

Occasional sacrifices are usually blood offerings, accompanied by rites that have earned the name "communional." [507] In almost all these, there is communion through the victim, and all present partake in the sacrifice.

Periodic totemic sacrifices are, on the other hand, rarely bloody or "communional."

In general, the African considers his own interests first. He usually pays rather little attention to his totem, except for certain rites laid down by custom, from which he would not dare to deviate. Thus, every morning, the first wife or most [188] important woman, in the name of the head of the family, anoints with oil the figure upon the box (évora biéri) that contains both the ancestral skulls and the materialized totem. Also, at the time of the new moon, an offering is made to this same Biéri, to the ancestors and totem together, the two cults being united in a common gift.

But when a Fan has some favor to ask, wants to acquire something, like a wife, an object, etc., he will hasten to make a sacrifice to the totem. The more urgent the need, and the more important the object, the more substantial will be the sacrifice, ranging from a hen to a human victim, sometimes even to the ritual sacrifice of the chief himself or at least of one of his children.

The sacrifice of thanksgiving does not exist for the Fan; he would view it as "give and take" and he would be astonished if asked to give thanks: he has offered a sacrifice to his totem, the latter has granted his prayer, which means that the totem is satisfied. Why do any more? If a new need arises, then only will it be time to have recourse again to his totem. Meanwhile he had best leave things alone. Each is satisfied with the other.

As for expiatory sacrifice, it is one of the most common. Every time an African has an accident, a misfortune, a calamity, perhaps merely lack of success, he attributes it to his totem's

595 Whatever ~~the kind of marriage~~, the first wife is the only
585 one considered [574] as truly legitimate. As soon as she enters her new hut, her husband leads her by the hand before the évora biéri, which is kept tightly closed. Throughout her life, the wife will never be allowed to look into the box, as that would entail a very grave ritual offense. She now takes a bit of palm oil brought from her own village, mixes it with some from her husband's mother, and rubs this symbolic mixture on the statue
[842] on top of the évora. This is a symbol of the fertility she asks of the ancestors and the guardian spirits of the race. She next
[782] puts a few grains of maize in a small basket at the base of the statue, so that her future plantations may thrive. This sacrifice should be repeated every morning, but only by the principal wife -- and it is often omitted.

4. Hunting, Fishing, Husbandry

788 Before starting on a hunting or fishing expedition, like-
779 wise before going out to the first work on his plantation, every family head or warrior will be sure to invoke his totem. He does this first with an offering on the biéri box, then by touching his weapons, tools, or snares against the family totem.

788 In the case of hunting, the hunter, when charing his gun,
224 mixes some of the ashes of totemic sacrifice with his small shot,
779 puts his hand on his totem, and leaves confident of the outcome. Even if hunting does not come up to expectation, he would never dream of blaming his totem. He would think that he had had bad luck or, more likely, that he had committed some offense.

788 When going fishing, he carries some of the sacrificial
276 ashes hidden in a rag. At the spot he thinks propitious, he al-
779 ways begins by throwing the ashes into the water, in order to obtain his totem's good will.

788 Likewise, when a man starts farming, at the beginning of
241 each dry season, before giving the first ax blow to the trees to
779 be cut down, he places some ashes or remnants of sacrifice in some kind of hole and sees to it that they are consumed by the

779
788 fire which he sets to the felled trees so as to make the necessary
241 fertilizer needed for his future crops. [575]

Returning from hunting or fishing, a man is always sure to
782 put an offering on the évora biéri: it may be a piece of the ani-
224 mal's heart and brain or part of the first fish caught, even the
226 whole fish if it is very small. The first fruits are also placed on
779 the évora. Any infraction of these rites leads to punishment that can only be atoned for by one or more sacrifices. A warrior will infallibly recognize punishment in the failure of hunting or fishing trips or in barren plantations.

The hunting or fishing offering is made by the head of the family, that of first fruits by the first wife.

5. Trade and Palavers

788 Whenever a Fan has to "talk," he is very careful to try
537 to gain his totem's good will beforehand. On such occasions
779 it is important that he be able to convince his fellow speakers or his adversaries.

The totem ceremony is very short. Before leaving for the palaver or on a trading trip, he removes from the biéri box some of the ashes of the last sacrifice and puts them into a rag, closes the box, and goes off contented.

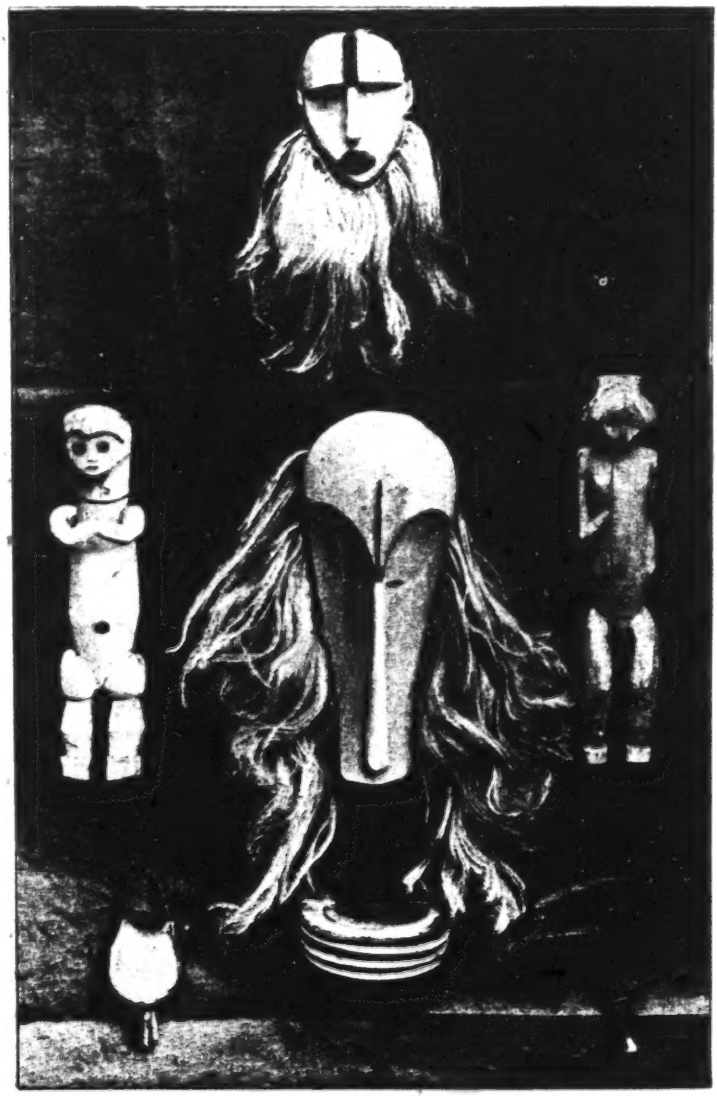
Before beginning to "talk," he will open the package of ashes and put a bit on his forehead, lips, and throat. Thus the spiritual guardians of the race will aid his brain and inspire him with the best thoughts and the best phrases, and thus they will tell him the best words to use to convince his adversaries and obtain what he wants.

6. Disease and Death

755 The totemic ceremonies connected with disease and death
779 are of somewhat more consequence. As soon as a man falls gravely ill, the practitioner is called in. He demands in advance, to be on the safe side, the proper payment for his pains, and then

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

532
231
534
412
●788



1 and 2, Ngi masks used in the Fang Secret Society; 3, 4, Fang idols; 5, Wooden dogbell 6, Ngi collar; 7, Sacrifice knife.

[p. 66(A)]

244 there is the striped mouse, Mus pulchellus Gray (zǒfǒ III), which gnaws the nuts. A kind of black rot affects the nuts here and there during certain years. A number of caterpillar species which consume the leaves can scarcely be designated as actual pests. It
244 is probable that the black rot has led the women to the belief that
789 other women are capable of making their groundnuts sick and of ruining them by means of "medicine." They try to counter this trick with a medicine consisting of the bones of the turtle, the elephant, the pig, and the guib, which are burned to ashes and then crushed; it is scattered on the seeds before planting. Of the remaining medicines that are supposed to influence favorably the growth of groundnuts, the most important one consists of rubbing
[386 the groundnuts with a specially prepared coloring made from red
824] wood, ba-ayǎ′; accordingly, this medicine is called ba-ayǎ′. This red coloring (see Section 18, "Sexual Life") produces the desired results and fends off hostile intentions. Red is everywhere
[822] the color of joy, growth, and reproduction. On the day the woman plants the groundnuts, she paints a line between her index finger and thumb with the "medicinal red" which will give her a lucky hand; or she draws a similar line on the upper surface of a tree stump and covers the stump with leaves, like a cap. This is to say: "May you groundnuts blossom, grow, and thrive (the red color is for this) under such a protection (referring to the leaves); nobody will be able to do you any harm (referring to the
[833] medicine)." Furthermore, on the eve of sowing, the man usually sets a good example for the groundnuts "assembled" in the basket /91/ by performing coitus for their benefit. With this example he sends them on their way: "Multiply! (1)" Another

[841
834]

1. This is done even when the woman is menstruating, whereas sexual intercourse is otherwise avoided during this period. In this case, as a medicinal act, sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman is supposed to be particularly good for the groundnuts, on condition that the woman "brings good luck (avüe)" (see Section 18, "Sexual Life").

Another
244 fertility medicine consists of the following mixture: 1) bark
789 of the Simarubacea Irvingia barteri Hook. f. (andǒk; 2) bark
[824] bark of the Anacardiacea Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl.
(ofǒs); 3) elephant manure; 4) sand from the Campo or the
Uelle; 5) salt. On the eve of sowing this mixture is added to the
nuts. This, too, must be understood as a direct transfer of power:
the groundnuts are to be as numerous as the fruits of the two
plants named; they are to become as enormous as the pile of
elephant manure; as numerous as sand in the Campo — we would
say, as the sands of the ocean; and as innumerable as the grains
[824] of salt. Finally, certain Liliaceae (ayǎn) are planted between
the groundnuts so that their leaves may become as green as the
lilies in the field. As can be seen, there is no lack of friendly
encouragement and good examples.

The fruit, illustrated in cross-section by Plate 6, Draw-
244 ings a and b, usually has two seeds, more rarely three, and still
more rarely one. Something reminiscent of our love feast occurs
when a boy at work finds a fruit with three seeds in his mother's
basket or in the field, calls his friends, and shares the seeds with
[195] them. This is called euphemistically: bi kī kǎbǎd, "we dissect a
goat." Thus, we have here the doctrine: Do not forget to do good
and to share with your fellow man when you are living in abun-
dance! It is probably more by way of a game that the Pangwe,
especially the children, sometimes eat the nuts raw. Otherwise
[353] raw nuts are prepared principally for soup or compote. It is also
customary to boil the whole fruit and then eat the seeds. The
[357] nuts are stored in large, tall baskets of raffia pith, which are hung
under the roof or placed on a bed, or the nuts may be placed
loose on the groundnut loft, akǎn owŭnǒ.

433 As a result of their laziness and indifference, the Pangwe
435 seldom have enough groundnuts, so there is always a period of
244 time when they have to do without them until the next harvest has
been brought in and is sufficiently dried. This is the reason that
in the Ntum and Fang regions at these times the price for a "plate"
(2)

[804] 2. The flat plate-shaped baskets called bush plates are a unit of measurement.

252 Everybody rushes to gather up the seeds; even hobbling old men and little naked children eagerly take part. Great care is taken, however, to get none of the dust which covers the village square in great quantities, no matter how much sweeping is done. Ordinarily, however, the seeds are gathered very quietly and slowly in the late afternoon, all the more slowly since the loam of which I have already spoken is carefully removed from the seeds. The fear of surprise downpours, incidentally, has produced all kinds of preventive medicines which I shall describe in another place (Section 14). /97/

244 136 Ngon suffer from pests more than the groundnut. Among these are beetles and caterpillars, but above all a species of bug which feeds on the leaves and a number of mammals which feed on the fruit. Among these mammals should be mentioned especially the red-tailed monkey, Cercopithecus buccalis Leconte (osǒk), and, wherever it occurs, the baboon, Maimon planirostris Elliot (esi'ge); furthermore, from the family of squirrels there are Sciurus eborivorus Du Chaillu (mvǒk) and Sciurus lemniscatus Leconte (osǒ'n); among the mice, the worst pest is Dendromys messorius Thomas (njaa); and there are also other species, such as Mus pusillulus Ptrs. (okǒb). In places elephants and buffaloes, which likewise eat the fruit, create a great deal of destruction. The guib (nkǒ'k) eats the leaves. Fruit rot (ntūi' ngǒn, that is "diarrhea of the ngon"), the result of an overabundant rainfall, likewise reduces the harvest, at times to a considerable extent. Against all these enemies there is not much to be done since they do not pay much attention to preventive medicines; nonetheless, Pangwe women believe that they can influence the seeds and the young plants by all kinds of means, as in the case of the groundnut. One such means, ba-aya, has already been described in connection with the groundnut. A second method consists of sprinkling the seeds themselves in the bush plate where they are kept for sowing with red wood that has been ground to a powder (red wood as a symbol of growth, joy, and reproduction). Another procedure to encourage the growth of the ngon plants and to make them produce an abundance of fruit is called emiě ndǒb, that is, squirting of (the medicine in the) banana leaf vessel. For this purpose a vessel made of banana leaves is buried in the middle of the farm or set up there, and the following things are put into it.

244 789

244 789 824

244 789 824

1. Fruit of Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. (abuī), because of the quantity of its fruit; hence also its name abuī from abuī, "much" (compare a bue, "break into pieces," for then there are many pieces!).

2. Herb of the Amaranthaceae Aerua lanata (L.) Juss. (angṓnengṓne III, angṓngṓne = assimilated, angṓngōno), because of its abundant inflorescence.

3. Fruit of the Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofǒs), because of its many fruits (cf. groundnut medicines).

4. Fruit of the Euphorbiacea Staphysora duseni Pax. (owūwǔmu II and III), because of its many flowers; hence the name is derived from a wǔmu, "to put forth," the name being formed by reduplication.

5. Pulverized leaves of the melegueta pepper, Aframomum melegueta K. Schum. (andǔn), likewise because of the luxuriant growth of the plant. /98/

All these items are stirred together in water inside the vessel and are then squirted onto the young ngon plants by means of a piece of stalk of the Cissus (pfǎzǒk IV), so that the ngon may "grow as luxuriantly as the Cissus shoot."

Depending upon the region, the various elements and admixtures of the medicine differ; frequently some of them are used by themselves. For instance, Staphysora mixed with charcoal is scattered on the plants. All the components of the medicine listed above, however, are chosen because they can transfer their power to the ngon plants.

244 834

The economic importance of ngon is indicated by the fact that among the Ntum and Fang the women who planted the ngon are forbidden to have sexual intercourse for three months. The significance of this disproportionately long period of fast, if I may call it such, may be measured by the fact that in the important women's cult Mekang, for instance, the initiates are forced to practice only ten days' sexual abstinence, and in the most important men's cult, the

244 and for that reason yams, especially the air tuber yam, are frequently planted with ngon. In general, the only edible part of the yam is the rhizome, and in the case of the air tuber yams, only the air tubers which all fall off at the same time when they are ripe. This has given rise to a symbolic custom practiced when the children eat yam. [188] For instance, when the three sons of one mother eat yams, the first nudges the second, and the latter nudges the third, as a sign that they wish to die after one another, as is natural, and not all on the same day, like the air tubers.

Considerably less can be said of the third group than of the first and second groups. The chief plant belonging to it is cassava or manioc, Manihot utilissima Pohl (mbŭn I). The times for /Fig. 54 appears here in the original text/ the cultivation of cassava are as follows:

Fig. 54. Cassava Shoot.

[132] vūẽ'n esěb = long dry season (December to February), felling the trees on the farm;

šōgō esěb = short rainy season (March to May), planting the shoots;

ojŭn = the rainy half of the year.

In the following esěb, in other words, from January of the following year on, that is, seven months after transplanting, harvesting may begin, and it may extend over an arbitrary period of time since the plant is a perennial.

[189] There are no medicines for the growth of cassava as there are for the groundnut and ngon. The prayer of the Pangwe -- an ancient one in new guise -- would be: "Dear God, let the groundnut and ngon flourish, cassava grows by itself!" Cassava has comparatively few enemies; only goats and sheep like to eat the leaves. There is a species of grasshopper (mbāasǎn III) which descends in

244 3. undĭndŏle III: leafstalks bluish, underside of leaf along each side of the ribs has dark green lichenous excrescences.

Taro is planted twice, in the long and short rainy seasons, and it is harvested twice, in the following long and short dry seasons. All the tubers are removed from the soil, and the farm is thus harvested completely. If any tubers are forgotten, they are picked up during the next dry season, but that is the end; there are never more than two harvests from the same sowing. A piece of land once used for taro is never cultivated a second time since enough swampy soil is available. There are no medicines to promote the growth of taro.

The tubers and young leaves are eaten as vegetables. Furthermore, the Pangwe are familiar with the fact that insufficiently boiled tubers cause "metŭán," that is, itching in the neck, and so forth. The tubers are also used as medicine for blood tumors (mvĭm); the resin-like secretion of the Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl., Burseraceae (asēă), is placed on the swelling, and over this is smeared a salve made from the parings of raw taro tubers. This is supposed to make the diseased areas become "ntĕgan," that is, weak or soft.

Plantain

245 The shoots of the plantain, as well as of the banana which is cultivated alongside it, are planted around the village or on farms. They thrive without care and ripen during each season of the year. The plantain (1) or Negro banana, Musa paradisiaca L. (ekōn),

1. The /German/ word Plante is derived from "plantain" which in turn comes from the Spanish plátano, "banana." Since the plantain is very different from the true banana, I consider the retention of the word "plantain" useful. The French call it banane-cochon.

Figure 56, which in the Pangwe region has 25 different varieties, does not, to be sure, attain the luxuriance of the banana which grows like a weed. Nevertheless, it is very productive, just the plant for a Negro.

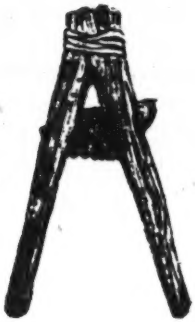
4. Metalworking.

(a) Iron extraction.

325 The extraction of iron, surely one of the most admirable achievements of the Negro, is carried on in the Pangwe region only south of the Campo by the Fang and a small number of Ntum kin groups. Traces of old smelting works, on the other hand, indicate that in former times iron extraction extended farther northward. [483] /Fig. 178 appears here in the original text/. Nowadays the Bulu buy iron from the Ntum in the south, and the Jaunde and Bene buy it from the Eton. The principal places where iron is extracted are located in the Woddo and Kje regions, as well as along the upper Uelle, but compared with the places where ironstone is found, they are few in number. Although for the most part people are familiar with the technique of iron extraction, only a few really engage in it. In part the reason for this may be the laboriousness of the enterprise, but in the main it must be sought in the superstitious notions connected with the preparation of iron. These notions require the cooperation of the medicine man, the purchase of expensive medicines, and the strict observance of the rules of 325 abstinence. The rare and difficult art of extracting it from the 789 rocks and then forging it into tools and weapons has given iron a 435 special importance, perhaps also because both techniques require fire, the sacred element which /225/ /Figs. 179 and 180 appear here in the original text/ the Pangwe worship in the Ngi cult. The smelting of ironstone is therefore carried out under the guidance and supervision of the medicine man. Exactly as in the case of the cults, it is he alone who, by means of his medicine, can transfer to others the influence over the process with which he is endowed, or, more accurately, the others can obtain from the medicine man the ability to smelt iron only by purchasing a medicine from him. This smelting medicine (biǎn akūǎ, abǔb-akūǎ) (1) costs five sheep,

1. biǎn = medicine, akūǎ = iron smelting, abǔb = spider, which plays a role in the acquisition medicines and is usually -- not always -- present in the smelting medicine.

Fig. 179. Drawknife for Spear Handles.



322
413

Fig. 180. Drawknife (also Scraper) for Spear Handles.

five hens, and five pieces of brass wire, which altogether corresponds approximately to a value of 120 marks in our money. The medicine is kept in a small wooden or clay pot lined with the soft leaves of the Triumfetta (okŋ̄n) or in a little basket. It consists of a bundle of leaves with the brain matter of an ancestor, a few pieces of skull from the ancestors placed around it, and pieces of the shaved bark of the Leguminosa Macrolobium straussianum Harms (abǒ'm, bǒ'me IV) or of the fern Marattia fraxinea Sm. (ezizǒ'n), and poison (nsǔ). The skull and the brain as the seat of knowledge are supposed to make the smelting process successful; the Macrolobium is supposed to cause the lump iron to lie as firmly and solidly in the smelting pit (ekiai a bǒme o si = the iron is firm [as though stamped down] under there) as this tree stands without buttress roots (hence the name abǒ'm from a bǒm, "to stamp in firmly, to pound in, and to be firmly stamped in"); the fern is supposed to cause the iron to agglomerate as beautifully as the young fern leaves.

325
789
[435]
[824]
[826]

Unfortunately, it is impossible to make iron with this medicine alone. For better or for worse, actual work will have to be done, and for this workers are needed. These are not so difficult to obtain since they get a share of the profit, but the abstinence rules which we have already mentioned, especially those of a sexual nature, deter many of them. These rules enjoin abstinence for two months before and during the period of work, and if they are violated, the iron will

325
834

325 789 824 Even the job of forging cannot be performed without medicines. Just as a medicine is buried under the furnace in the smelting hut, one is also buried under the anvil when the smithy is constructed, although this is not always the case. The medicine consists of cock's feathers, blossom panicles of the Labiata Plectranthus (kōlṓt IV Fang, kǒt IV Ntum), and leaves and stalks of the Commelinacea Aneilema aequinoctiale Kth. (nlǎt I) (1). The

> a lǎ-t, "unite," hence nlǎt, the Aneilema (compare also a-lǎ-t, "the duck," because ducks live in pairs).

two plants are burdocks and are meant to symbolize the fact that the iron particles are to be joined together as firmly in the forging as the fruit of the Plectranthus and the stalks or leaves of the Aneilema cling together -- frequently one also sees the smith throwing a few Plectranthus fruits into the blast pipe while forging. The cock belongs to the cult of the Good, or the fire, and for that reason its feathers are the most important component of the medicine. To heighten its effectiveness, the cock is also killed, and its flesh boiled together with the leaves of the Acanthacea Asystasia macrophylla (T. And.) (elǒbokūī), the Connaracea Manotes zenkeri Gilg (nkǎ-ndžīk I), the Ebenacea Diospyros fragrans Gürke (mvǐfī'n IV Fang, mvǐpfī'm IV Ntum), and the Tiliacea Desplatsia dewevrei Burset (afǒnǒk). This concoction is eaten by the smith. The plants mentioned have strong and flexible stalks or twigs (nkīb, "rod, whip"), and the implied wish is that the iron, in particular the spear money, will be just as strong and flexible.

325 435 Lastly it should be mentioned that in a newly constructed smithy hut the first thing to be melted down must not be crude iron but only worked iron.

The smith's tools include:

325 1. Large forging iron (ngǒn[d]ǒ III) of the form shown in Figure 187, Drawing 1; for cruder work it is used as a hammer, for finer work as an anvil, in which case it is pushed into the ground with its pointed end. It is worth 1,000 spears or 70 marks.

2: Tessmann--33 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

832
825
301

Fig. 61. Love Medicine, Horn of the Dwarf Antelope, usually Worn on Forehead and Hung from the Helmet Hairdo.

789

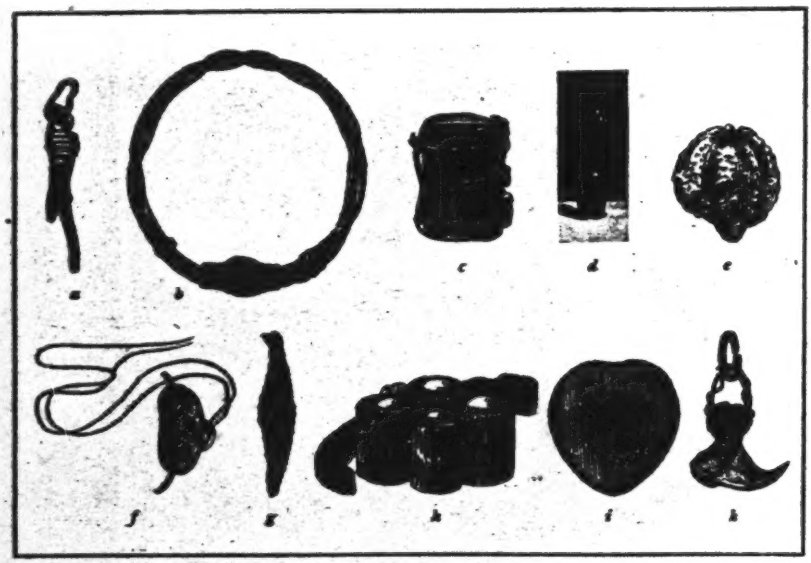


Fig. 62
(Caption on following page.)

777 a monkey's tail. The hunter thus becomes similar to the animal,
824 as it were, and the animal loses its shyness of him. In still other
224 cases, the game is to be made "weak" while the hunter and his hunting dog are to be made "strong," and for this purpose parts are taken from corresponding plants, or they are taken from trees that bear much fruit in order to have similarly rich results. Finally, plants are chosen which are intended to remove the noxious impurity of the body. /Fig. 62. Medicines of the Fang. (a) medi-
789 cine for wealth, the root of a tree (Homalium africanum) decorated with brass wire and a brass ring; (b)-(d) medicine against enemy weapons; (e) medicine against enemy surprise attacks, fruit of the Tiliacea Duboscia macrocarpa (akak), to make enemies calm, peaceful (Duboscia and Leptonychia = peace linden); (f) medicine for successful travels; (g) medicine for speaking and singing well, contains the tooth of a tree cony (which is continually "singing"); (h) medicine for the Dschama dance; (i) medicine against palpitations and nervousness, the heart-shaped fruit of the Ertela scandens, worn around the neck (makes the heart strong), about 1/4 actual size; (k) war medicine, leopard claw, 1/2 actual size./ /166/ The manner of use varies: sometimes it is
777 internal, the leaves being cut up into small pieces and eaten with
224 the meat of the animal one has most recently sometimes killed;
783 it is external, in the form of injections of a bark infusion, which have the double effect of removing the impurity from the body and imparting to it the essence of the plant; or a piece of wood is charred and then used to draw a line across the forehead, so that one "looks" just like the plant concerned. Most frequently, the impurity is removed by ablutions: either individual parts, face, hands, and frequently also elbows and the knee, as well as the rifle, are washed in medicine water; or the entire body is washed in a stream, on which occasion a little dam blocks off the water which, after the completion of the ablution, is again allowed to run its course so that it will carry the dirt far away downstream (ošüe nkiai). In order to guarantee the lasting efficiency of the
777 medicines, people generally wear pieces of wood and bark as
224 pendants on neck chains, hunting pouches, satchels, belts, and so forth.

769 The veneration of skulls likewise occurs in the case of the
224 hunting medicines. The skull of a man killed by violent means,
826 whose corpse remained on the spot (if the man belongs to the same kinship group), is kept in a bark box and taken care of as in ancestor worship. When a huntsman kills a wild animal, for example, he takes the first piece that falls to him in the distribution of the meat to the skull as a thanks offering. This piece consists of the sex organs and the flesh around them (ekīlǎ', see Fig. 92 in Vol. I). After he has taken it to the skull, he carries it off again
[262] to eat it himself. On the other hand, if there has been no luck on the hunt, a chicken is killed for the "man" in the box so he will see to it that a wild animal soon appears in front of his protégé's rifle and will be hit as effectively as he was in his time.

721 In addition, the Fang have a great war medicine, a celebra-
789 tion which is called aŋ́gūŋ́gu and is a companion festivity to the engongeschok. On this occasion, a sacred place is set up, a subterranean corridor similar to that described in the case of the Ngi /Ed., not translated/ is dug, and a dwarf antelope, Cephalophus
[825] melanorheus Gray (ogbwŭ,ń), which must have been caught alive, is brought to the place. Then the medicine man stations himself at one end of the corridor, and all the other men, armed with rifles,
[824] hang a seed of the Sorindeia rubriflora Engl. (afǎne[k]) as medicine around their necks, and crawl -- the first with the antelope in his arms -- through the corridor. At the exit, the medicine man gives all of them, including the antelope, a medicine. The antelope is thereupon released, and it is believed that when a surprise attack is planned and the enemy has got wind of it, the animal will appear and thereby warn the attackers. By way of medicines to secure the /167/ necessary courage for such an attack, five different ones are available.

777 The medicines for trapping and fishing are rarer than the shot
226 medicines, a sign that these occupations are more in the Pangwe's
224 blood than open hunting. I have taken down only eight plants for fish medicines and twelve for trap medicines.

821 to penetrate into houses. To be sure, this lightning is a disobedi-
775 ent fellow who has already caused his primeval mother Alonkok a great many difficulties, and he does not always heed the command of the souls. If it should happen at any time that in his willfulness he strikes the houses -- incidentally, I never heard of such a thing happening -- the natives do not assume that there was malice on the part of the souls. Possibly, as is only human, they aimed wrong. For this reason the Pangwe, who like all primitive people are quite apprehensive in other respects, are not afraid of thunder
[152] storms. A momentary fright, however, caused by the brightness of the lightning and the violence of the thunder, can very often be observed in the case of nervous temperaments.

There is only one more question: "Why is it that the souls make use of their 'lightning rifles' only when it rains; they could surely strike down the trees just as well without it?" To this my Pangwe has a ready answer: "It doesn't work so well, because rain and storms make a passage through the air for the lightning bolt, and then the souls have an easier time of it." /198/

Rain medicines are infrequent in the Pangwe region; rain does
789 not need to be summoned for there is enough of it -- God knows --
821 in tropical West Africa. They would sooner fend it off, for instance, during the drying of ngon, at cult festivals, sometimes during the harvest, and on journeys. For this reason, unnecessary beating of drums is avoided because it invites rain, in accordance with the view, which, incidentally, also prevails outside the Pangwe region, that (rumbling) thunder is produced by rain.

During the drying of ngon, women sometimes place an inverted pot covered with leaves on the village square. Next to it they plant a little stick with a plantain dyed red speared on it,
[824] and they perhaps plant a twig of Petersia minor Niedenzu (abiń) near it. The pot is supposed to represent the vessel in the sky in which the rain is enclosed (mvé, "pot," mvǒ-ṅ, "rain"). Covering the pot indicates that they wish to have the heavenly pot closed in the same manner. The plantain is a plant of the moon which determines the seasons and thus also the rain, and the red coloration is, as it were, a courtesy paid to the moon. I was unable to discover the relationship of the Petersia to rain, but in the

789 opinion of one Fang, the word a biñǎn, which is contained in the
521 name abiñ, has the sense of "moving about and rumbling," and they want the stormy weather just to move about and rumble.

The help of the ancestors is employed in another method of
789 combatting Jupiter Pluvius, one that is used chiefly for cult festivi-
789 ties. The ancestral figures, festively smeared with oil and red
521 wood, are placed in front of the house where they would be drenched "to the skin" if they did not see to it that no rain fell on this particular day. At the same time the ancestral skulls are frequently painted with a salve made of red wood and ground bark of
824 Pentaclethra macrophylla, whose pods, when they are ripe, burst open with a pop and fling the fruit a great distance; in this way the natives indicate that the rain should be flung to one side in the same fashion.

789 When women are in the fields harvesting -- especially at the harvest of ngon -- and rain threatens, they put a little water and a
521 stone in a leaf bundle and hang this up in the field. In the same manner the rain is supposed to remain suspended in the sky, be as heavy as the stone, and stay in its place just like a Negro whose "heart is heavy" and who shows no inclination for any kind of undertaking.

Medicines with a similar effect are used on journeys. A leaf
484 of Trachyphrynium violaceum Radl. (tsĕdĕkiǎ'i, IV Fang) is twisted
789 into a bag, filled with a little water, and then fastened to one
824 finger. By doing this, the rain is held fast. Another medicine consists of hanging up old pieces of wood saturated with water, so that the rain will likewise be absorbed up in the sky. Furthermore, a person will take a Petersia twig or a fern leaf dipped in water in his hand, /199/ so that the rain will be broken up into as many little parts as the small pinnules of the fern. Finally, there is the familiar Selaginella, the herb of "missing" (zĕlǎnǎ', from á sĕlǎn, "to miss"), that is to say, the rain is supposed to miss man.

789 It should be emphasized that the Pangwe no longer regard
178 these medicines seriously and even ridicule them as "superstitition"; they have long since noticed that none of them helps. Hence, medicines against rain are no longer used today, except as a joke. A possible exception may be the cooking pot medicine of the women,

789 but even that seems to be dying out for its meaning is frequently
178 no longer understood. Thus I once (on an earlier occasion) found an open cooking pot set up as rain medicine; I simply could not understand this until I saw the authentic medicine and was informed that in the first case a mistake had been made.

821 According to one conception, the rainbow is the handiwork of a great sorcerer who wanted to show the others what he was capable of performing. Other natives think the rainbow is water vapor or smoke, and when it appears in the east, late in the afternoon, people say jokingly that one end is standing in the Campo and the other end in the Uelle. A third notion concerning the rainbow -- and this one is probably based on its iridescent colors -- is that it represents a water snake. The word for rainbow is, accordingly, nyū-ñ III, from nyǒ', "water snake." In addition, there is ntūtǔ'm I, derived from the onomatopoetic expression tǔmetǔmetǔm, a designation for a flickering in front of the eyes.

The Tale concerning the Origin of the Rainbow

821 Once upon a time the grandmother of Ekute Essamniámabōge
539 said to her grandson: "Go and show me the place where your mother
773 always catches fish." Thereupon Ekute went along with her and showed her a good place along the river, but his grandmother said: "No, this was not the place." Then her grandson showed her another place, but here, too, the grandmother said: "This is not the place where I am going to fish." They went together this way to four other places, but at none did the grandmother want to fish. Finally, the grandson said: "There are no more places for fishing; after this there is only the large river left." The grandmother replied: "All right, that is where we shall go." But her grandson said: "Oh, the places where everybody fishes are here, but in the big river the fishing is poor." However, the grandmother answered: "But I want to take a look at the place; come along, we shall leave right away." Thereupon the grandson went along with her, and when they came to the spot where the river widened, the grandmother said: "Here is where I want to fish." The grandson

821 Thus Essamniámaböge became very wealthy, and from this money
773 alone he was able to purchase two wives.
539 Now it happened that he and all the people were gone one day, and only his son, Ekute, stayed behind. Then several people from a distant village appeared, but they had brought with them only two choppers (2), and in exchange for these they demanded

2. Bush knives valued at two marks.

to see the snake. Ekute, however, did not want to show it to them. The people argued with him and threatened, and they demanded to see the snake. Then Ekute, who was very imprudent, angrily took a chopper and knocked in the top of the house wall instead of carefully opening the door somewhat and letting the people look in. Thereupon the snake came out, went to the village square, and cried "See, now I am leaving." But the people and Ekute had run off. Thereupon the snake raised its head and body and swung itself into the air. At this very moment Ekute's father came back and was just able to cut off the lower end of the snake; the other part of the snake was already high up in the air and still stands in the sky today as the rainbow. The tail, however, turned into the python, and from the eggs there crept forth all the other little snakes. /201/

821 The storm is likewise represented as the handiwork of an evil
789 sorcerer. Whenever a great sorcerer is dying, he unleashes a storm,
[754] lays low the plantain fields of those people toward whom he feels ill will, destroys their houses, and indeed, he goes so far as to knock down their children in order to injure them. Anyone who has experienced a tropical tornado will understand the notion of the Pangwe that sorcerous beings are at work. The natives also have medicines against storms; the storm is gradually weakened if
[824] one places young macabo leaves (these are weak to begin with) on the fire (whereby they become still weaker) and then grinds them to a powder on the ground in front of the house (this makes them weakest of all). Conversely, the storm is "made heavy" and thereby held back in the sky by placing a stone on Paspalum grass (obū't), which, because of its toughness and strength, is supposed

789 to represent the storm. Thus the storm is pressed onto the ground,
821 as it were. If the storm is already approaching, they beat a plantain stalk to tatters on the ground of the village square, and as they do so, they exclaim:

[539] okŭ[š] a lŭde ma a lŭd: Okă[k] nkĭăj'
Storm, it pass by me, by (pass), (to) Okak in the west.

3. Astronomy

821 Even for a primitive people the astronomical knowledge of
772 the Pangwe is very limited. This fact can be excused only in part by the unfavorable conditions of their country (rainy forest region).

The Pangwe have the same conception of the earth as that of the "ancients," that is to say, they think of it as flat like a plate and surrounded on all sides by the ocean. Over the earth and the ocean arches the sky which, as is stated in the creation story, originated as a part of the earth that was blasted off and raised up on high. In other words, the sky is thought of as firm and finitely bounded, just as is the earth. One should, accordingly, imagine a large bell jar placed over a gigantic plate in the center of which the earth floats in water, and this gives one the conception held by the Pangwe. As regards the earth, they naturally think only of Africa, that is, they conceive of it as one single continuous land mass.

The sky is infinitely high; the tallest mountains known to the Pangwe do not extend into it. One would have to set about 200 or more silk-cotton trees (Ceiba, on the average 70 meters tall) end on end in order to touch the sky.

821 The material of the sky is similar to that of the earth, and,
[823] like it, it is harder and firmer on the inside and softer, more fluid on the outside -- a train of thought engendered by the swamps and the softened loam soil. Just as the crust of the earth forms clods, so the outer surface of the sky forms "scales" (ebă[s] e dzŏb "scales of the sky," that is to say, clouds). The clouds, however, are

821 our Sunday, as if all nature had to take a rest.

805 By way of contrast, the days around the full moon are no good for hunting, probably because the moon when it is full is especially "evil" and hateful to all those who are sinless -- as are animals, for instance. Even the festivals of the moon cult (Sso) are never celebrated at the full moon, but always towards the time of the new moon in order not to display evil in its most glaring form. The natives count nine "days of the full moon," the sacred number which we have already encountered in the cults /203/, and during this time the Pangwe speaks of the ndžībe ngōn, that is, the closed (full) moon, or ndžīge ngōn or abǔm e ngōn, that is, the used moon. On these days the people do work, but fishing, trapping, and hunting drives are not practiced. Among the Fang, a direct taboo (ekī) exists for these three activities, though it is true that they like to circumvent this taboo -- like many others -- with the help of medicines.

Rules are made to be circumvented, the Ntum in Bebai thought, [789] and during the days of the full moon they very gaily held great hunting drives. They also made a medicine by cutting a circle -- the full moon -- into the bark of a tree and within the circle removing half of the bark. In this way it became a half moon (Fig. 64). This medicine is delightfully naïve and beautifully indicates how the Negro knows how to help himself in all situations.

Concerning the nature of the stars the "Pangwe scholars" are 821 not yet quite agreed. Some believe the stars are simply holes in the vault of the sky through which the sun can be seen at night as it moves over the arch. Others say that they are little fires which during the day are simply outshone by the brightness of the sun. Still others -- and these are probably in the majority -- assume that the stars are little celestial bodies like the sun and the moon, but that they are afraid of the sun, so during the day they withdraw into the interior of the vault, and during the night, fleeing from the sun as it moves across the top of the arch, they come out and then become visible, hence their name o-tǐ'-tē-ī, from the root a tē, = to move from one's place (1). If one of the stars has ventured too

1. oa tē, odĕn = when did you leave (travel from) home?

2: Tessmann--87 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

821
[789]
[224]

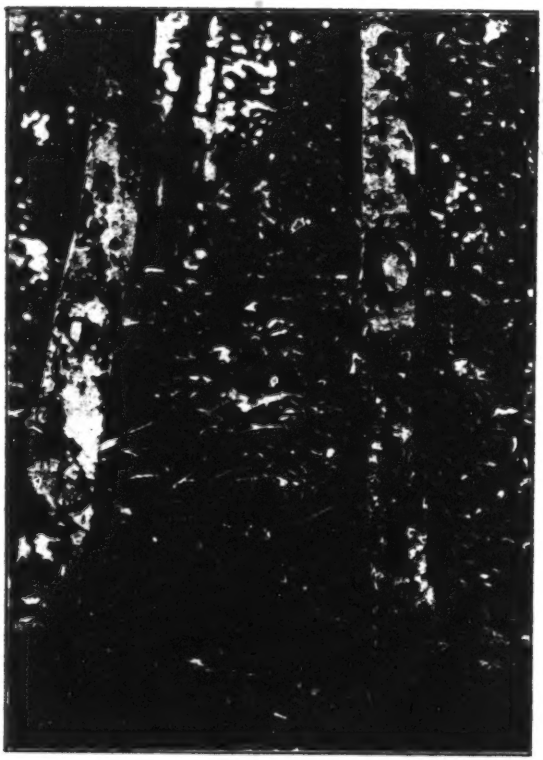


Fig. 64. Medicine on trees, so that a hunting drive may be undertaken during the full moon, something which is actually prohibited. Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

and cold. "If the moon is cold and has no light of its own, how is it that you can see it? After all, you cannot see people dressed in white either when everything is dark!" This objection the Pangwe counter with the reply: "On earth it is dark, but in the sky it is bright, that is, nothing obscures the view there!"

785 from four to six years old. They are thus consecrated so that
554 one day they will surpass all others in insight and understanding;
831 then, through their spiritual superiority, they will acquire influence, power (knowledge is power!), and especially wealth. In the case of the son, this will be to his own advantage; in the case of the daughter, it will benefit the father who can get a higher purchase price for her than for a girl with the usual loose way of life. In other words, the "savages" know well the value of moral purity. /269/

831 The custom of mǐǎk consecration was formerly practiced
785 throughout the Pangwe region. Nowadays, however, since warlike
[184] times have ceased, it is to be encountered only among the Fang of the central Uelle region. I should like to compare the custom
[171] to the practice found among us during the Middle Ages, whereby the heads of important families (especially princes), after some lucky success (for instance, in war), destined one child for the clergy and consecrated it to the pure life dedicated to God, frequently not without calculating the advantages that could accrue to them from such an action.

785 The procedure of the consecration feast is as follows. The
789 child, clothed in a small loincloth, is led to the medicine man
556 and is washed by him with a medicine water. The medicines used
831 for this are barks of various trees that bear ample fruit, such as
[824] the Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofǒs), so that the child's understanding may bear fruit as abundantly as these trees or, in other words, so that wealth may fall to its lot in the same abundance as the fruit of these trees falls to the ground beneath them. The various barks are placed in a container made of banana leaves, and hot water is poured over them. After the ablution, the child must swallow the principal medicine, a bundle of ngon
[824] with the chopped leaves of certain "weak" plants, such as Hibiscus moschatus (Roxb.) (tége III, from a tĕk, "weak," because the fruit is cooked in a short time), in order to make the child
[833] equally weak, that is, sexually incapable. Furthermore, the ngon
[825] is mixed with chicken meat -- the chicken is the bird of day, of the good and the pure, and at the same time it is supposed to point symbolically to the wealth that is desired for the child (the chief, the "Very Rich One," is regarded as the privileged son of the

843
842 If three months after the treatment the woman is still not pregnant, there is nothing to be done and she has to give up having children.

(2) A woman may be barren after abortion because of her evur. This
842 is recognized in that she aborts with much suffering and then stays
789 ill afterwards for more than eight days. An appeal is made to the
824 practitioner, who renders the evur harmless by making it crazy. After having made the woman take a medicine made of white honey (abe), bark of a cola tree (abel), and bark of abal and atega trees, all mixed with chicken blood, the practitioner goes with her to the ovaṅ where where he customarily conducts his ceremonies, and performs a kind of exorcism which was not revealed to us. Once back in the village, the woman follows the same [79] treatment as in the case of natural abortion. The secret ceremony performed by the practitioner is called avi evur akur (making the evur crazy).

(3) Finally, the abortion may have been caused by a male member
843 of the husband's family, the possessor of an evur, who is revealed by
842 the practitioner. If the woman wants to have children, the guilty one
789 must die. He is discovered in the course of a ceremony, part of which is carried out at night and at which the presence of women is forbidden; this is the dance of the bisir. An akuma singer is brought, who recites stories of the tribes of both husband and wife. Before him, covered by a large cloth, lie three or four men who are the bisir. These men have in their hands pointed pieces of bamboo. A young boy of the husband's family is brought there. He passes several times between the singer and the bisir, who prick the boy's legs with the bamboo sticks. The child then goes back into his hut while the songs continue until dawn, the men of the village dancing and clapping their hands in accompaniment to the singer.

In the morning the husband of the aborted woman goes into the forest to find two wooden forks, a limb, and some branches. He plants the two forks in the village square, places the limb on them horizontally, and conceals the forks under the branches; this structure is called nzum. The child who passed before the bisir the previous night is seated on the rail. Before all the assembled men and women of the village, the aborted woman approaches the child and says madzuna, nzum me tela esi üi, e mur awu makula mebum abure (I say, I stay under the nzum so that the man may die who caused me to abort).

842 After this second part of the ceremony, called elum nzum, the
843 child is hidden for eight days in a hut, and women are forbidden to
789 see him during this time; he is now called mvun. On the morning of the eighth day, the men lay him on a mat in the village square and cover him with mats and cloths so that the women do not see him; the inhabitants of the village are again assembled, and the men of the husband's family step over the mvun one after the other, saying: madzune, e mvun ebue ni ngi me ki me nga kule abum, me bure (I say, the mvun is lying there; ~~if~~ it is I who caused the abortion, may I die). When all the men have passed, the child is taken away. Some time later the guilty one becomes sick, has a swollen abdomen, and dies, there being no possibility of caring for him. After his death, the woman is treated as in the case of natural abortion.

843 Pregnancy (ndzua abum). When a woman is pregnant, she is bound by numerous obligations and prohibitions which aim to care for the child which she carries so that she can bring it into the world in good health. [80]

843 The obligations consist of taking medicines; to prevent the child
757 from having sores in the womb of its mother, she takes an infusion of the roots of various trees. This medicine is called ese bibolo (to treat infections); if it is neglected, the child is born with infected sores which never heal.

The future mother must also go every three days into the brush and give herself a washing with a preparation of bark of ebom which has fermented in water. After each enema, water is added to the vessel containing the pieces of bark, which are kept until the delivery.

That the child may be strong, the pregnant woman anoints her abdomen with an ointment prepared by the midwife with padouk powder mixed with raphia oil and bark.

843 Finally, to prevent abortion, the woman wears on her skin, like a
757 belt, a piece of okum vine, which is not removed until after the birth of the child.

843 All this does not prevent the woman from continuing her work; when she feels tired, it is because the child is sick, and the midwife treats her with one of the medicines mentioned above. If the woman's husband has not had children for a long time, the future mother then enjoys much esteem; she receives gifts, and her husband pays a great deal of attention to her.

844 see it, and if she sees it she will have no more children. The mother is then washed with very hot water in which pimento has been steeped; after this her abdomen is bound with a belt of bark (ewag) which she keeps on for several days.

846 After the birth of her child, a young mother is known by the name of nzinze, which she keeps until she has the right to resume relations with her husband. She has a special bed in the hut, on which a [844] menstruating woman may neither sit nor lie so as not to give scabies to the mother and the newborn. The young mother rests for about three months, during which she does no work and bathes every day with water as hot as she can stand, the lumbar region especially being [757] bathed. Moreover, after every bath she is smeared with red paste (ba) to prevent scabies.

Recovery from childbirth is marked by a celebration (okula mon). The first time she goes out, the woman carries a package of ba, a piece of which she places on every tree stump she meets on her way, to mark her path. On her return she prepares a large quantity of food she has brought back. The husband invites the men of his tribe, and the wife invites the women of her husband's tribe. When the food is ready, it is taken to the men in the watchers' hut, where the child is also taken. The women eat in the hut.

846 To improve the quality of her milk, the young mother drinks pro-
827 gressively, if necessary, three medicines:
757 (1) An infusion of aseh roots.

(2) A milky-looking infusion of pieces of tubers of a plant with a thorny stem (ekon bökun).

(3) Latex from a rubber plant.

761 It may be that the child dies at birth. Three causes for this are
789 recognized:

An evur has eaten the child. To prevent this from being repeated and so that the woman will in the future bring living children into the world, she resorts to the practitioner. He goes into the forest armed [83] with a machete and a basket. He gathers the bark of an ovan, and also brush and vines that grow under this tree. On his return to the village he divides his collection into two parts. One part, mixed with water, is put in a large rectangular container of banana leaves called etok, which has been filled with the blood of a domestic animal sacrificed for the welfare of the woman. She then immerses herself

761 in the etok and stays there for a certain length of time. While she is
789 in this bath, she eats a soup made of the rest of the bark gathered by the practitioner, together with a pumpkin, a piece of the heart, liver, and some blood of the sacrificial animal, all cooked in a pot. This remedy is intended to satisfy the evur and prevent it from eating the blood of the woman or of the child which she may carry in her womb in the future.

761 The death of the child may also arise from an akaga given to its mother, which predicted that one of her children would not live.

761 Finally, if there is neither evur nor akaga, this mishap is believed
784 to be caused by the violation of a prohibition or, more likely, by adultery committed by the woman during her pregnancy. To make
837 her denounce her accomplice, she is beaten until she has named him. This man must then pay to the husband an indemnity equal to half the dowry which he spent to get his wife, an indemnity which represents the price of the adultery and the price of the child's corpse. The woman is subjected from then on to the prohibition of awos until the the birth of her next child.

854 The child (mon). Until it talks, the child is called nkanele. We We have seen that after its birth it is washed in cold water and not fed until the following morning. The breast is first given it by another woman rather than by the mother, whose milk is not good at first.

At the age of eight days, the child is smeared with ba. If the cord dries up by itself without trouble, it is enough to moisten it with saliva.

845 Anomalies such as the birth of an albino or of twins are considered
[143] normal. The natives have stated that albinos are reproduced in the same family at an interval of three generations. As to twins, they are forbidden later on to take part in the ngwel. If the twins are boys,
[557] the first is called Nzugo, the second Dzima; if they are girls, they are given the names respectively of Bela and Nzua.

551 A name is not given a child until several months after birth, when one is almost certain that it will live. A child receives several names. The father chooses the first name from among his ancestors. For example, a boy will be called Osene from the name of a paternal ancestor, to this name of Osene has been added the name of his father Ekomi, and so the child is called Osene Ekomi; but he also has a sort of first name chosen by the parents, which in the present case is [84] Andzang. The complete name thus is Andzang Osene Ekomi. The mother's

562

brought supplies regularly to Gabon,
escorted by men with flintlock guns.

the woman is primarily a peasant. She ensures to a large extent the economy of subsistence, even taking part in hunting. With the arrival of colonization this aspect has taken on a new importance and a new direction. With the opening of increasingly more numerous markets and the established use of money, the products obtained by the woman have become a source of income, and the woman, as a worker, a source of profit. The woman became of great economic value and became, as one might say, doubly fertile. At the same time, her purely instrumental nature and her dependence became more marked. She tended to be truly an "object," all the more coveted since polygamy (in spite of the "freedom" allowed young unmarried people) makes of the woman a scarce "product". (2) The woman stands at the center of all

2. Cf. C. Levi-Strauss, Les Structures Élémentaires de la Parenté [Elementary Structures of Kinship], Paris, P.U.F., 1949.

competition at the same time that she remains the most dominated element of Fang society, because she is the one from whom most is demanded. It seems as if the woman were "separated" from the society of men, a stranger to the most organized and most active social body, and as if her impure nature is periodically asserted to better ensure her submission. This may all the better be explained because among the men the leveling tendency and the refusal to have slavery have not permitted the established existence of a relationship between one dominating and one dominated.

562 789 This situation presents some ambiguity. The "mother" has relative authority over her sons and has at her disposal the weapon of calling down curses (yogõ, to curse), by which she denies her "mother" quality. (3) In the same way, the first wife may curse

3. Cf. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 35, the text of the "Curse."

562 789 her husband. The "son-in-law" and the "mother-in-law" are bound together by a system of interdicts; the mwanō are required [506] to show respect to the "generation of the mothers"; the pre-eminence attached to seniority plays a role in the relations between the sexes. The woman may therefore be the object of respect and the subject of fear. [151] On the other hand, "associations" of women which have created a hierarchy, a teaching, a 562 795 ritual of initiation, and a whole body of distinguishing symbols and signs and a technique shown by a specific dance, are referred to in various documents, particularly the Mévungō (1), which is

1. Unpublished documents collected by Abbot A. Walker, a native of Lower Gabon and truly versed in local ethnology.

a Pahouin version of the Nyèmbé, a widely disseminated female sect in Gabon. This sect was observed by Du Chaillu about 1860 among the Ba-kélé who were for the most part subdued by the Fang. This observer wrote at that time that the Nyèmbé "protects the women from their male enemies, it avenges their grievances, and serves them in all circumstances according to their whims."(2)

2. Father du Chaillu, op. cit., p. 322 ff.

This points out with great subtlety, to the essentially compensatory role played by such a grouping. By participating in the "society of women," the woman remedies the marginal situation and the submission which are her share throughout her daily life. It imposes or necessitates her collaboration in important moments for the community and in domains which in principle are forbidden to her. [535] Thus the dance of the Mévungō was used "long ago when a Pahouin tribe was preparing to wage war against another tribe or to make raids for women"; it was also used "at the time of preparation for great elephant hunts." (3) Such "associations" no longer survive

3. Abbot A. Walker, notes inédites [unpublished notes].

judicial inquiry at Ambam in 1948 after a raid on ze mimfaka, an old chief who was a Protestant and an elder of his church declared, in so many words, that "the white man has weakened the ngil, and the beyem have taken it over; now it is the ngil of ngbwel /sorcery/."

The initiates of the kôn or kun, a kind of magic that enables one to assume another person's strength without destroying his body, also seem to be grouped into a secret society with meetings every seven years.

Beyem associations do not usually include both sexes; male and female sorcerers meet together only occasionally, for orgiastic sabbaths.

The distinction between white and black magic is, nevertheless, difficult to draw the present time, and one can never tell offhand if the small groups springing up nearly everywhere to protect their members against bad luck by using, in addition to remnants of traditional rites, recipes copied from magic manuals printed in France, belong to the one or the other.

To come back tothe traditional associations, we must underline /the fact that/ in them there was a complete separation of the sexes, to such an extent that women were often forbidden to speak the name of a men's society or to show any kind of knowledge, even superficial, of its rites. The prohibition was less stringent for men with regard to women's rites, since the nsem, the breaking of a taboo, was for them punished by physical incapacity or illness rather than by death. /66/

A women's rite like mevungu had both a village aspect, on account of its geographical framework, the jurisdiction of its huts, and an interclan aspect as a result of exogamy. Much less is known of these women's rites than of the men's, for the very good reason that men are not allowed to know anything about them. Missionaries have condemned mevungu as obscene: I have heard that initiates who have gone through the menopause are supposed to play a male role in dances miming coition, without being able to obtain the slightest proof or the least detail (1). What is certain is that this is a rite of

1. A woman "chosen for her large vagina" presided, seated with legs spread apart. Each initiate would go tickle her and pull the clitoris. (J. B.)

fecundity, of fertility, and also of the hunt: an unlucky hunter may have his wife initiated so as to ward off bad luck.

have his wife initiated so as to ward off bad luck. This is not the only example of the indirect intervention of one sex in a rite of the opposite sex. Allégret points out that it is a "woman who has had bad luck fishing" who "finds the ironwood for making the war fetish." It certainly seems that he has mixed up ngil with sô, but the example remains valuable. Therefore, though traditional rites and the associations of initiates of these rites were strictly masculine or feminine, this does not altogether exclude the intervention of the opposite sex. No more can be said in our present state of knowledge (2).

2. The other important women's rite, ngômbô, was more especially limited to old women. The participants built a sort of basin out of four banana trunks and their leaves, in which a vegetable biañ /medicament/ was prepared that gave protection against theft. (J.B.)

Contemporary cults and associations, on the other hand, are open to both sexes, whether religious or politico-religious societies or mutual-aid associations.

The two principal politico-religious associations are the bwiti (or mbuti) and the ngôl, well described by Balandier (no. 175). They have spread to the north from Gabon and the Middle Congo and are not of Pahouin origin. They are beginning to penetrate Boulou country, where they have not been as successful as among the Fang of the south, undoubtedly because of the lesser degree of social destruction.

Bwiti was originally a "tyogo" ancestor cult, comparable to the Pahouin biéri, if one accepts Trilles. It must have first appeared among the Pahouin at the beginning of the century, probably among Pahouin families cut off from their clans and thus from the biéri and sô rites, whose significance is primarily ethnic and familial. Libreville was an important point of contact, not only between African peoples of different stock, but also with European religious systems. Modern bwiti borrows a great deal from Christianity and also from freemasonry, which was fairly widespread in Gabon before the war, especially in half-caste circles and on the periphery of principal towns. In assuming this syncretist character, bwiti appears at the same time as a nationalist—or Africanist—movement and as a progressive movement abandoning the old cults or rather modernizing them. It is the

754 as a result of the magician's natural spitefulness (ézezam = wickedness, disorder; nlelañ = malevolence, from élañ = an evil act committed expressly and without necessity: a woe bot elan = he who kills for pleasure, ndan of the begôvina* from the German occupation until

*/No footnote is given to this puzzling phrase, but "begôvina" may mean "government people." —Tr./

the present). A protective biañ against the beyem can be used against an innocent mie, a magical weapon, a spell against a brother. Such an action may constitute not only an étom, a delict, but also a nsem, a breaking of taboo, when initiation into magical technique included a prohibition against using it for evil ends. The same thing holds for the use of certain methods, illegal or immoral in themselves, even when the purpose is permissible or morally good: this is the case with the biañ for /ensuring/ conjugal fidelity, which consists of the husband having his wife drink his sperm; with that for curing an illness by transferring it to another person (transfer to an animal or plant is permissible); with the use of certain mebiañ for fertility, etc. The commonest acts of sorcery do not belong in the ngbwel category (and perhaps also in that of the kôn) and would lead simply to a "civil" suit, neither more nor less than a case of assault and battery or a
683 "natural" homicide. Ngbwel, on the contrary, is always a capital crime, provided that the nnem be not too powerful to escape judgment or punishment.

e. Permissible Magic, Divination, Medicine

789 The first aim of licit magic is to fight against sorcerers, especially beyem, but that is only one of its aspects. In fact, it extends to all life's activities, and everyone uses it to a greater or less extent, aside from the specialists, ngengañ or ngañ, magician, mvimvi'i, diviner, mbibian, healer, and nyia bia, singer.(1).

793 1. Among the Ewôndo there used to be a sort of priest, nzomelo, often a chief, who received the first fruits of maize, blessed sowings, and presided over the ancestor cult. (J.B.)

789 Magic appears to be a technique for making use of the strength, tyi, contained in every element of the universe /création/, which everyone has more or less the capacity, ngul, to employ. Elementary magic is taught within the family, advanced magic /is taught/ in associations, by experienced practitioners and also, nowadays, through /120/ correspondence with European charlatans. All initiations include a course in magic, all associations possess a body of specialists.

787 Divination, mvi'i, and medicine, mboan mebiañ, are to magic in general what in Europe the special branches are to general medicine. [791] Every ngengañ is a diviner and physician, but he may consult a colleague more specialized in one of those branches.

Everyone learns from childhood on to interpret everyday omens, which are mostly taken from "zoomancy:" the flight or song of certain birds, meeting certain animals in certain circumstances, etc. The interpretation of the movements of the victim of a family sacrifice, the abôp spider oracle, asking the advice of ancestors by means of the narcotic herb alañ, (iboga), require that /a person/ be already initiated. Oracles by water, sand or gravel, or conducting minkal tests require much deeper knowledge.

759 The same holds for medicine. Everyone knows the ordinary mebiañ, but for serious cases people must turn to a mbibiañ. The word biañ, usually translated "medicament," "greegree," even "fetish," indicates not only the drug, a pharmaceutical product, but also the whole of a magical act, including the chanting and dancing associated with it for grave illnesses. Pharmacopeoia and therapy proper, to some extent investigated by Baudre, Weber, and Chabeuf in the Cameroons and by Gascón in Spanish Guinea, are or were quite copious. Not only did the mbibiañ know many substances with a mainly vegetable base, but they also knew how to perform several surgical operations [752] —reduction of fractures and dislocations, incision and drainage of deep abcesses, amputations, excision of certain tumors, and perhaps trepanning. But obviously there was a great deal of pure magic mixed up with this practical medicine, and the majority of mebiañ, if they had a therapeutic effect, owed it largely to psychosomatic reactions—which is not peculiar to Pahouin medicine.

791 Aside from medicine and divination and the combating of sorcerers, the essential role of the mingengañ consisted of influencing the shaping of the destiny of the group or of the individuals, if not in controlling their destiny. The powers of high initiates to some extent

791 suggest those of the sorcerers they were fighting, as do some of their procedures. Like them, /high initiates/ were capable of telekinesis and bilocation, etc. Trilles gives numerous examples, some of which he claims to have observed himself. Like /sorcerers, initiates/ could transform themselves into animals or make use of a dedicated animal, élañela. They killed people from a distance, especially by casting a spell on a token /temoin, "witness"/ of the classical type, or by acting directly upon people with their power, ngul, by forcing them to submit to their will. Like sorcerers, also, they could be victims through repercussion.

Considering the circumstances, it is not surprising that /121/ magicians and sorcerers have often been confused, nor that some magicians have been led into making evil use of their knowledge, nor, [754] finally, that contemporary associations, like the mbuti (bwiti), intended to combat sorcery, have borrowed its methods, even in their criminal aspects.

533 789 In addition to the magicians proper, there is the singer, ñyia bia, who plays an important role in all rites, including initiations. Every important rite and ceremony has its musical accompaniment, with a specific orchestra for the occasion, and a choirmaster, who leads the incantations and acts somewhat as a master of ceremonies, without himself participating directly in the sacrifice or the magical act. It is peculiar to the ñyia bia that he is present at the three major rites, sô, ngil, and ndôngô, as at all magic ceremonies, no matter what his affiliation; apparently he is not liable to the prohibitions concerning participation affecting zesé bôt, ordinary or profane people. He [424] buys and sells or inherits his songs, is not assigned to a caste /n'est pas casté/, yet seems to have enjoyed a certain immunity during the wars of former times, but this may only have been the case with the most celebrated of the beyia bia. There are also female beyia bia, who enjoy the same prerogatives in feminine rites.

778 789 Magical equipment consists, first, of the instruments appropriate to each rite, drums, horns, rattles, bells, the ngôma harp of the bwiti, etc., with a great variety of additional diverse objects: fly-[534] whisks, akpwassa, sometimes mutilated; antelope horns filled with mebiañ; human and animal skulls and bones; pots and calabashes; engraved and decorated magician's spears; masks; the bwiti broken mirror; bikpwélé (iron "bride-price money"); shells, etc. Every magical act, every rite, has its own properties, the complete description of which would require a separate monograph for each. We

778 shall merely point out that part of this equipment, permanently assigned
789 to magical use, is étyi, taboo to the uninitiated and sometimes even to other mingengañ than the owner, that certain objects become bityi after having once been used for this purpose, while others are returned to ordinary use, and others are destroyed after use.

f. Prohibitions

784 Prohibitions, bityi, assume a large place in Pahouin life. Martrou (no. 159) has devoted a special study to them, which is very well documented but still incomplete, because of their number and diversity.

The word étyi comes from the root TYI/KI, conveying an idea of strength (cf. above, p. 133), of authority, and also of cutting, hence of prohibition; /for example, / tyik = to cut, kill, slice, decide; tyili = to render taboo; tyii = to have a taboo (étyi is the nominal-resulting form of the last verb); tyilan = to be taboo. /122/

A complete listing of the bityi is probably impossible, but a brief classification may be attempted by distinguishing /the following/:

Food prohibitions and prohibitions of actions.

Among prohibitions of actions there are those protecting certain animals, marriage prohibitions, and general sexual prohibitions.

Individual prohibitions and collective prohibitions.

Hereditary prohibitions and personal prohibitions.

Temporary and permanent prohibitions.

Masculine, feminine, and age-grade prohibitions.

Ordinary prohibitions (zesé bityi) and capital prohibitions, bityi awu (mortal ones).

All together they form a sort of network that covers every act,
[747] every phase of individual and social conduct. Mission activity and general development have caused some to disappear or have lessened the immediate consequences of infractions, minsem, but enough remain with sufficient sanction to influence the whole of day-to-day life.

[688] A nsem, a breaking of a prohibition, has various consequences, ranging from a slight illness to death, and almost always carrying with it public reprobation. The nsem may be unconscious, the culprit being unaware that his act was taboo for him, either because he had not been taught so or because the étyi had been imposed without his knowledge by a magician.

religion. For several years, exogamic taboos have even been observed to take on new life with a strictness that runs counter to canonical ideas about marriage (cf. above, p. 63).

g. Sorcery and Magic at the Present Time

Even in the areas longest converted to Christianity, contemporary Pahouin continue to believe in magic and sorcery, which is, moreover, not contrary to the teaching of the Scriptures. Mbibiañ compete with European or African bedôkita, mingengañ compete with exorcists, mvimvi'i with the police, and so on. Once in a while beyem still kill in order to feed their évu, and I knew a kôn practitioner who tried to make use of his skill so as to win an election.

However, since the coming of the Europeans, magic and sorcery have developed in the direction of a syncretism that is sometimes baroque. Ecclesiastical schisms do not bring about a complete return to ancient practices, but a sort of grafting of what remains onto a Christian stem, to which is often added a facile /à bon marché/ esotericism borrowed from mages and fakirs of metropolitan France. Talismans, perfumes guaranteed to inspire love, and magical jewelry arrive by the hundredweight in each mail from France. Initiations that had died out are being revived in the form of parodies of the Mass or of ordination, or even of hazings often obscene. What was most valuable in the native pharmacopoeia is being more and more neglected in favor of modern preparations used at random, with only the magical aspect surviving, emptied of its old meaning and therefore of its functional character.

Admittedly, Christianity has "caught on" in the country, just as European medicine has—the question is, just how deeply. In any event it is certain that old practices, overthrown as they may have been, survive nonetheless in new forms, fluid and changing and still far from stabilized. The result is a continual uneasiness, a crisis in adaptation, of which the outcome is unpredictable.

Leaving aside any religious or ideological position, /124/ it does, however, seem possible to say as of now that one of the most revolutionary contributions of the missions has been to make women participate in the same religious cult as men.

575 791 782 three times. He then pulls him down to the ground, binds him in front of the totem, and with one stroke of the mfor cuts the carotid arteries. The blood is collected in a clay pot, which is carefully broken after the ceremony and buried. When the blood has stopped flowing, the practitioners approach. The leader, the others next, and the neophyte last, dip their hands into the pot and sprinkle the totem while they dance around it. [483]

575 791 782 266 Right after this the head practitioner approaches the totem and smears its neck with the victim's blood, then with one stroke cuts its arteries. The spouting blood is collected with care because no drop must fall on the ground, to avoid any profanation. The victim's blood is mixed with the totem's, and everyone dips his hand into the pot and stirs; when the contents have been thoroughly mixed, the pot is put on a fire that has been prepared and, as soon as the blood starts to coagulate, each person present approaches and drinks a bit. The neophyte takes his turn last and has to drink all that is left no matter how much.

The victim and the totem are then placed on a special pyre. Often the victim's body is opened and the heart removed and the totem's body put in its place. When the fire has pretty well roasted both bodies, they are taken off and the victim's is put aside for eating. The totem is put back on the fire and entirely consumed, except that its burnt and pulverized bones are preserved. The victim's bones are also kept and reduced to ash so that they may be mingled with the totem's. These ashes are eventually divided among all those present; the larger share going to the new practitioner to form his "totemic" fetish, which he will make use of whenever he appeals to his totem. In particular, when he takes part in the "consecration" of a new practitioner, he will, after the immolation of the totem as just described, put a pinch of these ashes on the totem's body: all his colleagues will do the same, in order to mystically unite all the totems in a common sacrifice.

[789]

At the end of the ceremony, the new practitioner must get rid of all signs of it before he returns to the village. He must see to it that no drop of blood, no trace of ash, be profaned. He breaks up the pyre, buries the pot for blood at a distance, and goes home only then, invested with a new dignity.

515 subjected to skillfully graduated demands, participating in cere-
754 monies that arouse his imagination while exhausting him by their length, he gradually grows weaker and feels overwhelmed by the somber and mysterious aspect of initiation and falls into a kind of hallucination.

"In the depths of the hut [where the initiation takes place], there is a crudely sculptured image. Beneath that has been put a bundle containing the bones of a man long dead, and in front a mirror has been hung with its face towards the spectators. In all initiation proceedings the candidate is brought before the mirror and asked: 'What do you see?' For a long time he has to reply: 'I don't see anything.' As long as the reply is negative the initiation has not been successful. But finally the expected sign appears; he sees the likeness of a man in the mirror. Then he is led aside and made to describe the man whose face he has just seen. He had never seen him before [486] and cannot have known him, yet he describes him with great precision, giving all the facial traits. No cheating is possible in this. From the description given, the initiator, who is able to judge the likeness, identifies the man whose bones are beneath the image. This proof allows him to decide that the initiation is proceeding on the right track.

"Sometimes the initiator demands more personal and more active cooperation from the person seeking initiation. ... he may require that he bring the skull and a few bones of a relative of the first degree. ...

"Only when he brings in the material proofs of his crime are the final rites carried out. The bones are thrown into a
[266] cauldron with herbs and other ingredients that are unsavoury. When the horrible mixture has been sufficiently cooked, the unfortunate man is made to drink a cup while the audience sings. Then what is left in the pot is divided, and everyone has a share.
● [789] The small bones are wrapped in old rags, and this bundle is given to the initiate: it constitutes his talisman, which he will wear and which will protect him from the dangers he fears and obtain for him the favors he desires.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

name, the *Eki* of the Fang being the *Orunda* of the Mpongwe. One day when on 784
a journey among the people, I asked an old headman to share with me a chicken 778
my boy had prepared for supper; the old man seemed pleased at my invitation, but asked the boy if it was a hen or cock fowl. Upon being informed that it was a cock, he declined to eat any of it · that was his *Eki*. As previously stated, I do 769
not believe the natives worship the spirits of Present and Future, but to a certain degree ancestral worship does exist. A Fang places the skull of his father in a curious receptacle of bark, worshipping it, killing fowls and making blood offerings to it, and in many ways the whole matter somewhat resembles the worshipping at graves and before ancestral tablets as practised in China. The natives often pray to their father's skull before talking a large war palaver, or the purchase of a new woman. As worshipping departed ancestors is the chief duty of a faithful Chinaman, so making offerings and prayers to the departed father's spirit before the skull constitutes the great Fang fetish, or *bieti*. Wooden idols, *biyeme*, of men [831]
and women are made in a manner which makes the sex extremely apparent; yet [532]
whenever I have seen these figures in towns, the people did not seem to regard them as obscene, but as truthful representations of the sexes. I feel sure that to some extent, at least, phallic worship is practised among the Fang. Spirits are 776
everywhere; in rocks, trees, forests, and streams; in fact, for the Fang, this life is one continual fight against spirits corporal and spiritual.

A peculiar belief regarding dreams is that when a person sleeps the soul often 787
wanders away, and its experiences on these journeys are made known to the sleeper 928
by dreams. After death the soul may inhabit any kind of animal. [775]

Fetish Biang (medicine).—Fetish means anything; leopard teeth, human finger nails, hair, wood, iron, herbs. The article used as *biang* or fetish, has no 778
intrinsic value, it is only valued because of connecting its owner with a spirit which can aid him. The leopard tooth fetish is supposed to impart the bravery of the leopard to its owner. Fetish is a spirit or combination of spirits manifested in material things.

Dili Mkuk.—To murder a person and save his skull as a fetish, or use the skull as medicine to bring women, guns, goats or goods. The people will make offerings to the skulls calling them by the names of persons killed. It is said that these prayers are always answered as desired.

Biang e Soli (hiding medicine).—A man goes and takes leaves of trees, and cuts 789 ●
them up. He says, "I have cut up leaves of trees" (or high grass, bushes). The women shell gourd seeds and mash them. They catch a fowl, kill it, and put it in the pot. They also put in the pot the medicine leaves, and the mashed gourd kernels. They put the pot on the fire, and boil (its contents). When they have boiled it, the medicine is cooked. They take the medicine pot off (the fire). They go and put it by the side of (*afuā*) the back of the *bieti*. The man who has put it there says to the *bieti*, other people want to kill me. He takes away the medicine pot. He opens the *bieti* basket. He takes a small piece of the bone (instead of this say to the woman and children he takes the excrement of the

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

●789 *bieti*). He brings it. He eats the fowl. When finished, he takes a bone of the fowl and the excrement of the *bieti*. He cuts his nails and his hair. He ties (all these things) up in a bundle or packs them inside the horn of a small deer and keeps it.

When a man goes on a journey he carries this medicine with him. Another person cannot see him as he journeys.

This is the *Biang e Soli*.

Biang-nkama.—The people get up and take machetes and cut a clearing. When they have finished the clearing is open and bright. If a man has died and been long in the grave, they take his bones, and lay them out on the ground. They cover them over with earth. They take other bones, and cut them up into small pieces. They put (these pieces) in a basket: they put in also red dye, and scrapings from the bark of trees. They close up the basket. If they go to war, they carry the basket (suspended by a cord from) the shoulder. They take the red dye which is in the basket and smear the body with it. If an enemy (literally, a person) [726] fires a gun (at them), they will not be pierced (by the pieces of iron pot used as bullets).

This is the *Biang-nkama*. Do not tell it to women or children; only to grown real men—for it is tabooed.

Nzake Bukun.—Fang make it thus. If a man makes witch medicine, he kills 754 his brother and other people. They say, let us make *nzake bukun*. They take a corpse, and go with it to the bush. They cut bush. The bush is clear and open. They sweep clear the place which they have cut. They lay down the corpse in the place which they have swept. They dig plenty of dirt, and make it in the shape of an elephant (over the corpse). They make the trunk, the tusks, the eyes, the legs, the tail, the ears. They finish and return to the town. They say, we have made *nzake bukun* (*nzake* means elephant). They say if a man goes out to kill by witchcraft, he will die. If a man wishes to kill another with poison, he will die. If a man lies with a woman in the daytime he will die. Let not a woman eat a pig. And so they say, they have made this fetish, the *nzake-bukun*. When they have done so, if a man lies with a woman in the daytime he gets sick. They go and scrape trees in the bush; they bring water from the river, and put the scrapings in the water. They catch a fowl outside and put it in the medicine-water. They touch the man's body over with the fowl. And so that man, they heal him from his fetish-sickness. Then he is well.

This is *Nzake bukun*.

Biang-abationg.—If a man has married two or three women, and loves one, but 832 dislikes the others, the latter feel badly. They make *biang abationg*. When they [514] go to pass their faeces, they take a very small piece of their faeces. They rub off the grease from their skin, and mix this grease with the small piece of dung. They put it (the mixture) on the drying-shelf (over the fire). When it is dry they mash it to powder, and put it in the neck of a gourd. They take also a shrub called *abatok* (known only by women) and put it in a small gourd (not the neck of

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

832 584 583 gives him (the father) the *beki* (dowry). The father of the young virgin takes the goods to his town; the young man remains in possession of the woman.

They marry with *biang-ndoma*, eloping medicine thus.

This is *Biang-ndoma.*

721 789 *Biang-akong* (war medicine).—Told me by Fam-deu, a Fang, Esisis clan, at Foulabifong, Nkomo river, April 19th, 1898. This *biang* was illustrated to me; a leopard tooth is the *Biang-akong.*

Make a bowl of war medicine, of leaves, roots, and bark. Call all people of the town. Drop the leopard tooth into the medicine. If the point of the tooth *looks* toward the people we have a palaver (trouble) with, then we must go and fight and we will win. If the root of the tooth points toward the people we have a palaver with, then we must *tabe si* (sit down) or our enemies will win if we go to fight them.

This is the *Biang-akong.*

789 619 622 *Biang-akamayong.*—This *biang* is the protector of the tribe or nation (*ayông*, tribe).

Told me by Esôya-ôvum, the headman of Foulabifong on the Nkomo river, who sold me the complete set of the *Biang-akamayong* belonging to the dead headman "Commisan." I present this *biang* for your inspection this evening. The tin canister was obtained from a white man and is used in place of the usual basket to carry bones in. It contains portions of the skull of an albino (male), portions of the skull of a *mon nguri*, young chimpanzee, red powder and a variety of native medicine.

[726] [534] This *biang-akamayong* is always carried by the headman of a town during war. A bell hangs from the bottom of the canister containing the bones; it rings when the headman walks.

Nko.—The small horn belonging to the *biang-akamayong* has *ngom* (porcupine tail) in it; also native medicine. It is used to cure people having witches. A bowl of medicine is made. The *ngom* is dipped in the medicine bowl and the sick person sprinkled with the medicine. Then the witch departs.

At this point the headman Esôya stopped talking. He said, "The children who have gathered around your house must go away; no real man dare talk about the *biang-akamayong* before women and children." I told the children to go and Esôya continued.

The whistle.—This is part of the *biang-akamayong*; it has been cooked (boiled) in the medicine bowl and has great power when used by the headman in calling the men together after a fight.

789 619 *Moul.*—This is the large horn with a piece of looking glass on top. This horn contains much medicine, and next to the bones is the most important part of the *biang-akamayong.*

The two small antelope horns, and the small bundles of medicine, are *biang e soli* (hiding medicine); it makes the person carrying the *biang-akamayong* invisible to the enemy.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

The skin of a bush cat is part of the *biang-akamayong* called "Nsin." 789

The Mvang.—A triangular piece of iron filled with medicine, used to keep away witches, is also part of the *biang-akamayong.* 619

Biang-akong or *biang-abal* (war medicine).—This is also part of the *biang-akamayong,* and the shots from the guns of an enemy are of no avail.

One other important fetish hangs with the *biang-akamayong.*

A piece of very hard wood. Only a certain kind of woman is selected to find this wood; she is called a special or *selected* woman on account of certain [777] peculiarities connected with her, *e.g.,* she always fails to catch fish, she may try all [824] day but will not succeed in catching fish. The husband of such a woman, after intercourse with her, fails to catch fish the next day, he also fails to work. This is the kind of woman always selected to find this wood; it is hard wood, she is a hard woman, and she is called *Emuniega ane alert* (the woman who is hard). This medicine is also called *biang-akong,* and shot from the guns of an enemy will not harm.

This is the *Biang-akamayong.*

XIII.—*Witchcraft. Evus.* (*Witch.*)

If a person goes out to make witch (witch medicine, or play witch to harm others) he dies. The people take him to the backyard. Other people say, "We want to take the witch." If the corpse is a female, they open the belly. If the corpse is a male, they open the heart. They see the witch, they take it. If they bring the witch, they lay it on the smoke shelf. It dries. When finished drying they say, "We will use it as medicine." 754

This is *Evus* (witch).

Cursing dead Relations.—Written at Foulabifong, Nkomo river, April 13th, 1898. Told me by Ôvôn; fully confirmed by Ogandaga and Interpreter Roby.

E'kanesong (to curse dead relations).—This is a Fang custom. A man has a palaver with another, or goods stolen. He desires to get even with the thief. He calls a friend and curses his friend's dead relations, saying, 754 578

"Go and kill that person for me, or go and make him pay me goods; if you do so, I will then pay you for having cursed your dead relations." It is a serious matter to have dead relations cursed, and the friend feels very bad. He must do as bid, or he is branded as a coward, and after he has completed his task he then makes claim for payment. 626

Nge me bā jam dili, nge me ta minbin (If I do it, may I see the corpses [of my people]). A Fang way of swearing an oath. [539

Ami ye mimbim mia, yinga me bat (My friend, by the corpses of your relations, kill those people for me).

Notes on *Ebômeda* (a curse).

Ilong i'ayoge (a curse that kills).

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

Ngang (Doctor). Translation.

[787] 726 539 ● 789 The Ngang (witch doctor) prophesies war. If the war comes and is in the bush, then the doctor takes medicine wrapped in bush cat skin called *mebup*, and medicine in horns. He holds the horns in his hands. He counts the horns; he hangs the *mebup*. He says to the *mebup*, I say thus: No person must go to the forest. If a person goes anywhere the enemy will kill him. If a person says, I will not listen to the doctors' talk, I will go and do my work; then if he goes, the enemy kill him. If they kill a person, they take the heart and put it in the *abup*. They take an old witch and put it in the *abup*. Then if the doctor prophesies, the witch speaks from inside the medicine. The heart of the person, it talks.

XVI.—*Hunting Traps.*

224 The Fang are skilful hunters, but they justly give the credit of the chase to the *Nqui* (dwarfs). I have been told that a dwarf will go hunting in the bush and return with meat after a hunting party has returned unsuccessful from the same locality; the dwarfs have great patience. If while hunting in the forest a man sees a deer, he shouts for assistance: others come and help hunt. If the deer is killed, all claim a share, after one-third has been given to the man who first sighted the game. This is the custom when a man walking unarmed in the forest sights meat, and calls for aid. Meat killed by a regular hunting party is carried to their town and divided. Dogs are used to hunt game, the dogs wear wooden bells around the neck, sometimes the bells are made of iron. Flint-lock guns are used when hunting. Before a hunting party starts out it is the custom to make *biang nzali* (gun medicine), and to place the guns in it; this makes them shoot straight. The natives imitate very cleverly the calls of certain animals and birds for the purpose of decoy. Occasionally they drive game into an enclosure called *olam*. Spears are seldom used in the chase. The crossbow is used for shooting birds and small bush cats.

Poisoned arrows are not used with the crossbow. Pitfalls for game are dug and [441] covered with small branches and leaves; pigs and small deer frequently fall into them. A Fang never attempts to hit a bird on the wing. In firing the flint-locks the gun is not carried to the shoulder, but held by the stock in front of the body, the butt being on a level with the waist. Game laws are unknown.

After a successful hunting expedition the whole town indulges in a feast, men, women, and children eat until gorged; after a period of rest dancing commences and is kept up throughout the night.

Olam (Trap). Translation.

224 539 They take small trees and bamboo leaves and bush rope, and make a long fence. They leave holes for the traps and holes for the pitfalls (*i.e.*, opposite the

325

trellis is constructed over the smelting box. Smelting requires a number of hours. The very soft iron obtained is pounded to pieces and then forged."
[113] (From Mitteilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten /Reports by Explorers and Scholars from the German Protectorates/ by Friedrich von Danckelman, 1895, page 63.

/230/ /Fig. 182 appears here in the original text./

/231/ Now the bellows workers (nsũẽ,-nkũm) put their two tools, which they have brought with them, into position, and in the manner already indicated stick the blast pipe into the furnace in place of the guide rod, so that the funnel-shaped end juts outward about ten to twelve centimeters. Then they arrange the bellows (Drawing 1, o) in such a way that its mouth is from two to three centimeters from the blast pipe and clamp it between two pairs of sticks, called myãk (see Fig. 183), which are planted in the ground. This simple arrangement has given rise to the following
[539] proverb:

bokui bo võde akũã o mvãk =

The Pygmies, they despaired of smelting because (of the) the holding sticks (which they did not know how to attach).
This proverb is said whenever some great enterprise fails because of a trifle.

325 461 •791 Now everybody sits down on tree trunks around the furnace. A piece of red-hot charcoal is introduced into the furnace through one of the blast pipes, and then the working of the bellows begins (Fig. 184). This is done in the following manner. First one and then the other hide are alternately pulled up and down by hand, or, if one wants to work at high pressure, both hides are pulled together. This is a strenuous and monotonous job which the natives try to alleviate as much as possible by singing, which is led by the medicine man (in Plate 17, the gentleman to the right with folded arms), by shouting, laughing, talking, and telling stories. Above all, the

325 461 791 natives like to hiss rhythmically during the work; this gives them greater strength, as they say. Regular whistling, however, is strictly forbidden, for in the opinion of the natives it is something evil (see prefixes, page 28 /Ed., not translated/). In all this noise the medicine man takes a prominent part; every other moment he rings an iron bell, blows on an antelope horn, /232/ sings, shouts, and dashes about frantically. In short, he makes every possible effort to spur on the people, and perhaps he also means to fend off evil beings of one kind or another by his activities. Now and then he strikes between the bellows with a bundle [824] of the Violacea Rinorea gracilipes Engl. or the Leguminosa Bandeiraea tenuiflora Benth. (both ovǒ̄n e ndžīk) (1) in order to

1. Called ovǒ̄n e ndžīk (ndžīk, "liana") because of the similarity of the leaves with those of the Copaifera tessmannii Harms. (ovǒ̄n), the tree in which the souls live in the intermediate realm; used when there is a shortage of Copaifera. [775]

eliminate all noxious influences through the power of the ancestors. If the zeal of the workers nevertheless flags, there follows a redoubled clamor, and after a short period of time the crew recuperates and pushes the hides with renewed vigor and almost convulsive rapidity amidst violent hissing and rhythmic rocking up and down of the upper part of the body. In the evening when they are tired, hide drums and wooden drums are called in to encourage them with a regular concert; songs are sung in which the medicine man strikes the keynote. At the end of the work, which in Bebai, for instance, lasted from one o'clock in the afternoon to 9:30 in the evening, the medicine man steps up to the furnace and by each bellows worker he makes a movement as though placing something up into the furnace and down into the funnel; his assistant walks behind him, carrying a closed medicine horn provided with a porcupine's tail. Its purpose is unknown.

325
791
[411]

The next day the furnace, which has burned out down to the pit, is torn down, and the iron slag (esũm), which lies on the top and has not burned out, is gathered together; broken into pieces, it serves as rifle ammunition (2). Then the medicine man calls

2. According to Du Bois it is "a poorly molten, porous slag with a high iron and titanium content and also includes charcoal fragments."

the bellows workers to the pit, and with his forging iron he knocks off the pieces of iron (obã'-ekiẽi) (3) that are loosely attached to the

3. bã = to divide, e-bã'-s = scale, ekiẽi - iron.

ore bloom. The larger pieces he takes for himself, the smaller ones he divides among the men so that each receives a small powder keg of them, which is his reward for the work. The medicine man, on the other hand, keeps almost twice as much for himself. On the floor of the pit is the ore bloom, a large, firm, round to oblong iron lump (mpafãn-ekiẽi I) (4); it belongs to the hut owner for whom

325
791
422

4. From the root pfa Ntum (fa Fang), "to narrow inward and to be narrowed in," here, "to be contracted, to be agglomerated." Compare pfa-n, "narrow strait"; a pfa-n, "to narrow"; pfa-k (active), "narrowed path or place," in particular between the house and plantains in the village; a pfa-ñ, "to wrap around, to put a string around." The ore bloom is, according to Du Bois, "to be regarded as a malleable wrought iron heavily mixed with charcoal fragments and with a low carbon content, which can be transformed into a usable

325 material only through forging."

the /233/ smelting has taken place, with the exception of a piece about the size of a head, which he must give to the medicine man. The ore bloom is pounded into little bits by the workmen right on the spot (Fig. 185). The workmen have the right to take home the splinters that fall off, and the owner does nothing further with it. These pieces (epfûs-ekiẽi) (1) are the end result of the iron smelting

1. pfũ-ĩ "to knock off (piecemeal)."

and constitute a regular article of trade wherever European trade is not yet too highly developed. /Fig. 183 appears here in the original text./

A few more figures about the expenses and the net profit. In giving these -- as for Bebai -- I assume a smelting period consisting of five smeltings with five owners of the smelting hut. The workers can buy the bellows for ten spears (= 70 pfennigs) from the bellows maker, or they can get them for nothing if they bring the necessary block of wood to the man's house. So far as I know, they must obtain the hide for themselves in each case. The clay blast pipe likewise costs ten spears (= 70 pfennigs), so each bellows worker has 20 spears (= 1.40 marks) in expenses. The owner or owners of the smelting huts have a single expenditure of about 120 marks for the medicine, not including the labor for the construction of the hut and the transportation of the ore. From the iron left to him as wages, each bellows worker earns at one smelting only 15 to 20 spears (= 1.05 to 1.40 marks); hence, from five smeltings he makes a profit of from five to seven marks from which the single expenditure /234/ /Fig. 184 appears here in the original text/ of 1.40 marks should be subtracted. The medicine man does better. From his share of loose iron he can earn 30 spears (= 2.10 marks) and from his share of core iron 50 spears (= 3.50 marks), so altogether he can earn 5.60 marks. From the five smeltings, therefore, he can earn a total of 28 marks. As regards the owner, the ore bloom for him amounts to 500 spears (= 35 marks). Altogether, the yield of one smelting period would amount to: (17 X 17 spears + 80 spears + 500 spears) X 5, 17 workers at 17 spears + medicine man + owner in five

000 its height, clouds. -- Moon and sun and their course. -- The moon as "presider" over fertility and the seasons. -- First day of the new moon as Sunday. -- Significance of the days around the full moon; taboos and means of circumventing them. -- Stars and their nature. -- Comets. -- Size of the heavenly bodies and their color.

4. Time reckoning. Contempt for time. -- Half years of the Pangwe. -- The seasons and explanation of their names. -- Division of the month. -- Day and night.

1. Soothsaying

791 Today the soothsayer is to be found only in the heart of the Pangwe region, in the Uelle area, and even here he is in the process of becoming extinct. The reason for this is that his art relates mainly to events and accidents of wartime, and as the result of European influence wars are becoming more and more infrequent. In times of peace the soothsayer deals only with the apprehension of a thief and with the questions as to whether a woman is fertile or infertile and whether the physical malformation of a child is to be explained by the fact that another person gave the child the medicine for sorcery, in other words, for an ewu.

The medicines for soothsaying, like all those cited earlier, are in the possession of certain persons, but for a price (a sheep) they can at any time be acquired by anyone. The principal medicine is enclosed in a horn of the white-rumped duikerbok, Cephalophus longiceps Gray (mvū IV). The soothsayer takes the horn in his hand and shakes it (a pfōge) -- hence the name mpfōge-mvū, "one who shakes the antelope horn," for soothsayer. The contents of the horn are acquired in the following manner. The soothsayer's novice with his master must participate in a war and find the body of a person slain in battle, cut off the head, take out the teeth and one eye, and finally slit open the belly, into which is placed, for one day, the antelope's horn intended for the novice.

●791 The teeth, the eye, and a piece of an evū'-besī (see Vol. II, p. 128 /Ed., not translated/) are placed in the /195/ horn, which is sealed with monitor lizard skin. Once the principal medicine has been secretly acquired in this gruesome manner, the ordination of the novice into the office of soothsayer takes place in public on the village square. The medicine man boils a chicken together with leaves of various medicine plants, especially of the [824] "medicine tree," Distemonanthus benthamianus Baill. (elī'bengǎń, ejěn), and he gives the novice some of this concoction to eat ten times (1). Then the old man leaps about the village square shaking

[801] 1. Ten is the number of wisdom, seven the lucky number, and three or nine the sacred number of the Pangwe.

the soothsayer's horn, chars a piece of the most gigantic liana of [824] the Pangwe region, Entada scandens Benth., Leguminosa (ntū' I), after he has touched it several times with his foot as he was leaping about, makes an incision in one of the novice's toes, and rubs the ashes into the wound. As he does so, he says: "If you go to war and you knock your toe against the ground so that the wound opens, the prospects for your side will be bad; otherwise they will be good" (for the liana strives upwards). The ashes of the liana, therefore, are supposed to communicate to the toe the plant's property of striving upwards and thereby help the soothsayer to rise above his fellow human beings just as the liana in its striving for light rises above the other trees. This concludes the initiation, and the novice is now a full-fledged soothsayer.

As a fee for divination, usually from one to five spears (seven to 35 pfennigs) are paid, but in times of war, when excitement, tension, and fear fill everyone with uncertainty, considerably more is paid. At such times the distrust towards soothsayers, which today is already almost universal, gives way to a willing credulity. During peaceful times the situation is pretty much as it is with us; very stupid and superstitious people, for the most part women, go to the wise man, but the great majority no longer believe in his hocus-pocus. "There are a lot of lies in it," I was told, "but once

791 in a while there is some truth to it." Or, like our countrymen who in other respects consider themselves enlightened, they will adopt the standpoint: "After all, you never can tell . . ."

791 558 The unsuccessful soothsayer does not have to look far for ridicule. In Bebai I heard a poem ridiculing a man from the Ntum region who had been deliberately taken in. One man hid his chopping knife in his house in the presence of witnesses and then went to the soothsayer to ask him quite innocently to tell him where the knife was that he had lost. After all kinds of mystification and tomfoolery the soothsayer answered that the knife had been stolen in the field during the clearing of the farm. Amidst the hilarity of all those present, the "victim of the theft" produced the knife from where it was hidden, and the soothsayer departed, shamed.

721 787 In times of war, however, the soothsayer's reputation is reestablished. Before setting out against the enemy village, the entire company of young men stand around him in a circle, the soothsayer leaps about with the horn in his hand, shaking it according to all the rules of his art, and then suddenly points it /196/ to one of those standing around him, saying: "You will be killed, or (pointing to another) you will be wounded if you go into battle." Or the wise man says: "You can go confidently into battle for nothing will happen to you," but he will say this -- if we may trust his shrewdness -- only to those who in any case tend to stay in the rear. The person who has received a bad "prognosis" stays safely at home, and in this way the soothsayer is seldom found out.

787 In Volume II, page 108 ("Religion") /Ed., not translated/ we saw that the Pangwe believes he can read the future from dreams through appropriating the power of the soul by holding his head in the resin fire kindled on the grave. In so doing he learns to distinguish true dreams from false ones, and consequently comes to recognize what the future will bring.

I am not acquainted with animal oracles in the south, but among the Jaunde there is a spider oracle. Zenker (1) writes about

1. G. Zenker, "Yaunde," in Mitteilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus

614 are, besides, meyoñ that are outside the system.

614 Among the latter I shall mention the Ndôñ and the Bekôé or Bekwi,
563 to be found under these names in all, or nearly all, the Pahouin tribes.
184 The ethnic substantive Bekôé is simply the plural of a common noun, nkôé, "dwarf." These people are, it seems, descendants of aborigines. undoubtedly Pygmies, "adopted" by the tribes at the time of invasion. Although looked upon as an ayoñ and calling one another brother, they do not practice exogamy and seem to attach their genealogies to those of other clans, to which nevertheless they do not belong.

614 The case of the Ndôñ is quite different. They crossed the Sanaga
184 with the other Pahouin, and they are certainly "active" Pahouin. But they observe endogamy among their three mvôk (Ndôñ Mvu, Ndôñ Bibak, and Ndôñ Bikoé), which no other Pahouin ayoñ does, at least to my knowledge. Besides, I believe I noticed /48/ among those of the southern Cameroons and northern Gabon morphological traits setting them sharply apart from those of neighboring clans—reddish
[142] color of the skin, frequency of green or greenish-blue eyes—which
[144] might be explained by the inbreeding consequent upon endogamy, but also perhaps by a different ethnic origin. Another piece of evi-
[326 dence, as insufficiently attested as the foregoing, is that among the
791] Ndôñ I met the last of the smiths and the most feared magicians among the Boulou and Fang tribes of the Cameroons.

The Ngoé ayoñ also is found under this name in nearly all the Pahouin tribes and, according to Bertaut, among the neighboring Bakoko. The Esel, who are similarly spread throughout the tribes, have non-Pahouin homonyms: /for instance/ the Bantu Esel tribe of the southeastern Cameroons (Moloundou). The name could, however, be a contraction of ésa (ésa-el?). Ngoé and Esel are usually exogamic.

c. The Extended Family or Village Family

596 The term "village family" is no doubt more accurate than the
621 classic "extended family," both because the nda bôt (house of the people) is the only social group that corresponds exactly to a geographical form of settlement (the jal or hamlet), and because without the geographical criterion it is difficult to distinguish this /kind of/ family from the intermediate structures between it and the clan, such as segments or lineages (mvôk, bisa). And finally, it is on this

b. Legal Power

692 The contemporary /legal/ organization is, except for a few details, the same in the three territories inhabited by the Pahouin. In the Cameroons and Gabon, criminal law /la justice repressive/ is in the hands of magistrates administering the French penal code; civil law is administered by first- and second-degree courts presided over by an official of administrative rank, sitting with two African assessors. There are also the so-called customary courts composed entirely of Africans and not entitled to deal with questions of personal status /état des personnes/, and a mediation system preliminary to all court action, in the jurisdiction either of chiefs or of first-degree court assessors. The system in Spanish territory is similar, but the first jurisdiction of the penal law is entrusted to officers called jefes de demarcación.

Alongside this official framework may often be noted a semi-official mechanism, sometimes tolerated, sometimes prosecuted as illegal. This consists of courts or arbitrators of the ngôl, of the bwiti or of the meyoñ, and also disciplinary committees of the missions, official or semi-official.

671 The distinction between civil and criminal was undoubtedly less sharp in former times. It did, however, exist, and an organization like the ngil dealt primarily with criminal cases, the major crime from which all others arose being that of ngbwel, sorcery. A homicide /meurtre/ might be a civil matter, when the circumstances precluded the probability of an act of sorcery; a well-planned theft, on the other hand, or even outstanding commercial acumen, could involve a capital charge.

627 Outside the ngil, law was administered in the first instance by the esa or ntol mot of the extended family or the village. This was a matter of disciplinary rather than legal power, at least so long as the ntôl's decisions concerned only his bobenyañ. When the case (étom) 628 went beyond a purely family framework, recourse was had to a judge, ntyi'i mejô, palaver-cutter, chosen within the clan from a kinship level nearer the ancestor. If several allied clans were involved, arbitrators or assessors were taken from among the mintôl not directly concerned in the suit. Finally, a diviner or magician, mvimvi'i or [791] ngengen, could be consulted, either visited in his own dwelling or into consultation.

[675] Suits between members of an association were, and often still are, conducted by an official of the association /71/.

789 Magic appears to be a technique for making use of the strength, tyi, contained in every element of the universe /création/, which everyone has more or less the capacity, ngul, to employ. Elementary magic is taught within the family, advanced magic /is taught/ in associations, by experienced practitioners and also, nowadays, through /120/ correspondence with European charlatans. All initiations include a course in magic, all associations possess a body of specialists.

787 Divination, mvi'i, and medicine, mboan mebiañ, are to magic in general what in Europe the special branches are to general medicine.
[791] Every ngengañ is a diviner and physician, but he may consult a colleague more specialized in one of those branches.

Everyone learns from childhood on to interpret everyday omens, which are mostly taken from "zoomancy:" the flight or song of certain birds, meeting certain animals in certain circumstances, etc. The interpretation of the movements of the victim of a family sacrifice, the abôp spider oracle, asking the advice of ancestors by means of the narcotic herb alañ, (iboga), require that /a person/ be already initiated. Oracles by water, sand or gravel, or conducting minkal tests require much deeper knowledge.

759 The same holds for medicine. Everyone knows the ordinary mebiañ, but for serious cases people must turn to a mbibiañ. The word biañ, usually translated "medicament," "greegree," even "fetish," indicates not only the drug, a pharmaceutical product, but also the whole of a magical act, including the chanting and dancing associated with it for grave illnesses. Pharmacopeoia and therapy proper, to some extent investigated by Baudre, Weber, and Chabeuf in the Cameroons and by Gascón in Spanish Guinea, are or were quite copious. Not only did the mbibiañ know many substances with a mainly vegetable base, but they also knew how to perform several surgical operations
[762] —reduction of fractures and dislocations, incision and drainage of deep abcesses, amputations, excision of certain tumors, and perhaps trepanning. But obviously there was a great deal of pure magic mixed up with this practical medicine, and the majority of mebiañ, if they had a therapeutic effect, owed it largely to psychosomatic reactions—which is not peculiar to Pahouin medicine.

791 Aside from medicine and divination and the combating of sorcerers, the essential role of the mingengañ consisted of influencing the shaping of the destiny of the group or of the individuals, if not in controlling their destiny. The powers of high initiates to some extent

791 suggest those of the sorcerers they were fighting, as do some of their procedures. Like them, /high initiates/ were capable of telekinesis and bilocation, etc. Trilles gives numerous examples, some of which he claims to have observed himself. Like /sorcerers, initiates/ could transform themselves into animals or make use of a dedicated animal, élañela. They killed people from a distance, especially by casting a spell on a token /temoin, "witness"/ of the classical type, or by acting directly upon people with their power, ngul, by forcing them to submit to their will. Like sorcerers, also, they could be victims through repercussion.

Considering the circumstances, it is not surprising that /121/ magicians and sorcerers have often been confused, nor that some magicians have been led into making evil use of their knowledge, nor, [754] finally, that contemporary associations, like the mbuti (bwiti), intended to combat sorcery, have borrowed its methods, even in their criminal aspects.

533 789 In addition to the magicians proper, there is the singer, ñyia bia, who plays an important role in all rites, including initiations. Every important rite and ceremony has its musical accompaniment, with a specific orchestra for the occasion, and a choirmaster, who leads the incantations and acts somewhat as a master of ceremonies, without himself participating directly in the sacrifice or the magical act. It is peculiar to the ñyia bia that he is present at the three major [illegible] sô, ngil, and ndôngô, as at all magic ceremonies, no matter [illegible] his affiliation; apparently he is not liable to the prohibitions concerning participation affecting zesé bôt, ordinary or profane people. He [424] buys and sells or inherits his songs, is not assigned to a caste /n'est pas casté/, yet seems to have enjoyed a certain immunity during the wars of former times, but this may only have been the case with the most celebrated of the beyia bia. There are also female beyia bia, who enjoy the same prerogatives in feminine rites.

778 789 Magical equipment consists, first, of the instruments appropriate to each rite, drums, horns, rattles, bells, the ngôma harp of the bwiti, etc., with a great variety of additional diverse objects: fly-[534] whisks, akpwassa, sometimes mutilated; antelope horns filled with mebiañ; human and animal skulls and bones; pots and calabashes; engraved and decorated magician's spears; masks; the bwiti broken mirror; bikpwélé (iron "bride-price money"); shells, etc. Every magical act, every rite, has its own properties, the complete description of which would require a separate monograph for each. We

779 [Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [402]

791 Sometimes in very important tribes, especially in those that make up large, compact groups, this role of minister to the mvamayôn has developed temporarily upon the practitioner.

Sometimes practitioners take on the role themselves and hold it by their personal importance or ability.

In both cases a kind of usurpation is always involved or a mixing up of powers, rarely a substitution. The practitioner then acts not in his own name by virtue of his role and his own authority, but as a delegated power. ...

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator] [403]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

779 Thus in certain specific cases the political chief of the clan
791 leaves the exercise of religious worship to the practitioner even
with regard to the totem. Yet this is only a delegated role to the
644 extent that when the totem has to be questioned in a critical situa-
769 tion, the practitioner disappears and the chief resumes his rights: it would then be up to him to carry out ritual acts and make sacrifices. A chief may not be able to do this, [404] for instance, if he were very ill. A sacrifice is then offered to the totem directly concerned. Does the practitioner now come to the fore? Not at all. He first sacrifices to the tutelary spirits and spirits of the dead, and then he interrogates the spirits in order to find out what evil influences have caused the illness and to discover the person who, in the sacred phrase, has "made a fetish" against the sick man. The consanguineous heir appears in his turn to invoke the family's guardian spirits in favor of the sick man and to invoke his totem. In this case, invocations and sacrifice have a dual purpose: first, to invoke the direct ancestors represented by their skulls preserved in the biéri box -- this is the cult of the esayôn; secondly, to invoke the totem represented by a real or symbolic fragment -- this is the cult of the mvamayôn.

[Four paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [405]

791 There are two distinct characters: practitioner [feticheur]
757 and sorcerer.

The practitioner takes several forms: he may be soothsayer, physician, priest -- all different manifestations of the same ministry and all legal. In a word, the practitioner is the agent of the acknowledged cult.

791 754 The sorcerer also assumes several forms: he may be soothsayer, physician, priest, etc., but none of these different manifestations are either legal or accepted; they will always operate in a secret manner, and the sorcerer will be the agent of the secret and unacknowledged, the extralegal, cult. [406]

515 754 791 Just as we find two distinct persons nearly always in opposition, so we observe them presiding over two distinct types of association. And, unfortunately, just as practitioner and sorcerer have almost always been confused, so have the true secret societies directed by the former been confused with the secret societies (organized also within the tribe) that are quite different, often antagonistic, and under the authority of sorcerers, who create them and without whom they do not operate. The former are established to work for the well-being of the tribe, at least they were so originally and they still are on the whole at the present time. The others, on the contrary, are set up for the specific benefit of members and against the tribe.

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

The principal point at issue here is that the totems of secret societies directed by practitioners and the totems of secret societies directed by sorcerers are utterly different. We shall see later on how incorrect the term "totem" is in connection with sorcerers. While the first kind of totem are chosen entirely for the benefit of the individual who acquires them with no concern about the effect on others, the second are chosen by the owner with a view to the evil he can do with them to others. [407] Hence a profound difference in their selection: the first, like the totems of clan and tribe, can legally be any kind of living thing and are in fact, animals, birds, insects, trees, but only useful things, because the point is to benefit from their good qualities. There is nothing of this in connection with the second kind of totem: to injure others is the point, the unique purpose, the raison d'être; therefore, harmful animals like panthers, reptiles, and wild boars will be the first choice.

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [408-414 omitted]

[415] The practitioner's business is to have an effect upon good and bad "spirits." To call up good spirits as we see for

515 instance in the invocations of marriage songs; to fend off bad
754 spirits, departed shades, ghosts, or apparitions and force them
791 out of the village so they they will go far away and leave the living in peace; in brief, to protect in some manner those who invoke them -- this is the practitioner's role. The end is achieved through appropriate homage and sacrifices, either directly, by protecting the suppliant from bad luck and accidents, or indirectly, by making it impossible for the enemy -- whether spirit, shade, man, or object -- to do harm. All this is worship, religion, the practitioner's role.

But, on the other hand, to be master of these spirits, preferably of the malevolent ones, to seize the spirits, and to force both to do evil, is no longer worship or religion, but magic, and this is the sorcerer's business.

[Four paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [416]

We make the following generalizations:

The practitioner is the agent of the acknowledged cult, which is sometimes public, sometimes secret.

The sorcerer is the agent of the unacknowledged cult, which is always secret.

Both practitioner and sorcerer are leaders or members of secret societies. (1)

> 1. In place of "secret societies," which leads to confusion, it would be better to reserve this term, as has been proposed, for the societies set up by sorcerers and to use "confraternities" for those directed by practitioners.

Secret societies controlled by practitioners are within the tribe.

Secret societies controlled by sorcerers are marginal to, or directed against, the tribe.

791 Finally, the practitioner is priest, physician, healer, seer, according to whatever function his rank has him perform. Under this title he consults the fates, calls up spirits, etc. In ceremonies of the public cult, for instance, he is priest, seer, rain maker, the acknowledged intermediary between the world of the living and the other world. To sum up, he acts for the welfare of the tribe or of some of its members. In the last capacity he is seen as sacrificer at a child's birth, and as the principal agent in circumcision and in the ceremonies connected with puberty, the initiation of warriors, marriage, and death. He is called in for all illnesses so as to drive away the malevolent spirits who alone cause disease. [419] As physician he first uses magical formulae designed to liberate the good "influences" contained in the remedies he will administer. Next, he dispels evil "spirits" and calls upon favorable spirits, the ancestors of the race, to help him. Only after this does he proceed to give the remedy; then he again calls upon the aid of propitious spirits and dispels the bad ones. ...

Our Fan give the practitioner a special name; he is the ngâǹ, a name common to the whole of Bantu Africa, where the phoneme [sic] may be found throughout the tribes, variously modified as m-gâna, n-gâna, m-hâna, gâna, ngâǹ. ...

[Last paragraph on p. 417 omitted; pp. 418 to mid-420 omitted. --Translator] [420]

754 The sorcerer's social position is easily defined; not only does he have neither rank nor position in the tribe but even to apply the word "sorcerer" ... to a native is more than an insult, it is extremely imprudent. To call a Fan ngâǹ or ngenngâǹ is doing him an honor; if he is not a practitioner, he will give you credit for your good intentions and courtesy. Call him nlèm [he who casts bait] and the situation is quite different. First, he will peer around to see if anyone has overheard. If you are alone with him and [421] the stronger, or if he fears retaliation, you will be lucky to escape the gunshot or knife stab he will gladly give you, or the poison he might give you as soon as he has a chance. If there are people around in the village, it [683] would constitute a serious accusation, which might cost him his life....

754 In fact, the sorcerer is the person hated and feared above all others, the evildoer, whom one consults only when forced to it, because he controls occult forces and his power is recognized. ...

Nevertheless, in spite of this, sorcerers exist and will continue to do so for a long time for two reasons:

1. their social position in the tribe, not as sorcerers -- for I have just said that they have none on that score -- but because of their own personalities;

2. the fear they inspire, which will eventually lead to their death, but which does help them to maintain their positions.

754 Clearly, in everyday life and through the course of events, 791 practitioner and sorcerer are often combined in the same person. A certain man, a religious minister respected by his family, a physician, and practitioner esteemed publicly, may also be a sorcerer, but then in the greatest secrecy, unless his position allows him to proclaim this attribute. In that case he will be universally feared and hated and will only keep going through terror and murder, and he will always fear for his life.

[Pp. 422, 423, omitted. --Translator] [424]

791 The practitioner carries on the cult and is the totem's minister only by a sort of delegation, a handing over of power from the head of a family. He has been seen in this capacity performing his part in important totemic ceremonies alongside the tribal chief, regulating ritual under his direction, in short, acting as his organizer, master of ceremonies, sacrificial assistant. In practice he often comes to supplant the chief and afterwards to transmit to his descendants the religious power usurped.

Even this predominant role will not be thought sufficient by the ngâña [practitioner]. He wants complete ascendancy and he attains it through the secret societies in which he alone is master, which have little by little encroached on the tribal organization and tend to supplant the family power of former times. In this way he is the true and sole minister of the totem of these societies.

754 But alongside the ngâña and the secret societies he organizes and controls, hidden as it were in their underworld, are the sorcerers, or bévem, who are similarly ministers of totems which they have given to the secret societies they control -- ministers,

754 societies, and totems that are basically actually spurious copies of the first.

From this we are led to a study of the secret societies
754 directed by both and of the very different, though often undif-
791 ferentiated, role that practitioners [bəfgan] and sorcerers [bəyəm] play in them.

Chapter XIII

Practitioners and Sorcerers

Their Secret Societies

[Pp. 425-433 omitted, being mainly taken up with the theories of others. --Translator]

[434[[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

575 In my opinion the secret society is derived from the tribal organization itself. The dominating position which the practitioner has been able to assume [in the secret society] comes from the role he has necessarily been called upon to play in the ordinary course of events. Similarly, the new totems given to initiates after initiation are only imitations of those bestowed upon them by their fathers at birth.

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

575 Before youths are admitted to membership with warriors,
791 it seems quite natural to put them through a series of tests designed to prove whether they are really fit to play their part and to perform the services which the tribe demands of them. Consequently, girls and women are immediately eliminated, for the benefit of the male population. The series of tests cannot take place in the village in front of everyone; the compulsory elimination of some would, aside from other considerations, arouse violent resentment against the leaders and be followed by inevitable revenge. Hence the necessity for withdrawing to the background. The chief may appoint a representative, for instance an outstanding warrior, but there is no one better [435] fitted than the practitioner for this role and for taking a leading and soon

575 exclusive position. Religion must, in fact, be an important
●191 and necessary element in these gatherings. For is it not necessary for the ancestral spirits to be consulted, to be made interested in their young descendants and their spirits made to enter into them; and is it not necessary to attract good influences and keep away harmful ones? All this is the work of the agent of worship, who alone is proficient. Also, throughout the time during which the young warriors are under his supervision, he has complete control over them, and this power he will indeed want to keep. But with their return to the village, the youths, now warriors, fall back under the authority of the tribal chief. But this is no obstacle. The practitioner easily recruits neophytes from among those who have been most devoted to him, and with these he forms a society more closed than the previous one and which is, above all, permanent, because of its objective and the manner of its establishment. The tribal chief will have to bow to and obey this group whose control has inevitably escaped him. He almost always agrees to enter it himself, mistakenly hoping therein to recapture his partially lost authority. . . .

575 Such, reduced to the simplest terms, is the origin of the secret society. It has gradually become legal and, in the natural course of things,one of the tribe's most lively organizations. Obviously, it has been greatly modified through time and as a result of changing forms. It has nevertheless remained just as it was in its general structure.

In imitation of the tribe, clan, and family, from which it has been copied, the secret society also has totems: totems of society, of subdivisions, [436] of chiefs, and of individuals. Having taken over the tribal chief's role, the practitioner has replaced him in everything that has to do with these particular totems. Yet it must be observed that since the principal power of these totems lies in secrecy, they will not encroach upon the tribe nor fight against either tribal or other totems. A person entering a secret society is simply seeking additional strength and power or a further guarantee of personal security.

Not only do individuals have totems, but just as the tribe is subdivided into clans and families, so the secret society is divided into classes, each of which has its totem.

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

515 791 754

3. The practitioners' secret societies all have their own totems. Each group has a guardian totem which carries out for them the role of the ɛ́totore or the mvame of tribe, clan, or phratry. Yet, while tribal, clan, or phratry mvame may belong to any of the three kingdoms, animal, vegetable, or mineral, or even occasionally to the sidereal or the spiritual world, the secret society's totem is always an animal, a real animal, sometimes a reptile or fish, often a bird.

Sorcerers' secret societies, however -- and this constitutes an essential difference -- never have this kind of totem. Their mvame or guardian is always a spirit, a being that belongs to the spiritual or disembodied world. That spirit may, and often does, manifest itself (we are speaking from the native's point of view) in animal form, though it will not be a true animal, a fact about which sorcerers unanimously agree. The "spirit" manifests itself, they all will say.

4. Every "practititioner" on the day of his initiation and admission into the secret society, receives a particular, individual totem, usually an animal or a bird. But no physical link connects them; as with the personal mvame received at birth, there is simply a spiritual, mystical kinship between the two.

575 754 825

Every "sorcerer," on the day of his initiation and admission into the secret society, also forms an alliance with an animal, but that union has quite a special character. There is a real, physical kinship acquired by an exchange of blood, and a real alliance so that from that day onward the animal obeys the man and the man the animal: their lives are bound together. [439]

Strictly speaking, that animal is therefore not really a totem in the sence I have defined. The natives give it a special name: the ɛlâñɛla. European writers, ethnographers, and others, have referred to it as a nagual, and all the phenomena connected with the nagual is called nagualism. It has almost always been confused with the individual totem; nothing could be more unsuitable or actually more untrue.

[Two paragraphs and tables omitted on pp. 439-450. --Translator] [451]

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

754 the leaders who will be there, as each has his private mark.
575 That's all."
828 "But why are some pointed and others not?"
203 "Oh, that! No, that's a deep secret. If I were to tell you that I'd be punished by death at the next meeting."

[Pages 454-462 omitted. --Translator] [463]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

●791 All practitioners' societies recognize ritual sacrifice. In
754 many cases a human victim is slain and eaten. These sacrifices
575 are often characterized by what seems to us revolting cruelty and
782 horror. I shall have occasion to deal with this point more fully
266 when discussing sacrifice.

These are ritual sacrifices: immolation is not done for the pleasure of killing any more than consuming the victim is for the pleasure of eating human flesh. This is so much the case that a woman is never sacrificed: "Munga kɛ́ dzamadzam, kɛ́ kie ve
[562 nsissim: A woman is of no importance (from the sacrificial point
774] of view)," runs a Fan proverb, "She has no power over spirits because she has no soul."

At sorcerer's feasts, on the contrary, and in the societies they organize, men are eaten for the pleasure of eating human flesh.

754 According to all the Fan and all Africans, sorcerers leave their boeies in order to go and feed on the hearts of other men while asleep. Hence their name, bɛ́ndzi bur, eaters of men. Sometimes they do this themselves, sometimes it is done by a spirit that possesses them. I willingly admit, of course, that there is nothing true in these accusations, at least as regards the way in which the sorcerers work. But one thing is undeniable, the fact of cannibalism.

[One paragraph omitted; p. 464 omitted. --Editor]

Chapter XIV

Totems of Sorcerers and of their Secret Societies

The Nagual and Nagualism

[Summary omitted--Translator] [466]

757 575 that of his nagual and vice versa. If he is ill or if he dies, his nagual suffers or dies; if the nagual dies or suffers, so the man dies or suffers.

[Pp. 474-480 omitted. --Translator] [481]

Initiation of the Practitioner

575 791 The practitioner at the time of his initiation undergoes a different kind of test from that which young [ordinarily] men do. These tests are distinguished by a more marked degree of cruelty *and especially by the offering of a victim. The victim will* first be dedicated in special rites. After the tests and when the neophyte has been judged fit to enter the priestly company, then only is the totem chosen. But the choice is not left to the candidate; the "admitting" practitioner gives it to him. He must first of all undergo a severe fast of at least seven days. During this time he is forbidden absolutely, under any pretext, to leave his hut, which is set apart in a portion of the forest reserved to practitioners and called éli bengan. No person is allowed to approach. Any intercourse with women, even a mere glance, [362 688] would bring about permanent exclusion. Moreover, the woman would be put to death, and her father or husband would have no right to compensation, pecuniary or other.

During the neophyte's seclusion his "admitting" [practitioner] has chosen the totem; avoiding many complications, he almost always chooses the class totem to which the confraternity is already dedicated.

What kind of totems are they? They never belong to the mineral realm, nor are they ever celestial phenomena, nor spirits of any sort, materialized or not, as happens with clan or tribal totems.

575 791 825 The class totem is usually a bird [or] a swiftly moving animal, rarely a fierce one when the choice would be made because of the animal's positive qualities and not for its power to harm. Indeed the secret society prefers to seek as protecting totems, those that will guarantee swift and sure retreat in case

575 791 825 of danger. Hence the symbolic choice of fast birds: the river swallow, the koulyebe that flies like an arrow, the eagle or the vulture whose powerful flight protects it from enemies, the turtledove or the wood pigeon that knows how to conceal a nest so as to escape all attention. Or it might be an antelope with nimble legs and acute hearing, [482] which is especially difficult to capture. Finally, the crocodile sometimes appears as a totem not because it is bad tempered and devours men, but because it is always on the watch and at the slightest disturbance submerges itself and disappears in the river or because its scaly covering makes it invulnerable to arrows and javelins.

Such are the qualities that a secret society demands for itself.

575 791 782 The "consecrator" has chosen the totem, generally that of a class. He must now procure one himself but catch it "alive." He brings it into the hut of the "consecrated" one, who keeps it, at least as much as possible, on his chest throughout a whole night. In the morning the totem is led with great ceremony to the middle of a clearing and sprinkled with lustral water: the attending practitioners dance around it, then sing the hymn to the totem; the candidate sings it along with them. This hymn extols the totem's strength, valor, and swiftness, and especially thanks it for the protection given the society. Then, after this hymn, the candidate fetches the victim, whom he must offer, and leads him [567 562] before the totem. Ordinarily, the victim is a foreign slave, because he should not belong to the Fan nation, in order to avoid any possible ritual offense. (1) It is, however, permissible --

> 1. A foreign slave or a woman is chosen because neither possesses a totem and therefore no ritual offense is to be feared.

and this often happens -- to take a Fan woman. The slave or [278] woman is tightly gagged. Usually no resistance is offered, especially since the victim is given alewané to drink the evening before, a decoction of herbs and woody mushrooms that have the property of suppressing memory. The neophyte forces the victim to walk in front of him, or pushes him, going around the totem

575 three times. He then pulls him down to the ground, binds him
791 in front of the totem, and with one stroke of the mfor cuts the
782 carotid arteries. The blood is collected in a clay pot, which is carefully broken after the ceremony and buried. When the blood has stopped flowing, the practitioners approach. The leader, the others next, and the neophyte last, dip their hands into the pot and sprinkle the totem while they dance around it. [483]

575 Right after this the head practitioner approaches the totem
791 and smears its neck with the victim's blood, then with one stroke
782 cuts its arteries. The spouting blood is collected with care because no drop must fall on the ground, to avoid any profanation.
266 The victim's blood is mixed with the totem's, and everyone dips his hand into the pot and stirs; when the contents have been thoroughly mixed, the pot is put on a fire that has been prepared and, as soon as the blood starts to coagulate, each person present approaches and drinks a bit. The neophyte takes his turn last and has to drink all that is left no matter how much.

The victim and the totem are then placed on a special pyre. Often the victim's body is opened and the heart removed and the totem's body put in its place. When the fire has pretty well roasted both bodies, they are taken off and the victim's is put aside for eating. The totem is put back on the fire and entirely consumed, except that its burnt and pulverized bones are preserved. The victim's bones are also kept and reduced to ash so that they may be mingled with the totem's. These ashes are eventually divided among all those present; the larger share go-
[789] ing to the new practitioner to form his "totemic" fetish, which he will make use of whenever he appeals to his totem. In particular, when he takes part in the "consecration" of a new practitioner, he will, after the immolation of the totem as just described, put a pinch of these ashes on the totem's body: all his colleagues will do the same, in order to mystically unite all the totems in a common sacrifice.

At the end of the ceremony, the new practitioner must get rid of all signs of it before he returns to the village. He must see to it that no drop of blood, no trace of ash, be profaned. He breaks up the pyre, buries the pot for blood at a distance, and goes home only then, invested with a new dignity.

515
791
688

The ceremony is altogether secret in the sense that no layman may be present, but it remains a legal ceremony, and [484] everyone in the village -- if only through having had to stay away -- knows where and when it takes place. However, it must not be mentioned by anyone. Anyone doing so would have to pay a fine, usually of a fowl or its equivalent in value.

Thus the totem initiation of practitioner belongs to the ordinary scheme of things.

That of the sorcerer is quite different.

Initiation of the Sorcerer; the Nagual

754
575

In a book (1) published several years ago, the author, Mgr.

1. Sous le Ciel d'Afrique, Recits d'un Missionaire [Under the African Sky, A Missionary's Account], by the Rev. Father Buléon, Congregation of the Holy Ghost, pp. 88 ff.

Buléon ... gives an eyewitness account of the sorcerer's initiation. ...

[Footnote omitted. --Translator]

"To be initiated as a sorcerer means being initiated by secret ceremonies into certain rites through which one may gain some signal favor from a spirit whose power one recognizes. ...

"Motivated by revenge, avarice, or ambition, an African one day leaves his village, to which he only expects to return when armed with the mysterious and terrible power that will allow him to satisfy his desires. His journey's end may be distant; often he has excellent reasons for seeking, far away and usually outside his tribe, someone who will confer marvelous privileges upon him. His absence sometimes lasts [485] several months. ...

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

"The candidate is seated on the ground, wearing only a loincloth and tattooed more than the others. Undermined by severe privations made more hazardous by being uninterrupted,

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

in mourning, a necklace is made from bleached grass plaited; it is worn by both sexes. A very favourite fetish charm to suspend from a necklace is a leopard tooth. I have frequently seen the two tusks of a wild boar or "Wart hog" worn around the neck as an ornament and have succeeded in bringing specimens worn mostly by the women. Imported thick brass wire wound around the forearm from wrist to elbow is a very favourite armlet; it is kept highly polished. Brass wire is often wound so tightly around the biceps as to seriously interfere with circulation. Broad pieces of beaten brass are worn on the arms, and ivory bracelets are much valued. Sometimes six or more rings of ivory are cut from a tusk, and all worn on one arm. Finger and thumb rings are mostly worn by the women; they are made of brass, copper, or iron, and are usually very thick and heavy.

Rings are no indication of rank or marriage. It is not uncommon to see a woman with three heavy brass rings on one thumb, and eight or ten similar rings on the fingers. Narrow girdles of leopard, goat or deer skins are worn across the chest to support the native fighting knife and bunch of fetish charms. I have been visited by a bushman wearing no less than twenty-three charms.

Legs and feet.—Leglets and anklets of brass are much worn and sought after by women. Brass leg rings imported by traders are in great demand. There does not appear to be any special time set for commencing to wear anklets; mere infants are frequently decorated with them. Some of the leglets are very heavy, and many women wear ten or more on one leg. These rings often fit very tightly and impede circulation, or chafe and cause nasty indolent ulcers. The ankles and feet often swell and become very painful as a result of insufficient blood supply. Toe-rings are of iron and brass largely worn, and fit so tightly that the ring is often deeply imbedded in the flesh. Usually only one ring is worn on a single toe.

Painting and Tattooing.

Painting.—The method of painting the body by smearing on redwood powder mixed with palm oil, so largely practised by the Bulu, is followed in the same manner but to a much less extent by the Fang. Soft portions of the redwood tree are pulverised and mixed with oil into a thick paste, and the preparation smeared over the entire body. Occasionally a red band is painted across the forehead. When in mourning, dust, mud, or white clay is frequently rubbed over the entire body. Much more frequent is the practice of painting arrow heads, bands, or dots. The pigment used is a dark blue colour, obtained I am told from a tree fungus. The Ngi or witch doctor, when at work, in addition to his other paraphernalia smears his body with white chalk. Except in the case of the *Ngi*, the only object in decorating the body by painting is to appear *mbung* (beautiful), and with the Bulu when asked the reason for smearing the body with red paint, they usually reply it is *abung* (handsome). Imported pigments are not used for body decoration.

Tattooing.—The custom of tattooing is much in vogue. I have not been able

754 as a result of the magician's natural spitefulness (ézezam = wickedness, disorder; nielañ = malevolence, from élañ = an evil act committed expressly and without necessity: a woe bot elan = he who kills for pleasure, ndan of the begôvina* from the German occupation until

*/No footnote is given to this puzzling phrase, but "begôvina" may mean "government people." —Tr./

the present). A protective biañ against the beyem can be used against an innocent mie, a magical weapon, a spell against a brother. Such an action may constitute not only an étom, a delict, but also a nsem, *a breaking of taboo, when initiation into magical technique included* a prohibition against using it for evil ends. The same thing holds for the use of certain methods, illegal or immoral in themselves, even when the purpose is permissible or morally good: this is the case with the biañ for /ensuring/ conjugal fidelity, which consists of the husband having his wife drink his sperm; with that for curing an illness by transferring it to another person (transfer to an animal or plant is permissible); with the use of certain mebiañ for fertility, etc. The commonest acts of sorcery do not belong in the ngbwel category (and perhaps also in that of the kôn) and would lead simply to a "civil" suit, neither more nor less than a case of assault and battery or a [683] "natural" homicide. Ngbwel, on the contrary, is always a capital crime, provided that the nnem be not too powerful to escape judgment or punishment.

e. Permissible Magic, Divination, Medicine

789 The first aim of licit magic is to fight against sorcerers, especially beyem, but that is only one of its aspects. In fact, it extends to all life's activities, and everyone uses it to a greater or less extent, aside from the specialists, ngengañ or ngañ, magician, mvimvi'i, diviner, mbibian, healer, and nyia bia, singer (1).

[793] 1. Among the Ewôndo there used to be a sort of priest, nzomelo, often a chief, who received the first fruits of maize, blessed sowings, and presided over the ancestor cult. (J. B.)

304 teeth in their upper jaw. A glance at the animal caricatures in
925 our own comic papers shows how human, almost too human even, the front teeth of our cattle, for instance, appear to us. It
304 should be remembered that horned animals, tame (goats and
925 sheep) as well as wild (antelopes), play an important role in the
794 religion of the Pangwe since they are linked with the moon because of their horns. The cult of the moon, however, is the cult /Figs. 156 and 157 appear here in the original text/ of the Evil One. Accordingly, mutilation of the teeth is a symbol of turning

Fig. 156.
Mutilation of a Front Tooth.
The shaded part is chipped off.

Fig. 157
Chisel used on Front Teeth.

away from the Evil One, of destroying any similarity to him. On the other hand, it simultaneously points to an increased similarity to the Good, that is, the sun (or God [e-sǎ-mbe], who manifests himself in the sun), and the teeth are shaped to be like its rays. The deformation of teeth, therefore, is not to form a real "point," which to the contrary, would be something unpleasant and bad (the root sǒ is in n-sǒ-ń I, "point"). (It may be that this is the reason some people knock out all or some of their front teeth.) Rather, the deformation only narrows the teeth and gives them the shape illustrated in Figure 156. The teeth are, so to speak, "stretched" and made to resemble a sun beam; from this comes the expression a sǎ-m-ǎn masǔn from a sǎ-m, "to stretch" (n-sǎ-m-ba, "the row, the line," actually, "ray"). The widely current expression "to shape the teeth to a point" is accurate only if one does not take it too literally; the cutting edge is merely narrowed, not brought to a point. The expression "filing the
304 teeth," which one also encounters frequently, is inaccurate since

532 representations on the posts of the meeting house (for instance, the leopard biting a pig's tail).

532 The masks used for the moon cult have a purely religious
794 significance, as do the clay figures of the various cults. Indeed, especially in the latter the plastic art of the native rises to achievements of significant, one might even say monumental, proportions, both in the actual physical sense of the word (I saw figures eight meters long) and in the sense that they represented the idea symbolically expressed in a striking manner.

262 Reinw. (mvāi IV Fang); Poiana poensis Waterh. (ojǎn); Lutra matschieei Cabr. (abǎn) and Herpestes melanurus Gray (nsǒm I); Elephas africanus Bl. (zǒk IV); Potamochoerus albifrons /187/ Du Chaillu (ngui IV); Bubalus (nǐt IV); Tragelaphus knutsoni Lemberg (nkǒk I); Cephalophus longiceps Gray; sheep and goats with exception of the above-mentioned animals; Limnotragus gratus Scl. (žīb IV); Cephalophus callipygus Peters (mvǐn IV) and Cephalophus melanorheus Gray (ogbǔn).

B. Birds

1. Taboo for the initiated of the Mekang cult (women).

●[794] Guttera plumifera (Cass.) (nkǎ'n I) among the Fang.

2. ekī-bondǔmǎn.

Himantornis haematopus (Tem.) Hartl. (nkū'lūngū' I); Milvus aegypticus (Gm.) (esǐ'lǎ'); Strigidae, especially Bubo species (ndžūk I) and Syrnium nuchale Sharpe (akūn); Centropus monachus Rüpp. (dūgū' III) and Passer griseus (Vieill.) (mylekūm IV).

3. ekī-abǔm or ekī-mǒn.

262 843 (a) Because the bird lives in caves or hatches its eggs in secluded nests: Vinago calva (Tem.) (obǒn) and Columba unicincta Cass. (apfǒ'b) until the birth if caught in the next; likewise Calopelia puella (Schl.) (edūgebǒ'm); Capitonidae, for example, Gymnobucco (oyǒ Ntum), Buccanodon (eji'le), and Barbatula species (omvǒk); Indicatoridae (mǎ' III) and Picidae (ngǔ'megǒ IV); Bucerotidae, for example, Ceratogymna (ngūn I), Bycanistes (miēm IV), Lophocerus fasciatus (Shaw) (okogbwai), and Ortholophus species until the birth in case they are caught walled up in their tree hollow; Nicator species (ekǒ') until the birth if found in the next; Sturnidae, for example, Lamprocolius species (kbǎ'n IV) and Pocoptera (mesōō'lǒn IV) until the birth.

262 (Laur.) (nkŭ̱m I); the majority of snakes, with the exception of those species mentioned below.

3. ekī-abŭ̱m or ekī-mŏ̱n.

[843] Phython sebae Gmel. (mvŏ̱'m IV), until the birth (1); Grayia

[194] [184] 1. Among the Jaunde taboo for all those not initiated into the Sso cult.

smythii Leach (nsŏ̱k I), likewise.

4. No taboo.

Tree snakes (ajǎ'ń).

D. Amphibia

1. Never eaten.

Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (mvŭ̱ń IV); Bufo latifrons Blgr. (dzŭ̱n VII); Rana mascareniensis D. and B. (nkŭ'ń I).

2. ekī bonduman.

Rana zenkeri Ndn. (edžŏ̱); Hylambates species (akǎbě III Ntum).

3. Not taboo, but eaten only by women.

Rappia species (obǎ't); Xenopus calcaratus Bchh. and Ptrs. (mĕ'nežŏ̱k IV).

E. Fish

1. ekī bonenga.

Large specimens of Clarias walkeri Gthr., since the women

262 3. ekī, abǔm, until the birth.

[843] Edible caterpillars (nkūn I) and larvae of the Rhynchophorus phoenicis Fabr. (fǒs IV) if found in the cocoon; edible termites (sūzme IV Ntum) because of the large belly.

4. Not taboo.

Edible caterpillars and larvae of Rhynchophorus when they are found in the open; dragonfly larvae (esɛ̄ʼ,-bīk), although then the child will urinate a lot, like the dragonfly larvae; common crabs and shrimp; the mussel Lanistes libycus var. bernhardianus (morelet) (alǒń).

All other lower animals are inedible.

Of plant foods only the following are taboo (with the exception [794] of those sacred to the cults, such as the Negro banana used at the Sso and Mawungu): the fruit of the atūlǔm plant, which tastes horrible, and young mushrooms. These are eki mon since it is feared that children might develop spots on their skin like those on young mushrooms.

825 If we examine the deeper reasons why certain animals are never 794 eaten or are "taboo," we find that there is a religious element involved, as well as a fear of the animals' way of life and their appearance, perhaps combined with dietary experiences.

794 Animals that are taboo for religious reasons may not as a rule 825 be eaten by women and persons who have not been initiated into 794 the particular cult, but where the cult is absent, there is no taboo. Thus, horned animals, which play a role in the cults of the Evil One with their conceptual connection between moon and horns, are taboo; among the Fang this applies to sheep and goats, and throughout the entire region to Cephalophus dorsalis (sǒʼ). In the domain of the Ngi cult the gorilla (ngī) is taboo; the same applies, among the Fang, to the chimpanzee (worshipped in the cult of the Evil Ones, Bokung), the pig (an important animal in the Sso cult), and Neotragus batesi (odzūzʼ) which is worshipped in a manner

825 corresponding to Cephalophus dorsalis in the Odschüle cult. The
784 python /191/ (mvǒ'm IV) is also taboo. We have learned of its
794 relation to the phallus in the Sso cult among the Jaunde, who, as is mentioned in Volume II, page 45 /Ed., not translated/ have preserved in purest form the most ancient views concerning the Sso cult. Large specimens of the fish Clarias walkeri (ngǒ' IV) and Achatina snails are taboo since they evidently have some connection with the Ngi cult, although I am unable to explain in what sense. Finally, among the Fang, the meat of the guinea fowl is taboo for the initiated of the women's cult Nkang. This fact is especially noteworthy since in the men's cults it is usually just the other way around: the initiated are allowed to eat the particular cult animal, while the uninitiated are not.

In surveying the cults, the only animal we find omitted in the taboos is the elephant, which is worshipped in the Schok cult. This can only be explained by the fact that, because of the large quantities of meat it supplies, an exception is made, either voluntarily from the outset or, as seems more probable, through necessity, because it was impossible to guard the huge quantities of meat. For this reason, the women doubtless partook of it and soon noticed that its enjoyment involved no evil consequences of any kind.

The taboo against Sciurus wilsoni (kuē' I Ntum) also seems to have a remote connection with the cults. In contrast to other squirrels, it lives in the swamp and on the ground, and its call is therefore interpreted: sǒ' abǔm, bokūn abǔm, sǒ' abǔm, bokūn abǔm, that is to say, Sso in the belly, Bokung in the belly, or, since both are mesǒ'm, "sins," simply: sinner and double sinner.

825 A number of other animals that are taboo are only indirectly
784 connected with the cults; the taboo stems from older religious conceptions. Chameleons and lizards, especially Lygosoma fernandi, are never eaten because they are linked with death (see Vol. II, p. 30 ff. /Ed., not translated/). For young people, furthermore, the flesh of monitor lizards and crocodiles is taboo, in my opinion because both animals formerly played a more significant role in the religion of the Pangwe. The crocodile probably derived its significance from its habitat in the water, and the monitor lizard, its counterpart, from its habitat in trees and above

825 all from its characteristic of devouring crocodile's eggs (see Volume
784 I, page 273). Finally, turtles and poisonous snakes are taboo. We have encountered the turtle repeatedly in our description of the cults (see the Schok cult, Vol. II, p. 77 /Ed., not translated/, and the Bokung cult, Vol. II, p. 72 /Ed., not translated/) without being able to explain its appearance properly (1). The poisonous

[794]

1. In this connection it is particularly noteworthy that the turtle is the only animal which is prohibited for the initiated of a men's cult.

snakes with their sharply defined head (vipers!) have given rise to the comparison, penis = snake (see Vol. II, p. 32 /Ed., not translated/).

For other taboos it seems to be decisive that the animals lead a nocturnal life and that they have attracted the attention of human beings by their powerful, peculiar screech /192/ (see the prefix classes, Vol. I, pp. 27 and 28 /Ed., not translated/, the nocturnal animal, Vol. II, p. 36 /Ed., not translated/). Included in this category are alipeds, certain lemurs, the tree cony, the flying squirrel; among birds, the night rail Himantomis, the owls, and the West African blue-headed coucal.

Still further taboos seem to stem from the fact that the animals live in the house or near human dwellings and therefore belong, as it were, to the family. In this category we find the domestic rat and its sister, the African rat (edu) which is almost extinct in the Pangwe region, the parasite kite, and the sparrow, the agama, and perhaps also domestic lizards (Lygosoma reichenowi). For the rest of the prohibited animals, their repulsive smell or their ugly and peculiar shape enters in as a consideration. In this connection we should mention: the civet cat and the Herpestes species, with the exception of Herpestes melanurus, the shrews, all of them having a repulsive smell, the shrew otter (Potamogale) because of its peculiar appearance (half mammal, half fish), the scaly anteaters because of their armor, Sciurus pumilio, toads, and frogs. There
[831] is a quite remarkable, real fear of the inside of the elephant's tusks,

692 or judicial. We have sufficiently stressed the diffuse character of the latter. On the other hand, certain "associations" show an organization (which is often effective outside the clan) that fills (or attempts to do so) a compensating function. This is true of the Ngil, whose role of pacification and justice extends beyond clan limits — and in spite of these limits.

6. The Associations

769 794 We have frequently pointed out the rather loose nature of the bonds which exist between even close fragments of a clan. In Gabon, because of the extreme dispersal and entanglement of the divers fragments, the "periodic gatherings" disappeared very early. No mention is made of them by early authors, except for a vague one by Father Trilles. However, these gatherings (ésulan) have been kept up in the Cameroons with the purpose of reminding the members of their solidarity and having them show it by "helping one another in kind, with money, and with days of work." (1)

1. Tradition des Yénžòk [Tradition of the Yénžòk], Archives of Ebolowa, The Cameroons.

These bonds, however, are found to be tightened at the time of the initiation of young men to the Bièri cult when the society of grown men is also strengthened. Bièri, while borrowed, according to H. Trilles, "in its form from neighboring nations" yet "remaining basically Fang," is a cult rendered to the spirits of the ancestors through the agency of their skulls. It necessitates for [778] every nd'è bòt an altar set up in the hut of the eldest, or very near it. [142] It requires sacrifices (regular and circumstantial), and it has to be consulted before every important action.

This cult confirms the continuity of the line and reveals periodically the profound unity which constitutes the continuation of the generations — at the time of sacrifices of food, the food is first "consumed" by the Bièri, then eaten by the secluded initiates (mvoma bièri) assembled in the guardhouse. It imposes a large

769 794 number of prohibitions (with regard to the uninitiated and the women) and obligations. It "separates" the initiated men, thus giving a privileged position — justified by the right to commune with the ancestors and to "see the Bièri" — to the most active elements of Fang society.

The initiation is particularly characterized (the culminating [276] moment of the series of ceremonies) by drunkenness produced by the plant alan, (1) which may result in long-lasting unconscious-

1. Strychnos icaja.

ness.(2) The newly initiated man at this juncture becomes certain

2. E. Trezenem, op. cit., III, Le Bièri, pp. 74-76.

that he has enjoyed a revelation and from then on is in communication with the ancestors. He experiences the fervor of a communion that binds him to the whole society whose effectiveness he discovers at the same time: he has in fact become the object of predictions that are always realized. (3) He asserts himself, if we

3. Cf. idem., p. 75: "All the Pahouins whom we questioned assert that predictions made to people drunk on alan by the bièri have always been realized.

may use the expression, as a full-fledged Fang. The Bièri cult assumes therefore the highest function of aggregation. We stress the fact that initiation is carried out in the same place for several of the nd'è bòt belonging to the same clan, thus strengthening the ties of kinship existing between closely related clan fragments, and tending to reconstitute, to make real, units larger than the individual groupings. On the other hand, initiation to this cult, [304 172] like circumcision (which takes place apart and appears to be a recent acquisition of the Fang), creates groupings of young men who belong appreciably to the same age group. It emphasizes a link between generations (the "fathers" or "eldest" being

794 [769] those who give the initiation), which is important in traditional Fang society.

The grouping that forms the Bièri – which brings together full-grown men who take an integral part in the social life – remains closely linked with the system of kinship. It has, none the less, an important role which we have just pointed out, that is, [143] it establishes relations, which are most effective because they are religious, between elements of the same clan who do not belong organically [sic] within the limits of a superior unit which might have been the chefferie. But other associations have come into existence beyond the clan kinship and beyond the diversity, peculiarities, and antagonisms it provokes. The Ngil, with a multifunctional activity and with an aim to putting things in order at the time of crises and conflicts, seems to be the best known. (1)

1. Cf. Father H. Trilles, op. cit., p. 62. Captain Maignan, op. cit. Lt. Poupard, "Le Fétichisme et la barbarie au Congo [Fetishism and Barbarism in the Congo]," Renseignements Coloniaux, March, 1908. Above all, L.C. Leroux, Etude sur le Ngil [Study on the Ngil], Bulletin de la Société des Recherches Congolaises, 6, 1925.

794 787 Members of the Ngil as such are guaranteed "in all places against attack"; they circulate "without the least fear of any outrage" among tribes that are in "open vendetta." (2) The Ngil –

2. L.C. Leroux, op. cit.

the word designates both the association and the masked man who operates in its name – "has the right to strike, wound, and even kill." The solemnity of his action is marked by the suspension of all life in the village when he arrives. The huts are closed, the fires put out, the women cloistered, and no inhabitant shows

794 himself in the interior courtyard. The final ceremony includes
787 the erection of a hollow clay statue (3) (also called Ngil) before

3. Cf. the description in the articles of Leroux, op. cit., and Poupard, op. cit.

which "all the inhabitants of the village and those of the villages of the same line" must appear, and whose function is to reveal the guilty ones (who have caused unexplained deaths or calamities from which the whole group has suffered, etc.). The intervention of the Ngil is sought in moments of serious crises. It calls for total action involving large groupings for whom it has a real therapeutic value: by determining guilt (impossible to contest because it is a matter of a superior and anonymous justice), by reinstating unity (on a passionate basis) at the time of the punishment, by re-creating a new vigor by means of this "purification."
794 The religious aspect of the "association" justifies such an
769 absolute, such an indisputable action. Unfortunately, we know little about it, except that certain dead are called upon by means of skulls, bones, and sacrifices, and that fertility rites are included
[831] when the Ngil has a female companion, Omore (1). [144]

1. H. Trilles, op. cit., p. 62, writes that "the new members must accomplish a number of actions connected with the act of generating before the statue of Omore . . . ," and Poupard speaks of "shameful ceremonies."

We have here a prevalent dialectic: a recourse to the social past – which is a true reservoir of endlessly accumulated powers – in order to instruct the social future and to fertilize it; the past and the future, the ancestors and the living are, like the generation of the ésa and that of the mwanö, in the relation of begetter to begotten. This movement expresses dependence and a certain social order. The intervention of the Ngil – but it is not the only

794 one – tends to re-establish this elementary order, it is a rein-
769 statement, a pledge of fertility and power. Apparently the Ngil
[171] resembles a great many other "associations" that have existed in Gabon, especially the Mwiri of the Ngounié people. (2) It con-

2. Cf. A. Maclatchy, "Organisation sociale des populations de la region de Mimongo [Social Organization of the Peoples of the Mimongo Region]," Bulletin de l'Institut d'Etudes Centrafricaines, I, I, 1945.

stitutes primarily an instrument of struggle against the sorcerers (böyêm), to the extent that they attempt to interfere with the normal order. But it is much more than that: it is the indication of a power superior to that based on kinship, a grouping with a great capacity for control (doubtless the most powerful).

794 The Fang have known other associations of men with spe-
[535] cialized functions – or rather those that create "specialists," such as the akûm, who directs the ceremonies linked with the male dance called makuma. The akûm, who appears also as a sort of chronicler-singer, intervening especially at the time of
[847] funerals and affairs concerning fertility (search for the "sorcerer" responsible for an abortion that might result in permanent sterility,(3)

3. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., p. 79.

ceremonial intended to lift the incest which creates sterile marriages). The akûm in daily life is distinguished from the non-initiates by being subject to a number of special interdicts. He is a "respected, or rather a feared, person," for to him is sttributed "great power." "In order to reach this situation he must have been
[535 taught by another akûm; he must have learned the interminable
674] songs that last a whole night long, and then with his own hand kill one of his close relatives...." (4) This brief description is

4. Father L. Martrou, "Les Éki

794

des Mfang [The Éki of the Fang]."
Anthropos, Vol. 1, 1906.

interesting for the last point it brings up; it indicates a test, it shows above all with unquestionable brutality that all power existing outside the clan and the kinship is acquired only after making the more or less symbolic gesture of "killing the kinship." It is by the interplay of [145] such groupings that the logic of the system of kinship and of alliance by marriage is transcended.

"Associations" have a function whose import varies according to particular circumstances. They intervene to create a better cohesion between clan fragments, as is shown by the grouping of [171] initiates at the Bièri (Gabon cult) or at the Ssò (Cameroons cult known to the frontier villages); this at a time when insecurity demands a minimum of union among related villages. In other circumstances, they attempt to reinforce the inherent power of functions whose importance is affirmed: as in the case of groupings that controlled the ancient "dance of justice" (sòmana) at the time when peaceful settlement of conflicts remained the only one possible, and when the role of "peacemaker" was of primary importance. As is shown by the feminine "associations," they may also act as a curb on the domination to which a social group of inferior status is subjected. This is all the more marked as the decay of these groupings has been paralleled by the change in the relations between the sexes. We have pointed out, in connection with the Ngil, that "associations" have acted as the mechanism for higher appeal for the purpose of pacification. We must now stress the fact that some of them assume an almost permanent role of opposition to the social order.

754 776 782 Such is the case of the "association" of men known as sorcerers (pl. bòyèm), who endeavor to acquire permanently, and in their own personal right, "wealth, strength, and power." Each one has been admitted in terms of an absolute differentiation — the possession of a "spirit" called évu(r) (s) which is physically distinguishable (1) — and with a special initiation, the latter entails the

1. Cf. H. Lavignotte, L'évur, Société

773 physically: "His tomb is neither above nor below, neither to the right nor to the left"), he divides his possessions, a division which is disturbed by quarrels, the machinations of younger sons or the negligence of the elder ones. He then departs beyond the river-of-the west, followed by the white men (or the coastal tribes?) who by a ruse have got hold of part of the biôm inherited by the Pahouin. The latter in turn start westward, crossing the Osoe Nnanga, then the nlôm adjap (hole in the silk-cotton tree) as described earlier (see p. 19).

776 Nzame (Zambe) is emphatically not the creator god but the an-
777 cestor = mentor; all genealogies go back to him. Yet all the Christian missions have taken his name to express the idea of God. This mistake has come about because the word Mebe'e was rarely spoken, while Nzame turned up in all "salutations," in everything that had to do with the ancestor cult. As the original monitor he could be confused with the creator — in fact, he in a way completed "natural" creation by the magical invention of the arts and crafts. As an ancestor he was solicited in prayers (meya'alan) by his descendants, while Mebe'e was not addressed except on rare occasions—in solemn vows, at initiations. Finally, the very fact of having been misled from the first /110/ made it difficult to go back to the first translation. It may well be though that this mistake, the substitution of the creature for the creator, the deification of man, has not been without influence on the social development of the Pahouin. The Mintangan, who actually came from the nlam bekôn, the land of the dead, brought with them a genuine theological revolution, a heresy to which their material wealth gave a sure guarantee. The psychological repercussions must have been considerable.

Nowadays one hears it currently said that "Mebe'e is the old name
[794] for Zambe," and the latter seems to be permanently established in his usurped role (1); the traditions connected with the two personages

1. Good, the first American missionary among the Boulou, was nicknamed "Ngôtô Zambe," Zambe's ransom, which may have been not merely an approximation of his name.

are inextricably mixed with Christian contributions, to such a degree that we may speak of a new theogony being formed in the syncretist cults and in some Christian schismatic movements.

562 789 her husband. The "son-in-law" and the "mother-in-law" are bound together by a system of interdicts; the mwanō are required [506] to show respect to the "generation of the mothers"; the pre-eminence attached to seniority plays a role in the relations between the sexes. The woman may therefore be the object of respect and the subject of fear. [151] On the other hand, "associations" of women which have created a hierarchy, a teaching, a 562 795 ritual of initiation, and a whole body of distinguishing symbols and signs and a technique shown by a specific dance, are referred to in various documents, particularly the Mévungō (1), which is

1. Unpublished documents collected by Abbot A. Walker, a native of Lower Gabon and truly versed in local ethnology.

a Pahouin version of the Nyèmbé, a widely disseminated female sect in Gabon. This sect was observed by Du Chaillu about 1860 among the Ba-kélé who were for the most part subdued by the Fang. This observer wrote at that time that the Nyèmbé "protects the women from their male enemies, it avenges their grievances, and serves them in all circumstances according to their whims."(2)

2. Father du Chaillu, op. cit., p. 322 ff.

This points out with great subtlety, to the essentially compensatory role played by such a grouping. By participating in the "society of women," the woman remedies the marginal situation and the submission which are her share throughout her daily life. It imposes or necessitates her collaboration in important moments for the community and in domains which in principle are forbidden to her. [535] Thus the dance of the Mévungō was used "long ago when a Pahouin tribe was preparing to wage war against another tribe or to make raids for women"; it was also used "at the time of preparation for great elephant hunts." (3) Such "associations" no longer survive

3. Abbot A. Walker, notes inédites [unpublished notes].

562 except in a sporadic and very degenerate form; we mention the
795 N'nup with a whole string of "queens" that has appeared in the neighboring regions of Spanish Guinea.

562 This ambiguity in the position of woman to a certain extent
578 creates an equilibrium. On the other hand, from the point of
837 view of sentimental relations, this is not true. The man who admits that marriage should be regulated primarily in terms of social considerations hopes to obtain some day a "favorite" wife and has little fear of sanctions connected with adultery. The woman, married young, remains prisoner of the system and is always threatened with severe sanctions. Apparently this results in the many disputes which were referred to by the first administrators. "Very often the woman abandons her husband and returns to her parents' village or follows a man of her choice..." (Archives of Libreville, 1909). They were also referred to by the first Fang scholars: "The Pahouin woman does not hesitate to leave with a lover; often married against her wishes she avenges [152] this state of things by a very great infidelity" (L. Mba, op. cit.). The expression used by this author is significant. What might be called the sentimental excuse permits a broader reaction responding to frustrations of another nature. We must see there the sign of tensions which are actualized at the only possible level. Let us add that the conditions created by colonization will liberate these tensions to a great extent by destroying the equilibrium obtained approximately by traditional means.

561 These tensions are not the only ones to be mended. Between
578 generations, that of the ésa and that of the mwanõ, on the same
784 segment between the eldest and the younger brothers, it appears that relationships of dependency can turn into antagonisms. Soon
[551] after his birth the young boy is "marked" by his ascendants, receiving a double name (essential in relation to other denominations) which contains the name of an ancestor of his paternal line (of a mvam) and the first term of his father's name. In addition to individual interdicts imposed by his father, the child is subject to various general interdicts which are removed by degrees as the child becomes a man. Thus, there is the interdict on the pig (1), and on

1. The pig appears as a valuable animal

177 764 Obviously this has now changed, but perhaps not so much as one would imagine: every year the courts are aware of several ordeals after a death, of mutilations of corpses which are really autopsies, of sums of money extorted which are customary compensation payments imposed on the "person responsible" for a death. And we may assume that in this connection three-quarters of the cases never reach the European courts. Funeral rites have, however, been lightened and colored by Christian influence, even when the deceased had remained to the end attached to the old beliefs: his wives or children usually call in a nkat foé (news-announcer = catechist) to say the prayers for the dead and to sing psalms or hymns. The old-fashioned cylindrical bark litter has been replaced by a European plank coffin, gradually even for women and children. The graves of the well-to-do have masonry walls and are covered with a concrete slab bearing name, date of death, and a pious text, or even with a small flower bed framed with bricks or bottle necks, with a grave stone or cross at the head. The dead man's hut is no longer destroyed, especially if made of "solid" material, nor are his personal effects broken. Often the body is washed and dressed in European clothes instead of being anointed with baa; the white shroud remains. In Christian families women take part in wakes for men and attend their burials; men attend the burials of women but rarely take part in their wakes. In [795] /104/ many villages the different /Christian/ sects have separate cemeteries.

765 177 Mourning is less rigorous and is often expressed by the European black arm band and tie worn by men. In the villages widows are still rather ill-treated (cf. above, pp. 128-129), but their sequestration has been reduced to a week, and they are allowed to wash after a month or two. Most of the prohibitions of the mourning period have fallen out of use, and the end of mourning is marked by a family gathering which has more about it of a certain kind of French provincial New Year's Eve party than of the old purificatory rites.

761 Death in the traditional concept is not so much the cessation of life as the dissociation of the personality. Enyiñ, life, comes from the verb nyiñ meaning "to survive" rather than "to be alive"; /thus life represents/ a kind of dynamism opposed to the static to, tabe = to be, exist, remain, etc.

826 774 The body, nyul or nyôl, is perishable and corruptible; it supports the other elements of the personality, above all the nsisim or nsisiñ,

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

gourd mentioned above). They put oil in it. They keep it hidden. No one else 832
is allowed to see it.

When the woman cooks food for her husband, she takes the medicine, which she puts in the neck of the gourd, and puts it in her husband's food, then his heart is changed. In the evening the woman smears herself with the *abatoŋ*, which she had put in the small gourd. When she and her husband lie down, if she touches her husband, the medicine which she has eaten makes his heart change. Though he liked her before, now he loves her on account of the *biang-abationg*.

This is the *Biang-abationg*.

Biang-mikul (adultery medicine).—People go and scrape medicine in the bush. 837
If they come with the medicine, they put it in the pot. They put water in the pot. 755
They go and catch a fowl. They cut the fowl's neck; they put the blood in the 695
medicine with the scrapings from trees. They take medicine that is in the water, they pour it on the person's head. They also take a certain medicine called *aguvia* and rub it on the face of the sick person. They again rub it on his belly. Then they have cured the person of the *minkal*. The fowl used is not to be eaten by the sick person, others may do so. Then he is healed.

This is the same medicine used to detect adultery. If a person commits 837
adultery with another man's wife, and then speaks a lie denying the affair, the 795
person accused must drink the *biang-mikul* to show the people he is innocent. If he is guilty the medicine makes him sick, and he dies or trouble comes to his people. If guilty, medicine is made to call the curse back.

This is the *Biang-mikul*.

Biang-adosa (medicine for young men, eloping medicine).—If a person goes on 584
a journey and sees a virgin, he courts or loves her. Then the virgin accepts him. 832
He and she go and lie down. The young man says, "Let us go in my town." If the 583
virgin does not accept, then the young man tries to persuade her. The virgin says, "I go later." The young man says, "If you go later, give me hair for a souvenir." Then the virgin scratches over her heart. She takes the hair of her head and the blood from the scratch over her heart and gives it to the young man. He goes to his town, he says, "I'll first make medicine." He takes the hair and the blood. He takes a small piece of witch medicine. He also takes plenty of leaves. He puts the small piece of witch medicine with the leaves. The hair and the blood he also puts in the leaves. He mixes all in the leaves. He hangs them in the *bisti* basket. He says, "*Bisti*, I want to marry a woman. Take her for me." This eloping medicine hangs one day. In the morning he cuts medicine and puts it on top of a tree. He leaves the medicine on top of the tree. He goes again to the young virgin. He says, "I have come, I come to take you." The young virgin says, "I will go to-morrow." He sleeps. The young man when day breaks says, "Let us go." The young virgin says, "I will surely go." Then the young man elopes with the young virgin; he comes with her to his town. Father of the young virgin he comes vexed. The young man kills a goat for the father of the young virgin. They finish eating the goat. He (the father) sleeps one day. Next morning the young man

Bafôk-Yangafuk

101 The peoples who are the subject of this chapter have been given several names spelled in a variety of ways by Europeans. On German maps they appear as "Fuk," "Fôk," or "Fu." In French reports and maps they are called "Baveuk," "Bafeuk," or "Yangafouk." All these words seem to resemble each other, and, in reality, they are identical.

[161] Physical and Human Geography. Total population: 5, 352 inhabitants.

361 Three little enclaves of these people a few kilometers long may be
461 found on the Yoko road east of Bafia. They are settled in eight villages all told and inhabit an area of very fertile soil and forest. Cacao, palmettoes, or food crops could bring them prosperity, were it not for
[161] their laziness. (The people of these villages number 1, 556.)

173 The five southernmost villages of the eight say that their members
361 come from the southeast, from the plain of the Sanaga, or from the east, from the plain of Djerem.

The two neighboring villages to the northeast are called Yalongo (see the chapter on the Yekaba and the Bamvele). It is thought that the Yalongo conquered the Bafôk and /64/ adopted their language. Finally, the eighth village is said to be related to the first five and to have come also from Djerem.

To the southeast of Yoko is an enclave whose two villages, in the
[161] middle of the prairie (445 inhabitants), claim to be related both to the Yalongo and the southern Bafôk.

About 50 kilometers north of Yoko, in the Babute country, is the
[161] enclave of Lena consisting of 260 inhabitants. It is said that they came from the south and reached their present habitat by traveling an arc of 250 kilometers via Tibati. /Map 4/

[161] The 360 inhabitants of the enclave of Yassem, in the midst of the Tikar country, 120 kilometers west of Yoko, say that they sprang from the Bamvele. We would be more inclined to say that they share a common origin with the latter. The wars among the tribes brought them to the Tikar country where they isolated themselves on their mountain. They differ from other Bafôk in that they have adopted the
[197] Islamic religion of the Tikar and that they recognize no kinship with the southern Bafôk.

361 A single village may be found on the banks of the M'Bam, a few
161 kilometers from the town of Bafia. (It has 313 inhabitants.)

And lastly, on the right bank of the Sanaga, there are several Yangafuk villages (containing 2, 418 inhabitants) which are related to those found in the south on the Yoko road but separated from them by a thick forest. /65/

197 There it is spoken as a main language though not really a mother tongue by permanent or semipermanent immigrants, of whom the greatest number are the Bamiléké in the Cameroons and, in Gabon, the "Gabonese" of the Myéné linguistic group.

b) A Pahouinized area, including in the Cameroons the left bank of the middle Sanaga (Beti country, with Mangisa and Eton especially), Maka country around Abong-M'Bang, the left bank of the Dja in Jem and Dzimou country (1); in the Middle Congo, part of Ouesso District

1. Koch, in "Le petit bétail chez les Badjoué et Bikélé de Messaména /Small livestock among the Bajoué and Bikélé of Messamena/," Bulletin de la Société de Recherches congolaises, 13-14, March-June, 1946, gives striking examples of the penetration of Boulou into this region.

(in the west), that of the Souanké; in Gabon the left bank of the Ivindo, among the Bakwelé. Differences between the languages spoken in these areas and the Pahouin dialects are rapidly disappearing.

198 c) Areas in which Pahouin dialects serve as trade language, either
197 between tribes with different languages, or for administrative and commercial relations, even for political and /19/ religious propaganda. In the Cameroons, Ewôndo serves this purpose on the right bank of the middle Sanaga, in the M'Bam region, as well as on the left bank toward the Ubangi border in the Lom-and-Kadei region, especially in the Bertoua subdivision. Boulou has become the trade language of the Kribi region. In Spanish Guinea, Fang and Boulou are used as a common language by immigrants from the French territories. In Gabon the Myéné dialects are giving way to Fang, which is coming more and more into use, as far as the Congo-Ocean railway. In the large towns—Douala, Yaoundé, Libreville, Port-Gentil, and even Dolisie—Pahouin dialects are used by immigrants belonging to other linguistic groups.

197 The vigor of the major dialects—Boulou, Ewôndo, Fang—comes not only from the enterprising character of the Pahouin but also from
[197 214] the work of missions which distribute a good deal of literature in these dialects, while the languages of some of the neighboring populations have not been transcribed or have only given rise to scanty publications.

2. Dialects

197 Guthrie lists seven dialects, including three principal ones: "YAUNDE, BULU, Ntum, Meka, Zimu /Nzimu/, FAN, Make." It would probably be better to speak of three dialect areas corresponding to the three groups—Beti, Fang, Boulou—already defined, each area containing a predominant speech, which is always the one transcribed by missionaries. The importance of this sociological phenomenon is underlined by the fact that the transcribed dialects tend sometimes to extend beyond and sometimes to shrink within the corresponding ethnological area, in conjunction with nonlinguistic factors, the principal one being the religious affiliation of the speakers. Likewise, it is established that in certain areas a mother tongue coexists with a written dialect learned at mission schools and spoken by Christian converts.

The predominant dialect in the Beti area is Ewôndo, the working language of the Catholic mission, which is rapidly supplanting the Beti (Ati) dialects properly so called of the Sanaga Valley. The Eton dialect, for instance, which was more Ati than Pahouin on the eve of the 1914 war (Nekes), is today completely assimilated; Tsinga and Mangisa are on the way to being so. Finally, Ewôndo as a trade language is gaining ground in the north and east, as already indicated. In the south, on the contrary, though it may be replacing Bané and Fong and even be making superficial inroads into the Catholic cantons of the Boulou-speaking area; it is losing out to Boulou in the districts [191] evangelized by the American Presbyterian Mission. Thus the Bané, the Fong, and certain Protestant Ewôndo are in fact bilingual; they speak as their mother tongue a dialect close to Ewôndo, while they write, pray, or sing in Boulou.

197 Boulou is therefore gaining in the Ewôndo linguistic area in the north. Toward the east, it is gaining among the Mekaé and Kozimé, has supplanted Fang among the isolated Fang groups of the north, and serves as the cultivated language among the /20/ Cameroons Ntoumou [192] and Mvaé (except for Catholics) and as a trade language at Kribi and in Spanish Guinea. It even competes with Fang as a written language in northern Gabon. In the Catholic sectors it is putting up quite a good resistance to Ewôndo, except where it comes in contact with Bané and Fong.

Fang has supplanted Ntoumou in the Woleu-N'Tem region—except in Bitam District, where it is in competition with Boulou—and

level that the agencies of authority, of social control, are most in evidence.

The head of the family is the senior, ntôl or ntôle mɔ̂t, of the adult and active men, benya bɔ̂tô, "the true men." He is not necessarily the oldest in age, because infirm old men suffer a genuine capitis diminutio /a loss of status/. The founder of the hamlet or his eldest son can still, even if infirm, preserve a certain moral authority as father, ésa, of the family, but actual authority will then be delegated to a nya mɔ̂tô chosen from his brothers, sons, or nephews, the éfo'olo (Bertaut). In principle, a jal is composed of the founder, his old relatives /parents/, his younger brothers, his children and those of his sisters, his unmarried sisters, their illegitimate children and those of his daughters. Wives do not belong to the jal; their village is referred to as jañ. Of a divorced woman one would say, a keya jañ, "she has gone back to her village." The size of the nda bɔ̂t depends upon different factors: security, the /family/ head's authority, the fertility of the soil, etc. I have already pointed out how several mal can be gathered into a nlam, a proper village. Nowadays the menda me bɔ̂t are tending to decrease numerically and no longer to correspond to the jal, which can from now on combine several /menda me bɔ̂t/. The limited or household family is becoming more and more important, while the government-sponsored institution of village chiefship /chefferie/, although it is often only an imperfect substitute for the authority of the ntôl or the ésa, undermines that none the less. The size of an average nda bɔ̂t may be calculated at twenty /49/ persons (including the wives who do not belong to the jal), less in the towns and among the less prosperous people, more among large planters and the influential (minkukum).

The nda bɔ̂t used to be a religious, military, and economic unit. On the religious plane, the father, ésa, was the custodian of the biéti (Fang, biéri), the portable altar or ark of the ancestral cult containing the skulls of the ancestors; he made the decisions about initiations and bore their expense. The initiations have died out, and the missions have burned dozens, if not hundreds, of biéri. Security and colonial order have removed any interest in the ésa's military function. Only his economic role survives to some extent. He used to be the sole owner of the family goods (biôm), sole treasurer of income, and sole regulator of expenditures, of which the most important was the payment of "bride prices" (minsuba) for his younger brothers and his

sons. When cacao was introduced, cultivation was done collectively by the nda bôt, with the ésa selling the produce and taking charge of the money. The younger generation quickly tired of this state of affairs and left their families in order to have plantations of their own. In addition, the inflation of land values from the growing of export crops led to division upon the death of the ésa and brought on the splintering of the nda bôt. This had never been very stable, even before the colonial period, but the cessation of military needs made possible a precocious "swarming off," which had not occurred before except when a new nda bôt was large enough to provide for its own defense.

In spite of this disintegration, jal and nda bôt remain the basic units of Pahouin life, more so than the ayoñ. Development of private property notwithstanding, there does exist a juridical community with collective responsibility and obligatory self-help among its members. Many young people denounce this (cf. Eza Boto, Ville cruelle /Cruel City/, no. 182) and partly leave the jal in order to escape. But that is futile because the ties spread throughout the country become closer at a distance /from the jal/ and because the solidarity of the extended family is probably even stronger among emigrants than among stay-at-homes.

d. The Limited or Household Family; Kinship

The limited or household family, composed of an economically independent man, his wife, his children, sometimes old relatives /parents/, unmarried brothers and sisters, is becoming more and more important, both within the nda bôt framework and outside it. The missions have contributed a good deal to this, especially at the outset of evangelical activity, in order to separate the catechumens from their still animistic minté mi bôt (they incline to react in the opposite direction nowadays to fight against "destructive individualism"). But economic changes have also played an important part. The household family is the unit of the migrant petty official, of the small-scale planter. There is no word for it; people say either mone nda bôt, "little extended family," or simply nda, "house."

Purely for convenience I shall discuss kinship on this level, in terms of an adult married man. /50/

177 secrets and powers (power-ngul, to be related to ngɔ̂l?). There is thus
575 a "cargo-cult" side, already observable in certain traditions and
448 pseudo traditions mentioned by Trilles and Largeau. The mixture of Christian and traditional elements in the ritual suggests bwiti, with definitely a greater ceremonial elaboration in terms of modern technology, such as representations of aircraft, submarines, etc. The liberating-hero cycle involves a putting to death (by his white brothers) and a return by parachute, plane, or submarine—there are different versions, sometimes co-existing. The society's hierarchy copies that of the /68/ administration: the master of the lodge, wearing a kepi with star, is the nzela me ngɔ̂l; he is accompanied by "presidents," "presidents in chief," "commanders," "inspectors general," "governors" and "governers general," "militiamen," doctors," etc. (1). There is

1. One of the highest officers is the "adjutant of the guard," who is in charge of the police and of carrying out legal decisions.

a parallel female hierarchy, having, in particular, a "douane" /possibly "duenna"?—Tr./, who is supposed to have an eye on good relations between households. The political purpose is clear: the ngɔ̂l hierarchy has often replaced that recognized by the administration, sometimes with positive practical results, thus connecting up with the movement for Pahouin regrouping in its Gabonese form.

575 In the Cameroons this regrouping has in fact quite a different
•777 aspect. It appears to be essentially a tentative social and political *revival of clans rather than a tribal regrouping, which is not felt to*
448 be as necessary as in Gabon. It leans especially, on the religious level, more toward disciplinary /sic/ schism than towards syncretism, at least for the time being. Some of its leaders have left or wish to leave the missions to set up national churches that would allow, for instance, polygamy, but they do not oppose Christian dogma, which they proclaim that they accept, constantly maintaining that it is rather the missionaries who have altered it, consciously or not. Here the influence of the American Presbyterian Mission is predominant. It might be said that the Cameroons clans, especially the Boulou ones, have been organized into a pattern of Presbyterian synods. The movement has been less successful among the Beti, where Catholic

575
777
643 influence is stronger, but there too one finds associations influenced by foreign types of ecclesiastical organization.

614 Since 1946 the Boulou clans have formed associations, sometimes
576 proclaimed in conformity with the law of 1901, and since 1950 gathered into the N'Tem-Kribi Tribal Union, which covers primarily Boulou, Fong, Fang, Ntoumou, and Mvaé. Each clan has a central board elected during an annual or biennial ésulan, and local boards. Membership is not automatic: members have to apply for admission, pay subscription and entrance fees. At the core of each clan association there are "societies" of young people of both sexes, of married women, of nonvoters /abstinents/, etc. The young people's "societies" are certainly the most unusual. They were formed with official approbation at the time of the abolition of forced labor recruitment. The "societies" used to bargain with local authorities over projects like road maintenance or the construction of works of art /sic/, the money received being turned into a common account and used, either to help the members meet bride-price payments or other expenses, or—particularly—to arrange festivals and banquets.

575 In large towns Pahouin migrants join de jure and de facto associ-
454 ations, generally within a tribal, not a clan, framework. These associations have protective and mutual-aid purposes /69/ and are sometimes quite powerful. To these should be related the tontines or subscription societies consisting of small numbers of laborers, servants, or minor employees, who pay into a common fund the larger part of their monthly wage, each member in turn being able to draw upon the sizable sum thus collected each month. The last two institutions are in no way specifically Pahouin, nor characteristic of the Cameroons or Gabon.

6. Law and Property

a. Source

671 Pahouin law has always been complex. Formerly, it dealt primarily with the status and condition of persons /statut et de l'état des personnes/ upon which the property system was dependent. Under the influence of the economic changes brought about by colonization, the law with regard to property has become definitely independent of the law of persons, the latter being inclined to grow simpler with the dissociation of the old social and family organizations.

301 Women wore only a sort of double apron of grass or leaves, azem
[341] or abui, fastened to a belt of cylindrical steatite beads, nsanga; brace-
lets, mekom, of ivory or copper shaped like spools; ankle chains,
bibat, of cast copper, very heavy; and an enormous necklace of cast
copper, nkembé, which was put on a little girl when she entered her
[764] affinal household and which could not be removed until after death,
by cutting apart the body or melting the necklace or awaiting decom-
position. All this jewelry belonged to, and remained in, the husband's
[422] family, even in case of divorce; the ésa was the person who distributed
it among his wives and daughters-in-law. Flat bracelets were made of
306 "neptunes" or "benares" /?/ imported from the coast; later on they
made, and still make, rings and bracelets from cartridge cases and
telegraph wire. But the origin of the cast minkembé /plural/ is still
a mystery; the technique of metal casting is unknown or forgotten;
placer or lode copper is very rare, not only in the present Pahouin
[325] habitat but also where they seem to have come from. Furthermore,
these very old necklaces resist corrosion and have a very pale patina
indicating some kind of alloy; moreover, the nearest workers in bronze
the Bamum, do not make this kind of necklace.

281 Men's dress at the present time is usually of the European type,
[177] from shorts and sports shirt to the surplus American cap; those who
wear shoes have European footwear, leather or canvas according to
their income, or in the style of the Arabic—silifa, from English
"slipper" = babouche, of Hausa or Peul manufacture. Mention should
be made of the helmets and kepis of umbrella-tree wood and the fake
spectacles of slivers of raffia "bamboo." In the villages or at home,
imported loincloths are rolled around a belt or tied behind the neck.

Women also wear a loincloth, éndelé, tied at the neck or rolled
tight above the breasts when they have nothing else on, rolled at the
waist when wearing the "mission jacket," éwoman (apparently from
"woman"). The favorite head covering is still the kerchief, éyañese
(from "handkerchief"). More and more women are also wearing cut
and sewn European-style dresses, bizingi; often a kind of slip; no
[841] panties except for a few young modernists (who call them caleçons,
"drawers"); and internal sanitary napkins made of medicinal plants.
[717] Mission activity has spread notions of prudery; formerly only those
past puberty were obliged to cover their sexual parts. Women did so
834 with great care in spite of the casual nature of their clothing; the
greatest insult to a woman was to uncover her vulva in public; she never

road. The missions have tried, with unequal results, to ameliorate the fate of old people without children; certain clan "societies" have also been active in this direction, but none of it goes very far. Moreover, the old people accept their lot and occasionally joke about it among themselves with the rather biting irony that seems one of the mental characteristics of the group. Some old people kill themselves "from being tired of life." According to Trilles, some used to burn themselves to death voluntarily. According to Largeau, the heirs took the initiative in this so as to make the inheritance available.

The least wretched old people are those with children, particularly sons (1), since daughters usually live with their affinal family. There

1. Cf. Eza Boto, Ville cruelle (no. 182), for an illustration of relations between mother and son.

does exist a genuine obligation for children to provide parents with food, which is sanctioned by paternal or maternal curse in case of default.

f. Death and the Afterlife

Every death is suspect, but that of a nya mɔ̂tɔ̂ more than another, because a nya mɔ̂tɔ̂ does not die: someone kills him, though it may be none other than himself. Therefore the death of a man of some importance was always followed by an autopsy: the ngengañ would cut open the body and examine the thoracic organs, nlem, the seat of intellect and will, to look for signs of sorcery, the work either of another or of the dead man should his évu have turned against him or been killed by a malignant agency. There also appears to have been a magic process, éwɔ̂mɔ̂lɔ̂, that revived the dead long enough to put questions concerning the cause of death.

If the autopsy revealed that the deceased was a sorcerer, nnem, the body was burned or thrown into a large river or perhaps buried at a crossroads far from the village. If he were mie, free of évu, the regular mortuary rites ensued. The body was washed in warm water, massaged and softened, then rubbed with baa dissolved in palm oil, wrapped in a white loincloth, watched over by ármed men while the grave was made ready and the relatives /102/ and affinal kin /alliés/

du Dja region during the same period. This incarnation is probably related to the totemism or the alliance between a man and an animal élañela, which Trilles discusses at length (no. 166). The incarnation is only temporary and ends at the death or disappearance of the animal.

As a result of mission influence, nlam bekon, the land of the dead, is now divided into heaven and hell, which are none other than Zambe's village and éfôfôlan. Souls in purgatory seem to be confused in village minds with dissatisfied bekôn, who are always disturbing. The notion of natural death, brought about neither by sorcery nor by breaking a prohibition, has not developed at all: after all, "the wages of sin is death," and "sin" has been rendered as nsem in translations of the Scriptures. Therefore the dead continue to belong to society, even though the decline of the ancestor cult, the biéti, and of the initiations with a probable totemic character like sô, have weakened their bonds with the living.

This belief in survival perhaps explains a certain scorn of death, which is indicated not only by bravery in war and the suicides of the old, but also suicides for the sake of a point of honor: a woman kills herself in order to take revenge on her husband, a man because he considers himself offended or injured. The "one responsible" for such a suicide is severely judged by public opinion, and must pay compensation and make an expiratory sacrifice.

3. Religion and Magic

Aside from a few old people who are known as "children of the old ways" (or "of the old knowledge"), bo' biyem bi nnom, and who are treated as pagans by their children, and, even more uncommon, a few /107/ young people who declare themselves to be agnostics, the great majority if not the mass of contemporary Pahouin claim to be attached to one of the sects that has done evangelical work in the region: French or American Presbyterian, /Roman/ Catholic, /Seventh Day/ Adventist. In fact, and with no intention of arguing over the statistics that give proportions of 105 percent "Christian" in certain districts, the influence of Christianity is indeed considerable, but it is tinged with animist survivals and revivals to an extent and in ways that only a great deal of detailed research could present accurately.

physically: "His tomb is neither above nor below, neither to the right nor to the left"), he divides his possessions, a division which is disturbed by quarrels, the machinations of younger sons or the negligence of the elder ones. He then departs beyond the river-of-the west, followed by the white men (or the coastal tribes?) who by a ruse have got hold of part of the biôm inherited by the Pahouin. The latter in turn start westward, crossing the Osoe Nnanga, then the nlôm adjap (hole in the silk-cotton tree) as described earlier (see p. 19).

Nzame (Zambe) is emphatically not the creator god but the ancestor = mentor; all genealogies go back to him. Yet all the Christian missions have taken his name to express the idea of God. This mistake has come about because the word Mebe'e was rarely spoken, while Nzame turned up in all "salutations," in everything that had to do with the ancestor cult. As the original monitor he could be confused with the creator — in fact, he in a way completed "natural" creation by the magical invention of the arts and crafts. As an ancestor he was solicited in prayers (meya'alan) by his descendants, while Mebe'e was not addressed except on rare occasions—in solemn vows, at initiations. Finally, the very fact of having been misled from the first /110/ made it difficult to go back to the first translation. It may well be though that this mistake, the substitution of the creature for the creator, the deification of man, has not been without influence on the social development of the Pahouin. The Mintangan, who actually came from the nlam bekôn, the land of the dead, brought with them a genuine theological revolution, a heresy to which their material wealth gave a sure guarantee. The psychological repercussions must have been considerable.

Nowadays one hears it currently said that "Mebe'e is the old name for Zambe," and the latter seems to be permanently established in his usurped role (1); the traditions connected with the two personages

1. Good, the first American missionary among the Boulou, was nicknamed "Ngôô Zambe," Zambe's ransom, which may have been not merely an approximation of his name.

are inextricably mixed with Christian contributions, to such a degree that we may speak of a new theogony being formed in the syncretist cults and in some Christian schismatic movements.

773 the animal pursuing the ancestors of the Fang in order to devour them, while the legendary history of migration collected in the north shows, on the contrary, the crocodile enabling the tribe to cross the Osoé Nnanga (the python performs this service for the Beti).

776 The observation made by the authors quoted on the "unsuperstitious" character of the Pahouin and of the slight development /113/ of "fetishism" among them is to be related to the almost total absence in their mythology of beings intermediary between God and man, genii or demigods.

774 825 Aside from the bivur, to be discussed in connection with sorcery, there are only the bingungur (Fang)(Boulou, bingôngôt) shown in some legends as kinds of ogres or ghouls haunting forests and attacking travelers. According to another interpretation, these rather are evil animals endowed with intelligence and malevolence beyond that of normal members of their species, perhaps animal sorcerers. The inoffensive aardvark, mvômesila, is thus very much feared; also a sort of very rare Pithecanthropus (Fang, éngure; Boulou, éngu'u) and a mermaid, the mammywôta of the coast, no doubt a lamantin /or manatee/. For Trilles, the éngungure is a "spirit, often transformed into an animal, which sorcers obey"; may there not be a confusion here with the évur (Boulou, évu)?

775 769 As for ghosts, bekôn, it might be said that there are good ones but no nice ones. One may usually get on with the kôn of a properly buried forebear who was respected in his lifetime and even obtain useful services from him, formerly paid for by sacrifices and libations to his skull and often today by candles, Masses, or prayers (I have known Protestants to go to Catholic missionaries for exorcism). There is more difficulty /in dealing/ with the kôn of a sorcerer or with that of a stranger neither whose name nor whose skull is in one's possession.

266 Lawful /non criminelle/ anthropophagy probably had for an end, among others, that of acquiring power over the bekôn of enemies and perhaps of assimilating the rights they derived from their ancestors. This wartime cannibalism appears to have existed especially on the geographical fringes of the group and particularly along the invasion front, among the Fang proper, the vanguard of the migration. A relative or affinal kin was never eaten, only strangers, and these only by warriors (or sometimes by sons of warriors killed by the enemy). It is worth noting that for the cannibalism of the Fang and Osyéba only the "Gabonese" felt the terror described by all explorers. The

778 shall merely point out that part of this equipment, permanently assigned
789 to magical use, is étyi, taboo to the uninitiated and sometimes even to other mingengan than the owner, that certain objects become bityi after having once been used for this purpose, while others are returned to ordinary use, and others are destroyed after use.

f. Prohibitions

784 Prohibitions, bityi, assume a large place in Pahouin life. Martrou (no. 159) has devoted a special study to them, which is very well documented but still incomplete, because of their number and diversity.

The word étyi comes from the root TYI/KI, conveying an idea of strength (cf. above, p. 133), of authority, and also of cutting, hence of prohibition; /for example, / tyik = to cut, kill, slice, decide; tyili = to render taboo; tyii = to have a taboo (étyi is the nominal-resulting form of the last verb); tyilan = to be taboo. /122/

A complete listing of the bityi is probably impossible, but a brief classification may be attempted by distinguishing /the following/:

Food prohibitions and prohibitions of actions.

Among prohibitions of actions there are those protecting certain animals, marriage prohibitions, and general sexual prohibitions.

Individual prohibitions and collective prohibitions.

Hereditary prohibitions and personal prohibitions.

Temporary and permanent prohibitions.

Masculine, feminine, and age-grade prohibitions.

Ordinary prohibitions (zesé bityi) and capital prohibitions, bityi awu (mortal ones).

All together they form a sort of network that covers every act, every phase of individual and social conduct. Mission activity and [777] general development have caused some to disappear or have lessened the immediate consequences of infractions, minsem, but enough remain with sufficient sanction to influence the whole of day-to-day life.

[688] A nsem, a breaking of a prohibition, has various consequences, ranging from a slight illness to death, and almost always carrying with it public reprobation. The nsem may be unconscious, the culprit being unaware that his act was taboo for him, either because he had not been taught so or because the étyi had been imposed without his knowledge by a magician.

784 Some bityi appear to be connected with totemism: these are the bityi mekam, protective prohibitions, forbidding members of certain clans to kill certain animals or to eat certain plants. Others are undoubtedly connected with the social structure, like sex or age-grade prohibitions, the breaking of which strike at the family hierarchy. Others may be described as hygienic prohibitions, like those connected with pregnancy, illness, or convalescence. There are prohibitions connected with magic: personal taboos vis-à-vis some animal seen in a dream after a family initiation, or imposed when joining an association; prohibitions pronounced by a magician, often out of revenge; prohibitions undertaken as vows to obtain a specific result. Among the Beti, Binet has known women to impose on themselves certain [431] food etyi for a year, at the end of which time there is a party where [177] they collect many presents from their relatives and friends. This seems to be an innovation and perhaps represents a deviation from certain Catholic practices.

[614] It seems that in former times, following a war or an alliance, or in connection with an awusô relationship, two clans might undertake to respect one another's clan taboo. Besides, married women, although they did not enter the husband's clan, were supposed to some extent to respect its bityi.

783 Minsem can be expiated by redemption, ngôtô, according to
784 different rites (étyi, melan among men, évôtô among women), including public confession and sacrifice (for women, the sacrifice is made by father or husband, the woman undergoing severe corporal punishment). /123/

Some personal bityi can be raised (kui étyi = to emerge from a taboo) by a process similar to that of redemption for a nsem. This is never possible in cases of general sexual, age-grade, or clan prohibitions.

• 787 The first Christian converts must have shown genuine heroism in
784 giving up their bityi, since they had to overcome, not only personal fear, sometimes at the cost of real psycho-physiological crises, but also unanimous public obloquy and often the vengeance of their family, which attributed to their minsem all its misfortunes. One might say that only that first generation of Christians succeeded in abandoning the bityi almost completely. The following generations, in much greater numbers, continued to observe quite a few /bityi/, certainly all those that did not openly conflict with the practice of the /new/

religion. For several years, exogamic taboos have even been observed to take on new life with a strictness that runs counter to canonical ideas about marriage (cf. above, p. 63).

g. Sorcery and Magic at the Present Time

Even in the areas longest converted to Christianity, contemporary Pahouin continue to believe in magic and sorcery, which is, moreover, not contrary to the teaching of the Scriptures. Mbibiañ compete with European or African bedôkita, mingengañ compete with exorcists, mvimvi'i with the police, and so on. Once in a while beyem still kill in order to feed their évu, and I knew a kôn practitioner who tried to make use of his skill so as to win an election.

However, since the coming of the Europeans, magic and sorcery have developed in the direction of a syncretism that is sometimes baroque. Ecclesiastical schisms do not bring about a complete return to ancient practices, but a sort of grafting of what remains onto a Christian stem, to which is often added a facile /à bon marché/ esotericism borrowed from mages and fakirs of metropolitan France. Talismans, perfumes guaranteed to inspire love, and magical jewelry arrive by the hundredweight in each mail from France. Initiations that had died out are being revived in the form of parodies of the Mass or of ordination, or even of hazings often obscene. What was most valuable in the native pharmacopoeia is being more and more neglected in favor of modern preparations used at random, with only the magical aspect surviving, emptied of its old meaning and therefore of its functional character.

Admittedly, Christianity has "caught on" in the country, just as European medicine has—the question is, just how deeply. In any event it is certain that old practices, overthrown as they may have been, survive nonetheless in new forms, fluid and changing and still far from stabilized. The result is a continual uneasiness, a crisis in adaptation, of which the outcome is unpredictable.

Leaving aside any religious or ideological position, /124/ it does, however, seem possible to say as of now that one of the most revolutionary contributions of the missions has been to make women participate in the same religious cult as men.

754
777
[769]

Fig. 53. Underground Chamber of a Mekuk Sorcerer, Cross-section.

(a) Circle made of plantain pieces, (b) magic medicines, (c) skulls of murdered relatives.

the Mekuk man's house companions in their sleep, so that they wake up the next day completely beaten up. They are also supposed to steal money and goods in order to take them to the Mekuk man. In short, the Mekuk stories remind one of the experiences of the man who wanted to learn to be afraid /Ed., in one of Grimm's fairy tales/.

Other medicines for wealth that utilize the power of the souls 777 are more innocent; they do not require the murder of relatives nor care of the skulls. Instead, their powers are derived from the [824] habitation of the souls, the Copaifera tessmannii Harms (ovǒn). The Mekuk skulls must be included only in the event the medicine man already possesses some. The procedure as a rule is as follows. The father of the person concerned goes with a medicine man, /152/ and both clear an area under a large Copaifera. Then a leaf vessel filled with water is set up, and into this some of the bark of the [901] Copaifera is scraped nine times (three times three); furthermore a stone from the stomach of the crocodile is placed in it if one is available. A peculiar test of the worthiness of the young man is now given. Various objects are placed together in three piles: on [945] the first are placed steamed cassava (women's food) and a basket [977] (ebǎ'dǎ) carried only by old women because it has a small capacity; on the second, a rifle, a bundle of vegetables (ngon) with fish, brass ornaments, cowrie shells, and a piece of cloth, all of which are things that delight young people; on the third pile is placed [293] a fly swatter (implement of the chiefs), a foot ring made of ivory, [622] and a boiled chicken, in other words, such things as are allotted to chiefs. Now the young man is brought to the piles. "If he has sense," he will go to the last pile and consume the chicken. In this

791 The teeth, the eye, and a piece of an evū'-besī (see Vol. II, p. 128 /Ed., not translated/) are placed in the /195/ horn, which is sealed with monitor lizard skin. Once the principal medicine has been secretly acquired in this gruesome manner, the ordination of the novice into the office of soothsayer takes place in public on the village square. The medicine man boils a chicken together with leaves of various medicine plants, especially of the [824] "medicine tree," Distemonanthus benthamianus Baill. (elī'bengǎń, ejěn), and he gives the novice some of this concoction to eat ten times (1). Then the old man leaps about the village square shaking

[801] 1. Ten is the number of wisdom, seven the lucky number, and three or nine the sacred number of the Pangwe.

the soothsayer's horn, chars a piece of the most gigantic liana of [824] the Pangwe region, Entada scandens Benth., Leguminosa (ntū' I), after he has touched it several times with his foot as he was leaping about, makes an incision in one of the novice's toes, and rubs the ashes into the wound. As he does so, he says: "If you go to war and you knock your toe against the ground so that the wound opens, the prospects for your side will be bad; otherwise they will be good" (for the liana strives upwards). The ashes of the liana, therefore, are supposed to communicate to the toe the plant's property of striving upwards and thereby help the soothsayer to rise above his fellow human beings just as the liana in its striving for light rises above the other trees. This concludes the initiation, and the novice is now a full-fledged soothsayer.

As a fee for divination, usually from one to five spears (seven to 35 pfennigs) are paid, but in times of war, when excitement, tension, and fear fill everyone with uncertainty, considerably more is paid. At such times the distrust towards soothsayers, which today is already almost universal, gives way to a willing credulity. During peaceful times the situation is pretty much as it is with us; very stupid and superstitious people, for the most part women, go to the wise man, but the great majority no longer believe in his hocus-pocus. "There are a lot of lies in it," I was told, "but once

772 the two opposite angles and would represent the axis of migration,
623 mfa'a mañ, "toward the sea." The masculine direction seems to have been the place of origin of the ye (feminine?) clans, the feminine direction, that of the ésa clans. Trilles places with the latter the ébi clans, which are, geographically, from eastern clans; I wonder if they ought not rather to be connected with the ye clans since ébi means "hole," "chasm" (yee = valley, ravine). In the bilaba, masculine commodities come from the female sector, and vice versa.

772 These apparent contradictions would be resolved by applying the principle of double symmetry, or of sexual complementarity, similar to that which makes paternal, nonuterine half brothers called bobenyañ, [601] "my mother's sons." This principle might be expressed somewhat as follows: every being capable of life must, in order to exist and be complete, include the opposite sex. In other words, bisexuality, a universal vital principle, should be found in every part of the universe /création/. Stoll finds proof of this in the language, where the tone [194] levels in his view constitute genuine differentiation by grammatical sex genders, and especially in the rites whose purpose appears to be not to make men entirely masculine or women entirely feminine, but rather to give to each sex the necessary complement of the opposite sex.

Whatever may be thought of this theory, it is a fact that, because [114] of the apparent or real absence of grammatical sex gender in the language, the majority of the early writers, even Trilles, did not attach enough importance to real gender, to the sex actually attributed to objects, particularly to magical and ritual materials. We know that spear, akoñ, saber, fa, and probably the large drum, mbaé, are male; calabashes and cooking pots, rattles (mengoñ), the double bell (nkeñ) are female; the drum-telephone, nkul, is androgynous; horns for medicaments, minlak, are male at the pointed end, female at the hollow end, and the same with the rifle. As to numbers, my con- 801 clusions are diametrically opposed to those of Stoll, who believes even numbers to be male, and odd, female, though admittedly he advances as proof the large part played by odd numbers in feminine rites, which runs directly counter to his theory of double symmetry.

The numerical system is in any event only imperfectly known. [802] Counting is based on 10, with traces of an 8:10, (awôm), basis /116/ and of 8, mwom, /having?/ perhaps the same root as different classifiers. The so number is 9. Nyin, 4, seems related to a YI

801 radical with feminine connotations (yi = to wish, also meaning "to need," "to cry"; it conveys an idea of "desiring," in contrast to kômbô, related to kôm = to arrange, put in order, do properly, and bo = to do, make, conveying an idea of "will"; the passive form of yi, yian, means both "duty" and "to be well," "to suit"). Much research needs to be done while there is still time.

d. Sorcery, Possession

754 Malignant sorcery, ngbwel, is generally attributed to a sorcerer, nnem (plur: beyem, cf. yem = to know, to dream), being possessed by a malevolent being, an évu (Fang, évur, évus). The évu is not an [805] immaterial spirit but a living being, an animal like a crab or centipede, and lodging in the internal organs of the nnem. At an autopsy it is often found in the form of a polyp or tumor, a fibroid tumor in women. It may even happen that the nnem's body does not show such an indication, because the évu has escaped, but there will be some traces of it, fluids, distention of the stomach, colon, or gall bladder. [746] In such cases, as has been said, the corpse is not buried in the usual manner but is burned, thrown into a river, or buried at a crossroads far from the village, in order to prevent the nnem's kôn from returning to haunt relatives and neighbors.

The possessed person may be unaware of the possession, but he is held no less responsible for the harm caused by the évu. The latter goes out at night while the nnem is asleep and feeds on the blood, metyi, hence strength, tyi of its victims, who fall ill, grow weak and die, or it eats their niem (heart and lungs), which brings on madness or mental decay and often death, too. The évu also feeds on eggs, on metyi /sic/, and on milk, preferably women's milk (menyañ, from nyañ = to give the breast, cf. -nyañ = mother, in compound words), food which village people will not touch. When the évu has trouble in getting food, it may turn against the nnem and kill it for nourishment or, if the nnem is a woman, it may attack the children in her womb. Aside from these occasions, ngbwel is an advantage to the nnem, even when it is unconscious; he benefits from the strength accumulated by the évu during its nocturnal hunts; furthermore, the évu assists him, brings a sort of luck to his undertakings, which is natural, since the évu gains from the nnem's intermediation. This [777] kind of luck, asée (from a verb, sée, with like meaning: a ngs sée

4. Time Reckoning

105 The Negro is happy-go-lucky and does not bother about "time." Time plays no role at all in Africa; indeed, the Negro regards it almost as an insult when a White hurries him because "he has no time." After all, there is lots of time. It is due to this contempt, also, that the Negroes never know how old they are, or rather, that they never find it necessary to remember. The same fact serves to explain their inability to combine numbers into conceptions and logical conclusions, even though they have a good [102] grasp of numbers up to 10,000, and beyond that with some difficulty.

The Pangwe possess no designation for the time segment corresponding to our solar year. Instead, they reckon according to membū. Each mbū (which should be translated roughly as a half year) comprises two of the four seasons that are established for the Pangwe region (see Section 1, p. 2 /Ed., this section of Vol. I is not translated/). To one of our years, therefore, there are two Pangwe "years," or, as the natives who have come in contact with Europeans express it, membū menūte mebōt, "years of the Blacks."

One mbū includes the great dry season and the brief rainy season and is called esēb, from a zēb (okōn), "to sharpen (a knife)," because knives are sharpened at this time to clear the farms; in other words, it might be called the farming season or sowing season. The second mbū includes the short dry season and the great rainy season and is called ojūn, from a jūn, "to mourn, to wail," in other words, the fasting season; it corresponds very well to our winter, which is likewise a time during which nature sleeps and people starve. The Pangwe explain the name by saying that at the beginning of the rainy season all "food" is planted, and therefore food becomes scarce, but perhaps the expression arose in former habitations when the rainy season brought with it special misfortune, such as floods.

The correspondence of the seasons of the year among the Pangwe to the divisions of our solar year is, accordingly, as follows.

584 innocent and anxiously avoid anything that might give rise to
836 gossip. Thus, if we speak with the Pangwe about sexual matters, we constantly hear the word oson, "shame," oson this and oson that. Admittedly, wherever European influence is spreading, the
[177] use of oson decreases, for together with this influence the religious conceptions upon which shame is based are disappearing (as we saw in the case of sin, nsōm); at the same time, moral sensibilities are becoming laxer, and there are no longer any self-imposed restraints.

With free love universally prevalent, it naturally happens
836 also that several lovers find their way to the same girl in one night, especially when she is no longer a beginner, and she takes "pity" -- as the Pangwe themselves say mockingly -- on them all (1). With such nžīla, especially the older ones, the

[802]
[211]

1. Even to keep track of their number is too difficult a task for her memory; for that reason the Jaunde girls count the number of their friends on little sticks of raffia (see Zenker).

men also permit themselves the use of offensive expressions and crude jokes, such as would be unheard of and strictly prohibited with a young girl -- especially the future wife. As an example,
[831] phalli are sometimes made of wood and then displayed wrapped in a leaf.

As has already been indicated, liaisons of the heart based on
831 genuine love are by no means uncommon. Nobody, on the other hand, will be surprised to learn that for the most part they are of limited duration and are incapable of bearing the burden which we expect of them. Thus I did not learn of a single case of a person
[762] committing suicide because of unrequited love or a spurned courtship, even though women hang themselves because somebody stole a few of their miserable hens, and men shoot themselves because their father sold a daughter in order to buy a wife, instead of leaving her to the son, the girl's brother. Generally speaking, the power of Negro love is not as great as that of the love of the Whites.

the two opposite angles and would represent the axis of migration, mfa'a mañ, "toward the sea." The masculine direction seems to have been the place of origin of the ye (feminine?) clans, the feminine direction, that of the ésa clans. Trilles places with the latter the ébi clans, which are, geographically, from eastern clans; I wonder if they ought not rather to be connected with the ye clans since ébi means "hole," "chasm" (yee = valley, ravine). In the bilaba, masculine commodities come from the female sector, and vice versa.

These apparent contradictions would be resolved by applying the principle of double symmetry, or of sexual complementarity, similar to that which makes paternal, nonuterine half brothers called bobenyañ, "my mother's sons." This principle might be expressed somewhat as follows: every being capable of life must, in order to exist and be complete, include the opposite sex. In other words, bisexuality, a universal vital principle, should be found in every part of the universe /création/. Stoll finds proof of this in the language, where the tone levels in his view constitute genuine differentiation by grammatical sex genders, and especially in the rites whose purpose appears to be not to make men entirely masculine or women entirely feminine, but rather to give to each sex the necessary complement of the opposite sex.

Whatever may be thought of this theory, it is a fact that, because of the apparent or real absence of grammatical sex gender in the language, the majority of the early writers, even Trilles, did not attach enough importance to real gender, to the sex actually attributed to objects, particularly to magical and ritual materials. We know that spear, akoñ, saber, fa, and probably the large drum, mbad, are male; calabashes and cooking pots, rattles (mengoñ), the double bell (nkeñ) are female; the drum-telephone, nkul, is androgynous; horns for medicaments, minlak, are male at the pointed end, female at the hollow end, and the same with the rifle. As to numbers, my conclusions are diametrically opposed to those of Stoll, who believes even numbers to be male, and odd, female, though admittedly he advances as proof the large part played by odd numbers in feminine rites, which runs directly counter to his theory of double symmetry.

The numerical system is in any event only imperfectly known. Counting is based on 10, with traces of an 8:10, (awôm), basis /116/ and of 8, mwom, /having?/ perhaps the same root as different classifiers. The so number is 9. Nyin, 4, seems related to a YI

Another
244 fertility medicine consists of the following mixture: 1) bark
789 of the Simarubacea Irvingia barteri Hook. f. (andǒk; 2) bark
[824] bark of the Anacardiacea Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl.
(ofǒs); 3) elephant manure; 4) sand from the Campo or the
Uelle; 5) salt. On the eve of sowing this mixture is added to the
nuts. This, too, must be understood as a direct transfer of power:
the groundnuts are to be as numerous as the fruits of the two
plants named; they are to become as enormous as the pile of
elephant manure; as numerous as sand in the Campo — we would
say, as the sands of the ocean; and as innumerable as the grains
[834] of salt. Finally, certain Liliaceae (ayǎn) are planted between
the groundnuts so that their leaves may become as green as the
lilies in the field. As can be seen, there is no lack of friendly
encouragement and good examples.

The fruit, illustrated in cross-section by Plate 6, Draw-
244 ings a and b, usually has two seeds, more rarely three, and still
more rarely one. Something reminiscent of our love feast occurs
when a boy at work finds a fruit with three seeds in his mother's
basket or in the field, calls his friends, and shares the seeds with
[195] them. This is called euphemistically: bi kī kābǎd, "we dissect a
goat." Thus, we have here the doctrine: Do not forget to do good
and to share with your fellow man when you are living in abun-
dance! It is probably more by way of a game that the Pangwe,
especially the children, sometimes eat the nuts raw. Otherwise
[858] raw nuts are prepared principally for soup or compote. It is also
customary to boil the whole fruit and then eat the seeds. The
[867] nuts are stored in large, tall baskets of raffia pith, which are hung
under the roof or placed on a bed, or the nuts may be placed
loose on the groundnut loft, akǎn owǐnǒ.

433 As a result of their laziness and indifference, the Pangwe
435 seldom have enough groundnuts, so there is always a period of
244 time when they have to do without them until the next harvest has
been brought in and is sufficiently dried. This is the reason that
in the Ntum and Fang regions at these times the price for a "plate"
(2)

[804] 2. The flat plate-shaped baskets called bush plates are a unit of measurement.

805

805 ORDERING OF TIME--sense of time; conception of a minimal unit of time (e.g., a moment); divisions of the day and night (e.g., hours); divisions of the year (e.g., weeks, months, seasons); longer time spans; solar, lunar, and stellar reckoning of time; methods of dating; calendar and calendrical knowledge; use of aids to measure the passage of time (e.g., sundials, clocks); etc. See also:

Annual cycle of economic activities 331
Clocks and watches 688
Routine activities of a typical day 815
Holidays, birthdays, and anniversaries 897
Age levels and age terms 861
Ceremonial calendar 798
Conception of time 855

524 "star," "sun," and was later carried over for people and used as a /Fig. 55 appears here in the original text/ personal name, and kót – bent; we would perhaps say: "Your Excellency Von Bent."

244 I now turn to the second part of the cultivated plants, those that are cultivated in gardens, that is, in small operations and for the most part behind or close to the dwelling. To be sure, the difference between field and garden cultivation is not everywhere sharply defined. For instance, the garden plant taro is often planted at a distance from the village in fields, and plantains are frequently grown on cassava farms and other farms.

Taro, Colocasia antiquorum Schott (atú), and Macabo, Xanthosoma violaceum Schott (ekábe)

The taro or Colocasia is -- as the Latin name indicates -- a cultivated plant of some antiquity even for the Pangwe; hence they have no ready explanation for the name atú. The macabo, [177] on the other hand, which stems from /101/ America, has only recently been introduced and, according to the natives, was

[249]

Fig. 55. Sugar Cane Shoot.

taken over by the coastal peoples about thirty years ago (1);

[805]

> 1. As soon as one has become familiar with the Negroes' ability to estimate time, one becomes very cautious with respect to the preciseness of historical dates.

hence its name ekábe from a kab-an, "to hand over, to divide, to take possession of." Both plants belong to the Araceae family. Taro is distinguished from macabo by the fact that its leaves are

821 subject to constant alteration, and this is explained /202/ in the following way. The masses of the sky's crust move against each other in a manner similar to iron or brass that has been liquified in forging and moves more or less viscously as it cools down, so that in the case of the first metal that flows out, its more rapid cooling impedes the movement, while the subsequent metal, flowing over the first, moves more quickly the nearer to the surface it is. This is why the clouds move at different speeds and in various layers relative to each other.

The moon and the sun pass across the vault of the sky exactly as the primeval force has ordained in eternal laws. During the day the sun moves under the vault from east to west, and during the night it moves back the same way over the vault where it is, of course, invisible. At night, the moon follows the course of the sun under the vault, and during the day it returns over the vault, but closer to the ceiling, so that during the day one can frequently see it shimmering through. The Pangwe very easily account for the phases of the moon. They assume that in its various phases the moon moves in one of the inner layers whose clods have already become more rigid and that it remains covered by one of these clods.

In our account of the religion of the Pangwe /Ed., not translated/, we have already discussed the significance of the moon
821 805 in the cults. Here we need to consider only the practical side of its relation to human activities. The moon is the lord of fertility and of the seasons; the days and months are reckoned by it. The first day (according to other informants, the first two days) when the new moon appears is called avǒ̄ ngǒ̄n, that is, cold moon. From this day on all impulses toward propagation are "put in cold storage" for seven days, all development and all fertility are interrupted, the women have their menstrual flow, and the men abstain from sexual intercourse. For this reason, nothing else is undertaken, not because a taboo exists, but because one would not have any luck. The man does not go out to clear his farm because he would cut his finger; the woman does not go out to plant because the plants would not flourish. Even hunting and fishing are not attempted. It is important to note that this day is by no means designated as "bad," but as a day of rest which might correspond to

821 our Sunday, as if all nature had to take a rest.

● 805 By way of contrast, the days around the full moon are no good for hunting, probably because the moon when it is full is especially "evil" and hateful to all those who are sinless -- as are animals, for instance. Even the festivals of the moon cult (Sso) are never celebrated at the full moon, but always towards the time of the new moon in order not to display evil in its most glaring form. The natives count nine "days of the full moon," the sacred number which we have already encountered in the cults /203/, and during this time the Pangwe speaks of the ndźibe ngōn, that is, the closed (full) moon, or ndźīge ngōn or abǐm e ngōn, that is, the used moon. On these days the people do work, but fishing, trapping, and hunting drives are not practiced. Among the Fang, a direct taboo (ekī) exists for these three activities, though it is true that they like to circumvent this taboo -- like many others -- with the help of medicines.

Rules are made to be circumvented, the Ntum in Bebai thought, [789] and during the days of the full moon they very gaily held great hunting drives. They also made a medicine by cutting a circle -- the full moon -- into the bark of a tree and within the circle removing half of the bark. In this way it became a half moon (Fig. 64). This medicine is delightfully naïve and beautifully indicates how the Negro knows how to help himself in all situations.

Concerning the nature of the stars the "Pangwe scholars" are 821 not yet quite agreed. Some believe the stars are simply holes in the vault of the sky through which the sun can be seen at night as it moves over the arch. Others say that they are little fires which during the day are simply outshone by the brightness of the sun. Still others -- and these are probably in the majority -- assume that the stars are little celestial bodies like the sun and the moon, but that they are afraid of the sun, so during the day they withdraw into the interior of the vault, and during the night, fleeing from the sun as it moves across the top of the arch, they come out and then become visible, hence their name o-tǐ-tē-ī, from the root a tē, = to move from one's place (1). If one of the stars has ventured too

1. oa tē, odēn = when did you leave (travel from) home?

4. Time Reckoning

[105] The Negro is happy-go-lucky and does not bother about "time." Time plays no role at all in Africa; indeed, the Negro regards it almost as an insult when a White hurries him because "he has no time." After all, there is lots of time. It is due to this contempt, also, that the Negroes never know how old they are, or rather, that they never find it necessary to remember. The same fact serves to explain their inability to combine numbers into conceptions and logical conclusions, even though they have a good [107] grasp of numbers up to 10,000, and beyond that with some difficulty.

The Pangwe possess no designation for the time segment corresponding to our solar year. Instead, they reckon according to membú. Each mbú (which should be translated roughly as a half year) comprises two of the four seasons that are established for the Pangwe region (see Section 1, p. 2 /Ed., this section of Vol. I is not translated/). To one of our years, therefore, there are two Pangwe "years," or, as the natives who have come in contact with Europeans express it, membú menúte mebōt, "years of the Blacks."

One mbú includes the great dry season and the brief rainy season and is called esēb, from a zēb (okōd), "to sharpen (a knife)," because knives are sharpened at this time to clear the farms; in other words, it might be called the farming season or sowing season. The second mbú includes the short dry season and the great rainy season and is called ojūn, from a jūn, "to mourn, to wail," in other words, the fasting season; it corresponds very well to our winter, which is likewise a time during which nature sleeps and people starve. The Pangwe explain the name by saying that at the beginning of the rainy season all "food" is planted, and therefore food becomes scarce, but perhaps the expression arose in former habitations when the rainy season brought with it special misfortune, such as floods.

The correspondence of the seasons of the year among the Pangwe to the divisions of our solar year is, accordingly, as follows.

First half year (mbɨ́)

805 esɨ́b = farming season (summer), from December to May, consisting of:

1. yɨ̃ɛ̃'n esɨ́b = great dry season (December to February);
2. ɨ̃ɔ̃gɔ̃, esɨ́b = short rainy season (March to May). /206/

Second half year (mbɔ́)

ojɨ̃ɔ̃n = rainy season (winter) from June to November, consisting of:

1. yɨ̃ɛ̃'n ojɨ̃ɔ̃n = short dry season (June to August);
2. ɨ̃ɔ̃gɔ̃, ojɨ̃ɔ̃n = great rainy season (September to November).

A division of the half years into months is unknown to the Pangwe; he only knows the time span of the individual month (ngɨ̃'n, "moon"), and he has great difficulty in understanding that about six to seven of his months correspond to the Whites' half year and about 12 to 13 of his months correspond to the Whites' year.

To divide the month into weeks is something that the Pangwe [177] has learned from the Whites and has wholeheartedly adopted on account of the four Sundays (sɨ̃'nɔ̃ III). He himself has marked off the first one to two days after the new moon as days of leisure, as has already been mentioned. He also observes the first seven [844] days of the month as something special, since the menstrual flow of the women supposedly lasts for seven days, but these days do not constitute a special segment of the month designated by a name of its own (1). Nor is there any such time segment in the rest of

[539] 1. It is merely said, for instance:
ayɔ́' ngɨ̃'n a sɔ̃ malɨ̃' mallɨ̃ or zɨ̃ngbɨ̃'
Cold moon, it came days three or seven.

the month.

We have the same picture with the day as we do with the month. Here, too, only the beginning is sharply defined, while

the remainder follows as a matter of course. A day of 24 hours is called alū' mbok (Ntum), "day one," and it falls into day = mō's IV, and night = alū'. The day begins with the morning, kī'dī IV or kī'kī'dī, lasting from six o'clock (sunrise) until seven o'clock, in other words, one hour, and it continues until ngūɛ IV, ngūngūɛ IV, "evening," that is, until the time around sundown (six o'clock). In between, the Pangwe have as the designation of an hour only "time when the first women come from the plantations," that is, at 11 o'clock. The night is not divided up into definite segments. If they want to specify an hour of the night, for instance, for marching upon an enemy village, they make shift with the expression: "with the first call of the coucal," Centropus monachus Rüpp. (dūgū' III), that is, at 11 o'clock, just as we might say, "with the first cock crow." This same time is also called zā'ni alū', "midnight." In case of a departure before sunrise, the natives may speak of a "time when the first ogbwā' (Francolinus squamatus Cass.) calls," that is, around five o'clock in the morning. Time designations by indicating the position of the sun with the hand -- which in regions where the sun rises and sets at approximately the same time throughout the entire year would be both easy and convenient -- are not known, and indeed, they are not even understood. /Plate 26 faces p. 206./

/243/ Section 17

Weapons and Warfare

Flintlock musket. -- Containers for the charge and powder. -- Spears. -- Sword and battle-ax. -- Shields. -- Love of war. -- Night attacks, chevaux-de-frise, pitfalls, spiked branches. -- Women and children in war. -- Fortifications. -- Manner of conducting war (example). -- Prisoners of war.

/1/

Chapter 1

Geographical Location and Climate

131 The Pahouin country covers about 180, 000 square kilometers, from the middle Sanaga (4° 30' N) to the mouth of the Ogooué (1° 20' S) in latitude, from the Atlantic (9° 30' E) to the middle Sanga (14° E) in longitude. The inhabitants are politically under the jurisdiction 636 of the Cameroons, Spanish Guinea, and French Equatorial Africa (Gabon and Middle Congo).

133 The country appears essentially as a plateau of rocks, crystalline in the north, metamorphic in the south, with somewhat worn, intrusive domes, separated from the sea by a worn mountain range of rarely more than 1, 000 meters cut by the gorges of coastal rivers. The mean altitude varies from 500 to 700 meters up to the deep fault of the lower Ogooué Valley.

The watershed between the Congo and the coastal river basins bends toward the southeast from the Nkolomendim (the mountain-of-the-waters) massif in the Sangmélima subdivision. The principal tributary of the Congo, by way of the Sanga, is the Dja (N'Goko). The principal coastal rivers are the Sanaga and the Nyong, the N'Tem (Campo), the Muni, and the Ogooué.

132 The climate is of the humid equatorial type, modified by the altitude and characterized by a double alternation of dry and rainy 805 seasons. The time measure of the Pahouin is the mbu, about six lunar cycles (ngon), and the solar year is divided as follows: (1)

> 1. The dates are approximately valid for the Cameroons-Gabon border. The terms are in Boulou; in Fang they would be: oyum, sugha, or sughe.

mid-June to mid-December: Byon (little dry season) and su'u (great rainy season)

mid-December to mid-June: ésep (great dry season) sometimes characterized by bikone (small rains)

Mean temperatures and rainfall are indicated on the table on page 3.

[832] days and the establishment of a sacred place, on which the Fang even set up a female figure of clay. During the seven days of preparation, the necessary medicines are obtained. [824] These are bark, scraped off the Anonacea Monodora tenuifolia Bth. (fǒb IV) and the Olacacea avǒm, and a small elephant's [825] tooth[1] into which are put the following /159/ things.

1. The most important is the larynx (engǒ̄ń) of a famous [826] singer, especially of one who was versed in love songs, or the larynx of a woman who before the payment of the bride price allowed herself to be abducted by her lover. The aim is to obtain the power of the singer, who was loved on account of his voice (famous tenors even in other countries are, after all, not only popular but also loved), and to be loved as he was, or one desires to have the woman consent (with her larynx = voice) to follow the call of love as quickly as did the woman whose larynx has been placed inside the elephant's tooth. The name engǒ̄ńeshǒk was chosen because of the desire to pretend that only the throat of an elephant (shǒk) was involved and to avoid naming the real contents, the human throat. As a name for the whole thing, engongeschok is intended to veil the meaning of the feast just as the animal names conceal the purpose of the cults. In other words, whatever you do, don't call a spade a spade.

2. Sex organs of a mother-in-law, the one who has given birth to the daughter and loved one.

3. The bones of an albino (mvēl, mǒk), preferred by women [826] because of the skin color (1).

1. Opinions concerning an albino vary
[114] a great deal; in other areas an albino is less highly regarded (Jaunde).

4. The bones of twins, because of the desire to be united with the loved one just as twins are united in the mother's womb.

5. Fulgurites (abī-zǒńń), so the love will be as powerful [821] as the lightning that throws down the tallest trees.

6. mǒ, so that the sorcerous beings (= evil persons) will not

[1] [or possibly "tusk"; see figure 55, page 26.-Analyst]

787 den deutschen Schutzgebieten /Reports by Explorers and Scholars from the German Protectorates/, edited by Dr. Baron Von Danckelmann.

this spider oracle: "In each hamlet or along the way one finds a quadrangle surrounded by the trunks of plantain trees, in the center of which there is a hole with little bamboo sticks (2) set around

2. This should read: raffia!

it. In this hole lives the field spider. Now, if the owner of the hamlet or one of his relatives wishes to undertake a journey, the hole is covered with plantain leaves during the night. If the little sticks remain undisturbed, everything will go well; on the other hand, if a little stick has been moved out of place, a misfortune threatens, and the people concerned stay at home."

2. Meteorology

§21 The rain is up in the sky in a large vessel which holds the rain just as a piece of fruit holds its juice. When it is completely full, the vessel bursts, and the water gradually flows off and falls to earth. When the vessel is completely empty, the people say: "The rainy season is over." During the subsequent dry season, the vessel gradually fills up again, with perhaps some water seeping through once in a while, but the greater part stays in. Then the vessel bursts again when the new rainy season begins.

When the vessel bursts and the water streams out, there is a tumult and a roar as of a waterfall or the surf. It can be heard in the distant rumble of thunder during a storm, which in the tropics coincides with rain more frequently than among us. Hence the Pangwe call this rumbling of the thunder nɔ̌ɔ̌ mmvɔ̌ɔ̌ l, "the rushing (noise) of the rain" (3). Rain is a creation of the primeval

3. mvɔ̌ɔ̌ a dim means: it is thundering.

821 there is a thunderstorm; actually,
"the rain is roaring."

mother, and, as a sign of a certain season, it is dependent upon the moon which, like all other celestial bodies, was assigned its course by the same primeval force. /197/

As we saw in the creation stories /Ed., not translated/, lightning also existed from the beginning (in the egg!). Later, however, the souls subdued lightning, and they now use it for two different purposes. The first is to warn their descendants on earth of a threatening storm, that is, sheet lightning and atmospheric lightning (yɔ̄ʼyɔ̄s IV Fang or fɔ̄ʼleyɔ̄s IV Ntum). "There is lightning" is then expressed by fɔ̄ʼleyɔ̄s a yɔ̄ʼs or fɔ̄ʼleyɔ̄s a lūd, "the atmospheric lightning lights up," or "it passes by"; the root yɔ̄s means "to open suddenly with a bang, to light up, to appear suddenly and disappear again." Secondly, the souls use lightning to strike down large trees that bar their view of the earth and the activities of human beings -- that is, lightning that strikes, zɔ̄ʼn IV Ntum, zɔ̄ʼyɔ̄n IV Fang, or zɔ̄ʼyɔ̄n IV. The fɔ̄leyɔ̄s is thought of as like the igniting of powder when it lights up briefly and suddenly; the zɔ̄ʼn is like the firing of a rifle, and just as in the case of the latter, one says: ngɛ́ a kɔ̄bo, "the rifle is talking," so in the case of the former, one says: zɔ̄ʼyɔ̄n a kɔ̄bo, "the lightning rifle is speaking," that is, "it is thundering" (the cracking thunder accompanying lightning, in contrast to the distant rolling thunder of which we spoke above).

Lightning that strikes is conceived as a black bullet that strikes the trees and splinters them. The "turd of the lightning" (abī' zɔ̄ʼyɔ̄n) -- this presumably refers to molten and conglomerated masses of *pesin* -- is believed by the natives to have curative powers, as does the bark of trees struck by lightning.

Although the "lightning cartridge" is intended solely for purposes of blasting, it can also be dangerous for human beings if they happen to be in the neighborhood of the trees affected, and it is believed that death is caused by the tremendous roar. Hence it is advisable to withdraw into the house during thunder storms, because, by strict command of the souls, lightning is not allowed

821 to penetrate into houses. To be sure, this lightning is a disobedi-
775 ent fellow who has already caused his primeval mother Alonkok a great many difficulties, and he does not always heed the command of the souls. If it should happen at any time that in his willfulness he strikes the houses -- incidentally, I never heard of such a thing happening -- the natives do not assume that there was malice on the part of the souls. Possibly, as is only human, they aimed wrong. For this reason the Pangwe, who like all primitive people are quite apprehensive in other respects, are not afraid of thunder
[152] storms. A momentary fright, however, caused by the brightness of the lightning and the violence of the thunder, can very often be observed in the case of nervous temperaments.

There is only one more question: "Why is it that the souls make use of their 'lightning rifles' only when it rains; they could surely strike down the trees just as well without it?" To this my Pangwe has a ready answer: "It doesn't work so well, because rain and storms make a passage through the air for the lightning bolt, and then the souls have an easier time of it." /198/

Rain medicines are infrequent in the Pangwe region; rain does
789 not need to be summoned for there is enough of it -- God knows --
821 in tropical West Africa. They would sooner fend it off, for instance, during the drying of ngon, at cult festivals, sometimes during the harvest, and on journeys. For this reason, unnecessary beating of drums is avoided because it invites rain, in accordance with the view, which, incidentally, also prevails outside the Pangwe region, that (rumbling) thunder is produced by rain.

During the drying of ngon, women sometimes place an inverted pot covered with leaves on the village square. Next to it they plant a little stick with a plantain dyed red speared on it,
[829] and they perhaps plant a twig of Petersia minor Niedenzu (abin) near it. The pot is supposed to represent the vessel in the sky in which the rain is enclosed (mvɛ̄, "pot," mvɔ̄-n̄, "rain"). Covering the pot indicates that they wish to have the heavenly pot closed in the same manner. The plantain is a plant of the moon which determines the seasons and thus also the rain, and the red coloration is, as it were, a courtesy paid to the moon. I was unable to discover the relationship of the Petersia to rain, but in the

789 opinion of one Fang, the word a bǐnǎn, which is contained in the
821 name abǐn, has the sense of "moving about and rumbling," and they want the stormy weather just to move about and rumble.

The help of the ancestors is employed in another method of
769 combatting Jupiter Pluvius, one that is used chiefly for cult festivi-
789 ties. The ancestral figures, festively smeared with oil and red
821 wood, are placed in front of the house where they would be drenched "to the skin" if they did not see to it that no rain fell on this particular day. At the same time the ancestral skulls are frequently painted with a salve made of red wood and ground bark of
824 Pentaclethra macrophylla, whose pods, when they are ripe, burst open with a pop and fling the fruit a great distance; in this way the natives indicate that the rain should be flung to one side in the same fashion.

When women are in the fields harvesting -- especially at the
789 harvest of ngon -- and rain threatens, they put a little water and a
821 stone in a leaf bundle and hang this up in the field. In the same manner the rain is supposed to remain suspended in the sky, be as heavy as the stone, and stay in its place just like a Negro whose "heart is heavy" and who shows no inclination for any kind of undertaking.

Medicines with a similar effect are used on journeys. A leaf
484 of Trachyphrynium violaceum Radl. (tsǎdǎkiǎ'i, IV Fang) is twisted
789 into a bag, filled with a little water, and then fastened to one
824 finger. By doing this, the rain is held fast. Another medicine consists of hanging up old pieces of wood saturated with water, so that the rain will likewise be absorbed up in the sky. Furthermore, a person will take a Petersia twig or a fern leaf dipped in water in his hand, /199/ so that the rain will be broken up into as many little parts as the small pinnules of the fern. Finally, there is the familiar Selaginella, the herb of "missing" (zǐ)ǎnǎ', from á zǐǎn, "to miss"), that is to say, the rain is supposed to miss man.

It should be emphasized that the Pangwe no longer regard
789 these medicines seriously and even ridicule them as "superstition":
178 they have long since noticed that none of them helps. Hence, medicines against rain are no longer used today, except as a joke. A possible exception may be the cooking pot medicine of the women,

789 but even that seems to be dying out for its meaning is frequently
178 no longer understood. Thus I once (on an earlier occasion) found an open cooking pot set up as rain medicine; I simply could not understand this until I saw the authentic medicine and was informed that in the first case a mistake had been made.

821 According to one conception, the rainbow is the handiwork of a great sorcerer who wanted to show the others what he was capable of performing. Other natives think the rainbow is water vapor or smoke, and when it appears in the east, late in the afternoon, people say jokingly that one end is standing in the Campo and the other end in the Uelle. A third notion concerning the rainbow -- and this one is probably based on its iridescent colors -- is that it represents a water snake. The word for rainbow is, accordingly, nyŭ-ñ III, from nyŏ', "water snake." In addition, there is ntŭkŭm I, derived from the onomatopoetic expression tŭmetŭmetŭm, a designation for a flickering in front of the eyes.

The Tale concerning the Origin of the Rainbow

821 Once upon a time the grandmother of Ekute Essamnifmahōge
539 said to her grandson: "Go and show me the place where your mother
773 always catches fish." Thereupon Ekute went along with her and showed her a good place along the river, but his grandmother said: "No, this was not the place." Then her grandson showed her another place, but here, too, the grandmother said: "This is not the place where I am going to fish." They went together this way to four other places, but at none did the grandmother want to fish. Finally, the grandson said: "There are no more places for fishing; after this there is only the large river left." The grandmother replied: "All right, that is where we shall go." But her grandson said: "Oh, the places where everybody fishes are here, but in the big river the fishing is poor." However, the grandmother answered: "But I want to take a look at the place; come along, we shall leave right away." Thereupon the grandson went along with her, and when they came to the spot where the river widened, the grandmother said: "Here is where I want to fish." The grandson

821 773 559 [226]

again advised her against this, but the grandmother refused to give in, went into the water, and tried to drive the water away (1),

1. In smaller watercourses the water is removed by splashing it away; in larger rivers this is, of course impossible.

but in doing so she got in deeper and /200/ deeper until she was up to her neck in the water. Then she said to Ekute: "Bring me two sticks and lay them in the water so that I can stand on them." This Ekute did, and the grandmother removed the water and fished, and lo and behold, she soon had ten baskets full of fish. Then her grandson said: "Come, we have enough now, let's go home." But the grandmother said: "No, first I want to get all the fish out of the water; then I will surpass all people in fishing." Thus, she went on fishing, but then, all of a sudden, the water rose up to her neck and over her mouth, and finally she disappeared under the water. At that moment there arose out of the water a great snake (1), and when Ekute saw it, he seized his

1. In other words, the grandmother was a sorceress.

spear to kill it. Then the snake said: "Wait! I have something to say to you." Ekute, however, ran away into the village and called all the people, above all his father whom he already met on the way; the latter took spears and went with him to the river. When he saw the snake, he wanted to kill it with his spear. But the snake said: "Wait a moment, I have something to say." Then the snake commanded the people to make a basket and to carry it /the snake/ into the village. This was done, and when the snake had been brought into the village and had been assigned a house to sleep in, it said: "No, I want to sleep in the first house next to the meeting house." The people complied with this wish. Soon the rumor spread everywhere that a great snake was to be seen in the village, and many, many people came to see it. Everybody had to pay a lot of money for this, about as much as ten marks.

821 773 539 Thus Essamnifmaböge became very wealthy, and from this money alone he was able to purchase two wives.

Now it happened that he and all the people were gone one day, and only his son, Ekute, stayed behind. Then several people from a distant village appeared, but they had brought with them only two choppers (2), and in exchange for these they demanded

2. Bush knives valued at two marks.

to see the snake. Ekute, however, did not want to show it to them. The people argued with him and threatened, and they demanded to see the snake. Then Ekute, who was very imprudent, angrily took a chopper and knocked in the top of the house wall instead of carefully opening the door somewhat and letting the people look in. Thereupon the snake came out, went to the village square, and cried "See, now I am leaving." But the people and Ekute had run off. Thereupon the snake raised its head and body and swung itself into the air. At this very moment Ekute's father came back and was just able to cut off the lower end of the snake; the other part of the snake was already high up in the air and still stands in the sky today as the rainbow. The tail, however, turned into the python, and from the eggs there crept forth all the other little snakes. /201/

821 749 [754] The storm is likewise represented as the handiwork of an evil sorcerer. Whenever a great sorcerer is dying, he unleashes a storm, lays low the plantain fields of those people toward whom he feels ill will, destroys their houses, and indeed, he goes so far as to knock down their children in order to injure them. Anyone who has experienced a tropical tornado will understand the notion of the Pangwe that sorcerous beings are at work. The natives also have medicines against storms; the storm is gradually weakened if [824] one places young macabo leaves (these are weak to begin with) on the fire (whereby they become still weaker) and then grinds them to a powder on the ground in front of the house (this makes them weakest of all). Conversely, the storm is "made heavy" and thereby held back in the sky by placing a stone on Paspalum grass (obêt), which, because of its toughness and strength, is supposed

789 to represent the storm. Thus the storm is pressed onto the ground,
821 as it were. If the storm is already approaching, they beat a
plantain stalk to tatters on the ground of the village square, and as
they do so, they exclaim:

[539] okŭ[ŭ] a lŭde ma a lŭd: Okă[k] nkĭă]'
Storm, it pass by me, by (pass), (to) Okak in the west.

3. Astronomy

821 Even for a primitive people the astronomical knowledge of
772 the Pangwe is very limited. This fact can be excused only in part
by the unfavorable conditions of their country (rainy forest region).

The Pangwe have the same conception of the earth as that of the "ancients," that is to say, they think of it as flat like a plate and surrounded on all sides by the ocean. Over the earth and the ocean arches the sky which, as is stated in the creation story, originated as a part of the earth that was blasted off and raised up on high. In other words, the sky is thought of as firm and finitely bounded, just as is the earth. One should, accordingly, imagine a large bell jar placed over a gigantic plate in the center of which the earth floats in water, and this gives one the conception held by the Pangwe. As regards the earth, they naturally think only of Africa, that is, they conceive of it as one single continuous land mass.

The sky is infinitely high; the tallest mountains known to the Pangwe do not extend into it. One would have to set about 200 or more silk-cotton trees (Ceiba, on the average 70 meters tall) end on end in order to touch the sky.

821 The material of the sky is similar to that of the earth, and,
[823] like it, it is harder and firmer on the inside and softer, more fluid
on the outside -- a train of thought engendered by the swamps and the softened loam soil. Just as the crust of the earth forms clods, so the outer surface of the sky forms "scales" (eb[s] e dzob "scales of the sky," that is to say, clouds). The clouds, however, are

821 subject to constant alteration, and this is explained /202/ in the following way. The masses of the sky's crust move against each other in a manner similar to iron or brass that has been liquified in forging and moves more or less viscously as it cools down, so that in the case of the first metal that flows out, its more rapid cooling impedes the movement, while the subsequent metal, flowing over the first, moves more quickly the nearer to the surface it is. This is why the clouds move at different speeds and in various layers relative to each other.

The moon and the sun pass across the vault of the sky exactly as the primeval force has ordained in eternal laws. During the day the sun moves under the vault from east to west, and during the night it moves back the same way over the vault where it is, of course, invisible. At night, the moon follows the course of the sun under the vault, and during the day it returns over the vault, but closer to the ceiling, so that during the day one can frequently see it shimmering through. The Pangwe very easily account for the phases of the moon. They assume that in its various phases the moon moves in one of the inner layers whose clods have already become more rigid and that it remains covered by one of these clods.

In our account of the religion of the Pangwe /Ed., not translated/, we have already discussed the significance of the moon 821 805 in the cults. Here we need to consider only the practical side of its relation to human activities. The moon is the lord of fertility and of the seasons; the days and months are reckoned by it. The first day (according to other informants, the first two days) when the new moon appears is called avǫ̌ ngǫ̌n, that is, cold moon. From this day on all impulses toward propagation are "put in cold storage" for seven days, all development and all fertility are interrupted, the women have their menstrual flow, and the men abstain from sexual intercourse. For this reason, nothing else is undertaken, not because a taboo exists, but because one would not have any luck. The man does not go out to clear his farm because he would cut his finger; the woman does not go out to plant because the plants would not flourish. Even hunting and fishing are not attempted. It is important to note that this day is by no means designated as "bad," but as a day of rest which might correspond to

821 our Sunday, as if all nature had to take a rest.
805 By way of contrast, the days around the full moon are no good for hunting, probably because the moon when it is full is especially "evil" and hateful to all those who are sinless -- as are animals, for instance. Even the festivals of the moon cult (Sao) are never celebrated at the full moon, but always towards the time of the new moon in order not to display evil in its most glaring form. The natives count nine "days of the full moon," the sacred number which we have already encountered in the cults /203/, and during this time the Pangwe speaks of the ndźibe ngǒn, that is, the closed (full) moon, or ndźige ngǒn or abǐm e ngǒn, that is, the used moon. On these days the people do work, but fishing, trapping, and hunting drives are not practiced. Among the Fang, a direct taboo (ekī) exists for these three activities, though it is true that they like to circumvent this taboo -- like many others -- with the help of medicines.

Rules are made to be circumvented, the Ntum in Bebai thought,
[789] and during the days of the full moon they very gaily held great hunting drives. They also made a medicine by cutting a circle -- the full moon -- into the bark of a tree and within the circle removing half of the bark. In this way it became a half moon (Fig. 64). This medicine is delightfully naïve and beautifully indicates how the Negro knows how to help himself in all situations.

Concerning the nature of the stars the "Pangwe scholars" are
821 not yet quite agreed. Some believe the stars are simply holes in the vault of the sky through which the sun can be seen at night as it moves over the arch. Others say that they are little fires which during the day are simply outshone by the brightness of the sun. Still others -- and these are probably in the majority -- assume that the stars are little celestial bodies like the sun and the moon, but that they are afraid of the sun, so during the day they withdraw into the interior of the vault, and during the night, fleeing from the sun as it moves across the top of the arch, they come out and then become visible, hence their name o-tǐ-tē-ī, from the root a tē = to move from one's place (1). If one of the stars has ventured too

1. oa tē, odĕn = when did you leave (travel from) home?

[321] far from its hole, it naturally falls down. We call that a shooting star; the Negro says: "otɨ̌ɨ, a ke a bɔ̌m (the star goes forth to get a bride)."

It is a cause for some surprise that many, even older people have not yet noticed that the stars apparently move from east to west. When I made such a statement, it was steadfastly contested, and when I offered proof, the phenomenon was new and striking to all.

Constellations or names of stars, it seems, are totally unknown to the Pangwe; if there have been reports about these from the Jaunde, they are borrowed plumage with which the easygoing little Jaunde people have once more adorned themselves. The Pangwe calls comets bottɨ̌e from tɨ̌ɨo III, and he sees monitor lizards in them. A quite subordinate group of stars in the vicinity of Orion was pointed out to me several times and designated as tɨ̌ɨo, but I consider this a mistake, since in 1902 a comet disappeared in the vicinity of this area.

Extremely eager students may like to know the Pangwe's idea of the size of the heavenly bodies. Well, I hope their expectations are not too great! -- "Sun and moon," said my Pangwe, whom I /204/ /Fig. 64 appears here in the original text/ asked in the presence of his comrades, "are of the same size, and about -- let us say -- as large as one of the large tin plates sold on the coast." At this answer by the aspiring scholar, there was, however, a general shaking of heads, and in reply to my objection that even people in the distance look as small as ants and that the sky is so infinitely much farther away, the native questioned had to admit that he had underestimated. They finally agreed that the sun is as large as the area in front of my station (about ten meters wide). With that I had to content myself. In the case of the stars they obliged me from the outset, after this experience, by stating that they are as large as the space enclosed by the extended thumbs and index fingers of both hands, but the narrator evidently felt the need to justify his exaggeration to himself, and went on to remark: "They seem smaller, because they are far away!" /205/

As regards the color of the stars, the sun according to my Pangwe is red and hot like fire, the moon and the stars are white

2: Tessmann--87 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 F119 Fang F119

•821
[789]
[224]

Fig. 64. Medicine on trees, so that a hunting drive may be undertaken during the full moon, something which is actually prohibited. Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

and cold. "If the moon is cold and has no light of its own, how is it that you can see it? After all, you cannot see people dressed in white either when everything is dark!" This objection the Pangwe counter with the reply: "On earth it is dark, but in the sky it is bright, that is, nothing obscures the view there!"

524 153 As we know, the Sso antelope is the animal of the moon, while
the moon is mistress of the seasons and thus of rain; if one blows
[825] on the horn, the rain, which according to the Pangwe produces
[821] thunder, will answer.

Once the twelfth group of sentences is finished, all previously
524 recited groups of sentences must be recited backwards.

153 Sentence 1: nǔm okbǔ̱ń a ke a
539 Man of the dwarf antelope, he goes to

dʒǎ̱ńgan a nkǒ̱[k] etě
fall in love in the lying trunk inside,

b(a) asǎ̱ngɔ̄ʼn-ogbwō.
with Assangon-Ogbwo.

The dwarf antelope man goes inside the prone tree trunk (which is hollow, so that the little antelope can use it as a hiding place) to fall in love with Assangon-Ogbuo, literally, the eldest daughter of the magician.

Sentence 2:

ngbūē̱ne ogbǔ̱ń a ke a
Offspring of dwarf antelope, it goes to

bē̱ nǔʼm okbǔ̱ń.
follow man antelope. /308/

Sentence 3:

ngā́-ogbǔ̱ń a ke a
Wife of dwarf antelope, she goes to

be ngbūē̱ne ogbǔ̱ń.
follow (the) little antelope.

Sentence 4: agbǔ̱ń abai (two antelopes) d'a ke a be nga agbǔ̱ń.
Sentence 5: agbǔ̱ń ala (three antelopes) d'a ke a bē̱ agbǔ̱ń abai (two).
Sentence 6: agbǔ̱ń ani (four antelopes) d'a ke a bē̱ agbǔ̱ń ala (three).
Sentence 7: agbǔ̱ń atan (five antelopes) d'a ke a bē̱ agbǔ̱ń ani (four).
Sentence 8: agbǔ̱ń asiē̱men (six antelopes) d'a ke a bē̱ agbǔ̱ń atan (five).

773 In the past Nzame lived a life which his children still live today,
773 proceeding westward as he abandoned villages in which he had lived with his wives and which he vacated after the fields had been exhausted. The number of his wives was so great that it was not known, and his villages were so important that at their sites the forest could not grow back, and this is why there are now plains in the midst of the forest in the Pahouin country.

Nzame arrived at the end of the earth, which is flat, and came up against the sky barring his way, an iron roof covering the earth as a roof covers a hut, and held up at its center by an invisible stake which [68] has since been held up by Ningone Maboere, sister of Nzame. He went to the other side of the sky after having crossed a very wide river, Endam, into which all the rivers empty and which flows all around the earth and under it, bursting through at the thinnest points so as to emerge in the form of springs. Then Nzame stopped and established the village Dzo, which he has not left since.

It is in this village that Nzame still lives with his wives and children. His life is the same as on earth, and there he welcomes the dead and keeps the elements imprisoned, the sun, moon, rain, etc...

773 Every morning, when Okwal the wild fowl calls, Nzame goes to
821 open the door of the hut where the sun sleeps. The sun wakes up, gets on its way, goes around the sky, and returns in the evening when everyone is in bed, to rest in the hut which it left in the morning. "The sun is a large ball of fire which gives heat and light as it burns.

The moon also is imprisoned in the village Dzo. It is a large white stone which Nzame regularly shows to the people at night in different phases: small, larger, entirely round, then smaller and smaller, until he hides it for a few days. Because of its whiteness, the moon also gives light.

The rainbow is a big snake which is seen when Nzame gives it permission to go out and drink water from the river.

Sometimes Nzame also opens the door of another hut, and rain comes out, preceded by wind. Rain falls through holes pierced in the sky, which allow the lights of the Dzo village, or the shining eyes of the dead which look at the earth, to be seen at night. These luminous holes are the stars. Sometimes lightning comes out of the hut at the same time as the rain. The former is a little animal that falls on the trees and breaks them, making a noise. In the dry season the rain goes back to the hut, and it is seen at night or in the morning in the form of great white mists rising above the lakes and rivers.

713 Nzame has much work in his village, but he does not disdain to en-
821 joy himself. He causes tomtom dances to be performed on the sky, and the noise of the dancers' feet is called thunder. From time to time also, when there is an eclipse, it is Nzame who takes pleasure in frightening people by plunging them into darkness at midday.

II. The evur. The evur or evus (plural, bivur) appears to be an
776 individual spirit which plays a fundamental role in the life of the Pahouin. Not all persons have an evur. To have an evur, one must have received it from a person who has one. Such a person is called nem (plural, beyem). A child in the foetal state carried by its mother [69] can receive an evur even without the knowledge of the mother. One can tell by its weight that a newborn has an evur; only a nem, on lifting a child in his arms, can say that he has felt the weight of the evur, imperceptible to anyone else.

776 If at its birth a child has no evur, it can then receive one. The
852 evur given it is either good (evur mve) or evil (evur abi).

(1) Good evur. In the case of a good evur, the donor of this evur, who is always an elder of the tribe, comes often to see the child until the latter can count to ten, that is to say, at about seven or eight years
[86] of age. At this time the child is considered intelligent enough to understand what is expected of him, and then the ceremony called akaga is performed.

All the beyem of the village are invited to meet at a tree called
[824] ovah (Didelotia africana), chosen from among all the others as the fetish tree because of its size, its longevity, and its resistance to tornadoes. The child is brought there; then the donor of the evur, in the presence of the assembled beyem, pronounces the wishes which he makes for the child's future. He wishes him wealth, strength, success, in general all that which will make him happy. For little girls the wishes are more particularly that they may later have many children, that they may be strong for their planting tasks, and that they may be esteemed by the other wives of their future husbands.

A kind of soup called nam akaga, the preparation of which is secret, is made on the occasion of this ceremony. Each time the donor of the evur makes a wish, the child must take a little nam. For example, if the wish is for him to have ten wives, this is made with the following words:

e mon ni, nam ma ke we wi olug bunega awum
That child, the soup I give you here marries ten wives,

772 water; dim • to terminate, to extinguish, to sink (in connection with
123 a star); dimi • to get lost; dip • to close; dibi • dark, opaque. (According to Trezenem, the world is surrounded by the river éndam, a word related to ndam • width, wide.) The darkness of the east is black (cf. the name of the land of origin, mvô' ékanga • country of high white clouds; low dark rain clouds are minkut); the darkness of the west is white, the feminine color, white, moreover, being the color of mourning and death. The bekôn are white, at least those that remain on earth; those admitted to Zambe's village are red.

In relation to the east-west axis, north is on the right, mbo nnôm, male side, south is on the left, mbo ngal, female side. The dividing line between north and south is the Sanaga (Osôé Nnanga • white river, river of the albinos) crossed by the python, mvôm, who is also the rainbow (though a Fang tradition in eastern Gabon mentions a river, the Evindi, that is, "black"). North is connected with red (1), the

[822]

1. Evindi, éfumulu, and évele, "black," "white," and "red," are the only names of colors in the language. They are applied to the near shades: a grey is "white" or "black," a blue or green is "black," ochre or light brown is "red," light yellow is "white," etc. For greater exactness, similes are used —no'obon, "aquatic moss," for green, jôp, "sun," "egg yolk," for orange or yellow —or loan words like "blue."

masculine /115/ and festival color. South is also noon, midday, zane mos, and the zenith, yôbe jôp (yôp • sky, high, height; jôp sun, in Fang, dzô); it is the side of light, vian, sunlight, or éfufup, brightness.

[821] The sky, yôp, seems to be supported by an iron post (akoñ • post or spear, a masculine symbol) held by the sister-wife of Zambe, Nyingon Mebe'e. The sky appears both masculine and feminine, like the earth; the sun is masculine, the moon feminine.

Thus we come to define two opposing directions or sectors on the compass card: the N/E quadrant is male; the S/W quadrant is female —the two others seem to be neuter. The NE-SW diameter bisects

779 from an elephant's tail. He then sprinkles the victim, the
782 ancestral skulls, and finally the totem.
783 Upon returning from battle, warriors wash their weapons in lustral water so as to ward off the malevolent spirits of the dead.

Lustral water is also used in sacrifices made in expiation of violations of éki.

Afterwards the water is emptied in a remote spot. The chief often carries it back to the village and uses it to water the
[124] tree, usually a fig tree, that was planted over the remains of his umbilical cord. This tree is an emblem of his own life, and the lustral water is in this case a sort of sacrifice. [509]

III. Fasting: nsè akhu

779 All important totemic ceremonies are preceded by fasts.
785 They are very strict, and the least infraction entails grave penalties.

They always take place in seclusion: those who are fasting are kept apart in the forest far from the village, shut up in small huts. During the fast it is strictly forbidden to drink or eat before sundown and to wash with water, although rubbing one's body with ashes is allowed. Furthermore, certain meats and fruits are prohibited, such as boiled food or fruit; fermented drinks, except on certain sacred days and before initiations, when, on the contrary, it is obligatory; and drinking from any kind of pot. If someone takes a drink inadvertently, the pot must be broken right away; nevertheless this act involves a ritual fault and requires expiation. One is supposed to drink from a brook, using
[134] a leaf rolled into a cone (oké ésaga). Finally, throughout the fast all intercourse with women is absolutely prohibited (évek).

779 The duration of the fast varies with the ceremony and the
785 initiation. For circumcision, for instance, it lasts usually a lunar month (ngon). Other initiations rarely exceed seven days,
● 821 let us say a lunar quarter, alɔ́ɔ́ ngon; the last quarter is usually chosen (mɛ́tɛ́ mɛ́ngon). The moon plays an important role in all

779 totemic ceremonies, or in even just religious ones. None may
785 be performed while the moon is dark or when it is full (ngon
821 éso nduge: the moon is closed). In the ceremonies at which the chief performs alone, the fast lasts three and a half days, a half lunar quarter; the fast begins at nearly full moon (mo'o ngon) and ends at full moon (nduge ngon).

IV. Totemic Dances: adzém ha dzém akhu

779 Dance plays such a large part in Fan life, as it does in
535 that of every African, that it would be very unlikely to be absent from religious and totemic life. Besides, we know that dancing has always been associated with [510] religious phenomena among all peoples and in all epochs. David danced before the Ark of the Covenant; Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans had their sacred dances; and even in our day, in quite recent times, have we not seen in Madrid the seises, the altar boys of Seville, performing their graceful dances before the blessed sacrament?

The Fan have their religious dances, and special ones for each rite. We may divide them into several classes: purely religious dances, with which we are not concerned; those that accompany totemic rites; and, finally, purely totemic dances.

Among the dances accompanying totemic rites, the principal ones are dances of sacrifice and of circumcision and mortuary dances.

779 As the name indicates, dances of sacrifice accompany all
782 sacrifices and are danced before and after, and each has it
535 characteristic features.

The dance taking place before a sacrifice is serious. The chief, then all the participants, circle slowly around the victim to a tom-tom beating out a solemn rhythm. The movements of this dance are all slow and restrained, knees are bent slightly, elbows pushed back, with hands near the hips. It is more a rhythmic march than a true dance.

The dance taking place after a sacrifice is of quite another character. The rhythm is very fast, arms are raised into the air,

881
304
779
[82]

does not usually last longer than eight days, a lunar quarter. Every evening songs and dances are performed in honor of the moon, which is looked upon as a source of fertility. (2) In Fan,

> 2. The same belief exists in almost all African tribes; just as in Egypt, the moon presides over rain, which is the earth's source of fertility and thus of human fertility.

the same word, ngon, denotes "girl" and "moon," an ambiguity to be found nearly everywhere among African tribes, in varying degrees. These songs and dances are very special and repetition [533] of them is strictly prohibited outside the sacred enclosure. (3)

> 3. All I could discover on the subject from my young Christian converts who had already gone through the ceremony was that these songs were "bad" and had as their purpose procreation. There is no doubt that the Fan say things "crudely" in their songs. That is all I can say.

According to Lang, (4) this is the time when a youth is

> 4. The Making of Religion, Art.: "Circumcision."

taught about the existence of a beneficent god, a defender of morals, who condemns egoism and adultery. This is so among the Fan. In fact, it is during their retreat the chief teaches the children the mébara, or wisdom of the ancestors, and narrates the great deeds of the race. This is as much as we have been able to learn, for the rule of secrecy is scrupulously observed. During the final days the chief makes a point of mixing into the

S: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

372 log from the last town where the caravan rested. This man kept the piece of wood
484 burning by gently swinging it backward and forward, while marching along the path with his load. On one occasion I timed a native, and when we reached the next stopping place, after a three hours' tramp in the rain, the brand was still burning brightly, and it had been frequently passed from one end of the caravan to the other so that all who desired could light their pipes from it.

The Fang use fire in the ceremony *of going out of mourning*. I witnessed this
372 ceremony once at Foulabifong. The widows of an old headman had put in the
765 regular time of mourning and were now to be released. There were seven widows in all, three of middle age, and four young girls. A small fire of leaves had been lighted in the centre of the street, and on each side of the fire stood several young men armed with switches. The widows wore a very slender loin cloth. At a given signal the widows rushed toward the fire and bounded through it, the young men switching them as they passed, but the switches were not used severely. Immediately after the switching, each widow seated herself on the ground holding a bunch of burning leaves under her feet, while a young man shaved their heads with a sharp trade knife. On inquiry regarding this ceremony, I obtained the
[783] following information: Passing the fire *cleans* them after mourning (evidently considered a means of purification). Switching reminds the widows of their duty to the man who inherits them as his wives. Burning has two meanings: firstly, the pain caused is endured as a last act of mourning for the departed; second, it signifies that henceforth the widows walk a new path (enter upon a new life).

Fire has a place in Fang religion or belief. The sun is considered the *tata*
372 (father) of all heat, and the original maker of all fire, whether by friction, matches,
● 821 powder, or lightning. When a severe thunderstorm is at its height, the natives say of the lightning, "that the sun has hid his face and is shooting fire, because he is angry." The native word for sun is *ɔ̀ɔ*. Although the palaver house fire is kept burning, still, no special effort is made to keep it alight; should it go out, any person present is at liberty to rekindle it from newly produced fire.

VII.—*Customs.*

671 The Fang have no system of law, no judge or tribunal for punishment of crime. Theft, murder, offences against the person are all settled according to native custom.

Example: A Fang of the Esisis clan steals goods or a woman from a Fang of
628 the Nge clan. The Nge who has been wronged does not go to the offender for
681 settlement, he goes to another near town and shoots the first goat he sees in the street or if very angry, he may shoot a woman. The owner of the goat or woman demands of the Nge his reason for doing so. The Nge replies, "An Esisis" (giving the man's name) "has wronged me; I put the palaver (his offence) on you." The third party then goes to the Esisis and says, "An Nge" (giving the man's name) "has shot my goat (or woman) because you have made trouble with him; he has put your palaver (trouble) on me. You must pay me!" The original offender is

there is the striped mouse, Mus pulchellus Gray (abɔ̌ III), which gnaws the nuts. A kind of black rot affects the nuts here and there during certain years. A number of caterpillar species which consume the leaves can scarcely be designated as actual pests. It is probable that the black rot has led the women to the belief that other women are capable of making their groundnuts sick and of ruining them by means of "medicine." They try to counter this trick with a medicine consisting of the bones of the turtle, the elephant, the pig, and the guib, which are burned to ashes and then crushed; it is scattered on the seeds before planting. Of the remaining medicines that are supposed to influence favorably the growth of groundnuts, the most important one consists of rubbing the groundnuts with a specially prepared coloring made from red wood, ba-ayǎ'; accordingly, this medicine is called ba-ayǎ'. This red coloring (see Section 18, "Sexual Life") produces the desired results and fends off hostile intentions. Red is everywhere the color of joy, growth, and reproduction. On the day the woman plants the groundnuts, she paints a line between her index finger and thumb with the "medicinal red" which will give her a lucky hand; or she draws a similar line on the upper surface of a tree stump and covers the stump with leaves, like a cap. This is to say: "May you groundnuts blossom, grow, and thrive (the red color is for this) under such a protection (referring to the leaves); nobody will be able to do you any harm (referring to the medicine)." Furthermore, on the eve of sowing, the man usually sets a good example for the groundnuts "assembled" in the basket /91/ by performing coitus for their benefit. With this example he sends them on their way: "Multiply! (1)" Another

1. This is done even when the woman is menstruating, whereas sexual intercourse is otherwise avoided during this period. In this case, as a medicinal act, sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman is supposed to be particularly good for the groundnuts, on condition that the woman "brings good luck (ayŭe)" (see Section 18, "Sexual Life").

302 Aside from rubbing his skin with oil, the Pangwe likes to smear his body with dyes on certain occasions. For this purpose he uses red chiefly, more rarely white, and only exceptionally black. There are no other colors. Red is the color for joy,

[415 249 252 516]

Fig. 146. Nuts of the oil palm are cracked open to extract the oil.

and white is the color for death and evil. From this, the occasions on which the colors are used will be apparent. On festive occasions, that is, dances, weddings, and birth celebrations, red is used, a color which sometimes (for instance, in the love dance) is enlivened by white suns and circles, which seldom

302 appear in black. The natives also put lozenge-shaped /195/ spots
• 122 (bendō[k] be ba, "lozenges from the redwood") on the skin, or they leave lozenge-shaped areas uncolored when they paint themselves red, in both cases with the help of a stencil, that is, a /Fig. 147 appears here in the original text/ leaf from which a lozenge-shaped piece has been cut out. On occasions of mourning and cult activities dedicated to the "Evil One," on the other hand, they wear white.

386 Red dye (bē III, esī) is obtained from the heart of the redwood tree Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub. (mvō' IV Fang, mvē IV Ntum), a Leguminosa. They prefer old trees that have fallen down and are already rotten on the outside. A piece of convenient size is knocked off, and using it as a scraper (nīǎk-esī, IV) they rub it on the rubbing block (nīč-esī), which is the trunk, going back and forth and sprinkling fine sand on it from time to time. Once I saw the husk of the Leguminosa Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth. (ebī'i), Figure 147, used as a scraper. When the nearest redwood tree is at so great a distance that it is impracticable to run to it whenever dye is needed, a small log and a scraper is taken to the hut in order to be able to produce the favored red dye at all times without any trouble. Very charming little vessels in
[415] the form of pots, troughs, plates, or stools are used as containers for the dye (Fig. 148). /Fig. 148 appears here in the original text./

White dye(vūok IV) is obtained from the white clay of the same name, a kind of pottery clay which usually is darker. It is applied after being mixed with water. Black dye is prepared from crushed charcoal to which water is added (dye and charcoal, pǐ'di III).

4. Decoration of the body.

302 We recognized the adornment of the body with different ob-
304 jects as the expression of a purely esthetic urge; we recognized the desire to express personal moods as the motive for painting the body. /196/ On the other hand, religious reasons doubtless originally played a role in the constant alterations made on the body. This seems clear, for instance, with respect to the custom of making the teeth pointed and incising the body. These very

832 fumigated (Fig. 58), while the skulls with cold severity surveyed the situation, until they themselves had justice done to them, for they were carried in a dance around the love tree. Meanwhile, a number of the participants took red dye and with it drew a line on the bark of the love tree, observing that they themselves would like to look like this in the eyes of their beloved. Another one took black dye in addition to the red and first made a red line, saying, "In the eyes of the girl to which I shall go (he probably was not allowed to pronounce her name) I want to appear like this (red)"; then he drew a black line and added, "On the other hand, the girl shall see all others like this (black line)." We already know that red is the color of life,
[822] of joy, and of light. Black here signifies its opposite, the unpleasant and ugly.

Finally, a small punishment was meted out to the ancestral
832 skulls by sticking them in the above-mentioned draw traps set
769 up around the tree and leaving them there until the next day. Such a punishment of the ancestors is very rare, and it is significant that it does not occur at the Malan but in connection with the love medicine, which is to be regarded as a degenerate form of the Malan. Then around the tree a great variety of other medicines were distributed, such as red dye and a piece from the loincloth of a mother-in-law. Among the Fang the genitals
[826] themselves are supposed to be taken, these having been cut from the deceased mother-in-law. /162/ /Fig. 58 appears here in the original text/

832 On the forenoon of the second day of the festival about 25
783 banana leaf vessels were set up in a row in the festive area and
[415] filled with freshly fetched water. Into the first vessel the medicine man put a whole pile of bark pieces and leaves, all of them love medicines. The other vessels were treated in a more perfunctory fashion: only a few pieces of bark were placed in the second vessel, and in each of the following, only one; the last vessels did not get anything. The medicine man then sat down at the first vessel, blew into it with a pipe, whereupon a thick,
[388] soap-like foam arose, which supposedly comes from the bark of
[824] the Cylicodiscus gabunensis (Taub) Harms (edūm), and then washed his face, first in this vessel and then in all the following

524
153
539

Sentence 9: agbŭ̀ń zāngbwā' (seven antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbŭ̀ń asiē'men (six).

Sentence 10: agbŭ̀ń mūóm (eight antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbŭ̀ń zāngbwā' (seven).

Sentence 11. agbŭ̀ń ebū, (nine antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbŭ̀ń mūóm (eight).

Sentence 12. agbŭ̀ń avŭ́m (ten antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbŭ̀ń ebū, (nine).

[832]

Young lovers like to play the game with their girls, as may be surmised from the somewhat romantic text. Jokingly, the girl says that she will give herself only to the one who can go through the entire game without making a mistake.

The Memory Game (nkū́k ondūle or endĕle)

153
524
211

This game is known only among the Fang and a number of adjoining Ntum kin groups, and it is supposedly indigenous. A flat staff with short, paired transverse extensions and vertically inserted knobs is used in the game. The end of the staff usually has a head carved on it (Fig. 113). Each pair of transverse extensions, along with the knob and the adjacent lower part of the staff, forms a segment on which eleven different points are designated for the answers (see Fig. 114).

The game may have developed from an older, simpler one in which the individual parts of the human body were enumerated. This notion is suggested by the designation of the staff as the body, of the carved end -- even when it is not a regular head -- as neck and head, by the tripartite arrangement of the transverse extensions -- absent in Figure 113 -- (corresponding to the upper arm, the

[822]
[831]

Fig. 112. Stick with Pieces of Raffia used as Mnemonic Device in the Memory Game of the Dwarf Antelope. About one-fourth actual size.

Memory Game, nkuk-ondüle, made of Wood, Southern Ntum Region. A little over one-fifth actual size.

Fig. 113

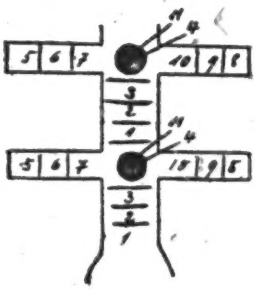


Fig. 114
Two Sections of the Memory Game nkuk-ondüle.

lower arm, and the hand), and finally by the upright knob, called [822] tsǎngetsǎ̄nge (the red one; red as the color of reproduction, of [831] life), by which originally the male sex organ was doubtless understood. The implement is thus unquestionably supposed to represent a human body whose members are multiplied.

The game is played by two people, one questioning, the 524 other answering. The former, seated in the circle of listeners, 153 holds the implement in his hand and indicates the various points that /309/ must be answered. At each one he calls out: "zé zé?=- What is that?" (phonetically assimilated and corrupted from dzé dzé). The principal player sits farther away and answers the questions in rhythmic song while the others stamp their feet or clap [533] their hands in time. He is, of course, not allowed to make any marks to aid his memory, such as dividing a little stick into the corresponding number of sections. This is brainwork.

The 11 questions, which are the same for each segment, go 153 as follows: 524

1, 2, 3. (see the corresponding numbers in Fig. 114) 539

nkúk ondüle wō'le.

Body (of the) ondüle here. That is the body of the ondüle.

173
[533
538]

superhuman heroes, who include not only their ancestors but also the earliest well-known Europeans: Ngôtô Zambe (Rev. Good), Mendômô (Hauptmann von Hagen), Akôk (Marius Pascalet), etc., thus are found to be naturalized as it were and incorporated into tradition.

Driven out of this country by red giants (or by a red giant), the ancestors, fleeing to save their lives, were brought to a standstill at the Sanaga, incapable of crossing it until the intervention of the guardian of the waters, a python according to Beti and Boulou, a crocodile according to /16/ the Fang (1). By stretching himself across

1. Bertaut gives the names as mot yom and nga medja or ngan meja. Discounting a mistake in transcription, these expressions could mean "a being to be supplicated," "crocodile to be supplicated," from môt (Fang, môr, mur) = person; ngan = crocodile; ja'é (Boulou) dzak, dzaghé (Ewondo, Fang) = to ask, to supplicate; yom = to beg, to implore.

the river this animal formed a bridge which the ancestors crossed family by family, in order of primogeniture, until the moment when a child (or woman) wounded the animal's back by letting fall a weapon (or a torch). The animal dived below, abandoning on the right bank the Beti group that is still there today.

[103] Osoe Nnanga, whence Europeans have derived "Sanaga," means [822] "white river" or "river of the albino." White is the color of death; [824] ghosts (bekôn) are white; albinos are thought to be offspring of incubi. [775] Lastly, the land of the dead has always been situated in the west, toward the sea (mañ), even though the Pahouin could not have known the sea except by hearsay. Considered in connection with some of the legends collected by Trilles, these facts may lead us to think that the Pahouin in crossing the Sanaga were entering, at least symbolically, the land of the dead.

When they had reached the left bank, they found their road blocked by an impenetrable forest, with the single path obstructed by an

772 water; dim = to terminate, to extinguish, to sink (in connection with
123 a star); dimi = to get lost; dip = to close; dibi = dark, opaque. (According to Trezenem, the world is surrounded by the river éndam, a word related to ndam = width, wide.) The darkness of the east is black (cf. the name of the land of origin, mvô' ékanga = country of high white clouds; low dark rain clouds are minkut); the darkness of the west is white, the feminine color, white, moreover, being the color of mourning and death. The bekôn are white, at least those that remain on earth; those admitted to Zambe's village are red.

In relation to the east-west axis, north is on the right, mbo nnôm, male side, south is on the left, mbo ngal, female side. The dividing line between north and south is the Sanaga (Osôé Nnanga = white river, river of the albinos) crossed by the python, mvôm, who is also the rainbow (though a Fang tradition in eastern Gabon mentions a river, the Evindi, that is, "black"). North is connected with red (1), the

[822] 1. Evindi, éfumulu, and évele, "black," "white," and "red," are the only names of colors in the language. They are applied to the near shades: a grey is "white" or "black," a blue or green is "black," ochre or light brown is "red," light yellow is "white," etc. For greater exactness, similes are used — zo'obon, "aquatic moss," for green, jôp, "sun," "egg yolk," for orange or yellow — or loan words like "blue."

masculine /115/ and festival color. South is also noon, midday, zane mos, and the zenith, yôbe jôp (yôp = sky, high, height; jôp sun, in Fang, dzô); it is the side of light, vian, sunlight, or éfufup, brightness.

[821] The sky, yôp, seems to be supported by an iron post (akoñ = post or spear, a masculine symbol) held by the sister-wife of Zambe, Nyingon Mebe'e. The sky appears both masculine and feminine, like the earth; the sun is masculine, the moon feminine.

Thus we come to define two opposing directions or sectors on the compass card: the N/E quadrant is male; the S/W quadrant is female — the two others seem to be neuter. The NE-SW diameter bisects

881 304 779 one thereby becomes incorporated in him and in the tribe. Finally, the taboo surrounding this organ of the body, to which the origin of circumcision may be traced -- either because of the social function of the organ or of the danger of its premature use, or even because of its independence of volition -- allows circumcision to be considered as a desecration that has to precede the stage of virility, in order that use may be made of it. (2)

2. Bros, Religion des peuples non-civilisees [Religion of Non-civilized Peoples], "Circoncision" [Circumcision].

881 304 779 778 [844] Some of these statements hold good for the Fan; some are less applicable. Let me use as an example one of the things that illustrates very well the close connection between circumcision as a religious rite and childbirth rituals, the fact that pieces of cloth used to staunch blood are in both cases carefully kept to be used for the same purpose. [520]

Ordinary warriors place them with their personal totem in the mfek or pineapple-fiber bag which never leaves them. These pieces of cloth, or fragments of them, are always part of totemic sacrifices. The sons of chiefs, on the contrary, are not allowed to keep them; they bury them deep at the base of the sacred fig tree planted when they were born over the remains of the umbilical cord. This custom certainly goes back to remote antiquity. Among the Egyptians, the fig tree was considered sacred and dedicated to the Egyptian Venus, Hathor. From this perhaps comes the word éthu, designating a garment made from the bast of the fig tree. The same word, éthu, has remained in the Fan language with the same meaning, "garment," and the [287 inland Fan always make vegetable-fiber cloth from the fig tree, ● 832] which they still dye red; this was formerly the color dedicated to Hathor, and it has remained the color of betrothal garments. For the same reason, before marriage, young men and women stain themselves red from head to foot. It is a color "set apart."

361 the sites of future huts with blood. The hen is then opened up
621 and divided among the principal warriors and the chief's relatives.
769 This strictly, speaking, constitutes the totemic sacrifice. The
782 kid or sheep is then offered to the spirits of departed souls and to the ancestors.

After the sacrifice to ancestors the chief puts the akameyôn
361 back at his side. From the mfex or pouch, which is never re-
621 moved, he draws forth a small bundle of dirty material wrapped
769 around a bit of red wood, ashes, and a few bones. All this
778 comes from a sacrifice to the totem like that already described. To these he adds the remnants of the recent sacrifice and buries it all deep in a hole in which he drives a strong stake of élun
[824] or éfirfira wood; sometimes a young ebony tree is also used. At the top of the stake he fixes a ball of paste made of red wood,
[822 white chalk -- the colors of sacrifices and spirits, and manioc,
842] the symbol of fertility. A part of the clan or tribal totem is also inserted. The practitioner, with many gestures, songs, and dances imprisons within it all the evil spirits of the air.
[558]

The practitioner sows maize in the middle of the village, then plants a manioc root and particularly a euphorbia (euphorbia antiquorum), and puts a small fence around, so that the plants
[787] will not be desecrated. The village's prosperity depends upon their rapid growth. Should they wither, the chosen spot will be abandoned. Euphorbia has the power of averting thunder and evil
[824] spirits by means of its bristling points. Amaryllis and immortelles are often planted at the foot of the euphorbia, along with a few stalks of sugar cane. The amaryllis and immortelles ought to come from the old village, having issued from those which the chief's first wife had formerly brought from her
[842] native village at her marriage. Sugar cane is a symbol of fertility.

241 The women plant maize everywhere after these prelimi-
361 naries, and its rapid growth ensures basic subsistence. Meanwhile the men build the huts. The first ears of maize will certainly be offered to the guardian totem. Dried and preserved in the form of a coronet, they will provide seed for the following year.

103 824 35. Andung from andŭ̄ŋ = Croton welwitschianus Muell. Arg. (Euphorbiac.), beautiful by virtue of its shining silvery leaves.

36. Akom from akŏ́m = Terminalia superba Engl. and Diels. /53/

37. Makom (Makomo), the same, plural.

38. Nkoakom from nkok = fallen tree trunk, that is, of the Terminalia.

39. Engo from engṓ, an unidentified tree.

40. Akoga from akṓga = Lophira alata Banks, with beautiful, fragrant blossoms.

41. Makoga, the same, plural.

42. Assam from asǎ́m = Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg., with a rich, fragrant cover of blossoms.

43. Massam (Massama), the same, plural.

44. Angok from angŏ́k = Albizzia brownei Oliv., a beautiful tree.

45. Dum from dum = Ceiba pentandra (L.) Gärtn.

46. Medschimitum from mdezī = roots, and tŭm = Piptadenia africana Hook. f.

47. Asseng or Assöng from asö́n = umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br.

48. Massöng, the same, plural.

49. Nkoassöng from nkok = fallen trunk of the umbrella tree.

(e) From characteristics of the landscape.

103 823 50. Ngbai from ngbaī = leafless living tree (its winter condition).

51. Mekumu from nkūm I = standing dead tree trunk without a crown.

52. Ndangöng from ndăngö́n = clearing.

53. Ewüöle from eyüö́le = clearing.

54. Nko from nkṓ = hill.

55. Anko = at the hill.

56. Akok from akṓk = stone, rock.

57. Makok, the same, plural.

58. Maschok from mazŏ́k = rapids, falls.

103 825 (f) Derived from animals or parts of animals.

59. Schok from zŏ́k = elephant.

361 As was mentioned in the previous section /not translated/, the villages are laid out along the roads and always in an east-west
● 823 direction (cf. Fig. 16). /56/ Curiously enough, the people gave as the reason for this arrangement the fact that the land slopes down to the west (toward the ocean) and that the rain water can run off in this direction. It is true, of course, that this point is an important consideration inasmuch as they are careful to lay out the village in such a way that the rain water will not flood one of the rows of huts. Nevertheless, this cannot be the sole reason for the east-west arrangement. I have observed that even on completely level ground -- which, in other words, does not favor the drainage of water in the direction intended -- the east-west plan was the
[887] preferred one. When, for instance, a route goes south, it will make a turn before reaching the village, cross the latter in an east-west direction, and at the other end will resume its southerly direction (cf. Fig. 16, the Nssälang I-Beniaa route). It is obvious that in this arrangement reasons other than the one mentioned play a part, such as the general trek to the west of which mention has already been made in the previous section (1).

[764] 1. Compare also the predominantly east-west direction of the graves.

361 A Pangwe village consists mostly of two rows of houses running parallel to each other with the road between them (Plate 4 and Fig. 16). More rarely, a village consists of a single row of houses along the road. Furthermore, villages come into being through the combination of two or more individual establishments, and as a result different villages display different stages of development, observable everywhere side by side in the region.

361 If the father of a family wants to found an establishment, he
592 builds two houses, a dwelling and a meeting house /men's house/.
61 The dwelling is the real domain of the wife, where she works and lives with her children and where the man for the most part stays only at night, very rarely in the daytime. The meeting house, on the other hand, is the usual haunt of the man, where he busies himself during the day, performs his incidental tasks, and receives visitors and where the wife comes only now and then. As the

789 to represent the storm. Thus the storm is pressed onto the ground,
821 as it were. If the storm is already approaching, they beat a plantain stalk to tatters on the ground of the village square, and as they do so, they exclaim:

[539] okŭ[š] a lŭde ma a lŭd: Okǎ[k] nkǐǎ̄ī
Storm, it pass by me, by (pass), (to) Okak in the west.

3. Astronomy

821 Even for a primitive people the astronomical knowledge of
772 the Pangwe is very limited. This fact can be excused only in part by the unfavorable conditions of their country (rainy forest region).

The Pangwe have the same conception of the earth as that of the "ancients," that is to say, they think of it as flat like a plate and surrounded on all sides by the ocean. Over the earth and the ocean arches the sky which, as is stated in the creation story, originated as a part of the earth that was blasted off and raised up on high. In other words, the sky is thought of as firm and finitely bounded, just as is the earth. One should, accordingly, imagine a large bell jar placed over a gigantic plate in the center of which the earth floats in water, and this gives one the conception held by the Pangwe. As regards the earth, they naturally think only of Africa, that is, they conceive of it as one single continuous land mass.

The sky is infinitely high; the tallest mountains known to the Pangwe do not extend into it. One would have to set about 200 or more silk-cotton trees (Ceiba, on the average 70 meters tall) end on end in order to touch the sky.

821 The material of the sky is similar to that of the earth, and,
[823] like it, it is harder and firmer on the inside and softer, more fluid on the outside -- a train of thought engendered by the swamps and the softened loam soil. Just as the crust of the earth forms clods, so the outer surface of the sky forms "scales" (ebǎ[s] e dʒǒb "scales of the sky," that is to say, clouds). The clouds, however, are

173 as against the fruits of the earth) and flees to the west, land of the dead or the ancestors, where the frustrated elder son pursues him (1).

[123] 1. This association of the west with material goods, of the east with the produce of the land, is found again in the potlatch (bilaba), described further on.

Largeau and Grebert make of the usurping younger son the ancestor of the Whites, but Trilles has collected versions which he considers older, in which the younger son is the ancestor of the Bantu of the coast; these versions, moreover, exist side by side with Largeau's. It is possible that the association of the younger son with the Whites dates from the first trade contacts. /18/

Chapter 3

The Language

1. Distribution

197 The group as a whole is characterized by an unquestionable linguistic unity, which spreads across cultural and anthropological boundaries. I have earlier indicated the existence of Pahouinized tribes or tribes [53] becoming Pahouinized, especially the Maka and the Kozimé. To these must be added the Pygmies living symbiotically with the Pahouin, and whose language they appear to have adopted to a very great extent, to a point where it is difficult to know for certain if they still possess a language of their own.

[198] Moreover, Pahouin dialects tend to be used as a trade language in areas where, on the one hand, the Pahouin are but a minority, often as emigrants, or, on the other, in regions less advanced economically and socially than is their own habitat.

There are therefore:

a) A true Pahouin linguistic area: this is Pahouin country as described in the first chapter. There Pahouin is spoken as a mother tongue by the Pahouin themselves and in all probability by the Pygmies.

614 (yii = to weep; yek = to make a fish dam of wet earth; nyia = mother;
[192] nyin = four; enyin = life). Sometimes the differences in name have been explained by geographical origin: the ésa clans would be those in the west, the ye clans those in the east. Actually, we find ye clans and ésa clans in all tribes, in the east as well as the west. Yet the geographical explanation should perhaps not be altogether rejected but rather associated with a sexual interpretation.

823 The Pahouin do, in fact, seem to have ascribed their system of
571 directions to the apparent movement of the sun or, perhaps, to the
614 line of their migration. The west would then be associated with the right, mbo nnôm = male side, the east to the left, mbo ngal = female side (1). This polarity would indicate a series of little-known insti-

> 1. According to Largeau, north is on the right (male), south on the left (female), which is understandable if directions are based on an E-W line of march. See below.
>
> In Zoll'Owambe's description of the bilaba (no. 125) imported merchandise (male?) comes from the north, local merchandise (female) from the south, while he uses to designate the south the term nsak, meaning "interior," "upstream," or "east," a meaning comparable with that of nké, west or downstream.

tutions, first of all, the joking relationship, awusô, derived in turn from the great national sô rite. In fact, I think I observed that the awusô relationship existed almost always between an ésa clan and a ye clan: Esakoé-Yekomba, Esaébeñ-Yenjôk, Esel-Yembôñ, etc. Certain points may also suggest a link with the former marriage custom and a kind of potlatch called bilaba (2).

> 2. Another explanation makes the ésa clans originally segments of the ye clans; this interpretation could also account for the joking relationship.

614 The problem is not made easier by the knowledge that certain ésa clans identify themselves with ye clans in other tribes and that there

556 nkukum had to excuse his wealth, primarily by distributing it through
565 customary hospitality and also by a special device of economic-social
431 control resembling the potlatch, the bilaba.
437 This practice seems to have been especially common among the Boulou. Bertaut relates the word to a Ngumba root meaning "to talk," "to cajole." I should rather incline toward a derivative of the verb lap, "to draw water," by extension "to splash," which can figuratively also convey the idea of scoffing. It is not impossible that the bilaba mechanism was connected with that of the joking relationship, awusô. The bilaba begins with a challenge from one nkukum to another, each man claiming to be the richer. The challenger goes to the house of the challenged, carrying a load of merchandise, mebo me dulu, "legs for the journey," and accompanied by a large retinue of musicians and singers, etc. When he reaches the home of the other njem bilaba (bilaba dancer), he overwhelms him with presents and taunts; his opposite number replies, present for present and jeer for jeer, until he has contributed more than the equivalent of the mebo me dulu. The first njem bilaba goes home and waits for the other's return visit with his own mebo me dulu. Visits and countervisits may go on for a long time, each of the bejem bilaba calling on his immediate family for help, then upon his lineage or clan, for continued supplies. The bilaba therefore comes to be a collective affair. It must be observed that not just any kind of merchandise is exchanged: a njem bilaba in the east (nku, ôku) provides local products, (livestock, cacao, ivory, etc.), in the west (nké) imported products (loincloths, salt, powder, etc.) (1). It should be remembered /61/ in this

1. M. Zoll'Owambe (no. 125) speaks of akum so, "merchandise of the north," imports, and of akum nsak, "merchandise of the south," products of the country. But there appears to have been some confusion. In fact, so = coast, downstream, is related to nké = west, which also means downstream, while nsak = hinterland, upstream (nku = east, related to kui = to come from, rise from, emerge); cf. Largeau, who considers the north to be on the right (male) and the south on the left (female). Imported products would be considered male.

437
431
552 connection that the points of the compass have a sexual implication,
525 which is not well understood. The bilaba sets up a sort of joking re-
[623 lationship between the families of the participants, which may con-
831] tinue after their death.

The institution seems to be dying out, though it was still flourishing between the two /World?/ wars and often involved considerable amounts of money (1).

> 1. Balandier (no. 175 and in a personal communication) stresses the economic importance of the bilaba which, in a society without a money or trade economy, constituted one of the principal means of circulating goods and, especially, of diffusing imported commodities.

556 In spite of the fear his success inspires, and perhaps because of
622 this fear, the rich man enjoyed undoubted authority in his village and sometimes beyond it. Nkukuma, the absolute form of nkukum, is used to translate "chief" (it probably means, more precisely, "person of note").

554 The word évet, also applied to subchiefs or government "capitas"
622 is likewise used —a correct nuance if, as Bates says, évet is a corruption of headman applied originally to the chiefs of trade caravans. These men were chosen for their business astuteness, diplomacy, authority, and courage, but they were only deputies of a clan or village, not true political chiefs. To convey the latter implication the preferable term is still njôô bôt (Fang, nzoé mur) from jô = to say, to command, a term indicating a de facto state, /état de fait/ rather than a legal notion. It should be recalled that there were no political leaders other than the seniors, mintôl, of the extended families. Their authority was further limited by the ease with which their brothers could leave the village to establish another nearby (2).

164
554
622

> 2. But among some Pahouinized peoples the existence of royal insignia shows that chiefship /chefferie/ is an institution: among the Ewôndo and Yanda the head of the clan designated his successor or, if he

266 Boulou and Ntoumou, who often fought the Fang, do not accuse them of cannibalism, which seems to prove that this /practice/ was restricted to "foreign" wars, to conquests. Intestinal cannibalism was held in horror and practiced only by sorcerers, often called bedi bôt, man-eaters. Di nlem, usually translated as "soul eating," means literally "to eat the thoracic organs" and may be applied to outright material consumption of these internal organs. On the other hand, the anthropophagy or "necropophagy" that might be qualified as homeopathic, which consists of swallowing in a biañ (mbiañ) a tiny amount, often as ash, of an ancestor's or an initiate's body, has nothing criminal about it and apparently used to be part of all important rites. /113/ From this point of view, the communion meal of the body of the sô, if this rite is truly totemic, represented perhaps manducation of the ancestor.

As for gastronomic cannibalism, it is a story for the picture papers. Not only man's flesh but even that of anthropoids, aside from the cases mentioned above, is absolutely taboo /the plural bityi is used here. —Tr./, and accidental consumption or consumption enforced 261 783 by absolute necessity (for instance, if hunters are marooned by a flood) entails rigorous purification.

c. Elements of Cosmogony

772 803 Our knowledge of the traditional world view is largely conjectural too, for the reasons already pointed out. We may state with reasonable certainty two fundamental concepts:

Orientation of space and time referred to the apparent movement of the sun; perhaps it would be better to speak of space-time, as the two ideas are closely connected.

The principle described by Stoll as "double symmetry," which could also be called "sexual complementarity" and summed up as the equilibrium in tension of all elements of the universe /création/.

These two concepts are, as things stand, tied together if not inseparable.

Time and space flow from east to west in a declining movement. East is ôku, upstream, high, and male; west, nke, is downstream, low, and female. The earth, si, is surrounded by water, or rather, enclosed by water and darkness, /thus/, ndim = blind; mendim =

772 water; dim = to terminate, to extinguish, to sink (in connection with
123 a star); dimi = to get lost; dip = to close; dibi = dark, opaque. (According to Trezenem, the world is surrounded by the river éndam, a word related to ndam = width, wide.) The darkness of the east is black (cf. the name of the land of origin, mvô' ékanga = country of high white clouds; low dark rain clouds are minkut); the darkness of the west is white, the feminine color, white, moreover, being the color of mourning and death. The bekôn are white, at least those that remain on earth; those admitted to Zambe's village are red.

In relation to the east-west axis, north is on the right, mbo nnôm, male side, south is on the left, mbo ngal, female side. The dividing line between north and south is the Sanaga (Osôé Nnanga = white river, river of the albinos) crossed by the python, mvôm, who is also the rainbow (though a Fang tradition in eastern Gabon mentions a river, the Evindi, that is, "black"). North is connected with red (1), the

[822] 1. Evindi, éfumulu, and évele, "black," "white," and "red," are the only names of colors in the language. They are applied to the near shades: a grey is "white" or "black," a blue or green is "black," ochre or light brown is "red," light yellow is "white," etc. For greater exactness, similes are used — zo'obon, "aquatic moss," for green, jôp, "sun," "egg yolk," for orange or yellow — or loan words like "blue."

masculine /115/ and festival color. South is also noon, midday, zane mos, and the zenith, yôbe jôp (yôp = sky, high, height; jôp sun, in Fang, dzô); it is the side of light, vian, sunlight, or éfufup, brightness.

[821] The sky, yôp, seems to be supported by an iron post (akoñ = post or spear, a masculine symbol) held by the sister-wife of Zambe, Nyingon Mebe'e. The sky appears both masculine and feminine, like the earth; the sun is masculine, the moon feminine.

Thus we come to define two opposing directions or sectors on the compass card: the N/E quadrant is male; the S/W quadrant is female — the two others seem to be neuter. The NE-SW diameter bisects

772 the two opposite angles and would represent the axis of migration,
823 mfa'a mañ, "toward the sea." The masculine direction seems to have been the place of origin of the ye (feminine?) clans, the feminine direction, that of the ésa clans. Trilles places with the latter the ébi clans, which are, geographically, from eastern clans; I wonder if they ought not rather to be connected with the ye clans since ébi means "hole," "chasm" (yee = valley, ravine). In the bilaba, masculine commodities come from the female sector, and vice versa.

772 These apparent contradictions would be resolved by applying the principle of double symmetry, or of sexual complementarity, similar to that which makes paternal, nonuterine half brothers called bobenyañ,
[601] "my mother's sons." This principle might be expressed somewhat as follows: every being capable of life must, in order to exist and be complete, include the opposite sex. In other words, bisexuality, a universal vital principle, should be found in every part of the universe /creation/. Stoll finds proof of this in the language, where the tone
[194] levels in his view constitute genuine differentiation by grammatical sex genders, and especially in the rites whose purpose appears to be not to make men entirely masculine or women entirely feminine, but rather to give to each sex the necessary complement of the opposite sex.

Whatever may be thought of this theory, it is a fact that, because
[114] of the apparent or real absence of grammatical sex gender in the language, the majority of the early writers, even Trilles, did not attach enough importance to real gender, to the sex actually attributed to objects, particularly to magical and ritual materials. We know that spear, akoñ, saber, fa, and probably the large drum, mbaé, are male; calabashes and cooking pots, rattles (mengoñ), the double bell (nkeñ) are female; the drum-telephone, nkul, is androgynous; horns for medicaments, minlak, are male at the pointed end, female at
801 the hollow end, and the same with the rifle. As to numbers, my conclusions are diametrically opposed to those of Stoll, who believes even numbers to be male, and odd, female, though admittedly he advances as proof the large part played by odd numbers in feminine rites, which runs directly counter to his theory of double symmetry.

The numerical system is in any event only imperfectly known.
[802] Counting is based on 10, with traces of an 8:10, (awôm), basis /116/ and of 8, mwom, /having?/ perhaps the same root as different classifiers. The so number is 9. Nyin, 4, seems related to a YI

103 The place names are usually connected with either prominent landmarks of the natural environment, objects, events, experiences, or characteristics of the inhabitants. Thus, we have the following names.

(a) From palm trees.

103 ●g24 1. Niescham from a nī = lay, žǎm = swamp, raffia palm, that is to say, the village is located where there are raffia palms, the most important plant for house construction.

2. Mabäscham from a bē = follow, žǎm = swamp, raffia palm.

3. Makoda from akōda (plural, makōda) = swamp palm, Sclerosperma mannii, Mann et Wendl., used like raffia for house construction.

4. Nkan from nkān(e) = Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc., climbing palm, used for plaiting.

5. Mekan, the same, plural.

6. Nsamenkan from žǎm (nžǎm) = swamp, swamp of the climbing palm Ancistrophyllum.

7. Alen from alēn = oil palm.

8. Malen, the same, plural

(b) From cultivated plants.

9. Matumabai from atú (plural, matú) = taro, Colocasia antiquorum (L.) Schott, and mabai = two; thus, two taros. /52/

10. Bekaba from ekǎba (plural, bekǎba) = Xanthosoma violaceum Schott.

11. Emäangon from a mē ngōn = scatter ngon /a squashlike ground fruit/, that is, for drying in the village square.

(c) From edible wild fruit or fruit trees.

12. Essun from esǔn = fruit of the cardamom, Aframomum alboviolaceum K. Sch.

13. Madschab from madžǎb – oil from Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl.

14. Fan from fǎ″ne = fruit of the Anacardiacea Sorindeia rubriflora Engl. (afǎ″ne).

15. Abe from abě = kola nut and tree, Cola acuminata (P. Beauv.).

103 16. Andok from andǒ̄k = Irvingia barteri Hook. f., Simarubaceae.
● 224 Mandok.

17. Nkoandok from nkǒk = fallen tree trunk, that is, of the Irvingia.

18. Ngong from ngǒ̄n IV = fruit of the Trichoscypha sp. (engǒ̄n).

19. Alöb from alǒ̄b = Desbordesia glaucescens Engl. (Simarubaceae).

20. Mangame from mangǒ̄me III = Myrianthus arboreus P.B. (Moraceae), perhaps also the symbol of agreement, taken from syncarp.

(d) Derived from other trees.

21. Akak from akǎk = Leptonychia tessmannii Engl., Sterculiacea, the tree of peace, the peace linden.

22. Makak, the same, plural.

23. Nkomakak or Nkolemakak from nkō[l] = hill, that is, hill of Leptonychia trees (makak).

24. Abang (Abanga) from abǎ̄n = species of Ficus, particularly used in the manufacture of bark cloth.

25. Mabang (Mabanga), the same, plural.

26. Akam from akǎm = several species of large Ficus, for instance, F. preussii Warb. and laurentii Warb., striking trees used for the manufacture of cloth.

27. Ajo, Jusch (Ajusch) from ayǒ̄s = Triplochiton tessmannii, used especially for the manufacture of house coverings.

28. Majo (Majusch), the same, plural.

29. Nkolemajo = Nkolajo, from nko[l] = hill of Triplochiton.

30. Owöng from ovǒ̄n = Copaifera tessmannii Harms, famous spirit tree, largest tree of the Fang region.

31. Awöngabai, two Copaifera (abai = two).

31a. Ndschiowöng from ndzǒ̄l = bridge, bridge of Copaifera.

32. Elun from elǔn = Erythrophloeum guineense Don. (Leguminosae), striking because of its red bark, a poisonous tree.

33. Belun, plural.

34. Ejen (Elibengang) from ejǔn, elibengǎn = Distemonanthus benthamianus Baill., striking because of its beautiful violet-red bark; a medicine tree.

103 824 35. Andung from andŭ̄ŋ̀n = Croton welwitschianus Muell. Arg. (Euphorbiac.), beautiful by virtue of its shining silvery leaves.

36. Akom from akŏ́m = Terminalia superba Engl. and Diels. /53/

37. Makom (Makomo), the same, plural.

38. Nkoakom from nkok = fallen tree trunk, that is, of the Terminalia.

39. Engo from engṓ, an unidentified tree.

40. Akoga from akŏ́ga = Lophira alata Banks, with beautiful, fragrant blossoms.

41. Makoga, the same, plural.

42. Assam from asǎ́m = Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg., with a rich, fragrant cover of blossoms.

43. Massam (Massama), the same, plural.

44. Angok from angŏ́k = Albizzia brownei Oliv., a beautiful tree.

45. Dum from dum = Ceiba pentandra (L.) Gärtn.

46. Medschimitum from mdezī = roots, and tŭm = Piptadenia africana Hook. f.

47. Asseng or Assöng from asŏ́ń = umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br.

48. Massöng, the same, plural.

49. Nkoassöng from nkok = fallen trunk of the umbrella tree.

(e) From characteristics of the landscape.

103 823 50. Ngbai from ngbǎ́ī = leafless living tree (its winter condition).

51. Mekumu from nkū̄m I = standing dead tree trunk without a crown.

52. Ndangöng from ndǎngŏ́n = clearing.

53. Ewlöle from eylŏ́le = clearing.

54. Nko from nkŏ́ = hill.

55. Anko = at the hill.

56. Akok from akṓk = stone, rock.

57. Makok, the same, plural.

58. Maschok from mazŏk = rapids, falls.

103 825 (f) Derived from animals or parts of animals.

59. Schok from ʒŏk = elephant.

344 that holds together the rafter ends. A less common procedure is to place brackets diagonally on top of the rafters and fasten the mats to them. Finally the ridgepoles itself is covered. For this purpose two roofing mats (obū't, elā'ā t-esē i) h are sewed together at their upper edges and are placed as the topmost layer /Fig. 22 appears here in the original text/ over the ridgepole. For protection, a special ridgepole mat (ngŭ'm IV) i is placed on top of the other mats; it consists of a mat bent in the middle which is clamped to the double mat by means of pegs made of the bark of raffia stalks l.

In those areas where there is no raffia, rafters are made from the leafstalks of oil palms (as in Yaoundé /Ger., Jaunde/) or from little tree trunks. /Fig. 23 appears here in original text/ /63/ In [124] place of mats, the leaves of Sarcophrynium velutinum (Bak.) K. Schum. (okĭāikūi) -- see Plate 11 -- and of the swamp palm, Sclerosperma mannii Mann et Wendl. (akō'da), are used, as well as banana leaves to cover the gaps. This substitute for mats is not very durable and is laborious to manufacture since roof laths are continually needed to fasten down the leaves and it is necessary to place Aframomum stalks very closely together from the ridgepole to the edge of the roof; otherwise, the leaves either stretch or are blown off. The durability of a roof covered with swamp palm leaves is so limited that it stays in good condition for only a year, as the people told me, whereas a mat roof holds out for five years before repairs become necessary. /Fig. 24 appears here in the original text./ A roof covered with Sarcophrynium leaves, moreover, looks quite unattractive, especially from the inside where the leaf stems which are cut off near the blade extend into the house.

Once the roof is completed, work on the side walls begins. The material for these is the bark of certain trees whose names are mentioned in the discussion of bark crafts (Section 8, page 213), the leaves of swamp palms and Sarcophrynium, both of which are used more often for the gable walls, and finally strips of raffia pith and mats. The latter, however, are used only sparingly here because of their many small spikes.

344 The pieces of bark, one to two meters long and approximately a half meter wide, are attached to the frame in the following manner. To the inner side of the wall posts longitudinal

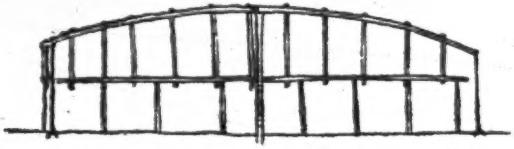


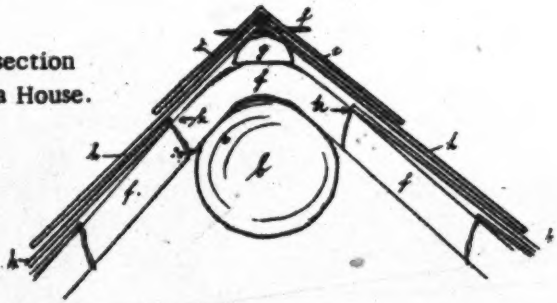
Fig. 25. Frame of a Meeting House of the Fang from the Region of Komo (Village of Omvan, French Congo). Cross-Section Lengthwise.

strips of raffia leaf stems (ebai) are /64/ attached by means of boards at certain distances from each other, and to these the bark pieces are fastened by means of raffia strips which run exactly parallel to the boards. The posts, therefore, usually stand outside the house, very rarely within it. The bark pieces
584 and raffia strips are held together by bands of Oncocalamus (nloń I =
824 Oncocalamus and band) (1) -- see Plate 16 -- and they are

438 1. The Jaunde buy this "bush rope" from Elandi, the only place in the Jaunde region where bush rope is still available; otherwise they use Dipteropeltis poranoides Hallier f. (atū[k]e ndžik).

finished by two people working together in the following manner. One of them crouches inside the house, the other outside, and

Fig. 26. Cross-section of the Ridge of a House.



344 532 The interior of the house (Plate 5, Fig. 27a and 27b) consists of a single empty room, broken only by the isolated posts (the central supports of the ridgepole). In some cases I observed that these posts were handsomely carved, but only in houses with one central post. The carvings showed stylized or modified human figures (Fig. 19) and quite faithful representations of animals. I recall, for instance, a very beautiful post on which was pictured a pig biting the tail of a leopard, which I saw in the village of Bingomo (Abâi family).

344 352 [324] Along the walls there are low benches of which I have seen two different types. The simplest benches, hence the ones designed more often for temporary meeting houses, consist of the trunks of umbrella trees (Musanga) which have been split lengthwise down the middle or of raffia stalks which have simply been placed across two shelves of the same wood (kū'dū III). The same kind of bench is always found in places where there is no raffia and also in huts that serve as lodgings for guests. The second type of bench (see Fig. 28 and 29) is a rectangular frame of raffia stalks (enǒ'n) split lengthwise down the middle; its narrow side consists in each case of two legs (a = akōkǒ'nǒk) with pointed pins (c = mbǒ'n -ak. I Fang, oǒ'n Jaunde) which pierce and hold together four layers, placed on top of each other: the lowest, a wooden ledge, and then three raffia stalks. The wooden ledge (b = oǒ'mé'ja-enǒ'n) has a central section cut out for the support of nine or more stalks (e) wedged into it, which constitute the seat of the bench; the three raffia stalks (d = kū'dū -enǒn III) serve to hold down the latter and also as a head and foot rest. Sometimes there is also a back rest (f = aǒ'gebě -enǒ'n), consisting of a raffia stalk split lengthwise down the middle and simply placed on top of

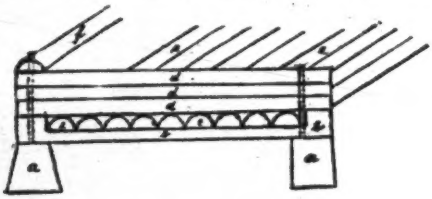


Fig. 28. Side of a Bench.

342
352
353

its edge with ornamental chip carving. It is placed on the ground, often in the vicinity of the door posts, and is considered, so to speak, as a place of honor -- for strangers and the paterfamilias -- like our sofa.

412
356

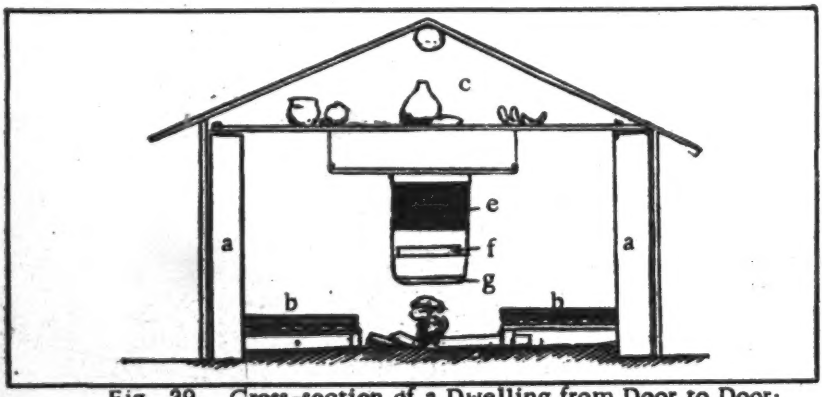
As a final household implement the sweeper should be mentioned. It appears in various forms, depending on whether it is used in the dwelling, for the benches of the meeting house, for the meeting house floor, or for the village square.

For the house a broom evũ̃ a[k], Figure 41 a, is used, made of raffia leaves tied together in the shape of a fan. "More elegant" brooms are used by the Jaunde for the benches of the meeting houses. These are made of pieces of liana stalks, Ertela scandens Benth., Leguminosae, called ntṹ (b), or of the flowers of the oil palm (c). The pieces of liana stalk are slit so that they form something like a brush; these brooms therefore correspond more or less to our dusters. A third form of broom (Fig. 42) consists of two little wooden boards tied with strips to a handle. /Fig. 39 appears here in the original text. / /76/ It resembles our snow shovels, but it is by no means to be found in every village, and even where it is found it is infrequently used.

[824]

137
824

In the preceding descriptions the reader will have been struck by the frequency with which the raffia palm is mentioned as construction material. It is indeed true that this palm, called "bamboo" in Negro English, is by far the most important and most valuable plant



[342
353]

Fig. 39. Cross-section of a Dwelling from Door to Door: a, door posts; b, sleeping benches; c, pot loft; d, loft for drying groundnuts; e, pantry; f and g, roasting boards.

137
824 for the Pangwe. Where it is scarce, as in Yaoundé /Ger., Jaunde/ it is imported from great distances whenever necessary.

In the Campo-Uelle region there are four species of raffia. Of these, Raffia hookeri M. (esa) is to be found only along the banks of the larger rivers; Raffia regalis M. et Wendl. (andžim), on the other hand, grows only on hilly terrain and even there very sparsely. The following appears in swamps (1) and may

1. Hence, zǎm = swamp and raffia palm (collective name).

[352
531]

Fig. 40. Fang Stool.

be designated as the true raffia palm: Raffia vinifera P.B. (nia dšǎn = true, authentic raffia), the common species. Finally, there is a species (akō'dō), recognizable by the fact that its leafstalks are tinged with blue, which is frequently found scattered among the above species. The general name for raffia, dšǎ-h, indicates its importance; it means "the mother of the village," /Fig. 40 appears here in the original text/ dźa (n, see "Suffixes" /not translated/), because the whole village is made of raffia, and indeed no name would be more fitting considering all that is produced and constructed
824 from it. The following list will give an idea of its multiple uses.

I. Foodstuffs

1. Palm cabbage.
2. Pulp.

●824

II. Spices

3. Salt (from the leaves and stalks, together with other plants; see Section 6, p. 133).

III. Oils

4. Hair oil (from the pulp; see Section 7, page 193).

IV. Building Materials

A. Leaf pinnae.

5. Mats (eśē̱ı) for the roof.

B. Whole leaves.

6. Plaited fences around the cult sites.

C. Whole leafstalks.

7. Molding beams (mfā̱s I).
8. Rafters (ntū̱ē̱n I).

D. Halved leafstalks.

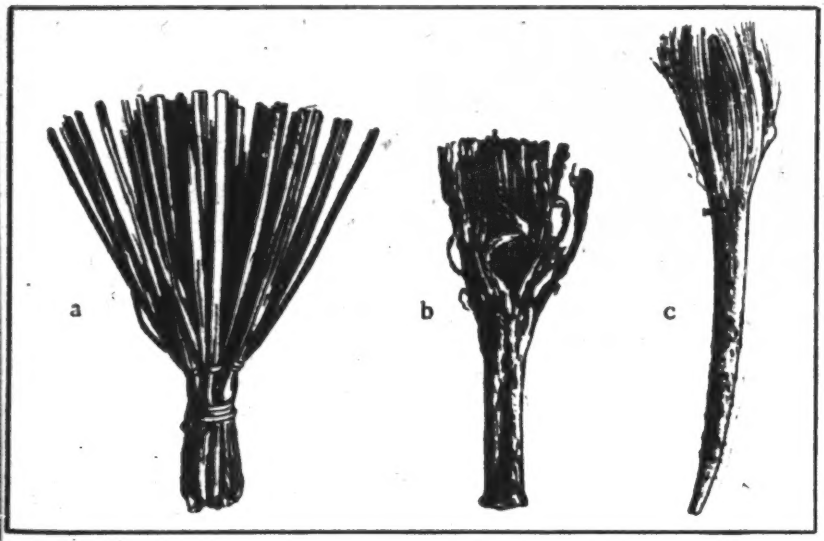
9. Sleeping and sitting benches (kū'dū III and enǒń).
10. Longitudinal strips for house walls (ebā̱ē̱ā̱ Nt., ebāǎk F.)

E. Pith.

11. House walls. /77/ /Fig. 41 appears here in the original text./

V. Household Implements

12. Groundnuts baskets (angū̱n), made of pith.
13. Drying boards (etǎń), made of the bark of leafstalks; the frame, of pith.
14. Drying lofts (akǎń).
15. Bowls for red wood.
16. Combs (made of pieces of stalk bark).
17. Brooms (made of leaves).
18. Corks for powder flasks and for bamboo drinking reeds (pith).
19. Nails, for joining together the pith.
20. Plantain peelers (piece of bark).
21. Ropes for basketwork plates (medullary rays).
22. Needles for taking out sand fleas (bark).
23. Sticks for incising the surface of pottery jugs; furthermore, awls for piercing the nose (bark).



824

[412]

Fig. 41. Sweepers:
a, brooms for dwellings; b and c, dusters for meeting houses.

24. Knife sheathes (pith).
25. Sticks for preparing the clay blast pipe (stalks).
26. Casting molds for founding brass rings (halved stems).
27. Kindling, ekǎ'ba (stalk strips).
28. Ropes (bast).
29. Pipe bowls (made of the fruit kernels); see Section 6, page 164.
30. Needles, sewing needles (pith).
31. Fire fans (pith).

VI. Trapping Implements, Weapons

32. Fish baskets, ayǎ', ngǫ̌dĕgo, nsǫ̌n.
33. Fish weirs, olǎ'm.
34. Noose for spring traps (fiber).
35. Bow trap of the Jaunde for rats (ebā'dē).
36. "Spears" against sorcery.

VII. Musical Instruments

37. Raffia instrument, myǒt (made of the stalks).
38. Guitar, ndǫ̌nga (made of the pith, the bridge of stalk strips).

824 39. Plectrum for the musical bow, elĕ̄m (stalk strips).
40. Strings for the harp (fiber).
41. Sticks for the war drum, ngŏ̄mo (made of pith).
42. Sticks for the signaling drum, nkū (stalk pieces). /78/
43. Children's zither (halved stalks; plectrum; stalk pieces).

VIII. Toys

44. Children's rattle stick (pith, stalk pieces).
45. Bow and arrows (stalks).
46. Rifle made of pith, newer model (pith).
47. Trigger and upper part of rifles, old model (stalk strips).
48. Pickaxes, knives, tools (pith).
49. Trap for gadflies (pith, stalk pieces).
50. Food stealer (piece of stalk).
51. Memory game, nkŭk endē̄lĕ (pith).
52. Stone game, akŭn (stalk pieces).

IX. Clothing, Ornaments

53. Straw hats (pith).
54. Chenille for decorative caps, edŏ̄bǎn (pith).
55. Women's tailpieces (bast).
56. Strips of bast for sewing materials (bast).
57. Head adornment, akūt (bast).
58. Arm adornment (bast).
59. Neck adornment (bast).
60. Belts (bast).
61. Ropes for stringing heavy beads (fiber).
62. Walking sticks, better ones made of Raphia hookeri M. (esa).

343 In addition to the meeting and dwelling houses already described, the Pangwe build a number of other huts designed for special purposes, namely, storage houses, houses for strangers, field huts, and houses for the sick.

The storage houses have a variety of forms. Some are merely dwellings from which the furniture has been removed; [177] others are similar to these but have a wooden door, often copied from the European models; still others, like the temporary

A few words should be said about lighting. In the houses, which, as we have seen, are windowless and hence quite dark, the hearth fire /Fig. 43 appears here in the original text/ is at the same time a much needed source of light. As the Pangwe relate in their legends, it was Mode-Sama, one of the first human beings, who fetched fire (ndūǎn) from God (Sama); according to other versions, the fire was given to him by God, and since Mode's time the fire has not been extinguished. This useful element is carried from one house to another and, when worst comes to worst, from one village to another. The Pangwe does not need to rekindle his fire, since it burns all day in the meeting house where it serves as a protection against cold, moisture, and sand flies, while in the dwellings it is kept going day and night for cooking and heating purposes. When the women go to the plantations, the logs are so carefully arranged (for this action alone, there are four different expressions!) that they continue to glow; or the youngest daughter may be given the task of guarding the vestal altar. In case the fire should actually go out in one house, fire is obtained from a neighboring house, and it is only in exceptional cases that a smaller village has no fire. In such an emergency fire is sent for from the nearest settlement.

Better lighting than the hearth fire is provided by the torch light with which /80/ /Fig. 44 appears here in the original text/ the village square is illuminated at night when, for instance, dances are held. The flickering of the torches causes the strange and wild movements of the dancers to appear even more fantastic than they really are. The torches are composed of dried stalks of the cardamom Aframomum alboviolaceum K. Sch. (adzǒm; stalk, kō'mō IV Fang, kūū'me IV Ntum), Plate 21 in Section 11 /Vol. 2/, or finely spliced raffia stalk strips (ekǎ'ba), which — when they are well dried — burn very brightly but, on the other hand, are rather rapidly consumed.

The finest but an infrequently used source of light at festivities or other events in the village square is the resin lamp (otu = resin), Figure 43, a little tub of bark containing the fragrant resin of the Anacardiacea Canarium schweinfurthii Engl. (1) (abê Ntum, obê Fang; resin = otu).

1. According to the communication of Doctor Mildbraed who has likewise collected this tree.

362

Fig. 44. Olanga Village (Essángbuak Family), South Cameroons. In the village square there is a "memorial," a peculiarly shaped tree root in which the natives see the figure of a horse.

373 obè Fang; resin = otù).

On longer trips, for instance, if an acquaintance is to be visited or medicinal plants are sought in the forest at night in case of sudden sickness, a piece of wood, waved to and fro, is used instead of the torch which would burn down too quickly. When a strong light is not necessary, the people content themselves with little branches that have been covered with the gleaming white mycelium of a mushroom, thereby providing a bright glow in the dark. /81/ /Fig. 45 appears here in the original text./

For more extensive hunting or rubber expeditions in a larger forest area, occasions when nights are spent in wild country, a burning log is taken along. In former times "kindling wood" was also taken along in case the log should go out. Nowadays the Pangwe are no longer able to produce fire in the old manner by twirling. To be sure, an older chief once showed me how fire was formerly "made"; but although he took endless trouble and two men twirled their arms lame, they were unable to produce a single spark. "Theoretically," however, my good chief

501

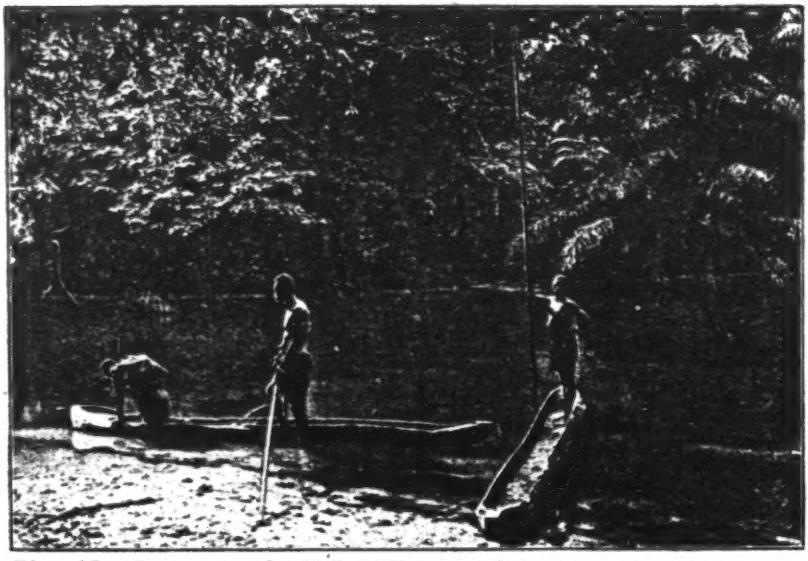


Fig. 45. Canoes on the Nië (Tributary of the Campo), New Cameroons.

372 knew exactly how to produce sparks. "One" takes two sticks of
●824 wood from one of the three Tiliaceae, Triumfettia cordifolia Guillet (okŭn) (1). Leptonychia tessmannii Engl. (akăk), or

1. According to one legend, fire is also supposed to have been brought from the heavens in a Triumfettia stick.

Desplatsia dewevrei Burs. (afŏnŏk), and they are dried over the fire for at least a day. One of the sticks is notched in the middle, placed on the ground, and held down with one's feet; the other stick is placed vertically into the notch and twirled. The spark which is "supposed" to be produced is caught with oakum made of the picked fibers of the Dioclea reflexa Hook. f. (kŏndōō' III) placed around the notch. Thus instructed, after this one failure I requested elsewhere that this theory be put into practice, but most of the natives assumed a stupid expression or laughed outright at my request. /82/ /Fig. 46 appears here in the original text./

244 there is the striped mouse, Mus pulchellus Gray (zǒfǒ III), which gnaws the nuts. A kind of black rot affects the nuts here and there during certain years. A number of caterpillar species which consume the leaves can scarcely be designated as actual pests. It
244 is probable that the black rot has led the women to the belief that
789 other women are capable of making their groundnuts sick and of ruining them by means of "medicine." They try to counter this trick with a medicine consisting of the bones of the turtle, the elephant, the pig, and the guib, which are burned to ashes and then crushed; it is scattered on the seeds before planting. Of the remaining medicines that are supposed to influence favorably the growth of groundnuts, the most important one consists of rubbing
[386 the groundnuts with a specially prepared coloring made from red
824] wood, ba-ayǎ'; accordingly, this medicine is called ba-ayǎ'. This red coloring (see Section 18, "Sexual Life") produces the
[823] desired results and fends off hostile intentions. Red is everywhere the color of joy, growth, and reproduction. On the day the woman plants the groundnuts, she paints a line between her index finger and thumb with the "medicinal red" which will give her a lucky hand; or she draws a similar line on the upper surface of a tree stump and covers the stump with leaves, like a cap. This is to say: "May you groundnuts blossom, grow, and thrive (the red color is for this) under such a protection (referring to the leaves); nobody will be able to do you any harm (referring to the
[833 medicine)." Furthermore, on the eve of sowing, the man usually sets a good example for the groundnuts "assembled" in the basket /91/ by performing coitus for their benefit. With this example he sends them on their way: "Multiply! (1)" Another

[844
834]

1. This is done even when the woman is menstruating, whereas sexual intercourse is otherwise avoided during this period. In this case, as a medicinal act, sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman is supposed to be particularly good for the groundnuts, on condition that the woman "brings good luck (avǔe)" (see Section 18, "Sexual Life").

Another
244 fertility medicine consists of the following mixture: 1) bark
789 of the Simarubacea Irvingia barteri Hook. f. (andǒk; 2) bark
[824] bark of the Anacardiacea Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofǒs); 3) elephant manure; 4) sand from the Campo or the Uelle; 5) salt. On the eve of sowing this mixture is added to the nuts. This, too, must be understood as a direct transfer of power: the groundnuts are to be as numerous as the fruits of the two plants named; they are to become as enormous as the pile of elephant manure; as numerous as sand in the Campo — we would say, as the sands of the ocean; and as innumerable as the grains
[824] of salt. Finally, certain Liliaceae (ayǎn) are planted between the groundnuts so that their leaves may become as green as the lilies in the field. As can be seen, there is no lack of friendly encouragement and good examples.

The fruit, illustrated in cross-section by Plate 6, Draw-
244 ings a and b, usually has two seeds, more rarely three, and still more rarely one. Something reminiscent of our love feast occurs when a boy at work finds a fruit with three seeds in his mother's basket or in the field, calls his friends, and shares the seeds with
[195] them. This is called euphemistically: bi kī kăbǎd, "we dissect a goat." Thus, we have here the doctrine: Do not forget to do good and to share with your fellow man when you are living in abundance! It is probably more by way of a game that the Pangwe, especially the children, sometimes eat the nuts raw. Otherwise
[352] raw nuts are prepared principally for soup or compote. It is also customary to boil the whole fruit and then eat the seeds. The
[357] nuts are stored in large, tall baskets of raffia pith, which are hung under the roof or placed on a bed, or the nuts may be placed loose on the groundnut loft, akǎn owŭnǒ.

433 As a result of their laziness and indifference, the Pangwe
435 seldom have enough groundnuts, so there is always a period of
244 time when they have to do without them until the next harvest has been brought in and is sufficiently dried. This is the reason that in the Ntum and Fang regions at these times the price for a "plate" (2)

[804] 2. The flat plate-shaped baskets called bush plates are a unit of measurement.

252 Everybody rushes to gather up the seeds; even hobbling old men and little naked children eagerly take part. Great care is taken, however, to get none of the dust which covers the village square in great quantities, no matter how much sweeping is done. Ordinarily, however, the seeds are gathered very quietly and slowly in the late afternoon, all the more slowly since the loam of which I have already spoken is carefully removed from the seeds. The fear of surprise downpours, incidentally, has produced all kinds of preventive medicines which I shall describe in another place (Section 14). /97/

247 130 Ngon suffer from pests more than the groundnut. Among these are beetles and caterpillars, but above all a species of bug which feeds on the leaves and a number of mammals which feed on the fruit. Among these mammals should be mentioned especially the red-tailed monkey, Cercopithecus buccalis Leconte (ǒsǒk), and, wherever it occurs, the baboon, Maimon planirostris Elliot (esí ge); furthermore, from the family of squirrels there are Sciurus eborivorus Du Chaillu (mvǒk) and Sciurus lemniscatus Leconte (osǒ'n); among the mice, the worst pest is Dendromys messorius Thomas (njaa); and there are also other species, such as Mus pusillulus Ptrs. (okǒb). In places elephants and buffaloes, which likewise eat the fruit, create a great deal of destruction. The guib (nkǒ'k) eats the leaves. Fruit

244 789 rot (ntūi' ngǒn, that is "diarrhea of the ngon"), the result of an overabundant rainfall, likewise reduces the harvest, at times to a considerable extent. Against all these enemies there is not much to be done since they do not pay much attention to preventive medicines; nonetheless, Pangwe women believe that they can influence the seeds and the young plants by all kinds of means, as in the case of the groundnut. One such means, ba-aya, has already been described in connection with the groundnut. A second method consists of sprinkling the seeds themselves in the bush plate where they are kept for sowing with red wood that has been ground to a powder (red

244 789 wood as a symbol of growth, joy, and reproduction). Another procedure to encourage the growth of the ngon plants and to make them produce an abundance of fruit is called emiě ndǒb, that is, squirting

● 824 of (the medicine in the) banana leaf vessel. For this purpose a vessel made of banana leaves is buried in the middle of the farm or set up there, and the following things are put into it.

244 789 824

1. Fruit of Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. (abuī), because of the quantity of its fruit; hence also its name abuī from abuī, "much" (compare a bue, "break into pieces," for then there are many pieces!).

2. Herb of the Amaranthaceae Aerua lanata (L.) Juss. (angṓnengṓne III, angṓngṓne = assimilated, angṓngōno), because of its abundant inflorescence.

3. Fruit of the Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofǒs), because of its many fruits (cf. groundnut medicines).

4. Fruit of the Euphorbiacea Staphysora duseni Pax. (owūwŭmu II and III), because of its many flowers; hence the name is derived from a wŭmu, "to put forth," the name being formed by reduplication.

5. Pulverized leaves of the melegueta pepper, Aframomum melegueta K. Schum. (andŭn), likewise because of the luxuriant growth of the plant. /98/

All these items are stirred together in water inside the vessel and are then squirted onto the young ngon plants by means of a piece of stalk of the Cissus (pfǎžǒk IV), so that the ngon may "grow as luxuriantly as the Cissus shoot."

Depending upon the region, the various elements and admixtures of the medicine differ; frequently some of them are used by themselves. For instance, Staphysora mixed with charcoal is scattered on the plants. All the components of the medicine listed above, however, are chosen because they can transfer their power to the ngon plants.

244 834

The economic importance of ngon is indicated by the fact that among the Ntum and Fang the women who planted the ngon are forbidden to have sexual intercourse for three months. The significance of this disproportionately long period of fast, if I may call it such, may be measured by the fact that in the important women's cult Mekang, for instance, the initiates are forced to practice only ten days' sexual abstinence, and in the most important men's cult, the

244 Sso of the Jaunde, sexual abstinence effectively lasts only three
834 months. The Fang say that the ngon would not grow if the prohibition were broken, and since with them the belly counts for more than love, this prohibition is generally observed.

Only the softer interior of the ngon kernel can be eaten. The
244 kernels must therefore be cracked open, and this is done by means
252 of a little stick from the tree Microdesmis puberula Hook. f.,
[834] Euphorbiaceae (obimyǒ́n), with which they lightly strike the seed after placing it on end. Old and young, men and women, participate in this task which is carried out inside and in front of the dwelling house, as well as in the meeting house. It is an activity characterized by a peculiar clicking noise not easily forgotten once one has heard it. In spite of its importance in the household, the ngon is not prepared in a great variety of ways; like the groundnut, it is eaten only in the form of a soup or it is pulverized and boiled in a leaf bundle.

524 In conclusion, patient reader, kǎ́ndǎ̄n (guess a riddle!); kǎndǎ́n (I guess):

akǒ́n	afǒ́,	e	mane	nkū́na	ngūī,
spear	one,	he	makes ready	herd-swine.	

Answer:

okǒ̄k	ofǒ́,	e	mane	dʒǎd	e	ngǒ̄n
beater	one,	he	makes ready	bush plate	(with)	ngon.

244 Yams, as a secondary crop with ngon, are of two principal kinds: the three-leaved yams, Dioscorea dumetorum (Kunth) Pax (andēǎ); and the common yams, Dioscorea minutiflora Engl. (emvūī). /99/ Each has four species. In addition, the Pangwe differentiate two more kinds which, however, perhaps belong to Dioscorea minutiflora or are close to it: ǯǒ́ǒ III Ntum, dzǒ (plural, bǐǒ́) Fang; and ebǒ́zǒǒ. In the Jaunde region there is furthermore the Jaunde yam with large tubers, ekǒ́da Jaunde. Finally, the air tuber yam, Dioscorea sativa L. (alǒ́k), is also cultivated, but only in very small quantities. As we said above, the conditions for the growth of the yam resemble those of the ngon; it also climbs up the brush and trees left lying about,

245 [177] mentǎngan, "bananas of the Whites." Later it was given the name etǎt, from the stem a tǎt, "to moan." "One" ate too much of it; "one" could not digest so much; "one" became weak; "one" could not catch anything during the hunt, which among the Pangwe is always the chief source of worry, and so forth.

244 I can only give a brief account at this point of the less important vegetables. The sweet potato, Ipomoea batatas L. (dǔgǔ III), is not cultivated; it thrives like a weed in the vicinity of the villages and chokes out every other weed, so that one can speak of miniature potato fields. It is not a very popular food. Other vegetables are sown and planted either in the vicinity of the houses or on the farms. Of these vegetables we should name first Cucurbita maxima Duch. 244 ●824 (abō'k), which belongs to the Cucurbitaceae family and of which there are four varieties. The flesh of the fruit is eaten, as is the interior of the seeds, and small unripe fruit is also added whole to the groundnut bundle. Its young leaves are cut into small pieces and eaten as vegetables. The skin of the fruit cannot be removed, otherwise one would be wounded in battle. The men must avoid the [833] seeds if they do not want to lose their virility the /104/ following night; hence it is regarded as tactless if the women serve the fruit with the seeds to the men at mealtime.

244 Of the Malvaceae and the Tiliaceae, Hibiscus and Corchorus (tǒgē III - fruit, etě'tǎm) are planted. The name is derived from a tǒk, "weak," for the leaves are cooked in a short time on the fire; the fruit is called etě'tam from a tǒbě etǎm, "to stand alone," for they stand alone at the tip of the stalk when the leaves are withered or have been picked off. Both fruit and leaves are eaten. The following varieties are distinguished: Hibiscus moschatus Roxb. (nia tǒge - true hibiscus); and the Tiliaceae Corchorus olitorius L. (ngbǎbelǒ'mo IV). The name esǎn includes three plants of different families, namely, Hibiscus sabdariffa L. (engā'ne-esǎn), the Polygonacea Rumex abessynicus Jacq. (ebǔbǔ'dǒ-es), and the Melastomatacea Dissotis decumbens (P. B.) Trian. (esǐsǎn-bongō'n-b'oyek).

All these plants are sown, and their leaves are eaten.

Other cultivated plants are the following:

231

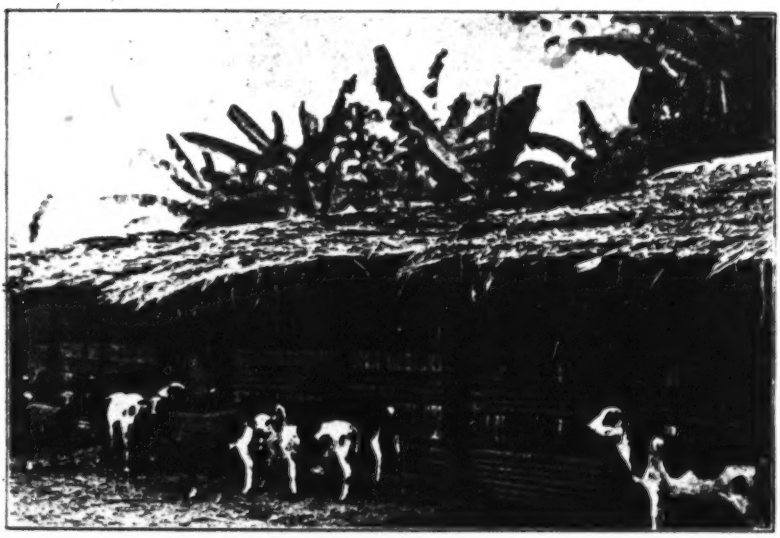


Fig. 57. Sheep, Village of Makonanâm (Ojek Family).

appears here in the original text/ a moan similar to that made by a human being. This moaning is so nerve-racking that it may bring tears to one's eyes. In regions where thare are leopards, [417] pens (Fig. 58) are built of logs, and the goats and sheep are driven into them at night.

232 In the Pangwe region castration is practiced only on goats, not sheep; a tū,b miak – to hollow out (the scrotum) (in order) to geld. Goats are castrated "so that they will become enormous and put on much fat." The procedure is very crude. The ex- [304] pert, who frequently circumcises the children at the same time, opens the young animals' scrotum by means of two lateral cuts with a razor blade (okŏ̄ngŏ̄n) and takes out the testicles. The scrotum is then washed out with warm water several times a day for four days. The water is mixed with a medicine, the sap of [278 the Guttifera Haronga paniculata Pers. (Loid.) (atū,ī h), pre- 824] sumably to glue the scrotum together (the tree sweats a sticky yellow sap under the bark, and this is extracted by putting pieces of bark in water).

226 industry. To these considerations should be added the seclusion of the villages and poor communication facilities. The hydrographic conditions in themselves bring about considerable differentiation even in a fairly small area. In Yaoundé /Ger., Jaunde/, for instance, fishing does not play the large role that it does in the south; the Bawa (a group of the Jaunde), for example, are familiar with only four methods of catching fish aside from fish driving, namely, with basket weirs, using long baskets (nsǒn I) and ordinary baskets (nkǒé I), poisoning fish (ngǔm IV), and angling.

To describe the various forms that the fishing industry takes in the different regions would lead me too far afield. Hence, in order to give a general picture of the fishing industry, I shall discuss only the various procedures with which I became acquainted among the central Pangwe in the river region of the Campo with its left tributaries, the Uelle in its central zone, and above all its tributaries, the Bimfille, Abea, etc. The best months for catching fish in these regions are September to February, when the water level in the rivers begins to go down; during the remaining period there is only angling or here and there a basket is set.

[462] Fishing is men's work, with the sole exception of fish driving which is a task for women. The methods are as follows.

1. Fish driving, a lǔk (verb)

In shallow brooks or streams the water is driven downstream by means of flat baskets, the so-called bush plates (dǯǎd), /110/ after transverse dams of stones or twigs have first been set up at some distance. These prevent the fish from escaping. Then the women fish from the pools that remain with a small-meshed, shallow net [824] tied to a stalk from the pliant Scitaminea Trachyphrynium violaceum Radl. (nkǒmonkǒmo) that has been bent double. Like the bush plate, this net is actually a piece of kitchen equipment, used to wash cassava.

The catch consists of only little fish, a few fingers or at most a few spans long, a variety of snails, some species of shrimp (1),

1. In the main, species of Palaemon

226
857

3. Children's angling (ngǎ́k IV)

Ntum and Fang boys catch small fish with tackle made of porcupine quills. The quills are broken off near the top and are held together in the form of a hook by means /111/ of the firm root fibers of the Aracea Rhectophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (ndé's IV, kīes IV).

227

4. Fishing tackle (nlǫ́b I)

The Jaunde know tackle similar to ours, consisting of a line, pole, hook, and floater, and according to information provided by my Jaunde, it was in use even before the Whites arrived. The tackle of the Fang and Ntum (Fig. 59) is considerably different; their hook is held down on the river bottom by means of a stone fastened to the line. In former times they also had a floater but more recently this has for the most part been given up as useless. With the line in his hand, the angler crouches on a raft or canoe that lies hidden in the bushes by the bank. Worms are used everywhere for bait.

5. Rope tackle or hanging tackle (ekǫ́le nlǫ́b, elǔ́n nlǫ́b

This differs from the tackle just mentioned only in that the line is attached to a liana rope stretched across the river. It hangs in the water, held in place by the stone which acts as a sinker.

226

6. Spearing and shooting

The Pangwe spears larger fish from the river bank or from a tree trunk lying in the water, or he shoots them with a gun or a crossbow. By the way of a postscript I shall also mention the fact that in shallow water fish are killed with the cutlass.

224 The most profitable and hence most frequently used spring trap for wild animals is the osa b, which is set up in conjunction with a game fence. It is illustrated in Figure 70, Drawings 1 and 2. The fence frequently extends through the whole wooded area, usually along the paths. It has various openings and consists of sticks driven into the ground side by side. The sticks are either placed very close together or at longer intervals, and then they [224] are intertwined with leaves of Sarcophrynium velutinum (okiaikui), raffia palm, or swamp palm. As a result, the majority of smaller animals have to run along the fence and can find no way out other than through these openings. At these points the actual traps are constructed. A corridor is erected at right angles to the fence by driving into the ground two rows of sticks (i) closely adjoining each other. The end one or one of the end ones (in the illustration the one on the left-hand side) is forked at the top. Inside the corridor a tree trunk (g) is placed in such a way that one end lies on the ground and the other end -- weighted by other trunks (h) -- is held suspended by a lever (e) resting on the forked stick (k). In turn, the lever (e) is held by a trigger device which is a uniform feature of all trap and draw springs and hence will be described here once and for all. The device consists of a trap spring (a) planted in the ground at either end and a vice (b) which is pressed against the trap spring by means of a small piece of wood (c), the clamp. This releasing device is connected with the lever by means of a string (d) tied to the clamp. The string is fastened to the free (left-hand) arm of the lever and thus holds up the tree trunk, which is tied to the other arm of the lever. The vice (b) extends through the fence poles into the corridor where it is covered by leaves placed over sticks that have been bent in the shape of a gable.

Now, when an animal enters the corridor and steps on the vice, the latter is pressed down and thereby the clamp is released, so that the left arm of the lever flies up and the tree trunk falls down.

In spite of the great amount of work involved in constructing the long fence, this spring trap is usually not made jointly by all inhabitants of a village, but -- like the fish weir -- by two men.

223

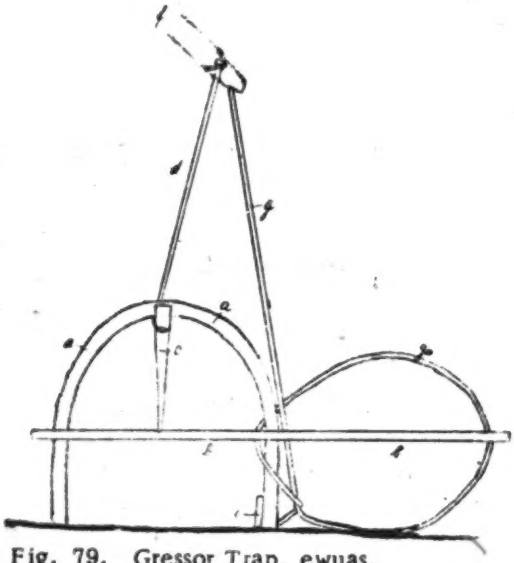


Fig. 79. Gressor Trap, ewuas.

(b) Tree draw trap

The most frequently used trap for smaller birds is the tree draw trap, nkpwạ̌s (nkpwạ̌s = an imitation of the sound of a trap slamming shut or of the hand seizing the prey), Figure 80. It is set up in trees, and hence the trap spring (a) is tied to a twig (x). A novelty here is the fact that what is usually the free end of the vice, the extension (as we have called it), is clamped inside the fork of a holding pin (i) (ntɛ̌be-ǒsū III, from a tebe = to stand, ǒsū = before; thus, projection). Another innovation is the arrangement of the noose which is made from two ropes of the stalks of the Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch. (okiaikui; stalk = ndénan). The two ropes are tied together at one end and fastened to a twig which takes the place of the draw stick (f); then a string (h) is slung around the branch (x) and tied loosely to the noose (g) (in y) so that it can be moved along it. The ends of the sling are now laid around the extension of the vice; the bait is tied on it at z, and the trap is ready. The bird that sits down on the vice at z

[283 824]

224 1. Drive of lower animals into baskets;

2. Drive of big game into nets.

In the drive for lower game living in caves, especially porcu-
[285 pines (ngǔm), elongated baskets (nkǒ,e'-ngǔm) made of the stalks
[124] of the Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch. (okiaikui) are used (Fig. 86, Drawing 1). The baskets are placed at the various exits of the cave; at one of them the hunter stations himself and either sends a dog into the passage or beats the ground with a stick. The frightened animal flees to one of the remaining exits and lands in the basket where it gets stuck and, because of its quills, is unable to retreat rapidly. A man then rushes to the spot and kills the animal with his spear.

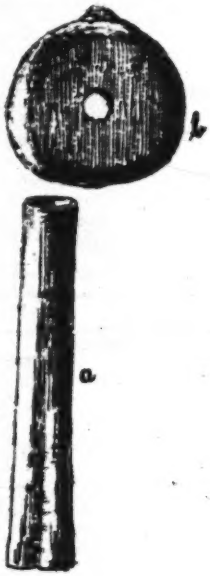
A second kind of basket, but correspondingly narrower (Fig. 86, Drawing 2), is placed outside ratholes. The animals are chased into the basket in a regular drive in which the entire youth of the village takes part, and there they are killed. These baskets are called nsǎn.

These rat drives, carried out with a great hullabaloo, are for the young what the drive of wild animals (nšǔm I, abim) is for the adults. Game nets, frequently 16 meters long, are attached to one another and set up at suitable places in the bush to form what are often very extensive snares. The beaters chase the animals into these nets with the help of dogs that
[54] carry wooden bells (nkōle-mvū I, mvū ṅo IV, angǔ,ṅ e mvū, edū,ṅ e mvū, ongō,lǎ'-mvū, ekbwēle), Figure 87, around their necks. The animals get tangled up in the meshes and are shot by the hunters stationed there. It should be added that this drive is a great undertaking and a general popular festivity, the details of which, however, I must forbear to describe. I shall only observe that in this manner a considerable number of antelopes and other game are caught, and
[41] the Pangwe deserve commendation for carrying out this undertaking with splendid success, since it is indeed not an easy job in the rough and impassable forest region. Even the driving of elephants into large

Fig. 85. Elephant Spear (fired from a rifle).

411
177 at all penetrated as far as the Pangwe from the west coast of Africa. /140/

411
824



[224
534] Fig. 88. Lure Pipes: (a) for monkeys (instrument like a reed pipe); (b) for birds (drilled seed)

The crossbow (mbǎn I), Figure 89, consists of two parts, the shaft (ngpwǎ(s)-mbǎn) (1) and the bow (endźi á-mbǎn 2)

1. For the shaft the wood of the following three Anonaceae are preferred: Mesocarpidium lepidotum Engl. and Diels (amvǐm); Xylopia striata Engl. (mvǔ́ma IV); and Hexalobus salicifolius Engl. (mepfǎ́ne III).

2. For the bow, because of their strong wood, the following are used: (1) Olax tessmannii Engl., Icacinaceae (elǒ́m); (2) Sapindaceae, Pancovia pedicellaris Radlk. and Gilg and Placodiscus opacus Radlk. (zǒk); (3) Violaceae Rinorea longisepala Engl. (zǒk-o-si) and R. welwitschii (Oliv.) O. Kze. (enǒ́ezǒk); (4) Rubiaceae Randia acuminata Bth. and micrantha K. Sch. (ajǐ́ē); (5) Anacardiacea Trichoscypha spec. (źǒk e mekum); (6) Rubiacea Gardenia lateriflora K. Sch. (ebǎm) does not seem to be as suitable; (7) Polygalacea Carpolobia alba Don. (onǒn); (9) a Rubiacea (oyǒ́). /(8) is omitted by the author. /

411 with the bowstring. The shaft is a piece of wood between one and one and a half meters long, ovoid in cross-section. At the

411 upper end it thickens out into the shape of a duck's head and is provided with a square hole all the way through the wood for the bow. The remaining part of the shaft is divided into two leaves by a longitudinal cut down the side; of these leaves, the upper one, about a hand's breadth below the thicker end of the shaft, has a cruciform incision such that the transverse arm of the cross goes through only half the thickness of the wood and thus forms a notch, while the vertical arm of the cross goes through the entire thickness of the wood and thus forms a hole. A peg of the lower leaf, shaped to match, is fitted into this hole. The notch is designed for the bowstring. In front of it, a longitudinal groove from six to eight centimeters long is cut into the shaft; this is filled with beeswax and is where the arrow rests.

In order to draw the crossbow, one takes the shaft under his right arm, plants the knee firmly against the bow, grasps the bowstring with his hand, and draws it into the notch. In so doing, the peg, and with it the entire lower leaf, is pressed slightly downwards.

In the shooting position (Fig. 90) one raises the crossbow to shoulder level, supports it approximately in the middle with the left hand, and with the right hand presses the two shaft leaves together in the back. In this way, the peg moves into the hole and forces the bowstring out, propelling the missile with great force. /141/

/Fig. 89 appears here in the original text./

411 The short arrows (ebe̱í), Figure 89 g, which are carried in at-
● 824 tractive quivers (kū̱lǎ IV) made of animal hide (Figure 89 f) or in little bark boxes, are made of the bark of raffia leafstalks and split just before the lower end, so that /142/ /Fig. 90 appears here in the original text/ a triangular piece of leaf (ndū́-mbǎ̱n IV) from the Menispermacea Penianthus longifolius Miers. (ndū́-mbǎ̱n), more rarely from the Flacourtiacea Lindackeria dentata (Oliv.) Gilg (nǔ̱m e ndū́) (1) and, in case of extreme need, from the Sarcophrynium,

1. nǔ̱m = man, that is, male ndū́ (mban).

[278] can be pushed into it to give it balance in flight. The tip is poisoned with a salve made of pulverized Strophanthus seeds (2).

2. Probably Strophanthus kombe Oliv. (enre̱).

222 (Rich.) Engl., Anacardiaceae (ofǒs); Pseudospondias tessmannii
262 Engl., likewise (angǒkǒn); /147/ Pentaclethra macrophylla Benth., Leguminosae (ebā́ī); Cola acuminata (P.B.) R. Br., Sterculiaceae (abē); Carpolobia alba Don., Polygalaceae (onǒn, tōmok); Ricinodendron africanum Muell. Arg., Euphorbiaceae (ezisā́ń); Myrianthus arboreus P.B., Moraceae (mangā́me III Fang, engǔkǒ́m Ntum, Jaunde); Desbordesia glaucescens Engl., Simarubaceae (alǒ́b); Duboscia macrocarpa (?) Bocq., Tiliaceae (akǎk e sā́ń); Oncinotis glandulosa Stapf, Apocynaceae, and Tylostemon minutiflorus Stapf, Lauraceae (dzā-odzī́dzīk or bodzābodzī́dzīk); Tristemma hirtum Vent., Melastomataceae (abē-osūe); Cnestis aurantiaca Gilg, Connaraceae (abǐń e ndzīk); Vitex bipindensis Gürke, Verbenaceae (apfǒn); Anonidium mannii Oliv., Anonaceae (ebǒm eli); Sarcocephalus sambucinus K. Sch. (alū́mǎ, alǔ́ma, and akūndǔ́m); the palm Podococcus barteri M. and W. (niamvīne); as well as various varieties of Aframomum, such as the Aframomum alboviolaceum K. Sch. (adzǒm; fruit, esǔn) illustrated in Volume II.

Finally, mushrooms, of which the Fang distinguish twenty edible varieties, play an important role in the household. With the exception of a foul-smelling morel which is covered with a kind of veil, poisonous ground mushrooms do not seem to occur.

263 Of spices, pepper and salt are known, and both are found in-
249 dispensable by the Pangwe for the preparation of meals. Three varieties and many subvarieties of pepper, Capsicum (okālǎń IV, undūndū III), are sown behind the houses or close to the village, and it is to be found growing wild everywhere in the vicinity of human settlements, where its green fruit -- red when ripe -- is picked whenever it is needed; it is added to the food either whole or pulverized on a stone.

263 Salt is more difficult to obtain. Although salt imported from
456 Europe now floods almost the entire region and, in conjunction with
258 tobacco, constitutes a regular standard of value, in remote areas of the interior the laborious extraction of salt from swamp plants is still carried out in the old manner.

258 The two chief salt-producing plants are those illustrated by
824 Plate 10: Halopegia acurea K. Sch., Marantaceae (nkǒn I) and

258 Cyrtosperma senegalense (Schott) Engl., Araceae (ebängabänga).
824 Furthermore, the fronds of the raffia palm are used to a lesser extent. In the Fang region Halopegia and Cyrtosperma are always used together, never one exclusively; in other areas, for instance in the Ntum region, the following swamp plants are also used: the Loganiacea Anthocleista zenkeri Gilg (ajīnebe-nzǎm III); the Zingiberacea Renealmia alborosea K. Sch. (adžǒmmekūm); the Urticacea Boehmeria platyphylla D. Don. (sǎ[s]-dzǎm); the Acanthacea Brillantaisia vogeliana Bth. (ebǔgebǒ'n); the Aracea Anubias heterophylla Engl. (andǎk); a Composita (elǒ[k]-osūe); the Commelinaceae Palisota schweinfurthii C.B. Cl. (epfǔpfū'ī-zǎm) and Pollia condensata C.B.Cl. (ajǎn-osūe); and in addition, where swamp plants are absent, the Marantacea Phrynium confertum (Benth.) K. Sch. (nkǒn afǎ'n I) and the climbing Aracea Rhektophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (ndě's). /148/

258 462 To get salt the men go into the swamp (zǎm), cut down the salt-producing plants, and let them lie in the sun for a month to dry. Then they are brought under a shelter erected in the vicinity; the leaves and leafstalks are burned in an open fire. The plant ashes, dirtied with the remains of the logs, are carried into the village and kept on the loft above the fireplace in the house for three weeks to dry. The men's last job here is the making of a large
285 funnel which they crudely plait (ngǎn nkū IV) from the stalks of the Marantacea Trachyphrynium violaceum Radlk. (nkǒmokǒmo I). All further work is done by the women. The latter set up the funnel, which they prop up with poles inside or outside the house, and line it with leaves of Sarcophrynium in such a way that the lowest leaf -- folded together in the form of a funnel -- fits just into the tip and the other leaves cover the funnel wall like roof tiles. The funnel is closed off below by a filter consisting of a ball of grass, Paspalum
828 (obū'n), or leaves of the Phytolacca dodecandra C. Her. (atǒt) (1);

> 1. From the stem tǒ, "run through, drip through," because the brine has to drip through the herbs.

then the ashes are put inside the filter, water is poured on them, and

415 The Pangwe woman very tidily removes the remains of the
252 pulverized nuts or kernels from the grindstone by means of half the shoulder blade bone of some animal, such as a monkey (Fig. 94 a), a piece of raffia stalk, or a tree mushroom (Fig. 94b). Only rarely does she do this by hand.

412 For pounding cassava leaves and other vegetables, as well as
252 for removing the meat from the fruit of the oil palm, a pestle is used in a wooden trough. The pestle (ntú'm e mbǒk) has a knobby enlargement either at both ends or at only one end /150/, and the trough (mbǒk I) usually has the shape of a canoe with one or, more rarely, two handles (Fig. 95). In the Mwai and southern Fang region one can find larger wooden troughs of a quadrangular shape and small wooden troughs with or without /Fig. 92 a appears here in the original text/ handles (Fig. 96), endǒn.

Plantains are peeled with a plantain peeler (mbǒb I), Figure 97, with which the skin is chipped into pieces and scraped off. The peeler consists of a narrow piece of raffia leafstalk, and it is often attractively decorated with carved patterns.

415 The shallow basketwork plate (dʒǎd; plural, biǎd) -- see Section 8 -- which we have already discussed among the agricultural and fishing tools, also plays an important role in the house and kitchen, where it serves simultaneously as bowl, dish, plate, and so forth. The women have a large selection of the bigger plates (dʒǎd) and smaller plates (ovǒk) of this kind on hand. Sometimes one also sees wooden plates or, more accurately, wooden bowls of the same shape as the basket plates (1).

[824] 1. Made from the wood of the Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekūk), Apocynacea, or of the Ceiba pentandra (L.) Gärtn. (dum).

The kitchen spoon or stirring spoon (mbǒb I, ebǒm), which must be strictly differentiated from the eating spoon, /Figs. 93 and 94 appear here in the original text/ is carved out of wood (Fig. 98) and is used for stirring food, mixing vegetables, and dividing the mush.

252 (a) Cassava rolls or cassava loaves (mbǒm I-mbǒm, ebōbǒ).

These require more time to prepare, from four to five days. The roots are placed in water holes just as they come from the plantation, that is, with the rind and without being cut into pieces (with the exception of very large roots which are cut in two). /Fig. 98 appears here in the original text./ /154/ /Figs. 99, 100, and 101 appear here in the original text./ This is done in order to draw the poison out of them. Ntum and Fang women attach no importance to the kind of water in which they place the roots; indeed, they seem to prefer swampy areas, such as raffia swamps. In those places one often sees the remains of the cassava on the thoroughly muddy water and along the edge of the puddle; over [136] the remains an enormous number of butterflies floats like a cloud, especially blue and white Pieridae, varieties of Papilio, among them the large blue Zalmoxis. These holes, which have a strong odor of both mud and cassava, are valuable places of discovery for the collector. In the northern region, on the other hand, among the Jaunde, Bene, and many Bulu, cassava is not placed in the swamp but on the sandy bottom of clear, flowing streams, near the bank where the water flows more slowly. Also they take the trouble to block off a stream so that only a little water can run through. Then the roots are placed on the bottom downstream from the dam. Perhaps the reason for placing the cassava roots in clear, running [133] water in the northern region is that there are few raffia swamps in that area. The cassava has to lie in the still or very gently flowing water for a period of from three to four days, three days in the case of younger roots and four days in the case of older, strong roots. After this period the woman takes the roots out and by hand pulls off the bark together with the firmer fibrous layer underneath. This job presents no difficulties. Then she lightly washes the roots on the spot and pulls out the center rib. With both hands she presses the cassava into a ball in the water -- during this process it exudes a whitish sap -- and places the balls in a basket lined with leaves. 253 Further preparation is done in the house; there the cassava is pul- 254 verized on the grindstone, and the powder is poured on leaves which the woman picked on her return from the swamp. In the south these

252
824

[415
531]

Fig. 99. Calabash Spoon.

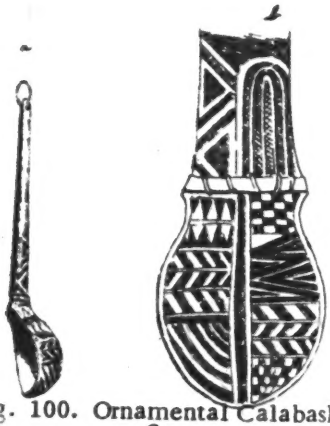


Fig. 100. Ornamental Calabash Spoons.

[521]

Fig. 101. Snail Spoon.

are the leaves of the previously often mentioned Marantacea Sarcophrynium velutinum (Baks) K. Sch. (okiāǐkūī, okiāǐ) (1). Plate 11, with the species glabrius Laes. /155/ (andūma); in the north (Jaunde), the leaves of the Clinogyne schweinfurthiana K. Sch. (embūǒ) are used. Every day the women bring large bundles of such leaves from the field since they use them not only for wrapping cassava and maize loaves, but also as trays and plates.

1. okiāǐ = leaf; a kūī = to envelop; stem kū. Compare kū[1], the turtle, because of its armor, and a kū-t = to knock, to open by knocking, that is, to cause something to uncover itself.

252 The mass of cassava is gently kneaded in these leaves into the shape of a sausage; then a leaf is wrapped around it and folded over at the ends like a parcel; finally, there is tied around it a string made from the stalks of the same plant which supplied the leaf cover (the stalks of the plant are called ndēn IV, ndēnan IV). These rolls are boiled with some water for an hour in a covered pot, and they are then put to one side to cool off. Only in rare cases are they eaten warm immediately after being cooked (Fig. 102). They keep for three days this way. Usually they are 35 centimeters long, somewhat longer in the Jaunde region, and five centimeters thick; they are in all somewhat larger in the Bulu region.

252 (c) Boiled cassava roots (agbwą̌ma-mbǔ̀ń).

A species of our plant, one which has comparatively little poison and which for that reason does not require a long period of leaching in water, is cut to size like the above and boiled for an hour. Its very insipid and fibrous root is eaten hot.

(d) Ground cassava boiled in a leaf bent into a stirrup shape (nkǔ'nǎ-mbǔ̀ń I).

A strip of bark is split off from the root with the cutlass, and the interior is scraped out with a rough piece of stalk taken from [324] the trunk of the rattan palms Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc.

Fig. 102. Cassava Roll.

(nkǎ̄ne) or Calamus deerratus M. et W. (edžį̌n). The slivers fall onto a leaf placed underneath and are then ground on the grindstone. The pulp is then thoroughly kneaded with a stirring spoon

Fig. 103. Leaf Bent into the Shape of a Stirrup.

in a basketwork plate or wooden plate lined with a leaf. Water, which first runs over a charred piece of plantain bark in a leaf funnel, is added to it as it is kneaded. In this way, the water and thus also the cassava pulp acquire a blackish tinge, supposedly because the women do not like the white color of the cassava. The pulp /Figs. 102 and 103 appear here in the original text/ is then placed inside a rolled leaf bent into the shape of a stirrup (Fig. 103); like the cassava rolls it is set on the fire with very little water and boiled for an hour.

This dish is glutinously tough and blackish; it has an ugly appearance and a rather unpleasant taste.

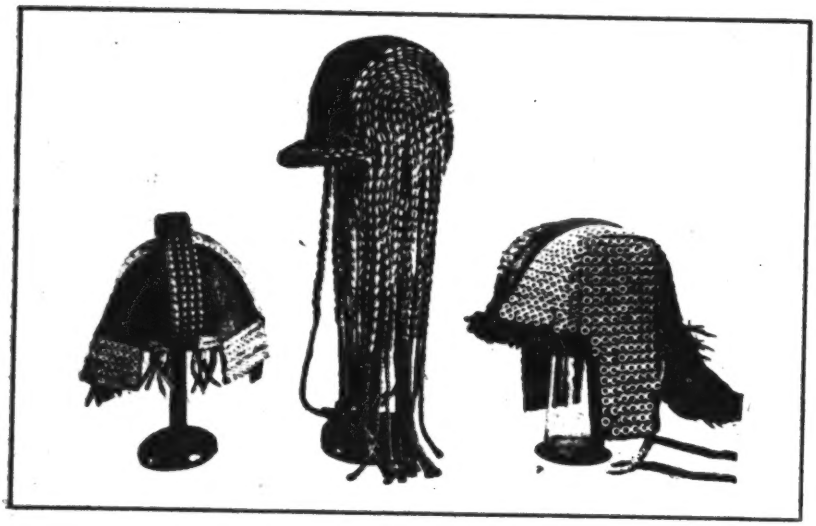
271 more leaves folded together in the form of a bag, like the leaf
445 spoon, or his right hand with which he scoops up the water and
484 throws it into his mouth with rapid swinging motions.

In dense forest where no stream is known to be nearby -- this,
271 to be sure, is a rare occurrence, for instance, when they have lost
137 the way or if suddenly somebody falls ill from thirst, or the like --
824 one can, at times, open a hidden source of water in the water liana Dichapetalum holosericeum Engl. (angūngū'ī-ndžīk III Ntum, ngū'ī-ndžīk III Fang). Unfortunately, however, this plant does not occur everywhere; it grows straight up from the ground to the highest tree tops and can attain the thickness of the upper thigh, but usually it measures only 40 centimeters in circumference. In order to get water, one only needs to cut off the liana as high as one can reach, something that can be done with one blow, and then cut off a piece from the lower half. This is held vertically so that the water cannot run out, and it is then gradually inclined over a drinking vessel, for instance, leaves folded together in the form of a bag. The water, which -- as the Negroes assert -- is supposed to be good for the stomach, now flows out of the stem in a strong stream, hissing all the while. It is quite astonishing what quantities of water the liana contains. A piece as long as one's arm suffices to quench the most violent thirst and, according to my estimates contains one and a half liters. If one needs more, he simply cuts off additional pieces, and since the water cannot flow out of the cut liana because of the air pressure, one always has enough, even for large caravans.

272 As regards indulgents, the Pangwe have sugarcane sap, banana
273 wine, palm wine, and tobacco. In their use of these they are, on the whole, quite moderate. In this respect, the importation of rum would certainly have created a change for the worse if in 1906 the prohibition against the sale of intoxicating liquors had not intervened.

1. Sugarcane sap.

272 The sap contained in sugarcane is extracted in the following manner. The bark of the sugarcane is splintered off with a knife, and its meat is sucked out, or one presses out the sap and then drinks it as "sugar wine (mayǒ[k] me nkō'k)." The latter method of



292

Fig. 119. Helmet Caps.

Of 25 different forms, which are given individual names, about half are worn by both sexes indiscriminately; the rest are worn only by men or only by women. Among the Fang the men's ornaments are more frequently the same as those of the women than is the case among the Ntum, and for this reason they are more frequently the butt of ridicule. 302 301

Helmet crests and ornamental caps are worn constantly; only as a sign of mourning are both taken off -- the former is sometimes also taken off before a hunting expedition. /178/ 292 765

To make his ornamental caps (edɔ̄'ban, etū̄e'), the Ntum takes a hide from a long-tailed monkey, dwarf antelope, young goat, or sheep. The hide is cleaned of its fat, turned inside out, and drawn over the arch of a plantain rootstock that has been cut to a semi-spherical shape. It is tied with a string at the base, and along the edge it is fastened by pegs to the ground. Stretched in this way, the hide must be dried in the sun and later over the fire. 294 281

Furthermore, blackened bast strips of the Triumfetta are needed. These are colored in the following manner: the bark of certain 294 386 824

294
386 plants (1) is cut up into small pieces and placed in a cooking pot
824

1. Combretacea Terminalia superba Engl. et Diels (akŏ'm), Euphorbiaceae Bridelia zenkeri Pax. (ewō'lǒ'k), Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. (abūī, Ntum), Megabarea trillesii Pierre (abūī-žǎm), Leguminosa Mucuna flagellipes Vogel (kóndō'o'-žǎm), Borraginacea Cordia odorata Gürke (ébē, Fang, ebǎī, Ntum), Anacardiacea Pseudospondias tessmannii Engl. (angŏkǒń), Flacourtiacea Petersia minor Niedenzu (abiń).

in such a way that at the bottom there is a layer of bark, then the bast strips, and on top of these bark pieces again. The whole is boiled for an hour in order to draw certain materials out of the bark; then the pot is carried to the river, and the bast strips are kneaded alternately in the loam of the bank and in the bark extract from five to seven times, one after another. The strips now have a blackish color which during the drying in the house darkens to the deepest black.

294 Proceeding to the actual making of the cap, the dried hide is taken off the block and propped up on the inner surface by three stirrups underneath placed crosswise. The stirrups consist of eight palm strips laid lengthwise next to each other and braided together with Triumfetta fiber. To wear the sharp-edged stirrups and the heavy gear can scarcely be pleasant, but the Negro's thick woolly skull probably does not feel it.

On the outer surface, on both sides of the crest line, 14 holes are drilled into the hide in two parallel longitudinal rows for the seven pineapple strings, half a meter long, which are drawn through two holes apiece. These strings are braided with the pigtails, each of which was made from three of the black bast strips mentioned above. They start from the middle, run in the sagittal direction to the front and back edge, extend somewhat beyond them, and

291 177 and, according to one informant, are supposed to be imitations of European models.

302 Dressing the beard is rare among the Pangwe, since most of them -- like many other Negroes -- pluck out such hair. In isolated instances there are men with beautiful full beards (Fig. 11) or with pointed beards whose tip has been twisted into a little pigtail and covered with cowrie shells or beads. Still others make two or quite a number of pigtails from their beards (Fig. 12); mustaches are rarely to be seen and are quite insignificant.

2. Ornaments.

301 Among the Pangwe the urge to beautify oneself dominates man and woman equally to a considerable degree. All kinds of ornamental pendants are attached to every possible part of the body. In their hair (Fig. 120) they stick a feather which is often cut out in patterns (a, b), a porcupine's tail (c), a wooden arrow, bones /180/ /Fig. 120 appears here in the original text/ (d), brass coiled in a spiral (e), a comb (see Fig. 139), and also, in rare cases -- usually on the occasion of a dance -- flowers, for instance, those of Costus (miěn), and attractive or fragrant leaves, such as those of the Leguminosa Cryptosepalum aff. staudtii Harms (andūh) and of the herb called afuh. The latter two are worn only by women and usually in two bundles behind the ear. The ear lobe is pierced and [304] provided with an ornament only among a few Mwai.

301 304 Nose ornaments (Fig. 121), on the other hand, enjoy great popularity; they are attached in a hole pierced through the septum and not to the side of the nose. The requisite operation is carried out on children between six and eight years of age. /Fig. 121 appears here in the original text. / First the person concerned [304] presses the leaves of the Aframomum (adžǫm), which have been warmed in the fire, to the septum in order to make it softer. Then the medicine man takes a stick of raffia stalk, a quill from the porcupine, or any other pointed tool and drills a hole through the septum with it after he has picked out the right place with the index finger of his other hand. He now pushes a small piece of stalk

301 transferred to the oblong red beads. Nowadays, however, since the introduction of glass beads which now predominate, they have long been out of favor as not elegant enough. Among other neck [84] ornaments we find among the women the fruit of the Mucuna flagellipes Vogel (kǒndǒ/ǒ'-zǎm III); they are a symbol of faithfulness, although they are probably worn without the definite intention of winning faithfulness or keeping it (1). Other neck

1. This liana is the symbol of faithfulness because it twines around a single tree and does not, like the majority of tropical lianas and climbing plants, overrun all the trees and shrubs within its reach.

ornaments are: the strung incisors of long-tailed monkeys and dogs (Fig. 124 and 125); also used as pendants, the strung incisors of leopards and the tusks of boars (Fig. 127); simulated teeth made of the white, slightly pointed seeds of the palm Podococcus barteri Mann et Wendl. (niamvǐne), Figure 126, or from pieces of bone, as pendants; simulated horn made of /Fig. 127 appears here in the original text/ appropriately carved pieces of ebony (Diospyros varieties) and wound with brass wire, Figure 128; and finally a talon of the large fighting eagle Spizaetus (ndū.ī' IV), Figure 129 (2). Neck bands, as attractive as they are simple to produce,

[77] 2. European trinkets are also to be found as pendants among the Pangwe. These include cartridges, keys, and padlocks.

are made from strips of Oncocalamus mannii Wendl. (nlon) or Trachyphrynium violaceum (nkǒmokǒ/mo), held together by a graceful braid of Rhectophyllum threads. /Figs. 128 and 129 appear here in the original text./ There is a noteworthy neck ornament made of the fragrant roots of the Urticacea Trymatococcus africanus H. Baillon (ngǒ/na IV), which among the Ntum is worn

3. Care of the body.

515 539 By and large, the Pangwe may be called a very clean people, cleaner than many European peoples. The majority wash and bathe very frequently, and the following proverb shows how a person who does not wash is judged:

otū[k]-mfōō	a	dzǒnā:	kā	mvǒń
Old pocket (1)	she	said thus:	if now there is	rain

[195] 1. A common term of abuse for men, similar to our "old hag" for women.

a	bō'de	ma,	ngbǎna	a	wǒ'ban	e	madzǐ'm	a
it	wets	me,	time	to	wash	in the	water,	it

bē	ma	anǎ
was	for me	just!

That is: "The rain came just in time, it was high time for a bath."

164 515 The many skin diseases, from which younger people suffer with special frequency, seem to have causes other than uncleanliness, /187/ although it must be admitted that among many Negroes there is an incredible indifference with respect to the care of the body, treatment of wounds, and parasites. In general, however, one can only praise the Pangwe for their cleanliness.

515 389 324 Formerly, even soap, made from a Rubiacea (ogbwǎ'm Fang, ogbwē'mē Ntum), was customarily used for washing bark cloth.

515 278 324 There are no fleas, but on the other hand there are vast numbers of lice which are picked off and killed by biting them -- the women swallow them at the same time. They are also killed by special medicines. These medicines are made with raffia palm oil which is rubbed on the skin and which the lice do not like to begin with. To the oil is added charred and ground plantain skins or the ground and subsequently dried roots of the Apocynacea Doacanga diplochlamys K. Sch. (ojē metūē Ntum), ground leaves and blossoms of the Simarubacea Quassia africana Baill. (isūǎ-elī'), and ground leaves of the Malpigiacea Heteropteris africana A. Juss.

515 (mfúm-e-ndźik IV) and the Simarubacea Odyendea gabunensis
278 (Pierre) Engl. (ozǫ́k). Furthermore, the Leguminosa Tephrosia
824 vogelii H. f. (ndǎwǒlǒ III) and the Ochnacea Lophira alata Banks
(akǒ́ga) are put on the hair. /Fig. 138 appears here in the original text. /

In the helmet hairdo, under whose thick pads the lice cannot be reached by hand, they are killed by a special procedure. "Lice caps" made of plantain leaves and tightly fitted are placed

[301
291]

Fig. 138. Ntum Woman from the Campo Region.

on the head after the bark of the Flacourtiacea Caloncoba welwitschii (Oliv.) Gilg (mié́megǔmo III) has been put in it, the bark having first been scraped off and moistened.

302 The hairdos are always greased with oil; also short hair is
824 tended very carefully, moistened with oil and combed out. There are two /188/ kinds of comb (mvǎs IV), those carved entirely out

302 824 of wood (Fig. 139, b-d) and those put together from short sticks of raffia leafstalk bark (Fig. 139, a). Frequently a fragrant hair powder (akūt), used by members of either sex but made only by women, is added to the oil. In preparing it, the roots of the following four plants are mixed together:

1. Cyperacea Cyperus articulatus L. (andǎk);
2. Moracea Dorstenia scabra (Bureau) Engl. (azǒ'm Fang);
3. Urticacea Trymatococcus africanus H. Baillon (ngõ'nǎ III);
4. An undetermined grass called niasǎda.

/Figs. 139 and 140 appear here in the original text./ /189/ /Fig. 141 appears here in the original text./ In any case, they mix two or three of these roots if they cannot get all four of them. The roots have to dry for two months in the hut and are then completely ground to a powder -- in the case of the Trymatococcus this is done only with the bark -- and they are then sifted through a basketwork plate by tapping it with a knife (a kūt, "to tap"). The roots produce an agreeably scented yellowish powder.

302 827 The Pangwe dislike hair on the rest of the body as much as they dislike it on the face. Underarm hair is shaved off with a razor (Fig. 140) "because of the bad smell"; pubic hair is shaved off -- again by both sexes -- because it is believed to cause itching. /Fig. 142 appears here in the original text./ There are, of course, always people, like good old Otu-Mfǒǒ, who will not bother with this kind of attention to the body.

412 Just as we use pocket knives, the native uses /190/ one-edged or two-edged knives (okǒń), Figures 141 and 142, which he forges himself and carries in sheaths made of brass, leather, hide, etc. at his belt.

515 164 The farther north one goes in the region, the more industriously do the Pangwe brush their teeth. This is done with a stick spliced at the top (Fig. 143) which at times is attractively wound with brass and wire and often serves as a walking stick. Nevertheless the Pangwe do not have nearly such good teeth as one might imagine. Among the Fang at least I never once saw an immaculate set of teeth among adults. The molars are often astonishingly poor, but the front teeth, on the other hand, which are commonly chipped to a point, are better preserved, perhaps because they alone are properly brushed.

2) Boiled oil.

249 The pressed oil is boiled until it becomes quite clear, a
252 stage which can best be recognized by letting a few drops of oil
824 fall onto a piece of raffia pith. During the boiling, a number of leaves of the feverweed Andropogon schoenanthus (osim e ntangan), which has a peculiar smell, tied in a bundle and dipped into the pot for about a minute. When the oil has boiled long enough, the pot is taken from the fire, leaves and pieces of bark of the bush plum Pachylobus edulis E. Don. (asá' Ntum, osúnga Fang) are put in it for about three minutes -- supposedly because they have a pleasant smell -- and then the translucent, dirty-white oil is poured off.

3) Washed oil.

249 The oil is first treated like the pressed oil. After the pound-
252 ing, water is poured into the trough, and the meat of the fruit is thoroughly kneaded, the kernels being removed at the same time. The water is then carefully poured off. This process of kneading the meat in the water is repeated two more times; then the meat is removed, and the oil floating on the water in the trough is ladled off. The oil has the same characteristics as the pressed oil; it is also yellowish-red and is used in the same manner. This oil may likewise be boiled, and when this is done, it is identical with the boiled pressed oil. /194/

4) Palm seed oil.

The palm nuts are broken open on a stone (Fig. 146), and the seeds are heated over a fire in a pot without water. Then the seeds are set on fire, which forces out the oil that they contain. The seeds with the oil are then poured onto a potsherd with two holes in it, and the oil drips into a vessel placed underneath. Palm seed oil is quite dark and opaque.

302 Finally, we might mention that children -- adults only if there happens to be no oil available -- sometimes simply place the palm fruit between the logs of the fire and then rub the warm fruit back and forth in their hands. The oil which is forced out in this way is then immediately rubbed onto the skin.

000 Fifth Part. Pottery. General observations, products, price and manufacture of the pots. Decoration. Manufacture of blast pipes.

463 Crafts in our sense are nonexistent among the Pangwe. All the manual skills are only practiced on the side and are strictly secondary to the economic activities of agriculture, catching fish, and trapping. The very simple skills are familiar to and practiced by everyone. Beyond that, specialization begins, and among the Pangwe it is developed to the utmost. Indeed, this specialization goes so far that, for example, not even the carrying straps for children -- which only consist of two leather strips sewn together -- can be made by all household heads; furthermore, a person who manufactures eating spoons cannot make any other wood product, not even a stirring spoon. A stool maker knows only how to make stools, a crossbow carver can only make crossbows, one who makes men's carrying baskets (ebā'de) can only make men's carrying baskets. Since in one village there are often no more than one or two people who know a craft, the inhabitants of the village have to purchase the objects not manufactured by these craftsmen from all corners of the compass. It may happen that they have to go some distance or even make a journey to obtain a stool, a crossbow, or the like /205/

1. Bark work.

824 3/4 Tree bark is used in many ways in the Pangwe household, either in raw form or made into cloth.

(a) Raw bark.

It is used for the following purposes.

1. To cover the house wall and as a door (1).

1. For house construction use is made of the bark of about 15 trees whose scientific names, insofar as I could

314

determine them, are enumerated here:
Flacourtiaceae Homalium buchholzii Warb. (ovŏn-e-sǎ'k); Sterculiaceae Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edzõ'le); Borraginaceae Cordia odorata Gürke (ebē Fang, ebāi Ntum);
Bignoniaceae Markhamia tomentosa K. Sch. (edzĭdzŏ'n);
Rhamnaceae Maesopsis tessmannii Engl. (nkǎnǎ' I);
Bombaceae Ceiba pentandra (L) Gärtn. (dūm IV);
Anonaceae Xylopia aethiopica (Dun.) A. Rich. (ojǎ'n);
Anonaceae Cleistopholis staudtii Engl. et Diels (avŏ'm, yēmū III);
Anonaceae Isoloma spec. (ovō'k);
Sterculiaceae Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edzĭfŏb, edzĭfŏk);
Triplochitonaceae Triplochiton tessmannii (ajŭs).

2. Decorative barks.
3. Containers.
4. The coffin or as a lining for the body in the grave.
5. To string the sounding board of the harp (see "Musical Instruments," Section 20 /Ed., this section of Vol. II is not translated/.

314 The required pieces of bark /Fig. 157a appears here in the original text/ are obtained in the following manner. The tree is girdled at the top and bottom, and in between a zigzag line is cut with crisscross blows of the cutlass. Starting with this zigzag line, the bark mantle is easily lifted off and removed (Fig. 157a). The crisscross cuts often accidentally cross in such a way that lozenges are formed. These lozenges subsequently serve as an important ornament, to which I shall return later.

415 since they first sought a container, e.g., for the skull of the
761 dead, in order to preserve it; hence, the suffix aka). A bark vessel is also, as it were, the grave (n-so-n), for the body of the dead person lies in it in a trough made of bark, which sometimes is closed off with a lid of the same material (passive, since first the place where the body happened to be lying, whether in the house or out in the open, n sǒń, was named; hence, the passive suffix ń).

(b) Bark cloth.

287 Bark is made into cloth by pounding it with a beater (Fig.
412 159) made from the end of an elephant's tooth (d), half an ele-
[321] phant's rib (b, c), the horn of a white-backed duikerbok Cephalophus longiceps Gray (mvū IV), or the wood of the
[824] Leguminosa Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms (andzĭtsiń) (a). For this purpose, they do not take the wood of a freshly cut trunk, but rather the harder red wood /Fig. 158 appears here in the original text/ of old trees that have been felled a long time ago. The wooden beater has about the same shape as the mallets used by our carpenters and consists of a straight handle with a roller-shaped head which is grooved around half or all of its circumference.

287 The only suitable bark for bark cloth is that of fig trees
824 (etǒ'b = fig tree [Ficus] and cloth, clothing) (2). /208/
314

2. The following varieties are used in the Pangwe region:
Ficus globicarpa Warb. var. (embĭǒ'ń);
Ficus cfr. wildemaniana Warb. (adzǎb-etǒb);
Ficus bubu Warb. (akō'-etǒb);
Ficus stellulata Warb. (etĭtǒ, root to(b) reduplicated);
Ficus preussii Warb. and laurentii Warb. (etǒ'b, etǒ'b-o-jōb, ejē'ĭ, akǎm);
Ficus barteri Sprague (asǎmentūmo Fang, asǎmentüēme Ntum);

287
●234
314

and furthermore the varieties the Pangwe call abǎ́ń, andǔm, undǔm, and ngus.

/Fig. 159 appears here in the original text./ The most widespread varieties are Ficus globicarpa, stellulata, preussii and laurentii, barteri, abǎ́ń, and andǔm. The best cloth -- it is almost pure white -- is provided by Ficus globicarpa Warb. [245] (embiǒ'n) which in former times was planted near the villages. This tree is preferred by the women, who "attach more importance to clothing" than men.

287
314

Whenever possible, smooth young tree trunks, no more than eight to ten centimeters thick, are chosen. A piece is cut out

[412]

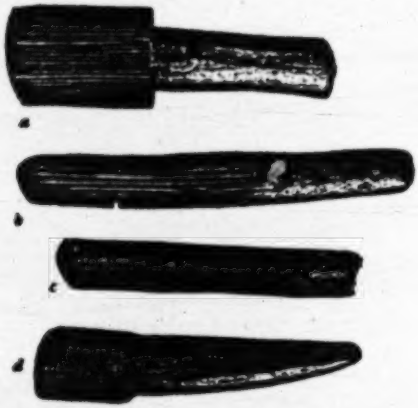


Fig. 158. Beaters for Bark Cloth.
(a) of wood, (b) and (c) of elephant's rib,
(d) from an elephant's tooth.

of the trunk and left lying in the open for half a day or a whole day. Then it is scorched evenly over a small fire, whereupon the outer bark is removed by scraping until the bast layer is completely exposed. Then this layer is cut up lengthwise, loosened by tapping it with the beater, and taken off with the fingers or by means of a stick pushed under it. The bast layer thus taken off is then pounded on some kind of support, for instance, on a tree trunk or a wooden drum. The pounding is

462 favorite activities. This explains their skill in sewing, patching,
463 and so forth, which the European discovers to his joy in his Black servants.

(a) Thread and sewing.

283 The simplest material for fiber work is thread (klĕs IV, ndĕ's,
824 IV) from the climbing Aracea Rhectophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (klĕs IV, ndĕ's IV). The threads are obtained by cutting off the aerial roots and drawing out the fiber bundles which are extremely durable and frequently quite long. /Fig. 160 appears here in the original text. / They are used for sewing, for children's fishing rods (ngăk), and, secondarily, as binding material for combs made of strips of raffia leafstalks and neck bands made of bands of rattan palm (or Marantacea strips).

Fig. 160. Bobbin with String.

The raw leaf fibers of the pineapple are also used to sew pieces of bark cloth together, etc.

(b) Ropes and knotting.

283 Plant fibers are used more frequently in the form of strings (Fig. 160) than as thread. Just like the shoemaker's thread in Europe, the strings are twisted together by rolling them with the flat of the hand on the upper thigh. The plants used for this purpose are pineapple, plantain, raffia, Gaertnera, and Triumfetta.

From the pineapple, the fiber bundles of the leaves are used; its strings are quite durable -- but not in water, and therefore fishing lines cannot be made from them -- and fairly fine, so they are especially suitable as strings for beads. A charming effect is created by the shoulder bags tied with them (mfŏk I), into which are put all kinds of little personal belongings, medicines, and so forth. These bags are taken along on journeys, chiefly by men.

283

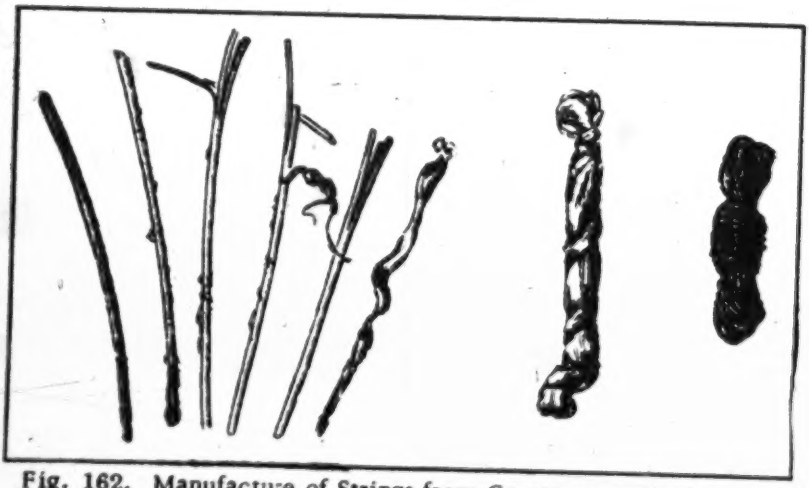


Fig. 162. Manufacture of Strings from Gaertnera paniculata.

together with the epidermis -- of the upper surface is loosened from the mesophyll; then the lamina is pulled off. The bast is left to dry, and after it has been hastily twisted or turned into regular strings, it is used for various purposes (for sewing bark cloth, stringing pearls, and so forth).

The most durable ropes (Fig. 162) are made from the bast of the Rubiacea Gaertnera paniculata Benth. (esǫ́mǭ Fang, eshüme Ntum, ngǔn Ntum, Bulu. The shoots /211/ /Fig. 162 appears here in the original text/ of this tree are cut off, and their bark is shaved off by means of a strip of raffia stalk (ngū.n). Then a section at one end is quartered lengthwise, and the shoots are dried for a day. The upper four tips are then bent, which releases the bast layer from the wood, and it is now pulled off in four strips. The layer consists of a fine soft web of fibers which can be processed without further ado. The product is a brownish-colored rope which because of its strength is used for angling lines, game and fish nets, crossbow strings, and stringing decorative cowrie shells. [824]

Triumfetta cordifolia Guill. et Perr. (var. tomentosa.), okūn, is a shrub-like growth which sometimes grows taller than a man. It is readily recognizable by its dark-green leaves, which have a shimmering silvery-white and softly haired underside, and its yellowish blossom panicles. Although not equally common everywhere, it occurs in open [824]

415
285 1. Women's hanging baskets (nkŭn I). Unlike most other
[462] baskets, these are also manufactured by women. They are made
[824] from strips of the stalk bark of Sarcophrynium velutinum K. Sch.
(stalk, ndĕn, ndĕnăn IV). They display considerable variation,
both in size and pattern (Fig. 166). /Fig. 166 appears here in the
original text. /

415
285 2. Carrying baskets (nkŏ́ē' I), which are used only once, are
412 woven in wide meshes from stalks of the Sarcophrynium by men and
412 women whenever their regular baskets are not available or not
available in sufficient numbers, or if they want to spare the bas-
kets. Thus, they would use the carrying baskets, for instance, in

[531]

Fig. 166. Women's Hanging Baskets.

order to transport the bloody flesh of a freshly killed elephant into
the village and for similar purposes.

285 3. Baskets for the oil press and for carrying earth (ekŭt, ekŭt-
445 ažŭ̄ī' = oil press baskets, ekŭt-ebē = earth baskets). The first is
used to squeeze out oil from the pulp of the fruit (ažŭ̄ī) of the oil palm or
raffia palm; the second, to remove the earth that is dug out when
pits (ebē) are made. Both baskets are braided from Ancistrophyllum
[824] acutiflorum Becc. (nkāne) (1).

[412] 1. I once saw a knife sheath woven
entirely from bush rope (Oncocalamus),
Figure 167.

285 The second class of baskets displays a variety of braiding elements: one that is flexible and active (braiding strips) (2), forms

[113] 2. See the discussion in J. Lehmann, Systematik und geographische Verbreitung der Geflechtsarten /System and Geographic Distribution of Types of Braiding/, Leipzig, 1907.

the bottom of the basket, and, ascending upward, is tied around the second, stiffer, passive one (braiding strand). /215/ Placed in the form of a spiral, this second element forms the wall of the basket. The sources of the braiding elements are as follows.

285 824 The active elements are taken from Sarcophrynium stalk strips, Pandanus leaves, or -- this is the predominant source -- the outermost wood layer of the rattan palms. The term for these current today is the collective name nlǒ'ñ I, a word derived from the root a lǒn "to braid, to twine" (compare a lǒn ndǎ, "to weave a house together, to build"; a lǒn nkǒ,ē', "to weave baskets"), and used at the same time for the "bush rope" obtained from the rattan palms. Formerly, nlǒ'ñ designated only the Eremospatha macrocarpa M. et W., which occurs only in the coastal strip west of 11 degrees longitude and in the north or northeast of the Pangwe region. Later, when the Pangwe came south, the term was transferred to the two rattan palms occurring there which are used for the same purpose, namely, Eremospatha tessmannii Becc. (ongǎm) and especially Oncocalamus mannii Wendl. (ebō'dǒgǒ Fang, ebō'dǒk Ntum; young, akǒ'lō,). Plate 16, Drawing 1, which is important there (1).

342 824 1. The rattan palms mentioned, aside from being used in weaving, are also used in the following ways.
1. In house construction: as rough bands, to tie together the framework of the house; as finer bands, to tie together the lathes of the side walls and the raffia leafstalks of which the sleeping

342
824
824

benches are made; and -- in the form of very fine bands -- to tie roof mats together.

2. In bridge construction, as railing ropes.

3. To wind around worn or bad wooden handles (cutlass and knives) and handles of fly swatters and brooms.

4. As a band, for example, to hold together damaged rifle butts and wooden plates, to tie down the bark stretched over the sounding board of the harp, and so forth.

5. As the main strand for the woman's back apron made of bast; the bast bundles are fastened to it.

6. As string for the musical bow (elěm).

7. As bird snares.

8. In making bark containers (see above).

9. As decorative strips for arm and neck bands (ekăt).

10. As a stamp to make a pattern on pottery.

285
824

The passive element mainly comes from the rattan palm Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc. (nkāne, more rarely ekă), Plate 16, Drawing 2, which differs from the Oncocalamus mannii in having large spikes on the upper side of the main leaf vein and finer spikes on the center vein and along the sides of the pinnae, a terminal inflorescence, and differently colored fruit (2). As

2. Aside from weaving, this is used in the following ways.

1. Decorative strips for arm and neck bands (ekăt).

2. Walking sticks.

3. Sugar press.

4. Tension ropes for drumheads.

285
824

5. Bands, a substitute for bush rope.
6. Scraping sticks for cassava.

The related Ancistrophyllum opacum M. et W. (egbwā's) supplies tension ropes for drumheads, net hoops, and snares.

/216/ a substitute, Calamus deerratus Mann et Wendl. (edžǐ,ń) (1),

1. This is also used for flutes (ndžǐ,ń I) and sticks for scraping cassava (akō-edžǐ,ń).

is used for some kinds of baskets (women's large carrying baskets and men's small carrying baskets).

285
415
[462]

The following kinds of baskets are made with various types of weaving.

1. Covered basket of the Jaunde (afōn) made chiefly by women. Braiding strand of palm band, braiding strips of Pandanus leaf strips, braided like a checkerboard (one over, one under).

285
415
482
[824]

2. Large carrying baskets for permanent use (nkǒ,ē' I, nkbē' I Fang), in which the women /Fig. 167 appears here in the original text/ carry home wood and produce. Braiding strand of Ancistrophyllum (nkāne), more rarely of Calamus deerratus, braiding strips of Oncocalamus (nlǒń).

3. Small carrying baskets (okǒkǒ,ē', "small carrying basket," and engā'ne), Figure 168, made of the same material as the previous ones, only smaller, frequently with a more finely braided edge whose active part may consist not only of bands but also of strings. Usually, moreover, the main braiding strand is replaced for a short distance in the middle of the basket by a blackened one, called ekǎ̈na nšūt (b). These baskets are considered especially elegant; the woman takes them with her on journeys and packs food in them. In the house, raffia aprons and other objects are kept in them, and in the fields they are used to hold groundnuts and other things. /Fig. 168 appears here in the original text. /

4. Men's carrying baskets (ebā'da), Figure 169. In the case of these baskets, the braiding strand is made either of Calamus or

285
415
824

(7) Basketwork plates (dža̰d; plural bia̰d).

Here (Fig. 171) we have, in place of a braiding strand that runs in a spiral, numerous braiding strands made of strips of the Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becc. (nkāne) or of the Marantacea Trachyphrynium violaceum Radlk. (nkǒmonkǒ'mo Fang), which form the quadrangular bottom surface and the basic material of the edge (or, as one might prefer to say, of the wall). In order to make the edge tight and to hold it together, a braiding strip is woven into it, this being a band from the stalks of the Oncocalamus mannii Wendl. (nlǒ'n), the Orchidacea Myrsacidium productum Kranzl. (okǒ-o-jō'b (1), anžǔ'ma), the Apocynacea Motandra spec. (okǒ-e-sí) (1), or from a raffia pith strip (nkǒ-ešūšū). The position

> 1. okǒ from the root kō = band, rope; o jō'b = above, because the orchid is a parasitic plant growing on trees; o si = below, because the Apocynacea grows on the ground.

of the braiding elements with respect to each other is thus precisely the reverse of that in the true baskets of the second series. /218/

/Fig. 170 appears here in the original text./

285
415

They are manufactured in the following manner. Four strips are placed close to each other lengthwise on the ground and held down with one foot; at some distance from these and parallel to them four more strips are laid down, and so on ten times, so that in all there are forty strips. These are diagonally interwoven with 36 strips likewise arranged in fours, so that each of these diagonal strips always runs alternately over and under three of the longitudinal strips, but so that there are different longitudinal strips at each diagonal plait, for instance:

Diagonal strip 1 lies under longitudinal strips 2-4, over 5-7, under 8-10, and so forth;

Diagonal strip 2 lies under longitudinal strips 3-5, over 6-8, under 9-11, and so forth.

322 [352] The stool is a valuable piece of household furniture, a luxury object, for which the natives are willing to spend some money. For this reason its manufacture is an important branch of wood [554] carving, and the makers of well-finished, artistically decorated stools are famous persons, much in demand. If they wanted to, they could make a considerable amount of money with their art, and they also could elevate the art itself, but with their congenital laziness, a special inducement is always required before they will take the trouble to start a new project. For example, a guest in the house of such an artist sees a beautifully carved stool there and says: "Oh, what a beautiful stool; you could make me one like that." Perhaps others have uttered the same wish, and so the artist finally pulls himself together, goes into the jungle, and cuts down [824] a trunk of the Apocynacea Alstonia congensis Engl. (ekûk), the only tree suitable for the manufacture of stools. He must choose a trunk which -- after the bark has been pulled off -- has the same diameter as the proposed stool /221/ (Fig. 172). He takes the trunk with him to the village and cuts it into about five to seven disks as thick as the stool is intended to be tall. Then with his cutlass he draws a line around approximately the middle, and this line indicates the lower edge of the seat. From there he cuts three radial grooves downward, deepens them with an adz (ngbwák IV), Figure 173, and in this way forms three legs. Then the seat is made smooth and held over the fire until it becomes nice and brown. The edge is rubbed clean with the rough leaves of the Ficus [824] exasperata Vahl (ekōkō' Fang, akō Ntum) (1). The edge and the

1. Root kō, "to rub"; compare
a-kō-k, "grindstone."

[386 legs are colored with redwood and dried for an hour in the sun; 531] finally they are decorated with carved patterns, an artistic addition which is not everywhere uniformly successful. /Fig. 172 appears here in the original text./

322 Ordinarily a stool maker finishes from two to three pieces in one 476 day. The price is so low (two spears, the equivalent of 14 pfennigs, 435 apiece) that it is difficult to conceive how the man can work for it.

322 had to ponder for a long time and finally said that every month he
434 made about ten stools for two spears (14 pfennigs) apiece, and that
554 he therefore earned 20 spears (1.40 marks); with this income, he said, he had /Fig. 173 appears here in the original text/ bought brass ornaments for himself, and the rest he had put aside as marriage money, but that did not bother him since he considered his art a matter of honor. /222/

322 The manufacture of stirring spoons (mbŏ̄b) is, like their form,
415 fairly simple. From a tree trunk (1) a flat piece of wood is cut out

1. The following three trees are used: Alchornea caloneura Pax (ndămabā III); Hasskarlia didymostemon Baill. (efŭō'le Ntum, dzĭ III, nyō'le III); and Kickxia elastica Preuss (emvila).

[824]

and crudely cut to shape with a bush knife. Then the spoon is hollowed out in the following manner. A chisel (ojĕn), Figure 174, and a simple heavy piece of wood for a hammer are used to make a transverse groove between bowl and handle, and the wood is removed piece by piece by blows aimed at it. The more delicate work is done by shaving with a chisel or knife. The finished spoon is usually rubbed with redwood. The people themselves do not know why this is done. In answer to my question, my friend Nto-Ndanga offered the following remark by way of an answer: "Look here, I am a Black myself, but the Blacks have no sense. I have long asked myself why the stirring spoons are rubbed with redwood because that way dirt (that is, the redwood) gets into the food!" The various forms of the stirring spoon are shown in Figure 98.

Somewhat more effort is required to make the ladling spoons (tōk), Figure 175. They are made primarily from the wood of the
[824] Carpodinus tessmannii Gilg (ebă'm), more rarely from the Kickxia elastica Preuss (emvila). A block of wood in the shape of a cylinder halved lengthwise is taken from the timber and cut into the shape of the spoon by means of careful, layer by layer removal of the wood
[442] (see Fig. 176), first with the cutlass (a), then with the adz (b). The bowl is then further hollowed out with the spoon scraper (fŏ'nege-tōk), Figure 177.

322
415 Figure 177. Finally, the bowl and the handle are rubbed smooth with the rough leaves of the Ficus exasperata.

The powder flasks (ndǒk e pfidi) are very laboriously manufactured from the wood of the Alstonia congensis (ekūk) and the [824] Kickxia elastica, Figure 178. First a massive flask is shaped and nicely smoothed on the outside; this shape is then split into two halves by a longitudinal cut. Each half is hollowed out on the inside with the adz, and the neck is cut off at the desired length. Finally, both halves are fitted together again and are held together by means of an animal's skin, usually of the monitor lizard, sewn over it.

Plates from the wood of the Alstonia congensis or Ceiba pentandra are also very difficult to make because even during the work the edges tend to split rather easily. When they do, the plates are nevertheless finished and repaired afterwards with bush rope.

322 Dog bells are made from Alstonia congensis, Alchornea
534 caloneura, and Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub (myē' IV Ntum); bellows
824 are manufactured from the Alstonia congensis and Musanga smithii R. Br. (asǒn); dugouts from Musanga, Ceiba pentandra (dum), and the Combretacea /223/ /Fig. 174 appears here in the original text/ Terminalia superba Engl. et Diels (akǒm); talking drums from Cordia odorata Gürke (ebǎi) and Rinorea dentata; hide drums from Alstonia, Cordia, Rinorea, and Musanga.

322 Spear handles are made from the easily split stems of an
411 Anonacea (?), otunga, and of a Flacourtiacea, osǎbǎǐ' (1). The
[824]

1. ǎ = to split, bǎǐ' = fingernails; tree which can be split with the fingernails.

wood is split /Fig. 175 appears here in the original text/ into as many parts as one wants to make spear handles. First the edges created by the splitting are roughly taken off with the cutlass, and then each individual part is worked with the drawknife until a round stick the thickness of the spear handle remains. The drawknife (awǒn), Figures 179 and 180, consists of a piece of wood (branch fork) bent in the form of a hook, whose sides have a short slit cut

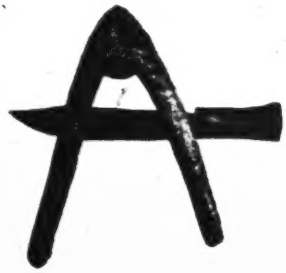
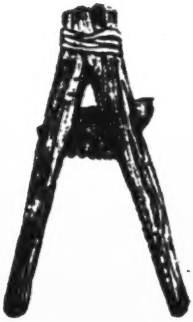


Fig. 179. Drawknife for Spear Handles.



322
413

Fig. 180. Drawknife (also Scraper) for Spear Handles.

five hens, and five pieces of brass wire, which altogether corresponds approximately to a value of 120 marks in our money. The medicine is kept in a small wooden or clay pot lined with the soft leaves of the Triumfetta (okṇ̀ṇ) or in a little basket. It consists of a bundle of leaves with the brain matter of an ancestor, a few pieces of skull from the ancestors placed around it, and pieces of the shaved bark of the Leguminosa Macrolobium straussianum Harms (abǒ'm, bǒ'me IV) or of the fern Marattia fraxinea Sm. (ezǐzö'n), and poison (nsǔ). The skull and the brain as the seat of knowledge are supposed to make the smelting process successful; the Macrolobium is supposed to cause the lump iron to lie as firmly and solidly in the smelting pit (ekiai a bǒme o si = the iron is firm [as though stamped down] under there) as this tree stands without buttress roots (hence the name abǒ'm from a bǒm, "to stamp in firmly, to pound in, and to be firmly stamped in"); the fern is supposed to cause the iron to agglomerate as beautifully as the young fern leaves.

325
789
[435]
[824]
[826]

Unfortunately, it is impossible to make iron with this medicine alone. For better or for worse, actual work will have to be done, and for this workers are needed. These are not so difficult to obtain since they get a share of the profit, but the abstinence rules which we have already mentioned, especially those of a sexual nature, deter many of them. These rules enjoin abstinence for two months before and during the period of work, and if they are violated, the iron will

325
834

not be good. This extremely unpleasant prescription, in conjunction with the expensive medicine, stands in the way of a greater distribution of smelting enterprises. Even in places where a hut for iron smelting is already in existence, people prefer to buy iron from others if their own has been a failure several times, for this misfortune is attributed to the failure of the fire as a result of the sexual /226/ impurity of one or a number of the participants. The importation of European iron in recent years is dealing a death blow to the native industry. The fear of bringing anything impure (and all sexual matters are pre-eminently regarded as such) into contact with pure fire goes so far that a medicine is made by those participants whose wives menstruate during the smelting. This consists of a diamond-shape piece cut out of the bark on the supporting beam of the smelting hut on the side facing the furnace, and it is supposed to represent the female sex organ. The symbol is rubbed with redwood which has been pulverized by the woman concerned and represents her blood flow; it is covered with a leaf of the Myrianthus arboreus P.B. (mangǎme III Fang) to indicate that one wants everything impure to be hidden and therefore harmless. At the same time the plant is supposed to cause the iron to coalesce to the same degree as the individual fruits are united in a syncarp. In Plate 17 one can see a piece of the leaf on the supporting post (top left), as well as (somewhat lower down) a bark container which holds fragments of ancestors' skulls, a number of antelopes' horns, and a great variety of other medicines that are used later. That the people concerned with the ancestor cult are regarded as particularly suited to bring the work to a successful conclusion is apparent from the fact that they alone may tend the fire (see Fig. 183).

The smelting of iron is thus above all under the aegis of the fire cult, but it is also closely linked with the worship of the ancestors who contribute to the success of the enterprise insofar as it lies in their power to do so.

Iron crops out in the form of brown iron ore (sɛ̄i IV) (1) and is

1. The analysis carried out by Mr. Du Bois at the suggestion of Professor Pufahl (Königliche Bergakademie in Berlin)

325 intercourse. During this period, the ore is carried to the hut in
372 baskets and piled up there, and charcoal (miē, mēi) is obtained. The charcoal must be especially "strong," and for that reason it is obtained only from the following five trees: 1) Pentaclethra
[824] macrophylla Benth., Leguminosae (ebā'ī); 2) Erythrophloeum guineense Don., Leguminosae (elŭn); 3) Cylicodiscus gabunensis Harms, Leguminosae (edūm); 4) Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms, Leguminosae (andzītsiń); 5) Irvingia grandifolia Engl., Simarubaceae (ngŭn IV). The wood is heaped up in small piles near the village, set on fire, and, when it is charred, extinguished while still glowing. The water with which it is extinguished is skillfully squirted out of the mouth like a shower.

325 In Bebai, among the Schumu family (Woddo region) where I
343 saw the smelting, a smaller hut stood next to the smelting hut
834 (Fig. 182, Drawing 2); this hut contained nothing but a sleeping bench (p), a poker hook (q), and a number of spare blast pipes (r) for the furnace. The hut owner for whom the smelting was to be done the next day spent the last night in it in order not to succumb to the temptation of violating the above-mentioned rule at the last moment. This precautionary measure shows how steadfastly the Pangwe actually observe the many commandments.

325 In the morning the workers appear with their tools, the blast pipes (žŏn IV), and bellows.

The bellows without valve -- but in contrast, it does not have wooden sticks used as handles. It is made of soft wood (see page 240); from its two bowl-shaped enlargements (Pangwe: alŏ-nkŭm, "bellows ears") separate shafts lead /228/ /Fig. 181 appears here in the original text/ into the tip (Pangwe: ndžū'i-nkŭm, "bellows nose"). The bowls are covered with animal hide with the hairy side
[281] inward, or (only among the Jaunde) with leaf sheaths of the banana tied together in a tuft. Since the hides are moved directly by hand and not by means of sticks, only soft hides can be used, such as those of the long-tailed monkeys, the potto, the civet cat, and the African dwarf buck Neotragus batesi Winton.

The pit in the smelting hut is stuffed full to the rim with leaves of the umbrella tree, so that after the completion of the smelting process it can be cleaned of the charcoal remains without any

325 461 791 natives like to hiss rhythmically during the work; this gives them greater strength, as they say. Regular whistling, however, is strictly forbidden, for in the opinion of the natives it is something evil (see prefixes, page 28 /Ed., not translated/). In all this noise the medicine man takes a prominent part; every other moment he rings an iron bell, blows on an antelope horn, /232/ sings, shouts, and dashes about frantically. In short, he makes every possible effort to spur on the people, and perhaps he also means to fend off evil beings of one kind or another by his activities. Now and then he strikes between the bellows with a bundle of the Violacea Rinorea gracilipes Engl. or the Leguminosa Bandeiraea tenuiflora Benth. (both ovǒ̄n e ndžīk) (1) in order to

[824]

1. Called ovǒ̄n e ndžīk (ndžīk, "liana") because of the similarity of the leaves with those of the Copaifera tessmannii Harms. (ovǒ̄n), the tree in which the souls live in the intermediate realm; used when there is a shortage of Copaifera.

[775]

eliminate all noxious influences through the power of the ancestors. If the zeal of the workers nevertheless flags, there follows a redoubled clamor, and after a short period of time the crew recuperates and pushes the hides with renewed vigor and almost convulsive rapidity amidst violent hissing and rhythmic rocking up and down of the upper part of the body. In the evening when they are tired, hide drums and wooden drums are called in to encourage them with a regular concert; songs are sung in which the medicine man strikes the keynote. At the end of the work, which in Bebai, for instance, lasted from one o'clock in the afternoon to 9:30 in the evening, the medicine man steps up to the furnace and by each bellows worker he makes a movement as though placing something up into the furnace and down into the funnel; his assistant walks behind him, carrying a closed medicine horn provided with a porcupine's tail. Its purpose is unknown.

325 789 ●824 Even the job of forging cannot be performed without medicines. Just as a medicine is buried under the furnace in the smelting hut, one is also buried under the anvil when the smithy is constructed, although this is not always the case. The medicine consists of cock's feathers, blossom panicles of the Labiata Plectranthus (kŏlō̄t IV Fang, kŏt IV Ntum), and leaves and stalks of the Commelinacea Aneilema aequinoctiale Kth. (nlăt I) (1). The

> a lă-t, "unite," hence nlăt, the Aneilema (compare also a-lă-t, "the duck," because ducks live in pairs).

two plants are burdocks and are meant to symbolize the fact that the iron particles are to be joined together as firmly in the forging as the fruit of the Plectranthus and the stalks or leaves of the Aneilema cling together -- frequently one also sees the smith throwing a few Plectranthus fruits into the blast pipe while forging. The cock belongs to the cult of the Good, or the fire, and for that reason its feathers are the most important component of the medicine. To heighten its effectiveness, the cock is also killed, and its flesh boiled together with the leaves of the Acanthacea Asystasia macrophylla (T. And.) (elŏbokūī), the Connaracea Manotes zenkeri Gilg (nkă-ndžĭk I), the Ebenacea Diospyros fragrans Gürke (myĭfĭ'n IV Fang, myĭpfĭ'm IV Ntum), and the Tiliacea Desplatsia dewevrei Burset (afŏnŏk). This concoction is eaten by the smith. The plants mentioned have strong and flexible stalks or twigs (nkīb, "rod, whip"), and the implied wish is that the iron, in particular the spear money, will be just as strong and flexible.

325 135 Lastly it should be mentioned that in a newly constructed smithy hut the first thing to be melted down must not be crude iron but only worked iron.

The smith's tools include:

325 1. Large forging iron (ngŏ̄p[d]ŏ̄ III) of the form shown in Figure 187, Drawing 1; for cruder work it is used as a hammer, for finer work as an anvil, in which case it is pushed into the ground with its pointed end. It is worth 1,000 spears or 70 marks.

754 we are already familiar.
278 Another mixture consisted of ground mica, a toad, and ground snake fangs.

The red nsǔ usually contains:
1. Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (see above);
[825] 2. a red crab from the forest (nkŏńĕle kǎ'dă) (1);

1. The animal is supposed to make a sound that is reproduced by ʒĕ, ʒĕ.

3. a kind of scorpion (nsisa), ground;
4. a chameleon, ground;
5. Mucuna pruriens D.C. (see above).

The black nsǔ contains:
1. ngō-akǫ'k or ekōl-akǫ'k, fungus soil dried and ground;
2. akǔn, a fungus growth that lives under water, which is supposed to be very poisonous;
[825] 3. nlō'ńo ngūēn, a centipiede which is greatly feared because of its poison.

The preparation of nsǔ is carried out in the most ingenious manner by expert medicine men. For this purpose, the men sew
[287] for themselves a special suit made of the bark of the ondǔ'm tree
[292] (Fig. 50). This suit resembles a long shirt and leaves only the head and hands exposed; these parts of the body are then rubbed
[824] with an extract of Heckeria subpeltata (Wild.) Kunth (abŏ'mĕdzǎ'n),
[751] principally in order to protect them against the very poisonous hairs of the Mucuna that fly about. With this preparation, the poison mixers proceed to pound the dried components in a pot and and to mix them by stirring. For this purpose they use a long stick so that they can stay as far away as possible from the poisonous mixture. Indeed, they go even further and call upon old leprous
[734] persons to collect and pour the poison into little horns or bags
[758] (Fig. 51), since in their case it would not matter if in the process they were to become sick or even die.

754 The finished mixture is a bone-dry and extremely fine
278 powder. It is not immediately put to use, but first tried out on dogs. By leaving out certain ingredients, such as the Mucuna hairs, or by means of other combinations, the poison mixers -- so various informants emphatically affirm -- are able to shorten or lengthen the victim's period of suffering at will or to produce only illness without fatal results. /147/

The medicine sold by the medicine men (because of its tendency to decompose rather rapidly, it does not keep very long) is used in the following ways. Either it is mixed with the food or sprinkled on the head of the bed or the floor -- merely inhaling the stuff, it is said, produces severe illness. Otherwise it is buried near the surface where the victim usually sits. The Ntum, furthermore, mix the poison with the pulverized resin of Albizzia
[824] fastigiata Oliv. (esá'ʼ)ʼme) and then place in it for five days the
[411] pieces of iron with which they load their rifles.

Concerning the frequency of secret murder by "sorcery" or
754 murder by poisoning, Europeans certainly have no accurate
674 /Fig. 50 appears here in the original text/ conception, since without further ado we tend to ascribe deaths in the unhealthy regions of tropical Africa to malaria. At the same time, the importance, even for us, of investigating this matter precisely is demonstrated by the following fact. In the small Campo region (disregarding the coastal strip), which has been visited by Whites only in the last few years, no less than six merchants have been poisoned within this short period of time, attempts were made to poison two others.

The effects of the medicine of sorcery, whenever it is a question of poisoning in our /Fig. 51 appears here in the original text/ sense of the term, for instance, poisoning food, depend on its composition. According to descriptions, it produces either terrible pains in the abdomen, as though "fire were penetrating the bowels," or the symptoms are those of blackwater fever, among others, dark urine, or it produces paralysis; thus, there is a great variety of effects so that correct diagnosis is extraordinarily difficult.

278 If someone believes he has been poisoned or exposed to
757 poisoning, he employs special antidotes concerning whose value

[Text continues on page 9]

754
777
[769]

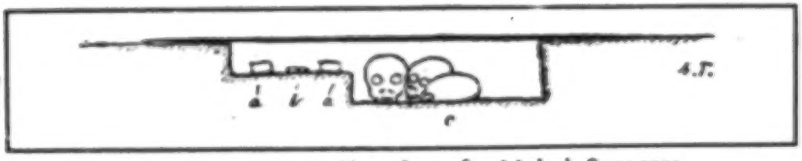


Fig. 53. Underground Chamber of a Mekuk Sorcerer, Cross-section.

(a) Circle made of plantain pieces, (b) magic medicines, (c) skulls of murdered relatives.

the Mekuk man's house companions in their sleep, so that they wake up the next day completely beaten up. They are also supposed to steal money and goods in order to take them to the Mekuk man. In short, the Mekuk stories remind one of the experiences of the man who wanted to learn to be afraid /Ed., in one of Grimm's fairy tales/.

777 Other medicines for wealth that utilize the power of the souls are more innocent; they do not require the murder of relatives nor care of the skulls. Instead, their powers are derived from the [824] habitation of the souls, the Copaifera tessmannii Harms (oyǒn). The Mekuk skulls must be included only in the event the medicine man already possesses some. The procedure as a rule is as follows. The father of the person concerned goes with a medicine man, /152/ and both clear an area under a large Copaifera. Then a leaf vessel filled with water is set up, and into this some of the bark of the [801] Copaifera is scraped nine times (three times three); furthermore a stone from the stomach of the crocodile is placed in it if one is available. A peculiar test of the worthiness of the young man is now given. Various objects are placed together in three piles: on [45] the first are placed steamed cassava (women's food) and a basket [817] (ebā'dā) carried only by old women because it has a small capacity; on the second, a rifle, a bundle of vegetables (ngon) with fish, brass ornaments, cowrie shells, and a piece of cloth, all of which are things that delight young people; on the third pile is placed [293] a fly swatter (implement of the chiefs), a foot ring made of ivory, [622] and a boiled chicken, in other words, such things as are allotted to chiefs. Now the young man is brought to the piles. "If he has sense," he will go to the last pile and consume the chicken. In this

777 was gone. Then his brother said, "You see what I told you?
539 If you had not married this woman, everything would have been as it was yesterday, but as it is you have nothing left." Emam mese masámabo ava. (Customary conclusion of tales.)

It is noteworthy that homosexual intercourse is included
777 among the medicines for wealth because it is believed that
838 through the intimate contact the medicine of one will be transferred to the other. In a case known to me in Ebaängon, the passive party possessed the medicine and the active party wanted to acquire it. Another case is related in the tale that I reproduce in Section 18. In actual fact it might turn out that the effect of the medicine consists in the mutual support the two "friends" render each other, based chiefly on the consciousness of common guilt and the endeavor not to let this guilt be known. This medicine is not without danger, for in the case just mentioned it was related that one of the men became blind and the other leprous, and in the tale both parties become leprous or suffer from frambesia.

A variant of the medicines for wealth consists of those
777 which especially help one to marry or abduct women (biǎ,ṅ e bǫm); another variant consists of the means to acquire influence and respect (biǎ,ṅ e bame, biǎ,ṅ a vōge), such as the great Anonacea
● [824] Pachypodanthium confius Pierre, Engl. et D. (ntǔm I) and the Melastomacea Memexylon tessmannii Gilg (ntǔmǎ IV) which, in addition, is also regarded as an authentic medicine for wealth.

In addition to the medicines for acquiring wealth, the most
832 important and the most common are the love medicines (biǎ,ṅ anduman). No less than about 100 different plants are placed in the service of Venus.

If the inhabitants of a village have the idea that the love affairs of the young people need revitalizing, a general love medicine festival (engǒ́ńežǒk) is arranged, which is celebrated under the supervision and with the cooperation of the ancestral skulls worshipped in the Malan. Consequently, only the initiates of the Malan may take part. The course of the festivities together with the period of preparation corresponds to that described in the section on cult festivals /Ed., not translated/: two feast

832 days and the establishment of a sacred place, on which the Fang even set up a female figure of clay. During the seven days of preparation, the necessary medicines are obtained.

[824] These are bark, scraped off the Anonacea Monodora tenuifolia Bth. (fǒb IV) and the Olacacea avǒm, and a small elephant's

[825] tooth into which are put the following /159/ things.

1. The most important is the larynx (engǒń) of a famous

[826] singer, especially of one who was versed in love songs, or the larynx of a woman who before the payment of the bride price allowed herself to be abducted by her lover. The aim is to obtain the power of the singer, who was loved on account of his voice (famous tenors even in other countries are, after all, not only popular but also loved), and to be loved as he was, or one desires to have the woman consent (with her larynx = voice) to follow the call of love as quickly as did the woman whose larynx has been placed inside the elephant's tooth. The name engōnezǒk was chosen because of the desire to pretend that only the throat of an elephant (zǒk) was involved and to avoid naming the real contents, the human throat. As a name for the whole thing, engongeschok is intended to veil the meaning of the feast just as the animal names conceal the purpose of the cults. In other words, whatever you do, don't call a spade a spade.

2. Sex organs of a mother-in-law, the one who has given birth to the daughter and loved one.

3. The bones of an albino (mvēi-mōt), preferred by women

[826] because of the skin color (1).

1. Opinions concerning an albino vary
[154] a great deal; in other areas an albino is less highly regarded (Jaunde).

4. The bones of twins, because of the desire to be united with the loved one just as twins are united in the mother's womb.

5. Fulgurites (abī-zǎlǎń), so the love will be as powerful

[821] as the lightning that throws down the tallest trees.

6. nsǔ, so that the sorcerous beings (= evil persons) will not

[or possibly "tusk"; see figure 55, page 26.-Analyst]

832 destroy the medicine.

7. The tooth of a chief, to make one capable of talking as well as a chief, who obviously wins his wives by his words.

824 8. Monodora tenuifolia Bth. (fǒb IV).

832 9. Ocimum basilicum L. (ǒsim), the "forget-me-not of the Pangwe (a ŝiman, "to remember, not to forget"); the woman will not forget her lover.

10. Aeolanthus edlingeri Gürke, labiates (elǎ̄ngelǎ̄nge Fang) with which the women like to adorn themselves since they smell pleasant and have a soporific effect.

11. Abutilon indicum Sw., Malvacea (abofu' III), since the plant has a white sheen, and the woman must see the lover as "pure" as the plant. The tooth is closed off with wax, and a parrot feather, which must have been found in the woods, is stuck on it (Fig. 55).

This medicine brings good luck otherwise than just during
832 the festive period; one could say that it performs miracles. Placed under the threshold in the house of the beloved, in such a way that the girl does not see it, it makes her "consent" immediately when the lover wants to abduct her; if before this, she did not love the suitor, she will now prefer him to all others. In short, she will henceforth "only say yes," and all this has been brought about by the engongeschok with its throat (= voice).

Monodora and avǒm in a leaf bag are placed in a pot of water, and this is suspended from flexible rod in the center of the festive area in front of the meeting house (Fig. 56, a). The /160/ festive area is customarily closed off by a curtain of raffia leaves; within it /Fig. 55 appears here in the original text/ a peculiar frame (Fig. 56 b) is set up, which, the natives say, is meant to represent traps. In addition, a cult place is cleared at the side of the house, where actual traps are set up. I shall return to these in a moment. A civet's skin with two tail pieces, into which is sewn a love medicine, is hung from the frame.

When all this is ready, the festive goat is fetched, and the ancestral skulls are told that everything is in readiness. Now the actual festival, which lasts two days, can begin.

832
[291]
[516]
[417]

Fig. 57. Washing the Forehead at the Love Medicine Festival.

times, and in the case of very recalcitrant drops, the medicine was wiped down the bridge of the nose with a bundle of Abutilon leaves. The festive company then moved to the cult [778] place, in this case called a love grove (elik andŭ̄mǎn). Just as the cult figures are usually set up on the trees (because of the [824] sorcerous beings, trees with spikes are chosen) and just as the [532] medicines for wealth are made up under the soul tree, the Copaifera, in the same way the love tree belongs to the love grove, namely the Leguminosa Amphimas tessmannii Harms (edžī) (1). In Ebǎangon the tree was only a small one, but

1. a dži-ń, "to love."

often they are huge specimens. In the background a kind of bench of rods was erected, and under it were heaped a great many twigs of various trees regarded as love medicine. Then the ancestral skulls were set up behind the bench, and the twigs ignited. Those persons who needed an improvement in their love affairs, /161/ /Fig. 57 appears here in the original text/ lay down on the bench and allowed themselves to be thoroughly

832 fumigated (Fig. 58), while the skulls with cold severity surveyed the situation, until they themselves had justice done to them, for they were carried in a dance around the love tree. Meanwhile, a number of the participants took red dye and with it drew a line on the bark of the love tree, observing that they themselves would like to look like this in the eyes of their beloved. Another one took black dye in addition to the red and first made a red line, saying, "In the eyes of the girl to which I shall go (he probably was not allowed to pronounce her name) I want to appear like this (red)"; then he drew a black line and added, "On the other hand, the girl shall see all others like this (black line)." We already know that red is the color of life,
[822] of joy, and of light. Black here signifies its opposite, the unpleasant and ugly.

832 Finally, a small punishment was meted out to the ancestral
769 skulls by sticking them in the above-mentioned draw traps set up around the tree and leaving them there until the next day. Such a punishment of the ancestors is very rare, and it is significant that it does not occur at the Malan but in connection with the love medicine, which is to be regarded as a degenerate form of the Malan. Then around the tree a great variety of other medicines were distributed, such as red dye and a piece from the loincloth of a mother-in-law. Among the Fang the genitals
[826] themselves are supposed to be taken, these having been cut from the deceased mother-in-law. /162/ /Fig. 58 appears here in the original text./

832 On the forenoon of the second day of the festival about 25
783 banana leaf vessels were set up in a row in the festive area and
[415] filled with freshly fetched water. Into the first vessel the medicine man put a whole pile of bark pieces and leaves, all of them love medicines. The other vessels were treated in a more perfunctory fashion: only a few pieces of bark were placed in the second vessel, and in each of the following, only one; the last vessels did not get anything. The medicine man then sat down at the first vessel, blew into it with a pipe, whereupon a thick,
[388] soap-like foam arose, which supposedly comes from the bark of
[824] the Cylicodiscus gabunensis (Taub) Harms (edim), and then washed his face, first in this vessel and then in all the following

832 I was unable to discover during the subsequent dance.

The concluding celebration took place in the love grove. A man seized the tree with one hand and swayed about, while the others took the skulls from the traps, danced with them in the opposite direction around the tree, and were embraced by him every time they passed him. Then the festive goat was [782] brought and slaughtered, its blood was poured over the skulls and medicines, and a speech of conciliation was addressed to

Fig. 59.

[824] Love Medicine of the Wood of Monodora tenuifolia.

the skulls. This speech culminated with the request that they should not be angry for having lain outside without food; a goat had now been brought to them, and they were from now on expected to make every effort to assist their descendants in matters of the heart. So the festival ended to the satisfaction of both the skulls and the young men.

It would be impossible here to cite by name all the plants 832 used for love medicines; all we can do is to mention the 824 criteria that were paramount in choosing them, as well as a number of examples. In each case, some quality that is to be transferred to the person is involved, for example, the following.

1. Abundance of blossoms, fruit, and shoots, especially when the blossoms or shoots are beautiful; the desire is to appear likewise in the eyes of the beloved. Monodora tenuifolia Bth. (fŏb IV), (Fig. 59), because of its luxuriant shoots with magnificent leaves; furthermore, the Simarubacea Desbordesia glaucescens Engl. (alŏ'b), with its resplendent red to blue shoots.

2. Beauty of the blossoms. Examples: many orchids (ajǎ'n̈-ojŏ'b) and Scitamineae, like Aframomum hanburyi K. Sch. obǎ[s]-adžŏm, blossoms atsǎ[k] adžŏm) and Canna bidentata Bertol (ekōn e žŏk); furthermore, Mussaenda species, which have colorful top leaves.

832
824

3. Beauty of the leaves. Example: Phyllanthus cappillaris Schum. et Thom. (ntɛ̄'bɛ̄ III), with its delicate leaves, and the cordate Geophila speciosa K. Sch. (esɛ̄k-osōke).

4. Beauty of the stems. Examples: Distemonanthus benthamianus Baill. (ejɛ̄n); Triplochiton tessmannii (ajū); and, above all, Amphimas tessmannii Harms (edzi) already mentioned.

5. The white color of the stems and leaves: Voacanga obtusa K. Schum. (edūmvōn a zam); Polygonum lanigerum R. Br. (elōamīē); and Abutilon indicum Sw. (abofū') already mentioned. /164/

6. The fact that the trees are isolated (certain trees are supposed to keep down smaller ones through the development of their crowns; in the same way, one wants to keep rivals at a distance), such as engōkūm and Memexylon tessmannii Gilg (ntū'mā IV).

7. Beautiful fragrance, such as afūn and Plectranthus (avā).

8. Tendency of the plants to wind around others; one wants to be united with the woman in just the same way. Examples: the parts of two lianas that have grown together (Fig. 60) and roots which wind around each other, like those of the Dracaena viridiflora Engl. and Kr. (alɛ̄'n-ogbwō III); furthermore, the tendency of plants to wind around other growths, in particular the Rubiacea Sabicea calycina Benth. (okō'dān) (1), the Aclepiadacea

1. a kō'-dān, "to wind around, to wind around each other."

Secamone myrtifolia Bth. (okō'amalɛ̄'n), and others.

9. Formation of burrs; the desire is to stick to the woman like a burr. Examples: Desmodium species (obō'bonzēn), (burr fruits); the Cyperacea Scleria barteri Bckl. (pfāfō'lō III Ntum), whose leaves and stalks are sticky; and especially the grass Streptogyne crinita R. Beauv. (nkām I, nkāmesū'sō I), whose panicles stick together with extraordinary firmness. /Fig. 60 appears here in the original text. /

10. Popularity among women. Examples: Kolobopetalum auriculatum Engl. (andɛ̄'me III), popular among women as a belt;

832 824 Lygodium smithianum Pr. (ozǒk), used by women for ornaments.

I was unable to obtain any satisfactory explanation as to why a number of Ficus species, certain Amaryllidaceae, and gall nuts of the Microglossa volubilis (Wall) D.C. (mvūvū') are used as love medicines.

832 825 Aside from plant ingredients, which are used in preponderant number for love medicines, antelope horns (Fig. 61) are especially popular. These are worn as forehead or neck ornaments, and when they are supposed to be effective, they are blown like a whistle. Just as an antelope never has a single horn, but always a pair, so a person should not be alone, but with another.

777 824 224 The no less abundant shot medicines make up a third group of medicines for good luck. Of the 109 plants used for these, 67 are rifle medicines (biǎ,ń ngā), that is, medicines that guarantee

[832]

Fig. 60. Love Medicine: a piece formed by two lianas so grown together that they appear as one.

a good shot with the rifle; two war medicines (biǎ,ń betǎ), 18 hunting medicines (biǎ,ń tīt), four crossbow medicines (bia n mbǎn), two medicines for hunting drives (biǎ,ń a kǐn tīt), two medicines /165/ for a lucky eye in hunting, and 14 medicines that raise the hunting efficiency of the dogs (biǎ,ń mvū) (Fig. 62).

The ingredients of the shot medicines are chosen according to various criteria. First the intention is to lure the game. Hence one takes parts of trees "loved" by the animal (that is, the animal likes to visit them, and hence will visit /Fig. 61 appears here in the original text/ the hunter who has them, even in the form of medicine). In other cases, parts that resemble animals are taken from trees, for example, the tendrils of the Oncinotis tessmannii Gilg (nję̌m osǒ'k, "tail of the red-tailed monkey"), which resemble

[Text continues on page 34]

777 a monkey's tail. The hunter thus becomes similar to the animal,
824 as it were, and the animal loses its shyness of him. In still other
224 cases, the game is to be made "weak" while the hunter and his hunting dog are to be made "strong," and for this purpose parts are taken from corresponding plants, or they are taken from trees that bear much fruit in order to have similarly rich results. Finally, plants are chosen which are intended to remove the noxious impurity of the body. /Fig. 62. Medicines of the Fang. (a) medi-
789 cine for wealth, the root of a tree (Homalium africanum) decorated with brass wire and a brass ring; (b)-(d) medicine against enemy weapons; (e) medicine against enemy surprise attacks, fruit of the Tiliacea Duboscia macrocarpa (akak), to make enemies calm, peaceful (Duboscia and Leptonychia = peace linden); (f) medicine for successful travels; (g) medicine for speaking and singing well, contains the tooth of a tree cony (which is continually "singing"); (h) medicine for the Dschama dance; (i) medicine against palpitations and nervousness, the heart-shaped fruit of the Ertela scandens, worn around the neck (makes the heart strong), about 1/4 actual size; (k) war medicine, leopard claw, 1/2 actual size. / /166/ The manner of use varies: sometimes it is
777 internal, the leaves being cut up into small pieces and eaten with
224 the meat of the animal one has most recently sometimes killed;
783 it is external, in the form of injections of a bark infusion, which have the double effect of removing the impurity from the body and imparting to it the essence of the plant; or a piece of wood is charred and then used to draw a line across the forehead, so that one "looks" just like the plant concerned. Most frequently, the impurity is removed by ablutions: either individual parts, face, hands, and frequently also elbows and the knee, as well as the rifle, are washed in medicine water; or the entire body is washed in a stream, on which occasion a little dam blocks off the water which, after the completion of the ablution, is again allowed to run its course so that it will carry the dirt far away downstream (ošüe nkiai). In order to guarantee the lasting efficiency of the
777 medicines, people generally wear pieces of wood and bark as
224 pendants on neck chains, hunting pouches, satchels, belts, and so forth.

The veneration of skulls likewise occurs in the case of the
769 hunting medicines. The skull of a man killed by violent means,
224 whose corpse remained on the spot (if the man belongs to the same
826 kinship group), is kept in a bark box and taken care of as in ancestor worship. When a huntsman kills a wild animal, for example, he takes the first piece that falls to him in the distribution of the meat to the skull as a thanks offering. This piece consists of the sex organs and the flesh around them (ekīlǎ', see Fig. 92 in Vol. I). After he has taken it to the skull, he carries it off again
[262] to eat it himself. On the other hand, if there has been no luck on the hunt, a chicken is killed for the "man" in the box so he will see to it that a wild animal soon appears in front of his protégé's rifle and will be hit as effectively as he was in his time.

In addition, the Fang have a great war medicine, a celebra-
721 tion which is called aṅgūṅgu and is a companion festivity to the
789 engongeschok. On this occasion, a sacred place is set up, a subterranean corridor similar to that described in the case of the Ngi /Ed., not translated/ is dug, and a dwarf antelope, Cephalophus
[825] melanorheus Gray (ogbwŭ,ṅ), which must have been caught alive, is brought to the place. Then the medicine man stations himself at one end of the corridor, and all the other men, armed with rifles,
[824] hang a seed of the Sorindeia rubriflora Engl. (afǎ'ne[k]) as medicine around their necks, and crawl -- the first with the antelope in his arms -- through the corridor. At the exit, the medicine man gives all of them, including the antelope, a medicine. The antelope is thereupon released, and it is believed that when a surprise attack is planned and the enemy has got wind of it, the animal will appear and thereby warn the attackers. By way of medicines to secure the /167/ necessary courage for such an attack, five different ones are available.

The medicines for trapping and fishing are rarer than the shot
777 medicines, a sign that these occupations are more in the Pangwe's
226 blood than open hunting. I have taken down only eight plants for
224 fish medicines and twelve for trap medicines.

755 sickness is supposed to be taken away. By way of explaining the
539 verse it may be observed that the initiates of the Bokung and Elong cult are forbidden to eat goats or sheep with women and are forbidden to eat turtles or to step over them. It is assumed that the sick person may have transgressed one of these prohibitions. The phrase "making straight" refers to the sick person, since he is supposed to become as straight as a raffia stick; the dog represents the scapegoat that is killed and whose dorsal vertebra (the stuff causing the sickness is in the spinal marrow) is thrown into the water instead of the patient's in order to indicate that together with its habitation the sickness itself is to be washed away, taken away. Then the sick man will feel light. Of course, the presence of women is strictly prohibited.

Of a Ngi sufferer it is said: ngī a bělē niě, that is, Ngi has
755 him, has made him possessed. The treatment is carried out by
824 the Ngi man who appears in the sick man's village amidst roaring and clanging of cymbals; with the Ngi bones in his hand he then dances about to the accompaniment of drum music. In the case that I witnessed, /169/ the barks of various plants were then dissolved in water; among them were especially the following: Leea guineensis Don (afŏbesŏń), Musanga smithii R. Br. (asŏń), Trema guineense (Schum.) Engl., Vernonia conferta Bth., Costus, Emilia, Uapaca, Antidesma, and Heckeria.

The actual "cure" was performed as follows. The Ngi man
755 beat the patient's head alternately with bundles of the Macaranga and Trema; then he washed the bullet wound with the medicine water and gave the patient a drink of the same water. Thereupon he mixed together red wood, bark shavings, and chicken's blood obtained by forcibly pulling the chicken's beak open; with this paste he drew a line around the sick man's chest, smeared his neck, and painted the bed posts. The next day the Ngi representative appeared once more with bones and sacred thorns, performed all kinds of dances, such as I have described in connection with the Ngi cult /Ed., not translated/, and in a singsong made a kind of exorcism speech similar to that of the Bokung man. In case a single attempt to cure is of no avail, it is repeated; in one village I heard the Ngi man roaring night after night in order to free a seriously ill person of his sufferings.

754 example, in the case of the theft of some food, a bit of the remains of the food, such as chewed sugarcane, is put in a rifle and fired off, or the chewed sugarcane is put in the smithy pit in place of iron and belabored with the bellows. In still other cases, this same sugarcane is placed with a pepper twig in the burrow of [825] a Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (the scincoid lizard), and a fire is lighted under them. In all /171/ these cases the fire is a symbol of the Ngi (fire cult). Another time the Sso is called upon. If, for example, someone has stolen a wild animal from a trap, the hairs still sticking to the trap are placed in a halved Negro banana (the plant sacred to the Sso) or on a halved piece of the [824] Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becco. nkāne I (likewise a cult plant, but its significance is unknown to me), and the thief will then contract leprosy. Furthermore, the remnants of the stolen goods merely need to be placed on the path to a frambesia patient's toilet in order to cause the thief to contract frambesia. Such a manner of wishing an illness upon someone is called a pfū,ī'di, from a pfūde, "to do, to lay, to do something to someone, to impose (lay) something on someone, to throw upon."

753 As the third cause of illness, the natives are familiar with the simple communication of diseases, infection (substantive, nkŭ,bǎn I; verb, a kŭ,bǎn), and the Pangwe know very well that frambesia is more contagious, whereas leprosy is less so.

In the case of less serious illnesses, some people may get the idea that the illness was invoked in some way by offended or harmed companions. In general, however, people do not think about causes; the illness simply comes by itself.

Among the Jaunde the a pfū,ī'di is unknown because the cults [184] are not so highly developed as they are among the southern Pangwe. [754] The Jaunde often blame sorcerous beings.

The fee for treatment of disease is variously handled. In the 759 case of leprosy the medicine man receives 110 spears (seven marks) or a small goat, if his art has been of some help -- otherwise he receives nothing. In the case of frambesia and illnesses of the ewu he receives in advance a chicken, as well as the head and heart of the goat that is slaughtered so that the patient may drink the blood. If the cure was successful, he is paid 50 spears. In the case of less

757 Whether these medicines really are effective will have to be
278 investigated by doctors. The Pangwe themselves, at any rate,
164 assert that they can cure leprosy in its early stages, and I was shown cases with healed areas that had left lighter spots from which all symptoms of inflammation had disappeared. Frequent repetition of the treatment is presupposed. Leprosy is one of the most terrible and common diseases of the southern Pangwe region. At a Sso festival in Akonangi, for example, I counted seven lepers among approximately 30 men present. With the primitive living conditions and the carelessness of the Negroes, the disease is all too readily communicated. It is true that prophylactic methods
[714] are used; indeed, lepers are even segregated, but only in the advanced stages of the disease and then very incompletely since, for example, they are admitted to all the dance festivals. The
[837] women even seek out lepers by preference for extramarital sexual intercourse. In the north leprosy does not occur so severely; according to the statement of one Jaunde, this is because they use medicines as soon as the illness appears.

757 The explanation of the effect of the medicine, if one is given at all, is always a mystical one, although it should by no means be concluded from this that the plants concerned would not be worth scientific investigation. In the case of leprosy, for instance, the blackish color or the blackening property of the plants is usually declared to be the cause of their effectiveness. The skin is supposed to become black, and therefore the medicine is usually made at night when everything is black: hence, the choice of ojǎn̄ e
[824] ndzǐk (Microglossa afzelii) and of ojǎ,h (Xylopia aethiopica), from a jǎn̄, "to roast, to blacken"; hence, efifǐdi (Diospyros), from fi'di, "coal," because the tree is black as coal; hence, ovǐna ekǒn (black plantains), from a yǐn, "to become black"; hence, osǔ,tǔ elǒk (Phaulopsis) from nsǔt, "black." /174/

Elephantiasis of the scrotum (ojǔn, mbǎn).

Elephantiasis of the scrotum is not too frequent among the Pangwe, but it is greatly feared by them, probably only because

791 The teeth, the eye, and a piece of an evū'-besī (see Vol. II, p. 128 /Ed., not translated/) are placed in the /195/ horn, which is sealed with monitor lizard skin. Once the principal medicine has been secretly acquired in this gruesome manner, the ordination of the novice into the office of soothsayer takes place in public on the village square. The medicine man boils a chicken together with leaves of various medicine plants, especially of the [824] "medicine tree," Distemonanthus benthamianus Baill. (eli'bengǎń, ejěn), and he gives the novice some of this concoction to eat ten times (1). Then the old man leaps about the village square shaking

[801] 1. Ten is the number of wisdom, seven the lucky number, and three or nine the sacred number of the Pangwe.

the soothsayer's horn, chars a piece of the most gigantic liana of [824] the Pangwe region, Entada scandens Benth., Leguminosa (ntū' I), after he has touched it several times with his foot as he was leaping about, makes an incision in one of the novice's toes, and rubs the ashes into the wound. As he does so, he says: "If you go to war and you knock your toe against the ground so that the wound opens, the prospects for your side will be bad; otherwise they will be good" (for the liana strives upwards). The ashes of the liana, therefore, are supposed to communicate to the toe the plant's property of striving upwards and thereby help the soothsayer to rise above his fellow human beings just as the liana in its striving for light rises above the other trees. This concludes the initiation, and the novice is now a full-fledged soothsayer.

As a fee for divination, usually from one to five spears (seven to 35 pfennigs) are paid, but in times of war, when excitement, tension, and fear fill everyone with uncertainty, considerably more is paid. At such times the distrust towards soothsayers, which today is already almost universal, gives way to a willing credulity. During peaceful times the situation is pretty much as it is with us; very stupid and superstitious people, for the most part women, go to the wise man, but the great majority no longer believe in his hocus-pocus. "There are a lot of lies in it," I was told, "but once

821 to penetrate into houses. To be sure, this lightning is a disobedi-
775 ent fellow who has already caused his primeval mother Alonkok a great many difficulties, and he does not always heed the command of the souls. If it should happen at any time that in his willfulness he strikes the houses -- incidentally, I never heard of such a thing happening -- the natives do not assume that there was malice on the part of the souls. Possibly, as is only human, they aimed wrong. For this reason the Pangwe, who like all primitive people are quite apprehensive in other respects, are not afraid of thunder
[152] storms. A momentary fright, however, caused by the brightness of the lightning and the violence of the thunder, can very often be observed in the case of nervous temperaments.

There is only one more question: "Why is it that the souls make use of their 'lightning rifles' only when it rains; they could surely strike down the trees just as well without it?" To this my Pangwe has a ready answer: "It doesn't work so well, because rain and storms make a passage through the air for the lightning bolt, and then the souls have an easier time of it." /198/

Rain medicines are infrequent in the Pangwe region; rain does
789 not need to be summoned for there is enough of it -- God knows --
821 in tropical West Africa. They would sooner fend it off, for instance, during the drying of ngon, at cult festivals, sometimes during the harvest, and on journeys. For this reason, unnecessary beating of drums is avoided because it invites rain, in accordance with the view, which, incidentally, also prevails outside the Pangwe region, that (rumbling) thunder is produced by rain.

During the drying of ngon, women sometimes place an inverted pot covered with leaves on the village square. Next to it they plant a little stick with a plantain dyed red speared on it,
[824] and they perhaps plant a twig of Petersia minor Niedenzu (abiń) near it. The pot is supposed to represent the vessel in the sky in which the rain is enclosed (mvé, "pot," mvǒ-ṅ, "rain"). Covering the pot indicates that they wish to have the heavenly pot closed in the same manner. The plantain is a plant of the moon which determines the seasons and thus also the rain, and the red coloration is, as it were, a courtesy paid to the moon. I was unable to discover the relationship of the Petersia to rain, but in the

789 opinion of one Fang, the word a binǎn, which is contained in the
521 name abin, has the sense of "moving about and rumbling," and they want the stormy weather just to move about and rumble.

The help of the ancestors is employed in another method of
789 combatting Jupiter Pluvius, one that is used chiefly for cult festivi-
789 ties. The ancestral figures, festively smeared with oil and red
521 wood, are placed in front of the house where they would be drenched "to the skin" if they did not see to it that no rain fell on this particular day. At the same time the ancestral skulls are frequently painted with a salve made of red wood and ground bark of
824 Pentaclethra macrophylla, whose pods, when they are ripe, burst open with a pop and fling the fruit a great distance; in this way the natives indicate that the rain should be flung to one side in the same fashion.

789 When women are in the fields harvesting -- especially at the harvest of ngon -- and rain threatens, they put a little water and a
521 stone in a leaf bundle and hang this up in the field. In the same manner the rain is supposed to remain suspended in the sky, be as heavy as the stone, and stay in its place just like a Negro whose "heart is heavy" and who shows no inclination for any kind of undertaking.

Medicines with a similar effect are used on journeys. A leaf
484 of Trachyphrynium violaceum Radl. (tsědĕkiǎ'i, IV Fang) is twisted
789 into a bag, filled with a little water, and then fastened to one
124 finger. By doing this, the rain is held fast. Another medicine consists of hanging up old pieces of wood saturated with water, so that the rain will likewise be absorbed up in the sky. Furthermore, a person will take a Petersia twig or a fern leaf dipped in water in his hand, /199/ so that the rain will be broken up into as many little parts as the small pinnules of the fern. Finally, there is the familiar Selaginella, the herb of "missing" (zĕlǎnǎ', from á sĕlǎn, "to miss"), that is to say, the rain is supposed to miss man.

789 It should be emphasized that the Bangwe no longer regard
178 these medicines seriously and even ridicule them as "superstitition"; they have long since noticed that none of them helps. Hence, medicines against rain are no longer used today, except as a joke. A possible exception may be the cooking pot medicine of the women,

821 Thus Essamniāmaböge became very wealthy, and from this money
773 alone he was able to purchase two wives.
539 Now it happened that he and all the people were gone one day, and only his son, Ekute, stayed behind. Then several people from a distant village appeared, but they had brought with them only two choppers (2), and in exchange for these they demanded

2. Bush knives valued at two marks.

to see the snake. Ekute, however, did not want to show it to them. The people argued with him and threatened, and they demanded to see the snake. Then Ekute, who was very imprudent, angrily took a chopper and knocked in the top of the house wall instead of carefully opening the door somewhat and letting the people look in. Thereupon the snake came out, went to the village square, and cried "See, now I am leaving." But the people and Ekute had run off. Thereupon the snake raised its head and body and swung itself into the air. At this very moment Ekute's father came back and was just able to cut off the lower end of the snake; the other part of the snake was already high up in the air and still stands in the sky today as the rainbow. The tail, however, turned into the python, and from the eggs there crept forth all the other little snakes. /201/

821 The storm is likewise represented as the handiwork of an evil
789 sorcerer. Whenever a great sorcerer is dying, he unleashes a storm,
[754] lays low the plantain fields of those people toward whom he feels ill will, destroys their houses, and indeed, he goes so far as to knock down their children in order to injure them. Anyone who has experienced a tropical tornado will understand the notion of the Pangwe that sorcerous beings are at work. The natives also have medicines against storms; the storm is gradually weakened if
[824] one places young macabo leaves (these are weak to begin with) on the fire (whereby they become still weaker) and then grinds them to a powder on the ground in front of the house (this makes them weakest of all). Conversely, the storm is "made heavy" and thereby held back in the sky by placing a stone on Paspalum grass (obūt), which, because of its toughness and strength, is supposed

411

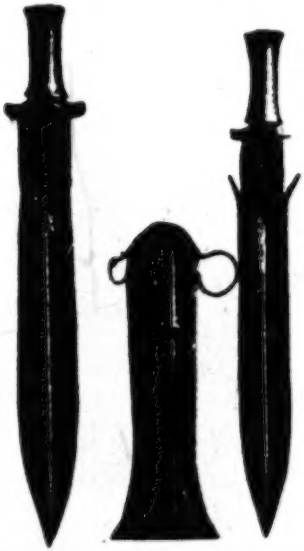


Fig. 80. Swords and Sheath made of Brass. One-fifth actual size.

726 Fang especially are extremely warlike and quarrelsome and not at all disinclined to military expeditions that promise to yield booty. At the same time, they know how to take full advantage of their forested land. They surprise the enemy at impassable [184] places, lie in ambush in the dense bush, and sometimes carry out night raids when the occasion is favorable, whereas generally the Pangwe is loath to undertake nocturnal expeditions. Furthermore, they impede the advance of the enemy through "chevaux-de-frise," that is, pointed sticks made of the bark of raffia leafstalks and planted in the ground, as well as through pitfalls which are well covered like the traps for game, but wider and [725] deeper, and similarly spiked on the floor. In hand-to-hand combat they throw the spiked stems of Macaranga ledermanniana Pax [824] (asis) between the legs of their enemies. /248/

/Figs. 81 and 82 appear here in the original text. /

722 In unsettled times, women, children, and -- insofar as this is possible -- movable property are taken to safety, that is, to 712 hiding places in the forest or to friendly villages. Fortifications

841 Hence, according to rule, menstruation should start in the first few days after the new moon, but unfortunately the white-haired old fellow seems to take his task rather lightly and is rarely dependable. In order to hasten the appearance of menstruation and thereby to make the girl capable of bearing children or, better yet, to make her accessible to men, a medicine is used. Sexual intercourse during menstruation is not exactly prohibited, but it [834] is nonetheless regarded as unaesthetic and is usually avoided. In [824] order to staunch the blood (a dži̯b makji), the women stuff dry plantain tow into the vagina, a process which they repeat from time to time. They also have medicines designed to hasten the end of the flow of blood.

In view of the lack of moderation with which the Pangwe from 832 early youth indulge their sexual desires, the young man at an early 824 age feels the need to fortify his sexual powers. For this reason, they take medicines, biǎ̯n nkŭn, medicines for the penis, whose effects are thought of as a transference of characteristics, in accordance with the conceptions described earlier concerning the power of organization /Ed., not translated/. I shall mention the following.

1. Hardwoods, to transfer their hardness to the penis: Albizzia brownei Oliv., Leguminosae (angǒk); Baccaurea bipindensis Pax., Euphorbiacea (mbǎ'n-afǎ̯n I), leaves ground in ngon and eaten; Carpolabia alba Don., Polygalaceae (onǒn, tǒmo[k] IV Fang, tŭē'me Ntum), a remedy frequently used, /265/ /Fig. 85 appears here in the original text/ the leaves eaten with an egg and a piece of the stem is tied around the body so that it lies over the seat (Fig. 85, a); Cyclostemon gilgianus Pax., Euphorbiacea (onǒn nsǎ̯k, t.-nsǎ̯k), root scraped into an egg, stem piece worn as in the previous case; Tricalysia tessmannii Krause, Rubiaceae (tūē'me-afǎ̯n IV Ntum), likewise; Cola pachycarpa R. Schum., Sterculiaceae (ekǒ'm), fruit kernels eaten; Clerodendron bipindense Gürke, Verbenaceae (ndžike fǎ̯m = men's liana), leaves ground with true Cola and eaten.

2. Thorns whose stiffness is supposed to be transferred to the penis: Lonchocarpus barteri Benth., Leguminosae (eǒ' a fǎ̯m a

832
824
[825]

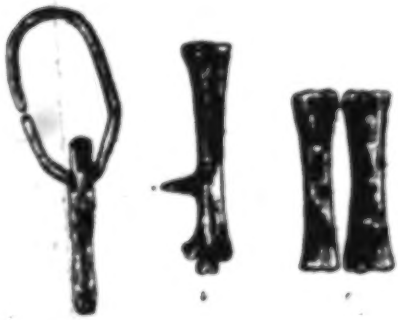


Fig. 85. Medicines to reinforce virility, worn at the belt, usually over the seat.
(a) Wood of Carpolabia alba, (b) tibia bone of a cock, (c) caudal vertebrae of the leopard.

nsǒsǒ'k I), and perhaps also Combretum tessmannii G.lb. (anduń a ndžik). In the case of the first two, the thorns are boiled in a bundle together with various spices and the leaves of other fortifying plants (so that the strength of the thorn goes into the food and thus enters the body); then the thorn is taken out and worn on the forehead or over the seat. The leaves of Combretum tessmannii are cut up and eaten with an egg. Also Macaranga ledermanniana Pax., Euphorbiacea (kõ'la III, asǎs), is used; pieces of the bark (with the thorns) are boiled and strained, and the liquid is drunk hot.

3. Sharp leaves and stalks: Scleria barteri Bckl., Cyperaceae (pfǎ'lõ'lõ III Ntum, from pfǎ = sword, bushknife, and -- perhaps -- afõ'lõ, afǒlǔń = hat, because the climbing reeds threaten to cut up the hat? It is called "bushknife" in coastal English. The young leaves are eaten.

4. Bitter and sharp substances: salt; black pepper (Capsicum); melegueta pepper, that is, seeds of Aframomum melegueta (Rool) K. Sch. (andǔń = seed; ndǔń) (1); Andropogon schoenanthus

1. Root tu, ndu = warm, hot; compare nduǎn = fire; o-tu = bush hair, torch; o-tu-m = Urticacea Tragia cordifolia

832
824

Pax, burns; a-ndu-ń a ndźik - Combretum tessmannii Gilg (see above).

L. (designation questionable) (oźiźm e ntǎńgǎn), root eaten; Cola acuminata (P. Beauv.), Sterculiacea (abě).

5. Substances that cause itching: Tragia cordifolia Pax (ortiźm), leaves ground and eaten with an egg; likewise Urera dinklagei Engl., Urticaceae (sǎ[s] ndźi'k).

6. Heating substances (designation of the natives): Derris glabrata Welw. (eźǔn e ndźik), root and leaves ground, boiled with spices, strained, and the liquid drunk. /266/

7. Explanation unknown: Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg., Euphorbiacea (asǎ'm) (perhaps because of strong wood?); Coinochlamys schweinfurthii Gilg., Loganiaceae (oli fǎm = men's little tree), little pieces of the stem stuck in the hair (hardwood?); Geophila herbacea L., Rubiaceae (elǒ[k] a tǒn), leaves ground with Cola and chewed (leaves are durable, "strong," perhaps for that reason?).

832
825

Of animals, the meat of the spiny-finned sheatfish, which is very fat, is considered a stimulant of the first rank; furthermore, the tibia bone of a cock (Fig. 85, b) is worn on the body because of the spur, as are caudal vertebrae of the leopard (Fig. 85, c) because of the strength of the tail.

833
278

The medicines for impotence (biǎń a jě or biǎń ejě) should be distinguished from the stimulants (aphrodisiacs). There are thought to be two forms of impotence: one dating from earliest youth, and one acquired later in life. The former, it is said, came about because the persons concerned had urinated in their food as very small children while they were being fed pap by their mothers. Another version is lined with the belief in magic: a boy is thought capable of giving away his sexual power (see belief in magic, Vol. II, p. 134 /Ed., not translated/) in exchange for the power of sorcery, that is, power over other people. Perhaps this conception stems from the fear that impotent persons try to avenge themselves on their fellow human beings for their misfortune. The medicines for impotence are not numerous, but they actually seem

833 to be, in part at least, effective. Thus, the most common of
278 these, derived from the Rubiacea Corynanthe yohimbe K. Sch.,
[824] has recently been incorporated in our medications under the name "yohimbin," The natives produce an extract from the bark and wood of the tree and drink this. They conceive the manner of its effect as similar to the one mentioned above, and they reason as follows: the wood of the tree is especially hard in relation to that
[825] of other trees, say, like the penis of a pig in relation to that of other animals (something which one notices if one boils it and tries to eat it), and I shall acquire this characteristic of the wood if I partake of some of the wood. Hence the tree also bears the name nkŭn e ngŭi, "pig's penis."

Aside from the Corynanthe yohimbe, we should mention here
824 two other trees which possibly also give physiological effects:
833 Leguminosa Baphia buettneri Harms (mfǎ I, mfǎn I), and the
278 Flaccourtiacea Homalium africanum Bth. (ejŭm, supposedly from a jŭme nkŭn, "to erect the penis," an expression that I never again encountered. In my opinion, the root contained in ejŭm is the same as in nnŭm, plural bojŭm = masculine gender; thus, the tree would be called ejŭm for (e) the man; majŭm, plural = seed). /267/ The leaves of the Baphia buettneri are gathered, ground on stones, and placed in the sun in sugar wine. The mixture is drunk while it is warm. From the Homalium, on the other hand, the bark is scraped off and ground; then it is boiled with spices and the liquid drunk while it is hot.

Finally, three more plants were mentioned to me as belonging in the category of biǎn eję̂, among these, the Solanum duplosinuatum U.D. (etŭin) because of its spikes.

Venereal diseases (see Section 13) are prevalent only in those
164 areas where European influence has existed for some time, especially
684 in Yaoundé and Gabon, from where syphilis has been spread. The
[177] Negroes seem to consider frambesia a kind of sexual disease, for the man who has communicated this disease to a girl or a wife must pay her or her father the same penalty (500 to 1,000 spears) he would pay if he had infected her with syphilis. If, on the other hand, the lover becomes infected through the woman, he can claim no damages.

785 from four to six years old. They are thus consecrated so that
554 one day they will surpass all others in insight and understanding;
831 then, through their spiritual superiority, they will acquire influence, power (knowledge is power!), and especially wealth. In the case of the son, this will be to his own advantage; in the case of the daughter, it will benefit the father who can get a higher purchase price for her than for a girl with the usual loose way of life. In other words, the "savages" know well the value of moral purity. /269/

831 The custom of mǐk consecration was formerly practiced
785 throughout the Pangwe region. Nowadays, however, since warlike
[194] times have ceased, it is to be encountered only among the Fang of the central Uelle region. I should like to compare the custom
[171] to the practice found among us during the Middle Ages, whereby the heads of important families (especially princes), after some lucky success (for instance, in war), destined one child for the clergy and consecrated it to the pure life dedicated to God, frequently not without calculating the advantages that could accrue to them from such an action.

785 The procedure of the consecration feast is as follows. The
789 child, clothed in a small loincloth, is led to the medicine man
556 and is washed by him with a medicine water. The medicines used
831 for this are barks of various trees that bear ample fruit, such as
[824] the Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofǒs), so that the child's understanding may bear fruit as abundantly as these trees or, in other words, so that wealth may fall to its lot in the same abundance as the fruit of these trees falls to the ground beneath them. The various barks are placed in a container made of banana leaves, and hot water is poured over them. After the ablution, the child must swallow the principal medicine, a bundle of ngon
[824] with the chopped leaves of certain "weak" plants, such as Hibiscus moschatus (Roxb.) (tége III, from a tĕk, "weak," because the fruit is cooked in a short time), in order to make the child
[833] equally weak, that is, sexually incapable. Furthermore, the ngon
[825] is mixed with chicken meat -- the chicken is the bird of day, of the good and the pure, and at the same time it is supposed to point symbolically to the wealth that is desired for the child (the chief, the "Very Rich One," is regarded as the privileged son of the

839 In the case of members of the female sex, masturbation by means of a plantain fruit is widespread, something which is to be [824] foreseen in view of the bad situations arising from polygyny. A proverb states:

[539] o kūe ma zā (sā[k]) ebōn onū,
you find me satisfying vagina (with the) finger (1)

1. Probably a circumlocution since one did not want to mention the real object. Moreover, in coastal English the clusters of fruit growing alternately in a "plantain bunch," are called a [196] "plantain hand," and the individual fruits making up the hand are called "fingers."

oa bele nkŭn,
you have (the) penis,

and this is used whenever someone does not part with something of which he has a superabundance, even when he sees that another person is short of it and makes shift with a poor substitute.

We have spoken above of homosexual relations among "chil- 838 dren." In adults such conduct is regarded as something immoral and unnatural, simply as unheard of. In reality, however, it is frequently "heard of" that young people carry on homosexual relations with each other and even of older people who take boys -- who, as is well known, "have neither understanding nor shame" -- and readily console them by saying: "bia bŏ pfiăⁿga (we are having fun, playing a game, joking)." The children are excused with the well-known assertion, which in its deeper sense can rarely be defended: bō ne bŏⁿgo = they are ignorant, that is, they know not what they do. Adults are excused with the corresponding assertion: a bele nnēm e bŏⁿgo = he has (the) heart (that is, the aspirations) of boys, which is, of course, by no means flattering to them.

Publicly, of course, homosexuals are treated with the greatest contempt, and they were therefore forced, as a matter of course,

551 VII. Names that report an event before or during the time of the child's birth.

A. Boys' names

I. Names of religious origin.

1. nsǒm, from nsǒ'm = cult, sacred act, Ntum (Fang);
[825] 2. ngī = gorilla, as the animal of purity, symbol of the Ngi cult; the name Ngi, freely translated, means "the pure one" (S.);
3. estū'n = fruit of the Cardamom, chief food of the lemurs, used in the Ngi cult in like manner (1). /279/

192 551 824 1. At least that is what I suspect, even though it is not quite certain, because it may be that Cardamom fruit is chosen because of its shiny red appearance, and in that case it would belong in the next section. On the whole I do not believe that in the case of names an immediate origin from religious institutions or conceptions is to be assumed. In this instance I simply followed the natives who told me that nsǒm came from nsǒ'm, "cult." Now it is true that the Pangwe themselves are frequently mistaken in their explanation of words, but in the second place the name (nsǒm) was given to me with a mediate high pitch; with the name for cult I hear a high pitch, while ichneumon (nsǒm) has a mediate low pitch. But since the mediants are readily substituted (see Vol. I, p. 16 /Ed., not translated/), I assume that here the ichneumon and not the cult served as the root from which the name was derived. This assumption fits perfectly with the fact that the ichneumon,

192 551 825

861 the parents and relatives. Thereafter, the son is summoned to
593 appear in the village the next day. The father again assembles
626 all the people in the meeting house and makes a long speech in
578 which he rehearses the entire affair from his point of view down to the smallest details. Finally, at the conclusion of his speech, he touches upon the actual purpose of the gathering and proceeds to remove the curse. The formula with which he does so is approximately as follows:

[539] ma tɛ̃'i matɛ'iɩ ma kǎbe ma,
I have imposed curse (1) (?), I disengage myself (from

1. matɛ̃'iɩ = the imposed curse, a va matɛ̃'i = to remove the (imposed) curse; the root a tɛ̃'i = to tear oneself away from, to depart from home, otítɛ̃i = star (see Vol. II, pages 85 and 86).

ma nĩme ma, -- osũɩ
it), I make straight myself -- (into the) water

nkĩãɩ; Chorus: mãn.
down. Chorus: Ready, past.

The texts of the formulas, which are frequently extended through the introduction of comparisons and which do not, of course, correspond word for word, are evidently all very old since they are very hard to understand and sometimes not intelligible at all.

[201] At the same time the father spits into his son's hand to indicate that what he took away from him by means of his words (symbolized by the spittle) he is putting back in his power (hand), or the father bites off -- this is the procedure among the Jaunde -- ●[824] a piece of the stalk of a Costus (Zingiberaceae) and spits it out. In so doing he casts out all the bitterness from his heart (Costus stalk is bitter).

Furthermore, a curse may be pronounced by the first wife
519 against her husband, in case he treats her badly and always
595 neglects her in favor of others. The curse is either pronounced

524 adult activity, second, group games, and third, games of skill. The last group includes the games that have reached the highest stage of development since they are no longer amusements in which all those present participate, but rather are performances by talented individuals. In the performance of magical tricks, the games of skill and acting generally attain their highest degree of perfection. Thus they touch upon the area of the representational arts and might be regarded as a pre-stage of the latter.

So much for the classification of games. I hardly need to point out that the various groups cannot always be sharply separated since the boundary lines between them are blurred by a great deal of overlapping.

I shall mention here only the names of the most common
526 gymnastic games: the foot race, mbī'; a combination of our
857 hopscotch and catch, called ngá-ngūī; furthermore, rope pulling, edudan, played only by bigger boys and corresponding to our tug of war; chain pulling, ogbŭń; "treading," played among the Jaunde especially by almost fully grown /294/ /Fig. 89 appears here in the original text/ boys and called eśū ma koē (Fang, etǎ' (Jaunde), in which two players, facing each other, tread rapidly on one spot and at the end must try to set down the opposite foot simultaneously; and, finally, the dancing game, ekūkū.

[481] Walking on stilts (Fig. 89) may probably also be designated as
[824] a sport. The stilts are carved out of the umbrella tree, Musanga smithii.

The transition from gymnastic to war games is represented by throwing spears at a disk, a game that is widespread and popular throughout the Pangwe region. It is called ngǒk, after the fre-
[824] quently mentioned Desplatsia devewrei Burset (angǒk), from whose large fruit the disk is cut. The shoots or little trunks of young trees are used for spears.

War and hunting games are probably the most popular and the most frequently played of all the games. In the small-scale war of the older boys (eight to 15 years of age) -- which sometimes /295/ /Figs. 90-93 appear here in the original text/ degenerates into bad fights -- the weapon is, as in the case of adults, the rifle, copied in various forms with leafstalks (Fig. 90), raffia pith, or

[Text continues on page 170]

857 is flung forward. The pull of the rock tears the delicate rope
524 without too greatly diminishing the force of the throw. I also include in this category the rattle stick, the spinning top, the puppet game (Fig. 100), and the device for communicating over a distance (Fig. 101). For spinning tops, snail shells (Fig. 102) [824] are used or a fruit of Sarcophrynium velutinum (Bak.) K. Sch. [825] (see Vol. I, Plate 11) which, like the top itself, is called ndöh. A little stick of raffia bark is put through it (Fig. 103), and the top is ready; it is made to dance by twirling the little stick, while the Achatina top is made to spin with the fingers in the manner familiar to us.

Even among the group games of the Pangwe, many correspond precisely to ours. There is, for instance, the hiding of an object among the players, while another player, who had previously gone outside, has to find the object. The palm nut game and the game of skittles with spinning tops are very popular.

The palm nut game is called nie'n. The player takes a handful of a large number of nuts lying on the ground, tosses them into the air and then catches them on the back of his hand. The nuts that remain on the back of the hand (between one and five, rarely more) are throwing stones, that is, the player is allowed to throw each of these stones up in the air by itself. While it is in the air, he must pick up with the /299/ /Fig. 98. Doll of Plantain Pith. Fig. 99. Children's Slingshot. Fig. 100. Puppet Game, (a) and (b) Puppets enlarged. Fig. 101. Device for Communicating at a Distance, Children's Game, (b) Cross-section of the Signal Drum. Fig. 102. Tops made of Snail Shells, (a) of Pseudachatina Dornesii, (b) of Achatina. Fig. 103. Tops made of the Fruit of Sarcophrynium velutinum. / /300/ same hand (the throwing hand) as many as possible of the other nuts lying on the ground, and with the same hand again catch the nut thrown into the air. However, the player is allowed to arrange the nuts on the ground beforehand, for instance, three next to each other. If the thrower catches the stone thrown into the air, all the stones in his hand are his property; if not, they are again common property. Then he goes on to try it with the other throwing stones. Once these are played, it is the next player's turn. At the conclusion of the game, that is,

[Text continues on page 174]

524 857 The stone game of the children is a simpler form of the same game played by adults. It is called sɔ̄'no and consists of a halved raffia leafstalk whose pith is hollowed out into 12 compartments, arranged in two rows. To the right and left of the ends there is a compartment, twice as big as the others, for captured stones. /302/

The procedure of the game corresponds precisely to that of the adults and is differentiated from the latter only by the fact that in each compartment there are four canna seeds as playing stones, instead of five palm nuts or other large fruit seeds.

524 857 153 The bowling game, mbɨh (mbɨh = bowling ball), in which the extraordinarily well-developed observational powers of the Negroes are triumphantly displayed, is quite noteworthy. The average European would probably cut a poor figure in this "child's play"; I at least declined to engage in it. For the bowling game [824] one must have about 30 of the pill-shaped Canna indica seeds. The game leader, A, takes these seeds in his hand; previously, he has already agreed upon a number, let us say 18, with a fellow player, B. This number must now be discovered by the players, or, as the Negro says, it must be "shown." A throws the balls out rapidly and gives each of them, by way of a name, as it were, the numbers from one to 30 as he throws them. Once all thirty balls are at rest -- having of course rolled every which way, in no particular order -- A points to the aforesaid eighteenth ball while B shuts his eyes as he does so, in order to point to the ball himself afterwards. Thereby A is prevented from cheating or -- as happens more frequently -- from making a mistake. In other words, it is a counter-test. In the subsequent throws, in which the same number counts, the players must indicate the aforesaid ball. This often happens with the second or third throw. The one who recognizes the ball first becomes the leader in the next game, in which another number is chosen.

As the final group game, we shall mention a memory game which is popular with boys six to seven years old. It is called bolɔ̄'mo, a name which is also applied to the main player and memory artist who must go to one side or outside the door and then answer. The questioner, seated in the circle of players, has ten

524 a hole drilled in the middle. A string is fastened at both ends
857 and drawn in a double loop (Fig. 109, a) through the hole in the middle. In this way we get two strands, as it were, and on one of these are strung two beads, pieces of a corncob, or the like, although the hole in the middle must always be smaller than the objects used. One bead, if I may choose this object as an example, must now be brought over onto the other strand. The solution of this task will be most clearly seen from Figure 109, Drawings b-f.

Two different patience games belong to the second group. The first (Fig. 110) consists chiefly of a piece of monitor lizard
[825] skin cut into the shape of a fish (atšiń ekob e tit), into which a hole is cut at the thick end (head), while in the narrow part (body) parallel longitudinal slits are made. The second part of the device is a string, to each of whose ends a piece of the kernel of an oil palm nut is tied. The pieces of kernel, however, are larger than the hole. The middle part of the string is looped (seen from the front) over the strip between the slits and thence runs from behind out through the hole (see Fig. 110). In order to separate the two parts from each other, the strip must be bent through the hole and the string taken out.

The second game of this group consists of two seeds of the
[824] Pentaclethra /304/ /Figs. 105-109 appear here in the original text/ macrophylla Benth. (atšiń ebā'ī), each of which is provided with three holes. A double string is put through the holes in the manner indicated in Figure 111, and this is looped around the seed. A second kernel is attached in the same fashion at the other end of the double string, and a knot is made at its center. How the problem is to be solved, namely, to remove the seeds from /305//Figs. 110 & 111 appear here in the original text / the string, I do not know myself. Perhaps a patient reader will try his hand at it.

The final group of skilled games consists of the performance of magic tricks (makǒń me bǒ'ngo = dexterity of children) whose effect is based upon the fact that the spectator is influenced by the performer and is mistaken in his observation of the basic causes of the phenomena produced, thus permitting himself to be deceived. He does so all the more readily since he is not given any time for quiet reflection on account of the rapidity of execution.

[Text continues on page 181]

524
857

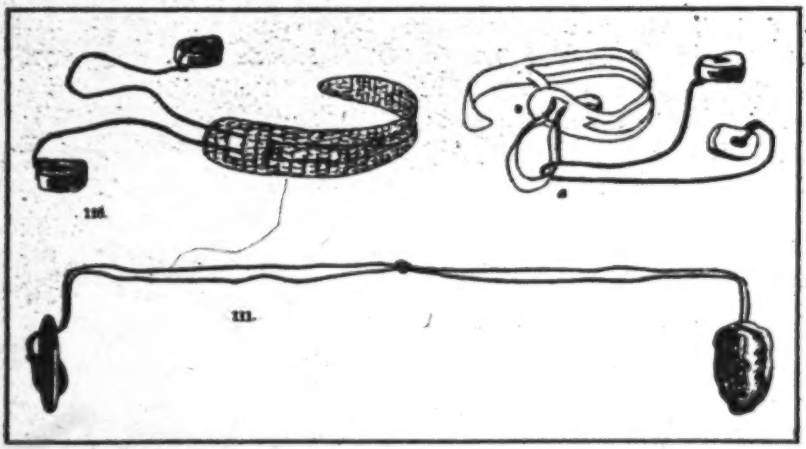


Fig. 110. Patience Game with a Monitor Lizard Skin and a String with Oil Palm Nuts, (a) Solution of the Problem.
Fig. 111. Patience Game using Pentaclethra Seed.

The trick of making a ball appear in the hand of a spectator (efā', from the root fa = confined, enclosed, transitive and intransitive) is a simple one. It is reminiscent of our trick of counting three coins while picking them up and putting them down. For the efā' game an arbitrary number, but not too small, of balls (for instance, canna seeds) or short raffia sticks are laid in a row in pairs. The number of pairs must always be uneven. In addition, an extra ball, called efā', that is, the enclosed one, is put down by itself to finish off the row. Now the chief player, A, and one of the spectators, B, take one ball each from the pairs, and B gets the extra one. In order to influence his fellow player, A, shaking his hand back and forth, calls out after the extra ball "enclosed" by B: "efā', efā', efā', efā', efā', efā', nzʉk, efā' nzʉk, efā' nzʉk, efā' nzʉk, efā', efā', efā', efā' = enclosed one, enclosed one, come, enclosed one!" Now B is asked to place two balls together. Then A places two together, then B again, and so forth, until all the balls are lying in pairs. To the amazement /306/ of those poor at figuring, A actually places the "enclosed one" as the last one at the end of the row. Thus efā' really did come to A.

Conjuring away the middle one of three leaves lying on top of each other is really astonishing. For this purpose, three leaves of [824]

524 Panicum sulcatum Aubl. (ekɔ̃k) are placed on top of each other;
857 the apex half of two of the leaves, the upper and lower, is re-
[824] moved. Then the little magician places the leaves with their underside on the ground and starts to roll them together from the lower end to the tip. A conjuring verse which the artist now sings induces the leaf to wander off: "kŭ̱dŭ̱ ekǎ'n, kū̱dŭ a zǎ'n,
[539] o ke o mvūs = remove yourself, grass (1), remove yourself from

1. Collective term; specifically, Eleusine indica (L.) Gärtn.

the middle and go to the back!" Finally he hands the leaves over to a spectator to unroll, and it now turns out that the two shorter leaves are lying on top of each other and that the large leaf is at the bottom. This little conjuring trick, by the way, can also be performed with paper strips, one of which is a little longer than the others.

The ne plus ultra of what skilled Pangwe boys are able to offer consists of conjuring tricks in which speed constitutes the magic. I shall give a few samples of these tricks.

For example, a boy has a streak of ashes put on his forehead and his hands tied behind his back. One of the tricks is to run behind the house and to reappear with his hands tied behind his back but without the streak of ashes on his forehead. Of course the dexterous boy has put his tied hands through his legs from behind, wiped off the streak, and placed his hands behind his back again. The main thing in this case is the speed, which is indeed astonishing.

A second little trick is that of tying the hands together. The boy has somebody give him a rope, runs with it behind the house, and returns immediately -- with his hands tied behind his back. He had made two loops at the ends, stuck a hand in each, and then by skillfully turning both hands in opposite directions had twisted the rope in such a way as to make one believe that he had really been tied up by somebody else.

A favorite act of our conjurers has its counterpart among the Pangwe in their trick of spiriting away a ring from a hollowed

2: Tessmann--188 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

The Stone Game

524 Of all adult games, the most popular is the stone game which
is spread over almost the entire world. It involves placing stones
[171] in a number of adjoining concavities, and then distributing these
stones among the concavities according to definite rules.

In more recent times, according to informants, the stone game has come to the Jaunde and Bulu from the Bene (who in turn became acquainted with it through eastern tribes), and from the
[177] former it was introduced into the Ntum and Fang region around the years 1895-98. These statements appear to be confirmed by the fact that the most skillfully fashioned playing boards, provided with legs (as in Fig. 115), are to be found among the Jaunde and Bene. They have one of these in each meeting house and eagerly and frequently play with it. It is played more rarely by the Ntum
[184] and only very rarely by the Fang, who in any case have too many other, less harmless things in their heads to be able to devote themselves to the game with any kind of passion.

The playing board (Fig. 115) consists of two halved raffia leaf-stalks tied to each other. By cutting out the pith, each of the leaf-stalks is divided into seven compartments (ndǎ = house; plural, mandǎ). Only in the southern part of the Fang region (and among the
[184] Bassá) did I see such a board made of wood, which then, in most cases, had one additional compartment for the "prisoners" (Fig. 116) at each end. The playing stones (ngǒ́k IV) are put into the compartments, five in each one. Originally, and sometimes even today, actual pebbles were used, from which the game was named sǒ́ngo (alleged: small pebble). This name, however, is current only among the Jaunde and Bene; in the south it designates the corresponding children's game, while that of the adults is called akǔ́n because of the large black beads (akǔ́n) that were at one time used as playing stones but today have gone completely out of fashion.
[824] Instead of these beads, the natives like to take the kernels of the
[194] oil palm or of Rhicinodendron /311/ africanum; in the north and in various other places they like to take the pebble-like kernels of a species of tree unknown to me and, more rarely, stones.

524 defeat an average player (in the comparison, the Sso antelope)?
539 After all, just yesterday I defeated a totally inferior player (in the
578 comparison, the dwarf antelope)! That has given my father sufficient revenge for the time being (in the comparison, enough to eat).

We see a cornucopia of ridicule poured forth here. Magnificent comparisons! Pithy expressions! Negro poetry with an elemental force!

Game of Chance (abĩa, Jaunde, Bulu)

525 Like the stone game, the game of chance was not an indigenous
177 cultural possession of the Pangwe. From the Maka (Makie in
184 Jaunde) in the east through the mediation of the Mwogenianga kin group (probably Bene) on the upper Nyong it came to the core of the Bene, who transmitted it to the Jaunde and Bulu. In only the most recent times, the Ntum have become acquainted with it through Jaunde and Bene traders who came to them in the service of the Whites. Nonetheless, I myself have seen people engaged in this game only once, in 1907 in the vicinity of the northern Ntum region. Among the Fang the game is unknown.

525 The game of chance is played with small circular playing disks (sǎ; plural, besǎ, derived from esǎ "goods," because, according to the Pangwe, they decide whether the players are winning or losing and hence, as it were, bring in the money in the form of goods, trade items) which are simply cut out of calabash rinds (Fig. 117, a). Furthermore, the game requires counters (mvi ɔ̌' I),
[831] of which each player must bring his own. They are produced from
[824] the hard rinds of the fruit from a tree called abǎm by the Jaunde, and on their smooth upper surface (outerside of the fruit) they bear attractive patterns of various kinds, animal forms, or human figures, which, like the edge, are carved in relief (Fig. 117, b-d). /Fig. 117 appears here in the original text. / /316/

The number of players that can participate is unlimited, but there must be at least four.

To play (a dǒ abĩa), a basketry plate is also needed, into which are placed once and for all seven playing disks (seven again as a

525 and wars have frequently been the consequences of the gambling
578 mania. Although in more recent times the game of chance has been prohibited in the area controlled by the German government, nonetheless considerable homage is paid the gambling demon in secret.

525 In order to insure luck at the game, a whole series of medi-
777 cines is made, which, according to the view already familiar to us, transfer the properties of plants to the counters; for in-
824 stance, plants which make them burning hot (Boehmeria, Urticacea), sharp, peppery (Spilanthes, Compositae), and strong (Carpolabia, Polygalacea). Others are intended to preserve for the owner the objects that he has put down as his stake in the game. In this category we find burrs (Desmodium) and winding Araceae. /318/ /Fig. 118 appears here in the original text./

5. Wrestling

526 Wrestling matches are very frequent, especially in the southern Pangwe region, both to settle personal quarrels -- in this case the defeated wrestler was formerly sometimes squeezed half to death and cases of death have even occurred -- as well as for sport. In the latter case one might actually speak of a sports festival to which the drum summons young and old, man and woman, from afar. I shall dispense with a detailed description, however,

In wrestling, certain rules of the game are observed, for instance, that both wrestlers must be as nearly matched as possible, and this determines whether they turn down the challenge (a kǎń nsū́ɛ̄) or take it up (a mǒm nsū́ɛ̄).

Our picture (Fig. 118) represents a snapshot of such wrestlers (nsǐn I, from a sǐn = to wrestle). To the left one can see a group of young men waiting (a jǎ́ńǎn) to be challenged (a sū́ɛ̄ = to challenge). Before the match the wrestler rubs dust onto the palms of his hands and his arms (a dū́k mbū́ lǔ́k enǎm = to rub dust [on the] arm) to make them less slippery.

713 821 Nzame has much work in his village, but he does not disdain to enjoy himself. He causes tomtom dances to be performed on the sky, and the noise of the dancers' feet is called thunder. From time to time also, when there is an eclipse, it is Nzame who takes pleasure in frightening people by plunging them into darkness at midday.

II. The evur. The evur or evus (plural, bivur) appears to be an 716 individual spirit which plays a fundamental role in the life of the Pahouin. Not all persons have an evur. To have an evur, one must have received it from a person who has one. Such a person is called nem (plural, beyem). A child in the foetal state carried by its mother [69] can receive an evur even without the knowledge of the mother. One can tell by its weight that a newborn has an evur; only a nem, on lifting a child in his arms, can say that he has felt the weight of the evur, imperceptible to anyone else.

716 852 If at its birth a child has no evur, it can then receive one. The evur given it is either good (evur mve) or evil (evur abi).

(1) Good evur. In the case of a good evur, the donor of this evur, who is always an elder of the tribe, comes often to see the child until the latter can count to ten, that is to say, at about seven or eight years [856] of age. At this time the child is considered intelligent enough to understand what is expected of him, and then the ceremony called akaǵa is performed.

All the beyem of the village are invited to meet at a tree called [824] ovaṅ (Didelotia africana), chosen from among all the others as the fetish tree because of its size, its longevity, and its resistance to tornadoes. The child is brought there; then the donor of the evur, in the presence of the assembled beyem, pronounces the wishes which he makes for the child's future. He wishes him wealth, strength, success, in general all that which will make him happy. For little girls the wishes are more particularly that they may later have many children, that they may be strong for their planting tasks, and that they may be esteemed by the other wives of their future husbands.

A kind of soup called nam akaǵa, the preparation of which is secret, is made on the occasion of this ceremony. Each time the donor of the evur makes a wish, the child must take a little nam. For example, if the wish is for him to have ten wives, this is made with the following words:

e mon ni, nam ma ke we wi oluǵ bunega awum

That child, the soup I give you here marries ten wives,

776 The evil evur concerns itself only with eating people in the course of the ngwel and with waging war against the good bivur. It is almost always the evil evur which is the victor.

(3) Activities of the evur. The manifestations of the evur are many, and itis the evur which acts in everything instead of, and in place of, its owner.

It is essential for one who wishes to be a practitioner to have an evur. Moreover, this profession is assigned to a child, should the occasion arise, at the time of the ceremony of akaǧa.

Except in the case of an activity favorable to its owner, or at the time of the akaǧa, the evur is always malevolent. The only aim of the ngwel meetings is to assure the life of the bivur through the death of the persons whom they eat.

776 When the good evur of a nem has worked in full daylight for its
155 owner, the latter falls ill at the same time as his evur. He can be treated only with a thick medication made of water, a cooked egg,
824 and crushed leaves of ebele beyem. Ebele beyem is the name of a poisonous vine whose leaves and blossoms resemble those of the sweet potato.

776 The malevolent activity of the evur is always manifested in a death.
761 It may also be the cause of abortion, or the death of a newborn the moment it sees daylight.

776 The evur also allows its possessor to change himself into an animal.
762 For example, a man who wishes to die causes his evur to go out and take the form of an animal (usually a black antelope, nzip, or a red
158 antelope, nkoǧ), and to walk at the edge of the village. The animal is noticed at once by the inhabitants who hunt and kill it. The evur then immediately returns to the man who sent it, and it is the man who is killed instead of the animal. The transformation is simultaneous with the blow which causes death, and it is the man, transported by his evur, who is found dead at the spot where the animal fell. [73]

776 An example of this faculty of transformation was reported to us in
158 March, 1934. Two hunters landed on a small island in Lake Mangueigne to hunt a monkey which they had seen in a tree. They separated at the landing spot, after having decided that each should go around the island from his side. One of them saw a large black antelope in the thickets, fired, and when he drew near found his comrade riddled with shot, gasping his last and dying shortly afterwards. The inhabitants of the neighboring village, aroused by the cries, arrived in time to hear

778 has lived on human flesh, a piece of the flesh is found. That piece
776 of flesh is taken out and put into an antelope horn together with scrapings of a vine called nzi bivur, a panther claw (dze nze), the talon of a sparrow hawk, and a firefly. The end of the horn is closed with the wax of white honey (eko abe).

The fetish thus made is either carried by the person who wishes to protect himself or is hung at the door of the hut. At night, if the bivur wish to enter the hut, the firefly will leave the horn and fly into the hut, giving warning of their approach. Then there is a battle (abal nguel, the war of the ngwel) between the bivur and the horn fetish, from which the fetish almost always emerges victor.

III. The bieri. The bieri is a family fetish whose help must be
778 sought before every important undertaking: hunting, fishing, a journey, choice of farm land, etc.,., by the head of the family who owns the fetish.

It consists of the skull of a dead ancestor taken from the grave by a
778 practitioner after the complete disappearance of the flesh. After having
824 taken the skull, the practitioner goes into the forest and makes from the bark of a tree called andun (Berlinia sp.) a cylindrical box with a lid, big enough to hold the skull. The bottom of the box and the top of the lid are formed by a circular disc of wood nailed into the bark cylinder with little pegs of hard wood. The practitioner then cleans the skull and anoints it with an ointment of red wood sawdust (ba) and oil of raphia palm. The box is called nseg and the skull sen bieri, the whole having the name of bieri. Into the box is also placed some red wood sawdust and a plant called nzen (a kind of fern), and sometimes also a little wooden bowl. The bieri thus made is put in a hidden place in the
[787] hut of the family head. It will speak in dreams to a family head whenever it wishes to notify a member of the family of some event. Sometimes a statuette roughly representing the person whose skull constitutes the main part of the fetish is put on the lid of the box. It is called nlu bieri (the head of the bieri).

No one may see the bieri unless he has eaten some alan (Strychnos
27 icaja) in the course of a ceremony called ku melan. The heads of
778 several families send the future initiates to look for roots of alan, of
787 which they retain only the bark. Then in the morning each family head brings his bieri to a place prepared in advance in the bush near the

842 meticulously and in due time gives her permission to have relations
833 with her husband. The first relations must take place on the day fol-
841 lowing the end of the menstrual period so that the not yet completely dried blood in the organs of the woman can mix with the sperm of the man and make a kind of paste called nsüe a mon (lizard of a child), which goes back up into the womb of the woman and there develops [78] and becomes the child. If the woman has relations with a man before the prescribed time, she will definitely become sterile.

842 Sterility, for which many causes are recognized, can be treated, except in the case noted above, in case of bad conduct, and in case of voluntary abortion in the course of a first pregnancy. In order to
847 abort, the woman finds a midwife (ngañ minanga) who sends her out
834 to look for the bark of the afamega vine and the tum tree, which she crushes and with which she makes an infusion. The woman goes to the brush and takes four irrigations of this infusion, and that is enough to induce abortion.

842 On the other hand, the woman who wishes to have children may be barren for several reasons:

(1) She may have aborted naturally and without desiring it. An
843 abortion is recognized as having a natural cause, that is, without
842 malignant external intervention, in that the patient recovers three or four days after the accident and without having suffered too much. In this case the midwife gives the invalid a prohibition called awos which restrains her from going near any man other than her husband. She may not say a word to a man except through the mediation of another woman who acts as interpreter; she may not give anything to a man without this intermediary, and may not sit where a man has sat; and for this last reason she always carries a little seat with her. This prohibition must be observed for two or three months, after which the woman is again allowed to have relations with her husband. If at the end of three more months she is still not pregnant, the midwife then gives her a treatment which consists in having the patient take some soup (abura) made of pumpkin (ngon) ground on a stone and mixed with herbs (mia mi nyo, oyah) gathered and chopped by the midwife. These she cooks with salt and pimento in a pot at the bottom of which has been placed a copper ring (kon ango), covered by a large leaf during the cooking.

843
842 If three months after the treatment the woman is still not pregnant, there is nothing to be done and she has to give up having children.

(2) A woman may be barren after abortion because of her evur. This
842 is recognized in that she aborts with much suffering and then stays
789 ill afterwards for more than eight days. An appeal is made to the
924 practitioner, who renders the evur harmless by making it crazy. After having made the woman take a medicine made of white honey (abe), bark of a cola tree (abel), and bark of abal and atega trees, all mixed with chicken blood, the practitioner goes with her to the ovah where where he customarily conducts his ceremonies, and performs a kind of exorcism which was not revealed to us. Once back in the village, the woman follows the same [79] treatment as in the case of natural abortion. The secret ceremony performed by the practitioner is called avi evur akur (making the evur crazy).

843 (3) Finally, the abortion may have been caused by a male member
842 of the husband's family, the possessor of an evur, who is revealed by
789 the practitioner. If the woman wants to have children, the guilty one must die. He is discovered in the course of a ceremony, part of which is carried out at night and at which the presence of women is forbidden; this is the dance of the bisir. An akuma singer is brought, who recites stories of the tribes of both husband and wife. Before him, covered by a large cloth, lie three or four men who are the bisir. These men have in their hands pointed pieces of bamboo. A young boy of the husband's family is brought there. He passes several times between the singer and the bisir, who prick the boy's legs with the bamboo sticks. The child then goes back into his hut while the songs continue until dawn, the men of the village dancing and clapping their hands in accompaniment to the singer.

In the morning the husband of the aborted woman goes into the forest to find two wooden forks, a limb, and some branches. He plants the two forks in the village square, places the limb on them horizontally, and conceals the forks under the branches; this structure is called nzum. The child who passed before the bisir the previous night is seated on the rail. Before all the assembled men and women of the village, the aborted woman approaches the child and says madzuma, nzum me tela esi lii, e mur awu makula mebum abure (I say, I stay under the nzum so that the man may die who caused me to abort).

844 and helps with its birth. It sometimes happens that the child presents only its head and that the rest has difficulty in following. One of the women present goes to ask the husband if, during the pregnancy of his wife, he has nailed anything or fastened it with vines, as it could be this that is holding the child back. In this case the husband must unnail or detach something; similarly, if he has built a hut, he must remove some bark from the wall of any hut in order to facilitate the birth of the child.

845 824 If the delivery is especially difficult, a man leads a young boy to a wild mango tree (andok), takes him by the feet, and makes him scratch the bark of the tree with a machete, while holding him with his head down. As he scratches, the boy collects pieces of bark in a plate. These pieces, taken back to the village, are used to prepare an infusion which the patient drinks. In case this remedy fails another is made: an infusion of a chopped herb (eyele nzum) is poured into the mouth of the woman in labor by a child perched on the roof of the hut; just above the woman the child has pierced a hole, into which the infusion flows through a hollow banana stalk. When neither of these two medicines has worked, there is a last one which is used in an unusual way, but which, our informants say, is always crowned with success. The invalid eats a paste made of mashed pumpkin, an herb (manden makwe), and a small snail (nson akwe), cooked with salt in leaves. It is very rare, however, that recourse must be had to any of these three medicines. During the entire period of the confinement, at which only women are allowed to be present, the husband stays outside the door of the hut.

844 Immediately after the delivery, the woman called mbyale takes the child and [82] cuts the cord (dol) about 10 centimeters from the abdomen with a piece of bamboo shaped in the form of a knife. The portion removed (ngoe mon) is buried under a banana tree, whose fruit is reserved strictly for men. Then the spot where the delivery took place is cleared of the leaves and washed; at the same time the child is bathed in cold water and laid on a fresh banana leaf. It must spend one night before taking the breast for the first time, and until then nothing is given it to drink.

The placenta (kum) is removed and wrapped in banana leaves in a package which is hidden in the brush. The young mother must not

241 [244]

1. The Boulou call cotton sut and kapok sut duma; neither the cotton plant nor the kapok tree grows in their area. (P. A.)

family grows some tobacco, some pimentos, or condiments of various kinds, in short, all it consumes. Each plot of land, moreover, shows this multiple cultivation, since all sorts of plants are sown together according to the so-called system of companion crops, in contrast to European cultivation where one field is devoted exclusively to one crop.

241 242 This mixture of different plants probably avoids exhausting the soil of any one of its constituants. A stand of maize with its shallow roots absorbs what nourishment it needs, while the tubers of the macabo which surround it go deeper to feed themselves with other elements, and a few plantings of groundnuts enrich the soil by holding nitrogen in it. And yet, as an additional preventive measure, so to speak, the farmer varies his sowings from year to year. Does he consciously carry on true crop rotation, is he led to this practice by the length of growing cycles or by the needs of the plants?

241 After a rough clearing of the ground by burning, the women sow and plant the freshly cleared land: gourds, plantains, macabo to be harvested in a year or eighteen months, maize that will mature in five months. After the maize harvest, a second planting period is devoted to groundnuts; when they are mature, macabo, manioc, and plantain will be ready to harvest. Manioc is left in the ground for a long time and can, at need, provide tubers. The cycle completed, the ground is left fallow and goes back to bush. Fallow land that was abandoned for good at the time of the great migrations is now being put back into cultivation after a lapse of time that varies with the demand for land due to demographic pressure, with the quality of the soil, and with the nature of its reclamation. /30/

Obviously, there is no period of any length without a crop.

Except for maize, groundnuts, and pumpkin seeds, there is no crop that can be stored in a granary, a fact that has as much bearing on social psychology as upon building techniques. Working according to traditional methods, a woman cultivates 0.52 hectares a year to provide food for her family (1). There is another way of judging the

1. A mean based on /the work of/ 27 women (Ewondo and Bané) whose plots were measured

764 in neighboring villages were informed. The dead man's fellow initiates came to lift the corpse onto a stretcher-coffin of bark (1)

[177]

1. The fig-bark coffin recalls the custom, borrowed from the Pygmies, of putting the body of a chief in a hollow tree or between the buttresses of certain large trees.

[824]

The fig has an important magic role. A fig tree was planted at the founding of a new village, and slips were carried away upon migration. (J. B.)

and danced around him the funeral dance proper to their association, at which women were not allowed to be present but were shut into their huts, where they wailed in a shrill key. The grave was narrow and quite deep, with a plank or "bamboo" bed at the bottom on which the dead man was placed on his back, feet toward the west (near a river, the grave was dug parallel to the course and the feet were placed downstream, nké = downstream or west). Above was built a platform of round logs on which were piled — after having been "killed" by breaking — all the personal possessions of the dead man that did not belong to the family patrimony, his weapons, tools, and jewelry. Now and then, only rarely, one of his wives would be sacrificed to keep him company (it is possible that the execution of wives convicted of having killed their husbands has been confused with a sacrifice of this kind). The grave was filled in and covered with a mound, which was sometimes provided with a flue at the head end by which "to feed" the dead man. The graves of prominent men were dug in, or in front of, their huts, those of ordinary people outside the village on the edge of the forest. Graves of family heads were guarded so as to prevent outsiders from carrying off the skull; [778] this was cut off by the privileged heir, njian, the replacement, who placed it with the other ancestral skulls in the biéti shrine, after dye- [386] ing it with baa. A statuette in umbrella-tree wood was carved and painted white, and inside it were enclosed some of the hair and a phalanx of the dead man; this was placed upon the biéti altar. The tibia of the dead man had previously been removed for the ngil rite.

Matrons, benya binga, were buried by mevungu initiates in a ceremony which men did not attend. Ordinary women /femmes du

212 Largeau /sic/) and the mekutu alelé, bundles of little sticks making it possible to communicate in code, they had a kind of pictography, ntilan, with tens, if not hundreds, of signs, mindem. These we know (insufficiently) from the counters used in the abia game, a kind of 524 tarots, used as a game as much as for predicting the future; the pieces 787 were made of the seeds, or rather the pods, of a mimosa common in 894 the forest (Tetrapleura /125/ thonningii, according to Trilles). These signs had a surface meaning, understood by all, and an esoteric meaning, restricted to initiates. They made it possible if not to write down traditions as a whole, at least to draw up a kind of aid to memory to be used by the beyia bia. They also enabled scouts to leave messages for a main body of fighters that followed. Each clan, 304 each family had its own ndem, sometimes depicted in its tattoo mark, ndan, which thus constituted a sort of coat of arms.

538 The old literature included stories or tales, minlañ, songs, bia, and chronicles, minkañete.

Trilles is responsible for collecting most of the tales (no. 165), which often took the form of fabliaux whose hero was none other than Ol' Br'er Terrapin, Kulu (emphatic or personal form of kul), the earth tortoise (Cinyxis erosa), surrounded by Beme, the wild pig, stupid and gluttonous, Ze, the panther, mean and cunning, its princi- 805 pal enemy; Zo'o, the elephant, the king of beasts; Abôp, the spider, artful and obliging; and the majority of the other forest animals (except, it seems, snakes, which no one ever likes to mention). Kulu, thanks to his shrewdness, always ends by getting out of the holes in which his caustic spirit or the old hostility between him and Ze have put him. Tales of magicians were also told, or stories about the conjugal mishaps of supposed ancestors. All such tales were in the public domain and were recited by anyone who felt competent. This was also the case with the puzzles and riddles that young people put to one another as a kind of flirtation.

533 Songs, however, were performed by specialists, even aside from ritual or magical songs. Some were used to accompany dances; they represented the most complete form of musical expression, with the tone of the words supposed to fit the music while being related to the movements of the dance. There are still beyia bia competent to lead a dance of this kind by improvisation, but they are few and very expensive. There also still exist players of the mvet (harp-guitar), whose repertory includes, beside the old sung legends, some modern

779 having been offended by some nsem or ritual impurity, by the
782 violation of an éki, etc., whence the necessity of appeasing the totem. The greater the misfortune, the more serious must have been the cause or the fault, even though involuntary, and the more to be expiated by a larger sacrifice. [508]

At the basis of all general rites concerned with the race, we find sacrifice in one form or another, either bloody "communional," or bloody and not "communional," or not bloody, or simply as an offering.

In these sacrifices the victim is often the totem itself. But in that case there will always have been a previous offering of another victim. That victim may sometimes be the officiant himself, as in circumcision, when the sacrificer or operator is but an agent.

II. Lustral Water; médzim akum

779 In almost all totemic sacrifices, lustral water is used. The
782 practitioner boils water in a clay pot, making an infusion with various plants. The most commonly used are: ava, a sort of
783 fragrant labiate; asèp, a strong-smelling mint; esun (hua
[824] gabonensis), a tree with a garlicky smell; esèp (monodora myristica), with an equally strong scent; and in addition, the leaves of elun, ombien, and several others. Nearly always eleven plants are used, which must have been picked at the new moon. To these are added a few pieces of meteorite and the remains of a sacrifice offered to the tribal totem, consisting of ashes, bone, and a few bits of horn or hoof, also a little dried blood.

Before beginning, the practitioner or head of the family dips his hands in the lustral water. With this he sprinkles the participants, using a dè, (1) a kind of fly swatter usually made

[412] 1. The dè is the insignia of chiefs. In former times, only they were allowed to use an elephant's tail as a fly swatter, when they themselves had killed the animal.

779 from an elephant's tail. He then sprinkles the victim, the
782 ancestral skulls, and finally the totem.
783 Upon returning from battle, warriors wash their weapons in lustral water so as to ward off the malevolent spirits of the dead.

Lustral water is also used in sacrifices made in expiation of violations of éki.

Afterwards the water is emptied in a remote spot. The chief often carries it back to the village and uses it to water the
● [124] tree, usually a fig tree, that was planted over the remains of his umbilical cord. This tree is an emblem of his own life, and the lustral water is in this case a sort of sacrifice. [509]

III. Fasting; nzè akhu

779 All important totemic ceremonies are preceded by fasts.
785 They are very strict, and the least infraction entails grave penalties.

They always take place in seclusion: those who are fasting are kept apart in the forest far from the village, shut up in small huts. During the fast it is strictly forbidden to drink or eat before sundown and to wash with water, although rubbing one's body with ashes is allowed. Furthermore, certain meats and fruits are prohibited, such as boiled food or fruit; fermented drinks, except on certain sacred days and before initiations, when, on the contrary, it is obligatory; and drinking from any kind of pot. If someone takes a drink inadvertently, the pot must be broken right away; nevertheless this act involves a ritual fault and requires expiation. One is supposed to drink from a brook, using
[134] a leaf rolled into a cone (oké ésaga). Finally, throughout the fast all intercourse with women is absolutely prohibited (évek).

779 The duration of the fast varies with the ceremony and the
785 initiation. For circumcision, for instance, it lasts usually a
921 lunar month (ngon). Other initiations rarely exceed seven days, let us say a lunar quarter, alôñ ngon; the last quarter is usually chosen (mété méngon). The moon plays an important role in all

881 During the final days the chief makes a point of mixing into the
304 boys' food certain aphrodisiac stimulants, cardamon seeds [524]
779 (Amomum citriodorum), a wonderful red fruit (Lavigeria), and
832 onzakôn (Antrocaryon klaineanum) which, apart from these oc-
● 824 casions, only women may eat. They are even forbidden to say the name of that tree, because the word nkôn denotes the male genital organ; they must say onzabili, the onza tree. In addition the fruit of the onzakôn has a slight resemblance to a phallus.

Throughout their seclusion the children sleep stretched out
881 on the ashes of the hearths. They must tell the chief what they
304 have dreamt about; the family totem ought, in fact, to re-
779 veal itself to them at this time. Since the chief speaks to the
828 children frequently and since they know that they are supposed to have the totem in mind, the suggestion, intimate and strange at the same time, leads easily to the desired result. If, however, a different object from the family totem, animal or other, appears more vividly and repeatedly in their imaginations, it would be a sign that the totemic guardian spirit wants to adopt another medium and, consequently, the child's totem, if he has a personal one, has to be changed.

5) The ceremony

881 On the day of the operation, the practitioner, who has
304 been forewarned, goes to the enclosure, accompanied by the
779 fathers. Each child is questioned in turn; then there is a big dance performed in honor of the ancestors and guardian spirits of the clan. Each head of the family has brought along his mvamayôn and now explains it to the child. A new dance is done after this initiation. Each father then stretches his son out on the ground, sits down beside him, and slips his legs beneath the child's body in such a way as to raise the middle of the body. The practitioner has a knife in hand kept specially for this purpose and carefully wrapped in a little sheath. The
[43] knife used to be made of stone, but that kind has become very rare. Knives are now usually made of copper and are curiously worked, one end being beak shaped, the other pointed; they are not hafted. These knives are called ekolokôn.

884 779 411 The young man is armed. He has undergone the initiation of the bawu and henceforth he has a right to speak in the council. He will not take advantage of this until the day he brings in the hand of an enemy he has killed and he is able to testify to his bravery in the presence of all by this striking proof of a daring exploit, yet often carried out by surprise.

[Pp. 535-536, 18 lines of music.] [537]

III. Consecration of the Chief

766 779 622 a) The ceremony

A tribal chief has died. After the customary lamentation and funeral feast, he has been buried in a temporary grave. Thirty days afterwards the warriors again reassemble for the solemn funeral dance, the fanki. Then the eldest son, surrounded by leading warriors, opens his father's grave, climbs down beside the corpse, and with the consecrated knife detaches the skull, which will soon be added to the skulls of earlier ancestors in the évora biéri. Then the corpse is carefully replaced in the grave, and the totemic sacrifices are completed. We shall go back to these sacrifices when discussing individual mortuary rites. The eldest son or the heir removes the akaméyón or tribal totem, if he has not already done so. He then throws the earth back onto the corpse and everyone helps him in this dismal task, after he has thrown the first handfuls. All these rites belong to the social mortuary ceremonial.

622 779 The new chief returns to the village. Then begins strictly speaking, the totemic rite of consecration, which takes place at night, without any female observers.

Escorted by all the warriors, to the beating of a tom-tom, the chief takes the évora biéri containing the ancestral skulls and carries it into the forest. The ceremony is secret only as regards women; young boys may be present.

[824 778] The box of skulls is put on a sort of platform made of newly cut poles. These must come from a special tree, the éfirfira, and must all be alive and green. A bit of dead wood

779 would lead to a ritual offense. These branches are embedded
778 in the earth; they must also be straight, cut from the actual
622 trunk of the tree and not from a branch; upon these poles stuck into the ground, the chief arranges pieces of bamboo (1) which

[342
●824]

1. Bamboo is the usual term given by analogy to the palm stems or raffia used in all Fan building, in place of real bamboo, which is unknown or a recent importation into Gabon.

[284] make a platform. They are tied together, not with the lianas usual for huts, but with lashings [538] made of rattan palm. When that work has been done, the chief places his évora biéri on the upper tier; the other family heads put their bivora bibiér to the right and left in order of precedence. When all the boxes of skulls have been lined up, each man, after having danced and sung around the altar, then approaches it again, opens his box, removes the ancestral skulls, and places them on the lower tier below the boxes. Upon his family skulls he places the family totem, then his own personal totem. There is another series of dances, accompanied by songs. The chief then advances again, alone, and puts the skull of his immediate ancestor above all the others, dances and sings, then puts the skull inside that of the first ancestor. He also takes his family totem, which by the very fact of his birth is the tribal or clan totem, and places it upon the two superimposed skulls, his father's and that of the clan father. Then there begins a special
533 song called the Song of Union. The archaic words are nowadays
622 for the most part very hard to understand, the general meaning,
779 on the other hand, is easy to grasp: it deals with the uniting of all the heads of families in direct line and consists of an invocation to the Spirit of the Race, who has passed down through all descendants from the first ancestor so as to produce a united and indivisible whole. The final words of the song express this idea quite clearly:

721 Everyone then comes near, the chief first, and dips a finger
779 into the pot of blood and tastes it. The practitioner also dips in
782 his finger and with it touches each warrior's totem to make the
266 so-called racial mark (ndem ayôn). "Adopted" warriors are ex-
608 cluded from this ceremony, perhaps the only occasion when a distinction is drawn between them and the tribe; in some smaller clans they are not excluded from this ceremony.

721 When a tribe is populous and a single victim would not be
779 enough, two, three, and sometimes ten or more are provided.

As soon as each warrior has thus "renewed the mark," the
782 sacred dances start again. During that time the chief joins in at first, then takes what remains of the blood, smears his ancestral skulls with it, and then sprinkles the tribal totems while the warriors sing the totem song. [553] The practitioner, helped by his acolytes makes a kind of large sticky ball from the sap of cer-
[824] tain rubber creepers (1) and a kind of gum,(2) and knead it inside

1. Landolphia Klaineana and Thollonii of the Apocyneceae.

2. This gum is produced by the Acacia erubescens Wildm. of the acacia family.

the victim's thoracic cavity so that it becomes soaked with blood. At the end of the ceremony he takes a bit from this ball and ap-
[787] plies it to each warrior's chest. According to how long it sticks, it will give an augury about the warrior's life, death, and the wounds he will receive.

721 As soon as the ceremonies are completed the victims are
782 cut into thin strips, and each person receives his share. The feast
266 begins. This is the end of the actual totemic ceremony, to be followed from then on by purely religious and fetishist rites. I therefore need say no more on the subject.

721 After the meal, the dance, and the songs, the skulls and totems are put back in the évora biéri and carried back to the huts.

361 the sites of future huts with blood. The hen is then opened up
621 and divided among the principal warriors and the chief's relatives.
769 This strictly, speaking, constitutes the totemic sacrifice. The
782 kid or sheep is then offered to the spirits of departed souls and to the ancestors.

After the sacrifice to ancestors the chief puts the akaméyôn
361 back at his side. From the mfex or pouch, which is never re-
621 moved, he draws forth a small bundle of dirty material wrapped
769 around a bit of red wood, ashes, and a few bones. All this
778 comes from a sacrifice to the totem like that already described. To these he adds the remnants of the recent sacrifice and buries
[824] it all deep in a hole in which he drives a strong stake of élun or éfirfira wood; sometimes a young ebony tree is also used.
[822 At the top of the stake he fixes a ball of paste made of red wood,
842] white chalk -- the colors of sacrifices and spirits, and manioc, the symbol of fertility. A part of the clan or tribal totem is also inserted. The practitioner, with many gestures, songs, and dances imprisons within it all the evil spirits of the air. [558]

The practitioner sows maize in the middle of the village, then plants a manioc root and particularly a euphorbia (euphorbia antiquorum), and puts a small fence around, so that the plants
[787] will not be desecrated. The village's prosperity depends upon their rapid growth. Should they wither, the chosen spot will be abandoned. Euphorbia has the power of averting thunder and evil
[824] spirits by means of its bristling points. Amaryllis and immortelles are often planted at the foot of the euphorbia, along with a few stalks of sugar cane. The amaryllis and immortelles ought to come from the old village, having issued from those which the chief's first wife had formerly brought from her
[842] native village at her marriage. Sugar cane is a symbol of fertility.

241 The women plant maize everywhere after these preliminaries, and its rapid growth ensures basic subsistence. Mean-
361 while the men build the huts. The first ears of maize will certainly be offered to the guardian totem. Dried and preserved in the form of a coronet, they will provide seed for the following year.

7: Trilles--112 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9

1. Birth and Name Giving

844 Only women, the village matrons, are allowed to help a mother in childbirth. Men are absolutely excluded, even husbands. A woman who gives birth on a journey prefers to go off by herself into the forest rather than ask for her husband's help.

As soon as the child is delivered, his umbilical cord is cut and he is carefully washed. The remnants of the cord are wrapped in a cloth and buried out of the way. In the case of a chief's son, especially that of the head chief, the remains are buried, as we have seen, at the foot of a sacred fig tree. (1)

[824 778]

1. Ficus elastica.

Great importance is given to the tree's growth, and to touch it is strictly forbidden. Any violation of the tree would be considered an attack upon the human being.

[688]

851 A few days after birth, the baby is carried to his father, who may accept it or refuse it. However, the latter [571] happens only if the child is deformed or crippled, in which case it is ruthlessly sacrificed. The religious rites (1) connected

847

553

1. See Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie [Bulletin of the Neuchâtel Geographical Society], 1910, "Les rites de la naissance chez les Fân" [Birth Rites among the Fang], by Father Trilles.

with birth are numerous, but the only ones that seem to me to be totemic are name giving and the choice of the baby's totem.

The name is solely the father's choice; it is often determined by attendant circumstances, atmospheric or other, or by some local happening, a hunt, a fishing expedition, the

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

the natural curve of the branches. Stones are employed for rolling food, especially for crushing and rolling the *ngon* seed. Shells of large land mollusca are cut in half and used for spoons, small gourds being used for the same purpose. Large gourds are used for water dippers and bottles. Very many uses are found for the forest gourds, not the least ingenious being the use of a hollow stemmed gourd for administering a rectal injection. Gourds are used for the sounding boards of the musical instrument called *mvuk*. The people find many uses for bamboo. It is used in construction of houses, fish baskets and traps are made from it, fences to protect paths during tribal wars are made of sharp pointed bamboo poles; and small sharpened pieces of bamboo with poisoned tips are buried in the forest paths, point upward, to wound and poison the naked feet of an unsuspecting enemy. The teeth and claws of leopards and bush cats, elephant tail, antelope feet, horns and forest beans are used in their natural form as personal ornaments. Leopard teeth are always considered valuable as *biang* (fetish) and are much sought after; they are frequently imitated in ivory. I have not seen the defences of animals employed as artificial defences, except as fetish. Long tough forest thorns are often used as awls and needles for piercing and sewing skins. I once saw an *ngangan* (witch doctor) perform a post-mortem examination on a woman. After he had discovered the cause of death, which he announced to the expectant crowd as being due to "six witches eating her liver," he first pierced the abdominal walls with a long hard thorn, and then sewed up the body with a bamboo needle threaded with pineapple fibre. I have seen only one cave dwelling; it was used by an isolated sufferer of the dread disease called by the natives *mabata* (a kind of sloughing phagedina). When proper reed material for making thatch is scarce, large forest leaves are used, but they make very poor roofs, especially during the tornado season.

Conservatism.—The Fang are not quick to adopt reforms or to introduce new methods; they are more or less the slaves of custom, and have a superstitious dread of departing from ancestral habits. This refers to all the proceedings of life. Fang living in towns near Gaboon are almost daily coming in contact with white settlers, and to some extent, at least, appear to be changing their mode of living. It never appeared to me that a Fang had the same longing to be "just like a white man" as possesses the young Mpongwe and Benga men.

IX.—*Ornamentation.*

The patterns mostly seen in Fang ornamentation consist of bands, incised lines, elliptical punch marks, herring bone, lozenge pattern and cross lines. The natives do not possess a natural aptitude for drawing, and seldom attempt it. The few drawings I have seen on the bark walls of houses, supposed to represent men and women, were very crude and exaggerated in proportion. They have no idea whatever of perspective. They seem to interpret foreign drawings very readily. The Fang show considerable skill in plain wood carving, using an ordinary native knife. I have noticed that their carving improves very considerably when an imported pocket knife is the instrument employed.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

The skin of a bush cat is part of the *biang-akamayong* called "Nain." 789

The Mvang.—A triangular piece of iron filled with medicine, used to keep away witches, is also part of the *biang-akamayong.* 619

Biang-akong or *biang-abal* (war medicine).—This is also part of the *biang-akamayong*, and the shots from the guns of an enemy are of no avail.

One other important fetish hangs with the *biang-akamayong.*

A piece of very hard wood. Only a certain kind of woman is selected to find this wood; she is called a special or *selected* woman on account of certain peculiarities connected with her, *e.g.*, she always fails to catch fish, she may try all day but will not succeed in catching fish. The husband of such a woman, after intercourse with her, fails to catch fish the next day, he also fails to work. This is the kind of woman always selected to find this wood; it is hard wood, she is a hard woman, and she is called *Ewunegu ane alert* (the woman who is hard). This medicine is also called *biang-akong*, and shot from the guns of an enemy will not harm. [777] [824]

This is the *Biang-akamayong.*

XIII.—*Witchcraft. Evus.* (*Witch.*)

If a person goes out to make witch (witch medicine, or play witch to harm others) he dies. The people take him to the backyard. Other people say, "We want to take the witch." If the corpse is a female, they open the belly. If the corpse is a male, they open the heart. They see the witch, they take it. If they bring the witch, they lay it on the smoke shelf. It dries. When finished drying they say, "We will use it as medicine." 754

This is *Evus* (witch).

Cursing dead Relations.—Written at Foulabifong, Nkomo river, April 13th, 1898. Told me by Ôvôn; fully confirmed by Ogandaga and Interpreter Roby.

E'kanawang (to curse dead relations).—This is a Fang custom. A man has a palaver with another, or goods stolen. He desires to get even with the thief. He calls a friend and curses his friend's dead relations, saying, 754 578 626

"Go and kill that person for me, or go and make him pay me goods; if you do so, I will then pay you for having cursed your dead relations." It is a serious matter to have dead relations cursed, and the friend feels very bad. He must do as bid, or he is branded as a coward, and after he has completed his task he then makes claim for payment.

Nge me bê jam dili, nge me ta mimbin (If I do it, may I see the corpses [of my people]). A Fang way of swearing an oath. [539

Awi ye mimbin mia, yinge me bat (My friend, by the corpses of your relations, kill those people for me).

Notes on *Ekômada* (a curse).

Tiang s'ayage (a curse that kills).

103 824 35. Andung from andŭh = Croton welwitschianus Muell. Arg. (Euphorbiac.), beautiful by virtue of its shining silvery leaves.

36. Akom from akǔ̄m = Terminalia superba Engl. and Diels. /53/

37. Makom (Makomo), the same, plural.

38. Nkoakom from nkok = fallen tree trunk, that is, of the Terminalia.

39. Engo from engō′, an unidentified tree.

40. Akoga from akǔ̄′ga = Lophira alata Banks, with beautiful, fragrant blossoms.

41. Makoga, the same, plural.

42. Assam from asǔ′m = Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg., with a rich, fragrant cover of blossoms.

43. Massam (Massama), the same, plural.

44. Angok from angŏk = Albizzia brownei Oliv., a beautiful tree.

45. Dum from dum = Ceiba pentandra (L.) Gärtn.

46. Medschimitum from mdezī = roots, and tǔm = Piptadenia africana Hook. f.

47. Asseng or Assōng from asŏ′ñ = umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br.

48. Massōng, the same, plural.

49. Nkoassōng from nkok = fallen trunk of the umbrella tree.

(e) From characteristics of the landscape.

103 823 50. Ngbai from ngbaī = leafless living tree (its winter condition).

51. Mekumu from nkūm I = standing dead tree trunk without a crown.

52. Ndangōng from ndǎngŏ′n = clearing.

53. Ewōōle from eyŏ′le = clearing.

54. Nko from nkō = hill.

55. Anko = at the hill.

56. Akok from akō′k = stone, rock.

57. Makok, the same, plural.

58. Maschok from maŏk = rapids, falls.

(f) Derived from animals or parts of animals.

103 825 59. Schok from ŏk = elephant.

103 125 60. Mbang, and 61, Mbangschok from mbą̌n = ivory, and zǒk from elephant.

62. Mboleschok from ebǒ[l] = spoiled, that is, spoiled elephant.

63. Akuleschok from aku[l] = feet of animals, feet of the elephant.

64. Nnoschok = Nloschok from nlǒ', nnǒ' = head, head of the elephant.

65. Abumeschok from abǔm = belly, belly of the elephant, because they had eaten up the village plantation.

66. Bindeme from indǒm V = fruit bat.

67. Böngomo from ongǒmo III = chimpanzee.

68. Akulangomo from akū[l] = feet, claws of the chimpanzee.

69. Ebóloua (1) from ebǒ[l] -o-wǫǎ = spoiled matter of the chimpanzee, spoiled chimpanzee.

1. The official spelling is Ebolowa. For the sake of consistency I write Ebóloua, since by 'w' in German spelling I denote only labial sounds.

70. Akuasö from akū'a = animals' lair, zǒ = leopard.

71. Olamesö from olǎm = trap or snare, zǒ = leopard.

72. Ewes from eyǒs = bone. /54/

73. Bojabúnkulu from boyǎ = little wives (plural), bo = of, (n)kū[l]u = turtles; thus, the little wives of turtles.

74. Bebass from ebǎs = scale; the inhabitants of this place probably eat a lot of fish.

(g) From objects.

103 75. Ntum from ntǔm = walking stick.

76. Ebai from ebai = strands taken from the stalk of a raffia leaf, used for house construction.

77. Bebai, the same, plural.

78. Ngam from ngǎm = barbed hook on a spear.

79. Bebada from ebǎda = carrying baskets used by men.

304 465 same time, it should be noted that because of his tattooing mania some people considered him "as not quite normal." In true Negro fashion, the absence of a charge for tattooing is explained by saying that the tattooed person does not feel the pain so strongly if he does not have to pay. These conditions, however, vary greatly from place to place. Among the Jaunde payment is customary, and often it is comparatively steep.

304 ●825 Mutilation of the teeth occurs everywhere among members of both sexes. It is done mainly to the four upper incisors. Aside from decorative considerations, this mutilation doubtless also has a deeper religious basis which is very ancient and still alive in the Negroes. They -- as I was once told -- do not want their teeth to look like animal teeth (2). Since it is indeed a fact that

[71] 2. See also the same attitude among the Malays and the Negroes of the Sudan (according to Frobenius).

no /202/ large mammals have pointed front teeth (for it is with these that we are concerned)(1), this reason seems credible even

[72] 1. See the expressions for tooth chipping below, in which the expression for tooth is always aŭn "front tooth." There is no word for teeth in general; on the other hand there are terms for canines, incisors of animals (ŋ̄ III), and molars (ekɔ̄k).

though to us pointed teeth look precisely like animal teeth since when we think of the gaping jaw of an animal, the prominent incisors are the dominant feature. The Pangwe thinks first of the animal's front teeth, and, especially in the case of horned animals, he finds a surprising similarity to his own. In making this comparison, he is not disturbed by the fact that the similarity extends only to the front teeth of the lower jaw, which resemble the front teeth of his lower jaw, since ruminants usually have no

304 teeth in their upper jaw. A glance at the animal caricatures in
825 our own comic papers shows how human, almost too human even,
the front teeth of our cattle, for instance, appear to us. It
304 should be remembered that horned animals, tame (goats and
825 sheep) as well as wild (antelopes), play an important role in the
794 religion of the Pangwe since they are linked with the moon because of their horns. The cult of the moon, however, is the cult /Figs. 156 and 157 appear here in the original text/ of the Evil One. Accordingly, mutilation of the teeth is a symbol of turning

Fig. 156.
Mutilation of a Front Tooth.
The shaded part is chipped off.

Fig. 157
Chisel used on Front Teeth.

away from the Evil One, of destroying any similarity to him. On the other hand, it simultaneously points to an increased similarity to the Good, that is, the sun (or God [e-sǎ-mbe], who manifests himself in the sun), and the teeth are shaped to be like its rays. The deformation of teeth, therefore, is not to form a real "point," which to the contrary, would be something unpleasant and bad (the root sǒ is in n-sǒ-ń 1, "point"). (It may be that this is the reason some people knock out all or some of their front teeth.) Rather, the deformation only narrows the teeth and gives them the shape illustrated in Figure 156. The teeth are, so to speak, "stretched" and made to resemble a sun beam; from this comes the expression a sǎ́-m-ǎn masǎ́n from a sǎ-m, "to stretch" (n-sǎ́-m-ba, "the row, the line," actually, "ray"). The widely current expression "to shape the teeth to a point" is accurate only if one does not take it too literally; the cutting edge is merely narrowed, not brought to a point. The expression "filing the
304 teeth," which one also encounters frequently, is inaccurate since

531 Quadrangle = bark,
Triangle = raffia leafstalk strips,
Line = palm band,
Fish bone = palm leaves.

The quadrangle is to be found in three forms: as a rectangle; as a diamond; and as a monitor lizard.

The rectangle results automatically from the natural shape of the bark mantle (Figure 196, a).

The diamond arose, and it still arises daily, in the process of removing the bark from the tree, as has already been discussed in connection with bark work (page 213). I here remind the reader of the fact that in this process the tree trunk is girdled at the top and the bottom and the bark is cut through in a zigzag line which, as observation taught, facilitates the removal of the bark. From the crisscross blows of the cutlass there arises the figure of the diamond when the cuts meet, as Figure 157a shows. If they cut across each other once, this produces the beginnings of new diamonds, and these are drawn out in a playful manner. In this way groups /Fig. 197 appears here in the original text/ of diamonds placed across and next to each other are created. Later such diamonds were cut into the bark in intentional playfulness which is still very popular today, and the individual diamond areas were emphasized by removing the bark down to the wood in checkerboard fashion.

From here it was no great step to the transference of the pattern to bark plates (Fig. 196, b).

The monitor lizard motif (nkaak III) comes into being when two large diamonds are accidentally formed one on top of the other in the process of removing bark; in these one sees the head and body of the monitor lizard, Varanus niloticus. Just like the diamond, the lizard is playfully cut into the bark of trees, and then by means of simple strokes legs and a tail are added. At a later time the lizard motif was transferred to the independent decorative barks (Figs. 196 c, 197).

531 925 The similarity to this animal was noted because the monitor lizard was seen daily crawling across the bark of the trees; in doing so it displayed -- like many lizards -- approximately angular outlines.

Above all, however, the origin of the lizard pattern is to be sought, I suspect, in the fact that at one time the Varanus played as important a role in the religion of the Pangwe as it did among the ancient Egyptians who worshipped it because it ate crocodile eggs. The crocodile in turn, it appears, was regarded as a representative of the principle of evil -- since it lived in swamps or in water /246/ (see Section 11 /Ed., not translated/) and was dangerous to man. /Fig. 198 appears here in the original text. / As a

Fig. 197. Lizard Pattern on Decorative Bark Plates.

result, the destroyer of crocodiles, the monitor lizard -- which lived in the air, that is, on trees -- was probably regarded as a representative of the good. It is probably also for this reason that among the Pangwe the monitor lizard was promoted to the class of human beings, just like the Sciurus wilsoni (kîle III) which likewise devours the eggs of animals living in swamps. A contrast to these two animals is the ichneumon, which consumes hen's eggs, and since the hen is a sacred animal because it symbolizes the principle of good (compare Section 11, /Ed., not translated/), it is flatly called a "criminal," nsŏm I.

The triangle is to be found in two forms, as isosceles triangles and as right-angled triangles. The former are the most frequent, occur everywhere on bark plates, and come

754 or to make him ill, he prepares a medicine which serves to strengthen his ewu and, at the same time to stimulate it anew and in a particular way for the occasion to point out the direction of the victim and to provide the power for the sorcery. In this way also, the cult figures were transformed by a medicine into active magical beings. From the sequence of medicine, ewu, object of the sorcery, the ewu was later omitted, so only the direct effect of the medicine on the object remains. Thus, instead of killing through sorcery, we have direct poisoning. Among the Pangwe these things are as yet still confused. Only among the Jaunde does there appear to be the beginning of a separation between the two, inasmuch as they do not unquestioningly surrender to their fate, but instead attempt to investigate the poisoning and to find and punish the murderer. In so doing, however, barely escaping this Charybdis, they are caught on the Scylla of legal murder; in view of the difficulty of finding the culprit, they proceed in a [482] very summary manner. If, for example, a chief dies, presumably poisoned by one of his wives, all of them or at least very many of them will be punished by death.

754 278 The most common sorcerous medicine used for poisoning is nŋ̄, with which we are already acquainted as a medicine for giving power to the cult figures. It is prepared in three different ways, as white, red and black nŋ̄. As a rule, all three contain toad poison. In addition, the white one usually contains:

1. fine, sharp-edged splinters of grated cowry shells, mica (ebǎb e dʒ̄b, "scales of heaven"), or glass;

2. skull bones of a man who has been dead for a month and who must have died on the same day that he was taken ill;

[825] 3. toad, Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (mvʒ̄ʒ̄) dried and grated;

4. lizard, Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (ebɔ̄makfikfi), prepared in the same way (see "Religion" /Ed., not translated/): /146/

5. the poisonous roots of the Dioscorea macroura Harms (dzɔ̄k IV), dried over a fire and grated;

6. poisonous hairs of the Leguminosa Mucuna pruriens D.C. (akʒ̄n' eʒ̄esɔ̄', that is, leaves from the Sao, e.g., leaves of death); at times also

7. scraped and charred rind of the Leguminosa Detarium macrocarpum Harms (eniik), with whose symbolic significance

we are already familiar.

Another mixture consisted of ground mica, a toad, and ground snake fangs.

The red nǭ̃ usually contains:

1. Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (see above);
2. a red crab from the forest (nkǭ́ńělě kɨ̃dǭ̃) (1);

1. The animal is supposed to make a sound that is reproduced by ɨ̃ɛ̃, ɨ̃ɛ̃.

3. a kind of scorpion (nsisa), ground;
4. a chameleon, ground;
5. Mucuna pruriens D.C. (see above).

The black nǭ̃ contains:

1. ngō-akɨ̃k or ekɨ̃l-akɨ̃k, fungus soil dried and ground;
2. akɨ̃n, a fungus growth that lives under water, which is supposed to be very poisonous;
3. nlṓńo ngūěn, a centipede which is greatly feared because of its poison.

The preparation of nǭ̃ is carried out in the most ingenious manner by expert medicine men. For this purpose, the men sew for themselves a special suit made of the bark of the ondɨ̃m tree (Fig. 50). This suit resembles a long shirt and leaves only the head and hands exposed; these parts of the body are then rubbed with an extract of Heckeria subpeltata (Wild.) Kunth (abǭ́mědzǭ́ń), principally in order to protect them against the very poisonous hairs of the Mucuna that fly about. With this preparation, the poison mixers proceed to pound the dried components in a pot and and to mix them by stirring. For this purpose they use a long stick so that they can stay as far away as possible from the poisonous mixture. Indeed, they go even further and call upon old leprous persons to collect and pour the poison into little horns or bags (Fig. 51), since in their case it would not matter if in the process they were to become sick or even die.

832 days and the establishment of a sacred place, on which the Fang even set up a female figure of clay. During the seven days of preparation, the necessary medicines are obtained.

[824] These are bark, scraped off the Anonacea Monodora tenuifolia Bth. (fǒb IV) and the Olacacea avǒm, and a small elephant's

[825] tooth[1] into which are put the following /159/ things.

1. The most important is the larynx (engǒ'n) of a famous

[826] singer, especially of one who was versed in love songs, or the larynx of a woman who before the payment of the bride price allowed herself to be abducted by her lover. The aim is to obtain the power of the singer, who was loved on account of his voice (famous tenors even in other countries are, after all, not only popular but also loved), and to be loved as he was, or one desires to have the woman consent (with her larynx = voice) to follow the call of love as quickly as did the woman whose larynx has been placed inside the elephant's tooth. The name engǒ̄nezǒk was chosen because of the desire to pretend that only the throat of an elephant (ʼzǒk) was involved and to avoid naming the real contents, the human throat. As a name for the whole thing, engongeschok is intended to veil the meaning of the feast just as the animal names conceal the purpose of the cults. In other words, whatever you do, don't call a spade a spade.

2. Sex organs of a mother-in-law, the one who has given birth to the daughter and loved one.

3. The bones of an albino (mvēi-mōt), preferred by women

[826] because of the skin color (1).

1. Opinions concerning an albino vary
[154] a great deal; in other areas an albino is less highly regarded (Jaunde).

4. The bones of twins, because of the desire to be united with the loved one just as twins are united in the mother's womb.

5. Fulgurites (abī'-zǎ'lǎn), so the love will be as powerful

[821] as the lightning that throws down the tallest trees.

6. nsǔ, so that the sorcerous beings (= evil persons) will not

[1 [or possibly "tusk"; see figure 55, page 26.-Analyst]

832
[825]
[415]

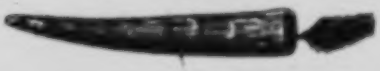


Fig. 55. Love Medicine, engongeschok (elephant's tusk with love medicine in it).

In the love festival that I witnessed in Ebïangon, the procedure was as follows. On the first day a dance to the accompaniment of drums took place in the festive area. At the dance, the leading singer swung the civet skin around and made a clatter with the inevitable cymbals. The chief and medicine man (they are not always one and the same person) thereupon

[417]

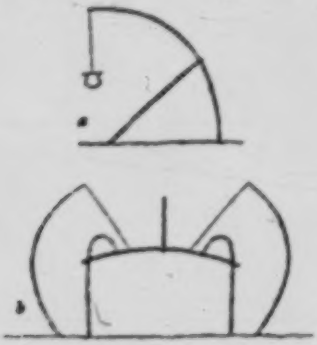


Fig. 56. Love Medicine Festival engongeschok in Ebïangon (Esseng Family).
(a) Pot with love medicine suspended from a rod; (b) frame to deceive the uninitiated as to the purpose of the celebration.

went to the pot, took the bag out, called the participants individually from the circle, asked them to sit down (see Fig. 57), and sprinkled the medicine /Fig. 56 appears here in the original text/ water on their foreheads in such a way that it ran down the bridge of the nose to the tip. If this did not succeed immediately, the procedure was repeated two to three

832 824 Lygodium smithianum Pr. (ozǒk), used by women for ornaments.

I was unable to obtain any satisfactory explanation as to why a number of Ficus species, certain Amaryllidaceae, and gall nuts of the Microglossa volubilis (Wall) D.C. (myūvū) are used as love medicines.

832 825 Aside from plant ingredients, which are used in preponderant number for love medicines, antelope horns (Fig. 61) are especially popular. These are worn as forehead or neck ornaments, and when they are supposed to be effective, they are blown like a whistle. Just as an antelope never has a single horn, but always a pair, so a person should not be alone, but with another.

777 824 224 The no less abundant shot medicines make up a third group of medicines for good luck. Of the 109 plants used for these, 67 are rifle medicines (biǎ ń ngā), that is, medicines that guarantee

[832]

Fig. 60. Love Medicine: a piece formed by two lianas so grown together that they appear as one.

a good shot with the rifle; two war medicines (biǎ ń betǎ), 18 hunting medicines (biǎ ń tīt), four crossbow medicines (bia n mbǎn), two medicines for hunting drives (biǎ ń a kǐń tīt), two medicines /165/ for a lucky eye in hunting, and 14 medicines that raise the hunting efficiency of the dogs (biǎ ń myū) (Fig. 62).

The ingredients of the shot medicines are chosen according to various criteria. First the intention is to lure the game. Hence one takes parts of trees "loved" by the animal (that is, the animal likes to visit them, and hence will visit /Fig. 61 appears here in the original text/ the hunter who has them, even in the form of medicine). In other cases, parts that resemble animals are taken from trees, for example, the tendrils of the Oncinotis tessmannii Gilg (nǐěm osǒk, " tail of the red-tailed monkey"), which resemble

[Text continues on page 34]

2: Tessmann--33 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang PH9

832
825
301

Fig. 61. Love Medicine, Horn of the Dwarf Antelope, usually Worn on Forehead and Hung from the Helmet Hairdo.

789

Fig. 62
(Caption on following page.)

The veneration of skulls likewise occurs in the case of the
769 hunting medicines. The skull of a man killed by violent means,
224 whose corpse remained on the spot (if the man belongs to the same
826 kinship group), is kept in a bark box and taken care of as in ancestor worship. When a huntsman kills a wild animal, for example, he takes the first piece that falls to him in the distribution of the meat to the skull as a thanks offering. This piece consists of the sex organs and the flesh around them (ekĩjã', see Fig. 92 in Vol. I). After he has taken it to the skull, he carries it off again
[262] to eat it himself. On the other hand, if there has been no luck on the hunt, a chicken is killed for the "man" in the box so he will see to it that a wild animal soon appears in front of his protégé's rifle and will be hit as effectively as he was in his time.

In addition, the Fang have a great war medicine, a celebra-
721 tion which is called añgũñgu and is a companion festivity to the
789 engongeschok. On this occasion, a sacred place is set up, a subterranean corridor similar to that described in the case of the Ngi /Ed., not translated/ is dug, and a dwarf antelope, Cephalophus
[825] melanorheus Gray (ogbwũń), which must have been caught alive, is brought to the place. Then the medicine man stations himself at one end of the corridor, and all the other men, armed with rifles,
[824] hang a seed of the Sorindeia rubriflora Engl. (afáʼnə[k]) as medicine around their necks, and crawl -- the first with the antelope in his arms -- through the corridor. At the exit, the medicine man gives all of them, including the antelope, a medicine. The antelope is thereupon released, and it is believed that when a surprise attack is planned and the enemy has got wind of it, the animal will appear and thereby warn the attackers. By way of medicines to secure the /167/ necessary courage for such an attack, five different ones are available.

The medicines for trapping and fishing are rarer than the shot
777 medicines, a sign that these occupations are more in the Pangwe's
226 blood than open hunting. I have taken down only eight plants for
224 fish medicines and twelve for trap medicines.

754 example, in the case of the theft of some food, a bit of the remains of the food, such as chewed sugarcane, is put in a rifle and fired off, or the chewed sugarcane is put in the smithy pit in place of iron and belabored with the bellows. In still other cases, this same sugarcane is placed with a pepper twig in the burrow of [125] a Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (the scincoid lizard), and a fire is lighted under them. In all /171/ these cases the fire is a symbol of the Ngi (fire cult). Another time the Sso is called upon. If, for example, someone has stolen a wild animal from a trap, the hairs still sticking to the trap are placed in a halved Negro banana (the plant sacred to the Sso) or on a halved piece of the [124] Ancistrophyllum acutiflorum Becco. nkāne I (likewise a cult plant, but its significance is unknown to me), and the thief will then contract leprosy. Furthermore, the remnants of the stolen goods merely need to be placed on the path to a frambesia patient's toilet in order to cause the thief to contract frambesia. Such a manner of wishing an illness upon someone is called a pfū,ī'di, from a pfūde, "to do, to lay, to do something to someone, to impose (lay) something on someone, to throw upon."

753 As the third cause of illness, the natives are familiar with the simple communication of diseases, infection (substantive, nkŭ,bǎn I; verb, a kŭ,bǎn), and the Pangwe know very well that frambesia is more contagious, whereas leprosy is less so.

In the case of less serious illnesses, some people may get the idea that the illness was invoked in some way by offended or harmed companions. In general, however, people do not think about causes; the illness simply comes by itself.

Among the Jaunde the a pfū,ī'di is unknown because the cults [114] are not so highly developed as they are among the southern Pangwe. [759] The Jaunde often blame sorcerous beings.

The fee for treatment of disease is variously handled. In the 759 case of leprosy the medicine man receives 110 spears (seven marks) or a small goat, if his art has been of some help -- otherwise he receives nothing. In the case of frambesia and illnesses of the ewu he receives in advance a chicken, as well as the head and heart of the goat that is slaughtered so that the patient may drink the blood. If the cure was successful, he is paid 50 spears. In the case of less

262 the birth because it is feared that the child would have club feet;
843 Potamochoerus albifrons Du Chaillu (ngui, IV Fang), head and belly until the birth, the head because of its ugly appearance, the belly because of its warts; Bubalus (niǎ't IV), male animals because they make a rattling noise; Hyemoschus aquaticus Gilg (viǒ̃n, plural lǒn) until the birth; Tragelaphus knutsoni Lemberg (nkǒ'k I) and Cephalophus longiceps Gray (mvū IV), male animals; Cephalophus nigrifrons Gray (žǔm IV) until the birth; Cephalophus leucogaster Gray (miē IV Fang), the animal is supposed "to die of its own accord."

5. Taboo for young girls.

262 Mus univittatus Pet. (mvǒ'n IV) because of the shamelessness
[825] of the mouse which in the presence of people steals the Kassada /Trans., cassava?/ as it is being washed; the young girls, therefore are afraid, if they eat the mouse, that a man would steal them just as quickly.

6. Not taboo.

Dog (mvū IV); Maimon planirostris Elliot (esōge); Hemigalago demidoffi Fischer (ozǔm), but eaten only by young people because of its small size; Euoticus elegantulus Leconte (nǔēi, I); Sciurus lemniscatus Leconte and sharpei Gray (osǒn) among the Ntum and Sciurus subviridescens Leconte (sǔb IV); Cricetomys dissimilis Rochebrune (kūī IV) if it is caught in a spring trap and is carrying fruit in its cheeks, but in this case the fruit must be kept in the dining area (būū) and burned to cinders after the birth of the baby; Cricetomys dissimilis and Atherura africana Gray if caught under circumstances other than those so far described; Mus longipes A.M.E. (kǒm IV); Mus pusillulus Peters (okīb), Mus pulchellus Gray (zǒfǒ III), Mus sebastianus Winton (ekū,ī'), Mus species (ayūlū ekū,ī'), Mus tullbergii Thomas (ndǎ,n IV), but not eaten by adults because the animal is too small and because it lives in the vicinity of houses; Felis leopardus Schreb. (zǒ IV), Felis servalina Puch. (ebǐǒ); Genetta aubryana Puch. (nsǔ'n I); Nandinia binotata

262 3. ekī, abǎm, until the birth.

[843] Edible caterpillars (nkǔn I) and larvae of the Rhynchophorus phoenicis Fabr. (fǎ IV) if found in the cocoon; edible termites (sǔ̄ me IV Ntum) because of the large belly.

4. Not taboo.

Edible caterpillars and larvae of Rhynchophorus when they are found in the open; dragonfly larvae (esé, -bǎk), although then the child will urinate a lot, like the dragonfly larvae; common crabs and shrimp; the mussel Lanistes libycus var. bernhardianus (morelet) (alǎn).

All other lower animals are inedible.

Of plant foods only the following are taboo (with the exception [784] of those sacred to the cults, such as the Negro banana used at the Sso and Mawungu): the fruit of the atūlǔm plant, which tastes horrible, and young mushrooms. These are eki mon since it is feared that children might develop spots on their skin like those on young mushrooms.

825 784 If we examine the deeper reasons why certain animals are never eaten or are "taboo," we find that there is a religious element involved, as well as a fear of the animals' way of life and their appearance, perhaps combined with dietary experiences.

784 825 794 Animals that are taboo for religious reasons may not as a rule be eaten by women and persons who have not been initiated into the particular cult, but where the cult is absent, there is no taboo. Thus, horned animals, which play a role in the cults of the Evil One with their conceptual connection between moon and horns, are taboo; among the Fang this applies to sheep and goats, and throughout the entire region to Cephalophus dorsalis (sǒ'). In the domain of the Ngi cult the gorilla (ngí) is taboo; the same applies, among the Fang, to the chimpanzee (worshipped in the cult of the Evil Ones, Bokung), the pig (an important animal in the Sso cult), and Neotragus batesi (odzǔ̄ē) which is worshipped in a manner

825 corresponding to Cephalophus dorsalis in the Odschöle cult. The
784 python /191/ (mvǒm IV) is also taboo. We have learned of its
794 relation to the phallus in the Sso cult among the Jaunde, who, as is mentioned in Volume II, page 45 /Ed., not translated/ have preserved in purest form the most ancient views concerning the Sso cult. Large specimens of the fish Clarias walkeri (ngǒ' IV) and Achatina snails are taboo since they evidently have some connection with the Ngi cult, although I am unable to explain in what sense. Finally, among the Fang, the meat of the guinea fowl is taboo for the initiated of the women's cult Nkang. This fact is especially noteworthy since in the men's cults it is usually just the other way around: the initiated are allowed to eat the particular cult animal, while the uninitiated are not.

In surveying the cults, the only animal we find omitted in the taboos is the elephant, which is worshipped in the Schok cult. This can only be explained by the fact that, because of the large quantities of meat it supplies, an exception is made, either voluntarily from the outset or, as seems more probable, through necessity, because it was impossible to guard the huge quantities of meat. For this reason, the women doubtless partook of it and soon noticed that its enjoyment involved no evil consequences of any kind.

The taboo against Sciurus wilsoni (kuǒ' I Ntum) also seems to have a remote connection with the cults. In contrast to other squirrels, it lives in the swamp and on the ground, and its call is therefore interpreted: sǒ' abǒm, bokǒn abǒm, sǒ' abǒm, bokǒh abǒm, that is to say, Sso in the belly, Bokung in the belly, or, since both are mesǒm, "sins," simply: sinner and double sinner.

825 A number of other animals that are taboo are only indirectly
784 connected with the cults; the taboo stems from older religious conceptions. Chameleons and lizards, especially Lygosoma fernandi, are never eaten because they are linked with death (see Vol. II, p. 30 ff. /Ed., not translated/). For young people, furthermore, the flesh of monitor lizards and crocodiles is taboo, in my opinion because both animals formerly played a more significant role in the religion of the Pangwe. The crocodile probably derived its significance from its habitat in the water, and the monitor lizard, its counterpart, from its habitat in trees and above

825 all from its characteristic of devouring crocodile's eggs (see Volume
784 I, page 273). Finally, turtles and poisonous snakes are taboo. We have encountered the turtle repeatedly in our description of the cults (see the Schok cult, Vol. II, p. 77 /Ed., not translated/, and the Bokung cult, Vol. II, p. 72 /Ed., not translated/) without being able to explain its appearance properly (1). The poisonous

[794]

1. In this connection it is particularly noteworthy that the turtle is the only animal which is prohibited for the initiated of a men's cult.

snakes with their sharply defined head (vipers!) have given rise to the comparison, penis = snake (see Vol. II, p. 32 /Ed., not translated/).

For other taboos it seems to be decisive that the animals lead a nocturnal life and that they have attracted the attention of human beings by their powerful, peculiar screech /192/ (see the prefix classes, Vol. I, pp. 27 and 28 /Ed., not translated/, the nocturnal animal, Vol. II, p. 36 /Ed., not translated/). Included in this category are alipeds, certain lemurs, the tree cony, the flying squirrel; among birds, the night rail Himantornis, the owls, and the West African blue-headed coucal.

Still further taboos seem to stem from the fact that the animals live in the house or near human dwellings and therefore belong, as it were, to the family. In this category we find the domestic rat and its sister, the African rat (edu) which is almost extinct in the Pangwe region, the parasite kite, and the sparrow, the agama, and perhaps also domestic lizards (Lygosoma reichenowi). For the rest of the prohibited animals, their repulsive smell or their ugly and peculiar shape enters in as a consideration. In this connection we should mention: the civet cat and the Herpestes species, with the exception of Herpestes melanurus, the shrews, all of them having a repulsive smell, the shrew otter (Potamogale) because of its peculiar appearance (half mammal, half fish), the scaly anteaters because of their armor, Sciurus pumilio, toads, and frogs. There
[831] is a quite remarkable, real fear of the inside of the elephant's tusks,

825 which one is not even allowed to step over since one's penis would
784 become as flaccid as the elephant's gums. The latter do indeed
[831] look rather uninviting with their bluish-red coloration and flabby consistency. It goes without saying that a woman likewise is prohibited from eating the meat since she could transmit a debilitating influence to the man during intercourse.

943 In the case of temporary food taboos that are enforced for the
825 duration of pregnancy and nursing, the decisive element -- as I have
784 said -- is the fear that the animals' characteristics might be trans-
262 mitted to the child. For example, there is a taboo against the hawk-eagle, Lophoaetus occipitalis (abā'jg'k), an animal which the Pangwe themselves greatly admire for its beauty, and whose crown the boys try to imitate by sticking long feathers in their hair or behind their ears. In the case of pregnant women, however, the situation is different. They reason as follows: if the child, by acquiring the bird's characteristics with its food, were also to develop an excrescence, how unnatural and ugly that would be! For the rest, the natives fear above all large heads and fat bellies -- two characteristics which frequently strike us unpleasantly in Negro boys -- as well as long legs. In this connection, one readily perceives the accuracy of the Negroes' powers of observation and the precision with which they recognize the slightest differences among various species of a genus. Birds with an ugly screech are completely taboo, since the child might screech in just the same way, something which would be extremely disagreeable, as any father of a family would understand. Of further significance is the exclusion of trembling or wobbling animals, through which the child might even become epileptic. /193/

The most terrible danger threatening pregnant women, however, is from animals which live in any kind of hollow (holes in the ground, in trees) or are caught there. One can speak of a downright horror vacui. If such an animal were to be eaten, the child might also wish to stay in its hollow, "in the belly," and a difficult birth could be expected. Similarly, during this time the parents may not remove any bird nests built in holes in trees, and one of my employees who had made a woman pregnant resolutely refused to make a model of a cassava loaf for me, because it was supposed to be hollow inside.

805 the remainder follows as a matter of course. A day of 24 hours is called alū' mbok (Ntum), "day one," and it falls into day = mŏ's IV, and night = alū'. The day begins with the morning, kī'dī IV or kī'kī'dī, lasting from six o'clock (sunrise) until seven o'clock, in other words, one hour, and it continues until ngūɛ IV, ngūngūɛ IV, "evening," that is, until the time around sundown (six o'clock). In between, the Pangwe have as the designation of an hour only "time when the first women come from the plantations," that is, at 11 o'clock. The night is not divided up into definite segments. If they want to specify an hour of the night, for instance, for marching upon an enemy village, they make shift with the expression: "with the first call of the coucal," Centropus monachus Rüpp. (dūgū' III), that is, at 11 o'clock, [825] just as we might say, "with the first cock crow." This same time is also called zǎ'n alū', "midnight." In case of a departure before sunrise, the natives may speak of a "time when the first ogbwē' (Francolinus squamatus Cass.) calls," that is, around five o'clock in the morning. Time designations by indicating the position of the sun with the hand -- which in regions where the sun rises and sets at approximately the same time throughout the entire year would be both easy and convenient -- are not known, and indeed, they are not even understood. /Plate 26 faces p. 206./

/243/ Section 17

000

Weapons and Warfare

Flintlock musket. -- Containers for the charge and powder. -- Spears. -- Sword and battle-ax. -- Shields. -- Love of war. -- Night attacks, chevaux-de-frise, pitfalls, spiked branches. -- Women and children in war. -- Fortifications. -- Manner of conducting war (example). -- Prisoners of war.

892
824
[825]

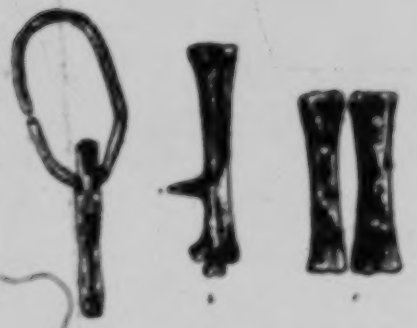


Fig. 85. Medicines to reinforce virility, worn at the belt, usually over the seat.
(a) Wood of Carpolabia alba, (b) tibia bone of a cock, (c) caudal vertebrae of the leopard.

nsǒsɔ̌ʔk I], and perhaps also Combretum tessmannii G.Ib. (anduń a ndžik). In the case of the first two, the thorns are boiled in a bundle together with various spices and the leaves of other fortifying plants (so that the strength of the thorn goes into the food and thus enters the body); then the thorn is taken out and worn on the forehead or over the seat. The leaves of Combretum tessmannii are cut up and eaten with an egg. Also Macaranga ledermanniana Pax., Euphorbiacea (kɔ̃ʔsa III, asǎs), is used; pieces of the bark (with the thorns) are boiled and strained, and the liquid is drunk hot.

3. Sharp leaves and stalks: Scleria barteri Bckl., Cyperaceae (pfǎfɔ̃ʔɔ̃ III Ntum, from pfǎ = sword, bushknife, and -- perhaps -- afɔ̃ʔɔ̃, afǒlǔń = hat, because the climbing reeds threaten to cut up the hat? It is called "bushknife" in coastal English. The young leaves are eaten.

4. Bitter and sharp substances: salt; black pepper (Capsicum); melegueta pepper, that is, seeds of Aframomum melegueta (Rool) K. Sch. (andǔń = seed; ndǔń) (1); Andropogon schoenanthus

1. Root tu, ndu = warm, hot; compare nduǎn = fire; o-tu = bush hair, torch; o-tu-m = Urticacea Tragia cordifolia

832 824 Pax, burns; a-ndu-ń a ndźik - Combretum tessmannii Gilg (see above).

L. (designation questionable) (oźiźm e ntáńgźn), root eaten; Cola acuminata (P. Beauv.), Sterculiacea (abź).

5. Substances that cause itching: Tragia cordifolia Pax (oźźm), leaves ground and eaten with an egg; likewise Urera dinklagei Engl., Urticaceae (sźź[s] ndźźk).

6. Heating substances (designation of the natives): Derris glabrata Welw. (eźźn e ndźźk), root and leaves ground, boiled with spices, strained, and the liquid drunk. /266/

7. Explanation unknown: Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg., Euphorbiacea (asźm) (perhaps because of strong wood?); Coinochlamys schweinfurthii Gilg., Loganiaceae (oli fźm a men's little tree), little pieces of the stem stuck in the hair (hardwood?); Geophila herbacea L., Rubiaceae (eloź[k] a tźm), leaves ground with Cola and chewed (leaves are durable, "strong," perhaps for that reason?).

832 825 Of animals, the meat of the spiny-finned sheatfish, which is very fat, is considered a stimulant of the first rank; furthermore, the tibia bone of a cock (Fig. 85, b) is worn on the body because of the spur, as are caudal vertebrae of the leopard (Fig. 85, c) because of the strength of the tail.

833 278 The medicines for impotence (biźń a ję or biźń eję) should be distinguished from the stimulants (aphrodisiacs). There are thought to be two forms of impotence: one dating from earliest youth, and one acquired later in life. The former, it is said, came about because the persons concerned had urinated in their food as very small children while they were being fed pap by their mothers. Another version is lined with the belief in magic: a boy is thought capable of giving away his sexual power (see belief in magic, Vol. II, p. 134 /Ed., not translated/) in exchange for the power of sorcery, that is, power over other people. Perhaps this conception stems from the fear that impotent persons try to avenge themselves on their fellow human beings for their misfortune. The medicines for impotence are not numerous, but they actually seem

833 to be, in part at least, effective. Thus, the most common of
278 these, derived from the Rubiaceae Corynanthe yohimbe K. Sch.,
[824] has recently been incorporated in our medications under the name "yohimbin." The natives produce an extract from the bark and wood of the tree and drink this. They conceive the manner of its effect as similar to the one mentioned above, and they reason as follows: the wood of the tree is especially hard in relation to that of other trees, say, like the penis of a pig in relation to that of
[825] other animals (something which one notices if one boils it and tries to eat it), and I shall acquire this characteristic of the wood if I partake of some of the wood. Hence the tree also bears the name nkɛ̄n e ngɔ̄l, "pig's penis."

Aside from the Corynanthe yohimbe, we should mention here
824 two other trees which possibly also give physiological effects:
833 Leguminosa Baphia buettneri Harms (mfɛ̄ I, mfɛ̄ I), and the
278 Flaccourtiaceae Homalium africanum Sch. (ejɔ̄m, supposedly from a jɔ̄me nkɛ̄n, "to erect the penis," an expression that I never again encountered. In my opinion, the root contained in ejɔ̄m is the same as in nnɔ̄m, plural bojɔ̄m = masculine gender; thus, the tree would be called ejɔ̄m for (e) the man; majɔ̄m, plural = seed). /267/ The leaves of the Baphia buettneri are gathered, ground on stones, and placed in the sun in sugar wine. The mixture is drunk while it is warm. From the Homalium, on the other hand, the bark is scraped off and ground; then it is boiled with spices and the liquid drunk while it is hot.

Finally, three more plants were mentioned to me as belonging in the category of bilɔ̄ ejɔ̄, among these, the Solanum duplosinuatum U.D. (etɔ̄ŋ) because of its spikes.

Venereal diseases (see Section 13) are prevalent only in those
164 areas where European influence has existed for some time, especially
684 in Yaoundé and Gabon, from where syphilis has been spread. The
[177] Negroes seem to consider frambesia a kind of sexual disease, for the man who has communicated this disease to a girl or a wife must pay her or her father the same penalty (500 to 1,000 spears) he would pay if he had infected her with syphilis. If, on the other hand, the lover becomes infected through the woman, he can claim no damages.

765 from four to six years old. They are thus consecrated so that
554 one day they will surpass all others in insight and understanding;
831 then, through their spiritual superiority, they will acquire influence, power (knowledge is power!), and especially wealth. In the case of the son, this will be to his own advantage; in the case of the daughter, it will benefit the father who can get a higher purchase price for her than for a girl with the usual loose way of life. In other words, the "savages" know well the value of moral purity. /269/

831 The custom of milk consecration was formerly practiced
765 throughout the Pangwe region. Nowadays, however, since warlike
[194] times have ceased, it is to be encountered only among the Fang of the central Uelle region. I should like to compare the custom
[171] to the practice found among us during the Middle Ages, whereby the heads of important families (especially princes), after some lucky success (for instance, in war), destined one child for the clergy and consecrated it to the pure life dedicated to God, frequently not without calculating the advantages that could accrue to them from such an action.

765 The procedure of the consecration feast is as follows. The
789 child, clothed in a small loincloth, is led to the medicine man
554 and is washed by him with a medicine water. The medicines used
831 for this are barks of various trees that bear ample fruit, such as
[824] the Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofōo), so that the child's understanding may bear fruit as abundantly as these trees or, in other words, so that wealth may fall to its lot in the same abundance as the fruit of these trees falls to the ground beneath them. The various barks are placed in a container made of banana leaves, and hot water is poured over them. After the ablution, the child must swallow the principal medicine, a bundle of ngon
[824] with the chopped leaves of certain "weak" plants, such as Hibiscus moschatus (Roxb.) (tége III, from a těk, "weak," because the fruit is cooked in a short time), in order to make the child
[833] equally weak, that is, sexually incapable. Furthermore, the ngon
[825] is mixed with chicken meat -- the chicken is the bird of day, of the good and the pure, and at the same time it is supposed to point symbolically to the wealth that is desired for the child (the chief, the "Very Rich One," is regarded as the privileged son of the

831 785 556 [825] sun) -- or with elephant's meat, in which case the child is supposed to become spiritually great and important, just as the elephant surpasses the other animals physically, or, finally, with the meat of the hedgehog -- the child is to get as many things as the hedgehog has quills (1).

[539] 1. A well-known proverb, to be intelligible, would have to be translated into Pangwe something like this: He is as full of stupidities as the hedgehog is full of quills.

Thus, the child becomes miǎk. Its loincloth is taken off 785 and from now on -- be it male or female -- it must go about 831 completely naked. Here is another significant fact regarding [834] the moral-religious view of the Pangwe: clothing, that is, the [291] covering of the sex organs, arose because the sense of shame (o-so-n) which started with the first sin (n-sō-m, root so), that is, sexual intercourse, demanded it. If the innocent state (ignorance of sexual matters) is artificially restored, clothing becomes unnecessary.

The miǎk are generally respected. People are careful not to speak to them about sexual matters or to seduce the girls, especially since /270/ the protection which they are accorded by cus- [669] tom is effectively strengthened through the right of the father or the relatives to shoot down the seducer without further ado wherever they find him. Nowadays, however, the old customs have been somewhat relaxed; the miǎk are not always what they ought to be.

Annulment of the chastity obligation takes place in the same solemn manner when the consecrated person is fully grown, in other words, not before the age of 20 years. In the case of the man, it is required that he prove himself the bravest in war or at least that he has shot an enemy (1). In the case of the girl, it is

[171] 1. Today, in the regions influenced by the Whites, this decree has had to be moderated.

[583] required of the suitor that, contrary to the usual custom, he pay

the already higher marriage price in advance, down to the last little string of beads.

The ceremony itself proceeds as follows. A goat is killed, and its blood is mixed with medicines by the medicine man and rubbed onto the body of the miǎk. The medicines are made from shavings of bark from various trees and are supposed to cause sexual incapacity to be "stripped off"; the goat is chosen because, in contrast to the chicken, it is the animal of evil, of the sexual drive. Finally, the medicine man solemnly declares that the person concerned has ceased to be a miǎk and is thus relieved of the obligation to abstain. Henceforth the erstwhile miǎk again wears a loincloth.

5. Deviant Forms of Sexual Intercourse

The Negro's strong sweat secretions, but chiefly a skin disease -- Krokro /Ed., ?/ (metǐǎh) -- appearing on the sex organs and between the buttocks, cause an itching irritation which among the Pangwe has led to the bad habit of constantly scratching the penis whenever time and opportunity are favorable, even when there is no itching as well as to relieving an itch. They do this by twirling the penis in a manner similar to that used in making fire with sticks. This is a sport practiced by boys and adults alike and is called a kīk e metǐǎn or a wōʼo (= wōk) metǐǎn, which simply means "to relieve the itching by scratching" (metǐǎn means itching of any kind, Krokro being simply the most unpleasant form of itch). On this occasion, erection naturally takes place as a rule, although no orgasm follows, just as there was no intention of relieving sexual desire. Indirectly, on the other hand, this action passes into a form of real masturbation, likewise through twirling the penis (a sīk nkǔn) from which, however, orgasm does not always follow either. In certain regions among the Okak this nsīe n-nkǔn (the noun) is prohibited (ekī); it is said that otherwise the person concerned will no longer be able to cohabit with women successfully. /271/

838 to cast about for a protective covering to shield themselves from the attacks of those who are different, just as the hedgehog is protected by its covering of quills -- a covering on which the attackers would cut their mouths and their caustic tongues. Such a covering was supplied by medicine -- it is said that homosexual intercourse is a "wealth medicine" (biǎ̀n nkū'ma); see Volume II, page 23. This is the name applied to it in the following tale which was told to me.

There once was a man called bongo-be-ntuu-dumo (= boys -- 838 which?) who had a daughter called akukebedanga who was very 539 beautiful (the name allegedly came from akúk = Achatina marginata [551] Sw. var. nigrofasciata Thiele, which is very beautiful, and from [525] adǎn = to surpass, because she was as unsurpassably beautiful as the Achatina snail; thus, if I understand it correctly, the name means "Achatina snail of unsurpassable beauty"). /272/

Now it happened one day that four young people met on the way to the village of Bongo (I shall thus abbreviate his name). They were all on their way to see the girl. They asked each other: "Whom are you going to see?" and each of them said: "Akukebedanga!" Then they conferred and agreed that they would go into the village together and wait to see whom the girl would love the most. The young people, who came from various families, were called (I place the abbreviation first):

Schok I, or by his full name he was called ǵ[k] bǒ ǵūa (explanation?);

Schok II, called ǵ [k] bǒ ngōne makę̄ makō, (ekę̄kō), that is, Schok, bōngōne (unknown) I am going away to come back later (= I shall be gone for some time);

Schok III, z [k], bǒ kǎ ję̄m bǒdzǵǒ melǎn (1),
Schok -- of not knowing speeches bad,

1. Instead of: belǎn.

that is, the Schok who speaks no evil, and

Schok IV, ǵ [k] bǒ nǔm e kūb b'ogbwā'le ba
Schok of: cock and francolin they
ję̄m e ki'di ma lę̄ne.
know the mornings they begin.

551 VII. Names that report an event before or during the time of the child's birth.

A. Boys' names

I. Names of religious origin.

1. nsǒm, from nsǒ'm = cult, sacred act, Ntum (Fang);
[825] 2. ngī = gorilla, as the animal of purity, symbol of the Ngi cult; the name Ngi, freely translated, means "the pure one" (S.);
3. estǔ'n = fruit of the Cardamom, chief food of the lemurs, used in the Ngi cult in like manner (1). /279/

192 551 824 1. At least that is what I suspect, even though it is not quite certain, because it may be that Cardamom fruit is chosen because of its shiny red appearance, and in that case it would belong in the next section. On the whole I do not believe that in the case of names an immediate origin from religious institutions or conceptions is to be assumed. In this instance I simply followed the natives who told me that nsǒm came from nsǒ'm, "cult." Now it is true that the Pangwe themselves are frequently mistaken in their explanation of words, but in the second place the name (nsǒm) was given to me with a mediate high pitch; with the name for cult I hear a high pitch, while ichneumon (nsǒm) has a mediate low pitch. But since the mediants are readily substituted (see Vol. I, p. 16 /Ed., not translated/), I assume that here the ichneumon and not the cult served as the root from which the name was derived. This assumption fits perfectly with the fact that the ichneumon,

192 551 825

192
551
825

Herpestes melanurus Gray, which is called nsǒm, has a gray color which may well have given rise to the designation of a person by the name nsǒm. The name ngī, "gorilla," may also be meant as a symbol of strength, or, perhaps like esǔ'n, it may have been chosen because of the red color.

551 II. Names which allude to an attractive skin color and are for the most part derived from fauna or flora that the Pangwe finds especially beautiful.

According to the color, the following were mentioned to me.

(a) Red.

4. m,bǎ' = Turacus, actually the shiny red one;
[292] 5. ndūńo, from andūṅ = dancing cap made of touraco feathers (S.);
6. mvē' = redwood tree, Pterocarpus soyauxii Taub., because it is red.

(b) White.

7. mfūmū, from mfūm = white (S.);
8. asǒṅ = umbrella tree, Musanga smithii R. Br., because of its white trunk (S.);
9. akǒ'm = bracelet made of ivory (Fang).

(c) Gray.

10. edū = African rat (in the Pangwe region displaced by the domestic rat) (S.);
11. tǔlo = domestic rat, Mus rattus L.;

857 is flung forward. The pull of the rock tears the delicate rope
524 without too greatly diminishing the force of the throw. I also include in this category the rattle stick, the spinning top, the puppet game (Fig. 100), and the device for communicating over a distance (Fig. 101). For spinning tops, snail shells (Fig. 102) [824] are used or a fruit of Sarcophrynium velutinum (Bak.) K. Sch. [825] (see Vol. I, Plate 11) which, like the top itself, is called ndöṅ. A little stick of raffia bark is put through it (Fig. 103), and the top is ready; it is made to dance by twirling the little stick, while the Achatina top is made to spin with the fingers in the manner familiar to us.

Even among the group games of the Pangwe, many correspond precisely to ours. There is, for instance, the hiding of an object among the players, while another player, who had previously gone outside, has to find the object. The palm nut game and the game of skittles with spinning tops are very popular.

The palm nut game is called nigṅ. The player takes a handful of a large number of nuts lying on the ground, tosses them into the air and then catches them on the back of his hand. The nuts that remain on the back of the hand (between one and five, rarely more) are throwing stones, that is, the player is allowed to throw each of these stones up in the air by itself. While it is in the air, he must pick up with the /299/ /Fig. 98. Doll of Plantain Pith. Fig. 99. Children's Slingshot. Fig. 100. Puppet Game, (a) and (b) Puppets enlarged. Fig. 101. Device for Communicating at a Distance, Children's Game, (b) Cross-section of the Signal Drum. Fig. 102. Tops made of Snail Shells, (a) of Pseudachatina Dornesii, (b) of Achatina. Fig. 103. Tops made of the Fruit of Sarcophrynium velutinum. / /300/ same hand (the throwing hand) as many as possible of the other nuts lying on the ground, and with the same hand again catch the nut thrown into the air. However, the player is allowed to arrange the nuts on the ground beforehand, for instance, three next to each other. If the thrower catches the stone thrown into the air, all the stones in his hand are his property; if not, they are again common property. Then he goes on to try it with the other throwing stones. Once these are played, it is the next player's turn. At the conclusion of the game, that is,

[Text continues on page 174]

524 a hole drilled in the middle. A string is fastened at both ends
857 and drawn in a double loop (Fig. 109, a) through the hole in the middle. In this way we get two strands, as it were, and on one of these are strung two beads, pieces of a corncob, or the like, although the hole in the middle must always be smaller than the objects used. One bead, if I may choose this object as an example, must now be brought over onto the other strand. The solution of this task will be most clearly seen from Figure 109, Drawings b-f.

Two different patience games belong to the second group. The first (Fig. 110) consists chiefly of a piece of monitor lizard
[825] skin cut into the shape of a fish (atsiń ekob e tit), into which a hole is cut at the thick end (head), while in the narrow part (body) parallel longitudinal slits are made. The second part of the device is a string, to each of whose ends a piece of the kernel of an oil palm nut is tied. The pieces of kernel, however, are larger than the hole. The middle part of the string is looped (seen from the front) over the strip between the slits and thence runs from behind out through the hole (see Fig. 110). In order to separate the two parts from each other, the strip must be bent through the hole and the string taken out.

The second game of this group consists of two seeds of the
[824] Pentaclethra /304/ /Figs. 105-109 appear here in the original text/ macrophylla Benth. (atsiń ebā'ī), each of which is provided with three holes. A double string is put through the holes in the manner indicated in Figure 111, and this is looped around the seed. A second kernel is attached in the same fashion at the other end of the double string, and a knot is made at its center. How the problem is to be solved, namely, to remove the seeds from /305//Figs. 110 & 111 appear here in the original text / the string, I do not know myself. Perhaps a patient reader will try his hand at it.

The final group of skilled games consists of the performance of magic tricks (makǒń me bǒ'ngo = dexterity of children) whose effect is based upon the fact that the spectator is influenced by the performer and is mistaken in his observation of the basic causes of the phenomena produced, thus permitting himself to be deceived. He does so all the more readily since he is not given any time for quiet reflection on account of the rapidity of execution.

[Text continues on page 181]

524 As we know, the Sso antelope is the animal of the moon, while
153 the moon is mistress of the seasons and thus of rain; if one blows
[825] on the horn, the rain, which according to the Pangwe produces
[821] thunder, will answer.

Once the twelfth group of sentences is finished, all previously
524 recited groups of sentences must be recited backwards.

153 Sentence 1: nǔm okbǔ,ṅ a ke a
539 Man of the dwarf antelope, he goes to

džǎ́ngan a nkō[k] etě
fall in love in the lying trunk inside,

b(a) asǎ́ngō'n-ogbwō.
with Assangon-Ogbwo.

The dwarf antelope man goes inside the prone tree trunk (which is hollow, so that the little antelope can use it as a hiding place) to fall in love with Assangon-Ogbuo, literally, the eldest daughter of the magician.

Sentence 2:

ngbüē'ne ogbǔ,ṅ a ke a
Offspring of dwarf antelope, it goes to

bě nǔ'm okbǔ,ṅ.
follow man antelope. /308/

Sentence 3:

ngá-ogbǔ,ṅ a ke a
Wife of dwarf antelope, she goes to

be ngbüē'ne ogbǔ,ṅ.
follow (the) little antelope.

Sentence 4: agbǔ,ṅ abai (two antelopes) d'a ke a be nga agbǔ,ṅ.

Sentence 5: agbǔ,ṅ ala (three antelopes) d'a ke a bě agbǔ,ṅ abai (two).

Sentence 6: agbǔ,ṅ ani (four antelopes) d'a ke a bě agbǔ,ṅ ala (three).

Sentence 7: agbǔ,ṅ atan (five antelopes) d'a ke a bě agbǔ,ṅ ani (four).

Sentence 8: agbǔ,ṅ asiēmen (six antelopes) d'a ke a bě agbǔ,ṅ atan (five).

2: Tessmann--192 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

524 539 518

a mpfǎ, ndǔ'man a mpfǎ mangöö, niene: ê,
of Mpfa, son of Mpfa-Mangöö, he says: Come now,

bōte, mi adǎn a kǒ'bo (or a ngǒngǒ);
people, you surpass to speak

ye tada a nga kǒn bekǒ'na, niene:
Interrogative: father, he is sick (of) Bekǒna, he thus:

a dzǐ sǒ! kǒ ma nga vui tada
to eat Sso antelope?; but I killed (for the) father (a)

ogbǔ,n a bǐm o ngū,ɛ, tada a
dwarf antelope on hunting drive yesterday, father he

tame dzǐ ogbǔ,n.
must eat dwarf antelope.

Freely translated: I was once playing the stone game with Bekǒna, the well-known Bekǒna-Mpfa who is the son of Mpfa-Mangöö. He said: "You really resemble an old man who has no teeth and wants to eat elephant's hide (1), or a woman who has no

[262]

1. The notoriously thick and tough elephant's hide is actually eaten by some people (with teeth!), after being well boiled.

backside and sits down on the hard wooden stool, and thirdly you resemble the stupid noodle who on the hunting drive lets a Sso antelope (2) pass by and knows his father to be sick at home, infirm

[825]

2. The black-rumped duikerbok, Cephalophus dorsalis Gray.

from the disease that came from Bekǒna-Mpfa, the son of Mpfa-Mangöö." Well, in that case one simply says: "Come now, you people, you're talking altogether too much poppycock! Even if

775 825 Sometimes a dead person who was not sufficiently mourned has on account of this been unable to find the route to the river Endam, and he comes back in the shape of a black antelope to get himself killed so as to die a second time and be sure to arrive at the village of the dead.

775 829 Europeans, on account of their pale look, their long, smooth hair, and above all because of the material goods they have brought, are still regarded as dead Pahouin who have returned to their country, and the fear of the children who rush to hide from the sight of a white man in many villages is due to the legends told by the old people who thus describe us.

---

575 preceded by drummers and trumpet players and by a boy (uncircumcised?) entrusted with holding across the village street a liana, which the cortege broke through only after sacrificing a chicken. The uninitiated did not have the right to be present at this procession. The [769] ngil leader, masked and painted in red and white, carried his personal bieti (bieri); he was always accompanied by a full orchestra [534] (mvet guitar, mbaé and nkul drums, mejañ balafo). The initiation ceremony lasted a month (1).

[304] 1. The ngil mark was a tattoo below the sacrum, therefore covered by the loincloth. Initiates did not go out except in masks, so that theoretically it was impossible to recognize them.

Members of the ngil circulated in small groups, masked, to carry [754] out inquiries in villages where a case of sorcery was suspected or to put sorcerers to death. For ordinary cases they applied the ordeals in current use (minkal), but for serious cases it was necessary to arrange for an initiation ceremony: this feature is found in nearly all ritual associations, where initiation is always accompanied by collective catharsis.

[304] Among other masculine initiation societies the ndôngô rite must be mentioned, whose initiates have two incisions on the nape of the neck. Its symbolic /features/ include confession, purification, seclusion in darkness, passage through a narrow corridor or a low doorway, a liana-serpent, a consecrated lance, a sacrifice (2), a

[782 784] 2. Dogs were sacrificed. Ndôngô canceled serious minsem /breaking a taboo/ like homicide or incest and allowed initiates to eat pork, mutton, and porcupine. (J. B.)

[825] horrible brew. The ritual animal was the tortoise. The purpose of this rite seems also to have been protection against sorcerers and, perhaps, to improve luck, ma'a. The initiation of circumcised youths, bekungu, is perhaps a juvenile form of ndôngô. Both survived until the Second World War. Ndôngô does not seem to set up

575 as strong interclan ties as does ngil; however, the initiation leader may belong to a different clan from the initiates.

[783] Esye (étye or tyo?) is a purification and reconciliation rite, described by Father Guillemin for the Beti; it does not extend outside the ranks of an ayɔ̃m (segment).

575 825 Among the Boulou of Sangmélima, the Ntoumou of Ambam, and the Fang of Djoum, I found some medical society initiates who call themselves "snakes," using the proper word, benyo (sing. nyo), not the euphemism minkol afan (lit., bush-lianas). Their specialty is treating bites and capturing and taming snakes. Initiates are known within the society under the name of one or another variety of snake, conferred at initiation. There are several degrees of initiation (three?): first-degree initiates /65/ are called bo' b'ayañ, children of the Dendraspis; advanced initiates are bo' be mvɔ̃m, children of the python. Their medical knowledge seems quite extensive; they [765] claim, in particular, to be immune to /snake/ bites, thanks to the application of a special bian (medicament) through incisions at the time of initiation. The main center of this association would appear to be among the Mekaé of Messamena, and it is therefore not properly Pahouin.

575 626 754 All these ritual associations contributed to social order mainly through defense against malevolent sorcerers. The sorcerers, for their part, are often organized in secret societies in order to join forces against the organs of control and repression. Inevitably, therefore, these societies are ill understood. Nearly all of them must have included beyem (sing. nnem), that is, bearers of évu. In fact, if one may be subject to possession involuntarily and even unknown to oneself, one may also nyoñ évu, receive évu, always in the sense of a burden. A person entering a beyem association has to pay for his entrance by the sacrifice of a near relative and also accept the imposition of a special prohibition, the breaking of which (nsem) brings instant death.

575 754 The ze mimfaka (lit., road panthers), notorious under the name of leopard-men, were an association of man-eating sorcerers, a kind of counter-ngil (1). Nowadays what is involved may well be a

1. There are also independent ze mimfaka.

pathologically degenerate form of the ngil itself. In the course of a

is not yet admitted to the essential functions of full manhood: ritual, warfare, and marriage. Formerly, he was not until after the great tribal initiation, sô. Sô is the name of a large red antelope, Cephalophus castoneus, found in great quantity in the forest and in the galleries of the park-savanna. The meat is taboo, étyi, to the uninitiated (bibis) and, a fortiori, to women. It may seem strange that Trilles does not mention it in Le totemisme chez les Fang, although the sô seems to be one of the most important tribal totems. It should be observed in this connection that the sô rite, widespread among the Cameroons Pahouin, including the Beti, and among those of the Woleu-N'Tem, seems to vanish somewhere between Mitzic and N'Djolé, while some of its features are to be found in the initiation to the biéri, which is basically merely an adjunct. It would therefore appear to have gone to pieces at the same time as the structure of the meyoñ, to be revived in the extreme south by the bwiti, reported by Trilles, which is at present moving northward. Nevertheless, I must point out that what Trilles describes under the name of bawu may well be sô.

Initiation ceremonies were filmed among the Eton of Saa in 1935; the film is kept at the Musée de l'Homme. Bertaut (no. 110) gives a very full description of the outward forms of the initiation, Stoll (no. 84) an interpretation of its symbolism.

Initiation took place about every three years (every seven mimbu?); Bertaut states that a ceremony might be arranged after some serious happening in a village. It lasted three months (one year, according to Stoll, who counts in the preliminary ceremonies for the initiation proper and the period following) and entailed great expense for sacrifices on the part of the parents of initiates and especially the initiation leader, the nkpwé sô (judge of the sô; lit., butcher of the sô), a senior chosen from the most wealthy and respected. From this point of view, one may believe that the rite coincided with the desire for levelling of wealth which appears to have been so constant in Pahouin society. The nkpwé sô did not himself lead the ceremony; he was the instigator and the person responsible, but the celebrant was a diviner, a mfek sô, "sô wise man" or "sô measurer" or "sô pouch," if the tone is changed (vek = to take aim, to compute, to divine, to measure).

The main theme of the rite, of which the following description is quite incomplete, was the death of the sô, awu sô, afterwards eaten

775 subterranean abode of the dead, where they were the prey of flames. A tradition reported by Largeau tells of the dead man arriving at the bridge over the river-of-the-west to meet there the judges, Oyem-Bôt (He-Who-Knows-Men) and Oka'Bot (He-Who-Divides-Men /Repartit-les-Homme/), who question him and allow him to cross the bridge leading to Mon-Anen (Great Being), who questions him in the presence of the dead and makes sure that he has "left his name" (that he has forgotten it in the land of the living). He is then turned over to the Divider-of-Men /Partageur-des-Hommes/, who cuts him in two, one half staying among the living, while the other, having been given a new name, goes to the dead. It is difficult to decide what precise part of the person remains with his descendants; in my view it is name-authority; in any case I do not believe it to be the nsisim. It might be the kôn but, in such a case, the result of an accident, for a ghost is a disturbing neighbor, if not a dangerous one, in any case very fearsome, often malevolent. Its appearance is that of a living [143] person, except that it is white /106/, whence the belief that albinos are the children of ghosts. The nsisim, on the other hand, who can turn up during a person's lifetime in a place distant from where he is (witches' and sorcerers' power of bilocation), is immaterial but absolutely identical in appearance with the body. The kôn might be the ghost of a person whose funeral rites had not been correctly performed, of an imperfectly exorcised sorcerer or, if one wishes, one imperfectly sterilized (for instance, if the corpse had not been burned), or even of a person who died without being purified of a nsem (1).

1. Among the Ewôndo, the dead who have not yet crossed the bridge leading to ésam nzigi, the abode of the dead, are called ngudu. (J. B.)

775 825 It also may happen that a dead man becomes embodied in a wild animal living near a village, and that, henceforth, "cannot" be killed. I have not been able to find out exactly whether this is a matter of actual impossibility or of a respect taboo. The animal may be benevolent, like the old gorilla, a former Mvaé chief, who protected the Nyabisaã village gardens against the depredations of "real" gorillas in 1948, or, on the contrary, malevolent, like one Zaman, turned panther, who ravaged his affinal family's flocks in the Boucle

775 825 du Dja region during the same period. This incarnation is probably related to the totemism or the alliance between a man and an animal élañela, which Trilles discusses at length (no. 166). The incarnation is only temporary and ends at the death or disappearance of the animal.

775 787 As a result of mission influence, nlam bekon, the land of the dead, is now divided into heaven and hell, which are none other than Zambe's village and étôtôlan. Souls in purgatory seem to be confused in village minds with dissatisfied bekôn, who are always disturb- [761] ing. The notion of natural death, brought about neither by sorcery nor by breaking a prohibition, has not developed at all: after all, "the wages of sin is death, " and "sin" has been rendered as nsem in translations of the Scriptures. Therefore the dead continue to belong to society, even though the decline of the ancestor cult, the biéti, and of the initiations with a probable totemic character like sô, have weakened their bonds with the living.

775 762 This belief in survival perhaps explains a certain scorn of death, which is indicated not only by bravery in war and the suicides of the old, but also suicides for the sake of a point of honor: a woman kills herself in order to take revenge on her husband, a man because he [689] considers himself offended or injured. The "one responsible" for such a suicide is severely judged by public opinion, and must pay compensation and make an expiratory sacrifice.

3. Religion and Magic

797 Aside from a few old people who are known as "children of the old ways" (or "of the old knowledge"), bo' biyem bi nnom, and who are treated as pagans by their children, and, even more uncommon, a few /107/ young people who declare themselves to be agnostics, the great majority if not the mass of contemporary Pahouin claim to be attached to one of the sects that has done evangelical work in the region: French or American Presbyterian, /Roman/ Catholic, /Seventh Day/ Adventist. In fact, and with no intention of arguing over the statistics that give proportions of 105 percent "Christian" in certain districts, the influence of Christianity is indeed considerable, but it is tinged with animist survivals and revivals to an extent and in ways that only a great deal of detailed research could present accurately.

769 also discriminates between the ésayoñ, ancestor cult /112/, and the
614 mvamayoñ, totemic cult. It must be admitted that there is now no
chance of obtaining a cross-checking of his theories except on points
114 of detail, although that is no formal condemnation of his theories;
it is the consequence of a shortage of researchers, lack of respect on
the part of the researchers, or loss of traditions of initiation. The
following points may be considered as established:

mvam (émvam) connotes ideas of a forefather, dead or alive, lineal and protective.

[784] akam, protection, is sometimes used in speaking of animals, to indicate the reason for a prohibition; the verb kam having a defending-protecting meaning as well as that of forbidding-prohibiting.

All prohibitions are not tied up with these notions, but some are and they may well be individual prohibitions as well as hereditary collective ones, not necessarily involving animals.

Clan markings, mindem, and tattoo marks, mindan, are often connected with a prohibition.

825 There is a whole system of animal symbolism, evident particularly
[787] in tales and augury ("zoomancy," divination by spiders).

Certain animals are connected with initiation cults: very definitely the sô and snakes (dendraspis and python); probably the porcupine and tortoise (with feminine rites); perhaps the gorilla (njil; ngil, Johnson's tone 4, the ngil rite having tone 5).

[55] There does not appear to be any connection between an animal name borne by a person (Mvômô = Python, Zo'o = Elephant, Ze = Panther, etc.) and the prohibitions he is subject to.

Moreover, the following, it seems pretty certain, are not specifi-
614 cally related to totemism:
825 Alliance, élat or ngbwa, between a person and a particular animal.

A sorcerer's employing an animal, nkuk (observe that nkuk also means "mask") to carry out his sorcery at a distance.

[775] The incarnation of a sorcerer in the body of an animal, élañela (Trilles applies this name to the nkuk).

The temporary incarnation of a dead man in an animal's body.

The first three phenomena often seem to be confused in the minds of present-day Pahouin, and the fourth may be the consequence of this.

773 It is curious that the legend recounted by Trilles about the crocodile, which he considers to be the "national totem," represents

773 the animal pursuing the ancestors of the Fang in order to devour them, while the legendary history of migration collected in the north shows, on the contrary, the crocodile enabling the tribe to cross the Osoé Nnanga (the python performs this service for the Beti).

776 The observation made by the authors quoted on the "unsuperstitious" character of the Pahouin and of the slight development /113/ of "fetishism" among them is to be related to the almost total absence in their mythology of beings intermediary between God and man, genii or demigods.

774 825 Aside from the bivur, to be discussed in connection with sorcery, there are only the bingungur (Fang) (Boulou, bingôngôt) shown in some legends as kinds of ogres or ghouls haunting forests and attacking travelers. According to another interpretation, these rather are evil animals endowed with intelligence and malevolence beyond that of normal members of their species, perhaps animal sorcerers. The inoffensive aardvark, mvômesila, is thus very much feared; also a sort of very rare Pithecanthropus (Fang, éngure; Boulou, éngu'u) and a mermaid, the mammywôta of the coast, no doubt a lamantin /or manatee/. For Trilles, the éngungure is a "spirit, often transformed into an animal, which sorcers obey"; may there not be a confusion here with the évur (Boulou, évu)?

775 769 As for ghosts, bekôn, it might be said that there are good ones but no nice ones. One may usually get on with the kôn of a properly buried forebear who was respected in his lifetime and even obtain useful services from him, formerly paid for by sacrifices and libations 782 to his skull and often today by candles, Masses, or prayers (I have 787 known Protestants to go to Catholic missionaries for exorcism). There is more difficulty /in dealing/ with the kôn of a sorcerer or with that of a stranger neither whose name nor whose skull is in one's possession.

266 Lawful /non criminelle/ anthropophagy probably had for an end, among others, that of acquiring power over the bekôn of enemies and perhaps of assimilating the rights they derived from their ancestors. This wartime cannibalism appears to have existed especially on the geographical fringes of the group and particularly along the invasion front, among the Fang proper, the vanguard of the migration. A relative or affinal kin was never eaten, only strangers, and these only by warriors (or sometimes by sons of warriors killed by the enemy). It is worth noting that for the cannibalism of the Fang and Osyéba only the "Gabonese" felt the terror described by all explorers. The

801 radical with feminine connotations (yi = to wish, also meaning "to need," "to cry"; it conveys an idea of "desiring," in contrast to kômbô, related to kôm = to arrange, put in order, do properly, and bo = to do, make, conveying an idea of "will"; the passive form of yi, yian, means both "duty" and "to be well," "to suit"). Much research needs to be done while there is still time.

d. Sorcery, Possession

754 Malignant sorcery, ngbwel, is generally attributed to a sorcerer, nnem (plur: beyem, cf. yem = to know, to dream), being possessed by a malevolent being, an évu (Fang, évur, évus). The évu is not an [805] immaterial spirit but a living being, an animal like a crab or centipede, and lodging in the internal organs of the nnem. At an autopsy it is often found in the form of a polyp or tumor, a fibroid tumor in women. It may even happen that the nnem's body does not show such an indication, because the évu has escaped, but there will be some traces of it, fluids, distention of the stomach, colon, or gall bladder. [766] In such cases, as has been said, the corpse is not buried in the usual manner but is burned, thrown into a river, or buried at a crossroads far from the village, in order to prevent the nnem's kôn from returning to haunt relatives and neighbors.

The possessed person may be unaware of the possession, but he is held no less responsible for the harm caused by the évu. The latter goes out at night while the nnem is asleep and feeds on the blood, metyi, hence strength, tyi of its victims, who fall ill, grow weak and die, or it eats their nlem (heart and lungs), which brings on madness or mental decay and often death, too. The évu also feeds on eggs, on metyi /sic/, and on milk, preferably women's milk (menyañ, from nyañ = to give the breast, cf. -nyañ = mother, in compound words), food which village people will not touch. When the évu has trouble in getting food, it may turn against the nnem and kill it for nourishment or, if the nnem is a woman, it may attack the children in her womb. Aside from these occasions, ngbwel is an advantage to the nnem, even when it is unconscious; he benefits from the strength accumulated by the évu during its nocturnal hunts; furthermore, the évu assists him, brings a sort of luck to his undertakings, which is natural, since the évu gains from the nnem's intermediation. This [777] kind of luck, aséé (from a verb, séé, with like meaning: a nga séé

754 the évu or the animal employed as assistant being killed during a skirmish, which would bring about the nnem's death.

Many people nevertheless regard these disadvantages as weighing little against the immediate advantages which the évu procures. Therefore some bemie (people without évu) have themselves initiated into ngbwel, and some beyem dedicate their children from birth (which has the additional effect of protecting them against the parent's évu). For this purpose beyem organize into secret societies (and these are really secret societies), well described by Trilles and particularly so by Lavignotte (no. 155).

754 Babies are dedicated by a nnem kinsman in a ceremony, aka'é, before the umbilicus is healed (the évu is believed to enter through 152 the umbilical lesion). A special taboo is imposed on the child, and a part of his body (finger, toe or even foot, hand or whole arm) is symbolically sacrificed to the évu with a slight letting of blood. From that time on, only the shade of the sacrificed part, its semblance, is believed to continue to exist. The child is then nkôman ngbwel /118/, prepared for the ngbwel, but he is not yet a nnem; if he were it would be discovered at the preliminary stage of the adolescent initiation, and he would be put to death. It is only at the time of initiation with the official rites that he becomes a sorcerer, kuli 754 ngbwel, through a further ceremony during which his "godparents" reveal to him that he has been "prepared," dedicated. He must then buy back the bodily part "sacrificed" at the aka'é by offering his "godparents" the body of a member of his family, killed and eaten by the beyem in circumstances about which little is known. What is [786 known suggests some of the sexual aspects of European witches' sabbaths 839] (apparently participants of both sexes, naked, practiced sodomy, bisôk, and profaned the ancestral relics, probably fragments of biéti). The initiation of an adult consists only of the akuli ngbwel, the aka'é being restricted to children.

754 Beyem meet periodically, aside from initiation ceremonies, in 781 order to "feed the bivu" in anthropophagous or necrophagous meals accompanied by obscene rituals. These meetings take place at the new moon in secret places in the forest, usually in clearings on top of hills or on islands in marshes — mmimie are afraid of stumbling by chance on one of these spots which, according to some of my in- [825] formants, are guarded between meetings by an aardvark, mvômesila. If such a place is discovered, a nnengaň is immediately called in to [755] perform a sort of exorcism.

754 perform a sort of exorcism. Sorcerers seem to be convened to these
788 meetings by secret messages in the form of bundles of sticks notched
[211] according to a particular code, or in the form of the quipu. They are believed to reach the meetings by levitation or by sending only
754 their nsisim while their bodies remain at home in a state of apparent
774 death. This offers a good chance of getting rid of the sorcerer by burning his body, the disadvantage being that the nsisim survives, as does the évu, and that they than can be incarnated in an animal, which cannot happen if the sorcerer is burnt alive.

754 The évu may use various methods of moving about outside the
774 nnem's body. Sometimes he leaves it in an invisible and immaterial
825 form, but this method is exceptional. Most often he enters the body of an animal, generally a leopard, but sometimes a black snake, civet cat, gorilla, or chimpanzee, or even certain insects; the list is unlimited, but nearly always the animal in question is powerful or dangerous. The carrier-animal is then almost invulnerable, endowed both with human intelligence and with the powers of an évu. It is, however, possible to strike at it, with luck and good mebiañ, and any injury to the évu rebounds on the sorcerer. On the other hand, injury to a sorcerer during the évu's absence is not necessarily fatal to the latter, because the évu can survive in the body of the vehicle-animal. The latter is called nkuk (1), which can also mean "mask." It is

[787] 1. Among the Ewôndo, this term also denotes the good bekôn who appear in dreams to give advice to the living. (J.B.)

not clear whether there is a confusion /119/ with the élañela, as Trilles suggests, or with animal-bekôn, or with those who are beyem on their own account, or even with bingôngôt (bingungure).

754 There seems to exist alongside ngbwel a /kind of/ sorcery connected with abé nlem or mbia nlem, malignity of the heart, and having nothing to do with possession by the bivu. Thus practitioners of kôn, which consists of killing a person while leaving his body alive (see above, p. 134), would not necessarily be beyem in the strict sense. Likewise, many malevolent activities are only criminal deviations from permissible magic. Alliance with an animal, or incarnation in the body of an animal, or even the transformation of a magician into an animal, need not be malevolent or only becomes so

212 Largeau /sic/) and the mekutu alelé, bundles of little sticks making it possible to communicate in code, they had a kind of pictography, ntilan, with tens, if not hundreds, of signs, mindem. These we know (insufficiently) from the counters used in the abia game, a kind of 524 tarots, used as a game as much as for predicting the future; the pieces 787 were made of the seeds, or rather the pods, of a mimosa common in 884 the forest (Tetrapleura /125/ thonningii, according to Trilles). These signs had a surface meaning, understood by all, and an esoteric meaning, restricted to initiates. They made it possible if not to write down traditions as a whole, at least to draw up a kind of aid to memory to be used by the beyia bia. They also enabled scouts to leave messages for a main body of fighters that followed. Each clan, 304 each family had its own ndem, sometimes depicted in its tattoo mark, ndan, which thus constituted a sort of coat of arms.

538 The old literature included stories or tales, minlañ, songs, bia, and chronicles, minkañete.

Trilles is responsible for collecting most of the tales (no. 165), which often took the form of fabliaux whose hero was none other than Ol' Br'er Terrapin, Kulu (emphatic or personal form of kul), the earth tortoise (Cinyxis erosa), surrounded by Beme, the wild pig, stupid and gluttonous, Ze, the panther, mean and cunning, its principal enemy; Zo'o, the elephant, the king of beasts; Abôp, the spider, 805 artful and obliging; and the majority of the other forest animals (except, it seems, snakes, which no one ever likes to mention). Kulu, thanks to his shrewdness, always ends by getting out of the holes in which his caustic spirit or the old hostility between him and Ze have put him. Tales of magicians were also told, or stories about the conjugal mishaps of supposed ancestors. All such tales were in the public domain and were recited by anyone who felt competent. This was also the case with the puzzles and riddles that young people put to one another as a kind of flirtation.

533 Songs, however, were performed by specialists, even aside from ritual or magical songs. Some were used to accompany dances; they represented the most complete form of musical expression, with the tone of the words supposed to fit the music while being related to the movements of the dance. There are still beyia bia competent to lead a dance of this kind by improvisation, but they are few and very expensive. There also still exist players of the mvet (harp-guitar), whose repertory includes, beside the old sung legends, some modern

515
791
754

3. The practitioners' secret societies all have their own totems. Each group has a guardian totem which carries out for them the role of the étotore or the mvame of tribe, clan, or phratry. Yet, while tribal, clan, or phratry mvame may belong to any of the three kingdoms, animal, vegetable, or mineral, or even occasionally to the sidereal or the spiritual world, the secret society's totem is always an animal, a real animal, sometimes a reptile or fish, often a bird.

Sorcerers' secret societies, however -- and this constitutes an essential difference -- never have this kind of totem. Their mvame or guardian is always a spirit, a being that belongs to the spiritual or disembodied world. That spirit may, and often does, manifest itself (we are speaking from the native's point of view) in animal form, though it will not be a true animal, a fact about which sorcerers unanimously agree. The "spirit" manifests itself, they all will say.

4. Every "practititioner" on the day of his initiation and admission into the secret society, receives a particular, individual totem, usually an animal or a bird. But no physical link connects them; as with the personal mvame received at birth, there is simply a spiritual, mystical kinship between the two.

575
754
825

Every "sorcerer," on the day of his initiation and admission into the secret society, also forms an alliance with an animal, but that union has quite a special character. There is a real, physical kinship acquired by an exchange of blood, and a real alliance so that from that day onward the animal obeys the man and the man the animal: their lives are bound together. [439]

Strictly speaking, that animal is therefore not really a totem in the sence I have defined. The natives give it a special name: the elâñela. European writers, ethnographers, and others, have referred to it as a nagual, and all the phenomena connected with the nagual is called nagualism. It has almost always been confused with the individual totem; nothing could be more unsuitable or actually more untrue.

[Two paragraphs and tables omitted on pp. 439-450. --Translator] [451]

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

154 b) Imitating the classes of practitioners, the classes of initiates controlled by sorcerers have class totems. These classes are recruited each within his own tribe.

154 515 c) The societies composed only of sorcerers are recruited from many different tribes, as the need arises, whatever may be the political relations, hostile or not. The societies embrace the whole nation. A sorcerer is always allied to every other sorcerer, at least from the point of view of organization, for often their struggle for influence is implacable.

These sorcerer's societies do not have totems but obey a spirit.

154 825 I have already mentioned the various changes of form assumed by sorcerers, and I shall return to this briefly in order to show that the different forms must not be confused, as has often been done, withthe nagual, or sorcerer's "dedicated animal."

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

[Page 468 and three paragraphs on p. 469 omitted. --Translator] [469]

Having eliminated all totems that do not belong to the sorcerer as such, the following points confront us:

1. At first glance each sorcerer appears to have his totem -- animal, bird, reptile -- to which he pays particular tribute. [470]

The majority of writers apply the word nagual, nyarong, etc., to this familiar animal, and the group of facts connected with the nagual is naturally called nagualism. Now these writers see in the nagual, nyarong, etc., and in nagualism nothing but a special form of totem and totemism. Is this opinion justified -- is the nagual a totem?

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [471] [Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

The nagual, according to Van Gennep, following Lang, is the local name of the individual totem.

As regards the Fan I should not agree, and all the investigations we have been able to make among neighboring tribes as well as in Madagascar (to whom Van Gennep refers) bear out this opinion. The nagual is not the local name of the individual totem but of "an" individual totem, or better still -- for I do not

757
825

admit to there being a "totem" involved -- of an animal "dedicated" to certain persons, few in number, who, in the case in point, are the sorcerers. I therefore make the following proposals:

1. The nagual is not the local name of the individual totem but the local name of the animal guardian of "certain" individuals -- two different conceptions corresponding to different purposes. And I write, not "totem," but -- which is not the same -- "animal guardian." ... [472]

2. Nagual and nagualism closely "approximate" totem and totemism in the sense that in both there is an animal guardian and a group of facts connected with this guardian, but they are differentiated completely in the sense that:

a) The totem in its basic form, that is, as a family or tribal totem, is not alive at the present time, but had lived formerly and handed-down its attributes and especially the efficacy of its alliance to all its descendants, but actually only to its descendants now alive.

The nagual, on the other hand, has no existence as a family or tribal nagual. The nagual that would seem to be the protector of a group (like a secret society) is the protector of "the chief" of the group and not the whole group.

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

b) Since the nagual constitutes a unit not a group, it could not be a totem, and therefore nagualism is entirely different from totemism.

Finally, in line with what has been said, individual totems cannot disappear: the actual death of such or such panther [473] may or may not affect tribe, clan, family, or individual, of which it is, not the but a totem. But the death of that panther will in no way be the death of the totem, since the panther totem is a group just as much for the tribe as for the individual.

On the other hand, the death of such or such panther, the nagual of a certain sorcerer, will profoundly affect him, because, not a collective group, but an individual unit is concerned. A dead nagual can never be replaced. It is bad luck for the sorcerer, who loses by the death of his dedicated animal the most active agent of his authority and power. His own life is often linked with

757 that of his nagual and vice versa. If he is ill or if he dies, his
575 nagual suffers or dies; if the nagual dies or suffers, so the man dies or suffers.

[Pp. 474-480 omitted. --Translator] [481]

Initiation of the Practitioner

575 The practitioner at the time of his initiation undergoes a
791 different kind of test from that which young [ordinarily] men do. These tests are distinguished by a more marked degree of cruelty and especially by the offering of a victim. The victim will first be dedicated in special rites. After the tests and when the neophyte has been judged fit to enter the priestly company, then only is the totem chosen. But the choice is not left to the candidate; the "admitting" practitioner gives it to him. He must first of all undergo a severe fast of at least seven days. During this time he is forbidden absolutely, under any pretext, to leave his hut, which is set apart in a portion of the forest reserved to practitioners and called éli bengan. No person is allowed to approach. Any intercourse with women, even a mere glance,
[362 688] would bring about permanent exclusion. Moreover, the woman would be put to death, and her father or husband would have no right to compensation, pecuniary or other.

During the neophyte's seclusion his "admitting" [practitioner] has chosen the totem; avoiding many complications, he almost always chooses the class totem to which the confraternity is already dedicated.

What kind of totems are they? They never belong to the mineral realm, nor are they ever celestial phenomena, nor spirits of any sort, materialized or not, as happens with clan or tribal totems.

575 The class totem is usually a bird [or] a swiftly moving
791 animal, rarely a fierce one when the choice would be made because of the animal's positive qualities and not for its power to
● 825 harm. Indeed the secret society prefers to seek as protecting totems, those that will guarantee swift and sure retreat in case

515 791 825 of danger. Hence the symbolic choice of fast birds: the river swallow, the koulyèbe that flies like an arrow, the eagle or the vulture whose powerful flight protects it from enemies, the turtledove or the wood pigeon that knows how to conceal a nest so as to escape all attention. Or it might be an antelope with nimble legs and acute hearing, [482] which is especially difficult to capture. Finally, the crocodile sometimes appears as a totem not because it is bad tempered and devours men, but because it is always on the watch and at the slightest disturbance submerges itself and disappears in the river or because its scaly covering makes it invulnerable to arrows and javelins.

Such are the qualities that a secret society demands for itself.

515 791 782 The "consecrator" has chosen the totem, generally that of a class. He must now procure one himself but catch it "alive." He brings it into the hut of the "consecrated" one, who keeps it, at least as much as possible, on his chest throughout a whole night. In the morning the totem is led with great ceremony to the middle of a clearing and sprinkled with lustral water: the attending practitioners dance around it, then sing the hymn to the totem; the candidate sings it along with them. This hymn extols the totem's strength, valor, and swiftness, and especially thanks it for the protection given the society. Then, after this hymn, the candidate fetches the victim, whom he must offer, and leads him [567 before the totem. Ordinarily, the victim is a foreign slave, because he should not belong to the Fan nation, in order to avoid 562] any possible ritual offense. (1) It is, however, permissible --

> 1. A foreign slave or a woman is chosen because neither possesses a totem and therefore no ritual offense is to be feared.

and this often happens -- to take a Fan woman. The slave or [278] woman is tightly gagged. Usually no resistance is offered, especially since the victim is given alewané to drink the evening before, a decoction of herbs and woody mushrooms that have the property of suppressing memory. The neophyte forces the victim to walk in front of him, or pushes him, going around the totem

575
757
●825 "There would seem to be nothing further except to pay the initiator and to carry away the treasure so dearly and criminally bought. But there is still a final ceremony. Initiator and initiate both are actors and witnesses in a strange scene which I should not describe were it not as authentic as it is apparently unbelievable. The new initiate's life is to be united through a bloody rite to that of an animal, who will thereafter be his personal animal, not a domestic or tame animal, but a wild beast living in the depths of the forest or the bed of a river. The initiator has made the necessary arrangements; he gives a signal: [487] at first no sound is heard in reply but soon in the bright moonlight an unknown participant is seen approaching the spot in the forest where it is awaited -- sometimes an enormous mass with a monstrous head, sometimes a feline form that crawls rather than walks, sometimes a long body that unwinds and undulates. Whatever the animal -- hippopotamus, panther, or snake -- it forgets the timidity or ferocity felt in the presence of man and submits docilely to the desired operation. Then the exchange of blood takes place. How this is done is not our concern. But what is beyond any doubt is the fact that blood is let, of the animal and of the initiate, and that each is inoculated with the other's blood. The animal's ear is slit (a corresponding cut is made upon a snake) as a mark
[304] of the link established with the man, in whose arm an incision is made so that he in turn is marked with the sign of the beast. (1)

1. [The footnote, referring to mediaeval witchcraft practices, is omitted. --Translator]

A real link henceforth exists between them. The animal will be at the beck and call of the person who has been made his master. I could name ... a certain Black man who at night receives a vulture or a panther with slit ear, and another who allows into his hut and even his bed (ikoko) a python that recognizes his authority. When day comes, and the tasks have been

575 754 ●825 performed, the animals return to lake or bush, just as dangerous, often more so, to all whose blood they have not received.

"This union is so close between animal and man that the life of one depends upon that of the other.

"How many examples I could give! Should you kill a panther that bears the mark, you will not long afterwards learn of the death of some sorcerer. Should the sorcerer be the first to die, don't be surprised at finding near the village the dead body of his personal animal."

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator] [488]

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

In contrast [to the position with regard] to totems, both men and women can have a nagual, since both can be sorcerers. Yet those naguals are not the same for both sexes.

Among the Fan, the naguals that belong to men, with rare exceptions, are:

1. panther, incorrectly called tiger, nze; and by far the most frequent.

2. black snake, elom, sometimes the python, mvom.

3. crocodile, nkôm, rarely the ngân or cayman, never the earth saurians.

4. hippopotamus, ngübe or nguve.

5. wild boar, ngü.

6. vulture, nkôn, but very rarely.

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

The naguals belonging to women are:

1. black snake, kagélakagéla, different from the mvom.

2. vulture, nkôn. [489]

3. earth saurians; rarely the crocodile.

4. a kind of owl or night bird, akûn.

5. green snake found in banana trees, fôl.

6. a kind of horned viper, fi.

[Nine paragraphs omitted on p. 489. --Translator] [Page 490 omitted. --Translator] [491]

[One paragraph omitted. --Translator]

The élâńéla, may quite well also belong to the animal clan to which individual, clan, or tribal totems are related, and this

575 can lead to much confusion. Sorcerers are people particularly
754 eager to conceal themselves and at the same time to assert their
825 power, and they are often clever at doing so. They succeed in disguising the real nature of their nagual: "It's my totem," they will say, if someone surprises them with their ɛlâñɛla. To be able to make their supposed totems appear at will often gives them special authority, which they can make good use of in certain circumstances. Indeed, one can imagine the prestige gained by a sorcerer who during a ritual ceremony thus calls on his totem, in reality his nagual. But ordinarily he restrains himself, for he would then unmask his sorcerer's character, and, unless he is all-powerful and protected from revenge, that is not at all what he has in mind. . . .

[614] According to certain chiefs, especially among the Bɛkwɛ, the totem of the founder of the race or clan was originally his ɛlâñɛla. This is perfectly admissible. If by one or another means the founder of tribe or clan was able to bind an animal to his will, to make it obedient, or at least to persuade his followers that this was so -- which amounts to the same thing -- these men may very readily, after his death, choose his ɛlanɛla for their totem. But this choice, which is determined by circumstances or the wish of the dying chief, does not imply that it remains an ɛlâñɛla. On the contrary, this characteristic [492] disappeared by the very fact of its becoming a totem and ceasing to be a unit in order to become a collective group through its descendants.

[Two paragraphs omitted--Translator]

In a certain number of cases it has happened that the nagual is confused with the sorcerer himself. In fact, according to the Africans, sorcerers often transform themselves into animals. . . .

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [493]

[Three paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

Almost always, I am convinced, these [phenomena] may be attributed to men being disguised as animals, either to safely satisfy their murderous impulses or to obtain victims for feasts of human flesh.

In some cases these men act under the mysterious influence of unknown agents. This perhaps involves a kind of unconscious

675 754 825 possession. They believe and declare themselves to be really transformed into animals. ...

Finally, when it is not a question of the [sorcerer] in disguise (which is nearly always the case), one often deals with his nagual, obedient to his instructions and prompting, at least in the beginning. After the animal has tasted human flesh [494] it is eager to return of its own accord. I remember that in a village in the interior, a panther had devoured 37 persons within a year. A sorcerer was accused of having the animal under his command and, as a result, after confession he was killed. The next day the panther was found dead in the forest. A coincidence? Perhaps the sorcerer had made use of the panther the first time, but in connection with the other killings, I have my doubts. In any case, this panther had an ear slit by human hand, as I was able to verify. Without passing judgement on the outcome, this was an obvious sign that it was "dedicated."

In their main outlines, the sorcerers' confraternities [sic] are modeled on those of practitioners. Both, therefore, possess two distinct categories of confraternity, or secret society, one set composed of initiates directed and controlled by practitioners and sorcerers, the other composed solely of practitioners or sorcerers.

1. Societies composed of initiates directed by sorcerers each has its totem, as do the similar societies directed by practitioners. This totem is always an animal -- a custom found almost universally and made necessary by the very concept of the totem.

575 754 776 2. Secret societies composed solely of sorcerers do not have totems; they obey a spirit.

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator] [495]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

This spirit bears the name, engungure. It is also the name of the khun, or ghosts, or even of the souls of the dead after the postmortuary exercises and the final transformations.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

412 the natural curve of the branches. Stones are employed for rolling food, especially for crushing and rolling the *ngon* seed. Shells of large land mollusca are cut in half and used for spoons, small gourds being used for the same purpose. Large gourds are used for water dippers and bottles. Very many uses are found for the forest 824 gourds, not the least ingenious being the use of a hollow stemmed gourd for [757] administering a rectal injection. Gourds are used for the sounding boards of the musical instrument called *mvuk*. The people find many uses for bamboo. It is used in construction of houses, fish baskets and traps are made from it, fences to protect paths during tribal wars are made of sharp pointed bamboo poles; and small sharpened pieces of bamboo with poisoned tips are buried in the forest paths, point upward, to wound and poison the naked feet of an unsuspecting enemy. The ● 825 teeth and claws of leopards and bush cats, elephant tail, antelope feet, horns and forest beans are used in their natural form as personal ornaments. Leopard teeth are always considered valuable as *biang* (fetish) and are much sought after; they are frequently imitated in ivory. I have not seen the defences of animals employed [412] as artificial defences, except as fetish. Long tough forest thorns are often used as awls and needles for piercing and sewing skins. I once saw an *ngangan* (witch doctor) 763 perform a post-mortem examination on a woman. After he had discovered the cause 787 of death, which he announced to the expectant crowd as being due to "six witches eating her liver," he first pierced the abdominal walls with a long hard thorn, and then sewed up the body with a bamboo needle threaded with pineapple fibre. I have seen only one cave dwelling; it was used by an isolated sufferer of the dread 342 disease called by the natives *mabata* (a kind of sloughing phagedina). When 734 proper reed material for making thatch is scarce, large forest leaves are used, but they make very poor roofs, especially during the tornado season.

Conservatism.—The Fang are not quick to adopt reforms or to introduce new 185 methods; they are more or less the slaves of custom, and have a superstitious dread 186 of departing from ancestral habits. This refers to all the proceedings of life. Fang living in towns near Gaboon are almost daily coming in contact with white settlers, and to some extent, at least, appear to be changing their mode of living. It never appeared to me that a Fang had the same longing to be "just like a white man" as possesses the young Mpôngwe and Benga men.

IX.—*Ornamentation.*

The patterns mostly seen in Fang ornamentation consist of bands, incised 531 lines, elliptical punch marks, herring bone, lozenge pattern and cross lines. The natives do not possess a natural aptitude for drawing, and seldom attempt it. The few drawings I have seen on the bark walls of houses, supposed to represent men and women, were very crude and exaggerated in proportion. They have no idea whatever of perspective. They seem to interpret foreign drawings very readily. [322] The Fang show considerable skill in plain wood carving, using an ordinary native knife. I have noticed that their carving improves very considerably when an imported pocket knife is the instrument employed.

Fig. 179. Drawknife for Spear Handles.

322
413

Fig. 180. Drawknife (also Scraper) for Spear Handles.

five hens, and five pieces of brass wire, which altogether corresponds approximately to a value of 120 marks in our money. The medicine is kept in a small wooden or clay pot lined with the soft leaves of the Triumfetta (okŋ̀ń) or in a little basket. It consists of a bundle of leaves with the brain matter of an ancestor, a few pieces of skull from the ancestors placed around it, and pieces of the shaved bark of the Leguminosa Macrolobium straussianum Harms (abǒ'm, bǒ'me IV) or of the fern Marattia fraxinea Sm. (ezǐzǒ'n), and poison (nsǔ). The skull and the brain as the seat of knowledge are supposed to make the smelting process successful; the Macrolobium is supposed to cause the lump iron to lie as firmly and solidly in the smelting pit (ekiai a bǒme o sí = the iron is firm [as though stamped down] under there) as this tree stands without buttress roots (hence the name abǒ'm from a bǒm, "to stamp in firmly, to pound in, and to be firmly stamped in"); the fern is supposed to cause the iron to agglomerate as beautifully as the young fern leaves.

325
789
[435]
[824]
[826]

Unfortunately, it is impossible to make iron with this medicine alone. For better or for worse, actual work will have to be done, and for this workers are needed. These are not so difficult to obtain since they get a share of the profit, but the abstinence rules which we have already mentioned, especially those of a sexual nature, deter many of them. These rules enjoin abstinence for two months before and during the period of work, and if they are violated, the iron will

325
834

777 conceptions developed in connection with the veneration of
751 ancestors, concerning the influence of the ancestors, who live where Nsambe does, on the terrestrial well-being of their
754 descendants. The most important of the medicines for wealth,
777 atum or aseb, that is, the Mekuk medicine, is based on the ideas of sorcery which I discussed in the previous section /Ed., not translated/. The skulls needed for the ancestor cult are not in
[769] this case those from relatives who died a natural death, but from those who were murdered secretly by sorcery (poisoning). Each biǎ̀n akū'ma, therefore, is a nsōm, a sin. The murder victims, or rather their souls, are called mekūk (1). A person who keeps
[826]

1. Etymologically related to nkūk, "upper part of the body." Perhaps we have here an intentional circumlocution, because the Pangwe like to avoid the real designation for their mesōm (sins).

the skulls in order to acquire wealth is called e mōde a bělě mekūk (= e mōde a n'a mekūk), that is, the man who has the Mekuk. I have known a Mekuk man who had no less than ten skulls of his murdered relatives in his house. In addition, the Mekuk man possesses magical devices which he sells on request together with the skulls in exchange for an excessive payment from people who themselves want to become Mekuk men. The latter are of course only sorcerers, that is, people who -- as was said in Section 12 /Ed., not translated/ -- receive the power to practice sorcery in their youth through a medicine, but who perhaps until then had not yet used their power and now want to train themselves in the specialized field of Mekuk medicine. For this purpose, their teacher demands that they murder a close relative, usually a father or mother, and bring him the skull. He himself will give them in exchange an older /150/ skull from his own collection and in addition frequently the back bones. The first
[608] skull of a Mekuk collection is therefore one of a stranger and has already been effective as a medicine. It is not an actual ancestral

832 days and the establishment of a sacred place, on which the Fang even set up a female figure of clay. During the seven days of preparation, the necessary medicines are obtained. [824] These are bark, scraped off the Anonacea Monodora tenuifolia Bth. (fǒb IV) and the Olacacea avǒm, and a small elephant's [825] tooth[1] into which are put the following /159/ things.

1. The most important is the larynx (engǒ'n) of a famous [826] singer, especially of one who was versed in love songs, or the larynx of a woman who before the payment of the bride price allowed herself to be abducted by her lover. The aim is to obtain the power of the singer, who was loved on account of his voice (famous tenors even in other countries are, after all, not only popular but also loved), and to be loved as he was, or one desires to have the woman consent (with her larynx = voice) to follow the call of love as quickly as did the woman whose larynx has been placed inside the elephant's tooth. The name engǒ'nezǒk was chosen because of the desire to pretend that only the throat of an elephant (zǒk) was involved and to avoid naming the real contents, the human throat. As a name for the whole thing, engongeschok is intended to veil the meaning of the feast just as the animal names conceal the purpose of the cults. In other words, whatever you do, don't call a spade a spade.

2. Sex organs of a mother-in-law, the one who has given birth to the daughter and loved one.

3. The bones of an albino (mvēī-mōt), preferred by women [826] because of the skin color (1).

1. Opinions concerning an albino vary
[194] a great deal; in other areas an albino is less highly regarded (Jaunde).

4. The bones of twins, because of the desire to be united with the loved one just as twins are united in the mother's womb.

5. Fulgurites (abī'-zǎ'lǎn), so the love will be as powerful [821] as the lightning that throws down the tallest trees.

6. nsǔ, so that the sorcerous beings (= evil persons) will not

[1] [or possibly "tusk"; see figure 55, page 26.-Analyst]

832 fumigated (Fig. 58), while the skulls with cold severity surveyed the situation, until they themselves had justice done to them, for they were carried in a dance around the love tree. Meanwhile, a number of the participants took red dye and with it drew a line on the bark of the love tree, observing that they themselves would like to look like this in the eyes of their beloved. Another one took black dye in addition to the red and first made a red line, saying, "In the eyes of the girl to which I shall go (he probably was not allowed to pronounce her name) I want to appear like this (red)"; then he drew a black line and added, "On the other hand, the girl shall see all others like this (black line)." We already know that red is the color of life,
[822] of joy, and of light. Black here signifies its opposite, the unpleasant and ugly.

Finally, a small punishment was meted out to the ancestral
832 skulls by sticking them in the above-mentioned draw traps set
769 up around the tree and leaving them there until the next day. Such a punishment of the ancestors is very rare, and it is significant that it does not occur at the Malan but in connection with the love medicine, which is to be regarded as a degenerate form of the Malan. Then around the tree a great variety of other medicines were distributed, such as red dye and a piece from the loincloth of a mother-in-law. Among the Fang the genitals
[826] themselves are supposed to be taken, these having been cut from the deceased mother-in-law. /162/ /Fig. 58 appears here in the original text./

832 On the forenoon of the second day of the festival about 25
783 banana leaf vessels were set up in a row in the festive area and
[415] filled with freshly fetched water. Into the first vessel the medicine man put a whole pile of bark pieces and leaves, all of them love medicines. The other vessels were treated in a more perfunctory fashion: only a few pieces of bark were placed in the second vessel, and in each of the following, only one; the last vessels did not get anything. The medicine man then sat down at the first vessel, blew into it with a pipe, whereupon a thick,
[388] soap-like foam arose, which supposedly comes from the bark of
[824] the Cylicodiscus gabunensis (Taub) Harms (edūm), and then washed his face, first in this vessel and then in all the following

832
783
[417]

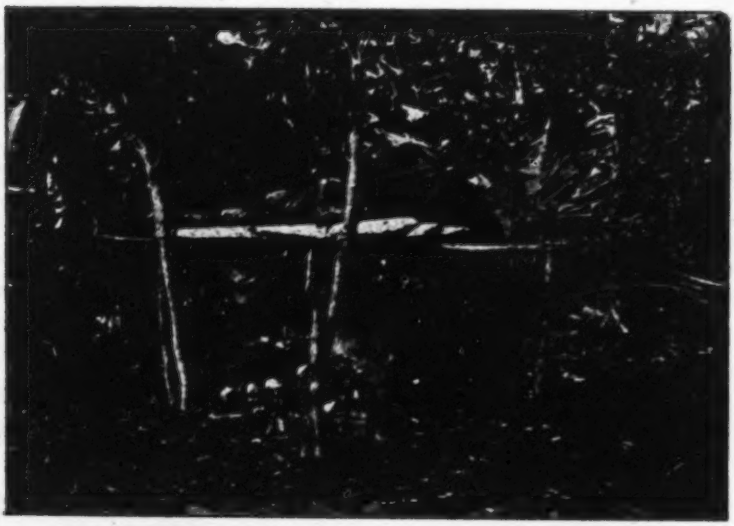


Fig. 58. Love Medicine Feast, engongeschok. A number of young men have themselves fumigated over a fire in which love medicines are burned. Ancestral skulls are in the background. Ebäangon (Esseng family).

ones as rapidly as possible. The aim is to purify oneself and through the external purification to bring about an inner one so that the beloved girl will see her suitor pure, white as the leaves of Abutilon, and then love him. Whether the desired effect is achieved, I must confess I do not know; externally, at any rate, the favorable effect of the water cannot be denied. The foam is intended to cause the girl's heart to "open up" in the same way. This ablution may also be undertaken at times other than at the love festival, for instance, when a person has his eye on a certain girl, but in that case, the nails, [826] head hair, pubic hair, and underarm hair of this girl must also be put in the vessel. /163/

While the ablution was still going on, two people ran down 832 the village square and threw the civet skin back and forth to 526 each other, crossing each other's paths as they ran. People amused themselves with a similar ball game, whose significance I was unable to discover during the subsequent dance.

769 The veneration of skulls likewise occurs in the case of the
224 hunting medicines. The skull of a man killed by violent means,
826 whose corpse remained on the spot (if the man belongs to the same kinship group), is kept in a bark box and taken care of as in ancestor worship. When a huntsman kills a wild animal, for example, he takes the first piece that falls to him in the distribution of the meat to the skull as a thanks offering. This piece consists of the sex organs and the flesh around them (ekī]ǎ', see Fig. 92 in Vol. I). After he has taken it to the skull, he carries it off again
[262] to eat it himself. On the other hand, if there has been no luck on the hunt, a chicken is killed for the "man" in the box so he will see to it that a wild animal soon appears in front of his protégé's rifle and will be hit as effectively as he was in his time.

721 In addition, the Fang have a great war medicine, a celebra-
789 tion which is called aṅgūṅgu and is a companion festivity to the engongeschok. On this occasion, a sacred place is set up, a subterranean corridor similar to that described in the case of the Ngi /Ed., not translated/ is dug, and a dwarf antelope, Cephalophus
[825] melanorheus Gray (ogbwǔ,ṅ), which must have been caught alive, is brought to the place. Then the medicine man stations himself at one end of the corridor, and all the other men, armed with rifles,
[824] hang a seed of the Sorindeia rubriflora Engl. (afǎ'ne[k]) as medicine around their necks, and crawl -- the first with the antelope in his arms -- through the corridor. At the exit, the medicine man gives all of them, including the antelope, a medicine. The antelope is thereupon released, and it is believed that when a surprise attack is planned and the enemy has got wind of it, the animal will appear and thereby warn the attackers. By way of medicines to secure the /167/ necessary courage for such an attack, five different ones are available.

777 The medicines for trapping and fishing are rarer than the shot
226 medicines, a sign that these occupations are more in the Pangwe's
224 blood than open hunting. I have taken down only eight plants for fish medicines and twelve for trap medicines.

757 278 For back aches Erythrophloeum guineense (elŭn) and the Rubiacea Gaertnera paniculata (esŏ̄mō̄ Fang) are used. The bark of the Erythrophloeum is heated and laid on a bed on which the patient lies down. The bark of the Gaertnera is cut up into small pieces and is put into a larger piece of bark of the same plant; the patient must lie down with his back on it. For organic /181/ heart disease (nnǎ̄ nnēm "pains in the heart"), an extract of the [826] bark of Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edžō̄'le) is drunk; for mental [829] disorders, which are also supposed to come from the heart (okŏn nnēm), 10 different medicines have been mentioned to me. By acquiring the particular property of the plant, the heart is supposed to be put to sleep and made dark and small. I have further collected: 21 medicines for headache; four for lung disease (sŏ); nine for the cold; 56 for stomach and intestinal disorders; 54 for toothaches; 47 for rheumatic pains (nnǎ and nnǎ-nkūk); 23 for stomach-aches when twitching pains occur (nnǎ-abŭm); and five for hemorrhoids, among them especially the Cucurbitacea Cephalonema polyandrum K. Sch. (ejažŭ'm).

For eye inflammations, ground leaves of the Rubiacea Chasalia macrodiscus K. Sch. (dži a ndžīk III) or bark scraped off the Euphorbiacea Hasskarlia didymostemon Baill. (efŭŏ'le, dži III) are put in a leaf bag, a little water is added, and the extract flowing out at the bottom is dropped into the eye. The same process is carried out with ground leaves of Ampelocissus cinnamochroa (nsī's ǎ III) as a remedy for sties.

To get rid of eye worms (eyǎ'), the sap of the following plants is used: Dipteropeltis poranoides Hallier f., Convolvulacea (atū[k] e ndžīk); Diodia breviseta Benth, Rubiacea (dēmezŏ III); Gabunia brachypoda Stpf., Apocynacea (etū̄e' ndžīk); Phaseolus lunatus L. (okŏkūnŏ III).

The Negro's indifference toward sand lice, Sarcopsylla penetrans (ašŏ), is well known; the Pangwe, too, neglect sand lice wounds and do not use medicine until half the toe is festered. Then ground leaves of Phytolacca abyssinica Hoffmann (atŏt e nkō), ground leaves of Ocimum gratissimum L. (asŏ'b) mixed with oil, or bark shavings of the Euphorbiacea Neoboutonia africana Muell. Arg. (okŏ'jōm) mixed with oil are placed on the wounds, and after a few days the

751 A preventive device consists of a brass ring worn on the left thumb, the ring having first been given curative powers by the medicine man through certain ceremonies, for instance, by boiling it in medicines.

752 278 If someone is stung by a scorpion, his urine is applied to the spot, something that the Pangwe ordinarily do not do with wounds. Later, they attempt to dispel the morbid matter by evil smells; [826] for instance, a leaf with vaginal slime is placed on the wound. The explanation by the informant ran as follows in the best coastal English (1):

[124]

> 1. In order to avoid misunderstandings it should be emphasized that my Pangwe people gave their reports in their own language, but that their statements were checked with the help of an English-speaking interpreter.

Bumbo	be	bad	ting,	dem	smell,	he
Vagina	is	bad	thing, (namely,)	the	smell,	it

come de!
comes out.

An injured foot is put in water in which stalks of Palisota preussiana (epfúpfū́ʃ) have been pounded to bits, or heated leaves of the calabash (ndǒk IV), together with oil, are rubbed on the injury, "because the calabash has a bad smell."

The very painful puncture made by the spiny-finned sheatfish (kṓmeǔm IV), for instance, Auchenoglanis balayi (Sauv.) (nsǔ́ń I) pictured on Plate 9 of Volume I, for whose dorsal /183/ spikes the fisherman has great respect, is made harmless by tying a rope tightly around the arm and then holding the spot over the fire.

The Pangwe combat wasp and bee stings with Heckeria subpeltata (Wild) Kunth (abǒ́medzǎ́ń).

Bullets, that is, the pieces of iron with which the rifle is loaded and which, due to the aimless firing practiced by the Pangwe

857 something to do near the village, and when he has gone they call to him, "endele o o o...", and he answers, "o yo o o o mur e mur a ne e nzine bekun nlu si mebo yo mura kue a ba a muge nie a nu" (there is a big man on the road, a phantom with his head down and his feet up and a red mouth). Endele keeps answering until he has done what was asked of him. Usually he comes back before this from fear of the phantom of which he speaks and which he thinks he sees.

892 Puberty, Adolescence. Puberty occasions no ceremony, but from then on the child has the right to eat the take of his hunting and fishing, which was formerly forbidden him. This prohibition is called eki wo.

304 Circumcision is done either before or after puberty. It is an operation which is usually performed for many children at a time, and takes place in the early morning. The operator (nkir) comes to the village without the children's being told, and the fathers who wish their sons circumcised watch them so they do not run away. The children are led behind a hut where pieces of red wood have been prepared. [87] A hole is made in the ground, and the pieces of red wood are put in it and set on fire. Each child sits on the stump of a banana tree. The operator uses a well-sharpened razor. Before the operation he fills his mouth with seeds of wild pimento which he chews. He takes the foreskin of the child in his left hand, pulls it, makes a mark on it with his nail at the place where he will cut. The father of the child sees whether the cut piece will be of the desired size, and if he agrees the operator slices the foreskin with one stroke of the razor and spits the pimento, which he has in his mouth, onto the wound. Then he says, "fam e ne e saġa e saġa saġ mi saġ nkūi," an obscene expression which it is impossible to translate here. The circumcised child goes and sits near the fire of red wood. The foreskin is placed on top of a banana tree, [262] whose fruit is cooked and eaten by men only. The circumcision is an occasion for rejoicing; it is done so that the children will not die [826] and also to remove the foreskin which keeps a man from being strong.

304 Female circumcision is never practiced any more. It was formerly done to married women of notoriously bad conduct in order to punish 681 them. The woman was fastened to two stakes in the village square. The clitoris was removed by the man who did the circumcising and was then attached by a thread and put around the neck of the woman, who had to keep it that way for several days to her great shame. The

173 [539 538]

superhuman heroes, who include not only their ancestors but also the earliest well-known Europeans: Ngôtô Zambe (Rev. Good), Mendômô (Hauptmann von Hagen), Akôk (Marius Pascalet), etc., thus are found to be naturalized as it were and incorporated into tradition.

Driven out of this country by red giants (or by a red giant), the ancestors, fleeing to save their lives, were brought to a standstill at the Sanaga, incapable of crossing it until the intervention of the guardian of the waters, a python according to Beti and Boulou, a crocodile according to /16/ the Fang (1). By stretching himself across

1. Bertaut gives the names as mot yom and nga medja or ngan meja. Discounting a mistake in transcription, these expressions could mean "a being to be supplicated," "crocodile to be supplicated," from môt (Fang, môr, mur) = person; ngan = crocodile; ja'é (Boulou) dzak, dzaghé (Ewondo, Fang) = to ask, to supplicate; yom = to beg, to implore.

the river this animal formed a bridge which the ancestors crossed family by family, in order of primogeniture, until the moment when a child (or woman) wounded the animal's back by letting fall a weapon (or a torch). The animal dived below, abandoning on the right bank the Beti group that is still there today.

[103] Osoe Nnanga, whence Europeans have derived "Sanaga," means [822] "white river" or "river of the albino." White is the color of death; [824] ghosts (bekôn) are white; albinos are thought to be offspring of incubi. [775] Lastly, the land of the dead has always been situated in the west, toward the sea (mañ), even though the Pahouin could not have known the sea except by hearsay. Considered in connection with some of the legends collected by Trilles, these facts may lead us to think that the Pahouin in crossing the Sanaga were entering, at least symbolically, the land of the dead.

When they had reached the left bank, they found their road blocked by an impenetrable forest, with the single path obstructed by an

141

Tribe	Height		Cephalic Index		Trunk Index /Indice cormique/	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mangisa	above average		76.7	76.3	?	?
Eton	167.8	157.9	76.2	76.4	60.8	51.0
Ewôndo	168.4	158.6	77.0	77.6	50.5	50.4
Boulou	165.4	157.6	77.8	79.2	51.2	52.2
Fang	above average		77.0	76.6	51.2	50.9

[143]

Tribe	Blood Group (in %)					Facial Index		Width/Height /Envergure s/taille/	
	O	A	B	AB	Index	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mangisa	52	21.9	10.9	15.2	1.44	?	?	?	?
Eton	55.7	13.8	17.5	12.9	0.878	85.1	84.2	104.4	102.5
Ewôndo	55.5	14.1	17.4	11.5	0.885	85.7	85.6	105.3	104.0
Boulou	?	?	?	?	?	86.5	85.1	103.7	102.9
Fang	?	?	?	?	?	83.2	87.0	105.3	103.4

It is inevitable, in any case, that a population of this numerical size should present fairly obvious extreme variations, but my own observation, also subjective, thrown into relief a larger proportion of short and very short persons than of tall and very tall: interbreeding [144] with Pygmies (the Bekoé ayoñ especially) would explain this to a great extent. The Beti in the north, who have had much less contact with Pygmies, seem taller and slenderer.

142 The group as a whole may be considered mesocephalic with a /85/ [145] slight tendency to dolichocephaly (1), with not very obvious Negroid

[304 856]

1. Midwives, bebialé binga, still continue the practice of shaping newborn skulls by lengthening. On the other hand, the custom of binding babies' heads with a bark band is dying out.

facial traits, rather light chocolate brown skin, although some groups have a reddish tinge to the skin and green eyes (the Nsoñ ayoñ of [143 224] Sangmélima). Pectoral hair is common. There is fairly common albinism, some polydactylism (the subjects are supposedly sorcerers).

881 limited to a vegetarian diet without salt or spices, to "freshen the
304 blood." They received sexual instruction from the ngengañ, diviner-
864 healer, who performed the operation, while the elders, mintôl, examined /the boys/ in knowledge of the mebatan, "salutations" or genealogies: in actual fact circumcision ended the prohibition against coition by showing the danger of involuntary incest in case relation-
304 ships were not well understood. Women were not allowed to be present at the operation, which the ngengañ performed with a special razor, cauterizing the wound with a pimento decoction. A boy was held by his father, who pronounced the formula that lifted the taboo against coition. The foreskin was usually buried under a tree, perhaps a banana, perhaps a tree indicated by clan or lineage tradition, perhaps
[826] chosen, if we accept Trilles, for totemic reasons. Sometimes the foreskin was preserved for magic use. While the scar was healing, the circumcised boy could wear only a special vegetable breechcloth which was renewed daily; during this time no woman was supposed to speak to him or to touch him or his breechcloth; this he took advantage of so as to steal food and various things. /96/ Once the scar had healed, he could no longer appear in public naked. This whole /procedure/ is only partly followed at the present time; furthermore, since the time for the operation has been generally made earlier, circumcised boys who have not yet reached puberty (1) are often

> 1. A Protestant Ntoumou chief in Ambam told me that he had had his children circumcised earlier so as to be able to send them to the district school without running the risk of their breaking the sexual and food taboos of the uncircumcised when away from his supervision.

seen going about nude in villages. According to Trilles and Largeau, in the past some youths remained uncircumcised, minsôsôl, until they had killed their first enemy. At the present time all youths are circumcised, even Christians; the missions have only rarely tried to oppose the practice and always unsuccessfully.

881 After circumcision the nôman was able to have sexual relations
883 and eat certain foods prohibited before. He went to live with other

177 764 Obviously this has now changed, but perhaps not so much as one would imagine: every year the courts are aware of several ordeals after a death, of mutilations of corpses which are really autopsies, of sums of money extorted which are customary compensation payments imposed on the "person responsible" for a death. And we may assume that in this connection three-quarters of the cases never reach the European courts. Funeral rites have, however, been lightened and colored by Christian influence, even when the deceased had remained to the end attached to the old beliefs: his wives or children usually call in a nkat foé (news-announcer = catechist) to say the prayers for the dead and to sing psalms or hymns. The old-fashioned cylindrical bark litter has been replaced by a European plank coffin, gradually even for women and children. The graves of the well-to-do have masonry walls and are covered with a concrete slab bearing name, date of death, and a pious text, or even with a small flower bed framed with bricks or bottle necks, with a grave stone or cross at the head. The dead man's hut is no longer destroyed, especially if made of "solid" material, nor are his personal effects broken. Often the body is washed and dressed in European clothes instead of being anointed with baa; the white shroud remains. In Christian families women take part in wakes for men and attend their burials; men attend the burials of women but rarely take part in their wakes. In [795] /104/ many villages the different /Christian/ sects have separate cemeteries.

765 177 Mourning is less rigorous and is often expressed by the European black arm band and tie worn by men. In the villages widows are still rather ill-treated (cf. above, pp. 128-129), but their sequestration has been reduced to a week, and they are allowed to wash after a month or two. Most of the prohibitions of the mourning period have fallen out of use, and the end of mourning is marked by a family gathering which has more about it of a certain kind of French provincial New Year's Eve party than of the old purificatory rites.

761 Death in the traditional concept is not so much the cessation of life as the dissociation of the personality. Enyiñ, life, comes from the verb nyiñ meaning "to survive" rather than "to be alive"; /thus life represents/ a kind of dynamism opposed to the static to, tabe = to be, exist, remain, etc.

826 774 The body, nyul or nyôl, is perishable and corruptible; it supports the other elements of the personality, above all the nsisim or nsisiñ,

826 774 the shadow or immaterial duplicate of the body. The heart and lungs, nlem, are the seat of the intellect and sensibility, especially of the consciousness of good and evil, the seat of the moral and mental personality. It is by way of the nlem that a person's mind is struck, that, for instance, he is made mad; through their évur the beyem do di nlem, eat the nlem, of their victims. The nlem for a time survives death; the nsisim seems to be immortal. Breath, avebe (from vebe, to breathe, derived from vee = to be alive, alert) is characteristic of physiological life (1).

> 1. Among the Ewôndo, the breath, ewundu (Boulou, evunulu = wind) is characteristic of the human being, as is nsisim; animals are not provided with either, that is why they can be eaten. (J. B.)

Strength, tye, tyi, kie, or ki, is somehow external to the individual, independent of him, yet that which insures the cohesion of the elements of the personality. It seems to be particularly localized in the nlem (thoracic organs) and the boo, brain, which is evidently the seat of action (the verb bo = to do, to act), whence the importance [769] of skulls in the ancestral cult, biéti. Ngul, which may also be translated "strength," is more "capacity" or "power," the faculty of making use of tyi. It is impersonal, it pre-exists and survives the individual, who during his lifetime can waste or augment it; it is the basis for magic and sorcery, tyi being in itself neither good nor bad. Everything that exists possesses tyi, including the dead, but living beings possess more than inanimate beings, and men more than other living beings. Sacrifices and prohibitions revalue around this notion, as vocabulary well shows: éryi = prohibition, metyi = blood, atyi = egg, tyik = to cut, to kill, to command, etc., (cf. above p. 25). The dead keep a certain amount of strength, which makes them at the same time potentially dangerous and potentially usable.

551 A name, jôé, jui, also pre-exists and survives the person it distinguishes, whence the special ties between bemôé /105/, homonymns, and also the need to know a person's name in order to cast a spell upon him, etc. A dead man keeps his name until it is given to one

769 The figure was placed on the new group's first family altar, and so afterwards were the skulls of the founder and of the benya bôtô of succeeding generations. A full biéri basket was the sign of a group's [554] antiquity, which doubtless implied prestige more than genuine authority, yet nevertheless represented the nearest approach to political authority that existed in the Fang group, particularly if one takes into account the fact that officials of interclan associations were chosen from among the owners of many skulls, whence prestige extended to a large number of mvôk or meyom. The prestige of the living was exerted through the authority of the dead.

[826] Skulls were, indeed, the seat or receptacle of the individual's capacity for action (we must remember that bo = to make, boo = brain), and the use of skulls in the practice of magic was not confined to ancestral skulls only: the skulls of enemies killed in battle or sacrificed in anthropophagous ceremonies before or afterward were preserved, and so were those stôlen from neighbors. In the same way the skulls of the kinds of animals desired were used for hunting rites. However, it seems that a distinction was made between family skulls and outsiders' skulls, only the first having a place in the éwolé biéti and [783] appearing in family rites. The power of the skulls was increased by sprinkling them with sacrificial blood.

769 When a youth reached nya mbtô age he had to learn to recognize 869 his ancestors so as to be able to ask for their help when the occasion 881 arose. Their skulls were shown to him until he could identify them individually and put them in the correct genealogical order. When he was able to do this, he was given a brew of the narcotic herb alan, [276] then spent a night in the biéti hut, facing the skulls, which had been removed from the éwolé and placed on the altar on which strongly scented plants were burned. During the night the ancestors appeared and gave him a cognomen and imposed one or more new taboos (at the same time he was relieved of certain prohibitions connected with age). Apparently it was during this initiation that his individual totem was revealed (if it was indeed a totem).

769 This question of the totem is very poorly elucidated, in spite of 614 some 600 pages devoted to the subject by Father Trilles. He dis- 114 tinguishes between clan, segment, individual, family, and society totems, etc. He also distinguishes a tutelary being, mvame, from the "effect of a tutelary being"; akam, an animal totem, from a dedicated animal or an incarnation of a man in an animal, etc. He

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

The face is oval in form.[1] The average nose is of the negroid type (short, broad, nearly straight), Fig. 7, Topinard; or the Australoid or Papuan (broad, with the lower part forming a flattened and depressed hook), Fig. 8, Topinard's scale. The skull is thick and strong. Very often the brows are depressed deeply, the cheek bones are prominent, and at the angle of the inferior maxillary bone there is an inclination to bulging outward. The alæ nasi are broad and thick, and the nasal bridge often much depressed giving the typical, flat, turned up nose of the negro. Yet I have observed among the Fang some handsome aquiline noses, and quite frequently the Australoid or Papuan type. I have frequently noticed that the possessors of the aquiline, or Australoid type of nose, showed a higher degree of intelligence and a more genuine desire to learn "the white man's ways." 142

The ears are large and well developed, inclined to spread outward and having broad thick lobes. The teeth are good and symmetrical; Fang men and women file the upper and lower incisors to a fine point and give as their reason for so doing, that it is *mbung* (beautiful). The head of an average Fang male sits well on the shoulders, the neck is strong and muscular, the "Adam's apple" is not highly developed. Very little attention is given to the cultivation of hair on the upper lip. [3044] [826]

The breasts of Fang women are very pendulous after bearing children; and in some cases the breasts in males are very highly developed (photo on screen).

The muscles of the arms, back, buttocks and thighs are often splendidly developed, far more so than in the Mpôngwe, Mabeya and many other West African tribes. The Mpôngwes are rapidly degenerating. In the male Fang the gluteal muscles are not highly developed. The gluteal muscles in the female are often developed to a very high degree, measuring round from 36½ inches to 39½ inches.

Fifteen Fang males were measured and averaged as follows: [141]

Height 5 feet 9 inches.
Chin to pubes 27¼ inches.
Pubes to inner malleolus 32¼ inches.
Inner malleolus to tip of great toe 8¼ inches.
Shoulder to wrist 24½ inches.
Wrist to point of index finger 8½ inches.

In males the thumb is long and broad in the terminal phalanx; the nails of the hand are broad and flat. I have often seen a man use his great toe to pick up an object off the ground, and flexing the leg bring the object to his hand. When journeying through the bush with a caravan it is very interesting to notice how the native uses the great toe to aid him in climbing a steep hill. The sexual apparatus is very highly developed, especially in the males. The women are the [481]

[1] It has not been possible for me to devote the time needed for a detailed study of Fang crania. The few Bulu and Fang skulls I have had opportunity for examining presented very little, if any, different characteristics. The skulls I examined were decidedly prognathous, but not large.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

776 idea as the Bulu regarding two great gods. The *Zambe* of the Bulu is the *Anyambi* or *Sekóme* of the Fang, the *tata* or father of all things; and another god of less power than *Anyambi* or *Sekóme*, who lives in the forests and is so tall that he gathers fruit from the highest trees. Some of the old men and women profess to have seen this god of the forests.

[775] Fang superstition includes transmigration; a departed human soul may enter any animal dwelling on top of the earth or in it. There are spirits of health and 782 disease, also a protecting spirit belonging to a clan or tribe, in whose honour a small basket is hung in the palaver house, containing portions of the skull of an 776 albino, whenever obtainable, also portions of the skulls of a relative and a chimpanzee, human hair, nails and bones. This fetish or *biang* is called the *Biang Akamayong*. Most Fang have a cabalistic word assigned to them by the *ngangan* (witch doctor), and this word is used as a prayer. During the new [535] moon, dances are nearly always indulged in, and the songs usually addressed to the spirits of Present and Future. Local spirits need constant propitiation; a native passing in his canoe a spot where a local spirit dwells, as a large rock, will pay his respects by casting a piece of his food into the river, or when in the forest a few stones or a piece of *mbóa* (cassava) is laid at the root of some great tree.

778 Wooden idols are not plentiful among the Fang tribes living along the rivers; they are seen more in the palaver houses of the bush towns.

Charms.—These may be only cabalistic words, and under this head of vocal charms must be included the incantations of the *ngangan* (witch doctor).

Material charms.—These are by far the most common; the belief in material charms, fetish, occupies the most prominent place in Fang religious contemplation.

Among the Fang, the English word Fetish, from the Portuguese word Feticio, is *Biang* (medicine). A Fang fetish is any material object which the *ngangan* (doctor) has consecrated and made a fit abiding place for a spirit. What may be consecrated? Anything, absolutely anything; a shell, rag, stone, twig of a tree, horns, nails, etc. The horns of small antelope and large deer are filled with resins, [754] nails, human hair, faeces, etc. To bewitch a person it is necessary to give the *ngangan* a piece of the hair, nail, a portion of the food or a drop of blood of the [826] person to be bewitched. A Fang is most careful if he cuts himself to see that only friends and relations approach him until the bleeding has ceased, and hair when cut is usually burnt without delay. As mentioned in the section of this 784 paper on food, every child during infancy is subjected to certain rites which 779 constitute his or her *Eki*, prohibiting the child from eating a certain kind of food or performing a certain act. Thus far, the superstitious beliefs of the Fang and [171] Bulu are precisely similar, and I gathered from Dr. Nassau at Gaboon many facts connected with the people among whom he laboured, the Mpongwe, which showed that they also held superstitious beliefs very nearly, and in some cases precisely similar to those of the Bulu and Fang, the only difference being in the

302 824 of wood (Fig. 139, b-d) and those put together from short sticks of raffia leafstalk bark (Fig. 139, a). Frequently a fragrant hair powder (akūt), used by members of either sex but made only by women, is added to the oil. In preparing it, the roots of the following four plants are mixed together:

1. Cyperacea Cyperus articulatus L. (andǎk);
2. Moracea Dorstenia scabra (Bureau) Engl. (azǒ'm Fang);
3. Urticacea Trymatococcus africanus H. Baillon (ngǒ'nǎ III);
4. An undetermined grass called niasǎda.

/Figs. 139 and 140 appear here in the original text./ /189/ /Fig. 141 appears here in the original text./ In any case, they mix two or three of these roots if they cannot get all four of them. The roots have to dry for two months in the hut and are then completely ground to a powder -- in the case of the Trymatococcus this is done only with the bark -- and they are then sifted through a basketwork plate by tapping it with a knife (a kūt, "to tap"). The roots produce an agreeably scented yellowish powder.

302 827 The Pangwe dislike hair on the rest of the body as much as they dislike it on the face. Underarm hair is shaved off with a razor (Fig. 140) "because of the bad smell"; pubic hair is shaved off -- again by both sexes -- because it is believed to cause itching. /Fig. 142 appears here in the original text./ There are, of course, always people, like good old Otu-Mfǒǒ, who will not bother with this kind of attention to the body.

412 Just as we use pocket knives, the native uses /190/ one-edged or two-edged knives (okǒń), Figures 141 and 142, which he forges himself and carries in sheaths made of brass, leather, hide, etc. at his belt.

515 164 The farther north one goes in the region, the more industriously do the Pangwe brush their teeth. This is done with a stick spliced at the top (Fig. 143) which at times is attractively wound with brass and wire and often serves as a walking stick. Nevertheless the Pangwe do not have nearly such good teeth as one might imagine. Among the Fang at least I never once saw an immaculate set of teeth among adults. The molars are often astonishingly poor, but the front teeth, on the other hand, which are commonly chipped to a point, are better preserved, perhaps because they alone are properly brushed.

586 insurmountable aversion to him; 3) repeated theft; 4) sorcery by which the woman kills (poisons) the children of other women, and the man is afraid that sooner or later he will likewise become her victim; 5) the slow development of the woman who was a child when married, in other words, the man had overestimated her age (this case is as characteristic of the Negroes as the reason given for it: "So that his money will not be spent for nothing"); 6) such diseases as leprosy, elephantiasis of the feet, and a form of dysentery (tit), if they appear soon after marriage.

In certain cases it may also happen that continued adultery and sterility of the wife lead to divorce.

If the reason for the return of the wife is well founded, which in most cases it doubtless is because a Negro will not give away his wife for nothing, the purchase price is returned, or in case the father-in-law has more daughters, a sister of the ex-wife is given in exchange for the unsuitable one. /264/

[691] Naturally, quarrels arise in great abundance on such occasions, and legal proceedings stemming from the refusal to return the purchase price of a wife constitute, next to cases of adultery, the majority of all litigations.

4. Medicines, Influence of Sexual Intercourse

842 In the opinion of the Pangwe, the seed is formed in the nipple. This idea was probably arrived at through the fact that 827 at the time of sexual maturity the breasts swell and at times even attain the size of the breasts of girls of the same age. From the nipple the seed flows into the pubic region to the mons pubis (edǎ'k) and is deposited there to flow out during coitus (see medicine for gonorrhea, Vol. II, p. 50). There would be too much [302] if the pubic hairs were shaved off. Hence they are merely cut short as a hygienic measure dictated by the hot climate, the secretion of sweat, and itching skin rashes. Concerning the significance of the testicles, the Pangwe are in complete ignorance; they believe that they merely serve to erect the penis.

841 Menstruation is the sign of the ability to bear children and is looked upon as an effect of the moon (ngō'n = girl and moon).

844 see it, and if she sees it she will have no more children. The mother is then washed with very hot water in which pimento has been steeped; after this her abdomen is bound with a belt of bark (ewaǧ) which she keeps on for several days.

846 After the birth of her child, a young mother is known by the name of nzinze, which she keeps until she has the right to resume relations with her husband. She has a special bed in the hut, on which a [84] menstruating woman may neither sit nor lie so as not to give scabies to the mother and the newborn. The young mother rests for about three months, during which she does no work and bathes every day with water as hot as she can stand, the lumbar region especially being [75] bathed. Moreover, after every bath she is smeared with red paste (ba) to prevent scabies.

Recovery from childbirth is marked by a celebration (okula mon). The first time she goes out, the woman carries a package of ba, a piece of which she places on every tree stump she meets on her way, to mark her path. On her return she prepares a large quantity of food she has brought back. The husband invites the men of his tribe, and the wife invites the women of her husband's tribe. When the food is ready, it is taken to the men in the watchers' hut, where the child is also taken. The women eat in the hut.

846 To improve the quality of her milk, the young mother drinks pro-
827 gressively, if necessary, three medicines:
757 (1) An infusion of aseh roots.

(2) A milky-looking infusion of pieces of tubers of a plant with a thorny stem (ekon bōkun).

(3) Latex from a rubber plant.

761 It may be that the child dies at birth. Three causes for this are
789 recognized:

An evur has eaten the child. To prevent this from being repeated and so that the woman will in the future bring living children into the world, she resorts to the practitioner. He goes into the forest armed [83] with a machete and a basket. He gathers the bark of an ovaṅ, and also brush and vines that grow under this tree. On his return to the village he divides his collection into two parts. One part, mixed with water, is put in a large rectangular container of banana leaves called etok, which has been filled with the blood of a domestic animal sacrificed for the welfare of the woman. She then immerses herself

757 278 For back aches Erythrophloeum guineense (elǔn) and the Rubiacea Gaertnera paniculata (esǒ̄mō Fang) are used. The bark of the Erythrophloeum is heated and laid on a bed on which the patient lies down. The bark of the Gaertnera is cut up into small pieces and is put into a larger piece of bark of the same plant; the patient must lie down with his back on it. For organic /181/ heart disease (nnǎ̄ nnēm "pains in the heart"), an extract of the [826] bark of Sterculia tragacantha Lindl. (edžō̄'le) is drunk; for mental [828] disorders, which are also supposed to come from the heart (okǒn nnēm), 10 different medicines have been mentioned to me. By acquiring the particular property of the plant, the heart is supposed to be put to sleep and made dark and small. I have further collected: 21 medicines for headache; four for lung disease (sǒ); nine for the cold; 56 for stomach and intestinal disorders; 54 for toothaches; 47 for rheumatic pains (nnǎ and nnǎ̄-nkūk); 23 for stomach-aches when twitching pains occur (nnǎ̄-abǔm); and five for hemorrhoids, among them especially the Cucurbitacea Cephalonema polyandrum K. Sch. (ejažǔ'm).

For eye inflammations, ground leaves of the Rubiacea Chasalia macrodiscus K. Sch. (dži̇ a ndžīk III) or bark scraped off the Euphorbiacea Hasskarlia didymostemon Baill. (efūō'le, dži̇, III) are put in a leaf bag, a little water is added, and the extract flowing out at the bottom is dropped into the eye. The same process is carried out with ground leaves of Ampelocissus cinnamochroa (nsī's ǎ III) as a remedy for sties.

To get rid of eye worms (eyǎ'), the sap of the following plants is used: Dipteropeltis poranoides Hallier f., Convolvulacea (atū[k] e ndžīk); Diodia breviseta Benth, Rubiacea (dēmezǒ III); Gabunia brachypoda Stpf., Apocynacea (etūe' ndžīk); Phaseolus lunatus L. (okǒkūnǒ III).

The Negro's indifference toward sand lice, Sarcopsylla penetrans (ašô), is well known; the Pangwe, too, neglect sand lice wounds and do not use medicine until half the toe is festered. Then ground leaves of Phytolacca abyssinica Hoffmann (atǒt e nkō), ground leaves of Ocimum gratissimum L. (asō'b) mixed with oil, or bark shavings of the Euphorbiacea Neoboutonia africana Muell. Arg. (okǒ'jôm) mixed with oil are placed on the wounds, and after a few days the

551 of his descendants, in whose person he will be repeated rather than reembodied. It should be remembered that jôé also means "authority," a notion that cannot be dissociated from that of name.

761 The cessation of vital functions, awu (from wu, to die), is not thought of as necessarily final: catalepsy, deep coma, anaesthesia, and real death are confused. It is evident that if the body is hurt during awu, a revival is impossible. A ghost, kôn (Fang, khun), is not necessarily physically dead: one of the most feared forms of sorcery, at which the Ndôñ are reputed to be particularly expert, consists of separating a person from his nsisim, shade or double, by giving him the appearance of physical death, then in awakening the body which will thereafter automatically obey the sorcerer's orders and may be used by him for all sorts of ends, to go kill or steal, or, more prosaically, to work his plantations. Persons thus transformed into bekôn are recognized by their pallor, jerky movements, and haggard expression; they survive the experience /opération/ for only a few months before dying in great physical and moral agony (1).

1. I have reason—but no proof—to believe that this is more than a myth: perhaps the criminal use of a narcotic producing effects similar to those of Pentothal. A kôn, frightful to see, died at the Sangmélima dispensary in 1947. The judicial inquiry revealed nothing.

761 Death in the complete sense does not occur for some time after the cessation of vital functions, and funeral rites seem to have had the purpose of detaching the individual from his mortal shell. There were two abodes of the dead. The bemie, those unblemished by ngbwel (sorcery by évu), crossed the river-of-the-west or the sea to go to the village of Zâmbe (Zobeyo, Nzame) in a cold country where their nsisim led a life rather like that in a terrestrial village where everything goes well (2). The beyem went down to étôtôlan, the

2. According to Trilles, this would have been Venus, otya alu, "the night's torch."

754 575 828 Sorcerers meet on certain days at a specified place. In most cases this meeting has been decided upon in advance at the previous gathering. But it may also happen that the high chief wants to convene his followers unexpectedly. How then is this done?

The manner is most mysterious.

A chief whom I once questioned on this subject told me that he heard the call during his sleep, that a "voice" informed him of the day, hour, and spot, and that this happened quite often. What is to be made of this reply? I must admit that I do not know. It can be stated definitely that certain sorcerers [453] are very clever at thought transmission even over long distances; such difficulties do not bother them.

One day I observed the following: I was chatting freely in a hut with a Fan who considered himself a friend of ours and who did, in fact, do us many services. I was sitting on his bamboo bed and he on a stool facing me. Suddenly I noticed a little bundle of sticks, some painted red, the others white, a few pointed, the rest not. What was most astonishing was that it seemed to me that the fairly large bundle had not been there a moment before. I hastily called it to our friend's attention because he could not have seen it, having his back turned. ...

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

"It's nothing, don't pay any attention," he said. He picked up the bundle and hid it carefully, adding, "Above all, don't mention it to anyone -- you would do me a great deal of harm!"

As his reply did not satisfy me, I wanted a further explanation.

"No, no!" he kept repeating, "It's a deep secret (endzândzân éki, lit., the forbidden mystery)."

754 575 828 203 At last after much urging, he decided to admit, after making me promise never to say anything to anyone, that he was a sorcerer of the Ngil rite and that this was the way of convening the next meeting.

"According to the color painted on the sticks," he said, "I know where I'm to go; the number of sticks tells me how many days until my departure for the meeting; the white ones indicate

754 the leaders who will be there, as each has his private mark.
575 That's all."

828 "But why are some pointed and others not?"

203 "Oh, that! No, that's a deep secret. If I were to tell you that I'd be punished by death at the next meeting."

[Pages 454-462 omitted. --Translator] [463]

[Two paragraphs omitted. --Translator]

791 All practitioners' societies recognize ritual sacrifice. In
754 many cases a human victim is slain and eaten. These sacrifices
575 are often characterized by what seems to us revolting cruelty and
782 horror. I shall have occasion to deal with this point more fully
266 when discussing sacrifice.

These are ritual sacrifices: immolation is not done for the pleasure of killing any more than consuming the victim is for the pleasure of eating human flesh. This is so much the case that a woman is never sacrificed: "Munga ké dzamadzam, ké kie ve
[562 nsissim: A woman is of no importance (from the sacrificial point
774] of view)," runs a Fan proverb, "She has no power over spirits because she has no soul."

At sorcerer's feasts, on the contrary, and in the societies they organize, men are eaten for the pleasure of eating human flesh.

754 According to all the Fan and all Africans, sorcerers leave their boeies in order to go and feed on the hearts of other men while asleep. Hence their name, bendzi bur, eaters of men. Sometimes they do this themselves, sometimes it is done by a spirit that possesses them. I willingly admit, of course, that there is nothing true in these accusations, at least as regards the way in which the sorcerers work. But one thing is undeniable, the fact of cannibalism.

[One paragraph omitted; p. 464 omitted. --Editor]

Chapter XIV

Totems of Sorcerers and of their Secret Societies

The Nagual and Nagualism

[Summary omitted--Translator] [466]

881 During the final days the chief makes a point of mixing into the
304 boys' food certain aphrodisiac stimulants, cardamon seeds [524]
779 (Amomum citriodorum), a wonderful red fruit (Lavigeria), and
832 onzakôn (Antrocaryon klaineanum) which, apart from these oc-
824 casions, only women may eat. They are even forbidden to say the name of that tree, because the word nkôn denotes the male genital organ; they must say onzabili, the onza tree. In addition the fruit of the onzakôn has a slight resemblance to a phallus.

Throughout their seclusion the children sleep stretched out
881 on the ashes of the hearths. They must tell the chief what they
304 have dreamt about; the family totem ought, in fact, to re-
779 veal itself to them at this time. Since the chief speaks to the
●824 children frequently and since they know that they are supposed to have the totem in mind, the suggestion, intimate and strange at the same time, leads easily to the desired result. If, however, a different object from the family totem, animal or other, appears more vividly and repeatedly in their imaginations, it would be a sign that the totemic guardian spirit wants to adopt another medium and, consequently, the child's totem, if he has a personal one, has to be changed.

5) The ceremony

On the day of the operation, the practitioner, who has
881 been forewarned, goes to the enclosure, accompanied by the
304 fathers. Each child is questioned in turn; then there is a big
779 dance performed in honor of the ancestors and guardian spirits of the clan. Each head of the family has brought along his mvamayôn and now explains it to the child. A new dance is done after this initiation. Each father then stretches his son out on the ground, sits down beside him, and slips his legs beneath the child's body in such a way as to raise the middle of the body. The practitioner has a knife in hand kept specially for this purpose and carefully wrapped in a little sheath. The
[413] knife used to be made of stone, but that kind has become very rare. Knives are now usually made of copper and are curiously worked, one end being beak shaped, the other pointed; they are not hafted. These knives are called ekèlokèn.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

name, the *Eki* of the Fang being the *Orunda* of the Mpongwe. One day when ou 784
a journey among the people, I asked an old headman to share with me a chicken 778
my boy had prepared for supper; the old man seemed pleased at my invitation, but asked the boy if it was a hen or cock fowl. Upon being informed that it was a cock, he declined to eat any of it · that was his *Eki*. As previously stated, I do 769
not believe the natives worship the spirits of Present and Future, but to a certain degree ancestral worship does exist. A Fang places the skull of his father in a curious receptacle of bark, worshipping it, killing fowls and making blood offerings to it, and in many ways the whole matter somewhat resembles the worshipping at graves and before ancestral tablets as practised in China. The natives often pray to their father's skull before talking a large war palaver, or the purchase of a new woman. As worshipping departed ancestors is the chief duty of a faithful Chinaman, so making offerings and prayers to the departed father's spirit before the skull constitutes the great Fang fetish, or *bieti*. Wooden idols, *biyeme*, of men [831]
and women are made in a manner which makes the sex extremely apparent; yet [532]
whenever I have seen these figures in towns, the people did not seem to regard them as obscene, but as truthful representations of the sexes. I feel sure that to some extent, at least, phallic worship is practised among the Fang. Spirits are 776
everywhere; in rocks, trees, forests, and streams; in fact, for the Fang, this life is one continual fight against spirits corporal and spiritual.

A peculiar belief regarding dreams is that when a person sleeps the soul often 787
wanders away, and its experiences on these journeys are made known to the sleeper 928 ●
by dreams. After death the soul may inhabit any kind of animal. [775]

Fetish Biang (medicine).—Fetish means anything; leopard teeth, human finger nails, hair, wood, iron, herbs. The article used as *biang* or fetish, has no 778
intrinsic value, it is only valued because of connecting its owner with a spirit which can aid him. The leopard tooth fetish is supposed to impart the bravery of the leopard to its owner. Fetish is a spirit or combination of spirits manifested in material things.

Dili Mkuk.—To murder a person and save his skull as a fetish, or use the skull as medicine to bring women, guns, goats or goods. The people will make offerings to the skulls calling them by the names of persons killed. It is said that these prayers are always answered as desired.

Biang e Soli (hiding medicine).—A man goes and takes leaves of trees, and cuts 789
them up. He says, "I have cut up leaves of trees" (or high grass, bushes). The women shell gourd seeds and mash them. They catch a fowl, kill it, and put it in the pot. They also put in the pot the medicine leaves, and the mashed gourd kernels. They put the pot on the fire, and boil (its contents). When they have boiled it, the medicine is cooked. They take the medicine pot off (the fire). They go and put it by the side of (*afua*) the back of the *bieti*. The man who has put it there says to the *bieti*, other people want to kill me. He takes away the medicine pot. He opens the *bieti* basket. He takes a small piece of the bone (instead of this say to the woman and children he takes the excrement of the

715 825 Sometimes a dead person who was not sufficiently mourned has on account of this been unable to find the route to the river Endam, and he comes back in the shape of a black antelope to get himself killed so as to die a second time and be sure to arrive at the village of the dead.

715 829 Europeans, on account of their pale look, their long, smooth hair, and above all because of the material goods they have brought, are still regarded as dead Pahouin who have returned to their country, and the fear of the children who rush to hide from the sight of a white man in many villages is due to the legends told by the old people who thus describe us.

V. First Reactions to Material Inferiority

556 441 The access of the Fang to the traditional trade regions has had great consequences. What started out as a conquering and "colonizing" undertaking has imperceptibly changed into a search for manufactured "riches" (bium) and [157] competition for trade routes and trade centers. The quest for "merchandise" is the primary male activity and sets in motion the machinery of war and witchcraft. [462]

829 773 The legends which we know stress the attraction of the West as the country of white men who have all riches at their disposal. One of these told by V. Largeau suggests the importance of access to these trade zones:

"We arrive at last at the N'Tem and the Ogooué where we meet those who distribute riches ... they give us everything, we become rich." (1)

1. Op. cit., article: Instruction.

The legendary texts,collected by Father Trilles under the title "Noirs et Blancs [The Blacks and the Whites]" are particularly significant. A predominant place is given to the theme of wealth, held only by the white men. Wealth has escaped the black men — because of a lack of technique and because of an attitude of abandoning rather than dominating the world, (2) or

2. "Proverbes, Légendes et Contes Fang [Fang Proverbs, Legends, and Tales]," op. cit., and especially "Noirs et Blancs [Blacks and Whites]" and "Légende du Nsas [Legend of the Nsas]."

has been stolen from them. (3) The whites apparently represent

3. "Legend of Bingo"; and "in order to seize his treasures (from the hero

829
773

Bingo) and possess his secret, they killed him and took the green stone, the green stone he would have left us. Since then men from beyond the mountains possess the riches of the earth, but we have kept the laws of Bingo...."

wealth, they are mitâgõ, those who count. They have even been proclaimed by mythology. They have the physical appearance of ghosts, and they have at their disposal all the goods accumulated in the country of the ancestors. One can see therefore the powerful impression made by the arrival of the white man who was rich in merchandise, and the value, reinforced by the whole meaning of the myth, placed on this wealth. At the time of the clan regrouping movement, certain teachings in the form of question and answer continued to associate the two terms, power of the white man's example and pursuit of riches:

"--What life should we lead?
--We should lead the European life.
--What is the example we should give to lead the European life?
--We should work in order to earn money...." (4)

4. Cahier des réunions [Notebook of Gatherings], Yémisèm of Oyem.

441 [67] At the beginning of this chapter we stressed the attraction of the economically strong centers -- the coast, the Lower Ogooué, Spanish Guinea. A map of the migrations makes [158] them appear like meeting points. At first the Fang settled in the outskirts of these centers or attracted the trading stations to themselves with a feeling of real appropriation. Du Chaillu and Cureau observed this phenomenon, the former by showing how "having become the white man of such-and-such a chief, " he "obtained well-being and security" but was obliged to give

441 presents." (1) The latter analyzed the Ogooué commerce which was

1. Voyages et Aventures dans l'Afrique Equatoriale [Travels and Adventures in Equatorial Africa], pp. 106 and 120.

"under the thumb of the Fang population": "Firms were obliged to maintain their establishments in definite localities and were forbidden under threat of hostilities to move them upstream. The European agent was respected; far from being disturbed, their stores were strictly protected by the village warriors. The merchant was a prisoner of the population; he found himself invested with a monopoly." (2)

2. Op. cit., pp. 294-295.

441 556 829 The first government reports continue to note, like Du Chaillu, the desire of each large grouping to have a trading post for itself; once satisfied they would relax and be submissive."(3)

3. Rapport annuel de 1907 [Annual Report of 1907], Archives of Gabon.

This behavior is not explained by the single economic anxiety to reserve for themselves a monopoly and to have at hand the possibility of bartering. To have a trading station in contact with the village itself is to have reached the end of migrations westward which were to lead to the source of wealth; it is to participate constantly in this wealth and to have the certainty of a superior life. To enter into relations with the white man, who appears both as an "eldest son" and more than a human being with his riches and knowledge of riches, this is to participate in a circuit of power and fecundity, and to transcend a somehow cursed existence in order to attain the "true life."

829 773 On the other hand, the legends show how, in contact with technical manifestations and European enterprise, the Fang very

829 soon developed a feeling of subjection and inferiority in wisdom
773 and riches. This is attributed to a decision of Nzamō (God), to a veritable curse. A text collected by Largeau mentions two children of Nazmō — Ekouagha (subjected) and Ndan'gho (ruler) — and the wishes expressed for each of these:

For Ndan'gho, the father says: "Riches! authority! wisdom!" [159] He adds: "All these things are in yourself!" Again he says: "You will beget white children." For Ekouagha, he cries out: "Alas! my other son has taken everything with the fortune ... There are no riches left for you ... you will beget black men ... you will be miserable..." (1) This is a theme comparable to that

1. Op. cit., article, Instruction.

of the "Legend of the Nsas" given by Father Trilles, in which Nazmō [sic] ends by saying: "You, black man, rise and go and find your wives and populate the earth ... you will always remain naked as now ... You, white man, you will be rich, richer even than you were in your dream. You, the white man, will always be the white man, the black man will always be the black man, the white man will always be rich, the black man always poor..." (2)

2. Op. cit., Légende du Nsas
[Legend of Nsas].

829 The curse motif indicates the effective potentialities attached
773 to imported riches and their acquisition. Also there appears per-
177 haps the first awareness of the racial question and above all a technical insufficiency allied to a social organization that is wholly preoccupied with the production of human beings, (in the legend quoted, "go and find your wives and populate the earth" is part of the curse). The illusion of direct participation in riches was quickly destroyed, and the ascendancy of the agents of colonization became more specific and more complete. The theme of the curse attached to the race shows the extent of the deception. It is no longer possible to return to methods of violence. Witchcraft techniques then increase in number; recourse is had to knowledge revealed during fits brought on by the absorption of certain forms

829 of strychnine, and the idea, borrowed from Christianity, of a
773 better life after death becomes more specific. The effort at
177 adaptation dealt first with religious and magical techniques; in these fields much was borrowed from neighboring peoples (for example, the Bwiti cult of which we will speak later); customs are altered not in order to assimilate for purposes of conquest but simply for means of defense. The Fang people, reduced to a state of unemployed conquerors, lose the essential part of their moral strength. As we will show in the next chapter the Fang are one of those peoples that have most keenly suffered from crises due to the colonial situation and one of those that have reacted most to this threat.

224

1. Pitfalls (ebɛ̄ɛ̄, ndǎǎ I)

The simplest kind of trap, the pit, is to be found throughout the entire region. Everywhere along the paths through the forest there are narrow, rectangular pits, many of which are three meters deep. They are so close to the path that at times they can be a source of danger -- carefully covered as they are -- to pedestrians who are not paying close attention. Near the bottom they become so narrow that a person falling into them remains hanging wedged between the walls halfway /118/ /Fig. 67 appears here in the original text/ and cannot get out again by himself. Pits having pointed [726] posts at the bottom are not for wild animals; they are used only in war. The pits are usually constructed by two people, the owners, of whom one digs while the other carries away the dirt. The person [834] who has done the digging may not have any sexual intercourse for ●[83] five days after this work, for the pit is a hole like the female sex organ; thus, if he were to defile himself through sexual intercourse with a woman, he would not catch anything in the pit.

2. Spring traps (ekūīdí)

The Pangwe distinguish seven types of spring traps, that is to say, traps in which the animal is killed either by a tree trunk suspended over a passage and released by means of a trigger device or by a freely balanced, weighted plate, raised above the ground.

A. True spring traps for wild animals
   1. ekūidi-osǎb or osǎb
   2. ekūidi-esɔ̄ʼdɔ̄
   3. ekūidi-nkɔ̄k
   4. alū́na-ekūidi
B. Rat spring traps
   5. ekūidi-o-sí
   6. ekūidi-o-jóʼb
C. Spring plates
   7. akūi

/119/ /Figs. 68 and 69 appear here in the original text./

531 In contrast to the previous patterns, the spear with barbs (ngam akǒń) cannot be explained in terms of technology, nor do I believe for a moment that it was originally a carved pattern, especially since it rarely occurs on the stools (Fig. 40). /Fig. 207 appears here in the original text./ Instead, I suspect that this pattern first made its appearance with the decorative scar incising, and that later it gained a place also among the carved patterns because of its pleasing shape. /Fig. 208 appears here in the original text./

A single pattern consisting of ellipses could not be explained by any stool carver. I was told that only the specialist who knew how to prepare the patterns would know. I did not meet this person, however, and therefore must leave it to later research to provide enlightenment in this respect (Fig. 212, Drawing 27). /253/

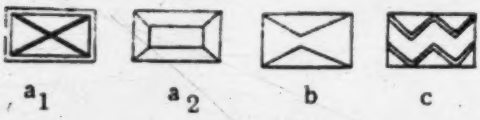
Even among the stool patterns there is a discernible development of the basic patterns into modified patterns. /Fig. 209 appears here in the original text./ To some extent the development remained at the level of the decorative barks and displays exactly the same forms as they do, but for the greater part it progressed considerably and produced a rich abundance of new forms.

The following motifs recur: the box pattern (eǰima) -- plain or in variations (Fig. 209, a) -- the checkerboard surface (ndǒk) composed of juxtaposed diamonds, the cutlass sheath pattern (abǎ'm nkpwē̱da) -- plain and in a variation (Fig. 209, b) -- the acute-angled triangle, spearhead patterns (etǔn akǒń), the angular braiding patterns (benīge be nkǔn), Fig. 209, c, and the mask pattern (epfoa).

Concerning homologous modified patterns, there are the following new ones.

1) The file pattern (zaṅe wǫ̂s, from zaṅe = engraving, wǫ̂s = file) consists of juxtaposed small diamonds that are not emphasized (Fig. 211, a). The artist does not see the background, but the outlines and therefore compares these with the engraved lines of the roughened file which intersect regularly.

531 831 2) The strand of cowrie shells pattern (nlǒń e mvama): every second row of the diamonds, placed one above the other, is halved on the surface of the diamonds by a longitudinal stripe, originally



531

Fig. 209. Patterns on Stools.

a combination of the patterns of a diamond and a parallel line (Fig. 211, b), and this suggested a string of cowrie shells. The similarity of the two is shown by Figure 210. It seems possible to me that in this case a further relationship between the cowrie shell and the diamond pattern plays a role. The Togo Negroes, for instance (according to an oral communication from the missionary, C. Spiess), recognize in the cowrie shell an image of the vulva; since ancient times the diamond pattern has been viewed in the same way by the Pangwe. After the introduction of the cowrie shell, the Pangwe immediately recognized its similarity to the diamond and transferred to the former the symbolism of the latter. As in Togo, the cowrie shell is regarded among the Pangwe as a symbol that brings good fortune, and, as such, it is applied to medicine horns or hung on anchored nets as a hunting medicine. Another symbol that likewise /Fig. 210 appears here in the original text/ brings good luck is the diamond which they paint onto their skins with redwood (a color that brings luck!) or tattoo onto their skins as a permanent pattern. We find

531 831 [171] [177]

Fig. 210. Strings of Cowrie Shells.

here a remarkable contradiction in their conceptions. As we have seen, the sexual act was performed in connection

531

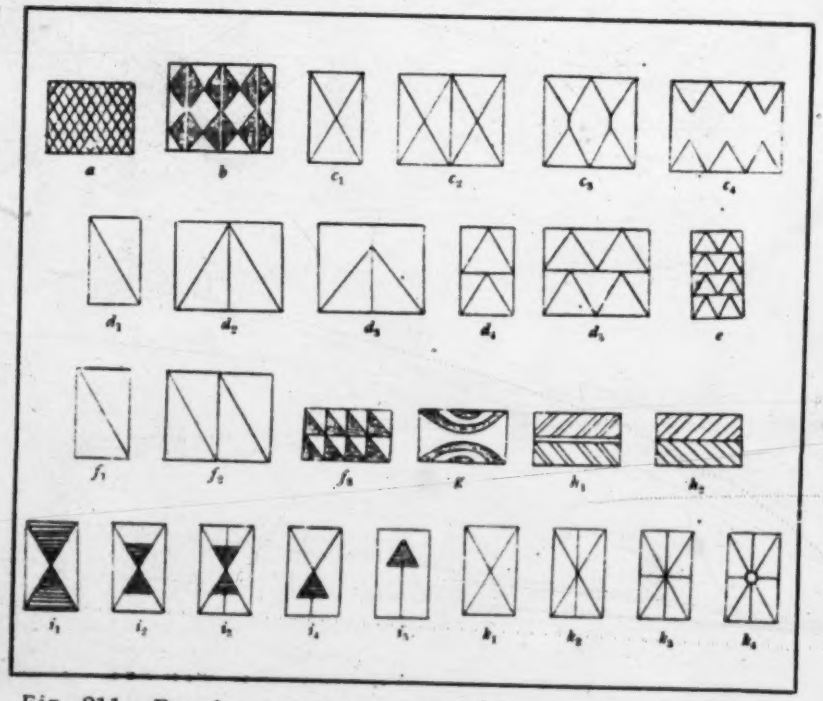


Fig. 211. Developmental Series of Modified Patterns of the Art of Carving.

531 with the sowing of ngon as a process furthering fertility; /254/ /Fig.
831 211 appears here in the original text/ in the case of iron smelting, on the other hand, the sexual act is strictly prohibited as something disturbing. The significance of everything sexual as bringing misfortune predominates throughout, and I therefore believe that we are dealing here with two temporally different conceptions: one, now recognizable only in remnants, which is older and concerns the influence and the influencing of fertility; another which arose later or was added later and concerns the sinfulness of sexual intercourse.

531 3) The arrow-leaf pattern (esõgele ndu = leaf on crossbow arrows to balance the flight).

4) The spike pattern (mesǒ'n = spike, or mesǒ'n m'egbwẽle = spikes of the iron money).

Both consist of a number of triangles which have come about either as final members of the development of Series c (Fig. 211),

532

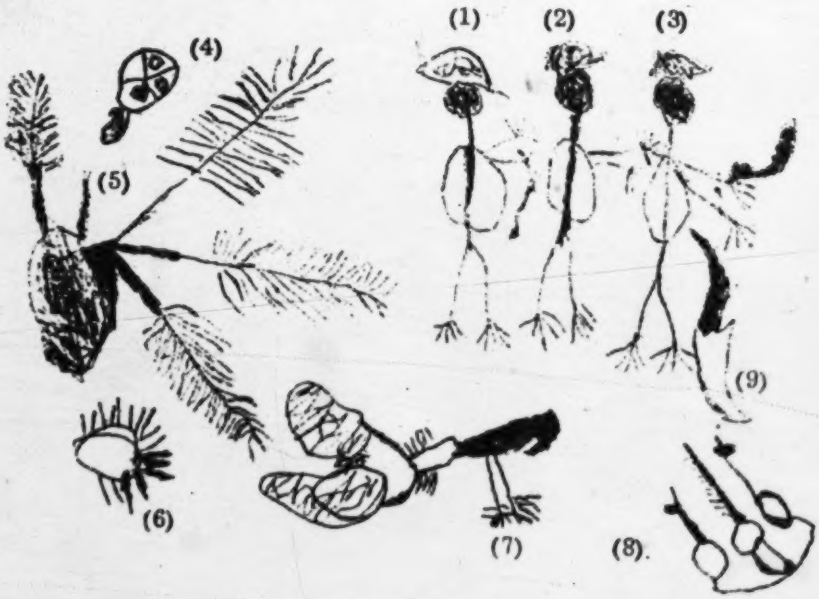


Fig. 226. Drawings by a Servant of the Author. Drawings 1-3. The author. Left, with a whip; right, with a walking stick. Drawing 4. Pocket watch belonging to the author. Drawing 5. Raffia palm. Drawing 6. Porcupine. Drawing 7. Man on a bicycle. Drawing 8. The author's key chain. Drawing 9. European pincers.

domestic or wild animals are very rare, there are none of plants, and as to tools, only the most striking ones (for instance, the large forging iron). Besides, most of the drawings are only scribbling anyway, in which only the author -- and perhaps not always even he -- had any idea of what he was doing. Obscene pictures, such as the one shown [831] in Drawing 10, Figure 225, are a great /275/ rarity; in the majority of drawings representing persons the sex organs are completely omitted. The sheet of pictures which my black boy gave to me as a farewell present, which he also adorned with my picture (Fig. 226), is of significance only for the "modern trend in art" and perhaps also for the

825 all from its characteristic of devouring crocodile's eggs (see Volume
784 I, page 273). Finally, turtles and poisonous snakes are taboo. We have encountered the turtle repeatedly in our description of the cults (see the Schok cult, Vol. II, p. 77 /Ed., not translated/, and the Bokung cult, Vol. II, p. 72 /Ed., not translated/) without being able to explain its appearance properly (1). The poisonous

[794]

1. In this connection it is particularly noteworthy that the turtle is the only animal which is prohibited for the initiated of a men's cult.

snakes with their sharply defined head (vipers!) have given rise to the comparison, penis = snake (see Vol. II, p. 32 /Ed., not translated/).

For other taboos it seems to be decisive that the animals lead a nocturnal life and that they have attracted the attention of human beings by their powerful, peculiar screech /192/ (see the prefix classes, Vol. I, pp. 27 and 28 /Ed., not translated/, the nocturnal animal, Vol. II, p. 36 /Ed., not translated/). Included in this category are alipeds, certain lemurs, the tree cony, the flying squirrel; among birds, the night rail Himantomis, the owls, and the West African blue-headed coucal.

Still further taboos seem to stem from the fact that the animals live in the house or near human dwellings and therefore belong, as it were, to the family. In this category we find the domestic rat and its sister, the African rat (edu) which is almost extinct in the Pangwe region, the parasite kite, and the sparrow, the agama, and perhaps also domestic lizards (Lygosoma reichenowi). For the rest of the prohibited animals, their repulsive smell or their ugly and peculiar shape enters in as a consideration. In this connection we should mention: the civet cat and the Herpestes species, with the exception of Herpestes melanurus, the shrews, all of them having a repulsive smell, the shrew otter (Potamogale) because of its peculiar appearance (half mammal, half fish), the scaly anteaters because of their armor, Sciurus pumilio, toads, and frogs. There
[831] is a quite remarkable, real fear of the inside of the elephant's tusks,

825 which one is not even allowed to step over since one's penis would
784 become as flaccid as the elephant's gums. The latter do indeed
[831] look rather uninviting with their bluish-red coloration and flabby consistency. It goes without saying that a woman likewise is prohibited from eating the meat since she could transmit a debilitating influence to the man during intercourse.

In the case of temporary food taboos that are enforced for the
843 duration of pregnancy and nursing, the decisive element -- as I have
825 said -- is the fear that the animals' characteristics might be trans-
784 mitted to the child. For example, there is a taboo against the
262 hawk-eagle, Lophoaetus occipitalis (abǎ'jǵ'k), an animal which the Pangwe themselves greatly admire for its beauty, and whose crown the boys try to imitate by sticking long feathers in their hair or behind their ears. In the case of pregnant women, however, the situation is different. They reason as follows: if the child, by acquiring the bird's characteristics with its food, were also to develop an excrescence, how unnatural and ugly that would be! For the rest, the natives fear above all large heads and fat bellies -- two characteristics which frequently strike us unpleasantly in Negro boys -- as well as long legs. In this connection, one readily perceives the accuracy of the Negroes' powers of observation and the precision with which they recognize the slightest differences among various species of a genus. Birds with an ugly screech are completely taboo, since the child might screech in just the same way, something which would be extremely disagreeable, as any father of a family would understand. Of further significance is the exclusion of trembling or wobbling animals, through which the child might even become epileptic. /193/

The most terrible danger threatening pregnant women, however, is from animals which live in any kind of hollow (holes in the ground, in trees) or are caught there. One can speak of a downright horror vacui. If such an animal were to be eaten, the child might also wish to stay in its hollow, "in the belly," and a difficult birth could be expected. Similarly, during this time the parents may not remove any bird nests built in holes in trees, and one of my employees who had made a woman pregnant resolutely refused to make a model of a cassava loaf for me, because it was supposed to be hollow inside.

539 tǭbǒ nale, adzǭ a n'abě
833 remain thus, affair it is bad.
836 Chorus:

A ta ma vū or a na ma
Oh, my father, I am dying, Oh, my mother, I

vū.
am dying (4).

[195] 4. The Negro dies on every occasion when something unpleasant happens to him; the chorus thus speaks from the point of view of the woman who is in such despair concerning this "bad affair" that she would almost like to die.

836 Although there are no actual prostitutes, a number of the
548 women enjoy the free life of a girl and up to the age of 30 or 35 years remain ngǭ'n, "girls." This kind of "girl," to whom every man, boy or adult, whatever his name, whether he is handsome or not, is equally /255/ welcome, is called a ñzīla. The fact that people have no better opinion of her than we have of a loose woman is shown by a song sung at a festival for the [533] souls. In its own way this song represents a delightful satire and, for the Pangwe, an extraordinarily witty, poetic achievement. I have reproduced it in Section 20 ("Music") /Ed., not translated/.

In spite of the great sensuality, relations between the sexes
831 do have finer traits; tactful behavior, precise observation of prescribed forms, and profound spiritual sensibility are not absent. The ingenuous conduct of the young man toward the girl's parents and the naturalness with which the young people enjoy their love, without obligations, without social prejudices, have something almost ideal about them.

584 innocent and anxiously avoid anything that might give rise to
836 gossip. Thus, if we speak with the Pangwe about sexual matters, we constantly hear the word oson, "shame," oson this and oson that. Admittedly, wherever European influence is spreading, the
[177] use of oson decreases, for together with this influence the religious conceptions upon which shame is based are disappearing (as we saw in the case of sin, nsōm); at the same time, moral sensibilities are becoming laxer, and there are no longer any self-imposed restraints.

With free love universally prevalent, it naturally happens
836 also that several lovers find their way to the same girl in one night, especially when she is no longer a beginner, and she takes "pity" -- as the Pangwe themselves say mockingly -- on them all (1). With such nžīla, especially the older ones, the

[802] [211]

1. Even to keep track of their number is too difficult a task for her memory; for that reason the Jaunde girls count the number of their friends on little sticks of raffia (see Zenker).

men also permit themselves the use of offensive expressions and crude jokes, such as would be unheard of and strictly prohibited with a young girl -- especially the future wife. As an example,
[831] phalli are sometimes made of wood and then displayed wrapped in a leaf.

As has already been indicated, liaisons of the heart based on
831 genuine love are by no means uncommon. Nobody, on the other hand, will be surprised to learn that for the most part they are of limited duration and are incapable of bearing the burden which we expect of them. Thus I did not learn of a single case of a person
[762] committing suicide because of unrequited love or a spurned courtship, even though women hang themselves because somebody stole a few of their miserable hens, and men shoot themselves because their father sold a daughter in order to buy a wife, instead of leaving her to the son, the girl's brother. Generally speaking, the power of Negro love is not as great as that of the love of the Whites.

831 If the latter resembles a rushing stream which tears away everything in its path, the love of the Blacks is like a still, deep lake, and it is certain that even in Africa the magic power of love often intimately joins two hearts and that there is genuine love which in every respect is comparable to the European conception. This point is well demonstrated by the "love tests" which the men sometimes apply in order to convince themselves of the love of a future wife, quite according to the pattern: "Drum prüfe, wer sich ewig bindet, ob sich das Herz zum Herzen findet" /Trans., "Therefore assay, before you bind yourself never to part, whether there's harmony 'twixt heart and heart," from Schiller, "Das Lied von der Glocke"/.

539 An example is presented by the following tale.

514 One day a young man went to see the girl that he loved and wanted to marry. At night, while he was sleeping in her house,
836 he had /257/ to urinate, but since he did not know where the toilet was and since there was no man there whom he could ask, he said to himself: "Oh, what shall I do in my need? -- -- But let me see whether the girl really loves me!" He took a small cooking pot (oběbē') and used it so that it was filled to the brim (lǒ'dǒtǒ); then he covered it with leaves and placed it behind a bed. The next morning he set out on the way home, and the girl accompanied him until they were outside the village. On the way he said: "I am going now to my village, and I shall see

ng(e) oa dž̌ǐn ma: oběbē', ng(e) oa bě̌'ne
if you love me: (the) little pot, if you hate (do not

ma: oběbē'."
love) me: (the) little pot,

that is, the little pot will show whether you love me or not! The girl did not understand what he meant by this and asked him to explain. But he simply answered:

ǒ', kaa dž̌ǎm mfě,
Oh, no matter other (than that):

ng(e) oa dž̌ǐ'n ma: oběbē', ng(e) oa bě̌ne ma, oběbē'.

In the case of gonorrhea, the infected woman can demand
164 damages only if she notices the misfortune before she has been
684 paid for the favor rendered. The damages amount to 400 spears if the disease came from a person of the same kin group, and 1000 spears if it came from a person of another kin group. With the payment the "temporary marriage contract" is terminated, and thereby any claim for damages is nullified. In other words, it is always a good idea to pay one's debts as soon as possible:

[539] a bɛ̌le, a bɛ̌le, a kɔ̌n abɛ̌ mayɔ̌k.
Keeping, keeping, it strikes (a) poor bargain.

The person who always keeps his money to himself runs into an unfavorable price situation.

Their unrestrained sexual intercourse has a highly deleterious
● 831 effect upon the Negroes; it weakens and stupefies them. Smaller
461 boys are often quite useful as servants, but once they reach sexual maturity and become acquainted with women, they can simply no longer be used. The Pangwe recognize this bad influence, and intelligent ones among them did not hesitate to confess frankly to me that their sexual practices corrupted them and made them incapable of strenuous physical or intellectual work. We do not need the testimony of individuals, however -- popular customs demonstrate this insight sufficiently. I believe that, aside from
[834] being based upon the original religious conception concerning the sinfulness of sexual intercourse and its incarnation in the woman, the abstinence rules for war and hunting expeditions and for iron smelting are based on the experience that sexual intercourse weakens the man's physical and intellectual capacities. Naturally, the man is inclined to heap the blame on women /268/
[196] and bebɔ̌n, "vaginas," as he contemptuously calls them (1).

171 1. "Terms which originally only signified 'vulva' or 'cunnus' but were then generalized into the concept 'wenches,'" exist everywhere in Europe, too; see Anthropophyteia, Jahrbücher für folkloristische Erhebungen und Forschungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der geschlechtlichen

171 Moral /Anthropophyteia, Yearbooks for Folkloristic Inquiries and Explorations into the Historical Development of Sexual Morality/, edited by Dr. Friedrich S. Krauss (1912), Vol. 9, p. 31.

833 Over against the great mass of women, the bebŏbǎń, who
777 through sexual intercourse bring the man misfortune, there is the exceptional phenomenon of the woman who among the Ntum is called ayūē' III and among the Fang ayǎ. Union with her brings both parties, the woman as well as the man, good fortune. At the same time her influence is more important for the man, for instance, during military and hunting expeditions. If, for instance, the man goes hunting on the day after having had intercourse with such a woman, he is bound to see a wild animal soon and to kill it. If he goes to war, "his rifle will hit its mark," whereas the enemy's will not. For this eventuality, moreover, he has the woman give him a medicine, namely red wood that she has ground in a certain way (bā-ayǎ, mfumu-bā). The woman, too, is lucky on this day if she goes "hunting" for fish, that is, if she goes on a fish drive (a ìlǐk), or works on the farm (see Vol. I, p. 56).

But -- as was said -- such women who bring good fortune are a rarity; the majority of women bring misfortune. If a man goes hunting on the day after coition, all the animals evade him in a wide arc (a bǎń), hence the name ebŏbǎń.

[833] In the peculiar custom of the miǎk consecration I see proof of
715 the fact that the Pangwe know the harmful effect of excessive sexual
834 intercourse. The word miǎk actually means the castrated animal,
831 in particular the buck goat (see Vol. I, p. 76), and here it is applied symbolically to a person who through a public and solemn declaration is for a time excluded from sexual intercourse. After a successfully concluded war, more rarely upon some other occasion, somebody (usually the chief) decides to consecrate his son or his daughter to purity. Naturally, neither of the latter may as yet be acquainted with sexual matters, in other words, they will only be

785 from four to six years old. They are thus consecrated so that
554 one day they will surpass all others in insight and understanding;
831 then, through their spiritual superiority, they will acquire influence, power (knowledge is power!), and especially wealth. In the case of the son, this will be to his own advantage; in the case of the daughter, it will benefit the father who can get a higher purchase price for her than for a girl with the usual loose way of life. In other words, the "savages" know well the value of moral purity. /269/

831 The custom of mǐǎk consecration was formerly practiced
785 throughout the Pangwe region. Nowadays, however, since warlike
[184] times have ceased, it is to be encountered only among the Fang of the central Uelle region. I should like to compare the custom
[171] to the practice found among us during the Middle Ages, whereby the heads of important families (especially princes), after some lucky success (for instance, in war), destined one child for the clergy and consecrated it to the pure life dedicated to God, frequently not without calculating the advantages that could accrue to them from such an action.

785 The procedure of the consecration feast is as follows. The
789 child, clothed in a small loincloth, is led to the medicine man
556 and is washed by him with a medicine water. The medicines used
831 for this are barks of various trees that bear ample fruit, such as
[824] the Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofǒs), so that the child's understanding may bear fruit as abundantly as these trees or, in other words, so that wealth may fall to its lot in the same abundance as the fruit of these trees falls to the ground beneath them. The various barks are placed in a container made of banana leaves, and hot water is poured over them. After the ablution, the child must swallow the principal medicine, a bundle of ngon
[824] with the chopped leaves of certain "weak" plants, such as Hibiscus moschatus (Roxb.) (tége III, from a tĕk, "weak," because the fruit is cooked in a short time), in order to make the child
[833] equally weak, that is, sexually incapable. Furthermore, the ngon
[825] is mixed with chicken meat -- the chicken is the bird of day, of the good and the pure, and at the same time it is supposed to point symbolically to the wealth that is desired for the child (the chief, the "Very Rich One," is regarded as the privileged son of the

831 785 556 [825] sun) -- or with elephant's meat, in which case the child is supposed to become spiritually great and important, just as the elephant surpasses the other animals physically, or, finally, with the meat of the hedgehog -- the child is to get as many things as the hedgehog has quills (1).

[539] 1. A well-known proverb, to be intelligible, would have to be translated into Pangwe something like this: He is as full of stupidities as the hedgehog is full of quills.

785 831 [834] [291] Thus, the child becomes miǎk. Its loincloth is taken off and from now on -- be it male or female -- it must go about completely naked. Here is another significant fact regarding the moral-religious view of the Pangwe: clothing, that is, the covering of the sex organs, arose because the sense of shame (o-so-n) which started with the first sin (n-sö-m, root so), that is, sexual intercourse, demanded it. If the innocent state (ignorance of sexual matters) is artificially restored, clothing becomes unnecessary.

The miǎk are generally respected. People are careful not to speak to them about sexual matters or to seduce the girls, especially since /270/ the protection which they are accorded by custom is effectively strengthened through the right of the father or the relatives to shoot down the seducer without further ado wherever they find him. Nowadays, however, the old customs have been somewhat relaxed; the miǎk are not always what they ought to be.

[664] Annulment of the chastity obligation takes place in the same solemn manner when the consecrated person is fully grown, in other words, not before the age of 20 years. In the case of the man, it is required that he prove himself the bravest in war or at least that he has shot an enemy (1). In the case of the girl, it is

[177] 1. Today, in the regions influenced by the Whites, this decree has had to be moderated.

[583] required of the suitor that, contrary to the usual custom, he pay

785 the already higher marriage price in advance, down to the last
●831 little string of beads.
[583]

The ceremony itself proceeds as follows. A goat is killed, and its blood is mixed with medicines by the medicine man and rubbed onto the body of the miak. The medicines are made from shavings of bark from various trees and are supposed to cause sexual incapacity to be "stripped off"; the goat is chosen because, [825] in contrast to the chicken, it is the animal of evil, of the sexual drive. Finally, the medicine man solemnly declares that the person concerned has ceased to be a miak and is thus relieved of the obligation to abstain. Henceforth the erstwhile miak again wears a loincloth.

5. Deviant Forms of Sexual Intercourse

The Negro's strong sweat secretions, but chiefly a skin 839 disease -- Krokro /Ed., ?/ (metiah) -- appearing on the sex organs and between the buttocks, cause an itching irritation which among the Pangwe has led to the bad habit of constantly scratching the penis whenever time and opportunity are favorable, even when there is no itching as well as to relieving an itch. They do this by twirling the penis in a manner similar to that used in making fire with sticks. This is a sport practiced by boys and adults alike and is called a kik e metiah or a wo'o (= wok) metiah, which simply means "to relieve the itching by scratching" (metiah means itching of any kind, Krokro being simply the most unpleasant form of itch). On this occasion, erection naturally takes place as a rule, although no orgasm follows, just as there was no intention of relieving sexual desire. Indirectly, on the other hand, this action passes into a form of real masturbation, likewise through twirling the penis (a sik nkun) from which, however, orgasm does not always follow either. In certain regions among the Okak this nsie n-nkun (the noun) is prohibited (eki); it is said that otherwise the person concerned will no longer be able to cohabit with women successfully. /271/

524
153
539

Sentence 9: agbǔ̀ʌ́ zāngbwā' (seven antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbǔ̀ʌ́ asiē'men (six).

Sentence 10: agbǔ̀ʌ́ mūōm (eight antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbǔ̀ʌ́ zāngbwā' (seven).

Sentence 11. agbǔ̀ʌ́ ebū, (nine antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbǔ̀ʌ́ mūōm (eight).

Sentence 12. agbǔ̀ʌ́ avōm (ten antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbǔ̀ʌ́ ebū, (nine).

[832]

Young lovers like to play the game with their girls, as may be surmised from the somewhat romantic text. Jokingly, the girl says that she will give herself only to the one who can go through the entire game without making a mistake.

The Memory Game (nkúk ondūle or endēle)

153
524
211

This game is known only among the Fang and a number of adjoining Ntum kin groups, and it is supposedly indigenous. A flat staff with short, paired transverse extensions and vertically inserted knobs is used in the game. The end of the staff usually has a head carved on it (Fig. 113). Each pair of transverse extensions, along with the knob and the adjacent lower part of the staff, forms a segment on which eleven different points are designated for the answers (see Fig. 114).

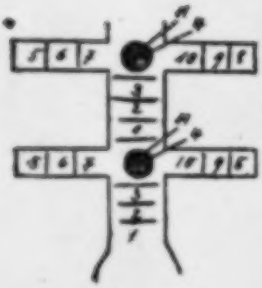
The game may have developed from an older, simpler one in which the individual parts of the human body were enumerated. This notion is suggested by the designation of the staff as the body, of the carved end -- even when it is not a regular head -- as neck and head, by the tripartite arrangement of the transverse extensions -- absent in Figure 113 -- (corresponding to the upper arm, the

[822]
[831]

Fig. 112. Stick with Pieces of Raffia used as Mnemonic Device in the Memory Game of the Dwarf Antelope. About one-fourth actual size.

Memory Game, nkuk-ondüle, made of Wood, Southern Ntum Region. A little over one-fifth actual size.

Fig. 113



524
153
211

Fig. 114
Two Sections of the Memory Game nkuk-ondüle.

lower arm, and the hand), and finally by the upright knob, called [522]
tüngenüge (the red one; red as the color of reproduction, of [631]
life), by which originally the male sex organ was doubtless understood. The implement is thus unquestionably supposed to represent a human body whose members are multiplied.

The game is played by two people, one questioning, the 524
other answering. The former, seated in the circle of listeners, 153
holds the implement in his hand and indicates the various points that /309/ must be answered. At each one he calls out: "zé zé? = What is that?" (phonetically assimilated and corrupted from dzé dzé). The principal player sits farther away and answers the questions in rhythmic song while the others stamp their feet or clap [533]
their hands in time. He is, of course, not allowed to make any marks to aid his memory, such as dividing a little stick into the corresponding number of sections. This is brainwork.

The 11 questions, which are the same for each segment, go 153
as follows: 524
1, 2, 3. (see the corresponding numbers in Fig. 114) 539
nkük ondüle wöle.
Body (of the) ondüle here. That is the body of the ondüle.

837 "Etudes sur le Pays Pahouin [Study on the Pahouin Country]," op. cit.

"friendship wife"), show, as does the freedom just referred to, that the curbing of adultery can be explained by social reasons which are quite alien to sexuality.

[527 561] 831 595 581 The possibility of raping women of neighboring people during the time of conquest, the possibility of buying foreign women at a good price, so long as the slave trade lasted, permitted the "chiefs" of groupings to remedy the dangers due to the unsatisfied desires of the young men. Apparently the Fang do not display, as do some people, (2) signs of unsatisfied sex due to the fact that

2. Cf. R. Bastide, Sociologie et Psychanalyse [Sociology and Psychoanalysis], pp. 160-161.

women remain the property of the older men. What is sought is the legal possession of the woman, let us say, for the many advantages it entails, rather than sexual possession. And in this sense the justification brought forward by L. Mba can be understood when he writes, "It was not material satisfaction of the senses which drove the Pahouins to polygamy, but many other reasons. . . ."

581 562 684 628 When the marriage is consummated, the woman goes from a state of near liberty to one of strict sexual control. The specific painful physical penalties for adultery to which the woman alone is subject are particuarly severe: being exposed naked before the assembled village, being tied to the ant tree, excision of the clitoris or pimento torture, various mutilations. When the woman, either by flight or by rape, leaves the grouping into which she married, the whole group reacts violently. It is the cause of fights, kidnaping, and pillaging of the village that has taken her 581 562 in. (3) There is the most absolute contrast between this control

3. "Hence, conflicts that last for years, expressed through kidnaping of women and ending in gunshots," Libreville, Archives of 1909. And

794 himself in the interior courtyard. The final ceremony includes
787 the erection of a hollow clay statue (3) (also called Ngil) before

3. Cf. the description in the articles of Leroux, op. cit., and Poupard, op. cit.

which "all the inhabitants of the village and those of the villages of the same line" must appear, and whose function is to reveal the guilty ones (who have caused unexplained deaths or calamities from which the whole group has suffered, etc.). The intervention of the Ngil is sought in moments of serious crises. It calls for total action involving large groupings for whom it has a real therapeutic value: by determining guilt (impossible to contest because it is a matter of a superior and anonymous justice), by reinstating unity (on a passionate basis) at the time of the punishment, by re-creating a new vigor by means of this "purification."

794 The religious aspect of the "association" justifies such an
769 absolute, such an indisputable action. Unfortunately, we know little about it, except that certain dead are called upon by means of skulls, bones, and sacrifices, and that fertility rites are included
[831] when the Ngil has a female companion, Omore (1). [144]

1. H. Trilles, op. cit., p. 62, writes that "the new members must accomplish a number of actions connected with the act of generating before the statue of Omore ...," and Poupard speaks of "shameful ceremonies."

We have here a prevalent dialectic: a recourse to the social past – which is a true reservoir of endlessly accumulated powers – in order to instruct the social future and to fertilize it; the past and the future, the ancestors and the living are, like the generation of the ésa and that of the mwanõ, in the relation of begetter to begotten. This movement expresses dependence and a certain social order. The intervention of the Ngil – but it is not the only

556 nkukum had to excuse his wealth, primarily by distributing it through
565 customary hospitality and also by a special device of economic-social
431 control resembling the potlatch, the bilaba.
437 This practice seems to have been especially common among the Boulou. Bertaut relates the word to a Ngumba root meaning "to talk," "to cajole." I should rather incline toward a derivative of the verb lap, "to draw water," by extension "to splash," which can figuratively also convey the idea of scoffing. It is not impossible that the bilaba mechanism was connected with that of the joking relationship, awusô. The bilaba begins with a challenge from one nkukum to another, each man claiming to be the richer. The challenger goes to the house of the challenged, carrying a load of merchandise, mebo me dulu, "legs for the journey," and accompanied by a large retinue of musicians and singers, etc. When he reaches the home of the other njem bilaba (bilaba dancer), he overwhelms him with presents and taunts; his opposite number replies, present for present and jeer for jeer, until he has contributed more than the equivalent of the mebo me dulu. The first njem bilaba goes home and waits for the other's return visit with his own mebo me dulu. Visits and countervisits may go on for a long time, each of the bejem bilaba calling on his immediate family for help, then upon his lineage or clan, for continued supplies. The bilaba therefore comes to be a collective affair. It must be observed that not just any kind of merchandise is exchanged: a njem bilaba in the east (nku, ôku) provides local products, (livestock, cacao, ivory, etc.), in the west (nké) imported products (loincloths, 823 salt, powder, etc.) (1). It should be remembered /61/ in this 83

1. M. Zoll'Owambe (no. 125) speaks of akum so, "merchandise of the north," imports, and of akum nsak, "merchandise of the south," products of the country. But there appears to have been some confusion. In fact, so = coast, downstream, is related to nké = west, which also means downstream, while nsak = hinterland, upstream (nku = east, related to kui = to come from, rise from, emerge); cf. Largeau, who considers the north to be on the right (male) and the south on the left (female). Imported products would be considered male.

connection that the points of the compass have a sexual implication, which is not well understood. The bilaba sets up a sort of joking relationship between the families of the participants, which may continue after their death.

The institution seems to be dying out, though it was still flourishing between the two /World?/ wars and often involved considerable amounts of money (1).

1. Balandier (no. 175 and in a personal communication) stresses the economic importance of the bilaba which, in a society without a money or trade economy, constituted one of the principal means of circulating goods and, especially, of diffusing imported commodities.

In spite of the fear his success inspires, and perhaps because of this fear, the rich man enjoyed undoubted authority in his village and sometimes beyond it. Nkukuma, the absolute form of nkukum, is used to translate "chief" (it probably means, more precisely, "person of note").

The word évet, also applied to subchiefs or government "capitas" is likewise used —a correct nuance if, as Bates says, évet is a corruption of headman applied originally to the chiefs of trade caravans. These men were chosen for their business astuteness, diplomacy, authority, and courage, but they were only deputies of a clan or village, not true political chiefs. To convey the latter implication the preferable term is still njôô bôt (Fang, nzoé mur) from jô = to say, to command, a term indicating a de facto state, /état de fait/ rather than a legal notion. It should be recalled that there were no political leaders other than the seniors, mintôl, of the extended families. Their authority was further limited by the ease with which their brothers could leave the village to establish another nearby (2).

2. But among some Pahouinized peoples the existence of royal insignia shows that chiefship /chefferie/ is an institution: among the Ewôndo and Yanda the head of the clan designated his successor or, if he

575 754 judicial inquiry at Ambam in 1948 after a raid on ze mimfaka, an old chief who was a Protestant and an elder of his church declared, in so many words, that "the white man has weakened the ngil, and the beyem have taken it over; now it is the ngil of ngbwel /sorcery/."

[78] The initiates of the kôn or kun, a kind of magic that enables one to assume another person's strength without destroying his body, also seem to be grouped into a secret society with meetings every seven years.

576 [78] Beyem associations do not usually include both sexes; male and female sorcerers meet together only occasionally, for orgiastic sabbaths.

[79] The distinction between white and black magic is, nevertheless, difficult to draw the present time, and one can never tell offhand if the small groups springing up nearly everywhere to protect their members against bad luck by using, in addition to remnants of traditional rites, recipes copied from magic manuals printed in France, belong to the one or the other.

[562] To come back tothe traditional associations, we must underline /the fact that/ in them there was a complete separation of the sexes, to such an extent that women were often forbidden to speak the name of a men's society or to show any kind of knowledge, even superficial, of its rites. The prohibition was less stringent for men with regard to women's rites, since the nsem, the breaking of a taboo, was for them punished by physical incapacity or illness rather than by death. /66/

A women's rite like mevungu had both a village aspect, on account of its geographical framework, the jurisdiction of its huts, and an interclan aspect as a result of exogamy. Much less is known of these women's rites than of the men's, for the very good reason that men are not allowed to know anything about them. Missionaries have condemned mevungu as obscene: I have heard that initiates who have gone through the menopause are supposed to play a male role in dances miming coition, without being able to obtain the slightest proof or the least detail (1). What is certain is that this is a rite of

[82] 224

1. A woman "chosen for her large vagina" presided, seated with legs spread apart. Each initiate would go tickle her and pull the clitoris. (J. B.)

[83]

fecundity, of fertility, and also of the hunt: an unlucky hunter may have his wife initiated so as to ward off bad luck.

have his wife initiated so as to ward off bad luck. This is not the only example of the indirect intervention of one sex in a rite of the opposite sex. Allégret points out that it is a "woman who has had bad luck fishing" who "finds the ironwood for making the war fetish." It certainly seems that he has mixed up ngil with sô, but the example remains valuable. Therefore, though traditional rites and the associations of initiates of these rites were strictly masculine or feminine, this does not altogether exclude the intervention of the opposite sex. No more can be said in our present state of knowledge (2).

> 2. The other important women's rite, ngômbô, was more especially limited to old women. The participants built a sort of basin out of four banana trunks and their leaves, in which a vegetable biañ /medicament/ was prepared that gave protection against theft. (J.B.)

Contemporary cults and associations, on the other hand, are open to both sexes, whether religious or politico-religious societies or mutual-aid associations.

The two principal politico-religious associations are the bwiti (or mbuti) and the ngôl, well described by Balandier (no. 175). They have spread to the north from Gabon and the Middle Congo and are not of Pahouin origin. They are beginning to penetrate Boulou country, where they have not been as successful as among the Fang of the south, undoubtedly because of the lesser degree of social destruction.

Bwiti was originally a "tyogo" ancestor cult, comparable to the Pahouin biéri, if one accepts Trilles. It must have first appeared among the Pahouin at the beginning of the century, probably among Pahouin families cut off from their clans and thus from the biéri and sô rites, whose significance is primarily ethnic and familial. Libreville was an important point of contact, not only between African peoples of different stock, but also with European religious systems. Modern bwiti borrows a great deal from Christianity and also from freemasonry, which was fairly widespread in Gabon before the war, especially in half-caste circles and on the periphery of principal towns. In assuming this syncretist character, bwiti appears at the same time as a nationalist—or Africanist—movement and as a progressive movement abandoning the old cults or rather modernizing them. It is the

423 any stranger could plant melen palms (Elaeis guineensis) and sa
601 (Pachylobus edulis), but of a defense reflex to preserve control of a valuable crop and to ward off the wave of immigration it coul attract.

An examination of forms of pawning fields leads to a similar con-
423 clusion: there is far from a complete right to dispose of property.
426 The harvest rather than the land is pledged. Among the Ewondo, in fact, the creditor may harvest and dispose of the produce. "Should the harvest surpass the debt, he will turn over to the debtor part of the produce. Since the owner runs the risk of having his land go to waste, the creditor may keep it in good heart and thus increase his credit. He may be induced to keep the property for several years: in fact, he keeps it long enough to be repaid out of the harvest. However, there is no assumption that he can keep it perpetually. Here we run into what is probably an important difference between the local land tenure and our own: everything takes place as if the land were inalienable (1)." The trend is similar among the Boulou, though

1. J. Binet, Budgets familiaux dans la zone cacaoyère du Cameroun /Family Budgets in the Cacao-growing Region of the Cameroons/, L'Homme d'Outre-mer, No. 3, 1956 (no. 93).

it must be admitted that the question of pawning land does not raise serious economic problems at present. (J. B.) /76/

f. Personal Property

422 This is undoubtedly the only form of property originally recognized. Much of it seems to have been collective, at least as concerns valuable possessions: the ésa was in charge of these possessions, the family patrimony which served mainly to pay the minsuba, "bride prices." There was, however, individual ownership of useful objects, men's weapons, women's gardening tools and household equipment, objects that were buried with the owner. It seems, also, that there
[83] was a sexual differentiation between the various categories of possessions: biôm beyôm were masculine, biôm beyal were feminine, a distinction to be traced not to ownership, but to use and perhaps to origin. I have already mentioned that in the bilaba the njem bilaba of the west contributed imported goods, while his eastern counterpart

881 youths in the aba and prepared for further initiations, while beginning
883 to participate fully in masculine activities, work and games. The bekungu (Fang, bekhun?) initiation that came directly after circumcision was not a general practice. My own impression is that this was not a tribal or clan rite like sɔ̂, but that of an association of diviners or seers involving only specially endowed individuals, perhaps related to the ndɔ̂ngɔ̂ rite restricted to grown men, which appears to have identical ritual tattoo marks.

881 For the mo'minga reaching puberty there is no stage equivalent to circumcision. In spite of what Trilles says, excision has apparently never been used except as a punishment for certain kinds of adultery or mild incest. It must not be forgotten that a little girl very soon went to live with her affinal family and that she was deflowered as soon as she reached puberty. She very rarely remained élenan, that is, pubescent and unmarried, and then for a very short time. One might almost say that her adolescence was telescoped into the period between childhood and the arrival of puberty marked by the mevungu rite.

This adolescent phase is now prolonged by the law fixing the
[582] marriageable age at fourteen (puberty usually comes during the
[145] twelfth year), by school attendance, and by the change in the bride-price system. Most of my friends of a certain age see in these facts the reasons for a crisis in immorality which they probably to some extent exaggerate.

Nevertheless, first menstruation was apparently acknowledged in a ceremony in which only women took part, but this may have been merely a preliminary to the mevungu initiation, about which hardly anything is known. Otherwise /as regards female adolescence/ coition is forbidden to immature girls, while unmarried girls who have begun menstruating have actually great sexual freedom, even in Christian circles. It must, however, be realized that only too often, especially in schools, there are girls deflowered before puberty, whereas boys seem to wait for circumcision /97/ before their first exploits — there
[83] are parents, worried about their sons' "good behavior," who give
884 them aphrodisiacs as encouragement.

d. Transition to Adulthood

882 The ndoman is not yet a real person, nya mɔ̂tɔ̂; undoubtedly he participates in men's work, in hunting and clearing the land, but he

779 that everyone will recognize by its gait, pace and typical
535 mannerisms; then, one by one, he will act out scenes of pursuit and capture, of alliance, finally of actual assistance. Some dancers thus acquire a great reputation, which they certainly deserve.

These totemic dances have much in common with certain character dances at which the African excels, representational dances. For example, I remember having seen the dance of the bees, of the wild boar, and of the elephant, done with truly remarkable agility and realism.

Totemic dances are distinguished above all by the fact that they are accompanied, one might say rhythmically measured, by the totemic song. Furthermore, while character dances depend to a great extent upon the dancer's inspiration, totemic dance steps are more regulated and have certain invariable features. [513]

779 A common trait of all religious dances is decency, at
535 least relative decency. They are performed only by men, and women are not admitted except at circumcisions, and even then
●831 they do not mingle with the men. There is rarely any sex in them, in contrast to the purely recreational dances, especially those performed in the evening, at which at times license seems to be given to the greatest obscenity.

779 Religious dances always have a very marked quality of
831 antiquity, and the majority are very beautiful, in the precise meaning of the word.

In order to give an approximate idea of totemic dances, I have transcribed two of them which seem the most expressive, that of the flower, mvi, and that of the elephant, nzoǩ.

These dances are sung, danced, and mimed at the same time. Each note represents a tom-tom beat, a different bodily position and foot movement, whether a glissade, a leap, a heavy beat, or a rapid weaving in and out.

Totemic dance of the mvi flower:
Musical score, pp. 513-514 of text.]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

name, the *Eki* of the Fang being the *Orunda* of the Mpongwe. One day when on 784
a journey among the people, I asked an old headman to share with me a chicken 778
my boy had prepared for supper; the old man seemed pleased at my invitation, but asked the boy if it was a hen or cock fowl. Upon being informed that it was a cock, he declined to eat any of it · that was his *Eki*. As previously stated, I do 769
not believe the natives worship the spirits of Present and Future, but to a certain degree ancestral worship does exist. A Fang places the skull of his father in a curious receptacle of bark, worshipping it, killing fowls and making blood offerings to it, and in many ways the whole matter somewhat resembles the worshipping at graves and before ancestral tablets as practised in China. The natives often pray to their father's skull before talking a large war palaver, or the purchase of a new woman. As worshipping departed ancestors is the chief duty of a faithful Chinaman, so making offerings and prayers to the departed father's spirit before the skull constitutes the great Fang fetish, or *bieti*. Wooden idols, *biyeme*, of men [831]
and women are made in a manner which makes the sex extremely apparent; yet [532]
whenever I have seen these figures in towns, the people did not seem to regard them as obscene, but as truthful representations of the sexes. I feel sure that to some extent, at least, phallic worship is practised among the Fang. Spirits are 776
everywhere; in rocks, trees, forests, and streams; in fact, for the Fang, this life is one continual fight against spirits corporal and spiritual.

A peculiar belief regarding dreams is that when a person sleeps the soul often 787
wanders away, and its experiences on these journeys are made known to the sleeper 928
by dreams. After death the soul may inhabit any kind of animal. [775]

Fetish Biang (medicine).—Fetish means anything; leopard teeth, human finger nails, hair, wood, iron, herbs. The article used as *biang* or fetish, has no 778
intrinsic value, it is only valued because of connecting its owner with a spirit which can aid him. The leopard tooth fetish is supposed to impart the bravery of the leopard to its owner. Fetish is a spirit or combination of spirits manifested in material things.

Dili Mkuk.—To murder a person and save his skull as a fetish, or use the skull as medicine to bring women, guns, goats or goods. The people will make offerings to the skulls calling them by the names of persons killed. It is said that these prayers are always answered as desired.

Biang a Soli (hiding medicine).—A man goes and takes leaves of trees, and cuts 789
them up. He says, "I have cut up leaves of trees" (or high grass, bushes). The women shell gourd seeds and mash them. They catch a fowl, kill it, and put it in the pot. They also put in the pot the medicine leaves, and the mashed gourd kernels. They put the pot on the fire, and boil (its contents). When they have boiled it, the medicine is cooked. They take the medicine pot off (the fire). They go and put it by the side of (*afwâ*) the back of the *bieti*. The man who has put it there says to the *bieti*, other people want to kill me. He takes away the medicine pot. He opens the *bieti* basket. He takes a small piece of the bone (instead of this say to the woman and children he takes the excrement of the

304 entire Pangwe region with extraordinary rapidity. In part, this
177 spread may have been facilitated by the influence of military events. It is related that the /199/ Ntum, in their battles with the Bulu, saw tattooing on the corpses of dead enemies and made their prisoners show them the art.

304 Tattooing occurs among members of both sexes, but espe-
832 cially among males. It serves very much the same purposes that were formerly served by body painting. The young people adorn themselves with it in order to outstrip others in courtship. Ornaments and courtship are one, "one and the same" (a ne dzám eda eda), as the Pangwe says. It is certainly true that attractive patterns can charm the eyes so much that one involuntarily comes to find its (male or female) owner more attractive than would have been the case without such an influence upon the sense of beauty.

304 Even small boys have themselves tattooed. Usually a half-moon pattern is made on their foreheads, but for the most part it is only faintly scratched in and therefore fades again so that scarcely anything remains visible under the patterns later applied. From the period of puberty on, the Pangwe have themselves tattooed more frequently, and at the age of 25 years, by which time this decoration has just about reached its climax, the number of patterns is quite considerable. Normally, face, shoulder, chest, and the belly down to the navel are tattooed. Frequently, tattoos are also applied to the back -- usually only on the upper half -- and to the arm down to below the elbow joint, rarely to the hands and lower arm or to the belly below the navel (1).

1. On the neck only among the Jaunde and infrequently among them.

304 For reasons of modesty, the seat and upper thigh remain free of
577 tattooed adornment, since it would, after all, be too indecent to draw attention by means of the patterns to these parts of the body which, with the original mode of dress, "unfortunately" often remain uncovered. Only in exceptional cases does one see women among the Jaunde, Bulu, and coastal Mwai who have tattooed

777 was gone. Then his brother said, "You see what I told you?
539 If you had not married this woman, everything would have been as it was yesterday, but as it is you have nothing left." Emam mese masǎmabo ava. (Customary conclusion of tales.)

It is noteworthy that homosexual intercourse is included
777 among the medicines for wealth because it is believed that
838 through the intimate contact the medicine of one will be transferred to the other. In a case known to me in Ebaängon, the passive party possessed the medicine and the active party wanted to acquire it. Another case is related in the tale that I reproduce in Section 18. In actual fact it might turn out that the effect of the medicine consists in the mutual support the two "friends" render each other, based chiefly on the consciousness of common guilt and the endeavor not to let this guilt be known. This medicine is not without danger, for in the case just mentioned it was related that one of the men became blind and the other leprous, and in the tale both parties become leprous or suffer from frambesia.

A variant of the medicines for wealth consists of those
777 which especially help one to marry or abduct women (biǎ,ń e bǒm); another variant consists of the means to acquire influence and respect (biǎ,ń e bame, biǎ,ń a vōge), such as the great Anonacea
[824] Pachypodanthium confius Pierre, Engl. et D. (ntǔm I) and the Melastomacea Memexylon tessmannii Gilg (ntǔ'mǎ IV) which, in addition, is also regarded as an authentic medicine for wealth.

In addition to the medicines for acquiring wealth, the most
● 832 important and the most common are the love medicines (biǎ,ń anduman). No less than about 100 different plants are placed in the service of Venus.

If the inhabitants of a village have the idea that the love affairs of the young people need revitalizing, a general love medicine festival (engǒnežǒk) is arranged, which is celebrated under the supervision and with the cooperation of the ancestral skulls worshipped in the Malan. Consequently, only the initiates of the Malan may take part. The course of the festivities together with the period of preparation corresponds to that described in the section on cult festivals /Ed., not translated/: two feast

[832] days and the establishment of a sacred place, on which the Fang even set up a female figure of clay. During the seven days of preparation, the necessary medicines are obtained. [824] These are bark, scraped off the Anonacea Monodora tenuifolia Bth. (fǒb IV) and the Olacacea avǒm, and a small elephant's [825] tooth[1] into which are put the following /159/ things.

1. The most important is the larynx (engǒ'n) of a famous [826] singer, especially of one who was versed in love songs, or the larynx of a woman who before the payment of the bride price allowed herself to be abducted by her lover. The aim is to obtain the power of the singer, who was loved on account of his voice (famous tenors even in other countries are, after all, not only popular but also loved), and to be loved as he was, or one desires to have the woman consent (with her larynx = voice) to follow the call of love as quickly as did the woman whose larynx has been placed inside the elephant's tooth. The name engǒ'nezǒk was chosen because of the desire to pretend that only the throat of an elephant (zǒk) was involved and to avoid naming the real contents, the human throat. As a name for the whole thing, engongeschok is intended to veil the meaning of the feast just as the animal names conceal the purpose of the cults. In other words, whatever you do, don't call a spade a spade.

2. Sex organs of a mother-in-law, the one who has given birth to the daughter and loved one.

3. The bones of an albino (mvēī-mōt), preferred by women [826] because of the skin color (1).

1. Opinions concerning an albino vary
[154] a great deal; in other areas an albino is less highly regarded (Jaunde).

4. The bones of twins, because of the desire to be united with the loved one just as twins are united in the mother's womb.

5. Fulgurites (abī'-zǎ'lǎn), so the love will be as powerful [821] as the lightning that throws down the tallest trees.

6. nsǔ, so that the sorcerous beings (= evil persons) will not

[1] [or possibly "tusk"; see figure 55, page 26.-Analyst]

832 destroy the medicine.

7. The tooth of a chief, to make one capable of talking as well as a chief, who obviously wins his wives by his words.

824 8. Monodora tenuifolia Bth. (fǒb IV).

832 9. Ocimum basilicum L. (ǒsi m), the "forget-me-not of the Pangwe (a ǐman, "to remember, not to forget"); the woman will not forget her lover.

10. Aeolanthus edlingeri Gürke, labiates (elǐhgelǎhge Fang) with which the women like to adorn themselves since they smell pleasant and have a soporific effect.

11. Abutilon indicum Sw., Malvacea (abofu' III), since the plant has a white sheen, and the woman must see the lover as "pure" as the plant. The tooth is closed off with wax, and a parrot feather, which must have been found in the woods, is stuck on it (Fig. 55).

This medicine brings good luck otherwise than just during
832 the festive period; one could say that it performs miracles. Placed under the threshold in the house of the beloved, in such a way that the girl does not see it, it makes her "consent" immediately when the lover wants to abduct her; if before this, she did not love the suitor, she will now prefer him to all others. In short, she will henceforth "only say yes," and all this has been brought about by the engongeschok with its throat (= voice).

Monodora and avǒm in a leaf bag are placed in a pot of water, and this is suspended from flexible rod in the center of the festive area in front of the meeting house (Fig. 56, a). The /160/ festive area is customarily closed off by a curtain of raffia leaves; within it /Fig. 55 appears here in the original text/ a peculiar frame (Fig. 56 b) is set up, which, the natives say, is meant to represent traps. In addition, a cult place is cleared at the side of the house, where actual traps are set up. I shall return to these in a moment. A civet's skin with two tail pieces, into which is sewn a love medicine, is hung from the frame.

When all this is ready, the festive goat is fetched, and the ancestral skulls are told that everything is in readiness. Now the actual festival, which lasts two days, can begin.

●832
[825]
[415]

Fig. 55. Love Medicine, engongeschok (elephant's tusk with love medicine in it).

In the love festival that I witnessed in Ebläangon, the procedure was as follows. On the first day a dance to the accompaniment of drums took place in the festive area. At the dance, the leading singer swung the civet skin around and made a clatter with the inevitable cymbals. The chief and medicine man (they are not always one and the same person) thereupon

[417]

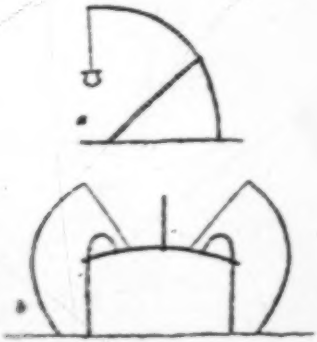


Fig. 56. Love Medicine Festival engongeschok in Ebläangon (Esseng Family).
(a) Pot with love medicine suspended from a rod; (b) frame to deceive the uninitiated as to the purpose of the [illegible]bration.

went to the pot, took the bag out, called the participants individually from the circle, asked them to sit down (see Fig. 57), and sprinkled the medicine /Fig. 56 appears here in the original text/ water on their foreheads in such a way that it ran down the bridge of the nose to the tip. If this did not succeed immediately, the procedure was repeated two to three

832 [291] [516] [417]

Fig. 57. Washing the Forehead at the Love Medicine Festival.

times, and in the case of very recalcitrant drops, the medicine was wiped down the bridge of the nose with a bundle of Abutilon leaves. The festive company then moved to the cult place, in this case called a love grove (elik andʊ̆mǎn). Just as the cult figures are usually set up on the trees (because of the sorcerous beings, trees with spikes are chosen) and just as the medicines for wealth are made up under the soul tree, the Copaifera, in the same way the love tree belongs to the love grove, namely the Leguminosa Amphimas tessmannii Harms (edžĩ) (1). In Ebǎngon the tree was only a small one, but [778] [824] [532]

1. a dži-ń, "to love."

often they are huge specimens. In the background a kind of bench of rods was erected, and under it were heaped a great many twigs of various trees regarded as love medicine. Then the ancestral skulls were set up behind the bench, and the twigs ignited. Those persons who needed an improvement in their love affairs, /161/ /Fig. 57 appears here in the original text/ lay down on the bench and allowed themselves to be thoroughly

832 fumigated (Fig. 58), while the skulls with cold severity surveyed the situation, until they themselves had justice done to them, for they were carried in a dance around the love tree. Meanwhile, a number of the participants took red dye and with it drew a line on the bark of the love tree, observing that they themselves would like to look like this in the eyes of their beloved. Another one took black dye in addition to the red and first made a red line, saying, "In the eyes of the girl to which I shall go (he probably was not allowed to pronounce her name) I want to appear like this (red)"; then he drew a black line and added, "On the other hand, the girl shall see all others like this (black line)." We already know that red is the color of life,
[822] of joy, and of light. Black here signifies its opposite, the unpleasant and ugly.

832 Finally, a small punishment was meted out to the ancestral
769 skulls by sticking them in the above-mentioned draw traps set up around the tree and leaving them there until the next day. Such a punishment of the ancestors is very rare, and it is significant that it does not occur at the Malan but in connection with the love medicine, which is to be regarded as a degenerate form of the Malan. Then around the tree a great variety of other medicines were distributed, such as red dye and a piece from the loincloth of a mother-in-law. Among the Fang the genitals
[826] themselves are supposed to be taken, these having been cut from the deceased mother-in-law. /162/ /Fig. 58 appears here in the original text/

832 On the forenoon of the second day of the festival about 25
783 banana leaf vessels were set up in a row in the festive area and
[415] filled with freshly fetched water. Into the first vessel the medicine man put a whole pile of bark pieces and leaves, all of them love medicines. The other vessels were treated in a more perfunctory fashion: only a few pieces of bark were placed in the second vessel, and in each of the following, only one; the last vessels did not get anything. The medicine man then sat down at the first vessel, blew into it with a pipe, whereupon a thick,
[388] soap-like foam arose, which supposedly comes from the bark of
[824] the Cylicodiscus gabunensis (Taub) Harms (eddm), and then washed his face, first in this vessel and then in all the following

832
783
[417]

Fig. 58. Love Medicine Feast, engongeschok. A number of young men have themselves fumigated over a fire in which love medicines are burned. Ancestral skulls are in the background. Ebiangon (Esseng family).

ones as rapidly as possible. The aim is to purify oneself and through the external purification to bring about an inner one so that the beloved girl will see her suitor pure, white as the leaves of Abutilon, and then love him. Whether the desired effect is achieved, I must confess I do not know; externally, at any rate, the favorable effect of the water cannot be denied. The foam is intended to cause the girl's heart to "open up" in the same way. This ablution may also be undertaken at times other than at the love festival, for instance, when a person has his eye on a certain girl, but in that case, the nails, [826] head hair, pubic hair, and underarm hair of this girl must also be put in the vessel. /163/

While the ablution was still going on, two people ran down 832 the village square and threw the civet skin back and forth to 526 each other, crossing each other's paths as they ran. People amused themselves with a similar ball game, whose significance I was unable to discover during the subsequent dance.

832 I was unable to discover during the subsequent dance.

The concluding celebration took place in the love grove. A man seized the tree with one hand and swayed about, while the others took the skulls from the traps, danced with them in the opposite direction around the tree, and were embraced by him every time they passed him. Then the festive goat was [832] brought and slaughtered, its blood was poured over the skulls and medicines, and a speech of conciliation was addressed to

Fig. 59.

[824] Love Medicine of the Wood of Monodora tenuifolia.

the skulls. This speech culminated with the request that they should not be angry for having lain outside without food; a goat had now been brought to them, and they were from now on expected to make every effort to assist their descendants in matters of the heart. So the festival ended to the satisfaction of both the skulls and the young men.

It would be impossible here to cite by name all the plants 832 used for love medicines; all we can do is to mention the 824 criteria that were paramount in choosing them, as well as a number of examples. In each case, some quality that is to be transferred to the person is involved, for example, the following.

1. Abundance of blossoms, fruit, and shoots, especially when the blossoms or shoots are beautiful; the desire is to appear likewise in the eyes of the beloved. Monodora tenuifolia Bth. (fõb IV), (Fig. 59), because of its luxuriant shoots with magnificent leaves; furthermore, the Simarubacea Desbordesia glaucescens Engl. (aiõ'b), with its resplendent red to blue shoots.

2. Beauty of the blossoms. Examples: many orchids (ajã'ã-oõ'b) and Scitamineae, like Aframomum hanburyi K. Sch. obã(s)-adõõm, blossoms atsã(k) adõõm) and Canna bidentata Bertol (ekõn e lõk); furthermore, Mussaenda species, which have colorful top leaves.

832
824

3. Beauty of the leaves. Example: Phyllanthus cappillaris Schum. et Thom. (mgbɛ̃ III), with its delicate leaves, and the cordate Geophila speciosa K. Sch. (esɔ̃k-obɔ̃ke).

4. Beauty of the stems. Examples: Distemonanthus benthamianus Baill. (eɔ̃n); Triplochiton tessmannii (ajũ); and, above all, Amphimas tessmannii Harms (edzi) already mentioned.

5. The white color of the stems and leaves: Voacanga obtusa K. Schum. (edũmvɔ̃n a zɔ̃m); Polygonum lanigerum R. Br. (elɔ̃amiɛ); and Abutilon indicum Sw. (abofũ) already mentioned. /164/

6. The fact that the trees are isolated (certain trees are supposed to keep down smaller ones through the development of their crowns; in the same way, one wants to keep rivals at a distance), such as engɔ̃kũm and Memecylon tessmannii Gilg (ntɔ̃mã IV).

7. Beautiful fragrance, such as afũn and Plectranthus (avã).

8. Tendency of the plants to wind around others; one wants to be united with the woman in just the same way. Examples: the parts of two lianas that have grown together (Fig. 60) and roots which wind around each other, like those of the Dracaena viridiflora Engl. and Kr. (alɔ̃n-ogbwõ III); furthermore, the tendency of plants to wind around other growths, in particular the Rubiacea Sabicea calycina Benth. (okɔ̃dãn) (1), the Aclepiadacea

1. a kɔ̃-dãn, "to wind around, to wind around each other."

Secamone myrtifolia Bth. (okɔ̃amalɔ̃n), and others.

9. Formation of burrs; the desire is to stick to the woman like a burr. Examples: Desmodium species (obɔ̃bonzɛ̃n), (burr fruits); the Cyperacea Scleria barteri Bckl. (pfãfõlõ III Ntum), whose leaves and stalks are sticky; and especially the grass Streptogyne crinita R. Beauv. (nkã,m I, nkã,mesõsõ I), whose panicles stick together with extraordinary firmness. /Fig. 60 appears here in the original text./

10. Popularity among women. Examples: Kolobopetalum auriculatum Engl. (andɔ̃me III), popular among women as a belt;

832 824 Lygodium smithianum Pr. (ozǒk), used by women for ornaments.

I was unable to obtain any satisfactory explanation as to why a number of Ficus species, certain Amaryllidaceae, and gall nuts of the Microglossa volubilis (Wall) D.C. (myūyū') are used as love medicines.

832 825 Aside from plant ingredients, which are used in preponderant number for love medicines, antelope horns (Fig. 61) are especially popular. These are worn as forehead or neck ornaments, and when they are supposed to be effective, they are blown like a whistle. Just as an antelope never has a single horn, but always a pair, so a person should not be alone, but with another.

777 824 224 The no less abundant shot medicines make up a third group of medicines for good luck. Of the 109 plants used for these, 67 are rifle medicines (biǎ́ń ngā́), that is, medicines that guarantee

[832]

Fig. 60. Love Medicine: a piece formed by two lianas so grown together that they appear as one.

a good shot with the rifle; two war medicines (biǎ́ń betǎ), 18 hunting medicines (biǎ́ń tít), four crossbow medicines (bia n mbǎn), two medicines for hunting drives (biǎ́ń a kǐń tít), two medicines /165/ for a lucky eye in hunting, and 14 medicines that raise the hunting efficiency of the dogs (biǎ́ń mvń) (Fig. 62).

The ingredients of the shot medicines are chosen according to various criteria. First the intention is to lure the game. Hence one takes parts of trees "loved" by the animal (that is, the animal likes to visit them, and hence will visit /Fig. 61 appears here in the original text/ the hunter who has them, even in the form of medicine). In other cases, parts that resemble animals are taken from trees, for example, the tendrils of the Oncinotis tessmannii Gilg (nǐǎm osǒk, " tail of the red-tailed monkey"), which resemble

[Text continues on page 34]

832
825
301

Fig. 61. Love Medicine, Horn of the Dwarf Antelope, usually Worn on Forehead and Hung from the Helmet Hairdo.

789

Fig. 62
(Caption on following page.)

514
[757]
539

the feces or anus) as a deterrent medicine for thefts from the field and the significant tale of the turtle and the woman. A turtle wants to force a girl against her will to become his wife, and after all kinds of vain attempts finally succeeds only by smearing the girl's bed and clothes one night with his own feces. Having done so, he lies down to sleep, and the next morning when the girl sees the mess, he threatens to tell in the village and all the world that she had befouled her bed. The turtle thus put the girl completely in his power and forced her to agree to the marriage.

539 the girl going into her mother's house, quickly stole after her
836 through the plantain grove, and listened behind the house to
514 what the girl might say; not by a single word did she mention the incident. He then went back with a joyful heart, and said to himself: "This girl truly loves me." After two days he returned, asked for her hand in marriage, and took her back to his village as his wife.

This tale gave rise to the popular saying: ng(e) oa dźi'n ma, obébé', ng(e) oa béne ma: obébé'.

832 The great number of love medicines (bian andu'man), which very graphically symbolize the fusion and embracing of the sexes (in a spiritual as well as a physical sense), has already been discussed in Volume II, page 30 .

848 Illegitimate children are quite rare. The child's father --
836 even when he is known -- has no claim upon the child, just as the girl has no claim upon the father. The child belongs to the girl's father and is regarded as a not altogether unwelcome addition, since when the girl marries, it considerably raises her purchase price. As long as the mother remains unmarried, her child stays in the house of her parents. When she marries, the child becomes /259/ a part of the marriage bargain, as it were, and is considered

841 Hence, according to rule, menstruation should start in the first few days after the new moon, but unfortunately the white-haired old fellow seems to take his task rather lightly and is rarely dependable. In order to hasten the appearance of menstruation and thereby to make the girl capable of bearing children or, better yet, to make her accessible to men, a medicine is used. Sexual intercourse during menstruation is not exactly prohibited, but it [834] is nonetheless regarded as unaesthetic and is usually avoided. In [824] order to staunch the blood (a dźĭ̀ b makji), the women stuff dry plantain tow into the vagina, a process which they repeat from time to time. They also have medicines designed to hasten the end of the flow of blood.

In view of the lack of moderation with which the Pangwe from 832 early youth indulge their sexual desires, the young man at an early 824 age feels the need to fortify his sexual powers. For this reason, they take medicines, bĭź̀ n nkŭn, medicines for the penis, whose effects are thought of as a transference of characteristics, in accordance with the conceptions described earlier concerning the power of organization /Ed., not translated/. I shall mention the following.

1. Hardwoods, to transfer their hardness to the penis: Albizzia brownei Oliv., Leguminosae (angŏk); Baccaurea bipindensis Pax., Euphorbiaceae (mbǎ̀n-afǎ̀n I), leaves ground in ngon and eaten; Carpolabia alba Don., Polygalaceae (onŏn, tŏmo[k] IV Fang, tŏ̀ me Ntum), a remedy frequently used, /265/ /Fig. 85 appears here in the original text/ the leaves eaten with an egg and a piece of the stem is tied around the body so that it lies over the seat (Fig. 85, a); Cyclostemon gilgianus Pax., Euphorbiaceae (onŏd nsǎk, t. -nsǎk), root scraped into an egg, stem piece worn as in the previous case; Tricalysia tessmannii Krause, Rubiaceae (tŏ̀ me-afǎ̀n IV Ntum), likewise; Cola pachycarpa K. Schum., Sterculiaceae (ekŏ̀ m), fruit kernels eaten; Clerodendron bipindense Gürke, Verbenaceae (ndźike fǎm = men's liana), leaves ground with true Cola and eaten.

2. Thorns whose stiffness is supposed to be transferred to the penis: Loochocarpus barteri Benth., Leguminosae (eŏ̀' a fǎm a

892
824
[825]

Fig. 85. Medicines to reinforce virility, worn at the belt, usually over the seat.
(a) Wood of Carpolabia alba, (b) tibia bone of a cock, (c) caudal vertebrae of the leopard.

nsǒǒ'k I], and perhaps also Combretum tessmannii G.lb. (anduh a ndǐik). In the case of the first two, the thorns are boiled in a bundle together with various spices and the leaves of other fortifying plants (so that the strength of the thorn goes into the food and thus enters the body); then the thorn is taken out and worn on the forehead or over the seat. The leaves of Combretum tessmannii are cut up and eaten with an egg. Also Macaranga ledermanniana Pax., Euphorbiacea (ko'ła III, asǎt), is used; pieces of the bark (with the thorns) are boiled and strained, and the liquid is drunk hot.

3. Sharp leaves and stalks: Scleria barteri Bckl., Cyperaceae (pfǐǐõ'ǒ III Nnum, from pfǐ = sword, bushknife, and -- perhaps -- afǒǒ, afõȭ = hat, because the climbing reeds threaten to cut up the hat? It is called "bushknife" in coastal English. The young leaves are eaten.

4. Bitter and sharp substances: salt; black pepper (Capsicum); melegueta pepper, that is, seeds of Aframomum melegueta (Rool) K. Sch. (anõȭh = seed; ndõȭh) (1); Andropogon schoenanthus

1. Root tu, ndu = warm, hot; compare nduǎn = fire; o-tu = bush hair, torch; o-tu-m = Urticacea Tragia cordifolia

832 824 Pax, burns; a-ndu-ń a ndźik = Combretum tessmannii Gilg (see above).

L. (designation questionable) (oĭ̄m e ntăńgăn), root eaten; Cola acuminata (P. Beauv.), Sterculiacea (abĕ).

5. Substances that cause itching: Tragia cordifolia Pax (otūm), leaves ground and eaten with an egg; likewise Urera dinklagei Engl., Urticaceae (sā[s] ndźī'k).

6. Heating substances (designation of the natives): Derris glabrata Welw. (ejūn e ndźik), root and leaves ground, boiled with spices, strained, and the liquid drunk. /266/

7. Explanation unknown: Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg., Euphorbiacea (asū'm) (perhaps because of strong wood?); Coinochlamys schweinfurthii Gilg., Loganiaceae (oli fūm = men's little tree), little pieces of the stem stuck in the hair (hardwood?); Geophila herbacea L., Rubiaceae (elō[k] a tōn), leaves ground with Cola and chewed (leaves are durable, "strong," perhaps for that reason?).

832 825 Of animals, the meat of the spiny-finned sheatfish, which is very fat, is considered a stimulant of the first rank; furthermore, the tibia bone of a cock (Fig. 85, b) is worn on the body because of the spur, as are caudal vertebrae of the leopard (Fig. 85, c) because of the strength of the tail.

833 278 The medicines for impotence (biăń a jĕ or biăń ejĕ) should be distinguished from the stimulants (aphrodisiacs). There are thought to be two forms of impotence: one dating from earliest youth, and one acquired later in life. The former, it is said, came about because the persons concerned had urinated in their food as very small children while they were being fed pap by their mothers. Another version is lined with the belief in magic: a boy is thought capable of giving away his sexual power (see belief in magic, Vol. II, p. 134 /Ed., not translated/) in exchange for the power of sorcery, that is, power over other people. Perhaps this conception stems from the fear that impotent persons try to avenge themselves on their fellow human beings for their misfortune. The medicines for impotence are not numerous, but they actually seem

524
153
539

Sentence 9: agbǔ́ń zāngbwā' (seven antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbǔ́ń asiē'men (six).

Sentence 10: agbǔ́ń mūōm (eight antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbǔ́ń zāngbwā'(seven).

Sentence 11. agbǔ́ń ebū, (nine antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbǔ́ń mūōm (eight).

Sentence 12. agbǔ́ń avūm (ten antelopes) d'a ke a bɛ̄ agbǔ́ń ebū, (nine).

[832]

Young lovers like to play the game with their girls, as may be surmised from the somewhat romantic text. Jokingly, the girl says that she will give herself only to the one who can go through the entire game without making a mistake.

The Memory Game (nkū́k ondūle or endēle)

153
524
211

This game is known only among the Fang and a number of adjoining Ntum kin groups, and it is supposedly indigenous. A flat staff with short, paired transverse extensions and vertically inserted knobs is used in the game. The end of the staff usually has a head carved on it (Fig. 113). Each pair of transverse extensions, along with the knob and the adjacent lower part of the staff, forms a segment on which eleven different points are designated for the answers (see Fig. 114).

The game may have developed from an older, simpler one in which the individual parts of the human body were enumerated. This notion is suggested by the designation of the staff as the body, of the carved end -- even when it is not a regular head -- as neck and head, by the tripartite arrangement of the transverse extensions -- absent in Figure 113 -- (corresponding to the upper arm, the

[822]
[831]

Fig. 112. Stick with Pieces of Raffia used as Mnemonic Device in the Memory Game of the Dwarf Antelope. About one-fourth actual size.

551 family has given him a second name, Ekure Nzork (elephant hide), which corresponds to the wish made by the grandparents that their grandson may be as tough as elephant hide. Still other names may be given by other relatives, each of these corresponding to an affectionate feeling or a wish for the child. Andzang [misprinted Andang in original] has a third name given by the wife of one of his uncles, Nzul Weya (young civet), that is to say "as handsome as a civet," [301 832] civet skin formerly having been worn as an ornament by young Pahouin wanting to make female conquests.

When a man has had several children who have died at an early age, in order that the newborn may not die like the others he gives him the name of an animal: Ngi (gorilla), Waġa (chimpanzee), Nze (panther), Mvina (antelope), etc...

Sometimes the child receives a name referring to an incident of his birth. A child may be called: Mefan (from afan, the forest), if he is born in the forest; Bemvaṅ (from mvaṅ, rain), if he was born in the rain or on a rainy day; or Biteġé (from eteġ, mourning), if he was born after the death of his father, during his mother's mourning, etc...

[771] Actually in all the N'Djolé region children are given a Christian name, in addition to their native names, even if neither the parents nor the child have any contact with the missions. It is also quite usual to see children bearing European proper names, names which were given them because the parents thought them pretty. Similarly, one meets children called Captain, Major, Militiaman, etc... , and always the parents give as reason for their choice that the name taken for the child is beautiful.

851 The child belongs to its father and cannot be dependent on the mother unless she has been repudiated and the father has waived his claim to reimbursement.

853 Nursing continues until eighteen months or two years, but at about the age of six months, in addition to the breast, the child gets the same food as its parents except for fish, meat, and salt, which are forbidden him.

855 The physical care given the child is reduced to the minimum: he lives naked until the age of about ten years and is bathed every day. When he can walk, he is put on his own and plays with the other children of the village, boys and girls together. While he is still rather

881 During the final days the chief makes a point of mixing into the
304 boys' food certain aphrodisiac stimulants, cardamon seeds [524]
779 (Amomum citriodorum), a wonderful red fruit (Lavigeria), and
832 onzakôn (Antrocaryon klaineanum) which, apart from these oc-
824 casions, only women may eat. They are even forbidden to say the name of that tree, because the word nkôn denotes the male genital organ; they must say onzabili, the onza tree. In addition the fruit of the onzakôn has a slight resemblance to a phallus.

Throughout their seclusion the children sleep stretched out
881 on the ashes of the hearths. They must tell the chief what they
304 have dreamt about; the family totem ought, in fact, to re-
779 veal itself to them at this time. Since the chief speaks to the
824 children frequently and since they know that they are supposed to have the totem in mind, the suggestion, intimate and strange at the same time, leads easily to the desired result. If, however, a different object from the family totem, animal or other, appears more vividly and repeatedly in their imaginations, it would be a sign that the totemic guardian spirit wants to adopt another medium and, consequently, the child's totem, if he has a personal one, has to be changed.

5) The ceremony

881 On the day of the operation, the practitioner, who has
304 been forewarned, goes to the enclosure, accompanied by the
779 fathers. Each child is questioned in turn; then there is a big dance performed in honor of the ancestors and guardian spirits of the clan. Each head of the family has brought along his mvamayôn and now explains it to the child. A new dance is done after this initiation. Each father then stretches his son out on the ground, sits down beside him, and slips his legs beneath the child's body in such a way as to raise the middle of the body. The practitioner has a knife in hand kept specially for this purpose and carefully wrapped in a little sheath. The
[413] knife used to be made of stone, but that kind has become very rare. Knives are now usually made of copper and are curiously worked, one end being beak shaped, the other pointed; they are not hafted. These knives are called ekelokôn.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca.1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

789 *bieti*). He brings it. He eats the fowl. When finished, he takes a bone of the fowl and the excrement of the *bieti*. He cuts his nails and his hair. He ties (all these things) up in a bundle or packs them inside the horn of a small deer and keeps it.

When a man goes on a journey he carries this medicine with him. Another person cannot see him as he journeys.

This is the *Bieng e Seli*.

Bieng-alama.—The people get up and take machetes and cut a clearing. When they have finished the clearing is open and bright. If a man has died and been long in the grave, they take his bones, and lay them out on the ground. They cover them over with earth. They take other bones, and cut them up into small pieces. They put (these pieces) in a basket: they put in also red dye, and scrapings from the bark of trees. They close up the basket. If they go to war, they carry the basket (suspended by a cord from) the shoulder. They take the red dye which is in the basket and smear the body with it. If an enemy (literally, a person) [726] fires a gun (at them), they will not be pierced (by the pieces of iron pot used as bullets).

This is the *Bieng-alama*. Do not tell it to women or children; only to grown real men—for it is tabooed.

Nanke Bulwa.—Fang make it thus. If a man makes witch medicine, he kills 754 his brother and other people. They say, let us make *nanke bulwa*. They take a corpse, and go with it to the bush. They cut bush. The bush is clear and open. They sweep clear the place which they have cut. They lay down the corpse in the place which they have swept. They dig plenty of dirt, and make it in the shape of an elephant (over the corpse). They make the trunk, the tusks, the eyes, the legs, the tail, the ears. They finish and return to the town. They say, we have made *nanke bulwa* (*nanke* means elephant). They say if a man goes out to kill by witchcraft, he will die. If a man wishes to kill another with poison, he will die. If a man lies with a woman in the daytime he will die. Let not a woman eat a pig. And so they say, they have made this fetish, the *nanke-bulwa*. When they have done so, if a man lies with a woman in the daytime he gets sick. They go and scrape trees in the bush; they bring water from the river, and put the scrapings in the water. They catch a fowl outside and put it in the medicine-water. They touch the man's body over with the fowl. And so that man, they heal him from his fetish-sickness. Then he is well.

This is *Nanke bulwa*.

Bieng-abiang.—If a man has married two or three women, and loves one, but ●832 dislikes the others, the latter feel badly. They make *bieng abiang*. When they [514] go to pass their faeces, they take a very small piece of their faeces. They rub off the grease from their skin, and mix this grease with the small piece of dung. They put it (the mixture) on the drying-shelf (over the fire). When it is dry they mash it to powder, and put it in the neck of a gourd. They take also a shrub called *abetet* (known only by women) and put it in a small gourd (not the neck of

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

gourd mentioned above). They put oil in it. They keep it hidden. No one else is allowed to see it. 832

When the woman cooks food for her husband, she takes the medicine, which she puts in the neck of the gourd, and puts it in her husband's food, then his heart is changed. In the evening the woman smears herself with the *abatoñg*, which she had put in the small gourd. When she and her husband lie down, if she touches her husband, the medicine which she has eaten makes his heart change. Though he liked her before, now he loves her on account of the *biang-abationg*.

This is the *Biang-abationg*.

Biang-mikal (adultery medicine).—People go and scrape medicine in the bush. If they come with the medicine, they put it in the pot. They put water in the pot. They go and catch a fowl. They cut the fowl's neck; they put the blood in the medicine with the scrapings from trees. They take medicine that is in the water, they pour it on the person's head. They also take a certain medicine called *ngwcia* and rub it on the face of the sick person. They again rub it on his belly. Then they have cured the person of the *minkal*. The fowl used is not to be eaten by the sick person, others may do so. Then he is healed. 837 755 695

This is the same medicine used to detect adultery. If a person commits adultery with another man's wife, and then speaks a lie denying the affair, the person accused must drink the *biang-mikal* to show the people he is innocent. If he is guilty the medicine makes him sick, and he dies or trouble comes to his people. If guilty, medicine is made to call the curse back. 837 795

This is the *Biang-mikal*.

Biang-adzas (medicine for young men, eloping medicine).—If a person goes on a journey and sees a virgin, he courts or loves her. Then the virgin accepts him. He and she go and lie down. The young man says, "Let us go in my town." If the virgin does not accept, then the young man tries to persuade her. The virgin says, "I go later." The young man says, "If you go later, give me hair for a souvenir." Then the virgin scratches over her heart. She takes the hair of her head and the blood from the scratch over her heart and gives it to the young man. He goes to his town, he says, "I'll first make medicine." He takes the hair and the blood. He takes a small piece of witch medicine. He also takes plenty of leaves. He puts the small piece of witch medicine with the leaves. The hair and the blood he also puts in the leaves. He mixes all in the leaves. He hangs them in the *bieti* basket. He says, "*Bieti*, I want to marry a woman. Take her for me." This eloping medicine hangs one day. In the morning he cuts medicine and puts it on top of a tree. He leaves the medicine on top of the tree. He goes again to the young virgin. He says, "I have come, I come to take you." The young virgin says, "I will go to-morrow." He sleeps. The young man when day breaks says, "Let us go." The young virgin says, "I will surely go." Then the young man elopes with the young virgin; he comes with her to his town. Father of the young virgin he comes vexed. The young man kills a goat for the father of the young virgin. They finish eating the goat. He (the father) sleeps one day. Next morning the young man 584 832 583

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

832 584 583 gives him (the father) the *beki* (dowry). The father of the young virgin takes the goods to his town; the young man remains in possession of the woman.

They marry with *biang-ndoma*, eloping medicine thus.

This is *Biang-ndoma.*

Biang-along (war medicine).—Told me by Fam-deu, a Fang, Esisis clan, at 721 Foulabifong, Nkomo river, April 19th, 1898. This *biang* was illustrated to me; a 789 leopard tooth is the *Biang-along.*

Make a bowl of war medicine, of leaves, roots, and bark. Call all people of the town. Drop the leopard tooth into the medicine. If the point of the tooth *looks* toward the people we have a palaver (trouble) with, then we must go and fight and we will win. If the root of the tooth points toward the people we have a palaver with, then we must *tabe si* (sit down) or our enemies will win if we go to fight them.

This is the *Biang-along.*

Biang-akamayong.—This *biang* is the protector of the tribe or nation (*ayóng*, 789 tribe).

619 Told me by Esôya-ôvum, the headman of Foulabifong on the Nkomo river, 622 who sold me the complete set of the *Biang-akamayong* belonging to the dead headman "Commisan." I present this *biang* for your inspection this evening. The tin canister was obtained from a white man and is used in place of the usual basket to carry bones in. It contains portions of the skull of an albino (male), portions of the skull of a *mon nguri*, young chimpanzee, red powder and a variety of native medicine.

[726] This *biang-akamayong* is always carried by the headman of a town during war.

[534] A bell hangs from the bottom of the canister containing the bones; it rings when the headman walks.

Nka.—The small horn belonging to the *biang-akamayong* has *ngom* (porcupine tail) in it, also native medicine. It is used to cure people having witches. A bowl of medicine is made. The *ngom* is dipped in the medicine bowl and the sick person sprinkled with the medicine. Then the witch departs.

At this point the headman Esôya stopped talking. He said, "The children who have gathered around your house must go away; no real man dare talk about the *biang-akamayong* before women and children." I told the children to go and Esôya continued.

The whistle.—This is part of the *biang-akamayong*; it has been cooked (boiled) in the medicine bowl and has great power when used by the headman in calling the men together after a fight.

Mvul.—This is the large horn with a piece of looking glass on top. This horn 789 contains much medicine, and next to the bones is the most important part of the 619 *biang-akamayong.*

The two small antelope horns, and the small bundles of medicine, are *biang e ali* (hiding medicine); it makes the person carrying the *biang-akamayong* invisible to the enemy.

244 there is the striped mouse, Mus pulchellus Gray (zǒfǒ III), which gnaws the nuts. A kind of black rot affects the nuts here and there during certain years. A number of caterpillar species which consume the leaves can scarcely be designated as actual pests. It 244 is probable that the black rot has led the women to the belief that 789 other women are capable of making their groundnuts sick and of ruining them by means of "medicine." They try to counter this trick with a medicine consisting of the bones of the turtle, the elephant, the pig, and the guib, which are burned to ashes and then crushed; it is scattered on the seeds before planting. Of the remaining medicines that are supposed to influence favorably the growth of groundnuts, the most important one consists of rubbing [386 the groundnuts with a specially prepared coloring made from red 824] wood, ba-ayǎ'; accordingly, this medicine is called ba-ayǎ'. This red coloring (see Section 18, "Sexual Life") produces the [822] desired results and fends off hostile intentions. Red is everywhere the color of joy, growth, and reproduction. On the day the woman plants the groundnuts, she paints a line between her index finger and thumb with the "medicinal red" which will give her a lucky hand; or she draws a similar line on the upper surface of a tree stump and covers the stump with leaves, like a cap. This is to say: "May you groundnuts blossom, grow, and thrive (the red color is for this) under such a protection (referring to the leaves); nobody will be able to do you any harm (referring to the medicine)." Furthermore, on the eve of sowing, the man usu- •833] ally sets a good example for the groundnuts "assembled" in the basket /91/ by performing coitus for their benefit. With this example he sends them on their way: "Multiply! (1)" Another

[844 834] 1. This is done even when the woman is menstruating, whereas sexual intercourse is otherwise avoided during this period. In this case, as a medicinal act, sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman is supposed to be particularly good for the groundnuts, on condition that the woman "brings good luck (ayfie)" (see Section 18, "Sexual Life").

245 [177] mentăngan, "bananas of the Whites." Later it was given the name etăt, from the stem a tăt, "to moan." "One" ate too much of it; "one" could not digest so much; "one" became weak; "one" could not catch anything during the hunt, which among the Pangwe is always the chief source of worry, and so forth.

244 I can only give a brief account at this point of the less important vegetables. The sweet potato, Ipomoea batatas L. (dŭgŭ III), is not cultivated; it thrives like a weed in the vicinity of the villages and chokes out every other weed, so that one can speak of miniature potato fields. It is not a very popular food. Other vegetables are sown and planted either in the vicinity of the houses or on the farms. Of these vegetables we should name first Cucurbita maxima Duch. 244 824 (abŏ'k), which belongs to the Cucurbitaceae family and of which there are four varieties. The flesh of the fruit is eaten, as is the interior of the seeds, and small unripe fruit is also added whole to the groundnut bundle. Its young leaves are cut into small pieces and eaten as vegetables. The skin of the fruit cannot be removed, otherwise one would be wounded in battle. The men must avoid the [133] seeds if they do not want to lose their virility the /104/ following night; hence it is regarded as tactless if the women serve the fruit with the seeds to the men at mealtime.

244 Of the Malvaceae and the Tiliaceae, Hibiscus and Corchorus (tĕgĕ III - fruit, etĕ'tăm) are planted. The name is derived from a tĕk, "weak," for the leaves are cooked in a short time on the fire; the fruit is called etĕ'tam from a tĕbĕ etăm, "to stand alone," for they stand alone at the tip of the stalk when the leaves are withered or have been picked off. Both fruit and leaves are eaten. The following varieties are distinguished: Hibiscus moschatus Roxb. (nia tĕge - true hibiscus); and the Tiliaceae Corchorus olitorius L. (ngbăbelg'mo IV). The name esăh includes three plants of different families, namely, Hibiscus sabdariffa L. (engă'ne-esăh), the Polygonacea Rumex abessynicus Jacq. (etĕbŭ'dŏ-es), and the Melastomataceae Dinotis decumbens (P. B.) Trian. (esĭsăá-bongŏ'n-b'oyek).

All these plants are sown, and their leaves are eaten.
Other cultivated plants are the following.

2. Sexual Life between Maturity and Marriage

After reaching maturity, the girl is called ngɔ̃n III; and the young man nkɔ̃ I; for both there is also the term bandʊ̃man, plural of ndʊ̃man = young man or girl at the age of being in love. Thus the name itself shows under what sign the subsequent period of life is lived. Free love in the boldest sense of the word prevails. The girl may give away her favors without inhibition to whom and whenever she desires to do so, and she need only observe the religious rule that prohibits sexual intercourse during the day and the social rule that prohibits intercourse between blood relatives. Otherwise there is no barrier; members of the same age group come together and make thorough use of their freedom. In the initial period after maturity, to be sure, sexual desire is dampened by the moral admonitions of the cults with their proclamation of the sinfulness of sexual intercourse. This sinfulness, combined with physical satiety and psychic revulsion, produces a "moral hangover"; however, such considerations and feelings are soon overcome. As in eating, so in their love life, the Pangwe know no moderation. They empty the cup of joy to the lees. Later on, especially when the Pangwe has acquired several wives, he tends to develop a more business-like attitude towards sexual love, in place of the youthful amours which alternate unsteadily between ungoverned passion and its aftereffects, psychic unease.

In view of this extensive free love, it goes without saying that the virginity of his future wife plays no role in the man's choice. Indeed, the presence of a hymen (ajadebɨ) is usually scarcely noticed and /254/ to some is totally unknown. Around the age of 15 years it is supposed to be destroyed by boys of the same age.

As for their libidinal drive, the girls are generally not inferior to the boys. However, we may say that for the girls potency alone is as a rule the deciding factor in the choice of a friend. This fact is well expressed in the various dance songs at the Mbale (which, incidentally, were brought to the Fang and Ntum by the sexually loose Jaunde) as, for example, in the following complaint.

Leader of the chorus:

539 Mĩ'nĩnga ya mot ebɔ̃'n, edɔ̃ a va
●133 (A) woman and (a) man love affair (1), thereupon he had
836

1. ebɔ̃'n, "public region," hence, by extension, "love affair, relationship."

kĕ, a kĕ a bĩmo ba mĩ'nĩnga
gone (to her), he goes to sleep with (the) woman (on)

enɔ̃'n, a sĩ a nie kaa ngũ edɔ̃
bed, he cohabits with her, no virility, thereupon (a)

mɔ́t a va ke, a nga jĩg'
man (that is, another) he had gone, he lived to sing (the)

dʒã́: mĩ'hĩnga niĕne: o kĩnĩ
song (2): (The) woman she (speaks) thus (to me): you go

2. Poetic license, because the manner of recital is song; ordinarily it would be: Thereupon a man said the following.

a kĩda nã: kaa bĕdĕ a sɔ̃', kaa
to say this (to the lover): Not again (to) come, not

bede a ũ, a sĩ dʒã́ mebɔ́'n, aũ'
again (to) come, one not complete sex act, night

a ngĕ́n ojã́'b --ma nga tame
it was still long (lasting) (3) -- I live must (to)

3. That is, the lover would have had enough time to cohabit several times.

539 tɔ̃bɔ̃ nale, adzɔ̃ a n'abɛ̃
833 remain thus, affair it is bad.
836 Chorus:

A ta ma vɨ̄ or a na ma
Oh, my father, I am dying, Oh, my mother, I

vɨ̄.
am dying (4).

[195] 4. The Negro dies on every occasion when something unpleasant happens to him; the chorus thus speaks from the point of view of the woman who is in such despair concerning this "bad affair" that she would almost like to die.

836 Although there are no actual prostitutes, a number of the
548 women enjoy the free life of a girl and up to the age of 30 or 35 years remain ngɔ̃n, "girls." This kind of "girl," to whom every man, boy or adult, whatever his name, whether he is handsome or not, is equally /255/ welcome, is called a ñzila. The fact that people have no better opinion of her than we have of a loose woman is shown by a song sung at a festival for the
[533] souls. In its own way this song represents a delightful satire and, for the Pangwe, an extraordinarily witty, poetic achievement. I have reproduced it in Section 20 ("Music") /Ed., not translated/.

In spite of the great sensuality, relations between the sexes
831 do have finer traits; tactful behavior, precise observation of prescribed forms, and profound spiritual sensibility are not absent. The ingenuous conduct of the young man toward the girl's parents and the naturalness with which the young people enjoy their love, without obligations, without social prejudices, have something almost ideal about them.

832
824

Pax, burns; a-ndu-ñ a ndźik - Combretum tessmannii Gilg (see above).

L. (designation questionable) (oźim e mźégźn), root eaten; Cola acuminata (P. Beauv.), Sterculiacea (abź).

5. Substances that cause itching: Tragia cordifolia Pax (ofźm), leaves ground and eaten with an egg; likewise Urera dinklagei Engl., Urticacea (sź[s] ndźik).

6. Heating substances (designation of the natives): Derris glabrata Welw. (eźn e ndźik), root and leaves ground, boiled with spices, strained, and the liquid drunk. /266/

7. Explanation unknown: Uapaca guineensis Muell. Arg., Euphorbiacea (asźm) (perhaps because of strong wood?); Coinochlamys schweinfurthii Gilg., Loganiacea (oli fźm = men's little tree), little pieces of the stem stuck in the hair (hardwood?); Geophila herbacea L., Rubiacea (elg[k] a tźn), leaves ground with Cola and chewed (leaves are durable, "strong," perhaps for that reason?).

832
825

Of animals, the meat of the spiny-finned sheatfish, which is very fat, is considered a stimulant of the first rank; furthermore, the tibia bone of a cock (Fig. 85, b) is worn on the body because of the spur, as are caudal vertebrae of the leopard (Fig. 85, c) because of the strength of the tail.

853
278

The medicines for impotence (bźń a ź or bźń e ź) should be distinguished from the stimulants (aphrodisiacs). There are thought to be two forms of impotence: one dating from earliest youth, and one acquired later in life. The former, it is said, came about because the persons concerned had urinated in their food as very small children while they were being fed pap by their mothers. Another version is lined with the belief in magic: a boy is thought capable of giving away his sexual power (see belief in magic, Vol. II, p. 134 /Ed., not translated/) in exchange for the power of sorcery, that is, power over other people. Perhaps this conception stems from the fear that impotent persons try to avenge themselves on their fellow human beings for their misfortune. The medicines for impotence are not numerous, but they actually seem

833 to be, in part at least, effective. Thus, the most common of
278 these, derived from the Rubiacea Corynanthe yohimbe K. Sch.,
[824] has recently been incorporated in our medications under the name "yohimbin." The natives produce an extract from the bark and wood of the tree and drink this. They conceive the manner of its effect as similar to the one mentioned above, and they reason as follows: the wood of the tree is especially hard in relation to that
[825] of other trees, say, like the penis of a pig in relation to that of other animals (something which one notices if one boils it and tries to eat it), and I shall acquire this characteristic of the wood if I partake of some of the wood. Hence the tree also bears the name nkŋ̄ e ngɔ̄, "pig's penis."

Aside from the Corynanthe yohimbe, we should mention here
824 two other trees which possibly also give physiological effects:
833 Leguminosa Baphia buettneri Harms (mfɛ̄ I, mfɛ̄ŋ I), and the
278 Flaccourtiacea Homalium africanum Bth. (ejɔ̄m, supposedly from a jɔ̄me nkɔ̄m, "to erect the penis," an expression that I never again encountered. In my opinion, the root contained in ejɔ̄m is the same as in mnɔ̄m, plural bojɔ̄m = masculine gender; thus, the tree would be called ejɔ̄m for (e) the man; majɔ̄m, plural = seed). /267/ The leaves of the Baphia buettneri are gathered, ground on stones, and placed in the sun in sugar wine. The mixture is drunk while it is warm. From the Homalium, on the other hand, the bark is scraped off and ground; then it is boiled with spices and the liquid drunk while it is hot.

Finally, three more plants were mentioned to me as belonging in the category of bilɔ̄ ejɔ̄, among these, the Solanum duplostinustum U.D. (etɔ̄ŋ) because of its spikes.

Venereal diseases (see Section 13) are prevalent only in those
164 areas where European influence has existed for some time, especially
689 in Yaoundé and Gabon, from where syphilis has been spread. The
[177] Negroes seem to consider frambesia a kind of sexual disease, for the man who has communicated this disease to a girl or a wife must pay her or her father the same penalty (500 to 1,000 spears) he would pay if he had infected her with syphilis. If, on the other hand, the lover becomes infected through the woman, he can claim no damages.

2: Tessmann--127 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

171 Moral /Anthropophyteia, Yearbooks for Folkloristic Inquiries and Explorations into the Historical Development of Sexual Morality/, edited by Dr. Friedrich S. Kraus (1912), Vol. 9, p. 31.

833 Over against the great mass of women, the bebǒbǎ̂n, who
777 through sexual intercourse bring the man misfortune, there is the exceptional phenomenon of the woman who among the Ntum is called ayǒ̂ III and among the Fang ayǎ̂. Union with her brings both parties, the woman as well as the man, good fortune. At the same time her influence is more important for the man, for instance, during military and hunting expeditions. If, for instance, the man goes hunting on the day after having had intercourse with such a woman, he is bound to see a wild animal soon and to kill it. If he goes to war, "his rifle will hit its mark," whereas the enemy's will not. For this eventuality, moreover, he has the woman give him a medicine, namely red wood that she has ground in a certain way (bǎ-ayǒ̂, mfumu-bǎ). The woman, too, is lucky on this day if she goes "hunting" for fish, that is, if she goes on a fish drive (a ǎlǎk), or works on the farm (see Vol. I, p. 56).

But -- as was said -- such women who bring good fortune are a rarity; the majority of women bring misfortune. If a man goes hunting on the day after coition, all the animals evade him in a wide arc (a bǎ̂ǎ), hence the name ebǒbǎ̂n.

[833] In the peculiar custom of the mǎk consecration I see proof of
785 the fact that the Pangwe know the harmful effect of excessive sexual
834 intercourse. The word mǎk actually means the castrated animal,
831 in particular the buck goat (see Vol. I, p. 76), and here it is applied symbolically to a person who through a public and solemn declaration is for a time excluded from sexual intercourse. After a successfully concluded war, more rarely upon some other occasion, somebody (usually the chief) decides to consecrate his son or his daughter to purity. Naturally, neither of the latter may as yet be acquainted with sexual matters, in other words, they will only be

785 from four to six years old. They are thus consecrated so that
554 one day they will surpass all others in insight and understanding;
831 then, through their spiritual superiority, they will acquire influence, power (knowledge is power!), and especially wealth. In the case of the son, this will be to his own advantage; in the case of the daughter, it will benefit the father who can get a higher purchase price for her than for a girl with the usual loose way of life. In other words, the "savages" know well the value of moral purity. /269/

831 The custom of milk consecration was formerly practiced
785 throughout the Pangwe region. Nowadays, however, since warlike
[184] times have ceased, it is to be encountered only among the Fang of the central Uelle region. I should like to compare the custom
[171] to the practice found among us during the Middle Ages, whereby the heads of important families (especially princes), after some lucky success (for instance, in war), destined one child for the clergy and consecrated it to the pure life dedicated to God, frequently not without calculating the advantages that could accrue to them from such an action.

765 The procedure of the consecration feast is as follows. The
789 child, clothed in a small loincloth, is led to the medicine man
556 and is washed by him with a medicine water. The medicines used
831 for this are barks of various trees that bear ample fruit, such as
[824] the Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofǒs), so that the child's understanding may bear fruit as abundantly as these trees or, in other words, so that wealth may fall to its lot in the same abundance as the fruit of these trees falls to the ground beneath them. The various barks are placed in a container made of banana leaves, and hot water is poured over them. After the ablution, the child must swallow the principal medicine, a bundle of ngon
[824] with the chopped leaves of certain "weak" plants, such as Hibiscus moschatus (Roxb.) (tége III, from a tĕk, "weak," because the fruit is cooked in a short time), in order to make the child
[833] equally weak, that is, sexually incapable. Furthermore, the ngon
[825] is mixed with chicken meat -- the chicken is the bird of day, of the good and the pure, and at the same time it is supposed to point symbolically to the wealth that is desired for the child (the chief, the "Very Rich One," is regarded as the privileged son of the

838 Concerning homosexual intercourse among women, I was unable to discover any facts.

839 So far as I know, bestiality does not occur.

6. Pregnancy, Birth

843 The Pangwe recognize the beginning of a pregnancy by the nonappearance of menstruation; they are also familiar with the fact that a slight indisposition and headaches about a month after cohabitation may cause one to suspect pregnancy. Once pregnancy [845] is established, the man continues to have intercourse with a woman for about two more months, but then relations with her must be broken off, since it is feared that the fetus would be destroyed or at least harmed by the seed that it must "drink." It must also be emphasized that this prohibition is not always observed; indeed, [855] there is a medicine, sand in water, which a woman is supposed to drink if the man has intercourse with her shortly before the confinement. The sand is supposed to scour the seed from the body of the fetus.

[843] Usually the beginning of a pregnancy is greeted by the woman as a joyous event. There are also cases, however, when it is not 847 welcomed, for instance, when prohibited intercourse with men of 278 related kin groups has consequences, when a woman is pregnant by an "unloved man," or generally if she does not want to assume the burden of rearing the child or wants to evade the command of sexual abstinence. In such cases -- and they are by no means rare -- the fetus is aborted (a gbwē abǔm, a kīe abǔm, "to drop the belly (fruit)"). The medicines, for the greater part poisonous substances with which we have already become acquainted as fish poisons, are: 1) Piptadenia africana Hook. f., Leguminosa (tǔm IV), bark loosened in pieces, pared and boiled, and the extract, when cooled, used as an enema; 2) Cylicodiscus gabunensis Harms, Leguminosa (edǔm), used in the same way; 3) kernel of the fruit of Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (tree = adīǔb, kernel = ngǒn-ebǔn IV), ground in water; 4) Rubiacea

575 We have not been able to learn anything about the ceremonies of
784 protection against the bivur. However, Akam Eyene told us that when a member of the buiti has inadvertently eaten the flesh of his protecting animal, which is absolutely forbidden, he holds a meeting called dzimba in the course of which the wrongdoer, after dancing, presents his case. Then the [77] head of the buiti absolves him, spitting scrapings of the bark of the ovah onto his head.

525 The buiti has a secret language. Akam Eyene gave us only the
798 secret names of certain of its initiates, which correspond to the animals chosen as protectors:

He himself	called	ndzikwe	chimpanzee
Ondo Ngema	—	ngilahongo	gorilla
Akum Eyene	—	esingi	tiger cat
Ngema Eyene	—	mitumbu	panther
Bekeka Yebe	—	mogabene	elephant
Angwe Nseme	—	menyanga	snake
Mba Minkwe	—	meyasamba	rooster
Kumeyeme	—	mepeku	eagle
Abaga	—	ndzobe	wildcat

771 V. Totemism. Despite all questions which we have put to many natives of various tribes, we have not been able to find any signs of totemism. We were only told of instances of individual unions with animals, as in the buiti or following an akaga.

Family and Collective Life

000 In this chapter we will examine the life of the individual in the family and in the social group, from his conception until his death, in corporating into this framework the family and tribal organization as well as relations with strangers.

842 Conception (menoh bum). A woman, we have been told by our
833 male and female informants, cannot conceive until after she has
841 menstruated four times. She is, in fact, forbidden to have sexual intercourse before her fourth period. At her first menses, the woman tells her mother or her mother-in-law if she is married (usually her mother-in-law, since there is hardly even a young girl, still with her family, without a husband); the latter henceforth supervises her more

meticulously and in due time gives her permission to have relations with her husband. The first relations must take place on the day following the end of the menstrual period so that the not yet completely dried blood in the organs of the woman can mix with the sperm of the man and make a kind of paste called nsüe a mon (lizard of a child), which goes back up into the womb of the woman and there develops [78] and becomes the child. If the woman has relations with a man before the prescribed time, she will definitely become sterile.

Sterility, for which many causes are recognized, can be treated, except in the case noted above, in case of bad conduct, and in case of voluntary abortion in the course of a first pregnancy. In order to abort, the woman finds a midwife (ngah minanga) who sends her out to look for the bark of the afamega vine and the tum tree, which she crushes and with which she makes an infusion. The woman goes to the brush and takes four irrigations of this infusion, and that is enough to induce abortion.

On the other hand, the woman who wishes to have children may be barren for several reasons:

(1) She may have aborted naturally and without desiring it. An abortion is recognized as having a natural cause, that is, without malignant external intervention, in that the patient recovers three or four days after the accident and without having suffered too much. In this case the midwife gives the invalid a prohibition called awes which restrains her from going near any man other than her husband. She may not say a word to a man except through the mediation of another woman who acts as interpreter; she may not give anything to a man without this intermediary, and may not sit where a man has sat; and for this last reason she always carries a little seat with her. This prohibition must be observed for two or three months, after which the woman is again allowed to have relations with her husband. If at the end of three more months she is still not pregnant, the midwife then gives her a treatment which consists in having the patient take some soup (abura) made of pumpkin (ngon) ground on a stone and mixed with herbs (mia mi nyo, oyah) gathered and chopped by the midwife. These she cooks with salt and pimento in a pot at the bottom of which has been placed a copper ring (hon ango), covered by a large leaf during the cooking.

587 When a man dies and one of his relatives marries his wives, there
769 is no additional payment of dowry. When a man loses his wife, the dowry is repaid fully, or in part, by the relatives of the deceased wife if she has left no children. If there are children, the widower makes no claim to the dowry.

765 The widow cuts her hair. After the death of the husband, the wife is made to confess the names of her lovers in order to make them give payments which will finance the celebrations at the end of mourning. She must weep for one whole day and one whole night; she may do nothing without the permission of her husband's heir; and for a month she stays dirty, dressed in an old loincloth. At the end of this time there are celebrations of the end of mourning which last several days. The widow sits for a whole night in the village square, and the husband's relatives throw her water and pimento. The following morning she jumps four times over a fire of dry banana leaves. While she is jumping, men hit her for the anguish which she has caused her husband to endure. After that she receives a new loincloth from her family and then, before beginning the dances, if she has not accepted remarriage
587 to her husband's heir, she chooses a new husband from among the assembled men of the dead man's family.

838 Neither homosexuality nor bestiality have ever been recorded, to
839 our knowledge, among the Fan.

589 Prostitution does not exist.

●833 Impotence (eyel), if it is congenital, is attributed to the mother's having accidentally caused milk to flow onto the penis of her son while nursing him. If it occurs later, it is said to be from the abuse of coitus and it is believed that there is no more sperm in the impotent person.

596 Family Group. The family (nda ebur) consists of the man, his wives, his children, and his brothers. It usually includes several homes and constitutes a village in itself. The authority belongs to the father, and it is he who commands because of his being the most respected. He has absolute power, but also incurs certain duties, the most important of which is to find money or goods as dowry for the women whom his sons wish to marry. These dowries are usually obtained through payments made by the girls' husbands. The most complete mutual aid is obligatory among all members of the family, in all
576 circumstances. When the parents have become too old to continue
877 exercising their authority, they live with the family of their oldest son

the law has not changed on this point. "No bride price, no marriage" —Sa nsuba, ve alu' e se kik. We shall find this principle again in connection with legitimate descent.

Thus it is the absence of payment of the nsuba that gives their character to free union, ébon, and to adultery, mejian, and makes them really infringements upon the law of property, justifying the fact that customary courts logically refuse to impose a penalty in a case of ébon when the girl returns to her family pregnant (2).

2. This is hard for some magistrates to understand.

A husband must provide his wife with lodging and clothes and must clothe any children he has by her. He must clear the field she will cultivate, provide her with household utensils and, in theory, with meat. He must allow her to visit her parents, to whom he owes respect. He must not use sorcery (3) against her and must respect the

3. Likened to sorcery are fellatio and sodomy, the grounds for numerous divorces from former members of native infantry regiments.

prerogatives of rank that she holds among her co-wives; he is supposed to sleep with her when she is not menstruating nor pregnant nor nursing. He must not beat her beyond what she can stand nor expose her vulva in public. /54/

A woman owes obedience to her husband, to her mother-in-law, and to the first wife, respect to her affinal relatives, therefore to her husband's clan; she must be faithful to her husband and perform her conjugal duty. She is responsible for cultivating the plots cleared for her, for fishing with weirs, for feeding her children, taking her turn at cooking for her husband, for keeping her hut clean and that of her husband when she is sleeping with him, and for helping to build them (it is she who applies the banco onto the frame). She does not have to take care of imported household equipment and clothes because these are biôm of a masculine nature (but the schools and missions are trying to train women to do so). Finally, and above all, she must be prolific: this is her first duty and a great deal will be forgiven her if she performs it.

536 made, but this practice is only very rarely followed in cases of free
851 union, ébon, even when that is followed by a regular marriage of the
848 natural parents. Illegitimate children, fruits of an ébon, bobengon, are kept in their mother's clan, where, moreover, they rank socially only after legitimate children.

597 There used to exist a kind of adoption, rare today, of a political
614 rather than family nature, which could almost be defined as naturali-
641 zation. It could only be carried out by the head of an extended family on behalf of an orphan, mone nyui, of another clan (orphans within /56/ the clan being, of course, already considered children of the head of the family). The adopted child, abiaé mɔ̂ɔ̂ (i.e., "conceived
[839] in the daytime," sexual relations being lawful only between sundown and sunrise), came into the clan with a status analogous to that of the monengon. He remained subject to the marriage prohibitions of his clan of origin.

609 A non-Pahouin outsider permanently residing in a village, a ntabe,
614 may benefit through marriage by alliance, élat, which does not thereby make him a member of the clan. He becomes a monekal (sister's son, uterine relative) and his children, though legitimate, belong to their mother's clan.

593 The descent relationship may be broken by paternal or maternal
578 curse, meyo'é: the parent uttering the curse shows the child his sexual organs, "the place whence he came," while pronouncing a formula oath. The curse is supposed to bring misfortune and death to the offspring accursed, whom everyone avoids. It can only be
[783] lifted by a collective purificatory rite (éye, tyɔ̂) in which the whole nda bɔ̂t participates.

3. Age Grades

561 The individual's life cycle is marked by a certain number of transitions, which are accompanied, or were usually accompanied, by rites that will be discussed further on (p. 115). These crises are birth, weaning, puberty, attaining majority, marriage, death. Age grades correspond to the intermediate stages; they are less strictly defined today than formerly.

561 I do not know the exact word for fetus: people say abum, belly.
693 There must be a more precise term, but I think there is a prohibiton connected with it, certainly as regards men, although it may now be

946 river again (until now she has washed in her hut), puts on new clothes presented by her husband, and starts cooking for him again and working in her garden. Special purification has been carried out if the baby has died in the interval. The prohibition against sexual relations lasts as long as the child is at the breast; to break this taboo would make it nyu meyôm, drink sperm, which might lead to its death.

Postpartum care is given by the mbiale binga, then by the woman's mother or aunt or ntyi. This consists of vaginal douches and external and internal napkins of vegetable compresses.

853 The baby may be suckled only by its mother or a woman of the mother's blood, a grandmother or maternal aunt. If this is impossible, the baby cannot live (at least in rural districts where concentrated milk is unknown). Traditional pharmacopoeia possesses, however, extraordinary vegetable lactic stimulants, probably without equivalent in the European pharmacopoeia.

b. Childhood

563 The old custom was not to name (yôlé) the baby until it was taken out of the house; until then it was usually called by the name of a small animal, like "squirrel" or "palm rat." Nowadays the name is given within a few days of birth, if for no other reason than to comply with citizenship regulations. /93/

551 A name, jôé or jui (also meaning nose, order, command, authority) includes the éyôlé, the individual's own name, and the atinan, complementary name chosen from the biyôlé of ancestors according to clan or family traditions, which are on the decline. Formerly, a cognomen was added to these, a mebatan (1) or jôé mebatan (lit.

1. Trilles translates this word as "genealogy": lañ mebatan means both "to recite the genealogy" and "to recite the salutation," simply because this was in fact the formal way of introducing oneself; a newcomer's genealogy determined how his hosts would "greet" him. True genealogy, pedigree, is éndan, related to ndan, tattoo mark, emblem.

salutation name), sometimes conferred at initiation. This mebatan

there is the striped mouse, Mus pulchellus Gray (zǒfó III), which gnaws the nuts. A kind of black rot affects the nuts here and there during certain years. A number of caterpillar species which consume the leaves can scarcely be designated as actual pests. It is probable that the black rot has led the women to the belief that other women are capable of making their groundnuts sick and of ruining them by means of "medicine." They try to counter this trick with a medicine consisting of the bones of the turtle, the elephant, the pig, and the gulb, which are burned to ashes and then crushed; it is scattered on the seeds before planting. Of the remaining medicines that are supposed to influence favorably the growth of groundnuts, the most important one consists of rubbing the groundnuts with a specially prepared coloring made from red wood, ba-ayǎ'; accordingly, this medicine is called ba-ayǎ'. This red coloring (see Section 18, "Sexual Life") produces the desired results and fends off hostile intentions. Red is everywhere the color of joy, growth, and reproduction. On the day the woman plants the groundnuts, she paints a line between her index finger and thumb with the "medicinal red" which will give her a lucky hand; or she draws a similar line on the upper surface of a tree stump and covers the stump with leaves, like a cap. This is to say: "May you groundnuts blossom, grow, and thrive (the red color is for this) under such a protection (referring to the leaves); nobody will be able to do you any harm (referring to the medicine)." Furthermore, on the eve of sowing, the man usually sets a good example for the groundnuts "assembled" in the basket /91/ by performing coitus for their benefit. With this example he sends them on their way: "Multiply! (1)" Another

1. This is done even when the woman is menstruating, whereas sexual intercourse is otherwise avoided during this period. In this case, as a medicinal act, sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman is supposed to be particularly good for the groundnuts, on condition that the woman "brings good luck (ayǒe)" (see Section 18, "Sexual Life").

1. Fruit of Alchornea cordifolia Muell. Arg. (abuī), because of the quantity of its fruit; hence also its name abuī from abuī, "much" (compare a bue, "break into pieces," for then there are many pieces!).

2. Herb of the Amaranthaceae Aerua lanata (L.) Juss. (angō̄nengṓne III, angṓngṓne = assimilated, angṓngōno), because of its abundant inflorescence.

3. Fruit of the Pseudospondias microcarpa (Rich.) Engl. (ofǒs), because of its many fruits (cf. groundnut medicines).

4. Fruit of the Euphorbiacea Staphysora duseni Pax. (owūwǔmu II and III), because of its many flowers; hence the name is derived from a wǔmu, "to put forth," the name being formed by reduplication.

5. Pulverized leaves of the melegueta pepper, Aframomum melegueta K. Schum. (andǔn), likewise because of the luxuriant growth of the plant. /98/

All these items are stirred together in water inside the vessel and are then squirted onto the young ngon plants by means of a piece of stalk of the Cissus (pfǎzǒk IV), so that the ngon may "grow as luxuriantly as the Cissus shoot."

Depending upon the region, the various elements and admixtures of the medicine differ; frequently some of them are used by themselves. For instance, Staphysora mixed with charcoal is scattered on the plants. All the components of the medicine listed above, however, are chosen because they can transfer their power to the ngon plants.

The economic importance of ngon is indicated by the fact that among the Ntum and Fang the women who planted the ngon are forbidden to have sexual intercourse for three months. The significance of this disproportionately long period of fast, if I may call it such, may be measured by the fact that in the important women's cult bieking, for instance, the initiates are forced to practice only ten days' sexual abstinence, and in the most important men's cult, the

244 Sso of the Jaunde, sexual abstinence effectively lasts only three
134 months. The Fang say that the ngon would not grow if the prohibition were broken, and since with them the belly counts for more than love, this prohibition is generally observed.

Only the softer interior of the ngon kernel can be eaten. The
244 kernels must therefore be cracked open, and this is done by means
253 of a little stick from the tree Microdesmis puberula Hook. f., Euphorbiaceae (obīmyŏ́n), with which they lightly strike the seed after placing it on end. Old and young, men and women, participate in this task which is carried out inside and in front of the dwelling house, as well as in the meeting house. It is an activity characterized by a peculiar clicking noise not easily forgotten once one has heard it. In spite of its importance in the household, the ngon is not prepared in a great variety of ways; like the groundnut, it is eaten only in the form of a soup or it is pulverized and boiled in a leaf bundle.

524 In conclusion, patient reader, kǐndǎn (guess a riddle!); kǐndǎn (I guess):

akŏn	afǒ′,	e	mane	nkū′na	ngūi,
spear	one,	he	makes ready	herd-swine.	

Answer:

okŏk	ofǒ′,	e	mane	dǐǎd	e	ngon
beater	one,	he	makes ready	bush plate	(with)	ngon.

244 Yams, as a secondary crop with ngon, are of two principal kinds: the three-leaved yams, Dioscorea dumetorum (Kunth) Pax (andǐǎ); and the common yams, Dioscorea minutiflora Engl. (emvūj). /99/ Each has four species. In addition, the Pangwe differentiate two more kinds which, however, perhaps belong to Dioscorea minutiflora or are close to it: ǐǒ′ǒ III Ntum, dnǒ (plural, bǐǒ′) Fang; and ebǒ′ǒǒ. In the Jaunde region there is furthermore the Jaunde yam with large tubers, ekō′da Jaunde. Finally, the air tuber yam, Dioscorea sativa L. (alǒk), is also cultivated, but only in very small quantities. As we said above, the conditions for the growth of the yam resemble those of the ngon; it also climbs up the brush and trees left lying about,

224

1. Pitfalls (ebɛ̄, ndah I)

The simplest kind of trap, the pit, is to be found throughout the entire region. Everywhere along the paths through the forest there are narrow, rectangular pits, many of which are three meters deep. They are so close to the path that at times they can be a source of danger -- carefully covered as they are -- to pedestrians who are not paying close attention. Near the bottom they become so narrow that a person falling into them remains hanging wedged between the walls halfway /118/ /Fig. 67 appears here in the original text/ and cannot get out again by himself. Pits having pointed [72] posts at the bottom are not for wild animals; they are used only in war. The pits are usually constructed by two people, the owners, of whom one digs while the other carries away the dirt. The person [83] who has done the digging may not have any sexual intercourse for [83] five days after this work, for the pit is a hole like the female sex organ; thus, if he were to defile himself through sexual intercourse with a woman, he would not catch anything in the pit.

2. Spring traps (ekūidi)

The Pangwe distinguish seven types of spring traps, that is to say, traps in which the animal is killed either by a tree trunk suspended over a passage and released by means of a trigger device or by a freely balanced, weighted plate, raised above the ground.

A. True spring traps for wild animals
   1. ekūidi-oaǎb or oaǎb
   2. ekūidi-eaǎ'ŋ
   3. ekūidi-nkǎk
   4. aŋ̄ba-ekūidi
B. Rat spring traps
   5. ekūidi-o-si
   6. ekūidi-o-jo'b
C. Spring plates
   7. akūi

/119/ /Figs. 68 and 69 appear here in the original text./

Fig. 179. Drawknife for Spear Handles.

322
413

Fig. 180. Drawknife (also Scraper) for Spear Handles.

five hens, and five pieces of brass wire, which altogether corresponds approximately to a value of 120 marks in our money. The medicine is kept in a small wooden or clay pot lined with the soft leaves of the Triumfetta (okɔ̃ŋ) or in a little basket. It consists of a bundle of leaves with the brain matter of an ancestor, a few pieces of skull from the ancestors placed around it, and pieces of the shaved bark of the Leguminosa Macrolobium straussianum Harms (abɔ̃m, bɔ̃me IV) or of the fern Marattia fraxinea Sm. (ezɔ̃ŋ), and poison (nɛ̃ŋ). The skull and the brain as the seat of knowledge are supposed to make the smelting process successful; the Macrolobium is supposed to cause the lump iron to lie as firmly and solidly in the smelting pit (ekiai a bɔ̃me o ɛ̃, = the iron is firm [as though stamped down] under there) as this tree stands without buttress roots (hence the name abɔ̃m from a bɔ̃m, "to stamp in firmly, to pound in, and to be firmly stamped in"); the fern is supposed to cause the iron to agglomerate as beautifully as the young fern leaves.

325
789
[435]
[824]
[826]

Unfortunately, it is impossible to make iron with this medicine alone. For better or for worse, actual work will have to be done, and for this workers are needed. These are not so difficult to obtain since they get a share of the profit, but the abstinence rules which we have already mentioned, especially those of a sexual nature, deter many of them. These rules enjoin abstinence for two months before and during the period of work, and if they are violated, the iron will

325
834

not be good. This extremely unpleasant prescription, in conjunction with the expensive medicine, stands in the way of a greater distribution of smelting enterprises. Even in places where a hut for iron smelting is already in existence, people prefer to buy iron from others if their own has been a failure several times, for this misfortune is attributed to the failure of the fire as a result of the sexual /226/ impurity of one or a number of the participants. The importation of European iron in recent years is dealing a death blow to the native industry. The fear of bringing anything impure (and all sexual matters are pre-eminently regarded as such) into contact with pure fire goes so far that a medicine is made by those participants whose wives menstruate during the smelting. This consists of a diamond-shape piece cut out of the bark on the supporting beam of the smelting hut on the side facing the furnace, and it is supposed to represent the female sex organ. The symbol is rubbed with redwood which has been pulverized by the woman concerned and represents her blood flow; it is covered with a leaf of the Myrianthus arboreus P.B. (mangîme III Fang) to indicate that one wants everything impure to be hidden and therefore harmless. At the same time the plant is supposed to cause the iron to coalesce to the same degree as the individual fruits are united in a syncarp. In Plate 17 one can see a piece of the leaf on the supporting post (top left), as well as (somewhat lower down) a bark container which holds fragments of ancestors' skulls, a number of antelopes' horns, and a great variety of other medicines that are used later. That the people concerned with the ancestor cult are regarded as particularly suited to bring the work to a successful conclusion is apparent from the fact that they alone may tend the fire (see Fig. 183).

The smelting of iron is thus above all under the aegis of the fire cult, but it is also closely linked with the worship of the ancestors who contribute to the success of the enterprise insofar as it lies in their power to do so.

Iron crops out in the form of brown iron ore (ndi IV) (1) and is

1. The analysis carried out by Mr. Du Bois at the suggestion of Professor Pufahl (Königliche Bergakademie in Berlin)

325 intercourse. During this period, the ore is carried to the hut in
372 baskets and piled up there, and charcoal (miẽ, mẽ) is obtained.
The charcoal must be especially "strong," and for that reason it
is obtained only from the following five trees: 1) Pentaclethra
[124] macrophylla Benth., Leguminosae (ebã); 2) Erythrophloeum
guineense Don., Leguminosae (elõn); 3) Cylicodiscus gabunensis
Harms, Leguminosae (edim); 4) Eurypetalum tessmannii Harms,
Leguminosae (andzimi); 5) Irvingia grandifolia Engl., Simarubaceae
(ngõn IV). The wood is heaped up in small piles near the village,
set on fire, and, when it is charred, extinguished while still glow-
ing. The water with which it is extinguished is skillfully squirted
out of the mouth like a shower.

325 In Bebai, among the Schumu family (Woddo region) where I
343 saw the smelting, a smaller hut stood next to the smelting hut
339 (Fig. 182, Drawing 2); this hut contained nothing but a sleeping
bench (g), a poker hook (q), and a number of spare blast pipes (r)
for the furnace. The hut owner for whom the smelting was to be
done the next day spent the last night in it in order not to succumb
to the temptation of violating the above-mentioned rule at the last
moment. This precautionary measure shows how steadfastly the
Pangwe actually observe the many commandments.

325 In the morning the workers appear with their tools, the blast
pipes (ẽẽ IV), and bellows.

The bellows without valve -- but in contrast, it does not have
wooden sticks used as handles. It is made of soft wood (see page
246); from its two bowl-shaped enlargements (Pangwe: alẽ-akẽ,m,
"bellows ears") separate shafts lead /228/ /Fig. 181 appears here
in the original text/ into the tip (Pangwe: ndẽ,ẽ-nkũ,m, "bellows
nose"). The bowls are covered with animal hide with the hairy side
[248] inward, or (only among the Jaunde) with leaf sheaths of the banana
tied together in a tuft. Since the hides are moved directly by hand
and not by means of sticks, only soft hides can be used, such as
those of the long-tailed monkeys, the potto, the civet cat, and
the African dwarf buck Neotragus batesi Winton.

The pit in the smelting hut is stuffed full to the rim with leaves
of the umbrella tree, so that after the completion of the smelting
process it can be cleaned of the charcoal remains without any

882
864 By this answer, he secures for himself the mild judgment with
[672] which we dispose of "silly boys' pranks."

For children, bʊ̄ngo, therefore, quite a different yardstick is applied; what they do, especially in respect to sexual matters, is not taken seriously.

bʊ̄ngo bá bʊ̄ʼ osoo = children have no sense of shame, and
● 834 the other way around, adults do not display much towards chil-
855 dren (see homosexual life, Vol. II, page 131), since, after all,
864 children simply do not know what evil (nɔ̄) is or what shame (o-so-n) means. If the otherwise, at least externally, very modest Negroes say this themselves, we should not hope to find many of the characteristics of a true, innocent ebʊ̄n among the children. As a matter of fact their first playful imitations of
896 sexual intercourse as they observe older people performing it
898 begin at five or six years of age; between the age of eight and nine "playing parents" is nothing but perfectly conscious sexual intercourse, though it is generally regarded as a game and was cited to me in the category of "children's games" under the name ebʊ̄bʊ̄ne-bʊ̄ngo (Ntum) or ebʊ̄ʼnebʊ̄ne bʊ̄ngo (Fang). It is usually done in the forenoon /253/ in the dwellings when the parents are in the fields or absent elsewhere. The partners are not only boys and girls, but also boys among each other. Later, at the age of eight to 10 years and frequently somewhat beyond, many boys manifest a similar inclination towards members of their own sex, along with a sexual urge for girls of the same age. In view of the emphasis on maintaining, as long as possible, the outward appearance of modesty, the Pangwe boys make use of a device whereby they come to an understanding "metaphorically." A boy
[201] rakes some earth and sweepings onto a leaf, ties this hastily together like a food bundle, and gives it to the other. If the latter is ready to respond to the proffered affection, he will open the bundle and pretend to eat of it, saying finally, "ma mane a dʊ̄," that is, "I have eaten." If he is not inclined to respond, he will throw away the bundle, of whose contents he has full knowledge.

Concerning masturbation, see below, page 130.

841 Hence, according to rule, menstruation should start in the first few days after the new moon, but unfortunately the white-haired old fellow seems to take his task rather lightly and is rarely dependable. In order to hasten the appearance of menstruation and thereby to make the girl capable of bearing children or, better yet, to make her accessible to men, a medicine is used. Sexual intercourse during menstruation is not exactly prohibited, but it is nonetheless regarded as unaesthetic and is usually avoided. In order to staunch the blood (a dhip makji), the women stuff dry plantain tow into the vagina, a process which they repeat from time to time. They also have medicines designed to hasten the end of the flow of blood.

[834] [824]

In view of the lack of moderation with which the Pangwe from early youth indulge their sexual desires, the young man at an early age feels the need to fortify his sexual powers. For this reason, they take medicines, bikji nkin, medicines for the penis, whose effects are thought of as a transference of characteristics, in accordance with the conceptions described earlier concerning the power of organization /Ed., not translated/. I shall mention the following.

832 824

1. Hardwoods, to transfer their hardness to the penis: Albizzia brownei Oliv., Leguminosae (angik); Baccaurea bipindensis Pax., Euphorbiaceae (mbin-afin I), leaves ground in ngon and eaten; Carpolobia alba Don., Polygalaceae (ondo, tjmo[k] IV Fang, tjime Ntum), a remedy frequently used, /265/ /Fig. 85 appears here in the original text/ the leaves eaten with an egg and a piece of the stem is tied around the body so that it lies over the seat (Fig. 85, a); Cyclostemon gilgianus Pax., Euphorbiaceae (onon mix, i. -mik), root scraped into an egg, stem piece worn as in the previous case; Tricalysia teusmannii Krause, Rubiaceae (tji'me-afin IV Ntum), likewise; Cola pachycarpa K. Schum., Sterculiaceae (ekim), fruit kernels eaten; Clerodendron bipindense Gürke, Verbenaceae (ndike fim = men's liana), leaves ground with true Cola and eaten.

2. Thorns whose stiffness is supposed to be transferred to the penis: Lonchocarpus barteri Benth., Leguminosae (eji' a fim a

In the case of gonorrhea, the infected woman can demand
144 damages only if she notices the misfortune before she has been
689 paid for the favor rendered. The damages amount to 400 spears if the disease came from a person of the same kin group, and 1000 spears if it came from a person of another kin group. With the payment the "temporary marriage contract" is terminated, and thereby any claim for damages is nullified. In other words, it is always a good idea to pay one's debts as soon as possible:

[539] a bʉ́ʉ́n, a bʉ́ʉ́n, a bʉ́ʉ́n abʉ̄ mayʉ̄k.
Keeping, keeping, it strikes (a) poor bargain.

The person who always keeps his money to himself runs into an unfavorable price situation.

Their unrestrained sexual intercourse has a highly deleterious
891 effect upon the Negroes; it weakens and stupefies them. Smaller
961 boys are often quite useful as servants, but once they reach sexual maturity and become acquainted with women, they can simply no longer be used. The Pangwe recognize this bad influence, and intelligent ones among them did not hesitate to confess frankly to me that their sexual practices corrupted them and made them incapable of strenuous physical or intellectual work. We do not need the testimony of individuals, however -- popular customs demonstrate this insight sufficiently. I believe that, aside from
[894] being based upon the original religious conception concerning the sinfulness of sexual intercourse and its incarnation in the woman, the abstinence rules for war and hunting expeditions and for iron smelting are based on the experience that sexual intercourse weakens the man's physical and intellectual capacities. Naturally, the man is inclined to heap the blame on women /268/
[196] and bebʉ̄n, "vaginas," as he contemptuously calls them (1).

171 1. "Terms which originally only signified 'vulva' or 'cunnus' but were then generalized into the concept 'wenches,'" exist everywhere in Europe, too; see Anthropophyteia, Jahrbücher für folkloristische Erhebungen und Forschungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der geschlechtlichen

891 785 592 [825] sun) -- or with elephant's meat, in which case the child is supposed to become spiritually great and important, just as the elephant surpasses the other animals physically, or, finally, with the meat of the hedgehog -- the child is to get as many things as the hedgehog has quills (1).

[839] 1. A well-known proverb, to be intelligible, would have to be translated into Pangwe something like this: He is as full of stupidities as the hedgehog is full of quills.

785 891 Thus, the child becomes mi̱k. Its loincloth is taken off and from now on -- be it male or female -- it must go about completely naked. Here is another significant fact regarding [739] [291] the moral-religious view of the Pangwe: clothing, that is, the covering of the sex organs, arose because the sense of shame (o-so-n) which started with the first sin (n-sō-m, root so), that is, sexual intercourse, demanded it. If the innocent state (ignorance of sexual matters) is artificially restored, clothing becomes unnecessary.

The mi̱k are generally respected. People are careful not to speak to them about sexual matters or to seduce the girls, especially since /270/ the protection which they are accorded by cus- [669] tom is effectively strengthened though the right of the father or the relatives to shoot down the seducer without further ado wherever they find him. Nowadays, however, the old customs have been somewhat relaxed; the mi̱k are not always what they ought to be.

Annulment of the chastity obligation takes place in the same solemn manner when the consecrated person is fully grown, in other words, not before the age of 20 years. In the case of the man, it is required that he prove himself the bravest in war or at least that he has shot an enemy (1). In the case of the girl, it is

[177] 1. Today, in the regions influenced by the Whites, this decree has had to be moderated.

[585] required of the suitor that, contrary to the usual custom, he pay

On the second

946 day after the delivery the mother may go outside to relieve herself, but otherwise she stays in the house for eight or ten days. Then she rubs herself and the child daily with red wood, for a month if she is in the village of her parents or for two months if she is in her husband's house. Only after this period has elapsed does she again take up her customary work.

934 946 The woman has to observe a special diet before and after the confinement only with respect to the food taboos discussed previously. On the other hand, she must abstain from sexual intercourse until the child can walk (two years), for if she does not, the worst, even death, is to be feared for the little one. Of course, especially towards the end of this period, a great many infringements of this taboo occur; in such a case one speaks of a nlibe bévigo (literally: to cast the children away, to thrust them away from oneself).

953 962 The child is nursed for a like period since the milk is supposed to diminish and dry up only after resumption of regular sexual intercourse. However, the flow of milk resumes in case of renewed pregnancy, so in that case the child can again be nursed. Even later, often until the seventh year, the sturdy urchin now and then still enjoys the sweet draught. If the mother is tired of giving the breast, she simply rubs her nipples with pepper (Capsicum).

/277/ Section 19

Childhood and Games

000 1. Names and name-giving. Time at which the name is given, announcement of the name. -- Names given by the mother. -- Variation of names among the subtribes. -- Classification of names. -- Names with explanation: A. Boys' names and their classification; B. Girls' names -- Nicknames, jocular verse with nicknames. -- Full name (father's name, kin group, name of the mother's kin group), example. -- Series of

586 The day on which the woman is to come out of the hut, she is bathed
535 and anointed with an oil (mbon nzūi) and is seated on a stool placed in the middle of the village square. Other women sing and dance around her and give her a new name to represent a wish she has made.

There is no religious ceremony.

583 There also used to be a marriage by exchange of wives (mvole bumanga). With the mere consent of the women concerned, two men could exchange their wives. The parents of the wives did not interfere except to verify the amounts of the dowries and to make sure that the husband of the wife with the lesser dowry had fully paid the difference to the other.

593 The relations between married couples are simple: the man must
562 lodge his wife and clear the brush from the site where she will make her plantings; on the other hand, the wife owes absolute fidelity and obedience to her husband, who has the right to beat her. The woman has no authority in the household; she is hardly more respected than
[862] a domestic animal; she owns in her own right only the cooking utensils and the tools for planting and fishing, and does not have the right to own animals. Prohibition of sexual relations is rigidly observed during
[834] pregnancy, during lactation, and in the night preceding departure for the hunt, work at the forge, and various [other] tasks. If the prohibition were not observed, these tasks would be unsuccessful.

595 Polygamy is the present custom among the Fan. The first wife has authority over the others, who must obey her. She receives the largest share of everything and assigns household chores and field work. The husband sleeps with each of his wives for three days.

In adultery, only the wife is punished. She is beaten and her ac-
684 complice pays an indemnity to her husband. This indemnity amounts
837 to a quarter of the dowry. The wife confesses her adultery only when forced to by a series of corporal punishments which range from blows to being tied to a tree full of ants (akokum).

586 Repudiation is accomplished without difficulty: the man sends back his wife and the dowry is repaid him. The causes for repudiation are repeated adultery, the death of a child as a result of adultery, laziness, practice of fetishism, and excessive surveillance of the husband; sterility is not a reason for [90] repudiation. The children stay with the husband, and the woman, once repudiated, may remarry.

561
578
784

> in all this part of central Africa, where the ox is unknown because of trypanosomiasis.

the produce of hunting and fishing, and these exist until the time of puberty. They signify, according to L. Martrou, that in the family group there should be "no useless mouth," ..."but rather arms and hearts capable of defending and enriching it." (2) Thus

> 2. L. Martrou, Les "Ékis" des Mfang [The "Ékis" of the Fang] op. cit.

[834] it is forbidden to cohabit with a woman before being circumcized (3)

> 3. V. Largeau, op. cit. article: Interdit [Interdict].

561 578 [852 881] In the same way various rites mark the steps of this ascent: the rite of the Sab for the ten-year-old children; (4) circumcision,

> 4. M. Bertaut in his thesis on the Boulou of the Cameroons, a related nation, speaks of a less degraded form of the Sab which was the center of a true "society of men" now almost vanished.

which is not accompanied by any initiation (but seems rather to bear public witness to virility and to show the individual as an active male), and above all, the "revelation" of the Biéri. When the young man joins the company of men, he has experienced in various degrees of intensity [153] this biological, social, and spiritual dependence on his ancestors (mvam) and on his elders (nyamòrò). To them he owes his life, his security, his social existence. Even after having crossed the various steps and being able to take full part in the assembly of men, he receives from

561 578 885

the law has not changed on this point. "No bride price, no marriage" —Sa nsuba, ve alu' e ve kik. We shall find this principle again in connection with legitimate descent.

Thus it is the absence of payment of the nsuba that gives their character to free union, ébon, and to adultery, mejian, and makes them really infringements upon the law of property, justifying the fact that customary courts logically refuse to impose a penalty in a case of ébon when the girl returns to her family pregnant (2).

2. This is hard for some magistrates to understand.

A husband must provide his wife with lodging and clothes and must clothe any children he has by her. He must clear the field she will cultivate, provide her with household utensils and, in theory, with meat. He must allow her to visit her parents, to whom he owes respect. He must not use sorcery (3) against her and must respect the

3. Likened to sorcery are fellatio and sodomy, the grounds for numerous divorces from former members of native infantry regiments.

prerogatives of rank that she holds among her co-wives; he is supposed to sleep with her when she is not menstruating nor pregnant nor nursing. He must not beat her beyond what she can stand nor expose her vulva in public. /54/

A woman owes obedience to her husband, to her mother-in-law, and to the first wife, respect to her affinal relatives, therefore to her husband's clan; she must be faithful to her husband and perform her conjugal duty. She is responsible for cultivating the plots cleared for her, for fishing with weirs, for feeding her children, taking her turn at cooking for her husband, for keeping her hut clean and that of her husband when she is sleeping with him, and for helping to build them (it is she who applies the banco onto the frame). She does not have to take care of imported household equipment and clothes because these are biôm of a masculine nature (but the schools and missions are trying to train women to do so). Finally, and above all, she must be prolific: this is her first duty and a great deal will be forgiven her if she performs it.

301 Women wore only a sort of double apron of grass or leaves, anem
[341] or abui, fastened to a belt of cylindrical metallic beads, mange; brace-
lets, mekom, of ivory or copper shaped like spools; ankle chains,
bibat, of cast copper, very heavy; and an enormous necklace of cast
copper, nkembé, which was put on a little girl when she entered her
[364] affinal household and which could not be removed until after death,
by cutting apart the body or melting the necklace or awaiting decom-
position. All this jewelry belonged to, and remained in, the husband's
[412] family, even in case of divorce; the éla was the person who distributed
it among his wives and daughters-in-law. Flat bracelets were made of
305 "neptunes" or "benares" /?/ imported from the coast; later on they
made, and still make, rings and bracelets from cartridge cases and
telegraph wire. But the origin of the cast minkembé /plural/ is still
a mystery; the technique of metal casting is unknown or forgotten;
placer or lode copper is very rare, not only in the present Pahouin
[325] habitat but also where they seem to have come from. Furthermore,
these very old necklaces resist corrosion and have a very pale patina
indicating some kind of alloy; moreover, the nearest workers in bronze
the Bamum, do not make this kind of necklace.

311 Men's dress at the present time is usually of the European type,
[177] from shorts and sports shirt to the surplus American cap; those who
wear shoes have European footwear, leather or canvas according to
their income, or in the style of the Arabic—silifa, from English
"slipper" = babouche, of Hausa or Peul manufacture. Mention should
be made of the helmets and kepis of umbrella-tree wood and the fake
spectacles of slivers of raffia "bamboo." In the villages or at home,
imported loincloths are rolled around a belt or tied behind the neck.

Women also wear a loincloth, éndelé, tied at the neck or rolled
tight above the breasts when they have nothing else on, rolled at the
waist when wearing the "mission jacket," éwoman (apparently from
"woman"). The favorite head covering is still the kerchief, éyallese
(from "handkerchief"). More and more women are also wearing cut
and sewn European-style dresses, bizingi; often a kind of slip; no
[94] panties except for a few young modernists (who call them caleçons,
"drawers"); and internal sanitary napkins made of medicinal plants.
[117] Mission activity has spread notions of prudery; formerly only those
past puberty were obliged to cover their sexual parts. Women did so
• 534 with great care in spite of the casual nature of their clothing; the
greatest insult to a woman was to uncover her vulva in public; she never

uncovered it except when uttering a curse. Nowadays most women cover their breasts (1) with almost equal vigilance. /87/ In old-

1. The aesthetic standard in this connection is changing, especially in towns, as a result of European (cinema?) influence; one only rarely sees girls binding their breasts with strips of bark or cloth to make them fall.

fashioned villages widows still go back to the traditional dress after their seclusion: for eight days, sometimes longer, they wear the ébui made of leaves, which is then replaced by an old ɔ̃bɔm or a jute sack that leaves the head and shoulders and thighs bare, then by a sack or an old khaki dress shaped like a sack with holes for head and arms.

Boys and girls used to run around naked until the first signs of puberty appeared, usually the pubic hair (Boulou, afell /"h." in the text must be a misprint for "b."—Tr./; Fang, avul). Boys wore a special breechcloth of a special vegetable /material/ after circumcision while waiting for the wound to heal and afterwards had to wear a covering only if they had already started to grow hair. At present they wear clothes from the beginning of school age and even before that in militant Christian families and the urban bourgeoisie.

Body marks have fallen out of use with the exception of circumcision. First the men stopped filing their incisors to a point. Tattooing persisted longer, in Gabon until just before the Second World War. At present tattooing is being revived among urban pickpockets and syncretist associations. The face was tattooed, usually between the eyes but sometimes on the cheeks, with blue markings made of soot mixed with vegetable ash, or in red with padouk /?/ powder, baa. These marks could indicate clan or association affiliation, or even were imposed during or after a course of medico-magical treatment, or even to satisfy aesthetic demands. It was the same for cicatrices engraved in relief on chest or abdomen, which are nowadays described as being "to make nyanga" (!pretty, " Coast English—of Hausa origin?). It is quite possible that some of the magic significance has been forgotten. The most important marks were the dorsal scarifications made at initiations: a triple row of incisions along the vertebral column, widening into a v at the nape

779 from an elephant's tail. He then sprinkles the victim, the
782 ancestral skulls, and finally the totem.
783 Upon returning from battle, warriors wash their weapons in lustral water so as to ward off the malevolent spirits of the dead.

Lustral water is also used in sacrifices made in expiation of violations of éki.

Afterwards the water is emptied in a remote spot. The chief often carries it back to the village and uses it to water the
[124] tree, usually a fig tree, that was planted over the remains of his umbilical cord. This tree is an emblem of his own life, and the lustral water is in this case a sort of sacrifice. [509]

III. Fasting; nzè akhu

779 All important totemic ceremonies are preceded by fasts.
785 They are very strict, and the least infraction entails grave penalties.

They always take place in seclusion: those who are fasting are kept apart in the forest far from the village, shut up in small huts. During the fast it is strictly forbidden to drink or eat before sundown and to wash with water, although rubbing one's body with ashes is allowed. Furthermore, certain meats and fruits are prohibited, such as boiled food or fruit; fermented drinks, except on certain sacred days and before initiations, when, on the contrary, it is obligatory; and drinking from any kind of pot. If someone takes a drink inadvertently, the pot must be broken right away; nevertheless this act involves a ritual fault and requires expiation. One is supposed to drink from a brook, using
● [134] a leaf rolled into a cone (oké ésaga). Finally, throughout the fast all intercourse with women is absolutely prohibited (évek).

779 The duration of the fast varies with the ceremony and the
785 initiation. For circumcision, for instance, it lasts usually a
821 lunar month (ngon). Other initiations rarely exceed seven days, let us say a lunar quarter, alôd ngon; the last quarter is usually chosen (mété méngon). The moon plays an important role in all

224 ditch, its point in the air, so that any animal falling in will almost certainly be pierced. Having finished with these preliminaries, the hunters make ready to actually beat for game. First there will have been a large sacrifice. Suppose a tribe has the scaly anteater (ye-mvil) for its totem. The tribal chief is the first to start on the hunt after a preparatory fast of three days. During that time he has remained apart in a small reed hut in the midst of the forest, eating only the food he brought with him, which he must first have placed on the évora biéri. He drinks only from an aromatic leaf folded into a cone; furthermore, he abstains from any relations with his wives, because contact with women is supposed at such times to be an offense against the totem (nsem éki). After these three days he makes a fetish, that is, a sacrifice to the tribal or clan totem, according to the usual practice; it consists of a goat at least or better a sheep. Formerly always and nowadays even occasionally, it was always a slave. After the sacrifice [555] the chief takes part of the victim -- the rest belongs to the practitioner -- and throughout the hunt, he must eat no other meat. He then leaves and returns to the village only when he has met with, captured alive if possible, or if not, slain, the totem animal. If he kills it he must take care that none of the animal's blood drips onto the path, thus risking being profaned, for that would be another ritual offense. Therefore the chief carefully closes the wound with dry leaves and the fluff from a banana tree.

While returning to the village the chief must be seen by no woman; he therefore takes care to announce his arrival by a special call, which is answered by a tom-tom, and then dashes into his hut. The women who happen to be in the village, outside their huts, must go inside quickly.

The totem animal is then placed on the évora biéri. If it is too large to fit, the chief opens it and puts on the évora the brains, lungs, and heart, the three parts which contain the life principle and the various souls. The carcass is offered in sacrifice in the accustomed manner and then divided among all the hunters.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 F319 Fang F319

[192] trend-winners and some are strong and muscular, while many more are weak and worn out from ceaseless toil.

The Fang make good carriers, and will do a splendid day's journey even in the [192] wet season with bad forest trails, if not overloaded. A carrier's load should never [147] exceed 25 kilogrammes; and 20 would pay better on a long journey. The first day out with a caravan the men usually drag along slowly, until their loads settle well down in the *Iengi* and fit their backs. The *Iengi* is a very ingenious contrivance for carrying a load in; it is usually made from a forest vine with a plaited head strap. To hurry carriers the first day is a bad mistake; poorly adjusted loads chafe and cause sore backs, and before night the whole caravan is tired out and sulky. It is a wise traveller in Africa as elsewhere who knows how to save his men.

[195] A very noticeable fact among the Fang is the scarcity of old men. I [64] attribute this largely to the ravages of syphilis; the same terrible disease that has done so much towards the degeneration of numerous coast tribes, and which is already playing fearful havoc among the Fang. Indolent, untrustworthy and warlike, they are nevertheless a most companionable people. [181] The slightest piece of drollery or a joke immediately causes laughter. It has been my privilege to visit many foreign lands including China, Japan and Korea, yet never in my life have I met such an absolutely good-natured, fun-loving people as the Fang.

[186] The men are not fond of work. They frequently ask me for something to do to "earn a cloth." If I tell them to cut fence poles or good clean bark in the forest, they decline. A male Fang's idea of work is to sit in the *Abong* (= palaver house) and make fish lines by rolling pineapple fibre along the upper [183] portion of his thigh, or to manufacture *Abi* (roof thatch). At these occupations he can converse with all comers, hear the news and take his part in talking a palaver. [627] They are a revengeful people and will keep up a palaver over a woman for many years. If they do not succeed in shooting a man during a palaver they do not [171] hesitate to fire at and kill a woman, while captives held as hostages are often treated with great cruelty.

The women regard virtue very lightly. Before marriage a girl can do nearly [186] as she pleases. It is absolutely safe to state that it would be almost impossible [517] to find a maiden in a Fang village over sixteen years of age. Adultery is common, [187] and one of the chief causes of "women palavers." Women rank first in value as [192] goods for trade, next in value are goats, then guns and cloth. The greed for goods has a strong hold on the people. They learn quickly but have very little originality. They have no obscene rites. Their habits are very dirty; they will wash in a [56] small pool of water and, while bathing, fill the gourds or imported jugs with the water in which they are washing and use it for domestic purposes. In many other ways they are absolutely filthy, and descend to the level of brute creation. They [184] are not over-burdened with modesty, both sexes frequently bathe together in a perfectly nude condition. A male Fang passes a large percentage of his time in

836 849 entirely as the husband's own. If the mother runs away with a man -- which sometimes happens -- without taking the child along, it is fed by the grandmother whose name it also usually bears if it is a girl. It is by no means a disgrace for the girl if her sexual relations with young men have consequences.

3. Marriage

We have already seen that sexual intercourse within blood relationship is taboo (ehi). Such relationship includes: 835 184

1. one's own familial group;
2. the mother's familial group;
3. the familial group of the father's mother.

Formerly this taboo was observed by all Pangwe with uniform strictness, but today it is frequently circumvented. The Jaunde do not always observe it, and the Fang -- of all people, the Fang with their constantly emphasized onon -- have dropped it for the own familial group, but retain it for the other familial groups. To the Ntum and all the other Pangwe this shocking occurrence has been a great irritant, and they never let an opportunity pass of making fun of the immorality of the Fang who "cohabit with their own sisters" or of speaking indignantly about it, without failing at the same time to stress their own great respect for morality and decency. This is done despite the fact that the Ntum themselves have at least in part been corrupted by the bad example of the Fang, and in other respects, too, transgressions against the taboo are not infrequent. The custom of having sexual relations with women of one's own kin group (sisters in the Pangwe sense) is called zǎmaduju III or simply zǎma III, the verb being a dulu zǎma. As can be seen by the prefix class, the name has been derived entirely unchanged from the name for God (zǎma) and signifies "to act like Sama," because, as can be seen from the creation story (Vol. II, p. 16 ff. /Ed., not translated/), Sama (Nsambe) had sexual intercourse with his own sister.

835 684 Where zǎmaduju is still taboo, a payment must be made to the girl's father in case of a violation. The payment varies depending upon the gravity of the offense: a number of goats

835 (formerly it was commonly five goats), as well as a dog which
684 serves as scapegoat, that is, the dog is supposed to take upon itself the disease with which the sinner is threatened by the cult spirit. If disease nonetheless occurs, medicines which are connected with the cults are prepared (see medicines for cult sicknesses, Vol. II, p. 36).

The modern, freer conception or -- among the Fang -- the
855 denial of the taboo against intercourse with blood relatives (in
582 the Pangwe sense) disappears as soon as there is a question of marriage. Then the taboo is in force everywhere and without qualifications. /260/

Free intercourse between the young man and the girl is, in
856 many cases, only a shorter or longer testing period which, if the
583 result of the "test" -- in this case a physical one, as contrasted to the spiritual one of which we spoke above -- is favorable, leads to marriage. If the girl is very much in love with her friend, to use a Pangwe expression, he can readily persuade her to follow him immediately to his village. Such an "abduction" is considered -- partly, at least -- to be sanctified by custom, even if the bride's family is usually not overjoyed at the practice. In such a case, the girl's father will set out the next day to demand the purchase price from his son-in-law. If the latter is able to pay him a part, say, half of this price, the matter is settled, and the balance is usually put on a buy-now-pay-later basis. If it turns out, however, that the "abducter" is a poor beggar or that his father does not want to produce the money, the bride is mercilessly taken away from him again even if she pours out streams of tears. You simply cannot get something for nothing. In the majority of cases, however, the girl will not agree to run away with her lover; instead she will demand that her suitor ask her father for her hand in marriage and first make a payment.

Every woman, young or old, has the same value. Nonethe-
583 less, the amount of the purchase price fluctuates greatly in accordance with general economic conditions. A woman is cheapest among the Jaunde and she is most expensive in the heart of Pangwe country. The price fluctuates between 200 and 750 marks in our money. On the average, one can assume a price of

34 circumcision was public, and the woman to whom it was done under-
68 went the gibes and insults of all the inhabitants.

The life of the young people is the same as that of the adults. The
823 virginity of a woman is considered unimportant and the Fan have
836 sexual relations from the time they are capable of cohabitation. When
818 a young girl has a child, it belongs to her parents, from whom the child acquires wealth; there is no search for the father and the young girl keeps all the respect which she enjoyed. Young girls are free to give themselves to whomever they please. This very broad morality, [812] however, has one important qualification in that there are, so to speak, no young girls, the little girls having been married off by their parents very early, sometimes even before their birth.

582 Marriage (alug). Men rarely marry before the age of twenty years, and usually later, because they do not have the means to pay the dowry for taking a wife.

582 Exogamy is always practiced because marriage between people of
835 the same tribe is sterile. Marriage between cousins is forbidden up to the third generation and in general, marriage is forbidden between persons linked by any kind of kinship; in this case there is also prohibition of sexual relations. No penalty is prescribed for infraction, [838] but the guilty ones will fall ill and their children, if they have any, will not live.

582 Occasionally there are instances when marriage between relatives
783 is authorized, but only after the practitioner has removed the pro-
835 hibition by the process [88] called abvule minsem. The practitioner goes to find some termite earth (ngurege), a plant (mekaga), and a vine (nyola dzik); the plant and vine are folded and placed in an etok [845] (a container of banana leaves) full of water. The termite earth is placed on a nzum (see the description in the section on conception) and the etok is placed underneath. The two kinsmen who want to marry also stand underneath it, while the practitioner climbs onto the nzum, dips the leaves in the etok, and says, "nseme ose mi waga bo e wo ma va yui" (I remove every prohibition that you have made). He hits the termite earth with the leaves and then takes the etok and pours the contents onto the heads of the two people from whom he is removing the prohibition. With the remainder, the man and woman each takes a washing.

583 A man who has not enough dowry but who finds a young girl eager to marry him may take her away in the night; when the parents come

168 the social and cultural organizations are directly blamed: the
166 breaking up and dispersal of the groupings resulting in the rupture of fundamental interdictions (especially that of exogamy: with the
• [339] present confusion each man risks marrying his "sister" and being condemned to a sterile union); the abandonment of traditional religious observances, especially the Bifri worship rendered to
[769] ancestors — so that the Bifri "revenges" itself, "according to cer-
842 tain informants, by making the women sterile. Borrowing from European civilization and from their neighbors has altered "Fang manners" and resulted in behavior that is not valid for the Fang and puts their social existence in danger. These are the principal reasons brought forth. We have already in this chapter paid particular attention to these facts, because they show the subjective aspect of the demographic crisis and how much the search for fertility and for power, both linked together, still plays a part in the present reactions of this people, how it takes effect in an ambiguous manner by having recourse at the same time to modern foreign methods and to traditional Fang methods. For the Fang villagers the crisis is the most serious consequence of a situation created by colonization — by "civilization," as some of them curiously say. This is sufficient indication that these facts must be integrated in the whole we have undertaken to analyze.

[101] III. The Type of Social Structure (1)

1. A study carried out with the help of documents collected especially among the Fang of the Woleu-N'Tem, and principally in Oyem region where Fang vitality is the most authentic.

Tribes, Clans, and Lineages

596 The recent clan renewal to which we have often referred has shown the still fundamental importance of the groupings established as a function of "kinship." This was immediately grasped by the first observers and administrators of the Fang country, who insisted on the "family" nature of the Pahouin groupings and came to the

562 compensation, or she may "publicly curse her husband." (2)
584

2. Cf. V. Largeau, op. cit., article: Femme [Woman].

562 Finally, in the case of serious conflicts, the union may be dissolved
586 by "divorce," but the latter may only be used traditionally under well-defined circumstances and "with the assent of the two interested family heads." (3) There are therefore arrangements that allow

3. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 21.

personal reasons to be taken into account and which F. Meyé had in mind when he said, "the Fang woman can in no way be compared to a slave," because of the many kinds of recourse she has at her disposal; these arrangements play a wholly exceptional role in ancient Fang society. Beside the personal element, which also acts as a disturbing element, is the fact that the number of unions indicates wealth and social importance. (4) It results, when the

4. This element is shown particularly in the custom reported by L. Mba: "In comfortably off families, the parents betroth the boys before puberty and the girls after puberty," op. cit., p. 14.

circulation of goods is no longer strictly controlled, in keen competition and numerous disputes.

582 It is now essential to consider the persons concerned in the
835 play of marriage and to point out at once that certain persons [127] are excluded from it. Apart from the double exogamy which introduces a form of "fraternity" in a very broad sense of the word, there are prohibitions concerning the precise degrees of relationship as follows: between members of the taka class (father, mother, uncle, aunt) and the mwanõ class (sons and daughters, nephews and nieces); between members of the same segment, including cousins to the third generation; there are prohibitions on those

related by marriage: between a man and "any woman, even divorced, of his kinship by marriage," between "members of the son-in-law's family" and any woman divorced from the kinship by marriage. (1) There are also prohibitions relating to the

1. Cf. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 17.

"adopted" (mobô). It seems important to us to state that these various interdicts exclude from marriage persons between whom there are already very definite relations, those due to effective kinship (including "cousins" to the level where the ndô bôt is most often split into separate elements), those that exist between groupings already related by marriage, and those which arise from the state known as "adoption." Everything takes place as if the aim sought by means of marriage was to impose an alliance on the most foreign elements — foreign and hostile being considered as synonymous during the period of conquest. (2) The

2. Cf. E. Tessmann, op. cit., pp. 91-92: "Relations with foreign tribes are rare ... the foreigner is accepted with reserve and only when he shows merchandise proving that his visit has no other purpose than to fetch a woman whom he can marry. The tribes are very frequently hostile to one another..."

obligation to respect both double exogamy and the above-mentioned interdicts contributes essentially to broadening among the groupings the field of relations based on co-operation. Incest, an infraction of these principles, enters into the category of the nsem defined by Martrou as "ritual impurity, moral defilement." It brings about sterility or illness and arouses in traditional society a collective reaction. V. Largeau in his work mentions the process of expiation (3) in use at that time with the intervention of the

3. Op. cit., article: Inceste [Incest].

LIS 789 "men's society" and the rite allied to the makuma dance characteristic of this society.

Marriage creates the so-called "restricted" or "individual" family. This has no special name and represents the smallest grouping in which communal life takes place. The husband and wife are nsmô and nga to each other — these two terms stressing the biological character of the union since they also signify male and female. His parents-in-law are minki [128] or nkia, "he who has received the bride price," a word recalling the seal that has validated the union. In the same way the term mbôm, meaning "newly married woman whose bride price has just been paid," is used to designate the daughter-in-law, and has the same context. The principle already mentioned of the pre-eminence attached to seniority subsists in the relations with the abè. For the husband the wife's eldest sister is mîmki (mother-in-law) while the younger sister is ngôm sam (my daughter). On a similar pre-eminence is based the authority of the first wife over the other wives; while the former is nanô (mother) the others are mbôm (daughter-in-law) — which explains her role of directing the various jobs and moral responsibilities entrusted to her. Finally, the personal element at the level of these relations is perfectly symbolized by the position accorded to the preferred wife (nluga or nfômba). This astonished one of the first administrators of the Fang country, who wrote: "While they usually profess great indifference toward their wives and have no scruples over renting or lending them out, they have a rather keen affection for the companion whom they choose as 'favorite.'" (1) This is the least socialized part and manifests relations that have a certain spontaneity between the two elements associated by marriage.

1. Archives for the Year 1905, Libreville.

Residential Units

621 The colonial government has acknowledged only a "collection" of villages in the Fang country, giving this name to the

2: Tessmann--104 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

1. Sexual Life before Maturity

Like Europeans, the Pangwe divide the individual's life into
961 three sections, the period of childhood, that of adulthood, and
956 that of old age. The last period, however, concerns the Negro
much less than the first two periods of life, because on the
average death occurs at an early age. Sexual maturity represents the boundary line between childhood and adulthood, and the Pangwe emphasizes it very much because sexuality is at the center of his religious conceptions and /252/ finds external expression through the initiation into the cults. This initiation corresponds to our confirmation. The Pangwe acts as though a person before sexual maturity -- for the sake of brevity I shall call this person a child (mǒ̄ñgo III) -- represents a stage antecedent to actual manhood, mot III, just as, say, the caterpillar is the stage prior to the butterfly.

If we think back on what was said concerning the soul in the
779 discussion of religion /Ed., not translated/, we remember that
● 936 the Pangwe distinguish two kinds of people according to the kind
964 of soul they possess: bebī̄n (uninitiated, good), and bongīs
982 (initiated, evil). Children (bǒ̄ñgo) are bebī̄n, uninitiated, good, because they do not know sexual intercourse and, if they have become acquainted with it prematurely, do not know that they are committing a sin; indeed, they could not know since, after all, they are not initiated into the profound connections between sexual intercourse, life, and death.

In reality the situation is such that the Pangwe young people
882 are perfectly well informed, but officially each one must empha-
824 size that he is a child, mǒ̄ñgo, that is, good, unknowing, uninitiated as to sexual intercourse, even when he has long outgrown not only the actually innocent childhood (in the narrower sense), but also the period of sexual maturity. This point can be tested on any Negro between the age of ten and 20 years by asking him whether he already practices sexual intercourse. The answer will always be the same, be he a Fang from the bush or a Jaunde long since glossed over by a bit of civilization: "ma ne mǒ̄ñgo (I am
[672] a child, that is, innocent, I know nothing about sexual intercourse)."

882
864 By this answer, he secures for himself the mild judgment with
[672] which we dispose of "silly boys' pranks."

For children, bǭngo, therefore, quite a different yardstick is applied; what they do, especially in respect to sexual matters, is not taken seriously.

bǭngo bǎ bǭlě oson = children have no sense of shame, and
834 the other way around, adults do not display much towards chil-
855 dren (see homosexual life, Vol. II, page 131), since, after all,
864 children simply do not know what evil (sǒ) is or what shame (o-so-n) means. If the otherwise, at least externally, very modest Negroes say this themselves, we should not hope to find many of the characteristics of a true, innocent ebin among the children. As a matter of fact their first playful imitations of
836 sexual intercourse as they observe older people performing it
838 begin at five or six years of age; between the age of eight and nine "playing parents" is nothing but perfectly conscious sexual intercourse, though it is generally regarded as a game and was cited to me in the category of "children's games" under the name ebōbǎne-bǭngo (Ntum) or ebǎnebǎne bǭngo (Fang). It is usually done in the forenoon /253/ in the dwellings when the parents are in the fields or absent elsewhere. The partners are not only boys and girls, but also boys among each other. Later, at the age of eight to 10 years and frequently somewhat beyond, many boys manifest a similar inclination towards members of their own sex, along with a sexual urge for girls of the same age. In view of the emphasis on maintaining, as long as possible, the outward appearance of modesty, the Pangwe boys make use of a device whereby they come to an understanding "metaphorically." A boy
[201] rakes some earth and sweepings onto a leaf, ties this hastily together like a food bundle, and gives it to the other. If the latter is ready to respond to the proffered affection, he will open the bundle and pretend to eat of it, saying finally, "ma mane a dzi," that is, "I have eaten." If he is not inclined to respond, he will throw away the bundle, of whose contents he has full knowledge.

Concerning masturbation, see below, page 130.

2. Sexual Life between Maturity and Marriage

After reaching maturity, the girl is called ngōn III, and the 836 young man nkŏ,ē I; for both there is also the term bandŭman, [984] plural of ndŭman = young man or girl at the age of being in love. Thus the name itself shows under what sign the subsequent period of life is lived. Free love in the boldest sense of the word prevails. The girl may give away her favors without inhibition to whom and whenever she desires to do so, and she need only ob- [833] serve the religious rule that prohibits sexual intercourse during the [885] day and the social rule that prohibits intercourse between blood relatives. Otherwise there is no barrier; members of the same age group come together and make thorough use of their freedom. In the initial period after maturity, to be sure, sexual desire is dampened by the moral admonitions of the cults with their proclamation of the sinfulness of sexual intercourse. This sinfulness, combined with physical satiety and psychic revulsion, produces a "moral hangover"; however, such considerations and feelings are soon overcome. As in eating, so in their love life, the Pangwe know no moderation. They empty the cup of joy to the lees. Later on, especially when the Pangwe has acquired several wives, he tends to develop a more business-like attitude towards sexual love, in place of the youthful amours which alternate unsteadily between ungoverned passion and its aftereffects, psychic unease.

In view of this extensive free love, it goes without saying [585] that the virginity of his future wife plays no role in the man's choice. Indeed, the presence of a hymen (ajādebă) is usually scarcely noticed and /254/ to some is totally unknown. Around the age of 15 years it is supposed to be destroyed by boys of the same age.

As for their libidinal drive, the girls are generally not in- 833 ferior to the boys. However, we may say that for the girls potency 936 alone is as a rule the deciding factor in the choice of a friend. [572] This fact is well expressed in the various dance songs at the Mbale (which, incidentally, were brought to the Fang and Ntum by the [181] sexually loose Jaunde) as, for example, in the following complaint.

Leader of the chorus:

539 Mĩ'nĩnga ya mot ebɔ̃'n, edɔ̌ a va
833 (A) woman and (a) man love affair (1), thereupon he had
836

1. ebɔ̃'n, "public region," hence, by extension, "love affair, relationship."

kě, a kě a bŭmo ba mĩ'nĩnga
gone (to her), he goes to sleep with (the) woman (on)

enɔ̌n, a sã a nie kaa ngṹ edɔ̌
bed, he cohabits with her, no virility, thereupon (a)

mɔ́t a va ke, a nga jiẹ'
man (that is, another) he had gone, he lived to sing (the)

dʒã́: mĩ'hĩnga niěne: o kĩnĩ
song (2): (The) woman she (speaks) thus (to me): you go

2. Poetic license, because the manner of recital is song; ordinarily it would be: Thereupon a man said the following.

a kãda nã: kaa bĕdě a sŏ', kaa
to say this (to the lover): Not again (to) come, not

bede a sũ, a sǎ dʒã̌ mebŭ'n, aĩũ'
again (to) come, one not complete sex act, night

a ngĕn ojǎ'b --ma nga tame
it was still long (lasting) (3) -- I live must (to)

3. That is, the lover would have had enough time to cohabit several times.

539 833 836 tǒbǒ nale, adzǒ a n'abě
remain thus, affair it is bad.

Chorus:

A ta ma vū or a na ma
Oh, my father, I am dying, Oh, my mother, I

vū.
am dying (4).

[195] 4. The Negro dies on every occasion when something unpleasant happens to him; the chorus thus speaks from the point of view of the woman who is in such despair concerning this "bad affair" that she would almost like to die.

836 548 Although there are no actual prostitutes, a number of the women enjoy the free life of a girl and up to the age of 30 or 35 years remain ngǒ'n, "girls." This kind of "girl," to whom every man, boy or adult, whatever his name, whether he is handsome or not, is equally /255/ welcome, is called a ñzīla. The fact that people have no better opinion of her than we have of a loose woman is shown by a song sung at a festival for the souls. [533] In its own way this song represents a delightful satire and, for the Pangwe, an extraordinarily witty, poetic achievement. I have reproduced it in Section 20 ("Music") /Ed., not translated/.

831 In spite of the great sensuality, relations between the sexes do have finer traits; tactful behavior, precise observation of prescribed forms, and profound spiritual sensibility are not absent. The ingenuous conduct of the young man toward the girl's parents and the naturalness with which the young people enjoy their love, without obligations, without social prejudices, have something almost ideal about them.

584 If the young man has noticed a girl or has already come to an understanding with her, he goes to her parents, introduces himself first to the father, who usually shows his most amiable side and recommends the young man to his daughter. Even though the lover did not obtain the girl's agreement beforehand -- something which can be accomplished with a few words in a brief encounter -- he will nonetheless find little opposition. The relations with the "father-in-law" and above all with the "mother-in-law" are as cordial and tender as can be. The young man brings his "mother-in-law" a little present, European salt or other things that women [431] love, and he also endears himself to the father through little attentions or presents, while the parents or the girl herself entertain the guest to the best of their ability. A natural tact causes the Pangwe to avoid mentioning anything that touches upon his relations to the girl in his contact with her family. Indeed, his delicacy with respect to the "parents-in-law" grows into a false sense of shame:

wō'-oson a vū mabā'de
[539] (The) feeling -- shame, it dies (from) frambesia

menkī,ē'.
(of the) parents-in-law (relatives by marriage).

The sense of shame has caused a person to die from frambesia transmitted by the parents-in-law, that is, a suitor was afraid, from a sense of shame, to turn down the food offered him by the girl's father who was suffering from frambesia. He ate with the man from one bowl, caught the disease, and died.

To the girl herself the lover usually brings half a piece of 584/836 material -- valued at one mark -- (among the Jaunde he brings a whole piece). In his courtship, the lover does not usually arrive at the desired goal right away, for it is customary for the girl, even if she grants the young man her affection and /256/ sleeps in the same bed with him, to refuse sexual intercourse with him during the first night. (See the tale on p. 132).

The reason for this custom lies in oson, the feeling of shame toward the talk of other people. The two parties know each other perfectly well as regards their lechery, but they pretend to be quite

584 innocent and anxiously avoid anything that might give rise to
836 gossip. Thus, if we speak with the Pangwe about sexual matters, we constantly hear the word oson, "shame," oson this and oson that. Admittedly, wherever European influence is spreading, the
[177] use of oson decreases, for together with this influence the religious conceptions upon which shame is based are disappearing (as we saw in the case of sin, nsŏm); at the same time, moral sensibilities are becoming laxer, and there are no longer any self-imposed restraints.

With free love universally prevalent, it naturally happens
836 also that several lovers find their way to the same girl in one night, especially when she is no longer a beginner, and she takes "pity" -- as the Pangwe themselves say mockingly -- on them all (1). With such nžīla, especially the older ones, the

[802] [211]

1. Even to keep track of their number is too difficult a task for her memory; for that reason the Jaunde girls count the number of their friends on little sticks of raffia (see Zenker).

men also permit themselves the use of offensive expressions and crude jokes, such as would be unheard of and strictly prohibited with a young girl -- especially the future wife. As an example,
[831] phalli are sometimes made of wood and then displayed wrapped in a leaf.

As has already been indicated, liaisons of the heart based on
831 genuine love are by no means uncommon. Nobody, on the other hand, will be surprised to learn that for the most part they are of limited duration and are incapable of bearing the burden which we expect of them. Thus I did not learn of a single case of a person
[762] committing suicide because of unrequited love or a spurned courtship, even though women hang themselves because somebody stole a few of their miserable hens, and men shoot themselves because their father sold a daughter in order to buy a wife, instead of leaving her to the son, the girl's brother. Generally speaking, the power of Negro love is not as great as that of the love of the Whites.

831 If the latter resembles a rushing stream which tears away everything in its path, the love of the Blacks is like a still, deep lake, and it is certain that even in Africa the magic power of love often intimately joins two hearts and that there is genuine love which in every respect is comparable to the European conception. This point is well demonstrated by the "love tests" which the men sometimes apply in order to convince themselves of the love of a future wife, quite according to the pattern: "Drum prüfe, wer sich ewig bindet, ob sich das Herz zum Herzen findet" /Trans., "Therefore assay, before you bind yourself never to part, whether there's harmony 'twixt heart and heart," from Schiller, "Das Lied von der Glocke"/.

An example is presented by the following tale.

539 514 836 One day a young man went to see the girl that he loved and wanted to marry. At night, while he was sleeping in her house, he had /257/ to urinate, but since he did not know where the toilet was and since there was no man there whom he could ask, he said to himself: "Oh, what shall I do in my need? -- -- But let me see whether the girl really loves me!" He took a small cooking pot (obĕbē') and used it so that it was filled to the brim (lǒ'dŏtǒ); then he covered it with leaves and placed it behind a bed. The next morning he set out on the way home, and the girl accompanied him until they were outside the village. On the way he said: "I am going now to my village, and I shall see

ng(e) oa dzǐn ma: obĕbē', ng(e) oa bĕ'ne
if you love me: (the) little pot, if you hate (do not

ma: obĕbē'."
love) me: (the) little pot,

that is, the little pot will show whether you love me or not! The girl did not understand what he meant by this and asked him to explain. But he simply answered:

ŏ', kaa dzǐm mfĕ,
Oh, no matter other (than that):

ng(e) oa dzǐ'n ma: obĕbē', ng(e) oa bĕne ma, obĕbē'.

539 514 836 When the girl went home she thought to herself: "I wonder what that means: ng(e) oa dʒǐn ma: oběbe, ng(e) oa bʉne ma: oběbe!?" When she was in the house, she was still thinking about it; then she suddenly smelled the odor and found the little pot behind the bed. She took it, poured its contents into the plantain grove behind the house, and cleaned it thoroughly with water. Meanwhile her lover had secretly come back to the village and observed from a hiding place how the affair was developing, whether the girl would call other people and publicly expose him (1). But nothing /258/ of the kind happened. He then saw

539 514 836 558

1. In that case the lover would not have been able to hide from the mockery of his companions and would have become completely unacceptable in the village of his beloved. It should not be forgotten how terribly disgraceful a Negro finds such an occurrence, indeed, the very thought of a natural need to relieve himself. A person who has had, as we would say, an accident, as in the above case, will be socially unacceptable for a long time if the incident becomes known, while we "barbarians" with our trifling amount of oson look upon such an occurrence as a painful accident for the moment, but do not carry it any further and, moreover, regard the physiological evacuation of the body as something "natural." Unfortunate uncivilized civilized people! The savages are better people after all! They have a countless number of circumlocutions for the terrible deed: ma ke a npɔ[n] biǎ.n, "I am going to fetch a medicine"; a bǒbe ekūi.di, "to inspect the spring trap"; a bǒbe ebę.i, "to inspect the pitfall"; a tšǎ ndžǎ.ǎ,

514 539

514
[757]
539

the feces or anus) as a deterrent medicine for thefts from the field and the significant tale of the turtle and the woman. A turtle wants to force a girl against her will to become his wife, and after all kinds of vain attempts finally succeeds only by smearing the girl's bed and clothes one night with his own feces. Having done so, he lies down to sleep, and the next morning when the girl sees the mess, he threatens to tell in the village and all the world that she had befouled her bed. The turtle thus put the girl completely in his power and forced her to agree to the marriage.

539 836 514 the girl going into her mother's house, quickly stole after her through the plantain grove, and listened behind the house to what the girl might say; not by a single word did she mention the incident. He then went back with a joyful heart, and said to himself: "This girl truly loves me." After two days he returned, asked for her hand in marriage, and took her back to his village as his wife.

This tale gave rise to the popular saying: ng(e) oa dži̧n ma, obĕbē', ng(e) oa bĕne ma: obĕbē'.

832 The great number of love medicines (bia̧n andu'man), which very graphically symbolize the fusion and embracing of the sexes (in a spiritual as well as a physical sense), has already been discussed in Volume II, page 30 .

848 836 Illegitimate children are quite rare. The child's father -- even when he is known -- has no claim upon the child, just as the girl has no claim upon the father. The child belongs to the girl's father and is regarded as a not altogether unwelcome addition, since when the girl marries, it considerably raises her purchase price. As long as the mother remains unmarried, her child stays in the house of her parents. When she marries, the child becomes /259/ a part of the marriage bargain, as it were, and is considered

836 entirely as the husband's own. If the mother runs away with a
848 man -- which sometimes happens -- without taking the child along, it is fed by the grandmother whose name it also usually bears if it is a girl. It is by no means a disgrace for the girl if her sexual relations with young men have consequences.

3. Marriage

We have already seen that sexual intercourse within blood
835 relationship is taboo (eki). Such relationship includes:
184

1. one's own familial group;
2. the mother's familial group;
3. the familial group of the father's mother.

Formerly this taboo was observed by all Pangwe with uniform strictness, but today it is frequently circumvented. The Jaunde do not always observe it, and the Fang -- of all people, the Fang with their constantly emphasized oson -- have dropped it for the own familial group, but retain it for the other familial groups. To the Ntum and all the other Pangwe this shocking occurrence has been a great irritant, and they never let an opportunity pass of making fun of the immorality of the Fang who "cohabit with their own sisters" or of speaking indignantly about it, without failing at the same time to stress their own great respect for morality and decency. This is done despite the fact that the Ntum themselves have at least in part been corrupted by the bad example of the Fang, and in other respects, too, transgressions against the taboo are not infrequent. The custom of having sexual relations with women of one's own kin group (sisters in the Pangwe sense) is called zǎmadulu III or simply zǎma III, the verb being a dulu zǎma. As can be seen by the prefix class, the name has been derived entirely unchanged from the name for God (zǎma) and signifies "to act like Sama," because, as can be seen from the creation story (Vol. II, p. 16 ff. /Ed., not translated/), Sama (Nsambe) had sexual intercourse with his own sister.

835 Where zǎmadulu is still taboo, a payment must be made to
684 the girl's father in case of a violation. The payment varies depending upon the gravity of the offense: a number of goats

835 (formerly it was commonly five goats), as well as a dog which
684 serves as scapegoat, that is, the dog is supposed to take upon itself the disease with which the sinner is threatened by the cult spirit. If disease nonetheless occurs, medicines which are connected with the cults are prepared (see medicines for cult sicknesses, Vol. II, p. 36).

The modern, freer conception or -- among the Fang -- the
835 denial of the taboo against intercourse with blood relatives (in
582 the Pangwe sense) disappears as soon as there is a question of marriage. Then the taboo is in force everywhere and without qualifications. /260/

Free intercourse between the young man and the girl is, in
836 many cases, only a shorter or longer testing period which, if the
583 result of the "test" -- in this case a physical one, as contrasted to the spiritual one of which we spoke above -- is favorable, leads to marriage. If the girl is very much in love with her friend, to use a Pangwe expression, he can readily persuade her to follow him immediately to his village. Such an "abduction" is considered -- partly, at least -- to be sanctified by custom, even if the bride's family is usually not overjoyed at the practice. In such a case, the girl's father will set out the next day to demand the purchase price from his son-in-law. If the latter is able to pay him a part, say, half of this price, the matter is settled, and the balance is usually put on a buy-now-pay-later basis. If it turns out, however, that the "abducter" is a poor beggar or that his father does not want to produce the money, the bride is mercilessly taken away from him again even if she pours out streams of tears. You simply cannot get something for nothing. In the majority of cases, however, the girl will not agree to run away with her lover; instead she will demand that her suitor ask her father for her hand in marriage and first make a payment.

Every woman, young or old, has the same value. Nonethe-
583 less, the amount of the purchase price fluctuates greatly in accordance with general economic conditions. A woman is cheapest among the Jaunde and she is most expensive in the heart of Pangwe country. The price fluctuates between 200 and 750 marks in our money. On the average, one can assume a price of

304 circumcision was public, and the woman to whom it was done under-
681 went the gibes and insults of all the inhabitants.

The life of the young people is the same as that of the adults. The
883 virginity of a woman is considered unimportant and the Fan have
836 sexual relations from the time they are capable of cohabitation. When
818 a young girl has a child, it belongs to her parents, from whom the child acquires wealth; there is no search for the father and the young girl keeps all the respect which she enjoyed. Young girls are free to give themselves to whomever they please. This very broad morality,
[582] however, has one important qualification in that there are, so to speak, no young girls, the little girls having been married off by their parents very early, sometimes even before their birth.

582 Marriage (alug). Men rarely marry before the age of twenty years, and usually later, because they do not have the means to pay the dowry for taking a wife.

582 Exogamy is always practiced because marriage between people of
835 the same tribe is sterile. Marriage between cousins is forbidden up to the third generation and in general, marriage is forbidden between persons linked by any kind of kinship; in this case there is also pro-
[684] hibition of sexual relations. No penalty is prescribed for infraction, but the guilty ones will fall ill and their children, if they have any, will not live.

582 Occasionally there are instances when marriage between relatives
783 is authorized, but only after the practitioner has removed the pro-
835 hibition by the process [88] called abvule minsem. The practitioner goes to find some termite earth (ngurege), a plant (mekaga), and a vine (nyola dzik); the plant and vine are folded and placed in an etok
[845] (a container of banana leaves) full of water. The termite earth is placed on a nzum (see the description in the section on conception) and the etok is placed underneath. The two kinsmen who want to marry also stand underneath it, while the practitioner climbs onto the nzum, dips the leaves in the etok, and says, "nseme ose mi waga bo e wo ma va yüi" (I remove every prohibition that you have made). He hits the termite earth with the leaves and then takes the etok and pours the contents onto the heads of the two people from whom he is removing the prohibition. With the remainder, the man and woman each takes a washing.

583 A man who has not enough dowry but who finds a young girl eager to marry him may take her away in the night; when the parents come

581 specific social meaning; it creates bonds (abè) which fasten together
554 the family and clan groupings. Curault points out that this imposes
562 a "close union, in spite of divergencies in language and in spite of the palavers of the different parts of the Pahouin people." At the same time, marriage [120] has a personal meaning. In traditional
[556] Fang society the possession of many wives is the principal sign of wealth and the condition for all increase of wealth. This wealth conditions the importance of the social role; it makes possible the acquisition of a kind of personal power in a society with hardly any hierarchical system. (1)

1. Let us point out that two words with the same root, éval and évala, mean "polygamy" and "a prop, a support," respectively.

836 Because of this personal element the competition for women can become particularly keen. Very early, government reports pointed out the frequency of palavers due to the "women question," and they continue to complain of them as being characteristic of "Fang society and psychology." Let us state at the outset that the competition does not concern the sexual services demanded from the woman. For the unmarried men there are various compensating possibilities -- but only in the line of "lustful sexuality," to quote the expression of R. Bastide. (2) The young unmarried people have

2. R. Bastide, Sociologie et Psychanalyse [Sociology and Psychoanalysis], Bibliothèque de Sociologie Contemporaine, Paris, 1950.

complete sexual liberty among themselves: it is the custom called azòya-angòn (azòya, fornication; ngòn, maiden). E. Trezenem states in his monograph on the Fang of the Ogooué that "virginity of the woman is considered of no importance," that "the young
836 girls are free to give themselves to whomever they want." Then
584 he adds an "important restriction," saying that there are practically

836 no young girls, the little girls being married very early by their
584 parents, sometimes even before their birth." (3) This restriction

3. E. Trezenem, "Notes éthnographiques [Ethnographical Notes]," op. cit., p. 87.

is entirely relative, for, according to L. Mba, "the custom allows the betrothed to have as many lovers as she wants during the time of her engagement." M. Bertaut specifies similarly that "the young girl is free as far as her body is concerned so long as she has no husband," which may represent a long period of freedom, considering the time it takes to settle a bride price that is always very large. There exists also a kind of tolerated, it not established,
837 prostitution, since the husband may "place one of his wives under
[546] obligation to bring him some income by prostituting herself to strangers." (4) Certain customs, such as the placing of a wife at

4. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 29; and V. Largeau, Encyclopédie Pahouine [Pahuin Encyclopedia], article on adultery": ... "a husband is always free to lend his wife on condition of a certain payment... ."

the disposal of a guest, or the lending or [121] exchanging of a wife (1) as a token of friendship (the wife becoming munõgo ângôm,

1. Cf. V. Largeau, op. cit.:" ... the rules of good hospitality require the host to put one of his wives at the disposal of the one whom he is entertaining. On the other hand, it is a current custom for two good neighbors who respect each other to exchange wives from time to time, and this is a definite indication of mutual sympathy." Also, Captain Maignan,

584 uncle, a full brother or a half brother on the father's side. The custom persists in the better families, even if the future spouses' consent is asked or if the initiative for the union comes from them. When this is impossible, for instance among emigrants, it is still the correct thing for the prospective husband to use the offices of an older person, perhaps even an administrative superior, who arranges the marriage, [583] kômesan aluk. To the nsuba proper are added customary presents to the future mother-in-law and affinal family, which are the more important when payment of the nsuba is in periodic installments (as it more and more tends to be). After the first installment is paid, there [836] is a bethrothal, and the young girl, who before that has enjoyed sexual freedom, is from now on theoretically supposed to be faithful. Sexual relations with the prospective husband often begin at this time, if they have not already. The Christian ceremony and the civil registry take place when a portion of the bride price, amounting to from a quarter to a half, has been paid. In former times the bride used to remain in seclusion before going in procession from her village, where the groom's family came to fetch her, to her conjugal residence. After consummation of the marriage, she would with her mother's help cook the first meal served to her husband. These practices have fallen into general disuse.

Up to a recent date, on the other hand, the custom persisted—now prohibited officially—of "paying bride price" for a girl who had not reached puberty, even for a fetus or an unconceived child, who would go to live with her affinal family almost as soon as she was weaned, there to be brought up either by her mother-in-law or by her husband's first wife, whom she would look upon as her ntyi (mother-in-law). The marriage would be consummated after the girl's second menstruation (ayene ngon = to see the moon).

583 The mfañ aluk form of marriage is the most usual nowadays. It leads to many lawsuits in connection with deciding who is to be the [691] nya ndômô to collect the "bride price." As the ntôl môt's authority has weakened, especially when he is not the girl's real father /sic/, uncles and brothers quarrel over who is to receive the nsuba. Some emancipated young women, particularly those who are mistresses of Europeans, decide the matter by collecting it themselves, but this is very much frowned on.

[586] The "bride price" is given back to the husband in the case of divorce, to the fiancé in the case of a broken betrothal, caused, for example, by the premature death of the fiancée.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca.1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

142 bread-winners and some are strong and muscular, while many more are weak and worn out from ceaseless toil.

The Fang make good carriers, and will do a splendid day's journey even in the 482 wet season with bad forest trails, if not overloaded. A carrier's load should never 147 exceed 25 kilogrammes; and 20 would pay better on a long journey. The first day out with a caravan the men usually drag along slowly, until their loads settle well down in the *kingi* and fit their backs. The *kingi* is a very ingenious contrivance for carrying a load in; it is usually made from a forest vine with a plaited head strap. To hurry carriers the first day is a bad mistake; poorly adjusted loads chafe and cause sore backs, and before night the whole caravan is tired out and sulky. It is a wise traveller in Africa as elsewhere who knows how to save his men.

145 A very noticeable fact among the Fang is the scarcity of old men. I 164 attribute this largely to the ravages of syphilis; the same terrible disease that has done so much towards the degeneration of numerous coast tribes, and which is already playing fearful havoc among the Fang. Indolent, untrustworthy and warlike, they are nevertheless a most companionable people. 181 The slightest piece of drollery or a joke immediately causes laughter. It has been my privilege to visit many foreign lands including China, Japan and Korea, yet never in my life have I met such an absolutely good-natured, fun-loving people as the Fang.

The men are not fond of work. They frequently ask me for something to do 461 to "earn a cloth." If I tell them to cut fence poles or good clean bark in the forest, they decline. A male Fang's idea of work is to sit in the *Abeng* (= [283] palaver house) and make fish lines by rolling pineapple fibre along the upper portion of his thigh, or to manufacture *Abi* (roof thatch). At these occupations he can converse with all comers, hear the news and take his part in talking a palaver. 627 They are a revengeful people and will keep up a palaver over a woman for many years. If they do not succeed in shooting a man during a palaver they do not [777] hesitate to fire at and kill a woman, while captives held as hostages are often treated with great cruelty.

836 The women regard virtue very lightly. Before marriage a girl can do nearly as she pleases. It is absolutely safe to state that it would be almost impossible 517 to find a maiden in a Fang village over sixteen years of age. Adultery is common, [831] and one of the chief causes of "women palavers." Women rank first in value as [362] goods for trade, next in value are goats, then guns and cloth. The greed for goods has a strong hold on the people. They learn quickly but have very little originality. They have no obscene rites. Their habits are very dirty; they will wash in a 515 small pool of water and, while bathing, fill the gourds or imported jugs with the water in which they are washing and use it for domestic purposes. In many other ways they are absolutely filthy, and descend to the level of brute creation. They [834] are not over-burdened with modesty, both sexes frequently bathe together in a perfectly nude condition. A male Fang passes a large percentage of his time in

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

now responsible and liable to two parties; if he is reasonable they all meet and talk the palaver. If the palaver is serious, each party appoints his *ntol* (ambassador). The palaver is usually talked in the main street of the town, before all the representatives of the interested clans, and before all strangers in town. The Fang are born orators, and remarkable gestures and orations are made while talking the palaver. The speaker usually walks backwards and forwards grasping and leaning upon a "palaver stick." He commences with: *M'zona* (I say thus); when speaking for another he says *A'zona* (he says thus); when speaking for the people of his town, *Ba zona* (they say thus). Sometimes the *ntôls* (ambassadors) sit in a canoe in the middle of a river or a stream, and talk the palaver, the injured parties being on either side of the stream. The case is talked, the goods demanded in payment stated, and an effort made to *kik nsang* (cut or end the palaver). If they succeed, then the palaver is *cut* (ended), and a dance follows; if no agreement is come to, the meeting breaks up and a tribal war exists between these clans.

Salutations.

There are three salutations common to all. Two friends meet, they each grasp the arm of the other, high up on the biceps; a slight pause is made, then the hand is slipped down to clasp the wrist. This is also the customary salutation used by the Bulu.

Two friends meeting salute by embracing.

A traveller entering the *abeng* (palaver house) walks over to the headman and sits on his knee a moment, at the same time placing one arm around the headman's neck.

Hospitality demands that all strangers be served food by the town women to strangers in the *abeng*.

Wives are loaned to guests.

Coarse conversation is indulged in by old and young of both sexes.

Considerable license prevails among the unmarried; less so among the married.

VIII.—*Invention, Natural Forms, Conservatism.*

Invention.—The arts in use are common to all the different clans of the great Fang tribe. Any new discovery as the working of iron is credited to the dwarfs or *nqui*. The natives are always ready to admit that the *nqui* are very clever; they have a saying "no person knows like a *mon nqui* (dwarf) what is inside the forest." When obtainable the natives use an imported saw, or file, and admit its superiority over their own crude tools. A Fang may be impressed at the knowledge and power of the white man, but is not greatly surprised; the reason for this is that many white men are credited with possessing supernatural powers.

Some of the clubs, tools and weapons approximate to the natural forms of the branches or roots of trees. Axe handles and the handle of a certain kind of adze have

757 Whether these medicines really are effective will have to be
278 investigated by doctors. The Pangwe themselves, at any rate,
164 assert that they can cure leprosy in its early stages, and I was shown cases with healed areas that had left lighter spots from which all symptoms of inflammation had disappeared. Frequent repetition of the treatment is presupposed. Leprosy is one of the most terrible and common diseases of the southern Pangwe region. At a Sso festival in Akonangi, for example, I counted seven lepers among approximately 30 men present. With the primitive living conditions and the carelessness of the Negroes, the disease is all too readily communicated. It is true that prophylactic methods
[714] are used; indeed, lepers are even segregated, but only in the advanced stages of the disease and then very incompletely since, for example, they are admitted to all the dance festivals. The
[837] women even seek out lepers by preference for extramarital sexual intercourse. In the north leprosy does not occur so severely; according to the statement of one Jaunde, this is because they use medicines as soon as the illness appears.

757 The explanation of the effect of the medicine, if one is given at all, is always a mystical one, although it should by no means be concluded from this that the plants concerned would not be worth scientific investigation. In the case of leprosy, for instance, the blackish color or the blackening property of the plants is usually declared to be the cause of their effectiveness. The skin is supposed to become black, and therefore the medicine is usually made at night when everything is black: hence, the choice of ojǎ̄n e
[824] ndžìk (Microglossa afzelii) and of ojǎ̄ṅ (Xylopia aethiopica), from a jǎ̄n, "to roast, to blacken"; hence, efirídi (Diospyros), from fídi, "coal," because the tree is black as coal; hence, ovǐna ekǒn (black plantains), from a yǐn, "to become black"; hence, osǔ̄ṅ elǒk (Phaulopsis) from nsūt, "black." /174/

Elephantiasis of the scrotum (ojǔ̄n, mbǎ̄ṅ).

Elephantiasis of the scrotum is not too frequent among the Pangwe, but it is greatly feared by them, probably only because

585 After the wedding, the young bride is allowed a certain period
595 of rest (up to one month), during which she does not need to work. Every day, newly painted with red wood, she struts around the village. After this honeymoon she then proceeds to the diurnal work in the field, while the man may possibly already be on the lookout for a second wife. Incidentally, there are not many who can afford the luxury of several wives; usually these are only the chief, his brothers, and a number of other people. The great majority must content themselves with a single wife. In former
[589] times there were even people who, for lack of money, were condemned to permanent bachelorhood because the opportunities for earning money were not as favorable as they are today with European commerce. In the account of the belief in souls (Vol. II, p. 102 /Ed., not translated/), we mentioned how a loving father procures a wife for his son by transforming himself into a leopard.

The number of wives that the individual chief calls his own
622 decreases from north to south, precisely in the same proportion
595 as his power as a ruler decreases towards the south. The most
184 respected and greatest chiefs of the Mwele and Jaunde sometimes possess up to 100 wives; similarly, Bulu chiefs with 50 wives are not a rarity. Among the Fang, on the other hand, the chiefs have only from 16 to 20 wives, at most 30, while in smaller villages they may have as few as five or even fewer, since, as we have seen /Ed., not translated/, anybody can become a chief (nkūkūma) by founding a new village because in this village he will be the "wealthiest."

The statement sounds harsh, but it must be made: the
837 woman's sexual life is basically a continuation of that of the girl, perhaps in even more artful forms, in other words, a higher form of prostitution. Marital fidelity is a great rarity, even though my Blacks steadfastly maintained that this is not so. I myself was only once shown a woman, as a "curiosity," who did not permit herself to be seduced by other men, and this was not even in the Pangwe region, but on my travels in Bassá country. I do not wish to deny that even among the Pangwe there are women who remain faithful to their husbands without being compelled

837 to do so, but, as I said -- white crows! Actually, it would be asking rather a lot to expect this as the order of the day, in view of the prevailing polygyny. All jealousy and all supervision are of no avail; the women simply acquire behind the man's back what he cannot or will not grant them.

[622] Generally, the chief keeps only a small number of his wives, perhaps from three to five, for himself. The others he divides [595] among his /263/ adherents and friends or hires them out to acquaintances for one or more nights in exchange for cash payment. In addition, as is apparent from the reckonings at the feast for the souls, the women keep a whole series of admirers who -- if there is no other way -- satisfy them during the day in the fields, in spite of Ngi and all the cult spirits. Even lepers and cripples are not spurned if they are capable sexually. If the [684] husband learns the name of a wife's lover, the latter must pay him about 300 spears. The price fluctuates somewhat, and in case the parties do not come to an agreement, it is determined by legal proceedings. If the husband catches a rival in flagrante delicto, he sometimes has no scruples about shooting him down on the spot.

587 If a woman dies soon after marriage, the widower obtains the sister of the deceased as a wife, either for nothing or for a small additional payment, because it is believed that the woman carried an ewu inside her, in other words, that she was a sorceress and was therefore responsible for her own death, thus wronging her husband.

If for some reason or other a man does not like his wife, he 586 can give her back without great difficulty, since, after all, she retains her value and finally always "gets her man." In the case of young people, who frequently marry the first person that happens to be available and only later realize what they have actually acquired, wives may be taken back purely if they have a poor appearance, diseased teeth, an evil smell, and so forth, in other words, if they are generally "unpleasant."

Otherwise, the chief grounds for divorce are: 1) spitefulness and disobedience towards the spouse; 2) malicious, extended desertion of the husband (but not simple running away) and

761 in the etok and stays there for a certain length of time. While she is
789 in this bath, she eats a soup made of the rest of the bark gathered by the practitioner, together with a pumpkin, a piece of the heart, liver, and some blood of the sacrificial animal, all cooked in a pot. This remedy is intended to satisfy the evur and prevent it from eating the blood of the woman or of the child which she may carry in her womb in the future.

761 The death of the child may also arise from an akaga given to its mother, which predicted that one of her children would not live.

Finally, if there is neither evur nor akaga, this mishap is believed
761 to be caused by the violation of a prohibition or, more likely, by
784 adultery committed by the woman during her pregnancy. To make
837 her denounce her accomplice, she is beaten until she has named him. This man must then pay to the husband an indemnity equal to half the dowry which he spent to get his wife, an indemnity which represents the price of the adultery and the price of the child's corpse. The woman is subjected from then on to the prohibition of awos until the the birth of her next child.

854 The child (mon). Until it talks, the child is called nkanele. We We have seen that after its birth it is washed in cold water and not fed until the following morning. The breast is first given it by another woman rather than by the mother, whose milk is not good at first.

At the age of eight days, the child is smeared with ba. If the cord dries up by itself without trouble, it is enough to moisten it with saliva.

845 Anomalies such as the birth of an albino or of twins are considered
[143] normal. The natives have stated that albinos are reproduced in the same family at an interval of three generations. As to twins, they are forbidden later on to take part in the ngwel. If the twins are boys,
[55] the first is called Nzugo, the second Dzima; if they are girls, they are given the names respectively of Bela and Nzua.

551 A name is not given a child until several months after birth, when one is almost certain that it will live. A child receives several names. The father chooses the first name from among his ancestors. For example, a boy will be called Osene from the name of a paternal ancestor, to this name of Osene has been added the name of his father Ekomi, and so the child is called Osene Ekomi; but he also has a sort of first name chosen by the parents, which in the present case is [84] Andzang. The complete name thus is Andzang Osene Ekomi. The mother's

586 The day on which the woman is to come out of the hut, she is bathed
535 and anointed with an oil (mbon nzüi) and is seated on a stool placed in the middle of the village square. Other women sing and dance around her and give her a new name to represent a wish she has made.

There is no religious ceremony.

583 There also used to be a marriage by exchange of wives (mvole bunanga). With the mere consent of the women concerned, two men could exchange their wives. The parents of the wives did not interfere except to verify the amounts of the dowries and to make sure that the husband of the wife with the lesser dowry had fully paid the difference to the other.

543 The relations between married couples are simple: the man must
562 lodge his wife and clear the brush from the site where she will make her plantings; on the other hand, the wife owes absolute fidelity and obedience to her husband, who has the right to beat her. The woman has no authority in the household; she is hardly more respected than
[842] a domestic animal; she owns in her own right only the cooking utensils and the tools for planting and fishing, and does not have the right to own animals. Prohibition of sexual relations is rigidly observed during
[834] pregnancy, during lactation, and in the night preceding departure for the hunt, work at the forge, and various [other] tasks. If the prohibition were not observed, these tasks would be unsuccessful.

595 Polygamy is the present custom among the Fan. The first wife has authority over the others, who must obey her. She receives the largest share of everything and assigns household chores and field work. The husband sleeps with each of his wives for three days.

684 In adultery, only the wife is punished. She is beaten and her ac-
●837 complice pays an indemnity to her husband. This indemnity amounts to a quarter of the dowry. The wife confesses her adultery only when forced to by a series of corporal punishments which range from blows to being tied to a tree full of ants (akokum).

586 Repudiation is accomplished without difficulty: the man sends back his wife and the dowry is repaid him. The causes for repudiation are repeated adultery, the death of a child as a result of adultery, laziness, practice of fetishism, and excessive surveillance of the husband; sterility is not a reason for [90] repudiation. The children stay with the husband, and the woman, once repudiated, may remarry.

581 and by recalling the keen competition for women this society. This
554 value was expressed in a colorful way by Dr. Cureau when he said:
562 "The gynaeceum is a bank, a savings bank...." (2) And M. L. Mba,

2. Dr. A. Cureau, op. cit., p. 118.

a Fang of the Libreville region, in his Coutumier Pahouin [Pahuin Customs] gives a similar interpretation: the wife "is part of the property (or bioum) of the group into which she enters by marriage." [837] He completes this interpretation by saying that the adultery of a married woman "is severely punished because it is considered a theft." (3) The woman has no juridical personality: she has no

3. In the same vein, we cite a remark, quoted by Mgr. Martrou in a study dated 1918, made by a young Fang of Libreville to his wife: "What do you have to complain of, you are my beast ... I paid a high enough price for you!"

personal property of any importance, merely goods for everyday use; she has no share in any inheritance; she is transmitted by inheritance, just as are various goods and valuables (which may be considered cirtually as women). However, the woman is property of a special kind; she is property in the highest sense of the word: creative capital. [She is the] source of produce (by her agricultural function, all the more important now that the woman takes part in cultivating the rich plantations) and of service (by her various domestic functions). [She is the] source of power, by "the procreation of children contributing to the defense of the group or securing alliances," (4) and [she is the source] of personal prestige.

4. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 29.

[She is the] source of "alliances" and kinship; through her the number of people who exchange services and gifts and who can render aid and assistance is increased. Thus, marriage has a

836 no young girls, the little girls being married very early by their
584 parents, sometimes even before their birth." (3) This restriction

3. E. Trezenem, "Notes éthnographiques [Ethnographical Notes]," op. cit., p. 87.

is entirely relative, for, according to L. Mba, "the custom allows the betrothed to have as many lovers as she wants during the time of her engagement." M. Bertaut specifies similarly that "the young girl is free as far as her body is concerned so long as she has no husband," which may represent a long period of freedom, considering the time it takes to settle a bride price that is always very large. There exists also a kind of tolerated, it not established,
837 prostitution, since the husband may "place one of his wives under
[540] obligation to bring him some income by prostituting herself to strangers." (4) Certain customs, such as the placing of a wife at

4. L. Mba, op. cit., p. 29; and V. Largeau, Encyclopédie Pahouine [Pahuin Encyclopedia], article on adultery": ... "a husband is always free to lend his wife on condition of a certain payment...."

the disposal of a guest, or the lending or [121] exchanging of a wife (1) as a token of friendship (the wife becoming munõgo ̂angôm,

1. Cf. V. Largeau, op. cit.:" ... the rules of good hospitality require the host to put one of his wives at the disposal of the one whom he is entertaining. On the other hand, it is a current custom for two good neighbors who respect each other to exchange wives from time to time, and this is a definite indication of mutual sympathy." Also, Captain Maignan,

● 837 "Etudes sur le Pays Pahouin [Study on the Pahouin Country]," op. cit.

"friendship wife"), show, as does the freedom just referred to, that the curbing of adultery can be explained by social reasons which are quite alien to sexuality.

[727 567] 831 595 581 The possibility of raping women of neighboring people during the time of conquest, the possibility of buying foreign women at a good price, so long as the slave trade lasted, permitted the "chiefs" of groupings to remedy the dangers due to the unsatisfied desires of the young men. Apparently the Fang do not display, as do some people, (2) signs of unsatisfied sex due to the fact that

2. Cf. R. Bastide, Sociologie et Psychanalyse [Sociology and Psychoanalysis], pp. 160-161.

women remain the property of the older men. What is sought is the legal possession of the woman, let us say, for the many advantages it entails, rather than sexual possession. And in this sense the justification brought forward by L. Mba can be understood when he writes, "It was not material satisfaction of the senses which drove the Pahouins to polygamy, but many other reasons. . . ."

581 562 684 628 When the marriage is consummated, the woman goes from a state of near liberty to one of strict sexual control. The specific painful physical penalties for adultery to which the woman alone is subject are particuarly severe: being exposed naked before the assembled village, being tied to the ant tree, excision of the clitoris or pimento torture, various mutilations. When the woman, either by flight or by rape, leaves the grouping into which she married, the whole group reacts violently. It is the cause of fights, kidnaping, and pillaging of the village that has taken her 581 562 in. (3) There is the most absolute contrast between this control

3. "Hence, conflicts that last for years, expressed through kidnaping of women and ending in gunshots," Libreville, Archives of 1909. And

562 except in a sporadic and very degenerate form; we mention the
795 N'nup with a whole string of "queens" that has appeared in the neighboring regions of Spanish Guinea.

562 This ambiguity in the position of woman to a certain extent
578 creates an equilibrium. On the other hand, from the point of
837 view of sentimental relations, this is not true. The man who admits that marriage should be regulated primarily in terms of social considerations hopes to obtain some day a "favorite" wife and has little fear of sanctions connected with adultery. The woman, married young, remains prisoner of the system and is always threatened with severe sanctions. Apparently this results in the many disputes which were referred to by the first administrators. "Very often the woman abandons her husband and returns to her parents' village or follows a man of her choice..." (Archives of Libreville, 1909). They were also referred to by the first Fang scholars: "The Pahouin woman does not hesitate to leave with a lover; often married against her wishes she avenges [152] this state of things by a very great infidelity" (L. Mba, op. cit.). The expression used by this author is significant. What might be called the sentimental excuse permits a broader reaction responding to frustrations of another nature. We must see there the sign of tensions which are actualized at the only possible level. Let us add that the conditions created by colonization will liberate these tensions to a great extent by destroying the equilibrium obtained approximately by traditional means.

561 These tensions are not the only ones to be mended. Between
578 generations, that of the ésa and that of the mwanö, on the same
784 segment between the eldest and the younger brothers, it appears that relationships of dependency can turn into antagonisms. Soon
[551] after his birth the young boy is "marked" by his ascendants, receiving a double name (essential in relation to other denominations) which contains the name of an ancestor of his paternal line (of a mvam) and the first term of his father's name. In addition to individual interdicts imposed by his father, the child is subject to various general interdicts which are removed by degrees as the child becomes a man. Thus, there is the interdict on the pig (1), and on

1. The pig appears as a valuable animal

583 example, by the premature death of the fiancée. Almost all customary courts now refuse /to uphold/ repayment when a woman has died without issue, as was the old custom.

The other forms of marriage were abom, marriage by abduction, which was regularized by later payment of the "bride price" (meso [426] ngon = arrival of the girl); putting in pawn for debt, which was made permanent /53/ by nonrepayment; éjian, substitution for a fiancée deceased before marriage or for a wife who died without issue (in such cases a younger sister of the dead woman was often provided); [682] tañ abim, corpse price, that is, the giving in payment of a young woman as blood money after a homicide; exchange of women between clans, usually on the occasion of an alliance /i.e. through marriage/, élat (1).

1. Elat = alliance, agreement; bilelat = kindred, the whole body of relatives and affinal kin.

● 837 Exchange or loan of women, mvia, was perhaps a form of hospitable prostitution. It apparently did not apply to the benya binga, the "true wives," in any case never to the ôsua minga, the first wife, [506] who would have considered it a reason for divorce without repayment of bride price. In the same way, nkuan, sale, was not the equivalent [426] of marriage and must have applied mainly to foreigners, though perhaps sometimes to Pahouin girls pawned and not redeemed.

587 The inheritance of widows did not automatically have the same 428 value as marriage. It was usually permitted only between succeeding generations—from father to son, from elder to younger brother; inheriting by an older from a younger brother appears in recent law. Furthermore, the heir possessed the right of renunciation, except with respect to his mother, whom he had to support but whom he would naturally not make his wife. He could send other widows back to their families, keeping their children, who belonged to his clan. 587 To require repayment of the bride price for a widow's "liberation" 583 seems to be a recent deviation; in the past this custom must have applied only to barren women or to those whose children had not lived, but only when they returned to live with their families without remarrying. The moment a widow remarried outside the family of her deceased husband, the "bride price" went to the latter's heirs, and

587 the law has not changed on this point. "No bride price, no marriage"
583 —Sa nsuba, ve alu' e se kik. We shall find this principle again in connection with legitimate descent.

583 Thus it is the absence of payment of the nsuba that gives their
837 character to free union, ébon, and to adultery, mejian, and makes them really infringements upon the law of property, justifying the fact
[684] that customary courts logically refuse to impose a penalty in a case of ébon when the girl returns to her family pregnant (2).

2. This is hard for some magistrates to understand.

581 A husband must provide his wife with lodging and clothes and
593 must clothe any children he has by her. He must clear the field she will cultivate, provide her with household utensils and, in theory, with meat. He must allow her to visit her parents, to whom he owes respect. He must not use sorcery (3) against her and must respect the

[586 837 754] 3. Likened to sorcery are fellatio and sodomy, the grounds for numerous divorces from former members of native infantry regiments.

[833] prerogatives of rank that she holds among her co-wives; he is supposed to sleep with her when she is not menstruating nor pregnant nor nursing.
[834] He must not beat her beyond what she can stand nor expose her vulva in public. /54/

A woman owes obedience to her husband, to her mother-in-law, and to the first wife, respect to her affinal relatives, therefore to her husband's clan; she must be faithful to her husband and perform her conjugal duty. She is responsible for cultivating the plots cleared for her, for fishing with weirs, for feeding her children, taking her turn at cooking for her husband, for keeping her hut clean and that of her husband when she is sleeping with him, and for helping to build them (it is she who applies the banco onto the frame). She does not have to take care of imported household equipment and clothes because these are biôm of a masculine nature (but the schools and missions are trying to train women to do so). Finally, and above all, she
[842] must be prolific: this is her first duty and a great deal will be forgiven her if she performs it.

8: Bennett D-5 (ca.1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

142 bread-winners and some are strong and muscular, while many more are weak and worn out from ceaseless toil.

The Fang make good carriers, and will do a splendid day's journey even in the 482 wet season with bad forest trails, if not overloaded. A carrier's load should never 147 exceed 25 kilogrammes; and 20 would pay better on a long journey. The first day out with a caravan the men usually drag along slowly, until their loads settle well down in the *kingi* and fit their backs. The *kingi* is a very ingenious contrivance for carrying a load in; it is usually made from a forest vine with a plaited head strap. To hurry carriers the first day is a bad mistake; poorly adjusted loads chafe and cause sore backs, and before night the whole caravan is tired out and sulky. It is a wise traveller in Africa as elsewhere who knows how to save his men.

145 164 A very noticeable fact among the Fang is the scarcity of old men. I attribute this largely to the ravages of syphilis; the same terrible disease that has done so much towards the degeneration of numerous coast tribes, and which is already playing fearful havoc among the Fang. Indolent, untrustworthy and warlike, they are nevertheless a most companionable people. 181 The slightest piece of drollery or a joke immediately causes laughter. It has been my privilege to visit many foreign lands including China, Japan and Korea, yet never in my life have I met such an absolutely good-natured, fun-loving people as the Fang.

146 The men are not fond of work. They frequently ask me for something to do to "earn a cloth." If I tell them to cut fence poles or good clean bark in the forest, they decline. A male Fang's idea of work is to sit in the *Abeng* (= [713] palaver house) and make fish lines by rolling pineapple fibre along the upper portion of his thigh, or to manufacture *Abi* (roof thatch). At these occupations he can converse with all comers, hear the news and take his part in talking a palaver. 627 They are a revengeful people and will keep up a palaver over a woman for many years. If they do not succeed in shooting a man during a palaver they do not [777] hesitate to fire at and kill a woman, while captives held as hostages are often treated with great cruelty.

836 The women regard virtue very lightly. Before marriage a girl can do nearly as she pleases. It is absolutely safe to state that it would be almost impossible 517 to find a maiden in a Fang village over sixteen years of age. Adultery is common, [837] and one of the chief causes of "women palavers." Women rank first in value as [962] goods for trade, next in value are goats, then guns and cloth. The greed for goods has a strong hold on the people. They learn quickly but have very little originality. They have no obscene rites. Their habits are very dirty; they will wash in a 515 small pool of water and, while bathing, fill the gourds or imported jugs with the water in which they are washing and use it for domestic purposes. In many other ways they are absolutely filthy, and descend to the level of brute creation. They [834] are not over-burdened with modesty, both sexes frequently bathe together in a perfectly nude condition. A male Fang passes a large percentage of his time in

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

now responsible and liable to two parties; if he is reasonable they all meet and talk the palaver. If the palaver is serious, each party appoints his *ntol* (ambassador). The palaver is usually talked in the main street of the town, before all the representatives of the interested clans, and before all strangers in town. The Fang are born orators, and remarkable gestures and orations are made while talking the palaver. The speaker usually walks backwards and forwards grasping and leaning upon a "palaver stick." He commences with: *M'zona* (I say thus); when speaking for another he says *A'zona* (he says thus); when speaking for the people of his town, *Ba zona* (they say thus). Sometimes the *ntôls* (ambassadors) sit in a canoe in the middle of a river or a stream, and talk the palaver, the injured parties being on either side of the stream. The case is talked, the goods demanded in payment stated, and an effort made to *kik nsang* (cut or end the palaver). If they succeed, then the palaver is *cut* (ended), and a dance follows; if no agreement is come to, the meeting breaks up and a tribal war exists between these clans. 628 681 [537]

Salutations.

There are three salutations common to all. Two friends meet, they each grasp the arm of the other, high up on the biceps; a slight pause is made, then the hand is slipped down to clasp the wrist. This is also the customary salutation used by the Bulu. 576

Two friends meeting salute by embracing.

A traveller entering the *abeng* (palaver house) walks over to the headman and sits on his knee a moment, at the same time placing one arm around the headman's neck.

Hospitality demands that all strangers be served food by the town women to strangers in the *abeng*. [574]

Wives are loaned to guests. [837]

Coarse conversation is indulged in by old and young of both sexes. [521]

Considerable license prevails among the unmarried; less so among the married. [836]

VIII.—*Invention, Natural Forms, Conservatism.*

Invention.—The arts in use are common to all the different clans of the great Fang tribe. Any new discovery as the working of iron is credited to the dwarfs or *nqui*. The natives are always ready to admit that the *nqui* are very clever; they have a saying "no person knows like a *mon nqui* (dwarf) what is inside the forest." When obtainable the natives use an imported saw, or file, and admit its superiority over their own crude tools. A Fang may be impressed at the knowledge and power of the white man, but is not greatly surprised; the reason for this is that many white men are credited with possessing supernatural powers. 176 563 609

Some of the clubs, tools and weapons approximate to the natural forms of the branches or roots of trees. Axe handles and the handle of a certain kind of adze have 412

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

gourd mentioned above). They put oil in it. They keep it hidden. No one else 832
is allowed to see it.

When the woman cooks food for her husband, she takes the medicine, which she puts in the neck of the gourd, and puts it in her husband's food, then his heart is changed. In the evening the woman smears herself with the *abatoñg*, which she had put in the small gourd. When she and her husband lie down, if she touches her husband, the medicine which she has eaten makes his heart change. Though he liked her before, now he loves her on account of the *biang-abationg*.

This is the *Biang-abationg*.

Biang-mikal (adultery medicine).—People go and scrape medicine in the bush. 837
If they come with the medicine, they put it in the pot. They put water in the pot. 755
They go and catch a fowl. They cut the fowl's neck; they put the blood in the 695
medicine with the scrapings from trees. They take medicine that is in the water, they pour it on the person's head. They also take a certain medicine called *ngwcia* and rub it on the face of the sick person. They again rub it on his belly. Then they have cured the person of the *minkal*. The fowl used is not to be eaten by the sick person, others may do so. Then he is healed.

This is the same medicine used to detect adultery. If a person commits 837
adultery with another man's wife, and then speaks a lie denying the affair, the 795
person accused must drink the *biang-mikal* to show the people he is innocent. If he is guilty the medicine makes him sick, and he dies or trouble comes to his people. If guilty, medicine is made to call the curse back.

This is the *Biang-mikal*.

Biang-ndona (medicine for young men, eloping medicine).—If a person goes on 584
a journey and sees a virgin, he courts or loves her. Then the virgin accepts him. 832
He and she go and lie down. The young man says, "Let us go in my town." If the 583
virgin does not accept, then the young man tries to persuade her. The virgin says, "I go later." The young man says, "If you go later, give me hair for a souvenir." Then the virgin scratches over her heart. She takes the hair of her head and the blood from the scratch over her heart and gives it to the young man. He goes to his town, he says, "I'll first make medicine." He takes the hair and the blood. He takes a small piece of witch medicine. He also takes plenty of leaves. He puts the small piece of witch medicine with the leaves. The hair and the blood he also puts in the leaves. He mixes all in the leaves. He hangs them in the *bieti* basket. He says, "*Bieti*, I want to marry a woman. Take her for me." This eloping medicine hangs one day. In the morning he cuts medicine and puts it on top of a tree. He leaves the medicine on top of the tree. He goes again to the young virgin. He says, "I have come, I come to take you." The young virgin says, "I will go to-morrow." He sleeps. The young man when day breaks says, "Let us go." The young virgin says, "I will surely go." Then the young man elopes with the young virgin; he comes with her to his town. Father of the young virgin he comes vexed. The young man kills a goat for the father of the young virgin. They finish eating the goat. He (the father) sleeps one day. Next morning the young man

777 was gone. Then his brother said, "You see what I told you?
539 If you had not married this woman, everything would have been as it was yesterday, but as it is you have nothing left." Emam mese masámabo ava. (Customary conclusion of tales.)

It is noteworthy that homosexual intercourse is included
777 among the medicines for wealth because it is believed that
838 through the intimate contact the medicine of one will be transferred to the other. In a case known to me in Ebaängon, the passive party possessed the medicine and the active party wanted to acquire it. Another case is related in the tale that I reproduce in Section 18. In actual fact it might turn out that the effect of the medicine consists in the mutual support the two "friends" render each other, based chiefly on the consciousness of common guilt and the endeavor not to let this guilt be known. This medicine is not without danger, for in the case just mentioned it was related that one of the men became blind and the other leprous, and in the tale both parties become leprous or suffer from frambesia.

A variant of the medicines for wealth consists of those
777 which especially help one to marry or abduct women (bią̌ń e bǫ̌m); another variant consists of the means to acquire influence and respect (bią̌ń e bame, bią̌ń a vōge), such as the great Anonacea
[824] Pachypodanthium confius Pierre, Engl. et D. (ntų̌m I) and the Melastomacea Memexylon tessmannii Gilg (ntǔ'mǎ IV) which, in addition, is also regarded as an authentic medicine for wealth.

In addition to the medicines for acquiring wealth, the most
832 important and the most common are the love medicines (bią̌ń anduman). No less than about 100 different plants are placed in the service of Venus.

If the inhabitants of a village have the idea that the love affairs of the young people need revitalizing, a general love medicine festival (engǫ̌'nežǒk) is arranged, which is celebrated under the supervision and with the cooperation of the ancestral skulls worshipped in the Malan. Consequently, only the initiates of the Malan may take part. The course of the festivities together with the period of preparation corresponds to that described in the section on cult festivals /Ed., not translated/: two feast

882
864 By this answer, he secures for himself the mild judgment with
[672] which we dispose of "silly boys' pranks."

For children, bǭngo, therefore, quite a different yardstick is applied; what they do, especially in respect to sexual matters, is not taken seriously.

bǭngo bǎ bǭlě oson = children have no sense of shame, and
834 the other way around, adults do not display much towards chil-
155 dren (see homosexual life, Vol. II, page 131), since, after all,
864 children simply do not know what evil (sǒ) is or what shame (o-so-n) means. If the otherwise, at least externally, very modest Negroes say this themselves, we should not hope to find many of the characteristics of a true, innocent ebī̄n among the children. As a matter of fact their first playful imitations of
836 sexual intercourse as they observe older people performing it
838 begin at five or six years of age; between the age of eight and nine "playing parents" is nothing but perfectly conscious sexual intercourse, though it is generally regarded as a game and was cited to me in the category of "children's games" under the name ebōbā̄ne-bǭngo (Ntum) or ebā̄nebā̄ne bǭngo (Fang). It is usually done in the forenoon /253/ in the dwellings when the parents are in the fields or absent elsewhere. The partners are not only boys and girls, but also boys among each other. Later, at the age of eight to 10 years and frequently somewhat beyond, many boys manifest a similar inclination towards members of their own sex, along with a sexual urge for girls of the same age. In view of the emphasis on maintaining, as long as possible, the outward appearance of modesty, the Pangwe boys make use of a device whereby they come to an understanding "metaphorically." A boy
[201] rakes some earth and sweepings onto a leaf, ties this hastily together like a food bundle, and gives it to the other. If the latter is ready to respond to the proffered affection, he will open the bundle and pretend to eat of it, saying finally, "ma mane a dži," that is, "I have eaten." If he is not inclined to respond, he will throw away the bundle, of whose contents he has full knowledge.

Concerning masturbation, see below, page 130.

839 In the case of members of the female sex, masturbation by means of a plantain fruit is widespread, something which is to be [824] foreseen in view of the bad situations arising from polygyny. A proverb states:

[539] o kūe ma zā (sā[k]) ebôn onū́,
you find me satisfying vagina (with the) finger (1)

1. Probably a circumlocution since one did not want to mention the real object. Moreover, in coastal English the clusters of fruit growing alternately in a "plantain bunch," are called a [196] "plantain hand," and the individual fruits making up the hand are called "fingers."

oa bḗle nkŭn,
you have (the) penis,

and this is used whenever someone does not part with something of which he has a superabundance, even when he sees that another person is short of it and makes shift with a poor substitute.

We have spoken above of homosexual relations among "chil- 838 dren." In adults such conduct is regarded as something immoral and unnatural, simply as unheard of. In reality, however, it is frequently "heard of" that young people carry on homosexual relations with each other and even of older people who take boys -- who, as is well known, "have neither understanding nor shame" -- and readily console them by saying: "bia bŏ pfiǎ̰ŋga (we are having fun, playing a game, joking)." The children are excused with the well-known assertion, which in its deeper sense can rarely be defended: bõ ne bõ̰ŋgo = they are ignorant, that is, they know not what they do. Adults are excused with the corresponding assertion: a bḗle nnḗm e bõ̰ŋgo = he has (the) heart (that is, the aspirations) of boys, which is, of course, by no means flattering to them.

Publicly, of course, homosexuals are treated with the greatest contempt, and they were therefore forced, as a matter of course,

838 to cast about for a protective covering to shield themselves from the attacks of those who are different, just as the hedgehog is protected by its covering of quills -- a covering on which the attackers would cut their mouths and their caustic tongues. Such a covering was supplied by medicine -- it is said that homosexual intercourse is a "wealth medicine" (biǎn nkū'ma); see Volume II, page 23. This is the name applied to it in the following tale which was told to me.

There once was a man called bongo-be-ntuu-dumo (= boys -- 838 which?) who had a daughter called akukebedanga who was very 539 beautiful (the name allegedly came from akúk = Achatina marginata [551] Sw. var. nigrofasciata Thiele, which is very beautiful, and from [825] adǎn = to surpass, because she was as unsurpassably beautiful as the Achatina snail; thus, if I understand it correctly, the name means "Achatina snail of unsurpassable beauty"). /272/

Now it happened one day that four young people met on the way to the village of Bongo (I shall thus abbreviate his name). They were all on their way to see the girl. They asked each other: "Whom are you going to see?" and each of them said: "Akukebedanga!" Then they conferred and agreed that they would go into the village together and wait to see whom the girl would love the most. The young people, who came from various families, were called (I place the abbreviation first):

Schok I, or by his full name he was called ź[k] bǒ žūa (explanation?);

Schok II, called ž [k] bǒ ngōne makę̌ makǒ, (ekę̌kǒ), that is, Schok, bōngōne (unknown) I am going away to come back later (= I shall be gone for some time);

Schok III, z [k], bǒ kǎ ję̌m bǒdžǒ melǎn (1),
Schok -- of not knowing speeches bad,

1. Instead of: belǎn.

that is, the Schok who speaks no evil, and

Schok IV, ź [k] bǒ nǔ'm e kūb b'ogbwā'le ba
Schok of: cock and francolin they
ję̌m e kī'di ma lę̌ne.
know the mornings they begin.

838
539

The four suitors, then, came into the village where they introduced themselves to the girl's father, Bongo. The latter said: "Oh, why is it that four men are coming all at once -- there is after all only one girl! But let's see what we can do!" Then he led them into the house where they found the girl's mother. The latter likewise said: "Oh, -- four men! I know that hitherto this or that suitor has come, and if the girl loved him she slept with him, and if she did not love him he went back home! But now -- four men all at once!?" Thereupon the young men said: "Let us see whom the girl loves." Now the girl loved Schok IV, but the mother loved Schok III, while the girl's brother loved Schok II, and the father loved Schok I. When night fell, the strangers were led into the girl's house. She slept with Schok IV, and the others slept on the other beds. Now when Schok IV wanted to embrace the girl, one of the others shouted: "Oh, how lecherous this girl is; the very first night she gives herself to her lover!" Then the girl said to Schok IV: "Oh, how this person talks, desist, let's wait for another night!" When the others were sleeping, Schok IV asked the girl very softly: "Don't you want to marry me?" The girl consented to marry him, and they decided that they would both flee the next day (that is, in Pangwe, that the lover was to "kidnap" the girl); if someone /273/ were to see them, they would say they were going to bathe. Thus the next day Schok IV pretended to go bathing, and the girl followed him unnoticed. Both then went to the village of Schok IV.

When on the afternoon of the same day, both of them had not returned and it was evident that Schok IV had kidnapped the girl, Schok III went to the mother, who, as we saw, was fond of him, and reproached her most violently for the fact that the girl had fled. The mother replied: "Well, why am I to blame; I'm not in the girl's skin." Thereupon Schok III became furious, took a bush knife, struck at the woman, and killed her on the spot. Then he went home.

Schok I, who loved the father, turned to the latter, likewise reproached him strongly, and asked him how the girl had come to run away. In answer to this, the father said: "Oh, how am I to blame; if I were the girl I would not have acted so (Bongo's

838 539 feminine role seems to be hinted at with these words), but I am not in the girl's skin either, after all!" However, Schok I was not satisfied with this explanation. Thereupon the father went to the village of Schok IV, who had abducted his daughter, and demanded bride price from him. Schok IV accordingly paid this price. Bongo went back home with it and said to Schok I: "Here is all the money for the girl; I am paying you with it!" But Schok I said to him: "No, I don't want the money!" Thereupon the father took one of his wives and the money and wanted to offer all this to Schok I as compensation. But still Schok would have none of it. He said: "No, I don't want it -- rather (and this will be the compensation) we shall both always be together; when you urinate, I shall also urinate; when you defecate, I shall also defecate, when you sleep, I shall also sleep with you on the same bed (1)!"

1. The great declaration of love of the Pangwe corresponding to our: "Wherever you go, there I will go too!"

So, in fact, it turned out, and the two slept together. Finally, however, both contracted frambesia and died of it.

The last Schok, Schok II, who loved the brother, did the same thing with the latter as Schok I did with Bongo. As a substitute for the girl, he stayed with the brother, and the two slept together. But they, too, became sick, of leprosy, and died.

In this tale it is particularly striking that the sexually normal and abnormal have different fates. The normal Schok III gets away unpunished, even though he kills the wife of his host, who was to become his mother-in-law. The homosexuals Schok I and II receive a terrible punishment in the form of leprosy and frambesia for their intercourse.

838 [684] As we already know and as we have seen again here, the punishment for homosexual intercourse is usually leprosy, meted out by Ngi (or /274/ other cult spirits) as the guardian of purity. This is also the punishment for other immoral crimes, such as sexual intercourse during the day, and so forth.

838 Concerning homosexual intercourse among women, I was unable to discover any facts.

839 So far as I know, bestiality does not occur.

6. Pregnancy, Birth

843 The Pangwe recognize the beginning of a pregnancy by the nonappearance of menstruation; they are also familiar with the fact that a slight indisposition and headaches about a month after cohabitation may cause one to suspect pregnancy. Once pregnancy [833] is established, the man continues to have intercourse with a woman for about two more months, but then relations with her must be broken off, since it is feared that the fetus would be destroyed or at least harmed by the seed that it must "drink," It must also be emphasized that this prohibition is not always observed; indeed, [755] there is a medicine, sand in water, which a woman is supposed to drink if the man has intercourse with her shortly before the confinement. The sand is supposed to scour the seed from the body of the fetus.

[843] Usually the beginning of a pregnancy is greeted by the woman as a joyous event. There are also cases, however, when it is not 847 welcomed, for instance, when prohibited intercourse with men of 278 related kin groups has consequences, when a woman is pregnant by an "unloved man," or generally if she does not want to assume the burden of rearing the child or wants to evade the command of sexual abstinence. In such cases -- and they are by no means rare -- the fetus is aborted (a gbwē abŭm, a kū'e abŭm, "to drop the belly (fruit)"). The medicines, for the greater part poisonous substances with which we have already become acquainted as fish poisons, are: 1) Piptadenia africana Hook. f., Leguminosa (tŭm IV), bark loosened in pieces, pared and boiled, and the extract, when cooled, used as an enema; 2) Cylicodiscus gabunensis Harms, Leguminosa (edŭm), used in the same way; 3) kernel of the fruit of Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (tree = adźạ̌b, kernel = ngọ̆n-ebŏn IV), ground in water; 4) Rubiacea

587 When a man dies and one of his relatives marries his wives, there
768 is no additional payment of dowry. When a man loses his wife, the dowry is repaid fully, or in part, by the relatives of the deceased wife if she has left no children. If there are children, the widower makes no claim to the dowry.

765 The widow cuts her hair. After the death of the husband, the wife is made to confess the names of her lovers in order to make them give payments which will finance the celebrations at the end of mourning. She must weep for one whole day and one whole night; she may do nothing without the permission of her husband's heir; and for a month she stays dirty, dressed in an old loincloth. At the end of this time there are celebrations of the end of mourning which last several days. The widow sits for a whole night in the village square, and the husband's relatives throw her water and pimento. The following morning she jumps four times over a fire of dry banana leaves. While she is jumping, men hit her for the anguish which she has caused her husband to endure. After that she receives a new loincloth from her family and then, before beginning the dances, if she has not accepted remarriage
[587] to her husband's heir, she chooses a new husband from among the assembled men of the dead man's family.

838 Neither homosexuality nor bestiality have ever been recorded, to
839 our knowledge, among the Fan.

548 Prostitution does not exist.

833 Impotence (eyel), if it is congenital, is attributed to the mother's having accidentally caused milk to flow onto the penis of her son while nursing him. If it occurs later, it is said to be from the abuse of coitus and it is believed that there is no more sperm in the impotent person.

596 Family Group. The family (nda ebur) consists of the man, his wives, his children, and his brothers. It usually includes several homes and constitutes a village in itself. The authority belongs to the father, and it is he who commands because of his being the most respected. He has absolute power, but also incurs certain duties, the most important of which is to find money or goods as dowry for the women whom his sons wish to marry. These dowries are usually obtained through payments made by the girls' husbands. The most complete mutual aid is obligatory among all members of the family, in all
596 circumstances. When the parents have become too old to continue
888 exercising their authority, they live with the family of their oldest son

785 the already higher marriage price in advance, down to the last
851 little string of beads.
[583] The ceremony itself proceeds as follows. A goat is killed, and its blood is mixed with medicines by the medicine man and rubbed onto the body of the miǎk. The medicines are made from shavings of bark from various trees and are supposed to cause sexual incapacity to be "stripped off"; the goat is chosen because,
[825] in contrast to the chicken, it is the animal of evil, of the sexual drive. Finally, the medicine man solemnly declares that the person concerned has ceased to be a miǎk and is thus relieved of the obligation to abstain. Henceforth the erstwhile miǎk again wears a loincloth.

5. Deviant Forms of Sexual Intercourse

The Negro's strong sweat secretions, but chiefly a skin
839 disease -- Krokro /Ed., ?/ (metšǎn) -- appearing on the sex organs and between the buttocks, cause an itching irritation which among the Pangwe has led to the bad habit of constantly scratching the penis whenever time and opportunity are favorable, even when there is no itching as well as to relieving an itch. They do this by twirling the penis in a manner similar to that used in making fire with sticks. This is a sport practiced by boys and adults alike and is called a kīk e metšǎn or a wōʼo (= wōk) metšǎn, which simply means "to relieve the itching by scratching" (metšǎn means itching of any kind, Krokro being simply the most unpleasant form of itch). On this occasion, erection naturally takes place as a rule, although no orgasm follows, just as there was no intention of relieving sexual desire. Indirectly, on the other hand, this action passes into a form of real masturbation, likewise through twirling the penis (a sīk nkǔn) from which, however, orgasm does not always follow either. In certain regions among the Okak this nsīe n-nkǔn (the noun) is prohibited (ekī); it is said that otherwise the person concerned will no longer be able to cohabit with women successfully. /271/

839 [824] In the case of members of the female sex, masturbation by means of a plantain fruit is widespread, something which is to be foreseen in view of the bad situations arising from polygyny. A proverb states:

[839] o kūe ma zā (sā[k]) ebōn onū,
you find me satisfying vagina (with the) finger (1)

1. Probably a circumlocution since one did not want to mention the real object. Moreover, in coastal English the clusters of fruit growing alternately in a "plantain bunch," are called a "plantain hand," and the individual fruits making up the hand are called "fingers."

[196]

oa bele nkŭn,
you have (the) penis,

and this is used whenever someone does not part with something of which he has a superabundance, even when he sees that another person is short of it and makes shift with a poor substitute.

838 We have spoken above of homosexual relations among "children." In adults such conduct is regarded as something immoral and unnatural, simply as unheard of. In reality, however, it is frequently "heard of" that young people carry on homosexual relations with each other and even of older people who take boys -- who, as is well known, "have neither understanding nor shame" -- and readily console them by saying: "bia bŏ pfiăⁿga (we are having fun, playing a game, joking)." The children are excused with the well-known assertion, which in its deeper sense can rarely be defended: bŏ ne bŏⁿgo = they are ignorant, that is, they know not what they do. Adults are excused with the corresponding assertion: a bele nnēm e bŏⁿgo = he has (the) heart (that is, the aspirations) of boys, which is, of course, by no means flattering to them.

Publicly, of course, homosexuals are treated with the greatest contempt, and they were therefore forced, as a matter of course,

838 Concerning homosexual intercourse among women, I was unable to discover any facts.

839 So far as I know, bestiality does not occur.

6. Pregnancy, Birth

843 The Pangwe recognize the beginning of a pregnancy by the nonappearance of menstruation; they are also familiar with the fact that a slight indisposition and headaches about a month after cohabitation may cause one to suspect pregnancy. Once pregnancy [833] is established, the man continues to have intercourse with a woman for about two more months, but then relations with her must be broken off, since it is feared that the fetus would be destroyed or at least harmed by the seed that it must "drink," It must also be emphasized that this prohibition is not always observed; indeed, [755] there is a medicine, sand in water, which a woman is supposed to drink if the man has intercourse with her shortly before the confinement. The sand is supposed to scour the seed from the body of the fetus.

[843] Usually the beginning of a pregnancy is greeted by the woman as a joyous event. There are also cases, however, when it is not 847 welcomed, for instance, when prohibited intercourse with men of 278 related kin groups has consequences, when a woman is pregnant by an "unloved man," or generally if she does not want to assume the burden of rearing the child or wants to evade the command of sexual abstinence. In such cases -- and they are by no means rare -- the fetus is aborted (a gbwē abǔm, a kū'e abǔm, "to drop the belly (fruit)"). The medicines, for the greater part poisonous substances with which we have already become acquainted as fish poisons, are: 1) Piptadenia africana Hook. f., Leguminosa (tǔm IV), bark loosened in pieces, pared and boiled, and the extract, when cooled, used as an enema; 2) Cylicodiscus gabunensis Harms, Leguminosa (edūm), used in the same way; 3) kernel of the fruit of Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (tree = adźǎ.b, kernel = ngǒṅ-ebǒn IV), ground in water; 4) Rubiacea

587 When a man dies and one of his relatives marries his wives, there
768 is no additional payment of dowry. When a man loses his wife, the dowry is repaid fully, or in part, by the relatives of the deceased wife if she has left no children. If there are children, the widower makes no claim to the dowry.

765 The widow cuts her hair. After the death of the husband, the wife is made to confess the names of her lovers in order to make them give payments which will finance the celebrations at the end of mourning. She must weep for one whole day and one whole night; she may do nothing without the permission of her husband's heir; and for a month she stays dirty, dressed in an old loincloth. At the end of this time there are celebrations of the end of mourning which last several days. The widow sits for a whole night in the village square, and the husband's relatives throw her water and pimento. The following morning she jumps four times over a fire of dry banana leaves. While she is jumping, men hit her for the anguish which she has caused her husband to endure. After that she receives a new loincloth from her family and then, before beginning the dances, if she has not accepted remarriage
[587] to her husband's heir, she chooses a new husband from among the assembled men of the dead man's family.

838 Neither homosexuality nor bestiality have ever been recorded, to
●839 our knowledge, among the Fan.

548 Prostitution does not exist.

833 Impotence (eyel), if it is congenital, is attributed to the mother's having accidentally caused milk to flow onto the penis of her son while nursing him. If it occurs later, it is said to be from the abuse of coitus and it is believed that there is no more sperm in the impotent person.

596 Family Group. The family (nda ebur) consists of the man, his wives, his children, and his brothers. It usually includes several homes and constitutes a village in itself. The authority belongs to the father, and it is he who commands because of his being the most respected. He has absolute power, but also incurs certain duties, the most important of which is to find money or goods as dowry for the women whom his sons wish to marry. These dowries are usually obtained through payments made by the girls' husbands. The most complete mutual aid is obligatory among all members of the family, in all
596 circumstances. When the parents have become too old to continue
888 exercising their authority, they live with the family of their oldest son

583 common, appears as the sign of exceptional success, which explains the prestige of the nkukuma who owns a greater number of wives and more property (bium). The price characteristic manifested now in the bride price is a recent transformation. Originally, its final payment sealed an alliance that could not be broken without a long process of "divorce"; one which survived even the man who enabled it to be, since the wife was transferred to the eldest son or the oldest brother; and one which, above all, legitimized the ownership of posterity: if the bride price was not paid in full, the newborn child belonged to the parents of the wife; if not fully paid back [126] at the time of a "divorce," the child belonged to the father. The fact that the bride price is not refunded at the death of the wife, when the latter leaves posterity, does not suggest that it is a matter of the price of the latter, but rather a reciprocity emphasizing that through the posterity the alliance has become a kinship.

562 584 We have thus endeavored to show the social importance of marriage, pointing out particularly the fundamental role of the links it establishes between groups and the pre-eminence attached to controlling the circulation of the women and their bride prices. But obviously this system does not always function smoothly. A lack of equilibrium exists between the meaning it has for the grouping and the meaning it might have for the individuals concerned. Certain rules of procedure, recognized by custom, provide solutions for possible conflicts. The marriage agreed to by the young people may take place against the wish of the family heads following the rape (abòm) of the girl (1); the wife has various methods

[839]

1. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., p. 88: "The young man gives what he has in money and goods, and the parents are obliged to agree to the marriage by accepting this first payment."

of recourse against a seriously prejudicial union. Her complaint may result in her marriage to another of the sons of her father-in-law, or else she may go to a man of her choice who pays the

587 the law has not changed on this point. "No bride price, no marriage"
583 —Sa nsuba, ve alu' e se kik. We shall find this principle again in connection with legitimate descent.

583 Thus it is the absence of payment of the nsuba that gives their
837 character to free union, ébon, and to adultery, mejian, and makes them really infringements upon the law of property, justifying the fact
[684] that customary courts logically refuse to impose a penalty in a case of ébon when the girl returns to her family pregnant (2).

2. This is hard for some magistrates to understand.

581 A husband must provide his wife with lodging and clothes and
593 must clothe any children he has by her. He must clear the field she will cultivate, provide her with household utensils and, in theory, with meat. He must allow her to visit her parents, to whom he owes respect. He must not use sorcery (3) against her and must respect the

[586 839 754] 3. Likened to sorcery are fellatio and sodomy, the grounds for numerous divorces from former members of native infantry regiments.

[833] prerogatives of rank that she holds among her co-wives; he is supposed to sleep with her when she is not menstruating nor pregnant nor nursing.
[834] He must not beat her beyond what she can stand nor expose her vulva in public. /54/

A woman owes obedience to her husband, to her mother-in-law, and to the first wife, respect to her affinal relatives, therefore to her husband's clan; she must be faithful to her husband and perform her conjugal duty. She is responsible for cultivating the plots cleared for her, for fishing with weirs, for feeding her children, taking her turn at cooking for her husband, for keeping her hut clean and that of her husband when she is sleeping with him, and for helping to build them (it is she who applies the banco onto the frame). She does not have to take care of imported household equipment and clothes because these are biôm of a masculine nature (but the schools and missions
[842] are trying to train women to do so). Finally, and above all, she must be prolific: this is her first duty and a great deal will be forgiven her if she performs it.

754 the évu or the animal employed as assistant being killed during a skirmish, which would bring about the nnem's death.

Many people nevertheless regard these disadvantages as weighing little against the immediate advantages which the évu procures. Therefore some bemie (people without évu) have themselves initiated into ngbwel, and some beyem dedicate their children from birth (which has the additional effect of protecting them against the parent's évu). For this purpose beyem organize into secret societies (and these are really secret societies), well described by Trilles and particularly so by Lavignotte (no. 155).

754 Babies are dedicated by a nnem kinsman in a ceremony, aka'é, before the umbilicus is healed (the évu is believed to enter through
159 the umbilical lesion). A special taboo is imposed on the child, and a part of his body (finger, toe or even foot, hand or whole arm) is symbolically sacrificed to the évu with a slight letting of blood. From that time on, only the shade of the sacrificed part, its semblance, is believed to continue to exist. The child is then nkôman ngbwel /118/, prepared for the ngbwel, but he is not yet a nnem; if he were it would be discovered at the preliminary stage of the adolescent initiation, and he would be put to death. It is only at the time of initiation with the official rites that he becomes a sorcerer, kuli
754 ngbwel, through a further ceremony during which his "godparents" reveal to him that he has been "prepared," dedicated. He must then buy back the bodily part "sacrificed" at the aka'é by offering his "godparents" the body of a member of his family, killed and eaten by the beyem in circumstances about which little is known. What is
[786 known suggests some of the sexual aspects of European witches' sabbaths
839] (apparently participants of both sexes, naked, practiced sodomy, bisôk, and profaned the ancestral relics, probably fragments of biéti). The initiation of an adult consists only of the akuli ngbwel, the aka'é being restricted to children.

754 Beyem meet periodically, aside from initiation ceremonies, in
781 order to "feed the bivu" in anthropophagous or necrophagous meals accompanied by obscene rituals. These meetings take place at the new moon in secret places in the forest, usually in clearings on top of hills or on islands in marshes — mmimie are afraid of stumbling by chance on one of these spots which, according to some of my in-
[825] formants, are guarded between meetings by an aardvark, mvômesila. If such a place is discovered, a nnengañ is immediately called in to
[755] perform a sort of exorcism.

244 there is the striped mouse, Mus pulchellus Gray (zǒfǒ III), which gnaws the nuts. A kind of black rot affects the nuts here and there during certain years. A number of caterpillar species which consume the leaves can scarcely be designated as actual pests. It
244 is probable that the black rot has led the women to the belief that
789 other women are capable of making their groundnuts sick and of ruining them by means of "medicine." They try to counter this trick with a medicine consisting of the bones of the turtle, the elephant, the pig, and the guib, which are burned to ashes and then crushed; it is scattered on the seeds before planting. Of the remaining medicines that are supposed to influence favorably the growth of groundnuts, the most important one consists of rubbing
[386 the groundnuts with a specially prepared coloring made from red
824] wood, ba-ayǎ′; accordingly, this medicine is called ba-ayǎ′. This red coloring (see Section 18, "Sexual Life") produces the desired results and fends off hostile intentions. Red is everywhere
[822] the color of joy, growth, and reproduction. On the day the woman plants the groundnuts, she paints a line between her index finger and thumb with the "medicinal red" which will give her a lucky hand; or she draws a similar line on the upper surface of a tree stump and covers the stump with leaves, like a cap. This is to say: "May you groundnuts blossom, grow, and thrive (the red color is for this) under such a protection (referring to the leaves); nobody will be able to do you any harm (referring to the medicine)." Furthermore, on the eve of sowing, the man usu-
[833 ally sets a good example for the groundnuts "assembled" in the basket /91/ by performing coitus for their benefit. With this example he sends them on their way: "Multiply! (1)" Another

[844
834]

1. This is done even when the woman is menstruating, whereas sexual intercourse is otherwise avoided during this period. In this case, as a medicinal act, sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman is supposed to be particularly good for the groundnuts, on condition that the woman "brings good luck (ayüe)" (see Section 18, "Sexual Life").

325 834 not be good. This extremely unpleasant prescription, in conjunction with the expensive medicine, stands in the way of a greater distribution of smelting enterprises. Even in places where a hut for iron smelting is already in existence, people prefer to buy iron from others if their own has been a failure several times, for this misfortune is attributed to the failure of the fire as a result of the sexual /226/ impurity of one or a number of the participants. The [439] importation of European iron in recent years is dealing a death blow to the native industry. The fear of bringing anything impure 325 783 (and all sexual matters are pre-eminently regarded as such) into 841 contact with pure fire goes so far that a medicine is made by those participants whose wives menstruate during the smelting. This consists of a diamond-shape piece cut out of the bark on the supporting beam of the smelting hut on the side facing the furnace, and it is supposed to represent the female sex organ. The symbol is rubbed with redwood which has been pulverized by the woman concerned and represents her blood flow; it is covered with a leaf of the [834] Myrianthus arboreus P.B. (mangǎme III Fang) to indicate that one wants everything impure to be hidden and therefore harmless. At the same time the plant is supposed to cause the iron to coalesce to the same degree as the individual fruits are united in a syncarp. In Plate 17 one can see a piece of the leaf on the supporting post (top left), as well as (somewhat lower down) a bark container which holds fragments of ancestors' skulls, a number of antelopes' horns, and a great variety of other medicines that are used later. That the 325 people concerned with the ancestor cult are regarded as particular- 769 ly suited to bring the work to a successful conclusion is apparent from the fact that they alone may tend the fire (see Fig. 183).

The smelting of iron is thus above all under the aegis of the fire cult, but it is also closely linked with the worship of the ancestors who contribute to the success of the enterprise insofar as it lies in their power to do so.

316 325 Iron crops out in the form of brown iron ore (sɛ̄i IV) (1) and is

1. The analysis carried out by Mr. Du Bois at the suggestion of Professor Pufahl (Königliche Bergakademie in Berlin)

First half year (mbū́)

805 esɛ̌b = farming season (summer), from December to May, consisting of:

1. vūɛ̄ʼn esɛ̌b = great dry season (December to February);
2. šōgō, esɛ̌b = short rainy season (March to May). /206/

Second half year (mbū́)

ojǔn = rainy season (winter) from June to November, consisting of:

1. vūɛ̄ʼn ojǔn = short dry season (June to August);
2. šōgō, ojǔn = great rainy season (September to November).

A division of the half years into months is unknown to the Pangwe; he only knows the time span of the individual month (ngōʼn, "moon"), and he has great difficulty in understanding that about six to seven of his months correspond to the Whites' half year and about 12 to 13 of his months correspond to the Whites' year.

To divide the month into weeks is something that the Pangwe [177] has learned from the Whites and has wholeheartedly adopted on account of the four Sundays (sǒʼnǒ III). He himself has marked off the first one to two days after the new moon as days of leisure, as has already been mentioned. He also observes the first seven [841] days of the month as something special, since the menstrual flow of the women supposedly lasts for seven days, but these days do not constitute a special segment of the month designated by a name of its own (1). Nor is there any such time segment in the rest of the month.

[539] 1. It is merely said, for instance:
avǒí' ngōʼn a sǒ malū' malǎ or zǎngbǎ'
Cold moon, it came days three or seven.

We have the same picture with the day as we do with the month. Here, too, only the beginning is sharply defined, while

586 insurmountable aversion to him; 3) repeated theft; 4) sorcery by which the woman kills (poisons) the children of other women, and the man is afraid that sooner or later he will likewise become her victim; 5) the slow development of the woman who was a child when married, in other words, the man had overestimated her age (this case is as characteristic of the Negroes as the reason given for it: "So that his money will not be spent for nothing"); 6) such diseases as leprosy, elephantiasis of the feet, and a form of dysentery (tiɛ), if they appear soon after marriage.

In certain cases it may also happen that continued adultery and sterility of the wife lead to divorce.

If the reason for the return of the wife is well founded, which in most cases it doubtless is because a Negro will not give away his wife for nothing, the purchase price is returned, or in case the father-in-law has more daughters, a sister of the ex-wife is given in exchange for the unsuitable one. /264/

[691] Naturally, quarrels arise in great abundance on such occasions, and legal proceedings stemming from the refusal to return the purchase price of a wife constitute, next to cases of adultery, the majority of all litigations.

4. Medicines, Influence of Sexual Intercourse

In the opinion of the Pangwe, the seed is formed in the 842 nipple. This idea was probably arrived at through the fact that 827 at the time of sexual maturity the breasts swell and at times even attain the size of the breasts of girls of the same age. From the nipple the seed flows into the pubic region to the mons pubis (edǎ'k) and is deposited there to flow out during coitus (see medicine for gonorrhea, Vol. II, p. 50). There would be too much [302] if the pubic hairs were shaved off. Hence they are merely cut short as a hygienic measure dictated by the hot climate, the secretion of sweat, and itching skin rashes. Concerning the significance of the testicles, the Pangwe are in complete ignorance; they believe that they merely serve to erect the penis.

841 Menstruation is the sign of the ability to bear children and is looked upon as an effect of the moon (ngɔ̄'n = girl and moon).

841 Hence, according to rule, menstruation should start in the first few days after the new moon, but unfortunately the white-haired old fellow seems to take his task rather lightly and is rarely dependable. In order to hasten the appearance of menstruation and thereby to make the girl capable of bearing children or, better yet, to make her accessible to men, a medicine is used. Sexual intercourse during menstruation is not exactly prohibited, but it [834] is nonetheless regarded as unaesthetic and is usually avoided. In [824] order to staunch the blood (a dži,b makji), the women stuff dry plantain tow into the vagina, a process which they repeat from time to time. They also have medicines designed to hasten the end of the flow of blood.

In view of the lack of moderation with which the Pangwe from 832 early youth indulge their sexual desires, the young man at an early 824 age feels the need to fortify his sexual powers. For this reason, they take medicines, biǎ,ń nkǔn, medicines for the penis, whose effects are thought of as a transference of characteristics, in accordance with the conceptions described earlier concerning the power of organization /Ed., not translated/. I shall mention the following.

1. Hardwoods, to transfer their hardness to the penis: Albizzia brownei Oliv., Leguminosae (angǒk); Baccaurea bipindensis Pax., Euphorbiacea (mbǎ'n-afǎn I), leaves ground in ngon and eaten; Carpolabia alba Don., Polygalaceae (onǒn, tōmo[k] IV Fang, tūē'me Ntum), a remedy frequently used, /265/ /Fig. 85 appears here in the original text/ the leaves eaten with an egg and a piece of the stem is tied around the body so that it lies over the seat (Fig. 85, a); Cyclostemon gilgianus Pax., Euphorbiacea (onǒn nsǎk, t. -nsǎk), root scraped into an egg, stem piece worn as in the previous case; Tricalyria tessmannii Krause, Rubiaceae (tūē'me-afǎ'n IV Ntum), likewise; Cola pachycarpa R. Schum., Sterculiaceae (ekǒ'm), fruit kernels eaten; Clerodendron bipindense Gürke, Verbenaceae (ndžike fǎm = men's liana), leaves ground with true Cola and eaten.

2. Thorns whose stiffness is supposed to be transferred to the penis: Lonchocarpus barteri Benth., Leguminosae (ejō' a fǎm a

575 184 We have not been able to learn anything about the ceremonies of protection against the bivur. However, Akam Eyene told us that when a member of the buiti has inadvertently eaten the flesh of his protecting animal, which is absolutely forbidden, he holds a meeting called dzimba in the course of which the wrongdoer, after dancing, presents his case. Then the [77] head of the buiti absolves him, spitting scrapings of the bark of the ovan onto his head.

575 198 The buiti has a secret language. Akam Eyene gave us only the secret names of certain of its initiates, which correspond to the animals chosen as protectors:

He himself	called	ndzikwe	chimpanzee
Ondo Ngema	—	ngilabongo	gorilla
Akum Eyene	—	osingi	tiger cat
Ngema Eyene	—	mitumbu	panther
Bekeka Yebe	—	mogabene	elephant
Angwe Nseme	—	menyanga	snake
Mba Minkwe	—	meyasamba	rooster
Kumeyeme	—	mepeku	eagle
Abaga	—	ndzobe	wildcat

771 V. Totemism. Despite all questions which we have put to many natives of various tribes, we have not been able to find any signs of totemism. We were only told of instances of individual unions with animals, as in the buiti or following an akaga.

Family and Collective Life

000 In this chapter we will examine the life of the individual in the family and in the social group, from his conception until his death, in corporating into this framework the family and tribal organization as well as relations with strangers.

842 833 841 Conception (menon bum). A woman, we have been told by our male and female informants, cannot conceive until after she has menstruated four times. She is, in fact, forbidden to have sexual intercourse before her fourth period. At her first menses, the woman tells her mother or her mother-in-law if she is married (usually her mother-in-law, since there is hardly even a young girl, still with her family, without a husband); the latter henceforth supervises her more

842 meticulously and in due time gives her permission to have relations
833 with her husband. The first relations must take place on the day fol-
841 lowing the end of the menstrual period so that the not yet completely dried blood in the organs of the woman can mix with the sperm of the man and make a kind of paste called nsüe a mon (lizard of a child), which goes back up into the womb of the woman and there develops [78] and becomes the child. If the woman has relations with a man before the prescribed time, she will definitely become sterile.

842 Sterility, for which many causes are recognized, can be treated, except in the case noted above, in case of bad conduct, and in case of voluntary abortion in the course of a first pregnancy. In order to
847 abort, the woman finds a midwife (ngah minanga) who sends her out
824 to look for the bark of the afamega vine and the tum tree, which she crushes and with which she makes an infusion. The woman goes to the brush and takes four irrigations of this infusion, and that is enough to induce abortion.

842 On the other hand, the woman who wishes to have children may be barren for several reasons:

(1) She may have aborted naturally and without desiring it. An
843 abortion is recognized as having a natural cause, that is, without
842 malignant external intervention, in that the patient recovers three or four days after the accident and without having suffered too much. In this case the midwife gives the invalid a prohibition called awos which restrains her from going near any man other than her husband. She may not say a word to a man except through the mediation of another woman who acts as interpreter; she may not give anything to a man without this intermediary, and may not sit where a man has sat; and for this last reason she always carries a little seat with her. This prohibition must be observed for two or three months, after which the woman is again allowed to have relations with her husband. If at the end of three more months she is still not pregnant, the midwife then gives her a treatment which consists in having the patient take some soup (abura) made of pumpkin (ngon) ground on a stone and mixed with herbs (mia mi nyo, oyah) gathered and chopped by the midwife. These she cooks with salt and pimento in a pot at the bottom of which has been placed a copper ring (kon ango), covered by a large leaf during the cooking.

844 see it, and if she sees it she will have no more children. The mother is then washed with very hot water in which pimento has been steeped; after this her abdomen is bound with a belt of bark (ewag) which she keeps on for several days.

846 After the birth of her child, a young mother is known by the name of nzinze, which she keeps until she has the right to resume relations with her husband. She has a special bed in the hut, on which a [844] menstruating woman may neither sit nor lie so as not to give scabies to the mother and the newborn. The young mother rests for about three months, during which she does no work and bathes every day with water as hot as she can stand, the lumbar region especially being [757] bathed. Moreover, after every bath she is smeared with red paste (ba) to prevent scabies.

Recovery from childbirth is marked by a celebration (okula mon). The first time she goes out, the woman carries a package of ba, a piece of which she places on every tree stump she meets on her way, to mark her path. On her return she prepares a large quantity of food she has brought back. The husband invites the men of his tribe, and the wife invites the women of her husband's tribe. When the food is ready, it is taken to the men in the watchers' hut, where the child is also taken. The women eat in the hut.

846 To improve the quality of her milk, the young mother drinks pro-
827 gressively, if necessary, three medicines:
757 (1) An infusion of aseh roots.

(2) A milky-looking infusion of pieces of tubers of a plant with a thorny stem (ekon bökun).

(3) Latex from a rubber plant.

761 It may be that the child dies at birth. Three causes for this are
789 recognized:

An evur has eaten the child. To prevent this from being repeated and so that the woman will in the future bring living children into the world, she resorts to the practitioner. He goes into the forest armed [83] with a machete and a basket. He gathers the bark of an ovan, and also brush and vines that grow under this tree. On his return to the village he divides his collection into two parts. One part, mixed with water, is put in a large rectangular container of banana leaves called etok, which has been filled with the blood of a domestic animal sacrificed for the welfare of the woman. She then immerses herself

301 Women wore only a sort of double apron of grass or leaves, azem
[291] or abui, fastened to a belt of cylindrical steatite beads, nsanga; brace-
lets, mekom, of ivory or copper shaped like spools; ankle chains,
bibat, of cast copper, very heavy; and an enormous necklace of cast
copper, nkembé, which was put on a little girl when she entered her
[764] affinal household and which could not be removed until after death,
by cutting apart the body or melting the necklace or awaiting decom-
position. All this jewelry belonged to, and remained in, the husband's
[422] family, even in case of divorce; the ésa was the person who distributed
it among his wives and daughters-in-law. Flat bracelets were made of
306 "neptunes" or "benares" /?/ imported from the coast; later on they
made, and still make, rings and bracelets from cartridge cases and
telegraph wire. But the origin of the cast minkembé /plural/ is still
a mystery; the technique of metal casting is unknown or forgotten;
placer or lode copper is very rare, not only in the present Pahouin
[325] habitat but also where they seem to have come from. Furthermore,
these very old necklaces resist corrosion and have a very pale patina
indicating some kind of alloy; moreover, the nearest workers in bronze
the Bamum, do not make this kind of necklace.

291 Men's dress at the present time is usually of the European type,
[177] from shorts and sports shirt to the surplus American cap; those who
wear shoes have European footwear, leather or canvas according to
their income, or in the style of the Arabic—silifa, from English
"slipper" = babouche, of Hausa or Peul manufacture. Mention should
be made of the helmets and kepis of umbrella-tree wood and the fake
spectacles of slivers of raffia "bamboo." In the villages or at home,
imported loincloths are rolled around a belt or tied behind the neck.

Women also wear a loincloth, éndelé, tied at the neck or rolled
tight above the breasts when they have nothing else on, rolled at the
waist when wearing the "mission jacket," éwoman (apparently from
"woman"). The favorite head covering is still the kerchief, éyañese
(from "handkerchief"). More and more women are also wearing cut
and sewn European-style dresses, bizingi; often a kind of slip; no
[841] panties except for a few young modernists (who call them caleçons,
"drawers"); and internal sanitary napkins made of medicinal plants.
[747] Mission activity has spread notions of prudery; formerly only those
past puberty were obliged to cover their sexual parts. Women did so
834 with great care in spite of the casual nature of their clothing; the
greatest insult to a woman was to uncover her vulva in public; she never

586 insurmountable aversion to him; 3) repeated theft; 4) sorcery by which the woman kills (poisons) the children of other women, and the man is afraid that sooner or later he will likewise become her victim; 5) the slow development of the woman who was a child when married, in other words, the man had overestimated her age (this case is as characteristic of the Negroes as the reason given for it: "So that his money will not be spent for nothing"); 6) such diseases as leprosy, elephantiasis of the feet, and a form of dysentery (tiɛ), if they appear soon after marriage.

In certain cases it may also happen that continued adultery and sterility of the wife lead to divorce.

If the reason for the return of the wife is well founded, which in most cases it doubtless is because a Negro will not give away his wife for nothing, the purchase price is returned, or in case the father-in-law has more daughters, a sister of the ex-wife is given in exchange for the unsuitable one. /264/

[691] Naturally, quarrels arise in great abundance on such occasions, and legal proceedings stemming from the refusal to return the purchase price of a wife constitute, next to cases of adultery, the majority of all litigations.

4. Medicines, Influence of Sexual Intercourse

842 827 In the opinion of the Pangwe, the seed is formed in the nipple. This idea was probably arrived at through the fact that at the time of sexual maturity the breasts swell and at times even attain the size of the breasts of girls of the same age. From the nipple the seed flows into the pubic region to the mons pubis (edǎ'k) and is deposited there to flow out during coitus (see medicine for gonorrhea, Vol. II, p. 50). There would be too much [302] if the pubic hairs were shaved off. Hence they are merely cut short as a hygienic measure dictated by the hot climate, the secretion of sweat, and itching skin rashes. Concerning the significance of the testicles, the Pangwe are in complete ignorance; they believe that they merely serve to erect the penis.

841 Menstruation is the sign of the ability to bear children and is looked upon as an effect of the moon (ngō'n = girl and moon).

575 184 We have not been able to learn anything about the ceremonies of protection against the bivur. However, Akam Eyene told us that when a member of the buiti has inadvertently eaten the flesh of his protecting animal, which is absolutely forbidden, he holds a meeting called dzimba in the course of which the wrongdoer, after dancing, presents his case. Then the [77] head of the buiti absolves him, spitting scrapings of the bark of the ovaṅ onto his head.

575 198 The buiti has a secret language. Akam Eyene gave us only the secret names of certain of its initiates, which correspond to the animals chosen as protectors:

He himself	called	ndzikwe	chimpanzee
Ondo Ngema	—	ngilabongo	gorilla
Akum Eyene	—	esingi	tiger cat
Ngema Eyene	—	mitumbu	panther
Bekeka Yebe	—	mogabene	elephant
Angwe Nseme	—	menyanga	snake
Mba Minkwe	—	meyasamba	rooster
Kumeyeme	—	mepeku	eagle
Abaga	—	ndzobe	wildcat

771 V. Totemism. Despite all questions which we have put to many natives of various tribes, we have not been able to find any signs of totemism. We were only told of instances of individual unions with animals, as in the buiti or following an akaga.

Family and Collective Life

000 In this chapter we will examine the life of the individual in the family and in the social group, from his conception until his death, in corporating into this framework the family and tribal organization as well as relations with strangers.

842 833 841 Conception (menoṅ bum). A woman, we have been told by our male and female informants, cannot conceive until after she has menstruated four times. She is, in fact, forbidden to have sexual intercourse before her fourth period. At her first menses, the woman tells her mother or her mother-in-law if she is married (usually her mother-in-law, since there is hardly even a young girl, still with her family, without a husband); the latter henceforth supervises her more

842 meticulously and in due time gives her permission to have relations
833 with her husband. The first relations must take place on the day fol-
841 lowing the end of the menstrual period so that the not yet completely dried blood in the organs of the woman can mix with the sperm of the man and make a kind of paste called nsüe a mon (lizard of a child), which goes back up into the womb of the woman and there develops [78] and becomes the child. If the woman has relations with a man before the prescribed time, she will definitely become sterile.

842 Sterility, for which many causes are recognized, can be treated, except in the case noted above, in case of bad conduct, and in case of voluntary abortion in the course of a first pregnancy. In order to
847 abort, the woman finds a midwife (ngañ minanga) who sends her out
824 to look for the bark of the afamega vine and the tum tree, which she crushes and with which she makes an infusion. The woman goes to the brush and takes four irrigations of this infusion, and that is enough to induce abortion.

842 On the other hand, the woman who wishes to have children may be barren for several reasons:

(1) She may have aborted naturally and without desiring it. An
843 abortion is recognized as having a natural cause, that is, without
842 malignant external intervention, in that the patient recovers three or four days after the accident and without having suffered too much. In this case the midwife gives the invalid a prohibition called awos which restrains her from going near any man other than her husband. She may not say a word to a man except through the mediation of another woman who acts as interpreter; she may not give anything to a man without this intermediary, and may not sit where a man has sat; and for this last reason she always carries a little seat with her. This prohibition must be observed for two or three months, after which the woman is again allowed to have relations with her husband. If at the end of three more months she is still not pregnant, the midwife then gives her a treatment which consists in having the patient take some soup (abura) made of pumpkin (ngon) ground on a stone and mixed with herbs (mia mi nyo, oyañ) gathered and chopped by the midwife. These she cooks with salt and pimento in a pot at the bottom of which has been placed a copper ring (kon ango), covered by a large leaf during the cooking.

843
842 If three months after the treatment the woman is still not pregnant, there is nothing to be done and she has to give up having children.

(2) A woman may be barren after abortion because of her evur. This
842 is recognized in that she aborts with much suffering and then stays
789 ill afterwards for more than eight days. An appeal is made to the
824 practitioner, who renders the evur harmless by making it crazy. After having made the woman take a medicine made of white honey (abe), bark of a cola tree (abel), and bark of abal and atega trees, all mixed with chicken blood, the practitioner goes with her to the ovah where where he customarily conducts his ceremonies, and performs a kind of exorcism which was not revealed to us. Once back in the village, the woman follows the same [79] treatment as in the case of natural abortion. The secret ceremony performed by the practitioner is called avi evur akur (making the evur crazy).

(3) Finally, the abortion may have been caused by a male member
843 of the husband's family, the possessor of an evur, who is revealed by
842 the practitioner. If the woman wants to have children, the guilty one
789 must die. He is discovered in the course of a ceremony, part of which is carried out at night and at which the presence of women is forbidden; this is the dance of the bisir. An akuma singer is brought, who recites stories of the tribes of both husband and wife. Before him, covered by a large cloth, lie three or four men who are the bisir. These men have in their hands pointed pieces of bamboo. A young boy of the husband's family is brought there. He passes several times between the singer and the bisir, who prick the boy's legs with the bamboo sticks. The child then goes back into his hut while the songs continue until dawn, the men of the village dancing and clapping their hands in accompaniment to the singer.

In the morning the husband of the aborted woman goes into the forest to find two wooden forks, a limb, and some branches. He plants the two forks in the village square, places the limb on them horizontally, and conceals the forks under the branches; this structure is called nzum. The child who passed before the bisir the previous night is seated on the rail. Before all the assembled men and women of the village, the aborted woman approaches the child and says madzuna, nzum me tela ésí ũí, e mur awu makula mebum abure (I say, I stay under the nzum so that the man may die who caused me to abort).

842 After this second part of the ceremony, called elum nzum, the
843 child is hidden for eight days in a hut, and women are forbidden to
789 see him during this time; he is now called mvun. On the morning of the eighth day, the men lay him on a mat in the village square and cover him with mats and cloths so that the women do not see him; the inhabitants of the village are again assembled, and the men of the husband's family step over the mvun one after the other, saying: madzune, e mvun ebue ni ngi me ki me nga kule abum, me bure (I say, the mvun is lying there; if it is I who caused the abortion, may I die). When all the men have passed, the child is taken away. Some time later the guilty one becomes sick, has a swollen abdomen, and dies, there being no possibility of caring for him. After his death, the woman is treated as in the case of natural abortion.

843 Pregnancy (ndzua abum). When a woman is pregnant, she is bound by numerous obligations and prohibitions which aim to care for the child which she carries so that she can bring it into the world in good health. [80]

843 The obligations consist of taking medicines; to prevent the child
757 from having sores in the womb of its mother, she takes an infusion of the roots of various trees. This medicine is called ese bibolo (to treat infections); if it is neglected, the child is born with infected sores which never heal.

The future mother must also go every three days into the brush and give herself a washing with a preparation of bark of ebom which has fermented in water. After each enema, water is added to the vessel containing the pieces of bark, which are kept until the delivery.

That the child may be strong, the pregnant woman anoints her abdomen with an ointment prepared by the midwife with padouk powder mixed with raphia oil and bark.

843 Finally, to prevent abortion, the woman wears on her skin, like a
757 belt, a piece of okum vine, which is not removed until after the birth of the child.

843 All this does not prevent the woman from continuing her work; when she feels tired, it is because the child is sick, and the midwife treats her with one of the medicines mentioned above. If the woman's husband has not had children for a long time, the future mother then enjoys much esteem; she receives gifts, and her husband pays a great deal of attention to her.

168 the social and cultural organizations are directly blamed: the
186 breaking up and dispersal of the groupings resulting in the rupture of fundamental interdictions (especially that of exogamy: with the
[835] present confusion each man risks marrying his "sister" and being condemned to a sterile union); the abandonment of traditional religious observances, especially the Biéri worship rendered to
[769 ancestors — so that the Biéri "revenges" itself, "according to cer-
● 842] tain informants, by making the women sterile. Borrowing from European civilization and from their neighbors has altered "Fang manners" and resulted in behavior that is not valid for the Fang and puts their social existence in danger. These are the principal reasons brought forth. We have already in this chapter paid particular attention to these facts, because they show the subjective aspect of the demographic crisis and how much the search for fertility and for power, both linked together, still plays a part in the present reactions of this people, how it takes effect in an ambiguous manner by having recourse at the same time to modern foreign methods and to traditional Fang methods. For the Fang villagers the crisis is the most serious consequence of a situation created by colonization — by "civilization," as some of them curiously say. This is sufficient indication that these facts must be integrated in the whole we have undertaken to analyze.

[101] III. The Type of Social Structure (1)

1. A study carried out with the help of documents collected especially among the Fang of the Woleu-N'Tem, and principally in Oyem region where Fang vitality is the most authentic.

Tribes, Clans, and Lineages

596 The recent clan renewal to which we have often referred has shown the still fundamental importance of the groupings established as a function of "kinship." This was immediately grasped by the first observers and administrators of the Fang country, who insisted on the "family" nature of the Pahouin groupings and came to the

562 shown by most observers as the principal agent of production in the midst of a slavery-free society and, for that reason, as a factor in becoming rich. These are the generally accepted opinions; what are they worth?

562 842 It appears to us that the stress falls primarily on the capacity for fecundity of the woman who is acquired legally. The wife allows the man to manifest himself as a begetter (ésa); she assures his posterity, which for a Fang is the prime property. Through her he not only proves himself fully male but he obtains a true social promotion, acquiring influence which grows in proportion to the growth of his family group, participating fully in the pre-eminent social stratum, that of the generation of "fathers." In a conquering society, as Fang society was up until recent times, a man's influence was determined more by the number of the warriors attached to him (4) (the wife properly giving him male

4. Let us quote an unequivocal proverb: "a relative is a gun."

descendants and relatives by marriage) than by his personal warlike valor. One might say his importance was in proportion to his aggressive and defensive potential.

The man without posterity is a lesser being, an inferior Fang, because he is powerless. It is significant that the word ki means at the same time "strength, virility, and power." This explains [149] the position held by the magic for fecundity, by the "techniques" to check the causes of sterility, and the fact that sterility is the sanction linked to the most serious offenses (especially incest). In a well-known formula, this state of affairs indicates the pre-eminence of the "production of human beings" over the production of means of existence." The chance discovery of a notebook in which a young man of the Oyem region had written down some of his dreams and the rules of conduct he followed has shown us the level of obsession which the pursuit after future descendents may attain.

562 842 159

We give as an example the most "direct" of these dreams: "I dream that a lady speaks to me in my dream so that my wife may have a child. I should roast a banana, go near a river, cut

562 this banana, and give half to my wife, after we have both drunk
842 some water. Then I should go and embrace my wife. Then I
159 should dip her (?) in water saying: who is this woman from whom you come?" Another text, given as a "dream," hardly deserves this name, or is only part of a richer dream (and it is still very revealing). It consists of a recipe for fecundity: "I dream that the devil recommends three herbs for a sterile woman, that she may bear a child...." The meaning is clear, all the more as various precepts collected under the title The Individual Will confirm it clearly. "I shall find means not to live any longer without leaving a child; what pursuits will permit a man not to die without leaving a child?; to choose oneself 'what is needed' to marry a woman who bears children (1) ...." One could call

1. Cahier de Daniel Ngema Ondo
[Notebook of Daniel Ngéma Ondo].

it a regular "complex of the man without posterity." The search for numerous future descendants is still the most important undertaking. If the reasons for "power" just referred to have for the moment disappeared, others have been substituted or have appeared: the fear of breaking a line of descent, of being only a "deceased one" and not an ancestor (mvam) revered by his posterity, the fear of abandoned old age, and now the desire to enrich the family grouping, which is an economic unit, by having at one's disposal the greatest possible number of active elements. Elsewhere we have pointed out that the possession of a large grouping is a guarantee of greater liberty because of the increased influence it entails.

562 Besides being the instrument for reproduction — and hence subject [150] as soon as she is married to the most complete control — the woman is also the instrument of production. While the man builds the huts, clears the plantations, and (in the past) was essentially in charge of "defending the women and children," (1)

1. In 1890, A. Fourneau observed in the Estuary region "long files of women loaded like mules" who

587 the law has not changed on this point. "No bride price, no marriage"
583 —Sa nsuba, ve alu' e se kik. We shall find this principle again in connection with legitimate descent.

583 Thus it is the absence of payment of the nsuba that gives their
837 character to free union, ébon, and to adultery, mejian, and makes them really infringements upon the law of property, justifying the fact
[684] that customary courts logically refuse to impose a penalty in a case of ébon when the girl returns to her family pregnant (2).

2. This is hard for some magistrates to understand.

581 A husband must provide his wife with lodging and clothes and
593 must clothe any children he has by her. He must clear the field she will cultivate, provide her with household utensils and, in theory, with meat. He must allow her to visit her parents, to whom he owes respect. He must not use sorcery (3) against her and must respect the

[586 837 754]

3. Likened to sorcery are fellatio and sodomy, the grounds for numerous divorces from former members of native infantry regiments.

[833] prerogatives of rank that she holds among her co-wives; he is supposed to sleep with her when she is not menstruating nor pregnant nor nursing.
[834] He must not beat her beyond what she can stand nor expose her vulva in public. /54/

A woman owes obedience to her husband, to her mother-in-law, and to the first wife, respect to her affinal relatives, therefore to her husband's clan; she must be faithful to her husband and perform her conjugal duty. She is responsible for cultivating the plots cleared for her, for fishing with weirs, for feeding her children, taking her turn at cooking for her husband, for keeping her hut clean and that of her husband when she is sleeping with him, and for helping to build them (it is she who applies the banco onto the frame). She does not have to take care of imported household equipment and clothes because these are biôm of a masculine nature (but the schools and missions
[842] are trying to train women to do so). Finally, and above all, she must be prolific: this is her first duty and a great deal will be forgiven her if she performs it.

judicial inquiry at Ambam in 1948 after a raid on ze mimfaka, an old chief who was a Protestant and an elder of his church declared, in so many words, that "the white man has weakened the ngil, and the beyem have taken it over; now it is the ngil of ngbwel /sorcery/."

The initiates of the kôn or kun, a kind of magic that enables one to assume another person's strength without destroying his body, also seem to be grouped into a secret society with meetings every seven years.

Beyem associations do not usually include both sexes; male and female sorcerers meet together only occasionally, for orgiastic sabbaths.

The distinction between white and black magic is, nevertheless, difficult to draw the present time, and one can never tell offhand if the small groups springing up nearly everywhere to protect their members against bad luck by using, in addition to remnants of traditional rites, recipes copied from magic manuals printed in France, belong to the one or the other.

To come back tothe traditional associations, we must underline /the fact that/ in them there was a complete separation of the sexes, to such an extent that women were often forbidden to speak the name of a men's society or to show any kind of knowledge, even superficial, of its rites. The prohibition was less stringent for men with regard to women's rites, since the nsem, the breaking of a taboo, was for them punished by physical incapacity or illness rather than by death. /66/

A women's rite like mevungu had both a village aspect, on account of its geographical framework, the jurisdiction of its huts, and an interclan aspect as a result of exogamy. Much less is known of these women's rites than of the men's, for the very good reason that men are not allowed to know anything about them. Missionaries have condemned mevungu as obscene: I have heard that initiates who have gone through the menopause are supposed to play a male role in dances miming coition, without being able to obtain the slightest proof or the least detail (1). What is certain is that this is a rite of

1. A woman "chosen for her large vagina" presided, seated with legs spread apart. Each initiate would go tickle her and pull the clitoris. (J. B.)

fecundity, of fertility, and also of the hunt: an unlucky hunter may have his wife initiated so as to ward off bad luck.

556 relations between the sexes, this emphasis to a great extent explains
156 why no true peasantry has developed, but rather a class of nonpeasant planters, comparable in the last analysis to some of the European settlers. The Pahouin remain very much strangers and travelers on the land, whence the importance of personal property (in the legal sense) in their eyes. Nevertheless, a further development is in the making in this connection—described above (p. 96) which is leading to a strengthening of land ownership, /so that/ certain collective reactions in the way of procedure concerning land and domain suggest that we are witnessing, at least in the Cameroons, a genuine putting down of roots.

619 Tribal pride is still considerable, to the point of hostility between different branches of the group, but ethnic cohesion is found vis-à-vis outsiders and gives real unity to the Pahouin as a solid group.

2. The Individual Life Cycle

a. Conception, Gestation, Birth

843 A woman is considered pregnant, a nyoñeya abum, she has got a belly, when she has passed through four menstrual cycles, a nji yene ngon, without seeing the moon. Conception is supposed to be the [842] result of the mixture of sperm, meyôm (with the same root as nnôm, pl. beyôm = male) and of menstrual blood, metyi me ngon, girl's blood or lunar blood; the length of pregnancy is calculated from the date when the last menstruation should have begun. Nowadays a pregnancy of nine months is considered normal, but some of my informants mentioned normal terms of eight or ten ngon (lit., moon or girl), a word that can as well refer to a calendar month as to a lunar month or a menstrual cycle. It is difficult for a man to obtain more precise information on this point since the subject is restricted to women. Besides, longer pregnancies are considered possible, [754] though sometimes suspect; amenorrhea due to a fibroid growth is a proof of sorcery, the tumor being considered an évu. The fetus (for which the term is secret, forbidden, étyi, in any case for men, and probably for women uninitiated into mevungu) is thought at the beginning of gestation to take the form of a lizard, like the first man at the moment of the creation /of the universe/.

361 the sites of future huts with blood. The hen is then opened up
621 and divided among the principal warriors and the chief's relatives.
769 This strictly, speaking, constitutes the totemic sacrifice. The
782 kid or sheep is then offered to the spirits of departed souls and to the ancestors.

After the sacrifice to ancestors the chief puts the akameyôn
361 back at his side. From the mfex or pouch, which is never re-
621 moved, he draws forth a small bundle of dirty material wrapped
769 around a bit of red wood, ashes, and a few bones. All this
778 comes from a sacrifice to the totem like that already described. To these he adds the remnants of the recent sacrifice and buries
[824] it all deep in a hole in which he drives a strong stake of élun or éfirfira wood; sometimes a young ebony tree is also used.
[822 At the top of the stake he fixes a ball of paste made of red wood,
842] white chalk -- the colors of sacrifices and spirits, and manioc, the symbol of fertility. A part of the clan or tribal totem is also inserted. The practitioner, with many gestures, songs, and dances imprisons within it all the evil spirits of the air.
[558]

The practitioner sows maize in the middle of the village, then plants a manioc root and particularly a euphorbia (euphorbia antiquorum), and puts a small fence around, so that the plants
[787] will not be desecrated. The village's prosperity depends upon their rapid growth. Should they wither, the chosen spot will be abandoned. Euphorbia has the power of averting thunder and evil
[824] spirits by means of its bristling points. Amaryllis and immortelles are often planted at the foot of the euphorbia, along with a few stalks of sugar cane. The amaryllis and immortelles ought to come from the old village, having issued from those which the chief's first wife had formerly brought from her
[842] native village at her marriage. Sugar cane is a symbol of fertility.

241 The women plant maize everywhere after these prelimi-
361 naries, and its rapid growth ensures basic subsistence. Meanwhile the men build the huts. The first ears of maize will certainly be offered to the guardian totem. Dried and preserved in the form of a coronet, they will provide seed for the following year.

595 Whatever the kind of marriage, the first wife is the only
585 one considered [574] as truly legitimate. As soon as she enters her new hut, her husband leads her by the hand before the évora biéri, which is kept tightly closed. Throughout her life, the wife will never be allowed to look into the box, as that would entail a very grave ritual offense. She now takes a bit of palm oil brought from her own village, mixes it with some from her husband's mother, and rubs this symbolic mixture on the statue
[842] on top of the évora. This is a symbol of the fertility she asks of the ancestors and the guardian spirits of the race. She next
[782] puts a few grains of maize in a small basket at the base of the statue, so that her future plantations may thrive. This sacrifice should be repeated every morning, but only by the principal wife -- and it is often omitted.

4. Hunting, Fishing, Husbandry

788 Before starting on a hunting or fishing expedition, like-
779 wise before going out to the first work on his plantation, every family head or warrior will be sure to invoke his totem. He does this first with an offering on the biéri box, then by touching his weapons, tools, or snares against the family totem.

788 In the case of hunting, the hunter, when charing his gun,
224 mixes some of the ashes of totemic sacrifice with his small shot,
779 puts his hand on his totem, and leaves confident of the outcome. Even if hunting does not come up to expectation, he would never dream of blaming his totem. He would think that he had had bad luck or, more likely, that he had committed some offense.

788 When going fishing, he carries some of the sacrificial
226 ashes hidden in a rag. At the spot he thinks propitious, he al-
779 ways begins by throwing the ashes into the water, in order to obtain his totem's good will.

788 Likewise, when a man starts farming, at the beginning of
241 each dry season, before giving the first ax blow to the trees to
779 be cut down, he places some ashes or remnants of sacrifice in some kind of hole and sees to it that they are consumed by the

752 are rubbed into them. In this case it is clear that the view the
278 natives have of powers of healing is not free of contradiction and confusion. The excrescence on the tree is /184/ natural, that on the person unnatural. By incorporating the tree's natural excrescence in the form of ashes, they hope to induce the human growth to return to its natural shape, that is, to become smooth, while in actual fact one would expect the person to get a swelling from this.

752 For bandages the Pangwe usually use strips of dried banana leaf sheaths. In the case of finger and toe injuries, a small halved calabash, fastened with a string around the joint, is slipped on as a cover (Plate 25).

000 Medicines for impotence, sexual stimulants, devices to influence the woman's sexual life (menstruation, pregnancy, birth) will be treated later (Section 18).

5. Food Prohibitions

262 Pangwe life is dominated by a number of rules which they call
784 bekī, (from ekī,). These, in the main, prescribe that certain actions shall not be performed at certain times and that certain foodstuffs are to be avoided either at all times or only at certain times. The most important rules are the latter, the food prohibitions. The following are distinguished: 1) ekī, bebin = taboo for those not initiated into cults, or ekī, bonenga = taboo for women, who are uninitiated as regards the men's cults; 2) eki, bongus = taboo for the initiated of the cults, in practice usually of the women's cults; 3) ekī,-bondŭ'mǎn = taboo for young, vigorous persons, and the forbidden animals are called dūm; 4) ekī, abŭm =
262 taboo for the belly, that is, the prohibition of certain animals at
784 the time of pregnancy, or ekī, mǒn = taboo because of the child,
843 that is, food taboos for the duration of the pregnancy and nursing the child, a period during which the taboo applies both to the mother and the father, a consequence of the opinion held by the Pangwe that the woman -- as it is always put -- has the lover or husband "in her belly," that is, that the developing fruit is actually

[Text continues on page 60]

262 784 [843] nothing else but the man who with the help of the female body is newly formed, nourished, and born; 5) ekī, bongō'n = taboo for young girls.

The following list will show which animals are never eaten, which are subject to an ekī, and which are not forbidden.

A. Mammals

1. Never eaten.

262 [784] Crocidura species (mbāšū,m I); Mus rattus L. (tōlō III); Sciurus pumilio Leconte (mvūk esōn); and the inside of the elephant's tusks (ngō e zōk I), which it is likewise forbidden to step over, "because flaccid and bitter." /185/

2. ekī, bebin or ekī, bonenga.

Sheep and goats (kabād IV) among the Fang; Simia satyrus L. (woā III) among the Fang; Gorilla gorilla L. (ngi IV); Potamochoerus albifrons Du Chaillu (ngūī, Fang) among the Fang; Cephalophus dorsalis Gray (sō' IV); Neotragus batesi Winton (odžūē') among the Fang; the last two are also taboo for the uninitiated of the Sso cult.

3. ekī, bandūman.

Bats (otā,n), which also may not be touched by adults (ekī, a bi,); fruit bats (indē'm) and Scotonycterus zenkeri Matschie (ngōm I); Dendrohyerax tessmannii A. Br. (nī,ū'k IV); Perodicticus batesi Winton (awū'n); Arctocebus aureus Winton (māsātšīūi I and III); Sciurucheirus gabonensis Gray (emām IV) which also may not be touched; Anomalurus species (ngui IV); Mus species (edū); Viverra civetta poortmannii Pucher. (zōē IV); Bdeogale and Herpestes species (mvāk); elephant's trunk "because the limb becomes weak"; elephant's limb; Phatages giganteus Illiger (pfī'ma IV) and Manis species (kā' IV); Sciurus wilsoni (kūē' III).

4. eki-abum or eki-mon.

262
843

Sheep and goats (kăbăd IV), the large male animals because of their heavy breathing, and the child would have the same heavy breathing; Cercopithecus brazziformis Pocock (fụn IV) and Miopithecus talapoin Erxl. (ozö'm), usually not eaten at all by women capable of bearing children; Cercopithecus buccalis Leconte (ošok); C. laglaizei Pocock (avo'm) and Colebus anthracinus Leconte (mvon IV), eaten by some when the child is born and by others during pregnancy, but in that case they prepare a medicine which eliminates the bad effect; Thryonomys swinderenianus Temm. (myi'b IV) until the birth (if eaten during pregnancy, an antidote is necessary since otherwise the child would get festering skin ulcers, pfo IV, on the leg; Sciurus rufobrachiatus aubryi A.M.E. (ovē'i) and Sciurus eborivorus Du Chaillu, egg-devouring female (nsom I); Sciurus rubripes Du Chaillu (edin) until the birth; Sciurus eborivorus Du Chaillu (mvok) until the birth if the animal was caught in a tree hollow (tree hollow = female sex organ; the child would remain stuck in the same manner in the mother's "belly," as the squirrel in the hollow) (1); Cricetomys

1. In what follows I have omitted as obvious the fear of the Pangwe that the child might acquire the same characteristics or properties as those possessed by the animal.

dissimilis Rochebrune (kūi IV) until the birth if the animal is sighted near its burrow and killed during its flight; Atherura africana Gray (ngum IV) if it is killed by means of baskets at its burrow, /186/ only the skin is taboo if the animal was killed in flight; Mus hypoxanthus Pucheran (abok), but because of its small size it is eaten only by young and old people; Mus species (ekon), eaten only by young and old people because the animal trembles and because of its small size; Mus species (ndūn I) because of its long feet; Myoxus angolensis Winton (osim Ntum) because it lives in burrows; Elephas africanus Blumenb., the head taboo until the birth because it is feared that the child would have an equally big head, the feet until

262 the birth because it is feared that the child would have club feet;
843 Potamochoerus albifrons Du Chaillu (ngui, IV Fang), head and belly until the birth, the head because of its ugly appearance, the belly because of its warts; Bubalus (niă't IV), male animals because they make a rattling noise; Hyemoschus aquaticus Gilg (viŏn, plural lŏn) until the birth; Tragelaphus knutsoni Lemberg (nkŏ'k I) and Cephalophus longiceps Gray (mvū IV), male animals; Cephalophus nigrifrons Gray (žŭm IV) until the birth; Cephalophus leucogaster Gray (miē IV Fang), the animal is supposed "to die of its own accord."

5. Taboo for young girls.

262 Mus univittatus Pet. (mvŏ'n IV) because of the shamelessness
[825] of the mouse which in the presence of people steals the Kassada /Trans., cassava?/ as it is being washed; the young girls, therefore are afraid, if they eat the mouse, that a man would steal them just as quickly.

6. Not taboo.

Dog (mvū IV); Maimon planirostris Elliot (esöge); Hemigalago demidoffi Fischer (ozăm), but eaten only by young people because of its small size; Euoticus elegantulus Leconte (nsĕi, I); Sciurus lemniscatus Leconte and sharpei Gray (osŏn) among the Ntum and Sciurus subviridescens Leconte (sĭb IV); Cricetomys dissimilis Rochebrune (kūī IV) if it is caught in a spring trap and is carrying fruit in its cheeks, but in this case the fruit must be kept in the dining area (būū) and burned to cinders after the birth of the baby; Cricetomys dissimilis and Atherura africana Gray if caught under circumstances other than those so far described; Mus longipes A.M.E. (kŏm IV); Mus pusillulus Peters (okĭb), Mus pulchellus Gray (zŏfŏ III), Mus sebastianus Winton (ekū,ī'), Mus species (ayūlū ekū,ī'), Mus tullbergii Thomas (ndă'n IV), but not eaten by adults because the animal is too small and because it lives in the vicinity of houses; Felis leopardus Schreb. (zŏ IV), Felis servalina Puch. (ebĭ'ŏ); Genetta aubryana Puch. (nsĭ'n I); Nandinia binotata

262 Reinw. (mvā,i' IV Fang); Poiana poensis Waterh. (ojǎn); Lutra matschieei Cabr. (abǎn) and Herpestes melanurus Gray (nsǒm I); Elephas africanus Bl. (zǒk IV); Potamochoerus albifrons /187/ Du Chaillu (ngui IV); Bubalus (niǎ't IV); Tragelaphus knutsoni Lemberg (nkǒ'k I); Cephalophus longiceps Gray; sheep and goats with exception of the above-mentioned animals; Limnotragus gratus Scl. (žīb IV); Cephalophus callipygus Peters (mvǐn IV) and Cephalophus melanorheus Gray (ogbǔ,n).

B. Birds

1. Taboo for the initiated of the Mekang cult (women).

[794] Guttera plumifera (Cass.) (nkǎ'n I) among the Fang.

2. ekī,-bondǔ'mǎn.

Himantornis haematopus (Tem.) Hartl. (nkū'lūngū' I); Milvus aegypticus (Gm.) (esǐ'sǎ'); Strigidae, especially Bubo species (ndžū,k I) and Syrnium nuchale Sharpe (akūn); Centropus monachus Rüpp. (dūgū' III) and Passer griseus (Vieill.) (mvǎekū,m IV).

3. ekī,-abǔm or ekī,-mǒn.

262 843 (a) Because the bird lives in caves or hatches its eggs in secluded nests: Vinago calva (Tem.) (obǒn) and Columba unicincta Cass. (apfǒ'b) until the birth if caught in the next; likewise Calopelia puella (Schl.) (edūgebǒ'm); Capitonidae, for example, Gymnobucco (ovǒ Ntum), Buccanodon (eji'le), and Barbatula species (omvǒk); Indicatoridae (mā' III) and Picidae (ngǔ'megǒ IV); Bucerotidae, for example, Ceratogymna (ngūn I), Bycanistes (miēm IV), Lophocerus fasciatus (Shaw) (okogbwai), and Ortholophus species until the birth in case they are caught walled up in their tree hollow; Nicator species (ekǒ') until the birth if found in the nest; Sturnidae, for example, Lamprocolius species (kbǎ'n IV) and Pocoptera (mesōō'lǒn IV) until the birth.

262
§43

(b) Because the bird has ugly or unnatural visible characteristics: Pteronetta cyanoptera (Tem) Hartl. (alǎt Ntum) until the birth because of its ugly feet; Canirallus oculeus (Tem.) Hartl. (mvūlūbengǎ's IV) until the birth because of its long legs and also because of its screeching; Ardeidae (esǐ'sǒ'-osū,ě Ntum) until the birth because of their long feet and long necks; Lophoaetus occipitalis (Daud) (abǎ'jě'k) because of the long neck feathers; Buccanodon duchaillui Cass. (eji'le) because of its fat belly; Bias musicus (Vieill.) (abǎ'jě'[k] etǒ,k) because of its neck feathers; Diaphorophyia castanea (Fras.) (mekǒ'boga III) because of the flaps of skin below the eye; Motacilla vidua Sund (mangǒǒmentě'me III) because of the bobbing tail; Camaroptera griseoviridis (v. Müll.) (dǐndī' III) because of the long feet.

(c) Because the bird calls or screeches in a startling and ugly manner: Theristicus hagedash (Lath.) (ngǎmō'mō' I); Turtur semitorquatus /188/ (Rüpp.) (žū'm IV) and Chalcopelia afra (L.) (odū') until the birth; Francolinus lathami Cass. (obǒm) until the birth; Psittacus erithacus L. (kūs IV) until the birth; Musophagidae, such as Corythaeola cristata (Vieill) (kū'nūk IV) and Turacus species (mbǎ' III) until the birth; Eurystomus species (kǎ'mǎ'k IV); Smithornis zenkeri Rchw. (nǔmekūpafǎ'n); Sigmodus rufiventris Bp. (angbūū'ngbūō) until the birth; Laniarius leucorhynchus (Hartl.) (nžūěbekǒ,t IV); Lanius mackinnoni Sharpe (avělě'abǒbe III); Dicrurus coracinus Verr. (obǎ'mǒke III).

(d) For other reasons: Polyboroides typicus A. Sm. (eńgbǎ,ń) because of the way it squirts out its excrement and because of its screeching; Gypohierax angolensis (Gm.) until the birth if shot in the nest, since the bird badly befouls its nest; Alcedinidae, for example Halcyon species (akū'i); Ispidina species (okūdebakū'i) until the birth because of the peculiar way the birds duck down when they are on the lookout; many Muscicapidae, for example, Alseonax and Pedilorhynchus species (okǔ,dūgu) because the bird always settles down on the same spot; Ploceus species (ngā'ǎ III) because of the way they vibrate their wings; Spermestes and Estrilda species (edžō'le) because of the way they keep seeds in their crops, "cheek pouches."

262 (Laur.) (nkŭ̱m I); the majority of snakes, with the exception of those species mentioned below.

3. ekī-abŭ̱m or ekī-mŏ̱n.

[843] Phython sebae Gmel. (mvŏ̱'m IV), until the birth (1); Grayia

[754] [184] 1. Among the Jaunde taboo for all those not initiated into the Sso cult.

smythii Leach (nsŏ̱k I), likewise.

4. No taboo.

Tree snakes (ajǎ'ń).

D. Amphibia

1. Never eaten.

Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (mvŭ̱ń IV); Bufo latifrons Blgr. (dzŭ̱n VII); Rana mascareniensis D. and B. (nkŏ'ń I).

2. ekī bonduman.

Rana zenkeri Ndn. (edzŏ̱); Hylambates species (akǎbĕ III Ntum).

3. Not taboo, but eaten only by women.

Rappia species (obǎ't); Xenopus calcaratus Bchh. and Ptrs. (mĕ'nezŏk IV).

E. Fish

1. ekī bonenga.

Large specimens of Clarias walkeri Gthr., since the women

262 would otherwise become Ngi sick.

2. ekī, abǔm until the birth.

262
843 Eutropius banguelensis Blgr. (ekī,da Fang) because of its tendency to spoil rapidly; Eutropius banguelensis? (nkǎᵘde-ošōb III) because of its large belly; Distichodus hypostomatus Pellegr. (mbǔń I) because the fish "is supposed to die of its own accord"; Distichodus notospilus Gthr. (akǒᵘlo III) because of its large gills; Auchenoglanis balayi (Sauv.), var. gravoti Pellegr. (nsǐn I; small specimens, ndǎngōᵘna III), because of the large head (see Volume I, Plate 11, Drawing a); Clarias walkeri Gthr. (ngǔ' IV), smaller specimens because of their large head; Parauchenoglanis guttatus (Lönnbg.) (ebū') because of the fat belly; Alestes kingsleyae Gthr. (mbǔk I) because of "the snout."

The other fish are not taboo. /190/

F. Lower Animals

1. ekī, bonduman.

262

Larvae of the beetle Angosoma centaurus F. Pl. (akū,m); the snail Pseudachatina downesii (Gray) (nīōᵘboń I Ntum); Pseudoglessula retifera v. Mart. (tǎń IV) and another snail (ebǔp).

2. ekī, bonenga, for men ekī, abǔm.

Achatina species, especially marginata Sw. (kōī' IV) (1).

1. In case of transgression, the offenders become Ngi sick.

262 3. ekī, abǔm, until the birth.

[843] Edible caterpillars (nkǔn I) and larvae of the Rhynchophorus phoenicis Fabr. (fǒs IV) if found in the cocoon; edible termites (sūē me IV Ntum) because of the large belly.

4. Not taboo.

Edible caterpillars and larvae of Rhynchophorus when they are found in the open; dragonfly larvae (esē'ī, -bǎk), although then the child will urinate a lot, like the dragonfly larvae; common crabs and shrimp; the mussel Lanistes libycus var. bernhardianus (morelet) (alǔn).

All other lower animals are inedible.

Of plant foods only the following are taboo (with the exception [794] of those sacred to the cults, such as the Negro banana used at the Sso and Mawungu): the fruit of the atūlǔm plant, which tastes horrible, and young mushrooms. These are eki mon since it is feared that children might develop spots on their skin like those on young mushrooms.

825 If we examine the deeper reasons why certain animals are never 794 eaten or are "taboo," we find that there is a religious element involved, as well as a fear of the animals' way of life and their appearance, perhaps combined with dietary experiences.

799 Animals that are taboo for religious reasons may not as a rule 825 be eaten by women and persons who have not been initiated into 794 the particular cult, but where the cult is absent, there is no taboo. Thus, horned animals, which play a role in the cults of the Evil One with their conceptual connection between moon and horns, are taboo; among the Fang this applies to sheep and goats, and throughout the entire region to Cephalophus dorsalis (sǒ'). In the domain of the Ngi cult the gorilla (ngī) is taboo; the same applies, among the Fang, to the chimpanzee (worshipped in the cult of the Evil Ones, Bokung), the pig (an important animal in the Sso cult), and Neotragus batesi (odzūzē) which is worshipped in a manner

825 which one is not even allowed to step over since one's penis would
784 become as flaccid as the elephant's gums. The latter do indeed
[831] look rather uninviting with their bluish-red coloration and flabby consistency. It goes without saying that a woman likewise is prohibited from eating the meat since she could transmit a debilitating influence to the man during intercourse.

In the case of temporary food taboos that are enforced for the
843 duration of pregnancy and nursing, the decisive element -- as I have
825 said -- is the fear that the animals' characteristics might be trans-
784 mitted to the child. For example, there is a taboo against the
262 hawk-eagle, Lophoaetus occipitalis (abǎ'jɛ̂'k), an animal which the Pangwe themselves greatly admire for its beauty, and whose crown the boys try to imitate by sticking long feathers in their hair or behind their ears. In the case of pregnant women, however, the situation is different. They reason as follows: if the child, by acquiring the bird's characteristics with its food, were also to develop an excrescence, how unnatural and ugly that would be! For the rest, the natives fear above all large heads and fat bellies -- two characteristics which frequently strike us unpleasantly in Negro boys -- as well as long legs. In this connection, one readily perceives the accuracy of the Negroes' powers of observation and the precision with which they recognize the slightest differences among various species of a genus. Birds with an ugly screech are completely taboo, since the child might screech in just the same way, something which would be extremely disagreeable, as any father of a family would understand. Of further significance is the exclusion of trembling or wobbling animals, through which the child might even become epileptic. /193/

The most terrible danger threatening pregnant women, however, is from animals which live in any kind of hollow (holes in the ground, in trees) or are caught there. One can speak of a downright horror vacui. If such an animal were to be eaten, the child might also wish to stay in its hollow, "in the belly," and a difficult birth could be expected. Similarly, during this time the parents may not remove any bird nests built in holes in trees, and one of my employees who had made a woman pregnant resolutely refused to make a model of a cassava loaf for me, because it was supposed to be hollow inside.

843 262 784 [845] supposed to be hollow inside. I knew a Jaunde man who refused to eat anything when two pots were set next to each other on his hearth fire. He was afraid this would cause his wife to have twins (mvé, "pot," and mvŏ, "vagina").

262 In view of the many hairsplitting distinctions among the food taboos, it is hardly surprising that they are frequently violated by accident. They are also transgressed knowingly, however, if the desire for meat is greater than the fear of the evil consequences of its enjoyment. In these cases, it is again medicines (biǎ̀n ekī) which help and which are often even taken beforehand or simultaneously by way of prophylaxis. It is probably scarcely necessary [177] for me to mention that food taboos are the first to be relinquished under the influence of a foreign civilization, not all at once, but nonetheless gradually and totally. The religious taboos are clung to most tenaciously of all. Nor need I emphasize that the Pangwe, even at the age of 20, still like to count themselves among the boys if there is a delectable piece of meat to be had. Accordingly, I saw my "boys," who were from ten to 20 years old, consuming without pangs of conscience the parasite kites I had shot. /194/

Section 14

Soothsaying and Science

000

1. Soothsaying. Extent and area of practice. -- The soothsayer's tool. -- Master and pupil. -- Fee. -- Distrust of soothsayers. -- Soothsaying in times of war.
2. Meteorology. Rain, lightning, and thunder. -- Appearance and effect of lightning. -- Rain medicines at the time of drying ngon, at cult festivals, at the time of harvest, and on journeys; their evaluation. -- Rainbows: their origin, tale concerning their origin. -- Storms: their origin, counter-medicines.
3. Astronomy. General observations. -- View of the earth as a heavenly body. -- The vault of heaven:

838 Concerning homosexual intercourse among women, I was unable to discover any facts.

839 So far as I know, bestiality does not occur.

6. Pregnancy, Birth

843 The Pangwe recognize the beginning of a pregnancy by the nonappearance of menstruation; they are also familiar with the fact that a slight indisposition and headaches about a month after cohabitation may cause one to suspect pregnancy. Once pregnancy [833] is established, the man continues to have intercourse with a woman for about two more months, but then relations with her must be broken off, since it is feared that the fetus would be destroyed or at least harmed by the seed that it must "drink," It must also be emphasized that this prohibition is not always observed; indeed, [755] there is a medicine, sand in water, which a woman is supposed to drink if the man has intercourse with her shortly before the confinement. The sand is supposed to scour the seed from the body of the fetus.

[843] Usually the beginning of a pregnancy is greeted by the woman as a joyous event. There are also cases, however, when it is not 847 welcomed, for instance, when prohibited intercourse with men of 278 related kin groups has consequences, when a woman is pregnant by an "unloved man," or generally if she does not want to assume the burden of rearing the child or wants to evade the command of sexual abstinence. In such cases -- and they are by no means rare -- the fetus is aborted (a gbwē abǔm, a kū'e abǔm, "to drop the belly (fruit)"). The medicines, for the greater part poisonous substances with which we have already become acquainted as fish poisons, are: 1) Piptadenia africana Hook. f., Leguminosa (tǔm IV), bark loosened in pieces, pared and boiled, and the extract, when cooled, used as an enema; 2) Cylicodiscus gabunensis Harms, Leguminosa (edǔm), used in the same way; 3) kernel of the fruit of Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (tree = adźǎ,b, kernel = ngǒṅ-ebǒn IV), ground in water; 4) Rubiacea

842 meticulously and in due time gives her permission to have relations
833 with her husband. The first relations must take place on the day fol-
841 lowing the end of the menstrual period so that the not yet completely dried blood in the organs of the woman can mix with the sperm of the man and make a kind of paste called nsũe a mon (lizard of a child), which goes back up into the womb of the woman and there develops [78] and becomes the child. If the woman has relations with a man before the prescribed time, she will definitely become sterile.

842 Sterility, for which many causes are recognized, can be treated, except in the case noted above, in case of bad conduct, and in case of voluntary abortion in the course of a first pregnancy. In order to
847 abort, the woman finds a midwife (ngañ minanga) who sends her out
824 to look for the bark of the afamega vine and the tum tree, which she crushes and with which she makes an infusion. The woman goes to the brush and takes four irrigations of this infusion, and that is enough to induce abortion.

842 On the other hand, the woman who wishes to have children may be barren for several reasons:

843 (1) She may have aborted naturally and without desiring it. An
842 abortion is recognized as having a natural cause, that is, without malignant external intervention, in that the patient recovers three or four days after the accident and without having suffered too much. In this case the midwife gives the invalid a prohibition called awos which restrains her from going near any man other than her husband. She may not say a word to a man except through the mediation of another woman who acts as interpreter; she may not give anything to a man without this intermediary, and may not sit where a man has sat; and for this last reason she always carries a little seat with her. This prohibition must be observed for two or three months, after which the woman is again allowed to have relations with her husband. If at the end of three more months she is still not pregnant, the midwife then gives her a treatment which consists in having the patient take some soup (abura) made of pumpkin (ngon) ground on a stone and mixed with herbs (mia mi nyo, oyah) gathered and chopped by the midwife. These she cooks with salt and pimento in a pot at the bottom of which has been placed a copper ring (kon ango), covered by a large leaf during the cooking.

843
842 If three months after the treatment the woman is still not pregnant, there is nothing to be done and she has to give up having children.

(2) A woman may be barren after abortion because of her evur. This
842 is recognized in that she aborts with much suffering and then stays
789 ill afterwards for more than eight days. An appeal is made to the
824 practitioner, who renders the evur harmless by making it crazy. After having made the woman take a medicine made of white honey (abe), bark of a cola tree (abel), and bark of abal and atega trees, all mixed with chicken blood, the practitioner goes with her to the ovah where where he customarily conducts his ceremonies, and performs a kind of exorcism which was not revealed to us. Once back in the village, the woman follows the same [79] treatment as in the case of natural abortion. The secret ceremony performed by the practitioner is called avi evur akur (making the evur crazy).

(3) Finally, the abortion may have been caused by a male member
843 of the husband's family, the possessor of an evur, who is revealed by
842 the practitioner. If the woman wants to have children, the guilty one
789 must die. He is discovered in the course of a ceremony, part of which is carried out at night and at which the presence of women is forbidden; this is the dance of the bisir. An akuma singer is brought, who recites stories of the tribes of both husband and wife. Before him, covered by a large cloth, lie three or four men who are the bisir. These men have in their hands pointed pieces of bamboo. A young boy of the husband's family is brought there. He passes several times between the singer and the bisir, who prick the boy's legs with the bamboo sticks. The child then goes back into his hut while the songs continue until dawn, the men of the village dancing and clapping their hands in accompaniment to the singer.

In the morning the husband of the aborted woman goes into the forest to find two wooden forks, a limb, and some branches. He plants the two forks in the village square, places the limb on them horizontally, and conceals the forks under the branches; this structure is called nzum. The child who passed before the bisir the previous night is seated on the rail. Before all the assembled men and women of the village, the aborted woman approaches the child and says madzuna, nzum me tela esi üi, e mur awu makula mebum abure (I say, I stay under the nzum so that the man may die who caused me to abort).

842 After this second part of the ceremony, called elum nzum, the
843 child is hidden for eight days in a hut, and women are forbidden to
789 see him during this time; he is now called mvun. On the morning of the eighth day, the men lay him on a mat in the village square and cover him with mats and cloths so that the women do not see him; the inhabitants of the village are again assembled, and the men of the husband's family step over the mvun one after the other, saying: madzune, e mvun ebue ni ngi me ki me nga kule abum, me bure (I say, the mvun is lying there; if it is I who caused the abortion, may I die). When all the men have passed, the child is taken away. Some time later the guilty one becomes sick, has a swollen abdomen, and dies, there being no possibility of caring for him. After his death, the woman is treated as in the case of natural abortion.

843 Pregnancy (ndzua abum). When a woman is pregnant, she is bound by numerous obligations and prohibitions which aim to care for the child which she carries so that she can bring it into the world in good health. [80]

843 The obligations consist of taking medicines; to prevent the child
757 from having sores in the womb of its mother, she takes an infusion of the roots of various trees. This medicine is called ese bibolo (to treat infections); if it is neglected, the child is born with infected sores which never heal.

The future mother must also go every three days into the brush and give herself a washing with a preparation of bark of ebom which has fermented in water. After each enema, water is added to the vessel containing the pieces of bark, which are kept until the delivery.

That the child may be strong, the pregnant woman anoints her abdomen with an ointment prepared by the midwife with padouk powder mixed with raphia oil and bark.

843 Finally, to prevent abortion, the woman wears on her skin, like a
751 belt, a piece of okum vine, which is not removed until after the birth of the child.

843 All this does not prevent the woman from continuing her work; when she feels tired, it is because the child is sick, and the midwife treats her with one of the medicines mentioned above. If the woman's husband has not had children for a long time, the future mother then enjoys much esteem; she receives gifts, and her husband pays a great deal of attention to her.

843 Throughout her pregnancy the woman continues to live with her husband's other wives.

There are many prohibitions:

First of all, there is the prohibition on sexual intercourse after the pregnancy is certain so that the child will not be born covered with sperms and have a cold all his life.

The future mother may not eat decayed things for fear that the child will be born covered with black spots or with sores.

If the pregnant woman looks into the hollow of a tree, the child will be born with crossed eyes; she must not strike the death blow to an animal, for the child will have convulsions like those of the animal in agony. She may not step over a grave, or the child will have gaps in its skull, its bones will not knit, and it will die. She may not eat bananas or the child will have its head covered with scabs, she may not eat land turtle, or the child will always stay thin; it will also be thin if its mother has gone near a chameleon during her pregnancy. Neither may she step over the mvun or her child will be born with a swollen abdomen and die, just as it will die with a swollen abdomen after birth if its mother has eaten an animal, killed the previous day, which has a swollen belly. [81]

The pregnant woman who goes up to a door may not speak from the threshhold but must open the door and speak from inside; if she does not do so, at the time of delivery the child will come out and then go back into the womb of the mother, causing her unbearable pain.

A woman knows whether she will bring a boy or a girl into the world, if she has noticed whether the nsiie a mon has gone right or left in her womb: it will be a boy if it goes to the right, or a girl if it goes to the left.

844 Confinement (ekurele mir, literally "wrinkling the eyes"). The confinement takes place in the hut where the woman lives; it takes place nowhere else except by accident, for example, if the child comes into the world sooner than expected, during work in the fields or in the forest.

A circle of dry banana leaves is arranged on the ground in the hut. The woman giving birth is seated on it, legs spread, and held from behind by an especially strong woman. In front of her stands another woman to whom is given the name of mbyale, who waits for the child

586 made, but this practice is only very rarely followed in cases of free
851 union, ébon, even when that is followed by a regular marriage of the
848 natural parents. Illegitimate children, fruits of an ébon, bobengon, are kept in their mother's clan, where, moreover, they rank socially only after legitimate children.

547 There used to exist a kind of adoption, rare today, of a political
614 rather than family nature, which could almost be defined as naturalization. It could only be carried out by the head of an extended family
[641] on behalf of an orphan, mone nyui, of another clan (orphans within /56/ the clan being, of course, already considered children of the head of the family). The adopted child, abiaé môsô (i.e., "conceived
[833] in the daytime," sexual relations being lawful only between sundown and sunrise), came into the clan with a status analogous to that of the monengon. He remained subject to the marriage prohibitions of his clan of origin.

609 A non-Pahouin outsider permanently residing in a village, a mabe,
614 may benefit through marriage by alliance, élat, which does not thereby make him a member of the clan. He becomes a monekal (sister's son, uterine relative) and his children, though legitimate, belong to their mother's clan.

543 The descent relationship may be broken by paternal or maternal
578 curse, meyo'é: the parent uttering the curse shows the child his sexual organs, "the place whence he came," while pronouncing a formula oath. The curse is supposed to bring misfortune and death to the offspring accursed, whom everyone avoids. It can only be
[783] lifted by a collective purificatory rite (étye, tyô) in which the whole nda bôt participates.

3. Age Grades

561 The individual's life cycle is marked by a certain number of transitions, which are accompanied, or were usually accompanied, by rites that will be discussed further on (p. 115). These crises are birth, weaning, puberty, attaining majority, marriage, death. Age grades correspond to the intermediate stages; they are less strictly defined today than formerly.

561 I do not know the exact word for fetus: people say abum, belly.
643 There must be a more precise term, but I think there is a prohibiton connected with it, certainly as regards men, although it may now be

561 no more than a mere conventional taboo, as with certain words con-
[843] sidered crude in French. At birth and until weaning a baby is ntyen (nken) or nkeñelé.

[862] After weaning, which usually occurs when the child begins to walk by itself, between eighteen months and two years, the nken becomes a mongô (mone fam = boy; mone minga = girl); an uncircumcised
561 boy is called more specifically nsôsôl.

881 Circumcision takes place between eight and twelve years of age
[304] (1), before the first premonitory signs of puberty, especially the

1. In former times it was sometimes put off until the youth had killed his first enemy. See Trilles (no. 166) and Largeau (no. 48).

appearance of the first pubic hair (afañ, related to the verb fañ = to do well, correctly, on purpose, from the masculine root FA?). The circumcised boy, ntyi'an, "cut one," becomes an adolescent, ndôman, a term also meaning "son" (in relation to a man, see above, p. 63). Correspondingly, a pubescent girl becomes ngon (which can mean at the same time young girl, daughter of a man, or moon: ayene ngon, "to see the moon," that is, to be menstruating), or also élenan. /57/

The adolescent boy is still ébis, uninitiated. The missions have now adopted the term mvôn, "initiated," to denote church members. Formerly, one became mvôn after initiation, mostly in the great national so initiation, the members of which were called monewôsô (probably "child of the death /la mort/ of the sô"; compare this with the joking relationship, awusô = the dying /le mourir/ of the sô).

561 After initiation, that is, somewhere between the sixteenth and
882 twentieth year, a young man though of military age was not yet a nya môtô, a true person. This he became only upon marriage, when
[884] he attained what might be considered his legal, civil, even economic, majority.

561 A girl, ngon, who became ngal or nya ngal, a true woman, by
[885] losing her virginity, after marriage was nya minga, a /married/ lady, and ésila or ékua, a matron, when she had brought up her first children. A man with grandchildren was ntole môt, an elder, usually
[888] around forty; this was the highest possible social position. Indeed,

556 relations between the sexes, this emphasis to a great extent explains
156 why no true peasantry has developed, but rather a class of nonpeasant planters, comparable in the last analysis to some of the European settlers. The Pahouin remain very much strangers and travelers on the land, whence the importance of personal property (in the legal sense) in their eyes. Nevertheless, a further development is in the making in this connection—described above (p. 96) which is leading to a strengthening of land ownership, /so that/ certain collective reactions in the way of procedure concerning land and domain suggest that we are witnessing, at least in the Cameroons, a genuine putting down of roots.

619 Tribal pride is still considerable, to the point of hostility between different branches of the group, but ethnic cohesion is found vis-à-vis outsiders and gives real unity to the Pahouin as a solid group.

2. The Individual Life Cycle

a. Conception, Gestation, Birth

843 A woman is considered pregnant, a nyoñeya abum, she has got a belly, when she has passed through four menstrual cycles, a nji yene ngon, without seeing the moon. Conception is supposed to be the [842] result of the mixture of sperm, meyôm (with the same root as nnôm, pl. beyôm = male) and of menstrual blood, metyi me ngon, girl's blood or lunar blood; the length of pregnancy is calculated from the date when the last menstruation should have begun. Nowadays a pregnancy of nine months is considered normal, but some of my informants mentioned normal terms of eight or ten ngon (lit., moon or girl), a word that can as well refer to a calendar month as to a lunar month or a menstrual cycle. It is difficult for a man to obtain more precise information on this point since the subject is restricted to women. Besides, longer pregnancies are considered possible, [154] though sometimes suspect; amenorrhea due to a fibroid growth is a proof of sorcery, the tumor being considered an évu. The fetus (for which the term is secret, forbidden, étyi, in any case for men, and probably for women uninitiated into mevungu) is thought at the beginning of gestation to take the form of a lizard, like the first man at the moment of the creation /of the universe/.

843 As soon as pregnancy is recognized, the parents have to observe all sorts of bityi, prohibitions, the first of these being to stop having sexual intercourse, which would bring on a miscarriage or produce a monster. They must not go near a corpse nor attend funerals. The woman must abstain from certain foods /91/, the eating of which would harm the child: fish, which would cause skin diseases; bat and duck, which would mean webbed fingers and toes; snake, which would mean a child born without limbs or with atrophied limbs, etc. The woman must avoid taking long strides and stepping over holes or ditches and must stop wearing drawers if she has done so before. The husband must not nail or tie anything, which would make for a difficult delivery; he must also abstain from certain foods. During pregnancy the woman anoints the belly and breasts with palm oil mixed with baa, wears a special belt of ôkumu liana (a kind of solanaceous plant), and avoids leaving the house barefooted.

"Accidental" miscarriages are generally attributed to the breaking of a taboo (nsem) and entail ritual purification; so long as these have not been carried out, the woman is not allowed to speak to any man except her husband, at least directly, nor to look a man in the face. "Criminal" miscarriages are attributed to sorcery or, more precisely, [783] to an évu, which may belong to the woman herself; they entail more rigorous purification; the lochia are submitted to a kind of magical "disinfecting" before being buried secretly beneath a road so that 847 passers-by will walk over them without knowing. Voluntary abortion, very rare in former times, is becoming fairly common, particularly among unmarried mothers in Christian families; it is brought about by vegetable emmenagogues (one is extracted from papaya root) or by introducing into the neck /of the womb/ a roll of twisted bark (I could not find out from what tree). Sometimes women induce abortion in one of their co-wives out of jealousy.

844 The first delivery and often succeeding ones usually take place in the woman's native village (jañ). A husband is not allowed to take wife and child back home until after payment of what is really the final installment of the bride price, particularly a substantial present for the mother-in-law, which is repeated at each birth, whence the proverb, "A mother-in-law's basket is never full." The parturient is delivered in a sitting position, with her mother or ntyi (mother-in-law or co-wife of higher rank) holding her from behind, and assisted by a midwife, mbialé binga, formerly an official in

847 oyŏ', fruit chopped up, and Cognauxia, Cucurbitacea
278 (mbŭmyē'i I), roots ground, both boiled together, strained, and after cooling, used as an enema; 5) Maesopsis tessmannii Engl. Rhamnaceae (nkǎngǎ' I), bark boiled, strained, and used cold as an enema. In this last case, its inclusion among abortives was probably determined by the fact that the wood of the tree is stronger in the upper part of the trunk, while below it is weaker.

When the confinement is near, the woman usually goes to her
844 parents if her native village is not too far away and if conditions permit her to do so. /275/ Otherwise, she stays at home as do all older women who have borne three or four children.

Before the confinement the woman stays quietly in the house from two to three days, more rarely four days. Cases are not infrequent, however, when the birth pangs take the woman by surprise during her work in the fields, and she has to bring the child into the world without help, although when this happens she will try to attract the attention of passers-by or women in the vicinity by screaming and shouting, and the latter will assist her and take her and the child into the village.

It is strictly prohibited for male relatives or strange men to witness the birth (osōn, "shame"; some even said nsŏ'm, "crime"). Even the woman's own husband is present (osōn applies to him also) only when there are no female helpers, on which occasion he must take their place. This is, however, a rare and exceptional case; ordinarily there are helpful and experienced women aplenty, who flock to the woman in childbed to encourage her and to assist at the birth by clasping her body from behind and thus supporting it.

Without medicine, of course, a birth cannot take place. The
[278] sap of Cephalonema polyandrum K. Sch., Cucurbitaceae (ejǎzŭ'm), and Fleurya aestuans (L.) Gandich, Urticaceae (ngūkŭ'n IV), is allowed to trickle into the vagina. The sap is slippery, "smooth," and will thus effect a smooth birth.

The actual birth takes place without any kind of assistance if the child has what the Pangwe also regard as the normal head
845 position. In case of the feet-first position or other irregularities, the child is forcibly pulled out and is then -- so it was said -- always dead. Difficult births seem to be quite rare since my various

845 informants had never heard of such a thing. Similarly, it very rarely happens that women die immediately after delivery from the consequences (bleeding, a weak heart) -- death by puerperal
[164] fever, on the other hand, is more frequent. In cases of such a death, the Pangwe speak of a kiɛ̃'ɛ̃, which is as much as to say that a strange woman brought about the death through sorcery.

Once the child (in the case of a normal birth) has passed out
844 of the birth canal, it is received by one of the women assisting and the umbilical cord (ngŏ'b IV, not to be confused with ngōb IV, "caul, sheath") is squeezed off with a raffia splinter at a distance of from eight to ten centimeters from the little one's body. The rest of the umbilical cord drops off of its own accord after five to six days and is then casually thrown away; by then the navel (dŏb, plural mŏb) is healed. In other cases, the umbilical cord is cut off one centimeter from the belly, thereby causing an umbilical rupture (edŏdŏb = navel par excellence) which is regarded as particularly beautiful. Now the child is washed and placed on a layer of leaves on the bed next to the mother. /276/

The afterbirth (akŏ'nan) soon follows of its own accord. It is usually placed in a leaf bundle and hidden in the refuse pile or buried in a pit in the plantain grove behind the house. If this precautionary measure is not observed, the child will die or the mother will no longer be able to bear children.

Finally a medicine is made for the mother: the herb Ocimum
[278] gratissimum L. (asŏ'b) is dipped in hot water and pressed on the genitals.

During the delivery, the husband waits in the meeting house.
851 Once the child is born, he is told the news by one of the women assisting. Formerly, shots were fired as an expression of joy, but now the custom is no longer practiced, especially in the north, for lack of powder.

On the very first day, the mother gives her breast to the child.
853 If no milk flows, it is assumed that the mother has had lovers who are still in her "belly" and exercise an impeding influence. Therefore, out with them! Argument is of no avail; one after another, all the lovers must be named before those present, in
000 other words, the women, if the milk is to flow. On the second

843 Throughout her pregnancy the woman continues to live with her husband's other wives.

There are many prohibitions:

First of all, there is the prohibition on sexual intercourse after the pregnancy is certain so that the child will not be born covered with sperms and have a cold all his life.

The future mother may not eat decayed things for fear that the child will be born covered with black spots or with sores.

If the pregnant woman looks into the hollow of a tree, the child will be born with crossed eyes; she must not strike the death blow to an animal, for the child will have convulsions like those of the animal in agony. She may not step over a grave, or the child will have gaps in its skull, its bones will not knit, and it will die. She may not eat bananas or the child will have its head covered with scabs, she may not eat land turtle, or the child will always stay thin; it will also be thin if its mother has gone near a chameleon during her pregnancy. Neither may she step over the mvun or her child will be born with a swollen abdomen and die, just as it will die with a swollen abdomen after birth if its mother has eaten an animal, killed the previous day, which has a swollen belly. [81]

The pregnant woman who goes up to a door may not speak from the threshhold but must open the door and speak from inside; if she does not do so, at the time of delivery the child will come out and then go back into the womb of the mother, causing her unbearable pain.

A woman knows whether she will bring a boy or a girl into the world, if she has noticed whether the nsüe a mon has gone right or left in her womb: it will be a boy if it goes to the right, or a girl if it goes to the left.

844 Confinement (ekurele mir, literally "wrinkling the eyes"). The confinement takes place in the hut where the woman lives; it takes place nowhere else except by accident, for example, if the child comes into the world sooner than expected, during work in the fields or in the forest.

A circle of dry banana leaves is arranged on the ground in the hut. The woman giving birth is seated on it, legs spread, and held from behind by an especially strong woman. In front of her stands another woman to whom is given the name of mbyale, who waits for the child

844 and helps with its birth. It sometimes happens that the child presents only its head and that the rest has difficulty in following. One of the women present goes to ask the husband if, during the pregnancy of his wife, he has nailed anything or fastened it with vines, as it could be this that is holding the child back. In this case the husband must unnail or detach something; similarly, if he has built a hut, he must remove some bark from the wall of any hut in order to facilitate the birth of the child.

845 824 If the delivery is especially difficult, a man leads a young boy to a wild mango tree (andok), takes him by the feet, and makes him scratch the bark of the tree with a machete, while holding him with his head down. As he scratches, the boy collects pieces of bark in a plate. These pieces, taken back to the village, are used to prepare an infusion which the patient drinks. In case this remedy fails another is made: an infusion of a chopped herb (eyele nzum) is poured into the mouth of the woman in labor by a child perched on the roof of the hut; just above the woman the child has pierced a hole, into which the infusion flows through a hollow banana stalk. When neither of these two medicines has worked, there is a last one which is used in an unusual way, but which, our informants say, is always crowned with success. The invalid eats a paste made of mashed pumpkin, an herb (manden makwe), and a small snail (nson akwe), cooked with salt in leaves. It is very rare, however, that recourse must be had to any of these three medicines. During the entire period of the confinement, at which only women are allowed to be present, the husband stays outside the door of the hut.

844 Immediately after the delivery, the woman called mbyale takes the child and [82] cuts the cord (dol) about 10 centimeters from the abdomen with a piece of bamboo shaped in the form of a knife. The portion removed (ngoe mon) is buried under a banana tree, whose fruit is reserved strictly for men. Then the spot where the delivery took place is cleared of the leaves and washed; at the same time the child is bathed in cold water and laid on a fresh banana leaf. It must spend one night before taking the breast for the first time, and until then nothing is given it to drink.

The placenta (kum) is removed and wrapped in banana leaves in a package which is hidden in the brush. The young mother must not

844 see it, and if she sees it she will have no more children. The mother is then washed with very hot water in which pimento has been steeped; after this her abdomen is bound with a belt of bark (ewag) which she keeps on for several days.

846 After the birth of her child, a young mother is known by the name of nzinze, which she keeps until she has the right to resume relations with her husband. She has a special bed in the hut, on which a [844] menstruating woman may neither sit nor lie so as not to give scabies to the mother and the newborn. The young mother rests for about three months, during which she does no work and bathes every day with water as hot as she can stand, the lumbar region especially being [757] bathed. Moreover, after every bath she is smeared with red paste (ba) to prevent scabies.

Recovery from childbirth is marked by a celebration (okula mon). The first time she goes out, the woman carries a package of ba, a piece of which she places on every tree stump she meets on her way, to mark her path. On her return she prepares a large quantity of food she has brought back. The husband invites the men of his tribe, and the wife invites the women of her husband's tribe. When the food is ready, it is taken to the men in the watchers' hut, where the child is also taken. The women eat in the hut.

846 To improve the quality of her milk, the young mother drinks pro-
827 gressively, if necessary, three medicines:
757 (1) An infusion of aseh roots.

(2) A milky-looking infusion of pieces of tubers of a plant with a thorny stem (ekon bōkun).

(3) Latex from a rubber plant.

761 It may be that the child dies at birth. Three causes for this are
789 recognized:

An evur has eaten the child. To prevent this from being repeated and so that the woman will in the future bring living children into the world, she resorts to the practitioner. He goes into the forest armed [83] with a machete and a basket. He gathers the bark of an ovan, and also brush and vines that grow under this tree. On his return to the village he divides his collection into two parts. One part, mixed with water, is put in a large rectangular container of banana leaves called etok, which has been filled with the blood of a domestic animal sacrificed for the welfare of the woman. She then immerses herself

843 As soon as pregnancy is recognized, the parents have to observe all sorts of bityi, prohibitions, the first of these being to stop having sexual intercourse, which would bring on a miscarriage or produce a monster. They must not go near a corpse nor attend funerals. The woman must abstain from certain foods /91/, the eating of which would harm the child: fish, which would cause skin diseases; bat and duck, which would mean webbed fingers and toes; snake, which would mean a child born without limbs or with atrophied limbs, etc. The woman must avoid taking long strides and stepping over holes or ditches and must stop wearing drawers if she has done so before. The husband must not nail or tie anything, which would make for a difficult delivery; he must also abstain from certain foods. During pregnancy the woman anoints the belly and breasts with palm oil mixed with baa, wears a special belt of ôkumu liana (a kind of solanaceous plant), and avoids leaving the house barefooted.

"Accidental" miscarriages are generally attributed to the breaking of a taboo (nsem) and entail ritual purification; so long as these have not been carried out, the woman is not allowed to speak to any man except her husband, at least directly, nor to look a man in the face. "Criminal" miscarriages are attributed to sorcery or, more precisely, [783] to an évu, which may belong to the woman herself; they entail more rigorous purification; the lochia are submitted to a kind of magical "disinfecting" before being buried secretly beneath a road so that 847 passers-by will walk over them without knowing. Voluntary abortion, very rare in former times, is becoming fairly common, particularly among unmarried mothers in Christian families; it is brought about by vegetable emmenagogues (one is extracted from papaya root) or by introducing into the neck /of the womb/ a roll of twisted bark (I could not find out from what tree). Sometimes women induce abortion in one of their co-wives out of jealousy.

844 The first delivery and often succeeding ones usually take place in the woman's native village (jaⁿ). A husband is not allowed to take wife and child back home until after payment of what is really the final installment of the bride price, particularly a substantial present for the mother-in-law, which is repeated at each birth, whence the proverb, "A mother-in-law's basket is never full." The parturient is delivered in a sitting position, with her mother or ntyi (mother-in-law or co-wife of higher rank) holding her from behind, and assisted by a midwife, mbialé binga, formerly an official in

844 one of the women's associations. The child is delivered on a mattress of banana leaves. The umbilical cord is cut with a special knife, perhaps the same used in circumcisions (1), and it is buried under a

1. This is not certain; since the circumciser is a man, we may question whether he would use a woman's knife.

banana tree, whose fruit will be étyi to people of the opposite sex from the child. The placenta is buried by the mother herself in a secret spot, or in her place by a woman of her own blood; afterward the mother may tell her child, as a mild way of cursing, "I know where your placenta is." The baby is immediately wrapped in a loincloth and laid beside its mother, after being shown to the father if it is a boy. The following day the baby as well as the mother is rubbed with warm oil, and it is given the breast. /92/

845 Difficult deliveries are quite common, and the midwives' technique extremely uneven. Although some may know how to effect artificial delivery, even version, most of them are limited to massaging and to using magic, like placing an axe between the mother's legs. If the woman dies in childbirth, sorcery is suspected or a grave nsem like incest; in the old days the baby, even if born alive, would have been buried with its mother. A stillborn child also arouses great suspicion about the mother, who may have to go through an ordeal and be forced to confess an offense presumed to have caused the death of the fetus.

Some writers have claimed that baby girls were sacrificed at birth [847] as being of no value to the clan. This seems very unlikely unless the infanticide was the result of an accusation of sorcery, which could also apply to a boy. What is true is that a woman giving birth only to girls would be considered the victim of a spell or a breaking of taboo.

The birth of twins is propitious, for they are thought to be necessarily mie or mmimie, that is, free of évu (the same word mie means "confinement" or, more precisely, the "labor" of childbirth). Twins receive traditional names that vary according to clan.

846 The first coming out of the house /relevailles, "churching"/, ékulu mon, "baby's coming out," takes place three months after birth, if everything has gone well. The woman starts bathing in the

881 304 779 one thereby becomes incorporated in him and in the tribe. Finally, the taboo surrounding this organ of the body, to which the origin of circumcision may be traced -- either because of the social function of the organ or of the danger of its premature use, or even because of its independence of volition -- allows circumcision to be considered as a desecration that has to precede the stage of virility, in order that use may be made of it. (2)

2. Bros, Religion des peuples non-civilisees [Religion of Non-civilized Peoples], "Circoncision" [Circumcision].

881 304 779 778 [844] Some of these statements hold good for the Fan; some are less applicable. Let me use as an example one of the things that illustrates very well the close connection between circumcision as a religious rite and childbirth rituals, the fact that pieces of cloth used to staunch blood are in both cases carefully kept to be used for the same purpose. [520]

Ordinary warriors place them with their personal totem in the mfek or pineapple-fiber bag which never leaves them. These pieces of cloth, or fragments of them, are always part of totemic sacrifices. The sons of chiefs, on the contrary, are not allowed to keep them; they bury them deep at the base of the sacred fig tree planted when they were born over the remains of the umbilical cord. This custom certainly goes back to remote antiquity. Among the Egyptians, the fig tree was considered sacred and dedicated to the Egyptian Venus, Hathor. From this perhaps comes the word éthu, designating a garment made from the bast of the fig tree. The same word, éthu, has remained in the Fan language with the same meaning, "garment," and the [287 inland Fan always make vegetable-fiber cloth from the fig tree, [852] which they still dye red; this was formerly the color dedicated to Hathor, and it has remained the color of betrothal garments. For the same reason, before marriage, young men and women stain themselves red from head to foot. It is a color "set apart,"

1. Birth and Name Giving

844 Only women, the village matrons, are allowed to help a mother in childbirth. Men are absolutely excluded, even husbands. A woman who gives birth on a journey prefers to go off by herself into the forest rather than ask for her husband's help.

As soon as the child is delivered, his umbilical cord is cut and he is carefully washed. The remnants of the cord are wrapped in a cloth and buried out of the way. In the case of a chief's son, especially that of the head chief, the remains are buried, as we have seen, at the foot of a sacred fig tree. (1)

[824 778]

1. Ficus elastica.

Great importance is given to the tree's growth, and to touch it is strictly forbidden. Any violation of the tree would be considered an attack upon the human being.

[689]

851 A few days after birth, the baby is carried to his father, who may accept it or refuse it. However, the latter [571] happens only if the child is deformed or crippled, in which case it is ruthlessly sacrificed. The religious rites (1) connected

847

553

1. See Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie [Bulletin of the Neuchâtel Geographical Society], 1910, "Les rites de la naissance chez les Fân" [Birth Rites among the Fang], by Father Trilles.

with birth are numerous, but the only ones that seem to me to be totemic are name giving and the choice of the baby's totem.

The name is solely the father's choice; it is often determined by attendant circumstances, atmospheric or other, or by some local happening, a hunt, a fishing expedition, the

843 262 784 [845] supposed to be hollow inside. I knew a Jaunde man who refused to eat anything when two pots were set next to each other on his hearth fire. He was afraid this would cause his wife to have twins (mvé, "pot," and myŏ, "vagina").

262 In view of the many hairsplitting distinctions among the food taboos, it is hardly surprising that they are frequently violated by accident. They are also transgressed knowingly, however, if the desire for meat is greater than the fear of the evil consequences of its enjoyment. In these cases, it is again medicines (biǎ ń ekī) which help and which are often even taken beforehand or simultaneously by way of prophylaxis. It is probably scarcely necessary [177] for me to mention that food taboos are the first to be relinquished under the influence of a foreign civilization, not all at once, but nonetheless gradually and totally. The religious taboos are clung to most tenaciously of all. Nor need I emphasize that the Pangwe, even at the age of 20, still like to count themselves among the boys if there is a delectable piece of meat to be had. Accordingly, I saw my "boys," who were from ten to 20 years old, consuming without pangs of conscience the parasite kites I had shot. /194/

Section 14

Soothsaying and Science

000

1. Soothsaying. Extent and area of practice. -- The soothsayer's tool. -- Master and pupil. -- Fee. -- Distrust of soothsayers. -- Soothsaying in times of war.
2. Meteorology. Rain, lightning, and thunder. -- Appearance and effect of lightning. -- Rain medicines at the time of drying ngon, at cult festivals, at the time of harvest, and on journeys; their evaluation. -- Rainbows: their origin, tale concerning their origin. -- Storms: their origin, counter-medicines.
3. Astronomy. General observations. -- View of the earth as a heavenly body. -- The vault of heaven:

847 oyǒ', fruit chopped up, and Cognauxia, Cucurbitacea
278 (mbǔmyē'i I), roots ground, both boiled together, strained, and after cooling, used as an enema; 5) Maesopsis tessmannii Engl. Rhamnaceae (nkǎngǔ' I), bark boiled, strained, and used cold as an enema. In this last case, its inclusion among abortives was probably determined by the fact that the wood of the tree is stronger in the upper part of the trunk, while below it is weaker.

When the confinement is near, the woman usually goes to her
844 parents if her native village is not too far away and if conditions permit her to do so. /275/ Otherwise, she stays at home as do all older women who have borne three or four children.

Before the confinement the woman stays quietly in the house from two to three days, more rarely four days. Cases are not infrequent, however, when the birth pangs take the woman by surprise during her work in the fields, and she has to bring the child into the world without help, although when this happens she will try to attract the attention of passers-by or women in the vicinity by screaming and shouting, and the latter will assist her and take her and the child into the village.

It is strictly prohibited for male relatives or strange men to witness the birth (osǒn, "shame"; some even said nsǒ'm, "crime"). Even the woman's own husband is present (osǒn applies to him also) only when there are no female helpers, on which occasion he must take their place. This is, however, a rare and exceptional case; ordinarily there are helpful and experienced women aplenty, who flock to the woman in childbed to encourage her and to assist at the birth by clasping her body from behind and thus supporting it.

Without medicine, of course, a birth cannot take place. The
[278] sap of Cephalonema polyandrum K. Sch., Cucurbitaceae (ejǎzǔ'm), and Fleurya aestuans (L.) Gandich, Urticaceae (ngǔkǔ'n IV), is allowed to trickle into the vagina. The sap is slippery, "smooth," and will thus effect a smooth birth.

The actual birth takes place without any kind of assistance if the child has what the Pangwe also regard as the normal head position. In case of the feet-first position or other irregularities,
845 the child is forcibly pulled out and is then -- so it was said -- always dead. Difficult births seem to be quite rare since my various

845 informants had never heard of such a thing. Similarly, it very rarely happens that women die immediately after delivery from the consequences (bleeding, a weak heart) -- death by puerperal [164] fever, on the other hand, is more frequent. In cases of such a death, the Pangwe speak of a kiɛ̃'ɛ̃, which is as much as to say that a strange woman brought about the death through sorcery.

Once the child (in the case of a normal birth) has passed out 844 of the birth canal, it is received by one of the women assisting and the umbilical cord (ngǒ'b IV, not to be confused with ngǒb IV, "caul, sheath") is squeezed off with a raffia splinter at a distance of from eight to ten centimeters from the little one's body. The rest of the umbilical cord drops off of its own accord after five to six days and is then casually thrown away; by then the navel (dǒb, plural mǒb) is healed. In other cases, the umbilical cord is cut off one centimeter from the belly, thereby causing an umbilical rupture (edǒdǒb = navel par excellence) which is regarded as particularly beautiful. Now the child is washed and placed on a layer of leaves on the bed next to the mother. /276/

The afterbirth (akǒ'nan) soon follows of its own accord. It is usually placed in a leaf bundle and hidden in the refuse pile or buried in a pit in the plantain grove behind the house. If this precautionary measure is not observed, the child will die or the mother will no longer be able to bear children.

Finally a medicine is made for the mother: the herb Ocimum [278] gratissimum L. (asǒ'b) is dipped in hot water and pressed on the genitals.

During the delivery, the husband waits in the meeting house. 851 Once the child is born, he is told the news by one of the women assisting. Formerly, shots were fired as an expression of joy, but now the custom is no longer practiced, especially in the north, for lack of powder.

On the very first day, the mother gives her breast to the child. 853 If no milk flows, it is assumed that the mother has had lovers who are still in her "belly" and exercise an impeding influence. Therefore, out with them! Argument is of no avail; one after another, all the lovers must be named before those present, in 000 other words, the women, if the milk is to flow. On the second

844 and helps with its birth. It sometimes happens that the child presents only its head and that the rest has difficulty in following. One of the women present goes to ask the husband if, during the pregnancy of his wife, he has nailed anything or fastened it with vines, as it could be this that is holding the child back. In this case the husband must unnail or detach something; similarly, if he has built a hut, he must remove some bark from the wall of any hut in order to facilitate the birth of the child.

845 824 If the delivery is especially difficult, a man leads a young boy to a wild mango tree (andok), takes him by the feet, and makes him scratch the bark of the tree with a machete, while holding him with his head down. As he scratches, the boy collects pieces of bark in a plate. These pieces, taken back to the village, are used to prepare an infusion which the patient drinks. In case this remedy fails another is made: an infusion of a chopped herb (eyele nzum) is poured into the mouth of the woman in labor by a child perched on the roof of the hut; just above the woman the child has pierced a hole, into which the infusion flows through a hollow banana stalk. When neither of these two medicines has worked, there is a last one which is used in an unusual way, but which, our informants say, is always crowned with success. The invalid eats a paste made of mashed pumpkin, an herb (manden makwe), and a small snail (nson akwe), cooked with salt in leaves. It is very rare, however, that recourse must be had to any of these three medicines. During the entire period of the confinement, at which only women are allowed to be present, the husband stays outside the door of the hut.

844 Immediately after the delivery, the woman called mbyale takes the child and [82] cuts the cord (dol) about 10 centimeters from the abdomen with a piece of bamboo shaped in the form of a knife. The portion removed (ngoe mon) is buried under a banana tree, whose fruit is reserved strictly for men. Then the spot where the delivery took place is cleared of the leaves and washed; at the same time the child is bathed in cold water and laid on a fresh banana leaf. It must spend one night before taking the breast for the first time, and until then nothing is given it to drink.

The placenta (kum) is removed and wrapped in banana leaves in a package which is hidden in the brush. The young mother must not

761 in the etok and stays there for a certain length of time. While she is
789 in this bath, she eats a soup made of the rest of the bark gathered by the practitioner, together with a pumpkin, a piece of the heart, liver, and some blood of the sacrificial animal, all cooked in a pot. This remedy is intended to satisfy the evur and prevent it from eating the blood of the woman or of the child which she may carry in her womb in the future.

761 The death of the child may also arise from an akaǧa given to its mother, which predicted that one of her children would not live.

761 Finally, if there is neither evur nor akaǧa, this mishap is believed
784 to be caused by the violation of a prohibition or, more likely, by adultery committed by the woman during her pregnancy. To make
837 her denounce her accomplice, she is beaten until she has named him. This man must then pay to the husband an indemnity equal to half the dowry which he spent to get his wife, an indemnity which represents the price of the adultery and the price of the child's corpse. The woman is subjected from then on to the prohibition of awos until the the birth of her next child.

854 The child (mon). Until it talks, the child is called nkaṅele. We We have seen that after its birth it is washed in cold water and not fed until the following morning. The breast is first given it by another woman rather than by the mother, whose milk is not good at first.

At the age of eight days, the child is smeared with ba. If the cord dries up by itself without trouble, it is enough to moisten it with saliva.

845 Anomalies such as the birth of an albino or of twins are considered
[143] normal. The natives have stated that albinos are reproduced in the same family at an interval of three generations. As to twins, they are forbidden later on to take part in the ngwel. If the twins are boys,
[55] the first is called Nzugo, the second Dzima; if they are girls, they are given the names respectively of Bela and Nzua.

551 A name is not given a child until several months after birth, when one is almost certain that it will live. A child receives several names. The father chooses the first name from among his ancestors. For example, a boy will be called Osene from the name of a paternal ancestor, to this name of Osene has been added the name of his father Ekomi, and so the child is called Osene Ekomi; but he also has a sort of first name chosen by the parents, which in the present case is [84] Andzang. The complete name thus is Andzang Osene Ekomi. The mother's

844 one of the women's associations. The child is delivered on a mattress of banana leaves. The umbilical cord is cut with a special knife, perhaps the same used in circumcisions (1), and it is buried under a

1. This is not certain; since the circumciser is a man, we may question whether he would use a woman's knife.

banana tree, whose fruit will be étyi to people of the opposite sex from the child. The placenta is buried by the mother herself in a secret spot, or in her place by a woman of her own blood; afterward the mother may tell her child, as a mild way of cursing, "I know where your placenta is." The baby is immediately wrapped in a loincloth and laid beside its mother, after being shown to the father if it is a boy. The following day the baby as well as the mother is rubbed with warm oil, and it is given the breast. /92/

845 Difficult deliveries are quite common, and the midwives' technique extremely uneven. Although some may know how to effect artificial delivery, even version, most of them are limited to massaging and to using magic, like placing an axe between the mother's legs. If the woman dies in childbirth, sorcery is suspected or a grave nsem like incest; in the old days the baby, even if born alive, would have been buried with its mother. A stillborn child also arouses great suspicion about the mother, who may have to go through an ordeal and be forced to confess an offense presumed to have caused the death of the fetus.

Some writers have claimed that baby girls were sacrificed at birth [847] as being of no value to the clan. This seems very unlikely unless the infanticide was the result of an accusation of sorcery, which could also apply to a boy. What is true is that a woman giving birth only to girls would be considered the victim of a spell or a breaking of taboo.

The birth of twins is propitious, for they are thought to be necessarily mie or mmimie, that is, free of évu (the same word mie means "confinement" or, more precisely, the "labor" of childbirth). Twins receive traditional names that vary according to clan.

846 The first coming out of the house /relevailles, "churching"/, ékulu mon, "baby's coming out," takes place three months after birth, if everything has gone well. The woman starts bathing in the

553 arrival of a stranger. Hence, a certain number of names that at first would seem totemic, because they copy the names of animals and plants, are not so at all. In general, the eldest son's name is that of one of his forebears, a grandfather or ancestor, who is thought to come to life again in him. Twins, [845] however, always receive special names of matched things, which go in twos, like Sun and Moon, Wind and Rain, Storm and Thunder, etc.

851 As soon as the child has been given a name, his father
719 takes it in his arms and carries it into his hut, where he opens the évora biéri and puts the baby down on the lid. He then takes the ancestral skulls one by one and puts them on the child's head, then places the family totem in its hand. The father with his fingernail often scrapes a bit off of the antelope horn holding the remnants of his personal totemic sacrifice, and puts some of this into the child's mouth. This, strictly speaking, is the dedication to the totem. The father then takes the baby back to its mother so that she may anoint it with oil and rub it with red wood. After the mother, or any other woman present, has attended to this, the father again takes the child and puts another bit of the totem into its mouth. A she-goat, a sheep, or at least a fowl is then offered to the family totem and to the spirits of the departed, according to sacred ritual. The remains [718] of this sacrifice, the ashes, etc., are enclosed in a small antelope horn, which is hung around the baby's neck or above his genital organs: this will be his amulet. Finally, the father gives the baby his personal totem, which will be recalled to him later on when he is old enough to understand. At that same time he will be taught what are the family, clan, and tribal totems, and the duties and obligations they impose on him. This instruction is part of the mébara. [572]

2. Adoption

597 In certain cases, a few children are adopted by a head of
727 the family when given as ransom for murder or spared in the

On the Second

846 day after the delivery the mother may go outside to relieve herself, but otherwise she stays in the house for eight or ten days. Then she rubs herself and the child daily with red wood, for a month if she is in the village of her parents or for two months if she is in her husband's house. Only after this period has elapsed does she again take up her customary work.

The woman has to observe a special diet before and after
834 the confinement only with respect to the food taboos discussed
846 previously. On the other hand, she must abstain from sexual intercourse until the child can walk (two years), for if she does not, the worst, even death, is to be feared for the little one. Of course, especially towards the end of this period, a great many infringements of this taboo occur; in such a case one speaks of a tsǎbe bǒ́ngo (literally: to cast the children away, to thrust them away from oneself).

The child is nursed for a like period since the milk is sup-
853 posed to diminish and dry up only after resumption of regular sexual
862 intercourse. However, the flow of milk resumes in case of renewed pregnancy, so in that case the child can again be nursed. Even later, often until the seventh year, the sturdy urchin now and then still enjoys the sweet draught. If the mother is tired of giving the breast, she simply rubs her nipples with pepper (Capsicum).

/277/ Section 19

Childhood and Games

000 1. Names and name-giving. Time at which the name is given, announcement of the name. -- Names given by the mother. -- Variation of names among the subtribes. -- Classification of names. -- Names with explanation: A. Boys' names and their classification; B. Girls' names -- Nicknames, jocular verse with nicknames. -- Full name (father's name, kin group, name of the mother's kin group), example. -- Series of

844 see it, and if she sees it she will have no more children. The mother is then washed with very hot water in which pimento has been steeped; after this her abdomen is bound with a belt of bark (ewag) which she keeps on for several days.

846 After the birth of her child, a young mother is known by the name of nzinze, which she keeps until she has the right to resume relations with her husband. She has a special bed in the hut, on which a [844] menstruating woman may neither sit nor lie so as not to give scabies to the mother and the newborn. The young mother rests for about three months, during which she does no work and bathes every day with water as hot as she can stand, the lumbar region especially being [757] bathed. Moreover, after every bath she is smeared with red paste (ba) to prevent scabies.

Recovery from childbirth is marked by a celebration (okula mon). The first time she goes out, the woman carries a package of ba, a piece of which she places on every tree stump she meets on her way, to mark her path. On her return she prepares a large quantity of food she has brought back. The husband invites the men of his tribe, and the wife invites the women of her husband's tribe. When the food is ready, it is taken to the men in the watchers' hut, where the child is also taken. The women eat in the hut.

846 To improve the quality of her milk, the young mother drinks pro-
827 gressively, if necessary, three medicines:
757 (1) An infusion of aseh roots.

(2) A milky-looking infusion of pieces of tubers of a plant with a thorny stem (ekon bökun).

(3) Latex from a rubber plant.

761 It may be that the child dies at birth. Three causes for this are
789 recognized:

An evur has eaten the child. To prevent this from being repeated and so that the woman will in the future bring living children into the world, she resorts to the practitioner. He goes into the forest armed [83] with a machete and a basket. He gathers the bark of an ovan, and also brush and vines that grow under this tree. On his return to the village he divides his collection into two parts. One part, mixed with water, is put in a large rectangular container of banana leaves called etok, which has been filled with the blood of a domestic animal sacrificed for the welfare of the woman. She then immerses herself

844 one of the women's associations. The child is delivered on a mattress of banana leaves. The umbilical cord is cut with a special knife, perhaps the same used in circumcisions (1), and it is buried under a

1. This is not certain; since the circumciser is a man, we may question whether he would use a woman's knife.

banana tree, whose fruit will be étyi to people of the opposite sex from the child. The placenta is buried by the mother herself in a secret spot, or in her place by a woman of her own blood; afterward the mother may tell her child, as a mild way of cursing, "I know where your placenta is." The baby is immediately wrapped in a loincloth and laid beside its mother, after being shown to the father if it is a boy. The following day the baby as well as the mother is rubbed with warm oil, and it is given the breast. /92/

845 Difficult deliveries are quite common, and the midwives' technique extremely uneven. Although some may know how to effect artificial delivery, even version, most of them are limited to massaging and to using magic, like placing an axe between the mother's legs. If the woman dies in childbirth, sorcery is suspected or a grave nsem like incest; in the old days the baby, even if born alive, would have been buried with its mother. A stillborn child also arouses great suspicion about the mother, who may have to go through an ordeal and be forced to confess an offense presumed to have caused the death of the fetus.

Some writers have claimed that baby girls were sacrificed at birth [847] as being of no value to the clan. This seems very unlikely unless the infanticide was the result of an accusation of sorcery, which could also apply to a boy. What is true is that a woman giving birth only to girls would be considered the victim of a spell or a breaking of taboo.

The birth of twins is propitious, for they are thought to be necessarily mie or mmimie, that is, free of évu (the same word mie means "confinement" or, more precisely, the "labor" of childbirth). Twins receive traditional names that vary according to clan.

846 The first coming out of the house /relevailles, "churching"/, ékulu mon, "baby's coming out," takes place three months after birth, if everything has gone well. The woman starts bathing in the

946 river again (until now she has washed in her hut), puts on new clothes presented by her husband, and starts cooking for him again and work-
[763] ing in her garden. Special purification has been carried out if the
[833] baby has died in the interval. The prohibition against sexual relations
853 lasts as long as the child is at the breast; to break this taboo would make it nyu meyôm, drink sperm, which might lead to its death.

Postpartum care is given by the mbialé binga, then by the woman's mother or aunt or ntyi. This consists of vaginal douches and external and internal napkins of vegetable compresses.

853 The baby may be suckled only by its mother or a woman of the mother's blood, a grandmother or maternal aunt. If this is impossible, the baby cannot live (at least in rural districts where concentrated
[278] milk is unknown). Traditional pharmacopoeia possesses, however, extraordinary vegetable lactic stimulants, probably without equivalent in the European pharmacopoeia.

b. Childhood

563 The old custom was not to name (yôlé) the baby until it was taken out of the house; until then it was usually called by the name of a small animal, like "squirrel" or "palm rat." Nowadays the name is
[641] given within a few days of birth, if for no other reason than to comply with citizenship regulations. /93/

551 A name, jôé or jui (also meaning nose, order, command, authority) includes the éyôlé, the individual's own name, and the atinan, complementary name chosen from the biyôlé of ancestors according to clan or family traditions, which are on the decline. Formerly, a cognomen was added to these, a mebatan (1) or jôé mebatan (lit.

1. Trilles translates this word as "genealogy": lañ mebatan means both "to recite the genealogy" and "to recite the salutation," simply because this was in fact the formal way of introducing oneself; a newcomer's genealogy determined how his hosts would "greet" him. True genealogy, pedigree, is éndan, related to ndan, tattoo mark, emblem.

salutation name), sometimes conferred at initiation. This mebatan

838 Concerning homosexual intercourse among women, I was unable to discover any facts.

839 So far as I know, bestiality does not occur.

6. Pregnancy, Birth

843 The Pangwe recognize the beginning of a pregnancy by the nonappearance of menstruation; they are also familiar with the fact that a slight indisposition and headaches about a month after cohabitation may cause one to suspect pregnancy. Once pregnancy [833] is established, the man continues to have intercourse with a woman for about two more months, but then relations with her must be broken off, since it is feared that the fetus would be destroyed or at least harmed by the seed that it must "drink," It must also be emphasized that this prohibition is not always observed; indeed, [755] there is a medicine, sand in water, which a woman is supposed to drink if the man has intercourse with her shortly before the confinement. The sand is supposed to scour the seed from the body of the fetus.

[843] Usually the beginning of a pregnancy is greeted by the woman as a joyous event. There are also cases, however, when it is not ● 847 welcomed, for instance, when prohibited intercourse with men of 278 related kin groups has consequences, when a woman is pregnant by an "unloved man," or generally if she does not want to assume the burden of rearing the child or wants to evade the command of sexual abstinence. In such cases -- and they are by no means rare -- the fetus is aborted (a gbwē abǔm, a kū'e abǔm, "to drop the belly (fruit)"). The medicines, for the greater part poisonous substances with which we have already become acquainted as fish poisons, are: 1) Piptadenia africana Hook. f., Leguminosa (tǔm IV), bark loosened in pieces, pared and boiled, and the extract, when cooled, used as an enema; 2) Cylicodiscus gabunensis Harms, Leguminosa (edǔm), used in the same way; 3) kernel of the fruit of Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl. (tree = adźǎ,b, kernel = ngǒṅ-ebǒn IV), ground in water; 4) Rubiacea

847 oyŏ', fruit chopped up, and Cognauxia, Cucurbitacea
278 (mbŭmyē'i I), roots ground, both boiled together, strained, and after cooling, used as an enema; 5) Maesopsis tessmannii Engl. Rhamnaceae (nkǎngǎ' I), bark boiled, strained, and used cold as an enema. In this last case, its inclusion among abortives was probably determined by the fact that the wood of the tree is stronger in the upper part of the trunk, while below it is weaker.

When the confinement is near, the woman usually goes to her
844 parents if her native village is not too far away and if conditions permit her to do so. /275/ Otherwise, she stays at home as do all older women who have borne three or four children.

Before the confinement the woman stays quietly in the house from two to three days, more rarely four days. Cases are not infrequent, however, when the birth pangs take the woman by surprise during her work in the fields, and she has to bring the child into the world without help, although when this happens she will try to attract the attention of passers-by or women in the vicinity by screaming and shouting, and the latter will assist her and take her and the child into the village.

It is strictly prohibited for male relatives or strange men to witness the birth (osōn, "shame"; some even said nsŏ'm, "crime"). Even the woman's own husband is present (osōn applies to him also) only when there are no female helpers, on which occasion he must take their place. This is, however, a rare and exceptional case; ordinarily there are helpful and experienced women aplenty, who *flock to the woman in childbed to* encourage her and to assist at the birth by clasping her body from behind and thus supporting it.

Without medicine, of course, a birth cannot take place. The
[278] sap of Cephalonema polyandrum K. Sch., Cucurbitaceae (ejǎzŭ'm), and Fleurya aestuans (L.) Gandich, Urticaceae (ngūkŭ'n IV), is allowed to trickle into the vagina. The sap is slippery, "smooth," and will thus effect a smooth birth.

The actual birth takes place without any kind of assistance if the child has what the Pangwe also regard as the normal head
845 position. In case of the feet-first position or other irregularities, the child is forcibly pulled out and is then -- so it was said -- always dead. Difficult births seem to be quite rare since my various

842 meticulously and in due time gives her permission to have relations
833 with her husband. The first relations must take place on the day fol-
841 lowing the end of the menstrual period so that the not yet completely dried blood in the organs of the woman can mix with the sperm of the man and make a kind of paste called nsũe a mon (lizard of a child), which goes back up into the womb of the woman and there develops [78] and becomes the child. If the woman has relations with a man before the prescribed time, she will definitely become sterile.

842 Sterility, for which many causes are recognized, can be treated, except in the case noted above, in case of bad conduct, and in case of voluntary abortion in the course of a first pregnancy. In order to
847 abort, the woman finds a midwife (ngañ minanga) who sends her out
824 to look for the bark of the afamega vine and the tum tree, which she crushes and with which she makes an infusion. The woman goes to the brush and takes four irrigations of this infusion, and that is enough to induce abortion.

842 On the other hand, the woman who wishes to have children may be barren for several reasons:

(1) She may have aborted naturally and without desiring it. An
843 abortion is recognized as having a natural cause, that is, without
842 malignant external intervention, in that the patient recovers three or four days after the accident and without having suffered too much. In this case the midwife gives the invalid a prohibition called awos which restrains her from going near any man other than her husband. She may not say a word to a man except through the mediation of another woman who acts as interpreter; she may not give anything to a man without this intermediary, and may not sit where a man has sat; and for this last reason she always carries a little seat with her. This prohibition must be observed for two or three months, after which the woman is again allowed to have relations with her husband. If at the end of three more months she is still not pregnant, the midwife then gives her a treatment which consists in having the patient take some soup (abura) made of pumpkin (ngon) ground on a stone and mixed with herbs (mia mi nyo, oyah) gathered and chopped by the midwife. These she cooks with salt and pimento in a pot at the bottom of which has been placed a copper ring (kon ango), covered by a large leaf during the cooking.

794 one – tends to re-establish this elementary order, it is a rein-
769 statement, a pledge of fertility and power. Apparently the Ngil
resembles a great many other "associations" that have existed in
[171] Gabon, especially the Mwiri of the Ngounié people. (2) It con-

2. Cf. A. Maclatchy, "Organisation sociale des populations de la region de Mimongo [Social Organization of the Peoples of the Mimongo Region]," Bulletin de l'Institut d'Etudes Centrafricaines, I, I, 1945.

stitutes primarily an instrument of struggle against the sorcerers (böyêm), to the extent that they attempt to interfere with the normal order. But it is much more than that: it is the indication of a power superior to that based on kinship, a grouping with a great capacity for control (doubtless the most powerful).

794 The Fang have known other associations of men with spe-
cialized functions – or rather those that create "specialists,"
[535] such as the akûm, who directs the ceremonies linked with the
male dance called makuma. The akûm, who appears also as a
sort of chronicler-singer, intervening especially at the time of
[847] funerals and affairs concerning fertility (search for the "sorcerer"
responsible for an abortion that might result in permanent sterility,(3)

3. Cf. E. Trezenem, op. cit., p. 79.

ceremonial intended to lift the incest which creates sterile marriages). The akûm in daily life is distinguished from the non-initiates by being subject to a number of special interdicts. He is a "respected, or rather a feared, person," for to him is attributed "great power." "In order to reach this situation he must have been
[535 taught by another akûm; he must have learned the interminable
674] songs that last a whole night long, and then with his own hand kill one of his close relatives...." (4) This brief description is

4. Father L. Martrou, "Les Éki

843 As soon as pregnancy is recognized, the parents have to observe all sorts of bityi, prohibitions, the first of these being to stop having sexual intercourse, which would bring on a miscarriage or produce a monster. They must not go near a corpse nor attend funerals. The woman must abstain from certain foods /91/, the eating of which would harm the child: fish, which would cause skin diseases; bat and duck, which would mean webbed fingers and toes; snake, which would mean a child born without limbs or with atrophied limbs, etc. The woman must avoid taking long strides and stepping over holes or ditches and must stop wearing drawers if she has done so before. The husband must not nail or tie anything, which would make for a difficult delivery; he must also abstain from certain foods. During pregnancy the woman anoints the belly and breasts with palm oil mixed with baa, wears a special belt of ǒkumu liana (a kind of solanaceous plant), and avoids leaving the house barefooted.

"Accidental" miscarriages are generally attributed to the breaking of a taboo (nsem) and entail ritual purification; so long as these have not been carried out, the woman is not allowed to speak to any man except her husband, at least directly, nor to look a man in the face. "Criminal" miscarriages are attributed to sorcery or, more precisely, [783] to an évu, which may belong to the woman herself; they entail more rigorous purification; the lochia are submitted to a kind of magical "disinfecting" before being buried secretly beneath a road so that 847 passers-by will walk over them without knowing. Voluntary abortion, very rare in former times, is becoming fairly common, particularly among unmarried mothers in Christian families; it is brought about by vegetable emmenagogues (one is extracted from papaya root) or by introducing into the neck /of the womb/ a roll of twisted bark (I could not find out from what tree). Sometimes women induce abortion in one of their co-wives out of jealousy.

844 The first delivery and often succeeding ones usually take place in the woman's native village (jǎn). A husband is not allowed to take wife and child back home until after payment of what is really the final installment of the bride price, particularly a substantial present for the mother-in-law, which is repeated at each birth, whence the proverb, "A mother-in-law's basket is never full." The parturient is delivered in a sitting position, with her mother or ntyi (mother-in-law or co-wife of higher rank) holding her from behind, and assisted by a midwife, mbialé binga, formerly an official in

844 one of the women's associations. The child is delivered on a mattress of banana leaves. The umbilical cord is cut with a special knife, perhaps the same used in circumcisions (1), and it is buried under a

1. This is not certain; since the circumciser is a man, we may question whether he would use a woman's knife.

banana tree, whose fruit will be étyi to people of the opposite sex from the child. The placenta is buried by the mother herself in a secret spot, or in her place by a woman of her own blood; afterward the mother may tell her child, as a mild way of cursing, "I know where your placenta is." The baby is immediately wrapped in a loincloth and laid beside its mother, after being shown to the father if it is a boy. The following day the baby as well as the mother is rubbed with warm oil, and it is given the breast. /92/

845 Difficult deliveries are quite common, and the midwives' technique extremely uneven. Although some may know how to effect artificial delivery, even version, most of them are limited to managing and to using magic, like placing an axe between the mother's legs. If the woman dies in childbirth, sorcery is suspected or a grave nsem like incest; in the old days the baby, even if born alive, would have been buried with its mother. A stillborn child also arouses great suspicion about the mother, who may have to go through an ordeal and be forced to confess an offense presumed to have caused the death of the fetus.

Some writers have claimed that baby girls were sacrificed at birth [847] as being of no value to the clan. This seems very unlikely unless the infanticide was the result of an accusation of sorcery, which could also apply to a boy. What is true is that a woman giving birth only to girls would be considered the victim of a spell or a breaking of taboo.

The birth of twins is propitious, for they are thought to be necessarily mie or mmimie, that is, free of évu (the same word mie means "confinement" or, more precisely, the "labor" of childbirth). Twins receive traditional names that vary according to clan.

846 The first coming out of the house /relevailles, "churching"/, ékulu mon, "baby's coming out," takes place three months after birth, if everything has gone well. The woman starts bathing in the

1. Birth and Name Giving

844 Only women, the village matrons, are allowed to help a mother in childbirth. Men are absolutely excluded, even husbands. A woman who gives birth on a journey prefers to go off by herself into the forest rather than ask for her husband's help.

As soon as the child is delivered, his umbilical cord is cut and he is carefully washed. The remnants of the cord are wrapped in a cloth and buried out of the way. In the case of a chief's son, especially that of the head chief, the remains are buried, as we have seen, at the foot of a sacred fig tree. (1)

[824 778]

1. Ficus elastica.

Great importance is given to the tree's growth, and to touch it is strictly forbidden. Any violation of the tree would be considered an attack upon the human being.

[609]

851 A few days after birth, the baby is carried to his father, who may accept it or refuse it. However, the latter [571] happens only if the child is deformed or crippled, in which case it is ruthlessly sacrificed. The religious rites (1) connected

847

553

1. See Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie [Bulletin of the Neuchâtel Geographical Society], 1910, "Les rites de la naissance chez les Fân" [Birth Rites among the Fang], by Father Trilles.

with birth are numerous, but the only ones that seem to me to be totemic are name giving and the choice of the baby's totem.

The name is solely the father's choice; it is often determined by attendant circumstances, atmospheric or other, or by some local happening, a hunt, a fishing expedition, the

514
[757]
539

the feces or anus) as a deterrent medicine for thefts from the field and the significant tale of the turtle and the woman. A turtle wants to force a girl against her will to become his wife, and after all kinds of vain attempts finally succeeds only by smearing the girl's bed and clothes one night with his own feces. Having done so, he lies down to sleep, and the next morning when the girl sees the mess, he threatens to tell in the village and all the world that she had befouled her bed. The turtle thus put the girl completely in his power and forced her to agree to the marriage.

539 the girl going into her mother's house, quickly stole after her
836 through the plantain grove, and listened behind the house to
514 what the girl might say; not by a single word did she mention the incident. He then went back with a joyful heart, and said to himself: "This girl truly loves me." After two days he returned, asked for her hand in marriage, and took her back to his village as his wife.

This tale gave rise to the popular saying: ng(e) oa dźǐn ma, obébē', ng(e) oa bǔne ma: obébē'.

The great number of love medicines (bian andu'man), which
832 very graphically symbolize the fusion and embracing of the sexes (in a spiritual as well as a physical sense), has already been discussed in Volume II, page 30 .

848 Illegitimate children are quite rare. The child's father --
836 even when he is known -- has no claim upon the child, just as the girl has no claim upon the father. The child belongs to the girl's father and is regarded as a not altogether unwelcome addition, since when the girl marries, it considerably raises her purchase price. As long as the mother remains unmarried, her child stays in the house of her parents. When she marries, the child becomes /259/ a part of the marriage bargain, as it were, and is considered

836 848 entirely as the husband's own. If the mother runs away with a man -- which sometimes happens -- without taking the child along, it is fed by the grandmother whose name it also usually bears if it is a girl. It is by no means a disgrace for the girl if her sexual relations with young men have consequences.

3. Marriage

835 184 We have already seen that sexual intercourse within blood relationship is taboo (ekĩ). Such relationship includes:

1. one's own familial group;
2. the mother's familial group;
3. the familial group of the father's mother.

Formerly this taboo was observed by all Pangwe with uniform strictness, but today it is frequently circumvented. The Jaunde do not always observe it, and the Fang -- of all people, the Fang with their constantly emphasized oson -- have dropped it for the own familial group, but retain it for the other familial groups. To the Ntum and all the other Pangwe this shocking occurrence has been a great irritant, and they never let an opportunity pass of making fun of the immorality of the Fang who "cohabit with their own sisters" or of speaking indignantly about it, without failing at the same time to stress their own great respect for morality and decency. This is done despite the fact that the Ntum themselves have at least in part been corrupted by the bad example of the Fang, and in other respects, too, transgressions against the taboo are not infrequent. The custom of having sexual relations with women of one's own kin group (sisters in the Pangwe sense) is called zǎmadulu III or simply zǎma III, the verb being a dulu zǎma. As can be seen by the prefix class, the name has been derived entirely unchanged from the name for God (zǎma) and signifies "to act like Sama," because, as can be seen from the creation story (Vol. II, p. 16 ff. /Ed., not translated/), Sama (Nsambe) had sexual intercourse with his own sister.

835 684 Where zǎmadulu is still taboo, a payment must be made to the girl's father in case of a violation. The payment varies depending upon the gravity of the offense: a number of goats

583 between 500 and 600 marks in the south. Devaluation of the money, which has also taken place in Africa, has considerably raised the price in comparison to what it was formerly.

The purchase price cannot be paid in money (spear money) 583 alone, in cattle alone, or in any specific type of goods alone; 496 instead, all the objects of exchange which are in circulation 435 must be represented. Thus, in 1906, for instance, the following things were paid for a woman in the Fang region:

6,000 spears	420. -- marks
12 rifles	120. -- marks
2 vats of powder . . .	4. -- marks
70 choppers	70. -- marks
2 sheep	50. -- marks
2 iron pots	8. -- marks
10 pieces of cloth . . .	40. -- marks
5 hats	10. -- marks
13 kettles of salt @ 2. -- marks	26. -- marks
2 knives	2. -- marks
2 packages of beads . .	2. -- marks
2 tobacco pipes . . .	--. 50 mark
2 packages of flints . .	--. 50 mark
1 hatful of buttons . .	--. 50 mark
	753. 50 marks /261/

Any existing illegitimate children go along with the marriage [848] bargain. In fact, the bridegroom has to pay 500 spears for a boy and 1,000 spears for a girl; incidentally, he is only too glad to do so, because each child means an addition to his wealth.

I shall not go into a discussion of the endless number of quar- 578 rels that arise on the occasion of a marriage, especially when 583 the entire purchase price is not paid at once. Nor shall I speak of the fact that the girl's father likes to steer his daughter, even if she is in love with another, into the hands of the man who can pay the most or the most readily. All this would lead too far afield.

606 If the girl stays in her parents house and if the payment of 583 the purchase price extends over weeks and months, the suitor has 584

34/ circumcision was public, and the woman to whom it was done under-
68/ went the gibes and insults of all the inhabitants.

The life of the young people is the same as that of the adults. The
883 virginity of a woman is considered unimportant and the Fan have
836 sexual relations from the time they are capable of cohabitation. When
818 a young girl has a child, it belongs to her parents, from whom the child acquires wealth; there is no search for the father and the young girl keeps all the respect which she enjoyed. Young girls are free to give themselves to whomever they please. This very broad morality,
[582] however, has one important qualification in that there are, so to speak, no young girls, the little girls having been married off by their parents very early, sometimes even before their birth.

582 Marriage (alug). Men rarely marry before the age of twenty years, and usually later, because they do not have the means to pay the dowry for taking a wife.

582 Exogamy is always practiced because marriage between people of
835 the same tribe is sterile. Marriage between cousins is forbidden up to the third generation and in general, marriage is forbidden between persons linked by any kind of kinship; in this case there is also pro-
[684] hibition of sexual relations. No penalty is prescribed for infraction, but the guilty ones will fall ill and their children, if they have any, will not live.

582 Occasionally there are instances when marriage between relatives
783 is authorized, but only after the practitioner has removed the pro-
835 hibition by the process [88] called abvule minsem. The practitioner goes to find some termite earth (nguege), a plant (mekaga), and a vine (nyola dzik); the plant and vine are folded and placed in an etok
[845] (a container of banana leaves) full of water. The termite earth is placed on a nzum (see the description in the section on conception) and the etok is placed underneath. The two kinsmen who want to marry also stand underneath it, while the practitioner climbs onto the nzum, dips the leaves in the etok, and says, "meme ose mi waga bo e wo ma va yiil" (I remove every prohibition that you have made). He hits the termite earth with the leaves and then takes the etok and pours the contents onto the heads of the two people from whom he is removing the prohibition. With the remainder, the man and woman each takes a washing.

583 A man who has not enough dowry but who finds a young girl eager to marry him may take her away in the night; when the parents come

Gabon have given priority to recreating, the regrouping of villages being supposed, in their view, to take place as a function of the regrouping of the meyoñ.

The ayoñ includes all the patrilineal descendants of a common ancestor, the illegitimate children of girls belonging to the ayoñ, and adopted ones. The ayoñ has a name, a tattoo mark (ndan), often certain prohibitions (bityi, biki), and perhaps a totem. The most strict exogamy is the rule. All members call themselves brothers (bobenyañ).

Although there was, properly speaking, no real political division corresponding to the ayoñ, nor any organized chiefship—explicable particularly in view of the very scattered settlement pattern of the members—clan sentiment was, and still is, very strong. Periodical meetings, bisulan, bring ayoñ members together, presided over by the eldest (ntôl) of the senior lineage (mvôk, ayôm) (3). The custom

3. Ayôm probably has the same root as nnôm, pl. beyôm = male; it should be remarked that the ayôm is often designated by the name of a female ancestor.

of these bisulan has recently been revived /46/; first in the Cameroons, where the native authority was reorganized in 1945-48 along clan lines, then in Gabon, where the meyoñ are in an advanced state of disintegration, above all in the south.

An ayoñ, whose villages separated one from the other by villages of other clans sometimes extend over several hundred kilometers, is divided into segments (mvôk) that include the descendants of the brothers, or rather the sons, of the clan ancestor, then /is divided/ into lineages (bisa, meyôm) derived from the descendants of the sons of the ancestor of the segment. The longer the genealogy (mvam, nlañ bimvam; meba'a), the more vague these categorical differences become: in one place mvôk is used for what is called ésa nearby and ayôm further away. But, except in southern Gabon, the genealogies are still well preserved, and the majority of adults can trace their relationship, if not to the clan ancestor himself, at least to his lineage. The teaching of these genealogies, which was the core of the traditional training of boys, is dying out with the spread of schooling, but children still know at least the genealogy of their village-family (jal, dzal; nda bôt).

601 602 ndômenyañ (3rd person) = mother's brother, designating the maternal uncle and all his bobenyañ (clan or consanguineal brothers); this is a respect relationship;

motate, a contraction of mone tate = son of my father, designating half brothers on the father's side, with an idea of respect;

monekal = sister's son, designating nephews and uterine cousins with whom marriage is forbidden, although they belong to a different ayoñ; this is a joking relationship; the same term is applied to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law;

monengon = daughter's son, designating uterine relatives within the clan and particularly sisters' illegitimate children, who are members of the clan but with a certain capitis diminutio, loss of status;

and so forth, relationship always being reckoned by clan, generation, and sex. This is borne out by the way ethnic constructions are formed: a Boulou, a /51/ Yenjôk, are mone bulu, mone yenjôk, a "child of Boulou," a "child of Yenjôk"; a Boulou woman is ngone bulu, a "daughter of Boulou"; two bo'be yenjôk would therefore be brothers, bobenyañ. What is curious is that this term, the most frequently employed for full brother or half brother on the father's side, clearly refers to a uterine relationship, since it means, literally, "mother's son."

Kinship in relation to order of generations (ndaé = grandchild; éndil = great-grandchild) entered into the choice of a name (éyôié), /a practice that is/ not well understood at present. Even at the present, similarity of biyôié creates a sort of quasi relationship between the homonyms mimbôm (sing. mbôm) or bemôé (sing. môé), with the obligation of reciprocal help.

Parents-in-law are betyi (possibly related to étyi = prohibition?); we shall mention this again in connection with marriage, but it may be pointed out here that the term is applied equally to the first wife considered with respect to her co-wives.

e. Marriage, Descent

582 The primary rule of marriage remains the prohibition against incest, the clan exogamy already mentioned. To take a wife from one's own or one's mother's clan is forbidden, also to marry the daughters of lineage sisters to quite a distant degree, even though

586 sterility. In theory, if the facts are self-evident, the repudiating husband ought to obtain ipso facto the return of the nsuba, reduced, however, in proportion to the number of children the repudiated woman has borne him. In practice, the nya ndômô usually makes difficulties and postpones repayment until the woman's remarriage and his collecting the new bride price (1).

> 1. But nowadays it is common to see the second husband pay the nsuba directly to the first husband, giving the nya ndômô only the eventual increment.

The woman can also take the initiative in divorce: a ke jañ dé; she goes back to her father, blaming the excessive stinginess of the husband who "takes bad care of her," a ba' ale nye abe, his impotence, brutal treatment, or sorcery, or even a grievous insult to her or to her parents. Repayment of the nsuba is obligatory in this case too, except when the husband has committed a very serious offense, usually sorcery or mutilation of the woman.

Finally, divorce may be the action of the woman's nya ndômô: a vaa minga aluk, he withdraws the woman from the marriage, either because he considers her badly treated or because he thinks he has been insulted by his son-in-law or particularly—and more and more often nowadays—because the nsuba has not been entirely paid, or even because he has found another prospective husband willing to pay a higher nsuba. We then witness a real process of extortion, with the nya ndômô relentlessly demanding new presents from the husband under the threat of taking back his daughter. The courts concerned with checking abuses /les tribunaux repressifs/ are almost powerless to penalize these practices, which are very hard to define according to the penal code.

586 In every case legitimate children remain with their father; the
851 woman can only keep custody of them until they are weaned. The
948 proverb pater is est has its Pahouin equivalent: Mon ase mone mbiaé, mon ane mone bityé, "a child is not the child of the genitor, he is the child of the 'bride price' (bityé = bride-price money). In principle, only a child born after payment of the nsuba in full is considered legitimate; in practice, a sort of legitimation by payment after birth is recognized when first payments of the nsuba have already been

586 made, but this practice is only very rarely followed in cases of free
851 union, ébon, even when that is followed by a regular marriage of the
848 natural parents. Illegitimate children, fruits of an ébon, bobengon, are kept in their mother's clan, where, moreover, they rank socially only after legitimate children.

597 There used to exist a kind of adoption, rare today, of a political
614 rather than family nature, which could almost be defined as naturali-
[641] zation. It could only be carried out by the head of an extended family on behalf of an orphan, mone nyui, of another clan (orphans within /56/ the clan being, of course, already considered children of the head of the family). The adopted child, abiaé môsô (i.e., "conceived
[833] in the daytime," sexual relations being lawful only between sundown and sunrise), came into the clan with a status analogous to that of the monengon. He remained subject to the marriage prohibitions of his clan of origin.

609 A non-Pahouin outsider permanently residing in a village, a ntabe,
614 may benefit through marriage by alliance, élat, which does not thereby make him a member of the clan. He becomes a monekal (sister's son, uterine relative) and his children, though legitimate, belong to their mother's clan.

593 The descent relationship may be broken by paternal or maternal
578 curse, meyo'é: the parent uttering the curse shows the child his sexual organs, "the place whence he came," while pronouncing a formula oath. The curse is supposed to bring misfortune and death to the offspring accursed, whom everyone avoids. It can only be
[783] lifted by a collective purificatory rite (étye, tyô) in which the whole nda bôt participates.

3. Age Grades

561 The individual's life cycle is marked by a certain number of transitions, which are accompanied, or were usually accompanied, by rites that will be discussed further on (p. 115). These crises are birth, weaning, puberty, attaining majority, marriage, death. Age grades correspond to the intermediate stages; they are less strictly defined today than formerly.

561 I do not know the exact word for fetus: people say abum, belly.
443 There must be a more precise term, but I think there is a prohibiton connected with it, certainly as regards men, although it may now be

7. The Position of Women(1)

562

1. J. Binet, "Condition des femmes /The Position of Women/," Cahiers internationaux de sociologie, 20, 1956, Presses Universitaires de France, and "Statut des femmes dans le Sud-Cameroun /Status of Women in the Southern Cameroons/," to appear in Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin, 1956, Edit. of the Librarie Encyclopédique, Brussels.

If the older people are to be believed, the position of women according to orthodox custom was that of minors. However, there is nothing in traditional theory that justifies such a negative attitude towards women: some clans name women among their eponymous heroes, and there are legends attributing to the creator god (Zambé) a daughter in whose honor certain rites were performed. At the present time the tribal societies making an effort to revive the old clans and to revise their codes of manners and their customary laws always keep a place for women at the core of the executive /état-major/, but very often the role of women is secondary: they are dancers, singers, organizers of dances, or stewards watching over followers—in short they only carry out men's orders. Women are also sometimes associated with men in religious /confessional/ so-
[575] cieties (Protestant or, more frequently, Catholic), but mostly they form separate groups, formerly so-called secret societies, today Christian devotional confraternities, which enable women to meet together, to set up a hierarchy and have leaders of their own. Women do not actually participate in the life of the community /cité/ or, better, they form a community among themselves, distinct from that of men.

In law women seem to be at a disadvantage, but it is not clear that they owe this to genuine antifeminism. In fact, no one is perfectly free in customary law; only the patriarchal head of a family
[215] possesses full legal capacity. Marriage does not confer majority on a woman, and a girl possesses greater independence than does a
[848] married woman. In the sexual sphere this is clear: illegitimate births involve no disgrace; a child is always welcome. If born before marriage, it belongs to the mother's family. And it is not unusual for respectable fathers to wait until a daughter has borne children before marrying her off.

881 384 779 on the subject of circumcision: "Circumcision, in our view, is connected with the institution of the taboo; it was originally the lifting of a prohibition. Before having gone through this ceremony, a young man cannot marry; he is not acceptable [527] to any woman and he has no right to nuptial relations. And if these should nevertheless, occur -- and they do! -- the child of this forbidden intercourse is accounted 'bad' and must disappear."

● 848 Among the Fan such a child, without being considered exactly "bad," is thought of as not belonging to the tribe. Since the father has not the right to be a father, he cannot give the child a name; and if the child escapes the first vicissitudes of babyhood, it will soon die of neglect and hunger, scorned by all. This is especially the case with mulattoes, whose birth in itself places them outside the tribe. They are found on the coast and near European settlements, where, along with the decline in moral standards, the family has to a great extent disappeared, with the laws that used to guarantee its integrity and corresponding moral code. In the interior, in spite of the passage of numerous traders and explorers whose morals are no better than those of the coast, mulattoes are very rare, to say the least. We have just given the reason for this.

OBD "Here," continues Mgr. Le Roy, "we have a typical and interesting illustration of the principle set forth above. The transmission of human life takes place in a mysterious realm where the activity of the Lord of Creation is manifest, or at least taken for granted, and to which man cannot be admitted except by a sort of authorization from God and with the help of an appropriate ceremony. At the indicated time the prohibition may be removed, but as always in such cases the 'use permit' must be bought back by a blood sacrifice, hence circumcision, the moral purpose of which is obvious, because the taboo or prohibition that it ends is a rigorous obstacle to sexual relations between children who have not reached puberty.

"This institution can be found everywhere; to be so widespread it must have a widely applicable raison d'être; this is

597 sacking of a village. For, although in such cases all the men
727 and able-bodied youths are ruthlessly killed and eaten, this
does not apply to women and children, even to male children,
who henceforth belong to the new tribe and will later be looked
upon as warriors. There is no ceremony for women or female
[562] children, since, as we have seen, the totem ignores them,
and they have only one duty toward it, to hide in their huts as
quickly as possible whenever there is talk of the totem, and
never to mention it. Should this nevertheless happen, it would
be an offense requiring expiation.

Male children are adopted by the various heads of a family.
597 Tribal or village chiefs have first choice, the rest of the
warriors come after. The one or more children chosen by a
chief, however, may never succeed him.

Adoption ceremonies are like those at birth. The adopted
597 child loses all his old totems in order to acquire those of the
304 tribe he joins. There is just one additional ceremony, blood-
letting. So as to prove his definitive entry into the tribe, he
undergoes the following operation when led before the totem.
With the mfox knife, a small steel blade kept for this purpose,
the adoptive father makes a few slight scarifications on the child's
left arm, collects the blood that flows, and throws it on the
ancestral skulls, then on the akaméybń. He then takes a frag-
ment of skull and some totemic sacrificial ashes and rubs these
vigorously on the child's arm. This is the true sign of adoption,
by which the boy definitively enters his new family and is
recognized as belonging to it entirely. Later on he may even
be allowed to take a wife from his former tribe, in spite of the
strict law of exogamy, because adoption is so authentic.

[348 Often the same bloodletting and blood alliance occur
563] with illegitimate children or with mulattoes, but the object is
then different. Adoption never takes place at birth but much
later, so as to ensure for the child the ancestors' protection.

The same act often occurs when a child is ill. [573]

845 informants had never heard of such a thing. Similarly, it very rarely happens that women die immediately after delivery from the consequences (bleeding, a weak heart) -- death by puerperal
[164] fever, on the other hand, is more frequent. In cases of such a death, the Pangwe speak of a kiɛ̄ˈɛ, which is as much as to say that a strange woman brought about the death through sorcery.

Once the child (in the case of a normal birth) has passed out
844 of the birth canal, it is received by one of the women assisting and the umbilical cord (ngǒˈb IV, not to be confused with ngǒb IV, "caul, sheath") is squeezed off with a raffia splinter at a distance of from eight to ten centimeters from the little one's body. The rest of the umbilical cord drops off of its own accord after five to six days and is then casually thrown away; by then the navel (dǒb, plural mǒb) is healed. In other cases, the umbilical cord is cut off one centimeter from the belly, thereby causing an umbilical rupture (edǒdǒb = navel par excellence) which is regarded as particularly beautiful. Now the child is washed and placed on a layer of leaves on the bed next to the mother. /276/

The afterbirth (akǒˈnan) soon follows of its own accord. It is usually placed in a leaf bundle and hidden in the refuse pile or buried in a pit in the plantain grove behind the house. If this precautionary measure is not observed, the child will die or the mother will no longer be able to bear children.

Finally a medicine is made for the mother: the herb Ocimum
[278] gratissimum L. (asǒˈb) is dipped in hot water and pressed on the genitals.

During the delivery, the husband waits in the meeting house.
851 Once the child is born, he is told the news by one of the women assisting. Formerly, shots were fired as an expression of joy, but now the custom is no longer practiced, especially in the north, for lack of powder.

On the very first day, the mother gives her breast to the child.
853 If no milk flows, it is assumed that the mother has had lovers who are still in her "belly" and exercise an impeding influence. Therefore, out with them! Argument is of no avail; one after another, all the lovers must be named before those present, in
000 other words, the women, if the milk is to flow. On the second

1. Names and Name-giving

553 Immediately following the birth, but not before the detach-
851 ment of the afterbirth, the child receives its name from the father who has already thought it up before the delivery but has kept it secret until then. The name is publicly announced, accepted without objection or formalities, and is considered to be the permanent principal name. The child receives a second name from his mother; many Pangwe designated this name as "big," that is, important -- probably because they had heard it exclusively from their mother in early childhood. Later, however, in giving their names, they usually mention the name given by the father, unless that name sounds unpleasant to the person concerned or if he wants to hide his identity with the intention of deceiving -- especially the Whites. In that case he prefers to use the name given by his mother. /278/

It is in any case a fact that the name given by the mother is close to its bearer's heart, and for this reason friends often use it as a pet name.

I shall herewith give a number of names that I learned, to-
551 gether with their explanations. As can be seen from the abbreviations of subtribes or tribal groups (N - northern Pangwe, S - southern Pangwe) placed after them, only a small number of the names is distributed over the entire Pangwe region; the majority do not extend beyond a few subtribes, so that a thoroughly experienced investigator can frequently tell by the name alone what a given native's place of origin is.

According to their basic significance, we can divide the names into the following groups:

I. Names of religious origin (only in the case of boys' names);
II. Names that allude to an attractive skin color;
III. Names that designate the desirable characteristics which one wishes for the child;
IV. Names that are supposed to bring good luck;
V. Names intended to indicate that the man will become the terror of his enemies;
VI. Names that express a bad characteristic, with the idea of thereby causing the bearer, on the contrary, to develop good characteristics;

551 family has given him a second name, Ekure Nzork (elephant hide), which corresponds to the wish made by the grandparents that their grandson may be as tough as elephant hide. Still other names may be given by other relatives, each of these corresponding to an affectionate feeling or a wish for the child. Andzang [misprinted Andang in original] has a third name given by the wife of one of his uncles, Nzul Weya (young civet), that is to say "as handsome as a civet," [801 civet skin formerly having been worn as an ornament by young Pahouin 832] wanting to make female conquests.

When a man has had several children who have died at an early age, in order that the newborn may not die like the others he gives him the name of an animal: Ngi (gorilla), Waġa (chimpanzee), Nze (panther), Mvina (antelope), etc...

Sometimes the child receives a name referring to an incident of his birth. A child may be called: Mefan (from afan, the forest), if he is born in the forest; Bemvaṅ (from mvaṅ, rain), if he was born in the rain or on a rainy day; or Biteġé (from eteġ, mourning), if he was born after the death of his father, during his mother's mourning, etc...

[77] Actually in all the N'Djolé region children are given a Christian name, in addition to their native names, even if neither the parents nor the child have any contact with the missions. It is also quite usual to see children bearing European proper names, names which were given them because the parents thought them pretty. Similarly, one meets children called Captain, Major, Militiaman, etc... , and always the parents give as reason for their choice that the name taken for the child is beautiful.

851 The child belongs to its father and cannot be dependent on the mother unless she has been repudiated and the father has waived his claim to reimbursement.

853 Nursing continues until eighteen months or two years, but at about the age of six months, in addition to the breast, the child gets the same food as its parents except for fish, meat, and salt, which are forbidden him.

855 The physical care given the child is reduced to the minimum: he lives naked until the age of about ten years and is bathed every day. When he can walk, he is put on his own and plays with the other children of the village, boys and girls together. While he is still rather

586 sterility. In theory, if the facts are self-evident, the repudiating husband ought to obtain ipso facto the return of the nsuba, reduced, however, in proportion to the number of children the repudiated woman has borne him. In practice, the nya ndômô usually makes difficulties and postpones repayment until the woman's remarriage and his collecting the new bride price (1).

> 1. But nowadays it is common to see the second husband pay the nsuba directly to the first husband, giving the nya ndômô only the eventual increment.

The woman can also take the initiative in divorce: a ke jañ dé; she goes back to her father, blaming the excessive stinginess of the husband who "takes bad care of her," a ba'ale nye abe, his impotence, brutal treatment, or sorcery, or even a grievous insult to her or to her parents. Repayment of the nsuba is obligatory in this case too, except when the husband has committed a very serious offense, usually sorcery or mutilation of the woman.

Finally, divorce may be the action of the woman's nya ndômô: a vaa minga aluk, he withdraws the woman from the marriage, either because he considers her badly treated or because he thinks he has been insulted by his son-in-law or particularly—and more and more often nowadays—because the nsuba has not been entirely paid, or even because he has found another prospective husband willing to pay a higher nsuba. We then witness a real process of extortion, with the nya ndômô relentlessly demanding new presents from the husband under the threat of taking back his daughter. The courts concerned with checking abuses /les tribunaux repressifs/ are almost powerless to penalize these practices, which are very hard to define according to the penal code.

586 In every case legitimate children remain with their father; the
● 85 woman can only keep custody of them until they are weaned. The
948 proverb pater is est has its Pahouin equivalent: Mon ase mone mbiaé, mon ane mone bitye, "a child is not the child of the genitor, he is the child of the 'bride price' (bitye = bride-price money). In principle, only a child born after payment of the nsuba in full is considered legitimate; in practice, a sort of legitimation by payment after birth is recognized when first payments of the nsuba have already been

586 made, but this practice is only very rarely followed in cases of free
851 union, ébon, even when that is followed by a regular marriage of the
848 natural parents. Illegitimate children, fruits of an ébon, bobengon, are kept in their mother's clan, where, moreover, they rank socially only after legitimate children.

597 There used to exist a kind of adoption, rare today, of a political
614 rather than family nature, which could almost be defined as naturalization. It could only be carried out by the head of an extended family
641 on behalf of an orphan, mone nyui, of another clan (orphans within /56/ the clan being, of course, already considered children of the head of the family). The adopted child, abiaé mɔ̂sɔ̂ (i.e., "conceived
833 in the daytime," sexual relations being lawful only between sundown and sunrise), came into the clan with a status analogous to that of the monengon. He remained subject to the marriage prohibitions of his clan of origin.

609 A non-Pahouin outsider permanently residing in a village, a ntabe,
614 may benefit through marriage by alliance, élat, which does not thereby make him a member of the clan. He becomes a monekal (sister's son, uterine relative) and his children, though legitimate, belong to their mother's clan.

593 The descent relationship may be broken by paternal or maternal
578 curse, meyo'é: the parent uttering the curse shows the child his sexual organs, "the place whence he came," while pronouncing a formula oath. The curse is supposed to bring misfortune and death to the offspring accursed, whom everyone avoids. It can only be
783 lifted by a collective purificatory rite (éŋye, tyɔ̂) in which the whole nda bɔ̂t participates.

3. Age Grades

561 The individual's life cycle is marked by a certain number of transitions, which are accompanied, or were usually accompanied, by rites that will be discussed further on (p. 115). These crises are birth, weaning, puberty, attaining majority, marriage, death. Age grades correspond to the intermediate stages; they are less strictly defined today than formerly.

561 I do not know the exact word for fetus: people say abum, belly.
683 There must be a more precise term, but I think there is a prohibiton connected with it, certainly as regards men, although it may now be

1. Birth and Name Giving

844 Only women, the village matrons, are allowed to help a mother in childbirth. Men are absolutely excluded, even husbands. A woman who gives birth on a journey prefers to go off by herself into the forest rather than ask for her husband's help.

As soon as the child is delivered, his umbilical cord is cut and he is carefully washed. The remnants of the cord are wrapped in a cloth and buried out of the way. In the case of a chief's son, especially that of the head chief, the remains are buried, as we have seen, at the foot of a sacred fig tree. (1)

[824 778]

1. Ficus elastica.

Great importance is given to the tree's growth, and to touch it is strictly forbidden. Any violation of the tree would be considered an attack upon the human being.

[689]

A few days after birth, the baby is carried to his father, who may accept it or refuse it. However, the latter [571] happens only if the child is deformed or crippled, in which case it is ruthlessly sacrificed. The religious rites (1) connected

851 847 553

1. See Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie [Bulletin of the Neuchâtel Geographical Society], 1910, "Les rites de la naissance chez les Fân" [Birth Rites among the Fang], by Father Trilles.

with birth are numerous, but the only ones that seem to me to be totemic are name giving and the choice of the baby's totem.

The name is solely the father's choice; it is often determined by attendant circumstances, atmospheric or other, or by some local happening, a hunt, a fishing expedition, the

553 arrival of a stranger. Hence, a certain number of names that at first would seem totemic, because they copy the names of animals and plants, are not so at all. In general, the eldest son's name is that of one of his forebears, a grandfather or ancestor, who is thought to come to life again in him. Twins, however, always receive special names of matched things, which go in twos, like Sun and Moon, Wind and Rain, Storm and Thunder, etc.

As soon as the child has been given a name, his father takes it in his arms and carries it into his hut, where he opens the *évora biéri* and puts the baby down on the lid. He then takes the ancestral skulls one by one and puts them on the child's head, then places the family totem in its hand. The father with his fingernail often scrapes a bit off of the antelope horn holding the remnants of his personal totemic sacrifice, and puts some of this into the child's mouth. This, strictly speaking, is the dedication to the totem. The father then takes the baby back to its mother so that she may anoint it with oil and rub it with red wood. After the mother, or any other woman present, has attended to this, the father again takes the child and puts another bit of the totem into its mouth. A she-goat, a sheep, or at least a fowl is then offered to the family totem and to the spirits of the departed, according to sacred ritual. The remains of this sacrifice, the ashes, etc., are enclosed in a small antelope horn, which is hung around the baby's neck or above his genital organs: this will be his amulet. Finally, the father gives the baby his personal totem, which will be recalled to him later on when he is old enough to understand. At that same time he will be taught what are the family, clan, and tribal totems, and the duties and obligations they impose on him. This instruction is part of the *mébara*. [572]

2. Adoption

597 In certain cases, a few children are adopted by a head of 727 the family when given as ransom for murder or spared in the

113 Nzame has much work in his village, but he does not disdain to en-
821 joy himself. He causes tomtom dances to be performed on the sky, and the noise of the dancers' feet is called thunder. From time to time also, when there is an eclipse, it is Nzame who takes pleasure in frightening people by plunging them into darkness at midday.

116 II. The evur. The evur or evus (plural, bivur) appears to be an individual spirit which plays a fundamental role in the life of the Pahouin. Not all persons have an evur. To have an evur, one must have received it from a person who has one. Such a person is called nem (plural, beyem). A child in the foetal state carried by its mother [69] can receive an evur even without the knowledge of the mother. One can tell by its weight that a newborn has an evur; only a nem, on lifting a child in his arms, can say that he has felt the weight of the evur, imperceptible to anyone else.

116 If at its birth a child has no evur, it can then receive one. The
952 evur given it is either good (evur mve) or evil (evur abi).

(1) Good evur. In the case of a good evur, the donor of this evur, who is always an elder of the tribe, comes often to see the child until
[856] the latter can count to ten, that is to say, at about seven or eight years of age. At this time the child is considered intelligent enough to understand what is expected of him, and then the ceremony called akaǵa is performed.

All the beyem of the village are invited to meet at a tree called
[824] ovaṅ (Didelotia africana), chosen from among all the others as the fetish tree because of its size, its longevity, and its resistance to tornadoes. The child is brought there; then the donor of the evur, in the presence of the assembled beyem, pronounces the wishes which he makes for the child's future. He wishes him wealth, strength, success, in general all that which will make him happy. For little girls the wishes are more particularly that they may later have many children, that they may be strong for their planting tasks, and that they may be esteemed by the other wives of their future husbands.

A kind of soup called nam akaǵa, the preparation of which is secret, is made on the occasion of this ceremony. Each time the donor of the evur makes a wish, the child must take a little nam. For example, if the wish is for him to have ten wives, this is made with the following words:

e mon ni, nam ma ke we wi oluǵ bunega awum
That child, the soup I give you here marries ten wives,

776 and he must take ten spoonfuls of soup. Similarly, he will eat a
852 spoonful for each child wished for. As to the other wishes, wealth, strength, courage, esteem, etc., these necessitate eating all that is left in the pot. This large quantity of soup signifies that the wish made is for an immeasurable amount of whatever is desired.

776 The night following the ceremony of akaga, the bivur of the beyem who have been present leave the bodies of their possessors in order to hold an invisible meeting called ngwel. This is the only time that the ngwel does not have a completely malevolent action, since otherwise the bivur never meet except to do evil. The ngwel which follows the akaga confirms the wishes made for the child and promises to protect his evur until it is strong enough; in fact, the evur grows with the child and does not reach its full vitality until the child is an adult. The ngwel [70] also shows the new member what part of the body he must remove from the person he will later sacrifice, in order to make a fetish. This sacrifice is made in gratitude to the bivur who concerned themselves with him during the akaga.

776 Every time an evur leaves the body for a ngwel, it is injured and
784 fatigued, and can only be restored with human blood. After the ngwel, which follows the akaga, the bivur who have taken part in this weakened state and, when they have finished attending to the wishes made for the child, they ask the evur of the person who invited them to point out the victim they must eat for their recovery. An old man of the paternal or maternal family is usually designated for this purpose. Lacking such a person, the nem who bestowed the evur may sacrifice himself. If he does not consent, the assembled bivur place a prohibition (eki) on the child. For example, if ten wives have been wishes for him, he is forbidden on pain of death to take an eleventh; or else he is forbidden, always on pain of death, to eat certain foods or to do, or allow such and such a thing to be done. When the prohibition is of little importance, death in case of infraction may be replaced by the good evur transforming into an evil one.

Respect for the prohibitions and faith in their power is so firmly fixed in the minds of all the Pahouins that one who has violated a prohibition of akaga is sure to die, and without external intervention.

784 A Protestant missionary of the Samkita station cited to us the case
158 of a twelve-year-old child, a boarding pupil of the mission, who was

541
578
784

in all this part of central Africa, where the ox is unknown because of trypanosomiasis.

the produce of hunting and fishing, and these exist until the time of puberty. They signify, according to L. Martrou, that in the family group there should be "no useless mouth," ..."but rather arms and hearts capable of defending and enriching it." (2) Thus

2. L. Martrou, Les "Ékis" des Mfang [The "Ékis" of the Fang] op. cit.

[834] it is forbidden to cohabit with a woman before being circumcized (3)

3. V. Largeau, op. cit. article: Interdit [Interdict].

561 In the same way various rites mark the steps of this ascent: the
578 rite of the Ssò for the ten-year-old children; (4) circumcision,
[852
881]

4. M. Bertaut in his thesis on the Boulou of the Cameroons, a related nation, speaks of a less degraded form of the Ssò which was the center of a true "society of men" now almost vanished.

which is not accompanied by any initiation (but seems rather to bear public witness to virility and to show the individual as an active male), and above all, the "revelation" of the Biéri. When
561 the young man joins the company of men, he has experienced in
578 various degrees of intensity [153] this biological, social, and
885 spiritual dependence on his ancestors (mvam) and on his elders (nyamòrò). To them he owes his life, his security, his social existence. Even after having crossed the various steps and being able to take full part in the assembly of men, he receives from

754 the évu or the animal employed as assistant being killed during a skirmish, which would bring about the nnem's death.

Many people nevertheless regard these disadvantages as weighing little against the immediate advantages which the évu procures. Therefore some bemie (people without évu) have themselves initiated into ngbwel, and some beyem dedicate their children from birth (which has the additional effect of protecting them against the parent's évu). For this purpose beyem organize into secret societies (and these are really secret societies), well described by Trilles and particularly so by Lavignotte (no. 155).

754 Babies are dedicated by a mnem kinsman in a ceremony, aka'é, before the umbilicus is healed (the évu is believed to enter through the umbilical lesion). A special taboo is imposed on the child, and a part of his body (finger, toe or even foot, hand or whole arm) is symbolically sacrificed to the évu with a slight letting of blood. From that time on, only the shade of the sacrificed part, its semblance, is believed to continue to exist. The child is then nkôman ngbwel /118/, prepared for the ngbwel, but he is not yet a nnem; if he were it would be discovered at the preliminary stage of the adolescent initiation, and he would be put to death. It is only at the time of initiation with the official rites that he becomes a sorcerer, kuli ngbwel, through a further ceremony during which his "godparents" reveal to him that he has been "prepared," dedicated. He must then buy back the bodily part "sacrificed" at the aka'é by offering his "godparents" the body of a member of his family, killed and eaten by the beyem in circumstances about which little is known. What is known suggests some of the sexual aspects of European witches' sabbaths (apparently participants of both sexes, naked, practiced sodomy, bisôk, and profaned the ancestral relics, probably fragments of bieti). The initiation of an adult consists only of the akuli ngbwel, the aka'é being restricted to children.

754 Beyem meet periodically, aside from initiation ceremonies, in order to "feed the bivu" in anthropophagous or necrophagous meals accompanied by obscene rituals. These meetings take place at the new moon in secret places in the forest, usually in clearings on top of hills or on islands in marshes — mmimie are afraid of stumbling by chance on one of these spots which, according to some of my informants, are guarded between meetings by an aardvark, mvômesila. If such a place is discovered, a nnengaß is immediately called in to perform a sort of exorcism.

845 informants had never heard of such a thing. Similarly, it very rarely happens that women die immediately after delivery from the consequences (bleeding, a weak heart) -- death by puerperal [164] fever, on the other hand, is more frequent. In cases of such a death, the Pangwe speak of a kɛ̃ɛ̃, which is as much as to say that a strange woman brought about the death through sorcery.

Once the child (in the case of a normal birth) has passed out 849 of the birth canal, it is received by one of the women assisting and the umbilical cord (ngɔ̌b IV, not to be confused with ngɔ̌b IV, "caul, sheath") is squeezed off with a raffia splinter at a distance of from eight to ten centimeters from the little one's body. The rest of the umbilical cord drops off of its own accord after five to six days and is then casually thrown away; by then the navel (dɔ̌b, plural mɔ̌b) is healed. In other cases, the umbilical cord is cut off one centimeter from the belly, thereby causing an umbilical rupture (edɔ̌dɔ̌b = navel par excellence) which is regarded as particularly beautiful. Now the child is washed and placed on a layer of leaves on the bed next to the mother. /276/

The afterbirth (akɔ̌nan) soon follows of its own accord. It is usually placed in a leaf bundle and hidden in the refuse pile or buried in a pit in the plantain grove behind the house. If this precautionary measure is not observed, the child will die or the mother will no longer be able to bear children.

Finally a medicine is made for the mother: the herb Ocimum [278] gratissimum L. (asɔ̌b) is dipped in hot water and pressed on the genitals.

During the delivery, the husband waits in the meeting house. 851 Once the child is born, he is told the news by one of the women assisting. Formerly, shots were fired as an expression of joy, but now the custom is no longer practiced, especially in the north, for lack of powder.

On the very first day, the mother gives her breast to the child. 853 If no milk flows, it is assumed that the mother has had lovers who are still in her "belly" and exercise an impeding influence. Therefore, out with them! Argument is of no avail; one after another, all the lovers must be named before those present, in 000 other words, the women, if the milk is to flow. On the second

On the Second
846 day after the delivery the mother may go outside to relieve herself, but otherwise she stays in the house for eight or ten days. Then she rubs herself and the child daily with red wood, for a month if she is in the village of her parents or for two months if she is in her husband's house. Only after this period has elapsed does she again take up her customary work.

The woman has to observe a special diet before and after
834 the confinement only with respect to the food taboos discussed
846 previously. On the other hand, she must abstain from sexual intercourse until the child can walk (two years), for if she does not, the worst, even death, is to be feared for the little one. Of course, especially towards the end of this period, a great many infringements of this taboo occur; in such a case one speaks of a tsǎbe bǒ̄ngo (literally: to cast the children away, to thrust them away from oneself).

853 The child is nursed for a like period since the milk is sup-
862 posed to diminish and dry up only after resumption of regular sexual intercourse. However, the flow of milk resumes in case of renewed pregnancy, so in that case the child can again be nursed. Even later, often until the seventh year, the sturdy urchin now and then still enjoys the sweet draught. If the mother is tired of giving the breast, she simply rubs her nipples with pepper (Capsicum).

/277/ Section 19

Childhood and Games

000 1. Names and name-giving. Time at which the name is given, announcement of the name. -- Names given by the mother. -- Variation of names among the subtribes. -- Classification of names. -- Names with explanation: A. Boys' names and their classification; B. Girls' names. -- Nicknames, jocular verse with nicknames. -- Full name (father's name, kin group, name of the mother's kin group), example. -- Series of

551 family has given him a second name, Ekure Nzork (elephant hide), which corresponds to the wish made by the grandparents that their grandson may be as tough as elephant hide. Still other names may be given by other relatives, each of these corresponding to an affectionate feeling or a wish for the child. Andzang [misprinted Andang in original] has a third name given by the wife of one of his uncles, Nzul Weya (young civet), that is to say "as handsome as a civet," [801 832] civet skin formerly having been worn as an ornament by young Pahouin wanting to make female conquests.

When a man has had several children who have died at an early age, in order that the newborn may not die like the others he gives him the name of an animal: Ngi (gorilla), Waġa (chimpanzee), Nze (panther), Mvina (antelope), etc...

Sometimes the child receives a name referring to an incident of his birth. A child may be called: Mefan (from afan, the forest), if he is born in the forest; Bemvaṅ (from mvaṅ, rain), if he was born in the rain or on a rainy day; or Biteġé (from eteġ, mourning), if he was born after the death of his father, during his mother's mourning, etc...

[77] Actually in all the N'Djolé region children are given a Christian name, in addition to their native names, even if neither the parents nor the child have any contact with the missions. It is also quite usual to see children bearing European proper names, names which were given them because the parents thought them pretty. Similarly, one meets children called Captain, Major, Militiaman, etc... , and always the parents give as reason for their choice that the name taken for the child is beautiful.

851 The child belongs to its father and cannot be dependent on the mother unless she has been repudiated and the father has waived his claim to reimbursement.

853 Nursing continues until eighteen months or two years, but at about the age of six months, in addition to the breast, the child gets the same food as its parents except for fish, meat, and salt, which are forbidden him.

855 The physical care given the child is reduced to the minimum: he lives naked until the age of about ten years and is bathed every day. When he can walk, he is put on his own and plays with the other children of the village, boys and girls together. While he is still rather

846 river again (until now she has washed in her hut), puts on new clothes presented by her husband, and starts cooking for him again and work-
[763] ing in her garden. Special purification has been carried out if the
[833] baby has died in the interval. The prohibition against sexual relations
● 853 lasts as long as the child is at the breast; to break this taboo would make it nyu meyôm, drink sperm, which might lead to its death.

Postpartum care is given by the mbiale binga, then by the woman's mother or aunt or ntyi. This consists of vaginal douches and external and internal napkins of vegetable compresses.

853 The baby may be suckled only by its mother or a woman of the mother's blood, a grandmother or maternal aunt. If this is impossible, the baby cannot live (at least in rural districts where concentrated
[278] milk is unknown). Traditional pharmacopoeia possesses, however, extraordinary vegetable lactic stimulants, probably without equivalent in the European pharmacopoeia.

b. Childhood

563 The old custom was not to name (yôlé) the baby until it was taken out of the house; until then it was usually called by the name of a small animal, like "squirrel" or "palm rat." Nowadays the name is
[641] given within a few days of birth, if for no other reason than to comply with citizenship regulations. /93/

551 A name, jôé or jui (also meaning nose, order, command, authority) includes the éyôlé, the individual's own name, and the atinan, complementary name chosen from the biyôlé of ancestors according to clan or family traditions, which are on the decline. Formerly, a cognomen was added to these, a mebatan (1) or jôé mebatan (lit.

1. Trilles translates this word as "genealogy": lan mebatan means both "to recite the genealogy" and "to recite the salutation," simply because this was in fact the formal way of introducing oneself; a newcomer's genealogy determined how his hosts would "greet" him. True genealogy, pedigree, is éndan, related to ndan, tattoo mark, emblem.

salutation name), sometimes conferred at initiation. This mebatan

342
854
291
301
576

Fig. 35. The Door Part of a Dwelling in Olanga (Essángbuak Family), Southern Cameroons.

tail. This is wedged into the door opening in such a fashion that the walls fit into the notches. Sometimes it is given an attractive form by being flattened near the end and having bands of palm plaited around it. Along the sides, on the other hand, the people content themselves with single strips of raffia stalk as door lining. 342

In the interior a thick post or a number of thinner posts (andɛ̄ʼi) stands at both sides of the door opening (mbɛ̄i I) (see Figs. 37 h, 38). Between these posts are wedged one or two diagonally placed poles, by means of which the piece of bark that serves as a door (eyīn e nda, eyīn e mbɛ̄i = house bark or door bark) is held fast. Sliding doors are more rarely encountered. These run between /72/ the wall and a lath at the top and bottom of the door opening; in the daytime they are pushed to the side and at night pulled in front of the opening. We find door posts even where there are sliding doors, since they primarily serve the purpose of preventing strangers from looking into the hut during the daytime. Most doors made of bark close poorly because they warp. Frequently the "door" consists of nothing /Fig. 36 appears here in the original text/ more than a number of narrow bark pieces that are loosely

[857]
[854]
[291]
[142]

Fig. 87. Boy about Seven Carrying a Child, Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

861 593 everything that is on his mind. Also, any kind of influence in the family unit is wielded only by the chief wife and /291/ even by her only to a limited extent. In all problems of life the father, as head of the family, remains the real friend and counselor of his son, as does the mother for her daughter.

861 593 578 626 In this way the love of the parents gently leads the child through the realm of youth. However, once the boy has matured into a young man, the obstinacy with which nature has to a special degree endowed the Pangwe, sometimes asserts itself even in the face /Fig. 88 appears here in the original text/ of paternal authority. In such a case, it is sometimes only the most effective and most feared means of education that helps to lead the

[Text continues on page 163]

2: Tessmann--162 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/Facing 290/ Plate XXVII

854
301
142
291

Woman from Alen (Essauong Family) with a Child.

761 in the etok and stays there for a certain length of time. While she is
789 in this bath, she eats a soup made of the rest of the bark gathered by the practitioner, together with a pumpkin, a piece of the heart, liver, and some blood of the sacrificial animal, all cooked in a pot. This remedy is intended to satisfy the evur and prevent it from eating the blood of the woman or of the child which she may carry in her womb in the future.

761 The death of the child may also arise from an akaga given to its mother, which predicted that one of her children would not live.

Finally, if there is neither evur nor akaga, this mishap is believed
761 to be caused by the violation of a prohibition or, more likely, by
784 adultery committed by the woman during her pregnancy. To make
837 her denounce her accomplice, she is beaten until she has named him. This man must then pay to the husband an indemnity equal to half the dowry which he spent to get his wife, an indemnity which represents the price of the adultery and the price of the child's corpse. The woman is subjected from then on to the prohibition of awos until the the birth of her next child.

854 The child (mon). Until it talks, the child is called nkanele. We We have seen that after its birth it is washed in cold water and not fed until the following morning. The breast is first given it by another woman rather than by the mother, whose milk is not good at first.

At the age of eight days, the child is smeared with ba. If the cord dries up by itself without trouble, it is enough to moisten it with saliva.

845 Anomalies such as the birth of an albino or of twins are considered
[143] normal. The natives have stated that albinos are reproduced in the same family at an interval of three generations. As to twins, they are forbidden later on to take part in the ngwel. If the twins are boys,
[55A] the first is called Nzugo, the second Dzima; if they are girls, they are given the names respectively of Bela and Nzua.

551 A name is not given a child until several months after birth, when one is almost certain that it will live. A child receives several names. The father chooses the first name from among his ancestors. For example, a boy will be called Osene from the name of a paternal ancestor, to this name of Osene has been added the name of his father Ekomi, and so the child is called Osene Ekomi; but he also has a sort of first name chosen by the parents, which in the present case is [84] Andzang. The complete name thus is Andzang Osene Ekomi. The mother's

551 epicene but tend to be attributed more to a particular sex—thus, it is rather rare to find a girl called Ze or a boy Nyangono.

854 In any case a baby, ntyen or nkeñelé, is not considered a human [858] being until it receives a name. After the first going out from the [551] house /the churching/ and until weaning, that is, for eighteen months or two years, the mother carries it everywhere with her, in a fold of her loincloth or in a sling for the purpose, doé or awoé, then, when it can stand by itself, astride her hip. The nkeñelé is given almost no training; the mother gives it the breast whenever the baby cries and does not attempt toilet training; a father occasionally plays with sons, rarely with daughters. Older sisters help the mother to take care of the baby, for instance, watching it in the shade while she is working in the fields or carrying the baby for her when she is overburdened.

862 Weaning often occurs in stages; the child begins to take solid food while still at the breast, sometimes before it is a year old. But it [858] does not stop being considered a baby, nkenele, and become a child, mongó, until it walks and begins to talk pretty well. From that time 854 on, it must learn to respect its personal prohibitions and clan taboos; often an older brother or sister will be charged to supervise him. Separation of the sexes increases with age; at about the fourth year children are no longer allowed to see adults of the opposite sex naked; around the fifth year, boys and girls, bo'befam and bo'binga, stop [857] playing together.

857 Games are to a great extent mixed with the learning of future tasks: 861 little girls play at housekeeping and sometimes with dolls; little boys hunt rats with the bow, throw small assagais at moving targets, set mares, etc. But there are also "free" games like jacks, cat's cradle, blindman's buff, common to both sexes, ndongo tops made of snail shells for boys, émvala or /a kind of/ dance for girls. Children also have their own dances distinct from those of adults and peculiar to each sex. They start working as soon as they know the taboos, girls helping their mothers, boys beginning to learn masculine crafts by preparing materials; stripping leaves from folioles of raffia "bamboo," barking and pounding lianas to be made into ropes, scraping skins, etc.

The children of a village play in bands, but practical training and the teaching of traditions is carried on at home, under father or 861 mother, according to the /child's/ sex. However, preparation for

initiations and now catechism bring all the boys and girls of a village together.

Adult surveillance is casual: grown people mainly want /95/ children to know their place and not to be a nuisance. Otherwise, it is mostly the older children who take care of the younger ones.

c. Adolescence

Boys and girls share their mother's hut until the beginning of adolescence, at which age the boys go to live by themselves, formerly in the "guardhouse," aba, nowadays in a hut on the paternal "allotment." Formerly, girls were sometimes married off before birth and went to the husband's village at about eight years of age; this is very unusual today, but it is still fairly common for them to go at that age to a paternal or maternal aunt or to a married sister, where they act more or less as servants until puberty, being trained meanwhile. It is also quite common for boys to go to live with a relative whose house is nearer a school than is their own village (1).

1. But a motive of proximity to school is not a complete explanation, merely an additional reason for leaving. In fact, a study of urban centers equipped with schools of a good level shows that 30 percent of the children live outside the paternal household with uncles or grandparents. Whatever a father's personal view, he could never refuse his son to relatives expressing a wish to have the boy for some time. (J. B.)

The bongô /children/ become nôôman, a youth, or ngon, a girl, at the onset of puberty. The transition is marked by circumcision among boys, atyi'i atyel, in the past sometimes followed by the first initiation, bekungu. Circumcision is done between the ages of six and twelve, usually around ten. Nowadays it is often done at a dispensary, while it formerly was the occasion of a family and village ceremony. Subjects for circumcision prepared for the ceremony with a relatively short seclusion (of a fortnight) during which they were

8: Bennett D-5 (ca.1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

this is, because, to a Fang eye, polished brass locks *ebeng* (handsome) and is attractive for trade. Vessels are usually placed on top of the fire and not suspended over it; vegetables are frequently placed in stews. No separate dwelling house exists for cooking, it is carried on in the dwelling house. The water used to wash a dirty pot with is often thrown out on the earth floor of the dwelling, children playing in the wet dirt. In all domestic matters the Fang are very filthy. I have on more than one occasion when inside a native hut seen children micturate and defecate on the earth floor close to where the mother was cooking, the women and men present taking very little notice, and only occasionally placing the child outside the door. Cooking is exclusively the duty of women, a *real man* will not cook. Food is often highly seasoned with hot native red and green peppers, and food thus prepared is much appreciated. The food is usually well cooked through, with the exception of plantains which are often only half boiled and served quite hard. Large round stones are used for rubbing and reducing to powder guard seeds and various tubers. Smoking and salting are the only methods practised for preserving food, and on account of the value of salt and the difficulty of transporting it inland, it is seldom thus employed.

Drinks.—Rum has been carried from the coast by white traders and natives far inland and is used whenever obtainable, but the chief drink is cold water. Palm wine is made called *mayak*. Except in places where a trade factory existed I have seen very few cases of intoxication among the Fang, but when they can obtain rum it seems to completely demoralize them. Tea and coffee are known to people living near white settlers. When a party of headmen and others have taken a meal at the mission house, tea and coffee were greatly enjoyed and cups frequently re-filled. The first meal is usually about eight or nine o'clock; the natives think the white man eats very early; a mid-day meal is served and the evening repast is usually about sunset.

Food is frequently brought to the men inside the *ebeng* (palaver house); at other times an entire family eats together inside the dwelling house. No ceremonies whatever precede the commencement of meals. When a son is born, or on the occasion of a wedding, and after some large palaver has been settled, a feast is usually given. Invited guests and strangers partake together with the town folk of the food prepared; it is usually served on the earth floor of the palaver house, on plantain leaves, and in cooking pots, each person helping himself. The women do not eat with the men inside the palaver house.

Mode of preparing Mbea.

Ba du mbéa ossi, e vóm a ne ndútál: a kaga bona mélu mála, be keli tás: be ellí ne nye: be ndá mbák: be kízi nye mbák iti be nou atum: beña tpak: binga vul: be kaga mana vul: be kízi nye ē mvē: ecboba ji: ve telā mvi mbea: wena mbea abea.

882
864 By this answer, he secures for himself the mild judgment with
[672] which we dispose of "silly boys' pranks."

For children, bǒ̄ngo, therefore, quite a different yardstick is applied; what they do, especially in respect to sexual matters, is not taken seriously.

bǒ̄ngo bǎ bǒ̄lě oson = children have no sense of shame, and
834 the other way around, adults do not display much towards chil-
155 dren (see homosexual life, Vol. II, page 131), since, after all,
864 children simply do not know what evil (sǒ) is or what shame (o-so-n) means. If the otherwise, at least externally, very modest Negroes say this themselves, we should not hope to find many of the characteristics of a true, innocent ebi'n among the children. As a matter of fact their first playful imitations of
836 sexual intercourse as they observe older people performing it
838 begin at five or six years of age; between the age of eight and nine "playing parents" is nothing but perfectly conscious sexual intercourse, though it is generally regarded as a game and was cited to me in the category of "children's games" under the name ebǒbǎ'ne-bǒ̄ngo (Ntum) or ebǎ'nebǎ'ne bǒ̄ngo (Fang). It is usually done in the forenoon /253/ in the dwellings when the parents are in the fields or absent elsewhere. The partners are not only boys and girls, but also boys among each other. Later, at the age of eight to 10 years and frequently somewhat beyond, many boys manifest a similar inclination towards members of their own sex, along with a sexual urge for girls of the same age. In view of the emphasis on maintaining, as long as possible, the outward appearance of modesty, the Pangwe boys make use of a device whereby they come to an understanding "metaphorically." A boy
[201] rakes some earth and sweepings onto a leaf, ties this hastily together like a food bundle, and gives it to the other. If the latter is ready to respond to the proffered affection, he will open the bundle and pretend to eat of it, saying finally, "ma mane a dži," that is, "I have eaten." If he is not inclined to respond, he will throw away the bundle, of whose contents he has full knowledge.

Concerning masturbation, see below, page 130.

551 family has given him a second name, Ekure Nzork (elephant hide), which corresponds to the wish made by the grandparents that their grandson may be as tough as elephant hide. Still other names may be given by other relatives, each of these corresponding to an affectionate feeling or a wish for the child. Andzang [misprinted Andang in original] has a third name given by the wife of one of his uncles, Nzul Weya (young civet), that is to say "as handsome as a civet," [301 832] civet skin formerly having been worn as an ornament by young Pahouin wanting to make female conquests.

When a man has had several children who have died at an early age, in order that the newborn may not die like the others he gives him the name of an animal: Ngi (gorilla), Waga (chimpanzee), Nze (panther), Mvina (antelope), etc...

Sometimes the child receives a name referring to an incident of his birth. A child may be called: Mefan (from afan, the forest), if he is born in the forest; Bemvan (from mvan, rain), if he was born in the rain or on a rainy day; or Bitege (from eteg, mourning), if he was born after the death of his father, during his mother's mourning, etc...

[777] Actually in all the N'Djolé region children are given a Christian name in addition to their native names, even if neither the parents nor the child have any contact with the missions. It is also quite usual to see children bearing European proper names, names which were given them because the parents thought them pretty. Similarly, one meets children called Captain, Major, Militiaman, etc..., and always the parents give as reason for their choice that the name taken for the child is beautiful.

851 The child belongs to its father and cannot be dependent on the mother unless she has been repudiated and the father has waived his claim to reimbursement.

853 Nursing continues until eighteen months or two years, but at about the age of six months, in addition to the breast, the child gets the same food as its parents except for fish, meat, and salt, which are forbidden him.

855 The physical care given the child is reduced to the minimum: he lives naked until the age of about ten years and is bathed every day. When he can walk, he is put on his own and plays with the other children of the village, boys and girls together. While he is still rather

855 weak, the mother takes him with her to the fields or on her other trips. She carries him either on her hip by means of a belt of antelope hide, or on her back with a rope of vines on which the child sits, as long as he is small. After he can hold on by himself, he is carried [85] on the hip, clutching the neck of the person who is carrying him. One sees children of some ten years old being carried.

857 As soon as the child is old enough to eat like adults, and talks
858 and counts properly, he starts accompanying his parents to the fields and to fishing; he learns to swim, paddle, dance, and play the tomtom and various musical instruments. The little girls learn to cultivate a small piece of farm land which is given them by their mothers.

Games. The numerous games are almost all common to both sexes. Little boys and girls play together in the village, but the boys have three games in which girls never take part:

Nge ou ye. This game consists of rolling on the path at the end of the village, before a lineup of young boys, a cylinder of soft wood which
[41] they must hit by throwing a sharp spear. This is training for throwing the assagai.

Biñra, game of the bow. This is a hunt of rats and lizards by young boys with small bows made of mvibema wood and strung with a vine; the arrows are of bamboo with their tips smeared with pimento. It is
[41] to be noted that although children play with the bow, adults do not have this weapon and only the crossbow is found.

851 Mbeñ, musical bow: This is a kind of guessing game. The one who has the instrument thinks about something; another child has to guess it, and therefore he asks: "Nzam e biale ebe, fore dza ke yo, eñi for dza lige esi, matsi eve?" (Nzam made two of them, one goes up, the other stays on the ground, where am I fastened?), and asks if it concerns the one above or the one below. If he has guessed right, a deep tone of the bow answers him; if he is mistaken it is a shrill sound. If, for example, he happens to choose the one below, the game continues with the question "me sal e Nzam esi fore dza ke osui, eñi for dza lige kinige, matsi eve?" (I cut the lower Nzam in two, one goes to the river, the other stays on land, where am I fastened?), and the game goes on, dividing the guessed part in two until the object thought of is discovered.

The following are some mixed games:

Mebog. The children are seated in line, legs apart, except for two of them, who remain standing. One of these two hides an object among

1. Sexual Life before Maturity

561 Like Europeans, the Pangwe divide the individual's life into
556 three sections, the period of childhood, that of adulthood, and that of old age. The last period, however, concerns the Negro much less than the first two periods of life, because on the average death occurs at an early age. Sexual maturity represents the boundary line between childhood and adulthood, and the Pangwe emphasizes it very much because sexuality is at the center of his religious conceptions and /252/ finds external expression through the initiation into the cults. This initiation corresponds to our confirmation. The Pangwe acts as though a person before sexual maturity -- for the sake of brevity I shall call this person a child (mǒ'ńgo III) -- represents a stage antecedent to actual manhood, mot III, just as, say, the caterpillar is the stage prior to the butterfly.

774 If we think back on what was said concerning the soul in the
836 discussion of religion /Ed., not translated/, we remember that
864 the Pangwe distinguish two kinds of people according to the kind
882 of soul they possess: bebǐ'n (uninitiated, good), and bongǔs (initiated, evil). Children (bǒ'ńgo) are bebǐ'n, uninitiated, good, because they do not know sexual intercourse and, if they have become acquainted with it prematurely, do not know that they are committing a sin; indeed, they could not know since, after all, they are not initiated into the profound connections between sexual intercourse, life, and death.

882 In reality the situation is such that the Pangwe young people
884 are perfectly well informed, but officially each one must emphasize that he is a child, mǒ'ńgo, that is, good, unknowing, uninitiated as to sexual intercourse, even when he has long outgrown not only the actually innocent childhood (in the narrower sense), but also the period of sexual maturity. This point can be tested on any Negro between the age of ten and 20 years by asking him whether he already practices sexual intercourse. The answer will always be the same, be he a Fang from the bush or a Jaunde long since glossed over by a bit of civilization: "ma ne mǒ'ńgo (I am
[672] a child, that is, innocent, I know nothing about sexual intercourse)."

773 Nzame has much work in his village, but he does not disdain to en-
821 joy himself. He causes tomtom dances to be performed on the sky, and the noise of the dancers' feet is called thunder. From time to time also, when there is an eclipse, it is Nzame who takes pleasure in frightening people by plunging them into darkness at midday.

776 II. The evur. The evur or evus (plural, bivur) appears to be an individual spirit which plays a fundamental role in the life of the Pahouin. Not all persons have an evur. To have an evur, one must have received it from a person who has one. Such a person is called nem (plural, beyem). A child in the foetal state carried by its mother [69] can receive an evur even without the knowledge of the mother. One can tell by its weight that a newborn has an evur; only a nem, on lifting a child in his arms, can say that he has felt the weight of the evur, imperceptible to anyone else.

776 If at its birth a child has no evur, it can then receive one. The
852 evur given it is either good (evur mve) or evil (evur abi).

(1) Good evur. In the case of a good evur, the donor of this evur, who is always an elder of the tribe, comes often to see the child until the latter can count to ten, that is to say, at about seven or eight years
[856] of age. At this time the child is considered intelligent enough to understand what is expected of him, and then the ceremony called akaǵa is performed.

All the beyem of the village are invited to meet at a tree called
[824] ovaṅ (Didelotia africana), chosen from among all the others as the fetish tree because of its size, its longevity, and its resistance to tornadoes. The child is brought there; then the donor of the evur, in the presence of the assembled beyem, pronounces the wishes which he makes for the child's future. He wishes him wealth, strength, success, in general all that which will make him happy. For little girls the wishes are more particularly that they may later have many children, that they may be strong for their planting tasks, and that they may be esteemed by the other wives of their future husbands.

A kind of soup called nam akaǵa, the preparation of which is secret, is made on the occasion of this ceremony. Each time the donor of the evur makes a wish, the child must take a little nam. For example, if the wish is for him to have ten wives, this is made with the following words:

e mon ni, nam ma ke we wi oluǵ bunega awum
That child, the soup I give you here marries ten wives,

141

Tribe	Height		Cephalic Index		Trunk Index /Indice cormique/	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mangisa	above average		76.7	76.3	?	?
Eton	167.8	157.9	76.2	76.4	60.8	51.0
Ewôndo	168.4	158.6	77.0	77.6	50.5	50.4
Boulou	165.4	157.6	77.8	79.2	51.2	52.2
Fang	above average		77.0	76.6	51.2	50.9

[143]

Tribe	Blood Group (in %)					Facial Index		Width/Height /Envergure s/taille/	
	O	A	B	AB	Index	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mangisa	52	21.9	10.9	15.2	1.44	?	?	?	?
Eton	55.7	13.8	17.5	12.9	0.878	85.1	84.2	104.4	102.5
Ewôndo	55.5	14.1	17.4	11.5	0.885	85.7	85.6	105.3	104.0
Boulou	?	?	?	?	?	86.5	85.1	103.7	102.9
Fang	?	?	?	?	?	83.2	87.0	105.3	103.4

It is inevitable, in any case, that a population of this numerical size should present fairly obvious extreme variations, but my own observation, also subjective, thrown into relief a larger proportion of short and very short persons than of tall and very tall: interbreeding [144] with Pygmies (the Bekoé ayoñ especially) would explain this to a great extent. The Beti in the north, who have had much less contact with Pygmies, seem taller and slenderer.

142 [148] The group as a whole may be considered mesocephalic with a /85/ slight tendency to dolichocephaly (1), with not very obvious Negroid

[304 856]

1. Midwives, bebialé binga, still continue the practice of shaping newborn skulls by lengthening. On the other hand, the custom of binding babies' heads with a bark band is dying out.

facial traits, rather light chocolate brown skin, although some groups have a reddish tinge to the skin and green eyes (the Ndôñ ayoñ of [143 824] Sangmélima). Pectoral hair is common. There is fairly common albinism, some polydactylism (the subjects are supposedly sorcerers).

551 epicene but tend to be attributed more to a particular sex—thus, it is rather rare to find a girl called Ze or a boy Nyangono.

854 In any case a baby, ntyen or nkeñelé, is not considered a human
[858 being until it receives a name. After the first going out from the
551] house /the churching/ and until weaning, that is, for eighteen months or two years, the mother carries it everywhere with her, in a fold of her loincloth or in a sling for the purpose, doé or awoé, then, when it can stand by itself, astride her hip. The nkeñelé is given almost no training; the mother gives it the breast whenever the baby cries and does not attempt toilet training; a father occasionally plays with sons, rarely with daughters. Older sisters help the mother to take care of the baby, for instance, watching it in the shade while she is working in the fields or carrying the baby for her when she is overburdened.

Weaning often occurs in stages; the child begins to take solid food
862 while still at the breast, sometimes before it is a year old. But it
[857] does not stop being considered a baby, nkenele, and become a child, mongó, until it walks and begins to talk pretty well. From that time
854 on, it must learn to respect its personal prohibitions and clan taboos; often an older brother or sister will be charged to supervise him. Separation of the sexes increases with age; at about the fourth year children are no longer allowed to see adults of the opposite sex naked; around the fifth year, boys and girls, bo'befam and bo'binga, stop
[857] playing together.

Games are to a great extent mixed with the learning of future tasks:
857 little girls play at housekeeping and sometimes with dolls; little boys
861 hunt rats with the bow, throw small assagais at moving targets, set snares, etc. But there are also "free" games like jacks, cat's cradle, blindman's buff, common to both sexes, ndongo tops made of snail shells for boys, émvala or /a kind of/ dance for girls. Children also have their own dances distinct from those of adults and peculiar to each sex. They start working as soon as they know the taboos, girls helping their mothers, boys beginning to learn masculine crafts by preparing materials; stripping leaves from folioles of raffia "bamboo," barking and pounding lianas to be made into ropes, scraping skins, etc.

The children of a village play in bands, but practical training and the teaching of traditions is carried on at home, under father or
861 mother, according to the /child's/ sex. However, preparation for

226
●857

3. Children's angling (ngǎ̄k IV)

Ntum and Fang boys catch small fish with tackle made of porcupine quills. The quills are broken off near the top and are held together in the form of a hook by means /111/ of the firm root fibers of the Aracea Rhectophyllum mirabile N.E. Brown (ndé's IV, klēs IV).

227

4. Fishing tackle (nlǒ'b I)

The Jaunde know tackle similar to ours, consisting of a line, pole, hook, and floater, and according to information provided by my Jaunde, it was in use even before the Whites arrived. The tackle of the Fang and Ntum (Fig. 59) is considerably different; their hook is held down on the river bottom by means of a stone fastened to the line. In former times they also had a floater but more recently this has for the most part been given up as useless. With the line in his hand, the angler crouches on a raft or canoe that lies hidden in the bushes by the bank. Worms are used everywhere for bait.

5. Rope tackle or hanging tackle (ekǒle nlǒ'b, elǔ́n nlǒ'b

This differs from the tackle just mentioned only in that the line is attached to a liana rope stretched across the river. It hangs in the water, held in place by the stone which acts as a sinker.

226

6. Spearing and shooting

The Pangwe spears larger fish from the river bank or from a tree trunk lying in the water, or he shoots them with a gun or a crossbow. By the way of a postscript I shall also mention the fact that in shallow water fish are killed with the cutlass.

223 2. Hand noose or draw noose (nsŭm)

The ground noose, (ašima-o-si) (o-si = below), Figure 72, is set especially on the trails of the dwarf buck, Neotragus batesi Winton (odžüle). It is fastened to a cross beam (a) resting on two well-concealed forked props (b). Other victims of the ground noose are gallinaceous birds (guinea fowl, francolins) and the night rail (Himantornis).

With great skill a whole number of noose snares are set in trees whose fruit is a popular food of birds, especially the Afzelia africana Smith (ovŏn). Such snares are called ašima-o-jōb (o jōb = above) and draw tight by themselves. Hornbills and the blue touraco, Corythaeola cristata Vieill. (kŭnŭk IV) are the main victims of this trap. Now and then a long-tailed monkey is also caught in it. /125/

The hand noose for parrots (nsŭm I), which is made of rattan string, is quite different from the previous two snares. It consists of a loop around a branch to which one end is tied while the other end extends down to the ground where a man holds on to it and pulls as soon as an animal sticks its head through the loop. The parrot is pressed against the branch and /Fig. 72 appears here in the original text/ can be seized. This parrot noose is especially used in the dense foliage of the Myrianthus trees (mangăme III Fang, engŭkŏm Ntum, Jaunde), which are perfectly suited for hiding
[85] and whose fruit is favored by parrots. Catching parrots is mainly an occupation for boys, but adults also amuse themselves at it.

6. Draw traps

(a) Ground draw traps

224

The Pangwe distinguish no less than nine types of these, namely, the following.

I. Traps constructed over a pit

1. ešima
2. nsō bō I Ntum, nsō k Fang, nsō bogō Fang
3. ngă[k]-olăm

223

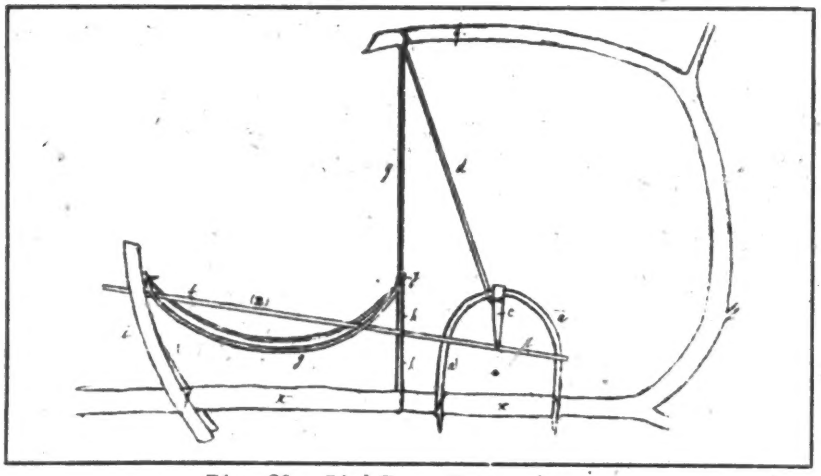


Fig. 80. Bird Draw Trap, nkpwas.

pushes it out from under the clamp; then the noose tightens, and the bird is held fast with its feet at y. Thus, it is usually caught alive.

[857] This bird trap is set up mainly by boys, since it brings in only smaller birds. As bait for honey suckers (Nectariniidae), they use, in addition to the blossoms of the Canna bidentata Bertol. (ekonežok), those of the Aframomum hanburyi K. Sch. (obă'[s]-adžom; blossoms = atsă[k]) and also of other Scitamineae. For weaver birds, Ploceus cucullatus (St. Müll.) (ngā'á), Spermospiza guttata Vieill. (kū-o-si), Spermestes poensis Fras., and Estrilda varieties (edžŏ'le), they use grasses like Panicum sulcatum Aubl. (ekōk) and /130/ /Fig. 80 appears here in the original text/ Panicum ovalifolium Poir. (obūtebedzŏ'le); for species of Andropadus (otō.k) and other Haarvögel /Ger., ?/, like Phyllastrephus leucopleurus Cass. (ngŏ'medzā') and the bulbul Pycnonotus gabonensis Sharpe (nkō'gĕlū'n), they use pepper Capsicum (okălăn) and Heckeria subpeltata (Wild.) Kunth. (abŏ'medzăn). Among other birds caught in the tree draw traps we should mention: barbets (Capitonidae), for example, Gymnobucco bonapartei Verr. Hartl. (ovō Ntum), Buccanodon duchaillui Cass. (eji'le), Barbatula species (omvŏg), and Trachylaemus purpuratus Verr. (ekū'kū'). Furthermore, in addition to the above-mentioned

[857]
[854]
[291]
[142]

Fig. 87. Boy about Seven Carrying a Child, Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

861 everything that is on his mind. Also, any kind of influence in
593 the family unit is wielded only by the chief wife and /291/ even by her only to a limited extent. In all problems of life the father, as head of the family, remains the real friend and counselor of his son, as does the mother for her daughter.

861 In this way the love of the parents gently leads the child
593 through the realm of youth. However, once the boy has matured
578 into a young man, the obstinacy with which nature has to a spe-
626 cial degree endowed the Pangwe, sometimes asserts itself even in the face /Fig. 88 appears here in the original text/ of paternal authority. In such a case, it is sometimes only the most effective and most feared means of education that helps to lead the

[Text continues on page 163]

524 adult activity, second, group games, and third, games of skill. The last group includes the games that have reached the highest stage of development since they are no longer amusements in which all those present participate, but rather are performances by talented individuals. In the performance of magical tricks, the games of skill and acting generally attain their highest degree of perfection. Thus they touch upon the area of the representational arts and might be regarded as a pre-stage of the latter.

So much for the classification of games. I hardly need to point out that the various groups cannot always be sharply separated since the boundary lines between them are blurred by a great deal of overlapping.

I shall mention here only the names of the most common
526 gymnastic games: the foot race, mbī'; a combination of our
857 hopscotch and catch, called ngá-ngūī; furthermore, rope pulling, edudan, played only by bigger boys and corresponding to our tug of war; chain pulling, ogbŭ̀n; "treading," played among the Jaunde especially by almost fully grown /294/ /Fig. 89 appears here in the original text/ boys and called esū ma koč (Fang, etǎ' (Jaunde), in which two players, facing each other, tread rapidly on one spot and at the end must try to set down the opposite foot simultaneously; and, finally, the dancing game, ekūkū.

[481] Walking on stilts (Fig. 89) may probably also be designated as
[824] a sport. The stilts are carved out of the umbrella tree, Musanga smithii.

The transition from gymnastic to war games is represented by throwing spears at a disk, a game that is widespread and popular throughout the Pangwe region. It is called ngǒk, after the fre-
[824] quently mentioned Desplatsia devewrei Burset (angǒk), from whose large fruit the disk is cut. The shoots or little trunks of young trees are used for spears.

War and hunting games are probably the most popular and the most frequently played of all the games. In the small-scale war of the older boys (eight to 15 years of age) -- which sometimes /295/ /Figs. 90-93 appear here in the original text/ degenerates into bad fights -- the weapon is, as in the case of adults, the rifle, copied in various forms with leafstalks (Fig. 90), raffia pith, or

[Text continues on page 170]

2: Tessmann--167 E-5 (1904-.909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/294/

481
857

Fig. 89. Stilt-walker in Alén (Epfak Family), Spanish Guinea.

2: Tessmann--168 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/295/

524
322
857
526

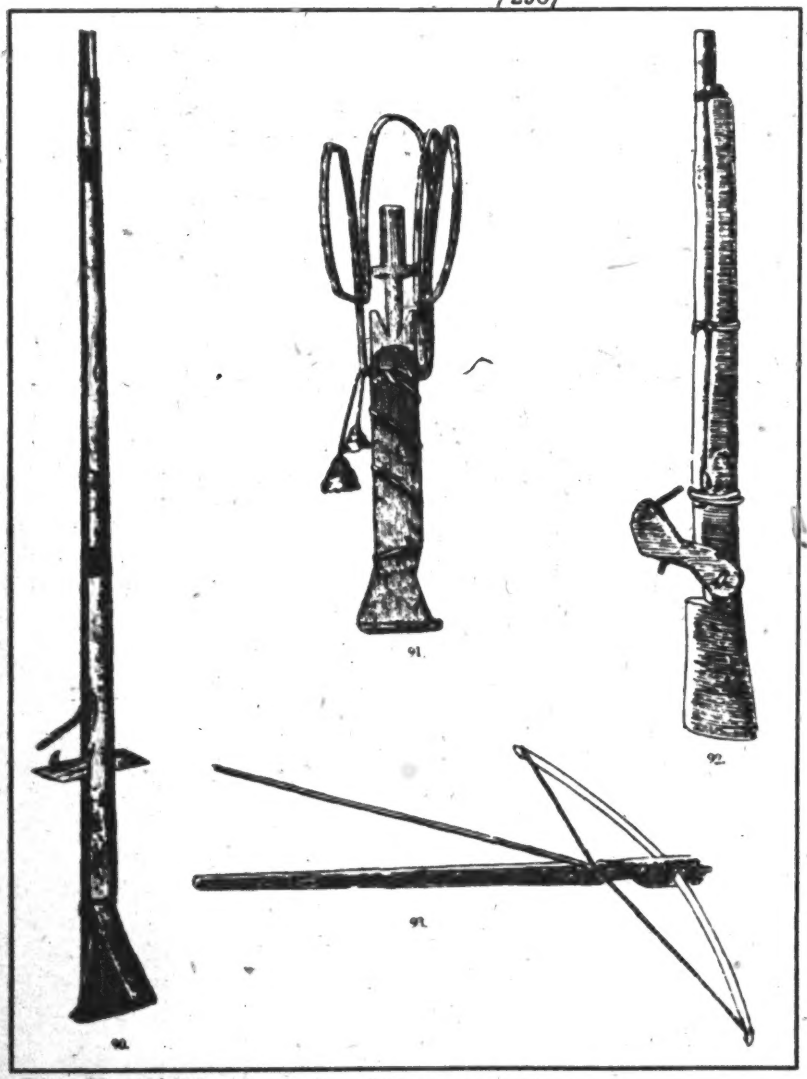


Fig. 90. Child's War Rifle of Plantain Leafstalk.
Fig. 91. Child's Sword of Raffia Pith, in a Bark Sheath.
Fig. 92. Child's Hunting Rifle of Wood.
Fig. 93. Child's Crossbow (Drawn).

/296/

857
524
526
322
[224]

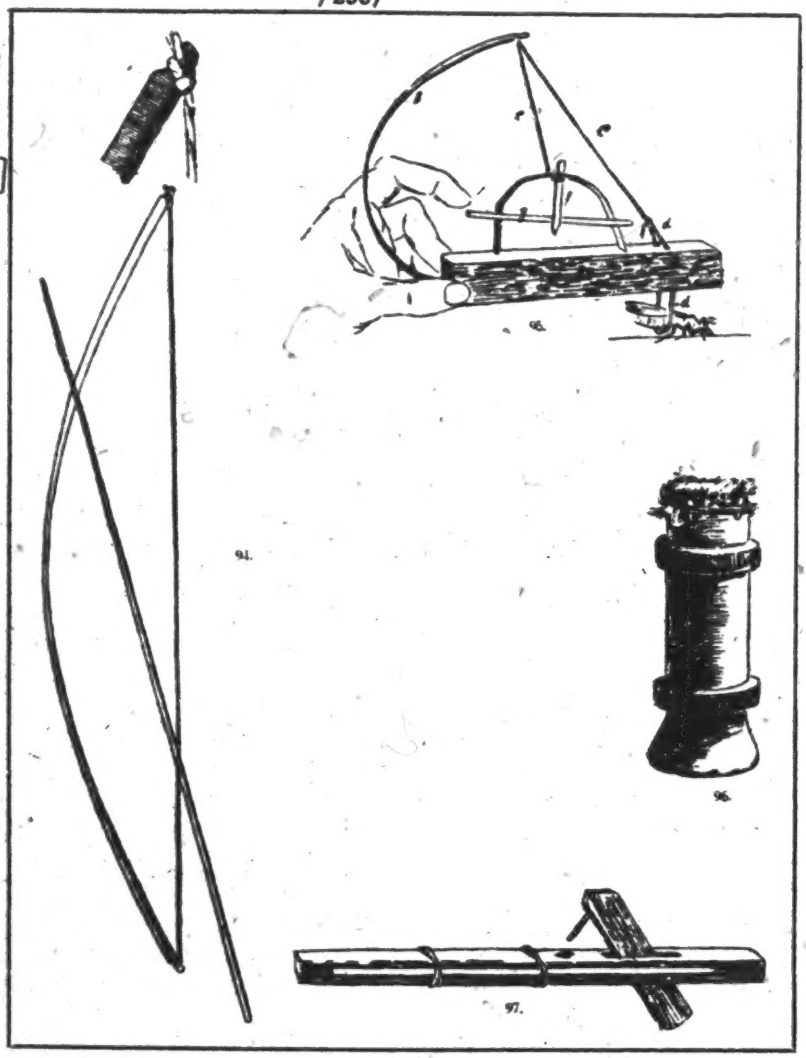


Fig. 94. Bow and Arrow (Toy).
Fig. 95. Draw Trap for Horseflies (Toy).
Fig. 96. Hide Drum (Toy).
Fig. 97. Device of Raffia Pith to Detonate Powder (Toy).

526 other materials. Even the "shining sword," made of raffia pith,
857 is not lacking (Fig. 91); it has the advantage, without being too dangerous, /296/ /Figs. 94-97 appear here in the original text/ of making a fairly loud clattering noise when struck on the enemy's body, and it causes a momentary, violent pain.

It is really unpleasant to be pelted with corn cobs which have previously been placed in a basket in the river and have become saturated with water /297/; still more disagreeable is a hollow piece of wood from the umbrella tree, which is filled with earth, closed off by means of a bung made of leaves, and then emptied at the enemy at the closest possible range.

A very dangerous "game" is man-catching. For this a number of boys take a piece of a strip of Oncocalamus (bush rope) and tie it into a noose. They hide the latter along the way leading out of the village, concealing it carefully among the grass and leaves, while the free end is tied to a tree stump. The naughty boys then hide behind trees and shrubs and with mischievous looks await the outcome. If a passerby gets a foot in the noose, he naturally comes crashing down, while the boys run away as fast as they can. They are wise to do so, because if the victim succeeds in catching one of the offenders, the latter must be prepared for a good thrashing or a complaint lodged with his father.

In the lower form of hunting, for soft-bellied insects, spiders,
526 etc., they use a rifle made of wood, into which they put some
857 powder (Fig. 92). The delicate hexapods or octopods are stupi-
868 fied by the smoke and fall to the ground helpless. A crossbow
524 made of raffia pith is likewise successfully used for hunting spiders (Fig. 93). For the "higher form of hunting," that is, for killing lizards and mice, a bow and arrows (Fig. 94) are employed. A method of hunting used by adults, namely, the encirclement of a wild animal, is imitated by having a little boy hide somewhere. The fish weirs find their counterpart in small imitations of them. They are set in the channels stirred up by the rain and block the way of little pieces of wood and leaves that are washed along. Even very clever miniature draw traps are made by skillful boys for the purpose of catching the annoying horseflies, which can be outwitted while they suck blood (Fig. 95).

Otherwise, children imitate in play almost everything that is strikingly done or made by adults. For instance, they make useful objects, such as knives and boxes of raffia pith and extremely charming little hide drums of wood or banana pith (Fig. 96). For the latter, a piece of rat's skin serves as the hide. The little Fang boy augments the popular banging noise at festivities with a device made of raffia pith for detonating powder (Fig. 97). Above all, we may not leave unmentioned the fact that even children imitate a cult and, significantly enough, the cult of ancestor worship which we mentioned above as being of special importance. The ancestral figure is carved out of plantain pith by the children, and it wears a cap made of canna blossoms that are strung on little sticks. Only once did I see a figure made of wood. The ancestral skulls are replaced by -- monkeys' skulls. What a delightful spectacle such an innocent children's game would provide for the /298/ "initiated" European if he could observe it unseen.

We have already spoken in Volume II, page 105, of the imitation of family life in which small girls participate. In the main, the game corresponds to our "playing house." The boys endeavor by means of much screaming and activity to imitate the domineering father and try to drag the already quite rebellious "wives" around everywhere, to boss and bully them to their heart's content. The "child," a doll (mõn-ekõ'n = child made of plantain), Figure 98, the most important thing for the smaller girls, and it is always dragged along by the anxious mother and guarded and fed with great love. The doll is a simple roll of plantain pith set in a carrying band made of dry leaf sheaths of the plantain.

The slingshot, among other things, belongs to the fourth group, the games with toys (nzõ'go ya dzĩ'me), Figure 99. It consists of a stick to which a raffia pith rope is tied. At its free end the easily torn rope forms a noose in which a nut of the oil palm is placed. The slingshot is never used with hostile intent, say, in war games, but belongs solely to the group of games with toys, that is, they amuse themselves with this toy because of its peculiar effect. In using it, the stick is taken in hand, and the rock

857 is flung forward. The pull of the rock tears the delicate rope
524 without too greatly diminishing the force of the throw. I also include in this category the rattle stick, the spinning top, the puppet game (Fig. 100), and the device for communicating over a distance (Fig. 101). For spinning tops, snail shells (Fig. 102) [824] are used or a fruit of Sarcophrynium velutinum (Bak.) K. Sch. [825] (see Vol. I, Plate 11) which, like the top itself, is called ndǒ'n. A little stick of raffia bark is put through it (Fig. 103), and the top is ready; it is made to dance by twirling the little stick, while the Achatina top is made to spin with the fingers in the manner familiar to us.

Even among the group games of the Pangwe, many correspond precisely to ours. There is, for instance, the hiding of an object among the players, while another player, who had previously gone outside, has to find the object. The palm nut game and the game of skittles with spinning tops are very popular.

The palm nut game is called nig'n. The player takes a handful of a large number of nuts lying on the ground, tosses them into the air and then catches them on the back of his hand. The nuts that remain on the back of the hand (between one and five, rarely more) are throwing stones, that is, the player is allowed to throw each of these stones up in the air by itself. While it is in the air, he must pick up with the /299/ /Fig. 98. Doll of Plantain Pith. Fig. 99. Children's Slingshot. Fig. 100. Puppet Game, (a) and (b) Puppets enlarged. Fig. 101. Device for Communicating at a Distance, Children's Game, (b) Cross-section of the Signal Drum. Fig. 102. Tops made of Snail Shells, (a) of Pseudachatina Dornesii, (b) of Achatina. Fig. 103. Tops made of the Fruit of Sarcophrynium velutinum. / /300/ same hand (the throwing hand) as many as possible of the other nuts lying on the ground, and with the same hand again catch the nut thrown into the air. However, the player is allowed to arrange the nuts on the ground beforehand, for instance, three next to each other. If the thrower catches the stone thrown into the air, all the stones in his hand are his property; if not, they are again common property. Then he goes on to try it with the other throwing stones. Once these are played, it is the next player's turn. At the conclusion of the game, that is,

[Text continues on page 174]

524
857

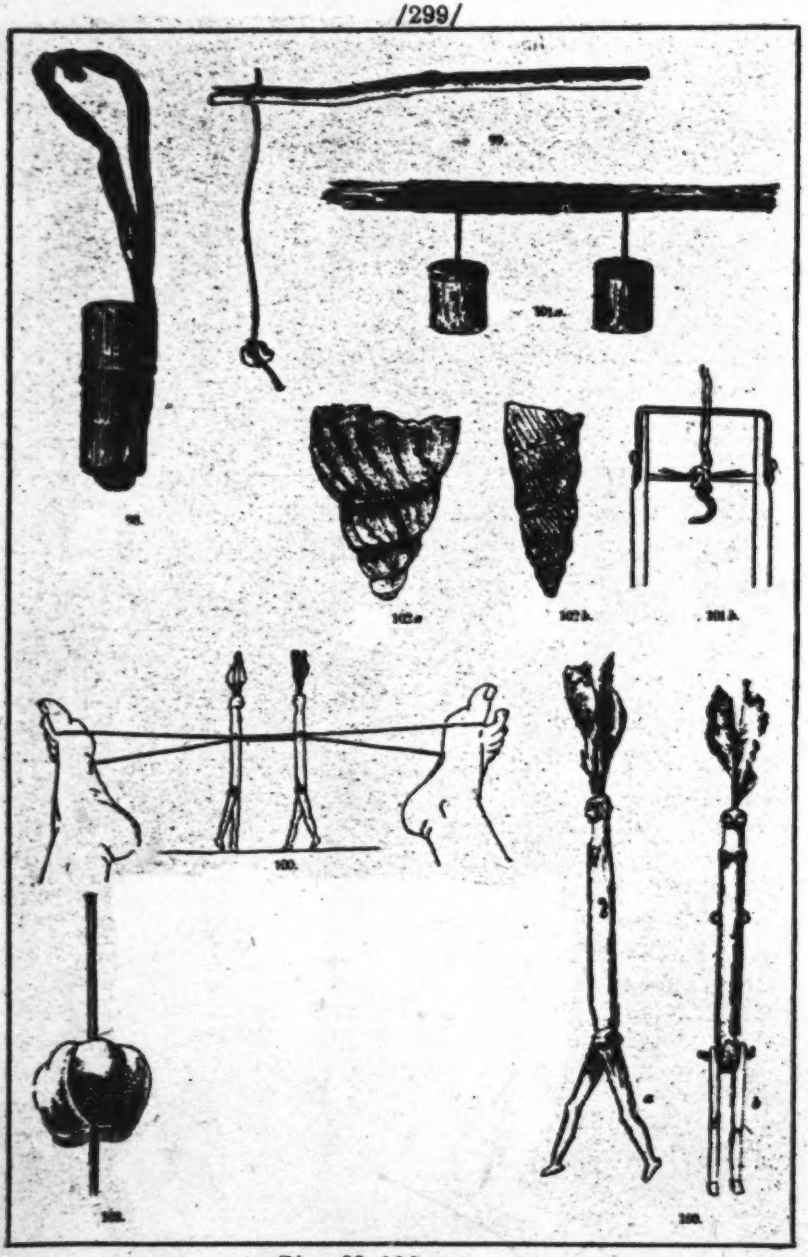


Fig. 98-103.
(Caption on p. 172.)

524 857 when all the nuts are in the possession of players, those boys who have caught some stones place together in the center the same minimum number of their nuts. The boy who then has the greatest number of nuts wins. The nuts which have been won are jocularly called "wives" by the boys.

The best known and most popular game of the Pangwe is the game of skittles with spinning tops of snail shells (a lõ ndŏ'ńo). Spinning-top skittles, as we may perhaps call it, is played chiefly by boys five to seven years old and sometimes also by older ones. They usually play it late in the afternoon or towards evening when the sun no longer scorches the village square. Our Figure 104 shows the arrangement of the two teams and of the skittles, which are set up near the team to which they belong (in Fig. 104, the team on the left). One of the players on the opposing team (the attacking team) has a throwing top which is played in between the skittles, and as it spins, it touches one or a number of them. The skittles that have been touched (nkŏ'ḗn-ndŏ'no) and the throwing top (nwū'an-ndŏ'ńo) are returned to the attacking team. The latter then throws the top again. If a throwing top does not make contact (a ke ośü nkiai = it goes down the water, westward), it belongs to the defending team which keeps it as a prisoner. If none of the throwing tops has made contact -- something which occurs very rarely since the tops are thrown with great skill -- the attacking team sets up the skittles that previously belonged to the opposing team on its own side, and the team formerly defending now becomes the attacker. The team that throws out the tops, once it has a number of them, plays with them until all the skittles of the opposing team have been hit and now belong to the attacking team, so that the next time around the roles are reversed.

The southern Pangwe know no winner or loser in the game; they "enjoy the game for its own sake," as they say. On the other hand, unlike the Jaunde, they practice giving advances to a considerable degree, a custom which, like the system of advances in the caoutchouc trade of the adults, must lead to an unhealthy state of affairs; indeed, it opens the door to cheating. /301 /Fig. 104 appears here in the original text/ In case the throwing team has lost a considerable number of tops, the defending team, in

524
857
[516]
[361]

Fig. 104. Skittles with Spinning Tops made of Snail Shell.

order to prolong the game, may lend it a number of tops, but only from those that were lost by the opposing team, in other words, those that were "captured," and not more than eight. For example: the throwing team has lost six tops and has only one top left; in that case the defending team can lend these six, as well as two more lost later in the course of the game. If all eight of the borrowed tops should again be lost, the teams change roles, but the team now attacking (previously defending) does not begin with one throwing top as usual, but with all of the tops taken from the opposing team, in other words, at least eight; moreover, in the course of the game the previously borrowed eight tops must be returned to the opposing team from the eight tops played out. So the game goes on and may be broken off whenever a team so desires. Frequently, however, the boys first get into a quarrel over the loaned tops, and a general brawl is the conclusion of the game which appears so peaceful. On other occasions, too, the little ones try to "rabble" at spinning-top skittles. Thus, a player of the defending team may snatch a top before it has danced its curving path to an end, even though there might still have been a chance that it would touch a skittle.

524 857 The stone game of the children is a simpler form of the same game played by adults. It is called sɔ́ɔ̄no and consists of a halved raffia leafstalk whose pith is hollowed out into 12 compartments, arranged in two rows. To the right and left of the ends there is a compartment, twice as big as the others, for captured stones. /302/

The procedure of the game corresponds precisely to that of the adults and is differentiated from the latter only by the fact that in each compartment there are four canna seeds as playing stones, instead of five palm nuts or other large fruit seeds.

524 857 153 The bowling game, mbɨ̌h (mbɨ̌h = bowling ball), in which the extraordinarily well-developed observational powers of the Negroes are triumphantly displayed, is quite noteworthy. The average European would probably cut a poor figure in this "child's play"; I at least declined to engage in it. For the bowling game [824] one must have about 30 of the pill-shaped Canna indica seeds. The game leader, A, takes these seeds in his hand; previously, he has already agreed upon a number, let us say 18, with a fellow player, B. This number must now be discovered by the players, or, as the Negro says, it must be "shown." A throws the balls out rapidly and gives each of them, by way of a name, as it were, the numbers from one to 30 as he throws them. Once all thirty balls are at rest -- having of course rolled every which way, in no particular order -- A points to the aforesaid eighteenth ball while B shuts his eyes as he does so, in order to point to the ball himself afterwards. Thereby A is prevented from cheating or -- as happens more frequently -- from making a mistake. In other words, it is a counter-test. In the subsequent throws, in which the same number counts, the players must indicate the aforesaid ball. This often happens with the second or third throw. The one who recognizes the ball first becomes the leader in the next game, in which another number is chosen.

As the final group game, we shall mention a memory game which is popular with boys six to seven years old. It is called bolɔ́ɔ̄mo, a name which is also applied to the main player and memory artist who must go to one side or outside the door and then answer. The questioner, seated in the circle of players, has ten

524 peppers, likewise called bolōʼmo (from olōʼmo = vegetable), in
857 front of him and a banana leaf (okiāʼ) is inserted between each
153 fruit. The questioning each time comes to an end at one of the bolōʼmo which is then taken away, and the questioning begins all over again, until all the bolōʼmo have been removed by this process of question and answer. The questions are as follows:

(a) a bolōʼmo? = Oh Bolomo? (b) ē or assimilated ō = Yes! (c) iżūa a dżǒ o yǎ? = Your father, he said something to you? (d) ta(d)a (a) dżǒ ma na: kaa yū, ndǒʼngo (or dżam) = My father, he said to me thus: not to fail in skittles (or affairs), that is, you are not to have any failures (in play or in seriousness). (e) dzidzi? = What is that? (f) bolōʼmo = vegetable.

Now the questioner takes away the bolomo (the vegetable) and again asks: (a)-(d), then (e) dzidzi? (f) (o)kiǎʼ = Leaf! (g) dzidzi? (h) bolōʼmo. In the next round of questions the answers are: Leaf, leaf, vegetable, then leaf, leaf, leaf, vegetable, and so forth. /303/

All ten questions are uttered in very rapid tempo, usually to the accompaniment of rhythmical handclapping by the fellow players, in order to confuse the one answering as much as possible.

524 The simplest games of skill consist of fashioning droll figures
857 out of a leaf (bǒn), Figure 105; braiding together strips of stalk of the Sarcophrynium in a special form (esǒn), Figure 106; and carving birds and other figures from raffia pith (onon-eżūsū), Figure 107.

Another group of skilled games includes the universally known rope games, which undoubtedly had their origin in the making of rope. Altogether, I am familiar with no less than 40 different figures among the Fang, of which different ones are developed from each other in series.

The highly developed, ingenious "patience games" probably had their origin in the rope games. The aim here is either to separate two objects that are joined (or to put together two separate objects), or to take apart apparently indivisibly conjoined parts.

A widespread game illustrated in Figure 108 is included in the first group. It could be called the two-string bow patience game (atǐn ebe). It consists of a stick of the bark of a raffia stalk with

[Text continues on page 179].

2: Tessmann--178 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

361
516
857
524

/Between 302 and 303/

Plate XXVIII

Children Playing Skittles with Spinning Tops, Ntum Region.

524 a hole drilled in the middle. A string is fastened at both ends
957 and drawn in a double loop (Fig. 109, a) through the hole in the middle. In this way we get two strands, as it were, and on one of these are strung two beads, pieces of a corncob, or the like, although the hole in the middle must always be smaller than the objects used. One bead, if I may choose this object as an example, must now be brought over onto the other strand. The solution of this task will be most clearly seen from Figure 109, Drawings b-f.

Two different patience games belong to the second group. The first (Fig. 110) consists chiefly of a piece of monitor lizard
[825] skin cut into the shape of a fish (atsiń ekob e tit), into which a hole is cut at the thick end (head), while in the narrow part (body) parallel longitudinal slits are made. The second part of the device is a string, to each of whose ends a piece of the kernel of an oil palm nut is tied. The pieces of kernel, however, are larger than the hole. The middle part of the string is looped (seen from the front) over the strip between the slits and thence runs from behind out through the hole (see Fig. 110). In order to separate the two parts from each other, the strip must be bent through the hole and the string taken out.

The second game of this group consists of two seeds of the
[824] Pentaclethra /304/ /Figs. 105-109 appear here in the original text/ macrophylla Benth. (atsiń ebā'ī), each of which is provided with three holes. A double string is put through the holes in the manner indicated in Figure 111, and this is looped around the seed. A second kernel is attached in the same fashion at the other end of the double string, and a knot is made at its center. How the problem is to be solved, namely, to remove the seeds from /305//Figs. 110 & 111 appear here in the original text / the string, I do not know myself. Perhaps a patient reader will try his hand at it.

The final group of skilled games consists of the performance of magic tricks (makǒń me bǒ'ngo = dexterity of children) whose effect is based upon the fact that the spectator is influenced by the performer and is mistaken in his observation of the basic causes of the phenomena produced, thus permitting himself to be deceived. He does so all the more readily since he is not given any time for quiet reflection on account of the rapidity of execution.

[Text continues on page 181]

/304/

524
857

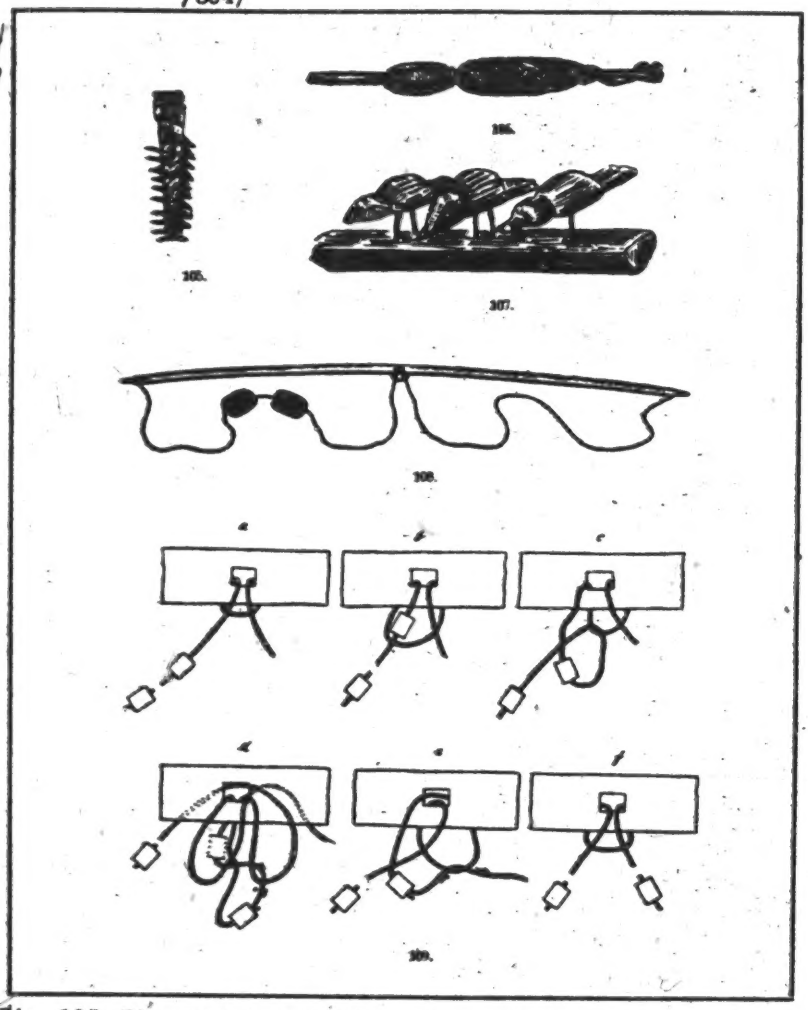


Fig. 105. Figure Made by Children from a Leaf.
Fig. 106. Figure Braided from a Sarcophrynium Stalk.
Fig. 107. Birds Made by Children from Raffia Pith.
Fig. 108. Patience Game with Bow and Two Strings.
Fig. 109. Solution of the Patience Game with Two-stringed Bow.

524
857

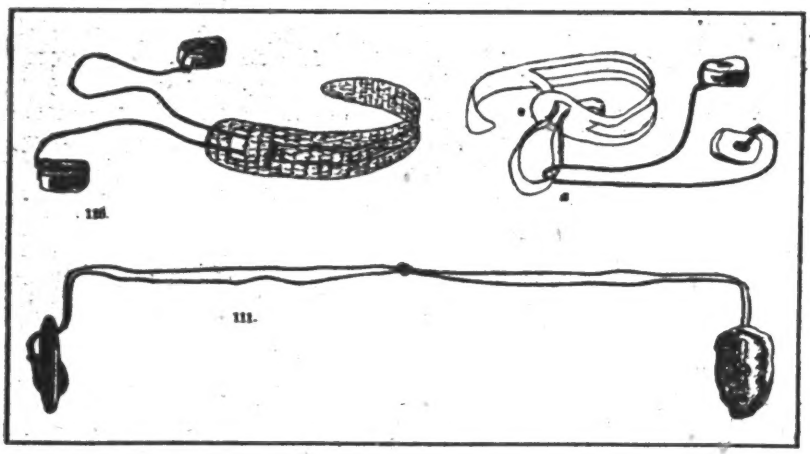


Fig. 110. Patience Game with a Monitor Lizard Skin and a String with Oil Palm Nuts, (a) Solution of the Problem.
Fig. 111. Patience Game using Pentaclethra Seed.

The trick of making a ball appear in the hand of a spectator (efā', from the root fa = confined, enclosed, transitive and intransitive) is a simple one. It is reminiscent of our trick of counting three coins while picking them up and putting them down. For the efā' game an arbitrary number, but not too small, of balls (for instance, canna seeds) or short raffia sticks are laid in a row in pairs. The number of pairs must always be uneven. In addition, an extra ball, called efā', that is, the enclosed one, is put down by itself to finish off the row. Now the chief player, A, and one of the spectators, B, take one ball each from the pairs, and B gets the extra one. In order to influence his fellow player, A, shaking his hand back and forth, calls out after the extra ball "enclosed" by B: "efā', efā', efā', efā', efā', efā', nzʌk, efā' nzʌk, efā' nzʌk, efā' nzʌk, efā', efā', efā', efā', — enclosed one, enclosed one, come, enclosed one!" Now B is asked to place two balls together. Then A places two together, then B again, and so forth, until all the balls are lying in pairs. To the amazement /306/ of those poor at figuring, A actually places the "enclosed one" as the last one at the end of the row. Thus efā' really did come to A.

Conjuring away the middle one of three leaves lying on top of each other is really astonishing. For this purpose, three leaves of [824]

524 Panicum sulcatum Aubl. (ekɔ̃k) are placed on top of each other;
857 the apex half of two of the leaves, the upper and lower, is re-
[824] moved. Then the little magician places the leaves with their underside on the ground and starts to roll them together from the lower end to the tip. A conjuring verse which the artist now sings induces the leaf to wander off: "kŭdŭ ekǎ'n, kūdŭ a zǎ'n,
[539] o ke o myūs = remove yourself, grass (1), remove yourself from

1. Collective term; specifically, Eleusine indica (L.) Gärtn.

the middle and go to the back!" Finally he hands the leaves over to a spectator to unroll, and it now turns out that the two shorter leaves are lying on top of each other and that the large leaf is at the bottom. This little conjuring trick, by the way, can also be performed with paper strips, one of which is a little longer than the others.

The ne plus ultra of what skilled Pangwe boys are able to offer consists of conjuring tricks in which speed constitutes the magic. I shall give a few samples of these tricks.

For example, a boy has a streak of ashes put on his forehead and his hands tied behind his back. One of the tricks is to run behind the house and to reappear with his hands tied behind his back but without the streak of ashes on his forehead. Of course the dexterous boy has put his tied hands through his legs from behind, wiped off the streak, and placed his hands behind his back again. The main thing in this case is the speed, which is indeed astonishing.

A second little trick is that of tying the hands together. The boy has somebody give him a rope, runs with it behind the house, and returns immediately -- with his hands tied behind his back. He had made two loops at the ends, stuck a hand in each, and then by skillfully turning both hands in opposite directions had twisted the rope in such a way as to make one believe that he had really been tied up by somebody else.

A favorite act of our conjurers has its counterpart among the Pangwe in their trick of spiriting away a ring from a hollowed

524 plantain leafstalk whose hollow, in addition, was plugged with
857 "medicine," that is, pulverized leaves. The stalk with the ring lies on the ground, and the conjurer binds across his hand a piece of plantain leaf in which he has previously placed an identical leafstalk plugged with leaves, but without a ring. He then playfully strikes the ground with the leaf-covered hand and in so doing exchanges with lightning speed the two plantain leafstalks /307/. Then he invites the spectators to convince themselves that the ring has now been conjured out of it. While the spectators comply with this suggestion, the artist quickly puts the ring on his finger and also removes the plantain stalk.

4. Games of Adults

The Memory Game of the Dwarf Antelope

524 To my knowledge, this game occurs only in the southern
153 Pangwe region. Like the memory game of the children, it con-
[184] sists of reciting sentences which in this case, however, are not elicited by questions but are uttered by a single player. The sentences are particularly difficult, because they contain many words with guttural sounds whose pitch varies extraordinarily so that even the Pangwe easily makes a slip of the tongue.

To aid their memory, my boys made use of a long raffia stick
[211] on which were strung a whole series of little transverse sticks carved out of raffia pith in such a way that first three pieces, each singly, then two, three, four transverse pieces, and so on, were ranged in groups, in a manner similar to balls on an abacus (Fig. 112).

In reciting each sentence -- there are 12 in all -- the previous sentences must be repeated backwards, and together they form a group which in each instance is introduced by the following verse:

sǒ' gbwē" , mvǒ̀n kīn = Sso antelope's horn: "gbuä" (onomatopoetic, in German, tü); rain: "king" (that is, distant thunder, onomatopoetic, in German, bum). The horn of the Sso antelope whistles: "tü," and behold, the rain answers with thunder: "bum."

855 weak, the mother takes him with her to the fields or on her other trips. She carries him either on her hip by means of a belt of antelope hide, or on her back with a rope of vines on which the child sits, as long as he is small. After he can hold on by himself, he is carried [85] on the hip, clutching the neck of the person who is carrying him. One sees children of some ten years old being carried.

857 As soon as the child is old enough to eat like adults, and talks
868 and counts properly, he starts accompanying his parents to the fields and to fishing; he learns to swim, paddle, dance, and play the tomtom and various musical instruments. The little girls learn to cultivate a small piece of farm land which is given them by their mothers.

Games. The numerous games are almost all common to both sexes. Little boys and girls play together in the village, but the boys have three games in which girls never take part:

Nge ou ye. This game consists of rolling on the path at the end of the village, before a lineup of young boys, a cylinder of soft wood which
[41] they must hit by throwing a sharp spear. This is training for throwing the assagai.

Biñra, game of the bow. This is a hunt of rats and lizards by young boys with small bows made of mvibema wood and strung with a vine; the arrows are of bamboo with their tips smeared with pimento. It is
[41] to be noted that although children play with the bow, adults do not have this weapon and only the crossbow is found.

857 Mbeñ, musical bow: This is a kind of guessing game. The one who has the instrument thinks about something; another child has to guess it, and therefore he asks: "Nzam e biale ebe, fore dza ke yo, eñi for dza lige esi, matsi eve?" (Nzam made two of them, one goes up, the other stays on the ground, where am I fastened?), and asks if it concerns the one above or the one below. If he has guessed right, a deep tone of the bow answers him; if he is mistaken it is a shrill sound. If, for example, he happens to choose the one below, the game continues with the question "me sal e Nzam esi fore dza ke osui, eñi for dza lige kinige, matsi eve?" (I cut the lower Nzam in two, one goes to the river, the other stays on land, where am I fastened?), and the game goes on, dividing the guessed part in two until the object thought of is discovered.

The following are some mixed games:

Meboğ. The children are seated in line, legs apart, except for two of them, who remain standing. One of these two hides an object among

857 the legs of the others and the second must find it. They take turns, and the game may continue for a considerable time.

Sima bebene is played by moonlight. The children are seated closely packed, one beside the other, and each chooses the name of a common object to represent him. Two of the children remain standing; one of them goes away and the other stays near his comrades. He is sima bebene. The one who is at a distance calls "sima bebene!" and the other answers "o ooo!" The first then calls "a to we be nza ben za (who are those over there?), to which sima bebene [86] answers by reciting the names adopted by each. Then the child who is at a distance names the objects necessary for ordinary life. For example, he will say, "eto e ñzag me kwe enõ" (may the loincloth come to find me here), and the child who has taken the name of loincloth gets up and goes, and so the game goes on. The children who remain seated, not having been called, are the objects of the others' derision, because they did not know how to choose things that are necessary for ordinary life.

Kunege, this is a kind of leapfrog. The children are placed in line, bent over, legs stiff, hands on the ground. The last walks on the backs of the others and bends over at the other end of the line, which moves in this way.

Ngal ngüi (the sow). Two of the strongest children hold each other by the hands, arms extended. The one who represents ngal ngüi is held by all the others in a line. The line, stooping, passes under the extended arms, singing, "ngal ngüi eyele eye a a a... ngal ngüi." The last in line is caught by those who hold each others' hands and goes to one side. This goes on until ngal ngüi is left alone. Then they all form two rows and try to catch him, singing "me lege ne nkuma nkum ke mon" (I have stayed like a dry tree trunk without child).

Nda mebeme (the bound hut). The children sit on the ground with legs crossed over the abdomen of the one in front, holding him by the shoulders. The line thus formed leans alternately to the right and to the left and moves forward on the buttocks, singing "nda mebeme eyele ye... nda mebeme."

Endele is played at night. The children are gathered in the village square, and one of them is chosen to be endele. The others give him

857 something to do near the village, and when he has gone they call to him, "endele o o o...", and he answers, "o yo o o o mur e mur a ne e nzine bekun nlu si mebo yo mura kue a ba a muge nie a nu" (there is a big man on the road, a phantom with his head down and his feet up and a red mouth). Endele keeps answering until he has done what was asked of him. Usually he comes back before this from fear of the phantom of which he speaks and which he thinks he sees.

892 Puberty, Adolescence. Puberty occasions no ceremony, but from then on the child has the right to eat the take of his hunting and fishing, which was formerly forbidden him. This prohibition is called eki wo.

304 Circumcision is done either before or after puberty. It is an operation which is usually performed for many children at a time, and takes place in the early morning. The operator (nkir) comes to the village without the children's being told, and the fathers who wish their sons circumcised watch them so they do not run away. The children are led behind a hut where pieces of red wood have been prepared. [87] A hole is made in the ground, and the pieces of red wood are put in it and set on fire. Each child sits on the stump of a banana tree. The operator uses a well-sharpened razor. Before the operation he fills his mouth with seeds of wild pimento which he chews. He takes the foreskin of the child in his left hand, pulls it, makes a mark on it with his nail at the place where he will cut. The father of the child sees whether the cut piece will be of the desired size, and if he agrees the operator slices the foreskin with one stroke of the razor and spits the pimento, which he has in his mouth, onto the wound. Then he says, "fam e ne e saġa e saġa saġ mi saġ nkūi," an obscene expression which it is impossible to translate here. The circumcised child goes and sits near the fire of red wood. The foreskin is placed on top of a banana tree, [362] whose fruit is cooked and eaten by men only. The circumcision is an occasion for rejoicing; it is done so that the children will not die [826] and also to remove the foreskin which keeps a man from being strong.

304 Female circumcision is never practiced any more. It was formerly done to married women of notoriously bad conduct in order to punish 681 them. The woman was fastened to two stakes in the village square. The clitoris was removed by the man who did the circumcising and was then attached by a thread and put around the neck of the woman, who had to keep it that way for several days to her great shame. The

551 epicene but tend to be attributed more to a particular sex—thus, it is rather rare to find a girl called Ze or a boy Nyangono.

854 In any case a baby, ntyen or nkeñelé, is not considered a human [858 being until it receives a name. After the first going out from the 551] house /the churching/ and until weaning, that is, for eighteen months or two years, the mother carries it everywhere with her, in a fold of her loincloth or in a sling for the purpose, doé or awoé, then, when it can stand by itself, astride her hip. The nkeñelé is given almost no training; the mother gives it the breast whenever the baby cries and does not attempt toilet training; a father occasionally plays with sons, rarely with daughters. Older sisters help the mother to take care of the baby, for instance, watching it in the shade while she is working in the fields or carrying the baby for her when she is overburdened.

862 Weaning often occurs in stages; the child begins to take solid food while still at the breast, sometimes before it is a year old. But it does not stop being considered a baby, nkenele, and become a child, [857] mongó, until it walks and begins to talk pretty well. From that time 854 on, it must learn to respect its personal prohibitions and clan taboos; often an older brother or sister will be charged to supervise him. Separation of the sexes increases with age; at about the fourth year children are no longer allowed to see adults of the opposite sex naked; around the fifth year, boys and girls, bo'befam and bo'binga, stop [857] playing together.

857 Games are to a great extent mixed with the learning of future tasks: 861 little girls play at housekeeping and sometimes with dolls; little boys hunt rats with the bow, throw small assagais at moving targets, set snares, etc. But there are also "free" games like jacks, cat's cradle, blindman's buff, common to both sexes, ndongo tops made of snail shells for boys, émvala or /a kind of/ dance for girls. Children also have their own dances distinct from those of adults and peculiar to each sex. They start working as soon as they know the taboos, girls helping their mothers, boys beginning to learn masculine crafts by preparing materials; stripping leaves from folioles of raffia "bamboo," barking and pounding lianas to be made into ropes, scraping skins, etc.

The children of a village play in bands, but practical training and the teaching of traditions is carried on at home, under father or 861 mother, according to the /child's/ sex. However, preparation for

551 epicene but tend to be attributed more to a particular sex—thus, it is rather rare to find a girl called Ze or a boy Nyangono.

854 In any case a baby, ntyen or nkeñelé, is not considered a human
[858 being until it receives a name. After the first going out from the
551] house /the churching/ and until weaning, that is, for eighteen months or two years, the mother carries it everywhere with her, in a fold of her loincloth or in a sling for the purpose, doé or awoé, then, when it can stand by itself, astride her hip. The nkeñelé is given almost no training; the mother gives it the breast whenever the baby cries and does not attempt toilet training; a father occasionally plays with sons, rarely with daughters. Older sisters help the mother to take care of the baby, for instance, watching it in the shade while she is working in the fields or carrying the baby for her when she is overburdened.

862 Weaning often occurs in stages; the child begins to take solid food while still at the breast, sometimes before it is a year old. But it
[857] does not stop being considered a baby, nkenele, and become a child, mongó, until it walks and begins to talk pretty well. From that time
854 on, it must learn to respect its personal prohibitions and clan taboos; often an older brother or sister will be charged to supervise him. Separation of the sexes increases with age; at about the fourth year children are no longer allowed to see adults of the opposite sex naked; around the fifth year, boys and girls, bo'befam and bo'binga, stop
[857] playing together.

857 Games are to a great extent mixed with the learning of future tasks:
861 little girls play at housekeeping and sometimes with dolls; little boys hunt rats with the bow, throw small assagais at moving targets, set snares, etc. But there are also "free" games like jacks, cat's cradle, blindman's buff, common to both sexes, ndongo tops made of snail shells for boys, émvala or /a kind of/ dance for girls. Children also have their own dances distinct from those of adults and peculiar to each sex. They start working as soon as they know the taboos, girls helping their mothers, boys beginning to learn masculine crafts by preparing materials; stripping leaves from folioles of raffia "bamboo," barking and pounding lianas to be made into ropes, scraping skins, etc.

The children of a village play in bands, but practical training and the teaching of traditions is carried on at home, under father or
861 mother, according to the /child's/ sex. However, preparation for

551 Nkumu." "Nkumu sa?" Nkumu Bawu." Bawu sa?" "Bawu Otoo."
539 "Otoo sa?" "Otoo Kuboo." "Kuboo sa?" "Kuboo Emwi."
211 "Emwi sa?" "Emwi Abungo." "Abungo sa?" "Abungo a Schiele."
"Schiele sa?" "Schiele Maa." "Maa sa?" "Maa Makama."
"Makama sa?" Makama

me	nga	būge	nana	abō:
who	lived	to break (of the)	mother	the leg,

tsǎ,s
tsass (onomatopoetic).

A remnant of the old aversion of all primitive peoples to
551 mention names, because thereby some kind of mischief might re-
578 sult, can still be observed among the Pangwe. /287/ They do not like to utter their names before strangers, and they find a question about their full names (in other words, including that of the father) tactless, indeed, almost insulting, as I frequently noticed among the Fang who had not had any contact with outsiders. It is also an insult in every respect to remind someone of his ancestors. This need not even be done by name -- since, after all, they do not always know the names -- but can be done with just the words: I shall "show" you your ancestors. This is taken as a threat of sorcery, that is, secret murder, and as though one were telling his enemy in advance that he would kill him and transport him to his ancestors. Such an insult is often avenged with the sword.

2. Child Rearing

861 The child is reared by means of precept and example, rarely by threats, and almost never -- at least only in case of major offenses against morality, such as theft, for instance -- by means of corporal punishment. The result must be termed an extremely good one; Pangwe children behave more tactfully and better than our children of the same age.

We are informed by some "experts on the Negro's soul" that
867 the Blacks have no sense of honor. A glance at their family life,
861 however, teaches us the opposite. In rearing the child, the

867 development of a sense of honor -- in the Pangwe sense, of
861 course -- may be called one of the primary rules. The child must learn to fear being shamed as much as our boys fear the rod.

The threats for smaller children up to six or seven years old
861 are limited to simple devices for frightening them known by the
534 name kŏkŏ'-bŏ'ngo III (Jaunde) or bim a sīze bŏngo (southern Pangwe) "things to scare children." The procedure is as follows. In the evening or at night a relative makes some kind of noise in front of the house. The child that is naughty or crying is then warned of the bad man outside. The simplest implement for making a noise is a small tree trunk that is placed on the floor and then alternately and rhythmically stamped and beaten with a mallet. In addition, the person may murmur in a deep voice: "kŏkŏ' nie a ŭ nie (the bad man (kŏkŏ'), he has come)." The implement itself is called -- onomatopoetically -- kăkăkūm̄o III (kă kă = the beating of the mallet, kūm = the stamping of the stick on the ground, and at the same time, ekūm = tree stump, upright piece of trunk). An even more effective means of scaring children is the uncanny sound of the wooden whizzer (edzībŏ'ngo, "child eater," Fig. 86), often used by men and older boys to frighten the younger ones. Aside from contrivances for making noise, there are /288/ various other means of frightening them, such as the belōnezŏk or wandering elephant, which, however, I cannot describe in greater detail at this point.

A much more important means of education is oral instruc-
861 tion and teaching, imparted in ample measure to the little fellow
867 by both father and mother. The mother tells stories /Fig. 86 appears here in the original text/ of which a number, like the story of the Edschibongo (child eater), are designed to keep the child in fear and at the same time to teach. In the next section I shall devote some attention to these stories; at this point I want to discuss in greater detail the purely educational precepts that are for the most part imparted by the father. These precepts or, as we might say, principles are called malĕbega. They are affirmed daily on every suitable occasion and constantly repeated, so that they become firmly implanted in a boy's head. A number of such principles, which unfold before our mind's eye an unfalsified image

861

[534]

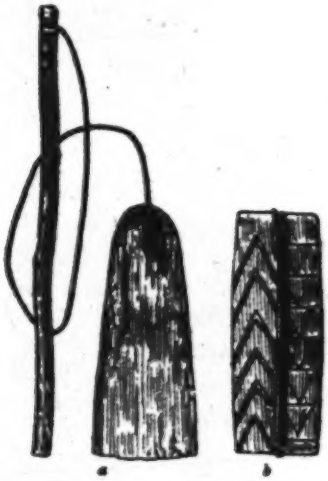


Fig. 86. Whizzers.
(a) With stick; (b) without stick, a string being slung around the wood.

861 of the natives' family life and reveal to us the view of the Pangwe
867 with respect to what he calls morality and order, will be reproduced here in the actual order in which the boys told them to me.

My father told me:

1. When I go on a journey, look after the chickens, dogs, and women for me, so that everything will be in good order when I return; then my heart will rejoice.

2. You should not tell others all the things that were confided to you, otherwise the man who has said them to you will be angry.

3. You shall listen to your father's words, because when you later marry a girl, your father will pay for her.

4. When I have visitors in my house and tell you to bring firewood, do it quickly; when I tell you to bring food for the guests, do it, or else your father will say of you, "You are like a chicken, a goat, or a dog -- I did not beget you!"

5. When you go to wrestle, you should muster your strength so that you will be the victor, for if others throw you, I shall be sad and will have to be ashamed.

6. If you have a sweetheart and she brings you food (Author's note: When the young man visits her), you must not eat up

861 867 everything right away, but /289/ modestly take two or three spoonfuls, for otherwise the girl will think that you are a real pig, and she will no longer love you.

7. If your father has many wives, industriously help him to clear large areas of the forest and prepare them for planting. Afterwards, the wives will then be able to plant a lot of food (bedzi). When my fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law (!) come for a visit, they must have ample food to eat. If they go to bed hungry, they will have a poor idea of our village and call it a miserable nest.

8. When strangers (guests) come and do not find me at home, entertain them just as if I were there and be in every way helpful; otherwise they will say that you have no breeding (plural, o seke mɔ̄ɪ = you are no person = man).

9. If you are able to forge and if one of my brothers (that is, members of the kin group) comes and wants to have something made, make everything for him just as he desires it, and if a man from another family comes, do likewise, because you can never tell whether some day you might not marry a girl from that particular family. If you have done as I have advised you and you desire the daughter of the man or of one of his kin group for a wife, he will immediately and gladly have you since you have done him a good turn.

10. If you have seduced the wife of another man and the husband comes into my village and brings with him the medicine over which you must step (as a proof of truthfulness, see legal concepts), you will die. My son, this is a very bad matter! Remember that! It is better to admit the affair right away; I myself shall pay for you, that is nothing to you! I am not saying that you should seduce the wives of others, and so forth.

11. You must not be greedy for food (plural, akū̄ɪ = avaricious with respect to food). If you are, everybody will laugh at you, and if you go to another place, you yourself will not get anything to eat.

12. If I have many daughters, you must learn to make their coiffures (ornamental coiffures), so that the girls will not go elsewhere to find a man who dresses hair, because girls as a rule do not like to go great distances.

861 13. Treat your (real) sister well! If she scolds you, leave
867 her alone (that is, do not scold her in return); it is nothing to you! Do not beat her, either, because, after all, for the money that is paid for the marriage of your sister, you will in turn buy a wife for yourself. If you beat your sister, she may possibly die through sorcery (this means that in her anger over the maltreat-
[762] ment she might take her life, something which does indeed happen), and you will have no money and no wife, and people will not respect you, and so forth. /290/

14. If you are the older of two brothers and you are married and have a daughter, then do not marry another woman with the marriage portion that you get for the daughter; instead, leave the daughter (or the money) to your younger brother. If, as the eldest, you have acted in such a way, you will enjoy the same honor and respect among your brothers as your father does.

15. Your father tells you all these good /Fig. 87 appears here in the original text/ principles and bits of advice not in order to make you, his son, bad (that is, through lack of trust or lack of respect for him), nor does he do so in order to limit your freedom, but because he desires that you will not bring any unpleasantness (quarrels) into the house, which will harm him and you. For when I have paid two or three times, I will be tired of (disgusted with) these things, and it may not be long before I have no wife left in the village (that is, he would be a poor man, because wives mean money, and he would have spent all his money for the fines of his son).

The attentive reader, in looking through the earlier sections
861 of this book, will not have failed to note the strict patriarchal
593 tendency of the Pangwe. It is clear, therefore, that the father supervises the education of the child and especially of the adolescent boy. He does this in an ideal manner -- even among us it would be regarded as ideal -- by becoming his son's best friend and by supporting and advising him in all the important problems of life.

Of course, the mother is dear to the Negroes and cherished by them as she is everywhere else in the world, but natural respect and shame in her presence prohibit the son from telling her

[857]
[854]
[291]
[142]

Fig. 87. Boy about Seven Carrying a Child, Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

861 593 everything that is on his mind. Also, any kind of influence in the family unit is wielded only by the chief wife and /291/ even by her only to a limited extent. In all problems of life the father, as head of the family, remains the real friend and counselor of his son, as does the mother for her daughter.

861 593 578 626 In this way the love of the parents gently leads the child through the realm of youth. However, once the boy has matured into a young man, the obstinacy with which nature has to a special degree endowed the Pangwe, sometimes asserts itself even in the face /Fig. 88 appears here in the original text/ of paternal authority. In such a case, it is sometimes only the most effective and most feared means of education that helps to lead the

[Text continues on page 163]

861 593 578 626 rebellious son back to gentler modes of behavior, namely, the public curse. The curse (ebǔn[o]; verb, a bǔno) may be pronounced by the father or the mother upon the son, as well as by the eldest son as the father's representative, especially after the father's death, upon a younger brother. In the majority of cases, however, it is the father who pronounces the curse upon his son. The cause for such a pronouncement is continual disobedience, for instance, if the son, despite repeated warnings, takes advantage of the father's wives. The father then stands in the middle of the village square in order to be heard by the people, usually in the morning when they are all at home, or he summons them all to the meeting house and speaks to them somewhat as follows: "This person, my son, continually acts counter to my commands, etc.; therefore from this time on he shall be successful in nothing, he shall acquire no more things (through purchase and trade of gifts), he shall have no success in hunting; when he goes to a girl she shall 'look upon him as dirt' and grant him no love. For he shall be cursed." A definite formula is not prescribed in most regions; only in the north of the Pangwe region they say: "ma yǒk(e) oa" (Jaunde), that is, "I curse you." /292/

In most cases, the curse actually is followed by the consequences threatened by the father, at least insofar as they concern the son's social position. News of the curse spreads everywhere, and nobody wants to have anything more to do with the cursed one; wherever he goes he is looked at askance or even heaped with abuse and ridicule. In his father's village he will be completely unacceptable. As a result, the son is soon tired of this unbearable state of affairs and now tries to induce his father to remove the curse. He requests him through friends or relatives to remove the curse from him, or he approaches his father through his mother, but then by way of her brother, since "she is afraid of her husband."

If, in response to these requests and the son's promise that he will improve, the father is prepared to nullify the curse, the son must first of all -- if he is an adult -- pay him a goat or -- if he is not an adult -- a chicken. Contrary to the usual custom of adding every piece of livestock to the marriage portion for more wives, the animal paid as compensation by the son is consumed by

861 the parents and relatives. Thereafter, the son is summoned to
593 appear in the village the next day. The father again assembles
626 all the people in the meeting house and makes a long speech in
578 which he rehearses the entire affair from his point of view down to the smallest details. Finally, at the conclusion of his speech, he touches upon the actual purpose of the gathering and proceeds to remove the curse. The formula with which he does so is approximately as follows:

ma tɛ̄'i matɛ'i, ma kǎbe ma,
[539] I have imposed curse (1) (?), I disengage myself (from

1. matɛ̄'i = the imposed curse, a va matɛ̄'i = to remove the (imposed) curse; the root a tɛ̄'i = to tear oneself away from, to depart from home, otǐtɛ̄i = star (see Vol. II, pages 85 and 86).

ma nīme ma, -- ǒsū̄ɛ
it), I make straight myself -- (into the) water

nkīā̄ɛ; Chorus: mān.
down. Chorus: Ready, past.

The texts of the formulas, which are frequently extended through the introduction of comparisons and which do not, of course, correspond word for word, are evidently all very old since they are very hard to understand and sometimes not intelligible at all.

At the same time the father spits into his son's hand to indi-
[201] cate that what he took away from him by means of his words (symbolized by the spittle) he is putting back in his power (hand), or the father bites off -- this is the procedure among the Jaunde --
[824] a piece of the stalk of a Costus (Zingiberaceae) and spits it out. In so doing he casts out all the bitterness from his heart (Costus stalk is bitter).

519 Furthermore, a curse may be pronounced by the first wife
595 against her husband, in case he treats her badly and always neglects her in favor of others. The curse is either pronounced

551 epicene but tend to be attributed more to a particular sex—thus, it is rather rare to find a girl called Ze or a boy Nyangono.

854 In any case a baby, ntyen or nkeñelé, is not considered a human
[858 being until it receives a name. After the first going out from the
551] house /the churching/ and until weaning, that is, for eighteen months or two years, the mother carries it everywhere with her, in a fold of her loincloth or in a sling for the purpose, doé or awoé, then, when it can stand by itself, astride her hip. The nkeñelé is given almost no training; the mother gives it the breast whenever the baby cries and does not attempt toilet training; a father occasionally plays with sons, rarely with daughters. Older sisters help the mother to take care of the baby, for instance, watching it in the shade while she is working in the fields or carrying the baby for her when she is overburdened.

862 Weaning often occurs in stages; the child begins to take solid food while still at the breast, sometimes before it is a year old. But it
[851] does not stop being considered a baby, nkenele, and become a child, mongô, until it walks and begins to talk pretty well. From that time
854 on, it must learn to respect its personal prohibitions and clan taboos; often an older brother or sister will be charged to supervise him. Separation of the sexes increases with age; at about the fourth year children are no longer allowed to see adults of the opposite sex naked; around the fifth year, boys and girls, bo'befam and bo'binga, stop
[857] playing together.

857 Games are to a great extent mixed with the learning of future tasks:
861 little girls play at housekeeping and sometimes with dolls; little boys hunt rats with the bow, throw small assagais at moving targets, set snares, etc. But there are also "free" games like jacks, cat's cradle, blindman's buff, common to both sexes, ndongo tops made of snail shells for boys, émvala or /a kind of/ dance for girls. Children also have their own dances distinct from those of adults and peculiar to each sex. They start working as soon as they know the taboos, girls helping their mothers, boys beginning to learn masculine crafts by preparing materials; stripping leaves from folioles of raffia "bamboo," barking and pounding lianas to be made into ropes, scraping skins, etc.

The children of a village play in bands, but practical training and the teaching of traditions is carried on at home, under father or
861 mother, according to the /child's/ sex. However, preparation for

861 initiations and now catechism bring all the boys and girls of a village together.

854 Adult surveillance is casual: grown people mainly want /95/ children to know their place and not to be a nuisance. Otherwise, it is mostly the older children who take care of the younger ones.

c. Adolescence

882 Boys and girls share their mother's hut until the beginning of
854 adolescence, at which age the boys go to live by themselves, formerly in the "guardhouse," aba, nowadays in a hut on the paternal "allotment." Formerly, girls were sometimes married off before birth and
[582] went to the husband's village at about eight years of age; this is very unusual today, but it is still fairly common for them to go at that age to a paternal or maternal aunt or to a married sister, where they act more or less as servants until puberty, being trained meanwhile. It is also quite common for boys to go to live with a relative whose
[871] house is nearer a school than is their own village (1).

> 1. But a motive of proximity to school is not a complete explanation, merely an additional reason for leaving. In fact, a study of urban centers equipped with
> [574] schools of a good level shows that 30 percent of the children live outside the paternal household with uncles or grandparents. Whatever a father's personal view, he could never refuse his son to relatives expressing a wish to have the boy for some time. (J. B.)

881 The bongô /children/ become ndôman, a youth, or ngon, a girl,
304 at the onset of puberty. The transition is marked by circumcision
864 among boys, atyi'i atyel, in the past sometimes followed by the first initiation, bekungu. Circumcision is done between the ages of six and twelve, usually around ten. Nowadays it is often done at a dispensary, while it formerly was the occasion of a family and village ceremony. Subjects for circumcision prepared for the ceremony with a relatively short seclusion (of a fortnight) during which they were

On the Second

846 day after the delivery the mother may go outside to relieve herself, but otherwise she stays in the house for eight or ten days. Then she rubs herself and the child daily with red wood, for a month if she is in the village of her parents or for two months if she is in her husband's house. Only after this period has elapsed does she again take up her customary work.

The woman has to observe a special diet before and after
834 the confinement only with respect to the food taboos discussed
845 previously. On the other hand, she must abstain from sexual intercourse until the child can walk (two years), for if she does not, the worst, even death, is to be feared for the little one. Of course, especially towards the end of this period, a great many infringements of this taboo occur; in such a case one speaks of a tsǎbe bǒ́ngo (literally: to cast the children away, to thrust them away from oneself).

The child is nursed for a like period since the milk is sup-
853 posed to diminish and dry up only after resumption of regular sexual
862 intercourse. However, the flow of milk resumes in case of renewed pregnancy, so in that case the child can again be nursed. Even later, often until the seventh year, the sturdy urchin now and then still enjoys the sweet draught. If the mother is tired of giving the breast, she simply rubs her nipples with pepper (Capsicum).

/277/ Section 19

Childhood and Games

000 1. Names and name-giving. Time at which the name is given, announcement of the name. -- Names given by the mother. -- Variation of names among the subtribes. -- Classification of names. -- Names with explanation: A. Boys' names and their classification; B. Girls' names. -- Nicknames, jocular verse with nicknames. -- Full name (father's name, kin group, name of the mother's kin group), example. -- Series of

561 no more than a mere conventional taboo, as with certain words con-
[843] sidered crude in French. At birth and until weaning a baby is ntyen (nken) or nkeñelé.

[862] After weaning, which usually occurs when the child begins to walk by itself, between eighteen months and two years, the nken becomes a mongô (mone fam = boy; mone minga = girl); an uncircumcised
561 boy is called more specifically nsôsôl.

881 Circumcision takes place between eight and twelve years of age
[304] (1), before the first premonitory signs of puberty, especially the

> 1. In former times it was sometimes put off until the youth had killed his first enemy. See Trilles (no. 166) and Largeau (no. 48).

appearance of the first pubic hair (afañ, related to the verb fañ = to do well, correctly, on purpose, from the masculine root FA?). The circumcised boy, ntyi'an, "cut one," becomes an adolescent, ndôman, a term also meaning "son" (in relation to a man, see above, p. 63). Correspondingly, a pubescent girl becomes ngon (which can mean at the same time young girl, daughter of a man, or moon: ayene ngon, "to see the moon," that is, to be menstruating), or also élenan. /57/

The adolescent boy is still ébis, uninitiated. The missions have now adopted the term mvôn, "initiated," to denote church members. Formerly, one became mvôn after initiation, mostly in the great national so initiation, the members of which were called monewôsô (probably "child of the death /la mort/ of the sô"; compare this with the joking relationship, awusô = the dying /le mourir/ of the sô).

561 After initiation, that is, somewhere between the sixteenth and
882 twentieth year, a young man though of military age was not yet a nya môtô, a true person. This he became only upon marriage, when
[884] he attained what might be considered his legal, civil, even economic, majority.

561 A girl, ngon, who became ngal or nya ngal, a true woman, by
[885] losing her virginity, after marriage was nya minga, a /married/ lady, and ésila or ékua, a matron, when she had brought up her first children. A man with grandchildren was ntole môt, an elder, usually
[888] around forty; this was the highest possible social position. Indeed,

551 apicene but tend to be attributed more to a particular sex—thus, it is rather rare to find a girl called Ze or a boy Nyangono.

854 In any case a baby, ntyen or nkeñelé, is not considered a human [858] being until it receives a name. After the first going out from the 551] house /the churching/ and until weaning, that is, for eighteen months or two years, the mother carries it everywhere with her, in a fold of her loincloth or in a sling for the purpose, doé or awoé, then, when it can stand by itself, astride her hip. The nkeñelé is given almost no training; the mother gives it the breast whenever the baby cries and does not attempt toilet training; a father occasionally plays with sons, rarely with daughters. Older sisters help the mother to take care of the baby, for instance, watching it in the shade while she is working in the fields or carrying the baby for her when she is overburdened.

862 Weaning often occurs in stages; the child begins to take solid food while still at the breast, sometimes before it is a year old. But it [857] does not stop being considered a baby, nkenele, and become a child, mongó, until it walks and begins to talk pretty well. From that time 854 on, it must learn to respect its personal prohibitions and clan taboos; often an older brother or sister will be charged to supervise him. Separation of the sexes increases with age; at about the fourth year children are no longer allowed to see adults of the opposite sex naked; around the fifth year, boys and girls, bo'befam and bo'binga, stop [857] playing together.

857 Games are to a great extent mixed with the learning of future tasks: 861 little girls play at housekeeping and sometimes with dolls; little boys hunt rats with the bow, throw small assagais at moving targets, set snares, etc. But there are also "free" games like jacks, cat's cradle, blindman's buff, common to both sexes, ndongo tops made of snail shells for boys, émvala or /a kind of/ dance for girls. Children also have their own dances distinct from those of adults and peculiar to each sex. They start working as soon as they know the taboos, girls helping their mothers, boys beginning to learn masculine crafts by preparing materials; stripping leaves from folioles of raffia "bamboo," barking and pounding lianas to be made into ropes, scraping skins, etc.

The children of a village play in bands, but practical training and the teaching of traditions is carried on at home, under father or 861 mother, according to the /child's/ sex. However, preparation for

1. Sexual Life before Maturity

Like Europeans, the Pangwe divide the individual's life into
561 three sections, the period of childhood, that of adulthood, and
856 that of old age. The last period, however, concerns the Negro much less than the first two periods of life, because on the average death occurs at an early age. Sexual maturity represents the boundary line between childhood and adulthood, and the Pangwe emphasizes it very much because sexuality is at the center of his religious conceptions and /252/ finds external expression through the initiation into the cults. This initiation corresponds to our confirmation. The Pangwe acts as though a person before sexual maturity -- for the sake of brevity I shall call this person a child (mǒ́ngo III) -- represents a stage antecedent to actual manhood, mót III, just as, say, the caterpillar is the stage prior to the butterfly.

If we think back on what was said concerning the soul in the
774 discussion of religion /Ed., not translated/, we remember that
836 the Pangwe distinguish two kinds of people according to the kind
864 of soul they possess: bebǐ́n (uninitiated, good), and bongǔs
882 (initiated, evil). Children (bǒ́ngo) are bebǐ́n, uninitiated, good, because they do not know sexual intercourse and, if they have become acquainted with it prematurely, do not know that they are committing a sin; indeed, they could not know since, after all, they are not initiated into the profound connections between sexual intercourse, life, and death.

In reality the situation is such that the Pangwe young people
882 are perfectly well informed, but officially each one must empha-
884 size that he is a child, mǒ́ngo, that is, good, unknowing, uninitiated as to sexual intercourse, even when he has long outgrown not only the actually innocent childhood (in the narrower sense), but also the period of sexual maturity. This point can be tested on any Negro between the age of ten and 20 years by asking him whether he already practices sexual intercourse. The answer will always be the same, be he a Fang from the bush or a Jaunde long since glossed over by a bit of civilization: "ma ne mǒ́ngo (I am
[672] a child, that is, innocent, I know nothing about sexual intercourse)."

882
864 By this answer, he secures for himself the mild judgment with
[672] which we dispose of "silly boys' pranks."

For children, bǫ̆ŋgo, therefore, quite a different yardstick is applied; what they do, especially in respect to sexual matters, is not taken seriously.

bǫ̆ŋgo bǎ bǫ̆lě oson = children have no sense of shame, and
834 the other way around, adults do not display much towards chil-
855 dren (see homosexual life, Vol. II, page 131), since, after all,
864 children simply do not know what evil (sǒ) is or what shame (o-so-n) means. If the otherwise, at least externally, very modest Negroes say this themselves, we should not hope to find many of the characteristics of a true, innocent ebin among the children. As a matter of fact their first playful imitations of
836 sexual intercourse as they observe older people performing it
838 begin at five or six years of age; between the age of eight and nine "playing parents" is nothing but perfectly conscious sexual intercourse, though it is generally regarded as a game and was cited to me in the category of "children's games" under the name ebǒbǎ̆ne-bǫ̆ŋgo (Ntum) or ebǎ̆nebǎ̆ne bǫ̆ŋgo (Fang). It is usually done in the forenoon /253/ in the dwellings when the parents are in the fields or absent elsewhere. The partners are not only boys and girls, but also boys among each other. Later, at the age of eight to 10 years and frequently somewhat beyond, many boys manifest a similar inclination towards members of their own sex, along with a sexual urge for girls of the same age. In view of the emphasis on maintaining, as long as possible, the outward appearance of modesty, the Pangwe boys make use of a device whereby they come to an understanding "metaphorically." A boy
[201] rakes some earth and sweepings onto a leaf, ties this hastily together like a food bundle, and gives it to the other. If the latter is ready to respond to the proffered affection, he will open the bundle and pretend to eat of it, saying finally, "ma mane a dži," that is, "I have eaten." If he is not inclined to respond, he will throw away the bundle, of whose contents he has full knowledge.

Concerning masturbation, see below, page 130.

861 initiations and now catechism bring all the boys and girls of a village together.

854 Adult surveillance is casual: grown people mainly want /95/ children to know their place and not to be a nuisance. Otherwise, it is mostly the older children who take care of the younger ones.

c. Adolescence

882 854 Boys and girls share their mother's hut until the beginning of adolescence, at which age the boys go to live by themselves, formerly in the "guardhouse," aba, nowadays in a hut on the paternal "allotment." Formerly, girls were sometimes married off before birth and [582] went to the husband's village at about eight years of age; this is very unusual today, but it is still fairly common for them to go at that age to a paternal or maternal aunt or to a married sister, where they act more or less as servants until puberty, being trained meanwhile. It is also quite common for boys to go to live with a relative whose [87] house is nearer a school than is their own village (1).

1. But a motive of proximity to school is not a complete explanation, merely an additional reason for leaving. In fact, a study of urban centers equipped with [574] schools of a good level shows that 30 percent of the children live outside the paternal household with uncles or grandparents. Whatever a father's personal view, he could never refuse his son to relatives expressing a wish to have the boy for some time. (J. B.)

881 The bongô /children/ become ndôman, a youth, or ngon, a girl, 304 at the onset of puberty. The transition is marked by circumcision 864 among boys, atyi'i atyel, in the past sometimes followed by the first initiation, bekungu. Circumcision is done between the ages of six and twelve, usually around ten. Nowadays it is often done at a dispensary, while it formerly was the occasion of a family and village ceremony. Subjects for circumcision prepared for the ceremony with a relatively short seclusion (of a fortnight) during which they were

881 limited to a vegetarian diet without salt or spices, to "freshen the
304 blood." They received sexual instruction from the ngengañ, diviner-
964 healer, who performed the operation, while the elders, mintôl, examined /the boys/ in knowledge of the mebatan, "salutations" or genealogies: in actual fact circumcision ended the prohibition against coition by showing the danger of involuntary incest in case relation-
304 ships were not well understood. Women were not allowed to be present at the operation, which the ngengañ performed with a special razor, cauterizing the wound with a pimento decoction. A boy was held by his father, who pronounced the formula that lifted the taboo against coition. The foreskin was usually buried under a tree, perhaps a banana, perhaps a tree indicated by clan or lineage tradition, perhaps
[126] chosen, if we accept Trilles, for totemic reasons. Sometimes the foreskin was preserved for magic use. While the scar was healing, the circumcised boy could wear only a special vegetable breechcloth which was renewed daily; during this time no woman was supposed to speak to him or to touch him or his breechcloth; this he took advantage of so as to steal food and various things. /96/ Once the scar had healed, he could no longer appear in public naked. This whole /procedure/ is only partly followed at the present time; furthermore, since the time for the operation has been generally made earlier, circumcised boys who have not yet reached puberty (1) are often

> 1. A Protestant Ntoumou chief in Ambam told me that he had had his children circumcised earlier so as to be able to send them to the district school without running the risk of their breaking the sexual and food taboos of the uncircumcised when away from his supervision.

seen going about nude in villages. According to Trilles and Largeau, in the past some youths remained uncircumcised, minsôsôl, until they had killed their first enemy. At the present time all youths are circumcised, even Christians; the missions have only rarely tried to oppose the practice and always unsuccessfully.

881 After circumcision the ndôman was able to have sexual relations
883 and eat certain foods prohibited before. He went to live with other

881 youths in the aba and prepared for further initiations, while beginning
883 to participate fully in masculine activities, work and games. The bekungu (Fang, bekhun?) initiation that came directly after circumcision was not a general practice. My own impression is that this was not a tribal or clan rite like sô, but that of an association of diviners or seers involving only specially endowed individuals, perhaps related to the ndôngô rite restricted to grown men, which appears to have identical ritual tattoo marks.

881 For the mo'minga reaching puberty there is no stage equivalent to circumcision. In spite of what Trilles says, excision has apparently never been used except as a punishment for certain kinds of adultery or mild incest. It must not be forgotten that a little girl very soon went to live with her affinal family and that she was deflowered as soon as she reached puberty. She very rarely remained élenan, that is, pubescent and unmarried, and then for a very short time. One might almost say that her adolescence was telescoped into the period between childhood and the arrival of puberty marked by the mevungu rite.

This adolescent phase is now prolonged by the law fixing the
[882] marriageable age at fourteen (puberty usually comes during the
[145] twelfth year), by school attendance, and by the change in the bride-price system. Most of my friends of a certain age see in these facts the reasons for a crisis in immorality which they probably to some extent exaggerate.

Nevertheless, first menstruation was apparently acknowledged in a ceremony in which only women took part, but this may have been merely a preliminary to the mevungu initiation, about which hardly anything is known. Otherwise /as regards female adolescence/ coition is forbidden to immature girls, while unmarried girls who have begun menstruating have actually great sexual freedom, even in Christian circles. It must, however, be realized that only too often, especially in schools, there are girls deflowered before puberty, whereas boys seem to wait for circumcision /97/ before their first exploits — there
[883] are parents, worried about their sons' "good behavior," who give
884 them aphrodisiacs as encouragement.

d. Transition to Adulthood

882 The ndoman is not yet a real person, nya mɔtô; undoubtedly he participates in men's work, in hunting and clearing the land, but he

264 Then follows the warm midday meal which takes place between twelve and five o'clock, depending on when the woman returns from the plantation. The main meal, which is fairly substantial, occurs in the evening. This is not just one meal, however; the women have to cook two or three times and, indeed, even in the middle of the night in order to appease the hungry stomachs. They frequently deviate from this "rule," to be sure. If the store of provisions is ample and there is little work to do, they eat the whole day long; on the other hand, if anything comes up, they just as readily omit meals or fast an entire day.

In the main, meals consist of cassava and plantains. In addition to these, any of the other foods mentioned may be eaten, whatever is on hand.

Men and women usually eat separately. The woman takes care of herself as she is cooking and helps herself even to the men's food which is not meant for her, or she eats with her daughters and younger sons after she has sent the midday meal to her husband in the meeting house where the older boys also gather for food. /161/ On the other hand, the husband habitually goes home to take the late evening meal in the family circle, since by then it has become too cold or lonesome in the meeting house.

At all times, the Pangwe man eats quietly and with dignity, not without appreciative smacking of the lips and constant talking, however. Greedy eating (a ʃʉ̃ban a dʒĩ) seems ridiculous and un- [57] becoming to the Pangwe and is interpreted by him as a sign of bad rearing. Many of the precepts which the father gives his son make [86] this point, and in proverbs and fairy tales (for instance, in the nice 338] fairy tale of Bömme's gluttony, in the story of the greedy pig, and so forth) the same idea recurs.

264 Tableware is very sparse, as one would expect. In the case of 415 liquid dishes, the cooking pot, if it is small, is placed in the midst of the company straight from the fire; if it is large, its contents are poured into a smaller pot. Everyone takes his spoon and eats from the common vessel. In the evening when the man eats at home, he usually has a pot of his own placed before him. Solid foods, for instance, plantains and cassava cutlets, are served on a banana leaf, and everyone takes them by hand. It is considered more refined to

means: Balinge, son of Ekore."

551 [113] The custom of the Bane of adding the mother's name to one's own, as reported here, is found also among the Jaunde according to Zenker (Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, Vol. 8, p. 50).

Family names in our sense are unknown to the Pangwe. Towards strangers they use the name of the kin group, which is after all to be understood as a "family" in the Pangwe sense; to this, at the same time, is added the name of the mother's familial group. My faithful factotum, Ayong, who has already been presented to the reader in the picture on Plate 3 /Ed., Vol. 1/, would, for instance, introduce himself as follows:

[539] ma ne ayŏn-bokǎ, mǫne esǎwŏ́n,
I am Ajong-Boka, child (of the family) Essauong,

mone ngǭ́n esatŏp.
child (of a) girl (of the) Essatop.

551 867 To learn this complete name by heart is the child's first task. Once the child can recite it without a mistake, the father, proud of the cleverness of his offspring, proceeds to the further task of acquainting the little one with the names of his grandfather and great-grandfather (naturally on the father's side). Let us again take an example.

The child is called Ndungo, his father Essun, from the Abai family, in other words: ndǭŋgo-esū́n, mǫne abai, etc., Ndungo of Essun from the Abai family. -- "But from whom am I, Essun, descended?" asks the father. "esū́n-nzĕ́ma, that is, Essun from Nsema," is the answer. "And from whom is Nsema descended = nzĕma nza?" "nzĕma-ngĕĕ." -- The child learns it all very [181] quickly, because as regards its ability to grasp things /286/, the Negro child is far superior to white children. -- The Pangwe, however, does not stop with the grandfather. Each of these black gentlemen has all his ancestors in his head, just like our feudal lords. To be sure, none of them knows more about them than

551 their names. Our Ndungo was able to enumerate eleven ancestors,
967 his father Essun, then Nsema, Ngää, Massoo, Obute, Akiege,
Asangui, Awodo, Tulo, Nssim, Okudu.

Generally speaking, the Pangwe probably know on the average eight or ten ancestors by name; not infrequently one even hears 10, or 12, and 14 represented the maximum.

Frequently a lengthy cognomen is added to the last ancestor, which gives the whole a magnificent final effect, somewhat in the way that among us the descendants of a famous man trace their genealogical tree back to him: "I am descended from that person, and his father was called so-and-so, and his father in turn was so-and-so, the famous general who in such-and-such a war won such-and-such a victory." Thus the ancestral table of an Esseng man by the name of Abŏschoo went as follows: Ogbue, Ngumbaschoo, Edu, Ngumu, Bokoo, Motoo, Ossele, Akuschoo Bebe -- ayĕm esĕb ya andŭm = the Akuschoo Bebe, who knew when the dry season comes and when it rains (explanation of the latter part uncertain).

551 A jocular poem in which a boy poses questions while another
539 answers enumerates no fewer than 21 ancestors:
211

"o mbe lŭk e vĕ?" -- "a jŏm." "oa
You were driving fish where? -- In the Sannaga. You

vüi dzĕ?" -- "nwŏs."
killed what? -- (A) shrimp.

"za a dzĭ?"
Who it eat? (Who will eat it?) -- "Abele."

"Abele sa?" (= from whom is Abele descended). "Abele-Boka" (Abele is the son of Boka). "Boka bo sa?" "Boka bo Ssissi." "Ssissi sa?" "Ssissi Mening." "Mening sa?" "Mening me Koebe." "Koebe sa?" "Koebe Kum." "Kum sa?" "Kum Otsaa." "Otsaa sa?" "Otsaa Maniodo." "Maniodo sa?" "Maniodo Ssamwinne." "Ssamwinne sa?" "Ssamwinne a Ssongo." "Ssongo sa?" "Ssongo Abui." "Abui sa?" "Abui

551 Nkumu." "Nkumu sa?" Nkumu Bawu." Bawu sa?" "Bawu Otoo."
539 "Otoo sa?" "Otoo Kuboo." "Kuboo sa?" "Kuboo Emwi."
211 "Emwi sa?" "Emwi Abungo." "Abungo sa?" "Abungo a Schiele."
"Schiele sa?" "Schiele Maa." "Maa sa?" "Maa Makama."
"Makama sa?" Makama

me nga būge nana abū:
who lived to break (of the) mother the leg,
tsǎs
tsass (onomatopoetic).

A remnant of the old aversion of all primitive peoples to
551 mention names, because thereby some kind of mischief might re-
578 sult, can still be observed among the Pangwe. /287/ They do not like to utter their names before strangers, and they find a question about their full names (in other words, including that of the father) tactless, indeed, almost insulting, as I frequently noticed among the Fang who had not had any contact with outsiders. It is also an insult in every respect to remind someone of his ancestors. This need not even be done by name -- since, after all, they do not always know the names -- but can be done with just the words: I shall "show" you your ancestors. This is taken as a threat of sorcery, that is, secret murder, and as though one were telling his enemy in advance that he would kill him and transport him to his ancestors. Such an insult is often avenged with the sword.

2. Child Rearing

The child is reared by means of precept and example, rarely
861 by threats, and almost never -- at least only in case of major of-
fenses against morality, such as theft, for instance -- by means of corporal punishment. The result must be termed an extremely good one; Pangwe children behave more tactfully and better than our children of the same age.

We are informed by some "experts on the Negro's soul" that
867 the Blacks have no sense of honor. A glance at their family life,
861 however, teaches us the opposite. In rearing the child, the

867 development of a sense of honor -- in the Pangwe sense, of
861 course -- may be called one of the primary rules. The child must learn to fear being shamed as much as our boys fear the rod.

The threats for smaller children up to six or seven years old
861 are limited to simple devices for frightening them known by the
534 name kŏkŏ'-bŏ'ngo III (Jaunde) or bim a sizze bŏngo (southern Pangwe) "things to scare children." The procedure is as follows. In the evening or at night a relative makes some kind of noise in front of the house. The child that is naughty or crying is then warned of the bad man outside. The simplest implement for making a noise is a small tree trunk that is placed on the floor and then alternately and rhythmically stamped and beaten with a mallet. In addition, the person may murmur in a deep voice: "kŏkŏ' nie a ŭ nie (the bad man (kŏkŏ'), he has come)." The implement itself is called -- onomatopoetically -- kŭkŭkŭmo III (kŭ kŭ = the beating of the mallet, kŭm = the stamping of the stick on the ground, and at the same time, ekŭm = tree stump, upright piece of trunk). An even more effective means of scaring children is the uncanny sound of the wooden whizzer (edzibŏngo, "child eater," Fig. 86), often used by men and older boys to frighten the younger ones. Aside from contrivances for making noise, there are /288/ various other means of frightening them, such as the belŏnezŏk or wandering elephant, which, however, I cannot describe in greater detail at this point.

A much more important means of education is oral instruc-
861 tion and teaching, imparted in ample measure to the little fellow
867 by both father and mother. The mother tells stories /Fig. 86 appears here in the original text/ of which a number, like the story of the Edschibongo (child eater), are designed to keep the child in fear and at the same time to teach. In the next section I shall devote some attention to these stories; at this point I want to discuss in greater detail the purely educational precepts that are for the most part imparted by the father. These precepts or, as we might say, principles are called malĕbega. They are affirmed daily on every suitable occasion and constantly repeated, so that they become firmly implanted in a boy's head. A number of such principles, which unfold before our mind's eye an unfalsified image

861

[534]

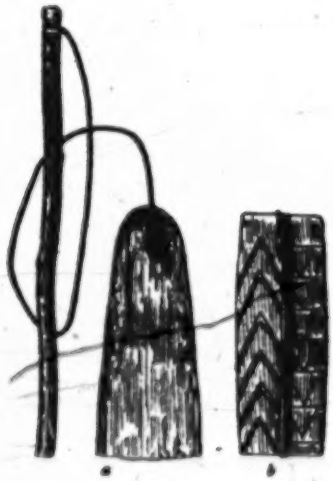


Fig. 86. Whizzers.
(a) With stick; (b) without stick, a string being slung around the wood.

861 of the natives' family life and reveal to us the view of the Pangwe
867 with respect to what he calls morality and order, will be reproduced here in the actual order in which the boys told them to me.

My father told me:

1. When I go on a journey, look after the chickens, dogs, and women for me, so that everything will be in good order when I return; then my heart will rejoice.

2. You should not tell others all the things that were confided to you, otherwise the man who has said them to you will be angry.

3. You shall listen to your father's words, because when you later marry a girl, your father will pay for her.

4. When I have visitors in my house and tell you to bring firewood, do it quickly; when I tell you to bring food for the guests, do it, or else your father will say of you, "You are like a chicken, a goat, or a dog -- I did not beget you!"

5. When you go to wrestle, you should muster your strength so that you will be the victor, for if others throw you, I shall be sad and will have to be ashamed.

6. If you have a sweetheart and she brings you food (Author's note: When the young man visits her), you must not eat up

861 everything right away, but /289/ modestly take two or three
867 spoonfuls, for otherwise the girl will think that you are a real pig, and she will no longer love you.

7. If your father has many wives, industriously help him to clear large areas of the forest and prepare them for planting. Afterwards, the wives will then be able to plant a lot of food (bedzi). When my fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law (!) come for a visit, they must have ample food to eat. If they go to bed hungry, they will have a poor idea of our village and call it a miserable nest.

8. When strangers (guests) come and do not find me at home, entertain them just as if I were there and be in every way helpful; otherwise they will say that you have no breeding (plural, o seke mɔ́l = you are no person = man).

9. If you are able to forge and if one of my brothers (that is, members of the kin group) comes and wants to have something made, make everything for him just as he desires it, and if a man from another family comes, do likewise, because you can never tell whether some day you might not marry a girl from that particular family. If you have done as I have advised you and you desire the daughter of the man or of one of his kin group for a wife, he will immediately and gladly have you since you have done him a good turn.

10. If you have seduced the wife of another man and the husband comes into my village and brings with him the medicine over which you must step (as a proof of truthfulness, see legal concepts), you will die. My son, this is a very bad matter! Remember that! It is better to admit the affair right away; I myself shall pay for you, that is nothing to you! I am not saying that you should seduce the wives of others, and so forth.

11. You must not be greedy for food (plural, akū̃ɨ = avaricious with respect to food). If you are, everybody will laugh at you, and if you go to another place, you yourself will not get anything to eat.

12. If I have many daughters, you must learn to make their coiffures (ornamental coiffures), so that the girls will not go elsewhere to find a man who dresses hair, because girls as a rule do not like to go great distances.

861 13. Treat your (real) sister well! If she scolds you, leave
her alone (that is, do not scold her in return); it is nothing to
867 you! Do not beat her, either, because, after all, for the money
that is paid for the marriage of your sister, you will in turn buy
a wife for yourself. If you beat your sister, she may possibly die
through sorcery (this means that in her anger over the maltreat-
[762] ment she might take her life, something which does indeed hap-
pen), and you will have no money and no wife, and people will
not respect you, and so forth. /290/

14. If you are the older of two brothers and you are married and have a daughter, then do not marry another woman with the marriage portion that you get for the daughter; instead, leave the daughter (or the money) to your younger brother. If, as the eldest, you have acted in such a way, you will enjoy the same honor and respect among your brothers as your father does.

15. Your father tells you all these good /Fig. 87 appears here in the original text/ principles and bits of advice not in order to make you, his son, bad (that is, through lack of trust or lack of respect for him), nor does he do so in order to limit your freedom, but because he desires that you will not bring any unpleasantness (quarrels) into the house, which will harm him and you. For when I have paid two or three times, I will be tired of (disgusted with) these things, and it may not be long before I have no wife left in the village (that is, he would be a poor man, because wives mean money, and he would have spent all his money for the fines of his son).

The attentive reader, in looking through the earlier sections
861 of this book, will not have failed to note the strict patriarchal
593 tendency of the Pangwe. It is clear, therefore, that the father
supervises the education of the child and especially of the adolescent boy. He does this in an ideal manner -- even among us it would be regarded as ideal -- by becoming his son's best friend and by supporting and advising him in all the important problems of life.

Of course, the mother is dear to the Negroes and cherished by them as she is everywhere else in the world, but natural respect and shame in her presence prohibit the son from telling her

868 Otherwise, children imitate in play almost everything that
857 is strikingly done or made by adults. For instance, they make
524 useful objects, such as knives and boxes of raffia pith and ex-
tremely charming little hide drums of wood or banana pith (Fig. 96). For the latter, a piece of rat's skin serves as the hide. The little Fang boy augments the popular banging noise at festivities with a device made of raffia pith for detonating powder (Fig. 97). Above all, we may not leave unmentioned the fact
867 that even children imitate a cult and, significantly enough, the
524 cult of ancestor worship which we mentioned above as being of
857 special importance. The ancestral figure is carved out of plantain pith by the children, and it wears a cap made of canna blossoms that are strung on little sticks. Only once did I see a figure made of wood. The ancestral skulls are replaced by -- monkeys' skulls. What a delightful spectacle such an innocent children's game would provide for the /298/ "initiated" European if he could observe it unseen.

We have already spoken in Volume II, page 105, of the imitation of family life in which small girls participate. In the main, the game corresponds to our "playing house." The boys endeavor by means of much screaming and activity to imitate the domineering father and try to drag the already quite rebellious "wives" around everywhere, to boss and bully them to their heart's content. The "child," a doll (mōn-ekǭ'n = child made of plantain), Figure 98, the most important thing for the smaller girls, and it is always dragged along by the anxious mother and guarded and fed with great love. The doll is a simple roll of plantain pith set in a carrying band made of dry leaf sheaths of the plantain.

The slingshot, among other things, belongs to the fourth
857 group, the games with toys (nǯǭ'go ya dǯí'me), Figure 99. It
524 consists of a stick to which a raffia pith rope is tied. At its free end the easily torn rope forms a noose in which a nut of the oil palm is placed. The slingshot is never used with hostile intent, say, in war games, but belongs solely to the group of games with toys, that is, they amuse themselves with this toy because of its peculiar effect. In using it, the stick is taken in hand, and the rock

101 [Geographic and Ethnographic Comment on the Lower Ogooué], Ann. de Géogr., No. 62, March 15, 1903.

" is a [67] corruption of the word mpanwe by which the tribes of the coast refer to the Fan." Among them are found the tribes of three great parent branches, the Betsi and the Nzaman of the Madzouna dialect, and the Make of the Maekina dialect. Their number has a [161] strong tendency to decrease due to continuous migration towards the sea, and above all due to lack of births and to stillbirths. There are 361 actually no villages except on the banks of the Ogooué and the Abanga, and in the valley of the Okano along the route that joins the river at Oyem; and a few hamlets of the Make in the interior near small Bakele settlements on the left bank. The whole region of the right bank is depopulated, and one finds no more than frequent patches of short, thick brush without trees, except for some banana trees which are traces of vanished former villages.

Beliefs

113 I. Conceming the origin of man, the elements. Whenever a Pahouin recites his genealogy (every child is used to this from his early [867] years, a survival of the need while traveling to make oneself known as a member of a tribe), he ends the list of his ancestors with: "X... son of Nzame," and adds a formula meaning "and the rooster crowed and I was not there." All the Pahouin now living thus claim a common ancestor, Nzame, to whom they attribute supernatural powers but whom they do not worship. This Nzame himself has four known ancestors: Meboere, Nkwa, Sokuma, and Mba Angwe. We have not been able to obtain any information about these, nor about the formula in which the rooster is mentioned [sic]. It seems that this is due to the ignorance of the natives rather than their ill will (many traditions were lost through contact with peoples met in the westward migration and especially through contact with Europeans), since the natives questioned quite voluntarily gave accounts of the life of Nzame as their fathers had described it to them.

596 conclusion that a substantial social framework did not exist. A report written at the beginning of the century notes the impossibility "of finding an embryo of organization," emphasizing that there exist only more or less extended "families."

596 In the past the educational system very early gave the young
●867 Fang an exact knowledge of his genealogy (abara). Father Trilles writes that "the young man is particularly taught the individual list of his ancestors, which only concerns the male generations, (for) the woman is ignored," and, moreover, she never receives such instruction. (2) By knowing the relationships within his

2. Father Trilles, Le totémisme chez les Fan [Totemism Among the Fang], notes on pp. 109, 111, 180.

paternal line, the individual knows to which fundamental groupings he belongs, which women are forbidden him, and what relations he should have with such-and-such individuals, both living and dead. By more and more distant links he attaches himself to groupings that are more and more widely extended and are of more and more ancient formation. The first of these [groups] in which he finds himself immediately entered is the nd'ɛ bɔt, a patrilocal group at the village level which often has its own locality and communal house, which gather together, under the authority of the "eldest," or ntɔl-mɔt, the latter's posterity, his younger brothers and their posterity, and sometimes that of his paternal uncles; in addition, the [posterity] of individuals who are tied to him by bonds of kinship, adoption, or friendship. The most extended of
619 these [groups] is the "tribe" (ayɔ̂g, formerly ayɔm, studied by Martrou and Trilles, whose origin is neither located nor dated, but simply legendary, and whose dispersed took place throughout nearly the whole of the Fang country. [102] The intermediate groupings spread out concentrically from one to the other; the relations existing between the individuals they contain are expressed by a "fraternity" that is less and less real and less and less binding.

We have kept the term "tribe," used by the first observers of the Fang, to designate this earliest formed grouping, which is

533 skits, often satirical, sometimes to the accompaniment of European tunes that have been adapted to the instrument. Choral song, finally, is very popular, using imported tunes that are often considerably improved by the native interpretation which makes extensive use of fugue and counterpoint. Unfortunately, these modern airs are not suited to the tonal system of the language, which they tend to impair when words are adapted to them.

538 173 827 Chronicles, minkaffete, of which the salutations, mebatan, were in a way summaries, were part of traditional training and were recited only on solemn occasions. They are falling into oblivion because of the considerable demands they made upon the memory and because of the time necessary for learning them by heart, without mentioning the fact that they contained incomprehensible passages, perhaps borrowed from tribes that were neighbors of the Pahouin before their great migration. /126/

177 538 The systems of transcription introduced by missionaries were first used to translate the Scriptures and to compose hymns, which have not always had a good effect upon the language but have nonetheless become classics in spite of the mistakes and improprieties they often contain. After these works produced by Europeans in the native language, there have appeared in rapid succession works composed by Pahouin writing in their own language. The most remarkable is without doubt Nnanga kôn by the Boulou, Jemba Medu, which describes Boulou life at the time of the arrival of the first white men (nnanga kôn = phantom albino). This, to my knowledge, is the only novel composed in one of the languages of the group; its popularity is prodigious, to such a degree that its characters have entered into contemporary Boulou folklore.

204 There is a missionary press in Gabon and in the Cameroons. The papers with the largest circulation are Nleb Bekristen (Christians' Guide) (Ewôndo, Catholic) and Mefoé (News) (Boulou, Protestant), which is read as far afield as Gabon. The lay press in French is not of much importance and its publications moreover are usually short lived.

538 A Pahouin literature in the French language is a recent — and significant — phenomenon. Oyono and Eza Boto-Mongo Beti are both from the Cameroons; neither Gabon nor Spanish Guinea have up to now produced a novelist.

535 The dance has lost a great deal in being deprived of its old ritual character. Formerly there was a specific dance for every ceremony,

526 other materials. Even the "shining sword," made of raffia pith,
857 is not lacking (Fig. 91); it has the advantage, without being too dangerous, /296/ /Figs. 94-97 appear here in the original text/ of making a fairly loud clattering noise when struck on the enemy's body, and it causes a momentary, violent pain.

It is really unpleasant to be pelted with corn cobs which have previously been placed in a basket in the river and have become saturated with water /297/; still more disagreeable is a hollow piece of wood from the umbrella tree, which is filled with earth, closed off by means of a bung made of leaves, and then emptied at the enemy at the closest possible range.

A very dangerous "game" is man-catching. For this a number of boys take a piece of a strip of Oncocalamus (bush rope) and tie it into a noose. They hide the latter along the way leading out of the village, concealing it carefully among the grass and leaves, while the free end is tied to a tree stump. The naughty boys then hide behind trees and shrubs and with mischievous looks await the outcome. If a passerby gets a foot in the noose, he naturally comes crashing down, while the boys run away as fast as they can. They are wise to do so, because if the victim succeeds in catching one of the offenders, the latter must be prepared for a good thrashing or a complaint lodged with his father.

In the lower form of hunting, for soft-bellied insects, spiders,
526 etc., they use a rifle made of wood, into which they put some
857 powder (Fig. 92). The delicate hexapods or octopods are stupi-
● 868 fied by the smoke and fall to the ground helpless. A crossbow
524 made of raffia pith is likewise successfully used for hunting spiders (Fig. 93). For the "higher form of hunting," that is, for killing lizards and mice, a bow and arrows (Fig. 94) are employed. A method of hunting used by adults, namely, the encirclement of a wild animal, is imitated by having a little boy hide somewhere. The fish weirs find their counterpart in small imitations of them. They are set in the channels stirred up by the rain and block the way of little pieces of wood and leaves that are washed along. Even very clever miniature draw traps are made by skillful boys for the purpose of catching the annoying horseflies, which can be outwitted while they suck blood (Fig. 95).

868 Otherwise, children imitate in play almost everything that
857 is strikingly done or made by adults. For instance, they make
524 useful objects, such as knives and boxes of raffia pith and extremely charming little hide drums of wood or banana pith (Fig. 96). For the latter, a piece of rat's skin serves as the hide. The little Fang boy augments the popular banging noise at festivities with a device made of raffia pith for detonating powder (Fig. 97). Above all, we may not leave unmentioned the fact
867 that even children imitate a cult and, significantly enough, the
524 cult of ancestor worship which we mentioned above as being of
857 special importance. The ancestral figure is carved out of plantain pith by the children, and it wears a cap made of canna blossoms that are strung on little sticks. Only once did I see a figure made of wood. The ancestral skulls are replaced by -- monkeys' skulls. What a delightful spectacle such an innocent children's game would provide for the /298/ "initiated" European if he could observe it unseen.

We have already spoken in Volume II, page 105, of the imitation of family life in which small girls participate. In the main, the game corresponds to our "playing house." The boys endeavor by means of much screaming and activity to imitate the domineering father and try to drag the already quite rebellious "wives" around everywhere, to boss and bully them to their heart's content. The "child," a doll (mõn-ekõ'n = child made of plantain), Figure 98, the most important thing for the smaller girls, and it is always dragged along by the anxious mother and guarded and fed with great love. The doll is a simple roll of plantain pith set in a carrying band made of dry leaf sheaths of the plantain.

The slingshot, among other things, belongs to the fourth
857 group, the games with toys (nžõ'go ya dži'me), Figure 99. It
524 consists of a stick to which a raffia pith rope is tied. At its free end the easily torn rope forms a noose in which a nut of the oil palm is placed. The slingshot is never used with hostile intent, say, in war games, but belongs solely to the group of games with toys, that is, they amuse themselves with this toy because of its peculiar effect. In using it, the stick is taken in hand, and the rock

855 weak, the mother takes him with her to the fields or on her other trips. She carries him either on her hip by means of a belt of antelope hide, or on her back with a rope of vines on which the child sits, as long as he is small. After he can hold on by himself, he is carried [85] on the hip, clutching the neck of the person who is carrying him. One sees children of some ten years old being carried.

857 As soon as the child is old enough to eat like adults, and talks
858 and counts properly, he starts accompanying his parents to the fields and to fishing; he learns to swim, paddle, dance, and play the tomtom and various musical instruments. The little girls learn to cultivate a small piece of farm land which is given them by their mothers.

Games. The numerous games are almost all common to both sexes. Little boys and girls play together in the village, but the boys have three games in which girls never take part:

Nge ou ye. This game consists of rolling on the path at the end of the village, before a lineup of young boys, a cylinder of soft wood which
[41] they must hit by throwing a sharp spear. This is training for throwing the assagai.

Biñra, game of the bow. This is a hunt of rats and lizards by young boys with small bows made of mvibema wood and strung with a vine; the arrows are of bamboo with their tips smeared with pimento. It is
[41] to be noted that although children play with the bow, adults do not have this weapon and only the crossbow is found.

857 Mbeñ, musical bow: This is a kind of guessing game. The one who has the instrument thinks about something; another child has to guess it, and therefore he asks: "Nzam e biale ebe, fore dza ke yo, eñi for dza lige esi, matsi eve?" (Nzam made two of them, one goes up, the other stays on the ground, where am I fastened?), and asks if it concerns the one above or the one below. If he has guessed right, a deep tone of the bow answers him; if he is mistaken it is a shrill sound. If, for example, he happens to choose the one below, the game continues with the question "me sal e Nzam esi fore dza ke osui, eñi for dza lige kinige, matsi eve?" (I cut the lower Nzam in two, one goes to the river, the other stays on land, where am I fastened?), and the game goes on, dividing the guessed part in two until the object thought of is discovered.

The following are some mixed games:

Mebog. The children are seated in line, legs apart, except for two of them, who remain standing. One of these two hides an object among

of speech, and this to a large extent owing to European influence, in particular compulsory schooling. The teaching of rhetoric played a great part in the traditional education of boys (njôô, nzoé = speaker, orator = chief), and initiation into various rites gave the initiates the right to use certain words forbidden to the uninitiated (2). Con-

2. I was never able to learn the real word for "skull" reserved for biéri initiates; I was only told the paraphrase, ékokoé nlo môt, "shell of a man's head."

version to Christianity and instruction in colonial schools have brought about a definite deterioration in the language, by forcing traditional education to retreat or by destroying it. It is thus that the novel Nnanga kôn (no. 153), written after the war of 1914, is nowadays arduous reading for young Boulou.

The majority of the words in the language are formed from /22/ a biliteral root (consonant-vowel) or triliteral (consonant-vowel-consonant) to which affixes are added. There are thus series such as:

KI (Fang) or TYI (Boulou), radical—kié, tyé = power; éki, étyi = prohibition; tyik = to cut, to decide; tyi = to be under a prohibition; tyili = to lay under a prohibition, to forbid; étyé, ékié = iron, pl. bityé, bikie = sacramental money; ôtyeñ, ôk(i)eñ = knife; metyi, meki = blood, etc.

The most important affixes are the nominal classifiers, which permit the division of nouns and pronouns into nominal classes or semantic genders; sexual gender does not exist. There are five or six of these classes or genders, according to different writers. Semantic implication /sic/ is not always clear in true substantives, but it is much more so for verbal substantives. I give here the Boulou classes according to Bates:

I. nominal classifiers: m, n, n/be, b; pronominal classifiers: a, ny, w/be, b. —Personal class, names of persons, of personified animals; names of European origin. Verbal derivatives indicating the agent.

Ex: mot, bot = person; ngal, beyal = wife, female;
metoa, bemetoa = conveyance /voiture/;
mbo, bebo = he who does /makes/, from bo = to do /make/;
ndi = he who eats, from di = to eat.

Gabon have given priority to recreating, the regrouping of villages being supposed, in their view, to take place as a function of the regrouping of the meyoñ.

The ayoñ includes all the patrilineal descendants of a common ancestor, the illegitimate children of girls belonging to the ayoñ, and adopted ones. The ayoñ has a name, a tattoo mark (ndan), often certain prohibitions (bityi, biki), and perhaps a totem. The most strict exogamy is the rule. All members call themselves brothers (bobenyañ).

Although there was, properly speaking, no real political division corresponding to the ayoñ, nor any organized chiefship—explicable particularly in view of the very scattered settlement pattern of the members—clan sentiment was, and still is, very strong. Periodical meetings, bisulan, bring ayoñ members together, presided over by the eldest (ntôl) of the senior lineage (mvôk, ayôm) (3). The custom

3. Ayôm probably has the same root as nnôm, pl. beyôm = male; it should be remarked that the ayôm is often designated by the name of a female ancestor.

of these bisulan has recently been revived /46/; first in the Cameroons, where the native authority was reorganized in 1945-48 along clan lines, then in Gabon, where the meyoñ are in an advanced state of disintegration, above all in the south.

An ayoñ, whose villages separated one from the other by villages of other clans sometimes extend over several hundred kilometers, is divided into segments (mvôk) that include the descendants of the brothers, or rather the sons, of the clan ancestor, then /is divided/ into lineages (bisa, meyôm) derived from the descendants of the sons of the ancestor of the segment. The longer the genealogy (mvam, nlañ bimvam; meba'a), the more vague these categorical differences become: in one place mvôk is used for what is called ésa nearby and ayôm further away. But, except in southern Gabon, the genealogies are still well preserved, and the majority of adults can trace their relationship, if not to the clan ancestor himself, at least to his lineage. The teaching of these genealogies, which was the core of the traditional training of boys, is dying out with the spread of schooling, but children still know at least the genealogy of their village-family (jal, dzal; nda bôt).

769 The figure was placed on the new group's first family altar, and so afterwards were the skulls of the founder and of the benya bɔ̂tɔ̂ of succeeding generations. A full biéri basket was the sign of a group's [554] antiquity, which doubtless implied prestige more than genuine authority, yet nevertheless represented the nearest approach to political authority that existed in the Fang group, particularly if one takes into account the fact that officials of interclan associations were chosen from among the owners of many skulls, whence prestige extended to a large number of mvôk or meyom. The prestige of the living was exerted through the authority of the dead.

[826] Skulls were, indeed, the seat or receptacle of the individual's capacity for action (we must remember that bo = to make, boo = brain), and the use of skulls in the practice of magic was not confined to ancestral skulls only: the skulls of enemies killed in battle or sacrificed in anthropophagous ceremonies before or afterward were preserved, and so were those stolen from neighbors. In the same way the skulls of the kinds of animals desired were used for hunting rites. However, it seems that a distinction was made between family skulls and outsiders' skulls, only the first having a place in the ɛ́wolé biéti and [782] appearing in family rites. The power of the skulls was increased by sprinkling them with sacrificial blood.

769 When a youth reached nya mɔ̂tɔ̂ age he had to learn to recognize
● 869 his ancestors so as to be able to ask for their help when the occasion
881 arose. Their skulls were shown to him until he could identify them individually and put them in the correct genealogical order. When he was able to do this, he was given a brew of the narcotic herb alan, [276] then spent a night in the biéti hut, facing the skulls, which had been removed from the ɛ́wolé and placed on the altar on which strongly scented plants were burned. During the night the ancestors appeared and gave him a cognomen and imposed one or more new taboos (at the same time he was relieved of certain prohibitions connected with age). Apparently it was during this initiation that his individual totem was revealed (if it was indeed a totem).

769 This question of the totem is very poorly elucidated, in spite of
614 some 600 pages devoted to the subject by Father Trilles. He dis-
114 tinguishes between clan, segment, individual, family, and society totems, etc. He also distinguishes a tutelary being, mvame, from the "effect of a tutelary being"; akam, an animal totem, from a dedicated animal or an incarnation of a man in an animal, etc. He

463
162

Occupational Distribution of Pahouin Emigrants in Douala

	Laborers	Artisans	Intellectual Occupations	Traders and Licensed Dealers
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Beti	37	55	1.9	6
Boulou		60	40	

A study of Dolisie, Baronga, and Poto-Poto makes it possible to establish similar facts for occupations (2). /39/

2. According to J. Guilbot, Petite étude sur la main-d'oeuvre à Douala /A Brief Study of Manpower at Douala/, I.F.A.N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noir/, the Cameroons, 1947.

162
871

The proportion among them of persons who have education is about 40 percent and, what is even more important, that of the well-educated is relatively high.

Poto-Poto: Cultural Level of "Coastal Forest Dwellers"

Illiterates	Educated	Holders of the C.E.P.*	Holders of the "Brevet"
610	390	111	56

/*Certificat d'etudes primaires, certificate of primary education./

349
162

After spending some time in town, some emigrants return to their native villages, thus diminishing the separation between the two places. The bush folk, in turn, often come to the urban centers (1) and in

1. A set of figures gives the exact number of these trips: in 480 budgets relative to a total of 2,600 persons, 1,116 trips were listed (J. Binet, op. cit., p. 112).

initiations and now catechism bring all the boys and girls of a village together.

Adult surveillance is casual: grown people mainly want /95/ children to know their place and not to be a nuisance. Otherwise, it is mostly the older children who take care of the younger ones.

c. Adolescence

Boys and girls share their mother's hut until the beginning of adolescence, at which age the boys go to live by themselves, formerly in the "guardhouse," aba, nowadays in a hut on the paternal "allotment." Formerly, girls were sometimes married off before birth and went to the husband's village at about eight years of age; this is very unusual today, but it is still fairly common for them to go at that age to a paternal or maternal aunt or to a married sister, where they act more or less as servants until puberty, being trained meanwhile. It is also quite common for boys to go to live with a relative whose house is nearer a school than is their own village (1).

1. But a motive of proximity to school is not a complete explanation, merely an additional reason for leaving. In fact, a study of urban centers equipped with schools of a good level shows that 30 percent of the children live outside the paternal household with uncles or grandparents. Whatever a father's personal view, he could never refuse his son to relatives expressing a wish to have the boy for some time. (J. B.)

The bongô /children/ become ndôman, a youth, or ngon, a girl, at the onset of puberty. The transition is marked by circumcision among boys, atyi'i atyel, in the past sometimes followed by the first initiation, bekungu. Circumcision is done between the ages of six and twelve, usually around ten. Nowadays it is often done at a dispensary, while it formerly was the occasion of a family and village ceremony. Subjects for circumcision prepared for the ceremony with a relatively short seclusion (of a fortnight) during which they were

623 If we set up an index of electoral power based on the percentage
463 in councils and the percentage in the total population, we come to
871 the conclusion that office-holders are very much on top (70). Chiefs come next (17), then trade employees (3), and traders (1.4). Distribution in terms of educational level confirms the influence of educated people /intellectuels/ that could be guessed at from the occupational table. /134/

Distribution by Educational Level

623
871

	Municipal Councilors	Adult Male Population of Nyong and Sanaga Region
	Percent	Percent
Illiterate	10	75
Literate in local language	9	?
Literate in French	60	17
Holders of the C.E.P. *	10	8 (1)
Holders of higher diplomas	2.4	0.3
Worthless figures **	8	--

1. The regional statistics give "primary completed," not "C.E.P."; the nuance may mean a great deal. A survey of the urban population of Ebolowa gives a lower rate: 6.4 percent of certificate-holders.

/*Certificat d'études primaires, certificate of primary education./

/**Ambiguous: Fiches inutilisables may refer to the quality of the statistics or to the use of meaningless initials after an individual's name. —Tr./

The tremendous influence of holders of higher diplomas is obvious, so that uneducated people are almost eliminated, although they are still numerous.

Thus this new élite crystallizing out of the municipal elections appears to be made up of men who are both traditionalist and modern.

63 The men who compose it, older men, rich, practicing old-fashioned
871 polygamy, have had an academic training. We must not be deceived —in this country there is no real gulf between office-holders and chiefs.

Thus municipal councils can allow an élite class to rise to the surface and assume responsibilities.

2. The Pahouin and the Future

181 Shaped by their history, the Pahouin owe to it their positive qualities and their defects.

From having been conquerors, or more accurately, from having been successful in establishing themselves in new lands, they have retained a certain pride and self-confidence. Without being violently xenophobic, they preserve toward foreigners a friendly but the least bit contemptuous attitude, such is their feeling of superiority.

They had the good fortune to have been exposed very early to Christianity and to schools, at least in the Cameroons. Because they are intelligent—tests given to school pupils in the Cameroons show that the Boulou come out on top, along with the Bamoun—they have provided the administration and trade with a large part of their personnel and, when they emigrate, they do not join the unskilled labor force but provide specialized personnel, often salaried workers. This indicates the power of the Pahouin.

Finally, thanks to cacao, they have acquired a certain amount of wealth and live in some degree of comfort. This indicates their basic role in the economy. It also indicates their influence upon local finance. In the Cameroons as in Gabon, the Pahouin country is a rich area, whose exports and imports supply a significant portion of the economy. /135/ The Pahouin, therefore, play an essential role in the life of these territories, and they are able to obtain superior services for their region. There are already many roads, schools, and dispensaries.

But their traditional lack of organization impedes them in certain occupations. They despise trade and are only moderately successful in it, because their natural anarchy does not dispose them toward taking advantage of partnership or of market organization. The absence of urban centers is even more of an obstacle: the town is a new phenomenon, where immigrants are numerous and have been able to create stable situations for themselves, since there were no precedents.

561
578
784

in all this part of central Africa, where the ox is unknown because of trypanosomiasis.

the produce of hunting and fishing, and these exist until the time of puberty. They signify, according to L. Martrou, that in the family group there should be "no useless mouth," ... "but rather arms and hearts capable of defending and enriching it." (2) Thus

2. L. Martrou, Les "Ékis" des Mfang [The "Ékis" of the Fang] op. cit.

[834] it is forbidden to cohabit with a woman before being circumcized (3)

3. V. Largeau, op. cit. article: Interdit [Interdict].

561 In the same way various rites mark the steps of this ascent: the
578 rite of the Ssò for the ten-year-old children; (4) circumcision,
[852
881]

4. M. Bertaut in his thesis on the Boulou of the Cameroons, a related nation, speaks of a less degraded form of the Ssò which was the center of a true "society of men" now almost vanished.

which is not accompanied by any initiation (but seems rather to bear public witness to virility and to show the individual as an active male), and above all, the "revelation" of the Biéri. When
561 the young man joins the company of men, he has experienced in
578 various degrees of intensity [153] this biological, social, and
885 spiritual dependence on his ancestors (mvam) and on his elders (nyamòsò). To them he owes his life, his security, his social existence. Even after having crossed the various steps and being able to take full part in the assembly of men, he receives from

561 no more than a mere conventional taboo, as with certain words con-
[843] sidered crude in French. At birth and until weaning a baby is ntyen (nken) or nkeñelé.

[842] After weaning, which usually occurs when the child begins to walk by itself, between eighteen months and two years, the nken becomes a mongô (mone fam = boy; mone minga = girl); an uncircumcised
561 boy is called more specifically nsôsôl.

●891 Circumcision takes place between eight and twelve years of age
[304] (1), before the first premonitory signs of puberty, especially the

> 1. In former times it was sometimes put off until the youth had killed his first enemy. See Trilles (no. 166) and Largeau (no. 48).

appearance of the first pubic hair (afañ, related to the verb fañ = to do well, correctly, on purpose, from the masculine root FA?). The circumcised boy, ntyi'an, "cut one," becomes an adolescent, ndôman, a term also meaning "son" (in relation to a man, see above, p. 63). Correspondingly, a pubescent girl becomes ngon (which can mean at the same time young girl, daughter of a man, or moon: ayene ngon, "to see the moon," that is, to be menstruating), or also élenan. /57/

The adolescent boy is still ébis, uninitiated. The missions have now adopted the term mvôn, "initiated," to denote church members. Formerly, one became mvôn after initiation, mostly in the great national so initiation, the members of which were called monewôsô (probably "child of the death /la mort/ of the sô"; compare this with the joking relationship, awusô = the dying /le mourir/ of the sô).

561 After initiation, that is, somewhere between the sixteenth and
[842] twentieth year, a young man though of military age was not yet a nya môtô, a true person. This he became only upon marriage, when
[844] he attained what might be considered his legal, civil, even economic, majority.

561 A girl, ngon, who became ngal or nya ngal, a true woman, by
[845] losing her virginity, after marriage was nya minga, a /married/ lady, and ésila or ékua, a matron, when she had brought up her first children. A man with grandchildren was ntole môt, an elder, usually
[846] around forty; this was the highest possible social position. Indeed,

861 initiations and now catechism bring all the boys and girls of a village together.

854 Adult surveillance is casual: grown people mainly want /95/ children to know their place and not to be a nuisance. Otherwise, it is mostly the older children who take care of the younger ones.

c. Adolescence

882 Boys and girls share their mother's hut until the beginning of
854 adolescence, at which age the boys go to live by themselves, formerly in the "guardhouse," aba, nowadays in a hut on the paternal "allotment." Formerly, girls were sometimes married off before birth and
[582] went to the husband's village at about eight years of age; this is very unusual today, but it is still fairly common for them to go at that age to a paternal or maternal aunt or to a married sister, where they act more or less as servants until puberty, being trained meanwhile. It is also quite common for boys to go to live with a relative whose
[871] house is nearer a school than is their own village (1).

1. But a motive of proximity to school is not a complete explanation, merely an additional reason for leaving. In fact, a study of urban centers equipped with
[574] schools of a good level shows that 30 percent of the children live outside the paternal household with uncles or grandparents. Whatever a father's personal view, he could never refuse his son to relatives expressing a wish to have the boy for some time. (J. B.)

881 The bongô /children/ become ndôman, a youth, or ngon, a girl,
304 at the onset of puberty. The transition is marked by circumcision
864 among boys, atyi'i atyel, in the past sometimes followed by the first initiation, bekungu. Circumcision is done between the ages of six and twelve, usually around ten. Nowadays it is often done at a dispensary, while it formerly was the occasion of a family and village ceremony. Subjects for circumcision prepared for the ceremony with a relatively short seclusion (of a fortnight) during which they were

881 limited to a vegetarian diet without salt or spices, to "freshen the
304 blood." They received sexual instruction from the ngengañ, diviner-
864 healer, who performed the operation, while the elders, mintôl, examined /the boys/ in knowledge of the mebatan, "salutations" or genealogies: in actual fact circumcision ended the prohibition against coition by showing the danger of involuntary incest in case relation-
304 ships were not well understood. Women were not allowed to be present at the operation, which the ngengañ performed with a special razor, cauterizing the wound with a pimento decoction. A boy was held by his father, who pronounced the formula that lifted the taboo against coition. The foreskin was usually buried under a tree, perhaps a banana, perhaps a tree indicated by clan or lineage tradition, perhaps
[826] chosen, if we accept Trilles, for totemic reasons. Sometimes the foreskin was preserved for magic use. While the scar was healing, the circumcised boy could wear only a special vegetable breechcloth which was renewed daily; during this time no woman was supposed to speak to him or to touch him or his breechcloth; this he took advantage of so as to steal food and various things. /96/ Once the scar had healed, he could no longer appear in public naked. This whole /procedure/ is only partly followed at the present time; furthermore, since the time for the operation has been generally made earlier, circumcised boys who have not yet reached puberty (1) are often

> 1. A Protestant Ntoumou chief in Ambam told me that he had had his children circumcised earlier so as to be able to send them to the district school without running the risk of their breaking the sexual and food taboos of the uncircumcised when away from his supervision.

seen going about nude in villages. According to Trilles and Largeau, in the past some youths remained uncircumcised, minsôsôl, until they had killed their first enemy. At the present time all youths are circumcised, even Christians; the missions have only rarely tried to oppose the practice and always unsuccessfully.

881 After circumcision the nôman was able to have sexual relations
883 and eat certain foods prohibited before. He went to live with other

881 youths in the aba and prepared for further initiations, while beginning
883 to participate fully in masculine activities, work and games. The bekungu (Fang, bekhun?) initiation that came directly after circumcision was not a general practice. My own impression is that this was not a tribal or clan rite like sô, but that of an association of diviners or seers involving only specially endowed individuals, perhaps related to the ndôngô rite restricted to grown men, which appears to have identical ritual tattoo marks.

881 For the mo'minga reaching puberty there is no stage equivalent to circumcision. In spite of what Trilles says, excision has apparently never been used except as a punishment for certain kinds of adultery or mild incest. It must not be forgotten that a little girl very soon went to live with her affinal family and that she was deflowered as soon as she reached puberty. She very rarely remained élenan, that is, pubescent and unmarried, and then for a very short time. One might almost say that her adolescence was telescoped into the period between childhood and the arrival of puberty marked by the mevungu rite.

This adolescent phase is now prolonged by the law fixing the
[582] marriageable age at fourteen (puberty usually comes during the
[145] twelfth year), by school attendance, and by the change in the bride-price system. Most of my friends of a certain age see in these facts the reasons for a crisis in immorality which they probably to some extent exaggerate.

Nevertheless, first menstruation was apparently acknowledged in a ceremony in which only women took part, but this may have been merely a preliminary to the mevungu initiation, about which hardly anything is known. Otherwise /as regards female adolescence/ coition is forbidden to immature girls, while unmarried girls who have begun menstruating have actually great sexual freedom, even in Christian circles. It must, however, be realized that only too often, especially in schools, there are girls deflowered before puberty, whereas boys seem to wait for circumcision /97/ before their first exploits — there
[83] are parents, worried about their sons' "good behavior," who give
884 them aphrodisiacs as encouragement.

d. Transition to Adulthood

882 The ndoman is not yet a real person, nya môtô; undoubtedly he participates in men's work, in hunting and clearing the land, but he

is not yet admitted to the essential functions of full manhood: ritual, warfare, and marriage. Formerly, he was not until after the great tribal initiation, sô. Sô is the name of a large red antelope, Cephalophus castoneus, found in great quantity in the forest and in the galleries of the park-savanna. The meat is taboo, étyi, to the uninitiated (bibis) and, a fortiori, to women. It may seem strange that Trilles does not mention it in Le totemisme chez les Fang, although the sô seems to be one of the most important tribal totems. It should be observed in this connection that the sô rite, widespread among the Cameroons Pahouin, including the Beti, and among those of the Woleu-N'Tem, seems to vanish somewhere between Mitzic and N'Djolé, while some of its features are to be found in the initiation to the biéri, which is basically merely an adjunct. It would therefore appear to have gone to pieces at the same time as the structure of the meyoñ, to be revived in the extreme south by the bwiti, reported by Trilles, which is at present moving northward. Nevertheless, I must point out that what Trilles describes under the name of bawu may well be sô.

Initiation ceremonies were filmed among the Eton of Saa in 1935; the film is kept at the Musée de l'Homme. Bertaut (no. 110) gives a very full description of the outward forms of the initiation, Stoll (no. 84) an interpretation of its symbolism.

Initiation took place about every three years (every seven mimbu?); Bertaut states that a ceremony might be arranged after some serious happening in a village. It lasted three months (one year, according to Stoll, who counts in the preliminary ceremonies for the initiation proper and the period following) and entailed great expense for sacrifices on the part of the parents of initiates and especially the initiation leader, the nkpwé sô (judge of the sô; lit., butcher of the sô), a senior chosen from the most wealthy and respected. From this point of view, one may believe that the rite coincided with the desire for levelling of wealth which appears to have been so constant in Pahouin society. The nkpwé sô did not himself lead the ceremony; he was the instigator and the person responsible, but the celebrant was a diviner, a mfek sô, "sô wise man" or "sô measurer" or "sô pouch," if the tone is changed (vek = to take aim, to compute, to divine, to measure).

The main theme of the rite, of which the following description is quite incomplete, was the death of the sô, awu sô, afterwards eaten

/82/ by the initiates (its meat was taboo to all others). The ceremony opened with a general village purification and went on to four successive sacrifices till the death of the sô and the communion meal upon its flesh. The candidates, mvôn, passed through a series of tests /98/ and instruction of a warlike and sexual character, at the end of which they became true persons, benya bôtô, as well as true members of the society.

After circumcision youths received preliminary instruction within their families, but this represented preparation for the rite, not the rite itself. Preliminary ceremonies began three months before the initiation took place, with a public confession before the whole village by the nkpwé sô standing back-to-back with another official "who sped his movements, moving lips when he spoke and like him trampling an old calabash" (Stoll); pieces of the calabash were used to receive the blood of the first sacrifice, with which the nkpwé sô and all the minkpwangôs (initiates) of the village were sprinkled, and were then thrown away in the bush to the cry of "Gone, gone /efface/," (andim, related to the form mendim = water). Initiates then came together outside the village to choose the bevôn who were to ku sô (lit., to fell /tomber/ sô) in this promotion. These beku were then subjected to a first seclusion of twenty days in the forest, during which they built the aba so, a sanctuary containing a platform reached by three ladders, to which access was forbidden to all uninitiated except the bevôn. The mfek sô began to teach them their duties as initiates and proceeded to eliminate those who were "faint-hearted." At the end of this seclusion the bevôn returned to the village in procession and received from their relatives /parents/ presents in groups of nine, the sô ritual number.

The second stage of the initiation then began, étyi'a bilé bi sô, felling the trees of the sô. The nkpwé sô provided materials for a ritual meal, which included a soup in which the mfek sô cooked certain mebiañ intended to reveal any beyem (bearers of évu) among the bevôn. Nothing was supposed to be left over from this meal. The bevôn then lay down in a ditch where they were sprinkled with a special /vegetable/ decoction; then the village women between puberty and menopause strode over them nine times. The minkpwangôs met together for a secret sacrifice and a meal prepared in the same pot as that used for the bevôn meal, called nlak sô (sô horn; according to Stoll, with the esoteric meaning of testicle).

● 881 The nkpwé sô then defecated into the pot, which was buried in a secret spot near the sanctuary. The bevôn then took part in a mock battle at the end of which the nkpwé sô gave goats to their families. The initiated now went into the forest to cut a njôm pole, chosen, according to Allégret, by a woman whose husband had no luck at hunting—this pole was placed across two forks planted in front of the sanctuary near the nkal sô. Meanwhile, the bevôn had been cutting raffia "bamboo" to be used in making the ésam sô, an enclosure around the njôm. They returned in Indian file with their group "major" (ôsu zua) at the head; they set up the "bamboos" in a triangle open toward the back of the njôm, fastening them together with plaited raffia leaves the end of which an initiate buried in the nlak sô. During their marching by, which women and unitiated are not allowed to see, they were beaten with sticks by the initiates.

They then proceeded to a "crabbing" which consisted of immersion in water flavored with pimento. /This was/ the commencement of the third stage, which was continued by withdrawal into the forest, where the bevôn painted themselves white and engaged in a ritual hunt.

Meanwhile, initiates closed the ésam sô with two lianas representing a python (mvôm) and a Dendraspis (ayañ). The bevôn then were subjected to the ant-tree test in which they had to climb an angakomo tree on which weaver-ants lived whose bite is very painful. They then spent a night in the ésam sô, lying on thorns and rubbed with pimento juice, while masked initiates beat them and blew trumpets
[574] to keep them from going to sleep. The next day they went off on a round of visits through villages related or allied to their own, while the mfek sô and initiates carved and shaped the njôm in keeping with clan traditions. The designs had to be explained to the bevôn during the next stage, abete njôm, the erection, the setting up of the njôm.

[304] Upon their return from the round of visits, the bevôn were tattooed by the mfek sô: three rows of incisions along the spine, the two outer ones spreading apart at the top like the sô's "halter," and a small triangular mark at the nape, perhaps the same as that of the ndôngô. They then put on a sort of skirt of raffia fiber, painted themselves white once more, and did a public dance during which the "major" mounted astride the njôm, the other bevôn after him. Anyone who fell off was rejected by the sô and had to leave the

●88| community. After another sacrifice, the bevôn were again confined inside the ésam sô, where initiates had dug a narrow passage and covered it with wattling and earth, the bottom strewn with thorns, crushed pimento, and warrior ants. The bevôn would receive final instructions, then, after taking mud baths, grunting like hogs, they had to crawl through the passage previously filled with smoke, while the minkpwangôs struck and pricked them with assagais through the cover; a mvôn who rose up or tried to escape was immediately killed by prisoners stationed outside the enclosure. This was the third stage, the true "death of the sô," awu sô.

After leaving the esam, the bevôn were supposed to be aggressive, teasing, to worry the other villagers, steal food, fowls, etc., tear down barriers, and in general behave like wild beasts. This period lasted for several days, preceding the sortie of the sô, akui sô, a parade of the group in war dress, carrying spears engraved with the distinctive clan mark, ndem, which had been consecrated during the initiation. A feast followed. For six months (mbu) afterward, the new initiates were still subject to certain sexual and food prohibitions, from which they were freed if they killed a man during the period. At the end /100/ of this waiting time, they went away, painted white, into seclusion for a night and came back painted red, making the rounds of the village nine times in procession. Then they bathed in a stream where fishing was afterward forbidden until the initiation of the next group, apparently.

A young man thus initiated became a mone wôsô, child of the death of the sô (wu = to die; wôé = to kill), thereafter ready for marriage, which would make him a complete man, nya môtô. His [769] father might instruct him in the family cult, which till then he knew only in its externals; he was taught to identify the ancestral skulls kept in the biéti basket and to enter into communication with them [276] by means of the narcotic herb alan. Sometimes the instruction was given collectively in the melan rite, which, according to Stoll, complemented sô, the latter being androgynous, while the former was gynandrous. Sô was to give creative power, melan fecundity and wealth. Melan has a medical aspect lacking in sô; the participation of women is greater. Some elements seem to have survived until the present day, whereas the last sô ceremonies must have occurred about [114] 1940. Stoll gives a pretty full description in La tonétique des langues bantu... du Cameroun /The Tonal System of the Bantu Languages ... of the Cameroons/ (no. 84).

The female rite corresponding to sɔ̂ is mevungu, about which little is known, for the reasons mentioned earlier. It was not a clan rite, since the women of a village would, in consequence of exogamy, belong to different clans. Like sɔ̂, its function was to make of the initiates accomplished women, benya bengono or benya binga, fertile, free of évu, and disciplined, and perhaps, in addition, to set up a community bond between the women of a village in place of the missing clan bond among them.

Initiates of both sexes were exempt from numerous general food taboos. They were bound together by an obligation of mutual aid reinforcing and even transcending that of clan fraternity. The dying out of initiations has definitely left a void which contemporary Pahouin are trying to fill; the new syncretist rites seem to have succeeded better in this than the churches and political parties.

e. Old Age

The nya mɔ̀tɔ̂ and the nya minga are people in full possession of their faculties, quite capable of fulfilling their social roles. Their prestige is in proportion to their abilities; when they are no longer "true" men or "true" women, society is inclined to lose interest in them and to push them aside. An old man can mitigate his loss of physical power by his wealth or his skill in magic; an old woman owns nothing and easily incurs the risk of an accusation of sorcery. Her decline begins earlier than a man's, when she ceases to bear children or to be physically attractive, while a man reaches his prime when /101/ he has grandsons living with him and accepting his authority. But this authority lasts only so long as a man can "stand up for himself" /se défendre/ in the semi-colloquial sense of the word. Nowadays the ease with which villages and extended families burst their bounds geographically often accelerates this decline, which some minkukum palliate thanks to the polygamy on a large scale that enables them to retain economic power.

Old people without children have a very hard time of it, even in regions converted to Christianity, especially widows, who in their affinal family do not benefit from the clan obligation of mutual aid. In times past old people were abandoned in the forest during migrations; they are still left in bilik, deserted villages, when the main body of the village moves, for instance, to establish itself along a

769 The figure was placed on the new group's first family altar, and so afterwards were the skulls of the founder and of the benya bôtô of succeeding generations. A full biéri basket was the sign of a group's [554] antiquity, which doubtless implied prestige more than genuine authority, yet nevertheless represented the nearest approach to political authority that existed in the Fang group, particularly if one takes into account the fact that officials of interclan associations were chosen from among the owners of many skulls, whence prestige extended to a large number of mvôk or meyom. The prestige of the living was exerted through the authority of the dead.

[836] Skulls were, indeed, the seat or receptacle of the individual's capacity for action (we must remember that bo = to make, boo = brain), and the use of skulls in the practice of magic was not confined to ancestral skulls only: the skulls of enemies killed in battle or sacrificed in anthropophagous ceremonies before or afterward were preserved, and so were those stolen from neighbors. In the same way the skulls of the kinds of animals desired were used for hunting rites. However, it seems that a distinction was made between family skulls and outsiders' skulls, only the first having a place in the éwolé biéti and [782] appearing in family rites. The power of the skulls was increased by sprinkling them with sacrificial blood.

769 When a youth reached nya môtô age he had to learn to recognize his ancestors so as to be able to ask for their help when the occasion 869 arose. Their skulls were shown to him until he could identify them ● 881 individually and put them in the correct genealogical order. When he was able to do this, he was given a brew of the narcotic herb alan, [276] then spent a night in the biéti hut, facing the skulls, which had been removed from the éwolé and placed on the altar on which strongly scented plants were burned. During the night the ancestors appeared and gave him a cognomen and imposed one or more new taboos (at the same time he was relieved of certain prohibitions connected with age). Apparently it was during this initiation that his individual totem was revealed (if it was indeed a totem).

769 This question of the totem is very poorly elucidated, in spite of 614 some 600 pages devoted to the subject by Father Trilles. He dis- 114 tinguishes between clan, segment, individual, family, and society totems, etc. He also distinguishes a tutelary being, mvame, from the "effect of a tutelary being"; akam, an animal totem, from a dedicated animal or an incarnation of a man in an animal, etc. He

779
782 legs are flung to right and left alternately; two very lively steps,
535 a pause, two successive jetés to the right and left, and a swaying of the body above the hips make up this dance, which has real beauty and does not lack a certain style.

779 The circumcision dance is entirely different. The young
881 candidates, painted white from head to foot and dressed in gar-
535 ments of leaves, are led by the initiator before the assembled
304 participants, as soon as the preparatory rites have ended and the operation is to be performed. Grown, circumcised men stand on one side, the ritual experts in the middle, those to be circumcised [511] on the other side. The dance begins. First of all, it consists of an immense circle, which spreads out and turns around the area; then the movement quickens, hands are dropped, and each person leaps and shimmies about on his own, still keeping time, which is marked out by the tom-tom. Moreover, in spite of what appears to be disorder, one soon sees that all movements are regular, perfectly conceived and executed without a hitch, without mistake, without getting out of step. Soon sweat is pouring down the dancers' arms and legs; one after another they go back to their places; only the candidates continue and their dance turns into a spinning in almost one place, on the toes, with hands stretched horizontally. Then, suddenly, at a signal from the tom-tom, the dance stops abruptly: the young dancers rush to their places, sit down, and the operations begin.

Each time the practitioner circumcises a boy, he stands up, holding in his hand proof of the operation, then does a quick dance step consisting of a few merry leaps, to the accompaniment of a special song, which everyone sings together.

When the operations are over, the youths who have been circumcised perform a short dance intended to show their fortitude; it is of just a few steps, done any old way. Then the boys quickly return to their huts, held up by their friends.

764 The funeral dance is much more beautiful. Far from
535 being dignified and solemn, the fanki is exceedingly lively and complicated, representing, theoretically, the soul of the dead man leaving his body and later reaching the world of spirits.

[515] 3. General Totemic Rites: Details

779 In order to establish some logical order for totemic rites, we may take a man at his coming into the world, follow him through his principal activities, and leave him only at death. In this way we shall include the complete series of general or particular rites which he must observe. However, we shall obviously have to discuss them from the totemic point of view only.

By general rites I mean those concerned with the race or tribe. Among particular rites, on the other hand, I place all those concerned more specifically with the individual.

General rites are as follows:

1. Circumcision, akèle
2. Initiation, evôm
3. Consecration of a chief, elôga
4. War, abal
5. Hunting or fishing expeditions, miyèn
6. Establishment in new territory, edzal mfifi
7. Ordeals, elun, ẽnu mélan
8. Covenants or blood exchange, abvuna

Particular rites to be noted are:

1. Birth and name giving, abiènè, edzũ
2. Adoption, anôn mohè
3. Marriage, alux̌
4. Hunting, fishing, farming, mvehe, ayũ kos, bifax̌
5. Trade, okira
6. Death, awu

The totemic character is sometimes strongly marked in these rites, sometimes it is almost obscured, barely perceptible. At times that character is underlined merely by a gesture, a call, a prayer. But it is never absent. [516]

I. Circumcision

● 881 304 Circumcision cannot be considered a universal rite among Bantu tribes: some practice it, some do not, either because they have never done so or because the custom has been lost in the course of centuries and repeated migrations.

881
304

The Fan and all the tribes of their group have preserved it. In all clans, at a time decided upon by the chief, youths must be circumcised. This rule is also accepted by all the related tribes, Dzèm and Dzandzama, Bulu, Shéké, Batéké, etc.

During my many journeys I never met a single Fan who had not been circumcised. No young girl would agree to marrying an uncircumcised man, under any conditions. This by the way indicates the value, even in terms of Fan custom, of the temporary marriages contracted with Europeans. The Fan look upon these unions simply as concubinage and designate them by the same word, évex.

[582]
[588]

Although the Fan group has kept circumcision, others have not, so that it cannot be said to now be a general rite among the Bantu. The custom is not the result of Semitic infiltration; some Bantu tribes like the Kavirondo, among whom the Arabs have penetrated, do not practice it, while the Fan, who have never been in contact with Moslems, do so.

a) Is circumcision a religious rite?

We shall take up the subject [circumcision] first from the general, then from the particular, point of view.

The first question to be raised is: Is circumcision a religious rite by nature and origin, consecrating a person to a deity, as by a sort of sacrament? (1)

1. Cf. Lagrange, Études sémitiques [Studies in Semitic Religion], p. 242.

According to certain writers, Renan in particular, circumcision is a purely hygienic custom: "In the beginning," he says, "this custom had neither the widespread character nor the religious significance that was given it later. Without the operation, certain Oriental peoples would be condemned to semi-impotence and dangerous impurities."

Arcin also wrote: "Circumcision is the most important religious ceremony of the black peoples. This practice has probably been made necessary by a special physiological

7: Trilles--56 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9

881
304

structure. (2) But at present any memory of this cause has been

> 2. From the medical point of view, this statement is a complete invention.

entirely effaced and these rites are seen only as an offering to fertility gods."

Let me say right here that, as regards the Fan and the Bantu tribes, this physiological rationalization appears of slight value. In fact, though the Fan and other tribes of their group have adopted circumcision, this is far from being the case among all Bantu, certain of whom, like some in Uganda, have even a horror of it. Yet physiological requirements are identical among tribes of the same race and habitat.

We do not have to discuss here the natural advantages of circumcision. Were they even more considerable, it would be wrong to give a rationalistic explanation derived from hygiene, without taking into account the sum of institutions of which it is a part and of which it represents the moderate component, a very temperate practice compared with others. These institutions are the consecration rites of youths at puberty, and it is precisely because circumcision had a hygienic and moderating quality that it spread so widely and prevailed over other, more barbarous, practices. Circumcision has in fact [518] been practiced throughout the whole world among the greatest variety of populations and races, mostly as part of the initiation ceremonies that link a youth more closely with his tribe and his god or gods.

I agree with the majority of writers that this is an operation that is essentially religious in origin, necessary from the hygienic point of view, (1) but never for physiological reasons.

> 1. From the purely hygienic point of view: "It is impossible to give a raison d'être for circumcision, except as a religious requirement. It is in no way indicated anatomically (in spite of what Niebuhr, Déscription

7: Trilles--57 M-5 (1893-1912) 1912 FH9 Fang FH9

881
304

de l'Arabie [Description of Arabia] and Winer say); and from the point of view of sexual activity, it has no effect upon a man's potency; hygienically, circumcision is insufficiently effective." Colonial Despatch, Medical Report, Sept. 3, 1907.

I should also say, with Father Lagrange -- adding to circumcision the tribal mutilations to be discussed, such as the knocking-out or filing of teeth, scarifications, etc. -- "the religious character of these ceremonies cannot any longer be disputed."

881
304
779

b) Is circumcision a totemic rite?

Granted that circumcision is a religious rite, is it also a totemic one?

According to Frazer, (1) circumcision is part of the initiation rites.

1. Totemism, p. 47

tion rites that link a youth with his tribe and his god; these initiations have a specific character, that of uniting the young man and the animal life of the totem through an exchange of souls. (2)

2. In Australia the neophyte is anointed with blood drawn from a warrior's arm or may even drink some of it. A few magical passes are added, which convey to the candidate the corresponding spiritual powers and gifts. He must sleep on the tombs of his ancestors so as to absorb their virtues. Sometimes he is reputedly killed by a certain Thurembul, who returns him to life, and removes one of his teeth. In this, says Frazer, there may have been an idea of

•281
304
779

> rebirth, or of the neophyte's starting a second life; that is why he acquires a new name as soon as he is circumcised, or when the tooth is removed or when he sheds the blood of his family.

I am quite ready to admit with Father Lagrange that circumcision is not restricted to totemic tribes. Among fully totemic tribes, like the Baganda, it is not only not permitted but is even viewed with disgust. [519] I look upon it as basically a religious rite, derived from ancestor worship, and what Frazer says confirms me in this opinion. Nevertheless, I freely admit and even believe that alongside these rites connecting circumcision with ancestor worship there are others, which, coming from the same source, also connect circumcision with the totemic cult; for in many religious phenomena the mvamayôn cult and that of the esayôn are closely and inseparably related.

In outlining below the practice of circumcision among the Fan, we shall point to the rites that derive from the mvame. Our reply to the initial question will then be:

Circumcision among the Fan is certainly a religious rite; it is not a purely totemic phenomenon, but the totem enters into it.

Bros agrees with these conclusions, at least in part. In his opinion, circumcision is a test of puberty, a first-fruits offering to the gods, a purification made to release an evil spirit which vanishes with the blood: above all, it is a pact by which a part of one's blood is given to the tribal god (1) and

> 1. In my opinion, the term "tribal god" ought not to be used; the Bantu tribes recognize only a single Creator, under different names, and not a god for each tribe.

one thereby becomes incorporated in him and in the tribe. Finally, the taboo surrounding this organ of the body, to which the origin of circumcision may be traced -- either because of the social function of the organ or of the danger of its premature use, or even because of its independence of volition -- allows circumcision to be considered as a desecration that has to precede the stage of virility, in order that use may be made of it. (2)

2. Bros, Religion des peuples non-civilisees [Religion of Non-civilized Peoples], "Circoncision" [Circumcision].

Some of these statements hold good for the Fan; some are less applicable. Let me use as an example one of the things that illustrates very well the close connection between circumcision as a religious rite and childbirth rituals, the fact that pieces of cloth used to staunch blood are in both cases carefully kept to be used for the same purpose. [520]

Ordinary warriors place them with their personal totem in the mfek or pineapple-fiber bag which never leaves them. These pieces of cloth or fragments of them, are always part of totemic sacrifices. The sons of chiefs, on the contrary, are not allowed to keep them; they bury them deep at the base of the sacred fig tree planted when they were born over the remains of the umbilical cord. This custom certainly goes back to remote antiquity. Among the Egyptians, the fig tree was considered sacred and dedicated to the Egyptian Venus, Hathor. From this perhaps comes the word éthu, designating a garment made from the bast of the fig tree. The same word, éthu, has remained in the Fan language with the same meaning, "garment," and the inland Fan always make vegetable-fiber cloth from the fig tree, which they still dye red; this was formerly the color dedicated to Hathor, and it has remained the color of betrothal garments. For the same reason, before marriage, young men and women stain themselves red from head to foot. It is a color "set apart,"

881
304
719

c) The Circumcision Itself

The Fan use the term akéla for circumcision, at least as regards boys. The root of the word is clearly in the verb ekèl, of which the radical element expresses the idea of "cutting" and "removing." For girls the word atsingéla is used, which denotes at once ligature, extension, and excision.

We shall examine:

1) The phenomenon itself
2) The age of the candidate
3) The operation
4) The participants -- patient and operator
5) The instrument

1) The phenomenon itself

Circumcision is universal throughout the Fan nation and no male is exempt. Besides, he would be disgraced, and he would not be able to enter into marriage without having first had this operation. Even children brought up in missions do not escape; as soon as they go back to their villages, [521] they submit with good grace if they have remained uncircumcised.

If old people are questioned about the "why" of the ceremony, it is hard to get an answer from them, and they nearly always fall back on custom, "We've always done it," or propriety, "It's better that way." Both answers, especially the second, are of real value. Yet one day I got a much more interesting reply from a chief in the interior, who told me, "It marks the beginning." And when I insisted on further explanation, he replied, "It is the mark that sanctifies manhood; afterwards one is no longer an animal, one is 'sacred.'" ("E ne ndèm ɔ́ɔ́u, ndèm a bo fam: ni vale, tɩ́ɩt é séra, mur a ne éki," lit., "It is the mark of the first beginning, the mark which sanctifies virility; after the operation, the animal has disappeared, and there is a man, and he is sacred.") As the chief did not want to say anything more, he fell back upon the rules of secrecy. It was difficult, if not impossible, in the tribe with which I then was, to attribute a Christian or Moslem origin to this reply; the chief has never heard of either of them. It would be much simpler to

881 look at it as a vestige of primitive tradition.
304
779 To the Fan mind, circumcision is altogether a religious, never a secular, act; everything that I shall have to say about it will illustrate this further.

2) The age of circumcision

The age at which Fan boys are circumcised usually varies from seven to ten. I have never seen a baby circumcised. However, there is nothing prescribed by law or custom on this point. Yet in the interior, the age of ten is far exceeded, and it is not unusual for the operation to take place between sixteen and twenty. Old men are unanimous in saying that this was the ancient custom, and that the time for the operation was made earlier in recent times because of the many casualties that occurred. It is impossible to determine precisely what they mean by "recent times." However, according to all the evidence I could gather, one should hardly go back [522] more than 200 to 300 years, that is, to the time of the great Fan migrations. We can see how unlikely it would have been during that period of confusion to perform the operation successfully at so late an age.

Formerly, circumcision must have closely preceded entering the warrior stage. Certain Fan songs seem to indicate this, and many African tribes have preserved the custom.

All the children of a village are circumcised at the same time at the tribal chief's command; the operation only takes place at certain times, when there appear to be enough children, yearly in some villages, at longer intervals in small ones.

[291] Until circumcision, children may go naked; afterwards a bit of cloth bark of the fig tree will always be worn.

The seven-to-ten-year limit is appreciably exceeded in
881 the following case: a father may, out of pride, make a solemn
304 vow to his akaméyôn that his son will not be circumcised until
779 he [the son] has killed an enemy. Under those conditions the
782 youth may go naked for a long time; nor can he have any relations with a woman or even live with the one his father may have bought for him as a future wife. Consequently, he will

881 304 779 782 do all he can to end this state. As soon as he has killed an enemy, he hurries with the victim's hand to his father. Circumcision then solemnly takes place before all the warriors, and his marriage is celebrated as soon as the wound has healed.

3) Time of the ceremony

881 304 779 The chief first decides upon the date, which is almost invariably in the eight days before a full moon.

As soon as the chief has announced that circumcision will shortly take place, he indicates all the children who are to be included; they, under his direction, go off into the forest not far from the village. After a large space has been cleared, they [342] build open little huts or mere shelters, where they live all together.

Their food is left at the beginning of the path leading to the huts, for no one is supposed to approach; access [523] is above all strictly forbidden to women. The food is plentiful, [264] and nothing must be thrown away or hidden; everything must be eaten, and the chief supervises this rigorously. (1)

> 1. One of our missionaries observed the same custom among the more advanced populations of the interior. He even mentions this fact: the rule is so strict that one of the candidates was forced three times in succession to swallow the food that his stomach persistently rejected.

4) Preparations

[357] All around the place where the boys are confined, a fence of seeds (1) is erected, which no one dares jump over. This seclusion

> 1. The place of circumcision shows well enough that the rite is like a consecration, by blood sacrifice, of the sexual life to which the young man is thereafter admitted. Lagrange, op. cit., p. 244.

●881
304
T79
[821]

does not usually last longer than eight days, a lunar quarter. Every evening songs and dances are performed in honor of the moon, which is looked upon as a source of fertility. (2) In Fan,

> 2. The same belief exists in almost all African tribes; just as in Egypt, the moon presides over rain, which is the earth's source of fertility and thus of human fertility.

the same word, ngon, denotes "girl" and "moon," an ambiguity to be found nearly everywhere among African tribes, in varying degrees. These songs and dances are very special and repetition of them is strictly prohibited outside the sacred enclosure. (3)

[533]

> 3. All I could discover on the subject from my young Christian converts who had already gone through the ceremony was that these songs were "bad" and had as their purpose procreation. There is no doubt that the Fan say things "crudely" in their songs. That is all I can say.

According to Lang, (4) this is the time when a youth is

> 4. The Making of Religion, Art.: "Circumcision."

taught about the existence of a beneficent god, a defender of morals, who condemns egoism and adultery. This is so among the Fan. In fact, it is during their retreat the chief teaches the children the mébara, or wisdom of the ancestors, and narrates the great deeds of the race. This is as much as we have been able to learn, for the rule of secrecy is scrupulously observed. During the final days the chief makes a point of mixing into the

●881 During the final days the chief makes a point of mixing into the
304 boys' food certain aphrodisiac stimulants, cardamon seeds [524]
779 (Amomum citriodorum), a wonderful red fruit (Lavigeria), and
832 onzakôn (Antrocaryon klaineanum) which, apart from these oc-
824 casions, only women may eat. They are even forbidden to say the name of that tree, because the word nkôn denotes the male genital organ; they must say onzabili, the onza tree. In addition the fruit of the onzakôn has a slight resemblance to a phallus.

Throughout their seclusion the children sleep stretched out
881 on the ashes of the hearths. They must tell the chief what they
304 have dreamt about; the family totem ought, in fact, to re-
779 veal itself to them at this time. Since the chief speaks to the
828 children frequently and since they know that they are supposed to have the totem in mind, the suggestion, intimate and strange at the same time, leads easily to the desired result. If, however, a different object from the family totem, animal or other, appears more vividly and repeatedly in their imaginations, it would be a sign that the totemic guardian spirit wants to adopt another medium and, consequently, the child's totem, if he has a personal one, has to be changed.

5) The ceremony

881 On the day of the operation, the practitioner, who has
304 been forewarned, goes to the enclosure, accompanied by the
779 fathers. Each child is questioned in turn; then there is a big dance performed in honor of the ancestors and guardian spirits of the clan. Each head of the family has brought along his mvessyôn and now explains it to the child. A new dance is done after this initiation. Each father then stretches his son out on the ground, sits down beside him, and slips his legs beneath the child's body in such a way as to raise the middle of the body. The practitioner has a knife in hand kept specially for this purpose and carefully wrapped in a little sheath. The
[413] knife used to be made of stone, but that kind has become very rare. Knives are now usually made of copper and are curiously worked, one end being beak shaped, the other pointed; they are not hafted. These knives are called ekniokôn.

The practitioner operates quickly, assisted by the chief of the tribe. Before operating on each child, he hands the knife [525] to the chief, without a word, and the latter accepts it, also in silence, without saying the usual "thank you" or "very good," abora or mvè.

With girls none of these ceremonies are observed. An experienced matron performs the operation, usually when the child is very young. It is nevertheless a religious act, accompanied by songs and dances, but since only women are present, it was impossible for me to learn the slightest detail.

The tribal chief immediately returns the knife to the practitioner, saying, "Take it and do what has to be done." (Nɔ̂de n'ébo dzam ma yia n'ébo, lit., "Take it so as to do the deed which 'I' ought to do.") This proves that the practitioner is but the chief's delegate. Usually it is the latter who holds the penis firmly. First of all, the father pulls out the foreskin as far as possible and ties it with a bit of string. The penis, thus prepared, is then stretched out on a special board, and the practitioner cuts quickly. This is the most painful part of the operation. Ashes are then rubbed on the open wound. The head of the family carefully collects the blood, which will constitute a powerful fetish after it has been offered in sacrifice to the mvamayɔ̂n and to the ancestors.

It is a point of honor for the children not to cry out, no matter what the pain. Besides, the pain must be very much lessened by the fact that the chief squeezes the flesh firmly and the operator works quickly. As soon as it is over, the child is taken to be bathed and is then laid on a bed of ashes. His scanty clothing is removed, if that has not already been done during the preceding days, and he is now dressed in a loose garment or a belt from which hangs a thick pad of raffia fiber or thin strips of finely cut banana tree bark, so as to protect him from being hurt. After the operation every father offers the practitioner a present, often a sheep or at least several hens. The latter then, according to the customary rites, offers one of the sheep to the spirits and has part of it burnt. The ashes of the sacrifice, mixed with the collected blood, will constitute the child's fetish. Anything left over is carefully buried in a place

881
304
779

apart, and everyone then avoids letting them be seen. [526] The rest of the sheep is eaten by the children the next day.

They remain in seclusion for a few more days. At the end there is another ceremony, also accompanied by dances and songs. They show the reassembled heads of families that the operation has been successful. They then remove the circumcision belt, put back the ordinary loincloth, and return to the village, where they are feted.

d) The consequences of circumcision

"Everything that has to do with procreation," writes Father Lagrange (1) of these ceremonies (and I quite agree with his

1. Études sur les religions sémitiques [Studies in Semitic Religion], pp. 244 ff.

conclusions), "is eminently taboo, surrounded with restrictions and precautions imbued with a religious character and sanctioned by strict laws. Through circumcision a person is really affianced by blood. This may perhaps have been one condition which entitled the begotten child to become in turn a member of the both national and religious association, the community." (We have just seen that this is definitely so among the Fan, for an uncircumcised boy would neither be admitted to the first initiation tests for warriors nor be able to marry: both tribe and future wife would be opposed to it.) "Every time blood is shed, one might wonder whether it is in order to make use of its intrinsic power, in the sense of magic, or for expiation, or to link one person to another by exchange of blood and vitality. Here it would seem to be a question of union, since the rite is initiatory: life is to be transmitted by an organ linked to god through blood letting; at the same time, it represents the ending of a very sensible taboo, which saves the youth from premature indulgence, comparable to that which protects growing fruits and cereals and which ends with the first-fruits sacrifice."

Mgr. Le Roy (1) differs somewhat from Father Lagrange

1. La religion des primitifs [The Religion of Primitive Peoples], pp. 235 ff.

881 on the subject of circumcision: "Circumcision, in our view, is
304 connected with the institution of the taboo; it was originally the
779 lifting of a prohibition. Before having gone through this ceremony, a young man cannot marry; he is not acceptable [527] to any woman and he has no right to nuptial relations. And if these should nevertheless, occur -- and they do! -- the child of this forbidden intercourse is accounted 'bad' and must disappear."

848 Among the Fan such a child, without being considered exactly "bad," is thought of as not belonging to the tribe. Since the father has not the right to be a father, he cannot give the child a name; and if the child escapes the first vicissitudes of babyhood, it will soon die of neglect and hunger, scorned by all. This is especially the case with mulattoes, whose birth in itself places them outside the tribe. They are found on the coast and near European settlements, where, along with the decline in moral standards, the family has to a great extent disappeared, with the laws that used to guarantee its integrity and corresponding moral code. In the interior, in spite of the passage of numerous traders and explorers whose morals are no better than those of the coast, mulattoes are very rare, to say the least. We have just given the reason for this.

000 "Here," continues Mgr. Le Roy, "we have a typical and interesting illustration of the principle set forth above. The transmission of human life takes place in a mysterious realm where the activity of the Lord of Creation is manifest, or at least taken for granted, and to which man cannot be admitted except by a sort of authorization from God and with the help of an appropriate ceremony. At the indicated time the prohibition may be removed, but as always in such cases the 'use permit' must be bought back by a blood sacrifice, hence circumcision, the moral purpose of which is obvious, because the taboo or prohibition that it ends is a rigorous obstacle to sexual relations between children who have not reached puberty.

"This institution can be found everywhere; to be so widespread it must have a widely applicable raison d'être; this is

000 none other than the sacred prohibition in the interest of the family's moral welfare, which is lifted, when necessary, in the same interests."

304 Circumcision for Mgr. Le Roy is, therefore, in short,
881 only "the lifting of a prohibition in the interest of family wel-
779 fare." [528]

Although this explanation is neat and seems to satisfy all requirements, it still does not appear to me altogether correct. It takes the effect for the cause. Undoubtedly, a lifting of a prohibition in the interest of family welfare does follow circumcision, but the lifting, and the prohibition itself, seems to me very much an effect, a consequence, not the cause, and I believe that the objective is above all the sacrifice, admittedly a sacrifice for the welfare of the race. As Father Lagrange points out, "this system" (initiations, tests, and especially circumcision) "implies a close religious relationship within a social group at a low stage of development. It would seem to be a matter of religious unity. In the great Assyro-Babylonian civilization, there is no evidence of circumcision, but then, as now, among widely scattered peoples, some had adopted it, some had not." Is it then enough to say, as for the Bantu tribes, that those who no longer have it have either abandoned it or never possessed it? If in fact all Bantu tribes come from a single stock, as we believe, all have been familiar with circumcision, and we are dealing with a much more ancient rite.

177 We have already mentioned the Egyptian infiltration into
304 Fan manners and customs and the influence of their beliefs.
881 Therefore circumcision might go back to them. Herodotus had already pointed out that circumcision came from Egypt and had, by way of Egypt, spread throughout the Mediterranean world (Her. II, 104). "It may well be," writes Father Lagrange on this subject, "that circumcision among Egyptians was not exactly borrowed from an ethical system, but was a tradition from their origins, going back to the time when they started coming down the Nile Valley, according to contemporary opinion.

177 304 ●881 We also find the tradition among the Arabs as far back in their history as we can go."

Therefore -- and Johnston is of the same opinion -- circumcision is not a rite devised to meet specific needs but one that dates back to the origins of the human race. From the beginning, man has offered first fruits to God. From this to offering the first fruits of human beings and of life, the step was inevitable, and it was quickly made. [529]

304 881 779 In the Fan group at least, circumcision is thus based upon the idea of sacrifice itself and not, as Mgr. Le Roy says, upon the simple lifting of a prohibition that is very useful and very moral. It is based not only on the idea of sacrifice itself but on that of an offering by desecration, which is the very foundation of sacrifice. "Especially at the first use of things it is important to give the gods their share," to renew the covenant with the Master of life. From the beginning, man presented the "first fruits" of things to the deity, above all in order to truly acknowledge his realm. Is not man's life that which is most precious? And the basis of life is certainly the procreative act. Furthermore, the basic concept of clan and tribe is based on the family, so that again from that point of view, procreation is the most important act of life. It is the first fruits of the generative process that will be offered to the Lord of the clan and to the ancestors, deified or not, but supposedly standing by. Therefore this will be a religious act, carried out by the practitioner with the help of the tribal chief and the head of the family, that is, the three clan authorities. So that the ceremony may be more solemn, the remains of the ancestors and of the eponymous animal will be included; finally, as in every sacrifice, blood will be shed. These terms make the sacrifice totemic.

But so that the first fruits may be pure and the shed blood acceptable and effective, they must be truly first fruits. It is therefore very important that they be preserved as such; the means is simple and effective and consists of the éki, that is, the prohibition of certain foods and especially of sexual relations before the set time. The law is not even concerned with the

881 304 779

"fruit" that might result from transgressing the prohibition. The fault, nsem, must be expiated ritually as a fault, but the law would not consider the child as "bad" or guilty; the law does not take it into account at all, but ignores it: the child is "outside the law," res nullius, and is not killed but left to die. It is therefore important that they be really first fruits. Then, too, when the appointed time comes, when a Fan begins to feel himself ready to procreate in his turn, when he can take his place along with the young warriors, the sacrifice will be performed with all formality; once this has been accomplished, [530] but only then, will the prohibition be lifted. The sacrifice ought to be not only carried out but accepted too, because if, for one reason or another -- and this happens -- after circumcision has been performed according to the rules, the practitioner still considers that the spirits of the real or totemic ancestors are not satisfied, an additional sacrifice will be necessary in order to make the first acceptable.

Thus it is clear in what ways our notion of circumcision differs considerably from that of Mgr. Le Roy. In his opinion, it consists of the lifting of a prohibition in the interest of the family's moral welfare a "use permit," that must be bought back by a sacrifice; in our opinion, in agreement with Father Lagrange's, the lifting of the prohibition is not the cause but a natural consequence. The prohibition's objective is circumcision, the 'use permit" is the inevitable result, not the cause, of the sacrifice, and circumcision (1) is the very sacrifice of the

1. Lagrange, Études sur les religions sémitiques [Studies in Semitic Religion], "Le Sacrifice" [Sacrifice"], pp. 255 ff.

procreative first fruits, the most important act from the point of view of clan unity and the perpetuation of the family.

II. Initiation

779 884

The second totemic rite that we come upon in the life of a Fan youth is his initiation.

1. Sexual Life before Maturity

561 Like Europeans, the Pangwe divide the individual's life into
856 three sections, the period of childhood, that of adulthood, and that of old age. The last period, however, concerns the Negro much less than the first two periods of life, because on the average death occurs at an early age. Sexual maturity represents the boundary line between childhood and adulthood, and the Pangwe emphasizes it very much because sexuality is at the center of his religious conceptions and /252/ finds external expression through the initiation into the cults. This initiation corresponds to our confirmation. The Pangwe acts as though a person before sexual maturity -- for the sake of brevity I shall call this person a child (mǫ̃ŋgo III) -- represents a stage antecedent to actual manhood, mǫ́t III, just as, say, the caterpillar is the stage prior to the butterfly.

774 If we think back on what was said concerning the soul in the
836 discussion of religion /Ed., not translated/, we remember that the Pangwe distinguish two kinds of people according to the kind
864 of soul they possess: bebĭn (uninitiated, good), and bongŭs
882 (initiated, evil). Children (bǫ̃ŋgo) are bebĭn, uninitiated, good, because they do not know sexual intercourse and, if they have become acquainted with it prematurely, do not know that they are committing a sin; indeed, they could not know since, after all, they are not initiated into the profound connections between sexual intercourse, life, and death.

887 In reality the situation is such that the Pangwe young people
924 are perfectly well informed, but officially each one must emphasize that he is a child, mǫ̃ŋgo, that is, good, unknowing, uninitiated as to sexual intercourse, even when he has long outgrown not only the actually innocent childhood (in the narrower sense), but also the period of sexual maturity. This point can be tested on any Negro between the age of ten and 20 years by asking him whether he already practices sexual intercourse. The answer will always be the same, be he a Fang from the bush or a Jaunde long since glossed over by a bit of civilization: "ma ne mǫ̃ŋgo (I am
[672] a child, that is, innocent, I know nothing about sexual intercourse)."

882
864 By this answer, he secures for himself the mild judgment with
[672] which we dispose of "silly boys' pranks."

For children, bǭŋgo, therefore, quite a different yardstick is applied; what they do, especially in respect to sexual matters, is not taken seriously.

bǭŋgo bǎ bǭlě oson = children have no sense of shame, and
834 the other way around, adults do not display much towards chil-
155 dren (see homosexual life, Vol. II, page 131), since, after all,
864 children simply do not know what evil (sǒ) is or what shame (o-so-n) means. If the otherwise, at least externally, very modest Negroes say this themselves, we should not hope to find many of the characteristics of a true, innocent ebīn among the children. As a matter of fact their first playful imitations of
836 sexual intercourse as they observe older people performing it
838 begin at five or six years of age; between the age of eight and nine "playing parents" is nothing but perfectly conscious sexual intercourse, though it is generally regarded as a game and was cited to me in the category of "children's games" under the name ebōbǎne-bǭŋgo (Ntum) or ebǎnebǎne bǭŋgo (Fang). It is usually done in the forenoon /253/ in the dwellings when the parents are in the fields or absent elsewhere. The partners are not only boys and girls, but also boys among each other. Later, at the age of eight to 10 years and frequently somewhat beyond, many boys manifest a similar inclination towards members of their own sex, along with a sexual urge for girls of the same age. In view of the emphasis on maintaining, as long as possible, the outward appearance of modesty, the Pangwe boys make use of a device whereby they come to an understanding "metaphorically." A boy
[201] takes some earth and sweepings onto a leaf, ties this hastily together like a food bundle, and gives it to the other. If the latter is ready to respond to the proffered affection, he will open the bundle and pretend to eat of it, saying finally, "ma mane a dǐ," that is, "I have eaten." If he is not inclined to respond, he will throw away the bundle, of whose contents he has full knowledge.

Concerning masturbation, see below, page 130.

857 something to do near the village, and when he has gone they call to him, "endele o o o...", and he answers, "o yo o o o mur e mur a ne e nzine bekun nlu si mebo yo mura kue a ba a muge nie a nu" (there is a big man on the road, a phantom with his head down and his feet up and a red mouth). Endele keeps answering until he has done what was asked of him. Usually he comes back before this from fear of the phantom of which he speaks and which he thinks he sees.

●892 Puberty, Adolescence. Puberty occasions no ceremony, but from then on the child has the right to eat the take of his hunting and fishing, which was formerly forbidden him. This prohibition is called eki wo.

304 Circumcision is done either before or after puberty. It is an operation which is usually performed for many children at a time, and takes place in the early morning. The operator (nkir) comes to the village without the children's being told, and the fathers who wish their sons circumcised watch them so they do not run away. The children are led behind a hut where pieces of red wood have been prepared. [87] A hole is made in the ground, and the pieces of red wood are put in it and set on fire. Each child sits on the stump of a banana tree. The operator uses a well-sharpened razor. Before the operation he fills his mouth with seeds of wild pimento which he chews. He takes the foreskin of the child in his left hand, pulls it, makes a mark on it with his nail at the place where he will cut. The father of the child sees whether the cut piece will be of the desired size, and if he agrees the operator slices the foreskin with one stroke of the razor and spits the pimento, which he has in his mouth, onto the wound. Then he says, "fam e ne e saǵa e saǵa saǵ mi saǵ nkfti," an obscene expression which it is impossible to translate here. The circumcised child goes and sits near the fire of red wood. The foreskin is placed on top of a banana tree, [762] whose fruit is cooked and eaten by men only. The circumcision is an occasion for rejoicing; it is done so that the children will not die [824] and also to remove the foreskin which keeps a man from being strong.

304 Female circumcision is never practiced any more. It was formerly 681 done to married women of notoriously bad conduct in order to punish them. The woman was fastened to two stakes in the village square. The clitoris was removed by the man who did the circumcising and was then attached by a thread and put around the neck of the woman, who had to keep it that way for several days to her great shame. The

no more than a mere conventional taboo, as with certain words considered crude in French. At birth and until weaning a baby is ntyen (nken) or nkeñelé.

After weaning, which usually occurs when the child begins to walk by itself, between eighteen months and two years, the nken becomes a mongô (mone fam = boy; mone minga = girl); an uncircumcised boy is called more specifically nsôól.

Circumcision takes place between eight and twelve years of age (1), before the first premonitory signs of puberty, especially the

> 1. In former times it was sometimes put off until the youth had killed his first enemy. See Trilles (no. 166) and Largeau (no. 48).

appearance of the first pubic hair (afañ, related to the verb fañ = to do well, correctly, on purpose, from the masculine root FA?). The circumcised boy, ntyi'an, "cut one," becomes an adolescent, ndôman, a term also meaning "son" (in relation to a man, see above, p. 63). Correspondingly, a pubescent girl becomes ngon (which can mean at the same time young girl, daughter of a man, or moon: ayene ngon, "to see the moon," that is, to be menstruating), or also ñenan. /57/

The adolescent boy is still ébis, uninitiated. The missions have now adopted the term mvôn, "initiated," to denote church members. Formerly, one became mvôn after initiation, mostly in the great national so initiation, the members of which were called monewôsô (probably "child of the death /la mort/ of the sô"; compare this with the joking relationship, awusô = the dying /le mourir/ of the sô).

After initiation, that is, somewhere between the sixteenth and twentieth year, a young man though of military age was not yet a nya môô, a true person. This he became only upon marriage, when he attained what might be considered his legal, civil, even economic, majority.

A girl, ngon, who became ngal or nya ngal, a true woman, by losing her virginity, after marriage was nya minga, a /married/ lady, and éula or éusa, a matron, when she had brought up her first children. A man with grandchildren was ntole môt, an elder, usually around forty; this was the highest possible social position. Indeed,

861 initiations and now catechism bring all the boys and girls of a village together.

854 Adult surveillance is casual: grown people mainly want /95/ children to know their place and not to be a nuisance. Otherwise, it is mostly the older children who take care of the younger ones.

c. Adolescence

882 854 Boys and girls share their mother's hut until the beginning of adolescence, at which age the boys go to live by themselves, formerly in the "guardhouse," aba, nowadays in a hut on the paternal "allotment." Formerly, girls were sometimes married off before birth and [58a] went to the husband's village at about eight years of age; this is very unusual today, but it is still fairly common for them to go at that age to a paternal or maternal aunt or to a married sister, where they act more or less as servants until puberty, being trained meanwhile. It is also quite common for boys to go to live with a relative whose [87] house is nearer a school than is their own village (1).

> 1. But a motive of proximity to school is not a complete explanation, merely an additional reason for leaving. In fact, a study of urban centers equipped with [57] schools of a good level shows that 30 percent of the children live outside the paternal household with uncles or grandparents. Whatever a father's personal view, he could never refuse his son to relatives expressing a wish to have the boy for some time. (J. B.)

881 304 869 The bongô /children/ become nôman, a youth, or ngon, a girl, at the onset of puberty. The transition is marked by circumcision among boys, atyi'i aryel, in the past sometimes followed by the first initiation, bekungu. Circumcision is done between the ages of six and twelve, usually around ten. Nowadays it is often done at a dispensary, while it formerly was the occasion of a family and village ceremony. Subjects for circumcision prepared for the ceremony with a relatively short seclusion (of a fortnight) during which they were

88| youths in the aba and prepared for further initiations, while beginning
183 to participate fully in masculine activities, work and games. The bekungu (Fang, bekhun?) initiation that came directly after circumcision was not a general practice. My own impression is that this was not a tribal or clan rite like ndô, but that of an association of diviners or seers involving only specially endowed individuals, perhaps related to the ndôngô rite restricted to grown men, which appears to have identical ritual tattoo marks.

91| For the mo'minga reaching puberty there is no stage equivalent to circumcision. In spite of what Trilles says, excision has apparently never been used except as a punishment for certain kinds of adultery or mild incest. It must not be forgotten that a little girl very soon went to live with her affinal family and that she was deflowered as soon as she reached puberty. She very rarely remained ôlenan, that is, pubescent and unmarried, and then for a very short time. One might almost say that her adolescence was telescoped into the period between childhood and the arrival of puberty marked by the mevungu rite.

This adolescent phase is now prolonged by the law fixing the
[182] marriageable age at fourteen (puberty usually comes during the
[145] twelfth year), by school attendance, and by the change in the bride-price system. Most of my friends of a certain age see in these facts the reasons for a crisis in immorality which they probably to some extent exaggerate.

Nevertheless, first menstruation was apparently acknowledged in a ceremony in which only women took part, but this may have been merely a preliminary to the mevungu initiation, about which hardly anything is known. Otherwise /as regards female adolescence/ coition is forbidden to immature girls, while unmarried girls who have begun menstruating have actually great sexual freedom, even in Christian circles. It must, however, be realized that only too often, especially in schools, there are girls deflowered before puberty, whereas boys seem to wait for circumcision /97/ before their first exploits — there
[85] are parents, worried about their sons' "good behavior," who give
184 them aphrodisiacs as encouragement.

d. Transition to Adulthood

87 The ndoman is not yet a real person, nya mbôô; undoubtedly he participates in men's work, in hunting and clearing the land, but he

is not yet admitted to the essential functions of full manhood: ritual, warfare, and marriage. Formerly, he was not until after the great tribal initiation, sɔ̂. Sɔ̂ is the name of a large red antelope, Cephalophus castoneus, found in great quantity in the forest and in the galleries of the park-savanna. The meat is taboo, étyi, to the uninitiated (bibis) and, a fortiori, to women. It may seem strange that Trilles does not mention it in Le totemisme chez les Fang, although the sɔ̂ seems to be one of the most important tribal totems. It should be observed in this connection that the sɔ̂ rite, widespread among the Cameroons Pahouin, including the Beti, and among those of the Woleu-N'Tem, seems to vanish somewhere between Mitzic and N'Djolé, while some of its features are to be found in the initiation to the biéri, which is basically merely an adjunct. It would therefore appear to have gone to pieces at the same time as the structure of the meyoñ, to be revived in the extreme south by the bwiti, reported by Trilles, which is at present moving northward. Nevertheless, I must point out that what Trilles describes under the name of bawu may well be sɔ̂.

Initiation ceremonies were filmed among the Eton of Saa in 1935; the film is kept at the Musée de l'Homme. Bertaut (no. 110) gives a very full description of the outward forms of the initiation, Stoll (no. 84) an interpretation of its symbolism.

Initiation took place about every three years (every seven mimbu?). Bertaut states that a ceremony might be arranged after some serious happening in a village. It lasted three months (one year, according to Stoll, who counts in the preliminary ceremonies for the initiation proper and the period following) and entailed great expense for sacrifices on the part of the parents of initiates and especially the initiation leader, the ákpwé sɔ̂ (judge of the sɔ̂, lit., butcher of the sɔ̂), a senior chosen from the most wealthy and respected. From this point of view, one may believe that the rite coincided with the desire for levelling of wealth which appears to have been so constant in Pahouin society. The ákpwé sɔ̂ did not himself lead the ceremony; he was the instigator and the person responsible, but the celebrant was a diviner, a mɛ́ɛk sɔ̂, "sɔ̂ wise man" or "sɔ̂ measurer" or "sɔ̂ peach," if the tone is changed (vɛ́k = to take aim, to compute, to divine, to measure).

The main theme of the rite, of which the following description is quite incomplete, was the death of the sɔ̂, ɛwu sɔ̂, afterwards eaten

circumcision was public, and the woman to whom it was done underwent the gibes and insults of all the inhabitants.

The life of the young people is the same as that of the adults. The virginity of a woman is considered unimportant and the Fan have sexual relations from the time they are capable of cohabitation. When a young girl has a child, it belongs to her parents, from whom the child acquires wealth; there is no search for the father and the young girl keeps all the respect which she enjoyed. Young girls are free to give themselves to whomever they please. This very broad morality, however, has one important qualification in that there are, so to speak, no young girls, the little girls having been married off by their parents very early, sometimes even before their birth.

Marriage (alug). Men rarely marry before the age of twenty years, and usually later, because they do not have the means to pay the dowry for taking a wife.

Exogamy is always practiced because marriage between people of the same tribe is sterile. Marriage between cousins is forbidden up to the third generation and in general, marriage is forbidden between persons linked by any kind of kinship; in this case there is also prohibition of sexual relations. No penalty is prescribed for infraction, but the guilty ones will fall ill and their children, if they have any, will not live.

Occasionally there are instances when marriage between relatives is authorized, but only after the practitioner has removed the prohibition by the process [88] called abvule minsem. The practitioner goes to find some termite earth (ngurege), a plant (mekaga), and a vine (nyola dzik); the plant and vine are folded and placed in an etok (a container of banana leaves) full of water. The termite earth is placed on a nzum (see the description in the section on conception) and the etok is placed underneath. The two kinsmen who want to marry also stand underneath it, while the practitioner climbs onto the nzum, dips the leaves in the etok, and says, "meme ose mi waga bo e wo ma va yui" (I remove every prohibition that you have made). He hits the termite earth with the leaves and then takes the etok and pours the contents onto the heads of the two people from whom he is removing the prohibition. With the remainder, the man and woman each takes a washing.

A man who has not enough dowry but who finds a young girl eager to marry him may take her away in the night; when the parents come

limited to a vegetarian diet without salt or spices, to "freshen the blood." They received sexual instruction from the ngengan, diviner-healer, who performed the operation, while the elders, minnôl, examined /the boys/ in knowledge of the mebatan, "salutations" or genealogies: in actual fact circumcision ended the prohibition against coition by showing the danger of involuntary incest in case relationships were not well understood. Women were not allowed to be present at the operation, which the ngengan performed with a special razor, cauterizing the wound with a pimento decoction. A boy was held by his father, who pronounced the formula that lifted the taboo against coition. The foreskin was usually buried under a tree, perhaps a banana, perhaps a tree indicated by clan or lineage tradition, perhaps chosen, if we accept Trilles, for totemic reasons. Sometimes the foreskin was preserved for magic use. While the scar was healing, the circumcised boy could wear only a special vegetable breechcloth which was renewed daily; during this time no woman was supposed to speak to him or to touch him or his breechcloth; this he took advantage of so as to steal food and various things. /96/ Once the scar had healed, he could no longer appear in public naked. This whole /procedure/ is only partly followed at the present time; furthermore, since the time for the operation has been generally made earlier, circumcised boys who have not yet reached puberty (1) are often

1. A Protestant Ntoumou chief in Ambam told me that he had had his children circumcised earlier so as to be able to send them to the district school without running the risk of their breaking the sexual and food taboos of the uncircumcised when away from his supervision.

seen going about nude in villages. According to Trilles and Largeau, in the past some youths remained uncircumcised, minsôôl, until they had killed their first enemy. At the present time all youths are circumcised, even Christians; the missions have only rarely tried to oppose the practice and always unsuccessfully.

After circumcision the nôôman was able to have sexual relations and eat certain foods prohibited before. He went to live with other

88 | youths in the aba and prepared for further initiations, while beginning
83 to participate fully in masculine activities, work and games. The bekungu (Fang, bekhun?) initiation that came directly after circumcision was not a general practice. My own impression is that this was not a tribal or clan rite like ô, but that of an association of diviners or seers involving only specially endowed individuals, perhaps related to the ndôngô rite restricted to grown men, which appears to have identical ritual tattoo marks.

91 | For the mo'minga reaching puberty there is no stage equivalent to circumcision. In spite of what Trilles says, excision has apparently never been used except as a punishment for certain kinds of adultery or mild incest. It must not be forgotten that a little girl very soon went to live with her affinal family and that she was deflowered as soon as she reached puberty. She very rarely remained ñemen, that is, pubescent and unmarried, and then for a very short time. One might almost say that her adolescence was telescoped into the period between childhood and the arrival of puberty marked by the mevungu rite.

This adolescent phase is now prolonged by the law fixing the
[87] marriageable age at fourteen (puberty usually comes during the
146 twelfth year), by school attendance, and by the change in the bride-price system. Most of my friends of a certain age see in these facts the reasons for a crisis in immorality which they probably to some extent exaggerate.

Nevertheless, first menstruation was apparently acknowledged in a ceremony in which only women took part, but this may have been merely a preliminary to the mevungu initiation, about which hardly anything is known. Otherwise /as regards female adolescence/ coition is forbidden to immature girls, while unmarried girls who have begun menstruating have actually great sexual freedom, even in Christian circles. It must, however, be realized that only too often, especially in schools, there are girls deflowered before puberty, whereas boys seem to wait for circumcision /97/ before their first exploits — there
[85] are parents, worried about their sons' "good behavior," who give
86 them aphrodisiacs as encouragement.

d. Transition to Adulthood

89 The ndoman is not yet a real person, nya mônô; undoubtedly he participates in men's work, in hunting and clearing the land, but he

2. Sexual Life between Maturity and Marriage

After reaching maturity, the girl is called nglh III, and the
934 young man nklP I; for both there is also the term bandman,
(934) plural of ndman = young man or girl at the age of being in love.
Thus the name itself shows under what sign the subsequent period of life is lived. Free love in the boldest sense of the word prevails. The girl may give away her favors without inhibition to whom and whenever she desires to do so, and she need only ob-
(833) serve the religious rule that prohibits sexual intercourse during the
(815) day and the social rule that prohibits intercourse between blood relatives. Otherwise there is no barrier; members of the same age group come together and make thorough use of their freedom. In the initial period after maturity, to be sure, sexual desire is dampened by the moral admonitions of the cults with their proclamation of the sinfulness of sexual intercourse. This sinfulness, combined with physical satiety and psychic revulsion, produces a "moral hangover"; however, such considerations and feelings are soon overcome. As in eating, so in their love life, the Pangwe know no moderation. They empty the cup of joy to the lees. Later on, especially when the Pangwe has acquired several wives, he tends to develop a more business-like attitude towards sexual love, in place of the youthful amours which alternate unsteadily between ungoverned passion and its aftereffects, psychic unease.

In view of this extensive free love, it goes without saying
(585) that the virginity of his future wife plays no role in the man's choice. Indeed, the presence of a hymen (ajdebil) is usually scarcely noticed and /254/ to some is totally unknown. Around the age of 15 years it is supposed to be destroyed by boys of the same age.

As for their libidinal drive, the girls are generally not in-
833 ferior to the boys. However, we may say that for the girls potency
934 alone is as a rule the deciding factor in the choice of a friend.
(572) This fact is well expressed in the various dance songs at the Mbala (which, incidentally, were brought to the Fang and Ntum by the
(14) sexually loose Jaunde) as, for example, in the following complaint.

no more than a mere conventional taboo, as with certain words considered crude in French. At birth and until weaning a baby is nyen (nken) or nkellelé.

After weaning, which usually occurs when the child begins to walk by itself, between eighteen months and two years, the nken becomes a mongô (mone fam = boy; mone minga = girl); an uncircumcised boy is called more specifically ndôôl.

Circumcision takes place between eight and twelve years of age (1), before the first premonitory signs of puberty, especially the

1. In former times it was sometimes put off until the youth had killed his first enemy. See Trilles (no. 166) and Largeau (no. 48).

appearance of the first pubic hair (afak, related to the verb fak = to do well, correctly, on purpose, from the masculine root FA?). The circumcised boy, nyi'an, "cut one," becomes an adolescent, ndômam, a term also meaning "son" (in relation to a man, see above, p. 63). Correspondingly, a pubescent girl becomes ngon (which can mean at the same time young girl, daughter of a man, or moon: ayene ngon, "to see the moon," that is, to be menstruating), or also ôlenan. /57/

The adolescent boy is still ôbis, uninitiated. The missions have now adopted the term mvôn, "initiated," to denote church members. Formerly, one became mvôn after initiation, mostly in the great national so initiation, the members of which were called monowôlô (probably "child of the death /le mort/ of the ô"; compare this with the joking relationship, awuô = the dying /le mourir/ of the ô).

After initiation, that is, somewhere between the sixteenth and twentieth year, a young man though of military age was not yet a nye ndômô, a true person. This he became only upon marriage, when he attained what might be considered his legal, civil, even economic, majority.

A girl, ngon, who became ngel or nye ngel, a true woman, by losing her virginity, after marriage was nye minga, a /married/ lady, and ôsila or ôlana, a matron, when she had brought up her first children. A man with grandchildren was nnele mbô, an elder, usually around forty; this was the highest possible social position. Indeed,

881
304
779

"fruit" that might result from transgressing the prohibition. The fault, nsem, must be expiated ritually as a fault, but the law would not consider the child as "bad" or guilty; the law does not take it into account at all, but ignores it: the child is "outside the law," res nullius, and is not killed but left to die. It is therefore important that they be really first fruits. Then, too, when the appointed time comes, when a Fan begins to feel himself ready to procreate in his turn, when he can take his place along with the young warriors, the sacrifice will be performed with all formality; once this has been accomplished, [530] but only then, will the prohibition be lifted. The sacrifice ought to be not only carried out but accepted too, because if, for one reason or another -- and this happens -- after circumcision has been performed according to the rules, the practitioner still considers that the spirits of the real or totemic ancestors are not satisfied, an additional sacrifice will be necessary in order to make the first acceptable.

Thus it is clear in what ways our notion of circumcision differs considerably from that of Mgr. Le Roy. In his opinion, it consists of the lifting of a prohibition in the interest of the family's moral welfare a "use permit," that must be bought back by a sacrifice; in our opinion, in agreement with Father Lagrange's, the lifting of the prohibition is not the cause but a natural consequence. The prohibition's objective is circumcision, the "use permit" is the inevitable result, not the cause, of the sacrifice, and circumcision (1) is the very sacrifice of the

1. Lagrange, Études sur les religions sémitiques [Studies in Semitic Religion], "Le Sacrifice" [Sacrifice"], pp. 255 ff.

procreative first fruits, the most important act from the point of view of clan unity and the perpetuation of the family.

II. Initiation

779
● 834

The second totemic rite that we come upon in the life of a Fan youth is his initiation.

719 This rather complicated rite includes, first, the tests I
884 have already mentioned, which make a warrior of the young man, then initiation into the rites, and finally the consecration of weapons.

The young warrior's years of childhood and adolescence have been entirely carefree and completely outside any religious cult. He may have just been taught the name of his personal totem, and perhaps not even that. All he knows is that he is forbidden under rather severe penalties to do certain things, to eat certain kinds of food. He observes these prohibitions rigidly, because he is sure that any infringement will be immediately punished, for isolated *ékí* are never pardoned and must always be expiated. [531]

a) Tests

When he has reached the age for taking his place among
719 the warriors, a young man has first of all to undergo tests designed
884 to show his strength and courage. Severe as they may be very
626 few youths evade them. Besides, it would mean utter dishonor, and the young man who out of weakness or cowardice is either overcome by or doesn't dare face them, would have no choice but to exile himself. This does happen, though rarely, and especially among those few young people who have grown up from childhood as servants of the Europeans. The Fan stigmatize them by a special phrase meaning "men-women good-for-anything," and this expression tells a great deal about the special role they play and the peculiar morals of too many Europeans.

b) Initiation into rites

719 After he has passed these preliminary tests, a young man
884 undergoes totemic initiation along with initiation into the ancestor cult. He is first taught the name of the family, clan and tribal totem. For this purpose, on a day chosen as favorable by the practitioner during the initiation already described above, the candidate is conducted in front of a sort of platform covered with dry leaves. First of all, the head of the family brings his *évora bíbri*, which, as we know, encloses the ancestral skulls and the materialized totem. The neophyte will learn to distinguish the various objects and to identify the different skulls without a moment's hesitation being permitted.

Only then will he be allowed to know about the laws and rights of the totem. He will then receive his personal totem, as we have described it, will make it the prescribed sacrifice, and will preciously keep the remains of this offering on his own person, enclosed in an antelope horn. Already as a child he wore this horn which now contain the ashes of this sacrifice; it used merely to hang around his neck on a cord or, more often, before his genital organs. After the youth becomes a warrior, he hangs the horn among the other fetishes attached to a leather baldrick which crosses his chest and is hardly ever taken off. [532]

c) Consecration of weapons

A youth's childhood ends after the initiation. A whole new era opens up before him, an era of work and fighting and also of quite different pleasures from those of childhood. He is henceforth admitted to a place among warriors after these painful initiations the proof and marks of which are slashes cut into the back of his neck. Henceforth he may carry a gun; as a boy he had often tried to fire one so as to be ready when the time came. As a warrior with the right to fire it and to go to war, he must first "dedicate" the rifle to a spirit so that he may always shoot straight.

For an African all objects whatever they may be, have a life of their own; therefore, a rifle is a being. Alive with its own life, it will be dedicated to the spirit with the influence most favorable to it, that is, in the realm of space the sun, whose light and whose clear rays will enable it to hit the mark every time and will at the same time dissipate the shadows so that they will fail to conceal the enemy it is aimed at. The weapon will be dedicated to the sun and also to the clan's totemic guardian; in battle it is indeed important to be able to distinguish enemy from friend and not to run the risk of committing a totemic sacrilege. The rifle must be dedicated to both the totem and the sun.

However, it is worth noting that if nowadays a rifle is the only weapon to be dedicated, it is because it has become the

779 principal weapon and because there are very few Fan who do not
•184 possess one. Actually, the word for "rifle" in the consecration
411 song mentioned below is sometimes nzali, which really means "gun," and sometimes mbene, which denotes the "crossbow." The crossbow used to be the Fan national weapon. One of the words has changed, but the song is no less ancient for that.

In the middle of the village, the young man, accompanied by an older friend, places his rifle so that the first rays of the rising sun will strike it; he arranges around the rifle his totemic fetishes, that is, his childhood totem, which he will hereafter abandon, and his new warrior totem. In order to cast a spell [533] on his rifle, he then performs the necessary incantations,
[533] among them a hymn or invocation to the sun, of such real beauty and poetic quality that it should be quoted here.

Hymn to the Sun

539

Sun, you who see all things,
You, whose radiant splendor
Pierces the dark mist,
Sun, to you this homage!

To you, sun, king of the sky, divine hunter,
Sun, to you this homage!

Before your flashing glance
And the swift arrows of your fiery quiver,
Into somber depths
Fearful night sinks aghast,
Beneath your blows sparkling with light,
You tear night's mantle,
A black cloak trimmed with fire,
Sprinkled with bright stars,
You tear night's black mantle.

Sun, you who see all things,
You, whose radiant splendor
Pierces the dark mist,
Sun, to you this homage!

779 When the required offerings have been made, before the
884 rifle is lifted, the actual consecration takes place. The tune and
441 words seem to me sufficiently remarkable to warrant quotation.
533 This song, in its melody and structure, recalls the antique airs which have come down to us from the Greeks and Romans. It is always sung by several voices:

539 Song of the Rifle

Anthem: Oh, all of you, listen, listen to the song,
the song of the rifle!
Chorus: Oh, let us all listen, listen to the song,
the song of the rifle!
Solo: For you, alone, O rifle! for you alone,
Far into the woods,
Far, far have I tramped long in the forest,
No longer hearing the barking dogs,
No longer hearing them,
No more than the noise-loving cocks,
No more than the cocks,
Leaving behind the chattering women,
Leaving them in their dark huts. [534]
Refrain: Yes, for you alone, O my rifle!
For your sake only, into the woods,
Into the woods have I gone,
O my rifle, for your alone.
Anthem: All of you, come, listen to the song of the fetish,
The beloved song of the fetish!
Chorus: Let us all come, listen to the song of the rifle,
The beloved song of the rifle! (Refrain: Yes,
for you alone . . .)
Anthem: Come all of you, come, listen well and without noise,
Listen!
Chorus: And silently, heedfully, let us listen.
Solo: For you alone, O rifle! for you alone,
Deep in the woods,
Leaving the village behind,

The young man is armed. He has undergone the initiation of the bawu and henceforth he has a right to speak in the council. He will not take advantage of this until the day he brings in the hand of an enemy he has killed and he is able to testify to his bravery in the presence of all by this striking proof of a daring exploit, yet often carried out by surprise.

[Pp. 535-536, 18 lines of music.] [537]

III. Consecration of the Chief

a) The ceremony

A tribal chief has died. After the customary lamentation and funeral feast, he has been buried in a temporary grave. Thirty days afterwards the warriors again reassemble for the solemn funeral dance, the fanki. Then the eldest son, surrounded by leading warriors, opens his father's grave, climbs down beside the corpse, and with the consecrated knife detaches the skull, which will soon be added to the skulls of earlier ancestors in the évora biéri. Then the corpse is carefully replaced in the grave, and the totemic sacrifices are completed. We shall go back to these sacrifices when discussing individual mortuary rites. The eldest son or the heir removes the akaméyôn or tribal totem, if he has not already done so. He then throws the earth back onto the corpse and everyone helps him in this dismal task, after he has thrown the first handfuls. All these rites belong to the social mortuary ceremonial.

The new chief returns to the village. Then begins strictly speaking, the totemic rite of consecration, which takes place at night, without any female observers.

Escorted by all the warriors, to the beating of a tom-tom, the chief takes the évora biéri containing the ancestral skulls and carries it into the forest. The ceremony is secret only as regards women; young boys may be present.

The box of skulls is put on a sort of platform made of newly cut poles. These must come from a special tree, the éfuéne, and must all be alive and green. A bit of dead wood

2. Sexual Life between Maturity and Marriage

After reaching maturity, the girl is called ngɔ̃n III, and the young man nkɔ̃ I; for both there is also the term bandʉman, plural of ndʉman = young man or girl at the age of being in love. Thus the name itself shows under what sign the subsequent period of life is lived. Free love in the boldest sense of the word prevails. The girl may give away her favors without inhibition to whom and whenever she desires to do so, and she need only observe the religious rule that prohibits sexual intercourse during the day and the social rule that prohibits intercourse between blood relatives. Otherwise there is no barrier; members of the same age group come together and make thorough use of their freedom. In the initial period after maturity, to be sure, sexual desire is dampened by the moral admonitions of the cults with their proclamation of the sinfulness of sexual intercourse. This sinfulness, combined with physical satiety and psychic revulsion, produces a "moral hangover"; however, such considerations and feelings are soon overcome. As in eating, so in their love life, the Pangwe know no moderation. They empty the cup of joy to the lees. Later on, especially when the Pangwe has acquired several wives, he tends to develop a more business-like attitude towards sexual love, in place of the youthful amours which alternate unsteadily between ungoverned passion and its aftereffects, psychic unease.

In view of this extensive free love, it goes without saying that the virginity of his future wife plays no role in the man's choice. Indeed, the presence of a hymen (ayɔdebɔ̃) is usually scarcely noticed and /254/ to some is totally unknown. Around the age of 15 years it is supposed to be destroyed by boys of the same age.

As for their libidinal drive, the girls are generally not inferior to the boys. However, we may say that for the girls potency alone is as a rule the deciding factor in the choice of a friend. This fact is well expressed in the various dance songs at the Mbale (which, incidentally, were brought to the Fang and Ntum by the sexually loose Jeunde) as, for example, in the following complaint.

541
578
784

in all this part of central Africa, where the ox is unknown because of trypanosomiasis.

the produce of hunting and fishing, and these exist until the time of puberty. They signify, according to L. Martrou, that in the family group there should be "no useless mouth," ..."but rather arms and hearts capable of defending and enriching it." (2) Thus

2. L. Martrou, Les "Ekis" des Mfang [The "Ekis" of the Fang] op. cit.

[538] it is forbidden to cohabit with a woman before being circumcised (3)

3. V. Largeau, op. cit. article: Interdit [Interdict].

541 578 [552] 881 In the same way various rites mark the steps of this ascent: the rite of the Sub for the ten-year-old children; (4) circumcision,

4. M. Bertaut in his thesis on the Boulou of the Cameroons, a related nation, speaks of a less degraded form of the Sub which was the center of a true "society of men" now almost vanished.

which is not accompanied by any initiation (but seems rather to bear public witness to virility and to show the individual as an active male), and above all, the "revelation" of the Bieri. When the young man joins the company of men, he has experienced in various degrees of intensity [153] this biological, social, and spiritual dependence on his ancestors (mvam) and on his elders (nyambel). To them he owes his life, his security, his social existence. Even after having crossed the various steps and being able to take full part in the assembly of men, he receives from

548 578 ●185

561 them various interdicts that testify to his new state and remind
578 him of the obligation to submit to those who have made him a
185 man, a complete Fang. (1)

1. Cf. M. Briault, op. cit., pp. 183-184.

561 For a long time he submits to this superiority of his elders,
185 who intervene with the ancestors, the source of prosperity and
634 power, who permit him to fulfill and increase himself by mar-
riage and the possession of posterity, by controlling the circula-
tion of bride prices and women. Thus the male life curve
reaches a maximum which corresponds to the social influence of
the nyembeh, decreases as old age approaches (we have already
stressed the tendency in the past to discard the "grandfather,"
mvam), and increases infinitely after death, which gives him the
quality of "ancestor" with limitless power on behalf of the living.
Childhood and old age, representing the "low" points of this curve,
are preparation for the two "high" states which are characterized
by an increase in power and autonomy.

561 In ancient Fang society dependence guaranteed material
578 and spiritual security. It was centered on the relation between
182 the begetter (fam) and the begotten (ñmb wém) rather than on that
between the dominating one and the one dominated. We have
frequently stressed the leveling tendency existing in the heart of
the ndʉ bée and the dangers threatening any pre-eminence ac-
quired by personal right. The just distribution of women, wealth,
and tasks is expected from the "eldest," not any domination. In
another respect, during the period of conquest, attempts at domi-
nation and the establishment of excessive personal power were
limited by the important role of the "warrior" (who best incarnates
the qualities which caused Dr. Cureau to compare the Fang to
"modern Spartans") and the threats of rupture in the heart of a
grouping which needed to remain sufficiently large and coherent.
An equilibrium may arise between the power of the "eldest ones"
(religious and political pre-eminence) and the power of the young
men (martial pre-eminence). It involves particularly the rigid
regulation of the circulation of the women, the possibility for them

no more than a mere conventional taboo, as with certain words considered crude in French. At birth and until weaning a baby is ntyen (nten) or ekuk'ef.

After weaning, which usually occurs when the child begins to walk by itself, between eighteen months and two years, the nten becomes a mengê (mone fam = boy; mone minga = girl); an uncircumcised boy is called more specifically ndômi.

Circumcision takes place between eight and twelve years of age (1), before the first premonitory signs of puberty, especially the

1. In former times it was sometimes put off until the youth had killed his first enemy. See Trilles (no. 166) and Largeau (no. 48).

appearance of the first pubic hair (afaê, related to the verb faê = to do well, correctly, on purpose, from the masculine root FA?). The circumcised boy, ntyi'an, "cut one," becomes an adolescent, ndômam, a term also meaning "son" (in relation to a man, see above, p. 63). Correspondingly, a pubescent girl becomes ngon (which can mean at the same time young girl, daughter of a man, or moon: ayene ngon, "to see the moon," that is, to be menstruating), or also ôsoan. /97/

The adolescent boy is still ôbia, uninitiated. The minions have now adopted the term mvôn, "initiated," to denote church members. Formerly, one became mvôn after initiation, mostly in the great national so initiation, the members of which were called monewôô (probably "child of the death /la mort/ of the ô"; compare this with the joking relationship, ewuô = the dying /le mourir/ of the ô).

After initiation, that is, somewhere between the sixteenth and twentieth year, a young man though of military age was not yet a nya mbôô, a true person. This he became only upon marriage, when he attained what might be considered his legal, civil, even economic, majority.

A girl, ngon, who became ngal or nya ngal, a true woman, by losing her virginity, after marriage was nya minga, a /married/ lady, and ôsia or ôsoa, a matron, when she had brought up her first children. A man with grandchildren was mvôn mbô, an elder, usually around forty; this was the highest possible social position. Indeed,

6;Alexandre and Binet--105 G-S (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

7. The Position of Women(1)

50

1. J. Binet, "Condition des femmes /The Position of Women/," Cahiers internationaux de sociologie, 20, 1956, Presses Universitaires de France, and "Statut des femmes dans le Sud-Cameroun /Status of Women in the Southern Cameroons/," to appear in Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin, 1956, Edit. of the Librarie Encyclopédique, Brussels.

If the older people are to be believed, the position of women according to orthodox custom was that of minors. However, there is nothing in traditional theory that justifies such a negative attitude towards women: some clans name women among their eponymous heroes, and there are legends attributing to the creator god (Zombé) a daughter in whose honor certain rites were performed. At the present time the tribal societies making an effort to revive the old clans and to revise their codes of manners and their customary laws always keep a place for women at the core of the executive /chat-major/, but very often the role of women is secondary: they are dancers, singers, organizers of dances, or stewards watching over followers—in short they only carry out men's orders. Women are also sometimes associated with men in religious /confessional/ so-
575 cieties (Protestant or, more frequently, Catholic), but mostly they form separate groups, formerly so-called secret societies, today Christian devotional confraternities, which enable women to meet together, to set up a hierarchy and have leaders of their own. Women do not actually participate in the life of the community /cité/ or, better, they form a community among themselves, distinct from that of men.

In law women seem to be at a disadvantage, but it is not clear that they owe this to genuine antifeminism. In fact, no one is perfectly free in customary law; only the patriarchal head of a family
576 possesses full legal capacity. Marriage does not confer majority on a woman, and a girl possesses greater independence than does a
577 married woman. In the sexual sphere this is clear: illegitimate births involve no disgrace; a child is always welcome. If born before marriage, it belongs to the mother's family. And it is not unusual for respectable fathers to wait until a daughter has borne children before marrying her off.

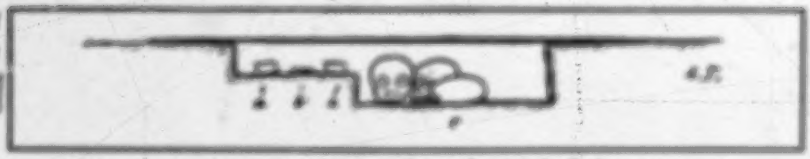


Fig. 53. Underground Chamber of a Mekuk Sorcerer, Cross-section.

(a) Circle made of plantain pieces, (b) magic medicines, (c) skulls of murdered relatives.

the Mekuk man's house companions in their sleep, so that they wake up the next day completely beaten up. They are also supposed to steal money and goods in order to take them to the Mekuk man. In short, the Mekuk stories remind one of the experiences of the man who wanted to learn to be afraid /Ed., in one of Grimm's fairy tales/.

Other medicines for wealth that utilize the power of the souls are more innocent; they do not require the murder of relatives nor care of the skulls. Instead, their powers are derived from the habitation of the souls, the Copaifera tessmannii Harms (). The Mekuk skulls must be included only in the event the medicine man already possesses some. The procedure as a rule is as follows. The father of the person concerned goes with a medicine man, /151/ and both clear an area under a large Copaifera. Then a leaf vessel filled with water is set up, and into this some of the bark of the Copaifera is scraped nine times (three times three); furthermore a stone from the stomach of the crocodile is placed in it if one is available. A peculiar test of the worthiness of the young man is now given. Various objects are placed together in three piles: on the first are placed steamed cassava (women's food) and a basket (ebi'ed) carried only by old women because it has a small capacity; on the second, a rifle, a bundle of vegetables (ngon) with fish, brass ornaments, cowrie shells, and a piece of cloth, all of which are things that delight young people; on the third pile is placed a fly swatter (implement of the chiefs), a foot ring made of ivory, and a boiled chicken, in other words, such things as are allotted to chiefs. Now the young man is brought to the piles. "If he has sense," he will go to the last pile and consume the chicken. In this

272 extraction occurs only in the southern Pangwe region and /164/ in two forms. The first is as follows. The cane is cut into pieces from six to eight centimeters long; the meat of the cane is removed by sticking the spiked stalk of Trachypterynium danckelmanianum Braun et K. Schn. (mō' I) through it and scraping back and forth for a while (Fig. 104). A leaf is placed underneath to catch the scrapings, and later they are put in a basketwork plate and pressed out by hand. A second, more refined procedure consists of removing the bark from the cane with a knife and pounding it in a wooden trough. The pulp thus obtained is put in a sugar press (ojém), a crude piece of basketwork in rectangular form, made of Ancistrophyllum (nkāne), whose narrow sides end in loops through which two sticks are pushed. One of these is stuck through two poles planted in the ground, each with a hole drilled through the middle; the other stick is placed on top of the two poles. When the press is to be used, /Fig. 106 appears here in the original text/ a vessel (pot) is placed under it, the upper stick is taken off, the sugarcane pulp is placed in the plaited container, the stick is turned with both hands, and in this way the press is wrung dry. The sap, which can be drunk right away, is made primarily for elderly people who are no longer able to chew sugarcane meat; it is also made for medicinal purposes. /165/

[165]

2. Banana wine.

273 This wine is obtained from ripe bananas or plantains. They are peeled, cut in half, and then placed in a pot filled with water. The pot is covered with a perforated leaf and set in the sun for a day. The fluid is then carefully poured off, put in a calabash, and again set in the sun for a brief period of time. This banana wine or plantain wine (the latter is supposed to taste even better) is known only in the northern Pangwe region. Among the Jaunde it is valued very highly, as much as palm wine, which is attested to, among other things, by its special popularity with the older chiefs who are known as connoisseurs. This beverage, indeed, is not at all bad, and it is, incidentally, also popular with the Whites.

587 768 When a man dies and one of his relatives marries his wives, there is no additional payment of dowry. When a man loses his wife, the dowry is repaid fully, or in part, by the relatives of the deceased wife if she has left no children. If there are children, the widower makes no claim to the dowry.

765 The widow cuts her hair. After the death of the husband, the wife is made to confess the names of her lovers in order to make them give payments which will finance the celebrations at the end of mourning. She must weep for one whole day and one whole night; she may do nothing without the permission of her husband's heir; and for a month she stays dirty, dressed in an old loincloth. At the end of this time there are celebrations of the end of mourning which last several days. The widow sits for a whole night in the village square, and the husband's relatives throw her water and pimento. The following morning she jumps four times over a fire of dry banana leaves. While she is jumping, men hit her for the anguish which she has caused her husband to endure. After that she receives a new loincloth from her family and then, before beginning the dances, if she has not accepted remarriage [587] to her husband's heir, she chooses a new husband from among the assembled men of the dead man's family.

838 839 Neither homosexuality nor bestiality have ever been recorded, to our knowledge, among the Fan.

548 Prostitution does not exist.

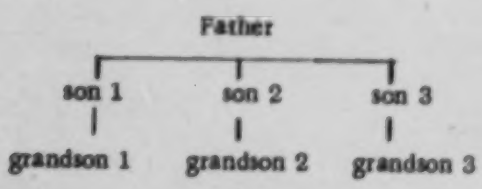
833 Impotence (eyel), if it is congenital, is attributed to the mother's having accidentally caused milk to flow onto the penis of her son while nursing him. If it occurs later, it is said to be from the abuse of coitus and it is believed that there is no more sperm in the impotent person.

596 Family Group. The family (nda ebur) consists of the man, his wives, his children, and his brothers. It usually includes several homes and constitutes a village in itself. The authority belongs to the father, and it is he who commands because of his being the most respected. He has absolute power, but also incurs certain duties, the most important of which is to find money or goods as dowry for the women whom his sons wish to marry. These dowries are usually obtained through payments made by the girls' husbands. The most complete mutual aid is obligatory among all members of the family, in all 596 circumstances. When the parents have become too old to continue 888 exercising their authority, they live with the family of their oldest son

where they enjoy great esteem and are consulted every time on decisions concerning all the family, [91] such as the marriage of a child, because this is a matter of alliance with another tribe, or such as moving the village. Young people of a poor family who get themselves adopted may be incorporated into the family and assimilated among its children. The adopted son (ntob) gets a wife from the head of the family which has taken him in. This wife, however, is only loaned to him, and the children whom he may have do not belong to him and are regarded as being of the adopter's family whose name they receive.

Each family has a fetish all its own, which is handed down through the oldest sons. It is often a reed (ayan) which is planted behind the huts of the village where the family lives, by a practitioner in the course of an important ceremony. The practitioner digs a hole, puts into it the bones of a member of the family killed by the bivur, spits onto it some wild pepper that he has chewed, and, before planting the reed, says, "ke nzue, ke wone, me nga non we bemvama e dzam ese dzah bor yfi, o ke sile e yenege" (without stealing or hiding myself I have taken from my ancestors, so that everything which will be asked of you by this family shall happen). The reed must be treasured and constantly kept clear of weeds which might grow around it. A fowl is sacrificed to this reed by the head of the family every time he wishes to undertake an important matter, and when the village moves the plant is taken along with the bones and replanted.

Social Life. Pahouin society is limited to a group of families which make up the tribe. The latter originates from a single family, the sons of which have left to establish other families in their turn. The separation occurs almost constantly in the third generation. The formation of a tribe may be diagrammed thus:



Grandson 1 establishes a family which keeps the name of the founder; grandson 2, a family which will take the name of this grandson; and

612 as we have maintained, in terms of filiation – the term ɛ́mɔ̀,
601 with a qualifying word indicating the filiation: thus ɛ́mɔ̀ wam, my son – and in terms of "fraternity," the term mwanɔ̂ indicating the descendants found in the same segment. From these two co-ordinates, some of the relationships can be represented as follows:

Table VI

Generations	Designations in the vertical direction	Designations in the horizontal direction
X	Mvam (sg)	
I	Mvam (sg)	
II	Esa (sg)	
III	Mwanɔ̂ (sg)	Bobɛ̂nâg (pl)
IV	Bɛ̂ndɛ (pl)	Bobɛ̂nâg (pl)
V	Nwabâg (col)	Bobɛ̂zâg (pl)
Y	Nwagbâg (col)	Mwan'ayôg (sg)

Abbreviations: sg, singular; pl, plural; col, collective.

In the first place it seems that the word mvam, used specifically for the grandfather and the forefather, has a very general meaning. It is applied to the great-uncle and to both the ancestor of the direct line of descent and those of the collateral lines. According to Trilles mvam "is derived from a root va, which implies not the idea of a generation, which is sa or ba, 'to plant,' but of production, increase, growth. . . ." (1) The mvam, living or dead

1. Father H. Trilles, op. cit., p. 88.

who may be at the same time ancestors and guardian beings, constitute in an indistinct way the ngibâg, or ancestry. This voluntary
612 confusion of terminology, being a sort of throwback into the past
601 in the defunct part of the clan grouping, should be connected with
888 the Fang custom of keeping the old men away from public life and reducing them to a sort of marginal life. (2) In the same way,

2. Ibid., p. 106, "The white-haired old

412
601

man is rarely esteemed in the Fang country. As soon as he no longer has the strength to carry a gun, he receives no consideration, and of his own accord he adapts himself to this role, joking and playing at every turn."

the fourth generation assures [115] the passage into the midst of the confused grouping called nwabàg, which, while specifically designating the great-grandchildren, also signifies progeny, the whole of the descendants related in an unspecified way, who are to one another mwanlàg (plural, bobélàg), a term that could be translated as "brother of the same lineage" or simply as "relative." This passage which occurs at the first and fourth generations indicates the privileged position given to two intermediary generations, that of the ésa (father) and that of the mwanò (son). In the case of this conquering people who rated their villages only by the number of its warriors, this fact must be linked to the importance given socially to the "man in his full strength" nyambeb (1). — and

1. Ibid., p. 106, "Mur means 'personality' and the particle nya indicates the idea of plenitude or superiority. Our French word 'maître' [master] corresponds fairly well to this meaning."

to "the man who has become adult" — ékwar. On these two generations is based the framework of traditional Fang society.

On the other hand, the strong fraternity expressed by the notion of mwanlàg (2) survives only to the third generation with

2. Father Trilles writes that this term "indicates real kinship or filiation and not by adoption or blood brotherhood ...," op. cit., p. 251.

respect to a common mvam (grandfather). (3) The order of

541 them various interdicts that testify to his new state and remind
578 him of the obligation to submit to those who have made him a
185 man, a complete Fang. (1)

1. Cf. M. Briault, op. cit., pp. 183-184.

541 For a long time he submits to this superiority of his elders,
185 who intervene with the ancestors, the source of prosperity and
● 651 power, who permit him to fulfill and increase himself by mar-
riage and the possession of posterity, by controlling the circula-
tion of bride prices and women. Thus the male life curve
reaches a maximum which corresponds to the social influence of
the nyemdeb, decreases as old age approaches (we have already
stressed the tendency in the past to discard the "grandfather,"
mvam), and increases infinitely after death, which gives him the
quality of "ancestor" with limitless power on behalf of the living.
Childhood and old age, representing the "low" points of this curve,
are preparation for the two "high" states which are characterized
by an increase in power and autonomy.

541 In ancient Fang society dependence guaranteed material
578 and spiritual security. It was centered on the relation between
182 the begetter (faa) and the begotten (ɛmb wɔm) rather than on that
between the dominating one and the one dominated. We have
frequently stressed the leveling tendency existing in the heart of
the nd'ê bôr and the dangers threatening any pre-eminence ac-
quired by personal right. The just distribution of women, wealth,
and tasks is expected from the "eldest," not any domination. In
another respect, during the period of conquest, attempts at domi-
nation and the establishment of excessive personal power were
limited by the important role of the "warrior" (who best incarnates
the qualities which caused Dr. Cureau to compare the Fang to
"modern Spartans") and the threats of rupture in the heart of a
grouping which needed to remain sufficiently large and coherent.
An equilibrium may arise between the power of the "eldest ones"
(religious and political pre-eminence) and the power of the young
men (martial pre-eminence). It involves particularly the rigid
regulation of the circulation of the women, the possibility for these

level that the agencies of authority, of social control, are most in evidence.

The head of the family is the senior, nɔ̂l or nɔ̂lo mɔ̂t, of the adult and active men, beaya bɔ̂ɔ̂, "the true men." He is not necessarily the oldest in age, because infirm old men suffer a genuine capitis diminutio /a loss of status/. The founder of the hamlet or his eldest son can still, even if infirm, preserve a certain moral authority as father, ésa, of the family, but actual authority will then be delegated to a nya mɔ̂ɔ̂ chosen from his brothers, sons, or nephews, the élo'olo (Bertaut). In principle, a jal is composed of the founder, his old relatives /parents/, his younger brothers, his children and those of his sisters, his unmarried sisters, their illegitimate children and those of his daughters. Wives do not belong to the jal, their village is referred to as jalɛ̂. Of a divorced woman one would say, a kuya jalɛ̂, "she has gone back to her village." The size of the nda bɔ̂t depends upon different factors: security, the /family/ head's authority, the fertility of the soil, etc. I have already pointed out how several mal can be gathered into a nlam, a proper village. Nowadays the menda me bɔ̂t are tending to decrease numerically and no longer to correspond to the jal, which can from now on combine several /menda me bɔ̂t/. The limited or household family is becoming more and more important, while the government-sponsored institution of village chiefship /chefferie/, although it is often only an imperfect substitute for the authority of the nɔ̂l or the ésa, undermines that none the less. The size of an average nda bɔ̂t may be calculated at twenty /49/ persons (including the wives who do not belong to the jal), less in the towns and among the less prosperous people, more among large planters and the influential (minkukum).

The nda bɔ̂t used to be a religious, military, and economic unit. On the religious plane, the father, ésa, was the custodian of the biéti (Fang, biéri), the portable altar or ark of the ancestral cult containing the skulls of the ancestors; he made the decisions about initiations and bore their expense. The initiations have died out, and the missions have burned dozens, if not hundreds, of biéri. Security and colonial order have removed any interest in the ésa's military function. Only his economic role survives to some extent. He used to be the sole owner of the family goods (biɔ̂m), sole treasurer of income, and sole regulator of expenditures, of which the most important was the payment of "bride prices" (minsuba) for his younger brothers and his

no more than a more conventional taboo, as with certain words considered crude in French. At birth and until weaning a baby is nyen (nken) or nkelkel.

After weaning, which usually occurs when the child begins to walk by itself, between eighteen months and two years, the nken becomes a mongô (moon fam = boy; moon minga = girl); an uncircumcised boy is called more specifically mbôôl.

Circumcision takes place between eight and twelve years of age (1), before the first premonitory signs of puberty, especially the

1. In former times it was sometimes put off until the youth had killed his first enemy. See Trilles (no. 166) and Largeau (no. 48).

appearance of the first pubic hair (afaŋ, related to the verb faŋ = to do well, correctly, on purpose, from the masculine root FA?). The circumcised boy, nyi'an, "cut one," becomes an adolescent, mômen, a term also meaning "son" (in relation to a man, see above, p. 63). Correspondingly, a pubescent girl becomes ngon (which can mean at the same time young girl, daughter of a man, or moon: ayene ngon, "to see the moon," that is, to be menstruating), or also élenan. /57/

The adolescent boy is still ébis, uninitiated. The missions have now adopted the term mvôn, "initiated," to denote church members. Formerly, one became mvôn after initiation, mostly in the great national so initiation, the members of which were called monewôô (probably "child of the death /la mort/ of the sô"; compare this with the joking relationship, awuô = the dying /le mourir/ of the sô).

After initiation, that is, somewhere between the sixteenth and twentieth year, a young man though of military age was not yet a nya môô, a true person. This he became only upon marriage, when he attained what might be considered his legal, civil, even economic, majority.

A girl, ngon, who became ngal or nya ngal, a true woman, by losing her virginity, after marriage was nya minga, a /married/ lady, and ésila or ékua, a matron, when she had brought up her first children. A man with grandchildren was ntole môt, an elder, usually around forty; this was the highest possible social position. Indeed,

an old man, onôm mân, who lived too long lost his prestige as he became decrepit. It seems probable that during the great migrations old people, particularly feeble old women, were abandoned in the forest when a village moved its site. Certainly death must often have come before the infirmities of age, from fighting, hunting, or the first serious illness. My informants were always unanimous in telling me that the skull of an infirm or senile old man could not be used in the bwiti cult.

With the second generation of descendants, a man, alive or dead, inevitably becomes ôlvam, a forefather, in the double sense of grandfather and ancestor.

An age grade covers about three years; this is about the longest possible stretch of time during which two children born on different dates can both be at the breast together, and it was approximately the interval separating two large collective initiation ceremonies. Classificatory kinship groups people by generation: all those of one generation are bobenyaⁿ, brothers, as mentioned above. Within an age grade the term ôjula, "comrade," is more apt to be used. The succession of age grades created an internal hierarchy within the generation and strengthened the clan and tribal ties between the bijula. This strengthening was even more marked between the bo'bewôô of the same time of initiation.

Modern life alters these ties, as much from the dying out or transformation of the initiations as from the loosening of ties in the extended family and also from the greater mobility of individuals and limited families. The little Fang boy born at Fort-Lamy, where his father is postal agent, scarcely feels himself to be the ôjula of his clan monyaⁿ born on the same day at Libreville. Economic and political development tends more and more to set up hierarchies founded more on occupation, wealth, even education, rather than on age and rank in the family. /58/

4. Slavery, Castes, Clames, Chiefdoms

Largeau spoke of the Pahouin as of a "people who have no synonym for our words 'king,' 'master,' 'servant,' 'workman,' 'slave.'" It is a fine phrase, but it only partially corresponds to reality. Largeau himself, in his encyclopedia, translates the word "slave" as nsagha, a loan word from Gabonese (Mpcngwé), he says. Further north, people

The female rite corresponding to *ɔ̃* is *mevungu*, about which little is known, for the reasons mentioned earlier. It was not a clan rite, since the women of a village would, in consequence of exogamy, belong to different clans. Like *ɔ̃*, its function was to make of the initiates accomplished women, *benya bengoso* or *benya bings*, fertile, free of *ɛ́vu*, and disciplined, and perhaps, in addition, to set up a community bond between the women of a village in place of the mimɔ̃ clan bond among them.

Initiates of both sexes were exempt from numerous general food taboos. They were bound together by an obligation of mutual aid reinforcing and even transcending that of clan fraternity. The dying out of initiations has definitely left a void which contemporary Fahouin are trying to fill; the new syncretist rites seem to have succeeded better in this than the churches and political parties.

c. Old Age

The *nya mɔ̃ɔ̃* and the *nya minga* are people in full possession of their faculties, quite capable of fulfilling their social roles. Their prestige is in proportion to their abilities; when they are no longer "true" men or "true" women, society is inclined to lose interest in them and to push them aside. An old man can mitigate his loss of physical power by his wealth or his skill in magic; an old woman owns nothing and easily incurs the risk of an accusation of sorcery. Her decline begins earlier than a man's, when she ceases to bear children or to be physically attractive, while a man reaches his prime when /101/ he has grandsons living with him and accepting his authority. But this authority lasts only so long as a man can "stand up for himself" /*se défendre*/ in the semi-colloquial sense of the word. Nowadays the ease with which villages and extended families burst their bounds geographically often accelerates this decline, which some *minkukum* palliate thanks to the polygamy on a large scale that enables them to retain economic power.

Old people without children have a very hard time of it, even in regions converted to Christianity, especially widows, who in their affinal family do not benefit from the clan obligation of mutual aid. In times past old people were abandoned in the forest during migrations; they are still left in *bilik*, deserted villages, when the main body of the village moves, for instance, to establish itself along a

road. The missions have tried, with unequal results, to ameliorate the fate of old people without children, certain clan "societies" have also been active in this direction, but none of it goes very far. Moreover, the old people accept their lot and occasionally joke about it among themselves with the rather biting irony that seems out of the mental characteristics of the group. Some old people kill themselves "from being tired of life." According to Trilles, some used to burn themselves to death voluntarily. According to Largeau, the heirs took the initiative in this so as to make the inheritance available.

The least wretched old people are those with children, particularly sons (1), since daughters usually live with their affinal family. There

1. Cf. Eza Boto, Ville cruelle (no. 182), for an illustration of relations between mother and son.

does exist a genuine obligation for children to provide parents with food, which is sanctioned by paternal or maternal curse in case of default.

f. Death and the Afterlife

Every death is suspect, but that of a nya mbôô more than another, because a nya mbôô does not die: someone kills him, though it may be none other than himself. Therefore the death of a man of some importance was always followed by an autopsy: the ngangali would cut open the body and examine the thoracic organs, nlem, the seat of intellect and will, to look for signs of sorcery, the work either of another or of the dead man should his évu have turned against him or been killed by a malignant agency. There also appears to have been a magic process, évômbôô, that revived the dead long enough to put questions concerning the cause of death.

If the autopsy revealed that the deceased was a sorcerer, nnem, the body was burned or thrown into a large river or perhaps buried at a crossroads far from the village. If he were mie, free of évu, the regular mortuary rites ensued. The body was washed in warm water, massaged and softened, then rubbed with baa dissolved in palm oil, wrapped in a white loincloth, watched over by armed men while the grave was made ready and the relatives /102/ and affinal kin /alliés/

Next, the establishment of urban and rural municipal councils permits financial decentralization. Towns under the term "urban communes," cantons, and sometimes whole subdivisions under the term "rural communes" received a legal character, with a domain to manage and a budget to fix. Elected councilors under an appointed mayor had to study plans for road works, to set up construction or maintenance programs, inquire into taxes? /taxes/ and assessments /impôts/, and have an eye to a sound financial position.

In towns this was nothing new, but its extension to wide rural areas was an experiment. Boulou or Beti country, where there was no risk of these new methods giving offense to a strong traditional /social/ structure, was the ideal place for trying out a new /kind of/ organization.

Throughout the elections arranged to fill the posts of councilor, we can see crystallizing the most striking traits of the new élite, the characteristics of the aristocracy or oligarchy that will get itself into power.

Pessimists had expressed fear that such elections, based on almost universal suffrage, would overthrow the classical social values and impair the prestige of the present acting élite.

This point of view disregarded the fact that in a country practically without stratification, no one can keep authority without the support of public opinion. /132/ Granting the vote to vassals in a feudal society may unsettle the power of the nobility. It is quite otherwise here, where chiefs of village or canton are most commonly chosen by election.

The older men have preserved a privileged position vis-à-vis the younger generation. A comparison of the age pyramid of councilors with that of the adult male population as a whole readily shows this: (table on following page).

The younger generation is poorly represented. Mature men of thirty to forty are represented in proportion to their ratio in the total population; but men of forty to fifty or of the older age group are heavily represented. Electoral influence has not been seized by the younger men.

Neither does it appear that the poorer class, more numerous than the rich, has benefited from the ballot so as to eliminate the latter. From the point of view of the possession of a certain amount of wealth, we can assert that municipal councilors are much better off than the common people.

Distribution by Age

Age Group	Elected Municipal Councilors	Total Adult Male Population (1) (Nyong-and-Sanaga)
	Percent	Percent
20 to 30 years	9	26
30 to 40	33	29
40 to 50	37	28
Over 50	20	15

1. Evaluation made according to censuses established by the subdivisions; the documentation is not faultless but nevertheless is indicative.

The figures given below for the whole population are not definitive, but as they have been taken from a recent complete census they may be considered good approximations.

Distribution of External Signs of Wealth
(for 100 persons)

	Masonry Houses	Bicycles	Automobiles
	Percent	Percent	Percent
Municipal councilors	27	50	11
Adult male population of Eboiowa	1.4	21	0.3

Not for nothing do the Pahouin use the word nkukuma (rich) to designate a chief. The chosen leaders are the rich men. /133/

A study of the matrimonial situation enables us to be more specific about the personal characteristics of elected men. Polygamy is much more common among them than among the population as a whole.

6:Alexandre and Binet--189 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 F189 Fang F189

Distribution According to Matrimonial Status

	Municipal Councilors	Sample of the Total Population of the Boulou and Beti Area (1)
	Percent	Percent
Polygamous	43	23
Monogamous	43	63
Unmarried	3	14

1. A random sample taken for the study of family budgets, 1954, op. cit.

That councilors are often polygamous is to be explained in terms of their relatively advanced age and their wealth.

As elderly possessors of wealth and polygamous, do the elected men embody all the traditional ways in contrast to a progressive younger generation? An examination of occupations, of educational level, and of religion reveals that the actual situation is more complex.

Distribution by Occupation

	Municipal Councilors	Adult Male Population of the Nyong and Sanaga Region (2)
	Percent	Percent
Chiefs	30	1.8
Planters	30	85
Office-holders	14	0.5
Trade employees	3	1
Traders	10	7
Craftsmen	5	?
Catechists, mission monitors	2	2.3

2. According to the annual administrative report; approximations are involved, Yaoundé-Ville being excluded.